Appendix

Essay Winners—Rural Electric Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to present four winning essays in a contest that had for its theme what electricity means in rural areas.

This contest is conducted each year by Nebraska Rural Electric Cooperatives and my congratulations go out to these organizations for the leadership they are taking in making U.S. citizens aware of what a blessing electricity has been to the farm family.

The essays follow:

What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community

(By Nadine Sass, 16, junior, Clarkson High School, Clarkson, Nebr.; father, Stephen H. Cech. Contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebr.)

Electricity has become our willing and ready servant. Within the last half century the new discoveries of this remarkable force, and the invention of machines to utilize these powers, have brought about some of the greatest wonders in the world of today.

This tremendous advance is especially evident on the American farm. Rural electrification has altered the methods of farming throughout this country. It has relieved the farmer of many backbreaking tasks, transferring much of the burdens to machines. With fewer hours spent today's farmer has time to be a more active member of his church and community, and to generally improve as a citizen.

I honestly believe that electricity is a necessity rather than a luxury. This can be seen, quite readily, in irrigation. The effective pumps have brought water to thirsty crops during droughts, thus vastly increasing the productivity of the land.

Electricity also prevents great losses during the winter months when heat lamps and chick brooders are used to regulate temperatures.

The use of the milking machines and electric coolers further enables the farmer to be more independent. With these conveniences, fresh milk can be produced in large quantities at a much lower cost.

It is extremely difficult to believe that in 1936 only 1 out of every 10 farmers in America had electric power at their disposal. By 1950, an amazing 75 percent of the farmers in the United States were using electrical power. This increase was largely due to the Rural Electrification Act, which provided funds allowing cities, private companies, and other organizations to distribute this God-given power to rural areas.

I had never fully realized the true importance of electricity until a terrible snowstorm caused the lines to break. As a result, I overslept because the alarm clock failed to ring. I couldn't fry an egg, toast bread, or even enjoy a hot cup of coffee. My mother couldn't wash, cook or sew, and my stepfather couldn't weld, unload grain or water his cattle. Even the house was cold because our furnace is electrically powered. Those 2 hours, when we were without electric power, seemed an eternity. We were lost without our electrical conveniences. we along with many other farm families in our community, were grateful for the prompt REA servicemen, who repaired the difficulty in the midst of the storm. I realized then the farmer of today could not exist without electricity.

No, life would not be the same today if the farsighted men of 1936 had not initiated the Rural Electrification Administration. We should salute this great organization and the many men who, over the past 25 years, have had a part in the development and building of rural electricity. I consider electricity to be the greatest asset in our rural areas today—second only to its fine people.

The Practical Uses of Rural Electrification

(By David F. Sindelar, 16, junior, St. Joseph's Military Academy, Hays, Kans.; father, Louis V. Sindelar, Howells, Nebr. Contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebr.)

The distribution of electrical power can be compared to the circulation of blood through the human body. An electric generator is like a heart; the electric lines are like blood vessels. Just as blood circulates through the arteries to carry nourishment to the different organs of the body, so electricity flows through the many power lines of our Nation to provide necessary energy to the various organs of man's civilization; namely, government, industry, business, homes, and farms.

Farmers originally sought connection to electric supply lines in order to secure electric lighting. Once joined to the pulsating source of power, they realized a host of other benefits. They now use electricity for such essentials and operations as irrigation, grain drying and elevating, automated grinding and mixing, welding, and for power tools in the farm shop. Besides these the home would be incomplete without items as electric irons, refrigerators, radios, dryers, and others too numerous to mention. A yard light greatly speeds up work done at night and removes the dangers involved in groping through a darkened yard. A light in the yard is so useful that today a farm without one is an extreme rarity. The heat lamp is extensively used by farmers as a pig brooder. It is claimed that at least one additional pig litter will be raised if the farmer uses the heat lamp properly.

Nearly every dairy farm has electrical service. Electric lights are used in the dairy barns and milkhouses where much of the work is done before and after hours. The use of electric milking machines increases production and decreases time and labor. Electric milk coolers retard spoilage. Thus consumers can buy higher quality milk at much lower prices.

Inexpensive electricity is especially useful on poultry farms. Artificial illumination, timed to automatically lengthen the day inside the poultry house during the autumn and winter months, keeps egg production at a maximum level during the entire year. The problems of excessive moisture and strong ammonia fumes, prevalent in poultry houses, are remedied by the proper use of electric fans. In the larger poultry houses, automatic feeders prove to be practical and useful. A time switch controls a small electric motor which drives a conveyor providing fresh feed at proper intervals. Motor-driven egg cleaners and graders eliminate the laborious task of handling the eggs manually, for only a few pennies a week.

Because of this economical electrical power, farmers now possess conveniences formerly known only to city dwellers. Many have electrically heated homes which are safer, cleaner, and more comfortable. Farmers are now able to devote less time to farm production and more time to participation in community activities. Just as the circulatory system is necessary for a body to be strong and growing, so rural electrification is essential for a growing, progressive America. We will all be prouder to be citizens of the stronger Nation we will build with it.

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(By Audrey Polacek, 16, junior, Prague High School, Prague, Nebr.; father, Robert Polacek, Prague, Nebr.—contestant sponsored by Butler County Rural Public Power District, David City, Nebr.)

Rural electrification is a far-reaching program with many different aspects which has contributed much to the well-being of a large portion of our population. This program has bestowed so many human benefits upon rural and urban areas that it can be said that rural electrification is truly good for America. It has influenced our everyday lives by giving man more leisure time and adding strength to his hands.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the rural electrification program is the contribution of low-cost electricity to America. Electricity is one of our greatest resources made possible by rural electric systems. In this age of electric power, electricity is the tool that man uses to make himself the master of his environment. The people who make use of electricity have many slaves at their command in the form of electricity. Because of electricity we can enjoy electric lighting, indoor plumbing, running water, refrigeration, comfortable electric heat, and other conveniences. Rural electricity brings cheerful light to the home and farm buildings on winter nights and mornings. It has provided many new labor-saving tools for the farmer and appliances for his wife. For instance, the milking machine speeds dairying and an electric timer is used to turn henhouse lights on before dawn to wake up the chickens and start them laying eggs. Only with electricity provided by America's rural electric systems can farmers continue to provide our population with high-quality dairy products, meat, vegetables, and other foods necessary to a well-fed, healthy nation.

Rural electricity has made work easier and faster for the farmer's wife with electric washing machines, dishwashers, vacuum cleaners, ironers, refrigerators, stoves, and other appliances. Electrical appliances have made it possible for a housewife to spend fewer hours on daily chores and to enjoy more leisure.

Electricity is also a social influence. It is used to clean air, control temperatures, run

elevators and escalators, and turn gigantic machines. Electricity helps man to heal his body, and it even helps man to spread his ideas. Electricity is responsible for our instruments of communication such as the radio, telephone, telegraph, the cable, radar, and television. In President Lincoln's day, speeches took weeks to reach all parts of the United States by mail; today the President can talk directly to the people whenever he wishes to do so.

Many Americans have jobs and a higher standard of living as a result of what rural electric systems have done. Rural industrial employment with rural income was created by rural electrification's bringing in industries. City residents have benefited from the program because rural income is spent on merchandise and other goods produced in cities. Rural electrics add valuable payroll, purchasing power, economic stability, and growth to areas. One fact about rural electrification is that it is basic to the sound, solid economy of our country.

America still has a great deal to look forward to in rural electrification because the electrical revolution is only beginning. We can all look forward to the future electrical transformation with lower costs of production and higher standards of living for everyone. Rural electrification is truly good for all America.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Linda Borgelt, 16, junior, Snyder High School, Snyder, Nebr.; father, Harry Borgelt, Scribner, Nebr.—contestant sponsored by Burt County Public Power District, Tekamah, Nebr.)

Centuries ago a story was written about a man named Aladdin who had a magic lamp which contained a genie. Aladdin had only to rub this lamp to make the genie appear, and he would carry out Aladdin's commands. Fanciful stories such as this one have been written for hundreds of years. Just as these stories have lured the interest of people, electrical energy has fired the interest of scientists and inventors.

How limited were Aladdin's powers compared to the modern farmers. Aladdin rubbed and rubbed to entice his genie from the lamp. Rub all you want Aladdin, because with the flip of a finger we have genies galore at our command. What's more important Aladdin, our genies remain for more than a paltry three wishes.

Statistics show that electricity is becoming a more important factor in our lives every day. According to the World Book Encyclopedia, 90 percent of the homes in the United States are served by electricity. In 1935, 10 percent of the American farms received electrical power, and by the late 1950's about 95 percent of them were using electricity. More than half of these farms were served by REA-financed electrical service. Aladdin's genie could never have boasted about such rapidly growing statistics as these.

Everything on our farm is built around electricity. The grain that we plant has been tested by electric machines. The tractors, plows, planters, reapers, cornpickers, and many more machines which help produce the valuable crops have come from factories which are powered by electricity. The crops are irrigated by electricity powered pumps, preventing our crops from being failures.

Our livestock is also dependent on electricity. Experiments have shown that when livestock can eat at any time of the night they gain extra weight, therefore being ready for market earlier. Many farmers have installed electric lights in their feedlots for this reason. The electric lights also act as "guardian genies" protecting the livestock from stray dogs and wild animals which prowl in the darkness.

The poultry barns are also lighted by electric lighting. A timer automatically turns on the light in the evening, and off in the morning. This increases egg production.

In our homes the genie heats a stove in one corner of the kitchen while it keeps our food cool in another corner. We can hear the voices of friends and relatives from almost any place in the world. The fact that it fills our homes with entertainment and the latest world happenings makes it seem more like a genie than anything else.

Being a 20th century farm girl, electrical power on our farm has made it possible for me to participate in community activities, making me a better citizen.

Beth Israel Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is a wealth of tradition surrounding the Beth Israel Hospital in New York City, a voluntary hospital, which last month celebrates its 75th anniversary. Originally conceived to serve the lower East Side of the city, the hospital has grown with the years and with the mounting responsibilities which have been thrust upon it. Its physical borders have spread to more than a full square city block; but as a progressive research and teaching hospital, its influence has grown far beyond the city.

The diamond jubilee celebration was held on May 10, before a distinguished audience of New Yorkers. The proceedings in connection with the celebration of the anniversary were featured by an extraordinary series of addresses, one of which was delivered by Cardinal Spellman and the other by Charles H. Silver, president of the hospital.

This hospital is a remarkable one. My mother went to it, as a charity patient, probably 50 years ago, when my brother and I were young children, still living on the lower East Side. Beth Israel Hospital has kept up with the march of time, both in its research work and in its teaching, in the most exemplary way.

It is a personal honor to me to be able to take this opportunity to honor this great hospital on the occasion of its 75th anniversary.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD the addresses delivered on that occasion by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman and by the Honorable Charles H. Silver, president of the Beth Israel Hospital.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HIS EMINENCE FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL'S 75TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, MAY 10, 1964, NEW YORK CITY

Seventy-five years is a long stretch of time by any measure, whether one is speaking of a man or of an institution. I was born in the same year as Beth Israel Hospital but a man at 75, even at his best, is beginning to deteriorate whereas Beth Israel is flourishing and always improving. With joy and satisfaction I view and review the growth and progress of Beth Israel Hospital. Reflecting on its humble but courageous beginning on the lower East Side in 1899, I rejoice in its recognized status today as an outstanding medical center.

On this diamond-studded jubilee of Beth Israel Hospital, I congratulate your board of dedicated trustees chaired for 17 years by my dear and esteemed friend, Mr. Charles Silver, your medical and nursing staffs, all your local employees, and devoted volunteers.

Caring for the sick and the injured, regardless of race, creed or color is your program and your practice as you bring neighbors together so intimately as to make us appreciate that we are all brothers serving one another—living side by side—equal before God and the law. No dialog between Christians and Jews could be more eloquent; no dialog could create better good will and foster mutual respect than has Beth Israel Hospital by its silent and unselfish but genuine and effective care of the people of the city of New York.

In accordance with its notable purposes and its high traditions, every Christian and every Jew is treated at Beth Israel Hospital as more than a member of a group for each patient is an individual—each one was created in the very image of God in the flesh—and as such loved and respected.

Tonight a still deeper dimension comes to mind to make more meaningful the relationship between Christians and Jews: one rooted not only in our common humanity or equal citizenship, but in a history which we share mysteriously; our history of salvation.

Abraham, the father of the Jewish people, is the father of all who believe in the Living God. In the goodness of God and God's love for men. "Peerless Abraham, Father of our Faith" the Roman liturgy calls him.

All the patriarchs and prophets and psalmists, all the teachers of ancient Israel are the spiritual ancestors of every Christian. Stranger still, the redemption of the world and the glories as well as the failures of Israel of old are wedded to one another.

For this reason, His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, broke all precedents on his visit to Israel and the places made holy by the Patriarchs and the Prophets, by Christ, the Divine Healer, and the first Christians. It was a pilgrimage of great spiritual, ecclesiastical, and historical significance and achievement, and a harbinger of hope for peace and for unity. Since St. Peter left Palestine to make the journey to Rome, Paul VI was the first Bishop of Rome to make the return journey to the birthplace of Christianity.

While at Bethlehem, Pope Paul appealed for peace and unity asking the world's powers and their leaders to draw "from the intimate depths of their consciences as men, a renewed spirit of concord and generosity, so as to spare the world the anguishes of war." By the Sea of Galilee, His Holiness released doves symbolizing the spirit of peace and of unity so urgently needed in one of the most tension-ridden corners of the world. His visit indeed inspired deep thought and soul searching among Christians and non-Christians alike—both Jews and Gentiles. And on this festive day of history for Beth Israel Hospital I recall and acknowledge with grattitude that the roots of Christianity are in the Israel of old. These roots are not only an historical fact, they are part of the life of every Christian.

Once a Christian remembers that his Divine Master, His Mother Mary, His Apostles, and the Saints who walked through the pages of the Gospels are Jews, the existing relationship between Christians and Jews becomes manifest. A Christian must then see in every Jew Christ's kin and thus his royal kin too.

Since 1889 Beth Israel Hospital touches the very heart of this great mystery of kinship continuing to move onward with its doors wide open making all men neighbors and kin under God. This tower of light and hope which Beth Israel Hospital has been for countless thousands is not the least among New York's many wonders. It is surely one of the diamonds that gives luster to the city of the World's Fair. Indeed the motto encircling the unisphere might have been born in the corridors of Beth Israel Hospital: "Peace Through Understanding."

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, PRESIDENT, BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL, AT 75TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, MAY 10, 1964

When I was just a youngster—a few years ago—I used to marvel at the wonderful wisdom and importance of our family doctor.

He possessed the divine understanding of a Moses.

Behind his little black bag and stethoscope was the authority of an almost legendary hospital that was already earning a place of prominence, amounting almost to awe, among the people of the East Side.

All around us were the sick and needy. Sometimes I heard them praying in the synagogue, beseeching release from their pain and afflictions.

Our hospital was born out of the need of those people. Many other institutions were closed to them. More than that, their faith forbade them to enter one in which the food violated their ancient tradition and where they could not recite the sacred prayers of their faith.

They had come in their hopeful thousands from every corner of the earth, fleeing persecution and abuse, spanning the ocean to seek the shining promise of a new world.

But grim disappointment lay ahead. Here, as in the homeland left behind, mankind's oldest enemies waited for them—poverty, ignorance, and disease.

So they banded together, 40 humble people; immigrants and the children of immigrants, but master builders of a better world. One was a tailor, another a peddler, another a tinsmith. All they could afford to give was only 25 cents each in order to raise $10 and open a tiny clinic.

Their first brave resolution ends on an inspiring note of simple determination, in these words:

"This gathering of esteemed Jewish people is here to discuss the horrible conditions existing for those who wait indefinitely for medical attention.

"Something must be done. We here resolve that a hospital be built and its name shall be Beth Israel."

That was the beginning.

Beth Israel soon became a warm haven of health and of hope to the people around it—winning respect and confidence far beyond the borders of the Jewish community. Its nonsectarian character was never questioned by the men, women, and children of every race and faith who found shelter and care within its corridors.

My sainted mother lived long enough to see me begin my lifetime love affair with this hospital.

What a stream of pictures pass before the eyes of my heart as memory brings back the early days of my long devotion to Beth Israel. I recall so many marvelous things, such wonderful, dedicated people; Samuel J. Silberman, I. M. Phillips, Reuben Sadowsky, Max Steuer, Judge Nathan Perlman, Isaac Gilman, Saul Singer, Judge Otto Rosalsky, David Podell, and so many other names that are more eternally part of our hospital's foundations than brick and beam and girder.

For the stone and steel of our rapidly expanding structures represent only our physical boundaries, not the flesh and blood that gives Beth Israel its meaning and purpose.

The soul of our hospital is made up of the people who work within its walls and those who give their support—the men and women in white, our aids, technicians, and volunteers, the administrative and maintenance workers, our trustees, friends, foundations—and, of course, the ever-faithful assistance of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, that help that comes to us through our constant friend, the dedicated mayor of our city, and the Greater New York Fund.

There are many honored guests among us tonight—but there is really only one guest of honor—and that is Beth Israel.

If it were within the power of prayer to earn added years, the richest yet for me would be those that are still ahead for our great hospital.

I have loved it and labored for it during nearly half a century. I hope that my help has been of some value in forming the pattern of its growth. I only wish that I could have shared the early vision of its founders.

Tonight is a tribute to their courage and sacrifice, their humanity and their compassion for every other human being.

What a heritage they have given us to share. The power of science, the glory of service, the blessing of charity, and the reward reflected in the smile of a suffering man or woman being nursed back to health—in the trusting eyes of a helpless child whose hurts are being healed.

My life and my hopes and my dreams are all involved in the history and destiny of this hospital. I am very proud of it—and proudest because—despite its dramatic expansion—the biggest thing about Beth Israel is its heart.

That is the way it should be. That is the way this hospital began, and that is the way it must continue to perform its mission of mercy with a divine gentleness and understanding that is far more noble and beautiful than mere bigness.

But the years ahead will bring that, too—the golden years of growth as we become the great new medical center of lower New York.

Size is important. It means increased facilities to meet the tremendous accelerating demands of those areas we serve. But size is not all-important. It is not the only harvest we can reap from those forty 25-cent pieces that gave birth to this magnificent fulfillment.

We have achieved something greater than size. We have built a hospital—you and I, where the patients are people, where the doctors are people, a hospital where patient care means just that—patience and care.

We are putting humanity first in our plans for the future. We are raising new buildings, but we are also raising hopes, improving the public health, pressing the cause of medicine forward—and pushing death back.

Do you wonder that my cup of pride and gratitude runs over as I stand here with all of you tonight? How can I tell you what it means to me to be part of the Beth Israel family—and to join in this Diamond Jubilee Anniversary of a dream that I worked for—and have seen come true?

Faithful to that dream, we will lift soaring new structures into the skyline of this amazing metropolis as we lift the hearts of those who look to us for help.

We have spread beyond an entire square city block. We will soon go further as we near the celebration of a full century of progress. That will be a day of joy and glory like today—a day to remember and one I would dearly like to see—as some among you will.

And you will know that this hospital's founding fathers—and the Almighty Father of us all—look with favor upon the work we have done together.

With His help—and with yours—Beth Israel will grow from strength to strength.

This is a time of fulfillment for our hospital. But even our triumphs are a challenge—and they permit us no rest. Our work goes on within the widening walls of Beth Israel—24 hours a day—every day in the year. And thanks to you—it will go on—and on— and on.

As long as the world needs love—as long as mankind needs hope—as long as humanity needs healing—so long will Beth Israel endure.

We have made a pretty good beginning. These first 75 years are only the threshold of an eternal commitment to the service of God and the perpetuation of His greatest creation—human life.

There is nothing more sacred than this. It is the reason there is a Beth Israel today—as there was in 1889—and why there will always be a Beth Israel.

Tonight, we celebrate the turning of a bright page in the Beth Israel story. Now, another chapter begins—and then another and another.

There is no ending, only new beginnings for all of us.

Swedish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 6, the Swedish people will celebrate the 155th anniversary of their Constitution and Flag Day. It was in 1809 that the present constitutional monarchy was established under which the Swedish people have flourished and progressed.

Many in the world regard Sweden as a well-organized and happy democracy and there is much interest in her social, economic, and political conditions. Throughout her history, Sweden has furthered the traditions of freedom, courage, respect for religion, high regard for the individual, education, progress, and peaceful cooperation. Her political institutions, built on foundations of popular government and political freedom which were laid in primitive times, have had a great influence on her social and economic forms. What the world learned from the American and French Revolutions and from constitutional government in England was not new to the Swedish people, whose modern democracy has roots in the Middle Ages and has contributed greatly to the practical experiences of government and individual freedom.

Mr. Speaker, we in the 13th Congressional District of Illinois are proud of our Swedish communities. The people who came from that country to start new lives in Illinois and their children today have instilled in them these political and social forms and traditions which have so greatly enhanced the social, economic, and political advancement of my great district. These citizens of Swedish origin are our good neighbors, and we are proud to join with them in commemorating this memorable day.

Editorial Comment on Supreme Court Decision on Operation of Public Schools in Prince Edward County, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the State, of Columbia, S.C., has published two outstanding editorials on the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision involving the operation of public schools in Prince Edward County, Va. One editorial entitled, "The Expanding 'Courtocracy,'" was published in the May 30, 1964, issue of the State. The other was reprinted in the State of May 31, 1964, and was originally published in the Richmond News Leader of Richmond, Va. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that both of these editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, May 30, 1964]

THE EXPANDING "COURTOCRACY"

Gradually, and with increasingly disturbing dicta, the U.S. Supreme Court is using the school integration difficulty to encroach more and more upon once-revered local authority and upon the prerogatives of the other established branches of government.

It was not surprising, of course, that it ordered the reopening of the schools of Prince Edward County in Virginia. And doubtless it should not be surprising that in so ordering it set precedents for new Federal powers. But in going beyond the principle of integration the Court ordered the guarantee of that impossible—"equal education." And in doing that it took upon itself the authority to decree, in effect, the levying of taxes.

What one sees here is simply the ravishing of basic constitutional concepts. Because the Court in 1954 accepted false and unworkable assumptions, subsequent rulings have simply been compounding the errors of the revolution it launched.

For example, the Court in its 1954 decision held that separate-but-equal facilities were inherently unequal. The truth is that no two institutions, whether educational or otherwise, can ever be precisely equal anymore than any two individuals are ever precisely equal. Now the same Supreme Court demands Negroes in Prince Edward County be given an education "equal" to that in other parts of Virginia—which, by their 1954 reasoning, is impossible.

There is some basis in our legal history for court action to counter acts taken to avoid obeying a court order. And, in this case, there is some basis for assuming that the Prince Edward public schools were closed to avoid implementing the Court's order to halt the practice of making pupil assignments on the basis of race alone.

By closing the public schools, the school authorities in Prince Edward County, however, did cease and desist from the outlawed practice; i.e., they complied with what the Court actually ordered.

This latest decision, however, goes far beyond that. It says the Federal courts now have the authority to require every county to provide an education equal to that in every other county—irrespective of resources. The courts have the power, says the Supreme Court in effect, to determine what a county educational tax levy should be.

One could search every word in the Constitution and still find not the slightest authority granted the courts in the area of levying taxes. Levying taxes is essentially a legislative function; it is a power specifically reserved to the legislative branch by the Constitution.

Irrespective of the desirability or undesirability of integrating schools, this decision can do nothing but lead to a deeper substantive evil than it sought to cure. It strikes at the vital organs of self-government. It tears asunder the very heart of democratic principles and the balance of power between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

It goes far toward establishing what, for lack of a more descriptive term, a "courtocracy" form of government in this country.

Lastly, there is posed by this Monday court order one further question. If the white students in the county refuse to attend the reopened public schools and continue instead in the private institutions they are now attending, will the Federal Court then order these students to attend the public schools?

[From the Richmond (Va.) News Leader, reprinted in the Columbia (S.C.) State, May 31, 1964]

VIRGINIA EDITOR FORESEES CHAOS—PRINCE EDWARD DECISION FLAYED

The Supreme Court of the United States, speaking through Mr. Justice Black, yesterday erected another of its milestone decisions—a milestone, that is, to the decay of the Constitution and to the arrogance of judges.

This latest chapter in the Prince Edward County case put squarely before the Court one of the most profound questions of constitutional law ever brought before our highest tribunal. In its simplest terms, the question was whether the Federal courts have power to compel a local legislative body to levy taxes in order to perform a discretionary act. This was a question that demanded full and serious exposition, for the question was founded on bedrock principles of American Government—the principle, among others, that taxation without representation is tyranny.

The Court did not grapple with these principles at all. Mr. Justice Black's opinion amounts to no more than a bland assertion that of course the Federal courts are possessed of such power. "The District Court may, if necessary to prevent further racial discrimination, require the supervisors to exercise the power that is theirs to levy taxes to raise funds adequate to reopen, operate, and maintain without racial discrimination a public school system in Prince Edward County like that operated in other counties in Virginia."

That is the heart of the opinion, wrapped up in a single easy sentence. The Court's seven-man majority did not spell out precisely how the District Court is to accomplish this unprecedented step. "An order of this kind is within the Court's power." That was all the Court had to say.

The mind spins off in a dozen directions. The gist of the Court's opinion is that "the colored schoolchildren" of Prince Edward since 1959 have been denied the equal protection of the laws. This is because "Prince Edward children must go to a private school or none at all," while "all other Virginia children can go to a public school." But our own Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals has ruled that under the laws and constitution of Virginia, the State's system of public schools depends entirely upon local decisions. Within limits fixed by the State Constitution, a county is free to operate no schools, some schools, or very elaborate schools. This is what our highest State court held in *Prince Edward County* v. *Griffin*, that in Virginia, the operation of local schools is a local responsibility. The U.S. Supreme Court, to the layman's bewilderment, said yesterday that "We accept this case as a definitive and authoritative holding of Virginia law, binding on us."

But the Prince Edward case is "unique." It has been characterized by "entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed." Despite the fact that the "colored children" of Prince Edward have not been denied one single benefit, opportunity, or advantage made available by the county to white children in some fashion perceived only by the Supreme Court, the colored children have been denied "equal protection." This is because they do not have public schools while all other counties do. But Prince Edward has no control over what all other counties do. That was the authoritative, definitive, and binding decision of the Virginia Supreme Court. One travels around in circles.

So District Judge Oren Lewis, who failed wretchedly in drafting an order in the first place, must now try again. He may "require the supervisors to exercise the power that is theirs to levy taxes." How much taxes? On what property or transactions? At what rate? If the supervisors refuse to levy taxes on their constituents against their will, are the supervisors to be imprisoned for contempt? If the supervisors resign, are new supervisors to be similarly jailed? Or suppose the supervisors, thus intimidated, levy appropriate taxes, and the resentful people of Prince Edward refuse to pay? To jail with them too?

Other questions come to mind. The supervisors, under this judgment, may be compelled to levy taxes sufficient to maintain a public school system "like that operated in other counties in Virginia." What other counties? Arlington? Fairfax? Henrico? Or at the other end of the economic scale, Tazewell, Scott, Buchanan? Total per pupil costs range from $170 or $180 in some parts of the State to $400 or $500 in others. In one recent year, Arlington appropriated in local funds alone $383 per child; Mansemond County appropriated $37 per pupil only.

The amount of taxes to be levied is a function not only of the quality of school to be maintained, but also of the number of pupils to be educated, the ratio of teachers to pupils, the salaries to be paid, the frills to be provided. It would seem to us inescapable that Judge Lewis, explicitly or implicitly, must pass upon all of these things, thereby assuming the role not merely of Federal judge, but also of county supervisor, school board, and school superintendent. Who elected him to these offices?

With this decision, the American Republic glimpses what Jefferson feared—a dictatorship imposed by judicial oligarchy. If the Supreme Court may order a tax imposed for one purpose, it may order a tax imposed for any purpose. The principles of the Court's 1954 decision, limited at the outset to public schools, swiftly were extended to parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, libraries, bus terminals, and hospitals. Many southern communities are hanging back from public housing projects, lest they wind up with integrated housing projects. Are we to understand that in such communities, Negro plaintiffs may now compel the levying of taxes to construct public housing facilities like those of Boston or New York?

Only once before in the Court's history has the Court attempted anything approaching this grasp for power. That was in a bond case, where certain constitutional principles of contract were involved in the payment of a nonrecurring fixed sum. Here the supervisors are ordered to levy an unspecified tax, for the indefinite future, to operate schools

of undefined cost; under threat of imprisonment, they are ordered to perform a discretionary act contrary to the expressed wishes of their people. This was the milestone reached yesterday by the Court. It is a milestone that stands far down a darkening road.

Good Offense and Defense, Navy Builds Two-Way Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union dated May 21, 1964, and entitled "Good Offense and Defense, Navy Builds Two-Way Power":

GOOD OFFENSE AND DEFENSE: NAVY BUILDS TWO-WAY POWER

The Polaris screen which stands between us and potential enemies is growing thicker and more effective.

Our Polaris-equipped submarines, which can go anywhere as maneuverable bases for U.S. power for keeping the peace, will grow even more powerful as an advanced type of missile, the A-3, becomes fully operational this summer.

This year, 16 Polaris-equipped subs are in commission, and in less than 3 years we shall have 41—each equipped with 16 missiles. For these Polaris missiles, any potential target in the world is within range.

As Russia seeks to develop its own Polaris subs, our development already proceeds on the defensive Subroc, a guided missile which can be fired from a submerged submarine and then fly through the air to the place where an enemy submarine is situated. There it reenters the water to seek and destroy the enemy. With potential Russian development of its own Polaris-type undersea weapons system, even more emphasis must be placed, by our own country, on antisubmarine warfare, and the Subroc is part of this.

As Kenneth W. Belieu, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, recently said: "The necessary developments that will solve all our (ASW) technical problems are not yet completely in focus. I can offer no panacea here—just long, tiring research and development, but reserch that is vital to our national defense."

As Belieu said, "The ASW problems—detection, classification, and destruction—are not simple problems to solve."

But solved they must be—for if our Polaris is a powerful deterrent in the hands of a people who will never launch aggressive war, a similar Polaris in the hands of another people could be a truly terrible weapon.

Belieu's remarks show that our defense still requires the greatest of brainpower and ingenuity, involving great dollar costs which can be measured only in terms of our own freedom and survival.

It was reassuring to hear Belieu state that nuclear power, so great an advantage to our submarines, "will also become increasingly important in the propulsion of surface ships," and that "the experience received in the operation of our initial nuclear-powered ships, a carrier, cruiser, and frigate, has been exceptional." This gives hope for further replacement of obsolete ships with new ones which can travel quickly, and without worry about fuel, to fly freedom's flag wherever trouble brews.

Hon. John E. Horne Receives Distinguished Service Award of the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies During Meeting at Greenbrier Hotel, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is gratifying to note that the significant contributions of Hon. John E. Horne to small businesses in the United States have not gone unrecognized. As former Administrator of the Small Business Administration Mr. Horne worked diligently to aid smaller firms in their struggle to achieve a progressive position in the Nation's marketplace. He has ever championed the cause of the independent businessman.

Now a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Mr. Horne remains attuned to the problems and prospects encountered as we seek to continue the business upswing enjoyed over recent months.

At the midyear meeting of the board of governors of the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, combined with the summer meeting of that group's southern and mid-Atlantic regional associations, appropriate honors were conferred on this effective public servant. Convening at the beautiful Greenbrier Hotel in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., these respected organizations presented their 1964 distinguished service award in acknowledgment of his positive influence in strengthening small business investment companies.

In accepting Mr. Horne commented on the rapid expansion in the small business investment area. He pointed out:

The SBIC program, while certainly not inevitable, did have a force all its own. Representing a partnership of the private and public sectors of our economy, it is a logical outgrowth of our free enterprise system. Victor Hugo wrote, "Nothing in this world is so powerful as an idea whose time has come." In the America of the 1960's, the "time has come" for the small business investment company program.

Previous worthy recipients of the NASBIC Distinguished Service Award have been Representative WRIGHT PATMAN of Texas, in 1962, and last year, Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama.

Among those present were the presidents of the Southern, and Mid-Atlantic Regional Associations of Small Business Investment Companies' Lewis W. Barron and T. Eugene Smith. Presiding was NASBIC President William E. Francis, and the efforts of Executive Director Walter B. Stults, and General Counsel Charles M. Noone lent much to the success of the proceedings. An honored guest was Deputy SBA Administrator, Hon. Richard E. Kelley.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to participate as keynote speaker at the dinner program on May 29, and to discuss various aspects of the relations between small business and the Federal Government.

I ask unanimous consent that the following materials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD: Address of Hon. John E. Horne in accepting NASBIC Distinguished Service Award, May 29, 1964; congratulatory message paying tribute to Mr. Horne from President Lyndon B. Johnson; resolution commending Mr. Horne adopted by the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENTS DELIVERED BY HON. JOHN E. HORNE, MEMBER, FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, AND FORMER ADMINISTRATOR, SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, ACCEPTING DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT COMPANIES

President Francis, Senator RANDOLPH, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is not necessary that I tell you how pleased I am with this occasion. It is an example of the compensations derived from public service—a reward that cannot be measured in dollars and cents but one that is far more satisfying.

Thus, I accept your Distinguished Service Award with pride and with gratitude. And I sincerely thank each of you for this honor.

It is understandable, I hope, that I recall with some degree of pride my work for a decade or so with those on Capitol Hill who fathered the Small Business Investment Company program. I am sure that Charlie Noone and Walter Stults also feel a sense of satisfaction with what they did in behalf of bringing this program to life.

Naturally, any review of the origin of the SBIC movement and its present status would include such legislative giants as Senator SPARKMAN, of Alabama, and Congressman PATMAN, of Texas. President Johnson would also have to be included. He was majority leader, you may recall, when the program was enacted, and he made the unusual request that he be a sponsor of the measure.

Another who has contributed greatly to this program and to the welfare of small businesses generally is your speaker, Senator RANDOLPH. One of my most satisfying and encouraging experiences as Administrator of the Small Business Administration was his constant support of programs aimed at helping small firms. Every small businessman is indebted to him.

As you know, following my appointment to the Small Business Administration, I worked from within the executive branch for 2½ years in an effort to help clear the path of obstacles which will, in retrospect, seem small—but which loomed large to an infant trying its first faltering steps. Now, like the uncle who visits periodically to measure the nephew's growth, and marks the inches on a doorjamb, I read and relish the periodic reports of your growth—as measured, not by inches, but by new SBIC's, new investments, and by those first, elusive, long-awaited profits.

So in a way, we have both graduated—you to the eminence of what might at least be termed early adolescence, and I to the role of ex-adviser. And to make certain I am not misunderstood, I emphasize the prefix "ex" in the word "exadviser."

Opportunity comes to few men to participate in a new and challenging endeavor. Such an opportunity came to you and to me, when we first became associated with the small business investment company pro-

gram. But we would be making an error of judgment if we consider ourselves to have been indispensable to the birth of the SBIC. True it is that visionary legislators, able businessmen, sympathetic regulators, and an energetic trade association were all necessary. But the fact is that the SBIC program, while certainly not inevitable, did have a force all it own. Representing a partnership of the private and public sectors of our economy, it is a logical outgrowth of our free enterprise system. Victor Hugo wrote, "Nothing in this world is so powerful as an idea whose time has come." In the America of the 1960's, the "time has come" for the small business investment company program.

So I think those who had the vision to initiate the legislation are due credit. They remind me of the point made in a story I read on the way about the man who answered the call at the Maine revival meeting and went to the front of the church to give his testimonial. "I'm a sinner, a miserable sinner," he said. "I have been for years, but I never knew it before tonight." "Sit down," said his neighbor, "the rest of us knew it all the time."

President Johnson has declared this to be Small Business Week, asking us "to participate in ceremonies recognizing the great contribution made by the 4.6 million small businesses of this country to our prosperous society and to the well-being and happiness of our people." The purpose of your meeting may be less to extol the virtues of small business in America than to celebrate the glories of Greenbrier in May, but it is nonetheless fortuitous.

I have no intention of expounding on the contributions of small business, but it does seem appropriate to point out that, in a very special sense, the institution which you represent is one expression of the finest which the American experience has been able to produce. In our never-ending competition with the forces of communism and other forms of would-be dictatorship, we say to uncommitted nations and to uncommitted minds the world over:

Look at our capitalistic system:

It is not designed simply for the benefit of the industrial giant, but also for the welfare of the small independent enterpreneur.

It does not ignore desirable social and economic goals, but makes it possible for private interests to aim for those goals—and to make a profit in doing so.

It does not set up a conflict between Government and business, but rather devises partnerships so that each may work for the benefit of all.

Surely, the Small Business Investment Co. program represents a manifiestation of these ideals—admittedly limited in scope, admittedly young in years, but nonetheless real, and nonetheless significant.

Nothing I have said has been intended to imply that your troubles are all behind you, that the future holds for you only smooth sailing and capital gains. I simply mean that I share the feeling of cautious optimism which you demonstrate by your presence here.

For much of the last year I have been intensely concerned with a financial institution which is, in comparison with the commercial banking industry, not much older than your own. I remind you that the savings and loan industry has had its share of problems—indeed as any newspaper read knows, it still does. But it succeeded because it, like the SBIC, meets a genuine need. Here, as elsewhere in life, that criterion is the final test of any commodity, any service, any idea.

Macaulay said: "A single breaker may recede, but the tide is coming in." Let us not mistake the inevitable ebb and flow with quiescence or stagnation. So long as men of good will, both public and private, continue to harness their resources and their energies toward the aims of this program, the tide will come in for SBIC's.

In conclusion, I want to stress something that many, if not all of you, have heard me say before:

Don't become impatient with this program. Few things worthwhile reach fruition overnight.

Every now and then review the legislative history of this program if for no other reason than to understand why you were given birth. If you adhere to the basic purpose that Congress has in mind, your friends there will make amendments to the original legislation as the need is proved.

Work together through your trade association. In unity there is strength, is even more true of the members of a new industry than of an old one.

You have an excellent trade association whose staff is able, dedicated, and knowledgeable. Continue to give them your confidence and support, and they will justify your faith in them.

At least once a week I have an occasion to advocate to someone the SBIC program. I do so enthusiastically, not because I worked with others to help launch the program but because it is needed.

And even though I am no longer officially connected with the SBIC movement, I shall always be interested in it. It was a real pleasure, for example, during this last year—1963 and 1964—to talk to friends on Capitol Hill and to assist in every way I could to bring about the new legislation that Congress has just enacted to help your program.

In respect to this legislation, I want especially to mention the very effective aid given by Lew Odom at the staff level. Those of you who know the details of his efforts will agree, I am sure, that they were truly timely and brilliantly conceived.

And, of course, I was glad that the legislation authorized the SBIC's to deposit insured funds in savings and loan associations up to the insured amounts, presently $10,000.

I know that Gene Foley and Dick Kelley were also delighted with the new legislation. It will, in my opinion, prove to be a real stimulant to the growth of the SBIC program.

I will continue to be helpful in any way that I can.

Again, I thank you most sincerely for this honor. It is one that I shall always cherish.

WALTER B. STULTS,
Executive Director, National Association, Small Business Investment Companies, the Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.

The distinguished service award which the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies is presenting to John E. Horne for his contributions to American small business is a well deserved recognition for his outstanding contributions to this country's small, independent enterprises.

In a career of distinguished public service John made a fine record as Administrator of the Small Defense Plants Administration and as Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

I join with you, and I am sure with many thousands more in extending sincerest congratulations to Mr. Horne on receiving this honor.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

RESOLUTION BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT COMPANIES, CONVENED IN A BUSINESS MEETING IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Whereas the small business investment company program has become an increasingly significant part of this country's growing economy through the supplying of venture capital to America's small businesses; and

Whereas the Honorable John E. Horne, in his service to the U.S. Government and specifically in his capacity as Administrator of the Small Business Administration did by his steadfast devotion to the interest of small business concerns and the small business investment company program demonstrate himself to be an outstanding leader in the cause of economic opportunity for small business; and

Whereas during his earlier distinguished service to the U.S. Senate, Mr. Horne also devoted his talents and his efforts to the welfare of independent business: Nqw, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies in grateful recognition to a true friend presents the NASBIC Distinguished Service Award to the Honorable John E. Horne in acknowledgement of its deep appreciation for his accomplishments on behalf of America's small business and for his contributions to the small business investment company program.

This resolution approved unanimously by the membership of the National Association of Small Business Investment Companies on December 12, 1963, and presented to Mr. Horne at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., on May 29, 1964.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, with the foreign aid bill soon coming up for consideration, we are reminded of the public protest and indignation expressed last year over what many deem to be a wasteful, inefficient foreign aid program. This indignation may be fostered by the needless waste apparent in many U.S. blunders, but its proper basis, in my opinion, rests in the general apprehension that too many American tax dollars are spent abroad for purposes which do not contribute to our national interest.

The national good to be obtained from our foreign aid program is embodied in the generally recognized idea that our own welfare and security in this dynamic world will rest in part on the existence of a world of free people. Believing that any nation given a free choice in the matter will choose the way of freedom, we are anxious to protect its legitimate right of self-determination, to insure its free choice, by insulating it from the economic hardship and misery that invites Communist encroachment.

What is disturbing, however, is that while our purpose is noble our patent failure to effectuate it is appalling. From 1946 to 1964, we have expended over $103 billion. Why then do people to whose countries we give millions of dollars bomb our embassies, burn our flags, and demonstrate against us? Can we really say that more people are free or that we as a nation are more secure because of it?

It is no wonder the American public is indignant. Somehow in our effort to im-

prove the hard lot of the common man we have failed. The good will we would generate to the people of the world has not filtered down. It is an unhappy paradox that our dollars are doing more harm than good, and it is noteworthy the American people would attach some blame for this paradox to their own Government. Clearly, they have a right to protest improper spending. They are not against foreign aid. They only oppose waste and do properly ask that our foreign aid program be streamlined and practically administered. In a recent editorial in the Ulysses (Kans.) News, Mr. Jay Baugh suggests we study foreign aid from one, and only one, objective: "the protection of our own Nation and our own economy." There is a great deal to be said for this practical approach, and in the end it would probably benefit foreign nations as much as the United States. As a reminder to all Members of Congress that the public has not ceased to be concerned over our foreign aid program and, as is so often the case, continues to point at the chief reason for its past failures, I recommend a reading of Mr. Baugh's editorial:

LET'S MAKE FOREIGN AID PRACTICAL

President Johnson's request for foreign aid is before Congress, and there are a number of things that should be considered seriously about this foreign aid money. They all boil down to: Let's be practical for a change.

Apologies for the State Department and foreign aid point to great accomplishments of foreign aid, but they are not apparent in a realistic sense. A case in point was an interview last week with Mrs. Gandhi, daughter of Prime Minister Nehru of India. She commented that the United States is losing the good will of India because of Washington's "favoritism toward Pakistan" in India's dispute over Kashmir.

So we are "losing the good will" of India. Since 1951 the United States has made loan and grant commitments to India totaling $5,800 million. This is $5,800 million—but it has not bought friendship in India. In fact when the so-called neutrals, India among them, met in Belgrade to discuss all the nations not neutral, they found it preferable in their conference report, to offend the United States rather than Russia. Maybe they just considered it safer.

Every nation there had enjoyed the benefits of U.S. foreign aid. It is true also that very little of our foreign aid ever gets down to the people of these poor, oppressed, primitive countries, whose friendship we try to buy. It goes to entrench existing powers, provide standards of living those rulers were never accustomed to before and is generally thrown around with gestures of contempt for us patsies who are silly enough to throw it around.

There is no evidence that the United States is loved by any other nation, especially by those to whom we have contributed our billions. We finance almost alone the United Nations, where every newborn nation of African and Arab nomads has the same voting power that we have. In Africa, through the United Nations, we poured money into the defeat of the only friend we had in the whole continent.

How long we are going to continue to be such a patsy? Far better, we should study our foreign aid from one, and only one, objective: the protection of our own Nation and our own economy.

Let's be practical, for a change.

"The American Way of Life"—The Program of Freedom's Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have long been impressed with the activities and programs of Freedom's Foundation, at Valley Forge, Pa. This outstanding organization is dedicated to the important task of trying to maintain the American way of life. In view of the worthy aims of this organization and its great work in behalf of freedom, I feel honored to be a member of the board of directors of Freedom's Foundation, at Valley Forge.

The May–June 1964 issue of the Sojourner carries in its columns an article by the vice president of Freedom's Foundation, at Valley Forge, Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, retired, entitled "The American Way of Life." This article explains the purposes of Freedom's Foundation and the nature of the work performed by this organization in the interest of promoting the American way of life. It also sets forth details of the plans of Freedom's Foundation to broaden its programs and activities by establishing the American Freedom Center.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this important article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so that the Members of the Congress may have the benefit of this information on the work of Freedom's Foundation, and particularly on the plans to establish the American Freedom Center.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

(By Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, retired, vice president, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge)

(During the dark days at Valley Forge, General Washington issued this order to his subordinate commanders "Impress on the mind of every man, from the first to the lowest, the importance of the cause and what it is we are contending for.")

FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE

Freedoms Foundation was founded in 1949 to undergird our constitutional Republic and combat the increasing threat of communism to the American way of life. Dwight D. Eisenhower is chairman and Herbert Hoover is honorary president, Dr. Kenneth D. Wells 33d degree is president.

Nonprofit, nonsectarian, nonpartisan, and nonpolitical, the foundation's sole purpose is to encourage all Americans to understand and defend the rights, freedoms, and responsibilities they enjoy as Americans under our constitutional democratic form of government.

Using the free enterprise principle of incentive and reward, Freedoms Foundation conducts an annual national awards program based on the American credo which reaches into Main Street, U.S.A., encouraging and stimulating citizens of every age level to think, write, speak, and act in behalf of the American way of life.

Since the inception of the national awards program in 1949, over 1 million entries have been received from students, teachers, businessmen, ministers, members of the Armed Forces, writers, broadcasters, actors, civic leaders, communities, schools, colleges, companies—from Americans in all walks of life. During this period over 14,000 individuals, companies, organizations, and communities have received Freedoms Foundation awards which are in the form of cash awards of $50 to $5,000, George Washington Honor Medals, plaques, teachers medals, freedom libraries and student-teacher pilgrimages to Valley Forge and other historic sites.

THE AMERICAN CREDO

The heart of the purpose and the concept of Freedoms Foundation and its national awards program is the American credo:

The American credo is not something that can be fully comprehended by a glance. It requires study because it embraces the very foundations of our way of life and the genius of the American system of government. It is underlined by a statement of the responsibility placed upon each of us who is privileged to enjoy the political and economic rights which our Constitution guarantees.

In 1960, Khrushchev said, "The children of present day America will live in a Communist state." He has never retracted that statement.

Speaking in Hartford, Conn., on October 26, 1963, then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, said, "We can be certain the Communists have not abandoned their dream of world domination."

Even the casual student of communism is well aware that the basic political and economic rights of the American credo do not exist in communistic controlled countries. Has not Khrushchev boasted that these rights will not always be enjoyed by our children?

One of the purposes of Freedoms Foundation as expressed by its charter is:

"To create and build an understanding of the spirit and philosophy of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and of our indivisible bundle of political and economic freedoms inherent in them."

Freedoms Foundation has been carrying out the purposes of its charter for 15 years. It has been very successful within its resources.

COMPLETION OF THE AMERICAN FREEDOM CENTER

The awards programs have produced an extraordinary collection of original materials on American principles.

For more than a decade, the trustees of the foundation have envisioned a permanent center where this vast wealth of material would be readily available for study and research—the Americen Freedom Center.

In 1960, a campaign to raise the necessary funds for the first unit of the center, the Martha Washington Building, was undertaken.

On January 3, 1964, General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, chairman of Freedoms Foundation, appointed me chairman of a national committee to raise funds for the completion of the center and to establish an endowment fund to assure the perpetuity of the foundation and the American Freedom Center. A goal of $7,500,000 has been set; $3 million for buildings and furnishings, and $4,500,000 for endowment.

The center is planned to consist of nine buildings. This will provide a specialized research center and school for resident graduate students, foreign students, teachers and all others engaged in research and study in

the American system. It will house visitors attending seminar and lecture programs and provide a rallying point for all the active forces of freedom.

THE CONRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR GROVE

To honor the more than 3,000 men who hold the Nation's highest military recognition, the Medal of Honor for "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life, above and beyond the call of duty, in action involving actual conflict with the enemy," Freedoms Foundation is now constructing in connection with the American Freedom Center, the Congressional Medal of Honor Grove.

Fifty-two acres, encompassing streams and hills hallowed by those early patriots who suffered and died for the cause of freedom, have been set aside as a permanent park, one section for each of the 50 States, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. Here, a tree will be marked for each honored recipient, and in an appropriate building will be housed the records of their heroic deeds.

In launching the program for the American Freedom Center, General Eisenhower had this to say:

"Are we reluctant to do our part in trying to persuade our fellow workman, our associates at the conference table, in a business meeting, or in any other meeting that we should work harder at being truly patriotic dedicated American citizens?"

Imports of Ball Bearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of the Members a newspaper release to show that the Japanese bearing industry plans to increase exports during this year by 10 percent over last year. Since placing this material into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD along with a plea for the preservation of our domestic industries, I have received from the Foreign Trade Committee of the Anti-Friction Bearing Manufacturers Association, figures which are even more alarming. I would like to insert at this point portions of a letter which I received just recently from Mr. Stuart H. Smith, chairman of the foreign trade committee of the association. Excerpts from the letter follow:

Total imports of ball bearings, roller bearings, steel balls, and rollers in the year 1963 were up 19 percent from 1962, for a total of $19,384,853. Now this figure is strictly the import price, that is, the invoice price paid by the importer, and does not include duty, ocean transportation, insurance, customs brokerage fees, or any other additives.

The first quarter figures as released by The Anti-Friction Bearing Manufacturers Association at the spring meeting at Seaview recently, for the sales value per man-hour of employment, was $8.98 in the American marketplace. This means that the imports at invoice value replaced 2,158,670 man-hours of the U.S. labor. If we calculate that the average man in the industry works 40 hours a week, 50 weeks in the year, or 2,000 hours a year, this is 1,079 man-years, or full-time employment for 1,079 people for 1 year.

Knowing full well that the sales price of these products in the United States must be increased by customs duties, ocean freight, insurance, brokerage fees, sales expense in the United States, warehousing expense, and some profit to the importer, the impact on sales of the industry and productive man-hours is even greater. If we mark up the imports for these costs, by 50 percent to arrive at a selling price in the United States—and my personal opinion is that this is low—we would have a sales value of $29,092,795, and the same calculations as above would show us a loss of 3,239,732 man-hours, or 1,618.66 man-years.

Inasmuch as imports are selling in some instances as low as 40 percent below the normal domestic market pricing, you can see that this $29 million could be moved up very appreciably. To get a directly comparable figure, you could probably figure that these imports replace in the neighborhood of $40 million worth of product at normal domestic prices. Then if you carry through the calculations, you would have about 2,200 man-years of unemployment.

The worst offender on the increase of market situation is, of course, Japan. They first invaded this market in 1958 with some $18,000 worth of product. By 1962 imports had reached $6,430,000, and in 1963, $9,401,000. Incidentally, these figures were taken from official governmental releases in Japan. If you take a good look at those two figures you will see that imports in this 1 year's time from Japan increased approximately 50 percent, and of course the increase from 1958 to 1963 is astronomic.

An interesting corollary is that Japanese exports to all of the markets of the world, including those behind the Iron Curtain, were $22,374,000 in 1962, and $26,800,000 in 1963, or an increase of only about 16 percent. In 1962, 28.74 percent of the exports from Japan of ball and roller bearings, steel balls and rollers, to the total world market, came to the United States, whereas in 1963 the United States received 35.08 percent of their total exports of these same products. Imports for the first quarter of 1964 in total are $5,372,072 versus $4,313,124 for the same period in 1963, or an increase of approximately 20 percent for these products.

An Example of the Orderly Life as Set by the Amish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in the face of the wave of lawlessness sweeping so many of our urban areas it is gratifying to be able to report that Lancaster County, Pa., in my congressional district, remains relatively calm.

Perhaps the equanimity of the Pennsylvania Dutch country stems largely from the presence of so many citizens of the Amish sect in our midst. Certainly they afford us a daily example of frugality hard work, and a determination to mind their own business. In addition, it is comforting to observe that they never attempt to indoctrinate anyone with their philosophy but seem content to let the propagation of their faith rest soley on precept and example.

It may surprise many people outside of Pennsylvania to learn that, despite rumors to the contrary, these good people have doubled their population in the last 20 years. This is a clear demonstration, in my opinion, that a way of life predicated on an abiding faith in God's word, the claims of the atheists to the contrary notwithstanding, is conducive to survival.

The June 2 issue of the Lancaster, Pa., New Era editoralizes on the life and times of these hardy souls and I would commend the article for your perusal:

AMISH VALUES SET EXAMPLE FOR ALL

Instead of taking our older order Amish neighbors for granted, as people who live a horse-and-buggy way of life and nothing more, we can regard them with new understanding and appreciation for what they represent in this world of shifting values.

These peace-loving, quiet Americans were here before there was a Lancaster County. They are staying here in the hurly-burly of the 20th century, holding to their centuries-old tradition.

A series of articles in the New Era, ending today, brought out some surprising facts along with a review of various phases of Amish activity. For instance:

Old order Amish population here has nearly doubled in 20 years, rather than declining as some persons had surmised. The Amish have been able to maintain their way of life with some adaptations, despite being surrounded by the great changing modern world with its many innovations. And farming continues as the No. 1 Amish occupation, although members are taking other kinds of work to earn a living and possibly amass enough to buy a farm.

The very fact that the Amish community is growing and remains strong, actually strengthens our entire county. For the Amish, with their own strongly disciplined way of life, are essential elements in the moral and economic health of Lancaster.

They are different, in many ways, from the hundreds of thousands of fellow Americans who live around them. But one of this Nation's great secrets of success is in its diversity, and in the ability of the many divergent strains to live together in amity. The Amishman asks no more than to follow his religious, law-abiding way of life as he learned it from his ancestors; he in turn will try not to influence another to his way of thinking.

We are so accustomed to seeing the Amish going their quiet ways in their horse-drawn buggies, or manning the plow behind a team in the fields, that we sometimes fail to recognize fully how much of an example they set for others.

They and innumerable other Lancaster countians are keeping alive the lessons of olden times—love thy neighbor, share thy bounty with those less fortunate, respect the life and property of another, live in peace with your fellow man.

These precepts are so firmly a part of most of us that we cannot envision a life without them. Yet, these values are disappearing in many parts of the Nation. There is violence in the land, in the big cities—New York, Philadelphia, and others—that is taking lives and smashing property as gangs run rampant through the streets.

In New York, brutality and violence spread terror through vast neighborhoods. In Philadelphia, feverish attempts are being made to curb the gangs. In all too many parts of the Nation, law and order are trampled under the heels of desperados.

We can be thankful for our Amish, and for the peaceful pattern of their existence. They help make Lancaster County what it is today.

Public Is Going To Have To Demand the Inside Stories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with another outstanding article by Mr. Thurman Sensing, as published in the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C., on May 31, 1964. The article is entitled "Public Is Going To Have To Demand the Inside Stories," and is concerned with efforts within the National Government to cover up and suppress information which should be available to the American public.

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC IS GOING TO HAVE TO DEMAND THE INSIDE STORIES

(By Thurman Sensing)

If the American bureaucracy had its way, the public would know nothing of Government activities save the information released in publicity handouts. The funny business going on in Washington would never come to the attention of the voters and taxpayers.

Nowhere is this attitude more clearly revealed than in the case of the U.S. State Department. It has a passion for sweeping its scandals under its own rugs and generally withholding from the public information that should be available to all.

The State Department's attitude, which includes massive resentment of the American press, was clearly revealed in a recent speech in Boston by Assistant Secretary of State Robert J. Manning, head of the Department's Public Affairs Section.

"The press," he declared, "wants to know a great deal more than do the people in whose name it acts. The freedom of the press to print without fear of reprisal * * * can, if improperly or unwisely used, run contrary to an equally basic part of the public interest; namely, the ability of the Government to carry out the people's business of defending our interests abroad and guarding the Nation's security."

This statement is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. Who can believe, for example, that the activities of Alger Hiss, once a high official of the State Department, would eventually have been revealed by the Department itself? As for defending U.S. interests and the Nation's security, it is incredible that a State Department official would have the boldness to make such an assertion after it promoted the cause of China's Communists as "agrarian reformers" and accepted Fidel Castro as a good democrat. The State Department's analysis of oversea problems has been shot through with error, if not worse, and only active press criticism has helped even more terrible mistakes being made by policy planners.

The truth is that the bureaucrats want to censor the facts and silence criticism of Government. They want a protective shield around their doings. The only newsmen they like are pet newsmen.

This was ably brought out earlier this year when Clark R. Mollenhoff, one of the best investigative reporters in Washington, gave the annual William Allen White memorial lecture at the University of Kansas.

Mr. Mollenhoff rightly stated that our form of government "is contingent upon an informed public with the means to learn what the Government is doing and the right to criticize what the Government is doing." He gave an accurate and alarming report on what the Federal bureaucracy is doing today to create a "Federal propaganda office." He told how Secretary of Defense McNamara has instituted a gestapo directive to military officers "to discourage circulation of the views of persons who dissent from 'the department line.'" He told of Mr. McNamara's so-called economy move aimed at creating "a single press office for the $50 billion a year Defense Department."

Another important fact brought out in his speech was government's use of favored reporters who would parrot whatever they were told by administration insiders. Mr. Mollenhoff cited the case of Otto Otepka, the State Department security officer, who was bounced from his job for being too vigilant in tracking down security risks in the Department.

"More outrageous than the State Department's action," he said, "has been the press performance. Some newsmen accepted the State Department philosophy that dissenters like Otepka should be squelched, and Congress barred from the facts." Mr. Mollenhoff also described the importance of the press having access to the facts, as in the case of the controversial TFX aircraft contract amounting to $5 billion, so that the public can decide whether favoritism has been practiced and colossal sums of taxpayers' money wasted. The value of a vigilant press, he said, is that "we can make bad public officials toe the line or risk exposure and ouster."

Of course that's just what the Federal bureaucracy seeks to avoid. It wants to treat the public business as if it were the bureaucrats' private business. If big Government is ever to be brought under control, the public will have to demand that the propaganda agencies be closed down in Washington and the thought controllers sent packing.

War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington, D.C., Evening Star of Thursday, May 28, 1964:

WAR ON POVERTY

The poor, it is said, will always be with us. And Lyndon B. Johnson doubtless will always be with the poor. Which may or may not be a comforting thought to the William David Marlow family.

The Marlows were visited by President Johnson and Linda Bird at their home near Rocky Mount, N.C., on May 7. Since the story and pictures appeared hundreds of people have driven by to see the house, many of them shining their headlights in at night. One day the Marlows counted 146 carloads of people. A woman visitor wanted to buy the bed on which the President and his daughter had sat, offering a complete bedroom suite for it. Mrs. Marlow wouldn't trade. She said "it's too good a sleeper."

There also seems to be a rather large question about the target chosen for this particular presidential mission. A county official had urged Mrs. Marlow to have a wash out on the line and to be sure the kids were barefoot. In other words, live it down.

But Mrs. Marlow, who evidently hasn't been boning up on wars on poverty, said the strange thing was that "we didn't even feel like we were in poverty." And Mr. Marlow, who was transplanting tobacco when a reporter got to him, said he expects to clear about $1,500 over and above all expenses this year.

"What we need right now," he said, "is rain."

Perhaps President Johnson, whose talent for getting things done is legendary, will produce the rain. If he can, the rest of the war on poverty should be a cinch. Meanwhile, however, the Marlow story deepens a small shadow of doubt which had already crossed our mind. Could there possibly be something just a little bit phony about this war?

New Resort Hotel Is Economic Shangri-La

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, to show how our depressed areas react when a project of the Area Redevelopment Administration gets underway, I should like to call attention to an article appearing in the Sunday, May 10, issue of the Oklahoma Ranch and Farm World. This project was an ARA industrial loan of $650,000 to help build a new resort and recreational facility near Afton, the project to provide 141 new jobs for unemployed workers in the State. The newspaper devoted a full page to an illustrated feature article, called the new resort facility, an "Economic Shangri-La," and said the new ARA project would mean much added income and jobs in the county.

The text follows:

NEW RESORT HOTEL IS ECONOMIC SHANGRI-LA

(By Herb Karner)

GRAND LAKE.—ARA, initials of Area Redevelopment Administration, mean many things to many people. To some it means low-cost financing for a needed business. To others it may mean just another Government program using taxpayers' money.

But to a great portion of the population of Ottawa and Delaware Counties, surrounding Monkey Island on Grand Lake of the Cherokees, ARA has another meaning.

It means a college education for the kids; it means an added bedroom and bath to a farmhouse.

It means extra off-the-farm income. It means staying on the land and among friends and relatives.

All these things became possible when the plush $1 million Shangri-La Hotel opened for business early in May.

ARA figures prominently in the Shangri-La story because without Federal funds it would not have been built.

Frank Richards of Franklin Investment Corp., Oklahoma City, started the ball rolling when he became convinced there was a need for this kind of resort facility on Grand Lake. He contacted A. Gaston Franks, Muskogee, field coordinator for ARA in Oklahoma, who explained to him the necessary procedure for securing an ARA loan.

Richards learned it would be necessary for a parent company to have at least 5 percent of its own money invested. So, the Shangri-La Corp. came into being with the necessary funds. But since ARA will loan only 65 percent of the value of a facility, more help was needed. The Northeast Oklahoma Development Association entered the picture with $100,000 and private investors put up another $200,000. This amounted to 35 percent of the needed million and since the application satisfied ARA that it would create a minimum number of new jobs, the application for a $650,000 Federal fund, 20-year 4-percent loan was approved.

Following completion of the facility by Shangri-La Corp., it was leased to Gem Motels, Inc., for operation. Veteran lodge manager Horace Clark is resident manager. He successfully ran a similar mountain resort in Tennessee for 14 years and another resort in California before taking on the job of running Shangri-La.

"We'll start the season with 66 employees with a payroll of about $250,000 annually. We expect to double this amount during peak seasons," Paul Craig, manager of the resort's marine facility said.

Who are the people behind the scenes who will make the resort function? They are housewives, mothers, young men and women, farmers, local merchants, and others coming from all walks of local life.

For JoAnn Arrott, it meant coming home to Fairland where she was reared. She's in charge of dining room personnel and formerly had the same job with Hotel Safari in Scottsdale, Ariz.

Bob Davis who ran Baker's Cafe in Afton for years, heads the kitchen with 10 employees.

Many are going to work outside their home for the first time. One is Refa Mayfield, who decided to apply for a position of day hostess after a family conference with her husband and five children. "We have a son who'll be entering college in 3 years. My husband used to have a blacksmith shop in Fairland, but is now working at the Goodrich plant in Miami. We just have not been able to save anything toward a college fund for the kids up to now," Mrs. Mayfield said.

"I was a little apprehensive at first—after all I've been a housewife for 17 years. But my husband will be at home with the children during the day as he works a night shift, so we believe it will work out alright," she said.

For 20-year-old Marsha Phoenix, being a hostess meant a change of employment. She's a trained beautician. "But I got tired of fixing hair all day."

Delbert Messimore, living on a farm near Bernice, was home planting corn. Working as a mechanic means full employment for him and a chance to keep his farm going. It's a double windfall for them as Mrs. Messimore is a full-time housekeeper at the hotel.

Wesley Wentworth living near Grove goes to work as harbor master each day in his boat—"it's 5 miles by water, but 18 miles by road," he said.

Wentworth lived in Tulsa for years and was an oil well drilling contractor. "But, I like boats and water, so last February we moved and I got out of the drilling business."

Working at Shangri-La is a golden opportunity for 19-year-old Renick Kreger who is putting skills learned at Okmulgee Technical College to good use as an electrical mechanic. His parents live in Miami, but Renick lives in a nearby lake cabin.

John Painter, president of Farmers State Bank, Afton, sums up the general feeling of local merchants toward the new resort industry.

"We're happy as can be. Best thing that has happened around here for years. It has wiped out any sign of unemployment. Oh, there's a few chronic loafers, but anybody who wants to work now has an opportunity," Painter said.

The same attitude was reflected by merchants up and down Main Street. Business is booming. And Shangri-La business touches other towns as well. An example, Clark said, is all hotel laundry is done by a firm in Pryor. "We deal with local concerns whenever possible, and so far have been successful in keeping the business in the local community," he said.

Shangri-La is but one of 72 ARA projects in Oklahoma since the law was enacted 2 years ago. To date $36.6 million ARA funds have been loaned with $16.8 million matching funds put up by local interests. And, more than 5,200 new jobs have been created, Franks said.

Franks, who joined ARA 2 years ago after 28 years as a county agricultural agent, said "this is the best thing that has ever happened for rural Oklahoma. I'll do anything I can to help bring business interests together if it will establish a worthwhile industry creating new jobs to enable farmers to increase their income and stay on the land."

He said he believed it was more important to allow a farmer to stay on the land than uproot him, causing him to move to a congested city, thus adding to problems of unemployment and crowded housing.

Civil Rights—Resolution of South Carolina Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a resolution which has been unanimously approved by the board of directors of the South Carolina Junior Chamber of Commerce expressing strong opposition to the pending so-called civil rights legislation. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Presented from resolutions committee by Charles Johnson, of Clinton, was the following resolution approved on motion of Tom Stribling, of Johnston, seconded by Joebie Adams, of Greenwood, and unanimously approved and adopted by the board of directors with the amendment that copies be sent directly to all U.S. Senators and Representatives and to the President of the United States:

"Whereas the birth of this Nation and the Constitution under which it is governed were necessitated by the desire of men to be free from oppressive governmental restrictions;

"Whereas the framers of the Constitution went to great lengths to guarantee in that document the individual rights of our citizenry against Federal encroachment;

"Whereas the civil rights bill now pending before the Congress of the United States is an obvious contradiction of this guarantee; and

"Whereas this organization feels very strongly that inequities that may exist today are social in nature and not legal, and feel further that social justice and social equality has never in the past, is not today, and cannot tomorrow be forthcoming through legal reform: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of South Carolina, representing 125 chapters and 4,768 members, in annual convention assembled, does hereby express its formal opposition to the bill herein discussed and does further express our appreciation to all Members of the Congress, particularly those of our State, who are offering such a magnificent defense of the liberties of the individual upon which this Nation was founded."

The California Primary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, the votes have all been counted today in the California primary. It is history now. Some observations on these results would seem to be in order.

First, as a longtime resident of the State, I am greatly concerned about extremism there. There is no room in that great State for either the Birchers or the Communists. I am troubled about the loose talk that the Birchers are taking over an important part of our political leaders. I do not believe it.

And I am also concerned about some of the political mailings which have been going out into our States. I am concerned with the truth—or the lack of truth—in this material. A document has just come to my attention which I think should be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because of the widespread interest in the background of one of the participants in the California primary.

The booklet is mailed with a letter from the Rockefeller National Campaign Committee, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. The letter is signed by R. Mort Frayn, deputy campaign director. The document compares the record of Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater with that of Senator Robert Taft.

The material becomes most interesting and is brought into sharper focus when the material about GOLDWATER is consolidated. Here is what Rockefeller has to say about GOLDWATER—according to the deputy campaign director.

THE POSITION ON SOCIAL SECURITY

GOLDWATER opposes the fundamental concept, objecting to the compulsory aspect of the system; claims the system constitutes a denial of freedom and should be made voluntary.

I think that social security should be voluntary. This is the only definite position I have on it. If a man wants it, fine. If he does not want it, he can provide his own (New York Times magazine, Nov. 24, 1963).

I'll say here that social security is a part of our American life. I wish that, when they framed it, they would have made it voluntary. If a man wants it, fine; if he doesn't, he doesn't have to take it. But this compulsion—you have to do it—is one of the denials of the freedoms that is very dangerous in this country, because it can be extended (The Winning Side, the Case for GOLDWATER Republicanism, 1964, p. 130).

THE POSITION ON AGRICULTURE—FEDERAL FARM PROGRAMS

GOLDWATER says Federal programs are unconstitutional and undesirable; believes agriculture should be subject to free market forces; has called for prompt and final termination of agricultural subsidies; feels the Rural Electrification Administration should be dissolved:

The Federal Government's unconstitutional intrusion into agriculture has not brought us any closer to a solution of the farm problem.

Farm production, like any other production, is best controlled by the national operation of the free market.

Doing something about it (the farm program) means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program (The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960, pp. 40, 41, 42).

THE POSITION ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

GOLDWATER has consistently opposed Federal programs, contending they are unconstitutional, unneeded, undesirable, and lead to Federal control:

Mr. President, as the Members of this body well know, I am opposed to every form of Federal aid to education (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 21, 1961, p. 10187).

The Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate—from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal ("The Conscience of a Conservative," 1960, p. 66).

THE POSITION ON TAXES AND FISCAL POLICY

GOLDWATER has advocated immediate and unqualified elimination of graduated rates for personal income, estate, and gift taxes:

The graduated tax is a confiscatory tax. Its effect, and to a large extent its aim, is to bring down all men to a common level. Many of the leading proponents of the graduated tax frankly admit that their purpose is to redistribute the Nation's wealth. Their aim is an egalitarian society—an objective that does violence both to the charter of the Republic and the laws of Nature. We are all equal in the eyes of God, but we are equal in no other respect. Artificial devices for enforcing equality among unequal men must be rejected if we would restore that charter and honor those laws.

One problem with regard to taxes, then, is to enforce justice—to abolish the graduated features of our tax laws; and the sooner we get at the job, the better ("The Conscience of a Conservative," 1960, p. 62).

THE POSITION ON HOUSING

GOLDWATER: Has consistently opposed public housing and Federal legislation sponsoring such programs, claiming they are unconstitutional; urges Federal withdrawal from the field:

The Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs that are outside its constitutional mandate—from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal ("The Conscience of a Conservative," 1960, p. 66).

"The Federal Government," he declares, "has no business conducting programs in social welfare, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal, or any other activity that can be better performed by lower levels of Government, by private institutions, or by individuals" (Wood and Smith, "The Biography of a Conservative: BARRY GOLDWATER," 1961, p. 17).

THE POSITION ON LABOR

GOLDWATER: opposes Federal minimum wage laws; opposes the establishment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission; campaigned in 1958 for a "mandatory national right-to-work law"—"An Interview with GOLDWATER," Newsweek, October 21, 1963, p. 37.—to ban the union shop everywhere, but presently advocates Taft-Hartley amendments that would ban the union shop in all States without legislation specifically permitting the union shop:

I do not believe the Federal Government should be in the business of regulating wages at all. No (minimum wage) measure is going to please me (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 10, 1960, p. 16182).

I oppose the * * * FEPC section (of the civil rights bill) * * * I think it's a step toward a national police state. And I'm not going to be part of creating that (Mar. 19, 1964, press conference, San Francisco, Calif.).

I strongly favor enactment of State right-to-work laws which would forbid contracts that make union membership a condition of employment. These laws are aimed at removing a great blight on the contemporary American scene ("The Conscience of a Conservative," 1960, p. 49).

THE POSITION ON FEDERAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

GOLDWATER: is an outspoken opponent of Federal health programs; was the only Republican to vote against the 1960 Kerr-Mills law providing medical assistance grants to States for the needy aged:

In the general field of public welfare I would disagree with both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, and that's where I disagree with Eisenhower. I recall once calling his program the Dime Store New Deal.

I don't believe in Federal aid to education, or aid to the aged, or any kind of medical assistance (Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept. 25, 1961).

A Question of Good Manners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington (D.C.) Daily News:

A QUESTION OF GOOD MANNERS

An interesting thing about the latest Arab-Israel incident in Washington is the prompt and indignant reaction of our State Department.

The public statement on behalf of 13 Arab embassies criticizing the official reception of Israel Prime Minister Levi Ashkol was clearly out of line. It was rude and insulting both to President Johnson and to his guest, as the authors of the statement must have known.

But the rebuke administered by George W. Ball, Acting Secretary of State, must have surprised them. From the patient, and even apologetic, manner in which our Government sometimes has accepted impertinences from abroad, they were justified in assuming this one also would be passed over. It was not.

In its dealings with foreign nations, be they small or large, our country should insist on the common courtesies which we extend to the rest of the world. It is hard, otherwise, to maintain our self-respect, or to deserve the respect of other governments.

We are encouraged to note what appears to be a firming up of official resolve in this respect. We doubt it will seriously harm relations with these Arab countries. On the other hand it may improve them. The Arabs, of all people, appreciate good manners. It is well that they know where we stand.

Opposition to Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a resolution expressing strong opposition to the so-called civil rights legislation. This resolution has been approved by the Bold Spring Baptist Church, of Callison, S.C. I think it particularly appropriate that the resolution be made available to all Members of the Senate while we are now considering the so-called civil rights bill.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A RESOLUTION BY BOLD SPRING BAPTIST CHURCH, REV. A. D. CROFT, PASTOR, CALLISON, S.C.

Whereas God said "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor anything that is they neighbor's" thus establishing once, and for all time, his creatures, right to own and control private property; and

Whereas the Constitution of the United States of America reguarantees God's law concerning private property and additionally guarantees the right of each citizen of this Republic to a trial by jury; and

Whereas the Civil Rights Act of 1963 is not civil, contains far more wrongs than rights, and was not passed in 1963; and

Whereas said act is currently being discussed in the U.S. Senate after being passed by the House of Representatives; and

Whereas said act has been endorsed by many denominations and so-called religious "leaders" including many of our own Baptist denomination; and

Whereas said act is clearly in violation of two of the Ten Commandments and the Constitution of the United States of America thus bringing the act clearly within the sphere of condemnation by all good Americans and most especially by all Christian Americans: Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of Bold Spring Baptist Church, Callison, S.C., on May 24, 1964, unanimously oppose, on moral and constitutional grounds, the civil rights bill now pending in the Congress of the United States. Further the members of this church publicly reaffirm our loyalty to God and to the United States of America which He permitted us to inherit from our forefathers and call upon all other Christians and men of good will of all races to join with us in this reaffirmation by opposing, with all the strength they can muster, the dangerous usurpation of power embodied in this act on the part of a power seeking Federal Government; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution, signed by the pastor and clerk, be forwarded to the press, radio, and Abbeville Baptist Association, the South Carolina Baptist Convention, our Congressman, our two Senators, and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.

A. D. CROFT, *Pastor*.
Mrs. L. O. BURNETT, *Clerk*.

The Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an address I made before the general session of the 1964 national seminar of the American Right of Way Association in Detroit, Mich., on May 28, last.

The speech follows:

I want to talk with you today about the Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition on which I am privileged to serve as chairman.

Before proceeding further, I should like to acknowledge the fine, intelligent, and dedicated efforts of Henry Krevor, the chief counsel for the committee. Many of you know him personally because he has attended some seven of the seminars. You have expressed to me today, since coming to Detroit, your recognition of his ability, sincerity, and industry. As the chief counsel for the committee, he has supervised the professional staff and all connected with the responsibility assigned us. Administratively he has provided leadership on a bipartisan basis. Our committee has made its studies without any political suggestions.

This subcommittee is nearing completion of a comprehensive 2½-year study of the laws and practices governing real property acquisitions in all Federal and federally assisted programs. Our purpose is to determine whether property owners and tenants affected by these programs receive fair and equal treatment, considering the value of their property and the expenses and losses they incur in reestablishing their homes, farms, and businesses; and keeping in mind the interest of the general public which benefits from these programs and must pay for them.

The Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives created the subcommittee because it was deeply concerned by the growing number of complaints in all parts of the country questioning the adequacy of present laws and practices. There were reports of many property owners and tenants suffering severe hardships and financial losses, and of some property owner being overpaid. And there was particular concern about the lack of uniformity in the various programs, with citizens apparently being given varying amounts of compensation or other assistance depending more on the program involved than the actual loss suffered.

This is the first broad study of its kind ever undertaken by the Federal Government. The subcommittee is bipartisan, with my good friend and colleague, Representative HOWARD ROBISON, of New York, as ranking minority member. I am happy to say that we have worked as one team every step of the way.

This subcommittee is not investigating anyone, and we are not questioning the desirability of programs or the location or design of specific projects. We have made good progress, and before the end of this year we will submit a report with specific recommendations to the Congress.

Quite naturally, the scope of the study made it necessary for us to assemble and analyze an almost overwhelming amount of technical material. Our work involved a great deal of legal research and intensive reviews of many different agency policies and procedures. In addition, we gave special attention to various economic and social studies of families and businesses displaced by public acquisition programs. The diverse laws and practices under which Federal agencies operate, and the hundreds of different State and local laws, court decisions, and administrative practices governing Federal-aid programs of highways, public housing, urban renewal, and others, of course complicated the picture.

We recognized at the outset that there were many divergent views on this subject, and we decided to obtain as wide a sampling of opinion as possible. We have been in close contact with Federal, State, and local public agencies. The staff has visited various project areas to talk with property owners and tenants, and agency field personnel. We have invited comments and suggestions from every Federal judge and many State and local judges; from members of the American and Federal bar associations, and many State and local bar groups; leading appraisal societies; universities, State and local eminent domain study committees, and other research bodies; housing and redevelopment officials, reclamation associations, farm organizations, and of course the American Right of Way Association, among others.

During the past year the subcommittee conducted seven public hearings in the field, two in Tennessee, three in California, one in Massachusetts, and one in Rhode Island, to enable interested persons to express their views and to make certain that our members would have a clear picture of the principal problems. These hearings produced a wealth of important information. The records are being printed, and copies will be available shortly.

I cannot tell you what specific recommendations the subcommittee is going to make when the study is completed. However, I want to comment generally on several of the basic questions we have been considering.

It seems to me that a good deal of the confusion and controversy in this field stems from the failure to distinguish between the payment of compensation for real property needed for a public project, and the treatment of other losses and expenses which property owners or tenants may incur as a direct result of the project.

In the United States, a man has a constitutional right to just compensation for his property, and the courts decided long ago that this generally means he is entitled to be paid its fair market value. Whether supplemental payments or other assistance should be provided to relieve him of additional losses and expenses is then a question of public policy and must be dealt with by the Congress and the State legislatures.

There is no conflict or inconsistency in paying the fair market value of real property to satisfy the constitutional obligation of just compensation, and also providing supplemental payments or other assistance to satisfy a moral obligation recognized by the Congress or a State legislature. As Mr. Justice Sutherland said, in delivering the opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Joslin case:

"In respect of the contention that the statute extends the right to recover compensation so as to include these (business losses and moving costs) and other forms of consequential damages and thus deprives plaintiffs in error, as taxpayers of the city, of their property without due process of law, we need say no more than that, while the legislature was powerless to diminish the constitutional measure of just compensation, we are aware of no rule which stands in the way of an extension of it, within the limits of equity and justice, so as to include rights otherwise excluded (262 U.S. 668, 676–677; 1923)."

Those who believe that the Government's responsibility to persons affected by public programs is properly limited to the payment of the fair market value of real property argue that this reflects the reasonable principle that when the Government acquires real property it should incur no more cost than would a typical prudent buyer in a private transaction.

I cannot accept this point of view, for it rejects any consideration whatever for the many difficult problems inflicted on people by the Government's activity. Also, the argument is specious, for it ignores the fact that in a private transaction, a typical prudent seller would not sell his property at its market value if he felt it would cause him economic losses and damages over and above the value of the property itself. In a public acquisition, however, the seller is often unwilling, but is compelled to sell his property at its market value, regardless of any such additional losses or damages.

We have to recognize the tremendous effect which public programs today have on the individual. Here he feels the power of his government, and he will not soon forget the day the government takes his home, his farm, his business, or his means of livelihood.

The courts adopted market value as the general measure of constitutional just compensation in a comparatively uncomplicated period of our history, when land was plentiful and government acquisitions skirted cities and bypassed homes and businesses, causing few displacements and relatively little damage. In contrast, it is expected that by 1972 the urban renewal and interstate highway programs alone will have caused the displacement of a million families and more than 100,000 businesses.

A large number of those being displaced are tenants who frequently receive no payment whatever. Many displacees are low- and moderate-income families, and owners of very small businesses for whom the shock of a forced move can be particularly severe. Payment of constitutional just compensation alone can hardly be satisfactory for the owner of a small home who cannot replace his property for the price paid by the Government, or obtain financing for replacement property at terms within his means; for the renter who must stand the expense of relocation, and pay more rent for his replacement housing than he can afford; or for the owner of the small retail or service establishment who may find it very difficult, and often impossible to stand the pressure of reestablishing in a new location.

Many of these small businesses are operated by elderly people, in rented space, and at minimal levels; and their loss may have little economic effect on the community. Nonetheless they provide at least some return to the owners, and more important, they provide jobs for the owners—jobs which many cannot readily replace.

These citizens argue with considerable logic, that where individuals suffer substantial, clearly established losses and damages as a direct consequence of a public acquisition program, fundamental fairness requires the public, the beneficiary of the program, to bear these losses and damages just as it bears the expense of real property acquisition, design, physical construction, and other project costs. Otherwise they are compelled to bear a disproportionate part of the real economic cost of the program—they pay taxes like other citizens to support the program, and they pay again to the extent they suffer uncompensated losses and expenses.

Fear of uncompensated losses and hardships undoubtedly accounts for much of the resistance we find to various programs, and for many of the serious highway location controversies which all too frequently delay construction and increase the cost of projects.

There is also little doubt that, out of concern for persons who may have to bear such losses, many trial courts engage in "judicial" legislation, juries effect compromises, ap-

praisers sometimes exercise a degree of flexibility in estimating value which strains, if it does not completely distort the appraisal process, and negotiators and others authorized to approve settlements frequently depart from market value concepts, all in the name of serving what they regard as "basic justice." But this is not justice; for it gives preferential treatment to some without equal protection to all, and the possible abuses arising out of such practices are as obvious as they are dangerous. Where present laws or procedures are inadequate or unfair, they should be changed.

I believe that all public acquisition programs must become more responsive to human needs. Congress has already provided a number of helpful aids to alleviate hardships. The difficulty is that they are still too limited in certain respects; they are not available on a consistent basis from one program to another; and where available, they are not always fully utilized. This we hope to remedy. Our people should all be treated alike, for it obviously makes no difference to the party suffering a loss whether the public action has its origin in a program for a road, a park, a reservoir, a Federal office complex, a commercial center, a public housing site, or any other purpose.

Now, I am not suggesting that the fair market value measure should be discarded and a new standard adopted in its place. On the contrary, despite its imperfections I know of no better standard for estimating the value of real property in public acquisitions. There are many cases, particularly where dislocation is not a factor, in which the market value standard can produce a figure which is entirely fair to the property owner and to the public. What I do say, is that there are factors other than the value of real property that must be recognized and treated.

There is also a need to take a close look at the market value standard, to be sure that it has the same meaning for all of us. There are so many different definitions of market value that I have lost count of the number. There is obviously no single magic figure which constitutes "the" market value of a property; and ordinarily a parcel of real estate can be expected to sell at any one of several prices, within a reasonable range of one another.

The question then which needs to be answered is: Which of these prices should we be trying to find in public acquisition programs? Is it, or should it be the Government's objective to estimate the highest price at which a property could reasonably be expected to sell if exposed for sale for a reasonable period under open market conditions? the average price? the most probable price? the lowest price? or some other figure? Whatever the objective may be, is it clearly understood by all the parties concerned with the value determination?

If, as frequently seems to be the case, the meaning of market value is left to the discretion of the individual appraiser—if all appraisers do not have the same precise objective—can we even hope to achieve equal treatment for property owners affected by public acquisitions? This question is not academic. For in public acquisitions, we are generally dealing with a man's most important possession. He is being forced to sell his home or other property, and the meaning given to the term "market value" can have a material effect on the amount of the payment he will receive.

I want to call attention to another important element of the fair market value standard, and that is the date of valuation. The general rule, as you know, is that property is to be valued as of the date it is taken. Unfortunately, strict application of the rule in many States has led to serious inequities both for property owners and for public agencies.

Frequently property owners suffer economic losses because of the announcement of a project and the prospect that the property will be condemned. Where this occurs several years before the actual acquisition of the property, as it often does in some programs, tenants move out or fail to renew their leases and new tenants cannot be obtained. Buildings are abandoned, the neighborhood deteriorates or is deserted, and vandalism often sets in. By the time the property is taken, values have depreciated sharply.

On the other hand, in some instances the announcement of a public project has a reverse effect and sets the speculative instinct to work, driving prices upward. An excellent example is the activity near planned interchanges of the Interstate System.

Federal law, while not entirely clear in every detail, suggests that neither the property owner nor the public agency should be penalized for changes in value of this kind. Property is still valued as of the date of taking; but the rule is subject to the qualification that increases or decreases in value occurring after the Government is committed to a project will be disregarded in determining just compensation, if the change is due to the project. The general principle is sound; however, problems arise because it is not always certain when the Government becomes "committed" to a project.

Unfortunately, in many State and local jurisdictions the market value is determined strictly as of the date of taking regardless of the hardships it may cause to some property owners or the windfalls it may give to others. In other jurisdictions, the law relieves public agencies of any obligation to pay enhanced property values caused by a project, but apparently gives no protection to an owner whose property may be lessened in value because of a project.

The problem is analogous to the questions frequently encountered in partial taking cases involving severance damages and benefits which, as you right-of-way men know, is one of the most complex in the field of eminent domain.

Many complaints we receive relate to the administrative policies and practices of land acquisition agencies rather than legal concepts of compensation. I believe that any administrative policy, to be "fair" must be directed to giving the property owner the full measure of compensation authorized by law promptly, with a minimum of inconvenience, and without forcing him to prolonged negotiations or to costly condemnation suits.

To me this means that a land acquisition agency should always pay the property owner the full amount which it believes the property to be worth. It should make this amount available for the use of the owner, whether or not he agrees to sell the property at this price. It should do so promptly, and in any case before requiring parties in possession to vacate the property. It should provide sufficient lead time and adequate notice of its possession requirements, so that all persons lawfully occupying the property will have a reasonable period to secure suitable replacement property, and to reestablish themselves in their new locations. And it should make available effective and meaningful advisory services for all displaced families and businesses desiring help in their relocation problems.

I must say quite frankly that my colleagues and I have been shocked to find that some public agencies still try to acquire real property at prices below their own opinions of value. One major acquisition agency, as I recall, actually acquired about 20 percent of its properties over a 3-year period in this manner. Fortunately, policies of this kind are in the minority. I hope we can soon make them a matter of history.

During this half hour I have tried to touch briefly on a number of the principal issues which caused the creation of the Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition, and brought about the comprehensive study we soon will conclude.

In a letter to the Secretary of Commerce and the Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator in April 1962, President Kennedy expressed his appreciation for their Joint Report on Urban Transportation, and said:

"I noted particularly that you concerned yourselves with the human as well as the technical and financial considerations involved. Many thousands of our citizens, as your report states, must unavoidably surrender their homes and places of business to make way for public transportation improvements. We should not expect them to suffer the heavy personal cost of such public benefits without due recompense and assistance. Where public necessity imposes such sacrifices, it should be accompanied by public concern for the people displac[illegible]."

President Johnson demonstrated his serious concern about these problems in his special message to Congress on Housing and Community Development in January of this year. The President urged additional assistance to displaced families and business concerns, and called attention to the fact that:

"Despite existing programs assisting families and persons displaced by urban renewal projects, the human cost of relocation remains a serious and difficult problem."

This concern underscores the purpose of this subcommittee. Obviously, if our Nation is to be strong, public improvement programs are essential. Land acquisition is an inevitable consequence. Delicate considerations of property rights and human rights are involved. Inequities and hardships must be avoided wherever possible.

Disarmament Propaganda at a Price

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD another in the series of articles by Holmes Alexander on the Council for a Livable World.

Mr. Alexander's article is as follows:

DISARMAMENT PROPAGANDA AT A PRICE—PART 2

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Propaganda shops are all over Washington, and most of them are self-supporting—but not so the State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which is tax supported.

In a previous installment of this column series, I reported on a speech entitled, "Prospects for Controlling the Arms Race." It took some gumshoeing for me to discover that its author was Dr. Leonard Sidney Rodberg, who works in the Science and Technology Division of this State Department Agency. The speech was offered first to Senator BURDICK, Democrat, of North Dakota, and later to Senator MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, for delivery before a Syracuse (N.Y.) chapter of the Council for a Livable World, which is a ban-the-bomb outfit.

Dr. Rodberg assures me that he wrote the speech on his own time. Senators BURDICK and MUSKIE both, to their credit, declined to use the tailored document, which is full of

the hair-raising horrors of nuclear war and calculated to scare Americans into pacifism.

I will take Dr. Rodberg's word that he moonlighted the ghostwritten speech, but I hope to find out whether other speeches for other campaigning politicians (both BURDICK and MUSKIE are up for reelection) have been written in the Disarmament Agency at the taxpayer's expense. Meanwhile, there is plenty of hard evidence that this State Department Agency is using public money to peddle special pleading that could very well serve the purposes of those who would like to see America stand naked to her enemies.

Congressman GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Republican of California, in a House speech, pinpointed 127 speaking trips made by Disarmament Agency personnel between July 1962 and January 1964. Of these, 23 were on an expense account basis for which the taxpayer coughed up $3,138.71. Another 54 trips were not charged to the taxpayer, but the personnel were away from their desks while on Government salaries.

One of the ways in which propaganda shops operate is by flinging parties at which the guests, often influential writers or politicos, are softened up on charm and entertainment. This State Department agency, which is supposed to explore the practicalities of international control of weapons and of disarmament, has requested—although denied—$4,000 for "official reception and representation expenses." When questioned on these aspects of his job, the Agency Director, William C. Foster, said:

"Mr. Chairman, this is consistent with one of the four functions with which our Agency is charged; namely, of disseminating information about arms control."

In its budget request for 1965, the Agency asked for $11 million, an increase of 46 percent over its last year's stipend, but the amount requested does not reflect additional sums for arms control and disarmament that are "hidden" in other departmental budgets such as Defense, Atomic Energy, Space, and the U.S. Information Agency, the last-named having recently gone in for subsidizing propaganda books issued by commercial publishers.

LIPSCOMB gets a figure of $150 million of hidden money that is going into various projects for controlling and reducing American armament. How much of all this is a wise and responsible effort? An unnamed spokesman for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaking before the House Appropriations Committee in a recorded statement, said this about proposals made by the Disarmament Agency:

"As a matter of fact * * * quite a sizable portion of the proposals they have sent over have not been looked on with much favor by the Joint Chiefs."

Taken together, the doings of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, plus those of the Council for a Livable World, seems to add up to a pacific lobby. Some of it is supported by the taxpayer, some of it is being huckstered around the country by reelection-seeking politicians who know not what they do.

At the risk of being disrespectful, I note that the majority of Senators and Representatives who take campaign money from the Livable World outfit are men who have not "majored" in the complexities and dangers of cold war disarmament. I would be surprised if anyone recognized Senators BURDICK, MUSKIE, HART, of Michigan, MCGEE, of Wyoming, and MOSS, of Utah, or Representatives MONTOYA, of New Mexico, and HARDING, of Idaho, as knowledgeable persons in this field, although competent in other fields.

Why have these men been politically subsidized by the pacifist lobby? Their colleagues in the Congress, and their constituents back home, ought to ask these men if they know what the score is.

Essays on Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride that I insert the following REA essays written by five young people from Nebraska—Linda White, of Arcadia; James Ray League, of Stratton; William Cook, of North Loup; and Dennis Eggleston and Jean Lynne Fortik, of Ansley.

These young people were sponsored by their local public power districts for this tour of Washington as a result of their winning essays on the value of rural electrification.

The essays follows:

THE LIFE OF A FARM DOG WITH REA

(By Linda White, age 16; junior, Arcadia High School; name of father, Everett White, Arcadia, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Loup Valleys Rural Public Power District, Ord, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

I am a big collie dog named Rex. I can remember when my life was quite different. That was before REA came to our farm.

When I was a puppy, I used to follow my master while he did his chores at night. He used to carry an old, smoky lantern from place to place, and sometimes he stepped on me in the dark. Now our whole yard lights up like daylight when he flips a switch. Very seldom he steps on me now.

I used to wait a long time while my master milked the cows and separated the milk by hand before I could have supper. Sometimes I got pretty hungry. Things are different now. When I hear the putt-putt of the milking machine and the hum of the electric separator, I know my supper will be soon.

I trot along behind as my master carries the pails of warm foamy milk to the well-lighted hogbarn. The baby pigs are snuggled up under the heat lamps. I shiver as I think of this cold, dark place a few years back.

Even our fences are different now. When I get too near they bite so I try to stay away.

Every spring I watched as my master dragged out the old, rusty forge and branding iron to brand the calves. It was a long hot job; and sometimes the smoke hurt my eyes. Since REA has come, I sit back and watch him plug in a device. I smell the stinky, burning hair and then it's all over.

I miss our daily trips to the creaky windmill. Now we have all the water we need at the turn of a switch and the old windmill is forgotten.

When my master irrigates, I go along. The cool water feels so good on a hot day. He said "I'm almost sure of a crop with my electric irrigation pump."

I run along as my mistress looks at the baby chicks. When I peek in the door, they are all cheeping happily under the big red bulbs hanging from the ceiling. If I bark, I will scare them and my mistress will scold me.

My young mistress used to play with me after she had washed her hair. We would romp and play in the sun till it was dry. Now she sits in the house with a funny thing on her head that makes a buzzing noise.

I like to watch through the window as she sews. Once I saw a 4-H emblem on her blouse. Last year she made me a plaid coat but I felt foolish wearing it; my own coat feels better.

They let me in the house more now. With hot water all the time they give me a bath more often and a long whirring machine picks up my loose hair.

I'm getting old but I can still remember how hard the work was for my family before REA came to our farm.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By James Ray League, age 17; junior, Stratton High School; name of father, James Howard League, Stratton, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the McCook Public Power District, McCook, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Without the assistance of electric machines, many of the chores done today would be major undertakings.

On a dairy farm experienced men would be needed to milk the cows as efficiently by hand as one man can milk with a milking machine. Then the milk would either have to be cooled with ice or picked up twice daily. Either of these would increase costs and lower profits. As it is, the dairyman can pour the milk into a cooler, flip a switch, and let electricity cool and store the milk until a truck picks it up.

Before going any further with the topic, a few facts about the REA should be mentioned. First, many people think that the Rural Electrification Administration constructs the lines and generates the electricity. Actually, the REA lends money to cooperatives, controlled by the men they serve, to build the lines and furnish the power. As the districts become self-sufficient, they pay back the loans. Second, the district is directed by men living in the district, men who know the needs of the districts and can act to meet them.

The REA is under fire from "the power companies and their allies."[1] An article in the Reader's Digest states, "With the job virtually completed, REA continues to expand."[2] Here the key word is "completed." A rebuttal the Electric Farmer states, "Does the Reader's Digest advocate that power companies stop investing $4 billion a year to expand service to customers already receiving service? Rural customers' needs grow the same as those of urban customers."[3]

The REA was created in 1935 by an Executive order of the President to furnish electricity to the rural areas of America. On May 21, 1963, the President signed the act into law.

Before REA came into effect, it seemed that the convenience of electricity would be limited to urban use only. T. K. Quinn wrote, "Let us be sensible about it. The great services of electricity are limited to a relatively small portion of American homes because the majority cannot afford to purchase them."[4]

Now 98 percent of the farms in the United States have electricity as compared to a small fraction when REA was inaugurated.

Besides powering necessities and luxuries such as lights, heating systems, television, dishwashers, and dryers, electricity contributes to our safety and protection. It lights street lamps and security lights to discourage would-be hoodlums. Most businesses and many homes are protected by electric burglar alarms.

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[1] The Electric Farmer, February 1964 ("Fiction in the Reader's Digest," pp. 8–9).

[2] The Reader's Digest, December 1963 ("The REA—A Case Study of Bureaucracy Run Wild," p. 82).

[3] The Electric Farmer, February 1964 ("Fiction in the Reader's Digest," pp. 8–9).

[4] Rural Electric Fact Book ("Early Quotes Concerning REA," p. 153).

Since the turn of the century, the life expectancy of Americans has risen in leaps and bounds, and I'm not too sure that electricity and electric conveniences haven't played a part in this phenomenon. Electric washing machines, ranges, refrigerators, and running water are just a few of the labor-saving devices which make the lot of a modern housewife more desirable than that of her mother.

The men haven't been neglected in this age of mechanical assistants. A quick tour through the average home workshop will provide sufficient evidence that whatever demands attention can be taken care of quickly, efficiently, and safely, thanks to electricity.

Electricity has lightened our work and brightened our leisure. If I may paraphrase, "Better things, for better living, through electricity."

A DAIRY FARM DAY MINUS REA

(By William C. Cook, age 17; junior, Arcadia High School; name of father, William Cook, North Loup, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Loup Valleys Rural Public Power District, Ord, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The sun is peeking over the hills rimming the valley, its rays shimmering in the puddles from last night's violent rainstorm.

I am lying on a bed of soft straw, contentedly chewing my cud and waiting for the hired man to open the squeaky gate to the holding pen. That is my signal to get up, stretch, and stroll over to the barn and wait by the door.

The family members call me "Pet," a name given to me because I was such a friendly calf. Like the rest of the registered Holstein herd, I wear a chain with an identification number around my neck.

When the door to the milking parlor opens, I usually manage to squeeze in ahead of the other cows. My favorite stall is at the end of the row and on the way through I can take a few bites of grain from the other feeders. While eating, I get washed with warm water heated by electricity. Next, the gentle suction of the milking machine draws my milk up through plastic tubes into the sparkling glass pipeline which runs to the steel bulk tank in the milk room.

The men in the pit are always taking about electricity and something called REA and the conveniences of doing the chores electrically.

However, something seems to be wrong this morning for the sun is high in the sky and we are still waiting to be milked. A truck just pulled in and a man is unloading large cans. I can hear the clatter of buckets and the hired man is pushing the mechanical door open. As I hurry in the farmer's wife is ahead of me quickly dumping grain into the feeders which normally run electrically. As I reach my stall, someone washes me with cold water and begins milking me by hand. I decide against this kind of treatment and show my displeasure by kicking over the pail. This brings some harsh, unfamiliar words and a pair of hobbles around my hind legs. The family is complaining about the storm and hoping that the REA men can soon find the trouble. The other cows are as unruly and unhappy as I, for we miss the familiar hum of the motor and soothing music from the radio. After a long time they remove the hobbles, push open the door, and chase us out into the feed lot. Wanting a drink, I head straight for the tank. The noisy pump-jack is strangely silent and the farmer's son is pumping frantically to keep up with the thirsty cattle. As I sip the cool, refreshing water, I decide that whatever REA is, it must be essential to this operation. I hope it's on the job for my evening milking.

HOW GOOD IS RURAL ELECTRIFICATION: AS SEEN BY A CITIZEN OF TOMORROW?

(By Dennis Eggleston, age 17; senior, Ansley High School; name of father, Clarence Eggleston, Ansley, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Have you ever looked back to the time when you were young and noticed the many different changes and inventions that have taken place over that short period? It hasn't been too many years ago that you had to pump water by hand and carry it to the house; and if you wanted hot water, you had to carry in fuel for the stove in order to heat the water. Maybe you used to read in the evenings by a kerosene lamp, or carry a lantern for outside work.

Now look at the many modern electrical appliances in use all over the United States. We have electrical water pressure systems and hot or cold water with the turn of a faucet; electric lights wherever we want them; television; radios; electric grain dryers which help to keep high moisture from spoiling grains; and heating lamps which warm baby pigs giving them a better start. These are just a few of the many electrical appliances that are made possible through electricity. After we have used these appliances, we can hardly see how we ever managed to get along without them.

This is the kind of thing that would be viewed by a citizen of tomorrow as he looks upon the fast changes that are being made possible through the new electrical inventions. With the population of the United States increasing at the rate of 8,000 people per day and with that many new mouths to feed, one knows that electricity has to increase in the future just as fast as it has in the past in order to help the farmer produce enough to feed and to clothe our growing nation. He knows that the farmer will be able to fulfill the demand, providing he has plenty of low-cost electricity to do more of the jobs that are still being done by hand.

The citizen of tomorrow can visualize electrically operated feeding operations that are now being tried on many farms. With the use of a time switch, which turns on the automatic feeding system, the farmer won't have to be around to feed his sheep, cattle, or swine. Also the farmer has mechanical ventilation and automatic watering systems insuring better health protection and faster gains for his livestock. With the use of electricity in these types of feeding setups, the farmer has cut down on labor which would otherwise require the help of two or more men. Through the electrically operated automatic feeding systems the modern farmer can feed more animals cheaper, faster, and with less effort. This gives him more time to do other work or to enjoy some sort of recreational activity which was once available only to his city cousin.

Rural electricity is truly a growing industry as it serves an ever-increasing number of purposes. It is giving farmers, the people connected with the farmers and the following generations a new and better way of life by making it easier, more healthful and enjoyable.

We, the citizens of tomorrow, can truly say that we can live better electrically.

HOW GOOD IS RURAL ELECTRIFICATION?

(By Jean Lynne Fortik, age 17; senior, Ansley High School; name of father, Everett Fortik, Ansley, Nebr.; Contestant sponsored by the Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Man's eternal need to set his light against the darkness was proved in 1935 when the Rural Electrification Administration was created. Since this time electricity has revolutionized rural living in the United States; it has raised farm production and increased farm efficiency; it has extended the boundaries of modern living; and it has helped establish new job-creating businesses and industries in rural areas.

In 1935, 9,544 Nebraska farms or 7.1 percent of the total received central station electric service. By June 30, 1962, a total of 87,300 farms in Nebraska—97 percent of all farms recorded in the 1959 Census of Agriculture—were receiving electric service. One can readily see that the rural electric supply has become as important to the modern day farmers as the automobile is to every American family. Rural electric power's symbol, Willie Wirehand, is on the job continuously. The more work he does—the cheaper his labor gets; in fact, rural public power districts in Nebraska sell nearly half of the electricity used in Nebraska. A typical rural consumer uses an average of 500 kilowatthours of electricity per month and is doubling his use every 6 years. To rural families, electricity is a measuring yardstick on low electric rates.

In the wheat farming stretches of the Great Plains, on the ranches of the West, and in the hill country of the South one can see REA lines reaching out into the darkness to light rural America. Electricity now performs more than 600 different tasks on the farm ranging from electric percolators, freezers, and stereo sets to electric branding, irons, milking machines, and irrigation systems. American agriculture is known as the most modern and efficient in the world because of the instrumentality of this electrical energy. No longer is the farmer the last to hear of worldwide news. Radio and television have removed the isolationism of the farmer. Electrical use on the farm is still only a growing teenager.

Our Creator makes every drop of water to fall from the heavens to earth for a purpose. The harnessing of streams which flow from the mountains, through the meadows, to the sea allows the rural citizens of America to farm better—electrically. The Lord said "Let There Be Light," and the countryside was no longer black with darkness.

How good is rural electrification? It can be compared as a contributor to our physical being as religion is to our spiritual being, reaching out its hand in infinite helpfulness to all who will avail themselves of its power.

Morning Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Abe Mellinkoff writes a short paragraph or two as the Morning Report, which is published in the San Francisco Chronicle each morning. His report on June 1, I am sure, will be of interest to the Members of the House, and under privilege to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include extraneous material, I include the Morning Report:

MORNING REPORT
(By Abe Mellinkoff)

China is being nasty. She won't let us delay action in southeast Asia until after November.

Obviously we have to do something new. Because what we are doing now isn't working out. There is deep trouble in South Vietnam. And it is hard to tell what is going on in Laos. In fact, it is hard to tell if the place, as it was set up just a few years ago, even exists. It all depends on which news service you believe—on which day.

So we can pull out, get in deeper where we are, or extend the fighting. Whatever we do will be an admission that what we have been doing was wrong. And that's bad politics in an election year.

Private Association Expresses Concern Over USDA Wire News Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have received a number of communications critical of the recent trend in the U.S. Department of Agriculture to expand its wire news services, making them available through direct interconnection to private individuals and business firms.

One of the most significant is the one which follows from the executive council of the Certified Livestock Markets Association of Kansas City.

The text of the letter follows:

CERTIFIED LIVESTOCK
MARKETS ASSOCIATION,
Kansas City, Mo., June 1, 1964.

Hon. PAUL FINDLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FINDLEY: On behalf of the industry trade association of over 900 livestock markets in 48 States, I wish to express the appreciation of the industry for your stand in opposition to the use of public funds for a marketing wire service which accepts commercial subscribers.

We join you in the conviction that it is ominous to the public interest when Government employees can control the news from source to private organizations and individuals. The use of such a Government wire service for department news releases would be only one more step toward total control.

In the interests of free, competitive private enterprise in the livestock marketing industry, we believe commercial wire service to be entirely adequate to support our price quotations and news requirements and, as you may know, have expressed these views in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee.

Your forthright stand in the public interest and in support of a free press and competitive private enterprise, without Government competition or influence, is deeply appreciated.

It is my understanding that this question may again appear upon the floor of the House in a consideration of House Joint Resolution 977, and I would hope that efforts to amend that bill to include "dissemination of market news" within the studies contemplated by the Commission may be successful.

Very truly yours,
C. T. "TAD" SANDERS,
Executive Counsel.

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, next week a group of high school students from Nebraska, winners of an essay contest sponsored by the Nebraska Rural Electrification Association, will be visiting Washington, D.C. These young people have done an excellent job of expressing their thoughts on the value of REA, and I believe my colleagues will be interested in reading some of the winning entries. I am inserting in the RECORD the following four essays:

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Jerry Tripe, 17, of Orleans, Nebr., a junior at Orleans High School)

Electricity is truly the workhorse of our rural homes and community. Electricity is such a necessary part of our lives, it is hard to imagine what country life would be like without its many benefits. Electricity creates a virtual revolution in communications, lightens the housewife's daily chores, and helps take the burden of drudgery off the American farmer. In general it makes life easier on the rural dweller.

The farmer probably could not get along without the help electricity provides. Heat lamps, cattle feeding systems, electric pumps, feedmixers, augers, tank heaters, feed grinders, welders, drills, and many, many other tools and equipment owe their usefulness to electricity. Whether a farmer tills the fields or raises cattle or swine, he is constantly dependent upon electricity.

Not only is electricity the helper on the farm, but it is just as much, if not more important in the home. At the turn of the century less than 2 percent of the homes in the United States were wired for electricity. Today this figure has grown to 98 percent. Most necessities and conveniences we enjoy and take for granted are provided by electricity. The electric range, toaster, steam iron, radio, television, water heater, lighting fixtures, refrigerator, washer, dryer, and vacuum sweeper are but a few of these.

There are numerous reasons for the widespread use of electricity. For one thing, electricity has a very low cost. Hardly a more economical form of power is to be found. As a matter of fact, in most places the rates have not changed greatly in the last 20 years. Even though, in rural communities the consumers are not close together, the cost is still noticeably low. Electricity is dependable. Equipment run by electricity has operated for long periods of time with relatively few repairs or breakdowns. A third reason for the popularity of this power is its adaptability. It can be used to generate heat, to create freezing temperatures, to give large or small amounts of current, and a hundred and one other versions of work.

The value of rural electricity is so great it can hardly be measured. Our rural homes and communities depend upon electric power to run the numerous appliances and utilities we use daily. It is a helper to rural dwellers by providing comforts and necessities, doing strenuous labor, getting the job done quickly and quietly, and being ready to go into action at the press of a button or the flick of a switch. Probably at this time there is no other source of power that so influences our lives in rural homes and communities as electricity.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Cynthia Aldinger, 18, of Wilcox, Nebr., a senior at Holdrege High School)

"East or west, home is best." It is true that for every person the thought of home brings a special and different feeling in the heart. There is the thought of a fresh cherry pie, a fun-loving game, and a happiness felt in the fading twilight of a day at home; but to us of today our homes would not be complete without the helping hand of electricity, a helper too often taken for granted but a valuable helper that men have struggled to bring to the home and community.

In the early 1920's, a growing number of rural leaders were starting to insist on electrification for their areas. Because of their demand, the Committtee on the Relation of Electricity to Agriculture (CREA) was formed. Later, on May 11, 1935, the Rural Electrification Administration was created by an order of President F. D. Roosevelt. It gave powers to an REA administrator to "initiate, formulate, administer, and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." From that time on REA was on its way to helping the people. It was like the pendulum that travels much, but it only goes a tick at a time. Men had to take the initiative to get the electricity into their State and communities and by 1940 a total of 23 States were receiving the help of REA. What a wonder it must have been to the farm families when their homes were first electrified. It was said that the night the lights came on was forever an important date ranking with marriages and births and that the lights remained on all night long with people getting a good look at the rooms and of each other.

The strange servant took over. It became a member of the family and the community. People no longer had to perform back-breaking tasks of carrying water and bringing in wood. The new hired hand was capable of doing all this. Just given a chance, electricity was pumping water, producing light, running radios, milking cows, hatching chickens, warming pigs, heating homes, lifting, turning, and pushing just about anything possible. Even today it is continuously taking over jobs and creating a better world. A decade ago the people would never have thought of surprising their grandparents with a mercury-vapor light as a Christmas present. Now in the dusk of day mercury-vapor lights can be seen coming on all over the community. The standard of living in our communities has advanced through electricity. It does every job large or small more efficiently and economically. It gives the United States billions of dollars and is responsible for thousands of inventions that make life in the communities of the 20th century so pleasant.

By using God's wonderful gift wisely, men have found something beyond compare in electricity. Rural electrification speaks for itself and tells us that it is by far our home and community's best friend.

A NATIONAL HERO

(By Larry Gene Flohr of Dalton, Nebr., a junior at Dalton High School)

Due to the great depression in the 1930's and the backwardness of rural communities, "the backbone of the United States was falling apart." The farmers of the United States needed help. Many farmers were forced to sell their farms because of the low selling price of their crops and the low production of their farms. This farm situation caused the economy of the United States to drop. Something had to be done. If the farmers in this Nation would fall, so would the Nation itself. The production and the economy of the farmers had to be raised and the load on him had to be lightened.

What could be done to save the farmers of this Nation? Some experts thought elec-

tricity to the rural areas was the answer. But how could the rural areas get electricity economically?

In 1935 the Rural Electrification Administration was established to make loans to cooperatives to set up local rural electrification. The Administration gave loans to cooperatives to set up local rural electrification. The Administration had the responsibility of providing dependable electrical service to rural farms in an adequate supply and at a cost that would permit maximum use by all. Long-term low-interest loans and technical assistance from the Administration made the electrical revolution possible. Thousands of miles of electric transmission lines were built and thousands of farms were wired for electricity all across the Nation. Within 30 years all of the rural areas in the United States were being served by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Today electricity is an essential part of the life in rural areas. Most farm homes have an electric water pump to supply the house with water. Many homes have an electric water heater and of course many of the time-saving and work-saving appliances which enable the modern housewife to have more time for leisure and community activities.

Electricity relieves the modern farmer from the drudgery of his every-day chores. Electric milking machines, coolers, and pasteurization machines save time and are economical to a dairy farmer. Many farmers have electric feeding machines that can feed thousands of cattle by simply pushing a button, thus saving time and money.

Electric pumps are very valuable to the modern irrigation farmer because they can supply him with water whenever he needs it to save his crops from the hot, dry, summer days. Modern grain dryers also aid him because they enable him to harvest his crops earlier than usual.

Most farms have a well equipped shop consisting of an electric grinder, drill, welder, etc. By doing our own welding and repairing, our welder has saved us several hundred dollars this past year. During our past harvest we repaired our combine in a matter of hours with our welder. Without our welder, it would have taken several days and maybe the cost of our crop being destroyed by a hail storm.

These are just a few ways that Rural Electrification helps out in our home and community. The REA has grown to be the most useful organization in the United States because it saved the life of our farmers and the life of our Nation. Truly, Rural Electrification is a national hero.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION—PRICELESS IN VALUE

(By Shirley Jean Mika, 17, Dalton, Nebr., a junior at Dalton High School)

Rural electrification, established in 1936, is one of the most wonderful and profitable advancements ever made in farm history. Today it plays a vital role in the life of the farmer. One might say that it brought the farmer from the darkness into the daylight. It has helped change him from a common laborer into an agricultural specialist.

The coming of electric power to the farm has increased its production and efficiency. In the farmhome one can find all the modern electrical conveniences that may be found in any modern city home, thus extending the boundaries of modern living. Out go the kerosene lamps, outside toilets, iceboxes, coal stoves, battery radios, hand water pumps and gasoline powered washing machines. In come electric lights, modern plumbing, refrigerators, deep freezes, televisions, pressure water systems, automatic washing machines, and clothes dryers. Naturally these conveniences help the farmer's wife by allowing her more spare time in which to play bridge, serve on committees as well as devote more of herself to her children and husband.

Those innumerable chores which a farmer must perform each day have certainly been lightened and shortened by the advent of REA. The production of baby chicks and the quantity and quality of eggs has increased due to the use of electric heat lamps and egg incubators. The tedious job of chopping ice from water tanks for the cattle in the winter has been eliminated thanks to heated automatic stock waterers; consequently, beef production is increased, thus contribution to the farmers' net income.

Electric pumps and irrigation systems now save crops during the dreaded drought seasons. Human hands need never touch a quart of milk in this generation. Thanks to the electric milking machines and pasteurizers. Many a dreaded hail storm has cut a devastating path through the country, but the modern electric grain dryers have allowed many farmers to have reaped their golden grain early while it was still damp.

Since electricity has come to the country, everybody's habits have changed. It is a new kind of life for the farmers and their families as well as the city dwellers. Now, the countryside is dotted with modern restaurants, drive-in theaters, and numerous tourist attractions thanks to rural electrification. This is indeed a blessing to the city dwellers who are anxious to leave the hustle and bustle of their everyday life for a little quiet relaxation.

How did all of this new and wonderful change get its start? The farmer, seeking a better way of life, formed co-ops who in turn borrowed money from the Rural Electrification Administration, a division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in order to finance their electrical systems. Even though almost 98 percent of our farms are now electrified there still remains a gap to be closed. Cattle feeding techniques must be improved. Farm cultivating practices must be advanced. New and more advanced appliances must still be developed for the farmer's wife as well as the city people. Yes indeed, our future is bright with rural electrification.

Unnecessary Expense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, one may well wonder whether there is any substance behind the assurances of the Secretary of Defense that defense expenditures are being held down. Incident after incident is brought to our attention of the waste and procurement abuses that seem to be the order of the day in the Department of Defense. I call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of June 3, and which discusses the recent report of the General Accounting Office that $29 million have been flagrantly wasted.

Mr. Speaker, this squandering of hard-earned tax dollars must stop, and I call upon the Secretary of Defense to take vigorous steps to see that such abuses are corrected immediately.

The editorial follows:

UNNECESSARY EXPENSE

A recent report from the General Accounting Office (GAO) notes that from June 1958 to July 1962 the Department of the Navy bought 1,100 militarily developed radio transmitters of a certain type. During the time these purchases were made, another radio transmitter, commercially developed and costing less than half as much, was available. The differences between the two transmitters were so slight that Navy engineers recommended the purchase of the cheaper unit.

The Department of the Navy ignored this advice and the GAO says that $29 million was spent unnecessarily.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has been strongly advocating thrift and the elimination of unnecessary expenses by the military forces. It would be a matter of considerable satisfaction to the taxpayers if the military forces paid some attention and if McNamara called some of the Navy brass in on the carpet to find out why they ignored their own engineers.

A Word to the Wise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place before the House a statement made recently by George J. Burger, vice president for legislative activities of the National Federation of Independent Business. The federation's poll results always provide pertinent information. The topic of Mr. Burger's testimony "The Burden of Government Paperwork" is one in which we all have an interest.

I commend his statement to you:

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

I am George J. Burger, vice president, legislative activities, National Federation of Independent Business. We are a national organization composed solely of smaller, independent business and professional people. As of April 27, 1964, our membership consisted of 195,760 individual, directly supporting and participating independents. This figure continues to grow. Our members are distributed throughout all of the Nation's 435 congressional districts. They are a true cross section of all the vocations at all levels of America's smaller, independent enterprise community.

The federation performs many services for independents at both National and State levels. Our policies on legislation are set by direct vote of the entire membership, with each member having one and only one vote, which he registers on a signed ballot which is sent to his Congressman. The federation conducts these polls through its the Mandate regularly throughout each year. Members are given objective statements of the essence of issues polled, plus accompanying objective arguments on both sides of each issue. They reach their own decisions.

Additionally, and among other services, we conduct yearly factfinding surveys, to gain broader and deeper knowledge of the facts involved in independent enterprise problems. These surveys remain the same throughout each year. Each member receives only one questionnaire form. It requires us a year to cover our entire membership in these efforts.

We are glad to be here today because your subcommittee is investigating a matter that

is most significant not only to independent enterprise but also to the prosperity of our country. As you know, independents now account for about 40 percent of all our employment. Findings through the first quarter of this year in our current factfinding survey—"Jobs, the Nation's Most Critical Problem"—indicate that given a fair chance this year independent enterprisers will engage in expansions that could provide a great number of additional jobs for our workers.

Please refer to our seventh question. Here we ask members to tell us whether they are considering expansions and, if so, how many additional jobs will be provided.

It is interesting to read, in our report for first quarter 1964 that 3,391 of the 16,179 respondents, all of whom signed their statements, or 21 percent of all, indicated plans for expansion. These small business and professional people further stated that these expansions would provide an additional 15,622 jobs, for an average 4.6 additional jobs per expansion.

Now, it is a fact that trends established in these factfinding surveys usually hold for the balance of the year. It is a further fact that our membership is a representative cross section of all American independent enterprise. The breakdown of types of enterprises reporting, on the right side of our report, confirms this.

For these reasons it is possible to project the 21-percent "planned expansion" figure to the total American small business community of 4,500,000 units. On this basis we can conclude that—as our president, Mr. C. W. Harder has stated—some 945,000 of our independent enterprises may well be planning expansions which, if successfully realized, might provide an additional 4,347,000 jobs in our economy. Even if only part of these expansions are realized, there will be a significant impact on our unemployment situation. When you have time you might profitably study the figures for your own State.

We know you will agree that Government should do all that it can to encourage these expansions, mindful of the fact that there are many things which the enterprises can and must do for themselves:

However, there are taxes, and Congress has just reduced them. There is the matter of fairness in competition. There is the problem of sensible labor regulation. There are many other areas in which action can be taken, and these include the eliminating of needless Government reporting and recordkeeping requirements.

That long and bitter experience has convinced many business and professional people that there are needless Government reporting and recordkeeping requirements is shown clearly in the response to the No. 1 question of our current factfinding survey, which deals directly with reporting and recordkeeping requirements:

Sixty-seven percent of our respondents feel there is need to streamline "business-census reports-records," 69 percent feel there's need to streamline "tax reports-records," and 52 percent feel there's need to streamline "labor reports-records."

This is not surprising. In one of its reports some years ago, the former "Hoover Commission" stated that smaller enterprisers spent, then at least, up to 29 percent of their time compiling records for Government.

It is not surprising, either, in view of the fact that when, in Mandate No. 246 issued in March of 1959, we asked our members for a policy position on H.R. 1272, Representative LAIRD, of Wisconsin, a bill that aimed to reduce the number of reports required yearly on social security and income tax withholdings, their response was 89 percent "for," 8 percent "against," and 3 percent "no opinion."

That this vote represented a deeply held conviction is shown by the results of two later policy position polls.

In Mandate No. 261, issued in October of 1960, we polled our members on the substance of the Laird bill. Their response was 90 percent "for," 8 percent "against," and 2 percent "no opinion."

In Mandate No. 266, issued during May of 1961, we polled members on H.R. 5874 (which was identical with the earlier presentations). Their response was 83 percent "for," 14 percent "against," and 3 percent "no opinion."

Now, let no one read any sense of contradiction into the returns on the various mandate polls and on the factfinding survey. Under varying circumstances we will get small differences in mandate returns. Additionally, in mandates we poll members on specific legislative issues, while in our factfinding surveys we question them on general problem areas. While no one can say what policy position our members would take today on the type of bill introduced by Mr. LAIRD, we would not at all be surprised to find the returns close to those recorded in the 1959–61 period.

(An interesting aside is furnished in the fact that when we made a special survey, for Members of Congress and the departments, during May and June of 1961 on the late President Kennedy's tax revision program, one of our questions dealt with his proposal to assign account numbers to all taxpayers and to permit Treasury to use electronic data processing in accounting for tax returns. Our response was 62 percent "for," 21 percent "against," and 17 percent "no opinion." But comments accompanying many of these responses indicated that approval was conditioned, in large measure, on the achievement of significant savings to Government and taxpayers.)

But these statistics, representing as they do the tabulated opinion of business and professional people themselves, do not tell the whole story. For this, we must turn to the comments which they have written on their responses to the factfinding survey.

About half the independents who have responded to our jobs survey have taken the time and trouble to tell us why they feel Government reporting and recordkeeping requirements are unduly burdensome, and in some instances how changes might be made for the better. All these comment-bearing responses are on file, by States, at our Washington office. They are available for your inspection, or inspection by your staff. We will be happy to let you look them over at the office. Just give us a call at Republic 7-3523.

In any case, while preparing to talk with you today we examined the thousands of comment-bearing responses to our No. 1 question. We selected only those which are most specific to report to you with this testimony. We did not select others which, while general in nature, do emphasize the urgency of the need for action in reducing needless reporting and recordkeeping, because we feel that you do recognize the scope of the problem.

For a moment, let's turn to attachment F and read a few of these comments. They do give a real feel of the small business pulse on Government reporting requirements.

Now, just how does this Government reporting burden tie in with problems involved in small business expansion? Let's turn to the mill operator from Alabama who says he has had to detail one employee to work almost full time keeping up with required reports. In wages this might mean from $3,000 to $5,000 in additional overhead for his business. This, in turn, might well tie up the profits from $30,000 to $50,000 of his sales volume. Now, if he were free of the reporting requirements in question, or at least that share of them that is unnecessary, he might be able to take this $3,000 to $5,000 a year and invest it in inventory and/or services, turning same four to five times a year. This, in turn, could mean an additional profit of perhaps $2,000 to $3,000 for him—and out of this could come money for expansion and, perhaps another productive pob. Remember, needless recordkeeping and reporting provide nothing but additional paperwork.

Multiply this one businessman by his 4,500,000 and you can quickly figure the penalty which needless Government reports exacts all down the line from our economy, in terms of production, sales, services, profits, taxes, and jobs.

"Needless" is the exact word to use. Don't think that any members of the federation believe, or that we believe, that any business can be run in today's world without necessary records and reports. Government, too, must have its records and reports.

However; we and our members, who realize that all organizations must run on sound principles, know that in any enterprise—be it private or governmental—there is always danger that some workers, whether out of misguided interest in their work or out of sheer bureaucracy, will demand either that unnecessary records be kept or that necessary records be made more detailed than called for. The larger the enterprise—and government is our biggest business—the greater the danger. These are the people and the types of reports and records against which we must always be on guard.

We are, incidentally, happy to know of your interest in this area because we know that your vigilance has paid off in the past. As we understand it, just last year, due to your work, the Interstate Commerce Commission found it possible to relieve truckers of over 500,000 forms they had earlier been required to fill in and submit. We hope that your success will continue, since it is vital to our members and all small business.

Finally, in order to be of further service in your work, we have commenced an extra special survey among our more than 2,000-member district chairman, all leading business and professional people in their communities throughout the 50 States, on the cost (in man-hours) of making out reports required by Government.

We are asking specifically to identify the reports which they must submit, which of these are the most onerous, which duplicate informational forms which must be submitted to the States, who and how many people must spend how much time making out these reports, etc.

We appreciate, and we know our members appreciate, the fact that your subcommittee chairman, Mr. OLSEN, has decided to await the report of this survey before submitting recommendations to the Congress. We are doing our level best to get this report to him, and to you, at the earliest possible date. We know the information will be as helpful as it will be interesting, and are happy to have this additional opportunity to be of service to independents by being of service to those who represent them in government.

On behalf of our members, and on our own behalf, we thank you.

Memorial Day, Gettysburg, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on May 30 of each year we pay tribute to

those who helped make and keep this country free.

Thousands of American flags wave over graves in military cemeteries all over the world. Poppies grow "Between the crosses, row on row," a symbol of the eternal sleep of our Nation's military dead. Each contributed his last full measure of devotion, never having had a chance to play his complete part on the stage of life. Geniuses who rightfully should have belonged to tomorrow's history lie buried in those cemeteries.

Each year at the National Cemetery in Gettysburg a tribute and a sincere thank you is said to those men who kept their appointment with an unkind fate in the morning of their lives.

This year nature appeared to cooperate in paying this tribute. Under a cloudless sky, with the temperature at a near perfect degree, grass at its greenest, trees and shrubs with varying degrees of color, made a perfect setting for 1,500 schoolchildren to strew flowers on the graves in a most impressive ceremony.

Judge Clarence Sheely presided over exercises at the rostrum.

The following prayer was offered by Rev. Merlin G. Shull, pastor of the Church of the Brethren:

Almighty God, Creator of all the earth and Lord of all the nations, we invoke Thy presence with us as we are gathered here at this place of precious memories. We thank Thee for this goodly land which Thou hast granted unto us for a heritage, for the people from many lands and races that make up this great Nation, and for the ties of blood and love that bind us to all the inhabitants of Thy world. Send, we pray, the blessing of health, wisdom, and courage upon the President, the Congress, and all in our world who hold temporal power, that upholding what is right, and following what is true, they may obey Thy holy will and fulfill Thy divine purpose. Grant that we may never selfishly seek to reserve solely unto ourselves the blessings which fall in such abundance upon us. Help us to go from this place with increased devotion to the task of promoting the well-being of all Thy children, that peace may come and Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Amen.

Senator BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, delivered the main address for the ceremonies, and I should like it to be made a part of my remarks at this time:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, REPUBLICAN, OF IOWA, MEMORIAL DAY EXERCISES, GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY, GETTYSBURG, PA., MAY 30, 1964

Congressman George Goodling, Judge Sheely, Chairman Colonel Shriver, Mayor Weaver, reverend clergy, veterans of our Nation's service, schoolchildren of Gettysburg, and fellow Americans, when this "hallowed ground" was dedicated 100 years ago there were many persons then living who had spanned more than the "four score and 7 years" of our national life. Today, there are a few whose lives have traversed this past century. Thus, we can say that this Nation of ours, still young in years but mature in progress and world responsibility, was born and has grown to that maturity and accepted leadership during the period of two consecutive long lifetimes. A few men and women of today actually knew some of those who "brought forth a new Nation."

You have honored me greatly with your invitation to participate in this annual Memorial observance in Gettysburg today. One cannot stand on this ground in meditation without feeling the overpowering presence of the shades of men locked in mortal struggle for the preservation of their convictions and on this field 101 years ago the fate of this Nation—its preservation as a national union—was determined.

When Abraham Lincoln dedicated this National Cemetery in 1863 he knew, without doubt, that the high point of uncertainty as to the outcome of the war had been passed in the first 3 days of July. The tide of battle was running inexorably with the North and victory was in sight. But he did not boast of victory or exult over the defeat of opponents—instead, his matchless address with clarity, comprehension and unequalled conciseness restated the founding concept of our country—he honored all those "living and dead" who struggled here and his compassion was not for the North or the South but for all of our people.

Victory in the war was not the end but the security for continuing the work of consolidating and developing our Union. The indefensible system of slavery was the emotional trigger of the war—it was tragic that it was not met and peacefully solved as a political matter, but when the war broke out the immediate and controlling issue became the preservation of the Union—if the Union failed the cause of freedom would fail.

A century ago we began again the consolidation of our Union. There were deep wounds to be healed and ways of life to be recast, but a rich land of opportunity and promise was open to a finally united people. The work of binding our country and people together was intensified—highways and railroads spanned the continent—industry and agriculture developed rapidly—markets became available for products of the interior and we grew strong and great under our assured Federal system.

During the first half of our national life, geography kept us out of most world conflicts, but in the last 66 years we have been engaged in four wars—each time against aggression or tyranny and in aid of freedom for others with no thought of enrichment for ourselves. We have gone to the far corners of the earth to help those who would be free and our own great strength has been the determining factor in those adventures. Today there is no other nation or combination of nations that can or will give the responsible leadership for the free world to which we are dedicated.

In free systems, however, there is often conflict of thought, if not of ultimate goals. Free people generate their own thoughts and try to compose their differences. In tyrannies, such as those under communism, the people are told what to think and independent ideas are received only at the whim of the despots.

In a free system the individual has responsibility and opportunity—his limitations are measured only by his ability and effort—he can create, improvise, experiment, venture—and he can own and control the fruits of his efforts. In a free system the citizen controls his government but in a tyranny he is controlled by government.

It is such a system of freedom under a Federal union, pioneered in this land by the founders and preserved by the great struggle a century ago, that has maintained a political climate under which we have outstripped all other peoples in strength, comfort, and prospect. Our solemn obligation is to keep it so.

As we develop, however, so do the other peoples of the world. Science and technology have destroyed distance and those in the jungle and the wilderness know about, although they may not yet understand, the miracles that have been developed in the past half century. No doubt many of you remember the first airplane—no one thought it would really fly, of course, and now we know that men will soon be living in space—the magic carpet is outmoded and so are the seven league boots.

Sixty years ago anyone suggesting that soon you could turn a switch and see people and things half way around the world was considered mad.

Tomorrow, many of you here today will see miracles that will make those of today seem crude by comparison.

These things we all know, but we must never forget that they have been accomplished by freemen—tyrants and slaves have contributed little if anything to human progress, and whenever men of genius have been born under despots they have had to flee to places of freedom before their genius can benefit mankind.

Economic and social problems beset us—and we must and shall solve them. They will be followed by others and this is the pattern of continued progress. We are a nation in which equal rights and opportunities for all must prevail. Where they are deficient, we must make correction, but in making correction for one deficiency we must be careful that we don't create others—but freedom demands that we maintain justice as well as combat injustice.

While we have many domestic problems confronting us none is more emotionally charged at this moment than the civil rights issue and perhaps no issue is more misunderstood or subject to distortion of its various phases. One difficulty confronting us is that emotion on either side of this issue may so becloud it as to hamper objective consideration. Propaganda abroad charges that the Negro in this country is still a slave. Every American knows that this is false and that the Negro not only has physical freedom and equality of property rights but they also are far better off than the Negro in any part of the world. This is not to say that he has not suffered indignities and that in certain limited areas he has not been prevented from exercising some of the rights which should be inherent with all Americans. Unfortunately, and from a standpoint of informing the world about the truth, those who have charge of our propaganda emphasize certain indefensible areas of discrimination but either minimize or fail entirely to point out those areas and conditions where equality and opportunity do exist.

The Congress has been struggling with legislation hopefully designed to correct injustice or to establish and protect full equality of rights that are basic. The conflict, in the main, arises from the concern of many that in attempting to legislate the establishment and equal protection of basic rights the law may go further and attempt to control or dictate social adjustments normally reserved within the personal sovereignty of the individual. I am sure, however, that within our framework of public opinion and representative government this issue can be fairly and properly resolved.

While we may be preoccupied with internal affairs we must not lose sight of the vital struggle going on in the world between the tyranny of international communism and freedom. The issues have been sharply drawn and are as clearly defined today for those who will see as they ever have been. In broad terms the issue is simply whether men will rule themselves through intelligent self-determination or whether they will be ruled by closely knit groups of autocrats—whether men will be free to exercise their own genius or whether they will be stifled in their development by central government dictation.

Unfortunately, many people are overanxious to assume that when Moscow or Peiping put on a smiling face for a moment or mouth platitudes of peace and coexistence it means that they are altering their basic purpose. We have those who say that we must trust the Communists more. No more tragic mistake could be made than to follow this line of reasoning. For every gesture or protestation of peaceful purpose emanating from Moscow there are dozens of declarations of conquest and destruction of the West.

World dominion is, as it always has been, the ultimate goal toward which international communism is driving and while we as a nation respect the rights of other nations, when freely determined by their people, to set the form of their own government, we must resist and combat the unaltered program of those countries governed by international communism which is determined to enslave the rest of the world.

The last year or two we have seen quarrels and vicious declarations of mutual distrust between the Red Chinese and Moscow but those who feel that this rift may mark a fundamental change in the objectives of communism may indeed have a rude awakening one day. The quarrels and vilifications between the leaders of the Communist world seem to go to the question of tactics and leadership rather than to any change of purpose and I think there is little doubt that in any emergency in which international communism is in danger of receiving a severe setback they will unite against what they consider to be the common enemy—the nations of freedom.

As a nation we have not only resisted this enemy program but we have spent vast sums of money since World War II to help guide the more uncertain countries toward a plateau for the development of self-determination and partnership in a free world. The task, of course, has not been finished, indeed it may have only begun, in point of time, but we must continue our vigilance. More than that we must exercise every effort to enlist the greater cooperation and unity of other free nations of the world in this struggle. We are the greatest and strongest of all countries and yet our strength cannot be matched successfully against that of all of the rest of the world or against a substantial part of the world with the rest occupying roles of indifference or uncooperation. Our great strength has too often led us into the belief that we can do everything. We can do much. However, we must not and we cannot be expected to erode our own strength and the vitality as a nation in this conflict while others sit idly by and fail to contribute their fair share of strength and vigor.

When Abraham Lincoln dedicated this sacred ground in that address in 1863 which will be accepted as the charter for freedom as long as freedom exists, he called upon us to dedicate ourselves to the task of building a greater and greater citadel of opportunity and freedom. We have, as a nation, magnificently responded to this call, but just as the work of building a nation was unfinished in 1863 so the work continues to be unfinished; as long as free men and women are permitted to reach out for more and better freedom and happiness and opportunity the work will always be unfinished.

We should not reserve Memorial Day alone as the time when we renew our determination to keep the faith with those who have sacrificed to build and preserve a nation; rather we should, daily, with Lincoln "highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Poverty of Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the May 16 edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer needs no comment from me and I make none other than the heading on this insertion:

POLITICS IN THE POVERTY BELT

Politics can beget some strange and petty antics.

Take, for instance, the journey of two Republican Congressmen to Autauga County, Ala., where six Negro tenant farmers live on land owned by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Congressmen, DAVE MARTIN, of Nebraska, and M. G. SNYDER, of Kentucky, are opposed to President Johnson's antipoverty program. So they scented good political material in uncovering uncared-for impoverishment on Johnson land.

"We saw people living in deplorable poverty, with little evidence of concern by their millionaire landlords," Congressman SNYDER said after the trip. He added that the tenants are living in three- and four-room shacks with cracked flooring, leaking roofs, broken wood burning stoves, and no toilet facilities.

It was brought out later that the elderly families living on the property pay $5 a month rent. They have been assured that they can remain as long as they choose.

When the two Congressman were asked how they would relieve the poverty of the people they had seen on the Johnson land, MARTIN said that existing programs for vocational education and manpower retraining would do the job.

In response to a question, MARTIN said that he had voted against the Manpower Retraining Act. SNYDER said that he had voted against that act and vocational education as well. In fact, he added, he favors a cut in welfare programs because he believes poverty can be held down by spurring the free enterprise system.

We can only say that their mingling with the poor people did not do them, or the poor, much good.

Make It a Sensible, Safe Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the great public services by our community newspapers is their effective appeal to the sensible nature of their readers.

I place into the RECORD at this point an editorial in the Saturday, May 30 issue of the Chicago Heights Star, directing the attention of its readers to a need to concentrate on having a safe holiday period. This type of editorial is truly a public service:

MAKE IT A SENSIBLE, SAFE HOLIDAY

Inevitable and essential warnings of grim traffic statistics during the holiday weekend are partially offset in this area by announcements of many local observances of the Memorial Day holiday.

Residents owe a debt of gratitude to the public-spirited individuals and organizations who, year in and year out, attempt to keep alive the true meaning of the holiday. Great as the need for relaxation and recreation might be, it is not too much for us to observe with respect the sacrifice made by the Nation's war dead.

We hope that many residents will be encouraged to remain in the area for patriotic and religious observances on the holiday.

For those who take to the road, we hope that maximum safety precautions will be observed.

Illinois' first 1964 holiday alert went into effect last night and will continue through midnight Sunday. State police are out in full force, receiving aid from officers of the secretary of state's police. The extra effort has proved valuable in the past as a means of reducing casualties.

Meanwhile, residents who travel nearby roadways should remain alert to the area's most hazardous locations, making due allowance for the possible mistakes of others.

Graduation Address at the U.S. Naval Academy by the Honorable Carl Vinson, Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, on June 3, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, June 3, 1964, the graduating class at the U.S. Naval Academy had the great privilege of hearing an address by the incomparable chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the Honorable CARL VINSON.

Mr. Speaker, I wish every Member of the House, every member of our armed services, every civilian official of the Department of Defense, and every thinking American citizen had been present on this momentous occasion.

Fifty years of brilliant service to the Nation was reflected in the clear, strong, confident words of Chairman VINSON as he talked to the graduates and 10,000 others in the audience about "The Navy of the Future."

His words of wisdom; his vision of things to come; his sage advice; his confidence in the future, his understanding of our national defense structure; and his reassurance to the graduates on the future of the Navy will long be remembered by those who heard him and never forgotten by those who study his address.

Yesterday was graduation day at the Naval Academy, but it could more appropriately have been called CARL VINSON Day at the Naval Academy for not only was CARL VINSON made an honorary member of the Class of 1964, but he captivated the entire audience.

I have always been proud to serve under CARL VINSON, but my pride in our friendship and association reached a new height yesterday for CARL VINSON was superb, sagacious, and supreme.

I ask unanimous consent to insert his address in the Appendix of the RECORD so that his words will be available for posterity, and especially for those who may have any doubts about the future of our great Navy.

The address follows:

THE NAVY OF THE FUTURE

(Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Address to the 1964 Graduating Class at the U.S. Naval Academy, June 3, 1964)

Mr. Secretary, Admiral Minter, members of the graduating class, distinguished guests,

ladies and gentlemen, it is a grand experience, thrilling and unforgettable, to address the graduating class of the world-famous U.S. Naval Academy.

And for me—after almost a lifetime spent with the Navy and its leaders—this is an especially stirring event. It is filled with recollections of years gone by, and with eager anticipation of things to be.

I just do not have the words to tell you how deeply I cherish this occasion.

For every citizen in the Nation, these graduation exercises reawaken pride in our great Navy.

Here, on this day, is reinstilled among all of us a confidence in the continuing strength and the future security of this, the greatest free nation the world has ever known.

How I envy you, as you launch your careers in the most powerful naval force that man has ever seen.

You will man the ramparts of a land of liberty, bountifully blessed by Divine Providence.

Today, you begin a lifetime of guardianship of a priceless heritage—freedom.

Lives so dedicated cannot fail to be enriched by such a challenge—for our precious freedom carries no guarantee.

It must be guarded anew, nurtured anew, cherished anew, year by year.

The fact that liberty is still ours today is owed to the sacrifices of millions before us.

Here today the torch of freedom passes to you.

You receive this torch at a time when it brightly burns—when the United States of America has become the sword and the shield of liberty everywhere on earth.

We are the shining symbol of hope for the dispirited, the dejected, the oppressed, and the exploited everywhere beyond our shores.

Today, through the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, a trusting people repose their faith in you by appointing you regular officers of the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Marine Corps.

How proud you and your parents have a right to be that today your names become forever inscribed upon the rolls of the guardians of the free.

A tremendous responsibility is about to be placed upon your shoulders.

The lives and well-being of thousands upon thousands of fine young men whom you will command over coming years will depend upon your judgment, your wisdom, your knowledge, and your understanding.

But yours is to be an even greater responsibility, for, from this day forward, yours is a special charge and a sworn duty—to protect and to defend our country.

There can be no higher calling.

We are living in an era of unrest and discord—an era in which no one can foresee the problems of tomorrow.

What is to be your future in so uncertain a world as you enter this honored profession as Navy and Marine Corps officers?

It will be the unending prayer of your countrymen, throughout your careers, that the service which you will render this Nation will reinforce peace and justice among a tormented humanity.

May your service never require your involvement in war.

That, certainly, is my own prayer here today.

And yet, ready for war you must ever be, for the annals of the human race disclose a terrible preoccupation with force and violence and inhumanity toward man.

Man stands indicted that in 2,300 years h[illegible] world has been wholly at peace only 270 years.

It once was wisely said that what is past is prologue, which suggests that warfare, chronic in years gone by, will remain the arbiter of human affairs.

But paradoxically, through a new-found nuclear capability, our very capacity to destroy and to incinerate millions in a flaming instant, and to consign scores of millions of others to lingering death has, in itself, aroused new hopes of lasting peace.

At this time, when we measure explosive power in megatons, when "victory" in a nuclear holocaust can mean only a barbaric grubbing for survival, a world-engulfing conflict has become unthinkable.

So mighty has man's destructive power now become that no longer can he unleash his force.

This is so, provided we never lose sight of one profoundly important thing.

The security of this Nation and the peace of the world absolutely require that America maintain a powerful national defense—a defense that can surely destroy any enemy, or any combination of enemies—a defense that will assure our survival if nuclear war should be forced upon us.

At the same time it would be folly to believe that we have forever seen the last of small wars.

I suppose that as long as man resides on this globe there will be, as the Holy Book tells us, wars and rumors of wars.

All of us must work for peace, but the price of peace is unmistakable firmness, dignified patience, and constant preparedness.

The goal of all peoples of the world should be a universal reduction in the capability of nations to destroy one another.

But here I must assert a deep conviction that I hold.

Readiness for war is the sentinel of peace in this threatened world.

This Nation will invite a terrible fate if it allows itself to be tricked or cajoled into unilateral moves to disarm.

Carefully and cautiously we can—and we should—take short, slow steps to ease the crushing burdens imposed by modern armaments.

But each step we take must be clearly mutual—it must be unquestionably aboveboard—it must be unchallengingly trustworthy.

And until the objective of universal peace is fully attained, we must stand ready to win any kind of war that may be forced upon us.

In this continued readiness for war, the Navy has an indispensable role. For today it possesses a flexibility of response unmatched by any other force in the world.

Let us not forget that while equipment and weapons may force changes in the naval tactics of the future, fundamental strategy will remain the same.

Our Navy and Marine Corps exist for one purpose—to maintain undisputed supremacy over the ocean highways of the world.

Seapower was vital to our existence in the past. It is vital today. So it will remain tomorrow.

Let us, then, heed the motto of this Naval Academy—"From Knowledge—Seapower."

Since ships first sailed the seas, nations that could deny the waters to their enemies or could assure their freedom to all who sailed them, possessed a supremacy that assured them world leadership.

What then must this mighty Navy do to assure the maintenance of its supremacy over the oceans of the world?

Clearly its greatest present challenge is to neutralize the submarine threat to itself, to our military-industrial population centers, and to our maritime commerce.

The Navy must devise new means to free the country of these dangers.

There is no doubt that our nuclear submarine force—the great Polaris—will continue to play a critical role through the proven reliability of its strategic missile capability.

Indeed, all the Navy must convert to nuclear power as quickly as this becomes militarily advantageous.

And as we thus keep the fleet abreast of the times, many of our naval vessels, especially those built during or just after World War II, must be replaced.

I am deeply convinced that a program to modernize the entire fleet must be promptly undertaken by Congress.

True it is that our arsenals are brimming over with missiles and nuclear warheads which are reliable and which have awesome power.

But it will be disastrous if this Nation allows itself to over-rely upon any one weapons system.

Naval guns, for instance, on naval vessels have not been displaced, nor will they be.

We prayerfully hope that our mighty missiles will keep a nuclear war at bay. But where missiles could never be used, Navy guns may save the peace.

Your Navy of the future will also be concerned with the technical realm of space, new sources of power, new forms of transportation and communication, and new methods of transmitting energy.

Your Navy will also have to monitor a maze of technical developments with an eye toward applying those which may have Navy potential.

To you as officers, what do these challenges of tomorrow mean?

Organizationally the system you now enter—the Department of Defense—is sound, efficient, and modern. I see no reason for further statutory changes.

Endless legislative tinkering in this area pours sand into the gears.

In this there is meaning for each of you in this graduating class.

It means that during your Navy careers there not only will continue to be Secretaries of the Navy, but these Secretaries will also continue to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Departmental leaders will not be scuttled in any defense structure that I envision.

It means, too, that we will not discard our time-tested Joint Chiefs of Staff system. This in turn means that each of you may continue to aspire to become Chief of Naval Operations or Commandant of the Marine Corps.

It means, further, that the separate identity of the four services will be preserved.

You will probably hear much about merger as the years move along—but if we are wise—as I think we will be—we will avoid it as we would a plague. The merger of our services into one mold would be a terrible thing.

The merger of our keenly competitive, distinct and prideful services into one formless and gigantic aggregation of faceless fighting men, bereft of pride of service and insensitive to unit, would be the one sure way to unman the defenses of the Nation.

I am confident that there will always be a Navy.

Believe me—it must be, and it will be, an even larger Navy in the years ahead.

As a matter of fact, the very geography of the world dictates it. For science and computers can never alter the fact that water still covers more than 70 percent of the earth's surface—and this, my friends, is one range that only a Navy can ride.

Some contend, of course, that faster ships and nuclear power can offset sheer numbers. But, we would be foolhardy if we thought that those in the world who would bury us will not continuously sharpen their own capabilities.

We would fail our trust even more were we to assume that future crises will occur only one at a time, or in not more than two areas simultaneously. Our enemies are far too ingenious to allow us that luxury.

One aspect of your future service intrigues me particularly.

The recent advances of technology have bordered on the fantastic. They are bound to multiply the power of the Navy in myriad and unforeseeable ways.

Today, we verge upon aircraft which can take off and land vertically, yet fly horizontally at high speed.

We are close to the development of beams of light which can transmit energy with pinpoint accuracy.

Research and development are fast perfecting a navigational system which at all times will instantly and accurately fix the position of a ship or an aircraft.

And the day is near when long-distance radar will peer around the curve of the earth.

I do not doubt that during your own careers we will perfect a method of detecting submarines, regardless of their depth.

Engineering officers are already expert in methods of using oil and nuclear power to develop steam. But the engineering officers of tomorrow will surely develop more direct methods of applying nuclear power to propulsion systems.

Here among you, are certain to be future commanding officers of surface ships which will be designed exclusively to launch missiles with nuclear warheads.

Not a few of you may spend much of your careers in research, ferreting out the mysteries of soundless power, deep underwater communications, and new ship design.

Perhaps some among you may be discouraged over the future of the aircraft carrier. Well, let me tell you this—their size may change, their designs may change, their weaponry and equipment will doubtless change. But we shall always need a type of ship capable of launching naval aircraft.

Now, Mr. Secretary, over many years I have been privileged to know and admire hundreds upon hundreds of our finest naval officers.

My own life has been enriched by these associations with men who have dedicated their lives to the Navy and the Nation's defense. There is no finer group.

A few weeks ago, I was honored by a gracious letter from a former naval officer, the President of the United States. It was he who asked me here today to share with this splendid group a few personal observations derived from a lifetime with the Navy.

So—these admonitions I presume to offer you:

Develop to the utmost your leadership ability.

Effective leadership is ever our most critical skill, and people gifted with the ability to inspire and to lead are the most valued asset in our entire national inventory.

Think always in terms of the whole Navy, never of a single force or of a single type. And never forget—you will be members of a four-service team whose success is dependent upon a genuine spirit of cooperation and understanding.

Educate yourselves on the total world mission and involvement of the Navy.

Since the days of John Paul Jones, competency of a naval officer has meant reaching beyond the parochialisms of service to comprehension of international affairs, national objectives, economic resources, and political events.

Hold to the realization that professional accomplishment and pride, are of more lasting importance than monetary gain.

The profession of arms, like most other public service, has never offered a fortune in gold, but it compensates richly in many other ways, notably in the knowledge that your service accords you a place of honor among your countrymen.

Ever remember the words of the late President Kennedy to the 1961 class: "The life of service is a constant test of your will." Master that test, and yours is certain to be a rewarding life.

While respecting the chain of command, never fail in loyalty to those whom you command, as well as to those who command you.

Look tirelessly for ways to improve the Navy. Use your initiative, and fear not to speak your mind. Parroting the views of others will win you neither respect, nor friends.

Observe traditions, but don't become their slave.

Do your very best in every one of your assignments, including those which from time to time may seem barren of challenge. Make important everything you do in your naval career.

Finally, and I say this to you with the greatest of earnestness—never lose your pride.

Be proud of your service, proud of your heritage, proud of your leaders, proud of this greatest of all nations on earth—and then, be moderately proud of yourself.

For when all is said and done, the tomorrow of this Nation is being entrusted to you—to you, the Navy of the future, guardians of the land of the free.

The Explosion of Knowledge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Paul Martin, of the Gannett newspapers, has written an elucidative and informative article on the impact and effect of the space age and the explosion of scientific knowledge. The information for the article was drawn from an interview with James E. Webb, Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Because of the general interest and importance of this area, I include the article for the consideration of the House:

THE EXPLOSION OF KNOWLEDGE

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON, June 1.—Genial Jim Webb, Director of America's space program, sees an explosion of knowledge taking place in science and industry today.

He claims the man-made satellite is the "first unlimited tool we ever had." He regards it as a powerful instrument for advancing political stability, along with social and economic progress, throughout the world.

Webb points out that ships and planes are limited by oceans and air and the amount of fuel they can carry. Once a satellite has been lofted into proper orbit, it just keeps on going.

"This gives us something to offer," he said in an interview. "We should use our space technology to help pacify and stabilize the world.

"The developing nations of Asia and Africa have got to tie to a stable system that can preserve peace and progress. We should offer other countries an opportunity to latch on to American satellite cooperation."

Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, is a former Budget Director, Under Secretary of State, and business executive with the Kerr-McGee Oil Co. in Oklahoma City.

He thinks in terms of a large orbital system with perhaps an international crew furnishing communications and weather information to the entire world.

It could tell farmers the best time to plant and harvest their crops. It could be a medium for international telephone, telegraph, and television.

It would be a constant reminder to people behind the Iron Curtain that secret societies of the Communist countries are closed off no longer from observation and information.

The Japanese Government has been negotiating for use of an American satellite to carry worldwide telecasts of the Olympic games to be held in Japan next year.

In developing countries like Brazil, Webb said, with a communications satellite traveling overhead, "they might not have to lay a lot of land lines."

He contends that the real key to international stability is to let the American free enterprise system work with Government diplomacy where investment risks can be taken.

The Russians are conducting a substantial space program, he said, They have launched a number of spacecraft. They have the technical ability to concentrate on certain projects. But the Soviet system does not encourage broad and free development of education.

In this country, he pointed out, "We're taking the toughest problems and spreading them over the largest number of able minds" in Government, industry, and on the campus.

As a result of space exploration, Webb predicted, "the human mind is going to have twice as much knowledge to work with as before. Already our orbiting solor observatory has doubled our information about the sun in 2 years' time.

"We have 15 working satellites. We get 40 miles of magnetic tape from them every day filled with data. One-half of it is housekeeping information, but the other half comes back in scientific knowledge which flows out to the universities."

He said "any bright man working in a college laboratory can get his experiments flown on a Government satellite," adding "we have over 500 senior scientists working with graduate students at various universities. This adds an intellectual quality to life in America."

In the manned space program, Webb said "we have around 15,000 persons employed by the Government and 300,000 working for contractors in the latest and best techniques. This adds strength to private industry.

"We are about halfway through a 10-year or $35 billion program, $20 billion for manned space flight, and $15 billion for all the rest including work on a supersonic plane.

"We pay around $4 billion a year to American industry to design flight systems, or to develop and test new materials. We are finding the most efficient uses for energy and materials. This program spills over into industry, contributing to new products."

President Johnson has asked NASA to come up with recommendations by September 1 on what the future space program should be. As presently planned, its target is to send a man to the moon and back before 1970.

There are increasing indications that NASA may not be able to meet that goal which was set by former President Kennedy in an address to Congress in 1961.

"We have 22 shots in our Saturn I and I–B program, and 15 Saturn V shots," Webb said. "If we can learn all we need to know from these, we might be able to do it in the last quarter of 1969.

"To make it to the moon in this decade, we must have money in the budget, each booster has to be built and launched by private industry, and we have to pass certain technical milestones."

He claims that money spent on the space program so far was a good investment in technological insurance against Soviet supremacy.

"We needed insurance and we bought it," Webb declared. "We have a knowledge of the total technology of space and missiles

so we won't be subject to the fears we had in the days of the first sputniks. There was nothing more frustrating than to see our rockets fizzle on the pad."

International Upper Mantle Project: Icelandic Volcano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in these days of expanding knowledge of the universe in which we live, our lack of information concerning the composition of our own planet is notable. As chairman of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries concerned with the jurisdiction of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, I have been keeping myself informed of developments in the international upper mantle project currently in progress. A member of the committee staff was one of the first foreigners to see the development of an island in the sea off the coast of Iceland last November and we are following the situation there continuously.

An account of the island's formation was given in the New York Times on May 24, 1964, as follows:

ICELAND PROJECTS BROAD STUDY OF AN EMERGING VOLCANIC ISLE

(By Werner Wiskari)

REYKJAVIK, ICELAND, May 21.—They call it the Island of the Black One, the god of fire and destruction.

Pushed up from the sea last November by a volcanic eruption, Surtsey, as it is known in Islandic, has grown into a mile-long island 600 feet high.

Fingers of fiery lava still thrust out of the crater and smoke and vapor mark the island for anyone on Iceland's southern coast, 20 miles away.

However, Icelandic scientists say the volcano is quieting down and Surtsey is ready for use as a laboratory for the study of how life settles both on the surface of a newly created island and under water. The island is composed of pumice and volcanic ash, one-third of which is covered with lava.

Scientists here are convinced that because of the partial lava blanket, Surtsey has a good chance of avoiding complete destruction by the sea for 100 to 1,000 years or more.

ANOTHER SUCH IN 1783

Dr. Gudmundur Sigvaldason, a geochemist, said Surtsey was far hardier than the last such Icelandic island, which exploded into view in 1783. Not covered with lava, it soon disappeared.

"It would be a pity to miss the unique opportunity for scientific investigation offered by Surtsey," said Steingrimur Hermonsson, director of Iceland's Research Council.

But Iceland's scientists need greater funds than appear to be available here. They also need help in biological studies in which they are weak.

Mr. Hermonsson encountered expressions of interest in a possible Surtsey project at a conference held at the end of last month at Duke University. Among the Americans present were representatives of the National Science Foundation and the Office of Naval Research.

While awaiting a final decision from the United States, Mr. Hermonsson and Dr. Sigvaldason and several other Icelandic scientists are moving toward organizing a research project of their own. They feel there is no time to lose.

Among their immediate problems is one of keeping unwanted species of life off the island. For example, curious humans have left bottles and other picnic garbage there.

One recourse is to appeal to Iceland's Board of Conservation to declare Surtsey off limits to sightseers and an appeal to the public to heed this declaration.

Among signs of life found on Surtsey are at least three kinds of plant seeds, apparently carried there by the wind. A wild flower with living roots has been washed up on shore and birds have paid many visits.

The first mosquito has arrived on Surtsey. Attempts have been made to start the study of how micro-organisms settle on an island by putting out culture dishes in the hope of catching airborne bacteria.

But such moves are only part of the prelude to the systematic studies lasting many years for which the Icelanders hope to rely on the United States. The Icelanders expect to concentrate on geological and oceanographic work.

Dr. Sigvaldason said studies of the gases emanating from Surtsey might buttress a concept that hot springs, like erupting volcanoes, are based on molten bodies of rock. Such a conclusion, he said, is of importance to Iceland for it would disprove contentions that the large thermoenergy resources of this volcanic country might eventually run out. The Surtsey project might also show precisely how volcanic ash and pumice particles are cemented together to form palagonite rock.

OCEAN TEMPERATURES EVEN

The oceanographic studies have apparently proceeded the furthest. Among the results, Dr. Sigvaldason said, is the observation that temperature changes in waters around the volcano have been minimal despite the eruptions.

He said this had been due to the fact that the volcano had acted like a pump, drawing water into it and expanding much of its heat creating vapor, which then shot skyward.

The name Surtsey, officially given the island by Iceland's Education Ministry, which is the final arbiter of such matters, has caused much controversy.

The people of the Westmann Islands, northeast of Surtsey, were incensed that any volcanic island so near them should be given the name of the Black One.

In the early eruption stages, 10 Westmann Islanders attempted to land and post the name Western Island. But they were routed by a sudden resumption of activity by the volcano.

Twenty-five Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to place before the House a resolution adopted by the Legislature of New Jersey honoring a splendid labor publication and its distinguished editor on their 25th anniversary. I refer to the New Jersey Labor Herald and its editor, Lewis M. Herrmann, with whom I served in the State assembly. Both merit our congratulations. The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF 188TH SESSION, NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE, 1964

Whereas the New Jersey Labor Herald, published in the city of Newark, N.J., will celebrate the 25th silver anniversary with its June 1964 edition; and

Whereas this publication has over the past 25 years, contributed greatly to the achievement of more cordial relations between labor and management in this industrial State, and was largely responsible for the creation by the legislature of the now nationally famous Institute of Management and Labor Relations, on the campus of Rutgers University; and

Whereas its editor, Lewis M. Herrmann, served with distinction for a number of years, as a member of the house of assembly, representing the County of Essex, from 1947 to 1951. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, by the general assembly and the senate, That we hereby go on record extending our sincere felicitations to the New Jersey Labor Herald and its editor and staff, on the occasion of its 25th birthday, to be celebrated during the month of June, 1964; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of the general assembly and senate, and forwarded to Editor Herrmann, and released to the press.

ALFRED N. BEADLESTON,
Speaker, New Jersey House of Assembly.
CHARLES R. SANDMAN,
President, New Jersey State Senate.

The Constitution Serves Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, one of Pittsburgh's most distinguished citizens and one of the country's most competent public school educators, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., recently testified before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed prayer amendments to the Constitution. Dr. Marland is superintendent of Pittsburgh's public school system. I think his experience, judgment and wisdom are reflected in this testimony. Therefore, I am placing it in the Appendix to the RECORD.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY S. P. MARLAND, JR., SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, PITTSBURGH, PA., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, MAY 13, 1964

My name is Sidney P. Marland, Jr. I am Superintendent of Schools in Pittsburgh, a fairly active layman in the Episcopal Church and chairman of the Commission on Religion in Public Schools of the American Association of School Administrators. I have thought heavily on the subject at hand for 9 months, and I have talked of the question with many teachers, principals and school parents.

Last fall the Supreme Court ruling had direct and immediate relevance to our Pittsburgh schools where 10 verses of the Bible had been prescribed by Pennsylvania law to be read daily without comment in all our classrooms. Upon the announcement of the

Court's decision I had an opportunity to publish the following message to our teachers:

SUPERINTENDENT MARLAND SEES OPPORTUNITY IN COURT DECISION

"DEAR COLLEAGUE: For a good number of years I have been increasingly impressed by a fundamental proposition affecting education: That controversy and differences of opinion between honest and reasonable parties generally lead to constructive forward movement. We have passed through such a controversy, nationally, on the subject of prayer and Bible reading in school. It is reassuring to observe that virtually no hostility or contentiousness has attached to this subject in our Pittsburgh schools or community as a result of the Supreme Court decision of this past summer.

"However, the test of our effectiveness in this controversy is not that the issue has subsided with little or no bloodshed. The real test lies in what we as teachers can do to take advantage of the momentum created by the debate in developing creative forward movement. Whether or not we agree with the Court's decision, we have accepted its authority to remove from all classroom's the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and 10 verses of the Bible 'read without comment.' With no disrespect intended to our early legislators, to the Bible, or to teachers, I would judge that the practice, now set aside, afforded little freedom for creative teaching ('without comment') and could easily have fallen to perfunctory level.

"We now find ourselves with 5 minutes, more or less, each day * * * those sensitive, quiet minutes at the beginning of the day * * * with a considerably enlarged (rather than restrained) freedom to teach. The question lies in how fruitfully these minutes are used—how creatively and imaginatively the teacher uses this time. The pattern is there; pupils and teachers for many years have been accustomed to the practice of opening exercises; the accumulated power of 5 minutes per day over 10 or 12 of the most responsive years of children's lives offers a monumental opportunity.

"When all is said and done, the opening exercises, before and after the Supreme Court decision, are concerned with values. These values now take on a potential of broader and deeper dimensions. We can teach the brotherhood of man without actual use of the Scripture; we can teach integrity without ritual; we can teach the ethic of love without prayer. And there remain many other values woven through our narrative literature, our poetry, our biographies, our music, our art that present a vast opportunity for the constructive uses of these precious 5 minutes a day. These 5 minutes become something over 250 hours in the years the child is with us.

"One may say, 'But this is dangerous territory; there is no curriculum; I teach my subject, but I have no training in this values thing.' It is important that we teach children to read and to write and to reckon, and to know history and the ways of science. But it is equally important to imbue them with the capacities for relating these learnings to their convictions, to their behavior, and to their lives. This is where values come in. They surround us on the playing field, in the auditorium, in the corridors, but most of all, apart from the home, they find their roots in the good adult people with whom children associate. I shall, forever, put my trust in the good people who are the classroom teachers, who know they are free to be different from each other in the world of values; who respect the child's right to be different; but who have the creativity, courage, and wisdom to clarify their own values, and then let them show.

"Sincerely,

"S. P. MARLAND, Jr."

In conclusion, I would urge the honorable Members of Congress to preserve the Constitution in its present form. It has served education and religion well for many generations. To suggest that the Congress alter the Constitution to permit "voluntary" prayer and Bible reading is to ignore the nature of children and schools. We have a captive audience in every classroom consisting of children who for the most part are conditioned to respond cooperatively to the planned affairs of the school and to the teacher. A child is not truly free to accept or reject a classroom program in which his fellows are actively engaged, no matter how earnest teachers and parents might be in arranging for voluntary isolation.

As a teacher I accept the Supreme Court's ruling that Bible reading and prayer in school are incompatible with the heterogeneous composition of the student body. Sectarianism and denominationalism are inescapable, and the nonbeliever has grounds for taking offense. I could, therefore, agree that religious ritual or worship has no place in public schools.

However, as I read the Court's ruling, I find no rejection of religion as a guiding force in the lives of teachers and children. Moral and spiritual values, which for most people have their origin in religion, occupy a high place in the purposes of education, indeed in education's very reason for being. Our literature, our art, our music, our sensitive acknowledgment of divers religious seasons (without ritual), all abound in opportunities for teachers to reveal for children the place of religion in our culture. Religious history and influence are truths to be learned; a fourth grader, reading Joyce Kilmer, learns that Kilmer declares: "Only God can make a tree"; a Bach chorale is a thing of beauty to be enjoyed; the presence of the Almighty in the lives of great men is a biographical fact to be noted. Nothing in the Court's ruling removes from the schools the freedom and the obligation to treat religion as a very large force in our civilization. Nothing in the ruling suggests that teachers and children must pretend to be agnostics between the opening and closing bells. The Constitution now forbids ritual. It insures freedom for all individuals, pupils and teachers, to exercise their private beliefs, short of ritual, different though those beliefs may be. Let us not change it.

Retain Good Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution was passed unanimously by the Lake County AFL–CIO Central Labor Union concerning the proposed cut and reduction in personnel for our postal system.

I entirely agree with the thoughts set out in the resolution.

RESOLUTION

The U.S. postal system founded nearly 200 years ago upon the principle of service to the public has long been the marvel and envy of the world as a means of communication, transportation, and a clearinghouse for business, commerce, and education.

Whereas this service of tradition is now threatened with destruction through unsound, unwise, and unjustified cutbacks in service, thus causing costly delays of mail of all classes, especially of parcel post, which is on a 5-day week delivery, despite the fact that rates on this class of mail has been increased 13 percent of recent date; and

Whereas the continued deterioration of the service reflects itself in a like deterioration of morale and efficiency of the career employees who have always taken great pride in a job well done: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Lake County AFL–CIO Central Labor Union in its regular meeting, May 26, 1964, did hereby condemn and vigorously protest these cutbacks in service and place this resolution before our two U.S. Senators, BIRCH BAYH and VANCE HARTKE, and Congressman, Ray J. MADDEN, requesting immediate action to insure full restoration of the service.

JOHN TRUCHAN,
President, Lake County AFL–CIO Central Labor Union.
E. A. CHLEBOWSKI,
Recording Secretary.

M. Sgt. Paul D. Scarberry: Dedicated Airman, Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the noncommissioned officer long has been regarded by people knowledgeable of military affairs as being a vital man in America's Armed Forces.

Our American youth could do well to aspire to reach the peak some of our more outstanding NCO's do through perseverance, hard work, and devotion to duty.

For example, I am indeed happy today to bring to the attention of the Congress the honor which has been bestowed upon a dedicated airman in my district, M. Sgt. Paul D. Scarberry. Sergeant Scarberry has been given the distinguished honor of being selected as the Outstanding Airman of the Year at Charleston Air Force Base.

His excellent performance of duty, coupled with his professional and supervisory abilities, brought him this hard-earned award.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend Sergeant Scarberry to the Congress, and under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, to insert an article from the Airlift Dispatch, the base newspaper at Charleston Air Force Base, in tribute to a dedicated airman and an outstanding American:

M. SGT. PAUL D. SCARBERRY, OUTSTANDING AIRMAN

(By T. Sgt. Milton J. Sheely)

M. Sgt. Paul D. Scarberry, was named the Outstanding Airman of the Year at Charleston Air Force Base. The sergeant was selected for the honor last Friday by a board of senior noncommissioned officers at this base.

Sergeant Scarberry gained the honor due to his outstanding performance of duty, professionalism, and supervisory excellence.

A supervisor in the contract maintenance complex of the 1606th Services Squadron, Sergeant Scarberry is the representative se-

lected by the 1608th Air Transport Wing to represent this base in the Eastern Transport Air Force competition at McGuire Air Force Base, N.J.

From EASTAF, selected nominees will be forwarded to the Military Air Transport Service, at Scott Air Force Base, Ill., where the outstanding airman of the year will be picked to represent MATS at the Air Force Association convention. The convention is being held from September 9 to 12 in Washington, D.C. If selected by MATS, Sergeant Scarberry's wife will accompany him to the convention as guest of the AFA.

After he was graduated from Kenmore High School, Akron, Ohio, Sergeant Scarberry decided to follow in his father's footsteps and enlisted in the U.S. Navy in October 1942. During World War II he was flying as an engineer-gunner until he was discharged after the war on December 19, 1945.

After a break in active duty, Sergeant Scarberry enlisted in the U.S. Air Force on March 25, 1949, and was assigned to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, in the cargo flight test division. Later that year he was assigned to Okinawa with a subsequent assignment to Korea soon after that conflict broke out. He was later rotated to Japan where he performed duty as a crew member aboard one of the last Boeing B–17 flying fortresses to be decommissioned from active Air Force service.

In 1954 the sergeant and his family were assigned to the American Embassy in Athens, Greece, then to the American Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, and finally to a tour of duty in Hawaii.

He and his family arrived at Charleston Air Force Base in July 1961 and have been here since that time.

Not one to sit around and wonder what to do next, Sergeant Scarberry has a long list of outstanding accomplishments since his initial assignment to this base. A list that is far too lengthy to record at this time. But a few of his extracurricular activities are mentioned to reveal the untiring energy of this man.

He has served as a member on the squadron Airman of the Month Board; as a board member of the Charleston Air Force Base Federal Credit Union; as a noncommissioned officer in charge of the base decontamination team, No. 2, disaster control program. Also as master of ceremonies of the 1964 All-MATS Basketball Tournament dinner, and has taken part in a fundraising project for the joint Federal health agencies fund drive.

In addition, he was guest speaker at the dedication of the new Little League Baseball Park opened in North Charleston and officiated as an umpire in the Small Fry League.

He is always interested in the progress made by youngsters today which has been demonstrated in his several talks to the student body of a local high school on the subject of "Life in the U.S. Air Force Today."

Proudly wearing the air crew member wings of the U.S. Air Force and entitled to wear the combat crew member wings of the U.S. Navy, Sergeant Scarberry doesn't intend to let his accomplishments go to his head, but insists on striving for perfection through continued education.

Within the past year he has completed 24 semester hours of off-duty education with Florida State University Extension Division here eyeing the soon-to-come day when he will have amassed enough college credits to earn a bachelor's degree in business administration through the Air Force final semester TDY Operation Bootstrap program.

Sergeant Scarberry is married to the former Vivian Garrett, of Akron, Ohio. They have a daughter, Katherine Sue, 19, and reside at 1770B Frick Avenue, Charleston Air Force Base.

Communist Conditions in Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, recently one of my constituents, Mrs. Robert (Daniela) Popek, of Hurt, Pittsylvania County, Va., visited her former home in Czechoslovakia. Upon her return she wrote a letter discussing conditions in that distraught land that was published in the Altavista Journal of Altavista, Va., May 30.

Mrs. Popek is an attractive and intelligent lady who possesses the confidence and respect of her friends and neighbors. The conditions she describes are shocking and distressing, and they reveal to us in graphic terms the blessings we enjoy as Americans. Under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD this letter, which is as follows:

Four weeks ago, thanks to my understanding family, I boarded a plane back into Czechoslovakia, to the country where I was born and where I lived with my parents until the outbreak of the Second World War.

I promised to write but I didn't have time, so, now, my friends, I want to tell you what I would never be able to tell you in a letter.

When we left Czechoslovakia 26 years ago before the war, that country was a democracy—a free land, rich in natural resources. A land rapidly progressing and gaining world recognition. Life was peaceful and unhurried. We worked and we played and we were very proud of our native land.

Returning after 26 years, it was as if I had stepped into another world. What I had heard and read didn't really sink in, I'm afraid, because, for all the warning, I had never anticipated this.

Landing in Prague after dark Friday night, the contrast of a free country and Communist occupation so stunned me that I was dumfounded and hardly able to answer the policeman who herded us into the dark, filthy, cold airport office. There were six of us. Four passengers from Canada and two—myself and a man in a raincoat—from New York. I was very much aware of being watched but could never detect the man's eyes on me. He was reading, yet, wherever I went, at the hotel in New York where we waited 8 hours for a delayed flight, in London and in Prague, he stayed with me like a faithful shadow. It gave me the chills but after careful consideration, I decided that since I couldn't fight him, I would join him. I progressed mercilessly in making friends with the reluctant gentleman and ended up with him as my interpreter, baggage lugger and errand man. I will add truthfully, that he seemed very glad to get away.

My cousin met me at the airport and we spent the night in a shabby, but expensive, hotel room. The morning light did not brighten the picture any. I was too early. The tourist season does not open until summer. The picture that met my eyes was as the people in Czechoslovakia know Prague—dark, outmoded and degenerated. No one put out the red carpet for me. I did not care to be impressed or indoctrinated. I was anxious to get lost in the masses and roam unaccompanied and live for 3 weeks as my cousins do every day in Czechoslovakia.

For those of you who are too young to remember, I want to explain how it came about that a democratic nation, very much like our own United States, fell into the claws of Communism. First of all, Czechoslovakia was hit very hard by the Second World War. The Nazis looted, murdered, raped and slaughtered everything in their paths. The tales of naked children sprayed with water in 20 degrees below zero weather and buried frozen into ice, and the tales of people cremated alive in concentration camps or buried alive or ripped apart by machine guns of the Nazis are wounds the Czech people will carry forever in their hearts.

The American army came to the rescue. Our soldiers fed the starving, dressed the needy and with humor and understanding sustained the nation and won the war—only to be ordered to stand 25 miles within the border and allow the Nazis to continue mass massacre inland for days until the Russian army came and "liberated" Czechoslovakia. So began Communist "protectorate" within Czechoslovakia. Communists fed the people—and took over their stock and their fields. They gave them work—and took their houses. They gave them wages but took their savings. The people were given equality, men and women to share the same labors. You see women in coal mines and on the railroads as well as men hanging diapers and wheeling baby carriages. They gave them free medical care—most operations without anesthetic, people are toothless and need glasses but don't have them. The taxes for this blessing are very high. So is retirement benefit. You may pay retirement benefits for years and at 65, they'll tell you that under a new rule you are not eligible after all.

For this equality the Communists or Socialists as they call themselves, took away the peoples' freedom of speech, press and religion. They assigned jobs for all and the people were free to change—to go to a collective farm to feed cows or to the coal mines.

Churches are closed, schools teach Leninism and Communist propaganda. Our Uncle Tom's Cabin (translated), is widely read for that is how they describe America to the children. No other American magazine or newspaper is permitted to enter the border. Radio Free Europe is too full of static to recognize and in the movies only Socialist films are shown. Hard labor is stressed and rewarded. Secret service men are everywhere, listening, arresting and forcing judgment and death on those who dare protest. A man is allowed 9 cubic feet of living quarters, he must stand in line for meat, for cheese, etc., and sometimes after hours of waiting, the food does not come or it is not enough to go around.

Other times, to get a carrot, you must also take a rotten onion at full price. Waste is not allowed, the people must pay for every item, usable or not. Fresh fruit or vegetables are so scarce that they are seldom seen in the stores. Every little shop is labeled "Socialistic Distribution" and "State" controls prices and distribution of all items. The items which find they way into the small towns are unreasonably high. A chicken costs approximately $8 in American money; a man works all day to buy that chicken. One egg costs approximately 50 cents, and a little two-piece knit dress I bought set me back 500 koruna. Average wages are 800–1,000 koruna a month. In exchanging dollars, the bank gives you 7 korunas per dollar but the purchasing value of koruna is 20–25 to a dollar. No other nation will exchange koruna into their currency, they are internationally worthless. There is no private enterprise left in Czechoslovakia. All prop-

erty, every piece of land, every store is "State" owned.

Now, I can't honestly say that the entire Czech nation is suffering. There are those who, like the chaff in the wind, will follow any regime; those who will perform any injustice against their own kind. When a man is socialistically dependable; that is, if he is the kind who will spy on his own brother and report his own mother to prove himself, he is rewarded and given a job on top regardless of his lack of education. If he cannot read, he'll have a secretary. Very little business is being transacted in Czechoslovakia anyway, the officials merely have to repeat what their Russian bosses dictate. The slogan of the Communist official is: "It cannot be done. It is not permitted." No one accepts any responsibility, morals are low, hunger and poverty are a habit. Water is very scarce. They don't have equipment to drill wells and the old dug wells have long dried up. Electricity is very dear. The tubs, washing machine, and ice boxes which have been discarded here 30 years ago are just now reaching the people of Czechoslovakia at a very, very high price. This Socialist bliss and plenty is everywhere except in the carefully prepared resorts and hot springs where the red carpet is waiting to impress the tourist, where the people have been bled so that the foreigners would see the masked face of communism.

I wondered how God can look onto so much injustice and how we at home can sit in our comfortable homes and eat our fine food when only 9 hours away by plane, people are cold, hungry, and afraid. There in Czechoslovakia is communism in effect; no Iron Curtain will for long be able to hide the degradation and atrosities which our free world would never tolerate. If you find my story hard to believe, believe this—we are the richest, the most fortunate people on earth. Taxes? Bills? Mortgages? My friends, they are a small fee to pay for life and liberty.

I said to my cousins: "They'll never believe this at home." They said: "Let them come and try it. Within a week they'll be on their way back, ready to fly or swim to get there, hollering 'God bless America' all the way."

Resolution by the District of Columbia Department of the Catholic War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit a copy of a resolution adopted May 23, 1964, by the District of Columbia Department of the Catholic War Veterans. The resolution recommends that the new Veterans' Administration hospital now being constructed in the District of Columbia be named the Melvin J. Maas Memorial Hospital. It is my hope that legislation to authorize this can be enacted this year.

The resolution follows:

Whereas it appears to be appropriate to name veterans' hospitals for former Congressmen, it apepars that a Virginia hospital will have the name of former Congressman Rankin recommended; a Massachusetts Veterans' Administration hospital will have recommended the name of former Congressman Rogers; and one in Texas will be recommended that it be named after former Speaker of the House Rayburn; and

Whereas it appears appropriate to follow such procedure in all proper cases, so it appears must appropriate to recommend that the Veterans Administration hospital being placed in a part of the U.S. Soldiers Home grounds in Washington, D.C., be named after an outstanding former Congressman from Minnesota. He was elected to Congress at the age of 27, serving 16 years in that body. This distinguished Congressman was Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas of the Marine Corps, retired. Blindness overtook him in 1951. He had a very colorful career in the Marine Corps. He was known as "Mr. Marine Corps Reserve."

He served as chairman of the board, Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association, and as past commander in chief, Military Order of the World War; past national commander, Disabled American Veterans (1955–56); and past president of the Blinded Veterans Association (1960–61).

President Eisenhower on April 13, 1954, named General Maas Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and he was reappointed on March 4, 1961, by President Kennedy. In addition he served as chairman emeritus of the committee for the handicapped, people-to-people program.

In 1961, January 17, he received President Eisenhower's citation, noting his major contribution to the cause of the handicapped. The following day he was presented with the Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal in recognition of his contribution to national defense.

The doctor of laws degree was conferred upon him by the College of St. Paul, his alma mater and later Marquette University honored him. Goodwill Industries of America, United Cerebral Palsy, National Rehabilitation Association, American Foundation for the Blind, Tri-Organization Scientific and Rehabilitation Conference, 1961 and with the Veterans' Administration Citation for Exceptional Service. The AMVETS Silver Helmet Award was given him for his long career in public service. These are but some of the recognitions accorded to this great man and soldier.

Therefore, it is most appropriate that this convention go on record and recommend and urge that the Veterans' Administration hospital above named be given to this hospital after such an outstanding patriot, legislator, and marine. It is so recommended and that the appropriate authorities in Congress and in the executive branch of the U.S. Government be so urged to act accordingly.

SAMUEL J. FLICKINGER,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee.

The Phantom Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in recent months President Johnson has received some acclaim for creating by Executive order two study committees. The first is a committee to explore the economic impact of defense and disarmament, created by the President in January. The other is his study of the military draft, to be performed by the Department of Defense.

It now appears that the creation of these two entities has had as a prime purpose not so much the search for constructive solutions to the problems involved, as President Johnson's desire to divert attention from these issues in Congress.

Look at the instance of the draft. On January 16 a group of Senators, led by the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING], introduced a bill to create a presidential commission to investigate the draft system. On February 7, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, to which the bill had been referred, wrote the Department of Defense asking their opinion. On April 18 the President announced with much fanfare a new 1 year study of the draft—despite the fact that a study had been underway by the same people for at least 8 months. Then on April 29 the Department of Defense advised Senator RUSSELL that it was opposed to the Keating bill because, in light of its new study, it would be unnecessary. It seems clear that the Defense Department answer was purposely delayed until the President could announce some kind of study to provide an excuse for opposing congressional action.

Mr. Speaker, I am alarmed at the President's apparent willingness to discourage Congress from performing its constitutional responsibilities. Congress is coequal with the President under the Constitution. It cannot and must not abdicate its rightful initiative whenever the President wants an issue covered up.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a column entitled "The Phantom Committees," by John McClaughry, which appeared in the Hanover, N.H., Gazette on May 21, 1964:

THE PHANTOM COMMITTEE
(By John McClaughry)

President Johnson may not be the inventor of the phantom committee, but he is rapidly becoming a master at its use.

Here is the logic of the phantom committee. Several Congressmen or Senators—it doesn't matter of which party—get interested in what they believe to be a serious problem. They agitate for a serious study effort, by a select committee of Congress or by a special presidential commission. Bills are introduced, speeches delivered, letters sent to the President stating the urgency of the matter and pleading for his support.

But for reasons of his own—which may be especially cogent in an election year—the President does not want the issue aired. But legislators are clamoring for action. The solution: with much fanfare the President establishes a phantom committee. On paper, the committee makes a frontal assault on the problem it faces. In practice, the committee does little or nothing. Its main purpose is to quiet the demands of Congress by assuring the public that something is being done. Sooner or later, of course, the public, if it can stay interested, will find out nothing is being done and then some action will be taken. But the odds favor the President. By the time the public catches on, the President will have succeeded in keeping the whole issue under wraps for some time.

Exhibit A: On October 31 of last year, the Democratic Senators led by GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, introduced a bill to create a National Economic Conversion Commission directly under the President. The Commission is necessary, says MCGOVERN, if we are to devise ways of easing economic dislocation resulting from shifts and reductions

in defense spending. As defense needs change, and as procurement levels off and declines (which it certainly will even in the absence of a disarmament agreement), any businesses now dependent on defense income will be forced to switch to the civil sector of our economy. How these changeovers are to be made with minimum hardship to business and labor is a question already acutely present in many parts of the country.

But President Johnson was not much interested in the creation of the Commission. So on December 22 he announced the formation of a Committee on the Economic Impact of Defense and Disarmament, to be headed by a member of his Council of Economic Advisers.

For a while congressional advocates of action were satisfied. But before long one of the 20 Congressmen who had introduced McGovern-type bills, Representative F. BRADFORD MORSE, Republican, of Massachusetts, began to wonder whether the President's Committee was getting anything done. His investigation revealed some startling facts: The members of the Committee were not even named until March 25, 4 months later; the Committee has met only two or three times; its Chairman, Gardner Ackley, told a reporter not to expect any output for 6 months more; and, believe it or not, the Committee has no staff of its own. In short, it is a phantom committee.

Now MORSE is circulating letters to his colleagues in the House, asking them to support congressional hearings and to urge the President to take immediate effective action. He has even offered his own congressional district as a "laboratory" for the collection of the necessary statistics. But whether President Johnson can be moved is still an open question.

Exhibit B: Since January, Republicans in both Houses of Congress have expressed a growing interest in the inadequacies and deficiencies of the military draft. On January 16, Senator KENNETH KEATING, of New York, introduced a bill, which now has 16 sponsors, to create a Presidential Commission to study the draft. On March 11 Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, long a sharp critic of the draft system, introduced a bill to create a select joint committee of Congress to explore the whole question of manpower needs in relation to national security.

A detailed 30 page memorandum on the draft was distributed from CURTIS' office to 30 or 40 House Republicans. Seventeen of them agreed to dissect the draft system on the House floor April 21. But word of this important Republican initiative—and the possibility of the draft becoming a potent Republican vote-getting issue—leaked to the White House. Three days before the GOP assault, President Johnson suddenly called a press conference to announce a 1-year study of the draft, to be carried out within the Department of Defense. According to the President, some action should be forthcoming "in the decade of the seventies."

The Johnson announcement was clearly designed to head off Republican criticisms and to prevent a review of the draft by Congress or an independent commission. Unlike the proposed Curtis committee, the President's group will not hold public hearings and it will be conducted by those with the greatest vested interest in maintaining the draft, whether the country needs it or not. It is also known, Republicans point out, that the Pentagon has been studying the question for 8 months already—and now it is announced that the result of that study will be another study.

This move by the President has all the earmarks of another phantom committee. Certainly Republican Members of Congress—and a growing number of Democrats—are going to keep a sharp eye on the proceedings.

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10503) to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for the construction of certain highways in accordance with title 23 of the United States Code, and for other purposes.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I compliment the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] for a fine statement, and I take this time also to compliment the committee for its fine work on this particular piece of legislation.

With respect to the matter pertaining to Forest Highways and Forest Development Roads and Trails, in our area of the State of California, where so many lands are taken off the tax rolls, I cannot state too emphatically the importance of continuing to gradually increase the amount of funds authorized for these particular roads and trails. The roads in those areas are dependent upon the in-lieu payment.

I wish to state for the record, for the future, I believe it will be appropriate for the Committee to consider gradual increases.

The appropriations for the fiscal year starting next July were increased to $70 million in previous legislation. Increasing this again to $85 million in each of the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 as this bill does, will provide a stepped up program that will open up thousands of square miles of back country for sportsmen and other recreationists and for sustained yield forest practices benefiting the small lumber operators.

I am informed that continued rapid development of access roads could double employment in forest products industries in the next 10 years and double school district and county government income from timber sales receipts by 1972.

Three of the counties in my congressional district—Mendocino, Humboldt, and Del Norte—are among those whose local tax bases are limited by heavy public ownership of lands. These counties among the depressed areas of the Nation.

These counties are highly dependent upon the 25 percent of Forest Service timber receipts which is returned to the counties for schools and roads.

It is vitally important that the continued development of access roads be supported to sustain and expand this concept. Without it, the smaller lumber operators and the economy of these communities would be in jeopardy and recreation opportunities would remain limited.

Unlike other authorizations and appropriations, any expenditure of funds for these access roads is paid back to the Treasury out of receipts of timber sales. So it is purely an investment with an immediate return of dollars plus the employment, recreation and other associated benefits.

A Girl's Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD M. RYAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 26, 1964

Mr. RYAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, recently one of my younger constituents, wrote an essay titled "What Memorial Day Means to Me." I would like the entire Congress to read this very excellent essay which contributes greatly toward the real image of our American youth.

The article which follows appeared in the Detroit Free Press, dated May 29, 1964, in a well-known feature column written by Judd Arnett:

A GIRL'S MEMORIAL DAY

(By Judd Arnett)

It says somewhere in the Bible that "a little child shall lead them." or words to that effect, and thus we come to Christina Zukowski, of 72 North Deeplands, Grosse Pointe, who shall shortly shame your jaded response to the approach of Memorial Day.

First, however, a few more details. Christina is 13; the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Henry J. Zukowski; a seventh grader at the Grosse Pointe University School; and on May 20 she composed an essay entitled, "What Memorial Day Means to Me."

In due time this paper ended up in a contest sponsored by the Grosse Pointe War Memorial, and while Christina doesn't know it as yet, the truth is that she has won the Big Marble—a $100 bond donated by Jack Short, who peddles real estate through an outfit known as Maxon Brothers.

But enough of this backgrounding. Let us turn now to Christina Zukowski's—"What Memorial Day Means to Me"

"Memorial Day is set aside to honor those who died for our country during wars. Why do we do this?

"Indirectly, many men gave their lives for me; they died so I could be free. These men weren't all Douglas MacArthurs, Dwight Eisenhowers, or Congressional Medal of Honor winners. Most of them weren't heroic. They didn't go out in a blaze of glory; the world didn't watch them raise the Stars and Stripes on Iwo Jima. Many simple, plain John Does died in rat-infested mudholes, and only a few close relations remember them.

"Alone, one death wouldn't have made me free. The only reason any war in our history was won, is that every American united. A great mass of men fought the enemy, and many men died. Then there was victory.

"These men, died and didn't get any reward for it. I am the one who profited by whatever they did, and I wasn't even born yet.

"I have freedom and everything America stands for because of some men who didn't even know me. Without them, I might be ruled by a dictator now. I would have no real purpose to live, because I would not be free to think and act for myself.

"There is only one way by which I, or anyone else, can repay them. It isn't by putting flowers on their graves and making fancy speeches one day out of 365. Memorial Day must last forever.

"We must live for the same reasons that they died. We have to work in whatever

ways we can to keep freedom in America and to promote it for others.

"Perhaps some day I will know truly 'that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.'"

Abraham Schlacht, Distinguished Publisher of New York City's East Side News, Salutes Israel on That Nation's 16th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD and thereby bring to the attention of my colleagues and to a still wider audience, the very outstanding address delivered on April 16 by Abraham Schlacht distinguished publisher of the East Side News of New York City, on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the State of Israel.

The article follows:

PUBLISHER SALUTES ISRAEL ON 16TH ANNIVERSARY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—On the occasion of Israel's 16th birthday celebration held Thursday evening, April 16, at the Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, under the auspices of the New Era Club—Israel Cummings Forum, Abraham Schlacht, publisher of East Side News, delivered before a crowded gathering the following address.)

Israel Consul General Judith Beilin, Rabbi Seymour Nulman, Mr. and Mrs. Israel Cummings, George Palley, Congressman Leonard Farbestein, Mannes Lipski, George Freedman and dear neighbors, it is with a deep sense of elation that I stand before you to express my sentiments in regard to Israel's 16th birthday. Mention of this special day makes my heart and yours pulsate with great joy.

It brings to mind the struggles and tribulations of this young nation since its was founded in 1948, and the great progress it has achieved since then.

It is almost hard to believe how a little nation, with all the odds against it, could have overcome most of its difficulties and won the respect and admiration of freedom-loving countries the world over.

Israel may be small in point of wealth, military power, population or material resources when compared with other nations. But in gallantry and perseverance, in intellectuality and spiritual grandeur, she can match them anytime, if left alone to pursue the paths of peace and good will.

To be sure, Israel is a comparatively young nation. She is only 16 years old. In point of history, such a measure of time is infinitely too short to determine in any way the growth, development, and the future of any nation. But in the case of Israel she has performed wonders which would have been considered impossible 16 years ago.

There were nations that predicted her early death, but these evil prophets were fooled, bcause they did not have the capacity to understand the undying dedication of the Israel people.

The citizens of Israel love their land intensely. They are an indomitable people. They have suffered the deepest sorrows and afflictions of any race. They have endured every conceivable torture in the catalog of atrocities. They remember with trepidation how thousands of their fellow victims—fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters—had been forcibly driven out of their homes and into the streets by ruthless storm troopers, compelling them to march, six or seven abreast, with upraised hands for many long hours, to be finally carted away in freight trains to distant places for extinction.

They recall with vividness how many of their beloved ones had been thrown into huge burning furnaces in order to carry out Nazi Germany's attempt to wipe out every remnant of the Jewish race.

No wonder the Israel people have been hardener, toughened, chastened by their past expriences, and are alert to any imminent danger to their homeland. They face the future grimly, confidently, prepared because they know that they must not, dare not, experience the horrors of the past. But they cherish their land, the birthplace of their freedom, and their hopes are focused upon the future.

Strangely enough, Israel is faced with a dilemma, with a paradox, with a contradiction. She wants peace with her Arab neighbors, but cannot have it. She extends the hand of friendship, but it is spurned. Notwithstanding the fact that she was created by the United Nations, her Arab neighbors have proclaimed to the world that Israel must be destroyed at such time in the future as is most suitable for them.

The Arab nations seem to pay no attention to the U.N., even though they belong to it and are pledged under the charter to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Since they manifest such indifference to this world organization, and since they look to our country for economic and financial assistance, might it not be a good idea for the President of the United States to intervene and set in motion peace negotiations to adjust the basic differences between Israel and the Arab world. This is a simple suggestion worth reflecting upon.

The Arab world looks upon Israel with dire forebodings—and with good reason. It cannot afford to expose its people with its rampant ignorance and poverty to the gaze of the Israelis, with their splendid culture, their throbbing cities, and their high standards of living. It will exert every conceivable pressure to thwart Israel's attempt to prosper as a nation.

Israel's rapid growth and expansion are a thorn to the Arab countries. Because of that, the Arab leaders are planning to divert the flow of water in Lebanon and Syria so that Israel will not be able to use sufficient water from the Sea of Galilee and thus prevent her from irrigating the Negev Desert, so vital to her existence. King Hussein of Jordan, now visiting the United States, has said the other day that Israel's plans to divert water would "bring more inhabitants to the Negev and thus increase the mortal danger which the Arabs already feel as a result of the existence of Israel."

Israel is at heart a peace-loving nation, which recognizes the folly and futility of war. Someday the Arab nations will learn to their regret that it is better, for the good of all, to live at peace than to be at war. After all that has been said, we must not forget that tonight is a joyous occasion. It is Israel's "sweet 16th birthday." What a fine gesture it would be to pay her homage by purchasing Israel bonds or making contributions to the United Jewish Appeal. If your duty to this gallant little nation is fulfilled, then you can truly say with pride: "We too have done our share to advance the cause of Israel."

I Am Proud To Be a Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER S. BARING
OF NEVADA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a reprint of a speech I made before the American Legion's district 1 annual convention at Reno, Nev., on May 16, 1964.

I AM PROUD TO BE A PATRIOT

(Campaign speech of 1964 by Congressman WALTER S. BARING)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Nevadans, and fellow Americans, there is an old saying—"Give credit where credit is due." That is what I intend to do right now, because I believe that the people of the State of Nevada are to be highly complimented. Judging from the correspondence which comes over my desk, I believe that the people of this State are about the best informed citizens in this country. I really mean this.

The people of this State have awakened to the fact that there is more than politics involved in this year's elections—that there are very important issues involved—and they have taken time to become informed on these issues. From the letters that pour into my office, I know that there is a real grassroots movement afoot in this country—to protect our American form of government. This movement goes beyond the realm of party politics, because it concerns our very way of life—the American way of life. I am convinced that the people of this State feel that regardless of what administration happens to be in power in Washington, they are intensely interested in seeing that the Constitution of the United States is preserved and upheld.

Two years ago I campaigned on a platform of Americanism. The overwhelming majority I received at the polls was significant proof that the people of Nevada were solidly behind the principles I supported. I uphold these same principles today.

We hear a great deal these days about liberals and conservatives in government. Actually, I believe that it is not so much a matter of party politics in this year's elections as it is a matter of a choice between ultra liberals (who have moved further and further away from constitutional government) and conservatives (who see a great danger in abandoning the principles upon which our American form of government was founded).

We hear a great deal these days, also, from what might be termed the "liberal left," about such things as progress, and not wanting to return to the "horse and buggy days." The liberal press which dominates this country's news, has made a concerted effort to brainwash the reading public into believing that to adhere to the U.S. Constitution is to "turn back the clock."

I want everyone to know that I am proud to be called a conservative. A conservative is one who wants to preserve our free institutions and who battles against the welfare state and the socialistic tendency that he sees in America today. A conservative is one who believes that the principles which guided our Founding Fathers in the documents of freedom—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—under which we have lived all of

these years, are just as true now as they were then. The Socialist, on the other hand, believes that these institutions, principles and documents are all outmoded and outworn and should be abandoned.

Fortunately, there are countless red-blooded Americans who have not fallen for this deceptive line of radical leftist thinking. They have done a little thinking of their own, and they have come up with the conclusion that there are some very important and valuable American principles at stake. These conservative thinkers have, from their own observation, seen many individual rights and freedoms "go down the drain." They have seen government controls grow stronger and stronger. They have watched more and more power delegated to the executive branch of the Government, while our system of checks and balances has been brushed aside.

They have seen government bureaus extended and extended until individual enterprises and small businesses are gradually choked out by the "octopus" known as Federal bureaucracy. They have seen taxes become more and more oppressive. They have seen a Federal grab for power deceptively presented as civil rights legislation. Any right-thinking person would be in favor of true civil rights, but the American people are witnessing the greatest grasp for executive power in the Nation's history in the House-passed civil rights bill. I might add that J. Edgar Hoover has confirmed the fact that Communist agitators are influencing the Negro civil rights movement.

The people of this country have also seen the national debt increase to a place dangerously near the national bankruptcy. Here, in Nevada, we have seen our own mining industry suffer and disappear, while our Federal Government has turned its back on our domestic mining, and extended foreign aid to mining overseas. We have seen our foreign policy follow a path of weakness, withdrawal, and appeasement.

We have seen our Monroe Doctrine ignored and abused, while a Communist base has been established in Cuba, just 90 miles from our shore. We have watched government spending, under the guise of welfare, take on stronger and stronger controls. We have seen radical liberals in government try to steer our Nation into a socialistic welfare state. We seen Supreme Court decisions set aside constitutional law. We have seen States rights swept away. All of the American principles and traditions which for almost 200 years have made us the greatest nation on earth, the so-called "liberals" would now like to make us believe have become outdated. It is enough to make Jackson and Jefferson turn over in their graves. Unfortunately, this extreme liberal element (which works to destroy our American form of government) has wormed its way into both political parties. This insidious infiltration of ultra liberals has been going on a long time. With high-sounding phrases and a skillful use of doubletalk, these far-out leftists have perpetrated all kinds of un-American practices—all in the name of progress. We have only to look at the crimes that have been committed in the name of urban renewal, to see how little attention the bureaucrats have paid to our Bill of Rights.

I think that wide-awake, thinking Americans should be proud to be called conservatives, and battle all the harder against the hypnosis of "going along" with deadly socialistic propaganda. I, for one, refuse to be a "rubber stamp" for any administration if it violates the Constitution, or endangers the American way of life. It was Cincinnatus, speaking to the Roman senate, who once said, "It is better to die on one's feet fighting for freedom, then to live on one's knees as a slave. It is better to eat dust, than the bread of despotism."

Today, through "managed news" and the liberal dominated press, we are led to believe that left is right; that black is white, that we "get out of the red" financially, by going further into debt; that we are protecting the peace by giving aid to our Communist enemies. They would like us to believe that "patriotism" is a dirty word. We are subjected to "smears" and ridicule by the leftist extremists if we stand up and say that we hold sacred our American heritage, and refuse to "go along" with their socialistic programs. I am here to say that it is not a disgrace to be a patriotic American.

I have faith to believe that there are good Americans enough left, who believe that the time has come to begin naming things what they are. They are able to recognize socialism when they see it, and are not afraid to name it what it is. I say that now is the time for all good democrats (and all good Americans) to come to the aid of their country. It is not too late to bring this country back on its feet—providing we all have the courage to stand up and be counted.

If J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the FBI, says that we are being undermined by subversive influences which aim to destroy our American way of life, then it's time to get busy and do something about it. If being a good American means being an "extremist," then let's be extremists. There is nothing wrong about being a super patriot. I would say that some of our illustrious forebearers—Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Jackson, and Jefferson—to name just a few—qualified nobly as super patriots. Why this sudden objection, then, to being a patriotic American? There is no stigma attached to being a patriot. Maybe we should start placing the stigma where it belongs.

If there is one thing that the Communists fear above all else, it is an upsurge of American patriots. Khrushchev has boasted that he intends to bury us. The only way that he can bury us is if the American people remain asleep. I don't believe that they are going to remain asleep. In fact, I believe that many American patriots are already awake. They have awakened to what is going on, and they are ready to stop this internal drift toward socialism, which is but an easy drift into Soviet type socialism—or communism.

For the past 30 years we have watched more and more Government handouts, and we have sen more and more of our personal freedoms taken away. This bears out the statement which I made 2 years ago, "a government which is big enough to give you everything you want, is big enough to take it all away." It is also big enough to tie you hand and foot with governmnet red tape. We need only to look about us to see all the earmarks of a carefully planned welfare state.

Let us turn our attention, now, to our foreign policy. For many years our State Department has followed a policy of withdrawal and retreat. Beginning with East Berlin, all of us know that when the Berlin wall was just a barbed wire fence, two or three good American tanks could have gone in and demolished that so-called "wall". For a few more well known fiascos, look at the tragic history of Korea, Katanga, Cuba and Vietnam. Our boys over in Vietnam tell us that there is no reason on earth why we can't win that war. But we have had Averill Harriman and Henry Cabot Lodge over there engineering one of the most disgraceful fiascos in history. Time and time again we have seen our Government taking sides against the freedom fighters, while giving American support to the enemies of freedom. It has been both nauseating and disgusting to witness the red carpet rolled out for such dictators as Khrushchev, Tito, and Castro * * * right here in our own country.

Speaking of Vietnam, I wonder if you read the story of Air Force Captain "Jerry" Shank, which was published in the May 4, 1964 issue of U.S. News & World Report. I am going to quote a few lines from Captain Shank's letter dated November 27, 1963, which was published with the permisison of his widow. The American pilot was killed while flying an air-strike mission against the Communists on March 24, 1964. The letter said.

"Although this a called a dirty little war and it is far from the shores of the old United States of America, it's a big, mean war. We are getting beat. We are undermanned and undergunned. The United States may say they are in this, but they don't know we need help over here. If the United States would really put combat people in here we could win and win fast. It seems to be the old story of a half-hearted effort."

On December 21, 1963, he wrote:

"It's so mixed up over here—there are over 3,000 Air Force in Vietnam, yet there are only 50 combat crews (B–26 and T–28). What a ridiculous ratio."

On February 24, 1964, he wrote:

"We're down to five airplanes now, all of them at SOC TRANG. We have actually got nine total, but four are out of commission because of damage. The B–26's aren't flying yet, but they've been more or less released. I don't know what United States is going to do, but whatever it is I'm sure it's wrong. Five airplanes can fight the war—that's just ridiculous. Tell this to my dad. Let him know, too, how much the country is letting everyone down. We fight and we die but no one cares. They've lied to my country about us."

Now, this is very heartbreaking information, especially when the U.S. Congress has provided the needed appropriations for national defense. I, personally, think that Secretary McNamara and his mixed-up "McNamara's band" should be asked some questions as to just how they are running this hot war, which they try to brainwash the American public into believing is a cold war.

No wonder we hear more and more people asking the question, "What is wrong with our State Department?" I can tell you what's wrong. Our State Department has been following a losing policy of compromise, cooperation, and coexistence with the Russians. That is what is wrong.

Time and again the United Nations has sought a stalemate with the Communists, rather than victory. Our State Department has adopted and employed a policy of paralysis, and in this plan of stalemate, our State Department has repeatedly tied the hands of our fighting men. Every withdrawal, every compromise has brought us to the rude awakening that we are losing, not winning, the so-called cold war. There is no compromise with communism. This is something that our State Department refuses to see.

The United Nations, we are told, is becoming a major problem to the older nations of the world. Out of the 113 member nations which make up this body now, 77 of them are from the newer nations, principally Africa. Most of these newer nations are being run by dictators who are inclined toward communism, rather than the democratic ways of the West, who gave them every good thing that they have. With each nation now in the United Nations having a vote, these newer nations now have the distinct majority and the balance of power in the United Nations. Just imagine the havoc which could be wrought if Red China should be admitted, to help these people solidify their struggles. It is apparent that a real power struggle is coming. The democratic kind of governments face a grave danger.

There was a time, I am sure, when most of us looked with hope toward the United Nations, but experience has taught us a sad, sad story. With Uncle Sam footing the bill, and the Communists calling the shots, no wonder Mr. Khrushchev is laughing up his

sleeve while he talks of peaceful co-existence.

Coming now to the home front, the Federal Bureau of Investigation warns us of the communist menace within our own country, but the ultra liberals assure us that there is no such threat. Do you remember that a great American statesman, the late Senator Pat McCarran spent most of his final years trying to warn the American people—in fact, he pleaded with American citizens to wake up and see what was going on. He warned against Communist infiltration in key government positions. He warned against Communist propaganda which had crept into our schools through textbooks and other insidious influences. He tried to engender a sprit of patriotism, and a desire to stand up and protect our precious American heritage, but many people then did not recognize the seriousness of his plea.

Today we are paying the penalty of that lack of concern—that comfortable lethargy which clings to the bromide, "it can't happen here." We are realizing that it can happen here—that it is happening here. We see that we are not only losing the cold war abroad, but that we are being undermined right here at home. The opinion has been expressed that "closing the Russian Embassy would close the biggest spy center in the Western Hemisphere." Do we need any further proof of the threat of communism in our midst? The assassination of the President of the United States right here in our own country, should be all the proof that we need. Furthermore, we might ask the question, "Why all the hush-hush treatment concerning this national atrocity, when the public was promised a complete report on the investigation?" (The Supreme Court has announced that we might not hear the details of this tragedy during our lifetime.) Why all of this secrecy? Is it beeause our Government is afraid to offend the Communists?

J. Edgar Hoover, in a recent address in New York City, said, and I quote: "During the past 2 years, Communist spokesmen have appeared on nearly 100 campuses from coast to coast. Their purpose—to create confusion, raise questions, and spread doubt among our young people concerning the American way of life. If their constitutional right to free speech allows them to use the public school forum to promote the secular creed of Marxism-Leninism, which openly and avowedly denies God—does their constitutional freedom of religion also prohibit the rest of us from using the same public school forum to express our faith that God does exist?"

I want to read a short news item which appeared recently in the Nevada State Journal. It is datelined May 3, 1964, from Moscow: "A mob of about 4,000 Soviet youths jeered and taunted Russian priests and worshipers Sunday as they celebrated the Orthodox Easter at Moscow's Central Epiphany Cathedral. 'Down with your religion—why don't you learn atheism,' one teenager shouted at the preists as they led worshipers around the cathedral just after midnight in the symbolic 'search for the risen Christ.' The mob—mostly teenagers—were mainly 'militant atheists' who annually harass Russian believers on the occasion of Easter—the church's most holy celebration. But this year the teenagers appeared to be further fired up by the Government's stepped-up campaign to stamp out religion."

Now, someone might say, "Oh, but that's Russia. It couldn't happen here." To this, I can only say, "Have you been noticing the attempts that are being made to stamp out religion in our own country?" Have you seen the results of the Supreme Court's ruling which banned prayers and the reading of the Bible in a public school? While this was an isolated case, immediately there were forces in this country which seized upon the opportunity to attempt to outlaw God in other ways.

There have been demands made to remove the "under God" phrase from our pledge of allegiance, as well as efforts made to remove the motto, "In God We Trust" from our coins. Is this what the great majority of the American people want? I am sure they do not. What, then, are we going to do about it? Are we going to let atheistic Communists continue to enter our colleges and poison the minds of our youth with their anti-American doctrines? America became a great nation because its people believed in God. Statistics show that juvenile delinquency has reached the highest rate in American history. There is a greater and greater disregard for the Ten Commandments. Many young people are totally ignorant of the Golden Rule. What is the reason for this lack of spiritual values? Maybe we should take a closer look at the philosophies to which some of our young people are being exposed. Remember, communism is atheism, and atheism breeds crime. In a larger sense, when we (as a nation) have dealings with the Communists, we should remember that when people do not believe in God, they generally do not hesitate to engage in lies and to break the laws of God.

Our Founding Fathers were men who believed in God, and they established a nation built upon spiritual principles. They created an immortal Constitution, which you and I were taught to revere. Someone has said, "If the Constitution be picked away by piecemeal, it is gone, and gone as effectively as if some military despot had grasped it at once, trampled it beneath his feet and scattered its loose leaves in the wild winds." Can you tell me who made this quotation? Does this seem to describe what is going on now in our own United States of America?—this piecemeal picking away at the Constitution? Do you think that some extreme rightist—(or a conservative)—may have uttered these words in modern days? No, it was none other than Daniel Webster.

In closing, I want to say that I am proud to be an American—and I am proud to be a constitutional Democrat.

President Johnson's Foreign Aid Program Moves Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial on May 27, the New York Times pointed out the need to follow up the approval of continuation of the International Development Association with passage of the full foreign aid request of President Johnson. I include this editorial for the information of the Members:

PROGRESS ON FOREIGN AID

The Johnson administration is making headway with the foreign aid program.

The President celebrated one victory yesterday in putting his signature on a bill that assures continuation of the International Development Association, the offshoot of the World Bank specializing in liberal, long-term loans to the developing nations. With a contribution of $312 million from the United States, IDA will have little difficulty now in getting other industrialized countries to put up over $400 million in additional funds. Meanwhile, the House Foreign Affairs Committee gave the President another victory by approving in full the $3.5 billion authorization requested for the administration's own program of military and economic aid.

There still is a tough road ahead for what is in fact a minimal program that can be effective only if it is approved intact. It must run through the gantlet of the Appropriations Committee and Congress itself. The administration cannot afford to relax its efforts on behalf of foreign aid.

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following is an editorial by Mr. Dale Belles, Jr., editor of the Gary, Ind., Post Tribune. He sets out some sensible comments regarding the pending mutual security legislation:

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post Tribune]

AID BILL EMERGES UNHURT

The House Foreign Affairs Committee, for the first time in the 17-year history of foreign aid, has voted to give a President the full amount of economic and military funds he has asked for. It has endorsed the entire $3.5 billion fund requested by President Johnson.

This does not mean Johnson will get all that money for foreign aid, even if both the full House and Senate pass the authorization bill. The money must be provided in a separate appropriation measure, and tradition says it will be less than for the $3.5 billion.

The committee action is highly significant, however. It does indicate Johnson's program will get through with much less damage than most of the previous aid proposals have suffered.

One reason for the committee's vote undoubtedly is that the fact that the bill includes a special $125 million for economic and military assistance to help win the war in Vietnam. At a critical period in that conflict, Congress should not indicate the President has anything less than full support in his determination to give all necessary aid against the Vietcong.

The committee also may have been impressed by Johnson's assertion that the $3.5 billion was a minimum request and not one fattened in expectation that Congress would slice away a big chunk of it. Some of Johnson's budgetary economies are questionable, but the President does seem to have convinced many on Capitol Hill that he is deadly serious about his endeavor to get rid of unnecessary spending.

Quite probably also, the Democratic majority on the committee took note that this is a presidential year and that Johnson will head the party's national ticket. He is riding a popularity crest now; they would not want to do anything to push him from it.

At any rate, it is refreshing to have the bill voted favorably as requested. Far too much of the time, legislators have used the foreign aid program to put on an economy show without regard for the international consequences.

Meanwhile, the President has signed the International Development Association bill, assuring $312 million from the United States to get that program of long-range foreign loans underway. Other industrialized na-

tions can be expected to follow up quickly with the added $400 million planned for the loan fund to aid underdeveloped nations.

Navy League of the United States—Declaration of Objectives—1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, during week of May 18 through 22, the Navy League of the United States held its annual convention in Texas, meeting in Dallas. Delegates from all of the 50 States were in attendance. The meetings were addressed by the Commandant of the Marine Corps, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Secretary of the Navy.

Summarizing their deliberations, the members of the Navy League unanimously adopted a "Declaration of Objectives," which is, I think, a statement to which those of us who believe in a strong, well-balanced national defense can subscribe.

Under unanimous consent, I include the statement in the Appendix of the RECORD:

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES—DECLARATION OF OBJECTIVES—1964

We in the Navy League of the United States believe that the welfare and survival of our country requires a strong, well-balanced military establishment—under civilian control and the leadership of the Commander in Chief—capable of meeting any threat to our national security, from whatever source. We believe that our principal threat comes from the world Communist conspiracy which, despite ideological mutations and conflicts of personality, still seeks to dominate, subvert, and destroy the free world and especially its leading power—the United States of America; that this threat is present and continuing despite tactics of expediency which may result in sporadic lessening of tensions in the cold war.

It is our belief that we must possess and retain the ability to cope with and, if necessary, to repel aggression of whatever kind wherever it may occur—on land, in the air, in outer space, on the seas and under the seas. To do this we require balanced military forces capable of overcoming aggression in any of these elements, whether that aggression be limited or total, with conventional weapons or nuclear. We hold that one of the indispensable elements of a sound military establishment is a strong, modern, well-equipped fleet, including surface, subsurface, aviation, amphibious, and expeditionary elements capable of controlling the seas and contiguous areas and denying their use to any enemy.

We believe that no fighting force is better than the men who man it who, in turn, are efficient in direct proportion to their training, morale, and courage. Our military forces are entitled to fair and adequate compensation on a scale comparable to their civilian counterparts and we urge that the Congress take immediate action to rectify the existing discrepancy between these groups, which constitutes a real threat to the future proficiency of our armed services. We believe that machines can never replace men and that there is no substitute for professional military judgment. Our fighting men must have the best machines, weapons, and vehicles obtainable but the end user should have the controlling voice in the design specifications and performance of any combat mechanism to be used by his own forces.

We think that controlled competition, or a vying for excellence, is inherent in the American system and that any attempt to merge our Armed Forces or to achieve a single service is incompatible with this sound tradition and with the maximum efficiency of our fighting forces. We strongly believe that our Joint Chiefs of Staff system has been proved in practice and in combat and that it should not be weakened or by-passed. The system of checks and balances inherent in this structure is consistent with our best governmental practices and tradition and should be retained.

We must guard against a philosophy of insularity and adoption of a "Fortress America" concept. This concept would deprive us of control over the world's oceans and at the same time turn them over to the enemy. It would immobilize our commerce, paralyze our industrial capacity, and would allow the enemy to determine not only when, but also where he wishes to fight. Inevitably it would draw any future war to our own shores.

We stand for strong Marine Corps forces in being, ready for instant deployment by air or amphibious means to any trouble spot where the need for military action or deterrence exists.

We believe that in the development of the Polaris weapons system we have achieved the single most effective deterrent to nuclear attack. We urge a continued procurement program for Polaris submarines and their widest possible deployment in the oceans of the world.

We believe that our 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea must be maintained at full strength. We must also proceed to build up a strong fleet in the Indian Ocean to cope with emergencies in that area. The stability of the Far East depends, to a large extent, on the presence of our 7th Fleet in that area. We believe that these fleets must be kept strong and instantly ready to repel aggression.

We believe that while we must maintain a capacity for unlimited nuclear retaliation, the likelihood of nuclear conflict diminishes with the passage of time, whereas the possibilities of limited conflicts continue to increase. We contend that in any conventional or limited war our most versatile and effective weapon will be our farflung fleets, spearheaded by modern fast carrier task forces with embarked amphibious forces, because of their ability to strike anywhere on 70 percent of the earth's surface and all contiguous shores. We believe that because we hold a virtual world monopoly on such forces we must maintain our supremacy—which means that we must continue our regular carrier procurement program. Equally indispensable to a modern fleet and control of the ocean areas is a stepped-up program of fleet modernization—80 percent of present fleet units were designed or built in World War II. We hold it to be self-defeating and wasteful to refuse to convert to nuclear power for major fleet units, just as it would have been to refuse to convert from sail to steam or from steam to diesel power because of increased cost per unit. We believe that temporary economies should not be permitted to obscure a long-term advantage. We aspire to achieving a balanced national budget, and believe that this can be accomplished while maintaining a sound, balanced, and versatile Defense Establishment.

We earnestly recommend a vastly increased effort in the field of oceanography that we might realize the unlimited potential of this vast element for both defense and nonmilitary purposes. To that end we urge coordination of Government effort in this field under naval leadership.

Finally, we believe that in this age the nation which will survive will be the nation which is progressive and militarily strong. In our national interest we recommend prompt and vigorous action toward our stated objectives.

William Leavitt Given Writing Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I recently noted the 1963 writing awards of the Aviation Space Writers Association. Two of these awards were given to William Leavitt, an associate editor of Air Force/Space Digest. Bill Leavitt received the Robert S. Ball Memorial Award for outstanding and meritorious space writing. His award winning article, "Space Technology: Today's Tool for Controlled Peace," was in the April 1963 issue of the magazine. In addition to this award, Bill also received the AWA 1963 Writing Award for the best writing in the aviation-space magazine field. This award recognizes his excellence in writing on space in all media—radio, TV, newspapers, and books. He has thus been doubly honored for his work.

Bill is a native of New England, having been raised in Boston. He was graduated from Northeastern University in 1950. After 2 years of service in the Army, he began work with the General Electric Co. in editorial and public relations capacities. He continued in this capacity until 1957, except for that period 1954–55 during which he obtained a master's degree from the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. Since 1957, he has been employed on the staff of Air Force/Space Digest.

Mr. Leavitt's work has not been confined solely to magazine articles. He coedited the book "Speaking of Space" and was a contributing writer to three other books: "Space Weapons," "Man in Space," and "Reflections on Space." This is indeed an impressive record for a man of such relative youth. He has only been writing in this field for 7 years, and his recent awards demonstrate proof of his excellence.

Bill, at 36, is a promising young writer with a dedicated interest in the space program and the Government's role in space exploration. He has often attended sessions of the Committee on Science and Astronautics on which I serve and has well covered the committee's activities. His monthly column, "Speaking of Space," is one of the most widely read features of the magazine. His opinions in this area are highly valued by leaders in all fields—industrial, military, and governmental, as well as literary.

Role of Acting President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent editorial that appeared in the Washington Post on Saturday, May 30, on the problem of presidential disability.

This is a subject which the House had better get moving on if we are not to be negligent in our duties.

Many Members of Congress have prepared legislation on this subject. The Lindsay bill has been pending in the Judiciary Committee for some time as have all other bills I know of. It is a step forward that the Senate has acted. The Senate may not have suggested all of the solutions, and there may be some disagreement over what it has proposed. But it is better than what we have now and I do hope that the House will go into action on this subject within the next few weeks.

The editorial follows:

ROLE OF ACTING PRESIDENT

One aspect of the proposed constitutional amendment on presidential succession and disability calls for extensive discussion despite the broad support it has won. Section 5 of the resolution, as approved by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, is intended to deal with rare emergencies in which the President and those about him might be in disagreement as to his ability to resume the burdens of his office once they had been temporarily relinquished to the Vice President. In such cases the President's declaration that he had recovered from his inability would prevail unless the acting President (Vice President) should assert the opposite with the support of a majority of the Cabinet. In that event the issue would be decided by Congress, and if two-thirds of both Houses voted that the President was still disabled the Vice President would continue to act in his stead.

Some critics of the proposal have pointed out that this would put Congress in the position of deciding between two contenders for the presidential power, probably in a time of great emergency. If Congress were controlled by one party and the White House by another, or at any period of bitter executive-legislative conflict or intense partisan warfare, a chance for mischief would certainly exist. A disabled President could repeatedly raise the issue of his recovery, and if the Vice President and Cabinet did not sustain him Congress could prevent him from regaining his powers. Meanwhile, however, the country might be in a furor, with Congress exercising the controlling voice as to the Executive Office despite the customary division of powers.

The possibility of a troublesome situation thus arising cannot be denied. Fortunately, however, it would be a remote possibility. In most cases the disability of the President would probably be clear, and he would invite the Vice President to occupy his chair temporarily. Vice Presidents as well as Cabinet members usually owe their political standing in large measure to the President and are therefore reluctant to make any unnecessary move that would be distasteful to their chief.

Some concern is also being expressed over the possibility that an acting President taking over the reins under the proposed disability amendment might remain in authority over a long period. In such circumstances his acting status and the possibility that the President might recover would put the temporary chief at a severe disadvantage. For this reason there is something to be said for displacing a disabled President permanently if a dispute over his condition were once decided against him by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

It is well to remember, however, that the basic purpose of passing such an amendment is to induce the President to use the Vice President when the President becomes incapacitated. The possibility that powers once relinquished to the Vice President might not be regained is what has reduced the present disability section of the Constitution to a dead letter. Great care will be needed in passing an amendment to safeguard the rights of the President beyond any unreasonable challenge.

No amendment that may be devised is likely to offer a complete solution for every contingency. Perhaps the best way to minimize the risks that still remain in Senator BAYH's resolution approved by the subcommittee would be to provide that a special midterm presidential election be held if the executive power were in the hands of an acting President or of a person never elected to the Presidency or Vice Presidency at least a month prior to the date of the midterm balloting.

Johnson Strength Growing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial recently published in my hometown paper, the Vallejo Times-Herald. I think it is reflective of the admiration and respect we all feel for President Johnson.

The article follows:

[From the Vallejo (Calif.) Times-Herald, May 22, 1964]

JOHNSON STRENGTH GROWING

It's becoming apparent that the popularity of President Lyndon B. Johnson with the American voters is ever increasing.

The polls indicate that his standing with the electorate is as high now as it was when he took office on November 22, the day President Kennedy was slain.

The reasons for this popularity are many.

But principally, Mr. Johnson has created the image among Americans that he is the President of all the people.

He considers himself a Texan by birth and upbringing.

Politically and sociologically, Mr. Johnson carries the wide stamp, "American."

He has made some enemies in the Deep South because of his unyielding stand on the civil rights measure. He has made it clear to the people of the South that he will not backtrack in any area of the civil rights measure now before Congress.

Southerners may not agree with him but they respect his stand.

Mr. Johnson professes the same ideology whether he is talking before Southerners, Northerners or Westerners.

The American electorate enjoys and appreciates a President who speaks from the same side of his mouth to differing audiences. Even if many voters disagree with Mr. Johnson's domestic policies, and there are many in that category, still they appreciate his forthright stand for the principles in which he believes.

It is increasingly evident that when election time rolls around in November, President Johnson will be able to come before the voter with a record of accomplishment and a program for progress.

We believe the American public will respond to such a degree that he will be returned to the office of the presidency with an unprecedented majority of votes.

Memorial Day Editorials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday the Nation paused to commemorate one of our great holidays—Memorial Day.

I ask leave to insert into the RECORD at this point two outstanding Memorial Day editorials; the first "In Memoriam," which appeared in the Desplaines Valley News on May 28, and the second "Let Us Preserve Our Heritage," appeared in the Orland Park Herald issue of May 28:

[From the Desplaines Valley (Ill.) News, May 28, 1964]

IN MEMORIAM?

Today in big places and small, armed men are marching to war. Marching to force other men to switch their beliefs, centuries of traditions and quiet existence, to quarrel over the way they are governed.

Little discontents and big ambitions are merged in disputes that armed force aims to settle by bloodshed.

Men will die. Large populated areas will be forced to vacate their lands and flee the holocaust.

Private conflicts among small nations become the concern of mighty powers and tiny misunderstandings aim to develop into nuclear threats.

Heed to the voice of this writer who sat in the councils of the great powers in the second attempt of mankind to find other means of solving conflicts than by bloodshed. His voice is small in the battle to persuade by reason.

IN MEMORIAM

In memoriam are those men who fought a war "to end all wars," and those men who died on the battlefield to enable mankind everywhere to decide themselves their rule without the need of force, guns, and death.

In memoriam are those who still suffer in veteran hospitals, who await death in watching other marching men eager to accept a like fate.

In memoriam are those crosses, row on row. Those wives and mothers that hopelessly asked, "Why?"

In memoriam are the scorched fields, the blasted homes, the rain of terror and death as waves of planes roared overhead.

Warlike leaders twice led the European nation with the largest literacy rate, Germany, into a caldron of destruction.

Civilization tottered as new methods of mass murder were created and utilized—until * * * until a nuclear explosion annihilating the people of two cities ended the mighty conflict.

Yet, annihilation of a race or people still remains the answer in settling even a minor border or voting dispute.

Mankind, which has laborously worked out courts of judgment to settle conflicts among its citizens within their control, fails to work out techniques for resolving disputes or conflicts amongst the nations themselves.

In memoriam, a United Nations concept which would end the need of organizing slaughterhouse armies to bring opposing people into "line."

In memoriam, those young men sent to halt this slaughter and become its victims.

Mankind seems not yet ready to forgo the need of armed might or the need to compel those objecting to obey through fear rather than through reason.

Perhaps our answer lies in the conduct of those elected as village trustees or as city aldermen.

Note the desire for revenge by those elected, the struggle of the defeated group to be heard without punishment. Note how the majority constantly believes it has the only and correct solution to any and all community problems.

Multiply this desire and need to dominate others and one almost has the basic reason for conflicts among the powers at the higher levels.

How often have we struggled to overcome a "global crises" only to discover later that it was merely a tiny ripple in the effort of two nations to reach agreement on a trade or import question.

When mankind accepts the principle that an argument can be pursued to a logical conclusion by reason alone rather than by force and bloodshed; then and only then will there be a real—"In Memoriam."

[From the Arland Park Herald, May 28, 1964]

LET US PRESERVE OUR HERITAGE

Saturday, May 30, is Memorial Day.

Like the Fourth of July it is of American origin. The Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, was a challenge to the world as well as our birth certificate as a nation. Memorial Day marked the close of a conflict between the North and South that threatened to shatter that nation, and was designated as an occasion to express tribute and thanks to those who died to preserve the Union.

The date, May 30, was originally set aside as a memorial to the dead of the northern forces.

In time, however, the day was set aside to honor the dead of all wars in which Americans have participated.

The War Between the States was fought a century ago and all of the veterans of that conflict have answered the final muster. The ranks of those who fought in the Spanish-American War are almost depleted and time is taking its toll of veterans who served in the First World War.

There are some elements, including leftwingers, so-called liberals, starry-eyed oneworlders, and other gushheads who scoff at patriotism and love of country, dismissing such qualities as mere old-fashioned sentiment and advocating they be tossed into the discard, along with morals and religion.

We should indeed be thinkful that we have patriotic organizations, made up of former servicemen and their families, who would preserve the ideals of our Nation's founders and protect and defend the Constitution.

The Communists have never kept it a secret that they intend to take over the world, if they can, and are making a determined effort to undermine our form of government. That these creatures are busy in the United States has been told repeatedly by no less than J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In some circles it is the fashion to belittle and ignore the warnings of the FBI Director and to claim that the Reds would be our buddies if we would just let them.

With Memorial Day close at hand we should each make a resolve to be good citizens and be ready to fight, if necessary, to preserve our Constitution and liberties.

For us the United States must come first. If we can afford to help some other nation that is fine but let us help ourselves first. How to best serve our own interests should be paramount in all our undertakings.

We believe that more emphasis should be placed on our own history in the schools and colleges and history written by believers in American principles and liberty. We don't need leftwingers to write our history courses.

We have been repeatedly warned that the commies are working hard on college campuses to brainwash students. Someone is certainly at work because recent surveys in some colleges reveal an alarming tendency toward totalitarian government.

This was shown by the answers to questions concerning rights and privileges of governmental bureaus and agencies. Most of the students believed such bodies should not be subjected to public scrutiting and it would be perfectly all right for them to censor all publications and withhold any information they saw fit.

God forbid that such conditions should ever come to pass because that would be the end of the Republic.

Men have died to preserve our heritage—let us live to perpetuate it.

Eternal Vigilance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Members of Congress and those who observe this RECORD will be touched, I am sure, by a very excellent poem entitled, "Eternal Vigilance," by Maurine C. Dupuy, of Miami, especially for Commander Henry Halam, of the Harvey W. Seeds Post of the American Legion of Miami, Post No. 29, of which I am proud to be a member, for Memorial Day May 31, 1964, which follows:

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

(By Maurine C. Dupuy)

Think you that they are sleeping now,
When men with bombs and atoms play,
And they behold God's furrowed brow,
And hear His angels weeping? Nay,
They do not rest, but restless lie,
Through cold and heat, and draught and rain,
Shouting their questions to the sky,
"Have we—oh, have we died in vain?"
Think you that they can be at peace
When all the world is torn with strife?
When hate abounds, and wars increase,
And mankind toys with death, and life?
Nay, they are not at peace at all.
Their clamoring voices rise as one
And thunder down through history's hall,
Crying aloud, "What have you done
To help the cause for which we fought?
To serve the cause for which we died?
Were peace and freedom won for naught?"
And as their raging cries subside,
Our answer comes through tears we shed
In shame and sorrow, as we are,
While honoring our heroes dead,
Alert for yet another war,
Prepared for yet another strife,
And storing yet a new supply
Of men and bombs, for this is life
If we would echo Freedom's cry.
As long as we must fight to hold
The freedom that they died to keep,
We shall. And when our tale is told,
Think you that we shall ever sleep?

Mobile Trade Fair Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a mobile trade fair program recently was announced by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges as another step in the Government's drive to promote and expand sales of "made in U.S.A." products overseas.

The Secretary told a Washington press conference that the Department would give financial and technical support for mobile trade fairs operated by private industry, pursuant to legislation enacted in the 87th Congress, for which $200,000 was recently appropriated.

In mobile trade fairs, U.S. firms ship their goods aboard U.S.-flag ships or aircraft and display them in foreign ports and other commercial centers overseas.

The new program will give impetus to mobile trade fair programs already initiated by private industry. The Government is not a competitor with private enterprise, but is lending assistance to soundly conceived and economically operated mobile trade fairs.

U.S. industry-sponsored mobile trade fairs complement the Commerce Department's own international trade fair, trade center, and trade mission programs. The goal is the same: Promote our foreign commerce through an expansion of export sales.

Exhibiting at land-based trade fairs has long been recognized as an effective means for expanding our foreign markets, but not until 1960, when the Isbrandtsen Co., Inc., an American-flag steamship company, inaugurated its own Mobile Trade Fair, did this bold and imaginative idea for expansion of U.S. exports catch fire with the industry, the Congress, and the Government.

Even so, the idea of mobile trade fairs is not new. Other maritime nations have experimented with mobile trade fairs in varying degrees since the mid-1950's, with Japan undoubtedly being the most successful. Japanese floating trade fairs have sailed into ports in Asia, Africa, Europe, and South America, displaying and selling Japanese products.

Floating trade fairs have also been dispatched by Australia, Brazil, Denmark, Sweden and Spain to the world's leading commercial ports. In most cases, these mobile trade fairs were supported by Government funds.

While the Isbrandtsen line was the first American shipping firm to send its floating showcases of U.S.-made products around the world, Maine businessmen, like the Yankee traders of yesteryear, have gone to sea to develop new markets for their products. During the recent Caribbean training cruise of the Maine Maritime Academy ship, *State of Maine*, the ship doubled as a floating display case for Maine products. Aggressive Maine businessmen forsee new Latin

American business of some $2 million a year resulting from their initial mobile trade fair experience.

As the result of growing interest in the United States in this new method of displaying "made in U.S.A." products abroad, the Congress considered several legislative proposals for the establishment of mobile trade fairs. These efforts culminated in the enactment on October 18, 1962, of Public Law 87–839, amending the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, "to develop American-flag carriers and promote the foreign commerce of the United States through the use of mobile trade fairs."

The act authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to provide technical support and financial assistance for operators of mobile trade fairs who use U.S.-flag vessels and aircraft exclusively in transporting American goods for display in oversea ports and foreign commercial centers.

Expenses which the Commerce Department will defray are limited to items pertaining to foreign-port entry and clearance, exhibit space and facilities abroad, transportation and related services in foreign countries, and advertising costs incurred in attracting visitors to the fairs.

The new mobile trade fair program is being handled by the Office of International Trade Promotion—OITP—a unit of the Department's Bureau of International Commerce. OITP already conducts the Department's interagency trade fair, commercial fair, trade center and trade mission programs.

In addition to providing financial assistance to private-industry-operated mobile trade fairs to cover certain expenses incurred abroad, the Department of Commerce is considering the placement of business information centers—BIC's—in some of the projects. Manned by experienced personnel and stocked with a comprehensive U.S. business library, these BIC's would offer U.S. and foreign businessmen an opportunity to exchange trade proposals.

Since Secretary Hodges' announcement of the Commerce Department's program to support mobile trade fairs, OITP has received a number of proposals from operators requesting assistance. Following prescribed regulations, these proposals are now being evaluated in terms of their economy to the Government and their anticipated effectiveness in promoting export sales.

The following mobile trade fair projects have requested various types of support from the Commerce Department:

Delta Steamship Lines, Inc., Post Office Box 50250, New Orleans, La. Delta Lines and the Mississippi Valley World Trade Council of New Orleans are cosponsoring a mobile fair departing from New Orleans, May 14, 1964, for a 44-day tour of six South American ports. Exhibits will be mounted aboard the Delta ship SS *Del Sud*.

Mobile Trade Fairs, Inc., 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Mobile Trade Fairs, Inc., in cooperation with American Export-Isbrandtsen Lines, Grace Lines, and Farrell Lines, propose to depart the United States about July 15, 1964, visiting 31 cities in the Mediterranean, Africa, and South America. This is a containerized mobile trade fair concept modeled after the experience of the original Isbrandtsen mobile trade fair program launched in 1960. Each series of containers will consist of exhibits featuring a single major product category that can be trucked inland to major commercial cities or to established trade fair sites.

Trade Fair Ship, Inc., 46 South Street, New York, N.Y. Trade Fair Ship, Inc., is planning to convert an oil tanker to a permanent exhibit ship. The vessel is scheduled to depart New York about November 15, 1964. She will carry over 400 exhibits to 52 countries.

International Ship Fair, Inc., 107 Terrace Court Drive, Pittsburgh, Pa. This corporation is planning to construct a new ship designed primarily as an exhibit ship. The first sailing will probably be after 1965.

Global Presentations, Inc., Post Office Box 190, New York International Airport Station, Jamaica, Long Island, N.Y. The mobile trade fair project sale planes, promoted by Global Presentations, Inc., calls for the use of a DC–7 aircraft, converted into an exhibit plane. The plane will have space for 20 exhibits plus passenger space for exhibitor representatives. The first flight from New York to Europe is scheduled for 1964. The first proposed project is being sponsored by the Huntington, N.Y., Chamber of Commerce.

International Trailer Caravan, Harold Meyer Exposition, Inc., 310 Madison Avenue, New York, 17, N.Y. This group proposes to organize an exhibition using a series of 35-foot truck-trailer vans with exhibits mounted inside that will be brought as a caravan to about 30 European cities. No departure date is available.

Western Shipping Corp., pier A, berth 6, Long Beach 2, Calif. Western Shipping Corp. plans to carry U.S. exhibits around the world in a cargo ship to be converted to an exhibit ship.

Foreign Trade Section, Maine Department of Agriculture, Augusta, Maine. During a fall 1964 cruise of the training ship *State of Maine*, the Maine Department of Agriculture intends to promote the sale of Maine agricultural and industrial products in Caribbean ports.

I am happy to have been able to play a part in working toward passage of legislation to make this program possible.

Mr. Speaker, we all owe a debt of gratitude to Congressman BONNER, chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, for sponsoring the legislation and to Congressman JOHN ROONEY, of New York, for making it possible for funds to be appropriated so the very worthwhile program can be started.

Acquisition of Property for Highway Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, last week at the meeting of the 10th annual national seminar of the American Right of Way Association, John C. Mackie, State Highway Commissioner of Michigan, delivered one of the finest and most informative speeches it has been my pleasure to hear in a great number of years on our highway system, its importance, and the fair approach which should be made by all negotiators in the acquisition of property for highway use.

It so impressed me that I am including that speech in my remarks that my colleagues may have the benefit of his fine study on this subject.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER JOHN C. MACKIE, 10TH ANNUAL NATIONAL SEMINAR, AMERICAN RIGHT-OF-WAY ASSOCIATION, STATLER HILTON HOTEL, DETROIT

It is a great honor to have this opportunity to speak at this seminar to tell you something about highways and economic progress.

But first, I'd like to tell you just a few things about Michigan and invite you to visit some of our attractions before you return home.

Our westernmost city is farther west than St. Louis, Mo., and on the east we extend to a matching line with Greenville, S.C. Our northern limit is north of Montreal, and—to get to Canada from Detroit—you go south.

Our shoreline in distance is equal to the Atlantic coastline all the way from Maine to Florida, and it's longer than the Pacific coastline from Canada to Mexico. All together, the shoreline adds up to 3,121 miles, the longest shoreline of any of the continental United States. Our territory embraces 40 percent of the water surface of four of the five Great Lakes.

Twenty years before Cromwell became Lord Protector of England, Jesuit missionaries were searching for a new route to the Orient—through the awesome Straits of Mackinac, where now stands the $100 million Mackinac Bridge, the longest suspension bridge in the world. Golden Gate enthusiasts argue this point but we insist our yardsticks are only 3 feet long.

The locale of Longfellow's Hiawatha is our Upper Peninsula, and many of our State highways today follow in a general way the routes of the old Indian trails.

We are looked upon as the automobile State, and we are—but we are also the leading producer of a diversity of things—salt, sporting goods, cherries, navy beans, cantaloups, and bird's-eye maple. We are known throughout the world in chemical products, drugs, baby foods, magic supplies, and if you have a calliope that needs repairing, we have a fatoory that specializes in that.

And, of course, if you're eating a proper breakfast at this seminar, you are eating cereals from Battle Creek.

And one of the Nation's top tourist attractions—Greenfield Village and the Ford Museum—are located within a 15-minute drive of this hotel.

As you all know, making automobiles is our biggest industry, but tourism ranks high, too.

And one of the reasons so many tourists visit Michigan is that they can reach our northern playground quickly and safely over nearly 1,200 miles of freeway.

One of the people who played a major role in the construction of these freeways was your seminar General Chairman Eric Eichhorn.

Vic came to the highway department the same year I did and during the last 7 years his right-of-way division has purchased nearly 25,000 parcels of land at a cost of more than $200 million.

Actually Vic's right-of-way division was only warming up for what lies ahead. Dur-

ing the next 4 years, we expect to purchase another 25,000 parcels of land valued at more than $200 million. Most of it will be for construction of interstate freeways in urban areas.

Generally speaking, our right-of-way division has met target dates for acquisition of land needed before construction could start, and we've been able to keep our construction program on schedule. Our right-of-way buyers—and State highway department right-of-way buyers throughout the country—are the unsung heroes of the greatest public works program in American history.

During the past few years I have had many opportunities to observe firsthand the rapid progress being made throughout the United States in rebuilding our National and State highway systems. Our new and rebuilt highway systems are visible evidence of how well the American highway industry is serving the people of this Nation.

Highway building is the best continuing example of how government and private industry can work in partnership for the good of the whole community. The highway industry spends public money through private business. Highway departments do not build highways—nor does the Federal Government. Highways are built by private contractors under the standards and inspections of government agencies.

The American Right of Way Association certainly deserves credit for its significant contributions to the accelerated highway program. I know that your task is not an easy one. But you have met the challenge.

Today we are in the midst of a revolution in transportation. This is being brought about by the tremendous investment nationally in the new system of interstate freeways, coupled with a proportionate investment in State highways, county roads, and city streets in almost all of our 50 States.

I do not think the immensity of the interstate program has yet dawned on the American people. By 1972, most American motorists will be able to leave their front door, drive a short distance to the nearest interstate route, and from there go to any major city in any one of our 48 continental States without the hazard of a single crossroad and without a single stoplight between them and their destination.

In the second half of the 19th century, the building of the railroads projected America into an era of unprecedented economic growth.

I believe that the highway building program now underway holds the same significance for the second half of the 20th century.

The railroads were built to move people and goods safely and efficiently over short distances or long distances as the case required. Our highway systems in this day perform the same function.

Since the interstate program began in 1956, nearly $20 billion has been invested in it.

An additional $17 billion worth of work has been invested in other primary and secondary highway systems and their urban extensions.

As of April 1 this year, 41 percent of the Interstate System is open to traffic. By the end of 1964, it is expected that motorists will be driving on almost half of the ultimate 41,000 miles of interstate highways.

I believe it can be shown that highways play a significant role in the economic growth of any area.

The first and direct impact of the highway program through the money spent in wages and raw materials is followed later by a second impact, this one arising out of the increased accessibility of any particular area.

Safe, easy and efficient access to an area means a saving in the cost of getting raw materials in, a saving in the cost of getting finished products out, an enlargement of the circumference of the labor available, and an enlargement of the market area.

The location of new industry and the progress on many complimentary public works programs—urban renewal programs for example—are closely tied with our new highway developments.

Grand Rapids—a city of 300,000 in western Michigan—has keyed its two urban renewal projects to the expressway system. One of them—between the North-South Freeway and the Grand River—already is proving to be very attractive to small business wanting to use the new transportation facility. The area formerly was 44 acres of depreciating property. Now the same area holds a variety of small plants which are yielding a better tax return to the city.

A bank official in Grand Rapids credits the Interstate System with connecting Grand Rapids directly to new markets in Ohio and Indians. An advertising firm in the same city reports that it can now serve its clients as far away as Chicago.

The manager of one of Detroit's largest hotels describes the Motor City's freeway network, and the new and improved highways radiating out of Wayne County, as the greatest economic asset the city has.

The president of a trucking company reports that his loads per day per truck through the Detroit area have been doubled because of the easing of traffic congestion by the new highway developments.

A restaurant operator in Brighton told us that, if the new business he has obtained is the example of the effect of a bypass, he is in favor of bigger and better bypasses.

The mayor of St. Ignace, in the Upper Peninsula, reports a substantial increase in prosperity and attributes it almost entirely to the opening of Interstate 75 in that area. Six new motels are being built and many others are being enlarged to accommodate the new visitors. The downtown area which was previously strangled by through traffic is now accessible to those who want to stop to spend their money.

From almost every source the story is the same. At first there is a community fear of the impact of a new highway and then there is a realization that the highway offers great opportunities for expansion and diversification.

Our modern highway program plays another role of great significance to the Nation's economic growth. This is in the area of traffic safety.

All of us are aware of the increase in traffic fatalities and, I am sure, every citizen wants them reduced as soon as possible.

The single best investment in traffic safety that can be made with public funds today is to build safer highways.

Our experience in Michigan in this regard has its parallel in every State. Traffic accidents decrease 60, 70, and sometimes 80 percent in the first year of the opening of a new freeway over the traffic experience of the previous year of the old road being replaced.

In 1962, almost 41,000 people were killed in motor vehicle accidents in the United States. This is a grisly record and every effort must be made to diminish this total. But this great number of fatal accidents must—like any other use of statistics—be kept in perspective.

In 1941, nearly 40,000 people were killed on America's streets and highways in traffic accidents. In 1962, as I just said, there were almost 41,000 deaths. But in those intervening 21 years motor vehicle registrations increased 125 percent, motor vehicle miles of travel increased 130 percent, and the population in the United States increased 40 percent.

Measured in deaths per 100 million miles of travel, the national traffic death rate dropped from 12 to 5.3 in that 21-year span.

We may now be standing on the threshold of a real breakthrough of reducing traffic deaths. The Interstate System has proven itself to be almost accident free when compared to the older style highways.

Preventing property damage and deaths is not only a moral responsibility, it also is a direct economic benefit to the whole community.

The Michigan Safety Commission estimates that traffic accidents in 1962 cost the citizens of our State $285 million. I do not expect the day to come when we can eliminate accidents entirely but I know that every dollar invested in highway improvements is directly reflected in a decrease in traffic accidents.

The significance of this to industry and the health and welfare of workers and executives, in insurance claims in the trucking industry, in the decrease in lost cargoes, is self-evident.

In the years immediately ahead the demands on these new highways and their value to the community will increase sharply with each passing month.

By 1976, the population of the United States will number approximately 230 million persons. By the year 2000, we will be a Nation of 350 million people. Sixty-three percent of our people lived in metropolitan areas in 1960 and this percentage will increase to approximately 73 percent by the turn of the next century.

And the proportion of our population in the 15 to 24 age bracket—the most mobile age bracket of all—will go to 17 percent by 1976 compared with 13 percent today.

Disposable consumer income, according to the recent report by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission, will rise from $354 billion in 1960 to $706 billion in 1976. And people will have more leisure time because it is estimated that by 1976 the standard workweek will average 36 hours.

All of this can be stated in a much less complicated way by simply pointing out that by 1976 will will have 40 or 50 million more people, who will have higher incomes, who will have more leisure time, and who will be more interested in mobility between metropolitan areas than ever before.

Today the United States has more than 12 million trucks on the road. This is 41 percent of all the trucks in the world. In 1954, there were 9 million trucks operating in the United States. This is a 33 percent increase in just 10 years, and equally dramatic increases lie ahead in commercial trucking over our streets and highways.

The connecting link which unifies this growth is the new network of highways rapidly falling into place throughout the United States.

The figures I have cited are both a promise of future prosperity and a challenge to keep up with the demand.

By 1972, we will need a second interstate highway program. In February, a bill to set up a study of the Nation's highway needs after 1972 was passed by the House of Representatives in Washington and is now in the Senate.

This bill calls for a thorough analysis of the potential demand, a complete review of all Federal-Aid Highway Systems, a reappraisal of construction techniques, and a review of the capabilities of State highway departments and the private highway industry to handle the challenge.

I hope this study is approved because it is not a moment too soon to anticipate what the needs will be when the present Interstate highway program dies out in 1972. The proposal before Congress calls for a report to be submitted to Congress January 1, 1967. I would like to see it pass because it is wise public policy to plan today for the needs of tomorrow.

I believe we are in the beginning of a golden age of economic growth in America.

If war does not disrupt the world, we can look forward to an increased demand in the goods and services of American industry, an increased efficiency in the transportation network to distribute it, an increased leisure on the part of all of our people, and an increased safety in business, commercial, and recreational travel in every part of the United States.

I am proud to have had a small role in the transportation side of this growth. Each of you can take pride in your contribution to it.

Economic growth and good highway programs are inseparably tied together. Like love and marriage in the song, you can't have one without the other.

Thank you for this opportunity to appear before you and to participate in your program.

Birth Control Lethal Tool Against Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the pending foreign aid bill and the antipoverty legislation serve to remind us that these proposed expenditures will be but an exercise in futility unless more is done to curb the booming rate of population increase.

This would be a good time to review this problem, both at home and worldwide. Let us think in terms of the cause of our problems, rather than just floundering about in attempting to treat the symptoms.

At the present rate of growth there will be 200 million people in this country in 1967, only 3 years from now. It is estimated we will have 260 million by 1980. One authority says we can expect more than 700 million by 2050, only 85 years hence, if the present growth rate is continued. That would make us almost as crowded as Red China is now.

During the past 10 years our population has risen by the equivalent of adding two States the present size of New York and Pennsylvania. We are gaining at the rate of about 3 million each year, or a rate of 1.7 percent. The wolrd average is about 2 percent.

Even now, the United Nations estimates that nearly half a billion people are suffering from hunger or malnutrition, caused chiefly by overpopulation.

World Bank President Eugene Black recently said that present population growth rates threaten to nullify all our efforts to raise living standards in the poorer countries. The Congress is being asked to provide money to help alleviate low living standards abroad with foreign aid, which we must know cannot be achieved unless the population problem is recognized and effectively attacked.

The Indian Ambassador to the United States recently said:

> We have received massive aid from the United States in helping us to industrialize our country. But this economic aid will only bear fruit and produce full results if we can arrest the growth of our population.

The same problem which relates to efforts to raise living standards of the more underdeveloped countries of the world apply with equal meaning to efforts now being pushed to alleviate conditions among our own people who are plagued with low incomes. In the so-called war on poverty, efforts to raise the living standards of these people will be nullified unless at the same time more is done to reduce population growths in the affected areas. It is just that simple.

Mr. Speaker, let us look for a moment at the world picture. It is appalling.

We know that population is no guarantor of prosperity. China and India can testify to that fact. India, with its 438 million, is now gaining at the rate of 2 percent per year—a net gain of from 8.5 to 10 million each year.

Just 10 years ago the population of the world was about 2½ billion; it had increased only 1 billion in the previous 50 years. At the present rate, this will increase nearly 4 billion in the second half of this century—more than double the 1960 population within the next 40 years.

It took untold thousands of years to reach the first billion in world population, which was achieved in 1850. But look what has happened since then. The second billion was recorded by 1930; and the third billion required only 30 years. And the fourth billion will require only 15 years.

This population explosion rate has resulted mainly from effective death control through the use of miracle drugs, insecticides, and other health protecting measures. Since our peacetime foreign aid program began in 1945 the world rate of population growth has doubled. Birth rates are increasing, while death rates are dropping.

The world is gaining population at the rate of about 50 million a year. Within the next few years, experts say, the accelerating rate may add 70 to 80 million more people to the world total each year.

In Ceylon, for example, the mortality rate was slashed 40 percent in 1 year by spraying DDT in an antimalarial drive. Many similar examples can be cited.

World population was held in check for centuries by what the Rev. Thomas Malthus called the iron law of war, famine, and pestilence. But science has found the answer to many of the problems associated with famine and pestilence.

Unfortunately, the growth rate today is much higher in the so-called underdeveloped countries. Latin America now has the largest population rate increase of any area in the world, with a 2.5 percent annual average. Rates elsewhere, according to the United Nations, are 1.7 in the United States and Canada; Asia, excluding Japan, 2.3 percent; Africa, 1.9 percent; Europe, 0.8 percent; the U.S.S.R., 1.8. Japan by a rigid system of birth control since the war has managed to reduce its former high rate to only 1 percent.

A Committee on Science and Public Policy of the National Academy of Sciences, after an exhaustive study of the subject, recently reported on the depth and seriousness of the problem. Its report began thus:

> All nations are committed to achieving a higher standard of living for their people—adequate food, good health, literacy, education, and gainful employment. These are the goals of millions now living in privation. An important barrier to the achievement of these goals is the current rate of population growth. The present world population is likely to double in the next 35 years, producing a population of 6 billion by the year 2000. If the same rate of growth continues, there will be 12 billion people on earth in 70 years and over 25 billion by the year 2070. Such rapid population growth, which is out of proportion to present and prospective rates of increase in economic development, imposes a heavy burden on all efforts to improve human welfare. Moreover, since we live in an interconnected world, it is an international problem from which no one can escape.

Indeed it is said that if the present growth rate is continued for 600 years, this would leave every inhabitant of the world with only 1 square yard to live on. By the year 3500 the weight of human bodies on the earth's surface would equal the weight of the world itself.

The world's gain in population during the past 23 years has been equal to more than the total number of people on the earth in 1800.

But much can be done to change this trend, and avoid much of the chaos that is faced in an otherwise jam-packed world.

Not long ago a large group of the world's leading thinkers, including more than 200 Nobel Prize winners, addressed an urgent communication to the United Nations, in which they said:

> We believe that widespread, effective and voluntary use of medically sound and individually acceptable birth control is an essential factor in any humane design to raise world living standards and achieve international peace as well as social and family stability.

That same group continued:

> Unless a favorable balance of population and resources is achieved with a minimum of delay, there is in prospect a dark age of human misery, famine, undereducation and unrest which could generate growing panic, exploding into wars fought to appropriate the dwindling means of survival.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is being done to cope with this problem? Surely in this enlightened age mankind will not blink its eyes to what is happening before its eyes.

I have already alluded to the success being achieved in Japan. Much is being done in India where in 1961 1,800 family-planning clinics were established, with a goal of 8,200 by 1966. Chile has a committee, directed by the government, studying methods of checking population growths. The problem there was pinpointed recently when it was revealed that there are now 60,000 illegal abortions annually in Santiago alone. Surely there is a better way of handling the problem.

In Egypt Mr. Nasser, who long opposed birth control, announced 2 years ago:

> This year we have added to our number 800,000 persons. * * * We cannot go on at this rate. * * * I consider it the duty of the state to advise people on methods of birth control.

In Pakistan, plagued with overpopulation and resulting poverty, Ayub Khan

found that the rate of growth in his country, if unchecked, will lead to a standard of living "little better than that of animals." And a birth control drive is underway there.

In Mexico, where little is being done, a bleak outlook is faced unless effective birth control measures are undertaken. In 200 years Mexico will have a population of 30 billion, at present growth rates, according to Dr. Ansley J. Coale, head of the Office of Population Research at Princeton.

In this enlightened country of ours, which should take the lead, there has been foot dragging in facing up to this problem. There have, however, been some significant efforts in the field of research. We spend only a little more than $6 million annually in the Government's efforts to find better solutions. But progress is being made. Both Catholic and non-Catholic clergymen have agreed that governmental research in family planning is desirable.

Dr. John Rock, professor emeritus of Harvard, himself a Catholic and co-developer of the first effective birth control pills, has urged the Government to undertake a crash program of research on fertility control. He has called for establishment of at least 10 major research centers committed to the study of human reproduction.

William H. Draper, Jr., who has been a Presidential Special Adviser, has joined Dr. Rock in alerting the Nation to the seriousness of this problem, and has been very active in his efforts. Perhaps no one man in this country has done more.

In our Government a National Institute of Child Health and Human Development has been founded. One of its major aims is to encourage the development of an effective method of birth control for global use.

This is indeed a responsibility of Government. A tremendous challenge is faced. Science undoubtedly has the answer within its reach—a simple, inexpensive method of birth control for those who care to make use of it on a voluntary basis. Already there have been significant breakthroughs in this area, but it is recognized that more needs to be done. Pills, taken orally, with no adverse effect on health, are now in use, but the research must be continued and intensified, and the results made available to everyone who is interested, without cost to those who cannot afford to pay for them. We should spare no expense in promoting this effort.

Mr. Speaker, it is sheer folly for our Government to send foreign aid to underdeveloped countries, ostensibly for the purpose of helping raise the living standards of the poor, unless such aid is accompanied by a program of dissemination of birth control information. Otherwise the effort is futile and indeed boarders on stupidity. Because overpopulation is admittedly the basic cause of most of their ills.

It is likewise folly for the Congress to undertake an expensive war on poverty, designed to alleviate the low income problems of millions of Americans, unless we at the same time attempt to treat the cause of many of these problems—that is, overpopulation.

Let us treat the disease—not just the symptoms.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial which appeared in the May 27, 1964, issue of the San Angelo Standard-Times, of San Angelo, Tex. This publication, one of the leading newspapers of Texas, here recognizes the implications of this problem, and advocates positive action.

The editorial follows:

BIRTH CONTROL LETHAL TOOL AGAINST POVERTY

The need for planned parenthood is obvious in the records of the welfare agencies today meeting some of the problems of our world as population expands. Unfortunately much of the expansion comes from the economic fringes where families have not enough material blessings to meet the needs of life in a complex society.

Now that the Nation is taking a more aggressive effort toward eliminating poverty, it probably should take steps to eliminate some of those who come into the world without choice and are destined always to contend with adversity. The elimination step would be taken in the birth control measures such as are advocated now by Representative O. C. FISHER of the 21st Texas Congressional District.

Mr. FISHER said recently the Government is not using the most lethal weapon in the war against poverty—the dissemination of birth control information.

Children born into poverty and compelled to live in an environment that does not provide opportunity unfortunately may become a continuing burden to themselves and to society. Every person born should have the opportunity to overcome the economic penalties that often apply right from the time of birth on. These penalties grow as a youth is denied the chance to get a complete education, and that is the primary determinant of success.

Right now, the leaders in the poverty war maintain that lack of training and the mastery of an essential vocation is back of the plight of millions who lack adequate shelter, food, and jobs.

The United States is growing and ultimately may have 150 million more persons than it has today. We may multiply the problems of the indigent unless there is an all-out assault on besetting problems that today deny lesser numbers the fruits of adequate training. Would it not be better to curb uneconomic and unsocial growth at the point of inception?

Representative FISHER's discussion of the matter helps to bring it into the open. It will take similar courage on the part of society to take the one indispensable step in ameliorating the lot of the poor.

We must recognize that many have lifted themselves from poverty to affluence and the good life, but there is no good reason why society should not take steps to prevent the multiplication of misery when the control is so easily available.

Schweitzer Basin, Idaho, Proves Reader's Digest Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, the vicious attack launched on the Area Redevelopment Administration by the Reader's Digest in its May issue was full of either deliberate falsehoods or very careless reporting, misstatements, distortions, and journalistic trickery.

One of the examples held up for scorn in this attack was Schweitzer Basin, a ski facility in Bonner County in my own State of Idaho. The facility was financed in part by ARA, which accounts for its inclusion as one of the examples in Reader's Digest's attack on this agency, which has done such a good job of generating job opportunities in America's economically distressed areas. It is also one of the original antipoverty programs.

The citizens of Idaho take a very dim view of such obviously distorted reporting. The Sandpoint News-Bulletin took issue with the Reader's Digest. In a series of articles and editorials, they accuse the magazine of "Just Plain Bad Reporting" and worse.

I should like permission for the text of these articles to be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The articles follow:

[From the Sandpoint (Idaho) News-Bulletin, Apr. 30, 1964]

JUST PLAIN BAD REPORTING

As citizens of Bonner County we naturally regret and resent the totally erroneous story about Schweitzer in the lead article of the Reader's Digest for May. As newspapermen, we of the News-Bulletin are ashamed that our trade could produce such bad practitioners in high places.

The Digest piece, as it applies to Schweitzer, is just plain bad reporting. In this business we are taught from cubhood to get the facts and get them straight. It is apparent that Mr. Stevenson, who wrote the Digest article, made no serious attempt to get the facts.

On the front page today we are carrying a comprehensive statement from the mayor of Sandpoint and a number of excerpts from a moderate and well-reasoned letter by Ron Hall, local CPA. These explain in detail what we're driving at.

By giving international publicity to Schweitzer Basin as a new ski resort, the Digest piece will do the area vastly more good than harm. But the magazine has suffered damage to its reputation for accurate and honest reporting that will require a long time to repair insofar as people of north Idaho are concerned.

We would hope that, at the very least, the Digest will publish Ron Hall's letter as a demonstration of good faith.

[From the Sandpoint (Idaho) News-Bulletin, Apr. 30, 1964]

NATIONAL ATTACK ON SCHWEITZER DRAWS FIRE FROM SANDPOINT FOLK

Vigorous protest has been aroused all over the Inland Empire by a lead article in the May issue of Reader's Digest holding the Schweitzer Basin project up as a "terrible example" of ARA mismanagement.

Principal objection to the Schweitzer development in the mind of Charles Stevenson, Digest editor who authored the story, appear to be a belief that it constituted an "outrageous Government encroachment on private enterprise." It contends that a ski area on Baldy Mountain being planned by Fred Drew and Mike Kelley was destroyed by Schweitzer.

He also makes the claim that the Sandpoint water supply was condemned by the State because of construction in the area.

Declaring the article to be biased and that it contains half-truths and untruths,

Mayor Floyd Gray has prepared the following statement:

MANY PARTICIPATE

"The very fact that some 700 people, most of them residents of this city of less than 5,000, are stockholders in Schweitzer Basin would seem to speak for itself that they would not be a party to a plan to run two other local men out of business, as one of them is quoted as saying.

"Officially, as mayor, I am gravely concerned by the Digest's statement that the Sandpoint water supply was condemned by the State. This is a lie. It is detrimental to our efforts to attract new business and industry on the strength of an ample supply of clean, pure water.

"The Digest says this resulted because the city contributed $32,000 toward building a road into the new ski area. The truth is that while the road built by the city became a part of the access road into Schweitzer Basin, it was built because the city had to complete a watershed logging contract with the State of Idaho. The magazine failed to tell this whole truth. It further did not mention that this so-called contribution has returned $36,194 in stumpage receipts to the city to date.

ALL TO BE REPAID

"The Digest creates the impression that the people of Sandpoint raided the Federal Treasury to deal what it calls a 'crushing blow' to two local men. It did not mention that this depressed community, by bonding and public contributions, raised approximately $460,000 to participate with ARA, and that it is obligated to repay the $345,000 borrowed from ARA. Nor does it mention the new winter jobs created nor the new investments by private capital which are a direct result of a going ski area. One of the latter is a $500,000 motel facility on which construction is scheduled to begin in May.

"Far from being the horrible example that Reader's Digest holds it up to be, the Schweitzer Basin ski area is an outstanding example of how people can help themselves if capital is not available from private sources is provided. The ARA loan here has produced far more results than Uncle Sam has gotten from a lot of his expenditure, such as those for foreign aid. And he's going to get his money back."

HALL LETTER

A very comprehensive summation of the feeling of local people was given in a letter to the Digest by Ronald L. Hall, Sandpoint CPA. Hall wrote:

"Since this article contains what this writer considers an unwarranted attack on the untold efforts of many local people in the construction and planning of Schweitzer Basin, it is felt that a reply to this attack is necessary. Therefore, please consider the following points:

"(1) This writer, and to his knowledge at least 90 percent of the people in the Sandpoint area, have wished Mr. Drew and Mr. Kelley nothing but the best in their efforts to build Sundance Ski Lanes. But if a nationally known expert certified 'that the terrain and the snowfall would support an enterprise comparable to any of the world's great ski resorts,' it is certain that the same thing and more so can be said for Schweitzer Basin.

"(2) The article gives the impression that Schweitzer Basin was built entirely by Government funds, whereas the $50,000 already invested in Sundance Ski Lanes is private capital. It should be pointed that almost $200,000 of the funds used to construct Schweitzer Basin were private investments made by many local citizens and people from surrounding areas.

"(3) Many people in this city and in neighboring Spokane labored just as diligently for Schweitzer Basin as did Drew and Kelley for their Sundance project. The project did not come off a Government drawing board as your article would seem to indicate, but represented the hopes and foresight of several people over a period of several years, a period of time that back dates the origination of the Sundance project on Baldy.

"(4) Many people, including this writer, would have preferred Schweitzer Basin to be constructed by private funds. However, the originators of the idea found, as did Drew and Kelley in their Sundance project, that private funds of the magnitude to build a first-class ski area could not be obtained.

"It seems very unfortunate that a project as successful as Schweitzer Basin was this past year, and will be even more so in the future, should come under such an attack in a nationwide publication. Nothing has so solidified this community and given rise to such optimism for the future as has the Schweitzer Basin project. Three years ago this community was in the depth of pessimism. The lumber market was very weak, several lumber operations went under, and it looked to many people at that time that the entire lumber industry of this area could go under. Out of the depths of that pessimism came the plans for Schweitzer Basin to be a part in the rehabilitating of the local economy. Now, 3 years later, the lumber market is more sound, although it has never come close to its post-World War II prosperity. The recreation industry, based at the present time primarily on Pend Oreille Lake and Schweitzer Basin shows signs of a big boom. The pessimism of 3 years ago has change to reasonable optimism on the part of most of the citizens.

"It is in this spirit, that this writer has and still does wish Mr. Drew and Mr. Kelley much success in their Sundance project. But don't blame any possible failure of the project on Schweitzer Basin. If Schweitzer is as successful as many knowing people seem to hope, the throngs attracted could be the making of the Sundance project along with Schweitzer Basin.

"This writer is not a strong advocate of government loans. It is felt that they many times do penalize the efforts of private capital. However, to say that this has happened in the case of Schweitzer Basin is an injustice to the efforts of the people involved.

"Yours very truly,

"RONALD L. HALL."

Your World and Mine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as added emphasis is placed on the situation in Vietnam, public opinion is demonstrating itself in increasingly local criticism of the administration's mishandling of the situation.

This natural analysis is reflected in an article by Columnist Michael Ward which appeared in the May 28 issue of Suburban Life, which I insert into the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

YOUR WORLD AND MINE

(By Michael Ward)

When we pause on this Memorial Day to honor our Nation's war dead, let us say an extra prayer for those American servicemen in the jungles of southeast Asia.

U.S. servicemen are being wounded or killed every day in South Vietnam in effort to prevent a Communist takeover of the "rice bowl" of Asia.

They are doing a splendid job and we should be proud of them and the families they have left behind. But let us also watch that the Government doesn't betray them by asking them to die in a war they cannot fight—in a war they are not allowed to win.

It is easy for public officials to issue strong statements and pledge to defend the high ground at the price of the other fellow's blood. But it calls for courage to do those things that will help our fighting men win the war.

Letters released by the families of two American officers killed in Vietnam tell the story.

Air Force Capt. Gerald Shank, Jr. wrote in one of his letters, "I am over here to do the best job possible for my country—yet my country will do nothing for me or any of my buddies or even for itself. I love America. My country is the best, but it is soft and has no guts about it all."

Army Capt. James P. Spruill told his wife, "We must stand strong and give heart to an embattled and confused people. This cannot be done if America loses heart. Please don't let them back where you are sell me down the river with talk of despair and defeat."

These men gave the last full measure of devotion for their country. And so did the wives and children who suffer just as much or more when their men are sent to war.

Despite the propaganda pronouncements put out by the American Government, we are not winning the war and we shall not win it if we continue to operate in the same shabby manner.

Our failure to take positive steps earlier in Laos has resulted in the current crises formented there by the Communists and the possibility that we may be forced to pour more American fighting men into that country to plug the gap.

South Vietnam will go the way of Laos if we do not take control of the war, that is put American military men in control of the Vietnamese Army and strike at the enemy's supply lines in the north.

We should either determine to fight in Vietnam to win, or else get out before we allow more men to die in a hopeless stalemate.

If we choose the latter, then the Shanks and the Spruills will have died in vain. America's fighting men have always stood by her from Valley Forge to Vietnam. The question now is will American stand by them.

"Mobocracy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week it was my privilege to address a Memorial Day observance in my district sponsored by the Norwood Park Citizens Council in tribute to those heroic Americans who gave their lives that this Nation may be free.

I chose as my topic for this Memorial Day observance an appeal to all Americans to recognize the inherent dangers to this Nation in the growing trend toward "mobocracy." More and more,

Americans take the law into their own hands and; show impatience with our time-tested democratic institutions of justice, turn to mob rule for an expression of their grievances.

It is my judgment that this trend in America toward "mobocracy" could seriously endanger the Nation's democratic institutions.

I should like to include in the RECORD the text of my remarks on this subject, with a fervent hope that others will speak out on this issue and that we as Americans can again rally the support of all citizens for law and order. There can be no doubt that no matter how just may be the cause, "mobocracy" is not the road to survival for those institutions of freedom which gallant soldiers throughout our wars of history fought so heroically to preserve.

Mr. Speaker, the text of my remarks follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here this morning to pay tribute to those Americans who have made a supreme sacrifice to preserve those fibers of democracy which in our Nation have given all Americans a degree of freedom and dignity unparalleled in the history of mankind.

It is fitting that on this Memorial Day we review briefly how well have we managed the legacy of freedom and democracy which these brave heroes left us.

In paying tribute here today to the men and women who gave their lives in the War Between the States—and certainly these heroes rank in equal stature with all other American heroes who fought through our various wars—I should like to remind you of the eloquent statement made by President Lincoln in Springfield, Ill., in 1838, when he warned that America's danger will never come from without but, if our freedom is ever to be destroyed, it will spring from amongst us.

In reviewing today how well we have managed the survival of democracy, let us pause just briefly to repeat the eloquent words of Abraham Lincoln when he said:

"At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never. All the armies in Europe, Asia, and Africa combined could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

"At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer that if it ever reaches it must spring from amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we ourselves must be the authors and the finishers.

"As a nation of free men, we must live through all times or die by suicide. Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in the schools, in the seminaries, and in the colleges. Let it be written in primers, in spelling books, and almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; and, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly at its altars."

Those words of Mr. Lincoln are as alive today as they were more than 100 years ago when this Nation was threatened with destruction from within.

The alarming growth and tendency in our Nation today toward what many of us call "mobocracy"—government by mob rule—should be of deep concern to all Americans. It is a growing tragedy that in our Nation governed by the most complicated system ever devised by man, there are those who turn to mob rule because they seek expediency based on impatience and a desire to resolve all matters through mob rule.

We are living in an era that tests the very strength and courage of our Republic. We need from our people today a depth of understanding unparalleled in the history of this Nation. We have had too many examples in recent years of "mobocracy"—the most morbid enemy of constitutional government.

Too often we associate mob rule and demonstrations with race conflicts and disturbances. It should be of deep concern to all of us that the mania for taking the law into their own hands is spreading today into many areas which have nothing to do with racial disturbances. The increasing violence of demonstrations on college campuses is but one example of mob rule. The tragic demonstration by a group of housewives last week in bodily trying to stop trains from operating because they opposed the new work rules is but another example of a growing tendency to violent descent from law and order.

It can be clearly shown that even in the civil rights struggle, 90 percent of all the gains made in this country within the last two decades have been made through the orderly processes of legislation and judicial review. We have a right to question whether the great harm being done to America and its image abroad justifies mob rule and violence for the remaining 10 percent of gains.

I hope the day will never come when the American people will be compelled to march in a single cadence like the people behind the Iron Curtain or the Bamboo Curtain in Red China. I hope the day will never come when the people of this country will not be permitted to exercise their right to be different; to exercise their right to disagree. But I also hope the day will never come when the impatience, when the seemingly slow-moving pace of our democratic process, will overwhelm the people, and they will try to find more expedient ways of giving meaning to their views by mob rule or other violent changes.

I have faith in this Constitution. I have faith in the democratic processes of this Nation. I have faith that the American people will take the trouble to learn the complex structure of the world situation today, and then in a dignified, orderly manner manifest their views to their respective representatives. Great civilizations have fallen to mob rule.

God grant that our land shall never meet this fate.

South Bend, Ind., Pioneers in Volunteers Tutoring Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, during the past year the city of South Bend, Ind., has benefited from an imaginative program of volunteer tutoring designed to help youngsters whose academic achievement records were below their potential capabilities.

The tutoring program, since its initiation last November, has provided some 300 schoolchildren personal assistance in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The program was conceived by a group of students at the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College. It has expanded since then until, at the close of the first year's program, tutors from Bethel College and Indiana University's South Bend campus, as well as a number of interested citizens of South Bend, had joined the Notre Dame and Saint Mary's students in the tutoring program. This project, known as the neighborhood self-help program, is interracial and interdenominational. A similar program is being carried out in South Bend under the sponsorship of the First Presbyterian Church.

The college students and the South Bend citizens who have unselfishly contributed so much time and effort to this effort are demonstrating the sense of social responsibility and human concern which are fundamental ingredients of the American heritage. Such students, it seems to me, provide all of us good reason for optimism regarding the future leadership of this country.

I wish to salute all those who have contributed to making this program a success. I wish also to draw their efforts to the attention of my colleagues in the hope that their splendid example may encourage similar projects in other communities.

I, therefore, under unanimous consent, include in the RECORD the texts of an article and an editorial from the South Bend Tribune which discuss in further detail the program and achievements of this South Bend tutoring project:

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, May 31, 1964]

THE REPRESENTATIVE MINORITY

We hope South Bend readers noticed the full-view feature story by Tribune Reporter Nancy Kavadas last Sunday about the tutoring programs that were conducted in the city during the past school year to help children whose school performance had not been matching their abilities.

This is the kind of community project that can pay off in the most rewarding way possible: By making better citizens for the future. All who had a hand in it, either through the neighborhood self-help program or through a similar First Presbyterian Church project, deserve warm praise.

It is not slighting the roles of the South Bend residents who took part in such projects to single out the University of Notre Dame and St. Mary's College students for special praise.

College students often complain that the headline-making pranks (mostly harmless, occasionally not) perpetrated by a minority of the student body, have a tendency to tar all students with a common brush. Perhaps they have a point.

But now all South Bend knows there is another kind of minority among college students—those who share their time, talents, and advantages with boys and girls who can benefit from their help and friendship. This minority, we are certain, is more representative of the majority of college students than the other.

Notre Dame students were the driving force behind the neighborhood self-help program. Most of the Notre Dame and St. Mary's students, let's remember, were giving to a community that is theirs only temporarily and

by adoption, and they are that much more deserving of thanks.

Kudos all around.

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, May 24, 1964]

TUTORING PROGRAM ENDS FIRST YEAR—PROJECT GROWS FROM IDEA OF NOTRE DAME STUDENTS

(By Nancy Kavadas)

A project of individual tutoring of South Bend school children whose academic performance did not match their potential capabilities, has come to the end of its first year in operation.

The program ended Thursday, and the complicated process of evaluating the project and its benefit to the community has begun.

The program grew by leaps and bounds since its inception in November by a group of students from the University of Notre Dame and St. Mary's College, in cooperation with members of the Algonquin Civic Club.

In January a group of interested citizens in the community formed the neighborhood self-help program, and working with the Algonquin Club, instigated a similar program on the city's west side.

TWO GROUPS MERGE

Since then the two groups have merged into a loose amalgamation. First Presbyterian Church and other organizations have begun tutoring projects of their own, and Temple Beth-El is planning a similar program for next year.

Advisers to the project emphasized that the program transcends all barriers of race and religion, with Negroes and Caucasians, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews all working together.

William O'Brien, a Notre Dame sophomore from Cincinnati, is in charge of the tutors from Notre Dame and St. Mary's. Mrs. James Glaes and Mrs. Guy Curtis are co-chairmen of the NSHP.

PLAN INCORPORATION

The NSHP now is in the process of being incorporated. A board of directors will be appointed soon to head the new corporation.

Mrs. Glaes explained that the group is being incorporated to permit the program to receive grants and donations, and because just the fact of incorporation "gives a respectful image."

More than 600 persons were actively participating in various phases of the program as the year ended last week.

Notre Dame and St. Mary's students comprised the bulk of the tutors. The two campuses had 240 tutors participating each week. The remainder of the tutors included interested citizens, two Bethel College students, and three students from the South Bend campus of Indiana University.

FREE TUTORING SERVICE

O'Brien explained that with just 250 tutors next year, not counting the anticipated expansion of the plan, working for 25 weeks, the program would provide $23,437 worth of free tutoring services to the community.

Most of the pupils being tutored were sixth- and seventh- and eighth-grade pupils in public and parochial schools.

"By getting more active in the community, we feel more at home here during our 4 years at school," stated O'Brien. "The program gives us a chance to meet South Bend people, and we are taking more interest in South Bend, is politics and its problems."

O'Brien explained that the tutorial project was conceived by the students of the two campuses "as a way to bring both college communities to some understanding of the nature and complexity of the civic issues which will confront them as they move into cities and suburbs upon graduation."

LIVING EXPERIENCE

The students goal was to "place education in the context of a personal and living experience rather than a special obligation," said O'Brien.

Last October, O'Brien, five other Notre Dame students, and three St. Mary's students met with Isaiah Jackson, president of the Algonquin Club, Thomas Taylor, a club member, and Lloyd Guerdon, a representative of the United Negro Council.

This group set up the pioneer tutoring center at First AME Zion Church, 801 North Eddy Street. The center was opened November 7 with 15 pupils, most from Central, Jefferson, and John Adams Schools, and 15 Notre Dame and St. Mary's tutors.

They were tutored in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and any other subject in which the pupils needed help.

As the program progressed, the pupils brought friends along to join the project and more tutors were obtained, bringing the enrollment of the AME Zion Center to 25 pupils and 25 tutors.

OPEN ANOTHER CENTER

Another center later was opened in the area, at Lowell Heights Methodist Church, 719 North Notre Dame Avenue, to take care of the overflow from the original center. This center opened in late February with 15 pupils.

Jackson and Taylor continued throughout the year as overseers of the East Side program, acting as a liaison between the pupils and tutors, and providing transportation.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Glaes and Mrs. Curtis had begun discussing their proposed project with Jackson, Guerdon, and William J. Brown, executive director of the South Bend Urban League.

They were interested in starting a tutoring project in the West Washington Avenue area, near St. Peter Claver House, a Catholic biracial neighborhood center at 1013 West Washington.

They met with Miss Edith Kyler, lay director of Claver House, and Rev. Earl F. Harber, assistant pastor of St. Matthew's Cocathedral and religious adviser to Claver House.

NEED THREE CENTERS

They decided that goals of the group would be to set up places for pupils to study, further the desire to study, and provide someone to help them. They later called in other religious and educational leaders, and decided that three centers were needed in the area.

When he returned from Christmas vacation, O'Brien heard about the NSHP plans to open new centers, and he contacted Mrs. Glaes. They decided to join forces, and O'Brien arranged for tutors from the two campuses.

On January 8 the new centers were opened at St. Augustine's Church, 1501 W. Washington Avenue, St. Peter Claver House, and St. John Baptist Church, 224 North College Avenue, with a total of 40 pupils and 40 tutors.

The center at St. John Baptist was different from the rest in that it involved tutoring of second- through fifth-graders in reading only. This center was sponsored by the Linden School PTA, and tutors were honor students from St. Mary's Academy and interested adults.

NINETY STUDENTS SIGN UP

Interest appeared to be growing rapidly in the program at this point. O'Brien began a campaign for tutors on the Notre Dame campus. Almost immediately he had 90 students signed for the program in addition to the members of four clubs, the Glee Club, Colorado Club, CILA Club, and Alpha Epsilon Delta, a medical honorary fraternity.

Anne Liess, a St. Mary's sophomore from Glenview, Ill., took charge of coordination of the project on the St. Mary's campus, and she signed up 70 volunteer tutors.

In mid-January a new center was opened at St. Paul's Memorial Mtehodist Church, 1001 West Colfax Avenue, with five pupils. This center had 40 pupils when it closed last week.

The next center to be opened, near the end of February, was at Lowell Heights Church. Tutors at this center were members of the Colorado Club and high school seniors from St. Mary's Academy.

OUR LADY LARGEST

Opening in mid-March were centers at Olivet AME Church, 310 West Monroe Street, and Our Lady of Hungary Church, 731 West Calvert Street. The Our Lady center was the largest in operation this year, with 50 pupils tutored by the Notre Dame Glee Club and St. Mary's College students.

The Glee Club took complete charge of setting up the center at Our Lady of Hungary Church. They found the site and put the machinery in motion. At the conclusion of each tutoring session, to the delight of the pupils, the Glee Club members sang several songs.

Another unique center was that at Perley School, 740 North Eddy Street, at which the 30 pupils were tutored during the school day. All other centers operated in the evening. Guerdon, a counselor at Perley School, arranged with the tutors to come in during child's free study time of the day.

With Perley School as the only exception, the centers attempted to separate the sexes, assigning female students to tutor the girls and male students to tutor the boys. At Perley, the tutors were all members of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, a Notre Dame organization.

BROADWAY CHURCH CENTER

The last center to be opened on April 9, was at Broadway Evangelical, United Brethren Church, 1412 South Carroll Street.

Rules set up for the program required that a certified teacher and an adult representative of the community be present at each center during tutoring hours.

Both Mrs. Glaes and Mrs. O'Brien indicated they feel a paid coordinator will be required to operate the program next year. They said they have no funds with which to hire a coordinator but hope such funds will be forthcoming from someplace.

As the program kept enlarging, transportation of students to the tutoring centers became a major problem. Car pools organized in the various neighborhoods could no longer handle the number of students.

In January, Rev. Joseph E. Payne, C.S.C., pastor of the Little Flower Parish, donated a used schoolbus to the group. After 2 months' use the bus became a problem in itself as it was continually in need of repairs.

CASH DONATED

Repair work and a spare tire were paid for and donated to the group by several civic leaders. Mrs. Glaes contacted the Wheelabrator Foundation in a quest for funds, and the foundation donated $600 to the program. PTA groups and individuals donated an additional $60.

On May 2 the NSHP advisers purchased a used 1958 schoolbus for $700. Drewrys Limited USA Inc. has agreed to pay the insurance premiums and cost of licensing the bus.

The United Negro Council this year donated 30 dictionaries and paid for insurance on the bus.

The South Bend Community School Corp. provided to the NSHP advisers the names of pupils who have academic potential, but were not performing in a ratio equivalent with their potential. The schools sent home with these pupils information for their parents, explaining the tutoring program. Interested parents then contacted the advisers.

The tutor for a new child was given information on his pupil in advance by the child's guidance counselor, principal, or teacher.

SHOWS DEFINITE RESULTS

Edward A. Myers, principal of the Linden School, explained that the program showed definite results in the classroom already this year. The teachers reported that the students who were tutored showed more interest in their schoolwork after they entered the program.

"Often the kids just need a little individual attention," said Myers. "This the tutors gave them."

Agriculture Records To Be Opened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1964

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Agriculture Department has taken an important step toward increased public access to information about its actions. Under the Department's new procedure, comments filed on proposed changes in regulations controlling the sale of many food and fiber products now will be generally available for public scrutiny.

This step toward fuller public access to Government information was taken by the Department after editors and reporters of the Fairchild Publications complained about past secrecy.

Following is the Department's announcement of the new procedure:

AGRICULTURAL RECORD TO BE OPENED

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman today announced further steps to make information more readily available to the press and public about views submitted to the U.S. Department of Agriculture on proposed changes in such USDA activities as inspection and grading.

His action reaffirmed USDA's policy of making information freely available to the public to the maximum extent possible.

The new provisions were developed in consultation with Congressman JOHN E. MOSS, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information. They apply to all agencies of the Department. They provide for the first time uniform, clearly defined guidelines relating to the availability of information in informal rulemaking proceedings.

"In general, all views will be made public by USDA unless disclosure of essential business information would seriously and adversely affect the person submitting them," Secretary Freeman said. "We believe that these exceptions will not be frequent.

"The new guidelines eliminate a 'fuzzy area' on what should and should not be made public about these views, and are designed to provide better understanding of Department activities by the general public and the industries involved."

Prior to the action announced today, submission of comments or views by interested parties under the so-called rulemaking procedures was on a basis that in most instances implied that the views would be held confidential. There was no uniform method for making this information automatically available to the public, or for setting guidelines for keeping the information confidential when justified.

Under the Department's informal rulemaking, interested parties have an opportunity to express their views and submit supporting data and information on proposed rules or changes in existing rules in USDA programs relating to grades and standards, inspection, and other regulatory matters.

With the action announced by Secretary Freeman, notices of rulemaking that invite written views must contain a statement advising the public which of these three policies apply:

1. All submissions will be available for public inspection.

2. All submissions will be available for public inspection, unless a person making a submission shows in writing that making it public would adversely affect him. If his request for confidential treatment is denied, he may withdraw the submission. If his request is granted, a statement will be made public giving the basis for confidential treatment but without identifying him.

3. All submissions will be confidential because the nature of the subject matter of the proposed rule is such that meaningful information could not be obtained if public disclosure would adversely affect the persons submitting it. This policy may be invoked only with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Under Secretary, or an Assistant Secretary.

Adverse effects from making public submissions might sometimes be anticipated as a result of disclosure of trade secrets, processes, operation, style of work or apparatus; disclosure of the amount or source of any income, profits, losses, or expenditure; or exposing the person making the submission to substantial disadvantage in his business or employment.

Confidential status will not be granted such views in the absence of a showing that there would be real damage to the person or business firm from their disclosure. Even under such exceptions however, the public will have access to the basis on which confidential status was granted.

Of Cars and Roads and Auto Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, soon we will be asked to extend the so-called temporary excise taxes levied during the Korean war emergency. Each year I have served in Congress I have supported efforts to reform the excise tax structure which discriminates against certain goods in favor of others. In a number of instances relief has been granted. However, the 10-percent rate on passenger automobiles still stands in full force. President Johnson said yesterday that he finds responsible changes in the excise tax system to be necessary and desirable but he insists such changes should not be made this year. Nevertheless, I intend again this year at the proper time to voice my objection to the extension of the auto excise tax, believing that such tax reform is long overdue with respect to all the excises and especially the one placed upon the Nation's key consumer industry. Consequently I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which is to appear in Ward's 1964 Automotive Yearbook, 26th edition, written by Mr. Robert B. Powers, publisher, which presents an informative discussion of a number of the reasons which argue for tax relief for the automobile buyer.

The editorial follows:

OF CARS AND ROADS AND AUTO EXCISE TAXES

(By Robert B. Powers)

The auto industry in the past year produced and sold automobiles in sufficient numbers to create two great years in a row and with the 1964 models, to accelerate its momentum toward a third momentous production year.

General prosperity was the spur, and the confidence and the drive of the auto industry contributed mightily to the general attitude of good times.

More and more people became aware of the fact that the good things of life were not reserved solely for the rich and that with planning they, too, can enjoy the creations of an inventive world.

The domestic "compact" compacts had had their day and the motoring public began to take more than casual interest in elbow room, bucket seats, high performance engines, in automotive design and styling of taste and distinction.

Prestige cars crept into the automotive language as they did into price classes ranging from $2,500 to $12,500.

The industry brought luxury features into all price classes and offered such a combination of choices of features that the car buyer virtually could buy a custom-fashioned car at assembly line prices.

America took to the road with the new cars in nearly 500 models. There was a surge of interest, too, in the comfort-laden house car as a leisure- and vacation-bent American took to the hills, the woods, and the seaside.

The new automobiles had new roads to travel as the Nation's network of turnpikes, Interstate Highway Systems, and freeways spread over wider areas to open up new places for easier communications and exploration. State tourist boards and ingenious campaigns like that of Ethyl Corp. and the American Petroleum Institute emphasized the tonic of motor outings for the whole family to faraway national parks and to nearby, offbeat places and scenes.

Many a one-car family found a way to become a two-car family and many a two-car family found that junior and sis wanted a special car of their own and wangled a way to get it.

The one increasing blot on the American scene became the mounting toll of highway accidents.

It is something that concerned the industry mightily and that has moved it to participate more deliberately in vigorously promoting the use of seat belts, building more safety features into their products, encouraging driver-training programs, good driver awards and other safety-serving activities.

But the problem is complex. The auto road population increases by over 2 million cars a year.

Of the tens of thousands of auto accidents throughout the country, a good many involve overage cars. These are the 6-year-plus old cars that stall on the highways and the city streets. These are the cars that are poorly lighted, have faulty brakes, worn tires, tired ignition systems. They are piloted often by drivers more interested in keeping the car alive than in paying attention to their driving responsibilities.

Over 5 million cars are scrapped every year. Despite this nearly half of the cars on the road or something like 33 million are 6 years old or over. Over 1 million are 10 years old or older. Many are unsafe. They are scattered over the roadways like a landmine field awaiting its victims.

The time must come when the 6-year-old car or any suspect car must go under the most rigid road inspection. A car eventually will need to have a certificate of capability just as the applicant must have before he gets his driver's license. Insurance companies may need to set up rules to assure

their underwriting a safe vehicle. If people become uninsurable, why not old cars?

In Canada, Windsor police are intensifying an all-out campaign to get the junker cars off the road. During a single month's safety lane promotion 170 dangerous cars were taken off the road. Similar plans get occasional attention in this country. What is needed is a national year-round program.

Except for the vintage cars, few drivers by choice keep their cars as long as 6 years. It's a question of economics.

The average used car over 6 years old is rarely worth more than $200 or $300. Frequently just enough to serve as a down-payment on a slightly newer car. One that hopefully will operate safely for a year or two before it, too, becomes a highway hazard.

The loss of the use of even a dangerous car is short of a calamity to the owner who depends on it for transportation to work. To many it could be like taking away the tool whereby they earn their livelihood and fetch their groceries.

An administration now actively concerned with poverty in our midst, might look into ways of bringing a better car into the hands of millions of our people who can't afford a safer one.

The 10-percent excise tax on the average family car just about equals the value of the over-6-year-old relics that stalk our roads and highways. Remove this tax and you assist these marginal-income millions to buy a better used car.

Used cars obviously take their comparative values from the price of new cars. An excise tax saving of $200 to $700 on the purchase of a new car would soon benefit the used-car buyer, enabling him to get a better and a safer car for the same money he pays now for the near junker.

Also, instead of scrapping only 5 million cars a year, the total quickly could climb to 10 million or more to make a vital contribution to worker productivity and highway safety and to assure sustained high production of new motor vehicles from which the Treasury has been profiting so handsomely in the past high-production years.

Removal of the unjust auto tax comes up annually for congressional consideration and sympathy but somehow it never gets off the legislative books.

The auto excise tax expires annually on June 30. Why not this time let it remain that way for the good of the economy and particularly for that segment of our population that could benefit the most from cheaper cars—new or used?

R. Paul Smith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation recently lost R. Paul Smith, an admired and respected business executive, civic leader, and outstanding citizen of western Maryland.

Prior to his retirement in 1957, Mr. Smith had served as president of the Potomac Edison System. A native of Frederick County, Md., and a resident of Hagerstown in Washington County since 1922, this doctor of humane letters was never too busy with business affairs to devote his talents and energy to worthwhile civic, charitable, educational, and religious endeavors.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I submit the obituary account of this distingiushed citizen from the Hagerstown Morning Herald and an editorial from the May 8 edition of the Frederick Post.

The obituary and editorial follow:

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, May 7, 1964]

R. PAUL SMITH DIES, 75—BUSINESS, CIVIC LEADER

R. Paul Smith, president of the Potomac Edison System for 25 years until his retirement in 1957, died Wednesday in Washington County Hospital, aged 75 years.

He had been ill about 3 months.

Born in Woodsboro, Frederick County, he was the son of the late Charles E. and Florence Burnetta Smith.

He was educated in Frederick County public schols, Walkersville High School and Blue Ridge College.

In 1909 he became private secretary to the general manager of the Washington, Frederick and Gettysburg Railway Co., one of the predecessors of the Potomac utility group which he later headed. He was general agent and later superintendent of gas, light and power departments of the Hagerstown and Frederick Railway Co., in Frederick, before coming to Hagerstown in 1922 as general manager of the Potomac Public Service Co.

In 1925 he was named vice president of The Potomac Edison Co. He was named president of the Potomac Edison Co. in 1932. His office made him head of all affiliated companies including Blue Ridge Transportation Co.

Locally, he held membership in Hagerstown Rotary Club where he amassed a record of 39 years perfect attendance, Fountain Head Country Club, Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce, Southern Engineering Society, Christ's Evangelical and Reformed Church and Masonic Lodge.

He was organizer and teacher of Clever-Smith Men's Bible Class of Christ's Evangelical and Reformed Church School. The class bears his name and that of the late Conrad C. Clever, longtime pastor of the church. Reputed to be one of the largest men's classes in the United States it is considered the largest in the denomination.

For many years Smith was a member of the Consistory of Christ's Church. He was chairman of the building and finance committees of the church when it was rebuilt at a cost of nearly $75,000 in 1938. He had handled every financial effort of the church for the past 30 years.

Smith held memberships on the boards of trustees of the following: Hood College, Frederick, president of the board and chairman of the finance committee; Massanutten Academy, Woodstock, vice president of the board and chairman of the finance committee; YMCA, Hagerstown, president of the board; Washington County Hospital, Hagerstown, chairman of the executive committee, president of the board and member of the finance committee; Homewood Church Home, Hagerstown, member of the board, executive and finance committee. He was a member of the executive committee of the Washington County Council of Boy Scouts.

He served on the boards of directors of the following: Hagerstown and Washington County Community Chest, National Mission of the Reformed Church, Washington County Council of Christian Laymen, Marken and Bielfeld, Inc., of Frederick, Mutual Insurance Co. of Frederick, Francis Scott Key Hotel of Frederick, and Union Manufacturing Co. of Frederick. Instrumental in the formation of the Community Chest here in 1942, he served as its first president and was chairman of its first campaign for funds.

He was also a director of Statton Furniture Co. here and a member of the board of Lancaster Theological Seminary as well as a member of the Maryland Port Authority Commission since its inception in 1957. He served on the advisory board of Hagerstown Junior College and was a member of the finance committee.

Smith was past president of the Southeastern Electric Exchange, past president of Maryland Utilities Association, Rotary district governor and past president of Hagerstown Rotary Club, vice chairman of Maryland State School Survey Commission, appointed by Governor O'Conner in 1939. In 1951 he was selected by the alumni of Bridgewater College, of which Blue Ridge College is a part, as the Alumnus of the Year.

He received an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

Smith was preceded in death by his wife, Henrietta F. Menges Smith, of Menges Mills, Pa., in December 1963.

Surviving are daughters, Mrs. George A. Gardes, Columbus, Ohio; Mrs. Richard L. Harrison, Hagerstown; and Mrs. H. Clayton Moyer, Waynesboro, Pa.; brothers and sisters, Walter C. Smith, Woodsboro; Robert L. Smith, Frederick; the Rev. Dr. Nevin E. Smith, Hanover, Pa.; Steiner W. Smith, Woodsboro; Harry O. Smith, Mrs. J. William Schworber, Key Mar; and Mrs. Ira G. Houck, Walkersville.

The body was taken to the funeral home of A. K. Coffman where friends may call after 7 p.m. Thursday and until noon Saturday.

Funeral services will be held at Christ's Evangelical and Reformed Church Saturday at 2 p.m. with the Rev. Lawrence N. Strunk officiating. There will be no viewing of the body at the church. Burial will be made in Rest Haven Cemetery. The family requests that flowers be omitted.

[From the Frederick (Md.) Post, May 8, 1964]

R. PAUL SMITH

Frederick County and all of western Maryland have lost a true friend and leader in the death on Wednesday of R. Paul Smith.

Mr. Smith began his career on his own, and he worked his way to the top of one of the leading electric power companies in the country through his diligence, ingenuity, and ability.

He was known in this area for his thoroughness as an administrator, and in his mastery of detail. It was under his leadership that the power distribution system of Potomac Edison was extended to every possible customer in the franchise area at a time when other privately owned companies refused to accept marginal and submarginal customers in rural areas. As a result western Maryland is one of the few agricultural areas of the country where public power through REA was not established.

A native of Frederick County, Mr. Smith never overlooked his family or oldtime friends when he moved from here and advanced up the ladder of success.

With his business advancement came increasing regard for the welfare of his fellow men, and his keen business sense and indefatigable spirit extended to his many activities with his church, civic, and educational organizations.

In all of his multifarious enterprises, he was conscientious and devoted. He was widely admired and respected, and was one who could always be counted on to take the lead for civic betterment.

Pentagon Censorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD an editorial that appeared in the New York Times on Saturday, May 30, on the subject of "Pentagon Censorship."

The file is getting quite bulkly on the subject of management of the news, Pentagon censorship, and other questionable practices in the Pentagon. The right to know is a most basic right and it is up to the Congress to be the continuing watchdogs to see to it that the natural tendencies of the Pentagon, particularly in recent years, to put restraints on the right to know does not go unchallenged.

The New York Times editorial follows:

PENTAGON CENSORSHIP

The latest example of Pentagon censorship is the refusal of the Army to allow the publication in a service paper of an article critical of the new ROAD division (reorganized Army division).

The article, by Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson, who has just retired as commanding general of the 1st Army, has now been published, after his retirement, in an unofficial weekly, the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal and Register. It expresses the thesis that the flexibility of the new division has been bought at a price of heritage and tradition the Army can ill afford to pay. It deserved a forum in an official Army publication.

The incident, small in itself, is symptomatic of a tendency in the Pentagon toward a kind of enforced conformity dangerous to sound strategic concepts and to professional development. What has been happening is that purely professional discussions and self-criticisms in official military publications have been so vetted by the censors in the Pentagon that these publications have become more and more lifeless.

Self-criticism—the right to dissent—is the strength of any sound organization. Its free exercise within the broadest limits is vital to progress. The military profession, like all other professions, must enjoy this right, limited only by the special requirements of discipline and security, or it will become static and stagnant. If we breed from present policies future generations of military yes-men, our Nation's security will rest on sand.

Highlights of NASA Communications and Electronics Programs

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 20, the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, gave a brilliant address, outlining the highlights of the NASA communications and electronics program, before the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to place this highly enlightening speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for I believe it sets forth the vision and creativeness of NASA in meeting the challenge of the future in the fields of communications and electronics.

The speech follows:

HIGHLIGHTS OF NASA COMMUNICATIONS AND ELECTRONICS PROGRAMS

(Address by James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, before the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association, Washington, D.C., May 20, 1964)

With the most advanced commercial system on earth, the United States is exchanging greater numbers of commodities, in terms both of products and of ideas, than any nation in history—and it is exchanging these products and ideas in virtually every corner of the world. As a measure of our specialization and division of work, we spend more than $100 billion a year—or more than a fifth of our gross national product—on transportation alone.

Also of central importance to our Nation's commercial activity, and to the efficiency and progress of our economic life, our national defense, and other Government activities, is communications.

Since 1950, private and Federal expenditures for communications of all types have more than doubled—from $4.5 billion in 1950 to $11.5 billion in 1962, the most recent year for which figures are available. As our economy grows and changes, efficient resource allocation and use makes for an increasing proportion of GNP devoted to communications. New processes, new markets, new products and increased turnover rates of both inventories and working capital require this.

At the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, it has been estimated that about 40 percent of our booster costs, 70 percent of our major spacecraft dollars, and 90 percent of our tracking and data acquisition funds go into electronics. Unfortunately, as Dr. Albert Kelley—known to all of you—recently pointed out in this same context, a vast majority of our flight failures, not to mention flight delays, arise from electronic failures. Success in this area is obviously a major factor in overall mission accomplishment.

NASA's principal commodity is knowledge, and the know-how in the use of knowledge which we sometimes call technology. We use this knowledge through a vast network of contracts with industry to develop and use space systems. However, the agency also performs a service to U.S. commercial activity by communicating knowledge, and by developing improved ways of increasing the utilization of space technology generally.

NASA has established programs to make available useful scientific and technological knowledge from both its earth laboratories and its space exploration experiments as rapidly as possible to interested segments of the economy.

All of us here today are closely concerned with the problems of communications. The broad outline of our progress in space electronics during the past five and a half years, particularly in the areas of miniaturization and improved reliability, is thoroughly familiar to you. However, I think it will be worthwhile to look briefly at the space program and the role that information systems, and specifically, electronic systems, play.

To begin with, launch vehicles and spacecraft are controlled, stabilized, guided, and tracked electronically. The spacecraft, once in orbit, perform their missions with electronic devices that may be likened to the brains, nerves, and senses of living creatures. They gather scientific information, process it, and transmit it back to earth by electronic means. Our ground stations receive the information, record it, and analyze it, again electronically.

It can be truthfully said that our present space program could not possibly have been accomplished without electronics.

The satellite is the first truly unlimited tool in the history of mankind. In the past, there have always been limitations of one kind or another: Air, water, national boundaries, fuel capacities, and a host of others. With the scientific or weather or communications satellite, all these boundaries and limitations disappear. One of the great tasks ahead is to find ways to use this too to serve mankind and provide stable conditions for economic, social, and political growth.

Already, we are harvesting many benefits from space technology, this new ability to move outward from the earth, and from laboratory science to exploratory science. As our spacecraft continue to take literally thousands of synoptic measurements of various phenomena in space, patterns are beginning to emerge that have previously been unobtainable and unmeasurable.

For example, we have been doing much research on the energy system of the sun, and are constantly increasing our knowledge about the energy system of the earth's atmosphere and possible inter-relations. As Dr. Homer Newell, Associate Administrator for NASA's Office of Space Sciences and Applications, has pointed out, "The artificial earth satellite not only is able to extend the observations of the earth's atmosphere to its outer edges and beyond, but also permits measurements to be made over long periods of time and over a wide range of geographical positions * * * the satellite is an excellent platform for detailed study of the geomagnetic field and related phenomena such as the radiation belt, the aurora, the influence of solar activity on the earth, hydromagnetic waves, and the ionosphere."

With devices such as our Orbiting Solar Observatories, our investigators are learning to observe the electromagnetic and particle spectra of the sun, to measure the energy content therein, to determine the altitudes at which different wave length bands are absorbed in the atmosphere, and to study the manner in which different particle components interact with the radiation belt. In this way we are determining the driving forces that give rise to various weather phenomena, atmospheric circulations, variations in upper atmospheric structure, ionospheric and magnetic field activity, auroral displays, and radio disturbances.

In space activity the United States is now at the midpoint of a 10-year program. It might be said, in a sense not entirely figurative, that we have reached the "midcourse maneuver point." Just as the Mariner II Venus flyby mission would have missed by almost a quarter of a million miles instead of coming within the 22,000-mile target area, we can fail to achieve our full potential if we do not seize every opportunity to correct our course as we go along.

It is particularly important to avoid the kind of mistake typified by the early manufacturers of automobiles during the period when they were still called horseless carriages. These revolutionary vehicles continued to be equipped with whip sockets long after there had ceased to be a practical need for buggy whips.

As one specific example, I might mention the continuing need to reexamine our traditional complex circuitry and closely scrutinize the underlying logic. In the rapidly evolving new technology of solid-state physics and electronics, we must take care that we are not being hindered by self-imposed limitations of old circuit theory and wiring diagrams.

We are all well aware that available electronics equipment is marginal or inadequate for many current and future space programs. The reasons for this are not hard to find. Most of the equipment available today stems from commercial or military technology. The requirements for which they were designed, difficult as they were and are, seem mild in comparison with those demanded for long-time reliable operation in the severe environment of space.

Instead of the electronics components developed in accordance with present military specifications which will operate with reliability at temperatures up to 165° Fahrenheit, we need research to get components for future space missions to withstand temperatures of even thousands of degrees.

The field of space electronics is still very new. We have no off-the-shelf supply of proven components, techniques, and practices that can be used to build increasingly complex operational systems. Further, there is small chance that they will be developed in a natural evolutionary process. Electronic components and systems designed for space represent a limited market. There is often no driving incentive for industrial firms to make the heavy investment in research and development that is required to provide them.

Missions now planned will require trouble-free operation for periods of 2 years or longer in the hostile space environment. There is need for research into the basic mechanism of electronic failure, in order to develop more reliable, longer lived parts. Also required is across-the-board research to qualify and standardize electronic components for use in present and future space systems.

To help meet the needs and demands of the increasingly difficult space missions of the future, NASA is taking steps to establish an Electronics Research Center in greater Boston, to which Congress gave its approval in March. This Center will be responsible for the important and difficult task of coordinating electronics research—as it now exists in Government, universities, and industry—and drawing upon this existing base, by dealing with technical societies, with universities and nonprofit organizations, with industry, and with the Department of Defense.

The Center will provide a focal point for expanding efforts of university and nonprofit research organizations to get some of the best brains in the Nation working on space electronics. It will also make use of outstanding individuals throughout the Nation to plan its program, and of local universities for consulting work and to broaden the base of education of its scientists and engineers.

Center-industry relationships will be established to help plan and make research requirements known, and it is expected that industrial contracts will be let for much of the research program, so that the Center's in-house facilities will not have to be unduly large.

There will be day-to-day communication with DOD and other laboratories doing electronics work, to make common use of specialized facilities and to avoid duplication of effort.

A highly important aspect of the Electronics Research Center will be its ability to furnish consultative services, on request, to the ongoing projects. As the Center grows in facilities and personnel, it will undoubtedly place more and more emphasis on electronic problem areas. The buildup of the Center will take place at the most rapid rate consistent with the development of a competent, well-organized staff and effective relationships with those having research competence, in universities, in industry and in other organizations. We estimate that it will take 4 to 5 years to reach our present goal of 2,100 people. Of these, about 700 will be in the professional group of scientists and engineers.

If our emerging capabilities in space, and the university and industry base on which they are built, are to yield the greatest benefits for our Nation and for the world, it is essential to make a breakthrough in the electronics area. At the same time, we must keep constantly before us the fact that the research and development programs of Government—as specialized as some parts of it are—constitutes a great storehouse of fresh scientific knowledge and technological know-how.

Both are a national resource, paid for by the public. Both must be put to the fullest possible economic use.

The space program, operating as it must at the leading edge of technology, offers unique opportunities for a broader utilization of new devices and processes, and for overcoming the traditional lag in the application of such advances. It is the rule, rather than the exception, that some advances, either in products or in general technological skill, are found in almost every aspect of the NASA program. But whether arising from the space effort or from other research efforts, the technological revolution of our time is the touchstone of continuing national progress and the door to a future for America that I believe will dwarf anything this country has ever before experienced.

Ralph Cordiner, who retired as chairman of the board of General Electric last December, saw the portent and the promise of the new technology to the industrial community quite clearly, at a time when our present fast-moving space program was—quite literally—scarcely off the ground. In a speech delivered at the University of California in Los Angeles 4 years ago (May 4, 1960), Mr. Cordiner said, and I quote:

"The space frontier will inevitably increase the scale of thinking and risk taking by business. When we are dealing with space, we are dealing with a technology that requires a planetary scale to stage it, decades of time to develop it, and much bigger investments to get across the threshold of economic return than is customary in business today. Business must now think in international terms and in terms of the next business generation. It must step up to the big risks with the same vision that enabled an earlier generation of builders to push railroad tracks out across the wilderness and lay the foundations of our modern economy."

This is the challenge we face. The prospect of pushing forward the frontiers of scientific discovery, and the conversion of the knowledge gained to practical use, touches not only our progress in space but every aspect of our national life. The wisdom with which we take the necessary steps to develop and use our scientific and technical resources may well determine our ability to survive and prosper and lead.

In a call to action and achievement in space, President Johnson said not long ago:

"We are reaping a bountiful harvest from the vision of those who urged that America move forward with vigor in the exploration of space. Because of them we shall live in a new and wonderous world. Our purpose in space is both realistic and responsible—just as it is also peaceful. I call today for our leading space scientists and engineers to rededicate their efforts to this national purpose."

The President's call was to all of us, in business, industry, Government, the university community, and all others who are participating, directly or indirectly, in the national spaec effort.

In NASA we are doing all we can to respond with vision, creativeness, and enthusiasm. At this mid-course maneuver point of the present 10-year program, electronic advances are clearly the keys to the doors of the future. In the early days of the space age, propulsion problems were at the center of the stage. The spotlight is now and will be for some time to come on the area which you have chosen for your own—electronics. I know the performance will be outstanding.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

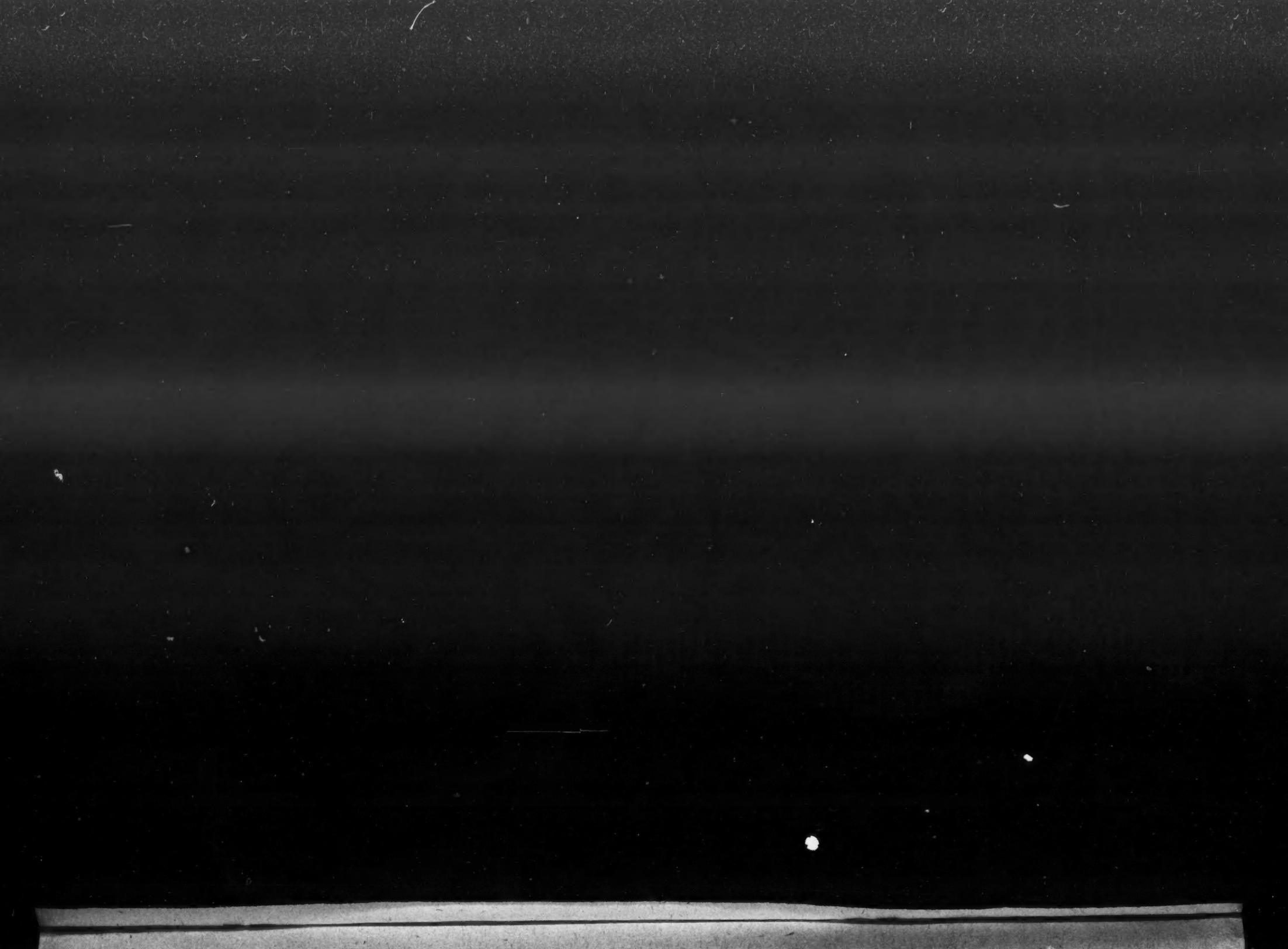

Appendix

Oregonian, Howard Bertsch, Receives Department of Agriculture's Distinguished Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 5, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Oregon is proud of the outstanding record made by Howard Bertsch, National Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, who has received the Department of Agriculture's Distinguished Service Award.

It was a pleasure to urge his appointment as National Administrator of FHA. He has more than lived up to the high expectations the Oregon delegation had for him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article, "Howard Bertsch Gets Coveted Department of Agriculture Award," from the May 1964 issue of the Oregon-Washington Farmers Union.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oregon-Washington Farmers Union]

HOWARD BERTSCH GETS COVETED DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AWARD

Howard Bertsch, 55, native of Corvallis, Oreg., and Farmers Home Administration national administrator, on May 19 received the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Distinguished Service Award—its highest citation—Representative EDITH GREEN has announced from Washington, D.C.

Only seven other USDA men this year received this nationwide recognition, Representative GREEN explained.

He received this high award for dynamic leadership in redoubling the impact of the Nation's supervised rural credit program and sharply increasing USDA's attack on rural poverty, Representative GREEN said.

The Farmers Home Administration is a nationwide agency devoted to strengthening family farms and rural communities.

Under Bertsch's leadership the agency has increased the volume of its lending activities from $300 million to $800 million a year, and greatly increased its support of the family farm agricultural system.

NEW SERVICES ADDED

Several new services have been added, including assistance to rural communities in the development of rural water supply systems and special housing programs for senior citizens in rural areas. During the past 3 years the volume of loans made by the agency in the Northwest—Oregon, Washington, and Idaho—has risen from $19 million to $47 million per year.

Bertsch, born in Corvallis in 1909, was graduated from Oregon State University in 1931. The following year he obtained a master's degree from Kansas State University. During his service with the Agriculture Department, Bertsch served as Clackamas County supervisor for the Resettlement Administration in 1934. Later he served with the successor agency, the Farm Security Administration. He has headed the regional farmownership program for Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Alaska. In 1954 he left FHA to serve for 7 years in Iran as an adviser in the development of village, rural credit and rural cooperative programs as a member of the Ford Foundation and Agricultural Bank of Iran.

He is married to the former Ellen Fox, of The Dalles, Oreg.

Effect on Panamanian Workers of Elimination of Canal Zone Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the consistent policy of the Republic of Panama to favor the few over the many among its own citizens is demonstrated again in its callous disregard of the welfare of the Panamanian employees of the Canal Zone. If it is successful in persuading this country to close the service facilities now operated by the Panama Canal Company in the zone, a few of Panama's rich families will benefit while thousands of the faithful and well-paid Panamanian workers now employed in the zone will lose their jobs. Wage rates in Panama are extremely low by comparison.

A recent column by Colin Hale in the Panama American of May 29, 1964, discusses the impact of such a step on the Panamanians now employed in the zone, and also on the economy of the Republic of Panama. As chairman of the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I can, from recent personal observation of the situation in the zone, attest to the justification for the kind of concern expressed by the columnist for this Panamanian newspaper in the following article:

[From the Panama American, Panama City, Republic of Panama, May 29, 1964]

POINTS TO PONDER

(By Colin Hale)

It would seem that Panama's Chamber of Commerce wants to have its cake and eat it.

Panama's two most important aims in the treaty negotiations, according to the chamber, should be the elimination of commercial and industrial activities in the Canal Zone and preferential tariff treatment for Panamanian exports to the United States.

The elimination of commercial and industrial activities in the Canal Zone has long been a Panamanian ambition which, in due course, may be realized, but preferential tariffs for Panamanian exports to the United States would seem quite a different matter.

For one thing, Panama derives considerable revenue from her own tariffs on imports, particularly on imports competing with Panamanian products. The tariffs are used to protect local industry.

With the elimination of Canal Zone commercial and industrial activities, this tariff revenue may be expected to increase since most Canal Zone imports are free of duty. And, like much of Panama's imports, these originate in the United States.

Naturally, no mention is made in the chamber of commerce proposal of any corresponding reduction in tariffs on U.S. exports to Panama. Rather, on past performance, the chamber would be the first to protect such a move, particularly if it affected local industry.

Yet the chamber proposes preferential U.S. treatment for Panamanian products as a means of attracting "many foreign investors with the many benefits they would reap in establishing plants in Panama." The benefits, presumably, being Panama's lower wage scale and the hopefully preferential tariffs which would give them an edge over U.S. producers.

Such a move, it would seem, would provoke a storm of protests from U.S. manufacturers, just as proposing a reduction in Panamanian import tariffs would provoke a storm of protests among Panamanian producers.

It may be that commercial and industrial activities in the Canal Zone provide unfair competition for similar activities in Panama, but it does not follow that elimination of these activities will materially benefit Panama.

For one thing, the wage structure in the Canal Zone, even in the most menial positions, is considerably higher than that pertaining, even officially, in Panama.

For another, a considerable number of employees, not directly engaged in actual service work, but in administering those services, also will be affected by elimination of the Canal Zone commercial and industrial activities.

It follows that many people, whose incomes contribute substantially to Panama's economy, will be thrown out of work, with little, if any, chance of finding a similar post at a similar wage in Panama.

Moreover, with the lower wage-scale in Panama, less money will be injected into the economy by those who do manage to find employment in the Republic. Others will merely join the rising number of unemployed.

In other words, elimination of the Canal Zone commercial and industrial activities may benefit a few, but not the masses.

Reader's Digest Attacks on Area Redevelopment Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the May 1964 issue of Reader's Digest

carried an article entitled "Is This the Way To Fight the War Against Poverty?" written by a Charles Stevenson. Contained in the article were statements attributed by the writer to agricultural agents in Texas concerning the program.

In an effort to set the record straight, Mr. John Hutchinson, director of the Texas Agricultural Extension Service, wrote to the editor of Reader's Digest and sent me a copy of his letter. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this letter.

TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY,
AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE,
College Station, Tex., May 27, 1964.

Mr. DEWITT WALLACE,
Editor, the Reader's Digest,
Pleasantville, N.Y.

DEAR MR. WALLACE: For more than 30 years I have been an avid reader of Reader's Digest. Our home library includes a copy of each issue published since 1936. In addition, I have admired the publication so much that I have given subscriptions of it each Christmas to several relatives and friends. My wife and I are also members of the Reader's Digest Condensed Book Club. I was, therefore, shocked and considerably disillusioned to find an erroneous and misleading statement referring to Texas county agricultural agents in the May 1964 issue of Reader's Digest. Because I have such a high regard for the publication and for the accuracy of the information contained in it, I feel obligated to call this erroneous statement to your attention. The statement is found on page 55 in the article "Is This the Way To Fight the War Against Poverty?" by Charles Stevenson. The statement referred to reads: "It is interesting to note that some 75 Texas county agricultural agents have quit in disgust in the last 2 years." The statement continues, "Said one, 'They are using us to organize our community and come up with projects for ARA loans and grants. I quit because I couldn't stomach it any more'."

There is no basis in fact for the statement that "some 75 Texas county agricultural agents have quit in disgust in the last 2 years." The facts are that during 1962, a total of 16 county agricultural agents were separated from the Texas Agricultural Extension Service for all reasons. Of these, five voluntarily retired upon reaching retirement age; one was dismissed or resignation was requested because of unsatisfactory job performance; one resigned to pursue full-time graduate study; and nine resigned to accept other employment or to enter into business for themselves. During 1963, a total of 22 county agricultural agents were separated from the Texas Agricultural Extension Service for all reasons. Of these, 5 voluntarily retired upon reaching retirement age; 2 were dismissed or resignation was requested because of unsatisfactory job performance; 2 died in office; 1 was drafted for military service, and 12 resigned to accept other employment or to enter into business for themselves.

Most of the county agricultural agents who resigned to accept other employment did so because of offers of significantly higher salaries. Written statements from many of the agents who resigned indicate specifically the amount of salary increase received and are on file in my office. (The average increase reported exceeds $1,800 annually).

In addition to the county agricultural agents who were separated from the Texas Agricultural Extension Service, there were 17 assistant county agricultural agents in 1962 and 18 in 1963. These were young men who typically had less than 3 years' tenure and whose major responsibility was directing 4-H Club work in their respective counties. Of those separated during 1962 three were dismissed or advised to seek other employment because of unsatisfactory job performance and 14 accepted other employment at increased salaries. Of those separated during 1963, 1 was dismissed because of unsatisfactory job performance, one was called to active military duty, 1 resigned to operate the family farm during parents illness, 2 resigned to pursue full-time graduate study, and 15 resigned to accept better paying positions (primarily with industry) or to enter business for themselves.

Since the specific 2-year period referred to in the article was not indicated, also I am including the following breakdown of the separation of county agricultural agents from the Texas Agricultural Extension Service during 1961. A total of 23 county agricultural agents were separated during 1961 for all reasons. Of these, 3 voluntarily retired upon reaching retirement age, 3 were dismissed or resignation was requested because of unsatisfactory job performance, 4 were called to active duty (Berlin crisis) and subsequently returned to their former positions with the Texas Agricultural Extension Service, 1 was called to active duty and decided to remain in military service, and 12 resigned to accept other employment or to enter into business for themselves.

The number of county agricultural agents and assistant county agricultural agents separated from the Texas Agricultural Extension Service on an annual basis has not varied significantly during the past 5 years (1959–1964).

On the basis of the above facts (which are completely documented and a part of our office records), I consider the statement "that some 75 Texas county agricultural agents have quit in disgust" to be grossly erroneous and in my opinion, quite irresponsible for a national magazine such as Reader's Digest to publish. Most certainly, it could not be described as objective reporting. For these reasons, I request a published correction and retraction of the statement.

Insofar as I can determine, no effort was made by the author of the article or anyone associated with your organization to contact any administrative official of Texas A. & M. University or its agricultural extension service to verify the accuracy of this statement regarding the personnel situation. I do not rule out the possibility that one or several former Texas county agricultural agents could be located who felt themselves sufficiently aggrieved to make the kind of statement ascribed to one in the article. You recognize that employees who are dismissed for unsatisfactory job performance, resign under supervisory pressure for below standard job performance, or for violations of established policy or who simply find themselves unsuited for the work often are quick to attribute blame to something other than their own inadequacies. But such an attitude probably could be found among a few dissident former employees of any sizable organization or industry. This attitude, however, is not prevalent among Texas county agricultural agents. Just this week Mr. Thurman J. Kennedy, president of the Texas County Agricultural Agents Association, made the statement publicly that "the morale among Texas county agricultural agents is the highest I have seen in my 15 years in the service."

The inaccurate statements mentioned not only are derogatory to the Texas agricultural extension service but do grave injustice to the loyal and dedicated county agricultural agents throughout the Nation.

The statement attributed to a former Texas county agricultural agent that "They were using us to organize our communities and come up with projects for ARA loans and grants" also is inaccurate. The facts are that since 1948 Texas county extension agents have been working with a representative group of voluntary local citizens known as a county program building committee which studies the county situation and long-time trends to identify significant problems and opportunities and to plan and carry out educational programs designed to facilitate the solution of these problems. The relationship of the county extension agents and the county program building committee to the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) where local people wish to qualify for ARA assistance is spelled out in a revised policy statement issued by the director of the Texas Agricultural Extension Service under the date of May 6, 1963. Relevant portions of this statement read as follows: "The Area Redevelopment Act (Public Law 87-27) signed by the President on May 1, 1961, designates certain counties in the State as 'redevelopment areas' and eligible under the law to receive certain kinds of technical and financial assistance. Certain functions in carrying out the provisions of this law were delegated to the Department of Agriculture. The Cooperative Extension Service, which according to the memorandum of understanding between the A. & M. College of Texas and the U.S. Department of Agriculture has the responsibility for conducting the educational phases of such programs as the Department is authorized by law to conduct in the State, was requested by the Secretary of Agriculture to provide organizational and educational leadership, advice, assistance, and information to individuals, committees, groups, and enterprises in rural redevelopment areas regarding the application of the act. The extension service was also asked to assist in the preparation of overall economic development programs for designated rural areas where the people wished to qualify for ARA assistance."

The policy statement further reads, "Specific project proposals for financial assistance in counties designated 'redevelopment areas' under Public Law 87-27, shall be developed and submitted only by legal entities such as city councils, industrial foundations, companies, or individual owners of companies or businesses."

It is my hope that your response to my request for a published retraction and correction will be such that it will reestablish the confidence I have always had in the integrity of the information contained in your publication.

Very truly yours,
JOHN E. HUTCHISON,
Director.

Schweitzer Basin, Idaho, Proves Reader's Digest Wrong—No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, the storm of protest that the Reader's Digest May article has stirred up in my district is still continuing as strong as ever. People are up in arms, not just because the magazine has attacked the Area Redevelopment Administration, but also because they attacked the local people who did so much to help make the Schweitzer Basin project a success.

Following is the text of a memorandum recently written by Mr. Jim Parsons, manager of the North Idaho Economic Development Association, Inc., which helps set the record straight about the

background of this project which was badly distorted by the Reader's Digest:

Having been closely associated with the community effort to improve its winter economy, the opportunity to comment on the recent Reader's Digest attack on ARA is welcomed.

Like many others, I was chagrined and angered by having my hometown chastised in a national publication, particularly so because it is made to appear that some of us looted the Federal Treasury and then ganged up on two struggling individuals to run them out of business. Schweitzer has about 700 stockholders, most of them residents of Sandpoint and vicinity. It is ridiculous to think that this many people in a community of about 5,000 could be induced to participate in a deliberate attempt to injure 2 fellow citizens.

I talked at considerable length on two occasions with Eugene Methvin, who did the legwork collecting material for the Digest article. The point was brought out that no governmental agency at any level can be all bad or all good, and that the noncontroversial Schweitzer Basin project was an excellent example of the highest objectives of ARA. The Government loan has stimulated the area economy substantially, as you know. Proposed investments of private capital—information on most of these is confidential as of now—will aggregate substantially more than the total cost of Schweitzer even with the proposed million-and-a-half-dollar expansion program.

Objective reporting would have given ARA credit for its part in what has and is taking place. However, it obviously was the magazine's intent from the start to make a blanket indictment of ARA. It proceeded to distort and twist the facts and, along with omissions, to reach its predetermined objective. Sandpoint and Schweitzer Basin—although the latter was not mentioned by name—were casualties.

The Digest, for example, refers to being "showered with largess, Sandpoint style." No mention is made of the fact that the largess, far from being a handout, is in the form of a loan which is to be repaid. Nor did the magazine so much as hint at the community's own contribution. Entirely aside from literally thousands of hours of volunteer time and effort, and thousands of dollars spent by individuals in preparing and carrying out the program, the community itself had to invest approximately $460,000 to meet ARA's requirements. This is largess—in a community of around 5,000?

The magazine makes the flat statement that "Sandpoint's water supply was condemned by the State." This is a lie, no matter what interpretation or definition is placed on the word "condemned." Such a statement in a national magazine understandably resulted in considerable local concern and both the city and health department received many calls from worried citizens about whether or not the city water was fit to drink.

Sandpoint Mayor Floyd L. Gray points out that the Digest's statement is detrimental to local efforts to attract new business and industry on the strength of an ample supply of pure, clean water. He informed me today that the city attorney feels there is ground for legal action and that this may be initiated soon.

The point of the Digest article is pretty much summed up in two sentences:

1. "Then, even as they [Drew and Kelly] were preparing to open for business, came the crushing blow * * * the U.S. Government * * * lent $345,000 for construction of a competing ski resort [Schweitzer] on a nearby mountain."

2. "Drew said to me, 'it isn't right for the Government to use our own tax payments to run us out of business.' "

Schweitzer was not conceived as a competing resort. Leaving aside all the innuendos, half-truths, and distortions of the Digest article, the question boils down to one of whether or not Drew and Kelley were, in fact, in business. The directors of Schweitzer categorically deny that they were.

Here is the background. At midyear 1961, there was considerable local interest in a winter resort development. At Sundance, Drew and Kelley had a 2-year lease from the State on the Baldy Mountain tract, expiring December 1962. At Schweitzer, Dr. Jack Fowler and Grant Groesbeck, of Spokane, were negotiating for purchase of 160 arces for a lodge and lower lift terminal site.

(NOTE.—As late as December 1962, when Drew and Kelley's State land lease came up for renewal, there was considerable feeling in some local quarters that because they had done practically nothing to that time, they should not be given a renewal except on condition that certain specific progress be carried out on a fixed schedule.)

At midyear 1961, the group of Sandpoint businessmen who had become interested in a ski resort as a winter business stimulus were committed to neither project. Most were nonskiers. Insofar as site was concerned, their interest was in whether or not either Sundance or Schweitzer had the potential for major development and, if both did, which was the better and more promising of the two.

By the end of summer 1961, Fowler and Groesbeck had announced selection of lift and tow locations and necessary building facilities. Drew and Kelley likewise were reporting that they proposed to proceed at Sundance. The businessmen's group was building enthusiasm for a ski project and had made preliminary inquiry to find out about the new ARA program and its possible local application. There was still indecision about the two possible sites.

Up to this point, Drew had been telling Sandpoint people that he had relatives and connections in New England prepared to finance development at Sundance. He made statements such as "they could buy and sell Sandpoint."

However, on October 10, 1961, I asked for a special meeting of the Sandpoint Chamber of Commerce and interested persons. This was done at the request of Drew, who said W. D. Tenney, of Phoenix, Ariz., wanted to meet local people and discuss plans for development of Sundance with them. Drew described Tenney as a financier and real estate development executive. However, far from being the financial angel people were led to expect, Tenney proved to be a glib-talking promoter who wanted Sandpoint to put up $10,000 which he said he would use for "phone calls and plane trips" to raise a million dollars to finance Sundance.

An account of this meeting in the News-Bulletin of October 12, 1961, states: "Tenney has been here several times to check on the Baldy ski area. He said his firm is ready and willing to undertake promotion of the Baldy ski project."

The afternoon following that special noon chamber of commerce meeting, three separate checks on Tenney were initiated. In each case the results were the same. They were highly unfavorable.

On a later occasion when Tenney returned to Sandpoint to secure—or attempt to secure funds—from local people, he paid his motel bill with a check which was returned. This was hurriedly picked up by O. E. Ward, treasurer of the Sundance promotion.

In any case, at this point Sundance did not have financing and was not, in fact, in business in any sense of the word. It was an idea. Some time after the revelation that Tenney was a promoter only two jumps ahead of a number of creditors, the Drew group was telling people that financing was assured by Lucille Ball's brother.

At no time was there evidence of the kind of financing needed for a major ski development. Reader's Digest says Drew and Kelley "bought a ski tow." I do not know if this is true, but I did talk with the salesman for a manufacturer of T-Bar lifts. He was taken to Sundance by Drew's group and gave them his sales talk. They agreed to purchase the tow from him—but on condition that he raise the money to pay for it.

Soon after the meeting at which Tenney appeared, the businessmen's group decided that it was in the community's best interest to get an impartial expert opinion on the two proposed sites. Nelson Bennett, a nationally known consultant who had helped develop such areas as the 1960 Squaw Valley Olympics site, was employed. Funds to pay his fee and expenses were voluntarily contributed by the businessmen. It was agreed that the representatives of the two proposed sites would not be asked to contribute—and, in fact, an offer of the help from Fowler and Groesbeck was declined. Mr. Bennett was further acceptable as a consultant because he had never been in the Sandpoint area and knew no one here.

The businessmen agreed that Bennett's time should be allotted equally to Fowler and Groesbeck to take him to Schweitzer and to Drew and Kelley to take him to Sundance. In each instance the developers were free to do a selling job on Bennett and to show and tell him anything they wished about their areas, with no restrictions. Both sites thus had equal opportunity for competent expert appraisal without cost.

Bennett's report was made available to the businessmen the last of October and was published in full, along with some of his oral comments, on November 2, 1961.

This report was favorable to Schweitzer Basin. It cited several major drawbacks of the Sundance location.

Drew and Kelley may have anticipated this, because a day earlier—on November 1, 1961—they announced in a story in the Spokane Chronicle that they planned to proceed with Sundance development. Again, at this point, neither site was in business.

The businessmen concerned with a ski project of sufficient magnitude to have immediate effect on the winter economy felt there was no choice in view of Bennett's report except to concentrate efforts on Schweitzer. They invited Drew and Kelley to participate.

An informal organization called the Bonner County economic task force was formed to raise local funds and go ahead with plans for the project. Application was made for an ARA loan. On April 26, 1962, approval of the project was announced in Washington by ARA.

Thus, with assurance of the Federal loan—not handout—and with the community's equity being raised, Schweitzer Basin was realized. This is the time when Reader's Digest states Sundance "were preparing to open for business," had a "nine-room base lodge underway," had "bought a ski tow" and that Drew and Kelley had "poured in uncounted thousands of hours of labor, plus more than $50,000 in cash."

The truth is that on June 28, 1962—2 months and 2 days after ARA approval of the Schweitzer loan—the Sandpoint News-Bulletin published two front page photos of the Sundance site. Some clearing of trees can be seen—but nowhere is there evidence of start of a lodge or the expenditure of a substantial sum of cash. I think you also

are aware that in Sandpoint the people who have done business with Drew and Kelley in their logging activities are just about unanimous in believing that a $50,000 investment by them was an impossibility.

The Reader's Digest shed some crocodile tears over the fact that work done by the city on the Schweitzer Basin road was a blow to Drew and Kelley. The magazine again told only a half-truth in stating that "the Sandpoint City Council was prevailed upon to contribute $32,000 toward building a road into the new ski area."

The whole truth is that while the 3.2 miles of road built by the city became a part of the Schweitzer access road, it was built because the city had to complete a watershed logging contract with the State of Idaho. Nor was there any mention of the fact that this so-called contribution has returned more than $36,000 in stumpage receipts to the city to date.

If the magazine had not deliberately twisted facts to suit its purposes, it might have in fairness pointed out that the city also gave Drew and Kelley a road break.

The city owns the top of Baldy Mountain. When Drew and Kelley built a road to the radio relay tower for the Forest Service, the city gave a right-of-way without cost across its land. This was done primarily to help the pair get an access road to the Sundance site at the lowest possible cost to them.

Nor did the Digest seem to think a fair and objective report would have dictated mentioning that Drew and Kelley were not put to the expense of building other portions of the road specifically to gain access to Sundance. Much of it was built by the public in the manner in which logging roads on public-owned lands normally are constructed—by deducting road costs from stumpage. In this case, this cost was borne by the public over a period of several years during which Drew and Kelley logged State timber sales for Diamond National and the former Ralph Spring lumber mill and one small pole sale in their own name.

This was legal, normal procedure in every sense, and so far as is known, no one ever begrudged this assistance to Drew and Kelley in their efforts to develop Sundance. Reader's Digest conveniently forgot all this, however, while holding up its hands in horror because the city deducted road costs from stumpage it sold in the same fashion. It seems to have been a case of whose ox was being gored—that of 2 men on one hand or some 700 people and a community's depressed economy on the other.

I feel sure impartial investigation of what has taken place in Sandpoint the past winter, and what is scheduled for the future, all stemming from Schweitzer Basin, would convince anyone of the soundness of the ARA program as it was applied in this instance. I cannot help refrain from pointing out that the returns in terms of general welfare, improved economy, and high public morale to American citizens is immeasurably more than Uncle Sam has obtained from expenditures vastly greater in many other parts of the globe. And we expect to pay him back, too.

Joseph McCaffrey's 20 Years of Washington Reporting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow marks the 20th anniversary of Washington reporting and news analysis by Joseph McCaffrey. This distinguished newsman and commentator got his first such assignment on June 6, 1944, the day of the Normandy invasion.

Since that time Joseph McCaffrey has distinguished himself and the news media he has served by reporting government-related events and developments with clarity and accuracy. His reputation has earned him a valuable position in the Nation's Capital, and many Members of Congress as well as other government officials and interested private citizens rely upon his reporting.

Joseph McCaffrey is to be commended for his high sense of ethics and impartial presentation of the news. His efforts are appreciated by not only those whose actions he reports, but those dependent upon honest appraisal of the Nation's affairs.

Tax Reform Under the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, conspicuous success is being achieved in the field of tax reform under the Alliance for Progress. Despite the fact that tax reform is one of the most difficult reforms confronting any democratic society, 11 countries in Latin America have initiated structural tax reform programs under the Alliance. This is a striking accomplishment, and a tribute to all those in Latin America and in our own Government, as well as in the Organization of American States, who are working with such dedication to achieve the basic reforms called for by the Alliance.

The Agency for International Development of the Department of State has been devoting increasing attention to tax reform, and to improvements in tax administration. Very significant progress has been made in cooperation with the Internal Revenue Service, exemplifying the new approach to programs of foreign aid under the able leadership of David Bell.

I would like to include at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the assistance being given by AID to Latin America in the field of tax administration:

U.S. HELPS WITH TAX REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

To assist the Latin American countries in their efforts to improve tax administration, AID enlisted the resources of the Internal Revenue Service, which culminated in a working agreement for cooperative endeavor, signed May 28, 1963. IRS has developed a roster of some $50 employees available for service in Latin America. A Latin American Assistance Reserve of trained tax men to be immediately responsive to requests from Latin America has been established. Of the some 24 IRS officials in the first group which completed training in December 1963, 18 have been or are in process of being assigned to duty in or for Latin America. Six more are expected to be assigned before the end of fiscal year 1964. A training program for a second group of some 16 men was started February 17, 1964. IRS has also established working relationships with State and local jurisdictions, for specialists in such fields as sales and property taxes.

During fiscal year 1964, IRS will have provided the advisory services of at least 22 long-term and 23 short-term advisers, through the AID misisons in 10 Latin American countries—Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, Venezuela. In prospect, within the next three to four months, are surveys for four other countries—El Salvador, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay.

The general pattern of operation is to respond to a request for technical assistance by sending a two or three man team to identify needs, and to follow the survey with a group of tax technicians who can assist in developing and installing the recommended improvements and training local personnel.

Three examples will illustrate the approach. In one, two short-term IRS representatives conducted a tax administration survey in Peru, which led to, among other things, the nationalization of the collection office (previously a collection agency for about a half-century managed by a consortium of private banks); the creation of an office to coordinate tax reform efforts; and the initiation of a tax personnel training program. As a followup to this short-term mission, an IRS long-term assistance team has been sent to, and is operating in, the country.

Chile is an illustration of a more advanced program. After an initial survey in 1961, a tax modernization project was developed with the collaboration of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service.

A tax training center was established. To date, over 850 employees of the Chilean Internal Tax Service have been trained in tax administration procedures, as well as good management. A tax investigation division was oragnized to seek out and prepare cases for the prosecution of tax evasion and fraud. This division has secured four indictments, one of which has resulted in one fraud defendant having become a fugitive from justice, when he was ordered recommitted to jail pending trial. A special effort is also underway to collect delinquent accounts.

During the first half of 1963, the increased Chilean tax revenues, of some 23 percent above the first half of 1962 (after the effects of inflation and growth on the tax base were discounted), have been attributed to the improvements in tax administration. For fiscal year 1964, it has been estimated that improvements in tax administration, together with the special effort to collect delinquent taxes, will produce some 70 million escudos ($23 million at the free market rate; $35 million at the controlled rate).

In Colombia, the AID mission has inaugurated a technical assistance program in tax administration under which U.S. Internal Revenue specialists work directly with counterparts in the Colombian Ministry of Finance to improve administrative procedures in the collection of taxes. Estimates are that some 40 percent of the taxable income is not being reported. A sharp increase in Colombian tax revenue is considered a high priority activity in order to close the national inflationary deficit and finance development program.

This AID supported program has achieved tangible results in a relatively short period of time. The Colombian Government established a tax improvement office in the Ministry of Finance headed by the director of the Ministry. This office initiated a program to collect delinquent taxes by hiring a special collection force of 50 officers and conducting a publicity campaign to advise taxpayers of a new strong effort to collect taxes. Delin-

quent collection, as a result, has been running between three and four times more this year than last. The Ministry has also instituted an automatic data processing system which promises to improve tremendously the tax administration capability for dealing with taxpayers who fail to file returns. The Colombian Government has also, by decree, adopted new tax legislation (including taxes on gasoline, sales and a surcharge on the income tax) and a withholding tax system to be inaugurated next year. An amount of 5 million pesos (US$500,000) has been allocated in the budget for a strong enforcement program.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

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Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*.
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*.
Beall, J. Glenn, *Md*.
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*.
Bible, Alan, *Nev*.
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*.
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md*. 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va*. The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*.
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Appendix

Making a Choice in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 6, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the opinions of our citizens about such distant events as those in South Vietnam can rarely be made at first hand. The perceptive journalism of reporters and editorial writers in those first-rank daily papers acknowledged as national leaders are of great assistance to their readers. But often the smaller papers, whose readers may rarely see these more influential molders of public opinion, have an apathy about international affairs, concentrating on local issues instead.

That this need not be the case when an editor takes his responsibilities for large issues seriously is illustrated by a cogent and thoughtful editorial on the situation in Vietnam published on June 3 in the Shelbyville, Ind., News. It is pertinent and timely, and fully as worthy of attention as many such editorials in far larger and better known publications. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Facing the Realities," may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACING THE REALITIES

The United States does not have much more time left in which to make some bitter choices in Vietnam. That fact is becoming increasingly evident.

The situation is deteriorating so fast that there no longer is any hope of postponing a decision until after the November election. The President himself is reported to have told his advisers, "Don't talk to me about November. Tell me what to do in the next few days." And as this was written, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, Ambassador Lodge, and other key officials were meeting in Hawaii in an effort to answer that request. The choices before the meeting, as is so often the case with great problems, can be simply stated.

The United States can decide to continue what it is doing; that is, to confine its role in Vietnam to advice, encouragement and material aid of money and arms to the Vietnamese. It can withdraw. Or it can decide to make an all-out commitment using its own military forces, as it did in Korea. But while the choices can be stated simply, there is nothing simple about the consequences of any of them.

Nevertheless, the prospect grows that a mere continuation of our present role will end in failure, not because what we do is inadequate but because the Vietnamese are either unable or unwilling to do their part. A withdrawal, either openly or under the guise of "neutralization" of the area, would almost certainly mean a Communist takeover. And the trials of a direct U.S. military intervention, we take it, are self-evident to all.

In addition, it seems to us self-evident that in thus choosing between hard courses it is essential not to decide by mere wishes but by tough-minded assessment of the realities of each course.

Few people, for example, would choose a withdrawal except as a last resort. This isn't because the loss of Vietnam to the Communist means the loss of all Asia up to and including Japan; to the south the Communist march could probably be halted at the Malaysian border, to the east with Japan and the Philippines. Still, the loss of Vietnam would mean that an enormous area of southeast Asia would disappear behind the Red curtain, with incalculable effects. However, merely to say that it is worth considerable effort, including even a larger military involvement in the defense of Vietnam, to prevent this from happening, is to beg the real question.

In any battle it is never enough for a commander to say he wishes to hold such-and-such a position. The question is what will it cost to hold it? To ignore the question of cost is foolhardy.

Unfortunately, in the case of Vietnam this is the kind of assessment which the American public has not the information to make. Its own Government has left it completely confused. One day the Secretary of Defense returns with the word that all goes well; the next time he reports gloom; a few weeks later he is once more optimistic.

Perhaps this is because the officials concerned are themselves uncertain and confused. This would be perfectly understandable, and by itself no cause for criticism; there is probably no certain answer. Yet sympathy for the difficulties of decision is overshadowed by the fact that here is a choice in which the whole country is involved, and in which the choice—whatever it is—will demand the support of the whole country.

This being the case, the men meeting in Hawaii have one great duty. That is to be honest with themselves in coldly reckoning the alternatives, and then to be equally honest in telling the country the realities as they see them.

Sweden's Steady Democratic Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, June 6, a date close to our own Flag Day of June 14, is the Flag Day or Constitution Day of another progressive Western democracy: Sweden. This June 6 commemorates the 155th anniversary of the adoption of the Swedish Constitution of 1809. It is an anniversary of special significance in the history of Western constitutional development because the Swedish Constitution is the oldest written constitution still in force in Europe. It has been amended many times, but the basic instrument is the document formulated and adopted in 1809.

When our own Founding Fathers drafted the U.S. Constitution they attempted to create an instrument which would embody unchanging principles such as the separation of powers and basic human rights but which would at the same time incorporate flexible enough amendment processes to allow for adaptation to meet the needs of the changing times. The Swedish Constitution makers of 1809 were moved by the same considerations. The instrument they created defined the division of authority between executive and legislature and set forth basic personal liberties.

Swedish democracy has evolved far since 1809, but the essentials have not changed. Although the power of the King has progressively declined and been transferred to the cabinet, the division of authority between executive and legislature still finds its basis in the 1809 constitution. Individual liberties have been elaborated upon—the franchise has been extended from a very small landed minority to universal suffrage—but the basic liberties are those set forth in the 1809 constitution. The Swedish Constitution has evolved with the evolution of parliamentary democracy in Sweden. Like our own Constitution, it has stood the test of time.

Actually, the Swedish constitutional provisions are contained in four acts, or fundamental laws, the first and most basic being the act of 1809. While 1809 thus marks the formal beginning of constitutional government in Sweden, the roots of Sweden's constitutional government reach deep into the Middle Ages. Popular representation, although on a very limited basis, dates to the 1430's. The legislature provided for by the 1809 constitution was founded on the four medieval estates—the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants. The 1809 declaration of human rights embodied the medieval rules governing the protection of citizens. The balance between executive and legislative authority arrived at in the constitution was a projection of the constitutional struggles of earlier years. The years 1680–1809 were marked by sharp swings from absolute monarchy to strong parliamentary rule, and in its division of executive and legislative authority the 1809 constitution deliberately sought a compromise between these extremes.

The four basic Swedish constitutional acts have been aptly described as "the history of Sweden written in legal clauses." The act of 1809 was in part

the formalization of centuries of Swedish political custom and practice. In more immediate terms it was a response to the absolutism of King Gustavus IV, his role in the coalition against France during the Napoleonic Wars, and the Swedish defeat in Russia which resulted in the loss of Finland. In March 1809 the King was dethroned; the Riksdag was assembled to draft a new constitution and elect a new king.

Two further basic acts were adopted in the years 1810–12. The Act of Succession of 1810 established the provisions for accession to the Swedish throne. More important were the freedom of the press laws of 1810–12. Based on Sweden's first freedom of the press law of 1766, they spelled out in greater detail the right to freedom of the press delineated in the 1809 constitution. In 1949 a new freedom of the press law was adopted, but in all significant aspects it was based on the principles of the laws of 1766 and 1810–12. Probably the most important and progressive aspect of Sweden's press laws are the regulations governing the public character of official documents. The laws state that every citizen is entitled to gain access to government documents, with certain exceptions; the exceptions are explicitely enumerated. This principle of publicity is considered an essential prerequisite for enlightened, objective public debate.

The fourth constitution act is the Riksdag Act of 1866 which replaced the unicameral legislature based on the four medieval estates with a bicameral legislature elected by restricted suffrage. By the middle of the 19th century the democratizing influence of European liberalism had led to increasing demands for making political life more representative. In 1921 universal adult suffrage was established.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, over the last 155 years Sweden has seen steady democratic progress which has made possible the creation of a stable political society and the achievement of one of the highest standards of living in the world. On the anniversary of the adoption of the Swedish constitution we in America extend our best wishes to the Swedish Government and people.

Anniversary of D-Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, today, June 6, marks the 20th anniversary of D-day when the combined might of the Western Allies under the brilliant direction of General Eisenhower, stormed Hitler's so-called Atlantic wall. During the first 24 hours of the landing 150,000 men went ashore on the Normandy beaches of France. Many of these brave men gave their lives there before that historic day was over. Hitler's grip on the Continent of Europe had to be broken by brute force, and a beginning had to be made. As General Eisenhower said on his return visit to the Normandy coast, once all the plans and preparations had been made, the issue was in the hands of the individual men on the ground. They had no way to go but forward, against a stubborn resourceful and well-entrenched enemy.

D-day was one of the crucial turning points in the crusade against one of the worst tyrannies in the history of mankind. And although we did not realize it at the time, the month of June 1944 saw forces set in motion that influenced not only the war, but the peace. For in that month the Russians began their offensive from the east that was to sweep the Germans out of their eastern positions and result in a permanent Russian military occupation of Eastern Europe.

Today we are preoccupied with a new tyranny but let us not forget that great day of unity and courage 20 years ago.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

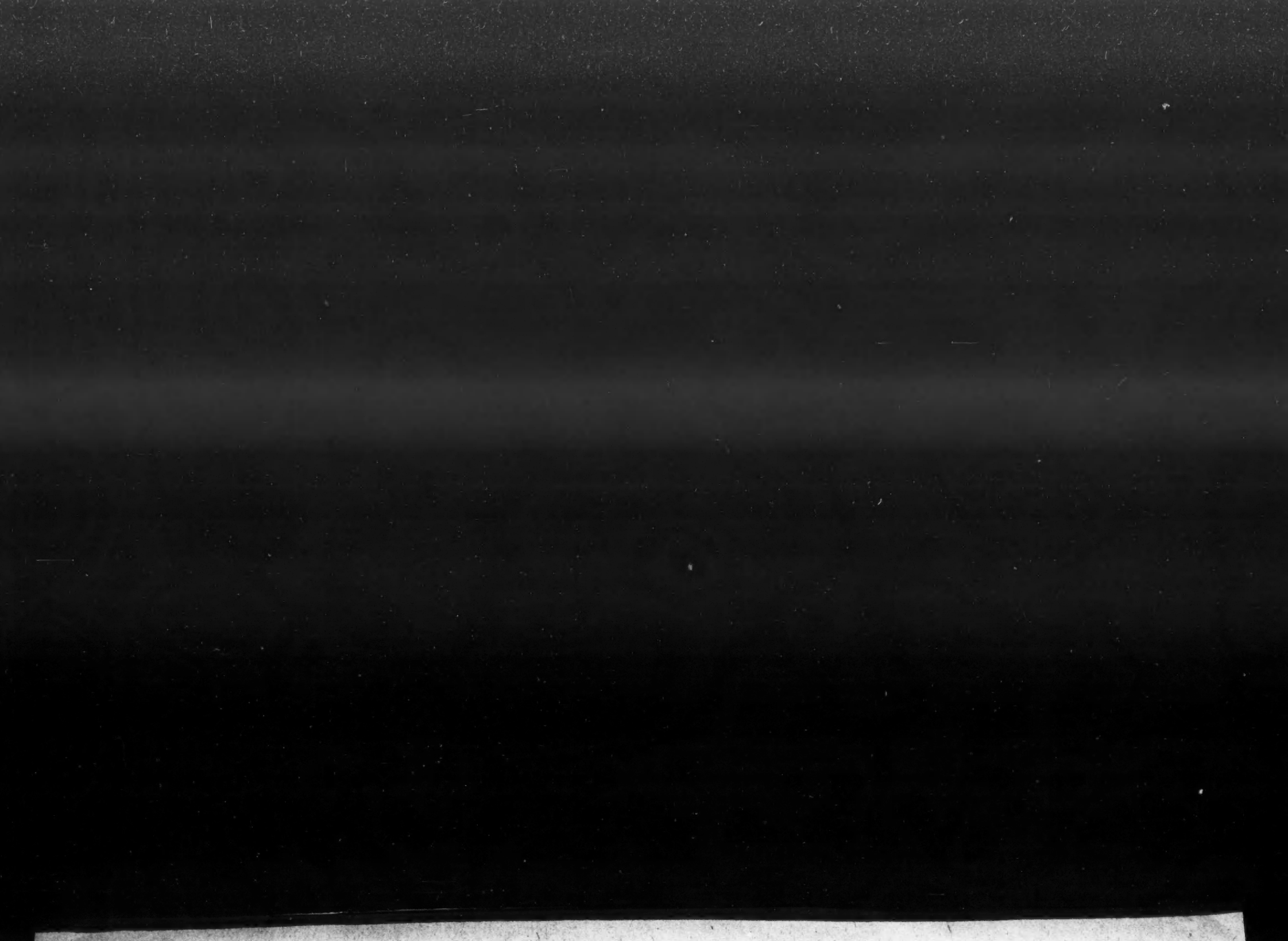

Appendix

Time for a New Look at Natural Gas Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is essential in my view that the Government create and maintain sound policies to serve the public interest requirements for adequate supplies of natural gas at reasonable cost.

I believe it is essential that Congress now take a fresh look at the current picture of natural gas regulation and its effect on the future of this most important resource.

This date is a significant one. An important anniversary is being marked, and it is well that our colleagues and other Americans now take note of its significance.

June 7, 1964, is a landmark date in the history of governmental relationships with American business.

It is the 10th anniversary of a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that independent natural gas producers selling in interstate commerce are subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

It is as well the 10th anniversary of gropings by the Federal Power Commission to find a legal, equitable, and workable means of regulating the production of natural gas.

The past decade has been marked by unusual experimentation by the Federal Power Commission in this area. It has been marked by uncertainties unparalleled in the history of Government regulation of business.

It is no credit to anyone involved that after 10 years the harbingers of a new decade are continuing confusion, more experimentation, and even greater uncertainties.

This game of blind man's bluff with the Nation's sixth largest industry not only has buffeted the natural gas business but has acted against the long-range interests of the consuming public.

Government cannot play games with business and expect business to survive, to grow, to expand in the future. The situation which we have on our hands today is the condition which destroys public confidence in our governmental processes. It gnaws at the very vitals of Government because it demonstrates monstrous inability to govern.

We have here a vitally important area which demands a constructive national policy; but, for 10 long years, it has been circumscribed by doubt and mired in a bog of indecision.

Perhaps this is due in part to the unique nature of the natural gas business. Here may be found the answer as to why the usual type of public utility regulation which dominates the thinking of the Federal Power Commission has not worked and will not work when applied to the natural gas industry.

The name itself suggests one reason. This gas is a product of nature. You do not build a plant to manufacture it, as you do with electricity, for example. To produce natural gas, you must go out and find those areas deep in the earth where nature has hidden away this unusual product. Finding it is difficult, time consuming, and very, very expensive.

Natural gas is a diminishing product, because once consumed it cannot be replaced. An electrical generating facility can be turned on to produce electricity, and will manufacture the product as long as the plant operates. Not so with gas.

Unlike such products as oil or coal, natural gas cannot be transported in trucks or railroad cars to the consuming public unless it is subjected to the technical process of liquefaction for later reconstitution as a gas. As a result, vast pipeline systems are built to gather the gas, transport it to market and distribute it to individual consumers.

All these are facts which distinguish the natural gas industry from other forms of fuel and energy. Trying to apply utility type regulatory procedures to this industry is like trying to add apples and oranges and get a total of grapefruit. The factors of exploration, discovery, development, and transportation to market do not lend themselves to pet formulas and exact computations which constitute the mold into which for 10 years the Federal Power Commission has been attempting to fit the industry.

There is another important factor, and that is the extremely competitive aspects of natural gas. There is competition for drilling rights, and competition for the sale of gas from new fields. In interstate aspects, pipelines compete with each other for market areas. And natural gas must compete for markets and acceptance by the consuming public with oil and coal and electricity.

Natural gas is assuming increased importance both in our daily living and in our modern technology. Today, there are more than 25,000 industrial uses for natural gas and in many industries it is absolutely essential to operations.

New uses are developing all the time. Gas air conditioning, for example, is expanding rapidly. A major part of all the exhibits at the New York World's Fair are both heated and cooled by natural gas. Scientists are working on ideas which may eventually result in natural gas not only heating and cooling a home but being the source for all the electrical requirements for that home.

There are more than 36 million customers of natural gas in our Nation and the number is increasing constantly. This means that the industry must be constantly incited to explore, to develop, and to bring more gas to market.

Under all these circumstances, and particularly in view of the indecision and uncertainty which have surrounded the Federal Power Commission for years, I believe it is essential that Congress take a fresh look at the role of regulation and its effect on the future of natural gas.

We must create an effective, stable, sound policy which will serve the overwhelming public interest of adequate supplies at reasonable cost.

The experience of the past decade vividly demonstrates the results when such policy is lacking. As was pointed out to the House on April 15 last, this past 10 years of confusion has been accompanied by a decline in the ratio of natural gas reserves to production to its lowest point in history at yearend 1963.

Furthermore, as was pointed out on the floor of this House by the able and distinguished chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas, the Honorable OREN HARRIS, the price of natural gas at the wellhead has increased markedly under the efforts at Federal Power Commission regulation. Consumers are paying the bill, just as they have paid for and are paying the bill for the long and costly hearings and litigation which has marked and will mark this area.

Thus, the concepts of the past have been found wanting. They must be discarded for the future. We cannot make progress today under the theories of the past. It has been said truthfully that he who fails to learn from the past is doomed to repeat its failures, and unless we take heed of the record which has been written we face another decade of confusion and failure.

This is a new day and a new age. We must turn our thinking to concepts applicable to the conditions of today and the potential of the future to encourage the progress of the natural gas industry so that it can make full contribution to the national economy.

This raises some serious questions.

Recently, Chairman Joseph C. Swidler, of the Federal Power Commission, addressed the American Public Power Association. He said that the growth and development of the electric power industry in the next two decades will require that all generation and transmission facilities be planned and built as part of large power networks serving whole areas of the country. Regulation of these large power networks selling electricity at wholesale would be, naturally, in the hands of the Federal Power Commission.

Commissioner David S. Black, of the Federal Power Commission, addressing the Western Conference of Public Service Commissions, echoed the Chairman's words.

Thus, it is apparent that the Federal Power Commission sees itself as the prime controller of all electrical energy generation and transmission in America's future. Its energies obviously will be directed toward that end.

This question occurs: Should the Federal Power Commission have as well complete control of the production and transportation of natural gas, which in many instances competes with electricity? As a matter of fact, Chairman Swidler made a speech not too long ago in which he pointed out that electricity was becoming increasingly competitive with natural gas for home heating and other purposes.

Is the vesting of complete control over these two prime sources of energy in one agency compatible with our American scheme of things?

How will that agency resolve conflicts of competition between them? What will its attitude be as electricity seeks to replace natural gas in the home and natural gas develops methods of replacing electricity through fuel cell research?

Will the agency be in a position to determine that each of these power sources shall perform certain functions to the exclusion of the other, regardless of the initiative and vision of the industries themselves in developing new ideas and promoting their enterprises?

Will it be able to decree that one area of our Nation shall be served by electricity and another by natural gas exclusively, eliminating the public's freedom of choice?

As the new technology develops in both these fields, are we witnessing the creation of a "power czar" in America?

These are questions to which this Congress must address its attention.

And we must find the answers soon, for if we do not act soon to establish a constructive and progressive national policy we will find the answer written for us in the concentration of more and more power in the hands of the Federal Power Commission until a "power czar" has been created whether we will it to be or not.

Does the concentration of power serve the great public interest?

Or will the people fare better if there is a separation of power in the regulation of electricity and natural gas?

Does the concentration of power permit proper competition between the two industries, to the benefit of the consuming public? Or will it reduce competition to arbitrary decisions which may not serve the long-range interests of our people?

It seems to me that both these industries have become so vital to the American economy and so much a part of our daily living that we must seriously question whether their future development should be left to the regulatory policies of a single commission.

We have already witnessed the futility of the Federal Power Commission attempting to impose stereotyped thinking on the regulation of natural gas production—a 10-year record of failure.

With the growing Federal Power Commission authority over electrical generation and transmission, and with the proven failure in the regulation of natural gas production, it would appear that leaving the future regulation of both industries to a single agency is inconsistent with national objectives.

Either the regulatory process must be divided to reflect today's realities, or Congress must spell out in detail a modern concept for natural gas regulation which will acknowledge all factors and pierce the artificial dam of confusion which now exists.

I base this conclusion on the history of the past decade and on today's conditions, which foretell vast technological changes in the future.

It is time for new thinking and new action. National policy in regard to the future of these industries and their capability to serve the public must be as up to date and reflective of today's world as are the industries themselves.

The objective of modern regulatory policy can be achieved, and I intend to devote my attention to it and welcome the aid and assistance of other Members of this body. This must be pursued in the spirit expressed by the President when he said, "Come, let us reason together," and I know that if we set ourselves to the task reasonable and effective results will ensue.

The Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Fairmount News is published each week in Fairmount, Ind., a town with a little more than 3,000 population. Even though the News is a small-circulation weekly, each issue contains a number of well-phrased and thought-provoking editorials. Recently its editor, Allen C. Terhune, published an editorial on the Job Corps proposal of the President's poverty bill.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that this editorial, from the June 4 issue, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fairmount (Ind.) News, June 4, 1964]

THE JOB CORPS

One of the most dramatic and controversial sections of the President's poverty war package is that providing a Job Corps for education and training of school dropouts and military rejects.

It's also one of the bill's most expensive features.

At the same time, it takes direct aim at what is emerging as one of the country's most distressing problems—that of the youth facing life without the proper equipment to cope with it.

A composite picture of the type the plan would aid can be drawn from a Labor Department study of some 2,500 draft turndowns. Most were poor sons of poor urban parents. Three out of four had finished grade school but only one of five had completed high school because of financial difficulties or other troubles.

On 69 percent had jobs at the time of the survey and those working were averaging $56 a week. More than one-fourth had worked less than 6 months of the year.

Secretary Willard Wirtz, who supports the Job Corps, sees it as a salvage operation for human waste.

If he and the President are right, that the plan could transform most of this group into a useful and productive part of society, the price would not be too high.

Public Receiving Few Kennedy Half Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, Alexander M. Jones, chief editorial writer for the Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J., is indignant about the scandal concerning the distribution of the Kennedy half dollar, and rightfully so. He has editorialized to the fact that most of the 50-cent pieces wind up with speculators and in department stores—not with the individual. Some tradesmen are selling the coins at outrageous markups, while others offer the pieces as part of package deals. Regardless of the specific situation, the average citizen is being swindled by blatant profiteering. The reminder service of the Editorial Research Reports of Washington has brought this to the public light and to, what I hope will be, ultimate correction.

The article follows:

J.F.K.'s HALF DOLLAR

A campaign by a small city newspaper editor to assure fairer distribution of the new Kennedy half dollar is creating uneasiness in the Treasury Department, Alexander Jones, chief editorial writer of the Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J., considers it a scandal that 67 million Kennedy half dollars have been minted so far in 1964 but that few of them are reaching the public in the form of change.

Jones contends that most of the coins have come to rest in the hands of speculators, jewelry makers, coin dealers, and department stores and others intent on making the public pay a premium, direct or indirect, for the coin. He has bombarded the Treasury, Congress, and the White House with editorials to this effect. And his charge is not directly challenged by Treasury officials.

Once the newly minted J.F.K. halves filter down through the Federal Reserve System to commercial banks, all control is lost over their distribution. The temptation on the part of commercial banks to favor requests by their big depositors—department stores, jewelry makers, coin dealers—is strong. That explains in part why a big department store can offer "tie-ins" (one J.F.K. half dollar with each recording purchased, for

example) while the average citizen asks in vain for one of the coins at the teller window.

The shortage—and the profiteering—probably will get worse unless the Treasury abandons its previously announced plan to stop striking the new half dollars for 1964 once 90 million of them have been minted. Jones wants Congress to pass legislation enabling the Treasury to place the remainder of this year's mintage in the hands of post offices, to be distributed one to a customer, at 50 cents per coin. Congress also could authorize the Treasury to continue minting the Kennedy half dollar with the 1964 date through the years ahead. But no one in Congress seems really interested in pricking the speculative bubble.

Col. Charles E. Yeager, West Virginia Native, Honored at Smithsonian Institution—Interstate Commerce Commissioner Virginia Mae Brown, of West Virginia, Praised in Separate Gathering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, today the National Air Museum, of the Smithsonian Institution, was presented with portraits of the famed aviation pioneers Col. Charles E. Yeager and Jacqueline Cochran. They were painted by noted artist, Chet Engle. Colonel Yeager, who now heads the U.S. Air Force Aerospace Research Pilot School at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif., is a native West Virginian. Many of his relatives, including his mother, a sister, and two brothers, still reside in the State. On October 14, 1947, while flying the Bell X–1, he became the first pilot to break the sound barrier. Miss Cochran is the holder of numerous women's flight records for distance and speed. She was the first woman to fly faster than the speed of sound, and has recently piloted an F–104 Starfighter at a speed exceeding mach 2.

The portraits were presented by chairman of the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Courtlandt S. Gross, during ceremonies attended by West Virginia Representative KEN HECHLER.

A luncheon was held in honor of Colonel Yeager and Miss Cochran. On that occasion, I was privileged to greet those present and to commend the service of these two leaders in the world of flight. I was especially gratified to participate, since it was my responsibility to author, while a Member of the House of Representatives, the legislation which established the National Air Museum. This measure, Public Law 79–9555, became law on August 12, 1946.

Mr. President, it is not often that two West Virginians are guests of honor at two separate luncheons, in the same Washington hotel, on the same day. However, that was the case today.

While Colonel Yeager was being feted, at another gathering members of the Interstate Commerce Commission and business leaders assembled to recognize that group's first woman Commissioner, Mrs. Virginia Mae Brown, of West Virginia.

Sponsored by the Transportation Association of America, and attended by approximately 100 persons, this event was a fitting tribute to a public servant who has only recently assumed new responsibilities in the Federal service. Prior to her appointment, Mrs. Brown served West Virginia as assistant attorney general, insurance commissioner, and a member of the State public service commission. I was happy to have the opportunity to speak briefly to those present on that occasion, and to commend Mrs. Brown's contributions to the well-being of citizens of the Mountain State and the Nation.

The Case of Otto F. Otepka

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the article which appeared in the Sunday Star of June 7, 1964, on Otto F. Otepka, written by Cecil Holland, gives a very interesting and documented account of this most unusual case. I am sure the Members of Congress and the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD who did not have an opportunity to read Mr. Holland's article will be pleased to find it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Holland's article follows:

OTEPKA IN LIMBO, BUT SECURITY CASE IS STILL EXPLOSIVE

(By Cecil Holland)

At about 10 minutes before noon on June 27, 1963, Otto F. Otepka was summoned into the office of John Reilly, his superior in the State Department's Office of Security.

At that meeting, Mr. Reilly told Mr. Otepka, 47-year-old Government career man, that he was being detached from his job as Chief of the Security Evaluation Division and was being assigned to write a handbook on security.

Mr. Reilly then went with Mr. Otepka to his office and, as they walked down the corridor, according to Mr. Otepka, "doors popped open" all over the place.

In Mr. Otepka's office six of Mr. Reilly's own men joined them. They demanded and got the combinations of all safes. The locks were changed and Mr. Otepka was denied access to all his records, including personal papers.

SEEKS EXPLANATION

After the lunch hour, Mr. Otepka went back to Mr. Reilly. He demanded an explanation.

According to Mr. Otepka, Mr. Reilly "shook his finger in my face," and reminded him of an earlier conference in which he had stressed "institutional loyalty." To this, Mr. Otepka says, his response was that "my first loyalty is to my country."

"You're punishing me for telling the truth on Capitol Hill. I won't take back a word of it," Mr. Otepka added.

The upshot was that Mr. Otepka found himself in an office with no material to carry out his assigned task of writing a security handbook.

For a while he got the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Then this was stopped. At his insistence he got it again.

The State Department information that came to him consisted of announcements of personnel changes, parties, and the activities of bowling teams.

SHUNNED BY ASSOCIATES

In time it became clear to Mr. Otepka. He had been consigned to that "limbo large and broad" and for the most part "unpeopled and untrod."

Associates avoided coming to his office. They passed him in the hall with the barest nod. As in most offices, the State Department is a social sort of place. If anyone is reassigned somewhere else, there is often a luncheon to wish him well in his new post.

Mr. Otepka hasn't been invited to any luncheons for anyone since his difficulties began.

He believes his office is bugged and his telephone line are tapped. If anyone calls, except on the most perfunctory matter—including his lawyer—Mr. Otepka takes the number. Then he goes elsewhere to call back.

It's the same at his Wheaton, Md., home. There are strange noises on his phone every time it rings. A friend expert in electronics, has told him this indicates it might be tapped.

CHARGED LAXITY IN SECURITY

But there are few occasions which require Mr. Otepka to leave is home to return a call. People who used to call him have stopped doing so.

What caused all this was Mr. Otepka's testimony more than a year ago before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of alleged laxity and mismanagement in the Department's security program.

What compounded it was Mr. Otepka's testimony and that of Mr. Reilly, then a deputy assistant secretary, didn't jibe. (Mr. Reilly, a former Justice Department attorney, since has been separated from the State Department for being less than forthright with the Senate subcommittee.)

Mr. Otepka supplied the subcommittee wtih three memorandums on personnel matters and some suggested questions to vindicate his position.

As a result, Mr. Otepka was put under surveillance, and arrangements, it was later shown, were made to record his telephone calls and conversations in his office.

DENIED "BUGGING" PHONE

In July and August last year, Mr. Reilly and two of his associates were questioned about this by the Senate subcommittee. Under oath each denied any knowledge that any listening device had been attached to Mr. Otepka's telephone.

Later, Mr. Reilly and Elmer D. Hill admitted recording Mr. Otepka's calls and another associate, David Belisle, admitted knowing that this had been done.

Mr. Reilly and Mr. Hill abruptly were separated from the Department. Mr. Belisle is still there.

In spite of all this, the charges that have been preferred and the notice of dismissal that had been issued against Mr. Otepka were not withdrawn. He was charged with conducting himself "in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State" by furnishing information to the Senate subcommittee.

In a letter dated last September 23, the State Department notified Mr. Otepka of 13 charges as the basis for his dismissal from the Department.

Charges one and two alleged that he gave copies of a classified memorandum to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The third charge accused Mr. Otepka of pro-

viding the subcommittee with an investigative report concerning a prospective Department employee.

Charges 4, 6, 8, and 10 alleged that the security officer was responsible for cutting classified indicators from the tops and bottoms of classified memorandums, thus declassifying the material.

Charges 5, 7, 9, and 11 accused him of mutilation of documents in the same connection.

Charges 12 and 13 involved the accusation that Mr. Otepka had furnished the subcommittee with a series of questions for use in interrogating Mr. Reilly and another member of the office.

DEFENDS ACTIONS

Mr. Otepka, in his response, admitted supplying certain information to the subcommittee.

But he defended this on two grounds: It was necessary to support his previous testimony and it was in response to a demand of the Congress. He contended that the material involved no investigative data.

Mr. Otepka also admitted supplying questions for the subcommittee to ask his superiors. But he argued this was done to defend himself against "false testimony."

Mr. Otepka denied the charges that he was responsible for clipping the security classifications from documents or otherwise mutilating them.

All the charges were sustained in a November 5 letter signed by John Ordway, chief of the Department's personnel operations division.

Then the long appeal process got under way.

SENATORS PROTEST

The Department's action drew a bitter protest from the Senate Judiciary Committee. The protest was contained in a letter delivered personally by Senator DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, a member of the Internal Security Subcommittee, to Secretary of State Rusk last November.

Many weeks ago, the Department suggested six names from which a hearing panel would be drawn for the Otepka appeal.

Mr. Otepka objected to all of them but said that if he must he would accept one on the list. Nothing has happened since.

The case, a State Department spokesman said, is "still where it was."

Mr. Otepka is still on the payroll at a salary of about $18,000 a year. In addition to drawing up a security manual, he has been given another chore.

Under recent instructions, he was directed to catalog and index the ideas, opinions, attitudes, and recommendations of Members of Congress on subversive activities based on speeches and records of public hearings.

The case has aroused concern in some Capitol Hill circles. If the charges against Mr. Otepka are sustained, some Members of Congress feel it will be a serious blow at any future inquiries about operations in the executive department.

One of those most concerned is Senator DODD. He said he has been told repeatedly that the State Department has nothing against Mr. Otepka and will let him return to his former security duties.

"This has been a grave wrong," the Senator said. "I am greatly disappointed that it has not been straightened out. It is extremely trying and cruel to keep this man in this position for such an extended period of time."

If the Otepka case stood alone, Members of Congress say they might not be as concerned as they are. It could be dismissed as an example of the infighting, often vicious, in Washington's bureaucracy.

REASSIGNMENTS APPEALED

But the facts themselves, and other disclosures, some related and some not, have commended the case to the attention of Congress Members on the basis of what can happen here.

One matter has been the revelation in a House inquiry of the widespread use in Government circles, particularly in the Defense Department, of lie detector tests.

Another has been the action of six of Mr. Otepka's former associates—and prospective witnesses in his hearing—in appealing to the Civil Service Commission from State Department reassignments which they consider a reduction in rank.

One of these men is Harry M. Hite of 1112 Hillcrest Drive SW., Vienna, Va. In his letter of appeal to the Commission, he wrote:

"All have expressed their strong convictions concerning Mr. Otepka's innocence of the wrongdoings with which he has been charged."

WOULD BE A WITNESS

Another is John R. Harpel, Jr., of 7425 Yellowstone Drive, Alexandria, Va. He charged some of the evidence against Mr. Otepka had been "falsely contrived," and said:

"If and when Mr. Otepka is finally afforded a hearing of the charges made against him * * * I intend to appear as a friendly witness for him."

In the usually turbulent Washington political stream, the Otepka case has created little more than a ripple.

But it runs deep. If it is not settled amicably within the State Department, it seems bound to explode into a major issue in Congress if not in the courts.

It goes back a long while and it involves one of the touchiest matters in Government—internal security—and persons in high and low places in the administration.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN GOVERNMENT

The central figure, Mr. Otepka, is a veteran of more than 25 years of Government service. A rugged, dark-haired, intense man, the Chicago-born graduate of Catholic University's Law School, is regarded as a professional in security work.

Before World War II, he worked for the Civil Service Commission. After the war, he moved to the State Department. His work was that of a detective of sorts who sought the facts on the suitability of men and women for sensitive places in the Department.

It was a position without glamour and with no great prestige.

Nevertheless, in December 1960, Mr. Otepka was called into a State Department office to meet with Dean Rusk, who was to become Secretary of State, and Robert F. Kennedy, who was to become Attorney General, in the new administration.

They wanted Mr. Otepka's evaluation of several persons being considered for important positions.

One of those on whom a cautious but unflattering report was made subsequently was appointed to the White House staff and later to an even more important position in the State Department.

SECURITY CASE REVIEW

At the time, Mr. Otepka was Deputy Director of the Office of Security. He had been appointed to that position by the late Scott McLeod, and under Mr. McLeod's direction, had undertaken a review to update all the security files of State Department personnel.

Out of that review, 800 cases out of about 11,000 were identified as requiring close but discreet scrutiny. About 75 percent of the 800 were found to have past associations with Communist organizations or persons regarded as sympathetic to Communist causes, according to those familiar with the study.

Nothing was done about the report at that time. What concerned the security people was that a number of the 800 in time would move up into policymaking positions.

TROUBLES MULTIPLY

In time this happened—and in time Mr. Otepka's troubles began to accumulate, despite a Meritorious Service Award in 1958 from Secretary Dulles for "sound independent judgment, creative work, and the acceptance of unusual responsibility.

A new boss, William Boswell, suggested he give up his deputy directorship and devote his full time to evaluation work. When Mr. Otepka refused, the deputy directorship was abolished by a reduction in force.

His troubles multiplied when the new administration came in and Mr. Reilly became head of the office in April 1962. Mr. Otepka was offered a coveted appointment to the National War College, but turned it down when he found out he would not be permitted to return to his security work.

While Mr. Reilly had said he needed no deputy, he brought in Mr. Belisle as a special assistant and he occupied Mr. Otepka's old desk, and was given one grade higher which made him, in fact, Mr. Otepka's superior.

From then on, Mr. Otepka could see "the handwriting on the wall."

CRITICIZED SHORTCUTS

The man who had received the Department's meritorious award couldn't do anything right. Papers he submitted were rejected with the curt words, "rewrite" or "I don't like this" over Mr. Belisle's name.

What apparently brought matters to a head was what the toughminded security people considered—and labeled—a "shortcut" in security clearances.

This was a procedure under which investigators, as distinguished from the evaluators under Mr. Otepka, could report their findings directly to the State Department's personnel office if they considered they had uncovered no derogatory information.

Mr. Otepka protested this as weakening security. He also protested when he found that some State Department officials in the new administration were using the so-called waiver system profusely.

CALLED BEFORE COMMITTEE

By June 1963, there were more than 150 such cases and in some instances, it was found, the security clearances were backdated to make the appointees eligible for their pay. In the Eisenhower administrations there were only five such waivers.

When he was called before the Internal Security Subcommittee on three or four occasions, mostly early last year, he testified about these and other matters.

One of Mr. Otepka's appearances was in February 1963. He was followed in March by Mr. Reilly and Mr. Reilly told the subcommittee, according to the record, that Mr. Otepka had not furnished him certain information regarding some of the appointees.

Since Mr. Otepka already had testified otherwise, he submitted a statement and records to substantiate what he had said.

According to the State Department's own charges, a secretary assigned to his office would inform her superiors when Mr. Otepka's "burn bag," containing working papers that had to be destroyed, was being taken to the incinerator.

These were retrieved by the Department and from the discarded material came some of the charges against Mr. Otepka. Carbon paper and a typewriter ribbon are the basis of some of them.

SAYS EVIDENCE WAS PLANTED

Still unresolved is one charge that grew out of the "burn bag" exercise. This was that Mr. Otepka had mutilated classified documents by clipping off the classifications.

The security officer denies this and has suggested this evidence was planted in his "burn bag." He has offered to take a lie

detector test on this and challenged the State Department to have others do the same.

Mr. Otepka acknowledges that he supplied information to the Senate subcommittee. In defending himself, he reminded the State Department that Mr. Rusk had done likewise on one particular occasion.

A long while ago he learned not to talk in his own office about his ordeal. An associate came by and as far as anyone knows was not observed in entering the office. He spent some time there and had just returned to his own office when he was called before his superior.

He was told exactly how long he had been in Mr. Otepka's office and admonished to mind his own affairs.

Mr. Otepka was instructed in writing and admonished orally to keep out of his old office in room 3333 of the New State Department building. But his name is still on the door.

Dan Quill, San Antonio Postmaster 30 Years, Honored by Sigma Delta Chi Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the major factors in the growth and development of a city is the quality of its local leadership.

The city of San Antonio, Tex., is genuinely proud, and justifiably so, of Mr. Dan Quill, who has served as postmaster in this city for 30 years.

Almost $8 million in annual receipts pass through the San Antonio Post Office; and the high-quality service established in three decades of dedicated, responsible, and efficient management has played a major role in the wonderful growth story of San Antonio.

As a member of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and having a knowledge of the heavy duties of postmasters and other postal employees and their fine record of service, it is very pleasing to see so distinguished a citizen as Mr. Quill honored for his achievements and contributions to the country.

I ask that an editorial from the San Antonio Light, of Wednesday, June 3, 1964, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE POSTMASTER

The younger generation cannot remember the time when San Antonio had any other postmaster, for Dan Quill has held the job for 30 years.

We can think of no man who is better known to the public or more widely respected.

Lately, as chairman of the Red Carpet Committee of the chamber of commerce, Mr. Quill has been greeting visitors at the San Antonio International Airport.

Now he's going to get the red carpet treatment himself, as Sunday's annual awards luncheon of the local chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism society.

Dan Quill will receive a metal scroll for "full cooperation with the press, radio and television in giving the people all the news at all times," it is announced by Floyd Aten, chapter president.

The postmaster is a past master in the art of press relations—and in public relations, too. He has never made the mistake of becoming Olympian.

A characteristic incident comes to mind. It happened some years ago at a shopping center where there was one small postal counter.

When the clerk reported sick one morning during the Christmas rush, Mr. Quill himself took charge while arrangements were being made for a substitute.

The postmaster is truly a public servant and we congratulate him on his latest honor.

Disarmament Propaganda at a Price—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD another in the series of articles by Holmes Alexander on the Council for a Livable World.

Mr. Alexander's article is as follows:

DISARMANENT PROPAGANDA AT A PRICE—PART 3

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On February 27, 1964, Senator MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota), who took $22,000 in campaign funds from a ban-the-bomb group called Council for a Livable World, introduced an amendment to cut $17 million out of Defense Department funds for aircraft, missiles, research, tests, and evaluation of military weaponry.

Without going into the usefulness of the items which the McGovern amendment would abolish (a near impossibility for a layman), I note that 4 of the 20 Senators who supported the amendment are financially beholden for campaign funds donated by the membership of the Livable World Council. They are CLARK, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, BURDICK, Democrat, of North Dakota, MCGEE, Democrat, of Wyoming, and MCGOVERN himself.

Of these four, not one is on either the Armed Services or Joint Atomic Energy Committees which study military affairs and the Nation's need for weapons. But among the 64 Senators who opposed and defeated the McGovern amendment are all the ones which most of us reporters use as checkpoints on these complex matters of military readiness: Senators RUSSELL, STENNIS, SYMINGTON, JACKSON, CANNON, the BYRDS of Virginia and West Virginia, and MARGARET CHASE SMITH.

I am very slow to attach wrongful motives to men in responsible office, and I don't believe for a moment that any of these four Senators for the McGovern amendment would willfully cast a vote that he believed to be harmful. CLARK is cantankerous (his new book is sarcastically entitled, "Congress: The Sapless Branch"), and he enjoys twitting the Senate Establishment with contrary votes. BURDICK, a country lawyer, admittedly has very little knowledge or experience in military matters. MCGEE, a former history professor, has a hungry, searching mind which loves to savor "ideas," and he has reached an intellectual and creditable conclusion about experimental disarmament. MCGOVERN, a World War II bomber pilot and a thoughtful idealist, deeply believes that the United States should take a chance, and take the lead, on world disarmament.

But, giving them full credit for sincerity and singularity (in CLARK's case), I see these Senators and some others as the nucleus of a Peace Party in Congress, backed by a pacifist lobby, the Livable World. Other Democratic Senators whom the Liveable World commends to its membership are MCCARTHY, of Minnesota, Moss, of Utah, HART, of Michigan, and GORE, of Tennessee. The Republican PROUTY, of Vermont, seems to have been added as a gesture of bipartisanship. Two Representatives, both Democrats, are on the recommended list. They are HARDING, of Idaho, and MONTOYA, of New Mexico.

Just to see how other analysts than myself would rate these men whom the Livable World appears to be collecting into a Peace Party, I have checked their ratings in the voting index compiled by Americans for Constitutional Action on the subject of "National Sovereignty." The Americans for Constitutional Action says it is "for strengthening our national sovereignty and against surrendering control of our foreign or domestic affairs or our national security to any other nation or to any international organization." I don't regard these ratings as infallible, but they do provide an arbitrary either/or indication of overriding philosophy. They show, in aggregate, how much importance a Member of Congress puts on national sovereignty as against "peace," internationalism and concern for the "world" stead of for this country.

Astonishingly, I think, MUSKIE, HART, MCCARTHY, BURDICK, MOSS, CLARK, and MCGEE get zero in this rating. GORE gets 6 percent, and PROUTY gets 50 percent. In the House, HARDING gets zero and MONTOYA gets 43 percent.

As a footnote, I think it worth adding that the Livable World has sent out a memorandum to its membership urging support of HARDING as "the logical choice of the Democratic Party to run for the Senate against Senator JORDAN in 1966." In striking contrast to HARDING's zero rating on national sovereignty, Americans for Constitutional Action rates JORDAN, Republican, of Idaho at 100 percent.

Unless I'm wrong, the pacifist lobby is trying to build up a Peace Party in the Senate, where foreign relations are decided. Respectability, of course, is an essential in an undertaking of this sort, and it's pertinent to note that the Livable World has as its executive director, in charge of the Washington office, a genuine war hero in Col. Ashton Crosby, U.S. Army, retired. His standard answer to criticisms of the Liveable World is to write or say:

"I have 14 combat decorations, including 3 silver stars, a Croix de Guerre in lieu of a fourth silver star, and 4 Purple Hearts."

This seems a bit of a nonsequitur, but Colonel Crosby told me in a telephone interview that he was sticking with the Liveable World chiefly to keep its membership from going off the deep end. Maybe he'll soon leave the Livable World and dedicate his patriotism to a concern for freedom rather than to cohabitation with our enemies.

Courts Draw Clear Line Against Interference With Rights of Independent Businessmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, an important address on the subject of recent

antitrust developments affecting independent businessmen in the petroleum industry was delivered by Mr. Rufus E. Wilson, of the Federal Trade Commission, before the mid-year meeting of the National Oil Jobbers Council, Inc. Mr. Wilson, who is Chief of the FTC's Division of General Trade Restraints, gives in this address an informed, enlightening and challenging exposition of recent court decisions and Commission actions which are of major interest not only to independent businessmen generally but also to all citizens who are concerned with the preservation of free enterprise in America.

Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Wilson's address in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY RUFUS E. WILSON, CHIEF, DIVISION OF GENERAL TRADE RESTRAINTS, FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, BEFORE THE MIDYEAR MEETING, NATIONAL OIL JOBBERS COUNCIL, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 19, 1964

When Mr. Fitzgerald initially invited me to speak before this group, he requested that I address myself to the topic "Approaches for Trade Associations in Fighting Subsidiary Programs by Public Utilities." At the same time, he advised that my address was to be informative rather than argumentative.

Although I am not at liberty to address myself to the actual topic assigned, it is hoped that my remarks will be interpreted as informative and not argumentative.

In the past year and a half there have been some antitrust developments which I believe to be of major interest to you as well as all independent businessmen in the oil or gasoline industry as well as in other industries.

The courts have made it abundantly clear in these decision that interference with the rights of independent businessmen will not be tolerated. That the legalistic facade of independence encouraged or erected and placed in effect by a large and dominant company actually exists in fact and not in fancy.

In Sun Oil [1] the Supreme Court discarded the "conduit" approach utilized by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in its decision [2] and held that the section 2(b) defense was not available to a supplier who gave a discriminatorily low price to one of its dealers to meet that dealer's competition.

On April 20, 1964, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Simpson* v. *Union Oil Company*.[3]

The importance of this case in the field of antitrust law enforcement will be truly significant. The Honorable JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee, in an article appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 24, 1964, referred to the importance of this case in these words:

"Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in an antitrust case which is recognized as being of greater importance and significance than any other antitrust case decided in this decade."

Congressman EVINS is one of the great friends and a champion of small business and at one time one of the Commission's outstanding attorneys. Mr. EVINS' appraisal of this decision must carry weight.

I assume that most, or perhaps all, of you here today are concerned about your status as independent businessmen. I further assume that the vast majority of you would be quick to take umbrage at a suggestion that you were anything but independent businessmen. To place my remarks in proper context, it is likewise my feeling that the same reaction could be expected from gasoline station dealers, who are not in a substantially different position from you except that, in terms of the integration of the oil industry they are, perhaps, one rung below you on the ladder.

Then, just 4 days after the Supreme Court's decision in Simpson, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit on April 24, 1964, handed down its decision in *Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company* v. *Federal Trade Commission* and *The Atlantic Refining Co.* v. *Federal Trade Commission* affirming the Commission's previous decision in Federal Trade Commission docket No. 6486.

In its decision the Court had this to say about the independence of the dealer operating under a lease arrangement with a major oil company:

"Ostensibly, they are independent businessmen but behind the legalistic facade of independence, there exists a servitude caused by the coercive pressures which Atlantic exerts upon its dealers. The keystone of the actual relationship between Atlantic and its dealers is the lease and the equipment loan contract with their short-term and cancellation provisions. Without repeating all the components of the relationship, it is evident that the service station dealer is more of an economic serf than a businessman free to purchase the TBA of his choice." [4]

I will come back to this case later. I wanted to mention that quotation to bring home a point.

The Honorable Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, spoke to you at your annual meeting held last November in Chicago, Ill. At that time he stated, among other things, and I quote, "Specifically, the real issue, it seems, is whether or not the industry's structure and practices will permit you—the jobbers—to maintain and strengthen your role as independent businessmen." [5]

He pointed out that there are approximately 200 companies engaged in refining; about 25,000 wholesalers (jobbers and commissioned agents); and about 200,000 retail service stations. In commenting on the vertical integration of the oil industry he said, "the fear, in short, is that the 'independent'—including the independent refiner, the independent jobber, and the independent retailer—has, as the saying goes, one foot in the grave and the other on a banana peel." [6]

In the enforcement of the statutes administered by the Federal Trade Commission we must be concerned whether the independent businessmen in the oil industry are, in fact, permitted to remain independent. I would like to treat the Goodyear case in some detail. However, I propose one caveat—it may well be that Goodyear and/or Atlantic will petition the Supreme Court for certiorari so we may not be certain at this time whether this matter is final. Yet, it is my thought, in view of the Supreme Court's holding in Simpson that certiorari will be denied.

The Federal Trade Commission issued its complaint against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and the Atlantic Refining Co. charging a violation of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act which declares unlawful unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce.[7] The Commission's complaint challenged the legality of the distribution of tires, batteries, and automobile accessories, commonly called TBA, to service stations under a sales commission agreement between Goodyear and Atlantic. The Commission held against Goodyear and Atlantic and issued orders to cease and desist. From this, Goodyear and Atlantic appealed.

In the challenged sales commission contract between Goodyear and Atlantic, Atlantic agreed to promote the sale of Goodyear TBA products to Atlantic's distributors and service station dealers located in New England, New York, and the Philaedlphia-New Jersey area. A sales commission was paid to Atlantic by Goodyear on the products which were sold by Atlantic's distributors and service station dealers.

Atlantic, prior to 1951 bought Lee tires and Exide batteries and various accessories from other sources and sold them to its wholesale distributors and retail dealers in the area which was the subject of the Commission's complaint. Having become dissatisfied with this method of operation, Atlantic surveyed its dealers to determine such things as preference of brands and sources of supply. The survey showed that only 11 percent of the dealers preferred Goodyear tires, and in addition, a majority of the dealers preferred to purchase their tires, batteries, and accessories from more than one source. In spite of the survey results, Atlantic entered into a sales commission contract covering TBA effective March 1, 1951, with Goodyear and a similar contract with Firestone, the two contracts covering its entire marketing area. Goodyear assigned a portion of its sales territory to Goodyear and another portion to Firestone. Firestone got the eastern Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania, and southern regions.

Each Atlantic dealer was assigned to a specific supply point designated by Goodyear. These supply points were either Goodyear stores, Goodyear franchise dealers, or Atlantic service station dealers who were also Goodyear franchisees. Atlantic received a 10-percent override on all purcheses of Goodyear TBA made by Atlantic dealers from the tire companies' supply points, and a 7½-percent override on purchases by dealers from Atlantic's wholesale distributors.

The service station dealers were told that the new plan was a change in company policy; that Atlantic wanted them to carry Goodyear or Firestone tires, batteries, and accessories; and that the switch would be to the dealer's benefit.

Letters were sent to the dealers informing them of the availability of the plan and advised them to take advantage of it. Numerous meetings were held by Atlantic with its dealers to explain the new programs. Atlantic gave Goodyear and Firestone the names of the dealers in their respective territories so that their advertising could be installed in the service stations. Under Atlantic policy this meant that only Goodyear or Firestone identifications were to be displayed at Atlantic stations. Atlantic salesmen accompanied by either Goodyear or Firestone salesmen contacted the dealers concerning the new sponsored TBA. Reports were made to Atlantic by Goodyear and Firestone including the names of dealers who refused to permit the installation of Goodyear and Firestone signs.

Atlantic established TBA quotas; Atlantic policed the dealers; they promoted Goodyear TBA and wrote up TBA orders. Atlantic salesmen checked the books of dealers to see whether they were buying from other sources. Atlantic salesmen made trips with Goodyear salesmen to dealers to police the operation. This is called double teaming. Atlantic credit cards included the Goodyear TBA.

When Atlantic selected a new retail dealer, at least three separate interviews were held with the applicant at which the sales commission program was explained. After selection but before receiving a lease, the applicant attended an Atlantic training school where extensive discussions and demonstrations of Goodyear TBA were conducted. He was told at the school that it was to his advantage to carry Goodyear or Firestone products. He was told what Goodyear inventory he should carry and that he should

Footnotes at end of speech.

use approved Goodyear signs, decals, and advertising boards.

The seventh circuit upheld the Commission stating that the sales commission system was, in effect, an illegal tying arrangement. The court stated:

"In its narrower aspects the system is a tying arrangement because it requires the buyer of one product, the service station dealer who purchases Atlantic gasoline, to buy another line of merchanise, Goodyear TBA. Surrender by the dealer of his freedom to choose between brands of TBA is per se illegal if a 'not insubstantial' amount of interstate commerce is affected." [8]

Goodyear, by 1955, had signed TBA contracts with 2,183 of the 2,248 Atlantic service stations in the 8-State territory assigned; Firestone, by 1955, had signed virtually all the 4,698 Atlantic stations in its 10-State area; and total Goodyear and Firestone sales under the Atlantic contracts from June 1950 to June 1956 was more than $52 million; therefore the court had no difficulty in finding that the sales commission system was within the "substantiality of economic effect on commerce" test established in previous tying cases.

Before leaving this important case, I would like to read one more quote from the court's decision. This is in the area of coercion and illustrates vividly the court's determination to penetrate beyond the facade of the Atlantic-Goodyear arrangement and to recognize it for what it was, a coercive and oppressive method of taking away the dealers' independent judgment and substituting therefor the profit-motivated judgment of Atlantic and Goodyear. The court stated:

"Atlantic says that its influence over its dealer to purchase sponsored TBA short of force, threat, or intimidation is lawful; that it may recommend high quality TBA to its dealers; and that such action serves a legitimate business purpose in the promotion of the sale of gasoline. This would be a persuasive argument except for the dealers' economic dependency upon the oil company. In that setting, recommendation is tantamount to command. Covert practices are as efficient as overt action. Sophisticated methods of pressuring the dealers into carrying sponsored TBA are as effectual as express covenants and open threats." [9]

There are two more TVA cases now on appeal from Commission decisions adverse to the respondents. The Commission in its cases against the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.-Shell Oil Co.[10], and against the B. F. Goodrich-Texas Co.[11] found substantially the same economic coercion and adverse anticompetitive effects emanating from sales commission contracts as was found in the Goodyear case, recently affirmed by the seventh circuit.

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Simpson* v. *Union Oil Company* [12] should have a resounding impact on distribution practices in the oil industry. The facts are these: Richard Simpson operated a gasoline station in California under a lease from the Union Oil Co. I am quite sure that he considered himself to be an independent businessman because the record reflects that he acted like a man who considered himself to be independent. Although he was under a 1-year lease and a 1-year consignment contract which provided that "title" to the consigned gas "shall remain in consignor until sold by consignee," Mr. Simpson sold his gasoline for 27.9 cents in the face of demands by the company that he adhere to a price of 29.9 cents. As a result, Union Oil refused to renew his lease.

Simpson brought suit for damages under the antitrust laws. After pretrial hearings, union moved for summary judgment that the consignment lease program violated the Sherman Act. The district court held for Union and the court of appeals affirmed. Simpson petitioned the Supreme Court, which agreed to hear the case. On April 20, 1964, the Supreme Court held that the consignment agreement was used by Union as a device for resale price maintenance. Mr. Justice Douglas, writing for the majority, stated:

"Dealers, like Simpson, are independent businessmen: and they have all or most of the indicia of entrepreneurs, except for price fixing. The risk of loss of the gasoline is on them, apart from acts of God. Their return is affected by the rise and fall in the market price, their commissions declining as retail prices drop. Practically the only power they have to be wholly independent businessmen, whose service depends on their own initiative and enterprise, is taken from them by the proviso that they must sell their gasoline at prices fixed by Union Oil." [13]

The Supreme Court, recognizing that consignment has historically served legitimate business purposes, struck down the consignment arrangement in this case because it was used to control the dealer's resale prices. The Supreme Court looked at the arrangement realistically—pierced the consignment arrangement—and in looking through the opening saw the true character of the arrangement, a device by which the "independent" was to be kept subservient, a device by which his independence was to be destroyed, a device to fix and maintain the retail prices of an independent businessman.

It is my experience that the majority of service station dealers would like to operate as independent businessmen and would do so except for the power and control exercised over them by their oil company suppliers. In several of the gasoline cases which I have presented before the Commission, I have urged the position that the oil companies have been able to effectuate illegal pricing policies by wielding power and control over dealers by means of lease agreements, supply contracts, loan equipment agreements and consignment or commission contracts. In the Atlantic Refining Company case [14] and the Sun Oil Company case [15] decisions were rendered by the Commission holding that consignment agreements were illegally utilized by those major oil companies to accomplish price fixing.

To further illustrate the views I have been expressing, I would like to reminisce briefly. Do you remember the World War II movies? Particularly the ones which involved soldiers in combat? In most of them, there were a couple of scenes with considerable dialog between soldiers who were speaking of things back home in nostalgic tones. In almost everyone of those pictures there was one GI who spoke of his after-the-war dream of returning to the hometown and opening a gasoline station. There was a reason for this. Hollywood knew of its appeal. We too know. The soldier's dream was of a return to the American ideal of free enterprise. Why did Hollywood choose the gas station to project this concept—this ideal? Because so many people of this Nation have, for so many years, thought of the service station operator as the typical small independent businessman. That is still the image here in the United States but is it an actual fact? Even today, I dare say that most motorists would be surprised if they were to discover that the price they had been paying at the corner gas station was not established by the dealer, but by his oil company supplier. The same motorists would be equally surprised if they were to discover that the tires, batteries or accessories which their dealers had been selling them had not been selected by the dealer as the items he wanted to sell but had been imposed on him by the oil company supplier because it received a percentage override on the sales of such TBA to the dealer.

I am sure there actually were a number of GI's who did come home after the war and did open gasoline service stations. I wonder how those former GI's have fared in the face of consignment arrangements, in the face of commission contracts on TBA products and other similar devices used by the oil companies to remove the freedom from free enterprise.

All that I have been saying brings up an interesting question: Are the major oil companies going to continue to control the distribution of their products, or for that matter, products of other companies, all the way down the distribution ladder to the retail level and still attempt to maintain the concept that the distributor, jobber, and dealer are independent businessmen? I do not believe so. Instead, I believe that they are going to have to make up their minds as to whether they are going to have independent dealers and jobbers.

The decision in Sun Oil (Jacksonville), Simpson and Goodyear stand for the proposition that pricing policies must be realistic and not arbritrary. That the major oil companies, as a matter of law, possess and exert great economic power, and when used to exercise control over its independent dealers or jobbers, if you please through various agreements such as short-term leases, loan equipment contracts, supply contracts, to effectuate policies in restraint of trade, then my friends, trouble develops—trouble for everyone involved. I find myself asking this question again and again, why does it have to be this way? Why not let the independent dealer or jobber be an independent businessman?

And I believe this question is also being asked by members in the industry.

What clearer mandate could the oil companies have for deciding that they may not follow a policy of dominating and controlling the independent merchant in their distribution systems than the expressions in Simpson and Goodyear, as well as the Commission's Atlantic and Sun cases.

In the May 1, 1964, edition of the Journal of Commerce an article appeared which gives some indication that the oil companies are realizing that their past policies not only have invited probes by the Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission but also are not profitable in the long run.[16] How much the recent court and Commission decisions have to do with this realization I do not know, but I can speculate. The article reports a speech given by Mr. S. D. Breitweiser, executive vice president of Cities Service Oil Co., before the Chicago Oil Men's Club. Mr. Breitweiser, according to the article, said that the so-called experts in the industry have done their best to run the dealer off, despite the fact that he is the industry's most important marketing man. He criticized the "price war" approach of the majors, saying that such wars cost the industry and its owners, employees, jobbers, and dealers hundreds of millions of dollars last year. His suggestion for improvement is a little more courage, thought, and ingenuity in sticking to reasonable, profit-making prices. When we consider that price wars generaly are the results and not the cause of market disturbances, Mr. Breitweiser's words should not go unheeded by the industry.

I think Mr. Breitweiser's statement is one of courage and commonsense. He is correct that more courage, thought, and ingenuity are needed. His comments, if followed, would constitute a worthwhile approach to industry problems, that something should be done and done now.

A good beginning would be the realization by the major oil companies that the independent businessmen in their distribution process should be allowed to remain independent. It is my experience that dealers and jobbers are loyal to their supplier. However, loyalty is a two-way street. Fair treatment of their jobbers and dealers will not be achieved accidentally. It requires a con-

Footnotes at end of speech.

scious concern. A concern to recognize the independent businessmen, who they need to distribute their products, as partners in a legitimate business endeavor.

I sincerely hope that the free enterprise—independent businessman concept, in the oil industry, to the extent that it has become rusty, to the extent that erosion has set in, will be restored and maintained with increased prosperity for each and every one of you here today.

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[1] *F.T.C.* v. *Sun Oil Co.*, 83 Sup. Ct. 358 (1963).
[2] *Sun Oil Co.* v. *F.T.C.*, 294 F. 2d 465.
[3] CCH, vol. 5, par. 71085.
[4] Id., at 79322.
[5] Address by Chairman Dixon, Federal Trade Commission, annual meeting of National Oil Jobbers Council, Inc., Nov. 9, 1963, p. 5.
[6] Supra, p. 6.
[7] Federal Trade Commission Act, sec. 5(a)(1), 66 Stat. 632, 15 U.S.C., sec. 45(a)(1).
[8] CCH, Trade Regulation Reporter, vol. 5, par. 71093.
[9] Id., at 79322.
[10] The Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., FTC docket No. 6487 (March 1961).
[11] The B. F. Goodrich Co., FTC docket No. 6485 (April 1963).
[12] CCH, Trade Regulation Reporter, vol. 5, par. 71085.
[13] Id., at 79282, 79283.
[14] The Atlantic Refining Co., Inc., FTC docket No. 7471 (May 1963), pending appeal.
[15] Sun Oil Co., FTC docket No. 6934 (November 1963) pending appeal.
[16] "Price Wars Blamed for Causing U.S. Probes," the Journal of Commerce, Friday, May 1, 1964, p. 25.

The A B C's of the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "The A B C's of the Civil Rights Bill," written by James E. Clayton, and published in the Washington Post of Sunday, June 7, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

This is an accurate and fair explanation, in plain language, of the civil rights bill now before the Senate. Mr. Clayton is a legal reporter of recognized competence; and his article, which is not long, will be especially helpful to hundreds of persons who are asking what the bill does, particularly in view of some of the exaggerated and incorrect statements which have been widely circulated about it.

Mr. MAGNUSON subsequently said: Mr. President, a splendid article by Mr. James E. Clayton was published yesterday in the Washington Post. The article is entitled "The A B C's of the Civil Rights Bill." I understand it has previously been ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article explains the bill to the point where it is understandable, I think, to everyone who reads it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE A B C'S OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
(By James E. Clayton)

In the past 3 months, almost 8 million words have been spoken in the Senate on a bill that is about 15,000 words long.

Somewhere in all this oratory—with its flowery phrases like the "billion dollar blackjack," an "unprecedented grab for power," a "bill of rights for all Americans" and "the fulfillment of the Emancipation Proclamation"—the basic goals of the civil rights bill have been almost lost from view.

The goals are quite clear and rather simple. They are to end discrimination in employment, voting, public facilities, public schools and places where people go to eat, sleep, and be entertained.

The goals were seriously discussed only at the beginning of the long debate and in the last week. During the weeks in between, Senators spoke mostly about details—jury trials, the relationship of State to Federal law, small boardinghouses, threats of bureaucratic control, and so on.

It is these details on which the decisions will be made if the Senate ever gets down to voting. Most Senators now agree that there is a clear majority for the basic proposals in the civil rights bill. They are not sure that the same majority exists for all the details.

Perhaps the easiest way to think about both the goals and the details is in terms of what problems the proposed legislation is designed to solve and how it goes about doing that. The following analysis is based on the modified bill introduced in the Senate by leaders of both political parties.

VOTING DISCRIMINATION

Problem one: In some areas, Negroes are kept from registering to vote by registrars who discriminate against them or disqualify them because of minor errors on applications. Minor errors are such things as putting down one's age as 23 years, 10 months, 11 days when it is 23 years, 10 months, 12 days.

Solution: The bill would bar registrars from giving Negroes seeking to vote in Federal elections tougher literacy tests than they give to whites. It would bar rejections for minor, irrelevant errors on applications. It declares that anyone with a sixth-grade education is presumed literate.

Procedure: The new legislation provides ways of speeding up the court handling of voting cases, which can be brought to litigation by an individual or by the Attorney General. Some cases have dragged out for years in the past.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Problem two: Because of their race, Negroes are barred from eating in many restaurants and lunch counters, sleeping in some hotels and motels, attending performances at some theaters and sports arenas and buying gasoline at some gas stations.

Solution: The bill declares that none of these places of public accommodation can reject a customer because of his race or religion if the goods it handles moves in interstate commerce. It exempts small boarding houses and private clubs.

Procedure: A person denied service could file suit in Federal court. With the court's permission, the Attorney General could intervene to help him. The Attorney General could file such a suit if there was a pattern of discrimination. The courts are authorized to order an end to discrimination and punish those who defy their orders. If a State or community has a public accommodations law, Federal action cannot occur until after that local law has had a chance to operate.

RECREATION FACILITIES

Problem three: Negroes claim they are barred from some facilities owned by a city or State: golf courses, swimming pools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, etc.

Solution: Although the Supreme Court has clearly said that such barriers because of race are unconstitutional, the bill declares that all such places must be opened to all persons without regard to race or religion.

Procedure: The Attorney General is authorized to file suits in Federal court to open such facilities if he finds that those persons discriminated against are unable to file suit themselves because of a lack of money or a fear of reprisals.

FEDERAL FUNDS

Problem four: Negroes contend that some State and local programs financed in part by Federal funds discriminate against them. Examples are hospital construction, welfare and farm programs.

Solution: The bill declares that all programs receiving Federal money must not discriminate.

Procedure: If a Federal agency learns that a program is being operated with discrimination, it can take steps to end the practice. These steps include conciliation, holding a hearing, notifying Congress and, as a last resort, cutting off Federal funds to the program in the particular locality.

EMPLOYMENT

Problem 5: Negroes complain that many employers refuse to hire them although they are qualified, and that several labor unions bar them from membership and apprenticeship because of their race.

Solution: The bill bars discrimination because of race, sex, or religion by employers in hiring, firing, or promoting, by employment agencies in job referrals and by labor unions in admittance to membership or apprenticeship programs. It would apply immediately to all companies in interstate commerce with 100 or more employees and, after 3 years, to all such companies with 25 or more employees. Religious organizations and church schools would be exempt to some extent from the provision regarding religion.

Procedure: A new Federal Equal Employment Commission would receive and process complaints. It would defer any action for a limited period until State laws on the same subject had an opportunity to operate. If the Commission's persuasion was ineffective, the individual discriminated against could go to Federal court. If there was a pattern of discrimination, the Attorney General could file the court case. The court would determine whether discrimination existed and what to do about it.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Problem 6: Negroes argue that school desegregation is going too slowly.

Solution: The bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring law suits to end segregation in the public schools. It also authorizes the expenditure of Federal funds to help communities plan for desegregation.

JUDICIAL FAIRNESS

Problem 7: Civil rights workers often say they cannot get a fair trial in some State courts and cannot get some Federal trial judges to intervene to block unfair trials.

Solution: The bill authorizes an appeal to higher courts if a Federal trial judge refuses to take jurisdiction in a situation where such discrimination is alleged. There is presently no appeal from his refusal.

While these are the seven problem areas with which the civil rights bill attempts to deal, it has many other provisions. Among them are ones which extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for 4 years and

create a new Community Conciliation Service to help solve racial problems peacefully.

Perhaps as important as what the civil rights bill would do is what it would not do.

It would not allow the Federal Government to dictate to whom people could sell their property. The bill specifically exempts housing programs.

It would not compel an employer to fire a white man to make way for a Negro. Such action would be barred by the bill because it would be a firing based on race.

It would not compel a store owner or a hotel owner to serve every person who came to his place of business. For example, a store owner could reject those who were drunk or disorderly or refused to wear a coat and tie. His choice of customers would be curtailed only in that he could not turn away anyone solely because of race or religion.

It would not destroy union seniority. All the bill would do is stop unions from discriminating against those who apply for membership or apprenticeship.

It would not take away anyone's right to a jury trial. The bill does authorize Federal judges to punish without a jury trial those who disobey orders to stop discriminating. But there is no existing right to a jury trial in such cases. Anyone charged now with disobeying a court order is entitled to a jury trial only if Congress has specifically so ordered. This bill limits the punishment a judge could impose without a jury trial for contempt in civil rights cases to 30 days in jail and a $300 fine.

It would not allow the Federal Government to transport children across town to even out the racial composition of schools. The bill specifically bars Federal officials and Federal courts from acting to end such racial imbalance.

It would not give the Federal Government control of elections. The bill would only require the States to administer voting laws with an even hand.

The Education of Mr. Henry J. Taylor: Four Replies in the Form of a Rebuttal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, recently, the syndicated columist, Mr. Henry J. Taylor, wrote an article in which he stated that continued unemployment in the Appalachia region could be traced to the fact that residual oil is imported into this country.

This is reasoning which may be dubbed as somewhat less than logical and certainly not designed to appeal to New Englanders who are so dependent upon residual oil and who will be asked to support the various antipoverty programs.

There is a definite need to place this matter into proper perspective and the following four articles accomplish that goal.

The first is by Thomas F. Mitchell, special Washington representative of the New England council who states:

Articles such as Mr. Taylor's which strike of New England's economic lifeblood by perpetuating a false issue certainly do little to gain the sympathy of 10 million residents of this important segment of our Nation whose tax dollars will be needed to support any Federal program to end the poverty and misery of Appalachia.

Mr. Mitchell also refutes the Taylor thesis on a number of other points, and I urge that his letter be closely examined.

In a second letter to the Scripps-Howard syndicate, E. A. Evans points out the "erroneous assumption" of the Taylor article and, in three precise instances, establishes the unfortunate reasons for unemployment among coal miners in Appalachia.

John Harper, the chairman of the Petroleum Industry, offers facts on the impact of automation and its relation to unemployment. He shows that Appalachian coal production has risen substantially in 1962, 1963, and in the first 4 months of 1964, while mineworker employment has declined in each of these periods.

Mr. Speaker, the fourth and final insertion contributing to the educational process of Mr. Taylor is an enlightened letter written by John W. Hight and printed in the Miami Herald of May 26.

Mr. Hight, executive director of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, also emphasizes those areas where Mr. Taylor misses the proverbial boat, or tries to steer his canoe in a direction that cannot be charted by men of reason and judgment. For it is obvious to all serious thinkers that an attempt to give a simple and single answer to a subject as broad as unemployment is beyond the comprehension of many people who have been concerned with this problem for years.

A case need not be made at this point for the necessity of residual oil to the eastern seaboard except in the sense that the case is alluded to in the four articles. What is important, it seems to me, is that Mr. Taylor reexamine his thinking on this subject. Such a prospect would be most welcome.

The material to which I have referred, follows:

MAY 21, 1964.

Mr. JACK R. HOWARD,
President and General Editorial Manager, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. HOWARD: On May 11 and 18, 1964, the New York World-Telegram and Sun, Miami Herald, and other Scripps-Howard newspapers published two columns by Henry J. Taylor in which he alleged that imports of residual fuel oil contribute to Appalachia unemployment.

For your information, the mandatory oil import control program has been in effect since March 1959. This program was instituted by Presidential proclamation on the grounds that imports of petroleum and petroleum products should be controlled in the interests of the national security to preserve a vigorous, healthy domestic petroleum industry. Residual fuel oil imports have been included in this program.

In February 1963, the Office of Emergency Planning after a 2-year investigation submitted a report to the President recommending a meaningful relaxation of residual controls. Included in the OEP findings were conclusions that residual oil controls had no effect on the national security, the only justification for the maintenance of controls under the pertinent statute; and that imports of residual oil were not the cause of unemployment in the coal fields. A copy of the OEP report is enclosed.

Recently, several Members of Congress in speeches before both the Senate and the House of Representatives have dealt with both the effect of residual imports on coal industry unemployment and on the domestic petroleum industry. Copies of their statements are also enclosed.

Every reporter, of course, has both the right and the duty to report on current events as he sees them. In this instance, however, Mr. Taylor has offered what could only fairly be regarded as personal opinions, while representing these opinions to be facts. In addition, both of Mr. Taylor's columns merely parrot rather extravagant claims and unsubstantiated allegations of the National Coal Policy Conference, which has been in the forefront of a constant campaign to continue and even make more stringent residual fuel oil import controls.

Understandably, Mr. Taylor may have been influenced by the interests of the coal industry because of his close association with the Pittston Co. According to current records, Mr. Taylor serves on the board of the Pittston Co., which board is chaired by Mr. Joseph P. Routh, who is also chairman of the National Coal Policy Conference.

The Pittston Co. is, as you know, one of the largest producers of bituminous coal. Significantly, it is also one of the largest importers of residual oil with an authorized daily import quota of 43,829 barrels. This represents over 15 million barrels per year.

The independent oil marketers in New England have been most adversely affected by the residual oil quotas, and as a result of the quota system small, independent marketers in many instances have been forced to merge into large, diversified companies. The Pittston Co. has been actively acquiring these small, independent oil marketers.

Articles such as Mr. Taylor's, which strike at New England's economic lifeblood by perpetuating a false issue certainly do little to gain the sympathy of the 10 million residents of this important segment of our Nation whose tax dollars will be needed to support any Federal program to end the poverty and misery of Appalachia.

New England, as you must know, has no native fossil fuel resources and must obtain its entire supply from outside its borders. Historically, we have depended on residual fuel oil to heat our hospitals, schools, apartment houses, and other public buildings as well as to supply power for our industries and to generate our electricity.

Transportation costs to New England of our fuels combined with our overall higher heating costs, have made it absolutely essential that we obtain these fuels at the lowest prices possible. Otherwise, the products of New England's industries would be driven from the world's markets.

As a result, outside of its use by some New England utilities, coal is not able to service New England competitively. It has been necessary, therefore, for most of our industries to rely on residual fuel oil. These industries are not equipped to burn coal under any circumstances and for the time being must have oil. Eventually, gas, hydroelectric power or atomic energy may be the answer but never coal.

It is true that some residual oil is produced domestically. American refiners, however, find it unprofitable to market this product and every year find ways to decrease the residual yield of each barrel of crude oil processed to obtain a higher percentage of more costly petroleum products such as gasoline, jet fuel, kerosene, etc.

As a result, New England consumers have been forced to depend more and more on imports. For example, during 1962, New England's demand for residual was 75,190,000 barrels. Of this amount, domestic sources could supply only 6,205,000 barrels and it was

necessary for New England to import the balance. Price premiums existing because of the oil import program forced New England users to pay close to $30 million extra to obtain sufficient fuel.

Mr. Taylor's claim that these imports are of a waste foreign product is also entirely without foundation. Venezuela, from whence most of the residual oil comes, certainly does not consider it a "waste" product. Instead, it is a substantial part of that Nation's economy and is probably one of the main reasons why that country neither requests nor receives foreign aid from our Government. Statements such as Mr. Taylor's can do irreparable harm to our relations with this friendly government.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS F. MITCHELL,
Special Washington Representative.

OIL USERS ASSOCIATION,
Miami, Fla., May 21, 1964.

SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE,
New York, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: The Oil Users Association is a nonprofit organization whose purpose is to carry on such activities that may promote an adequate supply of fuel oil and heating oil at fair and reasonable prices. Members of the association consist primarily of utilities and manufacturing establishments who are large users of residual oil.

We have noted with considerable concern two articles, written by Mr. Henry J. Taylor, which have recently appeared in the Miami Herald. We understand, also, that the same articles have appeared in Scripps-Howard newspapers.

The first article, under date of May 11, 1964, is entitled "Oil Kills Appalachia's Chances," the second, under date of May 18, 1964, "Oil Jams Our Guns in War on Poverty."

In both of these articles the main theme is based on an erroneous assumption; namely, that the importation of residual oil has been the cause of the very serious unemployment among coal miners in the Appalachia area. The unfortunate situation existing in the coal mining areas is not connected with the imports of residual oil into this country over the past years. The reason for this unemployment is threefold:

1. Mechanization of the mines.
2. Dieselization of the railroads which had previously burned coal.
3. Millions of homeowners throughout the country stopped shoveling coal into basement furnaces and installed oil or gas burners.

I am enclosing a statement on the residual oil import question, filed with the Department of Civil and Defense Mobilization (now, Office of Emergency Planning) on July 21, 1961, prepared and submitted jointly by the Oil Users Association, New England Council and the American Public Power Association. I would call your particular attention to that section of the report entitled "Quotas and Coal," starting on page 22, which points out in detail the effects of the three reasons listed above for the loss in the sale of coal—together with resulting unemployment in the coal mining regions.

We are also concerned that apparently only one side of this question has been considered—that of the National Coal Policy Conference—and particularly so in that we find that Mr. Taylor is listed in the 1964 copy of Poor's Registry of Corporations as a director of the Pittston Co., 250 Park Avenue, New York. And equally interesting is the fact that the chairman of the board of that company is Mr. Joseph P. Routh who is listed by Poor's as being chairman of the board of the National Coal Policy Conference.

Obviously, any commentator has the privilege to write on any subject which he may desire, but it would appear that Mr. Taylor's views are influenced in favor of the coal interests. It is also curious to note that the Pittston Co., whose principal product is listed as bituminous coal, is a large importer of residual oil.

On May 22, 1961, the Director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization announced that he was undertaking an investigation to determine the effect, from the standpoint of national security, of imports of residual fuel oil to be used as fuel. This hearing called for written statements to be submitted to OCDM.

On February 13, 1963, the Office of Emergency Planning, which had supplanted OCDM, submitted its report to President Kennedy. This report, signed by the Director of OEP, stated that "a careful and meaningful relaxation on imports of residual fuel oil to be used as fuel was recommended." He further stated that an extended study proved to his satisfaction that this decision is consistent with the national security and the attainment of Western Hemispheric objectives which contribute to the national security.

Within this report were statements made by the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, Justic, and Labor—all favorable to our standpoint. As an example, the Department of Defense stated as follows: "* * * we cannot see wherein residual fuel oil imports can seriously endanger the national security.

I mention the matter of residual oil versus national security because the mandatory oil import program, established by President Eisenhower, May 10, 1959, had originally planned to exclude residual oil, however, at the request of the coal interests, residual oil was included in the program. The President's legal right to establish such a program was based on Federal law which gave him control over imports effecting national security. It has long been our contention that residual oil should never have been included in this program inasmuch as it has always been in short supply and imports of residual oil did not endanger national security.

The results of the restrictions of residual oil imports created artificial price control with increased prices to consumers. Commenting on this phase, the Department of Commerce as quoted in the OEP report, in part, is as follows: "* * * the continuation of the residual fuel oil import quota plan as a method of increasing exploration, drilling, reserves and crude oil output appears rather tenuous." And also, "* * * First, the program has increased the price of residual fuel oil and has the tendency to increase the price of other energy fuels. Second, the program has resulted in 'spot shortages' of residual fuel oil resulting in considerable hardship."

We have been fighting for the complete elimination of all restrictions on the imports of residual oil because of the facts that: the imports of residual oil do not contribute to the unemployment situation in the coal States; consumers throughout the country are being forced to pay for an artificially induced increased price of residual oil which must be passed on to citizens throughout the Nation; and the importation of residual oil is in no way detrimental to national security.

We would sincerely appreciate your investigating this matter to the end that the public be informed of the true facts concerning the subject of import restrictions on residual oil.

Yours very truly,

E. A. EVANS.

MAY 14, 1964.

PUBLISHER, SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: On May 15, 1964, the World Telegram & Sun as well as other Scripps-Howard newspapers carried a column by your Columnist Henry J. Taylor, entitled "To Help Poor, Change Oil Policy." The essence of the article was that President Johnson's war on poverty in the Appalachian region would be better served by reducing the current level of residual fuel oil imports than by the expenditure of Federal funds.

Mr. Taylor's reasoning was that since coal was the region's principal industry and since imported residual fuel oil competes with coal, a restriction on these imports would benefit Appalachian mines and mineworkers.

Since Mr. Taylor's views parallel almost exactly that of the U.S. coal industry, we wonder whether he wrote this column as an independent journalist or as an official of the coal industry. For in the annual report of the Pittston Co., Mr. Taylor is listed as a member of the board of directors. As you may know, the Pittston Co. is a major coal producer and one of the most vociferous advocates of further import restrictions on residual fuel oil. It would appear that an independent journalist should not use his position to advocate a plan designed to bring direct financial benefits to a business with which he has been associated. If Mr. Taylor wishes to promote the welfare of his company, he should do so under the proper label.

We would further like to point out that though the Pittston Co. is principally a coal producer, its wholly owned subsidiary, Metropolitan Petroleum Co., is the country's fourth largest importer of residual fuel oil. Has Mr. Taylor used his position as a director of Pittston to propose that this subsidiary stop the importation of oil? We would greatly appreciate your comments on these matters.

As to the facts in the case, our position is that automation and not oil imports have caused the unemployment among the Appalachian mineworkers. In fact, Appalachian coal production has risen substantially in 1962, 1963, and in the first 4 months of 1964, while mineworker employment has declined in each of these periods.

An illustration of the impact of automation may be gained from the following statistics:

[Tons produced per man-day]

1945	5.78
1950	6.77
1955	9.84
1960	12.83
1962	14.72

Obviously, the fact that a worker can produce more than twice as much coal today than in 1950 effects employment. Residual fuel oil had therefore very little to do with the decline in the coal labor force. Actually, total residual fuel oil sales in coal-consuming States have shown no increase at all since 1961, while coal sales have.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN HARPER,
Chairman, Petroleum Industry Research Foundation.

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, May 26, 1964]

WAR IS ON POVERTY ONLY, NOT APPALACHIA ITSELF

Henry J. Taylor's recent piece on the war on poverty in Appalachia and the question of coal versus residual fuel oil was a serious misinterpretation and distortion of the facts of the situation.

Mr. Taylor suggests that further restriction or elimination of residual oil imports into the east coast for power purposes would go far to solve the problem of poverty in Appalachia by forcing the substitution of coal as a fuel source. He neglects both the mechanical problem of such conversion and the cost burdens this would pose for many U.S. manufacturers.

If we are to remain competitive, our manufacturing industries must be in position to purchase their energy at the lowest possible costs.

Mr. Taylor neglects to say anything about our coal exports, which run in excess of 36 million tons per year exports which create jobs in Appalachia and are made possible only by the earnings from foreign sales to the United States. Mr. Taylor says that Appalachia is a "one-crop country: coal." This view is so limited and so lacking in appreciation of the potentialities of this huge region, as to need no comment.

Everyone knows trade is a two-way street. It is economic in certain situations, where cost differentials exist, to export coal and import residual oil. Competition between these and other fuels is essential if we are to maintain a manufacturing cost structure which will enable us to compete in the world. We learn, for instance that Consolidated Edison in its newest New York City electric generating plant will burn coal instead of oil—2.5 million tons a year—because of substantial reductions in its delivered price.—JOHN W. HIGHT.

PHILADELPHIA.

Prayer in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there seems to be a false impression that most ministers are unconcerned about the recent Supreme Court decisions against prayers in our schools. I have been impressed with a sermon preached on this subject by Rev. R. T. McElveen, of Rock Hill, S.C. In this sermon, Rev. Dr. McElveen shows a keen understanding of the adverse fallout effects which these antiprayer decisions are having on our national relationship with God.

I ask unanimous consent that Rev. Dr. McElveens' sermon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in the hope that it will serve to have some influential effect on the pending resolutions in which it is proposed that the Constitution be amended to prevent further secularization of our country.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SERMON OF REV. R. T. MCELVEEN,
ROCK HILL, S.C.

For the text this morning, I call your attention to Matthew 24, verse 8: "All of these are the beginning of sorrows."

I want to speak to you this morning on this subject; several things that are included in this word "sorrows."

First. Let's define this word "sorrow." It is a very weighty word. Mr. Webster says that it means mental pain or uneasiness, caused by loss, disappointment, grief, distress, unhappiness, regret, affliction; grieve, lament; be sad. My friends, every home in the world today is touched and affected by sorrow. There is not one left out; this is one of the outstanding reasons why I know that we are living in the age suggested in Matthew 24, and if we are living in Matthew 24, then we are living in the last generation of time, when Jesus will come back to earth again and I quote Matthew 23: 32–34: "Now learn a parable of the fig tree: When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled."

I call your attention to the first definition of the word "sorrow." Mr. Webster says that it means mental pain or uneasiness caused by loss.

Second. The loss of freedom. Have you ever taken time from sin and pleasure and making money to count the nations that have lost freedom in this generation; and have you thought very much about what life would be like without freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and to live under a dictatorship? Well, my friends, there are multiplied millions behind the Iron Curtain who are in mental pain, and otherwise, because they have lost their freedom. They could really tell you something about suffering. They live in constant fear of their lives, not knowing what hour they may be purged; they go to bed afraid; they get up afraid. They go to work afraid. They live day in and day out in fear of their lives.

If we here in America had to live 1 month behind the Iron Curtain, we certainly would know more how to appreciate the freedom that we have and enjoy in America. Now beloved, this freedom that we have in America is worth fighting for. Yes; even dying for. Many of our forefathers fought, bled, and died to give us this freedom. Are we going to sit idly by and let the Devil rob us of this freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion as many other nations have done? Well, if we do we will reap just what the other nations are reaping. They sat around unconcerned, and let the Devil and ungodly men take over their nations, and here are some of the things that they are reaping:

(1) Dictatorship: This means that one beast-natured, demon-possessed man tells all the rest what to do.

(2) It means living in fear of life itself. This will bring mental pain.

(3) It means slavery and death for all who don't agree with him.

(4) It means that there will be no real happiness or mirth, but unhappiness, lamenting, and sadness, grief, pain, and death.

(5) It means living without any knowledge of the Bible, or teaching of God, and without knowledge of the Bible and teaching of God there will be no salvation for lost humanity, and no hope of heaven in the end. All of our children will grow up to be heathen. This is the condition many of the nations of the world are in today. Why? Because the people sat idly by and wouldn't take a stand, and let sin and the Devil in a gradual process take over their nations and freedom.

Jesus warns us in Matthew 24, that all of these are the beginning of sorrows, or the beginning of dictatorships spreading, and freedom being undermined.

2. There are three foundations that men in power must lay for dictatorship of a nation:

(1) They must suppress speech. Just about all dictatorships in the past have used this method. Friends, I want to warn you, as a fellow American, as a Christian, as a servant of God, as one that loves his country and freedom, that according to newspapers and news broadcasts, muzzling of speech has already begun in America—under this present administration. If you have read your newspapers, then you know that this is true, without question. This is one of the big steps toward dictatorship. The American people that love their country and freedom, need to rise up against muzzling of speech. If we do not do it now, after awhile it may be too late. We can sleep one time too many to our own sorrow, as other nations have done.

(2) They must suppress the religion of Jesus Christ; for when people have the light of the Gospel of Christ, they can't be duped into accepting dictatorships, and demon-possessed rulers. Dictatorships in the past have used this method of suppressing the religion of Christ, or Christianity as one of the foundations for dictatorship, and the people who knew better did not rise up and take a stand against it, and now they are reaping what they have sown.

They wish now that they had done something to stop dictatorship, but now it is too late to cry. They and their children must suffer the consequences. Their life is Hell on earth, as in Russia, Red China, and all of their conquered countries that they rule.

Now, beloved, this action that our Supreme Court has taken in regards to prayer and Bible reading in the schools, is in my opinion the first big step toward suppressing religion in America, and one more step toward dictatorship. What kind of men are these anyway that we have on the Bench of our Highest Court, who dares defy God, and strike a death blow to prayer in schools? What kind of men do we have on the Bench who interpret our Constitution contrary to all of our forefathers. Surely if it was wrong to pray in our schools, some of our forefathers, as wise as some of them have been, would have known about it, and would have corrected it. My friends, I ask this question, Is this handpicked group of men wiser than all of their predecessors? And is it right for eight men to force such an ungodly ruling on the millions that do not agree with their interpretations of our Constitution? Now one more question: If nothing is done about this action they have taken, what steps will they take next against religion? This troubles me. Beloved, I feel that every charity organization, every lodge, every ministerial association, every church, every preacher, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, should file a protest to the President against this ruling, to every Congressman, every Senator, and to the Justices of the Supreme Court also. It is time to wake up. It is time to do something. It is time for the American people to take a stand for what is right, and against what is wrong. Beloved, I want to warn you there are unusual things, ungodly things taking place in these last days. There is only one hope for this poor, lost, benighted, deceived world, and that is God. Remember the warning of Jesus in the text, "all these are the beginning of sorrows"—or the beginning of mental pain, or uneasiness caused by loss. My friend, this thing is bigger than it looks to some. Let no politican, preacher, commentator or any other, minimize this ungodly stroke against religion. There will be some that will try, but don't believe them. Men are not put in office to change our Constitution, but to uphold it.

Now there are three outstanding ways in which I believe that the Supreme Court ruling will affect our beloved Nation:

1. It is a step toward making our country a heathen nation like Russia, Red China, and all other nations that do not believe in God. They don't pray in the schools either. I am sure that Mr. Khrushchev and company, rejoiced over this decision to ban prayer in our schools, for that is their method also. I am sure that if Mr. Khrushchev was here in person, he would have congratulated these eight Justices for their good work. Thank God for the one God-fearing man on the bench, the Honorable Mr. Stewart, who wouldn't take part in this disgrace brought on our Nation by the other eight.

2. In my opinion, when schools stop praying and reading the Bible, juvenile delinquency will increase, for many of our schoolchildren never hear prayer in the home, or the Bible read, and their parents don't go to church, or carry them. So, if they don't hear about God in the schools, they will grow up in heathenism and darkness. Therefore, they will have no fear of God in their heart,

for they know nothing about God; and juvenile delinquency will surely increase. This is one of the outstanding sins of our Nation today.

3. In my opinion, this ruling violates our Constitution which guarantees freedom of religion. Our Nation was founded upon the principle of religious freedom. That is our heritage—bought with blood and sacrifice by our forefathers. Therefore, according to our Constitution, any child or teacher has a perfect right to make a statement of belief and seek publically the help of his God, whom, or whatever it may be, whether in the school, or in the home and the Supreme Court nor any one else has the authority to violate this principle of freedom without an act of Congress. Our late President asked the American people to accept the Supreme Courts' decision, whether we believed it right or wrong. Personally, I do not see how he could expect red-blooded, God-fearing Americans to accept this repulsive, distasteful thing and not cry out against it. I am raising my voice against it, and all real God-fearing, red-blooded Americans should do likewise.

Now, in conclusion, I want to ask this question: If our Congress and Senate do not do something about this ungodly stroke against religion, what will happen if some group of heathen in the future, rise up and say they are offended because our God-fearing forefathers inscribed on our money "In God We Trust?" Will the Supreme Court use the judicial knife again, to please a handful of heathen? Or does it go deeper than that? Also, our national anthem states "In God We Trust." If this offends some of the heathen of our Nation will we stop singing our national anthem in public? Will we have to sing it in our homes and churches alone, or will we have to hide around and sing it?

Now let us define this word "heathen." Mr. Webster says that it means (1) an unconverted member of a people that does not acknowledge the God of the Bible; (2) a pagan, an idolater.

We have millions of such people in America. They are divided in four groups.

1. The educated heathen.
2. The uneducated heathen.
3. The heathen in authority.
4. The heathen without authority.

Now, beloved, America was born in a struggle for religious freedom. Our Constitution guaranteed us religious freedom. Our forefathers made America a God-fearing, Christian Nation. Are we going to let eight men and a few complaints from the heathen people cause us to lose that heritage? No. I don't believe that the God-fearing American people and our God-fearing Congressmen and Senators will suffer them to undo all that our forefathers fought and died for. If I lived in a country and didn't like what that country stood for, I would try to find me another country. The majority of the American people trust in the God of the Bible, the God of our fathers. Everybody trusts in something or somebody. God save America from dictatorship. God save America from communism. May the Stars and Stripes never turn red. God, grant that Old Glory will always wave over the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Now my friends, approximately 2 years ago when the Supreme Court made their first stroke against religion, by banning prayer in our schools in New York, I saw the trend and warned my radio audience, that if nothing was done about the first stroke, that in a process of time they would strike again. Well, 1 year later the second blow fell. They tell us now that it is unconstitutional to pray or read the Bible, God's eternal, inspired, infallible word in any school. But on the other hand they ruled that it was constitutional for a Communist who had been convicted for teaching the violent overthrow of our Government to sue our Government for $1 million of our taxpayers' money. May God help us all to see the trend and do something about it before it is too late. Now, my friends, if we sit idly around and fold our hands and do nothing and let the modernist, the Communists, and the leftwing element take over the reins of our Govrenment, then when the worst comes, such as dictatorship and the mark of the beast, remember God sent you a warning in this message.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, our national anthem.

Business Week Magazine Assesses Representative Martha W. Griffiths' Role in Tax Policy Research and Is Impressed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, every Member of this House has come to respect the keen mind and legislative brilliance of our colleague from Michigan, the Honorable MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS. Ever since she came to Congress I have admired her great ability in getting to the heart of any issue in committee or on the House floor. When we served together on the Committee on Banking and Currency, I always knew that if there were any loose ends in the testimony of the witnesses in our hearings, Mrs. GRIFFITHS would be certain to nail them down.

As the first woman ever to be elected to the Committee on Ways and Means, and also as the first woman to be appointed to the Joint Economic Committee, she has made the women Members of Congress particularly proud. She is an outstanding Member from every standpoint. I am proud, furthermore, that she is a native of my State of Missouri and a distinguished graduate of our State university.

The authoritative magazine Business Week on May 23 printed a profile of Mrs. GRIFFITHS which I think will be of great interest to all of her colleagues. We already know of her great ability; I am sure we will all be gratified to note that Business Week is also impressed. The article discusses Congresswoman GRIFFITHS' important new assignment as chairman of the Fiscal Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, which is undertaking a study of our tax structure. In a caption under a photograph of Mrs. GRIFFITHS, Business Week describes her as a "middle-roader who has confidence of business and labor alike." She certainly has the confidence of the House of Representatives, as well as of the voters in her district.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am indeed pleased to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent article from Business Week magazine of May 23, 1964, "Lady of the House Looks Into Taxes," as follows:

LADY OF THE HOUSE LOOKS INTO TAXES—SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LEADS BLUE-CHIP PANEL IN STUDY OF FISCAL POLICY

Only a woman, perhaps, could view the task of shaping the next round of tax reform with the comment: "It's going to be loads of fun." As newly appointed chairman of the Fiscal Policy Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress (Business Week, May 16, 1964, p. 41), Representative MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, Democrat, of Michigan, is taking a lot of hard work as well as a weighty assignment that affects every business in the country.

But the very fact that Congress is ready to think about cutting taxes again—and that the job of exploring possibilities has fallen to MARTHA GRIFFITHS—is significant. It indicates that a whole new climate for tax reform and reduction is devoloping in Washington.

WELL-SHOD INTEREST

The sparkle in Mrs. GRIFFITHS' hazel eyes, taken along with remarks such as the one about fun, might alarm many businessmen into thinking that the future of U.S. fiscal policy has been thrust into the hands of a naive, suburban housewife. They couldn't be more wrong.

This lady is all business. To her, a committee hearing is no bridge party. Mrs. GRIFFITHS comments succinctly: "I keep my shoes on."

She has been matching wits with men successfully for most of her 2 dozen years in law. Ever since she came to Congress in January 1955, she has been on businesslike committees—she served first on Banking and Currency and is now on the taxwriting Ways and Means, and the Joint Economic.

PLUNGE INTO POLITICS

Born and reared in the Missouri Ozarks, she studied at the University of Missouri, majoring in English with a minor in economics. There, she met and married Hicks G. Griffiths from Schenectady, N.Y., who passed up a chance at Harvard in favor of the University of Michigan Law School so his wife could join him in the study of law.

They moved to Detroit in 1940. When war broke out, her husband became an attorney for the Office of Price Administration, and she became a contract negotiator for the Detroit Ordnance District. During 4 years, she bought a billion or so dollars worth of trucks and jeeps—plus "all the shot and shell in Detroit."

After the war, the Griffiths plunged into politics and, after an unsuccessful bid for the State legislature in 1946, she was elected in 1950. In 1953 she was appointed to a Detroit judgeship. The next year she ran for Congress and defeated Republican Charles Oakman to become the first Democrat to be elected in a strongly Republican constituency.

MIDDLE ROADER

Her suburban Detroit district is broadly middle class, includes both white-collar and industrial workers. Thus, though she backs most liberal Democratic programs—such as health care for the aged—she tends to take a middle-of-the-road path.

This approach was at work in the long Ways and Means haggling over the 1964 Revenue Act. By nature, she cottoned to the Kennedy proposals: (1) To repeal the 4-percent dividend credit, which favors stockholders; and (2) to trim some oil industry tax benefits. But when conservatives tried to knock out both, it gave her a fine trade. Her vote for repeal of the dividend credit was the decisive 13th vote—and it came only after she won a softening of the measure plus satisfaction that the oil industry would be hit by the House bill. As she puts it: "I have 200,000 stockholders in my district, and only 2 people with oil wells."

With this background she is ready to take a tough look at tax policy—and she expects

to get some action, despite the studious nature of the nonlegislative Joint Economic Committee. The subcommittee she launched this week boasts a blue-chip membership: Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois; Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin; Senator JACOB JAVITS, Republican, of New York; House Majority Whip HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana; and Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, and WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey.

AUTOMATIC WEAPON

The subcommittee, first through staff studies and later through public hearings starting around yearend, will delve into both the revenue and the spending sides of fiscal policy—for at least 2 years, possibly 3.

Prime consideration will go to exploring the concept of repeated tax reduction as a path toward economic growth and stability. Mrs. GRIFFITHS, conscious of the Joint Economic Committee's longstanding advocacy of this weapon, notes: "It's been pointed out that the only thing wrong with the Republican tax cut of 1954 was that it wasn't repeated sooner."

Automatic tax adjustment is another area the group will focus on. This is a new approach to the "discretionary" tax power once requested by President Kennedy—and solidly rejected by Congress. Mrs. GRIFFITHS, and doubtless Congress as a whole, will remain opposed to giving this power to the President.

But, she thinks, if you can get accurate enough indicators of the effects of tax adjustments, "then Congress could cut taxes itself—automatically." To bolster this idea, she adds: "The computer gives us infinitely greater power of analysis than this committee ever had."

OTHER AREAS

Apart from income taxes, the subcommittee will look at other types of Federal revenue, such as excise taxes. Another big item on the agenda will be a study on coordination between Federal taxes and those of State and local governments, whose budgets are rising faster than most types of Federal spending. "We want to see how their revenue and spending interacts with Federal taxes and spending," says Mrs. GRIFFITHS.

However, though it may not stimulate as much interest, reform of the tax structure will get equal billing with tax reduction. In fact, the reconstitution of the Fiscal Policy Subcommittee was in large part motivated by Joint Economic Committee concern over the whole status of fiscal policy.

While the committee has for years plugged for tax reform, members were disappointed with the lack of reform measures in the Revenue Act of 1964. And they were concerned with the difficulty of getting wide acceptance for tax cuts. Says Mrs. GRIFFITHS: "Many voters didn't understand the thinking behind the tax cut."

Shortage of Coins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have been asked by the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], in his capacity as chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, to place in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of correspondence between Senator ROBERTSON and Mr. George L. Clements, president of the Jewel Tea Co., of Chicago, Ill. This correspondence relates to the minting of coins and the domestic shortage for certain fiscal years.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], that the correspondence to which I refer be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWEL TEA CO., INC.,
Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Appropriations, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The coin shortage is growing so severe at this time of year when normally the usage of coin is at its seasonal low ebb that those of us in the retail business are becoming extremely apprehensive as to what the situation will be this fall and winter when the seasonal demands are at maximum.

Currently, we cannot obtain enough pennies and quarters to supply our stores. We are regularly shorting our stores 75 percent of their needs for pennies and 50 percent of their needs for quarters. For the months of March, April, and May, so far, we have shorted our stores a total of 3,862,000 pieces of coin. Consequently, I have today ordered our company to begin printing paper scrip for use in making change in our stores where needed.

The cost to our company for the effort to obtain coin is almost impossible to calculate, but the extra cost of armored car services, express charges, and special handling runs into a high premium ranging from 4 to 7 percent of the value of the coin. Printing and handling costs of paper scrip will add to these costs.

We are now at a point in our operations where the housewives are being inconvenienced and to explain the problem to them we have posted signs in our stores, sent out letters to all of our employees, and regularly print stories in our publications on the great need to bring in coin and on the conservation of coin.

Not only have our normal sources of coin dried up to the vanishing point but most of our occasional sources of coin are disappearing. Thus, we are at a crisis point in our operations which cannot wait until the new mint is completed in 1967 to be resolved. Emergency action of the following nature is required:

1. Cancel the present plan for the annual close down of the mints this summer. Pay the employees for their vacations and keep the mints in operation until the emergency is past.

2. Approve a supplemental appropriation to permit working the Philadelphia Mint around the clock 7 days a week and also to authorize and provide the funds to contract out to private industry the preparation of the metal strips from which blanks are punched and made into coins.

3. Approve an increase in the budget to operate the mint in the next fiscal year beginning July 1, 1964. I understand that the House has approved an increase of $1.9 million but that your committee has not as yet acted on this bill.

4. Finally, Congress should authorize an investigation of the operation of the mint to determine what its needs are to assure keeping ahead of the country requirements as to coin production. One cannot help but believe that an inadequate job of planning for the future has been done to permit the present crisis to occur.

Your help on a program of this type is urgently solicited.

Respectfully yours,

G. L. CLEMENTS.

JUNE 8, 1964.

Mr. GEORGE L. CLEMENTS,
President, Jewel Tea Co., Inc.,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. CLEMENTS: Thank you for your letter of June 1, 1964, in which you outline the difficulties which your company has encountered in connection with the shortage of coins. It is very helpful to this committee to receive current information of this nature.

Your letter lists certain emergency actions which should be taken because of the coin shortage, and requests our assistance in a program of this nature. Mint officials appeared before this committee on May 26, 1964, regarding coinage problems and related matters, and I am pleased to present the following information regarding your suggestions, in the order listed:

1. The mint is required by law to have a "yearly settlement of accounts"—title 31, United States Code, section 354. For many years, this operation has been accomplished at the end of the fiscal year, and since it involves a full settlement of all coins, clippings, and other bullion operated upon during the year, it is necessary that operations be discontinued long enough to account for all of the materials. I understand this is also standard practice throughout the precious metals industries.

Normally the mint has been closing down for approximately 4 weeks during the month of June in connection with the annual settlement, and for necessary equipment repairs and maintenance. This year, because of the very critical coin shortage, I am informed that coinage operations will be discontinued for 7 working days only, from June 22 to June 30, even though this seriously retards the equipment maintenance program.

2. A supplemental appropriation was requested by the mint for overtime operations through the end of the current fiscal year. Although this supplemental appropriation was delayed, arrangements were made to divert funds from another source for overtime operations in the mints. This action has permitted employment of overtime operations at both mints, increasing production by approximately 21 million coins per week.

Mint officials informed the committee that a policy was adopted in September 1963 of purchasing rolled nickel strip, ready for blanking, from private industry for production of all 5-cent coins. This permits the mint to use all of its melting and rolling capacity for silver and bronze coins only, greatly increasing the output of all denominations. Although this expedient will cost the taxpayers about $737,000 more in fiscal 1964 than if all operations were performed in the mint, it probably will be necessary to continue this practice until the new Philadelphia Mint is in operation. Careful consideration is now being given to the benefits that would result from purchasing metal in other forms for coinage, to obtain even greater production increases.

3. The mint has requested a much larger budget for fiscal 1965, providing for multiple shift operations at both mints, with extensive overtime operations, throughout most of the year. Approximately 5 billion coins are planned for fiscal 1965, as compared with about 4.2 billion in fiscal 1964. This request is pending before the Senate.

Construction of a minor addition to the Denver Mint, already underway, will substantially increase production at that plant. The addition should be completed late this fall.

4. An extensive survey was recently made of problems related to coinage requirements. Arthur D. Little, Inc., a private management engineering consulting firm, was employed by the Bureau of the Budget to study coinage requirements over the next 25 years, and to determine if minting facilities are capable of turning out the coins needed in future years. You may be interested in the survey report which is reproduced in the attached record of a Senate hearing—see pages 45 through 153 of the enclosed document, "Additional Mint Facilities."

The Treasury Department submitted proposed legislation to the Congress, following submission of the survey report, requesting authority to build a new mint in Philadelphia to replace the present mint in that city. The required legislation was enacted as Public Law 88–102, approved August 20, 1963, and funds were next requested for the new mint. This request has been approved by the House of Representatives, and is now under consideration before the Senate. It is expected that the amount approved by the House will be approved by the Senate.

I am sure that you will be interested to know that the mint has established a new production record for domestic coinage in each of the past 3 fiscal years, 1961, 1962, and 1963. Still greater records will be established during the next 2 fiscal years, 1964, and 1965. A comparison of coinage production over a 10-year period is shown in the following table:

Domestic coinage by fiscal years

[In millions]

1955	937
1956	1,414
1957	1,900
1958	2,010
1959	1,571
1960	2,567
1961	3,059
1962	3,461
1963	3,627
1964 (estimate)	4,200

As previously mentioned, the mint is expecting to produce at least 5 billion domestic coins during the fiscal year 1965. It is expected that the productive capacity of the new Philadelphia Mint, together with that of the expanded Denver Mint, will produce all of the coins required for the Nation's economy.

The Senate committee is very interested in the problems of the mint, and is pleased to receive suggestions such as you have presented. I trust that the above provides the information which you requested on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Departments of Treasury and Post Office and Executive Office.

Arthur Hoppe's Columns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Arthur Hoppe, in his inimitable satirical manner, has commented on many of the public questions arising out of the recent primaries and upon his visit to Washington. Four of his columns which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle follow:

BE POPULAR, BE PRESIDENT

(By Arthur Hoppe)

EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON

The reason I am going to Washington is to get to know our President better. It is the duty of every good citizen to get to know his President. And these days it's very easy.

I plan to just hang around the White House gate with the other tourists until Mr. Johnson comes out to show us around the spread or, failing that, I can always hire a couple of grubby urchins to pose as my offspring and attend one of his 17 daily press conferences.

Besides, think how I've felt all these months being the only ace newsman in the country whom Mr. Johnson hasn't given a ride in his car, a private high-level chat, or even a souvenir five-gallon hat. Why, I've hardly been able to hold my head up at the Press Club bar. And then, when I get to know Mr. Johnson better, I can write one of those deep, analytical pieces all of us ace newsmen have been writing lately entitled: "What Lies Behind Our President's Amazing Popularity."

Actually, of course, we ace newsmen have been writing such pieces for as long as I can remember. No matter who's President. And I think they're mostly true. For if there's one thing you can say about a President, it's that most people like them.

Take Mr. F. D. Roosevelt, a real patrician. "Isn't he brilliant and he talks so good," people said admiringly. "Boy, what a high-class President." Then along comes Mr. Truman, the hot-tempered haberdasher. "He just shows that anybody can be President," the people say fondly. "Give em hell, Harry."

Next it's fatherly Mr. Eisenhower who, like most fathers, doesn't get much done around the house. "Isn't it wonderful," people say gratefully, "to have a calm, kindly, perfect President like that?" So then it's Mr. Kennedy, who's exactly the opposite * * * but you see what I mean. It doesn't matter what qualities you have, people will love you for them. As long as you're President.

Consequently, just in case he succeeds in capturing the White House, I'm working on a deep, analytical piece entitled: "What lies behind the amazing popularity of our President, Mr. Lenny Bruce." Excerpts follow:

"There can be no question that President Bruce touched a deep chord in Main Street, U.S.A., today when he took the oath of office using a four-letter oath. While many may disagree with part or all of the hard-hitting program he set forth to abolish religion, teach free love, and distribute heroin to the poor, few could conceal their admiration for Mr. Bruce personally.

"During the course of his final sentence of summation, in which he used 62 scatological expletives, the majority in the crowd grinned, shook their heads and cried, 'That's our Lenny.' It is undoubtedly the earthy quality of the new President."

Well, I think it's nice the way we like our Presidents. Whatever they may be. But I do worry about the danger of overdoing it. Who knows? We could wind up trusting them. And there goes democracy. For along comes a devious, smooth-talking, power-mad, outwardly likable egomaniac.

Heavens. I'm certainly not referring to Mr. Johnson. As I say, I don't even know the man.

POVERTY IS ALWAYS WITH US

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—I love Washington. You can't keep visiting our Nation's Capital without eventually feeling an overwhelming assurance that our system of Government will long endure. By hook or by crook.

Take, for example, my favorite Government agency, the Domestic Peace Corps. For more than a year, the corps' small band of dedicated men and women waged a relentless war on domestic poverty. Mostly their own. As Congress never did approve their existence, they couldn't get funds. So they borrowed personnel from other agencies, scrounged desks, stole paper clips, and ensconced themselves in the dilapidated offices of a rickety three-story brick building a half block from the White House.

I loved that agency. I really did. It wasn't so much that it was working hard for a worthy cause. It was that its very existence tended to substantiate the feeling you get here in Washington—the feeling that our Government would somehow keep right on rolling along as always, even if we never gave it another nickel.

So imagine the terrible feeling of insecurity it gave me to stroll by that rickety building 3 months ago and discover it was being demolished by a wrecker's ball. I immediately called up a friend in the Corps. "Poverty," he said grimly, "has wiped us out."

"Oh, no," I cried. "Yes," he said. "We've been incorporated into President Johnson's war on poverty program under Mr. Shriver. So we're now in the big Peace Corps building up the street. It's still mostly Peace Corps. But there are pockets of poverty on practically every floor."

And, sure enough, as you wandered through the corridors, people would say, "Are you looking for peace or poverty?" And here and there you'd come across little offices with a hand-printed sign on the door saying "Poverty Committee." It gave you a secure feeling.

Then Mr. Shriver wiped out these pockets of poverty. This he did by taking over the old Court of Claims, a huge Victorian pile with 48-foot-high ceilings just across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. There, the "people in poverty," as they are called, gamely struggled on. What spirit.

Naturally, one of the first things I did on arriving in Washington this time was to drop in on poverty. Only to find the door padlocked and a notice saying, "no trespassing—danger." I put in a worried call to my friend. "Oh," he said, "we're in the emergency hospital."

And they were. The old Court of Claims Building was condemned 2 weeks ago so the poverty moved two blocks down the street to what was once "the Central Dispensary and Emergency Hospital," as the letters carved in its stone facade attest. I finally found poverty in several suites of modern offices on the second floor.

"Talk about the plight of migrant workers," said a pleasant young gentleman. "Actually this place is a bit too decent for our image. But it's good to think that at last poverty has found a home.

"Of course, Congress hasn't approved our program yet, so we can't get official funds. But we've managed to borrow personnel and scrounge these desks and swipe enough paper clips to keep going and * * *."

So you see what I mean. Our system of Government will, indeed, endure. And I doubt there's a thing we can do about it.

PAY TRIBUTE TO L.B.J.—ON E–Z TERMS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—I think it's heart stirring the way 7,000 Government workers turned out for a gala the other night to pay tribute to President Johnson. Considering they had to pay $100 in tribute apiece.

As you know, these tribute-paying galas are very traditional in Washington. The incumbent President, whoever he is, has gone way in the hole getting elected. Or he plans to toss away money hand over fist to get reelected. So the party chairman says grimly to the national committee: "Gentle-

men, due to the profligacy of our wastrel President, we are in dire financial straits. There is only one thing to do. We must throw a great big party in his honor."

The call goes out to the party's members in all the Government agencies to buy $100 tickets and demonstrate their unity. Which they do by groaning equally loudly.

In the event you might like to know how these happy party-goers feel, I attended Mr. Johnson's gala with a young gentleman whose name and agency I won't reveal. Because he likes his work. And I can't tell you how happy he was to be going to a party. That I can't.

"Boy, they really had it organized this year," he said, as we were driving over to the National Armory for the fun-filled festivities. 'I'm pretty low echelon and they never hit me up before. But this time, the guy who is the bagman for our building comes in with a list and says, 'How'd you like to pay tribute to our beloved President? In one lump? Or $25 down and the rest in easy payments?'

"So I said I had an engagement with a gorgeous blond but I would much prefer to go sit on a hard chair in the armory for 3 hours. If I knew what was good for me. Actually, what I should've done was call Eliot Ness. I understand," he concluded gloomily as we drove up in front, "that tickets to this thing have fallen into the hands of unscrupulous scalpers. They're getting 50 cents each."

We joined the gay, mad throng, all wearing their best clothes and rather painted expressions, and filed into the armory, which looks like an armory. Inside, the place was all gussied up with red, white, and blue bunting, balloons, banners, and a huge heart saying: "U.S.A. loves L.B.J."

You would have loved the entertainment, if you would like watching the Ed Sullivan show for 3 hours. The high point came when everybody—well, some people—joined in singing, "Once in love with Lyndon, always in love with Lyndon * * *." And ending: "Cause Lyndon's always been in love with us." But my friend said he couldn't sing because he was too choked up.

The party ended with a speech by the Democratic national chairman, Mr. John Bailey, who said, "Thanks a million." Which I calculated was a $300,000 exaggeration. And a speech by Mr. Johnson himself, who said it sure had been "a wonderful party." Everybody then demonstrated their love for their leader by applauding. Very politely.

Well, it certainly isn't Mr. Johnson's fault. Every President, I suppose, has to be the leader of his Nation and also of his party. But these two incompatible roles do tend to make people a little schizophrenic. Or, as my friend put it on the way out: "Whenever our beloved President passes by, I never know whether to put my hand over my heart or over my wallet."

THE LATEST TREND IN POLITICAL MACHINES

(By Arthur Hoppe)

The trend was first noticed in the 1964 California primaries when CBS conceded victory to Mr. GOLDWATER 38 minutes before all the polls had closed.

An event, however, that went unrecorded at the time was the case of Mr. Sabatini R. Flanagan of San Francisco, who had planned to stop off to vote for Mr. Rockefeller on his way home from work. On hearing of Mr. GOLDWATER's victory, he sighed, said, "What the hell," and headed for his favorite tavern.

The coup by CBS created havoc in the other networks. In a brilliant counterstroke that November, ABC elected Mr. Lyndon Johnson to the Presidency 17 minutes before any of the polls closed. Due to the time difference, this gave 16.2 million die-hard Republicans on the west coast more than 3 hours in which not to bother voting.

It was not until 1968 that NBC, armed with its new $12.4 billion Tictac II computer, took the next stride forward: by announcing the new President before any of the polls opened. This smashing breakthrough, of course, led to abolishing voting.

Such a bold reform was not accomplished overnight. Sentiment dies hard. And for several years a few voters here and there faithfully continued to turn up at the polls to cast their meaningless ballots in a nostalgic gesture to yesteryear.

But this cost money. Ballots had to be printed, polling places maintained and records kept. Thus, by 1972, hardly a dissenting voice was raised against the 44th amendment, which did away with this anachronistic practice forever.

And what an air of excitement the new method created on election morning of 1976. Every civic-minded citizen dutifully marched to his television set to discover whom a democratic majority of the computers had declared the new President—all on the Democratic principle of whom a majority of the people would have voted for. If there had been any reason to vote.

The reforms might have ended there if CBS hadn't again stolen a march on its competitors by computing what the other computers would compute. And thereby announcing the winner on election eve. ABC struck back with improvements on this system and was thus able in the next off-year race to concede defeat in behalf of all losers before the campaign began.

But it was again NBC, in the important elections of 1980, which scored the advance so vital to our society today: the ability to analyze all possible issues and discernible trends by May 15 and thereby select the new President before either party nominated a candidate.

Thus, friends, in the short span of 20 years, thanks to the swift advance of our computer technology, we have been able to eliminate costly voting procedures, arduous political campaigns, long-winded candidates and the hectic nominating conventions. All of which took up so much valuable television time.

And so it is, ladies and gentlemen, that we are gathered here in the White House in this historic year of 1984 to pay tribute to the new President of these United States—the Jimcrac 707–B.

Would you care at this time to spin a few tapes for us on your video readout, Mr. President?

The Moon Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on June 3, the Lafayette, Ind., Journal-Courier, published an editorial entitled, "Moon Program Zooms." After commenting on recent developments in our plans, and what we know of those of the Russians, for landing a man on the moon, the editorial concludes that while a "crash program to be first" is not justified, we need to continue solidly step by step. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lafayette (Ind.) Journal-Courier, June 3, 1964]

MOON PROGRAM ZOOMS

Those who believe that our manned lunar space program ought to be slowed down have become increasingly bold in advancing this point of view. Congressional hesitation to be as generous as in the past also reflects a feeling that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration may be in too much of a hurry to land a man on the moon.

Recent developments have taken some of the wind from the sails of those advocating a slowdown. Only a day after the Critical Issues Council publicly urged that the idea of reaching the moon in this decade be dropped, the giant Saturn I booster rocket hurtled an unmanned model of the lunar spacecraft into orbit. This was the Saturn I's sixth successful flight test. Placing the Apollo capsule in orbit greatly heightened NASA confidence that a moon landing can be made by 1970.

Also important, though at this stage rather tenuous, are the indications that Russia may not have withdrawn from the moon race after all. It will be recalled that Premier Khrushchev ostentatiously claimed the U.S.S.R. was not interested in such a race. Since then there have been contradictory statements. Now the United States has information suggesting rather strongly that the Russians are developing a mighty rocket comparable to our Saturn I.

If this proves to be true, it can fairly be concluded that the Soviet Union is still determined to send a manned expedition to the moon. This in itself would not justify a U.S. crash program to be first. It does suggest that we had better proceed at full steam in our present effort, which is not a crash program but a step-by-step progression which has thus far been remarkably successful.

Massachusetts Committee, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, a truly great organization, dedicated to extending areas of agreement, and reducing tensions, emotions, and bigotry is the Massachusetts Committee, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

The members of this organization are outstanding men in all walks of human activity, who are daily waging the fight for good and against evil.

Each year this committee conducts a banquet with at least 1,200 persons in attendance at which citations of merit are awarded to three persons of different religious beliefs.

The banquet this year held on May 14, 1964, at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Boston, Mass., was dedicated to the memory of our late beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. The citation of merit from this committee is an outstanding recognition for anyone to receive.

The dinner this year was the 27th annual good-will dinner conducted by this organization of men of good will.

The recipients of the citations this year were Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward G. Murray, D.D., pastor, Sacred Heart Church, Roslindale, Mass., and president of the trustees of the Boston Public Library; Sidney R. Rabb, chairman of the board, Stop & Shop, Inc.; and Theodore C. Sorenson, special counsel to our late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston, presented the citations to Sidney R. Rabb; Mr. Ralph Lowell to Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward G. Murray, D.D.; and Dr. Abram L. Sachar, president of Brandeis University to Theodore C. Sorenson.

I herewith include the remarks made by the toastmaster, Mr. Edward B. Hanify; a report made by Ben G. Shapiro, secretary, and one of the original founders of the committee; introductory remarks made by Chairman Oscar W. Haussermann; addressed delivered by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward G. Murray, D.D., by Theodore C. Sorenson, Sidney R. Rabb, recipients of the citations; remarks made by Mr. Norman Knight; and a telegram from U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

The constructive actions of this committee should be an inspiration for dedicated men in other sections of our country to evaluate and to follow:

THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS CORDIALLY INVITES YOU TO ATTEND ITS 27TH ANNUAL DINNER, THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 14, 1964, AT 6:30 O'CLOCK, THE STATLER HILTON, BOSTON

(Citations will be presented to Rt. Rev. Edward G. Murray, D.D., pastor, Sacred Heart Church, Roslindale, and president of the trustees, Boston Public Library; Sidney R. Rabb, chairman of the board, Stop & Shop, Inc.; Theodore C. Sorensen, special counsel to our late President John F. Kennedy)

THE DINNER THIS YEAR WILL BE DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF OUR LATE BELOVED PRESIDENT AND FELLOW BOSTONIAN, JOHN F. KENNEDY

(Toastmaster: Edward B. Hanify.)

(Dress informal.)

(H. D. Hodgkinson: general chairman.)

For 27 years, leaders in the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths have worked together as the Massachusetts Committee, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, to improve group relations.

Among its many other activities, this committee has cooperated with the: Good Citizenship Program of the Boston Park Department, Tufts University Civil Education project, Brandeis University Three Chapels program, Human Relations Center at Boston University Massachusetts Department of Education. And, in addition, the committee has distributed many thousands of copies of educational material to schoolteachers and heads of educational institutions throughout the United States.

Our 13th annual junior good will dinner, bringing together boys of the Boston public and parochial schools, held at Fenway Park, Boston, on January 29, created favorable comment by leaders in human relations throughout the country.

Our general aims and purposes: to sponsor good will work in the general community of Greater Boston; to serve as a medium through representative citizens can endorse the basic democratic principle of good will among men of different faiths and different racial origins; to bring out and emphasize the many fine things which citizens of different faiths have in common; and to encourage and support those forces in the community which generate in the individual a respect for the validity and dignity of each other individual's particular religious faith, with no qualifications or reservations based upon racial origins.

This committee is a separate, independent association, not connected with any other local or national organization.

The committee appreciates the support of all who have made this work possible in the community. We operate without hired quarters or paid help and with funds derived solely from voluntary contributions by our many friends. To the newspapers, radio, and television who have carried our message of good will to millions of people, we are deeply indebted.

Our annual dinners are dedicated to that ever-widening circle of representative citizens who believe in and respect the rights and the dignity of the individual. They are true exemplars of the concept of brotherhood—their lives are eloquent testimonials to the greatness of our democracy.

REMARKS BY TOASTMASTER EDWARD B. HANIFY

As this 27th annual dinner of the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics Protestants, and Jews reaches its climatic hour, I pause on behalf of the 1,200 people assembled in this ballroom to welcome our fellow citizens of the television audience to our midst.

We hold no grandiose or exaggerated views either of the significance of this dinner, or of the accomplishments of our committee. We offer no panaceas that will readily solve the problems associated with the establishment of justice for all Americans. We can and do make a modest contribution to the spirit and temper with which our society strives to solve those problems—and that contribution is on the side of amity and understanding, not hatred and distrust.

You may say such a contribution is a vague imponderable, the merest platitude. But here I beg you pause. I recall that in 1947 we marked the observance in a similar banquet hall of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. On that occasion Judge Learned Hand, of New York, made a memorable address. He had discussed the role of the judiciary in preserving the fundamental principles of equity and fairplay which our Constitution enshrines, and then turned to a consideration of the future fate of those principles. His word summarize our purpose tonight:

"What will be left of those principles (of justice)? I do not know whether they will serve only as counsels; but this much I think I do know—that a society so riven that the spirit of moderation is gone, no court can save; that a society where that spirit flourishes, no court need save; that in a society which evades its responsibility by thrusting upon courts the nurture of that spirit, that spirit in the end will perish. What is the spirit of moderation? It is the temper which does not press partisan advantage to the bitter end, which can understand and will respect the other side, which feels a unity between all citizens—real and not the factitious product of propaganda—which recognizes their common fate and their common aspirations—in a word, which has faith in the sacredness of the individual. Men must take that temper and that faith with them into the field, into the marketplace, into the factory, into the council room, into their homes; they cannot be imposed; they must be lived. Words will not express them; arguments will not clarify them; decisions will not maintain them. They are the fruit of the wisdom that comes of trial and a pure heart."

The spirit of moderation and faith in the sacredness of the individual as a creature of God—that spirit and that faith—we are striving, in Judge Hand's words, to bring to marketplace, to factory, to council room and to home—merely this and nothing more.

In doing so we dedicate our effort to the memory of our neighbor and friend the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy who carried that spirit and faith to the White House, demonstrating, by the fact of his election, that they could prevail in America over barriers of prejudice previously deemed insurmountable; and who died as he launched a legislative program designed to give them new practical meaning for millions of his fellow citizens.

In doing so we honor tonight those whose lives have exemplified the spirit and faith which can yet save our riven society.

A REPORT BY BEN G. SHAPIRO, SECRETARY, MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS, ANNUAL DINNER, MAY 14, 1964

Your eminence, Cardinal Cushing, Bishop Burgess, Rabbi Gittelsohn, gentlemen of the clergy, Governor Peabody, Mayor Collins, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman, I am very proud that our Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews dedicates the 27th annual dinner tonight to John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was an honorary member of our committee for many years. There is always a need in an organization such as ours to draw new strength from old ideals; new fervor out of old convictions; new dedication out of experiences of the past. In the life and deeds of our late President, I suggest that all of us present and all citizens of our Commonwealth pause and renew ourselves to the ideals of human respect, and understanding, and love for one another. We speak of the great virtues of faith, hope, and charity, and wise men have told us the greatest of all of these is charity. And we know the definition of charity is love.

Love of our fellow man—our neighbor, our employer or employee, our fellow workers—is truly based on knowledge and respect. And respect is derived from a commitment to the basic philosophy phrased in the Constitution of our beloved country. In the 52 words of the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States we have the powerful reminder of what our Massachusetts committee strives to do.

"In order to form a more perfect union. * * * Establish justice. * * * Insure domestic tranquility.

These golden words are woven through the aims and aspirations of the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. Who among us does not strive for a more perfect order of life? We know from personal experience that we rise and we fall, but as we fall we rise again, and as we preserve, please God, we advance another step along the way to true brotherhood among all men.

Who among us does not thirst and hunger for the sake of justice—justice for all men, regardless of their economic condition; the origins of their forebears; the manner in which they pray to their God; the color of their skin?

We here tonight seek and yearn for domestic tranquility.

For the past 27 years we have met at this table; we have broken bread together. We come with one motivation—that while we may disagree on what we think of the Red Sox, the central artery, the MTA, urban renewal, the problems of the schools—that we are an agreeable people. We are people who give our time and talents in destroying the evils of bigotry; in abhoring to the very marrow of our bones the seeds and sins of hatred. We stand together in glorifying our respect for one human being toward another.

Since 1937 the committee has accomplished many things. We are in the debt of the newspapers, radio and television, and ad-

vertising media in reporting the progress that we, as an organization, have made.

We take pride in our efforts with the good citizenship program of the Boston Park Department; the funds we provide for the three chapels program at Brandeis University; the training and experience we provide to men and women of varied experiences and background in the field of human relations at Boston University, and the aid to graduate fellows at that institution.

At Tufts University, we are proud of the contributions we have made to the growth of the Lincoln Filene Center for citizenship and public affairs. The Lincoln Filene Center serves as a clearinghouse and service medium for the youth citizenship project of nine of Northeastern States of our country.

The annual goodwill dinners for youths of public and parochial schools are a source of deep and abiding satisfaction, and they are now in their 14th year.

Among our guests tonight are representative young men and women from colleges and universities in the metropolitan area. These young men and women, we feel sure, will follow in the footsteps of some 1,500 students who have broken bread with us in the past years, and who are pursuing the ideals of brotherhood.

Our committee does not look with smugness on the deeds of the past. We constantly strive to improve, to advance, to seek new frontiers of service. At this time, I wish to congratulate Boston College on its proposed institute of human relations, where it envisages a bold, new approach to a whole series of contemporary social problems—problems that cut across all lines of race, religion, or tradition. It is our sincere hope that we will be able to cooperate with this wonderful project of Boston College.

I now have not the form of duty—but the substance of desire—to extend my thanks, my warmest and sincere thanks to all of you who have supported the valuable work of the Massachusett's Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. My thanks to you scales the heights of mountains, and I hope my words can express the real fullness of a grateful heart.

Finally, I want to conclude my remarks in announcing that our committee is making a contribution of $8,000 to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library, wherein will be deposited in ink and film the wealth of his wisdom, his warmth for humanity. Among all the treasures and memories of this great man will be some favorite words that appear on our billboard tonight. I wish to repeat them now:

"This Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free."

These words make us think. Thank you.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF CHAIRMAN OSCAR W. HAUSSERMANN, AT THE 27TH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS, MAY 14, 1964

Reverend clergy; Your Excellency, Governor Peabody; Your Honor, Mayor Collins; distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen, this meeting will please come to order. As our notices pointed out, this 27th annual good will dinner of our Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews is dedicated to the memory of our late President, John F. Kennedy. This, I'm sure you'll all agree, is as it should be. President Kennedy was always a friend of our organization and we in turn, in our nonprofessional way, have always supported his efforts to lessen group prejudicies and to assure equal civic rights for all our citizens regardless of race or creed.

I say "in our nonprofessional way" because of the fact that we work nonprofessionally, without the help of paid experts and without hired quarters, using a goodly portion of our funds to help real professionals carry on the good will work which we are not organized to do directly. For some time we've made annual grants to the Civic Education Center of Tufts, to the Human Relations Center of Boston University, and to Brandeis to help it, in a modest way, to finance the expenses of its three chapels setup.

Of course, we do some things directly. Each year at the Fenway Park clubhouse, with the gracious assistance of the Red Sox management, we stage a junior good-will dinner for some 150 boys sent to us by our parochial and public high schools. Our records show that about 2,000 young men have attended these affairs over the past 13 years. We also stage each year, in cooperation with the mayor and the park department of the city of Boston, a luncheon for the youngsters who have won "Citizen of the Year" awards for exemplary conduct on our public playgrounds. We have reason to believe that our assemblying of young people of different faiths and racial orgins at these friendly gatherings is sowing good seed on good soil.

Tonight, as in the past, the hard-working souls who comprise our time-conscious dinner committee have gently left me to infer that I am not to enroach on fields left to our distinguished guests of honor but to confine myself to the business of presenting to you your toastmaster. This I shall now do. The gentleman is my friend Edward B. Hanify.

As most of you know, Ed is a graduate of Holy Cross College and of the Harvard Law School and the past president of the National Alumni Association of Holy Cross and the present president of this town's brilliant bund of poets, orators and wits, the sui generis Clover Club of Boston, which has never invited an O'Haussermann to any of its frolics. "Who's Who" tells me he's a director of a number of obscure corporations such as American Telephone & Telegraph, the John Hancock Life Insurance Co., Boston Edison, State Street Bank & Trust Co., and the Boston Herald-Traveler Corp.

His pro bono publico activities cover the waterfront. In addition to being a valued member of our committee, he is a life trustee of Tufts, chairman of the Holy Cross Board of Advisory Trustees, chairman of the executive committee of the National Catholic Community Service, vice president, of U.S.O., past chairman of a Greater Boston Community Fund campaign, past president of the Boston Dispensary, et cetera, et cetera. Recently he was made an officer and a trustee of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Memorial Library. I note with envy and admiration that the academic scalps at his belt include at least five well-deserved and impressive honorary degrees.

Early this year, in Hoosier verse, I summed him up as a scholar, a modern Demosthenes and an enlightened laborer in the vineyard of the Lord.

Ladies and gentlemen, your toastmaster, Mr. Edward B. Hanify.

REMARKS BY RT. REV. MSGR. EDWARD G. MURRAY, D.D.

It is certainly a moving experience to receive this citation and I offer my humble thanks. It is the more moving that we are met tonight in commemoration of a son of Massachusetts who in his few years lived a long life and the grief of whose passing will be surpassed in our hearts only by the sturdiness of his memory.

I cherish the memory of the then Senator Kennedy sitting on this very dais many times over the years. He was aware as are we all here tonight of the religious pluralism of our society. He was intent however that our differences should not be divisive. More than most he was conscious of the tremendous dynamic of the good will latent in all our divergencies. What force could never bring about would come to pass when it became the free consensus of men who turned to a Being higher than themselves, "Not by might, not by power but by my spirit, saith the Lord."

More than any of the leaders of his time President Kennedy undertook to assess the power of the ideas whose time had come. He saw his duty to marshal support for the causes which needed the elan of leadership before the world would accept them. In this realm of ideas it was uniquely he, who was, in a phrase he coined for another, "the great captain of the West."

From him we can learn that there is a virtue in good citizenship and in honorable public life that the common good demands and yet which we cannot take for granted. It demands a commitment and a great price from all of us.

More than any other political society Rome in the days of the Republic is the mirror image of our own society. In that Rome the field both of duty and of honor was politics. To be a good man or a great man was to be a patriotic man. The city on the Tiber was always menaced by external dangers. It survived because the best brains, the strongest characters were always at the disposition of the state. The Roman of the Republic found in the disinterested service of the state his chief fulfillment. When a lesser standard of values gained acceptance, then not only did lesser men come to leadership, but the very life of the state came into jeopardy.

As we are met tonight, citizens of a great Commonwealth whose past stands beyond need of praise, we do well to remember that civic virtue is the bulwark of civic greatness. When such virtue came into dishonor eternal Rome found itself prey to all the stresses by which all other political societies have come to the scrap heap of history. We believe, we pray, that our society is still set aside for greater things—a city set on a hill for all to see. In the words of Boston's motto, "May God be with us as He was with our fathers."

The late President spoke for man. He addressed himself to the moral conscience of the world community in a nuclear age. He led men to their duties with eloquence—he reminded men of their rights as an impassioned tribune of the people. You and I must on our several occasions continue to speak for man. This becomes the more possible and the more exigent as in our day a new clean wind of doctrine has begun to blow through the religious thought of our Western World.

It has made possible for Christians to see again the great vision of their reunited church. In their clearer concept of themselves as the people of God, they find new identification with the people of Israel with whom first the covenant was made.

We have in other words learned to love one another in terms of a common heritage while we respect the differences which separate us in belief and worship.

We recognize that the spirit of mutual love within which we can become better known one to another is an imperative both of civic and religious conscience.

Our society has a strong commitment to the future. Over our National Archives is inscribed the phrase, "The past is prologue."

Of all the hopes for the years ahead we must make choice, giving to them a scale of values so that necessarily we place first things first. Tonight there can be no hope more meaningful than that we truly live together as the family of men.

No other culture has been given the opportunity which is ours to grasp.

We are not of one race.

We are not of identical religious faith.

Are we not by this fact given the opportunity rather to live by the best of our common insights into the nature of man, and his destiny? Does any of us doubt that this is

the great prospect for the future, that only now have we escaped enough from our history to begin the adventure together?

The shape of things to come we do not know. Life gives us no landmarks for the years ahead—yet since, as Nazzini says, "Life is a mission, and every existence is an aim," we cannot be our best selves unless we bend to that portion of the common task which is ours to fulfill. We know our limitations in this work.

But it is work together—

It is work with a sense of the unity of the human family.

It is work which is purposeful, even though its final fulfillment lies beyond space and time.

It is God's work which He asks man to initiate and to carry on until in the day of the Lord it is completed.

It is by living for that future in every present moment that we can best qualify ourselves as members both of the city of man and the city of God. We shall be conscious always of our lack of wholeness, but we can do each day some tasks that will build toward integrity, as we come nearer to Him who alone can heal us—the true and living God.

We best approach Him as each day we do that best portion of a good man's life—"his little nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love."

Again my gratitude to the Massachusetts Committee of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews for this recognition and to my superior, Cardinal Cushing, so kindly present tonight, for his encouragement which has made greater whatever small contribution I may have made to our common goal—the brotherhood of man in the fatherhood of God.

REMARKS OF THEODORE C. SORENSEN, MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS, MAY 14, 1964

With a deep-felt sense of honor and obligation I accept your generous citation.

I accept it in the memory of John Kennedy—who did more than any other man to burst the bonds of racial and religious intolerance.

I accept it on behalf of all those on the Kennedy team, in the White House, in the Cabinet, and in the Congress who worked with him, and who are working now, to fulfill his dream of a fair chance for all.

And, finally, I accept this award as a means of paying my respects to the dauntless efforts of countless Americans, in every State, and of every race and creed, who have labored long and hard for brotherhood without awards or rewards of any kind save the inner satisfaction of seeing grievious wrongs set right.

I know that you honor me tonight not for my achievements but for my associaton—and I am in no way less proud for that reason. For John Fitzgerald Kennedy taught us all to be proud. He gave politicians new pride in their profession, intellectuals new pride in their intellect, and all Americans new pride in their country.

Since that unbelievable, unforgettable day of last November, many Americans have pondered the meaning of his death. But I would stress tonight the lesson of his life.

Some may say that the life of John Kennedy proves only that great wealth assists or even assures great success. But history records many men as richly endowed at their birth, but few so richly honored at their death.

Others may say that his success merely illustrates the uneven operations of fate and fortune which chanced to favor him, until last November, with extraordinary luck in war and marriage, in politics and public events. Yet no man who knew the series of family tragedies that he carried next to his heart, or the piercing physical pain that he bore through most of his life, or the dogged determination with which he fought to implement his ideals against all kinds of pressures and pressure groups, would ever envy the Kennedy luck.

Whatever these differences, clearly one of the most enduring principles which the life of John Kennedy illustrated—and to which that life was dedicated—is the same self-evident truth that draws us together tonight: the principle that no artificial barrier of race or religion should bar any American from contributing his utmost to his country.

In his effort to achieve an office which no other member of his faith had ever achieved, and in his effort to move this Nation to heights of human rights which no other President had ever ascended, John Kennedy was asking us to consider the circumstances of a man's inherent worth, not the circumstances of his birth—to judge men on the basis of their capabilities, not their creed or color.

It is apt that we remember this lesson tonight. Four years ago this very week he tested that proposition in the hills of West Virginia. One year ago this week he insisted upon it in Birmingham, Ala. And this year this week his spirit and inspiration are urging it upon the U.S. Senate as it considers his civil rights program in Washington.

I am not confusing two separate subjects. For racial and religious discrimination are one subject. When a Negro gang attacks a group of Jewish children, or Catholic and Jewish homeowners resent a Negro neighbor, or Jewish conversations perpetuate anti-Catholic myths, it is clear that too many Americans—including even those who themselves are members of minority groups—fail to see that all forms of intolerance are but different manifestations of the same evil.

John Kennedy knew this. He encountered the same arguments, the same hypocrisy, the same groundless fears when he fought to overcome religious discrimination and when he sought to abolish racial discrimination. He encountered many well-meaning people who opposed one form while practicing another. He did not understand how a man who preached on the sins of racial prejudice could take part in anti-Catholic programs, or how a Catholic who resented the slurs on Kennedy's religion could be indifferent to his views on race.

I am not talking about the South. For we learned in 1960 that neither racial nor religious bias is confined to any one section of the country, or to any one race, or to any one religion, or to any one level of learning and income.

Consider, for example, the opposition to the Kennedy candidacy in 1960, by:

A well-known Negro minister who said he liked Kennedy's views against discrimination but he nevertheless could never bring himself to vote for a Catholic President; or

The opposition of a liberal Protestant clergyman who instructed his congregation to vote Republican on the grounds that the political decisions of Catholics were subject to clerical influence; or

The opposition of prominent Catholic politicians who opposed the Kennedy candidacy for fear it would stir up old issues, or call attention to their faith, or worst of all, prevent them from being considered for Vice President; or

The opposition of a Jewish intellectual leader who had fought the McCarthy concept of guilt by association but judged John Kennedy guilty on the basis of a medieval papal encylical; or even

The opposition of a rightwing extremist newspaper which renounced the prospect of a Catholic in the White House as either a papist or a Communist plot.

John Kennedy won his fight against discrimination in 1960—but, alas, much discrimination is still with us—and, alas, he is not. And that requires each of us, in our daily lives, to carry a little more of his burden a little longer distance than we might if he were here to do it.

I do not believe we need to be reminded. In the darkest period of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke begged that his body be beaten into a drum to arouse all of Europe to eternal battle against tyranny. John Kennedy intended no such sacrifice in the battle against intolerance, for its martyrs were too many already. But the muffled drumbeat of that tearful funeral cortage down Pennsylvania Avenue last November should be enough to forever remind us, in his words, that "this Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free."

ADDRESS BY SIDNEY R. RABB, MASSACHUSETTS COMMITTEE OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS DINNER, STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, MAY 14, 1964

To receive this citation on the evening dedicated to our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who also participated in the work of this committee, is a rare privilege for which I am most grateful.

The reason that a group of civic minded and dedicated citizens banded together 27 years ago, to establish this committee, was to spearhead some means of communicating better the understanding that prejudices were both un-Godly and un-American.

This ideology was not only practiced by President Kennedy in his actions in our own country, but was a stimultant toward spreading this way of living throughout the world. It may not be an overstatement to say that this heritage to posterity may well guide world relationships in a direction more nearly within the teachings of our Judaic-Christian theology, which might not have been the case had he not worked with such zeal to achieve the breakdown of bigotry and intolerance.

During the first over 180 years of our country's history, there was the unfortunate acceptance of the belief that no member of a minority religion in this country could be a successful candidate and become President of the United States. Although a capable candidate was nominated 32 years before, the results clearly indicated that this myth was a reality.

One must accept that during this period there were many forces working toward a change in the thinking of our American people. * * * Many groups—such as this committee of Catholics, Protestants, and Jws—worked toward spreading the Gospel of a better understanding of the monotheistic belief that all of us are children of and in the image of God. We have already witnessed how the spreading of hate, indulged in by subversive groups in different parts of the world, almost culminated in world disaster during the holocaust of the dark Hitlerian period.

But, as is so often said and believed, God is on the side of those who do right. There has been a continuing evidence of a trend toward greater willingness by more leaders in many parts of the world—especially in those areas which are classified as in the Western orbit—to improve understanding between people of varying religious denominations, race, and color.

In a very confused world, with new generations being brought up in an atmosphere of cold war, is there any wonder that accomplishments take longer? In our desire to help make this a world of less hate, we must become more willing to accept one another's freedom of choice in religion without permitting the differences, however small or large they may be, to affect our relationships adversely.

It was in this milieu that President Kennedy crystallized his ambitions and accepted the challenge to overcome what had been accepted by so many as an impossible handicap.

Regardless of what our political affiliations might have been—regardless of whether we completely agreed with the platforms, foreign policy, or some other facets of his program—the people of these United States showed, in the election of 1960, that in our kind of society, intolerance was, in fact, a myth. That election was a milestone and a signal for the future.

Being the first of a minority religion in this country to be elected to the highest office within the reach of the people, is a contribution to posterity that is immeasurable. It was the greatest blow to bigotry in the history of our country and, undoubtedly, is the forerunner of the many changes now on the horizon.

For this contribution alone, the dedication of an evening by this committee is another significant recognition by his own community. But, in the activities of this committee, it has double significance. By this persistence and confidence, with its attendant success, there is additional stimulus to the hopes in the hearts of those who believe that changes can be accomplished by the stick-to-it-iveness, patience, and foresight that is needed to create such changes. The religious leadership in this community, in no small measure, has spread-eagled its constructive influence by its encouragement, help, and action for which the whole world may be grateful.

Progress is usually slow. We have a good deal to be grateful for because we are living in such a constructive era. Although some may dislike the complexities of our society and remain prophets of doom, those who have followed and evaluated events in our time, such as the Ecumenical Council in Rome, the attitudes in the various meetings of Federation of Churches, the interchange of pulpits between priests, ministers, and rabbis, and many such activities cannot help but make us all feel the difference in the atmosphere.

And all of this has been accomplished in the space of a few short years. In history, even 100 years is a short time. And, although so many feel that we have not made the kind of progress we should have in the last 100 years, we can take comfort in the fact that there is a sincere interest now, which will undoubtedly make for more intense acceleration in the coming decades.

Man is not perfect and probably never will be. Too many feel that the progress is not fast enough. There should be no criticism of those who are rightfully impatient, but people of maturity realize that no really great changes happen overnight—even though sometimes they appear that way.

The great problem that the majority of people in America face is to find the best way to communicate to our people the need of educating the uninformed, and a way to neutralize the rabble rousers and ill-wishers of our form of society. In so doing, we stand a better chance to create a climate of give and take, which should make for continuing forward progress.

There is little, if any logic in emotions. Cooler heads necessarily need to find the key to the emotional appeals to the well-meaning but misinformed people, to help them eliminate their dogmatic beliefs that there is a need of some scapegoat to justify individual or group frustrations.

These are the tasks that organizations such as this committee have undertaken. We must remain flexible, so as to be able to adjust ourselves to the ever-changing conditions and moods of our people. We may strive for total success—but be satisfied with continuing inching forward, so long as it is going forward. Historically, this has been the formula toward lasting and permanent successes.

Fortunately, this committee has been able to receive some contributions from our understanding citizens, which have been used to establish courses and opportunities in several of our colleges, affording men and women in the professional field of human relations an opportunity to study advanced techniques—thus enabling them to service our communities with better understanding and know-how. Assistance toward collecting and distributing materials for use in furthering the cause of better human relations has shown what interested and dedicated people can accomplish. We sincerely hope that such participation, with a broader base of more and increased contributions, will be the good fortune of this committee, to enable them to continue the work so sorely needed in this all important period of helping to solve the civil rights issues.

Thirteen years ago, Ben Shapiro, our executive secretary—a man of vision who has been a guiding force throughout—and Mike Kelleher conceived the idea of the junior good will dinner. This evening, you have heard from one of the young men who was present at Fenway Park last January. Approximately 150 students of the public and parochial high schools of Boston, chosen by their teachers as likely future leaders in their communities, were invited—through the generosity of the management of the Boston Red Sox and several prominent businessmen—to a dinner where they met with outstanding athletes, members of the city government, the school department, community and industry leaders.

Each year, four of their group have delivered brief talks on how they felt about relationships with other students of different religions and color. To me, as I am sure it would be to you, this is one of the most inspiring and revealing assemblies imaginable.

Many members of the committee who attend, as sponsors, look forward to this as an unusual evening but, more importantly, one sees here in action how young people, who will be the leaders of tomorrow, can live together as equals in a society which can give to all greater satisfaction, happiness, and understanding. As good as we think our programs have been, we know they still leave a lot to be desired. Let us hope that the confidence we have in our young people, by the attitudes they express when they have an opportunity to be together, is as well founded as many of us believe.

The man to whom we have dedicated this evening believed, chartered his course, set his hopes and aspirations high, and attained his goal. He has left for us increased emphasis for one of our great heritages—that of respect for the principle of equal opportunity for all.

Can we overcome some of the handicaps that now confront us? He did. So can we. Let us pray that we will.

REMARKS OF MR. NORMAN KNIGHT

Thirteen years ago, the late Michael T. Kelleher and Ben G. Shapiro conceived the idea that bringing young men together from our public and parochial schools would help to indoctrinate these young men in a spirit of brotherhood.

Chosen by their headmasters, these public and parochial students in Boston meet in the press quarters at Fenway Park through the courtesy of Thomas A. Yawkey and the Boston Red Sox organization.

Outstanding leaders in our community act as sponsors of these boys and four lads are chosen to give a short talk on what brotherhood means to them. One is selected to give his speech at our annual good-will dinner.

During these 13 years nearly 2,000 young men have been our guests and we know of no lad who has attended these annual dinners who has been involved in any juvenile delinquency nor at any time been a discredit to themselves or to the schools they represent.

The committee recognizes and appreciates the cooperation it has received from both superintendents of the public schools and the parochial schools in Boston and the community leaders who each year act as hosts.

We are particularly grateful to Tom Yawkey, Dick O'Connell (who is with us tonight) and the entire Red Sox organization who make these facilities available.

Tonight you will hear from one of those young men who spoke at our dinner at Fenway on January 15.

His name is William J. Crowe and he lives at 138 Poplar Street, Roslindale, Mass.

He was a straight A student at Roslindale High School and was marked as "outstanding" in reliability, manner, and cooperation by all his teachers his 3 years at the school, a very rare achievement.

He ranked fourth in class of 234 students and was a member of student council, participated in student government election, member of Key Club, winner of Harvard Book Prize in May 1963, elected to National Honor Society, Roslyn Chapter, May 1963, and a recipient in the U.S. youth program.

His headmaster, Wilfred O'Leary, says of him, "William is one of the finest students I have ever had the pleasure of knowing in my career as a teacher and headmaster. He never is remiss at any task, he is forthright, resolute and determined and never shirks his job."

Now you have the same treat in store for you that we enjoyed on January 15—here's young Bill Crowe with an inspiring message.

MAY 14, 1964.

BEN SHAPIRO,
Massachusetts Committee, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Statler Hilton, Boston, Mass.

DEAR BEN: Tonight's dinner will always be warmly remembered by our family. Your personal untiring efforts in the cause of brotherhood are an inspiration, serving as an example to all of us. I understand that the ballroom is oversold and am truly sorry that my floor duties on behalf of the civil rights bill necessitate my remaining in Washington but wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Ben, for your leadership, and to Harold Hodgkinson and Oscar Hausserman, and to extend my regards to our friend Ed Hanify serving as your toastmaster, to your superb choices for awardees Sidney Rabb, Monsignor Murry, and Ted Sorenson, and to your distinguished award grantors—Ralph Lowell, remarkable New England philanthropist; Dr. Sachar, the gifted president of Brandeis; and our very dear friend and world example of brotherhood, His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing. To the members and guests of the Massachusetts Committee Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, my deep thanks as a citizen for your contributions to brotherhood together with my earnest prayer that our children will reach adulthood with a mutual respect and understanding gained in large measure from the examples we set.

(Signed) EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
U.S. Senator.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

FBI Director Emphasizes Need for Positive Public Approach Toward Our American Heritage

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in the June 1964 issue of the FBI Law En-

forcement Bulletin, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, questions our society's preparedness to receive recent graduates into the ranks of the working class.

Director Hoover points out the danger at satirizing the principles of our way of life and the effect it has on youth. He recognizes our right to freedom of expression, but objects to "the wholesale defilement and universal downgrading of our treasured freedoms and institutions."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this meaningful message be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR TO ALL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

Is a poisonous bacteria being injected into the vital bloodstream of the American way of life? Are citizens being subjected to tranquilizing doses of subtle ridicule and calculated defiance of constituted authority, law, and order?

These questions loom particularly important at the moment because June is a time of hope and anticipation for thousands of American young people. Many high school and college graduates leave the cloistered atmosphere of homes and educational institutions and move into the ranks of our workaday society. We hear a great deal about their adaptability and whether they are prepared to cope with this significant milestone in life. Not much concern, however, is evidenced over society's preparation to receive them. We might well ask ourselves if we have fully acquainted them with the time-honored principles which have made America great.

Actually, graduating seniors should have no questions as to the greatness of our way of life. But as we know, some do have questions. We do not and should not isolate and shield them from theories and ideologies which we believe to be contrary to the best interests of our country. As growing boys and girls, they have been exposed to the dubious theme running through much of entertainment, movies, television, radio, literature, arts, and theater which often depicts our orderly processes as inept, incompetent, and out of step with the times. This trend comes close to undermining the concepts and ideals on which our Nation was founded; and even in those instances when the age-old battle of right versus wrong is presented, right, though usually victorious, is often tainted.

Students as well as other Americans recognize and accept the longstanding custom in our society of satirizing public officialdom. The mere fact that this practice has become a part of the American scene is a tribute to our freedoms. Obviously, no one seriously suggests that all Congressmen, judges, prosecutors, law enforcement officers, city officials, and other authorities are jelly-brained nincompoops as frequently featured. While some may question the degree of such jest, none can question the privilege to do so.

The real danger lies in the more subtle, low-keyed, so-called objective, and serious castigation of principles involving our way of life. This is no complaint against the inherent rights of public criticism and freedom of expression. My objection is against the wholesale defilement and universal downgrading of our treasured freedoms and institutions—the time-tested attributes of democracy which are manifested in a representative government ruled by law.

A well-known editor and columnist some months ago, speaking on this topic, stated, "I am tired of seeing America debased in the eyes of foreigners. And I am genuinely disturbed that to the idealistic youth in many countries the fraud of communism appears synonymous with morality, while we, the chief repository of real freedom, are regarded as being in the last stages of decay.

Let us cast aside those who spread distrust and ridicule of our heritage. Let us extol the virtues of our noble traditions. And let us, by example rather than words, instill in the hearts of American youth the true pride and joy known to those who can proclaim, "I am an American."

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,
Director.

JUNE 1, 1964.

Clean Water: Goal of the U.S. Conference of Mayors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Conference of Mayors is an organization acutely aware of the water problems now facing our Nation's cities. While many choose to ignore the serious problem of water pollution or to study it to death, the conference of mayors is aware that concrete action must be taken soon. This attitude is understandable when we realize that of all the major cities in the United States, only one does not have a body of water within its limits.

Our cities are fully cognizant that water is the most vital factor in their future growth. They are also cognizant that while the health aspect of water is of major importance, there are other legitimate considerations which have equal priority. Indeed, much of the water which can be chlorinated into shape for drinking purpose is totally unfit for industrial, agricultural, recreational, or fish and wildlife purposes. In addition, more and more cities see the esthetic value of their waterways as a major community asset—cities can no longer afford to have open sewers running through their area.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has been an active supporter over the years of meaningful Federal legislation to control water pollution. This year I am sponsoring legislation to further upgrade and strengthen our pollution abatement program which has worked so well in furthering cooperative local-State-Federal efforts in this field. Thus, it is most gratifying to me that the U.S. Conference of Mayors has come out strongly in support of the major provisions of the legislation I am sponsoring. At their annual meeting in New York on Wednesday, May 27, 1964, the U.S. Conference of Mayors passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ON CLEAN WATER

Whereas the Nation's continuing population and urban growth and rapid technological change impose new and increased demands for water supplies of essential quality for all legitimate uses, and pollution reduces the capability of our water supplies to meet such increased demands, making pollution the Nation's No. 1 water resources problem; and

Whereas Congress has provided a Federal role in the prevention, control, and abatement of pollution through enactment of the Water Pollution Control Act, as amended; and

Whereas the effective implementation and administration of Federal water pollution control programs imperatively require amendment and expansion of the Water Pollution Control Act, and legislation to achieve these purposes is presently before Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the U.S. Conference of Mayors endorses and urges the early enactment of legislation to amend the Water Pollution Control Act in order to:

1. Establish a separate water pollution control administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, but removed from the Public Health Service, to administer all of the provisions and unified programs under the Water Pollution Control Act.

2. Increase the amount of grant assistance provided for individual municipal waste treatment works construction projects from $600,000 to $1,000,000 and for joint multimunicipal projects from $2,400,000 to $4,000,000.

3. Provide a financial incentive of an additional 10 percent in the amount of grants for sewage treatment projects that conform with urban development plans for the area.

4. Provide grants to assist municipalities in developing new and improved methods for controlling pollution waste discharges from storm sewers and combined storm and sanitary sewers.

Mrs. Gladys Forsyth: First Lady of Finance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, Nebraska has produced a number of outstanding women who, following the death of their husbands, have with outstanding success carried on the family business.

Two of these gallant ladies have represented our State in this Chamber—Mrs. Eva Bowring and Mrs. Hazel Abel. Mrs. Bowring was a highly successful ranch operator, and Mrs. Abel, the director of a large construction company.

Today, I wish to acknowledge another Nebraska leader, Mrs. Gladys Forsyth, of Lincoln, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association.

Interestingly enough, Mrs. Forsyth was one of the leaders in Mrs. Abel's successful senatorial campaign 10 years ago.

Mrs. Forsyth is the subject of a most interesting article entitled "First Lady of Finance," published in a recent issue of the Omaha World-Herald's Magazine of the Midlands. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIRST LADY OF FINANCE—LINCOLN'S GLADYS FORSYTH LIKES TO KEEP ON THE GO

LINCOLN.—An airliner en route from Omaha to New York became delayed above Manhattan Island the other day, because of a storm.

Sitting in a passenger's seat was Mrs. Gladys McCue Forsyth, president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Lincoln and the only woman in the United States to head a major savings and loan firm.

Mrs. Forsyth had a note pad on her lap on which she was calmly jotting down "some additional thoughts" to be sent to the Magazine of the Midlands writer who had spent the previous day with her. The delay gave her just the time she needed for thought.

The interview had centered on the fact that more and more women are wielding growing power in the executive suites of the Nation's largest business enterprises.

And if you don't think First Federal of Lincoln is big business, keep this in mind: Of some 6,000 savings and loan associations in the United States, the Lincoln company ranks 110th in size.

This is based on the 57-year-old firm's semiannual statement issued last December which showed the company had total assets of $126,886,177.21.

LACK OF OPPORTUNITY

The obvious question, in view of these figures, is Mrs. Forsyth's view of women in business. Her answer:

"The main problem is lack of opportunity; not of ability. I am one of the fortunate ones who was given the opportunity. There are as many capable women as men. Many have great executive ability. As time passes, you will find many more of them in important positions."

Mrs. Forsyth, a widow, contends that mass higher education will "put more women in the executive labor market. Today, women in higher executive positions are exceptions.

"But women are learning that they can operate their homes successfully after their children get older and they are looking for other challenges."

Eventually, the woman executive from Lincoln filled eight pages of notes before her airplane landed.

Sitting across the desk from Mrs. Forsyth in First Federal's executive suite, one is impressed with here sincerity and knowledge.

A widely traveled woman, she has been around the world and has trod through some of the world's worst trouble spots. At the present time she is planning a trip behind the Iron Curtain.

CATTLE AND SHEEP

Of her travels she says: "About 13 years ago, I realized world conditions were changing very rapidly and that I would better understand what was happening if I traveled."

Her trips have taken her down the Congo River from Stanleyville to Leopoldville. She knows of the cattle and sheep problem in New Zealand. She has been in Berlin both before and since the wall.

"I spent several hours with an anthropologist who worked with others in the discoveries of early man," she continued. "I have visited with the Shiek of Kuwait who talked about his tiny but rich country. He ended up by telling me that all his country lacked was water."

She added: "I have stood in the burning sun at Persepolis, in jungles at Ankgor Wat, in the ruins at Yucatan and wondered about the civilizations the world has lost and what is ahead for us."

Though not a candidate for public office, Mrs. Forsyth has an intense interest in politics. A few years ago she failed in an attempt to unseat Mrs. Edna Donald, of Grand Island, as Nebraska's Republican national committeewoman.

She also contributed considerable time to the successful campaign of former U.S. Senator Hazel Abel, of Lincoln, who in 1954 was elected for a 2-month term to succeed Mrs. Eve Bowring.

A Fairbury attorney recalls having received Mrs. Forsyth during Mrs. Abel's campaign. "She was very convincing," he said.

Mrs. Forsyth believes the field of politics, like business, "is opening all the time as woman prove their ability in Government.

"The country will see the day when women are welcome in any political office based on ability, training, performance, and, of course, their success in attracting support."

FORECLOSURES RISING

She has no objections to a woman serving as President "but I don't think the country is ready to accept her at the present time."

Mrs. Forsyth, in the business of granting home loans in the State's two largest cities, offers these views on mortgage collections and foreclosures:

"With today's long-term, low downpayment mortgages, a strict collection policy is necessary. Foreclosures have been rising. They are occurring on the low downpayment loans upon which the lending institution is reimbursed by the Federal Housing Administration.

"Many of these loans have been assumed by a second or third person so credit control is difficult.

"Marital difficulties seems to be an important factor. Our company is now making a study of all the causes of foreclosures."

First Federal currently has more than 40,000 savings accounts scattered over Nebraska and in 48 of the other 49 States.

Mrs. Forsyth is proud to call Nebraska home. She said: "I like the sanity and the standards of Nebraskans. We do not always agree but we settle our differences and go ahead to face the next issue."

Just how did Mrs. Gladys Forsyth become the head of a large savings and loan company?

A native of California, she is of Swedish and Irish descent. She was reared on a farm near Oneida, Ill., and was graduated from Oneida High School as an honor student.

She holds a bachelor of arts degree in mathematics from Stanford University.

Both her grandmother and mother were adept as farm managers. Her grandmother came to Nebraska on an old wood-burning train many years ago and purchased farmland in Polk County.

PRESIDENT IN 1947

First Federal opened its doors in 1907 with William A. Forsyth, Mrs. Forsyth's father-in-law as first president. It operated as a State-chartered association and was known as the Fidelity Savings & Loan Association.

In 1933, Evald M. Forsyth, Mrs. Forsyth's husband, succeeded his father as president. His wife was named secretary-treasurer.

On June 24, 1935, the association received a Federal charter and became First Federal. Mrs. Forsyth became president in 1947 upon the death of her husband.

With the exception of teaching in Lincoln College View High School during World War I, Mrs. Forsyth's only job has been with First Federal. She has considerable farm properties and takes special interest in agriculture.

Robert J. Linder, of Loomis, recently named Nebraska's Oustanding Young Farmer, lives on land owned by Mrs. Forsyth.

Mrs. Forsyth has two children and two grandchildren. She has taken part in just about every activity that is offered to a woman business executive. She was the first woman named a director of the Federal Home Loan Bank of Topeka, and she is the only woman in the United States elected to the Federal Savings & Loan Advisory Council in Washington.

She is listed in "Who's Who of American Women," takes an active interest in art and Red Cross activities as well as the Republican Party.

Many visitors brought to Lincoln by the U.S. State Department are entertained by Mrs. Forsyth in her home. Her parties are favorities among Lincoln and Omaha residents.

WOMAN'S TOUCH

Her executive suite in the home office at 1235 N Street in Lincoln has a woman's touch. Her desk usually is cleared of papers and thick carpeting relaxes a visitor's feet. There are paintings on the walls, flowers nearby and a coffee pot isn't far away.

Plate glass windows allow Mrs. Forsyth an opportunity to "see what's going on at all times." She misses few chances to pop out of her office and greet an old friend, a new customer, or a community leader who may walk up to a clerk in First Federal's home office.

She has been quoted as saying: "We merely treat everyone as we would like to be treated ourselves."

Adds an employee: "Mrs. Forsyth treats customers as if they were guests in her home."

This may help explain why the elaborate Homestead office in Omaha is equipped with a nursery—making it certainly one of few lending institutions in the Nation with its own babysitting service.

The company has what some of its employees term "a hot line" between the home office, the other Lincoln branch at 135 North Cotner Boulevard and the two Omaha offices at 8706 Pacific Street and 2101 South 42d Street.

An employee stated that Mrs. Forsyth herself uses the "hot line," talking with employees, making arrangements, or discussing business practices.

The company boasts many firsts. Among them are: Largest savings and loan association in Nebraska; initiated the first GI home purchase loan in Nebraska; and, first association in Nebraska to install electronic accounting (all of which goes through the Lincoln office).

THE TOP STUDENTS

In talking about her company, its employees and their relationship with the public and the business future, Mrs. Forsyth is no worrywart. She has confidence. And she likes top quality in her work force.

"First Federal," she said, "recruits its employees from the upper 10 percent of the graduating classes.

"In the case of high school graduates, we like to get the valedictorian of the class. University graduates are chosen on the additional basis of the type of training they received.

"Salaries are based on performance, training, adaptability, and tenure. Lunches and coffee breaks are furnished for a nominal monthly sum.

"Vacation quarters on a lake in northern Minnesota are offered."

Why did she move into the Omaha market?

"For many years I have been watching Omaha's growth to the west, spreading out to the north and south.

"From a hill on Pacific Street, looking eastward over the years I have been saying, 'I see a city coming.' There will be hesitations and surges ahead but it will keep on coming."

She likes to make her business a part of the city. Probably one of her best known practices is to permit the use of her building by various organizations, particularly art, and flower groups for staging shows.

CLASSES BEHIND GLASS

A large multipurpose room was established in the new Homestead Center for this purpose. Such organizations as the Catholic Daughters of America and the Retired Railways Employees have been welcomed.

At the Countryside Village office, Mrs. Forsyth has invited Westside Community Schools of District 66 to stage classes behind a glass window during National Education Week.

Parents of the youngsters could sit or stand outside and watch their children recite inside in the loan company offices, set as a classroom for the day.

It all makes for an existence that sometimes seems hectic to her friends.

"Life is too short," counters Mrs. Forsyth. "I have more things to do than I can ever get done. Maybe this is what keeps me going."

Contempt of Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the New York Post contained a column by Langston Hughes which seems to me to be particularly pertinent; and for the benefit of my colleagues who may have seen it firsthand, it is included herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the New York Post, May 15, 1964]

CONTEMPT OF COURT

(By Langston Hughes)

Let's imagine that I, Jesse B. Semple, have been cited for contempt of court. I, a Harlemite, by nickname Simple, living in Harlem with 200,000 other Harlemites, stand cited for contempt of court. When I get the summons, I would wonder, "Contempt of what? Contempt of who?" But if I was to stand up before the court, I would say to the high judge on his bench, I cite you for contempt of me. I, Harlem, cite you, judge, for contempt of me, I cite you for contempt.

I am black. I am American. I have been in America 300-odd years, but not because I wanted to be. I was forced to come here. Me, Harlemite, living here now, am no newcomer. I was born here. I did not come from Hungary last year or the year before. I did not come from Germany running from Hitler in the forties. I did not come from Ireland from hunger, or Russia from persecution, or Italy, from poverty. I was born here. I worked here as a slave unpaid. I worked here as a second-class citizen poorly paid. Barred out of your unions, your factories, and your shops, your stores, your graft and your honesty—me, barred, me starved, me beaten. Yet you cite me for contempt.

As to Harlem, I have been in Harlem a long time, almost since the turn of the century, and these are my memories. When I first moved here, if I even walked down St. Nicholas Avenue, which was a "white" avenue, a white stone might bust the daylights out of me. I remember, and I cite you for contempt.

When I first moved to Harlem, there were restaurants in the middle of Harlem in which I could not eat, well known chains of restaurants with branches in Harlem where I could not eat. I cite you for contempt.

I remember in the days when I, Negro, first moved to Harlem there were theaters on Seventh Avenue, 125th Street and 116th Street, which sent me to the top balcony if I wished to see a show. Those theaters still operate and advertise for my patronage today. I cite you for contempt of me.

I remember in the twenties chain stores with merchandising branches in Harlem. As the Negro population grew, rather than appreciate my patronage or give me jobs, these chain stores closed their Harlem branches. I cite you for contempt of me.

All along 125th Street and all up and down Lenox Avenue and Seventh Avenue there were white-owned shops which accepted my patronage in the 1920's, but would not give me a clerkship—only porter, if that, insofar as employment went. To get jobs behind the counters in these shops, ADAM POWELL and I and hundreds of other Negroes picketed, bargained, just to get a little old job in a shop. Merchants, I cite you in contempt of me.

In that fun-loving heyday of prohibition Harlem—when sepia entertainment was in vogue—the most famous of the Harlem nightclubs, the Cotton Club, did not welcome Negro patronage. If black folks wanted to hear Duke Ellington or see the Cotton Club lovelies in which Lena Horne danced, we had to wait until they appeared at a Negro dance or special all-colored performance. Whoever was responsible, I cite you in contempt of me.

In those days there were jobs to be had for Negroes as cooks, butlers, porters, errand boys, and maids, but almost no jobs at any other tasks downtown, if you were colored. Employers, I cite you in contempt of me.

When the depression came and people were hungry and poor and ill-tempered and dangerous all over America, the papers concentrated on describing me, Harlem, as the most hungry, the most poor, most ragged, most ill-tempered and dangerous. The whole community was blackened. The white funseekers were frightened out of ever coming to Harlem. I was done in, accused, maligned. White press, I cite you for contempt of me.

When the war came, World War II, I, Harlemite—young, strong, patriotic—wanted to join the Air Force. No Negroes admitted. I wanted to join the Navy. Only a messman's classification open to colored boys. I wanted to join the Marines. No Negroes. Labor battalions, yes. As a soldier I could work, if not fight, load boats, drive trucks. But could I give my blood to the Red Cross? No. After protests, colored blood was finally accepted, but put in cans marked AA—Afro-American—only to be given other Afro-Americans. I cite you for contempt. How dare you cite me?

When after the war the Puerto Ricans began to come in ever-increasing numbers to New York—having been welcomed into the American commonwealth on paper and in theory and by official promulgation—it was Puerto Rican Harlem that quickly became a "West Side Story"—a knife-wielding, devious, dangerous community on the pages of the newspapers, on Broadway, in the public mind. So, by implication, all of Harlem became a jungle to the downtown mind. I cite you in contempt of me.

And now I ask, how dare you cite me in contempt of you? You give me your second-class jobs and cite me in contempt? You give me your second-class schools and cite me in contempt? You give me your second-class slums cite me in contempt? You even give me second-class filibuster yet cite me in contempt. After what you have done to me, I ask, how dare you cite me in contempt.

Medical Care for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the June 3 issue of the South Bend Tribune, an afternoon and Sunday newspaper edited by Franklin D. Schurz, who is also its publisher, contained an editorial dealing with legislative proposals for medical care for the aged, particularly the King-Anderson bill, which it compares with the Kerr-Mills legislation now in force.

Because of the clear statement and the usefulness of this editorial, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, June 3, 1964]

CARE FOR THE AGED

"Medicare," "King-Anderson bill" and "Kerr-Mills Act" are three terms much in use these days. Not everybody who uses them, however, seems sure of what they mean. Perhaps we can clarify matters a little.

Medicare and the King-Anderson bill both refer to the Kennedy-Johnson administration program for medical care to the aged, financed through social security. It has not been enacted into law.

The Kerr-Mills Act is a medical care program enacted by the 86th Congress in 1960. It is a Federal-State program requiring specific State legislation, without which no State participates. Indiana has such legislation but it has yet to appropriate funds to put the Kerr-Mills law into effect.

The two approaches to medical care differ in the kinds of people covered, the benefits they provide and the manner in which they're financed.

The King-Anderson bill would provide benefits to everyone covered by social security who is 65 or older. The Kerr-Mills Act, as it is in the process of being set up in Indiana, will help any resident of 65 or more whose income does not exceed $1,200 (for married couples, $1,800) and whose personal property does not exceed $2,500; the applicant may own his home under the Indiana law. In seeking Kerr-Mills assistance, an applicant must declare his financial condition, and the county departments of public welfare are authorized to investigate the validity of financial claims.

The King-Anderson bill, as now conceived, would provide these benefits: For each illness, 90 days of hospitalization, including bed, board, drugs, and other hospital supplies. The patient would pay $10 a day himself for 9 days, or $20 minimum. An optional alternative is for social security payment of hospital inpatient costs for up to 180 days with the patient paying the first 2½ days of average costs. Another option would pay for all costs for 45 days.

Also provided under the social security plan would be 180 days of care in skilled nursing homes after transfer from a hospital; 240 home health-care visits in a calendar year by community nurses and physical therapists; and care after the first $20 worth for hospital out-patient diagnostic services. No doctors' fees would be covered.

The Kerr-Mills law in Indiana will cover doctors' fees, hospital costs, and nursing home fees, according to a maximum-fee schedule yet to be established.

The King-Anderson bill would be financed through an increase in social security taxes: A one-quarter of one percent raise in the tax on both employers and employees, plus an increase in the taxable earnings base from $4,800 to $5,200.

The Kerr-Mills law in Indiana will be supported through Federal, State, and local taxes on a scale that breaks down roughly to 50 percent from the Federal Government, 30 percent from the State, and 20 percent from the individual counties.

Economic Emotionalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in 1962, along with a majority of the Members of the House and the other body, I supported the Trade Expansion Act, recognizing the principle that the freest possible flow of trade would benefit all nations working toward a better world.

It is unfortunate that the intent of Congress and the projection of the administration is touting the benefits of this act have not been realized. The negotiations carried on by U.S. executive branch officials have been marked by weakness, vacillation, and unwillingness to effectively develop free trade programs. Instead, we make unnatural concessions and other nations are permitted to erect artificial trade barriers.

The World Trade Conference now being concluded is a good example of the antifree trade sentiment that is arising, and the ineffectiveness with which our executive branch officials deal with the question. This problem is most effectivly discussed in an editorial in the Friday, June 5, issue of the Wall Street Journal, which I insert into the RECORD at this point:

ECONOMIC EMOTIONALISM

The United States and other industrial nations appear to have done pretty well so far in resisting the more extreme demands of underdeveloped nations for a new regimentation of world trade. Yet, as the huge—some 120 countries—United Nations Trade Conference in Geneva draws to a close, there is little evidence the poorer lands have been persuaded of the necessity of freer trade.

This is unfortunate in several ways. The world being as it is, it persumably means a continuing aid burden on the prosperous nations. For as long as the poorer countries insist on artificial devices instead of economic sense, they are likely to remain mired in poverty. Unless they begin to understand the dynamics of trade, no amount of these great international conferences will get them far.

Ther main criticism seems at first glance justified. The underdeveloped nations complain that the prices of the commodities they export are stagnant or declining while the prices of the manufacturers they import keep rising. Accordingly, they want commodity agreements (that is, global price fixing), various preferences and a fund financed by the rich to help them when their earnings decline.

But as these columns and others have observed, the terms of trade have actually been growing more favorable for them. In any event, that is only the beginning of the story. The backward areas' thirst for organized trade and special privilege rests on a series of dubious assumptions.

Why is it, for example, that some agricultural countries are rich while others are poor? James L. Essig, a Prudential Insurance economist, makes the point in last month's Challenge magazine: "The belief that an agricultural country is necessarily a poor country * * * obviously fails to consider such prosperous agricultural areas as Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand, and Iowa."

It would seem the difference between rich and poor might lie in something wrong with the thinking and policies of the impoverished regions.

Thus, India's planners, Mr. Essig writes, "have tended to ignore such traditional exports as tea, jute, fats, and vegetable oils in their eagerness to push sales of industrial products or to divert resources for ambitious development schemes." Many underdeveloped nations are determined to manufacture goods they could more cheaply import.

Such attitudes reflect at least a partial misunderstanding of the vital role trade can play in economic development. In the 1830's, when the United States was undeveloped, cotton accounted for three-fifths of its exports. To quote Mr. Essig:

"The export of cotton contributed greatly to the spurt in manufacturing during that decade. The men's clothing industry was linked to cotton and so was the manufacture of textile machinery. And this in turn spurred further development of iron casting, machine tool manufacturing, and other industries."

The same process is at work to some extent in today's poor countries. A foreign investment will have widening economic ramifications, leading to the development of local industry and higher exports, leading in turn to more economic development. Even the importation of mere consumer goods can be an economic stimulant.

The development would go faster were it not for the manifold restrictions the underdeveloped nations put on foreign investment and imports. They resent the rich; they think they can advance rapidly by choosing rigidities instead of economic freedom. Though their feelings may be understandable, emotionalism is always a poor basis for policy.

The United States and other advanced nations could be of further assistance to the so-called have-nots and to themselves by lowering still more their own barriers to freer trade, and this they are endeavoring to do. But perhaps the greatest assistance they could provide is to show the underdeveloped that liberalized international commerce and free internal institutions are the real powerhouses of energy.

The Money Supply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months, there has been considerable opinion expressed about the work of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee and its conduct of a long-overdue, far-reaching study of banking.

The following editorial in the Washington Post of today pays proper tribute to this study and the leadership of the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee. After all of the facts are garnered, this body can expect substantial recommendations which will be warranted by the facts. These hearings have already served a vital purpose by precipitating interest in monetary policy which will result in far-reaching changes.

Following is the editorial entitled "The Money Supply":

THE MONEY SUPPLY

The Washington scene would never be quite the same if hostilities between Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the House Banking Committee and William McC. Martin and his fellow Governors of the Federal Reserve System were to cease. This dialog for all its repetition and occasional acrimony has, we think, been quite productive. But the time has arrived for the debate to take a new and more constructive turn, and it is possible that the intense interest in the growth of the supply of money may serve as the catalytic agent.

After the devastating depression of the 1930's and the development of fiscal policies, monetary affairs—and especially the behavior of the money supply—were relegated to a position of secondary importance. But in recent years the work of Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago and that of other monetary economists has produced impressive evidence suggesting that there are important links between the level of overall economic activity and the growth of the money supply. Friedman and his colleagues have demonstrated that every economic recession for which there are data was preceded by a retardation in the growth of the money supply.

These findings have been coupled with criticisms of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for concentrating on short-run credit problems and neglecting to take measures which would assure a high and steady rate of money supply growth.

In his most recent criticism of the Fed, Mr. PATMAN complains that while the money supply expanded at the very high annual rate of 6.2 percent between July 1963 and January 1964 there has been a cessation of growth between January and May. While he readily concedes that the 6.2-percent growth rate might have been too high, even though it generated no inflationary pressures, Mr. PATMAN is concerned about the effects of the sharp drop in the growth rate. He is fearful that the retardation in the growth of the money supply will lead to higher interest rates and that they in turn will depress economic activity.

There are those who would dismiss Mr. PATMAN's strictures as expressions of a strong Populist bias. But Prof. G. L. Bach, of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, who heads a distinguished group of economists which has been advising the Board of Governors, adopts very much the same position. He believes the Board of Governors should estimate the growth of the money supply that is required to maintain interest rates at their present levels and conduct their policies with a view to attaining that end.

While many economists and bankers agree that the growth of the money supply is important, there are divergent opinions about the nature of the links between the supply of money and overall economic activity. Some analysts stress the role of interest rates; others do not. Of late the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System has manifested a new and healthy interest in what their congressional and academic critics have been saying. And in the dispute over the growth of the money supply there is a golden opportunity through a serious and orderly intellectual exchange, to subject many ideas about monetary policy to rigorous tests.

An Adventure in Citizenship for Explorer Scouts From Seymour, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, Explorer Scouts of Post 72, Seymour, Tex., are in Washington, D.C., today as they culminate an adventure in citizenship.

"Citizenship Training" has been the special theme of this unit of Explorer Scouts for the past year. Their intensive activities aimed at improving their individual citizenship has resulted in a trip for the 10 outstanding members of the group which will take them tomorrow from Washington to New York City, where they will participate in the World's Fair as a service unit.

These 10 young men, all from Seymour, Tex., are John Underwood, Bob Balch, Jack Golden, Bill Whitley, Burhl Caussey, Larry Walton, Gene Tipps, James Morris, and Ronnie Smulcer.

Their leader, Mr. Bart Burnett, has prepared a report on the activities of these scouts which led up to their present trip. I commend it as a good guide for citizenship training:

AN ADVENTURE IN CITIZENSHIP

Most Explorer Scout units of the Boy Scouts of America have a specialty. Particular interest is taken in a specific field such as Indian lore, photography, engineering, or the like. Their activities are scheduled around information and activities of the specialty. This new program has proven very successful and worthwhile in units across the Nation.

Explorers of Post 72, of Seymour, Tex., sponsored by the First Methodist Church chose for their specialty this past year, "Citizenship Training." Each explorer was to be trained in committee workings, leadership responsibilities, and practical methods of applying their training. The goal for the unit was to train leaders for school, church, and community activities as well as for scouting. In order to make the program attractive, a competitive schedule of activities was set up with the 10 best citizens for the year from this unit, to comprise a World Fair Service Unit for a trip to Washington, D.C., and New York City. A special citizenship file was devised for each of the 28 boys in the unit. Accurate records were kept as to attendance at training meetings, regular meetings of the scouting unit, special events, and participation in those activities. Notes were also kept on activities in school clubs, school government, church activities, community activities, and other events of interest. Newspaper articles and any other type of public recognition were also included in the files.

All these rules and plans were explained to the boys at the beginning of the project and notice was given that reports would also be obtained from teachers, church leaders and community leaders as to explorer and individual leadership, citizenship and their efforts to "do their best" in academic subjects. Every activity would count. Interest developed quickly and the young men took pride in their accomplishments and notoriety obtained through the program. Eagerness was displayed in the training program as well as its application. An immediate increase was noticed in church and related activities as well as club and extracurricular activities at school. Attendance at explorer meetings and leadership activities within the unit showed an immediate increase. Committees were quick to use the training received.

The year developed into the best in the life of the young unit. The foundation laid through the program should be a basis for efficient operation in years to come. Reports obtained from church leaders, teachers, and community leaders indicated that the explorers had taken an increased interest and were developing into qualified leaders. Grades in school, for the most part improved, and class participation and conduct of the scouts were notably improved.

Each boy was required to write a theme on "Exploring and how it relates to community activities." This theme along with the files on the past months of activity were shipped to an "out of town" committee for judging and selection of the 10 winners. From the final reports, 19 boys were qualified for the judging. Among these were both the president and vice president of the student body at Seymour High School for the coming year. The boys collectively had offices in 21 school and community clubs; 18 offices in church related organizations; 8 of them served in student government. Four boys had served on communitywide committees, 8 had participated in school or church plays, and 16 participated in sports activities at school. The report far exceeded previous accountings for such activities.

Surprisingly enough, when the judging had been announced and the winners chosen, attendance and interest at explorer meetings continued to be good. This leads us to believe that through the "Adventure in Citizenship," we have developed leaders for our unit, for the school and church-related organization and for our community in days to come.

The project was well received by the community and several organizations as well as individuals helped to finance the trip which culminated the Post 72 project.

Citizenship is always a good project. Good trained leaders are hard to come by, and if the price is high, you'll find that almost any community is willing to pay the price.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of June 6, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

D-DAY PLUS 20

Twenty years ago this day many Americans died in defense of freedom. It was a day of quiet reflection throughout the United States. Today should be another day of quiet reflection on the part of all Americans. Today, 20 years after D-day, freedom of mankind is under greater attack than it has ever been. More than one-third of once free peoples are now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain of communism. The strong foundations of liberty in the United States are being undermined by a philosophy foreign to our American heritage and ideals. Our own country is steadily but carefully being turned into a Socialist form of government. On June 6, 1964, 20 years after D-day, may we recall the oath of office that the President and every Member of Congress takes, the only oath each takes:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

What better creed for all Americans? The Constitution clearly limits government's role and protects individual liberty.

BEEF IMPORTS

The American cattle industry is in trouble because of inadequate protection against imports. In hearing this week before my Committee on Ways and Means, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman minimized the effect of imports on beef prices and supply, claiming that imports "are a negligible factor." The Secretary claimed that increased domestic cattle production, heavier weight per unit, typical wide cattle price swings, and heavier production of other meats and broilers are reasons for the present trouble in the industry despite greater beef consumption. His solution: more Federal controls, greater interference in the cattle industry by the Federal Government.

I took issue with the Secretary. In testimony later in the day, in answer to my questions, R. B. Carothers, repreesenting the American National Cattlemen's Association and the National Livestock Feeder's Association, directly contradicted Secretary Freeman. Mr. Carothers stated that imports are seriously hurting the American cattle industry.

As I see it, all the Government actions suggested by the Secretary of Agriculture, simply by being Government rather than private enterprise, will distort and further harm the beef situation. Government interference distorts supply and demand and the price factors of the marketplace.

The Government, in this instance, can and should reduce imports and increase exports by inducing foreign countries to reduce tariffs so that American beef producers can compete on the world market. This is another instance of where the United States makes all the concessions and there is little reciprocity on the part of other countries.

EXCISE TAXES WON'T BE REDUCED

The Johnson administration is fighting any move to eliminate or reduce Korean wartime excise taxes. A bill to extend these temporary(?) taxes will be voted on in the House next week. This bill reminds us that we should cut taxes only within a balanced budget. In other words, not borrow to give a tax cut. Also, remembering the earlier tax cut bill, excise taxes (actually, sales taxes) should be repealed first on the principle the "last on should be the first off." Therefore, emergency wartime taxes should be the first to be eliminated. Republicans will focus attention on the repeal of Korean wartime excise taxes on cosmetics, jewelry, furs, and leather goods when the bill comes up next week.

SOCIALISTS SAY POVERTY PROGRAM IS SOCIALISM

Now we have it from an authority on socialism, Norman Thomas, that the President's war on poverty is "a socialistic approach." Speaking to the Socialist Party's National Convention, Dr. Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist Party candidate for President, said of President Johnson:

"We all have reason to be grateful to him in the way he is handling civil rights and poverty. I ought to rejoice and I do. I rub my eyes in amazement and surprise. His war on poverty is a socialistic approach and may be the No. 1 issue in the 1964 campaign."

I have said right along, the issue in the 1964 elections is a choice between socialism and private enterprise, capitalism. Now the leading authority on socialism supports my view.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, JUNE 16

I am looking forward to being home next week to attend the Goldwater dinner and to participate in the Republican Convention on Tuesday, June 16. It promises to be a great meeting and will set the stage for victory in November. See you at Memorial Auditorium.

CORRECTION

We do make mistakes. In spite of careful editing and proofreading, we do slip up now and then. In my newsletter of May 23 the referral to the vote on the amendment to the agriculture appropriation bill should have read: CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Wednesday, May 20. Sorry.

A Great Reporter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the reputation of a newspaperman is a fragile and uncertain thing. In a few rare cases it lingers after the reporter has written "30" on his final piece of copy and quietly covered his typewriter for the last time.

Some newspapermen have a huge public following, but little respect from their colleagues. Some are applauded in the "ivory tower" but fail to win much attention from the general public.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to take note in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today of the retirement of a great reporter, Raymond I. Borst, of the Buffalo Evening News, who was the admiration of both public and colleagues.

I speak with some emotion because Ray Borst has been my friend for more than 40 years. Much of what I was as a fellow newsman was due directly to his guidance, his kindness, and his example.

He wrote with truth but never with bitterness. He hid no facts to which the public was entitled, but he preferred always to "explain" rather than "expose." He was and is a giant in his profession.

I am and always will be proud of my part in bringing Alaska into the sisterhood of States. My first interest in the "Great Land" which is the 49th State was kindled by Ray Borst before I ever came to Washington.

Ray Borst was not a Washington reporter, though he had many opportunities to be. He labored half a century in Albany, N.Y., most of that time as a political writer. He made Albany, N.Y., a dateline through the Nation. He mingled with and covered such great men as Alfred E. Smith, Herbert Lehman, Jim Farley, Thomas E. Dewey, Averell Harriman, and Nelson Rockefeller. He had the respect and affection of all of these.

It was my privilege, when Mr. Borst joined the Buffalo Evening News 29 years ago, to succeed him as bureau manager of the International News Service.

I succeeded him, but did not replace him. No one can do that. The shoes are just too big.

His own paper has written a fine "30" than can I. I add the following editorial from the Buffalo Evening News:

DISTINGUISHED REPORTER

The retirement of a topflight newspaperman is always a cause for regret, and especially so when it closes the career of one whose integrity and stature in the reporting craft earned such widespread respect as that enjoyed by Ray Borst.

In a journalism career that spanned half a century, including 29 years as the News full-time resident correspondent in Albany, Mr. Borst established a reputation for solid, factual, and outstandingly knowledgeable reporting of State government affairs in all their growing complexities and dimensions.

This, in fact, was the guarantee behind every Borst byline—a story that was "on top" of news developments as it only could be from a correspondent whose record for accuracy, fairness, and good judgment in digging out the facts had won the confidence of the great and near-great in government.

This Mr. Borst enjoyed in abundance—a respect that grew to friendship and affection for his gentlemanly qualities by Governors, legislative leaders, and the heads of State departments and countless agencies who often gave him the inside track on a developing story.

The News is proud of this record by a fine newspaperman whose contributions in covering the sensitive Albany "beat" for western New York have been in the best traditions of distinguished reporting.

For a Fire Island National Seashore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial concerning the need for a Fire Island National Seashore which appeared in the New York Times of Monday, June 8. The editorial correctly points out:

The scheduled opening next week of a new bridge connecting Fire Island with the mainland makes more urgent than ever congressional action to create a Fire Island National Seashore.

As a sponsor of this legislation, I hope Congress will heed these words and create the Fire Island National Seashore before one of our great national resources is lost to private profiteers. I urge all my colleagues to join with me in urging speedy passage of this legislation.

The article referred to, follows:

TO SAVE FIRE ISLAND

The scheduled opening next week of a new bridge connecting Fire Island with the mainland makes more urgent than ever congressional action to create a Fire Island National Seashore.

Fire Island is a unique national and regional treasure, the preservation of which as unspoiled as possible for future generations is a prime obligation for all of us today. This great barrier reef of beach and dune land, with its Sunken Forest and other natural beauties, can never be replaced if negligence now permits it to fall into the hands of the private developers who are hoping to move in, and in force.

Late last year after prolonged discussion it appeared that enough general agreement had been attained among all concerned so that adoption of a bill to create an adequate national seashore was assured. But now, with 1964 almost half over, there has been no final action yet by the relevant committee of either House or Senate. With the Senate still tied up by the civil rights debate, the best hope for progress lies in the House Interior Committee, whose Subcommittee on National Parks could approve the needed bill in the next week or two if its members could be brought to recognize the importance of the issue to the entire Nation: not just to the people of New York.

Shoreline areas suitable for protection under public ownership are diminishing with frightening rapidity. Fire Island is one that must be saved before it is too late, which means it must be saved very, very soon.

Chairman George Mahon Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal, of Lincoln, Nebr., expressed editorial praise in its May 27, 1964, issue for the new chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, Congressman GEORGE MAHON, of Texas.

From all over the Nation in recent weeks, prominent publishers have expressed the view that Congressman MAHON is the best man available to fill the post left vacant by the death of longtime Chairman Clarence Cannon. His many years of service to the Nation, and his work as ranking Democrat and chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations has given us evidence of his sound and capable approach to the problems he now faces as chairman of this most powerful committee in the Congress.

I commend the editorial to my colleagues:

MORE OR LESS PERSONAL

Congress is not a place of quick advancement. Example: Representative GEORGE MAHON, of Texas, who was elected to Congress in 1934 when he was 34 years old.

REWARD OF PATIENCE

Now after 28 years he has moved up to the chairmanship of the powerful House Appropriations Committee. This post became his upon the death of 85-year-old Representative Clarence Cannon, of Missouri.

By the end of his first term he began to feel frustrated at the inability of a young Congressman to get on one of the major commitees. Counseling with other Texans who had preceded him in Congress, including the former Vice President John Nance Garner and the now retired Federal district judge,

Ewing Thomason, he was admonished to bide his time, learn his job and make friends.

In 1939 he was appointed to the appropriations committee and says, "From that day, I began to have the feeling that I belonged to the Washington show." Since 1949 MAHON has been chariman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee which has doled out about $500 billion in the last 15 years.

Thus at a time in life when most men in private life are thinking of retirement, Representative GEORGE MAHON steps into one of the most powerful jobs in Congress. It could be a long career if his tenure parallels that of his predecessor who assumed the chairmanship at the age of 62 and held it for 23 years.

Outwardly, MAHON provides a striking contrast to Cannon. Cannon was small and irrascible, famous for his sharp tongue and intractability. MAHON is tall (six feet, two inches), quiet and moderate. But like Cannon he takes a conservative position on Federal spending.

MAHON got his law degree from the University of Texas in 1925. He began his political career as county attorney and went on to become district attorney before election to Congress.

The Congressman currently owns two farms in his district, on which he raises cotton and feed grain. Until recent years he made a point of returning home from Washington to help with the harvest so that he would not forget "that living on a farm is a very strenuous life."

It will be of interest to Nebraskans that MAHON takes a constant interest in agricultural legislation even though his special interest is in cotton. He voted for the administration's feed grains and wheat programs, and for the cotton subsidy bill passed in April.

Something of a loner politically, MAHON has never mixed in the controversies of Texas politics nor sought a following in the House. But he is listened to with respect whenever he delivers one of his infrequent speeches.

The Right To Pray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the matter of the Supreme Court decision outlawing prayer in our schools is foremost in the minds of all of us. In this connection, I include the following editorial by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst newspapers:

THE RIGHT TO PRAY

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

As some of you regular readers of this column may recall, I have felt since the beginning of the controversy over outlawing prayer in school that the Supreme Court was misinterpreting the Constitution.

Specifically, I don't believe that the Founding Fathers of this country, in adding the first amendment to the Constitution, meant to prohibit other than establishment of an official state religion, such as they had then and still have in England.

Evidence for many who believe as I do is in the Virginia State constitution. Its religious liberty provision was largely the work of the same man who was the main author of the U.S. Bill of Rights—James Madison—later to become our fourth President.

It took Madison (with an assist from Thomas Jefferson) 7 years to get Virginia to write in the sense of the simple statement that "all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of religion." A determined band of opponents, with Give-me-liberty-or-give-me-death Patrick Henry in the vanguard, fought for an established church, like the British one they were used to.

Four years after that, in 1787, Madison helped write the main body of the Constitution, and in 1789 proposed the amendments we call the Bill of Rights. As finally ratified, the first of these says "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This then was the wording the Supreme Court interpreted as making it illegal to say a voluntary nonsectarian prayer in public schools. I contend the ruling goes far beyond the intent of the Founding Fathers.

As forecast in this column after the Supreme Court ruling, it was inevitable that the handful of secular-minded persons, who successfully carried their own objections to prayer through the courts, should try for further outlawing of other people's religious rights.

Now, an avowed atheist mother, who instigated one of the school prayer suits, is seeking to have the words "under God" removed from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. Those words were inserted by law after a campaign by our Hearst newspapers, I am proud to say, and I say it would be a sorry concession to opponents of religion if the courts were ever to remove them.

Please don't get the idea that I am applying the label of secular or atheist to all those who are on the side of the Supreme Court's prayer decisions. I don't believe more than a few are anything of the sort.

I do believe, however, that the fears of thousands of well-meaning persons—that an amendment of the Constitution would be tampering with our system of government—are ill-founded.

That is not the only erroneous (according to my view) reason which has impelled a good number of clergy and laymen to side with the Court's decision.

Some have expressed worry lest restoration of the right to school prayer open the door for establishment of majority religion to the detriment of minorities.

Some clergy have opposed nonsectarian school prayer on the grounds—seeming odd to me—that it is a dilution of religion.

Let's look at each of these objections close up:

1. The Constitution itself provided the procedure for amending it. The Founding Fathers were never so egotistic that they believed they had all the answers. In fact the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights are the first 10 amendments (the 10 which passed, of 12 proposed). "Tampering" fears don't stand up. Can you imagine the course of history if Supreme Court decisions upholding prohibition were to have prevented the 21st, or repeal amendment, from wiping out the infamous prohibition 18th?

2. The proposed amendment specifically aims to clarify ambiguity found in the first amendment. It just wants to stress that prayer in public schools—voluntary and nonsectarian—is not what the words "establishment of religion" means, as some of the fearful imply. In fact it is, I strongly believe, an assertion of the right to "free exercise" of religion expressed in the same first amendment.

3. In this day and age, when religions are moving under the guidance of wise men toward public respect for each other while retaining private beliefs which distinguish them, a nonsectarian prayer to God in public institutions is a strengthening, not a weakening, devotion. Belief in God is the common basis of all our great faiths.

I personally hold with the Biblical injunctions, expressed in Deuteronomy 6: 6 and 6: 7, which is the elaboration of the Ten Commandments:

"And these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart; and you shall teach them diligently to your children, and shall talk of them when you sit in your house, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise."

I was taught that prayer anywhere, anytime, in or outside a house of worship, is appropriate. I find it extremely illogical to assume it could dilute or in any way interfere with people's regular devotions in churches or synagogues of their choice.

David Sentner, the veteran Washington correspondent of the Hearst Newspapers, has been observing the House hearings on the prayer amendments. He has found the parade of witnesses, lay and clergy, revealing deep divisions—even inside our major faiths.

He reports strong support for a compromise—a resolution expressing the right to school prayer as "the sense of the House"—as a possible outcome. He points out that an amendment, if passed by the House, wouldn't have much chance fighting its way past the logjam of Senate business in order to be acted upon in this session.

Dave wrote his observations—fittingly—in words echoing Biblical style. Here they are:

"Now it came to pass in a certain country that the high judges made a ruling that there should be no prayers nor reading of the Bible in the public schools if ordered by the authorities lest there be violation of the edict of separation of church and state and possible creation of a state religion.

"Immediately there was heard a boom of protest across the land from the population who had built their way of life and government on the rock that there was a God and that this belief in a supreme being was recorded from the time the first President had proclaimed a day of thanksgiving to God for His help in founding a free nation where citizens could worship as they please.

"Also riding the crest of this mountainous wave of indignation was the claim that the high court decision might eventually overturn the administering of the oath of office, the convening of parliamentary gatherings with prayer and even the use of the inscription 'In God We Trust' on the coinage of the realm.

"It was further charged that the august judges had departed from their assigned function of interpreting the law and instead had appointed themselves as lawmakers.

"Nevertheless there were many holy men who bulwarked the decision of the high judges in the sincere belief that there was no way to insure a prayer for the schoolchildren which would not lean toward one particular faith.

"There were additional objections from good citizens against a proposed amendment to the Constitution to reverse the ruling. They contended that religion was a matter for the home and church and not intended as part of the educational system.

"Also there was opposition by legal students and theoreticians as to the wisdom of an amendment which would in truth merely amend the amendment which guaranteed religious freedom.

"However, the sense of outrage among the populace continued unabated despite the forceful arguments and logic of those upholding the ruling of the higher court. There was much emotionalism exhibited in the charges rising from the mainstream of the people in which it was maintained that support of the high court ruling provided aid and comfort to atheism and the anti-God Communist global movement.

"The vehement differences of opinion permeated a forum of solons for many weeks.

"And then a ray of light appeared through the wall of words with the suggestion that perhaps a resolution rather than an amendment to the Constitution might be worked out to please all factions. It was proposed that such a resolution would express the sense of Congress that the higher court clarify its ruling to allow the recital of a nonsectarian prayer on a voluntary basis in the public schools.

"And if this did not prove the solution an amendment might be considered later.

"Ignoring the pros and cons of the debate, no matter how well grounded, the simple sentiment kept mounting throughout the land like a pillar of fire in support of the traditional right of schoolchildren to pray to their kind of God if they felt like it and finding it hard to understand all the lintpicking on the alternatives.

"So it came to pass that wise men lined up on both sides of the issue began mulling over the idea of a resolution instead of an amendment as a sensible way out of the dilemma—God willing."

I think something needs to be done to prevent further attempts by the tiny handful of militant atheists to impose their will on the vast majority of us who worship God—in differing ways, but the same God.

I am convinced that a House resolution is the practical way to do it for now. It is a way to express the feelings of most of the people. It should have a persuasive effect on the thinking and future rulings of the Supreme Court, which has leaned over backward too far in order to "protect the rights" of those who do not believe in God.

This has unfortunately created a divisive issue which I am sure the Justices never meant to do. They are not irreligious men themselves, but their error rises from this Court's majority philosophy of putting individual rights above those of society in general.

Let those who don't want God in their lives try to evade Him. Clarifying the legality of voluntary and nonsectarian public prayer merely restores the rights of the rest of us—who do want God in our lives.

The Democratic Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, distinguished chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, honored me by his appearance at a testimonial dinner in my district. Chairman ASPINALL spoke of the Democratic Party and of the enlightened and effective service which it has provided in the interest of all of the people of our Nation. He expressed his own pride in being a member of the Democratic Party and gave his thoughts as to what it means to be a member of our great party.

Mr. Speaker, this address was enthusiastically received in my district and I have had many requests for copies. I am sure that my colleagues in the House would also find it of great interest and therefore I am including extracts from Mr. ASPINALL's speech in the RECORD with these remarks:

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE WAYNE N. ASPINALL, OF COLORADO, BEFORE THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR CONGRESSMAN COMPTON I. WHITE, JR., LEWISTON, IDAHO, MAY 23, 1964

I am glad to be in this beautiful part of our Nation at this time. I am glad to be in the company tonight of one of the outstanding sons of Idaho serving in the administrative branch of our Federal Government today, Assistant Secretary of Interior, John A. Carver. I am glad to be meeting with friends, supporters, and neighbors of Hon. COMPTON I. WHITE. To put it quite plainly, I am just very glad to be here.

It is seldom that I am requested to go outside of my own State of Colorado to make what may be termed a "party" talk, but may I say that when I am invited by a distinguished son of a very distinguished father, who was a member of the same committee on which I served during my first term in Congress—and when the invitation comes from a most able and effective member of the committee which I now chairman—I just cannot say no even if I wanted to do so, and most certainly I would not want to say no. Particularly am I glad to be speaking for Mr. WHITE because I believe that it is in the interest of this particular congressional district—as well as the State and Nation—to continue this new colleague of mine in office.

I am a Democrat by choice. I honestly believe that by far the greater amount of good, honest, and efficient public service has been and will be rendered by Democrats holding public office. When I speak publicly, I call attention to those good services, and I speak with pride of those Democrats so honored and so serving. This has been a practice of mine throughout the years. Even in my campaigning, I have never referred to my opponent by name, and for that matter, seldom have I taken note of the fact that there has been opposition. It is too late to change now even if I wanted to.

It is my sincere belief that Democrats should spend their time building up qualified Democrats and working for worthwhile issues. I think that there is altogether too much time spent in criticizing members of the other party, what they have done or are doing, and whether or not members of the other party have been or are qualified for the positions which they hold or to which they aspire. It has always been my thought that if we Democrats present well qualified candidates—candidates who, if you please, have started in minor positions of public service and worked their way into places of greater responsibility, qualifying themselves for every change in status which comes their way—and if, at the same time, we work for those programs and projects which serve the people generally and protect the individual and the minority as the programs are being formulated and executed, then the general public itself will be able to evaluate the services of their public officeholders and that by and large their decisions will be fair and equitable and generally in support of Democrats.

Now, inherent to what I have said, I wish to speak for a few minutes on the two-party system which is as necessary to our form of Government in my opinion as the air is to the continuance of life on this planet. Just so long as we have a vital two-party system, we will be able to determine the wishes of the majority which is primary to the effective operation of a representative form of Government. A one-party system is, of course, necessarily a base for a dictatorship. A multiple system, that is more than two parties, all too often provides for Government by coalition which means that minorities in most instances determine action programs for the people. Again I contend that the welfare of our Government depends upon a virile and effective two-party system.

It is not my responsibility or purpose here this evening to trace the development of the opposition party. I leave that for its own adherents to undertake. I am interested in the welfare of the Democratic Party. I am interested in the enlightened leadership of the Democratic Party. I am interested in the intelligent fellowership as well as leadership of the Democratic Party. It is not because of the age of our party that I delight in my membership in it although it happens to be the oldest of all political parties ever formulated in our Nation. It was in May, 1792, that our party came into existence. It was conceived in adversity and it was brought forth in those early days when its members were rediculed and criticized. In its first days, it was more or less of an opposition party, an antiparty, but if I interpret history correctly, it was not an antiparty because of personalities. It was an antiparty because of its opposition to the approach that the governing party had to many of the problems of that early day. This antiparty developed within a few years into the Democratic-Republican Party, and a few decades later into the Democratic Party as we now know it. It is because of the enlightened and effective service in the interests of the people generally that I am proud of my membership in and my service for the Democratic Party.

I shall mention at this time two groups of those national and world leaders of the Democratic Party who served the Nation and the party so well. Both groups are composed of the names of four individuals. The first group is composed of Jefferson, Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and Cleveland. Each of these leaders believed in the popular control of government, the wide extension of the suffrage, the fullest possible degree of personal liberty and a strict construction of the Constitution which would preserve the rights of individuals and at the same time maintain government as close to the people as possible. Each leader had his own method of effectuating these beliefs. Each of these leaders was criticized and pilloried by the people who were possessed of position and wealth. Suffice it to say that under each one of these leaders just named, the Nation progressed. It reacted to the necessary change in spite of those who would have held it in the status quo or sent it reeling backward.

The next group of our Democratic Presidents and leaders includes the names of Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy. Woodrow Wilson reaffirmed the Democratic faith in the rights of every man. It was he who became the first President of the United States to be acclaimed throughout the world as a world leader. His expression of interest in the world leaders, in the individual rights of people, made him the philosophical spokesman for peace and justice, and it was his efforts that brought forth the world forum in which to air international disputes.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, responding to the need for change but at the same time restraining those radical elements that were seeking far-reaching structural changes, employed startling innovations to preserve the free enterprise system. Besides giving to the Nation the confidence that it needed so badly, he enunciated the famous "four freedoms" as basic rights for all men: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Again, he instituted the good neighbor policy which joined the Western Hemisphere as it had never been before. Following Wilson's lead, he gave impetus to a world organization dedicated to peace; that is, the United Nations, which is so misunderstood by so many even today.

It is perhaps too early as yet to evaluate the services of Harry S. Truman and John

F. Kennedy. Each, in his own way, followed fearlessly and effectively in the footsteps of his Democratic predecessors and at the same time contributed to the perpetuation of the high ideals which have always motivated the people of this country. It is not my intention nor my desire to try further to evaluate these two leaders with whom I have been so closely associated. But I can advise you, my fellow Democrats, that their decisions were always in the interest, as they understood the problems, of the security of our Nation and its people and of the furtherance of the inherent rights of the individual citizens—equal rights and justice for all.

I have named eight of our presidential leaders. I have divided them into two groups of four each. Now I shall name the first of the next group. We were fortunate indeed that following the tragic death of our beloved President and Party leader, John F. Kennedy, this Nation and the free world had ready and able a man of President Lyndon B. Johnson's experience—his knowledge of government, his dedication to freedom and the private enterprise system, his recognized leadership to protect the rights of the individual, and the people collectively—in position to head the ship of state in its time of distress. Upon his shoulders fell the greatest burden with the greatest number of problems ever placed upon any man in such a situation during the history of mankind. He was trained under the leadership of the matchless Franklin Delano Roosevelt; he worked closely with President Truman; and he became the leader of the U.S. Senate for the many years preceding his advancement to the Vice Presidency. It is said that President Johnson has considered Franklin Delano Roosevelt as his second father. He picked a good one. We all know that President Johnson was picked by President Kenendy to be his running mate. President Kennedy picked a good one. President Johnson showed his loyalty to his party and his Nation in his willingness to accept the designation for the office of Vice President. His success to date with the problems with which he has been confronted has been most outstanding. His decisiveness, his willingness, and his unbounding energy is giving new life to this Nation. I predict that he will be elected President in his own right by one of the great majorities of all time.

And, now may I ask you—what has it meant and what does it mean to be a Democrat or to be a member of the Democratic Party?

In the words of my most esteemed colleague from South Carolina, WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN—whose name should bring to our minds the only party to which he could belong—I bring you the following:

"The Democratic Party is not the party of the right or the left. It is the party of all people. Even our dynamic, vibrant, growing Democratic Party cannot move forward if it is in the ditch on the left-hand side of the road; nor can it move forward to its destiny if it is in the ditch on the right-hand side of the road. We can and we shall move forward in the middle of the road with the time-honored principles and ideals around which all of the Democrats in our great party can unite. There is room in the middle of the road for liberals, moderates, conservatives and all sincere, honest elements who wish to move forward with the part of the future. The Democratic Party has been and is today the party of the people. We know no class, creed, nor 'border, nor breen, nor birth.' The ingredients of our party, as Kipling said, come from the 'ends of the earth.'

"I am proud of the great traditions of our Democratic Party. We have championed the cause of the underprivileged and carried the banner of the typical American. We appeal to the elderly, yet we challenge the imagination of youth. In every section of our great land—the North, the South, the East and the West—we have welcomed conservatives, liberals, moderates; and out of this melting pot we have fashioned our contribution to good government and leadership in these United States. Democrats have led our Nation on the road to higher standards, to prosperity, unprecedented wages, and benefits for those who labor in the vineyard. In time of war, we furnished that leadership and courage which eliminated forever the ambitions of the Kaiser, the raving Hitler, and the rampaging Axis warlords. Yes, we will move forward with this modern, dynamic philosophy of the Democratic Party. What is this philosophy? What have we done? What are our plans for the future? Upon what and around whom can we unite?"

I am sure that all of us here tonight would agree that being a member of our party carries with it no high social status. It is not necessarily the fashionable thing to do to belong to the Democratic Party. Again, I am sure that all of us would agree that the Democratic Party is not necessarily a well-run, smooth-functioning organization taking its orders from above. Time and time again, throughout the years, I have been made aware of the iron discipline of the opposition party. Democrats, may I say, and I speak affectionately of each and every one of them, are a brawling and balky group. There is little discipline. As a rule, we have no hesitancy to speak our minds and at times refuse to follow our leadership. This may or may not be a happy situation for party discipline but nevertheless, it is true and it is only our willingness to unite in the final moments of a hard-fought campaign that as a rule we present such united strength to assure us success. On the other hand, the mere fact that we are made up of people who are not only willing but are allowed to state their own opinions and make their own choices known helps assure us the confidence of the voting public.

I doubt if there is anyone present tonight who would care to assume the position for arguing that a member of our party belongs because of the opportunity for personal wealth. We do have wealthy men, and we have had wealthy men as our national leaders, but it is not the personal wealth nor the aspirations for wealth that builds our party.

Neither does our party provide a sure and easy way to public office. Seldom, if ever, do we pick candidates because of status or position gained in some other activity of life. Usually it is the member of the party who has worked from the grassroots in his early party service that is tapped to run for public office. Usually it is the experienced public servant of our party who received the request to run for higher office. In other words, no one can play in the Democratic Party and be successful. He may be assured that there is a rough road if he desires to be honored and trusted by election to public office.

As another colleague of mine, the Honorable CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, a new young Member from the State of Georgia—that one State in all of the Union that has never failed to vote for a Democratic candidate for the Presidency—remarked in a recent address:

"Are all Democrats alike? You know the answer to that. Here are some of my Democratic colleagues in the HOUSE—MATSUNAGA, a Japanese-American; GONZALES, a Mexican-American. All of the Negroes in the Congress are Democrats. Then there is PUCINSKI, LESINSKI, and KLUCZYNSKI. There is O'HARA, O'BRIEN, and O'NEILL. There is ROSENTHAL, FARBSTEIN, and CELLER. There is SMITH, JONES, and BROWN. There is even RAINS, RIVERS, FLOOD, and FOUNTAIN. No, it is not a common race, nor creed, nor birth."

With the exception, as I stated in the beginning, that Democrats invariably stand for the rights of the individual, united together in national strength, it is most difficult to figure a clear, concise, and compelling political doctrine running throughout the history of our party.

Congressman WELTNER continued when he said: "Just what kind of a party is this. I'll tell you what kind—it's a great party. In this century, it has won two World Wars, and led the way out of a crushing depression. It has fashioned every piece of legislation since 1900. It has made the United States the most powerful nation on the globe, and the undisputed leader of the free world. It is a party of accomplishment, and of success.

"What, then, is its appeal to you—to me—to the millions of Democrats in America. The answer is very simple. The answer is immediately at hand. The Democratic Party is a great party because it is a democratic party. It's democratic because its concern is people. It has room enough for all—for all shades of opinion—for all ethnic and religious groups—for all men of all stations of life. Within our party is a place for everyone, and something of value for everyone."

Now, then, to another question—when do Democrats win and when do Democrats lose? It is axiomatic Democrats win when they have the confidence of the electorate. They have the confidence of the electorate when they present fiercely and militantly those programs which serve the people and those candidates who are willing to work for the people.

And yet another question: why is it that today so many of our citizens are willing to take a free ride and not give their membership to either of the great parties? To this question I shall give but a short answer. I honestly think that there are too many people in this Nation of ours who, because of good economic conditions, because of the lure of many pleasures that are available to practically all, are willing to take a free ride and are willing to live, without giving anything in return, in the house after it is built by someone else. Yes, even when it is maintained by their fellow citizens. In short, they are willing to partake of the benefits of liberty and freedom, won by others, and which, by the way, must be ever defended and furthered. They are willing to let the other fellow do the hard work while they look for the easy task or no task at all.

The success of a representative form of government has always depended upon all citizens working together—each citizen giving unselfishly of the talents with which nature has endowed him and which have been developed in the political, social, and religious atmosphere which is guaranteed to him by his own government. Only so long as each citizen accepts this individual responsibility is his government secure. It is indeed a tragedy of human history that people can unite together in times of great physical danger to themselves and to their loved ones, but that they are unable to unite for the building of a better world in good and peaceful times.

Finally, what then is our challenge as Democrats? I believe that from what I have said, it must be eternal vigilance and industry on our part to work, first, in the interest of our fellow citizens; and, second, in the interest of our party. It must be to dedicate ourselves to the idea that the interests of our fellow citizens and the interest of our party are synonomous. Personal and collective ambition for such service have their place, but they must never be overriding. If they are, we lose the confidence of the general electorate. This we cannot do if we wish to put into being our ideas and our programs. This we cannot do if we wish to taste the sweet fruits of political victory. I see for no segment of our party, or for no individual of our party, or for no office-seeker of our party, an easy way to success.

As I close, I pay my personal tribute to those dedicated men and women, those youth and the girls and boys of our party who are motivated by their loyalty to the principles of our party and who work year after year in order to see that our programs serving the people are made possible and that our candidates receive the support of the electorate so that such officeholders may bring into existence those programs serving the people generally.

I take my last thought from the speech that was never given—words that received no life from that eloquent voice which was silenced so quickly and so completely by the dastard assassin who gave only of himself to ruin and destroy that which was so good in his fellow human beings.

These are the closing words of the speech that was prepared for delivery by our late President John F. Kennedy in Austin, Tex., on the night of November 22, 1963:

"And our duty as a party is not to our party alone, but to the Nation, and, indeed, to all mankind. Our duty is not merely the preservation of political power but the preservation of peace and freedom.

"So let us not be petty when our cause is so great. Let us not quarrel amongst ourselves when the Nation's future is at stake. Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our cause—united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future—and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and abundance."

Fiction as Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 19, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article from the May 8, 1964, edition of the Evening Star which well points out the evils of the fair trade concept as set forth in the iniquitous quality stabilization bill.

This editorial gives good, legitimate reasons why the Senate Commerce Committee, which will tomorrow consider this legislation, should uphold the economic principles that are the basis of our free enterprise system by voting against this nefarious bill:

FICTION AS POLICY

Some of the most imaginative fiction ever written is in the argument made in favor of fair trade.

It's a fiction that Congress has, time after time, taken to be reality. So it will be no surprise, but surely a disappointment, if this week there is a new try on Capitol Hill to make fantasy come true.

"Fair trade" is the name given to the practice of letting a manufacturer decide how much the public will pay for his goods when they appear on retail counters. Thus, long after the goods have left the factory, the factory is still fixing the price.

The fiction in favor of this is that the manufacturer has a property right in the brand on his products, that that right survives the sale by him of the product, and that the way to protect the right is to force the public to pay a higher price than some stores want to charge.

The whole idea, undisguised, is to kill the bargain that a discount house or any other retailer may offer on the goods. Discounts have a habit of ignoring brand names and selling on price. Thus, the public gets the goods, all the quality, if any, that's in them, it pays about as much as the goods are worth. But it doesn't get the propaganda that's supposed to make customers think fondly of brand X, or whatever.

That this is the way a merchant may operate, if he wishes, in a free economy, seems not to impress many men in public life. The Supreme Court just this week fell for Ohio's latest version of the fair trade fiction, and simply ignored the question of whether this is fair to the consumer.

Tomorrow the Senate Commerce Committee will consider the wisdom of elevating this fiction to national policy. We trust they will look at the facts, and put fiction in its proper place.

Tito and the "Enemies" of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to insert into the RECORD at this point an article which appeared in the June 4 edition of the Macedonian Tribune, reporting on recent developments in Communist-controlled Yugoslavia.

I believe it is especially important that we in the United States recognize the dictatorial, vicious nature of the Tito regime, not only recognizing its external cooperation with international communism, but its internal activities suppressing the desires for freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The article follows:

TITO AND THE "ENEMIES" OF THE PEOPLE

In Yugoslavia, as in all countries with Communist regimes, one of the most important official holy days is "The Day of the People's Militia." This is deservely so. Without the "People's Militia" these regimes would collapse immediately.

This year's celebration of the militia in Yugoslavia was unusually festive. Tito himself honored it and praised its accomplishments and publicly confessed "That the enemies of the people continue to present an internal and external danger for the safety of the country."

Commenting on the celebration and Tito's talk, this is what the Belgrade correspondent of the New York Times says in the issue of May 17, 1964:

TITO SAYS ENEMIES OF NATION PERSIST

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, May 16.—President Tito asserted this week that "there are still enemies" inside and outside the country and he warned the Internal Security Service to be on guard.

The security service includes frontier guards, penal institution personnel, village guards, the People's Militia (uniformed police), and the secret police.

Yugoslavia call the secret police UDBA, the initials standing for Administration of Internal Security, even though that agency has long been absorbed into the present service, whose initials are SUP.

UDBA still has a menacing ring to most Yugoslavs.

Even though the Times correspondent makes a vain attempt to softpedal the terrible crimes of Tito's infamous secret police, the UDBA, he could hardly whitewash their bloody hands and thus admits a few well-known truths.

The Titoists, and all who echo their pronouncements, brand as "Fascist terrorist organizations" the hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav refugees in all parts of the globe who have banded together in a common struggle against the Communist tyranny in Yugoslavia and want to establish free and independent states in their homlands. The refugees vow to carry on relentlessly this fight against the unwanted imposters and torturers of their peoples.

There have been occasions when Tito has tried to impose his will upon foreign governments to ban the activities of these refugee groups, only to be met by rebuff and ridicule. Much to his sorrow the hand of UDBA cannot reach out to suppress the spirit of freedom with which these refugees are possessed.

The correspondent correctly states that inside Yugoslavia there are those who actively oppose the Communits regime. This, in fact, is an understatement. Actually the greatest majority of the people in Yugoslavia are opposed to Tito and his band of cutthroats. Without the UDBA, whose shadow spreads in every part of the unhappy land, Tito and Yugoslavia will fall down like a tower of cards. But sooner or later, at some propitious moment in international events, this house of cards will shake from its foundation and decompose. During the Hungarian uprising in 1956 Tito himself openly admitted such fear when he approved that Soviet Russia has sent tanks and suppress the Hungarian patriotic revolt. It is evident that what he wanted to emphasize then was his readiness to call for Russian tanks, if need be, to save his socialism if the enemies of the people took up arms to smash his bloody regime.

Address by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson—Lady Bird to those of us who know and love her—is one of the truly remarkable women of our time. A gracious and charming First Lady of the Land, she is also an effective and astute spokesman for the policies and ideals of her husband's administration.

On June 3, she addressed the graduating class of the Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School. A touching moment in the ceremony was when Mrs. Johnson presented a diploma to Beth Jenkins, the daughter of her husband's long-time aid, Walter Jenkins. She urged the class of 1964 to prepare themselves for being "women doers." Bringing more talented women into the Government has been a prime objective of the Johnson administration, and there is no better example of the effectiveness of this than the First Lady herself. The following is the address of Mrs. Johnson,

which I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD so that all may have the benefit of her fine words:

REMARKS BY MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, GEORGETOWN VISITATION PREPARATORY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 3, 1964

Your Excellency, Sister Roberta, students, and parents, it is a great pleasure for me to be here at this historical and lovely school which was founded in 1799—1 year before the city of Washington. This is a most important day in your lives.

For me this ceremony has an added dimension—a sentimental one. The President and I have shared the joys and strengths of long-time friendship with the proud parents of Beth Jenkins. Today is, therefore, a very special and proud day for us too.

And to you parents who have given so much in devotion and sacrifice to send your girls here, may I say I know today you feel amply rewarded as you look at your alert and attractive young daughters.

This is a time when you will be leaving these familiar surroundings to begin your lives as educated women. Much will be asked and expected of you. We live in a world in which change and challenge have become household words. You must be courageous enough to understand these challenges and wise enough to meet them with a steady and a helping hand.

Many years ago, Nathaniel Hawthorne's daughter, who attended this school wrote a study of Georgetown Visitation Convent which she called "A Story of Courage."

Winston Churchill has said that "Courage is rightly esteemed the first of human qualities because it is the quality which guarantees all others." It is the quality which is essential if one is to be guaranteed a life in which there is independence of mind and spirit.

Education brings learning, but it is useless unless it also brings a courageous attitude toward life.

This is what I think commencement is all about. We begin to think out our role in society; we begin to think out the applications of learning and skills we have developed. This takes courage.

As graduates of Georgetown Visitation, you have the best of two worlds. In your years here you have learned to appreciate the values of tradition. You have been given an unbreakable link with other generations because you have shared with them a common experience. For some of you this link has been as personal as having mothers, grandmothers, even great-grandmothers, attending Visitation before you.

To their delight and yours, your alma mater is timeless. You have all, each in her time, enjoyed the sense of security that comes with changeless values. By fostering self-discipline and cultivating gentleness, as well as by providing a fine education, Visitation is providing you with qualities greatly needed in today's world.

We Americans tend to think of ourselves as a very young, very new nation. It is sometimes difficult for us to realize that among the nations of the world we have the oldest democratic constitution in existence.

Surely the experiences of your years here at school have brought you very close to our origins as a nation. Having been a student here, you have gained a perspective against which to view the problems of our times. It is important that we look at our world against the perspective of history.

But I do not wish to look backward and think only of the glories of our tradition-rich past. The inspiration to be taken from our Founding Fathers—and from the courageous founders of this school—is that they had a forward looking view. They could never have overcome the problems they faced if they had not kept their eyes on the future.

Jefferson said, "Cherish the spirit of our people." He was concerned with the growth of democracy. The journey of your life is still the unfinished story of America's growth, of the quest for the fulfillment of the American dream.

The words on your diplomas are the signposts on your road to the future. Words are wonderful, magical messengers. The words of the wise, of the great, of the prophet, the poet, and the philosopher have become yours. You have inherited them by means of a fortunate legacy, the legacy of an education.

What are you going to do with them? How can you use them to defend freedom? How can you use them to bring an end to poverty and prejudice? How can you use them to extend understanding between nations?

I am certain each one of you will have a different and positive answer to these questions. It is never too early to start being a part of your community. This summer beckons you. Many of you have—like my daughter, Luci—gotten part-time jobs. That is an important part of learning. But don't let the next 3 months just waste away. You can do all kinds of things. You can, for instance, go down to the Urban Service Corps where Mrs. Annette Read will be glad to sign you up as a reading aid for children or as a library helper. You will have done a great deal if you help only one child learn how to use the library for, do you realize—in the District of Columbia—most public elementary schools are without libraries? That means that many youngsters enter junior high school needing to use libraries for their schoolwork, but they never had any experience. This is a simple thing, but it is an important thing and it would be easy for you to do. Some of you may perhaps lend hand and heart to the Notre Dame Summer Peace Corps.

The challenge of democracy is one of learning about, growth toward, and realization of those goals that can fulfill the American dream.

I believe that the educated woman today has a role to play—of courage and conviction—unparalleled since frontier times. Then, she served as wife, teacher, physician, and often community leader in her settlement town. Today, she may be required to play much the same role in one of the far-off battalions of the Peace Corps. Or, she may be called on to show equal courage in tackling a wide range of tasks here at home. I recently came to know at close hand two such women and their work—Marie Turner, superintendent of schools for Breathitt County in the Cumberlands, and Kate Tuchman, principal of Public School 184 in Harlem. These are two areas where teaching can make all the difference in the caliber of the young Americans who grow up there. I would strongly recommend for your own consideration the frontiers these dedicated women have chosen to conquer.

Woman can no longer afford to concern herself only with the hearth, any more than man can afford to concern himself only with his job.

Too often success is treated as the single most important goal, the ultimate objective of the American dream. And this success is constantly measured by promotions, rewards, affluence.

Certainly these are the symbols and the trappings of success. But are these necessarily enduring attributes? Are these the lasting satisfactions that make life worthwhile? What happens when the ceremony is over, the pageants past, and the triumph a memory?

Have we not sometimes substituted the props of material success for the realities of timeless values?

Success has many faces; it need not be circumscribed by a title, a job, a cause. Success is not always getting. It is more often giving. It does not consist of what we do, but rather in what we are. Success is not always an accomplishment. It can be a state of mind. The quiet dignity of a home, the relationship of the individuals in that home. The continuing expression of an inquiring mind can mean more in terms of success than all the surface symbols of status.

This world beyond Georgetown Visitation, the one you are entering, is a wonderful world. Never before have young women found it so full of opportunity to achieve, so full of challenge to be creative. In every community there is a need for women leaders, women with a gift of understanding, women with vision, women with confidence in themselves, women with a questing mind and a quiet heart.

Less than 50 years ago, a conscientious graduate of Visitation could hope to do little more than treat the symptoms of world ills. You, with your expanded horizons and your wider sense of participation, can strike at the root causes. Today a woman with the strength to take on problems that do not lend themselves to quick and easy solutions can build the success that comes of fulfillment, of a cause won, and a world the better for it.

You are no longer limited to giving succor, to stamping out suffering. You may not be expected to fill Christmas baskets for the needy, but to serve on committees to create new job opportunities. You will not only be asked to open your home to these committees, but to invite the visitor from Chile or the student from Kenya to share your hearth in the hope of extending international understanding.

In planning your further course of study, I hope each of you will not only prepare for a satisfying personal life, but for a useful public life as well. Just as our country can no longer turn inward and concern itself with its own affairs, no individual can turn inward and concern herself only with her own and her family's lives. The world has become so small that the problems of Vietnam and Zanzibar come to our breakfast tables. The standard of living in remote parts of the world can vitally affect our own prosperity. Just so, our progress and our cultural enrichment must be shared with others at the farthest end of the globe.

I would like to add one thing more.

All people have dreams: dreams and images of the person they would like to be and the world they would like to live in. High school graduates like yourselves usually believe their dreams can become realities, college seniors usually label the same dreams as daydreams too farfetched to be realized.

But, in an age when so much is possible, I hope you will hold on to your dreams—examine them in the light of reality—and work to make them come true. Many of them will.

CAB Weighs Problems of Combination and All-Cargo Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the June 1, 1964, edition of Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly carried an excellent editorial, I believe, dealing with the controversy which is currently raging between the combination and the all-cargo airlines.

My intent in furnishing the editorial entitled "Point of No Return," by Shirley Scheibla, for the RECORD, is to provide for those who are interested in this controversy an unbiased presentation of the facts so that they might better arrive at a just and reasonable conclusion.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix this editorial:

POINT OF NO RETURN—ALL-CARGO AIRLINES FACE SOME HARD DECISIONS

(By Shirley Scheibla)

"It is also within the realm of possibility that scheduled air cargo service by an independent carrier may not prove to be economically feasible. This, however, is something that can be determined only by actual experience. Since the service will not be subsidized, it becomes a matter for the new carrier and its shareholders to determine whether, as a matter of business judgment, it desires to venture its capital in this enterprise. All of the applicants are fully aware of the attendant risks, and all are actively seeking the opportunity to prove the economic feasibility of this venture" (1954 decision of the CAB certifying Seaboard as a transatlantic cargo carrier).

WASHINGTON.—The Pentagon is impatiently trying to push its 15-year-old fledgling, the all-cargo airlines industry, out of the nest. Four all-cargo lines—Flying Tiger, Slick Airways, Airlift International (formerly Riddle) and Seaboard World Airlines—were franchised by the Government, starting in 1949, in an attempt to develop an airfreight service which would be independent of the regular passenger carriers. While the tonnage of freight shipped by air has increased ninefold in the past decade and a half, the all-cargo lines have fared poorly; they survive only because of the revenues they receive from the Defense Department for carrying military freight.

END OF THE RUN?

Now they have been put on notice that they must no longer depend on that source of income. Last March, in letting contracts for its Military Air Transport Service (MATS), the Department announced that its goal is "eventually to use air carriers * * * which have an appropriate balance between civil and military business." A high Pentagon official, elaborating on that statement, told Barron's: "If they have to depend on us, maybe they should go out of business. It would be cheaper for the military services to do their own transport work than to keep the all-cargo lines flying." He indicated that the lines will be given only "a couple of years more" in which to build up their commercial volume to at least 60 percent of their total business.

The Pentagon is also eyeing dubiously the relatively slow prop jets which the all-cargo lines are still using, although the passenger airlines have gone to fan jets for their cargo services. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has asked his staff to determine whether it would be more economical for MATS to ship everything by pure jet. An affirmative decision would be disastrous for the all-cargo lines, which do not have the financial resources to shift quickly to the faster aircraft.

The military's hard-boiled attitude is forcing the Civil Aeronautics Board to face its moment of truth. Most CAB members feel responsible for having created the all-cargo industry in the first place, by granting charters to the four companies, and they would like to find some way to help it survive. Several plans are under consideration. One is to extend their charters to allow the all-cargo firms to fly anywhere they can find a market for their services. Another would give them a larger share of the business of carrying mail. A third would, in effect, give them the exclusive right to operate air freighters; the passenger lines would be allowed to carry only what freight they could tuck into the bellies of their regularly scheduled passenger flights.

The first proposal, in the opinion of CAB Chairman Alan S. Boyd, would make for a much more efficient airfreight service for the Nation. Under a rule now pending before the Board, freight movement no longer would be chiefly along the passenger routes of the trunklines. The all-cargo companies would have unlimited authority to fly anywhere they pleased in search of business—for instance, to isolated industrial plants.

PLAN FOR PROSPERITY

Mr. Boyd believes such an arrangement would enable the all-cargo carriers to develop additional freight business and improve the utilization of their planes. As utilization rose, costs and freight rates would come down, causing more shippers to switch to airfreight. With that competitive edge, the all-cargo lines would theoretically prosper and also do the job for which they were created—developing the airfreight market.

The second part of the CAB's formula for aiding the all-cargo lines is to give them the exclusive right to offer the Post Office Department bulk rates for carrying the mail. Such an arrangement, they contend, would yield the Government significant economies.

In what it calls "an attempt to embarrass the Post Office Department into accepting our proposition," Flying Tiger has been running newspaper ads pointing out that its rate for flying 5 tons of highly perishable lobsters from Boston to Los Angles is $1,700, whereas the Government pays the combination carriers (lines which carry both passengers and freight) $4,200 to deliver the same quantity of airmail by the same route.

The Postmaster General sees little merit in the argument. A spokesman for the Department points out that seldom, if ever, does the Boston Post Office have 5 tons of airmail going to Los Angeles in one shipment. "We are not going to pay a bulk rate for space we don't use," he says. Another official adds: "If we followed the suggestions of the all-cargo carriers and gave them bulk mail, the combination carriers would have to charge more because they would be carrying a smaller volume."

Far from acting to help the all-cargo carriers, the Post Office Department is demanding lower rates for the transportation of mail to oversea destinations. Citing the greater efficiency of jets, which the combination carriers are now using extensively on such runs, the Department last month petitioned the CAB for a reduction of about 50 percent in the rates it pays for transoceanic hauling. Seaboard, the only all-cargo line operating internationally, has asked the CAB to exempt military ordinary mail (MOM) from any reduction.

"Most of the mail currently carried by Seaboard is MOM," the line told the CAB, "and this traffic has been allocated to air-freighter aircraft in order to develop and sustain airfreighter service. For this reason it is vital to hold its rate as close as possible to its current level."

The most controversial proposal for aiding the all-cargo lines—and the one which has the passenger lines up in arms against them—is that they alone be permitted to operate airfreighters. The idea was put forth last fall in a white paper which Slick, Flying Tiger, and Airlift presented to the CAB. They urged that the Board force the passenger lines to stick to their own end of the business, carrying only the freight they could cram into the bellies of their passenger planes. Normally, about 15,000 pounds of cargo can be packed into the holds of a big passenger jet, as compared with the 90,000-pound capacity of an all-cargo jet.

LEAVE A CLEAR FIELD?

The CAB balked at any such drastic step. In January, however, it came up with its own suggestion—that the combination carriers voluntarily go out of the freighter business leaving the field clear for the all-cargo lines.

Specifically, the Board proposed a regulation which would allow the passenger lines to make blocked-space agreements with the all-cargo carriers. They would continue to handle belly freight as usual; for larger shipments, however, they would be allowed to buy blocks of space in freighters from the all-cargo lines. The latter thus would become wholesalers of cargo space to the passenger lines, besides remaining free to sell their services to the general public.

CAB Chairman Boyd believes that the passenger lines will go along with this arrangement if they are subjected to a little moral suasion. He says: "I am firmly convinced that blocked-space arrangements will work out for the good of the combination carriers if they can just be made to see it. They are making money on their belly freight, but not on their freighter operations. They should be happy to turn over a losing business to the all-cargo carriers."

To convince the passenger lines that their self-interest lies in abandoning freighter operations to the all-cargo carriers, Mr. Boyd plans to carry moral suasion to extremes. He proposes that they be required, in the operating statements which they file each year with the agency, to show a breakdown on the costs of their freighter operations. At present, they file only overall cargo-carrying costs, without distinguishing between belly-freight and all-cargo flights.

The new method of cost accounting, Mr. Boyd asserts, would persuade the airlines that, in reality, they are subsidising their all-cargo flights at the expense of their passenger income. If they plugged the drain, he insists, net earnings would climb. Once one or two of the smaller lines agree to blocked-space arrangements, he thinks the entire industry will perceive the advantages of the system and willingly convert to it.

Chairman Boyd also holds out a carrot to the passenger lines. If their earnings did in fact rise after eliminating what he maintains are unprofitable freighter operations, he says the CAB would not insist on lower passenger fares. He points out that the lines are now earning only a little over 0.7 percent on invested capital instead of the 10.5 percent which the CAB has said it considers desirable.

FIGHT TO FINISH

Chairman Boyd says that, if moral suasion fails, the agency might seek legislation to compel the passenger lines to give up their freighter operations. This is exactly what the airlines fear, and they are prepared to fight the CAB all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

The combination lines argue that it is they, not the all-cargo companies, who are developing the airfreight market. They carry 85 percent of all scheduled domestic cargo. They also serve 35 all-cargo points, against only 19 for the all-cargo lines.

According to United Air Lines, the combinations flew some 420 million scheduled freight ton-miles in 1958, the all-cargo lines only 91.6 million. For the year ended last October 31, the latter figure had risen only 15 percent, to 105.8 million, while the cargo business of the passenger airlines was up 21 percent, to 510 million ton-miles.

The combination carriers also point out that they have been much faster off the mark in converting to jetplanes than have the all-cargo lines. Airlift has one DC-8F, which it leases to Alitalia for two flights weekly, and is to take delivery of another in June. Seaboard also has one DC-8F in service. Otherwise, the cargo lines have no pure jets. They have invested about $70

million in Canadair's CL–44 propjets, which have a maximum speed of 340 miles per hour, against the 500 to 530 miles per hour attained by pure jets used in cargo work. Moreover, the CL–44's are used primarily for transporting military goods and for charter work, rarely for commercial freight.

To be sure, both Slick and Flying Tiger have signed contracts for the purchase of Lockheed C–141's, with deliveries to start in late 1967. Slick has ordered four; Flying Tiger, eight. The contracts, however, are conditional; they take effect only if Lockheed agrees to lengthen the planes by some 23 feet, to enable them to carry larger payloads. Lockheed says it will do so only if it receives orders for 75 or 100 such craft. Therefore, unless the Pentagon agrees to buy the longer versions, it appears doubtful that the craft will ever be delivered.

PARADE TO JETS

By contrast, the passenger lines are well launched into the jet age for their cargo services. Pan American began the parade to jets a year ago when it placed three Boeing 707 320–C's in service. Now the company has 11 all-cargo jets in the air, with 2 more on order. It has invested $110 million in the fleet, and is building automated freight terminals in New York and other major cargo ports at an estimated cost of $10 million.

Among the other major combination carriers, Trans World Airlines has invested over $40 million in five 320–C's and in terminal facilities. American has spent $40 million and boasts four 320–C's. United currently is putting $26 million into terminals and three Douglas DC8F jet freighters, two of which are to be in operation this year. Other lines have a total of 15 jet freighters delivered or on order.

DEBATE OVER PROFITS

Whether the combination carriers are earning a profit on their freighter operations is a subject of some debate. Says CAB Chairman Boyd: "Nobody is making money on commercial all-cargo operations. The Big Four (combination carriers) lost more than $20 million in all-cargo operations during the year ended September 30—a loss emanating from revenues of $41 million." However, the Big Four (Pan Am, American, United, and TWA) contend that it is unfair to draw such a conclusion from last year's operating statements, since most of them did not start receiving their jet freighters until early this year. Currently, they say all-cargo operations are yielding a good profit.

Indeed, Pan Am, which was the first to fly jet freighters, claims an operating profit of $2.9 million for the last half of 1963 on its all-cargo jet service, despite a load factor of only 32.9 percent. Marion Sadler, president of American Airlines, says its jet freighters have returned a profit on every mile flown. He adds: "American and other jet freighter operators probably could reduce rates at the present time because the new equipment is so efficient. However, in the existing climate of public opinion, such a reduction might be misunderstood as a rate war aimed at the so-called cargo lines."

The all-cargo lines dispute the accounting of the passenger lines, contending that they are juggling the figures to make their freighter operations look profitable. It is simply impossible, even with jet economies, to show a profit with a 39.2-percent load factor, they say to do so, Pan Am must be shifting profitable cargoes from the bellies of passenger planes to the freighters. It is true that the combination carriers do not give breakdowns on their operations which would permit outside observers to judge whether their cargo operations are truly profitable.

AWASH IN RED INK

What is obvious is that the combination carriers are making a go of their commercial business and the all-cargo lines are not. Of total revenues of $116 million for the year ended last June 30, the all-cargo lines derived $84 million from the Pentagon. Even with such assistance, their reports to stockholders contained more red ink than black. Slick, for one, is diversifying into other lines of business. Mr. Boyd concedes that, as things stand, the all-cargo lines will be unable to hold out for more than another 2 or 3 years.

By contrast, the combination carriers are uniformly optimistic about their cargo operations. Both American and TWA forecast a 20-percent increase in freight shipments this year. United expects a 16-percent gain. Pan Am thinks its transatlantic cargo billings will rise 28 percent.

The combination carriers insist that the Government should not take business away from companies which are doing well and give it to firms which are failing. While the CAB has taken no final action on the proposals of the all-cargo lines, the passenger lines say they have already encountered discriminatory treatment. While the Board has refused to permit blocked-space agreements between TWA and Air France, and between Pan Am and Japan Airlines, it has approved such agreements for Seaboard with British Overseas Airways, Lufthansa, and Swissair.

Two members of the CAB, Chan Gurney and Whitney Gilliland, think the policy on blocked space needs reexamination. In joint dissenting opinions in the Pan Am and TWA cases, they urged that the Board "review the policy questions involved in all similar agreements which the Board has approved."

Looking over the shoulder of the CAB in the whole controversy is the Senate Commerce Committee. It says: "The area of air transportation offering the most dynamic growth potential is that of aircargo. Its market, while now showing healthy annual increases, should expand spectacularly by the end of the decade, and rewards for air carriers participating in the field could prove exceptional. * * * Changes as proposed by some, if effected, could materially alter today's regulatory philosophy with considerable advantage to some carriers and detriment to others. Any regulatory changes in a field which offers such promise and high reward must be effected only after the most thorough, judicial, and indeed prophetic study."

Press Appraises President Johnson and the First Lady at First 6 Months

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the story of President Lyndon B. Johnson during his first 6 months in office, as viewed by the Nation's press, is told in the June 1 issue of the Democrat, official publication of the Democratic National Committee. An accompanying article tells the story of his gracious wife, our new First Lady, as reflected in press comments over this same period.

Both articles are concise condensations of historical highlights of a momentous half year during which a great President and a gracious First Lady have firmly established their place in the esteem and affections of our people.

These articles follow:

[From the Democrat, June 1, 1964]

FIRST 6 MONTHS OF L.B.J.: PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT SETS HIS COURSE

"Lyndon B. Johnson has proclaimed himself 'President of the people' and has set out upon a course designed to prove it."

So said the New York Times last week in an analysis of the President's first 6 months in office.

The Nation's press responded to the half-year anniversary of the Johnson administration by reflecting on the sweep of events since that unforgettable day last November and issuing a kind of preliminary report card on the new President, his programs and policies.

The following is a sample of opinion as it appeared in newspapers and magazines across the country.

THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONALITY AND IMAGE

Sterling F. Green, Associated Press:

"In the half year since he gained the White House by tragic inheritance, Lyndon Johnson has swept across the political scene with the impact and velocity of a Texas twister. * * * A Johnson image has been etched on the public mind and a Johnson record already has been written for the voters to ratify or reject."

Newsweek magazine:

"By his own measure President Johnson judged himself largely successful in his first task—'to unite and heal the fractures in this land by improving communication between business and labor, whites and Negroes, North and South.'

"By any gage, Lyndon Johnson has imposed his personality and character upon the Presidency quickly—and thoroughly. 'He has already left a strong mark on the country and Washington.'

Merriman Smith, United Press International:

"President Johnson in 6 months has emerged as a powerful national leader and colorful personality in his own right. * * * Gradually, the country began to know Johnson as a driving, almost hyperactive but incredibly human person. * * * Nearing age 56, he seems utterly consumed by what he is doing."

The Washington Post:

"He's been the bounciest President since Theodore Roosevelt and more willing to stick his neck out than any President since Harry Truman."

Tom Wicker, New York Times:

"In 6 hectic months Mr. Johnson has not only compiled a strong record in office but also has stamped his colorful and vigorous personality upon his office, upon Washington, and upon national politics."

"His approach to his office growths from the conviction that he has held throughout his three decades in Washington—that the road to national progress ('the greatest good for the greatest number' to quote a favorite Johnson phrase) lies in a substantial unity of the interest groups, geographic sections, economic classes, and social levels of the Nation."

THE PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP AND PROGRAMS

New York World-Telegram: "It speaks much of the present White House occupant that the issues of the election will be built not around what President Kennedy did in his 3 years, but around what President Johnson has done in his few months in charge."

The Philadelphia Inquirer:

"[Under President Johnson] all Americans, one gathered, could be kinfolk and 'kissin' cousins."

"And if they were united in trust and understanding * * * they could make America truly the land of equality, opportunity, and boundless prosperity.

"The new President made it clear he meant to provide, God willing, the unifying moral leadership that would make the dream come true."

The Reporter magazine: "It is quite obvious that every day in every way Mr. Johnson is liking the Presidency better and better. Not only liking it—he is beginning to shape the office to his unique brand of leadership."

Peter Lisagor, Boston Globe: "It may be a bit odd—to compare Lyndon Johnson to Willie Mays * * * but each is maintaining a torrid pace—hitting well over .400 in each respective league."

Los Angeles Times: "The first 6 months must be adjudged remarkable * * * displaying sweeping virtuosity."

Walter Lippmann: "If we ask ourselves why President Johnson is the first Democratic President to make a kind of peace with the business community, it is only part of the answer to say that he is an extraordinary skillful politician. He is indeed extraordinarily skillful. In this case it means also that he, and we should add his wife, have an apparently inexhaustible gift of sympathy. They seem to be able to put themselves inside the skins of other people and to see themselves as others see them."

And so it goes.

President Johnson's first 6 months includes a significant record of accomplishments. Here are some highlights from that record.

The President took firm control of the Government following the death of President Kennedy and reassured the American people and the people of other nations that the strength of the United States was undiminished and its policy essentially unchanged.

The President underscored the continuity of the Kennedy legislative program with his own concepts and leadership.

The President reduced the 1965 budget without sacrificing programs.

The President established confidence of business, labor, and congressional leaders in his sound fiscal judgment—factors which helped in the passage of the $11 billion tax reduction bill.

The President initiated a war on poverty program in a message to Congress which, he said, "can be a milestone in our 180-year search for a better life for our people." His two tours of poverty-stricken areas and his speeches on the subject have focused national attention on a nagging domestic problem.

The President brought the moral leadership of the Presidency into the quest for civil rights for all Americans. He has appealed not only to northern liberals, but has also journeyed to Atlanta and urged southerners to accept the civil rights program and bury "the dead issues" of its past.

The President provided firm and just leadership during the Panama Canal controversy; won wide respect for his handling of the Cuban water shutoff at Guantanamo; announced Soviet-American-British pledges to cut back production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, an agreement he negotiated personally through private correspondence with Khrushchev; pledged continued support of the 3-year-old Alliance for Progress; recommended a $3.5 billion 1965 foreign aid program to "strengthen the family of the free"; maintained a careful and responsible approach to the U.S. commitment in Vietnam and southeast Asia.

The President announced a "just and fair" settlement of the 4½-year-old railroad work rules dispute—a settlement achieved largely by the vigorous, personal interest of the President, but without actual Federal compulsion.

The President gave employment of qualified women a new urgency in the upper echelons of Federal Government and, in the person of Mrs. Esther Peterson, gave the American consumer a spokesman in the White House.

It has been a memorable 6 months.

[From the Democrat, June 1, 1964]

A GREAT LADY BRINGS HOPE

Crossing a stream behind a country schoolhouse in eastern Kentucky, the First Lady of the United States took a woman's look at the problems of poverty that keep "my husband up late at night and consume much of his day."

The past 6 months have seen Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson emerge as a national figure in her own right. Indeed, her trips to poverty-stricken areas have had an immediate impact on those she visited.

The Louisville Courier-Journal sums up the meaning of the First Lady's visit for those in eastern Kentucky:

"Perhaps Mrs. Johnson, in her kindly way, left something as precious as roads or schools. She left hope, and a reminder as real and solid as a Texas smile that there is someone in Washington who knows firsthand of the needs of the mountains, who cares about the people there, and who is determined to do something about them.

"Years from today Breathitt Countians will recall memories of the great lady, the President's wife, sitting on the front porch, admiring a sweatshirt, complimenting a report card."

Similarly, the Baltimore Sun, in an editorial, found "even without the Kentucky and Pennsylvania forays which underlined the resemblance, the country would have been forcibly reminded of Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt. Not for almost 20 years has the United States seen the chatelaine of the White House make a full-scale campaign speech, tour the country plugging for her husband's program with an energy and enthusiasm equal to his or show such awareness of the facts of legislative life."

Schweitzer Basin, Idaho, Proves Reader's Digest Wrong—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, on three other occasions, I have had the opportunity of discussing details of Schweitzer Basin, a highly successful ski resort project in my district of Idaho. As we all know, this Area Redevelopment Administration project is helping to bring about the economic rebuilding of one of the U.S. depressed areas, and providing new jobs for scores of workers.

Now that this job-generating project has come under a vicious attack by Reader's Digest, it is only fair to describe what the local and State reaction is to it.

Employment Security News, published by the State of Idaho, does an excellent job of summing up this reaction in reporting on the official dedication of the Schweitzer Basin ski project. I should like to include that article which appeared in the March issue of that publication:

OUTSTANDING COMMUNITY ACHIEVEMENT—SCHWEITZER BASIN SKI AREA

(By Royce Fuhriman, Sandpoint local office)

The official dedication of Schweitzer Basin ski area on Sunday afternoon, March 1, 1964, was an impressive climax to the outstanding Sandpoint community achievement which forecasts a fabulous expansion program that will open the door to a greater tourist industry for Bonner County and all north Idaho. A gala holiday spirit prevailed over an estimated 3,500 skiers and visitors present from all parts of Idaho, the Inland Empire area and British Columbia for the dedication ceremony held under ideal weather conditions and in towering surroundings of unusual beauty and vista.

An impressive list of National, State and local dignitaries on hand to celebrate the Schweitzer Basin resort opening included the Honorable William L. Batt, Washington, D.C., Administrator of the Area Redevelopment Administration; the Honorable Compton I. White, Jr., Member of Congress, Idaho First District; the Honorable J. A. Byrne, Member of Parliament, British Columbia, and the Honorable Robert E. Smylie, Governor of Idaho. Master of ceremonies was Dr. Merritt Stiles, Spokane, director of the Schweitzer Basin Community Corp., president of the U.S. Ski Association and director of the U.S. Olympic Committee.

Mayor Floyd L. Gray, of Sandpoint, presented Miss Marcia McComas, "Miss Sandpoint," official hostess for "The Friendly City on the Shores of Lake Pend Oreille;" Mayor Neal R. Fosseen, of Spokane, presented Miss Rosemary Harness, "Miss Spokane," official hostess for the Lilac City and "Capital of the Inland Empire;' and Miss Louise Shadduck, executive secretary, Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, presented Miss Linda Moulton, of Boise, "Miss Idaho," and 1963 Idaho candidate to the Miss America pageant.

A precision drill demonstration preceded the formal ceremonies and featured St. Eugene's Mission band from Kootenay Indian Reservation school at Cranbrook, British Columbia, Brother James MacDonald, O.M.I., director. Participating in presentation of the colors was a U.S. Marine Corps Reserve color guard from the 5th 115 Howitzer Battery, Spokane.

Officials congratulated the community for its accomplishment through teamwork, also expressed hope and best wishes for the prosperous future. The Schweitzer Basin ski area is considered by leading Idaho and Spokane skiers to have some of the best weather, terrain and powder snow conditions in the region. And it was generally agreed that Schweitzer Basin is a natural site not only for winter sports, but also is in ideal summer recreation area. Schweitzer will team up perfectly with the forthcoming senior Girl Scout roundup to give terrific impetus to tourism for the whole panhandle and the entire State, according to Miss Shadduck.

Directors of the Schweitzer Basin community corporation proposed in mid-February a bold program of expansion to provide more lift facilities at the new site as well as to open the adjoining North Schweitzer Basin for skiing next winter. Crowds have been growing steadily bigger since the facility at the approximately 4-square-mile basin opened December 4, 1963, according to the corporation directors. They said it was believed advisable to seek additional financing now for new facilities. Their announcement said a special stockholders' meeting was being called to approve an increase in capitalization from the present $250,000 to $500,000.

The present Riblet design chairlift operation will soon be augmented by completion of the T-bar now under construction in the south part of the bowl. The mile-long double chairlift has a vertical drop of 1,700 feet and a capacity of 660 persons per hour, operating at the rate of 11 persons per minute. The combination of double chairlift, rope tow and T-bar are expected to fall short of adequately servicing the Schweitzer Basin resort's growing weekend throngs of skiers,

acording to the directors. They, therefore, recognize that not only should more facilities be available in the basin, but also steps should be taken to develop the even larger basin adjoining on the north.

Variations in the terrain are such that excellent slopes are ready for all skiers. Begineers and intermediates have well-groomed runs over 300 feet wide to take them back over 3,000 feet to the lower terminal. The last 1,800 feet will satisfy the fall line skiers. Long runs extend from the top into two bowls, also giving an easy way down. Another feature is the area provided for a junior racing program and for training and racing only. Capping the list of facilities to serve and please skiers is a large and inviting $100,000 ski lodge three stories high, including a cafeteria, equipment rental shop, and other services, with instruction available daily.

Just as Rome wasn't built in a day, neither was the Schweitzer Basin project an overnight creation. The ski resort has been in the making now over 2 years, with an accumulation of employment service that reached out to local offices at Kalispell, Mont., and the Oregon Department of Employment system. The Employment Security Agency, State of Idaho, office at Sandpoint was represented in the first community meeting held to explore possibilities of developing an industry tied to winter activity which would go a long way toward solving a high seasonal unemployment problem that affected the Bonner County area with an economy primarily geared to lumbering and summer tourism.

"The area was declared an "economically distressed area" with substantial and persistent unemployment in 1961, and was thus eligible for Area Redevelopment Act grants and loans. A group of local citizens determined that Sandpoint would have a good ski area in Schweitzer Basin, and started the ball rolling on a ski area development project in late 1961.

* * * * *

The prime requisite of an Area Redevelopment Act grant or loan is that it provide local employment with new employment opportunities created "by developing and expanding new and existing facilities and resources without substantially reducing employment in other areas," according to provisions of the act. Further, it is a long-range program of creative area redevelopment as distinct from short term antirecession measures. To this end the Sandpoint Employment Security Office compiled local labor market information and projected employment data for inclusion with the request for an Area Redevelopment Act grant.

Continuing its industrial service to the community project, the Sandpoint local office provided assistance in preparing a staffing sheet to determine the number of employees needed at the ski area. In addition, a wage survey was compiled to assist management in determining appropriate wage schedules.

When finally the wheels did start turning on the project, the local office provided assistance in procuring workers during the construction phase. In addition, the Sandpoint office worked with the Schweitzer Basin Community Corp. management in recruiting qualified applicants for jobs as tow operators, ski patrolmen and ski instructors.

Reviewing the results of this outstanding community "Operation Bootstrap" for an Idaho Employment Security Agency industrial service report affords the Sandpoint local office staff a degree of personal pride and satisfaction in the fact that it shares with friends and neighbors the successful Schweitzer Basin project. This achievement represents a combination of all-out community teamwork, an Area Redevelopment Act loan of $320,000, and a community equity of over $100,000. The total result of this operation in full measure will not be known for some time to come. The immediate effects are anticipated in some leveling off of employment during the critical winter months when a 30 percent unemployment rate has not been uncommon.

The Schweitzer Basin project has been an important factor in helping to set the stage or further economic area development in the forseeable future, with one new small business opened and others expanding to meet growing needs of the economically revived community.

We can expect to see industries operating in Bonner County that heretofore had not given the Sandpoint area a second look. For example, most recently a plastic products manufacturing company is considering a move to Sandpoint and gives the new ski area as one of its primary reasons. Apparently the management likes skiing. A total of eight inquiries have come to Sandpoint from people considering the area for business relocation, ranging from Spokane, Wash., to President Lyndon B. Johnson's home State of Texas.

Establishment of a Godless Republic Not Meant for United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith a column which appearing in the Columus (Ohio) Dispatch of May 27, 1964, entitled "Establishment of a Godless Republic Not Meant for United States":

ESTABLISHMENT OF A GODLESS REPUBLIC NOT MEANT FOR UNITED STATES

(By Alice Widener)

Though the mature French genius, Voltaire, wrote in the 18th century age of enlightenment, "If there were no God, it would be necessary to invent him," it seems that in our 20th century age of confusion several puerile intellectuals are seeking to invent a godless republic in America.

The May 16 issue of the New Republic carried a nasty, sarcastic article "Vessels of Christ" by Murray Kempton, who attacks Representative FRANK BECKER, of New York, as sponsor of House Joint Resolution 693 for a 25th constitutional amendment. Its text is as follows:

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school institution or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a supreme being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States."

In leftist cliche-ridden lingo implying things traditional are feudal, Mr. Kempton describes Representative BECKER as "one of the paltrier smallholders in the House" and charges that he "has raised an army fearsome enough to humiliate and now to hold under siege that great prince of the Congress, EMANUEL CELLER."

Mr. Kempton says Representative BECKER forced House Judiciary Committee Chairman CELLER to open hearings on the prayer amendment last April, "and, since delay is the only resource left him, CELLER will have to endure what seems plainly an assault upon his notions of good sense well into June, because once he lets BECKER's proposal go, the House cannot be certain of having the kidney to resist giving it the two-thirds majority it needs and letting it go to the Senate with only a prayer that it will die there."

Mr. Kempton alleged that the House "shakes with reverential terror" and says "the Becker amendment seems to arouse noticeably more passion than the civil rights bill."

So it should. For all our American civil rights depend—as our Founding Fathers so well recognized—on the basic concept that we human beings are endowed with unalienable rights "by the Creator."

This means that those rights which God has given us, no man can take away. Without this concept, our human and civil rights would be as easily alienable as they were from the dawn of history to July 4, 1776.

Until that date, most governments were instituted by mortal rulers left free to grant or deny civil rights at will to subjects or citizens.

It was to ensure our individual rights permanently that the framers of our Government established the United States of America as a republic under God.

In my opinion, the establishment of a godless republic of the United States would not be a progressive move, it would be retrogressive, no matter what is sarcastically said by leftist intellectual kingpin, Murray Kempton in the New Republic.

Attitude of Business Toward Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 14, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, we are indebted to Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget during the Eisenhower administration, for a penetrating analysis of the budget and the likelihood that Congress will make headway in its efforts to reduce spending. Under leave I include Mr. Stans' remarks in the RECORD:

"THE ATTITUDE OF BUSINESS TOWARD GOVERNMENT SPENDING"—BY MAURICE H. STANS, SENIOR PARTNER, WILLIAM R. STAATS & CO., INC., LOS ANGELES, AT THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD 48TH ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 22, 1964

A year ago, in 1963, the American public was in an aroused hue and cry for large cuts in the Federal budget. Hundreds of thousands of letters descended on Washington. Congress set to work to curb what it considered to be an extravagant program of spending, and by the time it finished its work the requested appropriations for fiscal 1964 had been reduced from $107.9 billion to less than $100 billion.[1]

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[1] Actual appropriations during the 1963 session were only $98.3 billion but necessary supplementals to carry out enacted programs will increase this to close to $100 billion before the end of the fiscal year on June 30.

This year, in 1964, the American public gives the impression that it couldn't care less about what happens to the budget. No mail on the subject reaches Congress. The best efforts of a few informed and determined budget cutters in that body will barely add up to sustainable reductions of $2 billion, if that, in the appropriations for fiscal 1965.

What has happened in 1 year to change the attitude of the Nation so measurably? More importantly, what does the change signify, and what does it portend for the years ahead? Is Federal spending no longer a matter about which we should be concerned? Where are we now and where are we headed?

These are the questions to which I address myself today. I propose to analyze the Federal budgetary situation in the light of the enactment of tax reduction, the change in the Presidency, the 1965 budget and its implications, and the probabilities ahead. I hope that what I have to say will offer a reading on the Government's fiscal prospects that will induce businessmen and the public to come to grips again with the spending issue.

CAN WE RELAX?

If we are tempted to find simple answers to the questions I have posed, we can start with the two that on the surface seem most probable:

1. The American public, now that it has its tax cut, is just plain disinterested for a time in whether the Government runs a surplus or a deficit.

2. President Johnson has submitted a 1965 budget that he describes as austere, prudent and frugal, as calling for a reduction in expenditures and in the deficit, and as carrying us a "giant step" toward a balanced budget.

Putting both of these answers together, we are led to the natural conclusion that the public is thoroughly happy with the idea of an economy-minded President taking overall concern about budgetary policy and undertaking the job of making ends meet in the Government.

But there are pitfalls in this course and here are some of them:

1. A President of the United States, however firm his intentions may be, cannot single-handedly control the public purse. He needs all-out help in any campaign of fiscal discipline for the Nation. The demands of the bureaucrats and the special interests always exceed the country's resources, and their pressures for spending are relentless.

2. Attaining an eventual balance of revenues and expenditures is in fact much more difficult than is implied by the outward appearance of the 1965 budget now before the Congress. This is true because of the present budget items, because of the inbuilt future growth in certain Federal programs, because of the fact that the full impact of recent and present new proposals is not yet evident, and because of the strength of the forces for spending in the Nation, now highly stimulated by the immense growth of Federal programs in recent years.

In other words, the problems of high and increasing spending and dangerous budget deficits are as much with us this year as last, and will be as much with us in the future, regardless of who is President. National fiscal policy happens to be one of the most highly debatable and fluctuating elements in the functioning of a democracy. It will continue to be so as long as the people consider their National Government to be an impersonal entity able to create unlimited funds to satisfy their desires, not recognizing that only they themselves can provide the wealth that the Government dispenses.

It is well that we recognize that there is no easy solution to budgetary problems, no convenient end to fiscal difficulties, and that those who are sophisticated enough to understand this subject must keep informed, alert and active. It is timely, in other words, that we reconsider here the inconstant attitude of business toward Government spending.

IS THE 1965 BUDGET FRUGAL?

Frugality, austerity, and economy are terms of comparison, so to evaluate where the 1965 budget stands in this respect we ought to see how it relates to earlier points in time. In other words, to put everything in perspective, we need to look back a bit—to 1960, let us say. You may remember 1960 for a long while. It was the last time the budget of the United States ended in balance. Expenditures of the Government in that year were $76.5 billion. Now, just a few years later, we are right at the $100 billion mark.

Shortly before January 20, 1961, the last day of the Eisenhower administration, I submitted to the President the first long-range projections of Federal spending ever compiled. These make a good base for another comparison with the present budget. They were compiled on three levels, for the 10 years from 1960 to 1970. The first was an economy-minded and frugal, but wholly possible, level of Federal spending, somewhat more restrained in its trend of growth than in the previous decade. The second was a high, obviously lavish level, which undertook to meet widespread public demands for more spending. The third was a medium level, which was considered to be reasonably progressive and most likely under local and international conditions like those of 1960.

Without going into the arithmetic in detail, I will merely report that the economical level for 1970 ($83.9 billion) was passed in 1962, the medium level for 1970 ($97.4 billion) was exceeded by 1964, and the high level for 1970 ($122.6 billion) is right on the present trend line. In other words, in the 4 years since 1960, spending has been growing at the highest rate objectively conceivable at that time.

To measure our current position and the forces behind it, as the President must deal with them, we could well go over an earlier course of history, reviewing the progression of how we got where we are. In 1930 the entire cost of Government, including interest on the debt, public welfare and national security, was only $3 billion. By 1940 it was $9 billion. By 1950 it had grown to $43 billion. By 1960 it was $94 billion. It is now right on target for $150 to $160 billion by 1970.[2]

What can the President do to slow down this forceful progression, which has moved at a rate which exceeds the growth in population, the gains in gross national product, or any other valid scale?

WHAT DOES THE 1965 BUDGET PROPOSE?

Before we find fault with the 1965 budget, there are some things we should say in its behalf. Without doubt it is considerably lower than the total of the desires of the Government agencies, and almost certainly it is somewhat lower than the one which President Kennedy had planned to submit for 1965. But how does it appear in other respects? Here are some simplified statistics:

1. The 1965 budget calls for $22.9 billion more in program authorizations than President Eisenhower suggested in his last budget for 1962, just 3 years earlier.

2. The 1965 budget asks for $103.8 billion in authority to spend, which is $5.5 billion more than Congress was willing to vote last year for 1964. (Even after supplemental appropriations likely to be passed this year for 1964, it is $4 billion higher.)

3. The budgeted expenditures for 1965 are $97.9 billion, but this is after deducting $2.3 billion in sales of Government-owned loans and mortgages and over $800 million of bookkeeping transfers or credits, including some from improbable new legislation. Actual planned spending for the year, before such deductions, is about $2 billion higher than the truly comparable figure for 1964.

4. It contains some obviously understated appropriations requirements. For example, while the price support program may last out the year on the appropriations requested, because of past authorizations, the normal annual cost of present farm programs is at least $1.5 billion above the amount of appropriation asked for in 1964.

5. There are some apparent underestimates in expenditures, especially in farm programs. Considering also the fact that the estimates of revenues are on the optimistic side, it is likely that the planned reduction in the deficit, from $10 billion to $5 billion, may well fail of accomplishment by a considerable margin.

6. The budget shows a wholly desirable reduction of 1200 (later increased to 1900) in Government civilian employment in 1965, but this is after an indicated increase of 22,000 in fiscal 1964 (later decreased to 15,000), and an increase of 156,000 since 1960.

7. It is said to contain vigorous pruning of old programs, when in fact three appropriations are increased (by $1 million or more) for every one so decreased.

8. The budget contains almost $6 billion of built-in expansion, including about $3 billion in proposed enlargements in scope of old programs or to initiate wholly new programs that are sure to grow in coming years.

Of all these figures, the requested authority to spend is most significant as a portent of the future. The budgeted appropriations of $104.3, if increased to reflect annual program requirements of farm price supports, rural electrification, urban renewal, and other items not included this year at normal levels, becomes approximately $107 billion. This is the base for future appropriations and expenditures and makes doubtful any expectation of subsequent budgets much below this amount. Add to this a carryover of $95 billion in unspent but largely committed appropriations of earlier years, and you can see, for example, how difficult it will be to hold actual spending below $100 billion hereafter.

This conclusion is compounded by the large amount this year dedicated to beginning new programs. These factors measure the real significance of the 1965 budget, looking ahead, and point up the magnitude of the President's task in holding future budgets at anywhere near the present level.

WHAT COMES NOW?

Only because the national compulsion toward higher spending is so strong can such a budget be termed austere or frugal or economical, as it clearly is in relation to more pleasing alternatives. It is from these positions that the President must take off, and with these figures that he must contend, if the country is to achieve a balanced budget at any time in the next decade.

Assuming that Congress approves the 1965 budget in substantially its present terms, and enacts a large part of the new programs, where do we go from here?

It is wholly unrealistic to believe that the level of Federal spending will ever be significantly reduced. Even an ultimate disarmament is likely to be so gradual that its savings will probably be eaten up by new Government activities and the growing costs of carrying on present ones. The first budgetary fact of life that a President learns is that going programs (like veterans' benefits, public assistance, retirement pay, and many others), without any increases in their scope, have a normal built-in growth of close to $3 billion a year. Therefore, to hold total spending at a fixed point from one year to the next would require reductions of $3 billion

[2] These figures include the taxing and spending through trust funds of the Government, and thus include social security, highway construction, and other items not in the administrative budget.

elsewhere and an almost total refusal to entertain new programs or to expand old ones. Yet when revenues are somewhere between $5 billion and $10 billion behind expenditures, the only way equilibrium can be attained in a reasonable time is for expenditures to be kept from growing very significantly. (A 4-percent annual increase in gross national product would normally produce roughly a $4-billion increase in Government revenues, but this amount of gain is probably not attainable for fiscal 1966 because of the offsetting effect of the second step of tax reduction. And there is talk now of more tax cuts in a year or so.)

The most desirable course, considering all this, would be for the President to propose, and the public to insist, that Government spending be held below $100 billion until revenues catch up. It is possible that this could produce a balanced budget for 1967. This is a very difficult goal, considering where we are now. It can be attained, but only if a number of factors work out favorably or are forced to do so:

1. The economy must carry on at a 4- to 5-percent annual growth rate. Any recession, even a minor one, could defer a balanced budget for many more years.

2. Reductions in some Government programs must be imposed. There are good sizable candidates in the farm program (where reductions are politically almost impossible); in the expensive space program (where expenditures can be stretched out and made more effective if the ill-advised goal of a "man on the moon by 1970" is extended); in the production of atomic weapons (attainable if military target and warhead requirements are suitably reevaluated); and in defense costs, especially manpower and maintenance of conventional forces (of which President Eisenhower has been an outspoken critic) and oversea defense commitments, including the large numbers of troops in Europe (which President Eisenhower has many times questioned). By these steps a good start could be made toward the 25-percent reduction in defense expenditures which former Defense Under Secretary Roswell Gilpatric says may be achieved over a period of time, and American industry would not suffer because most of the reductions would be in operating and overhead costs, and the rest would be very gradual. There are many other opportunities for lesser reductions throughout the budget, of which rural electrification and agricultural conservation are good examples.

3. The President must find a way to stop the normal upward bureaucratic "creep" in other agency activities. There are many programs not related to population growth, to timetables, or to any specific measure of need, that year after year move slowly upward in response to self-generated opportunities in the Government offices. These programs could be stabilized by the President and the Congress until the budget is in balance, at which time new evaluations could be made and new priorities fixed. Among the programs which could, without harm to welfare or national security, be frozen at present levels are soil conservation, construction of public buildings, geological survey, watershed protection, coast and geodetic survey, Corps of Engineers construction, sport fisheries, Bureau of Reclamation construction, foreign agricultural service, and medical research. These are merely illustrations. There are many others.

4. And again, new programs must be withheld until the budget is able to absorb them without strain; and necessary additions to old programs must be financed by reprograming down some of their present scope.

In other words, the problems of the President in achieving a fiscal balance are imposing and monumental in the light of recent trends and countervailing present forces. Only the utmost determination in Washington and maximum support at home can retard the trend of credit-card spending of the last 30 years.

WHAT WE CAN DO

There are some things that businessmen ought to be willing to do to help achieve the objective of restraint in Government finances. I pose them to you in the conviction that, without strong and emphatic demand from the general public for sound budgetary procedures and practices, the Nation will go merrily along its deficit-ridden way until it finds itself in a predicament of debt and inflexibility which will sap the national vitality and leave us too weakened to deal with internal and external emergencies.

Here are some things each of us can and should do:

1. Study and understand the annual budgets in more detail, so we are not unduly influenced by published totals which, unfortunately, do not reveal much of the meaningful facts about Government finances. Only by comparison of individual appropriations and categories are the trends clearly evident.

2. Support measures for economy wherever indicated, even though they may mean some temporary disadvantage for our community or our industry. The President and the Congress need to know, year in and year out, that we want sound fiscal policy.

3. Oppose the proliferation and growth of Federal programs not justified by a strict test of necessity for the Nation's security or welfare. Desirability is not adequate justification for Government spending.

4. Support proposals which would give taxpayers a greater direct voice on Federal spending. One such proposal now in Congress is for a Presidential Advisory Commission on Federal Expenditures (which, however, in its present form calls for too many members from the ranks of Government).

5. Urge and support proposals to improve congressional review of fiscal matters. One of these especially worthy would provide a Joint Congressional Committee on the Budget, with staffing for majority and minority parties, to provide research on budgetary policy and trends, preliminary to annual appropriation actions. Such a committee could insist on more long-range studies like that which we released in 1961, and more consideration to the long-range consequences of budgetary actions.

You will note, I am sure, that nowhere in this analysis do I say a word about foreign aid. There is no need for me to belittle it; it has few friends. The honest danger is, believe it or not, that under present conditions and attitudes, it may be cut too low for the Nation's good. If you wonder why I make a point of saying this, I hope you will conclude that at least it establishes this whole analysis as being unbiased and objective.

Chicago Prepares Welcome for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Chicago is looking forward to and planning for the 12th Annual Convention of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., September 12 to 17, 1964.

I am extending my remarks to include the following item from the Southwest Messenger Press of June 4, 1964, announcing the appointment of Joe Martin as publicity director of the convention:

MARTIN GETS PUBLICITY DIRECTOR POST

Joe Martin, 10056 Indiana Avenue, has been appointed publicity director and public information coordinator by the National Convention Committee of the Veterans of World War I, U.S.A., who will hold their 12th annual convention at the Palmer House, Chicago.

Martin, who is executive-secretary and past president of the American Veterans Press Association of Chicago is a writer and photographer who features veterans programs: "Americanism" and "History." He is a World War II veteran, past commander of Wilbur J. Roeder Post 1229, the American Legion and past president of the Illinois American Legion Historians Association.

Martin also is on the editorial staff of the Southwest Messenger Press newspapers as a feature writer and photographer. He writes a weekly column titled "Vets Press" which has gained great favor with the Legion and auxiliary whose members after reading the articles, clip the item and place it in their organization Americanism scrapbooks.

Martin has a staff of publicity writers assisting him. One is an area resident, Paul C. Haase, 4826 West 142d Street, Midlothian, Ill. He is general merchandising manager for the Midwest Wholesale Grocery Co. in Chicago.

In addition, Martin and his staff are preparing news releases for the following organizations who will hold conventions this summer: June 5–6, 33d Division War Veterans Association, 28th annual reunion at Chicago, Midway House, 5400 South Cicero Avenue; June 25–27, 4th Marine Division Association, Pick-Congress Hotel, 500 South Michigan Avenue (President, Jos. J. McCarthy, Medal of Honor winner, World War II); July 28 through August, Illinois American Legion Historians Association, Palmer House, Chicago; and the Illinois Department Convention Veterans of World War I, U.S.A., July 10–12, Springfield, Ill.

Lowell Young Man With a Mission Makes Indelible Mark in Ethiopia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the first groups of Peace Corps volunteers returning from their 2-year assignments all over the world have left notable achievements in their host countries. One of the most outstanding examples of this group is Paul Tsongas of Lowell, Mass.

Son of Mr. and Mrs. Efthemeois Tsongas of 40 Fairfield Street in Lowell, Paul postponed his studies at the Yale Law School to devote his energies to helping the people of Nigeria. The heartwarming story of Paul's accomplishments appeared in the Lowell Sun recently in an article by Arthur E. Hatton. Under unanimous consent I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

LOWELL YOUNG MAN WITH A MISSION MAKES INDELIBLE MARK IN ETHIOPIA

(By Arthur E. Hatton)

LOWELL.—He has reached the ripe young age of 23 and already has left something of value to remember and to be remembered for years to come.

That's the story in a nutshell of Lowell's Paul Tsongas.

For the past 2 years, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Efthemeois Tsongas of 40 Fairfield Street, has been an energetic young man with a mission. It was 2 years ago in July when he decided to postpone his entrance to Yale Law School and become a Peace Corps volunteer.

And quite a decision it was when you consider the fact that he did not have to make it.

A graduate of Lowell High School in 1958, Paul won his degree from Dartmouth College 4 years later after majoring in government and economics and winning his letter on the swimming team. He took the law board exams and finished in the top 2 percent among all the other law students in the country who took the "boards," with a score of 99.6 percent.

For most people, the path from there would have led directly to law school. But for Paul it led instead to a small village in Ethiopia where few of the native inhabitants had ever dreamed of any form of education higher than that they received at the local school.

In this poverty-stricken village, the accent was on the bare necessities of life and the natives knew no other way than the thatch huts in which they lived, the assorted rags which they wore and the raw meat which they ate.

It was into this environment that Paul Tsongas and four other Peace Corps volunteers walked 2 years ago next month. They were to supplement the native teaching force at a school that served all the surrounding villages and try to teach native children ranging from the youngest school age up on through the older teenagers. They were eager to learn, but for them education was still a relatively strange concept.

Here again most people would not choose to add weight to an already heavy burden. The reason for the Peace Corps volunteers being in their new surroundings was to teach—and they could have been content to leave it at that. But, they did not. Paul himself, wrote that "although our primary function was teaching, it was assumed by most of the volunteers that it was our privilege, if not our duty, to extend our efforts beyond the classroom and to exert ourselves socially, physically and in any other possible manner in terms of community development."

Paul did just that and went a step further, initiating his own pet project for the benefit of all the students at the school.

Realizing that living conditions around the school were extremely poor and that many of the students daily walked 4 or 5 miles to school, the idea of building a dormitory near the school came to him.

Procuring manpower for the construction project was one of the least of Paul's problems. The native population of Wolisso had not been overly receptive to the young volunteers when they first arrived in the village but after Paul dramtically rescued one of the native children from drowning, the villagers were friendly and cooperative.

Looming as the two chief problems on the horizon were getting land for a site and some funds to finance the endeavor. The Peace Corps contingent could not purchase any land, so the only alternative was to ask the municipality to donate a suitable site. Since some local government officials were reluctant to back up a project spearheaded by foreigners, getting any land became a waiting game. After 4 months of patient pleading, however, a site was turned over to the volunteers.

As far as finances were concerned, two of the female volunteers in Paul's group wrote home asking for funds for the project and managed to collect some $2,500. This money would go only toward the actual building of the dormitory, however, and another obstacle darkened the path when it was learned that the site set aside for the construction was some 200 meters from the regular roadway.

What Paul and his students lacked in money and machines, they more than made up for with a rampant enthusiasm to complete the task. For almost 2 weeks the teacher and his youthful helpers could be seen yanking rocks from a nearby river bed and shouldering them back to the road during their lunch breaks, after school, and on weekends.

After this painstaking work was completed and the road was a reality, skilled laborers from the building college at Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, joined forces with Paul and the native workers to begin the actual construction of the dormitory.

Hampered by the region's rainy season, which started soon after the construction did, the day-to-day activity of the working party became more or less a lengthy routine. The rain made the area a virtual river of mud which the tiny construction crew bucked from sunrise to sunset for the next 4 months. Thirty students stayed at the school during the summer recess period, living with the Peace Corps volunteers and being paid 20 cents a day for food and $4 per month by this country for extra expenses.

In an effort to show the students that the United States was paying them enough to get by on, Paul ate two of his meals with them every day, having bread and tea for breakfast and injera and bean wat for lunch at a cost of 14 cents daily. As a result of this diet, he suffered an attack of "trenchmouth" during the building period.

By the time school started again in September, the dormitory was basically finished and 56 of the students were housed there last fall and supplied milk, wheat flour, and cornmeal by the American Catholic Relief Service.

There was much to-do about the dormitory when it was finished but the climatic satisfaction for Paul came when Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian Emperor, came to Wolisso to inspect the facility and to commend Paul and the other volunteers as well as all the native workers whose efforts were responsible for producing it.

More than 1,000 natives turned out for the dedication ceremony and to cheer their Emperior. Paul wrote that "it was a great day for Wolisso, for my students, for the Building College, and for the Peace Corps ideal. We volunteers felt that this was the worth of it all."

It was also a great day—one he will never forget—and a great personal triumph for Paul Tsongas, who will return home in July before going to California to give a 5-week series of lectures on the work of the Peace Corps at UCLA. Then, because he was awarded an extension on his acceptance at Yale Law School with a personal assist from Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver, he will get back on the path he detoured from 2 years ago.

But Paul Tsongas will never regret taking that detour. He went to Ethiopia to share his talents with others and to seek out his own personal maturity.

He not only found it, he also left something of value along the way.

Quo Vadis?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, just as some of the ill-advised acts of lawlessness by groups which claim to be in favor of civil rights are actually hurting the civil rights cause, so some of the activities of unofficial groups are harming the efforts of the labor unions in securing their legitimate objectives. I refer to acts of violence where private property is destroyed as a result of a labor dispute.

Recently I received a letter from a constituent who is a political refugee from Communist East Germany which impressed me a great deal. Thinking that it might be interesting to my colleagues, I am inserting pertinent portions of the letter into the record without the signature of the individual. I shall also include the newspaper article which was the inspiration for my constituent's letter:

JUNE 2, 1964.

DEAR MR. GUBSER: I am a political refugee having fled 1949 from East Germany. While I was living there I was coowner of a business, employing eight persons. Every payday I had to obtain the signature of the Communist labor union representative to release a portion of my own money from the bank, in order to pay wages.

It appears to me, that here in the United States the freedom of the individual is being gradually reduced by power-hungry union bosses and government officials which think they depend on their vote. The enclosed news clipping supports my claim.

Dear Mr. GUBSER, I ask you to do something about this situation. It seems to me some kind of action to curb unions is desperately needed. Things are right now not as bad as in East Germany, but they are surely headed in this direction.

Yours very truly,

GANG SMASHES NONUNION HOUSING PROJECT

PHILADELPHIA.—A gang of about 100 men burst into a housing project being renovated by nonunion labor Monday and began swinging clubs, axes, and sledge hammers, police said.

Six men in the 35-man nonunion force of carpenters, painters, plumbers, and bricklayers were injured as they fled a barrage of bricks and stones.

All told, 12 houses were damaged—locks smashed, drainpipes ripped out, kitchen cabinets and iron rails torn lose.

Builder Roy Fuiman, 32, said the invasion lasted about 5 minutes. He estimated damage at between $12,000 and $15,000.

The houses once belonged to Jefferson Hospital. They now are being refurbished as a private redevelopment project. They are six blocks from historic Independence Hall.

Fuiman said all the nonunion workers were employed by subcontractors.

He said he had been warned of impending trouble by an anonymous telephone call last Friday. Police were on hand when work began this morning.

But, Fuiman said, 30 minutes after police departed the gang rushed in.

"They came and went so fast I couldn't tell how they left," he said.

Fuiman said he recognized none of the men, and that he had instructed his workers to run, not fight, in case of trouble.

Police Lt. Michael Levin of the labor squad said the project was picketed in March by men carrying signs that read: "We protest that wages and conditions in this area are not paid and observed on this job by Roy Fuiman—Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO."

Fuiman said he pays union wages.

The Retirees' Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William F. Martin, of Amarillo, Tex., in the district I have the honor to represent, has prepared a discussion of a serious problem affecting the pocketbooks of our older citizens. Entitled "The Retirees' Dilemma," Mr. Martin's article outlines the inequities that he and many others feel exist under present social security and tax regulations.

I wish to call the attention of our colleagues and other Americans to the treatment of this subject as prepared by Mr. Martin. It is as follows:

THE RETIREES' DILEMMA

(By W. F. (Bill) Martin)

John Brown, let us say, has made wise investments during his working years, and has built up a sizable backlog of stocks and bonds. When he retires at a specified age, his income from these stocks and bonds may be in any amount, but he will not lose any income from social security because of it.

Sam Jones, on the other hand, has had a large family to rear, and has been unable to lay up any appreciable amount of money on which to live during his retirement. Furthermore, what investment that he has been able to make has turned out bad, and he has nothing but his income from social security to meet his living expenses. Even the maximum amount of social security will hardly be adequate to meet ordinary demands. What should he do? It isn't likely that anyone will hire him as a worker; he is too old, according to general opinion. He might open up a small woodworking shop, if he is handy with wood-working tools; or a little metal shop, if he is handy with machine tools. However, this may require more capital than he can scrape together, but let us assume that he can do it. Suppose that he earns $2,500 per year from this work. This amount, less income tax, added to his income from social security, provided that he was permitted to receive all of it, would provide for a modest living. However, for every dollar he earned above $1,200, up to and including $1,700, he would, in effect, have to pay to the Federal Government 50 cents; for every dollar earned above $1,700 he would, in effect, have to pay to the Federal Government $1, until the total amount of the income to which he is entitled to receive from social security is exhausted. Therefore, of the $1,300, above the $1,200 which he is allowed without penalty, he would pay to the Federal Government, in the form of deductions from social security income, $1,050. This amount, added to income tax of $260, makes a total of $1,310. Of the earnings of $2,500, he would be permitted to keep $1,190. Where is the incentive for this man of meager circumstances to make an investment to produce income; an investment which might or might not pay off?

Some men, a small minority, will do creative work without thought of compensation, but the vast majority will not work without incentive. When we rob a man of an incentive to do things, he is likely to lose interest in life itself.

Now, the original purpose of social security was to take old men out of the labor force to make places for the younger men. If the older men could earn money without taking the places of the younger men, then they should be permitted to do so without sacrificing any of their income from social security, to which they have made contributions over the years.

There are many things that the retiree could do to augment his income from social security, which would help provide for a decent living. He might write articles, or short stories; open a fishing camp on a river or lake; do some consulting work; or turn out some handmade articles for sale, to name just a few. Such activity might not bring in a great deal of income, but if his income from social security was not disturbed, he would not only have a decent living, but also an interest in life; he could make a direct contribution to the welfare of his country. Otherwise, he is so much "deadwood," and that isn't good for him or his country.

When a man reaches the age of 72 years, he is permitted to earn an unlimited amount of money without sacrificing any of his income from social security. Why 72 instead of 65, or 66? A man retired at 65 years of age can certainly be termed an unemployable. Think how much humankind we could conserve, and how much more wealth we could create, if these men were given an incentive to use their skills and their brains. As it is, we discourage such use by levying financial penalties. I do not believe that it was the intention of the lawmakers who enacted social security to create "deadwood," but when incentive is destroyed, "deadwood" is created.

As long as men are alive, they have to give some thought to income, and income created by their own thoughts or hands adds something to life; they feel that they have not lost their importance in the general scheme of things. Let them lose that feeling of importance, and we have lost an asset. Can we afford it?

While on the one hand social security is of some help, on the other hand it is casting into oblivion many of our senior citizens; depriving our country of their contributions to its welfare, simply because it kills an incentive to do anything.

The remedy? Permit our senior citizens to earn anything that they can without financial penalty, so long as they do not invade the labor market; let them create and receive for their creations what they can without financial penalty; let them keep their dignity, self-respect and independence, and a zest for life. The Nation will be the richer for it.

Why European Leaders Would Like To Name Our Next President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the Democrats, the radicals, and all the liberal segment of the news media are deeply concerned because Khrushchev and the leaders of other European nations are against BARRY GOLDWATER'S nomination. Hurrah for them. If for no other reason, this would be enough for the American people to elect BARRY President.

Since when has this mighty Nation fallen so low in prestige that we even consider allowing the heads of foreign governments, some of them avowed enemies, dictate to us whom we shall elect to office? Of course, this attitude on the part of foreign leaders must be expected because of our spineless policy of the past 4 years. How can we have respect unless we earn it through strength, determination, and leadership? Unfortunately, in dealing with the Communist threat to the freedom of all mankind the past two administrations have displayed none of these qualities. Instead we have indicated to the world the readiness to appease, readiness to negotiate, readiness to sacrifice all our traditions for the promise of peace.

There is only one way to win respect and to have a chance to maintain peace, and that is through a strong and clearly understood foreign policy which leaves no doubt that we can and will protect our own liberty and the liberty of those who are willing to stand with us in defense of it.

In his column in the Washington Evening Star for Friday, June 5, David Lawrence points out why European leaders do not want BARRY GOLDWATER nominated and elected. They know he will put America's interest first. The David Lawrence column follows:

EUROPE'S REACTION ON PRIMARY—GOLDWATER VICTORY TRIGGERS FEARS OF TOUGHER AMERICAN POLICY IN FUTURE

(By David Lawrence)

News dispatches say that many European newspapers reacted with dismay over the victory of Senator GOLDWATER in the California presidential primary election. Why was there such a sharp reaction in Europe? The answer to the question may reveal some unpleasant truths about the world situation, particularly the rise of commercialism and the decline of idealism in Europe. For appeasers are nowadays in the ascendancy abroad.

Many Europeans are afraid that if Senator GOLDWATER is elected President, he might have a courageous Secretary of State like John Foster Dulles. Also, Europeans do not understand the deep-seated feeling of voters in many parts of America over the fact that a prospering Western Europe is paying so little of the bill to maintain peace in the world.

Most European newspapers have a way of accepting as gospel what the so-called liberals in America say on national and international affairs. The impression abroad is that the United States will continue to bear by itself the brunt of every international problem and that the financial and commercial assistance now given by European countries to the Communist regimes is gradually but surely being adopted as American policy as well.

One of the British papers calls Senator GOLDWATER an "18th-century individualist" and "a sort of Rip Van Winkle who has been sleeping since 1776."

But the truth is that many Americans have not forgotten 1776 and the tyrannies imposed by the British autocracy, and they feel a deep sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe who today want to achieve their independence, too, but are getting little moral support from various spokesmen of the British press.

It is natural for the Moscow press to be dismayed over the GOLDWATER victory because the Russians know that Senator GOLDWATER is a realist who will, if elected President, deal with facts as they are and not attempt to gloss them over, and that he will pick a Secretary of State of like mind.

The Arizona Senator's strength is not merely the result of the support of the professional politicians but of grassroots sentiment as well. His total vote thus far in the primaries far exceeds that which John F. Kennedy had received in his preconvention campaign of 1960, and this is due largely to the resentment prevalent in this country about the war in southeast Asia. Americans are wondering why their sons must make the sacrifices in Vietnam while the rest of the free world stands idly by.

The European press might have studied carefully, too, why the foreign aid program has had such a hard time in Congress. It might have been noted that, ever since World War II ended, the United States has consistently furnished billions and billions of dollars for the rebuilding of Europe. Now that prosperity has been achieved there, resentment is growing in America that the Europeans do not seem inclinded to pay their share, either in money or in lives, to maintain peace in the world.

European statesmen would do well also to watch the campaign carefully, because, irrespective of whether Senator GOLDWATER wins the nomination or the election, the reaction of the American people to foreign policy will have much to do with the result and its aftermath. For the American people are getting tired of carrying the burden alone in world affairs.

Many citizens do not approve of the wheat deal, for instance, whereby the United States succumbed to European appeasement policies and authorized the sale of wheat to the Russians. There is talk today also that the administration here is beginning to play footsie with some of the Communist-bloc countries in Eastern Europe, and this, too, will become a campaign issue because many Americans do not believe this is a proper way to protect the United States against Communist encroachments.

It is absurd to suggest, as some European papers have done, that Senator GOLDWATER or any other prominent American today favors a reversion to earlier American policies of isolation. No prominent American today supports such a doctrine because it is recognized how interrelated world affairs have become. There is instead a distinct feeling in the United States that America is involuntarily being isolated by European policymakers and that the new isolation results in this country carrying the load.

A Real Champion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the recipient of the Cardinal Cushing Scholar-Athlete Award this year is a young man from Lowell, Mass., who has achieved the highest 4-year scholastic record in the history of the Catholic league of high schools. He is Richard Lyko, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Lyko, of 48 West Forest Street, Lowell, who is graduating from Keith Academy.

In recognition of his outstanding achievements, the Lowell Sun congratulated Richard in a recent editorial. Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial and an article describing his accomplishments in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Lowell Sun, June 3, 1964]

A REAL CHAMPION

Pride in the youth of Lowell wells up as we make note of the achievements of Richard Lyko, who is graduating from Keith Academy with honors galore.

As a scholar and athlete, he posted a 4-year average in his studies which surpassed any grades previously recorded in the Catholic league of high schools. Then, to allay any doubt as to his ability, he scored a perfect 800 mark in math and a 734 in his verbal rating for the college entrance examination board.

And while demonstrating all this brilliance in the classroom, he found time to be a star athlete and to participate in numerous extracurricular activities at the academy.

His headmaster describes him in glowing terms as a boy whose marks are simply phenomenal, and whose ability in sports has made him a coach's dream.

Lowell may well be proud of Richard Lyko who has created such a wonderful foundation for a successful life and career ahead. While he deserves the highest praise in his own right, his parents and Keith Academy properly share some of the glory for his wonderful performance.

KEITH ACADEMY SENIOR WINS CARDINAL CUSHING SCHOLAR-ATHLETE AWARD

LOWELL.—Richard Lyko, an 18-year-old senior at Keith Academy, achieved the highest 4-year mark for a scholar-athlete in the history of the Catholic league, and for this accomplishment he was the recipient of the coveted Cardinal Cushing award at a ceremony held at the Boston CYO headquarters yesterday.

Lyko compiled a 4-year average of 96.6 in his combined subjects at Keith, surpassing the former record set by Bill Madden, of St. John's Prep, of Danvers. Madden is now a catcher in the New York Yankees' farm system.

Lyko thus became the third Keith Academy athlete to win this top honor during the past 6 years. Larry Day and Stan Wrobel were the other winners over this span, while Tom Broderick was runner-up a year ago.

Richard, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Lyko, of 48 West Forest Street in Lowell, led his Keith class for every marking period throughout his 4 years at the academy. Lyko received a perfect 800 score in math and a 734 in verbal during his recent college board exams, and the 800 was the highest mark any student has ever received in the stiff exam. Richard was also a national merit scholarship semifinalist, being ranked among the top 2 percent of the Nation's high school seniors in scholastic achievement. Last summer he attended Merrimack College under a National Science Foundation grant, studying science and math, and he now has accepted an academic scholarship to Boston College.

Lyko was a star guard and linebacker for the Keith football team during the past 4 seasons. In addition, he was a high jumper on the Comets' track team, helping to organize the school's first team in that sport last year. His brother, Jim, is a junior at Keith, and he also is a first string lineman on the academy grid squad.

Richard won the Cardinal Cushing award over the athletes in all sports within the 35 schools of the Catholic leagues in eastern Massachusetts. The presentation of the award, which was an engraved clock, was made yesterday by Rt. Rev. Msgr. John P. Carroll, director of the CYO and the Catholic leagues. Speaker for the gathering, which included nine other seniors as award winner's was Rev. Edmund Walsh, dean of admissions at Boston College.

The nine other winners included Tom Brennan, of St. Mary's of Cambridge; John Cullinan, of Matignon; Joe DiVincenzo, of St. John's Prep; John Emery, of Malden Catholic; Mike Foley, of Mission, Bob Giard, of Marian; Bill Leahy, of Catholic Memorial; Tom Levasseur, of St. Jean's of Lynn; and Don May of Archbishop Williams.

Lyko's excellence was testified by Keith Academy principal, Rev. Brother Patrician, CFX, who recommended him in writing as follows: "Superlatives are necessary to describe a student-athlete the likes of Richard Lyko. He is our top student in a very talented senior class. He led that class in every marking for 4 years. His marks are simply phenomenal.

"Athletically," Brother Patrick continues, "Richard has been a coach's dream in both football and track."

The Attitude of Business Toward Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Maurice H. Stans, former Director of the Bureau of the Budget, recently presented a very informative speech at the 48th annual meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board.

The title of Mr. Stans' address was "The Attitude of Business Toward Government Spending."

I believe that his analysis of the budgetary situation, and his recommendations, will be of much interest to the Congress and the public. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit Mr. Stans' speech for inclusion in the RECORD:

"THE ATTITUDE OF BUSINESS TOWARD GOVERNMENT SPENDING"—BY MAURICE H. STANS, SENIOR PARTNER, WILLIAM R. STAATS & CO., INC., LOS ANGELES, AT THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD 48TH ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 22, 1964

A year ago, in 1963, the American public was in an aroused hue and cry for large cuts in the Federal budget. Hundreds of thousands of letters descended on Washington. Congress set to work to curb what it considered to be an extravagant program of spending, and by the time it finished its work the requested appropriations for fiscal 1964 had been reduced from $107.9 billion to less than $100 billion.[1]

This year, in 1964, the American public gives the impression that it couldn't care less about what happens to the budget. No mail on the subject reaches Congress. The best efforts of a few informed and determined budget cutters in that body will bare-

[1] Actual appropriations during the 1963 session were only $98.3 billion but necessary supplementals to carry out enacted programs will increase this to close to $100 billion before the end of the fiscal year on June 30.

ly add up to sustainable reductions of $2 billion, if that, in the appropriations for fiscal 1965.

What has happened in 1 year to change the attitude of the Nation so measurably? More importantly, what does the change signify, and what does it portend for the years ahead? Is Federal spending no longer a matter about which we should be concerned? Where are we now and where are we headed?

These are the questions to which I address myself today. I propose to analyze the Federal budgetary situation in the light of the enactment of tax reduction, the change in the Presidency, the 1965 budget and its implications, and the probabilities ahead. I hope that what I have to say will offer a reading on the Government's fiscal prospects that will induce businessmen and the public to come to grips again with the spending issue.

CAN WE RELAX?

If we are tempted to find simple answers to the questions I have posed, we can start with the two that on the surface seem most probable:

1. The American public, now that it has its tax cut, is just plain disinterested for a time in whether the Government runs a surplus or a deficit.

2. President Johnson has submitted a 1965 budget that he describes as austere, prudent, and frugal, as calling for a reduction in expenditures and in the deficit, and as carrying us a "giant step" toward a balanced budget.

Putting both of these answers together, we are led to the natural conclusion that the public is thoroughly happy with the idea of an economy-minded President taking over all concern about budgetary policy and undertaking the job of making ends meet in the Government.

But there are pitfalls in this course and here are some of them:

1. A President of the United States, however firm his intentions may be, cannot single-handedly control the public purse. He needs all-out help in any campaign of fiscal discipline for the Nation. The demands of the bureaucrats and the special interests always exceed the country's resources, and their pressures for spending are relentless.

2. Attaining an eventual balance of revenues and expenditures is, in fact, much more difficult than is implied by the outward appearance of the 1965 budget now before the Congress. This is true because of the present budget items, because of the inbuilt future growth in certain Federal programs, because of the fact that the full impact of recent and present new proposals is not yet evident, and because of the strength of the forces for spending in the Nation, now highly stimulated by the immense growth of Federal programs in recent years.

In other words, the problems of high and increasing spending and dangerous budget deficits are as much with us this year as last, and will be as much with us in the future, regardless of who is President. National fiscal policy happens to be one of the most highly debatable and fluctuating elements in the functioning of a democracy. It will continue to be so as long as the people consider their National Government to be an impersonal entity able to create unlimited funds to satisfy their desires, not recognizing that only they themselves can provide the wealth that the Government dispenses.

It is well that we recognize that there is no easy solution to budgetary problems, no convenient end to fiscal difficulties, and that those who are sophisticated enough to understand this subject must keep informed, alert, and active. It is timely, in other words, that we reconsider here the inconstant attitude of business toward Government spending.

IS THE 1965 BUDGET FRUGAL?

Frugality, austerity and economy are terms of comparison, so to evaluate where the 1965 budget stands in this respect we ought to see how it relates to earlier points in time. In other words, to put everything in perspective, we need to look back a bit—to 1960, let us say. You may remember 1960 for a long while. It was the last time the budget of the United States ended in balance. Expenditures of the Government in that year were $76.5 billion. Now, just a few years later, we are right at the $100 billion mark.

Shortly before January 20, 1961, the last day of the Eisenhower administration, I submitted to the President the first long-range projections of Federal spending ever compiled. These make a good base for another comparison with the present budget. They were compiled on three levels, for the 10 years from 1960 to 1970. The first was an economyminded and frugal, but wholly possible, level of Federal spending, somewhat more restrained in its trend of growth than in the previous decade. The second was a high, obviously lavish level, which undertook to meet widespread public demands for more spending. The third was a medium level, which was considered to be reasonably progressive and most likely under local and international conditions like those of 1960.

Without going into the arithmetic in detail, I will merely report that the economical level for 1970 ($83.9 billion) was passed in 1962, the medium level for 1970 ($97.4 billion) was exceeded by 1964, and the high level for 1970 ($122.6 billion) is right on the present trend line. In other words, in the 4 years since 1960, spending has been growing at the highest rate objectively conceivable at that time.

To measure our current position and the forces behind it, as the President must deal with them, we could well go over an earlier course of history, reviewing the progression of how we got where we are. In 1930 the entire cost of government, including interest on the edbt, public welfare, and national security, was only $3 billion. By 1940 it was $9 billion. By 1950 it had grown to $43 billion. By 1960 it was $94 billion. It is now right on target for $150 to $160 billion by 1970.[2]

What can the President do to slow down this forceful progression, which has moved at a rate which exceeds the growth in population, the gains in gross national product, or any other valid scale?

WHAT DOES THE 1965 BUDGET PROPOSE?

Before we find fault with the 1965 budget, there are some things we should say in its behalf. Without doubt it is considerably lower than the total of the desires of the government agencies, and almost certainly it is somewhat lower than the one which President Kennedy had planned to submit for 1965. But how does it appear in other respects? Here are some simplified statistics:

1. The 1965 budget calls for $22.9 billion more in program authorizations than President Eisenhower suggested in his last budget for 1962, just 3 years earlier.

2. The 1965 budget asks for $103.8 billion in authority to spend, which is $5.5 billion more than Congress was willing to vote last year for 1964. (Even after supplemental appropriations likely to be passed this year for 1964, it is $4 billion higher.)

3. The budgeted expenditures for 1965 are $97.9 billion, but this is after deducting $2.3 billion in sales of Government-owned loans and mortgages and over $800 million of bookkeeping transfers or credits, including some from improbable new legislation. Actual planned spending for the year, before such deductions, is about $2.0 billion higher than the truly comparable figure for 1964.

4. It contains some obviously understated appropriations requirements. For example, while the price support program may last out the year on the appropriations requested, because of past authorizations, the normal annual cost of present farm programs is at least $1.5 billion above the amount of appropriation asked for in 1964.

5. There are some apparent underestimates in expenditures, especially in farm programs. Considering also the fact that the estimates of revenues are on the optimistic side, it is likely that the planned reduction in the deficit, from $10 to $5 billion, may well fall of accomplishment by a considerable margin.

6. The budget shows a wholly desirable reduction of 1,200 (later increased to 1,900) in Government civilian employment in 1955, but this is after an indicated increase of 22,000 in fiscal 1964 (later decreased to 15,000), and an increase of 156,000 since 1960.

7. It is said to contain vigorous pruning of old programs, when in fact three appropriations are increased (by $1 million or more) for every one so decreased.

8. The budget contains almost $6 billion of built-in expansion, including about $3 billion in proposed enlargements in scope of old programs or to initiate wholly new programs that are sure to grow in coming years.

Of all these figures, the requested authority to spend is most significant as a portent of the future. The budgeted appropriations of $104.3, if increased to reflect annual program requirements of farm price supports, rural electrification, urban renewal, and other items not included this year at normal levels, becomes approximately $107 billion. This is the base for future appropriations and expenditures and makes doubtful any expectation of subsequent budgets much below this amount. Add to this a carryover of $95 billion in unspent but largely committed appropriations of earlier years, and you can see, for example, how difficult it will be to hold actual spending below $100 billion hereafter.

This conclusion is compounded by the large amount this year dedicated to beginning new programs. These factors measure the real significance of the 1965 budget, looking ahead, and point up the magnitude of the President's task in holding future budgets at anywhere near the present level.

WHAT COMES NOW?

Only because the national compulsion toward higher spending is so strong can such a budget be termed austere or frugal or economical, as it clearly is in relation to more pleasing alternatives. It is from these positions that the President must take off, and with these figures that he must contend, if the country is to achieve a balanced budget at any time in the next decade.

Assuming that Congress approves the 1965 budget in substantially its present terms, and enacts a large part of the new programs, where do we go from here?

It is wholly unrealistic to believe that the level of Federal spending will ever be significantly reduced. Even an ultimate disarmament is likely to be so gradual that its savings will probably be eaten up by new Government activities and the growing costs of carrying on present ones. The first budgetary fact of life that a President learns is that going programs (like veterans' benefits, public assistance, retirement pay, and many others), without any increases in their scope, have a normal built-in growth of close to $3 billion a year. Therefore, to hold total spending at a fixed point from one year to the

[2] These figures include the taxing and spending through trust funds of the Government, and thus include social security, highway construction, and other items not in the administrative budget.

next would require reductions of $3 billion elsewhere and an almost total refusal to entertain new programs or to expand old ones. Yet when revenues are somewhere between $5 billion and $10 billion behind expenditures, the only way equilibrium can be attained in a reasonable time is for expenditures to be kept from growing very significantly. (A 4-percent annual increase in gross national product would normally produce roughly a $4 billion increase in Government revenues, but this amount of gain is probably not attainable for fiscal 1966 because of the offsetting effect of the second step of tax reduction. And there is talk now of more tax cuts in a year or so.)

The most desirable course, considering all this, would be for the President to propose, and the public to insist, that Government spending be held below $100 billion until revenues catch up. It is possible that this could produce a balanced budget for 1967. This is a very difficult goal, considering where we are now. It can be attained, but only if a number of factors work out favorably or are forced to do so:

1. The economy must carry on at a 4- to 5-percent annual growth rate. Any recession, even a minor one, could defer a balanced budget for many more years.

2. Reductions in some Government programs must be imposed. There are good sizable candidates in the farm program (where reductions are politically almost impossible); in the expensive space program (where expenditures can be stretched out and made more effective if the ill-advised goal of a man on the moon by 1970 is extended); in the production of atomic weapons (attainable if military target and warhead requirements are suitably reevaluated); and in defense costs, especially manpower and maintenance of conventional forces (of which President Eisenhower has been an outspoken critic) and overseas defense commitments, including the large numbers of troops in Europe (which President Eisenhower has many times questioned). By these steps a good start could be made toward the 25-percent reduction in defense expenditures which former Defense Under Secretary Roswell Gilpatric says may be achieved over a period of time, and American industry would not suffer because most of the reductions would be in operating and overhead costs, and the rest would be very gradual. There are many other opportunities for lesser reductions throughout the budget, of which rural electrification and agricultural conservation are good examples.

3. The President must find a way to stop the normal upward bureaucratic creep in other agency activities. There are many programs not related to population growth, to time tables, or to any specific measure of need, that year after year move slowly upward in response to self-generated opportunities in the Government offices. These programs could be stabilized by the President and the Congress until the budget is in balance, at which time new evaluations could be made and new priorities fixed. Among the programs which could, without harm to welfare or national security, be frozen at present levels are soil conservation, construction of public buildings, geological survey, watershed protection, coast and geodetic survey, Corps of Engineers construction, sport fisheries, Bureau of Reclamation construction, foreign agricultural service, and medical research. These are merely illustrations. There are many others.

4. And again, new programs must be withheld until the budget is able to absorb them without strain; and necessary additions to old programs must be financed by reprogramming down some of their present scope.

In other words, the problems of the President in achieving a fiscal balance are imposing and monumental in the light of recent trends and countervailing present forces. Only the utmost determination in Washington and maximum support at home can retard the trend of credit-card spending of the last 30 years.

WHAT WE CAN DO

There are some things that businessmen ought to be willing to do to help achieve the objective of restraint in Government finances. I pose them to you in the conviction that, without strong and empatic demand from the general public for sound budgetary procedures and practices, the Nation will go merrily along its deficit-ridden way until it finds itself in a predicament of debt and inflexibility which will sap the national vitality and leave us too weakened to deal with internal and external emergencies.

Here are some things each of us can and should do:

1. Study and understand the annual budgets in more detail, so we are not unduly influenced by published totals which, unfortunately, do not reveal much of the meaningful facts about Government finances. Only by comparison of individual appropriations and categories are the trends clearly evident.

2. Support measures for economy wherever indicated, even though they may mean some temporary disadvantage for our community or our industry. The President and the Congress need to know, year in and year out, that we want sound fiscal policy.

3. Oppose the proliferation and growth of Federal programs not justified by a strict test of necessity for the Nation's security or welfare. Desirability is not adequate justification for Government spending.

4. Support proposals which would give taxpayers a greater direct vote on Federal spending. One such proposal now in Congress is for a Presidential Advisory Commission on Federal Expenditures (which, however, in its present form calls for too many members from the ranks of Government).

5. Urge and support proposals to improve congressional review of fiscal matters. One of these especially worthy would provide a Joint Congressional Committee on the Budget, with staffing for majority and minority parties, to provide research on budgetary policy and trends, preliminary to annual appropriation actions. Such a committee could insist on more long-range studies like that which we released in 1961, and more consideration to the long-range consequences of budgetary actions.

You will note, I am sure, that nowhere in this analysis do I say a word about foreign aid. There is no need for me to belittle it; it has few friends. The honest danger is, believe it or not, that under present conditions and attitudes, it may be cut too low for the Nation's good. If you wonder why I make a point of saying this, I hope you will conclude that at least it establishes this whole analysis as being unbiased and objective.

Economy Forced Upon Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith an editorial by Mr. Fred Andrus in the Daily Astorian, of Astoria, Oreg., with reference to some badly needed economy in the armed services:

ECONOMY FORCED UPON ARMED FORCES

Elimination of funds for bowling alleys for the Navy, new clubs for officers of the Armed Forces, and silk wallpaper for a general's suite, as Congress has just done, are gestures at economy which will delight the taxpayers and may frighten the free spenders in the Armed Forces into a little caution.

These comparatively trifling frills ought to be eliminated, of course, and all like them, but cutting them out does not get at the basic causes of the high cost of national defense.

Congress can wipe out $94,000 for silk wallpaper for a general, but what can it do about $94 million for new weapons of a kind that may be obsolete by the time they are ready for use? Military planners are quite liberal in purchasing items like this that they think they may need. When in doubt, buy it, seems to be their motto. The military people acquired bad habits of free spending in World War II and have developed those habits during the many years of the arms race with Russia. How can we get them to relearn the need for economy?

Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce Supports Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, recently the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, in an effort to disassociate itself from the negative stand taken by the past president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, approved a policy statement supporting urban renewal. The constructive approach taken by these men along with local officials, labor unions, and civic groups provides the foundation for the outstanding success of urban renewal in Minneapolis.

Minneapolis has, for several years, been a model of what can be done through public and private programs designed to meet the changing needs of a large city with large city problems. In their efforts to provide an attractive environment for their families to live and grow in, Minneapolis citizens have been that only through cooperation between private groups and city, State, and Federal governments can thorough planning emerge and a city look to the future as well as the present.

The Federal Government plays an important role in urban renewal. The extension and continuation of this role is incorporated in the housing bill before the Banking and Currency Committee. I hope that it passes.

The statement by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce follows:

MINNEAPOLIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE POLICY STATEMENT ON URBAN RENEWAL

The president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has, during his term of office, made personal attacks on the principle, public policy, and Federal law authorizing Federal programs, and the use of Federal tax resources for assistance to local communities for the purpose of carrying out urban renewal pro-

grams. His attacks have dealt, in part, with operations and realizations at the local level.

The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce has never made a general position statement with respect to the Federal urban renewal program since the original legislation in 1949. It has, however, given its support and backing, on a project-by-project basis, to each program which has been initiated and processed by the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority. It continues to maintain a cooperative liaison with the local authority and its staff and has, on many occasions, stated its nominal approval and pride in the achievements of urban renewal in Minneapolis.

It would, therefore, seem appropriate that the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce should make a resolution, or policy statement, regarding its position with respect to federally assisted urban renewal programs in Minneapolis.

With this in mind, the Urban Renewal Committee met on Wednesday, April 29, 1964, to consider such a policy statement.

The general concensus of this meeting was that it should not be the intent of the statement to argue the principle of Federal subsidy, whether it be in the farm program, highway construction, urban renewal, or other areas. However, inasmuch as the programs exist, public officials and civic leaders would be neglectful of their responsibilities to their community if they did not attempt to participate on an equitable basis.

Therefore, the following resolution is drawn and presented to the board of directors for consideration:

"Whereas Minneapolis must maintain a competitive position as an efficient economic instrument on a national and regional basis, and must, therefore, continue to provide suitable physical environment for the activities of living, learning, commerce, industry, and leisure;

"Whereas the public policy and Federal law establish the Federal Urban Renewal Agency under the Housing and Home Finance Agency for the purpose of assisting local communities in slum clearance and urban renewal programs;

"Whereas the Federal urban renewal program has been demonstrated to be an effective tool in the implementation of our locally established goals and objectives in shaping the form and content of our city;

"Whereas the role of private initiative through privately sponsored projects, has complemented the public programs of urban renewal in Minneapolis;

"Whereas the Housing Authority in and for the city of Minneapolis has demonstrated its ability to form its programs and policies within the framework of community needs and goals, in coordination with the city council, the city planning commission, school board, park board, and other operating departments of the city, as well as civic and business leadership;

"Whereas the investment of tax resources in urban renewal programs has been shown to be of general benefit to the financial base of Minneapolis through the appreciation of assessed valuations on new development;

"Whereas Minneapolis now has genuine physical evidence of the accomplishments of urban renewal: Therefore be it

"Resolved, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce states its support of the general policies of the city of Minneapolis, and its housing and redevelopment authority in the development and implementation of urban renewal programs. It recognizes that public urban renewal activity is but one activity among many which are essential to the achievement of continued sound urban maintenance and development. The Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce will continue to support and encourage those activities both public and private which strengthen the urban fabric of Minneapolis."

Approved by the board of directors, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, at its meeting on May 19, 1964.

Attention: Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat has contributed one of the most accurate editorial summations of the desperate state of affairs in southeast Asia that I have read.

I commend the editorial which follows to the attention of the Congress and the Chief Executive:

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

"If you will not fight for the right when you can win easily without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival."—WINSTON CHURCHILL.

The hours of decision for the United States in southeast Asia is at hand. The dwindling forces of independence in Laos have been routed. In South Vietnam they reel under repeated Communist blows and approach the psychological point of defeat.

No dispatch of marines to bolster the morale of uneasy Thailand, no showing of the flag in the air or off the coast of North Vietnam will be sufficient now. No political solutions can stop the tide of armed and disciplined communism with victory in its reach.

Without the full commitment of the United States to victory, the situation is hopeless, defeat inevitable, the subcontinent lost.

Tiny Cambodia's arrogant warnings to the United States and the disregard of North Vietnam and Pathet Lao for our cloudy threats of counterattack testify that southeast Asia believes America has no stomach for war in the region and seeks only the cover of diplomatic darkness under which to withdraw with what semblance of honor and prestige we might retain. Daily, the reports grow more ominous.

Vietcong atrocities have demoralized the free people of South Vietnam. Desertions are up. Communist attacks increase in size and number. Battles are fought in the suburbs of Saigon. Acts of sabotage grow continually in the capital city.

Opportunist Cambodia, sensing Western defeat, has swung to Peiping. Cambodian jets have violated South Vietnam's air space. The Vietcong use the country openly as a staging ground. The Cambodian Government looks the other way.

Traffic in men and equipment down the Ho Chi Minh trail increases from the north through Laos into the south. The trail remains inviolate from attack. The situation in Laos itself is worse than grave. The Communist Pathet Lao, who have never honored the Geneva agreement of 2 years ago, have swallowed up more than two-thirds of the country and their victorious armies are driving with impunity to seize the remainder.

Cadres of the Pathet Lao have infiltrated into Thailand while the North Vietnamese fight openly alongside them in Laos. This last is a direct violation of the 14-nation Geneva agreement and constitutes naked aggression of the North Korean variety.

The presence and victories of the North Vietnamese in Laos are an awful testament of this country's abandonment of that tiny land behind the curtain of a troika government.

Two years ago, President Kennedy explained to the Nation that all southeast Asia must be treated as a geographical unit. He then proceeded, with the active collaboration of Averell Harriman, to disregard this political fact by pulling the Western props from under the central domino, Laos.

A dozen more visits by Mr. McNamara will not save the people of South Vietnam who trust the word of honor of the United States that we will never scuttle and run, that we will never leave them to face the ravages of victorious Asian communism alone.

We cannot procrastinate further. The Vietcong, the Pathet Lao, the Vietminh are unwilling to wait upon our November elections. They want the whole land mass of southeast Asia—now. Nor can we expect a Communist enemy victorious in the field to accept a political solution which does not guarantee him the full fruits of his bloody successes.

If America does not act, the situation will disintegrate beyond recognition; southeast Asia will go under with all the catastrophic effects that will have on the remainder of Asia and on other American allies who have placed their security in our keeping.

In our opinion, the alternatives have long been clear. Either we run, or we carry the war to the north with a retaliatory response upon that Communist land.

It must be stated that this stroke will carry with it the possibility of Chinese intervention and a Sino-American conflict—but a remote possibility.

Not only are the long-term interests of the West at stake but American prestige and honor are irrevocably committed. If Mr. Johnson cannot make the command decision necessary now, he lacks a vital ingredient the modern American President must have, and the Republic itself is in danger.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Freemen Can Lick Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., has printed in its June 6, 1964, edition an editorial which offers some very sound advice on how the problem of poverty should be attacked in this country. The editorial is entitled "Freemen Can Whip Poverty." I ask unanimous consent that this outstanding editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEMEN CAN WHIP POVERTY

Not since the discovery of the political appeal of Sunday blue laws, prohibition, and integration over the span of years has there been anything like the stampede to get on the antipoverty bandwagon.

The revelation that anyone who makes under $3,000 a year cash is automatically impoverished is the greatest thing since cotton dropped to 5 cents a pound and the bottom fell out of the stockmarket.

Poverty, as the saying goes, is "in" in Washington political circles.

Anyone making as little as that $3,000, even though he may have a good farm with plenty of milk, vegetables, and meats in the freezer and jam on the cellar shelf who doesn't act impoverished had better do so if he knows what's good for him.

Anyone else who doesn't properly wring his hands and call for a crash program on the part of the Federal Government just isn't with it. For the benefit of those who may be slow to catch on, it may be necessary to raise the $3,000 limit on poverty—and it may be necessary anyway if the Congress goes on raising the national debt to permit the borrowing of money for the country to spend itself rich.

Poverty, however, is a real thing among many Americans.

While we waste little sympathy on the poor who are deprived because they are, first of all, shiftless, we recognize that there are many who are in real want, willing to work, prefer to make their own way to living on relief and simply can't help themselves.

And for all of its having been overdone by politicos from President Johnson on down to the rank grassroots demagogs, there are many such individuals and families in much-discussed Appalachia where the coal mines have curtailed for lack of a market or machines have replaced men with picks and shovels and hoppers.

There are other areas, such as parts of New England where lack of modernization, domineering and callous unionism, high taxes and other profit-robbing factors laid a deadening hand on the textile industry.

But we do not believe a massive Government program is the answer. It is bound to be expensive. It will add to the financial burdens of the taxpayers and to the trend toward making the envied "middle class" of Americans, in a sense more real than most will recognize or admit, victims of a peculiar poverty of their own.

It also is bound to be inefficient and to fall short of the lofty and noble purpose claimed for it, vote-getting aside.

Private enterprise, however, can, with encouragement, a greater degree of governmental stability and a fair break from regulatory agencies, go a long way toward breaking the back of real poverty. And this without the firing of a single political shot.

Several big American companies would like to invest billions in expansion, creating jobs for the builders of plants and machinery, for workers in those plants and clerks in the offices, to say nothing of the new jobs which are created with the expansion of every other business in a community when a new plant moves in with a payroll.

The would invest, that is, if the Government does not discourage them, either by taking their capital in excess profits taxes, by encouraging unions to demand more money for less work or other discouraging behavior and policies.

To come closer home, the proposed Duke Power Co. steam generating plant on the Savannah River would create a new market for $24 million worth of coal annually, a nice chunk of business for the idle mines and miners in Appalachia.

Also, that coal would come in and be consumed at the rate of 95 carloads a day, creating new business and jobs for railroads and their workers.

All of this, besides creating local jobs and attracting industry, the plant would do, without taking a dime from the taxpayers. Instead it would pay millions of dollars in taxes every year to county, State, and Federal governments.

Government-made work will not defeat poverty. Free enterprise jobs can.

American Legion Official Likes Dallas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, Dallas, the great city which I have the honor to represent, will be the convention city for the 46th National Convention of the American Legion in September. Recently Robert B. Pitkin, editor of the American Legion magazine visited Dallas in order to prepare an article for his magazine.

Editor Pitkin liked what he saw. He liked the people of Dallas and he said so in the June issue of the Legion publication. The following editorial from the Dallas Morning News, "A Look at Dallas," comments on the Pitkin appraisal of Dallas:

A LOOK AT DALLAS

Dallas' popularity as a convention city may surprise many who live here. In the number of scheduled conventions, Dallas ranks third, with only New York and Chicago listed with more such gatherings in the authoritative publication "World Conventions."

Many reasons for this city's appeal to convention delegates are given in entertaining as well as convincing fashion in the June issue of American Legion magazine. Author of the article is the editor, Robert B. Pitkin.

The Legion's upcoming 46th national convention to be held here in September prompted Editor Pitkin to make a special trip some weeks ago to scout the host community. His report of what Legionnaires and their families will find here is spread over four pages of text and photographs under the heading "A Look at Dallas, Tex."

"In caliber and class of accommodations," reports the magazine writer in discussing arrangements for the comfort, enjoyment, and convenience of visitors, Dallas ranks with "the big resort cities, such as Las Vegas and Miami Beach."

And in "some respects," he adds, "it outranks them, though Dallas is a white-collar business city, not a resort."

Mr. Pitkin's firsthand account includes a rundown of typical motel and hotel facilities, which he finds are not only "very comfortable" but sumptuous and even fantastic in certain instances, yet "moderate in price."

Coverage of Dallas' restaurant front emphasizes the large number and variety of quality eating places—whose menu prices, the editor finds, are from 40 to 60 percent lower than those for comparable meals in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Miami Beach, and Los Angeles.

Mr. Pitkin also liked the elegance and attractive atmosphere of the numerous night clubs and other entertainment spots in Dallas. These are, he writes, "not deep, dark dens of iniquity * * * but quality establishments for pleasant socializing of convivial people * * * I went to no joint, nor did any thrust their presence on me."

The Legion magazine's preview of Dallas contains a surprisingly accurate thumbnail sketch of local history to explain why "a business city on the northeast Texas cotton plain offers hospitality on a par with the top resorts in the land."

Dallas this year promises to exceed the 600,000 convention visitors it entertained in 1963. Important in attracting them are fine housing accommodations, a wide range of sights to see and the tremendous amount of attention given to convention facilities. These begin with the Memorial Auditorium, which this latest evaluator describes as "sparkling in its modernity."

The Pitkin analysis is of great value to Dallas and to prospective Legion visitors. It also comes at a time when its generosity of spirit and strict reliance on facts are greatly appreciated. Such an appraisal puts an entire citizenry on its mettle to verify Mr. Pitkin's judgment that Dallas is probably the finest convention city that the Legion has not yet visited en masse.

Civil Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Hamilton A. Long, a distinguished former member of the New York Bar Association and a recognized expert on constitutional law, has written an open letter to the U.S. Senate on the pending so-called civil rights legislation. I am pleased to call this letter to the attention of my colleagues with the hope that it will cause all those inclined toward voting for this unconstitutional legislation to reconsider the constitutional questions involved in this legislation.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Mr. Long's letter to the Senate be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE U.S. SENATE

1. Every Senator, sworn to support and defend the Constitution—in its original, true, and only meaning (per the intent of those who framed and adopted the initial instrument and later each amendment)—are thus by oath and morality required to oppose everything in conflict therewith such as the now pending bill falsely labeled civil "rights," because the Constitution as amended grants no power to the Federal Government to enact such legislation or enforce it as pretended law in violation of the constitutional rights of individuals in various respects. Morality supports this conclusion firmly, as is self-evident, because there can be no constitutional right which conflicts with other constitutional rights: the rights of others.

2. The initial Constitution, as framed and adopted in 1787–88, granted no power to the Federal Government such as is assumed to exist as a basis for the bill; and the 13th and 14th amendments created no such Federal power. Neither did the initial instrument or these amendments create any constitutional "rights" such as the bill contemplates. This is true according to the controlling intent above-mentioned; and no branch of the Federal Government—least of all the strictly limited-power judiciary—nor all three branches combined, could have any power to change the true and only meaning, per that intent, which can be accomplished only by the people and by them only through the amending process. For any one, including judges—who are themselves sworn to support and defend the Constitution (in that original meaning, of course)—to pretend to the contrary is a fraud on history, on the American philosophy, and constitutional system of strictly limited-power government, on this basic law of the people and, therefore, on the American people today, and posterity. Any and all officials, including judges, who grasp power beyond that granted by the Constitution as amended thereby make of themselves usurpers acting outside of the law and so "outlaws" as the Founding Fathers asserted long before 1776. Usurpers are outlaws.

3. The 14th amendment changed nothing in this connection except to guarantee that each State's own standard of liberty and justice, under its own constitution, should apply equally to every person within its borders; without regard to the Federal Government as a whole, much less to the Supreme Court, and without regard to different standards in any other States. Each State is thus fully empowered, due to limited Federal powers granted by the initial instrument in 1787–88 (subject to implied denial of all powers thus excluded—made express by the so-called Bill of Rights, in reality a bill of prohibitions directed against the Federal Government only). The truth of these conclusions, as to the 14th amendment, is proved conclusively by law professors, Charles Fairman and Stanley Morrison, in articles in Stanford Law Review, December 1949 in the light of their assembled evidence (available in such form for the first time) as to the intent of the ratifying States, which controls. As to the 13th amendment, see Law Professor Alfred Avins' article in Cornell Law Quarterly for winter 1964. The bill has no support in the 13th or 14th amendments, as adopted.

4. As a member of the New York bar (retired) and writer on constitutional law, I urge that the Constitution be upheld and this bill therefore defeated.

HAMILTON A. LONG.

Lumber Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, a great many people in my district, the Second District of Washington State, depend directly or indirectly on the lumber industry for their livelihood. They are immediately aware of the problems posed by foreign competition, particularly by mills in British Columbia.

I have been concerned about this competition and especially about inroads made possible by provisions of the so-called Jones Act which, in effect, restrict American lumber mills from access to certain markets. As you know, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 7961, to correct this situation by repealing certain sections of the Merchant Marine Act with respect to the transportation of lumber.

Recently, I received from the Simpson Timber Co. in Washington State a letter further documenting the extent of foreign competition. Because I believe this letter will be of interest to all Members of Congress, under leave to extend my remarks, I place it in the RECORD:

LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN WESTLAND

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WESTLAND: For more than 3 years, I reported monthly on comparisons of waterborne cargo lumber shipments to the U.S. Atlantic coast from British Columbia sawmills and from our Washington, Oregon, and northern California ports.

You will recall that British Columbia's share of this 1.5 billion board foot market went from 57 percent in 1961 to 62 percent in 1962 and to 70 percent in 1963.

Pacific Lumber Inspection Bureau figures for April reveal British Columbia holds 64.5 percent of the U.S. Atlantic coast market after the first 4 months of 1964. In other words, there is little to indicate that the trend against Pacific Northwest mills will change in 1964.

To date, British Columbia has shipped 364.5 million board feet to 200.6 million board feet from Washington and Oregon.

So far in 1964, British Columbia mills have shipped 29.3 million board feet to Puerto Rico, and Northwest mills, paralyzed in that market by the Jones Act, have shipped nothing.

I'll report again later this year. The general level of the lumber business now is good—but with restoration of competitive equality with British Columbia mills, it could be better.

SIMPSON TIMBER CO.

The Livable World Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have inserted in the RECORD a series of articles by Holmes Alexander to bring to light the political activities of the Council for a Livable World. I am today inserting another in this series of articles.

I was real interested in the statement of Senator MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, appearing on pages 12539 and 12540 of the June 8 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which he defends the Council for a Livable World and defends a contribution made by the council to him in the amount of $22,000.

As is usually the case, when anyone is being attacked for not following the radical left, Holmes Alexander was attacked as being a Birchite and having some connections with Robert Welch. Going a step further, the junior Senator from South Dakota says that it is appropriate that I should insert these articles in the RECORD because, he says:

MR. BERRY was one of the only two Members of Congress who accepted an invitation to attend a Birchite organizational meeting in Washington, some months ago.

If the junior Senator's facts are all as deliberately distorted and unfactual as this statement, his many pages almost daily in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are an absolute waste of the taxpayers' money.

An additional article by Holmes Alexander follows:

THE LIVABLE WORLD AGAIN

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Toward the end of 1963, the directors of the Council for a Livable World, a ban-the-bomb outfit, began preparing a document entitled, "Draft of Program Action," in which there occurred the interesting phrase "old myths rather than current realities."

On April 25, 1964, Senator FULBRIGHT gave his memorable foreign policy speech in which there occurred exactly the same phrase—"old myths rather than current realities," and there is internal evidence that the action report predates the Fulbright address. The full quotations are:

Council for a Livable World: "In too many cases we are handicapped by policies based on old myths rather than current realities."

Senator FULBRIGHT: "This divergence has in certain respects been growing, rather than narrowing; and we are handicapped, accordingly, by policies based on old myths, rather than current realities."

Well, funny coincidences do occur. I would think nothing of this one except that the Livable World seems to go in for supplying Senators with speeches and ideas that promote disarmament. As reported here in a column series beginning May 12, the Livable World prepared and offered a flesh-creeping speech to Senator QUENTIN BURDICK, Democrat, of North Dakota, and later to Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, for delivery in Syracuse on May 5. The address, as I learned after considerable sleuthing, was written by an employee of the State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Dr. Leonard S. Rodberg, in his spare time, as he assures me.

I have not established that the Fulbright speech was ghosted or inspired. I do not know the exact date of the Livable World's Action Report, except that Col. Ashton Crosby, the Council's Executive Director tells me the inception was "about 6 months ago," and this is borne out by some internal evidence. I have asked Senator FULBRIGHT whether the funny coincidence of an exact repetition of phrase was collaboration or circumstance.

"It is circumstance," the Senator replied firmly.

There is no doubt, however, that disarmament propaganda and campaign contributions have formed a liaison here. The Livable World had provided, by its own accounting, $14,351.84 to the reelection chest of Burdick and $372.30 to that of MUSKIE. Back in 1962 the Livable World, while operating under the name of Council for Abolishing War, gave $2,500 to the Fulbright campaign fund of that year.

The Livable World was founded by Dr. Leo Szilard, a militant peacemonger whose fantastic speech before Cyrus Eaton's Pugwash Conference in 1961 has been previously digested in this place. The outfit's officers, headed by Dr. Bernard T. Feld of MIT, include biologists, physicists, psychiatrists, film directors, a do-gooder attorney, and a left-leaning labor leader. I have requested the entire membership list of the Livable World, but am not encouraged to believe it will become available.

In a transgression of conservatism, I previously understated a disarmament vote in the Senate. I gave the proposed slash in defense procurement of weapons and research as $17 million and neglected to include Senator FULBRIGHT as a slash supporter. Actually the key figure was $52 million. At least five Senators, who accepted Livable World campaign money, voted for the cut. In addition to FULBRIGHT ($2,500), there were MCGOVERN ($22,000), BURDICK ($14,000), MCGEE ($8,000), CLARK (unknown).

One ray of hope for the Livable World seems to be Colonel Crosby, its executive director. The early action program called for unilateral nondeployment of our antiballistic missiles and for bomber disarmament. Crosby was able to insert "mutual" into the first category and "by both sides" into the second. But these appear to be semantic concessions, much like changing the council's letterhead from Abolishing War to Livable World. The outfit's name was changed—but not its nature.

Operation Baby Bootstraps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of the House about a wonderful, and I believe, important program, in which several of my constituents and good friends of Baltimore have participated.

I am referring to "Operation Baby Bootstraps," which is a program initiated by the National Institute of Diaper Services and Friends of the United States of Latin America. These two fine organizations, one an association of diaper services with members throughout the United States, and the other a philanthropic institution with its headquarters in Washington, D.C., have initiated a program whereby private citizens of this country have contributed money, goods, and services for the assistance of the people of Costa Rica in Central America.

In February of this year, a caravan consisting of four ambulances loaded with medical and hospital supplies left Baltimore, Md., and was driven to Miami, Fla.; then taken from Miami to Matias de Galves, Guatemala, and were driven from that city over nearly 1,700 miles of the Inter-American Highway through Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua to San Jose, the capital of Costa Rica, where they were donated directly to the people and hospitals of Costa Rica.

This group was led by Mr. Rubin Waranch, president of the Nu-Dy-Per Baby Service, and Mr. Nathan Mash, president of Mash's Hams, both of Baltimore City, and Mrs. Gloria Billings, of Washington, D.C. Included in the party were Dr. Vincent Lopez, Dr. Thomas Michael, Leon Zeller, Zelig Robinson, Mr. Waranch's wife, Evelyn, and their three sons, Mark, Isaac, and Jimmy, and Mrs. Billings' son, Jason, all of Baltimore City.

The entire project was inspired by Mr. Stanley Posner, a highly esteemed attorney, of Washington, who has spent the better part of the past 20 years working with the people and problems of the various Latin American Republics, particularly with the people of Costa Rica.

As you know, Costa Rica, for the past decade or more, has been one of the most stable and completely democratic nations in the Western Hemisphere. It has long since abolished its national army and has served as a haven for democrats from through the entire area.

All of the equipment and material carried by these Americans and donated to the people of Costa Rica was contributed by the participants in the caravan and various businesses, doctors, customers of Nu-Dy-Per Baby Service, and members of the National Institute of Diaper Services, from Lancaster, Pa., and Jacksonville, Fla., and other firms around the country. The transportation of the vehicles, their cargo, and their passengers from Miami to Guatemala was donated by Coordinated Caribbean Transport Co., of Miami and New York. Not a single dollar of U.S. Government assistance was involved in this courageous venture. The entire project was initiated, put together, and carried out by private citizens and businesses of the United States solely to help the people of a sister democracy in this hemisphere.

The members of the ambulance caravan have related to me the amazing and sincerely warm reception which they received when they arrived in the various towns and cities of Costa Rica to which this equipment was donated. In most instances, the entire population of the cities and villages turned out to greet and welcome the caravan and its members and to thank all of the people of the United States for recognizing the dire needs of the hospitals and clinics of those towns in Costa Rica and for caring enough to assist these people. I have been told that in some instances, the receptions for these Americans were the equivalent of national holidays; that marching bands greeted them and that all the elected representatives of the district turned out with the people to thank, not merely the small band who delivered the items, but all the people of the United States for their interest in helping.

In this day when we in the Congress provide Government financing and Government assistance of billions of dollars throughout the world, it is heart-warming to see private citizens, completely without governmental assistance and without Government funds, carry out so important a program with such stunning success. These people are now planning to continue their efforts to bring assistance of various sorts to the Costa Rican people through a carefully planned program limited to their abilities and capacities.

I commend these people to you for their good work and their patriotic acts and I have taken the liberty of thanking them on behalf of our Government and wishing them good luck in their future endeavors.

A Philosophy of Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, W. C. Hubman, of Columbus, Ohio, recently forwarded an article to me which reportedly came from the Wall Street Journal.

In my opinion every Member of Congress should read this article which follows:

A PHILOSOPHY OF POVERTY

An underlying theme in much of the discussion of poverty is that society, particularly in its economic organization, is the real villain. In other words, all of us who are trying to make a living are jointly responsible for the plight of the poor.

Certainly the theme is central to President Johnson's proposed war on poverty; Government action, it is reasoned, must make up for private failure. Whatever may be thought of the President's specific recommendations, this notion of collective guilt must be rated as bad history and worse sociology.

It is bad history, because almost all of us are up from poverty, and almost none of our forbears considered it anybody's responsibility but his own to get up. The pioneer was poor; so was the Irish and Jewish immigrant, the freed slave. Sometimes a more fortunate person helped a less fortunate one; sometimes not. For a long time America as a

nation was poor, underdeveloped, as they say today.

What transformed general poverty into general prosperity was neither a collective guilt complex nor Government. It was a lot of individual hard work and a great deal of freedom to move and act and think. Freedom to move not only over the land, but also upward as far as ability would carry; freedom to tinker, to invent, or refine the innovations of others. Out of it all came the economic organization that has spelled the emancipation from drudgery, the material abundance, the drastic reduction of poverty.

It has been a constantly continuing development. Yale's famed political scientist, William Graham Sumner, could see the heart of the process 80 years ago:

"Let anyone learn," he wrote, "what hardship was involved, even for a wealthy person a century ago, in crossing the Atlantic, and then let him compare that hardship even with a steerage passage at the present time, considering time and money cost. This improvement in transportation by which the poor and weak can be carried from the crowded centers of population to the new land is worth more to them than all the schemes of anesthetics really does; more for those who are not well off than all the declamations of the orators.

In more recent history the point hardly needs laboring. For just one example, the work of a Henry Ford, with all the ramifications in industrial processes and relations, did more to bring abundance to the majority than any amount of doles or vote-getting programs. The point is that a free economy and society expands the opportunities for all its members but leaves it largely to them to decide what they will do about it.

This is the antithesis of the present sociological approach, which regards the poor as a segregated class; either they must be dragged out of their poverty by mechanical Government programs or else maintained in their poverty by the rest of society. Lost in the rigidity are all distinctions as to causes, individuality, ability to advance, or personal motivation. Essentially, individual problems get a collective treatment.

Particularly under such a policy is it difficult or impossible to distinguish between the genuinely unfortunate who for some reason beyond their control cannot make a go of life and those who are totally disinterested in making any contribution to society?

Indeed the logic of the policy demands that the shiftless as well as the deserving have equal right to the fruits of the productive. Since there are always those only too willing to live at the expense of others, that approach may only swell the ranks of the shiftless and help perpetuate poverty.

The policy is not even humanitarian, though it parades under that label. For it is not a question here of aiding the destitute or feeding the hungry; in a variety of ways, public and private, that is done and we trust always will be. Today as yesterday many a poor man is helped toward well-being by private generosity and many others at least comforted by the community. Nor would anyone object to limited Government action if there were reason to believe it could be effective.

But history, psychology and sound sociology combine to argue that treating the poor as a class, a sort of subspecies, instead of as individuals of widely varying potential is a course of regression. It is a degradation of the dignity of the deserving, a block to incentive, a move away from the long trend toward a middle class; that is, classless society in this country.

History also suggests that many of today's poor would leave that state if the economy were permitted to operate in greater freedom, the freedom which has already brought prosperity to the multitudes. Just as Sumner wrote of the benefits of transportation, so today the Government might do more for the poor by relaxing its controls on the economy than by the spending of still more billions.

Whatever the Government does, it should have no truck with a false creed which denies any individual responsibility on the part of the poor and shifts all blame to the shoulders of those who have made their way up from poverty. That is not only an affront to the hardworking majority; it is also a philosophy of restriction and retreat.

Another Communist Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the Communist Party of the United States has been recognized by all authorities in this field, J. Edgar Hoover, the Justice Department, the House Un-American Activities Committee, as an important part of the Communist world conspiracy. Leaders of the Communist Party in this country have never made any secret of their intent to overthrow the Government of the United States and they have openly aided and abetted the aims of the Soviet Union which is on record as having as its objective the destruction of the United States.

It is clear to most Americans that the Communist Party and its members are enemies of the United States. Congress officially recognized this fact when it passed the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 to compel Communist Party members to register as enemy agents. Using the guarantees of the very Constitution they are bent on destroying, the Communists have kept the case in the courts until they have finally won another victory at the hands of the Supreme Court. In its refusal yesterday to review a lower court decision which relieved the Communists from complying with the law, the Supreme Court has now given these enemy agents the signal to carry on anti-American propaganda and subversion with immunity.

Is not such a decision strange, Mr. Speaker? Is it not about time Congress take some action to keep the Supreme Court from nullifying congressional action?

The story of the Supreme Court's decision to protect the Communists is in the following news story from this morning's Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post, June 9, 1964]

REVERSAL OF COMMUNIST CONVICTION WILL STAND

(By James E. Clayton)

The Supreme Court refused yesterday to review a lower court decision that reversed the conviction of the Communist Party for failing to register as a subversive organization.

The Justice Department, in asking the Court to review the decision, had said its effect is to "seriously handicap" the enforcement of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

The Court, as usual, gave no reason for its action nor did any of the Justices note their disagreement with the refusal. The votes of four Justices are required before the Court agrees to hear any case. Justice Byron R. White did not participate in yesterday's action.

The Court's refusal leaves the Government with a dilemma in enforcing the 1950 act. But that was almost built in when Congress provided two dissimilar weapons to combat Communist infiltration.

The 1950 act is aimed at their members, their finances and other matters public. The 1940 Smith Act, the other weapon, is aimed at punishing members of such organizations. As a result, the officers of the Communist Party who would normally be required to register under the 1950 act claimed that they could not do so without incriminating themselves under the other law.

The U.S. court of appeals here sustained their claim of this fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination after the party was convicted and fined $120,000 in 1962 for failing to register.

That court said the party can be convicted of willfully refusing to register only if someone qualified to act for the party waives his self-incrimination claim or if someone is available who would not be in danger of incrimination as a result of signing the registration statement.

The court of appeals added that the burden of proving the availability of such a person is upon the Government. The Justice Department told the Supreme Court that this will either make it impossible for the Government to require the Communist Party to register or, at the least, to delay registration for several additional years.

Chamber Music

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is one of the image-minded organizations operating in Washington, and is noted far and wide for its naive attitude toward Government and politics.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial of Monday, June 8, provides the chamber of commerce and its new president with thoughtful and constructive and needed advice, and contributes also a most proper and timely discussion of the administration's policy to embrace the Soviet Union.

I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

CHAMBER MUSIC

With its new administration, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has decidedly softened its attitude toward our Government and toward Russia.

The new president, Walter F. Carey, called in his inaugural address for greater cooperation between business and Government, and for a more positive approach on the part of business toward the problems of the Nation. "The vast majority of those who comprise the Government," he said, "are reasonable and moderate men, with their sights set on the same goals which beckon to us."

The chamber adopted a resolution calling for more trade with the Soviet Union—at least until we do as much trading with the

Communists in Europe as our allies do. The implication is that most Russians, like most people in Government here, are reasonable and moderate men who want only to live and let live—and that if they can't buy what they want from us, they will buy it from somebody else.

The trouble with a blanket judgment of reasonableness and moderation in Washington is that few people in Government have much more to say about Government policies than most Russians have to say about Russian policies or most Cubans about what Castro does. Official policies are usually drawn up by a small clique. In Washington, this presumed elite includes many who believe the Government (meaning themselves) should take a steadily growing part in the management of business and of our lives. In Russia, it is still official doctrine that the capitalist countries must eventually be reduced to a Communist world in which the party hierarchy will not only run everything, but own it as well.

We don't think that Mr. Carey means that business should cooperate with Mr. Freeman in telling the farmer what to do, or with Mr. Udall in trying to make the power industry a Federal domain, or with Dr. Heller in promoting deficits which endanger our money system. Indeed, the Government's insatiable appetite for power is in itself one of the serious problems which, as Mr. Carey acknowledges, are facing the Nation. This is why his predecessor, Mr. Neilan, found himself attacking the tendency of the Government to subvert private business with Federal subsidies.

Cooperating in this sort of effort will get us nowhere. In foreign affairs, for example, the be-kind-to-Russia advocates find themselves urging trade with Russia, which supports Cuba, while calling for a continued embargo against Cuba and China. Mr. Johnson, likewise, talks sympathetically of trade with Russia while he scolds British Foreign Minister Butler for Britain's trade with Cuba.

So while chamber music and soft words may contribute to a pleasant atmosphere, we hope the chamber of commerce will not lull itself to sleep. There are times for cooperation and times for militant resistance. Remember, the Argonauts regarded the sirens as reasonable and moderate young ladies with whom it would be pleasant to coexist, and look what almost happened to them.

Memorial Day Address at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., by the Honorable Robert Love Taylor, Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court, Knoxville, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be among the vast throng of visitors who so resoundingly applauded the penetrating and persuasive remarks of the Honorable Robert Love Taylor at the Memorial Day services at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., on Sunday, May 31, 1964.

Judge Taylor is one of Tennessee's most beloved public officials. Born in Happy Valley, Tenn., the son of Tennessee's former Governor, Alfred Taylor, Judge Taylor was admitted to the bar in 1923. Being a member of the law firm of Cox, Taylor, Epps, Miller & Wilson of Johnson City, and since 1949 he has served with honor as judge of the U.S. court for the eastern district of Tennessee.

Judge Taylor's father, Alfred Alexander Taylor, and the judge's uncle, Robert Love Taylor, were the principals in the colorful and dynamic "War of the Roses," the campaign between the two brothers for the governorship of the State of Tennessee in 1886—one on the Republican ticket and the other on the Democratic ticket.

In his book, "Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee," Daniel Merritt Robison says of this historical campaign:

Party managers arranged for a series of 41 joint debates between the brothers, in which they were to visit every section of Tennessee. The first of these was held at Madisonville in east Tennessee on September 9, and marked the opening of a campaign that was to attract nationwide attention. It became known at once as the War of the Roses in which the Democratic candidate and his followers adopted the white rose of York, while the Republican wore the red of Lancaster. The Madisonville debate quieted the fears of those who dreaded an unseemly or disgusting wrangle between two brothers. Succeeding debates dispelled them altogether. One editor, who confessed to such a dread, at last commended the brothers on the delicacy exhibited by both. The critical Nashville Banner was relieved that the discussions were free from unseemly asperities and that the brothers evidenced a commendable regard for the proprieties of the occasion. As a matter of fact, the cordial and close relationship between the candidates throughout the campaign was an outstanding feature of the campaign and has become a fine tradition in Tennessee political history. They traveled together, slept in the same bed and ate at the same table. As the guests of Colonel Cooper at Shelbyville, as occupants of a single room in a Chattanooga hotel, playing their fiddles together for the entertainment of enthusiastic admirers, or waiting together around railroad stations for trains that were often late, the picture is always the same. Off parade, they were kindly, jovial brothers. Their debates were filled with thrusts and anecdotes directed at each other, but in them there was no sting of bitterness * * * [they] won the admiration of all Tennesseans.

The famed oratorical powers of the Taylor family were eloquently sustained by Judge Taylor, and I would like to share his stirring mesage with my colleagues and all of those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MEMORIAL DAY SPEECH AT MOUNTAIN HOME, TENN.

(By Hon. Robert Lave Taylor)

Colonel Harr, my friends of upper east Tennessee and surrounding areas; it is a privilege to join the many thousands of citizens here today in tribute and gratitude to those who gave their lives in defense of this Nation.

Memorial Day was first observed to honor the soldiers of the Civil War. It is now observed to honor American soldiers of all wars and it will continue to be observed so long as men and women value liberty and freedom. A grateful nation appreciates and honors those who have defended it in time of peril. America is a grateful Nation as evidenced by this ceremony and similar ceremonies that will be held in honor of our soldiers who are buried in 10 countries in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and all around the world.

To the Gold Star Mothers who gave their sons to preserve our way of life, we bow in reverence. To those patients in this home and all veterans homes, we send words of hope and deep gratitude for their brave deeds. No more appropriate place could be found for this occasion than here in upper east Tennessee amid the beautiful surroundings of Mountain Home, an institution where soldiers of four wars in our own generation have been administered to by devoted public servants for more than half a century.

Mountain Home lies within a section of the State that has furnished more volunteers per capita for military service than any other part of the Nation. Here Andrew Jackson lived and held court and John Sevier, Tennessee's first Governor made his home. Carter County, which adjoins this county and my former home, furnished three companies for World War I without a single person being drafted.

I need not remind you that Tennesseans are descendants of brave men who fought in the War of the Revolution to gain our independence; that Tennesseans are descendants of hardy pioneers who fought Indians, cleared the forests, cultivated the soil and built thriving towns and cities; that Tennessee gave to the Nation Presidents Jackson, Polk, and Andrew Johnson, each of whom made a lasting contribution to our Nation; that Tennessee gave David Crockett and Sam Houston to Texas, whose names and fame are known throughout the length and breadth of this country.

We value highly our American way of life. We enjoy many freedoms. Freedom of speech, assemblage, worship, ownership of property, and freedom to rear our children in an atmosphere conducive to peace and happiness are only a few of the rights that we enjoy as American citizens. These rights are derived from our Federal and State constitutions. We recognize that native-born Americans sometimes take these freedoms for granted while the foreign-born, naturalized citizens prize them highly.

Those we honor here today fought to preserve these rights. They were not remote or foreign warriors, but were our fathers, brothers, sons, and fellows-in-arms. They came from rich and poor families, from various religious faiths, and from the cities, towns, villages, and rural communities. From their homes and schools they left to answer the call of their country. Some were literate and others unlearned in academic education. They fought shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. They were moved by patriotism and courage and "They gave their last full measure of devotion" for their country.

But who they were or from where they came does not make a great deal of difference. It is what they did that counts.

On a Memorial Day of a little more than 100 years ago, November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln told a crowd of mourning widows, children, and veterans what he thought they and the dead they mourned had suffered for and why it was worth it: The fallen and the wounded, he said, had been engaged in testing whether a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could long endure. That is what those veterans had fought for.

Today's veterans and our fallen heroes whom we honor on this occasion fought for something different but no less noble. Those of you who fought in 1917 and 1918 were told that you were going to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy." The rest of you went to avenge the "day that will

live in infamy" and to crush out nazism and to stop the onslaught of communism in Korea.

There are many who would say that although you did your part in both wars, things are no better than when you first went. In fact, they are a great deal worse. But it is my belief that this is not true. What you did has given us time—time to experiment to make the world a better place; time to make improvements in medicine like the Salk and Sabin polio vaccines that have done so much to alleviate human suffering; time to study the heavens, and find better ways to communicate with one another; time to experiment in world government, and if the League of Nations and United Nations have not lived up to all our hopes, they are experiments in human relationships that may lead us to the right combination that will one day make all the nations of the world able to live harmoniously and righteously.

None of this experimentation could have been done if you had not been willing to go over and fight to make the world safe for democracy. Maybe the world is not safe, even though you won, but it is a great deal safer than if you had not, and it may be a great deal safer than it looks, if we can profit from the experiments you veterans have given us time to make.

Again in the words of President Lincoln: "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have thus far so nobly carried on * * * that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

There can be no freedom without peace. This generation holds in its hands for the first time the means of ending life on this planet. Some believe that the fact that man has devised means of total annihilation through the atom and hydrogen bombs may prevent another world war. Winston Churchill observed that survival may be "the twin brother of annihilation." President Johnson stated recently that "general war is impossible because of the utter destruction a nuclear contest could inflict." We are told by some of our leaders that this awesome thought of a world catastrophe causes nations to be more inclined to settle disputes by peaceful means. Moved by the fear of the bomb, the peoples of the world have become more conscious of the realization that wars are caused by the mistakes of their leaders. The responsibilities of the leaders of the world are thus increased and it is our hope that they will measure up to these responsibilities as men yearn for a just and lasting peace and a world in which they can live together in true brotherhood.

We live in a fast moving age—an age of discovery. Man plans to leave his home planet and set foot upon another world. We have embarked on a long road. A new era in man's progress unfolds. Beyond the earth is the realm of space. The world shrinks in size through swift means of transportation and communication. As men's minds expand, it is hoped that hate, envy, and greed will disappear and that nations will live together within the framework of law and order and that wars will be no more. This is the goal for us, the living, and indeed one worthy of the dead. It is for the living to carry on the unfinished work of those whom we honor today. Memorial Day is a reminder of the task for the living. We take note that man in this age of science is fast mastering the physical universe, but has not mastered himself. Man's moral progress has lagged behind his scientific achievements. As our higher emotions are evoked on Memorial Day, we are given a good opportunity to devote some attention to some of our failures in moral progress.

We send our spaceships into orbit around the earth, the moon, and the sun. We probe millions of miles into the universe and speculate upon life on other planets. We split the atom for energy for new life or for destruction of old life. Our achievements in communication are such that man's voice may be heard around the earth, and into outer space and back to the earth again in a matter of seconds. But we should not be blinded by these achievements in the physical world. We should humble ourselves on Memorial Day, and quietly resolve to carry out the unfinished work of our fallen heroes.

We are living in unsettled times. There are now 120 nations in the world and the United States is dealing with 114 of them. Many of these nations are new and inexperienced in government. President Truman recently observed that we are steadily losing our effectiveness in world leadership: "It is all too obvious," he said, "that the position of the United States in the affairs of the world is not what it should be. Our leadership has been steadily losing its effectiveness. It serves no useful purpose to protest or to ignore this unpleasant state in which we now find ourselves. But we had better face up to it. We must not go on deluding ourselves that there is nothing seriously the matter in our relations with our friends and allies. To go on insisting that all is well, and that our prestige has never been higher, and that our disagreements are minor, can only result in making a steadily deteriorating situation worse."

Some of the trouble spots in the world are Cuba, 90 miles away, Panama, South America, Western Europe, Cyprus, Africa, Vietnam, Thailand, Pakistan, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

We know that Communists operate in troubled waters and whenever or wherever there is trouble or confusion they scheme to accelerate disaster. This is a constant reminder that we must never cease to be fully prepared and ready to defend our Nation.

America has become great in part because its laws create a climate for individual initiative as well as a climate for the development of the mind. Her citizens are equal before the law. Her government of law supplies the foundation for a free society. Our citizenry has responded to this climate of freedom; and we have freedom because of the recognition that activity under law also involves restraints upon the individual. We yearn for world peace and if it comes it must come through the rule of law. International disputes must be settled through a system of international courts, just as private disputes between citizens are settled by civil courts, and we must recognize that world order demands the same restraints upon nations that national order calls for from its citizens.

Let us on this date in further gratitude to those whom we honor on this occasion rededicate ourselves to work for world peace through rule of law and thus meet our obligation to those who sleep in these hallowed grounds.

The complete program for the Memorial Day services at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., held at 3 p.m., on May 31, 1964, was as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY 1964, MOUNTAIN HOME, TENN.

(By Lee B. Harr, center director)

The 4,000 graves of our soldier and sailor dead will be decorated by the Boy Scouts of the Sequoyah Council and on Sunday, May 31, 1964, at 3 p.m., the colors of the service organizations of upper east Tennessee and southwest Virginia will be massed around the replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The Appalachian Choral Societies will bring the message of music. The Honorable Robert L. Taylor, judge of the eastern division of the U.S. district court, will be the Memorial Day speaker. The Honorable JAMES H. QUILLEN will represent the ex-servicemen and their families in placing the wreath upon the tomb.

On Memorial Day we take a forward look. It is a day of challenge—a challenge that comes from the graves of our dead. They speak and remind us of what God expects of us and of this land that we profess to love.

The patients, members and employees of this VA center cordially invite you to join with us in paying tribute to our departed comrades.

PROGRAM

Massing of the colors: By color guards of service organizations.

"Battle Hymn of the Republic": Johnson City High School Band, directed by Prof. W. F. Weddle.

Invocation: Chaplain Harry T. Wright.

"Tenting on the Old Camp Ground": Arranged by Normand Lockwood, Appalachian Choral Societies; directed by Dr. Virgil C. Self; Mrs. D. G. Stout, organist; brass ensemble from E.T.S.U.

Recognition of Gold Star Mothers, distinguished visitors, and introduction of speaker: Lee B. Harr, center director.

Address: Judge Robert Love Taylor.

"Open Our Eyes": MacFarlane, Appalachian Choral Societies.

Decoration of replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: By the Honorable JAMES H. QUILLEN, Member of Congress.

Salute to the dead.

Taps.

Benediction: Chaplain William J. Patton.

"Sevenfold Amen": Appalachian Choral Societies.

Three Outstanding Young Men in Western Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call to the attention of my colleagues a most most interesting geological discovery made by three young men in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts.

The discovery of rare three-toed dinosaur tracks by the boys amounted to a positive and constructive contribution to the scientific understanding of dinosaurs that lived in the Connecticut valley more than 150 million years ago.

Great praise is in order for Paul Duval and Donald Enselek of Northampton and Henry Walz of Easthampton, Mr. Speaker, and I know that these young men are indicative of the kind of youth that live and study in western Massachusetts.

I am reminded of a statement by Herman Melville who said of youth:

We are the pioneers of the world; the advance guard sent on through the wilderness of untried things to break a new path in the new world that is ours. In our youth is our strength; in our inexperience, our wisdom.

Mr. Speaker, the ingenuity and curiosity of these three young men is a tribute to the increasingly important role of youth in our society. I salute that role and, in particular, these three outstanding citizens. An article that appeared at the time of their discovery follows. It is from the daily Hampshire Gazette of Northampton, Mass.:

GEOLOGICAL FIND CREDITED TO YOUTHS

The curiosity of three local teenage boys about construction work going on in connection with interstate highway Route 91 led to the discovery last Wednesday of what may prove to be a geological find—large dinosaur tracks in a strata older than others nearer the river.

The boys, Paul Duval, 18, of 118 North Elm Street, Donald Enselek, 18, of 245 State Street, and Henry Walz, 14, of Mount Tom Street, Easthampton, were exploring the construction project just south of the Holyoke Country Club when they came on the prints in the crumpled shale from the interior of the mountain, exposed by the excavation.

Fascinated by the three-toed tracks, they carefully chiseled out one of the best imprints and brought it home to the Walz house. Scientists consulted later confirmed the fact that the prints discovered by the boys are probably much older than other dinosaur tracks previously found in the area.

"This sounds like a real find," Prof. Marshall Schalk of the Smith College geology department said today. "We have discovered smaller dinosaur tracks and fish fossils in the same age beds near Mountain Park by the old trolley tracks, but it is new to find such big tracks in rocks this old."

Duval, son of Mrs. Lillian E. Duval and the late Edward Duval, graduated from Northampton High School in June and is a freshman at Westfield State College. Enselek, son of Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Enselek, is a senior at Northampton High School, and Walz, a freshman at Easthampton High School, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Walz.

Texas Boy Rescues Three Companions—Boy Scout Training Credited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, with courage and confidence born of excellent home training and a Boy Scout course in water safety, a young star Scout from the Texas Plains recently was credited with saving the lives of three companions during a class outing at Fort Supply Lake, Okla.

The boy is Kenneth Slough, a student at Darrouzett, Tex., High School and son of Mr. Eugene Slough, of Darrouzett. Mr. Slough is Scoutmaster of troop 58 in Darrouzett. He can well be proud of the heroism of his son and I am certain the hours of time and effort he has dedicated as a volunteer Scout leader now seem more than amply repaid.

I wish to add my personal commendation to young Kenneth Slough, to many others I know he has received for his courageous rescue.

Under the headline, "Kenneth Slough Rescues Pals at Fort Supply Lake Last Saturday," the Follett Times—young Kenneth's home area weekly paper—reported the incident as follows:

KENNETH SLOUGH RESCUES PALS AT FORT SUPPLY LAKE LAST SATURDAY

What began as a class picnic and outing last Saturday for the Darrouzett freshman class, turned into a near tragedy for three Darrouzett youths, but Kenneth Slough, star Scout came to the rescue of his three classmates.

The group had journeyed to Fort Supply Lake, near Fort Supply, Okla. and about 10:30 a.m. the group were swimming, with several of the class going out to an island about 100 yards from the shore. Four members of the class, Donita Gensman, Darrell Duke, Jimmy Collinsworth, and Bonnie Getz were attempting to swim to the island. Donita Gensman decided to turn back and about that time Jimmy Collinsworth ran into trouble going under. Darrell Duke went to his aid, but they both went under, calling for help. Bonnie Getz heard them and attempted to go to their aid, but ran into trouble herself.

During all of this time, Kenneth Slough was using his star Scout lifeguard swimming instruction and was bringing Jimmy Collinsworth to shore. He then went back after Darrell Duke, and started to shore with him, with Donita Gensman and Kathy Howle coming to his aid.

Bonnie's father, Lee Getz who was standing on the shore, started after her and with the aid of Kenneth was able to bring her to shore. Bonnie Getz and Darrell Duke were unconscious when they were brought to the shore, but Bonnie regained consciousness shortly but they were unable to bring Duke around with first aid, so they started to the Shattuck Hospital and he regained consciousness about the time they had reached May, Okla.

After the near tragedy, the group returned to Darrouzett, where a birthday party was planned for Bonnie Getz and Darrell Duke, but insted of them celebrating their birthday, the main guest of honor and their hero, Kenneth Slough received the first piece of birthday cake, with all the group celebrating the happy ending of their freshman picnic.

Kenneth, who might weigh 100 pounds, was a big hero for the Darrouzett community and we here at the Follett Times congratulate him for his courage and ability to save his fellow classmates. Kenneth's father, Eugene Slough is Scoutmaster of the Darrouzett Scouts and just last summer, Kenneth received his life saving badge at the Scout camp near Canadian. Darrouzett community will always remember this heroic deed, with a lot of the credit going to the training that Kenneth had during his scouting years, and we're sure his Scoutmaster father, Eugene feels his time and efforts with the Scouts have been well paid for.

Our First Lady: A Good Listener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, a charming lady who is a reporter for the Baltimore Sun recently wrote a feature article on another charming lady who is the wife of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. Miss Muriel Dobbin, of the Sun's Washington bureau, has skillfully caught the intelligence, grace, and warmth of Mrs. Johnson. I commend the article, which appeared in the Sun on May 27, 1964, to colleagues:

OUR FIRST LADY: A GOOD LISTENER

(By Muriel Dobbin)

As a First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson is a good listener.

That rare facility is the key to the rapport which she establishes with those whom she meets on her travels, from the unemployed miner who finds himself discussing how to mix paint with her, to the schoolboy who discovers that the President's wife actually does want to know that the R.I. on his report card means "rapid improvement."

It is true that Mrs. Johnson has been a politician's wife for 30 years, but her ability to convey the impression that her curiosity about people and places is motivated by genuine interest rather than solely political expediency may make her one of her husband's greatest assets.

Her reports back to the White House on what she has seen and heard in many States are based on an appraisal which is both sympathetic and shrewd.

In the speed and scope of her travels, Mrs. Johnson appears likely to equal the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She is certainly the first President's wife since Mrs. Roosevelt to embark on such an extensive solo itinerary.

Neither Mrs. Truman nor Mrs. Eisenhower played active public roles during their years in the White House, and Mrs. Kennedy's interests inclined toward the esthetic.

NOT AGGRESSIVE

During the 6 months since she became mistress of the White House, Mrs. Johnson has made solo trips to Georgia, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, and Alabama, in addition to those on which she accompanied the President.

She has watched a static rocket firing in Alabama, visited depressed areas in Pennsylvania, made the equivalent of a civil rights speech in Georgia, and walked half a mile over a dirt road to visit the home of a Kentucky tobacco farmer.

Her energy apparently rivals that of the peripatetic President Johnson, yet she is not an aggressive woman. She maintains both dignity and tact when surrounded by an unwieldy entourage of aids and press which frequently achieves comedy overtones. She succeeds in walking the thin line between patronage and excessive camaraderie.

A friend once said of Mrs. Johnson that she kept her eyes and her mind open. The grave brown eyes are sometimes cautious under questioning, sometimes shadowed with strain, but they are invariably attentive. Her questions and conversation, and her habit of mulling over a phrase or a piece of new information, indicate flexibility of thought.

She appears most at home when she is called upon to make others feel at home. The warmth which is restrained in formal groups asserts itself in personal contacts, and has results. The Kentucky farmer was pleasantly surprised to find that the First Lady knew what he was talking about when he discussed his potato crop and the new grass he had planted.

SLIGHTLY OVERWHELMED

This sharply personal projection tends to be overwhelmed by crowds. Her speeches are gently phrased, and she delivers them earnestly and carefully, but there lingers a trace of the young woman who once hated public speaking.

Mrs. Johnson rarely seems to relax during a speech, and when she does, it is a pleasant surprise for both the audience and herself. She evoked a spontaneous laugh from a room full of clubwomen in Kentucky by producing a pair of glasses with glittering frames during an address and perching them on her

nose, remarking, "You all know what I look like by now."

The listening ear of the First Lady is always on duty. Dinners at which the menu is unimaginative and the proceedings are interminable find Mrs. Johnson wearing an expression truly admirable in its attention to what is being said.

It is true that listening is part of her job as a woman, and as the wife of a man who could hardly be described as laconic. But it is a personal triumph for any woman or First Lady to be able to claim without fear of contradiction that she hears more than she says.

A Preview of the American Labor Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, so that no Member of Congress can say fairly on January 1, 1965, "I am astounded," "This is difficult to believe," "Why didn't someone tell me," "I thought we could rely on the Secretary of Labor," or some such exclamation, I insert the following copy of a letter by Palmer Mendelson, who knows the problems of the fresh fruit and vegetable producers—and of the innumerable allied industries and workers—to Under Secretary of Labor—not Agriculture—John F. Henning, who is desperately trying to find a solution to an agricultural and social problem which is approaching a castastrophic deterioration January 1, 1965. I trust Members will ponder it and the dire consequences it suggests. I am certain the Department will welcome any reasonable solution to the problem of providing adequate farm labor during peak harvesting seasons:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Appreciate your letter of May 13 in reply to mine of April 16 to the Secretary of Labor. I am surprised to read that newspaper reports did not agree with what the Secretary actually said, as my interpretation was that the Secretary was in serious doubt that there would be labor available to replace the braceros and that furthermore, while there was general expectation the bracero program would end, that Congress could renew it at the last minute.

I understand your position in the Department of Labor and the sincerity with which you adopt it, but I must say, in all frankness, that I violently disagree with some of the premises stated, and I must add that the impact of this completely nebulous solution of the labor problem affecting agricultural production in California will be devastating. I in all seriousness feel that claims made to date as to the pool of domestic labor available in substitution for the braceros are not based on fact, and that the failure of this program will have nothing less than a catastrophic effect on the tremendous agricultural industry in this State.

The firm which I head is one of the largest of its kind, and we operate in practically every field of production and in virtually every fresh fruit and vegetable commodity. I feel it is my duty to engage in this public debate so that perhaps from it we all will get a better idea of what is going to come from this collision course which seems to be roaring toward all of the people in California whose livelihood depends on producing, harvesting, and shipping fresh fruits and vegetables.

I am sure you have no objection to my publishing our letters in their entirety in our trade papers so that neither of us can be accused of quoting out of context.

In your third paragraph you write that in 1961 some 646,000 people left the farm. Included in this, I suppose, would be not only field labor but people who possibly found that growing and farming was unprofitable. The inference is, I would imagine, that if agricultural wages were raised and growers were forced to pay the equivalent of industrial wages in order to drag them back from the cities, that this would automatically furnish the agricultural labor needed to harvest all crops. You will pardon me if I reply that this is about as weird a conception as I could imagine.

I am wondering whether you have any thoughts as to what level of agricultural wages would be required in order to bring this so-called pool of labor back to the fields, and I am wondering further, how confident you are that at even higher wages these people would be attracted to go out and pick cantaloupes in 100° and 110° weather, how many would go into the lettuce fields for stoop labor, or how many would be interested or would have the necessary skill to know when strawberries were at their proper maturity.

If we are embarking on a campaign to equalize all labor so that a man would have a choice of working in the city or on the farm, can you deny that the preference would still be with the city job? One could roam into the ridiculous by saying that agricultural wages should continually advance until the city laborer, unemployed or otherwise, would decide to go back to the ranch. And let us suppose that they are not interested, one could conceivably say that at $10,000 a year or $15,000, we might dip into the pool of engineers, bank clerks, aerodynamic experts, and the lot. Ridiculous? No more than the supposition that this would get our crops harvested under such a program.

NEARLY 67,000 BRACEROS

You are talking now of replacing some 67,000 braceros. We hear rumors of teenage labor, school labor, imported labor from other States which, incidentally, have given no indication of approval of such labor raids. It is unfair to make of agriculture a guinea pig for what manifestly appears to be a socialized program, especially when agriculture must make its plans a year in advance for the tremendous investment necessary to serve the needs of America for its food.

We ourselves have tried to recruit domestic labor and, specifically, not 10 days ago we could not recruit, through governmental agencies, a single worker in Orange County to pick strawberries from this so-called labor pool that seems to be floating around in most people's minds rather than in actuality.

Can you possibly believe or understand that the day lettuce is ready to cut it must be cut, that the hour that strawberries are ready to pick they must be picked, that in the tremendous heat of the central valleys necessary to mature cantaloups a day lost is an acreage lost. This is how and why the solid nucleus of braceros are an absolute "must" to supplement domestic labor.

I would hate to have on my conscience the thought that because of a program far removed from being proved that growers would lose their crops and people their food, and I only wish it were possible for me to convince you and others who have fought this bracero program that come January 1, 1965, the chaos in agriculture will be indescribable, and it will include every facet of agricultural packing and processing whether for the fresh market or the canned market.

You write of living conditions. I cannot speak for other States, but certainly in answer to two items mentioned, California provides workmen's compensation and safety standards. Whether other benefits should be provided certainly is something for our lawgivers to decide upon. If this must be done, have it be done, but let us not, in heaven's name, attempt to prove these points by bankrupting a great industry because of failure to have all the necessary labor at the right place and at the exact moment.

The fact that many Senators and Congressmen agree with the view that when agricultural employers begin to be competitive for labor they will find ample domestic workers means about as little as the actual knowledge that many of these legislators have about what goes on in an agricultural community.

The thesis that competition for labor by agriculture will solve the problem is probably the most explosive position taken in this matter. It means, does it not, that if agriculture is unsuccessful in bidding for labor, then agriculture should (and will) die. There can be no other answer because those of us engaged in the production of perishable commodities cannot, under any circumstances, take the risks that are necessary based on the prayerful hope that the wages we pay will win the battle and the crops we grow will be harvested.

To paraphrase a quotation, may I be spared the observation that "it would be a hell of a way to run a farm."

MENDELSON-ZELLER CO., INC.
PALMER MENDELSON.

The 1964 College Chemistry Teacher Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of the House three outstanding professors selected by the chemical industry to receive 1964 College Chemistry Teacher Awards. The awards, to be presented by the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., at its annual meeting in White Sulphur Spring, W. Va., on June 11, consist of a medal and a citation, accompanied by a check for $1,000.

The association has conducted the College Chemistry Teacher Awards program for the past 8 years. To date, 42 chemistry professors have been honored. Objective of the program is to focus public attention on the importance of good science teaching at the undergraduate level; to honor the men and women so engaged; and to inspire qualified students to choose careers in science. Those selected to receive the awards this year are:

Dr. Hubert N. Alyea, Chemistry Department, Princeton University.

Dr. John H. Wolfenden, Chemistry Department, Dartmouth College.

Dr. Sara Jane Rhoads, Chemistry Department, University of Wyoming.

Dr. Alyea, a professor of chemistry at Princeton University for 34 years, is widely known for his novel lecture table and overhead projection demonstrations.

He has developed a new technique called tested overhead projection series—TOPS—a kit of 15 devices with which an entire year of chemistry can be taught. Dr. Alyea has also done extensive research in the fields of chain reactions and the mechanisms of inhibition.

Dr. Wolfenden has been professor of physical and general chemistry at Dartmouth College since 1947, having previously taught at Oxford University and Oberlin College. He is author of "Numerical Problems in Physical Chemistry," and while at Dartmouth, spearheaded the establishment of a course on case histories in science.

Dr. Rhoads taught at Hollings College in Virginia prior to joining the staff at the University of Wyoming as professor of chemistry in 1948. Her varied research work has brought $50,000 in research grants for the university, including a grant for the Petroleum Research Fund in support of undergraduate research.

These three science teachers honored by the chemical industry have dedicated their lives to the instruction of our youth. They deserve our recognition and profound gratitude.

Henry Roemer's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, recently the Shenango Valley in the 24th Congressional District honored one of its most distinguished citizens, the "man of the years," Mr. Henry Roemer, who is retiring after many years as chairman of the board of Sharon Steel Corp. His leadership and guidance have been a major factor in the development of the Shenango Valley. The strides the steel industry has made in recent years are a tribute to Mr. Roemer, who could be described as the last of the great steel pioneers.

As part of my remarks, I include the following editorial tribute to Mr. Roemer which appeared in the June 4, 1964, edition of the Sharon Herald, Sharon, Pa.:

HENRY ROEMER'S DAY

Today is Henry Roemer's Day in the Shenango Valley, and no man ever more richly deserved the tribute of his fellow citizens.

For four decades, Henry Roemer has been the strong right arm of the Shenango Valley—building, counseling, leading, giving. A man among men, he has been the employer of many, but the friend of even many more.

The Shenango Valley abounds in what Henry Roemer, with heart as well as with hand, has built. Great mills, fiery furnaces, massive machines, gleaming steel—these are the physical manifestations of Roemer the builder.

But the greatest of Henry Roemer's gifts to the Shenango Valley are those which cannot be seen and yet will forever remain fixed in the hearts and the memories of those who were privileged to be his contemporaries—his wise words of counsel, his encouragement, his cheery greeting to workmen, his helping hand to young men struggling to make their way in the world. These are gifts which time can never dull.

The Shenango Valley Chamber of Commerce, representing the entire community, will honor Henry Roemer at a testimonial dinner tonight marking his retirement after four decades of association with the Sharon Steel Corp.

As we said at the outset, no man among us ever more deserved such a tribute.

Goldwater Outlook: Good Chance for Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, this last weekend certain congressional Members from Pennsylvania issued statements declaring that in their opinions the nomination of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER as the Republican presidential candidate this year would cost a number of Republican Congressmen their seats in Congress.

I strongly disagree. Having led a group of Republican House Members in support of Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy, I continue to believe that the Senator is a people's candidate who will win the White House and majority control in the U.S. House of Representatives next November. I was happy to issue a public statement saying so and I would like to have this statement inserted in the RECORD:

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF HON. JACK WESTLAND, CONGRESSMAN FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Congressman JACK WESTLAND, Republican, of Washington, took sharp issue today with the weekend opinion voiced by Senator HUGH SCOTT and Congressman ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER as the GOP nominee for President would lose seats for the Republicans in Congress.

WESTLAND, who has led a group of Republican House Members in support of Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy, stated there is sound basis for confidence that the Arizonian would carry new Members into Congress with a Republican victory in November.

"I don't know where the gentlemen from Pennsylvania get their figures for gloom-and-doom predictions, or how they justify the implication that GOP unity would be threatened if GOLDWATER wins the nomination," WESTLAND said. He cited Congressional Quarterly ratings of Republican Members on votes with and against the party position in 1963. Senator GOLDWATER voted with the party 81 percent of the time, as opposed to a 56-percent score for Senator SCOTT. Congressman CORBETT had a 62-percent party unity rating during the same time period.

WESTLAND underscored the fact that better than 90 Republican House Members have attended 1 meeting or another promoting Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy and said many others had expressed a favorable interest.

"On the basis of the party unity record of BARRY GOLDWATER's detractors and from what I've seen and heard among fellow GOP House Members favorable to BARRY, there's tremendous weight in favor of the opinion that Senator GOLDWATER would enjoy an enthusiastic welcome on the ticket in Congressional districts all over the country," the Washington State Congressman said.

"Let's not forget that BARRY GOLDWATER beat a coalition of candidates for the nomination in California and won over the vigorous opposition of major newspapers there, as well as open hostility expressed by liberal TV commentators," WESTLAND declared.

The imminent death of the GOP being predicted by ultraliberal news personalities if GOLDWATER is the nominee is "grossly exaggerated," WESTLAND said in paraphrasing Mark Twain. He believes the 1 million plus votes in California, the continuing pledging of delegate votes in State conventions and primaries, and the evolving situation in the South are evidences that GOLDWATER is a people's candidate who will win the White House and majority control in the U.S. House next November.

The Robert A. Carpenter Post, Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday morning, May 24, 1964, members of the Robert A. Carpenter Post No. 485, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, State officials, religious leaders, and members of the Robert A. Carpenter family assembled in front of the post at 1258 Blue Hill Avenue, Mattapan, Mass., to march to Robert A. Carpenter Square at the corner of Woodrow Avenue and Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Mass. It was my pleasure and privilege to march with this distinguished group, that included:

Harold Alman, commander of Robert A. Carpenter Post.

Bernard Becker, past commander of Carpenter Post and presently national executive committeeman from the first region.

Albert Schlossberg, past department commander of the Jewish War Veterans, and presently national editor of the Jewish Veteran.

Abraham J. Zimmerman, senior vice commander, department of Massachusetts, Jewish War Veterans.

Mrs. Thelma Hurwitz, senior vice president, department of Massachusetts, Jewish War Veterans Ladies' Auxiliary.

State Representatives Samuel Harmon, Julius Ansel, and Benjamin Klebanow.

Chanting the traditional memorial prayer and Kaddish was Cantor Joseph Moore, of Congregation Kehillath Jacob, Mattapan, Mass.

Mrs. Harry Goldberg, sister of Robert A. Carpenter, represented the family.

Placing the wreath at Carpenter Square was Dr. Allen Chiten, nephew of the late Robert A. Carpenter.

Mr. Harry Goldberg, a brother-in-law of the late Robert A. Carpenter was pre-

sented a cap as an honorary commander of the post.

Later we returned to the post headquarters, had breakfast and addresses were given by Representative HARMON, Al Schlossberg and it was my privilege to give the main address. My remarks were as follows:

It is a great pleasure to be with you on this occasion that together we pay our repects to the spirit of Carpenter's Day.

As one who lived in Mattapan and a former neighbor of the Carpenter family it is an additional honor for me to be present here today.

Post No. 485 was named in honor of Bob Carpenter who was only 23 years of age when he paid the supreme sacrifice on October 27, 1944, but his life story typifies that of the average American.

He enlisted in the U.S. Navy shortly after Pearl Harbor and after extensive training with PT squadrons, journeyed to the Pacific in 1944 to battle and to die at Leyte.

Bob passed on to his country and to this world the ideals for which he offered his life and these ideals are being maintained by the post.

And in keeping with the occasion, involving as it does the honor of a local patriot, it is altogether fitting that we also hail the record of your own association, the Jewish American War Veterans. For here again is something worthy of honor, praise, and high acclaim.

As an organization, the Jewish American War Veterans have a history extending back as far as 1896, and a record embracing the gallantry of four wars: the Spanish-American, World Wars I and II, and the Korean conflict. Your organizational tradition, in turn, hinges on still another tradition, predating formation of the organization itself. That is to say, Jewish heroism is discernable in every war in which our Nation has engaged.

Yet owing to the courage of recent generations of American Jews, we can devote our attention to one war alone—World War II—and still come up with enough heroes to satisfy the gods of battle in this or any other era, this or any other universe.

Studies by the Bureau of War Records indicate that 550,000 men and women of Jewish faith served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the course of World War II. And this actually, in terms of military might, is the equivalent of 37 divisions. Population studies completed in 20 representative American cities demonstrated that the percentage of Jews in uniform was equal to, and in a number of cases was higher than, the ratio of Jews to the general population.

In the period separating Pearl Harbor and V–J Day, 7,500 American Jews gave their lives in the national interest, 6,000 in combat. The total number of Jewish casualties exceeded 23,400.

In the matter of national recognition, close to 17,500 Jewish men and women in uniform were decorated for valor and merit, many of them in posthumous ceremonies. Together, they hold an aggregate of 33,446 awards, including one Congressional Medal of Honor; 64 Distinguished Service Crosses; 27 Navy Crosses, and 34 Distinguished Service Medals.

Contenders for the honor of being the outstanding American soldier of Jewish faith engaged in World War II included many illustrious figures, with rank extending from private to major general. So far as Massachusetts entries were concerned, an outstanding example was naval Lt. James J. Horovitz, of Brighton, whose courage in the face of enemy shore batteries while serving in command of an LCI, aided significantly in American recapture of Iwo Jima. For his part in the engagement, Lieutenant Horovitz received the Navy Cross "for extraordinary heroism." He also holds the Silver Star for "gallantry in action."

Another Massachusetts hero of outstanding caliber was infantry Lt. Samuel Dinerman, of Beverly, whose bravery in France resulted in his receiving the Bronze Star.

Three more Massachusetts heroes were the Cohen brothers of Brookline: Col. Robert L. Cohen, recipient of the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Order of British Empire, and Croix de Guerre; Maj. Lawrence R. Cohen, who received the Legion of Merit; Lt. Comdr. James Cohen of the U.S. Navy, who received the Medal of Merit.

These and many more aided in bringing the enemy to its knees, in the great world conflagration of 1941–45. True to the traditions of the Jewish-American community, they held to their posts in the face of danger and fought for the flag with all they were worth. America is proud of her Jewish veterans, in the knowledge that no group exceeds them in loyalty, devotion, and determined support of her democratic institutions and her insistance upon "liberty and justice for all."

Address by Hon. Joseph E. Karth, of Minnesota, Before the National Space Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on April 21, 1964, my colleague, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KARTH], delivered a thoughtful and penetrating address to the National Space Club in Washington, D.C. With the thought that his address deserves a much wider distribution than it received, it is with pleasure that I insert his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PREPARATION

(Remarks of Congressman JOSEPH E. KARTH, before the National Space Club, Washington, D.C., April 21, 1964)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, I am pleased to be here at your invitation to help honor Norman Baker who is presiding at his last meeting and to let you have some of my thoughts. I understand the meeting will be open later for questions from the floor. I will try to make my answers as responsive as possible.

You here assembled represent a conglomeration of organizations second to none on earth for their contribution to the security of the free world and for advancing man's knowledge to the moon and beyond. It is truly an enterprise of fantastic achievements.

It was responsible in the 1950's for maintaining a dynamism in our econnomy and advancing our technology at a time when quite frankly there was a dearth of ideas and of progress in the United States.

Your industries did a tremendous job in creating a revolution in weaponry and a new space science. In return, these industries have been rewarded by the people of the United States through their Government. I know this well for in the past year I had occasion to visit many space facilities—facilities which are under the cognizance of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics on which I serve.

The investment which the people of the United States have made in plants and equipment, in scientific knowledge through Government sponsored research and development is staggering. The $17 billion which will be spent for Federal research and development this year is more than that spent to run the whole Federal Government in any peacetime year before World War II.

The New York Times last week summarized a report made to the Department of Defense on "Defense Conversion Potentials." I was struck by the fact such giants of the aviation and space industry as Republic, McDowell, Grumman, Lockheed, Avco, North American, and Hughes have virtually one customer—the U.S. Government.

This, of course, is an unhealthy situation since it is clear that world peace is at last in the danger of breaking out and the peaks of both defense and civilian space spending could be behind us.

It has been authoritatively estimated that by 1970 there will be a cutback of between $5 and $9 billion in defense spending. And Congressman VINSON has been quoted as saying that eventually he expects an annual $10 billion defense budget.

I think the Pentagon reports of last weekend expressing disagreement with estimates of drastic defense cutbacks will not be much comfort to an industry which can read portents and forecasts better than most. It may simply be coincidence, but I note that the Pentagon's statement came out the day before the Congress takes up the Defense appropriation bill.

Well, is the future of the aviation, space, and other defense-related industries then one of decline and decay? Not necessarily unless they have a death wish which is so carefully concealed that it escapes my observation.

The most obvious future to diversification, of course, is in the "spin-offs"—new materials, new products, new techniques, and the new sciences which are being developed to meet the demands of the space and defense programs. Incidentally, one of the most comprehensive surveys of the practical results resulting from space program activities was presented during our subcommittee hearings by Dr. Homer Newell last February in response to my request. Quite frankly, I was amazed when both the commercial and technical press almost completely ignored the story.

While the new technology will be of great economic value, as I see it, the great promise for the future of the space and defense industry is to turn some of the tremendous imaginations, some of the talents and energies of your management, your scientists and engineers to the major social and economic problems of our country.

The United States has since World War II largely deferred achievement of its great potential in order to save the free world from chaos and revolution. In all history there is no finer example of self-sacrificing generosity and nobility of spirit demonstrated by one people for others. For many years we have diverted tremendous amounts of our resources and talents to foreign economic and military assistance—with an outstandingly successful record.

We are now being surpassed in certain fields of endeavor by our former proteges. The economic policy of both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as it is taking shape, is directed toward a massive leap forward in our development. This Nation through the Higher Education Facilities Act, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the Vocational Education Act has declared its commitment to opening an exciting new era in our history.

One of the immediate and most pressing tasks is, of course, the abolition of the poverty which has consistently doomed one in

every five Americans to ignorance, destitution, disease, and despair. When we bring these millions of Americans into the mainstream of our civilization and expand our effective market economy by that dimension, we will indeed be in a position for a dramatic economic and technological takeoff to meet our needs in education, communications, weather control, control of pollution of our environment, our water, housing, in medical care, and who can predict what eles?

Your industries, I submit, are eminently qualified to cooperate in this entirely different kind of takeoff because of your unique experience in solving interdisciplinary problems through the technique of systems analysis which involve scientific, engineering, political, economic, sociological, and psychological approaches.

Now, all that I have said up to this point I consider to be important. It is important that great industries such as here represented prepare for even greater futures. But let me not be misunderstood. While I want to be idealistic like most other people and in many respects I am, I am even more realistic.

I do not profess to be an expert on world history, but neither will I admit ignorance of it. While it appears that peace could become a reality, and we all hope and pray that it does, we cannot turn our backs to history and what it must have taught us. Peace has been sought since man's inception. It must be sought now and even more fervently. However, we should not bet all our chips on one poker hand, so long as we remain a party to the game. And that I insist we must do.

We must continue our strength as we aggressively pursue the ultimate goal—a very elusive peace. I would argue with those who insist otherwise.

So what I'm talking about today is not admonition—but preparation. I'm not trying to scare anyone, but I am trying to get your attention—and in particular your attention to the probabilities of peace.

In the field of space research, who knows. Perhaps as present-day state of art gives way to even greater breakthroughs this effort will increase. Again, I think, it depends upon what discoveries are made.

Can man live for extended periods in outer space?

The answer to this question may well be determined by whether or not he must live for extended periods in outer space.

On the other hand, I support research programs such as our efforts in space if for not other reason than our need for scientific and technological progress.

Let me reiterate a story I have told many times. I do not remember how it came to my attention, but when it did it was most illustrative and unforgettable. It takes place in the Pacific Ocean. It surrounds the *Triton* submarine and goes something like this. On *Triton's* submerged voyage around the world resulted in an "upping" of periscope near the Philippine Islands. As the captain looked in the periscope he saw a frightened (perhaps Filipino) fisherman scurrying away as if frightened beyond description. The fisherman had apparently seen this tremendous shadow beneath the surface. He saw the periscope projecting from the water—a strange fish indeed.

In all probability, the fisherman had never heard of a submarine, let alone having ever seen one.

Certainly he had not the faintest understanding of the science of cryogenics that was part of its makeup.

He couldn't possibly understand the nuclear fission process that propelled it.

Solid state physics meant absolutely nothing to him, for he was fishing with the same paraphernalia that his forefathers used when they went fishing.

The only difference was that he was catching less fish. He was catching less because there were less. The population has increased, the demands on his fishing grounds were greater, the United States, the Soviets, and others had new modern fleets. They caught them by the tons and only fished when they knew fishing was at its best.

And so it is with most of the developing nations. They have not progressed scientifically, technologically, and quite frankly, very little socially.

While their population has doubled like ours since 1900, their standard of living in some instances is not as good as it was. On the other hand, our standard of living during the same time has quadrupled.

Some people may suffer from the delusion that this has come about by accident. Nothing could be farther from the truth. It has happened because we made it happen. It has happened because we have advanced scientifically and technologically.

It has happened at great cost—indeed it has been costly. I wonder if anyone of sound mind, however, would argue whether it has been worth it?

Our research and development efforts in various and sundry fields will continue that economic progress, I am sure. I support this kind of effort. Whether that effort will ever be sufficient to make up a $50 billion defense-space budget when and if that budget is drastically reduced is extremely doubtful.

I think your best bet is preparation. I cannot conceive of a better use of the tremendous investment the people of the United States have made, than to phase you in on the most exciting, challenging, and ennobling work to which man can dedicate himself. This is the greatest future I can envision for you. I trust you will be prepared when you are called upon.

Dinosaur Tracks and Youthful Curiosity in Western Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it should never be inconvenient to pay tribute to the youth of our country, and call attention to their genuine curiosity and ingenuity. Recently, a most extraordinary example of these qualities was demonstrated by three youths, Paul Duval, 18, and Donald Enselek, 18, of Northampton, and Henry Walz, 14, of Easthampton, when they discovered unusual three-toed dinosaur tracks at a Route 91 excavation point in the Pioneer Valley.

According to prominent geologists in the area, the discovery was scientifically valuable, and one which, according to a staff reporter of the Springfield Republican, "could help unlock even more ancient secrets" in the area.

I hail this discovery, Mr. Speaker, and think that it is in the great traditions of the American youth and further indication of what our young men can accomplish.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert portions of an article that appeared in the Springfield Republican which describes this discovery. In doing so, I am reminded of a statement made by Herman Melville, who said:

We are the pioneers of the world: the advance guard sent on through the wilderness of untried things to break a new path in the New World that is ours. In our youth is our strength: in our inexperience, our wisdom.

The article follows:

NEW DINOSAUR TRACKS STIR INTEREST IN HOLYOKE WORK

HOLYOKE.—Scientists from this area visited the site of new-found dinosaur tracks at Smith's Ferry Saturday in search of geologic evidence which could help unlock more ancient secrets of the Pioneer Valley.

INQUISITIVENESS HELPS

The inquisitiveness of three teenaged boys led to the discovery of the tracks at a Route 91 excavation. The tracks were three-toed, which one scientist said is unusual.

The specimen footprints of prehistoric beasts date to the geologic era known as the Mesozoic—the age of reptiles—and, more specifically, to the Triassic period of that age. Its place in time, established by lead-uranium tests, puts it at about 180 million years ago, according to Dr. George W. Bain, Amherst College geologist, who visited the site Saturday.

Dr. Bain said the three-toed prints were uncommon because of the lower strata in which they were found, meaning that they are much older than dinosaur tracks usually found at shallower depths closer to the river, he said.

UNCOVERED BY PROJECT

Route 91 construction through the Smith's Ferry and Mount Tom Junction section uncovered the tracks.

The three amateur geologists, Paul Duval, 18, and Donald Enselek, 18, both of Northampton, and Henry Walz, 14, of Easthampton, went to the site near the Holyoke Country Club recently to examine the construction project. Paul is a student at Westfield State College. Donald attends Northampton High School and Henry an Easthampton school.

Just north of the country club the outlet of Lake Bray, flowing from Mount Tom Reservation, forms a small pond before joining the Connecticut River. This pond had been drained while workmen from the Lane Construction Co., of Meriden, Conn., general contractor on the highway project, excavated the bed of the brook and poured cement for a new spillway.

The contractor had blasted and dug into the base of a hill, exposing layers of earth and rock. The geologic history of more than 150 million years is evident in the strata.

CHISEL CAREFULLY

In the crumpled shale deep in the exposed innards of the hill, the boys picked out slabs containing the peculiar imprints, or parts of imprints, of the three-toed dinosaurs.

The best specimen they found was a raised print on a slab they carefully chiseled from the hill with tire irons and hammers.

Joining them at the site Saturday were Frank D. Korkosz, director of Springfield Science Museum, and William R. Young, history teacher at Springfield Classical High School and chairman of the Science Museum's archeology department.

While many dinosaur footprints have been found in the area—there are displays in Holyoke, South Hadley and at Forest Park—both Korkosz and Young said they believe those found by the three boys may be much older.

* * * * *

Dr. Bain, whose book on geologic history, "The Flow of Time Through the Connecticut Valley" is due for publication next month under auspices of the Springfield Science Museum and Amherst College, said most of the dinosaurs in this locale belonged to the family of Archeosaurs, or "ancient lizards."

He, Korkoss and Young saw great potential in the Smith's Ferry excavation for future finds and said they believe that its treasures should be exploited.

Great expense probably would be involved in excavating the entire hill to uncover the level of the footprints.

Prayer in Schoolrooms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I submit with pride and concurrence a firm and succinct analysis of the school prayer problem as set forth in a statement submitted to the House Judiciary Committee by our colleague, Hon. JOHN R. WYDLER, of New York.

This statement is stamped with the same keen understanding and courage with which our said colleague has faced up to the most challenging and controversial problems.

I commend his remarks to the Members of the House:

PRAYER IN SCHOOLROOMS

Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee for this opportunity to appear here today and testify in favor of an amendment reestablishing the right of local school boards to allow voluntary, nondenominational prayers to be recited in schoolrooms.

Few important matters before Congress have more support—and this is certainly an issue which deserves to be brought to the House floor to be voted up or voted down.

I, therefore, urge this committee to act without further delay. I believe the climate is still right for the passage of a reasonably worded amendment. Delay, as shown in the civil rights situation, only tends to increase pent-up emotions and pressures which distort a sound legislative approach.

The prayer amendment—so-called—could also be called the people's amendment. It is not sponsored by any powerful lobby. No entrenched or special interests are financing its passage. The administration has been completely—utterly—silent on this subject. There are no telephone calls from the White House to Capitol Hill, no breakfast meetings of leadership, no promises offered for those who will support it. There have been no succession of department heads testifying in its support.

Making up for all this, however, is the most important support of all, that of the large part of the people. A recent survey in my congressional district—and every survey I have ever read about—shows overwhelming support on behalf of the people for allowing prayer in schools.

Therefore, I believe this committee has the responsibility to act—and act now.

In so doing it should draw an amendment allowing a voluntary, nondenominational prayer on a local option basis.

I, along with Justice Potter Stewart, "cannot see how an 'official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it." I have never been able to determine what official religion was established in New York State when some school district decided to recite the voluntary, nondenominational prayer allowed there. Was it the regents' religion? I think not.

I am not rearguing the Supreme Court decision as that is by its nature final. What concerns me is the extent to which the Court seemed impelled to go to erect a wall between religion and the state. This was unfortunate. I believe the wall so erected is high enough to shut out many of the traditional benefits which our society has from its earliest days extended to religion.

For example, does not the granting of tax exemption of church property tend to establish a religion much more than the saying of a voluntary, nondenominational prayer? If the few seconds of prayer is to be considered state supported and improper, how can literally hundreds of millions of dollars worth of church property be accorded tax free status when atheists are forced to pay?

In fact, the Supreme Court stated in its later, 1963, decision that "the command of the first amendment was that the Government maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding nor opposing religion." If this is so, on what possible basis can the Armed Forces justify its keeping a Corps of Chaplains?

These are serious questions and they will have to be answered in the near future. I believe we would be wise to get the whole matter back in perspective before the situation controls us.

I fully understand that there are many people sincerely opposed to this amendment and that they advance some sound arguments pointing out dangers and difficulties. There are dangers and difficulties. It is this committee's duty to present an amendment minimizing the dangers and protecting against abuse. A committee that recently designed a 10-titled comprehensive civil rights bill can do this. Where there is the will, there is the way.

I believe that most people expressing opposition do so out of fear of abuse. There could be some abuse but the courts will always be available to see that the prayer is voluntary and nondenominational. The purpose of an amendment is not to force anyone to pray but to protect the right of those who wish to pray to do so. The purpose of the amendment is not "force" but "freedom." The elaborate and exhausting process of amendment provided for in the Constitution assures that an overwhelming part of the people must approve for it to be made part of the law of the land.

I do not believe we should allow praying in school to be a prohibited act. It is the act of worship for which I seek to show respect even if this act is in the public school. It is our Nation's strong reliance on and belief in God which gives us strength to prevail over athiestic communism. The Communists fear religion, as their brutal attempts to crush it clearly show. We should encourage and not dilute our belief.

I believe that praying together will unite our children and not divide them. I believe that all Americans can—and should—pray together, as we historically have done. I believe that most men are men of good will and will respect their neighbors' rights and feelings.

I believe this issue should now be put to the people for a vote.

There's More Than Meets the Eye

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, today when a citizen purchases a prescription drug at his local pharmacy, he is not always aware of the various factors which made this prescription available to him and help determine its price.

For that reason, I believe the following letter from Mr. Charles Kapp and addressed to me as a physician is well worth the reading time of my colleagues:

PFIZER LABORATORIES,
DIVISION CHAS. PFIZER & CO., INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 22, 1964.

DEAR DOCTOR: We are pleased to advise you that we have again reduced our prices to the pharmacy for terramycin and tetracyn capsules, syrups, and pediatric drops, effective May 25. We could anticipate that this action will be reflected in lower prescription prices for these drugs to your patients. Full information regarding prescription pricing is available from your local pharmacy.

You are no doubt aware of the distribution of so-called generic tetracycline imported into this country from Italy and offered at very low prices. Our announced price reductions do not make us competitive with this imported tetracycline which infringes our U.S. patent.

We can emphatically state that if we are to continue to spend millions of dollars a year on drug research; if we are to pay American wage scales to the people in our plants producing our drugs; if we are to maintain a sales and marketing organization to promote to you the fruits of our research in keen competition with others in our industry in a free enterprise system; if we are to pay very significant sums by way of Federal, State and local taxes—if we are to do all these things and at the end of the year's activity turn over a little better than 4 cents to our stockholders for every dollar of our sales by way of a modest return on their investment, then we will never be in a position to compete with antibiotic pirates who contribute nothing to the development of a drug and find their haven in a country that does not give any recognition to drug patents; who pay wages and offer working conditions which are substandard in comparison to those in this country and; finally, who contribute nothing in the way of taxes to support our democratic institutions.

No, Doctor, the price reductions we are announcing to you obviously will not match prices of the infringing foreign competition. Rather, they reflect a sincere effort on our part to make available the finest possible drug therapy at the lowest possible cost within the framework of operating as an American institution. As you are aware, there have been substantial price reductions in recent years, not only in broad spectrum antibiotics, but also in pencillin, streptomycin, corticoids, hormones and dozens of other drugs which are now available at a fraction of their original cost.

We of Pfizer Laboratories assure you of our continuing efforts in this direction.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES A. KAPP,
General Manager.

Dairy Resolution: A Request for Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, dairy farmers in my district are deeply concerned about inroads on American markets being made by foreign imports. I

have been asked repeatedly if something cannot be done to restrict these imports and I have been happy to respond by introducing my bill, H.R. 10950.

Recently the Whatcom County Dairymen's Association passed a resolution again calling for the revision of quotas as they pertain to all dairy products. Because of the continuing interest in this problem Mr. Chairman, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution of the association in the RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON DAIRY IMPORTS

1. Dairy support prices are maintained by purchases of surpluses by Commodity Credit Corporation.

2. It is to the advantage of the dairy industry and taxpayer that these purchases be kept at a minimum.

3. Each pound of dairy imports displaces a pound of domestic production which in turn must be purchased by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

4. Dairy product imports are regulated by tariff and quotas under section 22, Agriculture Adjustment Act which apply to specific products.

5. Quota limitations are being circumvented through shipment of products meeting other standards of identity and by-products outside quotas which contain substantial quantities of butterfat and/or solids not fat (p. 8, par. 3).

6. Imports at the present time are an amount equal to 40 percent of the amount purchased by the Commodity Credit Corporation for price support purposes: Now, therefore, be it

7. *Resolved*, That WCDA go on record that quotas should be revised so that they pertain to all dairy products on a butterfat and solids not fat basis instead of any specified products.

8. The aggregate of such amounts admitted to quote: "Not to exceed the aggregate amount of butterfat and solids not fat allowed under quotas prescribed under section 22, Agriculture Adjustment Act."

Adopted by Whatcom County Dairymen's Association stockholders April 16, 1964.

To Promote Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, a Baltimore television program that has received international recognition will receive the Distinguished Service Award at the 62d annual convention to be held by the Independent Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore for 4 days, beginning June 28, at the Concord Hotel in New York.

Independent Order Brith Sholom maintains men's lodges and women's auxiliaries in Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia; and has been dedicated since 1902 to philanthropic, humanitarian, cultural, patriotic, and civic activities. The 1964 convention arrangements are headed by Irving Libov, general convention chairman; Joseph W. Spector, banquet chairman; and Ellis Friedler, grand master.

The television program to be honored at the convention is called "To Promote Good Will" and is presented on Sunday evenings over WBAL–TV in Baltimore. This program is sponsored by the American Legion, with David L. Brigham, the Legion's National Committeeman from Maryland for the past 8 years, serving as panel moderator. The program has received 13 awards and the Voice of America has been beaming this program to countries overseas—including those behind the Iron Curtain.

Brith Sholom's Distinguished Service Award will be presented to Moderator David L. Brigham; the Reverend Frederick W. Helfer, pastor of the Christian Temple in Baltimore for the past 18 years; Dr. Abraham Shusterman, rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore for more than 20 years; and, posthumously, to Msgr. William Kailer Dunn, chaplain of the College of Notre Dame in Maryland, promoted in 1963 to the rank of Right Reverend Monsignor.

What makes the Brith Sholom Distinguished Service Award all the more poignant this year is the fact that Monsignor Dunn passed away a few days after the award was officially announced. Dr. Shusterman, a copanelist with Father Dunn on the "To Promote Good Will" program, paid tribute to him in an article, "Affection is For Showing," published in the News American, of Baltimore, on June 7, 1964. Under unanimous consent I insert this tribute at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GETTING ALONG WITH YOURSELF: AFFECTION IS FOR SHOWING

(By Rabbi A. Shusterman)

When a beloved friend dies there is comfort in the realization that he knew how greatly he was loved. It is not good to hide affection. Show it openly, demonstratively, sincerely.

The three most wonderful words in the vocabulary of the heart are, "I love you." As we take our leave from the earthly remains of Msgr. William Kailer Dunn there are tears that so young a man and so truly noble a friend is no longer in the company of those who prized his friendship.

There also is comfort in the thought that he knew without the slightest possibility of doubt that he was precious in the eyes of a Protestant minister, a Protestant layman who worked with him, and a rabbi.

There are bonds that tie us to Father Dunn (as we called him) and these are stronger than death.

Almost 8 years ago we formed a partnership, four of us who became the active workers for the television program "To Promote Good Will." Three of us had had a year of experience with another priest who was transferred to a distant parish and could no longer serve at our side.

Kailer Dunn replaced him with the permission of his archbishop and no man could have represented his church, human decency, or the human race more nobly.

Elsewhere I wrote of him that never did he utter a word that was unpriestly, improper, or unworthy of a child of God. In fact, I am confident that he never let a thought go through his mind that could be regarded as unworthy of a servant of the Most High.

It sounds somewhat trite to use the expression "Only in America." If we do use it, it is in the hope that everywhere on earth a rabbi, a priest, a Protestant minister, and a layman of all groups will work together not only as partners but as brothers as we have done in Baltimore.

Our joint efforts led us to mutual respect; respect led to friendship, and friendship ripened into brotherly love. This is why we mourn the loss of William Kailer Dunn.

He was our brother and wherever his spirit is we trust that he still knows that on earth there are at least one rabbi, one Protestant minister, and one Protestant layman who love him.

Jawaharlal Nehru

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James T. Farrell, a former Chicagoan and boyhood friend, a well-known author and winner of the Guggenheim Fellowship in creative writing—1936–37—and Book of the Month Club award for "Studs Lonigan"—1937—and many other outstanding articles, is also an avid student of foreign affairs and has written a memoriam on the death of one of the world's great leaders, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and in order that it may have wider circulation, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that this article, which appeared in the June 4 issue of the publication entitled "Park East," New York City, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed as follows:

THE WORLD IS TODAY

(By James T. Farrell)

Life wore out in Pandit Nehru. His death was part of the biological tragedy of man. There was a certain style, and grace about the man. Few men are beautiful. Pandit Nehru was a beautiful man. He was a historic man, and aware that he lived in history. He seemed, at times like an actor, but he was too intelligent and too serious for cheap games.

He was born on top, and all of his life, he remained on top, in the upper circles of man's world. But he spent about 15 years in prison. It was in prison that he did much of his writing, and he was a fine writer. He wrote with clarity and sensitivity. In him, there was something of the sleeping poet.

He was a man happy in the influences which influenced him to the degree that they helped to shape his character. He was most influenced by his father, Motilal Nehru, and by Mahatma Gandhi. Both were strong men. Both were lawyers. Both were commanding, impelling personalities. He came to disagree with both of these men. But there was a gallantry, a sweetness, a fine respect which he showed toward them.

The quality of feeling of Pandit Nehru is revealed in his relations with his father and Gandhi. He was a fine type of person, and he could not have been what he became, had he not had great character. For he became himself, although he had been so influenced by these two powerful personalities.

He was lifted to greatness. He only won his way and revealed his greatness after he had been in a position of influence, and was an historic person. He provoked criticism and he had enemies. He made mistakes, and

he admitted mistakes that he had made. But he lived up to the roles he played, and he often showed a most casual gallantry.

It well can be that the West will be long fully appreciating his penetrating greatness of spirit.

Radio commentators have stated that he was not a friend of the West. I can well imagine impatient gestures of dismissal that he would have given to this type of statement. But, also, it would have bewildered him.

Not a friend of the West?

Pandit Nehru knew his Kipling—He knew that:

"East is East
And West is West
And never the
Twain shall meet."

But Pandit Nehru was a living refutation of Kipling. He was of the West. He was West, as much as he was East.

His gallantry, his confidence, his resilience saved him from becoming a tragedy of a divided soul, half East and half West. All of the elements of the now traditionalized conception of Hamlet in politics, were in Pandit Nehru.

Resolutions Adopted by the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of my colleagues the following resolutions adopted at the convention of the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks May 15–16, 1964. The members of this organization are interested in giving the public the best possible postal service without wasting the taxpayers' money, and I believe their recommendations are worthy of consideration.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION 15—ABOLISHMENT OF THE REGIONAL OFFICE

(Submitted by local 311, Hastings, Nebr., and local 11, Omaha, Nebr.)

Whereas President Johnson has declared an economy drive in all parts of the Government service; and

Whereas the Postmaster General has declared an economy drive in the Post Office Department; and

Whereas in the past the post offices have been ably run by the postmasters and their supervisors; and

Whereas the regional offices are costing the taxpayer untold amounts of money and not accomplishing too much: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks assembled in convention in Hastings, Nebr., on May 15–16, 1964, go on record as favoring the abolishment of regional offices, and put the operation of the post offices back into the hands of the postmasters; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all of our Representatives and Senators.

"ELIMINATION OF WORK MEASUREMENT SYSTEM"—SUBMITTED BY LOCAL NO. 11, OMAHA, NEBR.

"Whereas postal clerks have been working under several measurements systems; and

"Whereas postal clerks have learned that these systems are nothing but high pressure speedup methods designed to wring the last ounce of effort from all distribution clerks without regard to age, length of service, or condition of health; and

"Whereas since the standards applied are not and cannot be scientifically correct, these speedup tactics impose a mental and nervous strain on distribution clerks, to the extent that morale and efficient production is impeded and retarded, rather than increased; and

"Whereas W.M.S. is costing the taxpayer enormous amounts of money with nothing accomplished but breaking down the morale and the initiative of the employees and trying to make automatons of all potsal clerks: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks in convention assembled in Hastings, Nebr., May 15–16, 1964, affirm their stand as being unalterably opposed to any measuring system in the postal service; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we shall never cease our opposition to these systems, until Congress shall by law, completely and forever end this demoralizing system in the U.S. Postal Department."

Adopted by the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks.

O. D. GILPIN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

"ELIMINATION OF POMSIP"—SUBMITTED BY LOCAL 311, HASTINGS, NEBR.

Whereas POMSIP survey figures are established on WMS figures which we know are often exaggerated; and

Whereas POMSIP teams often are sent into an office with a predetermined decision; and

Whereas POMSIP admittedly does not care about employee morale; and

Whereas POMSIP teams often leave the impression with the local supervision that they should "crack the whip" a little harder, even to go as far as using a watch in timing men; and

Whereas POMSIP is intent on building artificial peaks in the mail load; and

Whereas POMSIP, in some cases, has succeeded in breaking down friendly relations between management and labor; and

Whereas POMSIP is a speedup in every form; and

Whereas POMSIP is costing the taxpayers enormous amounts of money with nothing accomplished but breaking down the morale and the initiative of the employees and trying to make automatons of all postal clerks: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks assembled in convention in Hastings, Nebr., May 15–16, 1964, go on record as favoring the elimination of the POMSIP surveys; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all of our Representatives and Senators.

"CURTAILMENT OF WINDOW SERVICE"—SUBMITTED BY LOCAL 311, HASTINGS, NEBR.

Whereas, the window service is being curtailed; and

Whereas, service to the public is our job, we would like to be allowed time to serve them promptly and thoroughly: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks in convention at Hastings, Neb., May 15–16, 1964, go on record as opposed to curtailment of window services.

Adopted by the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks.

O. D. GILPIN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Police Martyrs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, one of my friends and constituents has prepared a news article in which he has advanced an unique proposal. His thought is that police martyrs, casualties in the war against crime and anarchy, should like other American soldiers who have fallen in battle be honored on Memorial Day. Surely there is much merit to his idea. It would in no way detract from the tribute we pay our military heroes. Indeed, since they were engaged in a joint enterprise, each reflects credit upon the other and a grateful citizenry can appropriately honor both simultaneously.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith the contents of the article written by Mr. Edward Langley, 3010 Guilford Avenue SW., Salem, Va.:

HONORING POLICE MARTYRS ON MEMORIAL DAY

It seems funny when you think of it but, so far as we know, no one's thought of honoring the Nation's police martyrs on Memorial Day.

Very properly, we put wreaths on the graves of airmen, sailors, soldiers, and marines slain in the defense of our country but seem to forget about the legion of policemen murdered in a losing battle to hold back anarchy.

And we are losing. Anarchy is gaining, an inch at a time. Those who doubt it have only to glance at the national crime statistics for confirmation. Most of us would prefer not to face that fact. Our immediate neighborhood is serene—our kids have never been molested by junkies or deviates; our homes have never been broken into; our autos are safe on the streets. Crime is something that happens to other people because the police are incompetent.

In city after city, this reasoning prevails. Sentimentality beats logic to death with a velvet club. We fail, and fail pitifully, to sense that the one and only reason we enjoy comparative peace and tranquillity is because that small band of self-sacrificing men we half derisively call "the cops" is on duty, giving their lives in a battle as real as Gettysburg, Chateau Thierry, Guadalcanal, the Bulge, or Pork Chop Hill. Only with the cops, there's no cease fire, no truce, armistice or surrender. The war is eternal. And when one of their number falls in battle with an ice pick in his throat, or when a magnum slug rips off an arm, it is a matter of no particular importance to anybody except the victim's family and his brother officers. The public at large has other things on its mind, like the conviction that cops are misfits who can't be trusted; that there's something a little out of tune

with a person who enjoys wearing a badge and takes pride in enforcing the law. Juvenile, you know. Let an off-duty policeman mingle with a crowd of civilians and when his profession become known, the officer will find himself on the receiving end of a lot of ribbing, and not all of it will be good natured.

He's resigned to the fact, for example, that many courts pamper criminals, turning them back on society with the lightest of reprimands. And 9 out of 10 of these criminals when they are turned back, will try to settle things with the cop that brought them to justice. So a policeman who takes his work seriously makes a large number of arrests and, therefore, a large number of enemies. Someday, one of these enemies will find an opportunity for retaliation and that's it for the cop.

And the policeman is also resigned (but seldom cheerfully) to the fact that large masses of his fellow citizens have grown so bored and listless that they lend a kind of quiet encouragement to criminals. Parents who let their children associate with questionable characters aren't fighting crime, they're encouraging it. And the same goes for irresponsibility shown for personal property, like automobiles. Keys are left in the ignition, luggage, cameras, clothing are left on a seat in plain sight, inviting theft. Other blissfully unrealistic souls take pride in the fact that they never lock their doors at night. Their trust in their fellow man is that great.

Finally, the policeman is resigned to the fact that in a showdown, he's likely to be sold out. Lawmakers will enact legislation to hamstring him and make his job nearly impossible. Sentimentalists will think first of the rights of the criminal and maybe never about the rights of the society he preys on. Time and again, the police officer will face the rumor or the charge of police brutality, because the public wants to believe there's something basically brutal about a man with a badge. It suits us to think so, because we don't want to accept the alternative that criminals are evil, worthless people who must be forcibly restrained. We much prefer to think of them as sick people. This is not to say that the brutality charge is always groundless; unfortunately, it isn't. Policemen are no different from the rest of us. Now and again a sadist turns up; now and again nerves snap under strain; now and again stupidity runs the show. But real brutality is rare, and when it is encountered, it is dealt with firmly and effectively. False brutality or acts that have the appearance of brutality are another matter.

The charge that only the misfits and the immature go into police work needs more refutation than it gets here. But it can be pointed out that there's a grain of truth in both complaints. Many police officers are misfits by 20th-century standards. They believe in simple things like honor, righteousness, duty, respectability. They believe that society rests on a fundamental belief in God; that human nature must constantly be curbed or it will destroy itself. Misfits, sure, but misfits in the sense that Christianity is a misfit. Or, as Prof. Walter Thorson of MIT put it, "If historic Christianity is in conflict with the 20th century, something is wrong with the 20th century."

How about the charge of immaturity? Also true, in a way. Odd as it may seem, the great majority of policemen are the least cynical of men. In fact, they could be called innocents because it takes the quality of innocence to enter their profession and to believe they can hold back the jungle. They talk tough, they seem to enjoy shocking wide-eyed citizens, they tell gruesome tales with apparent relish, but they do so with an unmistakable note of innocence. The most genuine compliment that can be paid them is that they never stop playing cops and robbers for real. If they did, they'd collapse in despair and frustration. It is innocence, the hallmark of youth, that keeps them afloat in a sea of filth.

When death comes in the line of duty, it is usually in a singularly unpleasant form. Policemen have been dragged to death, burned, brutally beaten, riddled with shot, carved up or mashed in an auto wreck. How many of them have sacrificed their lives in the last 20 years? If the figure exists, it is not immediately available. Hundreds, certainly. Perhaps thousands. Whatever the figure, we can be sure that a large percentage of their deaths were needless, the result of sloppy, shoddy practices that allowed hardened social enemies an opportunity to resume their war on domestic peace. We should be deeply concerned about this and a little ashamed, for we have all had a share in allowing it to happen. The very least we can do in the way of restitution is to find a means for publicly incorporating their sacrifices into Memorial Day ceremonies. Truly, their names belong in the roster of warriors who have fallen in the defense of the Nation.

The Importance of the Merchant Marine to the U.S. Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, at the recent launching of the *Gulf Merchant* at Avondale Shipyards in my district, Adm. Claude Ricketts, U.S. Navy, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, made a thoughtful, informative, impressive speech demonstrating the indispensable role which the merchant marine plays in assisting our Navy in keeping this country strong and safe.

I commend this speech to my colleagues. May I add that my pride ever grows in the accomplishments of Avondale Shipyards, under the dynamic leadership of its president, Henry "Zac" Carter, and his associates for their contribution to the strength of our great country.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY ADM. CLAUDE RICKETTS, U.S. NAVY, VICE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE LAUNCHING OF THE SS "GULF MERCHANT," NEW ORLEANS, LA., SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1964

Thank you Mr. Lykes, Mrs. McKeithen, Governor McKeithen, ladies and gentlemen, this, my first visit to New Orleans, is long overdue. However, I am aware of the illustrious history of your city; of your famed hospitality; of your support of our naval facilities in this area; and of your warm welcome to our ships that visit here. I am also aware of the major role that your city has played in the maritime history of the United States, and that, among North American ports, New Orleans is second only to New York in most categories.

Your International House deserves special mention for its role in increasing world trade, international good will, and understanding.

Though I regret it has taken so long for me to visit this community, I am proud of the occasion that brings me here. The launching of a ship always gives me a special thrill; a thrill that is increased by playing this secondary and supporting role to such a gracious leading lady who is playing the primary role. One of the best traditions of the sea is this custom of having ships christened by ladies. It adds, not only to the launching ceremony, but to the career of the ship.

In the space of a few months, the productive capacity and the genius of American industry have transformed the raw materials of the mines and forests into this magnificent ship. To the workmen whose skilled hands have effected this transformation, and to the Avondale Shipyards that directed the effort, we tender our congratulations and our appreciation.

We have every confidence that this ship that you have built has the strength to withstand the cruelties of which the sea is capable; that in the face of the elements her crew can go about their duties without fear for their safety; and that, as she plies the sealanes of the world, her performance will add to the stature of this great maritime Nation of ours.

But I submit that this occasion is more than a social event; more than a recognition of the skill of your hands; more than experiencing a thrill as this graceful ship slides down the ways.

This occasion offers an opportunity for pause and sober reflection upon some matters that are of vital concern to us as representatives of a seagoing profession, and, indeed, to all Americans.

Suppose, then, that we reflect for a few minutes on the preeminent position of the United States in the world today. Let us consider how we arrived at this point, and recognize some of the tasks and challenges that lie ahead.

The United States today is the strongest nation in the world, both militarily and economically. We are the most technically advanced nation of the world. We are the most committed nation of the world—committed morally, politically, economically, and militarily. We have arrived at this position of world leadership not by happenstance, but by virtue of a combination of many factors; among these are the vision of our forefathers and succeeding generations; the exercise of imagination; the sweat of our brows; and the determination that democracy, as we know it, shall continue to burn as the brightest beacon among all governments of the world.

But of particular interest to us on this occasion is the fact that the United States is today the leader of the free world because of an additional factor. That is, we have created and exercised the capability to project U.S. military power and economic opportunity beyond the seas; and that our continued leadership in these areas will exist only so long as we retain this capability.

In recent years, particularly, this fact has received increasing recognition. One of the greatest contributing factors to victory in World War II was this capability, based upon the maritime power of the United States.

One of the greatest contributions to our continued strength and world leadership since, has been the maintenance of our maritime power. The two oceans and the gulf by which we are largely bounded are our allies because of our capability to use them. They could well become our enemies if we should forfeit that capability.

You note that I have used the term "maritime power" and not "naval power;" for naval power does not encompass all of the national strength at sea. The merchant marine is a major part of that maritime power. It might well be called the "fourth arm of defense."

In this area, I speak not only from the basis of academic research and analysis, but also from personal experience in both peace and war.

In World War II, in our amphibious drive across the central Pacific, I wrote for my commanders many plans for the assaults on island positions from Tarawa to Japan. Those plans included the utilization of merchant ships in the transport of vast numbers of men and quantities of materials. Time after time I witnessed the pipeline of merchant ship convoys arriving very soon after the initial assault to discharge their cargoes upon the meager footholds of a beachhead. The tonnage of military supplies carried by merchant ships far exceeded that carried by any other type. The same was true in the Korean war. The same is true today in supplying our forces overseas. The same would be true in war today.

Since World War II, there has been a greatly increased national airlift capacity. The question naturally arises that with the increased speed and size of aircraft, is it not more feasible to replace the relatively slow merchantmen with the faster airplane that can overfly the submarine dangers that face the ships at sea? My answer to that is categorically "no."

We of the Navy recognize the great contribution that can be made by aircraft in the lift of high priority passengers and cargo. There is no doubt that this provides us an added flexibility, and that we should use airlift when commensurate advantages accrue. However, we must never underestimate the vast quantities of supplies and equipment required by troops in combat.

For the foreseeable future, the size and weight of many items such as some tanks, artillery, ammunition, and other equipment will be beyond the capacity of aircraft. Armies are becoming increasing motorized and the consumption of petroleum produce in such large amounts dictates that ship transportation is the only feasible answer.

It is well to remember also that upon arrival at their destination, aircraft must, in fact, have a destination; that is, a field upon which they can land. In the assault of an enemy fortified position, an airfield is not usually the thing that is captured first.

On the other hand, what is captured first is a thin strip of beachhead over which is landed, from the surface of the sea, the weapons and equipment to expand that beachhead to such an area as to support a major ground assault; and the capture of terrain for an airfield.

This is but one of several possible examples. We must retain the invaluable capacity of projecting U.S. military power from the sea to the shore, and far from U.S. land territory. To do so, we should have early access to American shipping capable of participating in this kind of a military offensive.

From a military point of view, the United States can retain its capability for a choice of actions in projecting its power from the sea to the shore on islands and other continents only so long as it maintains a modern maritime power designed to execute an assault, and support that assault throughout subesquent land and air operations.

Now, let's consider another facet of our national power and that is, our economic strength. The military power of which I speak above could not have been built, and cannot be sustained, without a proper economic base. Our forefathers exhibited great wisdom in many areas. One of their visions which we don't always remember is their establishing a strong and viable economic base. They recognized that it was fundamental to the stature of a world power; that it was fundamental to a high standard of living; that it was fundamental to the exploitation of the vast material resources of a new continent; that it was the basis of military power. They refrained from aggressive military operations while they got on with the business of developing an adequate economic base.

As a consequence, with less than 7 percent of the world's population today, we produce about 43 percent of the manufactured goods of the world. But in this process we have evolved from a nation of raw material surplus to one of raw material deficit. On the other hand, we have evolved from a nation of manufactured goods deficit to one of manufactured goods surplus. As a result, the United States today is the world's largest importer in tonnage of raw materials and unmanufactured products.

This, combined with our great surplus of production, raises the seaborne commerce to and from our shores to an amount far in excess of that of any other nation. We must ask ourselves the question, "Who is going to transport this material to and from our shores?" Will we forfeit this capability to our competitors on the sealanes of the world, or will we meet this competition and retain this enterprise within our own hands?

It would appear to me that a nation who can build and operate the most modern navy in the world; who can orbit the most sophisticated satellites in space; who can surpass all other nations in technological achievements; who can meet competition in so many other fields, can, with the requisite degree of determination and effort, meet the challenge of modern maritime competition.

Would it not prove an incongruous and tragic thing if the vision which has taken us out into space would ignore the very lasting features of the water-dominated world in which we live?

To have a say in this world, we have to be represented. If we are to continue to feed raw materials to our industries and if we are to continue to market our products, then our ships must visit the trade stalls of the world. There is no acceptable substitute for this kind of extensive representation.

There is another important facet to the economic aspects, particularly with respect to the future. There have emerged in recent years a large number of newly independent nations. Also, there has been an unprecedented growth in nationalistic feelings. The desires of the underdeveloped countries to raise their standards of living has become increasingly evident. These things combine to provide a great potential to those nations who have the vision and the means to participate in the inevitable (albeit long-range) development of these countries, and in satisfying their growing material requirements. Participation in such an endeavor to the optimum cannot be based upon other than the capacity to engage in commercial intercourse upon the surface of the seas.

These are new horizons that are going to be expanded by some nation in competition with other nations.

The emergence of new nations has tremendous implications for our future as an industrial power. The oversea market is bound to continue to grow and is going to be available primarily to those countries who have the capacity to export and import large quantities of material by the sea.

Not all of these things will come about in your lifetime or mine. But this should be no deterrent to a major effort in this endeavor. If we restricted our actions only to those things that can be culminated in our lifetime, then the future of our country would be dim indeed.

Again, referring to the American colonists who first landed on our shores, we owe them a tremendous debt of gratitude because they did not restrict their vision to their own lifetime.

Did you ever stop to think that in a new and undeveloped virgin land, and in the face of hostile inhabitants, there was little probability that the colonists could greatly better their material condition in their own lifetime? On the other hand, many of them left material comforts that exceeded those which they could reasonably expect to obtain in this new continent in the remaining years of their lives.

But their horizons were unlimited. They were as concerned and as enthusiastic about the opportunities for future generations as they were of their own. It was only by virtue of such an attitude that the foundations of this, the greatest power in the world, were established.

Briefly summarizing the two main points I have tried to stress:

From the material point of view, the fundamental strength of the United States is its economic strength. It has been basic to the rise to our position in the world today; it is basic to our retention of this position. Our dependence upon oversea raw materials and an oversea market for our manufactured products demands a strong and modern merchant marine to contribute to this national endeavor.

From the military point of view we have no acceptable alternative to having a continuing and improving capability in peace of maintaining a forward military posture, and a capability in war of projecting U.S. military power across and from the sea to the territory of any enemy. Only thus can we have a maximum deterrent for war; only thus can we, in war, limit as we should, damage to our own territory and casualties to our civilian populace.

Again, our capability to so project our military power depends upon our capability to use the oceans in a manner of our choosing—and by both a strong and modern navy and a strong and modern comrade in arms—the U.S. merchant marine.

Agriculture Extension Examined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, recently a constituent in my district, Mr. F. D. Johanson, of Everett, sent to me an editorial from the weekly Stanwood News entitled "New Directions for Extension?"

The editorial examines the fusing of programs in the Department of Agriculture with particular emphasis on agriculture extension work. In his letter to me, Mr. Johanson echoed the editorial in suggesting that Congress would be serving agriculture well by urging highly efficient technical aid within extension, while at the same time separating agricultural and nonagricultural functions.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that many persons share the concern expressed by Mr. Johanson and the excellent Stanwood News editorial, and that these thoughts should be brought to the attention of Congress. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks I insert this editorial in the RECORD:

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR EXTENSION?

This year is the golden anniversary for an American institution that has profoundly affected rural areas such as ours: Agricultural extension—the county agent service—is now 50 years old.

The county agents have done an excellent job in their first half century; but conditions have changed tremendously, and there

are those who wonder if the Extension Service should not now be altered to fit the times.

Three years ago the Stanwood News suggested that nonagricultural functions in the Agricultural Extension Service be separated out and carried where they belong, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, not charged to Agriculture. In the May 1964 issue of Farm Technology, Editor Gordon Berg states: "Extension specialists are being subjected to bully tactics at some 'institutions of learning' because they don't like to see agriculture being sold down the river."

A curious chapter in Snohomish County history was written in 1962 when the county commissioners and officials at Washington State University closed the Snohomish County Agricultural Extension Office. Apparently the principal reason was to "punish" farmers who were stubborn in their insistance on integrity in administration of the milk testing program. Is Washington State University one of the institutions that Berg refers to as using "bully" tactics?

This area has an excellent example of the effectiveness of conscientious efforts to serve agriculture in the work done at the Northwest Washington Experiment Station at Mount Vernon. Researchers Norton, Peabody, Haglund, Eide, and Heilman are particularly cited in the Puget Sound Vegetable Grower, October 1963. In 1961 Frank Johanson was added to the staff as an area extension agent to serve Whatcom, Skagit, Snohomish, and Island Counties. Such an appointment had long been urged by the late Dr. Martin Carstens, who was then superintendent. He wanted to speed up the process of getting research results to the farmer and also to bring farm problems quickly to the attention of researchers.

Farmers seem to like the idea. Results reported in the proceedings of the Western Washington Horticultural Association indicate this to be an effective program. The signs seem clear. The agricultural extension worker must be technically trained and highly efficient. Let's separate agriculture and nonagricultural functions and assign them to proper administration. Both will be better off.

Wichita Falls, Tex., Banker Elected President of American Institute of Banking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, a prominent bank executive from Wichita Falls, Tex., Mr. N. A. Moore, was honored here in Washington last week when the 3,000 delegates at the national convention of the American Institute of Banking elected him president.

This honor is the result of Mr. Moore's many years of dedicated service to the organization and to his chosen profession. The citizens of Wichita Falls are proud that his talents have been so recognized, and we offer him and the association our congratulations.

Mr. Speaker, I include a story from the June 5 edition of the Wichita Falls (Tex.) Times which tells of this accomplishment:

THREE THOUSAND BANKERS ELECT WICHITAN TO HEAD AIB

A Wichita Falls banker, N. A. Moore, Jr., has been elected president of the 191,906 member American Institute of Banking at the national convention in Washington, D.C.

Moore, vice president of the City National Bank, was elected at the close of the business meeting Friday morning by the 3,000 delegates who have been attending the week-long session.

He is the second Texan ever named to the high position in the AIB, which was founded in 1900 by the American Banking Association. The only other Texan to hold this post was Bernard J. Lunt of Fort Worth.

A telegram of congratulations from President Lyndon B. Johnson was read by his aid, Walter Jenkins.

WORK PRAISED

Harry C. Lane, president of the City National, gave a short talk praising Moore and pledging the bank's support of him.

Present at the meeting was Congressman GRAHAM B. PURCELL.

Upon Moore's election, the delegation from district 6, which includes Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico, put on a "convention" style demonstration.

Moore was presented with a western dress suit, Stetson hat, belt and buckle, a cowhide vest, and a balero tie with a topaz setting by the delegates from his home district. His wife was given a topaz pin and a scrapbook containing clippings of Moore's career.

The presentations were made by Otis Rogers, Jr., vice president of the First National in Fort Worth and vice president of the Fort Worth chapter of the AIB.

FAMILY PRESENT

The Wichita Falls chapter, of which Willard J. Still, vice president and cashier of the Southwest National Bank, is president will be hosts Friday night for the president's ball and reception for all of the 3,000 delegates.

Attending the convention, and witnessing Moore's election were, in addition to his wife, their children, Nolan, Danny, Tommy and Nancy Ann, and his parents Mr. and Mrs. N. A. Moore.

Other Wichitans attending the convention, which closes Friday night, include Glen M. Atkins, vice president of Parker Square State Bank and incoming district 6 associate councilman, and Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Gene O'Brien, new accounts, City National; Mrs. DeWanda Peery, audit department, City National; Gene Pullam, assistant vice president, City National; and Mr. and Mrs. Still.

AS SPEAKER

The outgoing president of the AIB, the largest off-campus educational organization in the Nation with 104,804 enrolled in courses, is Paige V. Simpson, with the First National Bank of San Diego.

As vice president this past year, Moore has traveled more than 50,000 miles speaking at regional meetings, anual bank banquets, and other conventions. In his new position he will be doing even more traveling and speaking in behalf of banking.

He will also serve as a member of the executive council, the banking education committee, and the administrative committee of the American Bankers Association.

A native Wichitan and a graduate of the Wichita Falls public schools, Moore earned his BBA degree from the University of Texas.

He began his banking career in 1940 with the City National and as vice president he heads the departments of new business development, public relations, new accounts, correspondent banking, and advertising.

CIVIL SERVICE

Moore was president of the Wichita Falls chapter of the AIB in 1953, was associate councilman for the north and central Texas areas from 1958 to 1959 and was elected to the executive council in 1959 at the national convention in Philadelphia.

He holds a graduate certificate in AIB which he earned in 1958 and has instructed AIB courses for several years.

Active in civic affairs, Moore is past president of the Wichita Falls Lions Club, is now treasurer and director of the American Red Cross, treasurer and director of the Girl Scouts, director of the Farm and Ranch Club, director of the United Fund, past president of the Midwestern University Ex-Students Association, and is chairman of the area development committee of the chamber of commerce.

He is a deacon in the First Baptist Church and teacher of the mens Sunday school class.

Fairplay Toward Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of June 8, 1964:

FAIRPLAY TOWARD ISRAEL: JOHNSON INVITATION TO ESHKOL PRAISED; PRESIDENT WANTS MIDDLE EAST PEACE

(By Max Freedman)

When one begins to think about it, it almost seems beyond belief that we had to wait until President Johnson was in the White House before the Premier of Israel could receive an official invitation to visit this country. There is nothing in American history or American policy that justifies this deliberate unfairness to Israel.

An unbroken sequence links the White House from the days of President Wilson to Zionist hopes in Palestine. In 1917, at the urging of Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the support of the American Government was pledged by President Wilson to the Balfour Declaration. That declaration bound the British Government to use its best offices to promote the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, without prejudice to Jewish rights elsewhere and without injury to Arab rights.

This formula, which looked so simple and just in 1917, soon became an excuse for trouble in the Middle East. Yet this sullen outlook never persuaded any American President from Wilson to Kennedy to abandon his support of Israel's hopes.

By their repeated votes over the years the Members of Congress also showed their sympathy for the Zionist cause. A less friendly attitude was sometimes visible in the State Department and the Defense Department; but their doubts never supplanted the public support given by successive Presidents. It is against this background that the persistent refusal of the White House to treat the Government of Israel on a level of equality with other governments must be judged.

If this discrimination against Israel was intended to please the Arabs and disarm their hostility, then it has plainly failed. This mistaken policy cannot even plead the excuse of success. It was high time that this particular expression of unfair treat-

ment of Israel came to an end; and President Johnson's invitation to Premier Eshkol, gallantly maintained despite Arab protests, should have ended it forever.

It is not sufficiently understood that American policy has never been the champion of Israel or the Arab States. The United States has attempted the more difficult task of maintaining its own national interest in the Middle East, while remaining friendly with all countries in the area. Neither Israel nor the Arab world has fully understood this policy nor been satisfied with it. Each side has tried to gain special favors for itself.

There has been disappointment with American policy in the past and there will inevitably be disappointment and criticisms again. But this bitterness cannot sway the United States from applying the same rules of self-interest that guide its policies in other areas.

This means that the United States is pledged to a policy of fairplay in the Middle East. It is not yet ready to guarantee existing frontiers; but it will resist all efforts to change them by armed force. It will continue to discourage an arms race while being realistic enough to realize that the defense preparations by Israel and Egypt cannot be halted by any decree from Washington. It will refuse to be bullied by Arab threats over oil, and it will equally refuse to be enticed into unconditional support of Israel's claims.

Here is at least the firm beginning of an American policy, but its success depends on its complete fairness in enforcement. Any one-sided discrimination in favor of Israel or the Arab States will bring immediate confusion and ultimate disaster.

There is much encouraging evidence at hand that Israel's policy has moved into a moderate phase. The great influx of new settlers has ended, and cannot be resumed unless Russia makes the improbable decision to allow its Jewish citizens to leave the country. Israel is thinking of patient and sustained economic growth, not of abrupt expansion.

To achieve these economic goals Israel wants a period of stability in the Middle East and is ready to make its own prudent contribution to this objective, while realizing that a formal peace treaty with the Arabs is unattainable.

The way in which Israel has carried out its plan to divert the waters of the Jordan is an excellent example of this new policy. It has emphasized that no such diversion would have been necessary if the Arab countries had joined with Israel in the regional development of water resources. Then it carefully and frankly explained to various Western Governments, including those in Britain and France and America, the limited aims of Israel's policy, with the clear intention that this explanation should be given to the Arab leaders. Israel wanted neither to embarrass the Arab world nor to challenge it; and thus far the cautious Arab response has shown the wisdom of this policy.

Like all his predecessors in the White House, President Johnson is impressed by Israel's devotion to democracy and by its determination to protect its freedom after unparalleled tragedies. He goes beyond any of his predecessors in believing that every country in the Middle East should think of the stability and progress of that whole area. He will judge all national policies by one test—their impact on existing tensions and their promise of peace with reconciliation.

This new trend in Washington has been sensed almost intuitively by Israel's leaders; hence the success of the Eshkol mission. One hopes that Arab States will also realize that they can make more progress with President Johnson by proving that they too are capable of the large view, and are ready at last to think of the virtues of cooperation. They will not hurt their own essential interests by following these responsible policies.

Coin Shortage in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the continuing interest in the subject of silver usage and our serious coin shortage, I would like to insert the following article in the RECORD. It appeared in the American Metal Market issue of June 3, 1964.

The article follows:

DESILVERIZED DIME URGED TO EXTEND GREATLY SILVER SUPPLY FOR COINAGE

NEW YORK.—If the Treasury will have to use less silver for coinage because of dwindling supply, then the "logical and least disturbing" method is to desilverize the dime, rather than to cut the silver content of all silver coins. That is the view of numismatic experts as told to the Metal Market last weekend at the New York Coin Show.

Nearly all of a dozen experts or dealers surveyed, said this would be the best step and put far in the future the day when the Treasury might have to go out and buy silver, probably at a price above $1.293 per ounce. Or course, the coin people are not enthused about desilverizing any coins, but it may have to be done. They prefer the present silver currency.

Among the points cited for changing the metallic content of the dime were these:

The mint is using more silver in making dimes than in any other coin and a saving of nearly 40 percent in its use of silver is envisioned.

Reaction, both here and abroad, to devaluing the dime, psychologically and otherwise, would be far less, in comparison with cutting down silver in all coins.

Assuming a new alloy with the same properties as the present 90 silver to 10 copper alloy can be found, the disruption for coin receiving devices will not be a factor.

It would be like minting a "double nickel" which has no silver. But the present cupronickel alloy in nickels could not be adopted because it might be easy to convert nickels into dimes by filing them down.

The new dime would probably get approval in Congress and elsewhere more quickly than any other proposal.

It will not drive half dollars and quarters into hiding and there are too many dimes in circulation to encourage their hoarding.

It is a simple step and would be far less in the direction of devaluation than cutting the silver in all coins.

Vending device people would have no worries about quarters and half dollars which would be unchanged. And it would not mean that one day all coins would be made of the same metallic as the new dime.

Among the strong proponents for a desilverized dime was a specialist dealer, Murray Altman, who had an attractive exhibit of mostly dollar coins in the Henry Hudson Hotel. He said the alloy for the dime need not have intrinsic value, although that would be preferred, and noted that maybe an alloy of one of the newer metals might be the answer, if the electrical and other properties are suitable. Others said it is a matter for the mint metallurgists to look into thoroughly.

WAR TIME NICKELS

A number of experts at the show were strongly opposed to adopting a 45-percent silver alloy for all coins, as has been unofficially proposed in some quarters. They said that could be likened to the wartime "7-cent" nickels which contained 35 percent silver and are considered as emergency junk by most numismatists. They fetch $240 per bag of 4,000 for melting down to get silver.

The chairman of the show, Philip Rosenbaum, was particularly opposed to reducing the silver content in every silver coin. He told the Metal Market "it would be hazardous, the eyes of the world would be focused on such action (especially at 50 percent cut) and it would be viewed as a big step to devaluation of the U.S. currency. It would be inflationary and promote a rise in the price of silver and many other things. It would be detrimental to our economy and our grandchildren, and no good for the United States."

When questioned, he was not enthusiastic about a Columbium half dollar—"it may sound good, but is not likely, at this stage." Another stated: "We will be living in a different America if we tamper with all silver coins."

Cutting the silver content of all minor silver coins would tend to drive minor silver coins underground and delay the expected release of many silver dollars by speculators, stated one dealer.

When questioned about the silver supply picture, Mr. Rosenbaum gave these viewpoints—"If silver came out of hiding there would be plenty, and maybe the supply-demand picture could change within 8 years (that is one estimate of the Treasury supply for silver coining). North American producers could turn out more without an additional price rise. We must somehow dissuade nations abroad from wishing and expecting that we will reduce the silver content of our three top coins, and also dissuade mine producers from expecting that the silver price will rise."

He implied that there is plenty of silver in the world for all uses if it comes out of hiding—more could come from Latin America and maybe we could get silver even from China and Russia; and from elsewhere, perhaps by barter.

INVESTIGATION URGED

"Congress should look into the Treasury's mishandling of the disposal of dollar coins in late 1963 and early 1964," said a Brooklyn dealer who implied that they went to favored channels and were let out when there was concern over silver supply for future coins. He added, "the mysterious distribution of the J.F.K. coins—very few going to the public—also needs congressional study. It appears that some people in the Treasury, Federal Reserve and bank officials had 'friends' who now are keeping these coins out of general circulation. Nearly 60 million have been minted, but none are seen in normal trade activities. How did several million get into Canada and to Europe?" These coins sell wholesale at 75 cents each, in quantities.

Mr. Rosenbaum forecast that late next year the fantastic urge for the Kennedy coin may subside. He said it would be unethical for the mint to make 1964 imprint coins in 1965. Both sentimental attachment and speculators values would fall away were that done or if the 1964 run is pushed above 90 million.

A Superb Record of Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK MINOR MARTIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of California. Mr. Speaker, water is becoming a more and

more precious resource in the Colorado River Basin. This is why there is much concern about the necessary and unnecessary waste and loss of Colorado River water in connection with irrigation.

I am pleased that Imperial Irrigation District's record for prevention of water wastage in my congressional district is a superb one and compares very favorably with the records of other irrigation project areas in the basin. This fact was made known in a report released by the Colorado River Association on May 8 of this year, quoting Mr. Dallas Cole, chief engineer of the Colorado River Board of California. The report follows:

Praise for the prevention of water wastage by the Imperial Irrigation District was expressed today by Dallas Cole, chief engineer of the Colorado River Board of California.

"Not only do records bear out the claim that the Imperial Irrigation District ranks near the top in irrigation efficiency among large projects in the West," said Cole, "but it must be kept in mind that this has been accomplished under the handicap of relatively high salt concentrations in Colorado River flow at Imperial Dam which makes it essential to leach salts through the soil continually in order to maintain balance.

"The following table shows historic measurements of canal system regulatory waste and losses in percent of gross diversions, and the farm waste and deep percolation losses in percent of farm deliveries, for several large irrigation projects in the West, including Imperial. The management has my congratulations."

Project	Net irrigated area (in thousands of acres)	Canal system regulatory wastes and losses in percent of gross diversion	Farm waste and deep percolation loss in percent of farm deliveries
Yuma Valley, Ariz	45.5	35.3	35.0
Gila, Ariz	56.1	18.7	55.9
Salt River, Ariz	190.0	35.8	36.6
Imperial, Calif	450.3	31.4	31.8
Boise, Idaho, (Arrowrock division)	153.2	30.1	62.2
Klamath, Calif	81.0	46.6	47.7
Uncompahgre, Colo	63.7	33.4	65.9
North Platte (Fort Laramie), Colo	93.4	43.8	37.7
North Platte (Interstate), Colo. and Nebr	86.7	60.7	46.7

Polish Official Attitude Still Communist Oriented

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the apologists for the Communists and those who are trying to make the American people believe the Communists are changing continually tell us about Poland and how we are winning Poland away from communism. At this time of year when the House begins debate on the foreign aid bill with its huge chunks of the American taxpayers' money earmarked for Poland, the softening attitude of official Poland is given special treatment.

In order that we hear another side, I include an article written by Ken Thompson, editorial staff writer for the Dallas Morning News, how just how Poland is mellowing. The truth is, as you will see from this article, Poland is still a tightly controlled Communist country where the people have no freedom.

The article from the Dallas Morning News of June 6 follows:

HOW POLAND IS MELLOWING

(By Ken Thompson)

A few years ago Poland was the only Communist nation where copies of Boris Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago" could be easily obtained by those who wanted to pay the price—and who were able to read English, German, or French, since Polish translations were, of course, not available.

Of all the satellite nations, Poland is often regarded as the one most tolerant, liberal, and independent of the Soviet Union. With the help of the State Department, the notion has become widespread that Poland is a leader in the mellowing process that is supposed to be moving all of the Communist nations (except China, Albania, and Cuba) toward a freer, open society with which the West can deal more comfortably, if not in complete confidence.

This notion is largely exploded in a short article in a recent issue of the Reporter magazine, a scrupulous journal, but one not noted for anti-Communist militancy.

According to the Reporter, there has been a gradual decline in Poland's living standard and a growing restlessness among Polish workers.

There has also been considerable harassment of writers and intellectuals, with the Polish Government alleging a paper shortage as an excuse for placing a tight curb on the publication of books and periodicals. Writers who adapt to the party line, of course, have no difficulty getting their material into print.

Recently 34 of Poland's most prominent writers and intellectuals sent a short letter of protest to the Premier, complaining about the rise in censorship. The letter stated simply that: "Restrictions on the allocation of paper for the printing of books and periodicals and the tightening of press censorship have created a situation that threatens the development of national culture. The undersigned, in recognition of the existence of public opinion, the right to criticize, the right of free discussion and honest information as the necessary elements of progress, and being motivated by civic concern, demand that the Polish cultural policy be changed in the spirit of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the Polish State and as conducive to national welfare."

Those who signed the letter wanted to keep it secret, the Reporter notes, so as not to embarrass the Government. But the matter became public not long ago when the Government arrested a writer for collecting the signatures on the letter, even though he had not signed it himself. When he was jailed, existence of the letter could no longer be kept secret.

Immediately after his jailing, the rest of the letter's signers began to run into trouble. Their passports were withdrawn, articles by them scheduled for printing were killed and radio programs they had prepared were canceled. Three university professors were canned and one ailing writer was even denied use of a Government clinic.

These forms of retaliation illustrate, better than anything we've yet seen from the State Department, the nature of a "mellowing" Poland. They prove rather dramatically how little concern still exists in the satellites for public opinion, "the right to criticize" and the right of "free discussion"—which the 34 letterwriters had demanded.

Summing up, the Reporter observes that: "Poland is constantly mentioned among the Communist countries that are moving toward an open society, while it is actually closing down on its intellectuals. It is getting more independent of the Soviet Union—so independent, in fact, that its repressiveness can well compete with that of the Soviet Union."

Fairplay Toward Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I include at this point an article which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on June 8.

The column was written by Max Freedman, and entitled "Fairplay Toward Israel."

I believe it speaks for itself:

FAIRPLAY TOWARD ISRAEL—JOHNSON INVITATION TO ESHKOL PRAISED; PRESIDENT WANTS MIDDLE EAST PEACE

When one begins to think about it, it almost seems beyond belief that we had to wait until President Johnson was in the White House before the Premier of Israel could receive an official invitation to visit this country. There is nothing in American history or American policy that justifies this deliberate unfairness to Israel.

An unbroken sequence links the White House from the days of President Wilson to Zionist hopes in Palestine. In 1917, at the urging of Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the support of the American Government was pledged by President Wilson to the Balfour Declaration. That declaration bound the British Government to use its best offices to promote the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, without prejudice to Jewish rights elsewhere and without injury to Arab rights.

This formula, which looked so simple and just in 1917, soon became an excuse for trouble in the Middle East. Yet this sullen outlook never persuaded any American President from Wilson to Kennedy to abandon his support of Israel's hopes.

By their repeated votes over the years the Members of Congress also showed their sympathy for the Zionist cause. A less friendly attitude was sometimes visible in the State Department and the Defense Department; but their doubts never supplanted the public support given by successive Presidents. It is against this background that the persistent refusal of the White House to treat the Government of Israel on a level of equality with other governments must be judged.

If this discrimination against Israel was intended to please the Arabs and disarm their hostility, then it has plainly failed. This mistaken policy cannot even plead the excuse of success. It was high time that this particular expression of unfair treatment of Israel came to an end; and President Johnson's invitation to Premier Eshkol, gallantly maintained despite Arab protests, should have ended it forever.

It is not sufficiently understood that American policy has never been the champion of Israel or the Arab States. The United States has attempted the more diffi-

cult task of maintaining its own national interests in the Middle East, while remaining friendly with all countries in the area. Neither Israel nor the Arab world has fully understood this policy nor been satisfied with it. Each side has tried to gain special favors for itself.

There has been disappointment with American policy in the past and there will inevitably be disappointment and criticisms again. But this bitterness cannot sway the United States from applying the same rules of self-interest that guide its policies in other areas.

This means that the United States is pledged to a policy of fairplay in the Middle East. It is not yet ready to guarantee existing frontiers; but it will resist all efforts to change them by armed force. It will continue to discourage an arms race while being realistic enough to realize that the defense preparation by Israel and Egypt cannot be halted by any decree from Washington. It will refuse to be bullied by Arab threats over oil, and it will equally refuse to be enticed into unconditional support of Israel's claims.

Here is at least the firm beginning of an American policy, but its success depends on its complete fairness in enforcement. Any one-sided discrimination in favor of Israel or the Arab States will bring immediate confusion and ultimate disaster.

There is much encouraging evidence at hand that Israel's policy has moved into a moderate phase. The great influx of new settlers has ended, and cannot be resumed unless Russia makes the improbable decision to allow its Jewish citizens to leave the country. Israel is thinking of patient and sustained economic growth, not of abrupt expansion.

To achieve these economic goals Israel wants a period of stability in the Middle East and is ready to make its own prudent contribution to this objective, while realizing that a formal peace treaty with the Arabs is unattainable.

The way in which Israel has carried out its plan to divert the waters of the Jordan is an excellent example of this new policy. It has emphasized that no such diversion would have been necessary if the Arab countries had joined with Israel in the regional development of water resources. Then it carefully and frankly explained to various Western governments, including those in Britain and France and America, the limited aims of Israel's policy, with the clear intention that this explanation should be given to the Arab leaders. Israel wanted neither to embarrass the Arab world nor to challenge it; and thus far the cautious Arab response has shown the wisdom of this policy.

Like all his predecessors in the White House, President Johnson is impressed by Israel's devotion to democracy and by its determination to protect its freedom after unparalleled tragedies. He goes beyond any of his predecessors in believing that every country in the Middle East should think of the stability and progress of that whole area. He will judge all national policies by one test—their impact on existing tensions and their promise of peace with reconciliation.

This new trend in Washington has been sensed almost intuitively by Israel's leaders; hence the success of the Eshkol mission. One hopes that Arab States will also realize that they can make more progress with President Johnson by proving that they too are capable of the large view, and are ready at last to think of the virtues of cooperation. They will not hurt their own essential interests by following these responsible policies.

School Prayer in Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, two editorials appearing last month in the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor make particularly thoughtful contributions to our understanding of what precisely is involved in the school prayer issue.

As the Times editorial states:

The Supreme Court was not declaring itself against prayer or religion when it found the practice of leading schoolchildren in devotions to be a violation of the first amendment. The Court was simply saying that, under the principle of separation, it is not up to State officials to say what prayers shall be read, if any. That is up to the individual.

Or to put it another way, religious ideas, beliefs, and values are an integral part of our cultural heritage. The public schools have an obligation to help individuals develop an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the role of religion in the life of the people of this Nation. But teaching for religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and the church or synagogue.

The New York Times has gone on to wisely and correctly emphasize that:

Much of the quite genuine resentment against the Supreme Court's decision stems from misunderstanding. * * * Neither the Constitution nor the Supreme Court has outlawed God, the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, or anyone's religion.

As the Monitor points out, the Supreme Court decisions "have specifically cleared an area free of all governmental requirement or interference—the area of religion."

For a century and a half the American people have insisted on the separation of church and state; on religion as a private and personal responsibility, not that of the Government.

This doctrine and tradition has served us well. It has permitted the maximum possible protection for the religious liberties of all citizens. We are not warranted today, for our own religious welfare, to erode it or abandon it.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the excellent articles from the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor to all who are seriously interested in examining this question:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, May 10, 1964]

THE SCHOOL PRAYER ISSUE

For 2 weeks now the House Judiciary Committee has been holding hearings on proposed constitutional amendments to permit prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. Much of the testimony has been more emotional than enlightening, but the hearings are performing a valuable function. They are demonstrating the extreme difficulty of marking out the proper boundaries between church and State, and they only serve to emphasize the danger of congressional interference with the existing status.

The Supreme Court was not declaring itself against prayer or religion when it found the practice of leading schoolchildren in devotions to be in violation of the first amendment. The Court was simply saying that, under the principle of separation, it is not up to State officials to say which prayers shall be read, if any. That is up to the individual.

It was easy for many outraged persons, in Congress, the pulpits and elsewhere, to denounce the Court. But the problems the Court actually had to consider in the school prayer cases do not permit simplistic answers.

For example, can praying in the classroom really be termed "voluntary" when most children will naturally conform to the teacher's wish? How is a community to decide which religion's prayer will be read—by majority vote of the community, or in each school? Or should there be a nondenominational prayer, and if so, who is to write it? Just to state such questions is to indicate the divisiveness that would result from allowing local school authorities to enter the realm of religious devotion.

The hearings have also brought out that much of the quite genuine resentment against the Supreme Court's decision stems from misunderstanding. The Court did not foreclose singing of the national anthem, or continued use of the motto "In God We Trust," or any of a dozen other imagined horrors that have been evoked at the hearings. Neither the Constitution nor the Supreme Court has outlawed God, the Bible, the Lord's Prayer or anyone's religion.

If the testimony proves nothing else, it proves how unwise it would be to begin now to tamper with the first amendment. No one can be sure what the effect of some of the proposed amendments would be. Even Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, who was most critical of the Supreme Court decisions, counseled the Judiciary Committee not to endanger our tradition of religious liberty by amending the Constitution. And leaders of the major Protestant denominations expressed opposition to "jeopardizing our long-cherished freedom to worship God as conscience dictates by tampering with the first amendment." We agree.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 21, 1964]

THE PRAYER AMENDMENT

(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—If one extracts the emotionalism from the prayer-amendment debate, the issue becomes clearer.

Some of us remember, when we were kids, reciting the Lord's Prayer in grade school, or having Bible readings, or even marching around the classroom singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." We like to think of that happening today, as a means of giving even the children from broken homes some sense of life's enduring values.

But the Supreme Court of the United States says the Constitution says no.

What has happened?

The United States is still overwhelmingly Protestant in outlook and religious loyalty. But minorities today are more visible, are organized, are more ready to ask for their rights. So a lot more thought has gone into the question of what public power can or cannot do, in the religious field, under the Constitution.

If we want to be equitable, we have to think how minorities fare, and should fare, under the Constitution which specifically states, in article I of the Bill of Rights, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." (The 14th amendment applies this rule to the States as well.)

Let us reverse the usual situation and suppose a Protestant child is attending school in a district where there is a Roman Catholic majority. Would he or his parents want the authorities to require the daily reciting of so many Hail Marys by the class? From what Bible would they want to hear daily readings? What would be the answer there?

But someone may ask, What about a nondenominational prayer prepared by a school board, as was the situation in a New York case? Is a prayer valuable which is so reduced in content that all faiths can accept it? Perhaps so. But what we have here is the government—State or county, but still government—prescribing a religious exercise. Objecting pupils would be excused from compliance, of course, but it would still be a prescribed exercise.

Certainly one way to look at the Supreme Court decisions is that they have specifically cleared an area free of all governmental requirement or interference—the area of religion. This crucial, all-important concern is left to the individual, to the family, the home, and the church—where religious inculcation has always been effective.

The Supreme Court has not required that "In God We Trust" be removed from the coinage, or that reference to God be removed from official oaths. The United States remains a God-fearing nation. The Court hasn't said that chaplains be withdrawn from the armed services; as a matter of fact, chaplains represent many denominations and a serviceman is free to accept or reject their help. The Court has not said that the Bible cannot be read as great literature, or as the solemn history of mankind, or that comparative religions cannot be taught in schools.

What the Court has said, basically, is that no government can prescribe any kind of religious exercise for our public school children, not even someone else's version of the Lord's Prayer.

It would be wonderful if we were all of "one accord," religiously, so that all could agree on religious teaching. But that millennial day is not yet. One reader writes in to suggest that the kind of grace some families say at mealtime—a grace of "silent meditation"—would be a solution for the public schools. Then during a daily devotional period each child could think the reverent thoughts he wished to think.

Civil Rights Issue Tests Mike Mansfield and His Gentle Use of His Senate Power

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we in the House recognize we live in a different world than the other legislative body. The House is unpredictable because of the rugged individualism of its Members, whereas the other body is sometimes unpredictable because of the personalities of its Members.

The present majority leader of the Senate, the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD, is a unique individual for a U.S. Senator, possessing few of the personality traits that we recognize in the other body.

I was especially pleased to note an article in the Friday, June 5, edition of the Wall Street Journal, which discusses the leadership and talent with which Senator MIKE MANSFIELD conducts himself as majority leader. I believe the article to be a thoughtful and fair analysis of the distinguished senior Senator from Montana, and insert it into the RECORD at this point:

RELUCTANT LEADER: CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE TESTS MIKE MANSFIELD AND HIS GENTLE USE OF HIS SENATE POWER

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—Every day, 5 minutes before the Senate meets, MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, pushes his thin frame through the Senate's big, swinging doors and strides down the stairstep center aisle to the majority leader's front-row chair. Sometimes he'll brush off the seat with the black leather folder he invariably carries. "Want to take over?" he'll ask one in a group of waiting newsmen.

MIKE MANSFIELD smiles when he asks an outsider to take over but he means to be taken half seriously. He is not entirely comfortable with the job of leading the warring Senate Democrats. Sometimes he wants to be simply a Senator from Montana, with time enough to compose learned speeches about foreign policy, little to worry about except beef imports or the shortage of silver dollars.

The desire to be less important than he is makes MIKE MANSFIELD unusual among the capital's bigtime politicians. He dislikes publicity, refuses to promote himself and willingly gives up authority that should be his. He is the kind of man who feels a bit self-conscious in a chauffeured limousine (a perquisite of his office) and he's reticent about accepting the honorary degrees universities bestow on success.

For all these humble qualities, Mr. MANSFIELD is widely admired. But, mostly in private, he is also being criticized for his willingness to let loose the strands of power that Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson pulled together and bequeathed to him in 1961.

Certain liberal Democrats, in particular, want him to drive the Senate hard to pounce on obstructionists, to flail the Republicans, and in general to set the place crackling with fervor for the Democratic administration.

"Be a leader" Connecticut's Senator DODD once demanded of him. Others complain that he lets the Senate meander aimlessly; that he allows his friend the minority leader, Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, to set the legislative pace; and that, compared to what it was when L.B.J. occupied it, the majority leader's post has become a cipher.

UNFAIR COMPARISON

Yet it's unfair to compare the results of Mr. MANSFIELD's benign, accommodating reign with the hectic, surprise-filled years of Lyndon Johnson's Senate leadership. A major difference: Because Republicans controlled the executive branch and Dwight Eisenhower did not sketch new legislative frontiers in every direction, L.B.J. was his own master, going so far as to set Democratic goals in a congressional state of the Union message. But Mr. MANSFIELD's performance is measured against what a Democratic President wants.

Thus comparisons are somewhat beside the point. But Senator MANSFIELD clearly could do more to expedite the public business and promote the President's program. He could apply pressure by criticism. He needn't have consumed 2 months by bringing in the Senate at 10 a.m. for the civil rights marathon and then, eschewing late-night sessions, letting it adjourn early (the morning sessions blocked most committee meetings).

He could, moreover, dangle prized committee assignments. He could hustle through the pet bills of legislators who cooperate while refusing to schedule those sponsored by Members who don't. He could leak nasty stories about the uncooperative. He could reward or discipline in countless other ways, but he won't.

Again and again he says he's only one Senator disposing of a single vote. Pleading for another's vote, he believes, is a demeaning act. To punish recalcitrants, he thinks, is not a mark of leadership but a sign of pettiness. He will exhort groups of Democrats to give their administration the benefit of a doubt, but he will not go further.

In sum, MIKE MANSFIELD is surely the least assertive congressional commander in memory. Yet, there are many who believe his laissez-faire leadership may precisely fit today's Senate mood. He has, after all, helped negotiate scads of administration bills through the Senate this session: Protection of wilderness areas, mass transit subsidies, extension of depressed areas aid, the Domestic Peace Corps, youth employment programs, water pollution controls. All these are pending in the House.

In view of this productivity, few Democrats yearn for a return to the L.B.J. days when, as Senator DODD put it, the leader "orchestrated" the Senate's discordant players. On most bills, Mr. MANSFIELD need hardly work up a sweat; he can sit back watching the Democrats' 2-to-1 majority overwhelm the Republicans. And if it were not for civil rights, his job today would be easier still, for the southern Democratic patriarchs are more tolerant toward the Texan in the White House than they were toward John F. Kennedy.

Given these advantages, Mr. MANSFIELD needn't be more than a traffic cop for legislation most of the time, and he doesn't aspire to a loftier role. He rarely reaches into the committees to shape bills—and he cares more about getting a committee-approved bill to a floor vote than how Senators vote.

The vote next Tuesday to end the South's filibuster against the civil rights bill is a prime example of the leader's disdain for nosecounting, an activity L.B.J. and his former Senate protege, the now-discredited Democratic Secretary Bobby Baker, elevated to an art. Mr. MANSFIELD scheduled the vote without knowing whether he commands the required two-thirds majority. If cloture isn't invoked, and if the rights bill must then be diluted, Mr. MANSFIELD will surely be blamed for letting impatience prompt him to strike in the dark.

Still, MIKE MANSFIELD's noncombative, nonpartisan approach ("there are good Republicans and bad Democrats") dovetails neatly with the President's grand political strategy. L.B.J. would rather disarm the Republicans than clobber them. His Senate successor is well equipped by inclination and personality to execute this strategy in Congress.

TROUBLE WITH DEMOCRATS

But it's Democrats, rather than Republicans, who have given Mr. MANSFIELD the most distress during his 40-month reign. Senator MCCLELLAN beat the administration on the bill to set up a Cabinet Department on Urban Affairs. The late Senator Kerr whipped it on "medicare" 2 summers ago. Moreover, a liberal-led filibuster to stop the asserted "giveaway" of satellite communications to industry might have succeeded if Oregon's fiery Senator MORSE hadn't lost his temper. "I do not believe the majority leader," Mr. MORSE cried in the heat of debate; that remark sealed his defeat, because the most egregious blunder a Senator can commit is to call MIKE MANSFIELD's a liar.

For when he must, Mr. MANSFIELD can draw on reservoirs of strength filled over the years by fairness, by disbursing to colleagues

credit that should be his, and by the universal belief that MIKE MANSFIELD is not in politics for self-aggrandizement. In fact, as majority leader he pushes power away.

Take the matter of Senators' committee assignments, which are made at the beginning of each biennial Congress. The committees are really miniature Senates; they determine whether, and in what form, legislation will reach the floor. Committee decisions are rarely overruled in the Senate, for to protect their individual authority chairmen tend to vote together.

Control of the committees, obviously, is the key to control of the Senate. Before MIKE MANSFIELD'S reign, assignments were made by a coterie of elders in the Democratic Steering Committee over which the floor leader presides. Mr. MANSFIELD, deciding that this manner of selection was inequitable, substituted secret balloting for it.

The secret ballot almost guaranteed that the leader's wishes would be ignored. At the opening of the current Congress Mr. MANSFIELD believed Wisconsin's Senator PROXMIRE, though he opposed the administration's tax cut plan, deserved a place on the powerful Finance Committee, in the secret ballot Mr. PROXMIRE got no votes except Senator MANSFIELD'S.

MIKE MANSFIELD hardly thought twice about disclosing the results of the balloting, for this son of an immigrant from Ireland is an utterly candid man. Probably the only fib to which he was ever a party involved a Navy recruiter's belief that he was 17, rather than 14, when he enlisted for World War I. After the war, he served in the Army and with the Marines in the Orient, a tour which excited a lifetime interest in Far Eastern affairs.

Back in Butte, he sweated in the copper mines as a pick-and-shovel "mucker" preparing for a delayed academic career. He crowded high school and college into 4 years before blossoming into a professor of Latin American and Far Eastern history at Montana State University. From there he went to the House of Representatives and, in 1952, to the Senate.

TAPPED FOR NO. 2 POST

It was Mr. MANSFIELD'S pipe-puffing, contemplative unobstrusiveness that recommended him to Senator Johnson when the job of whip, or deputy leader, became vacant in 1957. Mr. MANSFIELD was tapped for the No. 2 position, and he demonstrated no urge to share the limelight. When L.B.J. moved to the Vice Presidency in 1961, MIKE MANSFIELD moved up to the leader's post.

As Mr. Johnson saw it, MIKE MANSFIELD was, like the leader himself, another bridge between the party's northern liberals and its southern conservatives. The South likes him because he is not passionately involved in the agitation for civil rights; the Southwest likes him because he supports tax depletion for oil (Montana, too, is an oil-producing State); and the liberals like him because he is with them on most other controversies.

For weeks now, Senator MANSFIELD has fretted about the length of the South's filibuster against the civil rights bill, but he won't try to blackjack Members into line, even if he could. On the only substantive vote so far (the 45-to-45 tie that defeated a Southern-supported amendment to assure jury trials for all persons accused of criminal contempt) he risked victory by caring more about honoring a commitment than about winning.

He had promised to protect the southerners by arranging an offsetting "pair" for the absent Senator FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas. After the dramatic rollcall, but before the vote was announced, he scurried about to fulfill the commitment, forgetting in the bustle to send an aid after Utah's Senator Moss, who, though prepared to vote against the amendment, didn't know the rollcall was in progress. Mr. Moss ambled in too late.

Still, the 12-week-long civil rights marathon is gnawing steadily at Mr. MANSFIELD'S latent Irish temper. No doubt the frustration of getting nowhere fast helped provoke his unusually angry public shouting match over the Bobby Baker affair with New Jersey's Senator CLIFFORD CASE.

But as Senator CASE said afterward his bright antagonist is the gentlest and most magnanimous of men. And as the dreary Senate sessions drag on, its backlog of work growing thicker every day, MIKE MANSFIELD will prove whether in politics, as has been said of baseball, nice guys are bound to finish last.

A Worthy Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, each year the Taylor County, W. Va., veterans organizations sponsor an essay contest in the three high schools in the area, and awards for the first, second, and third place are made at the schools on Awards Day. The subject matter is the Grafton, W. Va., National Cemetery.

This year, Miss Christine Shaw, a junior at Grafton High School wrote the winning essay and delivered it from memory at the ceremony held on May 20. I found her words extremely moving, and I commend her paper to my colleagues for attention. It is with pleasure that, under unanimous consent, I have it inserted in the RECORD today:

A WORTHY PILGRIMAGE

(By Christine Shaw, Grafton High School)

Between the neat rows of gleaming white grave markers, I walked and devoutly placed my bouquet of flowers on an undecorated grave. I then rejoined my first-grade classmates. This was the first of the annual pilgrimages that I was to make as a Taylor County student to the Grafton National Cemetery. Indeed, it was, and still is, a worthy pilgrimage.

Eleven years ago I did not catch the finer essence of what the sacred precincts of the national cemetery stand for, just as I did not comprehend in its fullness the outward and material beauty of this silent city.

Each year brings a deeper understanding of the noble and majestic beauty of this bivouac of the dead. It is as if through long centuries Nature herself had lovingly molded the spot, making it ready for its final great purpose, the resting place of the Nation's heroic dead.

Lining Grafton's streets and jamming West Virginia's only national cemetery are people from near and afar, who come to pay tribute to those "who gave their lives that the country might live." Amid this excitement I can vividly visualize that Sunday afternoon, June 14, 1868, when the memorial site was dedicated. At Compton's Corner, Capt. Daniel Wilson alined the veterans of Company B, 2d 17th West Virginians in military formation. The procession, which was headed by a small martial band, moved down St. John Street, across the "Broadwalk" to the Grafton House, and then proceeded across the railroad bridge to West Grafton. With much solemnity, the citizenry of West Grafton joined the parade to march out Pearl Street to the cemetery. Lying on the ground were the bodies of the dead who had served their nation in its greatest crisis to keep it "one undivided." There were so many unburied that the procession continued past the cemetery to Handley's Grove.

In the quiet ceremony that followed this impressive march, a beautiful tribute was paid to the living and the dead who participated in the fight to preserve the democratic ideals on which our Nation was founded. From this humble beginning grew the only celebration of like nature in the United States, which has merited Grafton national acclaim.

At Grafton National Cemetery sleep over 2,000 silent hosts who served in the wars for their beloved country. More than 664 of these graves are unknown dead, most of whom were Civil War veterans. The nameless soldiers are gathered here, deprived of the individual measure of fame which each one by his daring and dying merited, and denied the poor desert of recognition, even of identification. These unknown graves are marked only by number, and the records in the cemetery office show merely from what State the bodies came. Their names, their homes, their friends, all are unknown. "But their names and deaths are recorded in the archives of their country, and its grateful citizens honor them as of their noble army of martyrs."

By our pilgrimage each Memorial Day, we may pay homage to the heroic dead resting in this hollowed ground. We stand a moment in silence to honor them. Now let us go and do the work they couldn't complete. Would it not be more fitting that the ideals for which these sainted died provide for us "A Psalm of Life"?

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;
Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait."

William V. McKenney Medal Given to Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last week Boston College conferred its William V. McKenney Medal to one of its most distinguished alumni, Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, of Cambridge, Mass., a Member of this body since 1952 and a respected member of the Rules Committee, was honored "for exemplary and outstanding work in behalf of Boston College and for laudatory service in the interests of mankind which reflect on the honor of Boston College."

That citation says in a few words a great deal about "TIP" O'NEILL'S service to his college, his constituents, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the United States.

I wish to extend my congratulations to Congressman O'NEILL upon the receipt of this award. It is richly deserved.

Remarks of Senator Symington at Dedication of Lutheran Good Shepherd Home in Concordia, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the brilliant sunshine of a beautiful Sunday afternoon near the end of May, our senior Senator, Missouri's STUART SYMINGTON, stood on an outdoor platform before 250 townspeople to dedicate the new Lutheran Good Shepherd Home in Concordia, Mo.

This beautiful new home for senior citizens is situated near the western edge of the city on the crest of a hill which will provide those who live there with a beautiful view of Concordia including St. Paul's College as well as the new Interstate Highway No. 70 to the north which is now nearing completion.

The home is under the direction of a not-for-profit corporation organized by a group of civic-minded people of this area. A portion of the financing was under the new Housing for the Elderly Act which provided assistance through a loan from Housing and Home Finance agency and further assistance came through a grant from Hill-Burton Act funds.

All of Concordia is to be congratulated for this valuable addition to the community. We particularly applaud those unselfish individuals whom I am sure would prefer to remain anonymous yet who worked so long and diligently to generate interest in an enterprise of this kind. They know best the amount of work it takes for planning and construction. They well know it is a long and tedious road to a happy ending. Their efforts were rewarded on this beautiful day of dedication with the realization they have completed a home where many of the community's senior citizens may spend their time amid pleasant surroundings.

It was my high privilege and great honor to be asked to introduce Senator SYMINGTON on this occasion. Because of the thoughts he expressed to his audience including the interesting statistics concerning the aging and their income in rural areas, I am convinced these remarks will be of interest to fellow Members of Congress and should be preserved in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a fitting tribute to the community of Concordia, Mo.

Senator SYMINGTON'S remarks follow:

SYMINGTON SPEAKS AT DEDICATION OF NEW HOME FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

CONCORDIA, MO., May 24.—Today we present a fine example of our President's and our Nation's interest in the security and happiness of all our citizens, particularly our senior citizens whose labors and endeavors have preserved this country as a haven of the free and a land of opportunity. That is done through this beautiful home we rededicate here this afternoon.

In a vibrant and growing economy we nevertheless should be proud of our interest not only in assuring that our young people have expanded opportunities and prosperity, but also that those in the late afternoon of their lives may enjoy the personal dignity which befits their place in life.

Of all the people in world history who have reached the age of 65, nearly half are alive today; 500,000 Missourians—11.8 percent of our total population—are in this age group. Missouri has the second highest per capita proportion of any State of people 65 and over.

Over 37 percent of our elderly live in the rural areas of this State, including towns such as Concordia with populations between 1,000 to 2,500.

In this very county—Lafayette—15.2 percent of the residents—nearly 4,000 individuals—are in this age bracket.

The incomes of those over 65 are especially low in rural areas, their median money income in 1960 in rural farm areas being $740, some $200 below that for all persons 65 and over.

It is clear therefore that in these rural areas the elderly are generally the ones left behind. The young leave to enter the labor forces of industry in the cities.

It is shocking to note that, whereas the farm population of all ages is rapidly declining, there actually has been an increase in the number of aged living on farms.

Estimates for April of 1960 and 1961 show a decline of nearly 1 million in the farm population—from 15.7 to 14.8 million. Over the same year, however, the farm population of the aged rose by more than 40,000—from 1,326,000 to 1,369,000; in fact, in a single year, the aged as a percent of the total farm population increased from 8.5 to 9.2 percent.

Because of their increasing aged population, these rural areas greatly need accommodating facilities. As a general rule these areas have fewer facilities for health care for the elderly, but farm families often suffer more disabling illnesses than do urban residents.

Thanks to the marvels of modern medicine, our expected lifespan has been extended to the age of 70. At the same time, our productive capacity makes possible earlier retirement and increased leisure time. To some this can be a blessing; but to many, if not most, families, this trend toward longer life and a large proportion of our population in retirement presents additional problems which must be faced up to by all communities as you are doing in Concordia.

These people have a definite place in any comumnity. They have wisdom and experience to offer. They ask only independence and self-respect. They are a proud and God-fearing people who have already made their contributions to society.

Today we dedicate more than a building, rather a pleasant home of companionship and personal productivity, a place where each senior citizen can develop his or her creative talents, and explore as yet undiscovered interests.

Let us pledge this day—with this home—and with others to follow—that we will meet and conquer the problems of those who in some cases may not be desired.

Our country has depended on them in the past. Surely we should be of comparable service to them in the future.

Turning Point in Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, there is increasing indication that the Alliance for Progress is gaining momentum. Principal reason is that, slowly but surely, our partners in the Alliance are realizing that we can only help those who help themselves—that the United States can only provide the necessary, but minimal, effort to the efforts of the Latin American countries themselves.

As evidence of the concrete response of the Latin American countries to the principles of the Alliance for Progress, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a statement made by the Ambassador of Chile, Sergio Gutierrez-Olivos, at a recent White House meeting between President Johnson and the Latin American Ambassadors.

The result in Colombia of mutual efforts under the Alliance for Progress is assessed in an article entitled "Colombia Is Making Progress a Habit," by George Natanson, which appeared May 10 in the Washington Post.

Certainly, I do not suggest that the Alliance in its formative stages can claim total success. As President Johnson stated to the Latin American Ambassadors:

> The path ahead is long and the way is hard.

He further stated, however, that:

> We have reached a turning point. The foundations have been laid * * * and I can now say with confidence that our Alliance for Progress will succeed.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the statement by Ambassador Sergio Gutierrez-Olivos and the newspaper article "Colombia Is Making Progress a Habit":

STATEMENT BY THE AMBASSADOR OF CHILE, SERGIO GUTIERREZ-OLIVOS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CEREMONY AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON MONDAY, MAY 11, 1964

I know that I speak for my Government and all my countrymen when I say that we are deeply indebted to you for the warm support you have given the Alliance for Progress since taking office.

We all remember the tragic circumstances under which you were called upon to assume the honor and burden of the Presidency of the United States. You considered it a duty at that time to call us together and tell us that the ideals and dedication of John F. Kennedy toward Latin America were your own. That meeting perhaps marked your first public statement of your foreign policy, and in it we saw that the terrible void left by the passing of one great leader had been filled by the emergence of another great leader in the sphere of inter-American affairs.

Chile has made very considerable strides in recent years in complying with the spirit and letter of the Alliance for Progress. Throughout the length and breadth of my country new roads, houses, schools, hospitals, and a host of specific development projects attest to the magnitude of our achievements. Let me express, in this connection, our recognition of your recent public acknowledgment of those achievements of my country.

As you know, Mr. President, it is not frequently understood that the Alliance for Progress is not merely another instrument of U.S. foreign policy, but that it implies a mutual commitment to implement a global program which had its inception in the thinking of many Latin American leaders over several decades.

This program calls for an unparalleled effort on the part of Latin Americans to speed their economic growth and dramat-

ically modify and improve their social structures.

We were the ones who sought to bring that program into effect, and we were fully aware that its implementation would subject our peoples to considerable sacrifice, and our patterns of social life to considerable stress and change.

Nevertheless, we asked the United States and other friendly nations to join with us and commit themselves to the success of this great venture, by providing the margin of foreign resources essential to its fulfillment. Because this is primarily a Latin American effort, we knew that that margin of foreign resources would necessarily be a subordinate, but nevertheless essential, part of our own effort.

Complying with the philosophy and economic and social goals of the Alliance, we have achieved many significant changes in Latin America during the past 3 years. Let me say that these changes are irreversible and irrevocable. Our leaders and peoples are deeply committed to the Alliance. Both the changes we have worked and our firm determination to go on make any turning back unthinkable and impossible.

We know, Mr. President, that you are as deeply and definitely committed to our own fight against what you have called humanity's oldest and worst enemies, as you are to fighting them in your own milieu.

We all know that our success will not only make for greater happiness in our lives, but preserve America as the stronghold of human dignity and freedom for all the world.

[From the Washington Post, May 10, 1964]

COLOMBIA IS MAKING PROGRESS A HABIT

(By George Natanson)

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA.—Herman Sanchez moved his wife and six children into their new home in Kennedy City here last week, together with a few pieces of worn furniture and new outlook on life.

"This one of the happiest days of my life," Sanchez said. "We have waited a long time for this moment. Now we have a decent home to raise our family."

Until last week Sanchez, a 37-year-old taxi driver in Bogotá, and his family lived in what was little more than a hovel.

Interviewed in the midst of the confusion of moving, Sanchez talked about his former life:

"My wife had to walk almost three blocks for water. My children knew only slums and filth. They had no real place to play and school was a long way off. I was worried about their health and the bad influence our old neighborhood might have on their future.

"Two years ago I applied to buy a house here in Kennedy City and we began saving our money. A month ago we paid 4,500 pesos ($450) for the down payment and now we are moving in."

Sanchez is one of more than 90,000 persons living in 12,000 family units constructed or under construction in Kennedy City, the largest single housing project in Latin America.

Until November 22, 1963, the project was known as Ciudad Techo. But on the night President Kennedy was assassinated the development's residents held a solemn meeting. The next night, following a candlelight parade through the streets of Techo, the people petitioned the Colombian Government to change the name to Ciudad (city) Kennedy.

While the renaming is a direct tribute to the late President, it also reflects the feeling of most Colombians for the vast Alliance for Progress program in Colombia. The Alliance has met with such success in this country that it is now looked upon as a model of what can be accomplished with the program in Latin America.

More than $100 million a year for 3 years has been invested in Colombia. But Alliance achievements here are not judged solely on U.S. financial backing.

The Colombian Government has met Alliance requirements of self-help and social and economic reforms in a manner hailed as "without precedent" by U.S. officials here.

Many of the social and economic reforms instituted by Colombia were begun long before the Alliance actually got underway in August 1961.

Among other progressive steps, Colombia has embarked upon a modern land reform program which includes not only land distribution and colonialization but agricultural credits and technical assistance. Over the past year the program has bogged down somewhat, due largely to local political problems, but land reform benefits in one form or another are aiding most of the 50 percent of Colombia's population in the rural areas.

At the same time, a tax reform law has been enacted under which 40 percent of the national income will shortly be derived from personal and corporate incomes.

Other measures include establishment of a National Planning Commission, which drew up and submitted a 10-year development program, a basic Alliance requirement. The plan has already received the approval of the Committee of Nine, an Organization of American States agency set up specifically to pass on development programs.

As another important step, Colombia has adopted administrative reforms leading to a firm program of civil service and public administration.

Of deeper significance, Colombia now boasts one of the most stable governments in Latin America. Despite difficult economic obstacles yet to be overcome, Colombia has managed to achieve an encouraging measure of monetary and economic stability.

The successful efforts by Colombia to comply with basic Alliance requirements has succeeded in creating a favorable climate for national and foreign investment that today is bearing fruit in the form of increased flow of capital into the country.

In turn, the Alliance is investing funds in an ambitious program consisting of five major goals, the first of which is to help the country obtain a favorable balance of payments. According to Alliance officials here, if Colombia levels off its international payments—that is, either increases its exports or lowers its imports—this country's economic growth rate will jump to more than 7 or even 8 percent. Already it stands at a healthy 5 percent.

To help achieve this goal, Colombia has received three U.S. loans totaling $105 million over the past 2 years.

Colombia faces adverse agricultural conditions, caused mainly by a severe 2-year drought which is threatening this year's crop.

Through its second goal the Alliance is helping Colombia diversify its agrarian program and increase production.

Colombia is dependent on coffee for 75 percent of its exports. The slightest drop in world coffee prices upsets the balance of payments and creates havoc with the economy.

A more effective and open educational system is the Alliance's third goal, the major aim of which is to provide trained manpower for expanded social and economic development.

The aim of the fourth goal is to provide a favorable social framework for development. With a grant program of almost $5 million and loans amounting to $38 million, housing and land reform take high priority. At the present rate of home construction, it is estimated that Colombia's housing deficit will be eliminated within 10 years. Efforts are being made to increase low-cost housing construction from 22,000 to 30,000 units annually.

The Alliance's fifth goal has earmarked $36 million in loans and a $700,000 grant to help stimulate private investment.

Other Alliance programs here include loans from the Export-Import Bank, a large group of Peace Corps volunteers and other social projects financed by the Inter-American Development Bank. More than 360 Colombian towns have already benefited by water supply and sewage system projects.

The Role of Private Employment Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, recent efforts to downgrade the important labor market role played by private employment agencies is another manifestation of the desire on the part of some to expand the public sector of the economy at the expense of the private sector. D. Dale Hughes, executive secretary of the National Employment Association, recognizes there are those who need Government assistance in their job seeking. In a recent letter to the Wall Street Journal, however, he says that too much of the American employer's unemployment tax money is being used by the public employment service for people who do not need help. Since 1961, $150 million has been spent to reorganize the public employment service, mostly to carry on activities such as advertising for people whose skills are already in high demand.

Understanding the proper relationship of private to public employment agencies is important to improving the functioning of the labor market and finding the solution to the unemployment problem. Mr. Hughes' letter in the May 22 Wall Street Journal is both noteworthy and pertinent in this regard and, under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD:

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT PLEA

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

It should be noted that private employment services do not oppose the existence of the public service. There are those who do need Government assistance in their job-seeking chores and we would certainly not deprive them of it. We pointed out to the House Appropriations Committee hearings (reported in your April 13 issue) the activities of the public service to which we object, and to which most businessmen would object if they knew the facts.

The facts are that far too much of the American employer's unemployment compensation tax money is used by the public service to help people who do not need help. The public service was established in the depths of the depression to assist the unemployed. Now, spokesmen for the public service will argue, and produce statistics to prove, that this is exactly what they are doing and that a very small percentage of the public service's placements are people already employed.

If we accept the word of these spokesmen we are hard put to explain why the public employment service spends so much

money in activities designed to attract those who are already employed. Why all of the advertising for people whose skills are in demand today? Why the barrage of direct mail aimed at employers, offering applicants with skills in high demand—when these people obviously do not need Government help in job finding. Why the convention service where public employment service people set up a booth and offer job service to those in attendance—such as at the convention of the American Pharmaceutical Association and other professional groups? Why the tremendously expensive separation of the employment office from the unemployment compensation office—to improve the image of the employment service—a separation, incidentally, that has set up separate administrative divisions all the way back to the statehouse?

The record would reveal that in excess of $150 million has been spent since 1961 in the reorganization and revitalization of the public employment service. Most of this has been spent in the activities just described. It is all financed out of employers' unemployment compensation tax dollars.

Private employment agencies see many things wrong in what is happening. First, we see a disgraceful waste of tax dollars. Second, we see a burgeoning Federal bureaucracy with all of its dangers including the possible gaining of a manpower monopoly. Third, although we know we offer a far superior service in our daily searches of the job market for those jobseekers who do come to our doors, we wonder how long our individual enterprises can stand the onslaught of our own tax dollars being used against us?

Present public employment service practices represent a serious threat to the American economy and to American freedom.

D. DALE HUGHES,
Executive Secretary, National Employment Association.

Catholic Bishops Point the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Catholic bishops of Pennsylvania have dispatched a telegram to me expressing their vigorous support of civil rights legislation. I am grateful to these distinguished churchmen for the moral support they gave given this momentous crusade. I want to place their views before all the Members of the House.

HARRISBURG, PA.

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

In 1963 the Catholic bishops of the United States vigorously condemned "all forms of discrimination and segregation based on prejudice." They spoke of the question of race relations in the United States as one which "confronts the conscience of every man." They cautioned the Nation lest it labor to resolve this question without the help of Almighty God, and they urged that all citizens "openly and explicitly proclaim the religious basis of social justice and love."

The Catholic bishops' statement, however, stressed particular areas of our national life in which an end of discrimination based upon racial prejudice is urgently necessary. The statement considered it mandatory that there be provided for all, "equal opportunity for employment, full participation in our public and private educational facilities, proper housing, and adequate welfare assistance when needed." It also stressed the right of all citizens to vote.

While principles were thus stated upon which action for civil rights should be based, and while specific areas for the application of those principles were pointed out, such application continues in many ways to be lacking as we approach the summer of 1964. Perhaps the most conspicuous lack is the absence of an effective Federal civil rights act.

The hatred of his enemies and the sloth of his friends must no longer bar the door to the full realization of his citizenship by our Negro brother in Christ. While love, rather than law, will prove his ultimate means to oneness in our American family, law must today lay the foundation of justice on which alone charity can flower.

We, therefore, the Catholic bishops of Pennsylvania, urge the prompt enactment of effective legislation for the attainment of the civil rights of all of the citizens of the Nation.

Most Rev. John J. Krol, D.D., Archbishop of Philadelphia; Most Rev. John Mark Gannon, D.D., Archbishop-Bishop of Erie; Most Rev. George L. Leech, D.D., Bishop of Harrisburg; Most Rev. J. Carroll McCormick, D.D., Bishop of Altoona-Johnstown; Most Rev. John J. Wright, D.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh; Most Rev. Joseph McShea, D.D., Bishop of Allentown; Most Rev. Jerome D. Hannan, D.D., Bishop of Scranton; Most Rev. William G. Connare, D.D., Bishop of Greensburg.

Eshkol Visit Strengthens Ties Between Israel and the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the June 2, 1964, edition of the New York Journal-American.

The continued cooperation between Israel and the United States will remain the single most important stabilizing influence for peace in the Middle East. President Johnson is to be commended by all Americans for his insistence that Middle Eastern problems be solved peacefully.

The editorial follows:

VISIT FROM ISRAEL

Prime Minister Levi Eshkol of Israel has arrived in the United States and has received an appropriately warm welcome from President Johnson.

As an official visitor—the first such of an Israeli leader—Mr. Eshkol was greeted by the President on the White House lawn and afforded full military honors. The ceremony marked an important event, both for the 16-year-old State of Israel and its close and friendly relations with the United States.

President Johnson emphasized this cordiality and expressed confidence that the visit will strengthen those relations, as we are equally confident it will. Further, L.B.J. said: "It is not only possible but imperative that Israel's problems with her Arab neighbors be peacefully resolved." The Prime Minister's visit has thus begun with a clear-cut statement of policy from the leader of the most powerful Nation on earth.

L.B.J.'s words once again remind us that it is Israel which has repeatedly asked her neighbors to negotiate their differences with her, and that those neighbors have just as repeatedly rejected her offers. The President also said peace in the Middle East can and must come with "justice for all and security for all," and these are words that should be carefully digested by those eager for bloodshed.

Sunset High Seniors Chose Guatemalan School Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, no country in the world has done as much as the United States in providing the best possible public education system to provide the highest literacy rate possible among the people of this country.

For this reason, I was highly gratified to learn recently of the activities of a senior high school class in my area which made, as its special project, a collection of funds to supply desk and school materials to Guatemala.

For this reason, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an article from the Morning News of San Leandro, Calif., for June 3, 1964, which sets forth the story of the Sunset High School seniors and their project:

SUNSET HIGH SENIORS CHOSE GUATEMALAN SCHOOL PROJECT

(By Josephine Roberts)

Free education for the masses, for everyone, the rich and the poor alike is so basic a concept in the United States that people are quite prone to treat this democratic ideal with indifference, as an accepted fact and a just due.

The value of free education, the gift of knowledge to all persons should never be taken for granted. There was, not so long ago, a time when the vast masses of the common people remained illiterate with education being a preogative of the favored few, the very rich, those fortunate few sponsored by the wealthy and the members of several religious orders.

Down at Sunset High School and Princeton High School, the seniors and in fact all the students in attendance are keenly aware of the value of free education. They are aware that the boom of free education has not been given to all people in every nation of the world.

Making a sincere effort to thank the American public for their educational opportunities the Sunset senior high class of 1964 through its CARE committee decided to make a concerted drive to supply desks and school materials to Guatemala.

Col. Marco Aurelio, Consul General of Guatemala, received a check from the Sunset seniors on yesterday for the school desk program.

Colonel Merida spoke to the students on the Guatemalan progressive education pro-

gram. Representing CARE at the presentation of the check was C. Thomas Perry, regional director.

A report issued by CARE states that Guatemala has a staggering educational lag. Of all the people, 10 years and above, 70 percent are illiterate. Four hundred and fifty thousand children between the ages of 7 and 14 years of age are unable to attend school.

In the United States, elementary school is free and compulsory. Quite unlike the United States, the Guatemalan Government lacks the facilities to provide an elementary education for the country's youth.

Nevertheless, the Guatemalan Government is doing its best to fill the gap. In the last 3 years, it has built 2,250 school rooms in 425 communities. Unfortunately, all of this effort, expenditure, and promise might come to nothing for lack of school supplies.

All of the Government's funds are tied up in school construction and there is no money left over to buy blackboards, notebooks, pencils, and for classroom furniture. The problem is especially critical in rural areas, according to the CARE report. Schools are often left standing with little more than the bare walls.

So after reading the CARE report on Guatemala Sunset seniors set to work raising money for the Guatemala school project. They set a goal of $1,000.

Anyone interested may send checks to the Sunset High Senior Care Committee. Miss Elsbeth Benson is counselor and she will be available to answer questions about the Guatemalan school program. The Sunset Senior Care Committee is licensed and their number is 2680.

Donna Frisbie, of the Sunset Senior Care Committee says, "Our Care project is one way that we can bring the priceless gift of education to those who might have otherwise missed out. We can help give others the gift that comes to us so easily in the United States.

"Another thing, our project could be a beginning, other senior classes at Sunset High School and in other schools might follow the tradition we are trying to establish. Each and every one of us has the opportunity to take an important step towards a better and more peaceful world. Education can lead to better understanding among the peoples of the world."

Indiana Farm Bureau Leader Reports on Tour of Common Market Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD part of a letter I received recently from Charles E. Riddle, of Argos, Ind., reporting on his recent tour of the Common Market countries.

Mr. Riddle, who is director of the first district of the Indiana Farm Bureau, has written what I think is a most interesting report and I am glad to call it to the attention of other Members.

Excerpts from his letter follow:

DEAR JOHN: My agriculture tour of Common Market countries in Europe and England, was most educational for me. We visited our U.S. Embassys and had discussion periods with the agriculture attaché in each country, also visited special farms, farm organization leaders, co-op plants and a cooperative bank.

You requested my impressions of the trip and prospects of our country continuing to have a share of this agriculture market.

As I view the situation, I think there will be a growing demand for food in those countries in the near future because of population increase as in our country. Also the trend from farm to city jobs with all the fringe benefits of labor, plus the increasing standard of living, just adds up to more and better food for the dinner table.

With modern transportation and refrigeration these countries can be our markets, for we here in the Midwest have the land, machinery and knowhow to produce and compete with any farmer the world over.

As I see it, it all depends on our Government and how we bargain with these countries. They must trade their manufactured products and we are their No. 1 purchasers. This gives the United States tremendous bargaining power to move even more of our surplus foods to these countries than in the past.

England is moving in the direction of the consumer ultimately paying the entire cost of farm program. That is as it should be especially regarding any price supports.

Sincerely,

CHAS. E. RIDDLE.

The A B C's of the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a clear and concise explanation of the civil rights bill, in one-syllable words, appeared in the Sunday Washington Post. It is reprinted below for the benefit of those who may have missed it:

THE A B C'S OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

(By James E. Clayton)

In the past 3 months, almost 8 million words have been spoken in the Senate on a bill that is about 15,000 words long.

Somewhere in all this oratory—with its flowery phrases like the "billion-dollar blackjack," an "unprecedented grab for power," a "bill of rights for all Americans" and "the fulfillment of the Emancipation Proclamation"—the basic goals of the civil rights bill have been almost lost from view.

The goals are quite clear and rather simple. They are to end discrimination in employment, voting, public facilities, public schools and places where people go to eat, sleep, and be entertained.

The goals were seriously discussed only at the beginning of the long debate and in the last week. During the weeks in between, Senators spoke mostly about details—jury trials, the relationship of State to Federal law, small boardinghouses, threats of bureaucratic control, and so on.

It is these details on which the decisions will be made if the Senate ever gets down to voting. Most Senators now agree that there is a clear majority for the basic proposals in the civil rights bill. They are not sure that the same majority exists for all the details.

Perhaps the easiest way to think about both the goals and the details is in terms of what problems the proposed legislation is designed to solve and how it goes about doing that. The following analysis is based on the modified bill introduced in the Senate by leaders of both political parties.

VOTING DISCRIMINATION

Problem No. 1: In some areas, Negroes are kept from registering to vote by registrars who discriminate against them or disqualify them because of minor errors on applications. Minor errors are such things as putting down one's age as 23 years, 10 months, 11 days when it is 23 years, 10 months, 12 days.

Solution: The bill would bar registrars from giving Negroes seeking to vote in Federal elections tougher literacy tests than they give to whites. It would bar rejections for minor, irrelevant errors on applications. It declares that anyone with a sixth-grade education is presumed literate.

Procedure: The new legislation provides ways of speeding up the court's handling of voting cases, which can be brought to litigation by an individual or by the Attorney General. Some cases have dragged out for years in the past.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Problem No. 2: Because of their race, Negroes are barred from eating in many restaurants and lunch counters, sleeping in some hotels and motels, attending performances at some theaters and sports arenas, and buying gasoline at some gas stations.

Solution: The bill declares that none of these places of public accommodation can reject a customer because of his race or religion if the goods it handles move in interstate commerce. It exempts small boarding houses and private clubs.

Procedure: A person denied service could file suit in Federal court. With the court's permission, the Attorney General could intervene to help him. The Attorney General could file such a suit if there was a pattern of discrimination. The courts are authorized to order an end to discrimination and punish those who defy their orders. If a State or community has a public accommodations law, Federal action cannot occur until after that local law has had a chance to operate.

RECREATION FACILITIES

Problem No. 3: Negroes claim they are barred from some facilities owned by a city or State: golf courses, swimming pools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, etc.

Solution: Although the Supreme Court has clearly said that such barriers because of race are unconstitutional, the bill declares that all such places must be opened to all persons without regard to race or religion.

Procedure: The Attorney General is authorized to file suits in Federal court to open such facilities if he finds that those persons discriminated against are unable to file suit themselves because of a lack of money or a fear of reprisals.

FEDERAL FUNDS

Problem No. 4: Negroes contend that some State and local programs financed in part by Federal funds discriminate against them. Examples are hospital construction, welfare, and farm programs.

Solution: The bill declares that all programs receiving Federal money must not discriminate.

Procedure: If a Federal agency learns that a program is being operated with discrimination, it can take steps to end the practice. These steps include conciliation, holding a hearing, notifying Congress and, as a last resort, cutting off Federal funds to the program in the particular locality.

EMPLOYMENT

Problem No. 5: Negroes complain that many employers refuse to hire them although they are qualified, and that several labor unions bar them from membership and apprenticeship because of their race.

Solution: The bill bars discrimination because of race, sex or religion by employers in hiring, firing or promoting, by employment agencies in job referrals and by labor unions in admittance to membership or apprenticeship programs. It would apply immediately to all companies in interstate commerce with 100 or more employes and, after 3 years, to all such companies with 25 or more employees. Religious organizations and church schools would be exempt to some extent from the provision regarding religion.

Procedure: A new Federal Equal Employment Commission would receive and process complaints. It would defer any action for a limited period until State laws on the same subject had an opportunity to operate. If the Commission's persuasion was ineffective, the individual discriminated against could go to Federal court. If there was a pattern of discrimination, the Attorney General could file the court case. The court would determine whether discrimination existed and what to do about it.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Problem No. 6. Negroes argue that school desegregation is going too slowly.

Solution: The bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring law suits to end segregation in the public schools. It also authorizes the expenditure of Federal funds to help communities plan for desegregation.

JUDICIAL FAIRNESS

Problem No. 7: Civil rights workers often say they cannot get a fair trial in some State courts and cannot get some Federal trial judges to intervene to block unfair trials.

Solution: The bill authorizes an appeal to higher courts if a Federal trial judge refuses to take jurisdiction in a situation where such discrimination is alleged. There is presently no appeal from his refusal.

While these are the seven problem areas with which the civil rights bill attempts to deal, it has many other provisions. Among them are ones which extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for 4 years and create a new Community Conciliation Service to help solve racial problems peacefully.

Perhaps as important as what the civil rights bill would do is what it would not do.

It would not allow the Federal Government to dictate to whom people could sell their property. The bill specifically exempts housing programs.

It would not compel an employer to fire a white man to make way for a Negro. Such action would be barred by the bill because it would be a firing based on race.

It would not compel a store owner or a hotel owner to serve every person who came to his place of business. For example, a store owner could reject those who were drunk or disorderly or refused to wear a coat and tie. His choice of customers would be curtailed only in that he could not turn away anyone solely because of race or religion.

It would not destroy union seniority. All the bill would do is stop unions from discriminating against those who apply for membership or apprenticeship.

It would not take away anyone's right to a jury trial. The bill does authorize Federal judges to punish without a jury trial those who disobey orders to stop discriminating. But there is no existing right to a jury trial in such cases. Anyone charged now with disobeying a court order is entitled to a jury trial only if Congress has specifically so ordered. This bill limits the punishment a judge could impose without a jury trial for contempt in civil rights cases to 30 days in jail and a $300 fine.

It would not allow the Federal Government to transport children across town to even out the racial composition of schools. The bill specifically bars Federal officials and Federal courts from acting to end such racial imbalance.

It would not give the Federal Government control of elections. The bill would only require the States to administer voting laws with an even hand.

Is a "Little Inflation" Tolerable?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, administration officials are strong and vocal advocates of rapid economic expansion with little regard to the costs in terms of possible undesirable side effects of such a policy. They imply that a little inflation is tolerable in a growing economy and need not be a cause of concern.

Their point of view has been noted and criticized by the well-known financial columnist, Sylvia Porter. She shows that an economic boom causing a general price rise of even 2 percent annually would make today's dollar worth only 82 cents in 10 years. The dollar earned and saved today would purchase only 67 cents' worth of goods and services 20 years from now.

Beneath the surface of the economy, there are forces, such as coming wage negotiations and the danger of too rapid an accumulation of business inventories, which could precipitate another price breakthrough. The attitude to be most feared is general complacency about the price outlook, which has been recently fostered by administration spokesmen, notably the President himself.

With unanimous consent, I include Miss Porter's May 28 article from the Washington Evening Star, entitled "If Prices Go Up Only 2 Percent a Year" in the RECORD at this point:

IF PRICES GO UP ONLY 2 PERCENT A YEAR

(By Sylvia Porter)

"Our economy is so close to a boom level today that it wouldn't take much to push it through that level and into a boom before 1964 ends," said one of the Nation's most respected economists as we lunched the other day. Quickly I interrupted with a question about what would happen to prices in the sort of boom he foresees.

"Oh, I'd say that at the consumer level, the rate of price increase would go up to 2 percent or so a year. I would hope that's all that would happen."

That's all? Do you know what a price rise of 2 percent a year would mean to you and what it would do to the dollars you earn and save today?

It would mean that the dollar which now buys 100 cents of goods and services in the marketplace would buy you only 82 cents' worth of the same goods and services 10 years from now.

It would mean that the 100 cents you earn and save today would purchase only 67 cents' worth of goods and services for you 20 years from today.

It would mean that the United States would once again be in an era of creeping inflation, which would steadily erode the buying power of the dollar you earn, clearly slash the value of the dollar you save in a financial institution or invest in insurance, U.S. bonds, other forms of fixed-income securities.

It would mean that the Federal Reserve System, our prime defense against inflation, would feel compelled to put the brakes on the supply of money in our country in order to control the amount of loans and make loans more costly.

Of course, it does not have to happen and right now the price pattern is about as close to ideal as one could reasonably expect in an economy as dynamic and strong as ours is today.

But beneath the placid surface there are forces which could change the picture virtually overnight.

The auto wage contract apparently is going to break the so-called noninflationary guidelines. Even if the auto giants do not raise prices, the significant point is that the auto settlement could set a pattern for contracts in other industries which will not be able to hold prices and maintain what they consider necessary profit margins.

There have been widely scattered increases in wholesale prices in manufacturing this year—and most of the increases are stocking. The basis for further increases is being laid.

Consumers have enormous reserves of buying power. Consumer spending easily may accelerate in coming months—leading businessmen to speed up their accumulation of inventories. Both developments would be open invitations to price boosts.

Another price breakthrough does not have to happen—but it all too easily could, for the balance today is exceedingly delicate. An attitude I fear most now is the general complacency about the price outlook.

Chester Bowles, U.S. Diplomat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, Chester Bowles, the U.S. Ambassador to India, is a down-to-earth diplomat. His informal dress and outspoken manner make him a novelty among diplomats but he is winning friends for the United States in India.

Ambassador Bowles is a former Governor of Connecticut and served in this body during the 86th Congress, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article from the Bridgeport Post, June 7, 1964, which describes some of the exploits of our former colleague and friend:

U.S. DIPLOMAT WHO GOES TO BAT AS A SWITCH HITTER: CHESTER BOWLES SELLS UNITED STATES TO INDIANS

(By Conrad Fink)

The smiling American, dust on his face and the wind ruffling his hair, walked slowly through a crowd of farmers squatting in a dry field in western India.

Shoving aside a chair, he sat on the ground among the farmers under a burning sun.

"Now," he said, "tell me your problems."

Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India, was at work.

BOWLES APPROACH

After recovering from their astonishment at seeing a white sahib sitting among them, the gaunt, turbaned farmers loosed a tor-

rent—not enough to eat, fields drying up, cattle starving, no jobs, everybody's sick.

"OK," Mr. Bowles said, "we are going to help. The people of the United States are with you."

Then he paused for emphasis. "And, I'm glad to see you're building a new road and trying to help yourselves."

In 29 words, it summed up the Bowles approach—an approach that makes him one of America's most effective ambassadors in Asia. It is: He who helps himself can expect help from America.

As a diplomat, the 63-year-old Bowles is a switch hitter.

He is a visionary and idealist by nature, a man at home with ideas and long-range thinking. He speaks and writes beautifully and fluently on the problems of underdeveloped nations, masterfully weaving the perspective of history into a hardheaded approach to today's problems.

He can philosophize with philosophers and chew the fat with farmers.

The other side of Bowles is a gnawing impatience with the administrative details of running a diplomatic shop.

"He's a lousy administrator," one intimate said.

It is well known in America's modernistic Embassy in New Delhi's diplomatic enclave that Mr. Bowles never is to be asked who should swim on what days in the Embassy pool. Or, whether Embassy drivers should get commendation pins for safe driving.

Mr. Bowles has surrounded himself with bright young men who make these housekeeping decisions. Mr. Bowles gets on with what he feels is an Ambassador's real job.

Dressed in faded slacks and a sport shirt that flaps in the wind, Mr. Bowles zips around India in a U.S. Air Force plane, spreading his message.

At his side, more often than not, is his wife Dorothy—"Stebby," he calls her in an affectionate shortening of her maiden name, Stebbins.

They often work as a team. While visiting a roadbuilding project in Rajasthan State recently, the Ambassador waded into a group of awed workmen. Mrs. Bowles approached a group of women watching from a respectful distance.

Mr. Bowles, jabbing air with a forefinger, began telling the workmen that they and the United States, "working together," could do great things. He was interrupted by a squeal of delight from Mrs. Bowles.

"Oh, Chet. Look at this."

"Chet," the U.S. Ambassador to India, jammed his hands into the pockets of his rumpled slacks and ambled over to smile and coo at a small child sitting beside the road while its mother worked.

Then everybody, Mrs. Bowles included, took a ride on a camel before hurrying off to another road project.

Many Indians are intrigued with Mr. Bowles' unaffected attempts to be normal. And they delight in telling good-natured stories about him.

One has it that Mr. Bowles had to borrow a pair of formal striped pants to wear at the ceremony in which he presented his credentials to the Indian Government. When he showed up at the President's office, so the story goes, the pants quite visibly were several sizes too large.

Another source of Indian delight is Mr. Bowles' refusal to live in Roosevelt House, the ultramodern official residence complete with winding staircase and fishpond on the Embassy grounds.

"Hell," he reasons, "a fella could never be comfortable in a place like that."

So, the Bowles live in a rambling house filled with comfortable furniture and books off a tree-shaded street several miles from the Embassy. Diplomats, officials, and newspapermen sometimes gather on the back porch and lawn.

All this has made Bowles easily the best-known diplomat in New Delhi. Indian newspapermen learned long ago that "well-known diplomat" is enough to identify Bowles.

Leftist writers, however, are gunning for him by name almost every day.

One rabidly anti-American newspaper tabbed him the "imperial governor-general," and said he feels he has a divine right to dictate to India.

Mr. Bowles is attacked bitterly for what some Indians feel is pro-Pakistan sentiment in U.S. official circles or Washington attempts to force a sellout of India's interests in the disputed Himalayan state of Kashmir.

Though Mr. Bowles claims these attacks do not bother him, they have introduced a note of caution in his method of operation.

Thus, Mr. Bowles did a diplomatic duck-out in April when Sheik Mohammed Abdullah, Kashmiri independence leader, visited New Delhi for talks with the late Prime Minister Nehru.

Officially, Mr. Bowles went to the mountains to escape the brutal summer heat in New Delhi and recuperate from a minor stomach ailment. But, it was learned, Mr. Bowles was trying to avoid entanglement in the India-Kashmir squabble.

The risk of such entanglements and losing friends for America instead of making them is an occupational hazard with U.S. Ambassadors in India, and Mr. Bowles is careful in dealing with government officials.

Indian sources say he never approached Prime Minister Nehru with the standard, "my Government has instructed me to inform you * * *."

Instead, the sources say, Mr. Bowles was likely to go into Nehru's office with a wry grin on his face and explain, "Look, Mr. Prime Minister, this is our position. Now, how about—."

Nehru was said to favor this blunt talk and count Mr. Bowles among his friends.

Mr. Bowles' greatest problems are overseeing the giant U.S. economic aid program (more than $5.4 billion since 1951) and fanning the embers of pro-American sentiment lighted by the speedy way Washington reacted with military aid during the India-China border war in 1962.

It is clear that if he pushes too hard there could be a violent anti-American reaction in India, a nation that is as proud as it is poor.

Using a wealth of diplomatic experience, Mr. Bowles has avoided this so far.

A native of Springfield, Mass., Mr. Bowles made his first career in advertising. During World War II, he switched to Government service and was Director of the Office of Price Administration (OPA).

He was Governor of Connecticut 1948–50 and a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives 1958–60. In 1951–53, he was Ambassador to India and Nepal.

Then came tours as Undersecretary of State and President Kennedy's special representative and adviser on African, Asian, and Latin American affairs.

There was a clash of ideas and personalities with some members of Kennedy's administration, however, and he left Washington and returned to India.

The transition didn't dampen his enthusiasm and he is known as an "incurable optimist."

Mr. Bowles denies this with some heat, saying he is a realist who recognizes India has many problems and that the United States faces obstacles in improving its position in this part of the world.

But he admits to looking at the lighter side of life.

"I'm just the kind of fellow," he says, "who would rather say a bottle is half full, and not that it's half empty."

A Peace Offensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, today we are listening to the Foreign Affairs Committee present their views in support of the foreign aid authorization bill. As one listens to the debate, you can only conclude that these fine dedicated members of the committee are certainly in the spotlight of attention as they hear testimony and cross-examine witnesses before their committee as they search for a program of foreign aid that will adequately meet the challenges of our times.

Recently, I spoke to the combined Rotary Clubs of Marin County of my congressional district. Additionally, I presented testimony in support of my Freedom Academy bill, which is designed to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States in the global struggle between freedom and communism, to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge, and also to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate conditions. A peace offensive that recognizes and utilizes the unlimited material and human resources available in the private sector—an offensive designed to set the stage for winning the cold war—an offensive designed to provide stimulus for enthusiasm and hope among the people of the world who desire to remain free.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN DON H. CLAUSEN, ON H.R. 10037, TO CREATE THE FREEDOM COMMISSION AND THE FREEDOM ACADEMY, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, MAY 20, 1964

Mr. Chairman, I welcome the opportunity to appear before your committee in support of the Freedom Academy concept. Your committee is to be complimented for initiating these hearings in the interest of developing interest and testimony on behalf of a program urgently needed to combat the well organized economic, political and ideological offensive of the Soviet Union and other advocates of the Communist doctrine.

In my judgment, the salvation of our system of Government, our American way of life, the hopes of and aspirations of people throughout the world who desire to be or remain free could rest on the decision this committee makes with respect to this legislative recommendation.

It is my personal opinion that the Freedom Academy should be sponsored, staffed and guided by the leadership of the private sector of our system. Cooperation with the Executive Branch, State Department and other agencies is absolutely essential to maintain the necessary security provisions. However, I do believe the Congress, the legislative branch, which is the most responsive to the electorate, must establish full control of the

program—offering the necessary guarantee of liaison between Government and the private sector. The Freedom Academy must at all times, have as its major objective the full development and utilization of people familiar with the workings of our private enterprise system. Further, I want to recommend vigorously recognition of the vital role cities, towns, counties, school districts and special service district organizations will play in offering a guideline to developing countries throughout the world interested in the adoption of our Federal system. Should the Freedom Academy and the Commission be established, I would recommend early consultation with organizations such as we have in California—the League of California Cities, the County Supervisors' Association of California—and other municipal organizations throughout the country. The National Association of County Officials has an outstanding action program through their recently former "Home Rule Congress." The overwhelming demand for political stability requires our giving prompt attention to these important factors. Additionally, we in the United States must strive to retain the basic concept of our 3 levels (local, State, and Federal) of Government, assuring that each level has clearly defined areas of responsibility and the available tax sources to meet demands for service responsively and responsibly.

In the April 17 issue of Life magazine, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge set forth, in a very forthright and provocative article, a detailed analysis of the problems facing the United States in Vietnam. It is timely and I would recommend the article to anyone desirous of factual information on the world's "hot spot." All Americans should be familiar with the Ambassador's comments because Vietnam is the only place in the world where Americans are under fire from Communist guns.

Mr. Lodge has offered some very significant points that I believe to be worthy of note, and I quote, "South Vietnam is a keystone for all of southeast Asia, the hub of an area which is bounded on the northeast and east by Formosa and the Philippines, on the south by Indonesia and on the west by Burma. Control of South Vietnam would put the Communists squarely into the middle of southeast Asia—whence they could radiate all over.

"The conquest of South Vietnam would immediately disturb Cambodia and Laos, and bring strong repercussions farther west in Thailand and Burma. It would shake Malaysia to the south. It would surely threaten Indonesia. Then, if Indonesia were unable or unwilling to resist, the Chinese Communists would be on the doorstep of Australia. Finally, eastward, the repercussions for the Philippines and for Formosa would be severe.

"Therefore when we speak of southeast Asia, we are not talking of some small neck of the woods but of an area about 2,300 miles long from north to south and 3,000 miles from east to west—with about 240 million people."

Mr. Lodge continues, "There is vivid recognition that the Vietcong campaign is, above all, a political affair; that we must organize for the political conflict as carefully as we have organized for military success—there must be a true civil-political organization to go hand in hand with the military."

In this paragraph, I believe we have a briefly defined statement of foreign policy recommendations that will be required now and long into the future, as we continue the struggle between freedom and communism. It is to this end that I shall address my remarks.

The cold war is not merely a confrontation between the United States and the U.S.S.R., as Soviet propagandists would have the world believe. It is a war between communism and every nation outside the Red bloc. It is a war that must be fought by citizens of all nations of the free world who desire to remain free.

The so-called cold war should be properly recognized as political war. The battlefronts are many and varied and will continue to be so as the Soviets create chaos and controversy in the many corners of the world—most of which stem from the well-organized activities of the nearly 300,000 trained subversive agents operating in the free world. The arms race, the competition in space and trade are all part of the Marxist master plan. However, the political battlefronts are the most serious, because they are the ones on which the Communists pin their greatest hopes for world domination.

Unfortunately, it is on the political fronts that they are the strongest and we are the weakest.

On November 13 of last year (1963), during the debate on the Peace Corps, I submitted the following remarks. In view of Mr. Lodge's comments, you may find them interesting.

THE PEACE CORPS

The subject of the Peace Corps is receiving much attention here today as it has since its inception. The primary reasons for its acceptance, in my opinion, are twofold. First, the American people have recognized the failure of other types of foreign aid programs which have created a damaging image of America and are looking for a program that will have a longer range, more productive effect. Second, our people are beginning to realize the urgency of establishing a program that will initiate an ideological offensive of our own—an offensive designed to set the stage for winning the cold war against the U.S.S.R. and other advocates of the Communist doctrine.

There are, however, a few observations that I would like to make. Since 1955, I have participated in a program that provides various missionary services throughout the world—a program designed to promote self-sufficiency. This program is carried on with no tax support from the Federal Government. It has been our experience throughout the years, once a mission station is established and the native staffing is completed—the service continues to expand but the financial requirements of the sponsoring organization tend to decrease. In effect, the mission programs carried on by many denominations can be appropriately identified as private peace corps.

Where I strongly believe in the principle of the Peace Corps, I feel it is pertinent to point out that the requests for additional funds here today suggest an increasing financial commitment to the sponsor—the U.S. Government—the American taxpayer. With this in mind, I believe we should give more incentive and recognition to the efforts of organizations willing to carry out and expand the private peace corps concept—it would appear to be more efficient and truly provide the motivation for people best equipped to carry on the presentation of the American image.

The great struggle between ideologies continues on and will be with us for years to come. The ideological offensive of the Soviet Union advocates a program where the public sector, I repeat the public sector, provides all services to their population—directs their destinies and controls their opportunities. The American way of life is just the opposite—at least, it has been in the past—bringing this country to its present plateau, where we enjoy the highest standard of living. The American way of life advocates a minimal intervention in the life of the individual by Government. Our Federal system of Government was designed to provide the guidelines, under constitutional law and to create the environment for the private sector to advance and flourish, with a minimum of restrictions.

Quite frankly, I do not believe the full potential of our Peace Corps effort will be realized until the Committee on Foreign Affairs reconsiders the underlying philosophy of the program. Our philosophy should be reflected in all of our foreign aid programs—more emphasis in the private sector and less emphasis in the public sector. Let me make myself perfectly clear. I am for the Peace Corps concept and will continue to support the cause. However, it will be my intent to do everything within my power to promote the philosophy that reflects the American system. In addition to current programs, I want to vigorously recommend that the leaders of our private enterprise system recognize a new responsibility of providing for our security. They must take the lead in projecting an ideological offensive truly representative of our private enterprise system—it is they who are the most qualified to lead. The Congress might consider broadening the incentives to expedite the formation of such a program. Further, the creation of a Freedom Academy, sponsored by our private sector, staffed by qualified graduates of our private enterprise system is, in my judgment, the type of program we should advocate as the answer to the Soviet ideological offensive. A defensive posture by itself is no longer adequate to provide for our security in these rapidly changing times. The American people can be proud of their accomplishments thus far in history. Let us show the developing nations throughout the world the American way, a program that positively reflects the American image—peace, security, and freedom with justice, under law.

During this past year, I have attended the regular State Department briefings available to Members of Congress. I studied all available material that I could get my hands on; I participated in study groups with some of my colleagues; I interviewed and exchanged ideas with people considered to be experts in their fields, including diplomats, ambassadors, military men, international lawyers, bankers, labor leaders and economists, missionary volunteers as they returned from such stations as Laos, India, the Congo, Borneo, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Central America—to name a few.

With this background of information, I have joined some of my colleagues in promoting the Freedom Academy concept—a concept with a sole objective of winning the cold war—designed to take advantage of the unlimited material and human resources available in the private sector. A plan that places more emphasis in the private sector and less emphasis in the public sector as we advance this proven concept of foreign policy.

The U.S. Government, in its efforts to stem the Communist tide, has poured billions of dollars annually in military, economic, and technical aid to foreign nations. Anyone who has followed international problems closely will immediately conclude that the fundamental problem is a lack of political stability brought about primarily, in my judgment, by inadequate systems of Government. Compare any of these to the system of government we have been able to enjoy under this great Constitution of ours. A Federal system that provides a maximum opportunity for political participation by its electorate—a system that only functions at the will of the people or by consent of the governed.

Without question, these nations' greatest need is political aid—we must export knowledge and know-how in this vital field. This type of political aid could be made available to the present and future leaders of those Nations who are currently living under the "umbrella" of our military and economic security.

A Freedom Academy could train such leaders in techniques for counteracting the propaganda of the Communists. These same leaders could be trained on how to transmit knowledge in behalf of legitimate constitu-

tional government, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of economic opportunity, the right to assemble peaceably, full religious liberty and other basics of the free society—as opposed to the totalitarian state.

In California, much to our credit, the county supervisors association has initiated an intern fellowship training program, financed through private capital, for young men interested in local government. With local government being virtually nonexistent in many countries, thereby restricting participation in a unit of government close to the people, I would urgently recommend that this program be expanded in our own country and further be included in the curriculum of the Freedom Academy. Consultation with our city, county, and school district organizations throughout this great Nation would provide a large pool of information urgently needed in these developing nations.

As previously stated, in this rapidly changing world, a defense posture by itself is not enough. Many of you in this room, I am sure, are former athletes. Let me ask you, "How many ball games did you win by devoting all of your time and attention to defense strategy?" Let's face it, you didn't win unless you had a better offense.

The challenge to America and indeed the free world is really the development of an ideological offensive of our own. Some of this is already going on, but not enough.

In its endeavors to penetrate the West, the Soviet Union's hierarchy is constantly preoccupied with strategems designed to exploit the contradictions in Western society. This required the utilization of elements which, although non-Communist, are ideologically at odds with the open society. These include the more doctrinaire Socialists, statist-liberals, pacifists, extreme right-wing conservatives, and some of the nationalists in underdeveloped countries.

A primary justification for large Soviet embassies in many countries of the free world is the alleged possibility of Soviet trade. The possibilities could be immense if trade with the Soviets were not conducted by government monopoly and determined largely by political consideration.

The Kremlin does not buy what the people need or want, but rather what is essential from the point of view of building its power machine, mostly industrial capital goods and essential raw materials. As these needs are satisfied, trade declines. Thus, we have the phenomenon that as the Soviet empire grows, the area under its jurisdiction is increasingly withdrawn from existing world trade.

Soviet trade and their tactics in political warfare is one of the chief weapons in the arsenal. Their economic offensive is being felt in all quarters of the world. The newspapers are filled with their activities—the most recent of which, was Algeria and Egypt.

We, in America, must step up our offensive. The question arises—How? Should the Government do this? In my judgment, the Government is the least equipped to carry out a successful program because of limitations placed on it.

Government-to-government programs have failed miserably in foreign aid. The major talents of this country lie in the private sector.

We must step up the people-to-people effort—an expansion designed to promote the joint venture concept between investors of our country and investors of interested developing nations.

We must rededicate ourselves to capitalist principles. Private enterprise is substantially better qualified than government to sell capitalism abroad. Acts, not words, will counter communism. Many of our economic ideas and ideals can be exported.

One of our major problems is of course the problem of education. Many of our schools of business and public administration can help. The Agricultural Extension Service, which has worked so successfully in this country, could be implemented as we work to raise their educational facilities and their literacy rate.

The correspondence school idea should certainly be recommended as a program to promote worldwide education.

The many great service clubs operating internationally—such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions—can and must expand their sphere of influence.

The Boy and Girl Scouts of America, the 4–H Clubs, and the various church missionary volunteer programs are but a few of our great voluntary organizations dedicated to the improvement of our fellow man.

I spoke recently in Fort Worth, Tex., before the junior chamber of commerce—I observed the great effort over the weekend of the Sonoma County Junior Chamber people in an outstanding community promotional effort. These young men can chance the world if we have the program to properly channel their efforts.

There are four forms of American activity—cooperatives, small business, trade unions, and voluntary agencies—that can hold the key to solving the problem of how and what to communicate to others, the things that brought America to its position of leadership and greatness.

The cooperative, the nonprofit corporate association, as it is used in North America, is something that fascinates oversea leaders. To name a few of the corporations who provide service without entity profit, but with profit to the members who use and own it—the Associated Press, Sunkist, Railway Express Agency, our large mutual insurance companies, credit union finance companies, and agricultural purchasing associations, etc.

Small business is a facet of American life that is devastating to the promoters of Soviet communism. The word "capitalism" is under worldwide attack. The words "small business" are the end of the rainbow for many millions of people. The fact that we, as a nation, have recognized small businesses as a vital part of our economic life and have shown governmental interest in them is revolutionary to the thinking of those who have condemned America as being materialistic and dominated by big business.

Nothing will appeal to people in distant lands more than to be brought face to face with the fact that small business is a vital part of America. We have an "atomic bomb" here in the world of ideas that for some reason has never really been tried. Nothing is more American than private small business.

Labor unions, through their free labor movement, have done a better job of interpreting America oversea than has business.

Highly organized American labor is part and parcel of our present-day capitalistic society. Our laborers are in many cases stockholders. Together with business and agriculture, labor has made possible the great revolution of the past 50 years whereby we have achieved universal participation in capitalism by all segments of our society.

The fact is that they, as free trade unionists, believe enough in our system to fight for it. If the trade associations of the companies for which labor works expand their interest in this international program, we can turn the tide of history—this, we can and must do.

Voluntary agencies are as representative of American capitalism as any other contemporary institution. There are hundreds of trade associations here that might well apportion a part of their income to send true businessmen abroad, without Government subsidy, to do a better job of interpreting America.

There are many examples of voluntary agencies—from profit entity business, the supermarket organizations, nonprofit corporate associations, savings and loan associations, finance and managerial organizations are just a few examples of what can be done.

If just a few more organizations would light their own candles, study the situation and find where their members' particular talents and resources fit, world tensions would be considerably eased.

Again quoting Ambassador Lodge, "We should also be sure that we are making full use of the things in which we excel and and in which the Communists are deficient. We cannot, as a general rule, surpass a young oriental guerrilla fighter, who doesn't mind the heat, who can get along on a daily handful of rice, and who can lie under water for hours at a time breathing through a straw.

"But we can do better in other things such as: The use of airplanes; the art of medicine; improved farming and education; the development of an energetic political system, based on justice."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following editorial printed in the Independent-Journal newspaper in response to my presentation:

PRIVATE PEACE CORPS PLAN WORTHY OF SUPPORT, TRIAL

We pour billions of tax dollars into foreign aid and Peace Corps efforts to win friends and influence people overseas.

But in many cases, our efforts are rewarded with a slap in the face and a spit in the eye.

This was what Congressman DON H. CLAUSEN probably had in mind last week when he unfolded his Freedom Academy and private Peace Corps idea before a gathering of Rotarians in San Rafael.

Unlike some of the extreme conservative Republicans who would abandon all foreign aid and to heck with the rest of the world, CLAUSEN shows an awareness that something needs to be done other than retreating into a shell of isolation.

Thus, his bold new ideas deserve attention. CLAUSEN gave his listeners plenty of food for thought, with specific and constructive ideas that seem to make good sense.

First of all, CLAUSEN says he strongly believes in the principle of the Peace Corps. His main objection is that although the concept is fine, the methods are not working. The Peace Corps and other tax-supported foreign aid programs bog down in sheer bulk.

The billions poured into the programs at the source come out a mere dribble by the time it reaches the target area.

As we get it, CLAUSEN'S idea is to have private American enterprise—voluntary service groups and business organizations—send private Peace Corps teams right into the heart of the problem in underdeveloped areas.

He mentioned such enterprises as Sunkist, Railway Express, and large finance and insurance companies that have branches all over the world. They have the know-how, they know the needs of the areas, and have established lines of communications.

He would include such organizations as church missionary groups, international service clubs, labor and trade organizations, Scout groups, and educational institutions.

CLAUSEN believes these private groups, dedicated to helping the needy and improving the American image, can do more good at far less expense than the present Government agencies, that are a big drain on the tax dollars.

CLAUSEN would supplement these with the creation of a Freedom Academy, also privately sponsored to take the offensive in the ideological war against communism.

His ideas sound good. We hope his program takes hold in Washington and that it will be given a chance to prove itself in the field.

Prayers for the Jews in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 and 6, 1964, 24 major Jewish national organizations gathered in Washington to give united expression to their grave concern over the plight of the 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union.

This American Conference on Soviet Jewry was inspired during its meetings by the following prayer for Soviet Jewry by Rabbi Isser Yehuda Unterman, chief rabbi of Israel:

PRAYER FOR SOVIET JEWRY

(Prepared by the chief rabbi of Israel—translated freely)

Our God who art in Heaven, Thy people stand before Thee this day in prayer for the myriads of Thy children for whom it has been decreed that they be cut off from all who acknowledge Thy kingdom.

They have been deprived of their freedom, their synagogues and study halls have been closed; and they can no longer study Thy Torah, keep Thy laws or observe Thy commandments without fear.

In loneliness, our forsaken brethren cry out against the chains and shackles in which they have been bound to stifle their souls, blot out their identities, and remove all memory of their Jewishness. Yet, there still remain among them those who are loyal to Thy Torah and fulfill Thy commandments at the risk of their very lives. We, their brethren, pray to Thee and invoke Thy help for them, for we are powerless.

Our Father, Thou hast assured us that Thy Torah would not be destroyed nor forgotten by the seed of Abraham; that "in all their affliction, Thou are afflicted" and that Thy divine presence will spare them.

We turn to Thee and seek Thy divine presence; we beseech Thee to preserve the remnant of Jacob because there is none to help beside Thee. Let no curtain of iron separate our brethren from Thee. Show them Thy might and Thy salvation. Frustrate the counsel of those who would oppress them. Redeem them from their trials and servitude and proclaim Thy freedom until them, so that they may keep Thy Torah and Thy commandments with none to make them afraid.

Open for them the gates of freedom and bring them up until Thy holy mountain so that all the nations may know that Thou art the Sovereign of the Universe, the Redeemer, and Saviour of Israel.

The conference was also privileged to be led by Rabbi Solomon J. Sharfman of the Synagogue Council of America in the following prayer for the Jews of the Soviet Union:

PRAYER OF RABBI SOLOMON J. SHARFMAN OF THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA AT THE AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

Our God who art in Heaven. Thy people Israel stands before Thee this day in prayer for the myriads of Thy children upon whom it hath been decreed to be severed from all who profess Thy sovereignty. In Soviet Russia, their synagogues and study halls have been closed or destroyed; and they can no longer study Thy Torah without fear, keep Thy laws without molestation, or speak their language and live their lives in equality with their neighbors.

They are singled out as Jews and harassed from birth to death and even in burial for their Jewishness. The loneliness and forsakeness of our brethren cry out even more when their own spiritual leaders are compelled to deny their evil lot, justify their injustices and publicly protest all efforts of their more fortunate brethren in other lands to alleviate their plight and to restore their legal and human rights to justice and equality under the law of their very own land.

O God, our Father, see how we have become for too long now an object of contempt and derision among the nations. We are counted as sheep led to the slaughter, to be slain and destroyed, or to be beaten and disgraced. And those who were loud in their outcries only yesterday have become so blind and so relentless that they have become our oppressors and tormentors today.

Enlighten them, dear God to the evil of their ways that they may hearken to the wiser and kindlier and more just counsels that arise even in their own midst. Open their eyes that they may see the chains and shackles in which they have bound our brethren, to stifle their souls and blot out their identities, so that there shall remain no memory of Jews, Jewishness, and Jewish culture in a land whose soil has been richly fructified by Jewish blood for over 2,000 years, in peace as well as in war. Show them that the bonds which are forged to enchain Israel always serve in the end to strangulate all people, the tormentors as well as the tormented.

Strangers say to us: "There is no hope for you." So hasten Thy deliverance, for Thy people are worn out and no rest is granted them. When men do evil and spare not, for Thine own sake, deal kindly with us and delay not.

Guardian of Israel. Arouse the conscience and awaken the hearts of all mankind, so that deliverance may be forthcoming now, instead of pious regret and vain repentance when it is already too late.

Let no curtains of iron separate us from Thee, our Father in Heaven. Have mercy and grant relief to our brethren who are in distress and fear and desolation, that they may enjoy light instead of darkness, liberty in place of oppression, so that we may serve Thee as a people united in one faith, to help bring Thy blessings of peace and brotherhood for all mankind speedily and very soon; and let us all say "amen."

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Memorial Day Address at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., by the Honorable Robert Love Taylor, Chief Judge of the U.S. District Court, Knoxville, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be among the vast throng of visitors who so resoundingly applauded the penetrating and persuasive remarks of the Honorable Robert Love Taylor at the Memorial Day services at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., on Sunday, May 31, 1964.

Judge Taylor is one of Tennessee's most beloved public officials. Born in Happy Valley, Tenn., the son of Tennessee's former Governor, Alfred Taylor, Judge Taylor was admitted to the bar in 1923. Being a member of the law firm of Cox, Taylor, Epps, Miller & Wilson of Johnson City, and since 1949 he has served with honor as judge of the U.S. court for the eastern district of Tennessee.

Judge Taylor's father, Alfred Alexander Taylor, and the judge's uncle, Robert Love Taylor, were the principals in the colorful and dynamic "War of the Roses," the campaign between the two brothers for the governorship of the State of Tennessee in 1886—one on the Republican ticket and the other on the Democratic ticket.

In his book, "Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee," Daniel Merritt Robison says of this historical campaign:

Party managers arranged for a series of 41 joint debates between the brothers, in which they were to visit every section of Tennessee. The first of these was held at Madisonville in east Tennessee on September 9, and marked the opening of a campaign that was to attract nationwide attention. It became known at once as the War of the Roses in which the Democratic candidate and his followers adopted the white rose of York, while the Republican wore the red of Lancaster. The Madisonville debate quieted the fears of those who dreaded an unseemly or disgusting wrangle between two brothers. Succeeding debates dispelled them altogether. One editor, who confessed to such a dread, at last commended the brothers on the delicacy exhibited by both. The critical Nashville Banner was relieved that the discussions were free from unseemly asperities and that the brothers evidenced a commendable regard for the proprieties of the occasion. As a matter of fact, the cordial and close relationship between the candidates throughout the campaign was an outstanding feature of the campaign and has become a fine tradition in Tennessee political history. They traveled together, slept in the same bed and ate at the same table. As the guests of Colonel Cooper at Shelbyville, as occupants of a single room in a Chattanooga hotel, playing their fiddles together for the entertainment of enthusiastic admirers, or waiting together around railroad stations for trains that were often late, the picture is always the same. Off parade, they were kindly, jovial brothers. Their debates were filled with thrusts and anecdotes directed at each other, but in them there was no sting of bitterness * * * [they] won the admiration of all Tennesseans.

The famed oratorical powers of the Taylor family were eloquently sustained by Judge Taylor, and I would like to share his stirring message with my colleagues and all of those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

MEMORIAL DAY SPEECH AT MOUNTAIN HOME, TENN.

(By Hon. Robert Love Taylor)

Colonel Harr, my friends of upper east Tennessee and surrounding areas; it is a privilege to join the many thousands of citizens here today in tribute and gratitude to those who gave their lives in defense of this Nation.

Memorial Day was first observed to honor the soldiers of the Civil War. It is now observed to honor American soldiers of all wars and it will continue to be observed so long as men and women value liberty and freedom. A grateful nation appreciates and honors those who have defended it in time of peril. America is a grateful Nation as evidenced by this ceremony and similar ceremonies that will be held in honor of our soldiers who are buried in 10 countries in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and all around the world.

To the Gold Star Mothers who gave their sons to preserve our way of life, we bow in reverence. To those patients in this home and all veterans homes, we send words of hope and deep gratitude for their brave deeds. No more appropriate place could be found for this occasion than here in upper east Tennessee amid the beautiful surroundings of Mountain Home, an institution where soldiers of four wars in our own generation have been administered to by devoted public servants for more than half a century.

Mountain Home lies within a section of the State that has furnished more volunteers per capita for military service than any other part of the Nation. Here Andrew Jackson lived and held court and John Sevier, Tennessee's first Governor made his home. Carter County, which adjoins this county and my former home, furnished three companies for World War I without a single person being drafted.

I need not remind you that Tennesseans are descendants of brave men who fought in the War of the Revolution to gain our independence; that Tennesseans are descendants of hardy pioneers who fought Indians, cleared the forests, cultivated the soil and built thriving towns and cities; that Tennessee gave to the Nation Presidents Jackson, Polk, and Andrew Johnson, each of whom made a lasting contribution to our Nation; that Tennessee gave David Crockett and Sam Houston to Texas, whose names and fame are known throughout the length and breadth of this country.

We value highly our American way of life. We enjoy many freedoms. Freedom of speech, assemblage, worship, ownership of property, and freedom to rear our children in an atmosphere conducive to peace and happiness are only a few of the rights that we enjoy as American citizens. These rights are derived from our Federal and State constitutions. We recognize that native-born Americans sometimes take these freedoms for granted while the foreign-born, naturalized citizens prize them highly.

Those we honor here today fought to preserve these rights. They were not remote or foreign warriors, but were our fathers, brothers, sons, and fellows-in-arms. They came from rich and poor families, from various religious faiths, and from the cities, towns, villages, and rural communities. From their homes and schools they left to answer the call of their country. Some were literate and others unlearned in academic education. They fought shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. They were moved by patriotism and courage and "They gave their last full measure of devotion" for their country.

But who they were or from where they came does not make a great deal of difference. It is what they did that counts.

On a Memorial Day of a little more than 100 years ago, November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln told a crowd of mourning widows, children, and veterans what he thought they and the dead they mourned had suffered for and why it was worth it: The fallen and the wounded, he said, had been engaged in testing whether a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could long endure. That is what those veterans had fought for.

Today's veterans and our fallen heroes whom we honor on this occasion fought for something different but no less noble. Those of you who fought in 1917 and 1918 were told that you were going to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy." The rest of you went to avenge the "day that will live in infamy" and to crush out nazism and to stop the onslaught of communism in Korea.

There are many who would say that although you did your part in both wars, things are no better than when you first went. In fact, they are a great deal worse. But it is my belief that this is not true. What you did has given us time—time to experiment to make the world a better place; time to make improvements in medicine like the Salk and Sabin polio vaccines that have done so much to alleviate human suffering; time to study the heavens, and find better ways to communicate with one another; time to experiment in world government, and if the League of Nations and United Nations have not lived up to all our hopes, they are experiments in human relationships that may lead us to the right combination that will one day make all the nations of the world able to live harmoniously and righteously.

None of this experimentation could have been done if you had not been willing to go over and fight to make the world safe for democracy. Maybe the world is not safe, even though you won, but it is a great deal safer than if you had not, and it may be a

great deal safer than it looks, if we can profit from the experiments you veterans have given us time to make.

Again in the words of President Lincoln: "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they have thus far so nobly carried on * * * that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

There can be no freedom without peace. This generation holds in its hands for the first time the means of ending life on this planet. Some believe that the fact that man has devised means of total annihilation through the atom and hydrogen bombs may prevent another world war. Winston Churchill observed that survival may be "the twin brother of annihilation." President Johnson stated recently that "general war is impossible because of the utter destruction a nuclear contest could inflict." We are told by some of our leaders that this awesome thought of a world catastrophe causes nations to be more inclined to settle disputes by peaceful means. Moved by the fear of the bomb, the peoples of the world have become more conscious of the realization that wars are caused by the mistakes of their leaders. The responsibilities of the leaders of the world are thus increased and it is our hope that they will measure up to these responsibilities as men yearn for a just and lasting peace and a world in which they can live together in true brotherhood.

We live in a fast moving age—an age of discovery. Man plans to leave his home planet and set foot upon another world. We have embarked on a long road. A new era in man's progress unfolds. Beyond the earth is the realm of space. The world shrinks in size through swift means of transportation and communication. As men's minds expand, it is hoped that hate, envy, and greed will disappear and that nations will live together within the framework of law and order and that wars will be no more. This is the goal for us, the living, and indeed one worthy of the dead. It is for the living to carry on the unfinished work of those whom we honor today. Memorial Day is a reminder of the task for the living. We take note that man in this age of science is fast mastering the physical universe, but has not mastered himself. Man's moral progress has lagged behind his scientific achievements. As our higher emotions are evoked on Memorial Day, we are given a good opportunity to devote some attention to some of our failures in moral progress.

We send our spaceships into orbit around the earth, the moon, and the sun. We probe millions of miles into the universe and speculate upon life on other planets. We split the atom for energy for new life or for destruction of old life. Our achievements in communication are such that man's voice may be heard around the earth, and into outer space and back to the earth again in a matter of seconds. But we should not be blinded by these achievements in the physical world. We should humble ourselves on Memorial Day, and quietly resolve to carry out the unfinished work of our fallen heroes.

We are living in unsettled times. There are now 120 nations in the world and the United States is dealing with 114 of them. Many of these nations are new and inexperienced in government. President Truman recently observed that we are steadily losing our effectiveness in world leadership: "It is all too obvious," he said, "that the position of the United States in the affairs of the world is not what it should be. Our leadership has been steadily losing its effectiveness. It serves no useful purpose to protest or to ignore this unpleasant state in which we now find ourselves. But we had better face up to it. We must not go on deluding ourselves that there is nothing seriously the matter in our relations with our friends and allies. To go on insisting that all is well, and that our prestige has never been higher, and that our disagreements are minor, can only result in making a steadily deteriorating situation worse."

Some of the trouble spots in the world are Cuba, 90 miles away, Panama, South America, Western Europe, Cyprus, Africa, Vietnam, Thailand, Pakistan, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

We know that Communists operate in troubled waters and whenever or wherever there is trouble or confusion they scheme to accelerate disaster. This is a constant reminder that we must never cease to be fully prepared and ready to defend our Nation.

America has become great in part because its laws create a climate for individual initiative as well as a climate for the development of the mind. Her citizens are equal before the law. Her government of law supplies the foundation for a free society. Our citizenry has responded to this climate of freedom; and we have freedom because of the recognition that activity under law also involves restraints upon the individual. We yearn for world peace and if it comes it must come through the rule of law. International disputes must be settled through a system of international courts, just as private disputes between citizens are settled by civil courts, and we must recognize that world order demands the same restraints upon nations that national order calls for from its citizens.

Let us on this date in further gratitude to those whom we honor on this occasion rededicate ourselves to work for world peace through rule of law and thus meet our obligation to those who sleep in these hallowed grounds.

The complete program for the Memorial Day services at the Veterans' Administration, Mountain Home, Tenn., held at 3 p.m., on May 31, 1964, was as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY 1964, MOUNTAIN HOME, TENN.

(By Lee B. Harr, center director)

The 4,000 graves of our soldier and sailor dead will be decorated by the Boy Scouts of the Sequoyah Council and on Sunday, May 31, 1964, at 3 p.m., the colors of the service organizations of upper east Tennessee and southwest Virginia will be massed around the replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The Appalachian Choral Societies will bring the message of music. The Honorable Robert L. Taylor, judge of the eastern division of the U.S. district court, will be the Memorial Day speaker. The Honorable JAMES H. QUILLEN will represent the ex-servicemen and their families in placing the wreath upon the tomb.

On Memorial Day we take a forward look. It is a day of challenge—a challenge that comes from the graves of our dead. They speak and remind us of what God expects of us and of this land that we profess to love.

The patients, members and employees of this VA center cordially invite you to join with us in paying tribute to our departed comrades.

PROGRAM

Massing of the colors: By color guards of service organizations.

"Battle Hymn of the Republic": Johnson City High School Band, directed by Prof. W. F. Weddle.

Invocation: Chaplain Harry T. Wright.

"Tenting on the Old Camp Ground": Arranged by Normand Lockwood, Appalachian Choral Societies; directed by Dr. Virgil C. Self; Mrs. D. G. Stout, organist; brass ensemble from E.T.S.U.

Recognition of Gold Star Mothers, distinguished visitors, and introduction of speaker: Lee B. Harr, center director.

Address: Judge Robert Love Taylor.

"Open Our Eyes": MacFarlane, Appalachian Choral Societies.

Decoration of replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: By the Honorable JAMES H. QUILLEN, Member of Congress.

Salute to the dead.

Taps.

Benediction: Chaplain William J. Patton.

"Sevenfold Amen": Appalachian Choral Societies.

Must We Be the World's Policeman?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the question raised by the title of a recent article by Harlan Cleveland, "Must We Be the World's Policeman?" often occurs to American citizens. Mr. Cleveland, the distinguished Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, gives a good answer to that question:

Granting that we are deeply involved in the maintenance of peace, do we really have to be the world's nursemaid, governess and policeman, all by ourselves? This time the answer is "No." In spite of its great power, the United States does not have to be the world's policeman if we have the wit and the skill to build international peacekeeping machinery instead.

I ask unanimous consent to have this excellent article which appeared in the New York Times magazine of May 3 inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUST WE BE THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN?

(By Harlan Cleveland)

About 100 years ago a toast was offered in Paris which casts some doubt on the sobriety of the speaker. It went like this:

"I give you the United States—bounded on the north by the aurora borealis, on the south by the procession of the equinoxes, on the east by the primeval chaos and on the west by the Day of Judgment."

The national interest of the United States is not quite that extensive today. And yet it does seem, in these days of crisis diplomacy, that the peace cannot be threatened anywhere in the world without Americans and their Government becoming deeply involved—despite lesser ambitions than those of the speaker just quoted.

In past weeks, the Under Secretary of State has been trying to reconcile the unreconciled in Cyprus; the American Representative at the United Nations has been immersed in the tangled dispute over Kashmir; and the Attorney General of the United State has been pouring oil on the troubled waters around Borneo.

What is it that creates the big black headlines and activates the small black cars which shuttle back and forth from the State Department to the White House, often at hours determined by angry men with homemade weapons in some remote corner of the world? Why does there seem to be so much

ugly, small-scale trouble in the world? One answer comes readily to mind.

In the old imperial system, each big nation kept the peace within its own "sphere of influence." There might be big wars among the big powers, but little wars and local massacres were readily suppressed or contained by the same big powers. They had both the strength and [they assumed] the mandate to reach out large and sometimes clumsy paws to discourage violence among the weaker tribes and principalities.

This old system, by which a few big powers made all the peacekeeping decisions, is no more. Yet, for the past decade and a half, during the dismemberment of the great empires, local and regional wars were contained by another fear—the fear that local wars might quickly become nuclear wars.

Then came the nuclear stalemate, advertised by the quick defusing of the Cuba missile crisis, dramatized by the test ban treaty and underscored by the unanimous U.N. resolution against placing bombs in orbit. Just as the world begins to hope it will not die of a nuclear heart attack, it has suddenly broken out with the measles.

Ancient resentments and modern rivalries compete for the headlines of the day, sometimes with weapons long considered obsolete. And behind the scenes, a larger, grimmer competition is equally apparent—competition between those who think their interest will thrive on chaos and bloodshed and those, like us, who think their interests lie in keeping change peaceful.

Thus it is that contrived riots, insurrections by guerrillas, and the threats and counterthreats of major regional conflicts suddenly seem to be coming in dozens, rather than one or two at a time.

The alternative to world war is not world peace—it is a world full of small wars and rumors of wars.

All this is most distressing, to be sure. But do we have to be involved in it? The answer is "Yes." Because we are much too large and powerful to hide or even to stand on the sidelines—and because we do not want to have to use our ultimate power—we must use our more limited power, to be the world's leading peacekeepers and peacemakers. If we seem often to be in the middle of crises, the basic reason is that we are not direct parties to the disputes; we are not promoting the interests of one rival against the other; our national interest is to try to see to it that disputes do not lead to violence and violence to war. And this is precisely why we have a special responsibility to exert our national power to bring about a peaceful settlement; national power can be exercised more fairly, more constructively—and therefore more effectively—from the middle of a dispute than from the sidelines.

Sometimes we forget how big we really are. Look at it this way: In the past 3 years our gross national product went up from $500 to $600 billion a year. That increase of $100 billion is more than the combined gross national products of 84 members of the United Nations, including nearly all of the countries whose frontier disputes and internal struggles for power create the headline crises of our time.

We are concerned by every breach of the peace because the peace of the world is all too likely to be indivisible—and because if trouble spreads, the Communists have an opportunity to take sides as a prelude to taking over.

We are involved because we are widely believed to have the power to fight or prevent fighting, to sit on the lid or let the pot boil over, to change or maintain the balance of political power in every part of the free world.

And we are involved because we are among the few nations which have the wealth, firepower, airlift capacity, organizational skill and political imagination to put together an operational peace system for a troubled world.

Granting that we are deeply involved in the maintenance of peace, do we really have to be the world's nursemaid, governess and policeman, all by ourselves? This time the answer is "No." In spite of its great power, the United States does not have to be the world's policeman if we have the wit and the skill to build international peacekeeping machinery instead.

Indeed, the paradoxical fact is that because we are so big we can no longer do much of anything by ourselves. This is why we belong to 53 organizations in which we consult with almost everybody in the world on almost every subject in the world from analphabetism to zinc. This is why we have built an interlocking matrix of commonwealths in the North Atlantic, in southeast Asia, in the Western Hemisphere. And this is why we work so hard to build a workable United Nations, and bet so heavily on developing its capacity to act for peace.

The danger these days is not that the nations will avoid "going to the U.N." for solutions to their local and regional problems. The danger is that leaders who see political advantage to public debate will avoid quiet talk and regional mediation because they want to stand on the world rostrum in this city and tell the world too early and too passionately, the lurid story of their local troubles.

There is, of course, a value in the U.N.'s safety-valve role. It is good that there exists a building on the East River in which every nation, large and small, can grumble for the record about its neighbors—and provide its neighbors an equal opportunity to grumble about it. But the Security Council and the General Assembly are not at their best when they are adding heat to an already overheated dispute. They function at their best as devices to record solutions arrived at by honest—which is to say, quiet—negotiation.

The growing value of the U.N., as peacekeeper and peacemaker to the world, lies not so much in its public debates as in its operating machinery—its mediators, its observers, its inspectors, its true supervisors, and its emergency peace-keeping force.

The United States supports the development of these U.N. operations for the simplest possible reason—because their absence would require the more extensive involvement of that residual peacekeeping machinery which is the military power of the United States. If the United Nations were not in the Middle East, if the United Nations had not moved into the Congo, the United States would have had to take a hand. We naturally prefer to spread the risk of international peacekeeping—and most of the rest of the world also prefers that it should be spread.

Peacekeeping requires power; and if we and other countries are going to lend a small part of our national power for international use—in the form of money or logistic support or actual troops—we will naturally want to make sure that the power will be used for constructive purposes. This does not at all mean that he who partly pays the piper calls all of the tunes; it makes sense to work through the U.N. only where the resulting action has a truly international character.

But we still want to make sure that the decisionmaking process in the U.N. reflects the agreed purposes of those members which endowed the U.N. with its capacity to act in the first place and which, if U.N. peacekeeping fails, will find themselves responsible for the consequences. One way to do this is to use the Security Council more often in peace and security matters. A decade ago, most thoughtful writers on U.N. affairs wrote off the Security Council as a dead or dying institution. They are having to think again these days. Last winter, the Security Council had more business, and touched on more issues, than even before. As of now, the Security Council has pending on its agenda some half a hundred disputes.

When an issue is "taken to the U.N."—as happens more and more frequently—it is important for Americans to realize that what the U.N. can do crucially depends on what Americans, and a few other countries, are willing to help it to do. To decide that a peacekeeping task should be taken on by the U.N. does not obviate responsibility for leadership—it merely makes the exercise of leadership more complicated. The essence of democratic leadership, after all, is never the loud voice or the deceptive air of absolute certainty. Real democratic leadership occurs when the leader maximizes the participation by others in the exercise of leadership.

The most effective things we do in foreign policy, therefore, are those actions which associate many nations with the leadership our great power compels us to assume. In the development of international peacekeeping machinery, we are relearning a basic truth about the leader's role—one which we did not invent, but one which we would hope in our finest hour to exemplify.

A Chinese philosopher and man of action, Lao Tse, said it 2,500 years ago, and it hasn't been said better since:

Of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say,
"We did this ourselves."

I would suggest two gages of our success as a leader. First, ask the questions: Does each crisis leave us better able to cope with the next one? Does each peace-and-security crisis leave the world with more and better peacekeeping machinery?

Amid the rivalries and killings and loud polemics of each crisis, an opportunity for institution building is always to be found. If in the midst of each current crisis, we can strengthen the capacity of international organizations to contain the crises of the future—and train the international diplomats and soldiers to handle efficiently the tasks of peacemaking and peacekeeping—we will be making sure that the next similar crisis is not going to be as troublesome as the last of its kind—and we may be preventing it from erupting at all.

The other gage of our success as a leader in the peacekeeping business is whether the same old crises keep recurring in the same old form. The criterion is not whether today's problem—in Cyprus, or Somalia, or Kashmir, or Borneo—looks tough, but whether the tough problem we are working on today is the same tough problem we were working on a year or 2 or 3 ago.

Some of these current ones are certainly hardy perennials. But as we look back to crises called Bizerte, or Suez, West New Guinea, or secession in the Congo, we get some perspective on the kind of international peacekeeping machinery needed to handle current "flaps."

If we sometimes seem to be carrying the lion's share of the peacekeeping load, put it down to the fact that, in the jungle of world politics, we are now the lion. Some among us would prefer some other role—that of a mouse, or an ostrich, perhaps. But I think most Americans, given the choice, would rather lead than follow, would rather use our enormous power to build the kind of world we want than let somebody else take the responsibility for building world peace—their way. I think most Americans are not afraid of U.S. power, are not afraid to see it used to support better—that is, more international—peacekeeping machinery. The world certainly needs it badly enough.

So let us not be plaintive about "the policeman's lot." We know from from hard experience, as well as from Gilbert and Sullivan, that it is not a happy one. But we also know that it is an essential function of

civilized society—and that it can be shared with others if we work hard enough at sharing it.

In a troubled world the beatitudes get scrambled: Cursed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called just about every name there is except the children of God. But the mark of national maturity is a citizenry which knows that power and popularity seldom come in the same package.

U.N. Should Explain Its Actions in the Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, is it not strange that so many times action by the U.N. seems to result in gains for the Communists and losses for the free world? Of course, we are not supposed to question any of these actions lest we be branded as warmongers or worse.

It seems to me that if the United States is going to continue to pay most of the upkeep of the U.N., the people of the United States are entitled to a reasonable explanation of why so much effort was put into crushing the anti-Communists in the Congo and why so little interest is expressed by the U.N. in the Communist-sponsored takeover.

What is the U.N. answer to the following editorial from the Dallas Morning News of June 3?

CONGO BETRAYED

Nearly 4 years ago, on June 30, 1960, the former Belgian Congo celebrated its independence with an explosion that rocked the entire African continent and jolted the rest of the world. Entirely unprepared for self-government, the Congolese turned to looting, violence, mutiny, anarchy, and secession within a week.

Into this arena the United Nations sent a "peacekeeping" force. For 2½ years, that force spent most of its time trying to crush the most stable and pro-Western faction of the Congo—the Katanga regime of Moise Tshombe. About 17 months ago this U.N. mission was "successful." In a classic example of aggression, the U.N.'s "peace" force overran Katanga's militia and sent President Tshombe into exile in Europe.

Today the U.N.'s troops in the Congo have dwindled to fewer than 4,000. By the end of this month, even this token force may be gone. The "peacekeeping" mission has run its course, and neither the Congolese Government nor the U.N. seems interested in renewing its life. After June 30, the Congo may be on its own.

Several years ago it was widely acknowledged that, on the success or failure of its efforts to bring peace, law, and order to the Congo, the future of the U.N. would stand or fall as a useful instrument to resolve international conflicts. Its 4-year record in the Congo certainly casts doubts on the U.N.'s future.

Not only has the U.N. failed to bring unity out of chaos or to solve conflicts peacefully in the Congo, but today the Congo is in worse shape both economically and politically than it was when the "peace mission" began. Though the U.N. poured vast amounts of money into the Congo for financial and technical aid—$250 million, the major portion, from the United States alone—the Congolese Government has recently devalued its currency.

What is worse, a large force of Communist-backed rebels is presently conducting a serious drive to overthrow the Central Government of the Congo. Already, this rebel force has virtual control over two of the Congo's Provinces, Kivu and Kwilu. A Communist-backed "Committee for National Liberation" is plotting against the government from across the river in Brazzaville.

Just last week, the Communists captured a key airfield in northern Katanga and, without a shot being fired, took Albertville, one of the Congo's largest cities, a day later. The Central Government's troops have had only limited success in attempts to put down this revolt, and many of those troops have mutinied and joined the rebels.

As has already been pointed out, the U.N. still has a token force in the Congo. Though the Communist-led rebellion has been going on for nearly 5 months, those troops have made almost no attempt to put down the revolt. Their main concern has been to continue the search for the few remaining followers of Moise Tshombe.

And now, within a few weeks, what's left of the U.N. force is scheduled to depart the Congo. It is obvious, though ironic, that the United Nations once again is exposing its famous double standard.

A short time ago, the U.N. couldn't send in enough troops or spend enough money to crush the rebellion of Moise Tshombe—who merely wanted to run his own province and represented no threat to the rest of the Congo. Today, when the Communists are leading a full-scale rebellion which theatens all of the Congo and several of its neighboring countries, the U.N. apparently is unconcerned and unwilling to lift a finger.

Statement in Opposition to Pending Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD a statement of opposition to the pending so-called civil rights legislation by the Hanover Chamber of Commerce of Hanover, Pa.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANOVER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Hanover, Pa., May 29, 1964.

Subject: Civil rights bill H.R. 7152.

To our Representatives in the Congress of The United States.

DEAR SIR: We, as a group of business and professional people, being Americans have no desire to discriminate against any group because of race, color, or creed, but there are many portions of this civil rights bill to which we strongly object.

For example title VII, the section on equal employment opportunity would virtually put the Federal Government in control of hiring, firing, and many other employment practices. This bill carries so much unnecessary bureaucratic control over the freedom delegated to the people that it makes a mockery of the Bill of Rights.

An employer can be charged with "discrimination" and yet nowhere in the bill is the word defined. You are brought to a hearing before the Civil Rights Commission, but instead of the burden of proof being on the complainant, as required by all constitutional law, the employer must prove there was no discrimination. With no jury we can well imagine the chance a business would have under this dictatorial law.

Witness the case of Motorola, Inc., accused by the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission of discriminating against one Negro, although the firm employs many Negroes. They were ordered to hire this Negro applicant, who did not meet their standards, and give him seniority from the time he was rejected. All of this in spite of a fine company record of the tests being administered fairly to all applicants. With this example under State law, we can be certain that it will happen under this Federal proposed bill which provides a new governmental agency of lawyers, investigators, and examiners, to police the hiring, firing, and promotion practices of companies with 25 or more workers.

We have lost many rights in the "free enterprise system" in the past several years; let's not lose all our freedom. We therefore ask your support in eliminating title VII of this bill or even the complete bill, and hope to have the pleasure of hearing further from you.

Sincerely yours,

Reginald S. Pitts, Chairman, Governmental Affairs Committee; William A. Butting, Jr., Ewd. H. Blettner, Ivan C. Fultener, Kenneth J. Myers, Robert F. Niederen, Allen F. Reed, Chauncey G. Alcott, Jack Nolen, E. E. Howe, John A. Cosevan, Chester J. Hohn, Jr., N. Ivan Hilyer, Peter Alimniosa, John Gunther.

The U.S. Workers' Surprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article by Joseph R. Slevin which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 9, 1964:

THE U.S. WORKERS' SURPRISE

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

WASHINGTON.—The American worker is astounding the experts.

His output is climbing and it is increasing just as rapidly as it did during each of the last 3 years. His performance is upsetting all the form charts. Output is supposed to leap ahead immediately after a recession, then move up more slowly after the initial surge has passed.

But that is not the way that it is happening this time. Output jumped sharply in 1961 and climbed just as strongly in 1962 and in 1963.

The experts' 1964 figures are incomplete but their information convinces them that the output pace is not slackening.

The output they are watching is the output per man-hour in manufacturing plants. Another name for it is productivity.

The prolonged upsurge is unprecedented. It seems certain that output per man-hour is rising at a rate of at least 4 percent this year and 1964 is the fourth straight year to see an advance of that size.

The dramatic productivity movement is a major antiinflation development and comes as welcome news to President Johnson.

When productivity goes up, labor costs go down. A quick check of the figures discloses that productivity is continuing to rise more swiftly than labor costs after the latest wage boosts are taken into account.

President Johnson repeatedly has urged labor and management to avoid upward price pressures by limited wage increases to amounts that can be paid for out of higher productivity and that is what they are doing.

Labor costs are running ahead of productivity gains in a few companies, here and there. But the national averages are going the administration's way.

Businessmen and stockholders are seeing the evidence of the productivity surge in company profits.

Earnings jumped to a record-smashing $56 billion yearly rate in the first quarter from $52 billion in the last 3 months of 1963.

Government forecasters believe that a $60 billion rate will be achieved before the year ends.

The big productivity gains have only one unhappy consequence. They make it harder to cut unemployment.

Rising productivity is a sign that industry can turn out more goods with fewer workers. Output schedules have to rise sharply to make it necessary for companies to hang out their "help wanted" signs.

Economists talk about this long upturn being a new kind of advance. The remarkable productivity increases are one more bit of evidence on their side.

Labor costs now are stable and even are shrinking, long past the business-cycle stage when they traditionally climb sharply.

Prices barely are edging up instead of roaring to new peaks.

Profits are continuing to grow when normally they would be flattening out.

Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs Urges Expansion of the Shawnee National Forest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following letter which I received from the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs is self-explanatory. I do hope the committee will authorize the purchase of this additional land.

The federation's letter follows:

ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS,
Chicago, Ill., May 19, 1964.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
District XI (Illinois), House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: Mrs. Charles T. Rees proposed and the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs in its 69th annual convention, May 5, 6, 7, 1964, assembled in Chicago, with Mrs. Vernon E. Barnes, presiding, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs has deep concern for the conservation of natural resources in the State of Illinois, and has particular interest in the Shawnee National Forest; and

"Whereas there are 125,000 acres of land in Johnson and Williamson Counties which lie between the two presently existing units of the forest, the acquisition of which would unify the forest, Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs urge the U.S. Government to acquire the area now known as the 'Shawnee Gap.'

"Mrs. CHARLES T. REES,
Conservation Chairman."

It is our understanding that the National Forest Reservation Commission and the U.S. Department of Agriculture have recommended the "purchase" of this marginal land known as the "Shawnee Gap."

Perhaps you know that our Illinois Federation has been responsible for the planting of 3,000 acres of pine trees in the Shawnee Forest since 1933. We trust that you, as a Congressman from Illinois, will make every effort to secure the purchase of the area known as "Shawnee Gap."

Very truly yours,
Mrs. JAMES M. SEGRAVES,
President.

Profile: J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under the capable leadership of J. Edgar Hoover the Federal Bureau of Investigation has rendered invaluable service to law enforcement agencies throughout the Nation for 40 years. Under Mr. Hoover's guidance the Bureau has remained free from disrupting influences and from political, territorial and economic pressures in its dedication to the cause of law enforcement.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a profile of Mr. Hoover written by Edward Mowery and published by the Houston, Tex., Post:

PROFILE: HOOVER'S CAREER HAS SPANNED GANG WARS AND RED SUBVERSION

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON.—The occasion was anything but auspicious 40 years ago Sunday when John Edgar Hoover agreed to assume supervision of the Bureau of Investigation.

And Hoover would have been the last to predict that the fumbling, politics-ridden Bureau would one day emerge as the Government's most vital investigative arm, world renowned for its integrity, courage, and efficiency.

Since its founding in 1908 by Attorney General Charles Bonaparte, the agency had wallowed largely in its own ineptness and inability to withstand a multitude of pressures.

And on the immediate horizon on May 10, 1924, when Hoover took control, were mushrooming criminal empires in the making, gangland massacres, and shocking political corruption.

The tall, slender Hoover was 29 when he accepted the top job in the Bureau. But he was no stranger to governmental functions. Born in the shadow of the Capitol in 1895, his father, Dickerson N. Hoover—widely known as a superb artist and mapmaker—was superintendent of the engraving and printing for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

His older brother headed the same agency's steamboat inspection service under George R. Putnam, noted commissioner of lighthouses. But John Edgar had set his course in a different channel—the field of law.

Working days as a clerk at the Library of Congress, he attended evening sessions at George Washington University Law School and in 4 years earned both his bachelor's and master's degrees in law. He entered the Justice Department at age 22.

It was an era, Hoover recalls marked by "international chaos." The United States and Germany were at war. The Black Tom disaster had rocked New York harbor. Sabotage by the Fritz von Rintlen gang had destroyed millions of dollars' worth of strategic materials. The country was crawling with notorious subversives and anarchists.

To cope with the danger, Congress armed the Bureau of Investigation with the espionage and sabotage acts, and Hoover as an assistant Attorney General moved quickly in instituting deportation proceedings against the terrorists.

In the fall of 1919, Hoover prepared the Justice Department's first legal brief on the carefully submerged portent of the newly formed Communist Party.

"Doctrines adhered to by advocates of communism," the document read, "threaten the happiness of the community, the safety of every individual, and the continuance of every home and fireside.

"They would destroy the peace of the country and thrust it into a condition of anarchy and lawlessness and immorality that passes imagination."

Hoover, 45 years ago, threw down the gauntlet on Marxism, earning the undying hatred of all Communists.

Named Assistant Bureau Director in 1921, Hoover assigned agents to cover the secret Communist convention in Michigan (the beginning of subsequent, vast FBI undercover operations), moved against the Ku Klux Klan and the expanding cartels of prohibition era racketeers.

Three years later as Director of the Bureau (which became the Federal Bureau of Investigation on July 1, 1935), Hoover focused his sights on the mobs, meticulously deploying his small force of 441 special agents to maximum advantage.

On the eve of the great depression, the gangs were clawing for the loot. Underworld massacres hit the headlines. In Greater Chicago, 92 gangland murders occurred in 30 months. Warfare exploded among the New York mobs. And the special agents' work against the gangs was being felt.

On October 11, 1925, an inveterate criminal fatally wounded Special Agent Edwin C. Shanahan, the first of 19 agents to be killed in the line of duty.

The roaring 1930's were followed by the terrible 1930's, when the nationwide cohesion of FBI operations was put to the test in solving the Lindbergh, Hamm, Factor, Urschel, and Bremer kidnaping cases. Again, Congress strengthened Hoover's hand with enactment of the Lindbergh kidnaping statute, with the death penalty assured the kidnaper upon conviction.

In the fall of 1933, the notorious Machinegun Kelley, trapped in a Memphis hideout by special agents, gave Hoover's men a new name.

"Don't shoot, G-men!" Kelley pleaded. "Don't shoot!"

Agents grabbed Kelley, who received a life sentence.

This period also witnessed the killing of John Dillinger, Ma and Fred Barker by agents and the shocking "Kansas City massacre" of an agent, three policemen and a recaptured fugitive.

Hoover, avidly following the checkerboard FBI operations against the Nation's hoodlums, took active part in three captures. He led squads in the apprehension of Alvin Karpis, Harry Campbell, and Louis (Lepke) Buchalter.

By prearrangement, Lepke—reputed "high executioner" of Murder, Inc.—surrendered to Hoover in the heart of Manhattan.

Amid the rumblings of World War II, the FBI conducted secret investigations of Fritz Kuhn's German-American Bund and intensified surveillance of Communist activity. The Russo-German pact, signed in August 1939, was closely followed by the Russian-German invasion of Poland, opening World War II.

Close FBI watch on Nazi-Red intrigue dovetailed with blanket counterintelligence coverage of Japanese activities. And on March 12, 1941, Hoover sent a prophetic message to all FBI officials 9 months before the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hoover advised his key officials that available information indicated Japan had given top espionage priority to evaluation of the "total strength" of the United States.

"Japanese representatives in this country," the letter warned significantly, "have reportedly been cautioned that war between Japan and America is an eventuality."

When the first bombs fell on Pearl Harbor, Hoover unleashed his long-dormant plans to thwart Axis sabotage and espionage. Within 72 hours, FBI agents had taken 3,846 enemy aliens into custody along with mountains of shortwave radios, dynamite, guns, devices, and ammunition.

Hoover's firm grip on wartime threats to American security unfolded after Japan capitulated as the last of the warring Axis powers.

In a widely acclaimed report, Hoover said the FBI processed more than 900,000 wartime matters dealing with U.S. security, evidence leading to the conviction of 141 for espionage.

"Some of the spy rings," Hoover told the White House, "were so well under control that special (FBI) agents directed their (the spy) activities, which were thus rendered harmless."

Saluting the wartime hemispheric solidarity in meeting the Axis espionage assault, Hoover also revealed that more than 1,500 spies and saboteurs were grabbed in North and South America.

The wartime upheaval with its attendant emotional stress and disrupted family life, however, made an indelible imprint on what Hoover termed the "Nation's morality." First came a postwar crime orgy, then subversion.

The FBI spotlight on infiltration of Government officers by subversives followed a specific White House directive. Explosive headlines revealed the involvement of such figures as Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Judith Coplon, Walter Remington, Klaus Fuchs, and the Rosenbergs.

Hoover's uprooting of subversives fanned an FBI smear campaign which died on the vine.

In keeping the pulse of the Nation's morality, Hoover learned that the pattern of crime and subversion changes only in its intensity. By the mid-1950's, the pattern had gone full cycle.

Under the Director's personal supervision, G-men tracked down the kidnapers of baby Peter Weinberger, 6-year-old Bobby and Anthony Alessio. Kidnapers are anathema to Hoover.

Also in this period, FBI probes led to the arrest of Elmer (Trigger) Burke ("killing is my business"), master spy Rudolph Ivanovich Abel, and the acid-hurler who blinded newspaper columnist Victor Riesel and the Sobles who spied for the Soviets.

The sheer weight of information gathered through the years by the FBI against criminals and traitors, and the agency's reports to the Nation, have placed Hoover at the top of the underworld's "hate" list.

Conversely, the dedication of his efforts toward a better America has brought the official 139 awards and citations and 18 honorary degrees.

After the FBI roundup of the A-bomb spy ring, the American Legion lauded Hoover for his "incessant battle to keep the United State forever vigilant and forever free."

And 2 weeks after the death of Stalin (Mar. 5, 1953), the National Newspaper Publishers Association acclaimed the FBI chief for "your outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered as the ideals of the American way of life."

Hoover, trim and healthy at 69, lives a bachelor's life in a comfortable, 9-room house in Washington's substantial Rock Creek section. He is host to occasional parties for close friends and attends some official receptions but tries to shun the Capital's cocktail-party circuit.

He enjoys his home and its half-acre of garden and lawn, likes to putter around the flowers and romps with his shaggy, affectionate cairn terriers, Tuck and G-Boy. He attends the Presbyterian Church.

Relaxation also includes the reading of numerous newspapers and a good western book. For exercise, his routine includes a mile walk on the way to the Justice Building, which causes some concern among associates for his safety.

At other times he is picked up at his home in an armored car, frequently with Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson, and alights near the Washington Monument for a brisk walk to the office. He is covered en route.

Pure dedication to his job and its tremendous responsibilities, Hoover's friends say, keeps him in his $22,000-a-year role as FBI director. Throughout his career, he has turned down other jobs paying up to $150,000 a year.

President Johnson has exempted him from compulsory retirement when he turns 70 next January.

Two of his most cherished citations reflect Hoover's own spirit of dedication. In presenting the FBI Director with its "Gold Medal of Merit," the Jewish war veterans of the United States had inscribed:

"* * * In recognition of outstanding and meritorious service in the battle for civil rights and liberties."

And last August 4, the Senate by unanimous resolution, praised J. Edgar Hoover for the "continued excellence of his devoted and effective service to the Nation."

Hoover, the Senate declared, "has earned the trust, confidence, and appreciation of all Americans."

Philadelphia Newspaper Feels ARA Should Be Voted Additional Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, in a May 18 editorial, the Philadelphia Inquirer has strongly urged Congress to approve the additional funds to extend the job-generating program of the Area Redevelopment Administration, showing just how much this program means to the citizens of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley. This program, says the paper, is "in a very real sense" a practical part of the "war on poverty and unemployment." I should like to have this editorial inserted in the RECORD:

FOR DELAWARE VALLEY DEVELOPMENT

Amendments to the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, which are expected to come up for a vote in the U.S. House of Representatives in a few days, are needed to implement plans for economic progress in the Delaware Valley.

The proposed legislation would have many beneficial results nationwide but we believe that Members of Congress from this area, of both parties, should be especially vigorous in their support of the bill because of its importance locally.

In substance, the bill would grant additional funds to the area redevelopment authority and increase its ability to stimulate economic improvements that attract industries and create jobs. The measure is, in a very real sense, a practical part of the war on poverty and unemployment. Loans from the ARA play a big role in development of industrial parks.

To anyone in doubt about the varied work of the area redevelopment authority in the present and future growth of the Delaware Valley, we recommend a visit to the Commercial Museum in Philadelphia where an excellent panorama of exhibits and maps gives some idea of what is projected for this city and environs.

The amendments were approved by the Senate last year by a vote of 65 to 30, with bipartisan support. We urge members of both parties in the House of Representatives to vote their approval in the name of progress.

The Advantages of Private Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, "A government cannot grant anything to anyone which does not take something from someone else" writes Miss Bernadette B. Stenzel, of Wells, Minn., winner of the $1,000 first prize essay contest sponsored by the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Miss Stenzel's thoughtful essay is particularly noteworthy in view of her youth, her membership in the majority party and her intention to become a doctor. I request that my constituent's article, "The Advantages of Private Medical Care," be included at this point in my remarks.

THE ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATE MEDICAL CARE

(By Bernadette B. Stenzel)

In 1798, President Adams made a historical proposal to his Congress. He advocated a measure which required all merchant seamen to pay 25 cents per month for public medical service. By definition, this public law introduced socialized medicine with compulsory health insurance. Government interest in health affairs remained limited for many years but today the growth of its impact has reached an awesome height. Looking at this phenomenal growth from a dollarwise viewpoint, expenditures for health and medical service have more than tripled in the past 12 years. They now amount to some $7½ billion annually.

It is apparent that the Government is playing a large role in the practice of American medicine. Congress has proposed measures which, if enacted, would broaden this role considerably. It is naive to suppose that once this legislation became law it would not

be extended gradually to cover all medical practice and health care services for the entire U.S. population. In other words, America's private medical practice is endangered by socialized medicine.

Government's accelerating pace in medical practice must be halted. The reasons for not permitting private practice to be replaced by socialized practice are evident when a situation of government-administered medicine is examined.

First, medicine becomes a political exploitation. The mere presence of government interest is bound to produce a political battleground. Medical care is removed from individual needs and placed in the hands of government with the traditional ineptitudes of a bureaucracy. This entirely neglects the fact that the individual is best suited to select the doctor and medical care he needs. Private medical practice is replaced by a socialized system of undue government interference, strict control and undisciplined waste. In essence, doctors are reduced from individuals with professional dignity and freedom to mere government clerks.

A government cannot grant anything to anyone which does not take something from someone else. If government medical services are granted, personal freedom stands to lose. The loss of freedom is in direct ratio to the extent of government restraint upon productive and creative efforts. People would like to justify the transformation toward government control with catchwords of "equality" and "welfare." But in reality they are sacrificing freedom for this justification. Real equality of opportunity and welfare of the people decrease as government controls over our economy increase.

It is unreasonable to think that a situation of public medicine could be adequately controlled. Free service to all naturally leads to overutilization. People develop a government-take-care-of-you philosophy and expect to be pampered at public expense. It is appealing to be the beneficiary of this supposed something for nothing. Hypochondriacs would have a holiday, while cases requiring true attention would often be denied the full consideration they need. It is obvious that the cost of government-administered medical care would be atrocious. This would heavily burden taxpayers because support of all government programs has compulsory public payment as a basis. Of course, under such an arrangement there is no congruence between the amount of payment and the benefits derived.

Essentially, medicine has two functions: administration of known techniques and research. The first means practice of medicine while the second means progress in medicine. The excessive cost of a socialized medical program causes a shift toward emphasis upon upkeep and consequently a retardation in research. Such a deficiency in research inhibits progress and naturally leads to deterioration of medical standards.

A second premise concerns the introduction of the concept of socialism into an area where it does not even apply. The commodity with which the medical profession deals cannot be subjected to uniform conditions. The efficient, successful practice of medicine has been and always will be a personal unstandardized affair. The human body is just not a standardized organism and it cannot be treated as one. The principles and ideals of socialism are materialistic. In contrast, medical service is immaterial and personal. Sometimes all that medical ailments require is reassurance and understanding. This cannot be supplied as a government service.

The vast majority of doctors do not like socialized medicine. Making an analogy, government ban be considered the director and doctors can be considered the actors. It is a paradox to think there could ever be a successful performance when the major characters refuse to play their role.

Third, socialized medicine destroys the doctor-patient relationship. When a physician's very profession is subjected to turmoil he cannot be expected to function competently and efficiently. There can be no confidence with impersonal third party control replacing a voluntary relationship. Medicine is reduced to a mechanical practice without room for integrity or enthusiasm. When the doctor is socialized his patient is socialized as well.

The statements made so far are further verified by the test of experience. England, which has practiced socialized medicine since 1948, affords an example. Government bidding for medical services and supplies increases the price. Great Britain's program has slightly more than tripled such costs. Socialized medicine in England is causing one doctor out of four to defect the country annually.

Saskatchewan's medicare program is also highly unsatisfactory. They claim the unhealthy political climate is already discouraging the immigration of many talented doctors into the province and encouraging resident doctors to leave. Doctors are equally provoked and charge that the quality of medical care in the province has already begun to deteriorate as a result of government policies.

It seems only logical to conclude that government and medicine do not harmonize. Socialized medicine is inferior medicine. Besides deteriorating present standards, it tragically stymies the future also. Fewer high-calibered students enter the profession and many of the most dedicated and able defect to an area where they can practice self-expression.

No one doubts that American medicine has come to its present pinnacle of accomplishment for the care and protection of the citizenry under the free enterprise system. We must continue private medical practice in order to continue in the direction of accomplishment. The consequences of changing to a socialized practice are clearly unfavorable. To abandon a system which has done more for man than any other system—in order to try for one which has never done as well—would be asinine. Such an adoption would ridicule the very heritage of freedom our ancestors fought and died for. It would ridicule the very intelligence which has enabled the incredible progress of mankind.

Why Federal Reserve Powers Need Curbing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I want to draw my colleagues' attention to an important editorial in the May 23 issue of Labor. The editorial concurs with the AFL–CIO's support of Chairman PATMAN's proposals to make the Federal Reserve a genuinely responsible Government agency. Quoting an article in the American Federalist, the official AFL–CIO magazine, the editorial warns that the Fed's preoccupation with inflation has led to excessively tight money before and is likely to do so again, at a tremendous cost in rising unemployment and declining growth.

To prevent such flouting of administration and congressional policies aimed at reducing unemployment and increasing our rate of economic growth, the AFL–CIO proposes that the Open Market Committee—the major policymaking body of the Federal Reserve—be abolished and its powers transferred to the Board of Governors, that the terms of the Governors be reduced and that they serve at the will of the President, and that the governing structure of the Reserve banks be made more representative of the Nation as a whole.

The Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the Banking and Currency Committee is currently holding hearings on bills introduced by Chairman PATMAN which include many of the AFL–CIO recommendations. The text of the editorial follows:

WHY FEDERAL RESERVE POWERS NEED CURBING

Which 12 men hold "power pervading every part of American economic life"? So much power that they may nullify the stimulative and job-creating effects of the $11.5 billion tax cut recently voted by Congress?

The answer is given in an "Economic Trends" survey carried in the May issue of the American Federationist, official AFL–CIO magazine.

"The Nation's central bank, the Federal Reserve System, can expand credit supplies and influence interest rates downward, to speed economic expansion," the AFL–CIO analysis points out. "Or it can contract credit and push up interest rates to slow down the economic advances," thus "cancelling the tax cut" by a "tight money" policy and "leaving unemployment as high as ever."

The article cites strong evidence that the 12 mighty men who rule the Federal Reserve System intend to take the latter course, in the name of warding off "inflation." A similar warning has been sounded by Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat of Texas, chairman of the House Banking Committee, and by 51 other solons who are cooperating with him, as reported in last week's Labor.

The AFL–CIO points out that, of the 12 men who control Federal Reserve, 7 are members of the Board of Governors. They are appointed by the President, to serve 14-year terms. Once on the Board, they are independent of any President and can flout his economic policies.

The other five "are selected from the presidents of the 12 regional Federal Reserve banks. They serve with the board as the 12-man Federal Open Market Committee."

The article says the group as a whole is dominated by "bankers, big business interests, and monetary technicians." They determine "mortgage rates, length of credit terms, interest on auto payments, the cost of borrowing money, and their actions affect business, Government credit terms, and supplies of credit. In turn, these influence the momentum of the entire economy. Both production and employment feel the impact of their monetary decisions."

"If monetary policy makes credit scarcer and interest rates higher," the article continues, "the economy's momentum could be slowed enough to offset the tax cut or, even worse, help bring on a recession. Unfortunately, most observers believe the Federal Reserve may tighten money this year, for fear of inflation.

"This fear of inflation by the Federal Reserve has dictated mistaken policies for more than a decade," the AFL–CIO declares. The Reserve's "constant repetition of tight money and high interest rates has helped cause recessions and has contributed to unemployment."

"Only expansionary monetary policies—coordinated with Government job-creating programs—can change this course," the AFL–CIO contends. "At present, there is no sign of inflation—that is, too much demand for goods and labor. U.S. manpower and factory capacity are ample. Unemployment is the major problem, not labor shortages."

The article adds that the Federal Reserve System "should represent all the people, not primarily bankers and big business interests. For this purpose, the System's entire composition should be changed."

Toward this end, the AFL–CIO proposes that the terms of office of the Board of Governors' Chairman and Vice Chairman coincide with the term of the U.S. President and they "should serve at the will of the President," so as to establish "some degree of basic harmony" between them.

Also, the Board "should include competent people from various economic groups, including trade unions and consumers," and the Board's terms of office should be shortened.

In addition, the governing structure of the 12 district Federal Reserve banks "should be made more representative of American society" and the "open market committee" should be abolished.

Other changes are also recommended by the AFL–CIO to curb the dictatorial powers of the Federal Reserve. They are sound, needed to avert a new economic tailspin, and urgent to protect the public interest. The sooner they're made, the better.

Goldwater Leads a Political Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, approximately 4 years ago, panic and fear ran amuck within the Democratic Party. I was told personally by many Democrats that the world would come to an end if a Catholic were nominated for President. Many Democrats were convinced their party would be split in two and a Catholic had absolutely no chance to even make a race out of the election.

The shock troops were brought in to stop Kennedy. First Senator HUMPHREY led the assault, then former President Truman, and, last, but not least, Lyndon Johnson. No holds were barred. We recall that Mr. Johnson tried to stop J.F.K. by pointing out that Kennedy's father had played footsie with the Nazis. Anything and everything was done to stop Kennedy.

After the late President's victories in the primaries, members of his party began to take him seriously. The panic subsided and in the long run, the religious factor helped rather than hurt.

Mr. Speaker, a similar situation developed with respect to the campaign of Senator GOLDWATER although it was not based on a religious issue. Now that the Arizonian has won in California, more and more people are beginning to take him seriously. As Mr. Chuck Dancey points out in his editorial appearing in the Peoria Journal Star of June 5, 1964, more people are taking a closer look at the Senator.

Under unanimous consent, the editorial follows:

GOLDWATER MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY

Senator GOLDWATER has emerged, to the discomfort of many, as the Republican candidate and the only Republican candidate going into the primary with an impressive block of delegates * * * and this has kicked up a great deal of fuss here and around the world.

Most of this fuss results from the Senator's magnificent gift for overstatement, which his foes have delighted in bouncing around with one-sentence quotes. Seldom has a candidate been so ridiculed.

But the time has come when a great many people are obliged to take another and closer look at the Senator from Arizona. His position now is such that one-line quotes, ridicule, and a generally shallow glance in his direction are not going to stand up.

He cannot be dismissed as either a circus wild man or a clown. In a primary election in California he has won a bigger majority than that which carried the last President to victory in Texas and several times more majority than carried that President to victory in Illinois. Those thin margins in Texas and Illinois were the difference between being President and an also-ran.

Perhaps, the bland assumption that President Johnson is all things to all people, has incurred the opposition of none of the major blocs or forces in the country and is a cinch for reelection is true. Perhaps, Goldwater at least of all, has a chance to win a majority of the votes of the American people.

But even if we take that for granted (in a political climate where it has been demonstrated that it is foolish to take anything for granted), what has happened during this primary period has tremendous significance and will not be ignored by President Johnson, among many others.

California seals the evidence that there has, indeed, been a massive shift in the feelings and attitudes of many Americans. Such a performance by Senator GOLDWATER 4 years ago would have been unthinkable.

Eight years ago, even more so.

Robert Taft, "Mr. Republican" and "Mr. Conservative" of a dozen years ago was a liberal on housing, education, and similar programs compared to GOLDWATER.

A genuinely militant, and sometimes intemperate, opposition to "big government" and every move of any kind that makes it bigger, has gone from a thin rightwing fringe to number millions of Americans and in a very short space of time.

GOLDWATER's performance in Republican primaries, and to some extent Wallace's unusual totals in three sample northern Democratic primaries advertise a shift toward militancy, and a "fed-up" and disillusioned mass of Americans so far as Government programs constantly taking over new areas of American life are concerned.

It is not a mass movement that can any longer be laughed off or ignored. Its numbers, now, suddenly emerge as obviously greater than the 17 million Americans who belong to organized labor, and apparently in the vicinity of the number of Americans who happen to be Negroes. The point is that this is a force in the land that can't be ignored, overlooked, or abused with impunity.

It is the more impressive since the increase in the last 4 years, and what happens if that wave rolls on at the same rate of increase?

What Federal actions caused it to grow, and caused millions of Americans to join the ranks of protest? What Federal actions are likely to cause it to grow still more? What Federal actions may retard or stop such a trend?

You may be sure, the experts are going to pause and start asking themselves these questions.

And they can't take too much comfort, if they are to be realistic, from GOLDWATER's gift for overstatement at this stage of a campaign.

Only 4 years ago, John F. Kennedy was shouting about a "space gap," a "missile gap," a "science gap," an "education gap," described our economy as sagging and the Russians as booming, charged we were too tough on China and far too soft on Cuba.

Many of these charges were irresponsible and wrong, most were shifted in 6 months, and all of them within a year and a half after election.

Remember Eisenhower's first campaign? When he talked about 100 percent parity for farmers, cutting the budget to $50 billion (or was it by $50 billion?), peace in Korea? How he talked of the "mess in Washington" and promised to get rid of both the crooks and the Communists?

So it goes. Such a flavor at campaign time is hardly unusual, or disabling.

We cannot ignore the obvious fact that something has been happening in this country, and that something is happening.

The Big Rock Candy Mountain approach to politics has begun to produce bitter disillusion that has been spreading at a rapid rate.

The time has come when canny politicians may have to quit being satisfied with lovely publicity programs and start worrying about programs that not only sound good but will actually do something.

They might even start worrying about making them workable.

That, alone, would be a political revolution in these United States.—C. L. DANCEY.

J. Edgar Hoover Warns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a month ago tomorrow J. Edgar Hoover completed 40 years as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

With Mr. Hoover's appointment in 1924 we saw the beginning of a transformation in Federal law enforcement that was destined to cope with problems previously unknown. In my opinion, the United States has been fortunate during these last 40 years to have had J. Edgar Hoover as Director of the FBI and all Americans owe him a debt of gratitude.

Mr. Speaker, I have read many fine articles written about Mr. Hoover and under unanimous consent I wish to insert in the RECORD one of those articles written by Edward J. Mowery and published by the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot:

J. EDGAR HOOVER REPORTS—RED BLOC TARGETS: YOUTH, RACE ISSUE

(Drawing on his 40 years' experience as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover warns Americans of the domestic and international dangers facing this country in two exclusive articles written by Pulitzer Prize winner, Edward J. Mowery. Hoover joined the Department of Justice in July 1917, and took over the direction of the budding Bureau of Investigation on May

10, 1924. He has served under 7 Presidents and 13 Attorneys General.)

(By Edward J. Mowery)

WASHINGTON.—The Communist Party, U.S.A., J. Edgar Hoover warned today, sees manipulation of minority and youth groups as its brightest opportunity to exploit them and keep dissension at a peak.

Exploitation of the civil rights movement and "usurpation" of its leadership, the official declared, have been given top priority by the Communists.

Hoover, 69, who will observe his 40th anniversary as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on Sunday, also named this country as the No. 1 Soviet bloc espionage target and decried the breakdown in home discipline as a key contributor to the increase in juvenile crime.

The tall, dark-eyed boss of the Government's prime investigative agency indicated that Sunday will be "just another day" in supervising the 13,800 employees of an agency which spans the Nation with 55 field offices.

Discussing a number of subjects with complete candor, Hoover replied to questions as follows:

Question. How much of the crime spiral can be attributed to general moral decay, lax home environment, coddling of criminals and public apathy?

Answer. No one can set a definite pattern on the amount of crime which can be attributed to these causes. But certainly there can be no doubt that they do have an effect.

As the moral code of society is relaxed, more and more wrongs become acceptable in the eyes of many citizens. The character of our society depends upon our code of moral conduct. Crime and corruption invariably increase as morals decline.

A lax home environment unquestionably is responsible for much of the speedy rise of juvenile crime. Many of our young people today simply are not being taught any discipline in the home.

They go forth with no respect for authority or the rights, privileges, and property of others. Some follow a code of conduct more common to wild animals than to so-called civilized humans.

Coddling of criminals is one area where there is some statistical indication of at least a part of the effect it plays on the crime rate. Approximately 3 of every 10 of the fugitives currently being sought by law enforcement agencies throughout the Nation are wanted because they violated conditions of their parole or probation.

In other words, these convicted criminals have proven by their actions that they were not worthy of the trust placed in them by judges and parole boards.

The threat of arrest and conviction holds little fear for a criminal when he knows he stands a good chance of receiving punishment no more severe than a fine and/or probation.

We are helping to keep the crime rate high by granting unwarranted leniency in the form of parole and probation to known criminals who repay the kindness with additional criminal acts.

Public apathy has probably a far greater effect on the increase in crime than most people realize * * *. It not only has a direct bearing on crime, but is partly responsible for many of the other conditions which influence the crime rate, such as leniency to criminals, inefficiency of law enforcement agencies and corruption of public officials.

It has been said that a community receives the type of law enforcement it wants and deserves. To a great extent this is true. Where the citizenry takes an active interest in law enforcement problems, just administration of laws and elimination of conditions which breed crime, the rise in crime is stopped.

Public indignation is one of the greatest enemies of the underworld.

Question. What should parents, public officials—particularly prosecutors and jurists—do to halt the crime increase?

Answer. Parents must start accepting their responsibilities to themselves, their children and their community and start controlling their sons and daughters. Already we have too many children in this country who have never been taught proper discipline or to respect authority.

What hope can we hold out for their children?

Most of the prosecutors and jurists in the country are honest and competent individuals, many of whom are doing excellent work, often in spite of adverse conditions. They need the support and cooperation of the public, especially the citizens who have personal knowledge of criminal activities, many of whom often refuse to testify in court.

There are, unfortunately, a few corrupt and/or incompetent prosecutors and judges who are making a mockery of the positions they hold.

Question. What can police departments do?

Answer. Like prosecutors and judges, they are hampered by an uncooperative public, a large segment of which ignores criminal acts rather than report them for fear of getting involved.

The honest, hard-working law enforcement officers—the majority of them are—must strive ever harder to overcome the burden of the new dishonest ones * * * and to make up for the lack of support from the public.

They must inform the public of their needs and seek citizen cooperation in combating crime and in providing the facilities and equipment needed to properly perform their duties.

And they must never let up in their relentless drive against the underworld; must never fall prey to the many temptations which face them so frequently; and must never give up in spite of the many frustrations, hardships and personal danger.

Question. How do you evaluate the current espionage threat against the United States by the Communist bloc?

Answer. The United States is today target No. 1 of the Soviet espionage system. At this hour, trained and professional Russian spies are working to steal whatever information they can secure from this country. They are primarily interested, of course, in scientific, military, and technological data. They know the United States is a vast reservoir of highly valuable information which they so desperately would like to secure.

Ever since the founding of the Bolshevik regime in 1917, the Soviets have been trying to spy on the United States. But in recent years they have stepped up their tempo, until today they are engaged in a major spy effort to penetrate our internal security.

We face not only Soviet spies but also intelligence agents of the satellites—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania. In fact, when we talk about enemy espionage we must use the term "Soviet bloc" espionage, meaning the combined attack of these intelligence agencies.

The danger of Soviet espionage is quite serious, and every American should be deeply concerned.

Question. How can the American people be made aware of this threat and be jolted out of their apathy toward both the external and internal dangers of successful espionage penetration?

Answer. The American citizen should realize that this country is a prime espionage target—and that the spy may be aiming at him. In today's economy, many Americans, such as scientists, engineers, businessmen, and so forth, have access to information desired by the Soviets.

Each citizen who has access to confidential information should be extremely careful if ever contacted for any reason by the Soviets. The Russian will smile and try to cultivate a friendship—but this is a friendship with a purpose. He is trying to develop you as a contact, hoping that sooner or later he can entice you to help him.

The Soviets exploit the apathy of our citizens. Every American should remember that unknowingly he may be on the frontline of the espionage attack, and by being alert and vigilant he can help his country. If he has any indication of possible espionage, he should immediately report it to the FBI.

Question. How much overall FBI effort is directed toward this danger in safeguarding U.S. security?

Answer. A large percentage of the FBI's manpower is being devoted to combat Soviet espionage. Counterintelligence requires great skill, patience, and resources. The FBI is constantly at work, day and night, trying to penetrate and counteract the Soviets' activities.

Not only are FBI agents especially trained, but they make extensive use of the scientific facilities of the FBI laboratory. Never can there be any relaxation. For that reason, any information furnished by our citizens is extremely helpful. But citizens should not try to conduct their own investigations.

Question. The status quo of the Communist Party U.S.A., its strength overt and covert, the duplicity of its thrusts against youth, naive groups, businessmen?

Answer. The Communist Party U.S.A., remains today as it has always been—a serious menace to our internal security. Ever since its founding in 1919, the party has been completely loyal to the Soviet Union. In the current ideological split between Moscow and Peiping, it is loyal to Khrushchev.

At the present time, the party is extremely optimistic. Over recent years, through its program of sending party speakers to college campuses and appearing on radio and television programs, it has spread its propaganda far and wide.

This college speaking program, where party speakers have drawn crowds up to 12,000, is in line with Communist effort to appeal to youth. Ever since the days of Lenin, young people have been a special target of the Communists. Next month, the party hopes to launch a new Marxist-oriented youth organization (to) * * * operate as a front.

It will seek to appeal to young people on topics such as "peace," "civil rights" and "employment for youth." Aimed toward college and high school students and working class youth, its danger rests in the fact that it is devious, hoping to hoodwink the student, trying to manipulate him into support of the party line.

One of the party's greatest dangers today lies in the youth field.

Another danger is in the field of minority groups. The party, for example, is trying to exploit * * * the current civil rights movement. It is not interested in legitimate redress of grievances of the Negro and other minority groups but is trying to usurp the leadership in the civil rights movement and press its own advantage. Information about communism is today imperative for individual and national survival in an age of peril.

The Medicine Man Recipe for Ending Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson continues his attempts to peddle a new formula as a goal for the Amer-

ican people—just turn everything over to Lyndon. In college after college he expounds on the glories of big government. That he lacks faith in the American system or the American people doesn't seem to bother him. Nor does he seem embarrassed about the choice he offers the people—liberty for security.

One view of the President's efforts is ably presented in the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of June 10:

THOSE "PHANTOM FEARS"

These are the days when Lyndon Johnson is traipsing around to college commencements collecting hoods, cowls, mortarboards, and honorary degrees in return for a brief spell at the rostrum. Monday he turned up at Swarthmore, in Pennsylvania, and became a doctor of laws. This was accomplished almost as expeditiously as Mr. Johnson's conversion within 6 months into an instant statesman, and there is no evidence that Bobby Baker had suggested a kickback.

As Mr. Johnson's stock in trade is government and more government, welfare and more welfare, these were the goods he chose to peddle. His reassuring word was that those who believed that expanding Federal Government had become a serious threat to individual liberty were afflicted with "phantom fears."

To Mr. Johnson, government is the instrument for "liberating" the individual from the "enslaving forces" of the environment. "Massive organization," in the government or otherwise, does not impinge upon freedom to attain.

Mr. Johnson then cataloged all that the Government is doing, which is a great deal, and found it good. That this entailed some attrition of the purchasing power of the dollar in consequence of vast spending, constant deficits, and soaring debt did not concern him, for pessimism has no place in his philosophy. The dollar happens to be worth less at the moment than at any time since the Revolutionary War.

Other students and architects of government have taken somewhat different views of a government that pushes in trying to do everything for everybody and all at once. They have felt that the endeavor is not possible without exacting a considerable price.

Thus those who drafted the Constitution sought to make it an instrument for limiting the functions and power of government, for they knew that throughout history government had proved to be the chief means of thwarting men in their desire to retain liberty. When they added the Bill of Rights, they did not say that government was conferring freedoms upon citizens. They said that government could not inhibit men in the exercise of freedoms they were entitled to have.

While it is said that we are a government of laws and not of men—a proposition that has become attended by some dubiety in recent years because of executive assertiveness, a tendency toward judicial legislation, and a discouraging disposition by Congress to go along—it should be self-evident that the engines of government are controlled by men. Government represents power in the hands of some men to control and regulate the lives of other men, and the more government proposes to "do for" people the more it must necessarily take from them to get it done.

And what it takes is more than taxes; it is a share of liberty. The Supreme Court understood as much when it said in its original decision on Federal regulation of agriculture that Federal largess could only be had at measurable cost. "The power to confer or withhold unlimited benefits," it said in 1936, "is the power to coerce or destroy."

But, unfortunately, within a few years the Court abandoned its resistance to Federal usurpations of this sort and handed the citizens over to the mercies of the Federal establishment with a dictum suitable to Pilate in the act of washing his hands. "It is hardly lack of due process," it said resignedly, "for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes."

These reflections provide the necessary caveat to Mr. Johnson's bill of goods. Even the most compassionate facade often conceals the itch for power and the desire of parties and men for perpetuity. As Lord Acton observed long ago, power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Planned Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has indicated its adherence to the principle of Federal planning for the benefit of many segments of our national economy—probably the best known is the area of agriculture where we have been experimenting without any marked degree of success since the days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In advocating the need for central planning for farmers the point has usually been carefully made that the need was because of the peculiar nature of agriculture. Unpredictable weather conditions and the several million individual farmers were pointed out as factors which made it impossible for agriculture to manage its own production. No positive proof has ever been developed that Government farm programs have been successful in improving the income of farmers—in fact, the record shows after 30 years of experimenting and politicing that small farmers are still in serious economic trouble, the number of farms in the Nation continues to decline and the largest farms reap the greatest benefit from Government expenditures on farm commodity price stabilizing operations.

Now comes the Secretary of the Treasury pointing with pride to and publicly admitting a national policy of manipulating fiscal policy to foster economic growth. If the irresponsible policy of cutting taxes and increasing our already fantastic national debt is sound economic progress we have reached the millenium. Are we next to hear leaders of this administration advising our young people to borrow without restraint and never repay an obligation that can be extended?

Mr. Speaker, today's Wall Street Journal carries an editorial commenting on recent statements of Treasury Secretary Dillon. I commend this editorial to the attention of Members of the House and under unanimous consent I include the editorial following my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A MIXED-UP MIX

It used to be that officials were somewhat reluctant to proclaim their efforts at outright manipulation of the economy, but not any more. Now they take deep, if misplaced, pride in their interventions.

Thus Treasury Secretary Dillon told an audience the other day that the past 3½ years have been remarkable not only for the economic advance they have witnessed but also for the kind of economic policy that has developed in Government. What has emerged, he said, is "a national determination to use fiscal policy as a dynamic and affirmative agent in fostering economic growth." Fiscal policy in this sense can be translated as budget deficits; at least, that is what we have been having.

Moreover, these years have "demonstrated, not in theory but in actual practice, how our different instruments of economic policy—expenditure, tax, debt management and monetary policies—can be tuned in concert toward achieving different, even disparate economic goals."

Now where anyone would get the idea that a national consensus favors deliberate, planned, continual budget deficits is a little mysterious. As far as we can judge, a great many Americans view that policy with suspicion and misgivings. The President himself can hardly consider deficits unalloyed blessings, for he tried to reduce the prospective one for the coming fiscal year. But to the extent there is determination to pursue the deficit course, it appears largely confined to Washington, D.C.

With regard to the substance of the Secretary's remarks, we think they contain some assumptions that are open to question.

It may be that the combination of the tax cut, including the anticipation of it, and the prevailing easy-money policy has been a stimulus to business activity, though consumers don't seem to be throwing away their tax savings in any wild binge. The extent of such Federal influence, however, is impossible to gage with any precision; what is certain is that the private economy has been generating its own expansionist forces.

Not that the Government policy has been without identifiable effects. The inflation of the money supply during the past 3 years or more is showing up in several places, notably real estate, with evident overbuilding, foreclosures, and declining credit quality. It could spill over into wage settlements that administration economists would regard as inflationary, and that could touch off a wage-price spiral.

In addition, some economists are wondering how long the boom can keep on building, no matter what the Government does or does not do. It is hard for them to see, for just one example, how the auto industry could expect to duplicate this year's feat next year or how business in general could rival this year's indicated spending on plant and equipment. Maybe the boom can go on forever, but things usually don't work out that way.

Mr. Dillon has an answer of sorts to this problem of the business cycle. The big obstacle, in his view, to using tax policy as a countercyclical tool is Congress; it won't act on taxes fast enough. Something should be done, he suggests, consistent with Congress prerogatives. But how tax changes could be speeded up without interfering with those prerogatives is not exactly clear.

All in all, we are unpersuaded that the Government is anywhere near finding a magic key to uninterrupted prosperity. It can indeed inflate, but that customarily means aggravating the business cycle rather than smoothing it out. Even its manipulations are not especially well calculated, as is shown in its failure to counteract the inflation it has generated.

It is possible the economy would enjoy sounder growth if the Government would stick to its main economic business of providing sound money and an atmosphere of freedom. Certainly its vaunted mix of spend-

ing, tax, and monetary policy is a pretty mixed-up affair—and not, in our opinion for self-congratulation.

Tribute to Drury College President James F. Findlay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago Dr. James F. Findlay retired from the presidency of Drury College in Springfield, Mo. As a member of the board of trustees of Drury, I know what a great and beneficial impact Dr. Findlay has had on the students who have attended Drury. Dr. Findlay's 24 years of service was beautifully pointed out by the following remarks made by Mr. Lester E. Cox with whom I serve on the board of trustees:

SPRINGFIELD, MO.
May 18, 1964.

I am sure James F. Findlay asked himself many questions as a young man. How shall I live? How shall I make the most of my life and put it to the best use? How shall I become a man and do a man's work? He found the answers by teaching others. The minds of young men and women became more of an attraction for James F. Findlay rather than preaching, politics, trade, or writing. He decided the teaching of young men and women was an opportunity and he was to serve the purpose of those who were bent on self-improvement.

James F. Findlay realized that only right opportunities are those which help to make us strong, patient, active, fair, wise, and useful. These goals, together with a spiritual background, have formed the solid foundation for the education of young men and women and were incorporated in the Drury College program.

James F. Findlay, with a fine spiritual background, came to Drury College in 1940. His tenure is history. His record speaks for itself. He has used as tools his fine talents and spiritual accomplishments to fashion the Drury College image for future growth.

True men do not need great opportunities, but someone has said where there is a need, opportunity always exists. Drury College in 1940 was more of a challenge than an opportunity. At the time of Dr. Findlay's arrival Drury College needed a complete rejuvenation, spiritually, financially, and a new look in education. He realized Drury's value would be measured by the things we believe in, the things we love, and things we know and strenuously strive to accomplish. His goals were high and he realized Drury was no better than its own self-reliance. He had an open mind for suggestions, a fine degree of fairness, and the ability to work with others.

Dr. Findlay has taken Drury College from mediocrity to a degree of excellence among colleges, and the groundwork has been laid for a much larger expansion and a fulfillment of Dr. Findlay's greatest dreams.

As Dr. Findlay leaves the campus we say hats off to the past and coats off to the future. We hope Dr. and Mrs. Findlay will have strength and health to serve, and happiness in serving their new assignment. We are certain they will never forget the past and neither will we. Our thoughts and prayers are with them. God bless them and keep them ever mindful that we always live at our best when we give of ourselves and our substance to help our fellow man—especially young men and women.

Sincerely yours,

LESTER E. COX.

River Development in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include two articles that appeared in the Longview Morning Journal May 31, 1964, about river development in Texas. I strongly favor the development of our water resources of Texas:

[From the Longview (Tex.) Morning Journal, May 31, 1964]

ENGINEERS CONDUCT ETEX RIVER STUDY

TYLER.—Kermit V. Speeg, chief of the basic planning branch of the U.S. Engineers Fourth District in Texas, declared that Federal Government engineers are conducting a minute study of the best uses to which the Trinity, Neches, Sabine, Sulphur, and Red Rivers can be put as he spoke before a conclave of east Texas municipal leaders here Friday at noon.

Speeg, introduced by Tyler City Manager Casey Fannin, spoke before a meeting of the east Texas chapter, Texas Municipal League in a regular meeting of that body at the local Rose Garden Building.

He said activities of the Fort Worth Engineering District are concerned with the lower half of the east Texas league, region 15, in which territory are parts of three major river basins, including the Trinity, Sabine, and Neches.

Speeg stated that a $194 million project known as the Tennessee Colony Reservoir has been proposed on the Trinity. The lake would be located partly in Anderson County and would include water quality control facilities, two navigation locks, a dam on the main river, and about 40 miles of multiple purposes channel for navigation and flood control.

The speaker said the Sabine River Basin in Texas and Louisiana is the responsibility of the Interdepartmental Staff Committee of the Ad Hoc Water Resources Council in Washington and is 1 of the 16 areas in the United States on which a comprehensive study will be compiled by 1970.

Speeg said the engineering study calls for identifying existing water resources, determination of which will be needed in the future, and to define and evaluate the Federal or federally assisted projects for which Federal authority will be required in the next 10 or 15 years. He said a report will be to the Washington level by 1967.

He noted that a number of reservoir sites are under consideration in the Sabine Basin, including reservoirs on upper Lake Fork Creek, lower Lake Fork Creek, upper Big Sandy Creek, lower Big Sandy Creek, in the Mineola, Hawkins and Big Sandy area; Rabbit Creek Cherokee Bayou Lake No. 2, Martins Creek and Eight Mile Creek in the Longview-Kilgore area; and Socagee, State Line, Bon Wier, Bayou Toro, Newton and lower Anacoco on lower reaches of the Sabine.

He said further flood protection projects are being considered also along the Neches River.

Attending the municipal league meeting were representatives from Winnsboro, Mineola, Nacogdoches, Tyler, Texarkana, Palestine, Marshall, Lindale, Kilgore, Gladewater, Longview, Emory, Dallas, Daingerfield, Bogata and Big Sandy.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Morning Journal, May 31, 1964]

TRINITY RIVER DEVELOPMENT CHARTED BY BEN CARPENTER

(By Sam Paris)

TYLER.—Completion of a multipurpose waterway project along 400 miles of the Trinity River from the Dallas-Fort Worth area to the Gulf of Mexico is projected for the mid-1970's and heralds spectacular economic impact and business growth for the entire eastern half of the State of Texas, Ben H. Carpenter, of Dallas, told the local Kiwanis Club during noon luncheon here Friday.

Carpenter, president of the Trinity River Authority of Texas and chairman of the board of Southland Life Insurance Co., said comprehensive plans to create a barge canal and water retention system along the winding Trinity and thus put the entire central part of the State on the sea will be presented to the Federal Government late this year.

"It is not possible to comprehend the importance of the Trinity development to Texas," Carpenter stated. "It is one of the most fabulous stories in the annals of commerce and business as well as a dream come true which will benefit every citizen in the State in some way."

"Development of the Trinity is the most comprehensive engineering project in the State," he continued because it will afford flood control of a river which empties 6 million acre-feet of water into the gulf annually. It will include facilities for flood control, pollution control, navigation, water storage for municipal and industrial uses and soil conservation * * * part of the State will be looking to the Trinity for its water supply and we will be ready to meet the need with the completion of the project."

Carpenter said the populace now located in the Trinity Basin, including Houston and Dallas residents, is equal to the total population of nine States and that future increase in population will make resources of the river even more precious.

The business and civic leader said the impact of barge traffic along the Trinity will usher in an era of unprecedented industrial development calculated to create several millions of new jobs for Texans.

Carpenter also pointed to the fact that completion of the barge canal will create inland water transportation all the way from New York State to the Gulf of Mexico. He said existing barge facilities along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers have been a boom to the national transportation picture because the costs of such transportation is far below that of any other industry.

"Only 1 barge, pushed along by tugboats can carry the contents of 400 boxcars," he stated to emphasize the great bulk of goods which can be transported cheaply via water.

He also noted that the cost of constructing the canal system will be no greater than the outlay necessitated for construction of a modern freeway overland.

The Trinity authority president called attention to stipulation in the U.S. Constitution for the Federal Government's responsibility to develop waterways in the United States. He said the Congress is specifically authorized to carry on such improvements for the benefit of all Americans. He said the Founding Fathers wrote into the Constitution the duty to help finance and direct waterway construction and that the practice has been followed since the Constitution was adopted in 1789.

Carpenter also pointed out that other nations are taking advantage of canal develop-

ment to enliven their economies, including Russia, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Germany. He said much of West Germany's business rebound following World War II has been brought about by that nation's use of canal transportation of its manufactured goods as well as raw materials.

He said some $933 million must be made available for completion of the Trinity Waterway, with $500 million coming from sources other than the Federal Government and $490 million from Federal sources.

Carpenter credited the late John Carpenter, of Dallas, widely known industrial and business leader, and the late Amon Carter, noted publisher of the Fort Worth Star Telegram, as creaters of the Trinity River Association, which preceded by many years establishment of the Trinity River Authority of Texas in 1955.

East Texas counties along the proposed canal project include Kaufman, Ellis, Henderson, Anderson, Freestone, Houston, and Leon.

Carpenter's appearance before the local club included a vivid dialog describing films of the Black Warrior River development in Alabama, which opened the middle interior of that State to world sea traffic.

Federation of Italian-American Democratic Organizations of New York, "Concerto Primavera" Scores Success at Carnegie Hall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Il Popolo Italiano of June 4, 1964:

FEDERATION OF ITALIAN-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS OF NEW YORK, "CONCERTO PRIMAVERA" SCORES SUCCESS AT CARNEGIE HALL—CONGRESSMAN J. J. ROONEY PRESENTS AWARD TO HON. MARIO T. NOTO

The Federation of the Italian-American Organization of the State of New York, Inc., has a list of supporters and members as long as its name. Under its president, Hon. A. E. Santangenlo, a man who has done much to further the cause of Italo-Americans. It recently gave a "Concert Di Primavera" at which a presentation of the 1964 Amerigo Vespucci Awards made to four outstanding Americans of Italian descent.

Hon. Sylvester Garamella was chairman of the impressive affair which was attended by over 3,000 and had its setting amidst the magnificence and splendor of New York City's Carnegie Hall. The program he organized featured Paul Lavalle and the Band of America, Pianist Lee Luvisi, and continental tenor, Dino Rossi.

The highlight of the evening was the presentation of the Vespucci Awards. President Santangelo opened ceremonies by reading a congratulatory telegram from President Johnson, who sent his best wishes to the organization as well as to the recipients of the awards.

Hon. JOHN J. ROONEY, an outstanding Member of Congress from Brooklyn made the first presentation. A longtime champion of the rights of the Italian people in America, and a loyal friend of those seeking justice, Congressman ROONEY made an impressive speech, at times addressing his Italian audience in their native tongue. He presented the award to Hon. Mario T. Noto, distinguished Associate Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, whom he has known for many years.

Among the other recipients were: Hon. Dominick F. Paduano, Hon. Joseph P. Vaccarella Nesi. The 1964 George B. De Luca Brotherhood Award was presented to Mr. Guido G. Salmaggi, general director of the Brooklyn Opera Co., and Hon. Fortune Pope received the Camille M. Cianfarra Memorial Award.

President Santangelo must be congratulated for the great work which his organization has accomplished in the past and should be supported for the ambitious programs which lie ahead for New York's Federation of Italian-American Organizations.

L.B.J.'s Stewardship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article that appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on May 27, 1964.

I am sure there is no doubt in anyone's mind that Mr. Johnson has done an excellent and remarkable job since assuming the Presidency. His accomplishments will certainly be greater in the months and years to come. Our Nation can indeed be proud of his stewardship.

The article follows:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, May 27, 1964]

L.B.J.'s STEWARDSHIP

It has been 6 months since Lyndon B. Johnson took over the Presidency on that black Friday in Dallas that saw the life of a young and vibrant President suddenly extinguished.

President Johnson's record of stewardship during that time is one of impressive achievement, attested to by a high degree of popular approval throughout the land.

He took over the awesome responsibilities of President of the United States under the most tragic circumstances possible. In full view of a shocked nation he assumed his new duties humbly, with full knowledge of the enormity of the problems facing him, and with determination to do the very best that he could.

His best has proved remarkably good. He gave the Nation, and the world, an immediate and reassuring sense of continuity in the dark days. In the months since, he has given a demonstration of unloosed energy in the President's office that can have few parallels.

Lyndon Johnson is a skilled and veteran politician and he learned, long ago, that a good way to keep political opponents off balance is by taking the offensive and never letting go. He has made the task of the Republican Party, in its search for a candidate to oppose him in November and for valid issues on which to run against him, an extremely difficult one.

He was assisted by having readymade programs, left in his hands by the Kennedy administration. But he showed his ability to get programs moving by stirring a hitherto do-nothing Congress into action—passing, for instance, the tax reduction bill and getting the civil rights bill through the House. His settlement of a rail dispute, which appeared to defy solution, was another signal accomplishment.

He has launched an antipoverty campaign. He has stanchly upheld civil rights for Negroes, even traveling to Atlanta to urge a new era in race relationships.

Problems away from our shores have continued to plague him, as they did his predecessors, and even a politician's sure footedness is not always adequate to cope with incessant crises in southeast Asia, in Cuba, and elsewhere. But he has furnished the people with an image of undisturbed firmness and prudence that instills in many Americans a feeling of confidence.

America was deep in the throes of horror and dismay when Lyndon Johnson took the oath of President on that bleak day 6 months ago. We can only feel ourselves fortunate that he was the man upon whom the mantle and the responsibilities of that high office devolved.

Principle Is a Compass To Steer By

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the failures of the United States to prevent Communist aggression are due to the lack of a firm principle to underlie our foreign policy. The President has always been a firm advocate of expediency, a quick solution to settle the problem for the moment. This may be okay when you are dealing in ward politics, but it is exceedingly dangerous when applied to foreign affairs.

A return to principle is a basic need in meeting and solving both domestic and foreign policies. "Wanted: A Compass," is an able editorial on this subject in this week's issue of U.S. News & World Report. It was written by David Lawrence and is included here as a part of these remarks:

WANTED: A COMPASS
(By David Lawrence)

On April 17, 1953, there appeared on this page an editorial entitled "Wanted: A Compass," which read in part as follows:

"In what a sorry state do we find ourselves today as we drift from crisis to crisis not knowing what the enemy may do and always seeking to contrive for ourselves a new formula to meet each contingency.

"Our leaders spend anxious hours trying to guess what the next move of Communist Russia may be, trying to evaluate the personality characteristics of Malenkov (then Soviet Premier) or the behavior of evil men in the Kremlin.

"If the lives of the great statesmen of history teach in common a single lesson, it is that nations must steer by a compass. That compass is principle. We cannot chart a new course every time a new problem arises. To forsake principle for the opportunism of expediency is to start a nation on the road to self-destruction."

In the 11 years since the above was written, the controversies on the international front have continued, and we have drifted from crisis to crisis in what is known as the "cold war."

Two major forces stand against each other, each seeking to establish its own concept of how power shall be exercised in the world. The Communist regimes in Moscow and Peiping believe in establishing their hegemony over other nations by infiltration, by espionage, by subversion, by bribery, by military aid, or by whatever means seems likely to achieve their ends.

The democracies, led by the United States, believe in self-government—the right of the people to a voice in national as well as international affairs. The only objective is to widen the areas of human freedom—to establish systems of justice for the settlement not only of national but of international problems.

But even as the Communists profess to be interested solely in ideology, they have undermined through their stooges and agents the stability of governments throughout the world, particularly in southeast Asia. The Soviet Premier has just visited the Middle East to buy an ally through the loan of hundreds of millions of rubles. He has moved into Cuba to set up missile bases to threaten the safety of the American people. He has subverted some of the recently formed governments in north Africa. He has sought to control or overthrow governments in Latin America.

In the midst of such a turbulent world, what can the free nations do? They had hoped to be able to rely on the United Nations, but the Communist influence has bored its way into that organization as well. At the very time, moreover, when the Western nations should be unified, at least in their policies and principles, there is disunity. France, for example, is showing a tendency to go off on her own in an effort that seems certain in the long run unwittingly to serve only the purposes of our adversaries in the "cold war."

What compass shall we steer by?

We must first of all proclaim our unremitting determination to help peoples everywhere—including the peoples of the Soviet Union and China—to achieve self-government for themselves. For peoples do not make war on each other—only autocratic governments perpetrate that crime.

We have witnessed two world wars started by autocratic governments. Dictatorships in Moscow and in Peiping are today threatening the peace of mankind.

As was said on this page in April 1953:

"For the principle in simple terms is that America is not safe, no democracy is safe, as long as there exists in the world any powerful nation controlled by a dictatorship—as long as any regime prevents the peaceful purposes of the people from being expressed through freely elected representatives.

"This is the great cause of freedom for which Americans and the peoples allied with us must suffer unbalanced budgets and, if need be, sacrifices of human lives.

"This is the principle that survives the ephemeral events of today and tomorrow."

But without principle to guide us, we have no compass. Unhappily, almost all of the conferences and talks with Russia which in recent years have been proclaimed as forerunners of mutual understanding have proved futile. Opportunism is no substitute for resoluteness based on principle.

Even more unfortunate is our tendency to refuse to speak out plainly so that the public opinion of the world can be mobilized.

We spend much money for "foreign aid," but we hesitate to speak directly to the people of the country to which we give our aid. Our high officials, moreover, tend to ignore the misleading pronouncements of the Moscow government distributed daily through its numerous outlets around the world.

We need a compass to steer by not only in our formal diplomacy but also on the stormy seas of psychological warfare.

Hon. James A. Farley: "Spirit of 76"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 30, 1964, James A. Farley celebrated his 76th birthday. As Democratic national chairman, as Postmaster General, and for the past 24 years, as chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., Jim Farley has made an unmatched contribution to both public service and private business in America.

Under consent previously granted, I commend to the attention of my colleagues two birthday tributes to Jim Farley, "Spirit of 76" and "Farley at 76: No Regrets, No Plan To Retire," which appeared in the New York Journal-American:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal-American, May 31, 1964]

SPIRIT OF 76

James A. Farley, a grand master of the Democratic Party, has passed the age of 76 with politics very much on his mind. We're happy to hear he reached this milestone in top shape and with appropriate joy, naturally predicting a Democratic landslide in the fall. But regardless of what happens in the fall, or any other time, regarding politics or anything else, we look with affection on Jim Farley as part of the American scene and wish him continued joy in years to come.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal-American, May 29, 1964]

FARLEY AT 76: NO REGRETS, NO PLAN TO RETIRE

(By James L. Kilgallen)

James A. Farley, who will be 76 tomorrow, "feels fine," looks good, works as hard as ever, and has no intention of throwing in the towel.

"Age is a state of mind," he said in his office at 515 Madison Avenue.

Now rounding out 24 years as chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export Corp., the former Postmaster General and master politician showed as keen an interest in the affairs of the Nation as he ever did.

SEES L.B.J. SWEEP

Speaking of politics, he predicted that President Johnson will be reelected by a smashing majority in the 1964 campaign.

"In my judgment," he said, "President Johnson will have as large a victory as the late President Franklin R. Roosevelt had in 1932 when he lost only six States."

Mr. Farley, 6 feet 2½ and weighing 205 pounds, exuded energy and good health. He said that if he had his career to live over again, he would do as he did.

"I wouldn't change it one iota," he declared. "I have no apologies, no regrets. Like everyone else, I've made mistakes. But they have been mistakes of the head, not the heart."

SENSIBLE RULES

His rules for longevity are:

"Pace yourself. Don't let yourself get too tired. Lead a regular life. Learn to relax. Get a good night's sleep, and don't dissipate."

Mr. Farley does not drink or smoke, fulfilling a promise made to his mother. He gets up before 7 a.m. at his suite in the Waldorf-Astoria and is at his office at 8:30 a.m. where he works until 6:30 p.m. He dictates about 100 letters a day.

"Genial Jim," former Democratic State and National chairman, has made legions of friends in politics.

NO POLITICAL AMBITIONS

Asked if he now has any political ambitions, he replied:

"None whatever. * * * I would have run for U.S. Senator in 1958 and for Governor in 1962 if the party had nominated me. I believe I would have been elected to either office."

On his birthday tomorrow, Mr. Farley plans to attend mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral and then drive up to his birthplace at Grassy Point, N.Y., where he will mingle with his oldtime associates. Later in the day, he will dine with his children and grandchildren.

Nurse Scholarship Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a most interesting letter from Dean Mary Mahar, School of Nursing, University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

The letter refers to the Nurses Training Act legislation and gives an excellent view of the nursing programs in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts with particular reference to nurse scholarship assistance.

I am pleased to bring this letter to the attention of my colleagues, and I trust that it will have wide reading.

The full text of the letter follows:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Amherst, Mass., June 3, 1964.

Re H.R. 11241.
Hon. SILVIO O. CONTE,
Massachusetts Representative in Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CONTE: We who are responsible for preparing professional nurses for the future at the baccalaureate level in Massachusetts are particularly eager to secure your support of the Nurse Training Act of 1964, H.R. 11241 (originally H.R. 10042). I refer particularly to the restoration of the scholarship provision to $1,000. A cut to $500 would be a tragedy.

As you no doubt know, there are presently seven baccalaureate nursing programs in Massachusetts: Boston College, Boston; Boston University, Boston; Simmons College, Boston; Massachusetts General Hospital, Radcliffe; Massachusetts State College at Fitchburg; Mount Holyoke College, Hartford Hospital; University of Massachusetts School of Nursing at Amherst.

The University of Massachusetts School of Nursing alone, had 493 applicants seeking admission in September 1964. Of this number, 200 met the entrance requirements of the university. Our school could accept but 75 freshmen because of the paucity in qualified nursing faculty (we would need to have doubled our faculty if 200 students had been accepted). The limitations in clinical resources and facilities were also barriers to increased enrollment.

Many of the Massachusetts State colleges are eager to include baccalaureate nursing programs in their offering.

Each year, the number of highly qualified and strongly motivated high school graduates seeking admission to a baccalaureate nursing program is increasing. Such a program enables the student of nursing to enroll in such liberal arts courses as: biological, physical, and social sciences; humanities, art; music; philosophy, etc. The courses, usually taken in the freshman and sophomore years, provide the foundation upon which the more specialized nursing program is developed. The age of the majority of entering freshman students is 17–17½ years. These first 2 years of disciplined study enable the students of nursing to mature before assuming the ever increasing responsibility delegated to nursing in the care of adults, children, infants, and families meeting crisis situations due to physical and/or mental illness. Upon graduation from a B.S. program, (usually at age 21), and registration by the State board of registration in nursing, these young men and women are eligible for admission to an advanced program in nursing. Such programs are developed to prepare qualified candidates for faculty positions in schools of nursing.

Presently, Massachusetts has 52 professional schools of nursing, most of whom are seeking qualified faculty members for the fall. If the goals of qualitative and quantitative nursing service for our citizens as set forth in the Report of the Surgeon General's Consultant Group on Nursing, 1963, are to be met, additional faculty members must be prepared every year. Graduation from a baccalaureate degree program in nursing is a prerequisite for admission to a graduate nursing program. Baccalaureate programs are, therefore, the seedbed for future faculty for our schools.

I am aware of the continued support you have given to legislation concerning nursing education. I sincerely request your special support at this time. It is imperative that the scholarship provision of the Nurse Training Act not be reduced to $500. The original proposal of $1,000 was indeed a modest amount, particularly for students entering schools of nursing in private colleges and universities.

With sincere and deep appreciation for your efforts in behalf of the Nurse Training Act, I am,

Yours very truly,

MARY A. MAHER,
Dean, School of Nursing.

Master of Magnificence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, each year it has been my privilege to meet the graduating class of the Manalapan Township Public School in Englishtown, N.J., on their annual visit to Washington, and, in accordance with my custom, I offer prizes for the three best essays written about their visit to the Capital City. These essays are judged by their teachers under the guidance of Charles D. Swalm, superintendent of the school, and I have just received the winning essays which, under the permission granted me, I include as part of these remarks.

Needless to say, I am most grateful for what Mr. Swalm says in his letter to me forwarding the essays, as follows:

We do appreciate your interest in our efforts to keep our boys and girls abreast and aware of the traditions and responsibilities of our representative government. I am sure that this exercise has helped our young people to think further and to recall the impressions that they had as a result of their visit with you and their trip to Washington.

It is a joy to feel these efforts have not been in vain.

I urge my colleagues to read these essays which follow my remarks. They show the enthusiasm of youth and a real appreciation of the glory of being an American:

MASTER OF MAGNIFICENCE

All the adjectives one could think of could not give our National Capital a fitting title. It is truly a majestic city as its panoramic splendor spreads before you when viewed from atop the Washington Monument; or when the eyes of Lincoln seem to penetrate your mind and heart; or the White House with its dearest memories. These are but a few of the colossal scenes that is Washington, D.C.

Although the rain drowned me outwardly, a certain something told me to rejoice in the meaning of Washington; the meaning of this center of my independence and freedom. Even the hardest rain could not dampen this feeling.

The Capitol is the area of responsibility; the seat of our democratic system; the representation of the American people; the future of America. At the time we were there, the Senate was battling out a foothold in our country's history.

To witness our Government in action was surely a great experience. The bustling of the throngs of people throughout the Capitol area showed the interest others all around the world have in our leading city.

Of all the places our class toured, I think the ones most likely to be treasured in our memories, will be the Iwo Jima Statue, and Arlington National Cemetery. Although they are located outside the city itself, I always think of them as part of our Capital.

Iwo Jima represents the struggle the U.S. Marines endured during World War II in an attempt to raise Old Glory. These men gave their lives to the Republic for which that flag stands; therefore this tribute to them could be no finer. It is a brilliant sculpture by Felix deWeldon, showing every detail of the hard flag-raising task in the midst of battle.

On the road to Arlington, and over the bridge into Virginia, an eerie feeling came over me. The pavement we rode upon followed the exact route of the John F. Kennedy cortege, and that stayed with me.

As you enter the cemetery, first you see row after row of white tombstones of Americans who gave their lives so that others might live in a peaceful world.

As we moved further uphill, we witnessed the changing of the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Three unidentified Americans, "Known but to God Alone," who, as they fell, passed the torch of freedom on to the next generation to defend. They fought courageously, hoping to spare us the dreaded tortures of war.

Above all the graves, on a gentle slope, lies their Commander in Chief, looking over his army of heroes, not famous soldiers, but all heroes, John F. Kennedy, the late President of the United States. He too was struck down in midst of battle, and he too passed on his torch. Even though he is gone, his memory, kept alive by the eternal flame, shall go on burning in the hearts of all people who hope for worldwide peace and understanding.

Now we leave Washington, homeward bound, with so much to remember and cherish.

BARBARA LANDWERSIEK,
First prize.

SHRINE OF THE PEOPLE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

A city of true American dignity and grace, a pedestal mounted as a masterpiece. These are only a few of phrases by which our Capital City can be described.

Truly a city of the people is this shrine of America. Honoring in her own way, the living and the dead. In her halls of fame are the immortals, such as Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson, enshrined forever for their role in the making of this great Nation.

The capital of our Nation was fittingly laid out in the form of a great wheel with the Capitol Building signifying law and justice throughout the land as its hub.

Here in the heart of our Nation are located many of the most revered shrines of America. In this place where past, present, and future are strategically mixed, thrives a busy business world. It can be seen as a panoramic view from the windows located in the top of the immense obelisk, the Washington Monument. The monument was built in honor of the Father of our Country.

The Smithsonian Institution contains many relics of our past, as well as evidences ever striving toward a better future. Among the most precious and rare pieces in the world, displayed in the Institution, is the Hope diamond the largest, most perfect diamond in the world.

Another of the many shrines is the National Archives Building, which houses the original Constitution and Bill of Rights upon which this great democracy was formed. The Constitution is so perfect that, over a period of more than a hundreds years, no more than 23 amendments have been adopted.

The Lincoln Memorial, in my opinion, is the most beautiful of all the memorials in the city. Styled somewhat like the Parthenon of ancient Greece, the Lincoln Memorial lies beyond a long pool of water reaching from the Washington to the Lincoln Memorial. Sitting on an impressive throne of white marble, the even more impressive statue of this great man is glorified by its simplicity. The statue, rising 20 feet in height, and 20 feet at its widest part, bears a strong resemblance to that great man who died almost 100 years ago. On the two walls on either side of the statue are his most famous speeches, the Gettysburg Address and the Emancipation Proclamation, and his second inaugural address, for which he will always be remembered.

It is through the corridors of this great city that pass the finest leaders and presidents of the world. May they always uphold the light and truth for democracy and keep alive the words "Her truth is marching on."

MARGARET SHARKEY,
Second prize.

WASHINGTON: A REPRESENTATIVE OF OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

We, the class of 1964, beheld our first real look of Washington, D.C., when, in the distance, the dome of the Capitol rose to greet us after a long journey which had begun in the early morning.

I first became aware of Washington as a city of world importance not during those 2 exciting days, but during the short term of our late President Kennedy when I began to understand better how the wheels of our Government work.

At the Washington Monument, a warm sun shone down on a group of teenagers who practically toppled out of the buses in their eagerness to get outside. Upon reaching the top, we stood gazing in fascination at the Jefferson Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial, the Capitol Building, the White House and, if you looked down, the Washington Monument itself. However, it seemed somehow safer to look at the monstrous structure from the outside. Pictures we had seen before of the monument disguised the actual height, and when we stood next to it, it looked double the size we had imagined.

The ride to the Capitol took us past many marble buildings that we had previously read and heard about.

Inside the rotunda, which has become so familiar to Americans after the recent tragic assassination of President Kennedy, my eyes almost automatically sought out the place where Mrs. Kennedy had stood and where the bier had rested. These sad memories dominated my mind as I passed on to Statuary Hall, where great men of American history from each State are represented, including our own Richard Stockton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. We were privileged in seeing both the Senate and the House of Representatives in session.

Now, as I look back on those 2 days, the history of America appears like a puzzle, and at each stop more pieces were clarified and fell into place.

Upon arrival at the Smithsonian Institution, the class was given free reign and instructed to return to the buses at a given time.

The needlework, porcelain, and other domestic objects interested me far more than a 6-ton tank that was pointed out to me. But then, all too soon, our time was up and we returned to our buses; not before a few unfortunate people, including some of our chaperons, were caught in a downpour of rain.

The Hotel Harrington appeared as a welcome sight to those who had been drenched in our unlucky encounter with the rain. It also appeared as a welcome sight to the rest of us for it was a chance to really relax. No one did, relax I mean.

Soon, after a very satisfying dinner, our chaperons had us in the buses and on our way. You see, we had given the rain a stern talking to and strictly forbade it to ruin our trip, and it stopped raining just in time to continue on our night tour.

After a slight delay, we were on our way to view the District of Columbia by night. It was no disappointment. No words, I think, could describe the Washington Monument, a majestic pinnacle reaching upward, the Lincoln Memorial, framing the great brooding figure of "Honest Abe," and the Capitol, beautifully silhouetted against the night sky.

Then back to the hotel where we spent 1 night of fun, gaiety, and running from room to room, with very little sleep included.

In the morning, breakfast and then for the 30 millionth time it seemed, we boarded the buses.

The Federal Bureau of Printing and Engraving, where over $35 million is printed daily; and the FBI Building, where it became quite clear that "crime does not pay" when there are all these very efficient men, agents, laboratories, and assorted devices at their disposal in their war against crime. This tour took the major part of the morning.

However, we still had time to listen to the Honorable Congressman JAMES AUCHINCLOSS tell us to "be what ya am, not what ya ain't," and visit the White House.

The White House, in the beginning was a slight disappointment to me. Although Mrs. Kennedy's decoration and remodeling can clearly be seen throughout the rooms, it does not appear as a home. How can it possibly when it is roped off and guards are stationed throughout? However, when I entered the main entrance hall and retraced the steps of the former First Lady on November 23 out the north portico and down the drive, a new and different feeling crept over me.

My feet hurt and I was tired, but I would not have stopped for the world.

At the hotel, again, we packed, ate lunch, and practically automatically now, boarded our busses for the trip to the Pan-American Building.

There we had a tour through the elegant building that, like the U.N., is proof of "peace through understanding."

After traveling across the Potomac River, we arrived in time to see the changing of the guard at Arlington National Cemetery. From there we rode to the immense statue of Iwo Jima.

We again returned to Arlington, where I was privileged in participating in placing a wreath on the late President Kennedy's gravesite.

Mount Vernon, our last official stop, is the beautiful estate where George Washington resided. Again we were allowed to roam the stately grounds.

For the last time, we arrived at the hotel, ate dinner, and left Washington in the early evening.

As the Capitol sank into the horizon, we settled back for the long trip home. However, few slept as we sang a song of our own invention:

'Goodby, D.C., goodby,
Goodby, D.C., goodby,
We'll see you again
But we don't know when,
Goodby, D.C., goodby."

And for the most of us it was goodby to the city that had given us a lot of fun and memories to be treasured the rest of our lives.

DANA SAYRE, Third Prize.

Tribute to John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most touching tribues offered to our late President, John F. Kennedy, was spoken Sunday, May 24, at St. Jude's Shrine of the West, in San Diego, Calif.

St. Jude's is a Roman Catholic parish serving a portion of the city which has suffered most as the result of unemployment. Thus, for many families it meant real sacrifices when their pastor, the Reverend Gregory Sheridan, asked contributions for a portrait plaque honoring the first Catholic President.

The plaque's dedication was made an occasion of special ceremony, attended by the diocesan bishop, the Most Reverend Charles F. Buddy, uniformed Knights of Columbus and other church and civic dignitaries. High point was a eulogy preached by the Reverend Charles Dollen, library director at the University of San Diego.

Although Father Dollen spoke without a prepared text, I asked to have his remarks transcribed from a tape recording. By unanimous consent, I offer this eloquent tribute for insertion in the RECORD.

When Christ our Lord came to establish His kingdom on earth, He gave it a charter of beauty and manificence and power. Christ our Lord gave to His kingdom the constitution that we have come to know as the Beatitudes: a way of perfection; a way far beyond the ordinary power of poor human nature unless He, Himself, the God-Man, would provide the grace necessary to elevate man to this great stature.

For our Lord said, among other things, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." And certainly, John F. Kennedy understood in the depth of his heart what this meant, for if ever our country was given a man of peace, it was our late beloved President. A man of peace who didn't hesitate to stand up to the horrors of communism and face them bravely; a man whom history will probably say turned the tide in the war against international communism by his brave stand over Cuba.

A man of peace is a man who understands principle and is willing to make the sacrifices that are necessary for his principles. We saw him undertake the civil rights struggle, knowing full well the sacrifices that would be involved; knowing as he did at the time that he might have put his own reelection in the balance. And yet, the principles of justice and truth and charity that Christ our Lord came to establish upon the earth, John Kennedy recognized, worked for, and would have died for.

We know that whenever a crisis faced his country, he looked first into his own heart and his own strength, then he looked up to his God for divine strength, and then he took the road down which principle pointed, no matter what the sacrifices. We know his love for his country; we can remember the times when he addressed us, "my fellow Americans," and there seemed to be a glow in his eye and a lilt to his step in his pride in his country. That wasn't something that was just an image projected. For John Kennedy it was only a heritage that he had begun on *PT–109*.

A young man at that time, still willing to sacrifice for his country if necessary; willing to pay the price with his life if need be and still with all the joyfulness of a young, Irish Boston Catholic in his attempt to win his part of the war. John Kennedy, willing to pay the supreme price for his country—and who is to say that he did not? Who is to say that, in his willingness to meet his fellow Americans, those risks that now seem to have been rash nevertheless summed up his trust and his love and his honoring of his fellow Americans.

We cannot even hate his enemies—so great was his love for his countrymen. We can be sad with all the depths of hearts that loved our President; we can be sad with all the magnificent toil of tears now long spent when we think of him slain by a man who was probably unfortunately a madman. We can remember those few moments, that hour or two after the reports first came across the wires that he had died under an assassin's bullet. We can remember in that first hour we said to ourselves almost in desperation, "Were they Birchites or Communists, or anti-Catholics?"

I can remember us at the library of the university, walking back and forth and saying, "Who would have done such a thing?" For only in that moment did we realize these three centers of hatred that existed in our country. As it turned out, as I say, it was probably a madman. But how can we forget the signs that appeared in Dallas that day: "Wanted for Treason," and a picture of this great President. Where are those enemies of John Kennedy today to sneer at the heritage that he has left to our country? John Kennedy made us all feel young—yes, a middle-aged man like me or older or younger people as you in this congregation. John Kennedy made us recognize that the gift of hope springs eternally in a human heart when it isn't afraid to face the future. All of us felt a new pride in our country when we heard him speak. All of us felt a new trust and confidence in the future.

Here was a man who was undaunted by the challenge of new ideas or new frontiers. The frontiers of space intrigued his imagination as they should ours. The challenge of communism in Latin America made him bring forth the Alliance for Progress based on the only concept that can work: a self-

help concept. His Peace Corps idea—even his most bitter of critics must admit that the Peace Corps has succeeded beyond all our expectations.

These are only a few of the things that John Kennedy left to us. History itself will not have to be kind to the memory of a slaughtered President; history will not have to cover up for a martyred President for the historians themselves, on examining his speeches and his plans and his notes, are finding that the true measure of this man was only beginning to be known and recognized by his countrymen.

We know his love for his family. What an example in this man for the entire Nation. When Christian clergymen of our faiths are worrying about a seeming breakdown in morality and an increase in juvenile delinquency, could we have had a more wonderful example from our Chief Executive than to see him rush to meet Jacqueline when he returned from each trip? To see the pride in his face when she came back from France so triumphant? To see him gather up little Caroline or little John, Jr.—or those pictures of little John playing under his desk, and the measure of the returned devotion. I think ingrained in our memories forever must be the picture of Jacqueline Kennedy with her blood-stained dress still on her as she returned to Washington. How deep must her love have been. She never said, "They've killed the President," or "They've shot him." Her cry was, "They've shot my husband." The cry of a loving Catholic wife, an example to everyone, not only in our country but throughout the world, of what the ideals of an American family life are.

We know his love for his faith. We know that his love of God inspired so many of his pronouncements. It is a magnificent thing to compare the documents of Pope John XXIII and President John Kennedy, and sometimes wonder which one first came up with these great expressions of civil rights and social justice and Christian charity. These two men, if ever two men have done it, have changed the course of a century. Chronologically, we may live at the end of the 20th century, but we have been privileged to know the first two 21st century men. They are our guides and our inspirations.

Many of the beautiful books that are being published this year about John Kennedy, to mention only a few: Mark Shaw's "Kennedy Family Album," Bradley's "That Special Grace," "Those Shining Moments." These books are beginning to preserve for us the tradition of the brave American smile in the face of challenge.

We have a lot to learn still from John Kennedy. From the Gospel that will be read in today's Mass, we will hear the message from God Himself: "Go forth into the world and teach all whatsoever I have commanded you." We will hear a message that will tell us to take Christ's words fearlessly into the world and Christianize, baptize, elevate a world grown worn and weary when left to its own devices. John Kennedy recognized that. He saw in the civil rights struggle Christ our Lord saying, "Whatever you do to these, the least of my brethren, you do unto me." He heard St. James proclaim, "How can you say you love God, whom you do not see, if you cannot love your neighbor whom you do see?"

We have witnessed in our times a Christian Pope and a Christian President who kept before their eyes and in their hearts at all times the treasure, the heart, the meaning and the essence of Christianity. They worked for the charity of Christ. They sacrificed for the charity of Christ. They never hesitated or flinched or drew back when their Christian principals showed them the path.

Six months ago we all said to ourselves, "How could this have happened?" Some of us, perhaps even in our rebelliousness, said, "How could God let this happen?" And as we sat down, the real answer was, "How good of God to have given us men like John Kennedy and Pope John for so long a time when we didn't deserve it. How magnificent of God's charity to point out a way for us in concrete human fashion that we could understand." And now, 6 months later I can dare to say, "It was necessary—it was expedient—it was important for John Kennedy to die for us that his message and his life might shower forth in all its magnificence for us to meditate upon and understand."

No longer can the hatemongers and the extremists attack him. No longer can they muddy up his message to us. It is given to us now to follow the path that he charted. We would sit here as hypocrites honoring the memory of a dead man if we did not carry forth his apostolate.

Let's go back a century and look at the remains of another martyred President, Abraham Lincoln. The Great Emancipator left for us a heritage of American history that every schoolchild and adult can be proud of. But the tragedy of Lincoln's death was that those who followed him did not share his vision. Those who followed him betrayed the trust of the great President that Lincoln was. There need have been no dark days of reconstructionism and Ku Klux Klanism and bigotry and prejudice had the heart of Lincoln inspired his followers. Let us learn the lesson from history so that this doesn't happen to us—not words of lipservice honoring John Kennedy. We must take his message and elevate the world in which these little children will grow up and live and find the future. We can only honor his memory if we listen to his voice. We can only pay homage to the great name of John Fitzgerald Kennedy if we work for the same goals and ideals that he worked and died for.

As Senator TED KENNEDY said in his maiden speech, "Civil rights was at the heart of my brother's works." If the name of Kennedy means anything to us then civil rights and fair housing and full employment must inspire our patriotic love for our country and our countrymen. There is no halfway measure. The crises that face the Christian conscience of our day demand the courage of the martyrs and the fortitude that only God can give us as we fight and strive and vote for what is right.

We must not betray the heritage of John Kennedy. We cannot be silent before the demands of a Christian conscience that make us speak up. There is no longer any room in our generation for people who are afraid to take a side and to take a stand. John Kennedy must inspire us in all that pertains to our beloved country.

We are here today for another magnificent work as well. We are here to pray for the repose of the soul of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. We are not here to canonize him or beatify him or simply commemorate him. As part of our precious Catholic faith that we shared with him, we recognize that every man, no matter how noble, no matter how heroic, must stand before his Judge as a simple human being: "Ashes of ashes, dust of dust." And we know that every last word, every bit of our works will be examined by a loving Father and a just Judge. As we stand before that judgment seat, we are tremendously alone. We offer Him only our response to His graces.

And so in Catholic charity, since the times of the catacombs, Catholics have prayed for their beloved dead. They have begged Almighty God to show mercy. They have offered God from the treasury of the church's own merits that what through frailty of human nature and the stress and strain of daily living might be less than worthy in the sight of God will be made up for by our loving acts of adoration and reparation.

And so today we are praying for the soul of John F. Kennedy. We are praying that God, the merciful Father, will certainly understand the pressures and tensions that beset his life, and will give him the crown of glory that is the rightful destiny of all Christian men and women.

The wonderful work for which we are gathered today, and this beautiful plaque that will shortly be blessed and placed outside the church over at the shrine, this lovely plaque symbolizes in an external fashion the love and devotion of you people. Here at St. Jude's, you are certainly to be commended and lauded and praised for this mark of devotion today. We know that your unemployment and the minority problems probably beset this part of our wonderful city more than in any other place. But you have given out of your poverty an expression of the richness of the love of your hearts. It is, indeed, a privilege for me to have been asked to join with you in this tribute to John Kennedy. I can only hope and pray that every time you see that plaque and every time you bring a visitor in to look at it, it will be an inspiration to carry on the heart and soul of John Kennedy; to change and elevate the America that we love. His death must not be simply a tragedy or a waste; his death must inspire us that Christian charity and American patriotism will bring true freedom and justice and liberty for all whether we're white or black or brown or yellow, whether we're Catholic or Jewish or Protestant or Buddhists. Whether we're rich or poor, we must be united in our love of God, in our love of our country, and to honor the memory of one of the greatest Presidents God has given us to know, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Will There Be Any Free Americans Left?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include the following pertinent article from the U.S. News & World Report of June 8, 1964. The article needs no comment as it speaks for itself in asking the important question, Will there be any free Americans left when President Johnson's poverty program is put into effect?

The article follows:

WILL THERE BE ANY FREE AMERICANS LEFT?

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson and John Kenneth Galbraith have now been answered in a letter from the other side of the "war on poverty."

In an interview in the May 4 issue of U.S. News & World Report, Mr. Galbraith appraised the Johnson program. He said an effective plan would cost $5 billion a year, and should be aimed at helping families with incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

Now comes this reaction to Mr. Galbraith's views, in excerpts of a letter from Fanny T. Taber, of Montgomery, Ala.:

"I have just read Mr. John K. Galbraith's article. * * * I am so annoyed. It seems he is aiming straight at me and people like me.

"My income is slightly less than $3,000, so I am in his poverty group.

"I am well over 70 years old, which is another 'disgraceful' group at which he would aim his $5 billion handout.

"I live simply but comfortably and I want no help from Mr. Johnson. I have two health insurance policies. One pays part of nursing home expenses should I need it.

"I like to travel. I have taken several trips to Europe. Last summer I visited the Banff country in Canada. Now I am thinking of going to the Grand Canyon this summer.

"In the same issue you tell about the Negro man on Mrs. Johnson's place in nearby Autauga County who prefers to mend his own roof at his own time.

"There must be many like him. I hope so. He and I are old enough to escape Mr. Galbraith's educational panaceas.

"We made mistakes. They were our mistakes. We ran our lives. Will there be any free Americans left when Mr. Johnson and Mr. Galbraith get rid of poverty?"

Aerospace Law: Progress in the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am calling to the attention of the Congress and the American people the excellent article by my good friend John Cobb Cooper, assistant editor of the Journal of Air Law and Commerce, which appeared in "Astronautics and Aerospace Engineering," March 1964.

Dr. John Cooper is a past president of the Institute of Space Law. From 1951 to 1955 he served as director of the Institute of International Law at McGill University. He received an A.B. degree from Princeton. Dr. Cooper is now professor emeritus of international law of McGill University.

The article follows:

AEROSPACE LAW: PROGRESS IN THE U.N.—UNANIMOUS APPROVAL BY U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF LEGAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING STATES' ACTIVITIES IN SPACE MARKS END OF 2-YEAR STALEMATE IN THIS AREA, BUT MANY QUESTIONS REMAIN UNRESOLVED

(By John Cobb Cooper, past president, International Institute of Space Law)

The General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1963 by Resolution 1962 (XVIII) unanimously approved a "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space," prepared by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, thus ending in large measure its 2-year stalemate in the development of aerospace law.

* * * * *

In December 1961, the U.N. General Assembly had adopted the now celebrated resolution 1721A (XVI):

"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing the common interest of mankind in furthering the peaceful uses of outer space and the urgent need to strengthen international cooperation in this important field,

"Believing that the exploration and use of outer space should be only for the betterment of mankind and to the benefit of states irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development,

"1. Commends to states for their guidance in the exploration and use of outer space the following principles:

"(a) International law, including the United Nations Charter, applies to outer space and celestial bodies;

"(b) Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states in conformity with international law, and are not subject to national appropriation;

"2. Invites the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to study and report on the legal problems which may arise from the exploration and use of outer space."

Following the adoption of this 1961 resolution by the Assembly, the U.N. Outer Space Committee created a Legal Subcommittee. This Subcommittee met in Geneva in May and June 1962, followed later by a further meeting of the full Committee, and finally by the First (Political) Committee of the 1962 Assembly. No agreement was reached on any of the proposals which had been submitted.

On December 19, 1962, the U.N. Assembly adopted resolution 1802 (XVII). It (1) noted with regret that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space had not yet made recommendations on legal questions; (2) called upon all member states to cooperate in the further development of law for outer space; (3) requested the committee to continue urgently its work on the further elaboration "of basic legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration or use of outer space," on liability for space vehicle accidents, and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles, as well as on other legal problems; (4) referred to the committee, as a basis for its work, all proposals thus far brought forward, including the draft proposals as to basic principles submitted by the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as the U.S. proposal as to liability, and the U.S.S.R. and U.S. proposals on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles.

The primary problem as to the "basic legal principles governing States in the exploration and use of outer space" was thus returned to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, together with the subsidiary questions of assistance and liability. The Legal Subcommittee met again in New York on April 16, 1963. In addition to the earlier proposals, the Subcommittee had before it a new U.S.S.R. "draft declaration of the basic principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space" (A/AC.105/C.2/L.6), discussed later in this paper. The Subcommittee adjourned without final agreement.

Legal status of airspace and outer space: All of the proposals before the U.N. Committee tacitly, though not specifically, recognized the territorial sovereignty of the subjacent state in the airspace above its lands and waters. Similarly, if they had been accepted as part of an international obligation, any of these proposals would have recognized the nonterritorial status of outer space. The new Soviet draft declaration of basic principles stated: "Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states; sovereignty over outer space or celestial bodies cannot be acquired by use or occupation or in any other way." The United Kingdom draft declaration included the statements that "outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states in conformity with international law," and that "outer space and celestial bodies are not capable of appropriation or exclusive use by any state." The U.S. draft declaration of principles asserted that "outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states, on the basis of equal rights, in conformity with international law," and that "outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation."

But the Legal Subcommittee adjourned without formal agreement on any of the proposed statements of general principles. One of the areas of disagreement dealt with the form under which action should be taken. A group of states, headed by the U.S.S.R. insisted upon U.N. action in a form which would be "legally binding" on participating states, holding apparently that General Assembly resolutions were mere recommendations. This position necessarily created the gravest doubt as to whether any U.N. action, including the 1961 resolution, quoted earlier in this paper, could be considered as a binding commitment on member states, even though the resolution was unanimously adopted. It will be noted, in fact, that the resolution was actually limited to commending "to states for their guidance in the exploration and use of outer space" certain principles, including the principles that "outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law, and are not subject to national appropriation."

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space met in September 1963. It noted that, as a result of the work of the Legal Subcommittee and subsequent exchanges of views, differences had narrowed. The Committee expressed the hope that a wider consensus might be achieved by the time the subject was to be considered by the General Assembly. The Committee met again in November 1963. As a result of consultations which had occurred between members of the Committee, a working paper had been prepared. This paper presented the draft declaration which was eventually submitted to the General Assembly for consideration, and was unanimously approved without change on December 13, 1963. This declaration marks a historic advance toward international agreement on rules of conduct to be followed by states in the exploration and use of outer space.

The four major principles thus approved by the General Assembly directly reflect its 1961 resolution, as well as the major provisions of the various drafts, referred to above, prepared by the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, United Arab Republic, and United States. The Declaration, after noting the fact that the 1961 and 1962 resolutions had been approved unanimously, then states that the General Assembly "solemnly declares that in the exploration and use of outer space states should be guided by the following principles:

"1. The exploration and use of outer space shall be carried on for the benefit and in the interests of all mankind.

"2. Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law.

"3. Outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means.

"4. The activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried on in accordance with international law including the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international cooperation and understanding.

Additional paragraphs of the declaration contain provisions which deal with responsibility of states for national activities in outer space, also provisions that such activities should be conducted with due regard for the interests of other states, that the state on whose registry an object launched into outer space is carried shall retain jurisdiction and control, that each state that launches or procures the launching of an object into outer space and each state from whose territory the object is launched is internationally liable for damages caused, and that astronauts making a landing on the ter-

ritory of a foreign state or on the high seas shall be safely and promptly returned to the state of registry of their space vehicle.

Academic questions may still exist as to whether this "declaration," not being in treaty form, is of itself legally binding on the U.N. member states who voted in its favor. However, its practical effect is clear. As between those member states now exploring outer space, and those others which may soon be added, the nonterritorial status of outer space and of celestial bodies has been accepted, together with an effective denial of any right to claim outer space sovereignty. This far-reaching result of the U.N. actions arises both from the fact that the declaration was drafted following conferences between the Soviet Union and the United States and other U.N. members, and, even more important, from the manner in which the declaration was received.

During the General Assembly debates, the U.S. representative said: "We believe these legal principles reflect international law as it is accepted by the members of the United Nations. The United States, for its part, intends to respect these principles. We hope that the conduct which the resolution commends to nations in the exploration of outer space will become the practice of all nations." The representative of the Soviet Union, after noting the statement of the United States, said: "The Soviet Union, for its part, will also respect the principles contained in this declaration if it is unanimously adopted." The representative of the United Kingdom said: "My Government intends to respect these principles and believes that the conduct they enjoin will become the practice of every state and thus serve to insure the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes."

These are international commitments of deep significance. No state indicated that it would refuse to regulate its international conduct in the manner provided by the declaration.

Admittedly, unanimity did not exist in the views expressed as to the technical legal effect of the declaration standing alone. For example, the representative of France said: "I will add, however, that, while supporting and subscribing to the principles contained in the declaration to which I have just referred, my delegation could not for the moment give this declaration more value than that of a declaration of intention. We do not, in fact, consider that a resolution of the General Assembly, even though adopted unanimously, can in this case create, stricto sensu, juridical obligations incumbent upon member states. Such obligations can flow only from international agreements." But the fact remains that the declaration was thereafter unanimously adopted.

For practical purposes, it can now be stated with great assurance that no member of the United Nations will hereafter seek to project its territorial sovereign claims into outer space. If a landing is made on the moon, no territorial rights will follow. Freedom of exploration and use of outer space and celestial bodies now seem assured.

REMAINING AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY OR DISAGREEMENT

Notwithstanding the acceptance of the principle of the freedom of outer space, certain areas of uncertainty or disagreement may still exist as to future limitations of national use of outer space. In a paper presented by the present author at the summer meeting of the AIAA in June 1963 before the declaration had been drafted, it was suggested that certain questions were then unresolved. These included the problem as to whether the peaceful use of outer space means nonaggressive use or strictly nonmilitary use; whether observation satellites should be restricted in photographing or otherwise recording conditions or objects on the earth's surface; the extent to which communication satellites may be used for propaganda; the question as to what uses of outer space by one state require prior agreement by other states; and the question whether states alone as such may use outer space. The present status of each of these questions must be reexamined in the light of the new declaration.

MILITARY USE OF OUTER SPACE

None of the early draft declarations considered by the committee contained a definition of the term "peaceful uses." However, the United Arab Republic proposed that "the activities of member states in outer space should be confined solely to the peaceful uses." This was construed in the subcommittee discussions to mean nonmilitary uses.

The problem is far reaching. Freedom of navigation on the high seas has always permitted passage and maneuver of naval vessels in time of peace, also transit in the airspace over the high seas of military aircraft. If a different rule is to be applied in outer space, and all forms of military use are to be prohibited by international agreement, then the freedom of use of outer space and the freedom of use of the high seas and the airspace above it will mean very different things.

Strong views were expressed in the legal subcommittee, at both its 1962 and 1963 meetings, that this was a question which could be resolved only as part of a general agreement on disarmament. The same position was maintained by certain states before the declaration was approved. Its terms do not directly limit the military use of outer space. If there is to be any such limitation, this must now await ultimate decisions on disarmament. The declaration does not contain even a reference to Resolution 1884 (XVIII), adopted by the General Assembly on October 17, 1963. This resolution had welcomed expressions by the Soviet Union and the United States of their intention not to station in outer space any objects carrying nuclear weapons, or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, and had called on all states to refrain from placing any such weapons in orbit around the earth.

OBSERVATION SATELLITES

The draft declaration proposed earlier by the Soviet Union stated: "The use of artificial satellites for the collection of intelligence information in the territory of a foreign state is incompatible with the objectives of mankind in its conquest of outer space." The discussions in the legal subcommittee demonstrated that the Soviet Union and its supporters were still as insistent on this position as they had been in the 1962 meetings. They refused to accept the contention that satellite observation from outer space was permissible under international law just as observation from ships on the high seas. The 1963 U.N. declaration makes no mention of artificial satellites, nor were they directly referred to in the public discussions which immediately preceded its approval. But it must be noted that paragraph 4 of the declaration specifically states that "the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried on in accordance with international law * * * in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international cooperation and understanding."

The possibility certainly exists that the Soviet Union may hereafter repeat its assertion that the use of artificial satellites for the collection of intelligence information in the territory of a foreign state is not permissible under international law.

USE OF COMMUNICATION SATELLITES FOR PROPAGANDA

Another condition of free use of outer space was thus stated in the Soviet Union draft declaration of basic principles: "The use of outer space for propagating war, national or racial hatred or enmity between nations is inadmissible." The far reaching possible effect of this vague declaration was difficult to state. It would apply apparently to the use of satellites even for relay purposes. The 1963 declaration does not directly contain this proposed Soviet Union provision. However, one of the preambles to the declaration recalled General Assembly Resolution 110(II) of November 3, 1947, which condemned propaganda designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or active aggression," and considered "that the aforementioned resolution is applicable to outer space." It would therefore appear that the adoption of the 1963 declaration has made the 1947 resolution as to propaganda fully effective in outer space. The future effect is far from clear.

PRIOR CONSULTATION AND AGREEMENT AS TO USES OF OUTER SPACE

The draft declaration proposed by the United Kingdom provided that freedom in the use of outer space "shall be exercised by all states with due regard to the interests of other states in the exploration and use of outer space, and to the need for consultation and cooperation between states in relation to such exploration and use." The Soviet Union draft stated that "any measures that might in any way hinder the exploration or use of outer space for peaceful purposes by other countries may be implemented only after prior discussion of and agreement upon such measures between the countries concerned." In the discussions in the Legal Subcommittee it appeared that the Soviet Union insisted upon an actual prior intergovernmental agreement and was not then prepared to accept reference to any international consultative body, such as a committee of COSPAR, to determine what uses of outer space were harmful to other states.

The 1963 declaration contains a compromise provision, drafted in very broad terms, and certainly leaving the possibility of future discussions. The provision is as follows:

"6. In the exploration and use of outer space, states shall be guided by the principle of cooperation and mutual assistance and shall conduct all their activities in outer space with due regard for the corresponding interests of other states. If a state has reason to believe that an outer space activity or experiment planned by it or its nationals would cause potentially harmful interference with activities of other states in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, it shall undertake appropriate international consultations before proceeding with any such activity or experiment. A state which has reason to believe that an outer space activity or experiment planned by another state would cause potentially harmful interference with activities in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space may request consultation concerning the activity or experiment."

FREE ENTERPRISE IN OUTER SPACE

The Soviet Union, in its last draft, did not change its earlier position that "all activities of any kind pertaining to the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried out solely by states." It apparently was not willing to accept suggested compromises which would permit activity in outer space by organizations other than a "state," when such activity was licensed by a state assuming responsibility for any resulting damage or misconduct.

The 1963 declaration, however, clearly indicates that, under stated conditions, nongovernmental entities may now act in outer space. The provision reads as follows:

"5. States bear international responsibility for national activities in outer space, whether carried on by governmental agencies or by nongovernmental entities, and for assuring that national activities are carried on in conformity with the principles set forth in this declaration. The activities of nongovernmental entities in outer space shall require authorization and continuing supervision by the state concerned. When activities are carried on in outer space by an international organization, responsibility for compliance with the principles set forth in this declaration shall be borne by the international organization and by the states participating in it."

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding these remaining areas of uncertainty, it is fortunate that 5 years of discussion in the United Nations has been climaxed in a unanimous declaration that states, in the exploration and use of outer space, should be guided by the principle that outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states and are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means. While this declaration was not a legislative enactment, its unanimous acceptance goes far toward proving the existence of an agreed rule of customary international law. It will, in my judgment, eventually become part of a new convention. But even before that occurs, world public opinion would hardly now countenance any national claim of sovereignty in outer space or on celestial bodies.

The discussions in the United Nations must continue. Outer space, as an area of freedom from sovereignty, has not been defined. Every State has the right to control all flight in the "airspace" above its lands and waters. According to the U.N. declaration, it has no such right in outer space Where do the sovereign rights of states end and where does international freedom of use begin? Is the boundary between territorial airspace and free outer space to be fixed or are the rules agreed by the United Nations to be applied solely to spacecraft wherever they are not and not to aircraft? If so, a definition of "spacecraft" must be found and the difficult problem created by the X–15 must be answered—that is, How does one classify the X–15 and other flight instrumentalities which will operate both in the airspace and in outer space?

* * * * *

The question as to the upper boundary of national sovereignty cannot be overlooked if future grave international problems are to be avoided.

Fortunately, the aerospace legal work of the United Nations is not at an end. On December 13, 1963, the same day that the declaration was approved, a further resolution 1963 (XVIII) was adopted recommending that consideration be given "to incorporating in international agreement form, in the future as appropriate, legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space." It also requested the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to continue to study and report "on legal problems which may arise in the exploration and use of outer space, and in particular to arrange for the prompt preparation of draft international agreements on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles."

Aerospace engineering and aerospace science are progressing daily. It now appears that the United Nations is determined that the development of aerospace law shall not lag behind.

Memorial Day Address by Hon. Donald M. Fraser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, last Memorial Day our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] delivered an outstanding address on the occasion of Memorial Day. He was the principal speaker at community Memorial Day services in Minneapolis.

In addition to paying tribute to our late beloved President, John F. Kennedy, our colleague went on to outline some of the difficulties which the United States faces in southeastern Asia. Under unanimous consent I place the following extracts from that speech in the RECORD at this point:

Our late President stressed one important lesson we learned from World War II; for peace to prevail, aggression must never again go unchallenged as it did in Ethiopia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia before World War II. It is sometimes said that the simplest lessons of history are the hardest to learn. But we have learned. President Truman met aggression in Korea with prompt and determined action. We have met challenges in Berlin with prompt action. President Kennedy sought to deter aggression and preserve the peace throughout the world, working both within the United Nations and within alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In short, we have pursued the concept of collective security to the greatest degree possible, because experience has taught us that many are stronger than one, and if the many will stand with determination against aggression, then the awesome possibility of nuclear war will be reduced.

However, in one area of the world, southeast Asia, the United States has been the principal power to stem the tide of aggression, in large part because the French had experienced a humiliating defeat not many years ago, and because the British are already severely extended in the commitment of their military power.

The challenge today in southeastern Asia is particularly sharp and ominous. The complexities of that area, and the shifting patterns of national involvement by many Western nations—have come together to present our Nation with difficult and troublesome decisions.

Events in that part of the world became alarming after the end of World War II. Nationalist China was forced to flee from the mainland to Formosa, and the Chinese Communists came into full control. In 1950 the Korean war began—with an enormous commitment of men from our Nation under the UN flag. French Indochina became a battleground for Communist insurgency efforts to oust the French from southeast Asia. We gave substantial aid to the French in their efforts to defeat the insurgency forces, but the fatal hour arrived when the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The United States was asked by the French during those closing days of battle for active intervention by our Air Force, but President Eisenhower declined to provide this aid, and the French finally withdrew. The settlement of this dispute came at Geneva that same year when the three countries of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were born from the area formerly known as French Indochina. Vietnam was divided in half.

The French have not forgotten their humiliating defeat and the failure of the United States to provide aid in their hour of need. The French attitudes today are based in part upon those unhappy memories.

During these same years the colonial control by Britain over Malaya was attacked by Communist insurgency forces, but the English, promising independence to that country, were able to beat back these efforts. Malaya has won her independence and has joined with other neighboring areas to form the new country of Malaysia.

The three new nations born from French Indochina contains the strife and conflict preventing peace and stability in that area. The country of Laos, which was to be neutralized under the 1954 Geneva agreement, developed three warring factions, the so-called rightwing, the neutralists, and the Communists. During the 1950's the government changed hands several times. When President Kennedy came into office, the neutralists had joined with the Communists and slowly but surely the rightwing forces were being defeated and pushed back despite a large amount of American aid. We were faced with the choice of either finding a political settlement or sending in troops in support of a faction which enjoyed little popular support. The President chose a political settlement, although the risks were still great and the outcome necessarily uncertain. Another Geneva Conference was called, in 1962, at which it was agreed that all three forces would join together, and Laos was to remain neutral. After the agreement the Communists failed to follow through, with the result that today the neutralists and the rightwing are together in opposition to the Communists.

At the same time that President Kennedy attempted to reach a political settlement in Laos, he was determined to aid the South Vietnamese who were resisting Communist insurgency efforts supported from North Vietnam. The United States has been giving some aid to South Vietnam, but President Kennedy resolved to send in American officers and men to provide training and advice to the South Vietnamese in their efforts to push back the Communist insurgents.

Within the last several years the trend of events in South Vietnam has been against us, and several changes in government within the last 6 months in South Vietnam have hampered efforts to deal more vigorously with the Communists.

Let us look briefly at the possible actions which lie ahead. In Laos, the first requirement is to end the fighting. At the same time the coalition government must be strengthened. Though the situation is not a desirable one, we are today allied with both the neutralists and the rightwing factions of Laos. Two years ago, only the rightwing supported us. The Communists today stand exposed as aggressors for all to see, and the United States is now identified with a much more broadly based segment of the Laotian people. If the Communists keep up their military efforts in Laos against the neutralists and the rightwing group, we may be forced to intervene with our troops or those of our allies. This possibility exists only because there may be no other option open to us—we are determined to prevent a Communist takeover and preserve the coalition government. Those who claim otherwise, or favor withdrawing our support from the coalition, must present realistic alternatives or stand as irresponsible critics. Interven-

tion in Laos entails grave risks. Once in Laos we may find that our presence becomes the basis for a concerted propaganda attack accusing the United States of attempting to restore colonial control. Other consequences of a negative character may follow simply from the problems which often arise whether large numbers of troops are stationed in another country. Consequently one of the risks we would run is that despite our best military combat efforts, we would find that the people whose interests we were supposed to be defending cared less and less for our presence. Yet every action carries risks.

My own strong preference in Laos would be a United Nations Military force, committed to enforce the 1962 Geneva accords. This would provide, hopefully, time in which that nation's independence would be strengthened. If the U.N. cannot act, concerted action with our allies would be desirable. There are, to be realistic, serious obstacles in the way of either of these courses of collective action. Moreover, it must be recognized that the loyalties of the Laotian people to their government are somewhat limited by the fact that many of these Laotian people have never been aware of the existence of their Government, and some have little interest in the question of who is running it.

In South Vietnam, we remain committed to helping the South Vietnamese win their struggle against the insurgent Communist We have about 15,000 American troops in that country today helping to train the South Vietnamese, and flying some air missions. In Congress we voted—and I actively supported—an additional $125 million to provide more economic and military aid to that Government. Here again, the principal problem faced by General Khan, the head of the Vietnamese Government, is to maintain and enlarge his support among the people of South Vietnam. We must provide him with every possible assistance to that end. Whether we should intervene more actively in the military war is a question which is under continuous study by our Government.

In the face of our military involvement, we must never lose sight of the basic fact recognized so ably by President Kennedy: Our principal objective in southeast Asia is not the military buildup of the area, but the strengthening of its political stability, economic development, and social welfare. While the immediate threat is military, the long-term difficulties are political.

In summary, our commitment to aid these countries is clear. The stubborn, knotty question remains as to how we can most effectively accomplish this aid. In Vietnam, as in Laos, help from other countries or help from the U.N. would be highly desirable, but aside from token forces from our allies, the likelihood of such collective help remains in doubt.

The complexities of that part of the world, the risks accompanying action on our part, and the apparent remoteness of the countries involved must not obscure our fundamental commitment in southeast Asia. As Ambassador Stevenson told the U.N., if the people of southeastern Asia are determined to preserve their own independence and ask our help, we should grant it. The United States cannot stand by while southeast Asia is overrun by armed aggression.

We must steadily seek to broaden the participation by other nations in the commitment to peace and stability in that area, but in the meantime we must not turn our back on threats to the indpendence of those people. Freedom is indivisible, and a loss of freedom anywhere is ultimately our loss.

Our dedication to these tasks, hard and painful as they may be, will be the finest way in which we can honor the dead, and keep the torch of freedom once carried by our beloved late President, John Kennedy, held high for all mankind to see.

Thank you.

Confidence in FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in other instances in the RECORD I have included articles dealing with the long and faithful service rendered by J. Edgar Hoover during his 40 years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Edward J. Mowery, writing in the St. Louis, Mo., Globe-Democrat, writes of the human side of this giant of law enforcement—the part of this man which inspires confidence by all Americans and under unanimous consent to extend my remarks I include herewith that article:

HOOVER TELLS YOUTH TO BE WORTHY OF NATION'S GREATNESS—PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN BUREAU IS MOST SATISFYING EXPERIENCE OF CAREER

WASHINGTON.—A corruption-ridden Federal agency and a new Attorney General with a big broom tossed the career of J. Edgar Hoover into the balance 40 years ago, the Federal Bureau of Investigation Director recalled Wednesday.

Mr. Hoover, who will celebrate his 40th anniversary as head of the agency on Sunday, also exhorted American youth to fully realize this Nation's greatness and be worthy of their heritage.

Continuing his discussion of dangers facing the United States and unknown facets of his own career, Mr. Hoover responded to questions as follows:

Question. Did you have any doubts, after entering the Justice Department in 1917, that this would be your life work? A possible second choice?

Answer. There was one time when I had doubts about my life work. It was on a Saturday in May 1924. The Department of Justice had a new Attorney General, Harlan Fiske Stone. Just the day before, he had accepted the resignation of William J. Burns, Director of the then Bureau of Investigation.

CLEANING UP

And there was little doubt that he was bent upon cleaning up the corruption and political favoritism which existed in the organization.

I was an Assistant Director of the Bureau, and although I had nothing to do with the mess within the Bureau, I wondered if Mr. Stone planned to make a clean sweep and ask for my resignation, too.

I got my answer that afternoon when Mr. Stone summoned me to his office. To my surprise, he offered me the position of acting Director of the Bureau of Investigation. I accepted and have never had any doubts about my life work since that day—May 10, 1924.

As to a second choice, the only other profession I ever considered was the ministry. (The FBI chief holds a bachelor's and master's degree in law.)

Question. The FBI achievement that afforded you the greatest satisfaction?

Answer. There is no single achievement which can be pointed out as having provided the greatest satisfaction. The FBI has been involved in many highly publicized and immensely important cases in the security and criminal fields.

Often their solution brought a feeling which might be described more properly as relief rather than satisfaction.

Actually, I derive satisfaction from the successful conclusion of any investigation we undertake, whether it be the apprehension of a wanted criminal, the capture of a sinister spy, the clearing of a wrongly accused individual, or the disruption of a subversive plot.

If I must choose an achievement as the most satisfying, perhaps it would be the confidence which we have earned from the American people.

Question. What can parents and educators do to instill a greater spark of patriotism in the hearts of American youngsters, and a realization of this country's greatness based solidly on the sacrifices of our pioneers?

Answer. Above all, American young people should know more about the principles of freedom which have made this country great. We are against communism—yes, but more than that we are for something—the basic values of human dignity and freedom.

REAL MEANING

As Americans, we should count our blessings one by one. America was created by men and women accepting duties and responsibilities as well as exercising their rights and privileges. Ours is a country built by hard work, dedication, and extreme personal sacrifice.

Parents and educators should emphasize the real meaning of our flag, our Constitution, our heritage of law. For too many young Americans, Valley Forge, Bunker Hill, Old Ironsides are nothing but names, vaguely comprehended and unappreciated.

We need to make this American heritage live with enthusiasm and interest, to encourage our young people to feel the impact of the living personality of Washington and Jefferson.

This heritage should inspire young people to be better citizens themselves, realizing that they are the heirs of this legacy upon whose shoulders our future exists.

An America humble before God; an America serving the needs of all its citizens—this must be our goal.

Question. Your average daily routine? The most vital phase of your work

Answer. I have no daily routine—the nature of my duties will not permit it. My work hours, like those of all members of the FBI, are determined by the job at hand which may require early arrival at the office, work at night, and during week ends.

The most vital phase of my work is keeping abreast of all the important matters being handled by the FBI to insure that each receives proper attention.

Question. Favorite hobbies, recreation?

Answer. My favorite hobbies are collecting antique items of bronze, and gardening. When work permits, I enjoy spectator sports such as baseball, football, and horseracing. (He is also proud of his azaleas and roses, and his black-and-white shaggy Cairn terriers, "G-Boy" and "Tuck").

Question. What precautions do you take for your own safety?

Answer. No special precautions are taken.

Question. Extent of your communications setup in directing the Bureau?

Answer. The FBI has a shortwave radio network connecting headquarters with all 55 field offices. Each office also has radio communication between it and the cars in which agents are working. Otherwise, regular commercial communication facilities are used.

All investigative personnel (6,115 agents) keep in constant touch with their office, reporting their whereabouts day and night, during weekends and while on leave, so they are readily available when needed.

Question. A word about the FBI's overall zeal and dedication of its personnel?

Answer. Excellent. The FBI is a career service, and the dedication of its personnel is illustrated by the fact that, as of the start of the year (1964), 46 percent of them had served 10 years or more. Seventy-seven percent of the special agent personnel and 21 percent of the clerical force had served over 10 years.

In this group were 2,502 employees with over 20 years' service. FBI personnel perform their duties whenever and wherever needed, often working long hours without rest. In fiscal 1963, the FBI investigative staff performed over 3,175,000 hours of overtime * * * equivalent to the services of 1,526 agents on a full-year basis.

Question. The FBI Director's nearest relative?

Answer. All members of the immediate family are deceased.

Question. How much time do you spend in Washington, in travel?

Answer. Travel away from Washington is performed only when necessary. (He combines an annual physical checkup at a California clinic with an inspection tour of western FBI offices.)

Question. Have you ever had any serious illness?

Answer. No.

Wet Frontier Beckons to Man, Scientist Says

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of June 8, 1964:

WET FRONTIER BECKONS TO MAN, SCIENTIST SAYS

If man could work freely on the world's Continental Shelves, an area the size of Africa would be added to his realm.

The shelves, extending outward from the coasts to depths of 600 feet, offer enormous reserves of food, minerals, and fuels, but their exploitation requires the ability to conquer the depths.

Many experiments are now underway for this purpose.

Edwin A. Link, a pioneer in underwater studies, describes this in "Tomorrow on the Deep Frontier" in the June issue of National Geographic magazine.

It is a commonplace of fourth-grade geography that almost three-quarters of our planet lies beneath the oceans," he writes. "And yet, phrased another way, the fact is startling: almost three-quarters of our planet is virtually unused. And this in a world afflicted with poverty and overpopulation."

MILITARY RESEARCH

Associated with the U.S. Navy's Deep Submergence Systems Review Group, Link has been engaged in classified work concerned with the Nation's underwater capabilities.

The work is military in nature, including submarine search, rescue, and salvage. But future civilian uses "glittered in our minds," says Link.

"Much of what we would like to do in the depths is dependent upon the ability of man to live there for long periods, venturing forth from his pressurized vehicle or undersea home to perform useful work."

Link has been carrying out experiments along these lines for years with the financial assistance of the National Geographic Society.

One of the Link divers, Robert Stenuit, spent 24 hours at a 200-foot depth in a pressurized, open-bottomed cylinder devised by Link, leaving the cylinder to work and returning to it to eat and sleep.

This year, with Navy and National Geographic backing, Link hopes to keep a diver several days at depths of 400 to 600 feet, living in an undersea dwelling from which he can swim out to work.

FUTURE USE SEEN

From the research, Mr. Link foresees these possible developments:

Fertilization of sea water through nuclear power, creating vast resources of fish for the world's rapidly expanding population.

Tapping of underwater springs of fresh water that can be piped to land.

Exploitation of underwater oilfields beyond the reach of surface drillers. The oil men would live in pressurized houses on the ocean floor for extended periods, thus eliminating the lengthy process of decompression a diver must undergo each time he returns to the surface.

Perhaps even the taming of hurricanes, believed to be caused by high surface temperatures, by deflecting cooler bottom water upwards with baffles and dams. Other subsurface dams, set across powerful currents, could produce electricity.

In short, Link believes "that riches wait us under the sea and that we can harvest them. If three-quarters of our planet awaits us, then the great age of discovery certainly did not end with Columbus, Magellan, or Cook. It may well lie in the future."

Resolution of Hebron, Conn., Grange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a resolution adopted by the Hebron Grange No. 111 of Hebron, Conn., in my district. The resolution deals with the current cattle situation, particularly the lowering of tariff rates on imported beef. It reads as follows:

Whereas the cattle crisis, caused by too much imported beef and the temporary high beef production in the United States, has caused a spreading disaster in the farms and ranches, feedlots, towns, and cities of the cattle country; and

Whereas American producers will not get back to normally profitable operations until the Government of the United States puts a stop to excessive imports of low cost foreign beef; and

Whereas tariffs have been lowered permitting larger quantities of agricultural products into the United States to compete with domestic agricultural products; and

Whereas the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 authorized the President of the United States to cut some tariffs as much as 50 percent, and on some items negotiate a zero tariff; and

Whereas the President of the United States acting through the Tariff Commission can move to curb agricultural imports; and

Whereas the Congress acting under its constitutional powers to "regulate commerce with foreign nations" can impose quotas: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Hebron Grange No. 111 go on record as against the aforesaid mentioned cutting of tariffs and beg of the Congress of the United States to look into this matter for the benefit of all the farming industry in this country; may it further be

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to east-central Pomona No. 3 for further action and copies be sent to the Senators and Congressmen from this State.

Underground School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago the first underground school was completed in Artesia, N. Mex., and I would like to share the following article with you written by Mr. Bob Koonce, manager of the Artesia Chamber of Commerce, about this unique school:

Artesia school officials and Architect Frank Standhardt knew they were playing with a new idea when they decided to try building the world's first school and mass bomb shelter specifically designed for that dual purpose.

What they could not foresee was how radical the project would appear to educational leaders; Abo Underground School and Fallout Shelter has become a popular subject for discussion and editorials.

One happy result is that the school has become a homemade tourist attraction.

From a paved parking lot visitors—numerous indeed nowadays—walk on a slight upgrade to a spacious concrete sclab which is Abo's roof. Three small, square boxes of masonry superstructure are connected by shaded walkways; a few cast-concrete benches and four basketball goals are surrounded by a grassy rooftop campus.

Eighteen feet below the top of the 21-inch, steel-reinforced and insulated expanse of concrete, down wide stairs through any of the three ruggedly built masonry "boxes," is the floor of the Abo School, where 540 students study or, in an emergency, 2,160 persons can be protected for 2 weeks.

Survival features include air conditioning which filters out radioactivity, a generator for power independent of any outside source, water and food storage and an ability to withstand blast pressures which would demolish above-ground buildings.

According to Vernon R. Mills, Artesia school superintendent, an underground school has many advantages; controlled lighting, reduced maintenance, heating and cooling costs, and a total working wall space for educational displays.

"We believe Abo, like the windowless schools we helped pioneer, provides an optimum environment for learning," Mills says.

Regardless of personal bias, many experts of varied backgrounds agree that Abo previews the probable world of tomorrow when many—or, in the gloomiest view, all—buildings will go underground. Abo School has been featured by CBS–TV, Mutual Network, the Saturday Evening Post, the major press wire services, King Features, and other syndicates, and in almost every publication having to do even remotely with education or construction. Inquiries, writeups, and visitors have been recorded literally from around the world.

Typical of a widespread adverse reaction was a St. Louis Globe-Democrat editorial which commiserated with Abo students who, "like moles," descend into their "little tunnel."

"While other children laugh and play and skip and watch the hills and grass and flowers, the children of Artesia will huddle in

their shelter waiting for Armageddon," was the further comment.

Now, with over 2 years of use under its concrete hat, Abo has proved such fears absurd in the most conclusive way possible: the students like it. So do most other people after a look, one reason being that it just might be the most modern and beautiful elementary school in existence.

The physical facts are simple.

Putting aside arguments about who would or would not survive a hydrogen holocaust, Abo makes sense on other grounds.

In land-scarce metropolitan centers, the roof of an underground school becomes part of the playground, saving large sums of taxpayer money. And in tornado country, such a building would be the only one around with any assurance of longevity, plus serving as a refuge for persons fleeing the deadly funnels.

Claustrophobia and war-fear complexes, as predicted by critics of the underground concept, have simply not affected Abo students. Attractive surroundings and acoustical treatment of ceilings to do away with cave-like auditory effects have worked admirably.

Nine-year-old Cynthia Richardson, a pert fourth grader who has attended conventional schools as well as Abo, says, "I think Abo is the most wonderful school of all. It is not very different from other schools except prettier, and because it is underground it is not at all noisy."

Construction costs for Abo ran about one-fourth more than for a conventional school, with the Government paying the difference to get a pilot model for the atomic age.

But even the building of the future has roots deep in the New Mexico past.

Abo was christened after a geological formation 7,000 feet below Artesia from which flows the riches of the great Empire Abo oilfield. Where the formation outcrops in the Manzano Mountains to the northwest was Abo, possibly one of the cities that died of fear of Apache raids.

The best way to win over dissenters, Artesians have learned, is to take them down into Abo. In short order most of them agree that the school of tomorrow is not at all hard to take today—BOB KOONCE.

Gen. Anastasio Somoza, of Nicaragua

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of April 18, 1964, concerning a speech given by Gen. Anastasio Somoza, commander in chief of the Nicaraguan National Guard and Air Force. This speech by Anastasio Somoza is an example of a highly articulate, deeply motivated, and intensely patriotic Latin American. He points out in this address the real concern and great effort being made by many Latin American leaders to improve their countries and the lives of all of their countrymen.

A careful study of this article, I am certain, will leave all with the impression that there is much hope for the future of the democracies south of us as long as tehre are Tachito Somozas leading them.

The article follows:

ON ALERT: THE VOICE OF LATIN STABILITY
(By Paul Roberts)

At a New York dinner the other night an ex-West Pointer talked for about half an hour about investment opportunity in Central America. He spoke in barely accented English, although a native of that area, and what he had to say was especially interesting. This was not because of the glowing economic picture he painted, but because of his quiet confidence that, in that strategic region, "The Red menace is definitely on the wane."

He was Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle, commander in chief of the Nicaraguan National Guard and Air Force. He is the brother of a former Nicaraguan President, Luis Somoza. He is the son of former President Somoza, assassinated in 1946. Customarily, this column is concerned with what Communists and their cohorts are saying, doing, and planning. But today it will concern itself with the ideas and ideals of a stanch anti-Communist, General Somoza.

Anyone with a military handle before his name, especially in Latin America, is usually vilified by the lunatic left as being an arch-foe of progress and, in general, a malevolent conspirator against the helpless, poverty-stricken peasant. Let us, therefore, listen to General Somoza, determined ally of the United States, as he urges American capital to give his country and its neighbors a try.

First, he asked for "a change in the attitude of the American businessman in Latin America," and elaborated on this.

"He should realize," he said, "that although some 30-odd years ago, because of the squalid economies in many of these countries, their local governments were willing to allow enormous concessions to insure work, perhaps for only a few hundred laborers, present circumstances are somewhat different.

"Today, the knowledge which the people of Latin America have absorbed through education, as well as radio, television, and motion pictures, has led them to feel that they, too, have a right to the advantages available in the more developed countries they see and hear about."

Thus spoke the voice of the "Latin American military." Moreover, observers of the Latin scene have long noted that the region's most pressing need—stability—has often found its source in the ranks of military and naval officers, exceedingly few of whom are the ogres so often depicted. Civil responsibility and public service are not exactly neglected in West Point tuition, and General Somoza appears to be representative of those who imbibed that tuition well.

His "on the wane" reference to regional communism, however, was also accompanied by a warning not to "let our guard down" and the nonabstract observation that:

"This does not mean that subversive pressures from Cuba have diminished. This, indeed, is a problem that will remain acute for as long as the Cuban question is not disposed of. People are less prone to listen to siren songs from abroad at a time when they are enjoying tangible gains at home."

Altogether a most edifying evening.

What America Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, a resident of the congressional district I represent, Miss Karyn Belger, has forwarded to me an essay written by her schoolmate, Miss Grace Lui. Both attend John Marshall High School in Los Angeles.

Grace Lui came to the United States from China at the age of 7. Her essay, entitled "What America Means to Me," won first prize in a contest open to all foreign-born students in the city. The prize money, I am told, will be applied toward Grace's college education.

I was very impressed at reading what Grace had to say about her life in this country and believe many others will also. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the essay for inclusion in the RECORD:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME
(By Grace Liu, John Marshall High School)

When I first arrived in the United States, America meant many things to me. I had often heard my mother say that one need not pay for schooling in the United States. To a 7-year-old girl, America meant a free education, although this did not seem very exciting at the time. Coming here also meant that I would see my brothers and sisters who had come to the States for their college education. That sounded a little more inviting. But best of all. America meant ice cream, lots and lots of ice cream. Now it has been 10 years, and each year, America has come to mean more to a girl who was given a public education without discrimination, and who has eaten ice cream to her satisfaction.

Although I am not a permanent resident yet, much less a citizen, I feel that America is my home. It is my home, not because I happen to reside here, but because I want it to be. I have been told, "Home is where the heart is," and therefore to me America means home.

From my public education I have learned that America is really just a great "mixing bowl" of nationalities and races, so that when one gets down to the bare facts, everyone is a foreigner, and therefore equal. That is what is so great about this country; everyone has two heritages, that of his ancestors and that of America. I also have two heritages, a Chinese heritage because I was born into it, and an American heritage because I have adopted it. In this wonderful country I do not feel handicapped because I have different color skin, and a different slant to my eyes. In fact, I am rather proud of it. So, to me America means self-respect.

I have also been taught that America is a free land. This I believe with all my heart and I shall always be thankful for it. Freedom is what America means most to me. It is difficult for a person who has lived in a free land all his life even to imagine what a person must feel like when he is told what to do, what to say, and often what to think by a small group of so-called governmental heads. I have seen some of this, and although I may not have comprehended the full meaning of it at the time, I know what it must be like now in my native country. This makes me all the more grateful that I live in a land where the people control the government, not where the government controls the people.

Because there is freedom of religion in the United States, I have grown spiritually as well as intellectually. This growth, I feel is important in my life. It makes me sad to think that in mainland China today, the people are being told there is no such thing as religion. I am also thankful that there is freedom of expression in the United States, and people can share their opinions freely and fearlessly. Because I have seen that all the basic principles and ideals of

this great country are based on freedom, I know now why so many Americans have fought and died to preserve this precious freedom. This may sound like "flag waving" but I do not know of a better flag to wave.

An Interview with Prime Minister George Papandreou of Greece, Conducted by Christopher G. Janus, of Chicago, Ill., Publisher of Greek Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the present crisis in Cyprus makes of particular interest the views on the Cypriot situation of the Prime Minister of Greece, George Papandreou.

Therefore, I wish to insert in the RECORD the text of the questions and answers in a recent interview with Prime Minister Papandreou, conducted by a distinguished citizen of Chicago, an investment banker and the publisher of the journal, Greek Heritage, Mr. Christopher G. Janus.

Prime Minister Papandreou and Mr. Janus first became acquainted in 1944–45 when Mr. Janus was chief of the Greek desk of UNRRA.

Mr. Janus' questions follow:

Mr. Prime Minister, Greece at the present time has an unfavorable press in the United States, especially in such cities as Chicago and the Midwest. Would you please answer a few questions on the Cypriot situation, which might help clear up some of the misunderstandings on the Greek Government's viewpoint about this problem vis-a-vis Cyprus, in particular:

1. Does the Prime Minister feel that the recent change in the Greek Government or the present problems with Cyprus effect in any way the investment and governmental protection of American capital in Greece?

2. As you know, Americans until recently have considered Greece one of their most favorite countries to visit. Do you feel that there is an anti-American feeling developing in Greece? Is there any truth in the reports in the American press that indeed there may be danger for Americans to visit Greece?

3. Does your Government believe that there can be a solution of the Cyprus problem without a change in the present constitution of Cyprus?

4. Would the Greek Government welcome a union with Cyprus? If so, does your Government feel that such a union is a necessity?

5. Would you accept a meeting between the Turkish Prime Minister and yourself to discuss the Cypriot question?

6. Will Greece give all-out aid to Cyprus in case of an invasion?

Here are the answers of Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou:

1. The events in Cyprus are not expected to influence the safety and normal development of U.S. capital in Greece.

2. The report which circulated in the American press that American tourists in Greece are not safe is preposterous. Americans are always welcome in Greece. It is true that the Greek people are somewhat disappointed with the pro-Turkish attitude of a large section of the American press, but this will not in any way affect their attitude toward the tourists. We also hope that in time there will be a change in the attitude of the American press. The American press should understand that neither Greece nor Cyprus seek any favored position; neither does Greece seek selfish ends as far as Cyprus is concerned. We just seek justice. We ask that the principle of international justice be applied to Cyprus: that means that the majority should rule and the minority should be duly protected.

3. The present constitution has led to deplorable conditions in Cyprus today. Events have proved that the present constitution cannot be enforced: that's why there is an international army in Cyprus today seeking peace; why there is a mediator in search of a new political agreement.

4. Greece does not seek union with Cyprus. This decision belongs to the will of the Cypriot people. What we seek for Cyprus is a fully independent government so that the people of Cyprus will be able to decide their own future.

5. I should be very happy to meet the Premier of Turkey, but I do not consider the present political and psychological climate conducive to the success of such a meeting.

6. We have proclaimed that our policy is peace. In case of an attack on Cyprus, our policy is to defend Cyprus.

Where to in Vietnam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, Congressman CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE, of Maine, recently prepared comments for delivery to an audience in York County, Maine. Because of a sore throat, the Congressman was unable to present his remarks, and they were very capably delivered by Mrs. McIntire.

In view of the timely character of these comments, I submit them to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

COMMENTS OF CONGRESSMAN CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE, MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 8, AT THE YORK COUNTY COMMITTEE DINNER FOR CANDIDATES AT SANFORD TOWN HALL, SANFORD, MAINE

I feel compelled, obliged, to use this opportunity tonight to speak out on a subject which alarms me. We, here in Maine, are a long way off from the strange battlefield in South Vietnam—in miles and in time—but in fact Maine men are involved in this war and each day is bringing this terrible conflict closer to home. The consequences of a defeat or expansion of the battle being fought in South Vietnam will bring the smell and anguish of war into every home in the United States.

This is why I am so concerned. If the policies of the present administration should lead this country deeper into the steaming morass of war then I want to know why. The thing that gets me is why should the greatest power on earth be having such trouble with a fourth- or fifth-class military power?

Basically, this is what I want to talk about. Our problems in South Vietnam are the consequences of gross inadequacy, they cannot be ignored any longer, for if we are to win, the war, the respect, and confidence of the other nations with which we have formed alliances, then we must do more than fumble our way to tragic solutions. We cannot afford another Korea or Laos. Let us look at this war.

A curious situation has developed in South Vietnam. More money is being asked for to wage this seemingly endless war * * * yet, we've been spending in the neighborhood of $1 million a day to fight an enemy who lives off the land and is equipped with only the barest essentials. We are told that more planes are needed, yet, we find that the aircraft assigned to South Vietnam forces for combat are not being used to fight. I would like to know why.

We are told that more advisers may be needed. I find it hard to understand how we can win a war with more advice when there is so much evidence that the advice of our men in South Vietnam is being ignored.

While Laos is being lost, and Cambodia permits the Vietcong a sanctuary, enemy attacks are being stepped up and there is every indication that we can expect them to be intensified. While this is going on we are being told that it may be necessary to expand the war effort. Will someone tell me what is to be gained by expanding the combat zone when we can't successfully defend the present arena? There must be something dramatically wrong, in a situation such as this.

This war is so fraught with dangers of expansion and explosion that I am surprised at the way in which the Johnson administration treats this terrible affair. I am sure that the American soldiers serving on the battlefield and the families and friends of those who have died in South Vietnam take it very seriously.

May I suggest that instead of more of everything, that instead of continuing with a policy that has already proven futile, that it is time to demonstrate that that which we have already put into the battle should first be used effectively.

We are being deluged with statements from the Secretary of Defense and many others tied to the administration. Mostly we've heard a long line of excuses for failure or pacifying generalities but always it's more of the same. If more money and equipment are really needed, and I don't doubt this, let us first, at least, start by using that which is already committed. This should not be too much to ask of those in charge of this war. And there should be no need to delay. * * * South Vietnam could be lost while being talked about.

I am not a military man. I would not like to have it thought that I pretended to understand all about the art of warfare. But I can read, I can understand enough about what is going on to ask some questions. Beyond this, one can turn to the history books to see what problems have been faced in the past, how wars were lost, and won.

One of the things which I find difficult to evaluate is the numeric ratio between the Vietcong and our forces. I have read that we have the enemy outnumbered by 18 to 1. But then I find that the 18 to 1 preponderance of strength which we possess is arrived at by including noncombatant, advisers, and part-time fighters.

It appears, after reevaluation, that we have the enemy outnumbered by about 5 to 1. On the face of it, this would appear to be a significant superiority, but no, the experts tell us that in order to defeat guerrilla forces we need to possess 10 times the enemy strength. This is the magic formula—10 to 1.

If we accept the figures we've now arrived at, were in bad shape. But still further examination reveals that the 5-to-1 ratio

is open to question. This particular combination of numbers is arrived at by comparing the South Vietnam combat forces less the supervisers, advisers, and part-time fighters with the total force of Communist guerrillas. Now, many of the enemy are only part-timers or busy in some other fashion if we compare the hard-core forces the figure bounces back to 16 to 1, this is, according to Mr. Bernard B. Fall, author of two books on Vietnam and a professor of international relations at Howard University. I'm going to admit that this particular numbers game leaves me confused. I am inclined to suspect that even the 10-to-1 figure, the magic ratio for defeating guerrilla forces, may be adjustable to suit almost any convenience.

In 8 years of fighting this same enemy, the French fought with a 1.5-to-1 ratio they lost and in Algeria, they used great overwhelming strength but still lost.

I don't want to go on with this numbers game analysis of war in South Vietnam. The deeper I read into it the more confusing it becomes. There's even a "kill count" and an "incident count" which are used by Pentagon briefers to prove just about anything desired. The numbers arrived at are just as ludicrous as the figures we've just finished discussing.

Rising out of the miasmatic collection of facts, there must be something tangible, something we can grasp with confidence. Is more money and all that goes with it the answer?

I doubt it. There must be some awfully fuzzy thinking going on if anyone really thinks we can buy victory in South Vietnam. I cannot help but recall the millions of dollars and tons of equipment we poured into Laos.

Another suggested solution has been to cut off the supply lines of the Vietcong. The Ho Chi Minh trail running through Laos is seen as the source of all our trouble, yet, let me quote from Mr. Fall in the March 12 issue of the Reporter, "the huge amounts of U.S. weapons available to the Vietcong through capture, theft, or even sale, reduces the importance of the Ho Chi Minh trail, now that the insurgency has reached the point where to a large extent, it feeds on the enemy, in true Mao Tse-tung fashion." In other words, the Vietcong is now using our weapons to defeat us.

The South Vietnam army is considered the best equipped army of its size in the non-Communist world. Why cannot this great force be used more effectively against the Vietcong? If the Vietcong is living in the jungle and swampland, raiding when and where they desire, then it must be time for the South Vietnam army to get out of the helicopters and their barracks, and go into the great areas of land held by the Vietcong, ferret them out, and defeat them in the jungle.

There's another kind of war being fought in South Vietnam. It's the same war that is being battled all over the world, the war for men's mind. Presumably, we are showing the people of the area the advantages of a new freedom-loving way of life. We're certainly spending the money but most of the money seems to be floating around in Saigon and economic assistance being sent to educate and improve the lot of the South Vietnam peasant isn't showing many results.

We hear that close to one-third of the population may sympathize with the Vietcong. This doesn't sound like progress. It's time for us to stop throwing away millions—billions of dollars. It's time to demand control of the money we're shoveling into South Vietnam, and also, time to demand control of the military and economic programs in South Vietnam which we are paying for.

I believe that the strategic-hamlet concept was well founded. But the execution of the plan has left much to be desired. The disguised enemy lives in the strategic-hamlet. The impregnable fortresses fall apart time after time under light attacks due to subversion from within. This does not mean that the program was necessarily wrong, but how was it carried out?

I could not, nor do I pretend to offer a plan which would guarantee total victory in South Vietnam. I would like to suggest, however, that certain steps should be taken immediately if we are to avert disaster in South Vietnam.

First, let us insist that if we are going to provide the funds and the equipment and American advisers that we have operational control of the war effort in South Vietnam.

Next, we need to get the South Vietnam soldier out into the countryside where the enemy is and not for a few hours but for weeks and months seeking out the enemy and denying him refuge anywhere in South Vietnam he can be resupplied by air, modern communications systems will permit him to close on the enemy with other small units, much as modern police cruisers act in unison to trap escaping criminals, but the most important thing is that he'll be able to capture or destroy the Vietcong and we can do away with the possibility of bombing or burning random villages.

The third step I would advocate would be the intensification of the strategic-hamlet concept. But what good is accomplished by a fortified village that can withstand an enemy attack until relief arrives, if a fifth column is working on the inside? Three things are needed. A village that can hold out until help arrives and this requires a trained and armed militia in every village. Secondly, provision for immediate reaction to a threat against such a hamlet, night or day, land forces must be able to converge on the threatened fortress, attacking the Vietcong and cutting off escape, that's where the soldier in the field, as we have just mentioned, also comes in. And with him, air-carried forces must also be rushed to the trouble spot.

The third thing which must be considered is the problem of sorting out the loyal and disloyal elements. The experts in psychological warfare should be able to accomplish this objective.

I don't say that my proposals will lead to quick victory, no one has ever suggested that this is possible, but I believe these suggestions have real merit. The neutralist policy in Laos based on a troika agreement with the Communists is a failure. To withdraw from southeast Asia will expose the rest of the area to Communist domination. Malaysia and Thailand may be next. Consider the problem then confronting Japan and the Philippines.

Our policy must be clear to friend and foe and the American people have the right to know what is going on and to be kept fully informed.

Thank you.

Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs Opposes Altering the Pledge of Allegiance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following letter which I received from the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs is self-explanatory. The letter follows:

ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS,
Chicago, Ill., May 18, 1964.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN PUCINSKI: The Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs in its 69th annual convention, May 5, 6, 7, 1964, assembled in Chicago, with Mrs. Vernon E. Barnes presiding, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas there is presently a movement to delete the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America: Therefore

"*Resolved*, That the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs make known to the General Federation of Women's Clubs and to the proper Government officials that the Illinois federation is opposed to any such deletion.

"Mrs. G. FREDERICK GOULD,
President 11th District, IFWC.
"Mrs. V. V. HOLMBERG,
President, Third District, IFWC."

We believe that it speaks for itself and trust that you will make every effort to retain the words "under God" in the pledge.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. JAMES M. SEGRAVES,
President.

Staten Island Zoological Society, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a statement of the Staten Island Zoological Society, Inc., which was prepared to aid the industries on Staten Island in their thinking about a contribution to the Children's Zoo project at Barrett Park:

The Children's Zoo is a project sponsored by the Staten Island Zoological Society that will be a part of a 10-year master plan for expansion of Barrett Park. The board of trustees of the society feels that this project is necessary because of the population growth of Staten Island and because of the educational value of this type of exhibit for approximately 20,000 children between the ages of 1 and 8 who live on Staten Island. (The syllabus for science in the primary grades calls for a visit to this type of exhibit where children can observe, pet, and feed domestic animals.)

As of this writing, the Staten Island Chamber of Commerce, the assistant superintendent of schools, the commissioner of parks, the borough president, and many interested individuals have voiced their support of this project. The Staten Island Advance, editorially, backs this project and has pledged priority publicity until it is completed.

The Staten Island Zoo at Barrett Park is unique among zoos in the world. It is small, yet its diversity of live animal exhibits attracts visitors from all over the world. (In the beginning months of the World's Fair, several European visitors have made trips to the Staten Island Zoo to view the exhibits.) Worldwide fame has come to this zoo because of its reptile collection. It boasts the largest variety of rattlesnakes to be seen anywhere. Thirty out of thirty-two known forms of U.S. rattlers are on exhibit at the zoo. In fact, a new species from

Mexico was discovered at the zoo and given scientific description by the staff.

Exhibits constitute only 40 percent of the society's activity. Education has been a major thrust ever since the founding of the organization in 1936. Weekly biology classes are conducted by the staff for high school students. The society presents a program of interest each month that is attended by an average of 300 people. A solarium and laboratory afford the staff an opportunity to do research on animals that have died so that new methods of care and treatment may be discovered. The zoo library is specialized and is used by students from high schools and colleges for their studies in biology. A monthly program, geared to the junior and senior high school levels, will begin in September 1964. The staff averages five lecture-demonstrations a month away from the zoo that are presented to school groups and other organizations.

Membership of the society is about 500. The estimated number of visitors annually is 700,000 people. We have no method of determining how often a person might revisit the zoo, and we have no indication of a visitor's background or place of employment. The total number of visitors includes groups of children from schools as well as interested adult groups. The children from the Willowbrook State School visit the zoo in groups at least weekly during the summer and often as individuals.

As Staten Island grows, the number of visitors to the zoo is expected to increase. Well over three times the current population of Staten Island visits the zoo each year; therefore, assuming that this percentage holds, we can conceive of the number of visitors being well over a million annually when the population of Staten Island reaches 500,000.

The estimated cost of the Children's Zoo is $75,000. The society has an arrangement with the city of New York whereby the capital investment is on a 50–50 basis. The city currently has $37,500 in its capital budget for this project in 1964–65.

Fundraising for the society's share will follow this pattern:

Major industrial campaign.

Membership of the Staten Island Zoological Society.

Small business campaign.

Wishing well at the zoo for contributions.

We are in the major industrial campaign phase as of this writing.

But There Is No "Free Money"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, June, 5, 1964]

IT ALL SOUNDS WONDERFUL—BUT THERE IS NO "FREE MONEY"

What happens to the money you as a taxpayer hand over to Uncle Sam?

Thirty-one of the 50 States already are receiving more in Federal aid than their citizens are paying into the National Treasury. Nineteen States, including California, must pay more in taxes than the Federal Government returns to them in aid, to help support the 31 others.

President Johnson recently opened a so-called war on poverty and has followed that up with a new national purpose, the "pursuit of the great society."

The war on poverty, of course, is a political method of trying to transfer prosperity by taking the wealth of one area by taxation and handing it to another.

Though acknowledging that the United States has come a long way, Mr. Johnson in a recent speech at the University of Michigan insisted we have not yet reached a final objective as a Nation, nor found a safe harbor, and we "must move not only toward a rich and powerful society but upward to the great society."

It looks like a long and hard struggle. The President has asked Congress for $692 million to start his war on poverty, but Mayor Wagner, of New York, estimates it will take 20 years and cost $225 billion.

The economic problems of Appalachia, upon which so much attention is being focused, apparently represents only a preliminary skirmish.

In his talk at the University of Michigan, Mr. Johnson said, and we quote:

"In the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States. * * * It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities. There is decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. * * * There is not enough housing nor transportation. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated. * * * The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air we breathe are threatened with pollution. * * * Our parks are overcrowded and our seashores overburdened. * * * Green fields and dense forests are disappearing. * * * In many places classrooms are overcrowded and curriculums, outdated. * * * Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified."

These are all noble thoughts. But we always recall the Congressman who steadfastly arose to his feet upon the appearance of appropriation bills for every conceivable human need, and asked, "Where is the money coming from?"

A report of the Tax Foundation points the way. California taxpayers, for example, are paying to the Federal Government $1.07 for every $1 the Federal Government returns in aid to the State. New Jersey taxpayers chip in $2.10 and get $1 back.

On the other hand, Mississippi taxpayers contribute only 25 cents for each $1 the Government spends within its borders, and Washington, D.C., only 69 cents.

There is no "free money." Most of the objectives of Mr. Johnson should and could be accomplished through the process of natural growth, if our system is allowed its freest expression. But they are politically attractive and we have no doubt that the "poor" states are going to be rallied for "raids" on their neighbors.

Now Shoe on Other Foot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following: editorial from the Saturday, May 30, 1964, Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram, Richmond, Ind.:

NOW SHOE ON OTHER FOOT

When two Republican Congressmen visited the sharecropping farms of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson in Alabama and brought back pictures and stories showing poverty they found, the Democrats were quick to cry "foul."

But they have been strangely silent now that it has developed that President Johnson's visit to the home of William David Marlow, a North Carolina sharecropper, involved a bit of advanced staging to make it more effective.

Mrs. Marlow has since told newsmen she and her family did not feel like they were in such abject poverty but she said "the governor's man tried to make us look poorer than we are."

She was referring to Dr. George Smith, associate director of the North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service.

Mrs. Marlow was told to be sure to have clothing hanging on the line and to be certain that the children were barefoot when the President arrived with reporters and photographers.

Her husband expects to gross $4,000 from his tobacco and cotton crop from which he will clear $1,500. But it was made to appear originally that his gross income would be $1,500.

Incidentally, the Chicago Tribune asked editorially the other day about Dr. Smith's role in helping to set things up for an effective "anti-poverty" campaign appearance on the part of the President.

"This service (cooperative extension service) is the educational arm of the department of agriculture, supported partly by Federal funds and partly by State and county funds.

"The economists, agronomists, county farm advisers, home demonstration agents and others in that service are not supposed to function as a political arm of the administration."

Is Johnson's antipoverty program sincere, or is it a good vote-buying gimmick?

Pacific Southwest Water Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep satisfaction that I have unanimous consent of the House to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent statement on the current Pacific Southwest water situation adopted by the Board of Water and Power Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles at a meeting held May 19, 1964.

As you may know, the members of the Los Angeles Board of Water and Power Commissioners are all highly respected citizen leaders of our community. These gentlemen have given much thought to their responsibility to the 2,677,000 residents of the city of Los Angeles to assure an adequate supply of good water for the present, and to plan future supplies to meet their needs in addition to that of the 50,000 persons who annually increase our population.

As America's fastest growing area, Los Angeles is vitally interested in this subject. For this reason also, it is particularly satisfying to me to know that our water commissioners are alert to their responsibilities and have taken a strong and unequivocal stand in defense of the

rights and need of the people of southern California.

In calling the recent order of the Secretary of the Interior—to reduce the consumption of water from the Colorado River by 10 percent—"arbitrary and unjustified," the commissioners noted that the needs of the 100 southern California cities using the Colorado River are "for more water to serve their steadily increasing number of customers, not less."

The commissioners also rejected what they called the Secretary's "philosophy of dividing up shortages on the Colorado River, rather than finding ways and means of increasing the total supply."

Instead, they stressed the positive and affirmative approach of "the desirability of initiating plans for securing adequate water supplies for the Colorado River, rather than devising formulas for sharing water shortages."

By way of example, they cited the proposal of Mr. Samuel B. Nelson, general manager and chief engineer of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, to go to the Snake River in Idaho to add some 2.4 million acre-feet of water annually to the Colorado River supply.

In my opinion, this is an excellent example of the kind of progressive and forward-looking thinking we need on this vital subject. I believe the people of Los Angeles are fortunate to have such a distinguished and dedicated group of officials to handle the difficult task of assuring adequate water supplies, now and for the foreseeable future.

There is no doubt that the situation developing in all the Far Western States is extremely serious as a result of the threatened water shortage in the Colorado River system. Under the circumstances our first and primary task is to assure that the present water and power rights of the people of the Pacific Southwest are respected.

For instance, we must preserve the 1962 agreement to guarantee that the water storage capacity of Lake Mead, in back of Hoover Dam on the lower part of the river, is not sacrificed to the desire to speed the beginning of power generation at Glen Canyon Dam serving the upper Colorado River States.

In addition, the rules, regulations, and agreements contained in the Colorado River Storage Act and the Colorado River compact must be faithfully adhered to by all parties affected.

And finally, the recent Supreme Court ruling on the division of Colorado River water between Arizona, California, and Nevada is accepted as authority on this matter.

Having said all this, we are still faced with the unhappy fact that, in comparison to our region's continually increasing requirements, the present water and power supplies of the Colorado River constitute a diminishing asset.

The fast growing population of southern California alone is expected to more than triple within the next 35 years, and the other States of the region are experiencing similar growth patterns.

In a larger sense, therefore, the people of the Pacific Southwest region must go beyond merely preserving their present water and power rights. They must begin to look for additional new sources of future supplies to meet the increasing demands of our rapidly expanding economy.

We must begin now to look beyond our present resources to consider utilizing the almost untapped resources of the Pacific Northwest, western Canada, and even Alaska, if we are to provide the firm economic base we need so that our children and grandchildren may also enjoy the bright promise of America's Golden West.

The statement of the Board of Water and Power Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles follows:

On May 16, 1964, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall ordered a 10-percent reduction in Colorado River water use by California and other lower basin States. The board of water and power commissioners of the city of Los Angeles believes this order is arbitrary and unjustified and does not give consideration to the water needs of the Nation's fastest-growing area.

Los Angeles is the largest member of the metropolitan water district, which wholesales Colorado River water to more than 100 southern California cities, and we know that the need of this entire area is for more water to serve its steadily-increasing number of customers, not less.

The department of water and power depends upon the Colorado River water delivered by the metropolitan water district to meet the expanding water requirements of the city of Los Angeles, which presently has a population of 2,677,000 and is growing at the rate of 50,000 persons annually. We cannot cut our population growth pattern by 10 percent or by any other arbitrary percentage. The great Western population explosion is beyond any control.

We cannot subscribe to the Secretary's philosophy of dividing up shortages on the Colorado River, rather than finding ways and means of increasing the total supply.

The department of water and power's general manager and chief engineer, Samuel B. Nelson, has submitted a plan to go to the Snake River in Idaho to add 2.4 million acre-feet of water annually to the Colorado River supply. This additional supply would provide water for the proposed new Central Arizona project and would enable California users to continue their present rate of use without a cut of 10 percent or any other amount.

We urge Secretary Udall to investigate this Snake-Colorado project at once. Such a study is provided for in Senator KUCHEL's Pacific water plan bill, S. 2760.

We cannot stress too strongly to Secretary Udall the desirability of initiating plans for securing adequate water supplies for the Colorado River, rather than devising formulae for sharing water shortages.

We are impressed by Mr. Northcutt Ely's testimony last week at the Las Vegas conference, in which he declared that a cut in water use is completely uncalled for this year because the present total storage of 18 million acre feet in Colorado River reservoirs would guarantee maintaining present levels of use in Arizona, Nevada, and California, without any reduction, even if the next 4 years should be as dry as the past 2 dry years. This sequence is most unlikely.

We are further impelled to ask Secretary Udall to rescind the rationing order because the only apparent reason for the order is to increase water storage in Lake Powell for the purpose of generating power at Glen Canyon Dam. Never in the history of western reclamation has power been given priority over irrigation and domestic water uses. There is no valid reason now for upsetting this universally accepted principle.

We cannot in good conscience endorse an arbitrary rationing program on water needed by people in California in order to make water available to generate power to earn money for projects in the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. There is no water or power supply shortage in those States.

It is our understanding that all major California water agencies at the May 16 Las Vegas conference expressed their intention to cooperate in water conservation practices, but without making any commitment to an arbitrary percentage reduction that might not be practicable or possible without great injury to the agricultural and urban economy of southern California. The department of water and power concurs in that water conservation policy.

On behalf of the 2,677,000 citizens of Los Angeles, we respectfully ask Secretary Udall to reconsider his water rationing order.

Midwest Heard in Research Plea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Richard Lewis, distinguished science writer for the Chicago Sun-Times, recently appeared in that publication. It is my hope that the various agencies dealing with research will take time to read this article.

It is high time that the agencies began recognizing the research capabilities of Chicago and the Midwest.

The article follows:

MIDWEST HEARD IN RESEARCH PLEA

(By Richard Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—The rising dissatisfaction in the Middle West about its lack of Government research and development projects appears to have registered on the White House.

At least, this impression was conveyed to the American Physical Society here last week in a speech by Dr. Donald F. Hornig, President Johnson's science adviser. It was the only thing the 43-year-old Princeton University chemist had to say that aroused general interest.

Hornig made it clear that while Mr. Johnson's policy is to hold down research and development spending a bit, there is recognition of the need to spread it around more.

In fact, said Hornig, two congressional committees investigating research spending have inquired about this very point. Have research-development funds been concentrated in too few areas? Has this had an adverse effect on other areas?

"These are valid questions," Hornig said. "That they are being asked is a clear demonstration of the main new fact of life about science—it can no longer ignore the political process."

That may be a new fact of life to Hornig, but it's an old story to the scientific community. What cannot be ignored any longer is the Midwest's dissatisfaction at being left out. And Hornig's speech suggests this has been realized in administrative circles as the political process of a national election draws near.

The kind of research instrument the Midwest is likely to get is another atom smasher in addition to the zero gradient synchrotron at Argonne National Laboratory, 25 miles

southwest of Chicago. It would be a very-high-energy machine in the range of several hundred billion electron volts.

The zero gradient synchrotron, recently completed, is a high-intensity machine with a peak energy of 11.5 billion electron volts.

With an atom smasher of 200 to 300 billion electron volts, in addition to the zero gradient synchrotron, Argonne might realize its potential of becoming a world center of high-energy physics research.

A high-energy machine would enable research men to peer into new frontiers. The zero gradient synchrotron is an enormously valuable research tool. But its energy is too low to produce any new particles, such as the Omega-minus component of the nucleus found at Brookhaven National Laboratory, N.Y., last year.

Hornig assured the physicists here that whatever science budget cuts are made "it is in the national interest to support vigorous advancement of high-energy physics." He said that present planning calls for two big atom smashers to be developed in the next 15 years, the larger to be a 1,000 billion electron volt machine.

This means that Argonne has a chance to get one of them, if the conflict between that Laboratory and the Midwest Universities Research Association can be settled.

The MURA group of 15 Midwest universities proposed a high-intensity atom smasher more powerful than zero gradient synchrotron near Madison, Wis. But the prospect it would cause the zero gradient synchrotron at Argonne to be scrapped evoked dissension in the ranks of research men.

This situation made the MURA project an easy casualty of Federal budget cutting. The project was dropped and a group of talented atom smasher designers and builders were left with nothing to design or build.

The hope is to merge the MURA group with Argonne. This will require some administrative changes at Argonne, which is operated by the University of Chicago for the Atomic Energy Commission.

Renewed only last September, the University of Chicago contract has another 4 years to run. Yet it is difficult to see how the MURA group can merge with Argonne unless it assumes a managerial role in the operation of the Laboratory.

A committee headed by John Williams, professor of physics at the University of Minnesota, has been working out a merger plan for months.

If MURA and Argonne can be merged, the Chicago area stands to gain a new and more powerful research machine. It would provide a significant economic and scientific stimulus for the entire Midwest.

If the merger plan fails, it is not likely that the Midwest will be the site for future research facilities in high-energy physics.

Remarks by Congressman John S. Monagan at Dedication of John F. Kennedy Memorial Fieldhouse at Nolan Field, Ansonia, Conn., May 30, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day, May 30, 1964, a fieldhouse was dedicated at Nolan Field, Ansonia, Conn., in honor of our late President John F. Kennedy. The principal speaker at the dedication ceremonies was our colleague, Congressman JOHN S. MONAGAN, of Connecticut's Fifth District, through whose efforts Federal funds were made available for the project under the accelerated public works program, which was initiated by the late President Kennedy.

A surprise portion of the program was the presentation to Congressman MONAGAN of a handsome plaque by Mayor Joseph A. Doyle on behalf of the people of Ansonia whom Congressman MONAGAN ably represents. Engraved on the plaque was the message "Presented to Congressman JOHN S. MONAGAN by the people of the city of Ansonia, Conn., in appreciation of his personal interest and devoted service to their welfare. May 30, 1964." Before the presentation of the plaque to Congressman MONAGAN, he inspired the large audience with an eloquent message in which he eulogized our late President John F. Kennedy.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include here the text of Congressman MONAGAN'S remarks:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN S. MONAGAN AT DEDICATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL FIELDHOUSE AT NOLAN FIELD, ANSONIA, CONN., MAY 30, 1964

I am honored to share with you in this ceremony dedicating this fine new fieldhouse in honor of our late President, John F. Kennedy.

I am happy also at this time to present to Mayor Doyle for use, in connection with the fieldhouse, a photograph of President Kennedy and a flag of the United States which has flown over the Capitol in Washington. I hope that the picture will help for many years to keep alive the memory of President Kennedy and I trust that the flag, with its unique background, will symbolize the union of interest and the mutual dependence between the leaders and representatives in our National Capital and the individual citizens in the towns of our country.

It is particularly appropriate that this fieldhouse should be named after John F. Kennedy because the Federal funds which helped in its construction came from the accelerated public works program which was a special project of President Kennedy and was conceived by him and carried through under his enthusiastic supervision.

This building, which we dedicate today, is important as a symbol of the partnership between the Federal Government and the individual municipality. In this instance, the hand of Government is not a heavy and demanding paternalistic one. It is a helpful one which demonstrates that our National Government recognizes no separation between the people of the towns and the people of the Nation. They are the same citizens and their problems are interrelated. Therefore, the National Government has extended a supporting hand to local government in solving a particular problem with the happy result which we see today.

This is not the only program in which the Federal Government has assisted with regional problems.

I point to the great Naugatuck Valley flood control program which is of vast importance to the people of the lower valley and which would never have come to reality without the intervention and massive financial assistance of the National Government. With the completion of the Thomaston Dam, the Hall Meadow and East Branch Dams in Torrington, with the current construction of the Northfield and Hancock Brook Dams, and with the planning for the two final dams substantially finished, this great protective program is marching toward completion. With the addition of the local flood protection project in this community, Ansonia and the lower valley will be guaranteed against a repetition of the tragedy of 1955.

It is clear, therefore, that when viewed realistically and not in terms of catch phrases or shibboleths, this partnership between the national and local governments has proved to be beneficial to all, and I am proud to have some share in bringing these works to fruition.

This fieldhouse and the other projects which I have described as well as numerous other marks of progress in Ansonia, would not have been possible without the leadership of your great mayor and I want here to pay tribute to Mayor Joseph A. Doyle as an outstanding municipal executive. He has watched over the welfare of Ansonia with almost maternal solicitude. He is alert; he is knowledgeable; he is farsighted, and he is energetic. Above all, he has the capacity to take the long view and not be diverted by small or irrelevant problems. He has set about the job of transforming an old New England village into a modern city. He is encouraging the people of Ansonia to build for the future and they are building well. The Greater Ansonia of tomorrow will owe an undying debt to Joe Doyle. You people of Ansonia are fortunate to have him as your leader and I hope that you will have the benefit of his services for many years to come.

Today our thoughts turn inevitably to our martyred President and dear friend, John Kennedy. How happy he would be to know that his legislative idea was transformed into a reality of brick and mortar in the shape of a fieldhouse for the participation of the youth he loved so well in the athletics to which he was so devoted.

His feeling on this occasion, however, would not be wholly abstract because John Kennedy loved the people of this valley and they loved him. On two occasions, I rode with him through this city and the surrounding area and I well remember the enthusiastic reception of our people and his warm response. One trip took place long after midnight in the cold drizzle of a November morning in 1960, and I am sure that none of us will forget the masses of people in all the valley towns who stayed up through the night to greet the presidential candidate. Even in the countryside one met little clumps and gatherings of people and one remembers the women in their dressing gowns with their children in their arms, and the older couples in doorways. Many times during the course of our journey, President Kennedy said, "These are our people" and we in turn felt "This is our President and friend."

The other occasion was in October of 1962, and unknown to us, on the very day of his visit, he was in the midst of the Cuban missile crisis, but none of us was aware of its critical nature at the time. I remember so well his saying as we drove along, how pleased he was to be away from Washington and among those who were his old friends.

It is no wonder that the people of this area supported him in overwhelming numbers.

It is not so much the statesman or the political leader, but the warm human being that we miss today. John Kennedy had a high ideal of presidential action. In the midst of partisan strife or internecine feuding he maintained serenely his concept of the ideal executive. Recognizing the need to give hard knocks and to press an adversary without flinching, he nevertheless retained a grace, a cleanliness and a style that we shall not soon see again.

He brought gusto and zest to the job of being President. With his lovely wife he

swept out the corners and opened the windows and spread a new light around the Presidency. He lent to it a unique character and surrounded it with a romantic quality that was pervasive—yet, almost intangible.

"We people on the pavement looked at him
For he was a gentleman from sole to crown,
Clean favored, and imperially slim.
And he was always quietly arrayed
And he was always human when he talked;
But still he fluttered pulses when he said,
'Good morning,' and he glittered when he walked."

In the spell which he wove was something of the poetry, the imagination and the creativeness which came to him through his Celtic forebears.

His loss is a tragic one, indeed, both for us his friends and for our country. Yet may we not find solace in knowing that he will to us and to history always be young and bright and fair?

He gave to the Nation the incomparable gifts of freshness, of vigor, of idealism and of faith. How much better to remember always the youthful profusion of this endowment which he lavished upon us.

Never will he "swell the rout of lads that wore their honors out, runners whom renown outran and the name died before the man."

"He has outsoared the shadow of our night
Envy and calumny and hate and pain,
And that unrest which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not and torture not again;
From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure, and now can never mourn
A heart grown cold, a head grown gray in vain."

It is, however, not enough for us today to mourn his passing and to speak our regrets. He would not have it so. He looked to the future and so must we. He had his experience with the confrontation of nuclear arms and the arrogance of the Communists and he faced the morrow with courage and confidence—and so must we.

He had the challenging and triumphant experience of the missile crisis and he showed firmness and determination. We have the complex and frustrating threat of communism in South Vietnam and elsewhere in the world, and we must show the same patience and fortitude.

On the morning of the very day in which he was taken from us, John Kennedy gave an address in which he spoke not of the difficulties and dangers and weaknesses of this country, but of the strength of the United States and the resilience and the promise of democracy and of our great power for good in this troubled world.

This was ever his message—one of hope and confidence and delivered always with a clear vision beyond the immediate difficulties of the present to the bright and shining future that is possible for us if we remain true as individuals and as a nation to our great and unique heritage.

John Kennedy issued a challenge to America—a clarion call to our better selves and to the divine inspiration that rests within each one of us and can raise us above the grubby commonplace activities of our daily lives.

As we pause today in memory of John Kennedy, therefore, let us strengthen our resolution to reach for those ideal goals of brotherhood and cooperation which he set for us. Let us keep his stirring challenge ever before us. Let us, as he did, bring idealism and sacrifice into our daily lives. Let each of us do his share to make of our country the great and generous and noble nation that John Kennedy always held close to his heart.

Address of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address given by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson to the graduating class of Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School on June 3, 1964.

My daughter Christine was among the graduates, and, as a father of a young lady who has just passed a very important milestone in her life and is planning to continue her education, I was greatly impressed, as she was, with the advice offered by Mrs. Johnson.

She reminded the girls that their school had been in existence for 165 years and, because of this, there was much tradition associated with it. However, the success of the school and its students demonstrated that with the honoring of traditions went the recognition of the present and the anticipation of the future. Hence today's graduates have acquired qualities greatly needed in today's world.

Mrs. Johnson asked these graduates to have the faith in the future that the founders of our Nation had and the founders of their school had shown.

The journey of your life is still the unfinished story of America's growth, of the quest for the fulfillment of the American dream.

She said, and then she asked the girls some very searching questions.

With the education they had secured she asked:

What were they going to do with it? How could they use it to defend freedom? How can they help to bring an end to poverty and prejudice in our Nation? How can they assist in bringing an understanding between nations?

These young ladies were counseled:

Woman can no longer afford to concern herself only with the hearth. Never before have young women found the world so full of opportunity to achieve, so full of challenge to be creative. In every community there is a need for women leaders, women with a gift of understanding, women with vision, women with confidence in themselves, women with a questing mind and a quiet heart.

Her address was challenging and inspiring.

I am sure many of my colleagues will find it worth reading—not only to use as a guide for our own children, but also most helpful in offering advice to the many young people who write us for counsel and guidance.

Mrs. Johnson is to be commended for her expression of faith in the future of our Nation and in the capability of our young people to accept their responsibilities in leading it.

Her address follows:

REMARKS BY MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON, GEORGETOWN VISITATION PREPARATORY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 3, 1964

Your Excellency, Sister Roberta, students and parents:

It is a great pleasure for me to be here at this historical and lovely school which was founded in 1799—1 year before the city of Washington. This is a most important day in your lives.

For me this ceremony has an added dimension—a sentimental one. The President and I have shared the joys and strengths of longtime friendship with the proud parents of Beth Jenkins. Today is, therefore, a very special and proud day for us too.

And to you parents who have given so much in devotion and sacrifice to send your girls here, may I say I know today you feel amply rewarded as you look at your alert and attractive young daughters.

This is a time when you will be leaving these familiar surroundings to begin your lives as educated women. Much will be asked and expected of you. We live in a world in which change and challenge have become household words. You must be courageous enough to understand these challenges and wise enough to meet them with a steady and a helping hand.

Many years ago, Nathaniel Hawthorne's daughter, who attended this school wrote a study of Georgetown Visitation Convent which she called "A Story of Courage."

Winston Churchill has said that "Courage is rightly esteemed the first of human qualities because it is the quality which guarantees all others." It is the quality which is essential if one is to be guaranteed a life in which there is independence of mind and spirit.

Education brings learning, but it is useless unless it also brings a courageous attitude toward life.

This is what I think commencement is all about. We begin to think out our role in society; we begin to think out the applications of learning and skills we have developed. This takes courage.

As graduates of Georgetown Visitation, you have the best of two worlds. In your years here you have learned to appreciate the values of tradition. You have been given an unbreakable link with other generations because you have shared with them a common experience. For some of you this link has been as personal as having mothers, grandmothers, even great-grandmothers, attending Visitation before you.

To their delight and yours, your alma mater is timeless: You have all, each in her time, enjoyed the sense of security that comes with changeless values. By fostering self discipline and cultivating gentleness, as well as by providing a fine education, Visitation is providing you with qualities greatly needed in today's world.

We Americans tend to think of ourselves as a very young, very new nation. It is sometimes difficult for us to realize that among the nations of the world we have the oldest democratic constitution in existence.

Surely the experiences of your years here at school have brought you very close to our origins as a nation. Having been a student here, you have gained a perspective against which to view the problems of our times. It is important that we look at our world against the perspective of history.

But I do not wish to look backward and think only of the glories of our tradition rich past. The inspiration to be taken from our Founding Fathers—and from the courageous founders of this school—is that they had a forward looking view. They could never have overcome the problems they faced if they had not kept their eyes on the future.

Jefferson said, "Cherish the spirit of our people." He was concerned with the growth of democracy. The journey of your life is still the unfinished story of America's growth, of the quest for the fulfillment of the American dream.

The words on your diplomas are the signposts on your road to the future. Words are wonderful, magical messengers. The words of the wise, of the great, of the prophet, the poet, and the philosopher have become yours. You have inherited them by means of a fortunate legacy, the legacy of an education.

What are you going to do with them? How can you use them to defend freedom? How can you use them to bring an end to poverty and prejudice? How can you use them to extend understanding between nations?

I am certain each one of you will have a different and positive answer to these questions. It is never too early to start being a part of your community. This summer beckons you. Many of you have—like my daughter, Luci—gotten part-time jobs. That is an important part of learning. But don't let the next 3 months just waste away. You can do all kinds of things. You can, for instance, go down to the Urban Service Corps where Mrs. Annette Read will be glad to sign you up as a reading aid for children or as a library helper. You will have done a great deal if you help only one child learn how to use the library for, do you realize—in the District of Columbia—most public elementary schools are without libraries? That means that many youngsters enter junior high school needing to use libraries for their schoolwork, but they never had any experience. This is a simple thing, but it is an important thing—and it would be easy for you to do. Some of you may perhaps lend hand and heart to the Notre Dame Summer Peace Corps.

The challenge of democracy is one of learning about, growth toward, and realization of those goals that can fulfill the American dream.

I believe that the educated woman today has a role to play—of courage and conviction—unparalleled since frontier times. Then, she served as wife, teacher, physician, and often community leader in her settlement town. Today, she may be required to play much the same role in one of the far off battalions of the Peace Corps. Or, she may be called on to show equal courage in tackling a wide range of tasks here at home. I recently came to know at close hand two such women and their work—Marie Turner, superintendent of schools for Breathitt County in the Cumberlands, and Kate Tuchman, principal of P.S. 184 in Harlem. These are two areas where teaching can make all the difference in the caliber of the young Americans who grow up there. I would strongly recommend for your own consideration the frontiers these dedicated women have chosen to conquer.

Woman can no longer afford to concern herself only with the hearth—any more than man can afford to concern himself only with his job.

Too often success is treated as the single most important goal, the ultimate objective of the American dream. And this success is constantly measured by promotions, rewards, affluence.

Certainly these are the symbols and the trappings of success. But are these necessarily enduring attributes? Are these the lasting satisfactions that make life worthwhile? What happens when the ceremony is over, the pageants past, and the triumph a memory?

Have we not sometimes substituted the props of material success for the realities of timeless values?

Success has many faces; it need not be circumscribed by a title, a job, a cause. Success is not always "getting." It is more often "giving." It does not consist of what we do, but rather in what we are. Success is not always an accomplishment. It can be a State of mind. The quiet dignity of a home, the relationship of the individuals in that home. The continuing expression of an inquiring mind can mean more in terms of success than all the surface symbols of status.

This world beyond Georgetown Visitation, the one you are entering, is a wonderful world. Never before have young women found it so full of opportunity to achieve, so full of challenge to be creative. In every community there is a need for women leaders, women with a gift of understanding, women with vision, women with confidence in themselves, women with a questing mind and a quiet heart.

Less than 50 years ago, a conscientious graduate of Visitation could hope to do little more than treat the symptoms of world ills. You, with your expanded horizons and your wider sense of participation, can strike at the root causes. Today a woman with the strength to take on problems that do not lend themselves to quick and easy solutions, can build the success that comes of fulfillment, of a cause won, and a world the better for it.

You are no longer limited to giving succor, to stamping out suffering. You may not be expected to fill Christmas baskets for the needy, but to serve on committees to create new job opportunities. You will not only be asked to open your home to these committees, but to invite the visitor from Chile or the student from Kenya to share your hearth in the hope of extending international understanding.

In planning your further course of study, I hope each of you will not only prepare for a satisfying personal life, but for a useful public life as well. Just as our country can no longer turn inward and concern itself with its own affairs, no individual can turn inward and concern herself only with her own and her family's lives. The world has become so small that the problems of Vietnam and Zanzibar come to our breakfast tables. The standard of living in remote parts of the world can vitally affect our own prosperity. Just so, our progress and our cultural enrichment must be shared with others at the farthest end of the globe.

I would like to add one thing more.

All people have dreams: dreams and images of the person they would like to be and the world they would like to live in. High school graduates like yourselves usually believe their dreams can become realities, college seniors usually label the same dreams as daydreams too farfetched to be realized.

But, in an age when so much is possible, I hope you will hold on to your dreams—examine them in the light of reality—and work to make them come true. Many of them will.

"Naval Dominance Still Vital"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego (Calif.) Union:

POWER IS POWER WHEN NEEDED—NAVAL DOMINANCE STILL VITAL

The contention that the United States has more military power than all of the countries of history combined, is comforting—for the moment.

Power today is not measured in masses but in specifics; not in numbers of soldiers but in bombs and the means of delivering them. And in this scientific and technological age, situations can change rapdily.

When we had the exclusive possession of the atom bomb, the United States had a power position in the world beyond challenge, and the Communist world tread the tight rope of fear and respect. It did not last long. The Communists caught up. We next developed the H-bomb. So did the Russians, and the timelag was shorter than before. They were the first to put a man in orbit.

The statement of President Johnson in regard to our power may be factually correct as of today, but it does not necessarily square with the future. In Dallas, the annual convention of the Navy League of the United States called for a modernization program to arrest the deterioration of the Navy.

"The lead that we once enjoyed as a nation, our great military advantage in the area of nuclear power, is being disputed," Robert Barnum, the national president, told the convention.

"Not one single nuclear-powered surface ship has been authorized this year and with the present attitude in the Department of Defense one may not be—for years to come."

In a "declaration of objectives" the Navy League called for an atomic fleet with a minimum of 15 attack carriers, more Polaris submarines and a powerful antisubmarine force within the next 15 years.

The United States is a maritime nation and Barnum warned that it "may be forced to adopt the defense posture of a land power.

"We will fight our battles from America and invite devastation in return, rather than carry the battles to the waters and shores of our enemy," he said.

If more of our military power is to be brought to bear on southeast Asia, it will have to be done with sea and air forces, and yet both our mobility and flexibility—as well as strength—are being reduced.

In view of the military commitments of the United States over such vast expanses of the world, to reduce the potency of advance forces, denying them the mobility conferred by nuclear power, is self-defeating.

The quicker and more effectively we can apply power in a limited way, the more the "little wars" can be restricted and controlled, before they can become "big wars."

Behind this advance line are the land-based missiles and behind them, in case they are destroyed in a sudden attack, are the Polaris missiles, concealed and deadly—the final deterrent or the final determination.

In his commencement address to the graduating class of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Representative CARL VINSON, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee summed it up best, when he said:

"We prayerfully hope that our mighty missiles will keep nuclear war at bay. But where missiles could never be used, Navy guns may save the peace."

President Johnson in Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, June 3, southeastern Connecticut welcomed President Johnson as

its guest of honor. The President participated in the commencement exercises at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy in New London, where he delivered a major address. From there he went by motorcade to the neighboring city of Groton, where he participated in the keel-laying ceremony of the nuclear submarine U.S.S. *Pargo* at the Electric Boat Co. shipyard.

The local police authorities and the press estimated the number of people who viewed the Presidential motorcade at 50,000. There were some 3,500 people at the Coast Guard Academy's graduation, and about 11,000 workers heard him speak at Electric Boat. All in all, perhaps as much as two-thirds of the population of the New London-Groton area came to see President Johnson.

I was privileged to accompany the President on the plane to Connecticut, rode in his car during the motorcade, and was in the Presidential party both at the Academy and the keel laying at Electric Boat. There was no doubt as to the admiration and the genuine warmth of the people for President Johnson. They were proud that he took time out from his very busy schedule to visit southeastern Connecticut and to speak to them. Their respect for our Chief Executive and their friendliness toward the man were clearly evident everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the President's address at the Coast Guard Academy, the remarks of Ensign Robert Leo Armacost in presenting a gift on behalf of the graduating class, and the President's address at the keel laying of the submarine *Pargo*.

They are as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY, NEW LONDON, CONN.

Admiral Roland, Admiral Smith, Secretary and Mrs. Dillon, Governor Dempsey, Connecticut's great and able Senators, my good friends, TOM DODD and ABE RIBICOFF, Senator MAGNUSON, Senator THURMOND, Senator PELL, members of Connecticut's fine delegation to the Congress, and other Congressmen who work so hard in behalf of our Coast Guard, my fellow Americans:

In 1790, the Nation which had fought a Revolution against taxation without representation, discovered that some of its citizens weren't much happier about taxation with representation. And so, in what was probably the country's first economy drive, the Coast Guard was founded at a cost of $10,000 for 10 cutters.

In tribute to your traditions, and in anticipation of your achievements, as Commander in Chief I hereby grant a general amnesty, and do excuse all Coast Guard cadets from any penalties which you may now carry with you.

The official mission of the Coast Guard, which hangs in each room of this Academy, places you "in the service of [your] country and humanity."

That mission, your mission, is also the mission of your Nation. For today we Americans share responsibility not only for our own security but for the security of all free nations; not only for our own society but for an entire civilization; not only for our own liberty but for the hopes of all humanity.

In pursuit of such responsibilities, national security requires more than national strength. It requires, first of all, a nation dedicated to justice and to the improvement of life for its own people. It requires a nation determined to help others eliminate the despair and the human degradation on which the enemies of freedom feed. It requires a nation devoted, through speech and deed, to showing those who may grow weary of will, or fearful of the future, that the cause of human dignity is on the march, its shadow is lengthening, and victory is moving nearer. But our hope for success in the aims of peace rests also on the strength of our arms.

As Winston Churchill once said: "Civilization will not last, freedom will not survive, peace will not be kept, unless mankind unites together to defend them and show themselves possessed of a power before which barbaric forces will stand in awe."

We, as well as our adversaries, must stand in awe before the power our craft has created and our wisdom must labor to control. In every area of national strength America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or combination of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all the nations in the history of the world.

And I confidently predict that strength will continue to grow more rapidly than the might of all others.

The first area of this increasing strength is our ability to deter atomic destruction. In the past 3 years we have increased our nuclear power on alert 2½ times, and our nuclear superiority will continue to grow until we reach agreement on arms control.

We have more than 1,000 fully armed ICBM's and Polaris missiles ready for retaliation. The Soviet Union has far fewer, and none ready to be launched beneath the seas. We have more than 1,100 strategic bombers, many of which are equipped with air-to-surface and decoy missiles to help them reach almost any target. The Soviet Union, we estimate, could with difficulty send less than one-third of this number over targets in the United States.

Against such force the combined destructive power of every battle ever fought by man is like a firecracker thrown against the sun.

The second area of increasing strength is our ability to fight less than all-out war. In the past 3 years we have raised the number of combat ready divisions 45 percent. They can be moved swiftly around the world by an airlift capacity which has increased 75 percent. Supporting tactical aircraft have been increased over 30 percent, and the number of tactical nuclear warheads in Europe has been raised 60 percent. We, and our NATO allies, now have 5 million men under arms. In addition we are now ready to mobilize large reserves in the event of conflict. Six divisions, with all supporting units, can be moved into action in a few weeks.

And we are continuing to build our forces. In a few years our airlift capacity will be five times what it was in 1961. Advanced weapons and equipment are flowing to our armies. Our fleet is being modernized through a decade-long shipbuilding program. And new tactical aircraft are being built.

A third area of increasing strength is the struggle against subversion. Our adversaries, convinced that direct attack would be aimless, today resort to terror, subversion, and guarril alwarfare. To meet this threat we began a large effort to train special forces to fight internal subversion. Since January 1961 we have increased these specialized forces eight times. We have trained more than 100,000 officers in these techniques. We have given special emphasis to this form of warfare in the training of all military units.

Our Army now has six Special Action Forces on call around the world to assist our friendly nations. They are skilled in the languages and problems of the area in which they are stationed. The Navy and Air Force have several thousand men whose abilities, training, equipment, and mission are designed to combat clandestine attack. And behind these groups are five brigade-size backup forces ready to move into instant action.

But just as subversion has many faces, our responses must take many forms. We have worked to increase and integrate all the resources, political and social as well as military and economic, needed to meet a threat which tears at the entire fabric of a society.

But success in fighting subversion ultimately rests on the skill of the soldiers of the threatened country. We now have 344 teams at work in 49 countries to train the local military in the most advanced techniques of internal defense.

Subversive warfare is often difficult, dirty, and deadly. Victory comes only to those with the desire to protect their own freedom. But such conflict requires weapons as well as will, ability as well as aspiration. And we will continue to increase this strength until our adversaries are convinced that this course too will not lead to conquest.

The fourth area of increasing strength is in the development of new weapons for deterrence and defense. In the past several years we have begun many important new weapons systems. Minuteman II will have twice the accuracy of the first Minuteman. The new Nike-X, when its development is completed, will give us the option to deploy, if national security requires it, the best antiballistics missile available to any nation. We are developing a new aircraft, the F–111, with much greater range, payload, and ability at air combat than present tactical bombers or fighters.

The Lance missile, the EX–10 torpedo, the A7A attack aircraft, a new main battle tank, new antitank missile systems, are the emerging products of development that we are carrying on. And that effort is without parallel in all the world. We will continue to carry forward new projects which offer hope of adding substantially to our strength. I can assure the American people that the United States is, and will remain, first in the use of science and technology for the protection of the people.

The fifth area and the most important of increasing strength is the ability of the American fighting man. However impressive or ingenious, our weapons can be no better than the men who man them. The complexities of modern weapons require men of high skill. The complexities of modern warfare require men of great knowledge. The complexities of the modern world require men of broad outlook.

Today 52 percent of our enlisted men are under 25 and are high school graduates, compared with 39 percent in the country as a whole who are high school graduates. Sixty-five percent of our commissioned officers are college graduates today, compared with 7 percent in the nation. Twenty-five thousand officers hold graduate degrees and thousands more are studying for such degrees.

In encampments across the world millions of men and women have chosen to serve with low pay and high hazard, with deep devotion and silent sacrifice, so that their fellow Americans might enjoy the rich legacy of liberty. They stand the hard vigil that we may pursue the high vision of flourishing freedom in a world at peace. These are the sources of the strength we build, knowing, in the words of the Bible, "When the strong man armed keepth his palace, his goods are in peace."

The necessities of our strength are as varied as the nature of our dangers. The response must suit the threat. Those who would answer every problem with nuclear weapons display not bravery but bravado, not wisdom but a wanton disregard for the survival of the world and the future of the race.

No one can live daily, as I must do, with the dark realities of nuclear ruin, without seeking the guidance of God to find the path of peace. We have built this staggering

strength that I have told you about not to destroy but to save, not to put an end to civilization but, rather, to try to put an end to conflict.

Thus, in the past 3 years, as our strength rose—and, in large part, as a consequence of that rising strength—we have been able to take more tanagible steps toward peace than at any time since the cold war began. We established an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. We agreed with the Soviet Union on a statement of disarmament principles. We signed a test ban treaty. We established the hot line. We supported a U.N. resolution prohibiting the orbiting of nuclear weapons. We cut back on nuclear production while the Soviet Union did the same. And we have just completed the negotiation of a new consular agreement.

And, as the Geneva Conference reconvenes, we have before it a series of proposals that I submitted, designed to freeze strategic nuclear delivrey systems, to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and to prohibit the use of force to solve disputes. And we will welcome any other proposal by any nation which promises realistic progress toward peace.

In far-flung corners of this strife-girdled globe ambitious adversaries continually test our tenacity and seek to erode our endurance. American strength is engaged and American blood is being shed.

It requires patience and understanding to continue the search for peace while our adversaries so beset us. But this is what we must do. It is what, God willing, I intend to do.

If we are successful in that search it will be because you, and men like you, gave their lives to duty that our children might live their lives in freedom.

So let us hope that this Nation can some day, not too distant, lay aside its awesome power, and direct all its genius to the betterment of man. Let us hope that we may soon be able to say "The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and let us put on the armor of light."

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AND ENS. ROBERT LEO ARMACOST UPON PRESENTATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF A GIFT FROM THE 1964 GRADUATING CLASS, U.S. COAST GUARD ACADEMY, NEW LONDON, CONN.

Ensign ARMACOST. First, Mr. President, I would like to thank you for the shoulder boards.

Now it is my distinct honor to present to you this token of our appreciation for your participation in our commencement exercises. The inscription reads: "Presented to the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, honorary member, class of 1964, U.S. Coast Guard Academy, June 3, 1964, from his classmates."

In presenting this desk piece and this certificate of class membership, we are proud to welcome you as a member of the class of 1964.

Traditionally, the lady of every man at the Coast Guard Academy has some remembrance of the Academy. I would like to present this gift to you to give to your lady, Mrs. Johnson.

The PRESIDENT. I know Mrs. Johnson will appreciate your thoughtfulness of her. She is attending another graduation exercise today or she would have been here with me.

I have enjoyed very much my work with the class of 1964. I hope that 1964 will be as good for me as it is for you.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE KEEL LAYING OF THE PARGO (SSN-650) THE ELECTRIC BOAT CO., GROTON, CONN.

I declare the keel of the Submarine *Pargo* well and truly laid.

Men and women of General Dynamics; the distinguished Chief Executive of Connecticut, Governor Dempsey; my longtime able friends, Senator Tom Dodd and Senator Abe Ribicoff; Senator Claiborne Pell and Senator Strom Thurmond; Senator Magnuson; your own every able Congressman Bill St. Onge; other members of the congressional delegation; those Congressmen from other States who have worked to improve our defenses and to make America safe, my fellow Americans:

On the Fourth of July in Paris nearly 130 years ago, a great Frenchman, who knew America well, undertook to explain to his countrymen the importance of Connecticut. He told them that "little yellow spot on the map * * * makes the clock peddler, the schoolmaster, and the Senator."

"The first," he explained, "gives you time; the second tells you what do do with it; and the third makes your law and your civilization."

Your State of Connecticut has a long tradition, and a worldwide reputation, for fine craftsmanship, for fine workmanship, for outstanding scholarship and for intellectual leadership. Connecticut also has a reputation in Washington for some of the most outstanding statesmen to serve in the United States, and that reputation is being upheld by my two old and good friends, TOM DODD and ABE RIBICOFF, and your own fine Congressman BILL ST. ONGE. They are helping to make the laws of your land sound and make them wise, and in the same tradition your work here in this yard is helping to preserve and to defend American civilization.

I wanted to come here today to see firsthand some of the men and women who have labored to put new muscle into America's military might. All of you know that we are a nation of peaceful people. We have stated time and time again that all we seek for all the world is peace—peace built on freedom and mutual respect among men and nations. But commonsense dictates that peaceful purposes must be supported by purposeful power. There are those who oppose freedom and security in the world today, so they seek by fear and by subversion to thwart man's hope for peace. If they do not understand our motives for peace, we must be sure they do not misunderstand our means of power. The nuclear-powered submarines that you men and women are building here are indispensable to the free world strength. One of these subs armed with 16 Polaris missiles has an explosive punch greater than all the destructive power unleashed by all the guns and cannon, planes and ships, on both sides during all of World War II.

Unthinkable, isn't it? They can stay at sea months without refueling. They can stay underwater as long as their crews can stand the strain. And they are ready for instant action.

The *George Washington*, built in this yard, has been deployed for 3½ years. Since then, 14 of her missiles were ready to fire at any time. And all 16 were ready to fire 95 percent of the time. Four years ago, this country had only 2 of these submarines deployed with 32 missiles. We now have 15 at sea with 240 missiles. And we have increased the total Polaris program from 24 submarines with 384 missiles to 41 submarines with 565 missiles.

You men and women have made that increase possible—made it possible by your skill, your energy, your labor. You have been the keepers of the peace along with the sentinels on the wall in Berlin, and our soldiers that are stationed in the outposts around the world. By your devotion to this cause, you have been defenders of a larger cause, the cause of freedom and peace around the world.

Since the first submarine was built here by an Irish immigrant in 1900, Americans of every race, every color, every religion, from every region, have labored together here in this yard to build a stronger and a more secure country. We cannot relax our efforts now. We must not confine them only to the production of new weapons for our military arsenal. For a nation with an unbeatable military power can still be toppled if it does not preserve its moral power. Only an America which practices equal rights and social justice at home will be heard as it proclaims those ideals abroad. Only an America which has fully educated its people can remain strong. Only an America that cares for its sick, offers a helping hand to its poor, and compassion to its old—only this kind of America can really win the respect of those whose destiny is bound up with ours. And only an America which is growing and which is prospering can sustain the worldwide defenses of freedom while proving to all onlookers the opportunities of our system.

So, men and women, ladies and gentlemen, my friends, by the work that you do in this yard you are defenders of America's freedom. But by the work you do as citizens beyond this yard—and I hope there will be much of that kind of work, too—you are designers of America's future. As President of your country, I am proud of you, and that pride is shared by men in every land who rely on our power to keep the peace in this troubled but hopeful world.

So let never any of us shrink from our responsibility. Let us sustain our pledge to work for the day when all people everywhere will know the vindication of that ancient vision: "Peace on earth, good will toward men." Thank you.

Why Commemorate?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, Sunday in Arlington National Cemetery, our citizens met to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the dedication of the Confederate Monument and to honor again the memory of the Confederate veterans and their descendants who have served their country.

Representative E. C. "TOOK" GATHINGS, of Arkansas, was the principal speaker at the memorial services, and his remarks will be of interest to all. It is a pleasure to place this statement honoring our gallant ancestors in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHY COMMEMORATE?

Madam Chairman, the chairman and members of the Confederate Memorial Committee, United Daughters of the Confederacy, I congratulate you for fostering and promoting these annual memorial services dedicated to the memory of the Confederate veterans and their descendants. I am grateful to you, Mrs. Collier, for your kind and thoughtful introduction. It is fitting and proper that you perpetuate the remembrance of the courage and fortitude of the men in gray who laid down their lives 100 years ago.

Behind the inception of this day of tribute there is an interesting, and to me, a moving story. In April 1863, a group of Mississippi women, placing spring flowers on the graves of the Confederates who fell at Shiloh, found Union markers in the same cemetery. These dedicated women placed decorations on the final resting places of both. This site, now known as "Friendship Cemetery," could well

be the cradle of our Memorial Day observances.

It is with the same feeling of love and pride shown on that spring morning so long ago, that we meet here today to pay homage to those whose unsurpassed valor, self-sacrifice, devotion to principle and love of homeland, have given us a priceless heritage.

It seems especially fitting that here in this place and on these grounds, once the home of Robert E. Lee, there should rest the remains of some of the gallant men who followed that great soldier unto death.

Today all of those men on both sides have passed away on over the river. The century that has followed has softened the bitterness of the 4 years of conflict. We assemble here on the 50th anniversary of the dedication of this great Confederate monument.

The dead, for whom this memorial stands sponsor, died for what they believed to be right. The South gave 200,000 lives, the most precious possession it had, as an assurance of honesty of conviction, unfaltering faith and integrity of purpose.

The odds against the Confederate Armies were tremendous. It was estimated authoritatively, that on January 1, 1863, the white male population of the States to the North was 13,690,364 against those embracing the Southern States totalled 5,449,463. The North with its vast resources including industrial plants rivaling the world's strongest nations and a navy which was ranked third best on the seas.

The number of men the North had under arms was more than a million compared to less than 400,000 Confederate troops as of that date.

As we pay loving and reverent tribute to the heroes of the Confederacy, we speak not only of these renowned leaders, whose names are forever engraved in the scroll of history, but also of the private in rank—the humblest soldier. Once they were as you and I, each with his work and dreams, his home, his loved ones and his faith. When the test came, they gave their highest gifts—ability, devotion, courage, loyalty, and even their lives.

Why was the South fighting? Was she fighting to maintain slavery? Oh no—she was fighting for an inherent right, a principle that was sacred and holy. She was fighting for self-determination, self-government at the local level of municipality, county and State. The South opposed oppression and encroachment—that's why she fought. Their leaders believed in the Constitution as "the law of the land"; that its provisions were not subject to change and variations based or geared to economic, social or political considerations. They believed firmly that the Federal Government possesses no powers except those specifically enumerated by the Founding Fathers in the Constitution of the United States.

These men marched away from home, proud to serve their cause, their eyes keen and bright. Their steps were quick and confident. They appreciated the odds against them, but with a firm conviction of the righteousness of their cause, they hoped by fortitude and endurance to win. Through the long bitter years of war, their zeal, devotion, courage and pride remained unshaken. Their exploits were brilliant. With determination they bore privation, toil, agony and death. These men in gray were as gallant in defeat as they were heroic on the battlefield.

But finally outnumbered greatly, and exhausted under unendurable pressure, the end came.

In Robert E. Lee's farewell message to his men he said in part: "Officers and men can return to their homes. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection."

"With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell." It bears the signature "R. E. Lee, General."

The words "affectionate farewell" are dear to the hearts of southerners. The devoted and ragged men pressed forward around "Traveller's" saddle to speak to their leader and to shake his hand as he headed eastward toward Richmond. There were tearful throngs along the roads who greeted him along the route that was rutted by remnants of wagons, debris and artillery weapons.

That which remained of a proud army bid goodby to their companions and started upon a long trek to their homes. They found that their gracious way of life had been swept away; their prosperous homes and farms were shattered or in ruins; their families separated and loved ones gone. But again courage and skill met the test. Their struggle in rebuilding the South forms many an epic chapter in our history. As Americans we can all take pride in that the bitter struggle ended with a reunited country. The descendants of those who fought one another so valiantly have since stood shoulder to shoulder in four foreign wars.

June 3 marked the anniversary of the birth of another great southerner and great American, Jefferson Davis. Historians have not dealt kindly or even fairly with him. Writers blinded by bitterness sought at first to hold him responsible for every act of the government he headed, if not for secession and slavery itself. His outstanding services to the Nation as Representative, as U.S. Senator, and as Secretary of War were forgotten. Scribes from the Southland have been slow to come to his defense, or gave him only small credit.

Jefferson Davis had two distinct qualities or characteristics. One was his moral integrity. He was not ambitious. His decisions were based on moral law and good conscience.

Another quality he possessed in abundance was his kindness, courtesy, and warmth. He showed genuine sympathy for the unfortunate and displayed a quiet courtesy for all.

In 1884 speaking to the Legislature of the State of Mississippi he had this to say:

"The people of the Confederate States did more in proportion to their numbers and means than was ever achieved by any people in the world's history. Fate decreed that they should be unsuccessful in their effort to maintain their claims. Our people have accepted the decree; it therefore behooves them to promote the welfare of the Union, to show the world that hereafter, as heretofore, the patriotism of our people is not measured by lines of latitude and longitude, but is as broad as the obligations they have assumed and embraces the whole of our ocean bound domain. Let them leave to their children and children's children the grand example of never swerving from the path of duty, and preferring to return good for evil rather than to cherish the unmanly feeling of revenge."

The men for whom this monument pays tribute believed that each person owes something of himself to his country, to his State, to his community, and his local government. May we emulate this spirit of devotion and rededicate ourselves for the preservation of our Nation. May we keep it strong spiritually, morally, educationally, and militarily.

We are threatened as never before since the War of Independence. We have a united country but we face a ruthless, atheist, and determined enemy. This enemy has gained at every conference table and by infiltration, subversion, and conflict itself. He will not keep his word or agreement. He has made tremendous gains in every part of the world and now he nests at our very door to the south of our land.

We cannot rely on the dollar to buy our freedom and preserve it. We cannot depend upon summit conferences. The threat in Cuba is a grave problem that needs solving. We must assume the status of leadership in this hemisphere and throughout the world. That's the way to assure peace—by mobilizing for any eventuality.

The United States is a union of states, a union of local institutions of government, and a great group of individuals. Every individual and local governmental unit maintains independent characteristics while bearing loyalty and allegiance to the Nation. If we are to remain strong and survive as a nation the Federal Government should respect the rights of the States, as well as individual rights and long established local traditions and customs.

The South is not attempting to impose its customs and traditions on any other part of the country. The South respects the rights of every community to govern its own affairs. The grandsons and granddaughters of the men who wore the blue and the gray many years ago are not engaged in the agitation and tumult. Their love for this Nation, its individual prerogatives, and its Constitution were crystallized and cemented in years of battle in the 1860's. This is the time for unity in this era of grave crisis in world affairs. It is a time for love and understanding.

It may be said—why should we want to remember these glorious heroes? The principal reason is that memory places man in a separate and distinct sphere which elevates him above the beast. Man alone is blessed to remember such things as duty, which Lee looked upon as one of the noblest words in our language.

Our debt to the Confederate men of courage and valor is recognized and acknowledged. To honor these men we must face up to the obligations which our generation confronts. If sound government, freedom, and liberty are to be preserved, it will be through the efforts of those who are living now. Let us fulfill our responsibilities and duty in the acceptance of our heritage. If we are true to our traditions, the cause for which these heroes fought will not be lost.

Self-Help Gains in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the success of our foreign aid program can be seen in projects promoting private enterprise and self-help in our less developed neighboring countries.

One such project is that undertaken by the Harvard Business School in assisting a group of Central American businessmen to establish a management education program.

Under the sponsorship of the Agency for International Development, the Harvard team studied the situation firsthand and helped to organize the Central American Institute of Business Administration. The Institute has asked Harvard to conduct a 5-week advanced management course this summer for 50 top administrators from Central American countries.

This project strikes at one of the most critical problems in economic develop-

ment in underdeveloped countries; namely, the shortage of managerial and entrepreneurial skills. Thus, AID is filling the need in an area of basic deficiency in a forward-looking self-help program. A program such as this certainly deserves the support of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include as part of my remarks the following article from the Christian Science Monitor which tells of this commendable project being carried on by AID:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 12, 1964]

BUSINESS AIDED: SELF-HELP GAINS IN AMERICAS

(By David G. Mutch)

Self-help seems to be emerging more and more as the key ingredient in the complex mix of foreign aid and economic development.

It is this ingredient which is primary in a project being carried out by a group of Central American businessmen and the Harvard Business School.

The division of international activities of Harvard Business School has been active since the spring of 1963 in assisting a group of Central American businessmen establish a management-education program.

The program is part of the Alliance for Progress, but the steam behind it is being generated in Central America as much as it is in Washington.

At the core of the plan is an "enthusiastic group of capable, influential, and progressive businessmen who were prepared to invest time and money to provide management education in the region," says a spokesman for Harvard Business School (HBS).

STUDY CONDUCTED

The project was triggered in the spring of 1963 when both Teodoro Moscoso of the Agency for International Development (AID), and President Kennedy invited HBS to assist in the establishment of a management-education program in Central America.

A 3-week preliminary investigation was carried out by Profs. Henry Arthur, Thomas Raymond, and George C. Lodge, now a lecturer and administrative assistant in the HBS Division of International Activities.

In the summer of 1963 a nine-member research team from HBS did an extensive 2-month study of management problems in Central America.

They were greatly assisted by local businessmen in arranging over 400 interviews with business leaders, rectors and deans of the 6 national universities, local government officials, and U.S. Government personnel.

INSTITUTE FORMED

As a consequence of the initial visit of the HBS team national committees were formed in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. One representative from each of these national committees sent a delegate to a meeting in San Salvador where Francisco de Sola, of that capital city of El Salvador, was elected their chairman.

These seven men formed at that meeting the Ceneral American Institute of Business Administration (INCAE). They became the board of directors of this institute and pledged its development.

The directors of INCAE have asked HBS to conduct a 5-week, advanced-management course in Antigua, Guatemala, in July and August this year. The facility of the business school has accepted the invitation and work is underway.

It is hoped that up to 50 top administrators from business, government, and possibly the military will attend the session. Lectures will be given in English, but expert simultaneous translation into Spanish will be provided. Teaching materials will be in Spanish. The case method and class discussion will be emphasized.

ADMISSION FEE SET

The results of the 2-month study last summer have been published in report form by the HBS. The study was done under an AID contract.

AID will assist the summer management course financially, but participants will pay an admission fee of approximately $1,000.

Instruction will deal with Central American management problems as reported by the research team last summer.

Harvard Business School also has just signed a second contract with AID to provide finances for the support the school will give the Central American project this year.

It is expected that the program will have mutual benefit, in that it should broaden the vision of management in Central America as well as enlighten Harvard Business School faculty and administrators regarding international business situations.

RECRUITING PLANNED

The directors of INCAE hope to recruit a permanent faculty for their institute from the Central Americans now being trained at the HBS international teachers program.

They hope eventually to establish a master's program, possibly in conjunction with a university or the Central American Regional Council of Higher Education.

Harvard also is involved in helping establish an Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad, India. Faculty is being trained, teaching material prepared, and details worked out. This Indian project is jointly financed by the Ford Foundation, the Indian business community, and the Indian Government.

The Harvard Business School research team that visited Central America last summer outlines strong reasons why that is a good location for such a project.

FUNDS AVAILABLE

First, there is an organized and enthusiastic management group with access to funds necessary to provide a sound base for furtherance of the management education program.

Also, according to Mr. Lodge, the region provides an "excellent laboratory for research on the problems of management development in developing countries."

There is considerable diversity in Central America. But along with this there are common ties. Language of course is one. Business interests also form strong ties. Central America is integrating economically through a common market. This process accelerates the social, economic, and political changes going on in these countries.

Central American countries are not experiencing the inflationary problems of larger Latin American countries. Also, according to Mr. Lodge, "The Central American countries are currently on the crest of a development wave which gives to the region a spirit of hope and optimism not found in many parts of Latin America."

Remarks of Senator E. L. (Bob) Bartlett at Maritime Day Dinner, Propeller Club of Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest speeches I have heard on the subject of seapower and the American merchant marine was delivered by one of the most knowledgeable men on that subject, Senator E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT, of Alaska. It has been my privilege to know him for the 18 years I have had the honor to serve in Congress. While he was in the House as Delegate from Alaska, he served on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Always his keen understanding and sound judgment served the interests of American seapower well. His address was made at the Maritime Day Banquet of the Propeller Club of Washington, D.C. I am sure that Members of the House will want to read what he said and for that reason I am inserting his speech in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF SENATOR E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT AT MARITIME DAY DINNER, PROPELLER CLUB OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am, of course, delighted to be with so many friends of the merchant marine on the evening before Maritime Day of 1964.

This day commemorates the voyage of the SS *Savannah* in 1819, the first steamship to make a transatlantic crossing. It is true that our first great steamship with her 90-horsepower engine made the greater part of that voyage under sail. I said "greater" to avoid emphasizing the bare fact that there were 9 hours of sailing time for every 1 hour of steam time on that 30-day voyage between the ports of Savannah and Liverpool. But if the *Savannah's* title is somewhat clouded by the rigging she carried, the meaning of that voyage is not. If a cloud of steam issued only intermittently from her small stack, it was enough to write large against the sky the obituary of almost 5,000 years of sail.

The gaffers wouldn't believe it. No man who ever stood a deck under canvas was willing to step aside for a gadget full of hot water. They were wrong. They ended up, like the broken hulks of the packets and the great clippers, on history's scrap heap.

Reference to "scrap heap" and the presence here tonight of Eskie Clark, vice president of Alaska Steamship Co., make me think of a Liberty liner which almost went to the bottom with all hands on the dreadful afternoon of March 27, when nature was in torment in Alaska. Then the Alaska Steamship Co. vessel *Chena* was in harbor at Valdez, one of the communities most savagely hit by earthquake and tidal wave. Let the thrilling account of what happened to the *Chena* be related by its skipper, Capt. M. D. Stewart:

"The *Chena* arrived at Valdez at 1612 hours (4:12 o'clock afternoon) March 27. About 1731 o'clock, while discharging cargo, we felt a severe earthquake—followed almost immediately by tidal waves.

"There were very heavy shocks about half a minute. Mounds of water were hitting at us from all directions.

"I was in the dining room. I made it to the bridge (three decks up) by climbing a vertical ladder. God knows how I got there.

"The Valdez piers started to collapse right away. There was a tremendous noise. The ship was laying over to port. I had been in earthquakes before, but I knew right away that this was the worst one yet.

"The *Chena* raised about 30 feet on an oncoming wave. The whole ship lifted and heeled to port about 50°. Then it was slammed down heavily on the spot where the docks had disintegrated moments before.

"I saw people running—with no place to go. It was just ghastly. They were just engulfed by buildings, water, mud, and everything."

"The *Chena* dropped where the people had been. That is what has kept me awake for days. There was no sight of them. The ship stayed there momentarily. Then there was

an ungodly backroll to starboard. Then she came upright. Then we took another heavy roll to port.

"I could see the land [at Valdez] jumping and leaping in a terrible turmoil. We were inside of where the dock had been. We had been washed into where the small boat harbor used to be. There was no water under the *Chena* for a brief interval. I realized we had to get out quickly if we were ever going to get out at all. There was water under us again. The stern was sitting in broken piling, rocks, and mud."

"I signaled to the engineroom for power and got it very rapidly. I called for "slow ahead,' then 'half ahead,' and finally for 'full.' In about 4 minutes, I would guess, we were moving appreciably, scraping on and off the mud (bottom) as the waves went up and down. People ashore said they saw us slide sideways off a mat of willow trees (placed as part of the fill material in the harbor) and that helped put our bow out. We couldn't turn. We were moving along the shore, with the stern in the mud. Big mounds of water came up and flattened out. Water inshore was rushing out. A big gush of water came off the beach, hit the bow, and swung her out about 10°. If that hadn't happened, we would have stayed there with the bow jammed in a mud bank and provided a new dock for the town of Valdez. We broke free. The bow pushed through the wreckage of the cannery. We went out into the bay and had to stop. The condensers were plugged with mud and pieces of dock. The chief mate, Neal L. Larsen, checked to see if we were taking water. We were taking none. It was unbelievable after what the ship had been through."

All of Valdez knows that the *Chena* remained offshore to help Valdez all through that long night and next morning.

If we remember the *Savannah* for anything at all, it should be that she represented a difficult, distasteful—but inevitable—change. Men learned to live with the conditions that she represented, or they lost all chance of making those conditions different.

We can do no less and survive today. To prevail, we must move with the persistent winds of economic and technological change. We must be ready to consider new ideas, new techniques, different modes of operation, different patterns of trade and thought.

This is true for all segments of American seapower—our Navy, Coast Guard, the American merchant fleet and even for our fishing fleet. Together these segments represent the U.S. power on the high seas. We have one prevailing interest in common—to remain strong. But too often this central interest is fragmented in the stir caused by the small engagements between elements of our seapower. Let us look at each one.

The U.S. Navy is second to none in the world. It should be second to none. At a time when the White House is closer to an enemy power than at any time since 1814, when a missile can reach out 8,000 miles in a matter of minutes, the United States requires a naval power with nuclear armed submarines capable of withstanding the full thrust of the enemy's destructive power and retaliating with their own destructive might. Annually we appropriate over $2 billion for the construction and conversion of vessels in U.S. shipyards for our Navy. This is needed. I am proud to say that the American people, the President and Congress understand the importance of our Navy and are willing to pay the cost to keep it second to none.

The U.S. Coast Guard is no less important. But this may not always be as fully recognized. An incident that occurred earlier this year illustrates this most clearly. My good friend Admiral Roland appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee in January of this year seeking an authorization of $45 million to construct 24 new Coast Guard vessels. The admiral related to the committee that most of the money was to be used to replace older vessels. When I inquired as to how old the present vessels were that were scheduled for replacement I was astonished to hear that some were built in 1926 * * * these 40-year-old vessels were obsolete and originally scheduled for replacement 20 years ago. In support of the Coast Guard authorization, the Department of State appeared to inform the committee of the importance of modern Coast Guard vessels for international fishery patrols. There were no other witnesses or even letters in support from other segments of our seapower. However, to the surprise of everyone, and particularly to the Coast Guard and Treasury Department, Congress increased (not decreased) the authorization request by about 30 percent. This came about principally by reason of the leadership, the drive, and the understanding of the distinguished chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Representative HERBERT C. BONNER, and the ranking minority member of that committee, Representative THOR C. TOLLEFSON, who is here with us tonight. The point of this brief story is that I fear many Americans, in fact many of us, do not give the assistance and political support needed here in Washington.

Again I stress our interests are basically one. We all, including the Navy, including our merchant marine, including our fishing interests, all should work together more closely in support of these programs. My hope is that all of us interested in the United States as a seapower will pull together in the future for the success of an expanded vessel replacement program of the Coast Guard. As I recall, Admiral, we have other 40-year-old vessels still in service.

The saddest story of all, the story that is most depressing to me, is the story of the American fishing fleet. We dazzle the eyes of the enemy with our modern, nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed submarines; at the same moment our economic competitors simply laugh as they view our fishing fleet.

At hearings on legislation designed to upgrade fishing vessels last year, the Senate Commerce Committee was informed that we had in service at last count as part of our fishing fleet a vessel constructed before the Civil War. The total fleet includes about 5,000 boats; some are sailing vessels; one-third is over 20 years old; most are too small to operate safely beyond our 3-mile limit. The few that are being built do not compare with those being constructed by the European fishing nations and particularly by Japan and Russia.

The Russian fleet was augmented during the past 15 years by the procurement of 3,500 new, large- or medium-sized trawlers and refrigerator ships. These range from stern-trawling factory ships of the Pushkin type of 2,470 gross tons, and comparable in size to our own World War II destroyers, to the floating canneries of 12,600 gross tons with a crew of 640, which are comparable to our World War II heavy cruisers. On the drawing board the Soviet Government has a 35,000-ton fishing vessel, the *Vostok*.

The American fishing fleet traditionally has been a part of our seapower. At the beginning of World War II, the Federal Government, for reasons of national defense, took possession of over 700 of our larger fishing vessels. This represented 25 percent of our fishing capacity. When Senate hearings were held on the fishing vessel construction program last year, no testimony or active support came from other segments representing our seapower. I submit it deserves the active support of our Navy, our Coast Guard, and our merchant marine. Legislation is still pending in Congress to upgrade our fishing fleet; we all should join in this effort.

The American merchant marine is the remaining segment of the picture of the U.S. seapower. This segment itself has been too often weakened by splintering and subdividing our overall interest into foreign and dometsic operators, or liner and tramp operators, or maritime labor and management.

It has been said that those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it. Are we today forgetting the past?

Certainly we should remember this evening that every time this Nation needed its merchant marine we found, almost too late, that we had thrown it away. We should remember that every great political change that has come to the world in the past 20 years has underscored the need for an effective and modern merchant marine. We should remember that when we read the headlines from Vietnam and Laos—as we read from Korea and Lebanon—they are describing a contest in which the merchant marine has a greater, not lesser, part.

It is unfortunate that is a point that needs making—if not in this room, then in the Nation at large.

The American merchant marine is not so impressive as our modern Navy nor has it been ignored like our fishing fleet. But when we speak of the merchant marine fleet we must be more specific and selective.

When we consider the domestic fleet—and the Senate Commerce Committee held extensive hearings on this matter recently—I believe we are in a field that has been largely ignored by Congress, by every recent administration, and by the public ever since the close of World War II. Before the war there were over 400 dry cargo vessels in the domestic coastal trade. They represented the merchant vessels most readily available and were immediately taken for Government service during the first days of World War II. Today, there are only 50 dry cargo vessels operating in our domestic coastwise and intercoastal trade.

This fact prompted Congress and the Maritime Administration to commence a vessel exchange program to upgrade the fleet by making available vessels from our Government reserve fleet. This program should be encouraged and liberalized; it should also be expanded by permitting vessels other than World War II-built vessels to be traded in by the operators and by permitting operators to obtain a wider range and a larger number of reserve fleet vessels for use in the domestic trade. But we must not forget that this program involves only the exchange of old vessels. This can offer no long-term solution and even for the short run will not encourage the use of the most modern vessel design advantages. I believe more must be done—and here I am not now referring to any national defense argument—but rather an economic conviction I have that the U.S. economy and more particularly the American shipper, needs to have available the most efficient type of water service to offer effective competition with other modes of transportation, including the railroads.

The American merchant fleet in our foreign trade, and particularly our tramp fleet, has been also largely ignored. The tramp fleet is old and slow and has been declining at the rate of about 24 ships a year over the past 10 years. Without a special and fairly immediate effort to reverse this trend, the tramp fleet may not survive another decade. Today we are encouraging the continued use of primarily a World War II, constructed tramp fleet. This policy, or lack of policy, ignores the development of new trade patterns since 1945 and also ignores the presence of modern vessel design. This raises the question of the adequacy of our cargo preference laws and, what is even more significant, the administration of the program carried out by Government agencies and departments.

The one possible bright spot in the merchant marine industry picture is occupied by the operators in the liner service. "Were it not for the foresight and determination of the men in the Congress in 1936 we might today be celebrating Maritime Day in a museum among the models of ships that used to be. Instead, we have embarked on a new vessel construction program that is providing the U.S. merchant marine with a fleet of the fastest and most modern liner vessels engaged on the trade routes of the world. We now must make this fact known to American exporters and importers."

I am not suggesting that all is well with our operation of liner vessels in the foreign trade. The companies have been kept as busy here in Washington with congressional and departmental studies being undertaken of the construction and operating differential subsidies and their participation in shipping conferences as they have been active along their respective trade routes. My guess is that next year will bring no substantial change in this respect. My sincere hope is that the work in Congress, in the Maritime Administration, and in the Federal Maritime Commission will continue to be undertaken by men dedicated to building constructively, not ignoring, our merchant marine. This requires dedicated, intelligent, and qualified men, men who recognize the larger and even global issues at stake.

I do not want to labor the point, but it is interesting to note that the Soviet Union, with an intense internal demand for limited amounts of foreign exchange, is spending considerable amounts on building what promises to be one of the largest and certainly the most modern merchant fleets in the world.

The Soviets fully intend to increase their foreign trade and to carry the bulk of it in their own bottoms.

They realize, as well, that when the possibilities of choice in a nuclear world swing more and more on limited warfare, when nations are brought to grief not by the blast of a bomb but by the file of men through a quiet jungle, the availability of a merchant power becomes a prime military asset.

They are fully aware, as well, that the ultimate interest of communism may be served as well, if not better, by the penetration of economic markets as by the crossing of a guarded border. Premier Khrushchev, standing in the hot sun near Aswan last week, was no idle tourist. The Russian vessels that ply the Indian Ocean are regarded as messengers of destiny by the men who launched them.

I do not think we can safely assume that the developing Russian challenge to free world shipping can be measured only against the merchant capability of the free world. Our country has its own burdens to bear. We discovered that in 1950 in Korea. While we were frantically breaking ships out of mothballs to open a readily available supply line, the merchant fleets of friendly powers continued in the business of business because there was a better profit to be made.

The best guarantee that we can have that American interests will be served under any contingency is to keep the American flag at sea, and to keep it flying over a fleet that is second to none in performance. That guarantee rests upon two conditions. The first is that public policy subscribe to its necessity and underwrite the programs that are necessary.

But the second condition is equally important. It is that the merchant marine itself, in all of its elements, understand and act upon the mutuality of purpose that unites it. No part of the unified effort that is American seapower can advance at the expense of other parts. The merchant marine should speak loudly with a coherent voice, in the knowledge that a better fleet serves all its parts.

As we honor tonight the voyage of the SS *Savannah*, we should not forget that the ship was built in a U.S. shipyard and was manned by U.S. seamen. The change that came to the world after the voyage of the *Savannah* found some prepared and some unprepared. There is a similar wind of change blowing today. Since the war, 32 countries have founded national merchant marines. The Common Market and other trade and tariff blocs have risen from the ashes that the bombers left. We are competing in markets against goods produced with highly efficient machinery, sold with aggressiveness and purpose. The world no longer takes what we give it.

And there is something else at stake. We do not export only the products of our mills and factories. We export a way of life. It is the invisible cargo that travels with every American vessel. The ship that berths at a foreign harbor, the men who come down the gangplank, are America to much of the world. That is the final purpose of the merchant marine, and the one that unites the others. In the most crucial marketplace of all, the exchange of ideas and impressions in men's minds, the merchant marine can make its most rewarding voyage of all.

The Navy League and American Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Navy League of the United States was formed in 1902 and since then has been known as the civilian arm of the Navy. All of its members are civilians. It does not accept as members active-duty personnel. In this capacity it can speak out and say things that those in uniform may believe but dare not say.

The Navy League opposed the unwise and costly disarmament agreements of the post-World War I era and said so. Those agreements resulted in the scuttling of many of our fighting ships and limitations on their size and capacity. We paid dearly for these well intentioned but naive gestures in the early days of World War II.

Over the years the Navy League has earned the right to ask for an attentive hearing when it speaks out on matters of national defense, as it did recently in the person of its national president in a speech delivered on May 22 to the National Convention of the Navy League at Dallas, Tex.

Pursuant to unanimous consent, I offer for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD the speech of Robert Barnum, president, delivered in Dallas on Saturday, May 23:

THE NAVY LEAGUE AND AMERICAN STRENGTH
(By Robert H. Barnum)

While history records the earliest navy league in the ancient history of Rome in 243 B.C., leagues have existed in Germany, England, France, Italy, and more recently in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

The Navy League of the United States—now 62 years old—is the most senior of all of our Armed Force organizations. Compared to the much younger Association of the U.S. Army, or the Air Force Association, we are sometimes referred to as "Fine Old Brandy."

While we hope we are both fine and old in this sense, we in the league, as our Navy's civilian arm, have our sights set for the future—one to which we have dedicated our efforts; to make the Navy strong, to keep the seas free, the Nation safe.

Perhaps Kipling was right when he indicated that during times of need—God and the soldier are important, indeed, but when the crisis has gone, both are forgotten. Such forgetfulness is unforgiveable.

In times of even precarious peace, with national leadership involved with domestic programs offering everything for everyone from cradle to the grave, the soldier or sailor is forgotten, and, much worse, whole systems of defense, ships, instruments, planes, become outmoded, antiquated, or suffer "block obsolescence." The voices of the military become dim, indeed, muted by the more strident tones of the political arenas, farm subsidies, foreign aid, or United Nations problems.

Ancient Greece found this so. When faced with danger, the town merchants had to build and equip a fleet of 250 ships to protect their city—their leaders had failed to be prepared. This was one of the earliest recorded actions of a navy league serving its country.

France and her fixed Maginot line philosophy were unprepared for the flexible movement and firepower of German panzer divisions. Great Britain, an island country, would probably not have survived without our American lend-lease destroyers and major maritime support from our side.

In each of these situations, there were many voices of warning from people believing in sound preparedness, believing in power for peace, for deterrence. You cannot prevent fires or fight fires with obsolescent fire engines, sitting in the firehouse—all shined up—but with worn out engines, pumps, bad tires, while the crew of firemen is being replaced by newly employed rookies, at alarming rates and costs. Comes the conflict—the devastating emergency—perpetrated by a cunning, savage, intelligent foe; and the system of cardboard fire departments collapses in the ruins. Similarly, penny pinching pennies saved, inattention, lack of understanding, could cause the defeat of America.

Among the policy statements of the Navy League of the United States there are several that are remarkably pertinent: "We advocate a foreign policy which will avoid wars—if possible; if not, win them."

This might have well been phrased by a great soldier and statesman—General MacArthur. His dictum was: There is no substitute for victory.

The words of our Navy League's policy are not bellicose words—careful words of thought.

We also stand for a balanced Defense Department team—with each of the Armed Forces prepared, organized, as the law provides, and equipped to perform its role in defense of America.

A second Navy League policy statement—"We know that in a free nation an informed public is indispensable to national security, and, therefore, we will strive to keep the Nation alert to dangers which threaten—both from without and within."

During the 19 years of nonpeace since 1945, the nonpeace has not been strident enough to sound the clarion call—the fire alarm—to evidence or to disclose to the neighborhood community, the dangers that threaten in your fire departments.

Few people are aware that 20–25 percent of all our naval personnel leave the service each year—because of inadequate pay, allowances, loss of fringe benefits, long family separations, and impediments to career advancement. No sensible business could be run under such circumstances. The costs

of replacement, retraining, are fantastic. Service pay should at least be comparable with that of other Government employees, including that of civil service. Is the Navy's voice heard on this? No. Nor is the Navy's vital—mortal—warning of block obsolescence of ships—many ships becoming overage—worn out, obsolescent in the period of a few short years. This warning also goes unheeded.

Hitler almost won the last war, starting with a submarine fleet of less than 57 ships. Russia would start the next one with well over 400 submarines. The resulting crisis in antisubmarine warfare with enemy submarines off every coast of the free world would be incredible—and—when it happens—incomprehensible to most intelligent people—who then will say, "Why didn't some one tell us?"

America is not defenseless. America is strong. Indeed we have many fine elements of strength—many excellent defense systems—but several things should be made clear.

In our system of government, the President appoints most of his senior advisors—his Cabinet, agency heads and many others. Indeed, as Commander in Chief, he directly or indirectly controls the selection, promotion, assignment, retirement, or dismissal of every senior military commander. As the President delegates authority to others whom he appoints—the system can and does lose respect for the integrity of trained expert people and tends to become one of the impersonal computer's iron control. With the loss of such American traditional freedoms as the right to testify frankly and honestly at congressional hearings—the right to dissent—the result becomes "the Department of Defense party line"—a single ballot vote—"yea" but no "nay." As a case in point the consolidation of public information is a matter of concern to us. This involves the placing of the public information office of each of the services into one consolidated voice under an Assistance Secretary of Defense.

All service recommendations are strongly opposed. And, I fear, are being overridden.

The Navy League of the United States is concerned about this unsound censorship control, and speaks out clearly and forcefully concerning it. And we do so as more than a civilian arm of the Navy in these respects. What we have done to benefit the Navy, in turn will benefit the other Armed Forces, and will enhance the future effectiveness of our Nation's military team.

It seems to me that there are a number of national questions seriously concerned.

One is the staggering costs of inadequate military pay.

As our system of defense—the complicated, sophisticated systems of deterrence, are further developed, perfected, and placed in operation, it becomes of cardinal importance, vital, urgent importance, that the men and women who man, operate, and direct these systems be paid adequately, decently, and encouraged to pursue lifetime professional service careers. Let me state for the record right now, that the Navy League respects our military profession, both in point of pride and of prestige as the highest and finest careers of service to our great Nation. But pay scales do not respect this role of first-class citizenship.

The inadequacy of military compensation is shocking. Secretaries, stenographers, city probationary firemen or policemen, earn more than we pay officers with graduate engineering training. We pay people under New York State unemployment compensation more per week performing no productive service than we pay to many thousands of our service people on full-time active patrol for America.

Our service people have no 40-hour week on Polaris submarines—no overtime pay or double pay for Saturday, Sundays or holidays, they have no unions to call strikes or negotiate new contracts. Our service people are in the service of our country. Somehow then, the country must become aware that they are shortchanging, not only the service people, but shortchanging America, because of the tremendously costly turnover of these trained people, and in the face of the increasing need for the long-term career service of technically qualified personnel, many of whom can only continue to serve if adequately paid. Loyalty works both ways. Patriotism begets patriotism. We wonder whether defense is doing its part for its people. And we wonder if the American people through their representative Government, are doing their part in defense of service people. This is an area of grave civilian responsibility.

Another national question deals with the dangers of "The Fortress America" concept. Military sages of yesteryear are quoted as saying "Beware of generals who line up their artillery in the village square." For to place one's battle resources within the village is to invite war and devastation to the very heart of one's homeland.

Today, our civilian generals appear to have forgotten that principle. With fixed Minuteman bases, fixed intercontinental ballistic bases, fixed strategic Air Force bases and rigid commands and concepts in the country, they attract war against the very homeland of America, and retrogress to the village square strategy.

Somewhere they seem to have lost or fail to understand the true mobility of seapower, the sustained mobility of fast attack carrier forces, the sustained mobility of Polaris submarine systems—as operationally tested dependable deterrents.

When we become static, immobile, buttoned down in the concept of insularity—every aspect of modernity, of progress, of insurance and indeed of deterrence is erased.

The sustained presence of mobile naval power—the 6th Fleet—off Cyprus—might be the reason the Cyprus situation has not become worse. Certainly our fleet task forces answered the problems of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the 7th Fleet may well be called on at any time to render tremendous service in southeast Asia or the "Concord Squadron" in the Indian Ocean.

Another national question deals with the failure to follow through on the magnificent strategic advantages of changing from conventional to nuclear power. Nuclear developments of tomorrow will dwarf anything we have seen in the past, and the future of our Navy can be—and must be—more brilliant than anything of its past. However, these things will not materialize with negativism or with cost effectiveness based upon concepts of years ago.

For in considering the factors of yesteryear, and refusing to examine the progress of today and tomorrow, is but to perpetuate the concrete abutments of yesteryear that are all mixed up and permanently set—or the other concept of "don't bother me with new facts, my mind is already made up."

The country should call for positive progress and our league has already sounded its alert on this question.

I quote another policy statement of our Navy League—

"We believe that the security of our Nation and of the people of the world demands a well-balanced, mobile American defense team, of which a strong Navy, including the Marine Corps and Naval Aviation, is an indispensable part."

The lead that we once enjoyed as a Nation—our great military advantage in the area of nuclear power is being dissipated. Not one single nuclear powered surface ship has been authorized this year and with the present attitude in the Department of Defense, one may not be for years to come. The danger facing us is that the United States, a maritime nation allied with other maritime nations—may be forced to adopt a defense posture of a land power. We will fight our battles from America and invite devastation in return—rather than carry the battles to the waters and shores of our enemy. The Navy League calls attention to this problem. In another policy statement:

"We oppose any usurpation of the Congress' constitutional authority over the armed services."

Congress and the United States expressed themselves in the National Security Act of 1947 and the Reorganization Act of 1958.

A number of objectives and limitations were defined. Congress and the country specifically provided safeguards against a single chief of staff; a single uniform or a single service; a large Joint Chief of Staff organization; a national general staff.

During recent years a series of separate, apparently unconnected actions have been occurring, many by administrative action—most without public awareness or consciousness and, I fear, without congressional understanding.

While Congress and the country were—as a matter of record and as a matter of national legislation—opposed to a single chief of staff concept, today in reality do you realize we have a single chief of staff?

We do.

Congress and the country were opposed to a single uniform—a single service concept—as a matter of national legislative action and record, today, do you realize this is the road we are traveling, by administrative action?

We have—like it or not—a single supply agency—a single military intelligence agency—a single communications agency—a single press-speech censorship agency—a single atomic support agency—a single national security agency. There are discussions concerning a single chaplains' corps, and a single medical corps, and a single transportation group.

Of these mergers effected, each was proposed and sold on the basis of economy, but in each instance actual savings have yet to be substantiated.

Congress and the country were opposed to a "giant Joint Chiefs of Staff group" that functioned as a national general staff of the Prussian, ivory tower, monolithic type.

Legislatively the Congress in 1947 limited the Joint Staff to not more than 100 officers. This was revised to 210 in 1949, again revised to 400 in 1958, but today with civilians, do you realize it really totals nearly 2,000?

Naval Intelligence—as an organization has almost been destroyed. G–2, of the Army, Air Force Intelligence, as organizations, have been seriously torn apart. The Centeral Intelligence Agency is being worked upon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff "intelligence group" abolished, all by administrative action. The Navy League is concerned about this—and speaks out clearly concerning it.

Another Navy League policy statement:

"We support all the armed services to the end that each may make maximum contribution to the national security."

When you realize our foreign treaties and defense agreements with NATO, SEATO, CENTO, you find another challenge.

Our Navy with U.S. Government, that is with State Department commitments, in or with—almost every free land bordering the seven seas—for years into the future—finds, again by administrative action:

The Navy is deprived of command function of areas under its geographic responsibilities.

The Navy is deprived of nuclear power on its newest important ships.

Administrative individuals, without military background, experence, education, or perhaps understanding and with no real national responsibility, are making the most serious—if not nationally critical, decisions affecting each of the military services, and

the defense—if not survival—of our country.

I don't think our Navy is competent to run our Air Force—nor to run the Army—I don't think our Navy should, or could, run anything but what it was designed, trained, organized, and dedicated to do—that is to meet naval responsibilities and to fight the fleet.

By the same token—and proudly so, I think the same is true of each of the other services.

But today things have taken a very different turn—without publicity—without public awareness—and I fear without full congressional realization. The Navy League is calling attention to the fact that military competence and responsibilites are being downgraded.

But—who is the Navy League—or to whom am I referring when I say the Navy League is concerned?

Thirty-seven thousand American citizens are members of the Navy League of the United States. They are American citizens with responsibility and the privilege—to speak out clearly in the national interest, as we see it, and with the right to dissent where it is necessary to dissent. Our proud heritage—is to serve our Navy-Marine Corps team and the Nation.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the official reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the official reporters of the respective Houses.

The official reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the official reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Presidential Succession and Inability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, several weeks ago the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments unanimously agreed on the important issues of Presidential succession and inability and reported a proposed constitutional amendment to deal with these issues to the full Committee on the Judiciary.

A searching analysis of the provisions of this amendment was presented by the distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann. Mr. Lippmann recognizes that there can be no absolutely perfect solution which deals with every conceivable contingency, but on balance, endorses the proposed amendment as the best practicable solution.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENCY: SUCCESSION AND DISABILITY

In its leisurely and happy-go-lucky way, Congress has now got to the point where a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee has agreed on a bill dealing with the presidential succession and with presidential disability. This bill (S.J. Res. 139) is supported by Senators from both parties, DIRKSEN, KEATING, and FONG for the Republicans, BIRCH BAYH, DODD, and EASTLAND for the Democrats. Now, if the Judiciary Committee agrees with its subcommittee, the bill can go to the Senate. If it is passed there, then some day, perhaps next year, a similar bill will go to the House. Then if it has been approved by two-thirds vote in each House, it must be ratified by three-quarters of the States.

Thus we must accept the fact that a constitutional amendment to provide for a Vice President if there is no Vice President cannot go into effect during the present period when there is no Vice President. This vacuum will last until January 1965. Moreover, during this same period, there will be no orderly way to deal with the situation which would exist if, God forbid, this President were disabled.

Because such delay is a grave national risk and a reckless gamble, I have been among those who have argued that the problems of succession and disability should be dealt with at once, not by the long process of a constitutional amendment but, by repealing the unhappy legislation of 1947 and by a declaration interpreting what the Constitution says about presidential inability.

The consensus of Congress and of the legal profession has been, however, that a constitutional amendment is necessary. It is evident that Congress is unwilling to legislate and that it is determined to take the longer road of a constitutional amendment. So be it. The amendment proposed (S.J. Res. 139) by Senator BIRCH BAYH's subcommittee has one compelling thing to be said for it. It has been agreed to by leading members of both parties. And, therefore, even if it were not so good as it is, it would still be a great deal better than an endless search for an ever more perfect solution. The absolutely perfect solution which deals with every conceivable contingency will never be found, and it is not necessary. What is necessary is that there should be a legitimate procedure which the whole country respects.

In fact, however, this proposed amendment is, so far as I can see, very good indeed. On the first problem, which is what is to happen when there is no Vice President, as there was when Truman succeeded Roosevelt and as there has been since Johnson succeeded Kennedy, Senate Joint Resolution 139 would have the President nominate a Vice President subject to the approval of both Houses of Congress. Probably this would work because the country would not look sympathetically on a partisan or factional effort to thrwart the new President in a matter of this kind.

Above all, the proposal cures the vices of the existing system set up by the 1947 law. Under it, the Presidential Office would go to the Speaker of the House when the Vice-Presidency is vacant. He could, of course, be of the opposition party. This would mean that the death of a President might be equivalent to the reversal of the previous election. The other vice of the existing law is that the man whose career has led him to the speakership is not likely to have passed through any kind of experience and training which qualifies him for high executive office. As against this, the Bayh amendment rests on a basic idea of the old pre-1947 law, which was that the successor of the President should be a man who has had his full confidence.

The other problem, which arises when a President is disabled, has always in practice turned on this question: If the Vice President takes over, does he become President, and if he does, how can he be made to surrender his office if the elected President recovers? The Bayh proposal provides a reasonable answer.

If the President falls ill but remains in control of his faculties, he may declare in writing that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of the office; the Vice President then becomes the Acting President until the elected President declares in writing that his inability has ended. If, however, the President is too ill to do anything, as was the case, for example, when Garfield was dying, the Vice President with the concurrence of a majority of the Cabinet, or of any body specified by Congress, could declare that the President is disabled and assume the position of Acting President.

There is here a somewhat tricky point. For it could happen that the President, though in fact incapacitated, would dispute the actions of the Vice President and of the Cabinet. In that event, which could have happened when Wilson lay paralyzed in the White House, the dispute would go to Congress which would have to decide by two-thirds majority of both Houses whether the Vice President should continue as Acting President.

There is an additional safeguard against a coup d'etat in the fact that if any member of the Cabinet disagreed with the majority, he could make his position known to the Congress, and under those circumstances it is unlikely that there would be a two-thirds vote.

This is about as good a way of dealing with what would be the most messy and muddled situation imaginable, which would be that of a President in apparent good health who was in fact deranged. The ultimate solution for this ultimate problem is in fact a form of impeachment, and that in effect is what is proposed.

Dr. Eskew Receives Stott Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, on June 3 the Charles G. Stott Award for outstanding service to civic development was presented to Dr. Harold A. Eskew of Silver Spring, Md. The presentation was made at the 28th annual banquet of the Allied Civic Group, Inc., of Montgomery County, Md.

Dr. Eskew, an orthodontist, is the current president of the Silver Spring Rotary Club. During the past year he has given outstanding leadership to such civic betterment projects as a vocational guidance program at Northwood High School, a crippled children's program, and School Boy's Safety Award. In addition he furnished major assistance to the American field service program at Springbrook High School, and toward a cultural exchange program between Silver Spring and cities in foreign lands.

SPEECH OF HAROLD A. ESKEW

To say I appreciate this signal honor is a gross understatement. I am proud and honored to have been chosen and in accepting, I also accept the challenge which I feel the award represents. Although the award has much personal meaning to me, I am fully aware that its real significance is to initiate and stimulate a sense of civic responsibility on the part of all citizens. In creating the award and selecting a recipient, you give encouragement to everyone who is interested in and works for the community welfare. There are in this room, and certainly in our county, many more deserving than I, and it is on their behalf that I accept this award, having worked with so many community-minded people over the past years, and with some realization of the problems of our growing community, I know that no matter how much we think we've accomplished, it's never enough.

Your association is in a unique position to provide encouragement and leadership to the talent of the community. You are not hemmed in by political fences, and you reach into the grassroots of the neighborhoods. As an organization of neighbor-

hoods, you reflect the imagination, the prejudices, the idealism, and the tensions that make a dynamic country. You are, in fact, the private conscience of the country. It is this private conscience that responds, one way or another, to the challenge of our society.

What is our one big challenge? From my community activities I would say it is the need to manage our social growth. For this there is no IBM machine, because human problems cannot be solved by any push-button magic. In my professional field, I deal with physical growth, which I can define, measure, predict, and to some extent influence. I cannot, and would not, prevent it. So it is with social growth.

Our post office address may be Maryland, but we live within a city complex. It isn't the size and shape of buildings that constitute a city. It's the presence of people and the services that bind them together. Metropolitan growth is a staggering chain reaction. Often we feel engulfed by it; sometimes we turn our backs and try to ignore it; or we think we can fight it; or we try to move away from it. It doesn't work, because growth is social as well as physical.

To manage our total growth we need to reexamine our courage and timidity, our prejudices, our hopes and frustrations, and the institutions we have created to serve the needs of the community. All too often we get so submerged in the individual problems that we lose sight of the framework of the problems.

There are those among us who are so concerned with their own pieces of real estate and their status quo that neighborhood interest is forgotten. There are those so concerned with their own neighborhood's status quo that the community is forgotten. There are those who are frightened by the demands of the Negro and are unwilling to lend their active support to the rightness of equal opportunity. There are those who fear government and who cannot define its positive role in our society. From such an assortment of attitudes, the community assumes its shape.

This community is part of the fastest growing metropolitan area in the entire country. To harness that growth, to give it form and meaning for public as well as private interests, requires an immense vision and responsibility. It requires us to look searchingly for cause and effect, and to use courage and honesty in deciding what to do. Our physical growth either reflects that deep concern, or it produces an environment virtually insensitive to total human need.

No one of us possesses infallible wisdom, but guidelines for coherent growth are the shared responsibility of government and business, prodded by an informed public.

This awareness of responsibility—this acceptance of responsibility—this is the private conscience of the neighborhood, and the real lifeline of the citizens' association.

With gratitude and with humility, I thank you.

Dedication of the Blaustein Building in Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on May 28, 1964, I was privileged to attend the dedication of 1 North Charles—the Blaustein Building in Baltimore, Md.

To some, this building is just another new structure occupying space in the city of Baltimore. To those who know Jacob Blaustein, however, 1 North Charles represents much more. It represents an idea born 54 years ago in the hearts of a father and son. This idea grew and was nurtured through hard work, perseverance, and most important—through confidence and trust in the free competitive economy which has made America great.

Mr. Blaustein has shared his success with America. Over the years we have honored him as a philanthropist, a civic leader, and as one who willingly gives of his time and efforts that others might enjoy a better life. The Blaustein Building, I know, will stand as a further monument to his accomplishments.

Jacob Blaustein told the story much better than I can in his remarks during the dedication ceremony. I ask unanimous consent that the introductory statement of Mr. Morton Blaustein, together with the remarks of Mr. Jacob Blaustein, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRODUCTION OF MR. JACOB BLAUSTEIN BY HIS SON, DR. MORTON K. BLAUSTEIN

Now, my friends, I ask you, How does one introduce Jacob Blaustein?

Should I use all of the traditional—and justified—terms and phrases: "industrialist," "philanthropist," "humanitarian," "statesman"?

Or, should I just say, "Here's my boss"?

Or, should I turn the microphone over to someone else, who could perform this introduction with no embarrassment?

No. No, I'm going to do it myself.

And I'm just going to say, very simply, that

Here is the man who made it all possible,
The man for whom the building is named;
Your friend; and
My wonderful father—Mr. Jacob Blaustein.

ADDRESS OF JACOB BLAUSTEIN

First, I would like to add my own welcome to that of Morton's, to all of you who have honored us with your presence—Governor Tawes, Mayor McKeldin, Senator Beall, our Congressmen, other officials, and friends all. It was good of you to come.

IMPORTANT OCCASION FOR THE WHOLE OF BALTIMORE

This is, if I may say so, an important occasion, not only for us, but for the whole of downtown Baltimore, and indeed, for the whole of Baltimore itself.

More than that, it is another example of what can and should be done in many more cities over our land—namely, not only to revitalize particular urban renewal areas with public assistance—which in itself is of great consequence—but also for private enterprise as such to spread out beyond those prescribed boundaries, for the edification of the city as a whole. And if we—with Matthew McCloskey, our partner in this building—have made a contribution to that concept and goal, we are indeed gratified.

MEMORIES

This ceremony brings back many memories to me.

Memories of my father, the late Louis Blaustein—how I wish he were with us here today. He, to my mind, was a great man—a man of character, strength, ability, and courage, with both a mind and a heart—and possessing that rare combination of qualities, a top executive, and at the same time a superb salesman.

I have memories of that day in June 1910—54 years ago—when the American Oil Co.—Amoco—was founded by my father and your speaker, right here in Baltimore, with one small tank wagon and a horse.

Perhaps you would like to know what our office was like then. Well, I will tell you. It was a far cry from what we see here today. Besides the one tank wagon and the horse, we had a rented yard on the B. & O. Railroad tracks at what was then Clarkson Street—and on that lot there was a little stable.

The stable we divided to take care of our one horse and then a little later, a few more; there was space for a very small warehouse; and squeezed into a tiny corner was the office. I tell you, still one more horse at that time, and I really do not know what would have happened to the office.

We did not need a large office then; our office was really in our heads. Father and I would be on the street most of the day, meeting our tank wagons at 5 or 6 in the morning, selling coal oil—kerosene—to grocery stores—and what a job that was—and then we would go on selling, getting back to Clarkson Street at 5 or 5:30 in the afternoon to settle up with our drivers; and after this, there was a street car ride of nearly an hour to reach home.

Those were hard, long days. But they were good days, days during which we could with our own eyes readily see and feel steady growth and progress.

I do not want us ever to forget those early days. That was our beginning.

As we went along, we among other things developed Amoco gas, the first antiknock motor fuel (which revolutionized the whole automotive and gasoline industries); the first drive-in service station; and the first visible gasoline pump (the forerunner of the meter pump) so motorists could see they were getting the quantity for which they paid.

I also have memories of 1930 when we acquired the major interest in Crown Central Petroleum Corp. and moved its executive offices to Baltimore from which it is also doing a fine job.

Likewise memories from 1931—33 years ago—when our American Trading and Production Corp.—Atapco—was founded, again right here in Baltimore.

Now why have I recited this? For a two-fold purpose.

One, opportunity in the United States—and responsibility. To express a conviction I have that the real credit for achievement in this country belongs in the final analysis, not to any individual or family, but to the American concept of democracy, free enterprise, and free opportunity.

The good fortune that has come to all of us is an example of the countless blessings that flow from the freedom of opportunity in the United States. Without that open door to accomplishment, my father, for example, would most likely have spent his last working days, as he did his first in America, selling his wares from a horse and buggy to Pennsylvania farmers.

And I feel, we should always remember that with that priceless birthright of opportunity, goes responsibility to our free society at which we should work—responsibility for our political system of self-government; responsibility for our economic system of free enterprise; and responsibility for our system of ethics.

And the second reason I recalled the history was to emphasize that Baltimore has meant and means a great deal to us. While our operations have now spread to farflung areas, here and abroad, Baltimore is our home.

Here my father came over three-quarters of a century ago, a virtually penniless immigrant; here we have raised our families; here we have founded most of our business en-

terprises; here have been and are our executive offices; and here we have participated in the various community philanthropies and cultural projects. We continue part and parcel of Baltimore.

It is very understandable, therefore, that we felt that we could not sit idly by while the very heart of the city was disintegrating. For it is our belief that any city is only as vital as its downtown, and that Baltimore's great potential can be realized only if its core, the nerve center from which a city derives its essential purpose, is made modern, efficient, and beautiful. And it is toward this goal that we have built this structure.

And now as we unveil the plague and dedicate this One North Charles—the Blaustein Building, may we note that by its construction, we believe we have given the most tangible and concrete kind of evidence of the great faith we have in the future of Baltimore; and may we simply add, that we are very happy to be making this significant contribution, along with the contributions of others, to the future vitality, prosperity, and beauty of our city.

UNVEILING OF MODEL OF BARBARA HEPWORTH'S SCULPTURE IN MEMORY OF DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

And now, one final item on our program today. Throughout the years, it has been my good fortune to have met and worked with some of the world's great men. And one of these, whom I was proud to call my friend, was Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations. His life was dedicated to the cause of peace, and in the pursuit of that cause he lost his life in the Congo, where his plane crashed near the town of Ndola, in September 1961.

Your speaker served as a U.S. delegate at the United Nations, and it was only several days before the Secretary General left on his fateful trip, that we lunched together and had a 3-hour talk in which we reviewed various situations around the world and some of his plans for the future. How little we know what is in store for us. We miss him sorely.

Next month in his memory, we are dedicating a large bronze sculpture on the grounds of the United Nations, on a spot previously chosen by him as an appropriate setting for a piece of sculpture, should one ever be acquired. He had also mentioned the sculpture whom he would like to have execute such a piece—Miss Barbara Hepworth, of England, a world famous artist, for whom he held a high regard.

After Mr. Hammarskjold's death, it was my sad privilege to commission this work of art by Miss Hepworth in his memory. And we have here today a half-size model of it, also executed by Miss Hepworth. It is an abstract, free-form bronze called Single Form, which to the artist signified the singleness of purpose of Mr. Hammarskjold's life.

Cut into the bronze, inside the circle near the top, are the words: "To the Glory of God and the Memory of Dag Hammarskjold, Ndola, September 17, 1961."

In his memory—in the memory of Dag Hammarskjold—we now unveil and dedicate this bronze.

Congressman Joe Martin: Father of Small Business Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to a letter written to the editor of the Washington World by George J. Burger, vice president and Washington representative of the National Federation of Independent Business.

Under unanimous consent, I will include the letter at the conclusion of my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because it contains an interesting chronicle of the history of small business activities on Capitol Hill.

I am pleased to note that Mr. Burger recognizes that my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, former Speaker of the House JOE MARTIN, was the "father" of our present Small Business Committee. Congressman MARTIN created an unofficial small business committee among Republican Members of the House as far back as the fall of 1940.

NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
San Mateo, Calif., May 27, 1964.

Mr. RAY J. TAYLOR,
Executive Editor, Washington World,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TAYLOR: I noted with considerable interest in the current issue, volume No. 4–20, an interesting story on the Select Committee on Small Business. I believe it would be of considerable value to trace the background of that committee from its inception in the fall of 1940 up to 1964—a 24-year life duration.

It is also interesting to note that the basis for the Small Business Committee was originated in an unofficial committee by the Honorable Joe Martin, of Massachusetts, setting up the unofficial committee of Members of the House from his side of the aisle, and this was followed in the creation of the official committee in 1940 in the Senate, then headed by the Honorable James B. Murray, of Montana.

Then in 1941 an official Small Business Committee was set up in the House, headed by the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.

You must bear in mind that was on the eve of our entrance into World War II, and the Senate committee started to function immediately in 1941, making extensive studies on the plight facing independent automobile dealers and independents in the rubber tire industry. Their existence was threatened, due primarily to war measures, and it was due to the action of the Senate Small Business Committee that public hearings were held on their problems in 1941 and 1942—also in the House Small Business Committee—that went a long way to saving the business life of independents in those two major industries so they would be able to serve the essential needs of automotive service during the war period.

It's also interesting to note in or around that time that in Great Britain a similar situation faced the automotive servicing field—1939, and for the duration of the war 28,500 independent establishments were blocked out, leaving only 1,500 remaining in the automotive servicing field in Great Britain.

The actions of both Small Business Committees at that time were a lifesaver to small business, and more important, through their actions it established or stimulated interest by certain Government agencies as to the plight of small business.

Both the Senate and House Small Business Committees continued on and had to be recreated in each new session of the Congress, and at all times they still lacked legislative authority. There was always a gap through delaying actions in the re-creation of these committees at the start of every Congress. So realizing this situation, in or around 1949–50 attempts were made by Members of the Senate to correct this situation, such action being instituted by Senator Holland, Florida, Senator Murray, Montana, and Senator Wherry, Nebraska.

Senator Wherry's resolution provided for a continuing Small Business Committee in the Senate, and his resolution was voted by the Senate on February 20, 1950—the vote in favor 2 to 1 on a rollcall vote.

Then again in 1955 the resolution was amended, that is as to the appointment of Members of the committee being in the same manner and form as all other standing committees of the Senate.

It is quite true over the years the committees have issued annual reports, held public hearings, etc., and still they are powerless to bring about the expected needed relief for small business through direct legislative authority.

It is to be noted in our appearances before the Republican and Democratic platform committees 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960, by official vote of our nationwide membership, all independent business and professional men, all individual members in the 50 States, now numbering close to 200,000, we have urged that the Committees of Small Business be given legislative authority, placing them on parity with all other standing committees such as Education and Labor and Agriculture.

Such action was introduced in the preceding Congress by Senator Capehart, of Indiana, with no official action being taken by the Senate.

On January 15, 1963, a resolution was introduced by Senator PROUTY, of Vermont—Senate Resolution 30—that would provide for legislative authority for the committee, bipartisan action, and at the moment 54 Senators have declared in support of the resolution, which includes 13 members of the Senate Small Business Committee, including its chairman, Senator SPARKMAN, of Alabama.

The resolution has been resting in the Senate Rules Committee since January 15, 1963, with no indication of any action being taken by the committee. The resolution has been resting in the Subcommittee of Senate Rules headed by Senators HAYDEN, CANNON, and COOPER.

Now bear in mind if you check the list of 54 Senators who have declared for this resolution you will find some are chairmen of standing committees, including Senator MAGNUSON of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Notwithstanding their declared support—still no action on the resolution.

If these committees are to continue and serve the essential needs of small business now is the time for the Congress to act in giving long overdue recognition to the Small Business Committees.

The committee will have a man-sized job facing it for years to come if they confine their operations to the major problems, and increasing problems facing independent business both at the production and distribution levels in the distribution field.

Finally, this situation must be serious when it was noted in the press recently by one of the Nation's leading banks of their great concern as to the future of small business of this Nation.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. BURGER.

The National Day of Portugal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, in selecting a national day most countries

commemorate a special event in their history such as independence day or a national hero, such as the birthday of the state's liberator. Portugal, on the other hand, has chosen as its national holiday the anniversary of the death of its greatest poet, Luis Vas de Camoes, who died in Lisbon on June 10, 1580. The works of this man, one of the greatest poets of the 16th century, have long been an inspiration and an example of strength and endurance to his countrymen.

Born in 1524, this great artist shunned the restrictions of court life and instead took off as a soldier in the sprawling Portuguese Empire. In their pognancy and anguish, his lyric poems reflect the hardships of a soldier's life. His greatest epic, "Os Lusiadas"—"The Portuguese"—extols the glorious deeds of his people and their victories over the enemies of Christianity.

His feelings and thoughts, expressed 400 years ago, live on. They remind us of the fact that the Portuguese have always remained courageous in the face of aggression. Portugal is a charter member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The bases which it provides in the strategically located Azores have been of great benefit to the free world. NATO is just one more indication of Portugal's traditional friendship with the United States, where many of Portugal's sturdy emigrants now make their homes.

These Portuguese are hardy and faithful allies of the mettle of Camoes. I join with them on their national day and trust that our friendship will continue forever.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania: A Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania constitute the three Baltic countries on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in northeastern Europe. The peoples of these countries are among the most civilized, most gifted, and most progressive ethnic elements in all Europe. Although subjected to alien rule for centuries, they maintained their own identity, and at the end of the First World War they regained their national independence. Thenceforth for two decades they lived in freedom, which they were able to maintain in the face of serious threats. But with the outbreak of the last war they were no longer able to do this, and then began their tragedy.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, Lithuania and her two unfortunate neighbors were ruthlessly bullied by the Kremlin. They were forced to sign mutual assistance pacts with the Soviet Union. Then early in 1940, under some pretext, the governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were accused by the Kremlin of anti-Soviet activities. In June the governments of these countries were compelled to agree to the occupation of these countries by the Red army. Having no choice, these governments complied with the terms of the Soviet ultimatums. Immediately the Red army advanced and occupied all three countries, and by the end of June Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians alike were robbed of their freedom.

In the meantime wholesale arrests and imprisonments of prominent men in every walk of life were proceeding. Terror in every quarter, and no one felt safe; even women and children were, in some cases, faced with summary arrest, imprisonment, and deportation. No one knows how many tens of thousands of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were thus arrested by Soviet agents and then deported to distant parts of the Soviet Union, but the fact that in Lithuania alone more than 34,000 were arrested in June of 1940, indicates that at least that many innocent Estonians and Latvians shared a similar sad fate. Arrests and deportations did not end in June, but continued throughout the Soviet occupation of the country during 1940–41, culminating in the wholesale arrests of tens of thousands during the night of June 13–14, 1941. Thus at the very least more than 100,000 Baltic peoples were uprooted from their homes and exiled to distant, inhospitable Siberia.

It is impossible to say what was in store for these innocent souls in Asiatic U.S.S.R., but obviously there they suffered and labored in forced work camps under abominable conditions. No doubt many of them have died far away from their native homes. At the end of the last war a few of the survivors were allowed to return to their homes and only through them have we learned of the tragic fate of all those deported in 1940–41 by Soviet authorities. From the moment these peoples were herded into freight cars and shipped off, they knew that their share in this world was hard work, hunger, misery, and death in exile. They knew that they were doomed to a kind of serfdom to slave in forced Sovet labor camps where death itself comes to be welcomed.

Today, in observance of that June 14, 1941, we pay our respects to the memory of these Baltic peoples deported and doomed to death by the Soviet Government.

Opposition of Board of Directors of Southern States Industrial Council to Civil Rights Legislation—Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution by the board of directors of the Southern States Industrial Council expressing strong opposition to the so-called civil rights legislation.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The council is unalterably opposed to the civil rights bill (H.R. 7192) and commends and congratulates all of those in both House and Senate who have had the courage to take a determined stand against it.

It regards H.R. 7192 as the most dangerous, the most far reaching, the most irresponsible, and the most profoundly subversive legislation ever passed or even seriously considered by either House of Congress.

The issue it presents is not equal rights for Negroes and other minority groups. It goes far beyond that. It has been declared to be—and as we believe correctly—90 percent concerned with the extension of raw Federal power and 10 percent concerned with any rights which can be so described. It is a vast attempted invasion and usurpation on the part of the Federal Government of the constitutional rights of the States and localities, of business, individuals, unions, homeowners, and everyone else.

While directed primarily at the South, this misnamed, so-called civil rights bill would not be so limited in its application. It would apply equally to all the white people of America, whether they lived in the South, North, East, or West. Its limitations, if any, would reside solely in the voluntary self-imposed restraint of those who would administer it. If it becomes law, there are literally no rights of the white citizen, wherever located, which it would be bound to respect.

Clearly of Communist origin and inspiration, there is not one of its 11 titles which the Reds could not and do not support. It is an open invitation to violence and the final destruction of this Republic and the freedom of the individual for which it stands.

William D. Boyce: Tribute on the Anniversary of His Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today, June 11, 1964, marks the 35th anniversary of the death of William Dixon Boyce who brought the Boy Scout movement to the United States from England.

In the autumn of 1909, Mr. Boyce, Chicago publisher and world traveler, became lost on a foggy London street and hesitated at a street intersection. Out of the fog a boy emerged and asked if he could help. Some accounts state that the boy "saluted smartly" and offered not only to guide Boyce to his destination but also to carry his briefcase. Other reports omit these embellishments. All are in accord, however, that the boy did guide the publisher to his destination. On arrival Mr. Boyce offered the boy a coin which he refused. The lad explained that he was a Boy Scout and could not take a tip for being of service.

The reply, the persistence in refusal, puzzled William Boyce and he began to

question the lad about the Boy Scout organization. The youth explained that it had been formed by a man named Baden-Powell. The following afternoon Mr. Boyce had an interview with Gen. Robert S. Baden-Powell and learned of scouting, which was organized for peace—not for war. Several days later, when Boyce left for America, he carried with him a suitcase crammed with booklets about the Boy Scouts.

In Washington, D.C., on February 8, 1910, Boyce and a group of associates obtained a charter of incorporation for a new organization: The Boy Scouts of America. He helped finance Scouting in America and also remained a strong supporter after turning the charter over to Scout executives.

Through his interest in boys in rural areas he founded the Lone Scout organization, with a rural program dedicated to their needs, which he conducted for 8 years. This was merged with the Boy Scouts of America in 1924.

In 1926 he received the third Award of the Silver Buffalo for distinguished service to boyhood.

Mr. Boyce was born on a farm in Allegheny County, Pa., on June 16, 1858. He worked his way through the University of Wooster, Ohio. In 1889 he established the Saturday Blade in Chicago and purchased the Chicago Ledger. He was well known as a publisher, big-game hunter, and prominent citizen of his community. In 1909 he gained worldwide attention by launching a "balloonograph" expedition into the wilds of Africa, taking for the first time air-view pictures of jungle and native life. In the course of his wanderings, Mr. Boyce visited practically every country on the globe.

Mr. Boyce died of pneumonia on June 11, 1929, and was buried in Ottawa, Ill. Eagle Scouts formed a guard of honor at his funeral.

The following tribute on behalf of the Boy Scouts of America was issued by the national Scout president and the chief Scout executive at the time of Mr. Boyce's death:

On behalf of more than 4 million boys who have had the benefits of Scout training, we extend to you our deep sympathy in your bereavement. Through William D. Boyce's perception and appreciation of the ability of Scouting to imbue the boyhood of the Nation with the spirit of service, courage, gentleness, good manners, and responsible citizenship, the Boy Scout movement was brought to America and organized in behalf of the boyhood of this country. He was one of the original incorporators and materially helped to finance the movement after turning it over to the present organization.

The entire American Nation owes Mr. Boyce a debt of gratitude, and the citizens of the future will be better prepared to serve their country because of his outstanding good turn.

On June 21, 1941, Mr. Boyce was further honored by the erection and dedication of the only Boy Scout memorial statue in the United States near the Boyce family plot in the Ottawa Avenue Cemetery, Ottawa, Ill. This was made possible by voluntary contributions from Boy Scouts, Scouters, and friends from all over America; and every year thousands of Boy Scouts and Lone Scouts of America join in an annual pilgrimage to Mr. Boyce's graveside to pay homage to his memory.

Future Planning for Recreational Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the burgeoning of our population and the swift and generally unplanned expansion of our cities is a matter of great importance to all of us and demands careful, thoughtful planning for the future. An increasing number of people in cities and rural areas, in business and labor unions, and in government and industry are beginning to realize that rapidly growing urban America is facing a crisis in the problem of providing adequate parks, forests, and open spaces for its multitudes of city-dwelling citizens.

The economic necessity for open land is easily made emphatic; the Nation must preserve farm and forest areas to provide for future urban expansion, to provide room for future transportation facilities, and to provide watersheds for cities' water supplies. Equally important is land for proper and adequate recreation facilities within easy reach of city populations. The American people must act now if open spaces close to cities are to be preserved for present and future generations.

Proof that American citizens are cognizant of this problem and thinking in terms of future needs can be found in Washington County in the Sixth Congressional District of Maryland, which I represent. As an example to other communities, I include in the RECORD an article from the June 3 edition of the Hagerstown, Md., Morning Herald, written by Phil Ebersole, which explains the steps being taken in Washington County:

WHEN THINKING ABOUT RECREATION NEEDS: PLAN AHEAD

(By Phil Ebersole)

Washington County has a good opportunity to develop its parks and recreational areas before the population explosion catches up with it, people concerned with recreational development here agree.

When the county is overrun with highways, developments, and people, it will be too late, they say.

One such advocate of planning ahead is Fred W. Tuemmler, the consultant to the Washington County Planning and Zoning Commission.

He said the wise course for the county is to plan now for future recreational needs. As the area around Hagerstown develops, he said, the county should think about reserving land for public parks, perhaps adjoining schools as Byron Memorial Park adjoins Williamsport High School.

Tuemmler noted that Federal grants of up to 20 percent are available for acquisition of such open spaces, and that grants of up to 30 percent can be obtained when these spaces are part of a master plan.

Having a master plan does not mean that specific sites must be picked out years in advance, Tuemmler said. Indeed, he said, selecting a site as a park far in advance can often put a jinx on it. A master plan only means having a general idea of what to do in various areas as they do develop.

FEDERAL AID

Federal aid is also available for recreational sites under the watershed program, such as that being worked up by the Little Beaver-Little Antietam Watershed Association, he said. Federal aid is available for flood control dams for up to the amount of damage caused by the worst flood, according to Tuemmler, and extra money can be used for recreational sites around these dams.

He said farsighted farmers may take advantage of this to set up picnic groves along the dam ponds, and charge fees to picnickers.

If the U.S. Army Engineers win acceptance for their plan to build flood control dams on the tributaries of the Potomac, he said, recreational areas may be developed on the Tonoloway Creek and other areas around the proposed dams.

Similarly, he said, the county could acquire development rights for "stream valley" parks along the Conococheague Creek.

COUNTY PARKS

The main responsibility for local park development falls upon the Washington County Park Commission, headed by Jacob B. Berkson. It's main problem is money.

The original idea of the county commissioners, when they set up the park commission, was to turn over abandoned school sites to the park commission. The park commission could then develop the sites as parks, or sell the sites and use the money to develop parks elsewhere. This was done with the proceeds of the sale of the White Oak Forest School near Security.

Then a local State law was passed giving the proceeds of such sales to the board of education, leaving the park commission without a painless way of extracting money from the county government.

Anyway, the park commission is going ahead with the development of Doub's Woods Park, between South Hagerstown High School and the South End shopping center. Vocational students are making picnic tables, and building a park pavilion.

MODEL PARKS

Berkson hopes to make this a model for future Washington County parks, with a pavilion, an outdoor exhibit center, a campfire circle, and so on.

The Leitersburg Ruritans have offered to help develop a county-owned tract at Leitersburg as a park, Berkson said. This is exactly what he has in mind for developing parks.

"We don't want any of these junk parks," he said, "We do not want a shack pavilion. We don't want these picnic tables that curl up at both ends. We want parks equal in quality to the State parks."

The drawback, he said, is that the county can't afford a big park budget. So the answer, as he sees it, is partnership with local groups, such at the Ruritans, who will help build and maintain the parks.

NEW SITES

The park commission plans to acquire a site at the Devil's Backbone on the Antietam Creek between Boonsboro and Lappan's Crossroads for picnicking and fishing.

Along with acquisition of rights-of-way for the new Fort Ritchie access road, Berkson said, the county also acquired park area near the Pennsylvania line. He said this is a beautifully wooded site for picnicking and perhaps even camping.

Eventually, Berkson said, the park commission hopes to have county parks on the Conococheague, Antietam, and Tonoloway Creeks, and on South and Sideling Hill Mountains.

These parks will not replace Federal and State parks, he said, but will provide picnic

sites, baseball diamonds, and children's playgrounds for local residents, just as the city parks do for city residents.

Berkson said many local people take the beauties of the county for granted, and do not think about how to preserve them. "We have tremendous natural resources here, and we should develop them," he said. "We have to look ahead for 10 or 20 years when there may not be so many open spaces."

INFLATED COSTS

The State government thinks nothing of paying $10,000 an acre for park sites in the Baltimore metropolitan area, Berkson said. The time to acquire park sites here, he said, is before values become similarly inflated.

Hagerstown is justly famous for its beautiful city park, he said, and there are many equally beautiful sites in the county.

Development of these parks is not just money thrown away, he concluded. It has a bearing on the economic development of the county, he said, because it makes the county a more attractive place to live and work.

Bearings and Lancaster County, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, too often when proponents of free trade talk about the need for reduction of tariffs they talk in broad general terms. However, every concession granted to increase exports to the United States, has a most dramatic local effect. There is nothing which touches the day-to-day lives of all of us more than the effect of such reductions. Following is a letter which I have written to Hon. Christian Herter, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, to emphasize to him just what impact increased imports of bearings could have just in Lancaster County, Pa., alone.

The letter follows:

JUNE 11, 1964.

Hon. CHRISTIAN HERTER,
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HERTER: As you may have noted from correspondence and from extensions of remarks placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the domestic bearing industry is in grave trouble as a result of imports of bearings from Japan and elsewhere. I would like to acquaint you with what these imports mean in my congressional district which includes Lancaster, Pa.

The Federal-Mogul-Bower Bearing Co. in Lancaster has over 600 full-time employees, so roughly 2,500 family members in the Lancaster area are dependent on the success of this one company. The company has an annual payroll of well over $4,500,000 in the Lancaster area alone and the largest part of this is undoubtedly spent with retailers, service and professional people, in Lancaster or environs. You can see that the loss of this payroll would have a detrimental effect on the economy of the entire area. In addition, this company pays about a half millions dollars in local taxes alone which does contribute substantially to the local government operations.

The total imports of ball bearings, roller bearings, steel balls, and rollers in 1963 were up 19 percent from 1962, for a total of $19,384,853. This is strictly the import price, or invoice price paid by the importer, and does not include duty, ocean transportation, insurance, customs, brokerage fees, or any other additives. Imports in the first quarter of 1964 in total were $5,372,072 versus $4,313,124 for the same period in 1963, or an increase of approximately 20 percent.

Since bearings are on the list of items subject to negotiation in Geneva during the Kennedy round we urge that no reductions be made on ball bearings, roller bearings, steel balls, or rollers. Any reduction will encourage further foreign competition with which domestic producers cannot compete because of high wages and high taxes paid by the domestic companies.

I hope you will take these factors into consideration when the negotiations deal with bearings, balls, and rollers.

Sincerely,

(Signed) PAUL DAGUE,
Member of Congress.

Statement by Dr. C. C. Furnas, President, State University at Buffalo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in the city of Buffalo, N.Y. The witnesses who appeared for questioning took the fifth or other amendments, and refused to testify when asked certain questions.

Dr. Clifford C. Furnas, president of the State University of New York at Buffalo, has made a timely statement on this subject, which I wish to include in the RECORD.

Dr. Furnas is a distinguished engineer and chemist. He is a graduate of Purdue University, and received his doctor's degree at the University of Michigan. He taught chemical engineering at Yale until 1943 when he became the director of research for the Curtiss-Wright Corp. in Buffalo, N.Y., and subsequently the director of Cornell Aeronautical Laboratories.

In 1954, Dr. Furnas became chancellor of the University of Buffalo.

On December 1, 1955, he was named Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development by President Eisenhower, in which capacity he served until February 1957 when he resigned to resume his duties as chancellor of the University of Buffalo.

Dr. Furnas continues to serve as a consultant to the military as a member of the Defense Science Board.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Dr. Furnas' statement which follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. C. C. FURNAS, PRESIDENT, STATE UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO

It is now a matter of record that the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives held hearings in Buffalo on April 29 and 30, 1964. During these hearings, one member of the faculty and a graduate student of the State university at Buffalo, among others, were subpenaed to appear for questioning. Both of these witnesses, as well as all the others, took the fifth or other amendments and refused to testify when asked certain questions.

During the hearings of the committee and subsequently, there have been many unsupported generalizations and inferences made concerning the State university at Buffalo, its faculty, and its students.

Foremost among these were the unconfirmed allegations that there is a serious and increasing infiltration by Communists in both the faculty and student body at the State university at Buffalo; that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was picketed by a Communist-organized group of students at State university at Buffalo; and that a Communist-dominated student group of the State university has invited a number of outstanding Communists to deliver lectures at the university.

At no time has evidence been presented that there is a serious and increasing infiltration by Communists into the faculty, staff, or the student body of the university.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities was not picketed by a Communist-organized group of students from this university. It is impossible to equate picketing against the committee and the charge of being a Communist.

Many groups throughout the Nation—professional and religious, among others—have picketed against the committee. In this specific case, the picketing was authorized by the student senate of the State university at Buffalo. This group is the authorized representative of all the students of the university. The picketing was organized properly, monitored by student leaders, and drew praise for orderly conduct from many important groups within the community.

The charge that a Communist dominated student group of this university has invited a number of outstanding Communists to deliver lectures at the university is not based on the facts. Last year, the student senate convocations committee invited a group of speakers—not to be financed from State funds, but from student fees—to lecture in a series entitled: "A Political Spectrum of a Contemporary World." The purpose of the series, as stated by Richard Erb, president of the student association, was "to offer students the opportunity to examine and compare various political ideologies." Speakers included: Sir Oswald Mosely, "Facism"; Russell Kirk, "Conservatism"; Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, "Liberalism"; Norman Thomas, "Socialism"; and Dr. Henry Aptheker, "Communism." Before Dr. Aptheker's appearance, an injunction was secured barring his appearance. Subsequently, this was overruled unanimously by the appellate division, third department, of the State supreme court, and has now been taken to the court of appeals by the original complainant.

To furnish a maximum of value to the students the format of the program provided that each speaker should discuss his concept of the "role of the state" from 40 minutes to 1 hour. At the conclusion of the speech a panel of faculty and students would question the speaker for approximately 20 minutes. Following this, the program was open to questions from the audience.

The State University at Buffalo is proceeding calmly and deliberately, in cooperation with officials of State university, to study allegations made against any members of its faculty. This has always been the procedure of this university. More than 10 years ago, while a private institution, a policy was developed in regard to Communist Party membership and the giving of testimony before investigating bodies. It provided that a faculty member who has subjected himself to the discipline of a totalitarian party has by so doing renounced the right to think and speak and act independently. By obligating himself to take

his ideas and beliefs readymade from a party dictatorship, he has repudiated the openminded search for truth which we hold essential in a scholar and teacher.

That policy further provided that "the university urges that members of its faculty, if called upon by a legislative committee or by any other legally constituted authority, testify freely and frankly, even though they may not approve of the methods of the investigating body or the wisdom or propriety of its operations. Refusal to testify will make the person refusing liable to suspension without prejudice until, through the procedure laid down in the university's rules and regulations, providing for a hearing before a committee, he can demonstrate to the appropriate authorities that he is qualified to continue as a member of the faculty. If he fails so to demonstrate, he will be subject to dismissal."

Although this university is now subject to State law and the constitutional restrictions applicable to State action, and the policies of State University of New York, the above is indicative of the principles we hold.

For more than a century the University of Buffalo, as a private institution, had a proud heritage of academic freedom. This served as a key to its greatness. This was the legacy of Dr. Samuel Paul Capen, chancellor of the university for 20 years. Julian Park, university historian, in his history of Dr. Capen's life said: "* * * his constant devotion to academic freedom was a shield that hundreds of spears came to be broken against. To his successors it is a precious legacy." The university is proud that this heritage continues under State University. The principles involved were well stated by John C. Crary, Jr., attorney for State University of New York, before the appellate division of the supreme court:

"Freedom of intellectual inquiry in a university is vital to its being and essential to its function in a democratic society. A free society depends on free universities. 'This means the exclusion of governmental intervention in the intellectual life of a university,' said Mr. Justice Frankfurter in the case of *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire*. In the same case, Chief Justice Warren said: 'Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die.'"

MAY 26, 1964.

Hon. Earl Hollandsworth and Hon. Lee Travis, of Longview, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the May 31, 1964, issue of the Longview Daily News. It concerns two outstanding businessmen who have contributed much to the development of east Texas and Texas.

The editorial follows:

A GREAT TEAM

One left his home in West Virginia at the age of 16 and headed west to seek his fortune. At the age of 2, the other left his native New York with his parents and traveled to Colorado.

Those were eventful journeys, as subsequent happenings were to prove.

When their paths crossed in Utah, it was a great day for each of them—and for Longview and Texas.

It was the youthful Earl Hollandsworth who went to California to work in the oil business, starting as a roughneck in the Signal Hill field. This was the beginning of a fabulous career in which he has become one of the foremost independent operators in the midcontinent area, while at the same time achieving outstanding success in other fields.

It was Lee Travis who at the age of 2 moved to Colorado, where he obtained his schooling.

Perhaps it was fate that brought Earl Hollandsworth and Lee Travis together. Earl was only 18 when he became associated with Lee, who was a joint owner of an oil company and a mining operator in Salt Lake City. As driller and drilling superintendent with the oil firm, Earl supervised operations in Kansas, Colorado, Utah, and Texas. He drilled successfully in his own right in the Uinta area near Vernal, Utah.

The two men became close friends and the outgrowth has been a highly successful partnership in the operation of a drilling company here, the purchase and operation of hotels and motor inns in Longview, Tyler, Dallas, Marshall, and Kilgore, the development of a large downtown shopping center and the acquisition of two office buildings and other commercial properties here and elsewhere.

They have made the company name Earlee (a combination of their given names) a symbol of progress.

More can be learned about these men in biographical sketches which appear in another section of this issue devoted to the open house this afternoon and the formal opening Monday of their Downtowner Motor Inn. We strongly urge you to read every word written about them. You'll find their backgrounds thrilling, exciting, colorful, and inspiring—more so than anything ever penned about the fictional characters of Horatio Alger.

Through their imagination, ability, and drive they have built tremendous fortunes, but this you would know only by their acts or deeds—not by their words. They have much in common. Each is the same today as he was yesterday, and will be the same tomorrow, no matter where you might find him. Each is quiet, reserved, unpretentious, and unassuming, but direct, decisive, and deliberate in business dealings.

Lee Travis makes his home in another city, but he spends considerable time in east Texas looking after business interests.

Let is be said to the everlasting credit of these two men: they have done a great deal for Longview and this area. The investments they have made here are huge, for which all of us should be grateful. By their display of faith they have given confidence to others.

Conversion of the Longview Motor Hotel into the Downtowner Motor Inn at a cost of approximately $100,000 is but one of many tangible ways in which they have continually put their money to work in this community. Their latest venture definitely will redound to Longview's benefit.

The Downtowner Motor Inn, part of a nationwide system, will have open house from 2 to 5 p.m. today. Everyone is invited, and it is our hope that a tremendous crowd will be on hand to express thanks to Lee and Earl for another big contribution to our city's progress, and to pledge them support and cooperation for their part in making Longview east Texas' headquarters for travelers and conventions. This is the least we can do to show our appreciation to these two truly great men.—CARL L. ESTES.

Independence of the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Philippine Islands this year are celebrating the 18th anniversary of the independence of their country. We take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency, the President of the Republic, Diosdado P. Macapagal; and His Excellency, the Philippine Ambassador to the United States, Oscar Ledesma.

Although officially granted full sovereignty by the United States on July 4, 1946, a date befitting our own great heritage, the Filipinos commemorate June 12 as their national holiday, the date remembered as the declaration of independence by their heroic leader, Aguinaldo, from Spanish rule in 1898.

Throughout the 20th century, the relations between our country and the Philippines have been very close. During the 48 years when the Philippines were under our control, the U.S. Government built the islands into a showplace of democracy. World War II did not change this harmonious union; for the Filipinos fought alongside American soldiers in the defense of their homeland. The battle for Corregidor and Bataan is as much a tribute to the bravery of the Filipino soldier as it is to our own men.

Since July 4, 1946, the Republic of the Philippines has continued to follow the patterns of development and administration set down by American personnel. A true democracy, President Macapagal presides over a government opposed to communism. As a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the islands form a part of the chain of free countries containing the spread of international communism. More important to the United States, though, is the mutual defense agreement concluded with our Government, granting military base rights in the Philippines for our armed services.

The Philippine Government is rightfully taking a place of leadership in Asia and the Pacific. Handicapped by the vast destruction caused by the Japanese occupation and liberation of the islands during World War II, the Filipinos had first to overcome their internal weaknesses. Today, the islands are the world's largest producer of coconuts and manila hemp. The people enjoy one of the highest standards of living in all of eastern Asia. Moreover, 65 percent of the population 10 years of age and over is literate, a truly remarkable figure for an Asian state.

Its presence is also being felt in other Asian countries. President Macapagal has been attempting to mediate the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia. Recent pronouncements by government leaders show their concern about and support for American policy in South

Vietnam. Furthermore, the Philippines active participation in the Colombo plan produces a stabilizing influence and an impetus to the development of the member Asian states.

Therefore, it is with great pride that I salute the Filipinos on the anniversary of their independence. Since the United States is the islands' leading supplier of imports and the principal recipient of exports, the close ties which have existed between the two Republics in the past continue in the present. I am certain, too, that these amicable relations will endure, setting an example of peace and mutual cooperation for the world community.

The Filibuster: A Weird Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of relief that I note, from recent news articles, that the Senate may soon vote on the civil rights bill. "Debate" on this bill has been in progress over 3 months. It is a sad commentary on the legislative process that this great body of our Government could not meet together and truly debate the issues surrounding the legislation at hand. This exercise in futility, or at least wasted motion, is well described in an article written by Arthur Hoppe of the Washington Star. It is a well written article that furnishes a revealing view of the Congress and some of its rules. Indeed, this article makes one wonder about the real value and usefulness of our national legislature. It would well behoove this body to examine, with an eye toward thoughtful and effective revision, some of our rules in order to find those ways in which we might legislate more effectively—and regain the full respect of the country.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Star, June 2, 1964]

THE FILIBUSTER: A WEIRD FESTIVAL—NATIVES GATHER DAILY FOR MONTHS TO TALK WHILE NO ONE LISTENS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

It's amazing. The more research I do for my book, "Strange Native Customs in Washington and Other Savage Lands," the more unbelievably unreliable my findings sound.

For example, fellow anthropologists may recall my general description of the filibuster, a weird festival practiced sporadically by the Senators, a tribe of 100 elderly recluses who dwell on Capitol Hill. Many scoffed at my report that these natives gather daily for months on end to talk while no one listens, all for no apparent purpose.

"What are you," wrote my distinguished colleague, Herr Professor Rudolph von L. Clauswitz, "some kind of nut?"

It is therefore with trepidation that I go into greater detail and describe one of the many astounding rites the filibuster festival entails. This one is known as "The quorum call." And just remember, they laughed at Darwin, too.

As reported earlier, the filibuster festival is held in the tribe's huge and ornate gathering place, but for reasons which are unclear only 5 of the 100 natives attend at any given time—one to speak and the other four to read newspapers. Which is odd because it clearly violates a tribal rule that no one may talk unless 51 Members are present. And this is the tribe, mind you, that reveres its taboos more than any other.

Fortunately, like most primitive peoples, the natives appear to have only the vaguest notion of numbers. Thus the speaker is allowed to drone happily on for hours while the other four don't listen. But occasionally a look of suspicion will cross the face of one of the nonlisteners. He will rise, look around the empty chamber and announce: "Ah do declare. Ah'm not much on countin' but it looks to me like there don't seem to be no 51 of us a-settin' here."

This new note shocks awake the head native, who says he was just suspecting the same thing himself. He orders the clerk to call off the names of all 100 natives to see if 51 are present. This aboriginal counting device eventually discloses the absence of 95 tribesmen. It is the most exciting moment of the festival. Bells ring, lights flash, and everyone shouts: "Quorum call."

A search is made for the absent natives. One by one each rushes in, tells the clerk he is present and then—and this is the most curious aspect of all—rushes right back out of the chamber again.

But this maneuver fools the clerk, who counts his check marks and eventually announces to the 5 natives present that 51 natives are now in the room. Their suspicions lulled, they go back to reading their newspapers and the festival is allowed to resume.

I would go into further detail about the filibuster festival, but the next subject on my list is: "What the Native Who Is Talking Actually Talks About." And while I have taken copious notes on this, I have decided in the interests of archaeology not to publish them.

After all, Herr Professor Clauswitz is 78 years old, and subject to apoplexy. If he should read my findings on that subject * * *. Well, archaeology can ill afford to lose a man of his stature.

Equal Pay for Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, June 11, 1964, is an important landmark in the long and continuing struggle of women to achieve equality in our society.

On this date, the McNamara Equal Pay Act of 1963—Public Law 88-38—becomes generally effective throughout the country.

This new law amends the Fair Labor Standards Act to prohibit discrimination in the payment of wages on the basis of sex. In other words, it sets forth in the law the simple principle of justice that equal work deserves equal pay, regardless of sex.

Its provisions will apply to an estimated 28 million workers in 1.1 million establishments—in other words, to everyone covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. For employees covered by certain collective bargaining agreements, the effective date is deferred until June 11, 1965, or the termination date of the agreement, whichever is the earlier date.

It was my great pleasure a year ago to vote for this bill which was signed into law by the late President Kennedy on June 10, 1963.

Those of us from Michigan take particular pride in the Equal Pay Act because our distinguished senior Senator, PAT MCNAMARA, was its primary sponsor. As chairman of the Labor Subcommittee, he guided the bill through committee and as floor manager won approval of the bill by the Senate without a dissenting vote.

Thanks to his efforts, millions of working women in the future will be paid for their efforts on the basis of work accomplished and no longer will suffer discrimination in their pay checks because of their sex.

The Job Corps Hope for Many

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, when the House Education and Labor Committee gave the green light to President Johnson's war-on-poverty bill—the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—one of the main obstacles on the road to passage was cleared.

Nothing seems now to stand in the way of swift enactment of one of the most important pieces of legislation offered in the last decade. One of the most vital provisions of the Landrum bill will the new Job Corps. Originally envisioned by the late President Kennedy as the Youth Conservation Corps, this concept has been expanded in an attempt to find employment for 40,000 volunteers of the 16 to 21 age bracket who are out of school and out of a job. Whatever this measure might cost in dollars and cents would be repaid multifold in terms of the increased good for society that these young men could do.

The Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J., in a fine editorial on June 8, clearly discusses this problem. The editorial follows:

THE JOB CORPS HOPE FOR MANY

The big gun in President Johnson's "war on poverty" has been loaded. The House Education and Labor Committee has approved the administration's proposed $962.5 million Economic Opportunity Act.

It now remains for the whole House, along with the Senate, to pull the lanyard.

If the act becomes law—and it is believed it will this session—the United States will embark on a number of offensives designed to eliminate the Nation's stubborn pockets of poverty, both urban and rural, and enlist those trapped in them in the building of the "Great Society."

One of these offensives is called the Job Corps, conceived as a means of rescuing at least some of the estimated 750,000 youths between 16 and 21 who are out of school, out of work, out of touch with society and, worst of all, out of hope.

The idea is to take young men away from their old, defeating environments and place them in rural camps and urban training centers, there to teach them job skills (as

well as the A B C's, where necessary), good work habits, a sense of social responsibility—above all, to lift and widen their horizons.

For many, it would be their last chance to realize their human potentials and participate in the American dream.

Job Corps planners hope that 40,000 young men—all volunteers—could be enrolled within the first year. Half of them would live in about 200 conservation camps around the country, half in job-training centers in or near cities.

As in the CCC days of the 1930's, the youths in the camps would perform useful work for society—repairing parks, building roads—while undergoing a program of physical conditioning and basic education.

Trainees in both the camps and urban centers would be paid $50 a month, with a separation bonus of $50 a month up to a maximum of 2 years' service.

There would be similar work-training programs for girls—who constitute 46 percent of all school dropouts—to be administered by the Labor Department.

Numerous universities already have task forces planning programs for the Job Corps. Businesses are developing new kinds of teaching aids. Many teachers, returning Peace Corps veterans and retired service officers have volunteered to help staff the Corps.

As for finding jobs for Job Corps graduates in this day of increasing automation, one oil company says it could use 1,000 service station attendants right now. Hotels and hospitals have trouble finding dependable help. The tire service industry has a constant need for properly motivated workers.

Other youths may go on to complete their education. Many, refused by Selective Service because of health or educational deficiencies, would now be able to pass the examination.

The Job Corps would cost $191 million in its first year (about equal to what the United States spends in 6 months in South Vietnam).

The cost to the Nation of the loss of those for whom the Job Corps will be too late is beyond calculation.

Clark School of Detroit Receives American Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD M. RYAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. RYAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, recently the faculty and students of the Clark School of Detroit were presented a U.S. flag which had been flown over the U.S. Capitol on Washington's Birthday.

In connection with this presentation, the Honorable Benjamin C. Stanczyk, judge of the common pleas court of Detroit made the presentation speech which I believe should be brought to the attention of this honorable body.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS BY BENJAMIN C. STANCZYK, COMMON PLEAS JUDGE, FOR DELIVERY AT CLARK SCHOOL FLAG PRESENTATION ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1964

It is always a distinct pleasure and privilege for me to address a gathering of stuents, their teachers, and their parents. And when the subject of my talk is our Nation's flag, that pleasure becomes even greater. The patriotism displayed by your interest in obtaining a flag from the U.S. Capitol for your flagpole is extremely noteworthy. And we all should thank Congressman RYAN who obtained the same flag flown above the Nation's Capitol on Washington's Birthday. I strongly feel, however, that Congressman RYAN, myself, and all persons in Government owe our thanks to you students for your patriotic interest in the flag and for the ideals for which it waves and will continue to wave.

As we gaze upon this flag, with its changed design signifying the recent creation of the new States of Alaska and Hawaii, some of us might wonder if the end has been reached in our country's development.

But, if we are so inclined to think, we need only remember that our ancestors, saluting an Old Glory with 13, or later, 15 stars, hardly expected that the United States would ever become so great and so extensive as to warrant 50 stars in the field.

As we view this historic flag, perhaps we should consider for a moment other flags that have taken important roles in the history of the United States.

This particular flag we are honoring today is unique in that it is one of the few that has flown around the clock. For, as you all probably have learned, our flag normally is flown only during the daylight hours. But specific authority is given to fly the flag 24 hours a day above our Capitol Building in Washington. The only other locations where the flag is flown continously are above Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, Md., the Flag House, at Baltimore, the Municipal War Memorial at Worcester, Mass., Pikes Peak, Colo., and at Mount Suribachi on the Pacific island of Iwo Jima. It was on this island during World War II, that that famous scene of our Marines raising the American flag was enacted.

As we look at our proud flag, we are especially mindful of that flag which inspired the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner," our national anthem, at Fort McHenry during the War of 1812. Its author, as you may remember, was a young American lawyer. Francis Scott Key was aboard a British ship attempting to arrange the release of a prisoner during the British bombardment of the American fort. When Key spotted the Star and Stripes still waving defiantly above the fort after an all-night bombardment, he penned the words that continue to excite all Americans and lovers of freedom throughout the world.

That flag, scarred by British shot and shell still lives at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. A new building there now makes it possible for the large flag, which measured 28 feet by 34 feet, to be fully displayed in a prominent spot. Any of you who visit Washington should certainly make this a must stop in your sightseeing.

The banner that Key viewed so proudly boasted 15 stars and 15 stripes. This was the makeup of the American flag from 1794 when Kentucky and Vermont were added to the original 13 States, until 1818 when Congress decided to keep the stripes at 13, representing the original colonies, and add a star for each new State.

It was in 1818 that Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, and Mississippi entered the Union, adding five stars to the field of blue.

Our first President expressed his theory of the significance of the flag. George Washington put it in these words:

"We take the stars from heaven, the red from our mother country and separate it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her. And, the white stripes shall go down in posterity representing liberty," he concluded. Other historians have noted that the red in our flag stands for courage, zeal, and fervency. The white for purity and cleaness of life, and the blue for loyalty, devotion, friendship, justice, and truth.

And as you must all realize, the flag and these qualities for which its colors stand, wave for an entire world to view. For the message that our Old Glory represents, shows the entire world the difference between true freedom and the Communist way.

Even before the Declaration of Independence cast our tiny band of colonies adrift from the British empire, flags had played an important role in the New World.

In 1634, only 14 years from the time the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, there were strong feelings about a flag. John Endicott, later a governor of the colony of Massachusetts, scissored a cross from a large flag that was then used in his colony at the direction of the British. Brought to trial for mutilation of the flag, he contended that the Pilgrims had come to this country to escape religious persecution. Forcing his fellow Pilgrims to worship under a flag with a religious symbol alien to their own beliefs was involved. Endicott lost the trial, but gained much sympathy. He was barred from holding public office for a year as his penalty.

Banners of many different designs were used by our colonies. The pine tree symbol and the coiled rattlesnake with the stern warning "Dont' tread on me" were two popular designs.

In 1775, a new Continental flag came into being. It contained 13 stripes for the colonies, the first time stripes had been employed, but carried a British Union Jack design in the corner. For at this time, the colonies still wished to show their allegiance to the British crown.

But following the Declaration of Independence, a committee composed of George Washington, Robert Morris, a Declaration of Independence signer, and George Ross, a relative of Betsy Ross, walked to her seamstress and upholstery shop on Philadelphia's Arch Street with a new design. That first flag contained the 13 stripes, but 13 stars had replaced the Union Jack.

The flag we honor today is a descendant of that early flag. We in Detroit should be especially interested in flags since we boast the world's largest one. The J. L. Hudson emblem is seven stories high and measures 104 feet by 235 feet. It weighs some 1,600 pounds.

But even this giant cannot measure up to the significance of this flag which we honor today. I know you all will use it well and devote your coming years to continuing and building the strength of the Nation it so proudly represents.

Thank you.

Congressman Horan's Constructive Suggestions on Commodity Credit Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of our most able and distinguished colleagues, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HORAN], was the speaker at the 75th annual session of the Washington State Grange on June 9 at Wenatchee, Wash. The senior Republican on the Agriculture Subcommittee on the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Washington is also an active member of the Grange and past master of the Beacon Hill Subordinate.

His constructive comments in regard to the Commodity Credit Corporation are especially timely. Here is the text of his address:

ADDRESS OF HON. WALT HORAN, OF WASHINGTON

Brothers and sisters of Washington State Grange, and friends; here in the shadow of Saddle Rock Mountain—or Squaw Saddle, as we used to call it—I am mighty happy to greet you and to welcome you to the Wenatchee Valley.

The Grange and statehood for Washington arrived here in the Pacific Northwest before Wenatchee really existed, though optimism was high in this area at that time; the rumor was even then being confirmed that "Jim Hill is headed our way!" We could almost hear the thud of the picks, the scraping of the shovels, the clang of the fresnoes, and the cursing of the muleskinners as they attached the Rockies to our east. I must make it plain that I speak from hearsay, for although my parents were oldtimers, I had not yet arrived on the scene.

North central Washington is not a large area, as cultivated acres go. True, to the east of us there are sizable wheat farms, and to the north we have some spreads that do very well with cattle and sheep. But we have achieved a reputable status by making the most of what we have, and we are substantial contributors to our State's position as the Nation's leading producer of apples and one of its respected producers of other fruits. We have known adversity and we have known the comforts of an understanding Government—a Government which, as a partner and a counselor—not a master, has helped us through credit and advice to do our best.

Here in Chelan County you will find some of the finest fruits of our State Grange's long history of effort for our rural areas. Where once one of our foremost assets, the mighty Columbia just over the hill yonder, was wasting into the sea, now some 40,000 people in this county control over $400-million worth of assets in hydrogeneration and transmission. Our public utility district is a going concern, and a grateful county has been able to do a rather remarkable thing—broaden its economy through the saleable ownership of electrical energy. Where once we had but one industry, we now have two; we have added light metals and there is promise of more. Douglas, Grant, and Okanogan Counties also have Grange-sponsored public utility districts, growing, serving, on the go-forward.

Here again, Government has helped your neighbors—with surveys, advice, and other proper assistance. Here too, Uncle Sam has been partner and counselor—not master—to them.

It is this background that really inspires me to talk to you today. There are some clouds in the sky to be dispersed, some mental mountains to be leveled, and some lakes to be crossed. But the Grange was born in such a period nearly a hundred years ago, born to bring people together in the unity of understanding to work for the betterment of all.

The darkest cloud, to me, is that, of the 410,421 4-year college degrees granted in the United States last year, only 4,587 were in agriculture—a very slim 1 percent of the total. Yet, small wonder that so few are preparing to make their career in agriculture: the hours are long; the pay is poor; the chances for promotion appear almost nonexistent. Opportunity simply isn't there. Darkening the sky still further, according to the Bureau of the Census the average age of all active American farmers in 1959 was 50 years and 6 months. Now, 5 years later, the average age of our farmers is probably even older. Where are adequate replacements, the farmers of tomorrow, going to come from?

For the Nation as a whole, the sky is cloudy. As we proceed into the future, we must ask ourselves another question: Where is the assurance of all this "farm abundance at bargain prices" recently referred to by the Secretary of Agriculture while testifying before the House Agriculture Committee.

The efficiency of our farms today is legend. During the fifties the productivity of the American farmworker increased at a rate of 5.1 percent a year, compared to a rate of 2.2 percent for industrial workers. Per acre, productivity has increased 70 percent since the 1920's. Today, 1 farmworker supplies food and fiber for 29 people—nearly triple what he did in 1940. The abundance the American consumer enjoys today is certainly not an accident. But without adequate reward, can it continue? Perhaps—but I, for one, would rather not take the chance.

Last Thursday the House of Representatives passed a bill which would set up a Commission on Agricultural Marketing. I supported this bill, and I hope the Commission succeeds. I hope it succeeds in ventilating the darkened corners of our marketing "closet" and I hope it succeeds in the proper oiling of all the machinery that makes our commerce flow freely from our farms to our tables. Through the medium of an active and a fair market, I hope our farmers will find rewards enabling them to share with the consumer in this American abundance.

I am happy that Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman will be your quest here. I join with you in bidding him the greatest of welcomes to Wenatchee, and I know he will add to the success of your convention. Orville Freeman lives three doors from me back there in Metropolitan Washington, and I know how hard he works—neighbors check on such things, you know.

Speaking at the World Trade luncheon in New York City 3 weeks ago, Mr. Freeman made this good point, and I quote: "But, whereas farm surpluses are stockpiled in bins, where they can be seen and caricatured, industry's surplus capacity is reflected by layoffs that can be seen only in unemployment statistics."

But what about our bins, our elevators, and our warehouses? You may recall, those of you who are familiar with your Bible, that the Gileadites used the word "shibboleth" to detect the fugitive Ephreamites at the River Jordan fords. The Ephreamites pronounced this word as "sibboleth," which led to their easy destruction.

I confess I am rapidly becoming an Ephreamite regarding some of the "shibboleths" used to guard the fords of our marketing Jordan.

Way back in 1930 Senator McNary and Representative Gilbert Haugen proposed that a Government corporation be set up to make enough purchases of American farm commodities to raise domestic prices above world prices. This idea and other ideas became the Agricultural Act of 1935. Well, you know the rest. We were to have an "ever-normal granary" with price supports based on the parity formula. When surpluses appeared, we planned to impose acreage allotments until supply was reduced to the level of demand. And, during World War II this program worked to the great advantage of the American farmer inasmuch as world production was disrupted and the demands on our production were enormous. But beginning in 1949, 1950, and 1951, the serpent's head of surpluses began to appear, and the old problem of how to balance supply and demand through the operations of Government programs was with us again. Since then, the major stumbling block has been how to reduce surpluses and still maintain some semblance of the support price principle.

The key to Ezra Taft Benson's program was the level at which the Government should be obliged to support prices. He suggested "flexible price supports." Today, that phrase is only unpopular, apparently, when considered in conjunction with Ezra Benson.

It is obvious that the key to Secretary Freeman's approach is that of reducing acreage. Freeman likes to call it "managed abundance," and I do mean "managed." Actually, the cotton-wheat bill recently enacted is somewhat of a combination of the Benson plan and a sizable reduction in acreage allotments—it could be called the Benson-Freeman formula. [Believe me, being Secretary of Agriculture in America is a hazardous occupation.]

I personally think we are having too much of this management from Washington, D.C. We are getting too many bad regulations, and getting even those too late. But that is the curse of a Federal law; it has to apply nationwide. Regulations on wheat, for instance, must apply to Texas, to North Dakota, to Washington State. It is hard to tailor them to fit, and all of this adds to their complexities and to our confusion.

But as we continue to reduce our acreage and make some headway in reducing the available supply, what is happening to the factor of demand? Let us take a look at some interesting statistics on our national population, which, after all, constitutes the basis of demand.

In 1790 the center of population was approximately 23 miles east of Baltimore. Through the years, that center has roughly followed the Cumberland Trail, the same trail that Daniel Boone and others used in their treks to the West. When our National Grange was founded, it was in Kentucky, south of Cincinnati, Ohio.

When our State grange was founded, it was nearing Columbus, Ind., the home of our National Grange master, Herschel Newsom, although Herschel wasn't there yet. The center of population was just east of the Indiana-Illinois border when the Agricultural Act of 1935 was written. Today, it is on the outskirts of St. Louis, Mo.

Our population has really exploded. When the National Grange was founded in 1867, there were some 28 million people in the United States, and when our own Grange came into being in 1889, there were about 62 million. It was 75 million when I was born (and I won't mention this date). In 1930 the population was just under 123 million persons, and when the Agricultural Act of 1935 was written, it was 127 million. In 1938, when the act was first amended, there were close to 130 million persons living in the United States. There were almost 149 million in 1949 when surpluses started to overflow our bins, and today, according to the Bureau of the Census, our population totals almost 192 million persons.

Here is an interesting paradox. In 1949 we were producing wheat, for instance, on almost 76 million acres and worrying about the prosperity and welfare of the wheat farmer. Today, despite the fact that our population has increased by over 43 million persons since 1949, we are producing wheat on only 53¼ million acres of overall effective allotments, and we are still worrying about the prosperity and welfare of the wheat farmer. In 1949 we were producing cotton on almost 27½ million acres. Today, despite the 43 million population increase since then, we have reduced our cotton acreage by 10 million and are worrying about the prosperity and welfare of the cotton producer. On the face of it—something is wrong.

We can say, of course, it is more effective fertilizers. We can point to automation and to new machinery. We can assert our

ever-increasing efficiency—a product of research and progress. All of this is good, and we should be thankful and proud of such achievements. But the fact remains that something is wrong; the welfare of our farmers has not kept pace with these achievements. Somehow, our producers of today—and more important, those we hope will be our producers of tomorrow—are being made to bear the brunt of this elusive ever-normal granary.

Why should we cuss the corporations of industry as having no soul, no pity, no conscience, when we have turned our own destiny over to political fabrications which quite obviously have no soul, pity, conscience, or, I fear, brains?

A classic example of what I mean can be found in the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation. This executive agency is not guilty of anything—except being in itself inept, not alert, hogtied, and wholly incapable of the imaginative magic that Mr. McNary and Mr. Haugen must have assumed for their brainchild. In an effort to breathe some life into this dead hand of Government, Mr. JAMIE WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, and chairman of our House Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations, set up a sales office for the Commodity Credit Corporation, to ventilate it and to clear its hostage bins, warehouses, and elevators of cobwebs. And I helped him.

I am happy to say that I have served with Mr. Whitten for a score of years, and because of my seniority I am now his minority counterpart on this subcommittee. We are not a policy or legislative committee, but through the years we have made valuable contributions in this area. Both Mr. Whitten and I have been ever cognizant that price supports depend on an orderly marketing of commodity credit stocks. We recognize that while price supports are in assurance to growers, they act as both a ceiling and a floor to prices, depending on their control in relation to market supply and consumer demand.

Your own neighbor, Frank LeRoux, is now doing a commendable job as Sales Manager of the Commodity Credit Corporation. And, thankfully, our agricultural closets have been cleared of some moldy tobacco (though at a loss); cotton has been sold in world competition (again, at a loss); only in wheat have we done well in competing in the world market as far as dollar sales go, particularly in Japan. However, we must remember that under Public Law 480, which is more or less a gratuity program, we are moving a lot of wheat for which the returns in usable money are minimal. (Four years ago, I toured various countries which received shipments of wheat from our Nation under the auspices of Public Law 480, and I know from firsthand knowledge that this program has made many friends for our country. In fact, I rank it as the most worthwhile of the enormous millions we expend on foreign aid.)

Although the establishment of a Commodity Credit Corporation sales office has eased the situation somewhat, it is still not a complete or a totally satisfactory answer to our marketing problems. One man, the Sales Manager, has an enormous responsibility. He must sell commodities which were purchased by the Corporation for the very purpose of keeping them off the active open market. He must decide when to offer them, while giving full consideration to a myriad of highly complex factors which in themselves affect the market. The inevitable result is that most often the political tendency is followed, that is, to err on the safe side. The Sales Manager is the victim of a political-commercial stalemate; the shadow of Government holdings looms large, so naturally there is caution in the open market. The Sales Manager is suspect wherever he moves; one thoughtless word by anyone closely connected to the Commodity Credit Corporation can cause tremendous consequences. It is indeed a sorry situation, and because of it, we have stalemate twice compounded.

It is time, I think, for cold thinking and serious searching of the facts—not a blind insistence on what was, but what is, truly needed to give us, as farmers, an even chance for access to all this American abundance. That is why last Thursday's action on the Marketing Commission looms large in my hopes for improvement in every aspect of agricultural marketing.

Meanwhile, let us remember that world agricultural production continues to increase (too often, I fear, through the help of our own agencies—our recent Trade Expansion Act is designed to court and encourage imports, you know), and as a result of this increasing world production, imports of world products are becoming an increasing threat to our domestic markets. So, in this leveling of mental mountains, this is another one we should bring to the Great White Fathers in Washington.

Referring again to the Agricultural Act of 1935, there is a section in it gathering so much dust it is almost forgotten. This section No. 22, calls for the Secretary of Agriculture to set in motion Government actions to protect American agriculture from the unfair invasion of competitive agricultural imports—actions such as tariffs or quotas. Well, we all know that we have such imports. We have implored, begged, pleaded, even prayed, for implementation of this law, but to date, there has been none. Those of us serving the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommitee are so concerned about the urgent need for control of excessive agricultural imports that we included in our report on the agriculture appropriations bill a complete printing of the section 22 language. We stated, and I quote: "It is impossible to maintain a balance between supply and demand through buying up of surpluses—using section 32 funds or otherwise—when unlimited amounts can enter the country from abroad in direct competition with American production."

The American market is the best in the world, and the American farmer is the biggest factor in making it so. If, under the urge to create greater world trade, the American farmer is asked to share the American market with foreign imports, he is certainly entitled to know the exact amount of that sharing. This means quotas.

We still hope for results. However, a recent press report quoted President Johnson as sugegsting that our excess beef be sold in Europe. I assume that rather than controlling excessive agricultural imports, the President merely recommends that we try to sell our excess domestic cattle on the foreign market. I don't think our cattle farmers will look too kindly on this suggestion.

There are other clouds, of coure, as there are other mental mountains we must level. But never forget this: If, among us patrons of husbandry, there is clear thinking in our Subordinates, if there is concurrence in our Pomonas, and if there is agreement in our State Grange, our voice will be heard by those who should hear it. If this voice is sound and progressively corrective, it can and undoubtedly will prevail.

Now we come to a lake we must cross. The water is rough but passable. Referrring again to the testimony of my neighbor, Orville Freeman, before the House Agriculture Committee in regard to establishing a National Food Marketing Commission, he mentioned, not once but numerous times, "our access to abundance at bargain prices." He attributed this "abundance at bargain prices" to the production of the small farm (or, as astutely referred to in political circles, the family farm).

Well, I agree with Orville on his concern for your welfare and for the betterment of the farming industry as a whole. But I do not agree with him that the small farm is responsible for this "abundance." Let's look at the facts. While small farms constitute 78 percent of our industry, they produce only 28 percent of our food and fiber. Actually, we can credit our abundance to a mere 22 percent of our total farms, who produce 72 percent of our food and fiber. We may not like these facts, but we have to live with them, and it is my opinion that we can achieve more by facing them and conducting ourselves accordingly.

The problem of the small farm has long concerned me. For 10 years now, I have been urging the Department of Agriculture to do research on what constitutes an "economic unit" in farming. And, as a result of much concerted effort toward this end (they didn't want to take it up and I had to twist their arm a bit), the Department published its first findings in 1957. In February of 1962, they came out with this revised pamphlet (hold it up), entitled "Resource Requirements on Farms for Specified Operator Incomes." If you are interested, it is available through the Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture as "Agricultural Economic Report No. 5"—or easier yet, through my office. The pamphlet spells out the investment, acreage, and other factors required to return net incomes of $2,500, $3,500, $4,500, and $5,500 a year on selected types of farms around the Nation. This research, incidentally, is to be continued.

According to the figures in this pamphlet, a beef produced in south central Oklahoma requires an investment in excess of $353,000 to assure him a net income of $5,500 a year. A cotton-wheat farm in the Rolling Plains area of Oklahoma requires an investment of $282,408 to net $5,500 a year; an apple orchard right here in Wenatchee requires an investment of $119,000 to net $5,500 a year. Cotton, in the Mississippi Delta, requires nearly $68,000 invested in a farm to produce a net annual income of $5,500. The very cheapest investment to produce $5,500 net a year is roughly $36,000—this figure is for a dairy farm in the Piedmont area of South Carolina.

The farmer today faces hard economic facts, and he is entitled to every break in the book.

Here are a few more examples: You might be interested in making $2,500 a year on a farm. Well, on a dairy ranch in central Utah you would need an investment of $56,000; a hog-beef farm in southern Iowa would stand you just over $43,000; the Mississippi cotton farm would require nearly $29,000. To net $2,500 a year, a wheat farm in the Palouse area takes an investment of $38,000 and to net the grand sum of $5,500, it would require an investment of $92,500. And so it goes.

The sad fact remains that farming is expensive, hard work, and for the small farmer, far from rewarding—unless he derives his satisfaction solely from sustaining the ability of the consumer to "enjoy abundance at bargain prices."

The fact is that your farming neighbor, if he is to be successful, is no longer a clod-busting yokel. He is a businessman of the first water. I think we must treat him as such, deal with him as such, and write our laws and issue our regulations with the thought that the agricultural producer is a mature, capable American.

The fact is that the American farmer must mechanize in order to stay in production, and if he mechanizes, he must have an investment in acreage and equipment that will justify mechanization. This means larger farms and it means heavy spending for tractors and other farm equipment and facilities.

This has been apparent for many years; it has been apparent to the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations for more than two decades. We believe that an all-important function of the Farmers Home Administion is to help the promising and deserving

young man of good character, who desires to remain in farming, to acquire this so-called "economic unit." Toward this end, Representative WHITTEN and I joined hands 2 years ago and achieved increases in the loan levels of the Farmers Home Administration for those properties which qualified for economic assistance. As far as I am concerned, this is the only practical way in which we can help the small farmer—it makes little sense to loan money to a man in a losing venture only to have him go broke faster.

To me, the American farmer does not need a "wet nurse." He needs to be treated as the mature American that he is. If Government must enter his business, let it be as a partner, rather than a "master"; let our farmers in on the planning and they will do their part. Don't blindfold them with fallacies at the takeoff and then give them stark vision at the crash landing.

Some of our assumptions need deep analysis that we may seek, find and inaugurate wiser policies for the good of all of us. There are those, of course, who point the finger of scorn at what we spend on American agriculture. They forget that in our great country, we do have plenty—thanks to the American farmer. However, if our programs be futile, or if our controls stifle the American farmer, that is another matter. If the high aims and promises of the planning advanced in our Agricultural Act of 1935 are not being met, if despite controls and vast increases in our population, the "ever-normal granary" remains elusive—then, I say, we had better take a new and agonizing look.

If "managed abundance" means only the consumer's "access to abundance at bargain prices," I, as one of your Representatives in the U.S. Congress, call for a fresh start—with more activity in the open market and less reliance on bins and Government regulations. Above all, we need to enhance the tenant farmer's chances to enlarge his equity to the end that he can own the land he tills.

Our farm economists are analyzing these factors today, and I believe our farmers, too, are being properly quizzical. It is manifest to me that the farmer of tomorrow is entitled to more than he is getting today from political largess. Every mouth he feeds, everybody he clothes, every soul he shelters should be mighty glad he lives. Let him continue to serve as faithfully as he has done, but, I say, let him also have access to this great American abundance.

The War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, every authority that has written or spoken with respect to the war on poverty has had something to say about the great need for education. No matter what authority on poverty you approach you will find that education is generally accepted as one of the most powerful forces that we have at our command in the fight to give all the disadvantaged some opportunity to obtain adequate food, housing, medicine, jobs, and opportunity to escape the ranks of the poor.

The education that is most needed, it is now beginning to appear, is for the millions of Americans who live above the level of poverty.

The poor have become less and less visible in recent years. Many of them are over 65 years of age and not in main stream of life. Many of them are children and are not represented in these halls by lobbyists or representative speakers.

Many of them live on small farms, in Appalachia, in the area of the upper Great Lakes, and in the Ozark Plateau. There are no lobbyists here for them. Many more of them live in the slums of our cities and most of these are not represented here.

But within a few blocks or a few miles of this building, sometimes almost within the shadow of this Capitol and certainly on both sides of the street as the Members of this Congress drive back and forth from the Capitol to their homes are hundreds and hundreds of people living in slums, half starved, poorly housed, and depending in many cases for their livelihood on stealth and robbery or other crime.

It is of these hundreds on the threshold of the Capitol that I wish to speak today. I am moved to do this by recent statements in this chamber that the war on poverty is an election gimmick.

The 1960 census reports that some 479,000 families live in the standard metropolitan statistical area of Washington, D.C., which includes parts of both Maryland and Virginia. Of this number 10.5 percent have incomes of less than $3,000 a year. This figure is considerably lower than the figure of 15.1 percent for the same class of people over the entire United States. Those earning from $3,000 to $9,999 in the District number 68.0 percent of the total as contrasted with 66.0 percent for the Nation as a whole and those who earn over $10,000 are 30.5 percent of the total in the Washington area and only 18.8 percent for all standard metropolitan statistical areas throughout the Nation including 28,620,000 persons. From this it can be seen that Washington, D.C., is in a strong position so far as statistics go. This is further supported by the fact that unemployment here is considerably less than it is in most areas.

However, these census figures 4 years old do not tell all of the story. While the census figures are undoubtedly correct in showing that these number of persons in this area receiving more than $10,000 a year are nearly twice as numerous here as in other cities, it should be remembered that although the total for families in the district receiving less than $3,000 a year is only 10.5 percent for the area, the equivalent figure for nonwhites is 23.7 percent, and that while 30.5 percent of the residents of the area earn over $10,000 a year, the nonwhite population in this bracket is 10.2 percent.

The white population of the district earning less than $3,000 a year is only 6.6 percent while the nonwhite figure for the same income bracket is 24.2 percent.

In most sociological writing the figure of $3,000 a year has been taken as the level at which real poverty begins. We may conclude then that one-fourth of the nonwhite population of this area is living in poverty. But this again does not tell the entire story.

With respect to housing in this city, there are some areas within 2 miles of this Capitol Building where more than 35.5 percent of the housing is deteriorating and dilapidated. Considerable progress has been made in some parts of the city in urban redevelopment and in the wise use of Federal funds to replace slums with low-cost housing. Much remains to be done. The task has only commenced.

Sixteen cities in the country are in the 500,000 to 1 million population class. They are Washington, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas, Houston, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, and St. Louis. Washington has the fewest automobiles per hundred residents of any of these cities with 43.7 cars per hundred families.

San Diego is the only city ahead of Washington in the percentage of housing units with all plumbing facilities. Washington has 84.9 percent and San Diego 89.2 percent. St. Louis is the lowest city in this category with 68.9 percent. Fourteen of the 16 communities are ahead of Washington in TV ownership. We are second highest in average expenditure for school pupils with $434.45 per student, per year. San Francisco is ahead with $454. San Antonio is the lowest of cities with figures available in this category with $225 a year spent per pupil.

Only Dallas with 3.3 unemployed is lower in unemployment than Washington with 4.1 percent. Highest unemployment in the list is Buffalo with 8.5 percent. Washington is fifth from the top of the list in the median school years completed with 11.7 the score. San Diego is best educated with a median score of 12.2 years, and St. Louis is lowest with 8.8 years.

Washington crime is increasing in the felony categories of robbery, aggravated assault, and housebreaking, all crimes of poverty. Criminal homicides have increased over a 5-year period but have declined the last year. Rape and attempted rape are down a slight number in recent years but grand larceny and auto thefts continue to increase. Total of crimes last year was 15,191 compared to 13,274 in 1962 and 10,163 in 1959.

Socal diseases are widely prevalent in Washington. Of the 16 cities reporting Washington led the list with 1,047 cases in 1963. Next highest was St. Louis with 672 cases. New Orleans was lowest with 261. Washington was second highest in the number of cases of syphillis with 245. Cleveland lowest with 74.

The Department of Public Welfare of Washington, D.C., was aiding 48,421 persons on the last day of fiscal 1963, June 30. This was 6,968 fewer persons than were receiving aid 1 year previous. Of this number 15,262 were adults in their own homes, 1,336 were adults in institutions, 27,911 were children in their own homes, and 3,912 were children in care away from their homes.

Surplus foods were distributed as 12 different commodities to the amount of $2,280,890 at retail prices. The case load for this distribution was approximately

11,000 cases involving more than 40,000 persons, a reduction of approximately 10 percent over the year before.

The statistical side of the picture as outlined above is a long way from telling the human side of the story. The human side of the story deals with people. It gives faces and bodies to the statistics and presents the human problems involved. For the true picture of the human story, I am indebted to a study of some 50 families here in Washington, D.C., conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research Inc., of Washington, D.C.

The purpose of the BSSR report aims at two goals:

A delineation of some of the effects of termination (of relief benefits) and a general description of the manner in which 50 poor families meet some of the problems of day-to-day existence.

The report points out that "the termination of public assistance did in general constitute a crisis for these families."

The impact of termination relegates the family to a substandard level of existence.

Immediately after termination of public assistance, income drops almost to zero for some time, until, about 8 months later, the family income seems to be about two-thirds of its original level. This period appears to be one of gradual partial recovery, during which short-term help patterns may be established, and money or noncash contributions from friends or relatives may be obtained. Meanwhile, payments for such things as rent and utilities are deferred in order to provide. If all goes well, the family is not evicted, and is able to establish a precarious survival system.

Many of the cases studied illustrate one of the most important differences between public assistance and nonpublic assistance.

Cash income may have been only 33 percent higher before, but it was regular and came from a reliable source. Current income, on the other hand, is gathered pretty much from day to day, and depends almost entirely on whether the family can make arrangements to get help from a private agency, or can find someone who is willing temporarily to help.

What this means is that the family survives only on a day-to-day basis—this is hardly consistent with the American promise of a better life for all people.

The hardship and privations that have been imposed on some of these families is almost beyond belief of such things happening in the Capital of the United States. The BSSR reports one particular case which describes the constant financial distress typical of the Capital's poor in the case of a woman whose "electricity had long been turned off, her rent was about 2 weeks overdue, she owed another utilities bill and she was due to make two time payments. The previous day a man had come to turn off still another utility, she said, and she had had to pay her back bill to him in order to stop the action. She stated that this came out of the money she was trying to gather to pay the rent, and she was thus set back further. In other words, the pattern seems to be to meet immediate demands, if possible, and to hope to be able to put the less insistent ones off temporarily. This is not so much a matter of slowly catching up on debts, but rather permanent debt delinquency, in which a small amount of money is juggled to meet shifts in the locus of demand from time to time."

This is the plight of residents of the Capital of the wealthiest nation in the world.

We also find the case of one woman with children "without utilities for a year ran a wire for lighting under the wall to a neighbor's wall socket. She and her children cannot eat hot food unless they are invited to a grown daughter's home, but neither do they have pressure from utilities companies for payment."

The illustrations in the BSSR report of the living conditions of these families include comments on housing, food, clothing, and medical care.

Housing:

Most of the families live in the type of housing * * * characteristic of low-income populations * * *. Frequent observation was made of ratholes, roach infestation, needs for structural repairs * * * the assessment by the fieldworkers suggest that most of these dwellings would be classified as substandard.

Overcrowding of living areas is consistent throughout the families studied, and there were found frequent situations typified as in cases such as one woman and "her seven children and her sister who sleep in one room; or the mother and her five children who sleep together in a room."

Food: This basic item was found to be a grave problem and aggravated by the termination of public assistance.

Fifty-four percent of all respondents reported that they "often" have to "give up important things so that there will be enough food in the house" * * * "important things" include clothings, shoes, laundry soap, * * * as well as food for adult members of the family.

While the BSSR report did not uncover any cases of outright starvation, there were found cases of malnutrition, problems of frequent colds, instances such as the "woman who had to feed herself and her six children on nothing but oatmeal for over a month."

And a general state of waning health due to inadequate nourishment.

Medical care: Free care provided for low-income families in District medical facilities has done much to mitigate medical care problems for these families. However, in the BSSR study of 328 individuals, 21 percent were said to have had at least 1 illness of a week or more within the past 2 years—not including those who suffer chronic illnesses or childbirths—and 15 persons had at least 1 bout of more or less serious mental illness. The real problem in the medical area is not so much treatment, but the general state of health for those people that makes them especially susceptible to illness. One child "died from pneumonia—said to have been due to lack of sufficient heat in the apartment during the winter—cases of malnutrition or abnormally low resistance to virus due to lack of adequate food were reported. Many respondents described chronic disease or disability in their families, including defective vision, nervous rashes, mental retardation, diabetes, chronic anemia, heart defects, bone ailments, tuberculosis, asthma, and epilepsy."

These ailments being caused or aggravated by substandard family diet.

Clothing: While clothing was found to be somewhat less acute than food problems, it was discovered that "clothing is one of the 'important things' [sacrificed] in order to have enough food in the house; indeed, it seems to be one of the first things to go."

Naturally, the consequence of this sacrifice is psychological as well as physical, for a child will naturally be ashamed to have only one major item of dress for the entire school week. Lack of warm clothing in the winter will lead to frequent trouble with colds and winter-associated illnesses, with time lost from school and/or work. Fortunately "clothing, unlike food, is not a problem experienced as an absolute emergency by most [families]. Used clothing is acquired in several different ways and sometimes with sufficient ease to offset emergencies."

The Bureau of Social Science Research concluded its report with some very illuminating remarks which I would like to quote into the RECORD:

The major role that public assistance appears to have played in the lives of these 50 families was to provide them with a rare element of financial stability in a generally unstable pattern of life. Public assistance * * * did not raise them economically above a subsistence level or provide them with a new way of living * * *. The termination of assistance led to a series of impermanent solutions * * * to keep (the family) together and a roof over their heads * * *. The price the families paid * * * was an increase in the precariousness of their stratagems for dealing with poverty and a decrease in their ability to plan their lives rationally.

Most of the families studied by the BSSR could be any of the many millions of poverty-stricken families in the United States. Why a particular political party should attack any effort to improve the lot of these people, a political ploy, is beyond comprehension. Surely no political party in the United States wants to see people continue to live in substandard conditions, inadequately housed, clothed, and fed. If opposition to a sound program to alleviate the living conditions of the Nation's poor, to provide a means of learning a trade or ability to work, to provide the opportunity for the poor to learn how to care for themselves, is opposition only to bargain for something, then that political party can be described only as most callous in attitude and concern for the poor of the country. As the BSSR report muses:

One wonders what will happen to these [families] when the limited resources of private agencies can no longer be tapped and when the possibility of debt manipulation comes to an end.

What will happen will be national tragedy that we can ill afford. For me, those who claim that programs to eliminate poverty in the United States as only politically inspired must be making the claim only to make into a political issue an imperative program. The only people to gain from the beclouding of such a program are those who would offer opposition only for the purpose of

political bargaining—not in effort to find the best possible solutions for the social problems that afflict the Nation now and will even more so in the future if we do not attack the problem of poverty in the United States.

Dwight Macdonald writing in the New Yorker, January 19, 1963, presents the problems of the poor in terms that have a peculiar significance for the Members of this body and I quote:

"Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime," Aristotle wrote. This is now a half-truth—the last half. Our poor are alienated; they don't consider themselves part of society. But precisely because they don't they are not politically dangerous. It is people with a stake in the country who make revolutions. The best—though by no means the only—reason for worrying about the other America is that its existence should make us feel uncomfortable.

The effect of Government policy on poverty has two quite distinct aspects. One is the indirect effect of the stimulation of the economy by Federal spending. Such stimulation—though by wartime demands rather than Government policy—has in the past produced a prosperity that did cut down American poverty by almost two-thirds. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Gailbraith that it would not have a comparable effect on present-day poverty.

He underestimates the massiveness of American poverty, but he is right when he says there is now a hard core of the specially disadvantaged—because of age, race, environment, physical or mental defects, etc.—that would not be significantly reduced by general prosperity. (Although I think the majority of our present poor would benefit, if only by a reduction in the present high rate of unemployment.)

To do something about this hard core, a second line of Government policy would be required; namely, direct intervention to help the poor. We have had this since the New Deal, but it has always been grudging and miserly, and we have never accepted the principle that every citizen should be provided, at State expense, with a reasonable minimum standard of living regardless of any other considerations. It should not depend on earnings, as does social security, which continues the inequalities and inequities and so tends to keep the poor forever poor. Nor should it exclude millions of our poorest citizens because they lack the political pressure to force their way in the welfare state. The governmental obligation to provide, out of taxes, such a minimum living standard for all who need it should be taken as much for granted as free public schools have always been in our history.

It may be objected that the economy cannot bear the cost, and certainly costs must be calculated. But the point is not the calculation but the principle. Statistics—and especially statistical forecasts—can be pushed one way or the other. Who can determine in advance to what extent the extra expense of giving our 40 million poor enough income to rise above the poverty line would be offset by the lift to the economy from their increased purchasing power? We really don't know. Nor did we know what the budgetary effects would be when we established the principle of free public education. The rationale then was that all citizens should have an equal chance of competing for a better status. The rationale now is different: That every citizen has a right to become or remain part of our society because if this right is denied, as it is in the case of at least one-fourth of our citizens, it impoverishes us all. Since 1932, "the government"—local, State, and Federal—has recognized a responsibility to provide its citizens with a subsistence living. Apples will never again be sold on the street by jobless accountants, it seems safe to predict, nor will any serious political leader ever again suggest that share-the-work and local charity can solve the problem of unemployment. "Nobody starves" in this country any more, but, like every social statistic, this is a tricky business. Nobody starves, but who can measure the starvation, not to be calculated by daily intake of proteins and calories, that reduces life for many of our poor to a long vestibule to death? Nobody starves, but every fourth citizen rubs along on a standard of living that is below what Mr. Harrington defines as "the minimal levels of health, housing, food, and education that our present stage of scientific knowledge specifies as necessary for life as it is now lived in the United States." Nobody starves, but a fourth of us are excluded from the common social existence. Not to be able to afford a movie or a glass of beer is a kind of starvation—if everybody else can.

The problem is obvious: the persistence of mass poverty in a prosperous country. The solution is also obvious: To provide, out of taxes, the kind of subsidies that have always been given to the public schools (not to mention the police and fire departments and the post office)—subsidies that would raise incomes above the poverty level. Until the act of justice that would make this possible has been performed by the three-quarters of Americans who are not poor—until then the shame of the "other America" will continue.

I submit this material for the careful consideration of the Members of the House of Representatives and hope they will feel that the present approach to the problem of poverty by President Johnson is not an election year "gimmick."

American Merchant Marine: "Come, Let Us Reason Together"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, among the many speeches delivered throughout the country within the past in commemoration of National Maritime Day one of the most outstanding was that of Hon. Nicholas Johnson, the new Maritime Administrator, at the Maritime Day dinner of the Propeller Club, port of New Orleans.

To me, one of the most impressive features of Mr. Johnson's comprehensive review of the needs, the problems, and the prospects of the American merchant marine as an essential element of our economy and security was the broad and firm grasp of this complicated industry which he has acquired in the 2½ months he has been actively on the job. It is rare indeed for a person, no matter how able, to feel and become at home in a difficult high-level administrative position in the Government when he must deal with complex subject matter alien to his background.

From my acquaintance with Mr. Johnson since his appointment on March 2 of this year and upon careful reading of his thoughtful remarks as presented in his first major speech, I believe he is one of the rare exceptions. I believe he will make a major contribution to the leadership which our Government must provide if our national maritime policies are to be carried out soundly, strongly, and effectively.

Nicholas Johnson shows his understanding of those policies and their significance to the national welfare. He is also humbly aware of the magnitude of the problems involved. All who are interested in the success of the American merchant marine should heed his invitation to "Join in building an American merchant marine that can surpass any in the past because it is tailored to meet the needs of our Nation's future."

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Johnson's remarks follow:

A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY
(By Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator)

("We have * * * a unique opportunity and obligation to prove the success of our system, to disprove those cynics and critics at home and abroad who question our purpose and our competence."—President Lyndon B. Johnson, state of the Union message, January 9, 1964.)

On occasions such as this, the speaker normally expresses his pleasure at being present. That is no hardship, for I am delighted to return to New Orleans to participate in this annual commemoration of National Maritime Day in the Crescent City. I am delighted, too, at the opportunity to meet so many of the leaders—and their ladies—of shipping and shipbuilding in one of the Nation's truly great ports.

When I call New Orleans a "truly great port," I mean it not as flattery, but as a statement of fact. We of the Maritime Administration—both my staff in Washington and Tom King's fine group here in the Gulf Coast District—know that New Orleans is both a great and an expanding port. For the past 2 days you have hospitably shown me your ships, shipyards, and cargo-handling operations—and it is a good sight to see.

There is every reason it should be, for in this area you have a large share of this Nation's shipping and shipbuilding talent—and, of course, you have the tradition. But more and more in seeing your port's facilities and talking to many of you, I have come to feel that tradition for you is not an end in itself, but a stepping stone to the future.

It is a future symbolized in an office furnished with both modern desk and rolltop.

For our future in large part can only be achieved through your own determination and your own making—your own blend of the wisdom of yesterday with the reality of today and the dreams of tomorrow.

At the same time New Orleans is achieving its future, the Nation advances into an even greater period of expansion, of responsibility and achievement under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is on a stable domestic economy that a port such as New Orleans builds, and it is on our foreign trade that New Orleans and all the other ports of our Nation rely. It is axiomatic that such trade is dependent on ships—fully laden ships that carry the Nation's products to the markets of the world; ships that return with the raw materials on which the productive capacity of our farms and factories depend.

The cargo—the ship—the port. These are the three ingredients, the three essentials to trade. They are the triangle upon which trade is built. Certainly, there are other factors that enter into commerce—such as international banking and insurance, and these your port stands ready to provide—but basically there is the golden triangle of trade: the product, the ship, the port.

The Maritime Administration can, does, and should play a major part in all these areas.

Proper port facilities are an essential requirement for successful ship operation. Our port development division in MarAd offers our Nation's ports advice and counsel in their plans for expansion or modernization. Maritime is placing much more emphasis on port activity than ever before.

The head of our port division only recently returned from the devastated port areas of Alaska, where he not only assessed the damage to facilities but aided in initiating plans for building new and improved docks and piers capable of handling the anticipated growth of our 49th State for several decades to come.

But I suspect it is not ports that you expect me to speak to this evening. It is more, I imagine, the subject of ships and shipbuilding—with some comments on policy and efforts at prophecy.

This I shall attempt insofar as it is possible. But let us face a fact of which both you and I are well aware. Put simply, it is this—as of tonight I have held the dual office of Maritime Administrator and Chairman of the Maritime Subsidy Board for a period of exactly 83 days. True, in that time I have gotten my feet wet. Indeed, what with grain ship boycotts, Public Law 480 cargoes, C–4 ship evaluations, ship construction and operating subsidies, grievance and tripartite committees, the renewed voyage of the NS *Savannah*, and untold other subjects requiring study, development of positions and actions, I would say that, anatomically, more than my feet are wet.

Apart from the individual problems each day provides in dealing with the complex dual industry of shipping and shipbuilding, however, I have attempted to apply myself to the overall problems that face the American merchant marine.

With this in mind, rather than attempting to enunciate major policies or "crystal ball" the future, let me state some of the problems as I now see them, let you know something of my thinking—and ask you to give your thought to them, and give me the benefit of your thinking.

First, however, let me tell you briefly some of President Johnson's thoughts in regard to the American Merchant Marine because they play a vital role in our plans. In the first place, it is clear that the President has a deep and abiding interest in U.S. shipping and shipbuilding as a constructive part of our competitive economy.

He has demonstrated his interest in the future of the American Merchant Marine in many ways. One of these was his recent participation from the White House in the keel laying of the *Louise Lykes*, built by Avondale for Lykes Bros. He was personally responsible, as you know, for the resolution of the recent boycott of wheat shipments, which led to the establishment of the Grievance Committee on Cargo Preference Administration, and the tripartite Maritime Advisory Committee. He demonstrated that interest in part when he selected the Maritime Administration for one of his earliest appointments. And although I stand in awe of his ability to do it, I can testify to the fact that his is a continuing interest, not only in these matters but in all things relating to improving the maritime stature of our Nation.

One of President Johnson's most recent pronouncements, his 1964 Maritime Day Proclamation, really speaks for itself. Let me read you these excerpts.

The President first says:

"Our country, in facing the challenges and opportunities of rapidly changing and expanding world trade, looks upon the sealanes as highways of international goodwill and opportunity. The Nation looks to the maritime industry, working in cooperation with the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce and other Government agencies to provide maritime programs and guidance that will best serve all Americans."

He goes on to say:

"The American merchant fleet is an essential element of our economy which provides employment for seamen, shipbuilders, shoreside workers, and those in supporting industries, and which, by transporting our products to world markets abroad, significantly advances our efforts to achieve an equitable international balance of trade and payments. The ships and men of the U.S. merchant marine stand ready to carry our flag abroad in peaceful competition today, or to deploy our seapower to the shores of any adversary in time of conflict."

With all the prestige of his office behind it, the President then makes this statement:

"A strong merchant marine is essential to the economy and security of the free world, and merits the respect and support of our business community and the citizens of our Nation."

As can be seen, President Johnson fully recognizes the need for an American merchant marine capable of serving our expanding economy in our trade with the world. He also recognizes many of the problems that beset American shipping—but he does not recognize or accept any of these as being insurmountable.

In company with the President, neither do I.

Our course may not be easy. But I do say this: the maritime industry's challenges can—they must—they will be faced in a direct and creative manner. Sometimes the approach to their solution may appear novel. Often it will be, for it is a fresh viewpoint that we want and need. I do not mean that the advice and experience of those who have lived with these problems will not be sought or heeded. I assure you that it will be—indeed, many of you who are here tonight have already contributed to our new dialog, as have your counterparts in other sections of the country both in industry and labor, in shipping and shipbuilding.

Not let us look at some of our challenges (or problems)—as they appear to a new Maritime Administrator after 83 days.

One thing immediately apparent to me is the change which has taken place in the size of our trade and its composition, particularly the shift from general to bulk cargoes.

At the turn of the century the greater part of our commerce with the world was in the exportation of manufactured goods and petroleum. Our imports were limited to a relatively few luxury items and a small amount of such things as tin, rubber, spices, coffee, and hemp.

Even in 1938, just before World War II, our foreign trade totaled less than 75 million long tons. About half of our exports at that time were petroleum products carried by tankers. Exports and imports of dry bulk cargoes were very small, while general cargo comprised nearly 40 percent of our total foreign trade.

Today these figures have completely changed. Our foreign trade totals about 300 million tons—an increase of 300 percent. Yet U.S.-flag ships carry only 9 percent of this trade. Our tanker exports have decreased to a minimum, while imports have increased 1,000 percent. Our dry bulk cargoes have increased by 750 percent—most of it carried in foreign bottoms.

If these differences are startling, our prospects for the next 20 years are even more so. U.S. oceanborne foreign trade is expected to double. Our expanding economy will need huge quantities of bulk dry cargo imports: 120 million tons of minerals, agricultural and timber products; 230 million tons of liquid cargoes; and 48 million tons of general cargo imports of manufactured goods and finished products.

We expect our exports to be made up of about 140 million tons of coal, grain, and other agricultural and mineral products, 17 million tons of liquid cargoes, and about 60 million tons of general cargoes.

We are thus faced with the problem of providing a fleet that will be adequate not only for today's trade, but also for the trade of 25 years from now, within the economic life of ships now being built.

Nevertheless, most of our current shipbuilding efforts under the 1936 act are directed to providing liner ships to carry general cargoes, for at this time only the subsidized liner operators have a long-range replacement program underway. In accordance with their contracts with the Maritime Administration, the 15 subsidized lines—with a total of 318 ships—have already built and put into operation 8 new combination ships and 75 freighters, with an additional 36 ships under construction on the first of this month. This leaves a total of 200 ships still to be replaced. Based upon the present building program of 17 or 18 ships per year, the subsidized fleet will be completely replaced by the end of the 1970's.

Another problem that becomes evident at first glance is the state of our domestic shipping. Though protected from foreign competition, it receives no Government operating aid and is in far from satisfactory condition.

And whatever may be the role of intercoastal shipping in our economy, it is obvious that areas like Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico are absolutely dependent upon shipping as their only source of supply.

In the last 24 years our domestic fleet has declined by 62 percent. The number of ships in the domestic Great Lakes trades has declined by 24 percent in the last decade.

That trend must be reversed, and the Maritime Administration staff is hard at work on the urgent problem of finding imaginative, practical remedies. For one thing, we believe that dramatic improvements in efficiency and design of both ships and terminals must be found for highly specialized domestic trades. It is only through such means that ships can compete for our expanding domestic transportation, particularly in the face of technological improvements made by rail and highway carriers, and against the constant threat of domestic encroachment by foreign carriers.

Maritime is calling on management, labor, and shippers to help in the development of a truly superior domestic shipping service, which will attract new capital, provide new jobs, promote healthy competition, and result in substantial savings to the American shipper.

As for the oceangoing nonsubsidized tramp fleet, we are hopeful that such programs as the exchange of good reserve fleet vessels for the less economic ships of the nonsubsidized operators will assist to upgrade and modernize the tramp fleet at a reasonable cost. We have already turned over 37 ships to private operators, including 9 C–4 troopships just exchanged, and hope that another 9 C–4-type troopships will soon be put into domestic and bulk services. This program will also result in more than $70 million worth of conversion work to be placed in U.S. shipyards to complete the conversions of the C–4's.

Our title XI mortgage insurance program has also assisted in the building of 26 new or converted tankers and 54 other ships for both subsidized and nonsubsidized operators. But we still need to develop modern, competitive, highly productive ships to handle dry bulk cargoes in our trade. It would be highly desirable to develop some U.S.-flag tonnage that could compete in our foreign trade for some of these cargoes.

Do you know that inspiring line from the delightful children's classic "The Little Engine That Could," the chant of the puffing little engine climbing an impossibly steep hill: "I think I can, I think I can, I think I can?" Well, I think we can do this shipping job.

Any nation that can build a satellite and orbit an astronaut around the earth ought to be able to build—and operate—a competitive dry bulk carrier, or any other kind of ship. And if we competitively can do the job we economically cannot afford not to do it.

We can help in development of both the dry bulk and tanker fleets by encouraging the fullest competitive utilization of advanced technology, and through financial support such as mortgage insurance where this is justified by potential profit. And however few men would be needed to man such additional new ships would be that many more men contributing to the Nation's economy, their own dignity, and a merchant marine with a future.

Another problem area certainly exists in the state of the merchant shipbuilding industry. There are 21 major shipyards in the United States with an estimated capacity of about 129 merchant ships a year. There are at this time 45 merchant ships under construction or conversion in 6 of these yards. The Department of the Navy uses about 18 percent of the total ways available in these yards, yet in 1963, 65 percent of the dollar value of work completed in commercial yards was Navy work.

In the past 5 years a total of 121 commercial ships have been ordered, of which only 17 were built without construction subsidy. Thirty-five contracts for a total of 111 ships have gone to only 10 shipyards. The other 11 yards have depended on Navy contracts, ship repair and major conversion, inland waterway vessels, and other than ship work. In the last 3 years, 3 old-line shipbuilding companying have discontinued operation of major yards.

Even within the group of 10 yards which have participated in the long-range replacement program, there is a trend toward further concentration of available work, with five yards holding all the contracts for the 36 ships now under construction, and two of these yards having contracts for 23 of these ships.

Where does that leave our shipbuilding capability? One quick and obvious solution would be to build more ships. But more ships is not alone the answer. What we must strive for are more competitively built ships. Perhaps the Government should consider assisting yardowners to improve their present yards, or build new ones. But only if everyone concerned is willing to contribute to a truly economic undertaking. Most of the techniques are already available to us, if we would but put them to work.

Furthermore, a ship in layup provides no jobs for seamen, for longshoremen, for checkers, for clerical staffs in steamship offices. A ship without cargoes is an economic liability, an unneeded luxury none can afford.

And so to build more ships, we need the cargoes to send them out "full and down," or "down and out," as one fellow put it.

We have seen that the expectations for increased foreign trade are high. What share of this expanding trade will U.S. ships carry? Nonsubsidized operators have found it more and more difficult to compete against low-cost foreign operators. They are carrying about 6 percent of our foreign nonliner dry cargo trade at this time. The berth line operators, most of whom are subsidized, have been able to carry a little less than one-third of liner trade. And our tankers are carrying only 4 percent of our tanker cargoes. But, as I have pointed out, it is the ships for bulk commodities, traditionally moving in tramp or nonsubsidized carriers, which will be most needed in the future.

Obviously there is much room for improvement before U.S.-flag ships are carrying the substantial share of U.S. trade which our laws consider the measure of an adequate fleet.

One of the best ways to make it possible for more and better ships to be built and competitively operated is to have more demand for U.S. ships. This can come about only through a greater share of our increasing cargoes being offered to American ships. If the cargo is there, the ships will be there; it does not necessarily work the other way around.

What can be done to achieve these increased cargoes in U.S. bottoms? At Maritime, we have undertaken a cargo promotion program to tell American shippers of the advantages of using American ships. We look to the shipping companies to do their share of this job, too. The bigger, faster, better ships which we are building are providing better and more economical service for the shipper at competitive rates. It is our objective to bring the American importer and exporter the best in vessel service at the lowest reasonable rate. In turn, we have every right to expect the shippers to take advantage of this service.

When the American businessman can be convinced that it is to his advantage to use his own country's ships to carry even a fair share of his import purchases and export sales, then we will have little problem employing ships, building ships, or finding jobs for men afloat and ashore. I believe it is high time that all of us—yes, labor, management, and Government—sell the American shipper on American ships. You know, if we can do just that one thing, we will have achieved a major breakthrough.

But it won't be easy. If there is one thing that has been borne in on me in the short time I have been Administrator, it is that the majority of Americans just don't know they have a merchant marine. And if they do know, they fail to recognize its importance to the overall economy and their own livelihoods.

It seems to me that somewhere, somehow we are "missing the boat." Personally, I think we should be a little more public relations minded. A lot can be accomplished by a good industry with a good reason for its existence if it gets out and sells itself. What industry in America plays such a vital role in American trade and is blessed with such romance and drama? We have a good product—the American merchant marine. I intend to sell it wherever I go and to all with whom I come in contact.

I would like to make a pact with you tonight. With you and with all others in the shipping industry from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the Great Lakes to the gulf. The pact? To join together and get out and sell our product to our fellow Americans. To use public relations and group advertising and straight shoeleather selling from the time we start the day, early in the morning as you do in New Orleans and I do in Washington, to the time we knock off at night. I'll do it. Will you join me in a national effort to sell the American people on their American merchant marine?

If you like the idea, we will plan an overall public relations council comprised of shipbuilders, ship operators, labor unions and government. I will be waiting to hear from you on that one.

And now for what the newspaper fraternity would call a sidebar. A few days ago in Washington I had a caller from the port of Chicago. His purpose was to complain of the failure of American ships to supply service to shippers who would like to use his port facilities. By coincident, the next day I heard from a group of Norwegians who had just spent the day before in the same city—canvassing customers and talking with officials in an attempt to find out how they could provide better shipping service for the Chicago port. There is a moral in that story and I will let you tell me what it is.

Since what we will be selling is service, let us be sure, too, that what we are selling is better than our competitors can offer.

In closing, with this short look at the U.S. Merchant Marine, it becomes obvious that:

1. Everyone wants a strong merchant marine.

2. No one is satisfied with the merchant marine we now have.

3. Everyone has a different idea of what it should be and how to get the merchant marine we need.

This is confusing. Challenging, too, but confusing it certainly is.

At some point, however—and it is fast approaching—we are going to have to get together and sort out the questions and answers and come up with some agreement on what is needed for the future and the course of action to be followed. We have been doing that at the Maritime Administration during the last 2 or 3 months. Many of you have been working with us. But we have a ways yet to go. When that is achieved—and it will be—we can begin building our merchant marine of the future.

I would not want to overemphasize the importance of any one problem by singling it out as an example, but mechanization of ships and yards comes at once to mind as one of the more complicated and urgent matters on which there is wide variance of opinion.

It is an excellent illustration of what I am talking about, for it involves every segment of the industry—ship design, shipbuilding, ship operation, management, labor, government, seamen, longshoremen, shoreside workers, shipyard workers, suppliers—everyone is in the act, and should be, for it affects his future and his livelihood.

But before we can come to any solution, it will be necessary to face the facts squarely, for the very immediacy of our varied interests may tend to distort the view each takes.

What then are these facts?

1. It costs more to operate ships under the U.S. flag than under foreign flag.

2. Much of the added cost is in the form of crew wages.

3. Foreign ships are being mechanized, with a consequent further reduction in their costs.

4. There are two ways to meet lower cost foreign competition—

a. More subsidy.

b. Lower U.S. costs.

5. Mechanization may initially displace workers; this is a cost—social, economic, and human. More likely, however, the competitive edge it would give us will improve the job opportunities in an industry with a future.

6. Mechanization may result in higher first costs for building ships.

7. We have the mechanical know-how to build mechanized ships; we need the social know-how to avoid suffering by those automation displaces and to devise the means for fairly sharing the benefits.

8. Operators see automation as the answer to reduced costs over the long run to enable them to compete in international trade.

9. Labor sees mechanization as a real and immediate threat to short-term job security.

10. Government sees mechanization as a way to a more efficient and economical merchant marine. But the Government has a moral, social, and economic responsibility to the American worker.

I, for one, believe that the laborer is worthy of his hire. I believe that the American seaman should be paid in accordance with the American standard of living, even though seamen on foreign ships are paid a third, a

fourth, or a fifth as much, based on their living standards. I believe in the necessity of a safe place to work and fair standards of productivity. I do not believe that a man should be replaced by a nut, a bolt, or a transistor without protection of his rights as a human being.

Mechanization for American ships, however, needs early solution. In all segments of the maritime field—management and labor alike—I find the opinion exists that it is no longer a question as to whether we will automate, but how soon we will be forced to it by foreign competition. And indeed, if we are forced to it we may be forced out. It may then be too late.

Where does that leave us? Can we reconcile the differences, meet the objections, and work out a plan of procedure?

I believe so—but only through the procedures familiar to labor and management in working out collective bargaining agreements. It is the classic method of democracy—give-and-take, consideration of alternatives, offers, and counteroffers, compromise, and finally agreement.

No solution formulated by one group and forced on the others could possibly succeed. It is useless for labor or management to look to Government to hand down the answers from on high. Even if Government had all the answers, the problems would not be solved without willing agreement and cooperation from all concerned. This must be a cooperative effort.

Which brings me to a final conviction relative to the American merchant marine. It is this: Success in the future is in our hands—those of industry, labor, and Government. The future of this Nation's shipping rests with each and every one of us. That success will be—can be—only what we individually and collectively achieve.

It is a solemn thought. Let us, then, all join in building an American merchant marine that can surpass any in the past because it is tailored to meet the needs of our Nation's future.

In the words of our President, "Come, let us reason together."

San Fernando Valley Clergymen Oppose Becker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, it has been charged that those who oppose the proposed Becker amendment are "against God." This has been completely refuted by the many religious leaders of all faiths who have testified and submitted statements to the House Judiciary Committee against this proposal.

Now, 36 ministers and rabbis from my district have issued a statement against the Becker amendment. Their statement recognizes the threat to religious freedom from this proposal and calls upon Congress to keep religion strong by keeping it free from Government interference.

I am deeply gratified that these clergymen have spoken out on this vital issue. I commend them for their statement. This action demonstrates once again that the clergy can be a positive force and exercise moral leadership on important questions facing the Nation. This is in the best tradition of religion in America.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF 20 MINISTERS OF THE WEST VALLEY MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION AND 16 RABBIS

We, the ministers of the San Fernando Valley, wish to protect and strengthen America's heritage of religious freedom. We are frightened by attempts to tamper with the Bill of Rights; i.e., the Becker amendment, which was the outgrowth of our Founding Fathers' concern for man's spirit. Therefore, we call upon our legislators to preserve the first amendment to the Constitution and its guarantee of no Government interference with our faith.

Israel and the Front Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, last week President Johnson took another step in his continuing efforts to show that this country is firmly behind our best friend in the Middle East, the democratic State of Israel.

By formally receiving Israel Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, the President has again reaffirmed our commitment to this struggling young nation's security.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column in the May 31, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune in which the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond, comments on Mr. Eshkol's visit:

ISRAEL AND THE FRONT DOOR

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The United States is host this week to an important head of Government who isn't asking for anything, doesn't want anything, and against whom we have been undiplomatically warned.

This should make for interesting conversation when the new Prime Minister of Israel, Levi Eshkol, sits down in the White House to talk with President Johnson.

It will be a unique, a valuable, and, to some, an unwelcome event.

This is a unique event because, strange as it is, this is the first time that an Israeli Prime Minister has been officially invited by the President to visit the United States. David Ben-Gurion, during the 15 years he was Prime Minister, came to the United States numerous times—but never at the formal invitation of the Government. He conferred with U.S. Presidents, but never officially and never in Washington. They would meet unofficially—and almost surreptitiously—usually in a suite in a New York hotel.

President Johnson, a very direct individual, changed this way of dealing with the Israeli Prime Minister when he gave a personal letter to Sargent Shriver to present to Mr. Eshkol several months ago.

I said that to some Mr. Eshkol's presence in Washington is unwelcome—unwelcome to the Arab nations despite the fact that the United States has just received King Hussein of Jordan.

The Arab governments disliked the Eshkol visit so much that they went to the extreme and inappropriate length of directing their 12 Ambassadors to wait on Secretary Rusk en masse. Undoubtedly their words were punctilious, but their message was obvious. The message was: don't be too cordial to Premier Eshkol.

I doubt that Mr. Rusk had any difficulty with this odd overture. He undoubtedly thanked his visitors for their courtesy and their counsel and made it clear that, while the United States esteems its friends—and considers itself a good friend of the Arab countries—it cannot allow its friends to determine whom its other friends shall be. President Johnson made that clear in taking Premier Eshkol's name off the back door and putting it on the front door of the White House.

There is no doubt that President Johnson has done this deliberately, not to be provocative to Arab sensitivities but to make it authoritatively clear that he stand undeviatingly behind the considered statement of policy which President Kennedy made on May 8, 1963, when he said that "if aggression occurred (in the Middle East) the United States would take action through the United Nations and on its own."

Apart from General Arab antipathy to Israel, the threat of military action against Israel has been specifically and, in recent weeks, repeatedly made by President Nasser of Egypt.

Here are Nasser declarations which give deep concern to Premier Eshkol and genuine anxiety to President Johnson:

"The triumph of peace and freedom lies in * * * the liquidation of Israel's existence."

"Israel will not be able to escape this fate."

Premier Eshkol is not asking for U.S. arms to offset the sale of Soviet weapons to the United Arab Republic, but he is hopeful that President Johnson will sense from their first-hand talks what it means to live under the gun.

U.S. policy is not anti-Arab—it is anti-aggression from either side. Our goal is genuine peaceful coexistence. Mr. Eshkol's official presence in Washington is quiet but clear evidence that President Johnson does not intend to allow Mr. Nasser to be unaware of his position.

I Fought in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, last month I called to the attention of my colleagues a timely and revealing article in the May 18 issue of the U.S. News & World Report which was based on information supplied by Mr. Robert L. Moore, Jr., a freelance writer who was attached to United States and Vietnamese fighting units in South Vietnam. Since that time Mr. Moore has returned to this country and has come to Washington where a number of the members of the Armed Services Committee and others question him at length about his experiences and appraisal of the situation with respect to the conduct of the war against the Vietcong. Through the good offices of

Chairman CARL VINSON, Mr. Moore's views were also made known to high ranking Defense Department officials. Because of the importance of Mr. Moore's knowledge of the situation and the continuing crisis over developments in southeast Asia, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to make available to all Members of the House the substance of Mr. Moore's criticisms and recommendations. These are contained in an interview appearing in the June 8 issue of the U.S. News & World Report.

The interview follows:

"I FOUGHT IN VIETNAM"—INTERVIEW WITH AN AMERICAN JUST RETURNED FROM THE FRONT

(What's really going on in America's jungle war with the Communists in South Vietnam?

(Is it true that U.S. troops are being crippled by redtape—and by inept Vietnamese officers who don't want to fight? Is it time for the United States to move in, take command of a war that is costing heavy casualties and a million dollars a day?

(You get candid—and knowledgeable—answers from an American observer, who, though not a member of the Armed Forces, was permitted to go into combat with U.S. guerrilla fighters. In this interview with U.S. News & World Report, Robert L. Moore, Jr., tells how the war is being lost—and how he thinks it can be won.)

Question. Mr. Moore, we note that Members of Congress have been interested in your story. Why?

Answer. They're trying to get at all the facts about the war in Vietnam. I've told them all I know from the level of the fighting man. I spent 5 months in the field on patrols, slogging around, getting shot at and shooting back. I don't know the diplomatic story, except as I heard it in Saigon from, again, more fighting people.

Question. What's the point of view of the GI in Vietnam?

Answer. They call it the "war of no thanks." They say nobody back home knows what's going on, and doesn't give a damn.

Question. What about the other GI's—the Vietnamese GI's?

Answer. The Vietnamese GI's are good little fighters, and they do what they're told. It's too bad that Americans aren't telling them more of what to do and their Vietnamese officers less. The problem is Vietnamese leadership.

Question. Do people out there feel that Secretary of Defense McNamara knows what is going on at the fighting level?

Answer. I think he's finding out more and more, but there are some big gaps in what he is being old.

Mr. McNamara has been to Vietnam five times, wanting to learn what is going on, but he keeps getting a "snow job." It has become a sort of joke among the troops. You know, during his fourth visit, they called it "Saigon's fourth snowstorm." And then came "Saigon's fifth snowstorm."

The trouble is this: There are top officers and civilians who do not want to get across to him the acute problem which American officers—the lieutenants and captains and majors in the field—face with their Vietnamese counterparts.

By and large, the Vietnamese officers just don't want to fight. They don't want to get killed—and who does? But in their own war, in their own country, they object to fighting more than the Americans. We're willing to go in there and fight.

I think that Mr. McNamara is walled off from the lower ranks.

Question. How do Americans get out there in the first place? Do they volunteer for duty in Vietnam?

Answer. They volunteer for Special Forces—and now I'm talking only about Special Forces, which makes up 6 percent of the Americans in Vietnam. The rest of the Americans are just sent out there as needed.

Question. What's the job of Special Forces?

Answer. Special Forces do the direct antiguerrilla fighting. They're the ones who are on the ground fighting directly with the Communist Vietcong.

Question. Are they the only ones in direct combat?

Answer. They are the only Americans who are in daily personal combat with the Vietcong, yes.

Question. What are all the other Americans doing?

Answer. Well, there are 15,000 troops there, of which about 3,000 are actually in the field doing a job. Roughly 1,000 of those are Special Forces. Many of the other 2,000 are battalion advisers, or are in some way working with the battalions and regiments that are actively engaged with the enemy.

Question. What are the other 12,000 doing?

Answer. They're in support positions. They're doing all the jobs that it takes for support—logistics.

Question. Are the Special Forces lumped in with the 3,000?

Answer. They weren't—until May 1, that is. Up to May 1, Special Forces was more or less an autonomous group over there. They reported through the theater commander, Gen. Paul D. Harkins, but they were pretty much on their own. They had their own funds and fought in their own way and did an excellent job. That is what Special Forces was created to do. It's what President Kennedy gave them a tremendous boost forward to do.

Question. It's a kind of elite corps, isn't it?

Answer. It is, very much so, yes.

Question. Has something happened to hamstring them?

Answer. Yes. As of May 1, the generals decided that this was not the way for them to operate. They would have to operate under MAAG—Military Assistance Advisory Group—which in turn works under MAC–V, which is Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.

It's a step backward for Special Forces. Now they're put underneath conventional-thinking staff officers who do not appreciate the value and need for Special Forces and who are now trying to make them conventional. They weren't created to be conventional.

Question. You said they've all volunteered—

Answer. They're double volunteers. They volunteered, first, to be paratroopers, and, secondly, to be Special Forces.

Question. But did they volunteer to go to Vietnam, as such?

Answer. If you volunteer for Special Forces, you go all over the world. They know, when they volunteer, they're subject to being called into an office, given orders, and not seeing home again for 6 months.

Question. Are these the new Marines?

Answer. They do a different job from the Marines. The Marines are shock troops. Special Forces are not shock troops. They're not assault troops. They are primarily designed to be dropped into, or put into, an area under enemy control and to take native people, train them, and lead them in guerrilla war, or in an antiguerrilla war.

Question. Are they making any headway in Vietnam?

Answer. They're very successful in Vietnam in their area.

Now, the way they work, each Special Forces A team has perhaps a 25-mile-diameter circle within which they operate, and in that circle they are tremendously successful. They constantly harass, will attack when they're very much outnumbered. They completely demoralize the Communists within their area. But there are only 40 A teams in all of Vietnam, and that's not very much to cover the large area they have.

Question. What is an A team?

Answer. A Special Forces A team is made up of 12 men—2 officers and 10 enlisted men. These people are trained in at least three languages. In the case of Vietnam, one of them always speaks Vietnamese, another always speaks French—perhaps they wil have a man who speaks Chinese. They have two doctors. When I say doctors, they're medics, but they're as accomplished as any doctor when it comes to war wounds and tropical diseases.

They have two specialists in weapons—one heavy weapons and one light weapons. They have a specialist in comunications. They have specialists in intelligence. And they have specialists in all the important skills which are required for guerrilla warfare or antiguerrilla warfare.

An A team can be divided up into two A teams of six men each, if necessary—and this is done frequently in order to expand the amount of territory they can cover.

Question. Then do the Vietnamese have parallel A teams?

Answer. Yes, they do.

Question. And the American and Vietnamese teams work together?

Answer. They work together.

Question. Are men in the Vietnamese teams able people?

Answer. Not usually. That's the trouble. Up until recently, the Vietnamese A teams have just been soldiers with good political connections.

Question. But you said the enlisted men—

Answer. The Vietnamese Special Forces enlisted men aren't much good in this particular situation.

When I was talking about "the little man that fights," I was talking about the average private in the Vietnamese Army, or the average paramilitary type that Special Forces trains, who isn't even a regular soldier. They're Vietnamese civilians who sign a contract to fight for 6 months or a year with Special Forces, paid by American Special Forces. But unfortnately, the rules read now that they have to be commanded by Vietnamese Special Forces officers, and the American Special Forces can merely "advise" their counterparts. This has been the big problem.

In spite of this, the American Special Forces have been tremendous at getting results. They've had to trick their counterparts into ordering their men to fight; they deceive them into it; they do anything to get the job done.

Question. Are these Americans supposed to be fighting, or are they just training the Vietnamese to fight?

Answer. They're supposed to be training the Vietnamese to fight, but they're in actual combat themselves.

Question. Are there more Vietnamese than Americans involved?

Answer. There are 12 Vietnamese Special Forces men and 12 American Special Forces men. They work side by side, theoretically. And then under them are between 300 and 600, generally speaking, civilian irregulars—paramilitary types—who theoretically are being led and trained by the Vietnamese Special Forces. The Americans are telling the Vietnamese, their counterparts, how to do this job.

Question. Isn't most of the fighting actually being done by the regular Vietnamese Army units?

Answer. I'd say most of the fighting is being done by the Special Forces groups and their irregulars. In spite of the problems, still these irregulars are doing most of the fighting. They're the ones who are going right in and attacking. They're the ones who are going in and ambushing. They're acting as guerrillas.

To give you an example of how they work: On one of my last operations, we spent 7 days behind enemy lines. We were in an area that was completely controlled by a Vietcong regiment in Darlac Province, an area about 50 miles northeast of Banmethuot, which is a big pacified center—as peaceful a town as you'll ever see. But 50 miles away from there is this area of maybe 30 or 40 square miles that is completely dominated by a Vietcong regiment, plus other hard-core Vietcongs coming in all the time.

Two Special Forces men, Americans, went in with two Vietnamese Special Forces men and 100 of their well-trained civilian irregulars, Montagnards [mountain tribesmen] in this case, and for 6 days just roamed through there, keeping off of paths. We set up three ambushes. We'd kill maybe only two or three people in an ambush, but we'd wound others, who would go off into the woods—and that was even worse for the Vietcong, because they'd die slowly. We destroyed 10 tons of food on that operation and destroyed one Vietcong village.

Then we got hit the last day. The U.S. sergeant led these Montagnards right up a hill and drove the Vietcong off. They had caught up with us, finally, and had us pinned down. But this is the way the Special Forces operate. And these are the people who are daily in contact with the Vietcong. The ARVN battalions sometimes will go in and sometimes won't.

Question. What do you mean—ARVN?

Answer. Army of Vietnam. They're called ARVN.

Question. Did you get air suport in that kind of operation?

Answer. No, we couldn't, because if we had air support it would show where we were. We were guerrillas, never operating on paths, always up and down through tangled undergrowth. We'd come across a path, set up an ambush on it, and when the Vietcong would come along, we'd kill them, take their weapons.

We captured a Chinese copy of a Russian submachine gun. Also, we captured one Vietcong alive with a message from his headquarters telling him to find out what was going on in the area: All of a sudden the Vietcong commander was hearing fire fights, people weren't showing up, no communications. The Vietcong wanted to know, "What's happening?"

So this sort of operation can immobilize a whole Communist regiment. In other words, we're doing to them just what they were doing to us. This is what U.S. Special Forces are doing.

Question. Were you dropped by parachute?

Answer. No, we infiltrated.

Question. Then you fought your way out again?

Answer. Yes.

Question. How is this May 1 order going to change that kind of operation?

Answer. Well, they're changing the concept. I hope they're not going to destroy it. They're certainly changing the whole command aspect, so that Special Forces no longer command themselves. They're now going to have to get permission through the United States and Vietnamese armies' conventional commands to go out on these operations.

The whole secret of these things is to go out suddenly, not having to clear it, because there are so many people that are talking on the Vietnamese side that by the time it goes all the way up the chain of American command and down the Vietnamese command—somebody on the other side is apt to know.

Question. How does the casualty rate run if Americans do get into a fight?

Answer. On the particular operation I was describing, we had no casualties, even though they ambushed us. We killed three in the ambush.

It was only because an American sergeant, a real combat man who had fought beginning in World War II, got the Montagnards up and made them charge, and so surprised and scared the Vietcongs and took them off balance that we were able to swarm all over them and kill and drive them off.

The Vietnamese Special Forces leaders seemed frozen. And we probably would have all been killed if we had let ourselves be pinned down.

You have, you know, seconds—less than seconds—to react in a case like that. It's amazing—not one man was even wounded. In fact, it was the first time, this sergeant said, he had ever seen it happen. I'm glad that was the one I was on.

Questions. Are there generally many casualties, though?

Answer. Yes. American casualties run about an average of 2 men wounded out of every 12 in action, and maybe 1 out of 24 gets killed. That's the way they figure it. Of 12 men who come over, they know they're going to get at least 2 men wounded.

Question. In what period of time?

Answer. In 6 months. I'm talking about Special Forces.

Question. Would you clear up one point on this A team business? You say that for 12 Americans on a team there are 300 to 600 irregulars under them—

Answer. Right. When you're talking about Special Forces operations, you're really talking about a lot of people. There are 40 A teams. The average A team has about 400 irregulars—some have more, some a little less.

Question. How reliable are these Vietnamese irregulars? Are some the kind who fight one week with the Vietcong and one week with South Vietnam?

Answer. You can figure about 10 percent in every camp is questionable. But, by and large, the irregulars are very good. They've been battle tested. They're good fighters. I've been out with them.

Question. Do they fight at night and work in the field during the day?

Answer. No. They live in a camp, and their families are there. They've got their wives and kids running all over the place; their pigs, their goats—everything is in the camp. The whole family lives with them, in a very well-fortified camp right in the middle of Vietcong territory. They go out from this camp on patrols. That's the way they operate.

Question. How did the U.S. Army happen to give you permission to go to Vietnam with the Special Forces in the first place?

Answer. Well, it was actually then Vice President Johnson's military aid who worked it out for me.

I'm writing a book on Special Forces right now. I've been working on it for a year. So Mr. Johnson's military aid questioned them at Fort Bragg, N.C., about my linking up with Special Forces. He got back a message: "Send him to jump school and then we'll talk to him." They figured I might get through one day of that and give up.

I think I'm the only civilian who's ever been through the regular military jump school. I went through at Fort Benning, Ga., in June of 1963. And when I got through with jump school all right, and got my jump wings, then they said: "Give him another test and put him through Operation Swift Strike," which was partially a Special Forces operation. It was a 90,000-man operation in South and North Carolina and Georgia last year. So I went through that and made a night jump with the Special Forces and went with them through the swamps in their training exercises—which, incidentally, was harder than anything I ever did in Vietnam except for the patrol I just described.

When I got through that, they said, "That's not bad." So they let me go to the 3-month course of guerrilla training at Fort Bragg, and I went through the Special Forces guerrilla course. And after that, they finally gave me an OK to go to Vietnam. I had complete carte blanche. I'd just get into an airplane and go to any Special Forces camp I wanted to, fight with them, live with them, go to another one.

Question. Were you permitted to fight?

Answer. You get ambushed sometimes or into a situation where the only thing to do is to be armed and try to keep the enemy at bullet's range—protect yourself by hitting him first.

WHERE EQUIPMENT IS GOOD

Question. Do they get good equipment in Special Forces?

Answer. Yes. This is one place where you can't criticize. The equipment is good. They've got all the ammunition they can use. And they've got just what they need.

They've got new types of weapons which are marvelous. They have the new M–79 grenade launcher—we call it the elephant gun—which is the finest weapon ever. This is one of the things which, I think, maybe kept us from suffering casualties in the ambush I mentioned. It launches a grenade almost 200 yards. It looks just like a shotgun. You carry it, and you shove the grenade in the back just like a shell, and shoot. This will wipe out about eight or 10 people where it lands. And the minute you get into an ambush, you start letting go with those things and then follow them up. It's a tremendous weapon.

Question. What are some of the other weapons?

Answer. The great Special Forces weapon is the AR–15, which is being manufactured now by Colt in Hartford, Conn. This is a .22-caliber weapon, but it has tremendous hitting power. It destroys, it kills, no matter where it hits. If it hits you in the hand it will break the bones all the way up and the shock will kill. And yet it's very light. I would carry as many as 400 rounds of ammunition on my belt without even feeling it.

Question. Is it a rifle?

Answer. It's an automatic rifle which fires in 20-round clips. It's so light that it makes a carbine feel heavy after you've been carrying one of these things around. This is the Special Forces standby weapon, and it is magnificent.

Question. Do we issue those to the Vietnamese, too?

Answer. They did for a while, and the Vietnamese were losing them to the Vietcong.

Question. Are most of the Vietcong weapons captured U.S. weapons?

Answer. I would say certainly many of them are. For every bunch of weapons you capture from the Vietcong, you find maybe 30 percent were made in the United States. You find a lot of old French weapons—and now you're finding a lot of Chinese copies of Russian weapons.

Question. Any Russian weapons?

Answer. I never saw one. I never heard of a Russian weapon being used by the Vietcong.

Question. What are the Chinese weapons like? Are they good quality?

Answer. No, they're not very good. One that we captured on about the second day of the patrol—one of our irregulars was carrying it when we were ambushed, and it jammed twice on him as he was going up the hill. He threw the thing down and got his own. In fact, we killed the man who was carrying it in the first place. We're getting a lot of Chinese weapons now. They copy Russian weapons, they copy our weapons as best they can.

Question. But are these weapons made in China?

Answer. Made in China.

Question. Did you ever see any evidence of direct Russian support for the Vietcong?

Answer. I've never seen it, and I don't know about it. What there is an indication of—and this is something I haven't read about yet—is we are hearing that individual Frenchmen are helping.

Question. Helping the Vietcong?

Answer. Yes, on an individual basis.

I know of an ambush which was set out in the II Corps area to try to hit a small Vietcong group that was coming through—it was a small ambush in platoon size, by our side. They were waiting for the last man to come through and then they would hit.

Well, they waited 2½ hours for the last man to come through, and they just held their breath that this column coming through from east to west—in other words, penetrating deeper into Vietnam—would not see them. As they were watching, every so often a Caucasian, speaking French, would walk by with the enemy. This happened in early April of this year.

Question. Do you mean the French are operating as a sort of special forces with the Vietcong?

Answer. I wouldn't say "the French," but there are Caucasians, speaking French, who many believe to be Frenchmen.

Question. Are there many of them?

Answer. There's another one they call the "cowboy" who has been seen. He wears a cowboy hat, is barechested, wears Levis and boots.

Question. But they aren't there in great numbers——

Answer. No.

RED INFLUX: INCREASING

Question. How many men are going into South Vietnam from the North?

Answer. It seems to me a never-ending procession.

Question. Is it increasing?

Answer. It seems to be increasing. We feel it is.

Question. How do they get in there? Do the Communists come in directly across the border between North and South Vietnam, or do they come down through the Ho Chi Minh trail through Laos?

Answer. They almost never come in directly across the border between North and South Vietnam—almost never. They come down over the Laotian border, come in through Tayninh Province, generally, where it is believed is the headquarters of the whole Vietcong operation.

Question. Is that all in Laos, or in Cambodia, too?

Answer. They come through Laos and Cambodia. I was with several special forces camps along the border. The Vietcong come down from North Vietnam and just make a little jog through Laos and into South Vietnam.

Question. How about Communist weapons? Is it true that some are shipped by boat into Cambodia, and then sent across?

Answer. Not necessarily. Intelligence sources feel that the weapons are coming down from China by junk, coming by sea right to the delta region of the Mekong River, coming directly to the Vietcong in South Vietnam. There just isn't much you can do about it.

CUTTING OFF SUPPLIES

Question. Can that land traffic be stopped in any way, other than carrying the war into North Vietnam?

Answer. Yes. I have one proposal which I feel would help. Instead of having only 40 special forces A teams, have 100. We've got plenty of them mowing the lawns at Fort Bragg. As a matter of fact, the joke is that the master sergeants say: "I've got no sweat. I'm a master sergeant. I get a power mower at Bragg, and the rest of them have to push hand mowers."

Here are men who have been trained for 10 years—I'm talking about enlisted men, sergeants—to be the finest fighting men, and are the most mature fighting men in the world, and what are they doing?—mowing lawns.

Question. You want to see 100 teams, instead of 40?

Answer. I'd like to see it. And this is what I think special forces would like to do.

Question. Why can't that supply route through Laos be cut?

Answer. Go into Laos from Vietnam? Well, there's no reason why we couldn't, except that it's not the policy of the U.S. Government to do it now.

On the other hand, we don't really have to do it. If we put 40 or 50 Special Forces teams right up to the Laos border—each one 20 or 25 miles from the next—these guys would hold them off, because the Vietcong never go into one of these 25-mile areas dominated by Special Forces. They go around them. They would do anything rather than go through a Special Forces area.

Question. When you said the U.S. equipment and weapons are good, were you talking only about the Special Forces?

Answer. I'm talking about the ARVN, too. I've been out with the ARVN battalions.

Question. What about U.S. airplanes?

Answer. Well, the airplanes are different.

Question. You're familiar with Captain Shank's letters? (Capt. Edwin Gerald Shank, Jr., whose letters were published in the May 4 issue of U.S. News & World Report, was a U.S. Air Force flier who was killed while on a combat mission in South Vietnam.)

Answer. Yes, indeed I am. I spent a lot of time with the Air Force. They're naturally concerned about getting the best equipment possible. I went down to Bien Hoa. Bien Hoa and Soc Trang are the two areas where most of these fliers are. They won't talk to a reporter if they can avoid it, because it's their career if their name is mentioned in connection with any criticism.

Question. Is the Air Force getting less consideration, less new equipment, than the Special Forces get?

Answer. That's comparing oranges and apples. Special Forces has its own logistical operation. Now, unfortunately, that's ending, and logistics will come under the domination of MAAG and MAC–V. But this was the greatest logistical operation I've ever seen, up in Nha Trang. It could resupply in hours, if necessary, any Special Forces camp that needed it. Special Forces is set up to support another 100 teams.

Now U.S. high command in Vietnam is changing things. This is what I can't understand.

You see, conventional military men don't operate the way Special Forces do. What happens is this: You have a conventional officer writing the efficiency report for a Special Forces officer, and he'll say: "This officer here has wild ideas. We don't understand him. He doesn't like us. He called me a 'leg.'" That's what you call anybody who doesn't jump—"leg."

Now, this is wrong. You can't have men who have been trained 10 or 12 years to be unconventional, and then shove them under conventional control.

Question. And this is in the process of being done—

Answer. It was done May 1.

Question. Mr. Moore, is there a feeling that the United States is getting ready to pull out? Is that the feeling?

Answer. I don't think it's to pull out. I think it's to fight a different kind of war. They have changed this whole thing. Special Forces efficiency is being greatly damaged by having to work under officers and generals who are not oriented toward unconventional warfare—and yet, that's the war we've got to fight in Vietnam.

Question. Why are we there in the first place?

Answer. We should be there to win.

Question. Do the Vietnamese people seem to want us there?

Answer. Oh, yes.

WHO REALLY FIGHTS?

Question. Is it a popular war?

Answer. Yes. One thing I haven't touched on is that perhaps a third of the population are Montagnards, and they get along extremely well with us. Our best fighters are Montagnards.

Question. Are they in the irregulars?

Answer. Yes. The problem you have, though, is that the Montagnards and Vietnamese hate each other. Until recently, the Vietnamese used to bomb the Montagnard villages indiscriminately, claiming they were Vietcong villages. But they're beginning to pull this together now. Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh (South Vietnam's leader) is making a big effort to get together with the Montagnards.

All over Vietnam, I've heard Montagnard leaders come up to the Americans and say: "How much longer are you going to stay here? Because, if you leave, we're not going to fight any more. The Vietnamese don't care about us. We're fighting for you."

And the Americans say: "No, you're not fighting for us. You're fighting for your Vietnamese Government in Saigon."

To this the Montagnards reply: "Well, we don't care about them. We're fighting because the Americans are here and treat us well, pay us well, build good villages for us, give us pigs, take care of us."

Question. In spite of the effectiveness of the Special Forces, the reports are that the war is being lost—

Answer. Yes, but we would have lost it a lot faster if Special Forces hadn't been in there.

Question. Are we going to lose it now?

Answer. If we don't change the ground rules, we're going to lose it. This is what everybody says. Just change the ground rules enough so that, with our equipment and our good officers and sergeants and our communications ability, and bringing in new planes—as Secretary McNamara says we're going to do—we can make these people win.

But we can't make them win unless we are in a position to say: "Do this, do this, do this"—and see that they do it.

WHY UNITED STATES MUST TAKE OVER

Question. Does that mean the United States must have operational control of the war?

Answer. Operation control.

Question. Of just Special Forces?

Answer. No, the whole thing.

Question. What role do you see for the conventional Vietnamese Army there?

Answer. For one thing, it's the job of Vietnamese battalions to do what they haven't done so far, to clean out Vietcong strongholds. One example—an area in Darlac controlled by a Vietcong regiment. The Vietnamese regulars have never dared go in there because, as they say, "too many Vietcong."

Question. So must the United States take operational control of Vietnamese Special Forces plus Vietnamese regular forces?

Answer. Right. Air forces as well as ground forces.

Q. One U.S. officer per battalion—will that provide effective operational control?

Answer. With his sergeants it should, yes.

Question. With no fighting will among the Vietnamese troops—

Answer. I didn't condemn the troops. The troops will fight, if properly picked and properly led. The officers, by and large, don't know how to lead them. They won't take advice, so we've got to go in there and give them commands.

We are creating enough good Vietnamese officers who are slowly coming in so that maybe, in a year or two, we can relinquish operational control again. But, if we don't take it over now, we're going to get licked.

The last battle I was in was the 6th of May, in the delta near Tan Phu, and the Vietnamese—two battalions—thought they were going to crush a couple of Vietcong companies. Instead of that, it turned out it was a Vietcong regiment. It surrounded the Vietnamese for the day.

The Vietcong lobbed in mortar shells and hit them with recoilless rifles. I could hear the American advisers on the radio saying, "We're surrounded." It lasted that way for the day until, at 6 o'clock, the Vietcong just disappeared. If under American operational control—the advisers felt—the Vietnamese would have fought their way out, or, better still, would not have fallen into the trap in the first place.

Question. Are American advisers becoming defeatists as a result of this?

Answer. No; they're not—they're not at all. They fight and they aren't defeatists at all. If anything, the more rebuffs they get, the harder they fight to get operational control.

I've had a lot of good friends killed and wounded—battalion advisers, as well as Special Forces. Incidentally, the Special Warfare School at Fort Bragg has trained most of the battalion advisers, as well as the Special Forces people. These men never lost heart, no matter how tough things were. They still stayed in there and they still kept advising and trying in any way they could to get their message across to the Vietnamese. When I left they were still just as eager and hardworking and hardfighting as ever.

Question. Do all these Special Forces people see their roles being weakened?

Answer. As some Special Forces say, "We were killed on November 22, also" (the day President Kenendy was assassinated). That's the thing you hear. President Kennedy was the one who kept it going.

Question. Are there any difficulties put in the way of Special Forces by State Department policies or wishes out there?

Answer. The Special Forces follow whatever State Department policy is. Special Forces are very careful, for instance, not to violate the Laotian border.

I was there when a good friend of mine—one of our favorite captains—went down in a recon plane, and we thought he might have gone over the Laotian border. As much as they wanted to get him, Special Forces never went across the border. They tried for 2 weeks, through our diplomatic channels, to get a search made on the Laotian side of the border. But Special Forces—even to get this man back—never so much as poked a toe across the border. They were very careful not to; they are unconventional, but only within the confines of fighting the war in South Vietnam.

Question. Are they going to have to violate these borders in order to cut the Communist supply lines?

Answer. We can win by staying within South Vietnam, if we have Special Forces A teams solidly right up and down the whole border.

Question. Are you convinced that the United States can win this war without going into Laos and into North Vietnam?

Answer. I'm convinced of that. I'm convinced that it's not necessary to bomb North Vietnam. If you bomb North Vietnam, that isn't going to stop those 80,000 Communists in South Vietnam. No matter what you do to North Vietnam, the guerrillas are going to be in the South. And they'll get supplied, one way or another. Red China will supply them.

ENEMY: 80,000 STRONG

Question. Where did you get that figure of 80,000? We keep hearing 25,000——

Answer. It's 80,000 total. There are 25,000 hard-core Communists from North Vietnam, or North Vietnamese-trained guerrillas, down there. But they have with them maybe 60,000 to even 80,000 irregulars who fight for them part time, farm part time, but are still sympathetic enough to take up arms and fight.

Question. You talk about winning. When is the war won?

Answer. That's only part of the question. Suppose you clean up all the VC; suppose you get South Vietnam back to normal—you can drive on the roads, and the farmers can farm and all that—then the tougher question is: How do you keep it won?

I should think the war is basically won when we can pull out safely and not have to worry about further outbreaks of fighting. At that point you have not gone beyond the borders of South Vietnam.

Question, Do you have to reunify North and South Vietnam to get a final peace?

Answer. That gets under politics. All I could do is tell you what you know as well as I do.

Question. Beyond Vietnam, what's at stake in the whole of southeast Asia? Will there ever be a really trained South Vietnamese Army, or a trained Thai Army able to withstand aggression by the Communists?

Answer. Thais, Laotians, Vietnamese—they're all the same, basically: They're delightful people, socially. They're good, hard-working people. The officer corps of Thailand is made up of the most delightful people I've ever met. The Thai officers went to the same U.S. schools as the Vietnamese.

But they have the same problem in Thailand, because they aren't combat leaders, really, and I don't know how we're going to keep Red China from engulfing the whole thing. I really don't. That goes beyond my scope.

Question. Getting back to South Vietnam——

Answer. Yes, how to stop losing and start winning.

There are two points I want to stress after 5 months of being with it: One, we must take operational control; two, Special Forces must be restored to what they were conceived to be—and we must put in a lot more of them.

Operational control will automatically get the ARVN doing what they are capable of doing, and Special Forces can do that border-patrol job—seal off the borders from the inside. We also need A teams to fight the Vietcong and keep them off balance in their strongholds within South Vietnam. Then we can proceed to clean up the country. But that doesn't mean that, when that job is done, the war is won in all of Indochina.

A BUILDUP IS GOING ON

Question. Did you get any feeling that there was a movement to carry the war north over the border, if necessary?

Answer. I did get the feeling—and I know for a fact—that we are building up and getting ready for such an eventuality. Many of these 12,000 Americans who are not in the field are obviously working on problems of logistics and planning and setting up bases in case it is decided to do it.

Yes; there's a buildup going on—no doubt about it.

Question. They're creating the capability—

Answer. The capability, if not already created, is almost created.

Question. Is General Khanh a good man?

Answer. I think so. I think Khanh's the best we've got. If we lose him, we're in real trouble.

Khanh is an aggressive little guy and he's doing his best against odds to surround himself with aggressive people. Since Khanh has been in, you get the feeling he's doing his best. But he's got big political problems. There are people he can't relieve because their families are too important one way or another. He has a very tenuous hold. Sure, America is behind him, but——

Question. Are there powerful families over there?

Answer. Oh, yes. Vietnam has powerful political families. The mandarin system is the system they have all come up under, and that means that all Khanh's friends came up the same way. They're all interlocking families, interlocking powers, and, much as he'd like to, there are many people Khanh can't just go in and relieve. That's one of our problems—Khanh can't do it.

Question. Could he agree to the kind of operational control that you're talking about for ARVN?

Answer. Yes. I think he maybe actually has already agreed to it, and maybe the problem now is how to carry it out.

I should think he would be in favor of giving the Americans operational control. For one thing, that way, an American officer could remove General Khanh's best friend's son, if that became necessary.

As it stands now, you can see flagrant examples of nepotism and covering up and "face saving." I saw an example in front of my eyes where a Vitnamese officer actually used Vietnamese irregulars to ambus an American officer—his American counterpart—and tried to kill him. Well, they hit an American sergeant instead. Fortunately, they didn't kill him.

But this was a very cleverly set up ambush. So what did they do with the Vietnamese officer? They merely shifted him to another special forces camp.

Question. With a chance to shoot somebody else——

Answer. Yes, exactly.

Question. Where are Vietnamese special forces teams trained?

Answer. They haven't been trained very much up till now. They've been taken directly from the army or were trained in Saigon rather haphazardly. But there is a big new special forces training camp just about finished—north of Saigon. In fact, the first class should just be coming through.

Question. Does the United States have operational control of training?

Answer. Yes, they're running it. They're running the training base, and this is a wonderful sign for the future.

There is one other wonderful sign, and that is the rise of one particular officer. His name is Col. Lam Son. He's been made the head of Vietnamese special forces—the Luc-Luong Dac-Biet. And he's a tough guy. I'll give you an example:

A real miserable Vietnamese special forces captain was being complained about by his American counterpart. Col. Lam Son went up there, grabbed this Vietnamese captain, made him take a small company out and deliberately headed him where he knew there would be fighting. When the captain lay down and started bawling, the colonel grabbed his rifle and said, "Well, you're relieved—out!" And this is the way this guy is now conducting things.

Question. So there is some progress——

Answer. Yes, but to give you an idea of what Col. Lam Son is up against: He went up to the I Corps area and the Vietnamese general in charge of that area said, in effect: "Well, you can stay 24 hours. You'll spend the night at your team, where my people can watch you, and then you'll be out of here. I don't trust you. I think you are going to start a coup up here."

They don't trust each other. That's another one of our big problems. Every Vietnamese general thinks his colleague is going to start the next coup.

Even without a coup, you get these little power plays where all of a sudden one guy is suddenly in jail for some reason and you don't see him any more, and someone else is in command of a unit. Even under General Khanh, there's this constant undercurrent of one officer overthrowing another on the next level. This is another reason why, if we don't take operational control, we're just going to be at the mercy of these little things which we can't understand.

I remember hearing this said at MAC–V headquarters: "Every time we see a lot of motion going on and no attacks against the Vietcong, then we know that we're going to be missing a Vietnamese general in a power play." This is one of the problems. Col. Lam Son has got this tremendous opportunity to shape up Vietnam's special forces, and a lot of people would like to get him before he makes a big record for himself—becomes a general, or forces some other general to step aside.

WHAT UNITED STATES SHOULD DO

The gist of everything I've said boils down to just two things:

The first is operational control.

The second is much more utility of Special Forces—the best trained, most mature and courageous fighting people we've got, and the least used.

This is the most wasted asset the U.S. Army has—Special Forces. We use only 40 teams in Vietnam and keep the rest of them mowing lawns at Fort Bragg.

Heinsohn Scare Real "Red" Plot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, very often information of key nature can, interestingly enough, be found in our newspapers' sports sections, especially when we recognize the pride that all nations take in their athletic accomplishments.

I place into the RECORD an article which appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star by Columnist Steve Guback, discussing a recent tour by the National Basketball Association under State Department auspices.

For once, the State Department sponsored an intelligent and practical tour, sending over an outstanding group of American athletes who are certainly a credit to their sport and to the Nation. The success of the competition, as well as the public relations success scored by this team, should merit the serious attention of the State Department, so that similar groups such as this might be utilized in oversea programs, instead of having the Nation embarrassed by mediocre performers or neurotic members of the entertainment world.

The article follows:

SPORTS SPOTLIGHT—HEINSOHN SCARE REAL "RED" PLOT

(By Steve Guback)

Those National Basketball Association all-stars won all 21 games on their recent oversea tour, but it was in Poland that Red Auerbach, the local boy who has made good, obviously scored his greatest personal triumph.

As almost everybody knows, Auerbach is the coach of the Boston Celtics—that is, when he's not busily occupied with his basketball camp, making speeches, or on good will junkets for the State Department. One of his stars is Tom Heinsohn, a large 218-pound party who made the oversea trip and is not easily intimidated, except in rare instances.

Auerbach leaned back in his home here the other day, with a little twinkle in his eye. He had the look of complete satisfaction, as if he had just devised a new play that was guaranteed to produce three points at any time.

"Now Heinsohn is a German name," Red began, "and you know how the Polish hate the Germans, with good reason, I guess.

"So we got these two coaches in Poland and rehearsed them. We dressed them up in trench coats, with hats pulled down over their eyes and brief cases."

It sounded sinister and it was, and you began feeling sorry already for Heinsohn because, if there is one thing about Auerbach, it's that he knows how to plan and follow through. Six consecutive NBA titles illustrate that.

At any rate, the two Polish coaches trudged up to Heinsohn's hotel room while Auerbach and Bob Cousy hid down below. The officials rapped hard on Heinsohn's door, drew him outside, angrily demanded to see his passport, and then marched him stiffly off—one on each side.

Heinsohn's startled pleas got him nowhere. The Polish coaches couldn't speak English and Heinsohn couldn't speak Polish.

Auerbach and Cousy watched the scene, muffling their laughter. "Geez, he was chain smoking and everything," Auerbach guffawed.

"I went up to him and said: 'What's the matter, Tom, you look kinda green?'

"'I dunno,' Heinsohn said. 'These guys are arresting me or something.'"

With a wave of his hand, Auerbach took command. He interceded, suggested that everybody have a drink, and marched the group into the bar, where the rest of the NBA stars were waiting.

"When Heinsohn saw the team in there, he exploded," Auerbach reported. "He realized then it was a gag. As he screamed, Cousy and the rest of guys roared in the aisle with laughter. People in the hotel must have thought we were crazy or something," Red added brightly.

People in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Egypt and Poland also must think a bit more now about American basketball after the pros' grand tour. The U.S. amateur team, Auerbach said, had left a terrible impression when they lost most of their games overseas. But the pros won all 21 games by a margin of at least 20 points and quickly restored the idea that the Americans are still the best in the world.

"The people over there don't know nothing except who wins," Auerbach explained. "They cannot believe we'd send over a team like that amateur club unless it was our best. They do not know the difference between amateur and pro. They can't understand that some of our best NCAA players are still in school."

It's Auerbach's belief that the United States should never send a team overseas unless it is representative of our best, and it makes sense.

"All this jazz about good sportsmanship," Auerbach shrugged. "That's part of good will but most countries respect ability. What they see is what they think."

Auerbach will explain this in great detail to the State Department when he makes his report later this week. However, it is unlikely that the Heinsohn episode will be mentioned. The State Department always gets uneasy when they hear of "Red" plots even if the last name is Auerbach.

A Prayer for Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Uri Miller, president of the Synagogue Council of America, has written the following prayer which expresses the belief that our people are one people and that when one part of our society suffers we all suffer.

I commend Rabbi Miller's prayer to the attention of our colleagues:

PRAYER OF RABBI URI MILLER, PRESIDENT OF SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA, ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Our father's God, God of the spirit of all flesh, we invoke Thy blessing upon this assemblage of citizens who have gathered here to demonstrate for freedom, bread, and the dignity of man. Thou hath endowed all men equally with the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness. Enable us, through this demonstration, to sensitize all Americans and especially those in position of power and authority to this concept of equality. May we understand that when we deprive our fellowman of bread and dignity we negate the Iselen Elokin—the image of God in man—and delay the fulfillment of Thy kingdom.

Enable us to understand that our society—the American people—is of one piece; that when any part of this society suffers, we all suffer. May we understand that he who discriminates is as morally hurt as is the one discriminated against, physically hurt; that he who is prejudiced may injure the object of his prejudice, and also degrades the society of which he himself is a part.

Above all we pray we become cognizant in ever-increasing measure that our religious ideals must be fulfilled in actual living experience. Our traditions must be given flesh in the form of social justice now. Freedom, pride, and dignity must be not empty words nor even sincere ideals projected into some messianic future, but actualities expressed in our society in concrete and tangible form now.

May we never forfeit our liberties or condone cowardice, prejudice, and self-indulgence. May we ever expand the area of human freedom in our midst and thus serve Thee and Thy love of law and justice. May we demonstrate our gratitude for the blessed privilege of living under the Stars and Stripes by giving to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance. Banish hatred, pride, and arrogance from our midst and inspire us "to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly" with Thee.

Hasten now the coming of the happy day when the message of Thy prophets shall be fulfilled; when men shall break their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and no longer learn the art of war; when the earth shall be filled of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

Some Exporters and Importers Would Wreck International Textile Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker my attention was drawn recently to press reports that an effort may be made to use the recently enacted one-price cotton law as a weapon against the international agreements under which trade is now being done in cotton textiles.

I am informed that some importers of cotton goods from Japan, Hong Kong, and India are the interested parties in this move.

It would suit their selfish purposes, I presume, if the multination agreement on cotton textile trade could be destroyed despite the harm it could cause not only to the U.S. industry but also to the textile industries abroad.

We are now in the second year of a 5-year multination agreement under which the flow of cotton textiles from foreign lands into the U.S. market is being accomplished in an orderly manner.

Today, for the first time in years, cotton textile manufacturers here and abroad are able to plan their operations forwardly and avoid ruinous market disruption.

The agreement approach toward a solution of the cotton textile import problem was prompted by the Government's wish to benefit American textile workers and prevent runaway expansion of foreign textile production based solely upon low-wage standards and the accessibility of the U.S. market.

The agreements are working well generally and have brought a measure of stability to the free world's cotton textile industry.

We enacted the one-price cotton law to eliminate the competitive disadvantage which has been thrust on the American industry by the two-price system.

It may have some retarding effect on the imports of some categories of cotton textiles. It may not. Time will tell.

But, Mr. Speaker, I for one do not want to see the one-price cotton law used to destroy the trade agreements now in effect. I resent the idea of foreign exporters of cotton textiles to the United States or the U.S. importers of such goods from trying to use this law to disrupt the tremendous effort we have made to bring some order to the American textile industry. And I feel certain that most of my colleagues feel the same way.

Prayer of Invocation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a moving prayer delivered by the Reverend Charles J. McGinley, pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes Church, Seaford, Del.

The prayer was delivered at the Seaford Democratic dinner, on June 8, 1964, which was held at Seaford, Del., in the home of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The text of the prayer follows:

PRAYER AT THE SEAFORD DEMOCRATIC DINNER, JUNE 8, 1964

O God, Creator, Provider, and Father of us all, we invoke Thy needed presence among us tonight.

May our thoughts, words, and actions begin and end with Thee.

May Thy presence, O God, abide with us not alone and only in this hall tonight, but in each moment of our lives, both public and official; both private and personal. May Thy wisdom and counsel inspire and accompany our deliberations, our decisions, and the enactments of our leaders.

May Thy fortitude give them the courage to carry out their just convictions, and the strength to sustain them in the inevitable and frustrating reverses which, indeed, come to all men.

May prudence, integrity, and conscience direct their hand and accompany their voice. And may their faith in themselves, their office, their fellow man, and, above all, their faith in Thee, grow stronger, so as to make them worthy custodians of Thy largesse, worthy symbols of Thy law, worthy apportioners of Thy justice; and strong and worthy instruments of Thy peace: that lasting peace which our confused world must come to learn can be founded on Thy principles.

This is the strength and the abiding presence we, tonight, humbly ask and invoke through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Constitutional Lawyers Oppose Becker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 8, 1964, 223 of the Nation's leading constitutional lawyers, including the deans of 55 law schools, submitted a statement to the House Judiciary Committee opposing the proposed Becker amendment. In their statement they point out the grave dangers of tampering with the first amendment and urge the committee to reject any measure which would infringe the liberties now guaranteed by it.

On June 10, 1964, the New York Herald Tribune published an editorial commending these constitutional lawyers for their action and beseeching the committee to heed their advice.

I believe there is great wisdom in the statement and the editorial. I here include them and commend them to my colleagues.

OUR MOST PRECIOUS HERITAGE

Our Bill of Rights is America's most precious heritage. For a century and three quarters it has spread the mantle of protection over persons of all faiths and creeds, political, cultural, and religious.

Under our system, special responsibility for the interpretation and application of the Bill of Rights rests with the Supreme Court. In discharging this responsibility the Court has from time to time handed down decisions which have aroused considerable controversy. Some of the decisions have been subjected to strong criticism and even condemnation. There have, no doubt, been decisions which have been deemed by a majority of the American people, at least in their immediate reaction, to have been unwise, either in the conclusion reached by the Court or in the manner by which that conclusion was reached.

It may be that the Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions against state-sponsored prayer and devotional Bible reading in the public schools belong in this category. If so, it is much too early to judge whether it will be the popular judgment or the Court's that will be vindicated by time. But whichever the case, we are convinced that it would be far wiser for our Nation to accept the decisions than to amend the Bill of Rights in order to nullify them.

We recognize that the Constitution provides for its own amendment, and that no provision of it, including the Bill of Rights, is immune to repeal or alteration at the will of the people expressed through the medium of constitutional amendment. Yet, it is relevant to recall in this respect the concluding paragraph of Thomas Jefferson's great Virginia statute for establishing religious freedom:

"And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."

American liberties have been secure in large measure because they have been guaranteed by a Bill of Rights which the American people have until now deemed practically unamendable. If now, for the first time, an amendment to "narrow its operation" is adopted, a precedent will have been established which may prove too easy to follow when other controversial decisions interpreting the Bill of Rights are handed down. In the past, the Court has construed the provisions against infringement of the free exercise of religion and of speech and assembly, or securing the privilege against self-incrimination, or requiring fair trail procedures, in a manner deemed by many at the time to be unduly restrictive of the proper powers of government. It is certain that it will do so again in the future. If the first clause of the Bill of Rights, forbidding laws respecting an establishment of religion, should prove so easily susceptible to impairment by amendment, none of the succeeding clauses will be secure.

A grave responsibility rests upon the Congress in taking this "first experiment on our liberties." Whatever disagreements some may have with the Bible-prayer decisions, we believe strongly that they do not justify this experiment. Accordingly, we urge that Congress approve no measures to amend the first amendment in order to overrule these decisions.

[From the New York (N.Y) Herald Tribune, June 10, 1964]

BACKING FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS

When 223 constitutional lawyers, including the deans of 55 law schools, band together to petition Congress on a matter of constitutional law, they make up a powerful and persuasive chorus. That number have now done just that, and their message is clear: don't tamper with the first amendment; don't, by taking "this first experiment on our liberties," establish a precedent "which may prove too easy to follow when other controversial decisions interpreting the Bill of Rights are handed down."

At issue, of course, is the drive to push through a constitutional amendment permitting school prayers, and thus to contravene the Supreme Court's finding that these violate the first amendment's commands on separation of church and state.

The Bill of Rights is too precious a bulwark of American liberties to let it thus be whit-

tled away at. And if anyone is in a postion to recognize the dangers of an unwise constitutional precedent, those law school deans and their fellow constitutional lawyers are.

Conference of Mayors of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am pleased to have the opportunity to insert a statement in tribute to the people of Puerto Rico and its mayors, which I made at the Conference of Mayors of Puerto Rico, Monday, June 8, 1964, at the Hilton Hotel in New York City. My statement follows:

In 1940 nobody believed that the good people of Puerto Rico could take hold of themselves and of their land to make the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico a showcase of development. Puerto Rico lacked capital, national resources, a managerial class, and dwelt withal with a feeling of helplessness. Today that is all changed and "Operation Bootstrap" proves what a free people can do when, having marked out their goal, they move toward it, despite the heaviest odds against them.

Social and economic progress in Puerto Rico are the result of what people themselves did. As all the leaders of Puerto Rico have pointed out, for more than 40 years Puerto Rico had access to U.S. investments, there were no barriers to trade, but nothing happened until after 1940 when the people of Puerto Rico themselves decided to do something. True, the U.S. Government provided assistance, but the people of Puerto Rico had the imagination and the vigor and the willingness to do the work. All this they did as free people, proving in the best tradition of democracy that the state is the servant of the people.

Underdeveloped countries throughout the world can learn this crucial lesson—that freedom and social and economic security are not incompatible.

The beautiful land of Puerto Rico has moved into its own way of life. With their minds, hearts, and muscle they shape their destiny, shrugging off the philosophy of the fatalist who neither dares nor hopes.

Fomental is a good word. We call it development and whether we use one word or another, we all freely recognize the remarkable achievements of the Commonwealth.

When I read statistics like personal income per capita has risen from $295.88 in 1950 to $689.21 in 1962, or that the income from tourism plus net flow of capital into Puerto Rico of $245 million in 1962 is making Puerto Rico's balance of trade favorable, it is to marvel that so much could have been done in so few years. In 1952 the total net income was $831 million. In 1963 it was $1,810 million. Is it any wonder then that Puerto Rico has become a showcase for progress?

Thus, in honoring the 65 mayors of Puerto Rico who have demonstrated their leadership, we honor the people they represent. To the good people of Puerto Rico I say: May freedom and prosperity flourish together, and may peace and progress be with them as we trust and pray that thus it be with the world.

Stuart Novins Reports on Russia's Program for Research Data Retrieval

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House today an excellent report from Moscow by Mr. Stuart Novins, distinguished correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, describing the Soviet Union's program for research data retrieval.

As chairman of the subcommittee now holding hearings on proposals to establish an effective means of providing America's scientists with the most current information on all scientific research in this country, I found Mr. Novins' report of particular interest. It should be of great concern to all Americans that, while we in this country spend an estimated $17 billion annually for scientific research, no adequate facility exists where this information can be quickly retrieved for use by the American scientific community.

Our concern becomes even more justified when we realize that the Soviet Union already is substantially ahead of the United States in developing such a facility. There are those who state with a considerable degree of authority that the Soviet Union was able to launch its sputnik into outer space before we did because the Soviet Union established that a central retrieval center for the exchange and dissemination of their scientific data be generated by scientists in that country.

I believe Mr. Novins of CBS has performed a significant public service in calling this Nation's attention to the fact that the Soviet Union is trying very hard to surpass our own country in scientific research data retrieval.

The text of Mr. Novins' excellent broadcast follows:

This is "Dimension in the Soviet Union" and this is Stuart Novins reporting the Moscow Scene. The amount of scientific exploration and of scientific information is expanding so rapidly and with such breadth of horizon and depth of specialization that the scientists of the world now face a problem that has never before in mankind's history been so acute and pressing. It is the problem of how to know what other scientists have found out in order to benefit by the experimentation of others and in order to supplement the works of others. One British scientist recently observed that it is now actually easier to discover a new scientific fact or to evolve a new theory than it is to learn whether such a fact or theory has ever been developed before.

Every 10 years the number of scientists in the world doubles. There are about 80,000 scientific publications in the world. And the number of individually prepared and published monographs and doctoral theses is almost beyond enumeration. Not only is it impossible for any individual scientist to read those scientific journals that would be of interest to him, because there are so many, but there is the additional problem of language. Thus, the world of science faces its own built-in scientific problem of method. How do you collect all this material and put it into workable usable form?

One method that is being tried here in the Soviet Union shows a high degree of effectiveness. It began about 11 years ago when the Soviet Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information was organized here in Moscow. Taking as a basis about 20,000 of the more important scientific publications that appear in countries throughout the world and in many languages, a huge staff of Soviet scientific researchers culls these journals and makes condensed versions of their content. It is reported by Soviet officials that journals from 102 countries written in 65 different languages are currently being synthesized. We'll tell you more about this operation in a moment.

In the Soviet Union's Institute of Scientific and Technical Information the regular staff is supplemented by more than 21,000 people—all specialists—including more than 50 members of the Soviet Academy of Science and at least 1,000 specialists with doctoral degrees who read through the vast flood of scientific publications and make abstracts of their contents. Last year, according to figures released here this week, the Institute boiled down the contents of 770,000 different reports of new scientific findings and theories. A very significant number of these condensed articles has become so large that it has now become necessary to abstract the file of abstracts. Thus it was decided last year to print an annual summary of scientific and technical achievements based on these publications from around the world.

For the individual scientists, such a condensed library of new developments is almost priceless. He can read through the summary, check the index of abstract articles in the field in which he's primarily interested, and if he finds something that he wants to examine and study in greater length and in more detail, he can order from the institute the full original article translated for him by specialists into his own language—Russian.

The Soviet Union claims—and probably with accuracy—that no other government or even any private organization has ever accomplished anything like the development that has been reached here in devising and implementing a system which makes available quickly and in usable form, the vast fund of scientific and technical information which unprocessed would simply be too much for any single man or library or laboratory to handle. One wonders if such a system would not be useful in the United States, or perhaps, as a joint effort, under the umbrella of the United Nations.

This has been "Dimension" on the CBS radio network and this is Stuart Novins reporting the Moscow scene.

Gen. Carlos P. Romulo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Saturday Review, one of America's leading magazines for intellectuals, published in a recent issue an editorial on what Gen. Carlos P. Romulo has accomplished in the University of the Philippines. Mr. Speaker, colleagues of General Romulo here in the Congress, and his millions of

friends and admirers throughout the United States will be pleased with this editorial which outlines General Romulo's magnificient achievements at the university.

The editorial, entitled "Report on C.P.R." follows:

Two years ago, Carlos P. Romulo left his ambassadorial post in the United States to become president of the University of the Philippines at Manila. For almost a quarter century his life and work had made a deep impress on the American mind. He was known as author, lecturer, aide-de-camp to Gen. Douglas MacArthur during the Second World War, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, head of the Philippine Delegation to the United Nations, and Ambassador to the United States. It is probable that not since Lafayette had any representative from another nation been more highly regarded or acclaimed.

It is natural, therefore, that there should be a great deal of interest in Carlos Romulo's new career as university president. While in Manila, I had ample opportunity to visit the general and observe him in action. This piece is in the nature of a brief report.

His first few months as university president were not lacking in excitement or personal challenge. Some of the students seemed to feel that the Ambassador's identification with the United Nations and his consistent advocacy of a world-citizenship philosophy ran counter to the new spirit of Philippine nationalism. Or they assumed that the fact of his adherence to the Catholic Church would endanger the university's standing as a secular institution. Or they were apprehensive that his long service in the United States had given him such a strong conditioning that the university would be indistinguishable from an American campus in no time at all.

Even before he arrived on the campus, critical comment appeared in the student newspaper. And he had hardly hung up his hat in the President's office when trouble loomed in connection with the announced state visit to the Philippines of Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko, of Japan. A delegation of students served notice that if the royal visitors came to the university they would be greeted by a demonstration protesting Japan's treatment of the Filipinos during the war.

Characteristically, President Romulo responded to the attacks of the student newspaper by increasing the freedom and responsibility of the editors and reducing the role of the faculty adviser. To the students who warned they would demonstrate against the Japanese royal visitors, President Romulo said that this was entirely within their rights. He stressed that the right of protest was one he intended to uphold but stressed equally the need to equate freedom with responsibility. And he made it clear that the university was looking to tomorrow and not to the perpetuation of old grievances.

To the more general apprehensions or criticisms, the president's reply was to direct his main attentions to the central problems of the university. He embarked immediately on an 18-point program of development—raising academic standards, enlarging the scholarship program, strengthening the faculty, stepping up faculty salaries, refurbishing the university plant, instituting research programs in both the physical and social sciences, establishing a medical center, undertaking basic planning for an Institute of Communication that could serve as a research and training center in southeast Asia for mass media and related fields.

It is only a short time, relatively, since Carlos Romulo became a university president, but all the early troubles and criticisms are far behind him. The students like their access to the chief and his readiness to discuss or debate with them. Meanwhile, substantial progress has been made on the 18-point program. Two boosts in faculty salaries have already been put through and more are scheduled. Academic standards have been raised and will go even higher. The library is being expanded. Land is being cleared for the major new buildings. Intellectual ferment is in style; visiting lecturers like Barbara Ward have challenged the students to relate the problems of the Philippines to the larger problems of the human community. The spirit of Philippine independence has been strengthened in official school activities and observances. At the same time, President Romulo has made the point that independence for the Philippines, or for any other nation, depends on interdependence in the world.

Carlos Romulo believes that the first obligation of his university is to the nation and its people, but he also recognizes that the school is uniquely situated to serve as common ground between East and West. The Philippine people have had a triple heritage—Asian, European, and American. He regards this as a prime natural asset in enlarging the university's place in the educational community in general.

Several attempts have been made to entice Carlos P. Romulo back into public life, but he has successfully held his ground. His role is that of elder statesman and educator. He is consistently consulted on questions of foreign policy by President Diosdado Macapagal. And his influence as educator is being felt throughout a large part of Asia.

At 64, Carlos Romulo has what he considers to be the most rewarding of all possible jobs. The government has warned him it has no intention of letting him retire next year or for some years to come. Meanwhile, he maintains the kind of schedule that is exhausting just to contemplate. He is often at his desk by 7 a.m. for a daily stint of 12 hours or more. It is possible the workload may be eased at his 18-point program comes to fruition. He welcomes this prospect, for it will give him time to do something he has hoped to do since he came to the university. In addition to his work as president he would like to give a course in American literature.

Congratulations, Jim Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many of our colleagues will be pleased to join me in congratulating the Honorable Jim Farley and in wishing to him many happy returns on his 76th birthday, because he is indeed one of America's great statesmen and one of its greatest politicians. I use that term to designate one who learns and practices the science of government.

I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following item which appeared in the Star Gazette of Elmira, N.Y., on May 30, 1964:

JIM FARLEY STILL HEARTY AT 76—HE'S OPTIMISTIC ABOUT DEMO PROSPECTS THIS FALL

NEW YORK.—A hale and hearty James A. Farley, 76 today, relaxed in his office this week among treasured mementos of 50 years of political life—and looked happily toward the future.

He was relaxed, for one reason, because he was as optimistic about Democratic prospects this fall as he was in 1932.

That was the year he piloted Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidential campaign to a landslide victory, carrying 42 States. He says President Johnson may do even better because he has substantial support from the business community.

Concerning the Republican race for the presidential nomination, Farley predicted a convention deadlock if New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller beats Arizona Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in California's primary Tuesday. In that case, he said, the convention might turn to Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania over former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Farley was relaxed, too, because for the first time in recent election years he himself is not seeking any political office.

Farley, former Democratic national chairman and former Postmaster General, is board chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., in charge of sales overseas.

He was guest at a prebirthday party today at Coca-Cola's World's Fair pavilion and was presented with a 76-pound birthday cake. Amid congratulations from hundreds of friends, he took time to answer newmen's questions on politics.

The walls of his business office are hung with scores of autographed photographs of the greats he has known.

Showing a reporter around this week, he showed particular delight in a picture of the late President John F. Kennedy, seated at a table with an impish grin and a bottle of Coke at his right hand.

Kennedy had inscribed it: "With warmest regards from a customer."

Farley said Kennedy had sent the photograph, unsolicited, and that he did not know where it was taken.

The autographed photographs are from Democrats and Republicans alike—President Johnson and former Presidents Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"I have been on speaking terms with six Presidents," said Farley. "What makes me happy about it is that I was on friendly terms with all."

Farley has a busy schedule for his birthday. He will attend mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, drive to his boyhood neighborhood in Rockland County to visit the graves of his parents in St. Peter Cemetery in Haverstraw, and Grassy Point's St. Joseph Church where he once served as an altar boy.

Then he will return to New York for a luncheon at the World's Fair before driving to Westchester County to visit his wife's grave in Gate of Heaven Cemetery and then having dinner with his daughter, Mrs. Glenn D. Montgomery, and son James Jr., a member of the New York Athletic Commission.

Farley discussed politics dispassionately.

He sought the Democratic nomination for Senator in 1958 and for Governor in 1962 but the party leaders passed him by for lesser known candidates who, incidentally, lost.

Politically, he said, he is "not very active because I'm not invited to be, but that's no complaint."

Why have the leaders consistently passed him up?

"Because if I were Senator or Governor I would be the State leader of the party," he said. He pointed out that the Democrats have neither the governorship or the State's two senatorships and that the leadership therefore rests with New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

But just as dispassionately as he said that Wagner and other leaders have blocked him, he termed Wagner the strongest candidate for the Senate this fall against Republican Senator KENNETH B. KEATING.

His own role, he said, will be to campaign vigorously for President Johnson and Wagner or whoever the Senate nominee may be.

U.S. Policy in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, 1964, the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council which represents more than 800 organizations held a mass meeting which adopted a resolution concerning U.S. aid to Egypt. The resolution requests the United States "to withdraw aid from Nasser as long as that aid is used for aggressive purposes and announce its readiness to enter into a treaty of mutual defense and support with Israel as it has with other nations." In light of yesterday's debate on this question, I urge my colleagues to read the following resolution.

The resolution follows:

The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council duly assembled at its silver jubilee anniversary meeting held at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on May 5, 1964, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas for more than a decade the very existence of the State of Israel has been threatened with extinction by the repeated public declarations and preparations of the ruler of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser;

"Whereas since he came to power President Nasser has constantly declared over his radio and in public his determination and that of his associated Arab States to drive the Israelis into the sea;

"Whereas he has in recent years, in pursuance and preparations of such threats and declarations of policy built up a formidable armament of jet planes, submarines, tanks, and more recently offensive missiles, in the building of which he has been aided by former Nazis who have found refuge in Egypt from prosecution in Germany;

"Whereas for a year and a half he has kept an army of Egyptian troops in Yemen which were transported there by Russian planes and supplied by Russian arms;

"Whereas contrary to his repeated promises, he has not only not withdrawn his troops but has increased their number so that they now reportedly number 40,000 and, through rotation, has used the war in Yemen to battle-train his entire army;

"Whereas the United States has consistently supported Nasser with generous gifts of foreign aid in an amount now approaching nearly a billion dollars;

"Whereas this policy encourages the aggressive tactics and purposes of Egypt's dictator;

"Whereas the United States has repeatedly declared its interest in the preservation of peace in the Middle East and elsewhere and the development of the economy and well-being of nations recipient of U.S. aid;

"Whereas the actions of the United States in supporting Nasser are wholly inconsistent with U.S. declarations of policy;

"Whereas there is imminent danger that Egypt shortly will be in a position to destroy Israel overnight by the rocketry and sophisticated weapons which Nasser is accumulating, supported by his now battle-trained army;

"Whereas although the Congress of the United States provided by law that U.S. economic aid should not be given to any nation preparing for aggression against any other country aided by the United States, the administration has not acted to stop aid to Egypt; and

"Whereas President Nasser has admitted openly that Egypt is preparing for an aggressive war against Israel and is actively carrying on aggression elsewhere;

"Whereas Nasser has alined himself with the Communist bloc in their efforts to control the African nations: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the administration should immediately reverse its longtime policy of appeasing Nasser;

"That the United States take a firm stand before all the world on behalf of the peacefully intentioned, liberty loving, democratic, and free people of Israel to ward off its destruction; and

"That to prevent this catastrophe the United States should: (a) withdraw aid from Nasser as long as that aid is used for aggressive purposes, and (b) announce its readiness to enter into a treaty of mutual defense and support with Israel as it has with other nations."

High Noon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, as a Californian I have long been interested in legends of the Old West. In today's edition of the Washington Post, Columnist Art Buchwald writes a suspense-filled tale about 20th-century characters—although they are philosophically attuned to an earlier era—who, I suspect, will someday take their places with such famous names of yesteryear as the James boys and the Daltons, the Earps, and the Clantons, "Curley Bill" and the "Sundance Kid."

And I am sure that in many respects November 3, 1964, will go down in American history as a day to rival the drama played out years ago at Arizona's famed OK Corral.

Of course, in 1964 ballots will replace bullets—but the final result will be the same. Mr. Buchwald's "Arizona Kid" will bite the dust—not because he is slow on the draw—for he has often demonstrated his speed—not because he fails to shoot from the hip—the "Arizona Kid" knows of no other way—but because, standing tall in the saddle, the "Texas Terror" has the desire and all of the high qualifications needed to play Gary Cooper.

It goes without saying that on November 4 the responsible citizens of "Little Elephant Horn" will rejoice. After many months of confinement and fear they will at last be able to come out of their houses, unlock the doors and pull up the window shades. Truly, lights will go on again—all over the world.

For the enjoyment and edification of my colleagues—on both sides of the aisle—I include in my remarks Mr. Buchwald's piece of Americana, "Capitol Punishment: High Noon":

CAPITOL PUNISHMENT: HIGH NOON
(By Art Buchwald)

We've decided to remake the very successfull movie, "High Noon." In order to bring it up to date, we're going to have to change the story around a bit. In our film they're having an election for sheriff in the town of Little Elephant Horn. Much to everyone's surprise the Arizona Kid announces he's going to run for the office. The Arizona Kid is noted for being quick on the draw and shooting first and asking questions afterwards. The respectable citizens in the town are horrified at the thought of his being sheriff.

As our story opens, several of the Arizona Kid's henchmen are waiting at the railroad station for him to arrive on the noon train.

It's 10:45 a.m. on the station clock. A small group of responsible citizens go over to visit the Old Sheriff at his farm to persuade him to come out against the Arizona Kid.

The Old Sheriff shakes his head. "Boys, I'd like to help you, but I'm getting on in years, and I don't feel it's my place to interfere. I don't like the Arizona Kid any more than you do, but I'm not going to get messed up in town politics."

"But everyone respects you," the citizens plead. "If you say the Kid's irresponsible, a lot of folks are going to listen."

"Boys, you know I don't like to deal in personalities. I got my farm and my cattle and I've been through the war. I just want to settle down and be left alone."

The clock at the railroad station shows 11 o'clock and Arizona Kid's henchmen are whooping it up.

The citizens decide to ride over and see Pennsylvania Bill and ask him if he'll run against the Arizona Kid.

Pennsylvania Bill says, "If everyone in this town comes to me and says they want me to be sheriff, then I'll consider running for the office. But I'm not going out into the street and try to stop the Arizona Kid. I may not agree with him, but I'm not going to mess with him."

"But the old sheriff wants you to run against the Kid," someone says. "You know the Arizona Kid will set Little Elephant Horn back 20 years."

"I know it," Pennsylvania Bill says, "and I'm available. But the only way I can be convinced is if all the townspeople carry me on their shoulders down Main Street."

"Would you consider being deputy sheriff?"

"I'd have to find out where the Arizona Kid stood first, but I wouldn't rule it out."

It's 11:30, and the nervous citizens go over to see former Deputy Sheriff Dick. They plead with him to do something about the Arizona Kid.

Dick says, "Men, I'll do anything anyone wants me to, but I ain't going to tangle with the Arizona Kid. If you can knock him off, I'd be very happy to run for sheriff. But I'm not about to get into a fight."

The clock at the railroad station reads 11:45. The citizens go to see the Rock. He tells them he can't stop the Arizona Kid alone. He almost got killed trying.

"I'm willing to go out into the street with a gang of guys, and I can supply some guns and horses. But the Arizona Kid has me outnumbered, and I can't do it by myself."

It's 5 of 12. The responsible citizens hear the train whistle, and they all go to their houses, lock the doors, and pull down their window shades.

At high noon the Arizona Kid gets off the train as his laughing henchmen cheer. He walks down the main street of Little Elephant Horn prepared to shoot it out with anyone who tries to stop him. But no one dares to come out into the hot noon sun.

The only difference between our film and the original "High Noon" is that in this one nobody wants to play Gary Cooper.

Unraveling the Mystery of Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my great privilege to hear a truly magnificent commencement address by Sister Alexa, S.P., Ph D., Assistant Professor of Religion, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind., who addressed the graduating class of Immaculata High School here in Washington.

Sister Alexa chose as her subject the mystery of woman and I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this is one of the most thoroughly penetrating analyses of that wonderful phenomenon that we men have learned to revere, the woman.

Sister Alexa quite properly pointed out that the presence of women in the world should be like the presence of light whose influence is gentle and persistent.

I am sure that these words serve as a source of profound inspiration to my daughter, Aurelia Marie Pucinski, and all of the fine young ladies in the graduating class.

I should like to share with my colleagues this excellent commencement address which I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

IMMACULATA HIGH SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT SPEECH, MAY 28, 1964

(By Sister Alexa, S.P., Ph. D.)

Some years ago when I was teaching in a girls' high school a woman from the local Red Cross came to collect equipment which had been lent for a course in home nursing. While waiting for the pickup truck to arrive she sat with me in an empty classroom. Ostensibly it was a free period for me—a really free period, without even a supervision group before me. Nevertheless, as I sat at my desk, doubtlessly correcting papers, girls streamed constantly in and out of the room, asking this, checking on that, or just seeking a break in the routine—a technique which I am sure you are familiar with. Finally the Red Cross worker could stand it no longer; during a lull in the activity she blurted out: "Doesn't it drive you crazy to live in an all-woman world?"

Well, perhaps that is a debatable point. But I haven't come to make any true confessions, nor am I going to speak about living in an all-woman world. Let me use the story simply to illustrate that there are occupational hazards to being a woman—and my Red Cross friend was simply recognizing that fact in her somewhat startling outburst. Each individual human being is a profound secret, a mystery, living and inviolable, sealed in the very union of the soul with its body. But of woman, even more than of man, can it be said that she is a mystery, not only to others, but often to herself as well. Accordingly, she must constantly be making the effort to educate herself, to unfold her latent powers—which she discovers only in their unfolding—in order to take the central place in society for which she was born.

There is, to be sure, no dearth of advisers eager to tell women how to do a good job of this, but since most of these advisers are men, I can't miss the once-in-a-lifetime occasion to deliver a few feminine remarks on the art of being a woman. Analyzing woman has been a preoccupation of society from earliest times—if we are to trust the documents which have been preserved for us. Biblical writers, for example, have a great deal to say about women. On the practical level women fare rather badly in the Bible. Yes, the joys of having a good wife are enumerated, but more frequent are the comments on the nagging wife, the shrew, the woman with the roving eye. The writer of the Book of Proverbs says characteristically: "Like a golden ring in a pig's snout, so is a beautiful woman with a rebellious disposition" (12: 22)—a description which a modern Biblical critic—a man, of course—styles "a completely sensible and satisfying utterance."

Great theologians like Augustine and Thomas Aquinas have also spilled much ink upon the subject of woman. Their primary concern was, I fear, to explain women to men, since their theological works were not intended for a feminine audience—another subtle indication of their opinion of women. At any rate, possibly it never occurred to them that women needed to be explained to themselves.

Today also vast reams of materials, from the widly sensational to the dully erudite, are published about women. Slick magazines are devoted to the proposition that you had better not underestimate their power, scholarly treatises explore their psychology and attempt to measure even the theological dimensions of womanhood. The publication of all this material indicates that women are eager to learn about themselves, to live fuller, richer, more complete feminine lives.

Yes, there is no dearth of councilors—but many are false ones. To begin with, modern society with its emphasis upon glitter and glamour tends to identify the essence of womanliness with attractiveness of face and figure. Concern for such externals is all very well: Thomas Aquinas has a sober little section on whether it is lawful for a woman to fix herself up in the interests of getting a husband—and he says yes. But preoccupation with the externals of feminine charm can be disheartening, creating the impression that love and life will bypass all save the beautiful and charming minority among us. Pressures of advertising, for instance, concentrate on the physiological aspects of sex to such a degree that women are tempted to stress superficial attractiveness at the expense of cultivating those inner attitudes and characteristics which most nobly and successfully guarantee love in all its aspects. The ability to love and to be loved is not a matter of face or figure, and womanliness—true fulfillment of a woman as a person—is independent of Clairol, Revlon, or Charles of the Ritz.

In the second place, a woman is deceived about her true nature because she lives and competes in a man's world. Therefore she gets used to hearing feminine traits and feminine virtues downgraded and despised. She absorbs the idea that the pinnacle of perfection is to do a job as well as a man does. She is made to feel that to be successful, she must be unemotional, straight thinking, tough, objective, quick acting: In short, that she must possess all the good qualities which she frequently hears men ascribe to themselves.

On the contrary, to be a successful woman—above all an effective Christian woman—she need only be persuaded to be herself. Like all simple statements, this one contains more than meets the ear, for our present age, as we have seen, offers countless obstacles to a woman being a woman—and one of these chief obstacles is woman herself, who has been taken in by false values and by false insistence upon equality with men.

Now let us apply these few ideas to you, Immaculata's class of 1964. We speak of tonight's occasion as commencement: A beginning—perhaps it would be better to use the term graduation, because you have already begun. Behind you are 18, perhaps 19 years already on the road. These have not been years of mere marking time, but years of activity and growth, years when many factors have been at work forming you to the women you will become. And tonight's achievement, of which you, your family, teacners, and friends are so justly proud, is a stage upon the road that stretches ahead of you. You are, I hope, sincerely optimistic; you are on the upgrade, more conscious of the possibilities than of the limitations which may lie before you. This does not mean you are unaware of problems, uncertainties, perhaps even disillusionments. But these are the expression of a life still on its way to fulfillment. And you are aware not only of yourself but of the age in which you live. Every era, of course, thinks of itself as a new age—one which the world has never seen before. But our time is unique in that we are living in the midst of a breaking-up of things. We can look upon this as the dawn of a new era or fear it as the beginning of the end. In either case, we are living in times when man is freeing himself not only from the so-called repressions of a moral code, but even from the restriction and protection of nature itself, and in that process he has fallen a victim to the very forces he set out to master.

In such a time as ours the role of woman is no different from what it has been, but it is more essential than ever. Goethe has said: The eternal woman leads us upward. And how? A woman makes her surest and greatest contribution to society simply by being more and more completely a woman. This is not to say there is no active apostolate for the Christian woman. In your apostolic lives there must be choices and decisions made, plans initiated, for any significant life involves a variety of activities influencing one's social and material environment. But there does not need to be something new every month or even every year. If you will look at Mary, Immaculata's patron, you will see that her work was one of quiet perseverance in one and the same thing through all events and circumstances. Really Mary did only one thing: she conceived her Son. All else was simply the unfolding, the explication of this single theme of her life. She did not merely say "Yes" to God in a great moment of exultation; gently, persistently she sustained that "Yes" by a decision of faith—sustained it all through her life.

So the presence of women in the world should be like the presence of light whose influence is gentle and persistent. It is not coercive, not a matter of pressure or of gross power. It communicates and has its effect by being what it is meant to be. So in a woman's activity the primary consideration is for her to be first and foremost a woman. Woman is according to her whole makeup the fount of life—not only of physical life, but of spiritual, moral life as well. And today it is perhaps more important than ever before to protect, to respect, to encourage life, not only that of man, but of all nature and, indeed, of all creation.

And so at your graduation—your stepping ahead on the path you are already treading—as a teacher and as a woman I would urge you to know and to love what you are and to discover what you can become.

Protecting the Hudson River's Scenic Charm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the whole Nation has a vital interest in saving the scenic beauty of its great rivers. Conservationists in the National Capital area have fought efforts to deface the natural charm of the Potomac River.

Now a threat is presented to the beautiful Storm King-Cornwall section of the Hudson River, 50 miles north of New York City. Consolidated Edison and Central Hudson Gas & Electric propose to build powerplants at this point which would deface one of America's grandest sights. Kilowatt-hours are important to the Nation's economy, but surely they can be obtained without desecrating America the beautiful. I include editorials from the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune which well set forth the issue now before the Federal Power Commission:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 10, 1964]

BEAUTY OVER ELECTRICITY

Mr. H. C. Forbes, chairman of Consolidated Edison, is undoubtedly right in arguing before the Federal Power Commission that his company's proposed $160 million hydroelectric powerplant at Storm King Mountain would offer gigantic economic benefits to the public.

But the question isn't quite so simple.

The Hudson Highlands are, or ought to be, a great scenic asset for all the people. And despite the great virtues of Con Ed's cheaper power, the fact remains that this industrial project (for all the intended landscaping works) will detract from nature's beauty. Just how much is a matter of dispute, but who can doubt that the great Hudson's vistas won't be impaired,,

As our reporter, William G. Wing, points out, the struggle for preservation of this natural asset has been marked by victories and defeats over the years. The people have not always been as alert as they might be, but many leaders have steadily labored in the cause of conserving the landscape .

The curious thing in the present controversy, however, is that the decision about the Cornwall project should be left to the Federal Power Commission on the technical grounds of navigable water diversion and the placement of transmission facilities. For the big issue is not primarily electricity; it is scenery. Even Con Ed, in its step-by-step concessions on relative concealment of facilities, admits the point.

Where the State and all the conservationists have failed is by not insisting on lasting protection of the Hudson and environs. For the Highlands are more than mundane private property; they belong in perpetual enjoyment to all the people.

It is well and good that Con Ed wants to bestow so many benefits, and maybe it can yet prove that scenery and powerplant are compatible. But an undefiled Storm King Mountain is worth more than cheap electricity.

There is no need for the FPC to hurry; all the evidence must be heard and weighed. This involves precedent for the future—in simplest terms whether man has respect and desire for nature's beauty.

This newspaper believes that the Hudson landscape is too valuable for tampering that can't be undone.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, May 29, 1963]

DEFACING THE HUDSON

If any utility proposed to construct a plant in the middle of Central Park, the absurdity of such a defacement of precious natural (or nearly natural) surroundings would be immediately apparent. It is almost as bad to plunk down a couple of power installations right in the heart of one of the most stunning natural regions in the Eastern United States: Storm King Mountain (north of Bear Mountain and West Point) and Breakneck Ridge on the opposite (eastern) side of the Hudson.

All of us who have driven down from New England and northern New York have looked with awe at these breathtaking mountains. All of us who have hiked and played in Palisades Interstate Park know what a beautiful backyard exists 50 miles north of New York. Is it too close to home to appreciate? "This is very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see," said one of Henry Hudson's officers, going up the river under these high blue hills. That great traveler Baedeker found the Hudson's scenery "grander and more inspiring" than the Rhine's.

The proposed powerplants of Consolidated Edison at Storm King and of Central Hudson Gas & Electric at Breakneck Ridge would desecrate great areas that are part of the natural and historic heritage of our country, are still largely unspoiled and should remain that way.

Downriver, the Palisades already have been irretrievably defaced. North of the George Washington Bridge, thanks to the generosity of the Rockefeller and Harriman families, there has been partial preservation for park use. But, in spite of efforts of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, two 14-story buildings sit garishly atop the Palisades, and the green belt is rapidly vanishing in the 2-mile-long strip between Fort Lee and Englewood Cliffs. The latest rebuff to preserving the Palisades is a New Jersey court decision approving a motel with a 10-story tower in Fort Lee. Here we think we shall never see a motel as pretty as a tree.

Recognition of Frank W. Sheridan, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to call the attention of my colleagues to the excellent work record of a dedicated public servant, Frank W. Sheridan, Jr.

Mr. Sheridan for the past 3 years has been manager of the Veterans' Administration regional office in New Orleans. He is leaving this post this week for a promotion to the Washington headquarters of VA, where he will be area field director for VA activity in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina.

Mr. Sheridan leaves his own monument in the very excellence of the VA regional office which he headed. He brought energy and enthusiasm into the job as regional manager, and his sense of dedication was contagious.

An employee of the VA since December 1945, Mr. Sheridan's tenure has been marked by progress and promotions. One of his greatest assets has been his facile ability to communicate. Speaking or writing, he is an articulate administrator.

The work Mr. Sheridan has accomplished has always been in the best interest of the veterans. He has served them well.

He richly deserves his new promotion, and I am confident he will execute his new responsibilities with the same extraordinary level of proficiency.

Tribute to Leo Szilard—Scientist and Saint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, last week a celebrated scientist, a distinguished citizen, and a great man quietly passed from the American scene. Although he first achieved preeminence as a nuclear physicist for his invaluable collaboration in producing the first controlled nuclear chain reaction, it is for his subsequent tireless efforts to achieve and maintain a rational, civilian control over our atomic resources that he is distinguished from among other modern giants in the field of physics and for which he shall be immortalized.

His was a rare combination of scientific genius, coupled with a singular insight into the nature of man and an understanding of basic human values which are so aptly and deservedly acknowledged in the following June 4 editorial in the Washington Post, eulogizing this 20th-century apostle of peace—Leo Szilard:

LEO SZILARD

Leo Szilard, a native of Hungary and, by his own choice a citizen of the United States, brought great gifts to his adopted land. Among those gifts was a scientific genius which played a generative role in the development of atomic energy. But perhaps of even greater significance among Leo Szilard's gifts was a prophetic sense of humanity which made him conscious of all the malevolent potentialities of atomic energy as a weapon of war and of the need to subject this weapon to controls in the interest of mankind.

With Enrico Fermi, Dr. Szilard produced the first controlled nuclear chain reaction and, as a participant in the Manhattan Project, helped to produce the first atomic bomb. From the beginning, however, he recognized the dread potentialities of this discovery. When the war ended, therefore, he played a vital part in persuading the country that the control of atomic energy should be placed in civilian rather than in military hands.

In recent years, Dr. Szilard has been a tireless protestant against recklessness and resort to force in American foreign policy and and advocate of Soviet-American accommodation in the interest of human survival. It

was in these years, perhaps, that he served his fellowmen most imaginatively and fruitfully. His death stilled a voice of reason. If he was by accident an armorer, he was by purpose a pilgrim of peace.

Tribute to Gen. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on May 30, one of our great public figures celebrated his 76th birthday. For more than 50 of those 76 years he has been engaged in the public service from his early post as town clerk of Stony Point, N.Y., to Postmaster General of the United States.

I refer, of course, to the Honorable James A. Farley, confidant of Presidents, acquaintance of foreign notables and dignitaries, and a friend to all Americans.

It is appropriate, indeed, that on a day when the Nation pauses to honor its dead that we should take this opportunity to pay tribute to one of the greatest living men of our time.

I am certain that every Member of the House joins with me in acknowledging our debt, and that of the Nation, to Jim Farley for his years of unselfish effort in behalf of the common good, and to wish him continuing good health in the years that lie ahead.

Mr. Farley's views on many of the important issues of the day are reflected in an article by James Devlin which appeared in the Schenectady Gazette on May 30, and I am pleased to include it in the RECORD.

FARLEY, 76 TODAY, RELAXES WITH POLITICAL MEMENTOS

(By James Devlin)

NEW YORK, May 29.—A hale and hearty James A. Farley, 76 tomorrow, relaxed in his office this week among treasured mementos of 50 years of political life—and looked happily toward the future.

He was relaxed, for one reason, because he was as optimistic about Democratic prospects this fall as he was in 1932.

That was the year he piloted Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidential campaign to a landslide victory, carrying 42 States. He says President Johnson may do even better because he has substantial support from the business community.

Concerning the Republican race for the presidential nomination, Farley predicted a convention deadlock if New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller beats Arizona Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in California's primary Tuesday. In that case, he said, the convention might turn to Governor William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania over former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon.

Farley was relaxed, too, because for the first time in recent election years he himself is not seeking any political office.

Farley, former Democratic national chairman and former Postmaster General, is board chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., in charge of sales overseas.

He was guest at a prebirthday party today at Coca-Cola's World's Fair pavilion and was presented with a 76-pound birthday cake. Amid congratulations from hundreds of friends, Farley took time to answer newsmen's question on politics.

Though a businessman now, politics are never far from the thoughts of the man who grew up in that field.

The walls of his business office are hung with scores of autographed photographs of the greats he has known here and abroad in politics and other callings.

Showing a reporter around this week, he showed particular delight in a picture of the late President John F. Kennedy, seated at a table with an impish grin and a bottle of coke at his right hand.

Kennedy had inscribed it: "With warmest regards from a customer."

Farley said Kennedy had sent the photograph, unsolicited, and that he did not know where it was taken.

The autographed photographs are from Democrats and Republicans alike—President Johnson and former President Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"I have been on speaking terms with six Presidents," said Farley. "What makes me happy about it is that I was on friendly terms with all."

There are photographs, too, from such foreign notables as Winston Churchill and the late Indian Prime Minister Nehru, from the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur and from Francis Cardinal Spellman.

"Gratefully, devotedly, prayerfully," said the Cardinal's inscription.

Farley, a robust 6 feet 2, keeps his weight at 205 pounds through a regimen of no exercise and what he calls relaxation.

A visitor might wonder at his definition of relaxation considering that last year he traveled 71,000 miles, 59,000 by plane, and attended 132 banquets and 75 civic and business luncheons.

"But I eat sparingly," he explained.

He plays no golf. His exercise consists of walking four blocks to work from his apartment in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to his office at 515 Madison Avenue and elsewhere about town—except on rainy or very hot days.

For relaxation he attends Yankee baseball games and visits a turkish bath twice a week.

His office life is scarcely relaxed. Unlike some executives who pride themselves on an "open door" policy, Farley has what might be called an "open phone" policy. The phones ring every couple of minutes, sometimes two at once.

"It's simpler than having a secretary running in to tell me somebody is on the phone," he said.

Farley has a busy schedule for his birthday. He will attend mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, drive to his boyhood neighborhood in Rockland County to visit the graves of his parents in St. Peters Cemetery in Haverstraw, and Grassy Point's St. Joseph Church where he once served as an altar boy.

Then he will return to New York for a luncheon at the World's Fair before driving to Westchester County to visit his wife's grave in Gate of Heaven Cemetery and then having dinner with his daughter. Mrs. Glenn D. Montgomery, and son, James, Jr., a member of the New York Athletic Commission.

Winning Essays in the Annual Frank M. Totten Awards Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following three winning essays in the annual Frank M. Totten Awards contest of the New York State Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons.

The subject this year was "My Favorite Biblical Character and Why."

These young people are to be highly commended for their achievements.

The first prize essay follows:

RUTH: THE MOABITESS

(By Beverly Worth, 843 Harbor Circle, Baldwin, N.Y.)

God's greatest gift to man certainly is love. He commanded us to love one another and then we would find grace.

If one person in God's sight is greatest for love, it is Ruth. The principal character in the Book of Ruth, Ruth the Moabitess, had suffered the loss of her husband. Whereas many young women would pity themselves, Ruth expressed her love for her dead husband in deep devotion to his mother, Naomi.

When Naomi wished to return to her homeland, Ruth did not bid her farewell, as many would do, but insisted on returning with her. Throughout the trials that were to come, Ruth never strayed from her unselfish path.

Although Ruth had given up everything, including her friends and her country, she never complained. How often would a girl leave home and give up her familiar life for a strange land, just to be with her mother-in-law?

In times of destitution, she refrained from self-pity and took on one of the lowliest tasks of the day—gleaning. Ruth worked hard during the long, hot days, gathering enough grain to supply Naomi and herself.

Although the field owner was a kinsman of Naomi, Ruth did not make herself known. She did not wish to seek advancement through relationship. Ruth's humility was soon rewarded. The owner discovered her, and showed great kindness.

Love guided Ruth and fulfilled her needs. It led her out of poverty and into prosperity. Greatest of all its deeds, Ruth's love shone on her mother-in-law and brought her a great deal of happiness. Her confession of "wither thou goest, I will go" will make her story immortal.

Ruth more than carried out the greatest commandment. She exemplified all that we consider finest in man, by devoting her love to someone else while denying herself of much.

(The second prize essay by Carolyn E. Smalley, 71 Stone Avenue, Ossining, N.Y.)

St. Paul is perhaps one of the most discussed characters of the Bible and he is also my favorite. Through my church classes I have learned much about St. Paul: that he wrote many books of the New Testament known as Epistles; that he once persecuted Christians and later converted multitudes to the religion which he once abhorred; that he was a man of vitality; that he was ugly to look at; that he went on many missionary journeys; and that he loved argument and caused more than a little controversy concerning the doctrines of the Christian church. I believe St. Paul to be a brilliant figure among the Christians of the first century and one of the most remarkable personalities of any age or time. St. Paul was a strong man. After his conversion to the Christian religion, the hatred and suspicion of the Jerusalem Jews followed him everywhere because of his apostasy from his traditional faith. He was at no time during his life free from this contention, but he never stumbled or collapsed beneath its tremendous weight. St. Paul was also an affectionate man. He truly loved all Christians. He looked upon the struggling communities of early Christians not only as his charges, but

as his families of children. He wrote to one of his families saying:

"Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice.

"And be ye kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you."

Because of his sense of the beauty of language, his strength, his love for his people, and above all else his astounding faith, I have chosen St. Paul as my favorite Biblical character.

JOB: THE CONSOLIDATION OF FAITH

(The third prize essay by Roger Alan Rosenblatt, of Exeter, N.H.)

The book of Job is a dramatic dialog containing both the most poetically beautiful and intellectually incisive writing in the Bible. Job is the first biblical character to challenge some of the outstanding paradoxes and discrepancies which existed in the religious dogma of his period; with resolute courage and personal integrity he resolved his innate faith with the bitter realities of existence which he faced.

Job, considered by God to be a "perfect and upright man," is materially destroyed by Satan in an unsuccessful attempt to undermine his piety. Although shaken by unmitigated catastrophes, Job retains the essence of his profound faith and intellectual honesty. Confronted by three friends who parrot the accepted beliefs of the day, Job has the courage to see that there is no definite correlation between virtue and reward, that the justice of God is not something which men can comprehend.

Job, in his misery, is unable to find God. In his search for God, he realizes that suffering may proceed from God without causes which man would call just. Job tries to understand intellectually the meaning of his existence and his relation to God. He maintains his intellectual integrity in face of misfortunes and ingrained traditions.

The answer to Job's dilemma comes in the concluding poem of the book, where God speaks to Job from the whirlwind. God reaffirms the basis for Job's faith and his right to question the meaning of existence. Job is led to understand that a true belief and understanding of God can be achieved only through spiritual rapport. Job is led to a greater comprehension of the discrepancy between his finite existence and the infinite majesty of God.

Job is the first character of the Bible to examine and restate some of the basic tenets on which religion is built. His faith is restored, and the importance of that faith reaffirmed. "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee."

Hon. William C. Doherty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I was sorry to learn of the resignation of Ambassador William C. Doherty from his post in Jamaica, as all of the reports from that country since his assignment to that post had been glowing. Ambassador Doherty has had a long and enviable record of public service and he will probably be best remembered by the letter carriers of this country who he so ably represented for many years in Washington.

I considered Mr. Doherty as a good friend and the editorials which have appeared in the papers concerning his service as our Ambassador in Jamaica can be best exemplified by the following editorial which appeared in the Miami Herald for May 30:

MR. DOHERTY IN JAMAICA

The recent resignation of William C. Doherty as the first U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica closes a remarkable diplomatic success story.

The envoy, longtime head of the National Association of Letter Carriers, had no previous ambassadorial experience but he captured the affection and regard of Jamaicans.

The announcement of his departure inspired many newspaper accounts of his work and praise for his achievements. One Jamaican newspaper said editorially: "His government has now been placed under an obligation: It must give us another Mr. Doherty."

This was an unusual tribute to a departing diplomat who helped a new nation toward a growing role in the hemisphere. Being the first to speak for us in Jamaica, Mr. Doherty established an excellent tradition for his successors to follow.

Attorney General Kennedy Addresses Marquette University Commencement

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was the principal speaker at commencement exercises of Marquette University, Milwaukee, an outstanding Jesuit institution of higher learning in my district.

The Attorney General was presented with an honorary doctor of laws degree as a "relentless exposer of corruption in public life" and because he had taken a "calm, dignified, and determined position" on civil rights.

The university intended to bestow particular honor on Mr. Kennedy by asking him to speak. It marked the first time in many years that a layman has given the commencement address at Marquette.

The Attorney General's remarks were indeed worthy of such an occasion. In them, he emphasized the concern which all youth—and all Americans—must feel when confronted with the social problems of our times.

He called upon the graduates to take advantage of their university training to participate wholeheartedly in politics, government, and community affairs, in order to build a better society in the United States.

Because of the pertinency of Attorney General Kennedy's remarks, I request permission to include them in the RECORD and earnestly commend the attention of my colleagues to them:

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY, COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, JUNE 7, 1964, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Father Kelley, Father O'Donnell, Governor Reynolds, members of the faculty, and men and women of Marquette, it is a very great honor for me to come here today to accept this degree and with it, membership in the distinguished ranks of Marquette alumuni.

I have looked forward to visiting Marquette with particular anticipation since I read up on your early history—I should now say our early history—and discovered what interesting exercises Marquette has had at the end of the school year.

After the first academic year, for example, on June 28, 1882, there was a program which I doubt could be matched today. Before assembled citizens of Milwaukee, one young man demonstrated how to calculate the number of gallons in a wine cask. Two students prompted hearty applause when they drew a "beautiful map of Wisconsin on the blackboard." There was singing and some acting and then came the oration of the evening, entitled, "Let My Actions Speak."

The aspect of the oration that particularly attracted me was the crowd's reaction to the speaker. The speech, a newspaper account said at the time, "was listened to with breathless attention." I am sure Marquette audiences have not changed in the intervening years.

The purpose of those 1882 exercises was to demonstrate to the citizens of Milwaukee that Marquette could indeed provide a respectable education. No such public display is needed now from what has grown into this great university. Its men and women have demonstrated the importance of their Marquette experience by the contributions they have made to Milwaukee, the Midwest, and the Nation.

The outstanding performance in the Peace Corps by Marquette graduates like Barbara Olsen, Mike Shea, and Rocky Santos provides vivid illustration.

There is a picture of Rocky in the Peace Corps files in Washington showing him at the site of an extraordinary project in Ecuador. He and five fellow volunteers succeeded in organizing several hundred natives to blast and carve a road to their village out of a steep and stony 1,000-foot hillside. The picture shows him with some dynamite, with a smile, and—loyal to the ends of the earth—with a Marquette sweatshirt.

The intelligence and energy of young people like these Marquette alumni demonstrate that America is modifying the axiom, "youth will be served" to "youth will serve."

Idealistic and vigorous, it is a deeply necessary service in our difficult and paradoxical time. We are fast discovering that whatever our wealth or our technological skills, each new advance exposes an old problem.

Our scientists grapple with the difficulties of placing a man on the moon, but the immediately troubling concern of our society is whether men of different races can sit together at a lunch counter. Automation provides us with wonders of production and information, but no answer to the question of what to do with the men the machines displace.

In short, the power and the resources of modern technology, education, and civilization do not enrich the lives of all men. We do not all live in the same century.

The New York World's Fair exemplifies the scientific advances of the 20th century and it offers suggestions about the America of the 21st century. But less than an hour away in Harlem, people live in squalor and despair more closely resembling the 19th century. A few hundred miles away, in the remote hovels of Appalachia, the life of the

people is, if anything, worse than it was a hundred years ago.

Such disparity cannot be tolerated in a society which believes in free opportunity, or even in one which only talks about it. And I believe that our generation is committed to seeking an end to such disparity and solutions for the problems of the Nation and the communities in which we live.

Labels for college generations are always risky. To call earlier college eras simply the silly or the silent generations was to exaggerate. But I think it is fair to describe yours as a generation of unusually genuine and intense concern with social justice and intellectual freedom.

Political and social involvement have meaning to you and your contemporaries across the country. Thousands of students work on behalf of civil rights, or remedial reading, or community problems. Peace marchers or college civil rights demonstrators may not always express their concerns in the wisest or most effective manner, but it is clear that those concerns are deeply felt.

Those concerns stem in part from the intensified concern of our whole society for the problems of social justice. And they also stem from your Marquette training as educated, humane men and women. You will continue to feel these concerns as part of the legacy of college.

So there is no need for me to come and exhort you, in the manner of so many of the commencement speeches made since commencements commenced, to develop such concern. What I come instead to ask is whether you—and those like you in the colleges of the Nation—will continue to act on behalf of those deeply felt concerns.

The very college experience which has helped to expand your awareness of these problems is also the experience which prepares you for a place in society far removed from the problems.

As lawyers or doctors or businessmen—or as their wives—you will be escalated beyond contact with the large number of people in this country whose principal worries are hunger and hope. You will be part of the mere 9 percent of Americans with college degrees and you will be equipped to work in the very latest day of the 20th century.

But will you also work to bring the benefits of your preparation to the citizens who still live in the past? Will the problems of race or poverty or underdeveloped nations exist for you only in the sympathetic but abstract world of the Sunday newspapers and the political magazines?

It is not enough simply to be aware, or concerned, or sympathetic. While we are a free society, we are not yet a perfect society. One can find a squalid America as easily as a scenic America; a bitter, hopeless America as easily as the confident America of polyethylene wrapping, new cars, and camping trips in the summer.

Michael Harrington has described the poor as the invisible Americans. Let me propose that the phrase can be reversible. It is, after all, only a matter of perspective. For the unemployed city laborer or the uneducated Appalachian teenager or the ailing, elderly widower, it is the comfortable American who is invisible.

Let me suggest that just as the university gives you the tools and talents to work at the highest levels of society, so does it call on you to give to all society the benefits of those talents.

"Our country," said Theodore Roosevelt in 1899, "calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The 20th century looms before us, big with the fate of many nations."

That prediction may be even more valid now than it was when uttered. There has, perhaps, never been a time in our history when the gap between college and community has been smaller, when the need for active involvement by young people has been stronger, and the opportunity for them to do things of significance has been greater.

I would say to all of you that the most meaningful and rewarding way of achieving that involvement is in politics, in Government service. Politics has not always been an honored profession and there still are those who would agree with the view expressed years ago by humorist Artemus Ward: "I am not a politician and my other habits are good also."

But that is not the only view. The word "idiot" comes from the Greek for a person who did not participate in public affairs. And in America, I believe we have come to develop respect for the public servants who make such an important contribution to our society.

There is opportunity to share in that contribution for young people and there are many in Government, whether in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, or as aids to President Johnson, or in State and local governments across the country.

The likelihood is that you will choose a private career, but the same point still applies. Whichever arena you choose, you can still carry a sword against the common concerns which afflict our communities.

"Our ordinary citizens," said Pericles in his funeral oration, "though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters * * * Unlike any other nation (we regard) him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless."

You, the beneficiaries of the best training our society can provide, have a particular obligation to be useful, an added responsibility for the welfare of society.

Certainly you will be concerned with the quality of schools—but let that concern extend beyond the schools your own children attend. Certainly you will be concerned with juvenile delinquency, but let your concern extend beyond criticism to the treatment of the social conditions in your community which breed delinquency.

It is not enough in these times to lend your talents to your job, to raising a family, and to leading a self-sufficient, pleasant life. You, with the advantage of a college education and with the spirit of freedom and human dignity it releases, must participate wholeheartedly in politics, government, and community affairs.

Two years ago, in this city, President Kennedy stated the alternatives. "I see this country," he said, "as the most powerful, vital, vigorous country in the history of the world, carrying responsibility all around the world * * * or I see it standing still."

Let us make our choice for progress. Let us obliterate the past which is, for too many citizens, the somber present and the hopeless future. With the clarity and compassion of the university atmosphere, let us labor to build a future in which all Americans can share, with common prosperity and common pride.

Civil Rights and Elemental Freedoms Are the Concern of All Mankind

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Roberts Lidums, chairman of the Latvian Association of Wilmington, Del., which will be of interest and concern to all of us. He points out that June 14, 1941, was the day when "about 15,000 Latvians were incarcerated by the Communists without a warrant for search and seizure. These people in family groups, but separated from each other, were shipped in cattle cars to the harshest regions of Russia including the northern reaches of Siberia. For many it meant death in transit and on arrival. And for the few who survived, it meant separation forever from their families. For those who died, it is the Latvian Memorial Day—the day of deportations, the day of Latvian 'Auschwitz'."

Several years ago Premier Khrushchev took the opportunity to tell the people of the U.S.S.R., and the world at large, of the cruelties which had been perpetrated upon millions of people by Premier Stalin. The letter from Roberts Lidums is a moving recital of events which all of us should hope and pray will never be inflicted upon others. I include the letter by Roberts Lidums of the Latvian Association of Wilmington, Del., for the information of my colleagues:

THE LATVIAN ASSOCIATION OF WILMINGTON, DEL.—AFFILIATED WITH THE LATVIAN EVANGELIC LUTHERAN CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, PHILADELPHIA,

Wilmington, Del., June 8, 1964.

Hon. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN McDOWELL: In the footsteps of Memorial Day, well known to all of us, follows a little known day—June 14. To many it has no significance beyond being the day of our Lord, 1964.

To the Latvian people living in this community the 14th of June is a day to remind them of two things. Firstly, that without justice there is no human dignity accorded to the individual; secondly, this day is a very opportune time to thank the community, the city, and the State for its charity, tolerance and help in the modern-day exodus of the Latvian people.

Why then the 14th of June of all days in the year?

Because on this day in 1941 about 15,000 Latvians were incarcerated by the Communists without a warrant for search and seizure. These people in family groups, but separated from each other, were shipped in cattle cars to the harshest regions of Russia including the northern reaches of Siberia. For many it meant death in transit and on arrival. And for the few who survived, it meant separation forever from their families. For those who died, it is the Latvian Memorial Day—the day of deportations, the day of Latvian "Auschwitz."

Therefore, the Latvian community in Delaware turns to you to express its appreciation for the freedom which are of concern to all of us. In this context, we the Latvians know—though by bitter experience—that civil rights and elemental freedoms are the concern of all mankind, be it here in Delaware or in Latvia.

On behalf of those Latvians who have been less fortunate and those who have died in vain for their freedoms, we turn to you as a person in whom public trust has been reposed and hope that you will concern yourself with the fact that freedom has been deprived from many people by the Russian Communists.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERTS LIDUMUS,
Chairman.

Instruction in English for Puerto Rican Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, there was recently called to my attention an article in the Elks Bulletin of the San Juan, P.R., Lodge No. 972 regarding the use of the English language at private schools in Puerto Rico as a means of teaching. The article expresses the feeling of many Puerto Rican citizens, I am confident, but far too few Members of Congress are given an opportunity to hear such views expressed. For the benefit of my colleagues, the article is reprinted below:

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

According to newspaper El Mundo of June 25, 1962, Mr. Candido Oliveras, Secretary of Education of Puerto Rico, is opposed to the use of the English language at catholic and protestant private schools in Puerto Rico as a means of teaching, instead of using the Spanish as they do at public schools.

According to El Mundo, Mr. Oliveras said that he does not believe that the schools are being used as a means to Americanize the Puero Ricans, and made clear that as head of the Department of Education he would oppose to such a thing. Surprising! Mr. Oliveras is an American citizen, but he is opposed to the Americanization of the Island and he threats with sanctions to schools using the English language in teaching.

Since we are American citizens, where is the crime in trying to Americanize the Puerto Ricans, assuming that it was true, which is not, that private schools are teaching English in order to promote Americanism in the island? It certainly would be a crime to sovietize the people of Puerto Rico, but never can be an offense to promote Americanism in an American Territory.

Don't forget the Secretary that his Department receives millions each year from the United States. Besides, it is well known throughout the Island that the instruction received at private schools is far superior to the one received at public schools.

Well and good for us Puerto Ricans to love Puerto Rico more than any other place in the world. But let us not forget that we are North Americans also besides Puerto Ricans and that we owe allegience and loyalty to our Nation the United States of America.

One of the principal objectives of the Order of Elks, is to quicken the spirit of American patriotism and to foster Americanism. Therefore it is the duty of an Elks Lodge to fight anti-Americanism and communism, it matters not where the manifestation emanates from.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

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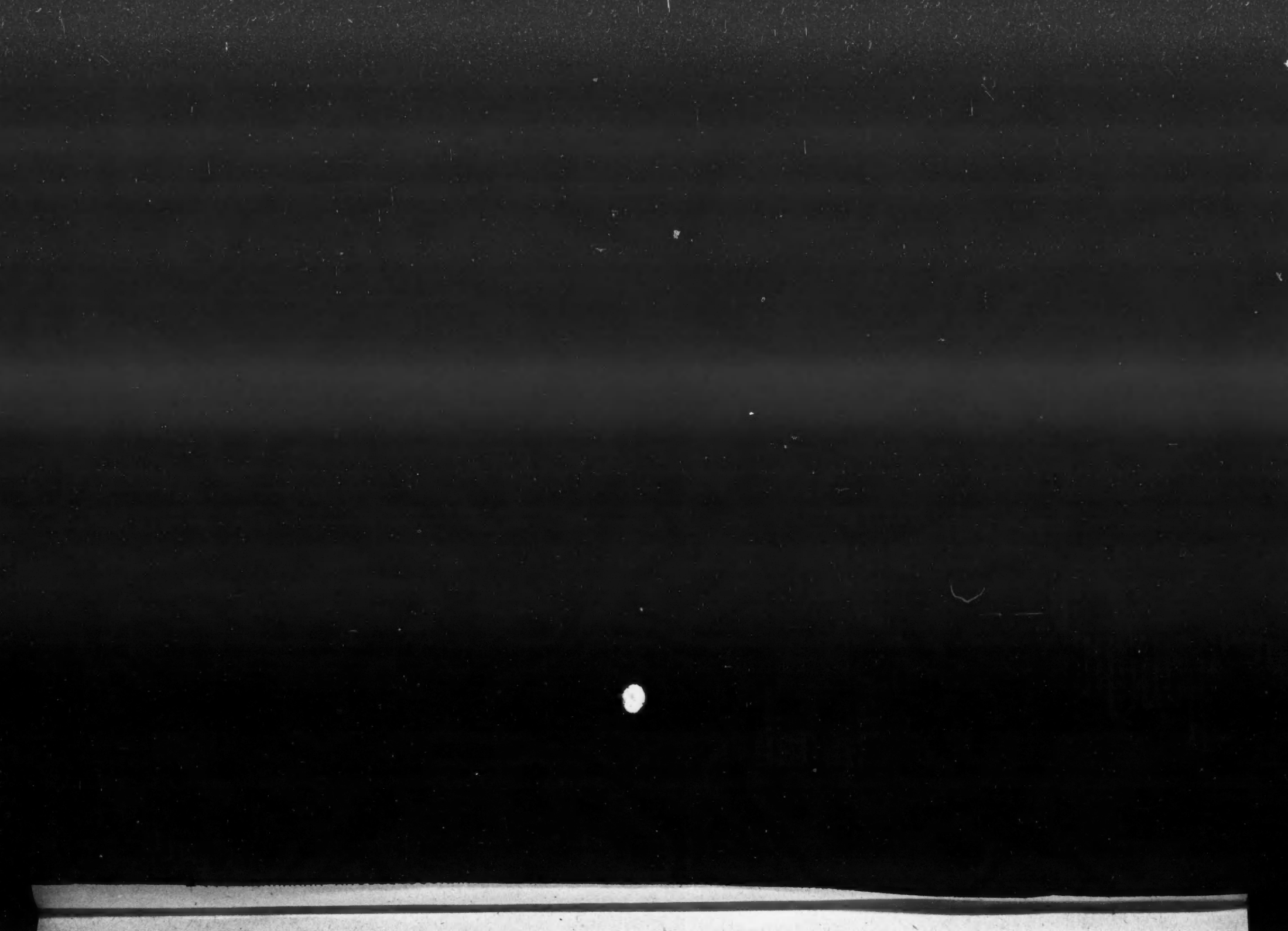

Appendix

Setting Your Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I take the liberty of presenting for the RECORD the text of the address entitled "Setting Your Goals," which was delivered by E. J. McNeely, president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. at the Grinnell College commencement exercises on June 5, 1964.

I do so because I believe that it captures the fundamental principles of the American way of life which we are too inclined to forget in the humdrum of our changing world and changing society.

Significant, to be sure, was the quote from Dr. John Gardner's book stating:

An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water.

I invite my colleagues in the House to the reading of President McNeely's address which follows:

Thank you, President Bowen. Honored guests, members of the faculty, members of the graduating class and friends, it's an honor and pleasure to be with you today. Since my boyhood I've known Grinnell as one of the great schools. The company where I work is deeply indebted to Grinnell for many of our fine people. I shall mention but one of them, Dr. Oliver Buckley. Dr. Buckley was president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories from 1940 to 1950, and chairman from 1950 to 1952. A few months ago, while reading a biographical sketch of Dr. Buckley, I came across these lines:

"Going to college was taken as a matter of course in the Buckley family. Upon completion of his postgraduate high school year, he entered Grinnell College * * * which was outstanding among Midwestern colleges of that day in its high educational standards."

I am sure you are convinced after 4 years of work at Grinnell that the standards have risen even higher since then.

And today you can look back, and take stock, and begin to appreciate what a good 4 years it has been. Four years of intellectual stimulation; 4 years of quiet, and sometimes not so quiet, study; 4 years of comradeship; 4 years of increasing mental stature.

As a result, you are better equipped than most of us in the older generation when we were your age.

So what have we to tell you?

Very little in the way of maxims and advice. Nor is it my thought today to try to add to your knowledge. Even if I could do so, it would probably be out of date tomorrow. As has been recently said, the time has now arrived when much of the knowledge acquired in school is likely to be obsolete by the time one goes to work.

This is, of course, an overstatement, but it is simply a way of saying that change comes very fast these days. And especially in this circumtance, I think you might agree that now is a good time for you to reexamine your aims; to make sure that you give purpose to your life; to make sure that you have set meaningful goals.

I say this because it seems to me this is what is needed to make sense of change, to give it order and direction. As an example, if you will permit a reference to my business, I believe the single most important factor in its success has been the setting of the right goals. More than 50 years ago, for example, Theodore N. Vail who then headed A.T. & T. said in effect:

"We will build a telephone system so that anybody, anywhere, can talk with anyone else, any place in the world, quickly, cheaply and satisfactorily."

At the time this was a startling and seemingly unrealistic objective. Remember it was set when it was difficult to put a call through across town and impossible to call across the country. It was set when the technical means to achieve it did not exist. In short, it was a dream.

Why was it so useful?

It gave direction to the business. All in the business could now see where they were headed. The goal served to channel the energies of many people, doing many different jobs, toward one end. It joined the talents of the scientists, engineers, operators, salesmen, linemen, managers, lawyers, accountants into a common effort.

I bring up this example because I believe it has application in our personal lives.

You must have a dream if your life is to be truly useful. But it must be a dream—not a daydream.

A dream focuses your energy and your talent, a daydream is a sieve that lets them leak away. A dream draws you on. It almost forces you to be successful and at the same time it gives you an understanding of failure because you never quite reach your goal. There is always a new goal ahead.

A dream, in prosaic language, is nothing more than the setting of definite personal goals. And the very act of setting these goals pulls you on toward excellence, you, who are equipped to excel by your background and education. And when you set goals it is important to aim high. It is important to choose a goal that will strain all your ability. And this is essential not only for your personal development but for the development of the country.

Dr. John Gardner, in his book "Excellence," puts it this way:

"An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."

And when you set for yourself objectives worthy of your capabilities they help you make the most productive use of the one natural resource that neither an individual nor a nation ever has enough of. That resource is time.

In striving toward your goal you come face to face with the inevitable fact that time is limited, but work is limitless. For the person who is really alive there is never enough time. There is no precise amount of work laid out for you to accomplish in your lifetime. There is always more to do if your life if purposeful.

Some years ago there was a popular song with the title, "The 5 o'Clock Whistle Forgot To Blow." Well, in work or in your family life it never really blows.

Not even on such a day as this when the world revolves around you. A day when you join with parents and friends in celebrating the reaching of an important personal goal.

The world revolves around you today and well it should. It expects so much of you.

It tooks to you to keep the peace and preserve the American economy.

It looks to you to speed to the moon and speed up crosstown traffic.

It looks to you to aid underdeveloped nations and accelerate the development of your own Nation.

It looks to you to produce laughter and goodwill as well as material goods.

And it looks to you to set new and refreshing goals, not only for yourselves but possibly for all mankind.

And in the realm of these goals, I have a suggestion that the class of 1964 might consider.

The distinguished Dr. Toynbee whom you have had here at Grinnell has said:

"Personal relations and human beings count for less nowadays everywhere in the Western World * * * the individual feels he can't do anything about things, and that is the death of democracy."

Perhaps the class of 1964 should dedicate itself to making the individual count for more, to ridding the Western World of the tired feeling that the individual can't do anything about things, to fostering a renewal of democracy.

You can do these things because you believe in the individual * * * because you believe in individual accomplishment * * * because you believe in compensation commensurate with one's contribution.

Because you believe in every man's right to set his own personal goals, you can make the individual count for more.

You can renew in our Nation the philosophy stated by Abraham Lincoln a hundred years ago:

"The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that people can do as well for themselves, the Government should not interfere."

Yes, this truly recognizes the rights, the freedom and the importance of the individual.

Again, 50 years ago, Samuel Gompers, who founded the American Federation of Labor, said:

"Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. Whatever is done under the guidance of philanthrophy which in any way lessens iniative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers."

I believe you feel as I do that our national welfare, our very survival as a free people, depend on the continued vitality and forward thrust of our free economy. It depends upon

you as an individual—upon the goals you set and upon the determination with which you pursue them.

One word of caution here—goals must be specific, either personal or national. They are worthless unless you are determined to achieve them. They must involve a time element. Efforts to achieve them must be something for today and every day, not something abstract for some time in the future. They must be a part of you—the individual.

I'm confident that you will reach your goals, that you will accomplish almost anything you set out to do, and that enthusiasm and humor will mark your accomplishments because you have already learned that the fun and a good deal of the compensation is in the work itself. The diploma isn't the reward, but the 4 years of work at Grinnell.

And I'm also confident that you will fill your work with a certain grace since, at Grinnell, you have acquired an understanding of your debt to others, to those whose thoughts you now build on, to those who have taught you how to build.

Your goals will be high, your contribution large. Undoubtedly, you will bare many of secrets of the universe.

But to get real satisfaction from such exploits you will have to bury all remnants of an attitude that belittles the individual, for life will not be improved if you are awed by the beauty of space but disregard the greatness of man.

I have every confidence in you and your generation; I know you won't be misled by false statements or by fancy theories. I know that you won't accept collectivism by whatever name it may be called. In fact, I know that through your leadership as individuals the years ahead will be the greatest period of progress in the history of mankind.

Thank you.

Trapdoor of the Treasury—Speech of Hon. Thomas M. Pelly, of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, recently our colleague, the Honorable THOMAS M. PELLY, of the State of Washington, spoke before the Washington Automotive Wholesalers Association at Spokane on the topic "Trapdoor of the Treasury." Congressman PELLY has for many years been an articulate spokesman in behalf of constitutional government and our free enterprise system. I believe his Spokane address deserves the careful study of all of us concerned with the preservation of constitutional safeguards and our way of life. With unanimous consent, I insert Congressman PELLY's remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TRAPDOOR OF THE TREASURY

(Text of speech by Congressman THOMAS M. PELLY before the Washington Automotive Wholesalers Association, Spokane, Wash., May 23, 1964)

It is a real pleasure to speak here today at this meeting of the Washington Automotive Wholesalers Association.

Having spent the greater part of my business life as an active trade association member, I can assure you I feel more at home talking to a group of businessmen such as yourselves than I do talking in the House of Representatives to my fellow legislators.

However, both as a former businessman and as a six-term Representative in Congress, I hold firmly with the great Daniel Webster, who once said the Constitution of the United States was adopted for no single reason so much as the protection of business.

In fact, every one of the early Presidential addresses to Congress recognized our Government's responsibility to promote the well-being of the Nation's business.

Thomas Jefferson once referred to agriculture, manufacturers, commerce, and navigation as the four pillars of prosperity.

When left most free to individual enterprise, these four pillars, he said, would be most thriving.

Unfortunately, especially during the past few decades, centralized government has grown and its bureaucratic regulatory functions have increased to the extent that business has not been most thriving. It has not been left most free to individual enterprise.

It has been taxed and regulated and redtaped almost beyond thriving.

Nevertheless, I assure you, there are many of us in the Nation's Capital who intend to keep fighting to preserve constitutionalism and the independent. profit incentive system that has produced the highest living standards in the world. And let me emphasize, an integral part of this fight is the strengthening of our free economy.

Government's proper role in our economy, I repeat, is to help bolster American business and industry in every way possible—without regimenting or stifling the freedom of the marketplace.

And it is precisely because I believe that Government has this special role of responsibility that I am one of the 24 Members of the House of Representatives and 11 Senators who have sponsored the quality stabilization bill.

Quality stabilization is a perfect example of legislation aimed at strengthening our economy without placing undue Government restraint on business. It is legislation which will preserve wholesome competition and yet eliminate many of the economic ills now threatening the existence of the independent retailer.

Your own organization has long been on the frontline in this effort to curb the predatory evils of unethical, cutthroat retail competition.

You have recognized that the destruction of the American independent retail merchant would have serious, adverse, and far-reaching effects on the national economy.

Indeed, one witness for a giant retail chain operation has gone so far as to boast to a congressional committee that if present trends continue, over 80 percent of our retail businesses will be controlled by only 50 giant companies within the next 10 years.

How will this effect the economy as a whole?

To begin with, there is always the human element involved—the loss of security for thousands of men and women whose livelihood depends on the small, independent merchant.

Then there is the affect of monopoly and the reduction of retail outlets, the affect on producers, manufacturers, and distributors—not to mention the loss of responsible service to American consumers.

The elimination of competitive neighborhood service will place every consumer and distributor at the mercy of the giant merchandisers.

Quality stabilization is directed at preventing such an eventual economic catastrophe by providing brand-name manufacturers with a means of protecting the good name and reputation of their products.

The misuse of national brand-name merchandise as "loss leader" and "bait" for unsuspecting customers is one of the chief devices of the unethical retailer.

As you know, the quality stabilization bill would give the independent brand-name manufacturer the same right over his product as is now employed by chainstores marketing their own private-label goods.

And by providing protection for brand-name merchandise, quality stabilization would also give the small independent retailer protection for his most precious stock in trade his reputation and the quality of his merchandise.

I should point out, too, that quality stabilization is purely voluntary legislation, and therefore is in keeping with the principles of our free enterprise system. No manufacturer would be compelled to come under the provisions of the law; nor would any distributor or retailer be required to handle any product.

And finally, let me stress that those of us who support this legislation—who believe it is vital to preserve our free retail economy—do not claim it is a cure-all. But we do maintain it will represent Government action to stem the present loss of American retail lifeblood and add vigor and new strength to the meaning of competition in the Nation's marketplace.

The bill is now awaiting action by the House Rules Committee and the full Senate Commerce Committee, chairmaned by Senator MAGNUSON.

Only recently, following exhaustive hearings, it was approved by a Special Senate Subcommittee on Quality Stabiliation.

We are hopeful that the quality stabilization bill will be passed out of these committees and come before the Congress this year for final passage.

In this connection, much depends on whether those upon whom the real strength of our system rests—the people back home at the grassroots—understand their interest as consumers in this fight.

The people must be given the true facts. Confusion is the weapon of the opposition. The Saturday Evening Post, for example, recently carried an article. It implied my interest was selfish and that I owned a stationery store.

I have no conflict of interest.

I own no such retail business. However, as a former retailer, I know from experience the importance of this legislation.

The electorate must understand the vital life and death issues concerning our economic system—and public opinion must make itself felt.

That is why you here in this audience and others like you throughout the country must make your support for quality stabilization clear to your elected representatives in Washington.

And this registering of your opinions is equally true regarding other issues involving the preservation of constitutional government generally.

The center of this fight is in Washington, D.C.—in the U.S. Congress and in the other branches and bureaus of our Government.

But the frontline is back here at home, for public opinion is a powerful force.

It is up to you, the people, to enter into the battle against those who distrust power in the hands of the people and who would break down and destroy the institutions created and fostered by the Founding Fathers.

We in the Congress who believe in an unfettered thriving economy ask, and must have, your support and help back home if we are to succeed.

The topic I chose, by the way, for these remarks, "Trapdoor of the Treasury," has to do with the use of your money and the danger posed to our constitutional system by the surrender of legislative powers to the executive branch.

Originally, I labeled this type of uncontrollable and unconstitutional expenditure as "backdoor spending." However, I have decided that "trapdoor spending" comes closer to describing the evil and insidious nature of this type of financing. Now, I refer to it as "trapdoor spending."

How about those forefathers who created the remarkable document that is our Constitution? What would they say were they alive today to see their Government in operation? What of their safeguards?

The line of their thoughts disturbs me.

For I can hear Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, and Madison protesting the steady breakdown of separation of powers among the respective branches of our Government.

Did not Madison, in the Federalist, once warn us, saying: "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny"?

Yet, what Madison feared and warned against—the accumulation of powers into the same hands—has been transpiring in Washington for more decades than many in this room have lived.

Much of this has transpired during the past three decades and were powers inherent in Government spending programs. These powers accompanied the dollars which passed through the trapdoor of the Treasury. They accompanied borrowed trapdoor money which has bypassed constitutional safeguards.

As a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have had to watch the steady erosion of powers of the legislative branch by the executive branch of Government. World war and the cold war—the menace of international communism—have provided the executive branch with ever-increasing powers to meet successive crises. The American people have grown used to government by crisis. We have therefore come to accept the exercise of Presidential powers which generations of Americans before us would have considered dictatorial.

The Executive invasion of the powers and rights of the legislative branch embraces all phases of our Government, foreign and domestic. In matters relating to foreign policy, recent years have seen an increasing use of Presidential decree, Executive order, and Executive agreement to bypass the legislative powers of advice and consent held by the Senate. But nowhere is the Executive's effort to circumvent the powers of Congress more evident than with "borrowing" Treasury funds.

As you know, trapdoor spending is the device whereby the executive branch borrows money from the Treasury and spends it on projects without a year-to-year scrutiny by congressional Appropriations Committees. The end result of this is the transfer of control of the Government purse strings from elected officials—from representatives directly responsible to the people—to executive department bureaucrats.

Needless to say, the power of the purse is a controlling factor in any government. Recognizing this, the Founding Fathers placed spending of the taxpayers' money in the hands of that body of public servants closest to the people—the House of Representatives, whose Members are directly answerable to the people for their actions every 2 years.

Through this provision, the Constitution provides a check against an all-powerful Executive.

Without this constitutional scrutiny, without funds which have been properly justified and approved by Congress, the executive branch has what amounts to a blank check.

Bypassing in this way the normal legislative appropriations procedure makes of the Legislative Branch a mere rubberstamp. It erodes congressional power and eliminates a safeguard written into the Constitution to protect you and all the taxpayers of America.

Our forefathers knew that dictators must have money and that tyranny is easy to establish but difficult to displace.

Furthermore, the purpose of the appropriations process was to provide for the weighing of the urgency and need for expenditures as against the amount of revenue available and the general condition of the Treasury.

Let me briefly trace the history of this method of authorizing Federal expenditures.

In 1789, the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives was created with authority to report both revenue and appropriations bills. This jurisdiction of one committee over revenue and expenditures continued for 76 years. It was a logical basis of keeping Treasury outgo and income in balance.

However, with the growth of our Government through the years, the committee's workload became too heavy. Thus, in 1865, a new committee was created, to handle appropriations. Under the new arrangement, one House committee had jurisdiction over revenue matters and a second committee of the House was given jurisdiction over all appropriations.

The other legislative committees, meanwhile, were largely composed of individual Congressmen who, to a considerable degree, were under pressure to support their respective programs. Individual Members generally speaking have always sought to use their committee assignments to guard the special interests of their districts. To have a watchdog independent committee with virtual veto power overseeing projects and programs which these other committees had authorized was hardly conductive toward engineering popularity with Members of Congress not on the Appropriations Committee.

Consequently, in 1880, the House Committee on Agriculture succeeded in obtaining appropriations as well as authorization jurisdiction, and a few years later, several other committees likewise were given this privilege under the rules of the House.

This divided arrangement over spending bills resulted in weakened overall control over the financial affairs of the Government.

During the ensuing quarter of a century and more, without a single safeguard committee to relate all expenditures to the amount of its revenue, our Government's annual deficits averaged about a billion dollars a year. And a billion dollars was an almost unheard of sum in those days. I would suppose $1 billion then would amount in value to about $10 billion today.

The resulting lack of control and a national debt of close to $24 billion was cause for alarm.

So it was that in accordance with previously adopted planks of both political parties, in 1920, two reforms were proposed; one was to have the Chief Executive submit a budget each year, which should be an estimate of the necessary sums to carry on the Government. The second plan was to amend the House rules to provide a single Committee on Appropriations, such as had been the practice earlier.

In this connection, finally, on June 1, 1920, rule XXI(4) of the House rules was adopted to provide that no measure carrying appropriations should be reported by any committee except the one committee having jurisdiction over spending.

The Committee on Appropriations, it was believed, would stand as an impartial arbiter over all the legislative committees, so far as appropriations were concerned. This single committee, when retrenchment was necessary, could lay down the rule by which such retrenchment could be brought about. It could exercise overall control.

Now, again, one House committee had the heavy responsibility to weigh the needs of each Government department as against other departments and also to evaluate all expenditures against the condition of the Federal Treasury.

But, as indicated earlier, the members of the respective legislative committees have never been too happy about this rule, which deprived them of reporting bills carrying appropriations for programs under their committee jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, the new system did contribute an improved system of checks and balances. For the ensuing 10 years, a budget surplus averaging about $1 billion a year followed.

But unfortunately, in 1932, a new device to obtain funds for Government agencies without the traditional appropriations process was initiated. Instead of a regular appropriation, a bill containing language providing for borrowing from the Federal Treasury to finance programs was used, thus bypassing the normal appropriations procedure. As a result, a means of avoiding an annual reporting and regular scrutiny of the Committee on Appropriations was established, and over the next 30 years, Congress used this method to finance many Government programs. A total of in excess of $150 billion of "trapdoor" borrowing has since been authorized.

Under a House parliamentary ruling in 1949, this method of borrowing from the Treasury was declared a loan and not an appropriation. This decision held that "trapdoor" Treasury borrowing did not violate House rule XXI(4), because it was based on the intention that the Treasury would be repaid.

There are many Members of the House who regard this parliamentary ruling permitting this practice in bills from legislative committees as unsound and contrary to the clear intent of the rules change of 1920. We cite, also, the Constitution, which provides that the only way money can be drawn from the Treasury is by appropriation made by law. We contend, with complete logic, that bypassing the established appropriations process is nothing short of cutting the heart out of the objective of the 1920 rules change.

"Trapdoor" financing that started in 1932 has been used frequently in the intervening years. To authorize an agency to borrow from the Treasury for loaning purposes was one thing, but in time the device came to be used for soft loans and for payments of grants where the funds expended were not subject to repayment.

"Trapdoor" spending thereby offers a means of postponing losses and deficits. As such, more than $16 billion of these Treasury borrowings has been canceled, and in the future more losses will have to be forgiven.

In the 87th and 88th Congresses, however, I organized a bipartisan effort to eliminate this procedure. Unfortunately, my plan to rewrite the House rules to tighten up and bring "trapdoor" spending under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations has never succeeded. But on the other hand, great progress has been made in meeting this issue, when the House has been considering measures with "trapdoor" spending in them. So much so that in 1963 and 1964, so far, there have been no additional Treasury borrowing programs authorizations enacted, and some have been eliminated.

I very much hope that from now on all new spending bills will be channeled through one committee, such as was intended when the 1920 reform was adopted. However, many programs, and many very popular programs, I might say, have been financed by borrowing from the Treasury, and frankly, any action which might endanger or disrupt the operation of these programs will probably not meet with House approval.

Frankly, the present leadership of Congress does not favor closing the trapdoor completely, so until a Speaker and the legislative House leaders are willing to see all jurisdiction over appropriations contained in one House committee, the issue is apt to go unresolved, even though at the moment the majority of House Members oppose trapdoor spending in principle.

Let me cite another important example of how Congress constitutional powers are being eroded. Many times we hear it said by spokesmen for the executive branch and by others that foreign policy is wholly an executive responsibility under the Constitution. We hear this line of argument whenever the President desires to push ahead with a particular international program by Executive decree, without congressional approval.

Now, what does the Constitution say concerning executive and legislative powers in the area of foreign policy? If some of the proponents of unchecked executive power in international affairs would take the time to reread their Constitution, they might understand why Congress so stubbornly insists on exercising its rights in this vital area.

For the Constitution does not—despite what propagandists for an all-powerful executive say—give the President total authority in handling our country's foreign affairs. As a matter of fact, the reverse is almost true. It is Congress that is intended to exercise the real power in this area, with the executive merely carrying out the policies set out by the legislative branch.

Presidential powers in the foreign policy area are mentioned in only one place in the Constitution.

"He shall have power," says the Constitution, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, etc."

Incidentally, an example of the intergovernment power struggle in respect to foreign affairs arose immediately after President Johnson became President.

On November 22, 1963, President Johnson addressed the Congress immediately after he took over the reins of Government. He boasted that after more than 30 years in the legislative branch, its independence and integrity were in the marrow of his bones.

But in a matter of days, he was at odds with Congress over these historic constitutional powers. He complained in the case at my amendment to the space appropriation bill to require congressional approval to any joint lunar landing project with the Soviet Union. He said this violated his Executive powers. Of course, he overlooked the fact that this was an appropriation limitation and that under the Constitution, it is Congress that decides where and how the taxpayers' money shall be spent.

Congress also wrote a provision into a bill regarding the Panama Canal Company. It provided that no U.S. rights or property could be transferred to a foreign power without referring the matter back to Congress. In signing this bill, President Johnson said he would ignore this language, because it trespassed on Executive prerogative to handle foreign affairs.

In addition to the President's power to make treaties and appoint ambassadors—subject to the advice and consent of the Senate—the Chief Executive is also commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

And here is the point at which a recital of congressional powers in the foreign policy area is in order. For the greatest of all powers in our foreign relations—the power to declare war—rests with the Congress. To be sure, this is a power that the executive department has been circumventing by various methods in recent years. But the essential fact remains that Congress alone has the life-or-death power under our constitutional system.

Let us look at other areas in which Congress, and not the President, holds constitutional powers and duties in the foreign policy area.

One quarrel with President Johnson was over a House proposal to prevent the Federal Government-owned Export-Import Bank from guaranteeing Soviet credits in connection with wheat sales to Russia by private brokers.

The President took a firm position that Congress was proposing to legislate in the area of foreign policy. He insisted the Constitution gave him the authority to conduct foreign affairs.

Of course, this was a commercial transaction, and the President ignored the fact that sole authority under the Constitution is given to Congress to regulate foreign commerce.

As I say, Congress—not the President—is empowered to "regulate commerce with foreign nations."

Thus, those who argue that Congress has no right to check the executive branch's efforts to trade with Communist countries are therefore wholly incorrect. It is not only Congress' right to do so—it is Congress' duty under our Constitution, article I, section 8, paragraph 3.

Congress—not the President—is empowered to "define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations. * * *"

Thus, those who argue that Congress has no right to distinguish in any foreign aid appropriation between countries that are friendly to us and countries that are not and which commit offenses against international law, are wholly incorrect. For this, too, is Congress' duty—under article I, section 8, paragraph 10 of the Constitution.

And let us not forget that although the President is Commander in Chief, Congress alone can—I quote—"raise and support Armies" and "provide and maintain a Navy * * *," under provisions of paragraphs 12 and 13 of the same article.

We see, then, that the notion that foreign policy powers are held by the President alone is not supported by the Constitution. Even the power held by the President in the field of foreign relations—that of treatymaking and appointment of Ambassadors—is subject to approval by the Senate.

Who, then, is responsible for circulating the erroneous idea that Congress is powerless, or should be powerless, to act in foreign affairs? A small but vocal group of congressional critics which maintains a constant propaganda barrage aimed at undercutting the powers and prestige of our legislative branch of Government. This group views the elected officials in Congress as a constant threat to their plans to replace Government of, by, and for the people with Government of, by, and for the bureaucrats.

But the American system is based on responsibility of our public servants to the people. You know your Congressman and you therefore can hold him responsible for his actions. On the other hand, the faceless bureaucrat, hidden away in the cubicle of some executive agency, is responsible to the people only indirectly. As a result, through various bureaucratic subterfuges, responsibility for policymaking in executive agencies becomes diffused and impossible to pinpoint.

Today, the Nation is always in an emergency. We are in a continuing season of National crisis. Out of military as well as economic mobilization, there has been a constant growth and centralization of Government.

The equilibrium of power as between the respective branches of our Government has shifted, on this account, from the legislative to the Executive.

In our early history there was a congressional predominance, but since 1933 the Congress has been more a junior partner.

It seems almost incredible that of the first 16 Presidents, through and including Abraham Lincoln, 7 did not exercise the veto power even once. The others, in these first 76 years of our existence vetoed a total of only 48 bills—in most cases on constitutional objections and in one of these instances, George Washington exercised his power for a technical reason.

As I indicated, especially since 1933, executive encroachment on legislative functions has resulted in more "presidential government" rather than "congressional government." This has not been good for business. This has not been good for the people. This has not been good for the freedom of enterprise, or for the freedom of the individual.

Actually, historians tell us Congress has been dropping in relative power along a descending curve of 60 years duration, with this rate of fall markedly increased since New Deal days.

Indeed, shocking as it may sound, considering the record and the trends of history, the question can seriously be posed: Can the Congress survive?

By that, I mean can it survive not as a rubber stamp, but as an autonomous, active political entity.

Emperor Augustus did not abolish the Roman Senate or Hitler the German Reichstag. An assembly is convenient to a dictator—in fact, it has been called an indispensable instrument of managerial rule. The Soviets maintain an assembly; that is proof of its advantage in lending a false front of respectability to a dictatorship.

So, when I ask if Congress can survive—What I mean is, can constitutional government, a sovereignty of the people, survive in the United States?

Formal shifts in power from Congress to a President, such as by reorganization, by specific grants of authority, are relatively easy to identify. But the influence gained by slow accretion, through long-developing trends, or even by isolated aggressive seizures of the initiative through extralegislative channels, is much more difficult to assess.

In the executive branch, administrations and individual political appointees come and go; but, as I pointed out earlier, the basic power exists in the permanent bureau heads. Congress itself has no adequate machinery for uncovering how and when agency spending plans and programs originate. The details are well camouflaged and it is known that the bureaucrats can manipulate within their respective agencies.

Under our present system, the road to advancement with higher civil service rating and pay for a career employee or bureaucrat is expansion of Government activity—more personnel and more responsibilities, more funds to expand. That is the one and sure method of upgrading positions.

Therefore, a barometer of executive department influence and power can be related to Federal spending and employment figures. This year, President Johnson submitted a budget request which he called austere—$97.9 billion—which is the biggest spending budget in history. That represents more power in the hands of a President than in any period in our history.

Think of it—during the administration of Abraham Lincoln, when our country's economy was primarily agricultural, our Department of Agriculture operated on an $80,000 a year budget—and had only nine employees. In 1963, however, no less than 116,000 persons were employed by the Agriculture Department, operating on "trapdoor" spending and a $7 billion budget. Considering that a large

part of that budget went toward paying people not to farm, I am not so sure that we can prove we've made progress in the past 100 years. If so, it is the kind of progress that a commonsense President like Abraham Lincoln might have difficulty understanding.

Our Agriculture Department bureaucracy, like a number of other Government agencies, is massive and powerful in the Washington scheme of things. We have the greatest agricultural plant in the world—one that Nikita Khrushchev, with his controlled farm economy, can only envy. Yet the master planners in Washington are intent on a total bureaucratic takeover of the American farmer—and a total usurpation of congressional powers in the area of farm policy.

So it is that the Kennedy administration in recent years proposed an omnibus farm program that would have clamped rigid and absolute controls on our American farmers—making them subject to jail sentence and fine if they did not conform to the bureaucratic master plan. The same legislation went so far as to try completely to eliminate congressional powers over farm policy. Under these Kennedy administrations proposals—fortunately defeated by a firm congressional stand—the Secretary of Agriculture would have written farm legislation and Congress would have had only the power to veto those laws. In other words, there would have been a complete reversal in the constitutional roles set out for the executive and legislative branches.

As I say, Congress stood firm against these farfetched plans—but regrettably, the bureaucrats have won more than their share of Washington battles in the area of domestic policy, as well as fiscal and foreign policy.

So much for my report on the danger to the checks and balances under the Constitution.

Let me in closing remind you that ours was to be a limited government, limited by the guarantees of freedom contained in the Bill of Rights—limited by its very structure as a system of checks and balances.

The Constitution, happily, endures. We still enjoy much of the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights—freedom of speech and of assembly; freedom of the press; freedom of religion; due process of law, the right to keep and bear arms, the right against unreasonable search and seizure, the right of trial by jury, etc.

I suggest that these rights will survive—and they will only if enough Americans understand, if enough Americans are taught to understand, the importance of the delicate balances and marvelous system written into our Constitution.

A free society, a free people, free enterprise—where there is protection against undue power and big government—freedom in the marketplace, such as under quality stabilization, must be maintained.

The greatness of this country depends on initiative, integrity, and decision of the individual, with an opportunity to compete and a chance to make a profit.

That kind of opportunity today has some champions.

I am proud to count myself as one of them.

With public support we will succeed.

Modernization of Federal Salary Systems

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11049) to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I offer is very simple. It makes the effective date of this bill January 1, 1965.

Apparently, the bill as it now is written provides for salary increases for Congressmen beginning in January for political reasons. It gives everybody else a pay raise now. That does not seem to make much sense. A pay raise, if justifiable for some, should be equally justifiable for everyone at the same time. I think my amendment makes the bill a little more palatable because it puts everyone on an equal footing.

More importantly, Mr. Chairman, my amendment would help our country during a difficult financial period. We have an unbalanced budget. We are going to be asked to raise the national debt limit within a few days. We are going to be asked to maintain the present high and unpopular excise taxes. All of these things appear to me to put a pay raise now in a difficult light. I am proposing that we simply put off adding one-half billion dollars a year to the cost of government for a few months and by doing so, join hands to help our country improve its financial status. We cannot disregard our responsibility in these matters.

Under the amendment the effective date for a pay raise for all Government employees would be next January.

Dr. Roy's Able Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 21, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article by the distinguished superintendent of the Millis public schools, Millis, Mass., in my district, Dr. George C. Roy, distinguished educator, outlining, and admirably analyzing H.R. 10933, introduced by me in the House.

This bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and authorize and facilitate the deduction by teachers from gross income of the expenses of education—which would include certain travel—undertaken by them, and provide a uniform method of proving entitlement to such deductions.

I am greatly impressed with Dr. Roy's excellent summary of this important legislation. It is exceedingly well done and, in my opinion, makes a strong argument for the bill.

I express the hope that the House Ways and Means Committee will consider this bill at an early date, because I think it has great merit and will be very helpful to many members of our great teaching profession who are engaged in such vital work.

Dr. Roy's splendid summary is contained in a recent legislative bulletin of the Massachusetts Teachers Association and since the article was deemed to be of great importance it was printed in a special edition of this bulletin so that it would be available to the members.

The article follows:

MASSACHUSETTS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN ON H.R. 10933

On April 6, 1964, the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN, a Member of Congress representing the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts, filed H.R. 10933 in the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

WHAT IS THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF H.R. 10933?

The purpose of H.R. 10933 is to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and it would authorize and facilitate the deduction from gross income by teachers of the expenses of education (which would include certain travel) undertaken by them and further it would provide a uniform method of proving entitlement to such deductions.

The bill provides that a statement from an authorized school official would be acceptable as proof (in the absence of clear proof to the contrary) that such education was appropriate for maintaining or improving skills of a teacher, or to meet the express requirement of his employer.

For purposes of clarification this proposal defines a teacher and lists aspects of educational needs to meet the proposal. These include:

1. Professional requirements by school committees.

2. Relationship of course, travel, or activity to teacher's assignment.

3. Relationship of improvement of skills to individual's position.

4. Recognition of course, travel, activity by college or university, and it excludes any course, travel, or other activity if not directly related to position.

5. Provisions so that all educational expenses shall be deductible in the same manner as travel, meals, and lodging is now deductible; i.e., from gross income.

6. The amendment which would become effective by this act, were it to become law, would apply only with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this act.

DEFINITIONS

(a) This bill methodically defines a teacher as an individual employed by a school as a classroom teacher, or as a supervisor, administrator, or adviser, or in any other professional capacity related to the instructional program inclusive of guidance counselors and librarians.

(b) The term education comprises any course, travel, or any educational activity which:

1. Is a requirement by the teacher's employer (school committee) to meet the specific requirements of his employment, or

2. Is within the area of employment (including the subject area, grade level, or other area) in which the teacher performs his duties as such or is directly related to such area, or

3. Is directly related to the improvement of the teaching, administrative, or other skills of the teacher, including but not limited to courses in eduaction, psychology, sociology, anthropology, English, the language of the student involved where English is a second language, guidance, administration, library, science and audio-visual techniques, or

4. Is allowed by the institution of higher learning at or by which it is offered or made available as a credit toward an advanced degree in the area in which the teacher is employed.

This definition does not include any course, travel, or other activity if it is undertaken primarily for the purpose of qualifying for a type of employment which is different from that in which the teacher is engaged at the time it is undertaken.

In the opinion of some to keep pace with space is merely a problem of technology. We as educators are asked to prepare more individuals to meet the challenges of the times. To do so means, in part, that we must do more studying, pursue more courses, visit, travel, participate in studies and research in order that we be prepared to instruct and direct our youth to meet the problem of the age of space, an age of change which has echoed throughout life in America.

Professional travel should definitely be recognized. The writer knows of one case where an individual has made two trips abroad to strengthen his background and to allow him to acquire firsthand information about his area of interest, art. This individual has taken more than 1,000 slides on his tours. Much of his experience has been basic in establishing a specific course in art appreciation. The individual is planning to return to Europe again this summer. We believe that this definitely should be considered professional improvement and be tax deductible. As we understand the proposed bill, it would be tax deductible.

This particular bill can be considered a must for the profession. May I suggest you write to the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN and thank him for filing H.R. 10933. Each of us should write to our Senators, the Honorable LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and the Honorable EDWARD KENNEDY, and to our Congressmen for the support of this bill.

Recently William Herbert, your present assistant executive secretary and member of the National Education Association Legislative Commission, and I visited Washington on official business. We found the Massachusetts Members of the Senate and Congress most congenial. They are interested to know how their constituents are thinking about various bills. Check with them personally. Mention H.R. 10933.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the official reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the official reporters of the respective Houses.

The official reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the official reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Baccalaureate Sermon by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris at College of William and Mary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 13, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, on June 7, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, delivered one of his outstanding sermons to the graduating class of the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Va. This baccalaureate sermon was so outstanding and contains information and thoughts that it should be made available to everyone. For this reason I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the baccalaureate address ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACCALAUREATE SERMON BY DR. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, CHAPLAIN, U.S. SENATE, AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAMSBURG, VA., JUNE 7, 1964

As we come to the baccalaureate service of this venerable and noble institution of learning which belongs to the intellectual aristocracy of the Nation, it seems fitting that the message of the hour should begin with a scriptual text.

The great English preacher, Spurgeon, was accustomed to say to the classes of young preachers to whom he lectured, "Never take a text with any idea of preaching from it unless that text leaps at you as a tiger from a thicket." With this commencement Sunday in mind, there is a text that leaped at me in some such manner. It is found in Hebrews 4: 1—"I fear, lest having been given a promise, any one of you should seem to fall short of it."

Certainly for the years that beckon there is no ampler promise than that written in invisible ink across the record of college years. The text is a sentence I would covet the privilege of writing on every college diploma. If I can write it on the tablets of your hearts, this hour will not be in vain. The coveted scroll of parchment to be put into your hands this day is the symbol not only of an accomplishment but also of a promise involving all the years to be. And I fear that lest having been given a promise, any one of you should seem to fall short of it.

So once again as June brings its blue days and fair, academic interests center on an ending which is a beginning, called commencement. Across the Nation there is the trek of parents and families and friends to shady campuses, to gray old halls and ivied walls. There is a vital sense in which for a great army in caps and gowns, life begins at graduation. Mingled with the call of the present and the future there is a nostalgia for the past and for the golden haze of student days. There is a solemn, haunting consciousness of an unknown future whose challenge is found in much superior advice from imported visiting graduation speakers who, as someone rather cynically has put it, believe in life, liberty and the pursuit of honorary degrees.

You come to a red letter day like this, facing the years ahead with official signatures on your diplomas and with names that have been signed to your lives—dedicated teachers who are architects of the promise with which you confront the world. Your thoughts this commencement Sunday are not just of marks teachers have put upon your work leading to graduation, but of enduring signatures some teachers have put upon your very being. Three decades after his college commencement days, a man eminently successful in his chosen vocation and honored for his untarnished integrity as he stood foursquare in all of life's relationships paid the highest tribute he could bring as he poured out his profound appreciation for what one of his college professors had done for him. Counting the rosary of those formative years, he said of his old teacher: "He threw me a bunch of keys and set me to opening doors for myself."

A real education is not a book of formulas, it is a bunch of keys. Among the beatitudes of the teaching profession, the one most to be coveted is, "Blessed is the teacher who throws a student a bunch of keys." To find the doors these keys will unlock is to become a Master of Arts which you will not even have glimpsed in the textbooks.

The symbol of a valid education is not an encyclopedia, but a key, and not necessarily a Phi Beta Kappa key, at that. The fact is that in every school, including the school of life, the principal things are not taught, they are caught. In the Capitol a few days ago, a group of young Americans stood around the statue of James A. Garfield. He was thinking of education not as subjects taught but as keys caught when he gratefully declared that the best university would be his inspiring college president at Williams, Mark Hopkins, on one end of a log and a farm boy on the other. He spoke from experience. He, himself, had been that farm boy as he went to Williams College and Mark Hopkins, its great president, had helped to sweep from his mind the cobwebs of false conceptions and narrow prejudices which had blocked inherent greatness. Mark Hopkins did not give the coming President of the United States a formal education—he threw him a bunch of keys and set him opening doors for himself. It was out of an emancipating ministry of that sort that someone wrote these lines:

"Mark Hopkins sat on the end of a log
And a farmboy sat on the other.
Mark Hopkins came as a pedagogue,
But he taught as an elder brother.
I don't care what Mark Hopkins taught,
If his Greek was poor and his Latin naught
The farmboy thought—thought he,
All through lecture time and quiz,
The kind of man I'd like to be
Is the kind of man Mark Hopkins is."

And speaking of keys, unless a so-called education is woefully deficient always there must be one key that opens the opulent door of the unseen and eternal which is an escape into eternity. With the key to that door in his hand, one can toil in these fields of time in the sense of the eternal and find that even the common task and the trivial round is edged with crimson and gold. Without that key, one emerging from classrooms, blackboards, laboratories, and lectures into the busy, demanding years that wait will with disillusioned eyes find at last but the ashes of fair hopes and that all is vanity. There is no more testing question on life's examination papers than to keep on going in the direction you are now going, where will you finally arrive?

In my own college days, there fell one twilight hour a sentence from the lips of a college professor—a sentence that influenced me more than any other which I had heard in that college—Dickinson, which is almost as old in its founding as William and Mary. This was the sentence: "What you will one day be, you are now becoming."

That reminds us that the goal of a true education—not the loaded mind, but the lighted mind. The gleaming candles are aflame on academic altars when there is offered the perfect commencement prayer, framed by a college professor:

"And let those learn who here shall meet,
True wisdom is with reverence crowned,
And science walks with humble feet,
To seek the God that faith hath found."

Every one of you will one day sit down to what Robert Louis Stevenson called a banquet of consequences. You have already begun to prepare the menu for that banquet table. Perhaps amid the commencement excitement and rejoicing it might not be amiss to ask the graduates of this year of our Lord to face the solemn implication of the fear which lifts its head in our graduation text: "I fear, lest having been given a promise, any one of you should seem to fall short of it."

Any promise which may come to bloom in the tomorrows has its roots in the ground of today. Always the time for us to act is today. Our only field of endeavor is the here and now. A long time ago when everybody was talking about evolution, a well-known preacher began a sermon with this sentence: "If we leave it to the evolutionists to tell us where we came from, and the theologians to tell us where we are going, the fact still remains that we are here." And the prayer for commencement day and every day is that lifted in Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's great hymn—"God of Grace and God of Glory, give us wisdom, give us courage, give us vision for the living of these days, that we fail not man, nor Thee."

And what a day this is in which to be alive. What a commencement poem that is of Angela Morgan's,

"To be alive in such a day,
With every year a lightning page
Turned in the World's great wonder book,
When rail and rod and steel and stone
Becomes the avenues of God,
A trump to shout His message through
And crown the work that men may do.
Rise, Soul, from thy despairing knees,
Give thanks with all thy flaming heart,
Crave but to have in it a part.
Arise and claim thy heritage—
To be alive in such a day."

If as graduates facing this day you were asked in just a handful of words to analyze such a day, you would have to say that apart from the fact that it is the age of the split atom, with all the dread implications of that, that it is a time of world revolution. Today's headlines announce that this means that teeming millions under all skies are

reaching out, often violently, demanding more of the good things that modern civilization makes possible. We do not regret that America at its best has nothing good that it does not desire for the whole earth. And what we call the world revolution is largely the harvest of the seed of Christianity and democracy. But side by side with that in such a day is a heinous system of chains and enslavement which is endeavoring to subvert and utilize that legitimate revolution for its own evil purposes. It is a system like vultures hovering over the misery of the world. I refer, of course, to atheistic communism. It is a diabolical conspiracy that we face and fight, with no belief in God or kindness or fairness, mercy or truth, or what we think of as the moral standards. It defies and denies and derides everything that is proclaimed in an hour such as this. One of my good friends, Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church, some time ago came out of Soviet Russia after having spent several weeks behind the Iron Curtain. Breathing the air of freedom once more, this is what he said: "The issue is joined at last. Either God is, or He is not. Either a man is of value only as a citizen of the state, or he is of value because God created him. Either Christianity is true, or communism is true—but not both." Then he added, "Coexistence is a pleasant term, but one of these systems is going down."

Communism deals in masses. Christianity deals in individuals, in persons. The great fallacy and heresy of our generation is that without very much attention to the caliber of the individual, glowing social goals can be reached simply by the impetus of mass movement. Social engineers endeavor to bring in the kingdom of human betterment by dealing mostly in blueprints, rather than in white lives. They seem to believe in changing maps, rather than in changing men.

Often, even in our enlightened capitalism, futile attempts are being made with legislative bricks to build an altruistic edifice on the sinking sands of unchanged individuals. With the wisdom of the centuries, an adage has come down the long years: "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." This is a time to remember that not in the chanceries of the nations, but in the hearts and minds of individual men and women, are the issues of life and death. If our civilization is to be saved, it will be saved not by fanning fires of hatred for dictators abroad or by any social panaceas for our ailing social order, but by individuals whose attitudes to others across all lines and gulfs make them as the candles of the Lord and a part of the solution rather than a part of the problem. Ibsen, the dramatist, who was deeply interested in the life of a certain youth, anxious that he should not fall short of the promise, in a letter said to that young man: "There is no way in which you can benefit society more than by coining the metal in yourself."

Many times there has come to my mind a rhyme I heard years ago,

> "Yet fear I deeply, too,
> That Death will seek and find me
> Ere I keep Life's rendezvous."

There is enough in that to stab our spirits broad awake. We cannot miss the date with death. It will find us. Across the centuries men have tried to find the Fountain of Perpetual Youth. They never have. How true it is that—

> "The boast of Heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

We cannot miss that, but the solemn and sobering thing is that we may miss the date with life itself. We may go through this big, buzzing confusion which we call life and partake of its joys and sorrows, its triumphs and defeats, and then one day go through that little black door called death, yet having missed life completely. Galsworthy said of one of his characters, "He had experienced everything else but life itself.

"I fear, lest having been given a promise, any one of you should seem to fall short of it."

As you go to meet the beckoning years, lest you fall short of the promise, beware of the futility of the negative. Be for something, not against everything. When Nehru of India died but a few days ago an editorial in the New York Times stated that, "This revolutionary was a revolutionary for things as well as against things. Above all he was for India. A columnist recently remarked about a certain Government official, "He seems to be against everything except children." Well, that was a worthwhile exception, but it left the impression that the one thus labeled was afflicted with "no" virus as much as the Russians are at the so-called conferences they agree to attend and then habitually veto any meaningful attempt at cooperation. Whittaker Chambers, the disillusioned Communist who was the key witness in a famous case, wrote in the foreword of his book, "Witness," this note to his children: "A man is not primarily a witness against something. That is only incidental to the fact that he is a witness for something."

In these summer days heading toward the fall elections, from the platform and on the speaking air there are voices galore telling the Nation and the world what they are against. In this bewildered and baffled day, never were so many against so much. The seat of the scornful is overcrowded by those who add to the confusion by loudly announcing what they are against. One of the outstanding Members of the U.S. Senate recently was heard to exclaim, after listening to an acrimonious debate freighted with bitter words of opposition, "It would be a poser if someone suddenly confronted those who are so sure of what they are against with the pertinent query, 'What are you for?' "

In the midst of the shouting and tumult of this volcanic day when prejudice and passion furnish more heat than light, is it not high time to realize that which the ages make perfectly clear, namely, that attack is not haf as effective as example and that at last, evil can only be overcome by good. Affirmation is 10 times stronger than denunciation. To borrow a phrase from a song once popular, this surely is a good time to "Accentuate the positive."

We are ready and rightly so to throw all the scornful, biting adjectives in the book against the conspirators of the Kremlin and their lying tricks. But it is not enough to see Red anytime, anywhere in the world communism shows its blighting hand. The thing that will prevail at last against regimented tyranny with its ball and chain is a vibrant, positive democracy in which we believe more strongly and love more deeply than we hate totalitarianism. America will help to destroy the foul growth of atheistic communism not merely by denunciation of the things she is set to deplore but with the blazing torch of the things she is for. There is nothing we need more in the Nation and the church and in our personal attitudes than to beware the futility of the negative.

Then, I fear lest having been given a promise, any of you should fail because of the tyranny of things. How little human behavior has changed in 20 centuries, since the Master Teacher told about the man who thought entirely in terms of big crops and bigger barns, then sat back and said to his soul, "I have much laid up for the days to come. Many things. Enjoy yourself. Take your ease." He talked to his soul as if he could wrap it in a bank account or house it in a barn. But it was later than he thought. Jesus said, "Thou fool! Tomorrow your name will be on the obituary list. Then whose shall these things be which you have collected?"

When we paste the label of materialism on the communistic system we cannot forget that the raging passion with half our people is to build barns, and bigger barns, or corporations and bigger corporations.

And, the raging passion of the other half of our people is to get more and more wages for less and less work.

So, we make wealth and security the goals of our personal living, and of our national existence.

The sad fact facing a secular society like ours is that we often have nothing to promise except more gadgets and an ever higher standard of living.

Recently in the South I was told of a young woman, a teacher of political science, who had asked her class a searching question. She said, "Suppose that in 10 or 15 years the Russians do catch up with us in consumer goods, conveniences, and gadgets. Suppose they accomplish the gains they boast they will reach in surpassing us in mere things." Said this splendid young teacher, "What will we then have left to prove the superiority of our way, the validity of our faith?"

I get a great many books to review, more than I can ever read. But sometime ago one so gripped my attention that I read it through. It was by a reporter who had gone across the Nation interviewing prominent men in various parts of America. He wanted to find out what a number of things meant in the lives of these men who are in the public eye—art, literature, music—and especially religion. He did not want to find if they belonged to a church or perhaps passed a collection plate in some aristocratic congregation, but what spiritual verities really meant in their lives. And what do you think I found he had named the chapter in the book in which he summed up his impressions? He called it, "The Tyranny of Things." He found that so often, with blinded eyes and hobbled feet, in spite of their prominence in life, these men groped down a narrow gorge and called it life.

If I could give one thing to every college graduate I think it would be a copy of J. M. Barrie's "The Will." Across that story there seems to be written our text, "I fear that having been given a promise any of you should seem to fall short of it." "The Will" is really a play in three acts with 20 years between each act.

In the first act there comes into a barrister's office a newly married couple. With them all is sweetness and light, unselfishness, and altruism. They come to make a will. The bride did not want that done for she thought of it as a symbol of inevitable parting. But the groom had been left some money and he wanted a will to cover that. The bride suggested in that case, why not make an annuity for two indigent cousins of his not hers. When they left the lawyer said to them, "You are a ridiculous couple," and then more seriously he called out, "But don't change especially if you get on in the world." They replied "Never fear, we won't."

Twenty years later they come into the same office. They are both past middle life now. He is a successful merchant and is making much money. They come to make a will. The wife is climbing the social ladder. I remember that in that part of the story it says, "She was not so much dressed as she was richly upholstered." They snap at each other, "My money, my money." He suggested a certain phrase be put into the will. She replied peevishly, "One might think you are afraid I would marry again if you died."

"Oh well, leave it out." He declared his intention of leaving quite a large sum to a hospital. She thought that was foolish but he held his ground and boasted, that he wanted to make a splash in hospitals. She said it was about time to take the money away from those parasite cousins of his. It's a terrible scene. Things are in the saddle. There are pieces of ruined rainbows lying about everywhere. When they left the lawyer had no comment. Sadly he realized what he feared might happen, had happened.

Twenty years later the husband comes alone. She is dead. He is Sir Phillip Ross now. He has been knighted because of his success in life. He comes to make another will to cover much more money that has flowed into his coffers. He had not even thought as to whom he would leave it. He muttered as he sat there that neither his son nor his daughter would get any of it. "They are rotters," was his verdict, regarding the children. After sitting there for a while he took a piece of blank paper and wrote on it the names of seven or eight men. Finally, he handed it to the lawyer and said, "These are the men I have fought with for wealth and I won, I won. Now, leave the money to them with my respectful curses." Someone in one of our leading magazines and some time ago, when referring to "The Will," that if someone would arise in America to make this message effective he would be the greatest benefactor our Nation ever had. Somebody has. There was one who stood under the blue sky of Palestine, and who today stands in the midst of mammon-mad, pleasure-mad America, declaring, "A man's life consisteth not of the abundance of the things that he possesses."

But I suppose that there is not a member of this great graduating class who would question for a moment the validity of all this idealism, these stars I have been trying to hang in your sky. If any of you fail in realizing life's promise it is likely to be because of what someone has called, the fallacy of the elsewhere. That is the third thing of which to be aware in this trio of temptations. The first is the futility of the negative. The second is the tyranny of things, and lastly the fallacy of the elsewhere.

If we were only somewhere else—what we could bring to pass. These hills of home are gray and drab but the hills out there on the horizon are ablaze with light. But those who see the spires of our town, as they are viewed from across the valley, think they glitter like the spires of the Celestial City. If we live in Zenith we think that our place of residence has characteristics of Sodom and Gomorrah. If we could only pitch our tent in some greener or purer valley. The Good Book says, "The eyes of the wise are before him. The eyes of the foolish man are at the ends of the earth.'" What do you think that means? It means just what it says—the eyes of the wise are before him, and he sees the possible glory and the splendor of the place where he is. The eyes of a foolish man are always spanning the horizon for some signs of a glory he thinks he has missed at home.

Sometime ago Mrs. Harris and I were in England's green and pleasant land. We hired a little car and drove on the wrong side of the streets and the country roads a hundred miles to Eversley. Why did we want to go there? Is it a showplace? Far from it. We went there because a college graduate, Charles Kingsley, went there many years ago. At college he had taken all the honors. Mentally and spiritually he was highly endowed. He went as the minister of that little church. How long did he stay? Was it just long enough for the church authorities to find a place adequate for his powers? The fact is that he stayed there 33 years. Charles Kingsley would never go anywhere else. To the end of his days he was just an humble parish priest, visiting from humble home to humble home. Many honors came to him. England wore a pathway to that little church to hear him preach. He wrote books in the rectory next door which were read around the world. He went up and down England as a prophet of social reform. He preached in the cathedrals. He was chaplain to the Queen. But nothing could induce him to leave that far-from-attractive little town with its unlettered people. As the end drew near they began to talk about Kingsley being buried in Westminster Abbey. Modestly he said, that he did not want to be buried there. He wanted his grave to be at the portal of the little church whose minister he had been for more than three decades. He wrote a verse which gave the secret of his life, and the longer I live, the more lives that I touch, I believe more and more that it is the secret of every life. I do not care who you are, or where you are, or what you are doing. Here it is—remember it even if you forget everything else I have been trying to say this high hour in your life:

"Do the work that's nearest
Though it's dull at whiles;
Helping when you see them
Lame dogs over stiles—
Finding in each hedgerow
Marks of angel's feet
Epics in the pebbles
Underneath your feet."

In that spirit let us face the vexing problems of such an age vowing that we will light a candle rather than curse the darkness—determined that having a promise we will not fall short of it, but that we will—

Be true to all truth the world denies
Not tongue-tied by its gilded lies
Not always right in all men's eyes
But faithful to the light within.

And so, on this commencement Sunday, on this ancient campus shall we here highly resolve that we will put into the fugitive fragments of every day such quality of toil and service as shall make us unashamed when the day is over, and all the days are done.

God bless you. Let us pray:

O Lord and Master of us all, at this storied spot where the American dream was born, we are grateful that even in such an age that dream is not over. Having been given a promise of freedom, send us forth into a changed and changing world to throw the stubborn ounces of our weight into the scales to help make the radiant promise of the dream our fathers cherished come true.

Lift us, we pray, above the mud and scum of mere things and enrich us with those durable satisfactions of life so that the multiplying years may not find us bankrupt in those things that matter most—the golden currency of faith, and hope, and love.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

Interview With Mrs. Wendell Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 13, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Mrs. Wendell Willkie is a gracious lady who has achieved much in her own right since the death of her husband twenty years ago in the prime of his life. She has served the Government as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission, she has been a member of the board of directors of the Salvation Army and the USO, and has been a busy and useful citizen in many ways.

Mrs. Wilkie has never sought the limelight, and has lived and worked quietly. Indiana is proud to claim her as a distinguished citizen of the State, where she has a home in the town of Rushville, the residence also of her son Philip Willkie, lawyer and bank president.

Recently Mrs. Willkie granted an interview, however, to Barbara Sigel of the Washington Star. It appeared in that paper on Sunday, May 31. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. WILLKIE REMINISCES ON HUSBAND'S CAMPAIGN

(By Barbara Sigel)

After 20 years of "being a good citizen" Mrs. Wendell Willkie has granted a rare interview and shared her thoughts on the man in the White House.

"President Johnson works harder than any President we've ever had and it worries me," said the 72-year-old widow of Wendell Willkie, a man who aspired to the Presidency but succumbed to the rigors of political campaigning at an early age.

"At the speed Mr. Johnson goes, attending funerals and weddings and everything else, I just hope nothing happens to him," commented the midwest Republican who presently maintains an apartment in New York City.

"I don't believe in giving other people advice, but we do want him to survive and not wear himself out completely," she said, "especially since we don't have a Vice President.

THE 1940 CAMPAIGN

Edith Willkie campaigned when her husband won the Republican Party's nomination to run against Roosevelt and she was with him in 1944, attempting to get the nomination a second time, when his life was cut off by a series of heart attacks.

"Wendell had never been sick a day in his life, but the tenseness was too much. That's what kills all of them," said the Tennessee-born Mrs. Willkie. "He was like a fine violin and the strings were just pulled too tight. He was just 52.

"You've got to relax, and Wendell's only relaxation was reading," she continued, "and that doesn't release tension."

"If taking walks around the White House helps President Johnson to relax then it's a good thing," added the silver-haired widow.

While Wendell Willkie is remembered by the public as the author of "One World," a prophetic narrative of his travels throughout north Africa, England, and Russia, Mrs. Willkie remembers her husband as "a dramatic and fascinating man, full of humor, and so very handsome."

She spoke of the ideals which her late husband defended with enthusiasm, occasionally breaking off to look away wistfully.

HUSBAND'S "ONE WORLD"

"Wendell, didn't make one world. He recognized that the scientists had done that. While some people believed the United States could build a wall and live within it, he knew that couldn't be as long as airplanes were flying over the top of everything," she said of the anti-isolationist stand which her husband took.

Although she has been out of the public spotlight for the last 20 years, Mrs. Willkie has been very active in civic and philanthropic groups. Currently she is on the board of advisers for the World's Fair.

During the Eisenhower administration she and Eleanor Roosevelt were the only women to serve on the American Battle Monuments Commission, an 8-year appointment which took them throughout Europe designing and dedicating memorial cemeteries to our war dead.

"It was sadder than you can imagine. You just used up your emotions," Mrs. Willkie recalls.

She has served on the board of directors of the Salvation Army, the USO, and Skidmore College, and was a trustee for the New York Infirmary. Until 3 years ago, she was on the board of governors of the Women's National Republican Club, a post she held for 12 years.

But for the most part, this former librarian has stayed in the background. Of her personal experience as the wife of a presidential candidate she says, "I was the shyest human being in the world. What could I do but go out and be gracious."

HE TOOK HER ADVICE

When it came to her husband's career, Mrs. Willkie's advice was an important factor. Soon after she married the young Indiana lawyer, she suggested that he not accept a job offered by a big law firm until he got exactly what he wanted. Money should not be the deciding factor, she told him.

Years later she had the courage to advise him to change from a stalwart Democrat to a Republican, a move which brought him to the brink of the presidency. "I persuaded him to do it," she says with candor. "It was the best chance he had to defeat Roosevelt" on the issue of private enterprise versus public welfare.

"I was born in the South with all the prejudices in the world, but I became an adult."

Wendell Willkie never had a defeat in his life until he ran for office, she says. (After beating such party stalwarts as Vandenberg, Taft, and Dewey, for the nomination, the victory went to the incumbent President Roosevelt.) The bereaved widow returned to Indiana with her son, Philip, who is now a lawyer and a bank president in Rushville, Ind.

"The best way I know to handle grief is to think about other people," says the much beloved lady. "Grief can be the most selfish thing in the world."

"I never look back, and like Omar Khayyam, I let tomorrow take care of itself."

Of her own life she says, "Marrying Wendell Willkie was the greatest thing that ever happened to me."

A Test of the President—Charles R. Ross, Federal Power Commissioner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 13, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "A Test of the President," published in the St. Louis Dispatch on June 1, 1964, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial deals with Charles R. Ross, Federal Power Commissioner.

Their being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TEST OF THE PRESIDENT

Within the coming 2 weeks President Johnson will be put to a major test of his respect for the integrity of Government regulatory agencies. Charles R. Ross, former chairman of the Vermont Public Service Commission and a Republican, was appointed to the Federal Power Commission by the late President Kennedy in 1961 to fill out an unexpired term which will end on June 22. The natural gas industry, which still entertains hopes of getting its wellhead prices deregulated again, is reported pressing for an appointee who will take a relaxed attitude toward his duties. Such an appointment could be considered politically advantageous to Mr. Johnson. He has been assiduously cultivating the impression that his administration is friendly toward business.

The notion that weak regulation is a mark of friendliness toward business is, we think, a dangerously deluded one. It invites abuses which are apt to provoke still sterner regulation. In any event, the President's duty is not to select an appointee who will help him politically or conform to his policies, but to choose the ablest person he can find to enforce the Federal Power Act impartially.

Mr. Ross has shown himself a studious and diligent commissioner. His value to the commission has only begun to be realized upon in 3 years and could reasonably be expected to increase in a full 7-year term. Rapid turnover at the top is a principal bane of the regulatory commissions. We believe that Mr. Ross has earned reappointment and that President Johnson would be making a serious mistake if he based his appointment on anything other than objective merit.

South Carolina's Great Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 13, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I submit for printing in the RECORD the commencement address of John L. Plyler, president of Furman University, delivered to the graduating class of the University of South Carolina on Saturday, May 30, 1964.

The title of this address is, "South Carolina's Greatest Asset," and because it was such a distinguished and interesting address, I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the appendix of the RECORD to afford its wisdom and information for the benefit of others.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President Jones, distinguished guests, members of the graduating class, ladies, and gentlemen, I am deeply grateful for this most generous and gracious introduction. Such undeserved flattery calls to mind a story.

Please be assured of my gratitude, Dr. Jones, for the invitation to participate in this most significant occasion. I am happy to share in these commencement exercises.

We speak of this as "commencement." It is a fact which is trite, but yet true, that this is a "beginning"—a new beginning in a larger area of life and a broader field of service. During this graduation season, ceremonies such as this will be held in some 2,000 colleges and universities throughout our country—in addition to many thousands more in high schools and private preparatory schools. The educational system thus represented is eloquent testimony to the faith we have in our institutions and in our youth, in times of prosperity and depression, in times of peace and war, in times of tranquillity and strife.

It is about this educational system that I would like to speak for a few moments this morning—and then I would like to speculate upon your place, your role, in this system. You who are being graduated from this splendid institution today have prompted the title of my remarks: "South Carolina's Greatest Asset." And the fact that you—at least, most of you—have labored mightily to arrive at this point has suggested what might be termed my text, taken from the Greek Poet Pindar: "The long toil of the brave is not lost in darkness."

Properly to understand what you have done and what has been done for you at the University of South Carolina, we need to turn our gaze backward for a bit. Following the tragic War Between the States, the State of South Carolina was economically and politically prostrate. The period of reconstruction created conditions which were almost as discouraging and frustrating as was the defeat in war. But the citizens of our State demonstrated a never-say-die courage and determination which enabled them to climb from the deep slough of despond to the hill of hope and accomplishment. Slowly but surely they moved onward and upward. One of the great leaders of that day, Robert E. Lee, sounded the watchword when he said, "It is history that teaches us to hope." And the responsible citizens who had learned history's lesson realized that the hope of South Carolina's future lay in the education of our State's young people—in our schools and colleges and universities.

And this is the lesson of which we must be reminded constantly. If South Carolina is to move forward—financially, intellectually, socially, and spiritually—we must look to our educational institutions to pave the way and to lead the parade.

As our State has grown and developed, our schools and colleges have kept pace—or, rather, they have set the pace. In my own time I have witnessed revolutionary changes in our educational system. I can recall the time when my county of Greenville—one of the most populous in South Carolina—had only three small public high schools. Today this 1 county has 21 high schools, any 1 of which is larger than the original 3 combined. In 1900 the total enrollment of pupils in Greenville County was 12,752. Today the enrollment is 53,089. This increase is typical of what is happening all over our State.

You may be interested in a few figures on the enrollment of three of our colleges. In 1900 Furman University had 154 students. Clemson College had 807, and the University of South Carolina had 215 students. To compare today's enrollment in these institutions we would have to multiply these figures 10 to 20 times. The total number of college students in South Carolina in 1900 was 2,385. In 1960 the figure was 35,142. In 1900 the college population in the Nation was 110,912. In 1964 the figure stands at over 4,500,000 in 2,140 colleges and universities.

If present national enrollments are a bit staggering, their projection and the costs involved are even more so. Enrollment in colleges and universities increased more than 50 percent in the decade between 1950 and

1960. It is expected to almost double in the present decade and to approach 7 million by 1970. It is estimated that this projected increase will require an expansion of physical plant costing roughly $2.3 billion a year. This country is now spending only about $1.3 billion annually for plant expansion.

There are several significant implications in these figures on college enrollment and construction. While it is encouraging to note the tremendous increase in the ranks of college students in South Carolina, it is somewhat appalling to realize that our State has not kept pace with the Nation in this regard. A recent study instigated by our very able Governor has pointed up the great problem of our excessive number of dropouts. (Of course, some educators may feel like the college dean who called a particularly troublesome student to his office and greeted him with the question, "Throckmorton, have you ever given serious consideration to becoming a dropout?") Even though the percentage of our students entering college is increasing, a recent survey shows that approximately half of our high school students who could benefit by college training are not attending college.

Yes, South Carolina is making progress, but the rate of that progress is not sufficiently rapid. We are in the situation of the Queen in Alice in Wonderland. You well-educated graduates will remember the scene in which the Queen drags Alice along at breakneck speed, constantly shouting, "Faster. Faster," until poor Alice is exhausted. When she is finally permitted to stop for a breath she is surprised to find herself in exactly the same place where she started. Exclaiming over this, she says to the Queen,

"Well, in our country you would generally get to somewhere else—if you ran very fast for a long time, as we have been doing."

"A slow sort of country," said the Queen. "Now here, you see, it takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."

We have been running fast in South Carolina, but we have not been running fast enough. We have yet to match the pace indicated by national averages. We are still too near the bottom of the educational scale. We must run twice as fast if we are to improve significantly our relative position.

As we attempt to meet this challenge we must prepare to extend to all of our qualified high school graduates the opportunity to attain the goal you have reached here today—graduation from college. This means that all of our colleges and universities—public and private—must prepare for the challenge of the future. This challenge will come in a tremendous increase in the number of students who will be knocking at the doors of these institutions. The burden will fall to all, but chiefly to the tax-supported institutions. Until recent years the number of students in public and private colleges was about evenly divided. Today, over 60 percent of our college students are in public or State institutions. The trend indicates that within another decade, 80 percent of our college population will be in State schools.

This challenge calls for money—more and more of it. There must be money to construct dormitories, classrooms, laboratories. There must be money to pay teachers the salaries necessary to bring them to our colleges and keep them there. There may be some assistance from the Federal Government, but the greater portion of this needed money must be provided by the citizens of our State—provided by taxes and gifts. The private colleges face the same problem—with a somewhat different emphasis. The challenge to the private college today and in the decade ahead is to stay alive—and to stay alive it must justify its existence by doing a few things well and not by trying to be all things to all people.

This problem is for our private colleges a very real one. During the last 3 years, 10 such colleges in our Nation have ceased operation. Ten others have been absorbed by other institutions, and three private universities have become State institutions.

As this challenge comes to us in South Carolina we find our State near the very bottom of the national educational ladder. We are far behind in the construction of buildings, and our teachers' salaries—both in our schools and in our colleges—are lamentably low. This in spite of our rank in 15th place nationally in the proportion of our income which is spent on education. Yes, we are running fast, but not fast enough.

The relatively slow rate of our progress in higher education, for example, becomes apparent when we observe what a State like California is doing. In that State there is a tuition-free public junior college within commuting distance of 80 percent of the State's high school graduates. The huge university system has 7 campuses in operation and 2 more in preparation. There are 15 State 4-year colleges with 2 more under construction. There are 71 junior colleges. The public schools and the private schools, working together, are at the point of guaranteeing a college education to every high school graduate in California—that is, every one who has the ability and the motivation to seize this oppotrunity.

The result of our comparatively slow rate of progress is painfully apparent in the numbers of our college graduates who are lured into other States by higher salaries. It is apparent in the number of our bright high school graduates who leave South Carolina to attend wealthier colleges and universities and often do not return to live in our State. We can ill afford this constant drain on our intellectual and educational manpower. We must develop an economy and an educational system which will attract and retain our best brains. This must be a team effort by industry and education.

I am convinced that we have the means and the men to meet this challenge. We have a Governor who is experienced in education and who is a strong supporter of education for our youth. His plan to stamp out illiteracy at all levels has the hearty support of a great majority of our people. We are fortunate to have able political leaders and influential citizens who are working together to accelerate the rate of our State's progress in many areas. We—and these leaders—are looking to you, our youth, to join in this effort and make it suceced. We are running fast; you must run faster.

This world into which you are going—in which you will be commencing a new phase of your life and development—is rife with opportunities for service and accomplishment. When I was in college one of my older professors recounted a fear which had beset him as a young man. That was the fear that everything had been invented and nothing was left for him to invent. In the subsequent 50 years of his life he witnessed more inventions than had been devised in the prior history of mankind. This same phenomenon has been repeated in the last 50 years of my own life—and such will probably be the case in yours. I recall the first automobile which appeared in Greenville, and the first moving picture. I witnessed the advent of radio, when we listened through earphones to a small squeaky voice. Now we have television, space vehicles, and telstar. We have conquered many dread diseases. But we have only begun. Characteristic of the modern-day explosion of knowledge is the fact that 90 percent of the scientists who have ever lived are alive today.

But if science offers us a challenge, there are areas which are even more urgent. The greatest challenge facing the human race today is the challenge of learning to live peaceably with each other. And this is but one of the complex problems you will be expected to help solve.

You are South Carolina's greatest asset—you who have arrived at this significant milestone. As you meditate upon your future course you should engage in a bit of self-analysis. For 20 years or more you have been the beneficiaries of the efforts and sacrifices of parents, teachers, and friends. You have met the great thinkers and master-minds of the past. Are you ready for your new role of responsibility? Are you really educated in the full meaning of the term? Here is one yardstick by which you may measure your readiness for your new life:

"A man is educated when he can look out on the universe with a sense of his own littleness in the great scheme of things and yet have faith and courage; when he knows how to make friends and keep them, and above all when he can keep friends with himself; when he can be happy alone and high-minded amid the meaner drudgeries of life; when he can look into a wayside puddle and see something besides mud and into the face of the most forlorn mortal and see something beyond sin; when he knows how to live, how to love, how to hope, how to pray; glad to live and not afraid to die; in his hand a sword for evil and in his heart a bit of a song."

You will shortly receive a diploma which will certify that you have completed certain prescribed courses. But can you transform your newly acquired knowledge into beneficial channels?

May I take advantage of the commencement speaker's traditional privilege—the opportunity to offer the neophytes a bit of advice—advice which, if followed, will prove you to be truly educated and worthwhile citizens of our great State?

1. Have a plan: These words have given me strength and courage over many years of toil: "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with growing intensity."

2. Have a purpose: Your purpose will largely determine your attitudes and reactions to crises. You may choose to be like the chip which floats aimlessly upon the stream, being tossed about by the quixotic current. You may prefer to imitate the chameleon, which changes its color to match every change of its environment. Or your stedfast purpose may enable you to stand like the rock of Gibraltar amidst the vicissitudes of chance and fortune. You may be one of those young people who adopt the cynical view that the world is going to the the dogs and there is nothing new or truly good under the sun. Or you may be that young person who faces his future squarely with Rupert Brooke's prayer on his lips: "Thanks be to the Gods who have matched us with this hour."

3. Have courage: There is nothing so disastrous to one's plans and purposes as fear and faintheartedness. And fear can be mental as well as physical. There is no disgrace in the experience of fear. The disgrace comes in giving way to it. One lesson you should have learned in your college years is that the worthwhile accomplishments of history—in church, state, society, and science—have been the deeds of courageous men and women.

4. Have industry: True success in any area of life comes only as the result of hard work. Industry will overcome many obstacles which appear insurmountable to the indolent. I like the motto of the construction battalion of the Second World War—the Seabees: "The difficult we do immediately; the impossible takes a little time."

The story is told of a U.S. Senator's visit to the birthplace of Patrick Henry. As he

stepped out of the car and gazed upon the lofty and majestic mountains he exclaimed, "No wonder Henry was such an orator. These mountains could not have produced a type of eloquence less sublime than his." An old farmer overheard the Senator's remark and replied, "These mountains have been here a long time, stranger, but they have not produced another Patrick Henry." Patrick Henry may have owed something to his environment, but his sublime eloquence came out of a lofty soul which was developed by courage and ceaseless toil.

And now for my final word to you—you who are South Carolina's greatest asset.

"You are leaving these halls to set forth in a world of trials and confusions. Do not expect to find it otherwise. But you will also have the most remarkable opportunities man has ever had to comprehend the mysteries of nature, the aspirations of mankind, and the powers of the human intellect. Perhaps no one of you as an individual will do much to alter the course of human events, but each of you can be a constructive force in man's struggle to improve his lot on this planet." (Calkins.) Those of us who have spent our lives and labors in this State hope and trust that many, if not most, of you will remain in South Carolina to carry on the battle against ignorance, poverty, and prejudice. With your help, our State can become a shining example of growth and progress for all mankind.

The race is for all, but victory is reserved for the swift. We are running fast; you can—and you must—run faster.

May I remind you again of Pindar's words. "The long toil of the brave is not lost in darkness."

Fort Wayne Paper Discusses Automation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, June 13, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, automation and its human problems is a continuing and pressing economic concern for this Nation. But it is a quiet revolution whose effects in human terms are most often out of view of the general public. It is, therefore, important that the press take responsibility for discussing the phenomena of automation and their meaning.

The Fort Wayne News-Sentinel did so on June 3 with an editorial reprinted from Iron Age and acknowledged as a "guest editorial." It is worthy of attention. Therefore, Mr. President, under unanimous consent, I insert this item from the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUTOMATION INDEED A HUMAN PROBLEM

If you have a weak stomach, don't read this piece. We go further than calling a spade a spade; we call it a shovel.

There is a lot of talk about automation putting people out of work; that automation is the hope of the free world; that automation is as old as the industrial revolution.

These true statements are superficial fluff. Management—top rung—that spends the money and approves the changes is involved.

Automation does put people out of work. It does create new jobs. These new jobs will probably be done by others than those who were displaced. The new jobs may be in areas removed from where the unemployed rate rises because of change.

This is known to management—and to government people. It is not stressed in public speeches written by ghost writers. Thus, most people on the sidelines think management feels there are no bad effects from automation—or, at most, only temporary ones.

That is not true. Daily talk and questioning in high management circles involves the working of a corporate conscience, not a social service worker's conscience. Companies believe they have responsibilities to workers, to the area, and to those they hire, who may later be replaced.

This knowledge is hard to get across. It is the fault of management that it isn't understood. The temporary negative characteristics of automation are not admitted. They should be. Management should openly concede there is a gap between the time when automation eliminates jobs and when more jobs will be created by it.

Admitted, too, must be the fact that older people, mediocre people, maladjusted people, and unskilled people will be hurt. Leadership must come from management to do something about this—lest government impose on industry a gigantic industrial public works project.

That will come as sure as shooting unless management talks directly to potential high school dropouts. It will happen unless some plan to soften the blow on older people is worked out. It will happen unless management fosters—publicly—programs in retraining and relocation of displaced people.

The time to do this is now—before it is too late, and government takes over completely.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

A Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of Congress would have to agree that over the long haul there is probably no more interesting reading than that which comes across our desks in exchanges of correspondence from our constituents, and this past week I received one of these fine letters which I should like to share with my colleagues and under unanimous consent I place the letter from Rev. Harold L. Longenecker, of Morton, Ill., at this point in the RECORD:

JUNE 3, 1964.

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This identical letter is being sent to my Representative in Congress and both Senators from Illinois. It is a letter from a deeply disturbed citizen of the United States. I am not a member of a pressure group. I am not writing because someone told me to write, but I am communicating with you on my own volition.

I am more than disturbed. I am quite frankly angry. During the past 3 days I have come across series of current events that arouse a wholly new sense of dismay on my part with respect to our National Government. Let me itemize them for you.

First, the hidden microphones in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. A news item in the U.S. News & World Report of June 1 reads as follows: "Just at a time when the United States and Russia seem to be getting on a more friendly footing" these microphones were discovered. Later in that same article I read this statement: "In the State Department, officials say the incident is unlikely to cast any shadows over improving relations." My question is this: Why, in the name of commonsense, shouldn't this event cast a shadow of our relations with Russia? Why, just once, do we not retaliate for this kind of shameful shenanigan? Why must we continue to suffer the indignities of a lying government like Khrushchev's?

Secondly, my agitation about the State Department was heightened when I read the current Reader's Digest article by Senator LAUSCHE. Senator LAUSCHE is a Democrat from Ohio. Yet he speaks out in the strongest terms against the lack of vision, the ineptitude and the philosophies of the Department of State. My question is: Who is going to force a complete renovation of the State Department? Generalizations, doubletalk, and snowjobbing will not do. The actions of the State Department, as outlined by Mr. LAUSCHE, are going to bring us to a place of national impotence or worse.

Thirdly, the situation in Vietnam is getting more confused every day. Granted that some news reports of obsolete aircraft were overdrawn. Granted that other criticisms were biased. The fact still remains that there is a great deal that hasn't met the eye in the Vietnam situation. Who really knows what is going on? Does Dean Rusk? Does McNamara? Does Congress? Does the President? If anybody knows, they aren't saying. And surely the American people don't know.

Fourthly, President Johnson has made a great "to do" about his poverty program. During the past few days it has become quite apparent that this is a political gimmick which will involve us in a miserable financial mess as the years go by. In addition to exerting an unbearable strain on the economy of our country, what will it do to human initiative? What will it do to the freedom of those who aren't interested in getting a dole from the Government? How many of these people, theoretically included in Mr. Johnson's program, are like the Marlowes from North Carolina, who by their own statement "did not feel that they were in poverty"? Or how many more are like Mr. Tabor of Alabama who says: "I live simply and comfortably and I want no help from Mr. Johnson"? The question I ask is this: By what reason, logic, or principle does Congress propose to vote this poverty program into existence?

Fifthly, the news magazines are now facing up to the rising horror of racial conflict. It is all well and good to say that racial trouble has arisen because of white intimidation. It is also true that racial trouble has developed because of the encouragement the present administration has given to sit-ins, kneel-ins, pray-ins, etc. Where will this horrible portent lead us in the future? Does Congress believe that the inactment of the current civil rights legislation is going to solve this problem? Gentlemen, let us not be naive. Some "powers that be" which are now moving forces in the racial conflict do not want laws. They want conflict, and they will have it—civil rights law or not.

Sixthly, what has happened to the will, initiative, and determination of Congress? Has Congress turned into a rubberstamp for L.B.J.? Is he, by a vigorous engagement in the art of arm twisting, trying to make our congressional bodies impotent and ultimately unnecessary?

I have only sketched the surface. I say again without apologies that I feel a deep down righteous indignation at what is happening to this Nation of ours. I am not a "winger" of any kind. I am a native-born American, living on an income that would class me in Mr. Johnson's "poverty program." I have no ax to grind and no pressure group to speak for, but I want to see a nation preserved for my children that has at least a faint resemblance to the Nation in which I grew up. If something isn't done about the current problems facing us, this hope will never become a reality.

Disturbingly yours,

HAROLD L. LONGENECKER.

Why Not a Federal Exemption From Wage Attachments?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the winter 1964 issue of the Juvenile Court Judges Journal contains an article by Judge Irvine H. Rutledge entitled, "Why Not a Federal Exemption From Wage Attachments?"

Judge Rutledge is most concerned over the handling of nonsupport cases—particularly in cases where the Internal Revenue Service attaches the modest earnings of individuals who are unable to support their dependents. I share Judge Rutledge's views and would hope that we in Congress may direct our attention to a solution of this problem. For the benefit of my colleagues, I as unanimous consent that the article entitled, "Why Not a Federal Exemption From Wage Attachments?" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY NOT A FEDERAL EXEMPTION FROM WAGE ATTACHMENTS?

(By Judge Irvine H. Rutledge, associate judge, fourth judicial district, Hagerstown, Md.)

One of my duties as a circuit court judge in Maryland is to hear about 40 nonsupport cases a month. Practically all of them involve broken homes.

Although our county is comparatively small, being just under a hundred thousand, each year between a quarter and a half million dollars are paid by reluctant fathers by way of support for their children. The individual payments are modest and generally little more than sufficient to pay for the children's groceries. Missing a single week's payment, therefore, can and does usually precipitate a real crisis for these forlorn families. And these crises are arising more and more frequently as entire paychecks of the breadwinners are being seized. Frantic mothers ask me, "What am I supposed to do—how will my children eat?" and I can only refer them to some charity that may hopefully give them some emergency rations.

The agency seizing these paychecks is not some subversive organization nor yet a Shylock of an individual, acting in defiance of law, but rather our own Government's Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Increasingly it has been seizing men's wages for back taxes.

No one will argue that a man should not be required to pay his debts, or that if he fails to do so, his property should be subject to attachment. Yet laws generally have always been wise and humane enough to recognize a distinction between a man's real estate, his personal property, and his daily wages. The reason is obvious; his daily wages mean daily bread for himself and his family. Wages, therefore, are accorded special consideration. Practically every State has laws permitting the attachment of a person's wages for debts, yet, wisely and humanely they allow him small exemptions so that he will not be left destitute; in other words, the States exempt enough of the breadwinner's wages so that he will have something left with which to buy groceries for his children. California, for example, provides that wages may be attached (or garnished) only to the extent of one-half thereof for any services rendered at any time within 30 days next preceding the levy.

Massachusetts provides a $50 a week exemption for wages, and New York provides that not more than 10 percent of one's wages can be attached. Maryland exempts $100 of wages due at any one time. There is now a bill pending in Congress (H.R. 7882) to give to persons working in the District of Columbia, but living outside of the District, an exemption from attachment on wages "to the same extent and to the same amount as is provided by the law of the State in which such person resides."

ONLY EXEMPTIONS

Under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Code the only property exempt from levy for back taxes are: (1) Necessary wearing apparel and schoolbooks; (2) fuel, provisions, furniture, and personal effects not exceeding $500 in value; (3) books and tools of a trade, business, or profession not exceeding $250 in value; and (4) unemployment payments. No other exemptions are provided, and the Internal Revenue Service is not bound by wage exemptions given by States nor by court orders requiring support payments.

Shocking and heartless as this procedure is, it would be entirely unfair to blame the IRS which is merely carrying out the task assigned to it by Congress. What is needed is a Federal law granting a small exemption in cases where levies are made on wages. The exemption could take the form of a set sum or could be such sum as the wage earner was required under court order to pay for the support of his children. Such a law would, so to speak, take the Internal Revenue Service "off the hook" and keep it from appearing to be a greedy ogre.

A spokesman for the IRS in Baltimore, in reply to an inquiry about this matter recently from a U.S. Senator, said, "Proposals of this nature have previously been advanced, but in each case we concluded that any limitation upon the effectiveness of the levy would not be administratively possible—we realize that when it becomes necessary to levy upon a person's wages, attachment of the full amount of his paycheck would, in some cases, result in some inconvenience. It is to be emphasized, however, that in virtually every case, the taxpayer could have avoided this development."

To the credit of the IRS, however, it should be mentioned that it has a policy of not making a levy on a person's wages on successive weeks "to avoid the imposition of undue hardship." Yet, in granting this slight concession it is running the risk of criticism because it is given the duty of collecting taxes, and no statutory authority exists for making even this concession.

FEDERAL LAW RELIEF

Relief can only come from a Federal law granting, as the States do, a reasonable and humane exemption on wages from these levies or back taxes. Such an exemption is warranted by at least three compelling reasons. First, it would prevent the dire hardship of food being taken out of the mouths of children in broken homes; second, it would relieve the Internal Revenue Service of being forced into the position of appearing like a heartless ogre, and third, the effect upon the overall amount of taxes collected by IRS would be infinitesimal.

Probably the greatest stumbling block to the passage of such law is the fact that voices of the children damaged by the present law are not readily audible in the noise and turmoil of Washington where sums in the billions command the attention of Congress. However, several Senators and Congressmen are aware of the situation and are interesting others, and hopefully the day will not be far off when wage earners will be left each week with at least enough money to pay court orders for support of their families.

Foreign Student Asks, "Will God Curse America?"—By Peter Shadid, Syria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I have had sent to me the thoughts of Peter Shadid of Syria, a foreign student studying in the United States, on the subject of prayers and Bible reading in public schools, and the Supreme Court decision.

This young Syrian, not only calls attention to the fact that people in the United States are greatly concerned, but that people around the world are also greatly concerned by the Supreme Court decisions.

As you will note, this young man takes a positive position, does not waste time criticizing the Supreme Court, but very ably expresses the great necessity and urgency of returning prayer and Bible reading in our public schools.

I hope that all Members of Congress will read this article and will heed his words, for certainly no one prevailed upon him to do this—but, as I have been informed, he was impelled, by his own feelings and knowledge, to do so.

FOREIGN STUDENT ASKS, "WILL GOD CURSE AMERICA?"

(By Peter Shadid, Syria)

Being a foreign student and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in the field of education, I find myself prompted to give the following observation and opinion in relation to the recent Supreme Court's decision to rule out Bible reading and prayer from public schools.

The present America is a product of its past and its future depends on its present. John Comenius, one of the great contributions to the American education once said, "Education is a development of the whole man, the ultimate end of man is happiness with God." George Washington stated, "It is impossible to govern the world without the Bible." Andrew Jackson said, "The Bible is the rock on which this Republic rests." And former President Woodrow Wilson held the opinion that, "We are now living on the interest from the spiritual investments of our forefathers." Of the first institutions of higher learning in the United States, 104 were established on the name of Jesus Christ and His word.

I was often asked by our Arabian people, "Why is America so much further advanced in education, economics, and wealth while other nations are older and yet they are behind?" My simple answer was, "Because the American Nation was built on the good Christian principles which involve their Constitution and laws." "Freedom of religion, speech, and press are good examples of their heritage." Now what would my answer be?

The ruling out of the Bible from public schools by the Supreme Court of the United States was a real shock and disappointment to me and to hundreds of millions around the world. Following the line of thought and Christian heritage of America, one would say this is not a normal incident, but rather a step backward in history in a very wrong direction. I have met many people in the various States of your Nation and have found that the majority is indeed against the Court's decision. Such a step is in opposition of the U.S. heritage, objectives, and way of life. Perilous mistakes have been committed in decisions in recent years of U.S. history, but this is the greatest and saddest mistake of all. It is the beginning of a turning point.

Mr. Winston Churchill said a few years ago, "America has reached her zenith." Is this a beginning of a decline? Is this a first step down of the many other steps to follow in the same direction? Could this be a part of a master plan to upset the very foundations of this Republic? Or is it still another battle against God? Perhaps it is all of this combined. If this is not corrected and continues in the present trend, it will bring about many sad consequences, one after another or perhaps it will all come at once. Then it will be too late to deal with and it shall be remembered in all eternity in grief and sorrow.

It is therefore, my simple opinion that if there is any remedy to save this generation and those to follow from this curse, it is to make another turning point in the right direction—go back to the Bible—and put it in public schools, in the homes, in the hearts of men and women and teach America's children everywhere its worth. Only in Christ and in His word is there salvation, survival for this Nation and eternal life—in a one nation under God. God still rules in the affairs of men and nations. This is His world. He still loves it through His Son, Jesus Christ (John 3: 16) but God mocks them who counsel against His Son (Psalms 2).

J. Edgar Hoover said recently, "My hope for the future of this Nation is predicated upon the faith in God which is nurtured in the family." Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower placed his hand on the Bible during his second inauguration and read aloud from the Bible, II Chronicles 7: 14: "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and will heal their land."

PHILIP J. PHILBIN, Democrat Congressman, recently said in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, "Are we to become official godless like Russia, China, and all their Red satellites? Shall godlessness be made the official creed of America?" That is the question you as citizens have to answer. What is your personal answer? On your answer depends the future of your beloved and beautiful America. Faith in God is the guard and fortress of America. Back to the Bible is your greatest civil right to protect; this is the foundation of all rights.

Will you pray, "God begin this revival and awakening in me and show me what to do." In Christ alone is your salvation, your security, and eternal life. If you want America to survive it is your duty to keep it under God and protect it. This is my sincere observation and opinion.

"The Expanding Population"—Address by R. B. Robins, M.D., of Camden, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, there has recently come to my attention a very fine speech delivered to the annual meeting of the Nebraska State Medical Association by Dr. R. B. Robins of Camden, Ark.

Dr. Robins is a member of the board of trustees of the American Medical Association. His address "The Expanding Population," is a very lucid and factual discussion of the population explosion as it affects not only the distant areas of Africa and Asia, but also our own country. I commend it to my colleagues and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EXPANDING POPULATION

(An address by R. B. Robins, M.D., of Camden, Ark., member, board of trustees, American Medical Association, annual meeting, Nebraska State Medical Association, Cornhusker Hotel, Lincoln, Nebr., April 27–30, 1964)

We seem to be living in an era of problems—international, National, State, and local. They multiply at a devilish, ever faster rate, and their variety is apparently boundless.

Hardly a week goes by that we are not warned about some new challenge or about the changing dimensions of an existing problem—social or economic, political or personal, individual or group, medical or financial, spiritual or moral.

So, to day I propose to join the ranks of the crepe hangers. I shall add to your intellectual misery by pointing at what is probably the king-sized, No. 1 problem of all. And that is the expanding world population—the so-called population explosion.

It is the No. 1 problem, in my opinion, because it affects practically all the other problems. It involves just about every conceivable activity or need of the human race—international relations, world peace, food supply, living space, transportation, schools, taxes, jobs, health and medical care, water supply, sanitation, and so on, ad infinitum.

It is a problem not only in distant places like China, India, or southeast Asia; it also is one of increasing magnitude right here in our prosperous, industrialized United States.

It will be aggravated and compounded in the year ahead by the developments in automation, leading to a situation of more people, fewer jobs, shorter work hours, and greatly increased leisure time.

It has been studied and written about by demographers and sociologists, but it is only now beginning to come to the widespread attention and serious consideration of the public.

Finally, it is a problem in which the medical profession very definitely has a tremendous responsibility. To take the easy way out now, by avoiding or postponing the issue, will only intensify the difficulties of the future.

Therefore, let's examine some of the facts and interpretations of our population growth, some of the probable or possible effects of the present trend, and some of the actions and policies which must be brought into play.

In his 1960 book, "People," William Vogt compared the growth of population with the human pulse rate—something with which most of you are quite familiar.

"Count it for a few seconds," he suggests. "Assuming that you have a normal pulse beat, it will not quite keep up with the increase in world population. Every time your pulse throbs, the population of the world will have added more than one human being."

Although worldwide statistics are not exact, the experts are in close agreement on the estimated figures. Somewhere between 80 and 100 individuals are added to the total world population every minute. On the average, about 270,000 babies are born every day, and about 142,000 people die—providing a net gain of about 128,000. This is equivalent to the population of a small city, and it adds up to approximately 48 million additional human beings every year.

As Dr. Marston Bates pointed out last year in the American Library Association series of reading guides on "An Age of Change":

"The additions are thus roughly equivalent to the population of Chicago each month, or of Detroit every 2 weeks. However admirable Chicago may be, a new one each month is a dizzying thought. Yet this is the rate at which people are currently multiplying."

World population doubled between 1850 and 1925—from 1 to 2 billion. By 1980, only 16 years from now, it will have doubled again—to 4 billion people.

Right now, our world population is estimated at 3 billion. However, the period of time required for the world population to double itself has been sharply decreasing. That time period is now down to about 35 years. So, by the end of this century—and that's only 36 years away—world population will be 6 billion or more, if present trends continue.

In the book which I mentioned earlier, William Vogt painted this dramatic picture of the world situation and its future implications:

"There are more hungry people in the world today than ever before in the history of the human race. From Haiti and Bolivia to India and Indonesia and parts of Africa and China, the dearth of the good things of life is growing like the decay of leprosy. To travel through vast areas of the world inhabited by the majority of its people is to encounter misery so nearly universal and so harrowing as to be almost intolerable to us overstuffed Americans.

"The cause? In large part, the world's population explosion.

"This population change is having more of an effect on more people than has any phenomenon since the human ancestor began to walk upright. The very face of the earth is being ravaged by the rising human flood. The standard of living of literally hundreds of millions is being lowered each year. And this deterioration is by no means limited to the underdeveloped countries. The changes that population growth is bringing about reach into every part of our lives, our workshops, our schools, our pantries, our kitchens."

Whether or not Mr. Vogt is too alarmist, or too pessimistic in his viewpoint, we must recognize the serious implications of this problem. Even the most optimistic or hopeful experts agree that we face great difficulties which require the development of population policies.

However, there is no optimism in a recent report from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which predicted that an increase in world food production during the current fiscal year will fail to match the increase in population.

Reporting on a worldwide survey, the Department said that agricultural production will be up less than 1 percent compared with a 2-percent increase in world population. Thus, the per capita supply of food will average smaller than during the past fiscal year.

Agricultural output in Asia is lagging badly, the report declared. Per capita food output is low and is declining, but Asia's demand for food and fiber will probably continue to outgain supply. Moreover, the report showed that Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, has recently become a food deficit area. For the 5th year, Russian food production has failed to advance beyond the 1958 level, despite all the planning for big increases.

Taking the short-range view, some of those facts may sound good to us. We Americans don't like communism, and we are glad to hear of that system's difficulties and failures. Also, we are pleased to hear—as the Government report indicated—that there will be increasing exports of U.S. farm products over the next several years.

However, taking the long-range view of the big problem—world population in relation to world food supply—the news is not encouraging. For here in the United States—although right now we are producing more food than we need, and we are storing billions of dollars worth of food surpluses—we, too, must face up to some population problems.

Dr. Philip M. Hauser, director of the Population Research and Training Center at the University of Chicago, states it this way:

"America is in the midst of a population crisis that threatens our traditional way of life. It is a crisis that becomes more severe with every day of the 1960's. It promises to become a national catastrophe and is already costing us heavily in money, terrible social problems, and lost liberty. * * *

"Businessmen cheer because population growth obviously contributes to our economic boom—providing more and more people to buy goods and services. While increasing our population some 70 percent between 1950 and 1980, we happily contemplate the prospect of doubling our national output of goods and services. All of us, then, should live better. But will that be true if our population continues to increase at the present rate of 1.8 percent a year?"

Dr. Hauser's question demands serious consideration by all Americans.

Between 1940 and 1960, our population gain of 48 million was almost equal to the total population of the United Kingdom. By 1970, at our present rate of increase, we would have a population of 215 million. By 1980, we would have 260 million citizens, an increase over the 1960 figure of 180 million that is about equal to the population of the United Kingdom and Canada, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

By the year 2000, according to Dr. Hauser's projections, our population would be around 385 million—a gain of another 125 million in 20 years. This would be enough for a new country which, in terms of today's populations, would be the fifth largest nation. If the trend continues in the first half of the next century, we will add about 620 million people—as many as live in all of China today—and we will have a population of 1 billion persons in the year 2050.

Right now our population is an estimated 190 million, and it is increasing at a rate of 3 million per year—despite a decline in birth rates and fertility rates during the past 5 or 6 years. Furthermore we have to look at the situation developing immediately ahead.

As Richard M. Scammon, Director of the U.S. Census Bureau, pointed out last year, the lowered birth and fertility rates do not mean that our population growth is now going to slow down. Even with those lower rates, there can be a baby boom if there is a sudden increase in the number of women in the child-bearing years. That is exactly what is about to happen.

In the middle and late 1960's the baby boom of the postwar period is going to start producing children of its own. Next year, we shall have about one million more youngsters reaching their 18th birthday than we had only last year. Approximately half of this increase will be female, and in a couple of years after their 18th birthday, half of these girls will be married. This means a great many new families—and babies—for the next 15 to 20 years.

So, we don't have to look ahead several centuries to perceive our population problems. They are here right now, and they will be getting worse every year in the foreseeable future.

As I implied earlier, this country faces no immediate food shortages. Our cropland actually in use averages more than 2 acres for every person. However, a population of 1 billion—only 86 years from now—would

leave us less than four-tenths of an acre per person, a ratio close to that of the poorest lands. And already, for the first time in our history, the number of mouths we must feed is growing more rapidly than the hands that can work.

Right now, the crisis in raw materials is more urgent than the question of food supply. In 1900, we produced 15 percent more raw materials than we used. By the middle of this century we were consuming 10 percent more than we produced, and a Presidential Commission reported that 33 vital minerals were already on a critical-shortage list.

In our metropolitan centers the pressures of population growth are mounting day by day, as the exodus from rural areas continues. In 1950, less than 85 million persons lived in 168 metropolitan areas. In 1960, about 113 million—63 percent of our total population—lived in 212 such areas. The increase of more than 32 percent in that 10-year period was almost twice the rate of national growth.

On the average, there are about 100 Government units in each metropolitan area—with overlapping duties and tax powers. In many States there is mounting conflict between the big cities and the rural areas on the issue of home rule. More and more, the Federal Government is being called upon to meet the needs of urban renewal, housing, street and highway programs, and health services. If this trend continues, there will be an inevitable loss of freedom by States, localities, and individuals.

It is estimated that we will have to raise $33 billion in this decade just for urban services such as schools, fire engines, sewers, and other city needs. The hidden costs and tremendous social problems of juvenile delinquency will increase in the years ahead—even if the rate of delinquency stays constant—because there will be a big jump in the size of the 15 to 19 age group.

Our educational problems, with respect to both quantity and quality, are already large and growing. During the 1950's our elementary schools had to make room for about 50 percent more students. In this decade of the 1960's our high schools will have a 48-percent increase in enrollments, and the Nation's colleges face a 92-percent increase. Then, a little later, will come additional demands resulting from the new baby boom that is just about to start.

How about jobs and unemployment? About a million new workers are now entering the labor market each year. By 1970 this figure will reach 1½ million. Can our economy absorb numbers—especially in view of the developments coming up in the field of automation? It has been predicted, for example, that within the next generation the work of 60 million Americans will become obsolete.

What about health and medical services? If we double our population during the remaining 36 years of this century—and if we maintain the present physician-population ratio—it would require a total of almost 550,000 doctors in the year 2000. That year is not too far away, but try to imagine all the implications and ramifications involved in meeting that requirement.

I have only scratched the surface of the countless and complex problems which would accompany an untamed growth in population. We also would face unpredictable costs and difficulties in such areas as public transportation, traffic and traffic safety, overcrowded parks and recreational areas, polluted rivers and streams, water supply, air pollution, and the combination of more people with more leisure time.

The major cause of this population explosion is not, as some people might think, any sizable, long-range increase in birth rates. Here in the United States, for example, the high birth rate of the postwar years is only about half of our country's birth rate in 1800. The major, predominant cause—here and all over the world—has been the dramatic decline in mortality rates over the past century, and especially during recent decades.

Obviously, for reasons which need no explanation, we would not want to solve this problem by increasing the death rate. The only alternative, then, is to control the rate of population growth by controlling the birth rate.

Dr. Philip Hauser, whom I quoted earlier, estimates that it would take about a 40-percent decrease in the birth rate to produce a stationary population. A one-third decrease would slow down our growth to about one-half percent a year. At that rate, our U.S. population would double in 140 years, instead of 35–40 years. Certainly this would help to forestall or minimize the overwhelming difficulties inherent in our present rate of growth.

We already are making progress in the control of human fertility. More and more people, of all religious and moral viewpoints, are recognizing the problem and the need for responsible parenthood. There is mounting evidence that the gulf which has separated various groups on this vital issue is growing narrower.

For example, the eminent Dr. John Rock, of Harvard Medical School, a Catholic physician, is convinced of the need for enlightened population control. In his recent book, "The Time Has Come," he called for action to control human fertility in the best interests of mankind.

Father John A. O'Brien, of Notre Dame University, explained in a recent magazine article that the Catholic Church does not forbid birth regulation. He also quoted with approval a statement by Bishop William M. Bekkers, of Holland, who said that "the birth rate now falls within man's responsibility."

The United Nations General Assembly in 1962 adopted a major resolution calling for an intensified program of international cooperation in the population field.

The World Medical Association, at its coming June meeting in Helsinki, Finland, will consider a resolution on population growth which I introduced to the WMA Council at its last meeting in New York.

So, there is growing interest and awareness. The immediate need is for more study, more research, more knowledge, more cooperation in the exchange of information and viewpoints. The medical profession has a terrific responsibility—right now—to lead and participate in the attempt to solve this ominous problem.

With our present knowledge—plus that which will develop from intensified studies of fertility—there is no reason why we cannot achieve the objective: a variety and diversity of birth regulation methods which will be acceptable on religious, moral, and esthetic grounds to every family.

More than 1 million identified species of animals and plants inhabit this earth. Of these, only man can in part control and modify his environment. He now must marshal his intelligence and capabilities to prevent a tragic overcrowding of that environment.

Failure to face up to this challenge will impose almost unimaginable consequences upon the generations to come.

Questions and Answers About the Anti-poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress, I have wanted my constituents to have a full understanding of the administration's proposals for an all-out war on poverty. Is the newly reported poverty bill a cruel hoax? Is it basically a matter of politics by slogan? Is it a dressed-up package of the old shop-worn ideas? Is it the discredited relief concept of the 1930's? Is it promoted for partisan political advantage? Does it hit at symptoms rather than causes of poverty? Is it an expensive yet completely inadequate salvage operation?

Mr. Speaker, if any or all these charges which have been made are true or false, at least the people should have the facts on which to make a judgment.

In this connection, our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] appeared on the television program "City Side" last Sunday and answered questions on the bill put to him by David Burnham, of Newsweek magazine, and Harold Walker, WTOP news reporter. Julian Barber was the moderator.

I was greatly impressed with the fairness and informative nature of this public service program. I wished every citizen in America, and especially those with lower incomes, could have the benefit of the gentleman from New Jersey's [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] informative explanations and answers.

Frankly, I have severely criticized the poverty bill as it was reported by the House Education and Labor Committee. I have not liked the idea of a Federal agency bypassing State and local governments. I have not approved of one Federal agency duplicating the efforts and programs of other Federal agencies as in this case, and too, especially, I object to this bill because it does not provide sufficient restrictions on use of funds by political, religious, or other nonprofit organizations. The bill badly needs constitutional guidelines.

For these and other reasons, Mr. Speaker, I expect to vote against the bill, but I want the people I represent to be in a position to evaluate such a vote. Certainly, I do not want to be judged in the light of coldly opposing a measure to eliminate poverty.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I obtained a transcript of that WTOP–TV program of June 7 and under leave to do so, I include at this point Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN's answers to those questions on H.R. 11377, the so-called Powell-Landrum poverty bill.

Mr. BARBER. Thank you, sir. Now let's begin that talk with David Burnham, of Newsweek magazine.

QUESTION. The Republican members of the committee have—for the last 2 or 3 months—been sharply criticizing the poverty bill as introduced by the President. Now, this has come to suggest to some that the Republicans do not think that persistent poverty is a problem. I wondered if you could briefly tell us where you think the problems of the poor are, what problems are most serious of the poor in the United States today.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, to begin with, I think it is a very inaccurate charge [if such a charge is being made] that Republicans are not concerned about poverty and not anxious to develop suitable program to alleviate it. This is not our position. The reason that we are opposed to this bill is that we do not think it would be effective, we think it would establish an unwise and unnecessary new Federal agency to handle a very considerable amount of money and it would not strike at what the President himself has called the roots of poverty.

Poverty appears in so many places that it is hard to give a quick answer to your question. I would say one of the problems is the lack of opportunity in our big cities. There is no question that slums and the poverty and lack of motivation, which slums create, provide a problem for all of us.

There is no question to some extent that the changing situation on our farms creates poverty in the marginal farmers. In theory, at least, President Johnson has recognized this and said that his program would do something about those areas. In our opinion, it would not; it would be a very expensive effort which would not really strike at any of the basic roots of poverty.

I might say that these roots are not easy to get at from a legislative standpoint. Basically, to give a quick answer to your question, I think that the lack of an adequate education in many cases is responsible for the poverty of the people concerned. We are not talking, of course, simply about the millions of unemployed in this country when we talk about poverty, we are talking about those who have too little to live on and that definition can be very flexible.

QUESTION. Well, Congressman, that definition can be, of course, very flexible. How would you define poverty? Can you define it in terms of a number of thousand dollars per annum?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, I might say, the bill does not attempt to define it. I do not think we would accomplish anything very useful if we tried to. If we are talking—as the President talks—about 30 to 35 million people as being in the poverty classification, and I would be reluctant to get into a numbers game with the President of the United States or with anyone on this panel * * * we are not going to get at it by spending an additional billion dollars.

I myself think that this expression "poverty" has already been overworked. I think it's being done so by Democrats, unfortunately, for an attempted partisan advantage. I think it's seriously overworked in an international sense. I would think it has probably done more damage to the prestige of the United States abroad to harp constantly on poverty than any single thing that I can think of within the last 3 or 4 years.

So I'm very disturbed and I don't think we're proving much if we're going to try to define what poverty is before we decide what to do about it.

We know there are various manifestations and we've got practical programs—to a large extent financed by the Federal Government already—to do something about these things. I would like to get down to specifics * * * talk about what needs to be done and how the President's program might do it.

Mr. BARBER. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, in answer to Hal Walker's question, you touched upon one of the chief criticisms of your party of the administration bill. It's been donounced by some more vocal Republican critics as a cruel hoax, and the President has been charged with playing politics with poverty. Is this just election-year propaganda, or do you sincerely believe that this is a cruel hoax, a deliberate hoax, on the part of the administration?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I don't know who first used the expression, Mr. Barber, but let me say to begin with that I deplore this Republican-Democratic approach to the question of the way the Federal Government should discharge its responsibilities—to alleviate poverty or anything else.

It is very regrettable to me that we find no Democrats who offered any meaningful criticism of anything in this particular package. The fact that Republicans see it for what it is and that we've been calling it some plain names is not done for partisan political advantage. All the Republicans on the committee, it is true, have their doubts about this program. I would hope that a lot of good, honest Democrats would have their doubts if they would only look at the contents.

So I think we should make this plain. I think it could easily be called a "hoax"; I have not done so, though I don't think it's too strong an expression. Because it is only going to provide about a billion dollars in the next 12 months—if it should be enacted to provide assistance to what the President indicates are going to be 30 or 35 million people. Well, of course, it is going to do no such thing. It isn't going to find substantial numbers of jobs for many people; it isn't going to be doing much for our young people or for the middle aged or for our old ones. And yet it's creating an expectation that this is going to be the new broom to start an all-out war on poverty.

I find that this is a deception on the American people and I think it's being done for political advantage, as I've said. We couldn't possibly accomplish with a billion dollars what the broad objectives of eliminating poverty in this country—in New York City alone in a 12-month period—spend a billion dollars.

So the expectations that are created by this assumption of additional responsibilities by the Federal Government is very great and there isn't any substance which is going to meet those expectations.

QUESTION. Along the lines of the question of * * * as you know, the Republicans and Democrats on the committee have—over the past few years—worked together to quite a surprising degree—coming out with some very sound and progressive programs. On the poverty program there has been this complete split.

Do you feel that the Democratic administration made a specific and deliberate effort to antagonize and split off and isolate the Republicans in an effort to develop an issue for the November campaign?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. It's a good question, I think. I can't really answer it. I don't thing that cooperation between Democrats and Republicans on our committee—or any other committee—should come as a surprise. We have consistently tried to make constructive suggestions with a lot of legislation—some of it very controversial. We have tried to do that in this field. I might say that it has distressed me that the Democrats have, in effect, turned their back on us. They have literally excluded us on discussion about changes which they recognize should be made in the President's program. For almost 2 weeks we were excluded from those discussions. They ignored and certainly adopted no suggestions of any significance by the Republicans.

Now it isn't that Republicans don't have as reasonable suggestions to make as Democrats. It's because—to my mind—something has happened to solidify the Democratic position and they have failed consistently to discuss this bill with us—we've had several attempts to bring out on the House floor a discussion of the merits and demerits of this program and the 19 members of that committee have, in effect, boycotted us. The first time we tried it, two members of the committee did show up and made some very casual remarks in response to our criticisms and reservations. The last time only 1 out of the 19 even bothered to show up.

Well, now, this is not the way to get a meaningful evaluation of what is in the bill, and this is what we've been attempting. And apparently they're relying on the magic of the word "poverty" to get something through without Congress taking a look—(one of the interviewers tries to interrupt here)—which offends be as a legislator, not as a Republican, but as a legislator. I think we're not discharging our responsibility.

QUESTION. But do you think it will be an effective campaign issue against Republicans?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I can't believe it. In the first place, I think that trying to prick the conscience of America for political advantage is a dangerous game. Of course, we recognize that more needs to be done in this field as in others, but when you take a look at what is being proposed and you realize the dangers of this program, it seems to me if anything the Republicans will have the advantage if an attempt should be made to use failure to pass this legislation—or voting against this legislation—if that should be used as an issue.

QUESTION. Well, a moment ago you deplored the Democratic-Republican split, or discussion, of it along those lines. But it has been reported that when the bill was first drafted you supported the bill, but later pressures were brought to bear on you to oppose it. Is there any truth in this report?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. None. It was a completely unreliable, inaccurate report—if we're thinking about the same one. At the opening of the hearings in the middle of March, I said that I thought it was important for all of us on the committee keeping an open mind with respect to these recommendations. I did feel that and I regret that the Democrats on the committee apparently didn't feel the same way * * * they had a completely closed mind, they had made no major changes in any of the proposals—even though some of them are hotly controversial and are sure to get this bill into trouble if it should be brought up to a vote on the House floor.

I think openmindedness on the part of a legislator is important, but I might say that most of these specific recommendations are retreads of old programs which have not received congressional approval, which indicates that they don't have so very much merit in my book.

QUESTION. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, is the crux of the Republican opposition to the Powell-Landrum bill based on (if I may use this term) grounds of States rights * * * that this would place too much authority in the hands of the Federal Government and that the States and local communities are excluded from the operation of the plan?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, we have so many objections to it that I probably won't get a chance to discuss them all. There is no question with respect to this one * * * this question of the degree of control that the new Federal agency would have * * * we are seriously disturbed at the authority that is being requested of this new Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the man we call the "Poverty Czar," because he will have so much power. He will have the power, as an example, to go in to a community and get an application for Federal assistance from an element of that community * * * it can be a public agency or a private agency, it no longer even has to be

a broadly representative agency of that community * * * and he can finance a project which has not and may not be approved by the local governing body. There is no role for the States to play in this process; this is direct Federal intervention.

We think this is a very serious weakness with respect to a program that could have very major significance.

QUESTION. Recalling one of the exchanges you had during the hearings with Sargent Shriver, I recall his answer to that and would repeat it now * * * that we are dealing with people, not with States. Isn't that correct?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, if he said that, I would say it was a very naive way to talk, because if we are going to have one individual; namely, Mr. Shriver, responsible for the decisions that will affect the lives of tens of thousands of communities, we're dealing with an individual who has too much authority. It seems to me that our system of Government—the Federal aid program that we have provided—have used the States and communities because we recognize they know more about their own problems than a bureaucrat sitting in Washington knows, and he obviously is anxious to avoid the red tape and the delay of utilizing the machinery of States and communities may represent.

This strikes me as a very unwise, in fact, very naive approach to a problem of this magnitude * * * to say nothing of very probable undercutting of Federal programs already on the books aimed at poverty which involve the expenditure of $9 or $10 billion every year. So you're talking about something of very real significance.

QUESTION. Mr. Congressman, at that point * * * several days ago before the House you talked about that most of the program was just a retread of existing programs.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, existing or proposed programs.

QUESTION. I was going to say * * * isn't the Job Corps and the new community action program * * * are two new * * * I mean, they have been proposed before, of course, but this will be the first time they have been tried on a fairly large scale basis, isn't it?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, the Job Corps is new in the sense that we haven't approved it yet. It's not new in the sense that States haven't been trying it. The Governor of Indiana came in and said they have a program * * * there is a program in the State of California. What that would do to those State programs is anybody's guess * * * if you set up a Federal program, does that undercut the State efforts? It's new in the sense that it's much bigger than the program that had previously been authorized. It's not new in the sense that it wasn't tried in the Civilian Conservation Corps days of the 1930's.

QUESTION. Of course, this is going to be considerably different from the Civilian Conservation Corps——

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. It's going to be a lot more expensive, I might say. If we're trying to provide economic opportunities for young people, is it necessary that we enroll them for 2 years in a Job Corps—without specifying how they're to be selected, who is to teach them, what they're to be taught, how discipline is going to be maintained, and what they're going to be equipped to do when they get out after 2 years—and to do it at a cost of $4,700? This to me is an indication of why we're worried.

It may be on an experimental basis that we can justify it, Federal financing of residential centers for disadvantaged young people. But we have that legislation on the book already—the Vocational Education Act we passed last year provides an opportunity for the Federal Government to lift people out of slums, just as an example, and put them in special schools to learn a trade. Well, what will that program not prove that the Job Corps will? And yet if we establish Federal responsibility for setting up Job Corps all over the country—at $4,700—we've assumed a very large responsibility for apparently educating these people.

We're talking about education—perhaps hunderds of millions—Congressman LANDRUM suggests that maybe they'll be over a million young people in this Job Corps that prove to be a success, whatever that is. Well, if we're doing it because they have not received an adequate education, they can't read or write, they've been rejected by the draft or whatever the reason is, it would seem to be we might better take a look at the educational system of this country instead of adopting a very broad program of Federal Aid to Education in effect without even knowing, or attempting to find what is to be accomplished.

QUESTION. The idea of the Job Corps is to take these kids out of the environment that they live in, the total slum environment, whether it's urban or rural, and give him training at the same time which the training centers in the slums might not be able to achieve.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The training centers that I was referring to, the vocational training education centers, would not be in the slums—they can be outside. We suggested that the District of Columbia would make a prime area for us to try this out because there is a very real Federal responsibility.

QUESTION. Along that line, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, I'm armed with some statistics from the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, and according to this, the way I read it, one provision of this bill does the very thing that you would propose—giving some local responsibility. According to this information, it says: "Title II provides for the local community to develop its own action program." They're referring to one of the youth programs, "Programs which can be developed include employment job training and counseling, health, housing, home management and welfare, special remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance for the benefit of low-income individuals and families." Doesn't that title in the bill meet objections that you raised?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. No, it very definitely does not. It means that a community, such as the District of Columbia, could take responsibility for developing a program and asking for Federal finance. But it could also mean that a segment of that community could ask for financing whether or not the District government, the coordinated effort that was developed, felt this was a good idea or not. So, in effect, if the Federal Government should decide not to support the community approach but to decide to accept one private agency's suggestions, they could undercut what the community might be trying to adopt.

As an example of what I mean, we've already seen direct discussions between the chairman of the New York Board of Education and Mr. Shriver with respect to a hundred-million-dollar program to integrate New York City's public school system. Well, suppose that the mayor of the city of New York did not approve of this particular approach, or he felt he should have some veto power over a Federal program to accomplish this. Under this bill the mayor of the city of New York has no authority to control this—except he, too, could appeal to Shriver and say don't you understand, this will upset my program? The potential is there for real mischief on the part of the new agency.

Our feeling is that if we should spend more money on poverty, we should do it through existing agencies in approved ways. Again, maybe we don't provide enough assistance to the District of Columbia, maybe the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare doesn't provide it in ways in which the District would like, but there again, the question should be: Do we expand existing programs, do we utilize existing agencies—not set up a new one with a blank check to spend it as they see fit?

QUESTION. Of course, in the District there are some people who feel the District government doesn't want to do anything—and this becomes a problem. We don't have the vote, of course.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, again, this makes it difficult. If you don't have the vote, you may not have as much of an influence on the result. I happen to feel that Congress should exercise more responsibility than it does toward the District's problems because of the nature of the Federal city.

But the fact that there may be some sitting on the hands of a community or a State, an unwillingness to do what is within their capacity, does not seem to me to justify the bypassing by a Federal agency of that community or that State. In one way or another we should involve them in the process of solving their own citizens' problems.

QUESTION. That's a very profound question. That's really the heart of it, isn't it?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, there are so many hearts and, unfortunately, we've had no meaningful discussion between reasonable men and women in committee—and I doubt we do on the floor. What the administration is apparently saying is: You buy this program, it's on my "must" list and we will not discuss the contents.

So far, all we've had in 2 months of hearings is, in effect, a string of witnesses come in and say poverty is a bad thing.

Of course, poverty is, but we need to look specifically at what is being proposed. Do we want a program—and we had a witness in here who said this program would provide these funds—do we want a program that would provide Federal assistance to individual citizens so that they would have adequate, up-to-date plumbing? We had a witness from Arkansas who says a great many older citizens of Arkansas have to use outdoor privies * * * as they become infirm they have to go to nursing homes if they can't have facilities inside, the community-action program would provide such facilities.

Now this is the kind of intervention that seems to me very unwise.

QUESTION. Congressman, in your own district, the median income is somewhat over $7,000, whereas in Mr. Landrum's district, of nearly half his constituents are less than $3,000 a year. Is it possible that Mr. LANDRUM has a more personal contact with poverty than you have?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I have no idea what Mr. LANDRUM'S contacts with poverty are. I can assure you that my attitude toward this bill is not shaped by whether or not I have many poor people in my district. It's shaped by my concern as a legislator in the Federal Government with the nature of the existing Federal efforts (and they're very considerable) and the advisability of adding a new layer of authority to an already complex picture. It has nothing to do with whether or not I've lived in a log cabin or been exposed to a miner's life at all. I sympathize with the poor * * * I feel as a representative of a wealthy State that we may have a responsibility toward those who are less fortunate. That does not mean that we should waste the taxpayer's money or to spend it unwisely or to give undue authority to an individual without delineating how the money should be spent. We have a responsibility to the taxpayers' money—as well as to those who may or may not benefit by the distribution of this money.

QUESTION. There has been some talk of objections to the bill because it would help Negroes more than it would help whites in the country. Do you see this as a serious objection?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I know of no one who has objected to that on those grounds. I would think that if the Negro is in need, he probably—that racial group—should

stand to benefit substantially from it. I would certainly think it would be a very untenable way to argue against this bill and I don't happen to think that anybody has done so.

QUESTION. The Republican policy committee this week came out unanimously, I believe, against the poverty program as reported out * * * the question that puzzles the reporters up in the gallery is how many of the Pennsylvania, urban, Republicans—the Republicans in districts that are not getting along so well—how many of those do you think you're going to lose when you come to the vote?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, as I say, I will reiterate. I do not think we should be looking at this from the party line point of view. I think it's outrageous that we should be asked to be loyal to something that we feel is bad because our party feels this way, and I think it would be equally outrageous to oppose a program because the party position is in opposition to it. If there is merit in this bill, it should be approved by individuals. What I deplore is the fact that so many Democrats seem to be pressured into taking a position in favor of this bill. I have no idea how Republicans will go on this. I hope we'll look at it on the merit side * * * that's all we've been agitating for. We think there are very serious weaknesses and dangers to what we've got and our own Federal-State relationships if this should be passed.

QUESTION. Dependable as the partnership may be, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, isn't it a fact that this has become and is now a partisan issue, a political issue, the very vote from the committee—19 to 12, I believe—was strictly along party lines.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, President Johnson himself, of course, has led the pack unfortunately. He showed a very partisan attitude toward this, in my opinion. He excoriated me before some Democratic women here in Washington not so long ago for my blind opposition to his bill, and in effect, as I understand it, hoped that I would meet oblivion at the polls next November.

My opposition, I assure you, was not blind * * * my opposition is not because I am a Republican. But if the President of the United States feels this way, of course, his own followers are not likely to challenge him and tell him you're talking through your hat.

Mr. BARBER. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, I'm sorry now that's all the time we have. Thanks to today's guest: Republican Representative, PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

European Editors Fear Pro-American Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, when foreign editors begin to wail about one of our statesmen; American citizens can be pretty sure that statesman is looking out for them. Senator GOLDWATER has made it plain that is an unabashed pro-American.

If European editors fear the election of a President who is pro-American, they have some reason to be concerned about the candidacy of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

Under unanimous consent, I include an editorial on this subject appearing in the June 11, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star:

EUROPE LOOKS AT GOLDWATER

The immediate horrified outbursts that came from most of the capitals of Europe, both in the press and in the chancelleries, upon realization of the number of votes behind BARRY GOLDWATER has intrigued us.

These outbursts reached their zenith in the Communist capitals, but barely outstripped those in France, Britain, Italy, and such.

As we look at these countries and their various policies in recent years, the interesting thought crosses our mind that perhaps what really shocks these countries is the notion that for once they may find themselves in the position of having to exercise some responsibility in their own policies.

They obviously fear that GOLDWATER would be irresponsible, and that they could no longer depend so absolutely on the United States to be understanding, considerate, and responsible, when they dump our policies, make trade deals with Cuba, discriminate against American products, and at the same time demand favored treatment from us.

They can no longer play so fast and loose in a dangerous world, and be assured that the United States will take the rap for them and pick up the pieces.

It is certainly not a compliment to GOLDWATER that these many nations have come to believe they couldn't depend on them, that his policies would be somewhat unpredictable.

But it is an intriguing thought that this frightens them more perhaps in what it would force them to do in terms of examining their own policies than in any specific action that might be taken by the United States.

Of course, they don't really know what to expect of a Goldwater except that he would be a complete break from the responsibilities assumed by the present administration.

They obviously feel that they do know what to expect from a Lyndon Johnson and probably can expect much the same from a Nelson Rockefeller.

The idea of uncertainty as to what they can count on scares them.

It would require them to be a bit more serious and a bit more careful in arriving at their own decisions and policies in the future.

No wonder it bugs them.

Baltic Nations Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, 23 years ago, during the night of June 13–14, tens of thousands of people in the Baltic States of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia were seized and deported from their homelands by ruthless Soviet agents to farflung parts of the Soviet Union to exist in misery, hunger, and slavery in Soviet labor camps. The world knows that Soviet Russia has enslaved millions of people in eastern and central Europe who, until 1939, lived under their own national governments. The Communist aggressors, against the will of the overwhelming majority of the people of the Baltic States, illegally and forcibly incorporated them into the Soviet Union and they still remain under the cruel yoke of communism. Communist regimes have kept these nations in bondage, deprived their people of fundamental rights, and subjected them to ruthless colonial exploitation. This has been achieved by the use of force and fraud, in violation of international law. Soviet wartime and postwar pledges of free elections for the countries of east-central Europe have not been fulfilled and little has been done by the free world to demand fulfillment.

Until the human rights of personal and political freedoms are restored to these and other enslaved peoples, the world will not see true peace. The basic issue involved in today's conflict is human rights: the right to life, liberty, and security against arbitrary arrests and detentions; the right to own property; the right of opinion and expression; the right to assemble peacefully; the right to work; the right to form trade unions; the right to religious freedom.

All these rights, Mr. Speaker, that we in this country believe are basic to the individual, are being denied and violated in the captive nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—and the continuance of these violations is harmful to world peace and cooperation.

There are those who apologize for Soviet Russia and insist that we must accept the status quo if we are to come to a peaceful settlement of world problems. If the United States is to retain its leadership in the struggle against communism, it must demonstrate courage and firmness and an unequivocal stand for basic human rights. The yearning for freedom of these enslaved people and their continued devotion to the ideal of human liberty constitute a threat to the rule of the Communist oppressors. We must help keep that faith alive. For 23 years our Government has refused to recognize the legality of the Soviet occupation of these countries, but today the many gestures toward accommodation with the Soviet rules are discouraging and frightening to the many friends of these Baltic States.

In observance of that June 14, 23 years ago, we today pay tribute to the bravery and dedication of these people and assure them they have not been forgotten.

Iowa Soil and Water Conservation Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, this week soil conservationists around the country are celebrating Soil and Water Conservation Week. As one who has long been interested in soil and water conservation, I would like to pay tribute to those individuals who work fulltime in this field. They are doing a great

service and the results and benefits of their efforts will be realized for many years to come.

This year, in an effort to get the message of soil and water conservation to the people, I had my research team of college students at the State University of Iowa prepare a kit for distribution to all of the newspapers in the First District of Iowa. It contains stories about the work of the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture, pamphlets, and other material that newspaper editors can use in publicizing soil and water conservation.

For the newspaper kit I wrote the following article which is titled "The Challenge":

THE CHALLENGE

(By Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, First District of Iowa)

The challenge of saving the productive land of America soars to tremendous proportions. Its dimensions begin with the vastness of a nation, look outward to a hemisphere, and ultimately encompass the globe. At stake is the well-being of mankind, now and for the future. All men depend on the productivity and uses of the land, not only for the food of existence but also for the nourishment of spirits. Here is more than the place where we live. Here also is the space and setting for our future growth, which may be limited or limitless. Its proportion of value is determined by each individual's concern for the land.

The proper management of soil and water resources is one of the most critical problems our Nation faces. While rural and urban residents today face a greater challenge in the development of land and water resources than during any period in this Nation's history, they also possess more efficient means to meet this challenge.

To each among us there is a share in the brotherhood of soil and water stewardship. There is a share to further the beauty of creation, to reject waste in a complex society, to build strong communities and prosperous farms, and to develop goals. This Nation cannot afford to be concerned about soil and water problems only on farms, for land and water resource problems extend beyond the grassy farm fields and into the concrete pathways of cities.

Farm legislation has recently taken this into proper consideration. Congress last year provided comprehensive conservation tools to help meet our Nation's resource needs. The Department of Agriculture has been extended additional authority to work with local people and their organizations in programs which have been widened in scope to meet the expanding need of this Nation.

It is gratifying to see Iowa as a leader in soil and water conservation—a leader not only in the Corn Belt but also in the Nation—but I still feel deeply that the rate of conservation progress deserves to be increased.

The accomplishments of soil conservation districts have brought increased benefits not only to the farmers but to the urban-suburban populations as well. A large measure of a district's success can be attributed to the tireless efforts of its locally elected farm commissioners who can be proud of the important part which they have played in conservation.

Land use changes are occurring at ever-increasing rates. The growing acreage of urban-suburban land poses new conservation problems.

The Department of Agriculture's recently published inventory of conservation needs gives a good picture of the physical needs for the conservation of our land. It shows the nature and the magnitude of the conservation tasks to be faced, and it shows that we have ample land resources to meet the anticipated needs for the foreseeable future. The inventory indicates that in the 12 counties in Iowa's First Congressional District, the present acreage of 2.5 million acres planted in cropland will probably exceed 2.6 million by 1975—an increase of more than 3½ percent. Of the projected 2.6 million acres about 54 percent will need conservation treatment. The report further indicates that 29 watersheds, lying wholly or partly within these counties, are in need of project type action, primarily for flood prevention through floodwater and sediment damage reduction and for upland erosion damage reduction.

Congress already has provided for the Department of Agriculture to give technical and financial help through soil conservation districts which have been the nucleus of the conservation program at a local level. The Department's small watershed program provides the means whereby local people can initiated their own soil and water management and flood prevention projects in community-size watersheds and receive Federal technical and financial assistance. Greater effort is needed to achieve city-county cooperation in areas where a watershed development specifically involves both farm and city land. The Department can now give wider financial assistance for municipal and industrial water supplies.

Conservation is an issue which has long concerned me. We should establish a long-range goal to successfully accomplish the many tasks before us. We have an excellent team—local, State, Federal, and private interests. One important way in which we can stregnthen our team is to get better public understanding of the job we are doing—the understanding not only of farmers but of city dwellers as well.

Of increasing importance is the soil survey information and experience gained by the soil conservation services in working with farmers. In addition to its value to farmers in planning land use, soil survey information is an important tool for engineers and urban planners in building construction, locating highways, water control, sewage disposal, and other matters important to suburban development.

Conservation is a responsibility which steadily grows larger and more exacting. Pressing against the limited resources on all sides are the mounting demands of an increasing population and the spreading requirements of our more complex world. More people want more uses more often from the resources at hand, and evey indication is that the trend will continue. Whether conservation is practiced by individual farmers, or by townspeople and farmers working together, the results benefit everyone.

We can be proud of the things we have done, but we should think more of today, tomorrow, and the crucial years ahead. We must broaden our outlook to horizons which constantly widen the new problems, new complexities, and therefore to new opportunities. The real job, of course, rests ultimately with the people—farm and nonfarm alike.

This is a good time to examine the tasks before us and our own responsibilities to the preservation of our Nation's resources. With faith and courage in the processes which bring about better conservation procedures, we welcome the future.

Address by Senator Kenneth B. Keating to the Association of Mayors of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of serving with Senator KENNETH B. KEATING when I was first elected to the House and it has been my privilege to observe his distinguished career ever since he first entered Congress in 1946. Senator KEATING is an outspoken advocate of a strong and forthright foreign policy and a leader in the fight for equal opportunity for all men.

Because KEN KEATING is one of the two Senators appointed to the Commission To Study the Status of Puerto Rico, the speech which he gave Monday, June 8, to the Association of Mayors of Puerto Rico is particularly significant. Senator KEATING stressed the contribution that Puerto Ricans have made to American culture and pointed out the contrast between Puerto Rican successes and Castro's failures.

As Senator KEATING said, the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico "is built on voluntariness and is held together by friendship and mutual interest." In his words:

We are showing the world that these qualities can cement bonds between nations as firmly as between individuals.

Senator KEATING's speech follows:

It is a privilege and a personal delight to take part tonight in this dinner in honor of Puerto Rico's leading citizens.

Yesterday, New Yorkers were treated to a magnificent demonstration of free institutions and cultural and economic solidarity in the wonderful "Desfile Puerto Riqueño."

We American citizens who live on the mainland, and particularly those of us here in New York City, are vitally interested in the 2½ million American citizens of the sunny island of Puerto Rico and the additional million in the United States.

Puerto Ricans are making an important contribution to the industry and commerce and culture of this greatest of cities—a contribution not only of their many highly developed skills but also of their willingness and quickness to learn new ones.

We are learning about and enjoying the rich traditions of language and music and literature and art of the Puerto Rican people. There is a two-way culture absorption going on in this city—we are assimilating you and you are assimilating us, and we will both be the richer for it. I have already learned to obey the "No Fume" (No Foomay) signs throughout the city.

We have taken great pride in Puerto Rico's economic development and in your firm dedication to free institutions and representative government.

We were particularly gratified when, in 1950, the Commonwealth established her own point 4 program to share her knowledge and skills with underdeveloped countries throughout the world. Recently, Puerto

Rico welcomed her 23,000th point 4 visitor. He was the latest in a long line of officials who have come from 137 countries to learn about the industrial incentives program that attracted nearly 1,000 manufacturers to Puerto Rico, and to visit the schools, farms, hospitals, and housing programs of the island.

Puerto Rico has sent to our shores government leaders, economists, teachers, and scientists of note. Two islanders have won distinguished service medals from the Federal Government for their achievements in the civil service: Guillermo Medina, who now heads the Navy's oceanographic office, and Raul Rodriguez, who received the Army's Civilian Exceptional Meritorious Service Award for his role in developing a water supply system for our servicemen in Greenland. The number of Puerto Rican doctors and lawyers has doubled in the last 10 years.

Tad Moscosco has played a vital role in shaping our Latin American policy.

Pablo Casals—an adopted Puerto Rican, whose mother was a native-born islander—was honored at the White House, but even more important, honored us by sharing his gift for life and for music.

We have also witnessed with pride Puerto Rico's phenomenal economic growth and development. In two decades, Operation Bootstrap has increased the island's net income 700 percent. Per capita income has risen, the number of factories has increased from 52 plants in 1949 to more than 660 today.

Puerto Ricans have always known that economic advancement and the abolition of poverty were not ends in themselves, but rather means to a better life.

And with this long term goal, the island instituted Operation Serenity—a concerted emphasis on education, the arts, and the development of the Puerto Rican culture. The results—a vast scholarship program at the university, and the establishment of the Casals Festival, to name a few examples—have been as astounding as the results of Operation Bootstrap.

We on the mainland must retain these goals, too. The enrichment of the American culture, the fostering of the arts, the improvement of education for all Americans, must be one of our important objectives. The abolition of economic poverty is a necessary prerequisite, but not the end of our task.

We know right here in New York City—even within the Puerto Rican community itself—that there are other objectives which must be achieved—that economic success is important, but not enough. We are dedicated to working for those broader goals, not only for Puerto Ricans in New York, but for all Americans. Better schools as well as better jobs. Scholarships as well as steel plants. Concerts as well as commercial development. All are needed for the better civilization we are planning.

Every thoughtful person is deeply impressed with the speed and thoroughness with which our Puerto Rican citizens have adapted to the ways of the New Yorker.

They have set down their roots and made long range plans for their futures with remarkable speed.

It is not generally known that there are more than 6,000 Puerto Rican business establishments in New York City alone. Puerto Ricans have settled all over this big wonderful State and have bought homes and have joined parent-teacher associations.

The major problem we have in this city with our Puerto Rican friends is how we can make available to them more quickly and more easily the education they want so urgently, both for themselves and for their children. They seem almost frantically eager to advance their mastery of English and of United States customs and social, commercial and legal patterns.

I understand that the Spanish language newspapers here carry more advertisements for schools and educational opportunities of various sorts than for any other product or service. And, obviously, their editors know what their readers want to see. My Puerto Rican friends tell me that almost everyone who comes here from the beautiful island, has a personal credo borrowed from our first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln—"If you keep on studying and learning, you will be ready when opportunity knocks."

The impression is unmistakable that Puerto Rican New Yorkers are here to stay. They are anxious to assume their share of responsibility in the affairs of their local, State, and Federal governments.

It is to this end that they so eagerly pursue their American education.

There is another aspect to the relations between the United States and Puerto Rico, one which bears directly on our security and freedom. Puerto Rico is of strategic importance to the United States and to the free world as a glittering showplace of democracy and economic progress in the troubled Caribbean.

Only 800 miles of water separate San Juan from Havana but the gulf between them in free government and fine institutions is vast indeed.

It is thrilling to see the wonderful manifestation of this difference here tonight—assembled here are the mayors of Puerto Rico's cities and towns, freely elected by the will of the people—and the leaders among their chosen representatives in their government: all of this in sharp contrast with the situation in Castro Cuba.

I have been told that the bonds between Puerto Rico and the Cuban people are very close and very strong; that they are like two wings of the same bird. Puerto Rico and Cuba were both liberated in the same war and I know you share with me the conviction that there can be no real security in the Caribbean until Cuba is again free.

And the Cuban people are not free, any more than are the people of Hungary. Castro remains a menace: to the future of Cuba, and of Latin America, and of the whole Western Hemisphere. What Castro wants more than anything else—what he must have to survive—is recognition that communism in Cuba is permanent, that it is the wave of the future, and that it is irreversible. Acceptance of that idea by the world is more important to Castro than any other issue confronting him.

He must never be given this recognition or respect. The Castro regime serves as an agent for foreign Communist domination of a strategic point in the Western Hemisphere; and as an instrument for the export of Communist terrorism, sabotage, weapons, and ideology throughout Latin America.

It also serves as a case history of the dismal failure of communism. Castro is a weak link in the Communist empire. Concerted economic measures short of war and the increasing opposition of the Cuban people can break this link. This is my belief and the basis for the policy of the U.S. Government.

We must never meekly accept the Castro regime as inevitable and unalterable, and every member of the Organization of American States must stand together behind a strong policy—to name Castro the Communist aggressor he so obviously is, and to initiate united action to prevent this dictator from subverting free and independent governments throughout the hemisphere.

Fortunately, one of the best weapons in freedom's arsenal is the showplace that is Puerto Rico. Blessed by nature with a magnificent country and climate, Puerto Rico is demonstrating clearly the added blessings that spring from free government and free enterprise. All peoples must be made as aware of Puerto Rico's remarkable successes as they are of Castro's failures.

This year, the Congress enacted legislation to create a Commission to Study the Status of Puerto Rico. I was privileged to be selected as one of the two Senate members of the Commission, which is composed of seven U.S. residents and six residents of Puerto Rico.

We will have our first meeting tomorrow.

One of our tasks will be to evaluate all the arguments on the various proposed relationships between the two governments, and to make nonbinding recommendations for legislation to the President. I am fully aware of the importance of this subject and intend to give this issue my most earnest study and consideration without any prejudgments.

But there is another important task before the Commission which must not be overlooked. It can serve to focus the attention of the whole world on the magnificent story of Puerto Rico.

It is a proud and inspiring story of what can be accomplished by free men and women working together for the general welfare. Its last chapter has not been written—but I am confident that the future of Puerto Rico will witness ever-increasing success in our joint quest to provide a better life for all peoples.

In Puerto Rico, there is a saying that one should take pride in his house but keep the windows open on all sides to let in fresh breezes. Puerto Rico's house was Spanish for 400 years. Her people take pride in that house, but for decades, they have kept their windows open to breezes from other parts of the world.

I have tried to make it clear tonight that relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico is mutually beneficial. The United States has helped Puerto Rico and bears a special responsibility for its welfare. But Puerto Rico has also advanced the interests of the United States both culturally and strategically.

Our relationship is built on voluntariness and is held together by friendship and mutual interest. We are showing the world that these qualities can cement bonds between nations as firmly as between individuals.

There is much the world can learn from this, but unfortunately there are many places in the world where windows are not kept open—even in the springtime.

We welcome all of you and wish you every future success. If I can close with a wish for myself—it is that I will be able to visit you in your cities in the not too distant future.

A Tribute to Chrysler Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, having been deeply concerned over a period of years about the ever-increasing death toll on our highways and as chairman of the Public Health and Safety Subcommittee my attention has been directed to ways and means of reducing automobile fatalities.

I have introduced a number of bills in the field of automobile safety and the Congress, in its wisdom, has seen fit to pass and have enacted into law measures requiring seat belt standards, brake fluid standards and driver registration. In addition, the House on two previous occasions passed the bill I introduced to establish safe car standards and it is now pending on the House Calendar this year.

Mr. Speaker, I realize that, while we can legislate to provide the safest possible automobiles, it is impossible to legislate human behavior. The hard fact is that there are those individuals, normal in every respect, that become demons when they get behind the wheel of a car.

Driver education, Mr. Speaker, is of paramount importance if we are to substantially reduce the carnage on our highways. I fully support the programs on driver education that our schools throughout the country have provided for I fully believe such programs will assist materially in reducing the ever mounting death toll.

I wish to take this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to commend the Chrysler Corp. for its program to promote traffic safety and for providing driver education vehicles at no cost, and in whatever numbers required to public and nonprofit high schools and colleges in the country where they have qualified driver education courses.

I commend Chrysler Corp. for this forward step in the field of traffic safety through education and I insert in the RECORD at this point a press release by Chrysler Corp. outlining this fine program they have embarked on:

A program to promote traffic safety throughout the United States by providing driver education vehicles at no cost to approved schools was announced today by Virgil E. Boyd, Chrysler Corp. vice president and group executive, automotive sales.

"The nationwide program will make Chrysler Corp. vehicles available, in whatever numbers are required, to public or nonprofit private high schools or colleges in the country, provided the schools have qualified driver education courses" Boyd said. He added that the vehicles would be provided through the more than 6,000 Chrysler-Plymouth and Dodge dealers in the United States.

Details of the Chrysler Corp. program are being announced by Lynn A. Townsend, president, through a special mailing this week to approximately 20,000 school administrators throughout the country. To qualify for the driver education cars, schools must provide qualified instructors to teach an approved course in driver education, Townsend said. Each student should receive the usual minimum standard course, which is generally 30 hours of classroom instruction plus 6 hours of behind-the-wheel training.

"Driver education is one of the best investments this Nation can make in highway safety," Boyd said, "and as more and more of our young people reach driving age, the all-out cooperation of the automobile industry and its dealers is needed to supply the growing need for cars to continue and expand these programs."

Boyd pointed out that, individually, teenagers are physically equipped to be the best drivers, but as a group they have one of the poorest records. Last year, he said, they represented 7.1 percent of the drivers in the United States, but they were involved in 14.7 percent of all traffic accidents.

"We know that qualified driver education is the most effective way to reduce this disproportionate figure," Boyd said. "Results of more than 40 separate research studies show that trained drivers have an average of half as many accidents as untrained drivers for at least 5 years after receiving instruction."

He added that the studies further indicate that about 900 lives are saved annually and 31,000 injuries are prevented as a result of high school driver education.

"The population explosion, however, is having its impact on high school driver education just as it is in other areas of the school curriculum," Boyd cautioned. "In the current school year more than 3 million high school students are eligible to start driving, but present facilities provide qualified driver education for only 39 percent of these students.

"This means we are running behind at the rate of nearly 2 million students a year—and this number will grow larger and larger unless we take action now to reverse the trend."

Arrangements may now be made with dealers selling Chrysler Corp. cars for the driver education vehicles. First deliveries under the new program will be made shortly after the 1965 model announcements this fall.

Under the terms of the program, the vehicles will be registered in the name of the school. Provision has been made by Chrysler Corp. to assist the dealer in recovering depreciation costs on all cars made available at no cost to the school for driver education purposes.

In addition, Chrysler will also continue its current program which provides a cash allowance to dealers for each vehicle sold or leased to schools for driver education use.

Democratic Gloom Is Puzzling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. David Lawrence's column, entitled "Democratic Gloom Is Puzzling," which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on June 11, presented an extremely puzzling political phenomenon. It seems that the columnists and radio and television commentators who have never written or said a kind word for the Republican Party are now crying crocodile tears over the destruction of the party through the possibility of a nomination of Senator GOLDWATER.

Their sudden concern is most baffling, as is the case of a small group of Senators who issued a policy statement aimed at Senator GOLDWATER when the Senate voting record for 1963 shows that not one of the eight signers had a percentage record of over 60 percent in voting with a majority of the Republicans in the Senate. Their record ran as low as 28 percent while Senator GOLDWATER had an 81-percent record in voting with the majority of Republicans on the Senate rollcalls. Just what is prompting all of this sudden concern for the welfare of the Republican Party by those who neither vote with the party nor write, nor comment favorably on the party presents one of the most baffling political situations of 1964.

Mr. Lawrence's column follows:

DEMOCRATIC GLOOM IS PUZZLING—OBSERVERS THEORIZE GOLDWATER STRENGTH IN GRASSROOTS AREAS UNDERESTIMATED

(By David Lawrence)

There is something of a political mystery building up. It's understandable why certain Republicans who may have favored rival candidates in their own party are unhappy because, as it looks now, Senator GOLDWATER, of Arizona, is going to get the Republican presidential nomination. But it is puzzling why so many Democrats are unhappy.

Much of the anti-Goldwater comments have come from people who consider themselves "liberals" in the Democratic Party and from those who profess to be nonpartisan but actually have a deep-seated antagonism not only toward Senator GOLDWATER but against everything for which he stands.

If the Arizona Senator's philosophy is, as alleged, so unpopular, and if the Republican Party is supposedly doomed to destruction if it does nominate Senator GOLDWATER, then it is difficult to see why there should not be rejoicing among those writers who have been espousing the cause of the Democratic Party.

Is it possible that Senator GOLDWATER has more popularity than appears on the surface and that for this reason Democrats fear he may have more backing among the voters than he is publicly credited with having? It might even be that the Arizona Senator has the support of the "grassroots" sentiment in State after State and that his strength with the voters has been actually underestimated in the last few months.

It is to be noted that the public-opinion polls were recently proved wrong in California—the most populous State in the Union.

But if Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy is, as it is now claimed by his critics, about to hurt the Republican Party, why shouldn't the Democratic Party exultantly anticipate a landslide victory?

President Johnson, of course, is not the idol of the so-called "liberals" in this country, but he is subject to their domineering influence inside his own party. His stand on "civil rights" legislation, for example, only a few years ago was different from what it is today. But he could never have gotten the vice presidential nomination, nor could he have attained the strength he now has within his own party, if he had not been willing to make adjustments or to "implement" principles in a way that is satisfactory to the Democratic leaders in the Northern States.

There are Republicans, of course, who think that maybe Senator GOLDWATER, too, can be persuaded to adopt a "flexible" strategy and that, by the time the Republican platform is written, he may be willing to accept a document with some high-sounding phrases that extol certain principles on "civil rights," for example, without necessarily indorsing all of the specific proposals for carrying out those principles.

One thing that is unmistakable is that, while national political conventions are often controlled and operated by the professional politicians, they cannot ignore underlying public sentiment. There has been a rapidly growing support among Republican voters for Senator GOLDWATER. It has been based on the assumption that he is a courageous individual who is not afraid to dispute the policies and programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Much of the outspoken comment in favor of the Arizona Senator comes from people throughout the country who are not particularly concerned with the deviations that occur now and then in the impromptu speeches of public men. Senator GOLDWATER is regarded basically as a symbol of protest and as a man who will really make a fight during the campaign and reflect the opposition to administration policies by many citizens.

There are, to be sure, some Democrats in every State who are sympathetic to the Goldwater movement. It is too early to say how much of a "crossover" vote from the Democratic to the Republican Party will emerge in the autumn elections. But the caustic attacks recently on Senator GOLDWATER by Democratic Party spokesmen may, in the long run, prove beneficial to him.

For, while he certainly cannot count on getting any of those same "liberal" votes on

the Democratic side, or even hope to retain some of the voters in this category who happen to be Republicans, he may find the "crossover" exchange advantageous to him numerically. There may be more Democrats who will leave their party than there will be Republicans who will "crossover" to the Johnson candidacy.

At this early date it is difficult to say whether the election will be close on the electoral side, because a majority of only one vote within each State can decide its electoral vote. But it is conceivable that the Republican Party in November will pull a much larger popular vote than has been predicted heretofore.

Watersheds During the Next Decade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts presented the 11th Annual National Watershed Congress in Little Rock, Ark., April 19–22, 1964. The purpose of this year's highly important congress was to outline the programs for watershed development throughout this Nation during the next decade. A brief summary of this congress was printed in the May issue of the Watershed Letter. Under unanimous consent I place this Watershed Letter in the Appendix of the RECORD, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

WATERSHEDS SEEN RALLYING POINT IN NEXT DECADE

The past 10 years have proven the worth of small watershed development, but vastly more innovation and action are needed during the next decade. This is the consensus of participants in the 11th National Watershed Congress held late last month at Little Rock, Ark. More than 400 of the Nation's top land and water leaders applauded SCS Deputy Administrator Hollis R. Williams when he said the need for completing the conservation job on 1 billion acres of watershed lands is "urgent and imperative."

Decline and death face many American communities unless their problems—including water management—get immediate attention, said Williams in his keynote speech. He pointed out that small watershed projects are essential to long-term economic development and provide immediate employment benefits from construction work and associated industrial and recreational enterprises.

Three major shifts in emphasis were identified by the chairmen of congress committees as they assessed future watershed potentials. These are trends from single to multiple-purpose development, from primarily agricultural to community-wide programs and from individual agency-based projects to coordinated efforts combining all interests.

Only in recent years, said Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, have we begun to "think of communities which need to diversify their economic base if they are to survive, to think of the widespread cancer of poverty in rural America, to think of the growing needs of families and individuals in cities and suburbs for land and water and space where they can relax and play."

Abandonment of old methods of river basin development was called for by Anthony Wayne Smith, president of the National Parks Association, in one of many demands for fresh and imaginative thinking. He said the typical draw-down reservoir must be replaced by modern programs which protect, restore, and enhance the total "life-environment."

Smith called for a larger proportion of small headwater impoundments in comprehensive river basin plans, more vigorous water purification provisions and a critical assessment of large reservoirs in view of the probable emergence of the hydrogen-fusion process (of sea water conversion) which may render big dams uneconomic and unnecessary.

Watersheds will be a focus of inestimable importance in the next 10 years, said Herbert B. Eagon, of the Ohio River division, Army Corps of Engineers. He said:

"There is a crying need for a national rallying point. We need a cause to inspire heavy hearts, challenge listless minds, employ idle hands and unite us all in a common crusade to benefit all citizens and strengthen the Nation.

"What could be more obvious than an all-out campaign for the restoration, protection, preservation, and use of our basic resources of soil, water, trees, legumes, fish and wild creatures through the development of the watersheds and river basins of the Nation. So much to do—so little done."

PRESSING NEEDS

Here are the highlights of committee presentations at the Watershed Congress:

Resolve water rights conflict: A Supreme Court decision in 1955 has raised doubts concerning water "rights" along streams originating from or flowing through U.S. public lands. In an attempt to resolve the situation, at least partially, five western Senators have introduced Senate bill 1275 which would recognize certain State water rights procedures. If this legislation fails, some alternative steps should be taken to clarify water rights policy and confirm State and local interests, said members of the Water Rights Committee.

Step up water quality improvement: None of the 528 Public Law 566 watershed projects approved as of the beginning of 1964 include specific provisions for water quality control. Pollution problems in small watersheds are still emerging ones. Immediate attention must be given to quality improvement because of increasing urbanization, integration of small watershed projects in comprehensive basin plans, the possibility of stream contamination resulting from advanced agricultural technology and the expanding utilization of small watersheds for recreational purposes.

Promote teamwork in basin planning: Coordination of river basin studies and programs, though not ideal, is much better than 10 years ago, says the River Basin Planning Committee. Federal officials must recognize the legitimate concerns of State and local interests in water development and the States need to demonstrate willingness and ability to assume an active role in planning and presenting local viewpoints. Senate Document 97, an outline of coordination policies, and other expressions of administrative policy and congressional intent provide an excellent foundation to build a mature water development program in the years ahead.

Get the facts and put them to work: The committee studying watershed potentials called for expanded research on resource needs and uses, more comprehensive planning and better policy formation. But its big guns were trained on the problem of education. Public interest in water problems is growing, members said, and an educational program must be readied to meet this new awareness and concern. Most importantly, "it must be an A, B, and C type education, stripped of fancy frills and highly technical terms. Too often technical people explain what they are doing in terms common to their profession, which is not the layman's language," said G. M. Browning, chairman of the Watershed Potentials Committee.

Expand fish and wildlife consideration: The efforts of U.S. Soil Conservation Service officials to integrate fish and wildlife and recreational features in small watershed projects were recognized by the Recreation Committee. But much more consideration of these needs is required to mitigate damages to fish and wildlife habitat by drainage aspects of watershed development, members said. Legislative authority and administrative procedures seem adequate to provide for development of these resources in Public Law 566 programs, but local sponsors, technical workers, State approving agencies (such as State soil and water conservation committees), and State fish and game conservation agencies must be encouraged to take positive action to protect habitat and develop proper recreational facilities.

PRAISE FOR 566

A dynamic and effective mechanism for Federal-State-local cooperation in community development—this was the judgment of Watershed Congress participants on the Public Law 566 program, now 10 years old.

In the first decade of its life, Public Law 566 has helped watershed development leap ahead. Federal investments rose from $7.3 million in 1955 to $63.4 million in 1964. State, local, and private expenditures have also risen sharply. Out of the $743 million involved in the first 500 projects, about $441 million are Federal costs and $301 million are non-Federal.

Almost half of the 547 projects approved as of April 1 include features other than flood prevention—such as drainage, irrigation, recreation, and water supply.

This upstream program has roots stretching back to 1936. In that year USDA began to make watershed investigations and reports. In 1948, the first floodwater retarding dam was completed in 1 of 11 authorized watersheds. In 1952, Congressman POAGE, of Texas, introduced watershed legislation, and in 1953, the House voted $5 million for the "pilot" watershed program, Public Law 566 was passed on May 21, 1954, and has been amended five times.

Wartime Excise Taxes Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the Republican members of the House Committee on Ways and Means proposed an amendment to H.R. 11376. That bill provides for a 1-year extension on all wartime excise taxes still in effect.

The Republican amendment would reduce by 50 percent after June 30, 1964, the present excise taxes on toilet preparations, jewelry and related items, ladies' handbags, luggage, furs and fur-trimmed coats, and be eliminated entirely after June 30, 1965.

Should the rule on H.R. 11376 not permit such an amendment, then a motion to recommit the bill will be offered

to include the Republican amendment and report back forthwith.

Mr. Speaker, I have long advocated that all wartime excise taxes on the above-listed articles should be repealed; hence I shall support this move to accomplish that end.

Gen. David Sarnoff Honored With Yeshiva University's Distinguished Science Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 24, 1964, I was privileged to attend and participate in a dinner at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York honoring the chairman of the board of the Radio Corp. of America, Gen. David Sarnoff. On that evening Yeshiva University presented General Sarnoff with its Distinguished Science Award for his service to the scientific community and to all of his fellow citizens.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the tributes paid to General Sarnoff on that occasion by President Lyndon B. Johnson and by the chairman of the board of trustees of Yeshiva University. These are followed by General Sarnoff's able and illuminating remarks. Those assembled were also honored with the presence of Astronaut Scott Carpenter—a living symbol of the triumph of science in space.

The remarks of President Johnson, Yeshiva's Board Chairman Max J. Etra, and General Sarnoff follow:

REMARKS BY MAX J. ETRA, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

In the first year of this century a young boy arrived at these shores. He was one of millions of all nationalities and religions—who came to this country because it held forth the promise of freedom, new life, new opportunity. The most ardent enthusiast could not have predicted the enormous impact this boy has made on the life of his country.

If I were to sum up Gen. David Sarnoff's career in one word, I would say that that word is service. His gifts of imagination, his genius in predicting the future of science and technology—and in making the dream of tomorrow the reality of today, his humanitarian concerns—all have at their root a desire to serve mankind.

Yeshiva University, too, in its long history, has been motivated by the desire to serve the community as a vital force in education. More than three-quarters of a century ago, what has become Yeshiva University today came into being on New York's lower East Side.

During the last two decades, this university—inspired by the unprecedented role that higher education has come to play in national well being—has experienced a meaningful expansion that has rarely been paralleled in education—so at present we number 17 schools in our university. During these years, Yeshiva University has at all times responded to urgent national needs. It was to meet the tremendous shortage of skilled teachers and administrators that the university established its graduate school of education. To meet a need in the unprecedented demand for social work personnel to work with our youth, our aged, and our indigent—the university founded its school of social work.

In response to a serious national challenge our Albert Einstein College of Medicine for the training of doctors and for the advancement of medical research came into being.

Most individuals in this country would agree that our greatest need today is to strengthen our Nation's scientific resources. Most people will recognize the vast implications that scientific strength has for every sector of American life. Our strength and future as the leader of the free world depends on it. The progress of American industry—and the progress of every American business—depends on it. The well-being and health of every citizen depend on it.

Yeshiva University's first important contribution to science was in establishing its Belfer Graduate School of Science 5 years ago. This school has now reached the stage where to realize the tremendous potential for distinctive service it is moving forward with a $15 million program to build the Nation's newest science center. So how proper it is that one whose career can be summed up as service to his country, to all people and all the world should be honored this evening by Yeshiva University, an institution also dedicated to the service of all mankind.

INTRODUCTION OF CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM J. MULTER

I am happy to call on a distinguished member of our Federal Government and a long-time friend of Yeshiva University—one who has shared a great deal in making possible the university's development.

He has been a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives for almost two decades. He serves on a number of important legislative committees and plays an active role in the affairs of the Congress. I venture to say there are few men, in Government or in business, who devote as much energy and time on behalf of their fellowmen.

I am proud to present our honorary alumnus, Congressman ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE ABRAHAM J. MULTER

Mr. Toastmaster, Dr. Belkin, Commander Carpenter, distinguished guests on and off the dais, my task tonight is brief but most pleasant. I am sure you will agree with me that the honor roll of alumni of Yeshiva University includes many great men and women, but none more illustrious than the one I will give you tonight. When I told him what Yeshiva University intended to do here tonight, and invited him to participate and share this evening with us, his ready response was, "How can I say no to a fellow alumnus?"

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my great pleasure, my distinct privilege, my high honor, to present to you, on the screen to my right, the President of the United States.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, FILMED FOR PRESENTATION AT THE YESHIVA UNIVERSITY DISTINGUISHED SCIENCE AWARD DINNER, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 24, 1964

I'm delighted to be able in this way to join you in the tribute to my friend General Sarnoff.

It has been said that the greatest use of a lifetime is to spend it for something that outlasts it. By that standard, General Sarnoff has already more than earned the award that you present to him tonight. Few people have contributed more to our beloved America. He is responsible for major expansions on the horizons of knowledge. He has brought the benefits of science and technology to all the people. He has devoted himself with a singleness of purpose to the advancement of scientific thought and the advancement of scientific talent to national problems.

No one better illustrates the genius of America. His life, from immigrant boy to industrial statesman, is an inspiring record. The establishment of a new science center for Yeshiva University is a fitting occasion for the presentation of the Distinguished Science Award to General Sarnoff.

George Washington once wrote, "If I have a wish ungratified, it is that the arts and sciences may continue to flourish with increasing luster." That same wish seems to be the basis for this project. We need more scientists. We must have more science teachers. Our very future depends upon more scientific research. The graduate school of science, which the new science center will house, therefore is directly responsible to the wish of the first President—and to the wishes of your current President.

I understand that Scott Carpenter is with you this evening. On this, the second anniversary of Scott's flight, it is particularly appropriate, I think, that General Sarnoff be honored for refusing to be bound by existing frontiers of science, that a new science center be established to enlarge our scientific resources, and that we be rededicated to the principles of courage in scientific inquiry represented by Scott Carpenter's flight 2 years ago and General Sarnoff's record of a lifetime.

As a holder of a degree from Yeshiva, it gives me great pride and satisfaction to participate in this tribute to my old and dear friend, David Sarnoff.

ADDRESS BY DAVID SARNOFF, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA, AT THE PRESENTATION OF YESHIVA UNIVERSITY'S DISTINGUISHED SCIENCE AWARD, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 24, 1964

Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, Commander Carpenter, members of my "Mishpucha," and friends, the warm and generous tribute from the President of the United States and the chairman and president of Yeshiva have moved me deeply. It is difficult for me to find words that could adequately express my feelings at this moment. I am very happy to share this evening's platform with the distinguished man who has brought glory to our Nation and to himself, Commander Carpenter.

I am both proud and grateful to be the first person to receive the Yeshiva University's Distinguished Science Award. In less than a decade, the Belfer Graduate School of Science has won a reputation for accomplishment that institutions far richer in years and resources may well envy. It's contributions to scientific progress have been original, daring, and far reaching.

It was particularly gratifying to note the references, in your generous citation, to my efforts to achieve a marriage between science and industry. Now that they live so happily together, it is easy to forget that this was not a case of love at first sight. Actually, both parties resisted matrimony. In the beginning they were suspicious of the match, and their courtship progressed only under the pressure of events and interested individuals.

From mutual distrust it advanced slowly to mutual tolerance, and finally to mutual respect. If the number of offspring and the rate of production are any measure, then the marriage's consummation has been a conspicuous success.

Today there is hardly a major industrial company in the United States which does not acknowledge, directly or indirectly, its massive debt to science and technology. In this generation, the combined efforts of industry and science have unlocked some of the secrets of the universe on a scale that dwarfs all past history. The very composition of tonight's assembly—its blending of scientists and industrial executives, with educators interested in both fields—testi-

fies to the continued vitality of the relationship.

To describe the interplay between science and industry in the human terms of a marriage is logical, for it is people that dominate the equation. Progress in any area, in the final analysis, is a gage of human creativity. Indeed, the great challenge of our time is to stimulate and hasten the expression of latent creativity that is within us, and particularly within our youth. And this, I believe, is primarily the obligation and the opportunity of the teaching profession.

It concerns me, therefore, to find that there is at the university level a growing separation of many of our finest professors from the function of teaching. More and more, the task of educating new college generations, especially in the sciences, is being left to less experienced hands, including graduate students. More and more, the status of a professor in these areas tends to be measured not by how much but how little time he spends in the classroom.

A recent survey by the Brookings Institution of over 3,000 college and university faculty members of every rank showed that half of the university scientists do not even know the names of the seniors majoring in their department. This growing alienation between teacher and student seems to me to present a situation that needs correction.

If there is justified concern over the instruction of young people at the college level, what shall we say about their progress through the elementary and secondary school grades? The truth is that in this first decade of the space age, we have yet to apply the full effort needs to upgrade our education in the critical formative years when career decisions are usually made.

We should also be concerned with the vital matter of compensation to the teacher.

Too few teachers are adequately paid. For example, the salary of public school teachers ranks 15th among average earnings for 18 professions. It is nearly 13 percent below the average salary level for Federal civilian employees. And nearly two-thirds of all male teachers, to maintain their families, must take on extra jobs.

But while there are teaching problems at all learning levels there also are solutions. One of them is suggested by Yeshiva itself.

The Belfer Graduate School of Science has numbered among its faculty Dr. Atle Selberg and Dr. Jesse Douglas, winners of the highest international awards in mathematics. Paul Dirac, of Cambridge University, a Nobel Prize winner, will be here this coming school year. Prof. Peter Bergmann, world-renowned authority on relativity and one of Einstein's closest associates is here now. So, too, is Dr. Leon Landovitz, the man who computed the weight of the island universe through which our solar system travels—the Milky Way.

In many comparable institutions such men would be as aloof from the routines of undergraduate instruction as a Wagnerian tenor would be from the lowliest spear carrier. Their talents would be considered far too valuable for the humble rewards of the classroom.

At Yeshiva, these men have every opportunity for creative study that the school can offer. But these distinguished scientists and mathematicians also will be found instructing undergraduates, including first year students. Their contact with young people still in the process of determining their careers has had a striking impact upon the level of teaching and student response.

Another solution to the problem is the planned use of scientists from industry to enrich student experience at the junior and senior high school levels. I have long been convinced that industry has as great an obligation as any segment of the Nation to promote the education of our youth. Forty-two percent of all American scientists are in its laboratories. Self-interest alone demands that the supply of talent be enriched and replenished.

My conviction on this score is reinforced by the experience of my own boyhood. The greatest inspiration to my career in radio and electronics came from contact with men of genius—particularly with one whom I idolized when I was a boy of 16. That man was Guglielmo Marconi, whom I first met when I was the office boy in New York at the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co. It was also my good fortune to know such men as the brilliant electrophysicist, Michael Pupin of Columbia University, and the truly great Albert Einstein. These contacts and friendships stimulated and inspired my own efforts.

In any case, I have long felt that if scientists from industry could contribute part of their time and talents to schools in their community, they could help kindle in this generation of youth that sense of excitement in the pursuit of science which men like Marconi, Pupin, and Einstein kindled in my own mind.

In the fall of 1962, such a program was launched by the New York City Board of Education and the Radio Corp. of America on a pilot basis. The results have been encouraging. Of the participating students, 89 percent indicated that they wanted more class sessions given by working scientists, and 87 percent said that these sessions would influence them toward careers in science.

This year the industry-science teaching program which we initiated has been expanded with the participation of scientists from eight other companies in the New York area. I am hopeful that it will spread to other companies and to other communities across the Nation. There are more than 1,350,000 physical scientists and engineers in the United States. If only 5 percent of them would devote a fraction of each year to education, our high school students would have direct access to nearly 70,000 of the finest technical brains available anywhere.

Some 2,300 years ago, Diogenes observed that the foundation of every state is the education of its youth. It seems to me that there can be no more important matter of concern to our society than the strengthening of that foundation. And this suggests still another avenue through which the quality and prestige of teaching can be upgraded.

Within the past decade and a half, the Government has become one of the most influential forces on the university campus through its support of scientific research. As a result, it has helped decisively to shape the nature and direction of much of our higher educational effort.

A number of approaches have been suggested for strengthening Government support to education. One is that Federal funds should be balanced more evenly between research and teaching. Another is that grants and fellowships should unite the tasks of instruction and research. However, there is one action, requiring neither allocation of funds nor reorientation of Federal programs, that would have a dramatic and salutary effect upon the quality of our teaching. I refer simply to the official recognition, at the highest level, of the vital role that our most dedicated teachers play in the national advancement of quality in teaching.

From the beginning of the Republic, our Government has paid full homage to its leaders and heroes, in peace and in war. In recent years it has recognized the services of oustanding civil servants, and awarded high honors to the Nation's great men of science. I suggest that it is time now to honor the quieter victories of the classroom, and to call attention to those men and women who, year in and year out, add new sinew to the Nation's brainpower.

Last month, President Johnson announced the appointment of a special Commission to select a total of 121 presidential scholars—the most gifted boys and girls from this year's graduating class of secondary schools—two from each State, from Puerto Rico, from the District of Columbia, from American territories, and up to 15 at large. The President rightly referred to these young people as the most precious resource of the United States. They will be invited in June to the White House as guests of the Nation and presented with a medallion.

I venture to suggest that a parallel program might be created to place the mantle of White House prestige around the Nation's outstanding elementary and secondary school teachers. Through the cooperation of such organizations as the National Education Association and the Congress of Parents and Teachers, names of the best qualified members of the teaching profession in every section of the country could be assembled and submitted to the President's Special Commission for final approval.

Possibly both students and teachers might be presented together at the White House to meet the President. The title of "Presidential Teacher" might be conferred upon the instructors. Each would be entitled to wear an emblem, perhaps a rosette, signifying that he is a member of an academic "legion of honor." I am convinced that this would do much to elevate the prestige and the level of both the teacher and teaching in the public mind.

This is one example among many that can be found if we earnestly set about to achieve the solutions. But however we choose to do it, there is no doubt in my mind that there must be a concerted effort to raise the status of teaching to the honored position it should occupy in the Nation. It is evident that new talent must be cultivated to meet the pressing needs of new technology. It is equally evident that we cannot continue our progress in one without providing for progress in the other.

It was Henry Adams who wrote that a teacher affects eternity for he can never tell where his influence stops. To this thought I would add that the purpose of education is not merely to put inspiration into youth but also to draw it out, for in many instances the inspiration is already there, lying fallow, awaiting the touch of an inspired teacher to put forth shoots.

We are greatly in need of the inspiration that can be provided by the greatest human resource—our youth.

President Johnson has told us tonight: "We need more scientists. We must have more science teachers. Our very future," he said, "depends upon more scientific research."

As we look ahead to the remaining years of the present century, we may reasonably except that science and technology will advance more in the next 36 years than in all the millenia since man's creation. By the century's end, man will have achieved a growing ascendancy over his physical being, his earth, and his planetary surroundings.

The primary reason is man's increasing mastery of the electron and the atom from which it springs. Through this knowledge he is capable of transforming everything within his reach, from the infinitesimally small to the infinitely large. He is removing the fetters that for more than a million years have chained him to the earth, limiting his hegemony over nature, and left him prey to biological infirmities.

By the year 2000, I believe our descendants will have the technological capacity to make obsolete starvation, to lengthen appreciably the Biblical lifespan, and to change hereditary traits. They will have a limitless abundance of energy sources and raw materials. They will bring the moon and other parts of the solar system within the human domain. They will endow machines with the capacity to expand the power of the human brain.

If our wisdom can be stimulated to grow with the growth of knowledge we shall gain from the progress of science, we may look forward to the future with hope that is justified. The wise use of the products of science and technology for the benefit of all mankind, could provide the best guarantee for the peace of the world.

To translate these possibilities into realities, we must educate and train our young men and women and inspire them to equip themselves for the new opportunities in a changing world.

In the utilization of its human resources for teaching as well as research, Yeshiva and its Belfer Graduate School have demonstrated their pioneering excellence both in the education of youth and the advancement of science. They have created a grand design for higher learning that recognizes the fact that a machine cannot supplant the human brain and that science is no substitute for the human spirit and its social conscience.

And in so doing, they have helped to release the potentialities in our young so that progress can continue its march for the benefit of all society.

Flag Waving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, we all are aware that the expression "flag waving" has a derisive connotation. But in its highest signification it stands for an outward expression of a deep and inner feeling of patriotism—a patriotism which includes a genuine love for our country, a respect for and adherence to the principles on which it was founded, and an unstinting dedication and devotion to the preservation and defense of those principles—at all times and by whatever means necessary.

Yesterday, was Flag Day, commemorating the adoption by the Continental Congress on June 14, 1777, of the original Stars and Stripes as our national flag. During the 187 years that have followed, the flag has been symbolic of the noblest and bravest deeds of men and of a priceless heritage that is our American way of life. Flag Day, together with our other patriotic holidays, gives us an opportunity to display and wave our flags. Would that Americans throughout the land would do so, literally and of course in the higher meaning and true spirit of the occasion.

I wonder if most citizens feel as I do—that there is discernible across the land a revival of patriotism going on in the hearts and minds of Americans. No single individual or event is responsible for this rousing from a somewhat dormant sense of patriotism to a keener appreciation of our American heritage. Many persons are making a contribution to this American revival. One notable example would be the statement of Col. John Glenn to the Congress in joint session assembled:

I still get that hard-to-define feeling deep down inside when the flag goes by * * *.

And, incidentally, there could be no hint of "flag waving" in its derisive sense in Colonel Glenn's simply but profoundly expressed sentiment—a sentiment Americans everywhere share.

One of the wonderful things about patriotism is that all Americans can feel and manifest it in equal measure. It belongs no more to the most sincere 4th of July orator than to the least prominent listener in the audience.

And patriotism does not belong exclusively to those of us who are fortunate to have been born in the United States. It is expressed as well—sometimes better—in letters which come across my desk, written by newly naturalized citizens whose hearts overflow with gratitude for the newfound joys of freedom in the United States.

It is right to be patriotic every day. It is right, also, that a special day be set aside in tribute to the American flag, under which so many have sacrificed so much that the United States of America remain always the land of the free and the home of the brave. As Old Glory proudly waved in front of your home and mine on June 14, so let it wave in our hearts and souls, forever.

The Late Governor William P. Hobby, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT THOMAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, Texas has lot one of her greatest sons. Gov. William P. Hobby passed away only a few days ago. The Governor lived a very long and most useful and highly respected life. He was an outstanding political and civic leader in Harris County—and Texas—for at least 50 years.

At a very early age he was elected Lieutenant Governor and later became Governor. His record in those two high offices was superb. He left an indelible mark for honesty, fairplay, and good government upon all of Texas.

In more recent years, the Governor devoted his untiring efforts, energy, and enormous ability to editing the Houston Post and managing a great television and radio station. These three agencies of social control were used to the profit and benefit of all Houston and Texas in promoting efficient and praiseworthy government and improving the quality of our citizenship.

His passing will leave a great void in the public life of south Texas. But, like the passing of all other good and outstanding leaders, time will produce other giants who will benefit by Governor Hobby's outstanding leadership and good examples.

I join his lovely family—his wife, Oveta; his distinguished son, Bill; and his daughter, Jessica—in their sorrow and great loss. I, too, have lost a true and devoted friend.

The Old Smear Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item taken from the National Review Bulletin of June 23, 1964:

THE DAILY PRESS

While working newspapermen tend to be liberals, GOLDWATER received better treatment in the daily press than in any other medium; this is probably because journalistic probity is more self-consciously maintained by newspapermen than by the slick paper and electronic journalists. Nonetheless, GOLDWATER's treatment by certain correspondents and newspapers was not calculated to do the conservative cause any good. One of these partisans, for example, was Scripps-Howard Correspondent Jack Steele, whose daily dispatches out of California read like pro-Rockefeller editorials. On one day, Steele recorded a story relating Rockefeller charges of "bomb threats," an asserted effusion of violence the likes of which reporter Steele had not seen, he said, in some 25 years of journalism. Steele's story did not establish whether the bomb threats had in fact been made, or merely alleged; but it left no question in the reader's mind that Goldwater backers were the culprits.

Another curiosity was the headline style prevailing in some California papers. When President Eisenhower came out with his blueprint for an ideal GOP candidate shortly before the primary, Rockefeller boosters were quick to say the pattern excluded GOLDWATER—an allegation which Ike himself denied. The San Francisco Examiner did not, however, leave its readers in doubt. It played on page 1 a column by Roscoe Drummond stating Drummond's opinion that Ike had repudiated GOLDWATER. The headline said: "Ike Backs Off BARRY" Beneath this was a composite wire service story about GOLDWATER's views on low-yield nuclear weapons to defoliate jungle trails in Vietnam, which he said America would not use. The headline was: "BARRY's Plan To Use A-Bomb." Many other instances of misrepresentation could be cited, but these suggest the flavor of the thing.

THE MAGAZINES

GOLDWATER's handling by the slick national magazines was, in a word, brutal. Scarcely a week went by in which Time, Newsweek, Look, or the Saturday Evening Post did not unload an attack on the Arizonan in the guise of "reporting." A favored tactic, particularly appealing to Newsweek, was to belittle GOLDWATER's performance in the various State primaries. Thus the magazone proclaimed that GOLDWATER had "managed to make even Harold Stassen look good" in Indiana by yielding 39 percent of the vote to that perennial loser. Such a percentage would indeed have made Stassen look good, but it was not the percentage he got. Acting as a self-proclaimed receptacle for all votes for anyone other than BARRY, Stassen garnered 26 percent of the Hoosier vote.

The Post did its share the week before the California voting by declaring that a victory for GOLDWATER would be a victory for the John Birch Society. Look had already chimed in by publishing a selection of Goldwater quotes, ripped from context, which Rockefeller backers used as campaign material. And, of course, none of the national magazines, U.S. News & World Report excepted, missed an opportunity to build up

any other GOP candidate—Lodge, Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton—at Goldwater's expense.

TELEVISION

As biased as the magazines have been, they cannot approach the unblushing relentless distaste for GOLDWATER which emanates from the three national television networks. There are, after all, some conservatives in the printed media. On the evidence appearing on the 21-inch screen, there are none in television at all. NBC has been the most merciful, with Chet Huntley leaning left and David Brinkley playing it square. CBS has been very bad indeed, offering such as Eric Sevareid, Theodore H. White, Meade Alcorn, and Louis Harris, liberals all, as "experts" on the great game of politics—experts who looked like a pallbearers' convention as they reported GOLDWATER'S California triumph.

Taking top honors for bias however, is ABC, which serves up the southpaw offerings of Edward P. Morgan (paid broadcaster of the AFL–CIO) and Howard K. Smith (whose idea of journalistic enterprise is to interview Alger Hiss on the failings of Richard Nixon). Smith scored the campaign's master smear on the eve of the California voting, when in reference to the John Birch Society he casually identified Senator GOLDWATER as "their man." He then postmortemed the primary by observing that the victorious GOLDWATER favored voluntary social security, "which would abolish it" (false), and that the liberty amendment reputedly favored by some of his supporters would "abolish government" (false).

There are, we repeat, the merest samples. That the Arizonian could break through such a solid wall of hostility to reach the California electorate seems nearly incredible; but that he did so by such a narrow margin opens vistas of endless difficulty in the coming election, should GOLDWATER carry the Republican standard against Johnson.

Walter Winchell Speaks Out for J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Walter Winchell appears in the Journal American of June 14.

Mr. Speaker, I am indeed delighted that a true fighting columnist has come out as the champion of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

I am happy that he has taken Life magazine to task for belittling a man who has done more for our country than anyone now in public service.

Yes, indeed, Mr. Winchell is right when he says:

If loyalty, efficiency, popularity, respect, and integrity don't quality a man for a job—whatinell does? Disloyalty? Incompetence? Unpopularity? Disrespect? Dishonesty?

Indeed, in some quarters this is the criteria; this blow-the-man-down attitude is just one more step toward the "triumph of mediocrity."

The article follows:

WALTER WINCHELL OF NEW YORK: MR. AND MRS. UNITED STATES

Life magazine's recent article was directed at No. 1 G-Man John Edgar Hoover. Competence is described as cause for resignation—dedication is scorned as demagoguery—pride is derided as self-glorification—longevity is dismissed as dangerous.

The bulk of the mag's indictment is encompassed in this paragraph: "But the most serious defect in this business of Mr. Hoover's continuing one-man rule centers around the Bureau's preoccupation with him. Evidence of the Hoover cult abounds. Perhaps the most startling signs appear in the documents put out by the FBI about the boss. In one biographical handout Mr. Hoover's career is described with such unequivocal sentences as: 'During the past 30 years, the entire complexion of law enforcement throughout the United States has been changed primarily because of the principles advocated by Mr. Hoover and successfully tried by law enforcement agencies.'"

The rather obvious suggestion is that Mr. Hoover's accomplishments are mere personal propaganda. * * * The truth is that they are matters of historical record. * * * On May 10, 1964, the New York Times reported: "No one disputes Mr. Hoover's solid accomplishments. He eliminated political influence in appointments. He had the foresight to promote—on a scale never before attempted in America—high scientific standards in detective work. And he established a huge fingerprint collection, an indispensable resource in tracking down criminals. He also created a skilled laboratory to make scientific tests on minute physical clues. Mr. Hoover also founded the National Police Academy, which trains selected officers from departments throughout the country in the latest scientific methods." * * * The newspaper added: "Mr. Hoover has made an incalculable contribution to raising the standards of law enforcement in the United States."

The primary problem with debunking the article is that so much of it is ludicrous—it is difficult to choose the most foolish paragraph. But this one comes close: "But I wonder if the loyalty of his staff and his own continuing efficiency, his remarkable popularity with Presidents and public officials and the confidence so many private citizens have in his ability, really qualify Mr. Hoover for a perpetual lock on the job."

If loyalty, efficiency, popularity, respect, and integrity don't qualify a man for a job—whatinell does? Disloyalty? Incompetence? Unpopularity? Disrespect? Dishonesty?

The obvious conclusion is simply this: When a man's record and reputation are unassailable you can abuse him by describing good as evil. This is to remind the mag's editors that for more than 40 years the FBI has been unblemished by scandal.

There is no function of our national existence—from the lonely blinking lights off the Florida Keys—to the signal towers of the Alaska Railroad—whose operations are not the responsibility of some very responsible person in our Nation's Capitol. Tens of thousands of faithful Americans give the civil services the same selfless devotion—that the flag receives from the Armed Forces. Their heartbreaking role is that their effectiveness is taken for granted. And, in this case, a diligent and dedicated public servant is being reproached for being successful.

The article against J. Edgar Hoover is launched with: "Under ordinary circumstances the Roman senate conferred god status on a few emperors while they were still in office, and more or less the same thing just happened to J. Edgar Hoover. Not that he hasn't been at least a demi-god for a long time."

The blasphemy is apparent. The stupidity of the analogy is equally clear. Mr. Hoover has always functioned within his constitutional powers.

The article goes on: "One gets the feeling that if Mr. Hoover departed the Bureau (FBI) would fold. The 170 million fingerprints would fade away on their cards, and the agents mourning the retirement of their leader, would turn flabby. I don't think that either the Bureau or J. Edgar Hoover would suffer much from a separation."

The FBI Chief has never contended he is indispensable. And it would be equally unrealistic to deny his importance to the Nation's security. To suggest Mr. Hoover is "too old" during these critical days would be as recklessly foolish as demanding the resignation of General Eisenhower during the Normandy invasion. * * * The FBI may or may not suffer from such a divorce. But we know that the American people would suffer—since it would represent a triumph for every spy, subversive, hoodlum, corrupt politician, and traitor—here, there and everywhere.

The picture weekly comments that Mr. Hoover "could take any one of a number of jobs that have been offered him in private business or he could just putter with his azaleas and play the horses at his favorite $2 window."

I have another scandal for Mr. Luce's lily-white mag.: J. Edgar occasionally loses as much as $10 at the track—his limit.

Let there be no misconceptions: This reporter has no desire to disgrace Mr. G-Man (and his agents) with a defense. * * * But I would be derelict in my duties as a newspaperman and citizen if I neglected to debunk Life's bunk. * * *

I believe that its blow-the-man-down article should not go unchallenged. So I urge my readers to clip this column and mail it to the Time & Life Building, 50th Street, and Sixth Avenue, in New York City with a request for a rational explanation.

Several weeks ago President Johnson called Mr. Hoover "a quiet, humble, and magnificent public servant."

The only people we can think of, who might not subscribe to the President's sentiments, are those named on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list.

"The House Divided"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, citizens of Springfield, Ill., are helping to fund the restoration of Illinois early State capitol building, a structure rich in history and particularly important because in it Abraham Lincoln delivered his great "House Divided" speech.

The State of Illinois and the citizens cooperating with State officials are to be commended for undertaking this important project.

The staff of television station WICS–TV of Springfield, on June 5, 1964, broadcast a documentary film which presented vividly the story of the structure. It is a superb example of scholarly drama and deserves wide showing. A copy of the film properly should be placed in the Library of Congress as a part of the record of the Lincoln heritage.

The documentary has been widely praised by Lincoln scholars in Springfield, among them Mr. George Cashman, eminent curator of the Lincoln Tomb, and Carl O. Hodges, president of the Civil War Roundtable.

Abridged text of the documentary follows:

"THE HOUSE DIVIDED"—A DOCUMENTARY FILM OF THE ORIGINAL STATE CAPITOL

(Written by W. F. Miller, narrated by Douglas Kimball, produced and directed by Jerry Fein)

NARRATOR. This is the tale of a building, a structure of stone and dreams: a building that stands foursquare in the county of Sangamon, in the city of Springfield, in the State of Illinois. This patch on the ragged sleeve of history; this building of which we speak is located in the northwest quarter of section 34, township 16 north, range 5, west of the third principal meridian. So was the land on which the building stands entered from the U.S. Government by Pascal P. Enos on November 7, 1823, the north line being what is known today as Washington Street. The southwest quarter of section 27, lying immediately north, was entered from the United States by Elijah Iles on the same date.

The names of Pascal P. Enos and Elijah Iles survive in the city of Springfield through the streets that were named for them—and the building—the shabby, timeworn, history-laden building that we know today as the Sangamon County Courthouse, and that was known for a brief, golden moment in time as the State capitol of Illinois—still stands on the public square as a reminder of more than a century of elapsed history and as a bright beacon that shines into the future, demanding recognition and preservation.

It is a light that will one day blind a generation, perhaps a generation yet to come, into preserving and restoring this massive pile of stone into an historical shrine of national importance.

Why is this discolored mass of stone that was quarried on the LeRoy Hill farm and the Philemon Stout farm some 7 or 8 miles west of Springfield on Sugar Creek, and purchased at the rate of $1 per wagonload in 1837—Why is this decaying structure important to the people of Springfield, to the State, and to the Nation? This is the question we should answer now—the song we would sing, the still, small voice we would lift in the wilderness of this modern space age, to remind you that the rememberance of things past is also a vital part of our American heritage.

In 1820 the capital of Illinois was established in an uninhabitated spot on the Kaskaskia River which was named Vandalia. But, the population increased so slowly that the legislature, just 13 years later, took up the question of moving the seat of government and enacted a law declaring that the matter should be decided by popular vote of the people at the time of the next election of the General Assembly—the summer of 1834.

Nominated as the future site of the seat of government for the State of Illinois are: Alton, Jacksonville, Peoria, Vandalia, Springfield, and an undetermined, uninhabited site called the geographical center of the State. "The place receiving the highest number of votes shall forever hereafter remain the seat of government for the State of Illinois."

The people voted—but their apathy brought an inconclusive result.

VOICE. Leading with 8,157 votes, Alton; second, with 7,730 votes, Vandalia; third, with 7,075 votes, Springfield. Because of the even division among the three leading contenders, the results of the balloting will not be considered final.

NARRATOR. On February 25, 1837, the legislature, which included 28-year-old State Representative Abraham Lincoln, repealed the law locating the capital by popular vote. Three days later the legislature balloted and the village of Springfield, with a population of 1,100 persons, was the victor.

The history of Sangamon County's courthouse is closely allied to that of the statehouse. The courthouse, which stood at the corner of Sixth and Adams Streets and used until 1831, was replaced by a new brick building on the center of the square, the site of the present building.

It was in this second courthouse that Judge Stephen T. Logan entered an order granting a certificate of good moral character to Abraham Lincoln as a preliminary to his admission to the bar in September of 1836.

The moving of the State capitol to Springfield no doubt influenced Lincoln to make Springfield his home.

A law partnership between Lincoln and J. T. Stuart was formed and an office opened at No. 4, Hoffman's Row, upstairs.

In the spring of 1837, 24-year-old Stephen A. Douglas, who had championed the cause of Jacksonville as the State Capitol site, came to Springfield as Register of the Land Office, by appointment of President Van Buren.

And so it was that two of the principal actors entered the scene and the wheels of history began to turn. A building commission was appointed by Governor Duncan, bids for material asked for, an award of $300 offered for the best plans for the new Capitol submitted, and the old building on the site demolished.

The prize went to John F. Rague of Springfield and his design acclaimed by eminent architects as one of the finest examples of Greek Renaissance architecture in America.

Actual erection of the new building began in the spring of 1837 and continued through the early 1850's. Meanwhile, in 1839, the offices of the State government were moved from Vandalia, the movable property being transported by wagon overland.

The senate occupied the First Methodist Church on the southeast corner of Fifth and Monroe.

The house of representatives used the Second Presbyterian Church on the west side of Fourth Street, just north of Monroe * * * and the supreme court sat in the Episcopal Church, between Third and Fourth Streets on the south side of Adams Street.

Although the building was not complete, it was occupied about mid-December of 1840. Join us now for a tour of the building as it is today, altered for present use * * * but, in many instances, much the same as it was more than a century ago. We are now entering the south door. Bear in mind the present second story was the original first floor with a north and south entrance only. There was no east or west entrance.

This is the room we know today as the Sangamon County Probate Court. Originally it was the office of the state auditor.

The space that was once occupied by the secretary of State and the State library, is now the office of the county superintendent of schools, and the filing room of the probate clerk.

The space once occupied by the State treasurer is now the office of the county clerk.

The senate chamber was in the northwest corner of the building. It is used today by the county board of supervisors.

The room that the master in chancery now occupies was the office for Thomas Corlin—1838, Thomas Ford—1842, Auguste French—1846, Joel A. Matteson—1853, William H. Bissel—1857, John Wood—1860, Richard Yates—1861, Richard J. Oglesby—1865, John M. Palmer—1869, and John L. Beveridge—1873. Those who have business with the law will recognize this as the circuit court room of Sangamon County. It was here that Lincoln and his colleagues sat in the house of representatives. And it was here that the Republican State convention met in 1858 and passed a resolution declaring——

VOICE. That Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the U.S. Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas.

NARRATOR. Lincoln mounted the speaker's stand. Slowly, impressively, he opened his speech with words that have gone down in history:

VOICE. Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, the agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved * * * I do not expect the house to fall * * * but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the future spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction: or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

NARRATOR. Active campaigning began and it was then that Lincoln issued the challenge to Senator Douglas for the famous joint debates. These debates became the public trial of the issues agitating the entire country.

Although Lincoln was defeated in the legislature by Stephen Douglas for the Senate seat, he emerged a national figure and would soon be the Republican candidate for President of the United States.

Springfield became the campaign headquarters and the lean, melancholy candidate spent much time between his home, the square frame house that still stands at Eighth and Jackson Streets, and the statehouse.

After his election, an office in the statehouse was made available to him by Gov. John Wood. It was in this office that Lincoln met the many distinguished men of the Nation; as many as a hundred or more a day, who came to see what manner of man had been chosen from this little village as a candidate for the highest office in the land. Emerging victorious over four Democratic candidates, including his old political foe Douglas, Lincoln bade farewell to Springfield on the morning of February 11, 1861. Standing on the rear platform of the Great Western train, he said:

VOICE. My friends. No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail.

Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

NARRATOR. On March 4, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated. His old political antagonist, Stephen Douglas, showed his real character by sitting on the platform and holding the hat of his former rival, as he delivered his inaugural address.

VOICE. We must not be enemies. Though passion may be strained, it must not break our bonds of affection, he told the Nation.

NARRATOR. Six weeks later the hope of peace was shattered. A shell arched from the low sand hills of Charleston Harbor aimed

at Fort Sumter. War had begun. The Union was in danger.

President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers and the Illinois Legislature went into special session in this room to express their determination to preserve the Union at all costs. The Governor called for six regiments to rendezvous in Springfield.

Before the ink was dry on the proclamation, the music of fife and drum was heard in the capital's streets.

NARRATOR. Telegrams announcing the formation of companies poured into the statehouse.

A 39-year-old West Point graduate and veteran of the Mexican War, Ulysses S. Grant, of Galena, Ill., drilled the Galena Volunteers, marched them to Springfield, and turned them over to the Governor as part of the Illinois quota. He declined the captaincy of the company but stayed to drill and prepare troops for battle.

A short time later Grant was commissioned a colonel and sent to Mattoon to whip the unmanageable 21st Illinois Regiment into shape. Grant made it fit for service in less than a month, brought it to Springfield, and then led the march down the Jacksonville road, headed for Quincy.

Ulysses S. Grant attracted little attention in Springfield, and no one dreamed that he would soon become commanding general of the Armies of the Union; much less, within 8 years, President of the United States.

In the small hours of April 15, 1865, Springfield received both joyous and tragic news. Amid dispatches from Grant's Army in Richmond, Lee's surrender, and victory for the Union forces, came the first terse flash from Washington:

VOICE. The President was shot in a theater tonight and is probably mortally wounded.

NARRATOR. Two days later the funeral train carrying the Great Emancipator's body began its homeward journey, moving slowly through Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Indianapolis, and other cities.

On May 3 the cortege with its nine black-draped cars and its precious cargo reached Springfield, and the body was placed on a velvet-covered catafalque in the house of represenatatives of the old statehouse. The honor guard took its place, the mahogany casket was opened, and throughout the day and the long, black night the people, some 75,000 of them, filed past to look for the last time upon the face of their friend, their neighbor, their martyred President.

Today Abraham Lincoln, his wife, and his sons lie at rest in the magnificent tomb that points to the heavens in Oak Ridge Cemetery. "Honest Abe" is home to stay. Yet, if Vachel Lindsay's words be true, Abraham Lincoln still walks the silent streets at midnight.

The old statehouse still stands foursquare, its rooms echoing with the ghostly voices that made history in their time. Soon to be vacated as the Sangamon County Courthouse, just as it was vacated as the seat of government in 1876, the building now presents its challenge to this generation.

"Restore me," its ancient stones cry out.

VOICE. Restore me to the proud edifice I was when Lincoln walked my halls, when greatness dwelt among you. Restore me to be the national shrine I deserve, so that generations to come may travel across the length and breadth of my land to relive the prairie years when a little village of 1,100 souls labored and, with a mighty roar, brought forth a giant.

NARRATOR. We must have many Lincoln-hearted men; a city is not built in a day, and they must do their work, and come and go, while countless generations pass away.

Building Bridges to the East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. GILL
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of both President Kennedy and President Johnson to open avenues of communication with restive Soviet satellites are beginning to show signs of success. The fact that parts of the Soviet bloc are interested in cultural and commercial contact with us is an encouraging sign not only of lessening world tensions, but also of satellite disenchantment with the Soviet system. The fact that we are willing to talk and trade does not mean we are any less aware of the basic intent of the Communist world. It does mean that we are sufficiently intelligent to take advantage of the current fluidity in international relations to move a step or two more down the road to peace.

On May 25, the New York Herald Tribune carried a perceptive analysis of the current trends which I wish to have included in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, May 25, 1964]

BUILDING BRIDGES TO THE EAST

President Johnson's proposal to build bridges between East and West would resume the work initiated by Gen. George C. Marshall and blocked by Stalin with his Iron Curtain and cold war at the end of World War II. If the time has now become propitious to pursue this purpose, it is because the West has learned it cannot achieve the liberation of Eastern Europe by force of arms and the East has learned it cannot win Western Europe through political or revolutionary activities of local Communist parties, backed by cold war diplomacy and threats of Soviet armed power.

Two important changes have occurred on the world scene, enabling President Johnson to speak seriously of building bridges made "of increased trade, of ideas, of visitors and of humanitarian aid." They are the death of Stalin, bringing in his place a Soviet ruler of much broader outlook, and the appearance of a new Communist power, China.

The former has permitted an easing of the hold which the Kremlin has exercised over the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as those of the East European satellite states. Whether the change is due to the difference in personality of the new Soviet ruler or to increasing popular pressure against dictatorship, or both, can and probably will be argued for many years. But what matters at the moment is the easily proven fact that the peoples of Eastern Europe, including Russia, are more exposed to the ideas, culture, visits and goods from the West than they have been at any time since the end of World War II.

The second factor, the rivalry between Moscow and Peiping, has forced the Kremlin to explore the possibility of a marriage of convenience with the West to offset the new pressures and danger of conflicts with China in the East. Russia could hardly propose a detente with the West without permitting its satellites to participate.

One obvious danger is that the satellites, in their enthusiasm, will run so fast and so far toward the West as to alarm the Kremlin. It is difficult to believe that the Soviet rulers, notwithstanding internal and external pressures, will sit idly by and permit any of their satellites to be sucked out of their hands by the magnetic attraction of Western freedom and goods. Soviet readiness to use force in the case of Hungary has not been forgotten.

The most effective approach, it would appear, is to mount a bridge-building project which would extend all the way to Moscow. The Soviet Government says it favors a greater exchange of persons, goods and ideas. Then let us keep pressing these upon the Soviet Government as well as on the governments of the East European countries.

The job is even bigger than that suggested by President Johnson's speech. It is not only to induce the East European countries to come closer to the West. It is to induce a change in Moscow so that all of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, returns to peaceful association with the West.

FBI Chief Staying on Job Past 70

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "FBI Chief Staying on Job Past 70," which appeared in the June 8, 1964, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

FBI CHIEF STAYING ON JOB PAST 70

We have never believed that there exists anywhere an indispensible man in the true sense. But the nearest thing to this is J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since the FBI was first founded in 1924.

Hoover is the FBI and the FBI is Hoover—in a very large sense. There has always been a deep distrust of the idea of any national police in America. A lot of fears were expressed by thoughtful people when the FBI was first proposed and it seems likely that the agency would never have survived had it not been captained from the start by this man of great ability, dedication, and fairness.

Too many national police agencies have become oppressors of the people, evil and insidious political agencies with the sole purpose of punishing and silencing critics of the ruling order. One of the worst examples was Hitler's Gestapo.

Some will say that it took a Hitler to create a Gestapo but it is not inconceivable that a sharp, unscrupulous chief of the FBI could turn such a powerful agency into something that could create a Hitler.

So it's comforting to know that J. Edgar Hoover will not be required to retire when he reaches the mandatory retirement age of 70 next January. President Lyndon Johnson avoided a painful dilemma by exempting the FBI chief, indefinitely, from compulsory retirement. We can only hope that Hoover will remain in this important post for many more years.

But there is, somewhere in the future, a problem of choosing a successor. As Congress became aware recently that Hoover would reach the usual retirement age in a

few months, interest in a possible successor suddenly soared. It probably surprised many Members of Congress to learn that the FBI Director is appointed by the President, without the "advice and consent" of the Senate that is usually required for positions of importance.

Now bills are being introduced that would require Senate approval for the next FBI chief. This is one step in the right direction but perhaps it ought to go further and require the appointee to come from the ranks of the bureau, which would have a tendency to make the post a career job pretty well removed from year-to-year politics.

It is a succession problem we think is second only to the one that exists in the White House today. And it is one that we hope, with equal fervor, will not have to be solved for a long time. But the day will come when it will have to be solved, and the time to solve it is now.

In the meantime, millions of Americans will be thankful that J. Edgar Hoover is not retiring and that, hopefully, he will be on the job as the Nation's top crimebuster and security chief for many more years.

A Solution?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, Americans, all, should share concern for the domestic beef industry which has been severely wounded in recent months by excessive imports of beef and veal. Today the beef industry is a multiphase process and has a tremendous effect on the overall economy of the Nation. Millions of hands go into the operation—from the farmers or cattle ranchers, the feeders, the trucking industry and the packinghouses to the agricultural scientists, all who work continually to bring to our tables a better quality of beef which is now almost as typically American as the hotdog.

Beef imports are a major contributing factor to the deplorable conditions in the beef industry today. A writer for the St. Louis Globe Democrat, Mr. Leonard Hall, has portrayed expressive concern in an editorial on May 31, 1964. Following is his opinion as a cattle rancher on the current beef industry situation. This personal insight into the situation will afford many of us an opportunity to see and understand the basic elements and facets to a serious problem which needs a solution very soon.

I hope the Congress will favorably consider my bill, H.R. 11031, and other similar bills which are designed to alleviate the serious beef-import problem.

The article to which I referred follows:

BEEF IMPORTS RISE—CATTLE INDUSTRY MORTALLY SICK

(By Leonard Hall)

Except for excursions into outer space few American enterprises have changed as swiftly during the past decade as farming. The invasion of agriculture by giant food chains, dairy combines and feed manufacturers; the increasing use of chemicals as substitutes for organic matter and cultivation; poison pesticides, miticides, fungicides; advances in genetics in plant and animal breeding; bigger machinery to operate bigger land units—all contribute to the changing farm picture.

Just how many of these changes are for the long-term good of the consuming public and our democratic social order are matters still to be resolved. Yet in this age of technology and science applied primarily for quick profit—these are questions we tend to sweep under the rug. It is easier to do this than to say, "Here are the directions in which we want our country to travel and here are things we must do to achieve these ends."

The passing of the old-fashioned, self-contained family farm is a fact of life. Yet whether we can afford to do away with the individual farm enterprise entirely—in favor of giant corporations carrying on factory operations in the fields—this is something worth a lot of thought.

Here in our Ozarks, farming has changed less than in areas with richer soils and a higher crop potential. We are livestock farmers, our farms are family sized, and our effort is devoted largely to the production of grass, beef calves, and feeders for the Corn Belt. Right now we are worried about two problems—drought which is cutting hay yields and pastures—and a disastrously low price for the cattle we raise.

It might be pointed out—for city people are hardly close enough to the land to realize these things—that cattle raising is the bone and sinew of American agriculture. More than half our farms raise some cattle, utilizing a billion acres of farmland. These cattle consume, as pasture and feed, 80 percent of all crops and 70 percent of all harvested crops. It is not too much to say that, in the long run, all American business and the jobs of a majority of American workers depend on the health of the livestock industry.

Despite this, the livestock industry today is mortally sick. For the past 2 years every owner of a beef herd, every farmer who produces feeder calves, and every farmer who fattens cattle for the market, has lost money. Farmers are the biggest users of steel, the biggest users of automotive equipment, the biggest users of oil and gasoline, one of the largest users of short-term operating credit. Because this is true, it is impossible that the present situation, which finds the livestock industry on the verge of bankruptcy, can continue much longer without affecting the entire economy. This always comes down, in the end, to your job and mine.

There has been talk about what caused the present situation—which shows sign of growing worse rather than better. We look for causes and, generally speaking, find two. One is a tremendous rise in beef tonnage being brought in from foreign countries. These are, chiefly, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Mexico, and Argentina.

The second cause is the number of cattle on American farms and ranches—and this situation is also tied up with bigger imports. For when we bring in cheap beef that goes into the cutter and canner trade, the price of our older cows which normally fill this demand drops to nothing. Then rancher and farmer decide to keep the old cow another year and get one more calf, in hope of making ends meet. So the herds increase. And as for fed cattle, when the price goes down, we cannot afford to market lightweight animals and so send bigger cattle to market. This means that fewer cattle fill the demand and leaves more animals on farms and ranches.

We imported 1,700,050,000 pounds of beef last year—enough to feed the United States for a full month. We did this when we had enough beef on American farms and ranches to fill the entire year's demand.

Import tonnage took the place of 4 million American cattle in the marketplace, enough to destroy the market for our beef, yet without reducing prices to the American consumer.

In 10 years Australian imports have increased 32,000 percent and even Irish beef imports by 1,000 percent. Those from Mexico go up month by month.

It is plain that increasing beef imports is not going to cut the price you pay for beef. It is equally plain that, if we let these imports destroy the American livestock industry, we may precipitate a recession that will mean lost jobs throughout our economy and fewer people who can afford beef at any price. The administration and Congress should take drastic steps to cut beef imports.

Red Toehold in Africa: After the Bloodbath, the Plots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Pierre J. Huss appeared in the New York Journal American of June 14. It is well named "Red Toehold in Africa."

Of course, the toehold is the island of Zanzibar, that great "freedom-loving nation" that we embraced with the speed of light the minute it declared its so-called independence.

Mr. Speaker, I have already called the attention of the House to the bloodbath and Communist-inspired atrocities in Zanzibar, and shall probably continue to do so from time to time.

RED TOEHOLD IN AFRICA: AFTER THE BLOODBATH, THE PLOTS

(By Pierre J. Huss)

Last January the Arab-dominated government headed by a sultan had to flee the island of Zanzibar off the African east coast to escape mob fury only a day after the former British protectorate was declared an independent nation. A wild bush African who called himself "The Field Marshal," subsequently exposed as the paid tool of Soviet agents who had accompanied a group of Cuban guerillas from Fidel Castro's terrorist training camps, butchered some 4,000 African nationalists within 24 hours.

The full story of the horror that prevailed on the mysterious island off Tanganyika has never been revealed, or to what extent Castro under Moscow directives instigated the revolt and the shocking bloodbath. It was so terrible that even those who seized power had to order "the Field Marshal" to disappear into continental Africa. But within 2 days of the bloody coup, Moscow tipped its hand in it by officially recognizing the terror regime.

Yet within the next 2 months the Moscow-backed rulers in Zanzibar discovered to their chagrin that despite the helping hand of the Soviet Union, an island which depends on exports of tropical products such as cloves and coconut oil along with spices, cannot divorce itself so easily from the outside world. Also, if it is to serve as a beachhead for the spread of Moscow influence over east Africa, it must build a bridge to the adjoining continent.

So it came about that by the middle of April, the Zanzibar regime ostensibly doffed its hat as an independent nation and merged in all but domestic jurisdiction with Tanganyika. Offhand, it seemed like a sensible

solution and had a calming effect in that part of the world.

But history has taught us that Moscow never gives us a toehold, unless thrown out by force of arms. In Zanzibar history is repeating itself. The merger with Tanganyika now is revealed as an evident brainchild of Moscow by which Soviet agents can call the signals in Zanzibar and thus expand their influence over the eastern seaboard of Africa.

Observers who have lately returned from Africa are very apprehensive over the status of the merger, and describe the situation as one in which President Julius K. Nyerere, of Tanganyika, is virtually powerless in the face of the strong Communist control masterminded by Soviet agents in Zanzibar.

Reports brought back from Tanganyika by experienced observers tell that scores of Soviet agents posted there as members of a Moscow trade and technical mission are training and building up the armed forces. In open disregard of the treaty of alliance with Tanganyika, Soviet automatic weapons and light artillery have transformed this force into a snappy combat outfit. The 300 Tanganyika policemen stationed on the island might just as well go home.

It goes without saying that large doses of Communist propaganda bearing the Moscow stamp consequently have flooded Tanganyika and the adjoining states. Nyerere still hopes to rescue the situation by visiting Zanzibar but all the cards are in the hands of the real power there—the sinister Sheik Abdul Rahman, better known as "Babu." He was Communist trained for a time in Red China, and suspected of acting more in favor of Peiping than Moscow.

But his influence is balanced off to a large extent by Kassam Hanga, "the Ruthless One," educated and trained in guerrilla and terrorist warfare in Moscow and slavishly loyal to his Soviet masters. President Abeid Karume of Zanzibar has little choice but to join them in their conspiracy and double game.

All in all, there is nothing surprising in this Communist behavior. It is the method and the practice by which they undermine decent governments, and pave the way for scrapping diplomatic and consular treaties anytime it serves the conspiracy by which Moscow and Peiping operate.

War on Poverty Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the bright spots on the horizon with respect to employment income in the Antelope Valley, adjoining Los Angeles, is despite their own happy situation, the residents of this area are extremely interested in the welfare of the rest of the Nation.

This interest is evidenced by a fine editorial which appeared in the Antelope Valley Daily Ledger Gazette on June 5, 1964.

Because of its realistic approach to the problem, I ask permission to insert this editorial in the RECORD.

WAR ON POVERTY CHALLENGE

If money could buy happiness, President Johnson's war on poverty would be a simple matter. His call for a $220 million attack on the depressed areas of the Appalachian States could be repeated elsewhere in the country, with corps commanders in Washington pinpointing the offensives on a map.

Nothing can be done without money, of course, and balanced against the national income, the $220 million is something we can well afford. Indeed, we cannot afford not to spend it to try to eliminate this grave contradiction of poverty in the midst of plenty.

But assigning the funds is only the beginning. What will be needed most of all is intelligent and imaginative planning and cooperation between Federal and local officials. The goal is not mere relief but the rebuilding of the entire economy of Appalachia and integrating it with the national economy as a whole.

Not least of all will be the part which private enterprise plays in establishing industries and tapping this reservoir of unused human energies and, in the doing, creating a self-regenerating market for itself.

Social Workers View "Poverty"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Donald I. Rogers, of Independent Features recently appeared in many newspapers. I think it is important, since it describes the views of delegates to the National Conference on Social Welfare toward broadside attacks on poverty. This is the article:

WAR ON POVERTY MORE POLITICAL THAN SOCIAL

(By Donald I. Rogers)

NEW YORK.—Delegates attending the Nation Conference on Social Welfare in Los Angeles spoke, one after another, against the broadside attacks on poverty being planned by the administration, and urged instead specific programs designed especially to aid the elderly, the very young, and the unskilled.

These professional social workers generally agreed that the war on poverty is being conducted on a front that is too broad and that it runs the risk of becoming more a political than a social instrument as it tackles wide, cumbersome problems, rather than individual crises.

This is what its opponents and those who have not quite been sold on the plan have contended from the outset.

For instance one of the preposterous phases of the war came to light recently in a speech by Sargent Shriver, director of the President's attack on poverty.

Urbanite Shriver revealed that the Government intends to buy up farms at going prices, then carve them up into family farms and resell them at normal farmland values (meaning preinflation prices) to low-income farmers. Taxpayers will make up the difference between purchase price and sale price of the family farms.

The buying and selling of such farm units would be done, according to the plan, by States and local nonprofit corporations. These latter, presumably, will have to be created by public law.

Then the resulting family farms would operate on Federal loans and grants.

These are regarded as exciting plans even though the Department of Agriculture, through Democratic and Republican administrations, alike has stated constantly that the family farm is too inefficient and plain uneconomical to remain in existence.

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, not noted for his zeal to end subsidy programs, has even suggested creation of a program to buy up and abolish insolvent family farms.

Yet the administration's most glorious domestic enterprise is busily engaged in plans to buy family farms, install farmers on them at public expense, and then sit back—presumably to watch the incubation of more and greater poverty.

No wonder the honest-to-goodness social worker is worried.

Model School Plan Is Set for Deprived

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, last week Washington, D.C., School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen unveiled a model school setup involving 18 schools in the Cardozo High School area. This plan, which offers great hope for the culturally deprived, was the outgrowth of an earlier series of recommendations for improving schools in the area by Washington Action for Youth—WAY—the local group funded under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act of 1961. Credit also goes to a special Presidential panel and local school officials who worked out the details of this promising program. The text of a recent article discussing the model school system proposal follows:

MODEL SCHOOL SETUP IS SET FOR DEPRIVED—MAY HELP IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—PLAN TO FOSTER BETTER TEACHING, ENRICHED PROGRAM

A dramatic new educational approach to salvaging the talents of Washington's deprived children was proposed yesterday by School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen.

The educational experiment, expected to begin during the next school year, would create a "model" public school complex involving 18 schools in the Cardozo High School area.

These schools would be testing grounds for curriculum development, imaginative teaching techniques and wide-ranging enrichment programs for all children, including preschoolers.

The 18 schools, it is hoped, will be so superlative that they eventually will attract children from the city's better neighborhoods.

NO PRICE TAG ON PLAN

Furthermore, all District schoolchildren are expected to benefit from the program because teaching techniques in the model schools will be applied rapidly to the entire Washington school system.

The "model" approach for coping with big city school deficiencies was recommended in March by a special Presidential panel of educational innovators who are working closely with District school officials to develop the program.

The panel estimated that the cost of each big city's model system could build up to $10 million a year.

As yet, no price tag has been placed on the District's plan. School officials are counting heavily on funds from private foundations and President Johnson's antipoverty program to support the initial phases of the program.

TO NAME COMMITTEE

Hansen yesterday recommended "with enthusiasm" the model plan "as one of the steps in educational planning which could have a profound effect on our educational system not only in Washington but throughout the United States."

Equal enthusiasm came from a School Board committee that approved the appointment of a special committee to develop measures to put the model system in operation. That proposal is expected to get final School Board approval next Wednesday.

The plan of action, Hansen said, should be completed by September 1. Implementation then will depend on the availability of money.

As envisioned, the model system would be a semiautonomous unit headed by a "top school officer" who would have administrative authority but would be responsible to Hansen and the Board of Education.

Hansen said he had no special person in mind for the job, that the post would be advertised and filled according to regular procedures. It has been rumored, however, that Norman W. Nickens, executive assistant to Hansen, is a frontline contender for the job.

As explained by Hansen, the model plan will absorb the "rather limited demonstration programs" which the School Board, working with Washington Action for Youth (WAY), approved last January for the 18 schools in the Cardozo area.

That area has been designated as the inner city target area. WAY, the local arm of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, is completing plans for a saturation of services to improve the health, recreation and family living of the area's young people.

But WAY's initial 20-point program for the 18 schools, which called for drastic revisions in such sensitive areas as curriculum, textbooks and teacher training, ran into trouble from school officials. A key criticism centered on the danger that the functions of the School Board and the School Superintendent might be "usurped."

Eventually, the School Board adopted a watered-down version of the WAY proposals. Shortly thereafter, the Presidential Panel on Educational Research and Development issued its report on the model school system plan.

This plan, Hansen said yesterday, has a "far greater potential" for meeting the needs of deprived children than the School Board proposals of last January.

On hand yesterday to help explain the model system to School Board members were Joseph Turner and Vincent McRae of the Office of Science and Technology, Executive Office of the President, and Herman R. Branson, chairman of the Department of Physics, Howard University.

They are working with school officials here and in other cities in the hope that a few of the model systems can get underway next fall.

School administrators experimenting with the model systems will maintain close ties so that they can help each other adopt new educational techniques.

Tragic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter appeared in the Washington Post of June 15.

This is one of the few pronouncements I have seen on the Vietnam situation that gives a clear picture of what most of our allies and all the neutrals are saying about our handling of this unfortunate situation by our Government.

If this is to be another Korea; if this is to be another stalemate; if this is to be in the end a Communist advance; then, Mr. Speaker, the price is too high and the sacrifice is too great.

The letter follows:

TRAGIC POLICY

Are we the new Nazis? Our shocking record in South Vietnam, which has degraded and betrayed every citizen of this country, reads more like a story of Hitler horrors than the familiar image of the American way.

For people thousands of miles away, innocent of any offense whatsoever against us, merely unfortunate enough to be in the path of supposed "United States interests," have been subjected to nightmare suffering, including napalm burning.

Not so long ago, those stating that this country would use such a barbarity as napalm could expect a hot and reproving argument from fellow citizens. In spite of the obvious trend in recent years toward brutalizing the public conscience, almost certainly the overwhelming majority of us today, if shown actual movies of the use and effects of napalm, would still be outraged that this horror had been committed anywhere at all, especially that it had been done in our name and with our money.

This is a national disgrace. While it may not yet be possible to achieve a complete settlement in Vietnam, what business before our Government at this moment is more urgent than all possible amelioration of the suffering, including an order for the immediate and permanent discontinuance of the use of napalm.

If President Johnson, who certainly did not initiate the tragic policy in Vietnam, could take even this step at once, he might give the frightened tinderbox world some hope that we Americans are human after all—not a race of monsters, speaking only such obscenities as "sophisticated weapons" * * * "overkill" * * * "acceptable casualties."

P. H. GREEN.

ASHEVILLE, N.C.

Help for Mass Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, I would commend to all Members of the House the reading of the following editorial which appeared in the May 27 edition of the New York Times. The subject of mass transportation has long been discussed but little acted on in the House of Representatives. The need for this legislation is dire in all of our metropolitan areas. My bill, H.R. 5013, along with H.R. 3881 which is the leading bill for urban mass transportation development, and many other identical bills, has been held up in various committees of the House for many, too many, months. It is now granted a rule and may be brought to the floor of the House. It remains now for the leadership to schedule the mass transportation legislation for floor debate. I hope we will soon have the opportunity to consider the measures. The following article well describes the need for such a bill, which I hope will soon be passed by the House.

The article follows:

HELP FOR MASS TRANSIT

After stagnating for more than a year in the House Rules Committee, the administration's bill for $500 million in Federal grants to help develop urban mass transportation facilities has been favorably reported to the House, where its sponsors are hopeful they can now count on enough votes for its passage. A similar bill was passed by the Senate more than a year ago.

The House Committee is reported to have acted after it had been warned that the permanent collapse of commuter railroad service in just five cities—New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, and Philadelphia—would require new highways costing $31 billion to handle the resulting increase in automobile traffic. In Chicago alone, a breakdown of mass transit would put 600,000 more cars on the roads, necessitating 160 added express highway lanes.

There can be no question that mass transportation is a key to the economic health of our increasingly suburbanized society. The passenger revenues of most commuter railroads are barely enough for operation and maintenance. Funds for capital expenditures for new equipment and basic improvements must come from other sources, if they are to come at all. The Federal Government is already spending billions on airports, highways and harbors; what logic is there in its neglect of this essential element of the national transportation complex?

Passage of the Federal legislation, as strongly urged by President Johnson last January, is the most useful single step that could be taken at this time for the ultimate relief of metropolitan commuters throughout the Nation.

Another important step for those in the New York area remains blocked by the obduracy of the New Jersey Legislature, which a few days ago refused even to vote on a proposal to name a committee to discuss the status of the Tri-State Transportation Committee with representatives of New York State. The need for a transportation planning agency for the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut area is obvious to everybody but the somnolent solons of Trenton—who presumably couldn't care less.

Adm. Claude V. Ricketts: Inspirational Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, vice chief of naval operations, was recently presented the John Paul Jones Award by the Navy League at its annual convention in Dallas.

I think this is a fitting tribute to a gallant officer, an able and effective leader and a dedicated American.

America needs men like Claude Ricketts—men who are devoted to duty, honor and country.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I think the qualities which have made Admiral Ricketts such an outstanding military leader typify the breed of Americans who are protecting our interests in the farflung corners of the world.

His career has been clearly marked by the qualities of restraint, coolness and sound judgment even under the most trying conditions.

He is truly, as his citation states, an inspirational leader of the Navy.

Under leave to extend my remarks to the appendix of the RECORD, I insert an editorial from one of South Carolina's leading newspapers, the News and Courier, in tribute to a dedicated naval officer:

FOR LEADERSHIP

Presentation of the John Paul Jones Award for inspirational leadership to Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, vice chief of naval operations, is a fitting honor paid by the Navy League at its annual convention in Dallas.

In his post, Admiral Ricketts bears heavy responsibilities for the naval service. We refer not only to the weight of duty in handling operational problems, but in giving inspiration to officers and men in the fleet and shore establishments. The qualities of restraint, coolness and sound judgment which he exemplifies are badly needed by the Nation and the Navy.

At this time, when "the brass" often is downgraded in the decisionmaking process and condemned by defeatists, it is well to bear in mind that the Republic is served by able men in uniform. Admiral Ricketts is one of a number of outstanding flag officers we could name. We hope the breed will ever be with the Nation.

Interview With Adm. Claude V. Ricketts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, in an interview recently at Patrick Air Force Base, Fla., Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, discussed a new NATO defense system under study, the multilateral force. This interview appeared in the June 6, 1964, issue of the Birmingham News and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I submit the following article:

NATO STUDIES PICKET FLEET PLAN

(By William M. Ennis)

It looks as if members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have finally agreed on a mutually acceptable defense system.

In an interview last week at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida, Adm. Claude V. Ricketts, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, said a prospectus is being studied in Paris on the feasibility of a multilateral force of picket ships to stretch in an arc from Greenland to the Azores.

These missile-firing surface ships would serve a dual purpose:

1. They would tend to eliminate the controversy surrounding the wisdom of manning Polaris-type submarines with mixed crews from various NATO nations.

2. They would for the first time come up with an acceptable defense system as a deterrent to Russian intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Admiral Ricketts said the multilateral force would be a "novel concept," conceived as a task force of about 25 surface ships, each armed with eight or more ballistic missiles, probably the 1,759-mile range Polaris, and would be manned and owned mostly by members of NATO.

The initial proposal for establishment of a picket ship system originally came during the Eisenhower administration and was continued during the administration of the late President Kennedy. The novel defense system has the backing of President Johnson and if accepted by NATO members could be in operation within 3 years.

In discussing the military and economic feasibility of the system, Admiral Ricketts said a number of factors contributed to the decision to use surface ships rather than nuclear-powered submarines.

They are:

1. Surface ships can be constructed 75 percent faster than submarines.

2. They are 75 percent more economical than submarines.

3. Surface ships are much easier to man with mixed crews where the language barrier is the principal problem.

4. There are fewer highly skilled jobs involved compared with a nuclear-powered submarine.

5. There is greater survivability "to the degree that retaliation from it would be more likely."

Admiral Ricketts said that when 25 or more ships are mixed with an average of 4,000 in the Atlantic each day, it is almost impossible to identify a single one. The only positive method of identification, he said, is to fly over the stern of each vessel.

On the poltical side, establishment of such a system would satisfy the desire of smaller NATO nations to have an active part in the European continental defense system and could bring an increase in member participation.

The final phases of the proposal are now being ironed out at a NATO meeting in Paris.

Admiral Ricketts did not say where the main base of operations would be but it can be safely assumed it will be in Paris with the naval base at Rota in southern Spain as the main operational base for the Mediterranean.

The nuclear-powered submarines, armed with the Polaris missile system, have been stationed at Rota for several months.

The Polaris-firing subs, along with the deterrent power of the 6th Fleet plus the probability of the new multilateral force, will form a defensive arc around the Soviet Union, making it almost impossible for ICBM's to penetrate the arc without instant detection.

A Farmer's View of Certificate Wheat Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. William A. Billman, of Fountain, Minn., concerning the administration's new certificate wheat plan. As a farmer, I believe Mr. Billman has raised some valid questions concerning this legislation and think it is of value to share his views with my colleagues. This is Mr. Billman's letter, which is followed by a newspaper clipping which he enclosed with the letter:

Representative ALBERT QUIE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to you about a situation that is becoming more intolerable every day.

First of all, we are a young family with five children. We have a farm background. After discharge from the Armed Forces for the second time, and after Korea, prices were such and my bank account so low that we couldn't start farming then on our own. Well to make a long story short, after much hard work and considerable scrimping we finally bought 200 acres last fall. After taking this first step we made plans for cropping our land. Though the farm had never been in any Government program before, we decided to participate in the feed grain program. Since we couldn't plant much corn, we decided, after considering other crops, to plant spring wheat. This was fine with the ASC office. We could plant all the wheat we wanted with a free market. We bought seed and fertilizer, prepared the ground and finally seeded our wheat.

In the meantime, there was some rumbling from Washington about a wheat bill. However, everyone seemed confident we wouldn't be sold down the river because just a year before the farmers had defeated a similar plan in a referendum vote. Just to be sure, however, I checked with the ASC office three times before seeding. Congress passed the bill anyway.

Now, myself and others are faced with the prospect of $1.30 a bushel or less for our wheat, this, after it was too late this spring to change our plans. The very least the Congress should have done was to have consideration enough for the small farmer to pass this bill in time to change plans before seeding time. If I had known such a prospect was in store for us, I would have stayed out of the feed grain program. At least then I would have had livestock feed anyway. My figures show that I may net as little as $669 from these wheat acres without figuring anything for my labor. This amount will hardly pay my taxes leaving nothing for principal and interest payments. This being our first season, this could very well be disastrous.

When the wheat is harvested and sold next fall, how do you tell the difference between certificate and noncertificate wheat? Who profits by the 70 cents a bushel difference when this wheat is sold as bread? Just what does happen to our noncertificate wheat? You hear so much about how we must help the small farmer—this bill certainly won't help him, it's only good for the wheat producer with hundreds of acres and a nice allotment.

The question is what is going to be done about this problem brought on by the delayed action of the Congress? Because of your late action, and in fairness to everyone, this bill should not take effect until 1965. A second possibility would be to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to not put Government-stored wheat on the market at less than 120 percent of the 1963 support price.

You were a farmer and you know you don't make crop plans as late as March or April. The Congress should at least have the courtesy to give us ample time to adjust our plans to their bills.

Recently several milling companies were indicted for price fixing. When the Secretary of Agriculture sets the wheat price at $1.30 a bushel isn't this nothing more than price fixing? Why doesn't the Justice Department indict him or are the people in govern-

ment above the law? The Congress should be setting examples for others to follow, not precedents that when used by others are wrong.

This is a very serious business for me and I would like to know what is being done to rectify this situation brought on by Congress before harvest time?

Awaiting your reply of positive action on this matter, I am,

WILLIAM A. BILLMAN.

FOUNTAIN, MINN.

WHEAT BUYERS TOLD: DROP YOUR PRICES

MINNEAPOLIS.—Wheat traders and country elevators are playing a wary game on prices they pay in view of the new Government wheat program going into effect July 1.

The Grain Bulletin, a reporting service widely used for price quotations by country elevators, has advised its clients to drop wheat buying prices drastically unless the grain is already sold for quick delivery.

The new program will shift from the current plan of Government support prices, which largely determine market prices, to a certificate plan under which wheat growers will get a cash-equivalent certificate for parity payment.

The certificates, worth 70 cents a bushel, will be purchased by flour millers for every bushel they grind after July 1. Another type of certificate worth 25 cents will be purchased by exporters.

"With the new certificate plan for wheat effective July 1, market value of wheat is expected to drop 50 to 70 cents by that date," the Grain Bulletin advised country elevators this week.

The Bulletin advised elevators not to pay more than the July futures price for grain to be shipped after July 1. July futures Friday closed at $1.75¼ in Minneapolis. The Minneapolis cash price was $2.28.

The Bulletin advised elevators buying wheat between now and July 1 to have it presold if they pay higher than July prices.

"The key to the price changes is the different method of financing," a trade source said.

Millers are buying only enough wheat to last until May 23, when they have to list their inventory with the Government and buy interim certificates at 18 cents a bushel, sources said.

Philadelphia Commended for New Campaign To Force Landlords and Private Owners To Repair Rundown and Unsafe Housing—Does Not Shift Burden to Federal Government

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Bulletin of Philadelphia recently reported that a 2-year program to repair or eliminate rundown and unsafe homes and perhaps put the city in the home improvement business is underway in Philadelphia. An intensive 2-year drive has begun to force slumlords, and private owners, too, to repair rundown and unsafe housing or face fines and imprisonment under the city's fire, health, and safety codes. The Evening Bulletin, in a lead editorial on June 2, supporting the campaign said:

Such a drive has been long overdue. Nothing can more surely eliminate slum housing, or block its spread, than rigid enforcement of existing laws.

It is reported that some officials believe the housing code enforcement campaign in Philadelphia will lead to the creation of a municipal, or a city-supported, corporation to acquire condemned or abandoned properties, repair and sell them. The proposed corporation probably would follow the lines of the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp., which is in partnership with the city and the chamber of commerce to develop and promote industrial growth.

Philadelphia city officials are to be commended, not only for this significant new compaign but for not attempting to shift this burden to the Federal Government and to the backs of the taxpayers in general.

The Evening Bulletin editorial makes the valid point that as "presently constituted, neither the public housing authority nor the redevelopment authority is a natural mechanism for rehabilitation of unfit homes." Further, the Evening Bulletin editorial states:

If industry can make a success of PIDC [Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp.] there may be an example to be followed in behalf of those who need shelter, too. There are legal tangles to be worked out, but thorough study should be given to the proposal. Decent housing is everybody's problem if the city is to meet its obligations.

Philadelphia city officials are to be commended for this significant new campaign to rid the city of slum housing, and they may make history in the process. There is a growing recognition that housing code enforcement can do as much, and perhaps more than, any other single step or program, to end urban slum, and blight.

Organizations representing a wide political spectrum are deeply interested in enforcement of housing codes. They include the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Americans for Democratic Action.

Some groups are working with the Senate Housing Subcommittee, according to a report in the Housing and Urban Affairs Daily of June 10, 1964, to develop legislation which would provide Federal financial assistance for systematic housing code compliance programs carried out in conformance with local renewal plans.

Under this proposal communities would be able to carry out planned systematic housing code compliance programs in conformance with special renewal plans, general city plans and the workable program for community improvement. Eligible costs would include inspectors' salaries, administrative overhead, the costs of planning, and architectural and financial advisers and community organization specialists. Those and other eligible costs would be shared with the Federal Government on a two-thirds to one-third basis, the formula of the present urban renewal program.

In my view, there is no justification for saddling the Federal Government with the costs of code enforcement. This cost should be borne by the city government, as Philadelphia is doing under its plan. The Federal Government and the taxpayers are already bearing two-thirds of the cost of local urban renewal projects, and this goes up to three-fourths in distress areas. To add to this cost the cost of local code enforcement would simply open the floodgates and lead to saddling the Federal Government with the cost of other programs which municipalities should rightly bear.

I include as part of my remarks three items from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, June 2, 1964]

THE CITY AS A LANDLORD

The city is embarking this week on an intensive 2-year drive to force slumlords—and private owners, too—to repair dundown and unsafe homes or face fines and imprisonment under the city's fire, health, and safety codes.

Such a drive has been long overdue. Nothing can more surely eliminate slum housing, or block its spread, than rigid enforcement of existing laws.

But, along the way, it must be expected that there will be recalcitrants who will defy the regulations and force the city to condemn the houses or who will simply abandon these properties rather than spend more money rehabilitating them.

Some method is required, other than that of forced sheriff's sales, as used for nonpayment of taxes, for the handling of these houses. Sheriff's sales are time consuming, and if used for decrepit or obsolescent houses in the slum areas could be self-defeating. The city gets back part of its tax losses through sheriff's sales, which is the objective, but the houses do not necessarily come back into the home buyers' or tenants' market.

It is important that houses seized by the city in the planned code enforcement drive come back into use, for rehabilitated houses in these areas between the rivers and south of Lehigh Avenue are urgently needed for the community.

Looking at the success of the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp., a nonprofit cooperative venture between the city and the chamber of commerce, aimed at keeping old or bringing new industry here, some city officials envision a similar cooperative partnership with real estate men for home buying. The idea is intriguing, although the problems may be formidable.

During the cleanup drive, up to 6,500 families may be forced to vacate their homes. As presently constituted, neither the public housing authority nor the redevelopment authority is a natural mechanism for rehabilitation of unfit homes, although they have neared it in the purchase of single houses for public housing use.

If industry can make a success of PIDC, there may be an example to be followed in behalf of those who need shelter, too. There are legal tangles to be worked out, but thorough study should be given to the proposal. Decent housing is everybody's problem if the city is to meet its obligations.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, June 1, 1964]

CITY STARTS 2-YEAR DRIVE TO FORCE SLUM REPAIRS

(By H. James Laverty)

A 2-year city program to repair or eliminate homes and perhaps put the city in the home-improvement business began today.

Licenses and inspections department inspectors will inspect residences in neightborhoods of north, south, and west Philadelphia.

Some officials believe the project will clear the way for creation of a city-backed corpo-

ration to acquire condemned or abandoned properties, repair and sell them.

The proposed corporation probably would follow the lines of the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corp., which is in partnership with the city and chamber of commerce to develop industrial growth.

FINES THREATENED

Licenses and Inspections Commissioner Richard H. Buford said the program will force slumlords to repaid houses or face fines and imprisonment.

Buford said the department will determine who is responsible for fixing up the property, either the tenant or the landlord.

So far, however, he said 73 persons have been jailed since mid-February for failing to pay fines assessed by magistrates. He said $12,000 in fines have been collected during the same period.

"This is having a very real effect on the operators," he said. "I think some of the big slum operators are starting to get the message."

THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES MAY MOVE

Buford estimated that during the 2-year program, "6,500 families might have to move."

"The great majority will move into private rental housing. There is a very substantial amount of private housing available; some nearby and some outside the ghetto areas," he said.

Buford said the public housing authority has agreed to grant "real priorities" to families forced to relocate. He said the families will be placed at the head of those waiting seeking public housing.

Buford said the enforcement program will begin in the Hawthorne area of north Philadelphia and be carried out in the Bella Vista, Queen Village, and Grays Ferry areas of south Philadelphia and into west Philadelphia.

CHECK VIOLATIONS

Buford said inspectors will go house by house and apartment by apartment in every block checking off violations of fire, housing, and building codes.

Tenants and landlords will receive written notice to make corrections in 30 days. If a place is declared unfit, it is to be posted within 24 hours of the inspection and the owner and tenant receive 30 days to comply or the tenant must move.

He said "families will not be forced out of houses unless the buildings are structurally unsound or a hazard to health."

He said the city's central relocation bureau will be notified of tenants who need assistance finding new homes.

"No family will be required to move from a house until the tenant or relocation bureau has found decent housing the tenant can afford," he said.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, June 3, 1964]

RESIDENTS ORDERED TO MOVE IN NEW CITY HOUSING DRIVE

(By H. James Laverty)

A bright yellow sign reading "Unfit for Habitation—Order to Vacate" was tacked on a three-story brick apartment building at 1704 North Eighth Street, yesterday.

This was the first building visited by inspectors of the city's Department of Licenses and Inspections in an intensified 2-year drive to uncover violations of the city's housing, fire and building codes.

Inspection Supervisor Frank Waier is directing the inspections of 7,800 dwellings in a 90-block North Philadelphia area from Columbia Avenue to York Street and Broad to Germantown Avenue.

VIOLATIONS LISTED

Violations were listed for every floor of 1704 and included insect infestation, accumulated rubbish, defective floors, walls, ceilings and faulty plumbing and electrical fixtures.

Waier said the five families living in five of the six apartments were given notices that the place was unfit.

"They had no reaction," he said. "They apparently didn't understand, so someone will be sent from the centralized relocation bureau to help them."

In the meantime, the department will search its records to determine the owner. He will be given notice to correct the violations within 30 days or face prosecution.

NINETEEN INSPECTORS

Waier, attached to the district headquarters at 17th and Montgomery Avenue, said 9 inspectors are assigned to the new inspection program and 10 to routine inspections.

Licenses and Inspections Commissioner Richard H. Buford has estimated that 45,000 structures will be inspected and 6,500 families may be forced out.

He said the relocation bureau and the public housing authority will help families relocate.

The majority, he said, probably will find private rental housing and the authority will help those seeking public housing.

Project Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, under the stress of everyday pressures of government, we may tend to overlook many contributions of a continuing, long-term nature. From time to time, however, an article appears calling our attention again to a project of particular excellence. Such an article appeared recently in the May 23, 1964, edition of the New Britain, Conn., Herald. It described the achievements of the hospital ship SS *Hope*, and its crew. The *Hope* has for several years extended its assistance to the sick and poor all over the world. I request that the following Herald article be reprinted in the RECORD:

HELP FOR "HOPE"

Somewhat less than 4 years ago a gleaming white hospital ship—SS *Hope*—steamed into the port of Salaverry, Peru. Not more than a handful of people was on the dock to greet the mercy ship. Poverty-stricken, diseased and suffering inhabitants stayed away in droves.

The visit was viewed with suspicion and antagonism. Many felt the *Hope's* tour was nothing more than a Yankee propaganda move to spread North American influence.

Ten months later as the good ship *Hope* was pulling out of the once-littered harbor of Salaverry, the waters were massed with flowers cast on the waves by the 40,000 grateful and tearful inhabitants who lined every foot of the shoreline.

Some of them walked barefoot for 30 miles to thank the departing Yankee benefactors.

Dr. Paul W. Tisher, of this city, is among the many persons from this area who sailed aboard the SS *Hope* and who volunteered services for the benefit of humanity. Dr. Tisher can testify to the accomplishments of the mercy ship and to the need for its services around the globe.

Since her first port of call in Indonesia, SS *Hope* has sailed thousands of miles and will continue the task of bringing aid and comfort to the sick and the poor all over the world.

Statistically, *Hope* has trained 2,750 doctors, nurses and medical technicians, treated 100,000 persons, immunized 500,000 more, distributed 3,000 quarts of milk per week and performed 5,000 major operations. All this costs money and though the services of the doctors, nurses and technicians aboard the craft are volunteers, the expenses are high.

Hope's immediate goal is $5 million. A small price to pay to help to ease the suffering of people in other parts of the world.

By merely performing a humanitarian service to the poor and the sick of the world, the gleaming hospital ship is bringing hope to peoples who never knew medical aid before, who when they become ill, relied on superstition and witch doctors.

Those aboard the SS *Hope* are, by actual practice and not propaganda, spreading the word of freedom.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr.. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of June 13, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JUNE 13, 1964.

FOREIGN AID—BORROWING MONEY TO GIVE IT AWAY

The House voted (230 to 175) to give more of your money away this week. The foreign aid authorization bill, H.R. 11380 was approved. You have been led to believe by the Johnson administration that this is a bare bones program. This is far from true. The bill passed by the House provided new authorization totaling $2,041,600,000. The appropriation request totals $3,516,700,000. But the true figure in foreign aid spending is $7,442,356,000. In other words the President leads you to believe he has made great savings and that you are only going to be asked to cough up $3 billion for foreign aid projects when in reality he is spending over $7 billion.

Here is a recapitulation of the various authorization proposals and appropriation requests during 1964. These are only those requests and appropriations which can be identified. Millions more are spent under programs not clearly defined.

Foreign Assistance Act:	
Economic assistance	$2,461,700,000
Military assistance	1,055,000,000
Peace Corps	115,000,000
Food for Peace (Public Law 480)	2,215,000,000
Inter-American Development Bank:	
Social progress trust fund	750,000,000
Callable capital stock	412,000,000
International Development Association	373,656,000
Tax credit proposal	60,000,000
Total	7,442,356,000

In addition, on hand and unspent (called the pipeline) $6 billion—$4 billion military, $2 billion economic.

In stating my opposition to the flagrant wasting of your money in the foreign aid program, I pointed out in debate:

"Over the years the faults of our foreign aid have been so apparent that it seems inconceivable that we have not learned the basic lessons that foreign aid is self-defeating, antithetical to basic American religious and moral concepts as we subsidize alien philosophies, and that the wealthy of other countries have padded their bank accounts. The money never reached the people."

The six Republican members of the Foreign Affairs Committee submitting a minority report did a masterful job of writing a bill of particulars against continuing a foreign aid in its present form. In my remarks on the floor of the House I listed 22 reasons why foreign aid should be reevaluated. A partial list includes:

1. The Congress has lost all semblance of control over the aid program.

2. The executive branch continues to make long-term aid commitments without prior congressional approval.

3. Trade and aid continues with Communist countries.

4. Much of the military assistance is beyond the capacity of the recipient nation to utilize.

5. The program is overfunded and lacks consistency or direction.

6. There is little evidence that it has been successful in achieving its objectives.

7. The impact of assistance fails to reach the grassroots level.

8. The aid effort is diffused and reasonable criteria in the selection of recipients are lacking.

9. Administrative and program deficiencies abound, including overprograming, hoarding of funds, wastes, and extravagance.

10. We are attempting too much for too many too soon.

11. AID finances government-owned facilities which compete with private enterprises.

12. Fiscal responsibility is not the watchword of the aid administering agency.

Two important arguments in conclusion:

1. The least action required by Congress is to regain control and redirect the foreign aid program toward meaningful objectives.

2. We should not borrow money to give away.

BORROWED MONEY FOR FEDERAL PAY RAISES

The Johnson administration's Federal pay raise bill passed the House (243–157). I voted against the bill because we have not earned it. President Johnson is not reducing spending, he is increasing it. In every appreciation bill passed by the House this year, we have appropriated more than was spent last year. Of course, we practiced the usual double trick of reducing the budget request but spending more to make you believe the administration is saving money.

The minority report on the pay bill stated among other things:

1. It is ill timed, unwarranted, expensive, and contrary to sound reasoning and responsibility.

2. It was cooked up overnight and reported from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee under pressure tactics so blatant and callous they shame our American legislative process.

3. No committee hearings were held.

4. General pay raises for almost all Federal employees took effect January 1, 1964.

Again, we are borrowing money to pay this bill and this is morally wrong. I am for higher salaries for Federal employees when they are earned through reduced Federal spending, a balanced budget, and lower taxes for all the people. When we are deficit spending, a pay raise bill can't even be fairly evaluated.

Reduction of Temporary Wartime Taxes Is in Offing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the Excise Tax Rate Extension Act of 1964 is scheduled for floor action soon and I wish to call attention to the deep interest and support that exists for a reform of the entire excise tax system. A particularly timely and cogent expression of this, I believe, widespread view is contained in an editorial appearing in the June 12, 1964, issue of the Flint Journal, of Flint, Mich.

The editorial follows:

REDUCTION OF TEMPORARY WARTIME TAXES IS IN OFFING

Excise taxes are as annoying as a burr in a boot—and much more difficult to remove. The so-called temporary taxes enacted to pay for World War II are still being levied 19 years after its close. So are the taxes imposed more than a decade ago during the Korean war.

Representative CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN has been one of the most vigorous campaigners against retaining wartime excise taxes in general and the automobile excise in particular. This has been a target of his every year since he has been in Washington, but every year Congress, has voted to extend the "temporary" levies.

Now, at long last, the outlook is bright for some relief—but probably not until 1966.

Chairman WILBUR MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, of the House Ways and Means Committee proposes, with the full support of President Johnson, a long study of the specific effects of excise taxes over the past decade. The committee hearings, beginning Monday, will spread upon the record a vast amount of data which will aid the Treasury next year in drafting recommendations for repeal or modification. According to the committee's schedule, Congress should be able to act on these in 1966.

It is not MILLS' intention to touch special levies on gasoline, tires and tubes, tread rubber, diesel fuel, truck use and trucks, buses, and trailers. The more than $3 billion these produce is allocated to the highway trust fund.

Other unlikely candidates for repeal are the whisky and tobacco taxes. These bring in nearly $6 billion annually.

That leaves about $5 billion under the carving knife. Excise taxes furnish about $14 billion at present rates, as against $10 billion in 1956.

The reported theory behind cutting excise taxes is that in about 2 years the country will be ready for another big tax-cut stimulus. Excise taxes are the logical targets. The hearings will aid Congress in determining which taxes to cut.

Congress has heard various proposals in recent years ranging from making the wartime excise rates permanent to repeal of all but those on liquor and tobacco. Both the continuers and the repealers would include not only the sales taxes on "luxury" items, but manufacturers' taxes, such as the 10 percent automobile tax.

The President's budget message last January included a request for a 1-year extension of excise taxes that were scheduled to expire on June 30. Existing rates were to be continued on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, general telephone service, and passenger travel by air.

The ranking Republican on Ways and Means, Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin, countered with a proposal to cut in half the existing 10 percent excise tax on jewelry, luggage, watches, handbags, cosmetics, perfumes, and furs. The remaining 5 percent would go by the boards next year.

Similar attempts to reduce or repeal excise taxes were defeated during Senate consideration of the omnibus tax reduction and reform bill.

The committee on May 26 rejected the Byrnes proposal, 14 to 10, in a strictly party-line division. BYRNES said he would probably offer the same amendment on the House floor to the bill providing the 1-year extension.

Some of the excise taxes seem certain to go. The question is one of timing. In an affluent society it is sometimes difficult to establish a clear-cut line between luxury items and those of necessity.

But one thing is clear. That is that the label "temporary tax" is a misnomer. It should be remembered the next time there is talk of enacting such a tax as a stopgap measure at any governmental level.

Such a levy is easy to legislate but difficult to rescind.

Both Federal and State legislators seem to favor such "nuisance" levies because the taxpayer who ends up footing the bill isn't supposed to feel it inasmuch as it is concealed in the price of the goods he buys.

The catch is that the amount of goods being sold is reduced because of price increases necessitated by the so-called hidden tax.

When Congress looks at the wartime excise taxes it is looking in the right direction if it is seeking tax reform aimed at creating more jobs and income and eventually more revenue.

South Carolina Jaycees Condemn Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the junior chamber of commerce in South Carolina recently adopted a resolution strongly condemning the so-called civil rights bill now in the Senate.

The sentiments expressed in the resolution by the Jaycees' board of directors so clearly reflects my feelings on this bill that under unanimous consent I insert their statement for the information of this body:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS' MEETING, COLUMBIA, S.C., MAY 16, 1964

Resolution presented from resolutions committee by Charles Johnson, of Clinton, was the following resolution approved on motion by Tom Stribling, of Johnston, seconded by Jobie Adams, of Greenwood, and unanimously approved by the board of directors with the amendment that copies be sent directly to all U.S. Senators and Representatives and the President of the United States:

"Whereas the birth of this Nation, and the Constitution under which it is governed,

was necessitated because of the desire by men to be free from oppressive governmental restriction;

"Whereas the framers of the Constitution went to great lengths to guarantee in that document the individual rights of our citizenry against Federal encroachment;

"Whereas the civil rights bill now pending before the Congress of the United States is an obvious contradiction of this guarantee;

"Whereas this organization feels very strongly that inequities that may exist today are social in nature and not legal, and feel further that social justice and social equality has never in the past; is not today; and cannot tomorrow be forthcoming through legal reform: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the State of South Carolina, representing 125 chapters and 4,768 members, in annual convention assembled, does hereby express its formal opposition to the bill herein discussed and does further express our appreciation to all Members of the Congress, particularly those of our State, who are offering such a magnificent defense of the liberties of the individual upon which this Nation was founded."

Strange Bedfellows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, an editorial recently appeared in Great Works magazine, published by the Brotherhood of the American Lutheran Church, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

The weird arena of politics sometimes causes strange bedfellows and, even stranger, switches of position. Southern representatives have insisted that the Government should stay out of the field of individual liberty. They also insist that you cannot legislate morals. These arguments are made with telling regularity by southern Senators and Representatives in the civil rights debate. They are also part of the strange mumbo-jumbo spewed out by Governor Wallace. But as the bills and the issues change so do the arguments and the position.

What is a sound and logical argument in the case of civil rights no longer becomes the point in the Becker amendment (allowing prayer in school). We can, it seems, make the country Christian or at least religious by law even if we can't make it moral. The Federal Government, which is not allowed to assure the equal rights provision of the Constitution, can give the State and local governments the right to write prayers and, in effect, establish a state religion.

The amendment itself is even more confusing than the debate surrounding it, for it tries to satisfy everyone and ends up nowhere. It allows prayer in schools, other Government agencies, in functions, and encourages the use of religious slogans on coins, stamps, etc. It very carefully does not write the prayer or slogan, but that is precisely the point. I could go for a coin with Luther on one side with the inscription "Here I stand," but Brigham Young and the Angel Moroni leave me a little cold. Can a prayer written by any governmental agency be really a Christian prayer, and if not, should a Christian pray it? If the prayer is written by clergymen—who? Catholic priest? Lutheran pastor? Jewish rabbi? Christian Science reader? Maybe a committee? If you believe the old saw that a camel is a horse put together by a committee you see the problem. Religion in general. A state religion in general is our only possible result and our eventual loss of religious freedom. The amendment, of course, adds a third section that says that it cannot establish a religion, but you can't have it both ways.

Those who endorse the Becker amendment will appear to have God, mother and a host of angels on their side. There will be more smokescreens and generalities than you can shake a stick at. The final answer for a Christian, however, should be that the amendment be defeated and the Constitution left intact. May we pray in our own words that it may be and that many of our men will express their position to their Congressman.

The Continual Grab for Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. BEERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have frequently confessed bewilderment at some of the things which happen in Washington but just now I am unusually baffled at some of the things which are happening at the great Department of Agriculture.

The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, recently proposed legislation which would give his Department sweeping authority over the operation of the commodity exchanges. Among the powers sought was authority to fix margins for trading which, as the Congress knows, has been asked for time and time again without result.

In 1947, President Truman, himself, urged that the Government be allowed to fix the margins for trading, citing what he termed speculative abuses which sharply increased the cost of living.

He was turned down.

Within the past 15 years, half a dozen bills on this subject have been introduced at the request of the executive branch. Not one has been reported by either the House or Senate Agriculture Committee.

During the Korean war, a bill which would have allowed the Federal Government to fix margins was reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee, which had before it legislation for the control of wages and prices. On a roll-call vote, the House defeated the margin proposal.

Now Mr. Freeman comes before us urging legislation which a Democratic President tried to get in vain. What reason does he give?

He is very specific. In his letter to the Speaker asking for this grant of power—incidentally, Mr. Freeman always seems to be asking for more authority—he says:

Recent events in the soybean oil and cottonseed oil markets have clearly shown the need for the provisions sought by this proposed legislation. We are confident that the widespread and serious effects within the economy resulting from the failure of a large vegetable oil refining concern would have been prevented or greatly lessened had there been adequate margins required on the positions it carried in the futures markets. No Federal agency presently has authority to prescribe such margins although such authority is present in connection with the securities exchanges. The Department believes it should have, and has previously sought, the authority to prescribe under certain conditions the minimum margins which commodity exchanges should require of traders in the commodity markets.

This statement, Mr. Speaker, amazes and puzzles me. All of us are familiar to some extent with the DeAngelis affair. Anthony DeAngelis, after World War II, became a heavy operator in vegetable oils and a significant factor in the vegetable oil export market. Late in 1963, he went broke, dragging down several outfits with him. Total losses are well over $100 million and may not be far from $150 million when all the damage is totaled.

DeAngelis used the commodity exchanges for hedging and, perhaps, speculation. After the crash, unnamed spokesmen for the Department of Agriculture were quoted in the press as stating that lack of power over the exchanges, including the long-sought authority to fix margins, caused the debacle. But, very quickly, it developed that Mr. DeAngelis dealt extensively in fraudulent warehouse receipts. He raised millions through receipts for nonexistent oil, or oil which has been removed from his storage tanks in New York. The furors over the Department's lack of power over the commodity exchanges died down, since obviously if DeAngelis, in effect, was counterfeiting warehouse receipts, an increase in margin requirements would not have bothered him. He simply would have turned out another batch of receipts and would have borrowed more money on them.

Then in March 1964, Alex C. Caldwell, head of the Commodity Exchange Authority, USDA agency which supervises the commodity exchanges, cleared up this affair insofar as the exchanges were concerned. Testifying before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator ELLENDER, of Louisiana, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, asked Mr. Caldwell the following question:

Was there any way in which your Department could have prevented such a thing like this?

The "this" refers to the DeAngelis scandal.

CALDWELL. No, sir. There was no way the Department could have prevented the cash oil transactions which allegedly involved some fraudulent warehouse receipts.

At another place, Mr. Caldwell:

This operation [DeAngelis], Mr. Chairman, was, as I had mentioned earlier, completely outside the futures market, so I do not believe any strengthening of the regulations of the futures markets would have prevented this situation from occurring. This had to do with alleged fraud which should be covered under various fraud statutes and not under the Commodity Exchange Authority.

In the face of the statement of his own expert and the facts, how could Mr. Freeman use the DeAngelis affair as excuse

for his request for power over almost every phase of the operations of the commodity exchanges?

Calmly and deliberately, Mr. Freeman seems to be insulting the intelligence of the House Agriculture Committee, of the Senate Agriculture Committee, and of the Congress, the elected voice of the people.

To Know, To Desire, To Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on June 7, 1964, my good friend and esteemed colleague, Representative HUGH L. CAREY, delivered the commencement address to the 1964 graduating class of King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Paraphrasing the wisdom of Aquinas, Congressman CAREY's address, entitled "To Know, To Desire, To Do," is an intensive examination of present and future problems in the area of higher education and a perceptive appraisal of the requisite steps that must be taken if we are to meet the tests of the years ahead.

As a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, HUGH CAREY has worked diligently for the improvement of education at all levels and in all areas of the country. His efforts to extend educational facilities in depressed areas and his dedication to the preservation of the parental right of freedom of choice in the education of the child have earned for him the title, "Mr. Education," of our New York delegation.

His address, which I now recommend to my colleagues, offers us the benefit of his insight into and understanding of the challenges that lie ahead in the field of higher education. His comprehensive grasp of these problems qualifies him to speak, as few others can, on this most important of subjects.

His address follows:

TO KNOW, TO DESIRE, TO DO

The late John F. Kennedy once said: "One man can change the world, and every man should try." In a similar vein, St. Thomas Aquinas said: "Three things are necessary for the salvation of man—To know what to believe; to know what to desire; and to know what to do." (Two Precepts of Charity.)

I should like to adapt those statements to the responsibilities which fall upon you as you accept your diplomas today: "Three things are necessary if a man would change the world: To know what has been and what is; to desire the best that can be; and to do what he can to help make it so." To put it more briefly, he must know, desire, and do.

At any given time, if an individual is normal, he knows more than he has ever known before. If he is wise, he recognizes also that what he knows, indeed all that he knows, is but a minute part—an atom—in the universe of the knowable.

At no time in history has it been more important for mankind to be humble before knowledge, avid for learning, and purposeful in his application of what he knows in the creation of what may be. Scientific knowledge is accumulating at a rapid pace. Automation and other products of progress accelerate the problems of and the responsibilities for fostering humanitarian advancements in a world community of cooperating peoples.

But it isn't enough to know what is, even if the individual could somehow possess all knowledge accumulated from the past and present. I think it was Terence, the Roman dramatist who lived more than a hundred years B.C., who said: "True wisdom consists not only in seeing what is before our eyes, but in foreseeing what is to come." (Adelphi, act III.) Such wisdom is not a matter of clairvoyance, of looking into a crystal ball and preparing in advance to roll with the punches.

Rather, such wisdom is a matter of discriminating choices, day by day and hour by hour, between what is profitable or expedient on the one hand and what is right and good on the other. It is a matter of knowing what is and what can be, and of deliberately pursuing the best ends by the best means for the betterment of all. Of the three elements with which we started this discussion—knowing, desiring, and doing—the first two are sterile without the capstone of the third.

All of you are familiar with the slogan of the Christophers: "It is better to light one candle than to curse the dark." Let us look for a moment at what you as an individual and your candle of educational preparation can do to help make this a better world. After all, progress in the world of tomorrow depends upon the development and application of the talents and abilities of individuals.

You do not have to be a scientist to realize that your every act—even your inactivity—helps to form the currents of the stream of progress. The problem is to find where your particular abilities, your particular leadership, can do the most of the good that needs to be done.

Lest we spread ourselves too thin in our discussion and go off in all directions, let us look at responsibilities in just one field, the field of education, where the tools for advancement are forged and where the surge and direction of progress initially take root and begin their growth. The educational impetus of each generation depends upon the informed action of individuals, and here is a civic responsibility which falls to each and every one of us.

But, lest our subject be still too broad, let us narrow it to higher education in particular—to the needs and problems of higher education and what you can do about it in the years immediately ahead. I need not remind you that, in limiting our discussion to higher education, we are in no way minimizing the dignity and worth of those individuals who, for reasons of their own, do not aspire to a college education.

In general, however, society has come to demand a higher level of intellectual maturity of all citizens, and individuals must provide the framework and financial means for an educational enterprise to meet this demand. In the decade from 1952 to 1962, for example, the number of jobs increased most in those categories filled by individuals with the most education. In fact, jobs filled by those with 4 or more years of college increased by 54 percent, while jobs filled by those with 1 to 3 years of post high school training increased by 41 percent. (Fact Sheet: "Educational Attainment and Needs in the United States, Office of Education," June 1963.)

Colleges are being pressed from every side to accommodate rapidly increasing enrollments, to provide an increasingly wide array of programs, and to develop and improve those methods which will insure quality performance in a world changing so fast that today's information is likely to be insufficient to solve tomorrow's problems.

In such an educational renaissance, colleges in both the public and private sector are capitalizing on their strengths in an effort to serve the greatest number for the greatest good. Small colleges are developing their own particular approaches to excellence, and larger ones are striving to balance quality with diversity. School such as King's College are proving that small colleges can be great colleges. It is most essential for the preservation of our traditional pattern of freedom of choice in education that there be a variety of options to the mass central programs of the large universities. The community college movement seeks to bring appropriate post high-school education within the geographic reach of an increasing number of students. Still, there are numerous problems which must be met head on and solved, if appropriate higher education is to become available for all who want it and can benefit by it.

As we seek to extend educational opportunity, however, we must not let our pride in increasing enrollments blind us to the fact that college attendance is too often related to ability to pay. Intelligence is not related to family income, but college attendance is and it shouldn't be. Areas of poverty—whether in the mining sections of Appalachia, or on the tenant farms of the South, or in the slums of the cities—are the seedbed of hopelessness and lack of motivation. It is difficult to rise by one's own bootstraps when one has no boats. Our democratic ideals—and our commonsense—tell us that it is better to help these individuals acquire the educational tools necessary for their own progress and self respect rather than to face the alternative of continued and increasing welfare relief.

To that end the Congress is moving an expanded program of individual self-help steps to students in need. The increased loan program and the work study feature of the opportunity bill which is erroneously termed the poverty bill are two major steps. In addition, the college construction law of 1963 is beginning to bring college education within the reach of a greater number by stabilizing costs and increasing facilities.

To the extent that we fail to provide educational opportunity for the disadvantaged, we waste our resource potential. As Cicero once said: "As a field, however fertile, cannot be fruitful without cultivation, neither can a mind without learning." (Tusculanarum Disputationum, bk. ii.) The pace of progress in today's world demands "educational cultivation" to the extent of the individual's abilities to benefit by it.

For an increasing number, this means higher education and each of us has a responsibility to help provide the impetus for local, voluntary, and national action to extend such educational opportunities without regard for financial and/or racial handicaps. The day of talking is past. It is a time for action—informed individual action as a basis for community, State, and National action in a free society. We cannot "let George do it." Those who have received much in terms of educational advantages must shoulder their responsibilities to give much in terms of encouragement and effort. I need not remind you that this includes far more than higher education per se.

If your interest and effort could somehow extend higher education opportunity to every individual who wants it, your responsibilities would not end there. Quality in higher education—indeed, in all of education—demands continuous improvements within the educational enterprise itself. No one would belittle the educational advances spurred on by the launching of sputnik. They have contributed to immeasurable scientific progress. The challenge which faces us now is to balance our scientific and technological progress with attention to the humanities and the arts. This is especially important

in a world where individual freedom must be tempered with sensitivity and concern for others, where international competition must be regulated by international understanding, where individual ambition must be moderated by respect for the integrity and the various talents and abilities of others.

Furthermore, by extending the reach of higher education to a broader spectrum of society, we also are challenged to extend the scope of programs to provide improved social tools and cultural outlooks and to accommodate an increasing variety of vocational competencies. Such an education cannot be designed once and left to serve for all time. It requires constant vigilance, constant pruning, constant nourishing with new ideas.

The world is looking at American education, at the interrelationship between educational excellence, leadership, and production. Developing nations have found our experiences with land-grant colleges especially valuable in their own educational planning. Our collegiate pluralism is a mirror of our religious and cultural pluralism and answers the demand for variety in a free society. It is understandable that a world newly discovering its polycentric nature would look to the universal character of our educational opportunities with increasing attention.

For example, the Robbins report, which assesses England's higher education needs for the next decade, recommends ways to assure that "courses of higher education should be available to all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so." In effect, the Robbins report rejects the highly selective admissions policies of British universities and proposes to broaden the base of higher education. This decision has important implications for us, especially in those American institutions where admissions requirements are based on strictly academic measures of ability. While the world is looking at our higher education, we ourselves need a constant reevaluation of its appropriateness for our needs. In this, you as individuals have a responsibility to take a vital part.

In my plea that you "get in there and pitch" for whatever community or national action we need to extend the reach of higher education and to keep its quality and appropriateness on an ever-upward climb, I do not wish to play Polonius, but I should like to inject a word of caution. In years to come, as age brings nostalgia, there may be temptations for you—as there have already been with me—to muse that higher education isn't the same as it used to be. But the world for which we are educating is not the same as it used to be either.

Your children and mine will live in a changing world and our educational system will need a world of change to meet their needs.

It is for you to meet and make these changes. The quantity and quality of new education can be left up to the State but only at great risk. The State has no choice but to conform its education, higher or primary, to a common ideal. Such conformity is in itself a handicap. Only by participation of private voluntary institutions such as King's College can we have the true and valuable diversity of high ideals our country deserves. This makes it incumbent on you as leaders of the intellect to support and participate in the growth of our education, public and private. Even the word "private" is subject to change since these institutions are truly, parapublic, serving a great public purpose under private leadership.

In this connection I hail the announcement of the ordinary of Pittsburgh, Bishop Wright, who has announced that the parochial schools of Pittsburgh will be open to all children of low income without regard to their religious belief.

Surely such splendid innovations deserve your valued support and participation as part of the great new adventure in grace that is 20th century, Chris Fianity.

With the accelerating rate of change already upon us, much that you have learned here at King's College will be subject to critical analysis as you pursue that freedom of inquiry which is the great scholastic vitality.

It will be up to you to determine what the abiding truths are. You and I live in the age of surging expectation and we will either move with the crest of understanding or founder in the undertow of fallacy unless we continue the course of constant reeducation.

More important than what you have learned is the momentum to keep on learning, the desire to understand yourself and your fellow man, and the will to add your bit to the forward thrust of humanity. The kind of higher education we have in tomorrow's world should be different from what we have today. It will be better to the extent that it serves tomorrow's world. It is your task to keep it always viable and adaptable to society's needs and yet straightforward in its task of preparing individuals for the future they will help to shape.

Let us return full circle to St. Thomas Acquinas. "Three things are necessary * * * to know what to believe; to know what to desire; to know what to do."

To this I would add the capstone, "To do the best one knows." You will change the world, for good or ill, the extent and direction depending upon how much you know and what you do with it. You can change higher education—or education in general—and thereby contribute to the effectiveness of the leavening agent by which the future becomes better than the past. You—and only you—can determine whether your educational candle burns brightly and your torch is held high and glowing against the darkness.

Congress Must Revise and Liberalize Our Immigration Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am a member, is now considering legislation to revise and liberalize our present immigration laws. I am hopeful that favorable action will be taken by this Congress so that present inequities will be eliminated. Following is my statement to the committee concerning the bill I introduced:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on the Judiciary, I am gratified that your committee is holding hearings on legislation to revise and liberalize our present immigration laws. Reform of our antiquated and unfair immigration laws is long overdue, so that we may better serve humanity and further the interests of equality, the obnoxious principle of national origin upon which our immigration system has been based since 1924 must be eliminated.

Our esteemed chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary introduced a bill, H.R. 7700, based upon the suggestions and wishes of our dearly beloved former President Kennedy; President Johnson also has requested and urged this Congress to approve the bill. I introduced an identical bill, H.R. 7902, to show my strong support. Ever since coming to Congress, I have introduced bills calling for a complete overhaul and liberalization of our immigration and naturalization laws. The need for such action on the part of Congress is forcibly brought home to me almost daily; my congressional district is one which contains a large percentage of immigrants and new U.S. citizens; many pathetic letters reach me describing the heartache resulting from interminable separation of members of a family. Children are frustrated in their efforts to bring their parents here; relatives in many countries face a lifetime of waiting for their turn to be reached under our unfair quota system.

The task before your committee should be undertaken with compassion and forthrightness and the recognition of the fact that the proposed changes in our laws are reasonable and are demanded by existing circumstances. Our country became great under our earlier policy of unrestricted immigration. Those who sought refuge and freedom here contributed mightily of their brawn, their brains, and their loyalty; our Nation grew strong and prospered. The present quota system which is based on the place of birth or the racial origin of a human being has proved to be a blot upon our conscience as a Nation. We must acknowledge that birthplace and racial origin of a human being do not determine the quality or the level of a man's intellect, his moral character, or his qualifications for becoming a part of our Nation and our society.

The administration bill and my identical bill provide that our future total immigration quota will be divided, regardless of the immigrant's place of birth, into categories completely divorced from the concept of race, nationality, citizenship, or place of birth. A person's skill, or his relationship to a citizen in the United States or to an immigrant previously admitted to our country for permanent residence, will determine his inclusion in one of the categories listed. However, a large portion of the annual immigration quota will remain available for refugees and displaced persons so that we, as a nation, can serve humanity and help unfortunates. We shall also give those who wish to leave their homelands and seek opportunities here for themselves and their children, an opportunity to do so.

We are mindful of the sad situation which exists at present—when thousands of immigrant visas allocated under existing quotas are not used by certain nations, by immigrants born in those countries which we have favored. At the same time immigrants born in other countries—less favored by us, if we are honest enough to admit it and which have infinitesimal quotas—have to wait for permission to come here for periods of a 5 to 25 years. This is a shameful state of affairs and it must be brought to an end.

Under the new system the entire quota will be used in every 12-month period. The process of elimination of the national origins principle will continue for 5 years after enactment of the bill. We would have preferred that the old condemned system of national origins be wiped out immediately. However, we must recognize that such a drastic change, if imposed overnight, would create havoc with the administrative processes of immigration and visa issuance by our consulates spread all over the world. Thus it is proposed to cut 20 percent of our quota in each of the 5 years succeeding enactment of the bill, and place that number of visas in a pool to be operated under the new system. At the end of the 5-year period, the new system will be in full effect, and the administrators will have gained necessary

experience by that time through gradual use of the new system.

After the fifth year following enactment of the bill, all quota numbers would be drawn from a single worldwide quota of 164,582. Quota numbers would be allocated in the order of preference specified in amended section 203 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. That is, first call on the first 50 percent is given to persons whose admission, by virtue of their exceptional skill, training or education, would be especially advantageous to the United States; first call on the next 30 percent, plus any part of the first 50 percent not issued to the skilled specialists, is given to unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens, not eligible for nonquota status because they are over 21 years of age; first call on the remaining 20 percent, plus any part of the first 80 percent not taken by the first two classes, is given to spouses and children of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence; and any portion remaining is issued to other applicants, with percentage preferences to other relations of U.S. citizens and resident aliens, and then to certain classes of workers. Section 203 further provides that within each class, visas are issued in the order in which applied for—first come, first served. These preference provisions, which under present law determine only relative priority between nationals of the same country, will now determine priority between nationals of different countries throughout the world.

No country would be allowed to receive more than 10 percent of the quota numbers available in any year (including those from the quota reserve pool during the first 5 years, from the area's quota), with certain exceptions.

The bill contains many other necessary and helpful provisions. Among other things, it would grant nonquota status to parents of U.S. citizens.

The United States and worthy people all over the world need this bill. It is our responsibility to approve and pass it so that we may prove to all mankind that we truly believe in the equality of all men and that we are ready to welcome persons to our great land on a fair and equitable basis and to discard the old laws which are based on racial prejudice and are unfairly discriminatory.

I urge your Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality to approve this important legislation. I look forward to the privilege of voting for it in our full Committee on the Judiciary. I shall do all in my power to secure its passage by the Congress, so that the changes can be brought about as soon as possible.

Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago a representative of United Press International related to me an incident he had witnessed while on assignment in Puerto Rico, at which a group of demonstrators marched on a Flag Day observance and attempted to tear down the Stars and Stripes. At that time I expressed my grave concern at such action, and I wish to do so again, for my attention has been directed to a statement that the pledge of allegiance to the U.S. flag has been discontinued in public schools. It is important for my colleagues to know of this, I am sure you will agree, and I therefore am inserting the following editorial from the Elks Bulletin, San Juan, P.R., Lodge No. 972:

FLAG DAY: A TRIBUTE TO OUR FLAG

June 14 is the day annually set aside as Flag Day to call attention to our national emblem, its purpose and significance, the ideals it represents, and the respect it commands. For God and country is the motto of Americans. It is inscribed on our schools and institutions in Continental United States. It is preached from our pulpits. It is instilled to the hearts of all school children in Continental United States and its possessions except in Puerto Rico. The local authorities discontinued, the pledge of allegiance to the U.S. flag at public schools. Flag Day this year has an added significance with communism trying to spread throughout the world. It is a day of rededication to the ideals and principles for which our national emblem stands. Proudly we identify ourselves in our allegiance to the flag at every meeting with our forefathers, who wrote their loyalty to these United States in toil and sacrifice, in blood on battlefield, stanchly following the Stars and Stripes into the jaws of death.

As we Elks are loyal to our God we are loyal to our country. The honor that we give to our Nation's flag is but the outward expression of the loyalty and devotion that is within our heart and soul which should be clearly demonstrated by every Elk and his family by being promptly at the lodge on Sunday, June 14 at 8 o'clock p.m. to witness and enjoy our beautiful and impressive Flag Day exercises.

THE EDITOR.

Resolution by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert a resolution which has been passed by the General Assembly of the State of Georgia.

The resolution was introduced by Hon. Dan White, State representative of McIntosh County, which is located in the First Congressional District of Georgia.

Representative White's resolution has reference to a project in McIntosh County which was made possible because of a loan from the Area Redevelopment Administration.

The resolution follows:

H. RES. 65

(By Mr. White, of McIntosh)

Resolution relative to the Area Redevelopment Administration; and for other purposes

"Whereas the Area Redevelopment Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce, at the present time, has designated 77 counties in Georgia as eligible to participate in their program; and

"Whereas there are 36 approved Georgia projects underway; and

"Whereas there is a total capital investment under these programs of $9,124,954.88, which has created 3,425 new jobs; and

"Whereas there are, at the present time, 11 projects pending which will entail a total capital investment of $18,955,253 and create 872 new jobs; and

"Whereas as a typical example of the benefits to be derived from these programs, Perling Industries, Inc., has located a plant in Darien, Ga., by virtue of an Area Redevelopment Administration loan of $422,500 which has created 200 new jobs within this county; and

"Whereas an additional vocational training grant of $80,165 has been made available in connection with this industry; and

"Whereas the many benefits to be derived from the expansion of the Area Redevelopment programs are readily available to the industrial and economic future of the State of Georgia: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of Georgia*, That this body does hereby urge each and every member of the Georgia congressional delegation to support the program and appropriations of the Area Redevelopment Administration now pending before Congress in order that said administration's program may be expanded to additional counties in the State of Georgia and the many benefits to be derived therefrom distributed therein; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the clerk of the house of representatives is hereby authorized and instructed to transmit an appropriate copy of this resolution to each and every member of the Georgia congressional delegation."

In house: Read and adopted June 3, 1964.
GLENN W. ELLARD, *Clerk*.
In senate: Read and adopted June 5, 1964.
GEORGE D. STEWART, *Secretary*.

U.S. Policy in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial concerning U.S. policy in South Vietnam which appeared in the New York Times of June 12. With the increasing crisis in this area the New York Times has performed a welcomed service by its forthright presentation of the issue. I urge all my colleagues to read the following editorial:

ASIAN CONFRONTATION

Two U.S. planes have been shot down in Laos and now American armed fighter plane escorts are shooting back. The situation is deteriorating in Vietnam as well as in Laos and, by reflexion, in Cambodia, Thailand, and all of southeast Asia. When or how is the shooting going to end? When or how is the steady, if slow, advance of the Communists in the region going to be stopped?

The power factor in southeast Asia that really counts is the confrontation between the United States and Communist China. They are still at some distance from each other, but the gap is closing. When Under Secretary Ball and President de Gaulle conferred the other day, they agreed that southeast Asia should be denied to the Communists, but they disagreed on how this goal was to be achieved.

General de Gaulle insists with reason that no settlement of the Indochina conflict is possible without the concurrence of the

Communist Chinese. This is the dominating factor. China is there; the United States is 10,000 miles away. Chinese power radiates over the whole of Asia from India to Korea.

The nub of the question is the American belief that a withdrawal of our military support would leave a vacuum which the Red Chinese would inevitably fill—not to mention the fact that for better or worse we have commitments that we must honor. The De Gaulle argument is that China has enough problems with Russia in the north, India in the west, and the United States in the east, not to mention a strained economy, to be willing to leave southeast Asia more or less alone—on the condition that China felt there was no longer any reason to fear a threat from the United States in that area.

There is no ideal solution; but it has seemed to this newspaper that the most practicable one is, in the broadest possible terms, a guaranteed neutralization of all states that formerly made up Indochina. What this means is the interested powers—including particularly the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China—would mutually and gradually withdraw militarily from that area and would at the same time guarantee the independence of the respective states, possibly with a U.N. presence to enforce it.

Obviously such a solution is risky and might not work out in practice, but the risks will be great no matter what is done, and will be still greater if the outcome is left to the hazards of military escalation.

The entire problem deserves exploration in another conference of the 14 nations, Comunist China included, that have been concerned with southeast Asia since the Geneva Conference of 1962. The decisive confrontation of the United States and Red China should be over a negotiating table, not with arms. In the long run, this will only be possible when Communist China is a member of the United Nations and when Washington can speak to Peiping in the normal course of diplomatic exchanges between two nations that recognize each other.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, Receives Honorary Doctorate in Law From the University of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, our great University of Massachusetts at Amherst last week conferred the honorary degree of doctor of laws on our colleague from the Senate, the Honorable HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, the distinguished Democratic whip who has shown outstanding leadership in the current efforts to get the Kennedy-Johnson civil rights bill through the Senate and enacted into law by Congress. Senator HUMPHREY was also the commencement speaker at the graduation exercises. I ask permission to have the citation accompanying the doctor of laws degree conferred on Senator HUMPHREY by the University of Massachusetts, and a newspaper account of the Senator's address, as printed in the Springfield Union of June 8, 1964, printed with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Amherst, Mass.

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY

From a young pharmacist in Huron, S. Dak., to a senior statesman in our Nation's Capital, you have devoted a lifetime to compounding prescriptions by which the world may live a healthier, happier, and more productive life. Notable among the ingredients which you have always used in providing remedies have been hope, charity, and love; and of these love of fellow man has been the most powerful and enduring of your contributions.

I, therefore, by authority of the board of trustees of the University of Massachusetts, confer upon you the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, and admit you to all its rights and privileges. In token of this I present you with this diploma and invest you with the appropriate hood.

Given at Amherst, Mass., June 7, 1964.

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS CLASS HEARS HUMPHREY DESCRIBE "DYNAMIC FUTURE"

AMHERST.—Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat of Minnesota, told 1,080 graduates of the University of Massachusetts Sunday that he envies them because they will step into a world which "is moving in one of the most dynamic periods of human history."

EXCITEMENT CERTAIN

The assistant majority leader of the Senate told the graduates that although their future may be "unpredictable," it is "certain to be exciting."

Discarding a prepared text and speaking from notes made while coming here by airplane from Washington, Senator HUMPHREY said the problems and hopes of mankind are the same as they were at the dawn of history, but "what is new is that for the first time * * * the only question is whether we have the will and the courage and the audacity to do something about it."

The physical means of eliminating poverty, fear, illiteracy, disease, injustice, and war now are available, he said.

SHOULD HAVE HOPES

Although accomplishing these goals remains a dream, "young people and a young nation should dream and should have hopes."

He drew prolonged applause from the 10,000 parents, faculty, students, alumni and friends of the university gathered on the lawn west of the new Boyden physical education center when he predicted that passage of a civil rights bill next week will signal a beginning of progress which will diminish discrimination and "cleanse this stain from our flag."

The commencement ceremonies closed the 101st year of the university's operation.

FULL, EQUAL PARTNER

Commenting on the contrast between the number of degree candidates Sunday and the 27 who received degrees 100 years before, Gov. Endicott Peabody, who brought the greetings of the Commonwealth, said that in recent years the State institution has become "a full and equal partner of our fine private institutions, able to provide a quality education at a low cost."

Pointing to new developments under his administration, Governor Peabody said, "while much has been done, much remains to be done."

Following Senator HUMPHREY's address, University President John W. Lederle conferred honorary degrees of doctor of humane letters on John Hope Franklin and retired University of Massachusetts Registrar Marshall O. Lanphear and doctor of laws on Trustee Harry D. Brown, Economist Seymour E. Harris and Senator Humphrey.

NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX SENIORS

Undergraduate degrees were awarded to 956 seniors, 113 master's degrees were conferred and 11 doctorate degrees were awarded.

Two four-college Ph. D.'s were awarded under a unique program whereby students study and receive their degrees from the four area colleges, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Amherst and the university.

The Search

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am calling to the attention of the Congress and the American people the excellent editorial, written by William J. Coughlin, in June 8, 1964 issue on page 54 of the magazine "Missiles and Rockets" which refers to the successful test of the KIWI–B4D reactor on May 13, 1964 at Jackass Flats, Nev.

This is an outstanding success in the U.S. space program. This really signifies a milestone in the space program since its inception in 1958. This successful test points the way to the development of the operational nuclear rocket engine.

The KIWI–B4D reactor demonstrates the superb technical competence which results in important technical breakthroughs. The Government and industrial team, comprised of AEC, NASA, Westinghouse, Aerojet, and other contractors are to be highly commended for this fine accomplishment.

A special commendation is due Dr. Harold B. Finger, manager of the Space Nuclear Propulsion Office for the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on this important step forward in nuclear powered space propulsion.

THE SEARCH

(By William J. Coughlin)

In November 1962, there was a disheartening setback in this country's program to develop nuclear rocket propulsion. The Kiwi-B–4A reactor, demonstrating what might politely be termed an unacceptable degree of instability, was heavily damaged by flow-induced vibrations during a power test.

We therefore want to call attention to a significant stride forward for the nuclear rocket program with last month's successful operation of the Kiwi-B–4D reactor at Jackass Flats, Nev. The May 13 run could not immediately be pronounced a success because a hydrogen leak touched off a fire that left some questions about the reactor.

But on May 29, Dr. Harold B. Finger, manager of the Space Nuclear Propulsion Office for the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, reported to the annual news conference of the Aviation/Space Writers Association:

"Examination of reactor parts and data analysis completed as of May 27, 1964, indicates successful operation of the reactor."

This is a major milestone in the project and follows 18 months of redesign, analysis, component testing, and cold-flow tests of the Kiwi-B-4A and Kiwi-B-4B reactors. Despite the November 1962 disaster, these convinced the AEC-NASA-industry team that the design approach taken by Los Alamos and Westinghouse could achieve a stable reactor.

The May 13 run, despite the unfortunate fire, is vindication of that effort. The hydrogen leak which touched off the fire occurred outside the reactor, in the jet nozzle, where some of the coolant tubes in the regeneratively cooled nozzle separated from the pressure shell. This leaked hydrogen out of the nozzle where it ignited and caused the inlet hydrogen duct insulation and painted surfaces to burn.

The reactor itself continued to operate stably and reliably. The shutdown was a normal one following preplanned procedures. Shutdown took place after slightly more than a minute of operation at maximum power. Maximum temperature was maintained for over a minute and a half.

Dr. Finger describes his reaction this way:

"For a few seconds at the end of the test, I (and I am sure everyone else in the room) consciously thought through the major objectives of the test to determine if the run duration was long enough to assure that the major objectives had been met. I felt an exiciting and emotional reaction when I realized that it was. The operation of the reactor certainly appeared successful. Nothing had left the reactor, the jet was fully expanded and appeared absolutely clean, there were no flashes in the jet as had been experienced in the Kiwi-B-4A reactor test in November 1962, none of the vibrations that had caused damage to the reactor were detected in this test, and extensive data had been recorded on the reactor performance."

Teardown of the reactor has justified Dr. Finger's first flush of success. Further reactor testing is scheduled this year and next, to be followed by operation of an engine system in which reactor and all of the important nonreactor components are coupled.

But last month's test marked more than a milestone in the program. It demonstrated what a determined and capable design team can accomplish in the face of setbacks in research and development. Despite the discouragement of the 1962 reactor failure and the heartache of congressional disenchantment, the efforts of the AEC, NASA, Westinghouse, Aerojet, and other contractors continued unabated.

They met the challenge despite the fact that there is no firm mission requirement for their engine, despite the fact that there is no assurance that it ever will fly.

It is important to remember this when studying the Nation's research into advanced technology. In addition to carrying out approved programs, we must also establish the technology to permit undertaking of any advanced missions we may decide are desirable.

This is not an expensive undertaking. About 10 percent of the fiscal 1965 NASA budget, for example, goes for advancement of technology, some $500 million. The need for this investment is clearly expressed by Dr. Finger:

"The future missions conducted will be determined by the technological capability available in advance of major decisions."

It is to retain this option that funding of programs such as nuclear rocket propulsion and nuclear electrical propulsion is imperative.

Dr. Finger believes May 13, 1964, will go into the records as the day on which a nuclear rocket reactor was first tested successfully at powers and temperatures which pave the way to use of the nuclear rocket in space flight.

If so, the day is indeed an important one. President Johnson already has called for a review of space missions which might be undertaken following the lunar landing. Nuclear rockets can play an important role in these, particularly when the requirement arises for manned planetary exploration. Even before then, however, it can be used to increase the payload capability of Saturn V, opening the way to more extensive lunar exploration and to operational bases on the lunar surface.

Taken in conjunction with the success a few days later of Saturn itself, the Jackass Flats run of Kiwi-B4D made the month of May an important one. The years beyond—when automated and manned spacecraft are landing on Mars, when man pushes farther into space in the search for life outside this planet—will owe a debt to the determined group who carried out their own search in the western desert into the troubles of Kiwi-B4A.

Matteotti's Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent, I include the following letter addressed to the editor of the New York Times by Mr. Vanni B. Montana, editor, Giustizia, official organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, on the occasion of the anniversary of Giacomo Matteotti:

MATTEOTTI'S ANNIVERSARY—MURDER OF ITALIAN OPPONENT OF MUSSOLINI IS RECALLED

To the EDITOR:

June 10 marks the 40th anniversary of the kidnaping and murder by a Fascist gang in Rome of Giacomo Matteotti, leader in the Italian Parliament of the opposition to the dictatorial trend and terror of Benito Mussolini.

A few days before his murder, Matteotti, general secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party, in a speech delivered in Parliament, had denounced and documented the Government terroristic activities. At the end of his speech, which was interrupted almost at every word by the Fascists, Matteotti said to his friends: "And now, you can arrange for my funeral."

Matteotti's disappearance awoke the Italian people to the realization that fascism and political crime were the same thing. The question, "Where is Matteotti?" became a slogan and was voiced practically by all Italians. Mussolini himself became so alarmed that in a speech in Parliament he said that only his worst enemies could have committed the crime.

Matteotti was found buried outside Rome in a wooded section called La Quartarella.

TOTALITARIAN STATE

There still was at that time some degree of press freedom in Italy and the crime was continually charged against Mussolini's government. A short time later the head of the press office of Mussolini, Cesarino Rossi, defected and published a document charging Mussolini with having ordered the kidnaping of Matteotti. It was to suppress the persistent wave of criticisms that the rigid laws against the freedom of press and against the opposition parties were announced. Mussolini felt strong enough to declare in a speech in Parliament, on January 3, 1925, that he assumed the "historical responsibility" for the murder of Matteotti. It was on that occasion that he announced that his regime was to be defined as totalitarian. Thus the expression "totalitarian state" had its origin in the crisis arising from the murder of Matteotti.

He is remembered on this 40th anniversary, and will be for years to come, as the symbol of all the victims of totalitarian tyranny.

VANNI B. MONTANA,
Editor, Giustizia, Official Organ in Italian of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.
NEW YORK, *June 8, 1964.*

Speech by Congressman Silvio O. Conte at the First Church of Christ Congregational

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I commend this body's attention to what I think was a highly important speech on the relationship between civil rights and the church in American life. The speech was delivered on April 26 at the First Church of Christ Congregational in Pittsfield, Mass., by our colleague, Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, one of the most effective Members of the House of Representatives. In the speech, Representative CONTE makes the point that while government can do much to safeguard individual rights in the areas of education, employment, voting, and public accommodation, only parishioners can deal with discrimination when it occurs in the church. He calls for Christian leadership in this area where government cannot enter. At the same time, he commends this Pittsfield church's Christian action group for its efforts in this area.

Under unanimous consent agreement, I insert Congressman CONTE's excellent speech in the RECORD:

SPEECH GIVEN BY CONGRESSMAN SILVIO O. CONTE AT THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST CONGREGATIONAL, SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1964

I can think of no more effective way of getting into the subject matter of this dialog than by noting first of all the fact that I am even appearing here as a part of your regular Sunday morning worship.

I don't mean to imply, of course, that I am honoring you here with my presence. On the contrary, I deem it an honor to have been invited here to contribute my part in this series of dialogs which are designed to make this congregation more aware of the public problems which beset society.

By suggesting new developments in the outlook of Christian leaders, I hope I am not intimating that differences between the sects no longer exist. They most certainly do, and none of us can foresee the day when these differences will be eliminated. But these new demonstrations of trust and friendliness do point up an extremely important aspect of human relations. And that is, that there are many, many areas in which there is real and sincere agreement whatever our dogma, our separate religious beliefs, or our different ways of asking God's forgiveness for our sins.

One such area is the belief that all human beings were born in God's image—whether their color was red, white, yellow, or black.

And while people of all Christian faiths pay homage to that common belief, we find many among us who pay only lipservice.

Now I appreciate better than anyone, probably, the attention being focused on Congress which is presently considering a proposed law which would enforce the concept of being born in God's image, on many unthinking people. And I pray that some good to that end will come out of the pending discussions in the Senate. But I submit that Congress alone cannot do the job. Neither can your State legislature, or your city council. For the fact remains that when the wife of an Episcopal bishop from Massachusetts cannot be administered the rights of holy communion in a church of her faith in Florida, simply because she is accompanied by a colored woman, who also happens to be the wife of an Episcopal bishop in Massachusetts, then we have a problem that falls outside the pale of Government. I am referring, of course, to the humiliating treatment accorded Mrs. Peabody and Mrs. Burgess, when the doors of their church were closed to them by the presiding clergyman in St. Augustine. S-a-i-n-t Augustine, indeed.

This is not, of course, a condemnation of the Episcopal Church, for the same treatment is accorded Negroes in many Christian churches of the South. I cite it only because it was a recent occurrence, and it comes most readily to mind.

But the point I make is this, as far as a Negro's rights—or those of any minority people—are concerned in the field of education, equal opportunity to work, and a right to maintain human dignity, you have every right to expect us in Government to do our utmost. But in the equally important right to worship God, as any human being wishes, whatever your concept of Christianity, you are the ones who have to deliver. We in Congress, for instance, can decree that a bus, train, a hotel, or a restaurant, that is licensed to do business with the public, must accord the same treatment to all peoples, regardless of race, creed, color, or religious faith. But when an ordained minister closes his doors on members of his own church who seek communion with God, then it is time that all Christians search their souls for an answer.

For this is an area in which we in Government cannot enter. If we did, we would in effect, by violating our traditional concept of freedom of worship and separation of church and state. No one should appreciate that point better than you people in this very meetinghouse. And I say meetinghouse advisedly—because at one time in Massachusetts the Congregational Church and the town meetinghouse were as one. This was, in fact, the seat of government.

As a matter of fact, article 3 of the bill of rights of the original Massachusetts' constitution provided that the legislature require that all towns, at their own expense, provide for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of "piety, religion, and morality" in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And to the great credit of the Congregational Church of that day, even though their parishioners dominated the electorate, that portion of the constitution was stricken in 1832, and in its place they inserted, in part, the following—"and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law."

And I say, the same soul searching that brought about that change in the Massachusetts' constitution 130 years ago, by leaders of the church, is what is needed today in really extending civil rights to all peoples."

I disagree with those who say, it is not the place of church leaders to get themselves mixed up in the civil rights problem. I applaud the efforts of Reverend Burchell, of Alan McLean, of Father Eckel, and all others who have displayed more than passing interest. And, I am proud of my old law schoolteachers, Father Robert Drinan, and Father Keneally for placing themselves and their church into the thick of the fight.

Also along these lines, I hail the National Interreligious Convocation that will meet in Washington next week.

Having touched on the moral or Christian aspects of civil rights, let us proceed to the area where we in the political field can do something about the problems, and why.

First of all, there is the legal aspect. From all this hullaballoo in Congress, you may have the impression that we are giving the Negro something. What we are doing, actually, is fulfilling our legal obligations under the Constitution, as interpreted by our Supreme Court, and under laws passed by Congress. We are rendering unto Negroes, and all other persons subjected to humiliating and degrading discrimination, the things that are theirs by right, not by gift.

They are entitled to an education equal to that accorded all others by government. Not "separate but equal" education, but equal too.

They are entitled to the right to vote, subject to the same qualifications and standards set up for all voters. Not special tests, but the same tests administered to all.

They are entitled to decent shelter. Not just to a certain area, but wherever they can afford to best live their lives and best bring up their children.

They are entitled to equal opportunity for work. Not just to menial, housekeeping chores, but to work which will best serve themselves and their fellow man.

And above all, they are entitled to live a life with dignity, and not relegated to ghettos in places of public accommodation.

Secondly, there is a practical political aspect. We must never forget, as we dwell here in these prosperous and comparatively healthy United States, that there are more nonwhites in this world than whites. And as we continue to spout hate, as we continue to look down upon colored peoples, as we bury one complaining picketer after another—yes, and as we close the doors of God to them—there are millions and millions all over the world who bear witness. And with a Godless, communistic force in the wings, ready to exploit and exaggerate our weaknesses, a real and sincere application of civil rights becomes a must—not just a beneficence.

Third, there is an economic aspect. By depressing the living standard of Negroes, we depress the standards of everyone. Furthermore, we do this at a time when we are in dire need of scientific and technological talent in a world that is moving so fast, that is, is beyond the comprehension of most of us. By subjecting minorities to a menial and oftimes degrading work, we are depriving them of the opportunity to serve in a more helpful and strategic capacity.

And finally, permit me for a moment to inject a personal or, if you will, a selfish aspect. My parents, as did millions of others, came to this country as "strangers in a strange land." They did not know the language, and they were laughed at. They did not know the customs and traditions, and they were either scorned or considered odd. But they were white, and they were strong. They were offered work commensurate to their abilities. And gradually, because they were at least offered the opportunities, they were able to overcome the slings and arrows of ignorant discrimination, and build a life for themselves and their children.

Colored people who lived here for generations before my people arrived here, still have not been accorded the opportunities that this great country made available for my family. I think it is high time they did.

These are the reasons why I voted and fought for the civil rights bill which has passed the House and is now being debated at such lengths, sometimes shamefully, in the Senate.

This is why, as a freshman Congressman, I voted to extend the scope of the Civil Rights Commission studies on voting rights, housing, education, and employment opportunity.

This is why I filed in January 1963, a civil rights bill which went beyond the scope of the legisitaion pending in Congress; and this is why I will continue to fight and in that connection I should advise you, that if the Senate goes along with amendments which leave the bill ineffectual, meaningless, or too crippled, I will not be a party to it. This will be construed by many, as was a procedural vote I cast last December, as a vote against civil rights. Such a construction would be false.

And so I say, while our civil rights path may be rugged, embarrassing, and distasteful for many of us, it is clear. No one can afford the luxury of the sidelines in the struggle for equality.

During the debate on civil rights, I spent a great deal of time on recalling the activities of our former great Senator from this State, Charles Sumner, who acted, at all times, clearly within the dictates of his conscience.

We need this kind of spirit in every phase of life, a spirit that appeals to the heart, a spirit that appeals to the mind, a spirit instilled by our Creator for the purposes at hand.

It has been 189 years since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. I cannot recall a period of time when we have been faced with a more important issue.

I say this because the bells of independence must toll this year for millions of people who have been denied the freedom which Jefferson's rhetoric so explicitly states was their God-given inheritance.

The bells that toll this year, to borrow a phrase from a John Donne devotion, are tolling for each and every one of us. No man can afford to live on this remote island during the struggle for equality that rings out on every corner of the globe.

This Christian action group is not asking for whom the bell tolls, for you know well that they are tolling for each and every individual who has the courage to hear.

The fact that you have heard is deserving of the highest praise, and with all of the support that I have, I commend you. You have my continued best wishes for success, for I feel that what you are doing will be, ultimately, the most vital form of intervention that the Republic, if it is to survive, requires.

Thank you.

Local Rule for the District of Columbia—an Opportunity To Put States Rights Principles into Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

LOCAL RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUT STATES RIGHTS PRINCIPLES INTO ACTION

(Statement by John J. Sexton, chairman, Home Rule Committee, Young Democratic Club of the District of Columbia, to the District of Columbia Committee of the House of Representatives, May 14, 1964)

The Young Democraitc Club of the District of Columbia believes that the Con-

gress should enact the administration home rule bill for the District of Columbia and thereby restore to District residents a basic right which is the birthright of every American, the right of local residents to choose, democratically, the leaders who will administer local government.

We particularly urge those who are quick to defend States rights and who favor, on other matters, State and local control rather than control by the Federal Government, to be consistent in the District of Columbia and support home rule. District of Columbia residents are entitled to elect their own leaders just as do the residents of every other city in the Nation.

Support for home rule for the District of Columbia has long been the consistent position of the Young Democratic Club of the District of Columbia and of the Young Democratic Clubs of America. In April of this year the Young Democratic Clubs of the District of Columbia, assembled in the District of Columbia convention, reaffirmed this position. In January of this year the National Convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America reaffirmed its position in support of home rule for the District of Columbia.

The present system is one of control by the Federal Government of local matters. Restoring home rule to the District of Columbia is an opportunity to put into effect the principle of local control over local affairs.

Hearing Before a Select Panel on Mississippi and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following testimony given before a select panel on Mississippi and civil rights, National Theatre, E Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., June 8, 1964:

HEARING BEFORE A SELECT PANEL ON MISSISSIPPI AND CIVIL RIGHTS, SECTION 4 OF TESTIMONY, CONGRESSMAN: THE HONORABLE PHILLIP BURTON, OF CALIFORNIA

TESTIMONY OF MARVIN WILSON (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you state your name and address, please?

Mr. WILSON. My name is Marvin L. Wilson, resident of Jackson, Miss.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you lived in Jackson?

Mr. WILSON. Fourteen years.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How old are you?

Mr. WILSON. Fourteen.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And what have you come here to tell us about?

Mr. WILSON. Well, during the summer when we were demonstrating, it was on June 2, we were starting from the NAACP office. We was going to the courthouse. But before we got there they picked us up. When we was going down the street we saw about 50 blue helmets coming toward us. And the man said to take a detour. So we turned. After we turned that way, we started down the street and they blocked us off again. So he said keep going. So we kept going. But finally stopped. When they stopped us, they took their clubs and just hold them like that, and they were pushing us to the paddy wagon. And so as they were pushing me, they had the club in my back. And I was stumbling my way up there, and I fell. And when I fell one kicked me and grabbed me in the back and said "Get up, nigger." And after I had got to the paddy wagon, you see the mark here, I fell again, he kicked me again. And then he caught my leg and he pushed it, and it hit the side of the paddy wagon, and I cut my head.

When he got to the corner, he slammed on his brakes and I bumped my head.

After he got there, he turned the heat on in the paddy wagon—man, we thought we were going to fry.

But this juvenile court man by the name of Calhoun, he said "Bring the little ones out." We came out. So the boy you just talked to, he went first. He said, "Come here, boy." He walked there. "What's your name?" He said, "What?" And then the cop asked him what he said. He wanted him to say "Yes, sir." He wouldn't. So he grabbed him. So I figured out if my friend did it, why couldn't I. So I went up there and he asked me my name. I told him. He didn't ask me no questions. So I didn't get a chance to say anything.

But when we came out for lunch, I wouldn't eat the food. I threw my tray down. Some peas fell down. He came over and said, "You're smart, aren't you? Pick up all the peas." So I grabbed a handful of peas and everything and threw them there. He said "You come see me." So I went in.

He said, "Now just sit down, I want to talk to you. I don't want to hurt you." So he tried to maek me "Tom."

Mr. FREEDMAN. You say he tried to make you "Tom"?

Mr. WILSON. That's right.

Mr. FREEDMAN. T-o-m?

Mr. WILSON. Yes.

Mr. FREEDMAN. What does that mean?

Mr. WILSON. That means to tell what the people are planning for the next day. And so anyway, I wouldn't tell him. He said "What are they doing in the NAACP office?" I said, "The same thing you are—sitting behind a desk, talking."

And so he got up. He said, "Does your mother know you are here?" I said, "Of course." "Boy, ain't you lying to me?" I said, "No, I don't have to lie to you." So at that time he said, "You are too smart a nigger, you know that? If you were a little bigger I'd kill you."

So at the time he hit me two times with a backhand and a forehand.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And did anything else happen before you were turned loose?

Mr. WILSON. Nothing but they were just pushing and grabbing and shoving me.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman TAYLOR. Are there any questions?

Mr. SYKES. Could you tell me how you got started in these demonstrations? How old were you?

Mr. WILSON. It was down on Capitol Street. I was just down there looking.

Mr. SYKES. I don't mean this particular instance.

Mr. WILSON. Yes, I know what you mean. This is how I got in it.

We were standing up there. I was just standing there watching them. So the police came over there. And they said, "All right, all you niggers move along." So when I stumbled he hit me with a club. I said umph. He said "Umph hell—you got to move."

Mr. SYKES. How old were you when you first got in?

Mr. WILSON. I was 13.

Mr. SYKES. Is this last year?

Mr. WILSON. That's right.

Mr. SYKES. The first time that you have ever done it?

Mr. WILSON. That's right.

Mr. FREEDMAN. On this occasion when you were hit in the stomach with a stick, were you participating then in any kind of movement?

Mr. WILSON. No. But that is what made me get into it. I was just watching. After I had got hit, I went to the NAACP.

Mr. FREEDMAN. It was a kind of backlash.

Mr. WILSON. That's right.

Mr. HELLER. Marvin, were you scared when you were in the police station?

Mr. WILSON. No.

Mr. HELLER. Were you scared when you were talking to him?

Mr. WILSON. That is something else.

Mr. HELLER. When you go back to Mississippi, are you going to be demonstrating, be active?

Mr. WILSON. Well, that is what I am going to do in Mississippi.

Mr. HELLER. Are you going to be scared when you go back?

Mr. WILSON. No, no.

Mr. HELLER. I will be scared for you.

Chairman TAYLOR. Do you work with older people in the community, or are you just working with the 14-year-old group?

Mr. WILSON. Well, at the time I was working with the older people, helping them get to the courthouse, helping them learn how to vote. At the time we have the students, I will be helping with the students.

Mr. COLES. I will ask you the same question I asked your schoolmate this morning. Do you think that many people of your age are doing the kinds of things you are doing?

Mr. WILSON. Well, it is not really—most of them, they are not scared. They just don't take time off to see what is going on. But some—after they are really doing something, like demonstrating, we have more kids. But at the time it is just older people. All the young can do is help them into the courthouse and all.

Mr. COLES. How do you account for your strength and guts?

Mr. WILSON. Huh?

Mr. COLES. Where do you get your—well, what I am saying is that I am concerned—I just wish more young people of your age had what you have.

Mr. WILSON. I do, too.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much, Marvin.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Jimmy Travis.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES TRAVIS (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you please state your name and your residence and your occupation?

Mr. TRAVIS. My name is James Travis. I live at 2147 Powers Avenue, Jackson, Miss.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you lived in Jackson, Miss.?

Mr. TRAVIS. I have lived in Jackson, Miss., 21 years. All of my life.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And what do you do now?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I have worked for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee as a field secretary.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you been in that work?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I began in the summer of 1961, working on voter registration.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Why did you go into that kind of work?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, it was during the time of the freedom ride, and I said if people from America, people from all over are willing to come to Mississippi to do something to help the people in Mississippi, the least we can do is get up and do something for ourselves.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Does that mean that you did not care to do anything about the situation before people came down from the North?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, the leadership was not what it is now.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Were the people waiting for this kind of leadership, or did the leadership

create the resentment among the people that they had never felt before?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, leadership has come from within, through the help of people from outside.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Did you have any specific incident that you wanted to tell the panel about?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes, I do.

February 28, 1963, I attended a voter registration meeting in Greenwood, Miss., along with Robert Moses and Randolph Blackwell. After the meeting was over, we left the SNCC office en route to Greenville, Miss. A white Buick 1962 began following us. There were three white men in it.

About 7 miles from Greenwood, Miss., when no other cars were in sight, this white 1962 Buick pulled up alongside and opened fire with a submachingegun. I was hit in the back of the head and in the shoulder.

I was taken to the campus of Mississippi Vocational College, which was the closest point from where the shooting took place. There was no doctor on the campus. So a doctor was called from Greenwood, Miss., and he came in and took one look and said that they should rush me to the hospital in Greenwood. So they took me to the hospital in Greenwood,

The doctor took some X-rays and he wanted to remove the bullet. But I did not want him to remove the bullet, because I was afraid. So I remained in the hospital overnight, and the following day I was transferred to a hospital in Jackson, Miss., a university hospital. The bullet was removed that afternoon, without any anesthesia, because they said they were afraid that they might hit a nerve, and I would not be able to react if they did.

So I stayed in the hospital 2 days after they took the bullet out and on the second day, which was a Sunday, the doctor came in after breakfast and said: "You are discharged. You can leave now." So I told him I did not feel up to it. So he left. He came back after lunch and he said: "You are discharged. You can leave."

Again I told him I did not feel up to it.

So he came in after supper, and he said, "You are discharged, and you got to leave." So I left.

That's about it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Do you have any idea who the people were who shot at you?

Mr. TRAVIS. The people who did the shooting were arrested a few days after the shooting—well, they were arrested, and they were released on bond. And in November the trial was to come up, but after the death of President Kennedy they postponed it. They said that the people would have resentment because of the assassination of President Kennedy. And nothing more has come of it.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Is there anything else that you have to tell us?

Mr. TRAVIS. I now have an ulcer from working in the movement.

Chairman TAYLOR. May I ask about the police action to find the people in the white Buick? You reported the incident to the police from the hospital, or did Bob report when he took you or what?

Mr. TRAVIS. Bob reported the incident. Then later, while in the hospital in Jackson, I talked with the FBI. I gave him a description of the car. They found the car, and they traced the owners of the car. And they were arrested.

Chairman TAYLOR. Was that the local police in Jackson, or was that the FBI who took over the case?

Mr. TRAVIS. The FBI was instrumental in getting the local officials to do something. But only after quite a bit of pressure.

Mr. FREEDMAN. What do you mean by pressure?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, Wiley Branton, who is the director of voter education project, called upon the Federal Government for intervention in this case, because the shooting took place on a U.S. highway, Highway 82, and for that reason I believe the FBI moved and thereby causing the local officials to move.

Chairman TAYLOR. Would it not be possible for the FBI to have acted as promptly were it not on a State highway, or rather on Highway 82?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I don't think that they would have acted as fast otherwise.

Chairman TAYLOR. Mr. Sykes.

Mr. SYKES. In seeking legal help, or police help in matters of this sort are there any Negro judges, any Negro lawyers, any Negro policemen, any Negro FBI agents in Mississippi that you can turn to?

Mr. TRAVIS. There are no Negro FBI agents in Mississippi. There are no Negro judges in Mississippi. They have a few Negro policemen in Jackson now. But other than that, not that I know of.

Mr. SYKES. Could I ask you a second question? Are there any white FBI agents, any white judges or any white lawyers or any white policemen that you think would help you in Mississippi?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, there is the possibility that they would help if they were not afraid of what the white community would say.

Mr. SYKES. Could you suggest anything, then, that might help in this situation, and which you could have made available to you—legal and police aid through some kind of a Federal agency or in some other form?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, with the appointment of Federal judges and this summer Federal marshals from Mississippi—because this is going to be it in Mississippi.

Mr. SYKES. Thank you.

Mr. COLES. Where did the bullet go?

Mr. TRAVIS. It went into the back of the head.

Mr. COLES. Where you are pointing now?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. COLES. And you went to a local hospital in what town?

Mr. TRAVIS. Greenwood.

Mr. COLES. Was this the city hospital, and county hospital?

Mr. TRAVIS. County.

Mr. COLES. And why didn't you want to have it removed there?

Mr. TRAVIS. I was afraid that they might not do the best they could.

Mr. COLES. You felt that they were not friendly to you, even though they were doctors in a hospital?

Mr. TRAVIS. True.

Mr. COLES. Did they do anything or say anything that gave you that feeling, or was it based on your past experience?

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, seeing that I had worked with civil rights, I did not think they would take too kindly to it.

Mr. COLES. Now, when you went into Jackson, what hospital did you go to?

Mr. TRAVIS. The university medical center.

Mr. COLES. This is a State medical school center?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes.

Mr. COLES. And a surgeon operated on you. And what is it he said to you—that he would not give you anaesthesia because he was afraid of damaging a nerve?

Mr. TRAVIS. Yes. He said that if I were given anaesthesia, then I would not be able to react if he hit a nerve. Evidently a nerve was hit, because for over 6 months I had no feeling after the operation behind my ear at all.

Mr. COLES. Do you know the name of the surgeon? Did he ever make his name known to you?

Mr. TRAVIS. No, I do not.

Mr. COLES. He never introduced himself to you?

Mr. TRAVIS. I met him again, but I was in a hurry.

Mr. FREEDMAN. I would like the record to show that when the witness said "right here" he indicated a point behind his left ear and near the base of his skull.

Mr. DAY. Do you know what the bail bond was on the men who shot you?

Mr. TRAVIS. I think it was—I am not sure.

Mr. DAY. Thank you.

Chairman TAYLOR. Thank you very much.

Mr. FREEDMAN. We have just been informed about 1:30 Sunday night a bomb was thrown into the window of the Freedom House in Canton, Miss. Two COFO workers sleeping inside were not injured, although the window was destroyed. Complaints were filed with the Justice Department. United Press International says the FBI had no comment.

TESTIMONY OF GREENE BREWER (HAVING BEEN FIRST DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you state your name, please.

Mr. BREWER. My name is Greene Brewer, Charleston, Miss.

Mr. FREEDMAN. How long have you lived in Mississippi, Mr. Brewer?

Mr. BREWER. I lived there for 24 years.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And is there something in particular that you wanted to bring to the attention of this panel?

Mr. BREWER. Well, yes, I would.

Well, back awhile back I left Mississippi and went to New Jersey, so I have been staying up there for about 5 years. And my baby brother, who is in the Army now, he left about 3 years ago and had been staying in Indianapolis, Ind. So I hear from him, by writing, and he hears from me. And we decided to come down to visit my family.

While we were down, we decided to visit some friends which stay not very far from where my mother stayed. And so we did. And we was there for a short while and decided to leave So when we got ready to go, we noticed a tire on the car was almost down. So the store wasn't very far, a country store. So we said when we would go by the store we would put air in the tire.

So me and my brother and another friend, one of our schoolmates, Dave, got in the car. We went to the store.

David got out to put air in the tire.

So my baby brother, Charles, he went into the store to get some cold drinks. And so he was in the store a good while. I never got out of the car. So David went and pushed the door open, and started in the store. So he backed up very fast, he turned away from the door and started fast toward the road.

Well, he left the door a crack open and I could hear a sound in the store. And I knew my baby brother was in there. So I decided to go in and see what was going on.

I jumped out of the car and ran into the store. My brother was laying on the floor unconscious, bleeding. Two white fellows—one of them was John Little and the other was the store owner, Jesse Hunter, was standing there. So I called my brother twice and asked him what happened. He never said nothing.

So Mr. Hunter said I better get him out of there before they kill him. And so I said it looked like they already had killed him. I said, "What is it for?" He said, "You heard what I said, get him out before I kill him."

So I picked my brother up, and helped him to the door, and when he got to the door he could sort of stand up, by holding it. And he had some sun glasses. I went back for them.

Mr. Hunter ran behind the counter, had an ax handle, grabbed a pistol, and every time I would make an attempt to try to get out the door he would keep calling me bad words and keep me from going out the door.

While I was watching him, so he couldn't get up on me with the ax handle, Mr. Little was behind me, I couldn't watch him; he made a sneak attack from behind.

When I did get close enough to try to go out of the door, he was close enough to make his hit then. So he hit me with the ax handle and from the lick I was hospitalized for about 8 days. So I suffered with a frac-

tured skull, a cracked jaw bone, a broken nose, a busted eyeball.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Mr. Brewer, did you report this to anyone?

Mr. BREWER. Well, at the time, being I wasn't able—but I have a brother here. He reported it and tried to have action done about it, and I am sure he would like to tell you what happened.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. BREWER. Thank you.

Chairman TAYLOR. I think that story tells itself. Are there any questions?

Mr. FREEDMAN. We can call him back if we want after his brother.

Chairman TAYLOR. Perhaps we can hear the rest from your brother.

TESTIMONY OF PERCY BREWER (HAVING BEEN DULY SWORN BY MR. FREEDMAN)

Mr. FREEDMAN. Would you please state your name.

Mr. BREWER. Percy Brewer.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And are you the brother of Greene Brewer, who just testified?

Mr. BREWER. I am.

Mr. FREEDMAN. And you want to continue with the story that he was telling?

Mr. BREWER. I could tell you my part of the story.

Mr. FREEDMAN. All right. Would you please?

Mr. BREWER. On the 4th of February, 1964, I was at home about 8:30 at night. My mother suffered heart trouble. I live about 600 feet from where she does. She went to my house and told me to go and see about the other two children. She heard they got beat up. The fellow that had visited, he come across the woods, he come to tell my mother about it. She ran down and told me about it. So I got up. I wouldn't get my car—I went to get my father-in-law's car and went to the hospital.

Well, the law had been there. My sister was there. She told me to get away.

Well, I came back home.

The next morning I didn't know anything to do. I went to Sumner, Miss., to the county seat, west side of the county, and I contacted a lawyer. He told me there wasn't nothing he could do with it. He said he was in the citizens council. He said he couldn't take no action because he was supported by the right people in that county. I couldn't tell him too much. He seemed to have already heard about it. And he told me the best advice he could give me was to go to Clarksdale, to the Post Office Building, upstairs, and check with the FBI—and don't report his name, don't have him in in no kind of way, because he wanted to live in that county.

So I went to Clarksdale to see the FBI the next couple of days.

My brother—this one, he had his eyeball busted out, the side of his head caved in. He went to the hospital—they couldn't do him no good at Charleston. Then at the hospital he had to pay $50 before he got in there. And I had to try to get the $50. So it was 2 days before I could go to Clarksdale to see the FBI.

When I got there and reported my statement to the FBI, he wrote it down and told me he would see about it. So he asked me what I know. He said if the committee takes action in a couple of days I would be interviewed, and also the boy in the hospital.

Mr. FREEDMAN. If what committee takes action?

Mr. BREWER. He said he wasn't nothing but an FBI agent—there was nothing he could do but take what a person brings in because he had to mail it to Memphis, Tenn., to some other main office there, and they would check on it. And if they thought it fit, they would check on it. So they never interviewed me.

Mr. FREEDMAN. You have heard nothing since then about it?

Mr. BREWER. I ain't through telling what he said. He asked me whether I contacted the sheriff of the county, which was Tallahatchie County. I told him "no." He asked my why. When I went to this lawyer, the lawyer advised me not to go to the sheriff.

Mr. FREEDMAN. This is a white lawyer?

Mr. BREWER. Yes. He asked me was my brother in pretty bad shape. I told him one of them was beat up pretty bad all over and he was still paralyzed and couldn't talk, and the other said he didn't want to be beat up all over. And so I didn't contact the sheriff. He sent me to the FBI. The FBI told me to contact the sheriff and tell him he sent me there. When I went to contact the sheriff I told him what I come for. And he told me was I talking about the Brewer boys in the hospital, and I told him yes, that they were my brothers, and he told me, "Hell, they're supposed to be dead." And he turned and walked out the door.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Has there been any word from the FBI or anyone else about this since that time that you have received?

Mr. BREWER. No, sir. No sheriff, no FBI. There have been some NAACP people came down.

Mr. FREEDMAN. Approximately when was it that you spoke to the FBI agent?

Mr. BREWER. It was the 7th—no, the 8th—because it was on the 5th of February when I checked with the lawyer, and it was 2 days later before I checked with the FBI agent.

Mr. FREEDMAN. February of this year?

Mr. BREWER. Of this year, 1964.

Mr. GOODMAN. What was the involvement of the NAACP in it?

Mr. BREWER. Would you repeat that?

Mr. FREEDMAN. The question was would you state what the involvement was of the NAACP. How were they in this? You mention them but you did not explain.

Mr. BREWER. How they got in I do not know, but in Clarksdale, the way the FBI man was talking, it just seemed it wasn't no good. And I went to the NAACP in Clarksdale, which was Henderson—I don't remember the names.

Mr. FREEDMAN. What did they do, if anything?

Mr. BREWER. Well, around a week or so later there was a man came—I don't know where he was from, but he came to interview my brother, asked him questions about how it was and everything.

Chairman TAYLOR. What was the circumstance of the beating of your first brother?

Mr. BREWER. Well, now, he said after he came to 3 days later, after he got where he could talk—he said he went in the store and called for two pops, one for him and one for my brother over here and said the store owner asked him if he wanted the pops opened, and he told him "Yes." The man said "When a damn nigger goes north and comes back, he gets beside himself, and he gets where he can't respect white folk." He snapped the drinks from his hand and stuck them in the box. He turned to walk out of the store. Mr. Rittle reached behind a heater and pulled out an ax handle and cut him off between there and the door. He turned around and Mr. Hunter, the store owner, swung at him with an ax handle. He throwed up his left arm, he hit his arm, so he grabbed the ax handle with his right hand and said a lick come from behind him, and that is all he remembered before the next about 4 days in the hospital. So I asked the doctor what condition he was in, was he broke up or anything, and the doctor told me he didn't have no broken bones, but he had a lot of broken skin and things and for about 5 days he would throw up blood by the pan full, bleed from his nose and mouth and ears. He stayed in the hospital for 8 days. He came out of the hospital on the 12th and was drafted into the Army on the 17th. And that is where he is now.

Mr. COLES. You mean they just took him in, even though he was recovering?

Mr. BREWER. Well, he was still blue——

Mr. COLES. Was that a draft board in Jackson?

Mr. BREWER. The draft board in Sumner, Miss.

Mr. COLES. I see. Do I understand you to say that he came out of a hospital, still recovering, injured, and was then taken into the Army by a local draft board?

Mr. BREWER. He was examined in Indianapolis, Ind., and he passed there. But when he was coming down to Mississippi, he had his local board changed to Mississippi, where any time they write for him, they would know where to write and find him. They called him while he was in Mississippi. They examined and passed him in Indiana. So after he got out of the hospital, he got his call.

Chairman TAYLOR. Are there any other questions?

All right. Thank you very much, Mr. Brewer.

Next we will hear from Congressman WILLIAM RYAN, from New York.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE 20TH DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Representative RYAN. Mr. Chairman, distinguished lady and gentlemen of the panel, it is a real pleasure and a privilege for me to appear this afternoon and to make a statement before this distinguished panel on the situation in the State of Mississippi and the need for there to be action on the part of the Federal Government to protect those workers who are involved in the voluntary effort in that State.

Although great advances have been made toward equality for all our citizens since the beginning of what I call the second American revolution, these advancements have only been made because of the courage and dedication of thousands of ordinary citizens, many of whom are young people. These citizens have risked and are risking their liberty and even their lives to secure the liberty of their fellow citizens.

While there has been progress, there is no place for complacency. We may be on the road to freedom, but we still have a long journey before we reach our destination.

This summer a large number of people will take us further down freedom's road, by participating in the Mississippi summer project. A massive education, community improvement and voter registration drive in that State this summer is being sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations which represents NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I understand that the National Council of Churches is also supporting this project, and hundreds of clergymen will join with the hundreds of students, teachers, and lawyers and others in Mississippi this summer.

It is a tragedy that, instead of welcoming these volunteers who have the potential of raising the social and living standards of all Mississippians, the State of Mississippi has determined to meet the summer project with massive resistance. In addition to increasing the police force and adding new equipment, the State of Mississippi has passed several laws which impinge upon the constitutional rights of petition, assembly, and free speech. If the past is any indication of the future, we can expect violence and brutality in Mississippi this summer unless action is taken by the Federal Government.

Since the State of Mississippi has made it clear that it is more interested in persecution than protection, the Federal Government must step in and protect the summer volunteers. I am glad to support COFO's plea to President Johnson.

We know that the summer project is not seeking the establishment of rights, but the

enjoyment of rights already established. In the eloquent words of Mr. Justice Goldberg, these rights "are present rights; they are not merely hopes to some future enjoyment of some formalistic constitutional promise. The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now." *Watson v. Memphis*, 373 U.S. 526, 533 (1963).

The Federal Government has an obligation to protect those who are striving to insure the rights of others. Federal action in Mississippi would not only fulfill this obligation, but would serve as a warning in the future that local and State officials will not be allowed to deprive U.S. citizens of their constitutional rights.

What action can be taken?

The two most important sections of the United States Code in regard to the protection of individual rights are sections 241 and 242 of title 18.

Section 241 makes it a crime for "two or more persons to conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same." The penalty under section 241 is a fine of not more than $5,000, or imprisonment of not more than 10 years, or both.

Section 242 makes it a crime for any person to act willfully under color of State law to deprive any person of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States because of his color or race. The penalty under section 242 is a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 1 year or both.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court in *Screws v. United States*, 325 U.S. 91 (1945), construed the term "willfully" in section 242 very narrowly and thus made the implementation of that statute more difficult.

However, we must never use the fact that it is difficult to get southern juries to convict as an excuse for inaction under these statutes. For one thing, the Federal Government cannot allow juries to in effect abrogate the laws. In addition, the mere fact that the Federal Government will bring suits against State and local officials for violating the constitutional rights of others may serve as a deterrent to officials who in the future might interfere with constitutional rights.

The statutes I have cited cover situations where crimes have already been committed. If we wait for the commission of Federal crimes in Mississippi before the Federal Government uses its power, lives may well be lost.

This panel has heard detailed accounts of past experiences in Mississippi. In view of these experiences and the present actions of the State of Mississippi, I strongly urge that the Federal Government send to Mississippi Federal marshals to insure the protection of the rights of those participating in the Mississippi summer project and all citizens of Mississippi.

U.S. marshals are authorized to (1) carry firearms, (2) serve warrants and subpenas, (3) make arrests without warrants and on the spot for any offense against the United States committed in their presence, and (4) arrest for any felony under the laws of the United States if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the person to be arrested has committed or is committing such felony (sec. 3053, title 18, United States Code).

I have drafted a proposed letter to the Attorney General requesting that U.S. marshals be sent to Mississippi this summer. I have asked several of my colleagues in the House to join with me in signing this letter.

One hundred years ago, in May of 1864, General Grant in a dispatch from Spotsylvania Court House wrote: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." Today 100 years lated the people who have courageously volunteered for the Mississippi summer project are fighting for freedom and will continue to do so if it takes all summer of many summers. They should not fight alone. The Federal Government must take its stand alongside of its citizens in the struggle for equality. The time to begin is now. The place to begin is Mississippi.

I thank you for the opportunity to appear and express my support for the dedication of the many, many hundreds of young men and women who will be making this pilgrimage to Mississippi and who will be fighting alongside of those who are Mississippi citizens who have been denied their rights for too long a time. [Applause.]

Chairman TAYLOR. Do you have a copy of that letter?

Representative RYAN. I have a copy of the proposed letter to the Attorney General.

Chairman TAYLOR. If we could have it, we would appreciate it.

Thank you very much.

Representative RYAN. Thank you.

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Appendix

Sugarbeet Production in Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, sugar is one of our vital commodities. Because the great bulk of our supply comes from beyond our borders, it is heavily involved in both international trade and international politics, as all of us know.

In Indiana's Wabash Valley there have been recent efforts to increase the volume of sugarbeet production. An editorial published in the Vincennes, Ind., Sun-Commercial of June 7, comments on these efforts, and points to an earlier effort, before the turn of the century, to stimulate Indiana beet-sugar production.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S NOT NEW IDEA

In the last year or so farmers of the Wabash Valley, with Charles Schenk in the fore, have been working hard to build a sugarbeet-producing area, with hopes for eventually a processing system in the vicinity.

Although this appears to be a new venture, the idea of producing sugarbeets in great quantities in Indiana certainly isn't new.

In the "Indiana Department of Geology and Natural Resources Department" report for 1897 there is an article entitled "On the Advantages of Producing Beet Sugar in Northwestern Indiana." The article was written by E. L. Furness of Porter County, and his interest was in the northwestern part of the State, but the same argument he presented in that article stands good for the Wabash Valley this year.

"It seems reasonable," Mr. Furness said in his article, "to believe that if a part of the sugar used in this country can be profitably produced in it, that the whole might be, and that it should be; and it is proper that intelligent investigation should be given the subject to discover its requirements, and that whatever be needed in the way of private effort to bring about this result should be given it by individuals; but as an essentially wise and economic policy it should also have the encouragement and fostering help of both State and Nation."

He tells of trial growth of sugarbeets in Porter County with good results, of the need for refining facilities there, and the general advantages of transportation, good soil and enterprising farmers.

This was in 1897. Apparently nothing came of the efforts then to build a sugar-producing area, but hopes still are alive and pushing that such efforts for the Wabash Valley might be successful.

Difficulties to attaining the program lie largely in the fact that the sugar business is strongly intrenched in international diplomacy. By cutting off sugar imports to this country, certain Latin American nations may be bankrupted.

The mater continues to be one of great importance. If the potential production is here, it is up to the diplomats to recognize it and work out a way to ease the pain of the need abroad for markets.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Mohawk Trail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 50th anniversary of the magnificent Mohawk Trail in the 1st Congressional District.

I have extolled its beauties on many occasions in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

In last Sunday's New York Times, Herb Saltford gave an excellent view of the entire area surrounding the trail. His article deserves wide reading and, on this 50th anniversary year, I hope many of my colleagues and others will be able to visit the area he describes.

The article follows:

SCENIC NEW ENGLAND DRIVE: THE OLD MOHAWK TRAIL IN THE BAY STATE MARKS 50TH YEAR

(By Herb Saltford)

NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—One of the most scenic highways in the United States will be 50 years old this year. The Massachusetts route, known as the Mohawk Trail, originated as an Indian footpath through the mountains and later was a stagecoach link between the Hoosic and Connecticut River valleys. Its formal debut as a roadway for motor vehicles with the designation, Mohawk Trail, took place on October 22, 1914.

The Mohawk Trail begins in this State's northwestern corner, near the New York-Massachusetts line, and runs east through magnificent countryside to Greenfield, Mass., a drive of about 60 miles.

Ideally, one might begin a trip along the trail just over the line in New York, at the junction of State Routes 2 and 22 in Petersburg. There the sightseeing motorist can turn east on State Route 2 and drive through Petersburg Pass, with its sweeping tri-State vistas (New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts), and continue on into the Bay State and to the trail proper.

ACQUIRES NAME

Once into Massachusetts the route retains its numerical designation—it is still State Route 2—but it becomes, officially, the Mohawk Trail, and one soon encounters the first of the trail's distinctive Indian head route markers.

The scenery en route makes amply clear why the trail has become such a popular gateway route to major vacation areas of New England.

As one proceeds toward Petersburg Pass, numerous roadside signs tempt passers-by with promises of "maple sirup and sugar—drive in." Soon more signs advise the motorist that a double chairlift and Petersburg Pass are "straight ahead, top of mountain."

Finally alongside the gift shop and ski-lift at the 2,242-foot summit of White Rocks peak, a few miles east of Petersburg, a sign on the observation tower volunteers the information that one has arrived at the "finest scenic view in the East."

NOT A BOAST

The statement is no idle boast. On a clear day, the panorama available from the observation tower takes in portions of the Berkshire Hills, the Adirondacks, the Catskills, the Hoosac Range and, of course, the trail itself.

As one drives on, snake-like symbols on the highway signs warn that the road is tortuous, but the trail now seems gentler than nostalgic memory would have it. The highway lives up to its original specifications, which called for "a maximum grade not to exceed 12 percent," and "a route that would bring into view the surrounding terrain of the most beautiful and scenic nature."

On its easterly descent, the road offers a number of attractive areas where one can picnic or simply observe the beauties of nature. Right now, the sweet-smelling pinkster, a wild variety of azalea, can be seen in fragrant, pink profusion.

Eventually the road enters valley land. Just ahead is Williamstown, Mass., site of the beautiful campus of Williams College. With its wide walks shaded by stately trees, its green lawns, gracious homes, and dignified but unstuffy campus, Williamstown seems to have sprung from some master plan for the perfect New England college town.

Farther on, about halfway between Williamstown and North Adams, is the well-posted road leading south to Mount Greylock, at 3,491 feet the highest point in Massachusetts.

This short side trip to the top of the mountain is a worthwhile excursion. The road to the summit is well maintained.

A war memorial stands atop the peak, and there is a restaurant nearby. An adjacent outdoor picnic area makes an excellent place for a snack.

Returning to the Mohawk Trail, one soon reaches North Adams, an important Berkshires manufacturing center and the scene of an annual fall foliage festival. This year's event is scheduled for September 20–27. On its journey east from North Adams, the trail passes the Hoosac Railroad Tunnel, built nearly 90 years ago. The tunnel runs beneath the trail at a depth of about 1,000 feet, and shortens the rail route across the Hoosac Range by about 11 miles.

As a historical footnote, one might note in passing that part of the old Indian trail had become known as the "Hoosuck Road" by the mid-18th century, and that local spellings took their own way thereafter; witness the derivations, Hoosic and Hoosac.

The scenery in this area is particularly striking. The trail passes through the small town of Florida and winds down the eastern slope of the mountain, not without making several quite genuine hairpin turns along the way.

For awhile, the trail follows the Cold River through woods flanked by lofty peaks. At Totem Lookout is the headquarters of

the Mohawk Trail State Forest, with its spacious camping and picnic area.

Not far ahead, past the chairlift at Thunder Mountain, lies Charlemont. This village, cozily situated beside the Deerfield River, has been dubbed the "Yankee-Doodle Town" and has a rich and interesting colonial heritage.

Also here in the peaceful Deerfield Valley are numerous motels, "Indian trading posts" and an antique auto museum as well.

A few miles down the valley is the turnoff for State Route 2A, which runs south for about a mile into Shelburne Falls. This short excursion leads to one of the most unusual attractions along the trail—the Bridge of Flowers.

Formerly a trolley bridge over the Deerfield River, the old five-arch span, thickly sown with colorful plants, now resembles a suspended garden. In summer, the bridge is illuminated until 10:30 p.m.

ROUTE REJOINED

A mile south of Shelburne Falls, the side road rejoins State Route 2 for the last portion of the Mohawk Trail. En route to Greenfield, the eastern terminus of the trail, the road passes through Shelburne, where Linus Yale first manufactured locks.

Just south of Greenfield is Old Deerfield, the home of Deerfield Academy and the site of many well-preserved colonial houses.

Greenfield, officially, is the end of the Mohawk Trail. But beyond, to the east, stretches the attractive vacation country known as the Pioneer Valley, with its peaceful towns, its forests, fields and many scenic lakes.

And still farther east, State Route 2 reaches Boston and the highways that branch north and south to the coastal playgrounds of New England.

Financial View in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a column which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of June 14, 1964, "Financial View in New York." I think the opening statement by Ben Weberman that "it seems that you just can't beat having a balance-of-payments problem when you are the country with the strongest currency and one of the healthiest economies in the world" sums up the real challenge that faces the administration in coping with the balance-of-payments problem.

The column follows:

THE WAYS OF INFLATION

It seems that you just can't beat having a balance-of-payments problem when you are the country with the strongest currency and one of the healthiest economies in the world.

It wasn't too long ago when all the pundits were saying that the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit and the consequent gold drain were due to the threat of inflation and loss of confidence in the dollar. Conditions have since changed quite a bit but the net outflow of dollar credits still is in the red.

The problem is currently tied to inflation, which is running rampant throughout Europe. Consumer prices rose 6 percent in France last year and 6.9 percent in Italy. The gain ranged from 1.9 percent in Britain to 3.5 percent for Germany and 5 percent for Spain. During this period, prices here rose only 1.7 percent.

Unfortunately, the domestic medicine for an inflationary problem is one that produces side effects in other countries. Inflation results from too many people—consumers as well as businessmen—running after goods and services with little regard for the cost because they fear that shortages may develop.

The classical way to stop this trend is to raise interest rates sharply and make it too expensive to buy or build on credit. This move is necessarily accompanied by a tightening of the credit structure to make it difficult for banks and other lenders to find funds to finance speculative ventures.

And that's when the trouble begins. The big international corporations, like oil companies, movie producers, and auto companies, as well as the major banks find it attractive to invest their short-term funds in foreign countries paying the highest rate of return.

Rates have recently been raised in the Netherlands and in Denmark. Germany, too, has raised yields but concurrently attempted to halt any inflow of foreign funds by penalty regulations on money from outside the country.

It all means that while the United States is going along with no speculative strains and the Federal Reserve is making credit freely available to all potential users, the country's payments balance may soon be hit by an outflow of "hot money" to countries where the rate of return on short-term investments is much greater.

Thus, we are likely to find that it is impossible to isolate the U.S. monetary policy from the prevailing trend in Europe (and Japan). Sooner or later, depending on how fast the European rates rise and begin to draw out dollars, the American businessman and consumer will find that his borrowing costs are rising as a defensive measure.

While the foreign governments would like to slow the inflow of funds through erection of barriers to the international movement of money, they are likely to find that it is impossible to prevent repatriation of funds by nationals. There are literally billions of dollars, or the foreign currency equivalent, spread throughout the world in just about every major country.—BEN WEBERMAN.

What Happens to Aid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Henry Hazlitt appears in Newsweek of June 22.

The situation in India makes one believe that, evidently, colonialism was not so bad after all. Certainly, the conditions in that country appear to be worse, rather than better, than they were in the days of the Empire.

Our facile approach of shoveling more and more dollars to cover up the cracks and weaknesses will apparently never prevent the walls from tumbling down.

The article follows:

WHAT HAPPENS TO AID?
(By Henry Hazlitt)

When Nehru died, a number of newspapers pointed out that whatever his merits may have been, he had failed to solve India's economic problems. Millions of Indians still live in abject poverty. Ninety percent of the houses in the country are one-room hovels, with no facilities whatever. Food consumption by the masses continues below acceptable standards. The use of cloth has steadily declined. India's national income rises only about 2 percent a year, roughly the same as population growth. Industry is stagnant. Unemployment has risen.

And all this is in spite of massive foreign aid. Since 1948, the United States has spent $5.3 billion in all sorts of aid to India, from outright grants to loans and sales of surplus farm commodities for rupees. The week before Nehru's death a consortium composed of the World Bank and 10 nations pledged more than $1 billion for the fourth year of India's current 5-year plan.

India's poverty is immemorial. But the failure of conditions to improve in the 17 years of Nehru's rule, even with these massive doses of foreign aid, is not mysterious. India's economic growth has been choked by the economic, fiscal, and monetary policies that Nehru and his party imposed on the country.

DOCTRINAIRE SOCIALISM

Nehru was a doctrinaire Socialist. The establishment of a Socialist society was, in fact, the principal goal of Indian economic planning. This objective was formally accepted by the Indian Parliament in 1954. In the words of the second 5-year plan: "The adoption of the Socialist pattern of society as the national objective, as well as the need for planned and rapid development, require that all industries of basic and strategic importance, or in the nature of public utility services, should be in the public sector."

In various ways the Indian Government has been throttling what is left of private industry, and diverting production into uneconomic channels. Government-imposed price controls have driven scare funds from areas where they are most needed. Under selective and arbitrary price ceilings, investment in coal mining, cement manufacturing, and fertilizer production has lagged. Private steel mills have been starved of funds and unable to expand their facilities.

Though heavy Government spending and deficits have led to inflation and rising domestic prices, the official value of the Indian rupee has remained unchanged since World War II. The result is gross overevaluation of the rupee. Its official quotation is kept up only by exchange control. This overvaluation has penalized and discouraged exports, subsidized and encouraged imports, led to a startling increase in India's external debt, depleted its currency reserves, and caused acute shortages of foreign exchange. It is estimated that without foreign aid, India's balance-of-payments deficits would have averaged more than $800 million annually in recent years.

DISSERVICE TO INDIA

So our aid to India has gone mainly to subsidize and prolong socialism, price controls, and an artificial value for the rupee. As the eminent Indian economist B.R. Shenoy wrote in the May 21 issue of the Wall Street Journal: "Foreign aid actually is doing a disservice to the Indian economy. * * * Aside from helping to perpetuate industrial white elephants, foreign aid * * * provides the foreign exchange needed for illicit export of capital; for illegal imports of gold * * * for speculative accumulation of inventories; for the construction of urban property as a hedge against inflation; and for luxury living for those few who succeed in manipulating the nation's economic controls to their own advantage."

In brief, aid to India, insofar as it has not been merely a futile effort to fill a leaking tub, has been encouraging and prolonging socialism, controls, inflation, and an

overvalued currency. And what is happening in India is typical of what is happening in other underdeveloped countries into which we have been pouring taxpayers' dollars.

When, if ever, are we going to use foreign aid to encourage sound currencies, balanced budgets, private property, free enterprise, and increased productivity?

John F. Kennedy Resolution Adopted by the United Steelworkers of America, District 20

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, on June 5, I had the privilege of speaking to delegates of the 21st District 20 Conference of the United Steelworkers of America at Aliquippa, Pa., in my congressional district.

The 21st District 20 Conference was dedicated by unanimous vote of every delegate present in the local union No. 1211 auditorium during the morning of June 5 to the memory of John F. Kennedy, our beloved President.

Mr. Speaker, a special resolution was adopted in memoriam of President Kennedy and I ask unanimous consent to have same printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

JOHN F. KENNEDY—IN MEMORIAM

On November 22, 1963, an assassin's bullets stunned the Nation and wiped the smile from the lips of the entire civilized world. In a moment of brutality the life of John F. Kennedy was ended and the Nation stood shocked and suffering under a great sense of national shame.

The people of the world lost a courageous leader in the struggle for peace. Humanity lost a dedicated advocate of human rights, human dignity, and social justice whose fearless battle against bigotry and hatred had earned for him a respect throughout the world which few men realize in their lifetime.

At the moment when our grief and shame over this criminal act was the greatest we came to realize the love and affection that a strife torn world had for this American and knew that our loss was shared by millions of men and women throughout the world.

We, in the United Steelworkers of America, lost a friend who had so endeared himself to us that he was accorded honorary membership in our union. We came to love and respect him because he shared his dreams and hopes with us and made a place for us in his heart and in his deeds.

He understood our problems and needs more than any one man in recent history. We took him into our hearts because he understood our laughter and our tears.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a man of intellect, educated far beyond the realm of steelworkers. His ideals were high. He was a man of principle and dedication. But somehow he remained common enough to be loved by the common man.

He was loved and respected because his ideals and principles grew from his own great love for people and for all humanity.

Even in death the principles for which he lived, the programs and goals he so courageously developed and sought, may yet become a living tribute to this great man.

We can give life to John Fitzgerald Kennedy by following the course he charted.

We can give meaning to his death by pledging ourselves, individually and collectively, to the battle against bigotry and hatred wherever it exists.

We, the steelworkers of district 20, deem it fitting and proper that we dedicate this 21st district conference to the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States of America, and in so doing, pledge ourselves to continue the fight against poverty and hunger, bigotry, hatred, and war to which in life he had so courageously dedicated himself.

Respectfully sumbitted.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA,
MORROS E. BRUMMITT,
President.
MICHAEL J. ZAHORSKY,
Recording Secretary.

Seal.
Date: May 22, 1964.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday was the 30th anniversary of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. During the summer and autumn months millions of Americans will be traveling throughout the country seeing its wonders first hand. One of the truly great scenic attractions are the Great Smokies in the southern Appalachians of Tennessee-North Carolina. The Smokies are the most visited of all our national parks. Over 5 million tourists each year enjoy its camping grounds, streams, museums, lodges, and restaurants. There are over 650 miles of trails for hiking and horseback riding. The flora and fauna in the 507,654 acres are among the most beautiful in the world. There have been identified 1,300 kinds of flowering plants, 200 different kinds of birds, 50 species of animals and rainbow and brook trout swim in over 600 miles of streams.

So during this 30th birthday year of the Great Smokies I would like to urge my colleagues and all Americans to vacation in the Appalachian Mountains and enjoy one of the most beautiful spots in the whole world.

Under unanimous consent I place an article from the June 14, 1964, Washington Post on the Smoky Mountains in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, GREAT SMOKY, OLDEST NATIONAL PARK IN THE EAST

Great Smoky, host to more than 5 million travelers each year, marks the 30th anniversary of its formal establishment as a national park on Monday.

The birthday coincides with the peak of early summer blossomtime in the southern Appalachians and the beginning of the top travel months for the mountain vacationlands.

The park today looks much as it did when the pioneers began their westward trek across the southern Appalachians although it is the most visted national park in the country and the first to be located in the east.

Just a short walk from any motor road in the park is wilderness. Its 507,654 forested acres (half in North Carolina, half in Tennessee) contain almost as many different hardwoods as there are in all of Europe. Because of the altitude, vegetation is more that of Canada than Carolina and there is the most extensive stand of virgin red spruce in eastern America.

Black bears are the largest of the more than 50 species of animals native to the park area. Some 1,300 kinds of flowering plants have been identified in the Great Smokies. Showiest are the crimson-red rhododendron, mountain laurel and flame azaleas which bloom from early to late June.

Over 200 different kinds of birds make the park their seasonal or year round habitat. Some 600 miles of streams abound in rainbow, brook and brown trout. Fishing season in the park is May 16 to August 31, with some special areas set aside for junior anglers.

The Great Smokies Divide, one of the oldest uplands on earth, zigzags for 71 miles through the park from northeast to southwest. For 36 miles along its main crest the range maintains an altitude in excess of 5,000 feet. Sixteen of its peaks rise to more than 6,000 feet. The deep blue haze rising from the valleys gives these mountains the name of "Great Smoky."

Expansion and improvement of park facilities has been accelerated within the past few years through the "Mission 66" program of the National Park Service. Within the park are some 75 miles of paved high-standard roads and equal mileage of improved secondary roads.

U.S. 441, crossing Newfound Gap on the North Carolina-Tennessee line at 5,053 feet, is the main traffic artery through the park. Soaring even higher is the 11-mile park road to the overlook near the top of Clingman's Dome, highest peak (6,642 feet) in the Great Smokies. In 1959, the National Park Service completed an observation tower at the highest point on the Dome.

There are 650 miles of trails for hiking and horseback riding in the park. They range from short self-guided trails in areas of special interest to 71 miles of the famed Appalachian Trail running from Maine to Georgia.

There are six developed campgrounds for family tents and travel trailers, and an equal number of "primitive campgrounds" in more remote areas. There are campground stores and riding stables operated by concessioners. Museums and restorations relate the history of the area's early settlers, and the park interpretive program features conducted nature walks and illustrated lectures to help visitors understand the Great Smokies' flora, fauna, and geology.

Other than campsites and the concessioner-operated LeConte Lodge, there are no overnight accommodations in the park, but within a few minutes drive of the main entrances are a wide variety of privately developed motor lodges, inns, amusement areas, restaurants, and shopping centers.

In 1962 Great Smoky became the first national park to welcome 5 million visitors within a single year. As its popularity has increased, the surrounding "Land of the Sky" has been steadily developed for tourism. Residents of the adjacent areas—including the Cherokee Indians—have expanded their tourist facilities. State and Federal highways have been improved. Promotion of the area has been stepped up.

Construction has proceeded on the Blue Ridge Parkway, begun in the 1930's by the National Park Service to provide a vacation route between Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and Great Smoky. The parkway met the Great Smoky Mountains National Park on June 25, 1959, when its southermost link

—13 miles between Soco Gap on U.S. 19, and U.S. 441 near Cherokee and the North Carolina entrance to the park—was opened. Over 400 miles of the 469-mile parkway motor road are open for travel this year.

(An informative booklet on Great Smoky Mountains National Park is sold by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25. It costs 15 cents.)

Report of Panamanian Outbreak Inquiry: Who'll Hear the Verdict?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in an address to the House on June 11, 1964, my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], quoted the report of the investigating committee of the International Commission of Jurists of Geneva, Switzerland, on the Panamanian mob assaults of January 1964 in the Canal Zone. Because of its importance as an antidote for the flood of mendacious news stories that flooded the mass news media in the United States following the Red-led riots, I urge that the report quoted in Representative SULLIVAN'S address be read by every Member of the Congress and every official in the executive branch who is concerned with Panama Canal policy matters.

Among the first thoughtful and objective reactions to the report was an editorial in the Washington Daily News, which appeals to other major organs of publicity to undo the harm done our country by "cynical, lying propaganda and fuzzy-headed sentimentality" that featured most reporting on the bloody Panamanian violence of last January against the Canal Zone.

The indicated editorial follows:

WHO'LL HEAR THE VERDICT?

The United States stands today found not guilty of Panama's accusation that it had violated human rights, as described in articles 3, 5, and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

This verdict of innocent comes from the very international organization which Panama's own bar association invited to hear the charges and examine the evidence.

The exoneration will not surprise readers of the Washington Daily News and the other Scripps-Howard newspapers which told the facts from the very beginning of last January's bloody riots.

It will, however, give a new slant to thousands and thousands of citizens who read the bad reporting and biased comment published elsewhere in the United States, in Latin America, in Europe, and particularly in Panama itself, where the violence of last January was chronicled with a dishonesty seldom equaled even in a press noted for its habitual and deliberate inattention to fact.

So the important thing today is not that this exoneration now rests in the official file; the important thing is whether it will be allowed to undo—as far as is belatedly possible—the worldwide harm that cynical, lying propaganda and fuzzy-headed sentimentality combined to do.

Will citizens who were told that the United States had committed a bloody and brutal aggression now get a chance to read the true story which the International Commission of Jurists put in its report?

Will they get a chance to learn that the commission found:

That Panama's authorities refrained from even trying to curb the attacking Panamanian rioters and snipers?

That the Panamanian National Guard was deliberately kept away from trouble spots for 3 days?

That Panamanian radio, television, and newspapers—owned by Panama's ruling families, including those which ran the Government then and now—"incited and misinformed" the people? This is a particularly sinister finding.

That although the United States at times during the fighting "may" have used force "somewhat in excess of what was absolutely necessary," that force was needed and that it was right for the United States to exercise it?

That the Panamanian rioters fired twice as many rounds at the defenders as were fired by the Canal Zone forces?

That, contradicting the then President Chiari, who said the riots were "spontaneous," there was "deliberate and extensive" use of bombs, Molotov cocktails, and so on, which indicated "premeditation and planning"?

Marco A. Robles, Panama's new President-elect, was until 1963 outgoing President Chiari's Minister of Government. He tried to disassociate himself from the corruption and inefficiency of the Chiari regime, but the plain fact is, that after the January riots he embraced the Government's position.

He could help greatly to clear the atmosphere and keep it calm if, now that he has been elected President, he would use his position and prestige to put the record straight for Panama's citizens.

He can do it if he will, and we know of nothing that would do more to create the climate of confidence and trust that both sides need if new arrangements are to be made over the Panama Canal's operation and finances.

What's Happened?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, with passage by the House of the salary grab bill, the Mason City, Iowa, Globe-Gazette—in an editorial in its June 13 issue—properly inquires as to what has happened to President Johnson's celebrated guideposts for wage settlements in 1964.

Repeatedly, Johnson has called upon business and labor leaders to exercise "restraint and responsibility" to the end that prices and wages will remain stable and prevent another spiral of inflation.

The administration has suggested that wage hikes be held to 3.2 percent. However, as the Globe-Gazette editorial suggests, how can Walter Reuther and company be expected to react favorably to this suggestion when Members of Congress—with the backing of the White House—vote themselves a salary increase of 33 percent?

If this latest raid on the Treasury is finally adopted, it will give Members of Congress a salary increase of between 130 and 140 percent since 1955.

Following is the excellent editorial from the Mason City newspaper:

LET'S GET THE FACTS

Well, now, what's happened to the Johnson administration's celebrated guideposts for wage settlements in 1964?

This policy suggests that labor and management act responsibly in contract negotiations, holding any wage hikes to 3.2 percent.

That must apply to "the other people."

The House has passed a Government pay raise bill by a vote of 243 to 157. Pushing all the way was President Johnson and company.

The bill boosts salaries of Members of Congress by 33 percent—up $7,500 to $30,000. Similar increases would be handed around to other major Government officials.

In addition, it would grant increases ranging from 5 to 22.5 percent for employees of the legislative branch. Lesser amounts would be granted to 1.7 million civil service employees. Typical would be a $310 increase for secretaries.

This is the second go-around for a Federal pay raise bill.

Insistence on a rollcall vote by Iowa Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican, of Waterloo, on an earlier bill brought about its defeat.

Since, new information has been offered.

The Office of Business Economics says that the average yearly earnings of each fulltime employee in private business rose from $4,238 in 1957 to $5,014 in 1962 or 18 percent.

Average pay of Federal civilian workers, computed on the same basis, went up 31 percent from $4,971 to $6,506, while pay of State-local employees increased 27 percent from $3,958 to $5,014.

In the same period, the consumer's price index went up less than 8 percent.

Commenting on this information the Tax Foundation, Inc., a private organization, noted that U.S. employees "generally have had six salary increases in the years 1955–64."

It also noted that the 2.5 million fulltime Federal worker receives an average of $559 a month compared to the $457 average for some 6.3 million fulltime State-local employees.

These are blanket figures. Some areas in private employment have fared better than in public employment and vice-versa.

There undoubtedly are areas in which some Federal employees deserve larger increases than in others.

But Senators need all the facts before shoving through the new wage proposal that will cost an estimated $533 million annually.

Meanwhile, back in the labor halls, Walter Reuther and company must be geefully filing any information on the "3.2 policy" in the nearest wastebasket.

Extend Insured Housing Loan Program for Elderly

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas has well summed up the action of our committee on this bill. It was re-

ported out unanimously. In my own case I opposed the omnibus housing bill of 1962 although I was in favor of this particular act when it was reported in 1962. Thus far there have been only 56 applications for this particular program. When you consider that we have 50 States, it shows that over a 2-year period the program has not been utilized to a very great extent. Undoubtedly the factor that has entered into it is the interest factor, which the gentleman from Iowa commented upon, which accounts for the fact it has been used very little. Regardless of that fact, the committee felt that under all circumstances it would be desirable to continue this program for an additional 90 days, and I urge the Congress do that.

The Entangling Web

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News:

THE ENTANGLING WEB

American industrialists realize as well as anyone that the wealth of a nation—this or any other—springs from its grassroots. But it does no harm to remind them of this fundamental fact now and then.

And that is just what President Charles B. Shuman of the American Farm Bureau Fedation did in his recent address to the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., among the tall buildings of New York—which is about as far as you can get, psychologically, from a feedlot or a cornfield or a cotton patch.

He charged the present administration of the Agriculture Department with "one mistake after another [that] is costing farmers billions of dollars in lost markets and lower prices." And he said: "It is becoming increasingly difficult to determine which side Secretary Freeman is on in President Johnson's announced war on poverty."

Shuman blamed "Government tampering with markets and prices" for the drop of the parity ratio (the indicator of how farmers are doing) to the lowest point in nearly 25 years—lower than under four previous Agriculture Secretaries.

Bureaucratic blunders and "tinkering with the price system," he pointed out, have cost the taxpayers $2.5 billion for the first 3 years of the program to cut feed grain production; have resulted in more production, not less; caused excess feeding that has broken livestock prices—and will continue through 1965.

In 1961, he said, Secretary Freeman boosted cotton price supports so that 8½ cents per pound export subsidy was required to meet the world price. And he said that the Japanese then bought our cotton, shipped it back in finished goods and undersold our producers—requiring another subsidy (of 6½ cents a pound in U.S. mills) to save face at home.

Shuman recalled that in May of 1963 wheat farmers voted for more freedom and less subsidy, but that this show of independence apparently terrified the administration. "With 100,000 jobs at stake in the Department of Agriculture," he declared, "it would never do to let the wheat farmers succeed on their own and infect other farmers with the freedom virus. So a quickie wheat-cotton bill was jammed through Congress, by the votes of House Members from boss-ridden, big-city districts. It will mean," he said, "lower income for wheat farmers and higher prices for bread.

"Our basic problem in agriculture," the Farm Bureau chief told the industrialists, "is finding a way to free farmers from an entangling web of Government programs that are rooted in political expediency."

Isn't that, after all, the "basic problem" of all of us—in town or country?

War Would Be Fought Largely at Sea: Nitze

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include therein the following article from the May 20, 1964, issue of the Chicago Sun-Times:

WAR WOULD BE FOUGHT LARGELY AT SEA: NITZE

If a major war breaks out in the late 1960's, it will be fought largely at sea, Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze said here Tuesday night.

Speaking in favor of greater research on antisubmarine warfare systems at a dinner meeting of the American Ordnance Association in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Nitze declared:

"If there is to be a major conflict in the late 1960's and the 1970's, one of the likeliest contingencies is a war at sea. In this nuclear age, a logical response to enemy salami tactics (piece-by-piece territorial acquisition) in Europe would be to use our superior seapower in appropriate countermeasures, perhaps leading to a blockade of his ports and the narrow seas."

The enemy probably would respond by launching widespread submarine attacks, Nitze told the ordnance industry representatives. That, in turn, would lead to a "major ASW (antisubmarine warfare) war. Or the ASW war could come as a concomitant of conventional land battle in Europe," he said.

Nitze said Navy offensive power is vulnerable to enemy submarines, which he said will be faster, quieter and more numerous in the late 1960's.

This means, Nitze declared, that development of more effective ASW vehicles and equipment must be a primary concern of the Navy even though he would like to reallocate resources "to improve and expand our offensive systems such as Polaris, carrier and amphibious forces."

Stressing the importance of antisubmarine equipment, Nitze said, "We have to concede that a potential enemy can deploy missile-launching submarines off our coasts" which could exact heavy U.S. fatalities. But he added that 13 Polaris submarines could, "even without the assistance of bombers or intercontinental ballistic missiles, exact 25,000,000 to 35,000,000 fatalities in retaliation to an attack on our cities."

Nitze took the ordnance industry to task for not devoting as much attention to ASW development as it does to other Government weapons programs.

"We plan to demand and obtain much stronger support from industry in their capacity as designers and suppliers," Nitze said. Increased expenditures for ASW research and development would be made within the limits of the current Navy budget, he declared.

Era of Good Feeling?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the June 1, 1964, issue of Barron's:

THE BONNEVILLE POWER ADMINISTRATION SHATTERS AN ILLUSION

After a controversial year in office, Edwin P. Neilan, past president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, has quietly returned to his Delaware bank, leaving behind a legacy of candor and courage. During his stormy tenure Mr. Neilan rarely failed to call a spade a spade; in speech after speech he assailed the trading of votes for Federal handouts, a common practice which, he charged, turned elected representatives into "bagmen" and their constituents into "pushers." He assailed subsidies as "opiates" and "bribes"; he criticized any businessman "who takes the tax money of his fellow-citizens and uses it for his own selfish ends." That was plain talk. However, even the outspoken Ed Neilan would have had trouble improving upon a press release from the Council of State Chambers of Commerce which landed on this desk the other day. "Business Organization," ran the jolting headline, "Sees Piracy in Public Power Grab."

In eight well-chosen words, the council thereby went a long way toward shattering the widespread illusion that a new era of good feeling somehow prevails these days between Government and business. It also added its voice to a mounting chorus of protest against the current wheeling and dealing of the Bonneville Power Administration, which generates and sells electricity on the Columbia River. With the full support of the Secretary of the Interior, who controls the main switches, Bonneville is seeking to thrust its market penetration nearly 500 miles to the south. Toward this end it has asked Congress to authorize the construction of a high-voltage transmission line into southern Idaho; it also has signed up at least one major industrial consumer for its subsidized kilowatts.

Both parties to what Mr. Neilan has aptly called "seduction by subsidy" stand to profit—each in its own coin—from the affair. The only losers, as far as anyone can see, are the taxpayer, the business community, and free enterprise. On the first count, the Bonneville Power Administration, despite the most ingenious bookkeeping, persistently operates in the red; the new facilities would simply swell the deficit. By proposing to duplicate existing capacity—and attract customers through the lure of artificially low rates—the Federal agency also has mounted a threat to the future of investor-owned utilities throughout the area. Finally, by lavishing a subsidy upon one large user of electricity, the Monsanto Co., Bonneville inevitably would jeopardize the competitive status of others. The two principals may regard the arrangement as a fruitful partnership. To us it looks more like an unholy alliance.

From any viewpoint it represents an aggressive move to extend the sphere of public power. The spadework was done last spring, when the Secretary of the Interior quietly—some say illegally—designated Bonneville to replace the Bureau of Reclamation as marketing agent in Idaho. The agency promptly slashed electric rates, which were designed to recapture the cost of several Reclamation projects, by 40 percent. It also swiftly took steps to exploit its new territory. In particular, it negotiated a 20-year contract with Monsanto Co., which operates a large electrolytic phosphate concentration plant at Soda Springs, for the sale of 120,000 kilowatts per year, starting in 1966. It also won administration backing for a proposed 490-mile, 500,000-kilowatt transmission line, running from the McNary Dam in Oregon to southeastern Idaho.

Congressional hearings on the initial appropriation of $1 million, downpayment, on work which will ultimately cost over 100 times as much, began last month.

The project has evoked widespread opposition, not only from the utilities directly in its path but also from the Governors of Idaho and Utah, State regulatory authorities, a number of chemical and fertilizer producers, and even the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whose spokesman shocked several of the assembled lawmakers with a high-voltage blast against public power. From the record emerges a tale of Federal bureaucracy run wild. In support of the new transmission line, for example, the Department of the Interior has cited the surplus of power in the Pacific Northwest. Barely 2 years ago, however, in urging construction of an obsolete atomic power station at Hanford, Wash., its freewheeling officials argued that the region faced a dire power shortage.

The Department's accounting practices are as changeable—did somebody say shifty?—as its projections of supply and demand. Although Federal law requires Bonneville to set its electric rates at levels high enough to cover both operating costs and amortization, the agency has run at a deficit for the past half decade. Last year, prior to certain adjustments, the loss added up to an above average $13.2 million. In the midst of the annual audit, however, Bonneville abruptly stretched out its amortization schedules and revised cost allocations on two big hydro projects. According to the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, such statistical sleight of hand caused most of the red ink to vanish. Bonneville's juggling act also helped stave off, for another year at least, a threatened increase in its rates.

In public power, as in any realm of socialism, nothing succeeds like failure. Thus Bonneville, having piled up an impressive record of deficits in Washington and Oregon, is uniquely qualified to repeat the process in Idaho. As its contract with Monsanto suggests, it has made an excellent start. Monsanto now buys electricity from Utah Power & Light at 4.9 mills per kilowatt-hour, little more than it pays the Tennessee Valley Authority. Bonneville, in contrast, has offered to furnish power at only 2 mills per kilowatt-hour, less than half of what TVA charges in its own backyard and too little, so experts have calculated, to cover the cost of transmission, let alone all the other customary cost elements. Washington usually frowns on selling below cost, a practice which it calls dumping. In this case, which involves the use of taxpayer's money to capture a market, the Council of State Chambers of Commerce has found a better word: "piracy."

The freebooters' first targets, of course, are Utah Power & Light and the Idaho Power Co., both of which at one time were negotiating new supply contracts with Monsanto. Bonneville's proposed giveaway not only has cost them an old customer but also raises the threat of further economic attrition. Congressional approval of the transmission line, Idaho Power avers, would compel it to halt construction on its Hells Canyon Dam. That would be a red letter day for public power zealots, who sought for years to preempt Hells Canyon for their own. However, the rest of the community, which depends upon a thriving utility system, would have scant cause to celebrate. On the contrary, local concerns, which might someday have to vie with a subsidized competitor, have already voiced alarm, a sentiment which ironically has echoed as far away as the Tennessee Valley. Competitive enterprise, so businessmen in Idaho have begun to realize, cannot peacefully coexist with privilege.

By this stern yardstick Bonneville, like any source of Federal largesse, must be rated as profoundly antibusiness. The same is true of the Johnson administration, which, despite lipservice to the enterprise system, remains devoted to trafficking in favors. However, since it takes two to strike a bargain, the fault lies not only with those who trade financial advantage for political power, but also with those who are willing to pay the price. Thousands of years ago a birthright was sold for a mess of pottage. To judge by the foregoing, the market hasn't risen appreciably since.

The National Wheat Museum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a good deal of pleasure to advise my colleagues of the establishment, in my congressional district, of the only museum in the Nation devoted entirely to wheat.

This museum, which is registered with the National Museum Association of Washington, D.C., is located at Ritzville, Wash., in the heart of the Washington State wheat country.

Mr. Ivan C. Packard, chairman of the museum project committee, tells me that plans include the construction of a suitable building to house the unusual and interesting displays, all of which will be financed through memberships by individuals and related industry groups.

The National Wheat Museum will be of particular interest to tourists visiting this part of the State of Washington, Mr. Speaker, and so that all may be advised of what they may expect to find at the present time, I include in my remarks a newspaper article prepared by the Tourist Promotion Division, Department of Commerce and Economic Development, State of Washington:

The home of Dr. Frank R. Burroughs, pioneer doctor of Adams County, was opened as a museum this week in Ritzville, Wash. The Dr. Burroughs home is the first phase of a projected National Wheat Museum to be constructed in that eastern Washington community.

Dr. Frank Burroughs, who received his medical degree from the University of Buffalo in 1883, settled in Ritzville in 1888, a year prior to the granting of Washington's statehood. At the time of his death in 1925 the early-day doctor was credited with the delivery of about 5,000 babies in the Adams County area.

The home, styled with turn-of-the-century architecture, contains much of the original furniture and an unusual display of the tools of medicine that were in use during the period.

Acquisition of the homesite as a community museum effort, as the first stage of the National Wheat Museum project, started over a year ago. Gideon Bentz, Ritzville businessman, is president of the museum corporation and Ivan C. Packard, secretary of the Washington Association of Wheat Growers, is chairman of the museum project committee.

The project carries the official designation from the American Association of Museums as the original National Wheat Museum. It will eventually portray the evolution of Washington's largest cash agricultural crop.

First, wheat in the Adams County wheat belt, once termed the "breadbasket of the world," was sown by Jared M. Harris, a Civil War veteran of Gettsyburg and Lookout Mountain, and James G. Bennett, one of Adams County's early day commissioners.

Visitors are invited to tour the Burroughs home, located off U.S. Highway 10 and Interstate 90, and State highway 395 in the town of Ritzville. Also available for visitor use are a fine golf course, shady picnic park, and large swimming pool.

For the rockhound buff, nearby are the sand dunes of Lind, Wash., rich in fossils and old bones. For the sports fisherman, Ritzville is close to the hungry trout of numerous lakes around Othello, Odessa, and Sprague.

The Burroughs home-museum is open during the afternoons of the summer season. It offers the traveler to share a colorful slice of the State's diamond jubilee history. Further information can be obtained from the National Wheat Museum, Ritzville, Wash.

Blueprint for a Coming Food Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, food costs always are an important item in the household budget, and there are, of course, many influences that affect these costs.

In a June 13 presentation delivered by Mr. Alan T. Rains, executive vice president of the United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, there was a discussion of a prospective handicap for growers of fresh fruits and vegetables which would, in turn, exert price pressures on these two important food classifications.

Because such a development would reach into each and every household in the United States, I submit this address to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

BLUEPRINT FOR A COMING FOOD CRISIS

(The following talk was given by Mr. Alan T. Rains, executive vice president, United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1964, at the annual convention of the Idaho Grower Shippers Association, Inc., Sun Valley, Idaho.)

It is always a pleasure to be a guest of the Idaho Grower Shippers Association during

your annual conventions and particularly to have the privilege of participating in your convention program. You produce and distribute a tremendous volume of essential foods upon which our population depends. Idaho potatoes are synonymous with quality and you have built up a huge and loyal following among the Nation's chefs and housewives.

Being in the perishable food business you are all familiar with hazards which are inherent in it, the vagaries of nature which contribute to shortages or overproduction and the ever-present competition with other producers as well as processed and other competitive foods. But as I view it, you must soon cope with another serious hazard, which, believe it or not, has been entirely man made in Washington, D.C.

Let us look at the situation we face, which threatens the supply of the essential foods which we produce and distribute. This danger strikes at the basic economy of the fresh fruit and vegetable industry and at the housewife's already badly battered food budget. I am referring to the failure by Congress to continue the law making available Mexican nationals as a supplemental work force after December 31, 1964. This work force has been utilized by American agriculture since 1951. The U.S. Department of Labor has certified to the need for these workers continuously for the past 13 years.

The incredible part of the emergency we face is that officialdom has yet to come forth with a plan that will give assurance of an adequate, dependable, and productive work force to replace that which will be denied American agriculture beginning in 1965. Regardless of where the farm is located, the ill effects of withdrawing nearly 200,000 Mexican supplemental workers will be felt, because the demand for domestic workers will be increased and recruitment programs will pirate workers from one area to the other. It promises to be a modern version of "robbing Peter to pay Paul." But the manpower crisis is more grave than one may realize. It is not a matter of replacing man for man, but rather a matter of replacing comparable production per man. Unpalatable as it may be, the facts as revealed by many studies, show the domestic agricultural worker to be considerably less productive than the Mexican national. A study by Michigan State University showed that in order to produce as much as 15,000 foreign workers utilized in Michigan it would be necessary to replace them with 25,000 domestic workers. Applying this yardstick across the Nation, the 195,000 Mexican nationals presently employed must be replaced with 325,000 domestic employees if production is to be maintained. There is no denying the present need for the Mexican nationals because their need has been certified by the Department of Labor. Assuming the certification has been and is correct, and this point is hardly debatable, a monumental task, virtually impossible of achievement, lies ahead.

Tampering with the supply of essential foods is serious business. From the point of view of our industry, fruits and vegetables are one of the basic four food groups recognized as essential by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and they provide about 22 percent of our food. From the point of view of essentially, one needs only to recognize that they provide 92 percent of the total supply of vitamin C from food; 58 percent of the vitamin A; 43 percent of the folic acid; 21 percent of the iron; 20 percent of the thiamine; 11 percent of the riboflavin; and 17 percent of the niacin. (The last three named are part of the vitamin B complex.) The foregoing, of course, is not an exhaustive list of nutrients provided by fruits and vegetables, but it will serve to emphasize their importance in our daily diet.

One of the more cruel aspects of the impending shortage of fruits and vegetables is that as the prices rise, when demand exceeds supply, the lower and middle income citizens will be the first to suffer. To compound the anguish of this less fortunate group of our citizens, the Federal, State and local health authorities will likely continue to hammer away, in various media, on the importance of a balanced diet with special emphasis on an adequate supply of fruits and vetgetables.

While some commodity groups will feel the labor shortage more than others, our entire industry will suffer because of the interdependence of fresh fruits and vegetables in our system of distribution and merchandising. Our products are merchandised at retail in produce departments which are competitive with the other departments in the store. If shortages occur and prices soar, traffic will diminish and with fewer customers shopping the produce department, fewer sales will be made. This is a reasonable conclusion because studies over the years have established that about 50 percent of the fresh fruit and vegetable purchases are made on impulse.

Turning to the vast and complicated distributing system upon which our growers and shippers must depend, we again observe the throttling effect of reduced volume. This, of course, is because of the small margin wholesalers may take because of the pressure of competition and the expensive facilities in terms of equipment and manpower that they must maintain. Volume is probably the number one ingredient in a successful operation. Curtail volume by a few or several commodities and that operation will suffer. When an epidemic such as this spreads across the Nation, as it surely will, then our giant complex and presently efficient distribution system will become the victim of a creeping paralysis.

The economics of the problem we are facing are simple, the side effects, however, are sweeping. Starting on the farm, the prudent producer will be loath to invest in a crop or crops which he fears he will not be able to harvest. So he plants less or none and consequently uses less farm equipment, seed, fertilizer, energy for pumping water, containers, sales personnel, transportation facilities, trucks, gasoline, and believe it or not, money, which his banker must lend to help keep his doors open. Everyone who gains his livelihood in any of these industrial and service business enterprises will feel, to some degree, the impact of curtailed agricultural production. With less volume flowing through our distributing system, fewer employees will be needed and the endless chain of reaction goes on and on.

Up to this point reference has been largely restricted to the problems which must be faced by row crop producers. While their plight is sad, think of the even more serious plight which will be that of the fruitgrower who has a huge investment in orchards and vineyards which must be cared for regardless of whether the crops will be successfully harvested. Unable to abandon ship as annual crop producers may, he must stay aboard to man the pumps and either sink or survive depending upon the whims of officialdom which first steered the industry into the storm-tossed and uncharted waters.

Unbelievable as it may seem we are about to witness the heavy hand of Government strike at the heart and soul of the economy of the fruit and vegetable industry and with the same blow batter the food budget of our country's presently unsuspecting housewives.

Thank you for the opportunity to discuss this vital subject with you. I know you share my concern.

Agriculture News Service Contrary to Public Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the growing concern over the expansion of wire news services by the Department of Agriculture, I bring to the attention of my colleagues the following two sound editorials appearing in the Aurora Beacon-News, Aurora, Ill., and the Elgin Daily Courier-News, Elgin, Ill., on June 6 and 12, respectively:

[From the Aurora (Ill.) Beacon-News, June 6, 1964]

AGRICULTURE NEWS SERVICE CONTRARY TO PUBLIC POLICY

The ill-advised and unnecessary entry of the Agriculture Department into the news wire service business should be ended promptly by congressional action.

The Beacon-News believes no Government bureau has a right to go into direct competition with private business.

We do not take this position because the issue in this instance happens to be possible future competition with established news services to which this newspaper subscribes.

It is the principle that we are concerned with, and the matter of public policy.

The fundamental public policy applicable to the new Market News Service has been set forth in the law creating the U.S. Information Service in the following language:

"In carrying out the provisions of this chapter it shall be the duty of the Secretary (of State) to utilize, to the maximum extent practicable, the services and facilities of private agencies, including existing American press, publishing, radio, motion picture, and other agencies, through contractual arrangements or otherwise.

"It is the intent of Congress that the Secretary shall encourage participation in carrying out the purposes of this chapter by the maximum number of different private agencies in each field consistent with the present or potential market for their services in each country."

This clear statement of public policy is flouted when the Agriculture Department enters into a joint business venture with a single firm, the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., for the use of its wire facilities.

There is no demonstrated need for this new service. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture George L. Mehren has testified that he "cannot honestly say that its (the new wire service) absence prior to August 1 was a grave or crippling deficiency."

As the system is now set up, the USDA could have the power of censorship. While application for the service does not have to go through the department, the USDA is given broad latitude to cancel at any time the connection of any subscribers "who abuse the service by misrepresentation of reports, or for any other reason when, in its sole judgment, such cancellation is desirable."

The Government entry into this field will discourage private enterprise performing a similar service.

That opens up the way for the Government to take over all dissemination of agricultural

news. And when that happens, we would have a propaganda voice coming out of Washington and bureaus elsewhere.

This service lays an unnecessary and unfair burden on the taxpayers, despite the claim of the Agriculture Department that subscribers pay for the news service. The Department obviously has to hire extra personnel to handle its releases. They wouldn't be needed if the Government was not in this business.

We hope Congress will act to end this unfair competition soon, and reassert the public policy of encouraging private enterprise in the news business.

[From the Elgin (Ill.) Daily Courier-News, June 12, 1964]

AN UNNECESSARY SERVICE

Some months back the Department of Agriculture launched a news wire service supplying crop information to firms willing to pay the telegraph tolls.

Begun without legislative authority, the program put the U.S. Government into a business competing for the first time with private wire services in the dissemination of news.

The Department's Agriculture Marketing Service introduced what it called its New Market News Service under which subscribers could tap into a farflung government-leased wire network.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association has pointed out, meanwhile, that the Agriculture Department's news wire service is contrary to public policy set forth by Congress in creating the U.S. Information Agency. That legislation requires the USIA to encourage maximum use of private news agencies rather than operating a domestic news agency on its own.

Congress should lose no time in demanding termination of the market news wire service for three reasons: It is contrary to public policy; it is competitive with private business; it adds unnecessary costs to government.

Fortunately there is a move in Congress now to bring the question into the open where it belongs. An amendment to House Joint Resolution 977 would make possible an impartial study of New Market News Service, including public hearings which up to this time have not been held by any congressional committee.

Panama Crisis: U.S. Cleared of Panamanian Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, after the January 1964 Red-led Panamanian mob attacks on the Canal Zone that required the use of the U.S. Army to repel them, there were reckless Panamanian allegations against the United States for "aggression" and violation of "human rights." The National Bar Association of Panama requested an investigation by the International Commission of Jurists of Geneva, Switzerland, which designated a panel of three distinguished jurists for the task. This group visited the Isthmus, viewed the scenes of disorder, and received the evidence.

The report of this investigation, which was described by me in an address to the House on April 6, 1964, was made public at Geneva on June 9, 1964. It clears the United States of Panamanian charges, justifies the use of force in protecting the Canal Zone, defends the use of gas to break up mobs, and severely criticizes Panamanian authorities.

In this light, the report fully supports the actions of our able and prudent commander in chief of U.S. Armed Forces in the Canal Zone, Gen. Andrew P. O'Meara, whose courageous leadership and superior judgment in the January crisis was commended by me on March 9, 1964, in a major address to the House, "Panama Canal: Focus of Power Politics."

The report of the findings of the indicated Commission, as summarized in a news dispatch in the Evening Star of June 9, 1964, and in an article by John G. Norris, military analyst of the Washington Post in June 10, issue of the latter paper, follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 9, 1964]

UNITED STATES CLEARED ON PANAMA CANAL RIOT CHARGE

GENEVA, June 9.—The International Commission of Jurists today cleared the United States of Panamanian charges that American troops and police violated human rights in the bloody Panama Canal riots last January.

The Commission found, however, that excessive force may have been used to put down the rioting and stop sniping from the Panamanian side of the border.

The Commission also criticized Panamanian authorities for failing to curb the rioters and snipers and, for doing nothing against inflammatory broadcasts at the height of the crisis.

Twenty-two persons, including three American soldiers, were killed and about 325 others were injured during the incidents January 9–12. Panamanian crowds, enraged in a dispute about the flying of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone, burned down several buildings and wrecked cars, shops, and other American property.

ASKED BY PANAMA BAR

The Commission, a private organization of lawyers, judges, and law professors throughout the non-Communist world, was asked by the National Bar Association of Panama to investigate whether the gunfire of U.S. police and soldiers against the rioters was a violation of the universal declaration of human rights.

The Commission sent a three-member investigating panel to Panama and the Canal Zone in March. The panel, comprising Prof. A. D. Belinfante of Amsterdam University, Judge Gustaf Petren of Sweden and Indian Attorney Navroz Vaill of Bombay, heard 26 witnesses and visited the sites of the rioting.

The panel received the full cooperation of the American and Panamanian authorities. Its report was endorsed by the Commission.

It declared that the right to life and liberty laid down in the universal declaration of human rights must be limited by the need to quell a violent disturbance.

"The tempo and violence of the disturbances were such that there is little doubt that they held out a real threat to life and security, which could only be met by strong measures," the report said.

ENTITLED TO USE FORCE

"In these circumstances, the Canal Zone authorities and the U.S. military forces were entitled to use force. Nevertheless, we entertained some doubts as to whether the force, at some stages, was not in excess of the minimum absolutely necessary."

In particular, the report said, the Canal Zone police apparently fired into a crowd in Panama City on the evening of January 9 after supplies of tear gas were exhausted.

The U.S. Army usually stopped the rioting wherever it appeared on the scene, the panel said. However, the use of Army marksmen against snipers in a densely populated residential area was described as a "disturbing feature."

On the other hand, the report said:

The crowds used incendiary bombs and Molotov cocktails which apparently were specially manufactured for this purpose.

SOME PREMEDITATION

"When, where, and by whom they were made was not disclosed to the committee. The fact that they were made and used would indicate some degree of premeditation and planning."

The U.S. Army units did not fire until after they had suffered several casualties in the face of heavy rifle fire from the Panamanian side.

Moreover, the Panamanian Government and national guard failed "to take effective steps to control the crowd and maintain order within the territory of the Republic of Panama," the report said.

"The Panamanian authorities made no attempt during the critical early hours, as well as for almost 3 days thereafter, to curb and control the violent activities of the milling crowds.

"On the contrary, there is considerable evidence to indicate that broadcasts over radio, television, and loudspeakers, newspapers and other means were adopted to incite and misinform the Panamanian public without any action by the Panamanian authorities to curtail or moderate such activities."

TEAR GAS DEFENDED

The Commission rejected the allegation that the use of tear gas to break up crowds violated the right of assembly, because "the crowds against whom such measure were taken were not peaceful but were violent and posed an immediate threat to public safety."

Nevertheless, the Canal Zone authorities "could have handled the situation with greater foresight," it said.

The Commission suggested firmer action should have been taken to protect a small group of Panamanian students allowed to stage a flag demonstration at Balboa High School January 9. It was this demonstration which sparked the subsequent violence.

The Canal Zone authorities helped create the atmosphere of crisis by failing to implement fully an agreement of June 1962, between President John F. Kennedy and President Roberto F. Chiari that the Panamanian flag should fly side by side with the American flag on civilian installations throughout the Canal Zone, the report said.

COMMENT ON ATTITUDES

It concluded with some critical comment on intolerant attitudes among Panamanian and American civilian residents of the Canal Zone who "have developed a particular state of mind not conducive to the promotion of happier relations between them and the people of Panama."

"We cannot help feeling that the United States, having regard to the special situation it occupies in the world, and with its resources and ideals, should reflect upon these sad facts and take effective steps to make possible a reorientation and change in the outlook and thinking of the people living in the Canal Zone. It would yield rich dividends in healthier relations with the people of Panama.

"The Government of Panama and the life and economy of Panama are in many ways so closely tied to the Panama Canal that it would not be out of place to suggest that

the Panamanian Government and Panamanian people should also reflect upon the facts as they appear to impartial observers and should exercise tolerance, moderation, and understanding in their relations with the United States and Canal Zone authorities."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 10, 1964]

UNITED STATES CLEARED IN CANAL ZONE RIOTS

(By John G. Norris)

An international body cleared the United States yesterday of Panamanian charges that U.S. troops and police violated human rights during the bloody Canal Zone riots of last January.

The International Commission of Jurists went beyond rejection of the charges and criticized Panama authorities for failing to move against the rioters and snipers to curb the trouble as it arose.

The backfiring report of a three-man, impartial, investigating committee did contain some criticism of Americans in noting that it had had some concern that U.S. forces may have used excessive force to put down the rioting and stop the sniping at U.S. troops.

GRAVE ACTS OF VIOLENCE

But on the latter point, the report—made public here and in Geneva—said:

"Considering all the * * * circumstances, and in particular the grave acts of violence and the threat to life and security involved, we have come to the conclusion that, even if the force used * * * may have been at certain stages somewhat in excess of what was absolutely necessary at the time, the force used seems to have been necessary."

The State Department issued a statement yesterday welcoming the report and saying that it "exonorated the United States" of the charges against it.

The report also declared that there was "deliberate and extensive use" of incendiary bombs (Molotov cocktails) by Panamanians which "would indicate some degree of premeditation and planning" for the riots.

Panama's Guardia Nacional (army and police force), said the investigators, was "purposely kept away from the trouble spots in the City of Panama" until January 13—more than 3 days after the trouble started.

In troubled Colon—on the other side of the isthmus—the Guardia appeared to have cooperated with U.S. authorities to restore order, it was said, but "curiously" its members carried no weapons at all. On January 13, the Guardia moved into action and quickly brought the situation under control.

AUTHORITIES CRITICIZED

"We regret deeply," said the investigators, "that the Panamanian authorities made no attempt before then to curb the riots.

"On the contrary," the report went on, "there is considerable evidence to indicate that broadcasts over radio, television and loud-speakers, newspapers and other means were adopted to incite and misinform the Panamanian public without action by the Panamanian authorities to curtail or moderate such activities."

The International Commission of Jurists is a private organization of judges, lawyers, and law professors from the non-Communist world that has investigated such events as the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the Red Chinese attack on Tibet, and the French actions in Bizerte, Tunisia.

PANEL MEMBERS NAMED

The Commission was asked by the Panama Bar Association to pass judgment on its charges that the United States had violated articles 3, 5, and 20(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

A 3-man panel, composed of Prof. A. D. Belinfante, of Amsterdam University, Judge Gustaf Petren, of Sweden, and Indian Attorney Navroz Vakil, of Bombay, spent 2 weeks in March in Panama, taking testimony from 26 witnesses in 100 hours of hearings. Attorneys for the United States and Panamanian Governments participated.

Twenty-two persons, including 3 U.S. soldiers, were killed during the riots and sniping, and 325 persons were injured. The panel said the actions of the United States did not violate the U.N. guarantee that "everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person" because authorities are entitled to use force to put down violent disturbances.

SNIPERS REPULSED

It said that members entertained "some doubts" as to whether the force used was excessive, because U.S. forces used from 400 to 500 high-velocity .30-caliber bullets against snipers in densely populated areas, and because Canal Zone police didn't use more tear gas or water hoses to control the mobs.

But it said that all the circumstances—the size and temper of the mobs, the firing of nearly 1,000 bullets by Panamanians, the withholding of rifle and shotgun birdshot fire until U.S. troops suffered several casualties—as well as failure of Panama authorities to act—"justified" the U.S. actions.

Nevertheless, Canal Zone authorities "could have handled the situation with greater foresight," it was said. Moreover, the report concluded with some critical comment on intolerant attitudes among U.S. civilian residents of the Canal Zone and Panamanians, and said the United States should take action to correct them.

Senator Dirksen: A Great Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last night in the Washington Evening Star, I read an editorial by David Lawrence indicating that the Republican Party should, if it feels that it is appropriate to offer a constructive alternative for President to BARRY GOLDWATER, come up with someone of equal stature and not just a "flash in the pan." The Lawrence editorial went on to point out that Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN is such a man. As a matter of fact when EV DIRKSEN represented my district in this House nearly 50 Members endorsed his candidacy for President back in 1944.

Mr. Speaker, there is no question in my mind that Senator DIRKSEN and Senator GOLDWATER are both great men. As Loudon Wainwright points out in the June 12, 1964, issue of Life, Senator DIRKSEN has a pragmatic charm which enables him to get his own way while finding something worthy in the other fellow's view.

The aforementioned article from Life follows:

OLD EV, THE GOOD WIZARD

Old impressions are hard to erase, and a man may be slandered by his past. The growth of such a man is often buried or scarcely seen beneath the cover of memories that do him no particular honor.

When EVERETT DIRKSEN stood in the U.S. Senate last week and delivered his package of amendments to the civil rights bill, he was probably the second most important man in the U.S. Government. The leader of a ridiculously outnumbered Republican minority, he had succeeded in a splendid effort to bring the Senate toward a vote on one of the most critical and controversial pieces of legislation in American history. His amended version of the bill appeared virtually certain to satisfy enough of his colleagues to guarantee that the prolonged southern filibuster would soon be shut off. By any reasonable standard his country should be proud of him.

Yet the past impressions crowded through. Standing beside his desk on the Senate floor, he actually looked old and tired in his rumpled light brown suit. I remembered a younger DIRKSEN, glib and confident, a living caricuature of the pompous American politician right to the permanently startled shock of upright curls on his fine head. His satin voice was now almost too soft to be heard in the galleries. But I was reminded of a day in 1952 when that preacher's voice turned hard, as DIRKSEN, in a desperate effort to swing the Republican Convention for Taft against Eisenhower, viciously attacked Tom Dewey. As he spoke now about the amendments on the bill (we have been beating out the iron upon the anvil of discussion), he seemed utterly sincere, a man in the grip of a great conviction. It was impossible, though, to forget that this same man had often been accused of being a "Wizard of Ooze" with comfortably reversible convictions, a pliable buffoon more interested in the sound of his words than in their significance.

It would be quite wrong, of course, to suggest that his work on the civil rights bill is the first sign EVERETT DIRKSEN has given that he has outlived his old reputation. Since he took over as Senate minority leader in 1959, he has earned the real respect of Senators in both parties for his ability to manipulate stubborn men and move important legislation. President Kennedy found DIRKSEN's support enormously valuable. It was DIRKSEN's decision to go along last year with the nuclear test ban treaty that led to its lopsided ratification by the Senate.

DIRKSEN's pragmatic charm, the vehicle by which he gets his own way while finding something worthy in the other fellow's view, has attracted many people, including President Johnson. The two men have been good friends for years, and DIRKSEN has often been suspected of trying to copy the persuasive techniques the President perfected when he was Senate majority leader. One delightful and untrue story serves as an illustration. It seems that Senator Johnson had a telephone installed in his car. DIRKSEN thought he ought to have one, too, but for a long time he was unable to get it delivered. Finally he got his telephone, and the first thing he did that night as both men were driving home was to call Johnson in his car.

"Hello, Lyndon," he said. "This is EVERETTE. I've got my phone."

"That is good, EVERETT," Johnson replied. "Could you hold on for a minute? My other phone is ringing."

The day after DIRKSEN delivered his amendments in the Senate, I saw him in his office at the Capitol. He looked more rested than he had the day before, and as I approached the desk he was just finishing a swig from a bottle which contained a white antacid liquid. "Payment for my ulcer," he explained, capping the bottle and putting it away. Then, without further extraneous talk, he began to discuss the amended bill.

"I think we have a pretty good piece of legislation here," he said. "I have talked to the President about it a good many times. At first he said he wanted the House bill intact. But I was quite tart with him. I said, 'You cannot have the House bill.' I

think he knew that. In this business you become a realist."

The realist now talking went on to describe how the House bill arrived at the Senate, how he and the majority leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, had organized their groups against the forces of, as DIRKSEN said, "the boys from Dixie."

"But as I bethought myself about the matter," DIRKSEN went on, "it occurred to me that something more had to be done. We could not immobilize the Senate for a whole session."

He then initiated an extraordinary bipartisan effort, fully supported by the Democratic leadership, to amend the House bill to such an extent that a two-thirds majority of the Senate would vote to close off the Southern filibuster. In joint meetings with top Democrats and Attorney General Kennedy and his staff, DIRKSEN worked for weeks preparing and presenting amendments for consideration and agreement. His principal concern involved those States where civil rights legislation already existed. He wanted to make it absolutely certain that these States should maintain primary jurisdiction over complaints for an appreciable length of time until the Federal Government could be allowed to move in.

DIRKSEN also had to be sure that the House of Representatives was generally in agreement with the changes. And finally he had to sell the changes to Senators in his own party and incorporate their views, which ranged from the liberalism of JACOB JAVITS to the conservatism of JOHN WILLIAMS. That DIRKSEN could do this without disaster should go a long way toward obliterating any lingering bad memories of him.

Our conservation was interrupted at one point by Senator MANSFIELD, who brought into the office a young Indian woman dressed in formal tribal clothing. Senator DIRKSEN was as polite as Wilkins Micawber with the lady. To her expression of pleasure at meeting him he replied: "It is my unallowed pleasure to meet you, my dear." He inspected her beaded cape, her mink skins, her hammered silver ornaments and commented on them with a courtesy that was something in excess of florid. But when he had finished telling the Indian girl about how her people would be protected under the civil rights bill and had bade her an effusive farewell, she virtually floated out of the office with pleasure.

He returned to a discussion of his philosophy of leadership, his voice smooth as guava jelly. "You must have a rare amount of patience here," he said. "You must give no umbrage. You must always try to hear everything the other person says. I never knew a person who didn't become tractable if you didn't threaten him with a meat ax." Then he sat back in his chair and grinned. "The oil can," he finished, "is mightier than the sword."

The Area Redevelopment Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, the General Assembly of Georgia has adopted a resolution in support of the area redevelopment program. I ask that it be included in the RECORD.

"HOUSE RESOLUTION 65

"Resolution relative to the Area Redevelopment Administration; and for other purposes

"Whereas the Area Redevelopment Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce, at the present time, has designated 77 counties in Georgia as eligible to participate in their program; and

"Whereas there are 36 approved Georgia projects underway; and

"Whereas there is a total capital investment under these programs of $9,124,954.88, which has created 3,425 new jobs; and

"Whereas there are, at the present time, 11 projects pending which will entail a total capital investment of $18,955,253 and create 872 new jobs; and

"Whereas as a typical example of the benefits to be derived from these programs, Perling Industries, Inc., has located a plant in Darien, Ga., by virtue of an Area Redevelopment Administration loan of $422,500 which has created 200 new jobs within this county; and

"Whereas an additional vocational training grant of $80,165 has been made available in connection with this industry; and

"Whereas the many benefits to be derived from the expansion of the area redevelopment programs are readily available to the industrial and economic future of the State of Georgia: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the General Assembly of Georgia, That this body does hereby urge each and every Member of the Georgia congressional delegation to support the program and appropriations of the Area Redevelopment Administration now pending before Congress in order that said Administration's program may be expanded to additional counties in the State of Georgia and the many benefits to be derived therefrom distributed therein; be it further

"Resolved, That the clerk of the house of representatives is hereby authorized and instructed to transmit an appropriate copy of this resolution to each and every member of the Georgia congressional delegation."

In house: read and adopted, June 3, 1964.
GLENN W. ELLARD,
Clerk.

In senate: read and adopted, June 5, 1964.
GEORGE D. STEWART,
Secretary.

Ohio Could Use Crile Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I would call to the attention of this House this editorial of the Akron Beacon Journal of June 15, 1964. It is self-explanatory.

Within the next 60 days, a new 800-bed Veterans' Administration hospital is to open in Cleveland, Ohio. There is no further need for the Crile Veterans Hospital. This institution was created during World War II and has outlived its usefulness. No Government agency could possibly have use for its antiquated facilities.

This date I have written to Veterans' Affairs Administrator John S. Gleason, Jr., asking him to expedite it being placed on the list of surplus Government property. This so it may be disposed of by the General Services Administration.

The Akron Beacon Journal editorial follows:

OHIO COULD USE CRILE HOSPITAL

Martin Janis, Ohio mental hygiene director, is on the right track with his proposal that the State acquire the Crile Veterans Hospital in Parma.

The 152-acre facility is about to be abandoned by the Veterans' Administration and Janis hopes the Federal Government might declare it surplus property and turn it over to Ohio for $1.

As Janis suggests, the best thing the State can do with the Crile property is to develop it as a center for the mentally retarded in northeastern Ohio.

This is one of the few remaining tracts in Cuyahoga County suitable for large development. And high on the State's list of pressing needs is additional facilities for the retarded. Ohio's institutions are filled and there is now a backlog of about 2,500 patients.

We can't agree with Janis, however, that an estimated $5 million should be spent to renovate the Crile buildings. These facilities were designed as a temporary Army Hospital during World War II and are now 11 years past their life expectancy.

The best a $5 million remodeling could produce, it seems to us, is a center for the retarded that resembles a made-over hand-me-down. Far too many of our State institutions have a secondhand look about them.

As a long-range investment to help remedy a badly neglected problem, the State would be dollars ahead, in our view, to build a brand-new facility at Crile.

Neighbors of the Crile property already are indicating they will oppose the Janis plan. They reacted strongly in 1948 when the VA sought to change Crile from a general hospital to one specializing in neuropsychiatric treatment. The VA gave up then, and built a new hospital in Brecksville.

To suggest that a mental institution might be a bad neighbor is an attitude out of the Middle Ages. One has only to review the experience of the Summit County Receiving Hospital in Cuyahoga Falls to recognize that this is an unfounded fear.

Parma officials are expressing a preference for a State university on the Crile property. This suburban location would seem to be less desirable than a downtown site around Fenn College, if only for the reason that Fenn is more accessible to mass transportation.

Naturally, the possible future uses of Crile should be given considerable study. Martin Janis has a good idea. It deserves support.

Johnson Determined To Be Strong President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Los Angeles Times of May 17:

JOHNSON DETERMINED TO BE STRONG PRESIDENT—HIS IMPACT ON OFFICE IS INDELIBLE

(By Robert Thompson)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson this week completes a first 6 months in the White House which must be adjudged remarkable by almost any standard.

Since that November afternoon when he took the oath of office in Dallas, Mr. Johnson has, by decision, persuasion, and frenetic pace, made an indelible impact upon the Presidency which cannot be erased, even if he is defeated this fall.

He did not covet the Presidency under the tragic circumstances which bequeathed it to him. But once the role was his, Mr. Johnson demonstrated from the outset that he would play it with sweeping virtuosity.

ECHOES JOLSON

And, throughout the performance, he seems forever to have been echoing Al Jolson's old audience enticement, "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

Chances are, you ain't.

For if the American public returns Mr. Johnson to office in the November election, he can be expected to wield the powers of his office as they may never have been wielded before.

Leadership is a compulsion with Mr. Johnson. It is his way of life.

His constant theme is one nation, one people one America—under one President.

LEADERSHIP IMPERATIVE

"We must provide leadership if we expect the people to follow it," the President told a press conference last week. "They can't follow a vacuum."

His critics may call Mr. Johnson arrogant, highhanded, devious, and politically motivated but it is not recorded that any have called him a vacuum.

In fact, everything that Mr. Johnson has done in the last 6 months indicates that his nearly 3 years as Vice President must have been the most frustrating period of his political career. He does not find it easy to walk in the shadow of another man—even the graceful shadow of John Kennedy.

MASTER OF POWER

Mr. Johnson has had a long love affair with power. He was its unequaled master in the Senate. He seems bent upon achieving the same objective in the White House.

He already has proposed a full reassessment and reevaluation of his office so that it might be strengthened "to serve the people in these times as they want to be served."

In a defense last week of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's unsuccessful 1937 Supreme Court enlargement plan, Mr. Johnson also provided an illuminating insight into his view that the President must utilize his constitutional powers to their fullest to achieve his goals.

Much of what Mr. Johnson knows about Presidential power he learned at the feet of his hero, Mr. Roosevelt.

Prof. Richard Neustadt, a political scientist who was in the audience when Mr. Johnson called for a restudy of the office of the Presidency, once wrote a description of Mr. Roosevelt's affinity for power which also could be applied to Mr. Johnson.

"He wanted power for its own sake; he also wanted what it could achieve," said Neustadt. "The challenge and the fun of power lay not just in having, but in doing."

This is the crux of what Mr. Johnson has brought to the White House.

CONSUMMATE POLITICIAN

As a consummate politician, he knows that strong Presidents are not voted out of office.

But beyond that Mr. Johnson wants desperately to leave his mark upon the Presidency. He wants to use the power of his office to achieve those ends which he believes will be good for the Nation and which will guarantee his place in history.

He seems to believe sincerely that bold moral leadership is imperative to unify all segments and sectors of the Republic.

He is further convinced that the Presidency is the major repository of such leadership.

GREAT RESPONSE

So far he has achieved unusually good response to his efforts to exert such leadership.

Business and labor alike listened attentively—even enthusiastically—when he appealed for these two great sectors of the economy to work together in preventing an inflationary wage-price spiral.

He was applauded by southerners in Atlanta, Ga., and Knoxville, Tenn., when he demanded that racial discrimination be banished from the land.

He drew an ovation in New York when he declared that bigotry and despair are problems of the industrial North just as they are of the rural South.

Audiences everywhere respond with fervor when he discusses the settlement of the 5-year rail dispute, the surging national economy, America's military might, and his determination to keep the door open for peace.

Throughout, the idea is carefully nurtured that Lyndon Baines Johnson is President of all the people and will use every power at his command to protect their interest.

Some strange phenomena have combined to give Mr. Johnson the opportunity to exploit this theme and to be a strong President.

RIGHTS SYMBOL

He is a southerner who now is the national symbol of the fight for civil rights. He is a liberal Democrat who has strong connections in the business community. He is a President who was one of the most powerful leaders the Senate ever had.

The way in which Mr. Johnson unified the Nation and grasped the reins of government last November continues to draw admiration.

When the presidential campaign begins—if not before—the image will begin to tarnish. The electorate will hear more and more of the Bobby Baker affair, the Johnson family financial dealings, the mired war in South Vietnam, the beagle's ears, the speeding car, and the centralization of government.

LUBELL POLL

Pollster Sam Lubell has said that Mr. Johnson's popularity is thin and could drop precipitously if things go wrong.

But the Nation can be sure that Mr. Johnson is prepared to work around the clock until November in an attempt to avert anything going wrong.

If he is successful, he will then suggest certain changes in the Office of the Presidency—which may arm him with more power than any of his predecessors.

The History of Soil Conservation and the Work and Organization of the Soil Conservation Service

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today is the third day in Soil and Water Conservation Week in Iowa. As I stated yesterday, a research team of college students which I maintain at the State University of Iowa in cooperation with the Soil Conservation Service prepared a newspaper kit to help disseminate as much information as possible on soil and water conservation during this week.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a short history of the Soil Conservation Service and also a short résumé of what they are doing in Iowa at the present time. Both of these statements were included in the kits which were sent to the newspapers and from leaders in my district.

THE HISTORY OF SOIL CONSERVATION

Throughout the ages mankind has struggled with the problems of soil erosion, declining fertility, water damages, and water shortages, trying to find a lasting adjustment of human needs to productive capacity of the land. The record of man's failures is written across the landscape in all parts of the world.

In this country, soil erosion as a menace to the Nation's agriculture received formal congressional recognition in 1929 with the Buchanan amendment to the 1930 agricultural appropriations bill. It provided $160,000 to be used by the Secretary of Agriculture for soil erosion investigations. Before this time is was obvious to individual farmers that the job of soil and water conservation would require education, cooperation, and technical skills not readily available. Water and wind move across farm boundaries and control on one farm is often dependent on what is done on neighboring farms.

New appropriations for soil erosion investigations were made annually until September 1933, when a newly created Soil Erosion Service (forerunner of the Soil Conservation Service) was authorized to start the first soil and water conservation project in Coon Valley, near La Crosse, Wis. Other projects, averaging about 25,000 acres each, followed soon afterwards in other parts of the country.

In these first projects, farmers were invited to cooperate with the Service in formulating and carrying out a complete program of soil and water conservation—treating each farm as a whole rather than a field here and there. The projects proved that one man could not do the job alone—nor could the Government. But working together, a great deal could be accomplished.

In April 1935, the Soil Conservation Service was established by act of Congress. Hugh Hammond Bennett, its first chief, was among the first to envision the need and the potential for local soil conservation districts. They would be local units of government, organized and directed by the same people who would do most of the work—the farmers and landowners. Every State has since enacted some type of soil conservation district legislation, making it possible for landowners to work together to protect their most vital resources—soil and water.

The 48th general assembly in 1939 passed the law under which Iowa districts are organized. The Iowa law was based on a suggested law drawn up by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and submitted to all States. This law was reviewed and revised to meet Iowa conditions before it was adopted.

In April 1940, the first Iowa soil conservation district was organized. The last one was organized in February 1952. This completed a blanket of 100 soil conservation districts over the State, exclusive of towns and cities. Each district was set up on a county boundary basis except for Pottawattamie County which was divided into two districts because of other subdivisions of government set up on an east and west Pottawattamie basis.

Local leadership was behind the soil conservation district movement. Organization of each district was initiated by farmers in the area. They petitioned the State soil conservation committee to hold a hearing and got signatures on the petition from at least 20 percent of the landowners. From the hearing, if the committee determined it was practical and feasible to form a soil conservation district, arrangements were made for a referendum and election. It was necessary that 65 percent of the landowners vote in favor of the district before it could be organized.

District commissioners to run the affairs of the district were elected at the time the districts were voted in. In carrying out their many duties, responsibilities, and authorities, they are authorized by law to seek help from all groups and agencies that can help in any way to accomplish the soil and water conservation job. Their principal source of help has been the technical services of the Soil Conservation Service.

The Soil Conservation Service began cooperating actively with districts nationally in August 1937 in compliance with recommendations of the Secretary's Committee on Soil Conservation. As approved, they were "that all erosion control work on private lands, including new demonstration projects, be undertaken by SCS only through legally constituted soil conservation associations." From that date, therefore, the work of SCS began to change from a demonstrational character to one designed primarily to help farmers and ranchers in soil conservation districts. The agency began to cooperate with such districts to the limit of its available resources. Today nearly 3,000 districts include 97 percent of the farms and 93 percent of all land in farms in the United States. More than 1,041,500 landowners and operators are cooperating in district programs.

Other things happened, too, during the period of growth by districts. In 1936 Congress authorized the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of War to carry on a national program of flood control. In 1944 the Department of Agriculture was authorized to carry out programs of waterflow retardation and soil erosion prevention in 11 specified watersheds. One of these was the Little Sioux River watershed in Iowa. Iowans are familiar with the intensive effort at complete soil and water control being made there under the direction of the project supervisor and the Little Sioux District Commissioners and Works Committee.

Next Congress appropriated funds to carry out demonstrations of Federal, State, and local cooperation in 60 "pilot" watershed projects in 34 States. Iowa had three of them—Mule Creek, Honey Creek, and the Floyd River tributaries. Considerable experience in the cooperative watershed approach was gained by both laymen and professional conservationists.

In 1954 Congress passed the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, Public Law 566. This act has given considerable impetus to the watershed approach and watershed development for multiple purposes including flood prevention; agricultural water management such as drainage and irrigation; municipal and industrial water supplies; and improvements for recreation and wildlife.

As of January 1, 1964, 933 local Public Law 566 projects have reached the planning stage across the Nation, 31 of them in Iowa. Five hundred twenty-eight have been authorized for operations, 22 of these in Iowa. All of these small watershed projects are locally initiated and carried out with help from the Federal Government.

THE WORK AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

The Soil Conservation Service (popularly known as SCS) is the technical soil and water conservation agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It was established in 1935 with the late Hugh H. Bennett as its first chief. The present Administrator in Washington is Donald A. Williams. The primary job of the Soil Conservation Service is to help landowners and operators protect and improve their land with up-to-date conservation methods. Help is given by technically trained people stationed at local request in legally organized soil and water conservation districts.

The 48th General Assembly of Iowa passed the law under which Iowa's 100 soil conservation districts are organized. These districts are legal segments of the State government and the State Soil Conservation Committee administers the law under which they operate. Their purpose is to take care of soil and water conservation problems in Iowa, using services available and appropriate, including those of the Soil Conservation Service.

In Iowa as in other States, SCS personnel are stationed in work unit offices located in individual soil conservation districts. They provide help to the districts through memodums of understanding, helping them to reach their goals of conservation achievement. Frank H. Mendell, Des Moines, the State conservationist, administers all SCS activities in Iowa. Area conservationists in nine convenient locations supervise the work units.

Basic to SCS assistance to the individual landowner is the owner's own soil and water conservation plan, tailored to fit the land he operates. With technical information he gets from the local SCS technician, each landowner is able to make sound decisions that add up to a "blueprint for safe and profitable farming." In providing up-to-date information and techniques, the local conservationist is "backed up" by specialists on the area, State, and National level. After the farm layout, cropping system, and conservation practices are decided upon, SCS also furnishes the onfarm technical help needed to get any planned practices established.

Current responsibilities of the Soil Conservation Service have evolved from a public recognition of threats to the Nation's soil and water resources and the succession of measures taken to combat them. Thus, in addition to direct assistance to landowners, SCS carries out many related activities. In Iowa these include:

Helping local groups plan and establish upstream watershed protection and flood prevention projects.

Supervising conservation work in the Little Sioux River watershed flood control project.

Cooperating with other State and Federal agencies in Upper Mississippi River and Missouri River Basin studies.

Gathering acre-by-acre detailed information about the soils of Iowa in cooperation with the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station as a basis for farm conservation planning and other purposes. This is also part of a national cooperative soil survey.

Giving technical assistance in establishing income-producing recreation as part of a farm conservation plan.

Providing current information for the conservation needs inventory.

Helping State and local committees develop the annual agricultural conservation program and providing necessary technical assistance to landowners who wish to establish selected cost-shared conservation practices.

Providing technical assistance to communities using a rural areas development concept of use and management of local natural resources to improve living conditions and the local economy.

Maintaining equipment and trained staff members in the work units to provide radiological monitoring of agricultural land in event of nuclear war.

Cooperating with all other State and Federal agencies in Iowa which have responsibilities in the field of soil and water conservation. The main ones are: Agricultural Extension Service; Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; Agricultural Research Service; Farmers Home Administration; U.S. Forest Service; U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service; State soil conservation committee; Iowa Conservation Commission; Iowa Natural Resources Council; State highway department; Iowa State University of Science and Technology and Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station; and the State department of public instruction.

More Panama Violence: Former Ambassador Roberto Arias Shot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on June 10, 1964, I emphasized the mercurial and irresponsible type of leadership and political instability in the Republic of Panama with which our citizens in the Canal Zone charged with the heavy responsibility of maintaining, operating, sanitating and protecting the Panama Canal have had to live.

The case cited in that statement was an attempted murder in Panama City on May 21, 1964, of Escolastico Calvo, editor of the Panamanian tabloid, La Hora, by Aquilino Boyd, Panama's Ambassador to the United Nations and Deputy in the Panamanian National Assembly.

Another murderous assault occurred on June 9 when Alfredo Jimenez shot Roberto Arias, three times, critically wounding him. A son of the late former President Harmodio Arias, the victim was a former Ambassador of Panama to England.

Mr. Speaker, this second shooting among leading citizens of Panama emphasizes again the point that I have repeatedly made in the Congress that our Government in dealing with Panama must be realistic and firm. This latest assault bodes ill for the future.

In order that a suitable record of the incident, as published in two Washington papers, may be readily accessible, I quote them as part of my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, June 9, 1964]

PANAMA POLITICIAN IS SHOT ON STREET

PANAMA CITY, June 9.—Former Ambassador to London Roberto Arias, a stormy petrel of Panamanian politics, was hospitalized in critical condition today with gunshot wounds resulting from an election feud.

Senor Arias, husband of British ballerina, Dame Margot Fonteyn, was shot three times in the body and once in the neck yesterday by Alfredo Jimenez, a former bodyguard of Roberto's uncle, Arnufo. The elder Senor Arias heads the Panamanian Party, to which both belong.

PARALYZED

One bullet lodged at the base of Senor Arias' skull, near the spine, and there were reports he was paralyzed from the neck down. An operation was performed, but results were not announced.

Senor Jimenez turned himself in to police several hours after the shooting.

Dame Margot was told of the shooting last night when she returned to her hotel in the British city of Bath after a dress rehearsal. She said she would phone friends in Panama for late word on her husband's condition.

The wife of American violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, broke the news. Miss Menuhin and Dame Margot are scheduled to appear at a music festival in Bath.

AUTOS PASS

The shooting took place at a suburban intersection when the chauffeur-driven cars in which the two men were riding happened to pass. Senor Jimenez called to the driver of Senor Arias' car to stop.

The cars stopped and the two men got out. After a brief argument, Senor Jimenez pulled a gun and started shooting.

The dispute apparently arose from last month's election in which Senor Arias won a seat in the National Assembly and Senor Jimenez was elected an alternate.

Senor Jimenez expected to be Senor Arias' alternate, but yesterday he found himself assigned to another seat. He apparently believed Senor Arias had refused to accept him as an alternate.

SIMILAR CASE

It was the second political shooting to occur in virtually identical circumstances since the election. Aquilino Boyd, chief Panamanian delegate to the United Nations, shot up a Panama City editor when their cars were halted side by side in a traffic jam last month.

Roberto Arias has been in recurrent hot water since his uncle was deposed from the Presidency a few years ago. He fled the country by the diplomatic-asylum route in 1959 to escape charges of plotting an attack on an Army post, and last year he was charged with smuggling.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 9, 1964]

ROBERTO ARIAS HAS CHANCE FOR LIFE AFTER SHOOTING

PANAMA, June 9.—Roberto (Tito) Arias, shot down by a disgruntled party associate, was given a chance to live today but it still was a question whether the colorful politician will be paralyzed.

As police hunted the assailant, Mr. Arias' wife, British ballerina Dame Margot Fonteyn, said in Bath, England, she will fly to her husband's beside tomorrow.

She has been a star at the Bath Festival. She told the festival organizers she hoped to be back by Saturday for her last two performances. She had last seen her husband 3 weeks ago in Panama.

SHOT THREE TIMES

At first Dame Margot, who had received word from her brother-in-law. Harmondio Arias, that her husband was out of danger, said she would continue her performances unless he took a turn for the worse. She was to be featured tonight with the Russian dancer, Rudolf Nureyev.

Mr. Arias was shot three times with one bullet lodging against the spine.

Dr. Antonio Gonzalez Revilla, who headed a team of neurosurgeons in a 2½-hour operation on Mr. Arias, said it would be 72 hours before he could say whether his 45-year-old patient would live or whether he would be paralyzed.

Police sought Alfredo Jimenez, a member of Mr. Arias' Panamenista party and an old friend, as the gunman.

It was the second political shooting since Panama's national elections, May 10.

Panama's United Nations Ambassador, Aquilino Boyd, fired two shots, May 21, at the editor of a newspaper which accused Mr. Boyd of election fraud. The editor, Escolastico Calvo, received a minor wound.

Mr. Arias was in surgery twice last night over a period of almost 8 hours. First, doctors removed bullets from his right arm and his right side. He was given blood transfusions. Then the surgeons removed a bullet which lodged against the spinal column and caused paralysis.

Mr. Arias was riding in a car driven by Reynaldo Medina yesterday when they met Mr. Jimenez' car stopped at an intersection for a red light.

Witnesses said Mr. Jimenez spotted Mr. Arias, leaped from his car, whipped out a pistol and fired.

"You're not going to cross me up," Mr. Medina said Mr. Jimenez shouted.

Mr. Arias and Mr. Jimenez, in his late 30's, ran as candidates for deputy and alternate deputy, respectively.

Of the vote count yesterday, showed Mr. Jimenez elected, but as an alternate for another deputy and not Mr. Arias.

Speculation was that Mr. Jimenez believed he would have less chance to sit in the assembly than he would have had as Mr. Arias' alternate.

Dame Margot and Mr. Arias met when she was 16 and a hopeful soloist during a summer week of ballet at Cambridge.

In 1955, after he had become Ambassador to Britain and she world famous, they were married. His first marriage had ended in divorce.

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 and 6, 1964, 24 national Jewish organizations gathered here in Washington to give united expression to their grave concern over the plight of the 3,000 Jews in the Soviet Union.

Every major segment of the Jewish community came together to speak out on this issue of important concern to all. The sponsoring organizations were:

American Israel Public Affairs Committee.
American Jewish Committee.
American Jewish Congress.
American Zionist Council.
American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.
B'nai B'rith.
Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Hadassah.
Jewish Agency for Israel, American Section.
Jewish Labor Committee.
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
Labor Zionist Movement.
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.
National Community Relations Advisory Council.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Council of Young Israel.
Presidents' Conference.
Rabbinical Assembly.
Rabbinical Council of America.
Synagogue Council of America.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
United Synagogue of America.
Zionist Organization of America.

The 500 delegates to the conference adopted unanimously the following resolution and plans for action at both the local and national levels:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY, APRIL 6, 1964

We, as representatives of the major national American Jewish organizations, have met for the past 2 days in solemn assembly in Washington, D.C., to express with one voice our deep concern with and our determination to protest the plight of our Jewish brethren in the Soviet Union.

Soviet Jewry constitutes the second largest Jewish community in the world and is the last remnant of the once great East European Jewish community. This remnant exists largely because of the heroic resistance of the Soviet Union to the Nazi hordes which destroyed the great majority of European Jewry.

The approximately 3 million Jews of the U.S.S.R., have a special claim on the conscience of all who are zealous of securing human rights, and, more particularly, on the conscience of all Jewry. Soviet Jews are the heirs of a tradition that stretches unbroken over 1,000 years of Jewish history in Eastern Europe, a tradition which produced an enduring heritage of scholarship, piety, and ethical idealism. They are the kin of the millions who went forth from Russia to other countries, bringing with them the social idealism of their tradition enhancing the cultures of their new lands.

With the lessening of repression and persecution so widely acclaimed following the death of Stalin, it was hoped that the Soviet Jews would share in the new atmosphere of relaxation of tensions. Now, however, with anguish and indignation we witness Soviet Jewry being denied its natural right of group existence. It is fragmented from within and kept isolated from without. Though formally recognized as a nationality and as a religious group, the Soviet Jewry community is deprived of those rights granted to other nationalities and other major religious bodies in the U.S.S.R. A process of attrition forces Soviet Jews to live only a most attenuated Jewish life and threatens to crush their spirit and to sever their ties with the Jewish people.

Soviet Jewish youth, traumatized by the Nazi holocaust and by Stalin's anti-Semitic excesses are now seeking to reestablish their links with Jewish life. But they are denied even the most meager opportunity to learn, enhance, and transmit their Jewish heritage.

The whole of Jewish culture, and Yiddish artistic and literary expression in particular, once so flourishing in the U.S.S.R., are now represented by the merest tokens. The links of Soviet Jewry with its tradition are being destroyed by increasing restrictions against fundamental and sacred Jewish practices.

Synagogues are closed down; the public production and distribution of matzot and of other essential religious articles are banned. Soviet Jews are cut off from contact with their brethren at home and abroad. Jewish opoprtunities in higher education and in certain fields of employment are being curtailed.

Simultaneously, a campaign of vilification of the Jewish past and present is conducted in the press and other official publications. Judaism and Jewish history are falsified. Anti-Semitic stereotypes are exploited to portray the synagogue as a breeding ground of economic and social crimes.

We are appalled at the discriminatory application of maximum penalties, including the death sentence, against Jews for alleged economic crimes and dismayed that they are singled out in the press in a calculated attempt to exacerbate public anti-Semitism.

We are moved by the plight of thousands of Soviet Jews whose families were shattered or separated by the Nazi devastation and who are prevented from rejoining their re-

maining kin in the United States, Israel, and other countries.

We appeal to the Soviet Government to redress these wrongs, to restore the rights of Jews and of the Jewish community and to grant the equality with other religious and nationality groups as required by Soviet Constitution and law.

We make this appeal within the framework of our ardent desire to see an end to the cold war and to lessen and hopefully to eradicate existing international tensions. Our aim is to mobilize public opinion into a moral force that will save Soviet Jewry from spiritual annihilation.

We who are assembled here are bound by the moral imperative of our history, which demands that we speak out on the fate of our brothers in the Soviet Union. We pray that our voice will be heard and that it will be heeded.

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry protests the denial to Soviet Jews of the basic institutions and facilities granted to other religions and nationality groups within the Soviet Union. Considerations of humanity and justice require the Soviet Government:

1. To declare its policy of eradicating anti-Semitism by a vigorous educational effort conducted by government and party.

2. To permit the free functioning of synagogues and private prayer meetings.

3. To remove hinderances to the observance of sacred rites such as religious burial and circumcision.

4. To make possible the production and distribution of phylacteries, prayer shawls, mezzuzoth, religious calendars and other religious articles.

5. To restore all rights and facilities for the production and distribution of matzoth and kosher food.

6. To make available facilities to publish Hebrew Bibles, prayerbooks, and other religious texts in the necessary quantities.

7. To permit the organization of a nationwide federation of synogogues.

8. To sanction the association of such a federation with organizations of coreligionists abroad.

9. To permit Jews to make religious pilgrimages to the holy places in Israel.

10. To make it possible to allow all qualified applicants to attend the Moscow Yeshivah, to provide facilities for the establishment of additional Yeshivot as needed, and to enable rabbinical students to study at seminaries abroad.

11. To provide schools and other facilities for the study of Yiddish and Hebrew, and of Jewish history, literature and culture.

12. To permit Jewish writers, artists, and other intellectuals to create their own institutions for the encouragement of Jewish cultural and artistic life.

13. To reestablish a Yiddish publishing house and to publish books in Yiddish by classical and contemporary Jewish writers.

14. To reestablish Yiddish state theaters in major centers of Jewish population and to publish Yiddish language newspapers with national circulation.

15. To eliminate discrimination against Jews in all areas of Soviet public life.

16. To end all propaganda campaigns which use anti-Semitic stereotypes, implied or overt.

17. To halt the discriminatory application of maximum penalties, including the death sentence, against Jews for alleged economic crimes.

18. To make possible on humanitarian grounds Soviet Jews who are members of families separated as a result of the Nazi holocaust to be reunited with their relatives abroad.

We appeal for a redress of these and other wrongs and sufferings; for the elimination of discrimination and for the full restoration of Jewish rights in the U.S.S.R.

American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry—Proposals for Local Follow-Up

Introduction

In our effort to awaken the moral conscience of the world, the Jewish communities of America can and must play a vital role. In the final analysis, public opinion reflects the totality of judgments reached in communities throughout the Nation. Long experience has taught that interpretation can most effectively be achieved on the level where people live and work together, through well-established ties rooted in mutual trust and respect. Perhaps the most effective agent of interpretation is the individual member of the Jewish community, who can convey insights into the plight of Soviet Jewry to his neighbor, whether he be the publisher of the neighborhood weekly or of the metropolitan daily; the parish priest or the archbishop; the precinct committeeman or the county chairman; the university president or the head of the high school social studies department.

As we mount the effort to which we have committed ourselves, we rely upon the basic tools of community relations, tested in relation to many issues with which the American Jewish community is concerned. The programs proposed here are, for the most part, undramatic, though they may have dramatic consequences. Grand projects also have their effect, but must be deemed at best only as the overture to the steady, ongoing job of interpretation that must lie at the core of our effort.

The most difficult commitment we ask from the communities is not that they pour their resources into one spectacular project—though that too may be necessary—but that they accord a high priority to a steady and sustained effort, continuing long beyond the initial period of excitement generated by this conference.

Such a sustained effort cannot depend upon the contributions of a few individuals, however dedicated or able. It requires the pooling and planned use of all local resources in a concerted effort. Fortunately, in most of our communities the mechanism for such planning exists in the form of local community councils. We suggest the use of such councils to facilitate the planning, coordination, and implementation of local efforts. Fortunately, too, outstanding resources for implementation exist in our local civic groups, synagogues, and regional offices of national agencies. We are confident that the cooperation that has been manifested in the preparation of this conference will be reflected on the local level. Thus the potential is present for an outstanding job.

In undertaking this job we must remember that our purpose is not to exacerbate cold-war tensions. Our aim is to mobilize the judgments of responsible citizens of our community into national, and ultimately a world-wide moral force, which will save the Jewish community in the U.S.S.R. from spiritual annihilation.

General Guidelines

1. Our own Jewish communities must be given a thorough grasp of the nature of the threat to Jewish survival in the Soviet Union, including an understanding of the difference between that threat and the physical extermination by the Nazis. To that end:

(a) Urge communities throughout the Nation to convene conferences of Jewish organizations on the pattern of this American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry in order that they may have maximum accumulative impact. It would be desirable that as many conferences as possible be held within a concentrated time period.

(b) We call upon synagogues everywhere to observe the National Day of Prayer called for at this conference; upon rabbis to preach sermons on the plight of Soviet Jewry on this and other occasions; and on Jews to fill our houses of worship to overflowing as an earnest of our sympathetic identification with Soviet Jews.

(c) We urge every local organization to devote a major meeting during the next month to this subject; we urge our synagogues and Jewish community centers to organize lecture series; discussions and other activities around it; making use of materials that will be developed and made available by our national organizations.

2. We shall seek through every channel available to us to spread knowledge and understanding throughout the community at large. To this end:

(a) We urge Jewish communities to assist in the creation of communitywide committees on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, which draw into the common purpose all in the community who share a like-minded concern about the problem. Several such committees already established may serve as models.

(b) Various religious groups, once they have been made aware of the facts, will be especially sensitive to Soviet efforts to smother the Jewish community by choking off the means whereby its life is sustained. Protestants and Catholics may be expected to respond favorably to examining this problem in the course of the interreligious dialog. They may be expected to welcome speakers before the boards and general memberships of church federations, ministerial associations, and local churches to clarify the situation, especially the distinction between the general antipathy of Soviet policy toward religion and Soviet hostility against the Jewish community.

(c) Other organizations in the community, including civil rights and civil liberties groups, labor bodies, veterans groups, civic groups, and service groups should be encouraged to consider the problem at their meetings and to speak out on it. Some civil rights leaders, labor officials, religious leaders, intellectuals may wish to join together in special meetings and statements.

(d) Scholars at institutions of higher learning in and near our communities should be encouraged to study the problem and issue reports and statements. Universities should be encouraged and aided to hold conferences or seminars on the subject. Soviet leadership seems to be sensitive to exposures of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. by great academicians and great universities. Apart from their academic role, faculty members of American universities would welcome the opportunity of expressing themselves in public statements.

(e) Other local educational groups which would be sensitive to the problem of Soviet anti-Semitism, include high school social studies teachers associations and State and local teachers associations. Such groups probably would welcome the opportunity to examine the issue at their conferences.

(f) The question should be raised for consideration before organizations in our communities whose orientation is toward international affairs, e.g., world affairs councils, local chapters of the American Association for the United Nations.

(g) Publishers, editors, and others responsible for the content of local media of communication, including press, radio and television can play powerful roles in affecting the formulation of public opinion through their media. It is of very great importance that factual and interpretive materials developed and furnished by the national organizations be brought to their attention, preferably in face-to-face contacts. Letters to editors or local papers should be encouraged.

(h) As on the national scene, the concerns of local communities are frequently articulated in the formal expressions of governmental bodies. We believe that such instruments of government as State legislatures

and city councils, upon being apprised of the situation of Soviet Jewry, will want to publicly pronounce judgment on the issue. The views of individual citizens on this problem should be communicated also to both the executive and legislative branches of Federal Government.

(1) Where deemed effective, all moral and lawful direct actions may be used on a selective basis including the picketing of strategic buildings, offices and events, the gatherings and forwarding of petitions, and the stimulation of letter writing campaigns, etc.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY—PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL FOLLOW-UP

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

We cry out against the cultural and spiritual annihilation that threatens Jewish life in the Soviet Union. We address ourselves to the moral conscience of the world, to enlist it in a concerted demand upon the Soviet Government that it put an end to the calculated assaults by which the destruction of the Jewish community within the Soviet Union is being pursued. We shall extend our resources and our energies to the fullest to bring to the attention of the world the facts about the oppression of Soviet Jewry, through every means at our command, through every channel of communication savilable to us, through every contact and association, in every place and in every season. And we shall not rest or desist until we have awakened world opinion and brought its full weight and influence to bear upon this unconscionable wrong.

In exposing to the world and, more particularly, to the people of our own land, the cruel facts about the restrictions and deprivations imposed upon Jews in the Soviet Union, the denials to Jews of elementary rights to practice their religious faith, nurture their cultural traditions and maintain their ethnic identity—rights accorded other faiths and other cultural and ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union—we appeal to the conscience and the sense of decency and justice that reside in the hearts of our fellow Americans of all faiths.

We are convinced that once American public opinion has been sensitized to the plight of Soviet Jews, once there is widespread public awareness of the full dimensions of the oppressions to which Jews in the Soviet Union are subjected, the outraged voice of America will be raised in expressions of abhorrence.

Our purpose is not to exacerbate "cold war" tensions. Our aim is to mobilize public opinion into a worldwide moral force which which will save the Jewish community of the U.S.S.R. from spiritual annihilation. The leadership of the Soviet Union is not impervious to such world opinion. It cannot permit the image it seeks to create of the Soviet Union, as guarantor and protector of freedom and the rights of minorities, to be revealed to the world as the fabrication that it is.

We believe therefore, that the dissemination of the truth about the discriminations and persecutions to which Soviet Jewry is being subjected may move the Soviet leadership to reappraise the political expediency of the present course of Soviet treatment of its Jewish citizens.

To disseminate the truth and to spur the moral sense of our fellow Americans, we propose to embark upon an intensive and sustained program of information and interpretation, utilizing every channel and every means of communication, to spread and to dramatize our message.

PLAN FOR ACTION

1. It is proposed that a National Day of Prayer, to be observed in all the synagogues of America, be proclaimed by the Jewish religious bodies represented in this conference; and the conference as a whole endorses that proclamation, calling upon Jews throughout the Nation to attend services on that day in their synagogues and to observe the occasion wherever they may gather for worship, meditation, or study.

2. Each of the organizations participating in this conference will separately, at its own national meetings or on other appropriate occasions, review the proceedings of this conference examine the recommendations here agreed to, and consider how it may contribute most effectively with its own resources and through its own programs to the execution of those recommendations and to the realization of the common purpose. We anticipate that each organization will at an early date reaffirm separately the conclusions of this conference.

3. The proceedings of this conference, together with the documentation presented to it, and including the major presentations and resolutions, will be published as expeditiously as possible in the form of a paperbound books; through the cooperative efforts of the participating organizations, copies will be distributed to libraries, universities, schools, editors and writers, scholars, religious leaders, public officials, and other interested and concerned individuals and institutions throughout the Nation and the world.

4. The 18 points that this conference is addressing to Soviet authorities will be reproduced in appropriate form for large-scale mass distribution and will be given the widest possible dissemination.

5. Every means will be employed to publicize the relevant facts through the mass media of communication; all the participating organizations will lend their resources to this effort in accordance with their means and special competencies. Among specific projects now contemplated are: (a) Production of a film strip with accompanying commentary; (b) production of a documentary motion picture film for television broadcast or screen projection; (c) preparation of a selected bibliography of books, pamphlets, articles, and other materials; (d) production of taped interviews and discussions for radio broadcast; (e) preparation of articles for Jewish periodicals; (f) development of a list of speakers for local groups; (g) preparation of brief fact sheets.

6. Plans will be pursued looking toward the convening of a broadly representative American Conference on Soviet Jewry, involving representatives of religious, civic, labor, civil rights, civil liberties, veterans, women's, youth, business, and other bodies and groups, to give expression to the pervading concern of Americans for the plight of Soviet Jews.

7. We anticipate that, as knowledge and awareness of the oppression of Jewish life in the Soviet Union becomes more general, numerous organizations such as those enumerated in the foregoing paragraph and other will include the matter on their agenda or hold special conferences, and make statements expressing their concern and calling for Soviet rectification. We anticipate that the number of prominent and prestigeful individuals—religious leaders of prominence, winners of honors and awards in scientific and humane fields, outstanding intellectuals and others—likewise will raise their voices. We propose to make special efforts to make available to such organizations and individuals suitably prepared information and other materials.

8. The uniqueness of the situation of Soviet Jewry, as compared with the situation of other religious groups in the Soviet Union, requires special clarification and interpretation in the discussions between Jews, Christians, and other religious groups. Jewish leaders will therefore strive for the inclusion in such dialogs of the question of the present situation of Soviet Jews. It is also proposed that other religious bodies national and international will be called upon to include discussions of this matter in their own deliberative channels.

9. To make tangible the opinions of Americans, in a form that can be neither misread nor dismissed by the Soviet Government, we suggest considering the advisability of such means as petitions and/or mail campaigns to the Soviet Government for equal treatment of Soviet Jews.

10. In our democratic society, the issues that agitate the public come inevitably to be reflected in legislative chambers and in other forums and governmental offices where the representatives of the people seek to express their will and their sentiments on behalf of the Nation. It is therefore natural that the oppression of Soviet Jewry should have become the subject of speeches on the floors of both Senate and House of Representatives. We should regard it as appropriate and desirable for the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution or otherwise, to express its view; for the national conventions of the major political parties to incorporate commitments to strong intervention with the Soviet Union in their platforms; and for the President of the United States to communicate America's official concern to the Soviet Government.

11. American representatives to United Nations bodies debating proposals for the international outlawing of discrimination on grounds of race, color, or religion have long and vigorously advocated such action by the United Nations against the very forms of anti-Jewish discrimination as are being practiced in the Soviet Union. Steps shall be taken to seek a meeting with the U.S. mission to the United Nations to explore with it the possibilities and prospects for intensification of these efforts.

12. Similar approaches will be made to voluntary organizations associated with the United Nations, to channel their efforts more effectively to the marshaling of international opinion against the mistreatment of Soviet Jews.

13. To assure that all may be continually informed of developments in the situation, the national organizations participating in the Conference will maintain a flow of timely information to Jewish communities throughout the Nation.

14. Immediately upon the adjournment of this Conference, the presidents of the cosponsoring national Jewish organizations will meet for the purpose of considering how best to assure that the plans set out herein will be systematically implemented. It is our further proposals that the presidents develop the means of continuing this Conference on an ongoing basis adequately staffed and financed to coordinate and implement the resolutions of this Conference.

Typhoid Angus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, a devastating epidemic of typhoid fever including hundreds of cases of hospitalization, deaths, and citizens in a panic—we think it could not happen in Washington or in any other American community.

Our water supply is treated and inspected by experts. We go to great lengths in food inspection and sanita-

tion but how about our imported canned meats and other foodstuffs which can't possibly be subject to inspection at the source.

We hear daily complaints from our farmers and producers of their depressed prices and pleas of the facts from the Government as to the necessity of foreign imports and competition but what of quality and health inspection?

It has taken some time to develop the facts of the Scotland typhoid epidemic but in the process the American farmer has found another potent argument against imported beef. I include herewith and commend a factual article on the subject from Time magazine issue of June 12, 1964, outlining the devastating experience of the city of Aberdeen, Scotland.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES

The bacteria that cause typhoid fever live almost exclusively in sewage, and typhoid remains a major problem in Asia, Africa, and parts of South America. In countries where water supplies are kept free from sewage contamination and where food handlers follow the basic rules of cleanliness, typhoid is a rare disease. When it erupts in a place that prides itself on good sanitation, as it did in the Swiss ski resort of Zermatt 18 months ago, it causes a violent flap. Last week there was a new typhoid flap in clean Aberdeen, Scotland (population 186,000). There were 324 confirmed cases (2 deaths) and 55 suspected, with still more expected.

Aberdeen's medical officer, Dr. Ian MacQueen, was certain that he had found the explanation: "There is no shadow of doubt that this outbreak started from a tin of corned beef." The meat was in a 6-pound can and had come from South America. In an Aberdeen delicatessen it was sliced on a machine that was also used to slice other meats. The infected machine spread the infection to these meats and to the customers who ate them. As the statisics of sickness piled up, the British Government ordered a top-level inquiry to find out just where in South America the meat had come from and, hopefully, to learn how typhoid bacilli got into it.

Typhoid is no longer the dreaded, deadly plague of old, now that antibiotics can usually cure it. But while the inquiry went on, Aberdeen remained a beleaguered city.

History and Current Status of the Municipal Industrial Aid Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, there is an interesting and complicated interrelation between tax-exempt municipal bonds and ARA loans. I want to develop this.

In 1936 the town of Durant, Miss., issued $85,000 worth of bonds to build a plant for the Real Silk Hosiery Mills. This was the first time a municipality had ever issued what has become known as an industrial aid bond, using its credit to build or purchase a capital asset such as an industrial plant to lease or sell to a private enterprise. Since then 400 communities in 9 States have issued nearly $200 million worth of these bonds to attract industry, provide employment for their people, and compete with other towns in search of prosperity. Most of these towns are in the South and Southwest. Between 1957 and 1962 the issuance of these bonds increased tenfold, from $7 million to $65 million a year, as the race for industry got more competitive. Nor has this siren song seduced only the corporals and privates of American industry.

The captains and kings are also getting in on the gold rush. Cherokee, Ala., a town of 1,400, recently sold $25 million worth of bonds to build an Armour fertilizer plant. Carrying the craze to a perfectly logical absurdity, the 4,443 inhabitants of Ste. Genevieve, Mo., have announced their intention of floating a $500 million bond issue, the equivalent of $113,000 per inhabitant, to lure a suitable basic industry. At the top of their shopping list: a steel plant.

State legislators have written the laws so that some towns are engaging in savage headhunting expeditions.

Under New Mexico's legislation, a town may raise bond money to go into another State, buy business outright, move it back to New Mexico, build it a plant, and set it up in business anew—and one town already has. Nor are small local communities alone engaging in this rush. The States of New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma, New York, and Illinois have variations of such plans. And corporations like Borg-Warner, Emerson Electric, Fruehauf Trailer, General Tire & Rubber, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing, Rand, McNally, Scott Valve Manufacturing, Standard Brass, and Swift & Co. are taking part. The big advantage: since the municipal bonds are tax exempt, and the plants built with them are Government owned and hence tax exempt, the corporations get out of Federal taxes on their high cost fixed assets such as buildings and plant machinery. Moreover, they can write off the entire cost of plants in 20 years instead of 50 as required under normal Internal Revenue Service depreciation schedules.

The cost of State industrial development programs is heavy. It takes money to make a slick, expensive and business-like area presentation showing everything that an industry could want to know: available sites and costs, taxes, zoning, transportation, water, sewer, traffic studies, soil conditions, building costs, availability of markets, population structure and growth, labor supply and costs, climate, school and recreation facilities, availability, and cost of housing, ad infinitum.

The expense to States and communities of such programs is considerable. In those States with the most attractive programs, for example, the amount expended ranges from $1,000 to $1,500 for each new manufacturing job created.

In 1959 Tennessee spent $200,000 and Mississippi $375,000 just to administer their programs. Fairfax County, Va., with a modest and fairly typical program, has budgeted about $35,000 a year for the past 4 years. Also, when a community owns and leases a plant, it loses tax revenues. For fiscal year 1958 a Mississippi legislative committee estimated the State treasury lost $500,000 this way. Thus existing industries wind up supporting the tax burden and in effect subsidizing the new industries attracted under these give away programs.

The prizes, however, are also alluring. Mississippi's program has won credit for creating 35,760 jobs from the 1930's through the end of 1960 with an average annual payroll of $3,242 per job. This works out to an increase of $116 million in the income of the people of Mississippi. Since every dollar of increased payroll increases sales in a community about 4½ times, the total stimulus to Mississippi's economy was about half a billion dollars a year. This doesn't consider the rise in real estate values in a prosperous community. For example, when H. Alexander Smith moved its carpet plant to Greenville, Miss., it provided a thousand new jobs there and within a year 500 new homes had been built for the town. Nor do these figures consider fully the compound growth of industry growing from the fact that industry tends to attract other services and related industries.

Much of this municipal subsidy is actually industrial piracy. When Norge, for example, built its plant in Greenwood, Ark.—population 1,600—it provided employment for 1,750 persons, but left 1,800 out of work at Muskegon, Mich.

Everybody agrees that areas which have vigorously pursued overall development programs have achieved startling results—but controversy exists about the actual effectiveness of the various devices used to lure industry such as industrial aid bonds. For example, Drs. Bergin and Eagan, writing in the Michigan Business Review, reported on a survey of the managements of over 800 firms which had recently located or expanded in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They report that company executives generally say that a friendly attitude and the existence of adequate normal community facilities are more important than direct financing aid in any form. The doctors conclude that the bulk of expenditures in these industrial development programs go for factors which management does not consider of prime importance in selecting a new plant location. Most firms listed availability of labor and convenience to markets at the top of their considerations. Financial aid was way down on the list.

Plant location experts for the big eastern industrial firms who met with 250 area development representatives from chamber of commerce groups throughout the Nation in the summer of 1963 listed these five factors at the top of their list in selecting a plant site: availability of labor, nearness to markets, lower labor costs, availability of suitable buildings or sites, and availability of raw materials. Far down on the list in 13th and 15th places were the considerations of favorable tax structure and financial aid. In fact, the site seekers pointed out that communities who advertise "cheap labor, cheap electricity, cheap plant sites, and

tax exemptions on property and machinery" cause a reaction among industrialists that "such an area must be a really bad locality if it has to mortgage itself so deeply."

The site seekers point out that such areas which subsidize new industry often drive out the older industries, which seek to relocate rather than bear the heavier tax burden necessary to subsidize the new plants. Instead, they said a community should strive for sound, responsible industry by offering basic inducements such as honest and reliable government, reasonable tax laws, good management-labor relations, good educational and church facilities.

With the rising stampede among State governments and local bodies toward "buying in" industries, many people in east Texas began to panic and wanted to join the stampede by pressuring the Texas Legislature to adopt a similar program. Texas industrial commissions had a research study done, which found that there were actually very few cases in which an industry went to another State around Texas on the basis of such offers as industrial aid bonds, and other easy "gimmick" financing, and those few were actually most often undesirable industries that would not contribute to a stable economy and sound economic development. "Texas, unlike its neighboring States, does not have to enter into any unsound or unwise financing schemes, 'buy in' desirable industry," the research study said. Texas should not be stampeded into any unsound scheme of publicly financed industrial inducement.

In contrast, it should advertise widely that Texas does not have such programs since it does not have to cover up disadvantages with gimmicks. Such an approach is bound to impress responsible businesses who want to pay their fair share and live in a community, not own it.

Texas employment commission statistics show that Texas gained 60,000 jobs between July 1961 and July 1962; unemployment was 4.8 percent. Moreover, Texas was second in the Nation, following only New York, in number of new industries gained in the first 6 months of 1963.

Said the Wall Street Journal of July 31, 1963:

There are 18 to 20,000 community development organizations which provide financial or other inducements to attract industry.

A tremendous amount of money has been spent by the Federal Government, States, and localities in the past generation, but with scant success for the most part.

In fact, this quest for gold at the end of the rainbow has gone to such an absurd extreme that Governor Kerner, of Illinois, asked the legislature to vote him $100,000 to establish an office in Washington for the board he created in 1961 to process applications for ARA grants and loans. Apparently the government feels that the State is not getting its full share of Federal handouts. The Washington bureau would "protect and enhance the economic development of the State of Illinois," Governer Kerner explained.

John J. O'Keefe: A Man for All Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, June 6, 1964, it was my pleasure to attend a dinner in New York City at the Park Sheraton Hotel, at which my good and old friend, John J. O'Keefe, legislative assistant to Senator GEORGE A. SMATHERS, of Florida, was presented with the annual "Man of the Year Award" by the Col. Francis J. Quigley Memorial Post 959, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The award, a solid bronze plaque, was given to John O'Keefe for his outstanding record of service in public life and his contributions to the American way of life and his efforts on behalf of veterans and their families. He is a veteran of World War II, having entered the service as a private in 1942. He served overseas for 18 months and was released with the rank of captain. An active member of the Army Reserve, he now holds the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Prior to joining the staff of Senator Smathers in 1954, John O'Keefe was a trial and appellate attorney with the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., from 1947 to 1953. He also served with the Hoover Commission. An attorney by profession, he is a member of the bar of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following address by John O'Keefe on the occasion of his receipt of this well-merited award:

Mr. Chairman, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, members of the Col. Francis J. Quigley Memorial Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and friends, ever since its inception the Veterans of Foreign Wars Man of the Year Award has stood as a symbol of those principles of justice, freedom, and patriotism upon which our Nation was founded and for which many have given their lives.

This coveted award honors all members of the organization which created it, as well as conferring honor upon its recipient.

I shall prize this award as a symbol of our national credo and an expression of your friendship.

I accept the award humbly in the knowledge that if I have made a contribution toward advancement of the principles espoused by your post and the VFW stand, it is because those are the principles which I believe to be in the best interests of our country.

An occasion of this kind affords all of us a valuable opportunity to recall the military challenge to which we responded not so many years ago.

Had we allowed that challenge to go unchecked, our Nation would have been destroyed, and with it the freedom of the world.

The important fact is that free men freely accepted that challenge—a challenge which jeopardized their beliefs, their values, in fact their very survival.

The sacrifices then made by free men made it possible for this generation to look forward to the prospect of peace and a level of prosperity unprecedented in our Nation's history.

But this inviting prospect, won on the battlefields of war at untold cost in blood and treasure, demands ever new sacrifices and courageous acceptance of new challenges.

In a rapidly changing world, free men must seek new solutions to problems that caused the tragic, large-scale wars of the past.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars is playing a fundamental role in this struggle. It is daily forging a living monument of remembrance to these men by alerting America to certain basic truths:

That the price of freedom is eternal vigilance against forces dedicated to the destruction of our way of life.

That our military might must be maintained at a level consistent with the protection of freedom for all men.

That peace seemingly achieved by the sacrifice of principles in any degree is a vain and empty peace and a corrosion of the very foundation of freedom.

That as—in the past—we have paid the ultimate price of freedom amidst the horrors of war—we today lack not the imagination, the will, and the perseverance to forge and wield new weapons of peace.

All of us in this room stand witness to the fact that achievement of a just and lasting peace requires much more than armed strength.

We know that our enemy today—atheistic communism—presents its chief challenge on a battlefield where no battlements are erected, where no trenches are dug, where no guns are fired. Nor does it envisage hor utilize battleships nor airplanes.

It is the battlefield of ideas—a struggle between opposing systems and philosophies of government—this is the warfare in which we are engaged today—this is the warfare which will determine whether our sacrifices on the battlefields of the past have been in vain.

Our late and beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, clearly saw the dimensions of the many-sided challenge this Nation must meet. Military strength adequate to meet brushfire war or nuclear war was one pillar of his approach to peace.

In his view, of equal importance was the need to eliminate the scars of prejudice and discrimination that divide us here at home and weaken the moral fabric of the Nation.

He realized that the erosion of individual freedoms and liberty in our immediate sphere of life saps the effectiveness of our national response to communism's totalitarian menace.

In seeking to eliminate the root causes of discontent and misunderstanding abroad, as well as at home, President Kennedy brilliantly evoked and harnessed the idealism inherent in the American dream.

It was John Fitzgerald Kennedy who ignited a stagnant American and started it moving forward again.

Our President—Lyndon B. Johnson—took the reins of power at one of the most tragic moments in our national history and vigorously continued America on the move, knowing full well that America can no longer afford to stand still—not even for personal or national grief.

Looking to a brighter future for all men, our President has laid down policies that call for maximum development of this Nation's human and natural resources, freedom from poverty and want in the midst of plenty, and the final defeat of communism, in conclusive proof—to a still doubting world—of the inherent superiority of freedom.

And thus it is that we are still engaged in a battle for survival. Freedom will always be challenged by those who fear it. But there is no doubt that so long as we adhere faithfully to the cause for which we fight,

the United States and the free world will ultimately triumph.

In that certainty lies the reassurance that the contributions of members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars on the world's battlefields will never be forgotten.

The Congo Must Clean Its Own House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from M. Moise Tshombe was received yesterday.

M. Tshombe takes the highly unpopular point of view that the people and the Government of the Congo have got to do their own housecleaning in their own way. While this may be unpopular, it is at least refreshing.

With the letter is an article, published some time back, from the Washington Star, that is of considerable interest and bears out the views of the Congolese leader:

MAY 25, 1964.

Re the Congo must clean its own house.
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE,
U.S. Congresswoman,
Tuxedo Park, N.Y.,
United States of America.

HONORABLE MADAM: Almost simultaneously with its proclamation of independence, 4 years ago, the Congo, governed from Léopoldville, has been living on "borrowed time," rocked by one crisis after another.

Conflicts of authority in a national government which lacked both the prestige and power for the job at hand, coupled with the emotional confusion of electoral propaganda, spelled chaos for the new Congo state right from the start. This chaos has increased, until today it has reached shock proportions.

Desperately anxious to avoid admitting their weakness, the Central Government of the Congo did its best to confuse the rest of the world into associating Katanga with colonialism. The truth is that Katanga strove only to save itself from the anarchy that ravaged the rest of the Congo which the Central Government was unable to control.

Everyone now knows that this colonial "smokescreen" deceived many members of the United Nations at the time. Similarly, observers now recognize that the Central Government exploited the mysterious death of Patrice Lumumba to discredit Katanga.

The end of the fighting with Katanga, which could not have possibly done anything to eliminate the incompetence and venality of the leaders of the Central Government at Léopoldville, failed to bring the results expected. The complete disregard for the principles of national reconciliation embodied in the U Thant plan, an instrument originally intended to insure peace and order in the Congo, plus the total incapacity of the Central Government, a regime much more interested in lining their personal pockets than in the good of the Congo, has resulted in making the Congo more dependent on foreign powers than ever.

Eloquent testimony to their indifference, and duplicity, is offered by the exchange rate of the Congo franc. It is now less than one-sixth of its 1960 value.

The Congo must follow the example of other African nations which managed to settle their rivalries and conflicts in the inter-African conferences at Casablanca, Monrovia, and Brazzaville, and constituted the OUA as the sound basis for African collaboration. The Congo must settle its own problems and by means of free elections set it house in order with the same wisdom and foresight.

National reconciliation, the password, after the fighting in Katanga was over, and which was supposed to have been achieved through the U Thant plan, but was not, due to the machinations of Central Government figures who deliberately ignored the plan's provisions in their own self-interest, should be brought about.

These venal men should be brought to task and a new government consisting of men who have demonstrated their public interest should be formed at once to eliminate corruption and set the Congo on its rightful path.

The Congo must assume its place as an effective member of the family of new African nations, and a stanch friend of the West and can only do so with honest and efficient government. Continuation of chaos and corruption as now fostered by self-interest cliques and by certain foreign financial interests, so patently obvious in the Leopoldville of today, is not only unhealthy for the Congo but a sword in the back of the African community of nations. The OUA can be strong, negotiate on honorable terms with countries purchasing and developing Africa's natural resources, only, if the new nations of Africa are healthy. The Congo is presently in a perilously unhealthy state, and a chain is no stronger than its weakest link.

I attach a copy of a recent editorial in the Washington Star which may interest you.

Any remarks you care to make would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

MOISE TSCHOMBE.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 29, 1964]

SHABBY BUSINESS

In January 1963, a United Nations force, while disclaiming any such purpose, was crushing Moise Tshombe's Katanga army and chasing the "white mercenaries" out of the country.

Still, reforms were promised. The United Nations said the Congo Government in Leopoldville had granted amnesty to Mr. Tshombe and had guaranteed him full freedom of movement. The U.N. also put forward an eight-point plan for reconciliation. The first item on the list called for adoption of a new constitution setting up a federal system under which Tshombe's Katanga would have enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy.

By June of last year, however, the Leopoldville politicians had gerrymandered Katanga in such fashion that Tshombe could hardly expect to be elected to anything, and he left the country.

By October a 6-month "state of emergency" had been decreed by Leopoldville in order to stop "demonstrations."

And now—just last week—there was a tiny item in the paper which announced that the state of emergency has been extended "indefinitely" by President Joseph Kasavubu, that public meetings are banned and that civil courts are being replaced by military tribunals.

Our own Government actively encouraged and supported this shameful performance. Surely those responsible for the decision to "smash Tshombe" have nothing to be proud of.

St. Louis Academy, Staten Island, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the annual commencement of St. Louis Academy was held Saturday, June 13, 1964. Sister Mary Peter, principal, graduated the largest class in the school's history. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Dolan conferred diplomas on the graduates.

Miss Maureen B. Killen, valedictorian, received the General Excellence Award, and Miss Sandra Bansept, salutatorian, received second honors. Other awards were won by Patricia Willson, Patricia Nicolaus, Elyse Herbert, Leonor Mussenden, Mary Mulcahy, Kathleen Faller, Diana Diaz, Georgiana Phend, Barbara Van Valen, and Denise Rankin.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my address.

In a conversation I had with Sister Mary Peter earlier today I neglected to explain to her that the reason I have not emerged successful in any debate throughout the 14 years of my marriage probably stems from the fact that my wife received 2 years of her academic training here at St. Louis Academy.

This is, of course, a compliment to the training in logic you receive here at St. Louis. My best advice to the ladies here today is to let someone at some time in the future win one every now and then.

My address follows:

To you young ladies (people) gathered here today, this occasion is a bittersweet experience. Joyous, yes, in the knowledge that you are on the threshold of new opportunities, new challenges, new and greater responsibilities; and sad, too, in the realization that now, after these school-tied years of friendship, you must part and walk alone to your individual destiny.

The pressures, the parties, the excitement of graduation leave little time for reflection, I know; but my guess is that each of you, sometime in the happy confusion of the past few days, has paused to wonder: "What has life in store for me? Will I reach the goal I have set for myself?" Now, I am a Congressman, not an oracle; I cannot tell you whether or not you will reach your goal, but I can tell you how you can reach toward it.

The key is education.

Education means different things to different people. To the young Peace Corps volunteer in an emerging nation in Africa, education means the God-given privilege of bringing the benefits of the modern world to an untutored savage; to the savage, education can mean so simple a thing as basic farming that will keep him and his family from want.

To the far-seeing scientist, education means widening the horizons of man's knowledge—and our horizons are still limited, despite the great strides we have made in the past quarter century—and applying this knowledge to build a better society and a more equitable one.

In short, education is another word for progress, whether it means the ability to scrawl a signature or the ability to launch a rocket to the moon.

It is theoretically possible, of course, to progress without education. Take the case of Alfred, who was the office janitor for a large corporation. Alfred was a crackerjack janitor; hard working, conscientious, and skilled at repairing the minor things that go wrong in an office. His bosses were highly pleased with him. But, one day there was a corporate merger and a new set of bosses moved in, among them a personnel manager who was a stickler for regulations. In interviewing Alfred he was horrified to learn that the janitor could not read or write. Good janitor or not, Alfred was fired.

Nobody else would hire him. So, in desperation, Alfred withdrew his small savings and opened a small tobacco shop. He was as good a businessman as he was a janitor; though illiterate, he was shrewd. In time, he opened a second shop, then a third * * * eventually, some of his wealthy customers induced him to open a chain and agreed to back him to the tune of $500,000. The day came to close the deal, and Alfred was across the desk from the banker, who handed him the contract to read and sign.

"I can't read or write," said Alfred.

The banker was astounded.

"What," he exclaimed. "You've done so well in business and you can't read or write. Just think what you'd be if you could read and write."

"I know what I'd be," said Alfred. "I'd be a janitor."

Now, that's a good story, but it's just that—a story. In today's increasingly complex world the illiterate—and even the semiliterate—is totally helpless and hopeless. It is a keenly competitive world; only those who are prepared can reap its rewards.

Let me tell you another story—this one true. Some 5 years ago, down in Prince Edward County, Va., the authorities closed the public schools rather than obey a U.S. Supreme Court order to integrate them. Public schools stopped for almost 3,000 children. For the whites among them, stopgap schools—in church basements, libraries, fraternal halls, anywhere there was room—were soon organized. In time, a whole new private school system, with its own buildings, libraries and other facilities, was provided for the white children in a massive community effort.

But for all except a few of the 1,650 Negro children in Prince Edward County there was no school at all for 4 long years. Until this year, when a group of public spirited men and women put their time, talent, and money to work, there were no classes at all for Negroes. The new schools for them opened with high optimism—but not even the educators realized the damage that this 4-year blank had wrought.

Consider this—for hundreds of Negro children who entered school for the first time this year the loss was complete. An 11-year-old girl had to be shown how to hold a pencil. A 10-year-old boy clapped his hands to his sides and tearfully refused to touch a library book because, as he said, "I can't read." First graders couldn't or wouldn't say their own names; those of high school age had forgotten how to read or do grade school arithmetic, their speech was almost unintelligible; some of the young people, in the 18 to 22 age bracket, mind you, tried to take up their high school work again but found the pace too fast and quit, many have dropped out, permanently lost to themselves and to a society that simply cannot afford this waste of human resources.

Thus, you here today, with those cherished diplomas in your hands, are fortunate. But how will you use this good fortune? To what purpose will you put your education? How will you employ this magic key to the future? To open a door to a snug, smug, private world of security? Today, this is an alluringly easy door to open. There is opportunity on every side. Well-paying jobs seek you out; it is a buyer's market in employment for those who have the wherewithal—education. We live in an era of unparalleled material prosperity. The world of the magazines—a house in the suburbs, a good, safe job, happy, well-fed children and all the rest of it—is a reality, and all for a dollar down and a dollar a week.

Unhappily, we have all been so bedazzled with the false gold of materialism that we tend to accept it as an end in itself; our sense of values becomes distorted; the new job is accepted not because it offers a greater opportunity for accomplishment or a deeper feeling of satisfaction, but because it nourishes the ego; the new house is bought not so much to live in as it is to impress friends who perhaps cannot afford one; the old car is perfectly serviceable—and paid for—but the new car is a status symbol. It is a tidy life, and can be yours for the asking, but is it a worthy goal? Is this all that education really means? I think you will agree that it does not.

Education means the ability to grow—spiritually and intellectually as well as materially. And with education goes obligation—the obligation of each succeeding generation to carry on the perpetual quest for the improvement of society in other areas besides the material.

And, believe me, we have room for growth spiritually and intellectually. We are educated enough to destroy the world with a monstrous weapon, but not educated enough to see to it that this weapon will never be used; we are educated enough to orbit a man in the awesome environment of space, but not educated enough to seat a black child in a white school without the risk of violence; we are educated enough to produce a man such as the late President Kennedy, but not educated enough to cure the sick mind of the assassin who was destined to kill him.

But, you ask, what is it that I can do to grow, to repay this obligation my education has imposed upon me? First, you must continue to learn; your diploma, from this academy, or from college, is a beginning, not an ending. For too many today, the mental books close upon graduation, never again to open. We live in an age of specialization, which means that we are so preoccupied with a part of a project that we forget the whole of it. A rocket scientists, we'll say for purposes of illustration, is the Nation's foremost technician on solid fuels; his entire life is wrapped up in his work. He takes no interest in politics, he is oblivious of the cancerous social crises of the time, he simply cannot be bothered by the problems of the world beyond his own narrow horizon. What is this overspecialized man, then, really contributing to the society that provided him his opportunity? The answer is nothing, except in the strictly material sense.

Is this man, as intelligent as he is, contributing a tenth as much as those dedicated and caring people who devoted their time, talent, and money to provide schooling for the friendless Negro children down in Virginia?

No.

So, I urge you, never let your intellectual horizon shrink. Keep yourself mentally active,whether you become scientists or housewife and mother—and, more and more, I'm inclined to think the latter is the more important of the professions—keep pace with the events that vitally concern you—politics, international affairs, the schools, the whole varied, exciting world around you. Remember, most problems are not beyond solution; but in order to arrive at solutions you first must understand the problem; and to understand the problem you must be aware of it.

Awareness, unfortunately, is a scarce commodity; think of the tens of millions dully staring each night into the blue glare of television sets, comfortably numbing their minds, and you can readily understand why awareness is uncommon today. Turn off the television once in a while; read the newspapers; take a trip to the library and pick up some books, preferably by authors you don't agree with at all—there's nothing like a high sense of outrage for stimulating the intellect. You'll be surprised at the cogent arguments you can come up with. All of a sudden, you're growing.

But interest in itself isn't enough; you must get in the game of life instead of just buying a ticket and watching from the sidelines. Nothing is so deeply satisfying as to be a part of some undertaking, whether it be a church bazaar or a presidential campaign. Ask yourself, as you begin your adult life, what are your ideals, your political philosophy, your attitudes toward current issues. Then seek out those of like mind, and translate your ideas into action.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of your participation in politics, which is the very fabric of our country. It is truly shameful that in our Nation—showcase of democracy for the world—more people do not vote than do, even in this comparatively enlightened era. Too many of us shrug and say, "Oh, well, what's one vote, one way or the other?" I can tell you how important one vote is—President Johnson's career on the national political scene was the result of just 84 votes—the slim margin that sent him to the U.S. Senate in 1948.

Even more important than your vote is your participation. I don't mean, of course, that you should run for office, though there is certainly no reason why you shouldn't. What I do mean is that you should make your voice heard for or against a legislative proposal, for or against a candidate. To believe in an idea or a man and not support it or him is to be untrue to yourself; political apathy is an evil that can have appalling consequences; tyranny is far more often the result of apathy than revolution; consider the bloody Nazi regime in Germany; Hitler did not seize the Government of Germany—he won it by default through the apathy of the German people.

Begin your participation at home, in your neighborhood. Look around you. What are the problems of your community? What does it need? How can you help? Does a family need aid? Does the Scout troop need adult leadership? Is the PTA withering for lack of interest? You have the education, you are aware, you understand. You have the key to constructive participation. Use it.

As you participate, you grow again, this time to a realization of the tremendous—and deeply rewarding—obligation you have to those less fortunate than yourself. To bring this home to you today, I want to tell you a story—a true one and a poignant one—that will take you back again to Prince Edward County, Va., where education is so important because there has been so little of it.

Among the Negro children who had never attended school was an 8-year-old boy named Beauregard Lee. Now Beauregard was no different than the rest, he too was timid and fearful. But when he took the general IQ test his teachers, these truly educated men and women who gave up the easy, well-furnished life to help these unfortunate youngsters—were astounded; Beauregard Lee came up with an IQ of 153 percent, which means he has more brain power than 99 percent of all Americans. Beauregard, at 8, is already solving algebraic equations.

But if it had not been for those who were faithful to the obligation of their education, Beauregard Lee would be forever lost

to ignorance. So, wherever your career takes you, to whatever heights you climb, think occassionally of Beauregard Lee. At some time in your life you may pass a little boy or girl like him. If you do, pause and give him the magic key that was handed to you, the magic key to education. In doing so you will achieve the noblest goal that life has to offer. Thank you.

Oversea GI Wants Prayers in Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, recently I have been inserting some letters and statements in the RECORD by organizations, groups, and individuals, who see the great necessity of returning prayer and Bible reading to our public schools. These are exceptional items, out of many thousands I receive.

Today is another exception. This is one of many coming from our men in the military service of our country. I do not know where he is stationed abroad, but wherever he is, I am sure that he expresses the sentiments of many of his contemporaries. You will want to read this, I know, and despite the opposition of some constitutional lawyers and theologians, this young man expresses himself on what it means to cut God out of any part of our lives, any place, and at any time.

MAY 16, 1963.

DEAR SIR: My name is Joseph Valenzuela, I am a member of the U.S. Army. I am originally from San Jose, Calif., a member of the Southern Baptist Church, a Christian, and a backer of your stand on the issue of prayers in school.

I am writing this letter in reference to your stand on prayers in school. I have read your stand and beliefs on this grave issue in the Stars and Stripes newspaper which we receive over here in Europe.

Sir, first, I would like you to know how great I feel that there are still men in politics who contain that true of an American. Sir, I also feel sure that you speak sincerely and from your heart, and not merely as a politician who is seeking to gain recognition and approval for his own approval. Sir, it is hard for me to understand why our fellow men cannot see that our country was based and started on the beliefs of God and worship of God. Our great leaders such as Washington and Lincoln who believed and worshiped God and our country was blessed by God for the people's faithfulness to Him. And of this firm foundation our country grew to be the greatest of all time.

Sir, I know now that our country is at a very low tide in its Christian beliefs, and is rapidly increasing in nonbelievers and atheists. Now the shock of the stopping of prayers by our schoolkids to God who gave us and created this great country of ours. This, sir, I believe is the first drastic wrong move that will certainly lead to the destruction of the United States of America. The Americans by majority by far do not want this and it is hard for me to comprehend how a handful of atheists could turn this whole country into the opposite direction of God. Sir, communism grows on these roots, a nonworshipper to a nonbeliever to an atheist and finally to a Communist.

For as you know communism and Christianity cannot succeed together, have never, and never will. This decision and other decisions lately—I am sure they have been hailed as great victories by the Communist countries. Mr. Khrushchev has stated that they do not have to destroy us, that we will destroy ourselves, and I believe that we are going directly as he stated.

Russia's Lenin in his ten commands forbade the belief of God, because he knew that it would not work with communism. I stop to wonder how our great forefathers of this country, who believed in God and in all matters asked God for wisdom, understanding, and help in running the Government matters, would react to this grave matter. We are not allowed to have prayers in school, yet most colleges, by their anthropology classes, are allowed to say actually that we are direct from monkeys and that God is just a pretty fairytale book.

Sir, may God bless you and your fellow politicians who stand with you in this cause for the welfare of our great country. I will continually pray for you and may our Almighty God forgive us for our faults and misunderstanding, and that he may sprinkle a little of His great and unlimited wisdom on us and our country.

Jeremiah 7:23: "But this thing commanded I them, saying Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."

JOSEPH VALENZUELA, Jr.

Federal Employment Costs Are Increasing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the administration's proposal for a salary boost for Federal employees recalls the fanfare of its earlier moves to cut Government spending. The President himself promised substantial savings from a program of personnel reduction. In view of the present proposal to increase sharply Government payroll costs, an evaluation of the results of the personnel reduction program is certainly relevant.

Claims made by administration officials must be analyzed carefully to determine their real substance; this is especially true of announcements of personnel reductions. Facts can be presented to prove a contention which, upon closer scrutiny, has little real meaning.

The President recently announced, for example, that there were 13,743 fewer employees in March of this year than in March 1963. However, funds for the public works acceleration program were almost exhausted by March 1964, and if the temporary employees under this program are excluded, Federal employment in March of this year actually exceeded that of the previous year by 1,105. The reduction that occurred was due to the nature of the program rather than to the effort of the administration.

Those who maintain that economy in Government can be realized by personnel cutbacks alone may be proved wrong in practice. A decrease in Federal employment will provide little or no savings if accompanied by an increase in overtime costs or in contractor personnel. The House Appropriations Committee has noted that, although the Department of Defense has eliminated some jobs, an increase of 2,322 man-years of contractor personnel is planned for 1965. We must be careful to consider all relevant factors in our efforts to economize to assure that savings achieved in one area are not offset by increased costs in another.

The administration also has a tendency to talk of only one part of the Federal employment situation; namely, employment in the executive branch. If a complete evaluation of the personnel picture is to be made, employees in the legislative and judicial branches, as well as members of the military services and foreign nationals employed by the U.S. overseas, must also be considered. Even though employment in the executive branch alone may decline, the Government may find overall employment and payroll costs increasing. In fact, the Tax Foundation has estimated that total payroll costs will rise from the $25 billion in 1963 to $27.4 billion in 1965 if the proposed pay bill is enacted.

The attempt to justify increases in Federal employment by increases in the total population is of little merit. Except for the postal service, Government activities are not closely tied to the country's population. National defense, interest on the public debt, and space exploration, for example, need not grow as the population increases. Moreover, under proper administration, personnel efficiency will increase, and worker productivity in all branches of the Government will rise making little or no increase in the size of the work force necessary to keep pace with the growth of population. Judging by the administration's claims, this is exactly what is happening in the Post Office Department, the Veterans' Administration, and the Internal Revenue Service, to name just a few outstanding examples.

Comparison of Federal civilian payroll increases to increases in the Nation's personal income also is of interest. Between 1960 and 1963, for example, when personal income rose by 14.9 percent, the Federal payroll went up 21.3 percent. Such a comparison seems more significant than relating Federal employment to population.

Success in reducing Federal civilian employment can be attained only by a far-reaching, sustained effort. The tendency to stress the number of civil employees alone or to relate Federal employment to the population can weaken the determination to reduce the Federal work force. It is most important that we approach all policies concerning Federal personnel, including pay-raise proposals, with all the relevant facts at hand in order to produce coherent action in this area.

A recent study by the Tax Foundation on "The Federal Budget for Fiscal 1965" develops this subject in detail and under unanimous consent, I place No. 7 of the

foundation's series of budget briefs in the RECORD at this point:

THE FEDERAL BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1965: FEDERAL PERSONNEL AND PAY COSTS ARE INCREASING—No. 7 IN A SERIES OF BUDGET BRIEFS

The January budget message points out that the proposals call for a substantial reduction in total civilian employment in the executive branch. In subsequent pronouncements the Chief Executive has stressed administration efforts to reduce Federal employment.

Prior to the submission of the 1965 budget, the President directed Federal department and agency heads to make strenuous efforts to reduce employment. He indicated that employment ceilings would be set for the agencies. On March 31, 1964, the Bureau of the Budget issued a circular seeking to establish systematic methods for controlling and reporting on employment, improvement in manpower utilization, reductions in cost, etc.

These efforts, and the attention repeatedly directed to them by the President and other officials, plus the administration's push for enactment of a half-billion dollar pay increase for Federal employees, naturally generate interest in the Government's employment and pay picture. Some pertinent questions arise.

What are the prospects for achieving the substantial reduction in Federal civilian employment promised in the January budget message? How much progress has been made to date? To what extent, if any, will such personnel cutbacks lower Federal expenditures in fiscal 1965 and future years? These questions, and others, are considered in this, the seventh in a series of bulletins on the Federal budget for 1965.

HOW MUCH REDUCTION IN FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT?

Actually, the 1965 budget document indicated only a very modest reduction—1,200—in civilian employment in the 12 months following June 30, 1964. Budget tabulations, in fact, showed that the total number of Federal civilian employees on June 30, 1965, would exceed the total at the end of fiscal 1963 by almost 21,000.

Table 1 provides a breakdown of civilian employment in the executive branch, by major agency, with actual data for fiscal 1963 and estimates for the current and 1965 fiscal years.

These date require explanation. Year-end personnel totals include temporary, part-time, and intermittent employees. The total employment of 2,490,288 shown in table 1 as of the end of fiscal 1963, for example, includes 2,231,519 full-time permanent employees, 65,737 classified as temporary (primarily seasonal), 87,797 part-time employees' (principally in the Post Office and Veterans Administration), and 105,235 classified as intermittent, including leave replacements, consultants, and others who may be employed for as little as a day or two a month. The budget document also points out that employment totals at the end of the fiscal year, since they include seasonal employees, are likely to be higher than the average for the entire year.

In any case, the totals are imposing. And the figures in table 1 leave no doubt that an aggressive and sustained drive will be required to bring Federal civilian employment down even to the June 30, 1963, level. Some progress has been made. Early in March the White House reported that new end-of-year projected employment ceilings for 1965 were 7,265 below the estimate in the budget—bringing the estimated total reduction during fiscal 1965 to 8,465.

TABLE 1.—*Civilian employment in the executive branch* [1]

[Fiscal years as of June 30]

Description	Actual, 1963	Estimate, 1964	Estimate, 1965	Change, 1965 versus 1963
Executive Office of the President	1,660	1,621	1,618	−42
Department of Agriculture	112,448	116,800	115,376	+2,888
Department of Commerce	32,338	34,603	34,945	+2,607
Department of Defense:				
Military and military assistance [2]	1,017,117	1,007,000	989,920	−27,197
Civil [3]	32,648	32,293	31,831	−817
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	81,062	86,000	90,730	+9,668
Department of the Interior	69,558	72,592	72,774	+3,216
Department of Justice	32,081	32,759	32,759	+678
Department of Labor	9,567	10,016	9,954	+387
Post Office Department	587,161	593,100	597,900	+10,739
Department of State	24,519	25,324	25,320	+801
Agency for International Development	16,782	16,500	15,700	−1,082
Peace Corps	1,110	1,150	1,250	+140
Treasury Department	86,579	88,433	90,427	+3,848
Atomic Energy Commission	7,120	7,330	7,330	+210
Federal Aviation Agency	46,313	46,400	46,450	+137
General Services Administration	32,650	35,944	37,700	+5,050
Housing and Home Finance Agency	14,160	14,410	15,144	+984
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	29,934	32,600	33,800	+3,866
Veterans' Administration	172,864	173,021	173,754	+890
Other:				
Civil Service Commission	4,085	4,125	4,079	−6
Selective Service System	6,916	6,996	8,036	+1,120
Small Business Administration	3,387	3,500	3,500	+113
Tennessee Valley Authority	17,917	18,041	17,650	−267
The Panama Canal	14,966	15,083	15,228	+262
U.S. Information Agency	11,793	12,228	12,228	+435
Miscellaneous independent agencies and other	23,513	24,531	25,797	+2,284
Total	[4] 2,490,288	2,512,400	2,511,200	+20,912

[1] The figures include tentative estimates for employment under appropriations proposed for later transmittal. In accordance with definitions of the Civil Service Commission, the figures cover both employees working on June 30, and part-time and intermittent employees who work at any time during the month of June.

[2] Consists of civilian employment for military functions and military assistance.

[3] Employment of the Panama Canal and the U.S. Soldiers' Home is included under "Other" below.

[4] Excludes 7,411 project employees for the public works acceleration program.

TABLE 2.—*Employment increases and decreases by agency, June 30, 1964, to June 30, 1965*

Description	Change, 1965 versus 1964
Decreases:	
Department of Defense:	
Military	−17,080
Civil	−462
Department of Agriculture	−1,424
Subtotal	−18,966
Increases:	
Post Office Department	+4,800
Increases—Continued	
Veterans' Administration	+733
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	+4,730
Treasury Department	+1,994
All others	+5,509
Subtotal	+17,766
Net change	−1,200

EMPLOYMENT COMPARISONS REQUIRE ANALYSIS

Budget data on Federal employment, comparisons of employment totals—and sometimes claims of personnel reductions—require examination and analysis every bit as careful as do other data in this huge and complex document.

A case in point is provided by an announcement by the President in a recent press conference to the effect that there were 13,743 fewer Federal employees on March 31 of this year than for March 1963. The statement is accurate, but it requires analysis. The facts are these: In March 1963, overall Federal employment included 14,982 persons temporarily employed under the public works acceleration program. By March of 1964 funds for this program were about gone, and only 134 employees were included for this activity. If these temporary public works employees are excluded, Civil Service Commission data show that Federal employment in March of this year actually exceeded the comparable total 12 months earlier—by 1,105.

Table 1 also reveals that—as in the case of the overall reduction in estimated Federal expenditures for 1965—the slight net reduction in Federal civilian employment projected in 1965 (as compared with 1964) is due mostly to a substantial cutback in civilian employment in the Defense Department. This decline will be almost entirely offset by increases in other agencies.

Table 2 summarizes the major employment increases and decreases, by agency, as reported in the January budget document. (The estimates have not been adjusted for additional cuts announced by the President after submission of the budget.)

These changes, however, do not tell all that is important. Will personnel cutbacks be accompanied by equal efforts to hold down related costs, so that savings achieved in one place will not be offset by increases elsewhere?

TABLE 3.—*Paid civilian and active duty military personnel*

[Fiscal years as of June 30]

Description	1956	1960	1961	1962	1963
Civilian:					
Executive [1]	2,372,266	2,370,827	2,407,029	2,484,669	2,490,288
Foreign nationals	290,382	177,416	170,196	171,109	163,619
Legislative	22,115	22,886	22,621	23,974	24,523
Judicial	4,355	4,992	5,158	5,568	5,738
Subtotal	2,689,118	2,576,121	2,605,004	2,685,320	2,684,168
Military	2,805,541	2,475,225	2,482,421	2,805,987	2,697,689
Total	5,494,659	5,051,346	5,087,425	5,491,307	5,381,857

[1] Excludes Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency employees.

A case in point is provided by the recent report of the House Appropriations Committee on the Department of Defense appropriations bill for fiscal 1965. While the report endorsed efforts to eliminate unnecessary civilian personnel, it also included a pertinent example of how the savings from such personnel cuts might be dissipated. The report states: "Mere reduction of civilian personnel does not mean a net saving to the Government if there is an attendant increase in overtime costs, if additional military personnel are used to perform work previously done by civilians, or if there is a marked increase in the use of contractor personnel. In this connection, the committee has noted testimony given during the hearings that an increase of 2,322 man-years of contractor personnel is planned for the 1965 year. It is the opinion of the committee that the same effort should be made to reduce contractor personnel as has been made to reduce Federal civilian personnel." Difficulties in measurement of accomplishment cannot be overcome easily. Contract services can appear to be both more economical and more expensive, depending upon the quality of performance and the yardsticks by which costs and accomplishments are calculated.

A LOOK AT OTHER TYPES OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Most of the publicity as to Federal employment, and the material included thus far in this bulletin, has dealt with only civilian employment in the executive branch. Several groups of employees paid out of Federal funds are not included. For example, civilian employment totals do not include the employees of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency. Nor do such total include (1) foreign nationals employed by U.S. agencies overseas, (2) employees of the legislative branch, or (3) employees of the judicial branch. In addition, of course, the Federal Government pays the salaries and allowances of almost 2.7 million uniformed personnel in the military services—the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

TABLE 4.—*Civilian payroll and active duty military compensation*

[Fiscal years as of June 30. In millions of dollars]

Description	1956	1960	1961	1962	1963
Civilian payroll:					
Executive [1]	$10,526	$12,637	$13,648	$14,296	$15,346
Foreign nationals	338	268	285	314	334
Legislative	129	154	164	172	178
Judicial	28	36	39	43	45
Subtotal	11,021	13,095	14,136	14,825	15,903
Military compensation [2]	9,059	9,435	9,542	9,826	9,704
Total	20,080	22,530	23,678	24,651	25,607

[1] Excludes Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency employees.
[2] Includes pay and allowances comparable to civilian employees—does not include subsistence or clothing allowances, change of duty travel allowances, or similar payments.

TABLE 5.—*Federal civilian payroll and personal income*

[Selected fiscal years, dollar figures in billions]

Series	1956	1960	1963	Percent increase	
				1956 to 1963	1960 to 1963
Personal income	$322.1	$393.4	$452.1	+40.4	+14.9
Federal civilian payroll	10.7	12.8	15.6	+45.7	+21.3

When these groups are included, the number of persons on Federal payrolls at the end of fiscal 1963—the last year for which such data are available—totaled 5.4 million. The combined payroll costs for all Federal employees, including military personnel, totaled $25.6 billion in the year ending June 30, 1963. Tables 3 and 4 provide data on the numbers and the payroll costs for all types of Federal employment for fiscal 1956 and also for the most recent fiscal years for which such data are available.

IMPACT OF PAYROLL COSTS ON FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

The 1965 budget document contains a special analysis of Federal civilian employment. This analysis notes that "personnel compensation is a relatively small portion of the Federal budget. In the administrative budget for 1965 these costs amount to only 12.5 percent." Since the analysis covers civilian employment in the executive branch only, it does not include the other categories listed in table 3. While complete data are not available for the current or 1965 fiscal years, it is possible to make some meaningful estimates.

Civilian employment in the executive branch may decline. Actual payroll costs, however, are expected to increase as a result of pay increases recently enacted or currently proposed. To estimate the civilian payroll in the executive branch at $16.5 billion in fiscal 1965 does not appear unreasonable. In addition, 1965 military compensation is estimated at $10.9 billion, bringing the total to $27.4 billion—or 27.9 percent of total administrative budget expenditures.

The actual total for fiscal 1963 was $25 billion—or 26.9 percent of administrative budget expenditures. Actually then, even though there may be reduction in the number of Federal employees, payroll costs are likely to increase in 1965.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT RELATED TO POPULATION GROWTH

The current emphasis on reduction in number of Federal civilian employees, and the relationship of the Federal civilian work force to population increases, suggests another comparison. The 1965 budget—and statements of the President and other officials—have emphasized that Federal employment over the last decade has grown at a slower rate than population—that in 1955 there was one Federal employee (in the executive branch) for each 70 Americans, whereas in 1965 the ratio will be one to 77. Other statements have suggested that if Federal employment were to keep pace with population, an employment increase, rather than the planned cutback, could be expected. Except for the postal services, however, Federal Government activities are for the most part not tied closely to population. National defense, space exploration, interest on the public debt, and other activities need not grow with population.

Moreover, it is of interest to compare payrolls as well as numbers of employees. It may be, for example, just as pertinent to compare the increase in Federal civilian payroll to the increase in personal income, as to compare Federal employment with population. Such a comparison is revealing.

In fiscal 1956 personal income totaled $325.1 billion, the Federal civilian payroll $10.7 billion. By 1963—the last year for which actual payroll data are available—personal income had increased to $452.1 billion, a rise of 40.4 percent. The Federal civilian payroll had risen to $15.6 billion—a 45.7-percent increase. Between 1960 and 1963, when personal income rose by 14.9 percent, the Federal payroll went up 21.3 percent. The pertinent data are shown in table 5.

CONCLUSION

Current efforts to reduce Federal civilian employment may succeed. There is compelling reason to try to increase the productivity and efficiency of Federal employees. Little success, however, can be expected from sporadic efforts. Success requires a continuing determination and responsibility of all administrations, pressed vigorously at all times.

The tendency to stress the numbers of civilian employees only, or to relate Federal civilian employment to population, could weaken determination to control the Federal work force. Moreover, the costs of Federal employment are significant, apart from the numbers employed. The arguments for upward adjustment in some Federal salaries are highly persuasive. But the great increase in Federal payrolls suggests that close attention needs to be given rates of pay and employment, as well as other Federal outlays, if effective control of Federal spending is to be achieved.

Study of Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am honored with your permission to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Mr. Paul Gardner of the New York Times on the outstanding telecast of the National Broadcasting Co. of last week entitled, "Red, White, and Blue." I was fortunate to be able to have viewed this program which paid tribute in the highest possible way to the beauty and great significance our flag holds for us and I was awed by its intensity of purpose in arousing the American people to continue ever stronger their devotion and love for their flag and their country.

TV: STUDY OF PATRIOTISM—RED, WHITE, AND BLUE STRESSES FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN THE AMERICAN DREAM

America, according to youngsters in grammar school, is a country where sugar can be borrowed freely, where junk can be sold when the owner pleases and where freedom is fun.

These views of America, some unusually intelligent, others strangely limited, but all stressing freedom and choice, were expressed last night during the National Broadcasting Co.'s documentary on patriotism, "The Red, White and Blue."

Without stooping to the variety-show level of flag waving or stopping to let celebrities gush on about what the Constitution means to them—between unfortunate interludes of marching music—the hour-long production demonstrated that our country's attitudes toward patriotism can be examined with dignity and grace.

While Walter Brennan narrated a script by Philip Reisman Jr., Donald Hyatt's cameras visited the ghostly remains of Ellis Island, port of entry for 20 million people seeking life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This, Mr. Reisman pointed out, was called the American dream, and it was a good dream, and it still is.

Explaining that there is neither a liberal nor a conservative flag, "Red, White and Blue" effectively showed how the American flag has been subverted by Nazi and Communist groups and perverted by the Ku Klux Klan, which emphasizes only the whiteness and ignores the other colors.

A rousing score by Robert Russell Bennett conveyed the excitement of a Fourth of July celebration, the memories of a Decoration Day ceremony and the beauty of the American flag, whether resting in a classroom or waving in a breeze.

PAUL GARDNER.

"Ground Rules" for Graduates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the rules that govern the good life, even in this complex age in which we live, are simple and fundamental. There are no changes in the basic precepts. They are as sound today as they were in the beginning of time, but they bear repeating, especially for those young people who are graduating from high school, about to embark on business or college careers that will remove them from the shelter of home and school.

Each year the Hudson Dispatch published in Union City, N.J., publishes a list of what the editor refers to as "Ground Rules for Graduates." These merit wide circulation for they serve as sound guidance for any young graduate.

Under unanimous consent I place the following editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Hudson Dispatch, June 4, 1964]

"GROUND RULES" FOR GRADUATES

Since 1948, around this time of the year, we have offered what we call "ground rules" for graduates. We believe that if these rules are followed, the young graduate's life will be happier and more wholesome, and success will be assured if it is not measured by the dollar sign.

The "ground rules"—

1. Believe in God, no matter how or where you worship.

2. Observe common honesty and decency in all things.

3. Insist on honorable dealing. Spurn shady practices, even though strictly legal and you know how you can get away with them.

4. Try to do your job better than anybody ever did in the past.

5. Jump at the opportunity to shoulder responsibility. The world needs men and women who are able to assume responsibility and not afraid to do so.

6. Never duck doing something that is not strictly a part of your job but which you know should be done by you for the benefit of the company.

7. Take and execute orders of your superior willingly. Remember, if you cannot "take" orders, you will not likely rise to a position in which you will be the one to give orders.

8. Forgo comment on the faults of others except for a constructive purpose. Conversely, give full credit to the good deeds of others.

9. Fear giving too little to your job than giving too much. There are plenty who give too little, but only a few who give too much.

10. Play fair, even in instances in which no one would know the difference. If you do this, you will also be considerate and tolerant.

11. Endeavor to get along with people no matter whether you personally like them or not.

12. Remember, the amount of happiness that you get out of life will depend largely on the amount of happiness you give to others.

With fair ability and intelligence, if you will conscientiously follow these "ground rules," success in life is virtually assured, unles you measure success by a monetary standard.

Wanted: Full-Time Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in the lead article of the April issue of Enterprise, which is the magazine of the Young Presidents Organization, there appeared an article entitled "Wanted: Full-Time Americans," written by my very good friend, William H. Rentschler, president of the Stevens Candy Kitchens, Inc., Chicago. Bill practices what he preaches, having actively served in the State Young Republican organization in a variety of capacities, including the chairmanship, and having run in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate in 1962. As a young businessman actively engaged in the political arena, his remarks ought to be heeded by all those in the business community, and under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I place the entire text of the article at this point in the RECORD:

WANTED: FULL-TIME AMERICANS

It is my conviction that the survival of our values, of our society, of our system of government, of our economic sestem, of our way of life depends on the dedicated, enthusiastic, selfless participation of people like yourself.

I ask you, as former Gov. Sam Jones of Louisiana suggested in a recent speech, to "enlist as a full time citizen of this Republic for the duration of your lifetime."

The record to date is not good. It is actually quite depressing. I am not going to pull any punches, and I am going to say some things that you may not like to hear, but some things which I believe need saying.

If, as some people seem to think, there is a decline in the standards of public officials; if, as the head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce says, some Congressmen are "bagmen"; if politicians are held by many in low esteem, much of the responsibility must fall on the business community, and on so-called civic leaders who provide such poor examples.

After all, it is businessmen who are clamoring for a tax cut today without insisting on the discipline of reduced expenditures and a balanced Federal budget.

It is businessmen who give aid and comfort and support to the corrupt, boss-ruled political machines in big cities like Chicago which deliver the electoral votes to elect Presidents.

It is businessmen who suggest we sell Russia, and indirectly Cuba, our surplus wheat to prop up, after repeated crop failures, the regime that threatens to bury us.

It is businessmen who go to Washington at the head of every delegation seeking Federal funds and Federal participation in in-

numerable projects which ought to be handled at the local and State level.

Not all businessmen, not even most businessmen, engage in this folly, thank God, nor do more than a fraction of our legislators succumb, but far too many businessmen demonstrate an almost shocking myopia and shortsightedness, and perhaps selfishness in dealing with matters involving government and politics.

Too many normally farsighted businessmen see only the buck and the easy way, too many are mesmerized by the power and influence of the White House, the Congress, the State capitol. Too many want to cut expenditures only if it doesn't affect their pet project or their industry—just so it doesn't strike too close to home. New Englanders are all for eliminating oil subsidies. West Virginians don't give a hoot about the sheep ranchers of the West. Iowa doesn't worry much about the influx of cheap German steel. And so it goes.

But businessmen—all citizens, in fact—have a responsibility to get into the political arena, to learn about politics, to abandon their selfishness for the larger causes of survival, world peace, national honor, and the preservation of our way of life.

There is perhaps one good reason why many businessmen steer clear of politics. Businessmen as a group are notably inept, ineffective, and naive in the political arena in contrast to the businesslike effectiveness of labor. Business leaders tend to be political followers—they tend to react rather than initiate. They are often "used"—they are suckers for the siren song of government.

BUSINESSMEN AND PRESIDENTS

This is not to suggest that businessmen don't make their mark in public life. The Cabinets of every recent President, including Truman and Kennedy, have been liberally sprinkled with businessmen.

But when it comes to effective political action, that seems to be another story—and my hat is off to big labor for doing such a bangup job in that sphere.

Where labor hires paid political organizers, business runs full-page ads in the Wall Street Journal.

Where labor pumps money into crucial marginal areas, business kicks into vague "committees for this or that" which lack real grassroots political punch.

Where labor tells its friends and members how to vote, business relies on the "soft sell"—unwilling to run the risk of offending anyone—and often doesn't even convey its views at all.

For reasons like this, there are those who feel it is only fair to ask this question:

"Is the American businessman, known the world over for his energy and imagination and drive, a real doer in the political sphere—or is he only a dawdler, a dabbler, a dilettante who by default turns over the functions of Government to less qualified men, and who turns to Government only to achieve his own immediate ends or selfish objectives?"

If there is any truth in this assertion, and I am inclined to think there is, we must somehow reshape the thinking of businessmen, we must get people to enlist for the duration of their lives in the cause of good, responsible, and responsive government.

What can you do?

1. You can keep yourself, your family, and your friends registered to vote.

2. You can participate in political affairs as you would in your church, your fraternal and civic organizations, and your business. You can attend political meetings and inform yourself of the affairs of the national, State, and local governments. You can ring doorbells, and argue with your neighbors and friends over politics.

3. You can even become a ward leader or precinct captain. And after the election is over you can, and should, still work, supporting what is good and opposing what is bad.

4. You can run for public office. Not necessarily U.S. Senator or Governor, but for the school board or cit. council or State legislature.

5. You can inform yourself so that the men you back and the causes they back are the right men and the right causes. Don't back someone just because some crony asks you to "go along."

6. You can demand good candidates. You can be tough and hardheaded in appraising their qualifications and their chances.

7. You can get your company involved in the cause of good government on a positive but bipartisan basis by encouraging your associates to be active in their party, by offering some time off for political work, by educating your employees on the issues and the candidates, and by making it possible for employees to contribut. s:.retly to their party.

Finally, I urge you to stand up and be counted. You instinctively are men of conviction—both as community and business leaders, examples for your fellow men. For too long, however, the typical businessman, fearful of the possible adverse effect on his livelihood or his reputation, or his acceptance, has steered clear of controversy and partisan politics. This is wrong, dangerous, and not even good business.

Like it or not, you are a leader. I urge you to accept this responsibility, because our way of life surely hangs in the balance. You have no more right to skirt this responsibility than to evade the ballot box or dodge the draft.

If you think this is hard to swallow, if you think this might cut into your golf game or your evenings at home, if you think all this is distateful and burdensome, remember that these are precisely the things that the Founders of our Nation did, that led to the development of the political leaders who brought American freedom and prosperity—men like Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and Lincoln.

YOUR DUTY TO YOURSELF

Your very existence is controlled by the men who represent us all in city hall, in the county courthouse, in the State capitol, and Washington. It is they who ordain tax rates and sources, wage and hour laws, compensation legislation. It is they who enact stifling regulatory statutes, who mortgage your future. They can cripple you, maim you, put you out of business. How, then, can you afford to keep hands off and nose in the air when the fate of your own enterprise may hang in the balance? It is your right and your duty—your duty to your Nation, to be sure, but also your duty to yourself and your family—to speak out and help fill the legislative chairs with men who have faith, and dedication, and integrity.

There is honor in partisanship, in dedication to a cause. Our two-party system has given America stability, has served as a bulwark against the chaos that has shredded splinter-party nations like France and Korea. There is no courage in teetering on the fence or bending before every breeze.

People everywhere respect courage and integrity. Integrity of product and service are keystones of retail business. It is far more important in the long run to be respected in your community than to be popular. Respect is enduring, but popularity is shallow and can fade like a puff of smoke. This is a lesson we have not learned in the highest councils of our Government, where the success of our foreign policy too often is judged by how much the world likes us, or loves us, rather than the extent to which the world respects us.

I am not suggesting that you wallow in shrill, shallow partisanship, but I do call on each one of you to give your devotion to a sound philosophy which will preserve the greatness of America as it moves our beloved Nation forward.

Let Us Not Forget Military Personnel in "Poverty" Bracket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, everyone agrees that poverty should be eliminated in the United States if it is at all possible. The fixing of an arbitrary figure of $3,000 annual income for families defined as being in the poverty status has raised many questions. Some people who have an annual income of only $3,000 have asserted that they are doing all right. Others have pointed out that people in the Federal employment, including many in the military service, receive much less than this. On this point, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point a challenging editorial from the Air Force and Space Digest of June 1964 which reads as follows, and points up the necessity for Congress to come to grips promptly with the need for additional wages for our servicemen, particularly in view of the recently passed civil service pay raise:

GI "POCKETS OF POVERTY"

(By Allan R. Scholin)

How much water can you put in your gas tank before your engine stops running?

The Congress, abetted by the Department of Defense and the Bureau of the Budget, is trying this approach in terms of pay, allowances, and fringe benefits of military personnel.

Military compensation is steadily being diluted in relation to that of U.S. civilians and to Federal civil service employees.

A bill to provide a modest pay increase of 3 percent for officers and 2.4 percent for enlisted men has not yet been acted upon by the House Armed Services Committee. There has been no appreciable pressure for its approval by members of that committee or its Senate counterpart.

Why not?

There is more than one answer. Some Congressmen say "we took care of the boys" in the 1963 pay raise. Many feel that the military can be expected to suffer in silence. And there is no real pressure by the voters.

The printed program for the national Armed Forces Day dinner in Washington, May 8, carried a joint statement from the sponsors—the Army Association, Navy League, and Air Force Association—which said in part:

"In a world grown weary of cirsis and tension, we too often forget the dedication of those who man the weapons, the planes, and the ships that protect our way of life."

The Nation has even forgotten the words of the late President Kennedy when he signed the 1963 military pay bill. He pledged that his administration would "use its best efforts to assure that in the future military compensation will keep pace with increases in salaries and wages in the civilian economy." And, he added, "I think I speak for all of us when I say that is a pledge we intend to keep."

President Kennedy is gone. Was his promise buried with him?

President Johnson has declared war on poverty. The target is those families who make less than $3,000 a year. Sixty percent of all enlisted personnel are in this category. True, unmarried men get room and board. But more than half of all enlisted men are married. Many are struggling to raise fam-

ilies on incomes that clearly qualify them as inhabitants of so-called "pockets of poverty."

The last real effort to restore military pay to levels comparable with the civilian economy was in 1958—the Cordiner Committee raise. The 1963 act gave substantial increases at key retention points, though even these fell short of civilian increases. But in other grades the 1963 raise was far from adequate, and it ignored entirely those in their first 2 years of service.

In the last 6 years, civilian salaries have jumped 25 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the U.S. Census Bureau. In 1964 they are expected to go up another 3 percent.

In contrast, since 1958 the pay and allowances of fist lieutenants, captains, and E–4's with more than 4 years' service have, as a result of the 1963 act, increased by slightly more than 20 percent. In other grades, the increases range from 11 to 17 percent—except that recruits in their first 2 years of service have gained only 1.1 percent and general officers only 6.5 percent.

The 1964 bill would match only the 3-percent increase in civilian pay in the past year, and then only for active-duty personnel with more than 2 years' service. The cost is about $200 million a year.

To bring men in their first 2 years of service up to 1964 levels would cost another $234 million. To restore all military pay to its 1958 relationship with the civilian economy would cost $1.5 billion a year—about the same price tag as the 1963 raise.

In comparison, the Federal civil service received pay raises in 1958, 1962, and January 1, 1964. Another civilian raise has already been approved by the House Civil Service Committee. With that boost, the average increase in civil service pay since 1958 will range from 20 percent for GS–4's to 40 percent for GS–18's.

The pay of a staff sergeant, for example, has gone up only 8.4 percent since 1958, and would increase another 2.4 percent, under the 1964 bill while that of a GS–5, 6, or 7—his counterparts in civil service—will have jumped more than 22 percent. The pay of a major general has increased 6.4 percent, with another 3 percent in the 1964 bill; that of a GS–18, the comparable civilian grade, will go up 40 percent.

Under these conditions, it is small wonder that, as Jerry Kluttz, veteran columnist on civil service for the Washington Post, has pointed out: "A wedge is being driven between Uncle Sam's 2.5 million civilian and 2.7 million military personnel. * * * Military people and their families feel strongly that civilians are the favored group. * * * I found numerous civilians who agree with them."

The Congress is not merely cold to the serviceman's claim to an equitable income. Voices are being raised in the House and Senate that such fringe benefits as commissaries and base exchanges should be abolished as well. There are demands that the military should contribute to their retirement fund, that allowances should be taxed along with base pay.

As NBC's Hugh Downs, master of ceremonies for the Armed Forces Day dinner on May 8, said:

"We quibble about the pay scales and the so-called fringe benefits of military service as if we were in a buyer's market, as if the supply of top-quality men exceeded the demand, as if the record of retaining bright young men for military careers was good—which it decidedly is not.

"The military can contract outside for many of its requirements—but as Gen. Nate Twining, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said: 'There are two things in this life you can't delegate, no matter how good an executive you may be—your lovemaking and your fighting.'"

Our military men are proving today, as throughout our history, that they will fight heroically for this Nation. But they aren't supposed to be good at fighting for their own needs. That's a job for the people they defend. And that can't be delegated either.

A Lonely and Frightened Minority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 19, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, although epilepsy is an ancient disease, it still remains as one of the most misunderstood afflictions in the country today. Some 2 million Americans who suffer from epilepsy have to bear not only the problems of the disease itself, but the myths about the disease which are difficult to suppress. The Epilepsy Foundation has launched a campaign for better public understanding of this disease which I wholeheartedly endorse. Frank Carey, a science writer for the Associated Press, recently wrote an excellent article on this subject. Because I feel that wide circulation of information such as is contained in this article will do much to arrest the misconceptions about this affliction, I am today inserting the article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

[From the Canton Repository, June 7, 1964]

EPILEPTICS' BIG NEED: UNDERSTANDING—FOUR OF FIVE DON'T SEEK TREATMENT

(By Frank Carey)

WASHINGTON.—Epilepsy is an ancient affliction—as old as man himself.

It has victimized such men as St. Paul, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Alexander the Great, Lord Byron, and Handel.

Two million Americans suffer from it, and they form what the Epilepsy Foundation calls "a lonely and frightened minority."

Four out of five epileptics do not even seek treatment. They hide their condition, either through fear or because they don't know treatment is available.

But help is available, and the Epilepsy Foundation has launched a campaign for "better understanding of epilepsy and the person with epilepsy."

Dr. Marvin C. Korengold, chairman of the foundation's medical advisory board, fears that the recent trial in Dallas of Jack Ruby for the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald may have spread "incomplete information" about epilepsy.

"Unfortunately," he says, "very few people have taken the trouble to inform themselves fully of the facts about epilepsy."

The foundation says most epileptics are capable of normal lives but ignorance, superstition, and "cruelly archaic" laws increase their difficulties.

In some States, epileptics may not marry or obtain driving permits, may be subject to sterilization and cannot obtain jobs or education.

Scientists say epilepsy is not a disease but a neurological disorder marked by seizures stemming from abnormal "firing" of the brain's normal electricity.

And what is the current status of treatment and research—and prospects for the future?

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) conducts some of the key research into epilepsy and supports other investigations.

In a basement laboratory at NIH, unusual radio broadcasts have been recorded—from a single cell among millions of such cells in the brain of a cuddly gray cat.

The broadcasts, consisting of electrical energy given off by the cell, were picked up by a tiny electrode inserted in the cat's brain.

You can see and hear the results: sharp dots of light on an oscilloscope screen, and clicks of sound through an amplifier.

DRUGS EFFECTIVE

Up to 80 percent of epileptics can have their seizures well controlled by anticonvulsant drugs; a small percentage can be cured by removal of affected brain areas.

But all the drugs have certain drawbacks, so doctors are constantly trying to find improved ones. And they'd like to find ways of safely expanding the surgical approach.

The cat's broadcasts were from a normal brain cell. But the experiment was a prelude to one wherein the researchers would artificially induce epileptic seizures in the cat—and study the electric discharge from abnormal cells.

In another NIH laboratory, other scientists are planning a related experiment—perhaps this summer—on the giant squid, a sea creature whose brain cells are unusually large.

Other researchers are learning new things about the action of chemicals, including ordinary sodium, that generate electricity in nerve cells—serving as wondrous, Lilliputian storage batteries which discharge and recharge properly when the brain is normal, but somehow go haywire in an epileptic seizure.

And in the Institute's world-famed clinical center, surgeons are studying the possible value of cooling parts of the brain of certain epileptics with fluids or gases. The hope is to use this technique as a substitute for the brain surgery now possible in a relatively small number of epileptic cases—and possibly even use it in cases where the epileptic focus is too deep for surgical attack.

Meanwhile, various types of electrodes—somewhat larger than the micro type—are aiding the conventional surgical attack by helping pinpoint the affected areas.

Some electrodes are placed on the surface of the exposed brain—virtually mapping it for signs of telltale signals. Others are inserted deeper in the brain, and the brain is stimulated so as to reproduce a natural seizure during the operation.

A novel aid to treatment and research is being employed at the University of Wisconsin Medical Center, with NIH support.

It consists of a tiny radio transmitter worn on the head of a patient—usually a child—while going about daily activities at the hospital, including attending school classes.

The transmitter, hooked up to electrodes pasted on the child's scalp, broadcasts the child's brainwaves to a laboratory. It's designed to study a certain type of quickly passing seizures that might occur during ordinary activities and which might not be apparent to an observer.

Scientists caution that while greater strides have been made against epilepsy in the last 25 years than in the previous 2,500 years—and further progress is being made each year—victory over it is far from won.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Take it from Dr. J. Preston Robb. He's a neurologist from McGill University, Montreal, who is now working at the U.S. National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, surveying the American research effort in neurological ailments, including epilepsy. He says:

"Although we treat epilepsy reasonably well, and know a great deal more about it than we once did, there are many crucial,

unanswered questions that require further study—both at the laboratory level and through careful study of patients themselves.

"For example, what are the factors in the developing brain that relate to seizures? What are the specific chemical reactions that take place (in brain cells) during seizures? What is it that starts a seizure in the first place—electrically, that is—and what enables it to spread the way it sometimes does, sometimes involving the whole brain?

"And how do the anticonvulsant drugs actually work? We think they work by preventing the spread of a seizure from one area of the brain to other areas. But we'd like to find drugs that might actually prevent a seizure from developing at all."

Dr. Robb says epilepsy—from the Greek word meaning seizure—has a variety of manifestations, but all are characterized by "a sudden and massive electrical discharge (within brain cells) which may remain localized to one area, or may spread to involve the whole brain, causing generalized convulsions."

There are three principal forms:

"Grand mal," also known as the "great sickness," or the "falling sickness." This is the most dramatic type. The patient falls to the ground—convulsed and unconscious—and may even bite his tongue. But he's in no danger, unless he strikes his head in falling.

"Petit mal," or the "little sickness." In this, there is a transient spell of unconsciousness—a momentary blackout—but no falling to the ground.

"Focal" epilepsy. In this type, the abnormal electric discharge can be traced to one small area, or focus, in the brain, or to a number of such areas. Depending upon what type of nerve centers are involved, the patient might exhibit uncontrolled twitching of the hands or feet, or see imagined flashing lights, or smell bad odors.

If the focal seizure involves the temporal lobes of the brain—the lobes lying above each ear—each repeated seizure tends to result, Dr. Robb says, in "automatic * * * stereotyped forms of behavior disturbances." These range from hand-wringing, nose-picking, or forehead-wiping to "that of one patient who would go find his wife and kiss her." The patient might have hallucinations "and see the same (memory) picture, or hear the same music over and over again."

Some neurologists call this temporal lobe type of seizure psychomotor epilepsy. The U.S. Public Health Service says that in this type "the abnormally discharging cells act upon the mental process as well as upon the muscles."

The defense of Jack Ruby for the murder of Oswald was based largely on the contention of the defense—backed by testimony of some scientists—that Ruby had psychomotor epilepsy. But five neurologists for the State contended there was no definite evidence of any kind of epilepsy in Ruby's case.

RAGE STATES RARE

The Epilepsy Foundation defines a psychomotor attack as "the rarest, most complex form that epilepsy can take."

Declaring this subject (psychomotor epilepsy) "gained national attention recently as a result of the Jack Ruby trial," the foundation says:

"During these seizures, patients do things that may seem to be deliberate, but that actually have little relation to the immediate situation—such as making chewing motions or smacking the lips.

"On extremely rare occasions, some patients experience 'rage' states during an attack."

Some 30 percent of all cases of epilepsy are traceable to brain damage occurring either (1) at or before birth; (2) from brain infections, injuries, or wounds later in life; or (3) from malignant or benign tumors. Causes of the remaining 70 percent are unknown.

But not all people who suffer brain damage get epilepsy—as witness the experience of soldiers in World War II. Of the hundreds who suffered head injuries, only one in four developed epileptic seizures later on. So, scientists believe certain individuals may inherit a susceptibility to the disorder—as distinguished from any inheritance of the ailment itself.

Surgery for the treatment of epilepsy is now limited to the focal form—and largely to the psychomotor type in the temporal lobes.

But 50 percent of all cases amenable to surgery are cured, and another 25 percent improved.

Estimates of the number amenable to surgery range from a few percent to 10 percent. But MIH surgeons say there's encouragement in the fact that "as we study the various types of epilepsy according to cause, we are finding more and more that are focal."

Dr. Robb says that despite their benefits, drugs and surgery are not enough. He says doctors and society in general should also consider the general well-being of the patient—the environment in which he lives, his educational problems, his ability to work.

"The patient who is well-adjusted and happy," he says, "is always easier to control than the maladjusted individual who is not working.

"That's why it's important (for doctors) to consider the patient as a person—not just a number to whom you are giving pills."

The Epilepsy Foundation puts it even stronger:

Declaring the Nation's epileptics are the innocent victims of myths about epilepsy—legacies from the Middle Ages when epileptics were considered to be possessed by demons—the foundation says:

"Myths die hard. So long as most people continue to look upon persons with epilepsy as monsters or freaks, 2 million Americans will have to get along without the most precious medicine of all—understanding."

Need for Transit Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, recently the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette had an editorial on the pending Federal transit aid bill. The editorial points out that a persuasive case does exist as to why urban mass transit deserves a high priority as a Federal aid recipient.

NEED FOR TRANSIT AID

With Allegheny County just beginning to tackle its problem of inadequate mass transit, this area has a vital stake in the Federal transit aid bill that has been cleared by the House Rules Committee for floor consideration. Though floor action is not expected to come until next month, the Rules Committee move was taken on the strength of claims by the bill's sponsors that they have the votes to pass it.

The House transit aid measure, one of the key items in the Johnson administration program, would authorize a 3-year, $500 million allocation of Federal grants to help urban areas build new commuter facilities and improve old ones. It would also provide for the continuation of a $50 million transit loan fund set up in 1961. A companion bill, passed by the Senate last year, calls for $375 million in grants and an equal amount in Federal loan guarantees for communities wishing to borrow money to help finance transit projects.

Despite the optimism of the transit bill's backers, its enactment is by no means certain. The measure still faces formidable opposition from farm lobbyists, highway-building promoters and from antispending Republicans and rural Democrats. It needs the support of city dwellers and urban-oriented public and private agencies who can and should offer a persuasive case as to why urban mass transit deserves a higher priority as a Federal-aid recipient than some rural programs that have been receiving Federal allocations for years.

Baltic Deportations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, we like to think that the barbarities of man no longer exist and that society is now motivated by considerations of justice and humanity. However, acts of the utmost cruelty and savagery sometimes still burst forth. A case in point is that of the deportation of thousands of helpless Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians in June 1941 by Russian Communists.

These people, liberated from Russian domination in the aftermath of World War I, had enjoyed their hard-won freedom and had focused their attention on developing their own countries. They wanted nothing more than to be left alone, but they could not exist independent of the designs of the two great powers, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, who lay on either side of them. Following the German-Soviet agreement, Russian troops poured into these three Baltic States in mid-June 1940 to extinguish their independence and incorporate them into the Soviet Union. Terror and repression, reminiscent of czarist days earlier, followed in the wake of the Russian Army.

But the worst of Soviet oppression had yet to come. On June 14, 1941, 1 year after the Russians had seized control, they instituted a wave of terrorism that equaled that of the Nazis. On that date, at the beginning of a campaign to suppress anti-Communist opposition, 15,000 Latvian men, women, and even innocent children were packed into cattle cars to begin a journey to the east.

This outrage was only the beginning. By the end of the year, 19,000 more of their fellow countrymen had been arrested, deported, or killed. The same story was reinacted in Estonia and Lithuania. On the night of June 14–15, Lithuania lost 30,000 people to the inhuman slave labor camps in Russia. Fifteen thousand Estonians were in like fashion deported. Most of these unfortunate victims, sacrificed to the totalitarian Communist order, never returned

or went insane, broken by Soviet brutalities and inhuman living conditions.

But what happened to their fellow countrymen at home? After the Germans drove out the Russians, they were in turn defeated by the Red Army which returned in 1944. Once more the tyranny and deportations reappeared, showing that the earlier atrocities were not just the child of impulsive barbarism. In all, half a million souls from these three former independent states, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, were deported to suffer torture, disease, and starvation. We cannot describe the hideous acts that these people suffered. Many did not live to tell their story.

Mr. Speaker, for as long as these outrageous and wanton acts against the Baltic peoples go untried and unpunished, the conscience of freedom will be troubled. Our minds, because we hold dear to the tenets of justice, are deeply distressed by the slavery that now exists in the once free countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

I believe that we can do more than speaking of our sorrow for the plight of the Baltic peoples and their homelands; we can act. We can and should seek the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops, agents, colonists, and controls from the Baltic nations. Further, we can and should work for the return of all Baltic exiles from Siberia, prisons, and slave-labor camps in the Soviet Union.

Our actions should be taken through the United Nations where discussion of the Baltic States question should be initiated promptly.

Nearly a year ago, I introduced in the House, House Concurrent Resolution 197, providing that Congress request the President to instruct our U.N. delegation to pursue this matter. My resolution, by its adoption, also would express the sense of Congress that the President should instruct the U.S. mission to the U.N. to held free elections in the Baltic States and punish the Soviet Communists who are found guilty of crimes against the people of these countries.

Mr. Speaker, 23 years have passed since those horrible days in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Yet, the lot of the Baltic peoples continues one of oppression.

Therefore, we must not delay any longer. The kind of response such heinous crimes should provoke is long overdue. And, until this Nation, which so highly prizes all that is denied to the Baltic countries, moves decisively to restore self-determination in these captive nations, we will not have fulfilled our democratic purpose.

Dave Martin: A Bulwark Against Paternalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, a newspaper within the Third Nebraska Congressional District recently published an editorial that comments on a phase of our responsibility here that is mentioned far too infrequently.

It also mentions by name, in a manner that we would all like to be mentioned, the Congressman from that district, the Honorable DAVE MARTIN, of Nebraska.

Therefore, under permission to extend and revise my remarks I would like to offer the following editorial from the McCook (Nebr.) Daily Gazette, and do hereby recommend it to all my colleagues for thoughtful reading and contemplation:

Red Willow County has the questionable distinction of being the "first" county in Nebraska to declare war on Congressman DAVE MARTIN.

A group of local Democrats "appalled by DAVE MARTIN's opposition to all constructive legislation for Nebraska," last week said they are out to unseat the solon from Kearney because he voted against the new wheat bill, opposed selling wheat to Russia and opposes the Democratic administration's anti-poverty campaign.

In MARTIN's place, the Red Willow County Democrats want to send Bill Colwell to Washington. Colwell is a past State Wheatgrowers' president and the type of candidate who promises to "vote for you." He is the type of candidate who will vote the way you want him to and will vote to benefit your pocketbook.

One of the major things wrong with Washington today is that too many of the Nation's Congressmen are voting the way they think the people back home want them to vote without regard for right or wrong, or the welfare of the Nation as a whole. Solons from heavily organized labor areas, which far outweigh agricultural representation, vote the way the folks back home want—for more and more public welfare and more of "something for nothing." This line of politics is forcing us down the road of government parentalism.

I've often wondered what the public's reaction would be to a politician who ran on the platform that he was not necessarily going to vote the way he thought the people back home wanted, but for what he felt was the lasting overall benefit of the American way of life.

The plight of the farmers is from a two-prong effect—lower prices for farm products as a result of overproduction and increasing prices paid by the farmer largely created by the uncontrolled labor unions.

DAVE MARTIN has not only labored to help the farmer in the areas of agriculture pricing in both livestock and wheat, but has repeatedly introduced legislation which would place organized labor under the same antimonopoly control that business has been under since 1890.

It would be unwise to replace a man who is working toward the overall good of the Nation as well as Nebraska with one of narrow interests who promises to vote the way you want him to.

Brooklyn Jewish Community Council Condemns Arab Threat to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, representing more than 800 organizations in the largest Jewish community in America, is deeply concerned and troubled—as we all are—over the repeated threats by Egypt's President Nasser to annihilate Israel.

In view of the fact that our Government has and is still giving aid to Nasser's captive Arab countries, the council and its affiliated organizations, representing over 1 million Jews residing in Brooklyn held a mass meeting at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on May 5, 1964, and unanimously adopted the following resolution which I commend to the attention of our colleagues:

The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council duly assembled at its silver jubilee anniversary meeting held at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on may 5, 1964, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas for more than a decade the very existence of the State of Israel has been threatened with extinction by the repeated public declarations and preparations of the ruler of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser; and

"Whereas since he came to power President Nasser has constantly declared over his radio and in public his determination and that of his associated Arab States to drive the Israelis into the sea; and

"Whereas he has in recent years, in pursuance and preparations of such threats and declarations of policy built up a formidable armament of jet planes, submarines, tanks and more recently offensive missiles, in the building of which he has been aided by former Nazis who have found refuge in Egypt from prosecution in Germany; and

"Whereas for a year and a half he has kept an army of Egyptian troops in Yemen which were transported there by Russian planes and supplied by Russian arms; and

"Whereas contrary to his repeated promises, he has not only not withdrawn his troops but has increased their number so that they now reportedly number 40,000 and, through rotation, has used the war in Yemen to battle-train his entire army; and

"Whereas the United States has consistently supported Nasser with generous gifts of foreign aid in an amount now approaching nearly a billion dollars; and

"Whereas this policy encourages the aggressive tactics and purposes of Egypt's dictator; and

"Whereas the United States has repeatedly declared its interest in the preservation of peace in the Middle East and elsewhere and the development of the economy and well-being of nations recipient of United States aid; and

"Whereas the actions of the United States in supporting Nasser are wholly inconsistent with U.S. declarations of policy;

"Whereas there is imminent danger that Egypt shortly will be in a position to destroy Israel overnight by the rocketry and sophisticated weapons which Nasser is accumulating, supported by his now battle-trained army;

"Whereas although the Congress of the United States provided by law that U.S. economic aid should not be given to any nation preparing for aggression against any other country aided by the United States, the administration has not acted to stop aid to Egypt; and

"Whereas President Nasser has admitted openly that Egypt is preparing for an aggressive war against Israel and is actively carrying on aggression elsewhere;

"Whereas Nasser has alined himself with the Communist bloc in their efforts to control the African nations: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the administration should immediately reverse its longtime policy of appeasing Nasser;

"That the United States take a firm stand before all the world on behalf of the peace-

fully intentioned, liberty-loving, democratic, and free people of Israel to ward off its destruction; and

"That to prevent this catastrophe the United States should: (a) Withdraw aid from Nasser as long as that aid is used for aggressive purposes, and (b) announce its readiness to enter into a treaty of mutual defense and support with Israel as it has with other nations."

Iowans Give Scranton Uproarious Welcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post, June 6, 1964:

IOWANS GIVE SCRANTON UPROARIOUS WELCOME

(By Julius Duscha)

DES MOINES, IOWA, June 15.—Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, received a rousing reception here tonight as he began his all-out campaign to win the Republican presidential nomination.

Nearly 1,000 cheering Iowans welcomed him as he stepped off a plane at the Des Moines airport. Part of the crowd engulfed him while he slowly pushed his way to the airport terminal. There also was some heckling from supporters of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona.

In downtown Des Moines, at the KRNT auditorium, an enthusiastic crowd of more than 3,000 applauded and cheered as Scranton attacked the views of Senator GOLDWATER as well as the policies of President Johnson.

The reception given Scranton recalled a similar welcome for the late Wendell Willkie when, in 1940, he too came to Des Moines as the Republican underdog and spoke in the same auditorium. Willkie went on to win the Republican nomination that year.

Scranton's reception was as enthusiastic as any that GOLDWATER or Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York received during their primary campaigns this year.

Scranton supporters in Iowa had only a day to turn out the crowds. The Governor's appearance here was announced late Sunday night.

Encouraged as Scranton was by the crowds and by the response to his speech, he hurried from the auditorium to the Savery Hotel for the real business at hand.

At the hotel, he met privately with 17 of Iowa's 24 delegates to the Republican National Convention. It was a scene Scranton plans to repeat many times in the next 4 weeks as he seeks to take delegates away from GOLDWATER and to persuade others who are uncommitted to vote for him.

Six of the Iowa delegates were pledged to vote for Scranton before he came into the State. Nine others are pledged to GOLDWATER. The rest are uncommitted.

Although an Associated Press poll shows that GOLDWATER has enough delegates committed or pledged to him to win the nomination, many of these delegates are neither morally nor legally bound to him. Some of them came out for GOLDWATER simply because there was no other candidate they liked in the field at the time, and some of these may now go over to Scranton.

The personal meetings with the delegates are part of a two-pronged effort by Scranton to stop GOLDWATER and win the Republican nomination for himself.

The other part of the campaign consists of speeches aimed at convincing Republicans that a GOLDWATER nomination would be disastrous to the party.

In Des Moines, Scranton delivered another scathing attack on GOLDWATER but again without mentioning the Senator by name.

"I come here tonight—to the heartland of America—as a matter of conscience," Scranton declared, "the conscience of a conservative."

"The Conscience of a Conservative" is the title of a book published by GOLDWATER several years ago. It outlines his views on public issues and has become the bible of the Goldwater conservative movement.

Scranton said he is seeking to conserve the Republican Party, "our American tradition of freedom and individual liberty" and "peace with honor around the world."

The Governor then went on to attack GOLDWATER's views and the policies of the Johnson administration.

"This is not the hour for us to go off half-cocked in the field of foreign policy—the very field in which the American people have always supported the steady judgment and sound leadership of the Republican Party," Scranton said.

This was an obvious reference to GOLDWATER's tendency to make offhand statements and judgments on complicated foreign policy issues.

"This is not the hour," Scranton continued, "for us to join those extreme reactionaries, who are anything but conservatives—those radicals of the right who would launch a system of dime-store feudalism, that is foreign to these shores and foreign to the American way of thinking."

In denouncing President Johnson's policies, Scranton said the administration has "put together a short-order foreign policy, serving up each day's hash from the leavings of yesterday's mistakes." He also went on to attack the contention of Democrats and of the President that the Democratic Party is a liberal party.

"Is a party 'liberal' that gains two-thirds of its support from white supremacists and big city machine politicians?" Scranton asked.

He also charged that the Democrats were trying to shift political power away from State and local government and seeking to impose "more bureaucratic controls and regulations."

Scranton spent the night in Des Moines and plans to fly to Topeka, Kans., Tuesday morning to meet with delegates there. In Kansas he hopes to pick up at least 8 of the State's 20 delegates.

Scranton's day began in Scranton, Pa., where he boarded a plane and flew to Meadville, Pa., to deliver the commencement address at Allegheny College. In this address, he discussed civil rights and said, "We are going to solve the problem of racial discrimination."

"A large part of this problem will be solved," he added, "when it is no longer necessary for untrained whites and Negroes to compete for the leavings of our economy."

Scranton spent 2 hours conferring with his aids in Meadville, and then flew to Des Moines.

One Man Can Make the Difference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 27, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the June 13, 1964, issue of Ave Maria, a national Catholic weekly magazine published in Notre Dame, Ind., carried a moving editorial based upon Mrs. John F. Kennedy's tribute to the late President Kennedy on what would have been his 47th birthday. I ask unanimous consent to include the text of the Ave Maria editorial in the RECORD:

ONE MAN CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

In a broadcast tribute, on what would have been his 47th birthday, Mrs. John F. Kennedy phrased, very simply, the heart of her martyred husband's philosophy.

"One should try to right wrongs," she said, adding that the late President believed: "One's aim should not be to live the most comfortable life * * * one man can make the difference and that every man should try."

Common, simple words and ideas, so much so that they might be passed over lightly. Like so many of the things President Kennedy said, however, they indicate that he was a man of deep conviction and dedication.

His detractors could have scoffed that he was in no position to talk about not seeking a comfortable life. He knew wealth and position all of his days. What stops them is that he died, suddenly and violently, because he believed in what he said.

So, now, more than 6 months after his death, he speaks to us again, to those of us who are so caught up in the business of everyday living that we forget too easily the big issues around us, the wrongs that need to be righted. He speaks, too, to those of us who are so overwhelmed by the complexity of our society and of the world, that we have given up on changing anything by ourselves. We have lost sight of our dignity and our strength as individuals. These come from God and cannot be taken away, only ignored or given up.

We believe President Kennedy spoke in faith, with consciousness of justice and charity. One man can make the difference—and that man is every man.

"Limitation by Adjective," by Hon. Alan S. Boyd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article by the Honorable Alan S. Boyd, Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board, which appeared in the Public Utilities Fortnightly on June 18, 1964. I think Members of Congress will find this article of interest, and commend it to your attention:

LIMITATION BY ADJECTIVE

(By Hon. Alan S. Boyd, Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board)

I am sometimes astounded at how important a single word can be. I am the Chairman of a Federal agency whose real job always has been drastically restricted because of a single word.

"Regulatory" is the agency description always applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board. This neatly excludes more than half of our true functions.

To illustrate how this has led to sins of omission, we might analyze the duties of the Board as spelled out in our basic legislation. The entire Declaration of Policy for the Civil Aeronautics Board in the Federal Aviation

Act of 1958 contains exactly 162 words defining the public interest, convenience, and necessity.[1]

Included are 18 verbals—words of action. "Regulation" appears once, as does "preserve," "coordinate," and "recognize." "Adapt" is in twice. There are six references to "regulatory" functions.

By contrast, "promotion" appears three times, as does "development." "Encouragement" and "assure appear twice each. "Foster' and "improve" show up once each. There are 12 references to "promotional" activities, or twice the "regulatory" number.

Our work should therefore be more accurately described as "promotional and regulatory." This may appear to be only a small matter of semantics, but it, and basic ideas underlying it, are of the greatest importance in guiding the development of air transportation.

According to definitions from standard and legal dictionaries, "regulate" means to govern or direct according to rule, to fix, establish, and control, to adjust by rule, method, to subject to governing principles of laws.

The central concept of regulation seems to lie in the idea of restraint. The core of its intent is to order and control something already in existence, to keep current interests and forces in balance. It is usually attended by what, for those inside the Government, are called rules and regulations, and by what those outside the Government call redtape. It is what we inside the Government consider development of principles and procedures by which to handle the manifold routine operations of air transportation, and what those outside the Government often call bureaucracy.

Basically, regulation implies conservatism in its true sense—that is, conserving the great bulk of things experienced in the past and considered or assumed to be worth preserving and saving.

By contrast, "promote" means to contribute to the growth, enlargement, and prosperity of something, to further it, to encourage it, to advance it. And, in an economic activity, Government promotion must mean more than simply allowing the unhindered interplay of supply and demand. If it were to be a completely free enterprise, it would not be under Government regulation, and even if it were regulated, it would still presumably lack promotion in favor of protecting an equilibrium between conflicting interests.

HIGHEST RATE OF GROWTH

Basically, too, promotion faces in the opposite direction from regulation. Promotion implies looking to the future rather than to the past, and opening up opportunities for new developments. It deals with the future which is largely unknown, but should be probed by informed judgment, and with new developments which can probably not be handled adequately by older rules and practices.

This idea of promotion, of course, is most suitable for a rapidly developing industry with a large potential. Air transportation is probably the industry ranking highest in the United States for rate of growth over such a long sustained period. In the 25 years since the passage of the original Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, total passenger traffic carried by the certificated air carriers increased over 90 times, the volume of freight and express carried increased over 600 times. In the last decade alone, passenger traffic has increased by almost 2¾ times, and freight and express volume over 5 times. This record of long-term expansion is probably unparalleled in industrial history.

Similarly, the air transportation industry has experienced dramatic technical changes. In the last quarter century we have changed from the standard 21-passenger 180-mile-per-hour DC–3 that was once the plushiest blue-ribbon vehicle by which you could speed from coast to coast with only three or four intermediate stops. We have gone through the cycles of several newer four-engined piston aircraft, and then into turboprop, and full jet twin- and four-engined planes. The regular jets now cross the country nonstop at a cruising speed of nearly 600 miles per hour.

Similarly, the less glamorous support equipment and methods have changed drastically. As only one instance, the millions of reservations for seat space, once handled by telephone and written by hand as entries in large ledger books, are now wired in by computers through leased telephone lines forming a network across the country and throughout the world. Reservations can be confirmed or alternatives given within a few seconds of the initial inquiry. This one illustration could be multiplied many times over, particularly in maintenance and overhaul that keep these newer and more complicated beasts flying faster and more safely than ever.

It is within this context of dramatic growth and explosive technological improvement that the functions of the CAB must be viewed. It is here that the contrast of "promotion" and "regulation" must be realized. It is here that the psychological attitudes must be sharpened into much more self-consciousness than ever before.

This is not a policy made up without considerable thought. As a matter of fact, it dates from the original Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, repeated in the Federal Aviation Act of 1958.

Dynamism is the guts of air transport development. Technology must have freedom to grow. Economics must precede and follow technical improvements, interlocking at every step. How to promote these aims intelligently is quite a job—we cannot dictate ahead of time where the next advance will be. But neither can we afford many expensive failures. We need to encourage them wisely, but not have the Government direct them wisely or unwisely.

To probe somewhat deeper into just how these attitudes and intents should be applied, let us look at some of the most important functions of the Civil Aeronautics Board. My comments will be broadly generalized and highly selective, of course. The board, in its 25 years of history, has turned out literally hundreds of formal cases alone. Printed board opinions alone total about 40,000 pages for these first 25 years, and the rate of output, if anything, has been increasing.

The first and most important function of the CAB is granting certificates of public convenience and necessity to air carriers. These rights to operate between specified cities in the country and throughout the world are the heart of the entire system of air service. If there are no routes, there are no services, and any public need for air transportation cannot be met.

THE POINT AT ISSUE

Normally, this licensing of carriers through the certificate procedure is considered to be "regulatory" and adjudicatory. Usually, very large and complex formal cases are a prerequisite to any important route grant. The applicants, including perhaps half a dozen or more air carriers and dozens of city representatives, go through a long and precisely defined series of procedures. These are in conformity with the Administrative Procedures Act and are highly developed techniques that are the product of years of experience. They include prehearing conferences, exchange of exhibits, exchange of rebuttal exhibits, exchange of surrebuttal exhibits, hearings, examiner's initial decision, briefs to the examiner, exceptions to the board, briefs to the board, oral argument before the board, and, after the board opinion is issued, objections, petitions for reconsideration, and sometimes a series of litigated cases to higher and higher courts.

However, in this long and complex—and essential—procedure, we should not lose sight of the very first and prerequisite issue without which none of the adjudication would be necessary; that is, the need of the public for air transportation. And this primary issue is promotional, not regulatory. Its object is to promote the attainment of the public's need for air transportation. It goes beyond the pure economic calculus of whether or not the public would pay enough to make it economically profitable for the carrier. In addition to these free enterprise considerations, there are involved the concepts of public service, of public utility philosophy, of the economic needs and supra-economic needs of the country for greater development.

Therefore, the essential process of granting certificates of public convenience and necessity to carriers deals only secondarily with the applicants among whom the CAB adjudicates. The absolute prerequisite is whether or not the public need is sufficient to require the service. The determinant is to what extent a particular route if granted would promote air transportation and all the other national interests.

Or, let us turn to another of the most important CAB functions, also historically considered a purely regulatory function—the approval or disapproval of the rates charged by the air carriers. Again, in a free economy without government promotion and regulation, this would be determined simply by private enterprise. Each management would act on the basis of the shorter-term profitability of the price change as it comes down to the profit-and-loss position of the enterpriser. Or it might be of the longer-term expansion of the market; in the final analysis the private enterpriser might feel it would redound to his financial profit later when the increased revenues are presumably greater than the related costs due to the increased traffic.

Here again, the CAB has in the first instance the requirement to promote the public interest. Obviously, any price reduction—if that alone were the only consideration—is in the public interest. It is always better for the public to get any product at a lower price. In the regulatory and adjudicatory area, the CAB also must consider the probable effect on the financial condition of the carriers; that is, whether the decreased price multiplied by the increased volume will gross out more revenue for the carrier and net out at least as much as before.

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[1] SEC. 102. (a) The encouragement and development of an air transportation system properly adapted to the present and future needs of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, of the Postal Service, and of the national defense; (b) the regulation of air transportation in such manner as to recognize and preserve the inherent advantages of, assure the highest degree of safety in, and foster sound economic conditions in, such transportation, and to improve the relations between, and coordinate transportation by, air carriers; (c) the promotion of adequate, economical, and efficient service by air carriers at reasonable charges, without unjust discriminations, undue preferences or advantages, or unfair or destructive competitive practices; (d) competition to the extent necessary to assure the sound development of an air transportation system properly adapted to the needs of the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States, of the Postal Service, and of the national defense; (e) the promotion of safety in air commerce; and (f) the promotion, encouragement, and development of civil aeronautics.

Here again, however, we must give greater weight to the promotional aspects than to the purely supply and demand economic considerations. In the longer run, the overall price level at which air transportation is sold competes with hundreds of other commodities and services priced for consumer sale. This pricing has a drastic effect on the future of air transportation. Depending upon whether or not you consider this market to be highly elastic or relatively inelastic, your concept of whether or not a price reduction of a particular amount and type is good may vary.

Anyone seriously considering promoting the welfare of the country, however, must take into consideration this longrun effect of price level and consequent degree of development of air transportation. To a greater and greater degree, in more and more instances, the availability and volume of air transportation affect more of the public. The location of industry, particularly light industry such as electronics, the relative accessibility of nationwide marketing, the ability to export and the competition of imports, the volume and direction of vacation travel for some areas as compared with others, and for domestic destinations as compared with foreign destinations—all these are affected by the price of air transportation and consequent volume changes over a longer period. It may be difficult to nail down and quantify, but it is still there.

ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITIES

The list of CAB promotional projects might well astound many who have always considered us only a "regulatory" agency. In the field of aircraft development alone, we are busily working on the financial results to be produced by the use of supersonic aircraft in air transportation, the needs, and potential markets and probable subsidy impact of a new compact air transport, the economic problems of all-cargo aircraft, the short- and long-term future of helicopters and other vertical lift planes, and the impact of the newest generation of medium-haul jet planes.

In the international field, we must evaluate the economic effects of all existing U.S. policies, and give consideration to alternative changes in each of these many policies, for the world as a whole, and area by area. We must judge the value of air transport to the economic health and growth of underdeveloped countries.

We have to consider the relative economic roles of the many classes of carriers we now have—trunklines, internationals, local service, exempt air taxis, cargo carriers, the new group of supplemental air carriers, and the specific needs of Alaska and Hawaii and other noncontiguous areas.

In national defense, we try to develop current and future policies on the best use and adaptation of civil air transport to current military needs and possible war expansion. We also have to work out standby emergency plans for the operation of the remaining civil war air service pattern when the planes of the civil reserve air fleet are called up for military duty. We have to plan an air priorities system, damage reporting, materials, and manpower claimancy, aircraft dispersal, and relations with civil defense.

The entire area of air cargo needs our attention, from the financial survival of the all-cargo operators to ratemaking principles, freight forwarders, and means for developing air cargo volume more economically. We need to develop policy guidelines to weigh pricing, reliability of service, and sales effort geared to the physical distribution economies of potential shippers.

Promotion of air transportation must go on in each of the specific fields listed in our charter, the Federal Aviation Act of 1958—the public interest, the air transportation system, present and future needs, foreign commerce, domestic commerce, postal service, national defense, the need of the air carriers, including subsidies, inherent advantages, sound economic conditions, relations between air carriers, coordinated transportation by air carriers, adequate service, economical and efficient service, reasonable charges, discriminations and preferences, unfair competitive practices, competition to the extent necessary, safety, and civil aeronautics such as aircraft, airports, and airways.

If anyone outside of this industry considers this an exhaustive list, just think of us inside it because we have an even more exhausting list.

In addition, the amounts involved in men, money, resources, and impact on our economy are all going up. Someone once said, quite astringently, that the older, smaller system of "trial and error" is giving way to a new system of "trial and catastrophe."

We also have to take a long look ahead. Too often all of us, wrapped up in our current problems, concentrate almost entirely on the immediate headaches. When economic times are good, almost everybody wants the Government to stop "interfering." And when the cycle turns down, they want the Government to "do something"—or at least load us with the blame for action or inaction they would have opposed during the crest of the cycle. We have to promote more stability, with some braking against excesses during the upward zig so we do not fall too far on the downward zag. And, I might add, we shall become quite unpopular with our long-term leaning against the short-term outlooks of many.

And so, in conclusion, do not consider the Civil Aeronautics Board as only a "regulatory" agency. This is not the half of it. Do not try to fence us in. Do not limit us by applying to us only one adjective.

Monsignor Martin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, recently more than 700 citizens of my hometown, Bayonne, N.J., assembled to pay honor to a native son who has not only brought honor to our community but who returned some years ago to do spiritual labor among our people. The story of Msgr. Leo J. Martin, who was honored on that occasion, is, indeed, inspiring. He is one of those rare individuals who has devoted his whole life to the spiritual welfare of his fellow man. That he has been permitted to work within the shadow of his own birthplace is unusual, but a source of great satisfaction to those of us who have had the benefit of his friendship and guidance.

I ask that the following editorial published in the Bayonne (N.J.) Times on the occasion of Monsignor Martin's selection as "Priest of the Year" be published in the RECORD.

MONSIGNOR MARTIN

Over 700 people will converge on the Knights of Columbus clubhouse Sunday evening to pay tribute to Msgr. Leo J. Martin, pastor of Star of the Sea Church. The testimonial dinner is being sponsored by the Fourth Degree Assembly of the K. of C., which has chosen the monsignor as "Priest of the Year."

The choice is an admirable one in the eyes of thousand of friends of Monsignor Martin throughout New Jersey and areas beyond. For over 30 years he has been a widely sought preacher and speaker; his eloquence has thrilled and stirred thousands.

But before the people of the State knew him he was well known as a youth in Bayonne where he was born and attended Star of the Sea Church. It is a most unusual distinction for Monsignor Martin to return to his native parish as pastor. Such honors are rare.

Before coming to Star of the Sea, Monsignor Martin had been pastor of St. Lucy's and Our Lady of Victories churches in Jersey City. As a pastor he has been a true shepherd, the prime meaning of pastor. He has tended his flocks with charity, solicitude, and understanding. His curates, the nuns in his schools, his people in all three parishes have always had first claim on his time, his consideration and his generous nature.

Before appointment to his first pastorate, Monsignor Martin served for many years as chaplain at Holy Name Hospital where his ministrations and graciousness won the gratitude of Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

Courage is also an outstanding characteristic of this man of God. Over the years, ill health has frequently been his lot but it has never diminished his zeal or impeded his drive as preacher, administrator, teacher, or friend.

The Knights of Columbus have honored themselves by honoring Monsignor Martin. Bayonne is proud to call him a native son and to have him home.

The Bayonne Times joins the Monsignor's many friends in wishing him long years of service to his country and his God.

Voters Determine the Mainstream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 21, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD an article by Columnist Paul G. Manolis entitled "Voters Determine the Mainstream." Mr. Manolis, in his article, clarifies the political aspects of the California primary, which to date have, with deliberation, been erroneously analyzed by opposition forces to Senator GOLDWATER'S popular mainstream support. This article, I believe, is deserving of the attention of a responsible voting public.

The article follows:

VOTERS DETERMINE THE MAINSTREAM

(By Paul G. Manolis)

The dust no sooner began to settle after the titanic primary election battle here in California than the losing forces of Governor Rockefeller and Senator KUCHEL began to moan and groan. BARRY GOLDWATER in his victory statement called for party unity, the necessary ingredient to defeat the New Frontier candidacy of Lyndon Johnson. Both GOLDWATER and his State chairman, William F. Knowland, urged the closing of party ranks, and invited all Republicans and Demo-

crats disenchanted with the New Frontier to join in the battle.

GOLDWATER'S stunning upset victory in California shocked the Rockefeller camp. While Rockefeller himself saw his last chance slip away here in what he had termed the "life or death primary," his supporters in California, headed by Senator KUCHEL, lost their hold on the Republican Party in this State.

The prophets of doom and gloom are quick to point out that GOLDWATER carried California by a mere 51.39 percent of the vote, yet they easily brush under the rug the fact that John F. Kennedy was elected to the Presidency with only 49.7 percent of the total vote.

They cry that the era of Earl Warren moderate Republicanism is over in California, ignoring the fact that GOLDWATER'S campaign chairman, William F. Knowland, was chairman of Warren's last presidential delegation, and that many former Warren supporters were on the Goldwater delegation.

NOT STATEWIDE

They point to the fact that the populous counties of the southern part of the State put BARRY over the top, trying to prove by their way of thinking that the victory is not a statewide one. But they close their eyes to regional patterns in former State and National elections.

They gleefully remind us that GOLDWATER even failed to carry Alameda County. Harder for them to swallow is the fact that Rockefeller did not sweep Alameda County by their estimate of 2-to-1, but his margin was held to 56 percent. Had Rocky done better in the northern counties such as Alameda, he would have garnered enough votes to overcome the huge majorities of the southern counties. Thus, their argument that the south swept GOLDWATER to victory is answered by the fact that the north failed to sweep Rockefeller to victory.

Before the election they cried that they were the responsible Republicans, and that they represented the mainstream of Republican thought. But the voters showed them otherwise, and they now find themselves representing a minority of California Republicans, no matter that the division is only 2 percentage points. It is still a minority.

Some Rockefeller supporters, including his State campaign chairman, Senator KUCHEL, refused to commit themselves before the election that they would support the winner, even though that winner would be the choice of a majority of Republicans. The GOLDWATER camp had repeatedly made such a statement, thus proving to the electorate before the polls closed that they were the responsible Republicans, pledged to support the nominee chosen at San Francisco. Senator KUCHEL, to this day, following the defeat of the slate he headed, refuses to endorse the winner.

SMEAR AND INNUENDO

They hurled smear and innuendo, supported by a bottomless barrel of campaign funds, but had to face the facts that Senator GOLDWATER had working for him the average Republican in the grassroots who was devoted and dedicated to the principles of the Republican Party, from one bank of the mainstream to the other. While San Francisco's Montgomery Street can provide untold dollars of support, it cannot provide the doorbell ringers who got out the vote for GOLDWATER.

They claimed that GOLDWATER'S amassing of convention delegates was done in the smoke-filled rooms of State conventions, and that he had not faced the voters and could not win a primary. They are now faced with the fact that he won the primary of primaries, and not against their candidate alone, but against the field, including besides the New York Governor, Lodge, Scranton, Nixon, Stassen, and Smith. GOLDWATER also had the almost unanimous opposition of California newspapers.

What does all this mean and what does it all portend?

Nationally, it means that BARRY GOLDWATER will probably be nominated on the first ballot at the San Francisco convention 6 weeks from now.

Here in California, it means that our U.S. Senator has climbed out on a limb and has the choice of either climbing back to the trunk or sawing it off. To do the former he has only to pledge his support of the ticket nominated in San Francisco, and immediately make overtures to unite the party in California. To do the latter, he has only to refuse to support the nominee of the San Francisco convention or to remain silent.

Unity is the keynote to any Republican success in this State, outnumbered as they are by Democrats. The Goldwater people have repeated the pledge off unity that they made before the primary. It remains now for the Rockfeller forces to do likewise. We trust they will.

Danny's Got Another Important Job Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article from a recent edition of the Los Angeles Times commenting on President Johnson's appointment of California's Daniel M. Luevano as Assistant Secretary of the Army.

The article, written by the Times Sacramento Bureau Chief Robert Blanchard, is a fitting tribute to an outstanding Los Angeles native son and former chief deputy director of the State Department of Finance.

We Californians have been honored by the selection of Dan Luevano for this important Government post, but we are also confident that he will fulfill the obligations of his new assignment and assume the responsibilities involved as he has always done in the past: with great distinction.

The article follows:

DANNY'S GOT ANOTHER IMPORTANT JOB NOW

(By Robert M. Blanchard)

Mr. Luevano, to coin a phrase, has gone to Washington.

On the face of it, this hardly sounds earth-shaking. In fact, a great many Californians, both in and out of State service probably never even have heard of Mr. Luevano. For while not exactly shy, he is not one to go around blowing his own horn to show the world "what a swell guy am I."

Nevertheless, despite the lack of name identification, Mr. Luevano has been an important factor in the lives of many Californians and will continue to be so in the future.

Mr. Luevano is Daniel M. Luevano, a 41-year-old native of Los Angeles who, until last week, was chief deputy director of the State department of finance.

He has left that post now to go to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Army—a post vital to California which is so dependent on defense contracts and military installations.

In his brief span, Danny has rung up quite a varied career.

Born in Los Angeles of Mexican immigrant parents, he attended Alexander Hamilton High School; majored in political science at UCLA, and obtained his law degree at the San Francisco School of Law.

In between, he sandwiched in a hitch in the Navy on destroyers and minesweepers in the South Atlantic during World War II.

His career to date has included service as an elections examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, a technical instructor for the U.S. Department of Commerce and a publications assistant for the former State CIO.

He also acted as an assistant to Robert G. Sproul, former president of the University of California; served on President Clark Kerr's staff, and acted as a liaison consultant between the university and International House.

During his college days, Danny became acquainted with Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh, Democrat, of Inglewood, then a student at SC, through participation in various Democratic Party functions. As a result, when Unruh took over as chairman of the assembly ways and means committee under Governor Brown in the latter's first term in office, he invited Luevano to become the committee's consultant.

From there he went on to his present post, which also includes membership on the California State Board of Control, the California State Allocation Board, the World Trade Center Authority, and the California Wildlife Conservation Board.

He also is a member of the State bar and the Western Governmental Research Association.

The respect his associates have for him is demonstrated by the fact that he has been able to work for both Unruh and State Finance Director Hale Champion and maintain good relationships with both of them even when they were feuding with one another.

This fact was noted by Unruh, himself, at an informal going away party for Danny shortly before he left for Washington.

He made a brief speech and then presented Danny with a going away present—an Army good conduct ribbon.

Luevano's appointment to such an important post is not only a tribute to his ability but evidence of Washington's recognition of the importance of California in the scheme of things.

Progress Must Be Made To Reduce Nontariff Barriers to Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the United States is now involved in trade negotiations in Geneva with the goal of making substantial reductions in tariff barriers to international trade. However, even if the negotiations result in a substantial reduction in tariffs, there are many nontariff barriers which inhibit trade flow and which may become increasingly restrictive.

Last year, France kept large quantities of American pork out of the country by applying questionable health restrictions.

Italy succeeded in limiting American car imports with credit controls. In fact, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization has concluded that nearly all agricultural products and raw materials, which account for half of the world's $150 billion annual international trade, are hampered by some type of nontariff barrier.

Trade experts say that no country is without such barriers and that their impact is clearly great. Their far-reaching effects make it imperative that the administration devote as much attention to reducing the restrictive effect of import quotas and licenses, customs classification and valuation and other nontariff barriers as to reducing tariff barriers to trade. If progress is not made in this area, the administration may find that gains at the Geneva talks are undercut, and perhaps neutralized, by increasing nontariff import bars.

A significant article which develops this subject in detail appeared in the Wall Street Journal on June 2, 1964. With unanimous consent, I place it in the RECORD at this point:

FREE-TRADE HURDLES: MULTITUDE OF NON-TARIFF OBSTACLES TO IMPORTS TROUBLES GATT TALKS—FRANCE REJECTS UNSANITARY U.S. PORK; EUROPE FUMES AT "BUY AMERICAN" POLICIES—UNDERCUTTING GENEVA GAINS?

(By Dan Cordtz)

GENEVA.—Bargainers from 40 nations meeting here in the biggest world trade talks ever, have high hopes of agreeing eventually to cut tariffs on many goods up to 50 percent. But they're uncomfortably aware that any such move will give greater prominence than ever to such trade problems as these:

France last year kept large quantites of American pork out of the country without raising tariffs. It rejected the meat as "unsanitary" because it had not been inspected for trichina worms—even though these parasites are easily killed by proper cooking.

American customers inspectors dutifully assess tariffs on many foreign chemicals, knitted gloves, and rubber footwear as a percentage of their value. But they calculate that value as the price of an equivalent U.S.-made article—which often is much higher than the actual price of the import. The result, Europeans complain bitterly, is to make nonsense of the posted tariff rates.

THIRTY DAYS TO PAY

Italy last month decreed that importers of durable goods must pay for those goods 30 days after they arrive. But auto dealers, who have been importing cars in large numbers, demand they be given 90 days to pay—as the Italian Government well knew when it issued the decree. So exporters fear their sales of cars to Italy will plummet, whatever happens to the tariff on those cars.

These cases are not at all unique. They're important, but typical, examples of the myriad nontariff barriers, to international commerce that exporters face all over the world. And "as long as such obstacles exist, they will offer great opportunities and temptations for protectionists to undercut whatever we accomplish here" in the way of tariff cuts, warns one European negotiator at Geneva. His American colleagues mostly agree.

But "we don't dare let ourselves get sidetracked from the tariff bargaining to try to do too much about nontariff problems now," say one Geneva bargainer. So the negotiators, who are meeting under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, plan to begin taking up nontariff barriers in midmonth—but only gingerly. They'll concentrate on a handful of nontariff barriers that seem especially offensive to one country or another, or that seem susceptible to relatively quick leveling.

HARD TO HANDLE

Unfortunately for the negotiators, there are many practices qualifying for consideration under the first heading, very few under the second. And the very multiplicity of these barriers, plus the way they vary sharply from country to country, makes them hard to handle in the roundtable fashion of the GATT talks anyway.

"You almost have to handle them on a bilateral basis," says one American here. "It takes an awful lot of haggling and horse-trading, and is sure to take an awful lot of time. Still, we know the job (of freeing world trade) won't really be done until we do something about them."

Others agree. For these barriers are so numerous that their impact on world trade, while difficult to measure, clearly is great.

Trade experts say no country is without such barriers, and many erect them against a great number of products. Japan, for example, requires import licenses for 154 separate manufactured products, and even free-trading West Germany requires them for 64 items.

To view the problem from a different angle, imports of cotton textiles are currently subject to some form of nontariff barrier in at least 13 countries—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

FARM-GOODS BARRIERS

And a study by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization concluded that nearly all agricultural products and raw materials, which account for half the world's $150 billion annual international trade, are hampered by some type of nontariff barrier. Removal of only a few of these, it suggested, could affect 80 percent of the exports of underdeveloped nations, and possibly boost their annual aggregate trade earnings by $1 billion.

Even worse, as free traders see it, some barriers, such as import quotas, cut trade more effectively than the highest tariff. "Nontariff barriers in developed countries, in fact, tend to be a more serious impediment to exports of manufactures from developing countries than do tariff barriers," says a report submitted to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development here. "While a moderate tariff wall can be scaled by an increase in efficiency, many of the nontariff barriers cannot be surmounted at all."

Hard as the problem is, however, it's being tackled from several directions. In addition to the GATT talks, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is beginning talks this week in Paris on one of the more important barriers—the "anti-dumping" laws in effect in several countries, prominently including the United States.

OECD, GATT, and U.N. agencies also have taken an important preliminary step in compiling and classifying the most important types of nontariff barriers. Their studies have yielded a generally accepted definition of such barriers as "any law, regulation, policy, or practice of public authorities, other than import duties, which has a restrictive effect on imports."

While that covers a lot of ground, the studies have broken the nontariff barriers down into four main categories: Foreign trade policies, administrative practices, internal economic policies and internal health and safety regulations.

The most obvious foreign trade policy barriers are import licenses and quotas, which usually are designed originally to conserve a country's foreign exchange. Their use as a protectionist device has been declining, but Italy's action in granting auto import licenses only to dealers who will pay within 30 days shows they still have teeth. Some British officials have commented approvingly on Italy's move, though it's far from certain they'll follow it.

A foreign trade policy that irritates Europeans far more is the "buy American" policy of the United States. Under this, the U.S. Government purchases foreign civilian goods only when the price of a competing American product is more than 6 percent higher. If the American product happens to be made in a "depressed area," it can be 12 percent more expensive. And defense items can be as much as 50 percent more costly.

"BUY EUROPEAN" POLICIES

"Ok, it's discriminatory," replies an American here. "But we get tired of any implication we're alone in this; most of the European countries accomplish even more discrimination but keep it hidden. Either they don't use open bids at all, or they allow local manufacturers to meet a foreign price—but not vice versa. The proof is that few American companies even bother to try to sell to European governments."

U.S. antidumping rules are another pet target of Europeans in the policy area. They apply to products which an American accuses a foreign competitor of selling below "fair value"—usually meaning he's selling it at a lower price in the United States than in his home country. If the American can prove his case to the Treasury Department, and prove to the Tariff Commission that he's being hurt, the Commission can levy an extra tariff against the goods.

Recent U.S. dumping decisions have gone in favor of importers; American steel mills have lost a whole series of dumping complaints against foreign competitors. But Europeans aren't mollified. "The legal procedures involved in (fighting) antidumping charges are more of a deterrent to trade than actual action against imports in the few cases where the charges have been substantiated," says one.

COMPETING WITH GOVERNMENT

Another policy barrier—the protection of imports that might compete with manufacturers of a Government agency—is a major obstacle to Western trade with the Communist world. But it's also not unknown within the West. Tobacco manufacture and sale are state monopolies in Austria, France, Italy, and Japan; a foreign cigarette maker has to get the state agency to sell his brand in competition with its own, and this isn't easy.

In the "administrative practices" category, classification and valuation of goods for customs purposes cause the most trouble. European countries in the past decade have formed the Customs Cooperation Council, which has worked out a standard classification procedure known as the "Brussels nomenclature." But they complain the United States and Canada, alone in the Western World, don't follow it. They add that the American classification system often is arbitrary, if not discriminatory, in reaching decisions as to which tariff should apply to a given product.

As for a valuation, Europeans have two complaints against the United States. First, while European tariffs mostly are levied as a simple percentage of a product's price, the United States maintains many "specific" duties applied to a product's volume or weight. Europeans complain these hit hardest at lower priced goods, and discourage a would-be seller to the United States who has managed to lower his price by increased efficiency or a technological breakthrough. The price cut doesn't reduce the "specific" tariff; in fact the "specific" duty becomes a higher percentage of the products's price.

WHAT'S THE "VALUE"?

Also, Europeans say, even when American duties are figured as a percentage of a product's wholesale value, determining that value is often left to the judgment of the customs appraiser. Frequently, they charge, the "value" the appraiser assigns bears little relation to the true value, even when there is not a deliberate discriminatory policy, as they say there is no chemicals, knitted gloves, and rubber footwear.

Americans have some counter complaints on this subject. They note that, while American "ad valorem" tariffs are figured as a percentage of a product's price, European tariffs are figured as a percentage of the "c.i.f." value—which includes insurance, transportation and other costs added on to the price as such. This, they say, makes many European tariffs that look to be equal to U.S. duties about 10 to 15 percent higher in practice, and sometimes as much as 40 percent higher. Some American negotiators imply that, if and when tariffs are reduced in the GATT bargaining, they'll ask for extra cuts in the European tariffs involved in these cases to compensate for the difference.

Less important, but still troublesome, administrative practices hindering trade include marking and packaging requirements—which are by no means restricted to the United States. "These are the nuisances that often prompt a potential exporter to pass up a market he could develop," according to a U.N. expert.

SALES TAX TROUBLES

In the field of "internal economic policies," trade officials worry most about such things as local or national taxes, collected separately from import duties and designed principally to raise revenue, but hitting hardest at imported products. The most glaring example is the almost universal European practice of levying heavy sales taxes on tropical beverages—coffee, tea, and cocoa.

West Germany charges import duties of only 4 percent on tea, for instance, but adds a whopping sales tax of 21 percent of the retail price. Norway collects 40 percent of the retail price of cocoa, and the average sales tax on coffee for all six members of the European Common Market is 27 percent.

Equally well known is the French system of taxing automobiles according to their horsepower rating—which effectively excludes American cars with their high-powered engines; this is generally regarded as an outright protectionist device. Also in this category are taxes applied to imports to compensate for indirect taxes borne by comparable domestic goods. These are common in Europe, but amount to less than 5 percent ordinarily. In France, however, they average as much as 20 percent.

Other internal economic barriers include national price policies and controls, and restrictions on advertising. Both West Germany and France, for example, forbid the sort of ad comparisons with competing products which American firms frequently employ.

HEALTH RULES

Last, but often highly important, are the regulations originally aimed at preserving health—such as American restrictions on the importation of cattle from areas which have had hoof-and-mouth disease trouble. Foreigners assert that such prohibitions often are kept on years after all danger has disappeared, and go to ridiculous lengths. American cars that have been driven in Europe, for example, must be completely steam cleaned underneath to wash away or kill any insects or weed seeds which might be lodged on the chassis.

Here too, however, the United States is not the only offender—as the French prohibition of "unsanitary" American pork suggests. And, while health and safety rules apply mostly to food products, France and Italy subject machinery and other mechanical equipment to detailed safety regulations which many exporters regard as unnecessary.

"Many of these rules and policies started out with no aim whatever of cutting down imports," remarks a negotiator here. "In many cases, that's still not the point. But the effect is the same, and the fact many domestic producers benefit from them make it all the harder to get rid of them. If they ever become the last protectionist bastion, it will be a formidable one."

Rabbi Pilchik's Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the reception last Friday evening of the congregation B'nai Jeshurun in honor of Dr. Ely E. Pilchik.

The deep affection and esteem in which Rabbi Pilchik is so rightfully held not only by the congregants but by all who have the privilege of knowing him is well expressed in the following editorial appearing in the Jewish News of June 11, 1964:

[From the Jewish News, June 11, 1964]

RABBI PILCHIK'S ANNIVERSARY

Services to night at Temple B'nai Jeshurun will honor Rabbi Ely E. Pilchik on the 25th anniversary of his ordination. This is an event of significance to more than the temple's congregants alone, because Rabbi Pilchik, through his writings and community service, in addition to his sermons, has brought striking qualities to his pulpit. These have been recognized nationally, and our community has gained luster as a consequence.

Nobody who knows Rabbi Pilchik could fail to be impressed by his intense devotion to learning, to Judaism, to exemplary standards of conduct—in brief, to his profound convictions of what it means to be a good Jew. He is one who disdains pompous phrases when used in a personal sense. He, for example, would rather be referred to simply as "rabbi" than as "spiritual leader." But despite his own dislike of this term, he is just that, because he does lead in matters of the spirit, and he is a teacher of remarkable ability.

We extend to him and Temple B'nai Jeshurun all good wishes on his signal anniversary. They are a credit to Essex County Jewry.

The great gifts of mind and heart with which Rabbi Pilchik is so richly endowed are evident in an address he gave from his pulpit on the subject of "Poverty," on January 3, 1964, before this grave issue had aroused much public concern. It is an illustration of the qualities cited in the above editorial. Rabbi Pilchik has been a powerful influence for good and the whole community, indeed the Nation, is indebted to him.

I am pleased to insert below the sermon of poverty which I know my colleagues will find most interesting and illuminating:

POVERTY

The teacher of Jewish religion in America looks at his country at the beginning of a new calendar year and beholds 190 million people—seemingly prosperous relatively religious.

I say religious because I've just had a glance at the brand new 1964 edition of the Yearbook of American churches. It says that 118 million Americans are affiliated with religious institutions in our land. That is a remarkable proportion—63½ percent. Of these 65 million are Protestants; 44 million are Catholics, and 5½ million are Jews. There are about 320,000 religious buildings in our country, and some 365,000 clergymen of all faiths. Our source-book indicates that clergymen are declining in America—it is getting harder and harder to get recruits for the ministry. Perhaps this is a sign that American young men are getting wiser—seeking less heart and backbreaking vocations with far greater compensations. At any rate, here we are a relatively religious looking country. And, it appears, we are very prosperous. As a nation we record a gross national product exceeding $600 billions. My friends who know something about Wall Street tell me that the stock market is at its highest point in its long history. Everything seems to be booming.

But it is the duty of the religious teacher to look beneath the surface, to ignore skin-deep impressions. When we open our eyes and dare penetrate we are appalled to find that this richest nation on earth suffers from an amazing amount of dire poverty. A study of poverty in the United States in January of 1964 reveals that food, clothing, and shelter—the basic necessities for sustaining life—constitute, beyond any question, the No. 1 problem of our Nation this year.

If you lift your eyes from Fortune magazine and the Wall Street Journal for an hour or so, and pick up perhaps the most important book published here last year—it's not on the best seller list and it's not widely advertised—but it is the thermometer indicating the high fever of this sick nation, Michael Harrington's "The Other America: Poverty in the United States." This is a book we hide from other nations and from ourselves—we do not want to be seen in the company of our poor relatives—and we have a lot of them. We ignore the Harrington book and we don't even know of the existence of a bulky pamphlet published by the Conference on Economic Progress in Washington called "Poverty and Deprivation in the United States." Such material comes across a rabbi's desk—and he must cry out. No one else will. The press is filled with hideous mayhem and murders and now begins its field year with politics. The other communication media continue to spew out their violence and phony advertising. The truth of America's fundamental problem of poverty is confined to the social workers, the police, and the petty politicians.

If there be one subject to ring from the pulpits of this land this year it is the poverty in America. Poverty encompasses the civil rights issue. This is what civil rights is largely about. The have whites continuing to stave off the have-not Negroes. When we bite into the problem of poverty and truly begin doing something about it, the essence of the civil rights problem will be mastered—only the inconsequential periphery will remain. For the mass of poor in the land are the Negroes. They were never given the chance to rise economically.

How is poverty in these United States defined? Those whose income for a family of four falls below $4,000 a year are the poor. The individual who earns less than $2,000 a year is a poverty-stricken citizen.

How many such are there in the United States in 1964? Between 45 and 50 million. About a quarter of the American population is poverty-stricken.

A little higher on this ladder than poverty is the status of deprivation or underprivi-

leged. This category includes families of four with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 per year and individuals with incomes $2,000 to $3,000 per year. Adding the poverty-stricken to the deprived, we find 77 million Americans in these economic conditions—almost half the population.

The tragedy is that we seldom see the poor of America—they have become invisible to us. Listen to Mr. Harrington, the author of "The Other America: Poverty in the U.S.": "The poor are increasingly slipping out of the very experience and consciousness of the Nation. If the middle class never did like the ugliness and poverty, it was at least aware of them. 'Across the tracks' was not a very long way to go. Now the American city has been transformed. The poor still inhabit the miserable housing in the central area, but they are isolated, out of sight—living out in the suburbs, it is easy to assume that ours is an affluent society.

"Many of the poor are the wrong age to be seen. A good number of them are 65 years of age or better; an even larger number are under 18.

"And finally, the poor are politically invisible. They are without lobbies of their own; they put forward no legislative program. They have no face, they have no voice. Forty to fifty million people are becoming increasingly invisible."

Who are they? They are the poor farmers—just the other day the Secretary of Agriculture pointed out "the existence of deep poverty affecting 15 million Americans. In terms of poor people both in agriculture and in small towns and rural communities they have been bypassed in the march of prosperity—half the Nation's farm-operator families have an income of less than $3,000 a year."

Who are the poor in America? The migratory farmworkers, the unskilled, unorganized workers in offices, hotels, restaurants, hospitals.

Where are the poor in America? In the slums of every city, in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma.

Who are the poor in America? Those whose skins are the wrong color. "Last to be hired, first to be fired." "If you're black, stay back."

Who are the poor in America? Those over 65 years of age—over 8 million of them live in poverty. We are a nation with aged poor. There is a prayer in the High Holy Day Service: "Al tashlichenu l'es Zikna, Kichlos Kochenu al ta'azvenu"—"Cast us not away, O Lord, when we get old—when our strength ebbs away, do not forsake us"—a prayer for 8 million citizens in this richest country in the history of the world.

Our aged poor are lonely. Our aged poor are depressed. Our aged poor are sick. Our aged poor are invisible to us.

We are a nation of chronic poor, for all the welfare handouts, for all the private charities, poverty is a cancer eating away at the body of America. We waste so much and we somehow never come to grips with our No. 1 problem in this Nation. The Congress has no tolerance for legislation to help the poor in the economy drives, human welfare programs are the first to go.

Since the end of the war we have fattened up Germany, we have revived up Japan, we have debauched Italy, we have built up France as our major rival—but we have failed, utterly failed to cut into our own poverty. The Peace Corps works in every jungle and every desert in the world, except the American jungles and deserts.

Long, long ago Hillel taught how life must be lived soundly and solidly—be it the life of an individual or a nation—Im ayn ani li, mi li. U'ch'she' ani l'atzmi mo oni—If I be not for myself, who will be for me. But if I am only for myself, what am I.

This is maturity. America is old enough to emerge from adolescence and to take a good hard look at itself—all of itself. The 7 percent who earn $15,000 a year and more and the 50 percent who earn less than $6,000 a year for a family of four.

As the teacher of Jewish religion in America looks at his country at the beginning of this new calendar year he finds that poverty is his country's No. 1 problem, and in the words of his prayer book he cries out "What mean ye that ye crush my people and grind the face of the poor, saith the Lord," and he implores the leader of the Nation and the Representatives in the Congress to remember that we are supposed to be a religious nation—and he continues with the words of the prayer book, "I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the poor, and the right of the needy." Amen.

Baltic Peoples and Their Woes in 1940–41

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, World War II let loose many evil forces which caused death to tens of millions of peoples and misery to hundreds of millions. In Europe the war's most helpless victims were the peoples of the three small, independent republics of the Baltic countries—Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. The tragedy of these peoples was brought on by the Soviet Government.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the Governments of these countries were browbeaten and bullied, and finally forced to sign mutual assistance pacts with the Soviet Union. Then they were compelled to agree to stationing Soviet troops at certain strategic points in these countries. And finally the Soviet Government accused the Governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania of anti-Soviet activities, and on this flimsy pretext the Red army attacked and occupied the three countries. In June of 1940 Soviet occupation was completed; Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians lost their freedom and were caught in the clutches of Soviet tyranny.

In the meantime wholesale arrests and imprisonments of prominent men in all three countries were carried out relentlessly. These unfortunate souls were hurriedly packed up in freight cars and deported to distant parts of the Soviet Union. This terror of arrests and imprisonments, and deportation continued for a year, culminating in the largest mass arrests and deportations in tens of thousands in one single day alone, on the night of June 13–14, 1941. It is no exaggeration to say many hundreds of thousands were thus uprooted from their homes and deported to inhospitable regions of distant Asiatic Russia, there to work and suffer in slave labor camps, seeking their salvation in death. The free world will never know the number of these unfortunate Baltic peoples thus doomed to certain death. All we know is that only a few of them were fortunate to survive the ordeal, and then return to their beloved homelands alive. Today on the solemn observance of the tragedy that was brought on these Baltic peoples by the Soviet Government, we pay due respects to its victims and pray for the betterment of the lot of those who survived that tragedy.

U.S. Exhibit at the New York World's Fair Lacks Imagination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House and the executive branch of Government the fact that the most unimaginative exhibit at the New York World's Fair, tragically, is the U.S. Government exhibit known as the Federal Building.

It is, indeed, a sad reflection upon the people in our Government who designed and conceived this exhibit that the money we have spent has just not produced an exhibit which reflects America's great strength and bold daring.

This is most regrettable because the entire New York World's Fair is so breathtaking, so exciting, so well conceived, that I would urge every American, if at all possible, to visit this spectacular exhibit of America, its industry, and the world.

Those who conceived the Federal Building exhibit failed miserably to catch the inspiring tempo of the fair.

Every other country which has a pavilion at the fair, has created a living symbol of its attributes while the American exhibit is dull, drab, and completely unimaginative.

It fails completely to convey to visitors the true greatness of our Nation.

It fails completely to show that our true strength cannot be found in our weapons of war; instead that it lies deep in our conviction and dedication to the American ideal.

It fails completely to emphasize that freedom's greatest enemies are spiritual indifference, material reverence, and patriotic decay.

It fails completely to convince that our destiny is in our hands and that each generation must earn and preserve freedom for itself and posterity.

It fails completely to impress indelibly upon our citizens and visitors from abroad the blessings of our heritage and to rekindle and imbue pride, devotion, and responsibility on our part.

Mr. Speaker, it grieves me to voice this indictment against those who are responsible for arranging the U.S. Government's exhibit at the fair. Their complete lack of imagination is perhaps the most convincing argument in behalf of free enterprise.

I would suggest that President Johnson consult immediately with those re-

sponsible for this exhibit and order them to award a contract forthwith to private industry to rearrange completely the Federal building with daring and imagination so that the millions of people who will visit the fair in these next 2 years will be able to leave as proud Americans, proud of their Federal Government.

I have in my district a private concern, Independence Hall of Chicago, whose president, Mr. S. L. de Love, has done a magnificent job in helping arrange an inspiring exhibit at the Illinois Pavilion, which is just across the street from the Federal Building at the World's Fair.

I am sure that the people at Independence Hall would gladly loan the many available documents which they have dealing with the glory of American history and America's strength to help improve the Federal exhibit.

I am sure that there are many other private companies capable of taking this Federal exhibit and reorganizing it completely so that it will inspire instead of deject.

I can assure my colleagues that the most disappointing exhibit at the World's Fair is the Federal Building.

I do not believe it is too late because the big crowds are yet to come, both this year and all of next year.

I urge this action because the rest of the New York World's Fair is so tremendously inspiring that the dismal contrast of our own exhibit leaves one somewhat bewildered.

We need only contrast the lackluster Federal Building to the truly inspiring exhibit arranged by the State of Illinois with the help of Walt Disney and Mr. De Love's Independence Hall of Chicago. The Illinois Pavilion has a life-size model of our immortal President, Abraham Lincoln, delivering a message so completely inspiring that every single American who leaves the Illinois exhibit leaves with a rebirth of faith, courage, understanding, dedication, and devotion to the United States.

Why could not the Federal bureaucracy have used similar imagination in arranging the U.S. Government's exhibit?

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many of my colleagues who visited the Federal exhibit will agree that major surgery is necessary if this exhibit is to attain the high standards of inspiration so eloquently feasible throughout the New York World's Fair.

I sincerely hope President Johnson will order such surgery without delay.

Present Immigration Quota System Must Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include my testimony before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, presented on Thursday, June 11, 1964, on my bill, H.R. 7700, to revise our immigration laws. My statement and section-by-section analysis of my bill follow:

TESTIMONY OF REPRESENTATIVE EMANUEL CELLER BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY

Mr. FEIGHAN, my distinguished colleagues, I welcome, indeed, the opportunity to talk on our immigration policy generally and my bill, H.R. 7700, specifically.

As you know, H.R. 7700 embodies a proposal submitted to the Congress in a special message by the late President Kennedy and formally supported by President Johnson.

The present law perpetuates the principle of national origins, an antiquated immigration system proven beyond peradventure of a doubt to be unworkable. It was devised in 1921—more than 40 years ago, in an atmosphere of fear bordering on hysteria—a direct result of the unsettled domestic and foreign conditions following World War I. H.R. 7700 erases it.

One of the very first speeches that I ever made in Congress inveighed against the national origins theory which was embedded in the 1921 law and was further extended in the 1924 act. At no time was this formula actually workable, constituting, as it did, a gratuitous insult to many nations whose friendship we forfeited.

The fundamental feature of my bill, H.R. 7700, is the elimination from our laws of the fallacious belief that the place of birth or the racial origin of a human being determines the quality or the level of a man's intellect, or his moral character or his suitability for assimilation into our Nation and our society.

In searching for a brief and comprehensive description of the underlying principle of my bill I use these words: "We do not intend to ask any immigrant, 'Where were you born?' We intend to ask him only 'Who are you and what can you do for the country in which you have chosen to live?'"

Since the enactment of the law which enunciated the contrived ideology of the national origins theory, the criticism has been both acute and unceasing. Historians, social philosophers, demographers have pointed again and again to the fallacious reasoning which led to the adoption of the national origins formula.

Forty years of testing have proven that the rigid pattern of discrimination has not only produced imbalances, but that Congress itself, through a long series of enactments forced by the realities of a changing world saw fit to modify this unworkable formula so that today it remains on the books primarily as an expression of gratuitous condescension. In fact, the condemned formula applies now to only 33 percent of our total annual immigration and even with regard to that 33 percent it is splintered time and time again by legislative patchwork attempting to prop up a crumbling structure.

I am firmly convinced that this formula would have been changed years ago had a workable substitute been found. I am offering that formula now in the bill H.R. 7700.

It is no secret to you, nor for that matter to anyone in Congress, that I have been highly vocal in decrying the national origins system of immigration selection. I have sponsored some and followed closely each successive act of Congress which fractured the untenable ratio of selectivity that allots annually some 65,000 quota numbers to Great Britain and some 300 to Greece and 250 to Spain.

Congress recognized well what it was doing when it adopted these one-shot acts. This committee is well aware of how the Congress shattered the national origin pattern, but whatever the reason, we chose not to call a spade a spade. In other words, we never did admit to the truth of what we were doing. In a sense, each of the acts of Congress I am about to enumerate has been an act of redemption, the slow retreat from the fears and failures of 1921 and 1924, and an open recognition of the unworkability of the basic principle of our immigration law.

As soon as Nazi Germany's surrender silenced the guns of World War II, the free world awoke to face the overwhelming task of resettling over 1.5 million victims of Nazi and Communist terror, the liberated inmates of concentration camps and Hitler's slave laborers; in short, the mass of humanity stamped "Displaced Persons." The United States decided to offer hospitality to what was deemed to be her fair share of the unfortunates. However, the national origins formula of the 1924 law remained an unsurmountable obstacle to what the people of the United States wanted to do; namely, to accept the responsibility which the U.S. position of leadership in the world had imposed.

In 1948, the 80th Congress passed the first Displayed Persons Act. Woefuly inadequate as that law was, it permitted the entry of 200,000 displaced persons outside of the national origins quota limitation, but in spite of the objections of many, myself included, that law imposed an unfair mortgage of the immigration quotas.

The 81st Congress passed the second Displaced Persons Act, sponsored by myself. Once again, the Congress recognized that the national origins quota system must be disregarded if this country were to respond to the public demand and discharge its moral and humanitarian obligations. As a compromise, the unfortunate mortgage feature of the 1948 law was retained.

In 1957, however, under a bill sponsored in the Senate by the late President Kennedy and in the House by my late friend and colleague, Mr. Walter, the mortgage provision was stricken from the statute books in obvious recognition of the fact that the situation created by the simultaneous operation of the national origin system plus the mortgage, had become untenable. Congress knew that the doors to the United States could no longer stay tightly shut for immigrants born in some 11 countries of eastern Europe which suffered most under Hitler's and Stalin's rule.

The ink was hardly dry on the basic act of 1952 when, early in 1953, the Congress recognized that while the displaced persons and refugees resettlement problems have not yet been solved, the new law, by carrying forward the national origins formula, left this country without any instrumentality to cope with its responsibilities and the emergent needs of the homeless. A new refugee admission law was proposed and quickly passed. It is known as the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. It brought to these shores over 220,000 refugees outside of the quota system, outside of the national origins formula and even without the pitiful expediency of the mortgage used in the 1948 and the 1950 enactments.

Just as the two Displaced Persons Acts constituted the first loud and public admission of the obsolescence and the unworkability of the national origins formula of the 1924 law, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, enacted only 8 months after the 1952 act became effective, remains an equally convincing piece of evidence of the bankruptcy of the system so very unfortunately incorporated in the statute now in effect.

Since 1957 every Congress, through the 87th, has been called upon to pass and did, indeed, pass a law further bending, chipping off, and whittling away the national origins formula.

Under pressure of inescapable facts, the 85th Congress passed the act of September

11, 1957, converting into nonquota status many thousands of immigrants in the first, second, and third preferences, the highly skilled aliens whose services were urgently needed in this country and the relatives of U.S. citizens and immigrants. Under the same law all unused numbers remaining from the Refugee Relief Act allocations were authorized to be used—again without regard to national origin of the applicants.

The Hungarian emergency caught the United States again unprepared to cope with the crying and most urgent need for offering asylum to the victims of Soviet terror. A broad interpretation of the law was used and the doors were open but the Congress had to act fast to redress the situation and the same 85th Congress enacted on August 8, 1958, the law authored by Mr. FEIGHAN granting permanent residence to upward of 40,000 Hungarian refugees. The principle of national origins received another body blow.

From 1957 on, this trend of congressional action in the field of immigration became obvious—and permanent. Every year, through 1962, brought new laws admitting outside of the national origin system highly skilled specialists, relatives of U.S. citizens and permanently residing aliens as well as refugees; always, however, on a piecemeal basis, never reaching the core of the problem.

In 1958, the Congress passed four such laws, the acts of July 25, August 8, August 21, and September 2. The last one—Public Law 85-892—had an additional significance since it selected nationals of only two countries for relief, the Portuguese victims of the earthquake which took place on the Azores and the Dutch expelled from Indonesia—a truly convincing admission of the inadequacy of the national origins quota system, as the quota for the Netherlands is relatively large, while the Portuguese quota is very small—both equally inadequate to achieve congressional intent to help.

The 86th Congress acted twice along the same lines. The act of September 22, 1959, granted nonquota status to relatives of United States citizens and permanent residents who had already experienced a waiting period on the consular registers exceeding 10 to 15 years. The act of July 14, 1960, admitted more Portuguese and more Dutchmen as well as authorized the paroling of refugees with the built-in provision permitting the Attorney General to adjust their status to that of permanent residence after they had spent 2 years in the United States. National origin was again totally disregarded.

The 87th Congress did not deviate from this now almost traditional course of action. Again, under the act of September 26, 1961, the reuniting of immigrant families was expedited by exempting large numbers of registrants from the national origin restrictions. Following that, under the act of October 24, 1962, the Congress enlarged on the categories of relatives permitted to enter on a nonquota basis and for the fourth time since 1957 has extricated first preference applicants, the skilled specialists, from the national origins straitjacket.

Thus, year after year the Congress continued to tear away bits and pieces of the national origins system until a situation was created where that system, as of fiscal year 1963, governs the admission of only 33 percent of our total immigration intake while the onus of it remains nailed down to our entire immigration code.

In view of this history can we honestly say that we are now faced with a radical proposal? Are we really suddenly and dramatically departing from that which we presumably had held sacred for 40 years? Obviously, no. Instead of clean surgery we have indulged ourselves in operations of occasional blood infusion into a moribund system.

And you, gentlemen, know best how much time, effort, blood, and sweat you, yourself, put into the patchwork repair job of our immigration laws when you sit each week and examine thousands of private bills, never reaching the bottom of the barrel.

In H.R. 7700 careful provision is made for proper transition from the medieval formula into modern times. For 5 years each quota allotment will be reduced 20 percent until at the end of that period there will be no national allotments. The unallotted numbers will be placed into a general pool and issued in chronological order within statutorily defined preferences favoring highly skilled specialists and uniting of families. Special provisions are made for emergency situations, thus eliminating the need for emergency legislation which we have been called upon to pass over the years.

At this point I want to make it clear, since every discussion surrounding immigration changes is obscured by arguments about our unemployment, our lack of classrooms, our housing, etc., that these arguments are totally irrelevant since the bill before you in no way significantly increases the basic numbers of immigrants to be permitted entry. We are not talking about increased immigration; we are talking about equality of opportunity for all peoples to reach this promised land. We freely acknowledge the fact that we are a land of immigrants, that this amalgam of blood has given us the richness, the diversity, the creativity that no other country in history has been able to achieve. From the builder of tunnels to the atomic scientist, we have drawn from the pool of world talent and have created a pluralistic society which—and I do not exaggerate—remains the wonder of all living historians.

In this complex age, therefore, shall not we as a Nation have the means whereby we can choose freely from all corners of the earth the talents and the skills we need and not limit our own choice because one man of genius was born 5 miles east or south of an arbitrarily traced boundary. This is the prime merit of this proposal, the flexibility, the acknowledgement that talent does not repose in only a few chosen spots of land areas.

It is now 40 years, almost to the day, since the 1924 national origins law was enacted. I submit that the fears and phobias of four decades ago have no place in our society in 1964. I respectfully submit that the days of patching are behind us. Is it not time our surgery were direct, clean, and straightforward?

Now I shall give you section-by-section analysis of my bill, H.R. 7700.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 7700

Section 1 amends section 201(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, under which quotas for each country are determined. It abolishes the national origins system by reducing present quotas by one-fifth of their present number each year for 5 years. As numbers are released from national origins quotas, they are added to the quota reserve established in section 2. Thus in the first year, 20 percent (roughly 32,800) are released to the pool; in the second year, the pool has 40 percent of present quotas (or 65,600); until in the fifth year, all numbers are allocated through the pool. To provide some immediate relief to minimum quota areas, the minimum quota is raised to 200, but is then reduced in the same manner as other quotas.

Section 2 establishes the quota reserve pool under which all numbers will be allocated by the fifth year. In each of the 5 years constituting the period of transition, the pool will consist of (1) the numbers released from national origins quotas each year, and (2) numbers assigned to the old quotas but unused the previous year because insufficient demand for them existed in the assigned quota area.

These numbers are issued in the order specified in amended section 203 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. That is, first call on the first 50 percent is given to persons whose admission, by virtue of their exceptional skill, training, or education, would be especially advantageous to the United States; first call on the next 30 percent, plus any part of the first 50 percent not issued to the skilled specialists, is given to unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens, not eligible for nonquota status because they are over 21 years of age; first call on the remaining 20 percent, plus any part of the first 80 percent not taken by the first two classes, is given to spouses and children of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence; and any portion remaining is issued to other applicants, with percentage preferences to other relations of U.S. citizens and resident aliens, and then to certain classes of workers. Section 203 further provides that within each class, visas are issued in the order in which applied for—first come, first served. These preference provisions, which under present law determine only relative priority between nationals of the same country, will now determine priority between nationals of different countries throughout the world.

To prevent disproportionate benefits to the nationals of any single country, a maximum of 10 percent of the total authorized quota is set on immigration attributable to any quota area. However, this limitation is not applied if to do so would result in reducing any quota at a more rapid rate than that provided by section 1. Ultimately, of course, the limitation applies to all.

Exceptions to the principle of allocating visas on the basis of time of registration within preference classes are provided to deal with specific problems. Since some countries' quotas are now current, their nationals have no old registrations on file. To apply the principle rigidly would result, after 4 or 5 years, in curtailing immigration from these countries almost entirely. Such a result would be undesirable not only because it frustrates the aim of the bill that immigration from all countries should continue, but also because many of the countries so affected are our closest allies.

At a time when the national security rests in large part on a continual strengthening of our ties with these countries, it would be anomalous indeed to restrict opportunities for their nationals here. Therefore, the bill allows the President, after consultation with the Immigration Board (established by sec. 16), to reserve up to 50 percent of the reserve pool for allocation to qualified immigrants (1) who could obtain visas under the present system but not under the new bill, whose admission (2) would further the national security interest in maintaining close ties with their countries. He is also given authority to grant visas to such immigrants without regard to the 10-percent limit on the number of immigrants from any country.

The President may also disregard priority of registration within preference classes for the benefit of refugees. Many refugees, almost by definition, are uprooted suddenly. They have had no thought of immigration before being forced to leave their usual homes by natural calamity or political upheaval; or they may be fleeing from persecution or dictatorship, in which case previous registration would have been dangerous. He may consider these and other factors in deciding whether to admit any applicant as a refugee or require him to await his turn under the regular procedure.

Finally, it is provided that if the President reserves, against contingencies, any numbers during the year, but does not then find them needed for the named purposes, they are to be issued as if not reserved.

Similarly, the 10-percent limitations on the number of visas to be issued to any quota area is removed where other persons would not be foreclosed from entry by its removal.

Section 3 amends section 201(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which presently limits the number of visas issued in any single month to 10 percent of the total issued each year. This limit is needed to insure that persons entitled to preference by virtue of skills or family ties will not be foreclosed from that preference by a rush of earlier applications which exhaust the annual quota. To insure that all numbers are nevertheless issued, present law provides that numbers not issued during the first 10 months may be issued during the last 2 months of the fiscal year, without limitation up to the total annual quota for the quota area. Often, if close to the full 10 percent is not issued in each of the first months, undesirable administrative problems result in the last two. The amendment allows the issuance each month of the 10 percent authorized for that month plus any visas authorized but not issued in previous months. It thus allows more even spacing of visas issuance during the year.

Section 4 amends section 202 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to eliminate the so-called "Asia-Pacific Triangle" provisions, which require persons of Asian stock to be attributed to quota areas not by their place of birth, but according to their racial ancestry. By the end of 5 years, this provision would be superfluous in any case, since national origin will no longer limit the admission of qualified immigrants. But the formula is so specially discriminatory that it should be removed immediately, and not operate even in part during the 5-year transition period.

Subsection (c) raises the minimum allotment to subquotas of dependent countries, thus preserving their present equality with independent minimum-quota areas. The dependent countries' allotments are taken from the mother countries' quotas. To prevent the dependent countries from preempting the mother countries' quotas disproportionately, it is provided that the dependent countries' shares of the quotas will decrease as the governing countries' quotas are reduced.

Subsection (e) conforms the present section 202(e) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to the change in designation prescribed in subsection (c).

Section 5 repeals section 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which prevents the issuance of visas in lieu of those issued but not actually used, or later found to be improperly issued. Thus in Germany alone, under present law, over 7,000 visas are taken by persons entitled to nonqouta status, and 2,000 more visas are issued to persons who do not apply for actual admission. All these visas are lost. Such a result is inconsistent with the new bill, which seeks full use of authorized quota numbers.

Substituted for section 207 is a specific command that nonquota immigrants shall not preempt visas which would otherwise be issued to quota immigrants.

Section 6 amends section 101(a)(27)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which grants nonquota status to spouses and children of U.S. citizens, to extend nonquota status to parents of U.S. citizens as well.

Section 7 amends section 101(a)(27)(C) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend nonquota status to all natives of independent Western Hemisphere countries. Under present law, such status is granted to natives of all independent North, Central, and South American countries, and of all Caribbean island countries independent when the Immigration and Nationality Act was enacted in 1952. The amendment extends the status to countries gaining their independence since then.

Section 8 amends section 203(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which establishes preferences for immigrants with special skills and relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens.

Subsection (a) relaxes the test for the first preference accorded to persons of high education, technical training, specialized experience, or exceptional ability. Under present law, such persons are granted preferred status only if their services are "needed urgently" in the United States. The amendment allows their admission if their services would be "especially advantageous" to the United States.

Subsection (b) eliminates the second preference for parents of American citizens, now accorded nonquota status by section 6.

Subsection (c) grants a fourth preference, up to 50 percent of numbers not issued to the first three preferences, to parents of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence. It also grants a subsidiary preference to qualified quota immigrants capable of filling particular labor shortages in the United States. Under present law, if an immigrant does not meet the rigorous standards of the skilled specialist category, he is not preferred to any other immigrant even though he may answer a definite need in the United States which the other immigrant does not. The amendment allows to persons filling such a definite need a preference of 50 percent of visas remaining after all family preferences have been satisfied or exhausted.

Section 9 amends section 204 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which establishes the procedure for determining eligibility for preferred status under section 203.

Paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) provide for the filing of petitions, on behalf of the workers granted preference by section 8, by the persons who will employ them to fill the special needs. Paragraph (1) provides for approval of these petitions by the Attorney General, and paragraph (2) requires that he consult with the Immigration Board and interested departments of Government before granting preference to these workers with lesser skills.

Paragraph (2) also exempts skilled specialists from the present petition procedure, to conform to the new procedure established in paragraph (4). Under present law, persons with high education, technical training, experience, or ability, may qualify for preferred status only when a petition requesting their services is filed by a U.S. employer. This requirement unduly restricts our ability to attract the educated, trained people whose services would significantly enhance our economy, national life, and general welfare. Thousands of such people have no way of contacting employers in the United States in order to get the necessary job. Even if they knew whom to contact, few jobs important enough to attract such highly skilled people are offered without personal interviews. And only a few very large enterprises and institutions have representatives abroad with possible authority to hire. Thus many highly skilled applicants cannot obtain the jobs presently required for preference; they cannot be hired abroad, because hiring is done domestically; and they cannot be hired domestically until they enter.

Moreover, the requirement of prearranged employment, as to these persons, is unnecessary. Such a requirement may serve two ends. First, it may help to insure that the immigrant, granted preference for a defined purpose, will fulfill that purpose; if we need engineers, he should work as one.

Highly skilled specialists, however, will always work at their specialty, provided that employment is open. The only check needed, therefore, is that the Attorney General ascertain from the Board (which has consulted the Secretary of Labor and studied such problems with specific reference to immigrants) that job openings exist in the immigrants' special field. The second end the present petition procedure may serve is confirmation of the applicant's own evidence of his training, education, or skills; presumably he would not be employed unless qualified. But such confirmation is superfluous if proper controls are enforced when the visa is applied for. And since we allow immigrants to enter without U.S. citizens vouching for their loyalty—a far more important matter—there seems no reason to require their capability to be thus additionally supported.

Paragraph (4), therefore, allows the Attorney General to grant preferred status to highly skilled immigrants upon affadavit of the immigrants, supported by such other documentary evidence as he shall prescribe.

Section 10 amends section 205(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, providing for petitions to establish the right to preferred status as a relative of a U.S. citizen or lawfully resident alien, to conform to the substantive changes made by section 8.

Section 11 amends the "Fair Share" refugee law to remove a provision which has hampered its operation. Presently, that law allows the entry only of refugees within the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The provision relating to the United Nations mandate is stricken out, so that our refugee law is no longer subject to outside control. In addition, subsection (b) repeals the "Fair Share" law's special provision for 500 "difficult to resettle" refugees; these have all been settled and the authority is now unnecessary.

Section 12 amends the Refugee Relief Act to allow the admission of refugees from North Africa generally, and Algeria particularly, who are unable to return to their countries because of their race, religion, or political opinions.

The act now admits such refugees from "any country within the general area of the Middle East," which is defined as the area between Libya on the west, Turkey on the north, Pakistan on the east, and Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia on the south. The amendment substitutes Morocco for Libya as the western border of this area.

Section 13 grants discretionary authority to the Secretary of State to specify the time and manner of payment of the fees for visa applications and issuances set by section 281 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The discretion granted will allow him to control two undesirable situations.

One, many people in countries with oversubscribed quotas register their names on visa waiting lists even though they have no present intention of immigrating; they regard the registration as "insurance" against a possible future move. These registrations make planning difficult and encumber administration. The amendment would allow the Secretary of State to require a registrant to deposit part of the $5 visa fee at the time of registration. While not unduly burdensome on those who wish to come here, such a rule might discourage the most frivolous registrations.

Two, otherwise admissable immigrants, particularly refugees, are often unable to pay the $20 visa fee. Rather than bar them from entry, the Secretary is given authority to allow postponement of payment until they have earned the money here.

Section 281, is further amended to equalize the visa fees paid by all immigrants; at present, nonquota or preference applicants must pay $10 more than persons not entitled to priority.

Section 14, like section 13, addressed the problem of "insurance" registrations. Many people who applied for visas years ago, and have been offered visas repeatedly, have

turned them down each year. They wish only to preserve their priority against some future event. This addition to section 302(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act would allow the Secretary to terminate the registrations of those who had previously declined a visa. Like section 13, it also is important in connection with a projected reregistration of all applicants in certain oversubscribed quota areas, in which we have no way of knowing whether registrants have died, emigrated elsewhere, or changed their minds; the Secretary would terminate the registration of all persons who fail to reregister as required. The provision is not made mandatory to avoid embarrassing or endangering registrants in totalitarian countries, who have no desire to approach an embassy before visas are actually available for them.

Section 15 amends subsections (a)(4) and (g) of section 212 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to allow the entry of certain mentally afflicted persons. Under present law, no visas may be issued to aliens who are feeble-minded or insane, or have had one or more attacks of insanity, or who are afflicted with a psychopathic personality, epilepsy, or a mental defect. This provision has an unfortunate effect on families seeking admission though one member, often a child, is retarded or feeble-minded. Such families are forced to choose between leaving the child behind, or staying with it; in either case, the child is condemned to facilities for treatment which are often inadequate. The person afflicted may not enter even if the family is willing and able to care for him, nor even if he is one of the 85 percent of mentally afflicted persons who can be substantially helped by proper treatment.

The amendment gives the Attorney General discretionary authority to admit such persons who are the spouses, children or parents of citizens, resident aliens, or holders of immigrant visas. The Attorney General, after consultation with the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, would prescribe the controls and conditions on entry, such as the giving of a bond to insure continued family support, as would be appropriate in each case.

The bars to epileptics are removed entirely, since this affliction is now under the control of modern medicine. Those few epileptics whose illness prevents normal functioning will be excludible under the provision barring persons likely to become public charges.

Section 16 establishes the Immigration Board. The Board is composed of seven members. Two are appointed by the Speaker of the House, two by the President of the Senate, and three, including the chairman, by the President. Members not otherwise in Government service are paid on a per diem basis for actual time spent in the work of the Board.

The Board's duties are to study, and consult with, appropriate Government departments on, all facets of immigration policy; to recommend to the President whether to reserve quota numbers in the national interest under section 2; and to recommend to the Attorney General criteria for admission under the occupational preferences of section 8.

Sections 17 grants consular officers discretionary authority to require bonds insuring that certain nonimmigrants will depart voluntarily from the United States when required. This amendment to section 221(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, by providing an additional safeguard against a later refusal to depart, would allow the issuance of visas in many borderline cases in which visas are now refused to students and visitors.

I wish to inform the subcommittee that I do not intend to ask for the enactment of H.R. 3926 and H.R. 6238, as their features are embodied in H.R. 7700.

Service to the Jet Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that many Members arriving and departing from our airports have had occasion to use the services of Airport Transport, Inc., and I was pleased to note that the accomplishments of this unique service organization won attention in a recent issue of the magazine of the Gulf Oil Co.

I think the article will be of interest to many who read the RECORD, and I include it with my remarks, as follows:

It is a sobering fact of the jet age that both the beginning and the end of a journey by air—swift and effortless as it may be—must be by ground transportation. Whether arriving from Karachi, La Paz, or Denver as a diplomat, vacationer, or refugee, the alternatives for getting into town are much the same—board an airport bus, hail a taxi, or wait for Cousin Amy to drive out to meet you.

With airports being built farther and farther from urban centers, to minimize the problem of noise and to allow for more and longer runways, ground transportation becomes ever more important, and also makes a firm and lasting impression on all who must travel or choose to travel by air.

To those who land at Washington National, and Dulles International Airport in Chantilly, Va., 27 miles from downtown Washington, the big air-conditioned buses and limousines waiting at the entrances to take on passengers and their baggage are a welcome sight. For it is very likely that Cousin Amy may have taken a wrong turn on the way out, or misread your telegram.

The deluxe bus and limousine service at Washington's two big airports, a long and pleasant step from the early days of the jitneys and errant cabs, is provided by Airport Transport, Inc., an organization that began scheduled operation in 1941 with 18 employees and 12 cars. The company takes pride in having grown with the airline industry and having kept abreast of the jet age. There are now 450 employees and more than 200 vehicles—buses, limousines, taxis, and chauffeured limousines for special business or diplomatic assignments.

The man largely responsible for this steady growth in the company, and for bringing its service to a high level of efficiency and comfort is Moe Lerner, president and general manager of Airport Transport, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Airport Transport was not always so progressive nor operated as efficiently. In 1946, 5 years after being organized at the time of the opening of Washington National Airport, the young company ran into operational as well as financial difficulties. It remained for Moe Lerner, then 37, with 18 years of transportation experience in New York behind him, to take over the company and put it on a sound financial basis.

Since taking over the organization, Mr. Lerner has succeeded in making ground transportation not just a good cartage service but an important, first-class adjunct to air travel. Several citations from 13 airlines flying in and out of Washington and Dulles attest to the facts of exemplary dedication and service to the airlines' on-the-ground customers.

Passengers originating from Washington and suburbs boarding buses at the Airlines Terminal Building, 12th and K Streets, downtown, and other pickup points may check their luggage through to their destinations without charge. Airport Transport also guarantees that they will get their passengers to their flights on time and does so for more than 1,600,000 travelers a year while operating its vehicles approximately 8 million miles.

One of the prime requisites of a good transportation system is that units be on time, ready, and waiting where they are needed. To this end Airport Transport has developed a highly efficient scheduling and dispatching system. Radio dispatchers at Washington National Airport and the downtown Terminal Building are in radio contact with all units and can, by anticipating peak load periods or special situations, direct limousines, cabs, and buses to locations where they are required.

The company, to keep its rolling stock rolling, to avoid breakdowns and consequent delays, adheres to a program of preventive maintenance and uses Gulf petroleum products exclusively. Airport Transport has been a Gulf customer for almost 22 years and is the second largest account in the Washington area in purchases of Gulf gasoline, lubricating oil, and diesel fuel.

Of special pride to the spare, well-tailored president is the company's Dulles Airport operation. When Airport Transport won the contract to service the jet port, it purchased 20 big, 40-passenger diesel buses to add to its fleet—an investment of close to $1 million.

Dulles International Airport, one of the world's most beautiful and certainly the most revolutionary in concept, was designed by the late Eero Saarenin and built by the Federal Aviation Authority.

Dulles, opened for jet passenger aircraft in late 1962, was the first airport in the country to change radically the traditional pattern of air passenger handling. At the mammoth glass and concrete pavilion, passengers do not have to walk from one end to the other, and then out through long concourses to get to the planes. Air travelers arriving at Dulles by car or bus are put off at the airport entrance opposite their airline's gate. They walk only a short distance to a "mobile lounge" and there enter a de luxe "living room on wheels." When the flight is announced, the mobile lounge is driven away under its own power to the boarding plane, a quarter of a mile or so out on the field. And, like a whale calf nosing into its mother, the strange-looking carriage gently attaches itself to the plane. The passengers then transfer to their seats in the aircraft.

Travelers arriving by jet at Dulles International are met by the mobile lounge, and transported across the field to the airport building. Leaving the lounge, passengers need walk only across the width of the main concourse to the waiting Airport Transport limousines, buses, and taxis.

The man in charge of this newest operation is Robert Lerner, 25, oldest son of the company president. Young Bob Lerner has been in the transportation business, himself, for several years since completing school.

For months before Dulles opened to civilian air traffic, Bob worked with the downtown office and the airlines, helping perfect arrangements and schedules for the handling of Dulles air travelers. The result of this planning is that each incoming flight is met by several large units of the Lerner fleet, and a number of taxis for local passengers.

Moe Lerner, whose story of business success and work in the community was inserted in the CONGRESIONAL RECORD in 1959, is proud of his company's part in the jet age picture. He comments with a smile, "From our air-conditioned coaches to the luxury of an international jet is but a few short steps. And the difference in mode of transportation,

in convenience, and comfort is little more than academic."

After talking to Moe Lerner and his son, one has the feeling that, should anyone reach the moon, he will find Airport Transport there, too, ready to take him to his favorite crater.

Are the Critics of Post Exchanges the Unwitting Enemies of Military Morale?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, recently, there has been a great deal of publicity given to the military commissary system. Most of the publicity has been adverse and implies that the service commissaries compete unfairly with commercial enterprises. Even the General Accounting Office has attacked military commissaries.

I think it is time for some self-appraisal of service benefits. I voted for the congressional pay raise, as well as a pay increase for Federal employees. I think we deserve a pay increase and I think Federal employees deserve a pay increase. But I noticed that the bill we passed the other day did not reduce or eliminate a single benefit now being received by Members of Congress or Federal employees. It is a strange commentary on our sense of justice that we can vote to increase our own pay while at the same time there are individuals in and out of the Congress who would eliminate or drastically reduce the commissary system which means so much to our service personnel.

The President has declared war on poverty and yet we know there are several thousand members of our armed services, with dependents, whose income, including all benefits, is considerably under the minimum of $3,000 per year established by the President.

When we discuss commissaries, I think it is wise to remember that if they are curtailed or eliminated, the people who will be hurt the most will be those young officers and enlisted men with families who need all the help they can get.

The commissaries are operating legally, they are performing a vital function, and if some of the chain stores in America are not making sufficient profit to satisfy themselves, they better find some other way of increasing their dividends without taking it out of the hide of our military personnel.

As far as I am concerned, the commissaries are operating properly today; they are indispensable to the morale of our armed services; and those who attack them are creating a great deal of unnecessary unrest among our service personnel.

I state with conviction that I will defend the commissary system and will oppose any effort to curtail their operation in any way.

If a single one is closed, it will be over my battered body.

In some areas, commissaries are absolutely indispensable, and in all areas, the relatively small savings that are affected as a result of purchasing in commissaries is vital to the service family—without it, many more of our service families would go on relief.

Mr. Speaker, I deplore these attacks upon the commissary system. I suggest we pay more attention to finding ways of improving the morale of our armed services.

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, we as a nation have been united in our heartfelt sorrow at the passing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur who was, from all perspectives, a dedicated soldier, a brilliant leader, and a patriot. Today, although countless eulogies have extolled this great man's virtues, I would like to call attention to a particularly moving statement by a fellow comrade-in-arms, Col. J. F. Roberts, U.S. Army, retired, at a MacArthur memorial service held at VFW Post 6761 in Wykoff, N.J., on April 11, 1964.

The speech follows:

MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HONOR OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, WYCKOFF, N.J., APRIL 11, 1964

As one of the countless similar groups throughout this Nation and many foreign capitals of the world, we are here gathered to pay homage to the memory of a man, a very great man, soldier, administrator, statesman, a man of destiny, a personage uniquely qualified to have marched in the forefront of our history for more than three generations—truly a man of the times—and when the history books are written, most probably the man of this century.

When I was requested to participate in this memorial service for General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, my first reaction was one of complete inadequacy. It was then that I first realized how very long and how very well he has served this country of ours. On the very day I first donned the uniform of a cadet of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, General MacArthur was retired from the Army from the highest position then attainable to him, that of Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, at the age of 55. West Point was his first and enduring love. He lived, worked, and died in complete dedication to the motto of the Academy—Duty, Honor, Country. Since that July day in 1935 his post-retirement career has far outshadowed his own previous accomplishments and certainly that of any number of ordinary people like you or me, half his age. He is the only man in our history to have had the privilege of leading into battle three generations of American manhood—fathers, sons, and grandsons. Many young men who fought and died in Korea were born following the general's initial retirement from active duty.

The news media have been overflowing with background information, tributes, and some arguments relating to General MacArthur. It is not my intention to repeat what you already know, but rather to point out to you those qualities and accomplishments indicative of his real greatness.

This is no story of "rags to riches" in the Horatio Alger tradition. As the son of a man whose own military career was both brilliant and eminently successful, Douglas MacArthur's own profession was pretty well ordained. His accomplishments while a cadet marked him for success upon graduation at the age of 23. He was all-round top cadet in athletics, military stature, and academics. He led the corps his first class year as first captain, and was graduated No. 1 in his class with an academic record unsurpassed in the previous 75 years and unexcelled in the 60 years since.

In the much forgotten Mexican campaign and Vera Cruz expedition against Pancho Villa he became the protege of Capt. John J. Pershing, an association which continued throughout General Pershing's own most distinguished life. In World War I he won a battlefield promotion to brigadier general leading the Rainbow 42d Division. His recognition by Marshal Foch as the best front-line commander of the war was accompanied by 10 high American awards for valor and bravery plus many foreign decorations. His trademark "complete disregard for personal safety" and insistence on being in the vanguard of any action resulted in his being wounded twice.

Legend has it that upon his return from World War I, a grateful War Department offered him any position of his choice. Foreseeing the letdown and antiwar feeling which engulfs our country after each time of great stress, General MacArthur chose to hold high the standards of West Point through such a trying period, and became the youngest and one of the most successful superintendents of the Military Academy in its history.

The hands of fate and destiny placed him in Washington at the head of the Army as Chief of Staff during the depths of the depression years. By sheer strength of will and personality he managed to keep alive a hard-core professional Army nucleus which within 4 years of his retirement in 1935 was to be most sorely tried—and still produce such men as Dwight D. Eisenhower. Probably the most significant act of greatness in his life was when he refused to let anyone else undertake the most disagreeable task of executing the President's order to evict the bonus army from Washington, by personally marching at the head of his troops—absorbing on his own shoulders the umbage, name calling, and vituperation which followed.

On his retirement he was called to the Philippines by President Manuel Quezon to organize the Philippine Army. In accepting, he became the only American ever to carry the baton of a field marshal. His departure from the United States at this time marked the start of 16 years continuous historic expatriation, for there he was on infamous Pearl Harbor day, summoned once again to the colors at the age of 60.

We all remember through actual experience or through the many movies, of heroic Bataan, of "I Shall Return," of island hopping and Iwo Jima, and of the historic surrender of Japan. More important to our history of greatness was his accomplishment in bringing back to life as a democratic nation the completely fallen, inept, feudal absolute monarchy that was Japan in 1945. Critics have commented that he merely replaced Hirohito as Emperor—his powers were great, the job was immense and called for heroic measures—measures which were eminently successful and to the everlasting credit of Douglas MacArthur—administrator and statesman.

The untimely but long overdue return of General MacArthur from Korea to his home-

land in 1951 set off a wave of parades, receptions, celebrations, honors and degrees unparalleled in American history—a fitting tribute.

The attributes of true greatness are all there—personal brilliance, a sense of destiny, a man of the times, for 54 years a man of the century, complete dedication to his ideals of duty, honor, country, and a lifetime of service to his Nation.

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is not dead and has not faded away. He has just taken his rightful place alongside his hero, General of the Armies John J. Pershing, and the others of the Long Gray Line who have preceded him from West Point.

Grip hands with us now though we see not
Grip hands with us, strengthen our hearts
As the long line stiffens and straightens
With the thrill that your presence imparts
Grip hands though it be from the shadows
While we swear as we did of yore
Or living, or dying, to honor
The Corps, and the Corps, and the Corps.

And when our work is done
Our course on earth is run
May it be said "Well Done"
Be Thou at peace
E'er may that line of Gray
Increase from day to day
Live, serve and die, we pray
West Point, for thee.

The Invisible City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the recently consecrated Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Washington, the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., is a distinguished churchman with a civic heart. Long before he arrived in the Nation's Capital he was nationally known for his deep concern for the future of our cities. Recently he addressed the 30th annual meeting of the Washington Planning and Housing Association. In his very apt remarks he presented a philosophy of hope regarding our cities and advised city planners on how our cities can again bring the good life to our citizens. I want to bring his wisdom to the attention of the entire House.

THE INVISIBLE CITY

(By Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.)

Greetings and thank you for asking me to be with you. I come under no illusions that I can be of any enlightenment to such a distinguished gathering * * * in fact, to twist a joke I heard attributed to Bishop Dun the other day, this talk may be like a bikini. What it reveals may be entertaining, but what it fails to reveal is essential.

IGNORANCE

However, even receiving this invitation has its significance. At least it shows that the little the institutional church has tried to do, has been recognized and is being encouraged by citizens of knowledge and concern. For this I am thankful and because of it I shall try to do what I can to keep our church oriented in this direction.

And I dare to hope that over the years, we may not only contribute our strength to the lobbying process, but also learn to translate the long wisdom of our heritage into the language of metropolis. We have begun to search * * * for instance in the last 2 years we have held seven regional conferences for bishops and other top lay and clerical leaders, consisting of a 4-day analysis of a mythical city, Metabagdag * * * trying to gear the church from parochialism into metropolitan thinking.

THE PROBLEM OF THE VISIBLE CITY

The problem of the visible city is that it is visible. Planners, architects, are artists. They are eye people, more than mind people, or heart people. Thus they are intoxicated, nay, even hooked by the visible.

Our own city of Washington is one of the greatest examples of this. The following quotation from Lewis Mumford's "The City in History" is illustrative:

"While one pays due tribute to the quality of L'Enfant's imagination, one must observe that he was not able to escape the usual baroque sacrifice of all the other functions of the city to space, position magnificence, and movement. Of the (60,000 odd) acres included in his plan, 3,606 were required for highways, while the land required for public buildings, for grounds or reservations, was only 541 acres. By any criterion, that appointment between dynamic and static space, between vehicles and buildings, was absurd. Only a modern highway engineer, with his extravagant inventions, could compete with L'Enfant in this reckless wastage of precious urban land.

As a result, only 1,964 acres, less than two-thirds the amount required for streets and avenues were left for building lots. The street system demanded a city of a half million, the plan permitted on its own original terms, something on the order of a hundred thousand.

Now, whether or not L'Enfant labored better than he knew in light of the tremendous expansion of Metropolitan Washington, the point is that he was intoxicated by the vision of the visible.

And I insist that urban planners today, as well as public housing (and private housing) people for the most part are so blinded by the visible that they do not see the invisible life of the city and this invisible life is the city.

The invisible city is made up of many things, and unless those of us who in one way or another are responsible for the building of our cities are conscious of them the remark of Max Weber will come true:

"The modern city is losing its external and formal structure. Internally it is a state of decay while the new community represented by the Nation everywhere grows at its expense. The age of the city seems to be at an end" (Max Weber, "The City," p. 67).

Today I would like to turn our attention to but three aspects of the invisible life of the city. Relationships, morale, and personality.

RELATIONSHIPS

The old city was made up of relationships which had been stylized by centuries of usage, formalized and even ceremonialized by continuous unchanging life. In the process of long use the edges were smoothed, the difficulties institutionalized * * * for instance in an oriental city, even today, the irritation of the customer for the shopkeeper, and vice versa, is institutionalized into the game of bargaining, where hostility can be vented and satisfaction found * * * as well as the true market price coming to the surface.

In our cities, relationships, their content, and their structure are continually changing. Thus they are not safeguarded by this formalizing process. And yet they are infinitely more complex and more important to the running of metropolis than ever.

It is even more essential, then, that the parties to the relationships know one another in other ways than at the point of conflict. I do not mean that every person should know every other, but that each kind of person should have the chance to know every other kind of person. For upon the attitude of one man toward another depends the proper function of even the most carefully constructed bureaucracy.

And yet the modern metropolis, by means of the motorcar, has become the most compartmented civilization ever known. Not merely race, but economic ghettoes of the finest distinction are the order. This is true of the new suburban residential areas, but it is also true of the inner city as it becomes renewed, rehabilitated, and "georgetowned." Houses instead of having been the centers of hospitality and neighborliness, become prisons. Lines between sections of town become barricades. Relationships become purely functional with no overtone of affection.

I am no city planner nor architect, but it seems to me that this fragmentation must be reversed. That even though the economic community may not "buy it" right off, integration of all groupings must be set forth as an ideal—no, more as a principle. The Southwest of Washington is an example that it works.

The opportunity for neighborliness should extend to the smallest unit. Some well-intentioned housing administrator is said to have suddenly gotten a conscience about the impersonality of his towers of Babel, and hit on the solution of buying some benches. Well it took a while for this radical idea to be accepted. When it finally was, he delegated the placing of the benches to one of his assistants. Later in the day he went down to inspect this innovation, and he found the benches in a cozy circle—all facing out.

MORALE

Morale is probably the most difficult thing to analyze there is—in any long-term ultimate sense. I do not pretend to analyze city morale in depth, but again to point to some factors which help make up the picture.

1. Does a city have symbols and are the symbols valid? We are living in a symbol-starved age—our sophistication has broken down the more naive symbols of the past—Fourth of July—town meeting, etc. But the fact that we still need them was never more apparent than at the time of the President's death—during those few days we dealt with this terrior with the help of the eternal symbols of our Nation and our church. But since, thank God, this does not happen every day; I ask have we everyday symbols? Are our symbols of democracy valid to those members of our country who are now waking to the denial of their content? Can a city have a high morale when the symbols of democrary set up in glory in one side of town, and the denial of democracy strewn across the other?

2. Are the people who live in the city involved in the city, especially the power structure, or are they merely superhighwayed in and out? Or putting it another way, are there institutions in the city worth enough to keep one in the city? I remember the great battle we waged in Indianapolis to keep the museum downtown. In America one is not only fighting suburbanism, but edenism, that strange romantic identification of the country with the Garden of Eden.

3. Is there a sense of the possible? I recently ran into an old friend who had lived here for many years and had worked her heart out for a better city. Finally the frustrations of the battle became too much and she retired to a game with more tangible results. Morale drops when struggle yields no results.

Morale has to do with the motivation of struggle and the will to win.

PERSONALITY

This, an even more subtle thing, has to do with the particular personality a city has, and is closely allied with questions of morale. Why is Paris, Paris? What gives Chicago her special drive? Why has San Francisco a grace wholly absent from Los Angeles?

As I was saying the other night to a group of people interested in the cathedral, this personality is often reflected in the great buildings of the city, their placement, their special grace: San Marco in Venice, Santa Sophia in Istanbul, St. Paul's in London. These buildings have had a function of continually holding up before their people the best that is in them, expressed in the idiom of their particular culture.

I submit that it is these factors, these values that are being lost by default because of the clamor of often false interpretations of economic and social forces, and because of the visual bias of those who work with buildings. Buildings and plans should be made to foster this invisible life, not to strangle it out of existence.

May I conclude by saying a word about the church's role in the invisible city, for I would not be here today did I not feel that she has a relevance to all this.

1. In a changing neighborhood, the church is often the only institution which remains. She therefore must try to be the means of preserving the invisible structure of community through which the changing persons flow * * * the friendships, the Scout troops, the neighborhood loyalty, the friendly corner policeman, etc., etc. She can preserve tradition in a fractured neighborhood.

2. Christianity has always emphasized the Sparrow, the importance of the unimportant individual. If he for once is needlessly sacrificed for some pride of the drawing board, the temple is built on blood and can not stand.

3. We insist, with louder and louder voice upon integration * * * the elimination of the false barriers I mentioned above * * * and we shall surely attempt to be a place, a frame of reference within which communication can begin to increase between the most disparate of groups. And also we would hope to break down the walls * * * the device of zoning could be used to integrate, as easily as the reverse.

4. Finally, we of the Christian tradition share with the Jewish religion the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem and hold up before mankind the luster of her towers as the ultimate ideal of human society. Call it the heavenly Jerusalem, call it the Communion of the Saints: the glory of diversity in unity, the dynamism of a complexity of relationship; the power of the pouring forth of a community of love.

Role of the Jew in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, 1964, the National Capital Chapter of the American Jewish Congress presented to Aaron Goldman, of Washington, D.C., its Stephen Wise Award. This award is presented annually to an outstanding citizen in recognition of community leadership in serving the high ethical goals and humanitarian traditions of the Jewish people as exemplified by the late Stephen Wise who, for many years, headed the American Jewish Congress.

Previous recipients were Robert R. Nathan (1960), Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg (1961), Isaac Franck (1962), and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. (1963). The 1964 recipient of the award recently completed a distinguished term of service as Chairman of the District of Columbia Commissioners Council on Human Relations. Mr. Goldman's remarks, upon receiving the American Jewish Congress award, are a compendium of the three major areas which have concerned the American Jewish Congress: (1) Rescue and rehabilitation of fellow Jews; (2) aid and assistance to achieve and safeguard civil rights; (3) preservation of the separation of church and state, particularly in the public schools.

I commend Mr. Goldman's remarks to the attention of our colleagues:

REMARKS OF AARON GOLDMAN AT THE FIFTH ANNUAL AWARD LUNCHEON, THE NATIONAL CAPITAL CHAPTER, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, MAY 12, 1964

I must tell you right off that so far these proceedings have been less painful than anticipated * * * which is really embarrassing to one like myself who has usually managed in the past to avoid similar testimonial functions out of some misconceived sympathy for the unfortunate guy on the receiving end—that poor innocent, duped into believing that some worthy cause was being served at but a minor violation to his natural modesty.

Well, no longer do I hold any such dim veiw about these festive occasions. I see here such a host of family and friends that one would deny human frailty if he did not admit some pleasure at being the proximate cause of such a splendid assembly.

Scholars and historians and eccelesiastics—and even governments—have long wrestled with the difficult problem: What is a Jew? There is a kind of lively tension in finding oneself a Jew in America today * * * and I want to say a few words about that and one or two other things after I have expressed my appreciation—and surprise—to the chapter for my selection to receive its Stephen Wise Award.

To be considered worthy to receive an award from the American Jewish Congress which has given such unfailing leadership in the quest of American Jews for creative survival is an honor which, because unmerited, I shall cherish all the more; it bears the special mark of your benevolence. To accept a medallion which bears the likeness of Stephen Wise is to be made mindful again of how enormous is the power for good in the labors of a single courageous man. And finally, to have all this happen in the presence of wife, father, children, brothers, and good friends—and at the hands of a comrade in arms who can so embellish the truth—dayenu. * * *and a hearty thank you.

It would be the part of wisdom at this time to sit down, but this would run so contrary to the precedent set by my distinguished predecessors that you really have no right to expect such extraordinary treatment at my hands.

So permit me in this cheerful setting to venture the personal observation that in recent months there has been a noticeable absence of cheer in some of our principal labors. I refer specifically to three areas of concern which have long characterized our work in the American Jewish Congress: first, our effort to rescue and rehabilitate fellow Jews still coming into Israel in great numbers; second, our effort to identify meaningfully with the Negro human rights revolution; and thirdly, our effort to preserve the separation of church and state, particularly in the public schools. Let me touch briefly on each.

There passed through my hands a few days ago a generous check from a well-known contributor to our local United Jewish Appeal. But with it was a note which said, in effect, that it seemed almost uncanny how the UJA could manage to keep a crisis going for so many years. Here he was—a generous man—now reduced to giving his tithe, without cheer, without understanding that for 60,000 fellow Jews, unwanted in their homelands, there was no other land but Israel to receive them. * * * We are enjoined to feed the poor and clothe the naked—and I am not prescribing that we are entitled to any uplift in dealing with such human misery—but I do suggest that our faith teaches us that a mitzvah should be done with cheerfulness and with the conviction that it is needful.

A strong sense of kinship for fellow Jews and our generous voluntary help to those in need is a hallmark of our devotion to the best tenets of our Judaism and our Americanism. * * * and we must remain "young at heart" as we continue to bind the wounds of the less fortunate. * * * This is not the year to become weary or fainthearted or disengaged.

Something different and more difficult faces us as we attempt to redefine our role in the human rights revolution which has now moved from the South into the North and indeed across the whole of America. I do not think there is anything myopic in the view that the Jew, among all Americans, has, for a variety of reasons, occupied a special place vis-a-vis the Negro.

At any rate, to me personally, no one has ever appeared more piteous, and indeed more ludicrous, than the Jew who mistreated the Negro or who failed to come to his assistance. For a people who were once slaves unto Pharaoh and who have since then known so much alienation and hate—for such a people to fail to respond affirmatively to the quest of the Negro for justice is to deny their historic memories and to be unworthy of their prophetic legacy.

In this area of Negro-Jewish relationships, which is but part of the larger aspect of Negro-white relations, recent events have conspired here, too, to remove some of the simcha out of the mitzvah—for the benefit of my non-Hebrew-speaking friends—to remove some of the joy out of the fulfillment of the commandment (or the good deed).

Here in Washington whites and Negroes alike experienced a profound sense of brotherhood and solidarity in the fight for racial freedom as they marched together down Constitution Avenue last August; they were allies in a great struggle. Now it is May—9 months later—and no one will deny that in some ways this "alliance" has been strained. Seeds of suspicion and distrust have been sown which are bearing evil fruit. Only the enemies of the Negro can smile when they hear some Negro leader make the ridiculous assertion that he prefers the southern bigot (because he knows where he stands) to the white "liberal" who has betrayed them * * * and when the white liberal in turn, retires from the fray because he feels neglected and confused * * * I cannot imagine that men of good will will permit this rupture to continue.

As friends, white and colored, we must try to understand the enormity of the change which is taking place—that fellow Americans who have lived and labored in this land longer than most of us are now determined to quickly close the gap between the promise and the practice of the American dream. It was Albert Camus, in his most famous essay, who describes every man in every age in the act of casting off his chains:

"What was at first the man's obstinate resistance now becomes the whole man * * * That part of himself that he wanted to be

respected he proceeds to place above everything else and proclaims it preferable to everything, even to life itself. It becomes for him the supreme good. Having up to now been willing to compromise * * * [he] suddenly adopts * * * an attitude of all or nothing. With rebellion, awareness is born * * * The rebel himself wants to be "all"—to identify himself completely with this good of which he has suddenly become aware and by which he wants to be personally recognized and acknowledged—or "nothing"; in other words to be completely destroyed by the force that dominates him. As a last resort, he is willing to accept the final defeat, which is death, rather than be deprived of the personal sacrament that he would call, for example, freedom. Better to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees."

If we did not already know what animates the Negro today, these words from a noble French Algerian who fought with the French maquis—and for the human spirit everywhere—should reillumine our minds and our hearts.

What is the corollary of this drive toward "all" or "nothing"? What is the personal obligation which it imposes upon each of us as we stand witness to this determination of the Negro to achieve freedom now? Nothing less than that we must give renewed support to removing every disability which militates against the Negro because he is a Negro and that we must earnestly seek to eradicate the conditions which have disfigured him * * * Here, too, there are wounds to bind.

And where do we take our stand? In our neighborhoods, in our places of business and profession, in our parlors and our precincts, in every place where a man or woman is called upon to extend or to withdraw the helping hand. Here in the North we have too long clothed ourselves in a regional self-righteousness which has sometimes worn badly when put to the test. (It is said, with too much truth, that the main difference between the South and the North in their treatment of the Negro is that in the South the Negro can come as close as he likes as long as he doesn't go too high; and in the North nobody cares how high the Negro goes as long as he doesn't come too close.)

No one who has worked for the human and civil rights of all Americans can have any doubts where the American Jewish Congress stands, or where Stephen Wise stood, or where now stand his daughter, Justine, and her husband, Shad Polier, or its present leaders and spiritual heirs, Joachim Prinz and Will Maslow and Leo Pfeffer. But what of the rest of us, the rank and file who marched shoulder to shoulder down Constitution Avenue in August; will we walk together in Chevy Chase and Cleveland Park and Silver Spring and Wheaton and Arlington and Shepherd Park? The tasks of Jewish leadership today go beyond writing the legal briefs; the job of the American Jewish Congress—and of other likeminded organizations, secular and religious—is to awaken and to arouse its members to the vast implications to the liberties of all Americans involved in this campaign for Negro rights.

And, in this respect, I would want to use this occasion to applaud those churches and synagogues and their councils and federations which have begun to lead the way in this area of stressing personal commitment and personal involvement. This is where the emphasis belongs, as President Johnson said only a few days ago, "The problem of racial wrongs and racial rights is the central moral problem of this Republic."

If we are to solve this moral problem, laws alone will not be enough. What will be needed is fraternity and mutual respect and honest helpfulness. These, to me, have been the mark of the "liberal" and I am not going to let it become a dirty word because some so-called Negro leaders, in blind frustration or otherwise, turn against their friends when there is honest difference of opinion as to method or strategy; or because some paternalistic white leader fails to understand the drive of the responsible Negro to now assert his own natural leadership. What we are starting now must be a new chapter of racial cooperation, but there is no reason to impugn the honest endeavor or good faith of those who were once in the vanguard and who are enlisted for the duration.

If the civil rights and civil liberties of this Nation are to be preserved and extended to all its citizens, it is inconceivable to me that any minority can "go it alone" unless in the process our Republic is torn apart. It is the role of "liberals" of both races, and of all religions, to see that this battle is won without losing the war.

Very briefly, there is a third and final item on our current agenda—the present agitation on Capitol Hill to undo the Supreme Court decisions in the school prayer and Bible reading cases. The Court's eloquent defense of religion over Government-sponsored piety is again under attack, in many cases by politicians who ought to be rescued from their folly. It would be fair to say, I think, from the reports in the newspapers, that the most highly respected religious, educational, and constitutional authorities have testified to the effect that those resolutions and amendments seeking to legalize prayers in the public schools will not only vitiate the first amendment but will unloose a host of forces eager to tamper with the whole Bill of Rights.

So, for the benefit of my brethren who wonder aloud if we have to reenlist in this war, too, I offer solace by reminding them that we have more recruits from other religious faiths than we had several years ago * * * and that, in spite of the hue and cry emanating from some sources, it is my opinion that we can defeat this attack on church-state separation if we will muster our forces with equal political sagacity and with equal conviction that our stand is in the best interest of all religions.

All this ought to keep us reasonably and cheerfully occupied until we meet again: the rescue of displaced Jews abroad, the civil rights fight, and the safeguarding of religious freedoms. Are these uniquely Jewish causes? Perhaps Israel * * * but certainly not civil rights and religious freedom in America. Yet I do find in these causes a kind of extra Jewish dimension—a kind of special sensitivity which stems from a long historic memory of oppression and degradation * * * and from deep insights into the human heart. In the Hebrew experience everything has been writ large; perhaps it is why there are only capital letters in the Hebrew alphabet * * *. At any rate, among close friends, I can admit without fear of misunderstanding that it is in this sense that I understand Jews to be chosen; chosen along with men and women of every other faith to rescue the downtrodden and to liberate the human spirit in every generation.

Edmund Burke once wrote that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing. I know it is the sense of this meeting that we shall do something: that we shall work together for the America we cherish—with increased vigor, with clearer purpose and with the cheerfulness that befits a noble enterprise.

I thank you again for your kindness to me today and for your friendship.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Man's Stature in Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1964, Gen. Francis C. Gideon, USAF, made an address at the graduating exercises of the Payne, Ohio, High School which is worthy of the attention of this House.

General Gideon's speech follows:

"MAN'S STATURE IN OUR TIME"—REMARKS BY MAJ. GEN. FRANCIS C. GIDEON, USAF

On April 5, just past, America lost one of its great heroic figures. Notwithstanding any detractors, Douglas MacArthur gave to his time a model of courage, dignity, honor, inspired leadership, and devotion to duty that cannot be surpassed.

Around his life are grouped all the noble qualities that we cherish—or should. He built his life around all the best and only the best of the qualities of our Western culture.

What are some of these "best" things? And how are they related to Douglas MacArthur? You could draw a long list, but most of your thoughts would be included among these:

Love of God and respect for the dignity of man;
Love of country and service; and
Uncompromising integrity and honor.

Of these, the first of course is the most important. No one who knew MacArthur could doubt his belief and trust in God. Or doubt the preeminent effect of this belief on his life and career.

On numberless occasions he eulogized the American soldier, his dignity and perseverance and valor. But he never failed to add such phrases as "In battle—in the face of danger and death—the [American soldier] discloses those attributes which his Maker gave when He created man in His own image"; or, "No physical courage and no greater strength can take the place of the Divine help which sustains him."

In another public statement—heard and read by hundreds of millions—the words he addressed to the world from the battleship *Missouri* at the end of World War II—he said:

"As I look back on the long, tortuous trail from these grim days of Bataan and Corregidor, when the entire world lived in fear; when democracy was on the defensive everywhere, when modern civilization trembled in the balance, I thank a merciful God that He has given us the faith, the courage, and the power from which to mold a victory."

We also remember the occasion in 1950 when General MacArthur turned the government of the Republic of Korea over to President Syngman Rhee. He began the brief ceremony with these words: "By the grace of a merciful Providence" and he continued with a short, emotion-packed oration which brought tears to the eyes of his Korean audience, a feat which in itself was extraordinary when you consider the reserve of that culture. He ended by asking the assembly to recite with him the Lord's Prayer. Hardened newsmen reported that never had this prayer been offered with such a depth of feeling.

No; no one who knew MacArthur could doubt his belief in God and his respect for the dignity of man.

I challenge anyone to name an American who has given more of himself in seifless service to his country. By 1935 he had completed a long and distinguished public career by any reasonable standard.

He had served with distinction as a young officer and proved himself to be a fearless leader in war. He had been wounded by shellfire and was a casualty of an attack by mustard gas on the battlefields of France in World War I. He could have retired with honor, to a life of ease, but he had no such thought.

In the decade after World War I he worked tirelessly and with small reward to hold together a small, professional Army. His effort to remold the U.S. Military Academy at West Point to fit the needs of the day is a classic story of intellectual courage. It is the story of a singlehanded crusade of a determined man who knew he was right against a tired, entrenched, and powerful bureaucracy. He turned the Academy upside down—and it needed this brutal treatment—against the will of the academic department, the tactical department, the alumni, and the War Department in Washington. Still he never wavered in his purpose—and he won.

He went on to become the Chief of Staff, the senior officer of the U.S. Army in the administration of Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt.

Then he was asked to undertake just one more duty: to rebuild the Philippine Army. He accepted this charge without a murmur.

He was 61 when World War II began and 65 when it was over. During these 4 years he had led his forces with the vigor and the imagination of a young Alexander.

By this time he had given service far beyond any normal call of duty.

But two great tasks still lay ahead: (1) the rebuilding of Japan, which was a feat of political and civil administration without precedent and unequaled in the history of the world; and (2) the brilliant defense of Korea against the Communist attack in 1950.

I first met General MacArthur on a jungle airfield in New Guinea in 1942. It didn't seem that this was very long after my graduation from this high schol. I saw him at frequent intervals in the succeeding 22 years.

I claim no intimacy with him, but I can state with firm conviction based on this contact that his every act of public service was born of his love for his country.

His urge to achieve victory, never compromise, was not based on any hollow, personal slogan. He held up the banner of victory as a rallying point for his countrymen because he loved his country.

Again and again he performed that "greatest act of religious training"—sacrifice. Again and again he offered his life for his country. There isn't any more than this that man can do.

What of honor and integrity? These are words with a familiar ring—so familiar that we may miss their real meaning of our age. There are cynics among us who would tell us that these words have no place in our modern, sophisticated world.

Well, is it important to be completely truthful when no one can check on you? Or is this the mark of the square?

Is it important to tell the whole truth even if it doesn't help you? Is it important to take a firm stand when you know you are right—or should you take the easy course and follow the crowd?

Here is the heart of the matter as far as honor and integrity are concerned.

It is so easy to bend with the popular view; it takes no courage to stand with the crowd, whether it is right or wrong. But it does take courage—a very special kind—to take your stand, all alone if necessary, against the tide.

One of the evils of bureaucracy—one of its perils—is that it places a premium on anonymous conformity. You can dedicate an entire career in large organizations—State or Federal Governments; colleges and universities; in business; in any bureaucratic institution—to mediocre performance, never daring to make a mistake.

But to stand alone and to stand absolutely firm against a popular view—that's the test of real character.

General MacArthur told a small group of us on one occasion of an incident in his career which vividly illustrated his response to the challenge of standing alone. He told the story to explain how he became an officer of the Infantry (which was an unusual occurrence in the career of an officer commissioned as an engineer) but I remember it chiefly as a powerful example of the temptation to conform to the will of the majority—and how he resisted this temptation.

It was 1917, and Douglas MacArthur was a major serving on the War Department General Staff. The Staff was small, and generally composed of senior officers of the Army. He was the youngest and the most junior in rank of the Staff.

Two difficult problems were raised which demanded quick and serious attention—how large a force should the United States commit to fight in France; and should it contain elements of the National Guard?

The General Staff was a conservative group, and one by one the senior members recorded their views—and they had a monotonous, repetitive ring: commit only a small, elite force; do not commit the National Guard.

MacArthur was the last to record his views—and wouldn't it have been easy to concur in the opinion of his peers?

But he didn't.

He wrote at length, beginning with these indiscreet words: "Since I am the junior officer of the staff, I doubt that anyone really wants my opinion, but—" And he then proceeded to present the case for a large force—an Army of at least a million men—to include a division composed of National Guardsmen from all the States.

He was ordered forthwith to report to the then Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker. He expected a rebuke for his brashness—and he felt he probably deserved it.

Mr. Baker, confronting him without a trace of humor, pointed to a paper which MacArthur recognized as his, and asked, "Did you write this?"

In that moment MacArthur must have wondered what had possessed him to state his views so bluntly. But before he could reply, Mr. Baker boomed out at him, "Well, I agree with you. Come with me; we are going to see the President."

To make a longer story very short, MacArthur and the Secretary of War went to the White House—they made the case outlined in MacArthur's report—and the President agreed with no reservations. On the way back to the War Department, Mr. Baker began to puzzle over the details of how to organize the division of guardsmen.

MacArthur, much relieved and quite confident by this time, said to the Secretary, "You shouldn't worry about these things, Mr. Secretary. You should appoint a chief of staff for this division and let him work out all the details."

Mr. Baker brightened and said, "You are right. You are the chief of staff of this division."

MacArthur demurred, pointing out to the Secretary that a divisional chief of staff would be of the grade of colonel and that he was only a major. "That's all right," said Mr. Baker, "when we get back to my office, I will commission you as a colonel."

And so it was that Douglas MacArthur became a colonel of infantry.

When he took his stand, he could not predict what the results would be. In fact, the odds were very much against him. If he had been primarily concerned with the security of his career, he would have retreated behind the unanimous opinion of his senior officers.

But that was not his way.

We, too, should be willing to take our stand. Not whimsically or foolishly, just to prove we have the courage to be different, but forthrightly when we know that the issue is worth fighting for and when we know we are right.

I wonder whether many of you are acquainted with the name of Edmund Ross? Probably not. His name isn't too well known. But he deserves an important place in the conscience of our Nation; he performed a unique service in preserving our constitutional democracy.

There was one moment when it seemed that the Congress was about to submerge the Presidency—when the basic concept of checks and balances, which is fundamental to our system of government, was nearly destroyed.

The stage was all set to convict a President of the United States under the impeachment proceedings of our Constitution. The Senators had been polled in advance and the President's enemies knew they could count on just the number of votes to turn the President out of office. The formal balloting began, and votes were recorded as predicted until the clerk called the name of Edmund Ross. His State, his constituents, his friends—all had demanded the President's scalp. Every pressure was on him to vote with his party, against the President. Every pressure, that is, except his own conscience.

His vote was loud and clear: "No."

The crisis was over—the Presidency as an independent institution was preserved. The career of Edmund Ross was over, too. He knew it would be before he voted. He, too, could have, with no public attention, gone along with his party. He probably could have been safely reelected and spent a comfortable career in politics.

But that was not his way.

He knew what he had to do. He took his stand without fear. We should, too, when we know we are right.

That, of course, brings up a question. How do you know when you are absolutely right? No one can really answer this for you. But experience indicates that in really important matters you will know.

You can trust your instincts, because they have been sharpened in the most wholesome environment in the world. With the basic influence of good homes and families; of church and school; with good minds with which to reason and with a fundamental faith in God; with the strength inherited by living your formative years in this community which is strong and independent; with the examples of courage and sacrifice which you have seen close up—all these have disciplined your instincts. You can trust them.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur is a great symbol in modern American life. His courageous and brilliant deeds; his noble ideals; his talent for eloquent expression—all have combined to place him on the highest pinnacle of our national life.

Whether you are in business or any civil profession, in military service or on the farm, in education or public administration—in whatever field you may choose, the same light which guided his life can enrich yours.

Whatever you do (and the members of this class will do wondrous things that we can only vaguely imagine, and others even more wondrous things that we cannot, because of our limited capacities, imagine at all); and wherever you go (and the members of this class will fan out to the far ends of the world, some may even be among those who probe deeper and deeper into outer space) you must always carry with you spirited belief in yourself.

If you have this belief—if you reinforce it with a deep and abiding faith in God—if you have the courage to live a life of service and honor, you will succeed in your lives far beyond your fondest hopes and dreams. You will have gained a stature worthy of man in our time.

Tribute to J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, many fine tributes have been paid to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, during his faithful and vigilant service to an appreciative Nation over a span of 40 years.

However, few are more cognizant of Director Hoover's full contribution than those in the ranks of law enforcement who have had the privilege and advantage of working directly with him and his FBI men, to attend FBI schools, and to use FBI facilities.

One such group is our Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs. When this organization held its annual convention in Spokane on June 5, it set forth its appreciation in written words, and unanimously approved a resolution which deserves to be preserved on the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the letter of transmittal of June 10 from William E. Bjork, secretary-treasurer of the association, and the actual resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and the resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF
SHERIFFS AND POLICE CHIEFS,
Moses Lake, Wash., June 10, 1964.

Hon. Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
U.S. Senate, Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It is my pleasure as secretary of the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, to enclose to you a resolution that our association passed in its annual convention in Spokane of June 5, 1964. The membership passed this resolution with heartfelt appreciation for the many years of service that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has rendered to this Nation, and especially for the great leadership that Mr. Hoover has given to law enforcement of this country over the past 40 years.

We desire to express to you, in your high office, our feeling for Mr. Hoover and the service that he has rendered. We also wish to thank you for your fine cooperation to law enforcement in the State of Washington and the programs that you have sponsored for us.

Sincerely,

WM. E. BJORK,
Secretary-Treasurer.

RESOLUTION BY WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF SHERIFFS AND POLICE CHIEFS

Whereas the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs are assembled in annual conference in Spokane, Wash., June 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1964; and

Whereas the members of the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs are most appreciative to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and agents of the FBI for the assistance and all the facilities which have been most generously provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Academy, the Identification Bureau, the Crime Laboratory, and including the outstanding leadership and effort of Mr. J. Earl Milnes and his staff, which has made police training in the State of Washington a most successful program; and

Whereas members of the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs would like to recognize Mr. J. Edgar Hoover for the 40 years of outstanding leadership in law enforcement and service to the United States as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since May 1924, by asking the Washington State delegation to Congress to take action to pay special tribute to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover for his services to this Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association express, in writing, their appreciation to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr. J. Earl Milnes, special agent in charge in Seattle, by forwarding to them a copy of this resolution; and therefore be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary forward to the members of the Washington delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, a copy of this resolution.

Passed by unanimous vote of the membership this 5th day of June 1964.

WM. E. BJORK,
Secretary.

Johnson Will Talk Goldwater Into the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the administration is saying many things these days—among them are the statements that big government is no threat to our individual freedoms and the Johnson ticket will win in a landslide.

David Lawrence, in his syndicated column of June 15, 1964, points out that the Democrats are really not exulting about an anticipated easy win over Senator GOLDWATER. The editorial from the June 14, 1964, Peoria Journal Star tells why the Democrats have reason to be concerned—the people are getting wise to the Federal rules game.

Under unanimous consent, I include the aforementioned articles:

OPPOSING ADMINISTRATION AIDS GOLDWATER POPULARITY

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—There is something of a political mystery building up. It's understandable why certain Republicans who may have favored rival candidates in their own party are unhappy because, as it looks now, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, is going to get the Republican presidential nomination. But it is puzzling why so many Democrats are unhappy.

Much of the anti-GOLDWATER comments have come from people who consider themselves "liberals" in the Democratic Party and from those who profess to be nonpartisan but actually have a deep-seated antagonism not only toward Senator GOLDWATER but against everything for which he stands.

If the Arizona Senator's philosophy is, as alleged, so unpopular and if the Republican Party is supposedly doomed to destruction if it does nominate Senator GOLDWATER, then it is difficult to see why there should not be rejoicing among those writers who have been espousing the cause of the Democratic Party. Is it possible that Senator GOLDWATER has more popularity than appears on the surface and that for this reason Democrats fear he may have more backing among the voters than he is publicly credited with having?

WHY NO JOY?

But if Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy is, as it is now claimed by his critics, about to hurt the Republican Party, why shouldn't the Democratic Party exultantly anticipate a landslide victory?

President Johnson, of course, is not the idol of the so-called liberals in this country, but he is subject to their dominating influence inside his own party. His stand on civil rights legislation, for example, only a few years ago was different from what it is today. But he could never have gotten the vice-presidential nomination, nor could he have attained the strength he now has within his own party, if he had not been willing to make adjustments or to "implement" principles in a way that is satisfactory to the Democratic leaders in the Northern States.

CAN'T IGNORE PUBLIC

There are Republicans, of course, who think that maybe Senator GOLDWATER, too, can be persuaded to adopt a "flexible" strategy and that, by the time the Republican platform is written, he may be willing to accept a document with some high-sounding phrases that extol certain principles on "civil rights" for example, without necessarily endorsing all of the specific proposals for carrying out those principles.

One thing that is unmistakable is that, while national political conventions are often controlled and operated by the professional politicians, they cannot ignore underlying public sentiment. There has been a rapidly growing support among Republican voters for Senator GOLDWATER.

Much of the outspoken comment in favor of the Arizona Senator comes from people throughout the country who are not particularly concerned with the deviations that occur now and then in the impromptu speeches of public men. Mr. GOLDWATER is regarded basically as a symbol of protest and as a man who will really make a fight during the campaign and reflect the opposition to administration policies by many citizens.

GOVERNMENT TO MANAGE OUR LIBERTY?

The President of the United States told a college graduation audience that fears of big Government endangering personal freedoms are just foolishness, and that, in fact, it is Government that is the source of much freedom.

We are shocked.

It happens we have run into this philosophy before in our travels.

And never have we run into it in places where freedom actually exists, before.

For example, the Soviet Constitution guarantees more freedoms than that of the United States, and they claim more strongly so because it does just what President Johnson suggests; it authorizes the Government to provide these freedoms.

Thus the Government is the custodian of "freedom," and Government control of free speech and free press and freedom of religion, as examples, is there described as true freedom and a higher freedom. This sophistry covers up the plain fact that there is no such freedom at all in Russia.

Our own Constitution does not say this. The freedoms are inherent, and it warns the Government not to abridge them, to leave them alone, to keep hands off. That's the opposite of taking charge of them.

You see the clever but vital difference between "Thou shalt not" and "Thou shall take charge of"?

A series of Latin American governments have used this same device, and in the name of freedom clamped all sorts of controls on individual liberties under outright dictatorships.

Hitler made the same claim as the Russians, and on the same philosophy of freedom. In each of those places, remember, they had the formality of great referendum elections, and every agency to control freedom of expression, for example, had as its title and injunction fine phrases about freedom.

This familiar philosophy suddenly sprouting in Washington, D.C., out of the mouth of the President of the United States is more shocking than the shocking growth of big Government itself.

It is false reasoning. It is sophistry. It is dangerous. And it has historically been a trap for free peoples.

We suppose that President Johnson is resorting to this ancient trick of reasoning whereby he reverses the role of Government in relation to individual freedoms because of the nature of the political challenge he faces this fall. We suppose it can be written off as campaign tactics, and hope that he do not really believe it nor plan to act upon it.

But such a trick with such a basic element of American philosophy and basic safeguard of individual freedoms scares us.

He cannot slide that cleverly over the simple and obvious historic fact that big Government and ever-expanding Government is a very real threat to our individual freedoms.

Ask the people caught in the Federal rules of the game who are being forced from their homes for less compensation than the outstanding mortgages on those same homes in our own city. Ask them what Federal control of a project does to individual rights.

It is a sad day when an American President, in order to defend his policies and plans, must fall back on a political trick used heretofore by the best-known enemies of liberty of our time as justification for controlling the very freedoms they claimed to be serving.

Freedom in custody of the Government is no longer free.

"The Burden and the Glory"—By John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a book review which appeared in the Washington Post of May 31. It is a review by John Kenneth Galbraith, formerly Ambassador to India, and a close friend of the late President Kennedy, of the book "The Burden and the Glory," a collection of the late President's papers of the second and third years of his administration, edited by Allan Nevins.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEEDS TO MATCH HIS GESTURES: LITERATE BUT NEVER LITURGICAL, KENNEDY'S SPEECHES PRECISELY MIRRORED HIS PERSONALITY

(By John Kenneth Galbraith)

We can understand the life and death of John F. Kennedy only if we realize that, at the moment of his murder, most people had but recently changed their minds about him or just then discovered that all evidence required such a change. This was true both at home and over the world.

We are naturally and no doubt wisely reluctant, disregarding always the hyperbole of the political speech, to believe that we have great men among us. Like Milton and Shakespeare, they have occurred in the past; they presumably will happen in the future; but they do not belong to this humdrum age of painkiller commercials, supermarket campaigning and CHARLIE HALLECK.

When John F. Kennedy came to office, almost everyone was sorry he wasn't someone else. Republicans wished he might have been Nixon (or Eisenhower or John W. Bricker). Liberal Democrats wished he might have been Adlai Stevenson. A great many diligent Protestants wished he might have been almost any Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, or Holy Roller. The fiction that the office is seeking the man only works in our Republic for those over 60. Younger officeseekers risk seeming brash and ambitious. So quite a few people who were in favor of youth in principle had grave doubts about its practical manifestation in John F. Kennedy.

The death of the President touched those whose affection was direct and uncomplicated, and they were many. It touched even more those who were in the full blush of personal discovery. And it touched, most deeply of all, those who only half accepted the idea that a very great man was in our midst and now sadly realized that they had denied themselves the pleasure of this knowledge.

This book covers the Presidential messages (including the two state of the Union messages) and the speeches of the second and third years of the Kennedy administration. There is a useful annotation by Allan Nevins and the more casual addresses have been skillfully edited. In the years ahead, there will be many efforts to explain the quality of John F. Kennedy and some of them, no doubt, will be very good. But anyone who is truly concerned should begin with this primary source. It is better than the two

volumes that preceded it "The Strategy of Peace," covering the preelection speeches and "To Turn the Tide," incorporating the speeches and messages of the first year) because it shows Kennedy in confident mastery of his position and with the new dimensions of knowledge and experience which were the result of his almost visible capacity for assimilation and growth.

I have noted our reluctance to believe that great men are among us; this is related to our unwillingness to recognize great achievements until they are long in the past. A great many liberals and a number of liberal journals did not credit Franklin Roosevelt with anything more important than capacious oratory until at least his third term. Only after his death did they make him a deity. It is admirably consistent with this political misanthropy that Mr. Carey McWilliams, the distinguished editor of The Nation, should say in the May 3 issue of Book Week that the achievements of Kennedy's "3 brief years in office were minimal." If one measures progress by number of bills passed—minimum wage increase, postal deficit, control of drug prices, authorization of Anti-Stream-Pollution Week—this might be concluded. But government is not a game; only the refugees from the sports pages settle such matters by the box score. The proper test is the progress that is made on the truly decisive things—on dealing with those grievances and reversing those trends which otherwise could destroy us.

When Kennedy came to office, there was one such grievance one such trend—the domestic race crisis and the movement toward nuclear confrontation. Both were dangerous, the second infinitely so. The inevitability of nuclear destruction was well on the way to acceptance; the generals and the belligerent professors were collaborating in the calculation of the acceptable level of civilian casualties. Pentagon speeches regularly advised the Russians that we could destroy them and our people that we would win even though we would not necessarily survive. The foreign policy experts dissented in silence; one must not compromise one's influence by seeming to be soft on communism, and force has always been the final arbiter as any sufficiently tough-minded authority must know. Senator Barry Goldwater's clarion call of the current season to shoot when you see the whites of any available eyes, but with tactical atomic weapons, seems more archaic and juvenile than alarming today. But the reverse would have been true a mere 4 years ago.

This book shows the skill and energy that John F. Kennedy invested in this change. There is a little of it in almost every message and speech—sometimes a plea for reason, sometimes an injunction to hope, sometimes a demand for reexamination of our own premises and prejudices, most often a warning of the new dimension of terror and destruction that the new weapons invite. And always this was accompanied by an affirmation of our own commitment to the liberty which he loved because he used it so joyously himself.

"The world was not meant to be a prison in which man awaits his execution," he told the Congress at the beginning of 1962. "Too many of us think peace is impossible * * * that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that * * * mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control," he told his American University audience in June 1963. In Maine a month before his death, he said, "* * * if this planet is ever ravaged by nuclear war, if 300 million Americans and Russians and Europeans are wiped out by a 60-minute nuclear exchange, if the pitiable survivors of that devastation can then endure the ensuing fire, poison, chaos, and catastrophe, I do not want one of those survivors to ask another, 'How did it all happen?'"

The lessened tension with Russia, the partial test ban and the opened door to negotiated solutions did not make the world safe for nuclear fission and fusion. And President Kennedy did not solve the problem of racial equality for which this volume also makes eloquent appeal. We shall have to contend for some time yet with the more durable tendencies of our foreign policy leadership which include the dithering fear of rightwing attack and the nostalgia, for past error. (There is also the still lurking conviction that nothing so shows a man is a confident planner attuned well to high strategy as the willingness to send in the Marines or bomb Hanoi.) Those who have no other ground for believing themselves superior will continue to set store by the color, however unremarkable, of their own skin. But President Kennedy set a firm course and established a new mood. And nothing in the future will be as difficult as the reversal of trend that this required.

There is much more of President Kennedy in this volume than ... rational foreign policy or a concern for racial equality. One sees, for example, his mistrust of political rhetoric; the Kennedy speeches are literate but never liturgical. There are few wasted words; there is an extraordinary component of hard information. This is a precise mirror of personality. President Kennedy was an extraordinarily tolerant man; the nearest he came to intolerance was with empty garrulity.

But one or two of the speeches also show Kennedy as a political craftsman who knew the virtues of minor extravagance. Speaking to a joint session of the Irish Dail and Seanad Eireann in June 1963, he accomplished the considerable feat for one speech of referring to O'Connell, Emmet, Parnell, Joyce, Yeats, De Valera, John Boyle O'Reilly, George Bernard Shaw, Brig. Thomas F. Meagher, Capt. Richard McGee, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the Battle of the Boyne. The omission of St. Patrick and Mr. Dooley is inexplicable.

Inevitably reviewers will show their knowledge of modern government and their immunity to being fooled by pointing out that a ghostwriter had a hand in these speeches. That is true; no President could be without such help. And there could scarcely be a fact of smaller importance. President Kennedy knew what he wanted to say; he also knew what he was saying. It would have been unimaginable that anyone could put words into his mouth. His aids were his servants, not his masters.

There is another point. A man of great intelligence can make use of intelligent help. A man without ability cannot be propped up without that fact being so painfully evident that he had better be let fall to his own level.

Dairying: New York State's Big Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, June is Dairy Month. I have the honor to represent a very substantial segment of dairy farmers in upstate New York; in fact, I am often told that I represent more than any other Member from New York. For this reason, I am deeply concerned over the prosperity of our dairy industry in New York and have always supported legislation to promote that prosperity.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am happy to include for the information of my colleagues a thoughtful editorial from the Marathon Independent of June 4, which discusses in considerable detail the importance of dairying to our great State:

NEW YORK STATE'S BIG BUSINESS

(By J. Russell Fox, executive secretary, New York State Milk Distributors, Inc.)

In New York State, we in the dairy industry have a twofold purpose in celebrating "June Is Dairy Month."

The first is to call to the attention of the people of New York State the importance of the dairy industry during the period of peak milk production and secondly, to pay tribute to New York State's dairy farmers and milk distributors for the wonderful job they are doing in bringing to the people of New York nature's most nearly perfect food.

New York State has been appropriately called the "Empire State." However, when most people hear the words "Empire State," they immediately think of our great industrial trading centers. Unfortunately, too few people realize that New York State is also one of the great dairy States of these United States.

For example, in 1963, New York State was second only to Wisconsin in gross farm income from dairy products—the income to farmers being over $457 million. Unlike most other forms of farm enterprises, the dairy farmer receives his milk check each month and as a result, spends most of it before the next check is received. This monthly income creates a vast purchasing power and creates thousands of jobs in our upstate communities.

The dairy farmers of this State rank second in milk production. In 1963 they produced almost 5 billion quarts of milk—4,992 million to be exact. This is more milk than the total produced in the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

THIRD IN NUMBER OF COWS

Another little known fact—New York State ranked third in the number of milk cows in 1963. In that year we had a cow population of 1,217,000 cows.

Dairying is one of the most unique industries in the world. It is a converting industry in which grass that people do not eat is converted into milk which they do eat. The most effective instrument for accomplishing this conversion is the dairy cow. Strangely enough in New York State, our total milk production and income has grown greater and greater throughout the years, while the dairy cow population has decreased and the human population has increased. The decrease in cow population has been more than offset by the increase in the amount of milk produced per cow.

New York State is ninth highest in the average milk produced per cow. In New York State, the average production per cow in 1963, was 4,102 quarts whereas the national average was 3,500 quarts per cow.

Milk has been called nature's most nearly perfect food. However, milk is not only a perfect food for humans, but it is also a perfect food for bacteria. Milk can be a blessing or a curse depending upon the way it is handled.

Nature intended the milk for the cow's calf. If she had intended it for humans, she would have protected it with a covering as she has in the case of oranges.

Therefore, the dairy farmers and the milk processors and distributors have had to take over this important job of getting milk to consumers in a sanitary and healthful manner.

The protection of the milk supply begins on the dairy farm. Each cow producing milk has a physical examination at least once a year. The dairy farmers examine the milk from each cow at every milking and if anything irregular is discovered, the cow is removed from the milking herd until she can be examined by a veterinarian.

As a further precaution, before milking, the udder of each cow is cleaned and washed. Immediately after milking, the milk is cooled to a temperature of 60° F. or lower and kept at that temperature until delivery at the milk plant. After milking, the farmer must wash and sterilize all of the equipment which comes in contact with the milk.

At the plant, the milk is weighed and samples taken for bacteria and butterfat testing. From the weigh vat, the milk is pumped through stainless steel or glass pipes to a cooler where it is further cooled and on into a holding tank. From the holding tank the milk flows into the pasteurizer. Here, every drop of milk is heated to a temperature which will destroy any bacteria harmful to humans, which may have gained access into the milk. After pasteurization, the milk is immediately cooled to a temperature of 50° or lower, and then flows through stainless steel pipes to the bottle filler where bottles which have just arrived from the bottle washer are filled, placed in cases and moved into big refrigerators to await delivery to consumers.

World War III Threatening: Failure To Understand Red Menace Blamed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the distinguished news columnist, Mr. Constantine Brown, continues to warn America, from his post in Italy, that the Communists are continuing to win the war between the forces of freedom and enslavement. I have been very much impressed with the column by Mr. Brown, as printed in the June 12, 1964, issue of the State, Columbia, S.C., and entitled "World War III Threatening: Failure To Understand Red Menace Blamed." I ask unanimous consent to have his excellent article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, June 12, 1964]

WORLD WAR III THREATENING: FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND RED MENACE BLAMED

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—Those who believe in cycles and portents point out that we seem to be in the midst of another tragic cycle.

Fifty years ago this summer in 1914, World War I broke out. Exactly 25 years later, in the summer of 1939, the second and more horrifying world war started. It engaged many more countries and proved far more devastating in human lives, wealth and social and political changes.

Now after another 25 years we seem to be on the brink of another cataclysm. Unless world leaders exercise more wisdom than they showed over the last two cycles, this one may be even worse—not because of modern means of destruction but because of its consequences on the future way of life.

World War I was caused, on the surface, because of a relatively insignificant incident: The assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne and Austria's punitive action against the little Serbian kingdom.

World War II had superficially a relatively minor origin: The Nazi demand that Poland, which was in the end sacrificed to Russia, bow to Hitler's demands and surrender its sovereignty over a disputed part of its territory.

The danger which is facing the world now originates in a little faraway and inconsequential country called Laos. The challenge comes from the newly born Communist powers which China and Russia brought into being through the shortsighted and strange policies of the Western World led by the United States.

There is no argument that in this third cycle the United States bears the major burden of responsibility. For had it not been for our incomprehensible shortsightedness and lack of understanding concerning the character of the great Communist conspiracy, we would not have tolerated, when we had ample means to prevent, the creation of the vast Russian empire extending to the Elbe River and the establishment of an even more dangerous Communist empire in China.

The Laotian situation which has become explosive is important to us. It represents the core of the threat to South Vietnam where we have taken over the responsibilities of France after her defeat at Dienbienphu.

And Vietnam is important to us because if the Vietcong forces, not more than 25,000 guerrillas, win the war against some 400,000 South Vietnamese soldiers backed by 16,000 Americans, our prestige in the Pacific will be irremediably damaged. The loss of Vietnam will further enhance the power and prestige of Moscow and Peiping not only in Asia and in Africa, but also in Europe.

What is worrying Washington at present is how to get out of this unexpected impasse, which students of the Communist conspiracy had foreseen, without losing our position not only in southeast Asia but also in the Pacific.

We welcomed the precarious makeshift agreement making Laos a neutralized country in 1962 mainly because of Russia's participation. Nobody wanted to heed the warning that Khrushchev would play along only so long as it suited his purposes. Nobody wanted to believe that he might play a double game as he and his predecessors have always played in their dealings with us.

We have been awakened only recently to the dangers of this alleged "neutralization." But we are still entertaining the wishful thinking that in the end, because of the exaggerated rift between Russia and China, we will find the U.S.S.R. on our side. The whole idea of neutralization of Laos was predicated on the good will of the men in the Kremlin.

We are at a quarter to twelve now. We and our allies are trying to devise plans for a peaceful solution in Laos. The French suggest another major conference for the neutralization of Laos. They are backed by the Russians and are indirectly but effectively supported by the British. We, for the time being, insist on conversations at low level to consider details rather than the core of the problem.

As things stand today the consensus in European capitals is that we shall ultimately agree with the French-Russian thesis. The question which arises in the minds of many trained observers is—will another full scale conference as proposed by Paris and Moscow become for us a Far Eastern Munich?

Prime Ministers Chamberlain and Daladier told their peace-hungry people 26 years ago that they must rely on Hitler's word that the surrender of the Sudetenland would end the European tensions and give us "peace in our time." Messrs. Khrushchev and Mao are no less powerminded than Hitler. Can we take a chance and believe in Khrushchev's friendly intervention which is the basis for the hope some people now express.

The Constitution and Pornography: The People, Not Court, Make Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by Dr. J. M. O'Neill, published in the Catholic News of the diocese of New York on June 11, 1964.

I am certain that the great majority of the Members of Congress must be disturbed by many decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years.

I am also certain that a great many Members of Congress must realize what is pointed out in this article—and that is that Congress "should exercise its constitutional responsibility to prevent the Supreme Court from ever again relying on its private amendment to the Constitution applying the first amendment to State government."

This article is entitled "The Constitution and Pornography: The People, Not Court, Make Laws," follows:

THE CONSTITUTION AND PORNOGRAPHY: THE PEOPLE, NOT COURT, MAKE LAWS

WHAT CENSORSHIP IS NOT AND WHAT IT IS

(By Dr. J. M. O'Neill)

The confusion about censorship outside of the courtrooms is usually due to denunciation as "censorship" of adverse criticism or comment in speech or press, of something spoken or printed which causes the denunciation by someone who does not understand what constitutes "censorship" as a problem of a free society.

This lack of understanding often causes persons, committees, or organizations, to brand as "censorship," quite proper, legal, ethical statements which are only examples of the exercise of their freedom of speech or press by the persons so denounced.

The speaking or writing most often called censorship by persons who happen not to like it, is usually found in one of three types of activity: criticism, editorial work, or the exercise of administrative discretion.

Criticism is the activity of such organizations as the Catholic Legion of Decency, and the National Office of Decent Literature, and of the Protestant Motion Picture Council, and the Churchmen's Commission for Decent Literature. The officers and committees of these organizations are simply using American privileges in self-expression in ways that irritate some of their fellow Americans. Anyone is free to ignore anything published or spoken by representatives of these groups; their utterances are effective only as each individual person decides to accept their teaching. Their status is very much like that of book reviewers and dramatic critics.

Editorial work, miscalled censorship by many commentators, is the activity of su/ organizations as the staff of the Code /

ministration of the Motion Picture Association of America.

RESPONSIBLE

This staff does exactly, step by step, what every editorial staff does in every publishing house in America. When an editor in the employ of a book publisher, or the Motion Picture Association, or a newspaper, decides that some material submitted for publication is not acceptable, for any reason whatever, for publication under the regulations and standards which he is supposed to observe, he is actin ; as a responsible editor, not as an antisocial enemy of freedom of the press.

Administrative discretion is exercised regularly as a part of the professional responsibility of public librarians, officials in public education, and various other public servants. That is the essence of what they are hired for.

Their decisions and statements may be considered unwise, tactless, silly, deplorable, or even criminal under a given statute, and can properly be criticized as such. They can very rarely, if ever, be legitimately held to be censorship.

Any person who lacks the ability to recognize, and the competence to refuse to comply with, improper requests, or "demands," should not be in public service—in libraries, or in education, or in other services in which large numbers of the population are intimately concerned through most of the days of the year. When a librarian withdraws a book from circulation, for any reason, those who disapprove should criticize the action as incompetent library administration, not as censorship exercised by the person or the organization which instigated the librarian's decision.

A number of States and cities have by statute created boards of censors to examine films in advance of public showing, to license for exhibition those that meet the requirements of the relevant laws, and to refuse licenses to those that are prohibited by these laws. These boards are official censors, representing the people who create and instruct; they are parts of government. With certain officials in the Post Office Department and the Customs Service, they are the only peacetime, prior restraint censors in the United States (except for those with authority only in special groups, as in the armed services).

POWER TO RESTRAIN

Freedom of speech and press is not absolute under any American government, and probably not under any government on earth. The United States Constitution (article 1, sec. 8) provides for the abridgment of freedom of speech and press by giving Congress authority to make copyright laws, and regulations for post office and customs service. Also "to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof." Congress has exercised these powers to restrict freedom of speech and press from the beginning of the U.S. Government.

The constitution of every State in the United States also provides for laws abridging the freedom of speech and press. All States have such laws and have had them from the beginning.

If the so-called censorship controversies in the public forum have any valid relation to laws, the appropriate laws would almost without exception be state laws.

Persons who do not like an instance of the exercise of the freedoms of speech or press by some of their fellow citizens, should, before indulging in accusations and name calling, become well acquainted with the relevant provisions of laws and constitutions under which they live. These attacks, unless they are clearly libelous, have little effect except to promote futile controversy and misunderstanding. Any social change sought by the instigators is impossible while the members of a free society have basic freedom of expression. The attacks can be, and usually are, either ignored, or replied to in kind.

Shortly after the "Don Juan" decision was announced, the New York Times (Feb. 21, 1961) reported that certain powerful persons and professional organizations engaged in publishing, motion pictures, and radio, started a campaign to secure a rehearing of the case, to get one more Justice to join the four dissenters to reverse what had been the position of the Supreme Court for 170 years.

SUPERGOVERNMENT

If this, or a similar effort, ever succeeds, constitutional self-government will be tremendously reduced in America, and the majority of the nine men on the Supreme Court will then be the effective supergovernment over all of the States.

The ordinary police power of each sovereign State to have laws to curb the public exhibitions of pornography was in this case saved by the Supreme Court by a single vote. Four Justices of the Court wanted the decision to be that the Constitution of the United States required any city or State to permit the showing, at least once, probably more than once, of anything on film to be presented in speech and pictures in commercial theaters for the entertainment of the general public.

It seems probable that only definite action by Congress can insure that the Supreme Court can never deliver an opinion stating the Constitution forbids any American unit of government, under any circumstances whatever, to impose "prior restraint" censorship on any motion picture or any other expression of anything in print, speech, or picture.

A alert, informed, and outspoken public opinion, will doubtless be required to move Congress to exercise its clear responsibility to keep the Supreme Court in its place, acting as a court, not as a supergovernment. The original Constitution provided, article II, section 2: "* * * the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." This provision has never been altered or repealed.

PORNOGRAPHY, COURT AND CONGRESS

If ordinary, historical, constitutional self-government is to continue in the several States of the United States, Congress will apparently have to have it. The "police power" of each State is seriously threatened by recent Supreme Court decisions; it would already be almost extinguished if the executive departments of the United States, and of the various States, had decided to "carry into effect" the doctrines of such cases as McCollum (1948), the case of "Lady Chatterley's Lover" (1959) and the school prayer case (1962). These are examples taken from the wide, complex and often intermingled fields of education, religion, and public morals. But no facts in these cases, or laws relevant to them, make necessary the elimination of the police power of the States.

The police power is usually explained and referred to as "inherent in all valid government." Prof. Edward S. Corwin, "The Constitution and What It Means Today," 1947 (p. 189), covers the situation briefly but completely.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

"The 'police power' is the power of the State 'to promote the public health, safety, morals, and general welfare'; or as it has been more simply and comprehensively described 'the power to govern men and things.' Under the present day interpretation of 'liberty,' 'property,' and 'due process of law,' this power is today confronted at every turn by the Court's power of judicial review."

However, the recent flood of harsh criticism of the Supreme Court has not been advocating "no judicial review," but only "more competent judicial review."

Congress should preserve our historical constitutional self-government in our country by quickly enacting a simple, clear regulation forbidding the Supreme Court to reverse a decision of the highest court of a State, concerned with the "life, liberty, or property" of any person, except on an explained finding of a lack of "due process of law" on the part of the State in arriving at the particular decision before the Court, and providing that "due process of law" in that regulation shall mean a fair trial by a court of competent jurisdiction—or in more detail, the legal process relevant to the offense charged, as found in the statutes and legal procedures of the State sending up the case, and not simply the approval of the Supreme Court.

WITHIN BOUNDS

Congress should thus exercise its constitutional responsibility to prevent the Supreme Court from ever again relying on its private "amendment" to the Constitution, applying the first amendment to State government, and thus tremendously extending its power as a supergoverning body over the Nation and the States. There seems to be no other way to keep the Supreme Court within the bounds set for it by the Constitution.

The American people can probably make its greatest contribution to the preservation of free, democratic, constitutional self-government throughout the United States, by a general, emphatic, articulate public insistence that Congress take whatever action is necessary to keep the Supreme Court within its constitutional bounds.

The unassailable truth was expressed by the distinguished scholar, lawyer, and writer on the Constitution, Charles Warren ("The Supreme Court in United States History," 1922, p. 140): "However, the Court may interpret the provisions of the Constitution, it is still the Constitution which is the law, and not the decision of the Court."

Prof. Edward S. Corwin of Princeton endorsed Warren's position on the power of Supreme Court decisions to supersede the Constitution of the United States (in "Court Over Constitution," 1938, p. 76), 'as the essence of learned opinion."

UP TO THE PEOPLE

If self-government is to survive in the individual States, with enough authority to exercise the police power which belongs to all valid government, and enough decency and self-respect to curb public pornography, America must accept the guidance of Marshall, Story, Cooley, Warren, and Corwin, and the historical record of all branches of American government for over a century and a half.

The American people must defeat any attempts, through public clamor or Court decision, to establish the doctrine that the public purveyors of smut enjoy a freedom under the Constitution of the United States which is superior to the will of the people of the sovereign States.

Docket of the Federal Court for the Western District of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article

entitled "Judges Here Know Secret of Keeping Dockets Clear," written by Kenneth L. Dixon and published in the Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal of June 11, 1964. The article deals with the condition of the docket of the Federal court for the western district of Tennessee.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDGES HERE KNOW SECRET OF KEEPING DOCKETS CLEAR

(By Kenneth L. Dixon)

It may come as a shock to lawyers and laymen alike, but there is such a thing as a current docket in court in Memphis.

The Federal court of the western district of Tennessee has such a docket.

In layman's language, that means your case gets tried now—not several months or years later. The worst judicial scandal in the land today is that almost every court is so loaded down with cases that it takes years to get them settled.

Not here. There isn't an ancient case on the books unless there's some good reason—a missing witness or some other factor beyond the control of the court.

I discovered this while digging into another story. Last year's court records carried only a handful of cases—civil and criminal—that hadn't been settled. Any lawyer will tell you this is unheard of. But, to be absolutely sure, I borrowed a copy of the Government's annual report on Federal courts and their disposition of cases. After a day and night of research, I can't find another court in the land with a record like this one.

Federal Judges Marion Speed Boyd and Bailey Brown weren't much help. They just grinned and said to check the record. I told them I had and wanted to know how they accomplished this seeming miracle. They said go downstairs and talk to "Miss Janice" in the clerk of court's office.

"Miss Janice" turned out to be Mrs. Janice B. Crockett, deputy clerk of court. She also grinned and said one thing was that the judges worked long hours, holding court from 9:30 to 5 o'clock each day, instead of the usual 10-to-1 schedule in most Federal courts. And sometimes they work far into the night.

Another thing is that the cases are set for trial as soon as they come up. No delay—civil or criminal. In criminal cases the arraignments are set within 5 days after the grand jury session. A guilty plea gets a sentence, then and there. A not-guilty plea gets set for trial in the immediate future—and it takes a mighty good reason to keep it from being tried on that exact date.

In the civil cases "Miss Janice" really gets busy. She contacts the attorneys by phone to see if they have any problems—if all depositions are taken and all witnesses are ready to appear. If there are problems, they come into court and work them out with the judge.

She also tells the attorneys to furnish the judges—and one another—with the points and authorities of law on which they intend to rely in the case. Finally, she finds out if they're ready to argue on any pending motions.

Thus everyone comes into court ready to do business.

If there's any chance of a settlement out of court, or any reason why one side or the other can't go to trial, she carries a list of the jurors with her wherever she goes. If for any reason there won't be a trial on the established date, she calls the jurors at home and saves them the trouble of appearing. Also, the witnesses. This alone saves the Government thousands and thousands of dollars a year in fees—and keeps the jurors so cooperative they'll appear in court on an emergency basis when needed.

"The attorneys are very cooperative in all this," she said. "Otherwise, it wouldn't work."

"Sure, we are," said a young attorney, also grinning. "If we're not, the judge knocks our heads together."

Maybe that's how you keep a current docket.

Boston, Mass., Herald on the Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial on the House-passed pay raise bill makes a number of excellent points. I commend the Boston Herald for its enlightened view of the salary reform legislation, and I am pleased to make their editorial a part of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

SAUCE FOR THE CONGRESS

The House of Representatives showed a special kind of courage by voting to increase congressional salaries by $7,500 in an election year.

But there should be no serious repercussions at the polls.

A somewhat more generous raise ($10,000) was voted down in March along with raises for 1.7 million Federal workers. And instead of plaudits the Congress got brickbats. Most people, it seems, agree with the Randall Advisory Panel that the Federal worker is worthy of his hire.

After the March turndown President Johnson wrote Speaker MCCORMACK urging the House to "reconsider and approve" the pay bill. "It is false economy," he said, "to offer salaries that will attract the mediocre but repel the talented."

Career employees were given an increase in 1960 and another two-step boost in 1962 and 1964 (January). The current bill applies to top ranking executives, members of the judiciary, and Congressmen. All increases were in accordance with recommendations of the Advisory Panel that Federal salaries be made comparable with pay for equivalent jobs in private industry.

It may be argued that Congressmen are in a class by themselves and should not be treated like appointive officers in the allocation of pay. But rightly or wrongly the legislators have always balked at placing executive salaries above their own, and this has had a tendency to hold executive pay below the level it should be.

The tradition has become so well established that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee justified congressional salary raises this year on the ground that failure to provide them would "seriously encroach on the rights and welfare of career employees" in the executive branch.

A House-added rider goes still farther by providing that any cost-of-living increases given to executive branch employees hereafter shall automatically be given to Congress at the same time.

On the whole this is not too bad a system. Serving in Congress is now a full-time job and a vitally important one. It should be at least as well paid as top executive jobs. And if tying congressional pay to executive pay is the price of an orderly Federal salary system, it is not excessive.

The Senate should follow the House with good conscience.

Hon. James A. Farley Interviewed at Age 76

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the other day our friend, a great American, former Postmaster General James A. Farley, of New York, celebrated his 76th birthday. On this occasion Jim Farley was interviewed by the press. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Syracuse Post-Standard for May 30, 1964, reporting this interview, and I commend Jim Farley's comments and observations to the careful attention of my colleagues:

[From the Syracuse (N.Y.) Post-Standard, May 30, 1964]

FARLEY AT 76 LIKES DEMOCRATS' CHANCES

NEW YORK.—A hale and hearty James A. Farley, 76 Saturday, relaxed in his office this week among treasured mementos of 50 years of political life—and looked happily toward the future.

He was relaxed, for one reason, because he was as optimistic about Democratic prospects this fall as he was in 1932.

That was the year he piloted Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidential campaign to a landslide victory, carrying 42 States. He says President Johnson may do even better because he has substantial support from the business community.

Concerning the Republican race for the presidential nomination, Farley predicted a convention deadlock if New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller beats Arizona Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in California's primary Tuesday. In that case, he said, the convention might turn to Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, over former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

NOT A CANDIDATE

Farley was relaxed, too, because for the first time in recent election years he himself is not seeking any political office.

Farley, former Democratic national chairman and former Postmaster General, is board chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., in charges of sales overseas.

He was guest at a prebirthday party today at Coca-Cola's World's Fair pavilion and was presented with a 76-pound birthday cake. Amid congratulations from hundreds of friends, took time to answer newsmen's questions on politics.

The walls of his business office are hung with scores of autographed photographs of the greats he has known.

Farley said Kennedy had sent the photograph, unsolicited, and that he did not know where it was taken.

FRIEND OF SIX PRESIDENTS

The autographed photographs are from Democrats and Republicans alike—President Johnson and former Presidents Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"I have been on speaking terms with six Presidents," said Farley. "What makes me happy about it is that I was on friendly terms with all."

Farley has a busy schedule for his birthday. He will attend Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, drive to his boyhood neighborhood in Rockland County to visit the graves of his parents in St. Patrick's Cemetery in Haverstraw, and Grassy Point's St. Joseph

Church where he once served as an altar boy.

Then he will return to New York for a luncheon at the World's Fair before driving to Westchester County to visit his wife's grave in Gate of Heaven Cemetery and then having dinner with his daughter, Mrs. Glenn D. Montgomery, and son, James Jr., a member of the New York Athletic Commission.

Farley discussed politics dispassionately.

LEADERS PASSED HIM BY

He sought the Democratic nomination for Senator in 1958 and for Governor in 1962 but the party leaders passed him by for lesser-known candidates who, incidentally, lost.

Politically, he said, he is "not very active because I'm not invited to be, but that's no complaint."

Why have the leaders consistently passed him up?

"Because if I were a Senator or Governor, I would be the State leader of the party," he said. He pointed out that the Democrats have neither the governorship nor the State's two senatorships and that the leadership therefore rests with New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

But just as dispassionately as he said that Wagner and other leaders have blocked him, he termed Wagner the strongest candidate for the Senate this fall against Republican Senator KENNETH B. KEATING.

His own role, he said, will be to campaign vigorously for President Johnson and Wagner or whoever the Senate nominee may be.

Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, Mr. Charles H. Kellstadt, a former board chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co., recently served as a "public governor" on the Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange. Upon terminating his service in this capacity, he wrote to one of his erstwhile colleagues an eloquent letter which gives vivid testimony to the vital role of the board of governors in furthering the public interest through its insistence on scrupulous standards of honesty and integrity in the marketplace.

Because it will undoubtedly be of great interest to students of this country's economic institutions, and will inspire many to follow a similar path of service to the more than 17 million Americans who comprise the investing public, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kellstadt's letter of June 5, 1964, to Mr. Howard E. Buhse, a partner in the firm of Hornblower & Weeks, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 5, 1964.*

Mr. HOWARD E. BUHSE,
Hornblower & Weeks,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. BUHSE: The last 3 years have been epochful for everyone in this old world of ours—but particularly for me.

One of the great opportunities accorded me was to associate with you and other distinguished members of the Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange. This privilege opened new doors and created new vistas for one who had spent a half century in trade.

Dramatic demonstrations of the workings of the free enterprise system continually unfolded—each sequel more forceful and convincing than its predecessor.

The precious historical note always to be held as the superlative standard of business integrity was the Exchange membership underwriting of possible customer losses in the salad oil debacle. All business now has an example of inherent honesty and an example of the biblical admonition carried out in the marketplace.

The fraternal spirit of the craft was always evident. For one on the outside labeled as a "public governor" it was a revelation. Never was the public's interest more carefully nurtured and preserved than by the total board—and never was the responsibility of a "public governor" more easily discharged. I trust that this termination of service will not deprive me of further and frequent contact with you and all the governors with whom I served.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

CHAS. H. KELLSTADT.

Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9876) to amend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 by extending its provisions for 2 additional years and providing for a special project and study.

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Chairman, first, I would like to commend the very distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon for her magnificent management of this bill, for her understanding of the scope of juvenile delinquency needs, and for her diligent work during the past 2 years on programs authorized by the last bill on this subject, pased when I had the privilege of serving as a member of the Education and Labor Committee. She has given you an understanding review of the problems in this field and has outlined the challenges.

As I listened this afternoon to the debate, there were many who suggested that we could do with less planning and more action. Perhaps this is true, for I know of no program in the United States, or probably in the world, that cannot be improved. Life is eternally the search for perfection. But, it is also true that we have some problems with us today because of lack of adequate planning many, many years—in fact, decades ago. Our Nation grew rapidly and transportation has changed. The quiet tranquility of the 19th century became the tumult of this century. In its place, came changes in the complexity of problems that face humanity. It is no longer possible to say simply that a problem belongs to a State or a community and it is their responsibility to solve per se. Do you say to a State, "Because there are no juvenile delinquents in your area, you shall make up an entire Army corps"; or to another State, "Because you have not met the problems of juvenile delinquency and have not solved the problems, your young men shall not be called upon to defend our Nation." No, I do not think so.

Today's society is compounded of many things—a national roads system which has led to the growing use of itinerant workers with families often undereducated. It has led to the assumption by some States of responsibilities far beyond their own abilities to meet, and subsequent problems arising were not of their creation, but were the creation of our society as a whole.

There are many facets of juvenile delinquency. The single facet that not one of us can ignore is that it is an expensive ill which we cannot tolerate lying upon the body of our Nation. No child is inherently bad. Many factors contribute to delinquency—broken homes, lack of jobs, lack of education, lack of parental guidance, highly populated urban areas. We often ignore playgrounds and recreational facilities. We have not planned ahead to meet the dropout situation. All of these things and many more lie under the problem. The Federal Government does have an interest and a responsibility for the people's lives within it.

The preamble of our Constitution is, in fact, the statement of our interest in this problem. Domestic tranquillity and the general welfare are at stake in our continuing search to eliminate causes of juvenile delinquency.

I do urge the passage of this bill and in passing I would like to bring to the attention of this House two outstanding projects in my own State. One is known as the Cowlitz Youth Camp which was established through the guidance of a very wise and compassionate judge of the superior court in Cowlitz County, Judge Ralph Armstrong. Young people, instead of being sent to a correctional institution, are given the opportunity in this camp for rehabilitation in the outdoors. The community, county and my State have responded magnificently. Yet they have fought an increasing battle to secure needed funds. This could well be the type of project useful for a pilot study, particularly for those young people in our urban areas who perhaps may, more than any other, desire to participate in the outdoors.

In the early part of July, Lewis County in my district will dedicate the Mayfield Youth Camp. This is for the recreation of young people and can serve as a major deterrent to juvenile delinquency. Again, communities in Lewis County banded together and cooperatively developed this program.

Both of these are so outstanding that they deserve recognition for their thorough planning, for their contribution to the elimination of juvenile delinquency, and for their "look ahead."

Tribute to Msgr. John L. Sheridan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the second oldest Catholic college and seminary in the United States recently lost the priest who had directed one-sixth of its years of service to America's youth. Msgr. John L. Sheridan, president of Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Md., will be remembered by his students and faculty and the thousands of alumni now following his precepts all over the world, as a devoted priest, eminent educator, and revered friend.

In death, as in the life he lived, the character of this unusual man of God will serve as a lasting memorial. An impressive description of his character was contained in the eulogy delivered at his funeral by the Right Reverend Robert R. Kline. For the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress, I include here excerpts from this eulogy of a positive and constructive life:

PRESIDENT KLINE'S EULOGY TO MONSIGNOR SHERIDAN

Forty-three years go this very morning a young man prostrate before the altar, heard himself pronounced worthy for reception into the priesthood. Arising, he received by ordination that sacred spiritual character which was his personal participation in the redemptive work of Christ. For 40 years Father Sheridan devoted his many talents to the priesthood with a vigor characteristic of his excellent bodily health.

On this, the 43d anniversary of his ordination, Mosignor Sheridan lies again prostrate before the altar, again judged worthy by his contemporaries—seeking God's mercy by virtue of his devotion to priestly duties.

The death and burial of a priest, since he is a man taken from among men, will resemble in many ways the death and burial of any member of the mystical body. But in one remarkable way there is a difference—there is no sense of tragedy in those who gather to pay their final respects. With the death of a mother there is the loss of the heart of the family. The death of the father carries with it the disintegration of the family authority. The death of a child brings the void of the unfulfilled. But the faithful see in the death of the priest not an end to an office or a function; for other priests, in the wonderful fruitfulness of the church, are there to meet the needs of the people. We are not left orphans. Others will continue the work, with greater or lesser talents; but it is the same priesthood which will endure. Please God it be with the same devotion as that of our predecessors, for we too are vessels of clay.

Monsignor Sheridan was twice dignified by honorary degrees for his administrative attainments. He was twice honored by Rome for ecclesiastical accomplishments. He directed one-sixth of the life of the second oldest Catholic college and seminary in the United States. Thousands of alumni have benefited from his work and were impressed with some part of his personality. But all these accomplishments take their meaning from his priesthood. Because of his sacerdotal character he was privileged to devote himself to the name of the immaculate virgin on this campus. His spiritual life was daily nourished by personal contact with the mysteries of the altar. He lived his life within yards of the tabernacle, and died with 13 of his fellow priests in attendance.

Some priests have accomplished more, some less, but all carry into eternity the mark of their ordination. In their lives they are respected most for their priestliness; in their death they are judged according to their devotion to that priesthood. Confident that Monsignor Sheridan will intercede for us again, as he did so often in his earthly life, we pray simply "May he rest in peace."

Daniels Ask Free Trade on Oil, Meal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, recently John H. Daniels, president of the Archer-Daniels Midland Co., in an address to the Congress of International Association of Seed Crushers stated that a reciprocal free trade policy on oil and meal imports would be beneficial to all concerned.

In his speech delivered in Wiesbaden, Germany, Daniels reviewed the fats and oils situation in the United States, predicting that soybean crushings will decline about 700,000 tons in the current crop year. According to an article which appeared in the June 10 Minneapolis Star, Mr. Daniels attributes the decrease to a sharp drop in domestic usage of soybean meal by cattle and poultry feeders who have had to contend with severe competition from foreign imports.

Under unanimous consent I place the report of Mr. Daniel's speech in the RECORD at this point in my remarks. My colleagues here in the House should take note of the effect that the present beef market situation is having on the soybean industry and insist that action be taken on proposals such as mine to restrict the imports of beef.

The article follows:

DANIELS ASKS FREE TRADE ON OIL, MEAL

WIESBADEN, WEST GERMANY.—Soybean crushers in the European Economic Community would gain only a temporary advantage by taxing oil and meal imports from the United States, the president of Archer-Daniels Midland Co. said here today.

John H. Daniels, speaking before the Congress of International Association of Seed Crushers, said a reciprocal free trade policy in this area would be beneficial to all concerned.

"I believe crushers, farmers, and Government officials can only agree that there should be a greater supply of soybeans and that the price of soybean meal should be lower," Daniels said.

"We believe the way to achieve this goal is to allow the free working of the economics of supply and demand."

Reviewing developments in the U.S. fats and oils industry, Daniels said soybean crushings will decline about 700,000 tons in the current crop year which began last October 1.

He attributed the decrease to a sharp drop in domestic usage of soybean meal by cattle and poultry feeders.

Both of these groups, Daniels said, experienced severe competition from imports from Argentina, Australia and New Zealand, which caused drastic price declines for poultry and meat.

Other factors contributing to the crushings decline, he said, were the break in soybean oil prices following liquidation of the Allied Crude Vegetable Oil position and the resulting increase in meal prices.

Daniels commended the Department of Agriculture for not increasing the soybean price support for 1964.

"We all are well aware of the need for product prices which continue to encourage expansion of soybean markets," he said. "It is gratifying to have our policymakers in Washington recognize this fact."

Residual Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, Thomas F. Mitchell, a special representative of the New England Council recently presented an excellent case for residual oil importation into the United States before the ad hoc Subcommittee on Appalachian Regional Development of the House Committee on Public Works.

He states the disastrous effects of the mandatory oil import control program's restrictions on imports of residual fuel oil on New England consumers and industries.

Mr. Speaker, as one who has been fighting these unfair, unjust, and unreasonable restrictions since the beginning, I commend this statement to all who are interested in the situation. The Mitchell statement gives excellent background material on the purpose of his testimony, the effects of the imports on the domestic coal industry and the volume of residual fuel oil imports. His concise testimony should clear up a great deal of confusion.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS F. MITCHELL, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, THE NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, D.C., SUBMITTED TO THE AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, JUNE 11, 1964

INTRODUCTION

My name is Thomas F. Mitchell. I am a special representative of the New England Council in Washington, D.C., and I am concerned solely with the effects on New England consumers and industries of the mandatory oil import control program's restrictions on imports of residual fuel oil.

The New England Council is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, representing all aspects of the New England economy made up of representatives of industry, labor, educational, and farm groups as well as the six State governments. The council is concerned solely with regional development and with the improvements of the New England economy. The council was established in 1925 at the request of the six New England Governors and serves today as secretariat for the New England Governors' Conference.

Residual fuel oil is a heavy, viscous material which remains after lighter products such as gasoline and heating oil have been extracted from crude oil. It is used extensively throughout New England to heat hos-

pitals, schools, large apartment houses, and other public institutions. It is also used to supply power for New England's industries and to generate her electricity. During 1962, over 75 million barrels of residual fuel oil were consumed by New England users. Of this amount, only 6½ million barrels could be obtained from domestic supplies and it was necessary to obtain the remainder from imports, principally from Venezuela.

PURPOSE OF THIS STATEMENT

The Honorable CLIFFORD DAVIS, of Tennessee, chairman of the Public Works ad hoc subcommittee on Appalachian Regional Development, has clearly stated on several occasions during the course of that subcommittee's hearings that the purpose of these hearings is to hear testimony confined to specific sections of the proposed legislation (H.R. 11065 and H.R. 11066) so that the subcommittee at the conclusion of the hearings can present to the Congress a "clean" bill which will best "provide public works and economic development program and the planning and coordination needed to assist in the development of the Appalachian region."

I am fully aware that the bills under consideration do not relate to nor mention in any way residual fuel oil imports, nor were they mentioned in the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. However, testimony has been offered during these hearings to the effect that the coal industry cannot support almost unlimited imports of residual oil from Venezuela and at the same time expand the coal industry when these imports displace some 55 million tons of coal on the eastern seaboard. Testimony has also been presented that residual oil imports have increased steadily during the last 10 years and that there has been an 85.8 percent increase of allowable imports since quotas were first established. Other witnesses have further stated that proposed legislation freezing residual oil imports at 50 percent of the domestic demand for the corresponding quarter of the previous year would be in the national interest.

It is indeed unfortunate that this problem has been injected into hearings on proposed legislation which has the clearly humanitarian motivation of eliminating poverty in a specific region of our Nation. The people of New England know poverty—perhaps not as severe, certainly not as widespread as that of Appalachia—and from that knowledge comes our sympathy for our fellow-distressed citizens along with the sincere desire to join in the "unconditional war on poverty" in Appalachia and elsewhere throughout the country. This war, to be financed by the tax dollars of all Americans, cannot be won, however, by needlessly bringing up false issues, even before the battle has been joined.

In this regard, I respectfully bring to the attention of the committee a statement made on the floor of the U.S. Senate by the Honorable JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, who has long been in the forefront of New England's struggle for relief from the crippling economic restrictions on residual fuel oil imports.

Senator PASTORE has said:

"Let us not fall for the fallacy of turning back the clock. Time and technology do not stand still. To yearn for the coal status quo, or the good old days, is to surrender to a dream and to invite disappointment and disaster. In these restrictions upon imports of residual fuel oil there is no help and no hope for the miner. For the threat to his job does not come from that source.

"America does not advance itself by creating roadblocks among the sister States. All that is negative. Progress is positive, sincere, sound, and mutual.

"Unemployment is our universal ill and our common concern. Let us meet it with directness, not with detours. Let us employ all our resources of research to put men to work in the mining regions and the manufacturing regions of America. Let us conquer unemployment, not by delusions but by determination.

"And conquer it we can."

However, since testimony detrimental to the fuel oil consumers of New England has been presented to this committee, the New England Council thanks the chairman for the opportunity to place on record its position with regard to residual fuel oil imports, and to offer our analysis of the effects of these imports on the domestic coal industry.

EFFECTS OF RESIDUAL FUEL OIL IMPORTS ON THE DOMESTIC COAL INDUSTRY

When the mandatory oil import control program was first placed in effect in March 1959, its stated purpose was to protect the health of the domestic petroleum industry. Residual fuel oil was included in the program because of its relationship as a petroleum product.

It has been generally recognized, however, that much of the pressure for the original inclusion of residual oil imports in the control program and for the continuation of the current quota system comes from domestic coal industries. Representatives of the coal industry have claimed that the greatest single obstacle to expanded demand for Appalachian coal is imported residual oil. They have claimed that imports of this fuel each year decrease demand for domestic coal by 50 to 55 million tons. This claim is based on the assumption that coal and residual fuel oil can be used interchangeably.

Actually, only a relatively small portion of the demand for residual oil is in direct competition with coal. Since World War I, residual oil has been used in New England and other eastern seaboard areas extensively in large heating plants, in hospitals, schools, and other public buildings. It is also used in large quantities to power ships. Residual oil is particularly adaptable to such usage in view of its ease and cleanliness of handling and clean burning characteristics. The cost of conversion to coal-burning and additional handling costs make such conversion economically prohibitive.

There is only one significant area wherein residual fuel oil and coal are in basic competition. That is the utility market. Even here, the utilities of Maine, parts of Massachusetts, and Florida either have never used coal or are not now equipped to do so. Furthermore because of the very nature of imported residual oil, such competition is limited to a very narrow strip along the east coast. The Interior Department has estimated that 6 million tons of coal per year is the total amount of coal in direct competition with residual oil.

But even in this area of competition, the coal industry has little cause for alarm. From 1950 through 1960, sales of residual fuel oil to utilities east of the Rocky Mountains remained relatively constant. In the same period, coal sales to electric utilities increased from 86.3 to 174 million tons per year and by 1963 there was a further increase to 211.4 million tons. On June 1, 1964, the United Mine Workers Journal estimated that potential market demand by utilities for bituminous coal could reach 450 million tons annually by 1970.

In view of this actual and potential growth in coal demand, assertions that residual oil imports constitute a threat to expanded coal production and are responsible for unemployment in the coal mining industry, are entirely without foundation.

The Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Stewart L. Udall, concurred with this conclusion when on March 23, 1964, he predicted a 10-percent increase in coal production during the current year. At that time, Mr. Udall noted that the coal industry was now one of the most highly automated in the United States and that the increasing effect of automation would be such that expected increases in output would not result in a significant increase in coal mining jobs. At that time, Mr. Udall said: "Bituminous coal production in the United States has increased more than 12 percent since the Kennedy-Johnson administration took office, but the automation encouraged by both labor and management in the coal industry has so increased production per man-day that coal mine employment actually decreased 4 percent during the same 3-year period." Mr. Udall cited the fact that between 1961 and 1963 coal production increased from 403 million tons to 452 million tons and that the average number of men working daily in the coal mines decreased from 150,474 to approximately 148,700.

Mr. Udall concluded his announcement of that date with the statement: "It has become obvious that increased production of coal in Appalachia is not the whole solution to that region's unemployment, nor is the (residual fuel oil) import program causing additional loss of miners' jobs." He said: "Increased diversity of economic development in that region is the key factor."

VOLUME OF RESIDUAL FUEL OIL IMPORTS

With regard to testimony that residual fuel oil imports have increased steadily during the last 10 years and actually have increased by 85.8 percent since controls were first imposed, the following table has been prepared based on figures furnished by the Bureau of Mines:

Districts I–IV supply of residual fuel oil

[Thousands of barrels daily]

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963 [1]
Domestic supply	874	793	836	831	822	728	704	652	615	580	539
Imports:											
Quota type	268	270	319	339	350	368	483	434	457	525	561
Nonquota type	92	84	97	105	122	131	127	184	165	160	172
Total imports	360	354	416	444	472	499	610	618	622	685	733
Total demand	1,234	1,147	1,252	1,275	1,294	1,227	1,314	1,270	1,237	1,265	1,272

[1] Preliminary.

An analysis of this table shows that from 1953 through 1963, the amount of residual fuel oil consumed in the United States increased by only 28,000 barrels per day. During the same period, the amount of this fuel available from domestic sources decreased by 345,000 barrels a day, so that it was necessary for residual oil consumers to obtain the balance of their supply from imports.

With regard to the increase in imports during this period, Secretary Udall has stated that "under the Presidential Proclamation of 1959, residual fuel oil imports are restricted to that amount which meets the industrial demand not satisfied by domestic production. The increase of imports has been due entirely to the declining availability of domestic supplies. Overall re-

sidual use has merely kept pace with the Nation's industrial growth."

It is further obvious from these statistics that any attempt to limit residual imports to 50 percent of the domestic demand during the corresponding quarter of the preceding year would have the sole purpose of gradually eliminating residual fuel oil imports entirely. Domestic oil producers find it unprofitable to produce and market residual oil, and by improving their refining methods have been able to gradually decrease the amount of residual obtained from each barrel of crude oil processed. In the last 5 years, the yield of residual fuel oil on refinery runs east of the Rockies has decreased from 10.6 percent to 6.8 percent in line with a trend which has been in evidence over the entire postwar period, and which in all probability will continue with or without controls.

CONCLUSION

The competition between residual fuel oil and coal is insignificant with regard to overall coal production, and these imports have no impact on coal employment. They have, on the other hand, had extremely harmful effects on those areas of the country dependent on this fuel.

In New England which is remote from the coal fields, the oil import control program has resulted in a severe economic burden, which has been borne not only by the consumers of New England but by other fuel users throughout the Nation. Residual oil import controls have also been harmful to U.S. foreign relations, particularly as they relate to those countries which depend to a great extent upon oil revenues, such as Venezuela, the principal supplier of residual fuel oil to the United States and a key country in the stability of Latin America.

"In God We Trust"—Resolution of Board of Directors of Southern States Industrial Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution entitled "In God We Trust," which was adopted by the board of directors of the Southern States Industrial Council, on May 22, 1964.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"IN GOD WE TRUST"—STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL ON MAY 22, 1964, AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING

Cherishing the fact that our beloved country was deeply rooted in religious faith; and

Crediting this tradition to a group of wise and virtuous men who established themselves upon this land through individual enterprise and self-reliance while unashamedly acknowledging God as the ultimate source of their strength; and

While this council is gravely concerned at the loss of liberties and the encroachments of Government on the citizens and States, it finds the most far reaching threat to the American Republic in the recent Court-directed assaults upon religion.

Therefore, the board of directors of the Southern States Industrial Council takes this opportunity to solemnly and humbly reaffirm its unalterable faith in Almighty God. It describes the Communist-inspired drift toward atheism; it reaffirms its support of a constitutional amendment to provide that the Bible may be read and prayers be offered in the public schools of our country, along with recognition of a Supreme Being in all our official life.

Public Works Appropriation Bill, 1965

SPEECH
OF
HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11579) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes.

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to join my colleagues in the commendation of the very distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations, the gentleman from Ohio, Congressman MIKE KIRWAN. He has long been a friend of programs in this Nation to develop and make possible national development and progress. He has mentioned water today. In my own district we are beginning one of the outstanding water projects of the Northwest, the Wynooche. We are part of the land where there is a surplus of rainfall and yet we suffer from lack of storage water. The construction and development of reservoirs in this area will not only save hundreds of acres from flood damage, but will make possible the development of industry because of this water storage.

In the bill today, also, and for the Northwest, are funds for deepening the channel of the Columbia River. This river has long been the economic lifeline of my district. For over a hundred years Northwest trade and commerce have moved on it to nations of the world, but as the draft depth of ships increased, so has the need for increased channel modernization. It is, indeed, with gratitude that the citizens of both Oregon and Washington mark the passage for this purpose.

I am also grateful for the flood control encompassed in this legislation. In 1948 one of the most disastrous floods of this century occurred in the very heart of my district. Prevention of damage for the future is essential and today there are funds for both Oregon and Washington.

In conclusion I want to thank the committee and its magnificent staff not only for the preparation of this bill, but also for each Member's intelligent interest in the problems presented to them by public and congressional witnesses. They asked thoughtful, searching questions which always lead to a better understanding of economic involvements which are inherent in any public works program.

Jesse James Moves On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to read about one of my constituents in the June 14, 1964, issue of Parade magazine; namely, Jesse James, a bald eagle. Actually, Jesse has had a lot more attention than many of the residents of the 18th District of Illinois who might never contact their Congressman.

Mr. Speaker, I am the Congressman to whom the authors refer in the article. I am pleased things worked out so well. However, there is one sad note. Dr. John Wagner passed away since the article was written and there is no longer anyone in Henry qualified to care for the bird and administer the zoo. Therefore the city council has voted to send Jesse James on to the Glen Oak Park Zoo in Peoria.

I hope to hear in the near future that the move has been approved. I also hope that Tom and Bill will still find time to get to Peoria and bring some fresh fish for Jesse.

The article follows:

THE BIG FLAP OVER A BALD EAGLE

(By Sid Ross and Peter D. Albertson)

HENRY, ILL.—When two U.S. game wardens came and took away Dr. John H. Wagner's bald eagle because nobody but the Government is allowed to own such a bird, this sleepy little town of 2,300 woke up in a rage.

The affair of the bald eagle—the official symbol of the United States—began when a local farmer, Joseph Vysocky, turned up at the town's dentist's office with the wounded bird. Dr. Wagner, a noted outdoorsman who writes a column on hunting and fishing for the weekly Henry News-Republican, nursed the eagle back to health in his small private zoo.

"The bird's whole left side was shot up," Doc Wagner recalls. "His wing was crippled and he couldn't fly. He was completely emaciated and refused to eat. I put a splint on his wing, but he just lay there in a trance most of the time. It took weeks and weeks to bring him back to health. Then I got him to eat fish, which bald eagles like. The kids around here loved him and they always used to go out and catch carp and bullheads for him."

Doc says that when the eagle began to recover, he named him Jesse James "because he was so mean."

Jesse was installed in Doc's zoo along with the rest of the menagerie: 15 or 20 ducks, a few deer, some pheasants, a racoon, and a number of chickens.

Doc Wagner discovered that he needed a special permit to keep the bald eagle, which is considered a "protected bird," and applied to the Federal game wardens at the State capital, Springfield. "Then one day," Doc sputters indignantly, "in walked these two big guys, one in plain clothes, the other in a uniform with a Sam Browne belt and a

gun, and they took Jesse James away. We were all happy here in Henry until this happened."

Headlines in the next issue of the News-Republican screamed: "Federal Agents Seize Bald Eagle in Henry Zoo."

"'You're not eligible for a bald eagle permit,' they told me," recounts Doc. "They said I was violating Federal law and that if I let them take Jesse away I wouldn't be prosecuted." Federal law, Doc later discovered, states that a bald eagle may be housed only in a public zoo.

Doc was stunned. "Here I'd brought Jesse back to health and strength. He was eating well on a steady supply of fresh fish the kids were catching for him every day. He was real perky, could jump 3 feet to his roost. He was my main attraction."

The agents slapped leg cuffs on the bird, threw a burlap bag over its head and wings and took it away as Doc stood by helplessly.

"One of the agents even criticized me for naming the eagle Jesse James," Doc told Parade. "He said it was an insult to the U.S. official bird."

IT'S AN OUTRAGE

The news spread like wildfire in Henry. In the Voice of the People column in the News-Republican, indignant letters supported Doc. "I saw a Federal game warden brutally manhandle an American eagle," wrote one townsman. "I think it's an outrage and rather stupid that Federal game wardens should confiscate the bald eagle from our zoo," added C. F. Meridan. Ned Potter suggested that the town write to its Congressmen.

Even the kids wrote. Said Tom Ziegler, 14: "I have caught many carp and bullheads to feed the bald eagle at the Henry Zoo, and I think he got to know me because he always talked in a funny voice when I was around." And 14-year-old Billy McEvoy noted: "I have been going fishing two and three times a week just to catch fish for Jesse James * * * [He] preferred fish to anything, and I wonder who will take time to go fishing for him now."

But the crowning insult was a letter from Robert Newton: "In case you've forgotten the name of the Federal game warden, just ask any citizen of Henry the name of the 'mean old man' who swipes eagles from zoos and steals candy from little kids."

Editor Dick Finfgeld remembers that "the whole community was upset over the affair. It was the general topic of conversation."

The town sprang to action. Their Congressman was deluged with messages. He contacted Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, who contacted the Fish and Wildlife Service, which contacted lawyers and agents, who contacted Doc and the town fathers. The city council finally took the matter into its own hands and solved the problem by voting to take over the Wagner zoo—thus making it legally qualified to house a bald eagle. Doc Wagner was named director of the Henry Municipal Zoo.

THE RETURN OF JESSE JAMES

Then the city of Henry received an official document from the Fish and Wildlife Service which stated that although the Federal Government was the rightful owner of Jesse James, the bird would be released on permanent loan to the Henry Municipal Zoo, Dr. Wagner, director.

Now the Henry Municipal Zoo, open 7 days a week, has its bald eagle back. On his perch roosts the town's pride, a bit bedraggled, but still powerful and handsome and majestic. The sign over his cage reads: "American Bald Eagle—Protected and loaned by the U.S. Department of the Interior—'our national bird'—Only 3,800 eagles exist in the United States of America."

Oh, yes. The name of the bald eagle has been changed to "something more dignified," says Doc Wagner, remembering the game warden's words. The sign over its pen now reads: "Sir Jesse James."

East Berlin Revolt in June 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, peoples in East European countries have shown their bravery and courage on numerous occasions since the end of the last war, since their subjection to Soviet-imposed Communist tyranny. Such an occasion was the revolt of workers in East Berlin in June 1953, which began as a protest demonstration, but soon became a mass revolt in many industrial centers of East Germany.

On June 15 it was announced that the production quotas of all industrial workers would be raised. But the people were already tired from overwork and lack of food. As the result of the announced raise in production quotas, industrial workers reacted swiftly. The first move was made on the next day by a group of workers on the building sites of the Stalinallee. The strike began by one group, and was rapidly followed by other groups. Then a banner was displayed, on which appeared the demands of the workers for better pay, better food, and better working conditions. The group began its march to the government building, where some 5,000 of them intended to deliver their demands to the heads of government. When the government leaders, Ulbricht and Grotewohl, refused (or did not dare) to be seen and disappeared through a cellar door, then the workers decided on a general strike for the next day and dispersed.

On the 17th about 100,000 strikers marched through the streets and courageously faced not only the firing by People's Police, but also the Russian tanks when they began appearing in all parts of the city. The clashes lasted all afternoon in the course of which more than 100 were killed and the government requested Soviet aid. Then the Soviet commandant proclaimed a state of emergency. The tanks began to move. By 9 o'clock the streets were cleared of strikers and a curfew was imposed, so that by nightfall the Soviet Army was in complete control. In these circumstances there appeared little prospect that the strike and demonstrations would spread to other towns, but on the 18th and 19th work stoppages took place in all the towns and cities in East Germany. Subsequently these were brought under control, but only by fierce methods with Soviet help. Thus came to an end the most outward show of courage and of love of freedom on the part of the German workers and German people enslaved by the Kremlin-sustained regime of East Germany.

Today, 11 years after that heroic show of courage by these daring and dauntless Germans, we observe the anniversary of that June 17, affirming our wholehearted and genuine admiration for their firm determination to carry on their fight for freedom against forbidding odds.

Some Good Can Be Done by ARA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is important to a strong economy to get ARA back on the track. The Federal Government has a legitimate role to play in aiding blighted regions by providing technical help, research and limited financial aid to the worst-hit communities. That is the role intended by Senator DOUGLAS and his colleagues when they set out in 1955 to pilot through Congress a program designed for the truly depressed areas of Appalachia, the declining New England textile towns, sinking farm counties of the Southeast and lumber regions of the Northwest. Their original plan would have qualified only 40 of the most distressed areas for aid.

But along the way the sponsors were forced to trade votes by adding more of what Senator DOUGLAS called "pass-the-biscuits-pappy amendments," including more and more congressional districts. As a result, their noble project has gone malignantly, tragically awry. Handed an impossible law to administer to begin with, the bureaucrats have done an appalling job of magnifying the horrible mess. They have gone trippingly through the Nation scattering bouquets of greenbacks to those comparatively healthy communities blessed with the leadership and organization necessary to put together sham development plans and to maneuver applications through the Potomac papermill. Meanwhile, the truly underdeveloped communities continue to wither in the shadows, blighted with unemployment and a lack of leadership and entrepreneurial talent. The result: less than $2 out of every $5 which ARA has broadcast has gone to those areas whose unemployment doubles the national average.

"The ARA has behaved like a not too virtuous girl who can not say no," one economist who helped the agency get started said, "But it must learn. It must establish priorities, pinpoint the causes of trouble and help communities organize to break the bottlenecks holding them back."

More money is not the answer. As an essential first step, Congress must drastically tighten the eligibility criteria, restricting ARA aid to the truly depressed areas and placing an absolute limit at any one time to the 150 counties—5 percent of the total—in the worst economic straits as determined on the basis of lowest median family income and highest

unemployment. By passing such a loosely drawn law in the first place, Congress has succeeded only in dissipating millions of dollars and inspiring false hopes of cure-alls without really helping those in need. ARA can point to a few bright spots, but these are rare indeed for all the millions spent. If Congress does not decide to have a truly "depressed area program" instead of gigantic pork barrel "reelection agency," then the voters should insist that the entire mess be allowed to expire as scheduled.

Once the eligibility is limited, other steps should be taken to add to the ARA's kit of development tools:

First, Congress could remove the restriction limiting ARA loans to businesses that cannot get credit from conventional sources. This provision limits ARA to helping only new or marginal firms and forces it to deal with a horde of fast buck operators that can't get credit elsewhere.

Second. Congress could provide tax incentives for new business expansion in the depressed areas to draw the corporate giants of America into the fight and away from the overcrowded megalopolises which are crying for more Federal subsidies for mass transit and urban services. At present, nothing in the ARA act offers any real incentive to channel blue chip or established industry to the depressed areas. Four percent interest on venture capital is not an effective carrot to dangle before successful corporations. ARA officials after 3 years of experience should understand this.

Third. ARA could be given the funds and instructed to assemble a team of expert economists and technicians who could help local communities to do a meaningful job of appraising their assets, pinpointing the development bottlenecks, and marshaling resources for an effective attack on their problems. So far the research, technical aid, and local planning programs all have been largely a sham.

Finally, the ARA must find ways to tap the greatest underdeveloped resource in most of these troubled regions: the enormous potential entrepreneurial talent of the small businessmen and existing industries—already in the community.

One of their greatest problems is lack of modern financial prowess and managerial know-how. To solve this, ARA could emulate the Red Cross and community chest. Skilled business managers would volunteer not only from the ranks of retired but from active duty by "leaves of absence" to contribute to the public service thrill of helping troubled enterprises in depressed areas break through to prosperity.

President Johnson at Swarthmore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Monday morning, June 8, President Johnson flew to the international airport in Philadelphia en route to Swarthmore where he later addressed the graduating class of Swarthmore College. The President was given a tremendous reception and I am happy to say that I was among those present. I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following articles and editorial which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on Tuesday, June 9, 1964:

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AT SWARTHMORE

In his address to the graduating class of Swarthmore College, at the centennial commencement exercises, President Johnson made appropriate and significant remarks on the roles of Government and the indivdual under the American system.

There was a particular appropriateness to the President's theme because Swarthmore, as this newspaper noted editorially Monday, is a college renowned for the emphasis it gives to the importance of the individual in society.

The significance of Mr. Johnson's comments is in their timeliness—at a juncture in the Nation's history when many Americans are concerned about the growth of governmental power and the spread of bureaucratic authority.

President Johnson espoused the cause of good government that helps to protect and preserve individual liberties, instead of weakening or destroying them. He reminded the Swarthmore seniors—and, in effect, all young persons in America—that "our Government is the sum total of the people it serves. The choices you personally make * * * will finally decide the character of this country."

The President thus stated a great truth. Unfortunately, many Americans are prone to neglect their individual roles in shaping the destiny of the Nation. Some citizens fail to insist that the individual rights of all Americans, without exception, be safeguarded. When individuals fail to exercise their responsibilities it is inevitable and, indeed, essential that the Government institute whatever measures are required to insure the constitutional rights of all.

President Johnson stressed that government in the American system does not mean at the Federal level alone but includes State and local administrations and, most important, the people themselves.

It seems to us—as, we believe, it does to President Johnson—that individual liberty and individual responsibility are inseparable. The citizen who prizes his freedom must accept the responsibilities of good citizenship in a free society.

The greatest of these responsibilities is respect for both the principle and the practice of equal justice for all fellow men, without discrimination, and steadfast resolve to defend the rights of others as diligently as one's own.

Lithuanian Victims of Soviet Deportations in 1940–41

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the 3 million Lithuanians constitute the largest ethnic element among the three Baltic peoples, and Lithuania is the largest of the three small Baltic countries. These sturdy and stouthearted, dauntless, and daring people have had a long and turbulent history, extending back to the Middle Ages. They had their glorious days in the distant past, but during most of modern times they have been subjected to alien rule in their homeland, and therefore have suffered under oppressive foreign regimes. After enduring the autocratic rule of czarist Russia for more than a full century, toward the end of the First World War they regained their freedom, proclaimed their independence and founded the Lithuanian Republic.

Thenceforth for more than two decades they worked hard in rebuilding their homes and in strengthening their newly established democratic institutions. In that relatively short time democracy took firm roots in the country, and the people were enjoying their freedom. During all that time, however, Lithuanians were fearful of the rise of nazism in Germany as they were seriously apprehensive of the Soviet regime's evil intentions toward them. Unfortunately, their worst fears proved to be well founded, for by mid-1940 they were robbed of their freedom and independence.

By early 1940 the Soviet Union had already stationed Red army units in all strategic regions of the country, and in mid-June Lithuania was overrun and occupied by the Red army. From that time on Lithuania became, for all practical purposes, part of the Soviet Union, for independent Lithuania ceased to exist. From then on for a year terror reigned over the whole country. No one felt safe from arrest and imprisonment. The Soviet Government saw to it that there was no opposition to its treachery. The arrests and imprisonments of innocent and helpless persons, totaling perhaps over 100,000, went on. And in June of 1941 arrests were carried on on a wholesale scale, and all those arrested were deported to distant Soviet concentration camps, there to slave and suffer for wanting and wishing freedom.

On the observance of the anniversary of this cruelty by Soviet authorities, we all hope and pray that helpless Lithuanians in their homeland regain their freedom.

Barry Would Rather Be Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Arthur Hoppe does not often write a column in a serious vein such as the one published in the San Francisco Chronicle on Sunday, June 14, entitled "BARRY Would Rather Be Right, I Hope." His column follows:

BARRY WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT, I HOPE
(By Arthur Hoppe)

So the Senate voted to end the filibuster at last. What a strange mixture of feelings the news brought—elation, relief and, beyond all that, a deep, almost mystical renewal of faith in the rightness of our system.

How sick the system often seemed during the 75 long days of meaningless talk to which few listened. Here was the most important legislative body in the world engaged in a ritual as pointless as the mad tea party. Was this the dream of democracy?

Then came the vote. In its own sweet way, in its own sweet time, the Senate issued its decision on the major issue of the day. And once again I thought how inane, how curious, how wrong our system is from day to day. Yet how enduring, how secure, how right it is from year to year. My faith in both its charm and its strength was refreshed.

And oddly enough, what made me feel best is that when the historic motion was made to end the senseless filibuster, one of the seven nonsoutherners who voted "no" was Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

I don't mean it snidely. Personally, I've long been an admirer of Mr. GOLDWATER. He's always seemed to me to embody all those good qualities we think of as American: friendliness, openness, honesty, simplicity, and dedication to principles.

But in the past few months, as he drew closer to the presidential nomination, you had the feeling he was purposely blurring the square-cut edges of his own sincerity. Is he really for voluntary social security? I've read his latest position paper four times and I can't tell. Does he really want to sever diplomatic relations with Russia? Use nuclear weapons in Vietnam? Withdraw from the U.N. if it does not do what we say? Yes and no, maybe, perhaps.

And as I watched him seemingly soften up this stand, cloud that issue and muddy up the waters as do most politicians, I felt sad. I felt I was watching the sickness in our system itself destroy all the good qualities we think of as American. Then he voted against ending the filibuster.

You may argue he voted that way to appeal to the South, pacify the conservatives, appease the racists. I don't think so. I think it was principle. He has always voted for the filibuster as a safeguard in our system. And he voted that way again this time, knowing full well it was against the stand of his party—the party upon whose nomination he is counting.

So when Mr. GOLDWATER cast his vote, I felt the way you do when you come out of a dark and tangled underbrush into the sunlight once again.

For I believe that it is terribly important to all of us that a man like Senator GOLDWATER is still able to stick to his principles in our complex society. Far more important than his being elected President. And I don't mean that snidely, either.

An Unnecessary Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, there has been no indication that the Department of Agriculture intends to abandon its market news wire service which is in direct competition with similar, competent private services and was initiated without congressional authorization. There is increasing concern over this Government activity, which is unnecessary, an added cost to the overburdened taxpayers, and contrary to public policy. I call attention to the following editorial that appeared in the June 12 issue of the Elgin Daily Courier-News, and urge that the Congress look into this matter without delay:

AN UNNECESSARY SERVICE

Some months back the Department of Agriculture launched a news wire service supplying crop information to firms willing to pay the telegraph tolls.

Begun without legislative authority, the program put the U.S. Government into a business competing for the first time with private wire services in the dissemination of news.

The Department's Agriculture Marketing Service introduced what it called its New Market News Service under which subscribers could tap into a farflung Government leased-wire network.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association has pointed out, meanwhile, that the Agriculture Department's news wire service is contrary to public policy set forth by Congress in creating the U.S. Information Agency. That legislation requires the USIA to encourage maximum use of private news agencies rather than operating a domestic news agency on its own.

Congress should lose no time in demanding termination of the market news wire service for three reasons: It is contrary to public policy; it is competitive with private business; it adds unnecessary costs to Government.

Fortunately there is a move in Congress now to bring the question into the open where it belongs. An amendment to House Joint Resolution 977 would make possible an impartial study of New Market News Service, including public hearings which up to this time have not been held by any congressional committee.

Scranton Can Provide Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the high regard for Gov. William W. Scranton in the 24th District is reflected in editorials appearing in the Meadville Tribune, Meadville, Pa., the Titusville Herald, Titusville, Pa., Times-News, Erie, Pa., and the Sharon Herald, Sharon, Pa.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the Meadville (Pa.) Tribune, June 15, 1964]

GOP DOES HAVE LEADERSHIP

Meadville and Allegheny College are honored today by the presence of a distinguished Pennsylvanian who not only is Governor of the Commonwealth but now is an avowed candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. We can assure him that a vast majority of the Republicans of this area welcome and support his candidacy, that district delegates are in his corner.

Governor Scranton will deliver the commencement address, and he will be presented for an honorary degree by another distinguished Pennsylvanian—a citizen of the Meadville community and an alumnus of the college—Lt. Gov. Raymond P. Shafer. The Lieutenant Governor is closely involved in the Scranton decision. If the Governor should be nominated and elected, the Lieutenant Governor automatically would become Governor of Pennsylvania.

Republican moderates—and most Republicans avoid the extremes of liberalism or conservatism—rejoice at the Governor's decision. They are aware that he faces an uphill battle, that the odds favor neither his nomination, at this late date, nor his election against President Johnson. But they applaud the courage and sense of responsibility that have persuaded him to take on this grueling task on behalf of what he believes to be the preservation of the two-party system and the continued effectiveness of his own party.

It was a dark period, a week ago, when Senator GOLDWATER appeared certain to gain the nomination because no moderate came forth to do battle with him. There was no leader about whom other moderates could rally. The nomination and the future of the party appeared to be going by default. From coast to coast there were cries of anguish that BARRY GOLDWATER did not represent majority GOP thinking, that his nomination would spell defeat for the national ticket and place in jeopardy the candidacies of a host of State and local officeseekers. They constitute the grassroots base upon which strong and effective political organizations must be built.

It looked last week as though the Republican Party might lose its stature as an effective political instrument. And it meant that, as Governor Scranton so aptly put it, San Francisco would be a desultory affair, witnessing a coronation rather than a convention.

Those fears now are dissipated. Whatever the outcome, the party is demonstrating vitality and political responsibility. There will be a contest. Republicans will have a choice. There is a leader.

Governor Scranton may have entered the lists too late, as he has been the first to admit. But he nevertheless has displayed great courage and evidenced an historic sense of fulfillment. The party must be saved and, despite the demands it will make upon him, he is prepared to make the sacrifice and the effort to achieve that end.

Because of his unequaled qualifications, his demonstrated skill as a campaigner, and the inherent appeal of his cause, he has a real chance for success. Republicans now can view the campaign with a new feeling of optimism and a new hope of victory.

[From the Titusville (Pa.) Herald, June 15, 1964]

SCRANTON FOR PRESIDENT

Finally the time has come when this newspaper is able to advise its readers on a question of national importance with first-hand knowledge to support its case.

It is simply this: William Warren Scranton would make a great President.

He has a tremendous sense of duty. Without this no man can become an inspired leader.

He has a fine mind, sharpened by a top-flight education and honed by experience in Washington and Harrisburg.

He is keenly aware of the problems of the country. Few if any men keep themselves better informed or size up a problem faster.

He has demonstrated that he can turn a slipping State in to a climbing State. He would give the country the same kind of lift.

And finally, he is a man of courage—deep courage, the kind of courage that will take on any odds if in his heart he feels the cause is right.

Knowing the man personally, we are sure of our course. We are for Governor Scranton all the way.

[From the Erie (Pa.) Times-News, June 14, 1964]

SCRANTON TO RUN

Thinking Americans, whether Republican or Democratic, will welcome Gov. William Scranton's courageous decision to formally

enter the GOP presidential nomination sweepstakes.

Governor Scranton's record, in Washington and in Harrisburg, establishes him as a moderate Republican, fiscally conservative but willing to meet this country's responsibilities and duties in a modern world in which the United States is uncontestably the strongest power.

If the Republicans nominate Governor Scranton, they will be led by a man of whom the party and the country can be proud. This is not a man who shoots from the hip. This is a man whose whole public life shows care and deliberate preparation.

But this is also a man who is willing to gamble when it is necessary to gamble.

Governor Scranton's announcement Friday in Baltimore required political and personal courage of the highest order.

The Governor made it perfectly clear he knows he faces an uphill fight.

"We have waited dangerously long to call upon our party's conscience, upon its wisdom, upon its will," he declared.

The Governor's decision to go ahead is the more commendable in the face of many predictions that no Republican this year can beat President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is, of course, far too early to make definite predictions about November.

President Johnson faces many trials before general election day and there are a number of dark clouds hovering over his shoulder.

But the odds do favor the President.

Still Governor Scranton is willing to face the challenge.

In doing so when a more cautious man would have waited until a more hopefully Republican year, Governor Scranton is demonstrating his patriotism and his loyalty to his party.

Governor Scranton is the type of man with whom the Republican Party can win in November.

But even if he loses, he can hold the party together and give it increased stature and prestige.

[From the Sharon (Pa.) Herald, June 13, 1964]

GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S CANDIDACY TO SERVE AN IMPORTANT PURPOSE

We welcome Governor Scranton's decision to become an active candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. All Pennsylvanians, whatever their political persuasion, can take pride in the aspirations of a fellow citizen of the Commonwealth for the Nation's highest office.

The Governor's cause would have been better served had he entered the campaign as a candidate months ago. No one better than he is aware of the ponderous, perhaps impossible, odds he faces in seeking to wrest the nomination so close to the grasp of Arizona's Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

Yet late though the hour may be, it is not too late for him to undertake the dialog which the Republican Party so desperately needs in order to resolve the divisive ideological question which threatens its disintegration as an effective outlet for political expression.

Of all the candidates capable of mounting opposition to the conservative Arizona lawmaker, circumstances have made Pennsylvania's youthful Governor alone qualified for this role. He does both his country and his party a service in accepting this responsibility.

Indeed, in the long view of history, it may be more important for Scranton to save his party than to win the Presidency for no one will benefit from the fragmentation of the GOP into ineffective splinter groups incapable of performing the tasks which our form of government assigns to its political party. The American people have delegated the Republican and Democratic Parties as their organs of political expression and to still the voice of one would be to disfranchise a large segment of the people and open the way to one-party rule.

Eliot Janeway, Experienced Student of the World Scene, Appraises What Is Happening in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the other day I offered an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964 to cut off all aid to Nasser's Egypt. I did so because of what I regarded as the sinister implications to our own security of President Nasser's aggressive policies in the Middle East.

The other day a distinguished author, commentator, and student of the world scene, Eliot Janeway, had occasion to write on the implications of this policy in some detail in the Chicago Tribune for May 21.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the newspaper article referred to by Eliot Janeway:

NIKITA'S REAL EGYPT AIM IS MIDEAST OIL

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, May 20.—What's Nikita been up to in Egypt? Joining Nasser for a look-see at the Aswan high dam is surely not all he had in mind. And if he just wanted a good party, he throws better ones himself.

State visits by Kremlin leaders are something like icebergs—there's a good deal more under the surface than there is above. On the face of it, Khrushchev rattled his rockets; found a bad name or two for Israel; slapped the old imperialist label on the tired British; and offered his views on Arab politics. He also conjured up some happy dreams of an Egypt enriched by sending cotton to Russia and getting back modern manufactures.

But Alexandria is more than the capital of Egypt. It's the capital of the entire Arab world. And more than cotton comes out of that world. The middle east is the center of the international oil market.

For more than 50 years, this is where the biggest prize has lain and where the richest returns have come from. In fact, the stakes in the middle east oil competition have been too big for purely private investors and producers. Ever since the preliminaries to World War I, oil operations there have been inescapably involved with power politics.

This doesn't mean that the United States has been playing oil power politics in the middle east in behalf of the United States-based international oil companies. It does mean that the international oil companies have had to learn enough politics to deal with the Arab power structure.

NEED MARKETING CONTROL

But in the last few years something new has been added to the rich ragout simmering on the middle east stove. It's Russian influence and Russian buying. Russia has made herself a prime factor in the middle eastern oil game. In fact, she's become so powerful that Khrushchev's trip to Egypt is more of an owner's inspection of property than a political junket.

In business terms, the international oil companies couldn't have done as well as they have, even with these rich oil reserves, if they hadn't been able to control their marketing. As so often happens, the real Russian threat to oil economics is political. The Kremlin's objective is to encourage the various Arab governments to take back and Balkanize marketing.

Of course, the sheik-and-satrap power structure is incapable of handling international oil distribution. But Nikita can be trusted to offer a hand from north of the Caucasus. Whether or not he can succeed in turning this into an imperialist plus for Russia, he's going to make the Arab political economy a rough place for private Western capital; and he's going to squeeze a good deal of the profitability and confidence out of the international oil business.

It's an ill wind that blows nobody good. The backlash of this political storm in the middle east will help pull the U.S. oil industry out of its post-Suez depression.

What Made Our Nation Great?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Chuck Warner, editor of the Brownton (Minn.) Bulletin, did an excellent job of pointing out the real reason behind the administration's so-called war on poverty in a recent editorial. I would like the wisdom of his remarks brought to the attention of the entire House and I include his editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

WHAT MADE OUR NATION GREAT?

The Bulletin, for one, has long sided with those that contend that the blessings of God, a firm conviction in the teachings of the Bible, hard work, and the thrill of achievement through one's own efforts and ingenuity had much to do with making this the greatest Nation on earth. There is something mighty soul satisfying after a long, hard summer to see all the crop harvested. The fellow that works his way through college gets just a little more satisfaction from the handshake which accompanies his sheepskin.

There is nothing wrong with hard work. It is no sin to be poor. One might feel that being poor plus lacking the ambition to better one's lot through hard work runs contrary to the American dream.

Down through the years our local, county, State and Federal Governments have done much to assist the needy. Since earliest recorded history there have been those that needed assistance either because of bad luck or physical or mental disabilities.

These people deserve help and no thinking person would deny them that assistance.

It may also be observed that down through the years there have been those that would refuse to carry their load because they felt there must be an alternative to hard work.

Then, to, it seems that for a number of years we have had the pied pipers, that counsel the people as to their situation and promise to right everything with another raid on the Public Treasury. This approach has proven to be a marvelous votegetter although many may question the soundness of its economics.

Any one that would say one-fifth of the citizens of the United States live in poverty

has either been smoking opium or must have been born with a silver spoon in his mouth. If those of us living in Brownton are living in poverty ye olde editor for one is satisfied with his lot and we certainly don't covet any handout from the Public Treasury. As far as we're concerned, this war on poverty is just another big vote-buying scheme. Knowing their record, no doubt the adminstration realizes something must be done to secure additional votes in November.

The Forgotten Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD and insert material, I should like to offer six articles which recently appeared in the press of my home State of North Carolina under the general topic of "The Forgotten Children."

These articles were written by the Honorable Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina, and they point up the Governor's deep interest, and that of the State, in improving the facilities for the care, training, and rehabilitation of the mentally retarded in our State and Nation.

Governor Sanford's series describes the work of the commission to study the needs of the mentally retarded, which he appointed in mid-1961, and which made an extensive investigation into the problem and came up with a report recommending a positive program, most of which has been enacted into law by the General Assembly of North Carolina, including the creation of an advisory council on mental retardation, a permanent group which will carry on the work of the original study commission. He also points up how much remains to be done in this important area.

It is my hope that these articles will be of interest to my colleagues in the House whose home States may be also confronting this problem and wanting to take constructive measures in the interest of our forgotten children. As this membership will recall, the Congress favorably considered legislation in the first session of the current Congress entitled the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, which was signed by President Kennedy on October 31, 1963, and is now Public Law 88-164. The House bill was considered in and reported from the House Commerce Committee, and I was privileged to participate in the deliberations on the bill and was very much gratified over its enactment.

The interest of Governor Sanford and of the late President John F. Kennedy, as well as the successor Johnson administration, in help for the retarded is indeed praiseworthy, and I am very proud of the fact that North Carolina has taken this forward step. But in this connection, I should like to mention, also, that this has been a long-time interest of a constituent of mine, the Honorable John W. Umstead, of Chapel Hill, N.C., who served for many years in the House of Representatives of North Carolina and only recently retired from public service by reasons of health, and who is chairman emeritus of the North Carolina State Department of Mental Health. It was largely due to his efforts that a hospital complex constituting a real "community of hope" was established in North Carolina at Butner, N.C., which is on the borderline of my own congressional district. At Butner we have one of the State hospitals for the mentally ill, which is named the John Umstead Hospital, the Murdoch School for the mentally retarded and mentally ill child, as well as other schools and centers whose prime aim is rehabilitation, training, and whenever possible restoration to effective citizenship. Mr. Umstead's abiding interest in improving facilities for the mentally ill and mentally retarded, both adults and children, prepared a fallow ground for Governor Sanford's concentrated activities in behalf of the same cause. The Butner hospital complex is located within negligible distances of the University of North Carolina and Duke University, where splendid medical centers are maintained. In addition, the Butner hospitals themselves have admirably trained and dedicated staffs.

I know of no problem in our national life where there is a more crying need for suitable means and methods of combating the immense problems of mental illness and mental retardation, and certainly there is no area where compassionate awareness and the best scientific and social remedies are more vitally needed.

Governor Sanford's series on "The Forgotten Child" follows:

THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: RETARDED NEED TAR HEELS' SUPPORT—PART I

(By Gov. Terry Sanford)

We in North Carolina are committed to giving all children the best possible chance in life. This includes the average, the brilliant, and those who have been called our forgotten children—the mentally retarded.

Who are the mentally retarded? Not long ago the retarded were truly our "forgotten children." Most of us can remember when the retarded child would tag after his brothers and sisters to school, where he was often the butt of schoolyard pranks. He was never more than tolerated by the school system. He could stay around, it he didn't cause any trouble, but there was little effort to educate him. There were no classes to meet his special needs, no books written at his level of understanding, no teachers with the time and training to help him along.

The child grew up, but his mind could not. As an adult, his only haven was the bosom of a sympathetic family. Society had no place for him. He could stay hidden away at home, or he could roam the streets, an object of ridicule, picking up a nickel or dime as the price of indignities. Often, he ended up in jail or in the county home.

As more people moved to cities and the world became more complicated, the problems of the mentally retarded became worse. On a farm, there were often simple chores he could do. In a city, he couldn't cope with the more complicated challenges of work. In the old days, there were usually relatives living nearby to keep an eye on him, and many hands to help with his care. Today, with scattered families and parents working outside the home, his care becomes a real burden.

North Carolina has begun to meet its responsibility toward the mentally retarded. After generations of neglect, we are reaching a helping hand to these people who can barely exist without our care and concern.

They include about 140,000 North Carolinians, one-fourth of whom are of school age. Generally, their minds will never develop fully, but most of them, with proper help, can learn to lead happy and useful lives. Some will always require complete and constant care.

Conscience and compassion, and sound economic reasons, have led us to provide special schools, better custodial care, research to find the causes and cures for their problems, and to encourage better public understanding. But we are not doing enough.

We don't yet know how to prevent mental retardation, although we know more than we once did. We do know that there is much hope for most retarded children, if they are given a chance, and given it early in life. And we know that today this has to be the responsibility of the community and the State.

What are we doing for the mentally retarded? What can and should we do?

We are talking about the problems of half a million North Carolinians. Not that many are retarded, but the estimated 140,000 persons actually retarded affect the lives and hopes of their parents and their brothers and sisters. These families cannot help but be involved and they have suffered from our neglect.

Soon after I took office as Governor, I had a call from a mother—the first of many such calls. She was pleading that we take her 3-year-old son, who was so retarded that he needed constant care, into an institution, where he could have expert attention. This mother loved her child, but she was just not physically or emotionally capable of tending him constantly without help or guidance. And the situation was beginning to hurt her other children.

I had to tell this mother that State policy expected the family to take care of the child until he was 6 years old, when we would try to find a place for him in our overcrowded institutions. Whether or not the family was able to give competent care for 6 difficult years made no difference; we just didn't have the facilities. The mother thought we were cruel, and we were.

This particular child will always need institutional care, but most retarded children will not. Just as there are many degrees of "normal" intelligence, there are many degrees of retardation.

Mental retardation has been defined as "a faulty or arrested development of intelligence to such an extent that the individual's ability to learn and to adapt to the demands of society are impaired." Not much is known about its causes, except that it usually exists from birth or infancy. It can, for instance, result from brain damage at birth, or from some mysterious prenatal twist of fate. We think it can result from surroundings that fail to give the child's mind the stimulus it needs to develop normally. It can result from genetic factors. We are just beginning to learn the causes.

Mental retardation is not the same as mental illness although the retarded can become mentally ill just as anyone can. It is a condition which limits intellectual growth, to a greater or lesser degree.

North Carolina has determined that it is good business as well as good government to help the retarded become capable of self-care whenever possible. And this is possible in many cases, and will become even more so as we learn about the causes and treatment of mental retardation.

THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: IN 1963, A COMMITMENT TO RETARDED—PART 2

(By Gov. Terry Sanford)

Almost everybody can recall both pathetic and promising examples of mental retardation.

I remember a dear old lady who lived in a rambling house with her sister's family. She collected paper dolls, was childish in many ways, but could read and was a wonderful help with the nieces and nephews. She was a favorite in the neighborhood and always on hand and always a comfort whenever there was trouble or sorrow, major or minor. I don't know how she would have fared in this day of compact suburban homes.

I can also thing of a boy who was reaching maturity when I knew him. He was a custodial patient in one of our mental hospitals from time to time, but he didn't belong there. He wasn't mentally ill. He was a happy child, but he came up in a small town, and he had found no specialized attention or training. He was a good worker, given to occasional violent outbursts of temper, and there seemed to be nothing else to do for him except to lock him up.

Surely this strong, kind lad deserved from North Carolina an environment which did not totally destroy his life and his usefulness.

Experts usually consider a person retarded if he scores less than 70 or 75 on accepted intelligence tests. Average intelligence is about 100. Just as a person can have an IQ of 90 or 110 and still be about average, a person can have an IQ of 40 or 60 and be retarded. And just as a normal person with a high IQ learns faster than his less intelligent companions, so do some retarded persons learn more and faster than others. It is all a matter of degree.

For purposes of programs and planning, we usually place the retarded in three classifications.

One group is called the educable retarded, because they can be educated in basic school subjects, and with proper help, can become self-supporting. The educable have IQ's of from 50 to 70 or 75; in other words, their mental development is from half to three-quarters that of the average child. There is much hope for those in this group. And there is much hope in the fact that 8 out of each 10 retarded persons are educable.

The next group is the trainable retarded, which simply means that these people can be trained to care for themselves. Often, they can even provide for themselves, under properly protected circumstances. Their intelligence ranges from about one-third to one-half that of the normal person.

The third category includes those with the lowest range of intelligence, with IQ's below 30. They are the custodial retarded, whose only hope is permanent care. Fortunately, less than 3 percent of the retarded are in this group.

In short, of about 140,000 retarded persons, 115,500 could have been, or can be, educated; 18,600 can be trained; and only 4,000 will need permanent care.

NO BETTER OFF

Without our help, however, the educable child may be no better off than the custodial child. We must identify and evaluate these children early, so that remedial steps can be taken quickly. Failure to allow each retarded child to develop to the full extent of his capacity is not only cruel, it is short-sighted. With our help, they may grow up to take an active and constructive part in community life. Without it, they may become a permanent charge on society.

North Carolina has come far in helping the mentally retarded—those whose low intelligence severely handicap their chances to become productive citizens.

A big step forward, our first unified step, came 3 years ago, in mid-1961. I invited a group of interested people to come together to talk about ways to help retarded children get a fair start in life. On the basis of their interest, was appointed a Governor's Commission To Study the Needs of the Mentally Retarded. The commission included public school people, a pediatrician, a professor of neurosurgery, legislators, and concerned citizens.

REPORT STARTS ACTION

Under leadership of its chairman, Charles E. Waddell, the commission set about the job of meeting needs, designing programs, and outlining the steps to be taken. It consulted with experts and held discussions with the heads of State agencies which worked with the retarded. They came up with a very fine report and we were on our way.

I had charged the commission with a challenging task. It was to study the overall needs of existing programs, and to spot the unmet needs. It was to inspect existing facilities and judge their adequacy. It was to review current research, and tell us what could be done. It was to look into ways of identifying and evaluating needs of retarded persons, from birth to old age. It was to recommend changes in our laws.

What, specifically, did the commission find? The report was a burning indictment, but it burned brightly enough to light up some paths to improvement.

The commission found that community understanding and general knowledge concerning these people and their needs is woefully lacking. It found that, during the 1961–62 school year, there were only 79 classes for the "trainable retarded," and that not more than one-fifth of the children who could benefit from training were enrolled in these classes.

Those retarded children of school age who were capable of being educated fared no better, as only a fifth of them were enrolled in special classes. The State Board of Health provided four clinics to evaluate the needs and potentialities of the retarded, but these met infrequently and served very few people.

In a 5-year period, only 21 mentally retarded persons had been trained under our vocational rehabilitation programs. What they were doing, they were doing well and the best they could with the support they had; but we were not doing nearly enough.

These were a few things the Governor's commission found. They concluded, properly I think, that this neglect was the fault of no one, nor of any agent. In truth, we had not understood enough about the problem to have a unified program. We were progressing with fragmented programs, but with no one responsible for more than a small part of the total program. Compared to the rest of the Nation, we weren't doing badly; but the whole Nation was doing badly.

The commission also told us what we could and should do.

They came up with a positive program, most of which became law.

As a result of this study, I presented a "Proposal on Behalf of the Forgotten Children" to the general assembly in May 1963. I urged the legislature "to take a giant step this session, thereby helping many thousands to take the many tiny steps which will enable them to join in the life of our dynamic State of North Carolina. These are the forgotten children. Ours is the opportunity to see that they are remembered."

The opportunity became a reality. Most of the commission's recommendations were put into effect, and the general assembly appropriated the necessary money.

While I don't think we should have to justify our humane efforts on the basis of saving money, or to measure human hope and heartbreak in terms of dollars, this may be one of the best investments we ever made.

We know now that many of the mentally retarded can become completely self-supporting if they are given the proper training. In fact, most of the State's 140,000 retarded persons can become capable of some sort of productive work, and our humane efforts will pay off in cold business terms.

Take, for example, the record of 1,500 retarded persons in a pilot study across the Nation who completed vocational rehabilitation training in 1958. Before this training, their earnings totaled $70,000 a year, or less than a dollar a week per person.

After training, their income jumped last year to some $2.5 million, which averages out to just about the per capita income for all North Carolinians. They became self-supporting, the economy benefited, and just about everyone profited. Most of our people can benefit from this kind of training.

So, 1963 is the year North Carolina committed itself to helping the mentally retarded in many additional and broad ways, thereby helping the whole State.

THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: RETARDED PROJECT GROWS—PART 3

(By Gov. Terry Sanford)

Before the 1963 general assembly adopted the "Proposal on Behalf of the Forgotten Children," we had no coordinated plan for the identification, care, and training of retarded children. Worse than this, we had no single agency or group responsible for the State's policy and program for these people.

A number of agencies were attending to their segment of the problem, but no agency was charged with the total problem. This is one of the reasons the public didn't better understand and one of the reasons the legislature hadn't better supported improvements.

A study commission appointed in 1961 came up with a forthright report and some positive recommendations. Most of these were adopted by the 1963 general assembly, including an advisory council on mental retardation, created to carry on the work of the original study commission.

This is a permanent group which will advise with and coordinate the work of various State agencies and will continue to study facilities and needs. This is the official agency for the forgotten children. The council's job is to see that we don't have any gaps in our total attack on mental retardation and that we don't have any waste or duplication of effort. Senator Ralph Scott was named chairman of the council.

After North Carolina had created this advisory council, the report of a Federal panel on mental retardation recommended that every State set up an interdepartmental agency to coordinate programs for the mentally retarded. So we were doubly sure that we had taken a step in the right direction.

We set up the advisory council to advise on and coordinate programs and, at the same time, we strengthened and expanded most of these programs. This 1963 legislation was not an effort to help the retarded simply by spending more money; it was carefully planned to put the money where it would have the greatest effect and meet the greatest needs.

The Governor's commission had found that the shortage of teachers trained to work with the retarded was "critical." And training was essential—even the best teacher must learn special skills to work successfully with the retarded. So we started a program to train teachers to work with retarded children in the public schools. Scholarships were set up so that the best teachers would be able to take advantage of this training program.

There were no books or teaching materials on the State-adopted list which were suitable for mentally retarded children. So we provided for a curriculum specialist to develop a library and special materials.

We appropriated money to train personnel to work in our institutions for the retarded. The best facilities we can construct will be no

better than the people who staff them, and this training program will help assure a supply of competent people.

SET UP CENTER

There is a sharp shortage of doctors who are trained to diagnose and treat mental retardation, so we set up a center for such training at the medical school in Chapel Hill. Half the cost of this was available from Federal funds.

One of our chief goals was to help retarded persons to become self-supporting whenever possible. To accomplish this, we appropriated enough money to set up vocationary rehabilitation programs in all of our State institutions for the retarded, to set up rehabilitation centers in several communities, and to hire more counselors to work with retarded persons in their communities.

The study commission had found that "facilities for identification and evaluation are woefully lacking" in most communities. Without such facilities, we could not get retarded persons into the programs which would help them. So we made an appropriation to the State Board of Health to set up and operate clinics at various places in the State, where they would be readily available to people who needed them.

WAS EXPENSIVE

North Carolina's program for the mentally retarded was expensive, it was ambitious, and, from all we can tell, it will be successful. We have begun to turn on lights and open doors for those whose mental capacities have, through no fault of their own, failed to develop fully.

Our program for helping the mentally retarded is many things and many people.

It is a specially trained schoolteacher helping a child learn to read.

It is a teenager learning a trade, so that he can later earn a living.

It is a trained attendant in an institution caring for a person who will never be able to care for himself.

It is a skilled and sympathetic counselor advising a mother who has been told that her baby's mind will never grow.

These are some of the steps North Carolina is taking to help the mentally retarded. Until a very few years ago, the State offered only one "hope to the parents of a retarded child—that the child might eventually be admitted to a State institution, where he would spend the rest of his days. These are some of the steps, but they are steps, with many steps remaining ahead of us.

THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: MANY DIFFERENT PROGRAMS NEEDED—PART 4

(By Gov. Terry Sanford)

We know now that there are many types of mental retardation, and we must have many types of programs. Eighty percent of the mentally retarded are what we call "educable"—they can, with our help, learn basic school subjects, and most of them can, or could have, become self-supporting.

The second largest group is "trainable," and can be trained to do many things for themselves. Less than 3 percent of the mentally retarded are "custodial" and will need permanent care.

Generally, the mentally retarded are those whose IQ's are less than 75 or 70. When we speak of a mentally retarded person, we may be talking about someone with an IQ of 69, who is not really too far below the average, which is about 100. Or, we may be talking about someone with an IQ of 25, whose mental, development is only a fourth that of the average person. This is a very vital difference if we are working out programs to help all of the retarded.

Many State agencies work with the retarded. To make sure that each agency would realize that it was just one part of a total effort to meet the total needs of a retarded person, we set up a new advisory council on mental retardation.

The council consists of representatives of related State agencies—the department of public instruction, public health, mental health, public welfare, and corrections, all of which have one or more programs for the retarded. The council also includes legislators, private citizens, and a representative of the North Carolina Association for Retarded Children, a group that has done so much to remind us of our responsibilities to these children.

The advisory council on mental retardation, created in 1963 by the general assembly, will suggest coordination of our programs and will keep us informed about new and unmet needs.

What programs do we have or are we starting?

The best known program is probably the special education classes in the public schools, administered by the department of public instruction and local school boards. Clases for "educable" retarded children started in 1949, with 1,120 students. Now, we have 9,345 children enrolled in these classes, with 623 teachers. Classes for "trainable" children started in 1957, with 342 children; now they serve 1,165 children, with 92 teachers.

Statistics never tell the whole story. The important thing is that more than 20,000 children are now getting a fair start in life and a chance to develop to the best of their abilities. They are able to be part of the regular school system, and part of their community.

You can see, also, we have just begun. North Carolina must make sure that this program continues to grow until special classes are available to every child who needs them. And it should not be gradual growth. I would like to see us reach full capacity in 2 more years.

Another program is that of operating residential institutions for retarded children and adults who need constant care. Eight years, ago, North Carolina had only one such facility, and it took care of less than two thousand persons.

Now, we have four such facilities, which can take care of about 5,500 retarded persons.

FAMILIES SPARED

This means that thousands of families are spared the crushing burdens of constant care which the "custodial" retarded require. And the families have comfort of knowing that the institutions now provide care and rehabilitation, not just custody. Great progress has been made in furnishing good medical care, qualified personnel, training programs, and a wholesome setting at these facilities.

Many retarded persons who are admitted to institutions will remain there for life. This is the only world they will ever know, so it should be as pleasant a world as possible. Others can be rehabilitated to return to their communities, so we should give them this chance.

Programs at these institutions range from such things as religious instruction to job training; from recreation to treatment of physical handicaps from a hospital for crippled children to facilities for psychological and psychiatric evaluation and treatment.

One aim of our 1963 program was to expand facilities for vocational rehabilitation, so that more mentally retarded persons could become self-supporting. In 1957, only three mentally retarded persons were successfully trained by our public vocational rehabilitation program and placed in jobs. By 1962, this number had grown to 93, and this year to 358, but this did not begin to meet the demand.

The 1963 appropriations will make it possible to set up vocational training programs in all of our State institutions. We also will be able to hire more rehabilitation counselors to work with retarded people in their own communities, helping them plan a program and get the services they need.

There are many creative things we can do. For example, I am proud to observe that my home town of Fayetteville has acquired an abandoned USO building and is converting it to a workshop and training school for mentally retarded and physically handicapped persons.

Students who have finished the special education classes, or who have become "dropouts," can learn to earn a living. Some can graduate to jobs in local businesses; others will remain in the school, which will contract with local businesses to do work such as stuffing envelopes for mass mailings.

People who could not hold a job under normal conditions can earn money under these "sheltered workshop" conditions.

It has been shown again and again that the mentally retarded can become good workers, and that every dollar invested in vocational training is more than repaid by their earnings. In some routine and undemanding jobs, they even do better than the average person, who would become bored and restless.

These are just a few of our programs. We have many others. The board of health has child development clinics, speech and hearing centers, and centers for premature babies, all of which work with the retarded. They are staffed by doctors, psychologists and social workers, and are scattered throughout the State. Three more development evaluation clinics are being opened this biennium.

HOMEMAKER SERVICES

The State and county departments of welfare work with the mentally retarded and their families. Some counties, for example, furnish "homemaker services" which make it possible for families with a retarded child to remain together when a parent is ill. The State department of welfare employs psychologists who examine thousands of persons each year where mental retardation is indicated.

Two of our university medical centers and one of our State residential centers (Murdoch) have major research programs in mental retardation underway. The psychology department of the University of North Carolina is helping develop a training program at Murdoch.

Community mental health clinics and centers operating under the department of mental health will give counseling opportunities to the families of retarded children.

North Carolina is moving ahead to meet and solve the problems of mental retardation, and we are moving in many directions. We know that there is no single solution to the problems of our mentally retarded.

We have for the first time a single agency, tying together all the agencies, for a total attack and a total solution. This new agency, the advisory council on mental retardation, symbolizes the new hope every retarded child can grasp.

THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: MUCH LEFT TO BE DONE FOR RETARDED—PART 5

(By Gov. Terry Sanford)

(Last in a series of articles)

Of all the inventions down through the centuries, of all the discoveries since the time of Eden, of all of nature's miracles, there is none that approaches the magnificence, the intricacy, or the potential of the human mind.

Man has learned how to penetrate outer space, and to reach toward the stars; we have explored our highest mountains and have plumbed the depths of the oceans; we can cross a continent in a few hours, or send a submarine safely under the polar cap; but we have not learned to penetrate the mysteries of the mind.

Three percent of all Americans are mentally retarded and we still don't know why their minds fail to develop fully.

Mental retardation strikes without regard for class, creed, or color. It disables 10 times as many people as diabetes; 20 times as many as tuberculosis; and 25 times as many as muscular dystrophy. Yet we are just beginning to combat mental retardation, and to try and find its causes.

President Kennedy, in calling for Federal legislation to help the retarded, said that "We as a nation have long neglected the mentally ill and the mentally retarded. This neglect must end, if our Nation is to live up to its standards of compassion and dignity and achieve the maximum use of manpower."

A panel set up by the President to prepare a national plan to combat mental retardation pointed out that "a successful national campaign to combat mental retardation will be staged largely at the State level."

We in North Carolina are beginning to do our part. Until a few years ago, we all but ignored this problem, which affects so many people in such a heartbreaking way. Now, we are taking determined steps forward with new programs to meet all the needs of the retarded.

Recognizing that this is the responsibility of the States and communities, North Carolina joined with other Southern States in a "commitment to health" adopted last year. Through the Southern Regional Education Board, which I was privileged to serve 2 years as chairman, 16 southern Governors adopted a program of cooperation between our States to meet the problems of mental retardation.

We pledged ourselves and our States to "push back the curtain of ignorance which cloaks the causes of these disorders," then "to apply this information aggressively in programs for prevention of disorders and for strengthening the health-building resources of our society."

In North Carolina, we appointed a group of outstanding and informed citizens to help us chart a course of action. On the basis of their report, and using the best information we had, the 1963 legislature launched a sweeping new attack on mental retardation.

So North Carolina's government and citizens are finally making up for their own retardation in neglecting this need for so long. We have come a long way toward a sound program, toward prevention, and toward public understanding. And we plan to keep on going until every person who is mentally retarded has the chance to develop to the best of his abilities.

About 140,000 people in the State are mentally retarded. Most of them can, with proper training, become self-supporting; the second largest group can learn to care for themselves in the proper environment; only a very small group will require permanent care in an institution.

We want to bring services within the reach of retarded persons when and where they are needed.

This means making diagnostic facilities available in the communities, and seeing that parents can learn quickly what's best for their retarded child.

It means special classes in the schools for those children who can be trained and educated.

It means vocational training in the communities, where the jobs are.

And it means institutions in various parts of the State, without long waiting lists.

Programs must be brought to the people. We are trying to help the retarded child without disrupting his adjustment to his community. As one example of this approach, the 1963 legislature gave the State board of mental health authority to operate local mental health clinics. So the parents of a retarded child can get help in working out their emotional problems without leaving their own community.

ESTABLISH CLINICS

The State board of health was given funds to establish evaluation and development clinics for the retarded, spaced around the State. New vocational rehabilitation counselors have been hired to work with the retarded in local communities.

The best place to help the retarded person is where he lives, and the best place to help him become a constructive part of the community is in that community.

Another direction our efforts in behalf of the retarded is taking is greater emphasis on research. Care of the mentally retarded involved diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation, and we need to learn much more about each of these phases. In North Carolina, we are trying to make research part of each program, so that we may study what we do—then learn to do it better.

The development evaluation clinics, for example, serve an important purpose in research, as well as helping them. The psychology department of one university is working closely with a residential center in developing a program in this area.

As we learn more about mental retardation, we must make sure, that this is passed on quickly to those who work with the retarded. For this purpose, we have started courses to train teachers and other specialists and nonspecialists.

The division of special education in the department of public instruction holds workshops, consults experts, and develops programs and demonstration projects to make special classes for the retarded more effective. We hope that our present knowledge about mental retardation will get out of date very quickly as we learn more about its causes and cures.

North Carolina has mobilized to meet the awesome problem of mental retardation. We have brought together the efforts and resources of State agencies and private citizens to help these "forgotten children."

We are still not doing enough. We will have done enough only when we discover the cause, provide the care, and offer the hope for the mentally retarded. As we begin to learn more about causes, we can do more about prevention.

To do this, we need everybody's understanding and concern.

This series of articles has been written to help bring about a broader understanding on the part of all of our people, so that we might better fulfill our responsibility to the retarded child. We have traced the need, the 1961 study group, the 1963 legislative action, and the many administrative steps taken to improve the opportunities we provide these children too long forgotten.

I hope these articles will also serve to remind us that the job is complex and difficult, that many things are yet to be done, that we need the help of local authorities, and most of all the help of private organizations and private citizens.

If you have ideas, or would like to help or to learn more about what is being done, I hope you will feel free to write to me, at the capitol, in Raleigh. I will see that you get a proper answer from the appropriate one of our excellent agencies.

Who Gets the Cotton Subsidies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the coverup policy of this administration has been extended to the recently enacted cotton subsidy program about which many Members of the House, including myself, had strong misgivings. The funds appropriated by the Congress for this program come out of the pockets of the American taxpayers, but the taxpayers are not to know who receives these subsidies or in what amounts. The Secretary of Agriculture refuses to divulge this information, but his reasons for the coverup are lame, indeed, as the following Chicago Tribune editorial, June 10 issue, points out:

WHO GETS THE COTTON SUBSIDIES?

The Government thus far has paid $20 million in subsidies to textile mills under the Johnson administration's new cotton program. By the end of the year the new subsidies will have cost taxpayers $140 million, if not more. Yet Secretary of Agriculture Freeman refuses to identify the mills that receive them or how much each is getting.

The Secretary did divulge that the payments are going to mills in 18 States, and 11 States were named, although the names of 7 States with only 1 mill each remain a secret. It is interesting to note in passing that mills which are cashing in heaviest happen to be in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia—Southern States which are disgruntled with the administration on the civil rights issue. The administration hopes to woo them back into line before November.

The subsidy, amounting to 6.5 cents a pound for cotton used by the mills, is designed to wipe out an unfair competitive advantage that up to now was enjoyed by foreign textile mills. Until the new program was authorized, domestic mills paid 8.5 cents a pound more for American cotton than it was costing foreign mills, which got our cotton at lower prices. This meant the foreign mills could manufacture products from American cotton and undersell our own mills in this country. This situation was brought about by other subsidies the Government was paying to cottongrowers and exporters.

The Secretary's refusal to identify recipients of the subsidy is a reversal of longstanding practice in his Department. Heretofore, recipients and amounts of price supports and other types of farm subsidies have always been disclosed for public scrutiny. Mr. Freeman's excuse is that to reveal the names of the mills and the amounts they are paid would disclose information about their competitive positions, which should remain confidential.

This is nonsense. All it would disclose is the number of bales of cotton each mill opens. It would not disclose the type or quantity of products they are manufacturing.

It should be remembered that the textile mills were the chief proponents of the new cotton program and helped the administration pressure Congress into enacting it. If they are now embarrassed over public disclosure of the subsidies they receive under it, that would seem to be their tough luck. The taxpayers have a right to know how their money is being spent and who is benefiting from Government subsidies.

Government Aids Liberty, Johnson Says

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Monday morning, June 8,

President Johnson flew to the International Airport in Philadelphia en route to Swarthmore where he later addressed the graduating class of Swarthmore College. The President was given a tremendous reception and I am happy to say that I was among those present. I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on Tuesday, June 9, 1964:

GOVERNMENT AIDS LIBERTY, JOHNSON SAYS—PRESIDENT ASSAILS GOP'S FEARS IN SWARTHMORE TALK

(By William B. Collins)

President Lyndon B. Johnson on Monday defended the Federal Government against the charge that it was crushing individual liberty.

"Let us not call forth phantom fears about what the future holds," the President said in a commencement address at Swarthmore College.

"One of those fears," he said, "is that the Federal Government has become a major menace to individual liberty.

"This is not so."

REPLY TO GOLDWATER

Although Mr. Johnson made no reference to Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER, leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination, the speech was unmistakably a reply to fears voiced by the Arizonan and other conservative Republicans.

It was learned the President had omitted from the final draft of his speech an earlier, more specific reference to GOLDWATER.

The President stated his defense in a series of rhetorical questions which emphasized the helping hand role of the Federal Government in the general welfare.

"Does Government subvert our freedoms through the social security system, which guards our people against destitution when they are too old to work?

"Does government undermine our freedom by bringing electricity to the farm, by controlling floods, or by ending bank failures?

"Is freedom lessened by efforts to abate pollution in our streams, by efforts to gain knowledge of the causes of heart disease and cancer, or by efforts to strengthen competition and the free market?

INDIVIDUAL LIBERATED

"Is freedom really diminished by banning the sale of harmful drugs, by providing school lunches for our children—by preserving our wilderness areas, or by improving the safety of our airways?

"Is freedom betrayed when in 1964 we redeem in full the pledge made a century ago by the Emancipation Proclamation?

"The truth is," Mr. Johnson said, "far from crushing the individual, government at its best liberates him from the enslaving forces of his environment."

QUOTES JEFFERSON

The President quoted Thomas Jefferson: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

"Upon the rock of that conviction," Mr. Johnson said, "this Government is fighting—fighting to free 20 million Americans whose rights have been denied and whose hopes have been damned because they were born with dark skin."

Mr. Johnson said his national war on poverty was also based on "that unchanging truth" expressed by Jefferson.

GOVERNMENT'S GOALS

"These are the goals of a compassionate government which keeps faith with the trust of its fathers and cherishes the future of its children," the President declared. "Through compassion for the plight of one individual, government fulfills its purpose as the servant of all the people."

For his fourth commencement address in less than 2 weeks, the President came to Philadelphia from Washington aboard the Air Force One jet transport. He gave a brief talk to a throng of 15,000 at Philadelphia International Airport and then headed for Swarthmore on a Marine helicopter.

"HAIL TO THE CHIEF"

Some 2,000 persons were waiting behind a snow fence that had been stretched across Clothier Fields, the college's athletic grounds. Many were Swarthmore school children who had been given the day off for the occasion.

The President stepped from the helicopter, and the Swarthmore High School pep band broke into "Hail to the Chief."

After shaking hands with Swarthmore College President Courtney Smith, Mr. Johnson headed for the fence. He shook dozens of anonymous hands before climbing into the big sedan that took him to the commencement.

PICNIC LUNCHES

With admission to the campus restricted, most of the crowd remained on the athletic field. Blankets were spread, picnic lunches were opened.

Some 90 minutes or so later, the President was back to shake more hands, under the grimly anxious eyes of his Secret Service escort. Mr. Johnson must have walked the length of two football fields, extending his hand and smiling all the way. When the fence ran out, he boarded the helicopter and waved from a window as the craft rose into the sky.

The commencement exercises were held in Scott Amphitheater, which set in a wooded hillside before an audience of about 3,000, which included U.S. Senators Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, and Hugh Scott, Republican, of Pennsylvania, U.S. Representative William H. Milliken, Jr., of Delaware County, and Kermit Gordon, U.S. Director of the Budget.

READS SLOWLY

Mr. Johnson read his speech slowly. No applause interrupted the address, but there was laughter, once.

That came when the President, speaking of the importance of individual enterprise, suggested that a medal be given to "the wit who told us that a camel was a horse designed by a committee."

In cap and gown, Mr. Johnson led the academic procession into the amphitheater and received an ovation from the commencement audience. He received another one at the end of his speech and when the hood of honorary doctor of laws was slipped over his head by Claude C. Smith, chairman of the college's board of managers.

CITATION READ

Courtney Smith read the citation for the President.

"Once the eyes of Texas were upon him," the citation said. "Now the world watches with admiration and respect his war on poverty, his work for peace, and his tenacious efforts to make dignity and freedom the unquestioned rights of all men."

Also receiving honorary degrees were U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations; Poet W. H. Auden; Political Economist Gunnar K. Myrdal; John J. McCloy, Chairman of the President's General Advisory Committee on Disarmament; Herman Joseph Muller, Nobel Prize winning biologist, and Alexander C. Purdy, Quaker educator and author.

J. E. Tyson—An Outstanding Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include an article that appeared in the Longview Daily News on May 27, 1964, about my good friend, Mr. J. E. Tyson:

A JOB WELL DONE

(By Carl L. Estes)

Although he has consistently and steadfastly kept himself in the background, a large share of the credit for the industrial growth of Longview and the area must in all fairness be given to J. E. Tyson.

I know whereof I speak because it has been my pleasure to work with him on many occasions. He and I have traveled all over the country by plane, train, and automobile in the quest for industrial plants, many of which we were successful in securing for Longview or elsewhere. While I am well aware of the fact he has worked with others in his capacity as district director of the Texas Employment Commission, and has had a part in the bringing of every industry to this area since 1942, I feel that my close association and experiences with him over the years, and present circumstances, afford me the privilege of saying something about him that should have been said a long time ago.

Now that Jimmie Tyson has announced his retirement after 28 years of service to the employment commission, I am at liberty to proclaim what he has meant to Longview and his district.

Had it not been for his thorough knowledge of the labor market and his ability to give prompt, concise, and intelligent answers to the hundreds of questions propounded by personnel managers and other key figures of industry, it is entirely possible that some of the plants operating in this locality today would not be here. He was able to convince responsible authorities of the adaptability of east Texas people to industrial jobs. He always had the facts and figures on the number of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers and pay scales available in any given area. He never faltered or equivocated. His answers were honest, truthful, and reliable. He was at all times trustworthy and forthright.

"The most rewarding part of my experience with the commission has been the expansion of industry in the Longview area of east Texas," he said the other day. "I have had the pleasure of working with every industry that has come into this part of the State since 1942 and I have enjoyed the confidence of both the employers and those seeking to secure plants for their cities. These are memories that I shall always cherish, and I am grateful for the fine cooperation that employers have offered me and the Texas Employment Commission throughout the years."

Jimmie Tyson has served as a district director 25 years, all but 3 of which have been in Longview, and he has been with the commission 28 years, with other assignments in Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin. He will be the first district director to retire from that post.

His many friends are pleased in knowing he will continue on a modified basis with the local Texas Employment Commission office, serving as a consultant. This will give

him the opportunity to continue his relationship with our area's manufacturers. His experience and sound judgment will be invaluable to the local unit.

Yours has been a sparkling performance, Jimmie, and I join with your legions of friends throughout the area and State in extending you thanks, congratulations, and very best wishes. Your loyalty and devotion to duty, your dedication to your job, the manner in which you have worked with others and your fine citizenship will always be remembered. Longview's appreciation of your services is beyond expression or measurement.

American Dilemma: Laos on Brink

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on April 7, 1964, I quoted a highly significant article on the Indochina situation by Gen. Charles A. Willoughby in which he gives his conclusions and recommendations as how best to meet a challenge to the West in southeast Asia.

Since then, news from that stricken region has been alarming and has made General Willoughby's views, derived from a vast experience in the Orient and elsewhere, more pertinent than ever.

The latest estimate of the Laotian state of affairs is a perceptive article in the Evening Star of May 30, 1964, by Constantine Brown, distinguished U.S. publicist and student of geopolitics, who now resides in Rome, Italy.

The article follows:

LAOS: ON BRINK OF ANOTHER CYCLE?—OBSERVERS FEEL U.S. BEARS KEY BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY IN BARRING ANOTHER WAR

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—Those who believe in cycles and portents point out that we seem to be in the midst of another tragic cycle.

Fifty years ago this summer, in 1914, World War I broke out. Exactly 25 years later, in the summer of 1939, the second and more horrifying world war started. It engaged many more countries and proved far more devastating in human lives, wealth, and social and political changes.

Now after another 25 years we seem to be on the brink of another cataclysm. Unless world leaders exercise more wisdom than they showed over the last two cycles, this one may be even worse—not because of modern means of destruction but because of its consequences on the future way of life.

World War I was caused, on the surface, by a relatively insignificant incident—the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne and Austria's punitive action against the little Serbian kingdom.

World War II had superficially a relatively minor origin—the Nazi demand that Poland, which was in the end sacrificed to Russia, bow to Hitler's demands and surrender its sovereignty over a disputed part of its territory.

The danger facing the world now originates in a little faraway and inconsequential country called Laos. The challenge comes from the newly born Communist powers which China and Russia brought into being through the shortsighted and strange policies of the Western World, led by the United States.

There is no argument that in this third cycle the United States bears the major burden of responsibility. For had it not been for our incomprehensible shortsightedness and lack of understanding concerning the character of the great Communist conspiracy, we would not have tolerated, when we had ample means to prevent it, the creation of the vast Russian empire extending to the Elbe River and the establishment of an even more dangerous Communist empire in China.

The Laotian situation which has become explosive is important to us. It represents the core of the threat to South Vietnam where we have taken over the responsibilities of France after her defeat at Dienbienphu. And Vietnam is important to us because if the Viet Cong forces, not more than 25,000 guerrillas, win the war against some 400,000 South Vietnamese solders backed by 16,000 Americans our prestige in the Pacific will be irremediably damaged. The loss of Vietnam will further enhance the power and prestige of Moscow and Peiping not only in Asia and in Africa but also in Europe.

What is worrying Washington at present is how to get out of this unexpected impasse, which students of the Communist conspiracy had foreseen, without losing our position not only in southeast Asia but also in the Pacific.

We welcomed the precarious make-shift agreement making Laos a neutralized country in 1962 mainly because of Russia's participation. Nobody wanted to heed the warning that Mr. Khrushchev would play along only so long as it suited his purposes. Nobody wanted to believe that he might play a double game as he and his predecessors have always played in their dealings with us. We have been awakened only recently to the dangers of this alleged "neutralization." But we are still entertaining the wishful thinking that in the end, because of the exaggerated rift between Russia and China, we will find the U.S.S.R. on our side. The whole idea of neutralization of Laos was predicted on the goodwill of the men in the Kremlin.

We are at a quarter to 12 now. We and our allies are trying to devise plans for a peaceful solution in Laos. The French suggest another major conference for the neutralization of Laos. They are backed by the Russians and are indirectly but effectively supported by the British. We, for the time being, insist on conversations at low level to consider details rather than the core of the problem.

As things stand today the consensus in European capitals is that we shall ultimately agree with the French-Russian thesis. The question which arises in the minds of many trained observers is: Will another full-scale conference as proposed by Paris and Moscow become for us a Far Eastern Munich?

Prime Ministers Chamberlain and Daladier told their peace-hungry people 26 years ago that they must rely on Hitler's word that the surrender of the Sudetenland would end the European tensions and give us "peace in our time." Messrs. Khrushchev and Mao are no less power-minded than Hitler. Can we take a chance and believe in Mr. Khrushchev's friendly intervention which is the basis for the hope that another Geneva conference will remove the present brink?

The Free and the Equal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a very thought provoking editorial appearing in one of our exceptional weekly newspapers in western South Dakota, the Bennett County, Martin, S. Dak., Booster. The editorial deserves the thoughtful consideration of every Member of Congress.

The editorial is as follows:

THE FREE AND THE EQUAL

We are indebted to the Wall Street Journal for publishing the following passage for publishing the following passage from a recent speech by retired Supreme Court Justice Charles E. Whittaker:

"The honest and honorable man who obeys the law but has two cars is not preventing another man from having one car. * * * The man who owns a good house does not thereby force another man to dwell in the slums. * * * Generally men who are free do not remain economically equal, and men who remain economically equal are not free."

Justice Whittaker was addressing himself primarily to the philosophical implications of the so-called civil rights issue, but his comments have a bearing also on a newer political issue—the War on Poverty.

Poverty is in great disrepute these days, and deservedly so. It is a State in which no normal person wishes to live, or wishes anyone else to live.

But it is also true that fear of poverty, or a desire to avoid poverty, is the great engine that has built Western civilization.

If that motive is removed, what will take its place? When and if people are assured of a comfortable living by State edict, what will cause them to work and strive and educate their children?

We know of no substitute motive except the power and authority of Big Brother.

Countless millions of people in Communist lands are equal, but they are not free. We surmise some of them would be glad to take their own chances in fighting poverty if they could escape from the prodding of Big Brother's bayonet.

Maple, Beech, and Birch Hardwood Flooring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BYRNES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill, H.R. 11645, which would equalize the tariff duty on maple, beech, and birch hardwood flooring as between the United States and the principal importer, Canada.

Presently, Canada has a rate of duty of 12½ percent on all imports of such hardwood flooring coming into that country. On the other hand, we have a rate of duty of only 4 percent on imports of Canadian hardwood flooring.

The bill would increase our duty from 4 to 12½ percent until such time as Canada lowers its duty. Upon a reduction in the Canadian duty, without the imposition of other import restrictions or export subsidies, the President is directed to reduce our duty by a comparable amount.

Available data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census shows that since 1948 do-

mestic shipments of maple, beech, and birch hardwood flooring from our northern U.S. industry have been declining. At the same time, however, imports of such flooring from Canada to the United States have been maintained at about 4 million board feet per year. The resulting decline in the use of hardwood flooring has been shouldered entirely by our domestic industry.

The American request that the Canadians reduce their tariff of 12½ percent has been rejected. Our Wisconsin-Michigan flooring producers have requested the U.S. trade negotiators to ask Canada to reduce its tariff to that of the United States. For the second time in the past decade this request has been denied. In 1962 the Director of the Forest Products Division, U.S. Department of Commerce, expressed his disappointment to the domestic hardwood industry:

> We regret that a concession on maple flooring was not obtained from Canada. We assure you, however, that this matter was pressed most vigorously both here in Washington and by our negotiators in Geneva.

In the meantime, Canadian flooring has been continued to be imported into our country and sold at prices lower than our domestic product. This has led to financial losses and limited employment opportunities in the domestic industry. Due to the higher Canadian tariff, our Wisconsin-Michigan producers have been unable to develop Canadian markets. However, the industry is of the opinion that given a lower Canadian tariff such markets could be developed in that some Canadian hardwood flooring users are nearer to U.S. producers than to Canadian producers.

Our domestic producers should not be made to sacrifice their investment—built up over the years—in plants, equipment, and technical know-how, or should our workers lose their livelihood simply because the Canadian producers are under the protection of a higher tariff.

I feel that the equalization of the tariff between the United States and Canada will induce Canada to take the necessary steps toward reduction and perhaps even the ultimate removal of their tariff. Since all attempts to bargain down the Canadian tariff have failed, this bill is the only course of action that remains.

President Johnson Given Tremendous Reception at International Airport in Philadelphia

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Monday morning, June 8, President Johnson flew to the International Airport in Philadelphia enroute to Swarthmore where he later addressed the graduating class at Swarthmore College. The President was given a tremendous reception and I am happy to say that I was among those present. I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on Tuesday, June 9, 1964.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND AT AIRPORT ROAR WELCOME TO PRESIDENT

(By Donald A. McDonough and Leonard J. McAdams)

To the incessant shouts of "Mr. President! Mr. President!" from 15,000 persons, including thousands of schoolchildren, President Lyndon B. Johnson received a tumultuous reception Monday morning at International Airport.

The President had flown in from Washington to switch to a helicopter for a hop to Swarthmore College to keep a commencement speaking date.

Twice a mighty roar of applause swept across the huge airfield, and time after time it appeared barricades might topple as crowds shoved and pushed against them.

HANDS OUTSTRETCHED

Hundreds of hands were outstretched to be shaken by the President, camera fans jostled for position, flashbulbs flickered and even young autograph hounds hopefully thrust books or cards or scraps of paper through the crush at the barricades.

Children spiritedly waved thousands of small flags against the backdrop of a big banner hung from one of the piers, reading: "East is East and West is West. Philadelphia loves Lyndon best."

CHILDREN CALL HIM

Smiling and perspiring, the President walked rapidly along the barricades, using both hands for quick handshakes. He patted schoolchildren's heads, slapped police guards on the shoulders, touched the autograph books.

Schoolchildren shrieked "Mr. President! Mr. President!" as he made his way 250 yards along one series of barricades. Flags and friendly placards swung furiously and police had a difficult time holding the wooden barriers in place against the excited surging of the crowds.

Reaching a point near the end of a pier, jammed with people, he waved to them, then reversed his field and; walking rapidly, he returned to his starting point, moved over to the barricades and resumed his handshaking for perhaps another hundred yards.

Hatless, he mopped his brow with his handkerchief. As he approached the barricades for the second time, the din increased and worried police held hard against the bulging wooden barriers.

It was a friendly, cheering, laughing mob scene with a respectful but earshattering: "Mr. President. Mr. President."

Mr. Johnson landed at 9:28 a.m. in his Air Force One jet.

It had been a humid, foggy morning and the huge sea of spectators had been entertained for 40 minutes previously by the music of four bands.

Just 5 minutes before the jet roared in, the sun broke through the overcast and was shining brightly when the President stepped down from the plane, followed by officials of the executive and legislative branches, including Senator HUGH SCOTT, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and a host of Secret Service men.

The President wore a black summer suit, dark tie, white shirt, and glasses.

He was greeted by a Philadelphia welcoming delegation headed by Mayor James H. J. Tate. It included Senator Joseph C. Clark, Jr., Democrat, of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Congressmen James A. Byrne, Robert N. C. Nix, Sr., William J. Green 3d, and William A. Barrett; Representative William H. Milliken, Jr., of Delaware County, City Council President Paul D'Ortona and Democratic City Chairman Francis R. Smith.

The first round of applause swept across the airport when Mayor Tate brought the President to a small speaking platform near the barricades and made his introduction.

Mr. Johnson spoke for about 3 minutes, referring to small cards he held in his hand.

He started right off with a quip. Stating that he was very happy to be in Philadelphia he said:

"This city was built as a refuge for persecuted people and after 32 years in Washington I feel it is where I belong."

INSPIRING CROWD

The President said that the best way he could think of to start off a new week was "to be met by an inspiring crowd like this."

He said Philadelphia was a leader in industrial progress and was playing a major role in space and missile work.

"But there is another very important feature of Philadelphia," he said, "and that is that it is a center of learning and culture."

He said the city has come a long way since Charles II handed over the deed to William Penn. He concluded with the hope that "we will have a prosperous and more peaceful life and I know Philadelphia will set an example in the days to come."

CLOSELY GUARDED

Then he announced he would "like to shake a few hands," and another tremendous roar went up.

He was led to a special barricaded enclosure where city officials, magistrates, councilmen and civic leaders were seated. He shook hands, then moved to the barricades hemming in the great crowd.

Secret Service men scanned the crowd closely as they followed him. Seventy-five plainclothesmen were scattered in the crowd.

Twelve two-man teams of police were on all roof levels of the airport buildings, one man in each with a rifle with telescopic sights, the other with binoculars.

Some 600 police were on duty. The crowd had been augmented by 3,500 public and parochial schoolchildren and high school students. PTC ran extra shuttle buses from the Snyder Avenue terminal and 1,000 extra parking spaces at the airport had been provided.

At one point in his tour, the President was taken by Mayor Tate to Drum Major Tony Conti, of the award-winning Cardinal Dougherty High School Band. The President shook hands with Tony and with the band's moderator, the Reverend James E. Mortimer.

Other units providing music were the John Bartram High School, Police and Firemen's, and the Philadelphia Post Office Bands.

ENTERS COPTER

With the shouting and the din continuing, the President strode to the Marine helicopter with Senator CLARK and other officials and turned and waved to the crowd. The helicopter took off at 9:55 a.m.

During the height of the shouting and the handshaking tour, Senator CLARK remarked: "Ever since Dallas, this scares me to death."

Afterward, Mayor Tate said the President, on leaving, thanked him and said, "It was very pleasing and I'll never forget it."

The mayor said the President was "very pleased" at the outpouring.

"It shows Philadelphia is behind Johnson," the mayor said. "It is more than just a matter of respect. It shows the people really like him."

The President returned to the airport at 11:55 a.m. after his Swarthmore address and left immediately in his jet for Washington.

People Are Our Most Important Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, the dedication of the Lake Van Recreation Center in Dexter was indeed an event of moment in that it culminated the hopes, dreams, and efforts of so many for so long. Mr. Floyd F. Higbee, Deputy Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, was the guest speaker for this great occasion and I ask you to share his remarks as he traces the history and significance of this, the first community recreation project to be launched in New Mexico after Congress authorized the recreation loan program. Mr. Higbee's remarks, appropriately entitled "People Are Our Most Important Asset" were as follows:

PEOPLE ARE OUR MOST IMPORTANT ASSET

First of all I want to pay tribute to the foresight and wisdom of the people of Dexter, N. Mex. In the development of the Lake Van Recreation Center you built not only for today but for the years to come. The impact of this fine community center will be felt for generations.

No longer will your children have to travel to other towns to find recreation facilities.

Now other people's children are traveling to Dexter.

Now people in search of rural living, the best kind of living, will settle in Dexter.

Now businessmen looking for a site for a small rural industry will locate in Dexter.

This grand community will grow and prosper because it now has the kind of facilities that in this modern age supports progress.

I also want to pay tribute to men like Rosco Fletcher, E. J. Bible, John Mehlhop, Clyde Lively, Bob Cumpston, E. O. Moore, Jack Cusack, and Theo Garitson who have given so much of their time and their energy to the planning, organizing, and construction of this fine project.

This was the first community recreation project to be launched in New Mexico after Congress authorized the recreation loan program.

These men bear the stamp of leaders. These men rate high in the Nation.

And I want to pay tribute to the many businessmen and farmers who have given hours of their labor, and supplied their tractors and their trucks on a volunteer basis to develop this community center.

You have achieved more per dollar spent than any group I know of. This was possible only because so many gave so much of their own labor.

And I take great pride in recognizing the role that the Farmers Home Administration played in helping with the planning and in advancing the funds that financed the swimming pool, the golf course and the other facilities.

We are extremely fortunate in having men like Richard Floyd and Drew Cloud in our organization. These are men that know how to get things done, that look ahead, that see things in the larger context.

I also want to record the fact that the efforts of all these fine local men would be of little value if it were not for men like Senators ANDERSON and MECHEM and Congressmen MONTOYA and MORRIS who have the vision to enact the enabling laws that make community development such as this possible.

It is indeed heartening to see this demonstration of the spirit of rural America.

We hear a great deal these days about the decline of the rural community. There are those who would have us believe that the world of tomorrow will be contained within the city walls and the suburbs of the great metropolitan areas.

There are those who contend that rural towns are on the wane.

Dexter flings these charges back into the teeth of those myopic planners who cannot see beyond suburbia.

Rural America has a strength of its own, and, given just a little encouragement, will persevere.

I am delighted to report that in Washington today there is a feeling that rural America has been ignored too long. There is an acknowledgment of the basic importance to the national welfare, of the people who live in the country. This Nation cannot reach its full potential unless all of its sectors are developed to their maximum.

President Johnson symbolizes this new climate in the Nation's Capital.

In his position as leader of the nation, his boundless energy, his enthusiasm, his imagination, are at work 24 hours a day in behalf of his people. He knows the value of country living and he knows the importance of preserving the free, thoughtful, independent way of thinking that is nurtured in open spaces.

Secretary Freeman also reflects the responsiveness of Washington to the needs of rural people. He has mobilized the entire Department of Agriculture in a massive rural areas development effort. He is working for the farmer. He is working for the rural community. We had a Secretary of Agriculture not too many years ago who turned his back on rural America.

Let me use the Farmers Home Administration as an example of the current willingness and readiness of Washington to help rural communities help themselves.

During the past 3 years the leaders in Washington have revitalized this agency devoted to the strengthening of rural America.

The Farmers Home Administration has quite a history. It made a fine record during the trials and tribulations of the thirties. It helped more than a million farm families during those dark days weather out the economic storms.

I am proud that I played a part in the assistance we gave New Mexico farmers and ranchers in those days.

During the forties the Farmers Home Administration, it was then called Farm Security, helped small farmers make their contribution to war effort and after the war enabled tens of thousands of veterans to become reestablished on the land.

But when the dready fifties came along the agency was shunted aside. Its efforts were dissipated. I remember only too well the creeping paralysis that spread through this fine organization as national leaders beat down the initiative and vigor of its staff.

In 1961 new leadership took over and new life began to pour through its veins.

Congress passed a series of measures that greatly increased the capacity of the Farmers Home Administration to serve family farms. New programs were added. The rural water system program was accelerated. The housing programs were enlarged to provide special assistance for the elderly.

The supervised credit assistance that finances farm operations and farm development was extended to cover the full range of family farms.

In 3 years the agency expanded its operations nationwide from a level of $300 million a year to $800 million a year.

In New Mexico so far this year we have already advanced about $5.5 million compared to $3 million in 1960.

The dollar figures are only a measure of the growth in zeal and enthusiasm that has swept through the organization.

The results are impressive.

Rural community leaders have been quick to sense the change and to use the expanded facilities in rebuilding the rural economy.

In New Mexico alone, 12 rural communities have obtained funds to develop rural community water systems. Twenty-three additional community water projects are being considered. In the past 2 years we have helped more farmers and rural residents obtain an adequate supply of water in their homes than were served by our agency in all the previous years. And this is only the beginning.

I know you have heard of the water system that was built at Chama, and at Dora. These systems received nationwide publicity.

But there are others that you will hear more about as the construction proceeds.

These include the systems for the Cerro de Quadalupe and the Penasco communities in Taos County, an expansion of the water system at Talpa, and a system in Quay County, the largest one so far, that will serve 450 people, 12 local business firms, and 2 churches. This latter system will entail an expenditure of some $190,000 in the area. In addition it is expected that a number of new homes will be built along the waterlines.

These loans create business.

They are a fine symbol of the manner in which the recapitalization of rural America is taking place.

We believe in bringing resources to the people. Not in sending people in search of resources.

We believe in solving rural problems in rural areas. Not in sending people in search of resources.

We believe in making plans in terms of the needs of people, not in terms of some economic theory.

We are against the concentration of power and riches in the hands of a few.

This is not an idle gesture we are making.

During the fifties, economic forces were encouraged to run unbridled and we wound up with 4 percent of the farms producing one-third of the marketed farm products and controlling one-fourth of the land.

We do not want to see 1970 arrive with 4 percent of the farms producing two-thirds of our farm products and controlling one-half of the land.

I would encourage every rural person today to seriously consider what needs to be done to preserve not only our rural communities but the family farm structure of our great agricultural system.

Do family farmers have access to all the capital they need to maintain their farms and see their crops through the processing stage and on the way to market?

Do family farmers need to take additional steps to strengthen their position in the marketplace?

Are family farmers obtaining an adequate return for their labor?

If family farmers were receiving parity income our whole economy would be on a stronger footing.

Are we making our plans, are we doing our thinking, in terms of people?

People are most important.

President Johnson has made this point time and again.

He has visited the homes of the disadvantaged small farmers, people with whom the Farmers Home Administration is working, and he has used the porches of these families as a platform to let affluent Americans know that there are people in our great country who have been overlooked.

The day of glancing the other way when poverty and misfortune rear their ugly heads has passed. Solutions to these problems must and will be found. President Johnson has pledged the full support of our forces to this effort. And he has called for America

to work toward the building of "the great society."

President Johnson outlined this goal as recently as May 22 at the University of Michigan. And at that time he pointed out that the countryside was one of the three places where we must begin to build "the great society." He emphasizes putting our land to its best use and refers to loans by the Farmers Home Administration for shifting the use of such land. Our water, our rural homes, and our rural communities are all central in this concept. "We have always prided ourselves," the President says, "on not only being America the strong, America the free, but America the beautiful." He visualizes good farms, good rural homes, good water, good rural communities, and above all the abolition of rural poverty as essentials in achieving these goals. We in the Farmers Home Administration enlist totally and completely in this effort. And we have geared our agency's credit services so as to meet rural problems head on and to seek and find the solutions.

I take courage in being part of this great gathering today for you have proved yourself to be among the strong and self-reliant.

But I say to you too, the world today is a rough, and expensive and a complex place in which to make a living.

Outside forces are having too great an influence and pushing our farm families out of existence. These forces must be stopped. I have in mind such forces as vertical integration, contract farming and forces which prevent family farmers from getting the resources they need and prevent them from getting a fair return for their labor.

We honor you for the ability you have shown to stand on your own two feet.

We simply say that when you move ahead to develop the resources at hand that we are at your service. We will seek ways to serve your needs.

And remember, as you look to the future, your people are your most important asset.

Three Birchers Score in California Primary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, in a recent memo from the AFL–CIO's COPE, an interesting document covering the political news of the day and circulated among legislators of the 50 States, there is a commentary regarding the John Birch involvement in the recent California Republican primary election. It is sad to note that one of the leading contenders for the nomination to the office of the Presidency will carry members of this organization to the polls in hotly contested political battle. Fortunately, as was proven in my own congressional district, these extremist elements can be defeated by vigorous campaigning; and by offering the voters reasonable proposals and programs to deal with the many problems facing our society today. I offer the following article into the RECORD so that all Members of Congress will have the opportunity to be alerted of the constant threat to reason and good government that the Birch Society represents to our way of life.

The article follows:

THREE BIRCHERS SCORE IN CALIFORNIA PRIMARY

Three avowed members of the extremist John Birch Society won nomination for congressional races in the recent California Republican primary.

One, Robert Muncaster, will run against liberal Democratic incumbent CECIL KING, coauthor of the King-Anderson health care proposal, in the 17th District, Los Angeles County. The two other Birchers who won nominations will contest liberals HAROLD JOHNSON, 2d District, and HARLAN HAGEN, 14th District.

Among them, the three liberals being challenged by Birchers had rung up COPE voting records totaling 113 right votes against only 7 wrong votes going into the 88th Congress.

In addition to the three admitted Birch members, many of the winning GOP candidates for Congress in Los Angeles were handpicked by Edgar Hiestand, according to the New York Times. Hiestand, a five-term Congressman defeated in 1962, was one of two avowed Birchers in Congress. The other was John Rousselot, also ousted in 1962, who is now Western States director for JBS.

House Joint Resolution 693—The Becker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, because I believe that religious liberty, now protected by the first amendment to the Constitution, is threatened by House Joint Resolution 693, commonly known as the Becker amendment, I would like, under unanimous consent, to insert in the RECORD the excellent testimony which Bentley Kassal, New York attorney and member of the National Board of Americans for Democratic Action, delivered before the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Since its inception 17 years ago, ADA has fought for civil liberties and fought every movement which would erode them. Mr. Kassal has long been an articulate spokesman on behalf of civil liberties—and sometimes a lonely one. The first year he served in the New York State Legislature, he was the only one of 150 assemblymen to vote against the extension of the New York security risk law. Three years later the majority of the assembly followed his lead, and the law which had been in effect for more than 15 years, was allowed to expire.

Mr. Kassal's testimony on the Becker and related amendments, delivered early this month, follows:

TESTIMONY OF BENTLEY KASSAL ON BEHALF OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, JUNE 3, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Bentley Kassal. I appear here today as a member of and for the National Board of Americans for Democratic Action. I am a practicing attorney in New York City and a former member of the New York State Assembly. On behalf of the officers and members of ADA, I wish to thank the committee for allowing us time to testify on the proposed amendments to the Constitution relating to public school prayers, Bible reading in the public schools, and praying in public places.

Before we discuss the substance of our testimony, I wish to thank the distinguished committee chairman, Mr. CELLER, for conducting fair hearings on the proposed amendments to the Bill of Rights. The relationship of religion to government is an issue fraught with emotion. The cooling atmosphere of legislative hearings is indispensable to sound consideration in the formulation of public policy. Only through such hearings is it possible to separate fact from fiction, gain historical perspective, and puncture myths. Hearings allow legislators to analyze rationally the meaning of the first amendment provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and the recent Supreme Court decisions that interpreted this provision.

This committee has acted responsibly by holding hearings. It has evidenced a willingness to discuss and consider the proposed constitutional amendments. That is the very essence of fair procedure. To bypass the House Judiciary Committee would negate the purposes of using congressional committees to consider legislation and constitutional amendments. Therefore, ADA urges those Congressmen who have signed the petition to discharge House Joint Resolution 693 from the House Judiciary Committee to remove their names from the petition.

ADA strongly urges the defeat within the House Judiciary Committee of House Joint Resolution 693 and other related resolutions. ADA opposes all amendments which will destroy our existing constitutional right to freedom of religious worship. If enacted, these amendments would destroy:

1. The integrity of the Bill of Rights.
2. The principle of church-state separation.
3. The principle of religious freedom.
4. The unity of the public school system.

The constitutional prohibition against governmental establishment of religion and against limiting the right to exercise religious belief freely is a demonstrated necessity in preserving the liberties of the American people. ADA believes that the attacks on the Supreme Court decisions in the Engel, Schempp, and Murray cases does violence to the historical purposes of the first amendment.

The United States faces, for the first time in its history, a serious and direct attack on the Bill of Rights and the first amendment. Never before in American history has there been any serious attempt to modify or change any of the Bill of Rights. It is particularly ironic that during the period the Bill of Rights faced its greatest threats in day-to-day events, no one suggested the need to change any of the Bill of Rights. We survived the Palmer raids and the recent McCarthy era, when the epithet "fifth-amendment Communist" was used quite freely, without modification of the free speech provision of the American Constitution or the protection against self-incrimination in the fifth amendment. There were sharp and disquieting disagreements over what these basic rights meant and how they ought to be applied. But all agreed that the text of the first and fifth amendments and others in the Bill of Rights were sacrosanct.

Indeed, if there is one orthodoxy, one fixed star in our constitutional system, it is the Bill of Rights. As liberals, we hope that if there is one issue that unites us with conservatives, it is to defend, expand, and protect the Bill of Rights, particularly when they are under direct attack.

In ADA's judgment, to protect the text of the Bill of Rights represents the deepest form of patriotism. The uprooted who came to our shores in their search for freedom came from many lands—and they had many different religions and political views. But our ancestors were in quest of a dream. The hallmark of that dream was the right to exercise freely their religious beliefs.

A government dedicated to the protection of freedom—in which religious freedom is fundamental—must inherently be a government of limited powers. House Joint Resolution 693, and the related resolutions, grant the Government sweeping powers. If adopted, they will directly violate the free exercise of religion. These resolutions are alien to the American tradition. In the name of voluntary prayer, these resolutions, if adopted as part of the Constitution, will bear the poisonous fruits of religious strife.

The principal resolution for consideration is House Joint Resolution 693. The resolution states:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

On its face, House Joint Resolution 693 has a surface innocence. But underneath the surface innocence the proposed amendment carries a fleet of explosive troubles. House Joint Resolution 693 categorically limits the right to free religious worship. Despite the verbal acknowledgement in House Joint Resolution 693 that "nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion," it in fact constitutes an establishment of religion. In a compulsory setting, such as the public schools, the Government will be directly aiding and encouraging religion. In American history, the provision in the first amendment prohibiting an establishment of religion has always meant something far more than merely not setting up an established church such as exists in Great Britain. In the words of Justice Clark, writing for the Court in the Schempp and Murray decisions, the test may be stated as follows:

"What are the purpose and the primary effect of the enactment? If either is the advancement or the inhibition of religion, then the enactment exceeds the scope of legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the establishment clause, there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion. * * * The free exercise clause, likewise considered many times here, withdraws from legislative power, State and Federal, the exertion of any restraint on the free exercise of religion. Its purpose is to secure religious liberty in the individual by prohibiting any invasions thereof by civil authority. Hence it is necessary in a free exercise case for one to show the coercive effect of the enactment as it operates against him in the practice of his religion. The distinction between the two clauses is apparent—a violation of the free exercise clause is predicated on coercion, while the establishment clause violation need not be so attended."

The constitutional prohibition against establishment of religion prevents governmental bodies from prescribing prayers that assume belief in a Supreme Being—no matter how innocent the prayer sounds—in a setting that involves a captured audience such as students attending a public school. The Constitution therefore also prohibits governmentally prescribed sectarian prayers or the citing of passages from the Bible (or any other religious book) as part of a devotional exercise in the same setting.

House Joint Resolution 693, and the related resolutions, directly threaten the historical pattern of religious freedom in American society that culminated in the adoption of the first amendment. In proposing a constitutional amendment that will reverse the American historical tradition, the proponents of such resolutions act to involve the Government in the religious affairs of the American people. The Constitution requires that the Government must neither intrude nor trespass in affairs that encourage the establishment of religion or inhibit the right of freedom to worship. Mr. Justice Brennan's concurring opinion in the Schempp and Murray cases suggests the guidelines that have influenced the Court.

"What the framers meant to foreclose, and what our decisions under the establishment clause have forbidden, are those involvements of religious with secular institutions which (a) serve the essentially religious activities of religious institutions; (b) employ the organs of government for essentially religious purposes; or (c) use essentially religious means to serve governmental ends, where secular means would suffice. When the secular and religious institutions become involved in such a manner, there inhere in the relationship precisely those dangers—as much to church as to state—which the framers feared would subvert religious liberty and the strength of a system of secular government."

For the sake of argument only, ADA demurs to the fact that in House Joint Resolution 693 and related resolutions "nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion." The first amendment specifically states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." By adding House Joint Resolution 693 to the Constitution, the Congress will also be limiting and thereby amending the free exercise clause. Freedom to worship is both an individual and a religious matter. In short, more than neutrality, or establishment of religion, was involved in the prayer cases. To suggest that if the prayers in the Engel and Murray cases and the reading of the Bible in the Schempp case were allowed, the effect would be to merely restore the opportunity children might have had to exercise religious prerogatives, represents a shoddy analysis.

The prayer in the Engel case was obviously not of each student's or each family's private choosing. It was composed by State officials. It was sectarian in character. It reads as follows: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

In defining religion, the Court has properly defined it broadly. It includes nontheistic sects and many relatively small ones.

On its face, the prayer in the Engel case is sectarian, since the invocation of God is incompatible with the nontheistic sects. Furthermore, oral prayer is opposed by Quakers. Even the presumed value of prayer itself, describing often the deeply felt and inward relationship between man and God, is offensive to a number of religions. Finally, the use of the prayer to favor a particular country, without mentioning the rest of humanity, is also offensive to a number of religions.

The prayer and Scriptures, in Schempp and Murray, respectively, although not composed by the State, were prescribed by the State and were equally sectarian. The issue then partially revolves around what body prescribes the prayer. But a depth analysis also suggests that it is equally essential to determine the setting in which the prayer or Bible reading occurs.

The public schools represent a compulsory setting. They involve a captured audience. Even providing an excuse procedure for the prayer or Bible reading coerces students more than when prayers are offered or the Bible read in a noncompulsory setting.

Just imagine for a moment what the result would be if this amendment were adopted. The definition of "voluntary" would immediately create severe problems. Would "voluntary" involve an excuse at all times, no matter what prayers were read, or would it involve excusal only when prayers were being read when a particular religion found such prayers offensive? Would there be provision for prayers that were acceptable to the nontheistic religious? What prayers would be acceptable to the Quakers and simultaneously acceptable to Catholics or fundamentalist Protestants?

Even "voluntary" participation is a myth in the public school setting. The pressure to participate in the prayer, no matter how offensive, or listen to the Bible being read, will overwhelm nearly all children. The student's departure will be noticed by all. An onus of decision is placed on children which should not be placed on children.

It is too easy to comprehend the troubles that will result from the contest over what prayers will be offered and what version of the Bible will be read. Sectarian prayers and similar practices in the public schools will have the damaging effect of dividing children and adults into groups of Protestants against Catholics, Christians against Jews, believers against nonbelievers.

As the Constitution now reads, and as the Supreme Court has interpreted it, it allows for the crucial fact that members of different religions pray in different ways. Some pray with their hands clasped, some with their heads covered, some silently. Indeed, different religions hold sacred different versions of the Bible. Some read the St. James Bible, some the Old Testament, some the Douay version. House Joint Resolution 693 categorically results in pressure to pray or participate in Bible reading that not only offends the sensibilities and freedom of those who choose not to pray, but of those who hold deeply religious beliefs which are not satisfied by prayers not of their religion or the Bible they hold sacred.

The adoption of this amendment guarantees making a political football out of religion. In each community, in each State, religions will compete with each other. They will strive to gain acceptance for a particular version of a prayer that meets with their beliefs. The tyranny of the majority may well be imposed on religious minorities, effectively compelling the minority to participate in prayers that offend or compelling it to stand alone through the public excusal procedure.

The current rulings of the Court provide the law with a firm underpinning of legal certainty. Currently citizens know what the Constitution specifically provides as it relates to public school prayers and Bible reading. The adoption of House Joint Resolution 693 will breed only conflict and dissension. Local communities may well have to set up religious boards to find methods of accommodating religious differences through the use of prayers and Bible reading. Although such boards may be established, it is hard to envision their finding a satisfactory method of dealing with the problem. Suggesting an alternating method of prayers offered or Bible read guarantees offending some religions at all times. Seeking a nonsectarian or nondenominational prayer is the pursuit of fiction. Even the New York Regents prayer, which on the surface seems nonoffensive, offends in many respects.

The choice, then, is a simple one: Whether to continue existing religious freedom, which permits religious worship as one sees fit, or whether to limit that religious freedom to the point of guaranteeing that some citizens' religious tenets are offended daily.

The other aspects of House Joint Resolution 693 are based on inaccurate assumptions. Currently no constitutional or statutory prohibition prevents the use of prayers in governmental institutions or activities, ceremonies or coinage, or in such ceremonies as the salute to the flag. The proponents of House Joint Resolution 693 assume that government and religion must be in constant warfare. This assumption is totally false. As Mr. Justice Brennan stated in the Schempp and Murray cases, "I venture to suggest that religious exercises in the public schools present a unique problem. For not every involvement of religion in public life violates the establishment clause. Our decision in these cases does not clearly forecast anything about the constitutionality of other types of interdependence between religious and other public institutions."

The unfortunate fact is that the proponents of House Joint Resolution 693 inaccurately assume that the Constitution does not tolerate any accommodation between religion and government. The assumption is that every involvement of religion in public life violates the establishment clause. This point of view is extremely oversimplified. The proponents of constitutional amendments conveniently assume that the Supreme Court is dedicated to the obliteration of religion.

In discussing the relationship between religion and government, we recognize that conflict can exist between the establishment and free exercise provisions of the first amendment. Such practices, which appear on the surface to violate the establishment clause, may seriously interfere with religious liberties also protected by the first amendment. The most obvious examples provide for churches and chaplains in military establishments and penal institutions. These examples are clearly distinguishable from the religious exercises and Bible reading at public schools, on five counts:

(1) The use of military chaplains and chaplains in penal institutions involves adults, and does not involve children. (2) The involvement of such chaplains allows each individual to express freely his own religious belief, or no belief. (3) Attendance at services is not compulsory. (4) There is no attempt to have a unifying prayer. (5) Finally, attending public school does not deny children general opportunities to worship in a religious fashion otherwise. The situation of the schoolchild is totally distinguishable from that of the prisoner or the soldier away on a base.

The commandant of the 1st amendment, and as applied to the 14th amendment, is that the State must be neutral in all matters of faith. It must neither favor nor inhibit religion. The sponsorship of religious exercises, by either authoring or prescribing prayers or reading of the Bible in the public schools, jeopardizes that neutrality. But the refusal to provide chaplains and places of worship for prisoners and soldiers, cut off from the ordinary advantages of civilian life by action of the State, who have no opportunities at all to engage in religious worship, would be a hostile act thereby inhibiting religion.

The offering of invocational prayers in legislative bodies or public gatherings—indeed where public officials present themselves—involves a different matter. There is no need for anyone to attend such services. And, indeed, for other reasons, anyone who wishes to go to the House or Senate will always see a sparse gathering of Congressmen and Senators at the time the prayers are being said. This is not to suggest that legislators are irreligious. It only suggests a freedom not to attend the invocation. Indeed, if one reads the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD carefully, one can see, through the course of a congressional session, the meaning of Justice Douglas' remarks in the *Zorach* case: "We are a religious people." Religion does play a significant part in American life. We are Protestant, Catholic, Jew. The invocation of prayers at either a public gathering such as the inaugural of the President, or at the start of a congressional session, simply illustrates the Nation's preoccupation with religion. It results in neither favoring religion nor qualifying the necessary neutralism by Government.

Finally, the Court's decisions clearly do not prevent the use of nondevotional study in the public schools of religion and the Bible. Indeed, it is hard to imagine how European history could be taught without going into the doctrines of Calvinism and Martin Luther, and the conflicts between the popes and their opponents. It is difficult to discuss American history without going into the purposes of the Bill of Rights and the opposition by the Founding Fathers to an established church, or their support of freedom of religion. Indeed, as we course through American history, we can find a useful need for understanding the role of evangelism in American history, and the use of the Bible on the frontier. Finally, nothing in these decisions precludes a study of the Bible, as literature, and of its meaning. Quite the contrary, one would think that such studies would be beneficial in the curriculum.

The fact is that the proponents of House Joint Resolution 693 have proposed the most radical change possible in supporting a Constitutional amendment. The proponents of the amendment have decided a priori that the Supreme Court does not tolerate religion. Quite the contrary. The Court recognizes that religion plays an important role in American life. Most important, the Court acknowledges that religion and government can accommodate each other in order to fulfill the mandate of the establishment clause and the free exercise clause.

In the name of bringing prayer into the public school system, the proponents of House Joint Resolution 693 are willing to discard the precious heritage of the Bill of Rights.

Merely because of disagreement with the conclusion in the Engel, Schempp and Murray cases, the proponents of House Joint Resolution 693 seek to lead us down the road of a step-by-step destruction and weakening of the Bill of Rights. The costs of acceptance of such a change are far higher than the price of any prayer in the public schools, especially when it is impossible for such prayers not to offend a portion of the population at all times.

Adopting House Joint Resolution 693 will result in each community becoming a religious battleground. We will follow the earlier example of many European countries. Conflict and controversy as to whose Bible shall be read, as to what prayer shall be recited, will reign supreme. America has had its freedom established and protected b shunning sectarian strife and religious rivalries. We must continue to do so. Surely the public school should be kept above such battles. If there is one place where government should not adopt constitutional amendments, it is in the area of restricting freedom of religion. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," is basic to protecting our freedom. This tenet must not be compromised or infringed upon.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Address by Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday, June 13, 1964, our able and beloved Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, delivered an excellent address to the 16th Annual News Seminar of the Virginia Press Association in historic Charlottesville, Va.

His remarks on that occasion constitute an excellent summary of the accomplishments of the present administration and the national goals it seeks to attain.

He also makes certain predictions concerning the upcoming national elections which I am sure will be of interest to colleagues on both sides of the political aisle.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LUTHER H. HODGES

Thank you for asking me here to the 16th Annual News Seminar of the Virginia Press Association to talk with you newsmen, young and old. I always like to meet the press.

I am delighted, too, to come to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. Virginia, as many of you know, is the State where I was born, and although I grew up in the neighboring State of North Carolina, I feel very close to the Old Dominion.

As a Democrat—as any Democrat would—I am pleased to come here to the State that gave birth to and nourished the founder of our party—Thomas Jefferson. It was called the Democratic-Republican Party in those days, and one of the ways we have improved on it was to get rid of the second part of the title. Andy Jackson did that.

It is fitting that the Virginia Press Association should choose to meet here, for Jefferson was an ardent supporter of a free press. You will recall that he once said that if he had to choose between a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government he would prefer newspapers. Fortunately this is a choice we in the United States do not have to make.

As Jefferson observed, "The basis of our Government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right"—and in days, such as these, of rapid change and complex, worldwide issues, the job of keeping our people informed can be a difficult one.

Those of us in politics are singled out for particular attention in the country's newspapers—especially in a presidential election year—and rightly so. In no area does the press perform a greater public service than informing the citizens of America of the doings of their public servants.

You have a problem and under all the circumstances I think you do a good job. In meeting deadlines and covering controversial subjects there are bound to be errors. I will say I think those errors are honest and few. But when a candidate for public office yells foul at the press too loudly and too often—as a very active officeseeker recently has done—I can only say perhaps it is the truth that hurts.

I have been asked to discuss politics, which is a very big topic for the short time we have

here today, and I have been asked to talk about the coming presidential campaign, which is also a very big topic and an uncertain one. I haven't any inside information on the future, so I would not care to predict who the Republican candidates will be or who the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate will be.

At a press conference in Germany last week, I was queried as to the possible Republican Presidential nominee. I said we have an expression in the South: "It don't make no difference."

I do say that President Lyndon B. Johnson will head the Democratic ticket and that the American electorate will endorse that nomination and sweep him back into office in the fall.

I feel confident that November will find the Democrats continuing in national office and gaining in local elections because I believe their program and their candidates best serve the people, which is the highest aim of politics.

Political action is the American way of selecting public officials who are responsive to public needs. Through the mechanism of politics we provide for the defense of our country; we work for a healthy economy at home and a strong competitive position abroad; we achieve the social aims of the community in its war against poverty, disease, and crime.

As Woodrow Wilson—another great Virginian besides Thomas Jefferson—pointed out in a political science textbook he wrote long before he became President: "If the history of society proved anything, it proves the absolute naturalness of government. If society itself be not evil, neither surely is government an evil, for government is the indispensible organ of society * * * its only potent and universal instrument."

It is my feeling, apart from partisan considerations, which I grant are strong, that President Johnson is the man best qualified in the United States today to lead our country toward the goals of peace and prosperity.

It would be hard to find an area in our national life with which he has not had contact and displayed his considerable skills. He began his career as Texas Administrator for the National Youth Administration.

He spent 11 years in the House of Representatives and 12 years in the U.S. Senate.

He served as Senate Democratic whip and Senate majority leader. He served on the National Security Council and the Council's Executive Committee. He was Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. He headed the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

As Vice President, he represented the Kennedy administration on trips to 20 foreign nations. Indeed, as Vice President, he sat in on Cabinet and other important meetings and advised and helped shape the programs of the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

This program of the Democratic Party is a dynamic program designed to meet the vast and continuing challenges that face America at home and abroad.

This administration is pledged to provide: A national defense that is effective and economical; a rising standard of living for all of our citizens; and services to business, labor, communities and the individual that this great growing land of ours demands.

The administration built this program on the firm footings of a strong and growing economy. And to insure the health of this country's economy, it set about to create the atmosphere for business that would enable it to thrive and expand.

These efforts have been met with solid success. In 1961 the economy of the United States was at the low tide of recession. This tide was turned. Many of the problems that faced the country early in 1961 have greatly diminished.

Under the administrations of President Kennedy and President Johnson, our country has enjoyed the longest peacetime period of growth in a generation—an economic expansion now in its 40th month. And this growth was accomplished with remarkable price stability.

Unemployment has dropped from nearly 7 percent in early 1961 to 5.1 percent, the lowest level since February 1960. This is the sort of progress we are working for.

Gross national product is up 17 percent, measured in constant dollars.

Industrial production is up 24 percent.

Civilian nonfarm jobs are up over 3 million.

Personal income is up $75 billion or 18½ percent.

Corporate profits before taxes are up $16 billion, or 41 percent.

Total after-tax income of the American people is up $64 billion or 18 percent.

Real disposable income per family is up more than $700 in 1963 prices or 9 percent.

Certainly these economic gains came from the basic soundness of our economic system, the energies of the American businessman and the American people, and a set of complex economic circumstances. But as the great English historian, Edward Gibbons, once said, "The winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators." Many of the economic gains our country has made must be laid to economic policies set down by this administration.

Government steps which helped to bring us out of the recession ranged from extended unemployment compensation through a far-reaching housing program. The administration instituted programs to retrain workers and bring industry to areas of severe underemployment.

Most important the administration acted to stimulate consumer demand through a tax cut bill. This reduction is expected to put $11½ billion into the private sector of the economy. It will add, through its multiplier effect, year after year, an estimated $35 to $40 billion more gross national product, $25 to $30 billion more consumption, and an estimated $5 to $7 billion more in business profits.

Investment is a potent stimulant to employment. The investment tax credit and the accelerated depreciation schedules established by this administration were two important steps for economic growth. The combined effect of these two actions gave industry an added cash flow of near $5 billion total for 1962 and 1963. And business expenditures on plant and equipment in 1964 are expected to hit a record $43.2 billion, 10 percent more than last year.

Most of all, the administration has restored confidence in the Nation. Long before the tax bill passed, businessmen and industrialists began to make plans for greater investemnt and spending because they had confidence.

This administration has proved to be more probusiness in a practical sense than any administration of either party for a long time.

We are proud of this, and there is just cause for this pride in our accomplischments. But in spite of more growth than this Nation has ever known, and in spite of a record level of accomplishment, we have yet much to do.

In spite of more than $70 million employed in this country, 3½ million are unemployed. In spite of the highest standard of living of any country on the globe, one-fifth of our people have not properly shared in this abundance.

This comparative poverty imposes a cost for every citizen in the United States. Raising the annual earnings of 10 million of our poor by only $1,000 a year will add $14 billion a year to our national output. Furthermore, we could then reduce public assistance payments which now cost us $4 billion a year, and we could cut the high costs of poverty-related problems of crime, delinquency, disease and hunger.

These are not conditions that will cure themselves. Nor are they conditions that we can with conscience tolerate. They are conditions which we must use our energies and imaginations to remedy.

I am basically a conservative—a businessman and a southern moderate. But I believe sincerely that our Democratic Party is best suited by tradition, action, and vision to do the best job for the common man—in a higher standard of living for him and in human rights that he deserves. If we help all the people, we grow a strong economy and a great nation—otherwise we fail.

The South has given as a new leader, President Johnson, who is offering us a program for advancement that is worthy of the noblest tradition of the South.

Thank you.

Progress Is Our Most Important Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when on almost any day some person is quoting some statistic of average wealth and poverty to illustrate both sides of the same issue, it is refreshing to find a prominent man in the community who still likes to focus on the individual.

I believe the words of Dr. Carl A. Frische, spoken at the commencement of Mitchel College of Long Island University on June 13, 1964, should be shared with my colleagues in the House of Representatives. They follow:

PROGRESS IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

I trust that a well-known corporation will forgive the turn I have given to their slogan. I have chosen the title "Progress Is Our Most Important Problem" for my remarks today.

You may think this is a curious theme for graduation exercises. Some of you may well react that it is fitting to talk about progress as you receive your diplomas, but it really isn't cricket to ruin the picture by tying the words "progress" and "problem" together.

It may not be palatably cricket, but it is reality. And, if your education here has been at all meaningful, it has certainly taught you to temper your judgments to some degree with the realities of the situations you face.

Admittedly, the most popular theme in America in 1964 is progress. It is understandably easy, in much of this Nation, to bask in the splendorous evidence all about us of the miracles we have wrought in material well-being in recent decades.

Those of my generation have seen much of it happen—most of it, in fact—the dramatic experience of depending as a child upon the horse and buggy and the "iron horse," then making the quantum jump to the automobile, then to the airplane whose advanced versions will soon thrust us destinationward at twice the speed of sound on commercial flights. And now we anticipate the arrival of fellow citizens on the moon in just a few years.

Yes, that's progress, of one kind. I saw it happen, and we are seeing it continue at an accelerating pace. About the time I received

my graduate degree a fellow ran for President on what seemed a progressive platform for that day. He promised "two chickens in every pot" as a material goal that should have widespread public appeal. Today, just 32 years later, it might be underselling a bit to promise "two cars in every garage." Think of it, in this year alone, about one-half a million families will acquire a second car for the first time and will join the 8.5 million families that already own two or more automobiles.

The statistics are convincing. This year in the United States, people will enjoy income of just under $500 billion—half a trillion. Never were so many people of this or any other nation so well fixed financially.

Some statistics—the statistics of material progress—are staggering. Let's look at some other evidence of affluence. American golfers are spending $250 million a year on the sport. There are 9 million pleasure boats in use, up 2 million in just 5 years. Color television, no longer a novelty, will find its way into a million homes this year. Telephones? Nearly one-third of all homes have more than one. Air conditioning? About 10 million homes have one or more units. And so the figures go, on and on, upward and upward in a dizzy exponential curve.

Then, where are the problems, you ask. They are with us, and they too proscribe their own ever-rising exponential curves.

We talked a moment ago of the evolution, or rather the revolution, that has taken place in transportation in my time. We failed to state that in the past two decades alone, we—and others—have also developed a source of awesome power. This power can be of great benefit to mankind and it can also destroy a large part of the population of the world. There is a problem to cast a most ominous shadow on progress.

This problem is far beyond the scope of solution here today, but having mentioned it I cannot pass on without asking a question or two for future contemplation. We must ask ourselves, are we going to cringe in fear of this awesome power? Or are we going to stand up like mature people and face our responsibilities, continue to have faith in the principles that have brought us this far on our path of human progress? I think we must continue to be firm in our convictions and actions in spite of the awesome consequences of a possible mistake or a possible misstep. Of course, we must be cautious and prudent about the use of this power, but we must also move forward.

A moment ago I mentioned the fabulous national income of our citizens. We must not, however, overlook the reality that these self-same income earners owe mortgages, installment, and other debts to the tune of $247 billion. And our national debt limit keeps on pushing upward and is now well over $300 billion. This is a fantastic total indebtedness of over $550 billion. Some people would have you believe that it is of no importance that each of us, every man, woman, and child, owes an average of almost $3,000 per person. We are either bankrupt or in bondage.

We talked of the affluent touches of life we see all about us. But what about the unemployed, the unemployable, the bulging welfare rolls and mental institutions, the increases in crime, in divorce, in delinquency? These statistics, too, run into the millions, category by category. Plotted on a chart, we see clearly that the rising exponential curves apply to our problems as well as to our material progress.

What must we then conclude? It seems we must conclude—and confess—that to make real progress in a mass society is our most important problem. We must depart from our focus upon the statistics of material progress and assess what of real value has been lost along the way. We must look on the problem side of our national accounts and see if we can sharply reduce the liabilities we have allowed to accumulate there. For example, let us explore how we can concentrate more on welfare of the people rather than welfare for the people. Let us think more of how we can make people better suited for life than just make life suit people better.

The major thing that has been lost, it seems to me, is self, the individual. The strengths of a society stem from the strengths of the individual. To be strong, individuals must be emergent in nature rather than yielding to the submergence which a mass society tends to enforce upon them. We need more participators and fewer spectators.

Here, it seems to me, is a task for the graduating classes of 1964. Find the means of developing anew the kind of individual strengths and characteristics upon which a better society of tomorrow can be built. How can the individual, one by one—the single atoms of a powerful social entity—be reconstructed? There are some basic fundamentals that must go into the design. We want an end product who believes in discipline, but who practices self-discipline even more. We want him to endorse national goals, but also to set his first course by establishing person milestones of his own. We want him to help enforce standards upon society, but first to have meaningful standards for his own behavior and outlooks. We want him to dream of and share in the excellence of man's total achievements, but insist that he strive to excel, himself, to the limits of his ability. He should support the precepts of law and order, but must first develop his own sense of equity and tidiness in relationship to his fellow men.

This, to be sure, is quite a man. I hope you will agree with me that such a man—in fact, millions upon millions of such men and women—is the critical ingredient if the problems of progress are to be met. I hope you will also agree that those of you blessed by higher education will assume important responsibilities in developing in yourselves and in those about you the character, the enterprise, and a practicing sense of the humanities required to attain the noble goal of the greatest good for the greatest number.

It would seem that the field of education is where we must turn for the surest avenue to this goal. Here is where the individual must somehow be isolated from the mass and indoctrinated according to his needs. His own personality, his creed for living, the development of his personal self-respect and respect for others, must somehow emerge despite the trend toward mechanization for the mass. Means must be found to emphasize and enhance the stature of the individual in an educational system which inevitably will soon see schools designed around television, microfilmed libraries, electronic printers, and other instructional instrumentation that will make today's programed instruction look like Abe Lincoln reading by candlelight.

Concentrating upon the progress of the individual rather than upon the material progress of the whole society will hopefully start correcting some of the liabilities we have built up along the way. Many of these liabilities are easily overlooked if we do not choose to observe them and be concerned about them.

For example, in this richest Nation on earth, we have every right to be proud that ownership of the automobile is reaching astronomic heights. But we can't be proud of the behavior of the automobiles' occupants. Just take the simple but disgusting matter of rubbish thrown out of car windows or illegally dumped, and you get an idea of the need for development of moral and practical values within the individual.

At a time when transportation and the demand for improved roads is Long Island's number one problem, we should find it curious and alarming that the State of New York spends $230 per mile just to clean up the rubbish—no snow included—from each of the 369 miles of State highways on Long Island. Highway users are throwing millions of dollars of their own money out the window nationally along with their own self-respect and the respect for others.

A local official reports days when two full truckloads of beer cans are picked up from Sunrise Highway alone. In this county of Nassau, the highway dirt and litter bill is $150,000 annually, with 285 men picking up enough to equal Mount Rushmore four times over. Isn't this ridiculous, in the face of school budget problems for which Long Island is famous?

Turning now to education, we can be proud of the fact that more than 1.3 million young Americans will enter college for the first time this year. About 40 percent of today's young people go on to college compared with 29 percent as recently as 1950. It is indeed remarkable. However, at the same time, there is nationwide concern for the mounting numbers of high school dropouts, of delinquents, of drug addicts, of the mentally disturbed, of mounting evidences of deterioration in the moral fiber of our young people. And, even among those being educated, there are intsances which give us concern with respect to the individual's sense of citizenship and spiritual values in our society. In a local high school recently, some students refused to salute the flag. In another, at a mock political convention, the student body, among other things, asked for the repeal of our laws protecting us against treason. They supported the view that the phrases "Under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" on our coins are both wrong and unconstitutional.

Yes, it would appear that progress—progress of the individual—is our most important problem. Here is where we all must work to improve our lot, because material success must obviously not be our singular goal. Material progress—much, much more of it—seems desirable and in fact inevitable. How do we salvage and strengthen the individual in the midst of this affluent upsurge in the heart of the challenge to us today.

One place to start is in our primary and secondary educational system. Any system which is forced to resort to remedial instruction at high school and early college level is a poor system indeed. Let us introduce some standards of learning, starting in the first grade, so that the difficulties of learning may be corrected in the beginning, while they are still small. Some of our Congressmen who conduct qualifying examinations for admission to our service academies tell me that almost without exception their applicants have great difficulty with the math examinations. My friends, in his day and age of technology, we need people who understand mathematics. What has happened to our standards of learning in mathematics? I think you will agree with me that it is pretty late to discover a math problem upon entrance to an academy. Is this also the reason we have dropouts, and other forms of delinquency? The sudden frustration of realizing your educational foundation is so weak it won't meet the needs of higher education and the task of catching up seems utterly hopeless?

Is this also a basic and underlying irritation in our school racial situation?—The token education—the apologetic approach? Yes, I think we can go back tothe first grade and start our improvement of the individual, by setting standards at that point before it is too late and while the remedial action is within the individual's scope.

Leo Cherne of the Research Institute of America recently spelled out some predictions of what lies ahead. Let us look at a few of his expectations and, at the same

time, keep in mind the impact they will have upon the individual and his personal development.

Mr. Cherne predicts that, by the end of the next 15 years, there will be over 50 million more Americans to be served, fed and satisfied by enterprise. The great growth will be in the young and the old, with the 35 to 55 age group remaining virtually static. In the same period, our so-called gross national product will nearly double to $1,160 billion. Living space, transportation, and distribution of goods and provision of services for the 62 million families in place of the 48 million today are problems just ahead which call for dramatic and revoluntionary solutions.

Reading these startling predictions I could not help but think—without amusement you can be sure—just how many beer cans on Sunrise Highway this will translate into by 1980.

By coincidence, the Resarch Institute has some interesting thoughts on the matter of waste. Mr. Cherne calls waste a "growing colossus." On the one hand is "the fantastic quantity of pollution, the erosion of our resources, the contamination of our rivers and water edges." On the other are the problems of the "sheer volume of things to be replaced and thrown away—created by the fantastic wealth of Americans." The researchers conclude that America produces more in junk than other far larger nations produce in goods. Looking ahead, there would appear to be a rather fabulous future for those choosing a career of 20th-century junkman.

I am certain we here today are all confident that despite the virtual explosion ahead in GNP, in population, in average incomes, and in leisure time, problems of space, of transportation, and of waste will be solved by our native ingenuity.

What challenges us above all is not these material goals, but the prevention of waste of the individual. This is our urgent calling. Nothing we attain in the material sense will be meaningful if the individual loses more of his desire to excel, more of his will to live by spiritual and moral standards, and unless he turns from his tendency to destroy himself through lack of appreciation of the humanities.

The simplest expression of our goal, both for the individual and for the Nation, is the enrichment of life. Enrichment is so very much more valid than riches. Life enrichment is the basic wealth we should seek. And we are blessed by a social system—capitalism—that can best serve all of the people. It provides a wide freedom of choice to the individual as to how he wishes to enrich his life within the system. However, it requires that the individual contribute according to his ability not only to his own needs but to the needs of the whole structure.

What seems to escape the understanding of so many is the economics of the structure. I heartily endorse the efforts of all who would increase economic education in the schools. The great alarm over the widespread economic ignorance of our population is justified. It is little wonder that, due to this void in our education, we tend to look to government not only to tell us what to do but literally to take care of us. Little wonder that the public sector—the cost of government—has risen to 32 percent of our gross national product. What a different picture it might be if more millions of citizens knew one simple economic fact—that it is the private sector, the 68 percent of the GNP, that makes the public sector possible. It pays the bills.

Economic education is one important way toward our goal of progress. In 1961 the Committee on Economic Development issued a special task force report on economic education. The following quotations from their report are worth noting here, because graduates of 1964 like yourselves can help in this cause in whatever community you reside.

The task force stated:

"Economic understanding is essential if we are to meet our responsibilities as citizens and as participants in a basically private enterprise economy. Many of the most important issues in Government policy are economic in nature, and we face economic problems at every turn in our day-to-day lives. * * *

"In the final analysis, the effectiveness of government depends on the capacity and understanding of the people. For it is the people who through their votes and other influences, determine within broad limits the scope and nature of government policies. If they are to exercise their great political power responsibly and effectively, more of our people must know more about our economy and must learn to think about economic issues objectively and rationally. * * *

"It is no good to say that they can wait until college, for less than half of them go on to college, and most of those do not study economics when they get there. Thus, most of our youth must rely on the high schools for the economics they are to learn."

This is the last of the "problems of progress" I would like to leave before you. It should now be said, in closing, that no one should view with either alarm or doubt that progress and problems go together. Truth is that every great advance of society was brought into being because of problems and has created other problems. How we come out of any contest with any other society that challenges us depends upon not what we might do but what we will do to solve the problems we have.

The more that individuals face them with a "can do" spirit, the greater will be the sum total of progress in America and the brighter a future beyond our power to envision.

Thank you.

Tax Cut Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent changes in our Federal income tax laws have already begun to produce desirable results in at least one important New England utility. The Connecticut Light & Power Co. has announced a rate reduction of $2,254,000 in electric and gas rates.

I think I can best illustrate the impact of this administration's tax reduction program by making available to my colleagues a letter received by me this week from Mr. Anthony E. Wallace, vice president of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. In part, Mr. Wallace graciously called my attention to the fact that "this rate reduction was made possible by the change in the Federal income tax law which you supported."

During the lengthy hearings and debate on the tax cut legislation, we were assured that the tax revision would not only benefit the individual taxpayer, but that it would also extend its influence to the assistance of our economy through the creation of new opportunities for industrial expansion. Here is another example of the wisdom of these forecasts.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include herewith the letter received by me from Mr. Wallace, including the advertisement to which he refers, and an article published in the Waterbury American of June 15, 1964.

The material follows:

THE CONNECTICUT LIGHT & POWER CO.,
Hartford, Conn., June 12, 1964.

Hon. JOHN S. MONAGAN,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: The enclosed ad proof should be of interest to you for two reasons—first because it announces a rate reduction for many residents in Connecticut and second, because this rate reduction was made possible by the change in the Federal Income Tax Law which you supported.

I might also add that the present reduction is the second one which we have given to our customers since last November, bringing a total annual savings to them of $4 million.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

A. E. WALLACE.

BIG BOOST FOR CONNECTICUT: RATES REDUCED AGAIN

Today, after discussions with the State public utilities commission, we filed a reduction of $2,254,000 in electric and gas rates affecting many of our customers. This reduction, to be effective with July bills, is designed specifically to stimulate the State's continued growth and prosperity. Seven months ago also, C.L. & P. cut its customer rates—that time by over $1¾ million.

These two reductions bring to over $4 million the total amount by which we have lowered customer rates since last November.

This month's rate cut is due principally to recent changes in the Federal income tax laws. As you know, these changes were made to lessen restraints on the free enterprise system which prevented it from generating necessary growth itself. By making this rate reduction C.L. & P. is doing its part to stimulate economic progress.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) American, June 15, 1964]

CUTS IN LIGHT, GAS RATES TO GO INTO EFFECT JULY 1

Rate reductions which will save customers, including those in the Waterbury area, $2.25 million a year will go into effect July 1, according to an announcement today by the Connecticut Light & Power Co.

The reduction brings to $4 million the total amount by which C.L. & P. has lowered rates in the past 7 months.

The July 1 reduction is broken into $1.91 million in electricity and $343,000 in gas rates. About 200,000 or some 55 percent of C.L. & P.'s customers, will benefit by the new reduction.

"The principal reasons for the reduction were the changes in the Federal income tax laws as well as the recent favorable settlement of an antitrust court case," C.L. & P. President Paul V. Hayden said.

Hayden added that the lower rates would serve to make Connecticut even more attractive as an industrial location and therefore provide more jobs and greater prosperity for Connecticut people.

The reduced electrical rates apply to customers termed "full use" customers by the company. Those include customers who have electric water heaters, customers who use electricity for heating and other "high-use" residential customers, the company said.

Commercial and industrial electric customers will also benefit by the reduction. Commercial customers will get about a 2¼-percent reduction and industrial users about 3½ percent. The specific reduction will vary according to the amount of electricity used, the company said.

Churches and schools which are heated electrically will have their annual bills reduced about 5 percent.

Reductions in gas rates include a 4-percent reduction for residential customers using gas heat and commercial and industrial gas customers can expect approximately a 5-percent cut, the company noted. The cut to medium sized industrial gas customers will vary from 5 to 9 percent, the company said.

Cotton's Card Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there was considerable doubt as to the wisdom of the recently passed wheat-cotton bill especially in view of the great amount of arm twisting that was necessary to gun votes for the measure.

An editorial in the Thursday, June 11, edition of the Wall Street Journal points up some very obvious defects in the measure and I insert it into the RECORD at this point:

COTTON'S CARD GAME

Subsidy, subsidy, who'll get the new cotton subsidy? In a way, it reminds us of that old children's card game of Old Maid. In case you've forgotten, someone winds up with an odd card and thus becomes the "Old Maid." Rather silly, we suppose, but so is the cotton game.

When the Federal price-support subsidy pushed America's cotton out of the world market, the Government played another card. Specifically, it began paying a subsidy to U.S. exporters so they could compete abroad.

But then foreign textile mills bought this U.S. cotton and processed it into goods they sold to this country. American textile mills, forced to buy their cotton at the higher domestic price, justifiably complained that they were caught in a competitive squeeze play.

Nothing daunted, the Government came up with yet another subsidy, this one designed to help the domestic mills. The trouble was that, by this time, the game had grown so confusing that no one seemed to know who should get the new payment.

About the only thing Congress was sure of was that the payment should not go to the cottongrower, who already received the price-support subsidy. In the end, the lawmakers merely decided to pass the problem along to the Agriculture Department.

That agency, sensibly enough, wasn't anxious to come to grips with the problem either. So it also passed; the solution is now up to the cotton dealers and the textile mills. The Department, however, stipulates that the subsidy will go only to someone who guarantees the cotton will be used by domestic mills or exported—and thus not for profiteering in the market.

As for the textile mills, they're understandably fed up with the cotton game; they would like the dealers to take the subsidy and use it to reduce their prices. But the dealers, also understandably, don't want to get any more involved in this childish nonsense than necessary. It therefore looks as though the mills, if they want lower-priced cotton, will wind up with the new subsidy themselves.

This new subsidy, the Agriculture Department estimates, will cost the taxpayer $140 million in the coming year. Once again, it's easy to see who gets the Old Maid's card and loses the game.

Tankers Can Stop Polluting Oceans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, many people will be going to the seashore and beaches this year and will be plagued with oil slicks and other pollution that seems to be increasing in our waters these days. It is refreshing to learn that tankers, and other large and small boats, can end the type of pollution which denies the pleasure of the beaches to our citizens. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend to my colleagues the following article from the New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1964:

ESSO ALREADY USES NEW TECHNIQUES—TANKERS CAN STOP POLLUTING OCEANS

(By Walter Hamshar)

The tanker industry has found techniques to end the type of sea pollution which leaves those oil slicks that have brought protests from bathers on beaches along the coasts of the Mediterranean, the English Channel, and the Atlantic.

The Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) announced yesterday that the techniques have advanced to such an extent that its fleet of 240 owned and chartered ships no longer need dispose of slop mixtures of oil and water by dumping them into the ocean after cleaning tanks.

Paul J. Anderson, a director of the company, said that since a breakthrough was achieved in a $250,000 research program to devise means for separating the oil and salt water slops into their component parts, his company's tankers have stopped discharging the oil wastes into the ocean, even in areas designated by the Government for such disposal.

Other tanker operators are taking similar steps, Mr. Anderson said. The Esso techniques have been made available to the entire tanker industry and have been received with interest, he added.

Coincident with the Esso announcement, Shell International Marine, Ltd., and the BP Tanker Co. announced in London that a number of large oil companies are adopting the antipollution techniques as the result of extensive and successful tests over the last 2 years.

Loren F. Kahle, transportation coordinator for Esso, and Capt. Sven Matsen, manager of its vessel and terminal division, said that during a testing period in the Esso fleet more than 1,500 cargo deliveries involving more than 46 million tons of oil have been handled with almost complete elimination of sea pollution.

As a result, no slop mixtures have been dumped into the ocean from Esso ships since March, Mr. Kahle said.

The oil company officials emphasized that elimination of sea pollution caused by petroleum tankers will not completely end pollution of the oceans. Other sources of contamination will continue, they said, notably oil waste discharges from the bilges of dry cargo and passenger ships; natural underwater seepages; seepages from tankers sunk in World War II or in sea disasters, and finally, some drainage from shore.

Even if all the pollution asssociated with oil tankers were eliminated there would still be the threat of oil slicks on beaches from the other sources, they said.

But the oil waste discharges from tankers constituted a major source of oil pollution. Most of this waste came from washing tank compartments on vessels after their petroleum cargo had been discharged in port.

Mr. Kahle estimated that oil residue left on the bulkheads of tank compartments, totaled some 200 tons in the 50,000 tons carried by one of the supertankers now used in increasing numbers. Under old procedures this 200 tons would be discharged into the ocean after tankers were at least 100 miles from shore.

Instead of discharging into the ocean the slop mixture of oil and water resulting from cleaning these tanks, it is now pumped into tanks reserved for this purpose on the ship. Allowed to settle, the oil comes to the top, leaving pure water on the bottom. After pumping as much of the clean settled water into the ocean as possible, demulsifiers are applied to separate the oil and salt water in the residue. By the time the tanker reaches port to take on new cargo, the slop has been separated into recoverable oil. Crude oil can then be loaded on top of it, and the whole discharged when the tanker berths at the refinery at the end of its next voyage. The method is known as the "load on top" system.

Opinion Poll Indicates Voters' Beliefs on Current Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I recently conducted an opinion poll among my constituents of the Seventh District of Indiana. I believe the results of this sampling are of significance and of interest to my colleagues.

SUMMARY OF POLL RESULTS

Public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of budget reductions to offset the revenue loss caused by the Federal tax cut. The replies indicated 85 percent "yes"; 11 percent "no"; and 4 percent failed to express an opinion.

On a topic of current controversy, Seventh District voters strongly favor a constitutional amendment to permit optional and nonsectarian prayer in the public schools. The response was 81 percent "yes"; 16 percent "no"; and 3 percent undecided.

Despite claims that the administration has trimmed foreign aid requests to the bone, the respondents to my poll favor extensive reductions in such spending by better than a 4-to-1 margin. "Yes" answers totaled 81 percent; 15 percent

said "no"; and 4 percent did not respond.

Seventh District voters display some of the same doubts and misgivings on the subject of civil rights legislation that polls in other parts of the Nation have indicated. Opinion for and against the new Federal civil rights proposals is sharply divided, and 1 in 5 persons is undecided.

Asked if they favored civil rights legislation similar to that passed by the House in February, 45 percent said "no"; 35 percent said "yes"; and 20 percent declined to express an opinion.

In supplemental comments, it was clear that there is confusion and doubt in this area. Several people asked for copies of the actual bill, having read various interpretations of the measure.

Others expressed support of full legal rights for all persons, but were cautious about new legislative attempts to guarantee such rights.

Compulsory medical care for the aged under social security, as is proposed in the King-Anderson legislation, is opposed better than 2 to 1. "Yes" replies totaled only 29 percent; "no," 62 percent; "no opinion," 9 percent.

Increased trade with the Soviet bloc, such as the wheat sale to Russia, is opposed in 69 percent of the replies. It is favored in 25 percent.

Hoosier voters are willing to support strong action in Vietnam to prevent a Communist takeover there, but they want to know just what is required and what can be expected. Asked if they would commit additional U.S. troops if necessary to protect South Vietnam from a Communist takeover, 62 percent of those responding said, "Yes." Only 26 percent replied in the negative; and 12 percent expressed no opinion.

Opinion is sharply divided as to whether we should withdraw from the United Nations if Red China is admitted. Forty-two percent said "Yes"; 50 percent said "No"; and 8 percent are undecided. Previous polls have shown overwhelming opposition to the admission of Communist China to the U.N. But voters are not sure that we should withdraw if China is admitted over our opposition.

A strong response supports our standing firm on our right to keep possession of the Panama Canal; 93 percent said "Yes."

Maintaining the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, regardless of Castro's threats and actions is supported by 94 percent of those responding.

POLL PROVIDES VALUABLE INSIGHT

We all recognize our duty to know the thoughts and beliefs of our constituents and to be the spokesmen of these views in the House of Representatives. It is not an easy task to keep well-acquainted with voter sentiments in districts that cover large areas and contain populations of 300,000 or more. In addition to the thousands of letters, telegrams and telephone calls I receive, I greatly appreciate the many personal contacts I have with Seventh District people, including my customary tour of all the post offices in each of the 11 counties. I believe this poll is another worthwhile tool for keeping closely in touch with the legislative wishes of the people, and consequently being better able to represent them. Each of those who replied helped to form this cross-section of public opinion, and demonstrated the willing participation and interest in public affairs which has been the hallmark of American citizenship.

I commend this insight into the thinking of my constituents to all of my colleagues for I know these people to be truly representative of the finest traits and characteristics of this Nation.

Final summary of opinion poll conducted by Congressman WILLIAM G. BRAY, *7th District, Indiana*

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Do you favor—			
1. A reduction in Federal spending to match the loss in revenue caused by the Federal tax cut?	85	11	4
2. A constitutional amendment to permit prayer, optional and nonsectarian, in the public schools?	81	16	3
3. Extensive reductions in our foreign aid?	81	15	4
4. Civil rights legislation similar to that approved by the House in February?	35	45	20
5. Compulsory medical care for the aged under social security as proposed by the King-Anderson bill?	29	62	9
6. Increased trade relations with the Soviet bloc, such as the wheat sale to Russia?	25	69	6
7. Commitment of additional U.S. troops, if necessary, to protect South Vietnam from a Communist takeover?	62	26	12
8. Withdrawal from the United Nations if Red China is admitted?	42	50	8
9. Standing firm on our right to keep possession of the Panama Canal?	93	4	3
10. Maintaining the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, regardless of Castro's threats and actions?	94	2	4

Pesticides and Fish Kill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, recently the House Agriculture Committee held hearings on pesticides and delved into the so-called massive fish kill in the lower Mississippi River which, it had been charged, was caused by leakage from a Memphis chemical plant and by runoff from the normal use of agricultural chemicals.

The testimony presented at our hearings leads me to question the conclusion that chemicals caused the fish kill. There were many contradictions in the accusations. For example, the charge was made that chemicals from Memphis killed fish in the lower Mississippi near Baton Rouge, more than 500 miles away. But the chemical did not kill fish in the area between Memphis and Baton Rouge. This sounds incredible to me.

Recently, the Nebraska State health director, Dr. E. A. Rogers, stated that there was little danger to humans who eat crops sprayed with insecticides. He said the same is true of eating fish or beef animals which get the chemicals in their systems. He was prompted into making this statement because the State game commission director had stated that certain insecticides pose a great hazard to life and should be banned.

This is one of the great problems we have in government. The health departments are charged with the responsibility of protecting the health of our Nation, Fish and Wildlife is charged with the responsibility of fish and wildlife. Now, I ask, what is the Fish and Wildlife Service doing in this field? Do they feel that the Public Health Service is incompetent? Do they feel that they know better than Public Health? Or is it that Fish and Game has been stampeded by the hysteria on this matter which prevails in Washington?

Now let us get to the charge that these pesticides do pose a threat to wildlife. Nebraska is a farm State. Our farmers need pesticides to control rootworm, corn borer, and other insects which attack our crops. Without pesticides farmers would see crops eaten as they were in the thirties when grasshoppers swarmed on fields to consume everything green.

The June 3 issue of the Lincoln, Nebr., Journal carries a report from the State game commission which states:

The State game commission reported Wednesday spring surveys indicate Nebraska's pheasant and grouse populations are up from last year.

Let us look at the figures—prairie chickens have increased by 45 percent from 1963 and 51 percent from the 5-year, 1958–62, average. Sharptails have shown a spectacular jump of 58 percent from last year and the 5-year average.

All of these game birds have shown spectacular gains in populations during a time when use of pesticides was increasing.

I think it is time that people who would scare the American public into the banning of necessary products because of unproven fears, be forced to show justification for their statements.

Farmers might well take the credit for increasing wildlife populations because they use pesticides.

Therefore, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, I would like to offer the following two newspaper stories taken from the Hastings, Nebr., Daily Tribune and Lincoln, Nebr., Evening Journal, and do hereby recommend them to all my colleagues for thoughtful reading and contemplation:

[From the Hastings (Nebr.) Daily Tribune, June 4, 1964]

INSECTICIDES' DANGER SAID NOT TRANSFERABLE TO HUMANS

LINCOLN.—State Health Director Dr. E. A. Rogers Thursday said he sees little danger to humans who eat crops sprayed with insecticides.

He said the same is true of eating fish or beef animals which get the chemicals in their systems.

But Dr. Rogers said he deplores their misuse which sometimes kills fish, wildlife, and an occasional human.

OPPOSES STEEN

He disagreed with State Game Commission Director Mel Steen who maintains certain insecticides pose a great hazard to life and should be banned.

Dr. Rogers noted that the poisonous pest killers are responsible for the abundant agricultural harvest in the county.

"Before farmers were at the mercy of nature," he said, recalling plagues of locust which devastated farm areas in the past.

He added, "I deplore the uncontrolled, indiscriminate abuse of this very useful and very important product."

The health director differentiated between the two main types of insecticides. One group is the chlorinated hydrocarbons, which are more dangerous because they do not decompose. The other group is the organic phosphates, which are readily degradable upon application.

PHOSPHATES DANGEROUS

Dr. Rogers thinks the chlorinated hydrocarbons are easier and safer to apply and are generally less expensive.

He said the organic phosphates, which are derived from the mustard gases of World War II, are extremely dangerous in their compounded state and have to be carefully applied to avoid injury to the person handling them.

He said Nebraska now has a good labeling law—administered by the Agriculture Department—which assures that persons who buy insecticides will know what they are getting and how to use it properly if they take the time to find out.

[From the Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal, June 3, 1964]

BIRDS ON INCREASE

The State Game Commission reported Wednesday spring surveys indicate Nebraska's pheasant and grouse populations are up from last year.

According to the commission, the number of pheasants increased about 8 percent. It said the number of grouse has "increased substantially."

The commission said rural mail carriers recorded more than 11 pheasants per 100 miles. The carriers covered 188,557 miles, counting 21,218 birds. Southwest Nebraska with 14 birds per 100 miles was estimated to have the greatest density.

Prairie chickens increased 45 percent from 1963 and 51 percent from the 5-year (1958–62) average, the commission said. Sharptails showed a 58 percent jump from last year and the 5-year average.

The survey was conducted on 19 routes in primary grouse range.

A Salute to Kilgore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Longview Daily News, May 28, 1964. All of us in east Texas are proud of the continuous efforts of the fine citizens of Kilgore to bring about maximum employment to the people of that area.

The editorial follows:

A SALUTE TO KILGORE

Kilgore, our sister city on the other side of the Sabine River, kept in step with the East Texas Parade of Progress by maintaining a consistent flow of new construction on various projects within the last few months. And in addition, several other large projects are already on the drawing boards and are scheduled to be launched later this summer.

New construction now under way in Kilgore and its immediate area totals nearly one-half million dollars. Reflecting a steady, healthy growth in the Gregg County city are modern new homes, office buildings, a church, a variety of commercial structures, a large manufacturing plant and new school and college additions.

Largest new industrial plant now under way in Kilgore is the new Kilgore Manufacturing Co. plant which is being built by the Kilgore Industrial Foundation on the foundation's park on north Highway 259. It has been projected that this $200,000 garment plant will mean an increase of approximately 150 employees and a total payroll of about $750,000 per year will be added to the city's rapidly expanding economy.

Plans have been announced for a second new plant in the industrial foundation's park. It will be used for the manufacture of high-pressure steel safety valves.

A $101,000 addition and remodeling program has been started at Kilgore High School. Heading the project is a central administration building now under construction. The high school band hall is also being remodeled and enlarged to take care of the ever mounting enrollment in the school.

Members of the Bethel Baptist Church are looking to the bright future of the Kilgore picture by building a brandnew $45,000 sanctuary on Fritz-Swanson Road. Other projects now underway in our sister city include the $39,000 Ben &. S. S. Laird office building on South Kilgore Street, which is nearing completion; a new car wash building on Highway 135 at Gladewater Street; and the two main buildings, contracted for $53,222, on the Kilgore College Demonstration Farm, which are near the completion stage.

Prominent among projects to be announced this summer is a new business and secretarial science building for rapidly growing Kilgore College. The school is also considering two other large additions at later date.

Kilgore has at least three organizations which are countywide or areawide in scope—the East Texas Treatment Center, the east Texas division office of the Texas Railroad Commission, and Kilgore College. Each would be a credit to any city.

We salute the city of Kilgore, and her progressive-minded citizens, award winning newspaper, radio station, and city officials for their faith in east Texas industrial growth and are looking forward to even greater expansion and development in Kilgore and immediate area in the very near future.

Adm. Arthur J. Hepburn: Distinguished Pennsylvanian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, since the founding of our country, Pennsylvania has produced many leaders of national importance, including high officers of the Armed Forces, but few have attained the professional stature of Adm. Arthur J. Hepburn of Carlisle, Pa., former commander in chief, U.S. fleet, 1936–38, and chairman of the General Board of the Navy, 1942–44.

These key assignments represented the highest professional recognition of Admiral Hepburn's abilities, professional capacity, and character. As commander in chief, he played an important part in overall planning for fleet operations preceding World War II but opposed the making of provocative fleet movements. As chairman of the General Board, in a report to the Secretary of the Navy on September 30, 1943, he stated that the evidence before the Board fully justified the "abandonment of the idea of a sea-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama" and recommended the endorsement of the 1943 proposal for the elimination of the locks at Pedro Miguel and consolidation of all Pacific locks near Miraflores with the creation of a summit level anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal matching that at Gatun. See Admiral Hepburn's report quoted in a statement in the U.S. Senate by Senator Thomas E. Martin on "Panama Canal: Terminal Lake Modernization Program Derived from World War II Experience," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 29, 1957.

In order that a summary of Admiral Hepburn's career, as presented in his obituary in the Washington Post of June 1, 1964, may be recorded in the permanent annals of the Congress, I quote it as part of my remarks:

ADMIRAL HEPBURN DIES HERE AT 88

Adm. Arthur J. Hepburn, U.S. Navy, retired, former commander of the U.S. Fleet and a veteran of three wars, died yesterday at Mar Salle Nursing Home. Admiral Hepburn, who was 88, suffered from arteriosclerosis.

One of the youngest fleet commanders at 58, Admiral Hepburn was appointed to the high command in 1936. He held the position until July 1938, when he was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to head a survey on the establishment of additional submarine, destroyer, mine and air bases on the coasts of the United States and its territories.

He subsequently became Director of the Office of Public Relations of the Navy and in 1942 was promoted to chairman of the Navy's General Board. In 1944 he served as a delegate to the Dumbarton Oaks meetings, the foundation for the United Nations.

Born in Carlisle, Pa., Admiral Hepburn was appointed to the Naval Academy in 1893. Graduating in time for the Spanish-American War, he was ordered to the battleship *Iowa*, which fought off Santiago, Cuba, when the Spanish fleet made a dash for liberty in 1898.

The admiral was decorated for meritorious service at the battle's end when he helped rescue Spaniards from the burning *Vizcaya*, grounded in the surf and aflame 18 miles from Santiago.

After the Spanish War, he assisted in a 40,000-mile hydrographic, biological, magnetic and meterological survey of most of the Pacific area aboard the *Albatross*, an oceanographic survey ship.

As a commander during the early stages of World War I, he directed the conversion of the seized German liner, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, into a Navy transport.

After the war and command of the battleship *West Virginia*, Admiral Hepburn got his first taste of diplomacy. Serving as Chief of

Staff for Rear Adm. Mark L. Bristol at Constantinople, he directed the evacuation of 250,000 American refugees after the Turkish invasion of Smyrna in 1922.

As Director of Naval Intelligence the following year, he attended the International Naval Conference in Geneva in 1927, the London Conference of 1930 and 2 years later the League of Nations Conference in Geneva.

With the rank of vice admiral, he was appointed in 1935 to command the Scouting Force, now the Atlantic Fleet. A year later he was made commander in chief of the fleet with the rank of admiral.

Admiral Hepburn had lived in Washington since his retirement in 1946. He leaves his wife, Agnes, of the home address, 2800 Woodley Road Northwest.

Kingman Brewster's Testimony Before Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention an extraordinary piece of testimony by Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University, before the Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives on the subject of Government support of scientific activity in universities.

Mr. Brewster's wise words ought to be widely read. He approaches this whole subject in the most sensible way. He makes out a persuasive case that research should not be separated from university life and university purposes. President Brewster points out that "we will have more original research if it is prodded by fresh young minds who can contribute to and question the masters. More important, our ablest researchers must turn their hand to reproducing their own kind." He goes on to say "there is no substitute for the patient development of potential scientists through the dual effort of university education and research leading to the doctoral degree."

Mr. Brewster spells out his concern about the development of the "rule of law" in the midst of the emergence of government as the big spender, big buyer, big supplier, big lender, and investor in our society.

As a lawyer—

He says—

I am worried that all the values which our Constitution and our political history have been concerned about—the values which we have in mind when we talk about a rule of law—have not been remembered or given enough attention when government gets into the area of spending.

Mr. Brewster's testimony is deserving of attention by the whole Congress. The complete text follows:

STATEMENT OF KINGMAN BREWSTER, JR., PRESIDENT OF YALE UNIVERSITY, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE, RESEARCH, AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, I am very glad to have the chance to present and discuss my views on Government support of scientific activity, especially Government support of university work in the sciences.

At the outset I would like to describe myself and declare my convictions as frankly and explicitly as possible. I am not a scientist. I was trained as a lawyer, served as a Government lawyer, taught law for 10 years, and since then have served as an academic administrator.

I am president and trustee of a medium sized, private, traditional, and internationally recognized American university. This university receives about $15 million each year from the Federal Government in support of its medical and scientific teaching and research. Obviously I am likely to favor any policies which would increase that support and any arrangements which would permit us to receive it on our own terms.

I also have some philosophical preferences which you ought to take into account. Educators no less than other citizens have a vested interest in their own points of view quite as strong as their vested interest in the welfare of their institutions.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND THE RULE OF LAW

As a citizen I am well aware that the biggest change in the role of Government in my brief mature lifetime has been the emergence of Government as a big spender, big buyer, big supplier, big lender, and investor. As a lawyer I am worried that all the values which our Constitution and our political history have been concerned about—the values which we have in mind when we talk about a rule of law—have not been remembered or given enough attention when Government gets into the area of spending.

Permit me to explain what I refer to as values often associated with a rule of law even though I do not want to take your time here to spell out my political or legal philosophy. Let me just say that I have three ideological preferences: First, in the best of all possible worlds the allocation of opportunity, of rewards or burdens, should be done by an impersonal competitive market. The more we can rely upon the market to decide who gets what, the better. There will be less blame, less resentment, less highhandedness as well as less waste. Second, if some official power must decide who gets what then I think that it is very important to let those affected have some say in the decision. They know more about it than does the bureaucrat—or even the Congressman. Third, if judgments have to be made which will affect other people, let them be made by a clear and simple standard, uncomplicated and uncorrupted by extraneous or irrelevant considerations which at worst the judge knows nothing about or at best is not expert about.

Let me turn to some other preferences, my convictions in the realm of academic life.

THE SPECIAL ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

First, I am very strongly in favor of doing everything we can to keep research closely coupled with education. We will have more original research if it is prodded by fresh young minds who can contribute to and question the masters. More important, our ablest researchers must turn their hand to reproducing their own kind. Do not let Government policy, by drift or by design, lead us into the ways of the Russians, the Germans, or the French, who have separated so many of their best scientists from teaching by isolating them in research institutes or academies of science.

We must concentrate in our universities not only on research but also on producing more and more first-rate teaching and research scientists. The security and productivity of a future America will not depend upon the excellence of today's science but upon the excellence of tomorrow's scientists. There is no substitute for the patient development of potential scientists through the dual effort of university education and research leading to the doctoral degree.

Second, with respect to research itself, I would urge awareness that there are some things which university science can do better, some things which nonuniversity science can do better; and it is important that Government policy reflect the comparative advantages of academic and nonacademic research. Let witnesses from the profitmaking corporations or the fee-charging consultative groups testify to their special competence for achieving prespecified results. This is not what the universities are best at.

What we are best at, what the country should look to us for, defies advance specification, cannot be put out to bid in advance. The premise of the "search for truth" is the assumption that the full truth is unknown. That search into the unknown is our specialty. The reason it is especially our business is that discovery is our quest without regard to predictable payout. The unsolved puzzle is solved for its own sake, not because the solution will make you rich. The new hypothesis, the new way of looking at or explaining something is tested for its own sake, not because the answer will be commercially useful. Curiosity, not commercial profit, is the spur.

As I had occasion to say elsewhere "as other corporate and Government groups mobilize intelligence to discover as well as to apply knowledge to meet topical needs, it is all the more crucial to have a few academic centers predominantly motivated by a self-directed search for truth."

So it is with these three preferences: For impersonal allocation of resources—by the market at best; by clear-cut, expert objective judgment at least; for emphasis on the coupling of research with the education of new scientists; and for support of universities in the probing of the unknown. It is against these preferences as a backdrop that I proceed to my remarks about the two policy questions to which your subcommittee directed my attention: reimbursement of indirect costs and geographical distribution of support.

REIMBURSEMENT OF INDIRECT COSTS

I would direct your attention to the impact which less than full reimbursement of indirect costs of government supported university research would have at three levels: On the competition between university science and commercial science; on the competition among universities; and on the competing claims of education and research within any university.

Obviously when an industrial corporation or consulting firm bids for a government research contract, it does so for a profit or a fee. It will not accept work at a loss except for promotional purposes, and it can't do that for long. So commercial and industrial research contractors require full reimbursement of indirect costs and then some, with all the risk that any excessive reimbursement will be a form of profit which will go to a partner or stockholder; not, into scientific research or education.

When a university faculty member applies for research support, he would be glad to accept the support even if it is a loss item for the institution as a whole. It is not that the individual faculty member doesn't care about his institution, but he cannot see or feel or trace the impact of the "loss" caused by costs which are by definition indirect.

University requests for government research support are no less competitively motivated than those from industry. But the competition is not for profit nor for fees but for talent, scientific talent. And the present practice of incomplete reimbursement of indirect costs for university research grossly favors research contracted to industry, to the great competitive disadvantage of university basic research. Institutions dedicated to unpredictable discovery—to research into the unknown—are penalized in competition with those engaged in applied research.

Of greater concern to a university president is the effect of incomplete reimbursement of indirect costs upon the competition among universities themselves. A policy which requires the recipient to put up a dollar for every dollar received makes the opportunity to accept a grant depend in part upon how solvent the institution is. Success breeds success. To him that hath shall be given. This is easy to see when direct costs are shared, as in the case of matching grants for research facilities. The same is true, but less easily seen, if the recipient is required to put up a part of the indirect costs of research. The acceptance of research grants is made dependent in part on how solvent the institution is. Again you cannot see it clearly because the costs are by definition indirect. The impact is exactly the same. To him that hath shall be given. Success breeds success.

I realize there are certain plausible policy reasons for an explicit matching requirement on research facility grants, especially when dealing with really large facilities. It may be an incentive for private fund raising or State appropriations. It gives the granting agency a crude way of assuring itself that the institution really wants the facility.

However, these reasons do not apply to sharing of indirect costs. When the "matching" requirement takes the form of an across-the-board refusal to pay the full amount of indirect costs of research, it accomplishes nothing except to penalize the poor and prudent by imposing a burden which only the affluent can absorb, or the incautious ignore. There is no incentive to fund raising here because neither potential donors nor a State legislature can readily see or measure the need. Required "matching" of indirect costs of research provides no litmus-paper test of the importance of the grant to the recipient, because the real recipient of a research grant is the faculty investigator whose research does not directly suffer the burden of unrequited indirect costs. As pointed out, the individual investigator cannot be expected to appreciate the burden of costs which, precisely because they are indirect, do not fall on him.

I urge upon you, Mr. Chairman, if we would do our best to see to it that the Government's support of scientific activity distorts as little as possible the competitive allocation of talent in the scientific market place, we must not penalize the universities in competition with industrial and consulting firms; and we must not penalize the less well endowed or supported universities in competition with their richer rivals. Anything less than full reimbursement of indirect costs does exactly this.

If I cannot claim firsthand self-interest in the competitive disadvantage which inadequate indirect cost reimbursement imposes on financially weaker institutions, I can speak with firsthand experience about another concern. That is the impact of inadequate cost reimbursement upon the quality, the integrity, and the national purpose of a liberal arts and sciences university.

If a liberal arts and sciences university is forced to put up part of the cost of scientific research supported by the Government, than that money must come at the expense of something else. Most likely it will be taken from less well supported areas, areas where talent is not as hard to come by because the Government has not bid up the price of scholarship. Now you and I know that the reason the Government does not support history, the arts and letters is not because they are less important than science, but because they are more controversial, less easily supported by political agencies without inviting control or censorship or conformity. So, all the more reason to encourage State and local and private support of these ideologically sensitive fields. But the minute you ask for Government supported scientific work to draw on general university resources, so soon do you begin to undercut and siphon off private and local funds which would otherwise go to the humanities and the arts. I do not urge full indirect cost reimbursement as a covert way of supporting the arts and letters, but I do urge you not to penalize the arts and letters by requiring universities to share the cost of Government-supported scientific research. They must share it at the expense of these fields in order not to handicap themselves in the competition for talent with industrial and consulting firms.

But my plea, sir, is not dependent upon a special concern for the nonscientific disciplines which tend to be orphaned by current Government largesse, it is for the function of education itself. I pointed out in my preliminary statement of convictions that I believe strongly in keeping research married to education, that I believe deeply in the primary importance of producing scientists as well as producing science. It is important that Government science policy should not slight the education of scientists in the process of supporting scientific research. However, Mr. Chairman, that is exactly what happens if an educational institution has to dip into its own budgeted funds in order to support part of the hidden costs of performing Government-supported research. Funds are inevitably shifted from the costs of education which the Government does not support lavishly to make up any balance left uncovered by a research contract or grant. If we are not to lose the best university scientists to the competing industrial or consulting or other nonteaching laboratories, then, of course, we must give them the research support which the Government won't provide. And this will inevitably come at the expense of the support which teaching needs, be it salaries, classrooms, scholarships, or equipment.

Such are the distortions which are caused by policies which prevent full reimbursement of the indirect costs of research. I have put them in generality because detail or concrete illustration would be complex, endless, and boring. However, I would make one point by way of refinement. The felony is compounded by the disparity and variety of treatment accorded by different agencies, and within single agencies, depending upon the form of the support: grant or contract.

This disparity, this variety of treatment turning upon the agency source and the form of its relationship with the university, intrudes a mercenary corruption at worst, a distortion in the name of legalism at best, which is wholly counter productive and alien to the academic ethic. Neither faculties in relation to their university administrations, nor universities in relaton to their Government should be tempted or goaded to warp the substance of research in order to gain more advantageous cost reimbursement. Only a system of full cost reimbursement across the board, without regard to the form or source of support, would wash out this corruption and distortion of what should be a partnership between universities and Government in the interest of the Nation.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH SUPPORT

I turn now in answer to your request that I say something about the geographical distribution of Government support of science. Again, my concern, and my competence, if any, is with university science; although my preference for letting the free market competition allocate economic activity rather than leaving it to the push and pull of politics would apply to industrial scientific activity as well.

Two important characteristics of scientific research are: (1) there are too few really first-rate scientists; (2) they depend upon each other for stimulus, criticism, and collaboration. If you wanted to slow down if not destroy the American scientific effort, the thing to do would be to disperse its scientific talent across the country on some random pepper shaker basis. Happily you probably couldn't do it with money, however allocated, since the scientists themselves would value too highly the chance to work with other good scientists, so not many of them would be moved unless you also financially starved the existing centers of excellence.

The only answers to a more widespread availability of first-rate scientific research are to educate more top quality scientists to the highest level of creative capacity, and to make it possible for the ones you train to get off to a good start in their academic careers. There is a very limited number of institutions whose faculties and facilities can be counted on to turn out really first-rate graduate students who will make a distinguished contribution to the scientific potential of the country during their lifetime. Nothing would be worse for the quality of America's scientific future than for the Government to use Federal funds to tempt a young man to go to a place which would not be as worthy of his talent as some other place he would prefer to go.

So, Mr. Chairman, whether we are talking about research or education, it seems to me wholly unwise to permit considerations of political geography to control the choices of faculties and students alike, to keep them from working wherever they think they would be most productive. Because the excellent are so few, and because modern science cannot very often be pursued in isolation from a community of one's peers, a productive science policy is bound to lead to a high degree of concentration in relatively few centers of advanced education and research.

With your permission, however, I would go beyond this judgment of what is best for scientific research and what is best for scientific education. I would end where I began, insisting that Federal support of education generally, and scientific work in particular, should respect some basic political and legal values which I mentioned at the outset of my testimony. At best, opportunity should be rationed by an impersonal free market, not by private status or political favor. If, as is increasingly the case, the national investment in the national future requires the mobilization of resources through the Federal fisc for support of education and research, let it be done by the scientists and scholars using the standards of their callings as it has been by and large through the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health and those operating agencies which support basic research. And if scientific and scholarly self-determination is to be the basic procedure, confine the standards of allocation to those objective judgments which are the special competence of the scientist and the scholar; namely, scientific and scholarly competence and promise.

To put this differently, I see no way, have heard of no way, in which a so-called geographical criterion could be intruded into the processes of allocation without being either hopelessly wooden and arbitrary on the one hand, or hopelessly corrupting on the other. A flat quota system of allocation would be extravagantly wasteful in its support of the unworthy at the expense of the deserving. A discretionary mandate to give

"due consideration" to geographical dispersion of government grants would make a mockery of any objective evaluation, since it would always be subject to unreviewable reversal in response to political pressure.

If anything, the emphasis should be on ways of liberating the choice of where to go and what to do, ways of making the academic and scientific marketplace freer of redtape and programed projects, less dependent upon gaining favor or approval of senior faculty members, administrators and granting agencies than it is now. In short, let the Government be constantly reminded that it is a national investment in education we are talking about, not the purchase of the work product of a particular generation. And seeing this, let us be mindful that the reason university education and research is worth investing in is precisely because it creates more scientists at the same time as it probes into the unknown in unpredictable ways, following the whim of curiosity and intellectual enthusiasm rather than the promise of commercial payout. This is the national asset value of American universities, and it is terribly important that it shall not be distorted, corrupted, or destroyed by methods of support which have their origin in the political economy of geographical interest groups concerned with wage, price, and profit support.

BROADENING THE BASE OF AMERICAN SCIENCE

Having said all this, however, I do believe that there are possibilities for broadening the base of national scientific activity which would inevitably result in an ultimately greater dispersion of centers of excellence. I have no well thought through proposal, certainly no program. I have rather a sense of needs which are not now being adequately met, needs which must be met if we are to enlarge our scientific potential and assure an adequate level of scientific activity a generation from now.

First, the only way to get more centers of excellence is to have more excellent people. The only way to get more excellent people is to encourage them when their capacity is first being developed, when their career motivation is first taking shape. That is in the high school. Equipment, retraining programs, and research leaves for high school teachers of science would enormously increase the chances of sparking the kind of excitement in school science which will lead the brightest students to stretch their capacities and whet their motivation for advanced work.

The same line of development is perhaps even more crucial in the public and private, urban, and liberal arts and sciences colleges which do not have the advantages of university facilities. Science can be creative as well as descriptive to the extent that through the research enthusiasm of the faculty the college student senses the satisfaction of discovery. The research need not be nationally significant, but it must be a process of genuine testing of hypotheses for the teacher. Research and equipment grants for undergraduate science teachers, even if modest, might do much to increase the collegiate sources of future first-rank researchers.

Finally, much might be done to assure the young scientist taking on his first academic assignment that he will have a chance to pursue some independent work with adequate support even if he is not yet ready to compete with established scientists for support. Research support grants to university science departments to establish modest research drawing accounts, for the needs of instructors or assistant professors in the first 3 years of their tenure, would do much to encourage young scientists.

Shattering and scattering the top of the pyramid of American science would be disastrous. However, broadening the base of that pyramid in the high school, the college, and the beginning years of university academic life would obviously benefit all sectors of the scientific community and the Nation whose future depends upon scientific creativity.

Attention, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, June 6, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in a speech on the floor of the House on April 21, I pointed out that the printed hearings on the Department of Defense appropriations carried only a hint of what top Pentagon officials actually told our Defense Subcommittee regarding national security and foreign policy.

Anything which might discredit their own or their superior's judgment is all too often stricken from the record, then frequently released with variations to the press.

Too much is at stake in this year of crisis to permit this kind of partisanship.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, serving on both the Defense and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittees, I can vouch for the validity of the following editorial from Aviation Week and Space Technology of June 15, a distinguished magazine with no political ax to grind:

THE CREDIBILITY GAP

(By Robert Hotz)

There are disturbing indications that the credibility of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara and his Pentagon spokesmen is diminishing rapidly at the very time President Lyndon Johnson needs it most to build public support for this Nation's campaign to repel communism in southeast Asia.

Lack of credibility of key Government officials is always a serious matter in a democratic society, but the deepening crisis in Vietnam and Laos, which is certain to demand heavier sacrifices in blood and money from the American people, makes this problem particularly acute now. The American people have never flinched from paying whatever price was necessary to preserve liberty and prevent the spread of tyranny when they understood clearly the issues at stake. But there is diminishing public support for the southeast Asian ventures—at the very time that the crisis is reaching its peak—because of the lessening public belief in the word it is getting from the Pentagon's civilian leaders.

This may prove to be an extremely high price for President Johnson to pay for whatever success Mr. McNamara and his official mouthpiece, Arthur Sylvester, have achieved in their avowed intent to control Pentagon news to suit their own purposes. This policy backfired badly in the Cuban crisis. The sparse and misleading information dispensed from the Pentagon on Cuba reduced public credibility on official statements to such a low point that the late President Kennedy finally had to order Mr. McNamara to put on that extraordinary lantern slide show on national television to convince the American people that the Soviet missiles were really being shipped out of Cuba. Ironically, this performance revealed more genuine intelligence secrets than would have been necessary if Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester had dispensed the facts as events occurred.

Both Mr. McNamara and Mr. Sylvester came to their Pentagon duties with an unusual belief in the use of the official lie as a national policy instrument. Mr. McNamara first made this clear in 1961 testimony before Congress on the Nike Zeus when he said:

"Why should we tell Russia that Zeus developments may not be satisfactory? What we ought to be saying is that we have the most perfect anti-ICBM system that the human mind will ever devise." Mr. McNamara probably doesn't see any similarity in the tactics he proposed and Nikita Khrushchev's insistence that the Soviets have perfected an anti-ICBM system that can "hit a fly in the sky," but many Americans will. Mr. Sylvester expounded the right to tell official lies in his now infamous New York Deadline Club speech (AW Dec. 17, 1962, p. 35). Although he then maintained that this basic "right to lie" should be used only to avert nuclear war, he has in fact adopted it as a standard operational practice. His credibility has sunk so low that most Pentagon reporters really don't believe a story until it has been officially denied. Even his subordinates are apologetic for the more blatant episodes.

During Mr. McNamara's first appearances before Congress, its key leaders were impressed with his ability to answer on the spot any question they asked. It was not until several times around the same track that they began to develop misgivings over the accuracy of many of these answers and began to wonder if the Secretary's talents lay more toward glibness than research. Among the incidents that have shaken his once strong credibility with Congress are:

His claim that forcing USAF and Navy to use the same F-111 (TFX) design would save a billion dollars. Later testimony showed that this was a rough calculation made by an aid on the back of an envelope before a contractor was even selected for the project.

The manner in which many of his economy claims for the Defense Department budget have evaporated under congressional scrutiny, and how many of them have simply turned out to be the difference between what might have been spent and what was ordered to be spent.

His public insistence that the Lockheed YF-12A (A-11) was developed from the start as an interceptor for USAF, despite knowledge by key congressmen that this aircraft was sponsored and funded by the Central Intelligence Agency as a superspy successor to the U-2.

His repeated optimistic reports on the Vietnam war that are regularly contradicted by events occurring on the battlefront. It is ironic that his credibility has sunk so low on this score that even when he is right—as in the case of which aircraft types are proper for this operation—few believe him any more.

As the facts in all of these areas eventually emerge and erode the official position taken by Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, their efforts to suppress and control the Pentagon information flow become more violent and ridiculous. Mr. Sylvester's internal Pentagon directive to all military public information officers ordering the F-111 to be portrayed publicly as a success regardless of what the facts may be (AW, Apr. 27, p. 31) would read more appropriately in the Cyrillic alphabet than in English. The idea of proclaiming that an aircraft will meet all of the military service requirements before the first prototype has rolled out or made its initial flight is so ludicrous it belongs in a George Orwell book. The latest attempt by Mr. Sylvester to further tighten control of military news (AW, June 8, p. 20) has been widely interpreted—and we think correctly so—as an-

other indication of how badly the tide is running against our efforts in Vietnam.

Now we have the incredible spectacle of eight USAF F-100 fighter-bombers making a strike on foreign soil—the first U.S. offensive military action since Korea—and the Government trying to suppress this news and keep it from the American people.

Clearly it is time, not only for a reappraisal of the credibility of Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, but also for a realistic examination of an official information policy that is widening the gap between the Government and its people at a critical time in the fate of this Nation.

Lincoln's Nomination 100 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, last week Republican delegates from the State of Maryland convened in Baltimore for their State convention. Just 100 years ago another group of Republicans met in Baltimore to hold a national convention for the purpose of nominating a Republican presidential candidate. The choice was Abraham Lincoln for a second term as President of the United States.

In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of President Lincoln's nomination the Republican Party of Maryland sponsored a centennial dinner. The program carried an article on "Lincoln's Nomination 100 Years Ago" written by Charles L. Wagandt II. For its historic value to all Americans I include the article here in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

LINCOLN'S NOMINATION 100 YEARS AGO

(By Charles L. Wagandt II)

Republican politicians from across the Nation crowded into Baltimore's Front Street Theatre just 100 years ago this week. They had come to nominate Abraham Lincoln for a second term as President of the United States. There was irony in this choice of Baltimore, for Lincoln had been forced only 3 years before to travel secretly through our then hostile and tumultuous city. Now a bloody war and a new surge of Union sentiment had placed Baltimore in friendly hands. Lincoln could be assured of a warm welcome whenever he should set foot in the city.

The building selected to hold the convention dated back to 1829. Located at Front and Low Streets, it had survived a disastrous fire and a destructive tornado. The scene of many notable events, the theater delighted Baltimoreans with concerts by Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale," and provided the setting for Stephen A. Douglas' nomination for President by the National Democratic Convention in 1860.

Four years later careful preparations by a city council committee converted the Front Street Theatre once again into a convention hall. Scenery and stage apparatus yielded to more practical adornments as workers floored over the entire parquette. Along with part of the stage, this provided space for seats for the delegates.

The private boxes on the stage were reserved for distinguished persons, including the mayor of Baltimore and Governor of the State. The delegates, their alternates, and members of the press got the exclusive right to the lower floor, while the dress circle was allocated to ladies in the company of gentlemen. The second and third tiers were opened to the public.

Decorations emphasized the "old flag," one of which measured 53 feet long by 35 feet wide. A reporter called it one of the Nation's largest. But what of the comforts of those in attendance? Knowing how hot Baltimore could get in June, some foresighted person arranged for the free dispensing of ice water. An additional service came from the American Telegraph Co., which placed three of its instruments in the theater along with a corps of competent operators.

The convention generated a heavy flow of visitors to Baltimore. Two of our best known hostelries, Barnum's Hotel and the Eutaw House, received most of the delegates. These men represented a wide cross section of political antecedents. There were War Democrats, Southern Unionists, and old anti-slavery men. They joined hands with Republicans, who dropped their name in the interest of wartime solidarity. The Baltimore assemblage assumed the more palatable title of National Union Convention.

At 11 o'clock on the morning of June 7 the doors of the Front Street Theater flung open. An awaiting throng rushed up the stairs to the public accommodations. Quickly the theater filled. As the noon hour neared, a band from Fort McHenry struck up a national air.

The convention came to order. The Reverend Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, temporary president of the convention, was introduced. This bearded, white-haired Presbyterian preacher and onetime lawyer and college president, spoke from a background of personal tragedy. Two sons were fighting for the Confederacy, yet the grizzled old warrior said that "the only imperishible cement of all free institutions has been the blood of traitors." Every rebel killed will add "to the life of the Government and the freedom of your children." Harsh, startling words, but the tall Kentuckian pressed on. Like a host of his fellow delegates, he loved the Constitution and saw it as a viable document, capable of being altered to suit the people. This right to change eliminated the need for revolution.

Yet America was in the midst of revolution, fed in part by a conscience long tormented by the great issue of slavery. This convention wanted it abolished. Breckinridge expressed his feeling by saying that he prayed God the day would come when "every man may be as free as you are."

That evening the brilliantly lighted theater presented a magnificant spectacle to those on the stage. Ex-Gov. William Dennison, of Ohio, assumed the presidency of the convention and addressed the audience with the customary allusions to slavery, rebellion, and Lincoln's forthcoming nomination. More business and a speech by Parson Brownlow of Tennessee followed. Apparently this was not enough to satisfy everybody, because after adjournment a large crowd hastened to Monument Square for additional oratory.

The next morning the Front Street Theater again filled. This was the day of decision for both platform and presidential ticket. First, though, the convention had to decide which of two delegations to admit from Missouri. One embodied radical, anti-Lincoln sentiment while the other clung to a more conservative, pro-Lincoln approach. The verdict went to the radicals by the overwhelming count of 440 to 4.

But this should not be considered too surprising when it is recognized that a large portion of the convention supported Lincoln with considerable reluctance. Nearly all of Maryland's delegation, though instructed to vote for Lincoln, were ready to show their opposition if they could hope thereby to accomplish something. But of course these men were too practical to fight the inevitable. Lincoln enjoyed too great popularity with the people.

Once the Missouri question was resolved, several Southern States gained convention seats, some with and some without the right to vote. This business settled, the convention adopted by acclamation a platform. The document called for unconditional surrender and the punishment of rebels and traitors, a statement indicative of postwar trials and hangings. This form of vindictiveness was not in keeping with Lincoln's wishes. Nor would the President have attacked his Cabinet officer, Montgomery Blair, a Marylander and conservative emancipationist. The platform writers, however, thrust their barbs at Blair, a renowned baiter of radicals.

The platform was less personal in calling for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. "Justice and the national safety" demanded this action. Other issues also attracted attention, such as the swift construction of a railroad to the west coast.

The platform approved, the convention turned to nominating a President of the United States. Though the result was assured, pandemonium broke loose. Frantically did one delegate after another seek the privilege of offering Lincoln's name. Rival motions snarled the convention into a parliamentary tangle. At last the nomination was properly made and seconded, whereupon one delegate, disappointed in his expectations of making the nomination himself, leaped on a settee and began speaking. Catcalls rang through the hall, but the enraged speaker continued to talk in the midst of such a hubbub that he could not be heard.

Then came the rollcall, which went smoothly and unanimously until the Missouri radicals cast their votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. Disapproving growls rumbled through the theater. The delegates apparently were content to show some of their displeasure with the President through the platform and admission of the Missouri radicals but thought it foolish to go further.

The vote continued. Before the announcement of the final tally of 484–22 could be made, a Missouri delegate moved that Lincoln's nomination be made unanimous. It was agreed amidst a wild flurry of applause. Pent-up enthusiasm burst its bonds. As one observer noted, "Men hurrahed, embraced one another, threw up their hats, danced in the aisles or on the platform, jumped on the benches, waved flags, yelled, and committed every possible extravagance. * * *" And when the big brass band burst out with "Hail, Columbia" the racket was so intolerable that this eyewitness raised his eyes to the roof to see if it were being lifted by the sound. Once quiet was restored, the band struck a lively rendition of "Yankee Doodle," sparking another outburst of enthusiasm.

Eventually the convention got back to work, giving its consideration to the Vice Presidency. Three candidates drew substantial strength on the first rollcall. Before it was over, a new bandwagon began moving. Several States switched their support to Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, giving him the prize. A few more items of business, and the convention adjourned.

That evening crowds thronged Monument Square. Baltimoreans got their chance to cheer the ticket of Lincoln and Johnson. Numerous speakers addressed the rally until late in the evening. The fortitude of our ancestors was astonishing, but then of course no radio, television, or movies competed for attention.

The next day a committee from the National Union Convention officially informed Lincoln of his nomination. The work of the Baltimore convention was finished.

Two Thousand American Christian Clergymen Protest Soviet Persecution of Jews

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House today the determined action of high-ranking officials of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches who were among 2,000 Christian clergymen joining with Jewish leaders in signing a protest against Soviet persecution of Russian Jews.

The protest is most timely, for the free world can no longer ignore the tragic state of affairs in the Soviet Union where Russians of the Jewish faith are being persecuted in ever increasing numbers.

It is tragic, Mr. Speaker, that less than 20 years after the end of World War II, we are again witnessing a resurgence of persecution of minority groups in Europe. It would appear that World War II, with all its brutality, would have left a sufficiently indelible memory of man's inhumanity toward his fellow man that savage pogroms would never again be repeated.

Yet, today, Mr. Speaker, reports emanating from within the Soviet Union prove beyond doubt that the ever diminishing colony of Jews in Russia is again suffering the inhumanities of religious persecution, this time at the hands of the Soviet Union.

The calamity that has befallen Russian Jewry is a grievous one. Soviet Russia's policy of suppression and intimidation of Jewish life will seal the doom of 3 million Jews within a few years.

The world has a right to demand that Soviet leaders order an immediate stop to these progroms of the Jews. Such a demand is justified when we consider the tremendous amount of help that the United States and its allies gave the Soviet Union in World War II during those perilous months when Nazi armies were storming through Russia. The help which the Soviet Union received from America alone, included efforts of all Americans, including large segments of the American population of Jewish faith.

The Soviet Union has tried to justify this wave of persecution against its Jewish citizens by charging them with so-called economic crimes against the state.

Mr. Speaker, the world surely can see how transparent is this Soviet ruse when the Kremlin's real purpose is to destroy the Jewish spirit in Russia.

It would be my hope that this appeal by 2,000 Christian clergymen will impress upon the Kremlin the fact that there cannot be any hope for world understanding so long as the Soviets persist in this uncivilized behavior.

The protest of these 2,000 American Christian clergymen, Mr. Speaker, stems from an earlier action taken by the Chicago Committee for Justice to Soviet Jewry. At the conclusion of the appeal issued by the 2,000 American Christian clergymen, Mr. Speaker, I am including additional memorandums prepared by the Chicago committee.

I hope this will serve to mobilize not only American but world opinion to the seriousness of the situation now existing in the Soviet Union. The world can no longer remain silent. Let us not be guilty again of the silence and indifference that were partly responsible for 6 million Jewish deaths at the hands of Hitler.

Mr. Speaker, the appeal of 2,000 clergymen protesting the persecuting of Jewish people in the Soviet Union follows:

TWO THOUSAND AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CLERGYMEN PROTEST SOVIET TREATMENT OF JEWS

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF., May 24.—High ranking officials of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches were among the 2,000 Christian clergy who joined this weekend with Jewish leaders in signing a protest against the Soviet treatment of Russian Jews.

The signers included three Cardinals, heads of several major Protestant denominations, and seven Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Catholic leaders were Francis Cardinal Spellman, Richard Cardinal Cushing, and Joseph Cardinal Ritter.

The protest, termed a "letter of conscience," will be presented to the State Department and to the U.S. delegation at the United Nations for transmittal to Moscow.

Other signers of the petition were Bishop R. H. Mueller, president of the National Council of Churches and president of the Board of Bishops of the Evangelical Church; Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke, president of the College of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. William McCorkle, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States; Dr. Edwin H. Teller, general secretary of the American Baptist Convetnion; Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Episcopal Diocese of Southern California and Arizona, and the Reverend Gaines M. Crooks, executive secretary of the Disciples of Christ, the denomination to which President Johnson belongs.

The text of the protest reads:

"Profoundly disturbed by authoritative reports of discriminatory and repressive treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, and affirming the universal moral principles of justice and brotherhood, I hereby join with other Americans in expressing grave concern. We appeal to Soviet authorities:

"1. To extend to Jews in the Soviet Union a full measure of equality to which they are entitled under the Soviet Constitution.

"2. To eradicate every vestige of anti-Semitism and to institute a vigorous campaign against all anti-Semitic manifestations.

"3. To permit the creation of central religious institutions to serve Soviet Jewry and to allow unrestricted worship and religious instruction for young and old.

"4. To allow formal religious and cultural bonds with Jewish communities abroad and to permit official exchange visits and religious pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

"5. To reopen Jewish cultural institutions and to permit the full expression of Jewish cultural life in Yiddish and Hebrew.

"6. To grant permission on a humanitarian basis to those Jews who have been separated from their loved ones by the Nazi holocaust to rejoin their families in other lands.

"7. To cease making Jews the scapegoat in the governmental campaign against economic crises in the Soviet Union.

"The essential dignity and quality of all men is an elementary religious and moral principle. So long as this principle is violated, I cannot in good conscience remain silent. I, therefore, solemnly subscribe to this urgent appeal."

Mr. Speaker, the memorandum prepared by the Chicago Committee for Justice to Soviet Jewry, Maurice Klinger, secretary and the Chicago Board of Rabbis, Rabbi Mordecai Simon, executive director, follows:

Jews of Chicago joined in special services and prayers in their synagogues, in behalf of the Jews in the Soviet Union, on Friday evening and Saturday morning, May 22–23.

The National Day of Prayer had been proclaimed for this date by the American Conference on Soviet Jewry. The call for local participation in this national effort to dramatize the dire plight of Soviet Jewry was issued by the Chicago Board of Rabbis in cooperation with the Chicago Committee for Justice to Soviet Jewry. The Chicago Board of Rabbis represents the three branches of Judaism in this area. The Committee for Justice to Soviet Jewry comprises the major Jewish organizations in Chicago, secular and religious.

The National Day of Prayer was the first in a series of coordinated actions by the Jews of America to publicize and protest the Soviet Government's discrimination and "the denial to Soviet Jews of the basic institutions and facilities granted to other religious and ethnic groups within the Soviet Government." This program of activity is the result of a conference on this subject attended by delegates from all major national and local Jewish organizations in the United States, held in Washington, D.C., on April 5 and 6. The conference issued an 18-point resolution directed to the Soviet Government and informing it that "considerations of humanity and justice" required it to—

1. Eradicate anti-Semitism by a vigorous educational effort conducted by government and party;

2. Permit the free functioning of synagogues and private prayer meetings;

3. Remove hindrances to the observance of sacred rites such as religious burial and circumcision;

4. Permit production and distribution of religious articles and calendars;

5. Restore facilities and permission to produce and distribute matzoh and kosher food;

6. Grant the right to publish Hebrew Bibles, prayer books, and other religious texts;

7. Permit synagogues in the U.S.S.R. to organize a nationwide federation;

8. Sanction the association of such a federation with organizations of their co-religionists abroad;

9. Permit Jews to make religious pilgrimages to Israel.

Also to—

10. Allow all qualified applicants to attend Moscow Holy Places and rabbinical seminaries, and to permit rabbinical students to study at seminaries abroad;

11. Provide schools and other facilities for the study of the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, and Jewish history and culture;

12. Permit Jewish writers, artists, and other intellectuals to create their own institutions for the encouragement of Jewish cultural and artistic life;

13. Reestablish a Yiddish publishing house to publish books in Yiddish by classical and contemporary Jewish writers;

14. Reestablish Yiddish state theaters and permit publication of a Yiddish-language newspaper with nationwide circulation;

15. Eliminate discrimination against Jews in all areas of Soviet public life;

16. End the anti-Semitic campaign in the press;

17. End the discriminatory application of the death penalty and other severe sentences imposed against Jews for economic crimes against the state;

18. Make it possible for Soviet Jews separated from their families as a result of Nazism to be reunited with their relatives, on humanitarian grounds.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SOVIET JEWRY

It had been thought at first that after his death there would be an easing of Stalin's systematic and vicious campaign to stamp out the Jewish religion and culture and to eliminate participation by Jews in the government and in the educational and cultural life of the Soviet Union.

While there has been a general easing of restrictive practices in other areas under Khrushchev, there has been little or no improvement in the Jewish situation. One indication of what has been happening in Jewish religious life is the serious decline in the number of Jewish houses of worship, from 3,000 synagogs at the time the Communist government first rose to power, to 450 in 1956 and to 96 in 1963. A case in point is what happened in Lvov, the capital of the Western Ukraine which has a population of about 30,000 Jews. In June 1962, the last remaining synagog in that city, where synagogs flourished for about 600 years, was demolished, after viciously anti-Semitic newspaper articles had attacked the synagog as an alleged black market center. Unlike all other major religions, religious Jews are forbidden to have a nationwide federation of synagogs, or to maintain any sort of official formal association with coreligionists abroad. Jewish Bibles and prayer books and other religious articles are not published or produced. The Jewish rabbinical seminary is a mockery and rabbinical students are banned from studying abroad.

The rich Yiddish cultural life of Soviet Jewry has also been systematically strangled. A culture, to which the Jews, as one of the many "nationalities" were entitled under Soviet law. In 1937 there were still hundreds of Yiddish schools, many Yiddish journals, theaters, clubs and other institutions. In 1948 Stalin began the final destruction of all Yiddish institutions, among them, the world famous Yiddish Art Theater, whose director, Solomon Mikhoels, was executed along with hundreds of other Yiddish intellectuals. No real steps have been taken under Khrushchev to improve the situation.

Anti-Semitism has been most evident in the government's crackdown on alleged economic crimes. Jews who represent only 1.09 percent of the total population have been given 55 to 60 percent of death sentences in such cases. Edward Crankshaw, the British authority on Soviet affairs, points out that "the highly theoretical (Soviet) system of centralized control * * * can be kept in being only if authority turns a blindish eye to the vast undercover dealings which enable producers to short-circuit bureaucratic channels and organize a distribution network of their own." The regime has to appear to protest these "gray market lubricants" to the economy. They achieve the appearance of cracking down by berating the Jews whom they accuse of being the culprits. This government activity is accompanied by a press campaign in which the synagog, as in the Lvov case, is depicted as the center of black market activities. This type of slander reached its height in a booklet recently published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, "Judaism Without Embellishment," which describes Jews in caricatures reminiscent of those which appeared under Hitler in the violently anti-Semitic newspaper "Der Stuermer," published by Julius Streicher.

Dr. Spencer Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, after more than 40 years of teaching and public service, Dr. Leland Spencer will retire from Cornell University's faculty at the end of this month. Truly one of the most outstanding figures in the dairy indunstry, Dr. Spencer has earned the respect and admiration of dairymen across the United States for his contributions to the improvement of milk marketing.

This evening in Syracuse, N.Y., hundreds of dairy leaders from throughout the New York-New Jersey milkshed will gather to honor Dr. Spencer at a testimonial dinner. Were it not for the legislative schedule in the House, I would be among those attending this dinner.

In paying tribute to Dr. Spencer, I would like to cite the significant help he has given me in recent months. Knowing of my interest in proposing legislation that would permit increased milk promotion under Federal milk marketing orders, Dr. Spencer afforded me the benefit of his considerable knowledge of market orders. It is fair to say that much of the philosophy which Dr. Spencer developed concerning market order amendments that would permit producers to determine whether they wished to approve a uniform deduction from their receipts to help finance the costs of milk advertising and promotion is embodied in my bill, H.R. 9731.

A brief, but comprehensive, review of Dr. Spencer's remarkable achievements over the past 40 years was published recently in the Metropolitan Milk Producers' News. I know my colleagues will enjoy reading this story about Dr. Spencer, which the Metropolitan Cooperative Milk Producers Bargaining Agency, Inc., prepared:

DR. SPENCER ANNOUNCES RETIREMENT: 40 YEARS AT CORNELL

Dr. Leland Spencer, a man whose name is at the top of the list in the field of milk marketing will retire July 1 from Cornell University, where he has taught and studied farm marketing problems more than 40 years.

Prominent throughout this country and in many parts of the world as a specialist in milk marketing, Dr. Spencer joined the New York State College of Agriculture in 1920 as an instructor. He became an assistant professor in 1924, and 2 years later was named professor of marketing.

In addition to his long professional association with Cornell, Spencer has held temporary positions at Massachusetts Agricultural College and the University of California.

His work at Cornell has included teaching of both graduate and undergraduate students, research, and extension work—all related primarily to economic aspects of pricing and distribution of milk. Many of his former students hold positions of leadership in the dairy industry, in university work, and in government agencies.

Spencer's services as economic analyst and consultant have been in wide demand by State and Federal agencies, as well as by farmer and dealer organizations in the milk industry.

His career has included special assignments with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, U.S. Tariff Commission, and the State departments of agriculture in New York and New Jersey. In 1932–33, he served with a joint legislative committee to investigate milk industry problems in New York State. He directed the committee's research program, prepared its report to the legislature and the governor, and assisted in drafting a milk control law which set the pattern for similar legislation in many other States. And in 1949 he was an official U.S. delegate to the World Dairy Congress in Stockholm, Sweden.

"But above all he has been a researcher and teacher in milk marketing," says Prof. Glenn W. Hedlund, head, Cornell Agricultural Economics Department, "and his other efforts and accomplishments grew from this."

Other examples of public service performed by Spencer include his membership on a committee appointed to study and revise the procedure for pricing milk in the New York-New Jersey area, in Washington, D.C., and British Columbia, and his membership on a committee to evaluate and recommend changes in the method of dealing with cooperatives under the Federal-State milk marketing order for New York-New Jersey. In 1961–62 he was a member of the committee appointed by Secretary Orville L. Freeman to review and evaluate the operation of Federal milk orders nationally. During the last 3 years, he has been a member of Governor Rockefeller's committee on milk marketing.

Hedlund calls him a careful and dedicated worker, setting high standards for his students but higher ones for himself.

Spencer's interest in the milk industry began at a young age. He spent his early life on a dairy farm in northern Pennsylvania, have been born in Tioga County, Pa. But he calls Elmira, N.Y., his hometown.

He was graduated from the College of Agriculture at Cornell with the B.S. degree in February 1918—just in time to enter World War I. He served with the U.S. Army in Europe, was involved in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and later in the Allied occupation of Germany. After his release from military service and a year of instructing at Massachusetts Agricultural College, he returned to Cornell for graduate study under Prof. William I. Myers and the late Prof. George F. Warren. His Ph. D. degree was awarded in 1923. Meanwhile, he was elected to the honor societies of Phi Kappa Phi and Sigma Xi.

Through his wide experiences in research, in supervising the work of graduate students, in consulting services, and in travel, Spencer has gained a close insight into milk marketing methods and problems at home and abroad. In 1949, after participating in the World Dairy Congress at Stockholm, he attended the International Conference of Agricultural Economists in Italy. That same year he visited 12 countries of Western Europe, studying their methods of pricing and distributing milk. Out of this experience came publications on milk marketing in Sweden and Great Britain.

His research has dealt with practically all phases of milk marketing, including demand, supply, costs and efficiency, pricing arrangements and policies, and regulatory programs. He is considered a leading authority in each of these fields.

Regarding demand studies. he recently finished a long-term investigation of consumption of fluid milk and cream in the New York market and northern New Jersey. This project, as in the case of much of his work, was completed and published jointly with one of his graduate students. It stimulated his interest in arrangements for promoting increased sales and consumption

of milk which he proceeded to investigate nationally. The results were published last January, and Spencer was invited to present the findings at the recent annual meetings of both the National Dairy Council and American Dairy Association.

His current national study of milk supplies for Federal order markets is an example of his work in supply. As for costs and efficiency, he conducted an extensive study of the distribution of milk in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area during the World War II period. The work was carried out under a special grant of funds by the milk industry to the College of Agriculture. This enabled the college to employ a firm of public accountants to work under Spencer's direction in compiling and analyzing data. A specific purpose was to evaluate savings brought about by wartime adjustments in distribution practices—notably every-other-day delivery. The findings had an important bearing on the decision to continue every-other-day delivery and other economic practices, and to adopt the 5-day workweek for milk company employees—not only in New York, but throughout the Nation.

In the field of regulatory programs, one of his major projects was a regional study of milk control programs in the Northeastern States. This resulted in a two-volume publication authored jointly with a former graduate student.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying the civil rights bill is the most important piece of legislation the Congress will consider during this session.

I have on many occasions expressed my total opposition to the bill, believing it to be unwarranted and unnecessary. I also firmly believe in States rights and that the Federal Government should not, under any circumstances, usurp these rights.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that there are many citizens of this great Nation of ours that do not realize what this bill can do to them should it become law. For this reason, Mr. Speaker, under permission I insert into the RECORD a series of articles written by Charles McWilliams, a veteran of 20 years reporting and editing the news in Ohio, Arizona, Texas, New York, and Alabama. These articles commenced on February 20, 1964, and ended on March 1, 1964, and were based almost wholly on the debate in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, the Mobile Press-Register, feeling an obligation to inform its readers of the contents of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, set about to produce the series written by Mr. McWilliams on this vastly important and complicated legislation which, if enacted, would touch the private lives of every American.

These articles were reprinted by the Mobile Press-Register and distribution made by the Mobile Junior Chamber of Commerce.

I believe that the insertion of these articles in the RECORD will aid materially in assisting the people of our great Nation to more fully understand the proposed legislation, and wish to express my thanks to Mr. McWilliams and the Mobile Press-Register for undertaking this task, as well as the Junior Chamber of Commerce for the port city of Mobile for the distribution of the material.

The articles follow:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

INTRODUCTION: CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

It's called the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But its critics predict it will produce far more "civil wrongs" than rights.

It was whipped through the House of Representatives in 10 days of debate. Ramrods for the measure were EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, and WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio. These legislators were backed by a huge and well-financed lobby of Negroes, industrial unionists, and churchmen who kept up a constant pressure on the coalition of liberal northern Democrats and Republicans. The White House and Justice Department were active, too.

Bill now in Senate

The bill has been delivered to the Senate almost as the liberal-leaning subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee wrote it. There the only hope of opponents is to obtain concessions via filibuster.

However, the same powerful forces that forged the House coalition and kept it from splitting will now be brought to bear on Senators from non-Southern States. Already CORE leader James Farmer has threatened demonstrations in Illinois unless Senate minority leader EVERETT DIRKSEN drops his opposition to the public accommodations section.

In order to acquaint its readers with the provisions of this bill which will affect the personal lives of all Americans, the Mobile Press is presenting this as the first in a series of analyses of the bill. Others will follow daily in the Press and on Sunday in the Press Register. Source of commentary on the bill in its various sections or "titles" will be the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the House debate, plus verbiage from the bill itself.

Jury trials are denied

Before taking the bill up title by title, starting with one concerning voting rights in the next article tomorrow, attention is here given the most startling and frightening aspect of the measure—its administration and enforcement.

Taking heed of the failure of prohibition—when juries refused to convict—the wily framers of the so-called civil rights bill avoided punitive clauses. Violations of the bill are not punishable by criminal prosecution. Instead, the bill employs the contempt authority of the Federal courts to force compliance.

Any citizen who resists the Federal will as expressed in the bill may be sentenced to prison—up to life—without a trial by jury. Under some titles the authority of the judge is unlimited. In the case of title II—public accommodations—he can sentence a violator only to 45 days * * * but there's no limit on the number of 45-day sentences and $300 fines he can impose successively.

There shall be no habeas corpus for the person thus summarily jailed, and there will be no appeal from the judge's imprisonment order.

What is more, in the legal proceedings leading up to the issuance of a court order, the accused violator can be required to give testimony against himself. Thus, the fifth amendment, behind which so many Communists and criminals have taken refuge, will be denied the citizen who wishes merely to continue living and doing as he has done all his life.

Rights limited

Other rights are forbidden, limited, or endangered.

Among those is the right of an operator of a hotel, restaurant, or theater to decide whom he shall serve and whom he shall not serve.

Another is the right of any employer to determine whom he shall hire, promote, discipline, or fire.

Unthinkable as it may seem, there are portions of the bill that deny the basic rights of free speech and free press.

And the very existence of the free enterprise system will be weakened as racial agitators and Federal agents are empowered to harass a businessman out of business.

All of this is justified by promoters of the bill to eliminate racial discrimination and promote integration. Some assert this bill doesn't go far enough.

An Ohio Republican who opposed the bill told the House in predicting future moves by zealous liberals: "It will be suggested seriously—it has been in private circles—that the next logical step—to achieve this thing called civil rights—will be a Federal law which makes it a Federal offense to move out of an integrated neighborhood. How else can we achieve integration, it will be said."

Housing measure

Pending in Congress under the guise of President Johnson's "war on poverty" is a Federal housing bill that will grant an agency headed by a Negro the authority to buy existing houses with tax funds, renovate them with tax funds, and rent them below cost to "low-income families." No restriction is placed on where these houses are located, so that every neighborhood, subdivision, and suburb is menaced.

The same Ohioan took alarm at the title on school integration, expressing the fear that Federal courts soon will be forcing mergers of school districts as well as of enrollments within existing districts to achieve "racial balance," and the expense be hanged. He foresees Federal dictation of school curriculums and regimentation of private lives.

Voting registrars, school officials, hotel, restaurant and theater operators, and employers are not alone imperiled by this legislation.

Anyone who encourages someone else to resist Federal dictation, or discourages a racial, religious or ethnic minority member from demanding service, can be enjoined, and, if he persists, imprisoned.

An editorial condemning a court's action and urging resistance, or a letter-to-the-editor along those lines, can place the writer in contempt.

"Reasonable" grounds

In fact, under one provision of the public accommodations title, a person need not have done any of these things, and he can still be enjoined and placed in peril of contempt if an "aggrieved person" or the Attorney General finds "reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any (such) act or practice prohibited by (this) section."

Late in the House debate, it was brought out that the bill's promoters, including the Justice Department, had given assurances to non-Southern States' representatives that the drastic measures would not be applied in their States.

Charged Mississippi's JOHN BELL WILLIAMS:

"I am indebted to the gentleman from Washington for letting the cat out of the bag by revealing why there is near unanimous Republican support of this bill. Apparently the ranking Republican (MCCULLOCH) * * * and the Justice Department are making the rounds assuring Members outside the South that the bill will have no effect on the people

in their States * * * those tactics point up the hypocrisy of this measure. Members are reassured that only the South will be affected."

In the same vein, WILLIAMS questioned the effectiveness of such legislation.

What is prejudice?

"In New York, the home of the chairman (CELLER) * * * I find that liberally integrated State sends nine times as many Negroes (per capita) to prison as it does whites. Now that State has on the books all the antidiscrimination laws ever thought up. Why, it is even prejudice within itself to call a New Yorker prejudiced. So some time I would like for my enlightened friend from New York to explain to me why the Negro crime rate there is nine times the white."

WILLIAMS concedes:

"An oppressive majority may succeed in passing punitive legislation aimed at one region because it is politically popular to do so. But I can assure all of you that as the South solved this legislative problem once before, it will be done again. I am sorry that some people will have to suffer in the meantime.

"The South has overcome many obstacles—political, social, and economic. Agitators may think they are in the saddle now, but a rude awakening awaits them. When they become political albatrosses—and surely they will—those who now embrace them will despise them.

"Time cures many things. We in the South have the patience to wait until public opinion manifests support for our position. It will not be long. When that hour comes, our representative form of government will have passed one more crucial test.

"* * * this bill is literally crawling with vermin, snakes and worms of every sort and kind * * * (it) should be defeated in the interest of future generations of Americans who have the same right to enjoy the freedoms that we inherited from our fathers before us."

TITLE I. VOTING RIGHTS

It's called The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Its full title, as amended in the House of Representatives, reads:

"A bill to enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes."

The bill contains 11 sections or titles.

Title I deals with voting rights.

It requires that in determining a person's qualifications to vote in any Federal election, a State may not "apply any standard, practice or procedure" different from those applied to others "who have been found" qualified to vote.

Literacy tests

It forbids denial of registration because "of an error or omission (on an application form, which) * * * is not material" in determining qualifications.

It requires that any literacy test be administered in writing, or if orally that a transcript be made, and that a certified copy of the test and the answers furnished to the applicant within 25 days.

It further requires that where a literacy test is used, "there shall be a 'rebuttable presumption' that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a public (or otherwise accredited) school * * * possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

The section defines "Federal election" as "any general, special, or primary election held solely 'or in part' for the purpose of electing * * * (a) * * * President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or * * * House of Representatives."

Power for Kennedy

Title I also grants to U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy the option of filing a voting rights suit in the court of the district judge of the area, or with a three-judge court to be selected by the chief judge of the circuit. This paragraph also requires the courts to act on such suit "at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

The title proposes to extend the power of the Federal Government in matters pertaining to voting far beyond the powers bestowed by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Numerous amendments were proposed, but few were adopted in the strenuous House debate on the title.

Most bitterly assailed was the provision allowing the Attorney General to "shop around" for Federal judges friendly to the administration's views.

One of the bill's authors candidly admitted that the provision was written into the act because he was taught in law school that "the best place to file a lawsuit was in the court of a favorable judge."

Provisions blasted

But two Mississippi Congressmen, Representatives THOMAS G. ABERNETHY and JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, disclosed the real intent of the provision.

"The region of the fifth court of appeals is the area where they (the bill's authors) expect most of these cases to be tried. The chief judge of that court is the man they are attempting to reach. And I do not mind calling his name—everyone knows the judge—Judge Elbert P. Tuttle (of Atlanta). He was charged last year by one of the associate members of his own bench with stacking almost every three-judge court that he assembled," stated ABERNETHY.

Williams then submitted Judge Ben Cameron's formal denunciation of the fifth circuit's chief judge.

Judge Cameron cited the record showing that in 25 civil rights cases heard by three-judge panels, "the majority of the panel in 22 of them was composed of some combination of the 4 who constitute a minority of the (9) active judges. In only two cases did two of the remaining five members of the court sit together."

Judge Cameron continued: "Of the circuit judges of this circuit, the 4 sat 55 times; the other 5 sat 12 times. The 4 wrote 23 of the 25 opinions * * *."

Four judges named

Judge Cameron named the four as Judge Tuttle, Judge Richard Rives, of Montgomery, Judge John R. Brown, of Houston, and Judge John Minor Wisdom, of New Orleans.

Proponents of the bill denied the charge that they sought "stacked courts" for the trial of voting rights cases. They said their objective in providing for three-judge courts was to expedite final decisions in those cases. They noted that appeals from a three-judge court would be directly to the U.S. Supreme Court, thereby reducing appeals time.

Foes of the measure assailed the priority given voting rights cases in the courts. It was pointed out that case backlogs of 2 to 4 years already exist in the Federal courts and challenged the justice of placing new voting rights suits ahead of lawsuits pending for many months or years.

Despite the disclosure of Judge Tuttle's consistent "gerrymander" of three-judge courts which would allow the Attorney General in effect to select his own judges, the House voted 176 to 125 to retain the provision. The House did agree to allow defendants in voting cases to demand three-judge panels, but this is an empty option since the judges would be appointed by Judge Tuttle.

Sixth grade education

The establishment of a sixth grade education as a qualification for voting, literacy test results to the contrary notwithstanding, also survived debate and a vote.

The provision does not require a sixth grade education, nor does it say flatly that a sixth grade education suffices as a qualification. The authors employed a legalism—"rebuttable presumption." This has the effect of shifting the burden of proof from the applicant to the voter registrar. In debate, supporters explained that an applicant who advised a registrar that he had completed 6 years of schooling would then enjoy the "presumption" of being qualified. So, instead of the applicant having to prove his qualifications by passing a literacy test, the registrar would have to prove him disqualified by virtue of the test or any other means available. There is no requirement that the applicant even prove he'd passed six grades.

The argument that a good many pupils are "pushed through" the grades despite their failure to grasp the educational material offered them did not dissuade a majority of the House.

Federal election

The definition of a Federal election as one "held solely 'or in part' for the purpose of electing" to Federal office drew criticism, but remained in the bill.

It was noted that in elections in which Federal, State, and local offices are filled, the words "or in part" would establish the Federal voter qualifications for non-Federal offices. This was assailed as violative of the Constitution and clearly outside the jurisdiction of Congress.

It was claimed by the bill's opponents that in the Constitution "in every instance, both in Federal and State elections, only the State has authority to determine the qualification of voters." Title I will change this, and the bill's opponents conceded there was small chance the present members of the U.S. Supreme Court would upset it.

Apparently the only citizens whose liberty may be menaced by this title are those who serve as voter registrars. Should they be charged with violations of the act's provisions, and should those charges be sustained in Federal court, an injunction against further discrimination would be issued.

No trial by jury

Then, should the same registrar be charged with further violations, he could be brought before a Federal judge for a hearing. The registrar would not be entitled to demand a trial by jury because, technically, the proceeding against him is civil, not criminal.

But if the judge alone found he had violated the court's earlier orders in any respect, he could order the registrar to jail. Unlike the 1957 voting rights bill, title I places no limitation on the contempt sentence the judge can impose.

There was considerable discussion about what judge would preside at a contempt hearing involving an alleged violation of an order of a three-judge court. This was not cleared up in the House debate.

But what is clear is that a voter registrar so imprisoned without trial by jury could not appeal his sentence or initiate habeas corpus proceedings. He would be stuck in jail until, in the opinion of the sentencing judge, he had "purged himself of contempt" and agreed to abide strictly by the court's directives.

Tombstone voting

A Texas Congressman offered an amendment that would enlist Federal authority to halt "tombstone voting." This was defined as the casting of votes in the names of people who are dead, long a practice of corrupt

political machines, and a chief mechanism in the estimated 1 million "stolen votes" cast in every national election.

This produced an interesting and enlightening protest from one who supported the voting rights outlined in title I.

Said this New York legislator: (title I) proposes * * * to involve the Federal Government in an area where there has been a clear demonstration that States and localities have not been able to do right by a certain segment of the population.

"The gentleman from Texas proposes an amendment that is going to put the Federal Government and the Federal courts in a great many areas where your Committee on the Judiciary has not intended it to go."

Bill aimed at South

The House majority of northern Democrats and liberal Republicans refused to outlaw "tombstone voting" in Federal elections.

However, the New York legislator did make it crystal clear that the bill under discussion was aimed at the South, not at the corrupt voting practices normally associated with big city politics.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Title II of the half-enacted "Civil Rights Act of 1964" is the notorious "public accommodations" section.

It applies directly to the private, tax-paying owners of places termed "public accommodations," and commands that they serve "all persons * * * without discrimination or segregation on ground of race, color, religion, or national origin."

The bill defines "public accommodations" thusly:

"Any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests * * * except (1) * * * a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent * * * and * * * which is actually occupied by the proprietor * * * as his residence.

"Any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises.

"Any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment."

Missing, perhaps significantly, are places offering only alcoholic refreshment. Such saloon-like establishments are forbidden in most Southern States, but are numerous in the North.

Specifically excluded from the act are "bona fide" private clubs, including the swank country clubs in which the wealthy "arm's length liberals" of the North have long taken refuge. At these clubs, members, their wives, and children can frolic in blissful segregation, untouched by the violence that has made jungles of integrated public parks, pools, and playgrounds.

Enforcement, of the act is placed in the hands of the Attorney General, and the court of original jurisdiction is the Federal district court.

An operator of a place of "public accommodation" may be enjoined against discriminating, and once enjoined may upon further violation be jailed by a Federal judge without trial by jury or right of appeal. And in jail he must stay—up to 45 days under this title, or until he purges himself of contempt in the opinion of the committing judge. At the end of a 45-day imprisonment, the accused businessman may be brought again before the Federal judge. Should he still uphold his once unquestioned right to serve only those customers he pleased to serve, he could be sent back for another 45 days * * * and this could go on, in the case of a very stubborn man, for life.

But proprietors of such establishments are not the only persons who can be sent to jail—without trial by jury or right of appeal—under this title.

Threatens free speech

Section 203 of this act is held particularly objectionable by its critics, who assert that it menaces the rights of freedom of press and speech. It reads:

"No persons shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person (use of the privately owned public accommodations); or (b) intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person with the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege (at these tax-paying places of public accommodation); or (c) punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any right or privilege (to service); or (d) incite or aid or abet any person to do any of the foregoing."

But that isn't all.

The next section (204) provides "(a) whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted (1) by the person aggrieved, or (2) by the Attorney General."

Jail for pickets?

Thus, anyone who pickets a hotel, restaurant, or theater for serving Negroes, or of whom there are reasonable grounds to believe that he is about to picket such a place may find himself enjoined, and thereafter subject to imprisonment for contempt * * * without trial by jury or right of appeal.

If a person should write an editorial critical of this law (if it becomes law) and in it encourage defiance of it on constitutional grounds * * * or if someone should write a letter to the editor along such lines * * * he, too, would become subject to a Federal injunction and imprisonment on orders of a judge * * * for exercising his right to freedom of press.

Conceivably a person overheard urging a businessman to withhold service from one of the bill's favored minorities could be enjoined and made subject to arrest and imprisonment.

An Ohio Republican, Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, who voted against the bill, delivered a devastating, 1-hour denunciation of it as an unwarranted extension of Federal power over the private lives of citizens.

Of the public accommodations title ASHBROOK declared:

"When we had courts which were more interested in law than (in) the election returns and nonlegal values, it was held—

" 'We had supposed that it was elementary law that a trader could buy from whom he pleased and sell to whom he pleased, and that his selection of seller and buyer was wholly his own concern.' "

The Ohioan cited a 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision pertaining to the effect of the 14th amendment:

" 'That amendment creates no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful.' "

Yet, the framers of title II base their bill in part on the 14th amendment, and in part on Federal authority over "interstate commerce."

A U.S. Supreme Court decision rendered last May 20 apparently gave the bill's backers a key—however farfetched—to applying the 14th amendment to corner drugstores, boardinghouses with more than five rooms to let, and neighborhood theaters.

Stated the Court: "It cannot be disputed that under our decision private conduct abridging individual rights does no violence to the equal protection clause (of the 14th amendment) unless to some significant extent the State in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved in it."

Integrationists asserted that a State became "significantly involved" in the operation of a business when it required that the business be licensed.

But in a still later decision, ASHBROOK noted, involving the Howard Johnson restaurants in Virginia, the Court held:

"This argument fails to observe the important distinction between (segregation) activities that are required by the State and those which are carried out by voluntary choice and without compulsion by the people of the State in accordance with their own desires and social practices. Unless these actions are performed in obedience to some positive provisions of State law, they do not furnish a basis for the pending complaint. The license laws of Virginia do not fill the void."

Federal control

It remains to be seen whether the Warren court will hold to that decision when the public accommodations section, if passed by the Senate and signed by President Johnson, is tested in the courts.

As to the Federal power to regulate interstate commerce, and hence the corner drugstore, a large roominghouse, and the neighborhood theater, Representative ASHBROOK has misgivings.

He noted with alarm the trend of Court decisions and legislation over the past 50 years to broaden the scope of the interstate commerce clause.

"The steps up to now had been gradual," the Ohio lawmaker said, "but here we see one fell swoop which will accomplish more in the direction of Federal control than all the past interpretations by the Court put together."

It was reported that when the Justice Department was drafting the bill last summer, Chief Justice Earl Warren pleaded with attorneys not to attempt to invoke the 14th amendment in public accommodations. According to this report, it was he who recommended pegging the title on the interstate commerce clause.

Property rights

If true, then the Chief Justice has already ruled favorably on this drastic extension of Federal authority over the operations of even the smallest businesses under guise of regulating interstate commerce.

In this connection, Representative ASHBROOK waxed eloquent in upholding the necessity of property rights to the maintenance of human rights.

"When everything becomes public and the private use and enjoyment of property are abrogated, you are indeed a slave of the state, bound to the whims and fancy of those who are supposed to serve us.

"When the day comes that all business comes under conclusive Government control of this nature, you might as well fold up the free enterprise system.

"If this bill passes, I cannot imagine an activity of our citizens, whether it be in a private or a business capacity, which will not ultimately come under the commerce clause. Couple this with the control which can follow the expenditure of some $100 billion by the Federal Government, and an entirely new complexion is added to our way of life."

Southern Congressmen were just as forthright and eloquent in denouncing the bill as was Ohio's ASHBROOK, but he was quoted here to assure readers that there are some wise and courageous men outside the Southland. That most nonsouthern legislators lacked ASHMORE's courage was claimed again and again on the floor of the House as the bill's opponents declared that on a secret ballot, "the bill wouldn't receive 50 favorable votes." This claim was disputed only weakly by rabid race mixers. Yet, the final vote

was 290 to 130, attesting to the overwhelming strength of the racial-labor-church lobby which intimidated the timid among the Nation's lawmakers.

TITLE III. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 makes services of tax-paid Justice Department lawyers available to any member of a racial, religious, or ethnic minority who claims he has been denied full enjoyment of any public facility.

The title also confers wide latitude to the NAACP, CORE, and any other organization dedicated to racial equality at any price.

At the same time, title III denies, to the public officials or employees accused of discriminating, the basic, legal right to confront their accusers.

It's entitled, "Desegregation of Public Facilities."

Its first section provides "(a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied access to or full and complete utilization of any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof * * * and the Attorney General certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the public policy of the United States favoring the orderly progress of desegregation in public facilities, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder," and (b) "The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate meaning of subsection (a) * * * when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the employment or economic standing of, or might result in injury or economic damage to, such person or persons, their families, or their property."

Intervention OK'd

The title goes on to authorize the Attorney General to intervene in any privately initiated case, make the United States liable for court costs "the same as a private person," and to assure that the bill in no way "shall affect adversely" any suits privately filed to obtain relief similar to that sought in this title.

There is no provision for trial by jury for anyone accused by Government or private lawyers under this title, and, of course, no appeal of a prison sentence or any length the Federal judge desires to impose.

The Attorney General is empowered to "shop around" for a judge favorable to administration objectives, one who "can be depended upon" to further the Justice Department's objectives.

As pointed out by Representative BRUCE ALGER, Republican, of Texas, "an amendment to permit the Attorney General to act only on a signed complaint was defeated * * *." Thus, the identities of many of those who bring legal actions may never be known.

ALGER refers to the complaint filed with the court. The title does provide that a complaint made by an individual to the Justice Department be signed, but empowers the Attorney General "whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the employment or economic standing of, or might result in injury or economic damage to, such person or person, their families, or their property."

The findings of the Attorney General in determining whether to supply free legal services and whether to withhold the complainant's name are final.

It is not at all inconceivable that a zealous and ambitious Justice Department integrationist could himself, on his own, initiate such suit in the name of a nonexistent or recruited complainant.

Librarians, park supervisors, swimming pool managers, playground leaders, building superintendents, restaurant concessionaires are others who are accused of discrimination will find that their legal adversary is the United States, with its unlimited resources of manpower and money, and that the arena is a Federal court presided over by a judge of the accuser's choosing. The judge will sit in judgment without a jury. If it's a contempt action, the handpicked judge will fix sentence which may not be appealed.

Under this title, Governors, State department heads, and mayors may find themselves enjoined time and time again in harassing actions by bureaucrats intent on building status by impressing superiors.

Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Republican, of Ohio, was referring to the act as a whole and to the frightening extension of the powers of the Attorney General when he declared:

"I listened intently to the entire House debate on the bill. Never did I hear any reasonable estimate of just how far this bill could go. Never was it said 'the bill goes this far and no further.' Broader coverage could not be imagined. This 50-page bill is truly a bureaucrat's dream.

"Where there is a will bureaucrats always find a way through stretching the interpretation of a word or just plain grabbing the ball and running.

"Time and time again we heard it said that although there was wide discretion authorized under this bill, the Attorney General, for example, would never do this or that.

"This runs counter to history. Powers granted have been powers used at a later time. History has not changed; human nature has not changed. Powers granted have rarely been recovered by the Congress or the people. * * * Here we see a concentration which takes it away from State and local government to the Federal level, and at the Federal level it is abdicated by the legislature and concentrated into the executive department.

"This is a double assault on our constitutional system, and '1984' is only 20 years away.

"* * * In this bill, the Attorney General receives powers never even contemplated before * * * he can now institute suits under title II, public accommodations; under the public facilities (title III), the public education title, and under the unlawful employment practices—FEPC—section of the bill.

"* * * We would find a basic abolition of the doctrine of administrative and legal remedies. Further, in making a determination relative to the financial inability of the private citizen to maintain his own lawsuit, there would be absolutely no opportunity for either administrative or judicial review of the Attorney General's decision once made."

Representative ASHBROOK questions the motives and the justification given by the bill's proponents for the attack on a deeply entrenched way of life and the means taken to alter it.

"A community which allows organized gambling to flourish, or the law to be flouted in corruption and wrongdoing, cannot have its dirty linen cleaned by pointing with pride to the fact that they do not have racial problems.

"All forms of conduct of this type, whether manifested in vote frauds, city hall corruption, or racial bigotry is of the same gender.

"All too many northern cities allow the former two of these three social blights to occur, and then point an accusing finger at cities which have segregation and say, 'See, there is a cancer.'

"Just as it would not help to destroy local law enforcement and charge the Attorney General with the power to conduct all elections and investigate all crime on all levels, the same deleterious effect can be accomplished by empowering the Central Government to promulgate rules and regulations and supervise racial relations.

"This bill is an attempt to do by force what can only be done by logic and reason.

"It is * * * said that H.R. 7152 (the rights bill) is necessary to unify this great Nation. This Nation is unified, but it has become great more properly because of its diversity. If respect for diversity and for individual choice and preference in choosing associates and determining use of private property is maintained, our great free system will prevail.

"Freedom is never lost at one time. It is chipped away by myriad forces, and frequently this will be done in the name of unity.

"This is what the Supreme Court meant * * * when it said:

" 'The Roman drive to stamp out Christianity as a disturber to its pagan unity, the Inquisition as a means to religious and dynastic unity, the Siberian exiles as a means to Russian unity' (all failed).

"Concluded the court:

" 'Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard.'

"Breaking down individual freedoms has always been a poor way of achieving unity, and it will continue to be.

"If it is alleged that people are intolerant and unfair, let it be understood that there is no intolerance and injustice which can match that of an all-powerful government in the hands of men bent on imposing their will on a free people.

"Government is an impersonal thing which cannot wrong anybody. Men, acting under cloak of government authority, can. This is what George Washington meant when he said:

" 'Government is not reason, it is not eloquence. It is force. Like fire, it is a dangerous and fearful master'."

So spoke a Yankee Congressman.

TITLE IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION

Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 proposes to expedite the desegregation of public education by employing Federal funds and Federal force to "further the public policy of the United States."

Opponents term these "bribery and bayonets."

The title provides for a "survey * * * concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public education institutions at all levels in the United States * * *" to be completed by the U.S. Commissioner of Education within 2 years and reported to the President and the Congress.

Critics of the bill hold it is a foregone conclusion that the survey will reveal "widespread discrimination," and will call for establishment of "racial balance" in school enrollments, justifying drastic Federal action.

Sections 403, 404, and 405 offer those school systems attempting to comply with the Federal will, technical assistance, training institutes, and financial grants.

These services and funds are made available to help these schools cope "with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation."

Included as "technical assistance" are information regarding effective methods of coping with desegregation problems and "personnel of the (U.S.) Office of Education or other persons specially equipped to advise and assist * * * in coping with such problems."

Therein lies opportunity for drastic growth of this Federal bureau, its staff, and payroll.

Training institutes are to be set up through Federal grants or contracts with universities for operation of short-term or regular session "institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special education problems occasioned by desegregation."

There's something in it for teaching personnel who collaborate in this transformation.

"Individuals who attend such an institute may be paid 'stipends' for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the (U.S.) Commissioner (of Education) in regulations, including allowances for dependents and including allowances for travel. * * *"

Under grants, the Federal Government offers "to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of (1) giving to teachers and other school personnel 'inservice' training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and (2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation."

Broad guidelines are laid down for the Commissioner in deciding where to invest Federal desegregation funds and whether to pay them "in advance, or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments" as he might determine.

Sections 407, 408, and 409 of title IV give to the Attorney General the same powers and authority in desegregating schools that title II gave him in desegregating public facilities.

The Attorney General's legal regiments are made available to anyone claiming injury by reason of segregation in the schools, and provides for prosecution of such cases in the name of the United States at taxpayer expense.

School officials singled out in these actions may be required to give evidence against themselves (denial of the fifth amendment protection); may be denied the opportunity to confront their accusers; will be denied right of trial by jury, and may be imprisoned without right of appeal.

"The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder."

This might well include the local newspaper, or the local citizens' council leader, or any individual who voices opposition to compulsory mixing of races in the schools. There is nothing to prevent it.

Mississippi's Representative ARTHUR WINSTEAD, of Philadelphia, delivered a stinging denunciation of the entire Civil Rights Act of 1964.

He declared: "This bill, if enacted and sustained by the courts, would signify the end of any semblance of federalism, private property, freedom of contract, and individual liberty. I was elected to office to uphold the Constitution, not to bury it."

Of title IV, Representative WINSTEAD denounced the offer of assistance in meeting the problems caused by desegregation as "a bribe designed to obscure a further intrusion by the Federal Government into public education."

He continued: "I defy any Member of this House to find a provision in the Constitution which delegates to the Federal Government any role, however minor, in the area of public education. I confidently predict that if enacted, not one single State will rise to take the bait behind which lurks the barbed hook of Federal intervention."

Title IV grants to the U.S. Commissioner of Education the authority to determine whether to make a grant, and to fix the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made."

Continues Representative WINSTEAD: "The administration * * * in its relations with people, and now * * * in its relations with the Congress, has pursued a policy of divide and conquer.

"This title is unnecessary, unwarranted, and unjustifiable. It is a typical example of Federal power grabbing at the expense of the several States. It is a direct attack on the independence of the State. It is based on the fallacious premise that all justice and wisdom reside in the Federal Government; a premise rejected out of hand by the Founding Fathers.

"This proposal would enlarge the Department of Justice and make it an adjunct of NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and similar agitating groups. I do not think the public is aware of the extent to which they have been paying for the legal services of these and similar groups responsible for this wave of unrest. Justice and fairness dictate that we put an end to this outrageous use of public funds.

"I defy any Member to demonstrate the existence of any moral code at any time in history which sanctioned the use of funds derived from the hard efforts of the vast majority of citizens, and spent for the benefit of lawless agitators. Commonsense and decency call for an end to this plundering of the public Treasury.

"A true love of liberty requires that this demand for universal power in the hands of a single individual be nipped in the bud."

While reflecting the northern view that public schools should be available to all children without discrimination, Ohio's Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK vigorously attacked title IV for the threat it poses of Federal control and establishment of a "racial balance" concept in assigning children to schools.

ASHBROOK said he joined Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, in ateempting to define the term "desegregation" to prevent "bureaucratic interpretations which would equate racial imbalance in schools to segregation."

He continued, "There is no doubt in my mind that this is one of the basic goals of civil rights groups. We already hear reference to 'de facto segregation' which, in lawyer's language, means literally that a school is in fact segregated when for any reason it is overwhelmingly white or colored."

Of the survey which the U.S. Commissioner of Education is commanded to make of the Nation's schools, Representative ASHBROOK states, "It is a foregone conclusion that racial balance will be at the heart of their recommendations."

Then ASHBROOK proceeded to quote from a "not so mythical" Supreme Court decision of the future, styled: "Attorney General versus Johnstown-Monroe Local Board of Education." That is the school district in his hometown of Johnstown, Ohio, a short distance east of Columbus.

Using language taken directly from prior decisions of the Supreme Court and from the current board of education in New York City, ASHBROOK predicted that the Court one day soon will merge his town's independent school district with that of the State's capital.

The objective will be to transfer 200 white students in the nearly all-white (2,332 out of 2,345) Johnstown School to Columbus East High School, and transferring 200 Negroes from that predominantly Negro enrollment out to Johnstown * * * this in spite of the fact that at present the two school districts are separate and distinct entities. He foresees "shotgun marriages" of such school districts to attain "equitable" racial balance. Such a ruling would shake and arouse the North, where parents of means live in smug segregation in all-white suburbs and their children attend all-white neighborhood schools.

TITLE V. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Title V of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 extends the life of the controversial Commission on Civil Rights for another 4 years and broadens its scope.

With a significant exception, the act would reinforce the Commission's subpena powers, boost the pay of Commission members and expert witnesses, and grant to the Commission "power to make such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to carry out the purpose of this act."

The Commission on Civil Rights was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which authorized its operations for 2 years. Its lease was extended in 1959 and again in 1961. Last year it actually expired until its supporters in Congress breathed new life into it with emergency legislation.

According to its 1961 report, which was published in five paperback volumes, the Commission was directed by Congress to:

"Investigate formal allegations that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin;

"Study and collect information concerning legal developments which constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

"Appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

Interim reports

"Prepare and submit interim reports to the President and the Congress, and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings and recommendations by September 9, 1961."

The five volumes are entitled "Voting," "Education," "Employment," "Housing," and "Justice."

Within these volumes one may find the basis for much that is in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although the subject matter treated is entirely one-sided, the Commission did not go so far in some of its recommendations as did the members of the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee who authored the current bill.

Voter referees

In the field of voting, the Commission recommended appointment by Federal courts of "voter referees" to take over registration of voters in counties cited by the Commission for discrimination, pending final court adjudication of these charges.

This was replaced in the present bill by the three-judge court proposition to expedite trial and appeal.

The Commission's recommendation that voting rights cases be speeded up in Federal court was granted in title I of this bill by granting those cases priority over all others on the docket.

Widely expanded

And its suggestion that the U.S. Attorney General intervene in voting cases, and in fact become lawyer for the complainant, was adopted in 1959. This function of the Attorney General has been widely expanded in the current bill.

In its 1961 report, the Commission suggested that completion of six grades of school qualify any voter applicant so far as literacy

is concerned. This is included as a "presumption" in the present bill.

There's even a provision in title V that brings to mind a former Alabama circuit judge, Gov. George C. Wallace. It's in reference to "contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena."

Words or actions

"Contumacy," according to the dictionary, means "stubborn perverseness or rebelliousness; willful and obstinate resistance or disobedience to authority," akin to "insulting manifestation of contempt in words or actions."

A person who behaves in such a "perverse, rebellious, obstinate, disobedient and contemptuous" manner may be placed under Federal court order to comply with the Commission's order or "be punished by said court as a contempt thereof."

Such a reluctant witness may be ordered by a Federal judge "to apepar before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation. * * *"

Spreading activities

But it isn't so much a matter of what Congress has authorized the Commission to do that distresses the title's critics, as it is congressional failure to contain the activities of the Commission, the 50 volunteer State advisory committees, and the eager, indoctrinated, and dedicated employees of the Commission.

Declared Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Republican, of Ohio: "As a legislator I have no way of knowing how far someone will stretch authority given to them. I do know something about their intentions and past performance, and on the basis of that I certainly can see that this bill will give bureaucrats a field day."

Open umbrella

"They have done pretty well by sheer assertion of their authority and, in some cases, without cover of law. I shudder to think what they can do with such a protective and opened (unlimited) umbrella for their activities as will be provided in H.R. 7152 (the current bill)."

ASHBROOK cited a specific instance of Commission inquiry into strictly private affairs.

"I had several complaints of their investigation of fraternal and private organizations," the Ohio Republican said, "and on studying the matter found that, indeed, they had gone off the deep end in this instance."

Fraternities probed

"Proponents of this bill are quick to say that there can be no harassment in matters of this type. However * * * the committee in one State began questioning policies of fraternities and sororities, clearly private associations. * * * I wrote the Civil Rights Commission and got the following reply from John A. Hannah, Chairman:

"'In undertaking this survey, the Utah committee was attempting to ascertain (1) whether fraternities and sororities located at the State university engaged in practices of racial discrimination, and (2) if so, whether the university is so involved in the conduct of these societies as to bring them within the purview of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.'"

U.S. tentacles

"See how the tentacles of Federal authority gradually reach out into even the right to private association?" asked ASHBROOK.

The Ohioan joined other House Members to write into the present extension and expansion of the Commission on Civil Rights the following explicit prohibition:

"Nothing in this or any other act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its advisory committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club, or any religious organization."

Ardent boosters

Although this provision was adopted, there was opposition from several of the bill's more ardent boosters.

Representative DAVID N. HENDERSON, Democrat, of North Carolina, commented on the ultra-liberal assault on freedom of association:

"As I have consistently stated, the true goal of the civil righters is personal, social acceptance of Negroes by whites as equals.

Federal bayonets

"This cannot be brought about by legislation or court decree, by executive order or Federal bayonets. It will occur only when persons of good will of both races voluntarily determine in their own hearts that it should be so.

"I oppose and will vote against the bill; not because I oppose equal rights for all, but because I oppose the concept of using Federal force to ram down the throats of our citizens social customs with which they disagree."

No report made

No report has been made by the commission since the Birmingham demonstrations of last year, but it's a safe bet that when one is made, it won't relate the charge made against the Negro leaders by the chairman of its Alabama Advisory Committee.

The Reverend Fr. Albert S. Foley, S.J., sociology professor at Spring Hill College, told United Press International's Mobile bureau manager, Tony Hefferman, that he pleaded with Integrationist Martin Luther King not to commence the disturbances.

"King at first agreed," Father Foley said in the UPI story that was put out nationwide last May 3, "but changed his mind without notice."

Father Foley said he had urged the Negroes to give the newly elected mayor and council moderates an opportunity to meet their demands.

But, the UPI story added:

Needed money

"Foley said a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King is president, told him the SCLC's treasury was nearly depleted and needed the demonstrations to spark contributions."

The SCLC maneuver worked, as King toured the Nation collecting contributions in the wake of violence which was suffered by twice as many Birmingham officers as mob members.

King denied the charge.

Ignored in North

A spotcheck of the use made of the UPI story indicated front-page play in the Deep South, tapering out to no play at all in most large northern papers.

The Commission, in its 1961 report, quoted the description given it by the U.S. Supreme Court, as follows:

"* * * its function is purely investigative and factfinding. It does not adjudicate. It does not hold trials or determine anyone's civil or criminal liability. It does not issue orders. Nor does it indict, punish, or impose any legal sanctions. It does not make determinations depriving anyone of his life, liberty, or property.

"In short, the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which affects an individual's legal rights. The only purpose of its existence is to find facts which may subsequently be used use as the basis for legislative or executive action."

Excuse for liberals

It is in this latter function that southern critics bitterly noted that the Commission could "find any 'facts' that the liberals in Government needed to justify any administrative or legislative invasion of the rights of States and citizens."

Among other recommendations made in 1961 by the Commission were:

Education—Congress should set a deadline for every local school board that operates segregated schools to submit a plan for desegregation. The board suggested 6 months.

Education—That a Federal agency make an annual school survey to determine the number and ethnic classification of all students enrolled in all public schools and compile such data by States, by school districts, (and) by individual schools. This would be of value in framing laws to require "racial balance" in each school in the Nation.

Training programs

Employment—Government to set up vocational training and retraining programs for youths, "and particularly minority group youths," and offer Government-subsidized employment.

Housing—Withhold FHA and VA loan guarantees from developers who discriminate in sales of residences. This has been done by Executive order.

Housing—Police all lending agencies, public and private, to require nondiscrimination in extending mortgage credit.

Housing—Require that all houses repossessed by FHA and VA be offered for resale without discrimination, wherever located.

Justice—Make police officers liable to Federal criminal and/or civil actions for illegal procedures in carrying out their duties, and make cities and counties jointly liable for payment of damages obtained against police in lawsuits.

Justice—Empower the Attorney General to initiate civil suits to prevent exclusion of Negroes from jury service.

TITLE VI. WITHHOLDING FEDERAL FUNDS

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires "nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs."

It also gives conservatives, particularly conservative Republicans, opportunities to twit those southern Democratic Congressmen who tend to "vote liberal on everything that's not racial."

The purpose of the title is to deny use of Federal funds on projects in which Federal officials find some form of racial, religious, or ethnic discrimination.

It provides that "each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, contract, or loan, shall take action to bar discrimination with respect to such program or activity.

"Such action may be taken by * * * rule, regulation, or order of general applicability. * * *

"No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President," according to the act.

Hearing required

The agency is required to hold a hearing and make a determination prior to acting. Even then the Federal department must seek "compliance * * * by voluntary means."

Once imposed, the ban on Federal funds may be appealed by "any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either)."

This title was made tougher by the House in striking out a phrase—"other than a contract of insurance or guarantee"—which would have exempted Federal insurance on bank and savings and loan association deposits, and perhaps even on FHA and VA mortgage credit guarantees.

No review

Another deletion of a requirement that a full report of its action be made by an agency to the House and Senate committees having legislative authority over the agency 30 days

before the effective date of the cutoff was also stricken, thus removing whatever congressional review authority that might have been reserved in the committee's bill.

Commented Texas Republican Congressman, BRUCE ALGER, in his "Washington Report to Constituents" regarding title VI:

"Although I do not think it probable, title VI * * * could help the poor taxpayer. It would eliminate Federal aid to any who practice discrimination. If this were enforced it would eliminate most Federal programs, cut Federal spending and save money, and cause a return to private endeavors. * * * I am sure those who are strongest for civil rights would not want to give up any of the handouts of a paternal government.

"This section, however, proves how this bill would put practically every citizen under the threat of Federal control. It would cover such programs as FHA, Small Business Administration, and through the use of subsidies, practically anyone who buys or sells, does business with the Government, or deals with anyone who does business with the Government."

Representative DONALD RUMSFELD, Republican of Illinois, rose to support title VI * * * and the target of his words was unmistakably that group of liberal-leaning southern Congressmen who are quick to approve massive Federal spending, and join their conservative colleagues only when race is an issue.

"The question," said RUMSFELD, "is whether Federal tax dollars, collected from all regardless of race, color, or national origin, must be expended without regard to race, color, or national origin. Clearly the answer should be 'Yes'. * * *

"Opponents of this title point out that it constitutes Federal control. To this I must agree. It is obvious Federal control. But Congress has a proper responsibility to reasonably control the expenditure of Federal tax dollars. It amazes me to find so many who seem to be discovering for the first time that with Federal involvement and Federal money comes Federal control.

"* * * the Nation * * * may reap an unexpected benefit. Hopefully, recognizing that Federal control follows Federal involvement, the people of the country and the Congress will be less eager to support a multiplicity of vast domestic Federal spending programs to involve the Federal Government in practically every aspect of American life.

"Possibly the Congress will recognize that many domestic problems can be better handled by individuals or by State or local governments.

"I am optimistic enough to hope that future programs will be carefully analyzed to see if the problems involved might not be solved more economically, more efficiently, and more responsively to the needs of the people at the State or local level. Not until that happens will the American people see a more realistic approach to many of the problems facing this * * * Nation. * * *"

Representative ARTHUR WINSTEAD, Democrat, of Mississippi expressed fear of title VI.

"The powers sought in this title would affect virtually every man, woman and child, business and other institutions in this country. Under this authority, this or any other administration could effectively withhold funds under the guise of racial discrimination from any project financed directly or indirectly by Federal funds.

"Poised to strike

"* * * Many Members of Congress have openly, or in more secluded confines, expressed amazement and fear regarding this request. It is a spear poised to strike, at any moment and for whatever reason—racial consideration being a subterfuge—at any opponents of the occupant of the White House.

"My Republican colleagues are fully aware of its dangers. Perhaps Members on this side of the aisle need a little prodding to make them aware that no political party has a property right in 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

"The President, in somewhat less frenzied moments, betrayed a similar awareness. When the Commission on Civil Rights suggested this method to club the State of Mississippi into line, Mr. Kennedy emphatically disassociated himself from the proposal. He announced that he did not have this power, nor did he think any President should have it.

"It is obvious to all of us that problems are not solved by vindictiveness and punitive sanctions. We have on numerous occasions acted on a contrary premise; that is, that the promotion of the general welfare outranked in significance the eradication of segregation. Are we now to abandon this policy judgment on the narrow grounds that we do not like a neighbor's ethics or conduct?"

Grant's viewpoint

Alabama's Representative GEORGE GRANT stated:

"Title VI, providing for nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs, is aimed directly at the South. This will greatly endanger the Government's programs in housing, education and welfare because it is very doubtful that Congress will appropriate funds as it has in the past."

Mississippi's Representative THOMAS G. ABERNETHY had tongue-in-cheek, but serious purpose in mind, when he offered an amendment late in the House debate.

He suggested authorizing the President to appoint 500 new Federal judges, and "such additional prosecuting attorneys, U.S. marshals, investigators, and jailers as he deems necessary."

He further recommended an appropriation of up to $100 million "for the erection of appropriate jails, prisons, and compounds for the incarceration of persons found guilty of (violating) any provisions of this act:

"*Provided further*, That the Attorney General is authorized to carry out the provisions of erecting the aforsesaid jailhouse projects, prisons, and compounds without regard to the provisions of title VI providing for the withholding of Federal funds in areas where discrimination is practiced."

Speaking in support of his amendment, ABERNETHY declared, "These jails are for southern white folks only. These are the people whom the sponsors of the bill are after. Of course, it might surprise and kick back on them, but I know they expect to have a favorable Attorney General, favorable administrators, and so on.

"Up to now every sensible amendment has been beaten down. * * * The Members have bowed to the pressure of the Negro minority, as well as some religious minority or minorities, the identities of which have never been mentioned, although they have been called upon to put them in the record.

"You have had your day," stated ABERNETHY. "The object has been to reelect yourselves to this body and to win the elections for your party in November * * * I regard many of you as my personal friends.

"I hate to say this, but I feel I must—I would not pay the price to go to Heaven that many of you are paying to stay in Congress by voting for this monstrous and vicious measure. This leads to totalitarianism."

ABERNETHY's fellow Mississippian, JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, addressed bitter remarks at the Republican-northern Democrat coalition:

"* * * I do not hold those Members in contempt who are so weak as to surrender their honest convictions to this crowd of agitators; on the contrary, they have my deepest sympathy, for it is they, not I, who will have to answer to their children and their children's children for this prostitution of their beliefs.

"It is they, not I, who will have to shoulder the blame for the destruction of our Republic, for indeed that must be the eventual result of this kind of legislation."

TITLE VII, EQUAL EMPLOYMENT SECTION

"The Congress hereby declares that the opportunity for employment without discrimination * * * is a right of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States, and that it is the national policy to protect the right of the individual to be free from such discrimination."

So states the opening of title VII—Equal Employment Opportunity—of the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

The title seeks to require all employers, employment agencies and labor unions to eliminate discrimination in their spheres, and carries the force of injunction law and imprisonment without trial by jury and without appeal for those held in violation.

Does title VII set up a "quota basis" for employment? That is, will businesses be required to hire a proportion of Negro employees approximating the proportion in the population of the area?

The bill doesn't say so, but its backers gave no assurance in this respect, even when alarmed opponents cited the "quota system" as a certainty.

More can be drawn from Federal actions in this respect.

Fact: A death sentence on a rape conviction was reversed by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on grounds Negroes were "systematically excluded" from jury service in Mobile County. It was alleged only 2 percent of the persons on the jury list were Negroes whereas Negroes make up 30 percent of the population here. There was no evidence or testimony that any Negroes had been stymied in efforts to qualify as jurors. The Jury Commission was held to have "systematically excluded" Negroes in failing to recruit them for jury duty.

Fact: Within the past year an experienced postal clerk, white, was promoted to supervisor of a clerk unit of the Mobile Post Office. His promotion, along with those of another white man and a Negro, was sent to the higher postal authority in Memphis. There it was kicked back with instructions to replace the white clerk supervisor with a Negro letter carrier "to improve the balance of Negroes at the supervisory level."

Fact: Privately owned, taxpaying industrial firms holding Government contracts have been under administrative orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities to adopt personnel policies free of racial, religious or ethnic discrimination. The committee was headed until last November 22 by the now President Johnson.

Ability unnecessary

The unanimous response to a confidential poll of such firms was that "the only safe way to satisfy Government inspectors is to maintain at all employment levels a proportion of nonwhites approximately equal to the proportion of nonwhites in the communities in which plants are located * * * irrespective of job qualifications."

Under the committee's authority, special payments were made under those Government contracts to cover expenses of training and upgrading nonwhites.

Thus, the Federal Government in its court decisions, as an employer, and as overseer of private industry's personnel policies, has required a "quota" basis for judging compliance with the Federal will irrespective of job qualifications.

Salaries, $20,000

Title VII sets up an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of five members (at $20,000 a year each), to administer the act in much the same way as the National Labor Relations Board has administered labor-management affairs. It is to be a permanent addition to the lengthy list of Government bureaus.

This title shall become effective 1 year after the date of its enactment, and shall, during the first year, apply to employers

of more than 100 persons, in the second year to all who employ more than 50 persons, and in the third year and thereafter to all who employ more than 25 persons.

It provides for a series of "persuasive" moves that may be made by the Commission before the case is taken to Federal court. Commission orders may be appealed by the employer, and the Commission may obtain Federal court authority to enforce its orders.

Two violations

The title takes up 26 of the 54 pages of the printed act as approved by the House. It makes it illegal for an employer:

(1) To fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) To limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Employment agencies and unions are placed under corresponding prohibitions.

Two groups excluded

In the House debate, two groups of people were excluded from the protection of the law—atheists and members of Communist-front organizations.

The act exempts cases in which religion, sex, or national origin (but not race) is a "bona fide occupational qualification," and releases schools, colleges, universities, and other educational institutions which are "in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by particular religions or religious societies."

The Commission is empowered to make written agreements with existing State agencies created for the same purpose and to abstain from action in the areas covered by the compact. However, the Commission has authority to decide whether the State agency does or can exercise its powers effectively, and may assume jurisdiction as it pleases.

Jury trial denied

It was noted in the House debate that most State laws on this subject set up punitive clauses under which an accused may obtain trial by jury, while this act denies that right.

When a complaint is referred to Federal court, a judge may designate a "master" to hear it and make recommendations to the court. The "master" will be paid at a rate to be fixed by the court, plus expenses.

The Commission's agents are given access to the private personnel records of all companies within its jurisdiction, and the content of these personnel files. Employers are required to post notices prescribed by the Commission.

The title authorizes an appropriation of $2.5 million for the Commission during the first year, and $10 million during the second and succeeding years.

It was noted in the House debate that the NLRB did not require a $10 million budget until the mid-1950's, some 20 years after it was created.

Industry commissar

It was assailed by Representative ROBERT SIKES, Democrat, of Florida, as "part of a catchall bill which would reduce all American enterprise to a commissar dictated shambles and all American employees to a common dull level."

Asserting that Russia discarded the idea, SIKES said, "It would not work even under a totalitarian system. You cannot, by law, make all men equal; make everyone conform. It just will not work."

Then the Florida Panhandle Congressman declared, "When Khrushchev said he would bury the West, he probably had in mind a procedure just like this, by which America would destroy itself. But in his wildest dreams, I doubt that he envisioned our two major political parties scrambling for top hold on the shovel with which to dig the grave.

"This bill would kill the American free enterprise system. The great industrial system which has been our pride is built on initiative. There can be no initiative where incentive is destroyed by incessant interference; where you dare not reward ability for fear you will be charged with discrimination, where you must employ not skill but one of every kind, class, religion, and color."

Mississippi's THOMAS G. ABERNETHY reddened the faces of many of the bill's backers when he asked them how many had colored employees in their offices. Only JAMES ROOSEVELT and JAMES CORMAN, California Democrats, had Negro staff aids.

Demanded ABERNETHY, "If there are no others, then these Congressmen are guilty of fixing double standards, one for others and another for themselves. I know of a good many Members * * * who have staffs which are all white. Yet, they voted * * * to force everyone else to integrate their office and business personnel."

Winstead's plea

Pleaded Mississippi's Representative ARTHUR WINSTEAD, "I remind you that the road to tyranny, like that to hell, is paved with good intentions. In the name of our blessed liberty, I beseech you to study these facts and on final vote to reject this bill as far beyond the power and wisdom of Congress to enact."

Representative R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, Republican, of New York, complained that "too many American citizens are not being treated with the courtesy and respect due them." Conceding that "the difficulty in this area of personal relations stems from the feelings in human hearts and minds * * * (that) * * * cannot be eradicated by the legislative process," he reaffirmed his support of the bill.

Another legislator quoted Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame and a member of the Commission on Civil Rights, as follows:

"Law, defining the goals and standards of the community, is itself one of the great changers of minds and hearts."

Haley's retort

Retorted Representative JAMES HALEY, Democrat, of Florida, "Legislation cannot set up a situation in this country for the 20 million people who do not want equal rights but who do want preferential rights * * * (and) * * * a majority of these people who wish preferential rights will not be satisfied with any legislation that might pass this House."

He continued, "It will not bring harmony between the races * * * this is no civil rights bill; it is an unwarranted extension of Federal control over the lives and businesses of all Americans."

Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who ramrodded the bill for the majority Democrats, squirmed uneasily after Mississippi's Representative WILLIAM COLMER proposed to relieve employers of any requirement to hire Communists.

COLMER had recalled that in 1941, the sponsor of the first FEPC bill, Representative Vito Marcantonio, Democrat, of New York, voted against his own bill when Communists were excluded from its preferential list.

Why exclude Reds?

CELLER claimed the bill had nothing to do "with political or subversive activities * * * (but) * * * I do not oppose (the exclusion of Communists)."

Freshman Representative ROGERS MORTON, Republican, of Maryland, expressed the plight of those legislators forced to swallow the whole bill. He said:

"To me, the proposition of Federal control in the area of hiring and firing, and the requirement of industry and labor to defend the roster of their people, their religion, their color, and their origin, extracts the freedom from our enterprise and will, in time, sap the strength of our economy.

"All things in this business of legislating must be average and evaluated. Even with title VII in the bill—though I will vote for every amendment to get it out—I will vote for the bill."

Said Representative ROOSEVELT of the bill: "It will be a clear aid to our very fine principle of free enterprise. There will be cost savings and much help given to communities so far as school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, and other matters are concerned. Instead of being a deterrent to our free enterprise system, it will be indeed a great aid."

What of business?

Replied Representative JOHN DOWDY, Democrat, of Texas, "And what becomes of business management during the incessant harassment of investigations, reports, hearings, lawsuits?"

Warned Representative J. RUSSELL TUTEN, Democrat, of Georgia: "There is no need for this legislation. This bill would find its appropriate place in Russia's Soviet system * * * may I warn you that American citizens will not hold this Congress guiltless for forcing this kind of legislation upon them."

Stated Representative LOUIS C. WYMAN, Republican, of New Hampshire. "* * * it is the sheerest hypocrisy to contend that by so defining such private conduct that it becomes constitutionally amendable to Federal law when the power to enact that law was never given to the Federal Government in the Constitution. It is hypocrisy compounded by fraud upon the people to ignore these basic truths because some Members believe there are more votes for their reelection to be found in perpetrating the fraud than in protecting the constitutional rights of * * * all the people."

Added TUTEN, "The freedom of all races of every color and origin is definitely at stake."

WYMAN then asked whether "we should with this legislation say, 'Damn the Constitution, full speed ahead.' Of course not."

TITLE VIII. VOTING STATISTICS

Backers of the controversial Civil Rights Act of 1963 made no pretense about title VIII. They admitted it was aimed exclusively at the South, with a view toward penalizing those States which allegedly deprive citizens of their voting rights.

The intent of the title's backers is to reduce the South's representation in the House.

States title VIII—Registration and voting statistics:

"The Secretary of Commerce shall promptly conduct a survey to compile registration and voting statistics in such geographic areas as may be recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. Such a survey and compilation shall, to the extent recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights, include a count of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin, and a determination of the extent to which said persons are registered to vote, and have voted in any Statewide primary or general election in which the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives are nominated or elected, since January 1, 1960. Such information shall also be collected and compiled in connection with the Nineteenth Decennial Census, and at such other times as the Congress may prescribe.

Note that the Commission on Civil Rights is empowered to select the geographic area in which any such statistical study is to be made, and will set up criteria to be developed by the survey.

Wanted all areas

Representative WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat, of Virginia, attempted to amend the

title to provide that "such information as is set out in title VIII * * * be gathered from all over the United States and not just in certain areas" designated by the Civil Rights Commission.

TUCK pointed out that such a survey as proposed would not have to be made of a whole State under the administration's bill, but could be of a particular congressional district for the purpose of intimidating that House Member.

Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, dispelled any hopes the former Governor of Virginia may have had that the civil rights boosters would accept his amendment.

The Tuck amendment, in CELLER's words, "would widen the areas to include the entire Nation. I think that would be idle and it would be far better to limit the so-called investigation to certain areas.

Costs are cited

"In order to avoid unnecessary burden and cost * * * the survey required will be made only in those geographic areas specified by the Commission on Civil Rights * * * (which has) been laboring * * * for a long, long time on this subject. They have the 'expertise.' They know where there are denials (of voting rights) and where there are no denials.

"Thus, there is no reason to incur the added cost of a nationwide compilation when a more selective survey can provide the desired and needed information," declared CELLER.

Nowhere else in the 54-page bill is there any consideration given to its cost. The only estimate made was by the U.S. Attorney General, and that was that enforcement of the bill would cost $15.5 million in the first year. But the House majority shouted down an effort to limit the cost to that figure.

More forthright

Representative CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., Republican, of Maryland, was more forthright about the motive behind title VIII.

"In all candor," he said, "I am sure we all understand that the basis of this title when it was first originated was the second section of the 14th amendment."

With such a survey in hand, MATHIAS said, Congress "would then be in a position to implement the second section of the 14th amendment if it is necessary to do so."

The 14th amendment, adopted at bayonet point in 1868 at a time when radical Republicans sought to perpetuate themselves in office through the manipulation of bloc voting by illiterate freedmen, contains this second section:

Can be reduced

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole citizens 21 years of age in such State."

By invoking this unused section, or threatening to, civil rights activists hope to punish or intimidate the South into accepting their prescription for interracial relations.

Representative NEIL STAEBLER, Democrat, of Michigan, indicated the basis on which Congress would find the South "guilty" of denying Negroes their right to vote.

"Let me give you some figures," said STAEBLER.

He proceeded to cite figures purporting to show that 69.8 percent of all adults cast votes in the 1960 presidential election, with Idaho, at 80.7 percent, Utah, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, and West Virginia topping the list.

"Mr. Chairman," stated STAEBLER, "the six lowest States have these percentages: Arkansas, 41.1; Virginia, 33.4; Alabama, 31.1; South Carolina, 30.5; Georgia, 30.4, and Mississippi, 25.5."

On these figures the civil righters would apparently rest their case for reducing the number of southerners in Congress, without consideration of qualifications of voters, desire to vote, etc.

Harder assault

Representative SAMUEL STRATTON, Democrat, of New York, told the House he favored an even more direct assault on the South's representation, in a bill he had introduced, but said, "I am willing to refrain from pressing my own legislation * * * to get a broader measure * * * which we can reasonably expect to pass in the other body (Senate)."

Representative DAVID N. HENDERSON, Democrat, of North Carolina, expressed amazement "that we hear admitted so openly that the purpose of the provision * * * is focused at certain areas in these United States. * * * In all sincerity and in all seriousness I say that voting statistics can be helpful. I will support them, but for them to be helpful, they must be reliable and they must be nationwide and not limited to any geographical area.

"I am interested in what the voting situation is with regard to Puerto Ricans in New York as well as I am with regard to Negroes in the South or Asiatics in California. We will not get this if the gun is pointed at certain areas. The survey should be nationwide."

Most blatant

Representative GILLIS W. LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana, denounced the majority's bill: "It is not calling for an unbiased, factual study of the whole country, mind you, but only those areas selected by the Civil Rights Commission. * * * It is obviously to be used as a weapon against areas of some Southern States which the commission has said * * * have a low ratio of Negro voters. * * * If this is not discrimination in the most blatant form, I am sadly mistaken."

Representative GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., Democrat, of Alabama, proposed an amendment that would read "and have had their votes properly counted."

He said he wanted figures to show how many votes are not included in totals, how many are stolen, how many ballots stuffed, and so forth.

Said HUDDLESTON, "It is as essential a guarantee of our constitutional liberties that every voter's ballot be counted as it is for him to cast that ballot," adding, "unless both rights exist, then there is no constitutional right of suffrage."

This gave Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, opportunity to comment on a 1948 vote fraud that produced an 87-vote "landslide" victory in a Texas senatorial contest in which more than a million ballots were cast.

He noted that "a Federal judge * * * (investigating claims of corruption) * * * found ballot boxes in some instances stuffed with trash and shredded newspapers."

Black intervened

At another point in the debate GROSS alluded to that election, charging that U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black intervened to halt further probing by a three-judge Federal panel.

In the election referred to, one Lyndon B. Johnson was elected Senator over former Texas Gov. Coke Stevenson * * * and went on to bigger things.

The Huddleston amendment, along with one proposed by Representative DON FUQUA, Democrat of Florida, to substitute the word "Congress" for "Commission on Civil Rights," was defeated by voice vote.

Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, Democrat of Florida, commented bitterly on the bill:

Commies allowed

"In our country we allow people to belong to the Communist Party, which seeks to overthrow our Government. We allow people to refuse to salute our American flag. We allow people to refuse to fight for our country. We are extremely tolerant of people who want to see our country fall or who want no part in helping it. Much of this tolerance is based upon misconstruction of our doctrine of religious freedom. Yet we are told that this bill * * * is a moral matter demanded by our religious ideals. It seems to me there is a paradox here.

"In a country which tolerates all sorts of peculiar behavior based upon religious convictions, is it not possible that those same concepts of religious toleration should allow people to teach their children to love all people of all races, but discourage close associations that may lead to intermarriage with members of other races?

TITLE IX AND X. REMAND TO STATE COURTS; MEDIATION SERVICE

Title IX is the "sleeper" in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and likely will cause more mischief than the rest of the package lumped together.

It will grant to racial agitators a Federal license to violate State and local laws, and will confer substantial immunity against State court injunctions, lawsuits, and criminal prosecution.

Further, if defendants in any legal action in State courts seek lengthy delays in the handling of their cases, they will be able to use title IX to obtain them, even if their grounds are entirely without merit. This could result in the most monumental legal snarl in history.

Resourceful as the framers of the bill were in aiming other sections specifically at the South, they weren't able to do that with title IX, so that the confusion will doubtless be nationwide.

Title IX—"Procedure After Removal in Civil Rights Cases"—reads:

"Title 28 of the United States Code, section 1447(d), is amended to read as follows:

Not reviewable

" 'An order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed is not reviewable on appeal or otherwise, except that an order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed pursuant to section 1443 of this title shall be reviewable by appeal or otherwise.' "

New to the clause is everything that follows the comma.

Now, what does all this mean?

Just that the defendant in any legal proceeding in State court—injunction, lawsuit, or criminal prosecution—may remove the case from the State court or Federal court on a simple claim that he cannot enforce in the State court some civil right.

Federal judge

If his grounds are valid, the Federal judge will take jurisdiction and schedule the case for trial.

If his grounds are frivolous, or otherwise fail to confer jurisdiction on Federal court, the judge will remand the case back to the State court.

But, under title IX, if the grounds for removal to Federal court concern civil rights, the person enjoined, sued or prosecuted can appeal a Federal judge's order returning the case to State jurisdiction.

Then it will be months, maybe years, before a Federal appeals court can get around to considering the case. If delay is of value to the defendant, it is thus accomplished.

State powerless

During the time that a final ruling on jurisdiction is pending, the State court is powerless to enforce an injunction, schedule a lawsuit for trial, or prosecute a criminal charge.

Stated Representative JOHN DOWDY, Democrat of Texas, in House debate: "Title IX is the 'sleeper' in this package; it is a direct slap at U.S. district judges; it would cause chaos in the administration of justice in the State courts; it is designed to paralyze the process of all State courts in the field of civil rights; it would give so-called civil rights groups a special 'weapon,' to use the terminology of Attorney William M. Kunstler, counsel for CORE; it would effectively prevent for a long period of time any trial, Federal or State."

Illustration given

DOWDY told of a case last August which illustrates the way in which title IX will license racial agitation.

"In a civil case in which a State court has entered a temporary restraining order, removal would oust one State court of jurisdiction," Dowdy said.

"An example of what can happen is the recent Clinton, La., case.

"The Parish of East Feliciana was prosecuting a request for an injunction filed in a State court on August 20, 1963, against CORE and others who had been conducting—with the usual violence—a typical nonviolent civil rights operation in that community. A temporary restraining order against certain unlawful activities was issued on that date, and the hearing for a preliminary injunction was fixed for August 28.

Without notice

"A few minutes before trial on August 28, and without notice, a removal petition was filed by defendants, halting State court action.

"The U.S. district court extended the restraining order to maintain the status quo, set a hearing on the removal petition for September 6, and on September 13 remanded the case to the State court.

"During the interval, most of the witnesses sought (by the State) were removed from the State, and CORE agents hid out and dodged service after the State court resumed action.

"A hearing in the State court was scheduled for October 14, and during this hearing, CORE counsel announced that the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had issued a stay order pending its determination of jurisdiction to hear an appeal from the district court's remand order.

Bobby testifying

"On October 15, while application was being made to the judge who issued the stay order, the Attorney General was testifying in Washington for the legislation contained in title IX.

"The Federal appeals judge refused to consider dissolving the stay order, in spite of its clear illegality, and even after a lengthly hearing in Atlanta, the fifth circuit refused to take any action.

"As soon as the fifth circuit stay was issued, CORE agents who had been in hiding from State court subpenas emerged and operated openly and publicly.

"The fifth circuit still has not ruled, and the State court is powerless to prevent illegal activities by racial agitators.

Occur automatically

"With the passage of title IX, this will occur automatically upon the simple filing of a removal petition by the agitators' lawyers.

Concluded DOWDY:

"Allowing appeal from remand, especially in a highly flammable atmosphere, leaves a vacuum in which law and order may well falter."

This is the apparent objective of the bill's authors, because with the failure of local law enforcement, the door is thrown open to federal action and military occupation.

It shoud be understood that removal from State to Federal court can be achieved without approval of any judge. Merely the filing of a petition, with supporting papers, halts all action in State court.

Ruling stalled

Not even a ruling by the Federal district court can get things rolling again, as his ruling is stalled by an appeal of his order to remand the case to State court.

"It is obvious," said Representative DOWDY, "that to allow an appeal as to whether the case was properly remanded would cause great delay in the prosecution of the case.

"On the other hand, not allowing an appeal merely requires that the litigation proceed. Any Federal rights claimed can, under any circumstances, be reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court by direct appellate procedure."

While the proposed change in the law is designed to favor only civil rights agitators, there can be little doubt that lawyers needing time in all sorts of cases will adapt the change to their clients' advantage.

In spite of all the dangers posed by this measure, and they were eloquently described in the House debate, the House defeated an amendment that would have retained the present law, 118 to 76.

That vote behind them, the House heard Representative ROBERT T. ASHMORE, Democrate, of South Carolina, introduced Title X: Establishment of Community Relations Service.

The purpose of the new Service, which would be headed by a $20,000-a-year Director, is "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect or may affect interstate commerce. It may offer its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or difficulties whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person."

The personnel of the Service, not to exceed six mediators, are barred from divulging confidential information and from engaging in investigative or prosecuting functions of any agency involved in court action.

The proposition was accepted by the rights bill floor leaders, Representatives EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, and WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio, and supported in a speech by Representative WILLIAM J. RANDALL, Democrat, of Missouri.

Said RANDALL, "When our late President Kennedy sent to Congress his first message on civil rights, the newspapers in my district called me and asked what I thought was the best provision in the proposal. My immediate comment at that time was that I thought this Community Counseling Service was one of the best things * * * and it is my view now."

Thus, this became title X, and the last section of the bill was renumbered Title XI: Miscellaneous.

Title XI: Miscellaneous recap of title I–XI.

Title XI of the Civil Right Act of 1964 is labeled, "Miscellaneous."

Three of its sections safeguard the authority of the Attorney General, exempt those States from the law which themselves have "laws on the same subject," and authorizes appropriation of "such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act."

An effort by Representative GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Democrat, of Alabama, to substitute the figure, $15,500,000, for the words quoted above, was shouted down.

Title XI's fourth section reads as follows:

"If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby."

At first reading this would appear to mean that even if the Warren court should find part or all of the bill unconstitutional in a case brought before it, the law would remain in effect against all other citizens of the Nation.

That would be an admission on the part of the bill's authors that it is invalid wholly or in part.

However, a Mobile attorney expert in constitutional law has allayed this fear. He said that this "separability clause" is designed to protect only those clearly legal portions of the act, and that a portion held by the Supreme Court to be clearly invalid would be nullified. Any other interpretation, he added, would be considered a limitation of the Supreme Court's jealously guarded right of judicial review, and would itself invite the Court's disapproval.

For the past 11 days Mobilians have been privileged to read in greater detail about the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the House debate on it than have the readers of any other publication in the Nation, save the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD itself, from which this series was gleaned.

Let's review it briefly:

Title I: Intent is to place more Negroes on voter rolls: Means is to speed up court action, bypass "unenlightened" judges, ease appeal procedures. The accent is on haste.

Commented Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Republican, of Ohio, on this subject:

"Time and time again, I heard orations about undue delay in civil rights cases.

"A strange double standard exists, for these same voices never protested when it took 11 years to get a Supreme Court decision on the registration of the Communist party."

Title II: Makes all privately owned places of public accommodation open to all without discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. It's based on the 14th amendment and the interstate commerce clause.

Title III: Is to complete desegregation of public facilities, those maintained and/or supported by tax funds.

Title IV: Offers money to help schools cope with problems caused by desegregation and gives the attorney general a club to compel compliance by those untempted by the money.

Title V: Extends the operation of the Commission on Civil Rights, born 1957, until Jan. 31, 1968, and broadens its powers and scope.

Title VI: Empowers Federal agencies, with approval of President, to withhold Federal funds from projects in which racial, religious or ethnic discrimination is found.

Title VII: Grants a new bureau, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, authority to oversee the personnel policies and practices of private employers, and to dictate policies of employment agencies and labor union. "Quota system" seen most likely result of Federal dictation.

Title VIII: Aimed directly at South with ultimate objective of further reducing Southern States' representation in the House of Representatives, per the second section

of the Reconstruction-dictated 14th amendment.

Title IX: A "sleeper" that grants a Federal license to racial agitators to violate State and local laws without fear of punishment. Has to do with prolonged delays in carrying out State court functions while Federal panels deliberate over jurisdiction.

Title X: A "mediation panel" is established for race relations on motion of a South Carolina lawmaker. Its function, in view of the vast extension of Federal force authority in other titles, is expected to be minimal.

Title XI: "Miscellaneous". This 11-part series on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is closing now with another quotation from Representative ASHBROOK, the outspoken Ohio Republican.

Herein he comments on the civil rights movement:

"There has been a gigantic propaganda effort centered on the theme of the white man's guilt which deserves comment.

"Our society is not perfect, but it certainly is not the deserving recipient of the scorn and obloquy (abuse) heaped on it in the past few years. No society has ever done more for the distressed, the diseased, and the downtrodden, than America. No society can ever look more proudly at its humanitarian record. We are far from perfect, but nowhere in the world can any country look forward to higher standards for everyone each and every year in the future. Nowhere is the prospect of mutual understanding among people brighter than in the United States.

"Many Negro leaders have developed a strange theme. If you are concerned for the problems of the colored man as he reaches for fuller participation in a predominantly white society, there is skepticism.

"If you are unconcerned but not prejudiced, you meet the usual white stereotype.

"If you are warmly receptive to their problems and aspirations and identify yourself with their movement, it really cannot be so—it is because you have a guilt complex.

"According to this argument, you can never win, you can never do enough, you can never be right—you are white.

"I for one will never be ashamed of the society the white man forged. He did not do it alone, and he has always been willing to share the fruits of the civilization he has developed. This is not to say that I am satisfied with society as it stands now—I think it can and must improve.

"This propaganda of the white man's guilt and sin is certainly far overdone. Time and time again we hear the argument that because of this oppression of the past, 'we Negroes' should now get preferential rights. We hear it seriously contended that if a job is open and a Negro and a white man apply, the Negro should be hired since he has not gotten a fair shake in the past. There is no end to the balancing schemes which have been and will be propounded.

"Some Negro leaders say, 'We are here because of the white man's lust and greed—your forefathers brought us here as slaves, so we are your conscience problem.'

"This to a degree is certainly true, and slavery and the whole epoch of slave ships and the auction block must stand out as one of the most glaring examples of man's inhumanity to man.

"The other side of the picture is always soft-pedaled, however.

"For every white slaver there was a black forefather of the American Negro today who willingly sold his family, his tribe, and his foe for pieces of silver.

"It is a sad page in the history of man—not just white man, but all men.

"There is no effort at reason, no attempt to balance out the picture, however, and a gigantic propaganda effort has descended upon us. Few voices try to pierce it.

"The white man has fought feudalism, oppression, and slavery, too. The blood of untold millions of white men has flowed in the cause of freedom. The liberties we have today were not won in a day. They were not even won in the Revolutionary War, or by the men who signed the Declaration of Independence and drafted our Constitution.

"They were won in a slow evolution of history which brought us to this plateau. Nor was our wealth of today, our standard of living, achieved overnight. What has happened to the lessons of these battles?

"The struggle in the past has been against oppression by government and the absolute power of tyrants and kings.

"It is a strange and shortsighted historical quirk of fate that today the Negro civil rights leaders are advocating the very type of centralized government and authoritarian control over our lives that has caused slavery and oppression in the past.

"Yes, the past is prologue. Let us not go back to those reactionary times.

"It has always failed when the effort is made to cloak government in a moral armor to combat hunger, insecurity, and deprivation. I fear it will fail in these United States as well.

"People can be compassionate; government cannot.

"If it is alleged that people are intolerant and unfair, let it be understood that there is no intolerance and injustice which can match that of an all-powerful government in the hands of men bent on imposing their will on a free people."

Consideration of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act

SPEECH
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, pending which, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH], to be used or controlled by him.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 744 provides for consideration of H.R. 9876, a bill to amend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 by extending its provisions for 2 additional years and providing for a special project and study. The resolution provides for what we call an open rule. In other words, if this rule is adopted, the bill will be open for amendment. The rule provides for 2 hours of general debate.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 9876 would extend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 for 2 additional years and amend it to provide for first, a special study of school attendance and child labor laws; and, second, a national demonstration project on juvenile delinquency prevention and control in the Capital area.

Mr. Speaker, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act presently is scheduled to expire on June 30, 1964. Extension of the act is necessary in order to permit the orderly completion of projects which have been started or which are in the advanced planning stages. There has been some criticism because planning has taken so long. However, at best fighting juvenile delinquency is a difficult undertaking, and careful planning is in order.

The bill authorizes appropriations of $10 million for each of the 2 additional years, plus the sum of $5 million for the national demonstration project, to remain available until expended.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 744.

Before I close, Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to pay a highly deserved compliment to the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], the chairman of the subcommittee, from which this bill comes to us. I can testify that her interest in preventing juvenile delinquency had much to do with this program being initiated in the first place. Her devotion to a decisive approach that will bring usable results is deep. She has studied the problem longer and with a greater determination to do something about it than anybody I know. It has been a pleasure to be associated with her in trying to find a solution to this problem.

(Mr. ELLIOTT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

"Importance of the Coal Industry"—Address by Senator Byrd of West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, ROBERT C. BYRD, was recently one of the principal speakers at the 47th Annual Convention of the National Coal Association. Because the coal industry is one of the major foundations of a prosperous society, Senator BYRD focused his attention on the outlook for its future. He found that it now has all the elements needed to make it a success.

Senator BYRD said the coal industry could be the springboard to full employment in Appalachia. He said it holds the key to new developments in chemicals, medicines, and other necessary phases of our daily lives.

The studies now underway in the Office of Coal Research have more than justified the hopes of the men who sponsored the Government projects, the Senator added.

But, as we all know, much help is still needed to clear the way for a healthy growth of the industry, in keeping with the needs of an expanding population. Unfortunately, Senator BYRD found a formidable stumbling block, in the form of residual oil imports, thrown in the path of this development.

Mr. President, Senator BYRD said in one sentence what economists have tried to explain with complicated charts and figures, when he stated:

> It is obviously folly to force the taxpayer to underwrite artificial economic respiration when the natural, normal, reasonable, inexpensive road to recovery can be opened merely by reducing the tanker traffic that has saturated the Atlantic seaboard with an unneeded, objectionable, and injurious foreign commodity.

Because of the importance of this address to the problems facing the country at this time, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD BEFORE THE NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 16, 1964

If the computers used for predicting elections were to analyze the outcome of this convention on the basis of early returns, I am confident that they would forecast a great day for West Virginia. In a little more than an hour, our State has produced three speakers.

But we are a generous people and neither Mr. Salvati, nor Mr. Tierney, nor I have any intention of taking advantage of this forum to extol the virtues of West Virginia or to enter any special pleas for our State. As spokesman for commercial producers and sales companies throughout the country, National Coal has a national responsibility.

While I have in the past and will continue to work primarily in the interest of West Virginia, I assure you that I shall do everything possible to bring about the resuscitation of the coal industry in all our mining States. Because a going coal industry can contribute so importantly to the national economy and is a vital component of the defense structure, there is no gainsaying the truism that what is good for coal is good for America. I am confident, for instance, that there is a great potential for mining States in the Rocky Mountain area, and I believe its development should be encouraged.

The coal industry has always been an important part of my life. The head of my family was a coal miner. I know the disappointment of having an evening go by without the sound of the whistle signifying work on the morrow. I have lived through weeks, and even months, of that silence. It is an indelible experience. Perhaps, in balance, it tends to enrich one's life, to make him more appreciative of better times. Furthermore, those memories of workless days—and the knowledge that they continue to persist—strengthen one's determination to do everything possible toward improving the position of the coal industry and the lot of the miners.

Their fortunes—or misfortunes—are linked closely to the success of this convention. Your sessions on investments in the coal industry, on research, on market outlook as described by representatives of your industrial customers, on exports—what evolves in these sessions can have a most important bearing on the economic outlook of everyone who works in the mines, of all who transport coal, who produce supplies and equipment for the coal industry, whose bank or market or clothing store is located in a coal region.

The national coal convention has a collateral advantage. It provides the meeting place for exchanges of ideas during informal get-togethers. Conversations of this kind are often more productive than formal business sessions. I enjoy sitting down whenever possible with Steve Dunn and Bob Hall, whose judgment about the coal industry and the people in it is highly respected by everyone in Washington. We recently put together a list of recommendations for Government action that would benefit coal, and I have placed these suggestions before President Johnson.

Because of the administration's determination to improve the situation in Appalachia, there would seem to be definite hope for an acceleration of the economy of the coal industry in this area. I personally have felt that the Appalachia Commission committed a serious oversight in not declaring imported residual oil a major cause of unemployment. Because coal's resurgence would be the springboard to a healthy Appalachia, I have recommended that the Government undertake a thorough study of the impact of foreign oil in this region. You and I know the debilitating effect of too much foreign oil. I think that this phase of Appalachia's problems needs to be made an official part of the record. The study could be carried out either through the Area Redevelopment Administration or as part of the Appalachian program. I am convinced that such a study would show that coal sales could increase by almost a quarter of a billion dollars if this fuel were to serve the east coast markets captured by foreign oil shippers. Add $180 million for railroad freight traffic. When these figures become a part of an official Government document, I doubt that even the New York and New England oil merchants would dare protest cutbacks in residual oil imports. It is obviously folly to force the taxpayer to underwrite artificial economic respiration when the natural, normal, reasonable, inexpensive road to recovery can be opened merely by reducing the tanker traffic that has saturated the Atlantic seaboard with an unneeded, objectionable, and injurious foreign commodity.

Being realistic, we who are working for coal do not expect all competitive foreign residual oil to be kept from our shores, regardless of the justification of our cause.

Because of the rapid development in long-distance transmission of electricity, imported power is another competitor that could preempt a sizable proportion of the continually expanding energy market and seriously stunt coal's growth. Through tariffs and subventions, Canada has effectively blocked large volumes of the traditional flow of U.S. coal across her border. For this country to accept abnormal amounts of the Dominion's hydroelectric power while these conditions prevail must not be tolerated.

On the credit side, the State Department has been making a determined effort to convince foreign nations of the desirability of removing prohibitory tariffs, controls, and other devices that discriminate against our own coal exports. I have asked the President to take a personal interest in this program, for unless restrictions are removed it is a foregone conclusion that coal and oil from the Communist bloc will move into markets which the U.S. coal industry is prepared to serve. I have suggested that both the State and Commerce Departments distribute abroad wherever practical the brochure on coal exports prepared some months ago by NCA.

Adjustment of Panama Canal tolls to permit greater flexibility for U.S. coal shipments to Far East markets could also help the industry materially. I have also asked the White House to issue an Executive order compelling all Government agencies and defense installations to make fuel selections from fair and impartial evaluations of present and anticipated fuel costs and availability. Recent meetings I have had—and at which Mr. Coryell of NCA has been present—with Defense and other Department officials are already producing results: We have succeeded in halting conversions from coal at certain defense facilities, and we are getting the same consideration for coal or electric heating equipment as is given to other sources of heat in other Federal facilities.

Now let us look briefly at the atom, which was not expected to become a serious competitor of coal in the electric power market for some years to come. Developments within the past several months necessitate an immediate reappraisal.

The drastic reduction in cost of constructing nuclear powerplants has introduced a new form of competition in areas not too far removed from the mine mouth. The situation becomes more acute through direct and hidden subsidies provided by the Federal Government.

Rather than continue to use Treasury funds for the stimulation of coal industry competition, it would seem more logical to intensify research to find new and expanded uses for coal. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I stand ready to support any reasonable endeavor that may lead to the breakthrough coal needs. Some of the projects already initiated show encouraging signs. Some will unquestionably fail to meet feasibility examinations.

As you are well aware, the pace of projects originating in the Office of Coal Research has been agonizingly slow. Those of us who were responsible for getting the bill establishing the Office of Coal Research through Congress, while recognizing that research is time consuming and requires the utmost patience, had nevertheless anticipated quicker starts for the more attractive projects. We had in mind immediate rather than long-range results. In all of our hearings on appropriations for the Department of the Interior, I attempt to determine just how the Office of Coal Research program can be expedited.

Now I can report to the convention that the logjam appears to be broken and the Office of Coal Research program is being accelerated. The Office of Coal Research has provided the Senate Appropriations Committee with an up-to-date calendar of OCR's activities, and I am happy to say this month of June will go down as a landmark in the annals of coal research.

In the past week contracts have been signed for the Kellogg gasification project, the Consol lignite gasification program, and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute optimization of underground mining processes. These negotiations involve more than $2¼ million.

Unless unforeseen obstacles arise, these additional contracts will be signed before the month is out: The Institute of Gas Technology plan which—with the Kellogg and Bituminous Coal Research contracts—will complete our gasification package; the Atlantic Refining Co.'s research undertaking to use coal combined with residual oil for powerplants; the Penn State petrography project; and Battelle Institute's low ash market survey. These four contracts run into almost $3 million, bringing the total negotiated for the month of June to more than $5¼ million. Its presents a mighty encouraging outlook for the coal industry.

Last December I took advantage of an invitation from Steve Dunn to visit the Bituminous Coal Research Laboratory in Monroeville, near Pittsburgh. I congratulate the coal industry and supporting railroads, electric companies, and others involved in the construction and operation of this outstanding research facility. A person need not possess any technical background to appreciate the effort that is being expended at Bituminous Coal Research.

I should like to say parenthetically that I consider Bituminous Coal Research's activities prerequisite to Government interest in coal research. Members of the Appropriations Committee have shown considerable interest in the extent to which the coal industry is willing to invest in research and development, and it is always comforting to me to be able to point to the laboratory at Monroeville as a symbol of coal industry confidence in research potential.

Bituminous Coal Research's roster of scientists and engineers obviously does not include meteorologists, else I am sure that they would not have recommended a visit there on December 23, 1963. I left the laboratory to return to Washington shortly after noon in the worst snowstorm of the winter. Plows on the Pennsylvania Turnpike could not keep apace with the storm, and there was a very serious question as to whether I would be back with my family for Christmas. To make matters worse, it was dark through the last 4 hours of the trip, making driving much more difficult in the blinding snow.

Ptolemy, the renowned mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, was handicapped in putting together his system of geography because he accepted as positions of latitude the computations from itineraries and statements of travelers. Now, I do not expect anyone to base his research effort on my experience of last December 23, yet I cannot recommend that you attempt a trip under similar conditions. So let me just inquire whether coal might not work itself into an important role in the Nation's highway program.

Why are modern highways not illuminated? I asked myself this question that night, and later I asked an engineer the same question. He said that the relatively small power load would not justify the expense of stringing lines along the distant roadways. So I asked another question that occurred to me on the drive from Monroeville.

Would the use of electricity to heat roadbeds—to keep them free of snow and to dry them off in rainy weather—be too limited to consider this additional safety factor? Probably, I was given to understand, yet the savings in human life and property is an important consideration.

But perhaps there are still other considerations that deserve looking into. The Keystone plant, east of Pittsburgh and the Allegheny System plant near Morgantown will generate electricity that is to be carried over long distance transmission lines into Philadelphia and New York. Could not planning for such cross-country lines coincide with highways designs so that the same towers could earry wires serving lighting and heating systems for the roadways? Or is it possible that the heat losses from those lines, if placed underground, would be sufficient to keep the road above free of snow?

The lines might serve yet another purpose. What about an electrified rapid transit system down the median, or even beneath the roadbed? Yesterday I had my first subway ride. I understand that the heat from the New York subways is a deterrent to snow and ice on the pavement above.

Powerlines, illuminated and dry roads, rapid transit—all on one right-of-way? What are the possibilities? I have not been able to get an answer to this question, but I find the whole picture somewhat alluring.

You and I know that in a few short years most of the Atlantic seaboard will be one great megalopolis, and a rapid transit system will connect this continuous swath of homes, plants, schools, offices * * * and humanity. It would require a good volume of coal to generate the electricity for our dream highway and rapid transit from Boston to Miami, though I suppose our friends in the foreign oil business would want increased quotas to serve this market.

Perhaps in the bituminous coal research laboratory, or maybe at the University of West Virginia, but so long as we are willing to conduct an intense research program for coal, the day cannot be far off when the breakthrough will come and open new vistas for the industry. The big payoff may evolve out of projects already underway—or from some of those for which the Office of Coal Research has just contracted. In the pursuit of these projects, our research teams might stumble over something not yet visualized, as in Alexander Fleming's accidental discovery of penicillin or William Perkin's recognizing history's first synthetic dye while experimenting with a coaltar derivative in his search for synthetic quinine.

We cannot, of course, depend entirely upon research. We cannot relax in our crusades against unfair competitive practices that tend to coal's disadvantage. Thomas Jefferson, the first administrator of the American patent system, himself had a number of inventions, one of which was the revolving chair. This novel device made the third President a sitting target for criticism from his political enemies, who accused him of designing it so as to look all ways at once.

Coal people and their friends must continue to watch the established enemy—foreign residual oil—that moves relentlessly into the Atlantic seaboard, dumped, yes, with its double standard of pricing, the threat of hydroelectric power from the north, and subsidized atomic competition wherever it may emerge. But the industry will move forward only if we set our sights on the years ahead and join in common cause—operators, union, railroads, suppliers, equipment makers, and all allied industries—to achieve the production and the sales that can and will be available in America's growing economy. I am confident that this convention will provide an important springboard toward realization of this objective.

The Foreign-Trade Zones Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, two anniversaries occur this week which do great honor to two Members of the House. June 18 is the 30th anniversary of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934 authored by the gentleman from New York, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, and June 17 is the 14th anniversary of a significant amendment to that act which was sponsored by the gentleman from Louisiana, the Honorable HALE BOGGS. The wisdom and foresight of these distinguished and highly esteemed colleagues is reflected by the fact that the Foreign-Trade Zones Act, as amended, is of ever-increasing usefulness to business firms engaged in international commerce and industry.

The Celler Act provided for the establishment of Foreign-Trade Zones in or adjacent to U.S. ports of entry, these zones being an American version of the classic trade device known as a free port which had served commerce abroad for several hundred years. The orginal act permitted foreign and domestic merchandise into these zones without payment of customs duties unless and until goods actually entered into the customs territory of the United States. The Boggs amendment enlarged the usefulness of the act by permitting manufacturing to be conducted in these duty-free foreign-trade zones.

Through the years we have seen an increased number of established foreign-trade zones, and ever-increasing interest in the value of the zone idea for industrial activity. In addition to foreign-trade zones in operation in New York City, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, and Toledo, a new zone was established at Mayaguez, P.R., in 1961.

I am proud to cite the fact that the very first foreign trade zone established solely for industrial purposes is located at Peñuelas, P.R., in operation there since May 1962. This is a dramatic tribute to the imaginative and useful industrial development efforts of the Economic Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Much of the recent activity and rising interest in the Foreign-Trade Zones Act may be attributed to increased attention to overall international trade and to more effective employment of the act for the purpose for which it was intended, to expedite and encourage our foreign commerce. Favorable developments in more effective use of the zone idea are in no small part due to the skillful and visionary administration of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act by the Foreign-Trade Zones Board headed by our distinguished Secretary of Commerce, Luther H. Hodges.

Celebration of 50th Anniversary of Opening of Panama Canal by the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, one of the notable events occurring in Washington in recent days was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal by the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C. I am indebted to the Honorable Joseph A. Cheeseman, the outgoing president of that organization, for his kindness in furnishing me a copy of the minutes of the meeting at which this celebration was held. Because of the great interest of Members of the Senate and the public in the Panama Canal, I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of these minutes printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the minutes were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D.C., 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF OPENING OF PANAMA CANAL

The 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal was celebrated on June 6, 1964, at the National Lawyers Club, by the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., at its 29th annual meeting.

The officers of the society, 1963–64, were Joseph A. Cheesman, president; Andrew W. Dewling, vice president; and Matthew C. O'Hearn and Col. George S. Brady, secretary-treasurer. The committee on arrangements consisted of Col. David R. Wolverton, Col. George S. Brady, chairman, and George Colburg.

The toastmaster was the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher, of Kentucky, former Member of Congress, Civil Governor of the Canal Zone, and sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commisison, serving more than 3 years during peak construction, 1910–13. He is also past president and honorary life president of the society.

President Johnson sent a telegram to the society in which he noted that "President Theodore Roosevelt referred to your members as 'good soldiers' and we do not forget that your hard work, sacrifice, and devotion 50 years ago were essential to this great engineering triumph." The telegram in full follows:

[Western Union telegram]

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
June 6, 1964.

Col. GEORGE S. BRADY, USAR, Retired,
Secretary, Panama Canal Society of Washington, Bethesda, Md.:

Please convey to the members of the Panama Canal Society my warm greetings on this special occasion, the annual meeting of the Panama Canal Society which this year marks the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal.

President Theodore Roosevelt referred to your members as "good soldiers" and we do not forget that your hard work, sacrifice, and devotion 50 years ago were essential to this great engineering triumph.

I salute each of you and send to each of you my best wishes, for health and happiness.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

All of the officers of the society were reelected for the ensuing year, except that Benjamin M. Williams, former superintendent of school in the Canal Zone was elected president. Colonel Brady will continue as secretary-treasurer, until shortly someone is chosen to replace him.

In addition to former officials and employees of the construction era, the society also includes a number of those who have served the Panama Canal organization since the canal was opened to traffic in 1914, and members of the Department of Defense who have served on the isthmus. Thus, its membership is representative of various professions, businesses, and skilled trades in these connections, as well as members of the Army and Navy Establishments. Other Panama Canal societies are located in Arkansas, Chicago, Colorado, Florida, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Seattle, and Virginia.

Called to order by President Cheeseman, the 29th annual meeting of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., opened with the pledge of allegiance to the flag, invocation, and enumeration of deceased members of the society during the past year, led by Col. David R. Wolverton. President Cheeseman made some remarks, now shown, and turned over the program to the toastmaster, Governor Thatcher.

PRESIDENT CHEESEMAN'S REMARKS

Members of the society and invited guests. As you may know, I have the honor of being President of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., and it is my duty to conduct the business of this meeting. During the course of the program, Governor Thatcher will act as toastmaster. The year of 1964 is the 50th anniversary of the formal opening of the Panama Canal, which occurred on August 15, 1914, and was marked by the passage of the first vessel, the *Ancon*, when it transited the canal from the Atlantic to the pacific. All of you, of course, are welcome here. We are indeed very happy to have you present. It becomes my duty and pleasure to present as toastmaster—one who is, of course, well known to all of you—and who for more than a half century, has always sought to serve the best interests of the canal, both on the isthmus and in and out of Congress; and also the like interests of the builders of the canal; and those who since have operated and defended it. Indeed, he has always been the effective friend of the entire isthmus. As you well know, he was signally honored by the Congress of the United States, in naming for him the new $20 million bridge across the canal, which was dedicated on October 12, 1962. He served as a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, of which he is now the sole survivor; and as Civil Governor of the Canal Zone, during the construction era. He needs no introduction. Permit me to present as toastmaster, the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher.

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR THATCHER

Mr. President, members and guests, I am very glad indeed, to meet with you once more, and to act again as your toastmaster. This society, made up, basically of surviving employees and officials of the Panama Canal enterprise of the construction era, has inevitably lost the greater number of the older members because of the relentless passage of time. Yet some of us of the oldtimer vintage yet survive, and we must needs throw the torch to those of the succeeding generations, the operators and defenders of the canal, beginning with its formal opening on August 15, 1914.

As to the oldtimers, they performed a truly great and unique task in the building of the great isthmian waterway—the greatest industrial enterprise of the ages. They have been characterized in congressional reports as "magnificent heroes." The task was accomplished by a great free nation, with free labor, made up of U.S. citizens and certain alien employees. The thanks of all are due all these, and also to all those who, since the canal was completed, have, with dedicated loyalty and efficiency, maintained, operated, and protected the Canal Zone in peace and war—indeed, a most notable achievement.

There will be this summer in the Canal Zone the celebration of this 50th anniversary of the formal opening of the canal, with its culmination on August 15, next commemorating the date August 15, 1914, when the old SS *Ancon* transited, with complete success, the canal, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

All of us are deeply interested in the celebration and most earnestly hope that it may be one of success. Today we have with us as guest speaker, a member of the Department of Defense who has been on the isthmus recently, and who knows all there is to know at this time of the plans for the celebration. He has served his country in various vital capacities, of which I shall give you a brief recital:

C. OWEN SMITH, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF THE ARMY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Born in Akron, Ohio, grew up in Cumberland, Md. Graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H., and Harvard College.

Was lieutenant commander in navy during World War II, awarded Commendation Medal at Battle of Leyte Gulf. During this period transited the Panama Canal three times, once with vessel under his own command.

After naval service worked as reporter for the Portland Press Herald, Portland, Maine. Married Jo Ann Perry, Camden, Maine. They have five children.

Established a trade paper, Maine Coast Fisherman, covering the commercial fishing and boatbuilding industry along the New England coast. Was editor and publisher of another publication, which he started, Outdoor Maine, writing about conservation, boating, camping, and fishing.

Was a member of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company about 2 years.

Came to Washington as consultant to Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense in 1962. Was Director of Public Information for Office of Civil Defense. Last year named Special Assistant in the Deputy Under Secretary's office and has been working on Panama matters since.

The TOASTMASTER. I take great pleasure in presenting our guest speaker, Mr. C. Owen Smith.

REMARKS OF C. OWEN SMITH

Thereupon Mr. C. Owen Smith, in his address, gave the highlights on the forthcoming 50th anniversary celebration plans, to be held in the Canal Zone in August of this year. Because of present conditions the celebration will be very much restricted in size. The original plans developed by the Panama Canal Company's Coordinating Committee and Industry's Trade and Travel Committee have been dropped because of the many new uncertainties growing out of the riots of January 9, 1964. The original plans called for an extensive golden anniversary celebration of the 50th anniversary opening of the canal to begin August 15, 1964, and extend through March 1965. The present reduced celebration plans are as follows:

A. Trade and Travel Committee and Ernest Wittenberg Associations, public relations firm, plan a special supplement to the Sunday New York Times about August 16, 1964. The supplement will feature pictures and stories concerning building and operation of the canal, and service it performs for shipping. Advertising support will come from companies with direct interest in the canal and the area.

B. The Panama Canal Company plans:

1. Stamps: Six airmail stamp designs to show views of Cristobal Piers, Gatun, Madden Dam, Gaillard Cut, Miraflores, and Balboa. These will be available by writing Philatelic Agency, Canal Zone Government, Balboa, C.Z.

2. Brochure: A commemorative brochure covering construction, operation, and improvement of the canal is being prepared and will be available in August.

3. Medallion: A bronze commemorative medallion featuring the "Golden Anniversary" on the obverse and the Panama Canal seal on the reverse will be struck.

4. Movie: Copies of the company's documentary movie have been mailed to the Superintendent of Public Instruction in each of the 50 States.

5. Monument: A monument to the construction workers made of stone carrying a memorial plaque will be erected.

6. August 15, 1964: On that date the SS *Cristobal* will transit the canal. A special luncheon will be served to invited guests, local military officials and canal officials. There will be appropriate speeches and the monument to the construction workers will be unveiled.

The TOASTMASTER. Many thanks, Mr. Smith, for your informative address, and your kindness in joining us today. We are, indeed, very grateful.

At this juncture, President Cheeseman moved a vote of thanks for the guest speaker, which was unanimously adopted.

At the luncheon the toastmaster introduced those at the speaker's table in addition to Mr. Smith, the president of the society and himself as follows:

Alexander E. McClure, former president of the society.

Former Governor of the Canal Zone, Maj. Gen. C. Edgerton.

Col. George S. Brady, former president of the society.

Col. David R. Wolverton, prominent attorney and former president of the society.

Andrew W. Dewling, former president of the society.

Fred G. Swanson, an oldtimer and former member of the Texas Legislature from Tyler, Tex., and a member of our society.

Col. Hugh M. Mitchell, former president of the society.

Ben M. Williams, former superintendent of schools in the Canal Zone.

Distinguished personages in the audience, noted by the toastmaster were:

Mrs. Aileen Gorgas Wrightson, past president of the ladies auxiliary of the society.

Walter G. Ross, business executive, who was the quartermaster during the construction era, and a former president of the society.

Capt. Miles P. DuVal, U.S. Navy, historian of the Panama Canal.

Clarence L. Chapin, former president of the society.

Edward H. Davidson, former president of the society.

Dr. John Shadrick, chairman of the executive committee.

Frank M. Hill, former president of the society.

George Colberg, former president of the society.

In closing the formal program Governor Thatcher turned the meeting over to President Cheeseman, who appointed Governor Thatcher as chairman and Walter G. Ross, Colonel Wolverton, Colonel Brady, and Mr. Dewling as members to serve on the 50th anniversary celebration committee for formulating plans to represent the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C., on the Canal Zone during the golden anniversary celebration in August of this year. These appointments were approved unanimously by the members of the society. During the business meeting the election of officers and members of the executive committee for the coming year took place. Dr. John H. Shadrick submitted a list of nominees. In conclusion the retiring president turned over the gavel to the newly elected president, who made a few brief remarks of acceptance and the meeting was adjourned.

Gratitude to Senator Dirksen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Danbury, Conn., News-Times has written a fine editorial in tribute to Senator DIRKSEN's leadership in the civil rights debate. This debate, however, is but one example of the dynamic leadership Mr. DIRKSEN has shown during his career. On numerous issues of crucial importance, Senator DIRKSEN has thrown the weight of his prestige, his office, his intellect and his great patriotism on the side of progress without partisan considerations. His record of achievement is equal to that of any of our past great leaders of Congress. The Republican Party and the whole country owe the Senator an everlasting debt of gratitude. I am pleased to bring the News-Times editorial to the attention of the Members of this House:

GRATITUDE TO SENATOR DIRKSEN

With Senator GOLDWATER in the lead for the Republican presidential nomination, much attention was given the fact that he voted against cloture to limit debate on the civil rights bill last week.

But most of the Republican Senators voted for cloture and it is the Republican leader, Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, who deserves a lion's share of the credit for the progress of the civil rights bill so far.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, the Democratic floor manager of the bill, is the first to acknowledge that without Senator DIRKSEN the bill would still be bottled up with no chance of passage.

Senator DIRKSEN delivered 27 Republican votes in favor of cloture, while Senator GOLDWATER, Senator TOWER, of Texas, and 4 other Republicans voted with 23 southern Democrats against cloture.

The civil rights will would not be heading toward enactment without Senator DIRKSEN's consistent unswerving support.

All who are concerned with the real progress of this country owe Senator DIRKSEN a debt of gratitude.

War-on-Poverty Program—"Grandiose and Illogical"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, much has been written and spoken about the war on poverty. There has recently come to my attention an excellent editorial in the May 14 edition of the Chicago Sun-Times, entitled "Grandiose and Illogical."

This editorial commends GENE SNYDER, of Louisville, Ky., whom I am proud to have represent me in the House of Representatives. GENE SNYDER is a freshman Member of the House but he has shown keen understanding and courage in facing up to the many challenging and controversial problems confronting our country and is an outspoken and forthright advocate of constitutional principles.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRANDIOSE AND ILLOGICAL

The administration's war-on-poverty program is somewhat reminiscent of the nostrums sold by the oldtime traveling medicine men. Those dubious cure-alls were judiciously laced with alcohol and produced a euphoria that made the taker forget, for a time, the ailment for which it was taken.

The claims made on the behalf of the war-on-poverty program have just such an effect of euphoria. There is something in the program for everyone and unless it is examined closely the immediate result is to forget what is going on.

Representative M. G. SNYDER, Republican, of Kentucky, a freshman in the House of Representatives, has not been fooled by the label on the bottle. He has made an analysis of the contents.

He notes that one of the programs in the war on poverty will recruit young men between the ages of 16 and 21. The men will be put into work camps. President Johnson, in his message to Congress, emphasized that these will not be camps for the underprivileged. The work camps, said President Johnson, will be "institutions comparable in innovation to the land-grant colleges."

R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., head of the war-on-poverty program, has estimated that it will cost the taxpayers $4,700 a year to maintain a man in one of these camps.

Representative SNYDER provides figures that show that a young man can be sent to Harvard, provided with a good used car, spending money, money for books, money for

board and room, money for tuition, $50 a week during summer vacation and it would only cost the taxpayer $4,201. That is $499 cheaper than the work camp program.

President Johnson says that 200,000 young men will be recruited for the work camps. It could be pointed out that if they were all sent to college the saving to the taxpayer would be $100 million.

Whenever the bureaucrats take over a local problem, and poverty is a local problem, the approach is almost always grandiose and seldom practical. Representative SNYDER should be commended for his illustrative comparison of the costs of this one small facet of the war-on-poverty program.

Results of 1964 Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVE MARTIN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the response to my 1964 questionnaire gives a cross section view of the thinking in my district on serious questions facing our Nation. For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, a copy of the results of my 1964 questionnaire:

RESULTS OF 1964 QUESTIONNAIRE

We have finally completed compiling the results of our questionnaire sent out in April. Slightly over 10,000 replies were received. In addition to answering the questionnaire, many of you wrote additional comments and notes, as well as letters, further explaining your views on the subjects covered. I appreciate your great interest in the serious problems facing our Nation, as exemplified by both the return of the questionnaire and your comments which have all been studied.

One of the most interesting results are the replies in regard to the civil rights bill and its provisions. In reply to question No. 7: "Do you favor the civil rights bill now before the Congress?"—31 percent voted "yes"; 40 percent voted "no"; and 29 percent "not sure." In question No. 8, however, which briefly describes five separate sections of the bill, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of each of these sections. Ninety percent favored equal voting rights in Federal elections; 92½ percent favored equal educational opportunities; 83 percent equal employment opportunities; 61 percent nondiscrimination in public accommodations; and 72 percent nondiscrimination in federally assisted projects.

In regard to the wheat program now in effect, only 14 percent favor this program, with 64 percent opposed, and 22 percent not sure about it. In answer to the question: "Do you favor a gradual withdrawal by Government from the farm economy?"—77 percent answered "yes"; only 13 percent "no," with 10 percent "not sure." This is indicative of dissatisfaction with Federal farm controls and programs.

By a 2-to-1 margin, your replies indicated disapproval of the sales of agricultural products to Russia and Communist nations; and 91 percent disapproved of any sales to Communist nations on credit terms with the United States guaranteeing the loans.

Another subject, which at present is generating a great deal of mail, is the legislation to amend the Constitution and permit voluntary Bible reading and prayers in our public schools—77 percent approved of this with only 16 percent voting "no" and 7 percent "not sure."

The people of Nebraska are still not sold on the value of the foreign aid program, as 81 percent voted disapproval with only 8½ percent approving and 10½ percent not sure. Another significant feature of the poll has brought out that President Johnson has not completely sold his economy talks to the people of the country on the one hand while advocating, on the other hand, the passage of massive new spending programs. In answer to the question: "Do you agree with President Johnson that we can carry out his programs and still reduce the budget?"—82 percent voted "no"; only 7½ percent "yes"; and 10½ percent "not sure." This seems to me to be one of the most significant results of this questionnaire.

I want to thank all of you again for taking the time to fill out the questionnaire, as it is most helpful to me as your Representative in Congress. It enables me to better represent you and your thinking. The results of the questionnaire are tabulated on the reverse side of this sheet.

Results of 1964 questionnaire

	Percent		
	Yes	No	Not sure
1. The administration has recommended enactment of essentially the same wheat program for this year which was rejected by the wheat farmers last May.			
(a) Do you favor this type of program?	14	64	22
(b) Do you favor flexible price supports and land retirement?	23	47	25
(c) Do you favor a gradual withdrawal by Government from the farm economy?	77	13	10
(d) Do you believe U.S. farmers should be permitted to produce a greater percentage of our sugar needs?	93½	1½	5
2. Do you favor selling agricultural products to Russia and Communist nations?	30	59	11
(a) Do you favor such sales on credit terms with the United States guaranteeing loans?	4	91	5
3. Should Congress pass my bill to restrict imports of all meats to the United States?	75	12	13
4. Should the Constitution be amended to permit voluntary Bible reading and prayer in our public schools?	77	16	7
5. Do you favor continuation of the nuclear test ban treaty?	43½	27	29½
6. A bill is pending before Congress to authorize veterans of World War I to receive a pension of $100 per month, unless other income exceeds $2,400 if single or $3,600 per year with dependents. The estimated cost of this program the first year, according to the Veterans' Administration, would be $1,266,247,000. Would you favor this bill?	31	54	15
7. Do you favor the civil rights bill now before the Congress?	31	40	29
8. Do you approve of the following section of the bill which would guarantee the same rights to all regardless of the color of their skin:			
(a) Equal voting rights in Federal elections?	90	6	4
(b) Equal educational opportunities?	92½	4	3½
(c) Equal employment opportunities?	83	10	7
(d) Nondiscrimination in public accommodations?	61	23	16
(e) Nondiscrimination in federally assisted projects?	72	14	14
9. Do you approve of the manner in which the President is handling—			
(a) the Panama situation?	28	43	29
(b) Cuba and Castro?	12	69	19
(c) Vietnam?	13	58	29
(d) our entire foreign policy?	8	66	26
10. Do you believe that the Monroe Doctrine should be enforced as far as removing Communist governments from the Western Hemishpere?	79	10	11
11. The President's so-called "poverty" program would revive the CCC camps and WPA programs of the thirties at a cost of nearly $1,000,000,000 for the first year. Do you approve?	15½	73½	11
12. President Johnson has recommended $3,400,000,000 to carry on the foreign aid program next year. Do you approve?	8½	81	10½
13. Do you agree with President Johnson that we can carry out his programs and still balance the budget?	7½	82	10

An Additional Honor for James E. Webb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

My. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, this year the Missouri Valley College, at Marshall, Mo., awarded the honorary degree of doctor of human letters to the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Mr. Webb was presented to Dr. Earle Collins, president of Missouri Valley College, by Brig. Gen. Louis H. Renfrow, retired, a member of the board of overseers of the college.

This outstanding talk given by Mr. Webb "Space Exploration—New Pioneering Era," will be of interest to my colleagues; and I ask unanimous consent that it be interested in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SPACE EXPLORATION—NEW PIONEERING ERA"—REMARKS BY HON. JAMES E. WEBB, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, AT MISSOURI VALLEY COLLEGE, MARSHALL, MO., MAY 30, 1964

It is a pleasure to participate in the commencement exercises of Missouri Valley College in this, your diamond anniversary year.

It is usual at commencement to remind graduates that they must cope with problems and issues unknown to their elders. This is true. It is as true today as when the first graduation ceremonies of Missouri Valley College were held here in 1893.

The class of 1964—here and at other colleges and universities—however, has an advantage denied to graduates a generation ago.

You are moving out into an age of limitless perspectives. Yours is one of those times when minds, aspirations, and energies are freed to make advances that will radically change man's concepts of the realities of the universe in which he lives, and thus change the sweep of history.

In short, you will build your careers and, directly or indirectly, participate in a new era of pioneering, an age characterized by the many challenges and promises of space exploration. This "greatest adventure of mankind" began less than 7 years ago. Its future extent appears to be as boundless as the universe. Its first explorations will be of the solar system. This will offer tremendous new challenges to man's initiative and intelligence.

Why is this new era of pioneering on the vast frontiers of space so important?

What is the meaning to you, as individuals, to our Nation, to the world?

Missourians are particularly fitted to grasp the influence the frontier and the pioneering traits is called forth. Your State, as the gateway from which the famous Santa Fe, Oregon and other trails fanned out to the West, had a key and unforgettable role, pressing forward the Nation's frontier.

Since 1893, the year Missouri Valley College graduated its first class, a number of historians have pointed out that the energy and exuberance, the inquisitiveness and daring, the inventiveness, initiative, and drive toward wider fields for enterprise (traits which the world identifies with Americans) were essentially pioneering responses to the succession of frontiers that for more than 300 years marked our history. The consensus has been that the closing our our last geographical frontier marked the end of the Nation's youth and that the fresh, confident outlook of youth would never come to us again.

Hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee of the Senate in 1938–39, emphasized that the stagnation of the depression years was largely due to the fact that America no longer had frontiers to challenge the pioneering spirit.

One of the most eloquent expressions of regret over the passing of the pioneer era appeared in "The Great Frontier," by the Texas historian, Walter Prescott Webb. Dr. Webb wrote:

"The period is about over, the loom is about full, the tapestry of an epoch is almost finished. The imagination cannot play any more with the mystery and uncertainty of a half-known world, for there is no such thing. The map is finished, the roads are surveyed, and all the paths to that kind of adventure are plainly marked and tended. The end of an age is always touched with sadness for those who lived it and those who loved it. The people are going to miss the frontier more than words can express. For four centuries they heard it call, listened to its promises, and bet their lives and fortunes on its outcome. It calls no more, and regardless of how they bend their ears for its faint whisper they cannot hear the suggestion of a promise."

That was in 1952. Dr. Webb wrote this in Texas, only a few hundred miles east of White Sands, N. Mex., where even then men with rockets were pioneering a new unlimited frontier, streaking vapor trails high above the earth.

Like most Americans then, Dr. Webb could not foresee that these rocket traceries in the sky were actually the first American attempts to pioneer the frontiers of space. But in 1952 we were doing little more than testing captured German rockets and developing our own versions at White Sands. These primitive rockets were the ancestors of the powerful launch vehicles of today. They have sent our astronauts into space to orbit the earth, and launched our unmanned scientific spacecraft on some 200 missions in space near the Earth, to the Moon, and hundreds of millions of miles beyond the planet Venus into orbits around the Sun.

As Arthur C. Clarke, the distinguished British science writer, said recently, "The road to the stars has been discovered none too soon. Civilization cannot exist without new frontiers; it needs them both physically and spiritually."

You of the class of 1964 have been well-conditioned to meet the challenges and share the progress of the new pioneering age of space. You entered junior high when the first satellites were being orbited in 1957 and 1958. Thus you practically grew up with the Space Age. Scientific information from the civilian space effort of the United States is open to all the world. So, as the space program has moved forward, you have had the advantage of being able to follow it in your newspapers and magazines and on television and radio.

You have been able to grasp much of the importance and many of the major implications of our space achievements, not years later with the 20–20 vision of hindsight, but as the events took place.

Let me stress that this is a great departure from the pattern of the past. Historically, new concepts, discoveries, innovations, have almost invariably had to travel long and toilsome roads before they were accepted generally and put into use to serve the needs of man.

For a moment, put yourselves in the place of the class of 1904 which graduated 6 months after the greatest technological breakthrough in all history up until that time. That, of course, was the success of the Wright Brothers in flying for a few seconds and a few feet above the sands of Kitty Hawk in what was essentially an engine-powered kite.

Let's assume that you read something about the flight in a Marshall newspaper of the day. Would you have realized that the air age had begun? Would you have dreamed, even vaguely, how mighty its influence would be on the world, in war and peace, during your lifetimes?

You know the answer. In 1904, the lag in the acceptance of new ideas was long. For example, the automobile, after a decade of steady improvements, was still the target of jokesmiths and cartoonists. As for airplanes, the English writer, H. G. Wells, foresaw them coming into some practical use by A.D. 2000—perhaps. The great Thomas Edison, however, declared that the airplane would never be more than "a toy of wealthy sportsmen."

Now, let us move upward in time nearly 30 years. Imagine yourselves as the class of 1931. Your parents are still a bit skittish of airplanes, in spite of Lindbergh's Atlantic-spanning feet 4 years ago. However, you have accepted the idea that aviation will play an increasing part in your lives.

But, as a member of the 1931 class, what did you know about the liquid-fueled rocket that Dr. Robert Goddard had fired, December 30, 1930, in the New Mexico desert? What about the fact that this slim cylinder, 11 feet long, soared to a height of 2,000 feet at the then fantastic rate of 500 miles per hour?

It would be a miracle if you had ever read a mention of Dr. Goddard in 1931, although his experiments planted the seeds of the space age. To be sure, the Germans were deeply interested in his work. They built upon it and, during World War II, produced the V–2 rockets that brought such destruction to England. But in our country the full significance of Dr. Goddard's pioneering was not recognized until after his death in 1945.

As for his prediction that rockets would eventually lead to space flight to the moon—as late as 1938 an eminent American scientist dismissed this as impossible. According to his mathematics, a launch vehicle would require almost a million tons of fuel at takeoff to take a 1-pound payload to the moon and back.

Compare what you know about the space age and its significance with those two examples from the past. The contrast is startling and indicates how much better prepared you are for the conditions of your times.

Consider this. Since 1900, there has been more scientific and technological progress than in all the previous centuries of recorded history. The present tempo of that progress is accelerating daily. Discoveries of science that once would have required several lifetimes to develop are now compressed into a few years—sometimes even months. It took half a century to move from mechanical office machines to modern computers, but it took less than a decade to increase the speed of these computers a thousandfold. The revolutionary transistor went from laboratory to commercial use in only 6 years. It took 40 years—from the Wright Brothers to the Second World War—to push flying speeds up to 500 miles an hour, but less than 15 years to go from 500 miles to the 18,000 miles an hour at which manmade satellites now circle the globe. Before 1970, our manned Apollo spacecraft will be speeding to and from the moon at 25,000 miles per hour.

Against this background, you can see why possession of a college degree today signifies not a termination but both an opportunity and an obligation to continue questioning, learning, and enlarging your minds and capabilities. As it was with the pioneers who advanced our frontiers westward, the graduates of 1964 cannot avoid change and the necessary adaptations—a world in continual flux on your journey through life. You will meet many and, perhaps, strange demands not yet identified.

But this constitutes not an unsupportable burden but an unparalleled opportunity to keep mentally agile, vigorous, and young.

I am confident that you who are graduating from Missouri Valley College today, like the hundreds of alert young people with whom I've talked at other educational institutions across the country, are about as well aware as I am of the origins of the space program and of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration which carries out our Nation's civilian program.

I am also sure that you are familiar with the reasons why we seek preeminence in space for the United States and the progress we have made toward that goal.

You know that McDonnell Aircraft Corp. in St. Louis developed the one-man capsules for Project Mercury and is developing and producing the two-man capsules for Project Gemini—the intermediate step between Mercury and Project Apollo, our program to send American explorers to the moon in this decade. So I think it would be laboring the obvious to describe in lengthy detail to this audience the space exploration missions which have been approved and scheduled for our astronauts to undertake before the end of the present decade.

But perhaps you will be interested in a brief summary of where we stand today in space exploration, in NASA's programs to increase the numbers and competence of scientists and engineers, and to work with universities which want to establish themselves as space-age knowledge centers for their regions. In addition, I would like to touch upon some of the more intangible, but highly important, benefits emerging from or foreseen as dividends from the space effort.

We are now 3 years into the accelerated program established in 1961 to meet our Nation's urgent needs, at what might be described as the midpoint of the Saturn-Apollo program of lunar exploration. Project Gemini, the step after Project Mercury, is already underway. A full-scale model of the

Gemini spacecraft was successfully tested in orbit on April 8, this year. Last Thursday, the sixth Saturn booster flight put the first full scale model of Apollo into orbit.

These and other flights pave the way for the first two-man Gemini mission expected late this year. Gemini will increase our competence in manned space flight, and will help perfect techniques of rendezvous and docking, or the joining together of objects in space.

These techniques must be perfected before we can undertake the even more difficult space flight tasks essential to placing American explorers on the moon and returning them safely to earth.

In other phases of the program, major contracts have been signed with industrial firms (some 93 cents out of every dollar NASA spends goes to industry) and work is well underway or nearing completion on the ground facilities that will be necessary not only for Apollo but for other advanced missions for many years to come.

The astronauts for the moon trip have been selected, and are now training vigorously.

The giant Saturn V launch vehicle is under development. It will generate seven and a half million pounds of thrust, or the horsepower equivalent of a string of mainline diesel locomotives stretching from New York to Chicago.

Various sections, or "modules," of the Apollo spacecraft which will carry out astronauts to the moon are now being fabricated and tested.

A worldwide tracking and data acquisition network has been established.

Research and development centers have been set up, staffed with skilled and experienced personnel to study what the United States requires and can accomplish in space, and to guide the efforts of industry in producing the rockets, spacecraft, and other equipment needed to achieve space preeminence.

Beyond 1970, we are studying the possibility and values of manned and unmanned space missions, ranging from large scientific laboratories in orbit around the earth and manned stations on the moon, to sending automated scientific spacecraft or astronaut explorers to the planets.

Let me repeat, we are studying such projects. They will come into active being only after the most careful consideration and approval of the President and Congress.

Early in the space effort, we had little choice. We tried to do everything that was possible with the technology then available. Today we have made such progress in rockets, spacecraft, and general technology that very many space missions of a number of types are feasible now or soon will be. NASA is currently receiving some 1,300 unsolicited proposals a year for space experiments or projects and it is necessary to be highly selective.

When the decisions are made on the space programs to come after Apollo, they will be national decisions. They will be made in light of conditions then prevailing, and with careful weighing of the wide range of choices possible to the Nation at the time.

The effect of space exploration and space thinking on the continuation of education and scientific investigation in America is already being felt. Colleges and universities are becoming more and more aware of the pace of intellectual curiosity generated by the measurements and new understandings of our space environment which are returned to earth from our space laboratories. Increasingly they recognize the fact that exploring space demands highly educated and highly skilled personnel. Our entire educational system is challenged to meet this demand with more and better students and scholars.

Nor should graduates in the liberal arts forget that the demand is not only for scientists and engineers. It extends into areas such as economics, sociology, medicine, law, management, and even philosophy.

At present, NASA employs about 12,000 scientists and engineers, and an additional 62,000 are employed by private industry, research groups, and colleges and universities working under NASA contracts and grants.

Thus, directly and indirectly, the NASA program is making use of 74,000 scientists and engineers, about 5 percent of the Nation's total requirement. In the plants and laboratories of NASA contractors and subcontractors throughout the Nation, about 400,000 men and women are working at all kinds of jobs at the forefront of new processes and new technologies.

For some time we in NASA have been concerned with doing our part to help build up the Nation's supply of scientific and engineering manpower, and to insure that our national competence grows rather than diminishes. Accordingly, in 1962, the agency initiated its present program of training graduate students in space-related fields, and nearly 900 students are already in training.

This fall the number of schools participating will grow from 88 to 131, located in 47 States—with 4 of these colleges here in Missouri—Washington University (St. Louis), the University of Missouri (Columbia), St. Louis University, and the Rolla School of Mines (Rolla). Those of you who want to go on to graduate school, or live and work in your State, will find this program of great value to your future.

The NASA predoctoral training program is, of course, only one phase of participation on a larger scale by the Nation's colleges and universities in space research and development. This comprises only a small part of the overall space effort in terms of dollars spent. Nevertheless, it is paying substantial dividends in terms of research and other benefits.

The NASA system, aimed at developing total national capabilities helps give this Middle West region great promise as a frontier of science and technology, providing young people with opportunities to live and do rewarding and useful work in the regions where they have their roots. For example, those of you who are graduating here today have available, within a day's drive from here, a number of universities where NASA-sponsored programs are underway in a variety of advanced fields which are contributing not only to progress of the space program, but also to the general advance of basic and applied research.

Senator STUART SYMINGTON has said that the space program is "stockpiling knowledge." Nowhere is this better illustrated than at the Midwest Research Institute in Kansas City, and at the Aerospace Research Application Center (ARAC) of the University of Indiana.

I am sure you are familiar with how our scientific satellites and probes are gathering tremendous stores of information about the earth, the outer reaches of the earth's atmosphere, about the sun and how its activities affect the weather and every type of inanimate and animate process on earth, as well as knowledge of the universe in general.

You are probably equally familiar with the successes of the series of eight experimental Tiros weather satellites which we have launched to date, and you know that this program is approaching operational status.

When NASA has perfected a system of operational meteorological satellites for the U.S. Weather Bureau, weather prediction will be tremendously improved. The Bureau estimates that if it could make reliable weather forecasts just 5 days in advance, the United States could realize a saving of some $6.7 billion a year—nearly $3 billion more than the present annual cost of the space program in such areas as agriculture, water resources management, surface transportation, retail marketing, and the lumber industry. Worldwide savings would be many times greater.

I need not discuss with you our Echo, Telstar, Relay, and Syncom communications satellite experiments, which have been so amply covered in the press and on the air. I would like to express my conviction that instantaneous communications from every part of the globe to every other part—made possible through perfection of these satellite systems—can do much to bring about a common international focus of understanding and action.

Until 1957, most of the world's people were absolutely certain that man could never go beyond the atmosphere of the earth where he originated. They believed that space was the final barrier, forever imprisoning men on this planet. To my mind, one of the most valuable things that we have learned in this new era of pioneering is that the most formidable obstacle man has encountered, the seemingly impossible space frontier, can be overcome. And this will give men everywhere courage to solve other so-called impossible problems such as those of bringing about real world peace, and eliminating hunger and poverty.

In conclusion, I would like to mention another intangible dividend which I believe our space program will pay. As paradoxical as it may seem, the constantly changing world in which you will live and work holds promise for stability of a kind that humanity has seldom known. Stability can come from confidence that America will use its preeminence in space for the benefit of all mankind instead of for military or economic aggression.

Already we are sharing our experimental weather and communications satellites with many nations and have made the scientific and technical knowledge we have gained in space available to the world scientific community. All in all, some 73 nations have cooperative scientific projects with us underway, paying the full cost of their experiments.

Thus, on a worldwide scale, space exploration has brought with it both the excitement of discovery and the dedication of scientific investigation. Some of our scientists are hailing the space pioneering age as a new Renaissance, on a far grander scale than the Renaissance that freed mankind from the Dark Ages.

I would like to leave you with this thought. It was recently expressed by James A. McDivitt, one of the new astronauts who is training to carry out Gemini and Apollo missions. When he spoke to an international group in Washington several weeks ago, Jim McDivitt told them:

"Flying in a Gemini space capsule will be the biggest thrill of my life. And when I am circling the earth, especially when I am over your individual nation, I hope that each of you will look up and say: 'There goes a friend.' "

That is the spirit in which Congress created the National Space Program and the spirit in which we in NASA have been carrying out that program.

That, I hope and believe is the spirit in which you, the class of 1964, and people everywhere, will continue over the years to regard our efforts.

The Becker and Relative Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Edward O. Miller, rector of St.

George's Episcopal Church of New York, testified before the Committee on the Judiciary against the various resolutions to amend the Constitution in regard to Bible reading and prayers in the public schools. His testimony was presented on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Reverend Miller is a lecturer and member of the Board of Directors of Union Theological Seminary and a trustee of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. His years of study and devotion to Christian teachings and Christian values is complemented by his concern for civil liberties, evidenced by his membership on the national board of ACLU.

He brought to the committee a thorough understanding of the history of religious freedom, and he reminded us of events in this country, committed in the name of religion, which most of us would like to forget. The lessons of history briefly outlined by the Reverend Miller are more than sufficient proof that a religion is not strengthened, but weakened, by Government protection.

THE TEXT OF TESTIMONY PRESENTED BY THE REVEREND EDWARD O. MILLER, RECTOR OF ST. GEORGE'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, STUYVESANT SQUARE, NEW YORK, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON THE BECKER AND RELATED AMENDMENTS CONCERNING BIBLE READING AND PRAYERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Mr. Chairman and gentleman of the committee, I have come to testify on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I am a member of the national board.

I am strongly opposed to the Becker amendment and other similar amendments now before this committee. In this opposition I am joined by the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, and the bishop of New York, Rt. Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan.

You cannot kill God by a Supreme Court decision. Nor can I believe that, in the controversy surrounding the Supreme Court's decision of *Engel* v. *Vitale*, affecting my own State of New York, the only thing holding the spiritual fabric of our Nation together is a little 22-word sub-Christian prayer.

I share the opinion expressed by President Kennedy in his press conference on June 27, 1962:

"We have in this case a * * * remedy, and that is to pray ourselves, and I would think that it would be a welcome reminder to every American family that we can pray a good deal more at home and attend our churches with a good deal more fidelity, and we can make the true meaning of prayer much more important to the lives of all our children."

Is this committee convinced that our American community and home life, as well as our church structures—all the influences that bear on the lives of our children outside our public schools and other public institutions—are so weak that we cannot depend on them to inculcate religious values, inspire prayer, and instill all that is uplifting in the Scriptures?

Have we come to the point in America where our churches and synagogues appear so weak that legislators have to say: "If it is to be done at all, the school boards will have to do it?"

I submit to you that these amendments contain great potential harm.

First, to our American way of doing things—the brave American experiment. Our forefathers in 1791 took the risk of organizing a new government without a civic religion. This was daring: it had never been done before. There were many who thought it could not possibly succeed. Then, as now, there was widespread belief that a common religious practice was necessary to hold society together and undergird public morality.

Have we now reached a point in our Nation's history where we admit that this brave American experiment has been a failure? Are we prepared, by endorsing these amendments, to give up and return to the arrangement that prevailed before? Shall we reinstate in an amendment to our Constitution, a civic religion to which all good citizens would be expected to subscribe?

Through most of mankind's history it has been assumed that civic responsibility and religious adherence are inseparable, and that there are certain religious truths to which all honorable citizens will subscribe. Historically this homogenous cast of civic religion was broken by the Protestant Reformation, and in its place many territorial religions sprang up. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 determined that a civic religion would be chosen by each prince for the people of his principality. Cuius regio, eius religio was a formula of mercy at the time, for it meant that dissidence could emigrate to a more friendly land rather than face a grimmer fate at home. This improved arrangement—religious territorialism—was a great advance over the single state religion of the Constantinian era which preceded it.

Our forefathers who fashioned the Constitution took a radical step beyond religious territorialism by providing that the civic responsibility of the citizen could be entirely divorced from his religious beliefs and affiliations. This was first clearly enunciated by a legislative body when the Virginia Assembly enacted Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom, which contains this historic formula:

"We, the general assembly, do enact, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or beliefs: but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in the matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civic capacities."

This brave experiment was codified in the first amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The essence of the "no-establishment" clause was that there would be no official civic religion to which all loyal citizens must pay at least lipservice. A lesser part of this provision was the guarantee that no church or ecclesiastical hierarchy would be supported by taxation, but that was subordinate to, and implementive of, the protection against religious qualifications for citizenship.

Just as primitive and pagan rites and symbols persist in higher religions for centuries, so vestiges of the establishment pattern of European Christendom persisted in America for many decades after the beginning of our noble experiment.

There were theistic qualifications on the oath of office in many States. Protestant practices continued to be part of civic ceremonies and institutions, although they were repugnant to some citizens of Roman Catholic, Jewish, or other persuasions.

For more than a century, our national climate did not permit much effective protest. During the 19th century, Roman Catholic parents repeatedly took to court the use of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools, and as a result of some of these protests Catholic children were beaten and whipped in school, Catholic priests were tarred and feathered, and churches were burned and their members subjected to violence.

Needless to say, when the Supreme Court declared in recent years that the hallowed vestiges of the Protestant culture-cult would have to be removed from the civic institutions that belonged equally to non-Protestants, the Protestant establishment was shocked. They interpreted the removal of their insignia of hegemony from the public schools as an insult to God—which is how we often construe a threat or slight to ourselves. Since Roman Catholics have inherited the community hegemony in many places, they reacted to the attack by non-Christians upon the community religious cult as an attack upon themselves. Cardinal Spellman was shocked and frightened.

So it was that when the Supreme Court asserted the implications of the first amendment—which had been present all along, seeking only the occasion to emerge into actuality—the cry arose from the threatened establishment of the old Protestant (and new Catholic) hegemony: "Let us have done with this radicalism. Let us go back to the way things were before the Supreme Court made this strange and impious ruling." Let us go back to the civic religion, the culture-cult which binds society together—justifies the way things are—keeps the newcomer sceptic, and alien in his place—and proclaims our dominance over our Nation.

The proposed constitutional amendment would retract the last bold step forward from territorialism in religion. It would return to the time of reliance upon adherence to civic religion, only now the territory would not be the domain of the local prince but the public school district or the classroom. The prince would no longer determine the form and content of the civic religion. The new ruler of our day would be the majority, acting through its official agents: the school board, the principal, the public school teacher.

Two dangers are obvious: the danger of divisive sectarianism between one religious group and another, with a strong pattern of Mormon practices provided for school districts in Utah, Roman Catholic sacramentalism in Boston and New York City, and Black Muslim rites in Harlem and South Chicago. The second danger in this ecumenical age is to have vague, thin, pointless religion-in-general everywhere—the undemanding, "nonsectarian" religion that offends no one, makes no demands, and moves no one. It will be futile for purposes of motivating conduct or determining character, as it has always been in every society where it has been tried—a recent example being pre-Nazi Germany—but it will suffice as a civic cult to which and through which all loyal citizens must daily demonstrate their allegiance as a condition of enjoying the full benefits of citizenship.

This would be a regression to Constantinianism, if not to the emperor cult of pagan Rome, where a single attenuated religion was the universal test of civic belonging. And even worse, it reduces the American spiritual heritage from a cosmopolitan to a local culture. As Robert Bierstedt has put it:

"In local as opposed to cosmopolitan cultures everyone is religious, everyone is a Christian, and with minor but growing exceptions, everyone is Protestant. One is reminded of primitive peoples throughout the world who are unable to comprehend the concept of people unlike themselves, who use the same word for themselves that they use for all mankind. One is similarly reminded of Warren Austin, ex-Senator and ex-Ambassador to the United Nations, who quite unconsciously proved this point by remarking that the Arabs and Jews should settle their conflicts in accordance with Christian principles."

Proponents state that the purpose of the amendment is to secure free exercise of religion—"like we had before June 25, 1962," as Mr. BECKER puts it. Yet this free exercise is of a peculiar kind. It is not the freedom of all children to pray and read the Scripture of their choice with others of like mind in

church or home, for we have that now. It is not the freedom of each child to pray to God or read his Bible in any place and in any time of need, for we have that now. The freedom the amendment would provide is in the public school, and it is oral and collective, so that all the children who may happen to be assigned to the same class must participate together in this "free exercise," or be silent while their classmates participate, or ask to be excused from the room—to emigrate temporarily.

In order for this free exercise of religion to be effective, the praying of the children who find themselves together in this class, by operation of the compulsory education laws, must be coordinated. They must begin at the same time and recite the same prayer, or the result is cacaphony. And who is to coordinate their free exercise if not the same authority which brought them there—the public school authority, acting through its school board, superintendent, principal, and teachers? Through this agency the children will be quieted at a given moment, it will be announced what they are now to do, and a common form of prayer will be specified—whether by the teacher, a majority of students, or one student chosen in rotation or at random. It is the authority of the teacher which coordinates the free exercise of this kind of religious activity, and the teacher has very little free exercise to decide whether or not to coordinate it if the principal or school board so requires.

This collective religious activity in a public institution whose members are present, in the ultimate analysis by force of law, is a reversion to territorialism—the imposition of religious forms upon a whole people by the governing authority, whether prince or school principal or majority of the populace. For members of the minority, who are no less citizens because their faith is different, the result is not merely a moment or two of inconvenience but an impairment of equal citizenship. For to the extent that the free exercise of religion by the majority is repeated, ostentatious, and collective in a public institution, to that extent the minority are less participants in, properietors of, that public institution. Their citizenship has been diminished to the very degree that their fellow citizens of the majority has been increased.

From this minimal form, the Becker and other amendments would permit an infinite range of exceptions to the brave American experiment, not the least of which would be the "religious test" which might be written into oaths of office, marriage licenses, driver's licenses, voter registration forms (all of them "public * * * documents"), etc. There is nothing in the Becker bill which would prohibit a Governor from prescribing hour-long pentecostal worship services to begin each day in each department of the executive. Nor is there anything in it which would prohibit a Governor from prescribing Office in Washington from publishing spiritualist tracts. It is an open-ended document, permitting almost anything that was once eschewed by the first amendment. And there would be no part of the Constitution which could prevail against it: "Nothing in this Constitution," it says.

A further danger inherent in the proposed amendments is that they serve neither God nor religion. The heavy hand of the state on religion is inevitably deadening, for the state and religion have two very different purposes. Religion must be free to speak with an independent voice, and must never become denatured by striving for least-common-denominator prayer.

Religion can never be strong if the state persists in pretending that finer people can be created in schools through formal, innocuous, vapid religious services led by people to whom they do not have deep religious meaning. Public statements of proponents of these amendments seem to assume that "prayer is prayer" and the content does not matter. They seem unable to realize that for a great many citizens, the content of prayer is its essence: they do not wish their children to engage in degrading prayer whose content is vague or innocuous.

It is a challenge to the imagination to hear proponents of the Becker bill maintaining that there is not a word in it which would authorize any government agency to choose, write, or prescribe a prayer. One conjures up the vision of the prayer which nobody chooses: it springs spontaneously from nowhere.

There are strong undertones in the proposed amendments that masquerade as pro-religious though dangerously antireligious. The State is to be empowered to use religion in the schools as a cure-all for juvenile delinquency. Prayer becomes caricatured and distorted when it is used as a gimmick to achieve secular, disciplinary ends. In the Billard case (*Billard* v. *Board of Education*, 69 Kan. 53, 57–58, 76 p. 422, 423 (1904)), the teacher whose use of the Lord's Prayer and the 23d Psalm was before the court, testified that the exercise served disciplinary rather than spiritual purposes:

"It is necessary to have some general exercise after the children come in from the playground to prepare them for their work. You need some exercise to quiet them down."

Mr. Justice Brennan has pointed out (in p. IV, sec. A of his concurring opinion in the Schempp decision) that the Pennsylvania superintendent of public instruction, testifying by deposition in the Schempp case, offered his view that daily Bible reading "places upon the children or those hearing the reading of this, and the atmosphere which goes on in the reading * * * one of the last vestiges of moral value that we have left in our school system." The exercise thus affords, the superintendent concluded, "a strong contradiction to the materialistic trends of our time."

Baltimore's superintendent of schools expressed a similar view of the practices challenged in the Murray case, to the effect that "the acknowledgment of the existence of God as symbolized in the opening exercises establishes a discipline tone which tends to cause each individual pupil to constrain his overt acts and consequently to conform to accepted standards of behavior during his attendance at school." Mr. Justice Brennan has pointed out that "Torcaso and the Sunday Law cases forbid the use of religious means to achieve secular ends where non-religious means will suffice."

History is full of examples of these attempts to employ religious practices for secular ends. Carl Sandburg records in his monumental "Abraham Lincoln"—volume 3, page 369:

The piety of the House and Senate Chaplains, and the curious reference of one of them to the President's habits, were the topic of a Noah Brooks newsletter April 9, 1864. Chaplain Channing of the House "gave the Lord a graphic description of the Statue of Freedom on the Capitol dome in his prayer one morning," wrote Brooks. The House Chaplain however had not offended any of his audience as had the Senate Chaplain, Senator Saulsbury of Delaware offering this for passage:

"*Resolved*, That the Chaplain of the Senate be respectfully requested hereafter to pray to and supplicate Almighty God in our behalf, and not to lecture Him, inform Him what to do, or state to Him, under pretense of prayer, his (the said chaplain's) opinion in reference to His duty as the Almighty; and that the said chaplain be further requested, as aforesaid, not, under the form of prayer, to lecture the Senate in relation to questions before the body."

The ultimate in harnessing prayer for secular ends was achieved in 1949 when Dr. Torrance Phelps offered the following prayer for the California State Assembly:

"O God, upon this day, when taxes were levied on the colonists that precipitated the Revolution, we pray that Congress may beware of taxing our country into exhaustion.

"Taxes of wasteful duplication, of inefficient agencies; taxes of pork-barrel maneuvering and handouts by political logrollers who think the public exchequer is bottomless.

"Taxes that eat up the investing capacity and decrease the surplus devoted to charitable and character-building institutions that mold the foundations of democracy.

"May the people learn the peril of spending more than they earn, the peril of a nation spending beyond its resources, and the peril of that rosy optimism that 'Eldorado' is around the corner.

"May the people remember that a sound nation cannot spend its way into Utopia. Amen."

Prayer is not asking God for something. As Kierkegaard has put it: "Prayer is not founded in the truth when God hears that concerning which one prays to him; it is founded in the truth when he who prays continues to pray until he is himself the one who hears what God wants."

How can this kind of prayer be legislated? St. Jerome said: "Choose for thyself some fit place where as unto a haven thou mayest take theyself out of the great storm and tempest of thy cares and there appease with tranquil solitude the noise of outward troubles. Let there be prayer and study of the divine word, and meditation on eternal things."

This is true prayer. The word "prayer" stems from the Latin "prex"—an entreaty—held by the favor and at the pleasure of another. From "prayer" comes "precarious." Prayer is precarious—if misused, it can turn children away from God, and from religion, too.

The Supreme Court's decisions do not forbid children to pray. Protestants have never insisted that it is necessary or desirable that prayer must be collective, formal, or oral to be heard by God. Rather, as Justice Black's opinion expressed it in one of the great statements of our day: "The first amendment was added to the Constitution to stand as a guarantee that neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support, or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say—that the people's religions must not be subjected to the pressures of Government for change each time a new political administration is elected to office."

The nub of this issue before us today is the nature of prayer. When prayer becomes coercive and forced, it is not prayer. The formulators of the first amendment were not indifferent to religion. The principle of separation of church and state was not worked out solely for the purpose of keeping one denomination out of the hair of another, as present critics of the Supreme Court seem to imply—to neutralize religious controversy.

Basically the first amendment was adopted because the Founding Fathers believed that religion flourishes best where it is the responsibility of the church and the home—that religion thrives where it is voluntary and not dependent on the coercive power of the State.

At the time our Constitution was being formulated, delegates in church assemblies of the Baptists in Rhode Island and New Jersey, and in the Presbytery of West Chester, Pennsylvania, were insisting that only religious activity which is voluntary is really significant—that under duress or coercion, religion is not significant for the individual in the sight of God.

Jesus said: "Beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them" (Matthew 6: 1). What begins as a spontane-

ous and sincere outpouring of devotion—if routinely and casually repeated, imposed upon those who do not share the experience of devotion—can become pious hypocrisy and arrogant display—using God's name in vain. There are many who find in this and similar scriptural references a continual warning that our transactions with the Most High must be inward, sincere, wholehearted, intense, reverent, voluntary. Routine, formalized, scheduled, public official prayer is the opposite of this.

In the provisions for Bible reading in the schools, the issue of censorship must inevitably raise its ugly head. Not all of the Bible is edifying. Innumerable passages outdo Fanny Hill in minute descriptions of murder, jealousy, revenge, rape, adultery, fornication, illicit love, sodomy, homosexuality. What will prevent a teacher from inadvertently choosing one of these many passages? See Genesis 19: 30–38; Genesis 34; Leviticus' 18: 22; Leviticus 20: 12–13; Numbers 5: 11–31; Deuteronomy 23: 17–18; Judges 19: 22–26; I Samuel 2: 22–25; Proverbs 6: 23–32; Proverbs 7; Jeremiah 3: 1–9; Ezekiel 23: 1–10; Hosea 4: 11–14; Amos 2: 1–8. Shall democracy relish children's shrieks of vindictive glee over what God is invoked to perform on the wicked man in Psalm 109 and other psalms equally imprecatory? Suppose an atheistic teacher wishing to hit back at the school board for forcing her to read the Bible, selects one deliberately. Who is to select? To which person's subjective judgment will this great power of censorship be delegated? Suppose a clergyman in a school district protests that the "right" prayers are not chosen. Is it preposterous to imagine that candidates for school boards might conceivably run for office on the basis of protecting or rejecting a Bible story?

Is it possible to transmit the spiritual meaning and significance of the Bible without some interpretation? In the home, and in the church and synagogue, Bible stories can be interpreted, the child can talk back and ask questions. Public schoolteachers should not be selected for their interpretation of or familiarity with the Bible. Mark Twain used to say that the things he could not understand about the Bible gave him very little trouble. It was the things he could understand that gave him all the trouble he was looking for.

Just at a time when in my own community on the East Side of New York, amiability and mutual trust have been created among religious leaders of all faiths, are we to inject the strongly divisive question of what Scriptures or what prayers are to be used in our local public schools?

There are in America today 65 million Protestants, 44 million Roman Catholics, and more than 5½ million Jews. Of a total U.S. population of 190 million, almost 115 million Americans profess belief in God. And a legislative body is asked to make it possible for the Government to help us preserve our powerful faith.

Instead of circumventing the Supreme Court's decision, should not our churches and synagogues gird themselves to measure up to it by preparing a bold advance to help families pray at home, to show parents how to lead children in prayer before they go to school in the morning, to share such vital, contagious, honest faith that religion cannot perish from the Nation?

We are not nearly as religious a nation as we ought to be. But are we ready to say that the insights of our Founding Fathers are wrong, and that we are less good than citizens of lands in which the state actively supports religion? Observe Spain and Italy (Roman Catholic), Greece (Orthodox), Sweden (Prostestant). In every one of these countries with state religions, the schools do everything the Church wants them to do in religious nurture and exercise. Do we find these other nations any less secular or more godly than our own? There is no evidence of superb vitality in the spirit of religion among these people because the state helps them with their practice of it. With the schools supporting religion fully, the suicide rate in Sweden is among the highest in the world.

Do we want religiousity or religion? Outward piety or commitment? Outward slogans and symbols, or a deep inner response? An Englishman has remarked in commenting on prayer in public schools: "This kind of routine formality I think serves as an innoculation against really getting religion. If people think that religion consists of certain salutes and gestures, then they hand to the government the task of taking over when it is hard to get them to accept the fact that religion is a way of life and a commitment. Any Communist traitor can give the salute to the flag, and it doesn't mean a thing to him—unless it is in a context that makes it of real symbolic significance."

Unless God is worshipped "in spirit and in truth", and prayer is honest and sincere, it profiteth nothing. Prayer, Bishop Brent used to say, is "loving our neighbors on our knees," not asking God's blessings on ourselves.

Meaningful prayer and scripture meditation take place effectively only within a context, in an atmosphere—not as classroom routine along with the salute to the flag. Leading children in prayer requires the creation of a response within human hearts, and government has neither the facilities nor the rights to attempt this. This is why it is wrong to have prayers in a public school even when Jews, Protestants, and Catholics may agree on the least-common-denominator prayer and passage of Scripture to be used.

Leaders who have wisely insisted that we must rely on church and home—and not on government—in matters of religion, now lash out against the Supreme Court's reasoning. Leaders who have consistently demanded that Government stay out of business, now proclaim that without Government's backing, the God of Abraham and of Jesus may be destroyed. Since when does religion run to the Government to save God?

Christianity was once almost wrecked when the Roman Emperor Constantine gave it official sanction and made it respectable. Soren Kierkegaard said of any kind of Christianity that looks to government for aid: "If it wishes the help of government, it betrays the fact that it is not the Christianity of the New Testament" ("Attack Upon 'Christendom'," Princeton, 1944).

Piety in its early form meant pity. "Thou art a merciful God—and of a great pietie." The pious are expected to show pity—compassion, understanding—for those who do not share their religious attitudes and beliefs. It is of the essence of religion that it protect the rights of the nonreligious.

Judaism and Christianity have both survived active hostility of governments, and do not now require the protection or intervention of government to sustain them. In fact, they have been weakest in just those societies where the state has undertaken to sponsor and promote religious activities in public institutions.

The threat is not the secularization of our schools but the secularization of our religion.

They're the Tops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to place in the RECORD an editorial from the San Bernardino Daily Sun title "They're the Tops." The editorial speaks most complimentary pertaining to the activities of San Bernardino County's registrar of voters, Eleanor Felton, and her election staff.

I have known Mrs. Felton for the past 28 years and as a Member of the House of Representatives running for reelection every 2 years over that period of time, I have had very close relationship with the office of the registrar of votera. Beyond any question, Mrs. Eleanor Felton as registrar of voters has run and continues to run one of the best offices in the State of California, if not in the Union.

Aside from the extremely high degree of efficiency reflected in her office, there is an outstanding courtesy extended to everyone, not only by Mrs. Felton but by her entire staff.

It gives me great personal pleasure to be able to pay my compliments and congratulations to Mrs. Felton and her staff.

The editorial follows:

THEY'RE THE TOPS

Of course, we in San Bernardino County have known it for a long time.

But it's fine that now the rest of the State shares the knowledge: that County Registrar of Voters Eleanor Felton and her election staff are tops.

Says the Associated Press dispatch:

"A remarkably fast snap tally method developed by Eleanor Felton, registrar of voters in San Bernardino County, was adopted in modified form in a half dozen counties.

"Her system tabulates two-thirds of the county's vote in selected areas within an hour after the polls close."

This is a well-deserved tribute to one of this country's most efficient, economical, and service-dedicated offices.

The secret of such service and efficiency lies in the devotion to the job that the registrar and her regular staff, as well as the precinct boards, have always exemplified.

While their shining hour of attention comes at election time, let's not forget to be grateful every day for their excellent performance throughout the year.

Poem to the Late President John F. Kennedy by a High School Student

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Mildred Peehl, senior sponsor of the Technical-Vocational High School of Hammond, Ind., forwarded to me the following poem authored by Carmen Reyes, a member of the senior class and the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Reyes, 1837 Clay Street, Hammond, Ind.

This poem is the preface to a beautiful pictorial book "The 1964 Chart" of the Hammond, Ind., Technical-Vocational High School and was dedicated to our late President John F. Kennedy:

I gaze out the window
Depressed at the sight of the day.

The clouds hang low;
The rain seeps through the haze.
I stare—and the gloom
Foretells the sorrow to come.

The news soon wakes the world:
"The President is dead."

The rain at my window
Weeps on, saying,
"The world will grieve;
A great man must leave."
It rained all the day;
It rained all the night.
I grieved with the rain.

—CARMEN REYES.

ARA, if It Could Eschew Crass Politics, Could Be Helpful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a major persistent problem among small industries is their inability to diversify into new products and fields and to conduct research to keep up with changing technologies. ARA could help here. For example, in 1960 Kentucky was stimulated by a $750,000 Kellogg Foundation grant to launch a 7-year pilot program to develop the depressed eastern region of the State. Among the "resource development" team sent out was Gilbert Brown, a University of Kentucky forestry and wood utilization specialist, because three-fourths of the 33 eastern counties is forested. In 2 years Brown was able to talk scores of operators into adopting enough new methods and products to measurably increase production and employment through the eastern Kentucky wood use industry. He saw more was needed.

The more I talked to the sawmillers and other lumber operators, the more I realized the need for something for small businessmen like our Agricultural Research and Extension Service which revolutionized our farming three decades ago. Most of these small businessmen are in the same state of anarchic independence our farmers were then. They run one-man operations with a total lack of research and marketing development facilities and the expert's broad knowledge.

So Brown turned to the ARA and in May 1962 got a $642,000 grant for the university to establish in Jackson, Ky., the nation's first Wood Use Demonstration and Training Center. Equipped with the latest machines, it will show lumber operators the most modern production techniques and product ideas and train their workers to use the new equipment and methods. Though the Center opened just last February—1964—Brown estimates it will release vast new energies to stimulate the surrounding Appalachian forest region in several States, adding over the next 5 years 3,000 new jobs and annual payroll of $7,500,000.

This is the sort of thing ARA should seek to inspire all over the Nation. For unless it gets back to the job intended for it, ARA could become the initial step toward a hierarchy of Moscow-style local planning soviets and state-financed industries that will spell the early demise of our free enterprise system.

A congressional investigation of the present operation of ARA should be made before any further moneys are allotted to it.

The Challenge and Opportunities in Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, Hon Albert M. Cole, of Kansas, now chairman of the board of Action, Inc., has made an excellent speech on the challenge and opportunities in urban renewal. I commend his speech to the attention of my colleagues:

THE CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITIES IN URBAN RENEWAL

(By Albert M. Cole, president, Reynolds Metals Development Corp., chairman of the board, Action, Inc.)

It is a great pleasure to be here today with the Great Lakes region of the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers, not only because of my respect for your profession and your organization, but also because my subject is a favorite one with me. I happen to believe that the challenge and oportunities in urban renewal are among the most important matters in this country today. I know it is a significant subject for everyone concerned with real estate, and I welcome the opportunity to discuss it with you.

You can pick up almost any newspaper or magazine today and quickly encounter some aspect of the great challenge now facing urban renewal. Obviously there is a tremendous challenge of a vital job to be done, a job of saving our cities that calls for the assistance of many segments of business and the professions, including your own. In addition, there is a very special challenge facing renewal right now in the form of a concerted attack from those who would seriously cripple or substantially abolish the renewal program as we know it. Beyond this challenge there certainly is a marvelous opportunity in renewal, an opportunity to revitalize our cities to the great benefit of us all, an opportunity for business and the professions to put their resources to work to accomplish renewal in its fullest sense.

If I sound enthusiastic, almost evangelistic, it is neither unintentional or misleading. I am a devoted believer in the city. The city is the cradle of culture, the developer of commerce, the physical environment which makes it possible for man and his institutions to prosper and advance. Urban renewal is vital because cities are vital.

Urban renewal is a drastic remedy for an urgent problem. Congress did not take lightly the authorization for cities to acquire and raze property in order to turn it over for redevelopment.

Urban America is in trouble. Cities are growing more, and the residents are enjoying them less. The population explosion, about which we hear so much, is occurring almost entirely in our metropolitan areas, of which the central city is the hub. Our urban population growth since 1950 is greater than the Nation's entire population in 1870, but during the same period many rural counties actually declined in population.

This is only the beginning. During the next 20 years the population of our urban areas is expected to increase by one-half to two-thirds. A child born today and living to the age of 65 will be living in a nation with three times the population it had on the day of his birth. This growth requires a building program of massive proportions. For the next 10 years this Nation must build the equivalent of one complete Chicago each and every year just to house new family formations.

If the trend of the past two decades continues, this mushrooming will occur almost entirely on the fringe of our metropolitan areas. Herein lies a key part of the problem.

The city has been rapidly changing in character since the end of World War II. Geographically the city has three distinct parts: First, the central city, with major business district, public facilities, and some high-density housing. Second, a middle ring of residential sections, with some business and industry. And third, the suburbs, an ever-expanding outer ring of newer homes, with retail business concentrated in zoned shopping centers.

Each of these areas has its special problems. The central city has largely lost its upper and middle income residents, leaving the core of the city as an abode for the poor. The tax base is dropping, but revenue requirements are rising as superhighways, traffic controls, police and special facilities are provided to accommodate the daily influx of suburbanites who work in the center city. Much of central city housing has become slums, and the downtown retail business districts have suffered in the general decline.

The middle ring of the urban community has become characterized by aging housing and obsolete community facilities. At the moment it has varying degrees of stability, from city to city, but everywhere its long-range future is shaky.

The suburbs are coming of age, and their problems are multiplying almost as fast as their boundaries. While some of these so-called bedroom communities have been admirably planned, there generally has been a sad lack of provision for community facilities and the other accommodations needed to provide a sound relationship to the center city. Each year the bulldozers move farther and farther out to chew up land for new subdivisions; the metropolitan area becomes more sprawling and disconnected; and the welter of separate local governments and agencies lags further behind in providing arterial trafficways, schools, parks, water and sewer systems, and the other facilities essential to a sound metropolitan area.

In a large sense, the problems of either of the three rings of the city are the problems of the entire metropolis. None of them can be solved in isolation.

Out of all these problems has come one clear realization: The American city must become the master, rather than the victim, of its environment. How this is to be accomplished is a fascinating subject, but it is not my topic here today. My point here is that urban renewal—the planned, systematic removal of blight, followed by planned, systematic redevelopment, and accompanied by planned, practical rehabilitation of areas on the borderline of blight—is an absolutely essential part of the city's shaping of its environment.

It was only about 15 years ago that these realities came into sharp focus. The Nation set out to work on the problem, and the term "urban renewal" became a part of our language. In our tradition we would have

liked to have seen the problem solved entirely through private enterprise, with local business buying blighted properties and replacing them with modern new neighborhoods. But insuperable obstacles face such a task. It is impossible in most cases for private businesses to assemble sufficiently large parcels of land to make redevelopment practical. In addition, the cost of buying, clearing and rebuilding tracts of practical size is prohibitive.

The Housing Act of 1949 established a Federal urban renewal program as an answer, and it sought to combine the resources of the Federal Government, the local government and private enterprise for the task. Initially the program concentrated solely on blight in residential areas. Under its program local governments could plan renewal projects and acquire and sell land for building of new neighborhoods on cleared slum property. A key part was the provision that the local and Federal Governments would pay the difference between the cost of buying and clearing the land, and the fair market value of the land when ready for redevelopment.

This provision is essential to the process of redevelopment, but it is often misunderstood. The difference between the cost of property ready for redevelopment and the fair market value of that property must be understood in its true light. It is the cost to the community of achieving a public purpose—the removal of blight. It is not a subsidy to the developer; he is required by law to pay the fair market value for the property. Thus the cost is properly paid by the public in the same manner as the cost of achieving other public purposes such as parks and highways.

As we gained experience, it became clear that additional tools for renewal were needed. One major new step was to make easier the organized rehabilitation of older neighborhoods which are still sound but threatened by blight. Another was to make adequate provision for commercial developments in renewal areas. Still another was an improved program for relocating those displaced by slum clearance.

This program is now 15 years old. It is only natural that people are asking: How is the program working? What success has it had in meeting the challenge of the need for renewal?

The Federal urban renewal program definitely is achieving its goal of transforming sections of the center city, thus helping to revitalize the whole city. Many of the individual successes have come with disappointing slowness, but they have been achieved. There are still problems in our renewal techniques, and there probably always will be, because renewal is not simple or static. We still have much to learn about making renewal work, but we are learning these things. We should never forget that renewal was largely an uncharted field only 15 years ago, and 15 years actually is not a long time in which to master and make use of a new science or art of the complexity of urban renewal. It took the human family countless centuries to learn how to build cities. We must not expect that even modern man can learn and implement overnight the know-how for removing and replacing whole sections of those cities through the actions of relatively inexperienced agencies of a rather unwieldly central government working in concert with the even more inexperienced arms of diverse local governments.

Viewed against this realistic background, I believe we as a nation can be proud of what already has been achieved in urban renewal. The job of urban renewal is so massive and the day-to-day concerns so pressing, even those of us close to renewal may fail to appreciate the great things that have been accomplished.

There is good statistical evidence of the validity of what I say. But I think we miss the real significance of the urban renewal program if we think only in terms of statistics. Renewal involves people, homes for people to live in, places for people to work. Before summarizing the statistics of success as recorded in tables, charts, and graphs, let's have a look at the successes as they are being enjoyed by people.

I would like you to see photographic evidence of what some residential areas looked like before renewal, and how they now appear as new urban renewal communities. After all, this is really the heart of the matter.

The areas I have chosen are Washington, Philadelphia, Kansas City, and Baltimore. Each represents a particular type of problem and solution. Each of the projects shown is one built by Reynolds Metals Development Corp. This is only because I have the illustrative materials on these projects; many other developers could show you the same thing.

First, here is southwest Washington in the Nation's Capital a few years ago. These houses were almost within shouting distance of the Capitol itself. Their squalor and misery and filth cried out for correction.

Recently we completed River Park, an 11½-acre community with 384 apartments in this 9-story building, with 134 townhouses of modern design built around a courtyard. Each townhouse has its own patio. Good design has brought gracious living to a high-density urban community. River Park is a cooperative development, with monthly charges ranging from $85 for an efficiency apartment to $219 for a four-bedroom townhouse. These costs compare favorably with similar space in the suburbs; yet many of the River Park residents walk to work. This is middle-income housing. Other types of housing are provided in other cities.

Another example is the New Eastwick development in Philadelphia. Here unused swampland and ramshackle houses including some made with packing crates, were predominant in a large area. Today the first 253-home neighborhood in what eventually will be a community of 10,000 homes has been completed and largely occupied. In this planned community no person will ever have to cross a trafficway to go to any other part of the community, and the parks and esplanades give a delightful feeling of spaciousness. And it is all available to those who live in these homes which sell for about $12,000 to $14,000.

Much has been said about the need for truly moderate-cost housing in urban renewal areas. It is provided in the Parade Park development in the Attucks area of Kansas City, Mo.; this was the old Attucks before renewal. Here is Parade Park, which is rising on the cleared land there * * * good substantial homes in a planned community. You may be surprised when I tell you these homes of two and three bedrooms sell through a cooperative for as little as $125 initial payment and monthly charges of $66, including water service.

All these were redevelopment projects. As a final example, let me show you a case of rehabilitation of existing structures without land clearance. We bought three 80-year-old homes in Baltimore, and their condition was typical of their neighborhood, old and rundown, and in some cases definitely unsafe. But people were living in them. These buildings were completely renovated and converted into nine modern apartments with a handsome balcony and all with kitchens and other facilities comparable to any new home.

For the past few minutes now you have been seeing actual urban renewal as it affects people. As businessmen with an intimate knowledge of real estate, you know what else these developments mean to their cities—more tax revenue, increased property values through a wide surrounding area, greater purchasing power for area goods and services, and smaller community expense for law enforcement, fire protection, and social services.

I believe these examples spell success for renewal. Yet not one of those projects was, is, or ever will be Utopian. Every one went through problems; some still are overcoming problems. But go into any one of those communities and ask the mayor, ask the city councilman, ask the businessman, ask the police chief, ask the school superintendent, ask the social worker, ask the pastor, ask the man in the street, "Which is best for your community, the before renewal area or the after renewal area?" This is the ultimate test, and in city after city the urban renewal program is passing this test.

Now let's look at the statistical record of the accomplishments of the urban renewal program.

America's cities believe in the program and are using it. Back in 1950 only 31 cities over the Nation had set up projects in this pioneering enterprise. By June of 1963 this total had climbed to 679, and the latest figures show that 750 American cities have urban renewal projects in planning, underway, or completed. Many of these cities have more than one project. Last June these cities had a total of 1,300 projects, and the project total now has climbed to 1,500. Total area covered by these projects is almost 185 square miles, about the combined area of Atlanta and Louisville. About half this area will be acquired, cleared, and redeveloped.

The scope of these developments is truly breathtaking, whether measured in human or in financial terms. More than 48,000 dwelling units already have been completed. Nearly 18,000 more are under actual construction. And other thousands are in the planning stage. "Dwelling units" is a rather drab term, but remember, each one is a home for a family or individual. And each one adds a stable source of vitality to the urban community. Nearly all the $4 billion in Federal grant funds currently authorized has been committed. These Federal grant funds are only the beginning in the economic stimulation resulting from urban renewal. For every $1 of Federal capital grant, $6 of private funds are spent to translate renewal plans into community reality.

If we look within the roster of urban renewal projects we find additional indications of success. The substantial leadtime required in planning naturally tends to make communities restive, and during the early years the number of projects in planning were many and in the number under construction were few. Happily the pendulum swung about 1958, and since then the projects under construction have exceeded those in planning. At the end of the last fiscal year urban renewal enjoyed this excellent score card: 106 projects completed, 600 projects underway, and about 550 in planning.

The record also demonstrates that renewal is truly a nationwide enterprise, not confined to the few largest cities or any special geographic areas. Forty-five States now have urban renewal enabling legislation. As of last year only 16 percent of the communities participating were 100,000 or more in population. Nearly half of the participating cities had less than 25,000 population, although naturally the major projects are in the larger cities.

I have been relating why the urban renewal program offers our primary hope of revitalizing our central cities and how the program is making giant strides toward this goal. Now, you might well ask: If these things are true, how do you account for the current wave of attacks on urban renewal? You no doubt are aware of a rather furious onslaught against the present urban renewal program, as a concept and as it is being carried out. As chairman of the board

of Action, the nationwide organization dedicated to the goal of restoring stability and vitality to our cities, I have been keenly interested in studying and evaluating this attack. My own conviction is that the attack has been voluble and vicious, but the line of battle has been surprisingly thin. There has been one article in a major national magazine, one national meeting which could have been held comfortably in a small school auditorium, a broadside of resolutions by organizations which could be counted on the fingers of one hand, a flurry of charges and countercharges in two or three cities, and proposed restrictive legislation in one city. These ingredients are not sufficient themselves to whip up a national controversy, and the attack appears to be waning for lack of support.

However, I do not believe we should run any risk of letting apathy pass for approval. Those of us involved in renewal welcome any investigation of the renewal program which seeks facts and conclusions based upon facts. It is reassuring to all that a congressional group such as the House Subcommittee on Housing, headed by Representative ALBERT RAINS, of Alabama, has long served as a watchdog over the urban renewal program and is still doing so. But renewal can suffer from false charges, half-truths, innuendoes, and other weapons of wile which a few have been brought against it.

Let's look deeper for the causes of serious criticism against the urban renewal program. Any study quickly shows there are two groups voicing criticism:

First, there is the "off with their heads" group. This is composed of people who oppose any Federal financial aid for any local community enterprise, joined no doubt by some whose personal interests are adversely affected by certain renewal activities. This group would effectively cripple or abolish the renewal program as it exists.

Second, there is the "it can be done better" type of critic. These see specific shortcomings in the urban renewal program and would like to see specific changes made to bring about specific improvements. These are friends of urban renewal, and I include myself among this type of critic.

At this point I think it is important to say that the public has significant stake in examining the critics and the criticisms of urban renewal. I believe it is fair to differentiate between the critics. Every citizen has the right to hold and exercise his own philosophy of government, and every citizen has the right to defend his own interests. The reverse side of the same coin is that every citizen exercising those rights should be ready to bring his case into public scrutiny for the judgment of a fully informed public. Furthermore, if a citizen demands the effective abolition of some function his fellows have officially recognized as essential, the public is entitled to know what alternative the critic offers. For example, if some organization proposed that all municipal police forces be abolished, I think this group should have the courage to state publicly how law and order are to be maintained in our cities.

This principle is relevant to the outcry over urban renewal. When the death rattle of the city is almost audible in the background, it is completely irresponsible for organizations and individuals to cry out against everything about our urban renewal program while they themselves offer nothing, nothing at all, to save the city. Even my younger grandchildren can see some of the problems in urban renewal; this is no feat. But I have yet to hear one of the "off with their heads" type of critic offer any reasonable, thought-out alternative to the basic structure of our existing urban renewal program.

Now let's return to my type of critic, those who believe our urban renewal procedures need many revisions to incorporate the lessons we have learned. We don't have all the answers either, but we are trying.

There are shortcomings in the urban renewal program. It would be most surprising if there were not, because we have been exploring uncharted territory. The important thing is that we indentify the shortcomings of the program, revise it to the best of our ability, and then continue to seek improvements as we march ahead.

There is rather general agreement that these are the significant problem areas of renewal:

The procedures of renewal and related FHA mortgage-insured financing are too cumbersome, time consuming, and restrictive.

There have been cases of poor planning. Primarily the trouble in such cases has been a lack of adherence to sound principles of real estate development, where wishful thinking instead of realism has governed. I personally feel that some planners are not sufficiently people oriented in their thinking. Here again, we must remember that community planning is a new science and art, and planners are human—as are lawyers, doctors, and real estate investors.

There is general agreement that some major new keys to rehabilitation—the conservation of older neighborhoods—are needed. The organized renovation of older neighborhoods is not being accomplished satisfactorily.

There is also general argeement that sales and rentals in urban renewal areas sometimes tend to move rather slowly in the initial phase, although this is by no means a universal rule. We need to recognize certain factors contributing to this occasional problem, such as the lingering reputation of an old slum area, the reluctance to invest in what may appear to be a social experiment, the open occupancy policy toward all races, and a lag in improvement of schools and public facilities to serve renewal areas.

How do we solve these problems? I do not propose to offer any handy-dandy all-purpose panacea for our renewal problems. But I do say that with all America's resources of managerial, financial, and technical know-how, these problems are well within our ability to solve. A nation which can send men into space can reshape its urban environment. I would suggest some guidelines for improvement which have been impressed upon me in my experience in the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government and in private industry:

1. Local communities should make more effective use of the real estate management skill, design talent, building experience, business acumen, and financial judgment available through local professions and business.

2. Planning must become both more people-oriented and more in keeping with sound principles of real estate development. A corollary is that local governments must accept the real estate facts of life as related to their projects. This is a large order—involving the highest standards of site planning, architectural design, business judgment, financial management, and political integrity—but it is within our capability.

3. The Urban Renewal Administration and the Federal Housing Administration should adopt simplified procedures and practices for redevelopment and rehabilitation projects. For the FHA, a corollary should be the addition of more personnel with special experience and qualifications in the renewal area. Historically FHA personnel are grounded in traditional single-family housing, and in some cases the agency does not have sufficient field personnel who understand the special aspects of renewal. I recognize the limitations and difficulties in Federal renewal and mortgage insurance procedures, but I insist that much improvement can be made.

You will recognize that in these three basic guidelines I place great stress on local communities making the best use of the resources of local business and professional people. No local renewal agency can have on its staff all the managerial and technical know-how required to solve the complexities of renewal, but the agency should utilize the resources which can be made available to it.

And here it is relevant to speak of the vital role of the real estate appraiser. No urban renewal project could possibly be economically sound if its property appraisals are not sound. The economic success of so many renewal projects is a splendid tribute to your profession. I think it is important that organizations such as yours continue to educate all appraisers in the intricacies of the urban renewal program, because property values in a redevelopment project are so crucially affected by the special factors involved in renewal. This matter has come into special focus in the commercial sections of renewal projects. As you well know, a piece of commercial property in a renewal area is far different from a similar property not in a renewal area. This is true because renewal plans of necessity spell out many special requirements for commercial property in terms of parking space, building offsets, and other vital factors. The appraisals also are made in a very special environment: The sponsoring city naturally wants the highest reasonable appraisal of commercial property so that its net loss in property acquisition is at a minimum.

It is unfortunate that in some renewal projects the commercial properties have been given valuations under which developers have found it extremely difficult to attract business firms to locate. In such cases, it is obvious that the commercial property appraisal and market analysis were not realistic. I cite such instances not as a rule, but as exceptions which call for continued work by organizations such as yours.

The all-important thing to remember about the problems of urban renewal is that they must be solved. Although the problems are complex, the goal to be won well justifies the effort required. Fortunately the road down which we travel to renewal also is filled with opportunity for appropriate rewards for those who make essential contributions. In our economy this is essential.

Urban renewal represents one of the really great opportunities for individuals and business today. The market for the things involved in renewal is so great it really defies any effort to put a precise price tag on it. One recent study estimated that a minimum modernization program in U.S. cities would mean an expenditure of $110 billion a year for at least 12 years, more than double the annual spending rate for national defense. If we accomplish even a fair part of this possible renewal work, the economic activity generated will be tremendous. The National Planning Association estimates that a broad, 20-year program of urban renewal would create 3 million new jobs for low-skilled workers. A similar broad market is created for the widest variety of goods and services.

Successfully completed renewal in turn generates other economic activity and contributes directly to the sponsoring community. For example, Philadelphia's Penn Center yielded $384,000 in taxes in 1952; after a decade of renewal, the tax yield climbed to $1,800,000.

American business and industry are coming to realize this potential. My firm was the first building materials industry to enter renewal as a developer back in 1959. Today there are more than a dozen major national firms engaged in real estate development, and much of this development is centered in renewal. These developers include aluminum, steel, oil, and chemical firms. The trend is spreading, and smaller firms are participating in developments in their own localities.

The results of bringing business and industry directly into renewal as sponsors are exciting. In this manner business can contribute its special resources of managerial and technical know-how while making a normal developer's profit, within the framework of safeguards established by the Urban Administration and the FHA.

In closing, I go back to the title of this talk: "The Challenge and Opportunities in Urban Renewal." I hope I have shown you that both are great. Even more important, I hope I have stimulated you to make your own contribution to the urgent cause of renewal and that you will be joined by the many others who can help in rebuilding our cities for the role they must play in our future.

The 1964 Albert H. Diebold Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, each year the International Society of Christian Endeavor presents the Albert H. Diebold Award under their citizenship awards program. I am proud to pay tribute to the 1964 first-place winner, Miss Margaret Jean Leseiko, of Ambridge, Pa., in my congressional district. She will receive the sum of $150 plus a grant—to a maximum of $100—for the expenses of attending the International Summer Assembly to be held at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, July 6 to 11, 1964.

This program has inspired much interest in Christian citizenship throughout the 13 years of its existence, and hundreds of young people have participated in it.

Under unanimous consent, I include Miss Leseiko's editorial, which appeared in the January 30, 1964, issue of the Beaver County Times, Beaver, Pa., in my congressional district, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

(By Margaret Jean Leseiko, Ambridge, Pa.)

EDITOR, THE TIMES:

Christian citizens possess the key that will open the door to the world's happiness. Jesus Christ is that key. He is the answer to all our needs. The tasks that lie ahead are not easy. We can go forward as we remember the promise of Jesus, "Lo, I am with you always."

Our Nation recognizes God in its Constitution and believes that all men are created equal regardless of race, color, or creed. The great leaders of the past knew that a nation thrives best when its people are independently free to work and dream. Our country has abundance for life and offers opportunity to all who desire to achieve their goal.

Despite all these privileges, each American has a duty to perform for his country. He should love his country, support its Constitution, obey its laws, respect its flag, and defend it against all enemies. "It is not what our country can do for us but rather what we can do for our country."

To Americans, the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—will always be sacred. Christian citizenship recognizes these as a heritage beneficial to all.

The principle of independence must be guarded continually if the future is to bring still greater progress and increasing strength. The American economy is free. Americans have subscribed to the constitutional principle of "liberty under law."

I am grateful that many Americans have such good sense to be able to recognize communism which can infiltrate so rapidly and destroy precious freedom. It has emerged as the greatest threat to peace and prosperity that the world has ever known. Since communism's basic philosophy is "the end justifies the means," it is the duty of Christian citizens to fight by taking up the cross and walking with God.

I, as a young American, growing up in this most beautiful country, want so to guard the principle for which it stands that each night my prayer is that we may seek and find our security, not in the force of arms, but through prayer and perfect love.

Those who have not been blessed with a Christian home can find their only contact with Christianity through the church or through Christian friends. It is fortunate for those that rely only on the church that it is not a human institution, advocating its particular doctrines or philosophy, but is the means by which the unique revelation of God is carried to the hearts and minds of men.

To witness for Christ is the responsibility of every Christian. By example he lives a life acceptable to God. His action may be more persuasive than the words he utters. What he does speaks louder than what he says.

God needs all of us to carry on His work. He has given us different talents and abilities, likes and dislikes. He expects us to use these talents in His service. Whatever your talent, there is some place where you can use it in the kingdom of God and make your life a blessing to your fellow men.

When we stay away from church, we rob our fellow members of the encouragement of our presence. We silently testify that the church services are not worthy of our time. Every vacant pew speaks a message which is contradictory to the sermon. It may be more persuasive than the preacher's pleading. A crowded church each Sunday is certain to influence the thinking of our friends and neighbors.

We support the church by the dedication of our time, our talents, and our treasures. As we share in the work and worship of the church we testify to others that we believe in the church. The glory of the church has always been its ability to arouse unselfish impulses of its members and merge individual talents into a mighty cooperative organization for the advancement of the kingdom of God.

The University of Notre Dame—Valedictory Address of George S. Craft, Jr., 119th Annual Commencement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to attend the June exercises of the 119th Annual Commencement of the University of Notre Dame at South Bend, Ind. Notre Dame is one of the finest institutions of higher education in this Nation. It is famous for its great athletic prowess but it is no less renowned for the brilliance of its academic record and the achievements of its graduates in all endeavors of our national life. Academic excellence is constantly and successfully stressed at Notre Dame. It was emphatically demonstrated in the remarkable valedictory address delivered at the senior class day, on June 6, 1964, by George S. Craft, Jr.

The degree of bachelor of arts, maxima cum laude, was conferred on George Craft, Jr., and as the highest ranking student in the graduating class of 1964, the great distinction of giving the valedictory address was his. I congratulate my young friend from Atlanta, Ga., on his achievement and praise him for the thought and tenor of his address. He splendidly detailed the marks of an educated man—his mission and his responsibility. The deep impact that our late, beloved President made upon the young people of schools and colleges across the Nation and the world is caught in the inspiring words of George Craft.

Mr. Speaker, John F. Kennedy would have been proud of George S. Craft, Jr. as the living embodiment of a university he, too, was honored by and he loved so much—the University of Notre Dame.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the valedictory address of the 119th Annual Commencement of the University of Notre Dame in the RECORD:

The country is looking for men of vision.

It is said that a mature man is made only by experience, that a man becomes educated only by living as a man among men. Undoubtedly, a great deal of this is true, but the education which many of us have received at Notre Dame has contributed greatly to forming us into such men of vision. It is apparent that the significance of 4 years of study here varies with different individuals, and upon graduation we will diversify widely, some continuing on to graduate schools, some immediately taking jobs in various careers. Yet, above and beyond any strictly vocational preparation, we might well ask about the experience which we have tried to distil from the programs followed and the courses studied in the past few years. What is an educated man? What is his mission, his responsibility?

A man who is truly educated is a scholar in the broad sense, a man of vision, a man who understands the forces and motivations which drive men to action, who can look into the past and the future and locate his age in true perspective. He is a man of strong and noble convictions, who has a center to his life, a principle to stand upon and a goal to work for. He is a man who, in addition to his broad, unifying knowledge, is a true scholar, is able to channel his energies into a specific field, able to focus his attention on a single problem and work it to a successful conclusion. For he is ever driving upward toward the truth, infused with the desire to find the right solution. He is dynamic and inventive, meeting new situations with imagination and resourcefulness. He is a man who thinks for himself, and who doesn't allow his thought patterns to drag in the slough of conformity. He is also never intolerant. He is a man of warm heart and generous spirit, sympathetic with the sufferings, the happinesses and the preferences of others. He is undogmatic in his action, is open minded and attentive. He is courteous, sincere, articulate, able to express his own convictions clearly and persuasively and able to listen to those of others with sympathy and understanding. He has a healthy respect for all that is human, for the dignity of the thinking man.

From the time of the founding of the earliest societies human activity has been socially oriented; men have joined themselves together for mutual benefit and pro-

tection against common dangers. Because of the exigencies of the human condition men of ability have been called upon to shed their self-orientation and their solitude and assume positions of leadership in society; the solely self-oriented man has become obsolete.

Indeed, Orestes Brownson, a man intimately connected with our own Notre Dame in the 19th century, once asserted in one of his speeches that the mission of a scholar is to provide leadership for the people of his country. He applied this principle to the American condition by insisting that the scholar combat and overcome American tendencies toward egalitarian leveling. The mission of the scholar is to provide leadership, to oppose at the proper times the whims of the masses, to raise their standards, to assure a proper place for men of ability in the political and social hierarchy.

Especially in the modern politics of democracy, where the leaders must come from below, from the people, and are not provided for automatically, there is a great need to cultivate responsible leadership. The disasters of the present century have shown the shortcomings and inadequacies of mass democracy when deprived of forecful, independent leadership. Democratic peoples, often packed into faceless masses, have shown a knack for either demonstrating a lack of initiative in appeasement, or for losing themselves in excesses and fits of national fury. No other century in its institutions and its failings has pointed up so vividly the human need for responsible leadership.

Though we in this country have been equally guilty of these democratic failings, it is nevertheless clear to us that they haven't, as yet, prejudiced the existence of our national institutions. To us, I think, the term "American institutions" recalls political equality and freedom of conscience, speech and action, respect for your fellow man and the dignity of his life and person, the guarantee against abject poverty and the opportunity to achieve success with the application of personal industry. Indeed, this heritage is threatened today in an unprecedented manner from within and without, from internal subversion and erosion and from the Communist challenge. If we ever needed leadership, now is the time; now is the time of peril. I would suggest that the time is ripe as never before for the application of the qualities of a scholar to the conduct of government in this country. Now the resourcefulness and the broadmindedness of the scholar are needed. Engineers and scientists are in great demand to furnish the services of the modern state and to provide for our defense against external threats; but we agree, I'm sure, that they would be worse than useless if guided by ill-intentioned or short-sighted statesmen. Men of vision are needed to guide the collective will of the people. It is the duty of the American scholar to make himself heard by the people, to help educate and form the populace by his teachings and writings, to associate himself with the government, to make himself available for advice and consultation, to make efforts to influence and penetrate the minds of politicians, even to enter politics himself. He must infuse life and vigor into the government while preserving the freedoms and tested traditions of the American experience.

Such an invigoration would issue in a dynamic foreign policy, a foreign policy which will go out and show other nations why it is proud of its free heritage. In a word, it will be simultaneously idealistic and realistic; it will be aware of its mission and aware of the means which may be used to achieve it. Its mission is surely, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, to "make the world safe for democracy," if that phrase means to insure that free people may continue to walk in freedom; ideally, it means even more—to insure that all peoples will someday walk in freedom. But, again, we must recall the lessions of history, the self-defeat of the two World Wars, the pitfalls of gnosticism. The victory of freedom will never be achieved by a crusade, a war to end all wars. Here the tolerance of the scholar melts into a political realism, a foreign policy conducted with a healthy respect for the customs and aspirations of other peoples, without gifts which create resented obligations, without condescension, without an uncompromising crusading spirit. We must be genuinely concerned for others, but without losing our bearings in the world of reality, without entertaining illusions about the intentions of potential or actual aggressors. Throughout, we must be sincere and convincing in our desire for peace, willing to take risks and make sacrifices to lay the foundation of confidence needed for a world of peace and cooperation.

In short, a world of opportunity is open to those of us who possess hope and determination. As graduates we walk into a world fraught with peril, a world whose stuff must be preserved from novel threats and molded into new forms. Only if the more gifted of us continue to nurture the seeds of insight and understanding planted at Notre Dame, only if they continue to develop their social consciousness, to draw on and add to the reservoir of knowledge begun here, will be succeed in molding a better world. I think that a few short months ago we had a President who strongly and wisely led the Nation through the chaos of international politics, with his head lifted toward the stars and yet his feet planted firmly on the ground. In his words, spoken to the United Nations General Assembly in 1961:

"However close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair. For he does not stand alone. If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the just are strong and the weak secure and the peace preserved."

John F. Kennedy was no visionary; he wasn't overreaching himself for an ideal, nor trying to posit an earthly millenium, nor saving the world with facile phraseology. By wisdom, insight, industry, and tolerance, he labored, as we must labor, to approximate an ideal, while always understanding it as fundamentally unrealizable. This takes courage and hope and dedication. Every one of us, especially those endowed with the gifts, the vision, of the scholar of which I speak, is charged with the duty to enroll his powers in the defense of America. We are charged with leadership; it isn't easy. I would suggest that we do it in memory of a great President.

The Policeman's Parting Shot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I have been a supporter of the policemen all over the United States. Without them, only God knows what would happen to our society.

For several years I have supported an anticrime bill for the District of Columbia. This passed the House of Representatives, and I sincerely hope it will receive action in the Senate before the session closes.

My reasons are more factually expressed by a police inspector, Charles H. Glucksman, of East Rockaway, Nassau County, N.Y., a very respected and high police official in the finest police department in the United States. His remarks are absolutely true, and we are losing more men like Inspector Glucksman from our police departments in many of our localities and cities throughout this country because of the reasons expressed by Inspector Glucksman.

I commend this article to be read by all Members of the Congress and all citizens, and sincerely hope that adequate legislation will not only be passed by this Congress, but by our many State legislatures to put the proper tools in the hands of our policemen and proper prosecution by the courts. We can never reduce or halt the spreading crime in our country until the day we take a firm position of prosecuting and punishing the criminal and keep our minds in sympathy with the victims.

The article follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, June 14, 1964]

THE POLICEMAN'S PARTING SHOT

(By John Frogge)

EAST ROCKAWAY.—"It was said a long time ago, that a policeman's lot is not a happy one. Since that time the situation has worsened to such an extent that it would now seem impossible. Undermanned and underpaid, subject to carping criticism by a public that demands and expects miracles in detection and prevention, and then nullifies such miracles by ridiculous court actions, it is a constant wonder that policemen will still attempt to stem the tide of lawlessness that threatens to engulf our country."

Those were the opening words of the address of retired Police Inspector Charles H. Glucksman, of East Rockaway, at Sunrise Village in Bellmore, at a dinner given him by the officers and men of the Baldwin precinct of the county police last Wednesday.

Inspector Glucksman commanded that precinct for several years prior to his retirement at the first of this month.

He went on to say, "Much has been said about police morale. Not so long ago, it was alleged that the morale of this department was low and that policemen were shirking their duties. Just about this time the riot at Roosevelt Raceway occurred. It became necessary to send large numbers of policemen to quell the riot. As many men as could be spared from the platoons then working were disptached at once. All other off-duty members were contacted by telephone and every single one of them responded and responded willingly, speedily and ready for whatever action might be required of them. There wasn't a single gripe."

Inspector Glucksman continued: "It would seem that a terrible blight has descended on this country. A blight that has all but destroyed courage, intelligence, and morals. A nation that was founded by as fiercely independent men and women as ever existed does not now seem able to differentiate between license and liberty.

"If you object to something, start a riot, get a mob of brassy females equipped with baby carriages, and snub-nosed teenagers, and with a generous sprinkling of prissy males, and then sitin, siton, blockin, and blockout. Get out the placards, and cause as much consternation and inconvenience as possible.

"A few stiff jail sentences would soon put an end to this lawlessness, but nobody has

the guts to do it. This lack of courage is evident in all levels of government."

Inspector Glucksman said further, "As far as morals are concerned, ask insurance adjusters about the false padded claims. Ask any detective who has ever investigated a burglary of the phony losses reported to them by respectable people. Consider the number of outrageous, unjustified negligence claims that clutter our courts. It has come to a point where the courts have become the tools for what can only be termed larceny and extortion. And what is our answer to this? Build more courts and elect more judges. Make it easier for these crooks to hit the jackpot."

In conclusion Inspector Glucksman said, "And this just barely skims the surface. Perhaps what I have said is out of place. Perhaps I should have indulged in a lot of 'I remember whens.' However, I wanted to explain briefly why I decided to retire. Frankly, I'm sick and tired of being required to fight a war with my hands tied behind my back. I'm sick and tired of being required to observe all the rules of a nice, gentlemanly war while the other side breaks every rule or law made by God or man. I would like to say this. There will be—there must be—a final day of reckoning. Judgment Day. On that day there will not be a myriad of laws to be interpreted or distorted. There will be just 10. They are called Commandments There'll be no fifth amendment to hide behind. The record will be there clear and irrevocable. And on that day, the honest cop when asked the question 'What was your occupation?' will be able to say without fear and with pride, 'I was a policeman.' "

Mali Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on June 20, Mali will celebrate the fourth anniversary of her independence. Since the House will not be in session on that day, we would like to extend warm felicitations today to His Excellency the President of Mali, Modibo Keita; and His Excellency the Ambassador of Mali to the United States, Oumar Sow.

Mali is a landlocked West African country straddling the divide between the arid Sahara to the north and the more cultivable savannah zone to the south. It lies across ancient trade routes between North and sub-Saharan Africa. The town of Timbuktu, long a symbol to the Westerner of exotic Africa, lies within its domains. Its name is taken from the powerful and rich empire of Mali which flourished between the 11th and 17th centuries, reaching its peak in the early 1200's. Around the turn of the century the French obtained control of Mali.

In 1958 Mali, along with most West African French territories, became an autonomous republic within the French community. The next year Mali and several of its neighbors attempted to form a Federation of Mali, but only Senegal and Mali actually united. On June 20, 1960, they became a sovereign state which, however, was dissolved 2 months later.

Since this time Mali has made valiant efforts to modernize. It is fully cognizant of its limitations. As a landlocked country, it must rely on the good will of its neighbors in order to keep trade routes open to the outside world. Lacking in natural resources, Mali's economy now and in the near future must rely on farming, livestock, and fishing.

Mali has chosen a socialist model through which to advance. A 5-year development plan through 1965 is concentrating on agriculture as a basis for increasing exports. Later, industry will be developed. Maintaining a strict neutrality, Mali has accepted aid from all sides, including the United States and France. Mali has "Africanized" the state, thus giving talented young Malians a chance to develop their skills.

We salute Mali on its fourth year of independence. With a minimum of corruption and a sense of self-reliance, austerity, and hard work, Mali is moving forward toward a brighter future.

The Reapportionment Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, as evidence of the widespread disapproval of the Supreme Court's decision on legislative reapportionment, I would like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Evening Star of Wednesday, June 17, a column by William S. White appearing in the same issue of the Star as well as a column by David Lawrence appearing in the Star of the same date.

All of these articles are on the same subject and it is apparent that if Congress is to retain its position as an important factor in the Government of the United States, we are going to have to propose a constitutional amendment curbing the authority of the Supreme Court or permitting the Congress to override the opinions of the Supreme Court by a two-thirds vote.

Between the pressure of the Executive on the Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court, the legislative branch of the Federal Government will shortly be reduced to the status of a rubber stamp.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 17, 1964]

THE REAPPORTIONMENT DECISIONS

It is somewhat late in the day for hand wringing over the leading role assumed by the Supreme Court in deciding what sort of country we are to live in. It is no longer cause for surprise that the Court makes its decisions, not on the basis of an interpretation of existing law, but on the basis of its personalized idea of what is right—what is good for us.

That the Court does this is a fact of modern political life. We may experience a shudder of doubt when it shakes things as hard as it has done in its decision on legislative reapportionment in the States. We may wonder whether our system of government benefits when judges do what voters will not do. For all that, it is done. As with the historic school decisions of a decade ago, things will never be the same again.

And, as with that earlier decision, to say that there is danger in the Court's assumption of power is not to say that the effects of the application of this power will be evil. That depends, in each particular case, on the practical and moral validity of the Court's collective judgment.

Philosophical doubts about the function of the modern Court do not overweigh the feeling that, in the current reapportionment cases, the practical and moral effects of the rulings probably will be for the good. No one reading the analyses of rural-urban voting discrepancies that form the backbone of these opinions can fail to recognize the unfairness of the present system. No one who looks honestly at population trends can escape a realization that the situation was bound to become progressively untenable, and eventually would become intolerable.

Locally, the effects of the new rulings cannot be anything but helpful. The nearby areas of Maryland and Virginia will gain new and deserved power in their State governments. Around the country, it seems doubtful that either political party will gain appreciable advantage from the change. The Democrats, it is predicted, will pick up city votes. But the Republicans may well gain as much in the even faster growing suburbs.

The Court ruled that from now on, so far as is practical, every vote must have the same value in balloting for the State legislatures. This means, of course, that each election district must have reasonably close to the same number of voters. And the Court went the whole way in applying this principle. It refused to exempt either house in a bicameral legislature from the "one person, one vote" requirement. It rejected the contention that State senates, like the one in Maryland, are justified by analogy to the Federal setup. That setup, the Court pointed out, was a compromise adopted so as to make it possible to bring the Federal Union into being. The considerations which prompted its establishment do not apply to State governments today.

This is a reasonable argument—what was good for the Federal Government may not now be good for the States. At the same time, one may be pardoned the suspicion that what is ruled right for the States today may logically be ruled right for the Federal Government tomorrrow. Why should not every vote, for example, have the same value when it comes to election of the President, who is President of all the people of the United States? The raising of this old issue, as a matter of law, may not be too far off. For that matter, what is the modern justification for the U.S. Senate, under the philosophy of these rulings? What, indeed, is the justification for the federal system itself?

The Supreme Court has moved into uncharted territory in disposing of these cases. To repeat: Whether the potential dangers materalize, as we move ahead, depends on the practical and moral judgment of nine very powerful men.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 17, 1964]

THE UNCHECKED JUDICIARY

(By William S. White)

The historic balance of political power in the United States is being overturned by a half dozen men on the Supreme Court who are amending the Constitution by judicial decisions expressing their own notions of what the proper balance should be.

Going where the judiciary has never before dared to go, they are destroying the ancient guardian of check and balance which has distinguished the oldest practicing democracy in the world.

The meaning of their course is ultimately to make the urban parts and interests of this Nation the unchallenged and total masters of our affairs, in the legislative arms of Government—National and State—as the urban groups already master the selection of any President.

If these novel constitutional theories stand, the America of the 21st century will be governed on some vast postcard poll principle in which nothing will matter except the ability to marshal the huge bloc votes of the cities. Minority rights in the conduct of Government will have all but disappeared before the monoliths of megalapolis. The city-State will become superior in fact to the States of the Union as we have known them.

This extraordinary truth—and surely hardly one in 100 Americans is aware of what the court is really doing—is now confirmed beyond further doubt in a new ruling of the Court. This is that both houses of the State legislature hereafter "must be apportioned on a population basis."

FEBRUARY RULING WAS HINT

That the Supreme Court was on the way to this unexampled assertion of dominance over the political processes of this Nation was foreshadowed last February, in its ukase that congressional districts, too, must be based strictly on population alone. Those who suggested as much at the time were cried down as "anticourt" or as in favor of political sin.

The Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren, against the solemn warnings of an anxious minority of the judges, is striking down the whole principle of a weighted democracy, which is to say of a responsible democracy. For nearly two centuries the practice has been this: To define the so-called popular legislative chambers—the National and State Houses of Representatives—roughly on the basis of population but to allow the upper bodies—the Senates, National and State—to be based in part on geographic interests.

This system has thus far prevented the total dominion of the increasingly huge urban voting complexes. It has also prevented occasionally uninformed and hysterical majorities, in times of crisis and passion and prejudice, from overrunning order and reason in this Nation.

The U.S. Senate, of course, is the ultimate expression of this check and balance. Nevada, with fewer people than live in a single small section of such a city as New York, is permitted by the Constitution to have equal representation with the biggest State. The Court cannot alter this arrangement, in the face of the explicit language of the Constitution. But as to the States, the old protections are now going forever.

OVERSIMPLIFICATION

The basic theory of the Court's majority is that one man's vote must in all circumstances equal another man's vote—though 1 man of 12 on a jury can still save a defendant's life. This is the oversimplification that has crumbled 100 popular democracies over the world, notably in France. That unhappy country has at last had to rescue itself from this demagogic idea of herd and irresponsible democracy by anointing an imperiously unchecked pseudo-king in Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

The Court's majority—six of nine men elected by nobody, serving for life and accountable at last only to personal conscience—has said this: A State, even if this be the overwhelming and expressed wish of its own people, cannot balance its legislature between urban and rural and small town interests, even though for 18 decades this has been precisely what most States have done.

Is this a fair and reasonable dictate from men whose sole constitutional function is to interpret and not to alter that Constitution or to make their own laws? Let an expert reply.

Says Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart: What the Court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States * * * without regard to and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State * * * I could not join the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 17, 1964]

THE OMNIPOTENT SUPREME COURT—APPORTIONMENT RULING CITED AS LATEST EXAMPLE OF POWER GRAB BY JUSTICES

(By David Lawrence)

A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States has again overstepped the bounds of judicial self-restraint. This time the court has chosen to ignore the language of the Constitution itself which gives to the States the right to fix their own voting districts for the two houses of each legislature.

No such usurpation of power by the judicial branch of the Government has been recorded before in the whole history of the Republic as is being manifested by the present court. The Supreme Court by its recent decisions has taken upon itself to tell the board of supervisors in a county now it shall tax and appropriate its money. It, moreover, has told the American people, in effect, that there must be no prayer in the schools during school hours. And now it has undertaken to say that the 50 States of the Union cannot have their legislative houses based upon any form of representation the constitution of the State may proclaim, but must conform to a formula set forth by the Supreme Court of the United States itself.

If the foregoing observations are considered too critical of the Court's decisions, any doubts are dispelled by the actual words of the justices who dissented in the reapportionment cases handed down on Monday of this week.

Justice Harlan, for example, declared that the failure of the Court to consider the language of the 14th amendment—on which the Court's opinion was based—"cannot be excused or explained by any concept of 'developing' constitutionalism." He added:

"It is meaningless to speak of constitutional 'development' when both the language and history of the controlling provisions of the Constitution are wholly ignored."

Justice Harlan further declared that the Court's action "amounts to nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court," and said:

"For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

Justice Harlan pointed out that the decisions this week "give support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function of this Court." He continued:

"This view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle' and that this Court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of government fail to act. The Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven of reform movements."

Justice Stewart, in a dissenting opinion in which he was joined by Justice Clark, declared:

"With all respect, I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory. The rule announced today is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create.

"What the Court has done is to convert a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States, from Maine to Hawaii, from Alaska to Texas, without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State, characteristics stemming from each State's distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population, and distinct political heritage. My own understanding of the various theories of representative government is that no one theory has ever commanded unanimous assent among political scientists, historians, or others who have considered the problem."

Thus, three justices of the Supreme Court criticized their six colleagues for having overstepped the bounds of the Constitution.

What can the people throughout the country who disagree with the Court do about its rulings? For one thing, they can urge Congress to pass a law taking from the Supreme Court all jurisdiction in apportionment cases. But an even more effective course would be the passage of a new constitutional amendment reiterating that the States of the Union have a right to apportion legislative districts under their own constitutions.

Goldwater Supports Public Accommodations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as one who voted for the civil rights bill, I was pleased to note that Senator GOLDWATER supported a public accommodations ordinance which was later approved unanimously by the Phoenix City Council.

One might then ask how the Senator from Arizona could reconcile this action with a vote against the civil rights bill. Let us turn back the pages of history for a moment.

Mr. Speaker, the soil of Illinois was free soil by the ordinance of 1787, and Congress would only admit it to the Union as a free State. But it had been largely peopled from the South and there had been much agitation against this restriction. Then, in 1837, when the bold agitation of the abolitionists, lead by Publisher Elijah Lovejoy, was exciting much disapproval, the Illinois Legislature passed resolutions condemning that agitation. Actually, there was not much in the resolutions which Abraham Lincoln could not literally have accepted.

Lincoln defined it in his own quite conservative opinions; he deprecates the promulgation of Abolition doctrines; but does so because it "tends rather to increase than abate the evils" of slavery. Lincoln also wrote to an abolitionist that respect for the rights of the slave States

was due not only to the Constitution but, "as it seems to me, in a sense to freedom itself."

Abraham Lincoln was one of two legislators to vote against the resolutions. Obviously, Lincoln's motives which made it worth his while to oppose them were stronger than Lincoln's attitude toward the abolitionists. His actions seem paradoxical. Yet, perhaps BARRY GOLDWATER would have voted with Lincoln on this State resolution.

Under unanimous consent, I include at this point the article from the June 17, 1964, issue of the Evening Star concerning Senator GOLDWATER's support of public accommodations:

PHOENIX ENACTS RIGHTS BILL OK'D BY GOLDWATER

PHOENIX, ARIZ., June 17.—A public accommodations ordinance which had the backing of BARRY GOLDWATER has been unanimously approved by the Phoenix City Council.

Just Monday Senator GOLDWATER voted with the Senate minority in an attempt to kill the public accommodations section of the Federal civil rights bill.

Senator GOLDWATER's stand on the Phoenix measure came last month in a letter to William Reilly, chairman of the city's human relations commission.

Mr. Reilly quoted the letter as saying Senator GOLDWATER had no hesitation in supporting the ordinance.

The letter said: "I believe that it is in the great tradition of our country for all persons to be treated as individuals without regard to race, color, or religion. I also believe that it is within the traditions and best interests of this country for human relations problems to be recognized, evaluated, and solved by the local community."

Senator GOLDWATER began his political career as a Phoenix city councilman. His home now is in suburban Paradise Valley.

The Phoenix law was passed July 16. It prohibits discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry in all places of public entertainment, amusement, or recreation and in hotels, motels, and restaurants.

It creates a five-member human relations committee which is to attempt the mediation of alleged violations before charges are filed.

The penalty on conviction would be a fine of from $25 to $300.

Peace Corps Gets Paunch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most imaginative new ideas about our foreign assistance effort is now approaching reality. The International Executive Service Corps, to which the President paid tribute yesterday in a meeting at the White House, has been the brainchild of David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and Sol M. Linovitz, board chairman of Xerox. They have received the thoughtful cooperation of the Agency for International Development and are expected to have the program underway in the near future. A discussion of the proposed Corps appeared in a column by Ian Menzies in the Boston Globe on June 11. Under unanimous consent, I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NEW EXECUTIVE ROLE—PEACE CORPS GETS PAUNCH

(By Ian Menzies)

A new Peace Corps is in the making.

It's called the Paunch Corps, unofficially that is, and is a term of descriptive endearment rather than all-encompassing irreverence.

The Corps will consist of high-level, experienced businessmen near or at retirement age who will serve their country abroad (with or without bay windows) under the auspices of the Agency for International Development (AID) headed by Administrator David Bell.

The formation of the Corps, the first three volunteers will meet with President Johnson at the White House on Monday, is significant.

And, appropriately, it comes in a year when for the first time in the history of foreign aid, the current $3.5 billion foreign aid bill may be authorized without a cut.

The Paunch Corps—officially the International Executive Service Corps—was nursed into existence by David Rockefeller and Sol M. Linowitz, board chairman of Xerox, working with the Agency for International Development which administers the economic aid moneys of the foreign aid bill.

William S. Gaud, deputy administrator of AID, chatting in Boston Wednesday, said he felt the corps has great possibilities.

It'll work this way. Businessmen, either still active or retired, will carry out in some company in an underdeveloped country the same job they did here, as comptroller, treasurer, or other executive position.

They will be paid a salary by the foreign company at the going rate in that particular country. In a sense it is technical assistance at the business level. The foreign company would expect to benefit through the know-how of the volunteer executives.

This development and others has given foreign aid a new look this year.

There's been a complete turnaround in attitude. Witness the fact that the bill may go through without cuts. Criticism of the foreign aid boondoggle, vociferous in past years, has died down.

Some of this, of course, is due to President Johnson's astute maneuvering on the Hill, also greater interest by the leadership and a paralleling loss of power by Representative OTTO PASSMAN, severest critic and whittler of foreign aid.

But more important, perhaps, the agency itself has tightened up its administration of foreign aid, demanding greater cooperative self-measures, and has managed to get its message out.

For instance, how many people realize that of the $3.5 billion in foreign aid (should this amount be appropriated) 85 percent of the money will be spent in this country?

Up until now most people see the $3.5 billion going overseas as a stream of dollar bills. Not so. The money is spent here in goods and services, at least 85 percent of it, before going overseas.

This is quite a fillip to the economy, and one that would be missed. Massachusetts, in fact, over the past 2 years has received some $40 million in contracts and services from foreign aid appropriations.

What surprises AID people, like personable Bill Gaud, is how little advantage American business is taking of the foreign aid program.

Gaud believes American businessmen, whose brand names are going abroad, should be following up the aid program looking for permanent markets. The Germans, French, and other European nations are cashing in.

But altogether there seems to be a much better climate and understanding of foreign aid in this country this year than at any time since the Marshall plan began in 1948.

The Baker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, members of the Committee on the Judiciary have received a letter which I believe all of the Members of the House would want to have brought to their attention. It is signed by 207 members of the faculty of the University of Chicago who are concerned about the threat to our liberties posed by the resolutions to amend the Constitution, submitted by Congressman BECKER and others. Their joint letter is brief, but it states every major reason which has been raised before our committee against the proposals. I commend it to my colleagues for its logic, brevity, and inclusiveness:

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., June 9, 1964.

Hon. EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, and to the Members of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives:

The undersigned members of the faculty of the University of Chicago respectfully submit their deep concern about the dangers of the proposed Becker amendment and similar attempts to amend the Constitution to permit religious ceremonies under official auspices.

A number of objectionable features of the proposed amendments have been pointed out by religious leaders and by authorities on constitutional law.

First, such an amendment would debase religion by equating it with rote recitation of prescribed formulae. Leaders of all major religious groups have expressed strong opposition to such governmental activity, which could rob religion of its true content and force.

Second, it would detract from the separation of church and state by injecting religious matters into governmental activities.

Third, it can only encourage divisiveness and sectarian strife by accentuating religious differences in public life.

Fourth, it threatens freedom of religion since the so-called voluntary basis of participation is very often illusory for schoolchildren who are in an atmosphere of compliance to school authority and peer group sentiment. It should be noted that there is no provision for voluntary participation in section 2 of the Becker amendment which covers all activities outside the school prayer area.

Fifth, it can only harm the public schools by injecting sectarian controversy into public school affairs.

Sixth, it amounts to the establishment of an official religion which elevates "Biblical Scriptures" over other sacred books and the practice of public prayer over notions that prayer should be private and personal.

Seventh, the proposals are vague and confused. They would lead to a host of problems in application; e.g., which versions of the Bible are meant, what will happen to the State constitutions (like that of Illinois) which have been interpreted to forbid school prayer?

Eighth, they divert attention from the real educational problems of providing moral education in the schools, problems which will not be solved by rote recitation or forced piety.

Lastly, passage of such an amendment would only encourage those who oppose the judicial protection of our constitutional liberties and would set a precedent for further assaults on the Bill of Rights.

Individual signers may differ as to the relative weight to be accorded to the various objections but we are agreed that the proposals to amend the Constitution are dangerous and uncalled for. We hope that your committee will protect our liberties by defeating any such proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Adams, A. Adrian Albert, Odin W. Anderson, Dr. Francis L. Archer, Mark Ashin.

Reginald Bartholomew, Dr. Richard K. Blaisdell, R. Pierce Beaver, Selwyn W. Becker, Dr. H. Stanley Bennett, Merlin E. Bergdoll, Bruno Bettelheim, Patrick Billingsley, Jacob G. Birnberg, Walter Blair, W. Barnett Blakemore, Jr., Peter M. Blau, Lawrence Bogorad, Wayne C. Booth, Merlin Bowen, Norman M. Brandburn, Paul R. Brass, Frank R. Bruel, Dr. Austin M. Brues, Dr. Benjamin Burrows, John M. Butler, Horace R. Byers.

Wesley Calef, R. F. Campbell, Leon Carnovsky, John G. Cawelti, Joseph J. Ceithaml, S. Chandrasekhar, V. C. Chappell, Francis S. Chase.

Michael Cherniavsky, Frank M. Child, Robert N. Clayton, Robert C. Coburn, Eric Cochrane, Williard J. Congreve, H. G. Creel, S. Thomas Cummings, James A. Davis, Dr. M. Edward Davis, Harold Demsetz, Albert Dorfman.

Dr. Joseph P. Evans, Floyd A. Fallers, Dr. Donald J. Ferguson, W. H. W. Field, Donald Fiske, Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman, Dave Fultz, Herman H. Fussler.

Marc Galanter, Helena M. Gamer, Clifford Geertz, E. Peter Geiduschek, Stanley Gevirtz, Alan Gewirth, Clayton Giese, James Gilbert, Langdon B. Gilkey, Julian R. Goldsmith, Leo A. Goodman, Louis Gottschalk, Clifford W. Gurney.

George Haley, Mark H. Haller, Richard T. Hallock, S. William Halperin, Catherine Ham, Earl J. Hamilton, Joseph Haroutunian, Chauncy D. Harris, Daniel Harris, Walter L. Hass, Dr. Robert J. Hasterlik, Robert J. Havighurst, Albert M. Hayes, Robert D. Hess, I. N. Hill, W. A. Hiltner, Marshall G. S. Hodgson, Bert F. Hoselitz.

Dwight J. Ingle, Meyer W. Isenberg, Philip W. Jackson, John E. Jeuck, Ralph G. Johnson, Walter Johnson, Dr. Richard J. Jones, Helene J. Kantor, Stanley A. Kaplan, L. Margaret Kraemer, Mark M. Krug, William Kruskal, Philip B. Kurland, Dr. Richard L. Landau, L. H. Lanzl, Richard K. Lashof, Dr. George V. LeRoy, Robert M. Lewert, Morton A. Lieberman.

Alton A. Linford, Bernard M. Loomer, James H. Lorie, Dr. Allen L. Lorincz, Edward Lowinsky, Mary E. Macdonald, Roy P. Mackal, Norman F. Maclean, Duncan MacRae, Jr., Alvin Markovitz, McKim Marriott, Martin E. Marty, Harold M. Mayer, Robert L. McCaul, Grant McConnell, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Hugh McLean.

Lloyd A. Metzler, Gerhard E. O. Meyer, Leonard B. Meyer, Lothar Meyer, Peter Meyer, William H. Meyer, James E. Miller, Jr., Dr. Robert Y. Moore, Hans J. Morgenthau, Bruce Morrissette, James W. Moulder, Richard F. Muth, Manning Nash, Leo Nedelsky, Peter D. Noerdlinger, Dallin H. Oaks, Alex Orden, David Orlinsky.

Robert Palter, Sherwood Parker, Dr. Roger W. Pearson, Dr. H. B. Perlman, Melba Phillips, C. Herman Pritchett, Alfred L. Putnam, Allan Rechtschaffen, Albert Rees, Kenneth J. Rehage, Erica Reiner, Stuart A. Rice, Dr. Richard B. Richter, Phyllis J. Rolnick, Margaret K. Rosenheim.

Gerson M. Rosenthal, Jr., Peter H. Rossi, Dr. Donald A. Rowley, J. Coert Rylarrsdam, Jack Sawyer, Davis M. Schneider, Eugene W. Schulkind, Dr. Sidney Schulman, Nathan A. Scott, Jr., Robert Scranton, Joel Seidman, Charles H. Shireman, John M. Shlien, Bernece K. Simon, Joseph Sittler, Winfield Smith, George Sorter, Irving Spergel, Dr. Donald F. Steiner, Gary A. Steiner.

Richard G. Stern, Dr. Nels M. Strandjord, Bernard S. Strauss, Nathan Sugarman, Don R. Swanson, Marc J. Swartz, Sol Tax, Russell B. Thomas, Manley Thompson, Robert B. Uretz, William J. Van Cleve, Richard Vikstrom, Dr. Willard J. Visek, Alan D. Wade.

Richard C. Wade, David L. Wallace, Nancy E. Warner, Arnold R. Weber, Charles W. Wegener, Dale S. Weis, J. Marvin Weller, Dr. Joseph M. Wepman, Granger E. Westberg, John Westley, Warner A. Wick, Howard Winger, Gibson Winter, Robert W. Wissler, Dr. Ira G. Wool, Dr. F. Howell Wright, Meyer N. Zald, Norman H. Zide.

Veteran Pension Figures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent previously granted, I include the following concerning veteran pension figures:

Veterans pension figures—Active compensation, dependency and indemnity, pension and retirement cases for all wars and Regular Establishment

[Latest release, Apr. 20, 1964, of U.S. Veterans' Administration]

War	Total disability and death cases on rolls
Total	4,417,906
World War II	2,171,312
World War I	1,678,233
Regular Establishment	187,771
Korean conflict	294,232
Spanish-American War	83,737
Civil War	2,201
Indian wars	420

War and type of case	Total disability cases	Total death cases
Total	3,189,764	1,228,142
Service-connected	1,991,835	367,542
Compensation	1,991,835	194,732
Dependency and indemnity compensation		156,614
Dependency and indemnity compensation and compensation		16,196
Non-service-connected	1,196,675	860,434
Public Law 86-211	494,133	511,412
Prior law	702,542	349,022
Special acts	182	166
Retired emergency officers [1]	1,067	
Retired Reserve officers [2]	5	

Veterans pension figures—Active compensation, dependency and indemnity, pension and retirement cases for all wars and Regular Establishment—Continued

War and type of case	Total disability cases	Total death cases
World War II	1,662,989	508,323
Service-connected	1,496,680	242,489
Compensation	1,496,680	158,360
Dependency and indemnity compensation		72,423
Dependency and indemnity compensation and compensation		11,706
Non-service-connected	166,304	265,834
Public Law 86-211	116,671	247,433
Prior law	49,633	18,401
Retired Reserve officers [2]	5	
World War I	1,132,869	545,364
Service-connected	130,910	41,285
Compensation	130,910	5,853
Dependency and indemnity compensation		35,230
Dependency and indemnity compensation and compensation		202
Non-service-connected	1,000,892	504,079
Public Law 86-211	368,414	241,933
Prior law	632,478	262,146
Special acts		
Retired emergency officers [1]	1,067	
Regular Establishment	144,335	43,436
Service-connected	144,158	43,401
Compensation	144,158	8,489
Dependency and indemnity compensation		33,863
Dependency and indemnity compensation and compensation		1,049
Special acts	177	35
Korean conflict	231,945	62,287
Service-connected	219,979	39,575
Compensation	219,979	22,005
Dependency and indemnity compensation		14,331
Dependency and indemnity compensation and compensation		3,239
Non-service-connected	11,966	22,712
Public Law 86-211	8,348	22,046
Prior law	3,618	666
Spanish-American War	17,606	66,131
Service-connected	108	733
Compensation	108	25
Dependency and indemnity compensation		708
Non-service-connected	17,493	65,368
Public Law 86-211	697	0
Prior law	16,796	65,368
Special acts	5	30
Civil War	0	2,201
Service-connected	0	57
Compensation	0	0
Dependency and indemnity compensation		57
Non-service-connected	0	2,045
Public Law 86-211		0
Prior law		2,045
Special acts	0	99
Indian wars	20	400
Service-connected	0	2
Compensation	0	0
Dependency and indemnity compensation	0	2
Non-service-connected	20	396
Public Law 86-211	3	0
Prior law	17	396
Special acts	0	2

[1] Retirement paid by the VA to retired emergency, provisional, probationary, or temporary officers of World War I.

[2] Retirement paid by the VA to retired Reserve officers of the Army under provisions of Public Law 262, 77th Cong.

Source: Reports and Statistics, Office of the Controller, DVB.

Mass Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the June 22 issue of U.S. News & World Report in-

cludes a highly significant report from Canada's second largest city, Toronto, describing how that metropolis is solving its mass transportation problem.

In the expectation that the mass transportation bill, which has now been cleared by the Rules Committee, will soon be scheduled for action in the House, I call the attention of our colleagues to Toronto's very encouraging experience, experience which points up the urgent need for concerted action in our own country to halt the deterioration of our transportation systems in and about most of our larger cities.

With approximately two-thirds of our people now residing in our metropolitan areas, Mr. Speaker, there can be no denying the national character of the commuter mass transportation problem. With the limited assistance provided by the legislation now awaiting action, some of our cities can proceed with greater speed and assurance to help break the traffic bottleneck which is rapidly strangling them, just as Toronto is doing.

I urge our colleagues to read this article and see what dollars-and-cents sense mass transportation makes.

The article follows:

TORONTO: HOW ONE CITY IS WORKING OUT MASS TRANSIT

(Growing traffic bottlenecks are forcing U.S. city planners to search harder for a "downtown" solution. Here's a look at one that works—Toronto's subway.)

TORONTO, ONTARIO.—Here in Canada's second-biggest city, municipal planners from the United States believe they may have found a way to beat downtown traffic bottlenecks.

Toronto's solution: A modern subway system that virtually pays for itself.

Similar midtown subways already are being considered by Washington, Atlanta, and Los Angeles. Plans are completed for a subway in San Francisco.

Other U.S. cities are starting to look into subways as a means of unplugging downtown traffic arteries. Congress is being asked to subsidize subways and other features of mass-transit sytem for U.S. cities.

It is in Toronto, where problems are much like those in big cities of the United States, that the most recent experiment with underground rapid transit has been tried out in North America.

VERDICT: SUCCESS

Results of Toronto's subway experiment carefully analyzed by United States and Canadian experts over a 10-year period, now are considered highly satisfactory.

Ten years ago, auto travel through the center of Toronto at any hour of the day was a nightmare of creeping motion, punctuated by stops, starts, and stalls.

Today, a 6.5-mile subway that runs through the heart of the downtown area has relieved much of this traffic congestion. Traffic analysts figure that it has eliminated 10,000 to 25,000 automobiles from downtown streets on the average workday.

The new subway has also revived the midtown area, touched off a boom in new office and apartment buildings, and changed the living and working patterns for tens of thousands of city dwellers.

The cost of this underground rapid-transit system, moreover, could be financed entirely by the extra tax dollars now produced each year by skyrocketing property values along the subway route.

This was Canada's first subway. But it has proved to be so successful that Toronto is in the process of multiplying its original underground mileage. Montreal has begun a subway of its own, and other Canadian cities are planning a similar attack on their traffic problems.

ARCHAIC STREETS

Behind the Toronto experiment was a traffic dilemma common to many of North America's older cities.

A modern metropolis had grown up around the muddy fort carved out of a wilderness off Lake Ontario in 1793. As the population multiplied, the narrow, horse-and-buggy streets in the city's central core could not cope with 20th-century volumes of traffic. The problem approached a crisis.

An underground transit system had been considered as early as 1911. By 1949, the situation had become so desperate that work finally began on a subway along Yonge Street, through the worst of the downtown congestion.

Construction took 5 years. Unstable soil made tunneling impractical. Instead, an enormous ditch was scooped out and later roofed over for two-thirds of the route.

By March 1954, when the first trains rolled along the subway, construction costs totaled $55 million. An additional $12 million had been spent on equipment.

Now, 10 years later, 70 percent of the people who come to downtown Toronto every day use public transit—including the subway. It has proved cheaper, faster, safer, and more convenient than driving a car.

Subway trains run every 2½ minutes during the rush hour, and are never more than 4 minutes apart in normal periods. A trip by streetcar up Yonge Street that used to take 35 to 50 minutes or more now takes about 16 minutes by subway.

Out of 2 million people living in the Toronto metropolitan area, about 800,000 commute every working day to and from the tiny city center of offices and retail stores.

Many commuters, it turns out, drive to the northern subway terminal park there, and take the subway for the last stretch. Others use Metropolitan Toronto's fully integrated public-transit system all the way. A universal fare system offers them free transfers between all bus, streetcar, and subway routes.

Fares have been raised four times in the past decade. But now, at six tickets for $1, public transit is still considered a bargain by most.

250,000 FARES A DAY

Subway trains are carrying 250,000 passengers daily. To move the subway riders in private autos, planners figure, would require at least 20 lanes of expressways through downtown Toronto, if that much space could be found and costs met.

Traffic was eased by the subway in other ways, too. It made possible elimination of streetcars from two major traffic arteries through the midtown area. This automatically doubled the autocarrying capacity of those streets.

An unexpected side benefit has been the rapid change in downtown Toronto. Once people realized just how fast and easily they could travel to the central area by subway, big corporations and developers began to take a second look at their expansion plans.

"Downtown" began to attract new construction in a band several blocks wide along the subway route. By now, more than 30 new office and apartment buildings, valued at about $125 million, flank the subway line—and more are being erected.

Financial results are found by U.S. investigators to be equally surprising.

THE LAND BOOM

Values of property within two blocks of the subway stations have increased 3 to 7 times. One strip of property, purchased 12 years ago for $9,000, recently sold for $90,000. "Air rights" above the stations have become choice building sites.

The building boom in areas bordering the subway routes increased real estate assessments by 58 percent between 1952 and 1962, compared with the citywide average increase of only 25 percent. This difference in tax base is producing enough new tax revenue to equal both the capital outlays and carrying charges for the initial subway system.

But the big advantage, the figures now show, is the amount of traffic that is handled by the new subway, as compared with other means of transportation.

In 1 hour, the Toronto planners figure, a single lane of traffic can move 2,400 people by private auto on one of the city's new expressways, 4,500 by bus on local streets, or 12,000 by streetcar. By contrast, the hourly capacity of the city's subway is 40,000 riders.

During peak hours, the subway actually carries an average of 32,000 passengers, at speeds of up to 35 miles an hour, with no timekilling red lights and no time lost from traffic jams.

PLANS FOR EXPANSION

City transportation officials here feel that this kind of performance cannot be beaten by any other system. As a result they plan to increase their underground mileage almost tenfold over the original 4.5-mile section in the coming 15 years. A 2-mile extension was opened in February 1963. Soon there will be 20 miles of subway. By 1980, 3 more lines will nearly double the city's subway mileage again, to about 40 miles.

Toronto's method of financing a new subway also is being studied by United States and Canadian city planners.

The original subway system is being paid for by the Toronto Transit Commission, but expansion plans will incorporate large subsidies from the city.

The principle now is established that subways here, like streets and highways, are public thoroughfares. As a result, 70 percent of the cost of new subway expansion is being paid for by city and Province funds.

School Prayer Endorsement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. BECKER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, every day more letters from individuals, letters from groups and petitions come to my office, asking for a constitutional amendment to restore prayer and Bible reading in the public schools.

I am taking the liberty of inserting in the RECORD a statement and the names of people who signed a petition and who are members of Farm Bureau Council 4–A of Miami County in the State of Ohio:

To: The Honorable Members of the House of Representatives of our own United States of America.

From: The members of Farm Bureau Council 4–A of Miami County in the State of Ohio.

We, the undersigned, feeling the desperate need to restore to our country the humility in government which comes from a recognition of God in all places and times, do implore the restoration of prayer and/or Scripture reading in our public schools.

Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Courter, Doris C. Courter, Lawrence Courter, H. Clay Hughes, Grace A. Hughes, Harry La Tourrette, Adam Wilgus, Mabel H. Kinder, Ellen La Tourrette, Golda Wilgus, Ethel Aughbaugh, Cinda Barnhart.

You, or the Supreme Court rather, had no more right to remove the recitation of prayer or recognizing a God than we have in asking that it be reinstated. The status quo had been maintained for 180 years until we started hobnobbing with godless people and Communists.

The Gentleman Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, the profession of politics is often maligned and its practitioners often accused of being something less than gentlemen.

It is with a great deal of pleasure, therefore, that we can point to an article in the press which states just the opposite and praises the gentlemanly manner of one of the country's leading political professionals.

Many of us, I know, have had occasion to meet George L. Hinman, the Republican national committeeman from the State of New York. He is a scholarly lawyer with a great facility for making lasting friendships. Above all he has the respect of all who know him.

I am pleased, therefore, to include at this point in the RECORD an article by Bruce Biossat, Washington correspondent, Newspaper Enterprise Association, as it appeared in newspapers thorughout the country, including the Olean, N.Y., Times Herald of Monday, June 15, 1964.

The article follows:

THE GENTLEMAN POLITICIAN

(By Bruce Biossat)

WASHINGTON.—Defeated though he may now be, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York has brought to the Republican political scene one of the most warmly admired and respected men ever to move about on the campaign trail.

He is George L. Hinman, 58, the Governor's top political associate, New York Republican national committeeman, lawyer, holder of many Rockefeller portfolios.

Hard-crusted party professionals speak of Hinman above all as a man of unexampled quality—gentlemanly, diplomatic, fair and straight in his dealings, knowledgeable, and incredibly hard working. Some suggest they have never quite seen his equal in politics.

Rockefeller, hearing frequent complaint that his camp in 1959–60 lacked a real grasp of national party politics, commissioned Hinman in 1961 to correct the situation.

This lawyer from Binghamton thereupon set out on an almost continuous round of political travels across the country, attending every important party meeting no matter where held, joining in fundraising dinners, shaking hands with hundreds of politicians.

This undertaking quickly turned George Hinman into one of the most proficient professionals in the Nation. And, until the moment of the Governor's remarriage in May 1963, it had so prepared the groundwork that Rockefeller's nomination for the presidency this year was taken for granted in many circles.

Says a man who observes Hinman closely: "He is carrying around in his head the most complete information on major party political figures ever put together in this country."

From the outside, no matter what his immediate purpose, Hinman made it a practice never to move into any territory without first calling on and making accommodation with the party regulars there. This is one of his most admired habits.

A former Wisconsin GOP chairman, Claude Jasper, once dreamed up this incident to express his appreciation:

"George and the Governor are flying over my State in a twin-engined aircraft. An engine conks out. The plane is faltering badly. But Hinman radios me, requesting permission to land."

Hinman's close associates say he has built a prodigious file of written material on personalities, party structure, strategic situations and other matters. He pours out his information to secretaries in brief pauses between trips.

Even though Rockefeller's remarriage sent his nomination prospects plummeting, Hinman carried doggedly on, laboring to set up in State after State an organization which many politicians—including numerous Rockefeller adversaries—consider high grade.

He suffered many slings in the dark months before Rockefeller finally triumphed in the Oregon primary. Then for a time it looked as if his long concentration on California would be rewarded. When defeat came for the Governor, it was also a very hard blow for Hinman.

No cue yet exists as to Rockefeller's next moves in the 1964 nomination fight now so close to being won by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER. Whatever is done, George Hinman will be in the thick of it.

A good many politicians around the Nation wish he could be in the thick of important Republican Party endeavors for a long time to come.

Freedom's Symbol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, June 14, was Flag Day, and I was pleased to note that throughout my district a great number of flags were in evidence and that the American public responded and effectively demonstrated their interest in our national standard.

The reasons for this resurgence and interest in Flag Day are numerous, and certainly the inspiring editorial comments of local newspaper are most valuable. As an example, I insert into the RECORD an editorial of Thursday, June 11, which appeared in the Blue Island Sun-Standard, Blue Island, Ill., which gave its voice to a wonderful observance of Flag Day:

FREEDOM'S SYMBOL

Distractions beset us and it is a good idea occasionally for the sake of our personal and national sense of direction to reserve a time for taking stock. This country will observe National Flag Week from June 14 through June 20 this year—let us renew the custom of showing the colors and recall the ideals for which they stand.

Whether snapping in a stiff breeze or hanging in dignified repose, it is impossible to look at the Stars and Stripes without seeing reflected in them both the glorious past, and the future which can belong to the great country they represent. A nation's strength has no meaning unless its use follows the will of a people with pride and integrity of purpose.

Responsible individuals with the freedom to think, create, and move to meet fast changing circumstances built the United States. A free society capable of spawning and encouraging such citizens will have the versatile strength to steer a meaningful course in this fast shifting world. The American flag has always flown above such a land—let's keep it so.

Scranton Prospects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column from the Washington Post, June 17, 1964:

SCRANTON PROSPECTS: DEPENDING ON SECOND THOUGHTS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Is Governor Scranton attempting the impossible—or merely the miraculous?

He admits he started late. He also set back his cause by his indecision at the Governors' conference in Cleveland.

But there is nothing vague nor indecisive nor inanimate about the Scranton quest for the Republican presidential nomination today. He is adding zest to the contest and a new element of competition for Senator GOLDWATER, who is now so far ahead that Mr. Scranton can hardly see him in the distance.

My own conviction is that Scranton's dramatic and forceful entrance into the race is an asset to the Republican Party, that it ought to be welcomed as a means of breathing some life into the convention. And it does two more important things:

It will vigorously challenge the policies and views which GOLDWATER wants the Republican Party to accept—on the use of nuclear weapons, on getting out of the U.N., on breaking relations with Russia, on civil rights, on social security and other welfare programs.

It could gain sufficient momentum to cause many of the delegates to give a second thought to the decision which perhaps a majority appears already to have made—that GOLDWATER is their favorite.

But can Scranton do in less than a month what GOLDWATER has been doing for the past 2 years—however dynamic his efforts?

It would be a political miracle if he can. But there are several factors which work for Scranton and which give him a possibility of altering the shape of the convention. They are:

Political opinion among Republican voters—to whom the convention delegates are responsible and usually responsive—is malleable, very malleable. This is best illustrated by the fact that in the three gen-

uinely contested primaries, the Republican voters gave their first choice to a different candidate in each instance; to Lodge in New Hampshire, to Rockefeller in Oregon, and to Goldwater in California.

Scranton is not alone. He is getting more help than Governor Rockefeller did in California. Governor Romney of Michigan is on his side. The leaders of the draft-Lodge movement have joined up. Rockefeller has pledged his "full support." General Eisenhower continues to call for an "open convention" which suggests that he may hope that Goldwater might not lock it up in advance. Richard Nixon urged a third-force candidate at the Governor's conference and it now looks as though he hopes Scranton will go far enough to stop Goldwater but not far enough to stop Nixon.

Many of the delegates apparently committed or favorable to Goldwater are not firmly tied down. Their allegiance is shaky and subject to persuasion. From here on Scranton will be busy at persuasion.

It is almost certain that GOLDWATER's maximum strength will be on the first ballot. This is why he must get a first-ballot nomination or probably falter and fail. Slippage on the second ballot would be fatal. Thus the climate of second thought and doubt about GOLDWATER which Scranton will tend to create, could be dangerous.

Scranton has two main arguments with which to cast doubt on the wisdom of a GOLDWATER nomination—the fact that GOLDWATER is conducting a campaign which goes against the voting record of most Republican Senators and Congressmen and the fact that many Republican moderates see a GOLDWATER ticket losing offices at every level of government.

These factors do not assure Scanton a victory. They do assure him a hearing.

Teenage Drinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, from time to time during my service in Congress, I have called the attention of our colleagues to the harmful results of New York State's law permitting the sale of alcoholic beverages to teenagers, especially in terms of the effects on those States, including my own New Jersey, which border on New York.

I have done so in the hope that the almost universal opposition to teenage drinking which exists throughout the country, together with a greater awareness of the interstate implications of New York's law, might help persuade that State to conform with its neighbors and with the rest of the Nation. Unfortunately, the State of New York continues to go its own way with little apparent regard for the consequences.

As the Newark Evening News pointed out in its lead editorial of June 8, however, the adverse consequences have not been restricted to other States. New York, itself, has been paying the price of its refusal to raise its legal drinking age to a more reasonable level.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this editorial:

THE CONSEQUENCES

For years New York has rejected pleas from neighbor States that it raise the legal minimum age for purchase of alcoholic beverages to the national level of 21. Now New York is being confronted with some of the consequences of public drinking by teenagers.

New York City councilmen are getting complaints from beachfront neighborhoods. Hundreds of empty beer cans litter streets near beaches. Beatings and stabbings attributed to youthful drinkers have been reported. Racial incidents are feared.

Ready for city council action is one proposal that would make it unlawful for anyone under 18 to drink beer or liquor on any public street or beach, and another that would call on the park department to ban, except at designated places, the drinking of beer and liquor at public beaches.

No one ever claimed that all automobile accidents and disorderly conduct attributable to teenage drinking would be eliminated if New York adopted the 21-year age limit of its sister States. But it is argued, and with considerable corroboration, that these problems would be dimished.

Certainly conditions at New York beaches and parks would not have become so offensive if irresponsible youngsters were not permitted free access to the liquor stores. It's still not too late for New York to rejoin the Union.

Lowell Pastor Selected for Project in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to draw to the attention of the House an article that appeared in the Lowell Sun on Monday, June 15, 1964, announcing that a Lowell minister, the Reverend Paul K. Ketchum, will participate in the Japan summer evangelism program of 1964. As a member of a team of 15 ministers representing 7 denominations, Reverend Ketchum will help establish new churches and aid newly founded churches in Japan.

We are all proud of Reverend Ketchum and his laudable efforts for the cause of international peace and understanding.

Under unanimous consent, I include the article in the RECORD:

LOWELL PASTOR SELECTED FOR PROJECT IN JAPAN

LOWELL.—Rev. Paul F. Ketchum, pastor of the Eliot Presbyterian Church, has been invited to participate in the Japan summer evangelism project of 1964. He will be a member of a team of 15 ministers representing 7 different denominations including the United Church of Canada.

The Japan evangelism project is a summer program of cooperative evangelism which has established new churches and aided promising but weak churches in many parts of Japan. During this summer of 1964, 15 churches of North America will share their pastors during July and August with weaker congregations in Japan.

The project had its beginning in 1954 under the leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence Lacour of the Methodist church. It was taken over by the United Church of Christ in Japan in cooperation with the Japan Interboard Committee which has its headquarters in New York City, at 475 Riverside Drive. The interboard committee is a cooperative organization representing seven major Protestant denominations that sponsor missionary work in Japan: the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Methodist Church, the Reformed Church in America, the Evangelical United Brethren, the Disciples of Christ, the United Church of Christ, and the United Church of Canada.

The ministers selected for this program are given several months of orientation before leaving home and further training en route and in Japan.

Each North American pastor is assigned to a church "center" where he works with an interpreter (most interpreters are Japanese theological students or graduates of Christian colleges) and a young Japanese pastor. The work includes preaching, teaching Bible classes, conducting classes in English, helping to train young people in service to the church and community, directing vacation church schools, counseling, calling in the homes, conducting prayer meetings in the homes, holding classes for "seekers" from the Buddhist and Shinto religions as they seek to understand the Christian faith and way of life.

Among the advantages for the local Japanese church in having the assistance of the pastors from overseas is that of a greater possibility of outreach into the life of the community. In introducing the North American colleagues to the town officials, the local pastor gains new stature in the community, and the little church around the corner from the large ornate Buddhist temple or Shinto shrine is linked in the people's mind with an important international force for good, namely Christianity.

It is also found to be a valuable result of the summer's relationships that the home church of the visiting minister becomes closely linked in a bond of mutual helpfulness with the church in Japan.

Last month, Reverend Mr. Ketchum received word that he will be located in the city of Kojima which is in Okayma Prefecture on the Inland Sea. There is just one Christian church in the city which started 15 years ago in the home of a member. Last fall the members built a small chapel. Recently the pastor, Reverend Tomoyuki Fujioka, wrote Reverend Mr. Ketchum a letter of welcome in which he described the church and the city of Kojima.

Reverend Mr. Fojioka wrote: "The population of Kojima is about 70,000. It was a fishing village and a salt processing town, but today it is a manufacturing city. Kojima makes about 70 percent of the school uniforms and working wear of all Japan. Consequently we have girls from 15 to 25 years of age coming from the country to work in the factories. We have three high schools, five junior high schools, plus a seamen's school, hospital, etc. The city is very active and growing.

"The church is small but we are working to evangelize more and more and hope to be a big influence in this city."

Reverend Mr. Ketchum will fly from Boston to Los Angeles, Calif., on Tuesday, June 30. In Los Angeles he will join the other 14 members of the team and they will fly together to Honolulu on Wednesday, July 1. After a day of briefing in Honolulu, they will continue to Tokyo, where they will receive 5 days of special orientation. On Sunday, July 5, each minister will preach in a Tokyo church through a Japanese interpreter. From Tokyo, Reverend Mr. Ketchum will fly to Osaka and then go by train to Kojima where he will remain through August 30.

Premature Election Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of the highly developed techniques exhibited by the radio and television networks in predicting at the earliest possible moment election results, the suggestion by our colleague, OLIVER BOLTON, that radio and TV networks agree to a delay in announcing election results until after the public is finished voting is particularly commendable.

As an indication of the grassroots support for Representative BOLTON'S proposal, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, June 11, edition of the Chicago Heights Star, Chicago Heights, Ill., emphasizing the practicality of this thought:

PREMATURE ELECTION RESULTS

A problem over which we have expressed concern in the past is currently receiving attention in the Nation's Capital. It is the practice of computing the probable outcome of national elections before all of the polls are closed.

Congressman OLIVER P. BOLTON, of Ohio, has indicated he will ask the Federal Communications Commission to step in unless radio and television networks agree to delay announcing the winner until we indeed have one.

The hazards of predicting the outcome of a close election before residents in all time zones have voted are obvious. Projections pointing to victory of a candidate on the basis of Eastern and Middle West voting are almost certain to have an effect on west coast residents who haven't visited the polls.

It is difficult to estimate the size of a "bandwagon" vote accruing to the apparent winner, but there is substantial evidence that many persons like to be identified with the victor.

Perhaps more important, however, is the impact of premature announcements on person who are reluctant to cast a supposedly meaningless vote. Particularly in the event of inclement weather, what incentive would there be for a voter to visit the polls in an apparently lost cause? It is almost impossible to reject the conclusion that under present conditions the final tally can fail to reflect true voter opinion.

After having voted, all of us are impatient for identification of the probable winner, but most of us would be willing to bridle our impatience rather than risk improper influence on the election's outcome.

At least one spokesman for the broadcasting industry disagrees with restraints on projecting the outcome. He was quoted as saying that "you can't tell a good reporter a fact and not expect it to be reported."

A question then arises concerning what is a fact. In 1960, a landslide of monumental proportions was forecast by computers on the basis of entirely unreliable information; the returns fed into the machine were not from representative precincts. We presume a more scientific approach might be anticipated in 1964, but an entirely reliable projection before all hands have voted can hardly be expected.

To perhaps a lesser degree than computed calculations, it is probable that public opinion polls also affect voter reaction. Suspicions that some polls are actually rigged to influence the outcome of elections have not been supported by evidence. It is nevertheless apparent that even the most conscientious poll might discourage potential voters from showing up at election centers.

The relative numerical strength of the Nation's active electorate is sufficiently low that we have regular "get out the vote" campaigns. It seems ironic that they should be counteracted by practices tending to make people stay at home.

Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 21, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I wish to include the results of my public opinion poll, which I sent to my constituents on May 20, 1964. Tabulations made of the polls returned through June 12 totaled approximately 6,000, or about 22 percent of the number mailed:

	Percentage results		
	Yes	No	Not sure
1. How would you vote on a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools?	75	21	4
2. How would you vote on the idea of paying for medical care of the aged through the social security system?	23	68	9
3. In the civil rights bill, which passed the House, there are 10 titles considered to be controversial. Please check how you would vote on each.			
(a) Voting: Strengthens previous laws; calls for standardized literacy tests for Federal elections; 6th grade education is evidence of literacy	23	68	9
(b) Public accommodations: No discrimination by any establishment or service that has any contact with interstate commerce	36	57	7
(c) Public facilities: Permits the Government to file suit and argue cases, on complaint, of discrimination in any publicly owned facilities	36	58	6
(d) Education: The Attorney General can file suits to force desegregation; authorizes aid to communities that are trying to desegregate	36	58	6
(e) Civil Rights Commission: Continues the present Commission for 4 more years; prohibits it from investigating the policies of private groups	50	33	17
(f) Federal aid: Prohibits discrimination in distributing Federal aid. Agencies may cut off aid only after hearings, court review, notifying Congress, and receiving Presidential approval	61	31	8
(g) Employment: Prohibits discrimination by private employers and unions on the basis of race or sex. Nonemployment of atheists and Communists is not considered discrimination	61	31	8
(h) Voting census: Directs the Census Bureau to take a census of voters by race in areas designated by the Civil Rights Commission. This could lead to reducing representation in the House by invoking the 14th amendment	17	65	18
(i) Remand: Permits appeal, on a Federal court order that refuses to take a civil rights case out of a State court even though such appeals are not permitted in other legal cases	18	61	21
(j) Conciliation: Establishes a community relations and conciliation service in the Commerce Department to conciliate racial disputes	18	61	21
(k) How would you vote on the whole bill?	22	63	15
4. In regard to Cuba, would you—			
(a) Resume diplomatic relations to try to win her over?	7	89	4
(b) Go on trying to persuade others not to trade with her?	7	89	4
(c) Put on a blockade against strategic materials only?	40	55	5
(d) Put on a blockade against any commerce in any materials?	70	24	6
(e) Organize a Cuban emigre army and support an invasion?	70	24	6
(f) Use all conventional sources necessary to oust Castro?	88	7	5
5. In regard to Panama, would you—			
(a) Insist on strict enforcement of the 1903 treaty?	62	28	10
(b) Agree to renegotiate the entire treaty?	62	28	10
(c) Agree to renegotiate payments to Panama?	41	48	11
(d) Agree to a partnership arrangement with Panama?	21	67	12
(e) Have the United States build a new sea level canal?	21	67	12
6. In respect to Vietnam, do you believe we should—			
(a) Get out?	27	64	9
(b) Continue our support at the present rate?	13	78	9
(c) Increase our support?	13	78	9
(d) Strike at the bases in North Vietnam used to supply the Vietcong?	77	14	9
7. When a nation expropriates American property and holdings, should we—			
(a) Intervene militarily to satisfy our claims?	40	46	14
(b) Use all diplomatic channels to firmly insist on payment?	40	46	14
(c) Deny the nation all foreign aid until payment is made?	92	6	2
8. In regard to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, do you think we should—			
(a) Abandon it?	19	65	16
(b) Strengthen it by dealing with the Soviets only after we have NATO approval?	19	65	16
(c) Increase economic ties through a NATO Common Market?	57	21	22
(d) Continue our present policy?	25	43	32
9. As to trade with Communist nations, would you believe—			
(a) It should be done only for dollars or gold?	25	43	32
(b) It should be done on the basis of loans and credits, as with our allies?	11	86	3
(c) Not at all?	50	36	14

	Percentage results		
	Yes	No	Not sure
10. Since 1960, do you feel the U.S. prestige in the world—			
(a) Has increased?	50	36	14
(b) Has decreased?	83	13	4
(c) Has not changed?	27	64	9
11. How do you feel in regard to disarmament?			
(a) It would be a mistake to consider disarmament at this time	27	64	9
(b) Universal disarmament should begin, but be done in stages, with thorough inspection and control	57	37	6
(c) The United States should begin disarming regardless of others, as an example to the rest of the world	4	94	2
12. In regard to unemployment, do you believe the Federal Government should—			
(a) Assume full responsibility for solving the problem?	4	94	2
(b) Share the responsibility with the States and free enterprise?	63	34	3
(c) Allow the States and free enterprise to solve the problem?	66	29	5
13. How would you vote on establishing a Job Corps with work-training camps throughout the country?	66	29	5
14. Should a Domestic Peace Corps be established to provide training and services upon local request?	34	53	13
15. How would you vote on a federally subsidized retraining program for people whose skills have become or will become outdated?	44	44	12
16. Generally speaking, would you consider yourself—			
(a) A liberal	44	44	
(b) A conservative	80	18	
(c) An independent	55	39	
	Male	*Female*	
17. To help analyze the results of this survey, please check one	55	40	
18. In terms of age, are you [1]—			
(a) Under 30?	10		
(b) From 30 to 45?	30		
(c) From 45 to 60?	30		
(d) Over 60?	25		

[1] 5 percent did not answer question 18.

Resolution of 188th Session, New Jersey Legislature—1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the excellent New Jersey Labor Herald, which ranks among the foremost labor publications in the country, this month observes its 25th anniversary. This felicitous occasion has been marked by many tributes to the Labor Herald and its respected editor, Lewis M. Herrmann, who has conducted its affairs with ability, courage, and energy. He deserves great commendation for his distinguished service not only to the labor movement but to the State of New Jersey and to the Nation.

Mr. Herrmann and the New Jersey Labor Herald have been signally honored by the Legislature of New Jersey which recently adopted the following resolution, extending felicitations on the occasion of its 25th birthday:

RESOLUTION OF 188TH SESSION, NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE—1964

Whereas the New Jersey Labor Herald, published in the city of Newark, N.J., will celebrate the 25th silver anniversary with its June 1964 edition; and

Whereas this publication has over the past 25 years contributed greatly to the achievement of more cordial relations between labor and management in this industrial State, and was largely responsible for the creation by the legislature of the now nationally famous institute of management and labor relations, on the campus of Rutgers University; and

Whereas its editor, Lewis M. Herrmann, served with distinction for a number of years, as a member of the house of assembly, representing the county of Essex, from 1947 to 1951: Be it therefore,

Resolved, by the general assembly and the senate, That we hereby go on record extending our sincere felicitations to the New Jersey Labor Herald and its editor and staff, on the occasion of its 25th birthday, to be celebrated during the month of June 1964; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of the general assembly and senate, and forwarded to Editor Herrmann, and released to the press.

ALFRED N. BEADLESTON,
Speaker, New Jersey House of Assembly.
CHARLES R. SANDMAN,
President, New Jersey State Senate.

Too Many Judges Are Political Hacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, recently the House of Representatives completed its work in increasing salaries for Federal judges. This is a necessary adjustment.

Even with the increase, Federal judges will not be brought within the higher salary range of many State and local judges. But higher salaries does not necessarily mean higher caliber of judges. If the selection process is faulty, it does not matter much what you pay them. The seriousness of the problem is not to be denied. We are free and safe in our homes and in the streets and in our relations with the State only so long as there is a high caliber independent judiciary in every community.

Recently, one of the country's most distinguished lawyers and a former Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, wrote an important article on the subject of the selection of judges. Mr. Brownell for the past two years has been President of the Association of the Bar of New York. Mr. Brownell makes out a strong case for a revision of the processes currently used for selecting judges. He calls for a substitute for the present practice of allowing political clubhouses to dictate nominations for the bench. Mr. Brownell's article appeared in the April 18 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. In writing it he was assisted by the executive secretary of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Mr. Paul DeWitt, an expert on court systems and judges.

Mr. Brownell argues for a plan for the selection of judges recently promulgated by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. This plan has features common to many proposals that have been made in States and cities in the United States. Roughly the plan is as follows:

First. All new judges would be appointed.

Second. By law, the appointing power—Governor or mayor—would have to make his appointment from a list of three, five, or seven names—men certified as qualified by an official judicial nominating commission.

Third. The judicial nominating commission would be established by statute or constitution. It would consist of from 7 to 15 members selected on a nonpartisan basis from among community leaders. It would be provided sufficient staff and funds to make a thorough investigation of all candidates.

Thus, the initiative for proposing appointees for the bench would be removed from clubhouse politics. The plan would encourage well-qualified lawyers to allow their names to be submitted.

I hope that Mr. Brownell's article received wide notice. Members of Congress ought to be familiar with it and I am, therefore, putting the entire article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TOO MANY JUDGES ARE POLITICAL HACKS

(By Herbert Brownell)

(A leading lawyer charges that incompetent judges, picked from the party faithful, are manhandling justice.)

Justice in this country is suffering because we are not getting the best qualified lawyers as judges. A pretty good judge, as someone has said, is like a pretty good egg.

If judges are mediocre, the courts will not provide justice.

Why are we failing to attract to the judiciary our very best legal talent? The answer is simple: Present methods of selecting judges reward the mediocre and discourage the talented.

Let's look at the present state of our judicial establishment. The real trouble is not venality or corruption. True, there probably are a few corrupt judges, just as there are a few abortionists among the doctors, forgers among the bankers, and peddlers of influence among governmental officials. But the incidence of wrongdoers is probably lower among the judiciary than elsewhere. One reason why few judges are corrupt is the carefully protected eminence of the judiciary. Judges are men set apart, robed and respected. Most men who receive this treatment respond by living up to their community's trust in them. And since judges' tenure in office is relatively secure and their remuneration at least adequate, the temptation to make a corrupt dollar is not compelling.

Our adversary system of trying a case also protects the courts against corruption. Alert lawyers with their professional reputations at stake are watching the conduct of the judge as it affects both adversaries in a lawsuit. If there is a suspicion of favoritism to one adversary, the lawyer for the other will be quick to sense it and quicker to investigate. Judges are also under constant scrutiny by their fellow judges. The daily contact of judges in the courthouse is intimate; concealment of wrongdoing is almost impossible. Most courts are under the supervision of a presiding justice, and most presiding justices keep informed as to what is going on in their courts. Judicial conferences in the Federal system and in many of the States also exercise supervision. Once in a while a Judge Martin Manton or a Judge J. Warren Davis can get by for a short time with corrupt conduct, but eventually they are caught. (Manton was jailed; Davis resigned under pressure of prosecution.) Finally, the judge is watched in a systematic way by most bar associations, and his performance measured against the strictures of the Canons of Judicial Ethics. And the press, because the courts are always a dramatic source of news, is daily interested in the conduct of the judges.

The problem, then, is not corrupt judges. The problem is mediocre judges—the men whom one distinguished judge has described as the "gray mice" of the judicial establishment. What are the characteristics of these many "gray mice"? Like other mice they are unobtrusive. They have not distinguished themselves in law school or college. Their practice has generally been a limited one and their general legal experience not well rounded. Although they rarely win distinction in professional or learned organizations, they do belong to an astonishing array of fraternal, military, and other groups.

But above all else they belong to their local political club and are cheerful in performing the interesting assignments their leader has for them. They are exemplary in their loyalty to their political party. They look on judicial appointment as the reward for their loyalty and devotion to the party, and they look forward to judicial service as socially and financially rewarding. To them the courthouse is a cozy rest home. In other words, they are ordinary, likable people of small talent. They are not venal, not corrupt, but they can do a great deal to debase and cheapen the entire administration of American justice.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that over the long haul, mediocrity in the courts is more corrosive than corruption. For one thing, mediocrity is more pervasive in its effect. The corrupt judge is not corrupt all the time; he generally waits for the main chance. Often he is a judge of ability. Most cases he will handle properly and well. But the mediocre judge handles all cases poorly. The result is that many litigants do not get a full measure of justice, or they find their affairs in a worse tangle than before they came to court.

Unfortunately, it is the vast number of small people in our courts whom the mediocre judge hurts the most. Well-to-do clients have able lawyers to protect their interests. If things go wrong they can afford to appeal and get things set straight. For the client of modest means, any lawsuit is a financial hazard; he cannot afford to have things go wrong through the mistakes of an incompetent judge. This is particularly true in courts that deal with intimate family problems and in the criminal courts where life or liberty is at stake. A bungling judge in those courts is a disaster not only for the litigants but for all society.

It must be obvious in a form of government such as ours, where so much reliance is placed on the integrity and impartiality of our courts, taht, as canon 4 of the Canons of Judicial Ethics enjoins, "a judge's official conduct should be free from impropriety and the appearance of impropriety." Thus, a clearly incompetent judge, an undignified judge, a slovenly judge, a prejudiced judge, a disorderly courtroom can seriously tarnish a community's image of justice. This becomes even more disturbing when we realize that there is no way to remove the mediocre judge simply because of his mediocrity. The corrupt judge, the senile judge, the flagrantly intemperate judge can usually be removed. The mediocre judge often remains for life. Indeed, the mediocre judge may well advance in the judicial hierarchy. His talents of amiability and political attractiveness work for his advancement. In this way the whole judicial structure from top to bottom tends toward a depressingly low common denominator. The inevitable result is that the processes of justice are delayed, made costly and thrown in public disrepute.

Obviously, all judges are not mediocrities. There are many good, even great, judges in our courts. If it were not for them, our courts could not function. But it is precisely to insure that we continue to get good judges that we must work to eliminate the mediocre judge.

Why are there so many of these mediocre judges? Because of the way judges are selected. In theory, some judges are appointed by a President (in the Federal system) a Governor (in a State system) or by a mayor. Others are elected. As a matter of hard fact, judges are in most instances picked by political leaders. This is quite obvious in the case of elected judges. The party conventions and primaries that nominate judges are managed by professional politicians. This is what politicians are for. Sometimes they have good candidates nominated, but most often their favor, for reasons we will explore, shines on mediocre candidates. It unfortunately does not seem to matter much to the electorate. Poll after poll has indicated that voters do not even know the names of candidates for judicial office before entering the polling booth, and they scarcely remember them for 5 minutes after they come out. Thus, to repeat, judges are really selected by the leaders of the dominant political party.

But isn't the situation different where judges are appointed by a President, governor or mayor? Surely these leaders take seriously their high responsibility for the administration of justice and make their own appointments. In general, it may be assumed this is so. But these appointing officials are under many pressures, political and otherwise. Even the President still must have his cadidate approved by the two Senators from the candidate's state. By virtue of senatorial courtesy these senators may successfully prevent confirmation of the candidate by the Senate. Senators rightly are highly political animals and do not lightly disregard the desires of the political leaders back home.

The poor Governor and the more harassed mayor are in a much worse fix. In the first place, they have even more political leaders closely interested in who gets appointed. Patronage in the local courts is more important to local politicians than patronage in the Federal courts. Thus, the governor and the mayor must rely heavily on the recommendations of their political leaders. Indeed they have no other source of names in most cases. The political leaders in turn are not free to make their selections from the bar at large. Their first allegiance is to their faithful party workers—the gray mice.

Moreover, a number of lawyers who otherwise would seek judical office and be excellent judges find it difficult and degrading today for the office. There are often rumors, difficult to substantiate but persistent enough to cause concern, that there is a going price for a judgeship. One year's salary is the reported figure in New York City. No honorable lawyer wants a judgeship at a price.

Another negative factor is the prevalent practice of "balancing the ticket"—making sure that dominant ethnic groups get their share of the jobs. This unfortunate aspect of racial bias is so unattractive to many that they prefer not to seek judicial office. Then, too, as has been noted, the image of the courts and the atmosphere of the courthouse has been cheapened. Friends of a qualified candidate for judicial office often express tactless surprise that he would want to join a company of judges that does not command respect.

It must also be admitted that bar associations and civic groups are not as effective as they should be in influencing Governors and mayors to make good appointments to the courts. They have failed to develop influence with the political leaders who really make the selections. When the bar and the civic groups are given a chance to pass on a judicial candidate, they, too, often accept, although reluctantly, the mediocre. There is "nothing against him," they say. He seems like "an honest fellow." Thus, the gray mice, just because they are gray, get the cheese.

If it is vital to the welfare of our form of government that our judges be qualified to administer justice truly and effectively, then certainly the need for a better method of choosing judges is of first concern to us all. Fortunately, in recent years excellent plans for the selection of State and municipal judges have been devised. A promising plan, for example, was recently adopted by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. All the plans have these essential features in common:

1. All new judges would be appointed.

2. By law, the appointing power (Governor or mayor) would have to make his appointment from a list of three, five, or seven names—men certified as qualified by an official judicial nominating commission.

3. The judicial nominating commission would be established by statute or constitution. It would consist of from 7 to 15 members selected on a nonpartisan basis from among community leaders. It would be provided sufficient staff and funds to make a thorough investigation of all candidates.

NO POLITICAL CONTROL

The merits of this plan are almost too obvious to enumerate. Under the plan, the initiative for proposing appointees to the courts and the control of those appointments would be removed from the political leaders. The mayor or the Governor would be limited in his appointments to only those outstanding lawyers found by a nonpartisan commission of community leaders to be qualified. The appointees would owe their office to no political leader.

The plan would encourage well-qualified lawyers to permit themselves to be considered for judgeships. Since the nominating commission would be proposing appointees, not merely screening them, the commission would be free, and indeed under pressure, to search out the best qualified lawyers available. It would not merely approve the mediocre. The press and the people at long last would have available authentic, complete and official information on their judges—who they are and what qualifications they have.

It is time for concerned Americans to consider the plan and to work to have it adopted. For justice is only as good as the judges, and the day of the gray mice is upon us.

The Story of Williamsport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, with justifiable and pardonable pride, I call the attention of my colleagues to the splendid supplement which appeared last Sunday, June 14, in many metropolitan newspapers. It is devoted entirely to my home city, Williamsport, Pa. Written by Pete Martin, well-known Saturday Evening Post feature writer, it is an expert account of the steady growth of Williamsport from a small, one-industry lumber town in the 19th century, to a progressive industrial center which has managed to retain its individuality and its neighborly spirit.

Williamsport is the home of little league baseball, which this year is observing its 25th anniversary. Mr. Martin's article not only outlines the development of this great youth organization from its early days to its present 6,000 national and international leagues, but it also points out some of the very fine qualities of this north-central Pennsylvania area. It is reprinted here in order to focus national attention on Williamsport, Pa., the city of opportunity, little league baseball, and truly gracious living:

THE STORY OF WILLIAMSPORT

(By Pete Martin)

Williamsport, population just under 50,000, has more churches per citizen than any other city in the world—with the possible exception of Rome. And this without being mealymouthed, prudish, or bigoted about it.

It is the kind of place where a neighboring housewife you have never seen will arrive with a smoking hot, full meal, already cooked for your family on the eve you move there and are bone weary and more than a little homestick for the place you've left.

It's the only place (so far as I know) where you can leave your office or lathe and 10 minutes later be in your own home set in tall green trees with a rushing, trout-laden stream foaming past your door. Ten minutes later you can be teeing up on the first tee of your golf club. No stomach ulcers. No rat race.

Williamsport is also where the Little League was born and where it holds its world series.

Thereby hangs a tale so full of heart tugging that anyone hearing it might think it was dreamed up by Walt Disney or Horatio Alger. But it is delightfully and wonderfully true.

Seven years ago, the first foreign little league competed in the finals at Williamsport. They came from Monterrey, Mexico, with perhaps the smallest team squad that ever visited the city. Most of those boys worked all day, although they all were under 12 years old. They played baseball in their spare time and in bare feet. The first new clothing that they'd ever had was their little league uniform.

That Monterrey team went to Texas, beat the competition there, then kept heading north. They still had no proper clothing except their uniforms. Each community where they stopped was responsible for their food, lodging, transportation. They had grown up on a marginal diet before entering the States. As a result, their third baseman gained 15 pounds and had to be benched because he wouldn't fit his uniform anymore.

After they won the world championship, Bob Stirrat, of the Little League's Headquarters Staff, took them to New York to see America's largest city. Next day, Stirrat was ready to start them on their way home when he received a call from President Eisenhower's Press Secretary, Jim Hagerty. "The President would like to see those boys before they go home," Hagerty told him. Ike had heard of them because his grandson was a Little Leaguer too.

The night before Bob Stirrat left for Washington with the boys, Macy's Department Store called him and said they would like to do something for the Mexican team. Stirrat had turned down dozens of similar offers because behind them were free publicity tie-ins. Macy's promised no publicity, no photographs, took them into the store that evening after store hours, loaded them with new clothes and a 98-cent camera each.

In Washington, the President let the boys take pictures of him and when they finally landed in Mexico City, 40,000 people were there to greet their triumphant arrival.

Recently I spent a week in Williamsport. Time was when it was a one-industry town. Lumbering—with a little furniture-making and a few planing mills on the side. The Susquehanna River was choked with logs for Williamsport sawmills. The lumber kings spent over a million dollars to build the great floating boom made of tree trunks and chains that held back the log rafts until they could be sawn up for market in Philadelphia and Baltimore downstream.

During a 50-year period that reached its peak in 1885 with 225 million board feet of lumber sawn, Williamsport was the industry's "Queen City." The phrase "boom or bust" was born there, and a stroll past some of the mansions along Fourth Street is proof that the sawdust kings of old had the midas touch.

But though the mountains of sawdust gleamed like gold, and the Susequehanna was choked with logs for 20 miles upstream the hurly-burly industry finally ran out of timber. The rafts grew smaller and the sawmills shut down.

By the turn of the century, it was obvious that Williamsport needed something else to survive. To their everlasting credit, the town's lumber barons proved not to be robber barons. They put their heads together and figured out how they could stay. From their decision came the Williamsport Board of Trade. They buttressed it plentifully with their spare millions, then sallied forth to fetch back new industries to the town.

Williamsport was one of the first communities in the country to tackle such a job. (It is called revitalization by Johnny-come-latelys). With so many wealthy men pouring money into the community till, they began to attract a variety of new industries.

When the last sawmill shut down during World War I, a number of new manufacturers were already flourishing. The board was cordial to anything that meant work for men. The company now known as Avco had moved to town, and switched from making bicycles and sewing machines to automobile and aircraft engines. What is now the Bethlehem Steel Wire Rope Division, started there as a small wire rope mill. Darling Valve, Demarest Machine Tools, and other well-known firms hit town in the years around 1900.

Williamsport's growth progressed at a relatively stable pace, that paid off during the depression, when the former Lycoming Rubber Co., a part of U.S. Rubber, closed its Williamsport operation and threw 2,000 employees out of work. Instead of panicking the city, that departure pulled everyone together once more into a determined team.

The city's businessmen formed themselves into a new task force called the Committee of One Hundred. Redoubling the effort to attract additional industry, even in the depths of the depression, they had enough guts to raise $100,000 in the community. That may not seem much now, but it was a lot of money in 1932–33.

That was and is the character of Williamsport. Since 1956 capital fund drives have netted approximately $1 million in outright gifts from individuals and area businesses and industries. With the help of this fund many industries are housed in new modern plants. In Williamsport's new and beautifully landscaped industrial park a 30,000-square-foot shell building even now awaits an industrial tenant. By latest count, there are 153 industries located in the Greater Williamsport area, and they have no ides of leaving. Its industrial park is a going concern, well housed, and well served by railway spurs.

Given a great assist by nature and the dedicated efforts of some of its citizens, Williamsport has also developed recreational facilities second to none. Back in the 1940's it began to develop what is called the Million-Acre Playground (through the chamber of commerce) to pull the whole vast forest and recreation area to its north into one big playground. This area now has more than 30 hunting and fishing camps. Anybody with waders, rod and reel, or gun, can be a weekend millionaire within an hour's ride of the city's center.

I set off to find out firsthand some of the accomplishments that make Williamsport residents so tickled with their life and work.

My first stop was in the office of Andrew Kute, administrative assistant to the general manager of the M. W. Kellogg Co.'s Power Piping Division. I said, "I'd like to hear the reasoning that went into your selecting Williamsport."

Kute said, "Back around 1958 or maybe 1957, we made a survey. We were looking for Pennsylvania Railroad sidings because they pretty well cover the various cities we would be shipping our materials to. Primarily, we make materials for public utilities, like Pennsylvania Power & Light. We also do a terrific amount of foreign work; therefore, we needed access to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore.

"Then we needed labor suitable for us to train to suit our specialized circumstances and conditions. The Williamsport Institute was cooperative, most helpful. That was one of the plus factors that helped make up our minds. In reality, we trained the Williamsport Tech faculty so they could incorporate our requirements into their teaching program to meet our needs. We sent boys and men in through the institute's back door and met them coming out at the front door."

"As far as you know, are most of your employees happy?" I asked Kute.

"To the best of my knowledge, they are," he said. "Most of the men who worked for us in Jersey City lived about 14 miles from the plant. Here in Williamsport, 20 minutes driving takes you into the woods. Naturally, this appealed to our people."

Still searching for an answer to my question, "Why did your company choose Williamsport to work and live in?" I dropped in to talk to Bill Miller, plant manager of the Vidmar Co. Vidmar manufactures some of the world's finest steel cabinets in which to store heavy parts and tools. It also works day and night to turn out cabinets for Xerox Corp. of America.

"Tell me what yardstick you used to pick this place for your plant," I said.

"Psychological reasons," he said. "It's a city and it's not a city. It's not too big but it's not too small."

"It's my guess that the incidence of 'rat race' stomach ulcers would be pretty small in this town," I said.

"Right," Miller said. "I've lived in Williamsport only 6 years, but I have made more friends and know more people than I did during the 18 years I spent in Philadelphia. My family likes Williamsport very much. It's a friendly community."

"I was given the assignment of surveying financing, taxes, availability of labor, availability of trucking facilities, water, power, and gas for a new plant. Then I saw an ad about Williamsport, the Pennsylvania Power & Light placed in the New York Times. After touring several locations with their representatives, I recommended Williamsport to my superiors. Among a lot of other things, they were pretty much impressed with the 100-percent financing Williamsport offered."

"This is not an outright gift, is it?" I asked. "You pay interest on it and have a right to buy it if you care to."

Miller said, "In 1970, this building can be ours for 1 buck. In the meantime, we're occupying it on a lease-purchase agreement.

I said, "I've heard that when you got the Xerox account you had to go on double shift."

Miller said, "We went on triple shift. We started here with 42,000 square feet. Now we have 108,000 square feet. We've been lucky enough to find the people to man these three shifts right here in Williamsport. We had to train them, but they learn easily."

"Did you find the Williamsport Technical Institute helpful?"

"Yes, and in some areas it's absolutely excellent."

I thought I'd drop in on a young couple to find out what it's like to raise a family in Williamsport. I called on Mr. and Mrs. Harold Hershberger, Jr. "I have a son and daughter about your age," I said. "If the boss told them they had to move to Williamsport and go to work, what would they enjoy or like about it?"

Her young husband, whose nickname is "Bud," answered, "I suspect they'd be like us in many ways. We're very fond of the area."

"I take it you both are active in civic affairs?"

"I work for a bank and I'm also active in the chamber of commerce. At this point, I'm also director of civil defense in Williamsport and secretary of the Williamsport Foundation."

"How big is the foundation?"

"It's almost $3 million, which makes it one of the larger foundations in the country," Hershberger told me. "I think it's one of the finest features of this community that we have people willing to give money to a foundation so the dollars earned will accrue to everyone's benefit."

"Why do you like living here?" I asked pretty Joyce Hershberger. She spoke up, "One of the biggest things that keeps us here is the countryside, itself. We love the outdoors. There seems to be less and less of it available everywhere else."

"We have beautiful public camping sites that are not really used as much as they should be. There's plenty of room for more people, and if you insist on paying, you can go as fancy as you like in the private clubs and camps."

"How about bringing up a family?"

"This is the place for children," Joyce said. "We have fine schools. I taught first grade here and I know. The facilities are already very good and are improving all the time."

Moving on to Charlie Buddenbaum, a tall, sturdy man who has spent most of his life with Avco making aircraft engines, I asked, "I take it that you wouldn't be here if Avco didn't find it a prime location for their business?"

"In general we all like the area. I know Avco management likes it. There's a good labor market here and the labor rates themselves are reasonable. For our type of work, there's the Williamsport Institute. It will train machine operators and tool people.

"What are some of the other advantages of Williamsport town life?"

"My children have better surroundings in which to grow up," he said. "They're not out on the streets of a huge sprawling, indifferent city. There's one other very important point. It's our law enforcement. Ours not only shrinks juvenile delinquency, it gives both labor and management a square shake. The city administration and law enforcement officers here are objective. They protect all of the people, not just a few."

"I hate to sound 'cornball,' " I said, "but it seems to me that this community is a conservative, independent backbone-of-America-type of place. Sophisticated people don't say such things but it's true."

"It's true," Buddenbaum said. "Williamsport is like a small town. I'm not romancing you—I was born and raised in one. Our labor turnover is very low. Most of the people are native here and they want to keep on living here."

While Williamsport's Ille Electric Co. looms comparatively small as an employer of people, it ranks among the foremost producers of hospital therapeutic equipment in the country. This company came to Williamsport approximately 7 years ago. The two partners, Edward Becker and Charles Kolb are eminently satisfied with working conditions and labor availability in the area, particularly of the trained type.

No one who knows the Williamsport story can avoid the sureness that private industry and private enterprise have heart and pride in the community they serve. Take the Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., its Susquehanna division headed by M. S. Lawrence. In 1962 it initiated a program of acquiring industrial land sites. Its objective was to assure available land for new industry at competitive prices. Land acquisitions are made through non-interest-bearing loans to local industrial development organizations. Another Pennsylvania Power & Light Co. objective is to encourage construction of shell buildings capable of housing industries. The locating of many payroll swelling enterprises has been secured because a building was immediately available that could be quickly completed to an industry's own specifications.

Also take the Pennsylvania Gas & Water Co., one of the largest public utilities that headquarters in northeast Pennsylvania. Rulison Evans is chairman of the board and chief executive officer. Robert R. Evans is its president. Pennsylvania Gas & Water is a natural gas and water utility supplying 10 northeastern Pennsylvania counties. Williamsport is the headquarters of its Susquehanna Division which serves the city with gas. Last year, 1963, with appropriate ceremonies involving visiting American Gas Association officials, Pennsylvania Gas & Water opened a brand new spacious sales and customer service office building in midtown Williamsport.

Pennsylvania Gas & Water is proud of the fact that many of the industries newly acquired by the Greater Williamsport area were influenced to move there by the easy and economical availability of efficient, natural gas.

Having heard so much glowing praise of the Williamsport Technical Institute, I thought it was time to see for myself what was going on inside its complex of buildings. I said to Dr. Kenneth Carl, head of the institute and a human dynamo who had me on the run from the moment I arrived, "I understand you pioneered the teaching of vocational skills here in World War II days," I said.

"Our thinking along those lines goes much further back than that," he told me. "But this institute really got its start in 1919 when Williamsport became concerned about the disabled World War I veterans coming home. The school district rented some buildings near the center of town to retrain men in patternmaking, auto mechanics, electricity.

Dr. Carl hustled me at a gallop through building after building peopled by boys and girls of all ages and sizes. Their lunch hour was not over, yet two-thirds of them were studying and working on their current projects.

During a quiet period between two buildings, Dr. Carl told me, "We still carry on our program of alternate study and work in industry 2 weeks at a time. It's a practical way to learn. We not only teach veterans, we teach international students as well. One of our graduates is now Prime Minister of Iraq. At present, we have 21 international students here from several foreign countries, including Vietnam, Afghanistan, the Sudan, Liberia, the Cameroons, Mexico, Trinidad."

"If an industry wants to move here to Williamsport and it needs specially trained people, will you train them?" I asked.

"We can contribute quite a bit that way," he told me. "Remember Rosie the riveter? We trained 120 girls for the Signal Corps and for the Navy as assemblyline inspectors. Then at the end of the war, we were involved with our returning veterans. In fact, we had a program going here before Congress passed the GI bill. One thousand one hundred physically handicapped veterans had gone through our school and every single one of them had landed jobs, including the totally blind."

While still on the subject of education in Williamsport, I dropped in at Lycoming College and talked to its president, a Methodist minister, Dr. D. Frederick Wertz. Greeting me warmly, he said, "I'm glad you're interested in our college. Around here, we're proud of it."

I told him, "I've always felt that the caliber of a community's schools is the direct expression of the inhabitants' hopes, ambitions, and interests. So you'll understand if I tend to see the college here as a sort of mirror to the people of Williamsport."

"That observation is interesting and I think valid," he said, "at least in communities that possess two qualities—a relatively stable economy, and a population that's not too large. When a city's population swells past a certain size, the individual seems to lose his personal identification. Instead of being home, it's just another impersonal place. He stops caring about anything of a civic nature, anything beyond his own immediate circle of friends, neighborhood, and work."

"You build quite an impressive case for the small to middle-size town and city," I said.

"To me," Dr. Wertz continued, "the real college life is to be had in the smaller colleges that offer liberal arts programs. This is the philosophy on which we operate and it is quite simple; you can go to school to learn how to do something or you can go to

school to learn how to be someone. There's a vast difference. Unfortunately, a lot of people view colleges in terms of 'what can you teach me to do?' We believe in the long run we produce the kind of person who contributes most to society."

I called next on George Lamade, the publisher of Grit. His weekly newspaper has a circulation well over 1 million. Grit is a household word all throughout America, especially in its smaller cities and towns.

I told him, "Grit has been here since 1881 so it seems logical to suppose that some part of this town must have rubbed off on Grit and vice versa."

"We're hopeful that we can be credited with contributing a little something to the progress of Williamsport," Lamade said. His eyes wandered over my shoulder to a head done in bronze. "That's my father," he said. "He started this paper. He was a fine character. Over there is my brother, the man for whom Grit donated the Howard J. Lamade Memorial Field to the Little League. He was tremendously interested in that program.

"He was on the Little League board of directors for many years Lamade said, during its development. He helped bring Pete McGovern who heads up the whole Little League setup, to Williamsport.

"That was a step forward in itself," I said. Pete's quite a man, just what you need to run the program. He comes up with the right answers. That's the important thing. The fellow who's right can afford to be stubborn."

I said, "My first boss, George Horace Lorimer, used to say to me, 'Anybody can say No but it takes courage to say yes. When you say no your decision never comes to a test but when you say yes, sooner or later somebody will find out whether you're right or wrong.' Another thing Lorimer told me is that there is romance in American business; that it is fascinating, and full of human interest and enterprise. That's one of the reasons I'm here—to help Williamsport and the Little League tell their story.

"He was right," Lamade agreed. "After all, business is people—it always will be. The strength of Williamsport is the kind of people who've come here to live and work over the years. As you know, Williamsport grew out of its lumbering days. It took courage and, yes—grit—to lumber in those days. It was a dangerous occupation filled with hardships.

"That kind of life and industry attracted men who were not afraid of hard work or danger. This has remained the backbone of this whole city."

When I got around to Carl Simon, general manager of Williamsport's Darling Valve Co., I told him, "I'd like to get your views on why people prefer to work here, why they put factories here for instance. How long have you been here?"

"We started on valves in 1900," he said. "Two years later we got into the fire hydrant business. But the fire hydrant is only 10 percent of our business today," Simon said. "Meanwhile, the basic design of our valve has never changed. All nuclear valves today—that is our newest field—are barrelseat valves. There is not a tapered-seat, wedge valve in the business."

I did not know what he was talking about but it sounded impressive.

"I will tell you this," Simon barked. "I have been in every State in the Union and in several foreign countries, and in Williamsport we have a lot of things other people do not have."

"Tell me about a few of them," I said.

"Okay," he said. "We have beautiful mountains. I tell guys from California and the Far West, 'All you look at is a bunch of rocks.'

"And if a fellow needs help, we give him everything we have got to get him going again. That is the way it should be. That is one of the great things about living in a small town, if you call this a small town."

"How about labor disputes?" I asked.

"I would not call them a drawback," he said. "We have had two strikes here at Darling Valve in 25 years."

Next I called on James Axeman, chairman of Williamsport's Recreation Authority, owner and president of Axeman-Anderson, Inc.

"It is generally recognized," Axeman said firmly, "that in Williamsport we have one of the most outstanding recreational programs in the United States. We have 16 playgrounds. We have probably the most outstanding teen-age basketball association in the country. It is operated through voluntary efforts. Our program involves all types of recreation for all ages, old and young.

"The program is supported financially by the city and the board of education. They contribute equal amounts. But it's largely through the support of local people that we were able to buy the properties as we needed them. Local residents not only contributed the money, they did the work, too.

"The important thing is that people themselves were encouraged to work on those projects, because if they put a part of themselves into each playground, spray pool or basketball court, they'd respect it more afterward."

Williamsport has recently acquired 500 acres of ground and has practically completed a new million-dollar golf course. A survey is now being made of the best locations for public swimming pools. Eventually, the city will have two, perhaps three.

Along the Susquehanna has been developed a bathing area, a camping area and a boating area. It's the only place I've ever heard of where State and city cooperated in building a State park within a city's limits.

Talking to Axeman explained a lot about Williamsport to me. The spirit behind the town is also what made the Little League so successful.

The first youngster between 9 and 12 who wound up and tossed the first baseball in Little League competition sent it spinning over homeplate in 1939. Little League was the brainchild of a Williamsport citizen. Carl Stotz. Stotz and some of his friends were interested in starting a youth program for boys. Finally, they decided on baseball, but played with a ball cut down to a size that young boys could handle.

For several years Stotz's program operated without attracting much notice even in Williamsport itself. Finally, it was expanded into the four-team league that is today the pattern generally followed by Little Leagues all over the world.

"Right now, little league baseball is played in 26 countries," Pete McGovern told me. He is a strong and steady rock of a man. McGovern came to the little league on a loan basis but he became so involved with its problems and goals that he stayed on in Williamsport. He was a director of public relations with the U.S. Rubber Co. in Detroit where he had worked as a volunteer in little league affairs. When U.S. Rubber was backing the little league and its Williamsport headquarters with as much as $100,000 a year and more.

McGovern was asked to come to Williamsport to organize and coordinate the effort. His temporary job was so attractive he has never left.

The little league idea remained localized in Williamsport until the season of 1945–46. At that point, it began to attract the outside world's attention.

* * * * *

Yet it is not unusual to read about undue pressures of little league strife. Another study was conducted by 1,300 physicians whose sons had played little league. They were asked whether little league play gave rise to too much emotional stimulation. As one man, they said "No."

What amuses those who knew that such a study was being made is that the parents of a little leaguer are usually more stimulated than their sons. Newsreel shots and still pictures of small leaguers weeping after a world series game appear every summer. Yet 10 minutes later, those boys have changed their clothes or have dunked themselves in a nearby swimming pool and are splashing happily. It's impossible to tell a winner just having fun.

"Several years ago," he told me, "Milt Gross of the New York Post came here to do a column about the little league world series. In the final game a boy hit a homerun that decided the game in the last half of the seventh inning. Gross asked Dr. Hale, who was sitting next to him, if he could go out and take the boy's pulse as he came in. He took the boy's pulse and he also took the team manager's pulse. The boy's pulse was up but so was the manager's. By the time the boy reached his cabin where he and his team were bunking, his pulse was down to normal. The manager's pulse, however, was still up. For that matter, it was still up that night—so much so that he required sleeping pills."

The Williamsport headquarters of the little league also maintains a summer camp as a byproduct of its Williamsport facilities. Now in its third year, the camp already has drawn boys from as far away as Saudi Arabia. Anyone who is an umpire in a local league can come to Williampsort during the camping period and be put to work as an umpire in the camp games.

Leaving McGovern's office, I found myself thinking, "The story of Williamsport is a human-interest story that ties things with people. Anybody can buy bricks and mortar, anybody can buy a piece of ground, lathes, or machines. But there's one thing you can't buy; that's the spirit and interest of people in their community.

The Unchecked Judiciary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States this week with reference to the manner by which the membership of our State legislatures are elected has caused great concern among people who believe in the principles of constitutional government. I feel that the Court has again invaded a field strictly reserved to the States by their constitutions and the Constitution of the United States.

In the Washington Evening Star of June 17, 1964, appeared articles on this subject by William S. White and David Lawrence. I believe that Mr. White and Mr. Lawrence have very aptly stated the case of those in our country who fear the damage that is being wrought to the fabric of constitutional government in America by a Court which apparently has abandoned judicial self-restraint.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 17, 1964]

THE UNCHECKED JUDICIARY

(By William S. White)

The historic balance of political power in the United States is being overturned by a half dozen men on the Supreme Court who are amending the Constitution by judicial decisions expressing their own notions of what the proper balance should be.

Going where the judiciary has never before dared to go, they are destroying the ancient guardian of check and balance which has distinguished the oldest practicing democracy in the world.

The meaning of their course is ultimately to make the urban parts and interests of this Nation the unchallenged and total masters of our affairs, in the legislative arms of government—National and State—as the urban groups already master the selection of any President.

If these novel constitutional theories stand, the America of the 21st century will be governed on some vast postcard poll principle in which nothing will matter except the ability to marshal the huge bloc votes of the cities. Minority rights in the conduct of government will have all but disappeared before the monoliths of megalopolis. The city-state will become superior in fact to the States of the Union as we have known them.

This extraordinary truth—and surely hardly 1 in 100 Americans is aware of what the Court is really doing—is now confirmed beyond further doubt in a new ruling of the Court. This is that both houses of the State legislature hereafter "must be apportioned on a population basis."

FEBRUARY RULING WAS HINT

That the Supreme Court was on the way to this unexampled assertion of dominance over the political processes of this Nation was foreshadowed last February, in its ukase that congressional districts, too, must be based strictly on population alone. Those who suggested as much at the time were cried down as "anti court" or as in favor of political sin.

The Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren, against the solemn warnings of an anxious minority of the judges, is striking down the whole principle of a weighted democracy, which is to say of a responsible democracy. For nearly two centuries the practice has been this: To define the so-called popular legislative chambers—the National and State houses of representatives—roughly on the basis of population but to allow the upper bodies—the Senates, National, and State—to be based in part on geographic interests.

This system has thus far prevented the total dominion of the increasingly huge urban voting complexes. It has also prevented occasionally uninformed and hysterical majorities, in times of crisis and passion and prejudice, from overrunning order and reason in this Nation.

The U.S. Senate, of course, is the ultimate expression of this check and balance. Nevada, with fewer people than live in a single small section of such a city as New York, is permitted by the Constitution to have equal representation with the biggest State. The Court cannot alter this arrangement, in the face of the explicit language of the Constitution. But as to the States, the old protections are now going forever.

OVERSIMPLIFICATION

The basic theory of the Court's majority is that one man's vote must in all circumstances equal another man's vote—though one man of 12 on a jury can still save a defendant's life. This is the oversimplification that has crumbled 100 popular democracies over the world, notably in France. That unhappy country has at last had to rescue itself from this demagogic idea of herd and irresponsible "democracy" by anointing an imperiously unchecked pseudo-king in Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

The Court's majority—six of nine men elected by nobody, serving for life and accountable at last only to personal conscience—has said this: A State, even if this be the overwhelming and expressed wish of its own people, cannot balance its legislature between urban and rural and small town interests, even though for 18 decades this has been precisely what most States have done.

Is this a fair and reasonable dictate from men whose sole constitutional function is to interpret and not to alter that Constitution or to make their own laws? Let an expert reply.

Says Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart: "What the Court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States * * * without regard to and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State * * * I could not join the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 17, 1964]

THE OMNIPOTENT SUPREME COURT—APPORTIONMENT RULING CITED AS LATEST EXAMPLE OF POWER GRAB BY JUSTICES

(By David Lawrence)

A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States has again overstepped the bounds of judicial self-restraint. This time the Court has chosen to ignore the language of the Constitution itself which gives to the States the right to fix their own voting districts for the two houses of each legislature.

No such usurpation of power by the judicial branch of the Government has been recorded before in the whole history of the Republic as is being manifested by the present Court. The Supreme Court by its recent decisions has taken upon itself to tell the board of supervisors in a county how it shall tax and appropriate its money. It, moreover, has told the American people, in effect, that there must be no prayer in the schools during school hours. And now it has undertaken to say that the 50 States of the Union cannot have their legislative houses based upon any form of representation the constitution of the State may proclaim, but must conform to a formula set forth by the Supreme Court of the United States itself.

If the foregoing observations are considered too critical of the Court's decisions, any doubts are dispelled by the actual words of the Justices who dissented in the reapportionment cases handed down on Monday of this week.

Justice Harlan, for example, declared that the failure of the Court to consider the language of the 14th amendment—on which the Court's opinion was based—"cannot be excused or explained by any concept of 'developing' constitutionalism." He added:

"It is meaningless to speak of constitutional 'development' when both the language and history of the controlling provisions of the Constitution are wholly ignored."

Justice Harlan further declared that the Court's action "amounts to nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court," and said:

"For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

Justice Harlan pointed out that the decisions this week "give support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function of this Court." He continued:

"This view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle' and that this Court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of government fail to act. The Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements."

Justice Stewart, in a dissenting opinion in which he was joined by Justice Clark, declared:

"With all respect, I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory. The rule announced today is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create.

"What the Court has done is to convert a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States, from Maine to Hawaii, from Alaska to Texas, without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State, characteristics stemming from each State's distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population, and distinct political heritage. My own understanding of the various theories of representative government is that no one theory has ever commanded unanimous assent among political scientists, historians, or others who have considered the problem."

Thus, three Justices of the Supreme Court criticized their six colleagues for having overstepped the bounds of the Constitution.

What can the people throughout the country who disagree with the Court do about its rulings? For one thing, they can urge Congress to pass a law taking from the Supreme Court all jurisdiction in apportionment cases. But an even more effective course would be the passage of a new constitutional amendment reiterating that the States of the Union have a right to apportion legislative districts under their own constitutions.

Pittsburgh Leads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert C. Weaver, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, was the speaker at the groundbreaking ceremonies for the Allegheny Center in Pittsburgh on June 10, 1964.

In his speech Mr. Weaver recalls Pittsburgh's great fight to defeat urban decay. We are proud that he cites our record.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY ROBERT C. WEAVER, ADMINISTRATOR, HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY, AT GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONIES FOR THE ALLEGHENY CENTER, PITTSBURGH HILTON HOTEL, PITTSBURGH, PA., JUNE 10, 1964

A little while ago, across the river on the North Side, some of us took part in a well-known rite called a ground breaking.

I enjoyed myself. A ground breaking is always a happy occasion. I have observed this since childhood. And I have seen this joyous ritual performed with shovels—always before photographers, of course—at the dedication of almost every kind of building or project imaginable except a cemetery.

I cannot remember when I felt so much satisfaction at such a ceremony as I did this morning, for your new Allegheny Center is the shining epitome of the rebirth of our cities that is now proceeding fast apace across the Nation.

It is not remarkable alone because it promises outstanding excellence in design and in its mixture of townhouses and apartment buildings with shopping, parking, and office facilities within walking distance of downtown.

It is more than that. It is a symbol of the strength and vision and decency of our society today, and lest my meaning escape you, let me say I refer specifically to you men and women in this room today. It is just such people as you—and others like you in other big and small cities, coast to coast—who against great odds are redeveloping our urban manmade environment into places where all in our society can live and work and play as they should be able to in the richest and freest Nation in history.

It is particularly satisfying that the large new urban renewal complex dedicated today should be located in this great city. Pittsburgh is something special, to me as well as to you. Few other cities inspire me more as Housing Administrator and in performing my responsibilities in the removal of slums and the rebuilding of our cities. In no other city have I seen a more inspiring example of what can be accomplished by harnessing Federal, local and private resources and energies to solve critical problems of urban renewal.

And I think it is particularly significant that Allegheny Center should be dedicated at this particular time, in 1964. This is a good time to take stock of what has been accomplished in Pittsburgh and what it signifies. Your program started 20 years ago, 5 years before the Federal Government initiated its urban renewal program under the Housing Act of 1949. Your program got off to a brilliant start with creation of your Allegheny Conference on Community Development. Under the leadership of General Mellon and other civic leaders, this conference went to work to reverse the tide of decay which Pittsburgh clearly faced.

Prior to 1950 and for nearly 25 years, no new buildings had arisen in downtown Pittsburgh. Property assessments dropped at the rate of $18 million a year. The city was engulfed in smoke and was in constant danger of floods. The North Side was heading for desolation and the bankruptcy of business firms. Thousands of Pittsburgh families were fleeing the city to the suburbs or more distant places.

What you have accomplished in 20 years is nothing short of remarkable.

Fifteen urban redevelopment and renewal projects have been completed or are in execution. Eight of them have been financed without Federal aid.

More than 4,000 families have been moved out of blighted areas. The vast majority of them have been relocated successfully in improving housing.

Smoke and smog and the danger of floods have been largely eradicated.

Large and small industrial companies have been helped and persuaded not to flee the city.

Other companies have been attracted to the central city and many new buildings have been constructed in or near the renewed areas.

More than 3,500 additional public housing units have been built or are going up.

A good start has been made to provide housing for middle-income families.

New civic and cultural facilities have been erected to serve the entire metropolitan area.

Many new highways and parking spaces have been built to ease your traffic problems.

City revenues have risen greatly. Real estate tax revenues have tripled in the renewal areas as a group.

More jobs have been created. In the Gateway Center alone, 20,000 people are employed where fewer than 4,000 worked in the same 23 acres 15 years ago. The urban renewal program in itself creates about 2,500 jobs a year in direct employment, plus others in manufacture and delivery of materials.

And equally important, your activities have resulted in accomplishments less easily visualized:

Several outstanding organizations have been created and staffed with professionals and top management people to plan for progress in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. These include the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Pittsburgh, the city's Department of Planning, the Redevelopment Authority of Allegheny County, Action-Housing Inc., and the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission.

You have created an atmosphere of hope for all the people of Pittsburgh—workers and employers, young and old, rich and poor.

You have created an unprecedented atmosphere of cooperation and mutual respect—what some with less squeamishness than I might call "togetherness"—among many people who in other circumstances and in other cities might never work together. The hatchet has been buried where Pittsburgh's welfare is concerned—buried under the rubble of torn-down slums and deep underneath the magnificent new buildings that are rising in the city.

In this year of national election fever and partisan politics, one marvels at the degree of cooperation long present in Pittsburgh between Republicans and Democrats, labor and business. Some of you may not know that when Governor Lawrence was mayor and the Pittsburgh Redevelopment Authority was created he appointed three Republican members on the five-man board—and that same 3 to 2 relationship has continued ever since. It is not often that Democrats like David Lawrence like to see Republican majorities, but he was convinced that the businessmen he selected would have success in inducing private capital to invest in urban redevelopment. And these Republicans in turn asked the mayor to become chairman of the authority. Governor Lawrence is still its chairman, as well as Chairman today of the President's Commission on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

And aside from being apolitical, Pittsburgh's leading citizens have put aside many other differences to get this job underway. (I cannot say "to get this job done," for I foresee that it will never get done completely.) Active, responsible leadership has come from all sides—from the universities, the church groups, labor organizations, realtors and chambers of commerce, builders and architects, city officials, the Negro community, and business and financial interests.

We in the HHFA and our constituent agencies have tried our best to help you in this effort. Though some of your greatest achievements have been accomplished without Federal help, your groups have long since come to realize the need for Federal assistance in this field. This was stated clearly last year by Carl Jansen, president of the Allegheny Conference and chairman of Dravo Corp., when he told a House of Representatives hearing: "We recognized early that private enterprise and local government could not finance this gigantic job by themselves. Here was and is a task too big and too costly for them to do alone. Federal financial help was and is essential."

At that same congressional hearing last fall, Representative Albert Rains heard Mayor Barr, Mr. Jansen, Adolph Schmidt, and others, and then summed up for himself what the Pittsburgh lesson shows.

"Urban renewal," he said, "takes at least two or three things to work. First of all, you must get politics as near out of it as you can. You must have the best leadership in the business community, and in order to make it really go you must do a real selling job to the people."

I would like to add another point about what you have accomplished. What you have done in Pittsburgh has had a great and healthy effect elsewhere in the country. I understand that more than 100 cities have sent their officials here to see how you have managed to accomplish so much.

Moreover, testimony by several of you in this audience at a Senate hearing held by Senator JOE CLARK here 7 years ago had its effect on the Congress in Washington. At that time only about $1 billion had been allocated out of $2 billion authorized for urban renewal since 1949. Since then $2 billion more has been authorized. I must regretfully add that almost all of the $4 billion authorized in urban renewal grants to date is used up. The administration has asked Congress for $1.4 billion more for allocations over the next 2 years, and I am sure I don't have to persuade this audience of the need.

The need is far more widespread than 7 years ago or even 3 years ago when I became Housing Administrator. Many, many other cities now want to do what you are doing. In over 700 projects currently in advanced stages, urban renewal is clearing slums. More than a quarter of a million substandard housing units have been or are being eliminated. More than 150,000 families have already been relocated.

There is still much to be done—in Pittsburgh and in the Nation—more than can be imagined. Thirty-five million people still live in slums. Twenty-five million have inadequate housing. More than 1½ million people—550,000 families—are waiting for decent low-rent housing. Traffic congestion is snarling the highways around metropolitan areas.

This administration has only begun its great facelifting, housecleaning, and building operation in the cities. President Johnson last January reiterated the goal of "a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every American." He has asked for a mass transit program, authorization of 60,000 more low-rent public housing units for each of the next 4 years, increased housing for the elderly, more special assistance for persons and businesses displaced by urban renewal, and money for grants to States for the establishment of urban public service training and research programs, as well as assistance to private developers designed to upgrade the quality of future subdivisions and to nurture well-planned large new communities.

Whether we shall get the needed legislation for these programs at this session of Congress depends on how much time is used up in the civil rights debate and on how much support can be marshaled behind the housing and community development bill. Support is needed because, believe it or not, there still exists a hard core of opposition to the purpose of urban renewal.

Some oppose it because, they say, they object to the monumental monotony or downright ugliness of urban redevelopment.

Some oppose it on the grounds that it shoves poor people out of their homes in neighborhoods where they own homes and have longtime backgrounds.

Some oppose it because they say urban renewal only temporarily stems blight and does not prevent eventual decay.

Some oppose it because they say the grasping hand of Federal bureaucracy strangles local freedom.

Some oppose it because they cry that grants for urban renewal are a shameful waste of Federal revenues.

Some oppose it because they come from rural areas and feel no sense of responsibility for sharing the costs and responsibilities of urban centers.

Some oppose it because they are confirmed suburbanites who feel that urban renewal benefits only those who live in deteriorating central cities.

There are many ways to answer such arguments, but I submit that here in Pittsburgh today one answer alone suffices. And that answer is Allegheny Center and the rest of your urban renewal effort.

No one who has seen the plans for Allegheny Center can charge that its design lacks merit. Architects Deeter & Ritchie have created a great assemblage of townhouses and high-rise apartments to be built around a 20-acre center for shopping, entertainment, and offices—all this over a 2,300-car garage. Thus there will be provided in the heart of the city a healthy, vibrant, and exciting community which will symbolize the renaissance of this area.

And the design of the 3-acre square in the center of this $84 million center is an outstanding story in itself. Allegheny Public Square will be built from a design chosen in an international architectural competition which drew 305 entries from this country and abroad. It is the first public square design competition to be staged in an urban renewal area in the United States. As Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton points out: "This is significant because it shows that urban renewal offers the opportunity for achieving urban design as no other program does—that good urban design is a desirable end in itself." It also demonstrates the soundness of large-scale land assembly as a sine qua non for creative design in core areas.

I particularly want to congratulate the winner of that competition, William N. Breger, chairman of the Department of Architectural Design at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, N.Y., as well as Architect David J. Bond, planning director of Pittsburgh's Urban Redevelopment Authority, who conceived the competition as an opportunity for urban designers to express their ideas and philosophies in the development of a modern public square. Professor Breger and his two associates did me a personal favor in this connection since their success here furnished me with vital material for the commencement address which I gave at Pratt Institute last Friday.

But all of you are to be congratulated that such a competition was held because during the rest of your lives you will be able to enjoy the beauties of the square. More than that, your children and your grandchildren will applaud the wisdom and courage you are displaying at this period which is so critical for the future of your city. And while I am being so generous with my congratulations, I believe I will reserve a small share for Commissioner Slayton and myself, for we gave our approval to the use of public funds for this competition.

Allegheny Center is also the answer to the charge that slum clearance bulldozes down much good standard housing and displaces homeowners with deep roots in the community, or that those displaced are not relocated in decent homes.

This has been a rundown neighborhood with a low incidence of homeownership and a high incidence of transience. It was, and to a degree still is, an area of old homes partitioned into roominghouses. Among those relocated thus far are 313 families and more than 1,000 single persons. And where have the displaced families gone? Of the 313, 54 percent are in decent rental units, 17 percent have bought standard houses, 10 percent are in low-rent public housing, 12 percent have moved out of the city or cannot be traced, and only 7 percent have relocated in substandard housing after refusing aid in finding standard dwellings.

Allegheny Center is surely the answer to those of faint spirit who believe blight will overcome our cities no matter what we do to save them. No one in his right mind who has studied the many surveys on which this center is based could believe it will not be a great success in all of its purposes—for shopping, for entertainment, for housing, for parking, and for employment.

Allegheny Center is the answer, too, to the charge that the Federal Government is calling all the shots. Too many of you had too many decisions to make and too much to do with this big new 78-acre community to accept the notion that my friends and I in Washington dictated this center.

Allegheny Center is the answer to those who object to waste of Federal funds for urban renewal. In this center, the Federal share of the total $84 million cost is $16½ million. That hardly seems exorbitant to make possible a $60 million investment by Aluminm Company of America and its partners in this venture—and to create a new core which in time will spread out into the surrounding North Side and induce other investors to build. Nationally, we know that urban renewal is generating private investment many times the amount of public funds expended. For 479 projects involving about $1¼ billion in Federal grants, estimated private investment will be about $7½ billion and other $2 billion will come in public redevelopment expenditures.

Allegheny Center may also be the answer to a few who represent rural interests and believe that they conflict with urban redevelopment. Market studies indicate that not a few people who will come to this center's shopping and these entertainment facilities will travel from as far away as Ohio and West Virginia. The impact it will have will in time affect attitudes in rural areas far beyond the borders of Allegheny County.

And finally, Allegheny Center will, I hope, along with all the other urban renewal programs in Pittsburgh, affect the attitudes of many of those who live in your many suburban communities who have felt that what happens in downtown Pittsburgh is of no concern to them. In the period from 1950 to 1960, over 60,000 people left this city to move to the suburbs. I am sure that many of the families who move into the 1,500 apartments and townhouses in the new center across the river will be moving back from the suburbs. And the reason they will do this is because this program and this project afford wider housing and business location choices to free men in a free society.

As significant as Allegheny Center is, I would not endorse it as strongly as I do, were it the total urban renewal effort of the city. It represents sound planning and redevelopment only because it is part of a much larger and more diversified urban renewal program. It is supplemented by an expanded public housing program, by a significant and precedent-making moderate-income development on vacant land—East Hills Park, and additional reasonably priced construction, by an ever-expanding rehabilitation program.

Urban renewal, as I see it, cannot restrict its efforts to providing commercial and business redevelopment and housing for the more affluent. It must also provide and be supplemented by a significant supply of decent housing—new and rehabilitated—at prices which are within the means of low- and moderate-income families, as well. To achieve such results, HHFA, through FHA, Fannie Mae, PHA, and URA, are developing effective tools for realizing these objectives. And we are increasingly encouraging and requiring that urban renewal face up to the total housing needs of the communities in which it operates.

We realize that if the central cities are to be healthy and vital, they must have a sound economic base. This has been facilitated, in large part, by the successful redevelopment of the Gateway Center in your city. It requires not only commercial and hotel facilities but also industrial and research parks. All are a vital concern of urban renewal, and they afford not only significant sources of employment, but also a tax basis which provides a needed source of revenue to enable the city to finance, in part, the many costly services it must provide for its residents.

It is my objective to encourage a comprehensive approach to the revitalization of urban centers. We have had the active cooperation of Pittsburgh in this effort. In the years ahead, your strong leadership, personified by Bob Pease, Bernie Loshbough, and others I have mentioned, as well as hundreds not named, will develop a better Pittsburgh and an urban renewal program which also meets the human needs of the community.

I have purposely left to the end to acknowledge the debt we all must feel we owe Alcoa, not only for its sponsorship and farsighted planning of Allegheny Center but for its other contributions to urban renewal here and elsewhere.

It is the sponsor of outstanding residential and commercial buildings in many cities—in its real estate developments which have a gross book value of $368 million. Alcoa has used our title I financing under the Housing Act to build the Washington Plaza apartment towers in the Lower Hill renewal area here, to finance three multimillion-dollar apartment urban renewal projects in New York City, and others in Philadelphia and San Francisco. Alcoa is also sponsor of the James Whitcomb Riley Center in Indianapolis, a redevelopment project financed with private funds.

It is fortunate, indeed, that enlightened management at Alcoa—as well as at Equitable Life and other large companies with great financial strength—have seen fit to move into the urban renewal program. I am most pleased to see corporations like these become long-term investors in this undertaking, for this assures better designed communities and gives us greater resources to redevelop our cities.

As President Johnson said in his University of Michigan speech May 22: "The solution to [our urban] problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation—a creative federalism—between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities."

But with all due respect to the President, I believe that I will give the last word to one of you here today—Leon E. Hickman, executive vice president and chairman of the finance committee of Alcoa. In a recent talk, Mr. Hickman summed up Alcoa's position this way:

"Alcoa is in urban redevelopment up to its neck. Like most people, we are learning the hard way. We have the conviction that urban renewal is essential if our cities are to survive, and that Alcoa can play a constructive role in that battle and, at the same time, bring home to its shareholders a reasonable return on their investment."

Our Senate Teeters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to insert in

the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial entitled "Our Senate Teeters," appearing in the June 16, 1964, edition of the Peoria Journal Star:

OUR SENATE TEETERS

Well, it would seem that they have done it.

The Supreme Court of the United States has just found the constitution of the State of Illinois (and most other States) to be unconstitutional. (Actually it was New York, but it applies equally, here.)

Indeed, by the same process of reasoning, if applied to the Federal Government, they seem to have found that the U.S. Constitution is in violation of itself.

For they have ruled it unconstitutional to have a Senate based on geography and not on population.

We have already managed, here in Illinois, to destroy representative government in the house of representatives by wrecking all existing districts and so having to elect the house in an at-large election in which the very staggering numbers and total anonymity of most of the candidates makes selective voting and intelligent voting both completely impossible.

Now, it seems, our senate districts are really illegal to boot.

On the basis of this ruling the whole business of two houses to the legislature becomes a bit ridiculous, and our minority vote rule even more so.

Meanwhile, the obviously "unconstitutional" in equity of the present township system for voting at the county level continues but with an obviously short life.

There is little left of the Illinois constitution but shreds, and pretty miserable shreds at that.

We have to rebuild a sensible constitution for this State, and after they finished meeting the constitutional requirements for redistricting—a complete breakdown—we can hardly trust the politicians with the task.

The only thing that they have proved is a great instinct for survival and maintaining themselves in office. We need three representatives from Peoria County to Springfield, and a senator there in the bargain about the same way the next district needs a quartet, too.

With the whole legislative system here already a wreck, as most voters will discover graphically on their next trip to the polls, we need a constitutional convention for which we can pick responsible delegates to get a new and proper constitution drawn.

But, you know what?

The only way we can do that is by delegates from each of the present senate districts—and the Supreme Court has just made them in violation of the Constitution.

So the comic opera situation comes full circle.

Our State constitution is outside the law, and our means of preparing a new one is also outside the rule of constitutional law.

Maybe England will have to take us back, and we can start over.

Meanwhile, if you think all this 150 years of nonlegal State government will get you your taxes refunded—or if it will even interrupt or slow down either taxes or State expenditures—you are dreaming.

Commencement Address of Mr. Paul Mellon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Mellon, distinguished president of the National Gallery of Art and leader in the fields of banking, education, science, and sports, delivered a memorable address to the graduates of Foxcroft School, Middleburg, Va., last week. Its message is universal and one which will long be remembered.

The commencement address, which I was privileged to hear, typified this gentleman whose efforts have given so much pleasure and opportunity to the people of the Nation. Summoning from the experiences of his distinguished and successful career, his sensitive appreciation for all surrounding him, his message was, indeed, a stirring experience for graduates and parents alike who were privileged to be present. I, today, commend it to the attention of this body as a model for future commencement addresses for many years to come:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY PAUL MELLON, FOXCROFT SCHOOL, MIDDLEBURG, VA., JUNE 8, 1964

Miss Adkins, Miss Charlotte, distinguished faculty, ladies and gentlemen, foxes and hounds.

I

When I accepted this attractive invitation to talk to you today, I was determined to avoid some of the worst features of other commencement addresses I myself have heard. I was also determined to shun some of the errors I myself have made over the years in various pompous private speeches to a much smaller and more critical Foxcroft audience, my wife, and two daughters.

You are expecting of course, that I'll talk today about one of the following: The bomb, war, fallout, Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, rampant nationalism, undeveloped countries, racial tensions, disappearing wildlife, soil conservation, water pollution, air pollution, food pollution, the population explosion, the knowledge explosion, education (someone said the other day that by 1965 there were going to be more college students than there are people). Automation (don't look now the computors are gaining on us). Then, of course, there is juvenile delinquency, traffic deaths, mental health, illiteracy, poverty, politics, pep pills, litterbugs, and teenagers. It's a little as though the old rhyme of R. L. Stevenson:

" 'The world is so full of a number of things
I'm sure we should all be happy as Kings'

has been changed to—

'The world is so full of destruction and terror
It must be a vast, cosmological error.' "

So because these things face you every day in your morning paper, and since you are intelligent young people, I'm not going to repeat how ghastly and imminent and serious they all are.

Now many of these problems have always been with us. Many of them always will. Many will eventually be solved. You and I will naturally try to do what's right and intelligent, what we can, to help. But we can't guarantee that, some day, some maniac may not start dropping bombs and end civilization. We will try, as reasonable, although somewhat apprehensive human beings, to have laws passed to prevent our food and water from being full of fallout, arsenic, detergents, or DDT. We will try to persuade others (probably with little success) not to have so many babies. But none of us will, singlehandedly, save the world. There's no harm in trying, of course, if we keep a sense of proportion: which really means, a sense of humor.

In addition to these world worries, you will always be nibbled at by a host of personal problems—what Hamlet called "the heartaches, and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to." Deaths, illnesses of self, friends, family: emotional disappointments, bitter failures, sad disillusionments, money problems—to say nothing of cancelled airline flights, nervous indigestion, heavy traffic, wetting puppies, measles, and early in your married life, burned dinners and angry husbands.

Most of this you are going to have to take in your stride, as people have always done. For your own sakes, for your children's sakes, there is an inherent duty to be aware, to do something, to care. The only thing that I want to add today is something I think many people tend instead to subtract. This is the element of, the principle of, Pleasure. I have the feeling that all of us, but particularly the young who are more apt at learning, should pay more attention in their lives to personal enjoyments, personal interests, not only to the pursuit of happiness but to the accomplishment of happiness. By this I mean pleasure and happiness of many kinds, but perhaps they can be divided into two main categories, sensual and cultural.

There seems to me to be gaining today what you might call a sackcloth and ashes psychology. I have heard so many warnings to the young about all the problems and pitfalls and responsibilities in today's world, that I wanted, just for the record, to give a fair picture of the other side. You might cal lit "equal time." I would say it was just as important to enjoy yourselves today as ever before * * * to plan your leisure as you should plan your work and responsibilities, so that fun, and laughter, the contemplation of beauty, and relaxed loving kindness become just as important as boring social conventionality or hard-won financial securtiy. I'm not talking about the old chestnut: "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die," nor the equally nauseating one: "Enjoy yourself it's later than you think." It is more a protest on my part against what I consider to be an overseriousness and overconscientiousness on the part of many parents, educators, and the clergy. It comes from the Lord knows where * * * unrealized puritanism, the shadows of the great wars, the increase in pseudointellectuality in the middle and upper classes, the onrush of many undigested and misunderstood scientific ideas: I don't really know from where.

But I do know that the cult of intellect, of intellect divorced entirely from emotion, of pure intellect refined to its brilliant but icy splendor, has somehow swept over the world with a dismaying, chilling effect.

I am not anti-intellectual, and no one appreciates the extraordinary achievements and miraculous intricacies of modern scientific and philosophical thought more than I do, though as a layman, and from afar. No one is more fascinated and amazed by modern psychological and sociological discoveries and concepts as well. And I make no distinction between the dangers of overintellectuality whether in the realm of science or the humanities. Romeo and Juliet too finely dissected is as dry and dead as a scientist's disseration on infrared spectra of high-boiling substances in inert matrices. All such studies are important in their place, but both art and science are more than the sum of these abstruse researches.

I find myself in agreement with C. P. Snow in his book "The Two Cultures," who sees a tragic cleavage between science and the humanities which is the more sad because it is fundamentally artificial and unreal. Both art and science are different aspects of the same urgent need of man to search for truth, and each produces its own byproducts of truth, such as beauty, order and proportion.

Somewhere along the line, then, in our search for truth, which is another name for reality (as well as in our search for economic and political security), many people seem to have forgotten the purpose of pleasure, of the simple enjoyment of simple things in

their daily lives. I put sensual pleasures first today, not because I think they are the most important, but because they seem to me to be the most neglected. And I speak of simple, natural pleasures, not selfish overindulgencies or wild bacchanalian excitements.

I speak of eating and drinking in a slow civilized, pleasurable manner, in a quiet way and in a quiet place, with a friend or two and a glass of simple wine. I speak of the enjoyment of the country, of nature * * * I know that many of you who ride and hunt and have lived in this beautiful part of Virginia know what I mean * * * a frosty morning in October with the air clear and cold, corn in golden hillocks in the harvested fields, the trees turning to bronze, yellow, scarlet, and gold, the deepening bell-like wave of hound cries coming from the woods, the far horn and its echo and a distant tallyho. And speaking of the joys of hunting, let's not forget the warmth of a hot cup of tea, or a toddy, or both, and a long hot bath, after a long cold, wet day.

The joys-of-nature list is endless: The smell of pine woods, the warmth of a sunny beach, a fine, blue day at sea, a garden's bright explosion of flowers and scents, the deep greenness of a summer field of grass and clover, gulls over the dunes, and waving dune-grass, cascades, cool ferny places, trout streams, and snowcapped mountains on distant horizons seen through the clearest, most translucent air. Wild flowers, rainbows, to see, to hear, to smell, to taste, to feel—these are privileges all too often neglected, or even forgotten in our preoccupation with being students, or writers, or business people, or lawyers, or critics, or even mothers and fathers.

You hear a lot these days about the expansion of leisure time and the need to use it well, but so often the suggestions seem to imply a desperate substitution of unmeaningful labor for what was satisfying work. What we often really need is an hour alone to dream, to contemplate or simply to feel the sun. What this country needs is a good 5-cent reverie.

All of you know I'm not suggesting you don't turn up at college next fall, or that you avoid jobs, or neglect your future husbands and children and become beachcomers. What I plead with you to do is to look at whatever leisure the future brings you, and at your duties and work and responsibilities, with a real sense of value and proportion. Not to indulge or pamper yourselves, only to do unto yourselves what you would like others to do unto you * * * that is, to treat yourselves with kindness and consideration and sympathy, And although we know with Emerson that "Life is real, Life is earnest", it is also deeply enjoyable and beautiful and satisfactory at times, and yes, even very gay, and very funny. There are even times when we might remember the lines of another poet, A. E. Housman.

"Oh, 'tis jesting, dancing, drinking
Spins the heavy world around."

Which reminds me that in my lists of pleasures I seem to have left out the attractions and charms of the opposite sex. I really hadn't forgotten. But there is, as you know, a nice but illusory convention that people as old as commencement speakers, or as young as schoolgirls, don't know about things like that. Somehow the moralists and psychologists have ousted love from the realm of humanities and made it into a pure science. It reminds me of a remark of a charming but elderly and eccentric English woman I knew years ago, who said that "strawberries and cream are so delicious, it's remarkable the world hasn't made them into a sin."

II

My other category of pleasures I call cultural. I refer not only to the practice of and enjoyment of the arts, and literature, but also to the enjoyment of any intellectual complex or body of knowledge which is alive and meaningful. It of course has to be alive and meaningful to you, something that you feel drawn to and excited by and that somehow becomes part of yourself. This can include everything from music, painting, sculpture, the dance, to a flirtation with the newer mathematics, or even a serious romance with the astounding and seemingly unreal world of physics and astrophysics. I congratulate those of you who are going to college, for it will give you a deeper appreciation of the complexity of the real world and the world of thought, which is equally real. It will sharpen your minds and deepen your whole human insight in preparation for everything in the future: Jobs, careers, marriage, parenthood. But there are those who won't be going to college, by choice or by chance, and I say to them especially that college isn't the only answer.

There is also the book. Reading is a college that you can and should attend all your life, and one that you can always enjoy, because the courses are unlimited, the teachers are from every century and every country, and the choices are utterly yours. You know, in English universities they don't say they study history or English or mathematics, they say we are reading history or English or mathematics. It is well understood that reading is basic to learning and really is learning. And whether your interest is wholly artistic or wholly poetic or wholly musical or wholly scientific * * * further acquaintanceship with the great minds and the great debates and the great works of art of the past, as well as continued glimpses into the vital new discoveries and fantastic dreams of the present will always, and I return to my theme, give you pleasure. A very wise man named John Cowper Powys said in a book called "The Meaning of Culture," "Culture is what is left over after you have forgotten everything you definitely set out to learn."

None of you with your intelligence, and with your excellent education so far, can afford to neglect the continuous cultivation of knowledge, including reading, talking, and observing; nor should you fail to realize, in the end, the joys and satisfactions of the end product, culture. Of course, the sensual pleasures and the sultural pleasures are often inseparable. The impact of the five senses, the images stored away in memory of the beauties and sounds and colors in nature and in art, the warm glow of friendship and the deeper feelings of love and affection (yes, and even feelings of hate and rebellion), must always serve to heighten, and reinforce, and give luminosity and body to abstract thoughts or to purely intellectual images and symbols.

The sudden recognition of order and proportion in nature or in science or in art, the infinitely intricate delicacy and precision of a snowflake or the extraordinary exactitude of a man-projected orbit in outer space, both are images of beauty and reality which can be highly exciting and emotionally satisfying. It is in realms like these that both science and nature join in art. And most happy will be she or he who out of respect and kindness and reverence for themselves have learned first of all to see and hear and smell and feel, and then to explore the regions of the intellect, what another poet has called the calm Acropolis of thought.

These ideas seem to be important to you as individuals, as individuals with tremendous potentialities of growth and learning and imagination. But they are all the more important because you also have it almost wholly in your power to encourage and mould the hearts and minds of the next generation. You are the real inheritors of civilization and the curators of its art and intellect. Anyone who might still be inclined to minimize or doubt the tremendous influence for good or evil of the mother her tremendous psychological and educational importance in our civilization, should read and reread that wonderfully clear and human book, "The Magic Years," by Selma Fraiberg. And of course you all know that modern psychological theory more and more leans to the conclusion that it is not just childhood in general which shapes each one of us almost irrevocably, but the very earliest years, between birth and five.

Responsibility for the effectiveness and happiness and humanness of your children will very soon be yours, and almost totally yours. Not only in the realms of their characters and ideals and tastes, but also in the more mysterious but equally important areas of their emotions, feeling, their ability to apprehend beauty and excellence, their intuitive weighing of human values. How your children ultimately cope with the bomb, the population explosion, the racial questions, "the thousand natural shocks their flesh is heir to," rests mainly with you. If your life is meaningful in real pleasures and real interests, your children will be happy and meaningful people. Living your life fully, with your senses and your emotions as well as with your minds, living fully your pleasure and play as well as your work, will fortify them by an invisible but powerful human osmosis.

Specific pictures always beat generalities so I leave you with this one. None of you a year from now, or perhaps even a day from now, will remember what I have said. It's like writing on the surface of Goose Creek with a sycamore branch. But you may remember a kindly, graying man who told a mild joke or two, and said things in an odd way about life and art and motherhood (and carried a white bunny over his shoulder). You may even remember that he told you that at least part of the purpose of life was enjoyment. And that beauty, in all its many forms, whether in nature or in art or in science, has a great deal to do with it.

But if you should only vaguely remember, but with a pleasant feeling, this warm summer day, this garden, a few of the happiest faces of your friends, the dark green of the box bushes, the smell of grass, the hum of bees * * * and even the bittersweet tears of parting that many of you are bound to have * * * I will have proved my main point, and these few minutes may not have been entirely in vain.

And now I'll end with an old Irish blessing. It came to me on a Christmas card last year, but it seems particularly fitting as a parting word now:

"May the roads rise up to meet you,
And the wind be always at your back;
And may the Lord hold you in the palm of
His hand."

Twentieth Year Since Passage of the GI Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, this month marks an interesting anniversary, the 20th year since passage of the

GI bill of rights. Peter Hackes, a distinguished radio and television correspondent, offered an incisive and factual comment on this legislation a few days ago. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD:

GI BILL

(By Peter Hackes)

Don't look now, but it was 20 years ago this month that President Roosevelt signed a law that changed the lives of nearly 8 million Americans. In fact, it was exactly 20 years ago next Monday—June 22, 1944—that the so-called GI bill of rights became a factor on the American scene. While that fact may come as a shocking embarrassment to remind us we're all growing older * * * it serves also as a monument to the foresight and bipartisan cooperation of the Members of the 78th Congress. The war was far from over—it was less than 2 weeks after the D-day Normandy invasion when President Roosevelt signed the bill.

That action launched the greatest program of adult education and homebuilding the world has ever seen. In effect, the GI bill laid out the future of 8 million Americans.

Many were the economists and educators who had warned that GI's returning from battle would find themselves unprepared to make their own way. There was talk that these men would become the nucleus of what were referred to as "educational hobo jungles" and of a mass dole—handouts for the veterans of World War II.

Instead, the GI bill helped 5 million of them buy or build their own homes.

Sent 3½ million to schools to learn trades and technical skills which in turn became the basis for their future lives.

And sent more than 2 million to college classrooms to become engineers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, ministers, scientists—and a great many who trained for business and executive careers.

It's interesting to look at what the GI bill meant to some servicemen. In all, for example, more than 5 million GI loans were made—most of them on homes; with less than 2-percent loss by those who failed to repay. One out of every five homes started since World War II, incidentally, involved the GI bill.

For some GI's it meant a college education or job training they would never have received. For some it meant an opportunity to learn how to read and write. For others the GI bill provided on-the-farm training in how to raise livestock and rotate crops.

Two Cabinet members were aided by GI bill education and training—Secretaries Freeman and Udall. Three Senators, 9 Congressmen, and 7 State Governors went to school under the GI bill—including Governor Scranton.

It's been estimated that the GI bill is now paying for itself at the rate of a billion dollars a year in added income taxes returned to the Government by those benefited by the law. This return to Uncle Sam will continue for some years to come.

At the moment there are just 10 World War II vets still going to college under the GI bill. And with the exception of disabled veterans and war orphans in training, the Veterans' Administration will be out of the education and training field completely in January next year; the end of an experiment in human resources, the payoff of which will go on and on.

Independence Day of Kuwait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, June 19, Kuwait will celebrate the third anniversary of her independence. On this great occasion, I would like to extend warm and personal felicitations to His Highness the Ruler of Kuwait, Sheikh Sir Abdullah al-Salim al-Subah; and His Excellency the Kuwait Ambassador to the United States, Talat al-Ghoussein.

I was privileged to visit the wonderful country of Kuwait last year, and this memorable experience left me with a sincere feeling of admiration for a nation which has made great strides to assist the common man. I am very pleased, therefore, to congratulate Kuwait on this happy occasion.

On June 19, 1961, the Government of this tiny sheikdom assumed autonomy from British protection and guidance. Since that memorable date, magnificent and remarkable deeds have continued to occur within and emanate from this enlightened country. Established as a complete welfare state, Kuwait furnishes to its citizens health benefits, education, and housing. Even schoolchildren receive free clothing, food, and pocket money. Moreover, the per capita income of its citizens is $3,360, with a standard of living equivalent to or higher than the most industrialized nations of the free world.

The city of Kuwait, itself, has undergone an overwhelming and amazing transition. Wide streets, lined with gleaming concrete buildings, push into the desert tracts as the city limits expand. Parks and gardens give the city an oasis-like appearance, an expensive undertaking since the upkeep of one tree costs on the average of $250 a year. Electricity, telephone service, and running water, all free to the Kuwaiti residents, are now standard equipment in each home.

Recent decisions by the Government of Kuwait have made this small nation enormously important to the Arab world. As banker for many development schemes which have been initiated in the neighboring states, Kuwait has assumed the title "Wall Street of the Middle East." Sudan received a loan of $19,600,000 for the modernization of its railroads. Jordan was lent $21 million for agricultural and industrial projects. For its refugees, Algeria was granted $5.6 million. The latest loan was to Iraq, $84 million for reconstruction purposes. Financial backing for these projects originated with the Kuwait International Consultants, Ltd., a fund having a potential capital of $1.4 billion, whose purpose is massive finance for Arab progress. Dr. Eugene Black, former Head of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and now in charge of this fund, declared that "This will be one of the world's greatest financial forces," truly a remarkable tribute to an agency which only came into existence 2 years ago.

The key to this success has been oil. Kuwait is now the largest oil producer in the Middle East and the fourth largest in the world. Its oil revenues total some $560 million annually. New fields have been discovered within territorial waters as well as in the neutral zones, whose revenues are shared equally by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Within a known 62-billion-barrel oil reserve, the largest in the world, the revenues cannot but increase.

The Kuwait Government is presently planning for the future, a future when oil reserves will have been depleted. Fresh water distillation and powerplants are rapidly being constructed. Kuwait's harbor facilities entitle it to be called the world's largest oil port. Other industries, such as glass, tire, ship repair yards, textiles, paper, soap, and fish canning, are under proposal for immediate implementation, enabling Kuwait to have a diversified economy. Furthermore, the extent of the country's investments and holdings abroad are estimated to be around $1.5 billion.

It is therefore with deep admiration that I extend my greetings to the Kuwait people on their third anniversary of independence. With the implementation of proposed schemes by their astute leaders, they are assured for the future continued prosperity and security. It is my sincerest wish that the amicable relations which now exist between the United States and Kuwait continue to progress and flourish, thereby setting an example for the world community.

What the Star-Spangled Banner Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the year 1964 marks the sesquicentennial anniversary of the defense of Baltimore, as the last official engagement between the armed forces of Great Britain and the United States in the War of 1812.

The stalwart victorious defenses of the Baltimore units at the Battle of North Point, September 12, 1814, withstood enemy attack and forced their retreat, as well as repulsed and compelled the

British to cease their bombardment of Fort McHenry after 26 hours of shelling on September 13 and 14.

Francis Scott Key, a native Marylander, a lawyer, orator, and poet, was inspired at the sight of the embattled flag in "the dawn's early light" to record in immortal verse the poem which became America's national anthem on March 3, 1931, by an act of Congress.

To call attention to the 150th anniversary of "The Star-Spangled Banner" being observed in 1964, the Ensign C. Markland Kelly, Jr., Memorial Post of the American Legion and the Metropolitan Civic Association, in cooperation with the Star-Spangled Banner Festival, all in Baltimore, sponsored an essay contest on "What the Star-Spangled Banner Means to Me."

The contest was divided into categories for adults and youth. The results were extremely gratifying. While only 100 entries were received from the adults, over 600 entries were received from youngsters representing more than 50 schools from various parts of Maryland.

The contest judges included Earl R. Poorbaugh, a member of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin's staff; Aldine R. Bird, columnist for the News-American; Robert Blake, editorial writer for the Baltimore Sun; Thomas W. Trice, vice president of the Baltimore Gas & Electric Co.; and Daniel H. Burkhardt, Maryland State adjutant of the American Legion.

The arrangements committee for the essay contest included the following representatives from the Ensign C. Markland Kelly, Jr., Memorial Post of the American Legion: Richard J. Meise, Donald W. Smith, Joseph E. Dickerson, and Warren A. Burdette, all past commanders of the post. Representatives from the Metropolitan Civic Association included Warren J. Weinberger, president; Reuben Fedderman, senior vice president; and Maurice R. Shochatt, executive secretary.

The winning essays serve to remind all of us that our national anthem is more than a song, and, under unanimous consent, I include them at this point in the RECORD. In addition to their prizes, the winners also received flags, which I had flown over the U.S. Capitol for them.

The essays follow:

ANTHEM FESTIVAL ESSAY CONTEST

(First prize, adult division, Mrs. Herman Hom Kim, 913 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md.)

To me, the Star-Spangled Banner is a symbol of peace and freedom; of peoples of every nationality, differing in culture, social strata, religion, individual beliefs, background, and traditional heritage all living together in one country in peace and in harmony.

Never have I been more inspired by the words of our national anthem and the flag which prompted its writing than I was when I beheld the replica of our original flag, with its sprinkling of stars, being reverently and carefully unfolded by the Honor Guard at the Oriole opening game. As the words "O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave" filled the air, my eyes were drawn from the flag of our birth to the majestic symbol of freedom for all mankind, proudly waving in the breeze—its blue field covered with 50 stars, representative of peoples of all nations of the world, differing in culture, in personal beliefs, of varying social strata and background and language. As I watched this beautiful sight and heard "Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just," I thought how wonderful it is that despite our many differences, we are all able to live together in one country, practicing our individual beliefs, retaining our heritage and traditions, and developing if we choose, our God-given talents and abilities. How fortunate to be able to enjoy nature, to engage in friendly conversation, to discuss politics and other beliefs without fear of recrimination—to live and worship as we choose.

The Star-Spangled Banner country extends hope to all the world; it is a promise of the fulfillment of high ideals, of understanding and compassion and peace and freedom for all men and today we are awakening to our long dormant obligation to all of our fellow citizens and we are striving to conquer individual prejudices, small injustices, and discriminations. We are slowly awakening to our faults. The job of equality will be slow and often discouraging. Our Nation is of one soul and one spirit and as we all work together to guarantee that "the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall ever wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave." We pray that all the nations will help their young fledgling in securing peace for all men.

WHAT THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER MEANS TO ME

(Second prize, adult division, Mrs. Della L. Willis, R.F.D. 3, Box 48, Chestertown, Md.)

More than just a pretty banner, waving in the breeze. More than just a piece of cloth, with its 50 stars and 13 stripes. Woven not of common thread, but of threads of hope and love, of faith, of grief and misery; a design so great, yet so simple.

Sometimes flapping furiously in the wind, reminding all of their many freedoms, their unlimited opportunities. Sometimes hanging listlessly, as if recalling past hours of defeat, and sometimes waving serenely with the flush of victory.

High on its pole, proudly acknowledging that we are Americans, giving inspiration to all who care to look; a symbol for all that is good and worthwhile. Reminding that many nationalities are now molded into one, Americans all. Reminding of all the teamwork behind those 50 stars and those 13 stripes. Of all the terrible wars she's been through, of hopeful peace.

A silent plea for us not to go back on her now, after all the courageous past, but to come forth and stand up for our country, and be counted as worthwhile citizens.

These things my flag means to me, and it's mighty proud I am to fly it, for one and all to see. Proud when my neighbor says that she gets "a good feeling" when she sees it flying, and proud when it seems to wave a friendly goodbye to my family as they go off to school and work.

I guess that I'm just plain glad that I'm an American, and I pray that the Star-Spangled Banner will always wave "o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

WHAT THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER MEANS TO ME

(Third prize, adult division, Mrs. Arthur Fefferman, 9006 Linton Street, Silver Spring, Md.)

The Star-Spangled Banner means life to me. It is a symbol of this great country of ours, which saved my life 25 years ago. If America had not taken me in, back in 1939, before the war started, I would have been killed just like Ann Frank was and so many of my friends.

Then the Star-Spangled Banner means freedom to me. Once I came to this country I was free to become a citizen, to vote, to join organizations, to go school, in short to do anything that free people want to do.

Lastly, the Star-Spangled Banner means hope to me. In the meantime I have married an American and have had two children, whom my husband and I are bringing up to be good citizens. We are teaching them that to be an American is a privilege, not to be taken lightly. Citizenship gives us many privileges and imposes on us many responsibilities. We want our children to be well informed so they may vote intelligently. We want them to learn that they are their brother's keeper, not only in this country, but all over the world. We want them to worship and believe in God so that they understand that to live in America means to join with others in this country to do what is right and what is just.

The Star-Spangled Banner, which is symbolic of all these things, is a reminder to every American of the great country that is ours and of our responsibility to see to it that this greatness must be preserved and cherished and appreciated and if necessary fought for.

IT'S SOMETHING GREATER

(First prize, youth division, Miss Anita Verchinski, 4015 Deepwood Road, Baltimore, Md.)

To me, the "Star-Spangled Banner" is not simply a piece of red, white, and blue cloth flying over the Pentagon, or Fort McHenry, or my school. Neither is it the intensely inspiring words of a song we call our national anthem. To me, the "Star-Spangled Banner" is the symbol of a greater thing. It is the symbol of an ideal.

It symbolizes devotion to a cause, as a man, awakened at midnight by the cry, "The British are coming" rushes out, musket in hand, to defend his new homeland against the tyranny of a now foreign King.

It symbolizes faith, as a prisoner on an enemy ship is inspired, in the half-light of dawn, to write a poem destined to become immortal as a nation's national anthem.

It symbolizes indomitable courage, as a small band of pioneers brave the stark reality of the unknown to push the frontier of their infant country farther west.

It symbolizes success against great odds and freedom from class distinction, as a homely, uneducated boy comes out of the backwoods of Illinois to be elected leader of his country in a time of civil strife.

It symbolizes the desire for a better life, as a stranger struggles to repeat, in halting English, "I pledge allegiance to the flag."

It symbolizes the love for a great, beautiful dream, to be defended jealously from those who would bury it, as a young boy, nameless, homesick, and frightened, lands on a foreign beachhead to defend an ideal from the threat of a mad dictator's insatiable greed.

It symbolizes simple love and pride, as a group of small children choruses in small, clear voices, "My country 'tis of thee."

No, to me the "Star-Spangled Banner" is not merely a song full of patriotic words, or a brave, beautiful flag. To me it is the intangible symbol of the American ideal and the American dream, which have sustained Americans through many dark hours, and which will continue to be the guiding light for generations yet to come.

WHAT THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER MEANS TO ME

(Second prize, youth division, Miss Katherrine E. Nelson, 9908 East Bexhill Drive, Kensington, Md.)

The Star-Spangled Banner signifies for me a number of different ideas. It signifies the past, the present, and the future. In its significance of the past, I think our country's proud heritage, not only during the War of 1812 when Francis Scott Key

wrote the national anthem, but also during all other wars in which men have fought to preserve the precious freedom of our country. In its significance of the present, I think of our freedom today and the meaning of having the Star-Spangled Banner waving in the breeze as a symbol of freedom and democracy. In its significance of the future, I think of the continued battle for freedom, of ultimate success in reaching a time of liberty's reigning everywhere.

Having struggled for a free past, America is now maintaining a free present and will strive to maintain a free future. Throughout the history of the United States, war has continually marred peace. Endeavoring at all costs to preserve freedom and to keep the flag waving in truimph, men have fought—in the War for Independence, in the War of 1812, in World War I, and in World War II. Today my hearing the national anthem and seeing the flag waving in the breeze give me a great sense of pride at being able to live in a free, democratic society without despotism. The flag, "in full glory reflected," seems to overshadow all the war and desolution of preceding years. The knowledge that freedom will conquer if war does come in the future is in my heart as well as in every American's heart; for, "when our cause is just, then conquer we must."

Thus, the Star-Spangled Banner means freedom to me, freedom of the past, of the present, and of the future. Preserving this freedom is our goal now and will be in the future, for it is only in its preservation that "the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave o'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave."

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER AND WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(Third prize, youth division, Miss Anita Frances Clark, 233 South Durham Street, Baltimore, Md.)

To me the Star-Spangled Banner means and simply is the United States. When I gaze at the flag, fluttering in the blue sky, I feel a sensation of warmth and assurance run through me. The flag acts as an additional reminder that I am living in America, in a free and democratic nation. I can walk home from school, knowing that I am able to sit down and write on a subject, such as the flag, with no fear of the consequences that might result from expressing my true feelings and thoughts.

The flag also brings to my mind the continuous growth of the United States and her permanence. While looking at Old Glory, I also see the picture of our original flag with its mere 13 stars; and I think of all those years in which the United States, through war or through peaceful means, acquired territories which enlarged her boundaries and helped to make her one of the most powerful nations in the world. Through all of the wars, and above all of the bloody battlefields, the Star-Spangled Banner flew, a symbol that America can and must and will always be, despite any dire hardships or wars.

Along with the thought of conquest and acquisition comes the thought of exploration and the picture of Old Glory atop Mount Everest, or planted in the hard ice of the Antarctic. These pictures are a result of, and a testimony to, the United States unceasing desire to know all that is possible, to leave nothing untouched, and her resolve never to be satisfied with man's small knowledge.

I have said that the flag means and represents the permanence and survival of the United States; however, in terms of life the flag can also stand for that remover of light—death. When I observe the flag flying at half mast, I am aware of the shortness of life on earth; and sometimes I see, in that symbol of death, the waste of a man's genius or his capability to help humanity. However, since death is a part of living and since the flag flies more often at the top than at half mast, after looking at the flag, I can walk on, confident in the permanence of the United States and in her democracy.

I Am the American Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the dedication of the new Mount Greenwood postal station in Chicago was held on Sunday, June 14, 1964, and the program included a recitation presented by Thomas J. Terrell, of Chicago, and I would like the depth of his remarks brought to the attention of the entire House, and with permission to extend my remarks, I include the following:

I AM THE AMERICAN FLAG

Since the time of my birth many stories have been told about me. Now I feel it is my duty to tell you what I am and for what I stand.

Born during the Nation's infancy, I have grown with it, my stars increasing in number as the country has grown in size. The domain over which I wave is now expanded until the sun on my flying now never sets.

I am not only an emblem showing the authority of the United States, indicating supremacy when flying over land, possession when flying over Government buildings, power when displayed by troops—I mean much more than that. I represent the ideals and traditions, the principles and institutions, the hopes and aspirations which constitute what is to mankind the greatest nation in the world, the American Nation.

Stirring are the stories of my stars and stripes. My 13 red and white stripes recall the history of that long, bitter 8-year struggle in which the Thirteen Colonies fought and stood side by side for freedom, exemplifying the principle that "In union there is strength."

Each of my starts tells the story of a great and sovereign State which has entered the Union.

Filled with significance are my colors of red, white, and blue into which have been woven the courage and strength of Americans.

The red in my stripes proclaims the courage that inspires men to face danger and to do what is right. The strength and courage of American manhood from the conquest of the wilderness by the pioneer through the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and in the Korean conflict has done more than anything else to make the Nation over which I fly the greatest and most wonderful in the world.

My white stripes mark me as the emblem of the land of the free, the country in which the oppressed of the world may enjoy equality and liberty.

The blue in my field of stars stands for loyalty. It is the true blue. It tells the story of thousands of men and women who have been loyal to their country through suffering and hardships.

I signify the law of the land.

I stand for the Constitution of the United States.

I represent the Declaration of Independence, the birth certificate of the American Nation.

I stand for peace and good will among the nations of the world.

I control the strong, protect the weak, relieve suffering, and do all I can for the betterment of mankind.

I stand for tolerance toward men of all creeds and races.

I reflect the wealth and grandeur of this great land of opportunity.

I tell the story of the achievements and progress of the American people in art and science, culture and literature, inventions and commerce, transportation and industry.

I am the badge of the Nation's greatness and the emblem of its destiny.

I am whatever you make me, nothing more. I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become. I am fear and song, struggle and hope.

I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all you hope that I can be. I am the American flag.

Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, at a meeting recently held here in Washington a group of men deeply concerned about the domestic oil industry appeared before Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

These men were particularly interested in two phases of the oil industry.

First. The continuous increase of quotas on crude oil imported into this country.

Second. The projected and contemplated increase into one district of some 98,000 barrels per day for the last half of this year to, as Secretary Udall expressed it, "fill a supply and demand gap in district V."

The domestic oil producers took the firm position that domestic oil must get part of this increased U.S. market and that by October 1, 1964, at least 50,000 barrels a day of domestic oil could be moved economically through existing pipelines to the west coast.

There seems to be a determined effort to keep the west coast market shut off from increased domestic supplies. This surplus domestic crude oil is being blocked out in the supplying of the oil deficit in the west coast area.

Mr. Speaker, may I point out the serious situation that exists today in the oil industry.

Prior to the conference with Secretary Udall, Governor of Texas John Connally wired the Secretary in part:

As Governor of Texas, I strongly urge revision on U.S. oil import policy before the next quota period. Recently deterioration in Texas crude prices and declines in production threaten to erase the slight progress of 1963 and to assure a third consecutive year of decline.

The domestic producing industry must grow in proportion to total imports, under a stabilized price structure. Otherwise,

Texas will not be able to provide its vital share of the domestic oil producing industry's defense burden.

I particularly urge a change in the program to allow movement of oil from the surplus region to the west coast. This offers a real opportunity to alleviate our situation.

It was further developed, by those appearing for the oil industry that crude prices are down some 20 percent a barrel or about 7 percent from 1957.

Hourly wages paid to industry rose 15 percent and the overall cost of drilling and equipping a well increased 9 percent during the same period.

Crew months reached a peak in 1955 and dropped steadily since then with activity in 1962 down almost 50 percent.

Number of wildcat wells reached a peak of 13,000 in 1956 and dropped steadily since then to only 8,000 in 1963.

Total number of wells drilled—development and wildcat—hit an alltime high of 58,200 in 1956 and has dropped 14,500 or about 25 percent since then.

Employment in the producing branch is off 50,000 or 15 percent since 1957.

It was pointed out to Secretary Udall that a means be found of allowing domestic producers to enjoy their share of U.S. market growth, by curbing unnecessary foreign imports and making markets available to domestic producers.

Mr. Speaker, the reference to "defense burden" in Governor Connally's telegram to Secretary Udall is a timely warning that in the event of any situation that involves the United States that the domestic oil industry will be immediately called upon to step up production.

If the domestic oil industry is seriously crippled by failure to stimulate production, the the demand for such increase cannot be met.

This is a serious situation, Mr. Speaker; we must insure the continued production of domestic oil; and if this means curbing excessive imports, or other legislation, we should start reviewing this matter immediately.

Progress in Parkersburg, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to report that great economic progress is being scored in one of West Virginia's most lively and attractive cities—Parkersburg. The most recent demonstration of Parkersburg's tremendous progress was the June 10 dedication of the Walker-Parkersburg plant, where employment has almost doubled in the last few months.

Walkter-Parkersburg, a division of Textron, Inc., occupies the site and plant of the old Parkersburg Rig & Reel Co., and more recently the Parkersburg-Aetna Corp. Textron acquired these assets last September at a time when there was a large amount of excess manufacturing capacity for producing pre-engineered metal buildings. In January 1964, only 3 months after acquiring the Parkersburg facilities, Textron purchased the underfloor electrical distribution systems product line of Walker Bros. and decided to consolidate these two operations. This involved the movement of 200 truckloads of equipment and inventories to Parkersburg in time to launch full production this summer.

GREAT GROWTH POTENTIAL

From Providence, R.I., the chairman of the board, Rupert C. Thompson, and President G. William Miller, flew in to participate in the dedication ceremonies. I had the good fortune to visit and make a leisurely tour of these facilities some days prior to the dedication, thanks to the courtesy of W. E. Ausenheimer, president of Walker-Parkersburg, and D. G. Hofstetter, administrative vice president of the company. We walked through the plant. I had the opportunity to meet the employees and their supervisors, and to get a firsthand picture of the great growth potential in this new facility.

The opening of this new operation means the preservation of some 150 existent jobs, and the adding of approximately 200 additional jobs. With an annual payroll of $2 million, this plant is a great asset to the fast-growing Parkersburg area. More than three-quarters of the new jobs are being filled locally.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include two news articles which describe the meaning of the June 10 dedication in terms of the great future in store for Parkersburg, W. Va.:

[From the Parkersburg (W. Va.) News, June 11, 1964]

CITY WELCOMES NEW INDUSTRY

(By Charley Butler)

The Walker-Parkersburg installation, dedicated yesterday, already has brought increased employment to the area numbering more than 170, and development in the next few months is expected to bring the total additional jobs to over 200. The plant is located at 620 Depot Street, and formerly was known as the Rig & Reel.

This will bring total employment at Walker-Parkersburg, division of Textron, Inc., to more than 345 hourly and salaried personnel, officials said yesterday during the dedication.

Employment at the plant has more than doubled in the last few months, it was pointed out.

Rupert C. Thompson, Jr., chairman of the board of Textron, said in his speech of dedication that already one new product, trench-duct systems, has been added to the Walker line since the facilities were brought here, and that more new products can be expected in the future.

JOBS PERMANENT

"The jobs this expansion has added to the Parkersburg area economy will last into future generations; children of today's workers will be working in this plant when they grow up and go into industry," Thompson said, expressing his faith in the future of the plant being dedicated.

Twenty-seven new families have been brought into the area with the expansion to date, and more may be expected, the Textron official said.

Referring to his satisfaction at what he finds here, he told of the plant, the people, the spirit in evidence; and he explained the working of the company policy of treating people well, by relating an experience which led to Textron's acquisition of the underfloor duct facilities of Walker Bros. of Conshohocken, Pa., last December, which stemmed from one man's satisfaction with Textron treatment in an earlier transaction.

He stressed that it brings good dividends to treat people well and leave them with a sense of satisfaction in their mutual benefit from their dealings.

Thompson said that he and his associates get a great satisfaction out of preserving existing jobs and creating new ones, adding that "we also like to make money, we are not in business just for the fun of it, and we believe there is a terrific future here."

GOOD EMPLOYERS

W. E. Ausenheimer, president of Walker-Parkersburg, said "We intend to be good employers; we want to maintain the reputation of Textron for happy employees, and we intend to maintain excellent employer-employee relations."

He called attention to Textron's 27 major divisions having 34,000 employees in its 115 plants in the United States and Canada with an enviable reputation for employee satisfaction in their work.

In recounting the history of the events leading to yesterday's dedication, officials pointed out that Textron acquired the Parkersburg Aetna last September; and in looking for additional industry to make use of the plant's potential, acquired the Walker facilities sometime later. The latter were moved to Parkersburg from Conshohocken, with a target date of June 1 for beginning of operations. How well this target date was realized was illustrated by yesterday's official dedication, with production well underway.

Walker-Parkersburg now maintains two production lines, the Walker underfloor ducts and the prefabricated buildings of Parkersburg Buildings.

Production of Parkersburg metal buildings and Walker underfloor duct materials is flowing smoothly at the plant, officials said. The efficient flow of production for two distinctly separate product lines now being manufactured under one roof is the result of combined study and planning by Walker-Parkersburg engineers and the consulting firm of Rath & Strong, Boston, Mass., it was explained.

The key piece of equipment for the Walker line of five basic types of underfloor electrical distribution systems is the McKay electric resistance welding tube mill. This mill roll-forms three sizes of Walkerduct as well as mechanical steel tubing, up to 5 inches in diameter.

Following the roll forming, the 14-gage steel duct is deburred and pickled in preparation for painting. The epoxy-base corrosion-resistant coating is applied by a continuous dipping process and is baked to obtain the required finish. The painting and baking cycle requires approximately 40 minutes, according to officials.

After receiving the protective coating, duct proceeds to the punch-and-raise operation. Holes are punched in the top of the duct, and a short edge is raised at the perimeter of the cutout. Die-cast zinc inserts, generally 1 inch high and having a standard, 2-inch inside thread, are then crimped into the raised edge. Inserts are closed by means of steel blanking caps. The finished duct is inspected and receives an underwriters' laboratories label.

JUNCTION BOXES

While some Walker junction boxes are gray iron castings, nine of the more commonly used boxes are made from steel stampings produced in the plant. Junction boxes and a wide assortment of underfloor component parts such as elbows, bushings, and adapters receive finishing operations, including the underwriters' laboratories-approved corrosion-resistant coating.

The most recent addition to the Walker line is Trenchduct, a steel trench with removable cover plates. Walker Trenchduct usually has a trim and cover plate assembly which is adjustable upward to provide final leveling with the concrete floor. Trenchduct is installed flush with the finished floor and can be used with Walker insert duct systems or with cellular steel floor construction. Trenchduct, made from 14-gage steel, has been manufactured in widths from 9 to 36 inches and in depths from 1½ to 10 inches. Trenchduct offers the largest wiring capacity of all types of ducts and can be divided by means of partitions to accommodate distribution systems employing two or three services.

A separate bay in the Walker-Parkersburg plant is set aside for the assembly and finishing of brass or aluminum service outlet fittings which hold a variety of receptacles for power service or house connectors for telephone service.

PRECISION EQUIPMENT

Serving both product line requirements, the Walker-Parkersburg machine shop contains 30 pieces of precision equipment used to build, heattreat, maintain tools, dies, and equipment, build special machinery and assist production on special work requiring shaping, milling, or lathe operations.

The Parkersburg Metal Building production facilities are divided into three departments: structural fabrication and welding, panel fabrication and painting, and shipping and receiving.

Automatic and hand welding combine to produce the heavy structural steel columns and roof girders. Other structural steel such as girts and purlins, is cold-formed on a giant, 27-foot-capacity press brake.

The galvanized and aluminized steel for the panels arrives at the Parkersburg plant in 5-ton coils. This steel is decoiled, roller-leveled, cut into appropriate lengths by an automatic cutoff shear and shaped by large press brakes into Parkersburg Rib-Tite or interlocking wall and roof panels.

PAINTING PROCESS

After shaping, the steel then goes into Parkersburg's seven-step painting process. The panel is thoroughly cleaned by a five-stage chemical treatment process to provide maximum paint adhesion, then electrostatically painted with an acrylic enamel, and finally baked at temperatures up to 450°.

The painting process at Walker-Parkersburg has been simplified and revolutionized by an electrostatic painting method which utilizes paint applied by an electric charge rather than by brush or spray.

In a matter of minutes the panel is finished and removed from the overhead conveyor. The structural members and panels are then gathered in the shipping area with doors, windows, insulation, ventilators, and other accessories. The building is then ready for shipment.

With the new combined manufacturing operation of Parkersburg and Walker products, this Textron division has a design and development engineering group which assures marketability through the upgrading of quality development of improved designs and creation of new products, officials point out.

Yesterday's observance began with plant tours and a press conference; the dedication at 4:45 p.m. was followed by a social hour and dinner at Holiday Inn, attended by about 150 guests including industrialists, business and civic representatives, members of the news media, and public officials.

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, June 11, 1964]

TEXTRON TRANSFER PROVIDES 350 JOBS

(By George Lawless)

PARKERSBURG.—One of the Nation's largest corporations slipped almost unnoticed into West Virginia this spring, bringing with it a $2 million annual payroll and nearly 350 jobs to the Parkersburg area.

Textron, Inc., among the 100 largest companies in the United States, unveiled its newly formed Walker-Parkersburg Division here Wednesday.

Board Chairman Rupert C. Thompson, Jr., and President G. William Miller, who flew from their Providence, R.I., headquarters for formal dedication ceremonies, both spoke glowingly of future expansions in the area.

"We have relatively unlimited capital for new ventures and new opportunities," Thompson commented. "We have the room here to expand. The future depends on whether we can do the job here."

He was speaking of the sprawling 7-acre manufacturing plant Textron acquired from Parkersburg-Aetna Corp. last September. Textron paid a reported $10 million cash for the plant and other properties, including a ball and roller bearing plant at Chicago and a pump and oil industry equipment plant at Coffeyville, Kans.

Textron has combined the Parkersburg plant with a Conshohocken, Pa., operation to utilize full production capacity.

Thompson said success of the operation here adds not only a growing number of jobs for area residents, but "assures their sons and daughters new jobs in the future."

Asked if Textron moved into the area as a result of widespread publicity on job-surplus Appalachia, Miller bluntly replied: "No, we certainly don't consider Parkersburg a depressed area."

Thompson said he was both surprised and greatly impressed with the size and scope of the Parkersburg operation. He explained that, at the time of purchase, the plant was considered an economically marginal operation, because Parkersburg's metal building production claimed only half of the plant's capacity. But the addition of Walker underfloor products has changed things, he said, and "our people now assure us that it will be the most successful operation in the old Parkersburg-Aetna group."

State Commerce Commisisoner Koder M. Collison, representing Governor Barron who is attending the National Governors Conference at Cleveland told the dedication audience: "We are now growing and moving forward rapidly, and we are glad that Textron is now a part of West Virginia's bright new industrial scene."

The name "Conshohocken," he added parenthetically, is an Indian phrase meaning moving forward. "This certainly is a prophetic symbol here today," Collison enthused.

Parkersburg civic and business leaders applauded the official entry of Textron into the community at a formal dinner Wednesday evening.

Parkersburg-Aetna, which was Parkersburg Rig & Reel before it merged with Aetna Ball & Roller Bearing Co. in 1954, produced preformed metal buildings for commercial and industrial purposes, but half of its huge plant space was idle when Textron took over in September. The corporation subsequently bought Walker Brothers near Philadelphia, the leading manufacturer of metal underfloor ducts for electrical and machine-controlled systems. In December 1963, the two companies were combined to form Walker-Parkersburg Division of Textron, and company planners decided to move the Walker plant—literally—to West Virginia.

The move certainly is one of the major logistical events of 1964. It involved a complete rearrangement of the Parkersburg plant layout, including new machine foundations and electrical systems.

While maintaining production at Conshohocken, Textron engineers started in April a steady convoy of heavy trucks along the 430-mile route to Parkersburg. More than 200 truckloads of machinery, equipment and inventory were transferred to the new location.

Shipment of the first Walker-Parkersburg products started the week of May 11, less than 2 weeks after the Pennsylvania plant was phased out.

Employment at the Parkersburg plant has more than doubled in the past 2 months, according to Walter Ausenheimer, president of the new Textron division. This includes 170 new jobs. In the next few months, total employment will reach 350, Ausenheimer said.

More than three-quarters of the new jobs created were filled locally, he said. About 30 key administrative and manufacturing supervisors were moved from Conshohocken.

Ausenheimer also anounced that a new 20-month labor agreement has been reached by the company and the International Association of Machinists. Terms of the agreement weren't disclosed.

"Some of the machines and procedures of this operation are entirely new to this area," a plant supervisor explained, "but we've found that the new people have quickly adapted and we're farther along than we expected on training and job assignments."

Textron has 27 major divisions, employing about 34,000 persons in its 115 plants in the United States and Canada. Its products range from helicopters (Bell) to watchbands (Speidel) to chain saws (Homelite) to dozens of diversified lines in agriculture, industrial equipment and supplies, electronics and metals. About 35 percent of the corporation's total production is in defense items such as rocket engines, control systems, radar, and sonar.

Total sales in 1963 hit $587 million, 6.8 percent increase over the previous record year of 1962. Last year Textron's net earnings increased 22.2 percent. Thompson confidently predicted Wednesday that 1964 sales will exceed $650 million. This would make Textron the fourth largest corporation, in terms of overall sales, currently operating in West Virginia.

No Jobs for Atheists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in the RECORD an article written by Leo D. Adolph which appeared in the Progessive World of May 1964. This article, titled "No Jobs for Atheists," concerns section 704(f) of title VII of H.R. 7152, the civil rights bill, which amended the bill to restrict the right of atheists to full coverage and protection under title VII.

The article points out that the definition of the word "atheist" varies so widely as to subject this amendment to great difficulty in administration. It also points out why this amendment is objectionable from a constitutional point of view. I feel that it is important to present some of these objections so that we may have a chance to consider them before H.R. 7152 returns from the Senate.

Although I am opposed to this amendment, I do not agree with this article in its entirety. I am in accord with the author when he states:

It is American constitutional doctrine that no man should be accountable to another for religious beliefs.

However, I do not agree that the amendment, even if it is adopted by the Senate, would serve as express authority for the Government to urge employers not to hire atheists. This is not the policy of our Government, and there is nothing in the bill which should give rise to such a misconception. Neither do I agree with the author's assessment of the sincerity of those Congressmen who voted in favor of the amendment. However, I do hope that the passage of time since the hasty adoption of this amendment has given the House time for further consideration as to whether it does reflect the sound principles of religious freedom which we have always upheld.

The article follows:

NO JOBS FOR ATHEISTS

(By Leo D. Adolph [1])

On February 8, 1964, the House of Representatives put the stamp of legitimacy on the beginning of an era of persecution of American atheists. By a vote of 137 to 98, the so-called civil rights bill (H.R. 7152) was amended by inserting in title VII, section 704 subdivision (f), the following:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to refuse to hire and employ any person because of such person's atheistic practices and beliefs."

Thus, American's nontheists have been reduced to second-class citizenship. The purpose of the civil rights bill, as generally understood, was to eradicate prejudice, bias, bigotry, and discrimination as between one American and another American. Title VII of the bill is entitled "Equal Employment Oportunity." Section 701(a) declares that the opportunity for employment without discrimination is a right of all Americans and that it is the national policy to protect the right of each individual in America to be free from discrimination. Section 704 through its subdivisions (a) to (d) declares that it shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any individual because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

On the last day of the debate on the bill, the antiatheist provision was adopted, thus taking the first step toward a vicious monstrous abridgment of the rights of those in America who adhere to the nontheistic faiths practiced in this country, such as Buddhism, Taoism, ethical culture, and secular humanism, etc. The bill, with amendment, was passed by the House of Representatives on February 10, 1964, and is now pending before the Senate of the United States.

Let us first ascertain the meaning of the expression "atheistic practices and beliefs." Webster's New International Unabridged Dictionary defines "atheism" as "disbelief in, or denial of, the existence of a God, or supreme intelligent being; disbelief in theism." Most of the religious encyclopedias indicate that atheism is a disbelief in a personal intelligent supreme being and that the term has been used throughout the centuries by one religious faith as against the other. It is not therefore surprising to find that in the eyes of the early Romans, the first Christians and Jews were accused of atheism, and that the orthodox Christians employed the name with respect to various heretics. If one maintains that the universe is fully self-explanatory, this too would seem to be atheism.

The dictionaries seem to indicate that there are various classifications of atheism. For example, "practical atheism," which is a denial in practice that there is a God. For such a philosophy, the question of the existence of God is irrelevant to the meaning of life and the decisions of human existence. This belief is grounded on a complete acceptance of the scientific explanations for all phenomena. In the Encyclopedia Britannica, there is a statement that a "practical atheist" may still be deeply religious in his outlook on the universe since he may regard with reverential awe both the processes of nature and the functioning of society. Such people are ethical without being religious, or perhaps religious without having an explicit faith in God. The following sentence from the Encyclopedia is very apt:

"Meanwhile both theists and agnostics (and perhaps even atheists) would agree that whatever God there is does not depend for his reality or sovereignty upon the efforts of the theologians and philosophers to attack or defend his existence."

Substitute legislators and politicians for theologians and philosophers. The Catholic Encyclopedia indicates that there is a common basis for all systems of modern-day theism and that is a belief in the existence of a personal God. Those who would deny this cardinal tenet invite the popular reproach of "atheist." It, too, refers to "practical atheism" as a mode of life rather than a kind of thought or opinion. It is sometimes referred to as godlessness in conduct. Surprisingly, the encyclopedia indicates a degree of tolerance in that it suggests that each individual himself is the source of his classification as atheist or theist. Such classification by the individual is made on his own assertion rather than by his direct teaching or implications from the system of philosophy he advocates.

The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia considers atheism under four headings:

(1) There is a "classic atheism," which is not a denial of the existence of a divine being, but the denial of the existence of a God of a particular nation.

(2) "Philosophical atheism," which tends to unsettle one's faith in the existence of God. There may be a belief in a first cause, in force, in motion, but the existence of a divine being is absolutely denied. This may also be said with respect to various pantheisms. Theism, since it affirms that God is a person, a self-conscious being, is contrary to even the philosophies based upon first cause or force. When one denies this fundamental doctrine of atheism, one then is engaged in the teaching of atheism.

(3) The third form of atheism is called "dogmatic atheism." It absolutely denies the existence of God.

(4) Finally, the fourth form is "practical atheism," which it is asserted, has nothing to do with belief. This form has reference wholly to one's mode of life. He who lives as though there was no God, with complete indifference to the problem, is a practical atheist. It is contended that this form is most widely prevalent.

The provisions of the civil rights bill which we are discussing does not define the words "atheistic practices and beliefs." It is not clear whether the victim of the discrimination must be one who believes and practices, or whether employment can be refused to an individual because of his atheistic practices regardless of his beliefs. The courts could very well interpret the word "and" as "or."

The first hurdle that the Court would have to overcome is the principle enunciated by the Supreme Court that it is beyond the power of the court to give definition to religious creeds, doctrines and tenets.

"The law knows no heresy, and is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect." *Watson* v. *Jones*, 13 Wallace 679 (1872).

In *United States* v. *Ballard*, 22 U.S. 78 (1944), a most interesting case involving the peculiar religious beliefs and hallucinations of the Ballard family, the Supreme Court, through Justice Douglas, asserted:

"* * * we do not agree that the truth or verity of respondent's religious doctrines or beliefs should have been submitted to the jury. Whatever this particular indictment might require, the first amendment precludes such a course, as the United States seems to concede. * * * Freedom of thought, which includes freedom of religious belief, is basic in a society of free men. It embraces the right to maintain theories of life and death and of the hereafter which are rank heresy to followers of the orthodox faiths. Heresy trials are foreign to our Constitution. Men may belive what they cannot prove. * * * If one could be sent to jail (or denied a job) because a jury (an employer) in a hostile environment found those teachings false, little indeed would be left of religious freedom. * * * They (the fathers of the Constitution) fashioned a charter of government which envisaged the widest possible tolerance of conflicting views. Man's relation to his God was made no concern of the state. He was granted the right to worship as he pleased and to answer to no man for the verity of his religious views."

The Court then continues that if the doctrines espoused by the Ballards "are subject to trial before a jury charged with finding their truth or falsity, then the same can be done with the religious beliefs of any sect. When the triers of fact undertake that task, they enter forbidden domain. The first amendment does not select any one group or any one type of religion for preferred treatment. It puts them all in that position."

I have sought for the meaning of the phrase "atheistic practices" in many a volume but have found no clue to its meaning. Is it an atheistic practice to subscribe to the Progressive World, Humanist magazine, the American Atheist, the Freethinker, and other nontheistic publications? Is it atheistic practice to read such publications? Is it atheistic practice not to be a member of a church or synagogue? Is it atheistic practice to refuse to attend upon divine worship, the mass, communion, or confession? Does it make a parent an atheist if he refuses to have his child baptized, his son circumcised? Or his children confirmed or bar mitzvahed?

It is American constitutional doctrine that no man should be accountable to another for religious beliefs. To give an employer the right to exercise his bigotry by discriminating against an atheist, is a violation of this American ideal so eloquently expressed by Jefferson to the Danbury Baptist Association:

"Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting and establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

Title VII, section 704 subdivision (f) sets up the employer as a censor of the religious beliefs of his employees and job applicants. It encourages a new area of inquisition wherein the employer is the Torquemado. An appeal from the employer's bigotry is to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission with provision that recourse to the courts cannot be had unless "one member of the Commission gives permission in writ-

[1] The author is a New York attorney at law. PW readers will remember previous articles by him published in this magazine.

ing to bring a civil action to obtain relief" (sec. 707 subdivision (c)). Furthermore, section 711(a) requires every employer to post upon its premises a notice to be prepared or approved by the Commission, setting forth excerpts of this title. Here there is express authority for a governmental agency to publicly proclaim and urge American employers to refuse to hire and employ any person because of said person's atheistic practices and beliefs.

Article VI(3) of the Federal Constitution forbids the imposition of a religious test for public office. The prohibition therein contained was extended to the States of the Union by decision of the Supreme Court in the *Torcaso* case (367 U.S. 488). It will be recalled that in that case, Justice Black recognized that among the religious groups in this country, there are some that have their bases in belief in a supreme being and some that have no theistic basis. In a footnote to his decision (which was repeated recently by Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the U.S. court of appeals in the conscientious objector case of Daniel A. Seeger), Justice Black noted that among the nontheistic faiths practiced in this country are Buddhism, Taoism, Ethical Culture, and Secular Humanism. The members of the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, the judge and the jury, cannot be interrogated as to their religious beliefs, and since the early 1800's neither can a witness in a court proceeding. How can these constitutional principles be reconciled with the antiatheism provision?

Under common law, an employer has complete freedom of choice as to whom he will hire. This may have been proper in the past. The modern welfare society recognizes that man has economic rights as well as civil and religious rights. The section in question puts the Government's stamp of approval, in fact, encouragement, upon the exercise of prejudice by the employer in his relations with a suspected atheist.

The first amendment freedom to believe according to one's conscience, is absolute. The law cannot impose a penalty because of one's religious principles or tenets. This section would put the nontheist under economic pressure to the extent that it would deny him the free exercise of his conscience. It was such economic pressure that led the Supreme Court in *Sherbert* v. *Verner*, 374 U.S. 398, to hold that Seventh Day Adventist could not be denied unemployment compensation because she refused to work on Saturday due to her religious beliefs. Disqualification of the applicant for her unemployment compensation because of her religious beliefs imposed an unconstitutional burden on her freedom of exercise of religion. The Court, speaking through Justice Brennan, stated:

"The ruling (of the lower court) forces her to choose between following the precepts of her religion and forfeiting benefits on the one hand, and abandoning one of the precepts of her religion in order to accept work, on the other hand. Governmental imposition of such a choice puts the same kind of burden upon the free exercise of religion as would a fine imposed against applicant for her Saturday worship."

Justice Brennan concluded the Court's decision with "This holding but reaffirms a principle that we announced a decade and a half ago; namely, that no State may 'exclude individual Catholics, Lutherans, Mohammedans, Baptists, Jews, Methodists, nonbelievers, Presbyterians, or the members of any other faith, because of their faith, or lack of it, from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation.' *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, 16."

What was the intent of Mr. Ashbrook when he offered the section in question as an amendment to the civil rights bill? It is best expressed in his words:

"It seems incredible that we would even seriously consider forcing an employer to hire an atheist."

This thought was echoed by Mr. Elliott, who stated:

"America gave the atheist the right of disbelief. It gives it to him today. But, surely, our America gives the employer the right to reject an applicant for employment who does not believe in God. Under this amendment we are speaking of private employment. Today the American employer has a right to insist that his employees believe in God. This amendment insists that that right not be taken away from the American employer if he desired to exercise it * * *. All this amendment does is to preserve for the American employer a freedom to insist that his employees be under God."

One can really question the sincerity of the proponents of this bigotry. Is it their aim to safeguard America's employers, such as General Motors, General Electric, United States Steel, American Telephone & Telegraph; do they need such protection? It seems to me that the purpose of this section is to embarrass the proponents for civil rights for Negroes and women. The defenders of civil rights for American females and Negroes are now forced to take on the "shame" of defending the rights of the atheists, the unchurched. Will they have the moral courage to meet this task?

The recent case involving the New York State Regent's Prayer (*Engel* v. *Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421) and the cases outlawing the reading of the Bible and reciting the Lord's Prayer as part of a religious ceremony conducted in the public schools (*Schempp-Murray* case, 374 U.S. 203) have construed the first amendment as a prohibiting the Government—State or National—from establishing a church in this land; but even broader, the decisions prohibit the establishment of a religion. The opinions denied any preferred status to any creed or sect, but this antiatheist section now would grant preferential treatment to theism and permit bias and prejudice against nontheism. The section denies the statement of the Supreme Court that:

"In the relationship between man and religion, the state is formally committed to a position of neutrality." (Justice Clark in Schempp-Murray).

By permitting an employer to discriminate against a nontheist, the Government not only consents and approves this form of persecution but in fact, gives preference to theistic believers. Thus, as Justice Black stated in Engel at page 432:

"Governmentally established religions and religious persecutions go hand in hand."

The freedom of religion and nonestablishment clauses of the first amendment do not permit the Government to confer favors or burdens in terms of religious beliefs. The essence of the civil rights bill is to implement this principle by abolishing all forms of discrimination based on religious and racial prejudices. What are the purposes and effects of this antiatheist provision? Can it meet the test promulgated by Justice Clark in the Schempp-Murray case?

"The test may be stated as follows: what is the purpose and the primary effect of the enactment? If either is the advancement or inhibition of religion then the enactment exceeds the scope of legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the establishment clause there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion. * * * The free exercise clause, likewise considered many times here, withdraws from legislative power, State and Federal, the exertion of any restraint on the free exercise of religion. Its purpose is to secure religious liberty in the individual by prohibiting any invasions thereof by civil authority."

In conclusion, may we state that although we rejoice with all freedom-loving Americans in the passage of the civil rights bill, we deplore this subdivision (f), which is a monstrous abridgment of civil rights guaranteed by the first amendment to all Americans, regardless of race, color, religon, sex, or national origin.

Bug Thy Neighbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the June issue of the Reader's Digest which, in turn, is a condensation of an earlier article in Time mazagine, entitled "Bug Thy Neighbor." The article reveals a situation which is increasingly menacing the personal liberties and the rights to privacy of many Americans—a situation with which Congress will have to deal sooner or later.

The article follows:

BUG THY NEIGHBOR: WITH TODAY'S FANTASTIC ARRAY OF ELECTRONIC DEVICES, SNOOPING HAS GONE SCIENTIFIC IN A BIG WAY

Eavesdropping may not be nice, but it gets niftier all the time. From gleaming electronics factories and grubby back-street workshops has come an ever-subtler array of surveillance instruments to penetrate the individual's privacy. The devices are now so easy to plant and so hard to detect that no one can be wholly sure confidential conversations are not being overheard or recorded. Private eyes have become private ears. They snoop with "bugs" hidden in hatbands or ball-point pens. They tail cars, listening from a safe distance to every word spoken inside them.

Thanks to the cold war, corporate rivalries and big crime—not to mention old-fashioned marital jealousy—curiosity has built a fat-cat industry. Many police forces have elaborate electronic departments. The Federal Government alone is believed to buy more than $20 million worth of bugging gear a year. This does not include all purchases by the bug-infested CIA, which likes to shop through dummy agencies. No manufacturer admits selling to hoods or pleasure snoopers, but most of them believe that their competitors do. Says Fred East, Los Angeles County district attorney's investigator, "Anyone can buy any kind of bugging device if he's got the money."

The classic snooping device is the telephone tap. No direct connection with the wires is needed; a small induction coil placed beside them repeats fluctuations of the current, which an amplifier and earphones turn into intelligible sounds. Though widely used, the wiretap has one big drawback. It has to have a wire leading to the investigator or his tape recorder, thus risking his detection.

ANTENNAS IN BUSHES

Bugs, the small, easily hidden radio transmitters favored by most supersnoopers, are much safer. Usually they have a battery, a microphone to pick up sound waves, and FM circuitry. Utilizing transistors or their relatives which can be made almost invisi-

bly minute, a practical bug may be as small as a lump of sugar yet powerful enough to send a message several hundred feet penetrating walls and other obstructions.

The eavesdropper may set up his receiver in a rented room or a car parked close enough so that bugged voices come through loud and clear. Or if he can't stay close enough for that he can bury a brick-size repeater in the victim's yard threading its antenna wire into a bush. The repeater picks up the weak signal from a bug in the victim's house and rebroadcasts it in sufficient volume to be heard at a greater distance.

Hal Lipset a seasoned San Francisco private eye maintains a laboratory where his eavesdropping "genius," Ralph Bertsche, works out new gimmicks such as a high-powered bug that fits into a pack of cigarettes. Bertsche believes that bugs in time may be no bigger than a pencil eraser, recorders as small as a cigarette lighter.[1]

While miniaturization is now limited by the battery, which must be big enough for adequate power and duration, Bertsche believes that nuclear-energy sources may solve even this difficulty. Already in hand is a battery-sparing device that works by sensing the electrical capacity of the human body; it can turn on a bug when people come into a room.

BUILT RIGHT IN

California, with its high divorce rate, high incomes and highly sophisticated industries, is the hard-heartland of the U.S. bugging industry. Espionage is so commonplace in oil, chemical, and aerospace companies that many California executives begin to fidget if a visitor so much as sets a briefcase beside him. Another busy bugsville is Miami, where horseplayers, weekending couples, and Latino intrigue support a host of moonlighters who make eavesdropping gadgets in their spare time and sell to anybody.

Official surveillance organizations, such as the FBI, have expertly bugged rooms spotted through leading hotels. When they want to tune in on a guest, they ask the hotel management to steer him to one of these sonic studios.

Private detectives cannot count on cooperation from hotel managements, but they can often get into a victim's room by bribing subordinate employees. If the job is important, they try to plant at least three bugs to catch low-toned conversations in all parts of a room; then tiny cameras, often hidden in radiators or air conditioners, can be triggered by radio control. For a really fancy job a TV camera is the thing. Though it takes hard-to-hide coaxial cable, the TV set need be only 8 inches long and an inch or so in diameter; its lens can peer through an inconspicuous opening such as a recessed light fixture.

If the sleuth cannot get into the target room, he will usually work from an adjacent room or corridor, where he may be able to slip a bug into an electrical outlet or heating duct; they are often back to back. Otherwise, he may drill a small hole through the wall and poke a thin plastic tube into it, just short of the far surface, so as to siphon sound waves into a microphone next door.

Smart victims can fight back. One weapon is a broadband radio receiver that squeals if a bug is transmitting nearby. Another "antibug" is carried around the room while the occupant keeps talking loudly; if the hears his own voice in the earphones, he is listening to the output of a hidden bug. Anyone who suspects he is being bugged should talk in low tones and keep a radio or TV squawking loudly. One spy-fiction dodge, turning on the shower, is useless since the "white sound" of falling water can be electronically filtered out from human voices.

FLOATING DIPLOMATS

Modern embassy buildings—not only in Russia—have swarms of bugs in their steel-and-concrete bones. Even after they have been debugged by experts, the only really sleuthproof place is a room newly lined with metal and sound-deadening material. Diplomats sometimes hold important conferences in "floated" rooms set up temporarily in a lobby or isolated corridor. Even so, they talk in low voices and write out all critical words or figures.

Such precautions insure reasonable protection—today. But each swift advance in electronics brings new refinements in snooping. There is talk of bugs that probe and communicate by laser light; or infrared cameras that see through curtains. In a few more years, the whispers of ambassadors in a floated room may be no safer from prying ears than pillow talk in a resort motel.

[1] However, stories of bugged martini olives in a Moscow bar are apocryphal since (1) the liquid would deflect sound waves, and (2) Moscow bars can be more effectively studded with conventional bugs.

Address Delivered at Pensacola, Fla., June 13, 1964, on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Naval Air Station and the Fiesta of Five Flags

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech delivered at Pensacola, Fla., in my district on June 13, by Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance. The occasion was the 50th anniversary of the naval air station there. It was also the annual observance of the Fiesta of Five Flags, Florida's leading historic pageant which is held annually to commemorate the founding of Pensacola in 1959 by Don Tristan DeLuna.

Secretary Vance delivered a brilliant speech which told of the great strides made by the Navy and the even greater strides anticipated for the future. His visit and his outstanding speech provided fitting recognition for the contributions of the great naval air station at Pensacola which began 50 years ago when the U.S.S. *Mississippi* steamed into Pensacola Harbor bearing the entire complement of the U.S. Navy air arm—7 aircraft, 9 officers, and 23 enlisted men. Since that time, the station has grown until it encompasses 11,000 military personnel, 6,000 civilian personnel, a $90 million annual payroll, and a quarter billion dollar plant. It is the parent naval air training station and is known as the Annapolis of the air.

Secretary Vance was the principal speaker and honored guest on a day-long program which included such outstanding figures as Under Secretary of the Navy Paul Fay; Majority Leader of the House of Representatives Carl Albert; and the Honorable Mendel Rivers, chairman-elect of the House Armed Services Committee.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT PENSACOLA, JUNE 13, 1964, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAVAL AIR STATION AND THE FIESTA OF FIVE FLAGS

(By Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance)

Before I tell you—briefly—about certain of our current naval activities, permit me to say a word to the distinguished Members of the Congress who are with us on this occasion. To you, Congressman RIVERS, Congressman SIKES, and Congressman ALBERT, I should like to say publicly that without the understanding and enthusiastic support which you have so unfailingly given us, few of the achievements I am about to describe would have yet come to pass. To all of you—and especially to my great friend, Congressman BOB SIKES—let me say that it gives me, and all of us in the Defense Department, great confidence to know that we will be able to turn to you for advice and assistance in the future as we so often have in the past.

The fact that we are meeting here this evening in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the naval air station, as well as the fiesta of five flags, is a significant tribute to the foresight and imagination of the man who founded it—Adm. Henry C. Mustin. Barely 10 years after the historic flight at Kitty Hawk, while many still doubted that military aviation had a future, Admiral Mustin and his colleagues were already planning for the day when aircraft would routinely perform the incredible feat of taking off from a ship at sea. But in a sense this was predictable. The Navy has always been forward looking, eager to avail itself of technological developments which enable it better to perform its mission.

To the many civic leaders of Pensacola here tonight, I should like to express on behalf of the Defense Department our deep appreciation for your community's wholehearted support of the air station, and for your never failing hospitality toward those who come to train and work here.

As your unique fiesta of five flags serves to remind us, Pensacola is by New World standards a very old city. Its antiquity, together with its traditional association with things naval, calls to mind another community which was also strongly identified with men of the sea. The ancient city of Athens was both the greatest naval power of its day—and the birthplace of democracy. From Athens' day to ours, there has been a special relationship between warships and freedom. Tonight I would like to tell you of just a few of the things that we in the Defense Establishment are doing to assure the preservation of that relationship.

This half-century mark for the air station also marks the 10th anniversary of the launching of our first nuclear-powered ship, the submarine *Nautilus*. Because of nuclear power, we now have submarines that can run faster underwater than most merchant ships can steam on the surface. And we have an aircraft carrier—the *Enterprise*, the world's largest ship whose maneuverability in certain respects even exceeds that of our greyhound of the seas, the destroyer.

We can note with pride that in the past several months, those working on the development program for reactor cores to be used in large surface ships have produced a design which will be twice as powerful and run more than twice as long without refueling as the units of the *Enterprise*.

During the last 3 years, general ship construction for the Navy has been increased 100 percent, and the Navy now has an all-nuclear-powered task unit—the *Enterprise*, the *Longbeach*, and the *Bainbridge*—deployed with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. A new *Forrestal*-class carrier, the *America*, was launched this year. Another

is being built at Newport News and our carrier fleet is being steadily modernized.

The detection ranges of the radars we now have on our carriers, their escorts, and their early warning aircraft continue to improve.

The performance of our carrier-based interceptor, the F–4, armed with missiles, is outstanding. Our escort ships, armed with missiles, deployed in depth around our forces, provide an additional screen against enemy aircraft.

Senior naval aviators assure me that there has never been a better balanced, more truly useful array of aircraft on our attack carriers. The A–3, the A–4, and the F–8 are now tried and true performers and the newer A–6—as well as the F–4—are working well. And we have in development the F–111 which will have much greater range, payload, and ability at air combat than any present tactical bomber or fighter. That familiar workhorse, the A–1, is still on board, but will be phased out gradually as newer models become available.

The A–1 has not, incidentally, outlived its usefulness. Its characteristics have proved to be ideally suited for use in counter-insurgency operations such as those being conducted in Vietnam. The successful application of this originally naval aircraft to the guerrilla warfare of southeast Asia is, I believe, an excellent example of the interrelationship of our military and naval services and of the tools we provide for them.

A moment ago, I referred to the progress of our submarine fleet. The existence of the Polaris missiles has, it is well known, contributed greatly to the goal of forestalling nuclear aggression by the threat of instant—and inevitable—retaliation. But the very success of our own Polaris weapon system requires us to recognize the ability of a potential enemy to develop and exploit a similar system. Antisubmarine warfare will never again be the comparatively simple—or, at least, uncomplicated—matter that it was during my own days in destroyers. With the advent of nuclear power, the submarine became a true submersible. It can now remain underwater for many months without coming up for air. Consequently, it is virtually invulnerable to most of the old techniques of detection and destruction.

The Navy has done much in recent years to enhance its capability for modern antisubmarine warfare. The detection ranges of shipboard sonar equipment have been increased significantly, and new equipment has been produced and put into the fleet at an accelerated rate. Acoustic homing torpedoes coupled with the antisubmarine rocket Asroc, and the antisubmarine drone helicopter Dash, have produced greatly extended kill ranges. There has been a real advance in the use of helicopters equipped with dunking sonar to localize the area of a submarine threat. Intensive research and development is underway on a completely new type of ship, the Seahawk, which will be designed solely for the antisubmarine task. And we are proceeding as rapidly as possible with the development of a new type of torpedo, the EX–10, which is planned for use against deep-diving, fast, nuclear submarines. Yet much remains to be done. The problems that remain—and the new problems that we must expect to uncover each year—are formidable.

From a management standpoint the Navy has taken two steps which strengthen its program for antisubmarine warfare. Secretary Nitze has established a System Manager in the Office of the Chief of Naval Material who will have the money, people, and authority to manage the research, development, procurement and technical evaluation programs. He will coordinate every aspect of antisubmarine warfare in all the bureaus and laboratories in the Navy Department.

A second major step in the consolidation of effort in this program was the creation, on May 1, of the office of Executive Director of Antisubmarine Warfare. Vice Admiral Martell, who heads this office and reports directly to the Chief of Naval Operations, will work with the fleet commanders to develop and integrate hunter-killer task forces, patrol squadrons, and killer submarines. He will monitor the antisubmarine performance of the fleet units, develop new concepts, and place requirements on the system manager to develop the necessary hardware.

I am confident that these two steps are going to pay dividends in the Navy's determined effort to stay abreast of the problems presented by the nuclear submarine.

I have deliberately focused on the antisubmarine problem tonight because I wanted you to be aware of how much attention it is receiving in the Defense Department. Anyone who has worked in antisubmarine warfare will confirm the fact that it is difficult, arduous, painstaking work. I hope that all of you, who have already done so much for naval aviation, will continue to help stimulate interest and activity in this field—a field so important to our national defense and one in which naval aviation has historically played a key role.

Lastly, but of first importance, I know that each of you joins with me in paying tribute to the officers and men who man our ships and planes guarding the frontiers of liberty around the globe. I can think of no better expression of the immeasurable debt we owe them than to repeat the words President Johnson addressed to the cadets of the Coast Guard Academy only a few days ago: "If we are successful in the search for peace, it will be because you, and men like you, gave their lives to duty that our children might live their lives in freedom." Thank you.

Father's Day Message of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, next Sunday is Father's Day and a constituent of mine has taken the time to compose a special message for this day. I am privileged to insert this message from Mr. Mark F. Bell of Castro Valley, Calif., because I think it is such a fine tribute to the many millions of fathers throughout our country:

FATHER'S DAY MESSAGE OF 1964

Father is the important man in the family, and all the fathers except those who are neglecting their duty try their best to improve their living and build a better future for themselves and their family.

He goes to his work, rain or shine, regardless how hard the job may be, without complaints, even when he doesn't feel good, because he wants his family to have more comforts and a better security. He may not be as good a provider as some other fathers, but all of us can't be the same. He also may not be perfect, but nobody is. He is criticized many times, but very seldom gets the credit for anything.

He doesn't only have to make a living, but also has many other responsibilities, and he is always willing to please. He tries his best to perform his duty as a husband and father, and to do his best to bring up his children as respectful, God-loving and law-abiding people.

Many more men die than women because they work harder and worry more about living. Many times children and wives don't realize how important the father is until they lose him, especially so a wife who has to bring up her underaged children. If a father got more appreciation instead of criticism he would do his job still better and might live longer.

Fathers don't expect anything from their families but a kind word and respect which don't cost anything.

The grandfathers have a still harder time as many of them come from other lands, with nothing but strong bodies and a strong will to work. They provided many things which their children and grandchildren are enjoying today, and they should get high respect from all of them.

Fathers deserve respect all year round instead of one day, and if they get that, it would bring much more happiness to the fathers and our homes.

Fathers in the other world should be often remembered in our prayers.

Happy Father's Day to young and old fathers.

MARK F. BELL.
CASTRO VALLEY, CALIF.

J.F.K. Medal of Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that support is continuing to grow for my bill which would authorize the President to award posthumously a Congressional Medal of Honor to John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

The bill has been embraced by members of the Los Angeles Stereotypers Union, Local No. 58, of which I am privileged to be an honorary member. John Kennedy was always a stanch supporter of the rights and aspirations of millions of American workingmen and women and their respect and admiration for him is evidenced by the strong endorsement which my proposal is receiving among the ranks of organized labor.

The Assembly of the California Legislature recently approved a joint resolution calling for presentation of the medal to our fallen leader and I include in my remarks the text of the resolution:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 5

Resolution relative to posthumously awarding the Congressional Medal of Honor to John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy served the Armed Forces of the United States in time of war with exceptional honor, distinction, and heroism, all beyond the call of duty; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy received an honorable discharge from the United States Navy in 1945; and

Whereas he continued to devote his life to the service of his country as a Member of the House of Representatives, and as a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy became President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Nation; and

Whereas in November 1963 President John Fitzgerald Kennedy gave his life in the service of our country; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy personified all of the qualities called for in the awarding of this Nation's highest military decoration and honor: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California joins the members of the Disabled American Veterans, Frank C. Marpe Chapter 44, of West Covina, Calif., in urging and memorializing the Congress of the United States to seriously consider the posthumous awarding of the Congressional Medal of Honor to John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who gave the full measure of devotion to his country in the never ceasing battle for the freedom and equality of all men everywhere; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Clarification of ARA Critic's Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 19, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 19 I placed into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on page 11028, an article by Dr. Sar A. Levitan, research professor of economics at George Washington University, which contained what I consider to be valuable and constructive criticisms of the Area Redevelopment Act and its administration. Since that time, Dr. Levitan has written to me on May 27 expanding somewhat on his views on the use of tax amortization.

Dr. Levitan also called my attention to the fact that at the time that he first worked on ARA legislation, he was a member of the Legislative Reference Service, which precluded his taking a position on the act itself. His first public piece on ARA, although in favor of the legislation, came after he had left the Legislative Reference Service.

I call this to the attention of my colleagues because in my own remarks, on May 19, I referred to Dr. Levitan as one of the original supporters of the legislation, and he has expressed his concern that this might be confused with his activities while with the Legislative Reference Service. I myself have the fullest confidence in and respect for the objectivity of the Service and I was not referring to this in my remarks. To avoid any possible misunderstanding, however, I would like to, at this point, include the letter I have received from Dr. Levitan to set the record straight on this point. In my own opinion, his sincere concern for the standard of objectivity makes Dr. Levitan's present comments on ARA all the more valuable.

The letter follows:

THE W. E. UPJOHN INSTITUTE
FOR EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH,
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WIDNALL: Thank you for your kind comments in the May 19 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about my article on ARA which appeared in the April issue of Challenge. As I wrote to you some time ago, when you asked me to comment on H.R. 8525, I agree with you that rapid tax amortization can be used as a potential valuable tool to help depressed areas. However, I would limit the benefits of H.R. 8525 to truly depressed areas and not to all areas currently designated by ARA. Section 1(d)(3) of H.R. 8525 might not only create inequities as far as the other two-thirds of the U.S. counties are concerned, but may also fail to help truly depressed areas. Relatively more viable designated areas are likely to reap the benefits of H.R. 8525.

I also appreciate your mentioning that we disagree on any future action that Congress is scheduled to take on amendments to the Area Redevelopment Act. However, I find the reference you make to me as an early supporter of ARA somewhat disturbing. While I may have harbored at that time sentiments in favor of the legislation, my position as a staff member of the Legislative Reference Service precluded me from taking any position on the matter. For example, in 1957 I prepared, at the request of the then chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, the Honorable Brent Spence, an analysis of the then pending depressed area legislation. Mr. Spence published this report as a committee print and I received at that time comments from both supporters and opponents of the legislation, from members of the committee and others, commending the objectivity of the report. The objectivity of presentation, presenting with equal force the arguments for and against the legislation, was in tradition with LRS' position which takes no stand on any pending legislation. And, as a staff member of the Legislative Reference Service, I scrupulously refrained from taking any public position on the depressed area legislation. My first published piece about the ARA—as you correctly stated, it was in favor of the legislation—appeared after I left the Legislative Reference Service.

I am taking the liberty of detailing to you these facts in fairness to LRS which has consistently refrained from taking position on any pending legislation.

Cordially yours,

SAR A. LEVITAN.

Newark, N.J., Methodists Oppose Becker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks many religious organizations have taken a position against the proposed Becker amendment. One of these is the Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. At its recent meeting, the Newark conference, composed of 283 local churches with approximately 100,000 members, passed the following resolution:

Whereas when the authority and power of the state are used to foster religious faith it is true religion which suffers; and

Whereas the God of the Bible is not a golden calf to be taken in and out of the Nation's life; and

Whereas we believe that the removal of prohibitions in the Bill of Rights against Government-established religious exercises would be a dangerous departure from the historic form of the American experiment in religious liberty and the separation of church and state:

Therefore, we, the Newark Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, express our opposition to the proposed Becker constitutional amendment and other such constitutional amendments designed to legalize Government-established religious exercises in the public schools.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Luther High School North Observes 10th Anniversary in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, Luther High School North, one of the largest Lutheran high schools in America, which is located in my district, observed its 10th anniversary. I should like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today the inspiring message delivered by Dr. Carl S. Meyer, during the impressive ceremony.

Dr. Meyer has grasped the true meaning of the occasion, for Luther High North is one of the outstanding educational institutions in Chicago. Its students rank among the foremost in college board examinations.

I am proud to have this high school, which exemplifies the pluralism of American education, in my congressional district.

Dr. Meyer's inspiring remarks follow:

CUM DEO: On this Misericordias Domini Sunday on which we hail the goodness of the Lord, we remember particularly His goodness to this school. We also call this "Good Shepherd Sunday." This "Good Shepherd Sunday" is a good time on which to observe the 10th anniversary of the inauguration of this school. It reminds us of the essential relationship between Him who is first and foremost the head of this school as He is the head of His church and those who are His own. This occasion therefore enables us to thank Him who gave all for us and to review our obligations to Him for Christian secondary education. We do so as we recall some of the events of the past in the story of Luther North, as we ask about the essential requirements for carrying out the task of feeding Christ's sheep, and as we look to the blessedness of this task.

I

It was on September 20, 1953, when we dedicated the first portion of this complex of buildings. Perkins & Will, the architects, had executed a splendid design and the building committee under the able chairmanship of Carl Muhlenbruck had seen to it that the 1953–54 school year could be opened in this building and Luther Institute had become Luther High School North.

Luther Institute itself opened its doors 55 years ago. On April 14, 1909, a student body which totaled 66 came together at First Immanuel, Ashland, and Roosevelt. For 55 years, therefore, the Shepherd of His sheep has blessed the work of Lutheran secondary education in Chicago. These blessings God has bestowed through dedicated men and women, serving on boards and committees, as administrators and teachers, as friends and benefactors of this school.

The founding of Luther Institute and the work of the Lutheran High School Association of Greater Chicago has been largely a lay movement in the interest of the laymen and laywomen, those who belong to the royal priesthood of believers. Already in the 1890's the Evangelical Lutheran Association of Young Men's Societies showed an interest in spiritual growth and welfare of the young people of the church. Then in 1907 the Concordia League, an association of Lutheran businessmen (March 11) resolved to appoint a committee to consider the question of Christian higher education. It was the work of this committee of the Concordia League that resulted in procuring a charter from the State of Illinois for a school and the establishment of what was known for 44 years as Luther Institute. Among the men associated with this movement were William Seehausen, William Schulze, and O. F. Rusch. The full extent of their labor and their gifts for the school is known only to God. That it was great is soon evident to anyone who begins to look into the past of this school. Later on there were their successors, men like Otto Tamm, who as treasurer of Luther Institute, made up many a deficit in the treasury by donations from his own private resources.

During these years W. C. Hermann and John C. Anderson served as principals (presidents) of the school, each for a period of 17 years. During the first 25 years of the school's history there were only 37 different teachers, fewer in total than the number serving on the staff today. Three veterans have been blessed by God in their long service to the school. Miss Elsa Birkner is completing her 40th year; Mr. A. Tarnoski has been with the school since 1928; Mr. L. Menking, since 1927. They would be the first to say that we should give God alone the glory as we praise and magnify Him on this occasion.

There are yet other anniversaries that we can note today, besides the 10th anniversary of the dedication and inauguration of Luther High School North and the 55th anniversary of Luther Institute. Twenty years ago (1944) the Association of Lutheran Secondary Schools was begun. It is directly associated with the history of this school. More directly and of immediate consequence is the formation of the Lutheran High School Association of Greater Chicago, sponsored by the Lutheran Professional & Businessmen's Group. The Lutheran High School Association of Greater Chicago amalgamated with the Luther Institute Association on July 1, 1949, 15 years ago. The services to this organization by men like Walter Kraeft, Albert Merkens, and Leo Buehring ought not be forgotten. This amalgamation of the two associations was of the greatest consequence for the growth and furtherance of Lutheran secondary education in the Chicago area and led directly to the founding of both Luther High School South and Walther Luther High School. The first and only principals of these schools, Mr. Walter Steinberg and Mr. Fred Meyer, will concur with me, I believe, in this opinion. There had been branch schools of Luther Institute during the years. Englewood Luther Institute was in operation as a branch school between 1925 and 1931. A branch school at First Trinity cared for a class of freshmen in 1947–48; from 1947–51 at Christ Church, Austin; 1951–53 at Holy Cross Church here on the North Side. These obviously were temporary measures. Thank God for the blessings of the 3 schools in which there are more than 2,500 students today. The enrollment of 700 at Luther Institute when the school was 40 years old was of great significance, when compared to the 202 students in 1934, at the bottom of the great depression.

Luther Institute and the schools of the Lutheran High School Association have been influenced by the social and economic conditions during the years. Changes in the complexion and the complexities of Chicago and in Chicagoland Lutheranism have taken place over this half century. These have affected these schools. They have been influenced by educational trends during the same period. We think of the 2- and 3-year diplomas that were issued and the changes in the curriculum especially in the late forties. It was a forward-looking faculty that was concerned about curriculum revisions during these years. And curricular concerns must always be major ones for the staff of the school. During these years, too, the emphasis on a Lutheran philosophy of education, on a concern for feeding the lambs and sheep of Christ, the program of religious instruction under the Reverend C. Thies and the strengthening of the devotional life of the school as well as the continuing concern for the guidance program pointed more and more to a realization of the Christ-centered goals of Christian secondary education.

In these emphases the work of Dr. Henry Boettcher should be mentioned. That work has been carried forward by Dr. Louis Menking. He is serving now for 5 years of superintendent for the Lutheran High School Association of Greater Chicago. For 5 years he served as principal of this school and for 11 years before that as assistant principal. We salute him, our friend and coworker, together with his successor Mr. Martin Duensing.

We wish that we could salute others. There are many who have been devoted and dedicated to this cause. Paul in his letters, inspired by the Holy Spirit, spoke of men and women who had served their fellow Christians, as, e.g., in the 16th chapter of his letter to the Romans. He did so in order to encourage others to do the same and even greater measure of service.

II

The sacred writer of the letter to the Jewish Christians, the epistle to the Hebrews ends his letter: "Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you. Grace be with you all. Amen." Just before that, however, he had written (13: 20, 21): "Now the God of peace, that brough again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." It is Christ who gave the will and ability to the men and women who have supported Luther Institute during these 55 years of which the 10 years of Luther High School North are a part.

They heard the question which Christ addressed to Peter, "Do you love Me?" Out of love for Christ, a God-given love, they showed their love for those of the household of faith. Love for Christ must be the motivating force for administrators, teachers, parents, patrons, and supporters of a school like this. This love, yes, is given by God and can come only from God. It is He who made

perfect in every good work, a perfection that can come only from a love for Him who first loved us.

The question comes from the risen Lord. Peter could see the print of the nails in His holy hands and must know the meaning of the blood of the new covenant which He had established by His willing suffering and death, the Shepherd as a sheep before its shearer, the Lamb of God, taking away the sins of the world, yet the great Shepherd of His sheep. His overwhelming love, the all-embracing love of God for those who hated Him, brings forth that love for which He asks, "Do you love Me?"

His foregiving love hallows the labors of men and women despite their frailties and forgives the mistakes and errors that they have made as He covers all their sins. That love from Him engenders a love to Him, a love which enables us to love Him.

Today Christ summons you to an even greater love for Him and a greater readiness to do His will than heretofore. Let the leaders in the administration of the school, the board and the staff pray God for a greater endownment of His love. Christ summons the parents of the students of this school to a greater measure of love to Him who has given them their children as precious gifts for which they are responsible to Him. Our God summons the alumni of this school, of which there are now more than 7,000, to a greater love to Him who showed His love to them also by the love which others have demonstrated in maintaining this school. He summons, too, the students of this school, for whom in the final analysis next to the greater glory of God, as the plaque in the entrance proclaims, this school exists.

Let this love be demonstrated in greater loyalty, greater devotion, greater zeal, a greater measure of support for the school. Christ summons the pastors and the congregations of the Greater Chicago area to a greater love for Him (Christ), that out of love to Christ their readiness to feed the flock of Christ may increase. Let those who are fellow priests of Christ's own in this school demonstrate this love by increasingly larger donations for the building and maintenance funds of this school. "As we therefore have opportunity, let us do good unto all men and especially unto those of the household of faith."

III

For those teaching here and those being taught, the learners in this school are of the household of faith. They are members of the flock of Christ. When Christ had asked that question of Peter, "Do you love me?" He gave him the command, "Feed My lambs," "Tend My sheep," "Feed My sheep." These belong to His flock; He is their shepherd. You see, this is what makes Christian education so important. That noble band of men and women who teach in Lutheran schools, and I am thinking now of those who teach in our Lutheran elementary schools, are feeding the lambs of Christ. Out of love to the chief Shepherd they have dedicated themselves to the nurture and care of training those of whom He says that He carries them in His bosom. Christ's children in our Lutheran high schools are no less His sheep and members of His flock. They belong to Him and that gives a sacredness and a blessedness to all the work being carried on in these schools.

A book recently published has the title, "Are Parochial Schools the Answer?" We are ready to say, "Yes; if you ask the right question." If the church is faithful in her task, ready to carry out the command of Christ, mindful that these young people are Christ's sheep, then in our culture with strongly institutionalized education and in a pluralistic society, then they are necessary.

His sheep are of all ages, but we are thinking now of those in the period of adolescence when they seem to need the careful and understanding nurturing of Christ's servants, cannot be dichotomized or fragmented. When Christ says, "Tend My sheep," He is not concerned only with a partial instruction in what is called religion. He is concerned that the whole person in all his developing powers be cared for and nourished. As the love for Him demands a love of heart, soul, and mind as the nurture of His sheep demands a nurture of heart, soul, and mind. Christ used a comprehensive term when He told Peter, "Tend My sheep." It means much more than just to pasture. It includes the idea of watching over them, of protecting them, of leading and guiding them. It includes, too, the idea of caring for them.

In Christ's flock there are all kinds of sheep. There are the young and the old, the feeble and the lame, "less desirable." In His flock are those who are sick and weak, mangy, and—to use Luther's phrase—have runny noses. The tending is not to be confined to those whose parents have ample income, or those who have the right color of skin. It was a wise decision, one which showed a God-pleasing insight when the leaders of the Lutheran High School Association decided 5 years before the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court that the Lutheran high schools of Greater Chicago would not bar any academically qualified person by reason of race, color, or creed. Self-evidently, we are tempted to say, a love for Christ compels a love for all members of His flock and a concern that all of them be pastured, nourished, and cared for.

This nourishing must be done by the means that He has given even as He gives love and opportunity. The means are the preaching and the teaching of His Word. His substantive and self-revelatory Word is the food and drink by which He nourishes His flock. His Word gives power to the waters of baptism. His Word is the power which by daily repentance and renewal the child of God rises again to newness of life. It is His Word which in the Holy Eucharist gives the blessings of that sacrament. It is Word in the chapel exercises, the devotional periods of this school, that here too is the power of God to make men wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus and is profitable for instruction and for correction of doctrine, for reproof of wrongdoing and for instruction in what is right, for comfort and for strengthening. It is His Word which gives shape and substance to the training of the whole person in this school. His Word is the spiritual food of His people, it is the vitamins, minerals, carbohydrates, the protein they need for their souls. His Word is used as the lotion and the medicine for those who are spiritually sick. It serves, if we may use Luther's picture again, as the salve and bandage for the sheep that have been hurt or cut or crippled. Because His Word is the means used in this school there is an inexplicable blessedness to the task of feeding His sheep and tending His flock. His Word gives meaning and validity to this school.

By His Word there is increase in knowledge of Him and a readiness to do His will. By His Word there is growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. By His Word there is a readiness to do His will, to be steadfast, unmovable, abounding in the work of the Lord. His Word gives substance and character to this school and the training imparted here and the learnings achieved here.

Because of that blessedness we pray God that this school may continue to nurture the sheep of Christ's flock. As we give thanks to God for the blessings of the past 10 years, yes for the blessings of the past 55 years in connection with this school, for the men and women who have labored for and in this school, we ask Him for a greater measure of love and devotion to this central task of nourishing His sheep. To that end may He bless all of you. In His name. Amen.

Upgrading Education for Negro Students and Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, as we try to perfect a law to carry out the civil rights guarantees of our Constitution, we in Congress also must recognize that our goal will be reached only as citizens move on many fronts to make equal opportunity a fact.

For 3 years, Dr. William Hale Negro president of Langston University, Langston, Okla., has moved quietly to remove any educational inadequacies among Negro students. Langston's faculty has been given accelerated, high-quality training in all areas of learning that involve freshmen. Subject matter has been upgraded. An effort has been made to coordinate all possible experiences in class and out of class to the students' growth. Efforts at promoting rapid intellectual and cultural growth have been aimed at first year college students but have affected the entire student body.

Dr. Hale's desire to improve Negro education in Oklahoma also has led to campus conferences for secondary school teachers and entertainment on campus of nearly 3,000 sixth-graders in a program to prevent dropouts.

As the Office of Education, the American Council on Education, and the Carnegie Corp.-Rockefeller Foundation programs make national efforts to improve Negro education, on a national front, I want to call attention to Langston University's pioneering efforts. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a newspaper article describing Dr. Hale's program in more detail.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oklahoma City (Okla.) Times, June 4, 1964]

EDUCATORS MAP ATTACK ON LOW STANDARD NEGRO EDUCATION

(By Mary Jo Nelson)

Ranking educators have developed a new broad plan to overcome what they call lower standards for American Negro education.

A $400,000 grant from the Carnegie Corp., and the Ford Foundation is financing intense summer training seminars solely for teachers from Negro colleges and universities.

However, an Oklahoma plan already has progressed far in remedying any inadequacies that handicap State Negro young people.

Langston University initiated 3 years ago a daring self-improvement plan devised by its forceful president, Dr. William H. Hale.

Expanded each succeeding year, the plan has given Langston's faculty high-quality, accelerated training an all areas of learning that involve freshmen.

It was Dr. Hale's first major undertaking after becoming Langston administrator. Now, he would like to see his idea extended to every Negro high school teacher in the State.

Besides helping faculty members advance in their separate fields, the Langston plan is extensively upgrading subject matter, and

works at promoting rapid intellectual and cultural growth of all first-year students.

Reaching every freshman, Dr. Hale said the program aims at "coordinating all possible experiences in class and out of class" to the students' growth.

"We decided to aim all our guns on the freshmen, hoping this would filter through as the years go by," the president said.

First step, in 1961, was calling in as consultant Dr. Allison Davis, of the University of Chicago College of Education. He was joined a year later by Prof. Benjamin Bloom, also a University of Chicago education professor.

"Dr. Davis probably knows as much about the relation of social class and learning as any man in America," Dr. Hale said.

The two consultants worked with Langston officials to map a full-range freshman faculty development-study program.

A core faculty group was formed with representatives from all areas of freshman experience—mathematics, physical and biological sciences, social science, health and physical education, and out-of-class experiences.

Committees were framed for each area, and the various sections meet regularly to continually plan for improved instruction and learning. Laboratories were established for reading, modern languages, speech, and mathematics.

How-to-study clinics involved every freshman. A fully new course in humanities was developed as a result of the successive steps.

During the year that just ended Langston became the first institution of its region to join a coast-to-coast telelecture program that links college campuses by telephone for lectures from world leaders in literature, sciences, and other fields.

Students can personally question the great figures following the lectures.

Langston's plan included a stepped-up cultural program on campus, and transportation of students to cultural activities and exhibits in nearby sites.

To extend the program beyond the campus borders, and so spread its results, Langston has sponsored 1-day conferences each year for secondary school teachers in the areas of language, arts, guidance, mathematics, counseling, extra class activities, health and physical education, social studies, and sciences.

In an effort to combat school dropouts among Negroes the university has brought sixth graders (1,200 the first year, 1,500 the second) and their teachers to campus for a day of intensive exposure to the need for education beyond the elementary level.

Results of all this is not yet measurable, and may never be.

But all he has accomplished so far merely fuels Dr. Hale's desire to improve Negro education in Oklahoma.

With halfway financing, he said, Langston could drastically alter the preparedness of all Negro secondary teachers in the State. He has a detailed plan ready.

Independent Unions Need To Be Heard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, recently I spoke on the floor of the House on the need for recognizing the important role of small or independent unions. In that speech I reminded my colleagues of Resolution 137 that I introduced which would create a House Committee on Independent Unions and unrecognized labor groups. I pointed out that independent unions represent probably 30 million workers out of our total work force of around 70 million. I said:

The Department of Labor is oversolicitous of big labor whose voice is heard in all corridors * * * It is important that the voice of independent labor be heard, particularly when it expresses a point of view contrary to that of big labor. (RECORD, March 4, 1964, p. A4175.)

Since small business is recognized as the lifeblood of our economic endeavor, small unions deserve to be given similar recognition.

An article by Roger M. Rettig, president of the National Federation of Independent Unions, which appeared in the president's column of the Union Labor News Review for June 1964, discusses a specific instance where the voice of independent labor unions was not given a chance. Mr. Rettig stated that when President Johnson called a meeting of labor leaders recently to hear the opinions of labor, not one representative of independent unions was included. Rather, the group represented a favored minority. Since his article expresses clearly the need for independent unions to be included in such meetings and to be heard when the views of all labor is considered, under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD:

WHO SPEAKS FOR LABOR?

(By Roger M. Rettig, president, National Federation of Independent Unions)

Recently, President Johnson called a meeting of labor leaders to discuss matters of importance to their unions, their membership and the general public. He presented his views on what labor could do to benefit the national economy.

The labor leaders present at the meeting were supposed to present the views of labor—all labor.

I believe that meetings of this kind are absolutely essential to a progressive national economy. The President acted wisely in recognizing that he must have the opinion of labor before making decisions affecting the working people of the country.

But did the labor leaders invited to the meeting truly represent the attitudes and interests of the majority of the Nation's labor force? Not one person present could speak for the great number of independent unions scattered across the country.

When George Meany presents his views he does not speak for all labor. The AFL–CIO represents 12,500,000 workers in the United States. (This figure is the AFL–CIO's own and they have never been known to underestimate their numbers.) Mr. Meany, then, speaks for 12½ million people.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, tells us that there are about 70 million persons gainfully employed in this country. That means that Mr. Meany and other AFL–CIO officers actually represent the smaller portion of the total labor force. More than 57 million workers were not represented at the President's meeting.

Let's look at another statistic. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 88th Congress, 2d session, states: "The AFL–CIO represents approximately 14 million workers out of a work force of around 70 million. Probably 30 million workers are members of unaffiliated independent unions."

When the President of the United States desires the opinion of labor, all segments of the working force should be represented. Not just the favored minority.

Of course the AFL–CIO should be present at any general meeting of labor representatives, but they should only share space at the conference table with spokesmen for independent unions like the independent railroad brotherhoods, the Teamsters, the United Mine Workers and the National Federation of Independent Unions.

At a time when the President and other national officials are plugging civil rights, the rights of minorities, an actual majority of a segment of the population is involved in discrimination.

The National Federation of Independent Unions (NFIU) has been fighting to correct this unjust situation and will continue to do so.

Montana Flood Control Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report I have received on the status of Federal disaster assistance activities in Montana, under date of June 19, 1964, signed by Edward A. McDermott, Director, Office of Emergency Planning.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONTANA FLOOD CONTROL REPORT

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, OFFICE OF EMERGENCY PLANNING,
Washington, D.C., June 19, 1964.

Hon. MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The following is a report on the status of Federal disaster assistance activities in Montana.

The latest casualty report obtained from the OEP field office in Great Falls indicates 12 known dead and 20 missing or presumed dead.

Current estimates of property damage are:

Public	$21,216,500
Private	41,406,900
Total	62,623,400

The staff operating out of the OEP field office in Great Falls have taken the following actions during the past few days:

The Corps of Engineers was requested on June 17 to perform emergency repairs to the sewers and streets of the town of Choteau, and to restore the water system, sewer lagoon, and streets in the town of Shelby. The corps started the work immediately.

OEP has requested the Corps of Engineers to erect a Bailey bridge on a Federal aid system road at the town of Essex, Flathead County. This was authorized to permit access to persons living in an isolated area of the county.

On June 16, OEP directed the Corps of Engineers to give immediate attention to the possible breaching of the Bynum Reservoir Dam in Choteau due to snow runoff and erosion. Immediate corrective action will be taken if trouble develops.

At the request of the mayor of Choteau, a U.S. Public Health Service engineer has made an inspection of the water system. If his report indicates repairs are required, we will authorize them immediately.

OEP authorized Toole County to take immediate action to remove a health hazard which has resulted from dead livestock and the need to spray to suppress insects. Such work is eligible for reimbursement under Public Law 875.

Cascade County is carrying out a spraying program to relieve a mosquito problem. This has been certified as a public health hazard and will be reimbursable under Public Law 875.

OEP representatives have met with local officials in affected areas to discuss requirements for additional Federal assistance and to review Public Law 875 procedures.

Other Federal agencies are taking the following actions:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is making tents available for displaced Indians in the Browning area.

The Bureau of Reclamation inspected Tiber Reservoir to locate and remove dead livestock reported to be in the lake. No carcasses were found but the Bureau will continue to be alert to this possibility.

The Bureau of Public Roads is taking action to have the roads on the Federal-aid system repaired. This includes repairs to the county roads leading to the missile sites in Cascade County.

A Public Health Service engineer made an engineering inspection of the water system in East Glacier Park on June 17. The county is making the necessary repairs and will be reimbursed by OEP.

On the recommendation of a USPHS sanitarian, OEP has authorized spraying where necessary in Cascade County to prevent a serious health hazard from fly infestations.

With regard to your inquiries concerning the Swift Dam and certain irrigation districts, we are investigating whether these facilities are eligible under Public Law 875. Our field staff is developing information on this and has asked the Bureau of Reclamation for a report on the facilities and the extent of the damages. Here in Washington, we have talked with Bureau of Reclamation officials and understand that they are developing a position on this. We will need additional information from the State and the Bureau of Reclamation before we can make a determination on eligibility. When a determination is made you will be promptly notified.

We will continue to do everything possible to speed repair work and assistance to alleviate this disaster situation.

Sincerely,

EDWARD A. MCDERMOTT,
Director.

Happy Birthday, Governor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Gov. David L. Lawrence is one of the outstanding political figures of our time. He served as mayor of Pittsburgh and Governor of Pennsylvania. Today he serves with great distinction as Chairman of President Johnson's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. At this desk this week he observed his 75th birthday. This beloved Democrat deserves the best wishes of his fellow countrymen.

An editorial marking his birthday follows:

LAWRENCE AT 75

To watch him in action, few people would guess that Pennsylvania's most durable and best known political figure, David L. Lawrence, is 75 years old today.

Characteristically, Mr. Lawrence will observe the occasion not in sentimental partying but at the more serious business to which he has devoted a long and energetic life—the service of government. He will be at his desk in Washington, where he serves the Johnson administration as Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

On Monday of this week Mr. Lawrence attended the sort of party he enjoys most and came away with a fitting present. At a harmony meeting of the Democratic State Committee in Harrisburg, he was again named Democratic national committeeman from Pennsylvania, a position he has held since 1940.

This is the latest recognition of a political career that has spanned 61 years; at the age of 14, Mr. Lawrence went to work for the then Pittsburgh Democratic chairman, the late William J. Brennan, and he has been at it ever since. He has attended every Democratic National Convention in an official capacity since 1912, when he served as a page boy, and is looking forward to the party clambake in Atlantic City in August.

While Mr. Lawrence has much to look back upon with satisfaction during more than half a century in public life, his most rewarding experiences came during an unprecedented 13-year tenure as mayor of Pittsburgh and 4 years as Governor of Pennsylvania. He has served the public and his party with great distinction. Citizens of all parties might well join us in wishing him the happiest of birthdays and many more years of public service.

What the Bill Isn't—Editorial on the Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Nation has watched for months the progress of the civil rights bill pending before us. Newspapers have editorialized from North to South in every degree of favor or of opposition.

In a recent editorial, the Indianapolis Star has made once more the well-taken point that the civil rights bill is "not a contract for instant completion" of the house of good will in America, but that the solution to racial problems "lies beyond the law in the mind, heart and hand of all Americans."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "What the Bill Isn't," which was published in the June 14 Indianapolis Star, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT THE BILL ISN'T

There no longer is any doubt that a civil rights bill will pass Congress, amended in some particulars and softened in others, but essentially the sort of legislation demanded as a means to resolve the racial problem in America.

Will it?

It is this question and not the question of the bill that is of grave import in the immediate future and over the broader scope of history. This is the question that must be faced up to squarely by all segments of the American people.

Perhaps one of the most important tasks that will face those who support this bill will be to put this question before the American public. More than that, there is every reason to believe that they must warn that the answer to the question is far in the future.

No one has yet found a way to look ahead with any degree of certainty, and therefore the instruction of history is still the only known grounds from which a start may be made. The history of civil rights laws as a panacea for racial difficulties is not encouraging. Indeed, New York City with a massive body of administrative, legislative and judicial law on this subject offers an unpleasant object lessen in what such statutes cannot do. By any odds, New York City has a racial climate that defies comparison with any other part of the Nation. Where else has any body of citizens found it necessary to form a vigilante group to protect themselves from racial assaults? Is this the prospect that faces America in every city and town when a Federal law is in force rather than a municipal code in a particular city?

The racial issue is no longer confined to the States of the old Confederacy. It may be comforting to point the finger of scorn at Birmingham, but the ugly facts of racial prejudice by both Negroes and whites can be seen all too clearly outside the South. The civil rights bill will not amount to a legalized witch hunt in Alabama or Virginia, whatever the problems there.

The civil rights bill will apply in all States. In all States, even with Federal enforcement, the fundamental racial issue will remain to be resolved.

The bill to be passed by Congress and signed by President Johnson does not mark the year of jubilee when every citizen gets the space-age equivalent of 40 acres and a mule.

The civil rights bill can do no more than provide a legal fence around the lot on which a house of good will must be erected. Work on that house began long ago, and the work must continue, but the civil rights bill is not a contract for instant completion.

To say this is not to remonstrate for "patience," nor to speak for massive resistance on the bastions of segregation. The civil rights bill must, however, for the good of all citizens, be viewed realistically for what it is.

This law, when it is passed, is a means, but by no stretch of the imagination is it an end in itself, a patented solution to the racial problems of America. The solution lies beyond the law in the mind, heart and hand of all Americans.

Extremism and the Negro Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, in the Saturday Evening Post of June 20, 1964, there appears an editorial entitled "Extremism and the Negro Revolution," which I think should be brought to the attention of every Member of this Senate. This editorial very vividly spells out the dangers of mob action, demonstrations, and the like for the accomplishment of any goal in our democratic society. In particular, this editorial shows how the so-called nonviolent dem-

onstrations on the part of Negroes to achieve certain goals have gotten out of hand. As the Post states, "Responsible Negro leaders have lost control of the revolution." When the pattern of efforts by Negroes to reach certain social goals turned to sit-downs, sit-ins, and lay-ins, I called on the late President of the United States and others with voice of authority to discourage such activity because as I warned them, these demonstrations would provoke violence and hatred and do more to harm than to help. I hope it is not too late for the radicals pushing the so-called Negro revolution to turn them away from violence which is costing the lives of Americans every day and which is degrading our civilization and turning our streets into jungles of terror. I hate to think what is in store for us this summer if the present trend is not stopped. There are reports of organizations in the North financing hundreds of Negroes to make agitation and demonstration trips into the South this summer. It would be my hope that responsible officials in the Justice Department would issue a warning that troublemakers will not be tolerated. As the Saturday Evening Post editorial points out, violence can only lead to violence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTREMISM AND THE NEGRO REVOLUTION

In Washington, D.C., recently an old man was sitting on his front porch enjoying a warm spring evening. A pair of Negro youths happened by, and one of them said to the other, ""There's a white man. Let's get him." The two Negro youths beat up the old man, and he was taken to a hospital, badly mauled.

This brutal little episode is part of a growing pattern of senseless Negro violence and of stupid, self-defeating tactics that are doing great harm to the Negro cause. Examples are occurring all across the country:

In Jacksonville, Fla., three Negro youths triggered racial violence by tossing Molotov cocktails and light bulbs filled with paint at the Burns-for-Governor election headquarters. (Jacksonville Mayor Haydon Burns had incensed Negroes by clamping down on racial demonstrations.)

In Berkeley, Calif., and San Francisco, Negro demonstrators protesting hiring policies loaded supermarket carts with food, let cashiers ring up their purchases, then "suddenly decided" they didn't want the food.

In San Francisco's Sheraton-Palace Hotel, demonstrating Negroes (also protesting hiring policies) blocked doorways, instituted an all-night siege in the lobby, preventing customers from entering or leaving the hotel.

In San Francisco, demonstrators protesting hiring policies at automobile agencies entered showrooms, disrupted business by sitting in display cars and lying on the floor under cars and around them.

In Atlanta, Ga., demonstrating Negroes entered a segregated restaurant and urinated on the floor.

A wave of racial violence broke over New York. Negro teenagers mugged two Columbia University professors. A gang of about 20 Negro hoodlums terrorized a subway in Brooklyn, beat and robbed white passengers, smashed windows and light bulbs. In a separate episode, on another train, 4 Negro youths threatened a motorman and 40 passengers with a meat cleaver. A policeman was mobbed by 11 Negro youths when he attempted to break up a fight between a white man and a group of young Negroes. On the Staten Island ferry, two dozen Negro youths ran amok, swept food and drinks off the refreshment counter and took $90 from the cash register. In the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, Hasidic Jews organized a fleet of radio patrol cars to protect their fellow citizens from marauding Negroes.

It is time everyone recognized the fact that the Negro revolution has taken a very ugly turn. More and more violence for the sheer sake of violence and demonstrations without specific purpose are taking place. In Nashville, Tenn., as a Negro demonstration erupted into violence recently, a Negro leader, the Reverend J. Metz Rollins, said "You don't have to have any specific objectives. This is a protest against being a Negro in this country." A Negro speaker in Cambridge, Md., recently told his audience, "We are radicals, not moderates. Moderates negotiate with whites; radicals renounce them."

It would be hard to exaggerate the explosive potential of this situation. The respected Negro author, Louis Lomax, says, "The recent disclosures of antiwhite Negro gangs in Harlem are but a minor leak of a major development in the mass Negro community. It has been common knowledge among Negro reporters and social critics that the black masses of New York, Chicago and other cities are arming themselves. More than a year ago I wrote that the Negro masses have lost faith in the basic integrity of white people; that they were on the verge of taking matters into their own violent hands."

If the Negro continues to resort to violence, the white man inevitably will react with violence. The result will be a disaster for everyone, especially the Negro. Simple arithmetic makes this so. Negroes comprise 10 percent of the population. Without the help of a substantial segment of the white population, they will never achieve their lawful objectives. The Negro for ages has deplored the lawlessness and violence inflicted upon him by the white man. He cannot now turn to these methods and expect others to support him. Criminality is criminality no matter who is the offender. It can never be excused, condoned or rationalized. The Negro, if he turns to violence, will forfeit the moral suasion of his cause.

The tragic fact today is that the Negro is leaderless. Responsible Negro leaders have lost control of the revolution. The trend toward violence is the gravest threat to that revolution. It not only alienates the Negro's friends, it creates a barrier between the races that may one day be insuperable.

The Post has always believed, and still deeply believes, that the American Negro must be accorded full citizenship as expeditiously as possible. But lawlessness and violence can never be the way to achieve this objective.

At a Negro rally in Cambridge, Md., recently Washington Post editor Stewart Alsop sat next to a Negro woman who was chanting "Freedom, freedom." Alsop asked her specifically what it was that she wanted. Was it jobs, better housing, or more school integration? The questions seemed merely to irritate her. "Can't you understand?" she said. "We want freedom, freedom, now."

Every Negro who is tempted toward extremism should ask himself what can be accomplished by pointless violence. The answer is "Nothing." The Negro, the white man, the Nation can only lose.

S. 527 Puts Government in Bracero Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is strange that some will condemn a farmer, or a labor contractor, for "immoral" acts, but if the Federal Government does the same thing it magically becomes moral.

One of my constituents who is knowledgeable and practical about the farm labor problem writes me as follows:

DEAR MR. TALCOTT: I am writing on the subject of S. 527, providing for interstate recruitment of agricultural labor.

This legislation makes for a so-called program for Americans like Public Law 78 was for Mexicans. However, there is one essential difference. The bracero comes in under contract without his family, to do agricultural work after it has been established there is no domestic worker available. Under S. 527, the domestic worker moves with his family from job to job, with the Department of Labor becoming the labor contractor.

This opens several avenues of thought. The first is, in order to get a worker, what industry in these United States is compelled to take a family and provide adequate housing for that whole family, contract to give this employee a minimum number of hours work in an undefined period of employment (to be covered by regulations of the Secretary of Labor)? There is no industry in these United States that is forced to take workers just because the Secretary of Labor says they are qualified—in the event they are not, of course, he will replace them with another worker, but in the meanwhile, our Department of Agriculture has not yet been able to come up with a growing system that would wait until the Secretary of Labor has found suitable workers. Because his crops are maturing, the farmer either harvests poorly with unsatisfactory labor or losing the crop is the result.

These people that will form this migratory army are people that need and should be helped, but because they are a social problem, they are everyone's problem and not that of the farmer alone. Because no one else—no other industry wants them, why make them the ward of agriculture? Again, what other industry is compelled to do this? They are a social problem. This should require a social solution and not one that just rearranges their problem. It seems to me that these people will migrate more only it's under the Department of Labor, which of course, rearranges it, but where is home? Isn't this part of the social problem—the moving—nothing to hang on to—no place to call home? Children without continuity of education, because of continuous moving. These problems still are there. Are these people not herded, as critics of the bracero program say, like cattle, consigned to a grower, transported after being procured on a free-on-board basis? Or is the difference that the grower is going to provide suitable housing—does this give the whole program absolution? Rather, does it simply provide the Department of Labor the iron grip of a monstrous bureaucracy with the power of domination and control over many poor socially needy people. The govern-

ment of, for, and by the people becomes the government over these people.

It seems to me that nothing is solved for them—they will move more than ever over greater distances than ever—the name of the bill indicates this. Is this truly helping them, by continuing their plight only this time under the Government?

It certainly doesn't help the farmer in our State, by giving him an uncertain supply of labor under the control of the Department of Labor that he must provide family housing for, when economically he finds it tough to provide adequate housing for his own family. He is the one that will be forced to join this nomad army.

It certainly will not raise wages, because it won't raise all wages. The part of the country, most dependent upon this labor, will be under the control of the Secretary of Labor for cost and under supply and demand for return. It will only dry up the segment under the Department of Labor, because they cannot compete with their less dependent brothers.

Thus far, we haven't helped the unfortunate migrant or the farmer; only the bureaucrat. This social problem of the migrant is too serious and human to be used as window-dressing for what is going on in the back room. They are human beings in need of help. This is a social problem belonging to every citizen of these United States and it must be solved on this basis—not given to George to do it because no one else wants them. If the problem is to be solved, it must be approached from this basis. They need a home and most of all, education. Why not start there?

Sincerely,

STEPHEN D'ARRIGO, Jr.

If those Members of Congress who once suggested—quite erroneously—that the bracero program was immoral will study S. 527, they will discover that the bill enables the Federal Government to traffic in human beings. No agency is more ill equipped to deal with or handle the problem.

S. 527 is a wholly wrong solution to a problem which cries out for understanding first—then, and only then, a solution.

Man in the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a glance at Who's Who in America capsulizes the accomplishments and versatility of Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus. He is both meteorologist and oceanographer. He won Air Force and Navy awards in World War II for efforts in space as well as undersea.

We in Washington State remember with affection his direction of the U.S. science exhibit at our Seattle World's Fair in 1962.

Those who attended the banquet in Washington, D.C., Thursday, June 17, highlighting the first Navy symposium on military oceanography remember Dr. Spilhaus for another reason.

In his remarks, Dr. Spilhaus provoked thought. He pictured the oceans as a new challenge. He believed that a "Sea Sea Sea" program on water could be every bit as productive as the CCC program was on land during the 1930's.

But let Dr. Spilhaus' words paint the vivid picture in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that he sketched so brilliantly in his Thursday night address. Lacking only is the force of voice because the force of conviction remains to live and grow in the printed words.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Spilhaus' address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAN IN THE SEA

Military oceanography should be all oceanography. It should aim toward the occupation of the seas. By occupation, I do not mean exclusive occupation, but in the sense we are occupying Antarctica. When you occupy a place, whether it be an enemy country, an uninhabited arctic waste, or the moon, or the depths of the sea, essentially you have to start by worrying about five simple basic things for people to live: water, food, shelter, power, and a way to get back and forth. The aims of military oceanography are just as broad as these, and therefore it includes all research toward these ends and overlaps and even duplicates in harmony with research toward the peaceful exploitation and colonization of the sea. Man is going to colonize the oceans, and it might just as well be our men. We want to do it better than anyone else, so we must be able to move faster in the sea, to go deeper, stay down longer, to exploit more with resources, and to have more power, whether it be firepower to protect or power for marine industries. And above all, we must understand more about the sea than anyone else * * * its interface * * * and interaction of the atmosphere * * * its bottom and deep into its bottom * * * its shorelines * * * the motions within its bulk * * * and about everything it contains * * * the life and chemicals in it * * *. We must be superior in all of these respects to our competitors.

Whether they be competitors in an economic sense or in a military sense, the search we make to do these things better is the same. It is great to know that we now recognize the inadequacy of our ocean surveys. The fact is that less than 5 percent of the ocean floor is properly surveyed. Almost every expedition that goes out finds a new mountain rising from the bottom of the sea. Years ago when the National Academy of Oceanography was first started, I made the since oftquoted remark that, "the oceans' bottom is at least as interesting as the moon's backside." It didn't do much good. We know the topography of the surface of the moon far better than the bottom of the ocean. But great strides have been made. By the use of computers, a scientist said recently, upon returning from the Indian Ocean, that 85 percent of the data was in preliminary publishable form before he landed back in this country. It used to take years to publish the results of an expedition. But this data is mainly physical data, and there remains the immense problem of the biogeography of the sea. We need automatic methods for preliminary sorting of plankton. All the taxonomists in the world, without machine aid cannot hope to tackle the job of surveying, even in a preliminary way, the things that live in the sea. Plankton collectors, with automatic sorters and transmission to electronic computer data analysis and storage units must be provided for biology too. Who knows what military applications there may be beyond the immediate ones of biological studies that we see; noises in the sea and fish communication, biological power supplies, and food. In my opinion there is every justification for military support to all phases of marine biology, if we look at the military objective in broad terms as the ultimate occupation of the sea.

We are already beginning to occupy the sea. There was recently a symposium on buoys, a meeting at which all kinds of platforms in the sea were discussed. These were as radically different from conventional ships as could be. Manned and unmanned, surface or submerged, for observation or for actual doing, mining, fishing and other ways of exploiting sea resources. Ships and buoys and then much more sophisticated complexes of platforms will form future oceanic cities, and lead to the occupation of the surface of the sea. Is it not a military objective to assist in the maintenance and distribution of the thousands of floating buoys all over the world oceans that are essential to the electronic forecasting computers both for weather prediction and oceanic prediction?

Meteorological engineering, which received its impetus 30 years ago from the needs of aviation, is a little better off than the oceans; but even so, only 20 percent of the earth's surface is marginally covered by surface and upper air observing stations as measured against the needs of modern electronic computer forecasting methods. Numerical analysis of the interactions of the global hydrosphere and atmosphere requires observations from all over the globe. There must be no edges of the map where we run out of data. The combination of a thousand buoys floating in the sea and a thousand balloons at each of four altitudes in the atmosphere and several polar, orbiting satellites in the sky is one of the ways now envisaged to gather the data needed for both oceanic and weather predictions.

At the same time, we are beginning to go down. The rash of new experimental submarines is good to see. The beginning experiments such as the Navy-sponsored ones, to stay for long periods of time 200 feet down, are the next step toward occupying the ocean depths. Magnificent work has been done in the exploration of the deep sea sediments and the earth's crust below the sea by ingenious, remote seismic methods, by the coring and drilling of the ocean bottom, and already phosphorites and diamonds are being taken commercially from the shelves in the sea with the possibility of nodules as an inexhaustible source of other metals in the future.

The deep-diving vessels will provide the first prospecting with a man-on-the-spot on the bottom of the ocean. The little deep-diving submarines will be the burros of the ocean prospector. Is it not certainly a military objective to see whether other strategic material can provide us with ready reserves from the sea? Is it not a military objective to explore the possibility of concentrating minerals in useful quantities by using biological organisms?

I am probably just the wrong person to talk about military oceanography, because I really do not understand the difference between military oceanography and peaceful oceanography. It seems to me that whenever you qualify a field or a word, you necessarily limit the scope. To invert and paraphrase a former Secretary of Defense's words * * * "What's good for national oceanography is good for military oceanography." And, I might add, vice versa. It is something like the debates that we used to have with the Russians on the free flow of information. They would always want to qualify the word information with the prefix "factual." But as soon as you talk about factual information, you have to have an omniscient censor in order to tell what is factual and what isn't. Who is the omniscient farseeing swami who can say what oceanographic research has future military objectives?

All oceanographic knowledge must ultimately have an application. Sooner or later whether we live in peace or whether it is for our defense or for purposes of waging war, it is desirable, at least at the research level, to have the widest possible breadth of interest. Military objectives are absolutely essential for the military for they relate to the day-to-day readiness. Research is at the other end of the time scale of preparedness. To attempt to guide research by trying to see what is of military importance, is to limit it, because what we, or the Secretary of Defense sees as having direct military relevance is only the things that are right in front of our noses. The real research in the oceans that will lead to our national strength in the future are the things that we don't know the use of yet.

Our military, because of the insistence on military objectives for research are hampered from ranging in their research of the oceans as broadly as they would wish to. In fact, considering the constraint placed upon them, they have done pretty well. Isn't it lucky that the wonderful work being done at the naval observatory in measuring the distance to the stars does not have to have to be justified by an immediate military objective?

Any limitations are hampering. Experimental vessels used to have to have a fleet designation which took a lot of the experiment out of them. When scientists urged to secure the bathyscaph *Trieste*, it was on the basis that she would find and do things that we didn't yet know. She was indeed useful in the unfortunate and certainly unpredicted *Thresher* disaster. What will the new submarine *Alvin* look for? The best answer is "the things we don't know." Only very broad range science can give you readiness for the unexpected. So that the very readiness that the military strive for, necessitates research and exploration in the broadest possible sense.

I have spoken of one thing, broadening—there are other things that could be improved in the overall support of oceanography. There are still many little irritating requirements that buzz around like swarms of mosquitoes and often becloud the grand common objectives. The requirements of how to run and man research vessels, the nit picking, bookkeeping associated with funding by projects is a nonsensical waste of time and effort. Projectitis is a serious disease—the symptoms are that people spend more time assessing what percentage of a ship or a man should be paid out of what pocket than doing the research. Somehow we must weave the strength of the Navy and other Government agencies, our industries and our universities together.

We must add know-how, seamanship, and tradition of the Navy to the productive muscle power of our great industries and add to both of these the reservoir of new ideas and research that pours out of the best brains of our universities. We must add them in such a way that they compliment each other with mutual respect for their individual, extraordinary capabilities so that the whole becomes much greater than the sum of the parts. We must remove the separation both physical and intellectual between naval laboratories and academic institutions. We must remove the focus on immediacies from Navy laboratories and incline them to broader problems which would provide a different environment which would attract scientists equally to their labs who now prefer academic institutions or industry. We must avoid the idea that because a thing becomes large in scope, it necessarily must be Government controlled. We must find a way of getting away from the great waste of time that is entailed in building a national program from the bottom up by the addition of thousands of little individual projects to some scheme of supporting in larger chunks institutions, laboratories, and industries that have good people and allowing their good freedom of search to make the program. We must find ways of instrumenting large sections of the oceans for experimental purposes, and make these available or even under control of private institutions and industries as well as the Navy so that their scientists will be encouraged to undertake the large-scaled kind of engineering experimentation that is necessary for the occupation of the sea. Providing these great facilities, to universities is no different than providing them with high energy machines for nuclear physics. We should ask teams of the great American contractors to begin the design and building of undersea bases. Contracting engineers that were able to cope with the special problems of bases in the Pacific, camps in the desert, and bases in the Arctic wastes can provide the talent for massive ocean engineering.

We must make sure that the gap that lies between our findings in marine science and research * * * and the users, the fishermen, sailors, and miners of the sea, is filled by adequate and competent oceanic engineering.

We must lay the ghost of the bogy "duplication" to rest. When things are in the idea or experimental stage, different approaches of different minds to the same problem is the best way of finding an optimum solution, and, as to cost, why should we not have a few scientists thinking about the same problems? Why can't we afford this if we can afford the duplication of the routine of growing and regrowing wheat to be stored in silos?

Furthermore, when we have to cut costs in R. & D., we must cut the big D so that we can increase the little R and still achieve a net reduction. This way a small percentage cut of development costs represents a large increase in research work and produces new ideas to put in the bank for the future.

One suggestion that I made in the past that might help to achieve these things that we must do is to establish the concept of "sea grant colleges" in our existing universities that have a wish to develop oceanic work. The sea grant college at an established university would not only focus attention on marine science, but would develop strengths in the applications of it in colleges of aquaculture and oceanic engineering. These would be a modernized parallel of the great developments in agriculture and the mechanic arts which were occasioned by the Land Grant Act of about a hundred years ago. Basic funds, undesignated except that they be used by sea grant colleges could be obtained in much the way that agricultural support has been obtained in the past. The sea grant college, being able to draw on all the strengths of a great university, could capitalize on the interplay of different disciplines focused on the sea. We need, for example, a new look at the law of the sea as it relates to the emerging exploitation of mineral resources, aquaculture, and all the uses of the sea to promote national economic well-being and strength.

This is perhaps one of the most important and difficult of the marine problems to be tackled. Somehow we must bridge the dichotomy of preserving the traditional international freedom of the seas, and making investment in the exploitation of the oceans feasible. It's an interesting thing that groups of distinguished lawyers were speculating and developing space law before the first sputnik orbited; yet we merely whittle at the antiquated marine law when forced to by an item on the agenda of an international congress or a crisis. People who deal with the sea should sit down with distinguished lawyers with a view to a complete overhaul in the light of the imminent occupation and exploitation of the oceans. The sea grant colleges could join with their great university law schools and begin tackling this problem. The sea grant colleges would be responsible units who could manage and use the great experimental instrumented tracts of the ocean which are necessary. Just as the land-grant colleges work closely with and often in physical proximity to Government, agricultural laboratories, naval and other Government agency laboratories could be situated on their campuses or on their shores. Sea grant colleges would also form a focus upon which industry could build. The rash of ocean industries that is growing up might tend to cluster around them. Curriculums for regular or reserve Government agencies could be available there. A marine extension service where harbor and seagoing agents of the colleges plucked the research out of their laboratories and translated useful findings into terms where they could be used by the exploiters of the sea would be developed.

The United States is in a very sad position, in comparison to other nations, with respect to fisheries and merchant marine. When the Russians fish on our doorstep with modern, efficient factory ships, and associated catchers, people scream. When the Japanese outfish us, not only on our doorstep but on the high seas, by superior methods, people scream. They ask for protection, by such means as extending territorial waters. Isn't it strange that we, the most technologically advanced nation in the world and we who have achieved this position by healthy, imaginative, vigorous competition should now look to protective measures? Why don't we go out and outfish these people on the high-seas? Could not the military take the initiative to bring to bear the combined strengths of the triumvirate, government agency, industry, and the universities, to upgrade our fishing industry and shipping industry. This would not only strengthen the fishing and shipping industries but would be to the advantage of the Navy. Most navies of the world augment their naval strength by much closer relationship with fishing and merchant shipping, than is the case with us. Why is Russia building fish factories in African countries? Not merely out of concern for protein-starved people, but surely as an important part of global military strategy.

This is the solution, and all it requires is a new three M's—men, money, and imagination. Sea grant colleges can spot bright young men with imagination that crop up in the most unlikely places. To get money, it is not necessary to have a monolithic NASA and it is not even desirable because monopolies in government present the same danger as monopolies in business, a lack of competition. Imagination thrives when it is allowed to freewheel, and not when it is meshed in a preset, predirected immense train of cogwheels.

As to money, we have a new kind of economics—I applaud our space program because even though we could live without parts of it, without them we could have an immense amount of intellectual unemployment. The space program is great and imaginative. But some parts are a high-level WPA project, and if we can afford this why can't we have a prototype of the CCC—Civilian Conservation Corps—The new CCC would be spelled Sea, Sea, Sea. The Sea, Sea, Sea program could be made just as exciting, just as glamorous to the living areas on land. Our men who go down to the depths of the sea facing the immense pressures of the deeps are courageous and admirable pioneers. Let us dramatize "Man In the Sea."

The oceans offer us military, recreational, educational, economic, artistics, and intellectual outlets of unlimited scope. Thus, it offers us more space than space itself in which to remain human. The sea * * * beautiful, elegant, strong, dangerous, and whimsical * * * challenges us to develop a program for "Man in the Sea" not toward a Sea-elite, but to bring to every man in the street the exciting participation of being a "Man in the Sea."

"What's Happened to Us in Gloves Is an Insult," Pioneer Dubow Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co., sent me the following article which shows how one Chicago firm is being driven out of business by foreign imports.

Unless the Nation deals with the growing problem now, there will be many more American firms going out of business in the future.

I hope the Tariff Commission has courage to deal with this problem. The article from the Sporting Goods Dealer, March 1964 edition, follows:

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO US IN GLOVES IS AN INSULT: PIONEER DUBOW CHARGES—WIPED OUT OF LEATHER BASEBALL PRODUCTS BECAUSE OF IMPORTS, CHICAGO MANUFACTURER LASHES OUT AT FOREIGN COMPETITION; "UNITED STATES ENTITLED TO 80 PERCENT OF MARKET," VETERAN INSISTS

(By Roland Burke)

When it comes to the question of how much Japanese imports have affected the production and sale of American-made athletic equipment, the 50-year-old J. A. Dubow Sporting Goods Corp., Chicago, is a dramatic and disquieting example.

It measures out like this: Up until the time the Japanese imports reached flood stage less than a decade ago, the Dubow company was a major producer of baseball gloves for the youngster with whom price was an important factor.

HUMAN ELEMENT INVOLVED

Today, this firm—which actually pioneered many design developments and leather processes that opened a mass market for baseball gloves—has withdrawn from the glove field. Labor costs being what they are in the country, it just is impossible to compete with the Japanese.

Aside from the business setback, which J. A. Dubow, president, considers an insult to the trade, there is the matter of people who have lost their jobs.

With hands folded before him on the desk in his office, and sitting proudly erect, almost motionless, in his swivel chair, Dubow half musingly and with eyes closed in concentration recalled:

"To think that we had third-generation baseball glove people working for us and we had to let them all go. Three generations of Dubow employees. After 40 years in baseball gloves, we were driven out by imports from a country which has made no contributions to the market or to the development of equipment."

What can be done to restore a rightful share of the American market to American firms?

Not higher tariffs, Dubow is convinced, "because we are only talking about pennies and U.S. producers would still be hopelessly underpriced."

The answer, according to the highly respected Chicagoan, lies in the application of quotas.

"American manufacturers are entitled to 80 percent of the domestic market in all lines," he declared. "Let's restrict imports to 20 percent. More than anything, what's happened in baseball gloves is an insult to a man who helped develop the market and to a company which sold gloves to 10 million kids before being thrown out of the market."

But don't get the idea the Dubow corporation didn't have any answers of its own to the problem posed by imports. On the contrary, the company quickly shifted its production emphasis to inflated game balls of vinyl, rubber, and leather, and to a complete selection of golf clubs and golf balls.

GREAT BELIEVER IN GOLF

J.A. is personally enthusiastic about the golf market and believes it has great potential for additional growth. He points to many new courses now under construction, to modern highway systems which make getting to and from the course quick and easy, and to the great popularity of the game among high school and college students.

For the retailer who wants to do a job in golf, Dubow recommends, first of all, a wide stock with lots of merchandise on display.

"You must have a selection," he stressed. "A lack of choice kills sales. Also you must have the proper prices. There is a big new field for popular-priced clubs. Remember, 35 percent of golf sales are to women."

In order to help its retailers, the Dubow company is paying more attention than ever to special packaging of all its items.

But, getting back to baseball gloves and Dubow's contributions to that market, it was this firm which first came out with gloves bearing the autographs of "Babe" Ruth and "Lou" Gehrig. The venerable head of the firm recalled:

"We put "Babe Ruth's name on our glove in 1922. We were able to buy a big lot of horsehide at a very low price. We used this, and the glove retailed at $1.98. It was the best buy on the market. The kids liked it, and we couldn't make enough "Babe" Ruth gloves to meet the demand."

PIONEERED COWHIDE GLOVES

That reference to horsehide brings up another Dubow contribution. Up until the Chicago show of 1928, quality gloves were made of increasingly scarce horsehide and the low-end gloves were of sheepskin, which was a poor alternative.

The Dubow company, which knew just about everything there was to know about leather, took a gamble and presented to the trade a line of gloves made from specially selected cowhide.

"The line was beautiful," Dubow recalled. "The weight could be controlled as cowhide can be split to any weight you want. I remember Ernway Edwards, then sporting goods manager of Montgomery Ward, being very complimentary about our line—and he was very stingy with compliments."

The following year, other manufacturers followed up with cowhide gloves, and the problem of leather weight was solved. One major tanner told the company that due to its pioneering with cowhide, 90 percent of his production of leather began going to the sporting goods trade. Earlier, it had been only 10 percent.

In another field of athletics, the Dubow company in 1923 spent considerable money experimenting with football leathers. To that time, better footballs were made of grain cowhide and the lower priced ones of sheepskin, which not only was too light, but scuffed easily and soaked water like a sponge. Then, in Dubow's words:

"We hit on the idea of using a cowhide split with an artificial grain. The first models looked very good, but what happened? The leather finisher did not apply the right dope. In warm weather the dope melted in the panels and they stuck to each other. When separated, the grain pulled off. Not only that, but in cold weather the grain cracked.

"Although we had to junk most of these experimental balls, we did not stop. We kept looking for a leather finisher who could overcome the problem.

"Finally, we found John Reed & Co., right in Chicago. They had just hired a man from Europe who knew the secret of applying a perfect artificial grain. In 1924, we used over 500,000 feet of this leather.

"Wilson began making Red Grange balls out of split leather and sold them at $18 a dozen with a good markup as the leather sold at 9 cents a foot. We sold the same glove without a player's name at $12 a dozen.

"Today, cowhide split remains a big seller in the popular-priced football, but most people have forgotten Dubow's pioneering.

SMELL TEST FOR LEATHER

"Being so close to the leather market, we got to know leather to the extent that we could tell from the smell what tannery it came from. The leather of all tanneries has a different smell.

"We also knew who made the best leather for baseball gloves. Originally, it was the Sawyer Tanning Co. of Napa, Calif. Other tanneries came to us with samples. We told them it wasn't right, but worked with them a long time until their leather was just as good as Sawyer's, some even better."

With that record of accomplishments over an extended period, it's little wonder the president of the firm considers it an insult that imports not only have taken away Dubow's baseball glove business, but also a major portion from other American manufacturers.

That's why Dubow continues ot fight for a quota system on imports just as much now as ever.

Lawyers File Surprising Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent column by Mr. David Lawrence on the subject of the recent Supreme Court decisions against prayers in our schools. This column is entitled "Lawyers File Surprising Statement," and is printed in the June 12 issue of the Times and Democrat of Orangeburg, S.C.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWYERS FILE SURPRISING STATEMENT

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A surprising statement has just been filed with the House Judiciary Committee by 223 lawyers, including 55 deans of law schools and several college professors, many of them of the so-called liberal school of thought.

They have taken a stand which will be construed as meaning that, so far as possible, further amendments to the Constitution must be blocked and that the Supreme Court of the United States must be left to rewrite the Constitution at will.

The current controversy arises as a consequence of the Supreme Court's decisions which have produced widespread apprehension that the word "God" cannot be mentioned in public school exercises and that voluntary prayers may be prohibited in educational institutions or in connection with official activities of the Government.

The statement warns those who have been agitating for a constitutional amendment

that they are, in effect, engaging in something bordering on impropriety. Dozens of amendments, for instance, have been proposed to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court on the subject of prayer in exercises or ceremonies in schools, but the statement of the 223 citizens asks for a kind of cloture on further consideration of all such amendments by Congress. The statement says:

"American liberties have been secure in large measure because they have been guaranteed by a Bill of Rights which the American people have until now deemed practically unamendable."

This will come as a shock to many people who have always thought the Constitution could be amended whenever public opinion desired it and that there is nothing so sacred about anything in the Constitution that the people couldn't change it at will.

Objection rather has been voiced against the Supreme Court's assumption of a right virtually to introduce any meaning it pleases, thus giving to an obligarchy of nine judges appointed for life the power to amend the Constitution through judicial decisions.

The recent movement to submit to the people an amendment safeguarding the right to pray grew out of a deep-seated belief that the Supreme Court had taken away a fundamental right and had indeed violated that part of the Constitution which states that there should be no interference with "the free exercise" of religion. The statement of the protesting group, however, says:

"Whatever disagreements some may have with the Bible-prayer decisions, we believe strongly that they do not justify this experiment. Accordingly, we urge that Congress approve no measures to amend the first amendment in order to overrule these decisions."

The lawyers who filed the statement have a right to their opinion and to argue against any proposed amendment to the Constitution, but it comes as a surprise to find such a learned group stating that the mere attempt to use the amending process prescribed in the Constitution is dangerous. The sponsors of this viewpoint add:

"If the first clause of the Bill of Rights, forbidding laws respecting an establishment of religion, should prove so easily susceptible to impairment by amendment, none of the succeeding clauses will be secure."

Such a sweeping declaration is hardly justified because, for one thing, there are more than 100 proposals for a constitutional amendment, along with the resolution submitted by Representative FRANK J. BECKER, Republican, of New York, in behalf of many Members of Congress, all of which are merely designed to safeguard the right to pray in official surroundings.

There are many ways by which this right can be assured without imposing any established church. Just as one group respects the right of another group to hold differing opinions, there is every justification for at least tolerating voluntary prayer by another body of citizens, whether outside or inside a Government building, in a public ceremony.

But entirely apart from the merits of the issue itself as it relates to the right to pray, the controversy over methods of amending the Constitution may be intensified. In 1962 the National Council of State Governments adopted a resolution proposing an additional formula. Thus, if two-thirds of the State legislatures submitted identical texts for a proposed amendment, three-fourths of the States could then ratify it without any further action by Congress.

Whether the foregoing proposal is a desirable one or not, the fact remains that many constitutional lawyers in the United States believe that, if Congress is going to block the amending process, some way must be found to enable the people themselves to initiate amendments to the Federal Constitution through their own State legislatures.

Resolution of the Council of the City of Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of the urban mass transportation bill in the House of Representatives, I was pleased by the action recently taken on the subject by the Council of the City of Philadelphia. On June 11, 1964, the council adopted a resolution "memorializing the House of Representatives of the United States to enact H.R. 3881, which provides Federal aid to communities in the solution of their mass transportation problems."

Believing that other Members will find the resolution of interest, I am including a copy below:

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

Resolution memorializing the House of Representatives of the United States to enact H.R. 3881, which provides Federal aid to communities in the solution of their mass transportation problems

Whereas improved mass transportation systems are vital to the health, safety, and general welfare and continued economic growth and development of both large and small cities; and

Whereas Metropolitan Philadelphia, being aware of its State and National as well as its local obligations, is directly involved in this matter, having spent large sums of public funds in carrying its share of the burden; and

Whereas the fundamental solution to these transportation problems requires massive improvement to beleaguered mass transportation facilities and services; and

Whereas H.R. 3881 would enable both large and small cities to substantially improve or initiate mass transportation facilities to provide a balanced transportation network and alleviate the traffic strangulation which imperils the economic welfare of these communities; and

Whereas the Federal Government, both because of its wider jurisdiction and because of its broader financial base, can be of essential aid in the solution of the aforesaid problems; as it has been in financing our fine interstate highway program: Therefore

Resolved, by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States to enact H.R. 3881, the Urban Mass Transportation Act, which provides a broad program of Federal aid to communities and the solution of their mass transportation problems.

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Members of Congress representing the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Certification: This is a true and correct copy of the original resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Philadelphia on the 11th day of June 1964.

PAUL D'ORTONA,
President of City Council.

Attest:

NATHAN WOLFMAN,
Chief Clerk of the Council.

A $1,650,000 Construction Program To Give North Park College Residence Hall, Campus Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, North Park College, which is in the heart of my district, recently issued the following announcement which should be of interest to all scholars. I am indeed proud of the progress at this fine educational institution. The announcement follows:

North Park College today announced plans for a $1.65 million construction program including a residence hall for 210 women and a campus activities center.

The buildings will be located on a triangle of the campus bounded by North Spaulding Avenue, Argyle Avenue, and the North Branch of the Chicago River. Burgh Hall, a residence for men, is on this triangle.

The two buildings will be financed primarily by a $1.5 million college housing loan from the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the U.S. Government.

The construction is part of an overall $3.5 million expansion scheduled for completion in the fall of 1965. Plans for the remaining buildings, including science laboratories and other teaching facilities, will be announced later.

Ground breaking for the first two buildings will be held on Saturday, June 13, during graduation weekend activities. The buildings will be dedicated in 1965 as a part of North Park College's 75th anniversary year.

"North Park is striving to meet its share of responsibility for the increasing number of college students," said President Karl A. Olsson.

"The $3.5 million project will increase our capacity by about 50 percent in 1965, and is the first stage of a 10-year program which will double our instructional and residence areas. This phase is also integral to a 20-year campus projection which visualizes a daytime college enrollment of 3,500–4,000 by 1985."

"We are, through our participation in the North River Commission, fitting North Park's expansion into overall plans for the strengthening of the surrounding community."

Architect for the buildings is Daniel C. Bryant, of Chicago, who also designed the Wallgren Memorial Library and the auditorium-gymnasium, both completed in 1959.

WOMEN'S RESIDENCE HALL

"An unusual feature of the seven-story residence hall for women, costing $750,000, will be its cylindrical shape," according to Mr. Bryant. "The circular floor plan affords economy and convenience in the use of space and is especially suited for electric heating." Six residence floors will house 200 women and a staff of counselors. The central core, around which the rest of the building will rise, will contain elevator, stairwells, and service facilities. Rooms will be arranged around the outside.

CAMPUS ACTIVITIES CENTER

The campus activity center, costing $900,000 will be known as the North Park Memorial Center. It will house the central food service, offices for student organizations and student publications, mail boxes for nonresident students, recreational facilities, and guest rooms.

The large dining hall on the second floor with adjacent kitchen facilities will provide food service for several hundred resident

and commuting students as well as for faculty and guests.

NORTH PARK IS CHURCH-AFFILIATED

North Park College, founded in 1891, is operated by the Evangelical Covenant Church of America, a denomination of 535 churches with national headquarters at 5101 North Francisco Avenue, Chicago. Formerly an accredited junior college, North Park became a 4-year liberal arts college in 1958, granted its first bachelor's degrees in 1960, and has been accredited since 1961 by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The present student body numbers about 1,000, with nearly 300 more taking evening classes.

Los Angeles Times Opposes Becker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, among the many newspapers that have stated their opposition to the proposed Becker amendment is the Los Angeles Times. In an editorial on May 18, 1964, it urged the House Judiciary Committee to reject the amendment and stated its reasons for doing so as follows:

KEEP THE BILL OF RIGHTS INTACT

An error does not cancel another error.

We still believe, as we did in June 1962, that the U.S. Supreme Court acted with faulty judgment when it ruled that a short New York public school prayer invoking the blessing of Almighty God violated the first amendment of the Constitution.

But the movement to nullify the Supreme Court's decisions (there was a second related one last year) seems to be quite as mischievous in the other direction.

Under pressure of an enormous mail campaign, the House Judiciary Committee opened hearings on a resolution for another constitutional amendment. This would in effect amend the first amendment, even though its third section states that "nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

The Court stirred up a great deal of national emotion, as is always the case when an issue is colored by religion. But the U.S. Constitution, and particularly its Bill of Rights, should not be amended when the people are in tension.

The first amendment is the Western World's first complete declaration of religious toleration, and under the 14th amendment it protects every citizen from religious "establishment" at any government level.

If the "prayer amendment" resolution were to get through Congress and be ratified by the States, a terrible and tempting precedent would be established for remodeling the Bills of Rights whenever the people were emotionally wound up.

A few years ago, when witnesses before Communist-hunting congressional committees were refusing to answer questions, there was a frightening movement to qualify the "self-incrimination" section of the fifth amendment, also a part of the Bill of Rights. Fortunately the angry emotion that brought forth this proposal abated before an amendment resolution got into the works.

It is now reported from Washington that mail pressure on Congressmen is changing. The opponents of the "prayer amendment" are now making themselves heard.

Perhaps these writers will stiffen the committee's opposition to the amendment and we shall be spared a risky constitutional patchwork job.

L.B.J.'s Phantom: Phantom Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., has printed in its June 14, 1964, issue a very eloquent and outstanding answer to the recent speech by the President on the subject of freedom and big Government. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

L.B.J.'s PHANTOM: "PHANTOM FEAR"

No sharper distinction can be drawn between the current philosophies of our two great national parties than that advanced by President Johnson and former President Eisenhower, each of whom spoke on Tuesday, June 9.

Their remarks clearly define the Democratic Party as the defender of Federal rights and responsibilities and the Republican Party as the advocate of individual and States rights and responsibilities.

Speaking at Swarthmore, President Johnson said that the people need have no fear that the Federal Government would get too big for the good of the freedom-loving American. "Let us not call forth phantom fears about what the future holds," he said. "One of those fears is that the Federal Government has become a major menace to individual liberty."

Speaking to the national Governor's conference, ex-President Eisenhower said that the federalized system under Democrats was "leading toward an all-pervasive Federal intrusion into our lives." He called for the States to take care of their own problems on the local level.

Can the issue of Federal versus individual-States rights be more clearly drawn?

Which of the two men is right? Actually, there is an element of truth in both. There has been since the delicate balance was debated in the Federalist papers, continuing throughout our national history. In the short run, President Johnson is right. In the long run, Mr. Eisenhower is quite correct.

But to dismiss the threat of Central Government control over individual freedom with the cavalier disregard of all history of President Johnson is naive, presuming total ignorance and immediate and past events by mature Americans.

None will quarrel with the President when he contends that there is no subversion of freedom in social security, "bringing electricity to the farm, controlling floods, ending bank failures, abating pollution of our streams, or providing school lunches for children."

But the President should be honest. He should ask any farmer, businessman, or wage-earner over 50 years old, whether there have been any restrictions on his individual freedom in the past 5 decades. This is past. What of the future?

The President should know that the full direction of the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, and Great Society is toward expanded democratic socialism as practiced in Europe. In fact, the liberal columnist Marquis Childs gave the movement a name during the F.D.R. era—"The Middle Way."

Intellectual honesty should compel the President to inquire into future expansions of the Federal "service to individuals" by nations a little further advanced than ours in democratic socialism.

He would find that these societies, seeking to end poverty and free its millions from other deprivations, have gone much further. Through their social security systems, they provide cash payments to mothers for all children from birth to the age of 18; state-financed vacations for the poor; Federal rental allowances for the poor; complete medical care for all under socialized medicine; and other social benefits.

It comes at a cost. Wages and hours are rigidly controlled. Certain service agencies, like electric and gas companies, are State-controlled. Private businesses have ceilings clamped on their profits and all earnings over federally imposed percentages are placed in banks until such time as the Government allows the "free businessman" to spend them. Farmers are told what to plant, when to plant, how much to plant, and how much they can sell their crops for.

This is the future. It is not visionary. It is quite real and presently active in European social democracies. Is this what Americans want? If they do not, is this a "phantom fear"?

On the other hand, Republicans fail in their duties when they do not give the American people a plan to restore and salvage individual and States' rights. The solution can be found in a readjustment of tax revenue—keeping some at the State level and returning other collected revenues from Washington without any strings whatsoever.

Unfortunately, too many Republicans have honestly talked States' rights, but haven't sought to solve the problem through tax readjustment. Equally culpable are the southern Democrats, who thump their chests about States' rights only when the racial question is involved. At other times they line up—with joy—at the doors of Federal agencies, including the Public Works Committee of the House.

The shared sovereignty system of our magnificent Government is imperiled today. This bulwark of our personal liberty is threatened by the financial crisis that confronts State and local government. Unless the problem is solved by imaginative leadership, conscious of the rights of the States and the individuals, personal liberty in our land will suffer.

To decry such concern as "phantom fear" is to charge the first President of our land, George Washington, with conjuring imaginary demons. President Johnson should repair to President Washingon's Farewell Address as a beginning.

Churchmen Reaffirm Rights Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 4, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, is a famous

champion of civil rights in our country. He has walked the picket line and he has endured the indignity of public arrest. Today he sent to me a copy of the resolution on civil rights passed by the 176th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church. I wish to bring the contents of this resolution to the attention of the House:

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: The 176th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, meeting in Oklahoma City, Okla., on May 26, passed overwhelmingly, by voice vote, the following resolution:

"Urges the passage without crippling amendments of the civil rights legislation now before the Congress, and directs the stated clerk of the general assembly to communicate this action to the President of the United States, Senators, and Representatives; and urges all United Presbyterians to consider it a personal responsibility to communicate their support to their elected representatives."

This resolution is a reaffirmation of the basic position of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in favor of comprehensive civil rights legislation. We hope that you will support, strongly, the conference report which will follow Senate action upon the House bill.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

EUGENE CARSON BLAKE,
Stated Clerk.

Balm for the Poor Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Chicago Daily News of June 15, 1964. It is most gratifying, I am sure, to all of us here in Congress to see this highly respected and responsible newspaper take this understanding attitude toward a problem which has existed in Congress much too long. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Chicago Daily News for its understanding attitude.

The Chicago Daily News editorial follows:

BALM FOR THE POOR CONGRESSMAN

It took two tries and a lot of persuasion to get the House to vote a pay raise for Federal employees, including Congressmen. The reluctance is understandable in an election year. The chore of seeking reelection is arduous enough without injecting the issue of what a Congressman is worth in dollars.

But the justice of the increase is plain once the facts are laid on the line, and the Representatives and Senators have no call to be overly defensive about it. Granted that a few dunderheads get elected to Congress and stay there, the bulk of its Members are hard working, conscientious public servants, doing a vastly important job for far less money than they could make if they applied their talents to a different line of work.

If the bill clears the Senate, as it probably will, Congressmen will receive $30,000 a year beginning next January. In today's scale of personal earnings, that is none too much for the weight of responsibility that goes with the job. And the personal expenses borne by a Congressman, including maintaining domiciles in both Washington and the home district, are heavier than those of any ordinary jobholder.

Of even more importance than the congressional pay are the increases that would go to nonelective Federal employees all down the line. They should ease the problem of attracting good people to Federal jobs, particularly in the higher echelons.

Both President Kennedy and President Johnson appealed for upward adjustment in pay for Cabinet officials and senior civil servants, noting that such service almost invariably requires heavy financial sacrifice. The pay raises in the bill will not correct this entirely. But they will lessen the penalty imposed for dedication to public service.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Credibility Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in the Aviation Week and Space Technology magazine of June 15, 1964, entitled "The Credibility Gap," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial deals with the highly controversial TFX contract.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CREDIBILITY GAP
(By Robert Hotz)

There are disturbing indications that the credibility of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara and his Pentagon spokesmen is diminishing rapidly at the very time President Lyndon Johnson needs it most to build public support for this Nation's campaign to repel communism in southeast Asia.

Lack of credibility of key Government officials is always a serious matter in a democratic society, but the deepening crisis, in Vietnam and Laos, which is certain to demand heavier sacrifices in blood and money from the American people, makes this problem particularly acute now. The American people have never flinched from paying whatever price was necessary to preserve liberty and prevent the spread of tyranny when they understood clearly the issues at stake. But there is diminishing public support for the southeast Asian ventures—at the very time that the crisis is reaching its peak—because of the lessening public belief in the word it is getting from the Pentagon's civilian leaders.

This may prove to be an extremely high price for President Johnson to pay for whatever success Mr. McNamara and his official mouthpiece, Arthur Sylvester, have achieved in their avowed intent to control Pentagon news to suit their own purposes. This policy backfired badly in the Cuban crisis. The sparse and misleading information dispensed from the Pentagon on Cuba reduced public credibility on official statements to such a low point that the late President Kennedy finally had to order Mr. McNamara to put on that extraordinary lantern-slide show on national television to convince the American people that the Soviet missiles were really being shipped out of Cuba. Ironically, this performance revealed more genuine intelligence secrets than would have been necessary if Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester had dispensed the facts as events occurred.

Both Mr. McNamara and Mr. Sylvester came to their Pentagon duties with an unusual belief in the use of the official lie as a national policy instrument. Mr. McNamara first made this clear in 1961 testimony before Congress on the Nike-Zeus when he said:

"Why should we tell Russia that Zeus developments may not be satisfactory? What we ought to be saying is that we have the most perfect anti-ICBM system that the human mind will ever devise." Mr. McNamara probably doesn't see any similarity in the tactics he proposed and Nikita Khrushchev's insistence that the Soviets have perfected an anti-ICBM system that can "hit a fly in the sky," but many Americans will. Mr. Sylvester expounded the right to tell official lies in his now infamous New York Deadline Club speech (Aviation Week, Dec. 17, 1962, p. 35). Although he then maintained that this basic "right to lie" should be used only to avert nuclear war, he has in fact adopted it as a standard operational practice. His credibility has sunk so low that most Pentagon reporters really don't believe a story until it has been officially denied. Even his subordinates are apologetic for the more blatant episodes.

During Mr. McNamara's first appearances before Congress, its key leaders were impressed with his ability to answer on the spot any question they asked. It was not until several times around the same track that they began to develop misgivings over the accuracy of many of these answers and began to wonder if the Secretary's talents lay more toward glibness than research. Among the incidents that have shaken his once strong credibility with Congress are:

His claim that forcing USAF and Navy to use the same F–111 (TFX) design would save a billion dollars. Later testimony showed that this was a rough calculation made by an aid on the back of an envelope before a contractor was even selected for the project.

The manner in which many of his economy claims for the Defense Department budget have evaporated under congressional scrutiny, and how many of them have simply turned out to be the difference between what might have been spent and what was ordered to be spent.

His public insistence that the Lockheed YF–12A (A–11) was developed from the start as an interceptor for USAF, despite knowledge by key congressmen that this aircraft was sponsored and funded by the Central Intelligence Agency as a superspy successor to the U–2.

His repeated optimistic reports on the Vietnam war that are regularly contradicted by events occurring on the battlefront. It is ironic that his credibility has sunk so low on this score than even when he is right—as in the case of which aircraft types are proper for this operation—few believe him any more.

As the facts in all of these areas eventually emerge and erode the official position taken by Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, their efforts to suppress and control the Pentagon information flow become more violent and ridiculous. Mr. Sylvester's internal Pentagon directive to all military public information officers ordering the F–111 to be portrayed publicly as a success regardless of what the facts may be (Aviation Week, Apr. 27, p. 31) would read more appropriately in the Cyrillic alphabet than in English. The idea of proclaiming that an aircraft will meet all of the military service requirements before the first prototype has rolled out or made its initial flight is so ludicrous it belongs in a George Orwell book. The latest attempt by Mr. Sylvester to further tighten control of military news (Aviation Week, June 8, p. 20) has been widely interpreted—and we think correctly so—as another indication of how badly the tide is running against our efforts in Vietnam.

Now we have the incredible spectacle of eight USAF F–100 fighter-bombers making a strike on foreign soil—the first U.S. offensive military action since Korea—and the Government trying to suppress this news and keep it from the American people.

Clearly it is time, not only for a reappraisal of the credibility of Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, but also for a realistic examination of an official information policy that is widening the gap between a Government and its people at a critical time in the fate of this Nation.

Comments by Dr. Ladas on United Nations Secretariat Survey on Patent Systems, With Special Reference to Underdeveloped Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, at a recent trademark briefing in Chicago sponsored by the Federal Bar Association and the Bureau of National Affairs, Dr. Stephen P. Ladas delivered a talk entitled "Comments on United Nations Secretariat Survey on Patent Systems, With Special Reference to Underdeveloped Countries." I am advised that Dr. Ladas' remarks were very well received. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights, I am inserting them in the RECORD for the benefit of Members of Congress and others who may be interested.

The statement of Dr. Ladas is as follows:

COMMENTS ON UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT SURVEY ON PATENT SYSTEMS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

An event of major significance in our field is the recent publication by the Secretary General of the United Nations of its Report on the Role of Patents in the Transfer of Technology to Underdeveloped Countries. This is an important international document which is bound to exercise considerable influence.

The genesis of this report is a resolution No. 1713 (XVI) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 19, 1961. The proposal for the resolution was made by Brazil and Bolivia. The thesis accepted by the resolution was that the grant and protection of patents has contributed to technical research and therefore to national and international progress; and that it was in the best interests of all countries that the international patent system should be applied in such a way as to take fully into account the special needs and requirements of the economic development of underdevelop countries, as well as the legitimate claims of patentees.

The text of the resolution as adopted was considerably toned down as compared with the text originally proposed by Brazil. That

text is interesting because it sets out some specific criticisms of the working of the patent system as follows:

(1) That in practice, access to experience in the field of applied science and technology is often limited by patents and similar arrangements.

(2) That in certain cases patents are requested by nonnationals without any intention of manufacturing locally the patented product or of applying the new techniques, thus restricting the field open to local initiative and industry.

(3) That licensing agreements whereby a local firm is authorized to utilize the patented invention often contain restrictive provisions which prevent optimum use of resources, penalize the consumer, and create undue monopolistic pressures on the economy; examples being:

(a) restrictions on the freedom of the licensee to sell the licensed products in certain areas;

(b) a requirement that the licensee purchase raw materials from or components manufactured by the licensor;

(c) a requirement that the licensee employ technical personnel employed by the licensor; and

(d) restrictions on price and output levels.

(4) That royalties paid for the use of foreign inventions in many cases constitute a heavy burden on the balance of payments of underdeveloped countries.

(5) That balance-of-payment difficulties may be aggravated by the importation of patented products priced at artificially high levels established by the producers as a result of their monopolistic position.

(6) That in some instances, royalties continue to be paid in spite of evidence indicating that the original patents have expired.

It will be noted that the proposed resolution confused patents and know-how and was directed to the needs and requirements of the underdeveloped countries, which is a very big subject and an extremely complicated one. Basically, it concerns the disparity of wealth between the rich nations and the poor which the British Prime Minister recently described as "the problem of problems."

The Secretary General of the United Nations on October 8, 1962, addressed a circular and questionnaire to all member countries to provide him with information and data to enable the report to be prepared. He also circularized governmental and nongovernmental international organizations, such as the international chambers of commerce, the AIPPI, and the International Bureau at Geneva. The Secretary General asked also for an evaluation of the manner in which access to foreign inventions and know-how has been helped or hindered in practice.

The final report was based on responses received from 54 countries (30 of them underdeveloped), on reports on law for 34 countries supplied by the International Bureau, and on the practical application of the system in 10 countries supplied by the international chamber of commerce, and finally on data supplied by 9 intergovernmental organizations, and 7 nongovernmental organizations. It is rather remarkable that criticism of the present system was submitted in the evaluation by a very few countries only: Brazil, Cuba, and India, and that Iron Curtain countries, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, have praised the international patent system as having been very useful to them.

II

The report, issued as document E/386 consists of two parts:

Part 1. Major characteristics of patent systems, (divided into three chapters):

Chapter I. National patent legislation.

Chapter II. International patent relations.

Chapter III. Government regulation of the exercise of the patent grant.

Part 2. Effects of patents on the economies of underdeveloped countries, (divided into three chapters):

Chapter IV. The role of patents in the actual transfer of technology.

Chapter V. Foreign patents without transfer of technology.

Chapter VI. Patents and the development of indigenous technology.

It is followed by five annexes, the most important of which is annex C giving the evaluation of the working of the patent system supplied by the member governments of the United Nations.

Part 1 of the report is generally a factual exposition of the major characteristics of the patent systems on the basis of existing legislation, the international patent relations based on international conventions and national law, and government regulations of the exercise of the patent grant.

This exposition is mainly descriptive, but interwoven with comments. For instance, on the question of patents taken out by foreign patentees, it shows that such are taken out in large numbers, greater in proportion than by nationals, not only in underdeveloped countries but also in highly developed. On the question of the reasons for which patents are taken out by foreigners, the report cites the opinion of the Indian and two other governments that the main object is to protect an export market from competition by rival manufacturers but it also cites the opinions of many other countries and concludes that it is not certain that the reason given by India is the most important. It lists all of the other reasons (ch. II, pp. 30, 32).

The chapter on government regulation of the exercise of the patent grant discusses, first, the question of nonuse of patents. It presents the economic arguments both in support and in opposition to patent nonuse laws, and shows that revocation of a patent for nonuse is practically abolished and that there is an infrequency of applications for compulsory licenses, so that the existence of such legislation has only an indirect effect in promoting voluntary license agreements.

Next, it deals with the restrictive business practices connected with the exploitation of patents and describes the legislative provisions in various countries and in the Common Market treaties, but in evaluating these provisions the report points out that these laws are generally of a recent date and it is not possible yet to say how effective they will be in practice. It concludes that while this should not deter underdeveloped countries from adopting antitrust provisions, it seems more appropriate for them to favor measures for the screening and control of license agreements which relate not only to patents but also to know how (ch. III, p. 28).

Finally, this chapter discusses government measures for the public use of patented inventions in the public interest and shows that this is done only in exceptional situations, and the need of a country to take such exceptional measures must be weighed against the deterrent effect that compulsory license or expropriation may have on the patentee's incentive to invest in the industrial exploitation (p. 30). It cites the Scandinavian view that in the case of foodstuffs and medicinal products, compulsory licensing provisions are preferable to nonpatentability (p. 32); the Indian experience where on 22 compulsory license requests on grounds of public interest over a 5-year period, only 1 was granted by the government (p. 33); and the experience of U.S.S.R. where the Government never used its right of compulsory license of a patent (p. 35).

This chapter emphasizes the greater importance of know-how to underdeveloped countries and considers it essential for these countries to provide for its legal protection (p. 39); the importance of governmental incentives to encourage the transfer of patented and unpatented know-how from industrialized to less-developed countries; and the obvious need of governments of these countries to control abuse particularly with respect to excessive royalties, citing the existing provisions in the various countries.

Part 2 is the most important part of the report since it attempts to analyze the economics of the patent system and of its international effects. In this connection, the report appears to reject the basic assumption of the authors of the resolution of the United Nations that patents in their international operation tended to impede the transfer of technology to developing countries and therefore their economic development, and placed a heavy burden on their balance of payments. The report points out that even in the single field of transfer of tehcnology the role of patents is of a limited and marginal effect only insofar as underdeveloped countries are concerned; and that in the development of underdeveloped countries, the transfer of technology is only one of several essential elements and factors. In any case, the report, while emphasizing that unpatented technology is much more important to the economic development of underdeveloped countries, also shows the significance for and impact to such countries of the patent system.

The discussion distinguishes the various cases: Where the patented product or process of a foreign patentee cannot be introduced in the enonomy of the underdeveloped country; where it can be worked but it is not; where it can be introduced only with the technical cooperation of the patentee and his know-how; and where it can be worked without much assistance from the patentee. The factors and elements of these various cases, the justification of the patentee and the measures that the country may advantageously take are carefully analyzed in their immediate and long-term effects. The conclusion generally is reached that there is such a great variety of considerations which affect the position, and the complexity of possible situations is such that the protection of the patent may well be a cheaper and more effective solution so as to give the foreign patentee what he needs to attract him (p. 12). And that the basic problem to tackle for the international community is the one-sided relationship under which the possession of know-how and capital resources are so unequally divided (p. 16), and the only way in which this can be resolved is through the medium of multilateral and bilateral assistance schemes (p. 17).

The report is very guarded in its economic analysis by pointing out the danger of hypothetical and speculative expression of views, in the absence of concrete research and analysis of specific situations. Generally, it summarizes fairly the criticisms and the defenses of the grant of patents to foreign patentees and intimates that there are ways and means of meeting the criticisms without losing the advantages of the patent system.

It concludes that any country which desires to have the technical services and other connections of the foreign patentee must basically meet his minimum terms and conditions if the innovation is to be brought into the underdeveloped country.

Insofar as this may be thought to be a one-sided relationship, it is not attributable to the patent system as such nor is the resulting burden properly measured by the patent royalties. Excessive exploitation may be prevented by the screening and control of license agreements or by compulsory license in case of nonworking of patents. Also, more developed countries can assist by various measures of inducements to the patentees. But in the final analysis, the question of patents must be seen in the broader context of facilitating the transfer of patented and unpatented technology to the developing countries and enhancing the ability of the latter to absorb it.

The Secretary General's report was submitted, first, to the Committee for Industrial Development (a standing committee of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations) at its meeting on March 3–22, 1964. It received, on the whole, a very good reaction. It is now being discussed at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which met in Geneva on March 23 and will go on until June. This is in connection with item 13 of the agenda on the subject of "Improvement of the Invisible Trade of Developing Countries." As is well known, a common Latin American policy for submission to the Conference was drafted in Brasilia on January 25, 1964, by a gathering of Latin American government experts.

The recommendations of this meeting were that for the developing countries, it is a matter of urgency that three basic restrictions should be adopted as regards the use of foreign patents:

(i) There should be proof of the value of the patent in increasing the productivity of the enterprises that wish to use it.

(ii) There should be a limit on the transfers of royalties, which should be determined on the basis of the income obtained as a result of using the patent.

(iii) There should be control of the period of validity of the patent, in order to avoid payments that are not due, and to permit the developing countries to make full use of technical advances.

The subject of patents is only a comparatively small facet of the vast subject of a revised trade structure with preferential treatment to developing countries, including concessions and preferences without reciprocity. It is probable that patents and know-how and license agreements will be discussed at the Geneva Conference and particularly the points emphasized by the Brasilia proposal, i.e.:

1. The cost of patented products.
2. The failure to manufacture locally.
3. The balance-of-payments burden due to royalties.
4. Restrictions in license agreements.

These criticisms are not unknown. They have been heard even in our own country. Insofar as they have any substance, they proceed usually from isolated cases. Sweeping and dogmatic statements on the subject are certainly wrong. In actual practice, there are factors extrinsic to the patent right which influence the situation. One of the most important factors is that many underdeveloped countries are one-crop and mineral extracting economies and their products are subject to considerable fluctuations in the world markets, so that any worsening in the terms of trade has a direct and significant effect on the living standards of their people. They can buy less of the things they want because they receive too little for the things they sell.

Diversification of these economies and creation of local industry is, of course, of vital importance. This requires capital but these countries have no surplus wealth. They do require financial aid which must come from government to government, or from international funds, and which goes into a public sector of State-run or State-controlled concerns. But in the final resort, progress comes by the encouragement of private industry and this means not only creating a climate in which local industry can flourish, but also attracting industry from outside so that private capital may be invested in the country and specialized plants and techniques may be imported. It is in these particular aspects that the fundamental value of patents and know-how for these particular countries lies, since a patent system and legal protection for know-how both encourage the growth of local industry and attract foreign industry into the country.

While it is true that foreign patents are obtained sometimes and by particular industries to protect export sales, in most of the cases their chief use is either to enable local manufacture by the patent owner or to enable licensing to local manufacturers. In highly developed countries, there is also a further reason, and this is to use the patent for cross-licensing with a competing manufacturer, but this reason does not exist in underdeveloped countries. Local manufacture by the patent owner is a complex decision for companies which are not already established in the foreign country. Licensing, therefore, is the most frequent use of the foreign patent and generally practiced in industrialized countries.

In an economy based on private enterprise, patent and know-how and trademark license agreements are entered into for profit—profit for the licensor and profit for the licensee. The licensor looks for qualifications of the licensee: business reputation and integrity, technical competence and general effectiveness. His main objectives are: to obtain added revenue; to gain some tactical or strategic advantage in marketing products overseas; to acquire reciprocal know-how from the licensee. It is these objectives which ultimately determine such questions as exclusiveness or nonexclusiveness of the license, territory of the license, term, royalty, or other remuneration. Such a license involves delivery of know-how, training as a means for utilizing the know-how, assistance in management, promotion, and merchandising assistance, etc.

A licensing policy for underdeveloped countries involves often quite different propositions. The business reputation may not be available, the technical competence and effectiveness may be lacking, the financial resources are absent; and more serious, that the economy is state planned or state organized, and license agreements are screened and controlled by the governments. And yet businessmen and business organizations in industrialized countries are called upon as another Peace Corps of Technical Assistance to do away with fixed attitudes and ideas and adjust themselves to the needs and requirements of less developed countries if their insistent demand for speedy industrialization is to be satisfied. It will not do to answer them that they are seeking to bridge over centuries in a few years. We are witnessing a peaceful revolution in the state of mind of underdeveloped countries. We are told that if peace is indivisible, so is prosperity.

There is a close association between patents and industrial growth. In countries which have no industrial development, very few patents are taken out. Whether these patents are locally worked or not or whether the royalties paid create a burden on the balance of payments is rather idle curiosity. Patents are of real significance in countries which are already on the way to industrial growth, such as Brazil, Mexico, and India. Here is a nascent industry experiencing difficulties of capital investment in which the actual use of patents and the question of royalty payments raises problems. The question is—would these countries be better off if they refused to grant patents to foreigners, and does the system of compulsory license alleviate their difficulties? Is the payment of royalties really a substantial burden for them?

The point is that people will not invest the capital necessary for the establishment of a new industry unless they have protection for their patents. Without such protection, the manufacturer is exposed to imitation and cannot recoup his capital. Even highly industrialized countries, such as Great Britain, France, Belgium, and The Netherlands, grant a very large number of patents to foreigners and this works to their advantage. Compulsory licensing provisions avoids abuse, principally because it compels the conclusion of voluntary agreements with interested local industry. Patents protect principally small factory, because it gives to it an instrument to successfully compete with large firms. Seventy percent of patents in the United States are granted to small industry. Although the U.S. Patent Law does not provide for compulsory license, experience with antitrust sanctions has now led most of the big corporations to grant freely licenses to anyone asking for them.

Patents are intimately connected with know-how. Most of the patents, in order to be worked economically, require the development of practical technology and procedures of production to make the patented product or use the process in the most economic way possible. Because of the danger to which know-how is exposed of being lost, either because it is not recoverable in fact or because it may be divulged, owners of know-how are more likely to enter into agreements communicating such know-how to others if they can tie this up to patents. Therefore, countries encourage the grant of patents to foreigners if for no other reason, in order to encourage the importation of know-how to licensees.

It is a matter of tremendous gratification that the Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations, in its balanced and discriminating exposition, has made clear the importance of patents to underdeveloped countries and the economic significance to them of the transfer of technology associated with patents. It is the duty of our profession, and this is my conclusion, to use the conclusions of this report in educating the public and the politicians with the importance of the system of international protection of patents and other rights of industrial property in the development of national economies and economic progress.—Stephen P. Ladas.

APRIL 17, 1964.

Resignation of Hon. William C. Doherty as Nation's First Ambassador to Jamaica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, an editorial recently published in the Miami Herald reports the resignation of my good friend, Hon. William C. Doherty, from his position as the Nation's first Ambassador to Jamaica. Bill Doherty, for many years the very effective President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, well deserves these words of praise for his outstanding accomplishments in the field of diplomacy.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, May 30, 1964]

MR. DOHERTY IN JAMAICA

The recent resignation of William C. Doherty as the United States first Ambassador to Jamaica closes a remarkable diplomatic success story.

The envoy, longtime head of the National Association of Letter Carriers, had no previous ambassadorial experience but he captured the affection and regard of Jamaicans.

The announcement of his departure inspired many newspaper accounts of his work and praise for his achievements. One Jamaican newspaper said editorially: "His Government has now been placed under an obligation: It must give us another Mr. Doherty."

This was an unusual tribute to a departing diplomat who helped a new nation toward a growing role in the hemisphere. Being the first to speak for us in Jamaica, Mr. Doherty established an excellent tradition for his successors to follow.

The Late Morris Cafritz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, a great citizen of this community died the other day—June 11—while vacationing at Hot Springs, Va. He was 77 years of age but during his lifetime he had realized his suppressed desire to build the city of Washington into a community worthy of its eminence among the capital cities of the world.

He accomplished his mission by sheer will and sound planning. His riches in a monetary sense meant nothing to him for his charities were many—yet the building of extensive apartment units and other real estate ventures reflected his great confidence in the city of Washington's potential importance as a city of homes—a living city with a thumping heartbeat for the accommodations of its citizens.

There were situations that resulted in serious problems during his later years that embarrassed him as well as other businessmen in dealing in the racial renting questions—yet no one can deny that his heartfelt feelings were with those discriminated against—and had he lived the Civil Rights Act would have made his problem easier to solve through its implementation. His thoughts and his deeds were always in the open.

People who did not know him judged him wrongly as a proud and aloof person. But in reality he was a retiring individual who shunned the public glare and sought seclusion and anonymity. He was a realist and disliked superficiality practiced at any level in human relations.

He was an ardent Republican in his party loyalty and contributed heavily to their campaigns.

The early experiences of his life taught him to be frugal in his personal habits but on the other hand in spite of his humble beginning he gave lavishly to every type of worthwhile charity. Even in death he bequeathed half of his estate to charity.

Morris Cafritz, the great builder, will be remembered for not only his courage in his big business ventures but also for his heavy contributions to the unwashed and unwatched of mankind that need a helping hand. He loved humanity for being alive—regardless of their social stratification. He left a great heritage to his family and his race.

I extend to his lovely wife, Mrs. Gwendolyn, also actively interested in civic and charitable programs, and his sons Calvin, Carter, and Conrad and his brother Dr. Edward A. Cafritz and family, my heartfelt condolences and pray that the Lord reward him for his fine stewardship on earth—for practicing the greatest of human virtues before his God—that of ennoblement of the soul of man—charity.

Two articles follow:

MORRIS CAFRITZ TRIBUTE PAID BY GERSTENFELD

Builder Morris Cafritz was a "great builder" with "a noble faith in the future" that "soared to eloquent heights when he spoke of Washington," Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld said yesterday.

Delivering the eulogy for Mr. Cafritz at Washington Hebrew Congregation, Rabbi Gerstenfeld described Mr. Cafritz as a man who "dedicated all he had to make true the vision his heart had glimpsed."

Mr. Cafritz, 77, died Thursday in Hot Springs, Va. He was buried yesterday in the Washington Hebrew Congregation Cemetery.

Serving as pallbearers were Milton S. Kronheim, Sr., Garfield Kass, Edward Rosenblum, Joseph B. Shapiro, Jack Roberts, Martin Atlas, Maurice Lipnick, Joseph Carroll, Dr. Maxwell Hurston, William Cafritz, James Cafritz, and Ervin Ornstein.

Honorary pallbearers included Nicaraguan Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, Austrian Ambassador Wilfried Platzer, Norwegian Ambassador Hans Kristian Egen, Senator Clinton Anderson, Democrat, of New Mexico, Representative Albert Thomas, Democrat, of Texas, Angier Biddle Duke, Associate Justice Thomas C. Clark, Metropolitan Police Chief Robert V. Murray, Douglas Smith, Robert Baker, L. A. Jennings, and Barnum L. Colton, Sr.

Also, Earl Thompson, Henry J. Kaufman, Arthur Lyon, Drew Pearson, the Right Reverend Edward Bunn, S.J., the Right Reverend Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P., Raymond J. McDonough, Ralph L. Goldsmith, David G. Bress, and Dr. Robert Moran, Sr.

CAFRITZ WILLS HALF OF ESTATE TO CHARITY

The will of Morris Cafritz, Washington businessman, who died on June 11 in Hot Springs, Va., has been filed in U.S. district court.

Probate papers giving the value of the estate have not yet been filed, but the will provides that half of the estate will be turned over to the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, a charitable organization.

Of the remaining half of the estate, the business leader's widow, Mrs. Gwendolyn Cafritz, will receive half of the form of a trust and the remainder will be administered similarly for their sons, Calvin, Carter, and Conrad.

Mrs. Cafritz also was left a sum of $25,000 and the family home at 2301 Foxhall Road NW., with all of its possessions.

Trustees named in the will are his brother, Dr. Edward A. Cafritz, Martin Atlas, executive vice president of the Cafritz Co., and the Riggs National Bank.

Jim Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, there is no happier event than the celebration of the 76th birthday of a great Democrat and a great friend of democracy. The Honorable James A. Farley, affectionately known as "Jim," recently celebrated his 76th birthday. We all hope that he will have many years of good health and for his continuance of his great work.

The Orlando, Fla., Sentinel, in its issue of June 2, dedicated the following editorial which is a great tribute to Jim Farley. It follows:

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, June 2, 1964]

GENIAL JIM FARLEY'S 76TH BIRTHDAY

"Genial Jim" Farley observed his 76th birthday last week with a statement to the press that was typical of him:

"I have been on speaking terms with six presidents (including Hoover and Eisenhower)," he said, "and I was on friendly terms with all of them."

It was Jim Farley, who after many years of political activity in New York City, took to the hustings in 1932 and convinced the Democrats of the South and West where Franklin D. Roosevelt was little known at the time that the New York Governor could be elected President.

He managed Roosevelt's campaign for him that year and again in 1936 as Democratic national chairman. He also served under Roosevelt during his first two terms as Postmaster General. Then he retired from politics to work for Coca-Cola Export Corp., of which he is now chairman of the board.

He fought for those things which he thought were best for the country but he did not allow his own convictions to blind him to the views of others. The wisdom and maturity of a man can often be recognized by his tolerance toward disagreement.

Rumania Moves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of an editorial which appeared in the June 8, 1964 issue of the LaPorte, Ind., Herald-Argus concerning Rumania.

The editorial follows:

[From the LaPorte (Ind.) Herald-Argus, June 8, 1964]

RUMANIA MOVES

Rumania with its preference for western industrial equipment moved away considerably from the Soviet Russian economic orbit by its trade agreement with the United States and by its subsequent decision to submit to international inspection any nuclear reactor it may acquire from the United States. Hoping to step up industrialization and to widen trade contracts with the United States, the Bucharest government has been shopping assiduously, as its recent Washington parley indicated. It becomes the third of six European Communist countries to enter into a special relationship with the United States, the other two being Poland and Yugoslavia. Perhaps Hungary will be next.

The United States-Rumanian pact also provides that the legations in Washington and Bucharest will be elevated to Embassies, which means the two nations will exchange

ambassadors. This should help develop wider cultural and tourist relationships as well as wider business dealings.

President Johnson in a recent address at the dedication of the George C. Marshall Research Library in Virginia enunciated an American policy regarding the Iron Curtain countries. First, he said, we want to strengthen the ability of every European people to select and shape its own society. And we also want to bring every European nation closer to its neighbors in the relationships of peace, he said.

And he noted, what is very true, that nations of Eastern Europe are beginning to assert their own identity, are revealing to the world that it is possible for each to have its own national brand of communism, with less, and less domination by Moscow. The Rumanian Communists, for example, on April 22 in a strong statement repudiated in large part any Communist bloc view on economic partnership, showing the marked preference for looking to the United States and the West for increased trade and as the source of industrial items.

While Rumania, like Poland and Yugoslavia, remains sturdily Communistic, still it now undertakes to call many more of its shots and go its own way in matters of national interest. And this could have much meaning not only throughout Europe but in all of the West, because closer ties will almost surely dilute still further Rumanian communism and shape it eventually into a reformed ideology perhaps more in key with non-Communist governments.

It is interesting too that Moscow does not appear particularly perturbed by the Rumanian nationalism. After all, Khrushchev is busy encouraging wider trade and closer relationships with any number of nations not in the Communist bloc.

Is the National Treasury the Only Thing "Creative" in the New "Creative Federalism"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has called for creative federalism as a means of achieving the "Great Society" he envisions for the United States and particularly for our cities. The mayor of St. Louis, the Honorable Raymond R. Tucker, who is also the head of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, analyzed this concept and the problems which must be solved when he spoke last Wednesday in St. Louis at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects.

Mayor Tucker's speech contains a great deal of solid information which the Congress of the United States should know about, particularly as we approach a vote this week on the long-delayed mass transportation bill.

Mayor Tucker is well aware of the fact that some people, perhaps even including some Members of Congress, look fearfully upon the idea of having the Federal Government participate with the States and localities in the solution of urban strangulation and urban blight and overcrowding and traffic jams, and lack of breathing space and pure air and pure water and effective sanitation. So he acknowledges in his remarks to the architects that these problems cannot be solved by the Federal Government alone any more than they can be solved only by the municipalities. There must be a coordination of policies, not just simply cooperation, among the three levels of government, he said. Furthermore, each level of government must shoulder, to the extent it can, a proportionate share of the cost of building the "Great Society."

Mayor Tucker declared:

My colleague on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Senator MUSKIE, of Maine, recently performed the service of publicizing the degree to which State and local governments have risen to their financial responsibilities. Senator MUSKIE pointed out that if we exclude Federal expenses for defense, space, veterans, and interest costs in the year 1962, and then compare relative expenditures, "we find the Federal Government's proportion came to 27 percent, as against 48 percent for local government and nearly 25 percent for the States." The State and local proportion has almost doubled in the last decade.

Local governments particularly have strained their legally limited resources to the hilt. I emphasize this lest anyone feel that I consider the only thing "creative" in a new "federalism" to be the national treasury.

NEARLY 100 MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS IN COUNTY SURROUNDING ST. LOUIS

Mr. Speaker, I hope that those Members who are uncertain about the merits of such legislation as the mass transportation bill will be willing to read Mayor Tucker's excellent speech to the American Institute of Architects explaining the need for bold solutions to desperate problems in our cities. We need metropolitan planning as compared to the old idea of each little community or big community seeking to solve all of its environmental problems all by itself. Mayor Tucker refers to the "severe fragmentation of local government from which we suffer" and adds:

There are 96 or 98 separate and distinct municipalities in St. Louis County which surrounds the city of St. Louis. The exact count always eludes me. School districts, fire districts, and the like, compound the issue. Almost one-third of our metropolitan area lies within another State.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members to read this excellent speech, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MAYOR RAYMOND R. TUCKER, OF ST. LOUIS, PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, AT ANNUAL MEETING, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, ST. LOUIS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1964

Dean Hurst, members and friends of the American Institute of Architects, I was sorely tempted to say "fellow members," but I feared that some would feel I was presuming upon my honorary membership and that others would anticipate a professional expertise in architecture which I do not possess.

In all seriousness, one of the honors which I have received during my tenure as mayor of St. Louis of which I am most proud was my election to honorary membership in your distinguished body.

I have often used the simple theme "A Place to Live" as descriptive of our total effort of redevelopment in St. Louis. It is our hope to move the city closer to a place in which the human being can fully realize his individual dignity.

This means a place in which he is well housed and attractively housed, a place in which individual opportunity for self-expression, for economic welfare, and for good and varied education is enhanced.

The simple theme comprehends expansion of parks and recreational facilities, and it means the wise provision of cultural advantages. It even means reasonable methods of moving people around through the city—yes, proper mass rapid transit, as well as expressways and hopefully tasteful parking garages.

"A Place to Live," as I see it, means the development of a sense of community which transcends arbitrary political boundaries within the total metropolitan area.

"A Place to Live" means fit air to breathe and good clean water to drink. It means a physical environment wherein the appreciation of beauty can be enjoyed and stimulated.

We seek a balanced economic base, capable of supporting not only the employment and the investment of the city's inhabitants, but also the functions of government necessary to this total concept.

Some may think this broad goal departs from reality to the heavenly city on this earth.

But surely our actions must be guided by goals which are loftier than the realities of a given moment. Surely it was in that spirit that President Johnson spoke on the "Great Society" at the University of Michigan last month.

The President was quite direct and to the point when he said, "Our society will never be great until our cities are great," and he further commented that "today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities."

To attain this society, the President called for a "creative federalism."

This expression well comprehends the thrust of your inquiry this afternoon, as you have scheduled speakers from each of the three traditional levels of American Government.

Significantly enough, urbanism is the unifying factor for the discussions from each level of government.

Urbanism has become the single most significant fact of American life. With the Census Bureau predicting a 30-percent population increase by 1980, the overwhelming bulk of that increase will be located in urban areas.

Further, the trend to the cities continues unabated. Other predictions indicate that this St. Louis metropolian area alone will receive an increment of from 600,000 to 800,000 persons with the scant 16 years before 1980.

So the problems of urban life in all of its aspects become ever more important for all the traditional levels of government.

Indeed, the concept of local government, which has been undergoing substantial changes during the immediate past decades, will require further and more striking readjustment in light of the coming challenges. I believe it can be truly said that no level of government in the United States is adequately prepared for the urban expansion of the future.

It is strange to relate that we have accepted virtually without debate the challenge of space and have committed tens of billions of dollars to that challenge. Yet we struggle to organize much smaller programs devoted to the betterment of our people, and their condition of living.

Totally apart from money, the Federal Government still does not contain a Department of Urban Affairs (or a similar one with the seemingly less controversial title of Housing and Community Development). Is it not ironical that the concept of urban affairs, even by name, is supposed to be con-

troversial in a nation whose great metropolitan areas must be the backbone of its strength?

Proper Federal organization for the coming urban bulge must also involve a coordination of various programs whose impact is upon metropolitan areas. Many of my audience, for example, are aware that the efforts of one Federal program in the financing of home construction may be in sharp conflict with another program of renewal and rehabilitation.

One of the most difficult central city problems is the financing of sound, but older housing, while low downpayments and attractive interest rates were available for new subdivision housing.

This, however, is simply one example from a multitude of Federal programs, each one of which may be aimed at a desirable goal, but many operate at cross-purposes.

It may well be that one of the most pressing demands of a new "creative federalism" is a total reexamination of the Federal tax structure and the respective taxing powers of States and their municipal corporations.

Much has been said through the years about the importance to the American constitutional system of the State level of government, but the response of State governments to urban problems has been, on the whole, weak and irregular.

I certainly agree with the significance of State goverments in our constitutional system, but I do not think that significance can be maintained in a vacuum of abstraction. State governments must become more responsive to changing conditions if their prestige and status is to remain meaningful.

I do not mean to speak of radical change, but it surely is most meaningful that action of Federal courts seems necessary to bring many States into compliance with the elementary features of equality in representation.

The kinds of action which States may undertake in regard to the evolving metropolitan character of the Nation are various and different. Some States have acted in the fields of housing and urban redevelopment, permitting a flexibility of approaches and relieving the hard-pressed finances of local governments.

Personally, I should like to see further State recognition of changes in the allocation of functions of government. For example, at a simpler age in our history, the local and county jail may have had some significance. But today it seems to me that the whole field of corrections is one which should be a State responsibility. Ease of transportation and communication removes the inconvenience which a now desirable regional corrections system may once have entailed.

State control and operation of such a function would permit uniformity of standards, and particularly could enhance an effective program of rehabilitation.

I cite this function, only as illustrative of an area in which a State government, alert to change and the possibilities brought with it, could assume a real responsibility.

We may not be lawyers, but we know that the State governments are the repository of far greater legal powers and far broader sources of revenue than their legal creatures, the cities and the counties. From that reservoir, a major contribution must be made to any evolving "creative federalism."

Now I am quite aware that my assigned subject was "Local Relationships," but the burden of my argument must rest on the fact that urban problems do require for their solution a "creative federalism" and cannot be viewed simply as local problems.

I earlier stated that no level of government in the country was adequately prepared for the urban expansion of the next two decades, and I hasten to assure my colleagues, Senator WILLIAMS and Governor Anderson, that I had no intention of excluding local governments.

From a structural point of view, the sins of local governments may be the greatest of all. Is there any metropolitan area which is competent to deal with its coming expansion?

I regret to say, with a few exceptions such as our Metropolitan St. Louis Sewer District, our junior college district, and our bi-State agency, the St. Louis metropolitan area cannot claim exceptional distinction. Over recent months, we have engaged in wider discussions concerning areawide activities in industrial development, air pollution control, planning, and other matters.

But in all candor we remain far from the goal of overcoming the severe fragmentation of local government from which we suffer. There are 96 or 98 separate and distinct municipalities in St. Louis County which surrounds the city of St. Louis. The exact count always eludes me. School districts, fire districts, and the like, compound the issue. Almost one-third of our metropolitan area lies within another State.

This kind of government is expensive and inefficient. It does not permit an area fully to mobilize its resources to attack area problems. It perpetuates an inequitable division of responsibilities and costs.

Where is an imaginative response to President Johnson's call for "creative federalism" more needed than in new concepts of government for our metropolitan areas?

What is the concern of the architect in these matters? His concern as a citizen is the same as that of the rest of us; but he possesses a direct professional concern.

The architectural profession recognizes an obligation for the building of structures which are beautiful and efficient. Your profession, most significantly, has been commenting more and more on the subject of urban design. And, I might add, you have found little good to say, on the whole, about the values in the emerging designs of our metropolitan areas.

Frankly, I think the relationship between fragmented and planless governments in a metropolitan area and visible patterns of urban design which are emerging is a direct one. The city beautiful cannot arise if metropolitan areas simply ignore their problems, grow like Topsy, and take the first expedient solution. Good urban design cannot be served abstractly apart from the problems of the total community.

You know better than I the effect of the system of transporting persons on the shape of the community.

The contribution of the automobile to urban and suburban beauty has never been praised, to the best of my knowledge. But any new relationships brought about by an effective system of mass, rapid transit, for example, can only be based on a metropolitan solution.

In spite of Federal encouragement of "open spaces" programs, how many metropolitan areas are so organized that they can successfully plan and implement a parks and recreation program for the coming decades?

The central city is expected to provide many common services in the fields of education, culture, and recreation. Yet surely the level of these services, and the beauty in which they are housed, bears some relationship to the ability of the central city to foot the bill.

Your profession is immediately involved in the complex questions of adequate housing particularly for low- and middle-income groups. It has never been my view of material or moral equity that the central city alone should have the concern of low-income and deprived groups who live within its boundaries. Every metropolitan area must have a differentiation of income groups, and it is hardly rational to believe that the problems of low-income groups can be fenced off in one political subdivision and then solved on the local level.

This is particularly true when these problems are the result of trends and actions which are national in character. The problem of poverty in an affluent society, to which we all must address ourselves, is one whose solution most clearly requires concerted action. This means not simply cooperation between the three levels of government, but a coordination of policies within each level properly to address such a complex economic condition.

If the architect is interested in his designs as a contribution to the good life, he must view his role as one of concern for the total community, and the structure of that community is directly relevant to his work.

Now, while being critical of the various levels of government and their responses to the population boom, let no one assume that I am saying these governments have been blind to the community needs. Some functions are inescapable as growth proceeds; and others have been anticipated.

My colleague on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Senator MUSKIE, of Maine, recently performed the service of publicizing the degree to which State and local governments have risen to their financial responsibilities. Senator MUSKIE pointed out that if we exclude Federal expenses for defense, space, veterans, and interest costs in the year 1962, and then compare relative expenditures, "we find the Federal Government's proportion came to 27 percent as against 48 percent for local government and nearly 25 percent for the States." The State and local proportion has almost doubled in the last decade.

Local governments particularly have strained their legally limited resources to the hilt. I emphasize this lest anyone feel that I consider the only thing creative in a new federalism to be the National Treasury.

What must concern all of us is not only adequate expenditure to meet new public problems, but the best use of those expenditures at all levels of government. Once again, we are brought to the necessity of adequate organization of governments to the metropolitan challenge.

Are we adequate to the challenge? It is easy to say we must be, but I believe there are some hopeful signs.

I have drawn great satisfaction as mayor from the roles played by neighborhood organizations as they emerged from the traditional protective position and have realized that communitywide programs might contain better solutions toward their real protection.

This kind of attitude, I suspect, will develop among groups in more recently developed sections as they note the failure of isolated and fragmented efforts to cope with their needs.

I hope we can develop a sense of metropolitan community pride and inspire a kind of metropolitan federalism in which the strength of unity with diversity can be demonstrated at the local level of government.

State government responses to urbanism will accelerate, if only because of the sheer numbers living in urban areas. Again, let us be prepared for the best utilization of these responses.

The Federal Government is helping with the support of metropolitan unity for planning, water pollution control and air pollution control. The Federal purse strings are an effective immediate spur to our own recognition of our self-interest.

President Johnson's posing the goal of the great society rested upon his assumption that it could come neither from a "massive program in Washington, nor can it come from the strained resources of local authority." He called for a "creative federalism," and, toward the preparation for that objec-

tive, the President stated he would call a series of meetings and conferences on the cities, on natural beauty, and on the quality of education.

I know the organization which I have the honor to head, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, looks forward to participation, actively and energetically, in such conferences. I am sure the American Institute of Architects can make a striking contribution to such conferences and to the viability of local governments throughout the country in the coming period of stress and opportunity.

It is our fortune, and our duty, after all, to help construct the great society in this urban civilization.

Thank you.

Veterans Proud To Be Flag Wavers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Joe Martin in the Mount Greenwood Express, of June 11, 1964. The article also appeared in the other 10 community newspapers on the Southwest Side of Chicago edited by Walter Lysen and published by the Southwest Messenger Press, Inc. Every issue of the 11 newspapers features a contribution by Joe Martin on the theme of old-fashioned American patriotism and in the cause of the country's war veterans. In the following article he emphasizes the fact that veterans are proud to be flag wavers. I recommend its reading to my colleagues, the overwhelming majority of whom are war veterans and all of whom, I am sure, will applaud Joe Martin in his patriotic work.

The article follows:

VETS PRESS

(By Joe Martin)

On June 14, the American people will pause to pay tribute to the symbol of all that our country stands for, Flag Day, 1964, presents each of us with an opportunity for a meaningful exercise in patriotism.

American Legionnaires are known, and proudly so, as flag wavers. We resent any action that smacks of disrespect for the Stars and Stripes. We do so because, like Francis Scott Key, we have seen Old Glory embattled, and we have known the joy of helping to keep it high over the ramparts we watch.

Old Glory belongs to every American. It proclaims our freedom, our rights, our duties. It is a very special flag with special significance for all mankind.

It signifies that the Declaration of Independence, as Abraham Lincoln said, "Gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world.'

It stands for a way of life fashioned after Almighty God's way—a society built upon spiritual values, offering challenges for the strong, help for the weak, and compassion for the unfortunate.

It tells us that in this land, as in no other, an individual can advance to the limit of his talents—unafraid, and unhindered by the circumstances of his birth.

Because we cannot comprehend America, and all it represents in any other simple way, the flag is a focal image of our loyalty. We worship as we choose, say what we believe, work where and as we like, vote according to diverse shadings of political opinion.

For all 180 million of us, whatever our differences, the flag affirms our common citizenship in one indivisible nation.

It is unfortunate that not all Americans show proper respect for the flag; not all Americans appreciate their blessings. This is a sobering show of ignorance and apathy about what America means.

It is noteworthy that patriotic irreverence is rarely practiced by foreign born Americans. Many of our new citizens have come from lands where freedom is a dream and the national flag a signal of oppression. These people are not embarrassed to stand up for Old Glory nor to fly the flag on appropriate patriotic occasions because they know and love what Old Glory stands for.

In the history of nations, liberty has been lost more often through internal negligence than through external aggression. The flag should be for each of us a constant incentive to alert responsible citizenship.

Today the Stars and Stripes keep somber vigil over the graves of American fighting men around the world. Young Americans in the uniform of our country serve under the colors of their country from Berlin to Vietnam, from the Aleutians to Antarctica, the last best hope to all who aspire to a life of freedom with dignity and justice.

On Flag Day, let us display Old Glory with care and pride. Let us encourage others, especially the children of our communities, to view the flag with a pride founded upon reasoned understanding of the great national purposes it heralds.

The American flag is a symbol of what we the citizens are.

Panamanian Outbreak Inquiry: United States Found "Not Guilty"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in previous remarks to the House I quoted an editorial from the Washington Daily News deploring the failure of the major press of the United States to report in an objective manner the January 1964 Panamanian mob assault on the Canal Zone.

It will be gratifying to thousands of our citizens throughout the Nation who have sensed the suppression of news about the bloody outbreak to know that the Evening Star, in an editorial on the June 9, 1964, "Report of the International Commission of Jurists," emphasized the patience exhibited by the commanders of our forces when facing "a wild, armed mob bent on murder, looting, arson, and disorder."

The report of the international Commission was quoted in an address to the House on June 11, 1964, by my able and distinguished colleague the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], who is chairman of the Panama Canal Subcommittee. It is hoped that editors and other publicists throughout the Nation will study this report and follow the example of the Washington Daily News and Evening Star in trying to undo some of the injuries inflicted by irresponsible and mendacious journalism that characterized the reporting of the January mob attack on the Canal Zone.

The indicated editorial follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 12, 1964]

NOT GUILTY

The investigating committee of the International Commission of Jurists reached the only reasonable conclusion in deciding that the U.S. Army's use of force during the Panamanian riots last January was justified.

Three impartial and respected jurists representing Sweden, the Netherlands, and India found unanimously that the "Panamanian authorities made no attempt during the critical early hours, as well as for almost 3 days thereafter, to curb and control the violent activities of the milling crowds." On the contrary, the Commission found, there is considerable evidence to indicate that newspaper accounts and broadcasts over radio, television, and loudspeakers were adopted to incite and misinform the Panamanian public.

Particularly, the Commission noted these facts: The small number of Canal Zone policemen; the large dimensions and violent temper of the crowds; the firing of nearly 1,000 bullets from the Panamanian side; the fact that the U.S. Army did not order rifle fire until several soldiers had been hit.

The Commission found that the force exerted by the Canal Zone Police and the Army over the 3 days from January 9 through 12 "may have been at certain stages somewhat in excess of what was absolutely necessary at the time." We do not think so. We think the Army commanders showed almost questionable patience in the face of a wild, armed mob bent on murder, looting, arson, and disorder.

As to the charge by Panama that the right of assembly was violated, the Commission correctly found that there was no such violation because the crowds were not peaceful but violent and posed a threat to public safety.

The Commission goes somewhat further afield in concluding that the different ways of life of the American citizens in the zone alongside the Panamanians in the Republic has given rise to divergencies that have built up unbalanced attitudes on both sides. This may well be true, particularly when it comes to the flying of national banners. But there is no time for such philosophizing when a mob roars into life. Our troops did what they had to do, and they performed with commendable restraint. It is good to have the record set straight.

A Lady Decides To Step Aside

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most charming and beloved political figures in the State of Connecticut has recently announced her decision to retire from formal political activity.

This lady is Winifred McDonald, a former secretary of the State of Connecticut and an outstanding figure for many years in the activities of the Connecticut Democratic Party.

Winnie McDonald has been a friend of mine all my life and I am delighted to be able to say this affectionate word of approval for her long record of service to our community and our State.

She has conducted her political activities on a high plane and has treated the political calling as one worthy of respect. In this way, she has won the regard of people of all parties and, most important of all, she has provided a worthy example for the young Americans whom we desire to see participate more fully in the daily affairs of our party.

Mrs. McDonald has fashioned an outstanding record and her probity, her frankness and her affectionate sympathy for the problems of the people of our State will long be remembered.

In an editorial which appeared in the Waterbury American on May 21, 1964, Mrs. McDonald's career was marked with grace and accuracy. I include this editorial herewith:

A LADY DECIDES TO STEP ASIDE

If the lady will permit us a bit of editorial license, we are moved to express regret that "Winnie" McDonald has decided that the time has come to step down from post as a member of the Democratic State Central Committee.

We know that we really shouldn't call her "Winnie," especially in the public prints where a certain degree of decorum and dignity is called for, when referring to people of stature in the community. And Mrs. McDonald is certainly that.

But we have known, respected, and admired the lady for a good many years, even though we didn't always go along with the political premises espoused by the party of her choice. And to us, as to countless others, she has always been "Winnie."

She set a good many records in Waterbury. She was the first and only woman ever to be named town chairman of the Waterbury Democratic Party. She was one of the first women to serve on a grand jury in Waterbury. She served as secretary of the State of Connecticut from 1948 to 1950. She has been vice chairman of the Waterbury Democratic Town Committee since 1947.

To call her the "First Lady" of Waterbury politics is surely no overstatement.

Now she has seen fit, of her own free will, to step down from the State central committee.

"Let young people take it up now. I definitely want to step aside."

That, we would say, is rather typical of "Winnie" McDonald. Possessed of a definite set of value, a sense of humor as well as a sense of honor and duty, she has also long been known for just plain commonsense. She never had to be hit over the head to distinguish between right and wrong, or good and bad.

And while we can honestly regret her self-determined passage from the political scene, we can with equal honesty say that in all her long career she never failed the people of Waterbury.

Need we say more—except perhaps to wish her many more years in which to observe from the sidelines those political and community activities to which she long devoted her best energies?

The Hungry World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor entitled "The Hungry World," containing excerpts from Royal Bank of Canada's Monthly Letter:

THE HUNGRY WORLD

We are on the threshold of the world's most exciting, most fearful, and yet most hopeful period. It will be made exciting by advances in science and technology, and fearful by threat of war and the menace of hunger; but it will be made hopeful by the increasing capability of the minds of men to cope with life.

Of all our problems, none is more urgent than that of hunger. It is commonplace for orators to tell us that men's social skills have not kept up with their mechanical skills. Here is another area, seldom thought of, in which men have not kept up. For 99 percent of the time man has been on earth he was a food gatherer, and only during the remaining 1 percent has he been a food producer. He has not yet learned the new technique effectively.

The present food shortages are a reminder of the slender material foundation on which our civilization and our lives rest. There is an ominously increasing pressure of population on the world's food supply. Hendrik van Loon seemed to make everything very simple in his Geography: the whole of the human race could be packed into a box a little over a half a mile square. But the space of air displaced by a human body in a box is far removed from the space of earth needed to nourish it in life.

It is difficult for North Americans to understand the plight of people in underdeveloped countries, because we have never been desperately hungry. No one dies here of starvation. Elsewhere, more than 1,500 million people go to bed hungry every night. A statistical study by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) confirms that at least a third to a half of the world's people suffer from hunger or malnutrition.

Being forced to live on anything below adequate food makes a man a social liability. He cannot work effectively on an empty stomach; he cannot study and learn as he must in order to improve his condition; he cannot think beyond the dominant immediate need, which is his next meal; he cannot build up resistance to wasting disease; he holds back not only the economic and social development of his own country but also the prosperity of the world.

The fact is that not more than one in a hundred of the people in underdeveloped countries will ever, in all his life, have what a North American family would consider a good, square meal. This forms the sombre background against which to view world events.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, says: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family."

To have a good standard of living does not mean becoming encumbered with Western World impediments. It does mean not having to eat grass, as women have been seen to do near the Persian Gulf; it does mean that the emaciated laborer in China does not have to go for a day on scraps of food that contain only 200 calories while his Canadian counterpart has a regular 2,500-calorie intake.

What, then, is to be done? Dr. P. V. Sukhatme, Director of the Statistics Division of FAO, said in 1962: "The broad conclusion to be drawn is that, should the population grow according to the United Nations forecast, the world's total food supplies would have to be doubled by 1980 and trebled by the turn of the century."

It is easy to say that population increase should be ordered by reason, but we have to remind ourselves again and again of the humanness of human beings. In some societies family planning is not acceptable; in others, where childless old age can mean starvation, children are the only form of "social security"; boys are a standard of value in a world which has no other material wealth; girls are not only a source of domestic labor but often bring rich dowries.

One thing is certain: the import of food from the wealthier to the less wealthy regions can never provide more than a small part of what is needed.

The best answer to the world's agricultural problem is the development of food production where it is needed.

Pitifully little is produced in the underdeveloped world by lifelong, backbreaking labor. In many countries the implements available to farmers have not changed in thousands of years. Merely to substitute stronger or better designed hand tools or to provide animal-drawn implements would make a big difference in farm yields.

A massive contribution can be made through the provision of fertilizers for land and sprays against pests, the introduction of high-yield and disease-resistant varieties of corn, oats, soy beans, potatoes, and other crops. Fertilizers alone, it is estimated by FAO, could bring about an increase in crop yields of 30 percent. By merely adding an outboard motor to a boat at one experimental station, enabling the fishermen to reach a better area, the catch of fish was increased from 13.3 pounds of fish a day to 139 pounds a day.

Beside all this, industrialization is needed No country has made substantial economic progress until about half of the working population has been shifted from agriculture to industry. This development is necessary to provide construction, transportation, communication, housing, clothing, and a more efficient agriculture.

The essentials of production are land, labor, capital, and organization; but people in the underdeveloped countries must first be educated to use these and inspired to want what they will provide. Expenditures for education constitute one of the most effective forms of development assistance. That is why Canada has encouraged recipient countries to take advantage of scholarships to prepare teachers, and has through capital assistance supported the development of educational institutions in the countries being helped.

This low level of literacy is a greater handicap today than was illiteracy during the industrialization of 19th century Europe. Britain could take a generation to learn what must be absorbed in the present emergency in a year.

The statistics of misery is not, then, a remote economic and technical affair, but one bound up intimately with social policy. Statesmen who are realists will give a high place in their thinking to the elimination of hunger and squalor in all parts of the world as a means of protecting and enhancing the lives of people in their own countries.

The problem can no longer be left to be dealt with by each nation according to its capability, but must be tackled through international cooperation.

Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, more than 300 communities with a

population in excess of 50,000 are faced with the problem of air pollution in this country today. As of 2 years ago there were more than 65 million passenger motor vehicles in the United States. In California alone there are 7,230,000. This does not include trucks and buses. It will probably total in excess of 13 million. It seems to me this would give some idea of the magnitude of air pollution problems in this country.

The State of California is leading the Nation in an attempt to control the source of air pollution on motor vehicles. The State has already approved four devices for installation on passenger carrying motor vehicles. On passenger automobiles these devices will reduce unburned gas fumes by 80 percent, and carbon monoxide by 60 percent, and the more optimistic reports is that they will reduce smog forming hydrocarbon by two-thirds.

The problem facing this Congress is that of some control of the manufacture of automobiles. The devices used in California if extended nationwide would range in cost from $26.75 to $70 per system, plus the annual service charge required by some models. It is estimated that an average charge of $45 for the approximately 66 million motor automobiles in this country would amount to an expenditure on the part of the automobile owner of nearly $3 billion for the car owners to pay.

However, a return to the use of white gasoline and low-compression automobile engines would eliminate this expenditure on the part of the automobile owners.

The present cause of air pollutants on the streets of the 300 cities mentioned is the partial combustion of high-test gasoline.

Before the advent of high test gasoline, while low-compression engines were used in automobiles there was no air pollution from automobiles in cities anywhere. A return to the low-compression engine would require retooling and an expenditure by the motorcar manufacturer. In view of their tremendous earning last year and their great production, it would seem to me the better part of wisdom to require auto manufacturers to return to the low-compression engine and the use of white gasoline, restoring again the clear quality of the air we breathe and removing the threat of respiratory ailments and in some cases cancer in these cities suffering from air pollution.

Appended is a news release which is of such significance that I believe it should be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today. I hope that this body will take note of these dangers and the possible remedies and will take such steps as may be necessary to proceed in the elimination of air pollution which causes so much danger to the health of all of us.

The news release follows:

LOS ANGELES.—California today (June 17) took dead aim at smog-forming exhaust gases with the approval of four devices to control that source of air pollution.

The four certified by the State Motor Vehicle Pollution Control Board were from American Machine & Foundry-Chromalloy Corp., Arvin Industries-Universal Oil Products Co., W. R. Grace & Co.-Norris Thermador Corp., and Walker Manufacturing Co.-American Cyanamid Co.

The board action climaxes a year of rigorous testing and the sifting of 38 original applications for exhaust controls. Three are still pending. They will come before the MVPCB for consideration at a later date.

As explained by Dr. J. B. Askew of San Diego, MVPCB chairman, today's approval means that the next new model vehicles sold in California 1 year from now will have to be equipped with one of the devices.

The exhaust controls, coupled with crankcase systems, will reduce unburned vehicular gas fumes by 80 percent and carbon monoxide by 60 percent. It is estimated by MVPCB engineers that once all vehicles in Los Angeles are equipped with both devices smog-forming hydrocarbon will be reduced by nearly two-thirds.

Three of the exhaust devices are catalytic types which oxidize gases with special chemicals, while the AMF-Chromalloy device is a direct-flame type which burns the gases in a special container. All will replace conventional mufflers.

Factory costs for the devices will range from $26.75 for the AMF-Chromalloy device to $45–$70 for the Arvin-UOP system. Three will require annual servicing, while the Arvin-UOP catalyst is expected to have a life of 2 years. Only the AMF device was approved for used vehicles back to 1962 models.

Dr. Askew said the board wished to acclaim the work of the eight companies whose devices won OK's today.

"The people of California owe these manufacturers a real acknowledgment of gratitude for their persistence and cooperation," Dr. Askew said. He pointed out that some of them have worked on the problem for as long as 5 years, "investing millions of dollars, without any guarantee of return."

"The exhaust control problem has been one of the toughest technical challenges ever to face American industry," Dr. Askew said. "We are dealing with almost unlimited varieties of engines, body styles and driving patterns. California standards and criteria were purposely set high so that once devices were approved, we could be assured of their safety, effectiveness and reliability."

He said he hoped that the manufacturers will continue to work to make the devices even better and more reasonable.

Application of the exhaust systems to used vehicles will not go into effect until at least two are approved, nor will they be required on larger trucks and buses at this time.

The board commended Dr. Askew, San Diego County Health Officer, for his 2 years' service as chairman and presented him with a scroll. At the same time, Wm. R. Nissen, of West Covina, union official, was elected chairman, and Mrs. Michael Levee, Jr., of Beverly Hills, vice chairman.

The next meeting of the board will be August 12, 1964.

More History as It May Be Written

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following syndicated column by Mr. Harder came to my desk today. Of course, I am delighted that Mr. Harder speaks well of my bill, H.R. 1140, which would help our retired citizens but would not pauperize or humiliate.

Yes, indeed, citizens who have retired at the appointed age should be permitted to continue earning what they can and still get the full benefits of the moneys that have been taken from them in their youth.

The column follows:

WASHINGTON AND SMALL BUSINESS

(By C. Wilson Harder)

More history as it may be written.

And so it came to pass in this great land that the mighty Poohbahs of the Potomac became concerned with the plight of many of the citizens whose years were past three score.

For in a previous dynasty of Poohbahs, there had been set up what was called social security. Into the great god of the times, called U.S. Treasury, there poured in moneys from both master and servant to build a fund to keep elderly people from want on their retirement.

And there were hosannas throughout the great land until with the passing of the years it was found by those who had waxed old, that the value of the dollar had waned. And so, to keep body and soul together, many sought to use their experience at light tasks befitting their years to supplement the pittances from the great god U.S. Treasury.

But the great Poohbahs held up their hands and said, "Nay, if you want to continue to get from the U.S. Treasury the benefits of the money that wast taken away from thy paychecks for lo these many years, then like the lilies of the field, thou must toil not, neither must thee spin, for if thou earn more than $25 per week, you lose social security."

And thus a mighty protest was set up. The Poohbahs were asked "How does it happen that older people who have investments can wax fat and happy on these incomes and still get social security while I am not permitted to help myself?"

And the Poohbahs replied: "Twice blessed is he who clips coupons, for he neithers toils, nor spins, and thus does not irritate our great god, U.S. Treasury.

And so it came to pass that two leaders from the province known as New York, a Representative KATHERINE ST GEORGE, and a Senator KENNETH KEATING proposed laws to permit those who had passed three score and five to earn as much as they could and still get the benefits of the moneys that had been taken from them in their youth.

And this caused great consternation among the mighty Poohbahs of the Potomac.

And so a great council was held by the Poohbahs.

And the decision was to not permit people to help themselves. And forthwith with a mighty clamor of trumpets there was announced, instead, a big war on poverty, which was a holy war to keep the people dependent on the manna scattered down by the great god, U.S. Treasury. The rallying cry was "Seek ye first the U.S. Treasury, and all things will follow after."

For this was an era when there was confusion about many things. In a place called Vietnam and a place called Laos, legions of the great land fought and died, and while some people called it war, the Poohbahs said no, it was not war, it was advising.

Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in a recent editorial, WANE radio and TV station, Fort Wayne, Ind., dealt with Flag Day.

It is an excellent exposition of what this day should mean to all Americans, and I include it herewith:

FLAG DAY

In this age of supersophistication and sometimes pseudosophistication, an editorial reminder that this Sunday is Flag Day will strike some of our viewers as rather corny.

Certainly if we were to equate patriotism with observing Flag Day or showing reverence for the flag we would be revealing a rather shallow idea of what patriotism is.

Patriotism is a matter of doing and believing, not of engaging in mechanical formalities or speaking pious platitudes. It's a matter of understanding and valuing what America stands for and a matter of how far we're willing to go in defense of our American heritage. It's always a matter of good citizenship, and sometimes it's a matter of great personal sacrifice.

But when all this is said and done, it's also true that human being need symbols which give a physical, concrete expression to their spiritual ideals and principles. In the realm of patriotism, our flag serves this purpose; it's an outward, visible sign of an inner, invisible reality. There's always the danger, of course, of putting too much emphasis on the symbol and too little emphasis on the reality for which it stands. But when the symbols are ignored, the reality sometimes disappears. That's why there is still and always will be a place in American life for flagpoles which bear the Stars and Stripes, flagpoles like the one we proudly display in front of the WANE studio building.

And, so, on Flag Day, and on every other day, Americans should recall the great events of our past and present that we are wrapped in the American flag. They should recall that it stands for one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. If this is flag waving, can you think of a better flag to wave?

Thomas E. O'Connell on Community Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to live in a city which has an excellent community college—one that is presided over by a progressive, outstanding educator, Thomas E. O'Connell. The benefits of the Berkshire Community College to Pittsfield, Mass., and the surrounding area are too numerous to recount at this instance. I would like to say, however, that under Mr. O'Connell's direction, the Berkshire Community College continues to grow and prosper. Simultaneously, community colleges across the Nation contribute greatly to the educational development of this land. As an active supporter of the community college program, I am pleased to include a most interesting article which appeared in the March 1964 issue of the Dartmouth Alumni magazine. I am certain that Mr. O'Connell's excellent article will receive wide reading and very close attention.

The article follows:

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE: THE NEWEST INSTITUTION IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IS SPREADING ACROSS THE LAND, CREATING EXCITING CHALLENGES AND PREDICTIONS AS TO ITS PLACE IN THE EDUCATIONAL FUTURE OF A GROWING POPULATION

(By Thomas E. O'Connell, 1950, president of Berkshire Community College, Pittsfield, Mass.)

Five years ago this Ivy Leaguer didn't have any idea what a community college was. Lots of Ivy Leaguers and alumni of other liberal arts colleges and universities still don't know. They will soon, though, because community colleges are spreading like wildfire and are every year educating a larger and larger percentage of each freshman class across the country. Alvin E. Eurich, of the Fund for the Advancement of Education in the Ford Foundation, thinks maybe by 2000 there won't be any 4-year colleges; maybe there will be only community colleges and universities.

Let me tell you what a community college is. First off, it is a junior college—2 years. Usually it is a public college, financed by the municipality or the State, or both. Usually it is coeducational. Usually it is only for commuting students—no dormitories. It serves a wide variety of students; indeed that is a part of its charm as well as a limitation. But there are essentially two groups of students: those who plan to transfer as juniors to 4-year institutions and those who plan to go to work in a variety of occupations after just 2 years of college.

It is this multipurposeness which accounts in large measure for the community college's surging popularity. Typically a community college has a transfer or liberal arts program which contains the same balance among the social sciences, the sciences, and the humanities that one would find in the first two years of a liberal arts college or university. It also has a variety of specialized programs, often called occupational, or technical, or terminal programs. These occupational programs, in addition to offering a core of compulsory liberal arts courses, include courses to prepare students to go to work in local businesses or industries. Pittsfield's largest employer is the General Electric Co., so Berkshire Community College numbers among its occupational programs one in electrical technology. Obviously, the more of these occupational programs the community college can offer, the more opportunity there is for each qualified high school graduate to find the one which suits his particular aptitudes and aspirations. Some colleges have up to 20 of these occupational programs in fields such as dental technology, nursing, banking, data processing, or petroleum technology.

Another reason community colleges are burgeoning is that they're inexpensive. The first 2 years of college are cheaper to operate than the last 2 because larger lecture classes are suitable for many introductory courses (psychology, for example) and because less specialized equipment is required. A nonresidential college costs only about half as much per student to build and to run as a dormitory college. The cost to students to attend a community college is a fraction of the cost of a residential college. Many community colleges are tuition free. At Berkshire and at the other five Massachusetts community colleges the tuition is $200 a year and the total college cost for a student living at home is often under $400 a year. This economy makes all the difference to many students from large families or from families of limited means—it often means they attend college when they otherwise could not even consider doing so.

The community college is easier to get into, too. It may have an "open door" for any high school graduate. It is sometimes described as a uniquely American or democratic institution which recognizes the importance of the "average" person's having the opportunity to go beyond high school. The description is justified, I think. At Berkshire we don't have an "open door," but we do admit any high school graduate who looks to us to be a reasonably good bet to do the job in college. I say to our freshmen each year, "This is a relatively easy institution to get into, but it is not an easy institution to stay in." We wash them out pretty quickly if it turns out we guessed wrong at admission—about one-third flunk or quit the first year—but at least they've had the chance, and that's important.

What about the quality of education offered in a community college? The fact that our attrition at Berkshire is high indicates we're not soft. But a community college has definite handicaps as it strives to keep the right kind of institutional press on its students. In the first place, we don't have the students for as long as we could wish. They are gone at the close of each day and they are gone after 2 years. They don't have the benefit of more mature upperclassmen to set a tone for them in the informal, out-of-class education which a residential institution offers. These shortcomings are very real. Cardinal Newman in "The Idea of a University," said that residence with one's fellow students is more important than professors or examinations for "training, molding, enlarging the mind."

The community colleges have other shortcomings. Our students tend to come from the same socioeconomic group as well as from the same geographic area, so some of the usual college stimulation of rubbing up against strange people is lacking. Nor do they get another kind of of stimulation often associated with going to college, that of going away from home, of being on their own. And, of course, 2 years of college is not really enough of college for most able youngsters, but that is all most of our occupational students get. (Woodrow Wilson is supposed to have said, "Anyone who thinks 2 years of college is enough has never seen a sophomore. The sap has begun to rise but it has not yet reached the brain.")

Also, the fact that community colleges are not selective in admission means that there are students in the colleges who are not as well prepared to do college-level work as would be the case in most 4-year institutions. There is a greater disparity in the aptitudes of the students and in the amount of information they have than one usually finds in a college. Some students who come to us are very bright and the community college must not hold them back while attending to the problems of their slower classmates. The problem is akin to that faced by public high schools and we use some of the same devices they do to solve it; Homogeneous grouping in classes (but with a common grading standard), honors programs, developmental reading programs, special attention to the very quick student and the slower but especially persevering one. But obviously the 130–IQ student who comes to Berkshire (and each entering class has several) is going to find fewer intellectually challenging classmates than would be the case at Dartmouth or Smith.

On the plus side of community colleges the very least that must be said is: Better to attend a community college for 2 years than not to have any college experience at all. And I think more than this can be said.

In the first place, community college teachers concentrate on their work in the classrooms and on counseling with students. They are not required to "publish or perish." The strongest teachers we can find are given the introductory courses where sparks of interest are most likely to be generated in students. Indeed, we often are able to attract first-class teachers who are interested in just this kind of situation. Many of our best

teachers are non-Ph. D.'s who were blocked from promotion in the 4-year institutions because they wished to concentrate on teaching rather than scholarship. They are pleased to find a college teaching assignment which does not demand that they continue to divide their energies between teaching and working at the frontiers of knowledge in their disciplines. This is not, of course, to derogate the dual-purpose role of the university and its faculty of teacher-scholars. Nor is it to say that we discourage scholarship on the part of our faculties; we want them to keep up in their fields and there is no better way to do this than by research. It is simply to say that our special emphasis is on teaching and not on scholarship and that this special emphasis adds a dimension of strength to the teaching that is done in the introductory courses in community colleges.

Many of the community colleges are small. Berkshire has 350 full-time day students in this its 4th year of operation and we won't go above 1,000 for several years. This means we are quickly able to single out for extra attention the really able student or the one with special problems. Our being small means that many students are able to take on leadership functions they might otherwise not have. Extracurricular activities do play a part in community college education, though there is relatively more emphasis on the curricular work and perhaps less danger of a marginal student being dazzled by the appeal of a variety of subsidized activities to the detriment of his studies.

For many students, attending the first 2 years of college while living at home is just right. For one reason or another, 17 is not the right age for everyone to try his wings away from home. I recall the late Dr. Alan Gregg of the Rockefeller Foundation chiding educators for our pride in the slow-maturing nature of humans and our paradoxical insistence that maturity be assumed at the arbitrary cutoff age of 17 or 18. The so-called "late bloomer" often finds the community college the best garden. At Berkshire we have helped a number of students who left home to go to a residential college, found it a bewildering or overwhelming experience, especially at a large university, and as a result quickly flunked out. They have come to us, done well, and returned more confidently to the university as juniors. Some community college people refer to this as our "salvage function" and that strikes me as an accurate, if inelegant, phrase. In some cases the younger siblings of these "salvaged" students are coming to Berkshire in the first instance, as freshmen.

The lack of juniors and seniors to set a tone—a lack which has always struck me as a very real one in residential junior colleges, especially those which are geographically isolated—is in some measure offset in community colleges by the liberal sprinkling of more mature people in our classrooms. We have a number of housewives, for example, women in their twenties and thirties who come in to take one or two courses during the day while their husbands are at work and their children are in school. They lend a serious and purposeful tone. So do the older married veterans who find us the most feasible college to attend. These mature people, many of whom were caught in the "tender trap" and found themselves with families before they realized what they had missed in education, are almost wistfully grateful for the chance to pick up their lost opportunity. Their zest and energy in taking advantage of the opportunity make them a delight for their teachers and catalysts for their classmates.

This, perhaps brings us to the "community" nature of the community college. Our colleges are assumed to be the opposite of the "ivory tower" institutions. One of our missions is to serve the community, to be the educational and cultural focal points in our regions. Hence the name "community college." We have adult education programs, lecture series, musical programs and plays, short noncredit courses for special groups to upgrade themselves, and a variety of other educational activities for which there is a need in our communities. While these same functions are performed by lots of other colleges and universities, they are perhaps more central to the purposes of the community college. Last year Berkshire served over 1,000 students in the day, evening, and summer programs; we held lectures by Norman Rockwell, Alistair Cooke, and C. Northcote Parkinson; we served as the "home" for a local symphony orchestra; we ran a series of seminars for businessmen in the area. But with all that we don't feel we are yet having nearly the impact on our community that many community colleges have on theirs.

One of the exciting things about this community college business is that many communities are having colleges established for the first time. Most of these communities are taking the colleges to their hearts as they would no other kind of institution. They sense what a college can mean to them, much as the upper Connecticut Valley communities did when they vied for Eleazar Wheelock's attention as he made plans for starting his college two centuries ago. And what has Dartmouth College meant to the upper Connecticut Valley? Visit the Hopkins creative arts center any weekend and you'll see. (We have a complex of two rooms at Berkshire devoted to some aspects of the creative arts; our fine arts man calls it son of Hopkins center.)

So municipalities and States are building flossy new campuses for their community colleges. They are planning to expand them to meet the crush of high school graduates during the next few years. That crush is enormous and it is almost on us. For example, the number of high school graduates here in Berkshire County jumps 40 percent in just 2 years between last June's class and the class finishing in 1965. Figures for New York and many other States are comparable. As for the community college's role in handling this avalanche of students, by 1970 three out of four high school graduates in the Nation who go on to higher education will enroll in 2-year institutions, according to a study by the Prudential Insurance Co.

The community colleges, in turn, must do their best to be sure that coping with this quantity doesn't preclude quality education. This brings us back to the key question of how good these colleges are and will be. They are, of course, like any class of colleges, uneven. If you want to see how bad they can be, read "The Open Door College," by Burton R. Clark, which describes a new 2-year college and its difficulty in establishing itself as a genuine collegiate institution.

But community colleges can be fine colleges, too. One measure of their quality is how well their graduates do in good 4-year institutions when they transfer as juniors. The record is impressive. A number of studies have shown that community college student transfers do as well or better than their classmates who matriculated in the 4-year institutions in the first place. At Berkshire we were pleased (no, overjoyed) to find that our first group of 111 graduates who went on to 40 different 4-year institutions with credit for their community college work (there has been surprisingly little problem in transferring credit) achieved on an average a 2.45 cumulative index on a 4.0=straight "A" scale their first semester. This would be slightly better than their junior-year classmates.

How do the 4-year institution feel about the new community colleges? The State universities are by and large delighted to delegate the task of screening large numbers of freshmen and sophomores so that they can concentrate most of their energies on upper division and graduate education. On the campuses of the University of California, for example, there are twice as many juniors and seniors as freshmen and sophomores. In Florida, new State universities are not admitting any freshmen or sophomores. Their students will all be community college transfers. In the Northeast, too, the 4-year institutions are beginning to demonstrate an awareness of the community colleges. Dean of Admissions Eugene S. Wilson, of Amherst College, announced a short time ago that Amherst would actively seek applications from 50 transfers from junior and community colleges each year. Students from Berkshire have already transferred to Middlebury, Brandeis, Simmons, and several other prestige institutions. (After all, it was a shorter time ago than most of us keep in mind—just before World War II, as a matter of fact—that the prestige institutions were admitting many average students who now find most doors closed to them except those of the community college.)

It may well be, though, that over the long pull the community colleges' greatest contribution will come not in this transfer function but in helping to meet what Walter Lippmann has called the most pressing unfinished business facing our Nation: "the gigantic work of adjusting our way of life to the scientific revolution of this age and to the stupendous growth of the population." By providing the communities across the Nation with flexible post-high school educational institutions committed to offering some form of higher education to everyone willing to prepare for it, the community college may be a decisive factor in our adjustment to this scientific revolution. Soon a high school education will be insufficient as preparation for any but the most menial job. Even now there are not enough menial jobs for those prepared to do no others. At the same time, our society's need for technicians or preprofessionals is greater even than our need for professionally trained people. The occupational programs of the community colleges may prove the best way to meet this challenge, both by educating young people coming out of high schools and by retraining their elders to adjust to automation and new ways of doing the Nation's work.

So far, the community colleges, including Berkshire, have talked much better than they have performed in occupational education. We have not really yet begun to educate technicians in anything like the numbers needed. We'd better start soon, and I think we will. The trick will be for our community colleges to remain flexible enough and zestful enough and imaginative enough to meet the special new educational needs of the United States which community colleges appear uniquely well suited to handle. We must be in fact, as well as in name, a new college for a new society.

For many of us at Berkshire Commuity College, and at other community colleges I know, the challenges we face are the most exciting in higher education.

Terror in Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, close observers of events in the Republic of Panama have noted a marked increase in acts of terror in that country since its

presidential elections in May. Such terroristic activities include the manufacture of bombs and bombings, sabotage of microwave telephone installations in Chiriqui, and destruction of a Panamanian Government warehouse near Panama City.

In order that the Congress and the executive branch of our Government may be apprised of these facts as revealed in Panamanian newspapers two news stories follow:

[From the Star & Herald, Panama, Republic of Panama, June 14, 1964]

FIRE IN REPUBLIC OF PANAMA WAREHOUSE LINKED WITH TERRORISM

A fire early yesterday destroyed a government warehouse in La Carrasquilla, a suburban area of Panama City, and it was immediately linked with the acts of terrorism which have been occurring in various parts of the country during the past week.

Fire Chief Luis Carlos Endara said gasoline was thrown in various sections of the warehouse and then ignited by a "molotov cocktail" (a homemade incendiary-type bomb). The warehouse watchman reported hearing an explosion just before the blaze broke out at 12:45 p.m.

Flammable materials stored in the warehouse, including automobile tires, fed the flames which raged uncontrolled for almost 2 hours.

An inventory is planned Monday to determine the losses, mostly water pipes and watermeters owned by the Government's Institute of Water Systems.

Meanwhile, Alfredo Arango, chief of the National Department of Investigations (DENI) said the terrorist movement appears to be the work of followers of defeated presidential candidate Arnulfo Arias and Communists.

Arango said the three men now held on charges of placing sticks of dynamite in three buildings in Boquete, Chiriqui Province, have been identified as members of Arias' party.

Arango said the type of terrorism involved—intended to do actual heavy damage—fits into Communist tactics.

Of the three dynamite sticks discovered in Boquete a week ago tonight, one went off in a microwave communications plant and the other two, one in a theater, and the other in a public school, failed to explode.

In Panama City, three young men are being held on charges of manufacturing incendiary bombs.

They were caught Thursday night in a raid on the basement of a house in 17th West Street, which was used as a sign painting shop. The three were identified as Eustorgio Ortiz, 17; Ramon Martinez, 19; and Juan Alberto Santos, 20.

Deni Chief Arango quoted Ortiz as saying the bombs were intended "to frighten oligarchs and North American residents of the Canal Zone" by placing the devices in their cars.

Ortiz, according to Arango, told investigators he had lost an eye during the January disorders when he was struck by buckshot fired by U.S. troops on the Canal Zone side of the boundary line and for that reason hates North Americans. Pictures of Ortiz showed his left eye almost closed.

The bombs were made with phosphorus gelatine mixed with sulfuric acid and were to be detonated by dissolving chlorate tablets in the solution.

Arango said Ortiz declared he had received terrorist training in Nicaragua, in a school operated by the armed forces of liberation of Nicaragua. The training included the manufacture of explosive devices and the use of automatic weapons. Ortiz also told investigators he also had visited Cuba by invitation of the Castro government. The night of his arrest, Ortiz told newsmen he had received terrorist training in Marianao, Cuba.

The three youths said they were students at a Panama City training night school, but the principal denied this.

[From the Panama (Republic of Panama) American, June 12, 1964]

DENI FINDS RED BOMBS, MAKERS IN CITY CELLAR

Panama detectives unearthed a miniature Communist bomb factory in a city basement last night, flushing two youths who escaped with a time bomb and capturing three others.

Elsewhere last night, a bomb was thrown in the Golf Heights suburb of the city, blowing a hole in a hedge but doing no other damage. The house is not far from the residence of Dr. Gilberto Arias.

Last night's raid of a basement in West 17th Street by members of the National Department of Investigations (DENI) also uncovered gunpowder and other chemicals for making bombs, 2 prepared bombs, 100 steel helmets painted red, and a quantity of Communist literature.

The youngest of the three youths arrested, Eustorgio F. Ortiz Gonzalez, confessed to the detectives that he had been giving his two companions instructions in bombmaking, a technique he learned in Cuba.

Ortiz, 17, and a student at the Ascanio Arosemena High School in Panama City, dismantled a time bomb detectives had taken to headquarters. It had been set to explode at midnight.

A hunt was immediately begun for the two other men who escaped with a similar time bomb.

The explosion in the Golf Heights area, which Mrs. Anita MacAndrews described as more of a noise bomb than anything else, took place about 8 p.m. yesterday.

According to Ortiz, the time bomb was to be used against National Guardsmen who have been conducting nightly raids in different sectors of the city since a wave of terrorism began over a week ago.

Arrested with Ortiz were a fellow student, Roman Martinez, 19, and Juan Alberto Santo, 20, an auto mechanics helper.

They were caught in the act of making the bombs following a report of strange comings and goings from the basement, used as a paintshop by Pablo Cordero, reportedly of known leftist tendencies.

In another development yesterday, Panama City firemen extinguished a smoke bomb placed under an automobile in B Street close to a bar known as La Verona. The incident took place about 5:30 p.m.

Last night's arrest brought to 18 the total number of persons arrested or held for suspected complicity in bombings and sabotage committed in the past week.

According to the DENI, 15 have been arrested in Chiriqui, the scene of costly sabotage to installations of the microwave telephone system, several bombing attempts and other subversive activities.

DENI Director Alfredo Arango has been making a personal, on-the-spot investigation of the Chiriqui area terrorist acts.

Several of the suspects from Chiriqui have been brought to Panama City where they are to be questioned by Assistant District Attorney Humberto Fassano.

Violation of Patent Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following very intelligent and pertinent statement by Governor Hatfield, of Oregon, was sent to me by Dr. Robert Parker, the general manager of Lederle Laboratories in my district.

I feel it is important indeed to call the attention of the House to the violation of patent rights and the pirating of formulas that have been produced at vast expense by American industry. But, still worse, is the fact of the continued purchase by the U.S. Government of products made in violation of U.S. patents.

The statement follows:

CENTRAL PORTION OF AN ADDRESS BY MARK O. HATFIELD, GOVERNOR OF OREGON

On April 10, 1790, 174 years ago today the National Government first enacted a statute providing for the protection of patentable ideas. Until recently, it had been my understanding that it was still Federal policy to encourage discovery and invention.

I have found, however, that our National Government is not at all consistent and that we are now in an era of industrial piracy, seemingly fostered and abetted by the Federal Government.

In 1963, U.S. business enterprise spent $18.5 billion on research. Why? Because there are economic incentives for doing so.

The drug industry alone spends a significant share of the total research budget. Along the way it has achieved protection for all of us against polio, pneumonia, diphtheria, and influenza. In the recent past, however, one of the Nation's leading pharmaceutical firms, Lederle Laboratories, found its formulas and processes for broad-spectrum antibiotics had been stolen and sold to Italian drug firms from which the U.S. Government was making many of its purchases.

While it may be laudable for a government to seek the low bidder in securing its supplies, certainly there is a prior obligation to preserve and strengthen and protect all of those who are engaged in advancing our productive capacity. Take, for example, a west coast firm, Electro-Scientific Industries. At considerable investment, it developed a new type of measuring instrument. The National Government bought one, turned it over to another firm to copy, and has since bought $5 million worth—from the firm that specialized in copying.

Earlier this year, the Harvard Business Review contained an article by J. Edgar Hoover, entitled, "The U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy." It includes a chilling story of Soviet espionage methods used in stealing industrial, technical and scientific information from American firms. As Mr. Hoover points out, this threat "must be met within our democratic tradition." This means plant security, employee education and reporting of pertinent information to the FBI.

His closing paragraphs stress the positive, however.

"If ever there was a time for creative ideas, for the vision to penetrate the complexities of a turbulent world, for the intelligence to help man in his struggle for a better life, now is the time.

"Businessmen can be proud of the magnificent job they have done in helping to create the America we know today. They should be equally proud of the challenge and opportunity they now have to make an ever-better nation in the future—a nation which will dedicate the gifts of a talented people to the maintenance of a free society, where man has the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"This must be our Nation's destiny—and the hope of you, the businessmen of America."

These words of a renowned Federal official are certainly a statement of challenge to the rest of the Federal establishment as it considers its responsibilities in providing the climate in which research and discovery are encouraged.

An employers' organization in Oregon, Associated Oregon Industries, recently endorsed H.R. 1707, introduced by Congressman RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH, Republican, of Indiana. This bill would prohibit purchase of items of foreign manufacturers using illegally obtained American patents in producing their products. I certainly join in this endorsement.

There is more to be done, of course, but this is at least a beginning.

The protection of patents is important. More significant is the fact that, after 174 years, ill-considered Federal policies are weakening the protection that the patent laws were designed to achieve.

Sad Anniversaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, although subjected to alien rule for centuries, the peoples of the countries on the eastern shore of the Baltic—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—have maintained their dignity and their identity.

During the month of June, Baltic-Americans marked sad anniversaries of two events that took place more than 20 years ago. In June of 1940, forces of the Soviet Union occupied the Baltic States, and in June 1941, the Kremlin ordered mass deportations of the Baltic people. We are told that in the interim the Communists deported, exiled, or killed more than 25 percent of the entire population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

I can think of no more effective way to pay our respects to the memory of those Baltic peoples who have suffered the hardships of oppression, and I can recommend no better way to keep alive the hopes of their countrymen and the endeavors of their spokesmen in this country, than to urge the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 293 which is my proposal to bring the forces of world public opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of the rights of freedom to the Baltic peoples. I include herewith a copy of House Concurrent Resolution 293:

H. CON. RES. 293

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American people: Be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the House of Representatives of the United States urge the President of the United States—

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion, at appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world public opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

Chairman Joseph McMurray, of Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Awarded Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by American International College, Springfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Joseph McMurray, Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, was honored by American International College in Springfield, Mass., during comencement exercises on June 7 in Sprinfield Municipal Auditorium. Mr. McMurray, who was named Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board on May 1, 1961, was awarded an honorary degree of doctor of humane letters.

A native of New York City, Chairman McMurray is a graduate of Brooklyn, N.Y., College, and spent 3 years doing graduate work in economics with the graduate faculty at the new school of social research specializing in monetary and banking theory. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Gamma Mu, scholastic honor society. He became economic counsel to the U.S. Senate Education and Labor Committee in 1945 serving until 1947 when he left to become administrative assistant to Senator Robert F. Wagner. From 1948 to 1954 he was consultant and staff director for the U.S. Senate Banking and Currency Committee concerning himself with housing legislation, price, rent and production control, and Securities and Exchange Commission legislation. He became executive director of the New York City Housing Authority in August 1954 serving until January 1955 when he left to become commissioner of housing for the State of New York, a post he held until 1959 when he became president of Queensborough Community College.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the citation accompanying Chairman McMurray's honorary degree with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JOSEPH P. MCMURRAY

For more than 20 years, you have been recognized as an authority in the diversified fields of banking, education, and public housing. Your services have been sought by many Members of the Senate of the United States, by the mayor of the great city of New York, and even by the President of our country, to take positions of authority on important, specialized committees.

You have earned the praise of your fellow Americans as a prodigious and able worker, dynamic troubleshooter and public servant devoted to high standards of good government.

Recipient of honorary degrees from several institutions of higher learning, you are now Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, where you serve with great distinction. We are indeed honored to have you with us on this occasion.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the board of trustees of American International College, I hereby confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris causa, with all of the rights, honors, and privileges pertaining thereunto.

JOHN F. HINES,
President,
American International College.

Given at Springfield, Mass., this 7th day of June 1964.

Copper Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, typical of the outstanding contributions now being made to American industry and Government by the engineers and scientists in eastern Massachusetts is the research being conducted by the Ledgemont Laboratory in Lexington, Mass. The laboratory is probably the most modern and well-equipped facility of its kind. Its personnel includes 65 members, most of these were recruited from educational institutions in the area. In the Sunday, June 21, edition of the Boston Globe, Arther Riley describes the contribution of the Ledgemont Laboratory in some detail. Under unanimous consent, I include his fine article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SCIENCE IN INDUSTRY: LEXINGTON LAB HELPING KEEP COPPER IN SUPPLY

(By Arthur Riley)

LEXINGTON.—There's gold in them thar New England hills—and copper, too—but over the years, sporadic mining operations have proven uneconomic.

Yet today, a Greater Boston laboratory in this town will have a marked influence on the use of copper through means of basic research directed toward future utilization of this important metal.

On a lovely eminence on Spring Street, with a commanding view of Cambridge against the backdrop of Boston's skyline profile, stands the onetime home of Dr. T. K. "Tommy" Richards, for 11 years physician general to Harvard athletic teams.

Today the 15-acre estate embraces the Ledgemont Laboratory of Kennecott Copper Corp.—the world's large producer of that mineral.

This laboratory is probably the most modern and best equipped of its kind devoted to copper research activites. Dr. Ewan Fletcher is the director of research. He was formerly associated with MIT and Case Institute. The scientist heads a staff of 65, many recruited in the Greater Boston area.

In this group are 20 who possess Ph. D.'s, many others on the M.S. and B.S. levels, and

the remainder with highly advanced technical training, among them metallurgists, physicists and chemists.

The laboratory, operating since late in 1962, prides itself on its highly selective library and unusual pieces of research apparatus.

Said Carl G. Lindquist, laboratory manager: "The emphasis here is on metals and alloys, the effort is toward greater understanding of structures and properties of metals, and toward a further understanding of the science of metals. We hope eventually to become one of the leading laboratories engaged in metals research."

OBSTACLES MOUNT

The mining of copper is an expensive endeavor, and the entire industry today is faced with a rising demand, a dwindling supply, and in some areas, such as Chile, threatened political change which could possibly result in insurmountable problems.

This year, in Chile, Salvador Allende, an extreme leftist leader, is seeking the Presidency and, if elected, threatens to nationalize the copper industry.

Even the incumbent President of the center-right government, Jorgi Alessandri, who cannot succeed himself, is seeking greater concessions from copper producers in that nation.

Recently, in Santiago, Luis Palacios, minister of mines, was quoted as saying that the Chilean Government was seeking an increase of 3 cents a pound for its copper. Under local law, the state could dictate the price of native copper.

Price increases can affect the industry by way of manufacturers making substitutions. This was done several years ago when a rise in the price of copper caused Chevrolet to find substitutes for some brass and bronze castings it had been using.

Brass and bronze are copper alloys which combine copper with zinc and with tin.

SIXTEEN POUNDS PER TON

The costliness of copper mining is well illustrated by the statistical figures of Kennecott's Ray Mines division at Hayden, Ariz., where it is necessary to haul and dump 3¼ tons of ore and waste to get 16 pounds of copper.

The ore in this open pit mine averages only eight-tenths of 1 percent recoverable copper—just 16 pounds of copper per ton of ore.

And for every ton of ore recovered from the pit there are 2¼ tons of additional rock which must be removed. Some of it, containing small amounts of copper, is sent to "leach" dumps to extract some of the copper by leaching with water.

However, the major portion, being worthless, is hauled to the waste dump.

Current methods of producing copper from low grade ore were conceived by a young engineer, Daniel C. Jackling, at the turn of the century when high grade ore deposits were dwindling and the demand for copper at the outset of the new electrical age was rapidly increasing.

He fostered the surface method of using power shovels to remove surface rock and dig out low grade ore. He also included the new methods of metallurgical extraction and the improved flotation process for concentrating low grade material, thereby revolutionizing the copper mining industry and making available vast additional reserves to meet growing world requirements.

VIRTUAL POWDER

The copper recovery method calls for the grinding and pulverizing of the ore to a virtual powder, then to the floation section where chemical agents are added. One chemical creates stable bubbles in the mixture, another coats the mineral particles and causes them to adhere to the bubbles.

The bubbles, carrying particles of mineral with some waste, rise to the top of the flotation cells and overflow as copper concentrate containing from 15 to 35 percent copper.

The nonfloating material is called "tailings" usually disposed of waste, but, at times, some recovery is possible.

The copper concentrate next moves to a smelter (lime and silica are added), and the resulting mixture is charged into reverbatory furnaces and subjected to a temperature of 2,700° F. Chemical reaction occurs in the melted mass, slag forms on the top and is drawn off. The copper sinks to the bottom. The mass is then given further refinement by feeding the concentrate into a converter furnace where the remaining sulfur is burned off and the iron oxidized and removed as slag.

Ultimately nothing remains but molten copper—about 98 percent pure.

This is called "blister copper," and is cast into anodes on an anode casting wheel. It is sprayed with water until solid, then cooled, lifted out by crane, and stacked for shipment to an electrolytic plant in Baltimore.

MOUNTAIN HAULED AWAY

Kennecott copper mines include four large open pits in the Western United States and one underground mine in Chile. The open pit mines are located at Bingham Canyon, Utah; Santa Rita, N. Mex.; Ray, Ariz., and Ely, Nev.

Since mass-production mining started at Bingham Canyon in 1907, the company has had cut down and hauled away an entire mountain, creating an open pit of awesome proportions.

The vast bowl is more than 2 miles across and contains more than 150 miles of railroad track.

All of Manhattan, from the Battery to Wall Street, could be neatly tucked within its depths, including a few skyscrapers and upended ocean greyhounds.

It would appear that Lexington's Ledgemont laboratory holds an important key to Kennecott's future business horizon.

President Johnson Believes the House Has Earned a Breathing Spell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, there is an element of good news for this body in Washington correspondent William S. White's report of President Johnson's plans for the remainder of this session of Congress.

By this account, the House is to get a campaign-time breathing spell, in recognition of its productive work record. I refer correspondent White's column to the attention of my colleagues, and place it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article from the Nashville Tennessean follows:

L.B.J. KNOWS WHAT HE'S DOING AND WHY
(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson intends to conduct his real campaign for reelection from the White House and not the political stump.

More specifically, his headquarters No. 1 will be the White House rose garden. To it, he is already giving a new celebrity by making it the arena of an all but continuous Johnson-to-people program involving the press, business, labor, farmers, and about every other section of the American society.

The President will, of course, make some speeches away from here when the campaign heats up. And it may be that when the fire bells begin to ring loudly along about September he will find irresistible the temptation to take out the wagon to the country rather more often than he now proposes to do.

HIS PLAN'S FIRM

As of now, however, his plan is firm to avoid any prolonged absence from Washington and to hold down these out-of-town forays to an average of perhaps one a week. Moreover, when he does go away from here he will speak far more directly for his incompleted legislative program than for himself as a candidate.

All his political life—in the House of Representatives and again in the Senate—the President has always "run scared," even on those occasions when the reasons for fright were hard for onlookers to see. Habit thus tempts him to "run scared" again; but this time he will not succumb to habit.

Though the President is much too cautious to put it in this blunt way, the simple fact is that every form of pulse-feeler available to the White House says what he will not say aloud himself. What all the indicators say, over and over and rightly or wrongly, is that his problem for reelection is far smaller than his problem in persuading Congress—and notably the Senate—to pass this year and not next his huge remaining legislative program.

PRESIDENT'S PURPOSE

All this explains his purpose to keep Congress here all through December, if necessary, to approve at minimum these things: civil rights, housing, medicare for the aged, the bill to ease the economic difficulties of the Appalachian region, the larger, omnibus antipoverty complex of bills, the food stamp measure, and an increase in the pay of Federal officials, to many of whom he is losing to private industry.

"Keeping Congress here" in practical fact means only keeping the Senate here. The President is going to get about all he wants through the House of Representatives with no great sweat about it. As he sees it, the House can informally go home when it finishes and the Senate can stay on, no matter how long this must be, to conclude its own work.

And, as he further reckons, this sort of policy will do no great harm to the reelection of a Democratic Congress. The House Members, all of whom, of course, are up this year, will still get away in plenty of time to take care of their political problems at home. Since only a third of the Senate membership is up anyhow, there is no equivalent reason for this chamber to get out of Washington.

A BREATHING SPELL

The President, himself an old Senate leader, is not deeply moved by the pained cries of old friends and colleagues that they need a breathing spell. He is actually less sympathetic to the traditional delays in that body than was his late predecessor, John F. Kennedy. And if it becomes necessary he will not hesitate to point out in public why the Senate must stay on the job, as Mr. Kennedy was never quite willing to do.

This does not mean that Mr. Johnson will attack the Senate. It only means he knows that famous body inside out and is perfectly prepared to go to bat with its problems—in a nice way but also a very firm way. Nobody knows better how to evaluate the real performance records—and the expense accounts—of a traveling salesman than a man who has been a traveling salesman himself until his promotion to sales manager.

As to more personal matters, Mr. Johnson is amused at the many current suggestions that he is "overexposing himself." Whether he is wise or not in making himself so avail-

able so often to so many, one thing is absolutely sure: he knows what he is doing and why he is doing it.

The Need for an All-Nuclear Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished writer, Anthony Harrigan, has recently contributed an excellent article to the June 1964 edition of Navy magazine. In this article, Mr. Harrigan demonstrates that the success of our present three vessel atomic naval strike force has proven the need for an all-nuclear powered fleet, regardless of its cost.

Those who cannot or will not see the value of an all-atomic fleet are playing the part of the proverbial ostrich. They are not merely burying their heads in the sand; their heads are at the bottom of the ocean, while the rest of the world sails by.

It is a pleasure for me to be able to place Mr. Harrigan's article in the RECORD at this point:

THE NUCLEAR TASK FORCE: TOMORROW'S SEAPOWER TODAY

(By Anthony Harrigan)

In creating an all-atomic naval strike force, consisting of the carrier U.S.S. *Enterprise*, missile cruiser U.S.S. *Long Beach*, and the frigate U.S.S. *Bainbridge*, the Navy is establishing the most powerful, fastest moving, longest ranged task force in the history of seapower. By operating as a group, these revolutionary vessels should demonstrate to the Nation the value of moving the entire fleet into the nuclear age.

Though the atomic task force will be formed in the Mediterranean, its operating area is unlimited in terms of the capabilities of the ships. It could streak into the Arctic Ocean or race around the bulge of Africa to deal with a threat in the waters off the Cape of Good Hope. Or if the world situation developed in such a way that a U.S. naval presence was required off the lower west coast of South America, it could move to that global area without a train of tankers to supply fuel.

MOBILITY A GOGO

The nuclear task force will be, first of all, a demonstration of the mobility of American seapower. This advantage enjoyed by the United States is not always fully appreciated. The American public reads of the airlift of several thousand troops to a remote nation. But the public is not always aware that the airlift is simply one of manpower and light arms. A powerful punch is lacking, for the heavy equipment cannot be airlifted in sufficient quantities over immense distances.

But the nuclear task force assemblying in the Mediterranean combines high speed with a full range of attack power. An airlift has only one option: to put troops down on the ground on the planned landing site or to return them to the home base. But the national power can be applied through a nuclear task force with the utmost dispatch, at the same time using a graduated approach.

This means that the task force can show the flag, cruise offshore as a symbol of U.S. readiness, hover in the vicinity of trouble for a lengthy period, or launch an attack of almost any dimension.

In view of the recent Zanzibar crisis, it is interesting to consider what the official U.S. reaction might have been with regard to that strategic Indian Ocean island had the United States possessed a nuclear task force that could have brought impressive power to bear in a very short time in support of our British allies.

TESTIMONY OF EXPERTS

Certainly, there's no question as to what nuclear ships can do, in the eyes of those who have exercised actual control over them.

Vice Adm. John T. Hayward, U.S. Navy, who was a task group commander during the Cuban crisis, stated in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy.

"*Enterprise* outperforms every carrier in the fleet."

Capt. Eugene P. Wilkinson, former commanding officer of the *Long Beach*, said of this warship:

"The first propulsion plant performed just as flawlessly as that on the *Nautilus* and showed many advantages: sustained speed, flexibility, mobility and all the other advantages."

Capt. Vincent P. dePoix, former commanding officer of the *Enterprise*, described her capabilities thusly in the antisubmarine warfare arena:

SINGLE NUCLEAR TEAM

"If we were steaming at night and we had a subcontract, the standard doctrine, of course, was to get away from that contact just as fast as possible. The *Enterprise* was able to accelerate to full power just by turning the throttle down in the enclosed operating station."

Capt. Raymond E. Peet, commanding officer of the *Bainbridge*, summed up his views of a nuclear surface ship in this manner:

"Nuclear power does an awful lot for a destroyer. It gives us a new dimension really. Up to now our limit has been fuel—just how far we can go on fuel. That is no longer a limit with the *Bainbridge*."

The task force means that the unique capabilities of each of the nuclear surface types—carrier, missile cruiser and frigate—are part of a single nuclear team. The heart of modern naval power, the submarine excepted, is wrapped up in this new package—air striking power, antiair and antisubmarine defense.

It is not enough for a country to have sound foreign policies. A nation must possess the instrumentalities for applying its policies and power to specific situations. In times past, one of the biggest drags on effective utilization of the Nation's power was the logistics problem—the problem of moving fuel for warships. The new nuclear task force is free of that requirement, and the ability of the Nation to deal with the crises that arise with alarming frequency these days has been materially enhanced by the new task force. This new group is a cold war asset, for the enemies of freedom have nothing to match it. They cannot project their power in naval form over thousands of miles with unprecedented swiftness.

THE DETERMINANT

As we survey the danger spots on the world scene, it instantly becomes apparent that the overwhelming majority of crisis situations are those that are susceptible to the application of sea power not only as a deterrent but as a determinant. It is for this reason, no doubt, that Admiral Cabanier, chief of the French Naval Staff, recently declared that "the ace of trumps, the key to victory could very well lie in the clear superiority of naval and naval air tactics of one or the other of the adversaries."

In the new nuclear task force created by the U.S. Navy, it is accurate to state that the Nation holds three very important aces. This task group could well be the means of the United States achieving signal victories in the cold war, simply by being at a danger zone first with the most.

Combined Statement of Religious Leaders of Philadelphia Concerning Racial Harmony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, leaders of major faiths representing 2.2 million Christians and Jews in Greater Philadelphia have signed a pledge urging racial amity. For the first time in the Greater Philadelphia area, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders have united in a common cause on a major moral and social issue. Many of the leaders hailed it as a great step—not only for the civil rights movement here, but for the ecumenical movement. They said it proves that the faiths—long separated by differences—can work together.

The Most Reverend John J. Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, read the statement at the end of a solemn pontifical mass in the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul on the Parkway in Philadelphia. The mass had been preceded by a dinner for the signers and representatives of the religious groups supporting the statement. The statement makes clear three major positions:

First. The immorality of anyone who discriminates against a person because of his race.

Second. The duty of everyone to seek equal rights, and the moral obligation for others to help in that quest.

Third. The right to demonstrate for equal rights as long as the demonstration is orderly and within the quest for just laws.

Because of the significance of this history-making document, I am inserting it below. I believe that all Members will find it of interest:

COMBINED STATEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF PHILADELPHIA CONCERNING RACIAL HARMONY

Common concern over the deepening of racial unrest and misunderstanding in our community impels all religious faiths to speak out together and reaffirm what we believe in common.

All men have the same Father, Creator, and Lord of life, in whose image all have been created, whose purpose for all men is fullness of life. From this springs man's inner worth and personal dignity, both now and forever. It is for this reason that every man may truly be called "neighbor" and "brother" of his fellow man, whom he must therefore indeed respect.

Even though human beings differ from one another, they all possess certain essential common qualities and are inclined by their nature to meet each other, share together, and grow toward perfection. They

have the right and duty, therefore, to live in communion with one another. Consequently, racial discrimination can in no way be justified. It is in fact immoral to refuse to associate with other persons solely because of race.

The constant endeavor of the religious faiths is to form men and women who are aware and proud of their own inner worth and dignity and to encourage them to be increasingly sensitive and responsive to the divine presence in one another.

These are our religious convictions concerning the physical and spiritual unity of the human family. They are in accord with the clear and unambiguous proposition which is at the heart of our nation's growth and greatness—"All men are created equal."

Living according to these convictions and working out that proposition have not been easy. Many, overawed by the complexity of the problems involved, have lost heart and have lapsed into passive acceptance. This is not the vision of the religious faiths.

We call first for prayer. Let each religious community implore Almighty God to bestow His gifts of unity and love upon us, without which there can be no real harmony among men.

We call for each religious community to work for its own inner conversion and the renewal of all its members. This does not mean turning to something new but rather deepening and reaffirming those values which are truly conservative of our religious and American heritage. This alone can strike at the roots of racial discord and serve as personal motivation for all to labor courageously for the elimination of the social and economic inequities which are the branches of racial disharmony.

We are mournfully aware that there is no spectacular panacea. We are, however, deeply confident of the power of justice and charity which concern themselves with human beings, with living men and women; here is the love of God reflected in men's dealings with one another. The ordinary and seemingly insignificant kindly deeds and gentle courtesies of daily life are the signs that men love their neighbors as themselves for God's sake. It is these simple acts, multiplied a million times each day, which most certainly bring the healing influence of the divine presence and teachings to bear upon the disorders and injustices which afflict us.

We affirm and foster the spirit of empathy; putting ourselves in one another's place, trying to feel what each feels in the circumstances that make up the pattern of his life. This power of sharing in the hurt of one another changes charity in word to charity in deed.

We most earnestly encourage all who feel themselves the objects of injustice not to allow this feeling to grow into hatred and bitterness. This is truly to be defeated. We entreat that resentment be not leveled against whole groups of persons who may not bear personal responsibility for the injustices which exist. Our trials and heartaches can in God's providence lead us to deeper inner worth and personal holiness.

We affirm that the possession of rights includes likewise the duty to claim these rights, while all others have the obligation to acknowledge and support those claims. The right of free assembly for redress of grievances has been claimed and defended from the beginning of our American experiment. At the same time we must forcefully affirm that the manner by which rights are claimed must remain within the framework of order and just law.

We pray for the wisdom and courage to work out the proper and delicate balance which must here exist between rights and responsibilities.

We glory in the name Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. In this as in all things it will be by what we do that all men shall truly know us.

Rabbi Martin Berkowitz, President, Philadelphia Board of Rabbis; Bishop Fred Pierce Corson, President of the World Methodist Council, Resident Bishop of Philadelphia Area of the Methodist Church; the Right Reverend Robert L. DeWitt, Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; Rev. Samuel E. Kidd, President, Lutheran Synod of Eastern Pennsylvania; the Most Reverend John J. Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia; Rev. Elizabeth Miller, Executive Director, Division of Christian Social Concern, American Baptist Convention; Mr. David G. Paul, Clerk, Philadelphia yearly meeting, Religious Society of Friends; Dr. Paul Slinghoff, Conference Minister of Pennsylvania, Southeastern Conference United Church of Christ; Rev. Dr. Clarence M. Smith, President of the New England Missionary Baptist Convention; Rev. Dr. Frank H. Stroup, Executive Secretary, Presbytery of Philadelphia.

The Maine Maritime Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the April–May 1964 issue of the Maine Maritime Academy's Alumni News contains an article relative to the 100-percent placement of its graduating class. We in Maine are extremely proud of our Maine Maritime Academy in Castine and this record of the demand for its graduates is indicative of the high standing in which this school is held by those who are looking for graduate deck and engineering officers.

This graduating class of 1964, which was the 21st class to graduate from the Maine Maritime Academy, is the 1st one to graduate from the 4-year program. Sixty-four engineers and thirty deck officers made up the graduating class.

The article follows:

PLACEMENT AGAIN TOPS 100 PERCENT

Placement aboard U.S.-flag merchant ships for the class of 1964 has exceeded 100 percent. This is the second consecutive class to have 100 percent job opportunities upon graduation. The class of 1962 (there was no graduation in 1963) also found unlimited job opportunities with various American-flag vessels.

The Maine Maritime Academy, through its placement office, extended invitations to all shipping companies and unions to visit the academy and discuss employment opportunities with the graduating midshipmen. For the first time Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Master, Mates & Pilots, and MEBA from the gulf coast journeyed to Castine to seek mates and engineers.

Employment opportunities for the 30 deck officers numbered over 50, with 6 going to American Export/Isbrandtsen; 8 with Lykes Bros.; 2 with Mathiasen Industries; 2 with Gulf Oil; 2 with American Trading & Production; 1 with MSTS Atlantic; 2 with Farrell Lines; 2 with States Marines/Isthmian; 1 with Socony Mobil; 4 with MMP in Philadelphia.

Opportunities far exceeded the number of engineering graduates again this year, with some 130 positions available for the 65 engineers desired to join. It is interesting to note that 11 engineers are obtaining employment with Lykes Bros. in the gulf, another round-the-world company carrying MMA grads to the four corners of the globe.

The Economic Necessity To Disarm: A Challenge to the Old Assumptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about the need to convert from a defense economy to a peacetime economy, and, in fact, I have been one of the cosponsors of legislation to establish a National Economic Conversion Commission, which would call for a nationwide study and consideration of the many complex problems we would face in such a changeover.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point, I would like to include an article on "The Economic Necessity To Disarm: A Challenge to the Old Assumptions," written by Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace, and delivered at the second International Arms Control and Disarmament Symposium at Ann Arbor, Mich., on January 23, 1964.

The article follows:

THE ECONOMIC NECESSITY TO DISARM: A CHALLENGE TO THE OLD ASSUMPTIONS

(By Donna Allen)

The economists of disarmament threaten dislocation, depression, and disaster. This dismal picture, called the problem or sometimes "the risks," constitutes part I of almost every writing on this subject. But the final blow to the peacemaker comes with part II, called the benefits. This describes a beautiful peacetime tomorrow hanging upon political decisions that will not be made, it says, by this or any foreseeable Congress. To the sane man, the risk of nuclear extinction appears less than that of depression by disarmament.

Ten percent of our economy, says part I (it never says "only 10 percent"), depends upon defense work. Yet the dangers of disarmament are so graphically described that the other 90 percent is persuaded that it, too, is dependent upon defense spending. Thus, in panic reaction, logic is inhibited and economic realities are ignored.

The writers in this field have been saying for years that the release of 6 million or so from defense work could cause a depression—even while unemployment was gradually increasing to at least 6 million without causing economic collapse or even much alarm. Furthermore, many continue to speak as if disarmament would occur overnight even while they are estimating a 10- to 15-year period of disarmament—which would release only half a million people a year, less than the net number of new jobs created each year. It is time to take a closer look at the economic realities of life.

The customary view of disarmament economics is based upon a number of erroneous assumptions, two of which are basic and economic and two of which are consequential and political. This paper proposes to sub-

stitute a new set of assumptions in place of the current ones in the belief that the study of the economics of disarmament cannot be a useful guide for either action or understanding if it is based on wrong assumptions. For example, the mistaken assumption that the economy needs armaments or it will collapse, a pessimistic assumption for the advocate of disarmament, suggests no realistic political or economic solutions. The correct assumption, on the other hand, that the economy needs disarmament or it will collapse, is an optimistic view for public support of disarmament; and a political solution is inherent in this assumption.

The idea that a reduction in defense spending can cause a depression assumes first that the economy is now basically sound and will remain static for the next 10 to 15 years. It also assumes that defense spending is and has been good for the economy. Both assumptions are wrong. The economy is already in deep trouble with worse to come in less than 10 years; and the defense spending is not only bad for the economy but it shares responsibility for the steadily deteriorating economic condition of the postwar years.

Flowing from the economic assumptions are two political assumptions which must also be reversed. It is erroneous to assume that political forces, and thus the Congress, will not change in this decade. It is only a matter of time before several new political voices will be heard: unskilled Negroes who have families to feed and are now in rebellion; parents of children entering the labor market and seeking a useful purpose for their lives; and a community distressed at the jobless roaming the streets in idleness or delinquency. Congressmen will suddenly discover that the billions of dollars which were added to the defense budget, not to increase security but to stimulate the economy, may better be transferred out of defense to do both. Thus, instead of disarmament calling forth plans for an alternative use of money, as the disarmament economists assume must happen, such plans, designed to correct our economic ills, will require and bring forth disarmament.

With these two political and practical aspects set aside until later, a close look at the two economic assumptions is in order first. Present economic conditions and the economic effect of military spending will be considered together.

I. THE REAL PROBLEM: UNEMPLOYMENT

If a person thinks of production or profits, he can find the country reasonably or immensely prosperous. If he thinks in terms of employment, he finds it in deep and increasing trouble. Yet it is in terms of people that we must measure our prosperity. Since the Full Employment Act of 1946, this has been our primary national economic goal by law and must therefore be our principal criterion here for judging the performance of our economic system. The first emphasis of disarmament economists has been the fate of people, their possible dislocation and hardship, and this remains our first concern. Money can shift to other investments, the factories can be thrown away with the missiles—or given away as they were after World War II; it is the people we care about. But even those who think in terms of profits and production must acknowledge that we risk a depression if we continue each year to fall shorter and shorter of providing full employment.

This is exactly what we are doing. Unemployment has risen from 2.4 million in 1947 to about 4 million today, by the official count. Actual unemployment is at least 6 million. Through the ups and downs of the economy, the percentage of unemployment has steadily increased, as is shown by the following: 1951–53, 3 percent; 1955–57, 4 percent; 1959–60, 5 percent; and 1961–63, 6 percent.

If military spending all these years has been good for the economy, it is not proved by the major U.S. criterion for a healthy economy: full employment. But if the rise in unemployment suggests, on the other hand, that military spending is bad for the economy, we should consider why and how that may be so.

A healthy economy expands fast enough to create jobs for both those displaced through technological change and for the new workers entering the labor market due to the increase in population. This was still true, although at a slowing pace, during the 1950's when an average of 2 million new jobs were created each year, providing employment for the displaced, who averaged 1.3 million per year, and for 700,000 of the approximately 750,000 new workers entering the labor market per year.

Unemployment rises if, as in depressions, there is not enough technological change. But too much can be as bad as too little; rapid technological change is fundamentally disruptive. In the Unites States, progressively over the last 10 to 15 years, we have been suffering unemployment due to both causes at once.

The speed at which technological change occurs is controlled, normally, by market forces. When labor costs rise higher than the cost of installing machinery, a firm will substitute machinery for manpower. Thus, both management and labor can affect the speed of technological change.

In the military sector, however, normal cost restraints are not at work; market forces do not control the speed of technological change. Cost-plus contracts and a psychology that says that any cost or effort in the defense sector is worth it have enabled defense contractors to automate where competition and cost limitations would not normally have permitted them to do so. But this handsomely financed automation in the defense industries cannot create the additional new jobs that technological change can and does in the civilian economy under normal circumstances. It can neither take care of its own displaced nor create new jobs for the growing population.

It has been said that the technology developed in the military industries spills over into civilian use. Some say the spillover is limited, and others say the limitations have been exaggerated. Some say the technology in military industry is so far ahead of civilian industry that the latter can't use it—or would have to spend years trying to catch up in order to make use of the new devices—even if it is offered.

But there is a much more serious and effective limitation on the value to civilian industry of defense-developed technology than the possible inapplicability of missile technology to human needs. Even if we could assume that all of the technology developed in the military sector had civilian application, civilian industry and even the government nonmilitary sector are prevented from using it because the military has drained off the scientists, engineers and those like programers with specialized skills who are needed to put it into effect. Approximately 75 percent of all the engineers and scientists entering research and development work in the past 8 years have gone into federally supported research, according to the Commerce Department. By and large, only the oligarchic and the basic industries can afford to compete with the military for these scarce individuals.

In his economic message to Congress last January, President Kennedy stated, "The defense, space and atomic energy activities of the country absorb about two-thirds of the trained people available for exploring our scientific and technical frontiers." He acknowledged that "we have paid a price by sharply limiting the scarce scientific and engineering resources available to the civilian sectors of the economy." He then outlined a six-point program "to encourage civilian research and development and to make the byproducts of military and space research easily accessible to civilian industry." Three months later, the public press wrote the obituary for this program; the New York Times observed, "Government officials believe that the monetary and personnel demands of Government-supported research are restricting the growth of privately financed research. * * * 'We hear all the time', one official commented, 'of an industry hiring young Ph. D.'s at, say, $12,000 a year to work on Government cost-plus-fixed fee research contacts and complaining that it could not afford to pay such salaries for its own research aimed at development of new commercial products.'"

The introduction of a bill by Senator PHILIP HART (S. 2298) also recognizes the need to bridge the technological gap between defense and civilian industries. Testifying with reference to that bill, Dr. Jerome Weisner, speaking as Director of the Office of Science and Technology, said, "New industries and new products are primarily the responsibility of the private sector of our society, * * * we should insure that an ample supply of technical manpower is available to private industry. * * * If we fail to do so, we shall fail to enrich our technology with the new ideas which lead to new and better goals."

Nevertheless, the civilian sector's shortage of professional and technically trained people not only restricts growth but it even places a sharp limitation on efforts to solve the unemployment problem through an increase in either public or private spending.

The unemployment figures, when based on years of education completed, show that men who have had 16 or more years of education have an unemployment rate of only 1.4 percent. These are the professionals such as scientists and engineers, and many technicians. Such a low unemployment figure can be little more than "frictional" unemployment—that is, the temporary unemployment of those who are moving from one job to another. If 75 percent of all workers nationally are production workers (which include skilled and unskilled) and 25 percent are nonproduction workers (that is, professional, technical, and clerical), an effort to put some of the unemployed back to work by private spending, as through a tax cut, would require, for every 75 production workers rehired, 25 professional, technical, and clerical workers, on the average. Thus, if the tax cut, or private spending increase, were to rehire 750,000 unemployed production workers—and the tax cut advocates hope to reemploy three times that figure—it would also have to hire about 250,000 nonproduction workers. At this rate, we would exhaust the supply of professional workers (male college graduates unemployed temporarily or permanently numbered only 75,000 in 1962) before we had very many of the unemployed back in jobs.

Nor is the prospect for the future an encouraging one—short of disarmament. Dr. Caryl P. Haskins, president of Carnegie Institution says training the number of graduate students needed in the next decade to the doctoral degree status in the physical, engineering, and mathematical sciences would require the services of 40 percent of the scientists now active in research. If, as President Kennedy reported, two-thirds of these individuals are in defense, space, and atomic energy, the source of these teachers, if we are to have them at all, becomes obvious.

Consider the extent to which defense industries use nonproduction workers, compared with the national average of 25 percent of the work force. The following figures also indicate the rate at which the drain of specialized skills from the civilian economy

has been taking place over the years. In the aircraft industry, 90 percent of which is devoted to defense work, nonproduction workers accounted for 26 percent of the total work force from 1947 to 1953, but by 1962 they accounted for 45 percent of total employment in that industry. In the ordnance industry, almost entirely military, nonproduction workers accounted for 15 percent of the labor force during World War II, 25 percent during the Korean war, and reflecting the shift from artillery, tanks, small arms, and ammunition to missiles, more than 55 percent today. In the communications equipment industry, 60 percent of whose output is for the military, nonproduction workers rose from about a fourth of all workers in 1953 to about 48 percent today.

Obviously one would not increase spending in the ordnance industry if he desired to create jobs for the unemployed. For every 45,000 unemployed production workers this industry hired, 55,000 professional, technical, and clerical workers would have to be found.

Government spending that tightens the market for and boosts the salaries of workers who are in short supply draws money as well as brains away from other more crucial use. Much of this additional income, in fact, will not be spent at all but will be saved. Total demand and thus the number of jobs are directly affected by any marked shift of income from consumers to savers. A year ago the President reported to the Nation, "Our economy has been falling short of its productive potential for more than 5 years because total demand for goods and services by consumers and business firms has been insufficient to keep the economy operating at capacity." Despite the increase in profits and production in the recovery year of 1963, the statement continues to be true. Income shifts rapidly when wages lag and profits rise at an accelerated pace, as has been the case during recent years. At such times the Government seeks means, usually, by its fiscal policies, to redress the imbalance. It spends in ways that help strengthen demand so as to avoid a downward spiral of cutbacks in production and cutbacks in employment. The economic effect of $20 to $30 billion of Federal spending on defense contracts however, runs counter to this effort because of the high salary, high profit nature of the defense industry. Too much of this money goes into savings where it is remaining idle for lack of sufficient demand to call for its investment or, where there is demand, for lack of scientific personnel to direct additional investment. Even though the billions in defense contracts are but 5 percent of the Nation's total spending, they are crucial to the economy because they are a very large part of Federal spending and therefore of the Federal Government's fiscal policy weapon against unemployment and the maldistribution of income which is one of its causes.

The absence of a strong market to stimulate investment and expansion continues to put smaller firms at a competitive disadvantage. "In recent periods," President Kennedy pointed out last January, "business as a whole has not been starved for financial accommodation. But global totals mask the fact that thousands of small or rapidly growing businesses are handicapped by shortage of investible funds." The prosperity of the defense giants does not help.

Thus, while part of the economy is starved for funds and trained personnel to realize its expansionary possibilities and while the other part grows still more efficient, rich, and monopolistic, trouble builds up for the economy. During its 10–15 years' carte blanche for automation, the military sector has spilled over its technologically displaced into the civilian economy but not its scientists, engineers, and technicians. The political effects are inevitable and unavoidable.

II. THE NEW POLITICS AS CATALYST

The assumption that Congress would not change, which accounts for the pessimism in the disarmament economists' writings, was based upon the belief that economic conditions would not change and that the prop to the economy offered by defense spending would have to be fought back every inch of the way by moral persuasion. Not only are the economic facts different but several current developments will accentuate the political reaction to them. First, the Negro is in revolt against being ignored, discriminated against, jobless, and voteless. Second, we are faced with unprecedented numbers of young people entering the job market. Add these accidental historical factors to the economic situation and you have instant politics in the stirring. Both of these groups are predominantly unskilled and therefore the most unemployable. At the present time both unskilled Negro males and teenagers have 2 to 3 times the unemployment rate of the Nation as a whole. Yet, those displaced by technological change, who averaged a little over a million per year during the 1950's, already number about 2 million per year; and it is said that automation has scarcely begun. Last year saw at least half a dozen conferences, regional and national, on the problems of automation, unemployment, and poverty.

Until now, the unskilled unemployed have been largely without political voice. But this is changing rapidly. The march on Washington last August 28 emphasized jobs as well as freedom. Beginning with the Negro who bears an unequal share of the unemployment, new alinements of the unemployed are in the making. Even now, marches of the unemployed are going on or are in the planning stage. The Negro realizes that job discrimination is almost unbeatable unless there are enough jobs for both white and black. As the displaced grow in number each year, white workers will find themselves on the streets as fully as are black workers, and the combination of forces which then develops will be respected by Congress and community alike.

Hardly less startling is the increase in the number of young people due to the increase in the birth rate during and after World War II. Compared to the decade of the 1950's when only 19 million young people entered the labor market, the 1960's will see 26 million seeking work for the first time. In 1960, over 2 million new young workers came into the labor force; in 1965 there will be over 2.5 million; by 1970, the figure will have risen to 3 million per year.

These workers are both inexperienced and, for the most part, unskilled. But they will become a political force both directly and indirectly. In June of 1963, a peak employment month, 40 percent of the 2,700,000 teenagers who had started to look for work in April, May, or June, were still unemployed. One-third of the unemployed teenagers are Negro, and these young people are becoming politically influential by supplying much of the leadership for the voter registration drives and organizational help for the unemployed marches.

In addition, although most of these young people are voteless, their parents are not. Unless jobs are available for this growing army of young people, the parents will begin to share the despair felt by the children they have prepared for an independent and useful life but who cannot find work. Parents whose children stay on at home for lack of steady, adequately paid work will begin to demand Government action to create jobs.

Nor will the effect of the unemployed end there. The community itself will register its distress over the unemployed roaming the streets in idleness or delinquency. Dr. James Conant, former president of Harvard University, reporting on the "social dynamite" of youth unemployment, found, for example, that in one slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, roughly 70 percent of the boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed. Street gangs, delinquency, and crime have already become a major problem in many of the Nation's cities. Both as individual voters and through the various community agencies, public and private, the community's demand for action will be heard clearly by the Congress.

As the pressures increase, Congressmen will find it their highest, most patriotic duty to do something for the unemployed in their districts. The intellectual exercise of determining what social or public services are needed by an affluent society will give way to the simple question: How to create jobs for the unemployed? From among the various social needs such as housing, highways, and schools, priority will be given on the basis of what kind of spending will provide the most jobs per million, or billion, dollars. Disarmament will follow because the money to finance the spending needed for full, or fuller, employment is available except in the defense budget. Congressmen will find that economic security is more essential to the Nation than military security and will raise question in public debate, as one already has, about the wisdom of "unsurpassed military power in combination with areas of grave economic weakness."

Thus the fourth assumption of those who write on the economics of disarmament—that disarmament will come first—is also an unrealistic assumption. Barring a nuclear accident of horrifying proportions or the imminence of unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union, the negotiation of a disarmament agreement is further off than the economic and political necessity to create jobs for the unemployed.

III. THE REAL BENEFIT

Measures to correct the economic difficulties of the country may be of three kinds, and they will not necessarily be the same plans which the disarmament economists list as alternative ways of spending the defense money. First will be the effort to spend in ways that will create the maximum number of jobs and employ the greatest proportion of unskilled workers. Second must be the educational effort designed to increase the supply of the needed but scarce skills of scientists, technicians, engineers, and other professionals necessary both to implement the job-creating programs and to permit smaller firms to expand through technological change as they normally can and should do. And third, relaxation of cold war tensions will be required by the economic necessity to expand trade with the nations now on the prohibited list and to hasten the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries so that they, too, may provide markets for American goods. It will be recognized that because of its productive potential, American industry will soon run out of domestic markets, even given a better income distribution among Americans, and other markets will be necessary if we are to keep all Americans working.

The evidence is already on hand to indicate that under the economic and political necessities of these times and of those just over the horizon, Congress will plan first and then disarm to finance the plan and to make it workable. In sight are signs that this process has already begun. It has been recognized that the money to finance a move toward fuller employment cannot be secured by a tax increase; on the contrary, a tax cut is proposed as a means of returning money to the public with the goal of stimulating greater spending in order to create new jobs. There is still inadequate recognition that increasing the national debt is not a possible source of income to finance jobmaking in the proportions it will be needed. Implicit in the efforts of President Johnson to cut waste from the Federal budget is recognition that deficit financing has rigid limitations. It is evident that he recognizes that the most promising source of job-creating money is the defense budget when he links the pro-

grams he says are needed economically to the military cutbacks.

Simple political pressure will dictate the first economic corrective effort: to spend where the greatest number of jobs will result. When the unskilled unemployed begin to complain that the $20,000 a year in tax money that is being spent by the Federal Government on a single electronics engineer to build more missiles could provide jobs for four of the unemployed at $5,000 per year, Congressmen will begin to examine more carefully the labor intensity of various types of spending. They will find that each billion paid out to defense contractors employs only about 85,000 workers (including relatively few unskilled workers) compared to the 100,000 who, according to a Labor Department study, are employed per billion dollars spent on public construction of schools, highways, and Federal office buildings.

A National Planning Association Business Committee report, "The Scope and Financing of Urban Renewal and Development," advertises 115,000 jobs per billion dollars as the particular value of spending on this social need and comments as follows: "Urban renewal will require more labor input than almost any other expenditure of equivalent size. To be sure, a considerable increase in labor productivity in this sector must be envisaged during the next two decades, but expenditures for urban renewal will remain highly labor-intensive. Moreover, the type of labor needed will always include a high proportion of male workers of relatively low skills. This is the very type of labor for which employment opportunities, already a serious problem, will be increasingly scarce in the future."

With a rare bit of realism for these times, the report suggests, on another page, "About the only way in which such a large shift of resources could come about during the coming decade would be for defense expenditures * * * to decline drastically." Like its specialized personnel, the defense sector's money is also needed.

In only one category of spending is there a greater number of workers employed, and it is in the military sector. The Armed Forces keep more or less employed and receiving some income well over 150,000 Americans for each billion dollars spent. Without question, it would be difficult to match the record of the Armed Forces, even assuming that the simultaneous freeing of defense-employed scientists, engineers and technicians would enable private industry to expand enough eventually to create 2 million or more (the Army would not be cut out completely) additional jobs for those added, at least temporarily, to the unemployed ranks through military discharge. Although no one seriously proposes that we keep an army in order to solve the unemployment problem, such civilian versions of an army as the CCC and WPA of the thirties may return to the scene if the need is great enough. Or, taking a leaf from some current labor contracts where automation has brought displacement, attrition could be allowed to disband the Armed Forces gradually. Continuing income until other jobs were found is little different, except in amount, from unemployment compensation, a well-accepted principle. Or the Armed Forces could be discharged and the money used to supplement State unemployment benefits (as was done for those discharged after World War II) and to continue indefinitely for all unemployed workers until the new jobs were created and filled by them.

The current effort to expand employment by means of a tax cut presumably would create jobs in the same proportions which money currently spent does so—about 120,000 workers per billion dollars spent, with the secondary spending (multiplier) effects counted in. However, it is not known how much of the tax cut will be spent by those receiving the refunds and how much would merely be added to their savings accounts. It has been estimated that without $162 billion tax cut, 2 million unemployed will find jobs by 1966—less than the number of workers who will have been added to the ranks of the unemployed by that year, at our present rate of creating new jobs. One effect of the tax cut is certain. Reducing tax revenues to the Government by $11.2 billion will create additional pressure on the defense budget as Congress looks for the money to finance further efforts to employ the millions who still remain unemployed.

The second area of effort to correct the economic trouble in the Nation strikes even more directly at the bad effects of military spending on the economy. This area is education. Releasing the defense-employed scientists and other technical personnel to serve as teachers will begin the long overdue additions to the inadequate supply, while it frees some also for civilian industry's technological change and expansion. More than the present type of retraining bill is required if we are to correct the structural imbalance of the unemployed; displaced unskilled workers cannot fill the job vacancies for scientists, engineers, or programmers. Rather, we need an education bill similar to the GI education bill following World War II which provided subsistence, family allowances, and tuition, but one that would be for any person who wishes to advance himself further up the scale. Permitting movement at all levels would create openings for the least skilled workers. Those who did not finish college may go back and get their degrees; college engineers may return to study electronics. As high school graduates return for college degrees, they would leave many service jobs vacant for those of the less skilled who are able to acquire more education. This in turn would leave room at the semiskilled and unskilled level for those who are not educable in a vocational sense.

The postwar GI education bill cost about $18 billion and was used by about 8 million ex-GI's in the decade or so following World War II. If such an opportunity were available to all citizens, a similar sum expended over the next several years could remove several million from the labor market while it was effecting correction of our structural difficulties. In most closely approximating an army—a civilian army of students—this plan's immediate economic effects would be to help offset a reduction of the Armed Forces.

The third area of effort to correct economic troubles faces the fact that the United States has grown too productive for its domestic market, even given a more equal income distribution. The United States must return to world markets and reclaim those it has lost or is rapidly losing to other countries who do not wish to be economic victims of the cold war. Such trade expansion will require a relaxation of the international tensions which have dictated a large military budget, a fact that is beginning to be recognized. Government contracts for school desks, machine tools, or for whole factories could be offered for bids by private industry—in substitute for contracts to build missiles which are then shipped abroad or added to a stockpile without further wealth flowing from them. We must begin the long task of developing markets in the new countries of the world.

These are the directions into which the economic and political realities of life will send us, although admittedly a survey as brief as this must be superficial and merely suggestive. There can be no assurance that such measures will be taken soon enough to correct the rapidly growing unemployment or even that they will work. But it is certain that Congressmen will try them in preference either to economic collapse or to being voted out of office. And in the course of trying, the defense budget will be gradually whittled away. The first signs of this direction are already in evidence.

The administration, defense contractors, Congressmen and even the general public, if it reads the newspapers carefully, know that defense spending is no longer an expandable item and that it can and must be reduced by considerable sums. First, the waste must go, it is already being said—and will be said again and again as demand grows for the alternative use of this money to create more jobs. "Waste" will include that existing because of duplication, inefficiency, excessive stockpiles, obsolete weapons systems, the lack of competition, and padding added to the defense budget not for provision of more military security but out of the mistaken notion that spending on defense would create jobs and prosperity. Cutbacks because of the completion of orders, a rare thing in past years, will come next. Cutbacks must come in part for lack of more to buy or build—a situation that defense contractors are quite aware of and that is already sending many of them in search of new work. The superiority of our forces which Defense Secretary McNamara describes as "a capability to which the smaller forces of the Soviet Union could not realistically aspire" and for which he "would not trade our strategic posture for that of the Soviets at any point during the coming decade" suggests the maintenance of present forces and not the kind of expansion the defense industries have lived on for the past decade or so.

All of these steps have already been suggested even though this years' defense budget cut and reductions in planned increases can scarcely be called disarmament and although the major emphasis is still on "waste." The administration's current goal is to trim $4 billion of "waste" annually from the defense budget by 1966. When it becomes progressively recognized that economic security is a greater need than vast and inherently dangerous military superiority, "overkill" will become a popular word with Congressmen who—trapped by years of their own propaganda—seek to win public support for transferring defense billions out of the defense budget.

For Congressmen who know that a depression in the United States is the surest way to lose the cold war, spending to create jobs will become as patriotic as spending to deter an enemy from attacking us. As they see our prosperity appearing to dwindle away, they will find armaments to be as much a waste for a capitalist system as for a Communist system. With the magic gone out of the defense budget, Congress and administration will face the next recession with memories of a previous recession loss of over a million jobs and of $12 billion in tax revenues and realize the country can no longer afford such recession losses. And, with the magic they once saw in the defense budget gone, they must face the inadequacy of small measures such as the Manpower Retraining Act and the Area Redevelopment Act in meeting the economic problem now growing to mammoth proportions before us. As the economic difficulties become translated into political effect, it only needs a finger pointed at the defense budget to provide the answer.

The finger is being pointed in Congress already, and as unemployment grows in that majority of congressional districts which gets little or nothing from the defense budget, one after another of the Senators and Representatives will acknowledge publicly that our most pressing problem is economic and not military.

Disarmament will come out of economic necessity.

Address by Hon. Claude Pepper, of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the AFL–CIO has been a leader in the support of community services all over America. On May 5, 1964, the AFL–CIO held such a conference in the Carillon Hotel at Miami Beach in my district. I had the privilege to address a luncheon session of this conference. My address follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA

Chairman Leo, reverend clergy, Governor Leader, distinguished guests, and friends, I am deeply indebted and most grateful to my old friend and your distinguished director, Leo Perlis, for those very generous and moving words of introduction.

I would recommend to all of you that you adopt a schedule of hearing me which Leo Perlis has followed, just once every 20 years.

I guess by now Leo has sufficiently recovered. Perhaps he can stand the medicine again. I have happy memories of that visit to Boston and Phil Murray and all those dear friends of the steelworkers and the inspiration of that occasion.

I have enjoyed very much this very interesting and delightful, stimulating talk about the purchase of savings bonds made by Mr. Heasley.

I think all of us will take home the lesson that he has left with us. If I am a little nervous today, why you have already been informed that this is election day down here.

The returns will start coming in about 7:30 this evening. I hope we will be able with the wonderful help of labor, so many of you being here who contributed so much to it, that things will be all right.

I would like to begin by saying how proud I am to be here today at this annual AFL–CIO Conference on Community Services, how proud I am of this great organization of labor.

But I want to be sure that I would not be misunderstood as a well-intentioned husband was here at Miami a little bit ago who was having lunch over on the roof of one of our mainland hotels looking out over our beautiful bay.

As this elderly couple sat there and enjoyed their lunch, the eyes of the husband rolled out toward the bay and over the beautiful scene.

And as he observed the loveliness of it, he was stimulated to romantic thought. Then when he turned and looked at this lovely lady who for almost 50 years had been his wonderful wife, shared his problems and his triumphs with him, he thought his heart wanted to say something.

So he looked her right in the eye, and with the utmost of seriousness said, "I am proud of you." She had grown a little hard of hearing in later years and evidently misunderstood what he said.

She looked him right back in the face and said, "I'm tired of you too." [Laughter.]

Well, I shall never tire of the friendship of labor. I am proud of it in American for what labor has done.

In every religion and code of ethics there is the recognition of the basic principal of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

In the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson wrote those immortal words, "All men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," one of the first times that the aspiration of happiness was recognized in a State document.

In the preamble to our United States constitution, you will recall, are these words, "We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution."

There, a great Nation aborning declared to the world that it was not only a champion of liberty, but it was designed to promote the general welfare of the people of this land.

That Declaration of Independence was far from true in the statement of fact if it be regarded as intended to be a statement of fact.

For the Negro part of our population was largely in slavery when Thomas Jefferson wrote those words. He had slaves, and so did George Washington, even if both freed them at their death, but it was the aim of this great country, the liberty of which was then being declared, to make all men aspire to and finally enjoy those high objectives.

It took a long time for those dreams to come true, even partially. It took a civil war to break the bonds of slavery and the shackles of subjugation.

Then it took three constitutional amendments to make citizens out of the emancipated slaves and to give them the right to vote and to give them the protection of that Constitution.

But even now, 100 years later, we are still struggling with the realization of the dream of the Declaration of Independence and the objectives of our Constitution.

It took a long time, also, for the concept of the function of the Government, to promote the general welfare, to become the established policy of our Federal Government, particularly.

Thomas Jefferson realized that all of the children of the Nation had the right to an education, and he sponsored the public-school system in Virginia and gave an example of it to the rest of America.

Old Andrew Jackson fought monopoly and the vast concentration of power. And in his ruggedness he recognized the worth of the common man and gave him a dignity and power which he had not previously known.

And when the frontiersmen poured over the good furniture and broke the windows in the White House at the Jacksonian Presidential reception after his inauguration, it was the poor people of America coming into a new recognition, even if they did treat the furniture pretty badly on that occasion.

There was some progress in the intervening years, but Woodrow Wilson was the first President in modern times to speak moral sentiment into the Government of the United States, to recognize the worth of women and to give them the franchise, to give a new recognition to the rights of labor—an 8-hour day, which at that time seemed a monstrous departure from the policies of the past—and the right of every American to enjoy the best that was possible for him and the fullest development of his or her own power.

But we all know that history shall record that it was Franklin D. Roosevelt who gave a new meaning to these old precepts and principles.

For prior to his coming to power (I charge him with no moral delinquency) but a President of the United States thought it was no concern of the Federal Government if people went hungry or starved, if men lost their farms and their homes and their jobs, if children became roving packs of wolves almost, delinquents all over America.

Shacks grew up on the roadsides and everywhere was the flotsam and jetsam of an uprooted people in movement looking somewhere for mere nourishment.

But the administration of that time thought it was not the concern of the Federal Government. They were sorry but there was nothing the Federal Government could do.

No doubt, privately, they would help make some contributions, but it was no concern of the Federal Government that America collapsed economically and morally.

But Franklin Roosevelt, coming to power with a mandate from the American people, recognized new obligations and new responsibilities on the part of the Federal Government.

And he set out to do everything that would be embraced in Thomas Jefferson's aspirations of the pursuit of happiness and that was embodied in the preamble of our Constitution that would affect the general welfare of our people.

So whatever would help business, agriculture, save peoples' homes, help them to build better homes, and enable children to go to school, giving them jobs to do so as best they could, even protect and promote the arts and the sciences, give jobs to those who needed employment, stimulate business—everything that would make a better America, make men and women live better, healthier, and happier—these things—these things President Roosevelt gallantly undertook.

Those things came to be the stirring program of the Government of the United States, and the States and the local government participated or followed the example of the Government of the United States.

And today, thanks to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Federal Government is still the moral and spiritual leader in America, striving to make things better for all of our people.

And so today, embraced in the Federal progress with assistance from State and local authorities, we find day centers, recreation areas, better schools and everything that tends to make things better, social security, unknown until Roosevelt came along, yet Germany had it in Bismarck's time.

And so today, we have a vast complex of services which are performed by the Federal, the State and the local Government.

Great as they are, in the contributions that they make to the betterment of our people, we know they are not yet adequate.

Our citizens still do not have all the jobs they should have. Social security is still not adequate in the amount it provides to the retired person.

We have not yet bridged the obstacles and overcome the obstruction of those who have tried to deny through social security an assurance of hospital and eventually medical care in an honorable way for all the people of this country.

We still have not made it possible for every American boy and girl to develop his or her brain and carry it to the greatest possible degree, and therefore utilize the noblest and most valuable asset we have in our country, the brains of our boys and girls as our future citizens and leaders.

But we are making progress. This present Congress has made commendable progress, and now President Johnson, taking up an echo and developing a principle that President Kennedy had inaugurated prior to his lamented departure, has declared open war upon poverty, a third of a nation ill clad, ill housed, and ill fed in President Roosevelt's time, now one-fifth of a nation, but still a fifth. President Johnson is now mobilizing the moral favor and the support of the American people in that drive upon poverty, to try to lift the people in the lowest brackets of our income groups to a higher enjoyment of life and a greater contribution toward the progress and the productivity of this leader of the free world.

We know all of these things, of course. They are commonplace to you because you have been a significant part of them. But beyond what the Government does, we know there must always be the concern of our private society.

We certainly will not excuse the churches from their charitable leadership and contributions nor deny to civic minded citizens the opportunity for the special kind of leadership which they are so qualified to give.

For giving is in the heart of our people. Generosity is the characteristic of the American's concern for his fellowman.

The Good Samaritan is coming more and more to be the symbol of America.

No nation in all the history of the earth has helped so many people abroad, over a hundred billion dollars spent out of the pockeas of our taxpayers since World War II.

Without denying our duty to those abroad, we are hurrying to a more serious concern for our people here at home as well.

I think that is a desirable emphasis for us to give to our problems at home without shirking our responsibilities abroad.

But what you are here today to find ways and means of doing is to stimulate in every community in America the programs that will make things better for all of our people.

You have magnificently advanced these causes which have been led and carried forward by the Government.

For in my 16 years in the Congress of the United States, no individual, no groups have contributed more and more loyally supported all the programs to make things better for all of our people than the AFL–CIO, your leadership and your membership all over America. [Applause.]

And I am proud to say here, as I have said so many other times to nonlabor audiences, that in my years in the Congress, I have never heard a labor leader come over to the Congress and stand in the way of Congress doing something that would build and make for a better America.

Your leadership has supported farm programs to help the farmer and his family live better, when the inevitable economic effect of it was to raise the cost of living in the budget of the workman's home.

But you have not taken the narrow view that I am only interested in labor, not the farmer. You have helped everybody.

Unhappily, all of them have not reciprocated the support that you have given their program, but labor has always had a large horizon, a great and warm heart and high and noble objectives.

They realize if the people of America were well off, upon that solid foundation everyone would prosper.

And so it is that you fought for decent minimum wages, fair and protected right of collective bargaining, full employment at decent wages and everything else that would stimulate and make stronger the vast free economy of this mighty Nation.

Here in our own community we have had splendid examples in Bill Owens and Ed Stephenson—and others who are in this audience today—of what labor has meant, not only in making Government programs better, standing behind men and women who sought to build a better America, a better community, but in our civic activities here at home.

They have loyally supported every program that would make charity and generosity in our community do its full and fair part.

And by the way, your distinguished director here, Mr. Leo Perlis, delighted me a few moments ago by telling me that of the $540 million raised every year by the United Funds and the Community Chests of America, labor, AFL–CIO, has contributed $175 million.

Isn't that a splendid response on behalf of the working people who are a part of this splendid and noble federation?

And so my friends, you have done a great part in the past, but yet there is still much to be done. There are many whom we continue to miss.

There are still many who need so much more than they have. There are still so many whose opportunity for good health, good education, good recreation, wholesome environment, the things that make life more meaningful to them is too narrow, and through government, through charity, through civic pride, through civic generosity, through personal assistance and concern, through all these many avenues and doors, must we continue to labor, to try to make things better for all of our people.

And so your mission is to find what needs to be done and then as citizens and as civic minded citizens help to accomplish those great objectives.

I conclude by saying that what you are determined to do is to do what Maxwell Anderson in his play "Valley Forge" said that George Washington did.

In one of the despairing periods of the Revolutionary War, a very insidious temptation was visited upon George Washington to try to induce him to abandon the struggle because it was hopeless.

George Washington listened to the entreaty and the temptation, and of course out of his intrepid character and courage, he disdained the appeal and went on to the great victory for liberty and freedom and independence and democracy in the world which the American Revolution meant for the race of man.

And Maxwell Anderson, commenting upon what this great and good man did, said "There are some men who so lift up the age they inhabit that all men walk on higher ground."

What you are determined to do and are doing so valuably is to help make all men walk on higher ground. Thank you very much. [Rising applause.]

Supreme Court Decision on Reapportionment Would Destroy Checks and Balances

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a constitutional amendment to offset last week's Supreme Court decision which held that both branches of State legislative bodies had to be apportioned on the basis of population. It is my feeling that the Supreme Court actually misinterpreted the 14th amendment to the Constitution in rendering its decision.

As a result, the gentleman from California [Mr. BALDWIN] and I have proposed that the following language be amended into the United States Constitution to correct this:

The requirements of this Constitution respecting the apportionment of districts from which members of the State legislature having not more than two branches are elected shall be satisfied if the members of one branch of such legislature are elected by districts, each of which is composed of a contiguous and compact territory having as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants.

Mr. Speaker, historically our Nation has been built on a carefully constructed legislative system of checks and balances. The Supreme Court decision would largely destroy the operation of this check and balance ssytem in the State legislatures. In fact, there would be little purpose in having two houses in State legislatures if one house is the exact duplicate of the other house.

May I cite, Mr. Speaker, two analyses of this situation—one an editorial by the Wall Street Journal, and the other a column by David Lawrence—for the attention of the House:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 18, 1964]

MUZZLING MINORITIES

When the Supreme Court 2 years ago moved into the area of State legislative apportionment, its quarrel was with the States' misuse of their political institutions. This week, however, the Court came close to upsetting the institutions themselves.

A good many people still question whether the High Court really had a legal right to enter this area in the first place. As Justice Frankfurter said in his dissent to the 1962 decision, the majority seemed to assume that the Constitution provides a "judicial remedy for every political mischief, for every undesirable exercise of legislative power."

Nonetheless, it was clearly true that many States had been exercising their legislative power in an undesirable way. Legislatures often were districted so that the larger cities' representation did not, in either house, come close to a fair reflection of their populations.

The result was total rural domination of many legislatures. So, whether the Court had a legal right to intervene or not, a good case could be made for prodding the States into proper use of their powers.

But this week's decision is another matter. Leaving aside the question of legality, the ruling seems to rest on weak grounds of equity.

The majority of the Court held that not one but both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned almost exclusively on the basis of population. Most States now apportion one house mainly on the basis of geography and so, to conform with the decision, must extensively redistrict their legislatures. The Court even implied that, in some cases at least, this drastic overhaul should somehow be completed between now and November's elections.

As a primary support for its decision, the Court said that it is "established that the fundamental principle of representative government in this country is one of equal representation for equal numbers of people." As Justice Stewart said in a dissent, however, it's hard to see that this principle is so well established.

For one thing, the States' use of geography in drawing legislative districts is nothing new; most of them have pursued this practice from the first. Moreover the U.S. Senate, in accord with the Constitution, is specifically set up on the basis of geography—two Senators for each State, big or small.

The U.S. Senate, contends the Court majority, is a special case; the States got equal representation in that body in exchange for giving up part of their sovereignty to the Federal Government. Perhaps so. But the system also reflects a clear recognition that there should be some check on the power of one house, whose members are selected solely on the basis of population, to swifty crush the interests of minorities. History has shown that this system does not kill legislation; it only allows a thorough airing of the minority view.

Furthermore, the system resulted from a realization that population is not the only valid criterion for representation. As Justice

Harlan said in his dissent to this week's decision, "People are not ciphers and * * * legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect the place where the electors live.

Though no single State is a diverse as the Nation, in terms or geography, economics or political traditions, no one could argue that the interests of, say, scantily populated Lewis County in upstate New York are identical with those of New York City. Yet the voices of lightly populated areas will be submerged by what Justice Stewart calls the Court's "uncritical, simplistic and heavy-handed application of sixth-grade arithmetic."

It was clearly wrong for the States for so many years to deny effective voice to their urban majorities. But it is hardly less wrong for the Nation now to go to the other extreme of muzzling rural minorities.

THE OMNIPOTENT SUPREME COURT—APPORTIONMENT RULING CITED AS LATEST EXAMPLE OF POWER GRAB BY JUSTICES

A majority of the Supreme Court of the United States has again overstepped the bounds of judicial self-restraint. This time the Court has chosen to ignore the language of the Constitution itself which gives to the States the right to fix their own voting districts for the two houses of each legislature.

No such usurpation of power by the judicial branch of the Government has been recorded before in the whole history of the Republic as is being manifested by the present Court. The Supreme Court by its recent decisions has taken upon itself to tell the board of supervisors in a county how it shall tax and appropriate its money. It, moreover, has told the American people, in effect, that there must be no prayer in the schools during school hours. And now it has undertaken to say that the 50 States of the Union cannot have their legislative houses based upon any form of representation the constitution of the State may proclaim, but must conform to a formula set forth by the Supreme Court of the United States itself.

If the foregoing observations are considered too critical of the Court's decisions, any doubts are dispelled by the actual words of the Justices who dissented in the reapportionment cases handed down on Monday of this week.

Justice Harlan, for example, declared that the failure of the Court to consider the language of the 14th amendment—on which the Court's opinion was based—"cannot be excused or explained by an concept of 'developing' constitutionalism." He added:

"It is meaningless to speak of constitutional 'development' when both the language and history of the controlling provisions of the Constitution are wholly ignored."

Justice Harlan further declared that the Court's action "amounts to nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court," and said:

"For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

Justice Harlan pointed out that the decisions this week "give support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function of this Court." He continued:

"This view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle' and that this Court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of government fails to act. The Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements."

Justice Stewart, in a dissenting opinion in which he was joined by Justice Clark, declared:

"With all respect, I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory. The rule announced today is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create.

"What the Court has done is to convert a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States, from Maine to Hawaii, from Alaska to Texas, without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State, characteristics stemming from each State's distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population, and distinct political heritage. My own understanding of the various theories of representative government is that no one theory has ever commanded unanimous assent among political scientists, historians, or others who have considered the problem."

Thus, three Justices of the Supreme Court criticized their six colleagues for having overstepped the bounds of the Constitution.

What can the people throughout the country who disagree with the Court do about its rulings? For one thing, they can urge Congress to pass a law taking from the Supreme Court all jurisdiction in apportionment cases. But an even more effective course would be the passage of a new constitutional amendment reiterating that the States of the Union have a right to apportion legislative districts under their own constitutions.

Lexington Junior Chamber of Commerce Essay Contest Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the Lexington Junior Chamber of Commerce in my district sponsors an annual essay contest for high school students on topics of current import. I should like to include in the RECORD the two winning essays for 1964: "What Can You Do for a Better Government?" by Beverly Lannquist and "The Citizen's Role in Government," by John G. Murphy, Jr. Both are students at Lexington High School and I believe that their essays demonstrate youth's awareness of the difficulties as well as the rewards of public life. At the same time, these young people recognize the responsibility of all citizens to participate in their government in a variety of ways. I salute Miss Lannquist and Mr. Murphy for their fine understanding of the interplay between the citizen and his government.

Under unanimous consent I include the essays in the RECORD:

THE CITIZEN'S ROLE IN GOVERNMENT

(By John G. Murphy, Jr., Lexington High School, Lexington, Mass.)

At the mere mention of the word "politics" many people form one of two impressions. The first is that all politicians are members of a corrupt, tightly knit clique whose sole purpose is the furtherance of their own ends. The second impression, which indeed stems from the first, is that "you can't fight city hall," or that the individual citizen is really powerless to influence his representatives. Both opinions are largely a result of misinformation on the part of the voter with regard to the various pressures politicians must face and to the tremendous influence one or a number of citizens can exert upon their representatives if they act effectively.

Politicians, in the discharge of their duties, are faced with a number of often conflicting pressures that voters often overlook. In a representative body as Congress or the State legislature, the politician must live with his colleagues. Since most legislation comes only after extended debate and compromise, a politician, if he wants his viewpoint to prevail at all, must often be prepared to make concessions in some other area of legislation. The second factor that influences politicians is the reality of reelection. Many people worked hard to help him get elected, so he owes some obligation to them not to do anything that would unjustly embarrass or discredit the party. The third influence a politician must face is the pressure from his constituency. Certain elements in his State or district have vested interests that might be severely hurt by proposed legislation. Various lobbies that can make or break politicians have definite views they want their representative to favor.

Lost somewhere in the middle of this whirlpool of pressures and demands is the politician. On most legislation he no doubt has a personal opinion. Yet, a politician is not entirely a free agent. If he votes according to his convictions on every issue, he would probably find himself out of office in a short time. Bowing to these pressures is emphatically not the same as corruption. Corruption, which is as indefensible in politics as it is in any other branch of life, involves the deliberate violation of laws for personal gain.

What the politician must do before he takes a stand on any issue—and this is what makes politics a frustrating profession—is balance all the factors involved. He must decide between local and national interests—to which should he bow? He must consider the voters back home—should he advocate a bill that would alienate their support or should he steer a safe, middle course? Perhaps his constituents are, in fact, ill informed. A bill they favor might indeed promote grave national consequences. The one question the politician must inevitably ask himself is, "Is this bill of such importance that I am willing to risk my office, reputation, and party in order to vote according to my convictions?" This is not an easy decision to make. The mark of a wise politician is his ability to decide the right way at the right time.

The most important lesson the individual citizen can learn from a knowledge of the pressures under which a politician must work, is that the politician cannot be everything to everybody. A public official, like anyone else, has his limitations. This fact points up the role of the individual in a democracy. Since everything cannot be left to the professional politicians, each citizen has a role he can and must play in the workings of our Government. Not all citizens, of course, can contribute equally. Many people lack the time or money to actively participate in politics. Others may be unwilling to be in the public eye because of the nature of their jobs. Here is a time when the citizen himself is forced to make

an important decision—"How deeply should I involve myself in government?"

All citizens have two basic responsibilities in a democracy. The first is to vote and the second is to be well informed. Although one of the greatest privileges of living under a representative government is the ability of the citizens to elect many of their officers, an alarming number of people never take advantage of this basic right. Rarely has 70 percent of the electorate voted in an American election—usually the figure is closer to one-half. And, in local and primary elections, the figure is even lower. To vote intelligently one must be well informed—a cliche perhaps, but a relevant one. The question is "how intelligently" and "how well informed?" Few citizens have the time to pursue independent research on topics of foreign affairs and economic policy, but anyone can read the writings of professionals in these fields. The point is, the more a person reads, providing he reads to gain insight into a pressing issue, not merely to reinforce his own prejudices, the better informed he becomes. Even by reading the daily newspapers a person can find the voting record of his Congressmen and obtain at least some information regarding the positions of various candidates on current issues.

People who have more time to devote to public affairs can begin by supporting the candidate or party of their choice. The charge is made that there is really little difference between the two major parties; indeed their national platforms both tend toward the middle of the road to appeal to as broad a cross section of the voters as possible. But within each party there is a wide range of political beliefs. Both the Republicans and Democrats have conservatives, moderates, and liberals in their ranks, albeit in different proportions. The citizen who is strongly loyal to a party, then, must consider what views he wants his party to represent and accordingly, what candidate will best represent these views.

Many people wish for certain reforms in government or desire certain legislation but for various reasons do not see fit to express their views through a political party. These are the people who form the lobbies and pressure groups. Lobbies, provided they do not transgress the laws, are an asset, not a liability to a democracy. Indeed, they are an example of individual citizens or groups of citizens influencing government action through their private activities. They may consist of no more than a letterwriting campaign to a mayor or Congressman, or may consist of highly organized presure groups. Much legislation—abolition of slavery, labor reforms, universal suffrage, and civil rights legislation on the Federal level, and crime commissions, educational, hospital, and prison reforms on the local level would have perhaps been long delayed were it not for the collective and individual actions of private citizens who wished to make their views publicly known.

Of course the most direct involvement a citizen can have in government is to actually hold office. While most elected Federal and State positions are held by full-time public servants, many local positions are held on a nonpartisan basis by ordinary citizens who devote part of their time, often without pay, to community service.

What role then, should a citizen have in public affairs? Since politicians must often bow to popular demands, a citizen should make his wants known. Though he cannot be an authority on all public issues, he can at least study the proposed solutions to current problems, reach some sort of conclusion based upon reason rather than prejudice, and act, either through direct action such as running for public office, writing to his Congressman, speaking at the town meeting, or actively supporting a political party or special-interest group; or at least he can express his opinion on election day by means of that basic instrument of democracy, the ballot.

WHAT CAN YOU DO FOR A BETTER GOVERNMENT?

(By Beverly Lannquist, Lexington High School, Lexington, Mass.)

Over 150 years ago, Andrew Oliver of Boston wrote: "Politics is a hazardous occupation, but in no other can one do as much good for so many." To function properly, democracy needs the active and intelligent participation of all its citizens. It isn't necessary, however, that each person run for political office, entering the rough and tumble of partisan conflict, or even that each one find his employment within the framework of public administration. A citizen need only exercise his constitutional rights to aid in the preservation and development of our Nation.

However, too often the citizens of this country become complacent and have to be reminded that they have a personal responsibility to themselves and others here, indeed to others around the world, to fulfill their duties in this democracy, as well as to benefit from its privileges. During the Senate Crime Investigation Committee hearings in the fifties, Senator Tobey, questioning Frank Costello, asked what he had ever contributed for the good of his country. Before millions of television viewers, he squirmed uncomfortably, racking his mind for something that would prove he was, at least, a conscientious citizen. After some minutes he replied that he had always paid his taxes.

Relatively few people have led the infamous kind of life Frank Costello had, but over the years literally hundreds of millions of Americans would also have squirmed for lack of an adequate answer to this question. It has become habitual that many citizens fail to carry into effect the rights and responsibilities given them by the Constitution.

One excuse for not participating in government is that politicians are corrupt and decent people don't want to get involved with them. The representatives we elect are only as good as we require. But I am not talking here about the few who actually make politics an occupation, I am concerned with the "ordinary" voter. The most prevalent excuse he has for not exercising his vote is, "What can one person do?"

Perhaps the most staggering example of what a single individual can do by himself, or at least can cause to happen, is the case of a young lawyer, Oren Root. He had read many articles written by a virtually unknown businessman, Wendell Wilkie. Root became convinced that this man was the kind of person qualified for and capable of being President of the United States. Friends with whom he discussed his idea were enthusiastic, but they were only a small group lacking both funds and public organization. This didn't stop Root.

He printed a small "Draft Willkie" petition, sent copies to some 400 people randomly chosen from a telephone directory, and put an identical advertisement in a local paper. Requests for further information and for more forms came pouring in. Finally, Root left the law firm with which he had been associated and established a citizen's headquarters for Willkie. At this time the enraged target of the movement demanded that Root "stop this nonsense because he was being made a fool of." Root answered him—Wendell Willkie was a perfect stranger—saying that as a citizen of the United States it was his right and duty to put forth any man he felt should hold the office. By June, Willkie had the Republican Presidential nomination. By November, he ran against Franklin Delano Roosevelt, virtually because of the efforts of one man.

A more recent example is that of the 1960 presidential campaign between Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard Nixon. At that time approximately 100 million Americans were qualified to vote. Almost 30 million citizens didn't even bother. It is interesting to note that the margin of popular votes was only 113,057 or one-tenth of 1 percent. The electoral college could have given victory to Richard Nixon if only 32,500 people in the right places had fulfilled their responsibility to our democracy. That is less than 1/35 of 1 percent of those eligible to vote.

In a more limited fashion, small groups of people may influence the social and political trends of our society. Alexis de Tocqueville once wrote:

"Local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty."

Here in Lexington, we are fortunate to have such assemblies where any citizen may speak.

For those who wish to participate in government on a part-time basis, there are town offices and committees to which they may run. This is politics on a local scale. Others can work in the ranks of political parties, rousing partisan feelings at election time, or work at a job on an appointment basis. In either case they are chosen neither for popular appeal nor for personality, but on their qualifications.

Never should the average educated American citizen hide behind the excuse that as an individual he can do nothing for better government. There is a job for him, ranging from that of an elected official to being part of an interested public, for which power is virtually unlimited. In any case, everyone has the personal responsibility of voting for the active seeker of office, of choosing the man who will best represent his ideas in government. However, it is up to each individual to decide how, when, and where his influence will be used, in addition to the ballot box.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of June 20, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JUNE 20, 1964.

DEMOCRATS EXTEND WAR TAXES AGAIN

By an almost 100-percent straight party line vote in the House the Democrats extended for another year the WAR excise TAXES on cosmetics, jewelry, furs, and leather goods. The amendment to eliminate these taxes, sponsored by all 10 Republican members on the Ways and Means Committee, was defeated 207 to 185 with only 1 Republican in the House voting against.

These so-called "temporary" taxes are extended year after year through pressure from the White House and the big Federal spenders. President Johnson's refusal to accept a

cut in these consumer taxes makes his claim to be for economy and for tax cuts a hollow claim at the very least.

The taxes the Republicans tried to cut are retail excise taxes, the consumer sales taxes levied by the Federal Government. The Republican position is that consumer sales taxes should not be levied by the Federal Government. These consumer taxes cover five categories, four directed against women.

1. Tax on diesel fuel used on highways.

2. Tax on toilet articles or cosmetics. Items found in drugstores, grocery stores, and most retail establishments, by arbitrary Government definition.

3. Tax on jewelry covering everything including costume jewelry which accounts for 90 percent of the tax.

4. Tax on furs whether it is a fur coat or a cloth coat with a fur collar.

5. Tax on luggage and handbags.

There may be justification for maintaining at this time the tax on diesel fuel because it does have a relationship to the gasoline tax imposed by the Federal Government. There is no justification for the Federal Government to continue Federal retail taxes on the other items. The American people accepted, without complaint, these taxes in time of war, but 20 years after D–Day we believe it is time to rid the people of a burden they have stood long enough. They were imposed during wartime, not to raise money but to curtail production.

The Republican position of eliminating these taxes within the framework of a balanced budget is entirely consistent as I explained during debate. Rather than further imbalance the budget by denying tax revenue, these tax reductions could well increase Federal revenue.

1. Lower sales prices of goods could result in greater sales volume, higher profits, and greater tax revenue.

2. Less tax collection effort with its endless forms will be required by the retail merchant, freeing him for other productive sales work.

3. A balanced budget cannot be achieved just by increased taxes. Spending is basic and this administration is increasing spending in every direction with no regard for income, inflation, or a rising public debt.

OOPS, YOU'VE JUST BEEN HIT WITH $9 BILLION MORE DEBT

President Johnson got his way in the House when his demand for a $9 billion increase in the national debt was approved 203 to 182. Again this was almost a party line vote with the Democrats for lifting the lid on spending and the Republicans battling to protect the people. Again this is called a temporary increase. I remind you these temporary increases have come along every few months under the past two Democrat administrations and Congresses until we now have the debt limit up to $324 billion. This from an administration that is trying to sell the American people that it is economy minded.

I have been in the House 10 years, always under a Democrat leadership. I know the difference between the political parties as to fiscal policy. The Democrats have always tried to have it both ways—freely spending the peoples' money and then criticizing the increase in the public debt. But they cannot continue to have it both ways—they are either for deficit financing, a planned economy, and increased debt, or they are for the exercise of responsibility in spending, a balanced budget, a lowered debt, and decreased taxes. Here's a clear choice between political philosophy of the two parties.

Here are some arguments brought out in debate on the debt ceiling increase:

1. We have increased the debt $31 billion in 40 months, almost a billion dollars a month.

2. Republicans have opposed these increases because we believe there can be control in the rate of expenditures.

3. The Democrats brag about the good times we are now enjoying but the Johnson administration refuses to use the good times to lay aside money to cut down our debts, instead they squander money.

4. We borrowed money for the $11 billion tax cut. We will borrow money for a pay increase for Federal workers, as well as for foreign aid including aid to the Communists.

5. It is almost certain the administration will be back within less than a year for another increase in the debt ceiling as there is no indication the President has any intention of cutting spending.

A MORAL GIANT

BARRY GOLDWATER, in his statement on why he opposes the civil rights bill makes him a moral giant with outstanding courage in defending the basic principles of the Constitution. Under the bill which BARRY opposes we set up the machinery for a police state in which any citizen charged with a violation of the act will be considered guilty until proven innocent. The American people now have a clear choice between the high moral leadership offered by BARRY GOLDWATER and those whose policies spawned and then covered up the Bobby Baker and Billie Sol Estes scandals.

The Goshen (Ind.) News Calls for Passage of the Job Corps Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the finest editorial I have yet seen on the need for congressional action to pass the Job Corps, which is part of President Johnson's war on poverty bill, is the following one published by the Goshen (Ind.) News.

The editorial, "The Job Corps—Hope for Many" follows:

THE JOB CORPS—HOPE FOR MANY

The big gun in President Johnson's war on poverty has been loaded. The House Education and Labor Committee has approved the administration's proposed $962.5 million Economic Opportunity Act.

It now remains for the whole House, along with the Senate, to pull the lanyard.

If the act becomes law—and it is believed it will this session—the United States will embark on a number of offensives designed to eliminate the Nation's stubborn pockets of poverty, both urban and rural, and enlist those trapped in them in the building of the great society.

One of these offensives is called the Job Corps, conceived as a means of rescuing at least some of the estimated 750,000 youths between 16 and 21 who are out of school, out of work, out of touch with society and, worst of all, out of hope.

The idea is to take young men away from their old, defeating environments and place them in rural camps and urban training centers, there to teach them job skills (as well as the ABC's, where necessary), good work habits, a sense of social responsibility—above all, to lift and widen their horizons.

For many, it would be their last chance to realize their human potentials and participate in the American dream.

Job Corps planners hope that 40,000 young men—all volunteers—could be enrolled within the first year. Half of them would live in about 200 conservation camps around the country, half in job training centers or near cities.

As in the CCC days of the thirties, the youths in the camps would perform useful work for society—repairing parks, building roads—while undergoing a program of physical conditioning and basic education.

Trainees in both the camps and urban centers would be paid $50 a month, with a separation bonus of $50 a month up to a maximum of 2 years' service.

There would be similar work-training programs for girls—who constitute 46 percent of all school dropouts—to be administered by the Labor Department.

Numerous universities already have task forces planning programs for the Job Corps. Businesses are developing new kinds of teaching aids. Many teachers, returning Peace Corps veterans and retired service officers have volunteered to help staff the corps.

As for finding jobs for Job Corps graduates in this day of increasing automation, one oil company says it could use 1,000 service station attendants right now. Hotels and hospitals have trouble finding dependable help. The entire service industry has a constant need for properly motivated workers.

Other youths may go on to complete their education. Many, refused by Selective Service because of health or educational deficiencies, would now be able to pass the examination.

The Job Corps would cost $191 million in its first year (about equal to what the United States spends in 6 months in South Vietnam).

The cost to the Nation of the loss of those for whom the Job Corps will be too late is beyond calculation.

Germany Develops a Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Eric Waldman, professor of political science and director of the Institute of German Affairs at Marquette University, Milwaukee, has written an interesting article on the development of the German Peace Corps in the June–July issue of the American-German Review:

THE GERMAN PEACE CORPS

(By Eric Waldman)

The American public was taken somewhat by surprise when it learned that President John F. Kennedy during his visit to Germany attended a ceremony on June 24, 1963, marking the official beginning of the German Peace Corps. The presence of President Heinrich Lübke of the Federal Republic of Germany, of the then Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, and other top-level officials gave evidence of the great significance assigned to this occasion by the German Government. What the American public did not learn then was that many Germans had been working on a Peace Corps project for almost 2 years, practically from the time of the announcement of the American program. This time factor shows that our German friends did not jump on the Peace Corps "bandwagon" after it had become apparent that aiding de-

velopment countries through the personal commitment of young people was indeed a very practical, respectable, and successful undertaking.

As a matter of fact, the first evidence of strong German interest dates back to the beginning of 1961. Walther Casper, an influential and public-minded German industrialist, contacted Congressman HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Milwaukee, who is known as one of the spiritual fathers of the Peace Corps idea, in order to find out if German volunteers could participate in an American-German development aid project. It was at this early juncture that Congressman REUSS contacted Marquette University in order to determine if we would be interested in working on sucl. a binational venture. Marquette's president enthusiastically endorsed a tentative study and appointed Brother Leo V. Ryan, C.S.V., coordinator of Peace Corps activities at the university. He and I, as director of the Institute of German Affairs, were to proceed. Together with Congressman REUSS, university representatives assisted Mr. Casper to arouse interest in Germany by visiting a number of private organizations, some of which had been engaged in development aid projects for a number of years.

The officials of the American Peace Corps were pleased with the impact and the reaction of the Germans but numerous obstacles blocked, at least for the time beinng, a binational project. The American program was still in its early stages, and furthermore an organizational and financial basis for German participation had to be found. The early efforts seemed to point toward utilizing already existing private organizations for the contemplated American-German joint development venture. Though this was a rather limited objective from the German point of view, it was never realized. However, in the process of working on it, the German Peace Corps became a reality.

Germany's development aid stemming from public and private sources has reached considerable proportions during the last few years. From 1950 until 1963, her economic aid to 65 countries amounted to almost $5.75 billion. Of this amount, $3.2 billion came from public, and slightly over $2.5 billion from private sources. In addition, Germany paid $208 million into the development fund of the European Common Market. It is therefore not surprising that the concept of development aid in the personnel sector as well found ready acceptance. The Germans realized that as a rule industrialized nations underwriting technical and economic aid programs in Asia, Africa, and Latin America usually neglect to promote the social-cultural changes which must go hand in hand with the modernization of underdeveloped areas. It is hoped that the young volunteers, whose training and experience provide urgently needed middle-level manpower, will help to accelerate the emergence of similarly qualified people from the local population through their close association with one another. Mr. Casper summed up this problem as follows in an interview in "Christ und Welt," on July 5, 1963:

> The concept of development aid, according to my opinion, is incomplete if it remains limited to financial and economic aid and is not supplemented by personal aid extended from man to man * * *. Large segments of the population in the development countries must be given the opportunity to help themselves.

While the overall American Peace Corps concepts are shared by the Germans, the structure of the organization and the background of the volunteers show marked differences from the American situation. In contrast to the U.S. Peace Corps which is entirely controlled by the Government, the Germans decided—probably for three main reasons—on a predominantly private organizational pattern. In the first place, Germans are still suspicious of state-controlled enterprises, especially in the area of volunteer work, as a result of their most unfortunate experience with the German labor front under the Hitler dictatorship. Second, they wished to make use of the substantial experience accumulated so far by many private organizations. Last, but not least, they wanted to use available training facilities.

The organizational form which achieved this synthesis between government and privately supported development aid was materialized in the German Development Service (Deutscher Entwicklungsdient—DED). It is comprised of representatives of both the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and of a private organization called Learning and Helping Overseas (Lernen wnd Helfen in Uebersee). This is a union of over 30 private groups engaged in personnel development aid, among them: Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Verband Deutscher Studentenschaft; Deutsche Stiftung, which for years has held seminars and conference in Berlin for young leadership personnel from the development countries; the Catholic Arbeitsgemeinschaft fur Entwicklungshilfe, and the Protestant Dienste in Uebersee. Learning and Helping Overseas was founded in December 1962 in order to create a single association to deal with government offices, and one private party as a partner in the mixed enterprise.

The founding capital of the corporation is 20,000 DM ($5,000), of which the German Government provided 19,000 DM. The Ministry for Economic Cooperation has three major responsibilities: Coordination of the Peace Corps work with other governmental efforts, accountability of personnel development aid to the Parliament in Bonn, and provision of funds for operations.

A board of directors acts as the executive organ of the Development Service. Five of the eleven members were nominated by the alliance, Learning and Helping Overseas, five by the Federal Government, and the 11th is an independent member. The chairman of the board, the executive head, is Mr. Casper who, as we have seen was probably the single most important driving force in bringing the project about. His present task is to get the volunteers recruited, trained, and working abroad.

Two German observers carefully studied American Peace Corps methods and procedures for selecting personnel, as well as feasible projects, the training of volunteers, and the supervision of operating projects. The Germans willingly learned from American experiences, but because of a number of factors, in addition to the basic dissimilarity between the two organizations, there has been a different orientation from the very beginning. For example, over half the American volunteers are teachers, while the great majority of German volunteers are artisans, technicians, farmers, and young academicians. Obviously the type of people available greatly influences the kind of projects which can be planned. Emphasis therefore will rest on construction of model factories, community settlements, and agricultural projects. Teachers will primarily be used in vocational schools; medical personnel and social workers will find employment in health and sanitation enterprises.

German volunteers must be between 21 and 35 years of age and are required to have completed their vocational training. The knowledge of at least one foreign language is desirable but this presents considerable difficulties in the case of artisans and farmers.

At present the Development Service is still in its beginning phase. Hopefully, during this year the first volunteers will be sent abroad, after special training of 3 to 6 months' duration. The first 30 volunteers had completed their training, passed a very careful final screening process, and were ready for their oversea assignments at the beginning of February. The German plans call for about a thousand volunteers a year (to be reached by 1965) as compared to the approximately 9,000 Americans who were in the development countries at the end of 1963. The Germans believe that it will cost them about DM25,000 ($6,250) per person per year, including administration, training, transportation, spending money, insurance, and $50 a month paid into blocked savings accounts in Germany. This estimate compares quite favorably with the American yearly expenditures of $9,000 for each person. Furthermore, the Germans will have only one administrator for six to seven volunteers as compared to the American ratio of one to four.

There was some doubt if enough young people would volunteer, especially since the Federal Republic, in spite of over 900,000 foreign workers, has many more jobs available than persons to fill them. There were also those among the doubters who were convinced that the present German youth is overwhelmingly materialistic and job oriented. A good number of these pessimists were greatly surprised by the fine response given the Peace Corps idea. Apparently German youth is not different from the young people in other countries who are not only willing but eager to give their time and energy to a worthwhile and idealistic progam. By the middle of November 1963 even without any effort on the part of the Development Service, 2,373 persons, among them 564 women, had expressed a desire to volunteer. Most were between 21 and 35 years of age; 1,116 of them knew 1 or more foreign languages; 3.3 percent had previously worked abroad.

Considering the careful preparation and the fortunate synthesis of government and private initiative, it seems highly probable that the German program will be successful, in terms of benefits for the development countries, and of self-confidence and a sense of achievement among German youth.

A Helping Hand to the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Government has taken an active interest in providing funds to aid in the care and treatment of those who are mentally retarded and in sponsoring programs for the employment of the handicapped. These are commendable and worthy causes. At the same time we should be cognizant of the great work which private enterprise and individuals are doing in these fields without cost to the Federal Government.

One of the early pioneers in the field of dentistry for the handicapped and mentally retarded is Dr. Max L. Bramer, one of my constituents and who I am privileged to have as a friend and neighbor, residing in Wheaton, DuPage County, Ill. His long service in this field has brought to the attention of his colleagues the need for this type of specialized care and treatment. Not only does Dr. Bramer maintain his private practice, but is dental director of the

Mary Pogue School in Wheaton; senior attending physician, Department of Dentistry, Division of Handicapped, Michael Reese Hospital and Medical Center in Chicago, and is editor of the Bulletin of Acadamy of Dentistry for the Handicapped. In 1963 he received the Alumni Merit Award of St. Louis University in recognition of distinguished achievement in dentistry for the handicapped. In 1964, recognizing his meritorious contributions to the field of mental deficiency he was elected to be a fellow in the American Association on Mental Deficiency. I know that I speak for my colleagues on both sides of the aisle when I extend to Dr. Bramer congratulations and thanks for your untiring efforts in helping those less fortunate:

THE ALUMNI MERIT AWARD

By action of the president and the board of trustees of St. Louis University is presented to Max L. Bramer, D.D.S., in recognition of distinguished achievement in dentistry for the handicapped.

He is thereby entitled to the gratitude, respect and esteem due to one who has given signal evidence of the university's influence in promoting God"s greater glory and the welfare, temporal and eternal, of men.

JIM J. MARCHETTE,
Secretary of the Board of Trustees.
PAUL C. REINERT,
President of St. Louis University.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Be it known to all men by these presents that on the recommendation of the board of examiners and the approval of the council, this association has elected Max Leo Bramer, D.D.S. to be a fellow in recognition of meritorious contributions to the field of mental deficiency and is hereby authorized to use the signature F.A.A.M.D.

In witness whereof we have set our hand and seal this 8th day of May 1964.

JOHN T. CASSELL,
Secretary.
ROGER M. GOVE,
Chairman of the Board of Examiners.
GEORGE L. WADSWORTH,
President.
HARVEY A. STEVENS,
President-Elect.

South Bend (Ind.) Tribune Tells "Tale of Two Senators"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the thoughtful and perceptive editorial from the June 21, 1964, issue of the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune.

The editorial, entitled "Tale of Two Senators" follows:

TALE OF TWO SENATORS

Ever since the Republican presidential nomination came within his grasp, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER has been proclaiming that it is he who really swims in the Republican mainstream, not those other fellows.

And yet, if the Republican mainstream is charted against the GOP leadership in the 87th and 88th Congresses—which is the only practical way to chart one party's mainstream when the other party occupies the White House—then Senator GOLDWATER must be assumed to be swimming in his own, small tributary.

Compare Senator GOLDWATER with the Republican Senate leader, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN. In every crucial issue in the last 4 years, Senator DIRKSEN has personally delivered Republican votes that meant the difference between passage and nonpassage. (The same can be said for Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK, House GOP leader, where House votes were involved in these issues.)

Senator DIRKSEN practically wrote the civil rights bill in its Senate version, then delivered the votes to bring about a historical cloture.

Senator DIRKSEN delivered the votes necessary to pass the tax cut and to ratify the test ban treaty in the 88th Congress. In the 87th, he delivered the GOP votes needed to pass the Trade Expansion Act, the Manpower Development Act, and the United Nations loan of 1962.

In each case, he felt that the good of the country was more important than obstructionism. Senator DIRKSEN, in fact, made the Republican Party something more useful than an "against" minority in the last 4 years. All of Senator DIRKSEN's stands on these central issues, moreover, grew logically out of Republican positions developed through 8 Eisenhower years.

Senator GOLDWATER, however, voted against each of these issues at critical points on their way to passage.

Can Senator DIRKSEN and Senator GOLDWATER both be in the Republican mainstream? It's hard to see how.

Our Constitutional Guarantees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution has been the source of America's strength. Conceived by our forefathers when human freedom was far from being accepted as a universal right, the Constitution of the United States guaranteed to our own people the right to be free and has inspired men around the world to seek freedom as the highest goal.

I am afraid we may be taking the Constitution too much for granted. Too many have forgotten how it was conceived and the great guarantees it set forth. One of my constituents, Mr. W. Clyde Odeneal, of Dallas, Tex., has written a thoughtful reminder of "Our Constitutional Guarantees" which was reprinted in the magazine Destiny. I include Mr. Odeneal's speech as a part of these remarks:

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES: WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THEM?

(By W. Clyde Odeneal)

A constitution has been defined as the fundamental organic law or the principles of government of a nation, state, society, or other organized body of men, embodied in written documents, or implied in institutions and customs; also, a written instrument embodying such organic law. The British Constitution is exemplified in the first part of this definition—the U.S. Constitution in the last part.

In order to understand our Federal Constitution, we must understand the character of the men who wrote it and their ancestors. From the time the English barons wrested Magna Carta from King John at Runnymeade in 1215 until the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence (all white and of British ancestry) mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, our forebears were motivated by the urge for freedom under God.

The early settlers on the new continent of North America came and settled as subjects and colonists of the British Crown. The first Colony was at Jamestown, Va., in 1607.

Later, in 1620, came the *Mayflower* passengers who wrote and signed the Mayflower Compact which reads in part as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., have undertaken for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation, and furthermore of the ends aforesaid."

Carlyle said, "The *Mayflower* carried the most precious cargo that ever sailed the sea." It was in the cabin of the *Mayflower* that the compact was signed. Daniel Webster called the compact the seed corn of the Constitution and a century after its adoption Gladstone described the Constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

By 1776 about 3 million people were in the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic coast. They had petitioned the king time after time for just and equitable laws, especially regarding taxation, but to no avail. Armed resistance became inevitable. The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Their Declaration of Rights and Grievances was ignored. The Second Congress met on May 10, 1775, and voted to raise an army to resist England. George Washington was appointed Commander in Chief of the Continental Army. The colonies were determined to be free and on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

The cornerstone of the declaration is found in these words: "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free, and Independent States." The emphasis was upon free and independent States.

The Articles of Confederation were proposed in 1778 and adopted in 1781. In these articles, imperfect though they were, we see the forerunner of the Constitution, especially in there served rights of the States in the second and third articles.

New let us take a look at some of the men who composed the Constitutional Convention. The 55 delegates included lawyers (who numbered 31), physicians, merchants, financiers, educators, planters, soldiers, and statesmen. All were men of great ability, high character, and undying courage. Twenty-five were college graduates. The oldest was Benjamin Franklin, 81 years, and the youngest was Jonathan Dayton, 26 years. The average age was about 43 years.

Their greatest asset was their heritage—generations of forebears who knew their law, their Bible and the extremes of government. They knew what it meant to live under a strong central government headed by a monarch. Their task was to devise a plan

which would exclude rule by mob and dominance by tyranny.

The task was not easy; but if the problems were unusual, so were the delegates. They had not only a high degree of patriotism and dedication, but also what we now call "political know-how." They knew history and the science of government. But they represented 13 States with different backgrounds. About the only things the States had in common were: their racial background, their desire to be free of the British crown and their determination to retain their sovereignty.

The convention met in May 1787. George Washington presided. His greatness as a statesman was reflected in these words: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

In spite of the high plane of thought Washington set, the convention seemed to make no progress. There was no harmony—only heated discussion and wrangling. At this point the immortal Franklin, printer, inventor, student, diplomat, and statesman, arose to address the delegates. Among other inspiring things, he said:

"In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings?

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?

"I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

Without acting on the motion, from that time onward the convention moved swiftly to the completion of its task.

The task was not merely to draw a constitution. It was to write a document under which the States would delegate certain powers to the Federal Government while reserving all other powers to themselves and their people. Thus the Constitution delegated to the Federal Government only such powers as the right to collect taxes, pay debts and provide for the common defense—of the United States; to borrow; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States; to coin money; to provide for patents and copyrights; to declare war; and to raise and support an army.

In addition to the limited delegation of power—and perhaps the factor that makes our Constitution a new creation, an original work—there is the separation of powers of the three branches of Government: executive, legislative, and judicial. Each branch or department was designed to work with the others but be free of the dominance of either. Sometimes we call this our "checks and balances." In any event, the idea was to prevent the emergence of a totalitarian government and to provide for a dual citizenship—that of the State and of the Nation.

Unlike some State constitutions, our Federal Constitution contains no statutory material. The Founding Fathers, in their wisdom, were careful to see that their work embodied principles of government—not statutory enactments. For example, the Constitution fixes no salaries of public officials; makes no provision for the number of Members of the legislative branch; and does not stipulate the number of Justices the Supreme Court shall have.

Article I of the Constitution outlines the powers and duties of and limitations upon the legislative department, and provides for a Senate and House of Representatives.

Article II deals with the executive department and the President, determines the qualifications of the President and sets forth the powers and duties of the President. He shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy; he shall from time to time give Congress information of the state of the Union, make recommendations to Congress, and on extraordinary occasions he can convene or adjourn Congress; but nowhere does the Constitution call him our "leader" as I heard a prominent Senator refer to him recently. The President must make an oath, or affirm, that he will preserve, protect and defend the Constitution.

Article III sets up the judicial department. Section 1 of this article briefly reads: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." The number of Justices on the original Supreme Court was three. Congress increased it to nine. Congress could increase the number to 15, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to persuade the Congress to do in 1937. Thus, in a way, Congress is made superior to the Court, for it can determine the size of the Court, fix the salaries of the Justices and establish inferior courts and fix their salaries.

Article IV deals with the relations of States to each other and of the Federal Government to States and territories. Section 4 of this article is of particular interest at this time in view of recent happenings in Arkansas and Mississippi. Let's read it:

"SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the Executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." There is nothing in the Constitution that gives the Executive, or any other department of the Federal Government, the right to invade a State to enforce a court decree.

Article V provides for amending the Constitution. It is interesting to note that this article has a proviso which prevents any amendment designed to deprive a State of two Senators.

Article VI makes provision for national debts, defines supreme law of the land, requires oath or affirmation of all National and State officers to support the Constitution, and bans any religious test to hold office. Many constitutional lawyers and statesmen have felt that only in this article did the Founding Fathers make a mistake—that part that makes treaties made under the authority of the United States a part of the "supreme law of the land." It was this loophole that Senator John Bricker wanted to correct by the amendment he proposed.

Article VII provides the method for ratification.

Although up to this point the Constitution was a model for dual citizenship, checks and balances, and the preservation of freedom, it became obvious that without a Bill of Rights ratification could never be secured. The people of the States were jealous of their rights and they feared too much power in a central government. They could not forget the tyrannies under King George and his predecessors.

The first 10 amendments, which we call the Bill of Rights, were adopted and the ratification became finally a reality. Some students of the Constitution think the 9th and 10th amendments were surplusage. Even if they are right, these amendments especially show the determination of the people of the respective States to reserve all powers not expressly delegated. Let's look at these two:

Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Under our Constitution we have a Republic—a representative form of government, both Federal and State—not a democracy.

Even including the first 10 amendments, the Bill of Rights, and the questionable amendments following the war of 1861–65, the Constitution has had only 22 amendments in 175 years. During the first 125 years, we made the greatest progress of any nation in history and set the pace for the rest of the world to envy and emulate. We lived under constitutional guarantees of freedom from governmental interference, control, and domination.

Every man was the master of his own fate and the captain of his own destiny. There was no Big Government with greedy eyes upon every phase of American life. I was a sophomore in high school before the Federal Government ever spent as much as $1 billion a year. Now it wants in excess of $90 billion each year.

What has happened to our constitutional guarantees?

These things: (1) Less love of freedom, which involves the people, (2) usurpation of authority by the executive department, (3) usurpation by the Supreme Court, and (4) failure of Congress to maintain its place in our system of checks and balances.

The adoption of the 16th amendment, authorizing Congress to tax incomes from every source without apportionment among the several States, was the first great blow to the reserved rights of the States—far greater than the war of 1861–65. No limitation to tax was provided for and the people were led to believe that such was unnecessary as the tax would never exceed 2 or 3 percent. So now as much as 91 percent of incomes is being taken as taxes in some instances. Money is power and when the Government can take between $40 and $50 billion a year from individual incomes, it exercises more power. The lowest rate begins at 20 percent and 80 percent of the income taxes collected each year comes from people making less than $5,000 a year.

The 17th amendment, proclaimed adopted May 31, 1913, was a step away from representative government in that it provides for the election of U.S. Senators by a vote of the people of each State, rather than by the State legislatures. This amendment enables petty politicians to seek the office of U.S. Senator, instead of the office seeking the man through the legislature. Remember, Senators represent the States, not the people directly.

George Washington foresaw the possibility of usurpation and warned against it in his farewell address to the American people in these words: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In spite of this warning, both the Executive and Judicial Departments have been guilty of continual usurpation for many years.

As early as 1894, Grover Cleveland violated article IV, section 4, of the Constitu-

tion by sending troops into Chicago to maintain order, not only without the request of the Illinois legislature or governor, but also against the governor's protest. Cleveland claimed he was protecting the U.S. mail from interference by striking railroad employees. In more recent times, Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy have likewise violated the same article of the Constitution under the guise of enforcing the law of the land. In fact, they enforced a court decree which at most was only the law of the case.

Executive orders in recent years have taken on the force of law without any act of Congress. The Peace Corps was created by Executive order. More Executive orders have been issued during the past 30 years than during the preceding 145 years. There is no constitutional basis for such orders. They constitute so much usurpation.

Usurpation by the Supreme Court began with the school desegregation decision in 1954. In that decision, the Court repudiated the separate but equal doctrine announced in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896, and in reliance upon psychology, not law, the Court in effect amended the Constitution by usurpation of the constitutional processes. In the Steve Nelson case the Court held that the Smith Act, and other Federal statutes dealing with communism, preempted the field and invalidated the Pennsylvania antisubversive statutes, although the Smith Act plainly declared that such was not the intention of Congress.

The Conference of State Chief Justices held in Pasadena, Calif., in August 1958 charged the Supreme Court with acting without judicial restraint and with trying to constitute itself a third legislative body. Let me quote from the report of the chief justices:

"It has long been an American boast that we have a government of laws and not of men. We believe that any study of recent decisions of the Supreme Court will raise at least considerable doubt as to the validity of that boast.

"The extent to which the Supreme Court assumes the function of policymaker is also of concern to us in the conduct of our judicial business.

"We believe that in the fields with which we are concerned, and as to which we feel entitled to speak, the Supreme Court too often has tended to adopt the role of policymaker without proper judicial restraint.

"We are not alone in our view that the Court in many cases arising under the 14th amendment, has assumed what seem to us primarily legislative powers."

The way the Court has extended the meaning of the preamble to the Constitution and the questionable 14th amendment confirms the report of the Chief Justices. It has increased Federal power at home and abroad far beyond the constitutional concept. It has used an amendment not yet legally adopted to shake the Nation to its roots.

With all this usurpation Congress has done nothing. It could stop the effect of executive orders by cutting off the money supply. It could stop the unlawful invasion of States by taking a positive stand or by impeachment proceedings. It has the power under article III, section 2, clause 2, of the Constitution to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. But for 30 years, Congress has most of the time assumed a servile attitude toward the other two branches of the Federal Government and as of now it does not appear that those who represent the people and the States have any intention of restoring our constitutional Republic.

Under our Constitution, and the way of life provided by it, we have learned to produce the most of the best of everything known to history. Let us, therefore, not forsake it, but preserve and perpetuate it, not only for ourselves but also for our posterity.

Baronial Order of Magna Carta Honors Senator Harry F. Byrd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the Baronial Order of Magna Carta is a patriotic organization made up of descendants of the sureties chosen at the time of the promulgation of the famous Magna Carta adopted by the English barons at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. This famous document greatly curbed the arbitrary powers of the King of England, and established trial by jury and other features of basic liberty which descended ultimately to the American Colonies, and became basic principles of our Declaration of Independence and Federal Constitution.

On Sunday, June 14, 1964, in Old Christ Church in Philadelphia, there was conducted the annual commemorative ceremony, wherein the banners of the Magna Carta sureties were displayed and the annual Magna Carta Day award bestowed. This year, Senator HARRY F. BYRD, the able and distinguished senior Senator from Virginia, was the recipient. Because of press of senatorial duties, Senator BYRD was unable to be present to receive the award, but his representative, Marshall J. Beverley, former mayor of Alexandria, Va., was present and accepted the award for and on behalf of Senator BYRD.

Under leave accorded there is included herewith the letter from Senator BYRD to William Hannis Perot, marshal of the baronial order, the remarks of Mr. Beverley, and the response of Senator BYRD read by Mr. Beverley in the Christ Church ceremonial:

MAY 11, 1964.

Baron WILLIAM HANNIS PEROT,
Drexel Hill, Pa.

MY DEAR BARON PEROT: I hope you will pardon me for my delay in writing you further in reference to your kindness in presenting me with the Magna Carta Award.

The Hon. Marshall Beverley, a former mayor of Alexandria, Va., and a former vestryman of George Washington's church—Christ Episcopal Church of Alexandria—has agreed to come to Philadelphia to deliver the speech I will prepare.

I trust this will be agreeable to you and we will be in touch with you later on as to the time of his arrival.

I want to tell you again how grateful I am for the high compliment you have paid me.

With my warm regards, I am

Faithfully yours,

HARRY F. BYRD.

FORMER MAYOR MARSHALL J. BEVERLEY, OF ALEXANDRIA, VA., REPRESENTING HON. HARRY F. BYRD OF VIRGINIA AT THE MAGNA CARTA DAY AWARD AT CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 14, 1964

It is indeed a privilege for me to be asked by our beloved Senator, HARRY F. BYRD, to represent him here today and accept for him the Magna Carta Day Award.

The Commonwealth of Virginia is proud that you have bestowed this high honor upon one of her favorite sons.

We in the Old Dominion feel he possesses the high ideals and statesmanship of Washington, Jefferson, Lee, and other Virginians who have devoted their lives to protecting the freedoms which make our land so great.

I can tell you how disappointed Senator BYRD is over his inability to be here today. He personally has asked me to tell you how much he appreciates this honor you are bestowing upon him.

If he were here, he would speak to you in these words:

To be chosen by the Baronial Order of Magna Carta for its Magna Carta Day Award is indeed an honor to be cherished. It is with deep regret that I am unable to be with you for the June 14 ceremony.

We think of the Magna Carta, of course, as the source of inspiration for our own liberties, which we asserted in the great American Declaration of Independence.

Thinking forward from the early Roman republic, and the enlightened Athens over which Pericles persided, there has been great difficulty in preserving human liberty. We can never let down our guard.

After Athens there apeared in Rome an emperor who claimed he was God, and by a combination of military force, public bribery, through bread and circuses, and superstition, he implanted an imperial standard that was to remain for centuries.

But Christ was born to teach the dignity of man, and be crucified.

As history moved, Anglo-Saxon institutions slowly took form in the common law which served as men's sole guard against arbitrary authority.

Then came the immortal Magna Carta. No history of civilization can omit the importance of this document which was wrung from the tyrant John in 1215. It was a charter of liberty, guaranteeing the rights of subjects against the Crown.

And after that, we find Simon de Monfort and Edward I creating a partially representative body—the English Parliament. But four centuries passed before Englishmen exacted the Petition of Right from Charles I.

Next came the "Glorious Revolution" in which the English established their Bill of Rights.

Then came our revolution in which the United States was conceived in liberty, but almost at the same time we saw freedom in France die of its own excesses.

In receiving your Magna Carta Day Award, I am thinking of the liberties we enjoy in the United States, and wish all of us would stop more often to give thanks for the blessings of liberty.

We hear much these days about "freedom" * * * and I am afraid there is more talk about "freedom" than there is thinking. Consider for a moment the difference between "freedom" and "liberty." In this difference lies a thought I want to leave with you.

You will remember that the second sentence of the Declaration of Independence holds that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are among the unalienable rights of man." It says "liberty," not freedom.

The Preamble to our Constitution says a basic purpose for the formation of the United States was to secure the blessings of "liberty" (not freedom).

The epitaph on Thomas Nelson's tomb at Yorktown says, "He gave all for liberty." We call the great bell in Philadelphia the "Liberty" Bell. We have the Statute of Liberty in New York harbor.

There is good reason to believe that the Founding Fathers of our country deliberately chose the word "liberty" for use in our basic documents, and elsewhere.

They understood the word "freedom" to carry the connotation of unrestrained. They understood the word "liberty" to mean freedom restrained by the responsibilities of citizenship and orderly self-government, under law.

There is an interesting distinction between these words—"freedom" and "liberty"—in the Episcopal "Book of Common Prayer."

As you know, before the Revolution religion in the Colonies was largely that of the Church of England. After we won our independence, it was necessary to revise the preface to the prayer book for use in this country—now independent of England.

Changes made by representatives of the church at that time included this significant language:

"Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." I think that language is still at the beginning of the preface of the Episcopal "Book of Common Prayer."

The restraint imposed by responsible self-government was clearly foreseen in our Declaration of Independence. It says governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We—the people—are the governed. And under the Constitution all power in this country flows from us. And under our system the States are the basic units. The powers of the Federal Government are those ceded to it by the States. Our Bill of Rights says:

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

And I continue quoting the Bill of Rights. It says:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

This is the constitutional basis for our adherence to States rights. As you know, when the Federal Government was formed, Thomas Jefferson counseled, "Make the States one as to everything connected with foreign relations, and keep them the several States as to everything purely domestic."

Jefferson feared the concentration of power in the Federal Government and advocated retention of governmental power in in the States where it was closer to the people. As late as 1821, in his autobiography, he still said, and I quote:

"It is not by consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected."

Ours is not a pure democracy, but as a republic it is a brilliant and practical variation of it. We fought the Revolution to be free of the tyranny of remote central government, and divided authority to prevent its return; but we restrained our freedom by assuming the responsibility of self-government.

To insure against concentrated power, the framers of our system not only decentralized it as between the Federal and State Governments; they also took precaution against usurpation of power by providing for three separate branches of government at each level.

Adhering to these fundamental principles, we became the greatest world power in relatively few generations. These principles are a source of our strength at home and our prestige abroad. They are not deterrents to progress. They are the basis for it. But we are allowing dangerous departures to accumulate.

The challenges we face today were well summarized earlier in this century by Teddy Roosevelt. He said:

"The things that will destroy America are prosperity at any price, safety first instead of duty first, the love of soft living, and the get-rich-quick theory of life."

I have great confidence in this Nation and its people. We have the elements for sound moral leadership in the world. We have the people, the resources, the climate, and the geography. And our system is designed for liberty and profitable enterprise.

We are in a new era of atomic energy, rockets, and space. We have the capacity and know-how for development. Where there is a will, there is nothing to prevent our people from starting at the bottom and rising to the top. We are a God-fearing people who have demonstrated our courage.

With responsible citizenship, responsible government, fiscal soundness, and adherence to the principles of our system, there should be no fear for the future. Without these, there will be neither solid progress nor security with military preparedness.

These are our alternatives as we face the challenges of today. It is our responsibility to choose. And we may still choose so long as the Government of this country must have the consent of the governed. May that never change.

La Porte (Ind.) Herald-Argus Comments on Federal Aid for Hospitals and Highways

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an interesting editorial concerning Federal aid to hospitals and highways published by an outstanding newspaper in my congressional district, the La Porte Herald-Argus.

The editorial, published June 8, 1964 follows:

[From the La Porte Herald-Argus, June 8, 1964]

HOSPITALS, HIGHWAYS

When the money is for highways or hospitals Congress doesn't hold back or quibble. One recent day the House of Representatives by unanimous voice vote expanded and extended the Hill-Burton hospital construction program for another 5 years. The bill sent to the Senate would authorize Uncle Sam to spend more than $1.4 billion during those 5 years to help build and modernize hospitals and other medical facilities.

And not many days later the House voted 294 to 0 for approval of a 2-year, $2 billion program for building new primary, secondary and urban highways throughout the country. Indiana would get $22,900,000 of that amount. This program does not include funds for the Nation's 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System now building. Those funds were authorized in 1961.

Health and highways hold center stage in American society. No one, least of all a politician, gets much of a hearing in opposing either of these aspects of our culture. And building roads and hospitals represents a potent stimulus to the economy, provides jobs. Congressmen are not inclined to argue against any such stimulus. In fact, there are those in Washington who believe the Nation should be spending more for these purposes, that the amounts authorized are not as large as they should be. Job creating is all important today as we all understand.

La Porte County should have a stake in these authorization measures. In times past the county has foolishly passed up many thousands of dollars it could have had for secondary road construction under Federal aid. And this is unfortunate because the need has always been here and the money thus rejected always goes to some other county more alert and more willing to do some sensible long-range planning for road building.

Likewise, this county has hospitals and needs for hospitals which fall within the compass of the Hill-Burton program. In Michigan City now two hospitals are engaged in a hassle concerning Hill-Burton funds.

In La Porte the need for expanded hospitalization service is great. And if the need is to be met Hill-Burton program funds will certainly be involved. Neither hospital here would think of trying to expand or to create a new hospital without the substantial help which can be forthcoming from Hill-Burton.

Federal participation in road building or hospital construction represents a legitimate function of so-called big government. In this community we should understand this well. What remains is to set the wheels in motion which will enable us to participate in this Federal largess. And it is never too early to begin to take carefully planned action.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Bracero Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, for years I have been begging and pleading with those who have a better solution than the bracero program for providing adequate farm labor during peak harvest seasons to let me or some other public official or farmer know about it. None has ever been suggested.

Nevertheless farmers have tried desperately to find other solutions. Every possible idea has been tried. Every conceivable experiment has been tested.

In Alameda County, Calif.—where only a small portion of the Nation's strawberries are grown, but where a large portion of the unemployed live and where the county welfare department has tried exceptionally hard—the idea of utilizing unemployed persons for farm labor was tried. The idea flopped.

Don Razee, reporter for the California Farmer, tells the story as follows:

Things have come to a pretty pass. Harold B. Kehoe, director of the Alameda County Welfare Department, has the gall to suggest that people work for a living. With this sort of crazy thinking on the loose, who knows what to expect next?

But never fear, he is not getting away with it easily. He's being picketed by the "World Owes Us a Living Committee," or, as they prefer to be called officially, the Welfare Rights Committee.

Kehoe has taken the position that so long as there are jobs, agricultural or otherwise, open within the county, no welfare checks will be sent to those physically able to fill these positions. The Welfare Rights Committee maintains it is the right of those unemployed to sit around home and expect the working people to support them.

Alameda County has a total population of just under 1 million people, and 26,780 cases on welfare involving 49,272 people. Of these, 13,289 are on old age security. Seven hundred and ninety-two are blind and 2,045 are totally disabled. This leaves 613 cases as of March 1 on the new AFDC–U program (aid to families with dependent children with unemployed parent). These cases involve 613 men, 2,306 children, and a total of 3,441 individuals.

Of these 613 cases, 80 have claimed a disability which requires that they have a physical examination. After the examination by a doctor, 50 of these were said to be fit for work and 30 were certified disabled.

This welfare load amounts to $50 million per year in Alameda County, of which 18 percent is collected in the county. The remainder is split about 50–50 by the State and Federal Governments. It doesn't require an advanced math degree to figure a $50 million welfare tab divided among just under 1 million people comes out $50 for every man, woman, and child.

What started all this, anyway? We're told by State Department of Employment officials that it really began to get out of hand April 20. On this date, a discussion was held between the employment and welfare department officials in an effort to figure how to get welfare receivers who did not have transportation into strawberry fields.

After some discussion and after checking with the strawberry growers in the Sunol area, it was decided the growers would provide a bus at their expense to haul welfare people from Oakland to the fields.

This was not as easy as it sounds, either. It was necessary to go to Sacramento for an official State department of employment ruling on what constitutes a reasonable haul. It is now official—50 miles or 1 hour travel time one way is considered reasonable. In other words, no one can refuse work because it is too far from home if it is within 50 miles or requires not more than 1 hour to get there.

Growers arranged for a 42-capacity bus at a cost of $40 per day and the welfare department agreed to have a crew of strawberry pickers ready on May 5. The bus showed up at the farm placement office in Oakland and one worker showed up. Startled welfare office people couldn't believe it and said things would be better from there on in. The second day, things improved 100 percent—two women showed up. One was the same lady who came the first day.

By now, the welfare department was getting fed up and told one and all they were going to hold up checks if those on the welfare rolls did not accept jobs. This scared the hell out of these ambitious folks on the public dole and on the third day, six showed up for the bus.

At this point the Department of Employment officials figured it would be cheaper for the growers to provide a taxi.

But Assistant Welfare Director William Rainey was determined, so he arranged to have a bus from the sheriff's office and for a few days as many as 30–35 welfare recipients showed for the ride to the field as the word got out that checks were being held up.

Then growers began to complain about the work being done by these so-called workers. Rainey was told many showed up at the field, then walked off. He found this hard to believe and told the department of employment folks that these were good people.

To settle this hash once and for all, Bayard C. Rucker, assistant chief of farm placement, picked up Rainey on May 13 and drove to the field. They drove up unannounced and found eight people lying or sitting down on the side of the road outside of the field at 11.

When asked why, the welfare people said the work was too hard, they were fired for being too slow or they didn't want to pick strawberries. Rainey told them if they did not work they would have their checks cut off.

In checking with the growers, it was discovered this was about par for the work they were getting from the welfare office referrals. They were taking 1 hour and 45 minutes to pick a crate of berries.

Growers informed Rainey they couldn't afford to pay $1.05 per hour when it was taking almost 2 hours for these people to pick a crate. The berries picked hardly covered the wages paid.

The situation got no better. On May 14, 29 workers went to the field in the morning but only 9 were on hand for the bus ride home in the evening. With this situation, the department of employment finally certified braceros to do the strawberry picking in Alameda County, thus providing another victory for the loafing class.

The first day the braceros arrived there was one fellow who didn't know if he was to pick the leaf or the berry. He filled his first crate in 30 minutes, after about 5 minutes' instruction.

At this point the tremendous job turned in by one and all to recruit workers should be pointed out. Growers spent $300 for advertising in Oakland, Berkeley, and Hayward newspapers. Spot announcements were aired on five bay area radio stations. A call for strawberry workers went out statewide through the State farm labor placement offices. And last, but by no means least, the welfare office tried and still the bracero had to be brought in.

We are only talking about 162 acres of strawberries requiring a maximum of 300 workers. An all-out effort has failed to provide these workers in a county with a million population. If it can't be done this year what happens next year when the bracero is no longer available?

Fifty people have actually lost checks in the county because they have refused to accept available work, and 200 checks have been held up pending investigation to determine why they did not accept positions offered.

The average check lost amounted to $162, which is maximum for a man and wife and one child. Small family cases are generally referred to agricultural jobs, because they can make more in agricultural jobs than they can make on welfare. Large families on welfare in California can't afford to work. They make more money letting you and me support them with our tax contributions.

As you might expect, the loafing class is not about to take this sort of thing lying down. This is the one thing that will get them up and moving—in a picket line.

About half a hundred objectors showed up at the county welfare department headquarters in Oakland and expended as much energy marching up and down the sidewalk as they would have doing a day's work.

The picketing was sponsored by a newly formed Welfare Rights Committee, which claims that a man performing forced labor, such as picking strawberries at $1.05 an hour, actually loses money. This happens because his earnings are deducted from his aid to families with dependent children payments.

Berkeley Attorney Peter Franck is legal adviser to the rights committee. (You didn't know the unemployed had lawyers?) They also have support from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, according to business agent Bill Burke of Warehouse Local 6.

The welfare committee is headed by Mrs. Alice Jacoby of Berkeley, a hospital speech and hearing specialist. Committee members maintain that "children are the real victims, should a father be unwilling to work." Mrs. Jacoby said families are being broken up because fathers are being forced to work long hours in the field.

Kehoe says, "I don't see how a father working 8 hours a day breaks up a family."

Any other ideas? Anyone?

A3411

"What an Industry"—Excerpt From Speech by Norman Kraeft, National Agricultural Editor, American Broadcasting Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, without undertaking to assume responsibility for the correctness of every detail contained therein, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from a speech delivered by Norman Kraeft, national agricultural editor, American Broadcasting Co., at the dairy industry banquet at the Hotel Bradford, in Boston, Mass., on June 8, 1964.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dairy legislation is warming up for another go-around on Capitol Hill. As you know, the Senate last year passed the Proxmire class 1 base bill. This is the bill which, according to its proponents, would permit Federal orders to be amended so that an individual producer could limit his sales of manufacturing milk and retain his share of the class 1 market. According to supporters of the plan, this would reduce the surplus and Government cost at the same time, would eventually improve the manufacturing milk price by reducing the surplus of this milk, and would not increase consumer cost. However, champions of the plan believe the program would probably be voted on favorably by producers in only three Federal orders: New York-New Jersey, Chicago, and Seattle. You will recall that when the Proxmire bill passed the Senate, the McCarthy amendment—providing direct payments to producers who hold the line on production—was defeated. However, Senator MCCARTHY, Minnesota Democrat, still stands behind his program, as do the proponents of similar programs in the House, Democratic Congressmen LESTER JOHNSON, of Wisconsin, who is chairman of the House Dairy Subcommittee, and ALEC OLSON, of Minnesota. As a matter of fact, Congressman JOHNSON has announced his continuing opposition to the Proxmire bill. This is of interest because, as of the latest check, Secretary Freeman still favors enactment of both the Proxmire bill and a McCarthy-Johnson-Olson type of program, the latter designed primarily to help producers in the manufacturing areas.

The plot, alas, thickens at this point because, while USDA officially favors the Proxmire bill and the McCarthy amendment, some USDA officials, notably Robert G. Lewis who will be remembered as an ardent champion of the late and unlamented national quota program for dairy, reportedly have been talking to Members of Congress on behalf of a new piece of proposed dairy legislation which bears the title: "The Dairy Consumption Incentive Act of 1964." This measure is getting to be known as a "butter subsidy" bill, but friends and enemies alike say this is a misnomer. As a matter of fact, proponents of the bill say that if the Secretary of Agriculture determined that the purposes of the act would be served, he could extend payments for other products containing milkfat, as well as butter. Which raises at least one interesting question: Where would the program stop? But I'm getting ahead of my story.

"The Dairy Consumption Incentive Act of 1964" which I guess we will call the "milkfat subsidy bill," is jointly sponsored by two Wisconsin Democrats, Senator GAYLORD NELSON and Representative ROBERT KASTENMEIER. The aforementioned Robert G. Lewis worked as agricultural adviser to Senator NELSON when NELSON was the Governor of Wisconsin. We understand that Congressman KASTENMEIER has requested that hearings be held on his bill in the House Agriculture Committee.

At this point, we might make a few comments on the milk-fat subsidy bill. We are told it would do three things: (1) Cut the butter price to consumers by 15 to 20 cents a pound through payments that would be made either to the processor or the producer. We understand the bill's sponsors favor payments to the producer. Little, if any, evidence has been presented so far as to what extent a 15- to 20-cent reduction in the retail price of butter will increase retail butter sales. Further, as Republican Congressman ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, has said, "If we reduce butter to the consumer 15 to 20 cents a pound and then achieve supply-demand balance in a year or two, how can we ever expect consumers to again get used to a higher price for butter?" It might be added here that in the legislation as written, there is no ceiling or cutoff point on the payments. Congressman KASTENMEIER told this farm editor he doesn't expect the program to cost much more than $500 million the first year. The dairy program presently is costing less than $400 million. In 1961 the administration, in attempting to sell its national quota program, said the dairy program shouldn't cost more than $300 million.

The milk-fat subsidy program also reportedly would raise dairy farmers' incomes. It is explained that liberalized price support authority to give recognition to farmers' need for income will free the Secretary from restrictions in the present law which prevent him from setting supports above the floor. However, without a ceiling or cutoff point, many observers fear that with a higher price support level and/or additional payments, production will increase, possibly to the point where the administration would once again feel justified in proposing controls on dairy production.

The third point stressed by supporters of the milk-fat subsidy bill is that the measure would authorize long-term supply commitments for foreign school lunch projects, etc., so that, when necessary, because supplies are tight, USDA would buy at market prices above the support level to supply these projects, as is done for the U.S. school lunch program. On this subject, I must report to you that word is making the rounds in Washington that USDA is readying a report that shows our stocks of nonfat dry milk at a level which the administration fears may be too low to fulfill our foreign commitments under the food-for-peace program. We hear that the administration is thinking of using this point, should it be developed, as the rationale for raising dairy support prices in this year of 1964.

At this point, the plot doesn't thicken; it becomes positively gummy. Secretary Freeman favors the Proxmire bill and the McCarthy amendment. Proponents of these measures have been stressing the contention that these programs will hold the line if not actually decrease surplus production. The bills have been—and are being—sold in large measure on this basis. Now comes the milkfat subsidy bill which would provide higher support levels and/or additional payments to producers on the theory that, instead of a surplus, we may be facing a shortage of certain dairy products. Do we have a surplus or don't we have a surplus? Of course, the new bill is not yet official USDA policy. Secretary Freeman may just be floating a trial balloon. It may be significant that early reports from the offices of Wisconsin Senator PROXMIRE and Minnesota Senators HUMPHREY and MCCARTHY indicate a decided lack of enthusiasm for the milk-fat subsidy measure in those important dairy camps. We understand further that representatives of the oleomargarine industry have been seen in the offices of proponents of the milk-fat subsidy bill, expressing more than a little interest in the subsidizing of butter consumption.

Chances for House passage of the Proxmire bill this year were never considered extremely good and prospects in the House for a McCarthy-Johnson-Olson type bill are considered even dimmer. Now that this situation has been complicated with the introduction of the milkfat subsidy bill and a call for hearings on it, the resulting confusion may help guarantee no dairy legislation this year. Secretary Freeman has recently reactivated his Dairy Advisory Committee. We trust that when they are asked to advise the Secetary, they will be asked for their advice.

The senior Republican on the Senate Agriculture Committee, Vermont Senator GEORGE AIKEN, has charged the present administration with attempting to gain control of farming in this country. Control of a nation's farming, said Senator AIKEN, is necessary before you can control a nation's food supply and, eventually, the entire Nation. Dairy farmers, like producers of most major agricultural commodities, have their ups and downs. They may have—and do have—different ideas on what dairy legislation is needed or not needed. But they are overwhelmingly opposed to compulsory controls. Perhaps the major peril point in the proposed milkfat subsidy bill is the spur to increased production through higher supports and/or payments, which could give the administration another excuse to try for controls.

We well recall the remarks attributed to a high USDA official shortly after the present administration came to power. Asked how he thought they were going to achieve their supply management programs (with, of course, Government supplying the management), he is reported to have said: "Maybe we'll have to do it with mirrors."

Ladies and gentlemen, they are doing it with mirrors. Let me cite just one example. In May of 1963, less than 48 percent of the farmers voting in the wheat referendum voted "yes." Did that overwhelming rejection of the Freeman administration's wheat certificate program deter the USDA supply managers? You know the answer. The new cotton-wheat law was passed this spring, according to many reports, principally because of last-minute pressure from the White House itself, along with the demands of the cotton textile mills and organized labor. The farmers told Mr. Freeman quite clearly last year they didn't want his wheat program. They told him in a hard-fought referendum. Fifty-two percent of them told him with clearly marked ballots. What happened? This year they have Mr. Freeman's program. How many of them signed up? Whereas last year 48 percent of those voting approved the program, this year only 35 percent of the wheat farms were signed up. Before Senate passage of the cotton-wheat law, New York Senator KENNETH KEATING issued figures indicating that under the new wheat program, 3 percent of the farmers would get 40 percent of the benefits, while 76.5 percent of the farmers would get only 15 percent. It's true that while about 35 percent of the Nation's wheat farms were signed, 76 percent of the national allotment was signed. But this brings up the interesting question: In this democracy, do acres vote or do people vote? Is the wheat program a program for the family farm? What happened to the wheat farmers could happen to the Nation's dairy farmers, if they are not vigilant.

Washington's War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, we hear so much these days about the war on poverty that it bids fair to become one of the most emotional issues in the coming elections. And this is precisely the trouble. Emotions are clouding the real issue. No one favors poverty but before we blindly embark on a wholesale campaign to obliterate it from the face of the earth, we need to do some sane and sober thinking. I therefore commend to the attention of all the Members of Congress the views of Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J., as expressed in Our Sunday Visitor of May 10, 1964:

WASHINGON'S WAR ON POVERTY

(By Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J.)

Obscene poverty has no friends anywhere. He who has seen it, stripped of all decency, must feel something of a thrill when he hears our Federal Government declare upon that poverty an all-out war. He realizes that in such a war costly mistakes may be made. But he feels that those mistakes are on the right side. Doing nothing can be the greatest mistakes. And, yet, mistakes need not be taken for granted. With proper care and foresight they can be avoided or kept at a minimum.

In any war on poverty, the first question to ask is the size of the problem. President Johnson estimates it as including 35 million people, roughly one-fifth of our population. Those are the families with an annual income of $3,000 or less. But among those are many that would resent being thought a government charge. Many have homes of their own or savings they use as an income supplement. Many others living in rural areas raise much of their own food—and love it. Surveys of the poor in the "heartland of the depressed area" have shown 85 percent have washing machines, 67 percent have TV's, 42 percent have telephones, and 59 percent their own cars.

It is a generous instinct to rush aid to the handicapped, but we should first ask whether they can be helped to help themselves. This is the lesson friends of the blind, for example, must learn: That there are many things the blind can do, while growing in happiness and self-respect from the doing. The late Bishop Eustace, of Camden, long since warned us of a similar danger in the matter of State aid. "If we are not vigilant as to the direction from which social security comes," he warned us, "we may some day awake to find ourselves with perfect social security, indeed, but without a vestige of liberty."

The same fear has been expressed repeatedly by the noted economist, F. A. Hayek, of the University of Chicago. "Without realizing it," he reminds us, "we may be drifting into a system in which everyone becomes permanently dependent on the state for certain basic needs and will eventually become more and more dependent. Not only are the social services no longer self-liquidating; they are self-propagating."

CONFINE TO EMERGENCIES

As far as possible, state aid in the form of pure relief must be confined to real emergencies. Dependence upon it should not become a way of life. And aid must take forms acceptable to the financially responsible, the taxpaying public, rather than to the indigent and the professional politician alone. The self-supporting citizen is eager to have the dependent raised to his own condition of responsibility whereas the politician may be too complacent about maintaining a mass of appreciative poor-relief voters.

This danger of our raising up a proletariat looking to our Government for "bread and circuses" was foreseen by the English historian, Lord Macaulay, more than a century ago. He predicted that the time would come when our legislators would seek votes through promises of more and easier state aid, to the intolerable burden of the taxpayer. "There will be, I fear," he said, "spoliation The spoliation will increase the distress, the distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you." Macaulay then spoke a warning that is daily becoming more timely: "Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor."

He predicted that once we entered the downward course of using state aid as the price of votes (the growing "tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect" policy), "either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th—with this difference, that the Huns and the Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

PROTECT LIBERTY

We need not charge with evil intent the politicians who campaign on promises of ever more generous poor relief. Their intentions may be good. But here Woodrow Wilson, political scientist as well as President, reminds us: "Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachments by men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding."

We cannot take it for granted that a national administration will safeguard us from political paths so disastrous. Administrations are made up of men as fallible as ourselves. Governments are full of political accidents. A contested election and a dubious recount can change the whole course of government. And while it is not true that "the best government is the one that governs least," we must be particularly on our guard against that government that is most prodigal of the dole. As Thomas Jefferson remarked, "Free government is founded on jealousy, not confidence. It is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions, to bind those we are obliged to trust with power."

A CAREFUL LOOK

All this is not to question President Johnson's war on poverty. But let us look carefully to the form it takes. In a responsible society, families live on families' incomes, each family being a mutual aid society. Income normally means pay for work done. The fight against poverty, then, should distinguish between those poor who could reasonably be expected to work at least a part of their own way, when given an opportunity; and those poor who should be a cherished charge upon society. Taxpayers and industry should be consulted as to how men can be put to work. Industry should be appreciated as a source of wages, rather than of endless taxes.

The Credibility Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the controversy over administration news management has not subsided in recent months, and the practices which fanned it to such white heat continue. As we all know, much of the discussion about this issue is centered on our Department of Defense and its civilian personnel.

The continuation of these policies in the Pentagon again are raising serious doubts in the minds of the American people as to the reliability of the information they are being fed.

In the June 15, 1964, issue of the respected trade publication, Aviation Week and Space Technology, Robert Hotz has written an editorial which surveys the reaction of the people to the statements and releases which emanate from the Department of Defense. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for the edification of all those who may feel that the issue of news management is a thing of the past.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CREDIBILITY GAP

(By Robert Hotz)

There are disturbing indications that the credibility of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara and his Pentagon spokesmen is diminishing rapidly at the very time President Lyndon Johnson needs it most to build public support for this Nation's campaign to repel communism in southeast Asia.

Lack of credibility of key Government officials is always a serious matter in a democratic society, but the deepening crisis, in Vietnam and Laos, which is certain to demand heavier sacrifices in blood and money from the American people, makes this problem particularly acute now. The American people have never flinched from paying whatever price was necessary to preserve liberty and prevent the spread of tyranny when they understood clearly the issues at stake. But there is diminishing public support for southeast Asian ventures—at the very time that the crisis is reaching its peak—because of the lessening public belief in the word it is getting from the Pentagon's civilian leaders.

This may prove to be an extremely high price for President Johnson to pay for whatever success Mr. McNamara and his official mouthpiece, Arthur Sylvester, have achieved in their avowed intent to control Pentagon news to suit their own purposes. This policy backfired badly in the Cuban crisis. The sparse and misleading information dispensed from the Pentagon on Cuba reduced public credibility on official statements to such a low point that the late President Kennedy finally had to order Mr. McNamara to put on that extraordinary lantern-slide show on national television to convince the American people that the Soviet missiles were really being shipped out of Cuba. Ironically, this performance revealed more genuine intelligence secrets than would have been necessary if Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester had dispensed the facts as events occurred.

Both Mr. McNamara and Mr. Sylvester came to their Pentagon duties with an unusual belief in the use of the official lie as a national policy instrument. Mr. McNamara first made this clear in 1961 testimony before Congress on the Nike-Zeus when he said:

"Why should we tell Russia that Zeus developments may not be satisfactory? What we ought to be saying is that we have the most perfect anti-ICBM system that the human mind will ever devise." Mr. McNamara probably doesn't see any similarity in the tactics he proposed and Nikita Khrushchev's insistence that the Soviets have perfected an anti-ICBM system that can "hit a fly in the sky," but many Americans will. Mr. Sylvester expounded the right to tell official lies in his now-infamous New York Deadline Club speech (Aviation Week, Dec. 17, 1962, p. 35). Although he then maintained that this basic "right to lie" should be used only to avert nuclear war, he has in fact adopted it as a standard operational practice. His credibility has sunk so low that most Pentagon reporters really don't believe a story until it has been officially denied. Even his subordinates are apologetic for the more blatant episodes.

During Mr. McNamara's first appearances before Congress, its key leaders were impressed with his ability to answer on the spot any question they asked. It was not until several times around the same track that they began to develop misgivings over the accuracy of many of these answers and began to wonder if the Secretary's talents lay more toward glibness than research. Among the incidents that have shaken his once strong credibility with Congress are:

His claim that forcing the U.S. Air Force and Navy to use the same F-111 (TFX) design would save a billion dollars. Later testimony showed that this was a rough calculation made by an aid on the back of an envelope before a contractor was even selected for the project.

The manner in which many of his economy claims for the Defense Department budget have evaporated under congressional scrutiny, and how many of them have simply turned out to be the difference between what might have been spent and what was ordered to be spent.

His public insistence that the Lockheed YF-12A (A-11) was developed from the start as an interceptor for the U.S. Air Force, despite knowledge by key Congressmen that this aircraft was sponsored and funded by the Central Intelligence Agency as a superspy successor to the U-2.

His repeated optimistic reports on the Vietnam war that are regularly contradicted by events occurring on the battlefront. It is ironic that his credibility has sunk so low on this score that even when he is right—as in the case of which aircraft types are proper for this operation—few believe him any more.

As the facts in all of these areas eventually emerge and erode the official position taken by Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, their efforts to suppress and control the Pentagon information flow become more violent and ridiculous. Mr. Sylvester's internal Pentagon directive to all military public information officers ordering the F-111 to be portrayed publicly as a success regardless of what the facts may be (Aviation Week, Apr. 27, p. 31) would read more appropriately in the Cyrillic alphabet than in English. The idea of proclaiming that an aircraft will meet all of the military service requirements before the first prototype has rolled out or made its initial flight is so ludicrous it belongs in a George Orwell book. The latest attempt by Mr. Sylvester to further tighten control of military news (Aviation Week, June 8, p. 20) has been widely interpreted—and we think correctly so—as another indication of how badly the tide is running against our efforts in Vietnam.

Now we have the incredible spectacle of eight USAF F-100 fighter-bombers making a strike on foreign soil—the first U.S. offensive military action since Korea—and the Government trying to suppress this news and keep it from the American people (see p. 25).

Clearly it is time, not only for a reappraisal of the credibility of Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, but also for a realistic examination of an official information policy that is widening the gap between a government and its people at a critical time in the fate of this Nation.

The Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the thinking people of this Nation are rightly alarmed at the ever-increasing usurpation of political power by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In fact, one wonders whether there is really any justification for the continued existence of the Congress, the legislative branch of our Government; unless it is to appropriate money. But in view of the Court's edict in requiring the commissioners of Prince Edward County to appropriate money to operate public schools in that county, a real question is raised whether the legislative branches of the Government are necessary.

Mr. Speaker, that wise and dedicated liberty-loving true liberal of his day, Thomas Jefferson, with prophetic vision sounded the warning more than a century and a half ago when he said:

> There is no danger I apprehend so much as the consolidation of our Government by the noiseless and, therefore, alarming instrumentality of the Supreme Court.

It is encouraging to note that the press throughout the country is also alarmed over the situation. Many editorials of righteous indignation against the usurpation of power by the Court are appearing in substantial publications of the country. One of these timely editorials was written by my good friend and guardian of the peoples' liberties, Mr. Eugene Wilkes, in the Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald of Mississippi on June 20.

The editorial follows:

THE SUPREME COURT

We had long been under the impression that the U.S. Supreme Court had been created with the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

We also have long believed the Supreme Court was going beyond its authority and making rulings in violation of the power granted to it under the Constitution.

While we do not lay any claim to a legal mind or that we are too familiar with the laws of the land, we were under the impression that we had at least a small amount of commonsense.

We have disagreed with many decisions of the High Court. With the recent decision outlawing the methods used by various States in redistricting for the election of members of the legislature we have reached the decision that the United States of America has created a "monster" that has the power to destroy its creator.

Instead of the Supreme Court being subject to acts of Congress or the States, it seems to have the power to nullify any action of the Congress or State legislatures.

Where will the autocratic action of the Supreme Court end? When it ruled that Prince Edward County, Va., must operate its public schools and levy taxes for that purpose it seems to us the Court has assumed the power to destroy this country if the men sitting on the Court so desire.

Another recent decision we cannot agree with. That is the one where the Court dismissed a libel case against a newspaper and ruled that a newspaper could make untrue statements about men in public office without liability so long as the statements were made without malice. While this decision could work in behalf of this newspaper were it to become involved in a libel suit with a public office holder, we do not believe we should be at liberty to make statements we know are untrue with complete immunity.

The Supreme Court also let cases remain on its docket for years where the safety of this country is involved such as cases against alleged Communists, and then after much delay decides in favor of the Communists. But it will take action on a case involving civil rights almost overnight.

We appear to have reached the point where it is a question as to whether the United States or the Supreme Court shall survive. The Supreme Court appears the ruler of the land.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, this Saturday will mark the unveiling of a statue in honor of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero. Shevchenko is more than a national hero, for he stands as a symbol of freedom to all oppressed peoples. In his short 47 years of life this man continually gave expression to his hopes and desires for freedom from Russian tyranny. His poetry rings as a bell of freedom, a call to action, both then and now.

The values and purposes of this statue are manifold. It is primarily a monument to the memory of a man deeply loved and honored by all Ukranians. It is a symbol of East European freedom, a constant reminder to the 45 million people of the Ukraine held captive behind the Iron Curtain of their continuing efforts to rid their nation of tyranny and the despotic rule of the Soviet Union.

As Shevchenko acknowledged the ideals and beliefs of our own George Washington, so must we recognize his desires for liberty. The statue marks an important step forward in the development of relations between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe. It recalls the development within Eastern Europe of several nations with individual identities, not just the single, monolithic Soviet Union. And finally this statue is a call to the oppressed people of the world to resist tyranny in

all forms and press the struggle for freedom and liberty.

We in America are honored that this statue should stand in Washington as a symbol of freedom to the world. It is evidence that the desire for freedom is universal, that man is not born to live under tyranny and oppression. This monument and the memory of Taras Shevchenko will serve as a constant reminder to the people of the Ukraine and the world of the ceaseless fight for liberty and universal freedom.

Address by Hon. Peter W. Rodino Before the Young Democratic Club of New Jersey, June 13, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, the Honorable PETER W. RODINO, dean of the New Jersey Democratic delegation, was featured speaker at the New Jersey Young Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, June 13.

Congressman RODINO's address was a stirring cry to the young people of today of the challenge of the future to President Johnson and to America.

The flaming Kennedy torch has passed to all of us * * * and we dare not halt or hesitate until we reach our goal—

Mr. RODINO declared.

I am happy to insert this speech into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with the hope that the people of the Nation take heed of its message—to build for a "greater, more golden tomorrow."

The speech follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. PETER W. RODINO

Mr. Toastmaster, officers, members, and guests of the Young Democratic Club of New Jersey, it is a warm and wonderful experience for me to be here with you tonight at this festive gathering.

Enthusiasm fills the air, and there is more than enough inspiration to go around generously.

I hate to admit it, but almost a score of years has passed since those exciting days when I was an active participant in the affairs of the Young Democrats.

Sharing this occasion with you is like turning back the pages of my own personal history.

Filled with idealism and bursting with ambition, I was then a raw recruit in the political ranks. World War II had just ended, and the memories of combat lingered. The suffering and hardship I had seen abroad had registered a strong impression, and I was anxious to join in a great and noble effort to move America forward.

Then—as now—I sincerely believed that we could make great advances in promoting the general welfare of our people and our country if we adopted this as our goal and pursued it with diligence. This belief was fortified and strengthened by my association with the Young Democrats.

In this organization, I found youthful men and women united under the banner of a party dedicated to the proposition that people are more important than property, and principles more important than partisanship. That challenging outlook has remained a permanent part of my political philosophy.

Today we might sum it up as: Prosperity for all, and poverty for none.

When I first sought election to Congress, I pledged that I would devote my energy and effort to translate into action the ideas and ideals of the Young Democrats and our Democratic Party—to keep our country strong, our countrymen free, and the world at peace.

Many years have passed since I was first elected to represent the 10th District in Congress—and many monumental events have passed into history.

But this much is self-evident: Our party has met—head on and unflinchingly—the challenge of critical, changing times. We have kept faith with our unequivocal commitment to fulfill the needs of our people, and to devise lasting solutions to the problems of our country.

The Democratic Party has registered impressive progress because it has sponsored and fought for programs that have been in keeping with the design and the promise of the American dream.

Under dynamic, democratic leadership, we have achieved a strong and prosperous America. We have a people who live happily in dignity and freedom. And we have helped to keep the peace.

This able administration can point with justifiable pride to more than 3 years of unbroken economic expansion—the longest and strongest peacetime growth in the Nation's history.

The sum of all goods and services of our country has expanded to an annual rate of $600 billion—an increase of 20 percent in the past 3 years.

Since January 1961, personal income is up $65 billion—or 16 percent.

Labor income is up $49 billion—or 16 percent—and civilian employment has risen 2½ million.

Average weekly earnings in manufacturing are up 31 percent to more than $100 per week.

Prices have been the steadiest in the entire postwar period.

Industrial production is up 22 percent.

Construction is up 19 percent.

Corporate profits are up 43 percent, to an all-time high.

Our military might gives us the muscle to back word with deed in the cause of peace.

We have seized the initiative against communism and have launched a peace corps to help underdeveloped nations learn to help themselves.

A major tax reduction has been enacted to strengthen the economy and ease the unemployment problem.

The minimum wage has been increased to $50 per week, and public works programs have been established in areas of chronic depression.

Yes. We have made advances on a broad front in promoting the general welfare.

And we will continue to make advances through our war on poverty and our all-out fight against discrimination.

We cannot do otherwise.

For this is the legacy of our late, great President—John F. Kennedy.

His bold and imaginative programs of progress are now being carried out with faith and dedication by the man on whose shoulders the great responsibility was thrust—President Lyndon B. Johnson.

With the swiftness of a rifle shot and the grief of martyrdom, the flaming torch has passed.

We can find consolation and take heart that President Johnson has pledged himself to continue the Kennedy programs, and then go forward and do more.

But President Johnson cannot do it alone.

He needs the cooperation of a friendly, sympathetic Congress.

He needs the vigorous support of a dedicated democratic party.

He needs the wholehearted backing of vital men and women like yourselves, who have taken an active interest in politics and are doing something about it by participation in this important, constructive organization of young Democrats.

What has happened in this great country of ours is now clear.

The flaming Kennedy torch has passed to all of us, and we dare not halt or hesitate until we reach our goal.

Together we must labor to implement the noble aims and hopes of John F. Kennedy, to transform his vision into reality, and to make it our way of life.

Let us strive to bring opportunity to those who are denied it.

Let us resolve to achieve genuine equality for all.

Let us maintain a mighty America to deal from strength in the cold war struggle for permanent, worldwide peace.

Let us make America truly the home of the free and the hope of those still unfree.

Let us do all these things, and when that day comes that we must pass the flaming torch to a new generation—the glow will be so bright that it will light the way for our children, and their children after them—to greater, more golden tomorrows.

In an America where dreams of freedom, equality, and prosperity are no longer dreams—but dreams come true.

The Die Is Cast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the San Fernando Valley (Calif.) Valley Times, on the day following the June 2 primary elections in California.

An interesting point is that the publisher of the Valley Times, who prepared the editorial, is a conservative, oriented Democrat who dares not share the thinking of the liberal wing of his own party or the Republican Party, and is an indication of what thousands of conservative Democrats will do in the general election if they have a "choice, not an echo":

THE DIE IS CAST

Our California Republicans made a crucial decision at the primary election polls Tuesday.

When they named U.S. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER their preference for the Republican candidacy for President of the United States, they endorsed the traditional philosophy of freedom and liberty for all Americans.

Patriotism still lives in the hearts of Californians.

The American liberty and freedom, which we said in our editorial endorsing Senator GOLDWATER on May 20 was hanging by a thread, has been bolstered and reinforced in the California choice of GOLDWATER.

The great State of California has answered a question which had caused grave doubt and concern in the heart of every loyal and patriotic American. But this Republican victory pales in contrast to the great victory for the United States and its two-party system.

Here is a sign of the times which is heartening. The thread has been reinforced by the will of the voters. Our two-party system shall survive and overcome the forces which were pointed to dictatorship.

BARRY GOLDWATER'S victory at the California polls sent out great springtides of rejoicing all over the country.

It is the most significant victory that has been made in behalf of conservatism in this Nation since the 1920's before the Democratic bureaucrats, wasters, and spendthrifts, initiated the fictitious policies which have drained American resources and cast the shadow of doubt and distrust upon the dignity of the then sound American dollar.

Ever since 1932, inflation has waged a cancerous war in America. Business has suffered. American labor and capital have suffered.

Americans all over the country must listen and yield to the somber warning voiced so emphatically at the California polls Tuesday.

The Republican Party shall not be repudiated. It shall not die an ignominious death. Now the American people have a choice to make. The issues are clearcut. Once again the GOP is not merely an echo.

The "me-tooers"—Rockefeller and Nixon—have received a setback from which they never shall recover, the penalty for failure to stand up to the sound and basic principles and philosophy that the GOP must always enunciate.

The backroom kingmakers have been beaten down.

Senator GOLDWATER said last night, "This is not a victory for BARRY GOLDWATER; it's a victory for the mainstream of Republican thinking."

His remarks in the flush of victory—but humbly expressed—were statesmanlike and indicative of the tremendous stature of the man whom, we believe, is now headed for the Republican nomination at San Francisco and then on to the White House.

"But," he warned, "we have to work (for the nomination). But this is a giant step forward."

And we know that BARRY GOLDWATER shall wear his badge of victory with dignity, commonsense, and honest craftsmanship.

He will fight for freedom for his countrymen, overcome the evils of the dole; inflation, confiscatory taxation, bureaucratic paternalism, ridiculous budgets, peace with honor without betrayal of trust.

With BARRY GOLDWATER, the American people shall be returned to the place of dignity, repsect, and liberty for which our forefathers fought and gave their lifeblood.

So we say, "On to victory with BARRY GOLDWATER."

Can United States Continue To Back Away From Cuba?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the Communist threat from Cuba remains at our doorstep. To eliminate it, this menace necessitates firm action by our Government. We cannot back away. The Erie Morning News, Erie, Pa., recently carried an excellent editorial on the Cuban problem. It is as follows:

CAN UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO BACK AWAY FROM CUBA?

It will be interesting to see to what degree the Soviet Union is able to control the policies of the United States regarding Cuba.

A flurry of action by Cuban commando units, possible some of them based in Florida or Puerto Rico, has the Red Cuban leaders chewing their fingernails lest they presage a larger scale action, possibly an invasion.

After many months of wondering if the Cuban refugees in this country have the determination to do something about liberating their island homeland, we're finally getting our answer.

Nothing can be more disconcerting to the Cuban police state than the type of attack chosen by U.S.-based Cuban patriots, their hit-and-run raids which have obviously done considerable damage.

Cuba is no match for the United States in an open brawl and for Fidel Castro to throw caution to the wind without first determining that he has the full support of the Soviet Union would be sudden suicide.

Obviously the American people are going to put up with no further nonsense, whether the administration will or not.

We're fed up with the lingering specter of this Communist stronghold off our coastline, and sick of the several years of fumbling, head scratching and inept actions by the administration since 1961.

Reports from Moscow and Washington have the Russians bringing their own brand of pressure on the United States to keep hands off the Cuban dictator, especially since the Kremlin is deeply involved in their own ideological battle with the Chinese.

One of the inferences is that if we desist in supporting the Cuban attackers, and take no action whatsoever to help overthrow the Red Cuban Government, the Russians will allegedly move their troops and equipment out of Cuba.

A "normal" situation in the Caribbean as far as the Russians are concerned would be the continued existence of Castro's government and the continued buildup of Cuba as a revolutionary staging area for the Western Hemisphere.

Rather than hinder the Cuban patriots in their commando raids on the vulnerable Cuban coast, we would urge that our Government give them free access to our coastline as a haven in which to regroup for their next raids.

The choice is either to keep hands off at the Russian insistence, or lend our moral and material support to the overthrowing of a dictatorship which bodes no good for our country.

In our estimation only the latter course is justifiable in the light of our national heritage, our interest in our hemisphere, and our moral obligation to help a downtrodden people.

Goldwater's Opponents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, no candidate within memory has faced such a concentrated attack by the press, radio and TV commentators, and political pundits than has BARRY GOLDWATER. Every conceivable device has been used to discredit him, to misinterpret his statements, to downgrade his performance. No story is too wild to repeat, no falsehood too base to sponsor, in fact the motto of the Goldwater opposition seems to be "anything short of murder to defeat BARRY."

Why such fury in attacking a candidate for public office? There can be only one reason, he is feared as a strong candidate. The principles for which he stands do not find favor with those who would control public thinking or render defenseless the United States. BARRY is a foe of the Communist conspiracy and will regain the prestige the United States must have to defeat communism. The Soviet apologists do not like him for this. BARRY believes in the people and would return the Government to them. Those who seek power and would rule from the top dispise him for this. BARRY believes in sanity in handling the peoples' money so as to protect the soundness of the dollar. The big spenders, those who advocate deficit financing, hate him for this.

In spite of the unprecedented propaganda campaign against him, BARRY GOLDWATER is getting through to the people as they compare him, his character, and his ability, to the choice which spawned the Bobby Baker scandals and then covered them up; with the choice which has permitted Cuba to become a Red fortress and is responsible for the no-win policy in Asia.

How America feels about all this is related in the following column written by Ray Zauber, editor of the Oak Cliff Tribune in Dallas, Tex.:

GOLDWATER BUCKS U.S. JOURNALISTS
(By Ray Zauber)

As BARRY GOLDWATER edges nearer and nearer to the Republican nomination for President, a cogent fact becomes ever more obvious.

Probably no candidate in history will have had more influential enemies. Columnists, commentators, news analysts, reporters, pollsters, pudits and newscasters are arrayed in great majority against the Arizona Senator.

It becomes increasingly more obvious that the pollsters and commentators have been trying to influence public opinion by distortion of facts or by deliberate misrepresentations.

In one of the journalism's strange paradoxes, many conservative newspapers and radio stations will be editorially alined with the GOP standard bearer while key editors and newscasters of these organizations will be against him.

Right now Scratchpad will wager that every poll will show President Lyndon Johnson much further ahead of the Arizonian than the final results will prove, provided these two collide for the Nation's top office.

The conservative Senator is not an inflexible relic of the McKinley era as the liberals picture him. He is a sound, dedicated patriot who believes in American sovereignty and a sound dollar.

But thrift and flag are now considered as pages of the past, as attributes of the radical right. The United Nation blue and the international Comintern pink are today's popular colors.

It is absolutely treasonous to mistrust that sweet old patriarch of the Russian Bear, gentle Nikita Khrushchev. It is infamous to recall that he helped Joseph Stalin liquidate millions of political enemies and enslave nearly one-half of the world's population.

It is libelous to point to the perfidy and treachery of the Soviets in their dealing with the "allies" after World War II. Every treaty, compact and agreement made between the socialist and democratic nations has been abrogated or abused when it suited the Reds.

In the brush wars—police actions as we call them—the United Nations and the Communists operate under different rules. We cannot in good conscience chase the enemy into his own territory or destroy his

supply lines, our bleeding heart foreign policy makers advise us.

If this is the kind of America that the Democrats must design for us under the Johnson aegis, then Scratchpad must support the old fashioned patriot with his fuddy-duddy ideas on constitutionalism and patriotism.

History has proven time and time again that the tyrant respects strength and crushes weakness. Our only real successes in the cold war have come from moments of truth * * * the so-called Dulles brinkmanship.

The late President Kennedy completely blew the most golden opportunity in modern history to bring the Russians into line on the Cuban missile confrontation. But with the soft State Department braintrust carefully considering the enemy's feelings and waving the banner of coexistence, the advantage was frittered away in agreements which materially reduced the U.S. strength in Europe.

The depth of this sell-out and the eventual ramifications are still not known to the taxpaying public. In fact, the people may never know, unless someone like BARRY GOLDWATER ascends to the Presidency.

In every major foreign war, a Democrat has occupied the White House. This is an immutable fact of American history that none of us can forget.

Legislating by Judicial Decree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court in a series of ill-considered decisions has narrowed dangerously the lines of demarcation separating the three branches of Government. As a nonlawyer I have great difficulty in understanding the sense of mission to remake our way of life that seemingly possesses the High Court and I can only conclude that in underwriting the questionable rights of the criminal, the subversive, and the aggressor, protection of law-abiding citizens has been considered as of secondary importance.

There is, of course, the Court's dependence on the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment for so many of its decisions without any apparent concern whatsoever for the fact that the very amendment upon which they rely so heavily is of itself of doubtful validity. Everyone knows that it was virtually adopted at the point of a gun, with northern carpetbaggers supplanting regularly elected legislators in several Southern States, and in no event was it designed to do other than confer the rights of citizenship on newly freed slaves.

Those of us who are urging the adoption of the so-called Becker amendment as a means of reversing the Court's edict regarding prayer and Bible reading in our schools are confronted with horrified insistence by dissenters and agnostics that we must not trifle with the Bill of Rights while completely ignoring the fact that the Supreme Court has done exactly that. Here was an established custom enjoyed since the founding of the Republic but now abolished in one fell swoop by a tortured interpretation of the first amendment, and on the motion of an atheist at that.

Added to our woes—the woes of those who believe that the protection of the law abiding should take precedence over any concern for the confessed criminal—is the realization that the Court, first in the Mallory case and now in the Escobedo decision, has virtually turned loose upon an innocent public rapists and murderers to carry on their nefarious activities with what amounts to the blessing of our highest judiciary. And again as a nonlawyer I can approach these things only from a commonsense viewpoint and I feel strongly that when a man confesses to a crime and does not thereafter repudiate his confession he should pay the penalty.

Intermeddling in State elections to the extent of specifying standards for the selection of State legislators is again torturing the meaning of the much-abused 14th amendment and brings the Federal Government into an area which the framers of the Constitution clearly intended to leave to the sovereign States. As for granting passports to members of Communist organizations—subversive groups pledged to the overthrow of our Government—here we have one more example of a body of jurists who seem bent on rewarding those who invariably operate outside the law and who give prior loyalty to other nations and ideologies.

At the moment, the only satisfaction left to a confused and apprehensive citizenry that sees its privileges and immunities placed in jeopardy is the realization that the Supreme Court will be in recess until October and that for 3 months at least our liberties will not be judiciously molested. In the meantime let us hope that the Congress may get around to legislating some restrictions on those appointees, with lifetime tenure, who remake the law to suit their own conception of justice.

Judicial Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, of June 20, 1964:

JUDICIAL REVOLUTION

By itself the Supreme Court's decision on legislative apportionment in the States is a mistake in our judgment. To correct an admitted abuse, which gave rural votes more power than city votes, the Court has opened up new dangers. It has imposed on the States—which is itself a danger—a voting rule for electing legislatures that will tend to encourage mere majority rule and to weaken the complex American system for diffusing power and for protecting minorities.

This is serious enough. It has been called a judicial revolution in the United States. But in the larger context this is part of a broad and equally perilous trend established by the present-day membership of the Court. It moves toward the assertion of national power to sweep away obstacles to what might be called popular rule in the Nation as a whole.

It is important to understand the motive for this even though we disagree with it. For we do not question the sincerity of the majority of the Court. The United States is fast becoming an economic as well as a political democracy. Prosperity is now so widely diffused through American society that the industrial working classes, which traditionally were considered the lower classes, are now able to assert their position and power in American society. The rule of the few based predominantly on a rural civilization is over.

So it is understandable that there is an equalitarian trend in the atmosphere today. It affects the law which grows together with society. There is a rising demand to eliminate those restrictions on the popular will which had their origin in less fortunate days when the lower classes were not considered responsible enough to take a full share in Government.

But in correcting what have now come to be seen as abuses of the old ruling power, it is imperative not to swing over into abuses of the new ruling power. It has perceptively been said that the new trend in the Supreme Court is based on an absolutist concept of rule by the people. But the very origin of democracy, its first justification, lies not in perfecting rule—whether by czar or mass—but by perfecting liberty. Power is limited and divided to prevent the amassing of undue power. The glory of the American system is not the provision for government by the people, important as that is, but in the intricate and wonderful mesh of protections for majority and minority alike, for the many segments and political units in this diverse society, and in the painstaking adjustments between the needs of them all.

The greatest problems on the American scene today are not those of the mass. The mass is doing respectably well. The need is for safeguarding and encouraging all those wellsprings of excellence and diversity which too easily could be rubbed out, and which alone can make rule by the many fruitful instead of a crushing load of conformity. We do not want to swing from the old tyranny of the few to a new tyranny of the mass. Some of the most dismaying trends in American society today have come with the climate of mass thinking. They are the abuses that haunt an otherwise splendid liberation of underprivileged people.

So it becomes especially important today that the guardians of the Constitution should not seize on a simple proposition like, "One man, one vote—now let's apply this principle all down the line." It lies rather in asking, "How can the broadened concepts of rule by all the people be fused with the safeguards of a plural society and the rights of individual men, which are bone and sinew of the system of organized freedom and the very sources of its excellence?"

We will apply these tests to the apportionment decisions in another editorial.

Will We Ever Pay Off?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, as you and my colleagues know, I have for years spoken out on the dangers which lie

ahead for every American living today and for generations yet unborn unless we balance the budget effectively and soon. I have constantly pointed out in many speeches on this floor, that every nation across the seven seas that travel the full, reckless, spending, wasting road that we have traveled full speed ahead for more than three decades have reaped the grim harvest of currency depreciation, strife, and cold and hot war.

Now Henry Hazlitt gives us facts and figures as to what our harvest will be, as follows:

WILL WE EVER PAY OFF?

(By Henry Hazlitt)

In 1930, the national debt was $16 billion. In 1945, at the end of World War II, it was $260 billion. During the war, while the debt was piling up, the general assumption was that this borrowing was proper and even unavoidable in a time of crisis, but that once the war was over the debt would be gradually reduced or paid off. Instead, in the 18 years since the end of the war, the national debt has been increased to $308 billion, or an average of $6,500 for every family in the United States.

Today interest on the debt alone amounts to $11 billion a year, or more than three times as much as the Government spent annually for all purposes in the years 1926–30.

There is curiously little concern about this. On the contrary, every once in a while some writer emerges to ridicule what little concern there is. J. David Stern did this in the January Atlantic. Even academic economists belittle the problem.

Stern's argument was summed up in the statement that "the Nation is growing faster than its debt." One academic economist, trying to prove the same point, epitomized his argument in the following table:

	1945	*1963*
National debt	$260	$305
Gross national debt	$214	$585
Debt as a burden to gross national product (percent)	121	52

The triumphant conclusion the professor drew from this table was that "the national debt, when viewed as a burden to a year's production, has been more than cut in two."

DEBT VERSUS GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

The figures are official, and the conclusion is technically correct. The complacency of the conclusion is unjustified.

The reason the national debt is less of a burden is that, through inflation, the purchasing power of the dollar has been steadily reduced. It has been reduced 63 percent since 1933 and 43 percent since 1945. Let us state this another way. By failing to balance its budget, by borrowing, by monetizing the debt, by printing more dollars, by steadily diluting the dollar's purchasing power, the Government has in effect repudiated 63 cents of every dollar it borrowed in 1933 and 43 cents of every dollar it borrowed in 1945.

To put it bluntly, the creditors, the holders of U.S. Government bonds, have been cheated.

Let's make this even clearer by an illustration from another country. At the end of 1923, the purchasing power of the German paper mark fell to less than one-trillionth of its 1913 value. This meant that prices rose more than a trillion times. Therefore Germany's gross national product, measured in paper marks, rose more than a trillion times. As a result, its accumulated debt, represented by borrowings of marks of a much higher purchasing power, was reduced to practically no burden on the economy at all. Though Germany was the extreme case, the situation did not differ in principle from what happened in France (where the franc eventually fell to less than one one-hundredth of its 1913 value) and a score of other European countries.

A PRETENDED PAYMENT

Adam Smith, writing in 1776, was perfectly familiar with this method of disguised repudiation. "When national debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree," he wrote, "there is scarce, I believe, a single instance of their having been fairly and completely paid." But governments usually covered the "disgrace of a real bankruptcy" by the "juggling trick" of "a pretended payment" in depreciated currency.

So the relationship that seems to give some present-day writers so much satisfaction—that the national debt, in dollar terms, has been falling in relation to the gross national product in dollar terms, is simply the outcome of the steady depreciation of the dollar. The more inflation we have, and the more the purchasing power of the dollar is depreciated, the more the national debt will fall in relation to the gross national product, because the gross national product, measured in rising prices, will rise in relation to the debt, and so these writers will have increasing reasons for statistical satisfaction.

Do we have any serious intention of ever paying off our national debt in dollars of at least present purchasing power? If so, isn't it about time we balanced the budget and made an honest start?

Star of Wesleyan Five To Join Mission to Mali—Davenport To Aid Project of Operation Crossroads—Unit To Coach, Play, Conduct Clinics on 2-Month Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, amid the tension of world events, the importance of a personal approach to foreign relations is often overlooked. Such a personal orientation is the basis of a newly formed mission to Mali under the auspices of Operations Crossroads Africa, Inc. This mission is one of several organized to further the athletic interests of the African people.

One of the participants in this program is Winthrop (Winky) Davenport, Jr., who was recently graduated from Wesleyan University. While playing basketball at Wesleyan, Davenport set several scoring records. As part of a seven-man unit to coach, conduct clinics, and play exhibitions in Mali, his skill will be valuable in furthering th aims of this program.

It is encouraging to see our youth use their knowledge and skills to benefit the less fortunate peoples of the world. Projects such as those of Operations Crossroads and the activities of young men like Davenport are vital to the development of true world peace and mutual understanding. I include as part of my remarks the following article from the June 21, 1964, issue of the New York Times:

STAR OF WESLEYAN FIVE TO JOIN MISSION TO MALI—DAVENPORT TO AID PROJECT OF OPERATION CROSSROADS—UNIT TO COACH, PLAY, CONDUCT CLINICS ON 2-MONTH TOUR

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., June 20.—Less than 2 weeks before his graduation from Wesleyan University, Winthrop (Winky) Davenport, Jr., of Binghamton, N.Y., called off all plans for the summer, pulled his basketball shoes off the shelf and began making arrangements for a mission to the Republic of Mali in western Africa.

The 6-foot-6-inch 210-pound basketball center who had become Wesleyan's highest scorer with records of 340 points for a single season (16 games) and 1,041 points for a varsity career, had been asked to participate in a special athletic project being sponsored by Operations Crossroads Africa, Inc., New York.

DECISION IS REACHED

It all came about because a copy of the Wesleyan Alumnus containing a captioned picture of Davenport had found its way into the hands of Dr. James H. Robinson, the founder and direction of Operation Crossroads since 1958. Pablo Eisenberg, new director of oversea programs was organizing a seven-man basketball unit to coach, conduct clinics and play exhibitions in Mali this summer and he took it from there.

Eisenberg reached Davenport on May 25 and on the next day, after a phone call home and a night of decision, Davenport was preparing for the 2-month stint in Bamako, the capital of Mali, and the cities of the surrounding grasslands.

So far, Davenport said, he had had 11 shots and 1 vaccination, and he has calculated he will need 6 to 8 pounds of adhesive tape—that's the heaviest item in his luggage allowance of 44 pounds.

Davenport is undergoing 8 days of orientation at Rutgers with the other members of the group. They are Joey Bouchard, French-speaking coach of basketball and soccer at Nasson College; Wilfred Holland, Howard University; Richard Rodin, a New York lawyer and former Columbia captain; David Schumacher, Yale University; Richard Ide, Middlebury College, and William Morgan, Ohio Wesleyan.

The team will leave Kennedy International Airport on Thursday, arriving in Bamako on Saturday, and will not return to the United States until late August. The project is one of 27 being conducted in 20 African countries this summer under Operation Crossroads' auspices, but it is the first Crossroads basketball project in Africa and the first Crossroads project of any kind (they are usually work camps) in Mali. Other Crossroads projects in Mali this summer include a boxing program under the supervision of Norvel Lee, the 1952 Olympic light-heavyweight champion, and track and field, under the direction of Harry Bright, a former national track coach for Cambodia.

According to Eisenberg, the Ministry of Youth and Sports in Mali invited the athletic projects.

"Mali's interest in athletics is particularly keen," Eisenberg said, "and there is also a need to train athletes for the upcoming Olympic games and for the new African games, which are held every 2 years."

Davenport, who has had extensive experience as a camp counselor and YMCA worker in his home city Binghamton, says the work on the basketball project will be "extremely helpful in finding out whether coaching and teaching is what I really want."

EXPOSED TO NEW EXTREMES

"Fundamentally," he says, "it will expose me to the other extremes—that is, to people who really want to learn the sport and who are enthusiastic about it. At camp, you often had to push the youngsters along. In Mali, I'm sure we'll have no need to provide

the encouragement. Just the ability and the know-how."

A psychology major at Wesleyan, Davenport has also had 2 years of college French, which he expects to use while at work in French-speaking Mali. He is suspending all decisions on what he will do afterward until the project is over.

"Perhaps, just perhaps, I will go into the Peace Corps, I don't know," he said. "The idea that this Crossroads project can be carried on further naturally went through my mind at commencement."

Appropriately enough, R. Sargent Shriver, Jr. Director of the Peace Corps, was the speaker at Wesleyan's commencement on June 7.

Hardly a Dent in the Deep South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the May 16 issue of Newsday published an article written by Hon. Ross R. Barnett, former Governor of Mississippi. The article deals with school segregation in the South in the decade following the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Governor Barnett's analysis of this subject. It follows:

HARDLY A DENT IN THE DEEP SOUTH

(By Ross Barnett)

Ten years ago—on May 17, 1954—the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision in a case styled *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. From that moment on, the day became known as Black Monday among southerners and others who cherish the American way of life.

For it was then that the Court embarked upon an unprecedented experiment in judicial lawmaking. Disregarding the well-defined separation of powers between legislative, executive, and judicial branches; turning its back on our Nation's rich heritage of law and jurisprudence to seek new legal "truths," in the theories of Communist-oriented sociologists; oblivious to the clear wording and intent of the 10th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which plainly reserves to the States control over such matters as education; and with callous disregard for the welfare of future generations, the Supreme Court's tortured reasoning produced an astounding and revolutionary decision: that the system of assigning students to public schools then in effect in 17 States and the District of Columbia, and in countless cities and school districts in other States, had suddenly become unconstitutional.

This finding—arrogantly described by the Court itself as "the law of the land"—came despite the fact that the principle of racial segregation had been tested and upheld in the Supreme Court on many occasions, stretching back for more than half a century; and despite the obvious breach of faith with the residents of the affected States and cities which the "Black Monday" decision plainly implied.

Along with millions of my fellow Americans, I was shocked by this arbitrary act of usurpation by the Supreme Court. Expressions of outrage and alarm came from literally thousands of the Nation's finest legal, judicial, political, academic, and religious minds, who foresaw the dangers implicit in the "Black Monday" ruling. These protests, however, soon were enveloped by a "paper curtain"—a conspiracy of silence among the major communications media to permit no dissent, no challenge, no words of warning to reach an unsuspecting nation.

A FLOOD OF PUBLICITY

Instead, Americans were subjected to a steady diet of "tolerance" and "brotherhood" propaganda, the scope of which would have turned the late Dr. Goebbels green with envy. The Nation's television screens, its mass-circulation magazines, its big-city newspapers were filled with endless processions of professional drones, political hangers-on, professional peddlers of the social gospel and dreamy-eyed do-gooders, all dutifully parroting the approved "liberal" line, praising the Supreme Court in near-reverent terms and filled with missionary fervor for speeding the many-splendored benefits of integration to the benighted, segregated Southland.

Wealthy foundations appropriated millions of dollars to help speed the process of integration. Leftwing labor unions and church groups added their contributions, substituting verbosity for coin in many instances. And the full force and power of the Federal Government—including bayonet-wielding storm troopers and countless squads of downy-cheeked Justice Department lawyers—joined in the massive effort. New alphabetical pressure groups sprung up in quantities calculated to gladden the hearts of nostalgic New Dealers.

But—10 years later—what has been accomplished by this massive campaign? Of what can the integrationists boast, for all their power and prestige and propaganda and financial resources? Where do things stand today?

When the real results of these 10 years of expensive effort are analyzed, it appears, quite frankly, that the integrationists have been accepting money and support under false pretenses. For despite 10 years of intensive agitation, school integration has made hardly a dent in the Deep South.

According to Southern School News, set up by the Ford Foundation to keep track of school integration developments, complete integration of the South's public schools is still at least 1,000 years away.

In the 11 States of the Old Confederacy—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—public school enrollment at the beginning of the 1963–64 school year totaled 7,919,404 whites and 2,901,671 Negroes. Of this number, Southern School News reported only 30,798 Negroes as being "in schools with whites," or just 1.06 percent of the Negroes. This means that school integration is proceeding at the rate of a scant one-tenth of 1 percent per year—which would require 1,000 years to achieve 100 percent mixing of the races in the schools.

Even this insignificant record is distorted by the inclusion of Texas in these figures. In Texas, where many communities once maintained three separate school systems—for whites, Negroes, and Mexicans—most of the alleged "integration" has been performed by combining the Mexican and Negro schools. Therefore, Texas statistics on integration are virtually meaningless.

Omitting Texas, the remaining 10 southern States have a total public school enrollment of 5,873,955 whites and 2,575,262 Negroes. According to Southern School News, only 16,798 of the Negroes were "in schools with whites" this year—or six-tenths of 1 percent. This makes the integration rate for the Deep South drop to only seven one-hundredths of 1 percent a year—and puts total mixing 1,428 years away.

Lest the race mixers find even a glimmer of hope in these figures, I hasten to add that they are still deceptive in one important respect. They overlook the significant fact that the integrationists have won all of their easy victories already—that from now on, it will be much more difficult for them to register even small gains. This is because areas offering little or no opposition to school integration yielded early—within a few years after the Supreme Court's "Black Monday" decision. And I'm convinced that States and communities which continue to resist this unconstitutional edict will find the first 10 years the hardest.

Thus, of the 16,798 Negroes listed as "in schools with whites" in the Deep South, more than 10,000 are in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, under policies of "token" integration. Another 3,650 are in Florida—mostly in the Miami area, where the influx of Cuban refugees has led to rapid changes in neighborhood ethnic patterns. And the 1,814 claimed for Louisiana disregards the very effective boycott by whites of the "integrated" classrooms in New Orleans, and the subsequent opening of many new white private schools.

Yes—forced racial integration has already made its biggest gains. And I am proud to point out that my own State of Mississippi remains untouched. Her people are united in the determination to retain control of their own local affairs—including the public schools.

It is my view that the years ahead will see the scene of racial conflict shifting from the South to the North. Already, the excesses of many irresponsible Negro agitators have alarmed residents and officials in New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, and countless other communities. The growing militance of the Negro agitators, their mounting calls for violence, the realization among whites that the agitators are insatiable in their demands and their quest for power—these factors are awakening millions of white northerners who were previously willing to accept integration, or were at least unwilling to oppose it.

The Supreme Court itself is contributing to this reversal of the trend, by its recent string of decisions running counter to the basic beliefs and principles of most Americans. Northern whites with no race problem close at hand could afford to be academic and objective and tolerant of the Supreme Court's "Black Monday" decision. But when the Supreme Court runs amuck—when it frees known Communists, when it gives unruly demonstrators virtual license to defy law and order, when it permits the smut peddlers to continue unchecked, when it seeks to ban Almighty God from our national life—then, many patriotic Americans view the Supreme Court in a new light, and see the "Black Monday" decision in a new context, as part of an insidious campaign to de-Americanize America.

Inertia is a natural state. It is difficult to motivate men to action unless they perceive a clear threat to their own and their families' peace and well-being. Today, the peripatetic agitators and the power-crazed Supreme Court are providing that motivation. Action will soon follow.

Meanwhile, scientists dedicated only to the pursuit of truth are reporting new evidence of inherent racial differences. This scientific proof is coming from so many respected sources and in such volume that it cannot long be ignored. Many northerners, raised in an environmentalist, egalitarian tradition—but without contact with Negroes—will soon come to acknowledge the basic facts about racial differences long known to white southerners accustomed to living among and dealing with large numbers of Negroes.

If there is one pervasive trait which unites our Nation, it is that of kindliness to our fellow man. When the American consensus is agreed that it is unkind to create false hopes and unattainable desires in the mind of the Negro, and that it is unfair to set goals for him which he cannot reach and to expect of him that which he cannot achieve, then will sanity be restored to American race relations,

and a new era of good feeling become apparent throughout the land. In my humble opinion, that day is not far distant.

Problems of the Broadcast Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, it is a recognized fact that we are undergoing such changes in our social and economic life that it perhaps could be termed a technological revolution. Our challenge is to meet the rapid changes we are experiencing in every phase of activity.

There can be no question but what broadcasting has experienced the most dramatic development than perhaps any other phase of our activity unless it is in the development of atomic energy and nuclear power. Reaction to these tremendous developments have been mixed and interesting.

Mr. Robert W. Sarnoff, chairman of the board, National Broadcasting Co., Inc., delivered an interesting address on the problems of the broadcast industry at the NBC television and radio affiliates meeting at Beverly Hills, Calif., June 3, 1964:

It is a great pleasure to greet all of you again. I find these annual occasions to be among the brightest spots in my calendar and hope you value them as highly as I do.

The opportunity for introspection and long-range appraisal is too often denied us by the pressing daily demands of our complex industry. For a few moments today, I hope to overcome this occupational handicap by considering the turbulent route we have traveled together and some of the principal challenges that lie ahead of us.

Since its inception, broadcasting has undergone continued—and sometimes traumatic—adjustment and development in response to rapid social, economic, and technological changes. Indeed, change at an accelerating rate has been the only constant in our business, particularly in the past 15 years of television's development. Prompt and positive reaction to these changes has been not only the path to progress but the price of survival.

During this period, for example, we have witnessed drastic modifications in the whole complexion of radio, particularly networking, which for a time was threatened with extinction. But with a combination of inspiration and perspiration, liberal quantities of midnight oil and red ink, a way was found—led by NBC and its affiliates—to adapt and maintain national radio services of value to the public and to stations.

The spectacular expansion of television has been marked by equally drastic changes in the techniques of production, in advertising patterns, in program forms. Some of them have been thrust on the industry by inescapable economic realities; others have been fashioned by broadcasters to provide a service responsive to audience interests that television itself has awakened and cultivated. Whatever the source of these challenges, they have been met affirmatively, and the result is a dynamic medium, different in form and broader in scope than the boldest anticipation of its pioneers.

We have seen television burst the bounds of the broadcast studio and create a whole new industry of film production, which has generated new sources of supply and altered the patterns of network and local broadcasting.

We have seen the creation of new forms of television advertising, in order to make the medium available to a wide range of sponsors in the face of rising costs that have accompanied growing circulation and increasingly ambitious programing. This in turn has changed some of the basic economic relationships of the business, with networks required more and more to shoulder the burdens of financing production and the risks of program failure.

Interwoven with these developments has been the constant search for program diversity, and for greater creativity and quality. It has given rise to the "special" and the 90-minute series, has made television drama a stimulating and multifaceted field, has brought the great performers of the world to the home screen, and has developed its own stars.

Of greatest significance has been the growth, within the past 15 years, of the new medium of television journalism that has become the basic source of news and information for millions of Americans; and by its ability to serve so directly and pervasively as the Nation's prime instrument of local and national political communication, has forever altered the American political process. In this area, too, new forms have been created—the "instant" news special, the Great Debate of 1960, and the innovation of devoting a full evening to a single issue, as with NBC's "The American Revolution of 1963."

The record of television's advances under many conflicting pressures belies any claim that this is an industry that sits on its status quo. The constant lesson of our experience is that none of us can relax after having met the challenges of the past, for they are only prelude to the larger ones ahead.

We face these new challenges in an atmosphere of increasingly intense competition. It is basically competition for audiences, for attracting the members of a diverse public. They will respond only as we satisfy their interests more than other media; and their selection among all available programs ultimately determines the success of each station and network. This competition for audience underlies the equally intense competition for sales, talent, programs, and prestige. Some observers have questioned the desirability of such competition, arguing that in radio—with the tremendous proliferation of stations over the past decade—it has endangered the economic health of the medium, with adverse effects on service; and that in television it subordinates program diversity and quality to the sole standard of program popularity.

Even if there should be some truth in these claims, we cannot accept restraints on competition as offering a better means of meeting the varied interests of our multiple society. For such restraints would obstruct the public's freedom of choice and interpose an arbitrary judgment as to what the public should receive. This is true both of private restraint and government restraint; and it always strikes me as an oddity that when it comes to broadcasting, some who are the foremost champions of freedom and competition in other fields of expression, advocate government influence on programing or coordinated scheduling among networks to enlarge the program fields they personally prefer.

Similarly, artificial restraint on station competition, whether through "birth control" in radio or limitation of development of full facilities in television, would improperly subordinate the values of competition to its drawbacks, and displace both with expanding regulation. Within the framework of proper engineering standards, no one has the wisdom to prescribe the optimum number of stations that can be supported locally, regionally, or nationally. The question of how many stations can operate and survive on the basis of the service they offer can be answered only by the public's response to that service and the economic realities of the competitive market—not by the crystal ball of advance planners.

In advocating maximum competition in broadcasting—as we do—some, however, indulge in the unwarranted assumption that full and free competition demands maximum dispersion of station ownership. They have exalted this to an end in itself, regardless of the adverse effects it may have on the scope and character of the overall broadcast service.

The advocates of this view use a term of opprobrium—concentration—to characterize the entities that consistently devote the largest resources to broadcast operation and development—multiple owners, newspaper and magazine owners, and companies that operate both networks and stations. Through this approach, the true considerations of competition are clouded by the emotions that equate bigness with badness. This equation has long been invalidated by the experience of our economy and society, which demonstrates that large undertakings demand large resources and combinations of skills—whether in the development of atomic energy, in heavy industry, in mass distribution, or even in the operation of government itself. We have learned that substantial enterprises can further, rather than inhibit, healthy competition. Although size has become one of our Nation's greatest functional assets, emotional response still obstructs a clear vision of the importance and benefits of size.

The issue invites thoughtful consideration in the light of the realities of broadcasting. It can be most productively examined if we apply the accepted touchstone of the public interest. The question is: Would the public be better served if a policy of greater dispersion of station ownership were followed?

Those who support such a course rest their position primarily on the value of fostering a multiplicity of voices in news, information, and other influences on public opinion—an objective we would all support. I do not believe that objective is disserved by the present patterns of station ownership, and would like to examine with you the questions raised and the benefits developed by multiple station ownership and the common ownership of publications and stations.

In terms of multiple station ownership, diversity of voices has meaning only for the individual market. This is the very principle recognized and amply protected by the "duopoly" rule, prohibiting ownership of more than one TV, AM, or FM station within a single area. The principle is meaningless when applied to ownership of multiple stations serving separate areas, such as common ownership of a station in New York and Chicago, or in Cleveland and San Francisco. Such ownerships cannot reduce the diversity of voices available to the public in any of these localities. The contrary view springs from the fallacy that there is a homogeneous national audience, rather than a multiplicity of individual market-by-market audiences, representing in aggregate the total audience.

Fear expressed by the opponents of multiple ownership is that a single corporate entity owning stations in separate localities may impose a uniform set of program standards, unrelated and unsuited to the differing interests of these separate communities. This is not only contrary to the realities of experience, but disregards the basic legal responsibility of each station to assess and meet

the interests of its own community; and it ignores the compelling economic necessity for each station to follow such a course if it is to compete effectively for local public favor.

Even if one casts aside these realities to raise the specter of an anticompetitive "potential" in multiple ownership through economic domination of the national market, it becomes quickly apparent that there is no prospect of such domination under present regulations, which I believe have worked well. Whereas no one multiple television station owner, operating under these regulations, accounts for more than 8 percent of all television station time sales, we find that individual companies have far larger market shares in most other industries. For example, single companies account respectively for 17 percent of the U.S. sales of rubber products; 18 percent of iron and steel; 23 percent of petroleum and natural gases; 31 percent of tobacco products; 40 percent of motor vehicles and equipment, and 75 percent of electronic computers.

Similar considerations apply to station ownership by newspaper or magazine interests. In these situations, it is claimed, the operation of publishing and broadcasting under common ownership tends to exclude competition in news and information, and forecloses the public from a diversity of views to aid it in forming its judgments and opinions. This argument either overlooks or ignores the fact that no newspaper, magazine or broadcast station is the sole source of information for any citizen in any community.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association last summer made an extensive analysis in this field. It found, not surprisingly, that a number of metropolitan areas have only one daily newspaper published in the core city. Typically, however, the sources of news and information available to such communities were in the dozens. For example, in the environs of the one-newspaper city of Sioux Falls, the public had access to a total of 63 different information sources. Sixteen of these originated in the city itself, from two television and four radio stations, four weeklies and six specialized publications. And a total of 47 publications regularly served the Sioux Falls metropolitan area from outside; 12 dailies, 10 Sunday papers, 6 national Sunday supplements, plus 19 national magazines.

So much for the questions that have been raised about multiple station ownership and joint ownership of broadcast and publishing enterprises. But consideration of the subject is incomplete without examination of the positive public benefits of such ownerships.

These owners have been leaders in the industry, not followers. The advantage of a broad base that is not at the mercy of the economic vagaries of a single community, and the resources of combined skills and experience, have been used by them to advance and enlarge the public values of broadcasting.

From radio's very beginnings, newspaper owners and multiple licensees have been in the forefront of broadcast pioneering. When the first regular radio network was inaugurated by NBC in November 1926, more than half of the stations comprising it were owned by such licensees. They helped establish the radio network industry, from which so much of modern broadcasting has developed. In succeeding years, they continued to lead in the technical progress that has brought broadcasting to its present position of influence and service.

This record was repeated with the development of television. The 108 sations that went into operation before the freeze were the ones that undertook the pioneering risks of a new and uncertain medium and the heavy initial losses entailed in building it—and two-thirds of these stations were owned by newspaper publishers and multiple licensees. Today, these ownerships account for 80 percent of the stations that are developing the new medium of color by providing a local live color service to their communities.

In the field of television station operations, they have been the vanguard of program creativity, developing bold new local program projects that have not only enriched their own communities, but are becoming an additional source of supply to other stations. They have used their financial resources liberally in the less lucrative areas of programming, in news, special events, education, and in cultural efforts such as the presentation of repertory theater and civic music organizations, thereby enhancing each station's potential for diversity and local expression.

A particular value served by the multiple station ownership of network companies is the financial support it provides for the television network enterprise which operates under enormous financial hazards. It was this support that enabled the radio networks to weather the years of heavy losses while adjusting to the realities of television. And it is this support that helps the three television networks to assume, year by year, the hundreds of millions of dollars of commitments for developing an array of new programs and maintaining a wide-ranging national program service of entertainment, news, and information.

Similarly, and additional value of newspaper-owned stations is the contribution they make to the economic stability of newspapers and consequently to the priceless institution of a free press. It is the fact that of the many newspapers that have gone from the scene in the past two decades, the rate of suspension of those without broadcast interests is about twice that of newspapers with broadcast ownership.

The judgment of thoughtful people outside the industry also recognizes the singular contributions group-owned and publication-allied stations have brought to the public. An analysis of station awards granted over the past 4 years by four distinguished organizations—the Peabody, Ohio State, Freedoms Foundation and Sigma Delta Chi—discloses that 137 out of 157 were conferred upon stations owned by multiple licensees or by newspaper and magazine publishers. I believe that this overwhelming vote of confidence by objective observers offers further evidence that the ownership forms we have been discussing have contributed affirmatively, and far beyond the norm, to the public interest.

Multiple and newspaper owners are demonstrating every day their ability and eagerness to enlarge and enliven broadcasting through competition. While continuing this effort, we must all be constantly alert to the dangers of any proposals, based on theory and abstraction, that would weaken our capacity to provide an ever broadening service to the public.

Many other forces that will influence and shape our industry in the years ahead are already apparent. One of these is the unique and powerful impact of color, which is now rapidly moving toward the inevitable time when it will supplant black and white as the basic medium. The challenge here is not so much to those of us who have pioneered in color and are beginning to realize its benefits, but to those who have lagged behind. For color will lift all of television to a new level, increasing its audience attraction, enlarging its value to present sponsors and drawing to it whole classifications of local and national advertising that television has never captured. Any broadcaster—network or station—who is unwilling to participate in advancing this forward movement of television is shriking his responsibilities—and neglecting his opportunities—as much as if he failed to keep his equipment and facilities up to date or disregarded avenues toward program improvement to provide the best possible service.

Another basic development is the increased and renewed prospect for the growth of UHF, aided by a number of new factors: the all-channel receivers that became mandatory last month; the sharply rising rate of acquisition of color sets, with each new color set also a UHF receiver; the increasing need for additional stations in scarce-facility major markets; and the settlement of Government policy on UHF.

The year-by-year automatic increase in the UHF circulation base from the first two factors will put UHF stations in a new posture, with the potential of further sharpening competition, stimulating additional sources of programing, multiplying services, increasing opportunities for network affiliations and many other side effects. These are developments we should welcome as aspects of vitality in a competitive industry. NBC does welcome them and has always supported measures to make the 70 UHF channels fully effective in broadcasting. But we must also be alert to pressures for expediting UHF development artificially and sustaining it synthetically. Such measures would negate the competitive framework UHF development is designed to advance, and would not provide a sound foundation for UHF's future.

A third principal development ahead is the burgeoning system of educational television. It is only at the threshold of its growth but promises to add another dimension to our medium, not only as a sorely needed new instrument in the teaching process, but as a regular program source that emphasizes specialized information and cultural programing. In this latter capacity, it will complement the role of commercial broadcasters and provide a continuing test of the extent of audience interest in such specialized material. But if its programing is effective, it will also stimulate commercial broadcasters, and even challenge them for the attention of audience segments attracted by such fare.

Finally, closer than the horizon—almost overhead—hangs the riddle of pay television accompanied by the growing puzzle of CATV. On the latter, NBC's position has been simple and clear. We believe that the majority of CATV systems have benefited the public by bringing television to small unserved areas and by enlarging choices of programing in other communities with minimum service. We also recognize that there have been some occasions where CATV operations have generated conflicting public interests by depriving a local station of its opportunities for survival and growth, without offering a parallel public service. We have felt that minimum regulation of CATV was justified to mediate these colliding public interests; and that as a matter of principle, CATV operators should be required to obtain the consent of those whose programs they use so gainfully to themselves.

These solutions seemed adequate when CATV supplemented the television system by operating principally within areas of little or no television service. But now it seems to be reaching out well beyond those areas to import programs to substantial markets that might otherwise support additional stations offering wider services—and all this without consent of the program proprietors and in derogation of a carefully designed allocations system.

Clearly, a resolution of the novel problems raised by these developments requires first a full disclosure and analysis of the facts, many of which lie beneath the surface. We are studying the situation carefully and will form our judgments on the basis of the facts as they come to light.

With respect to pay television, our position over the years—and we have found no basis for changing it—has been to oppose any system that would withdraw frequencies

from public broadcasting to offer a service of narrow casting available only to those willing and able to pay for it, using box office returns from the few to outbid free television for the popular attractions it offers without charge to all.

But as we reaffirmed last March, we reject the principle of seeking Government protection against a pay system that does not use public frequencies, even though we recognize that its consequences can have the same adverse effects as wireless pay TV. We take this position because we do not believe that competition from a new nonbroadcasting venture—wired pay TV—is in itself justification for broadcasters to urge Government prohibition of such an activity.

We do not know whether pay television in any form will become established although past history and current experience do not offer it much comfort on that score. No one knows for sure what its effects on our Nation's broadcast service would be if it should ever become established, but we do not see how it can build any wide success without undermining the foundations of free broadcasting. Even so, our best course—as in all industry issues—is to do the best job that can be done in providing the broadest, most effective and progressive service to all the people, in the conviction that this is by far the best insurance against a weakening of our system from within or without.

Looking to the future, we have only one assurance—that over the next 15 years the changes in our medium will dwarf those of the past decade and a half. We cannot foretell with certainty the shape and forms of television of 1979, when UHF, color, and educational television should be fully developed; when pay television will have risen or fallen; when we will have had 15 years of accelerated technological development, from communication satellites to the transformation that will be wrought by tape developments coming out of the laboratories; when we will have seen the results of 15 more years of regulatory pressures, economic changes, and shifting currents of public interest and taste.

Some of these developments are benign, others threatening, but all are challenging. Our industry is resilent and adaptive, and I am confident that it can surmount the threats and build on the challenges. As we encounter the forces of change, each height of attainment can be a new beginning. NBC and its affiliates have prevailed in the tests of the past and through our joint efforts we will continue to do so in the years ahead.

New Outlet for Florida Cattle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, a number of Congressmen from beef cattle States have been vigorously and earnestly pointing out to the administration the almost desperate economic plight of our cattlemen. In times of high prices and great prosperity in the Nation, beef prices have steadily decreased.

The problem is one principally of permitting too sizable imports of cheap foreign beef. Congressmen have protested.

I, and others, have introduced bills to cut down on foreign imports. The Johnson administration refuses to take action. In fact, it has put itself on record as opposing any action.

The Orlando Sentinel, the principal newspaper in my 11th District of Florida has always, over the years, vigorously fought for the economic welfare of businessmen in central Florida. It has been in the forefront of the beef battle.

A fine editorial in the June 18 issue points out that Florida cattlemen are trying their best to help themselves and it is high time that the President and Congress lend them a helping hand. I agree.

Here is the editorial:

NEW OUTLET FOR FLORIDA CATTLE

Florida Cattlemen's Association has turned to the promotion of livestock sales to northern feedlots, an enterprising project which should greatly stimulate the already important Florida cattle industry.

Credit for initiating the promotion goes to Mr. Arthur Higbie, executive vice president of the FCA, Mr. Gilbert Tucker, chairman of the FCA marketing committee, and Mr. John Stiles, Florida Department of Agriculture.

On a 3,420-mile trip they visited feedlot operators in North Carolina, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

"We were not actually selling cattle," Mr. Higbie says. "We were selling the Florida cattle industry, and I think we sold both the industry and a lot of cattle."

Feedlot operators buy cattle from ranchers, transport them to feedlots where corn and other feed grain is plentiful, and fatten them for selling.

The feedlot operator expects to make his profit on the weight gain of the cattle.

The personal contacts made by the three men on behalf of the Florida cattle industry should greatly stimulate interest in the Florida series of feeder sales which start July 17 in Okeechobee and end in Orlando October 9.

The increased introduction of Florida cattle into U.S. feedlots as a result of the feeder sales will be the best proof yet of the oftenproved fact that high quality Florida-bred cattle top weight gains of others in feedlots.

Mr. Higbie says Florida cattle, by reason of their breeding, the equitable climate, and other factors, have the desired ability to start light in the feedlots, and produce more leaner meat more quickly than many other cattle.

This means less expense to feedlot operators and therefore greater profits—a necessity today in view of the increased competition from inexpensive foreign beef.

Such enterprise as is being shown by the Florida Cattlemen's Association will boost the interest in, and sales of, prime Florida cattle, introducing them to an entire new nationwide market.

The prediction that the Florida cattle industry will double within the next 10 years, producing 700 million pounds of beef as against 379 million today, may be low if feeder lot sales catch on as expected.

Cattlemen here and nationwide are doing their best to cut costs and still guarantee themselves the profit needed to stay in business—an increasingly smaller profit due to the rising imports of foreign beef.

They deserve congratulations, but more than that, they deserve a helping hand by Congress in the form of legislation to limit imports, and they deserve some consideration from the one man who should understand their problems, Rancher Lyndon B. Johnson.

The President has said he would veto any legislation to restrict beef imports. He is more interested in free world trade than in protecting the U.S. cattle industry.

As laudable as this may be from a one-world standpoint, damaging our own economy to help that of nations which we today subsidize anyway, is not sound.

American cattlemen will have to try to persuade the President to change his mind. If they can't do this they will have to try to persuade the majority in Congress to enact legislation which can be passed over his veto.

The Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, in these days when patriotism is derided and where love of country is ridiculed, it is refreshing to know that there are still those who honor the flag of the United States and all for which it stands.

I am proud to include in the RECORD a short article written for the Dallas Morning News by a constituent from Dallas, Mr. J. Howard Payne. Mr. Payne's article, "Flag Day, 1964" follows:

FLAG DAY, 1964

From the Napoleonic wars comes the story of a lad too young to bear arms yet so fired with devotion to his country that he was entrusted with carrying the regimental standard. During one hot engagement under heavy fire he advanced the colors so far ahead of the regiment as to be almost out of contact. The commander sent a runner to him with the message "Bring the standard back to the line." The youth sent back the ringing reply "Bring the line up to the standard."

Here in the United States in another kind of war, what is the relative position of "the line" to Old Glory, our "standard," on this its 189th birthday?

The Stars and Stripes was designed to represent America as a conscience as well as a Nation. Its honor in both fields is wrapped up in its folds. The years should have added, and did to our heritage; for many decades our allegiance never wavered.

But where now is "the line" of dedication to God through whatever faith; to unquestioned integrity; devotion to fair play; heeding of conscience; justice, which does not require coddling, for all; unfettered freedom of thought; no compromise with evil; willingness to become involved when courage is needed?

Where is our sense of duty to succeeding generations? May it not be that the groping, confused as it is, of the youth of today is another call to us the adults to "bring the line up to the standard" from a courageous right-thinking lad away out in front?

Strong forces are at work actively, unceasingly, and at dangerously high levels, to decry our nationalism; to equate the emergence of wholly unprepared tribal groups into nationhood with the American Revolution in which thirteen highly civilized established colonies set up an orderly Union; they endeavor to condition and accustom our minds to cutting our cloth to fit the views and selfish aspirations of foreign nations; to accept their decisions in matters vital to us alone; to accommodate ourselves to their demands for our money; to go far beyond the limits of decent self respect in tak-

ing their contemptuous diatribes lying down. To continue the myth of FDR that Uncle Joe Stalin was not a bad sort of fellow, that the Soviet Union would yield to sweetness and light, and that decent people could coexist in one world from which war was thenceforth forever banned.

Flag Day 1964 is a time to give sober thought not only to where now stands "the line" but more importantly where stand we with our individual responsibility, in relation to "the standard?" Are we striving to bring what is now a weakening line up to our historic standard, or are we even though it be through indifference alone aiding those forces who would pull it back to one no longer representative of our heritage?

Old Glory, stay you there yet awhile. Your people surely will arouse and again advance "the line" to where you were destined always to stand.

J. HOWARD PAYNE.

Tocks Island Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the Parks Subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee heard testimony earlier this month on behalf of proposed legislation to make Tocks Island a national recreational area. On June 6, I wrote to Representative THOMAS MORRIS, Democrat, of New Mexico, subcommittee chairman, urging the passage of this legislation.

New Jersey is the most urbanized State in the Nation and most strongly feels the need for additional recreational projects. Conversion of this land and water into a national playground would put over 20 million people within an hour and a half away from boating and camping sites which are all too rare in this most industrialized strip of the country. I also pointed out that northwestern New Jersey would receive multiple economic benefits from the proposed project and new water resources from the planned dam at Tock's Island.

The Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J., of June 18, clearly explains the project and New Jersey's urgent need for it.

The article follows:

TOCKS ISLAND PARK SUPPORTED

In testifying strongly in favor of legislation creating a national recreation area at Tocks Island on the Delaware, the metropolitan regional council not only gave a strong boost to this move for a large-scale Federal recreation area, but it also emphasized the value of its own accomplishments.

The Metropolitan Regional Council spokesman before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which held a hearing on the Tocks Island National Recreational Area, recalled that Metropolitan Regional Council had acted jointly with the Regional Plan Association in preparing the comprehensive report, "The Race for Open Space," of 1960. This report said, "The Federal Government has a splendid opportunity to preserve this area of natural grandeur (Tocks Island) which is within easy reach of the most populated part of the United States. The many benefits which will be derived from the Delaware Valley proposal, of which recreation is one, serve a true national purpose."

The Tocks Island Dam, upstream from Delaware Water Gap, will create a 37-mile lake in the Delaware. It has vast water supply, flood control, and recreational potentialities. There is before Congress legislation which would create a recreation area under Federal control along this lake and below the dam. The State has the great Stokes Forest and High Point Park in the area. It also has 6,100 acres of virgin land in the Worthington Tract nearby. The State has offered to negotiate with the National Park Service for the use of any or all of this vast land holding in the development of the Tocks Island recreation project.

As envisioned, the Tocks Island recreation project would include a sizable acreage along the new lake on the Pennsylvania side of the river, a recreation area that would be about half the size of the recreation area in New Jersey.

Federal establishment of this area seems entirely proper even though the land lies in only two States. It is envisioned that the Tocks Island project would serve New York and nearby States intensively and that people would come to it from all over the Nation. The Delaware River Basin Commission estimates that the Tocks Island Recreation Area would record 7 million visitor-days annually.

If the Congress decides to enact the Tocks Island recreation legislation, New Jersey will complement its famed seashore recreation assets with a unique lake and mountain attraction.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has been attempting by various means to penetrate the Iron Curtain in order that we may, on a people-to-people basis, break down the wall or separation that has kept men of good will from resolving the issues obstructing world peace.

In so many instances we have appealed for understanding on the basis of government to government, and in nearly every case our efforts have been futile for the simple reason that Communist leaders will not bargain honestly or give any assurance that agreements entered into will not be abrogated as soon as it suits their convenience to do so.

That there is an intense grasping for freedom on the part of subjugated peoples is apparent to everyone, and all they ask of us is that we shall reassure them in regard to our sympathy for their cause. The erection here in the Nation's Capital of a statue in honor of Taras Shevchenko, one of the Ukraine's greatest, is a forward step that these beleaguered people will understand since we thereby honor a patriot who throughout his life symbolized militant opposition to oppressive government.

We hail Patriot Shevchenko as the personification of all that liberty stands for and we shall continue to accept the statute of this great freedom fighter as added injunction to work for the liberation of all men who writhe beneath the tyrant's heel. May the spirit that flows from his service and sacrifice continue to inspire patriots in every land to the end of time.

"She Is Thoroughly Committed to Her Career; and She Thrives on It"—A New York Herald Tribune Profile of Representative Edna F. Kelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Herald Tribune yesterday carried an interesting and informative article by Gwen Gibson about the dean of the Democratic Congresswomen, the first Democratic Congresswoman to be elected from New York City, and a Member who has, through hard work and a brilliant mind, become one of our most outstanding experts in this House on foreign policy issues.

Congresswoman EDNA FLANNERY KELLY, as this article points out, is a formidable political foe for anyone who challenges her political leadership in New York. And she is also formidable in House debate, or in getting to the heart of the issues in committee hearings. But I think most of us here think of her not in terms of her so-called formidableness as of her graciousness and charm and gentility—and tremendous ability. She proves again, in her successful career in political life, that it is possible to be feminine and also effective as a legislator, to be close to the problems of the average family and also to be intimately familiar with the world-shaking problems which confront our country and the free world. All of us in the House are proud of her as a Member of Congress, and the women Members are particularly proud that she is one of us.

The late President John F. Kennedy dramatically recognized Mrs. KELLY's great abilities when he appointed her last year as a member of the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He was not merely extending her an honor of great significance; more importantly, he was sending one of the most capable Members of the House of Representatives into the continuing battle for freedom which is constantly being waged in the U.N., as it is also in many parts of the world. Mrs. KELLY was attacked politically for "absenteeism" from the House because of her presence at these sessions of the U.N.; actually, she was serving her constituents and her country—and this House—in her valiant efforts at the U.N., efforts which brought praise from Secretary Rusk, Ambassador Stevenson, and others who observed the effective manner in which she spoke up for the American

position in bitterly contested issues before the U.N.

Gwen Gibson gives some of that background in her excellent article in the Herald Tribune in which she has presented a revealing insight into the political career of Congresswoman KELLY—an article I think all the Members who admire Mrs. KELLY will want to read. Under unanimous consent, I therefore submit the article from yesterday's New York Herald Tribune as follows:

FORMIDABLE FOE: MRS. "HI, KELLY!"

(By Gwen Gibson)

Mayor Robert Wagner's fight to unseat the city's Democratic "bosses" suffered a little-noticed but ignominious setback in the recent Democratic primary. The scene of his defeat was Brooklyn, and the cause of it all was one U.S. Representative, EDNA FLANNERY KELLY—a formidable political opponent in anybody's books.

Mrs. KELLY, who was seeking her 9th term in Congress from the most populous congressional district in New York, Brooklyn's 12th, clobbered her tyro opponent, Attorney Eugene Victor, by nearly 3 to 1—19,160 to 6,504.

Neither the Congresswoman nor the mayor acknowledges a feud; this just isn't done in the language of politics. But Mr. Victor was a Democratic-reform-faction candidate with certainly Mayor Wagner's tacit support. And Mrs. KELLY was, and is, a stanch supporter of Stanley Steingut, the Brooklyn County Democratic leader and the man whom Mr. Wagner would most like to nudge from power. Mrs. KELLY also happens to be coleader of the 18th assembly district with Mr. Steingut; and, incidentally, she deplores the "party boss" expression: "What does it mean? We're all duly elected."

It adds up to a schism, however friendly, between the mayor and Mrs. KELLY, a fact she handles with the polish of a true political pro. "Bob didn't even come into my district during the campaign," she pointed out during an interview. "In fact, about a month ago, I gave a party at the Montauk Club in Brooklyn which marked the first social gathering in 4 years of pro- and anti-Wagner forces." This in itself was a shrewd maneuver since Mrs. KELLY's district contains parts of 12 Brooklyn assembly districts, and approximately half of the latter are—or were—claimed by pro-Wagner forces.

It is not surprising that the mayor ducked a face-to-face contest with Mrs. KELLY; although he openly opposed Representative CHARLES BUCKLEY, the at least temporarily deposed boss of the Bronx. Mrs. KELLY, besides being a Congresswoman, district leader and favorite citizen in her Brooklyn stronghold, is an executive member of the Democratic National Committee and a very popular Member of the House of Representatives, where she is sometimes called the Congressman's Congresswoman.

In the course of a 2-hour lunch-interview in the House Members' dining room, she was interrupted by a steady stream of colleagues. Crusty Representative JOHN ROONEY, Democrat of New York, giving one of his rare compliments, said: "That was a good speech, EDNA (on the $3.5 billion foreign aid bill)." Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, Republican of New York, who is more courtly, asked: "Has anyone told you today how pretty you look?"

AN INSTITUTION

Mrs. KELLY, at 57, the mother of two, and the grandmother of seven, is a striking woman with dark eyes and dark hair, dappled with gray. Tall and trim, she dresses with great style. She has used the same dressmaker (and the same grocer, and the same corner druggist) in Brooklyn for 30 years. When Victor chose to oppose her, he tackled an institution.

Half of the voters in her multiracial district know her by her first name or "Hi, KELLY" basis. She first plunged into politics after the untimely death of her husband, former City Court Justice Edward L. Kelly, in order to build a new life and support her children. She had majored in political science at Hunter College. She was first appointed associate director and then director of research for the New York State Democratic delegation, a post she held until elected to the House in 1949.

In that 1949 race, as in every subsequent congressional race, she beat her Republican opponent by a landslide. She was the first woman Democrat to be elected to Congress from New York City and she remains the city's only woman representative today. Bills of interest to housewives which she has backed include those to give babysitter tax breaks to widows, widowers and divorcees. She is also vehemently opposed to the so-called luxury taxes, levied in 1944, against such things as lipsticks, luggage and handbags. "A handbag is a necessity. Every woman needs one."

Her most important congressional post, which she won in 1955 through seniority and popularity, is as chairman of the high-level House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe. In this capacity she has been embroiled in any number of controversies. The most memorable, to Mrs. KELLY's frank regret, involved her evening at the theater in Cologne last year. Mrs. KELLY and Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN walked out on a U.S.-sponsored production of "Phaedra," denouncing the Greek drama as "erotic." The press was scathingly critical.

On the plus side, businessmen are still applauding her fight to amend the Mutual Security Act to require that areas of labor surplus in the United States be given priority over foreign countries where the purchase of equipment for our foreign aid program is involved. She estimates this has brought more than $1 billion in new business to the United States.

In Brooklyn, Mrs. KELLY's home is a 3-bedroom middle-income house at 1247 Carroll Street, in the Crown Heights section, to which she moved as a bride: "I've had the same houseman for 30 years." In Washington she and her daughter Maura Patricia Kelly (who contemplates a book about "my mother, the Congresswoman") live in an apartment in Virginia, just across the Potomac from the Capitol Building. Mrs. KELLY's day starts at 8 a.m. and extends indefinitely. She works on a 7-day-a-week basis. With 500,000 constituents, her daily mail load is so heavy she prefers not to estimate the traffic. She is thoroughly committed to her career; and she thrives on it.

NO PERSONAL LIFE

"I don't just speak during a campaign," she says. "I go before schools, clubhouses, meetings of all kinds constantly in my district whenever I have the time. I have no personal life. I used to be quite a golfer, but that's no more."

In general, Mrs. KELLY has been a liberal-minded legislator, in support of aid to Israel, civil rights, medical care for the aged and liberalized immigration laws. But she has occasionally perplexed coliberals with her staunch opposition to farm subsidies and aid to Yugoslavia, Red China, and Russia. "I think those countries should bear the responsibility for the failure of their own systems."

One of Mr. Victor's charges against Mrs. KELLY during the recent primary was that "her absentee record last year was second in New York only to that of BUCKLEY. Serene in her well-established position in Brooklyn, Mrs. KELLY chose not to answer Mr. Victor's charges, other than on the House floor. In a speech there she pointed out that during a great part of last year's congressional session she was a U.S. delegate to the U.N. "In spite of that fact, I returned to Washington on every possible occasion to vote on bills important to our district and the Nation," the Congresswoman told her colleagues, who applauded generously.

This is the woman the mayor faces if he would overthrow the bosses of Brooklyn. Victory in a Democratic primary in the 12th District, incidentally, is tantamount to election. But if Mrs. KELLY should beckon before the election in November, chances are Mayor Wagner would hasten to her support.

Europeans Believe That United States Has Decided To Back Down in Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Report of the American Security Council dated June 22, 1964, contains an article by Frank J. Johnson, foreign editor of the Washington Report, with statements very much to the contrary of the pronouncements from both the State Department and the Defense Department and which certainly gives us cause for some concern.

Mr. Johnson's article follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT, JUNE 22, 1964

EUROPEANS BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS DECIDED TO BACK DOWN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Seldom in human history has so much rested upon the decision of a single government. Seldom in the crisis-marked course of the long, weary struggle with our Communist enemies has a decision been as difficult as that which faced the U.S. Government in Asia during the past few weeks. Seldom have the conflicting arguments, pressures, and basic cold war philosophies been arrayed so sharply against each other. And seldom has the result been so tragic for mankind as the course on which the United States now seems embarked in this part of the world.

In Europe, there is little doubt that the United States has now made its basic decision on the future of southeast Asia: We will not extend the war beyond South Vietnam; barring some miracle the war probably cannot be won; this fact is to be accepted; the principal objective of American policy henceforth is to conceal this grim truth as long as possible while searching for a diplomatic, face-saving arrangement that will lift the onus of defeat from the shoulders of the United States; the United Nations may offer such a way out; the purpose of the special conference in Hawaii was not to reach such a decision but to confirm and explain to the people in the field that such a decision had already been reached in Washington.

This is the near unanimous conclusion of the European press in the wake of the latest Laos crisis and the Honolulu Conference on U.S. policy. It is an assessment based upon the same shrewd analysis of the facts which the Communists themselves have undoubtedly been making. It is bound to reinforce the leaders in Peiping and Hanoi in their conviction that the occasionally tough words now emanating from Washington are hollow. This is probably why Peiping has suddenly begun to let it be known that a U.S. attack on North Vietnam will result in massive Chinese intervention. The Chinese are hastening to drive the last nail into the coffin of U.S. resolution.

Here are some samples of European press comment:

1. The Swiss newspaper Tribune of Lausanne, June 6, 1964:

"THE UNITED STATES HAS RENOUNCED EXTENSION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

"The possibility of engaging in operations against North Vietnam, in order to cut the Vietcong supply lines, has been rejected in view of the risks involved. * * * For the moment it is necessary to continue to fight the Vietcong insurrections. 'For the moment' means, without doubt, until the American elections after which negotiations will be possible—negotiations which the United States wants to conduct, granted, from a position of strength. But one notices, nevertheless, that Washington now seems once and for all to have given up the idea of carrying the war beyond the frontiers of Vietnam."

2. The Paris newspaper Le Monde of June 6, 1964 (commenting on the U.N. Security Council vote on the Cambodian complaint):

"The United Nations vote on Cambodia has less importance than the speech in which Mr. Stevenson exposed in even clearer terms certain intentions of American policy in Indochina. The U.S. representative complained that the Security Council had not adopted the American proposal and had not decided to send the 'blue helmets' to patrol the Cambodian-South Vietnamese frontier. * * * At the same time, Mr. Stevenson noted that the resolution does provide for the sending of a commission of three members to Cambodia and Vietnam to examine the situation on the spot. This can be a beginning, said Stevenson. * * * Mr. Stevenson also declared that the reservations of certain countries toward a U.N. intervention in an area like southeast Asia are understandable, but that the fundamental task of the U.N. is the safeguarding of peace and it must extend itself to all areas of the world.

"In other words, the U.S. U.N. chief has officially admitted that from now on his country will try with ever greater insistence to obtain a U.N. intervention, not only in the relatively minor affair of the Saigon-Cambodian conflict, but in the infinitely more complex civil war in South Vietnam."

3. Le Monde again, June 7, 1964:

"In an election period any problem settled, even badly, is a trump for the administration. In a period of detente and of a search—along the Kennedy lines—for areas of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., any negotiation which succeeds is useful in itself. * * * The American people have no interest in a faraway war and the current President sees it rather as a source of worry, which would be much better avoided in an election year, than as a front to maintain, cost what it will. From this fact comes the impression that the efforts made by the Honolulu Conference to demonstrate the 'determination' of the Americans lack conviction, and so Washington is looking for a way out through the United Nations. This is merely a camouflaged retreat, and there is no reason for those who believe in it to become indignant at the French proposition for neutralization."

"Neutralization," of course, is the French prescription for an Indochina settlement and it is strongly backed by such influential commentators as Walter Lippmann. Since the United States now seems to be moving in this direction it is well to examine the French-Lippmann thesis.

In essence, the argument maintains that the United States can disengage from the mainland of southeast Asia without the area falling under Chinese Communist control. This hypothesis rests upon the comforting assumptions that (a) China is so preoccupied with Russia that she has no interest in anything more than peace and stability on her southern frontier. Thus, she will be satisfied with genuine neutrality in the area and will do nothing to support subsequent Communist takeovers of the neutralized states of Indochina. This will be especially true if American carriers are still patrolling the coasts (the mechanics of this one are left quite vague); (b) Even if this view is overly optimistic Communist regimes in southeast Asia will certainly be independent and therefore not dangerous because of the historical enmity of these peoples toward China.

Until quite recently Washington did not even begin to buy this argument. Every serious Asian expert understands that it is nonsense on both counts, because (a) the nature of the Sino-Soviet dispute compels China to try and prove her case by extending communism by means of her more aggressive methods, and (b) sheer economic necessity drives China to try and solve her food problem by seizing control of the underpopulated rice surplus areas in southeast Asia. Whatever the nationalist feelings of the Indochinese Communists might be, the sheer power of modern China is irresistible unless the protection of the United States is extended to the non-Communist Asian peoples.

This is why Secretary McNamara made his very realistic speech on the stakes involved last March (see Washington Report 64–15). This is why we were resolved, up to now, to fight in this area. And this is certainly why, up to now, we did not suggest any U.N. intervention. There are an infinite number of reasons why U.N. intervention is not compatible with determined resistance to communism.

The steadily deteriorating military situation in South Vietnam, however, capped by the most recent Communist advance in Laos, forced the United States at last to the ugly alternatives which we had sought desperately to avoid. The Vietnamese, themselves, cannot realistically be expected to fight endlessly if there is no prospect of victory. Either we must attempt to force the Communists to desist from their aggression by punishing their homeland, as the Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously recommended in March, or we must accommodate ourselves to the prospect of their ultimate victory. We have already cried "wolf" too many times, to no permanent avail. Plans were indeed prepared for the carrying out of these threats, but it would now seem from a careful reading between the lines of the multitude of vague, ambiguous, and contradictory U.S. statements that the European assessment is certainly correct and that President Johnson is unable to bring himself to an extension of the war. This is the implication of his specific disavowal, at his press conference on June 2, 1964, of any plan to carry the war to the North.

In reaching this decision, President Johnson presumably understands the consequences, but he is in large part imprisoned by the fatal policy of detente and accommodation which now determines our actions toward the Communist nations. A larger war in Asia would fly directly in the face of this policy; it would be repugnant to almost all of our allies and to many of our own people who have been infected by the false notion that Communists generally are changing and may no longer be interested in spreading their doctrine over the world.

Still, politics requires that the situation in Vietnam be held together at least through the November elections. There may still be time for the American people to soberly reflect on the consequences of a U.S. "disengagement" from Vietnam, no matter how the pill is sugar coated, and to register their opinions. This is why it is so important to understand the current direction of American policy.

The situation in Asia must be put into the perspective of the overall drift of world events. On the one hand, Washington has swung to the philosophical viewpoint that Communist nations as such are not dangerous or worthy of opposition so long as they are semi-independent of Moscow or Peiping, or if they do not engage too overtly in the spread of revolution. If Washington itself no longer takes the official position that communism itself is evil and contrary to the basic interests and aspirations of mankind, it is less and less likely that the people of target countries will think so either. There will be no effective counter to Communist propaganda and, as a consequence, Communist rule through parliamentary maneuver and even through the ballot box will become more likely. Communism will become increasingly respectable. This is a major objective of the strategy of peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand, a U.S. military defeat in southeast Asia, resulting in a further geographical loss to communism will make it appear even more inevitable.

What may very well happen, then, is that both of the psychological pillars which have previously served as barriers to Communist expansion; namely: (1) That it was an evil, inherently aggressive force and (2) that it would be successfully resisted by U.S. power, will be swept away. The way will be opened for a tidal wave which could rapidly overwhelm the last barriers of Western civilization, leaving the field of history to a final, infinitely bloody contest between the Soviet and Chinese brands of totalitarian communism for the mastery of the world.

The President has chosen to emphasize peace as our goal in southeast Asia as well as in all the world. Well and good, but peace can never be successfully purchased at the price of liberty. When peace is placed above liberty, liberty is surely lost and in the long run peace as well. When liberty is placed above peace and the Nation so placing it enjoys superiority of strength over the Nation which would deny liberty, then both liberty and peace are preserved.

FRANK J. JOHNSON,
Foreign Editor.

Clarence S. Lea

SPEECH
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the sentiments expressed by the Members of the House on the death of Clarence S. Lea, one of our former colleagues.

Clarence, as he was affectionately known, served as a Representative in the Congress from California's First District for 32 years. I had the very great privilege of serving on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lea during the 78th and 79th Congresses. During the 80th Congress, he was the ranking minority Member and at the end of that Congress he retired after 32 years of service.

Clarence Lea presided over the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce with the same nonpartisanship which led both parties in his district to give him their endorsement.

He was a great legislator. His personal characteristics eminently qualified him to be a legislator. His patience and

forbearance made possible for him the securing of agreements where other men might have failed.

Clarence Lea devoted a great deal of time to a study of our presidential electoral system. He was convinced that this system would have to be modified by a constitutional amendment and the work which he has done in this field may yet come to fruition someday.

I join the Members in expressing my heartfelt sympathy to his wife, Daisy. I know how close these two were to each other and I hope she will find comfort in her sorrow that the Lord granted the two of them many years of togetherness in happiness and contentment.

Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to bring to the attention of the Congress a speech delivered by H. Brainard Fancher at Stetson University in De Land, Fla., on May 14, 1964. Mr. Fancher, is general manager of the Apollo Support Department of General Electric Co., at Daytona Beach, Fla. Mr. Fancher has given us a down-to-earth appraisal of "Space—Its Relationship to Economic Growth":

SPACE—ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC GROWTH, STETSON UNIVERSITY, MAY 14, 1964

(Speech by H. Brainard Fancher)

I trust that you will bear with me when I remind you of the simple economic fact that in order for a nation or a people to progress, a continuous search must be made for new ways to commit the resources at hand to new applications. This basic theorem of economic growth has been the fundamental law which has made some people rich while others with equal resources at their command have remained poor. As students of business, economics, and sociology I would imagine that you became acquainted with this principle early in your studies here.

This principle applies to companies, as well as nations. A company which makes no effort to find new markets or which seeks no new ways to enhance its development soon goes the way of the buggy whip manufacturer. The life of the entrepreneur is a risky one, but from his risks, as I am sure you have been told, springs new industries which bring new products for new markets creating jobs for more people, developing new areas, and all of this represents the economy.

What I have described for you is capitalism, of course, or free enterprise, but call it what you will, you must note that the rationale of progress is not constrained by any single sphere of human endeavor. Economic progress is stimulated by the ambition of nations to be better off than they are, and those that have assumed risks have progressed, and those that merely stayed with the hand that had been dealt them either regressed or perished.

The types of risks that nations have historically assumed can be summarized under such headings as military, exploration, scientific, and the risk of omission; i.e., where they chose to ignore some suggested opportunity. The motivating factor of assuming these risks—except the risk of omission—has always been the same—either you utilize your strength or you lose it.

These principles must be understood and appreciated if you are to understand the relationship of space to economic growth, for space is where this Nation is looking to stimulate the application of our existing resources toward the needs and conditions imposed by an affluent and dynamic society.

Our space program is made up of a continuum of scientific and engineering work which has been funded and staffed to agree with the fact that the exploration of space is on the books now as a full-fledged national objective.

The current urgent tempo of the space program was set when the Soviet Union placed its first sputnik into orbit, and it became apparent that the Communist world had the potential of utilizing space to the possible detriment of the free world. We were called to our scientific destiny in space with the admonition that "what tyrants can do, free men must do better."

It is uncommon in these days to recall that in fact our space program antedates Sputnik I by many years, and that we are today very fortunate that it does so.

But sputnik represented a great emotional stimulus, one laced with such ominous phrases as "missile gap," and "Communist control of space." We entered into a phase of space research and development that was termed the "space race" or the "space olympics."

As a footnote to that period of history, and one which is of interest to professional business forecasters, let's reflect back to the claims that were being made in those days concerning the shortage of engineers. Statistics were run out which claimed that today we would be experiencing a terrific shortage of technical people. It was also claimed that even then there was a shortage. Perhaps there was a shortage someplace, but I have yet to talk to anyone managing a large business which relied on engineering talent who said he had trouble getting enough technical people. I don't believe there was a shortage of engineers. Certain fields such as aerodynamics came close to a shortage, but the well never really ran dry. I think the shortage was a by-product of hysteria caused by temporary Soviet space accomplishments.

I mention this to remind you of the atmosphere in which our accelerated space program was born. The American people are poor losers. They would not tolerate being second rate in space, and in what is now the historical pattern, the industry tooled up and manned up to see to it that our Nation wasn't disappointed.

Meanwhile, back at the laboratories where most engineers work with science which in turn deals objectively with realities, some questions were being raised. The main question was, "What is the potential of space?" This was a natural question, since seldom are engineering staffs, in universities, in Government, and in industry, assigned urgently to work or turned loose without first having some reasonable definition of objectives.

Well, the question was asked first by some highly qualified engineers and scientists. And, as could have been predicted, not very much later the people themselves began to ask the question. Many answers have been forthcoming. Unfortunately some of them have not instilled total confidence. Some spokesmen, both public and private, for our national space effort have been inarticulate, with the result that the program objectives were obscured, and our real needs were not satisfactorily delineated. If you can imagine any profitmaking industrial concern committing its resources to such a program as this, you can well imagine the stockholders asking some very searching questions concerning the expected return on the investment.

As time has passed, emotion has given way to careful scrutiny of the entire space program, particularly the moon exploration program, Project Apollo. Time magazine summed it up this way a few months ago, "This winning stuff, this business of getting there first, has lost its edge. The grandstands are emptying and it would seem that the time has come to ask, 'Who did the most sophisticated thing? Not who went to Africa first, but who picked up the diamonds?' "

It is time now for the supporters of our space program—our political, scientific, and industrial leaders—to intellectually, and not just emotionally, justify it.

In many cases heretofore, the advocates of the space program have been very enthusiastic about the practical potential of space—so much so that they may have done space a disservice. Some may have promised more than space can deliver. Before checking the facts they have gone out and claimed that space will do everything from producing better pots and pans to making celestial mining operations practical. Space will defend the Nation. It will improve communications. It will cure diseases.

The surest way to make the public disenchanted with the possible scientific advancements that can be obtained from space would be to promise the moon and end up delivering much less.

As future business managers you must recognize the danger of letting the marketing men write claims for the product before they have been substantiated in the shop. This may be just about the situation we face today with our program for the exploration of space. It shouldn't be. If we progress we could do many wonderful and beneficial things, both for the country and for mankind. But we should not, and cannot, accept specific short-term benefits as objectives and the basis of the program. On the other hand we could bid seven no trump and wind up down, doubled, and redoubled, and vulnerable.

We must not allow the real worth of space to be hidden behind superficial claims for payoffs on a short haul. Short-haul payoffs may be easier to sell, but they are harder to deliver. Let's not be reluctant to accept the fact, and to say, that space exploration is a specification of this Nation's objective to push forward the broad frontiers of scientific knowledge. Let's understand, and make clear to others, that space exploration is a means to an end, and not the end. For as Dr. George E. Mueller, the Director of Apollo, phrased it "in Apollo, for example, we are taking a long stride forward in the creation of the ability to manage a very large research and development effort."

The purpose of an athletic program can be analogous to the purpose of the space programs. An athletic program has as its end objective to improve the health of the participants not to win the most games or races.

The purpose of our space program should not be to see who can throw the biggest engines into the sky, or to get someplace first. Our purpose must be to enlarge the scientific resources and potential of the United States. The key word there is "resource," and we must consider our technical and scientific knowledge as a dynamic national resource to be nurtured and enlarged in its own fruitful employment.

Another, and to my mind, more apt analogy that has often been used in this context has been the exploration and development of the American continents. The initial undertaking, as you all remember from your history courses, was prompted by the discovery that whole new land masses existed beyond the shores of Europe and

Asia. The exploration of these lands was the primary objective of the powers of Europe in the late 15th century and through the 18th century. And, we, a conglomerate nation descendant from all the explorers, spent the following century and a half eliminating our frontiers. While discovery was in itself vital during these exploratory ventures, many other things were learned that forever improved the lot of mankind. Navigation, which in turn affected commerce, took great strides. Improved designs of vessels brought powerful merchant fleets into being. It became a question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. The challenge to explore and exploit required technical innovation, and technical innovation improved the ability to explore and exploit.

But even with the extended time frames of that older period, the leaders of the explorations promised the people short-term results. The return on the investment was not realized, however, for a hundred years in some cases, and in other cases, it was never realized at all.

Some members of the generations of those bygone eras were as unsophisticated as some of us are today when we come to evaluate the potential of space exploration. Many of the followers of the ancient explorers were willing to undergo terrific hardships because they thought they were going to fill their pockets with jewels and gold which were supposed to be lying around on the top of the ground. When the jewels and gold were found to be pretty scarce, they became disenchanted. They also had another motivation which has found a curious analogy in this 20th century space age. The English were trying to beat the Spaniards, and the Spaniards were trying to beat the English and the Portuguese, while the Dutch were squared off against everybody. Then as now, men were compelled to push forward accepting the real-life constraints of their day.

The exploration of the new world was hindered by many of the arguments that are being used by the critics of the space program, but these arguments were overcome. The fact that we are sitting in this great State certainly testifies to that.

But what kept them going? They must have had wisdom that transcended superficial rationality. They must have understood that only a nation or race that retains its love for adventure and its drive to push back the veils of the unknown can avoid becoming old and sterile. Maybe they knew, those people in the streets of London, Barcelona, Amsterdam, and Paris, that man does not live today alone, but for tomorrow, and by accepting the challenge of ignorance. But Americans are a practical people as well as an adventuresome people, and we recognize that exploration is really, as Martin Johnson said, "hard work under difficult conditions." If we are to take on hard work and risk both lives and money, we want to know all the conditions. In this regard, let's face reality, and the basis for a realistic appraisal has been aptly summed up by W. H. Meckling in his paper before the Second National Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Space, September 1962. Mr. Meckling's statement is germane to my thesis here today and I will quote a very pertinent section of his paper. He said:

"One example worth recalling is the atomic energy program. After World War II there was a good deal of excitement over using atomic energy to produce cheap electrical power and about the use of nuclear engines in a wide variety of applications—automobiles, airplanes, and so forth. I think it is fair to say that the results on the whole have been quite disappointing. On the other hand the value of using isotopes in medicine and in production quality control has been a very pleasant surprise."

I'll deviate from Mr. Meckling's quote to point out that I believe, however, that now we are beginning to realize the practical utilization of atomic energy to generate public power—power which is well within the budget of the consumer and the utility companies. Mr. Meckling goes on to say:

"The applications of space technology that are closest to realization today are communication satellites and meteorological satellites. Studies of the economic impact of both were initiated by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration early in the game and are continuing. Other agencies, private firms, and individuals have also undertaken independent studies of communication satellites. Despite these efforts the future of communication and meteorological satellites can be discerned only in dim outline. This does not mean that their future is dark. What it does mean is that we do not know enough yet to predict very accurately how big an impact they will have, or in what particular areas and ways the impact will be greatest. We can be fairly confident that some sort of communication satellite system will offer significantly lower costs in long overwater links where communications traffic is heavy—United States to Europe, Hawaii to the mainland, Alaska to the mainland, and Japan to the United States. By itself that is no mean accomplishment. Beyond that, the picture becomes decidedly hazy. What type of satellite system—synchronous, low-altitude, passive, active, and so forth—will be most economic? To what extent will new sources of demand like television and data transmission materialize? What kind of ground terminal network will make sense economically? We are a long way from having definitive answers to these kinds of questions. Realistic evaluations will be possible only after experimentation forges a reasonable basis for such evaluation."

Hence, the true perspective of space exploration is not brought into clear focus by the mere examination of present programs, such as lunar landings, communication satellites, etc. Space actually is a technological tapestry upon which we may embroider the outline of a new dimension of social, economic, and, hopefully, political progress. Edward S. Mason, in his article, "The Planning of Development," carried in a recent issue of Scientific American could have been speaking of space when he wrote:

"Economic development requires a set of institutions, habits, incentives, and motivations such that the inputs necessary to a continuous increase in output are self-generating. The essential inputs are capital, trained manpower, and technology, and they are likely to be self-generating only in an environment in which the population seeks to improve its physical well-being and in which the rewards of effort are at least roughly proportional to the productivity of effort."

In this perspective, space exploration can be one of the anvils upon which we will forge the future technological structure required to support a progressive, evolutionary industrial society.

Our space programs are not stunts or gimmicks or voyages for gold or jewels or spices. Rather, they are catalysts in a formulative process which will join scientific research to the needs of modern man.

I don't find this a difficult concept to accept, nor do I believe others will. And I am sure that its acceptance will serve us well over the long haul we face in the exploration of space.

Science and the Race Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 19, pages A2614–A2616, there was printed an attack on three eminent scholars, Dr. Henry E. Garrett, Dr. Wesley C. George, and Hon. Carleton Putnam. Their replies were printed in the December 13, 1963, and February 28, 1964, issues of Science. I include at this point the following letters of reply:

CARLETON PUTNAM,
McLean, Va., November 19, 1963.

EDITOR,
Science Magazine,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The article "Science and the Race Problem," by a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in your issue of November 1 is a classic in begging the question, a phrase which I understand to mean using as a part of one's argument the point which remains to be proved. This article assumes that there is a civil right to school integration hidden in our Constitution and recently discovered by the Supreme Court in the Brown case, whereas the whole debate concerns the validity of the discovery.

It is totally incorrect to say that a "principle of equality" is embodied in the Constitution. The 14th amendment refers to "equal protection of the laws;" but nowhere in this amendment, nor anywhere else in our national charter is there any support for a concept of social or biological equality. The principle which the AAAS committee dwells upon simply does not exist. Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence and coined the phrase "all men are created equal," made clear how far he would have applied this to white-Negro relations when he said "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people [the Negroes] are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government." We may surmise what he would have thought of sending them to the same schools.

The committee errs also when it states that "there is nowhere in the Supreme Court decision an appeal to science that relates to the nature and the origins of racial differences." The finding of psychological injury to Negro children in Brown is based upon evidence which has now been shown to have been misinterpreted by the chief witness in that case. The evidence actually proves that integration injures the Negro more than segregation (*Stell* v. *Savannah Board of Education*, 220 F. Supp. 667 (S.D.) Ga. 1963)). So the question immediately follows: Can this injury, which is due to an awareness of lower capacity, be overcome by contact with white children and the prolonged environment of white schools? And that answer in turn depends upon whether the Negro's limitations are environmentally or genetically conditioned. Public policy might conceivably justify the forced intrusion of Negroes into white schools, and the attendant turmoil, if the Negroes' limitations were due to environment and were temporary. By no possible argument can it be justified if these limita-

tions are genetic and permanent. Hence, Dr. George's material goes to the very heart of the legal problem.

I pass quickly over the accusation by the committee that Dr. George has failed to offer his "results and interpretations for open publication." "The Biology of the Race Problem" is almost entirely a collection of the views of scientists other than Dr. George, views which have been published again and again in scientific books and journals, as may readily be seen from his footnotes. The report itself was too long to be published in a journal, but it was printed and sent by mail a year ago to hundreds of scientists throughout the United States and abroad. To my knowledge no scientist has yet answered it on its merits, nor does the committee attempt to do so.

Let it be said once more that the cumulative and converging evidence from the fields of genetics, anatomy, physical anthropology, and psychology is overwhelmingly on the side of Dr. George. Any implication to the contrary in the committee's article is a falsehood. Indeed, instead of asking why Dr. George has not offered his material for "open" publication, we may well ask why the committee has not offered their material in court. Dr. George has testified under oath and "opened" himself to cross-examination in the Stell case. I do not believe any equalitarian scientist dares to follow his example. The latter simply reiterates a position which Dr. George has shown to be untenable without attempting to answer his arguments or evidence. Their repeated evasions are getting to be a farce.

Finally a comment is required on the committee's statement that there has been no suppression of evidence in the area of genetic racial differences. The committee says: "A scientist can obsecure the truth about a scientific question only by keeping silent about what he knows, or by otherwise obstructing the publication of scientific results." I now quote in part a letter received by me from a scientist who was head of the department of psychology at a leading eastern university for 15 years: "I knew Franz Boas personally. I was able to observe the influence of Boas as founder of the science of anthropology in America and to evaluate the extent to which Boas' socialistic ideology dominated his thinking and permeated the teaching of his disciples, first at Columbia and later at other universities fed from the Boas cult. I was also able to observe the increasing degree of control exercised by this cult over students and younger professors until fear of loss of jobs or status became common in the field of anthropology unless conformity to the racial equality dogma was maintained. * * * I can testify from repeated personal observation to the intimidation and to the pall of suppression which has fallen upon the academic world in the area of which I speak. It encompasses not only anthropology but certain other related sciences."

I quote further from another letter whose author must remain unidentified, but whom I can state to be a full professor of psychology in a large university: "It is with regret that I must decline this opportnnity to express again publicly my belief in this matter (genetic racial inequality). Letters, telephone calls, and threats after my testimony in —— ——— were not favorable nor encouraging. Further exposure in the press could destroy any value that might come from my research now in progress and that which is planned for the immediate future."

And I will cite again the case which I mention in "Race and Reason," of the prominent scientist whom I visited at his home in a northern city and who asked me, after I had been seated a few minutes in his living room, whether I was sure I had not been followed. Such an atmosphere may not be entirely created by scientists, but it certainly has the effect of keeping scientists silent about what they know.

Altogether, "Science and the Race Problem" is a tissue of fallacies and confusion put forward by men of no special qualification in the pertinent disciplines of anatomy and physical anthropology, who have acted with transparent political motivation. The timing with which the article was picked up and distorted by the general press denotes careful prearrangement on which I suppose the committee is to be congratulated.

Sincerely,

(s) Carleton Putnam,
CARLETON PUTNAM.

[From Science, Feb. 28, 1964]

SCIENCE AND THE RACE PROBLEM

Science for November 1, 1963, carried a report prepared by a committee of the AAAS, entitled "Science and the Race Problem." After noting conflicting evidence for Negro-white differences in mental ability, the committee writes:

"The issues concern not only the validity of allegedly scientific conclusions but also fundamental principles that affect the integrity of science. Moreover, the alleged evidence (that is, of racial differences) is being used to challenge a principle fundamental to our political system, and to influence the outcome of the present crisis in the relations between racial groups in the United States."

If this statement means what it seems to mean, namely, that evidence of racial differences is being used by scientists to deny Negroes their civil rights, it is, to the best of our knowledge, completely erroneous.

Civil rights, as legally defined, include the right to vote, to hold public office, and to have free access to the courts. These rights have on occasion been denied to Negroes who were underprivileged, or who are poor and without social or political influence, as they have been denied to whites who fall in the same categories. But no responsible scientist who believes in native differences between Negroes and whites has advocated the withdrawal of civil rights from anyone. Several writers, scientists and others, have urged that the facts of racial differences must be faced by those in power, and that the demands for social privileges and associations, based on the no-difference assumption, will lead to continuing strife and could lead to national disaster. There are no moral imperatives which demand social acceptance of Negroes by whites, and the Constitution does not guarantee social rights to anyone—Negro or white. However, the more extreme champions of rights for Negroes often include in their demands forms of legal compulsion which cannot be tolerated in a free society.

We offer the following comments on certain specific allegations made by the committee with which we are in sharp disagreement.

(1) Have the facts regarding race differences been fairly presented? The committee holds that the assertions of Carleton Putnam, that facts with regard to racial differences have been distorted and suppressed by equalitarians, are "unfounded." On the contrary, it says:

"There is, in our opinion, no evidence to support the claim, advanced by Professor George and Mr. Putnam, that a group of scientists has conspired to mislead the public about the scientific evidence regarding racial differences. This assertion can only reflect a lack of understanding of the nature of the scientific process." This statement, we believe, is either disingenuous or uninformed.

Let us cite chapter and verse. Up to World War II, both the hereditarian and environmentalist views of racial differences were, on the whole, fairly presented. After the war, largely through the efforts of disciples of Franz Boas and the influence of Gunnar Myrdal's book, equalitarianism began to be presented as official dogma to be accepted as an act of faith. Those not concurring were first criticized, then lampooned or denounced. In 1947, Garrett published an article pointing out that psychometric evidence in the United States strongly favored the nonenvironmental origin of Negro-white differences. Instead of criticism of his data and interpretations (which he expected and welcomed), Garrett was denounced personally: he was reminded of what happened to Hitler, contemptuously asked what could be expected of one born in Virginia, and so forth. Not a single critic raised questions impugning the objectivity of the data in the article, except one man who wanted to know why his study had not been included. (He was told that another study, better than his, was included.)

In 1956, McGurk published in U.S. News & World Report a study of comparative performance when groups of Negroes and whites are matched for background variables generally subsumed under the term "environment." In six studies (all he could find in the literature), McGurk found the overlap in these matched samples to be little if any greater than that found in random samples. McGurk did not recommend that the Negro be disenfranchised or that his civil rights be canceled. However, he was castigated by rabid equalitarians, resoltuions were passed condemning his study, the newspapers were bombarded with denunciatory letters, he and his wife were besieged with anonymous telephone calls, he was "silenced" by his university for a year, and it was demanded that he be expelled from the American Psychological Association. His crime? He had published what he found. Only one criticism, that, a minor one, was made of his data.

In 1961, Garrett published (by invitation of the editor) a paper in which he attempted to analyze the predominant factors which had given impetus to equalitarianism. The same clique (mostly followers of Boas) sprang into action: The editor was rebuked for having asked for the paper, the author was belittled and insulted.

In 1958, Shuey's book appeared. This author examined, analyzed, and tabulated the mental-test data in all of the more than 200 studies of racial differences made in the United States over the preceding 40 years. It was a stupendous task, carefully and meticulously carried through. Yet no national publisher would take the book: it was too "controversial," "too biased," "wouldn't be a good commercial risk" (probably an honest opinion), "didn't fit into the schedule," and so on. Yet the book was favorably reviewed by several outstanding social scientists, one being the late R. S. Woodworth, often called the dean of American psychologists. Putnam's semi-popular book, now in its second hundred thousand, was turned down by seven New York publishers before it was accepted by a small firm specializing in "controversial" literature. Nathaniel Weyl's scholarly study of the Negro in America was published by the same firm.

In 1962, W. C. George published a brief review giving the evidence for the genetic origin of many racial differences. The committee finds the George work "contentious" and mentions that it was commissioned by the Governor of Alabama. The implication, we suppose, is that the contents of the George study were predetermined by reason of its source. But is this a good reason for not examining the data? A booklet entitled "Race and Intelligence" was published in 1963 under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith. Does its origin immediately condemn this publication as unsound? Suffice it to say that George was

in no way limited as to what he could say, and that his findings were published as he set them down. The George study was issued in its present form simply because it would have been impossible to get publication in a national journal. These are closed to all but equalitarian views.

Frequently we have been told by young scientists that they would not dare to come out for hereditary differences between Negroes and whites; their promotions, even their jobs would be in jeopardy. Even in the South young scientists find that school officials have the attitude that it is better to keep quiet and play it safe: reprisals are not unknown.

Nor are reprisals confined to the academic community. In a recent school desegregation case in Georgia, two lawyers representing a group of white parents in Savannah won a verdict against desegregation on the grounds that differences in mental alertness between Negro and white pupils were so great that education of the white pupils would be jeopardized by mass mixing. Five scientists testified that the differences in IQ between Negroes and whites in Georgia are on the average from 15 to 20 points in favor of the whites, and that Negro pupils in the elementary schools lag behind the whites by from 1 to 3 grades. The Attorney General of the United States in a recent speech called the two lawyers who defended the white pupils "irresponsible." He failed to note that the experimental evidence as to the evil effects of segregation on the Negro child's personality (presented to the Supreme Court in 1954) was shown to be invalid. And he neglected to denounce the man who gave this testimony.

It is true, of course, that articles are refused publication for many reasons, that books are often rejected by publishers, and that young faculty members are intimidated in various ways. And it will be contended that unfortunate incidents of judgment or policy do not in themselves demonstrate the presence of systematized intolerance toward those who hold the race-differences hypothesis. We reject this argument as fallacious in the present context. Attacks on those who support racial differences are too persistent, too regular, and too emotional to be unplanned and accidential. And so is the name calling.

In summary, we believe the evidence is clear that the equalitarian position is being represented as the accepted scientific dogma, and that any attempt to question equalitarian data is to be denounced as somehow reprehensible and even immoral. This attitude is, of course, totally destructive of academic freedom.

(2) Was the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on school desegregation determined by legal rather than by psychosocial evidence? The committee believes it was. It contends that "the question at issue in the 1954 Supreme Court decision was whether separate school facilities inherently lead to inequality of treatment; again the basic principle of equality was not at issue."

The notion that the Court considered only the effects of segregation on the Negro children and completely ignored the possibility of mental differences seems to us to be incredibly naive. What is meant by "similar age and qualifications" and "solely because of race"? This can only mean that the Court assumed complete racial equality in intelligence and learning ability, in the belief that differences were confined to skin color. Furthermore, opinions as to the evil effects of separate schools were given the Court only by equalitarians who certainly implied, if they did not assert, that there are no race differences. Invariably they wrote of "segregation, prejudice, and discrimination" as though the first always involved the second and the third.

The committee says further:

"The only reference to science in the 1954 decision appears in connection with footnote 11 to that decision."

This footnote refers to a section which considers the question "Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" The Court's answer was that it does. It said:

"To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way likely never to be undone."

The committee argues that since differences in mental ability were "quite irrelevant," to be heard George should have offered evidence that separate schools do not influence adversely the "hearts and minds" of the Negro pupils. Otherwise, in the committee's view George's paper "seriously compromises the usefulness of science to the judicial process."

But is this a fair inference? George's paper, "The Biology of the Race Problem," dealt only with the evidence for genetic differences in racial traits, not with the effects of school segregation on the Negro child's heart and mind. George is neither a social scientist nor a schoolman, and his interest in school segregation lay chiefly in the possibility of intermarriage which arises in any close and intimate social situation, such as schools.

The committee must have assumed that at least the Court was strongly impressed by testimony as to the evil effects of separate schools on the Negro. What was the basis for this assumption? Apart from the vigorous assertions of white, adult social scientists who felt that separation must be galling and frustrating (as it may have been to them), the only experimental evidence as to the bad effects of separate schools for Negroes and whites seems to have been the testimony of K. B. Clark, who investigated the preference of Negro schoolchildren, in segregated and nonsegregated schools, for brown and white dolls. But Van den Haag, who examined critically Clark's evidence, found that integration, not segregation, injured the Negro child's self-image. Van den Haag concluded that, either knowingly or unknowingly, Clark misled the Court. For a full discussion of Clark's evidence, see "Van den Haag."

(3) Gunnar Myrdal and his influence on the racial problem: The committee refers to Myrdal's "The American Dilemma" as an outstanding example of sociological research. That the Myrdal book had considerable influence in determining the Supreme Court's decision is implied by the reference to "generally Myrdal" in footnote 11. Myrdal's book does indeed contain many useful facts regarding race relations, the roles of minority groups in U.S. society, the expressed hopes and aspirations of American Negroes for better jobs. Interestingly enough, Myrdal reports that the American Negro in the 1940's was not especially concerned with social equality. But Myrdal's book is strongly slanted toward equalitarianism; in fact no opposition view is recognized. Racial differences in mental ability are straight Boas; that is, environmentally determined.

We would agree that ordinarily when a man's scientific views are criticized, his character and political associations need not be drawn in. But there are times when knowledge of a man's background is crucial in enabling one properly to evaluate his work. This is true of Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist, selected by the Carnegie Foundation to make a study of the Negro problem in the United States. Myrdal's two volumes were published in 1944. Myrdal describes himself as a "social economist." He has no love for American institutions or for our system of government. He writes, for example, of the "cult of the Constitution" which has been able to "block the popular will." He disapproves of the tendency in legal circles "to desire to regulate human behavior tyrannically by means of formal laws." It is hard to believe that the attitudes of Myrdal and his coworkers could lead to conclusions which are entirely objective. Yet the committee describes this work as an "outstanding example" of sociological research.

In summary, we reiterate that responsible scientists who believe in racial differences have not advocated denial of the Negroes' civil rights. We assert, furthermore, that the free presentation of evidence concerning racial differences is virtually impossible in the present climate of suppression and intimidation. Regrettably, the AAAS committee in its report has done nothing to improve this situation; rather the opposite. In some instances, news stories and editorials based on the committee's statement appeared in newspapers throughout the country before copies of Science were delivered to subscribers. Was the prior distribution of the committee's report to the press intended to promote a calm consideration of the facts relating to a great national problem? Or was it designed to undermine the public's esteem of George and Putnam and thus to intimidate others who might venture to examine publicly and critically the scientific bases of race?

We hold it to be vital that all of the evidence be examined before this Nation undertakes any far-reaching program of social change which, once undertaken, cannot be reversed.

HENRY E. GARRETT,
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.
WESLEY C. GEORGE.
CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

The Urban Mass Transit Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, this week the House will take up H.R. 3881, the administration's mass transit bill. This problem has been studied by both Houses of Congress for several years; the need for action is well established and this bill has support on both sides of the aisle. Mass transit legislation has already been passed by the Senate in this Congress.

President Johnson said in his speech last Friday:

> We are going to do our dead level best to see that it passes the House and becomes a law of the land. Both Republicans and Democrats are supporting that measure because transportation is a bipartisan problem. It is also national in scope.

The mass transit bill would provide partial Federal grants to help local government and private enterprise provide the bus service, commuter railroads, and other local mass transit which the people of our towns and cities need. This bill has the support of mayors, the American Transit Association, representing private bus operators, the Association of

American Railroads, labor, industry, and many civic and public interest groups. It is designed to help small towns as well as large, and the record shows that the need in small- and medium-size communities is just as urgent as it is in the big cities. I hope that when this bill comes to a vote it will have the support of a substantial majority of the House because the problem is one which affects all of us.

I am proud to offer the text of President Johnson's speech of June 19, 1964, at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEM, CONCORD, CALIF.

Governor Brown, Mr. Falk, Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen, those who believe that the frontiers of America are closed should be out here today. The dreams and the deeds represented by this ceremony prove that the era of the pioneers is not over. Only the area of pioneering has changed.

Yesterday's frontiers were vast empty lands, waiting to be claimed and cultivated by settlers who crossed the continent to start a new life. Today's frontiers are teeming cities, where too many people already lead a neglected life. Yesterday's frontiers were crisscrossed by wagon trains.

Today's frontiers are clogged by automobiles. There are more than 80 million motor vehicles on our roads today. By 1980 there will be 120 million, almost 1 vehicle for every 2 people. There are almost 1½ million registered vehicles in the bay area alone. If they were lined up bumper to bumper, they would stretch from California to Maine—although I wouldn't recommend a trip under such circumstances.

So we must develop adequate alternative means of transportation, or the coming crisis of congestion may do more to frustrate the growth and development of America than all the burning deserts and the barren mountains which stood in the path of our ancestors a century ago.

You here in California are doing something about that crisis. This mass transit system is a victory, a victory for vision of men who started 12 long years ago to make it a reality. Now we need a major national effort to solve the problems of rapid transit, and this administration is determined to make that effort.

Our urban mass transportation act sponsored by this administration has already passed the Senate of the United States and it will soon come to a vote in the House. We are going to do our dead level best to see that it passes the House and becomes the law of the land. Both Republicans and Democrats are supporting that measure because transportation is a bipartisan problem. It is also national in scope.

Seventy percent of our people live in metropolitan areas. Fifty-three of our country's biggest metropolitan areas either border or cross State lines. Their transit problems ignore local boundaries, but their taxing powers are limited and their resources are already strained. Congress has voted billions of dollars to build highways, to build airports, to dredge harbors, to dredge canals, to improve river navigation. In the last century Congress helped finance railroads and shipping lines, to open up new areas of the country, to open up new trade routes abroad.

Now Congress and the Federal Government must help to solve the problems of transportation. These problems require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism between the Federal Government, the State governments and local communities. And that is what our bill will do. When this bill went before one of the committees of Congress last year, a distinguished Republican Congressman from Ohio said to Congressman PATMAN, from my State, who was testifying in favor of the bill, "Why are you from Texas interested in helping the people of New York solve their traffic problems?" And the Congressman from my State said, "Well, I am interested because this is the United States of America, and the people of my State are as involved with the people of New York and California as the people of New York and California must be with the people of Texas."

That is the kind of spirit that we need in this country, and that is the kind of spirit that I have found in California. The idea that we are 50 separate countries, that the Federal Government representing the destiny of 190 million people does not have a duty to meet the needs of those people—this idea is as out of date as the dinosaur.

The well-being of our people, the well-being of all of our people, is our first priority. I do not believe that the American people want to run a losing race with change. I believe that they want a happy partnership with their Government in order to turn the perils of the present into a promising future.

So we are going to work with the people of our States. We are going to work with the people of our communities to solve the problems of those communities and those States. This administration does not intend to permit America to stagnate. This administration is not going to stand still. With the help of you wonderful people who have come here today, with the help of all of the people of the great State of California, your country is going to move ahead, to give every American a fair chance to lead a useful and a happy and a prosperous life. That is the function of government and that is what government under this administration will do.

Thank you.

The Great Fiscal Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the opponents of the tax cut legislation enacted earlier this year were harbingers of doom at the time of the passage of the legislation. Sufficient time has now elapsed to make a short-term analysis of the long-range effects of this bill. I think they are adequately described by Walter Lippmann in his article in the Washington Post of June 23, 1964. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this column:

TODAY AND TOMORROW—THE GREAT FISCAL EXPERIMENT

(By Walter Lippmann)

For some 5 months the country has been doing business under an altogether unprecedented fiscal policy. With the adoption of the tax cut of $11.5 billion in February, we began for the first time in our history to operate under a deficit planned to bring about full employment. In the face of an estimated budgetary deficit of $5.5 billion, the conservative policy would have been to raise taxes in the hope of balancing the budget. Instead, the Kennedy-Johnson administration has reduced taxes, an act which was bound at least at first to increase the deficit.

The action was taken on the new theory, accepted by most but not by all economists, that a big expansion of consumption and capital investment was necessary to overcome the chronic sluggishness of the American economy during the past 10 years, with its high rate of unemployment and its rather low utilization of industrial capacity. For the sake of the record we must recognize that this planned deficit on top of an unplanned deficit is an innovation that goes beyond anything the New Deal ever did under Roosevelt and Truman.

Until the Second World War imposed enormous deficits, the Roosevelt New Dealers held—but not until the later 1930's—that deficits were justified only to offset recessions, to compensate for the downswing of the business cycle. In the upswing, they believed the right policy was to have a budgetary surplus in order to restrict the expansion of the boom. But the Kennedy-Johnson tax cut of 1964 was proposed and enacted during an upswing. It is therefore a most novel experiment, even by the standards of the New Deal.

The experiment runs counter to the central principles of what is regarded as fiscal integrity by such men as General Eisenhower, Senator Byrd, Senator Goldwater, and indeed, it is fair to say, a host of public men in both parties. The experiment began in February. We are now in the midst of it, and the money freed for spending has begun to work its effects in the economy. We now have preliminary returns which permit us to make a preliminary inquiry based not on theory but on fact.

The evidence to date is that the fears of the opposition are as yet unfulfilled and that the hopes of the proponents are in a measure, at least, just beginning to be fulfilled. None of this is, of course, conclusive. It is too soon to be certain now about what will happen as the expansion continues, and therefore among critics and advocates alike it is only sensible to keep an open and inquiring mind.

Nevertheless, there is yet no evidence that the worst fears are being realized. Indeed, there is impressive evidence to the contrary. Thus, confronted by the new tax law, many have prophesied that it would mean inflation, a flight from the dollar, destruction of confidence, bad business, and increased unemployment. These fears can now be examined against the concrete evidence which is now coming in.

Thus, we are not in the grip of price inflation. The American wholesale price index has remained constant since the beginning of 1958, and the American record of price stability has no equal in any large industrial country in the world. This has made possible a steadily increasing export surplus, which is helping to reduce the international payments deficit that has been so worrisome. The other contribution to a sounder international payments situation is that a business boom in the United States has made it attractive to invest American dollars at home and to bring in hard currencies from abroad.

There is as yet no evidence that the planned deficit has undermined business confidence. The most recent Government survey of business investment indicates that in the past year there has been an increase of 12 percent in purchases for plant and equipment. Business profits have gone up. Consumer buying has gone up. There is a noticeable, though not a large, decline in the rate of unemployment, indicating that while some unemployment is structural, some of it is caused by slack business.

All, to be sure, is not for the best in the best of all possible worlds. The unsolved problems ahead of us—of the cities and of the very poor—are graver and more difficult than those which we believe we are beginning to solve. Moreover, the good returns are not the result of the new tax policy alone. Our price stability is, for example, due in great part to the economic enlightenment and moral restraint of the leaders of big business and big labor. But the evidence

does show that thus far the new policy has not produced any of the bad results which its opponents had predicted, and that, on the other hand, there are impressive signs that the new policy is doing a great deal of good.

If in the end the experiment works out, as it shows signs of doing today, there will be a change in the concept of fiscal integrity. It will no longer be identified with an insistence on balancing the budget annually or even biennially. It will be identified with the purpose and duty of bringing total demand into balance with the labor power and the resources of the country at a level where there is adequate and ample but not excessive employment of capital and labor.

Among the rising generation this concept of fiscal integrity will come to be accepted as truly orthodox and conservative.

John Plumides, Supreme President, Order of Ahepa, Receives North Carolina's Distinguished Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Plumides of Charlotte, N.C., supreme president of Ahepa, was recently honored by the presentation of North Carolina's Distinguished Service Award.

The award, the highest given by the State of North Carolina, was a tribute to Mr. Plumides' outstanding services on behalf of his city, his State, and his Country. It was presented at a testimonial banquet attended by prominent leaders from the State of North Carolina and from the national Ahepa organization.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an account of the testimonial dinner given in honor of Mr. Plumides. I would also like to take this opportunity to add my congratulations to those of John Plumides' many admirers and friends, on his reception of this well deserved recognition of his outstanding leadership.

The text of the account follows:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA HONORS AHEPA SUPREME PRESIDENT PLUMIDES WITH DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—North Carolina's Distinguished Service Award was presented to Ahepa Supreme President John G. Plumides of Charlotte, N.C., at the testimonial banquet given in his honor on Sunday, May 24. Hargrove Bowles, Jr., chairman of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, represented Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, and made the presentation.

The award, which is the highest that the State can bestow, was made for Mr. Plumides' services to the State above and beyond the call of duty, especially for his work in education and community services. In making the award, Mr. Bowles said: "You represent the very best of people of Greek descent in the United States, and your dedicated service has meant much to all of us in North Carolina."

Ahepa Supreme President Plumides is only the fourth person to receive the North Carolina Distinguished Service Award. Evangelist Billy Graham is one of the recipients of the award.

The testimonial banquet tendered in Ahepa Supreme President Plumides' honor by his chapter, Marathon Chapter No. 2 of Charlotte, N.C., was held at the Queen Charlotte Hotel in Charlotte, with a capacity crowd present. Speakers of city, State, and national prominence praised Mr. Plumides for his outstanding service to his city and State and country.

Charlotte Mayor pro tempore James B. Whittington described Mr. Plumides as a man who gives of his time and efforts to make Charlotte a better place to live. He said: "We believe Charlotte is a better place because John Plumides is one of us." U.S. Representatives Basil L. Whitener, and Charles R. Jonas, lauded both John Plumides and the Order of Ahepa for their outstanding services to community and national life.

Speaking on behalf of the Order of Ahepa, Socrates V. Sekles, chairman of the supreme board of trustees, and Ahepa Supreme Vice President Nicholas J. Chirekos, congratulated Supreme President Plumides on his many years of service to the fraternity and for his outstanding contributions to the Order of Ahepa. Mrs. Josie Chase, grand vice president of the Daughters of Penelope, was a speaker of the evening also. Other speakers on the program were: The Honorable Nick A. Theodore, member of the South Carolina House of Representatives; the Honorable L. Richardson Preyer, candidate for Governor of North Carolina; Tom D. Keretsis, president of Marathon Chapter No. 2, Order of Ahepa; Nick J. Miller, president of the Charlotte Greek Orthodox Community; and the Right Reverend Emanuel Bouyoucas, pastor of Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church.

Friends of Supreme President Plumides from many parts of the country attended. These included: Ahepa Supreme Secretary Nick Smyrnis, of Indianapolis, Ind.; Ahepa Supreme Treasurer K. K. Microutsicos, of Trenton, N.J.; Ahepa Supreme Governor Nick T. Georges, of Detroit, Mich.; Ahepa Supreme Trustee A. Don Bullion, of Bridgeport, Conn.; Executive Secretary George J. Leber, of Washington, D.C.; district 13 Gov. Sam Stavrakas, of Chicago, Ill.; district 1 Gov. Steve Moskos, of Columbia, S.C.; John T. Pappas, Washington, D.C.; Louis Dukas, New York City; Tom Heos, Flint, Mich.; Chris Ekonomou, Eau Gallie, Fla.; Lt. Gov. Gregory Despinakis, Birmingham, Ala.; James Kostopulos, Hammond, Ind.; and many others.

Follow The Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein a very inspiring article entitled "Follow the Flag," from the Assabet Valley Beacon, published in my district

This article consists of essays written by eighth-grade students of the Stow Junior High School which were presented by their authors at the Flag Day exercises held at the Center School on Friday, June 12, 1964

I am very proud, indeed, to represent these fine young Americans and their teachers and school officials, who arranged and conducted such an outstanding Flag Day ceremony in the beautiful town of Stow in my district.

It is in communities like Stow that the fires of patriotism and loyalty burn with such a brilliant glow, lighting up for the whole world to see, the unswerving resolution of the American people to honor their flag and to preserve the great Nation dedicated to liberty over which it flies.

The article follows:

FOLLOW THE FLAG—HISTORY OF OUR FLAG

(By Martha Huntley)

In 1776, the American colonists decided that they wanted only one flag. On June 14, 1777, Congress passed a resolution stating that the flag of the United States should have 13 alternate red and white stripes, and a union of 13 stars on a blue field representing a new constellation. No one knows why Congress chose this design; but it is supposed that the red is for hardiness and courage, the blue for vigilance, perseverance and justice. Our flag today has 50 stars, each representing one of the 50 States.

There are many rules pertaining to the flag. When saluting the flag in a parade, the moment it approaches the right hand is placed over the heart, or a military salute is given. The flag is carried to the right of all other flags.

If there are many flags, the flag is carried alone in front of the center of the line. The flag is never draped over a car, it is hung freely on a perpendicular rod. With grouped staffs, place the flag at the center and the highest point. With crossed staffs, the flag is put on its own right, its staff in front of any other flags. On a casket, the flag is draped with its canton at the head and over the left shoulder of the body. Behind a speaker it is hung flat against the wall. On a platform it stands in the position of honor on the right of the speaker.

The flag flies day and night in several places. They include: the east and west entrances to Washington, D.C., and in Baltimore, Md., over the grave of Francis Scott Key.

Our flag should be displayed every day in good weather and at polling places on election day. Some special days that it should be displayed on are: New Year's Day, Inauguration Day, Memorial Day, Flag Day, and the Fourth of July.

The flag should be honored as a symbol of the proud Nation it represents.

OUR FEELINGS CONCERNING OUR NATIONAL EMBLEM

(By Donna Brown)

The flag of the United States was one of the first flags to mean a great deal to the people of a whole nation.

The 13 stripes on the American flag stand for the original 13 colonies that became the original 13 States.

In the blue field, there is one star for each of the States in the Union. The colors of the flag can best be explained by this statement: "We take the stars and blue union from heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus we show we have separated from her, and those white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

The usual way to show that we honor the flag is to stand erect and place our right hand over our hearts and recite the "Pledge of Allegiance," in unison.

Every time we make this pledge, we should think of what we are saying. Thousands of people say it every day, but do they really understand it?

In it we promise to be faithful to the flag and the country it stands for—if necessary, to give our lives to protect it.

The flag represents our Nation—a nation of the people that are living, working, and have died for our country so that it will always remain a symbol of unity, and can never be broken up.

We, the living, should mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, as our forefathers did.

DISPLAYING OUR FLAG

(By Nancy Farron)

Our flag represents every State in the entire country. Everyone should show respect to the "Star-Spangled Banner." There are certain rules that should be observed when using the flag. These are a few of the ways in which the flag should be displayed.

When the flag is flown at half-staff, it should be raised to the top of the flagpole, then lowered to half-staff. When being taken down it should be raised entirely to the top—then lowered and folded correctly. On Memorial Day, the flag is kept at half-staff from sunrise until noon; than it should be flown all the way up until sunset.

When flags from several countries are displayed, the U.S. flag should be in the center or at the highest point. When displayed with another flag, one across the other, our flag should be on the right, and its staff should be in front of the other, toward the audience.

When our flag is carried in a procession or parade the bearer should be in front of the center of the line or to the right of all other flags.

The flag should not be used for decoration. When displayed, not on a staff, it should be hung horizontally or vertically, from a balcony or wall, with the blue field at the upper right.

In church, the flag should be displayed to the clergymen's right, facing the congregation. If flown by a naval chaplain, the church pennant may be flown above it.

When the flag is used to cover a casket, at a military funeral, or covering the casket of a great hero that has served our country, the blue field should cover the left shoulder. When carried to the grave the casket is brought feet first. The flag should be taken off and folded correctly when the casket is lowered into the ground. The flag is then presented to the wife or mother of the serviceman.

Having great respect for our country we should observe these rules gladly. The flag represents our country and mistreating it would only show disrespect for the country. Let us all keep alert and display our flag correctly at all times.

Immigration Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, early in June I introduced legislation designed to modernize our outdated immigration and naturalization laws. My colleague from Massachusetts, Representative BRAD MORSE, introduced an identical bill.

One of the most important features of the bill would gear the national origins quota system to the total U.S. population in 1960 and reflect actual immigration between 1920 and 1960. This would increase the total annual immigration and provide needed relief for areas whose quotas are now heavily oversubcribed.

Typical of the favorable reaction to this legislation is an editorial which appeared recently in the Lowell (Mass.) Sun commending Congressman MORSE for his action:

IMMIGRATION

Existing immigration law, based on the national origins system, reflects the population of the United States in 1920. As a result a number of quotas are oversubscribed by as much as 100,000 while 35 percent of the quotas remain unused each year. A Brad Morse bill, which is now among those receiving hearings by the House Judiciary Committee, would gear the quotas to the total U.S. population in 1960. This would increase annual immigration to about 300,000. The additional numbers would be allocated to quota areas on the basis of actual immigration to this country between 1920 and 1960. Unused quotas would be pooled and allocated on a first-come, first-served basis.

The revised system would bring about dramatic increases in the annual quotas of Italy, Greece, Poland, Israel, and the Baltic States. In addition, the bill would extend to the parents of citizens the same preference now applicable to the child or spouse of a citizen.

The Nation's immigration system surely needs to be overhauled. Under the present hard-and-fast system countries that could use a higher quota are denied, while those that have more than enough merely reject the big figures. A country like England, for example, rarely makes use of more than 15 percent of its quota, while small lands exhaust their opportunity in short order.

The Morse bill offers corrections of inequalities and the modernization of an archaic formula.

South of the Border

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Florida, the Honorable D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS, had published in the Washington Post of Monday, June 22, a letter entitled "South of the Border." It is such a calm, clear statement of the activities which are being perpetrated in the beautiful city of St. Augustine by hired agitators that I feel it must be called to the attention of the entire Congress. I congratulate Congressman MATTHEWS for his calm analysis of a situation which is unjustified and unjustifiable. The disciples of destruction who are at work in St. Augustine have no real interest in desegregation. Their interest is self-perpetuation self-aggrandizement and it is regrettable that we must tolerate such activities in the name of democracy.

All of us know BILLY MATTHEWS for the patriotic citizen that he is and for the exemplary manner in which he has represented the people of his district.

Many of us share the agonizing concern which we know he now feels about the ordeal being experienced by the historic city of St. Augustine.

His letter to the Post brings to focus this problem. The issuance of this challenge by him is one in which many of us would like to be associated. I submit his letter for publication in the RECORD because it carries a message to every American:

[From the Washington Post, June 22, 1964]

SOUTH OF THE BORDER

I read in your issue of Sunday, June 14, the editorial in which you mentioned problems in St. Augustine, Fla., which is in my congressional district. It is regrettable that St. Augustine has been marked for demonstrations by irresponsible outsiders because it happens to be the Nation's oldest city, and we are now planning a great quadricentennial celebration to begin next year.

There is a determined effort to ruin the city of St. Augustine economically, which will mean a tremendous loss to people of all races and creeds; and especially do the agitators want Federal troops to be dispatched to St. Augustine to create a hideous image of a very beautiful and great city. How heartless and cruel can the so-called disciples of peace be!

As long as we have laws on the statute books, in my opinion, these laws should be obeyed until by orderly process they are changed. I have a feeling that in the editorials of your newspaper, when the so-called civil rights bill is thrust upon our people in just a few days, there will be many of these "pious utterances" about obeying the law. What about obeying the law now?

You would be doing America a great favor if in your editorial columns you would suggest that the outside troublemakers who are now in St. Augustine go back home and attend to the great problems of moral deterioration in their backyard. Surely you realize that in the present captioned civil rights bill there is supposedly a redress of all the grievances that the troublemakers in St. Augustine professedly have. It would seem to me that the determined destruction of a beautiful and proud city of 15,000 American citizens is the real purpose of the demonstrations in St. Augustine.

D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS,
Member of Congress.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leo Pfeffer is one of the leading constitutional lawyers in the country. He has appeared before the Supreme Court in several cases involving the first amendment freedoms. He is a recognized authority on religious liberty in America.

During the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed Becker amendment, Mr. Pfeffer gave some of the most enlightening testimony received by the committee. I commend his statement, which follows, to all my colleagues and all those who seek a better understanding of this important matter:

STATEMENT OF LEO PFEFFER TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT HEARINGS ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 693 AND OTHER PENDING PROPOSALS TO AMEND THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION WITH RESPECT TO BIBLE READING AND PRAYERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

May I first express my appreciation to this committee for inviting me to present my

views in respect to the Becker amendment and the other numerous pending proposals to amend the Bill of Rights in order to overrule the Supreme Court's Bible-prayer decisions. If any of these proposals achieves success, it will be the first time in our history that the Bill of Rights has been amended. It is therefore of vital importance that the issues be carefully considered and that all viewpoints be heard before this "first experiment with our liberties," to use Madison's vivid phrase, is taken.

The case for these proposed amendments rests on an edifice of false concepts—about religion, about American history, about sound educational practices, about what happens in the classroom and even about what the Supreme Court has actually held. Surely, an amendment to the basic law that has successfully guaranteed our democratic freedoms for almost two centuries should not be rushed through on the basis of misconceptions and false charges. Accordingly, I propose to present in this statement five prevalent fictions regarding public school Bible reading and prayer recitation, together with the facts regarding each fiction.

FICTION 1

Public school Bible reading and prayer recitation have been going on for 150 years without objection. Opposition to these practices is a recent occurrence.

FACT

Strong and consistent efforts to eliminate devotional Bible reading in the public schools have been carried on for practically as long as there have been public schools in which devotional Bible reading was conducted. Formal opposition to the practice can be traced at least to the year 1840, when the Fourth Provincial Council of the Roman Catholic Church was held in Baltimore. This conference, attended by 1 archbishop and 12 bishops, issued a number of decrees, one of which directed all Roman Catholic priests to use their influence against the introduction of Bible reading and prayer recitation in the public schools.

In 1852, the First Plenary Council of the Catholic Church decreed that the enactments of the provincial council were obligatory for all dioceses in the United States. Thus it became the official and mandatory policy of the Catholic Church throughout the United States to oppose devotional Bible reading and prayer recitation in the public schools.

Within the Catholic Church there was perhaps no more stalwart opponent of these practices than Archbishop John Hughes, of New York. Throughout the 1840's and 1850's he fought strenuously against all religious practices in the public schools of New York City. Asserting that the public schools were attended by children of all faiths, he claimed that the use of any particular version of the Bible violated the conscience and rights of children belonging to a faith that did not accept that version.

In 1854, 2 years after the First Plenary Council of the Catholic Church issued its decrees, the first case on Bible reading reached a State supreme court, *Donahoe* v. *Richards*. A Jesuit priest, John Bapst, was engaged in missionary work among the Indians in Maine. Among the parishes he served was the town of Ellsworth, near Bangor. The school committee of the town adopted a regulation requiring the children to read the King James Bible. Father Bapst advised his parishioners to defy the committee and bring suit to declare the regulation unconstitutional. Acting on his urging, the father of Bridget Donahoe directed his daughter to refuse to read from the Protestant Bible as directed by her teacher. When the rebellious Bridget was expelled, her father brought suit to compel reinstatement.

Father Bapst's action became known to the residents of the town, who indignantly called a town meeting at which a resolution was adopted to the effect that if Father Bapst ever entered Ellsworth again he would be tarred and feathered and ridden out of town on a rail. A few months later he returned to Ellsworth. While he was hearing confession one Saturday night, a mob broke into his house, dragged him out, tore off his clothing, tarred and feathered him and, after 2 hours of cruel treatment, finally released him. Although the ringleaders were known and the grand jury was in session, no one was indicted or even arrested in connection with the incident.

When the case of *Donahoe* v. *Richards* finally reached the Supreme Court of Maine, that court declared blandly that the law regards "the Pagan and the Mormon, the Brahmin and the Jew, the Swedenborgian and the Buddhist, the Catholic and the Quaker, as all possessing equal rights," and since all could be compelled to read from the (Protestant) Bible the rights of none were violated.

Five years later, in 1859, a Massachusetts court was faced with a problem arising from the stubborn rebellion of another Catholic child. Tom Wall was an 11-year-old pupil in a Boston public school where the Bible was read and the Ten Commandments recited weekly. The court records show that Tom's father "had told him for his life not to say them [the Commandments] and that on Sunday the priest while addressing 900 children at church, of whom Wall was one, told them not to be cowards to their religion, and to read or repeat the Commandments in school, and that if they did he would read their names from the altar."

The next day Tom Wall came to school, "with the determination not to read or repeat" the Commandments. (For this, it appears, he later received a blessed medal from the priest.) Moreover, some 60 other Catholic children likewise announced that they would not repeat the Commandments. Here was rebellion on a large scale, and it was clear to the teacher that Tom Wall was the ringleader. With the approval of the principal, the teacher urged Tom to obey, "but Wall, still refusing, was punished with a rattan stick, some 3 feet in length and three-eighths of an inch wide, by whipping upon his hand. From the time the punishment commenced to the time when it ended, repeated inquiries were made of Wall if he would comply with the requirements of the school. Some 30 minutes' time was occupied in the whole," but the conclusion was obvious from the beginning. Eleven-year-old Tom Wall could hardly hold out forever against the majesty and power of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. After 30 minutes of chastisement "Wall submitted to the requirement of the school," and the "master ceased to punish."

Donahoe v. *Richards* and the case of Tom Wall involved instances where the Catholics' grievance was that their children were compelled to participate actively in reading from the Protestant Bible. There were many other instances of this. About the same time that Tom Wall was flogged for his rebellious refusal to participate in reading from the Bible, some 100 other Catholic children were expelled from the Boston public schools for the same reason. In Indiana in the 1880's a Catholic girl who refused to read a chapter from the Protestant Bible as required, recited "Maud Miller" instead. Here again was rebellion, but this time the rod was spared; instead the child was kept after school day after day in an attempt to break her stubborn will. Apparently, only physical force is adequate to break religious conscience, for unlike Tom Wall, the Indians girl never did yield.

These were but the earliest instances in which parents protested against regulations compelling their children to participate actively in devotional observances in the public schools. Down through our country's history, members of various religious faiths—and members of none—have challenged such infringements on the religious freedom of their children by protesting and challenging the requirement to pray and read from holy books in the schoolroom. Thus the recent Supreme Court decisions, which the proposed amendments would nullify, are the culmination of a long historic process and, in a sense, a new departure.

FICTION 2

There is only one Bible and all prayers are addressed to the same God. Therefore, it makes no difference which version of the Bible or what form of prayer is used in the public schools.

FACT

No controversy in human history has caused more persecution, oppression, and bloodshed than the question of what is the true word of God and which is the correct way to worship Him. The victims of the Inquisition were persons who revered the same Bible and worshipped the same God as the Inquisitors; they suffered only because they worshipped in a different way.

Blood has been shed on this question in the United States as well. In the 1830's, Philadelphia was the scene of rioting over the question whether the Protestant or Catholic version of the Bible should be read in the schools. Before it was over, lives had been lost and churches had been burned to the ground.

The Canon law of the Catholic Church forbids the faithful to read from a non-Catholic version of the Bible. The many suits brought over the years by Catholics to halt Bible reading in the public schools show that Catholics have taken this law seriously. To the Jew, the New Testament is as unacceptable as the King James version is to the Catholic.

What is true of Bible reading is equally true of prayer in the public schools. Children pray in different ways. Some pray with head bowed and some with hands clasped. Christians pray with their heads uncovered; Orthodox Jews with their heads covered. Some pray on their knees and some upright. Some cross themselves as they pray; others do not. Some pray audibly and some silently. To some, such as the Quakers, all forms of public prayer are objectionable.

It has been the tragedy of history that these differences in Bible and prayer have divided adults into hostile and rival camps. It would be doubly tragic if these divisions were to be visited upon the public schools, which in our Republic should unite children rather than divide them.

FICTION 3

If a child has the right to be excused from participating in Bible reading or prayer recitation, there can be no valid objection to the practice.

FACT

This is the delusion of voluntariness. It is belied by history and recognized as a fiction by countless educators and other persons who know how children think and act. In particular, the fiction of voluntary action by schoolchildren has been recognized by the Catholic community which has repeatedly brought court suits to compel discontinuance of Bible reading in the public schools even where Catholic children were given the option of reading from their own version.

Such a suit arose out of what became known as the Cincinnati "Bible war." Here, the Catholic Church opposed the practice even though children could either be excused from participating or could choose their own version. (Catholic opposition to the practice resulted in a charge by a Protestant minister that the church was

seeking to raise the "black flag of atheism" over the public schools of Cincinnati—a linking of Catholicism and atheism which may sound strange today but was not uncommon in earlier days of our country's history.)

Catholic opposition resulted in the adoption by the Cincinnati School Board of a resolution bringing an end to the practice of Bible reading. The constitutionality of this resolution was upheld by the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1872 in the landmark case of *Board of Education of Cincinnati* v. *Minor*. ("United with government," the court said, "religion never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows that the more widely and completely they are separated, the better it is for both.")

Some 80 years after the Cincinnati Bible war, the Catholic Church authorities in Rutherford, N.J., joined the local Jewish community in sponsoring a suit (which I prosecuted at the request of both) to prevent the distribution of the Gideon (Protestant) Bibles in the public schools of that community. Here, too, no child was compelled to accept the Bible, and during the litigation an offer of compromise was made to allow the distribution of Catholic and Jewish versions of the Bible as well. The offer was rejected by both the church and the Jewish community, and the case went to trial, ultimately resulting in a decision by the Supreme Court of New Jersey ruling the practice of Gideon Bible distribution in the public schools to be unconstitutional.

The reason the Catholics sued to remove the Bible from the public schools even where their children enjoyed the privilege of nonparticipation was that they recognized that this privilege did not in reality give the children freedom of choice and that the claim that participation was voluntary was fictional. This argument won acceptance by a number of State supreme courts. As early as 1890, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin accepted this claim in the following language:

"When * * * a small minority of the pupils in the public school is excluded, for any cause, from a stated school exercise, particularly when such a cause is apparent hostility to the Bible, which a majority of the other pupils have been taught to revere, from that moment the excluded pupil loses caste with his fellows, and is liable to be regarded with aversion and subjected to reproach and insult. But it is a sufficient refutation of the argument that the practice in question tends to destroy the equality of the pupils which the Constitution seeks to establish and protect, and puts a portion of them to serious disadvantage in many ways with respect to the others."

Twenty years later, in 1910, the Supreme Court of Illinois, rejecting a contrary conclusion reached in Kentucky and Kansas, again stressed the isolation and hostility faced by Catholic children who are nominally accorded the privilege of not participating in Bible reading and prayer recitation in the public schools. The court said:

"The Kentucky and Kansas decisions seem to consider the fact that the children of the complainants were not compelled to join in the exercises as affecting the question in some way. That suggestion seems to us to concede the position of the plaintiffs in error. The exclusion of a pupil from this part of the school exercises in which the rest of the school joins, separates him from his fellows, puts him in a class by himself, deprives him of his equality with the other pupils, subjects him to a religious stigma and places him at a disadvantage in the school, which the law never contemplated. All this is because of his religious belief. If the instruction or exercise is such that certain of the pupils must be excused from it because it is hostile to their or their parents' religious belief, then such instruction or exercise is sectarian and forbidden by the Constitution."

The truth of history and of educational realities was well summarized by Justice Frankfurter in the McCollum case, when he said:

"That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to the conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and nonconformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. The result is an obvious pressure upon children to attend."

These were the arguments asserted by the Catholic Church and Catholic parents in State after State and community after community. In some States the Catholic objectors to Bible reading and prayer recitation were successful in the State courts. In others, they were not. But even where they lost in the courts, their perseverance and courage resulted ultimately in the elimination or at least modification of many of the prevalent religious practices.

The reason for this success was that the American people recognized the justice of the Catholic cause. And out of this slow and painful process came the nonsectarian American public educational system.

FICTION 4

Whatever may have been the case in the past, today only atheists and secularists oppose the Becker amendment. Some supporters of these amendments are reported in the press to have charged that the opponents of the measures are "unpatriotic," constitute a "fraternity of cynics," are "atheists and unbelievers," and are parties to a "conspiracy to make the Nation Godless."

FACT

On this point, I want to say first that one of the most unfortunate aspects of the current drive for the Becker amendment has been this campaign of defamation which some of the proponents of the proposal have launched against its opponents. It is doubly unfortunate that this action is taken in the name of God and His Holy Bible, one of the main commandments of which is that "Thou shalt not bear false witness."

What is the reality as against this fiction? Here is a listing of but some of the many religious denominations that have upheld the Supreme Court's decisions and oppose the Becker amendment:

National Council of Churches of Christ

Early in February 1964, the National Council of Churches conducted its first 4-day National Conference on Church and State. Some 400 delegates from every major Protestant denomination in the country assembled in Columbus, Ohio, to participate in the conference. On the concluding day the conference adopted a resolution expressing its "acceptance and support" of the Supreme Court's decisions banning State-sponsored Bible reading and prayer recitation in the public schools. An amendment by a delegate to strike out the word "support," so that the national council would not approve and support the decisions but merely accept them, was overwhelmingly defeated. (The committee which reported the resolution said in part: "We believe that Christians should welcome the decisions. * * * [They] are consistent with our concern for the religious liberty of all men and our unwillingness to coerce in any way a person's response in faith to the gift or God's grace in Jesus Christ.") Earlier, the general board of the National Council of Churches had asserted that "neither true religion nor good education is dependent upon the devotional use of the Bible in the public school program." Is the National Council of Churches part of the "conspiracy to make the nation Godless?"

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States

In a statement approved by the governing body of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Presiding Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger expressed his support of the Supreme Court's ruling and declared that it was not hostile to religion but that it reflected "the Court's sense of responsibility to assure freedom and equality for all groups of believers and nonbelievers." Is the Protestant Episcopal Church "unpatriotic?"

Lutheran Church in America

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, head of the church as well as of the Lutheran World Federation, stated that public school recitation of the Lord's Prayer "debased" it and that public school reading of the Bible was of "dubious" worth as a religious or educational experience. Is the Lutheran church a member of the "fraternity of atheists?"

United Presbyterian Church

The chief executive officer of the church and former president of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, issued a statement jointly with the moderator (chairman) of the church expressing support for the Supreme Court decision and underscoring their firm belief "that religious instruction is the sacred responsibility of the family and the churches." Are Presbyterians cynics?

The Baptist Churches

Dr. E. Emanuel Carson, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs (representing more than 17 million Baptists) stated the committee's opposition to the use of the Bible for devotional purposes in the public schools as well as public school sponsored prayers. Are the Baptists unbelievers?

Methodist Church

Bishop John Wesley Lord, of Washington, D.C.: "Unless Bible reading and prayer are performed in an atmosphere of religious devotion often not possible in the public school, the very act may be profaned and secularized to the detriment of the pupils."

Catholic opposition to the Becker amendment

Catholic Telegraph (Cincinnati): "Don't tamper: in our view, it will be less confusing and safer to leave the country's basic declaration about religion untouched * * *. The two clauses about religion, one forbidding the establishment of an official American religion and the other guaranteeing the inviolability of religious freedom, admirably express traditional American convictions. There will always be some disagreement over the precise meaning of these idas, but if we must rely on amendments to apply these ideas to particular situations, the amendments could become endless, and the Bill of Rights would become a confusing patchwork of words."

Catholic Universe Bulletin (Cleveland) (after referring to Pope John's and Cardinal Riter's declarations for freedom of conscience): "It will seem impossible to square with such principles a school prayer amendment to the Constitution which would legalize religious exercises which are initiated, sponsored, or directed by public school authorities." (This editorial was reprinted in the Catholic Chronicle of Toledo.) America (national Jesuit weekly): "The weightier reason for questioning the wisdom of this move is that, if it should succeed, it would only shake the faith of the American people in the firmness of our most basic civil liberty, freedom of religion. * * * The first amendment's religion clauses ought to be regarded as unamendable."

Catholic World: "Campaigns * * * to change the Constitution are deplorable."

Catholic Herald Citizen (Milwaukee): "Christians—Catholics and Protestants—

would properly be disturbed if their children in public schools were expected to be present for the saying of a Mohammedan or Buddhist prayer. Catholics and other citizens have objected to the public school system being used as an auxiliary to Protestantism. The present decision of the Supreme Court makes the point more clear: Tax-supported educational systems are not to be used to promote a specific denominational religion."

Jewish opposition

The Synagogue Council of America, representing all branches of American Judaism, asserted support of the Supreme Court's ruling, declaring that the home, the church, and the synagogue have the prime responsibility for religious training and that prayers, Bible reading, and sectarian practices do not belong in public schools. The American concept of church-state separation, the statement said, "has not led to the separation of Americans from God but has led to a genuine demonstration of our people in a more lasting union of America under God."

FICTION 5

The Supreme Court has forbidden the mention of God, or the Bible or religion in the public schools. Only the Becker amendment can restore God to public life.

FACT

The most effective way of disproving this fiction is to look at the Court's decisions and see what the Court itself has said.

In the Engel decision the Court's opinion states:

"There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that schoolchildren and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance."

In the Schempp-Murray case, the Court said:

"It is insisted that unless these religious exercises are permitted a 'religion of secularism' is established in the schools. We agree of course that the State may not establish a 'religion of secularism' in the sense of affirmatively opposing or showing hostility to religion, thus 'preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe' (*Zorach* v. *Clauson, supra*, at 314). We do not agree, however, that this decision in any sense has that effect. In addition, it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the first amendment. But the exercises here do not fall into those categories. They are religious exercises, required by the States in violation of the command of the first amendment that the Government maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding nor opposing religion."

CONCLUSION

The first amendment is based on the premise that the separation of church and state is best for the church and best for the state and secures freedom for both. For a century and three-quarters this assumption has proved valid. Religion today enjoys in the United States the highest degree of esteem, reverence, and influence anywhere in the world. It was the first amendment which brought this about.

The author of that amendment, James Madison, placed himself firmly in opposition to any impairment of its basic principles, no matter how slight, "because," he said, "it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of [the] noblest characteristics of the late Revolution."

Retaining this "prudent jealousy," the American people have treated the Bill of Rights as unamendable. They have viewed it as a declaration of fundamental principles of Government that must remain inviolate if our country is to remain free.

By rejecting the proposed amendments that are the subject of this hearing, this committee will protect from challenge the basic liberties that promise freedom for all Americans.

Hawaii the Melting Pot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii has long enjoyed a reputation for being the melting pot of the Pacific by demonstrating to the world that peoples of different races and cultures can live in harmony. As a result of this acculturation, a new "race" is burgeoning by the intermarriage of persons of different racial backgrounds.

An article written by Max Frankel and printed in the Honolulu Advertiser on Wednesday, June 10, 1964, describes this phenomenon.

It reads as follows:

ISLES NEAR RACIAL UTOPIA, SAYS NEW YORK TIMES WRITER

("Hawaii Developing Into Racial Utopia," said the headline of the following story, carried on page 1 of Sunday's New York Times. The author, who covers foreign affairs for the Times, came to Honolulu to cover the "summit conference" on southeast Asia)

(By Max Frankel)

HONOLULU.—Haoles have become the largest ethnic group in Hawaii. More of them are streaming in every day but no one seems to mind.

Haoles, or strangers, is the term applied to Caucasians—pure white, at least when they arrive.

The chamber of commerce tries to discourage their migration from the mainland because too many think that everything here is beaches and green. But the persistent ones come anyway, bringing professional and other employable skills.

No one in these islands of Asian and American minorities objects on racial grounds. Some were worried for a time that the migrants would bring racist attitudes from the mainland and spoil what is rapidly becoming one of happiest interracial societies in the world.

The islanders, however, are confident that Hawaii will change the haoles before they can change Hawaii.

Suntans at first and then love (aloha) and marriage soon deprive everyone here of his imagined racial purities. The white population of Hawaii is increasing just as the social and economic dominance of whites is diminishing.

In any case, the slight white predominance is only the skimpiest sort of statistical triumph. The islanders are becoming so interbred and mixed that the ethnic population figures suggest but no longer describe the situation.

Prof. Andrew W. Lind, of the University of Hawaii, the foremost sociologist here, predicts that within a generation all racial and ethnic statistical categories will be useless.

Nearly half of all marriages in Hawaii now mix ethnic bloods, joining whites, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and the already mixed Hawaiians to each other or involving at least one mate of mixed ancestry.

INTERMARRIAGE RATE RISING

The aboriginal Polynesian Hawaiians yielded themselves freely to past waves of haoles, setting an infectious example. Only a few thousand pure Hawaiians remain. Fifteen percent of the total population of 650,000 is still classified as part-Hawaiian—other nonwhite—in the census books.

Six percent of the population is Chinese, but 4 of every 10 now marries "out."

The Japanese, until recently the largest group with 32 percent as well as the most closely knit, are also beginning to lose their identity. One of every four Japanese women now marries across ethnic lines, half of them to Caucasians.

Fewer than 1 percent of the islands' residents are Negro, although some descendants of the earliest Negro settlers are among the most influential families. About 35 percent of the population is pure white, about half being families temporarily stationed here on military duty.

The effect of all this has been startling, especially in the last decade of economic expansion, statehood and jet travel. As Prof. Douglas S. Yamamura also a sociologist, puts it: Hawaiians are more and more living up to the pretense of nondiscrimination that has long been the vogue.

Until 10 years ago, economic and social standing still tended to coincide with ethnic lines, the whites at the top and the other groups arrayed roughly in the order in which they were brought here to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations.

But the sons and grandsons of the immigrants have now fought their way to the top of every field and status. Wealth, power, employment, housing, schooling, and other opportunities can no longer be measured in ethnic terms.

During World War II many Hawaiian orientals got their first glimpse of white men doing menial jobs. Today they laugh about this discovery.

STAR-BULLETIN STORY

As Tomi Knaefler related in a typical family account in the Star-Bulletin last week, the Japanese-American son of a canecutter, himself a member of the State legislature, worries most about the easy life of his son, a high school senior who drives the family's third car.

The Governor of Hawaii is Caucasian. The chief justice of the supreme court, the president of the senate and the president of the bar association are of Japanese ancestry. The speaker of the house comes from a line of Portuguese (whose ancestors were laborers and thus usually distinguished here from other whites), and the executive officers of the four counties of the State possess Chinese, Hawaiian, Negro, Caucasian, and Indian blood in various proportions.

The multiracial guest lists for important parties at white military installations are among the best indications that other groups are breaking down the last barriers.

There are still a few areas where housing is restricted, especially to Negroes. Some social clubs remain frankly ethnic, and in their

private remarks, Hawaiians still reveal racial resentments often against the large and visibly energetic and successful group of Japanese-Americans.

But the preacher of racism who ventures a public lecture is pitied and ridiculed from all sides.

One of the major issues in the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is whether Hawaii needs such a group.

The State's fair employment law is so rigid that it forbids most help-wanted ads from mentioning sex as well as race.

AMERICAN CULTURE

Although bloodlines are being rapidly mixed, the host culture is decisively American. Children learn American, not Hawaiian, history and the universal aspiration is for the culture of the mainland.

Professor Yamamura has found, however, that the new confidence of nonwhites is beginning to revive interest and pride in national heritage and custom. Island youngsters studying at mainland colleges write home for information about their ancestors and antecedent cultures in a spirit of discovery.

The professor has discovered still another sign of leveling—the divorce rates of mixed and unmixed marriages are becoming alike.

Until a few years ago mixed marriages fared poorly, especially those of white women and nonwhite men, but the rate is leveling at the national average of 25 to 30 percent, while the previously lowest divorce rate of unmixed orientals is mounting to that average.

The group known ethnically as Hawaiian and which did much to foster equality and intermarriage here has had the most difficult time bringing itself up the economic and social ladder.

A major reason for this seems to be due to the fact that many of its most successful young members have left the islands and joined the 115,000 islanders living on the mainland.

Like many places, Hawaiian society was late in honoring its own. Strangers seemed taller and brighter and more talented than even the best natives.

This problem is the last great hurdle in the path toward real equality. Students of the problem here say that when Hawaiians come to feel at home in Hawaii they will probably have ceased to be Hawaiians and by that time everyone will have ceased to be anyone except himself.

At the University of Hawaii Negro actresses are now used to portray Japanese mothers and English dowagers. A local drama critic said he would feel foolish to point this out in his review: The audiences do not notice, and the readers would be annoyed by an apparent irrelevancy.

All this suggests to him, a Caucasian with an oriental wife, that this State, at least, has moved a long way toward its blissful reputation.

Political Poll—1776

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, perhaps my knowledge of political history is faulty, but have we not gone totally overboard recently on the use of political pollsters? If people in Government and political leaders are really relying on pollsters for decisions, we are in a fine fix.

The best reminder that I have seen of both the political pollster's fallibility and the lack of wisdom shown by politicians who lean on polls was Art Buchwald's column of June 18 entitled "Political Poll—1776." The column satirically suggests that had the country's Founding Fathers been obsessed with political polls, as are many of our current leaders, they might have given up the idea of fomenting a revolution. Under unanimous consent agreement, I insert Art Buchwald's amusing and interesting column in the RECORD:

POLITICAL POLL—1776

WASHINGTON.—The political pollster has become such an important part of the American scene that it's hard to imagine how this country was ever able to function without him.

What would have happened, for example, if there were political pollsters in the early days of this country?

This is how the results might have turned out.

When asked if they thought the British were doing a good job in administrating the Colonies, this is how a cross section of the people responded:

	Percent
British doing good job	63
Not doing good job	22
Don't know	15

The next question, "Do you think the dumping of tea in the Boston Harbor by militants helped or hurt the taxation laws in the New World?

	Percent
Hurt the cause of taxation	79
Helped the cause	12
Didn't think it would make any difference	9

"What do you think our image is in England after the Minutemen attacked the British at Lexington?"

	Percent
Minutemen hurt our image in England	83
Gave British new respect for colonies	10
Undecided	7

"Which of these two Georges can do more for the colonies—George III or George Washington?"

	Percent
George III	76
George Washington	14
Others	10

It is interesting to note that 80 percent of the people questioned had never heard of George Washington before.

The next question was, "Do you think the Declaration of Independence as it is written is a good document or a bad one?"

	Percent
Good document	12
Bad document	14
No opinion	84

A group of those polled felt that the Declaration of Independence had been written by a bunch of radicals and the publishing of it at this time would only bring harsher measures from the British.

When asked whether the best way to bring about reforms was through terrorism or redress to the Crown, an overwhelming proportion of Colonists felt appeals should be made to the King.

	Percent
Reforms through petition	24
Reforms through acts of terrorism	8
Don't know	66

The pollsters then asked what the public thought was the most crucial issue of the time.

	Percent
Trade with foreign nations	65
War with Indians	20
The independence issue	15

The survey also went into the question of Patrick Henry.

"Do you think Patrick Henry did the right thing in demanding liberty or death?"

	Percent
Did a foolhardy thing and was a troublemaker	53
Did a brave thing and made his point	23
Should have gone through the courts	6
Don't know	8

On the basis of the results of the poll, the militant Colonials decided they did not have enough popular support to foment a revolution and gave up the idea of creating a United States of America.

Beloved America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent many of America's finest citizens in the Congress of the United States. They come from all walks of life, their personalities and occupations differ, but they share a common love for, and devotion to, this bountiful country.

Among these outstanding people is a prominent member of our community in Chicago, Mrs. Eva Adele Goldblatt. Mrs. Goldblatt is the wife of one of Chicago's most creative and industrious businessmen, Noel Goldblatt. She is the mother of two children and a truly gentle and inspiring person. I persuaded her to share a poem she wrote recently with my colleagues in Congress and with all Americans who would join her in this eloquent tribute to our country.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Goldblatt's poem follows:

BELOVED AMERICA

Beloved America, will your dreams be fulfilled?
Can you gently ease the piercing screams of troubled modern man?
Can you love the 20th century? and romance her into light?
Blend her mighty dissonances into a tapestry of right?
We wait and pray and yearn for you to enfold us in your arms, and whisper, "It's all right!"
And all the while you're saying, saying—
"It's you and you and you I am, and never, never more.
And so I am no more than you—the best of you, the all of you—
And there-in lies the truth.
That you and you and you all o'er—create the answered dream.
That all you are I will become, the dreams you dream I dream.
I am the mirror of your being, the depths, each man supreme."

—EVA ADELE GOLDBLATT.

Birmingham's Important Role in Space Age Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 15, 1964

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Birmingham, Ala., is proud to be a working partner in the man-on-the-moon Project Apollo. Space age projects being carried on at the John F. Kennedy Space Center and the NASA Merritt Island launch area depend on many firms representing the vast complex of industry located in the Birmingham area for construction, equipment and supplies. I submit herewith a very interesting and informative article which appeared in the June 1964 issue of the magazine, Birmingham:

Birmingham is a partner at the controls of man-on-the-moon Project Apollo.

Merritt Island, Fla., "Moonport, U.S.A.," is as much "home" to certain Birmingham space teams as is the Huntsville Space Center to others.

Space work of the Ingalls Iron Works, United States Steel's TCI and American Bridge divisions, Hayes International, U.S. Pipe and their subcontractors has been little publicized other than as "routine" contracts, but the ultimate completion of this work will soon cast another twinkle among the stars.

These companies are named among major members of the full team that will vault the United States into outer space. Under supervision of the John F. Kennedy Space Center, and with the Canaveral District Corps of Engineers as design and construction agent for the National Aeronautical and Space Administration, these companies and their subcontractors are performing the groundwork from which the space vehicles and rockets will be launched.

Birmingham has a large investment in the John F. Kennedy Space Center, NASA, where $750 million is being funneled into facilities for firing a manned rocket to the moon.

Cape Kennedy, operated as Station No. 1 of the Air Force Eastern Test Range, is a 15,000-acre triangular spit of island jutting into the Atlantic.

Known as Cape Canaveral in 1950, the site was selected for testing of small rockets. After relatively unpublicized development of such military missiles as the Redstone, Atlas, Titan, and Pershing, it sprang to world notice with the launching of the first U.S. satellite—January, 6 years ago.

Emphasis shifted from the military to peacetime development of rockets. Under President John F. Kennedy, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration mushroomed into a gigantic agency with a budget this year of more than $5 billion.

NASA is the governmental agency entrusted with the peaceful exploration of space. James E. Webb is Administrator of NASA, Dr. Hugh L. Dryden is Deputy Administrator, and Dr. Kurt H. Debus is Director of the John F. Kennedy Space Center, which will handle the myriad elements concerning the launch of Apollo.

Contracts for space work in building of rockets, rocket systems and research; construction, road building, and all phases of space exploration are scattered in plants, universities, and laboratories all over the United States.

More than 2,000 of the Nation's industrial firms are directly involved in U.S. efforts to place men on the moon * * * at an estimated cost of $20 billion. NASA, which has 10 major centers of its own employing 30,000 persons, estimates that 20,000 companies and 300,000 people eventually will participate.

At present, we are in the second phase of a three-phase man-in-space program. First was the Project Mercury. The teams of scientists, technicians, industrialists, and astronauts proved that man can enter into orbit and make successful reentry. To date, U.S. astronauts have logged a combined total of 53 hours, 56 minutes, and 8 seconds in space. Some 2,000 hours of earth orbit must be accumulated before we are ready to shoot to the moon.

Second phase of the space program is Project Gemini, named for the third constellation of the zodiac, featuring the twin stars Castor and Pollux. The Latin "gemini" means twins. The Titan II boosted, two-man Gemini spacecraft has had one launch to date * * * April this year. The Gemini capsule weighs 3½ tons, 2 tons more than the Mercury capsule. The next Gemini flight will be an unmanned ballistic shot from Cape Kennedy into the South Atlantic Ocean to test reentry capability. The first manned Gemini mission is scheduled for late this year. Afterward, flight lengths will be extended for periods up to 2 weeks and will involve experiments in change of orbit, rendezvous and docking with other spacecraft, and refueling while in orbit. The experience and mastery of rendezvous, joining together of two vehicles while they hurtle around the Earth at 17,500 miles an hour, will be vital to success of the Apollo lunar landing.

The third phase, Project Apollo, is to be the U.S. attempt to place a man on the Moon. Project Apollo requires that we send 45 tons into lunar orbit. This massive tonnage must be accelerated to 25,000 miles an hour in order to escape Earth and enter the gravitational field of the Moon.

Focal point of all this feverish activity is the NASA Merritt Island launch area adjacent to Cape Kennedy.

Cape Kennedy, operated by the Air Force, already is crowded with launching complexes for military and space rockets. NASA needed its own facilities for the moon rocket launch and acquired 88,000 acres of adjoining Merritt Island for that purpose.

As astronauts gain experience in space travel from the Cape Kennedy portion of the Kennedy Space Center, NASA is pushing construction of giant buildings and launch complex 39 on the NASA-operated Merritt Island launch area, called MILA for short.

This will be the launching site of the 362-foot-tall Saturn V rocket, nearly twice as tall as the Saturn I now being tested. The Saturn I–B, successor to Saturn I, will be used to send three-man Apollo crews into Earth orbit for practice flights. But the epochal Moon voyage will require the Saturn V, a three-stage rocket nearly two-thirds the height of the Washington Monument, and weighing 3,000 tons, about the weight of the nuclear submarine *Nautilus*. Construction of facilities on Merritt Island is being pushed with 1966 as countdown date for first tests of the Saturn V.

It is estimated that 10,000 to 15,000 craftsmen will be needed to build the spaceport. Last year, employment by NASA and the Air Force totaled nearly 25,000, and by 1967 the estimated total employment is expected to reach 38,000.

The payroll in 1950, generated by the budding space age, was $27 million; by 1960 it was up to $132 million, and by 1967 the estimated annual payroll is expected to reach some $200 million.

While research and development of the space vehicle and related elements is scattered over the whole United States, many Alabama firms are taking part in various phases of the Kennedy Space Center construction, and several Birmingham firms hold some of the biggest construction contracts.

Until last year, Merritt Island was a peaceful, swampy, citrus-growing area. Since that time, approximately $10 million has been spent dredging and filling the area for launch facilities.

The island is bounded on two sides by the Banana River and the Indian River. New causeways have been constructed to connect the island with surfounding mainlands and with the Cape Kennedy Peninsula. Three of the bridges on the new roads bear a Birmingham area stamp * * * that of Nashville Bridge Co. of Bessemer.

This company fabricated the steel for three bascule-type bridges spanning the Banana and Indian Rivers. These include a single-leaf bascule completed for a railroad crossing over the Indian River and two double-leaf bascules under construction for the four-lane Orsiono Causeway. Already erected is a double-leaf bascule-type bridge spanning the Banana River. Nashville Bridge Co.'s Milo Sherman was manager of the erection on the latter.

United States Pipe and Foundry Co. supplied approximately 90,000 feet of pipe for the primary water system for the Merritt Island "moonport" and its support facilities. This new system designed to accommodate a peak flow of more than 3.75 million gallons a day, is the sole source of potable water for these facilities.

Foundations for rocket launching facilities are built on compacted sand. Compaction is accomplished by inserting a drill-like, tubular machine into the sand and simultaneously saturating and vibrating the granular materials involved. This vibroflotation was accomplished on several previous facilities by the Vibroflotation Foundation Co., an associate company of the Rust Engineering Co.

Las December, crews from United States Steel's American Bridge Division moved onto Merritt Island to begin erection of the largest building in the world * * * the Vertical Assembly Building for Complex 39. This building, popularly known as the VAB, is where the ginat Apollo-Saturn V launch vehicles will be assembled for scheduled manned voyages to the moon. When completed in 1966, the structure will enclose 125 million cubic feet of space—more than half again as much as the Pentagon.

Its high-bay area will be 52 stories high. Overall dimensions of the two-bay building will be almost 700 feet long, 513 feet wide, and 524 feet high.

The VAB will cost more than $100 million and is an integral part of the $450 million Launch Complex 39; being constructed under supervision of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

The building is being constructed on a foundation of more than 4,000 concrete-capped, tubular steel pilings, each 16 inches in diameter. They have been pounded down to an average depth of 160 feet to bedrock. Blount Brothers Construction Co., Montgomery, has an $8-million contract for the foundation.

An army of 300 steel men with a vast array of equipment are undertaking the monumental task of assembling some 57,000 tons of steel framing for the VAB. The steel is being provided by United States Steep Corp. under a $23.5 million contract. American Bridge holds one of three major contracts for work on the building.

Anchorages, 30 of them, for the building were fabricated at the Birmingham plant of U.S. Steel's American Bridge Division.

One of the heaviest beams being used in construction weighs 734 pounds per foot. This is the heaviest rolled section ever produced in this country.

Essentially a large steel-framed building with a metal skin, the VAB will be used to prepare the 7.5-million-pound-thrust Saturn V launch vehicle and the three-man Apollo spacecraft for lunar flight. The 281-foot booster and the Apollo spacecraft will be

assembled in an upright position inside the VAB within a controlled environment. Customarily, such preparation is accomplished on the launch pad.

American Bridge crews, under direction of Frank G. Sedlacek, veteran builder of some of the world's largest bridges, will be facing some of the toughest erection problems since the pyramids.

Large open bays required for assembling the Saturn vehicles in upright positions make it possible to join the structure only at the roof.

Upper stages of the VAB require use of 12 large derricks. As erection moves to successively higher levels, the derricks are raised also, similar to the performance of the derrick on the recently finished 2121 Building in Birmingham.

The low bay section of the VAB will be receiving point for the Saturn V's three stages as initial assembly begins. The first and second stages of the rocket are scheduled to be brought to Complex 39 by barge. After initial checkout, the stages then go into one of the four high bay areas for assembly.

* * * * *

Near the VAB structure, a crew from the Ingalls Iron Works Co., is in the process of erecting one of the three launcher umbilical towers. These towers are designed to hold erect the mammoth Apollo and its Saturn V booster throughout assembly, transportation to the launch site, final servicing, and firing.

A 25-ton capacity hammerhead crane will be mounted on top of each of the LUT's. Each LUT weighs more than 5,000 tons itself.

When completed, each tower will stand 446 feet tall including its crane. This is higher than the city Federal Building which is 327 feet. Two high-speed elevators, furnished and erected through the Birmingham office of Otis Elevator Co., will race to the top; 600 steps will make a slower journey. Over 43,000 square feet of equipment space will occupy the lower levels of the structure.

Goslin-Birmingham Manufacturing Co., Inc., has been awarded the contract to construct 16 of the gigantic holddown arms. Function of the arms is to hold down the rocket on the launch pad until a predetermined thrust is built up by the rocket motors. At this point four of the holddown arms simultaneously release the rocket for flight.

The arms are of one-piece steel casting; each weighs approximately 33,000 pounds.

Mounted on the LUT deck between the holddown arms is the tail service mast. Prototype of this mast was manufactured by Hayes International Corp., and according to Curt Herold, NASA technical supervisor, is the largest single piece of firing accessory equipment ever built.

During initial phase of launch, the umbilical carrier rises for a distance of 5 inches, then detaches and retracts. The mast is then rotated clear of the vehicle and continues to the vertical position.

Control of the mast arm rotation is accomplished by a closed circuit hydraulic system. This system is pneumatically charged and electrically controlled. The protective hood is operated by a separate hydraulic system.

Total approximate weight of the masts is 28,000 pounds each, and they stand nearly 30 feet in the retracted position.

The 135-foot by 160-foot launcher base exceeds the area of half a football field. Nineteen welded steel plate girders, each buried 25 feet deep, make up the basic launcher framing of the LUT's. The main girder weighs 310 tons; those on each end of the base weigh over 200 tons each. Some of these girders were fabricated in six pieces and shipped separately.

Fit-up bolts used during erection are manufactured by Vulcan Rivet & Bolt Co. These are later removed and joints are welded. All welding is radiographic (X-ray) inspected by Law Engineering Co. at the close of each day's erection work.

Ingalls' work force at the Cape included 50 persons in April and is expected to reach 150 ironworkers and related craftsmen at full force. Birmingham personnel are in charge of the full job. Frank Atchison is project manager, and Ken Gayle is his assistant. Ted Freeman is general manager of erection, and Harold Gray is resident project engineer in direct charge of all Ingalls work at Merritt Island.

Working out of the turquoise and white trailer "offices" on the job are field engineers Theo Mitchell and William Julian. Holding down the office is George Mosakowski and his wife Peggy. All are from Birmingham, and all are Auburn graduates.

In addition to Vulcan Rivet and Bolt, Law Engineering, and Goslin-Birmingham, several other Birmingham firms will place their products on the pad of Complex 39 under subcontract to Ingalls. Among them is Birmingham Ornamental Iron Co., Inc., that has kept a busy force of 30 to 40 persons manufacturing pipe railings, the steel stair stringers, steel elevator walls, wire mesh enclosures, and the partitions around nonpressurized corridors. Production was similar to that of their wrought iron furniture manufacture. Sales engineer, Gene Attaway, headed the job; R. C. Jones was general construction director.

Borden Metal Products Co., of Leeds, Ala., through their Birmingham representatives, Fred Middleton Co.; Southeastern Products Co.; Jackson Industries, Inc.; Birmingham Fabricating Co.; Builders Manufacturing Co.; Wilson Door and Window Supply Co., and Hardie-Tynes Manufacturing Co. have all had a share in the construction of the launch umbilical towers, one of the final steps toward vaulting U.S. men to the moon.

The third, vital, portable skyscraper that will make up the moon launch site * * * the arming tower * * * is, at the moment, a stack of 280 blueprint drawings. These designs are barely off the drafting boards of the Rust Engineering Co.

The structure will be the tallest portable service structure in the free world today. The top is 402 feet above ground. The base is 133 feet by 130 feet and will be supported on 4 pedestals. It will weigh approximately 8 million pounds, and is a highly indeterminate structure consisting of 416 joints and 1,458 members.

* * * * *

Project manager for the Rust Engineering Co. is William Bailey. Murray Griffin was final project engineer, succeeding Ben Mitchell who was transferred to another assignment for the firm.

The foregoing structures represent only some of the current, spectacular contributions of Birmingham industry to the space program. From the beginning of man's venture into outer limits, Birmingham has had a seat in research, design, manufacturing and erection programs.

Hayes International Corp. has been close to the space effort since its inception. Particular company emphasis has been placed on infrared physics, ballistics, space physics, electronics, fluid and solid mechanics, aerodynamics, thermodynamics structures and materials. And along with the company's research and design program have been continuing manufacture and fabrication programs.

At present, 600 Hayes employees are involved in Saturn V work for the NASA Marshall Space Flight Center which has Saturn V responsibility development at Huntsville; 1,000 more are directly involved in the Saturn V effort in Birmingham plant.

Hayes participated in the extensive engineering studies conducted regarding the feasibility of such a vehicle as the Saturn V. This analysis resulted in an electronic computer program used to optimize the thrust structure of the Saturn V vehicle. Many of the scale models used in the early planning and preproduction phases of the program were fabricated by the Hayes model shop.

For launch ground equipment used with Saturn V, Hayes engineers are active in system concepts and design for the launch/umbilical tower high-presure gas distribution system, as well as the necessary firing accessories. As the booster is fabricated, more Hayes ground support equipment will be used. A booster hoisting kit, engine servicing platforms and retrorocket dolly equipment are typical of the ground support equipment already built. In preparation for the test phase of the Saturn V, Hayes has provided support to the test division of MSFC. Some of the facilities fabricated include the ramp and bridge for the test tower, the noise suppression system involving more than 200 tons of steel structures, and instrumentation towers.

Hayes' employees have fabricated four wind machines designed to create wind effects up to 75 miles per hour over an area some 40 feet high by 80 feet wide. The machine is being used to test the launcher umbilical arms prior to shipment to the cape.

From the Hayes' shops has also come the prototype of engine handling equipment. This equipment fits into the bottom of the booster, freeing it for maintenance. The counterbalance, weighing some 4,000 pounds is so delicately balanced when in use that it can be moved with only fingertip pressure.

In addition, Hayes has been responsible for the sample testing of high-pressure gas storage equipment. High-pressure lines, pumps, valves, and other components are being shipped from all parts of the United States for testing. It was Hayes' engineers who researched and designed the highly sophisticated high-pressure gas system.

Hayes engineers also designed the electrical controls for the Saturn propellant transfer system. The fueling of the vehicle is completely and automatically controlled by the network of electrical equipment designed by Hayes' engineers.

Each program, each gantry, each contract for all of these Birmingham companies has been a bigger step into the unfamiliar.

To date, the largest thing on wheels has been the movable service gantry that shuttles between two launch pads at complex 37. Complex 37 was constructed for launching the two-stage Saturn I rocket. The service gantry stands at variable heights of 300, 330, or 375 feet. Prime contractor was Blount Bros. of Montgomery; the Ingalls Iron Works Co. performed erection, and steel was purchased from U.S. Steel's National Tube and Tennessee Coal & Iron Divisions.

Jackson Industries, Inc. performed machine work on the wheel bases; Vulcan Painters, Inc., performed the sandblasting and painting, and Goslin-Birmingham Manufacturing Co., Inc., cast the holddown arms. Chicago Bridge & Iron Co. fabricated and installed fuel storage tanks, one of 125,000 gallon capacity, at the cape.

There is no more an end to the list of Birmingham firms directly involved in missile and rocket work in the cape area than there is an end to man's intent to reach the moon. These firms are responsibly involved in every major project at the Nation's space center.

And because of the supreme efforts being extended by these and other firms and universities and laboratories, the effects are reflected into other industries * * * transportation, medicine, communications, uses of metals and synthetics, preparation of foods, and insulation and changes in educational curriculums.

A row of gantrys stands on a Florida beach. The stars beckon. The desire * * * inexorable as the tides.

Speech of Congressman Claude Pepper Before the Second Inter-American Savings and Loan Conference—Santiago, Chile, January 19, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year Mrs. Pepper and I had a most interesting and delightful visit to the Second Inter-American Savings and Loan Conference held in Santiago, Chile. I had the honor to address this Conference and to discuss relations between our country and Latin America. My address on January 19, 1964, was as follows:

Chairman Gomien, President Messersmith, Mr. Stanley Baruch, members of the panel, distinguished guests and friends. On behalf of Mrs. Pepper and myself I wish to extend our profound thanks for the privilege of being a part of this Conference and particularly because we, for the first time, have the privilege of visiting this great country and this fair and distinguished city, whose lofty mountains are symbolic of its high idealism and aspirations and whose warm sunshine is only exceeded by the warmth of its hospitality. While this is our first visit we are sure it will not be our last. I wish also to tell you how grateful we are to President Messersmith of the National League and to Mr. Stanley Baruch of the Inter-American Development Bank for the great privilege that we have of participating in these sessions and for making possible this seminar of the savings and loan industry in your country, in Latin America, and in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Chairman, as a Member of Congress and also as an officer and member of the board of directors of the Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami Beach, I wish to thank you and all those for whom you spoke when yesterday you gave that most gracious award to the chairman of our board of directors, Arthur Courshon, for the part he had in the establishment of the great savings and loan system in your country.

We are very proud of what Mr. Courshon has contributed to the savings and loan industry and is now contributing as the legislative chairman for the National League of Insured Savings Associations. I may say, as a member of the Banking Committee of the House of Representatives which has jurisdiction over this subject, that Mr. Courshon is not only a distinguished leader in the savings and loan industry but in the field of housing for he is housing adviser to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and the House Banking and Currency Committee.

He is also an eminent citizen of our country, and, if I may so so, of my party, the Democratic Party. Not long ago he and his wife dined at the White House with President and Mrs. Kennedy, and only last Thursday, when he was with our Florida delegation at the White House in conference with President Johnson, I heard the President thank him for what he was doing for the Democratic committee. I can add on behalf of Mr. Courshon that we are having in Miami Beach on the 27th of February a great dinner when President Johnson will address us, and tickets at either a hundred dollars a plate or a thousand dollars a plate are available through Mr. Courshon for any one of you who would like to acquire them while he is here.

We are deeply indebted to the National League of Insured Savings Associations for the foresightedness that it has exhibited in interest in the extension of the industry in its programs. It has taken a particular Latin America. Knowing what the industry has meant to our country, it is desirous of sharing the blessing of that industry with you, our neighbors and friends in Latin America. We are also very much pleased at the interest and the help that Mr. Stanley Baruch has given from the Inter-American Development Bank and the assistance that has made it possible for your country as for the other countries of Latin America to develop savings and loan systems.

As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee which has jurisdiction over the savings and loan industry, as well as over the commercial banking structure of my country, I want to express on behalf of my committee, profound pride in what that industry has done for our country.

As the distinguished chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, whose able address we just enjoyed and who has contributed so much to that success, has told you, as of June of this past year the industry achieved assets of over $100,000 million and it has built many many millions of homes which have made our people healthier and happier and enjoy greater pride in being citizens of our country. We have a saying in the English law that a man's home is his castle, we know that in ancient times men built castles in order that they might defend themselves against their aggressors. Today a man who owns a home is not likely to fall prey to any subversive movement which would take away from him the home which he had laboriously acquired and sacrificially obtained. So when we make homeowners in all of our countries we make better citizens who love liberty and freedom with more devotion because they have more to defend than they would without the heartstone and the altar of a home.

Now, our country, as you know, has had a long friendship with Latin America and to us it has been a very happy friendship. It was in the 18th century that we threw off the yoke of a foreign aggressor and in the 19th century that you liberated yourself by your own heroism and gallantry. It was right after you gained your freedom from foreign tyranny that a combination of European nations formed for the purpose of taking away from you the liberty which you so sacrificially acquired.

We are proud, as citizens of the United States and of the hemisphere, that it was our President Monroe, who in 1823, announced that the Western Hemisphere was the home of a free people and that the United States would put its strength besides that of any nation which might become the victim of aggression from abroad.

It is no disclosure of a secret, for me, as a Member of the Congress of my country, to say to you fellow citizens of the hemisphere, that if any nation in the hemisphere that is a free nation were attacked today by any nation or any combination of nations the full might and power of the United States would be joined with that nation in its defense, because your freedom is ours and we are determined that we shall stay free together and resist aggression from any part of the world.

We know today that the first problem for us all is to have peace, for if a nuclear bomb falls, all these homes, all these mighty and noble edifices which have been erected to fulfill the aspirations of man will be simply charred debris, and, as one man said, the living would almost envy the dead. The nuclear powers of today have enough bombs to drop every day for 53,000 days, bombs and explosive power equal to all explosives that were dropped in World War II by all the powers. So, we are working together trying to ban nuclear warfare and to have peace and then, when we have peace, to help people everywhere to enjoy a better standard of living.

There are some who think that everyone in the United States is rich. Unhappily, that is not true. In his recent state of the Union message, President Johnson told our Congress and our country that one-fifth of the people of the United States had an annual income of less than $1,000 each, and couples, an income of less than $3,000 each. However, we want to help our friends to help themselves so that all of us may rise higher together in the enjoyment of the good things of life.

When I was a Senator, I had the privilege of working with President Roosevelt on the good neighbor policy and I was a member of the Latin American Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which was always sensitive of your and our common problems. It has been my privilege now to work in the House of Representatives with our great new President Johnson in carrying forth the Alliance for Progress. They are all the same thing; call it Alliance for Progress; call it the good-neighbor policy; it is simply the policy of one friend honorably trying to help another friend, so that all of us will be safer and live better.

May I add to what Chairman McMurray has said on behalf of the Congress of my country, our profound gratitude to every one of you and every other one in Latin America who so deeply shared our sorrow and our anger when our great, gallant, and brilliant President was stricken down and the voice that had stirred millions was forever silenced and the hand that had brought miracles in so short a time was forever still. Only yesterday our Ambassador told my wife and me of the thousands of Chileans who passed through the Embassy to express their condolences and of the thousands of telegrams and letters he received and of the immediate response of your distinguished government headed by your eminent President.

Every one of those messages I want you to know will be preserved in the Kehnedy Library in Cambridge, Mass., where future generations will observe the affection and the gratitude that in our time of sorrow you bestowed upon our country and extended to the memory of our departed President. But we are most fortunate in his successor. You must remember that President Kennedy chose President Johnson as Vice President and made the statement that he was the best qualified man in America to be President. No other President has had comparable preparation for that great Office with his long experience in Congress and working with President Kennedy for 3 years as Vice President.

I wanted to give you this word of encouragement as to the continuity of our policy toward Latin America. You read in the papers and I have heard questions asked by our friends in Latin America, if a change in policy is taking place in Washington. Does the selection of Mr. Mann mean that there is a different attitude toward the Alliance for Progress or that help might be reduced? As Chairman McMurray indicated, the answer is no. President Johnson did choose a man who had been an Ambassador in a Latin American country, whose experience he thought was valuable and who was his personal and trusted friend in order that he might cordinate our program in the best possible way. But the President did something that has never been done before. He attached Mr. Mann as head of the Alliance for Progress, the whole AID program in Latin America, to the President's Office to become special assistant to the President and he goes directly to the President in the chain of command.

One other word, Mr. Chairman, by your indulgence, and that is that our people pay taxes. Since World War II as you no doubt have seen many times in the press, our country has made available over $100 billion to our friends or to those who stood up for de-

mocracy in other parts of the world. One hundred thousand million dollars that is the equal of all the assets of all the savings and loan associations of the United States. That money has been added to our debt upon which we annually pay interest in carrying charges or has come out of the Treasury from funds provided by the taxpayers of our country; and that has been going on since 1945, which is a long time, nearly 20 years. Our people are just human. We have our problems, our debts, and our duties. Of course, Congress has been very careful to observe the nature of our aid program to make sure that every dollar was well spent. But I can assure you that the Government of the United States is not going to go back on the commitment that our great and beloved President Kennedy made to Latin America. You may be sure about it, at least if we may have the cooperation that we feel we are entitled to enjoy.

So the only question for our Government is the best way to extend the assistance. In the past a great many of our funds have been advanced as grants, without any expectation of return. I think all of us have learned by experience that we should not resort to that method of aid except when an emergency requires.

Now we are moving around to the loan program and we are beginning to take a second look at what is the best way to employ the loan funds. That brings me to the International Home Loan Bank to which the able Chairman McMurray has referred. A final draft of that bill will be before my Committee on Banking and Currency of the House headed by a true friend of the savings and loan industry, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman, of Texas, within the next few days. It should have been with us last week. We are redrafting it in the light of the hearings and the consultation we have had since the matter was first introduced in the Congress.

I think with reasonable certainty I can assufe you, Mr. Chairman, and all of you who are here that in this session of the Congress this measure will be passed and that the savings and loan industry of our country which wishes to share your problems with you and at the same time profitably to employ up to 1 percent of its capital here in homebuilding will have an opportunity to lend capital assistance to you. It will be from savings and loan association to savings and loan association. It will not be a Government loan but an approved investment for the savings and loan associations of America. Let me encourage you with the advice that if this venture succeeds, if the enterprise proves profitable and desirable, a billion dollars are available from this source alone to assist the savings and loan industry in Latin America. All that the U.S. savings and loan industry will wish to know is that the funds are safely and wisely employed and that they make homes available for the people.

I add this by way of personal commentary. I know there have been some who have been curious to know whether stock companies would be eligible for such assistance. I judge that they would be, but as Chairman McMurray suggested, naturally the savings and loan associations making those loans or in case of Government assistance through the Inter-American Development Bank, or other public agencies, our people would wish to know whether the ones who are the proprietors of the stock associations took an unreasonable profit from the operation and whether or not they are really helpful and meaningful in the building of homes for the people who need them the most.

You may also expect in this Congress an extension of one phase of our AID program and that is the guarantee insurance program. We now have the housing guarantee program by which financial investors in housing developments may have their investment guaranteed. We also have an extended risk program under the AID administration under which private capital for any general development, or improvement, or industry may be insured. We have done too little in this field so far and Congress is asking the executive branch of the Government to do more; and I think more authorization will be provided for that program in this Congress.

Let me say to Latin American businessmen: If you want to develop a great enterprise in your country and you will get your government to insure the investment and you will associate with a responsible citizen of the United States to put up half of the caiptal and assume half of the risk, and derive half of the profit, I think you will find that the Government of the United States will insure the United States investor so there will be a great new source of private capital.

How better could we advance funds than through the savings and loan associations. Here in Chile, for example, a $5 million dollar grant and two $5 million loans which we are sure are safe loans have helped your savings and loan associations to build 10,000 homes and we still have the $10 million dollars coming back to us. How could we have used it, or invested it to better advantage.

The day before yesterday evening at the delightful reception that the Savings and Loan League gave, I met Mr. Wende, of Bolivia, and Mr. Hoben, the AID housing representative of my country in Bolivia. I said: "Have you had any assistance, Mr. Wende, from the United States?" He said: "No." I turned to Mr. Hoben and said: "Why hasn't Mr. Wende, since he has the only savings and loan association in Bolivia, a country which has some grave problems in housing, had assistance from our Government?" He said: "When we got through providing funds to try to rehabilitate the mining industry and to provide needed transportation facilities we didn't have any money left for Mr. Wende's savings and loan association."

Insofar as I may influence the matter and when I inform my colleagues of some of these things I hope they will share my opinion, and shall try to provide further funds. No more do we want the savings and loan association or industry to be left out of our assistance because that is the best way in my opinion that we can help your economy and strengthen your democracy through housing construction and homeownership.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have indulged your kindness by speaking longer than I should have and for that I ask your forgiveness, but just let me close with this. Back in the 1300's, it seemed very dark to the people of Western Europe about maintaining their trade with the east because the Turks had taken Constantinople and barred the land route of Western Europe to the Middle and to the Far East. And so the nations and romantic explorers turned their thoughts to the wide ocean hoping that by sailing west they might find the water route to the riches and the resumption of trade, now the East. They didn't find a short way to the East but they found the Americas and, significantly, it may have been well for the unity of our hemisphere that the first landings occurred in the Central American area.

Great danger confronts us; our very survival is at stake; but danger creates opportunity as did the danger in those days. I am sure that as citizens who love freedom and liberty all through this hemisphere, we are conscious that we bear the banner of humanity and of godliness and human dignity in the world today to an extraordinary degree. We shall stand together not only for peace and for freedom but for the progress of all of our people and people everywhere. So, Mr. Chairman, I say: "Muchas gracias; hasta luego."

Memorial Day Address of Hon. Solomon Rosenbaum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD I include therein a magnificent address delivered at Fitchburg, Mass., on Memorial Day 1964, by my valued friend, the distinguished scholar, attorney, and businessman, Mr. Solomon Rosenbaum of that city.

Mr. Rosenbaum is very accomplished and gifted, and his very able speech contains much food for thought, and will prove interesting and informative and inspiring to many people:

LARGE TURNOUT, PERFECT WEATHER FOR SOLEMN CEREMONIES—CITY'S MEMORIAL DAY ORATOR STRESSES FREEDOMS, TRADITIONS

Fitchburg's war dead were honored here in solemn ceremonies at the Upper Common on Memorial Day, including the dedication of the commemorative wreath to the memory of President John F. Kennedy.

In his address, Attorney Solomon Rosenbaum stressed the freedoms, the price with which they were won and the responsibilities relegated to each individual to insure their continuation.

Perfect weather contributed to the turnout of spectators for both the parade and the following ceremonies at the World War I monument at the Upper Common.

Councilor Joseph Albert was master of ceremonies. The exercises opened by Philip Rubinstein with the invocation. Daniel B. O'Connor, president of the Fitchburg Veterans Council and chief marshal for the event, and Mayor George J. Bourque both spoke.

James Chartrand of St. Bernard's High School recited "In Flanders Field," and wreaths were placed on the monument by Mrs. Emma Laberge, president of the Gold Star Mothers, and Edward N. Green, vice president of the Fitchburg Veterans Council.

Ceremonies included selections by Fitchburg Post 10, American Legion Band under the direction of George S. Talcott; the Fitchburg High School Band under the direction of Carlton R. Thorne; a volley was fired by a squad from the Massachusetts National Guard 26th Aviation Battalion, and taps played. A prayer for the dead was offered by Very Rev. John A. Donohue, pastor of St. Bernard's Church and benediction was offered by Rev. Francis E. Foss, pastor of the Pilgrim Covenant Church.

Attorney Rosenbaum's address follows:

"In keeping with American custom and tradition, now almost a century old, we are gathered here this morning to render well-deserved, solemn tribute to the hallowed memory of the heroic sons of our community and our Nation, who laid down their lives so that we might enjoy the priceless blessings of freedom and security.

"As such, it is an occasion for more than flag waving, marching, the ruffle of drums, and the making of speeches—appropriate though each of these may be. Its observance will become all the more meaningful if we will employ it in a search for the answers to such basic questions as:

"How may we best be true to the ideals for which our fallen heroes gave the last full measure of devotions?

"How may we best prove ourselves worthy of the rich heritage they so nobly bequeathed us?

"How may we best meet the impact of the moral challenges posed by their supreme sacrifices?

"To these poignant inquiries, that go directly to the very heart of this day and all that it symbolizes, there is, I submit, a threefold response:

"First, by fully discharging all the responsibilities of citizenship, ever remembering that the rights we so dearly cherish were purchased at a very high price.

"Voice in our government, freedom in our worship, and liberty throughout the land did not come into being by accident or chance. They were achieved only after generations of struggle, suffering, and self-denial. Victims of terror, torture, and oppression made their contributions in the distant past. Men languishing in dank dungeons, martyrs swinging from gallows, human torches lit by the flames of intolerance, patriots who suffered and died at Valley Forge and on a thousand battlefields since—all of these played their part in fathering our national birthright of freedom.

"However, if I may indulge in common parlance, this is not a one-day street. The rights of American citizenship carry with them commensurate responsibilities: for every liberty, there is a corresponding loyalty; for every right, a concomitant duty; and for every privilege, a related obligation. For example:

"Freedom of the ballot depends upon your duty to study the issues and to vote intelligently.

"Our right to a fair trial rests upon our readiness to serve on a jury.

"Freedom of the press depends upon the obligation of the various media of communication to publish the truth.

"And the right to worship God, each in his own way, hinges upon our duty to extend equal respect to religious beliefs that differ from our own.

"In the final analysis, the survival of our rights depends upon the extent of our willingness to sustain the burdens they entail, for it is not enough merely to speak of American citizenship in terms of the privileges it bestows and to revel in the benefits it confers, but we must also, with equal enthusiasm and alacrity, discharge all the duties it involves and fulfill all the responsibilities it imposes.

"To the attainment of this goal, let us, as did our Founding Fathers before us, 'with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence * * * mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'

"The second answer to the questions we propounded is by incessantly striving and toiling for a just and lasting peace, and this underscores the great paradox of our times, for the dilemma of our society is the lag between our tremendous progress in the physical sciences and our failure to make parallel strides in the art of working and living together with our fellow man.

"We shall soon know how to fly to the moon, but we have yet to discover how to reach the heart of our brother. Having mastered the intricacies of production know-how, we must now develop a comparable social know-why.

"As our history gloriously confirms, whenever the American people have been faced with the challenge of war, they have commendably rallied together in a total effort to meet that challenge. Somehow, we must today find a way to overcome our smugness and indifference and complacency, and join in an equal effort to meet the infinitely more complex challenge of peace.

"And how is this to be achieved?

"I believe by first coming to the basic understanding that peace is not an end, in and of itself. On the contrary, like character, virtue, and goodness, peace is only a by-product of proper conduct. It will come to the individual, and from him it will accrue to the Nation and to the world, only when men shall live and act honorably, justly, and decently.

"As we not only teach, but also actually practice, the arts, the letters, the sciences, and every other branch of human learning, so must we, with equal determination and effectiveness, activate and actually employ, in our everyday conduct and pursuits, the great religious precepts of justice, mercy, and understanding, of benevolence, brotherly love, and harmony.

"When the peoples of the earth shall have learned to apply these keystones of moral rectitude in their every relationship with their fellow man, and shall have made these tenets part and parcel of their every act and deed, then will all men march forward together, shoulder to shoulder and arm in arm, toward the resplendent horizon of that bright and bold new frontier, of which our late martyred President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, spoke in such eloquent and majestic accents, and where abides that new and better world that our helping hands and benevolent hearts can truly fashion.

"In that day and age, strife shall cease and peace shall reign; the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah shall be fulfilled, and men shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore; but they shall sit, every man under his vine and his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid for thus the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken.

"And finally, the third answer to our questions is by dedicating ourselves to making the world safe for democracy, but this is no easy matter, for we find ourselves today living in a world of recurrent crises; marked by a conflict of the most fundamental proportions. This is not simply a struggle between two countries or groups of countries. It runs far deeper, for it is a contest between two diametrically divergent philosophies of life, and upon its outcome hangs the fate, not only of ourselves and our children, but also of untold numbers of yet unborn generations.

"On the one side are the forces of democracy, committed to the propostion that man, having been created in the image of Deity, is entitled to the realization of his God-given destiny; that he has been endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that it is the function of government to serve its citizens by securing for them the enjoyment of those rights.

"On the other and opposing side are arrayed the vicious, godless hordes of despotism and evil, bemired in the false premise that the individual human being has no rights whatsoever in and of himself; that his only value is his worth, not as a man, but as a cog in the wheels of the machinery of the state; and that government is not the instrument of the people, but their absolute master and the dictator of their every act and thought, of their very souls and minds.

"Such being the acrimonious nature of the issue, and such the critical character of the age in which we live, unity and brotherhood in America are absolutely indispensable. The present global struggle for survival demands that all Americans must work together, pooling their combined resources in a common effort to free men's minds and bodies from the shackles of totalitarian bondage.

"No prejudice, born of bias or bigotry, must be allowed to interfere with the fullest effort of every individual American, no matter what his color, creed, or ancestry, to win the crucial battle in which we are engaged, for the crusade we are waging, whose essence is human freedom and equality of opportunity for all, betokens a national life, undefiled by the stain of intolerance and unmarred by the blemish of racial or religious discrimination.

"And so, my friends, if we will employ this Memorial Day, not for mere idle sport or amusement, but as an occasion for reconsecrating ourselves to a more active sense of citizenship responsibility, to the achievement of a just and lasting peace, and to securing the triumph of democracy for all men everywhere, then will the blessed souls of the men to whom we dedicate this day really rest in eternal peace, emanating from the fact that we, the living, are not betraying the great principles for which they fought and bled and died.

"In this spirit, let us here highly resolve so to order our thoughts and ways as to keep firm faith with the highest and finest ideals of humanity, to which they gave the very flower of their youth and the full blossom of their vigor—all to the end that, in the words of the great Emancipator, which shall go thundering down through the ages, 'these honored dead shall not have died in vain, and this Government, of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'"

United States Said Really United by L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished former Governor of the State of Florida, the Honorable Fuller Warren, has written most eloquently in a letter addressed to the editor of the Orlando Sentinel of the outstanding leadership the country is receiving under President Johnson. I know many of my colleagues would be interested in reading Governor Warren's letter and I insert it, Mr. Speaker, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that all may have the opportunity to read it:

[From the Orlando Sentinel, June 18, 1964]

UNITED STATES REALLY UNITED BY L.B.J.

Editor: President Johnson has caused the United States to be more united than during any peacetime period since the administration of George Washington. He may turn out to be the nearest thing to Washington this Nation has had.

President Johnson has ushered in an era of good feeling that embraces almost all Americans. Hatred has gone into hiding. Harsh words are hardly heard any more. Political partisanship has been partly put aside.

To further unify and solidify America, both political parties would do well to come together in the warm embrace of brotherhood and jointly nominate Johnson to lead us onward and upward to even higher ground of national greatness.

Patriotic Republicans—and no sensible Democrat doubts that they are—could thus put patriotism above partisan politics.

FULLER WARREN.

MIAMI.

P.S.—Nothing like a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat.—EDITOR.

"Church as a Force"—An Editorial From the La Porte (Ind.) Herald-Argus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the text of a most thoughtful editorial concerning the role of the churches in the field of civil rights from the June 15, 1964, issue of the La Porte, Ind., Herald-Argus.

The editorial follows:

CHURCH AS A FORCE

After the Senate had voted cloture in the civil rights debate, several observers at the scene, including a few Senators themselves, gave credit to churches for helping to swing the tide in favor of cutting off the southern filibuster and heading the civil rights measure toward a vote.

Pressure from local clergymen from many parts of the Midwest and West, plus action by a number of denominations at the national level, including such projects as the interfaith rally in Washington at the end of April, was cited as an effective force, public opinion in action.

While it is true that many clergymen and their flocks did rally in recent weeks to take a foursquare stand for the civil rights measure, there was, and still is, a great amount of foot dragging by organized Christianity in the whole matter of equal rights and justice for Negroes and other minorities.

Methodist Bishop Richard C. Raines of Indiana in a recent address at the northwest Indiana conference of his denomination was highly critical of the Nation's churches for remaining silent so long in the face of racial discrimination. "The things Christians should have been saying about the plight of our Negro brethren are being said instead by politicians, atheists, athletic coaches, night club comedians, Jews like Harry Golden, and news columnists like Ralph McGill at Atlanta," the bishop declared.

And it is very true that hosts of Christian churches not only never took any official stand on behalf of desegregation and equal rights but also never got around to declaring an open door policy for their own church edifices. Year after year they continued to countenance discrimination by their silence.

If the Christian church does not stand for practical workings in the essential spirit of its founder, if it remains silent when degradation and indignity is imposed on any other members of the human family then it fails miserably as a moral and spiritual force. Bishop Raines was right. Perhaps, however, what was done by Christian clergy and laity in recent days as the civil rights decision came nearer heralds the beginning of a reawakened church, or at least some areas of it.

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LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Race Relations in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, during recent months, many millions of words have been spoken and written on the subject of race relations in the United States.

One of the most intelligent and enlightened statements on this subject to come to my attention is a recent address by the Honorable John A. Sibley, an outstanding lawyer, businessman, banker, and highly respected community leader of Atlanta, Ga., to the Southern States Conference of CPA's.

In his remarks, Mr. Sibley made a number of telling points that those of us who opposed the so-called civil rights bill undertook to get across to our colleagues and to the people of our country generally during the 83 days the bill was before the Senate:

First, that Negroes are subject to harsher forms of discrimination and prejudice in many metropolitan areas of the North than elsewhere, despite the existence in those areas of many local and State statutes ostensibly designed to eliminate racial bias.

Second, that many of those most vocal in their championship of the Federal force bill are from States in which Negroes comprise an almost infinitesimal percentage of the population.

Third, that instead of fostering better relations between the races, the bill is actually a step backward, because "it seeks to take away from all citizens basic rights that should be preserved to all citizens, regardless of race or creed."

Fourth—and most important—that "the solution of the race problem is not in the Halls of Congress, but in the hearts of men"; and that until this is recognized and accepted by all, "the race issue will be a political football, as it is today."

Mr. President, although Mr. Sibley's address was made prior to passage by the Senate of the misnamed civil rights bill, his comments are so pertinent and timely that they merit the thoughtful attention of all those who sincerely desire to promote better relations between whites and Negroes. I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"CIVIC AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS IN THE NEW SOUTH"—BY JOHN A. SIBLEY, BEFORE THE 20TH ANNUAL SOUTHERN STATES CONFERENCE OF CPA'S, ATLANTA, GA., JUNE 15, 1964

It is an honor and a privilege to be invited to speak to this distinguished gathering.

You gentlemen are the right arm of business progress. Your work requires you to be experts in many and varied fields of knowledge including taxation, improved business methods, automation and electronics as applied to business operations.

Accuracy, integrity, courage and vision are necessary elements of your work.

Upon the faith of your examinations and certificates, billions of dollars are invested each year and without such certificates modern business could not continue to grow and develop.

You help businessmen to plan safely for future business expansion and to avoid the pitfalls of acting upon inaccurate and insufficient information.

As a businessman, familiar with your work, I have great respect and admiration for your profession.

You assigned to me for discussion the subject "Civil and Community Problems in the New South." The first question I asked myself was—What is meant by the term "The New South?" It is a term in very popular use but meaning different things to different people at different times.

My investigation shows that Henry W. Grady was the first to use the term "The New South." He spoke before the New England Society in New York City in December 1886 and entitled his speech "The New South."

Grady acknowledged in the opening paragraph of his speech that the idea for the title came from a previous speech of Benjamin Harvey Hill. Grady's opening paragraph follows:

" 'There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour.' These words, delivered from the immortal lips of Benjamin H. Hill at Tammany Hall, in 1866, true then and truer now, I shall make my text tonight."

Grady spoke to northern audiences words of reconciliation, never, however, apologizing for his own people or his own section. His eloquent voice sounded a note of friendship and good will that melted the hatred and bitterness which were the aftermath of the War Between the States and the Reconstruction period.

The new South to Grady was the South of achievement through courage and hard work against tremendous difficulties.

In describing the new South Grady said:

"We have planted the schoolhouse on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories, and put business above politics. * * * We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed.

"Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South—misguided, perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave and generous always."

Some 50 years later a northerner, Gen. Robert E. Wood, truly a great man, a merchant of worldwide renown as the head of Sears, Roebuck & Co. and a creator of vast wealth, saw the accomplishments and opportunities of the southern region and the stamina of the southern people.

In describing the new South as he saw it, General Wood said:

"But all history has shown that material resources are insignificant in comparison with the spiritual and moral qualities of the people. The South showed in the War Between the States the desperate and gallant courage of its men and women. In the 50 years following that war, the southern people showed a still higher brand of courage and spirit in their battle against the dire poverty and the ruins caused by that war.

* * * * *

"Even as early as 1923 I saw the future industrial development of the South and I have tried, as far as one individual could do, to foster this development—first by placing an ever-increasing share of our purchases in this region and second by investing large amounts of capital in our distributing facilities in this region."

The faith and confidence of that great American in the new South is being fully vindicated every day by that development in which he played an important part.

The subject that you assigned to me assumes that the civic and community problems of the new South are basically different from the civic and community problems of other parts of the country.

To that assumption I disagree and I will state my reasons.

It is unquestionably true historically that basic economic problems and differences existed between the South and other sections of the country and also different problems arose due to the fact that the South had a biracial culture and population and other sections of the country had a more unified population.

The economic differences grew out of the fact that the South was largely agricultural and rural at a time when other sections were becoming urban and industrial.

For instance, in 1900 the urban population of the South was only 15 percent of the total population, whereas in 1960 the urban population of the South had climbed to 57.7 percent of the total population.

Also in 1900 the largest part of the income of the South came from agriculture, whereas in 1960 less than 6 percent of the income came from agriculture.

When the South was largely agricultural and other sections were industrial, tariff and other discriminatory laws that fostered the development of industry, worked a hardship on the South. Now laws that affect economic conditions operate equally throughout the country because the South is both urban and industrial as are other parts of the country.

The other basic difference that set the South apart arose out of the concentration of the Negro population, a situation that in recent years has been radically changing.

At the beginning of the present century 85 percent of the Negro population—totalling 7,527,000—lived in the South, whereas

15 percent, or 1,307,000, lived in the non-South. The total white population in the South at that time was 14,386,000.

According to the 1960 census the white population had increased to 38,570,000, or 168 percent since 1900; whereas the Negro population had increased in the South from 7,527,000 at the beginning of the century to 10,232,000, or 36 percent since 1900. During the same period the Negro population in the non-South increased from 1,307,000 to 8,628,000, an increase of 560 percent.

In central New York City, not including the suburbs; the Negro population increased from 458,000 in 1940 to 1,088,000 in 1960. Fourteen percent of the total population in New York City proper is Negro.

In Chicago the Negro population increased from 278,000 in 1940 to 813,000 in 1960, now accounting for 23 percent of the total population. Similar increases in Negro population occurred in such cities as Philadelphia, Detroit, and others.

This movement of population of the Negro to other sections of the country has transformed a regional problem into a national problem and the manifestation of the problem follows the same pattern North and South.

In this movement, however, the Negro faces a dilemma. He leaves the South to seek better jobs and less discrimination and he finds that wherever he moves in large numbers, the pattern of acceptance of him is not to his liking. In the matter of jobs and of housing, the reaction to his presence where he goes in large numbers is the same. He moves to the National Capital and white people move to the suburbs. His children enjoy full integration, yet a report of a biracial investigating committee of the schools, indicates that by violence, unruly elements create conditions in which the spirit of education is destroyed both for the whites and blacks.

He moves to Chicago and buys a home in a white community, and 100 policemen and 12 police dogs are called out to break up an angry mob that is trying to keep him from living in a house which he has paid for and in which, under the law, he is entitled to live.

He moves to New York and settles in Harlem, a segregated community. In describing the condition of the schools, Dr. James B. Conant, former president of Harvard, said:

"In some there are very bad gangs with gang warfare among the boys. There are also vicious fights outside of school between Negro girls."

In the Atlanta Constitution April 23, 1964, were headlines—"Race Riots Close Pennsylvania City's Schools."

The New York Times, Wednesday, May 6, headlines read—"Antiwhite Harlem Gang Reported To Number 400."

The New York Herald, June 1, 1964, headlines read—"Horror in Subway; an Indignant City."

Then follows a long list of racial disturbances, ranging from murder to attacks on officers.

For many years, a community of pious and inoffensive Jews lived in the community of Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Since Negroes have moved in, the community has become a hotbed of racial strife and tensions. Not relying upon inadequate police protection, the Jews have organized patrols for protection and to maintain order.

So goes the pattern of racial conflict throughout the North, a saddening and distressing picture.

The great dilemma that the Negro faces in the North and makes the race question almost insoluble is the fact that the northern news media and many of the political elements condemn the South—sometimes unfairly—and yet at the same time fail to apply in their own communities and businesses the principles they advocate for others to follow.

In such States in which the Negro represents a substantial part of the population this double-standard attitude confronts him with a grave and cruel dilemma.

I think from what has been said it is perfectly clear that the basic differences heretofore existing between the South and other sections of the country have been eliminated by the urbanization and industrialization of the South and by the migration of the Negro from the South to the North.

The new South then today is a part of the Nation having the same opportunities and facing the same problems as other parts of the Nation. These conditions impose upon us an obligation to put aside sectionalism and to play our full part, and an important part in leading and guiding the Nation in the solution of its problems.

The great overshadowing domestic problem for the moment is the problem of race relations, which has ramifications that affect all phases of community and civic life.

The difficult of two different racial groups living together in close proximity and the tensions arising therefrom is not limited to the United States but is worldwide.

Two current examples are the Arab and the Jew, the Turk and the Greek. There are many others.

The problem of race relations wherever it arises is a delicate one and the solution must be found in a sense of justice and the spirit of good will and tolerance on the part of both races.

The solution is to be found in the hearts and spirit of men and not in the Halls of Congress.

The power of Congress cannot increase mutual respect and understanding between the races nor force men by legislative fiat to respect, tolerate, or love one another

Such wholesome forces arise from within the human spirit and cannot be legislated from without. Voluntary action, not compulsion, legal or physical, is the only permanent solution.

The so-called civil rights bill now pending before Congress is not a solution to the problem. These proposed laws are a step backward—not forward.

The proposed bill is a step toward a police state. It seeks to take away from all citizens basic rights that should be preserved to all citizens regardless of race or creed. If passed it weakens if not destroys the right of free choice, the right to select one's associates. It concentrates and places dangerous powers in the hands of the Attorney General—powers that can be used as a tool of political advantage. It tends to limit local self-government and the police power of the several States, upon which the peace, tranquility, and good order of every community depends.

Senator RUSSELL'S opposition to the bill is in the interest of all citizens—not a sectional fight.

No one for a moment would say that such laws will create the needed new jobs and certainly the record shows that in the industrial States in which nondiscriminatory laws exist job discrimination against the Negro has not been lessened nor eliminated.

Employment is vital to the welfare of the Negro.

According to the 1960 census the total unemployment in Atlanta was 3.4 percent. Unemployment among Negroes was 4.8 percent, while among whites was 3 percent. That is to say, Negro unemployment was 1.8 percent higher than that of the whites.

In the city of New York, where the State nondiscriminatory laws are strong, the total unemployment in 1960 was 4.6 percent. Unemployment among the Negroes was 6.7 percent, while among whites was 4.3 percent. That is to say, Negro unemployment was 2.4 percent greater than the unemployment of whites as compared to 1.8 percent in Atlanta.

In Detroit the total unemployment was 7.7 percent. The unemployment among the Negroes was 17.1 percent and that of the whites was 6.2 percent. That is to say, the unemployed among the Negroes was well over double that of the whites.

In Chicago, where the total unemployment was 4.3 percent, the Negro unemployment was 11.1 percent and the white unemployment was 3.2 percent.

In Philadelphia the total unemployment was 4.8 percent. The unemployment among the Negroes was 10.1 percent and among the whites was 3.8 percent.

In Birmingham the total unemployment was 6.2 percent. The unemployment of the Negroes was 10.5 percent and among the whites 4.3 percent.

In these northern cities to which reference has been made, strong State nondiscriminatory laws have been in existence for years, yet there is much greater discrimination in the North than in the South where employment is voluntary.

And this is true although the Negro population in the southern centers is a great deal heavier proportionately than in the northern centers.

I repeat that the solution of the race problem is not in the halls of Congress but in the hearts of men, and until this is fully recognized and acted upon, the race issue will be a political football as it is today.

Now let us look at another aspect of the matter that seems to be ignored today and which exists in such States as Rhode Island and Minnesota and many others whose Senators are strong supporters of the Civil Rights bill, yet whose States have virtually no Negro population, and are doing nothing to encourage Negroes to come to those States to share in their wealth and job opportunities.

I find that in 1962 the per capita income of Rhode Island was $2,372. That means that Rhode Island is a very prosperous State, with industry and jobs that pay well. According to the 1960 census Rhode Island's population was 859,488. Ninety-seven and six-tenths percent were white and 2.1 percent were Negro.

The per capita income of Minnesota in 1962 was $2,236. This is another prosperous State. The population in 1960 was 3,413,864 and the Negro population was 0.7 of 1 percent.

The Negro population represents 10.5 percent of the total population of the country.

The Rhode Island Negro population would have to increase from 18,332 to 90,246 and Minnesota's Negro population would have to increase from 22,263 to 358,456 to bring the Negro population to 10.5 percent of its total population.

Neither the brilliant Senators from Rhode Island nor the vocal Senator from Minnesota has invited any Negroes, as far as I can determine, to come to their respective States to share the jobs and get the benefit of their splendid schools and to participate in their prosperity.

Such an invitation, sincerely meant, from these Senators promising job opportunities in their respective States to those who are qualified to accept them and promising educational opportunities to qualify others who are not so qualified, would do more to settle the race question than all the civil rights bills now pending or that could hereafter be thought of.

It is jobs that the Negro wants and is entitled to have. Rhode Island and Minnesota, and other States similarly situated, have these jobs. If the Senators are sincerely interested in the Negro's welfare and a proper settlement of the race question, they should invite the Negro to settle in their States and extend to him a welcome and a helping hand.

With race relations founded upon tolerance, mutual respect and good will, no laws are necessary; without these essential ingredients, no laws can be effective.

These are not just my views; they are held by many, both white and black.

An example is S. B. Fuller, a Negro born in Louisiana, who moved to Chicago as a young man, established a $10 million business and pays taxes on an annual income of over $100,000, in an interview published in U.S. News & World Report of August 19, 1963, he expresses views worthy of careful consideration. I quote:

"The minute that they (Negroes) develop themselves so they excel in whatever they do—then they are going to find that they don't have any real problems."

* * * * * *

"They will find that you cannot sue a man and make him want to live next door to you. You've got to sell him the idea that you are just as good as he is, by performance."

* * * * *

"The crimes that you find in Harlem, for instance, are caused by the people of Harlem, and it's nobody's fault but that of the people of Harlem."

* * * * *

"You see, Negro people do not understand that they must own their own businesses. They must give jobs—not just ask for jobs."

* * * * *

"No, I never heard of any racial group in this country or any other country that was able to get ahead without participating in business."

Mr. Fuller places emphasis upon the worthiness of the individual, not the color of his skin.

I was glad to read in Mr. Eugene Patterson's column of April 28, 1963, the comments of Mr. Joseph Ross praising race relations in Atlanta and attributing this fortunate situation to the quality of Atlanta leadership. This leadership is shared not only by the whites but by some of our ablest Negro citizens.

These Negro citizens are not just asking to share jobs created by others—they are, through their own efforts and ability, successfully establishing and running businesses that create job opportunities.

Such businesses include banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, newspapers, real estate firms, architectural firms, construction firms, subdivision developments, hospitals, educational institutions and many others.

In conclusion, may I suggest—

That the white South and the white North give less emphasis to color and more to merit in every relationship of life, including job opportunities.

That the Negro himself place greater emphasis upon excellence to achieve progress and advancement and less reliance upon political influence and legal compulsion.

That the country develop an economy strong enough and broad enough to require and absorb the talents of all citizens who are willing to work, both white and Negro, otherwise we face a continual squabble with resulting conflicts to determine who shall hold the available jobs.

That the States of the North with a small Negro population encourage Negroes to migrate to these States by welcoming them and affording them job opportunities.

That the Negro, to participate fully in economic opportunities, not just share the jobs that the genius of others creates but develop sufficient genius himself to create job opportunities for others.

It may be said by some that these things will not be done. My answer is that unless they are done, block voting among the Negroes will continue and will lead to block voting among the whites, resulting in a political situation in which both the Negro and the country will be the loser in the long run. May our spirit of good will and tolerance under God's guidance never let this happen. However, warning signs are already upon the horizon.

That is my speech, and I hope you will indulge me to say a personal word.

I have been greatly honored by many of the organizations of this community because of their belief that I made some little contribution toward solving the public school question. This was only possible because of the strong reservoir of good will and good sense among both races.

I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Judge A. T. Walden, whose advice, counsel, and broad influence and whose spirit of good will have contributed so much toward the stability of this community. He not only wants the rights and privileges of a citizen but he also wants to deserve these rights. He is not merely interested in the welfare of his own race, he is interested in the welfare of the entire community—both white and Negro.

He recognizes that real progress cannot be made through hatred and antagonisms but through friendship and good understanding.

I hope the time is not far distant when his virtues and services will be recognized and publicly proclaimed.

Reserve Officers' Training Corps Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9124) to amend title 10, United States Code, to vitalize the Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and for other purposes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may desire.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that in the almost quarter of a century that I have had the privilege of serving in this body has there come before this body for consideration a bill as important as the one which is now before us.

This will affect not only those who are living now it will affect, yes, a generation unborn. Its effect will dip into the home of every American. Its effect will have its impact on the future defense of this country. Its effect will be the salvation of the free world and a free nation as we know it.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] was generous enough to refer to this as the Hébert bill. I could have no higher compliment paid me than to have my name associated with this legislation and be the instrument by which it comes before you for action today.

We are all familiar, more or less, with the ROTC program in this country in our high schools, in our colleges, and in our universities.

What does this proposed legislation accomplish and what is its goal?

The committee set for many weeks and explored every facet of the problem and ventilated every problem and came up with an entirely new piece of legislation in this field.

To begin with, we set about to repeal every law on the statute books as related to the ROTC program. Having done that, we set as our goal and as our objective to have a uniform program embracing the Navy, Air Force, and the Army, and to give to each service an opportunity to develop in its ranks the best talent and career officers that could possibly be found in this country.

With that basic objective for the ROTC program as our guide, we examined what is known as the Holloway plan which is used by the Navy to recruit young career officers. This program to refresh your memories is a very highly selective program. It is a very highly competitive program by which young men in various sections of the country are selected by a board of local citizens and community leaders and are given an opportunity to follow a Navy career in the college or university of the individual's choice. Under this plan, which those of us who are familiar with it in the years of its origination refer to as a "little Annapolis plan" in the various colleges of the country, the individual is given the same curriculum and the same training that the young man is given who enters Annapolis to pursue a naval education. His tuition cost is paid for by the Government and he is given $50 a month expenses or salary, if you please. The individual selected in this program is not told which school he must matriculate in or enter. He has his choice of any school offering the so-called Holloway plan. He enters that school, he is graduated, and he is commissioned and has an obligation of 4 years' service in the Navy. The plan is now limited to some 6,000 individuals, at one time, in the various schools in the country.

Now take this plan—translate it into adaptation by the Army and by the Air Force and you have a complete across-the-board opportunity for the young man of talent and proven ability and avocation to pursue a military career while not actually attending one of the service academy schools.

Having applied this to all the services, we then approached the program of the ROTC which is now in existence. The ROTC program is best known to you, perhaps, from schools like the Texas Aggies, one of the great schools of our country, and in my own State of Louisiana, Louisiana State University, Mississippi State, Maryland, Georgetown, Ohio State, Indiana, and so forth. These schools have the 4-year ROTC program. Under this 4-year ROTC program, the young man enters his freshman class, is given 2 years' basic training and the last 2 years of military science, at which time he is graduated and offered a commission.

The records will reveal that from these ROTC schools and particularly the land-grant colleges have come some of our greatest officers and some of our greatest leaders and some of our greatest fighting men in time of war.

So we take this program and perpetuate it as such, giving any other school or

university in the country an opportunity to adopt the program.

There are some who believe a 2-year scientific program is all that is necessary. To those institutions which believe in the 2-year program we say, "You may adopt such a program, but you will not have available any scholarship grant under the Holloway plan, which now is to be spread to all services."

In other words, any school which prefers only a 2-year basic program may have that program, but the scholarship features will not be available to them, and an individual coming into such a program must take a summer course of 6 or 8 weeks' basic training, which will compensate for the lack of the 2 years' on-campus training which his opposite number obtains in the basic course of the 4-year school program.

Here we have the program spread over the entire country. We have available the 4-year program. We have available the 2-year program. We go further than that. We open a reservoir of manpower which has heretofore been untapped in this country, in which is to be found some of the finest potential material available. I refer to the junior colleges of the Nation.

Junior colleges are spreading and expanding all over the country today, but under the present system the junior college graduate is not eligible to enter the 4-year training program of ROTC. Therefore, he is not eligible for a commission under that program.

Under the present system we deny to this individual this right, and we deprive ourselves of his talent. Under the proposal in this legislation an individual from a junior college will have open to him the gates, the portals and the doors of the 4-year program, and he will be able to enter any one of these schools with a 4-year ROTC program and make up his 2-year basic, which he missed, in the same manner as an individual who enters a 2-year-program school—in other words, by summer training.

Here we will advance to the front this talent which is so desirable, which is lacking in so many areas; and we will make these young men available to become career officers serving in the uniform of their country.

We even will go beyond that. We will turn our attention to what I consider to be the most important and most vital part of the whole program, the expansion of the junior ROTC program.

Under the present law and present system there is a junior ROTC program in 254 of our high schools in the country, engaging approximately 65,000 young men. As a supplement to this there is a cadet training corps—NDCC—which is subsidized by the individual schools. These are few in number. There are only 25,000 young men in the program.

Under the terms of this legislation we will broaden the base of the junior ROTC program and open the program to as many as 2,000 secondary schools in the Nation, schools which take these young men in at a formative period in their lives. We will take these young men when they are looking out into a world unknown to them, and provide them with the basics of patriotism, discipline, and recognition of authority. In other words, we will ground and inculcate into these young people those basic principles which are so necessary to perpetuate the ideals of government and the form of government under which we have lived. This I consider the most important part of the program.

What else will we do? At the present time in the senior program and in the junior program there are active military people who are on active duty.

Some 700 of these people are involved in the junior program; 5,000 more are involved in the senior program. These men are charged against the active military component of the Defense Department. This legislation opens the door to retired officers and noncommissioned men. We have heard a great deal of conversation about the young man retiring in the military when he has the best years of his life ahead of him and contributes nothing to the defense of the country and draws his pension up to 75 percent of his salary in retirement. So now we say to the Defense Department you may utilize the talents of these retired people and where you are paying them 75 percent of their salaries and receiving nothing in return as a contribution to the Defense Department, you may recall these active duty people on a voluntary basis and place them in charge of these ROTC units in high schools and in the senior colleges. Here in the junior ROTC program a high school may participate by paying not more than one-half of the difference between the retired member's retired pay and the amount he would draw if on full-time active duty.

The Defense Department will pay the other half. Thus, for 12½ percent of the retired members' active duty pay entitlement the Defense Department has the opportunity of getting a 100-percent effort. These are individuals who now receive 75 percent of their basic pay without the opportunity to render any service to the Government.

As I envision this program, it is something which will bring about a resurgence in this country toward making our youth, not from the cradle, but certainly from the playground on up, conscious of their duty to their country and eager to perform in the service of their country and to be motivated by the highest ideals of citizenship.

How important is this? I stress this. In Castro's Cuba today Castro has been there for some 5 years and the youngsters in the high schools of Cuba have been subjected to a type of instruction and brainwashing for that period of time. If they were 12 years old when he came into power, 5 years from that age would make them 17 or 18 years of age now and they know nothing except for his type of government. What did Hitler's Germany do to the youth of that nation? They were trained and brainwashed and directed into avenues of nazism. Why should we not, why do we not take the youth of this Nation in these formative years, these impressionable years, and train them from the very beginning in the fundamentals of a free democracy? That is why I say this bill reaches into every home in the country and affects, yes, generations unborn. Because of your judgment—and I hope it is your judgment—that this legislation should be adopted, we have set a pattern for the future and for years to come which will guarantee to every young man the right to know his country, to understand his country, and to respect his country and what his Government stands for.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE].

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the gentleman and express my appreciation to him for bringing out this bill. I have talked recently with a number of presidents of schools who have large enrollments. The president of Penn State is one of them. He told me unless something was done, he expected their senior ROTC enrollment to drop 50 percent in the next year.

I wish to compliment the gentleman from Louisiana and say that although I do not agree with everything in the bill, I certainly support it.

Mr. HÉBERT. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas and I am sure that all of you who recognize the great war record that the gentleman from Texas has will know the meaning of what he just said. I may expand on that to tell you that in the colleges of this country today and in the ROTC program the attendance and enrollment are on the downgrade. Perhaps one of the most important reasons why is the Executive order exempting married men from the draft. The youngster, if he gets married and has a marriage license, is free from his military liability. He is home free. However, I believe that youngsters taught from the ground up of their duty to their country will not attempt to escape behind a marriage license but will be eager to give to their country all that they can give.

This, members of the Committee, is in broad scope what this bill attempts to do.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes. I will be very happy to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I would like to commend the gentleman. I appreciate his very comprehensive analysis of this bill, which is a very good piece of legislation, but in connection with the bill, the section dealing with financial assistance to the 4-year ROTC candidates, I would like to know, how are these people selected? Is there some uniform method of selection, or is it an arbitrary determination by a group of citizens?

Mr. HÉBERT. I will be very happy to explain it. This program is patterned on the Holloway program. This program is perhaps the most competitive selective program of that type in the military. In each community a certain group of citizens who are leading businessmen, community leaders, church leaders——

Mr. VANIK. Who selects the group of citizens?

Mr. HÉBERT. They are selected by the Department of the Navy; in the other instances it would be the Army and the Air Force. They come together and every young man who wants to follow this career makes application. Each individual is screened with a fine-tooth comb.

Mr. VANIK. Does he take a competitive examination, or a civil service-type examination?

Mr. HÉBERT. He takes a competitive written examination. His background is considered; his school marks are considered; this is very important. His attitude and his aptitude are considered. After personally interviewing each one of these young men, a certain number are selected for each section of the country. Then an alternate is selected behind each of them. After that the individual young man selects the school of his choice. He enters that school. His tuition is paid and he receives $50 a month after which, at the end of 4 years, he is commissioned, with a 4 years' obligation to serve as an officer.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, if I may pursue this just a bit further. Members of Congress in selecting candidates for the Academies have used the civil service examination to screen out or to screen in candidates. Is this same method available to the board selected by the military department?

Mr. HÉBERT. It is available to them. However, the college board type examination is used.

Mr. VANIK. They do have access to it?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Chairman, is it not a fact that for the 2,000 appointments which were available last year under the Holloway plan there were some 20,000 applicants who took written examinations?

Mr. HÉBERT. I think the gentleman is accurate in his figures. And I am glad the gentleman brought that point out, because you can see the competitive element that is present in this program.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. Would there be any opportunity for a student who finishes, let us say, the junior ROTC course, the 2-year course in college, then to transfer to the so-called Holloway program?

Mr. HÉBERT. No; not to the Holloway program. He may transfer to the senior ROTC program. That is what I am indicating now. The junior college reservoir is open from which we may draw these students.

Mr. JONAS. I was thinking about a lad who has had a senior college course and who took the first 2 years of ROTC. How could he qualify?

Mr. HÉBERT. At any time during the program the talented young man can be picked up in the program.

Mr. JONAS. So he could be picked up even if he were in the junior program?

Mr. HÉBERT. The junior program does not figure into this, except if he is in high school and has had this basic training to tone him up.

Mr. JONAS. I was referring to the junior program; I suppose I am using the wrong term. He has had, in my illustration, the first 2 years in the regular ROTC program.

Mr. HÉBERT. The first 2 years represent the basic training. This is what we are hoping for in this day of science and high competition for the young men with unusual talents. We want to give him that opportunity.

Mr. JONAS. After he finishes this basic 2-year course either in junior college or in a 4-year college?

Mr. HÉBERT. He can be picked up but he must compensate for the 2 years which he missed in the basic training through the summer training program.

Mr. JONAS. If the gentleman will yield further, he could go on into the regular program?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes; he could go on.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BRAY. As to the junior program, we have no ROTC program in junior colleges.

Mr. HÉBERT. That is right.

Mr. BRAY. If the gentleman will yield further, and I believe this is correct, under this program the person that goes to a junior college and then he goes on to a 4-year college will have the opportunity of going into the 2-year program. Of course, he cannot go into the 4-year scholarship program.

Mr. HÉBERT. That stands to reason because he has 2 years behind him, but he picks up the program. This is one of the important and salient features of the bill. But this young man, and there are hundreds of thousands of them in the country today who are deprived forever of the opportunity of going to an ROTC school, under this legislation he will be able to attend that school and make up for the 2 years which he missed in this crash program.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I would like to inquire again with respect to the financial assistance program of the 4-year program. There are some 24,000 military scholarships that are contemplated in this section. Are these geographically distributed or are they distributed without respect to the various geographical locations?

Mr. HÉBERT. No; they are for practical purposes geographically distributed.

Mr. VANIK. They are allocated by States?

Mr. HÉBERT. By States. They are allocated by States in respect to opportunity to compete. However, the actual selection necessarily is based upon the results of the competition.

Mr. VANIK. If the gentleman will yield further, Is the allocation to States related to population, or will they receive an equal number?

Mr. HÉBERT. I understand it is by population.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VANIK. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. This is the same piece of legislation that on December 2 last the House rejected, is it not?

Mr. HÉBERT. No, I would not say that is the correct term to use with reference to this legislation. The House did not reject it. As a matter of fact the House approved it, in essence.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I mean under a suspension of the rules.

Mr. HÉBERT. Let me clear the record. The House voted in favor of the legislation but failed to pass it under a suspension of the rules which requires a two-thirds majority and where no amendments could be offered to the bill. However, the House voted in favor of this legislation on a rollcall vote.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. As a matter of fact, by a vote of 76 to 154 it failed under suspension of the rules?

Mr. HÉBERT. But is passed by a majority.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. My point is that this is the same piece of legislation, is it not?

Mr. HÉBERT. Exactly the same piece of legislation, but it was brought in under a different procedure.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. If the gentleman will yield further; has anything changed in the meantime to warrant a different result?

Mr. HÉBERT. I think so.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. HÉBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. PIKE. I believe I can say that at least one thing has changed in the meantime and that is the fact that the reason this bill was defeated, in my opinion, the last time was because some of us feld very strongly about the concept of allowing a junior high school or a junior ROTC program to be taught in segregated high schools. However, now since the passage in this body and in the other body of the civil rights bill, I believe that question is now moot. I offered an amendment to this effect to the bill in the committee based upon a matter of principle. At that time I was told I was trying to defeat the bill. All I can say is I believe with the passage of the civil rights bill, such an amendment is no longer necessary. I do not propose to offer any such amendment today. I do support the bill today.

Mr. HÉBERT. I thank my colleague, a member of the committee.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. HÉBERT. Yes; I yield further to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Will the gentleman from Louisiana agree with the gentleman from New York in the terms of his analysis of the civil rights bill and its application to this legislation?

Mr. HÉBERT. I may not agree with its effect, but I will have to agree with his explanation. There is no alternative, I believe.

Mr. Chairman, I say to the members of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union that I have tried in as simple a way as I know how to explain the bill. I hope the House today, with this impediment withdrawn and with the support of the distinguished gentleman from New York, my colleague on the committee [Mr. PIKE], a very able opponent and proponent of anything he undertakes, that the House will go along and give this bill the vote of confidence which he deserves and open the way to build up a stronger youth in this country, a stronger military organization, a stronger determination to preserve our way of life, and a complete understanding that we owe our personal freedom to the fact that our country has continued to maintain the military forces so necessary and essential to the security of a free nation.

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the distinguished chairman of this subcommittee and the full committee for bringing this legislation to the floor under this procedure. We are all delighted that our distinguished colleague from New York has recognized that what was perhaps objectionable to some Members of the House is now for all practical purposes a moot question.

I have had considerable experience with this program in my own State and in my own hometown.

Let me tell you what it means in a few words to the young people who are inclined to drop out of high school. We need an enlarged concept of respect for the flag, we need a new concept of discipline of our young people.

I recall on two occasions two great American generals coming to my hometown to make the annual presentation to the outstanding cadet of our ROTC Corps. General Marshall was one who came to make this presentation one year, and then there was Gen. Mark Clark on another occasion, just to mention two.

I do not know, Mr. Chairman, of a finer thing than the expansion of the junior ROTC program to the high schools and the secondary schools of our country. It would mean a grand thing, and it is aimed directly at the problem of dropouts at high school levels. I may say to you and to the Congress of this country the passage of this legislation will be a final obligation to do what we have to do.

Mr. HÉBERT. I thank the gentleman.

A Tribute to Harry H. Halsell, Westerner and Writer of the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I am pleased to have discovered recently a column by Miss Grace Halsell recalling something of the life of her father, Harry H. Halsell, of Texas, a distinguished author of many books about the West. I became acquainted with Mr. Halsell in Lueders, Tex., in the West he loved, in 1938. He was my friend for the rest of his life.

Among his books are "Cowboys and Cattleland," "Ranger," "Autobiography, by Harry H. Halsell," and "Prairie Flower." The article by Miss Halsell, herself an internationally known writer, and now the Washington correspondent for the Houston Post, was published in La Prensa, Lima, Peru. I ask consent that the article captioned "Had He Lived He Would Be 100 and Yet He Lives for Me," be printed in the Appendix to the record, as a tribute to one whose literary contributions are a part of our national treasure.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAD HE LIVED HE WOULD BE 100 AND YET FOR ME HE LIVES

(By Grace Halsell)

Had he lived these past 4 years, my father, the late Harry H. Halsell, of Texas, would now be 100. I say had he lived, but he does live for me.

Daddy liked to associate with "big men" and big ideas: he knew governors and Senators and university professors, and yet he loved all people. On his street, he knew the garbage collector, the postman, the gas meter man, and he invited Gallup poll canvasers, Fuller Brush salesmen, and Disciples of Christ in for visits. He always read their material, and made sure they got some of his. (He started writing when 65, and published 12 books).

Born in a small prairie town, Daddy got his first six-shooter at 7, started branding his own mavericks at 10 and was a "regular hand" helping his father drive herds north at the age of 11. Though the days he lived through were turbulent, "wild and rugged days, filled with indiscretions, mistakes, and wrongs," still he looked heavenward on the long trail drives and "dreamed dreams," and finally he was able to say, "There have been many victories won and worthy causes maintained."

PYTHAGORAS HIS NEIGHBOR

My father had a "formal" education of 3 years. Yet, like Lincoln, he gave himself an education. He read Socrates and Aristotle and the Bible and Shakespeare and Goethe. Not just one time, but over and over again. He was familiar with all good poetry, and talked of Pericles and Plato and Pythagoras as if they were next-door neighbors.

I never heard Daddy lodge a petty complaint. He never once said, "My feet hurt," or "Isn't it a hot day." Such talk he believed "inconsequential."

When speaking to one of his six children, he was never critical of some little action of ours, such as slamming a door, or failure to comb our hair properly, but always was urging us to think on the grander aspects of life. He taught us that the best wisdom of life lies in simplification, not in complexities.

"It is difficult to think in a fast age," he would say. He considered this time one of little wisdom, and yet he would add, "I think never have people been so warmhearted, so generous—these are good people."

LIFE FOR HIM A MARVEL

Throughout his life, Daddy did not just see, he observed. He did not just look, he marveled. Always he could be thrilled, he was aware, full of wonder, of gratitude—and question.

"What is the mind?" he would ask. And again, "What is the soul?" And what is knowledge, what is wisdom? He filled me with his wonder, his awareness, his love of life.

He knew "the tremendous reaches of a developed mind," yet he also knew that "the beginning of wisdom is the love of God—with all your heart." He felt that philosophy comes with quiet meditation, but that service is rendered by "mixing with people, and the more the better." He held a stethoscope to the hearts of his fellow men. His intuitive powers were preserved by his virtue.

All his life, he liked jokes and believed that "a thing which cannot stand laughter is not a good thing." Daddy never smoked nor drank nor learned to enjoy television, but his sense of humor kept him one of the most adaptable men to our society.

Republican Leaders' Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, with the moment of truth less than a month away, many Republican leaders are apparently fearful of having to practice what many preach between elections. An excellent and timely editorial by Clelland Cole, the St. John News, St. John, Kans., in my congressional district, lays it on the line. The editorial, "The Trouble With the Republicans," should be of interest to everyone interested in maintaining a two-party, not a "too party," system:

THE TROUBLE WITH THE REPUBLICANS

Right now the national figures within the Republican Party are suffering the same timidity which has plagued them ever since the days of F.D.R. They lack the courage of their convictions—many of them do.

After having pointed an accusing and accurate finger at the evils of socialistic trends in government they now want to be careful that they are moderate (which is to say insipid) in their beliefs.

They have cited the stupidity of continued foreign giveaways that gain no friends, and saddle the poor American taxpayer with horrendous debt. They have pointed to the national deficits, the continued running sore of spending more than income. They have spotlighted the sheer idiocy and the moral decay which is part of any compromise with godless communism, whether under the shallow excuse of coexistence, or honest admission of seeking defeat. They have been quick to quote irrefutable history, the les-

sons of which tell plainly that intrusion of government into private business can lead only, eventually, to government takeover. They have a world of proof that courage, self-pride, self-reliance, ingenuity, and strength of character all go down the drain under any plan by which the government feeds and clothes—and smothers—from the cradle to the grave. They have found no successful contradiction to their claims that permitting of murder, robbery, vandalism, and ugly mobsterism under the shallow pretext of furthering civil rights is criminal—and that the criminals—should be dealt with swiftly and certainly, and that it is utter disgrace and shame for a nation to tolerate such animalism.

They have cited repeatedly the undeniable truth that this Nation came to greatness because her people did things for themselves, in a time when government was of, by, and for the people, and that it should revert to that status today.

They have stressed the absolute necessity of patriotism, of loyalty, of love of this country first as essential to the survival of our freedom. They have not hesitated to point out that there is no such feat as soaking the rich to help the poor, and that such ill-advised efforts only reduce the standards of all.

They have held in utter contempt those who would sign away this country's heritage to those advocates of "one world" philosophy—and they have had no hesitancy in saying so—between elections.

They have recited, with vigor, the unassailable truth that Uncle Sam can be Santa Claus at home and abroad only so long, and that free enterprise, with government resigned to its proper sphere of supervising, should be the goal of government—always and forever. They have emphasized the truth that any political philosophy which moves left of center approaches socialism, and that extreme leftism is communism, whether so-called "liberals" resent the charge or not.

All this Republican leaders—most of them—have told the citizenry boldly and vigorously—between elections.

But, comes time to select a presidential candidate, adopt a platform, and go to the people, and what do they do?

They suddenly develop the courage of yesterday's pancake soaked in last week's cold coffee. They seek out a candidate who will pussyfoot, who will try not to offend anybody, and who will be a synthetic imitation of the very leaders whose tactics and philosophies they have lambasted.

They will adopt a program so insipid that it would seem to promise everything to everybody and take nothing from anybody.

They have, in short, lacked the courage to stand or fall on a question of right or wrong and, instead, turn wishy-washy and yield to "political expediency." They have not given the people a chance to choose individualism or socialism, patriotism or defeatism, financial sanity or squandering, self-reliance or dependence on government, almighty government or government of, by and for the people.

They have talked loud and long between elections and then, at campaign time, have deserted their posts and become mimics, prattling "me too" platitudes, so that those who looked for leadership to the right have been left holding the big, empty sack.

And so, they have taken fearful shellackings, with but a couple of exceptions.

A Democrat President expressed a philosophy which Republicans should heed when he, Woodrow Wilson said that he would rather be defeated and stand for a cause which he knew would someday succeed than to succeed by standing for a cause which he knew would someday fail.

A Democrat President who had as little to offer as any man who ever sought the office—Harry Truman—gave the Republicans a lesson which they ignored when he battled down to the wire and defeated Tom Dewey. He did so only because people who scorned his ability admired his courage and seeing no such courage among the Republicans, voted for Truman. He stood by his beliefs. He won.

Republicans, with a so-called moderate (meaning me-too) position, lacking the courage to campaign for their between-election beliefs, will inspire nobody. They won't even gain the respect of their adversaries. They will take a pasting. The only chance of stirring any admiration and possibly winning is to call spades spades and do away with pussyfooting. Trying to outpromise, outspend, outcompromise, outregiment, outsocialize the opposition will lose friends, respect, and elections. It's been proven so well.

Mrs. Catherine Evans Whitener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that I call the attention of the Members of the House to the passing of Mrs. Catherine Evans Whitener, who founded the tufted textile industry, the largest concentration in the world being located in the congressional district I have the honor to represent—the Seventh District of Georgia:

TUFTED FOUNDER C. EVANS WHITENER DIES

DALTON, GA.—Catherine Evans Whitener, founder of today's billion-dollar tufted textile industry, died here June 2 at Hamilton Memorial Hospital. She was 83.

Mrs. Whitener began making tufted bedspreads around 1895 as a young teenager. The first was made so she would have a bedspread like the antique a cousin had inherited.

She continued to make bedspreads for relatives and friends and in 1900 sold her tufted bedspread for $2.50.

For a decade after the first bedspread was sold the young Georgia farm girl continued her one-woman industry as she sold to friends and their friends. She wound her own yarn—on the family's old spinning wheel—and transferred designs by rubbing a sheet placed over an inverted spread with a greased tin pan.

As orders increased, she taught tufting to neighbors and shortly had many farm women working spreads for her. Her success fired the imagination of north Georgia housewives and with Mrs. Whitener's assistance in showing them how to stamp and work the spread and by loaning them patterns, these women also went into the tufted bedspread business.

Among pioneers in the handmade bedspread days were Mrs. Guilford Cannon, Mrs. R. M. Herron, Mrs. H. L. Jarvis, Mrs. Eugene Evans, Dr. and Mrs. John Boston, Mrs. Jesse Bates, B. J. Bandy, the Walter Kenners, G. H. Rauschenbergs, Mrs. C. B. Wood, Redwine and Strain, the Decks, Muses, Carters, and others.

A large number of people were in the tufting business by the 1930's. These early bedspread operations were conducted from the home until the NRA called for workers to be paid an hourly wage. This brought about the advent of tufting machines to do the work of woman's fingers and the needle and scissors she used.

Mrs. Whitener for the past 25 years watched the tufting industry grow. Among the events which met her keen eyes with great interest were the first wide tufting machines around 1940. This was followed by the introduction of 9- and 12-foot machines in the late 1940's to make cotton pile carpeting.

Then finally in the 1950's, Mrs. Whitener observed the birth of synthetic fibers, wider tufting machines, high speed tufters with vastly improved design potentials, and the transformation of tufting into the world's major carpet producing industry.

From that first $2.50 bedspread in 1900 the industry has grown into a predicted $1 billion for 1964. Over two-thirds of this industry is still located within a 200-mile radius of where it all began.

Mrs. Whitener's last public appearance before the industry was in October 1960 at the Tufted Textile Manufacturers Association's workshop in Chattanooga. She was honored as the industry's founder at a luncheon.

Akron Supports the U.S. Olympic Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, this October the athletes of the entire world will gather in Japan to compete in the Olympic games. The U.S. Olympic Committee is now gathering funds to send the participants that will represent this Nation to those games.

The 14th District of Ohio has always been in the forefront in Olympic activities. This year, under the encouragement of the Akron Beacon Journal and the Akron Chamber of Commerce, the schoolchildren decided to become partners in this venture. Nearly 8,000 children contributed to this fund.

At a recent Olympic Day dinner in Akron, they presented a telegram that bore the names of all of them. It is my understanding that this was the longest telegram ever sent. It was addressed, as a note of encouragement to those Akron area athletes who will actively participate in the 1964 Olympics.

One of the greatest basketball teams of modern times is located in Akron, Ohio. I am speaking of the team that this year won the national AAU championship—the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. team. Three members of this team have been chosen as members of the 12-man U.S. Olympic basketball team. Those great athletes are Larry Brown, Dick Davies, and Pete McCaffrey. I would add that Goodyear coach Hank Vaughn, together with Oklahoma Coach Hank Iba, will guide our representatives in the 16-team competition.

The 14th Congressional District, in the past, has had many medal winners in the Olympic games. I know that the Members of the House will remember the illustrious records of Hayes Alan Jenkins, Carol Heiss, Les Carney, Pete Rademacher, Jim George, Keith Carter, Betty Jean Maycock, Karen Oldham, Joe Kotys, Janet Bachna, Glenn Davis, David Jenkins, Pete George, Jimmy Mc-

Clain, and the late Jack Taylor. All of these brought honor to our Nation.

I feel certain that this October, we will be able to add the names of Larry Brown, Dick Davies, and Pete McCaffrey to this long list of Olympic medal winners.

The Akron Olympic Day dinner raised many thousands of dollars to help defray the expenses of the Olympic team.

I wish to commend the Olympic Day committee for its efforts. That committee headed by George Brittain, executive vice president of the Akron Chamber of Commerce, consisted of Lincoln Hackim, of Norman Malone Associates; Chuck Bloedorn, of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.; Jack Patterson and William Schlemmer, of the Akron Beacon Journal; Bob Wilson, of radio station WADC; and Bob Wylie of radio station WAKR.

Truly the spirit of these men and of the schoolchildren should inspire all of us to lend our support to the U.S. Olympic Committee.

Address by Secretary of the Interior Udall at Ground-Breaking Ceremonies at the Arbuckle Reclamation Project Sulphur, Okla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on June 20, 1964, it was my great pleasure to accompany the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Stewart L. Udall, at the ground-breaking ceremonies at the Arbuckle reclamation project in Sulphur, Okla.

Secretary Udall's address at these ceremonies was one of the finest I have ever had the pleasure to hear. I know that all Members will be interested in reading what he said:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR STEWART L. UDALL, AT GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONIES AT THE ARBUCKLE RECLAMATION PROJECT, SULPHUR, OKLA., JUNE 20, 1964

Few occasions give me more pleasure than to participate in the ground-breaking of another multiple use water project, and it is with great pride that I am able to participate as an active member of the team which brought this particular endeavor to the construction stage.

The Arbuckle project has been thoroughly studied and planned by our Bureau of Reclamation. We believe it is a true conservation endeavor and that it represents the best answers available to the many increasing demands we must make of our water.

You are lucky, here in Oklahoma, that you still can boast a surplus of water. Your State government has participated in this Arbuckle endeavor to insure that as the project is further developed, the uncommitted water will be used to its highest potential. Future users will be grateful for this attention to the foreseeable demands they will put upon it.

The primary purpose of this project, of course, is to supply municipal and industrial water to the surrounding towns and to the refinery—all of which have urgent need of it. But without detracting one iota from the major uses for which this project is intended, a whole complex of attendant benefits have been included—designed to enrich the economy, improve the quality of the land, and enhance the condition of wildlife.

Flood control provided by Arbuckle Dam and Reservoir will be effective on both Rock Creek and the Washita River. The reservoir will provide nearly 6,000 acres of water surface for those who seek recreation in aquatic sports. Beneath that surface will be the fisherman's quarry. On the Big Sandy Creek arm of the reservoir, a wildlife management area will provide better conditions for the area's animal and waterfowl population and enhance opportunities for hunters.

You are lucky that the setting for your reservoir has so much natural beauty. It does not always work out that we can improve an area in so many ways. In some cases, to do the primary job means to do just that job and not much else. Here, however, you have all the makings at hand for a recreational area which will be of truly national significance. Platte National Park is close by and is presently receiving almost more use than it can stand. The proximity of your reservoir to the Platte National Park will make that park an even greater attraction and will increase the visitor pressure. Within the limits imposed by our present authorization for this project, we will provide recreational facilities to supplement those now available at the national park. But the prospects are that with recreation growing faster than any of our other leading industries, there will be a need for private developers to provide recreational opportunities beyond any that the Government—either Federal or State—can provide. All this enriches the economy of the Nation and of your area, and adds to the quality of America's outdoor opportunities.

We are completely understanding and sympathetic to the position of those people who will be required to sell their land and, in some instances, relocate their homes. This is often the case in water-resource developments involving storage, and no better way has been found than to weigh the public good against the private problems involved and then do what seems best for the area or the Nation as a whole. In such cases, the rights of individual property owners are protected by careful constitutional and statutory safeguards, requiring fair and just payment to the owners before any land is taken for public purposes.

I congratulate your State government for its direct financial participation in this project. The State of Oklahoma has underwritten the repayment of all costs associated with providing a future water supply, and I firmly believe that this is a proper expression of a joint Federal-State endeavor. Your water conservation storage commission, led by Dr. Church, is to be complimented on the part it has played in developing the project.

For many years prior to the formation of the Arbuckle Conservancy District, the Southern Oklahoma Development Association was active in working out details of the project with the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation and seeking authorization by Congress. Gene Cope must surely be recognized and applauded for all the effort he and his organization have made to bring us to this point of initiation today.

We have dwelt at some length during the planning and researching stages of this project on the benefits that will accrue to this area as the waters of Rock Creek and the Washita River are harnessed and put to work for the people in the immediate vicinity of this project.

We have said little, however, of the effects of what we begin here today on areas far beyond the so-called limits of this project. We are dealing here not merely with a sizable, rolled earth-filled dam—we are dealing with water. More and more we coming to realize that water is not a district problem, not a State problem, not a regional or river basin problem—not even a national problem. It is a concern which is global in its scope. On the whims and vagaries of this one element in our environment have hung the glories and the tragedies of whole civilizations in the past. On the taming and mastering of it hangs the hope of the future.

Much remains to be discovered before the oceans will yield the fresh water so desperately needed in parts of this country and the world at large—in quantities and a cost which would make its use economically feasible. In spite of our sophisticated weaponry in the battle to harness water, much still remains outside the range of our power and competence. The raindrops continue to fall with their own pattern, ignoring the dry areas of the earth where water is more precious than gold but strumming steadily on such regions as the 2-million-square-mile basin of the Amazon River, which discharges 3½ billion gallons of fresh water every minute into the Atlantic Ocean. This is 12 times the flow of our own river giant—the Mississippi— and yet to date we have no way of balancing this abundance in one area against the drought in other areas.

The search, however, continues. Our efforts in the direction of saline water conversion have shown steady progress. The costs of desalinatization are coming down as new methods, multiple-use plants and by-product recovery have been added to the process.

And we continue to work with known factors, such as the project we are starting here today * * * knowing that we not only create a fine municipal and industrial water supply, virtually eliminate flood danger, improve wildlife habitat and provide a splendid recreation area, but also that we are improving the overall quality of American life—that we are moving in the direction of what President Johnson has called the great society.

With our population hovering at the 200 million mark the Nation is already using 4 billion gallons of water daily. By 1970 we will be using twice that much and it will require every ounce of creative conservation we possess to meet these prodigious demands.

Since 1961, the Kennedy-Johnson administration has authorized projects that will provide 5 million acre-feet of water storage. Twelve new water resource developments are underway; 8 major and 15 smaller reclamation projects have been authorized and funds have been appropriated. Some 250 new watershed projects will conserve surface water, prevent soil erosion, and build up underground water supplies. Since 1961 we have spent nearly $70 million for surface and underground water research and the saline water conversion program has been expanded sixfold. All these things we have done, and more are projected. Among them are a multibillion-dollar, long-term national water program to meet the Nation's pressing needs.

But more is needed, and more will be forthcoming. We have a President who recognizes the urgency in facing up to the needs of a rocketing population. We have an administration which is not content with just keeping abreast of these needs, but is determined to build an ever greater society.

But even with great leadership, a nation can founder. It takes understanding, dedication and commitment on the part of all who hold positions of trust in this democratic society if we are to move ahead instead of falling irrevocably behind in this race between mounting need and available resource.

We would not have this opportunity to break ground here today had it not been for

the willingness of the Arbuckle Master Conservancy District and the State of Oklahoma to work out with us the repayment contracts required as a prelude to starting construction. Mr. Glen Key, president of the Conservancy District, and his directors, Mr. Cofer of Wynnewood and Mr. Horner of Davis, have spent many long hours working with us to iron out all details of repayment, so that we could arrive at this happy point today.

It is from this kind of cooperative effort that the great society is being built. In the words of President Johnson:

"The great society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

I should just like to add, that the sounds which accompany the building of a great society are not merely rhetoric—they include the sound of the wrecking ball clearing away slums for urban renewal, the riffle of a page in a school library, the bite of a tractor-drawn plow into rich farm earth, the hum of the assembly line, the evening chirp of a mallard duckling and the laughter of a child. They also include the dynamite blast that heralds the building of a dam, and it is my very great pleasure to be with you as you celebrate another milestone in Oklahoma's multipurpose water program.

The Case Against the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the June 22 issue of the Wall Street Journal:

THE CASE AGAINST THE COURT

As the Supreme Court winds up its term today, it is the target of renewed and more insistent criticism. While some of the criticism, bitterly expressed in personalities, is beneath serious discussion, there are sound reasons for the reasoned objections.

For the fact is that Court members, or rather the often thin majorities, have exhibited in recent years several related attitudes which seem both harmful and increasingly habitual.

One of these—by no means new—is the predilection for ruling according to members' theories or prejudices instead of on a strict construction of the Constitution. Unfortunately that all too human weakness is compounded by other tendencies of more recent vintage.

Time was, for example, when the Court tried to judge a case on the narrowest available ground, in order to avoid presuming to make sweeping law. These days the aim frequently seems to be to rule in the most sweeping possible terms, expounded in the context of a broadly applicable philosophy or ideology.

Presumably an explanation of that trend is another phenomenon: The apparent belief of some members that the Supreme Court should rush to the rescue where the normal workings of the political process seem to them to have failed or been inadequate or too tardy. In practice this means moving into areas the Court itself long considered beyond its proper reach.

Though all these traits can be found in a number of decisions in the past several years, they are glaringly brought together in last week's rulings on the apportionment of State legislatures. The rulings contend that representation in not just one but both houses must be based almost solely on population; history, tradition, economic and other interests are to be largely ignored. Because many State legislatures have been weighted in favor of rural regions, the Court now sets out to squelch those interests in favor of urban majorities.

Here is how we think the apportionment decisions illustrate the prevailing tendencies:

First, it is hard to find persuasive constitutional justification for the view that population should be the controlling criterion of representation. Indeed, in what strikes us as a demolishing dissent, Justice Harlan shows that neither the wording nor the intent of the drafters of the 14th amendment, on which the majority decision relies, supports the contention. "In my judgment," he says, "today's decisions are refuted by the language of the amendment which they construe."

Second, the opinions are sweeping. Though the Court ruled on cases involving only six States, the accepted meaning is that the legislatures of most of the 50 are illegal as presently constituted and must be drastically overhauled. The chaos and consequences of the upheaval are not pleasant to contemplate.

Third, a main reason for the far-reaching impact of such decisions is the general philosophy of ideology which the majority propounds in justification. It is not just a question of whether New York State or Alabama or whatever is deemed wrongly apportioned in its particular circumstances; the population principle—as nearly as possible the one-man-one-vote concept—becomes the requirement for all.

The principle is itself dubious. Unlike pure democracy, a representative, republican form of government does not proceed from a one-man-one-vote premise. It does attempt to represent and accommodate a host of different interests, in addition to reflecting population proportions. That is because in our system majority rules but minority rights are to be protected; hence one of the disturbing things about the present decision is its overriding of one kind of minority, the residents of lightly populated areas.

But whatever anyone thinks of the population principle, the point is that the Court here implants in the Constitution a particular political theory which was not there before. It substitutes arbitrary edict for the amendment process.

Even in the unlikely event that all were agreed that this particular theory was the best imaginable, says Justice Stewart in his separate dissent, "I could not join in the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought into our Constitution, and forever denies to every State any opportunity for enlightened and progressive innovation in the design of its democratic institutions."

Fourth, and perhaps potentially most harmful of all, is the prevalent feeling that the Court should promote reform where other branches or levels of government have been slow to move; in the present instance, the reluctance of the States to do much of any reapportioning on their own. This general notion obviously appeals to those impatient with the sometimes lethargic pace of our political processes, but it perverts the meaning of the Constitution, misunderstands the role of the Court and menaces the delicate balances of government.

As Justice Harlan observes, "the Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements." If it is to be that, why bother with our legislative and other cumbersome political procedures? What such an approach can only lead to is an undermining of the dispersion of governmental authority and reliance on private initiative which have so far kept this a nation of free citizens.

Loose construction of the Constitution, sweeping decisions, enshrinement of favored theories, moves into areas of doubtful constitutional legality—these appear to us and other observers, including not a few constitutional experts, as grave deficiencies in many Court decisions.

Still, the real case against the Court, it seems to us, is not that any of its members are ill-intentioned or deliberately trying to subvert the relationships among the branches and levels of government. To some extent they merely mirror a widespread emotionalism in contemporary society which puts speed above order and demands instant solutions without regard to the political and social cost. The case against the Court is simply that some of the members, for whatever reasons, too often stray far beyond their limited and preeminently judicial function.

As always in the past, the mood of the Court can change with maturing views or new appointments. But until this Court is willing to reassess and moderate its role, it can only expect mounting criticism, reasoned and otherwise, deserved and undeserved. For the Nation will not lightly suffer such damage to its institutions.

Military Commissaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein a letter from Adm. Louis E. Denfeld, U.S. Navy, retired, president of the Retired Officers Association, together with a copy of the letter addressed to the Honorable PAUL H. DOUGLAS, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, from the distinguished Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Hon. Norman S. Paul, concerning military commissaries.

On June 16, 1964, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement with respect to our military commissaries, and expressed my grave concern with respect to the critics of these commissaries. Assistant Secretary of Defense Norman S. Paul is the man who has the very responsible position of dealing with all of the manpower problems of our armed services. He is fully aware of the vital importance of military commissaries to our service personnel and their dependents. His defense of the military commissary system, in his answer to the critical report submitted by the General Accounting Office, should be read by everyone who is concerned with the morale of our service personnel. He has replied to the criticism of the General Accounting Office in strong, persuasive language, and without beating around the bush. He does not apologize for the military commissaries, but instead fully recognizes their vital importance to our men and women in uniform.

Admiral Denfeld is a former Chief of Naval Operation, and he is also thoroughly familiar with military personnel and our manpower problems. He commends the letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, and I am happy to know that the Retired Officers Association endorses the remarks I made on June 16, 1964, in defense of the military commissary system.

The letter from Admiral Denfeld and the letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense speak for themselves, and I hope that those who agree with me and also those who would curtail or eliminate military commissaries will read these letters. By doing so I hope that the critics will become familiar with the facts and concentrate their efforts on improving the morale of our Armed Forces.

The letters follow:

RETIRED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., June 23, 1964.

Hon. L. MENDEL RIVERS,
House Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MENDEL: Your remarks, as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix (p. A3271 of Tuesday, June 16, 1964), under the heading, "Are the Critics of Post Exchanges the Unwitting Enemies of Military Morale?" are noted with heartfelt thanks by the Retired Officers Association, and myself as president.

Your injunction to your colleagues to pay more attention to finding ways of improving the morale of the armed services is most timely.

A communication on this vital subject by Assistant Secretary of Defense Norman S. Paul, dated June 16, 1964, was addressed to the Honorable PAUL H. DOUGLAS, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of the Senate, at whose request the original report criticizing the military commissary system was made. This letter presented strong and, in our opinion, conclusive arguments in justification for the continuation of the present commissary system. In doing so, note was taken of some conclusions reached by the General Accounting Office which were not supported by relevant facts.

The letter from the Department of Defense to Senator DOUGLAS gives a detailed analysis of this subject in a clear, cogent, and documented manner. We trust it will be helpful in quieting the ill-founded criticisms leveled at the commissaries, which have been an item of solicitous interest to the Retired Officers Association for many years, as we are sure you are aware. Our efforts have been in line with your well-known, much-appreciated, and telling statements aimed at upholding and improving the morale of the uniformed services generally.

We know the 60,000 members of the Retired Officers Association will be greatly interested in your remarks as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Accordingly, we are taking the liberty of reproducing them in the next issue of our bimonthly publication, the Retired Officer.

Again, please accept our appreciation for your well-considered and thoughtful remarks which are so encouraging to all service personnel and their dependents.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

LOUIS E. DENFELD,
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Retired.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1964.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
Chairman, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In accordance with your request, the General Accounting Office report to the Joint Economic Committee, subject "Failure To Curtail Operations at Government Expense of Military Stores in Continental United States Where Adequate Commercial Facilities Are Available," has been reviewed within the Department of Defense.

As stated in the report, a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee conducted an extensive investigation into the operation of military commissary stores during 1949. On the basis of an agreement reached between the House Armed Services Committee and the military departments, certain criteria were communicated to the services, which authorized the establishment or continued operation of commissary stores in those cases where available commercial facilities were inadequate or inconvenient, or where the average commercial selling prices of these facilities for comparable items exceeded by 20 percent the cost of such items in the commissary store.

While commissary stores were first examined by the military departments for establishment and/or continued operation under these new criteria in 1950, it was not until passage of the 1954 Department of Defense Appropriations Act that it was required they be certified annually for continued operation by the Secretary of Defense. Since the language in the act was substantially similar to that in the Armed Services Commissary Store Regulations, no essential change in criteria and procedures previously used by the military departments in their yearly examination was necessary, and the term "reasonable price" for purpose of certification has continued to be based on a 20-percent price differential. Congress was aware of this interpretation when they passed the 1954 act and was again informed of this interpretation during the hearings on the 1956 Department of Defense Appropriations Act. Moreover, the Armed Services Committee of the House and the Senate have been kept constantly informed of the Department's policy in this matter.

The commissary privilege for active duty and retired military personnel has had a long history of congressional recognition and sanction, and along with medical care and other benefits of a similar nature, has consistently been taken into consideration in establishing military pay schedules. For example, the privilege was thoroughly considered by the Hook Commission (Advisory Commission on Service Pay appointed by Secretary Forrestal and headed by Mr. Charles R. Hook), which deemed it to be balanced to a large extent by the hardships and disadvantages of military life.

The report of the House Armed Services Committee on H.R. 5007, 81st Congress, the Career Compensation Act of 1949 (Rept. No. 779), commented that in establishing the pay scales proposed by that bill, the matter of so-called hidden benefits, such as hospitalization, commissary, and post exchange privileges, were considered. The report also reached essentially the same conclusions as the Hook Commission, i.e., that these special benefits were largely balanced out by the special expense of military service. In addition, the Senate Armed Services Committee Report 1255 on H.R. 5715, 82d Congress, the Armed Forces Pay Raise Act of 1952, clearly recognized the commissary privilege as one of the special emoluments of military service.

The importance of commissaries was also recognized by the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation in their report to the Secretary of Defense in 1957 (Cordiner Committee Report). This Committee recommended that continuing action be taken to reestablish and maintain appropriate "fringe benefits" for service personnel and their dependents, including adequate commissary facilities. The Committee recommended further that Congress and the public be informed of the significance and relationship of these aspects of service life to the maintenance of an effective military manpower program.

In developing its recommendations to the Secretary of Defense on military pay in 1962, the Defense Study Group on Military Compensation made a dollar valuation of the commissary store benefit to the officer and to the enlisted man. This Study Group submitted estimates based upon both the cost to the Government and the value received by the individual of the commissary privilege. These estimates were taken into account in developing the military pay proposals which were submitted to the Congress in January 1963.

In summary, the commissary privilege has been assumed and taken into account on every occasion within the past 15 years when the responsible committees of the Congress have considered an adjustment in compensation for the Armed Forces.

It is the continuing view of the Department of Defense that the purchasing power of the dollar of military personnel, who have no choice as to the location of their assignment, should not be reduced by a difference in the cost of food in various geographical areas. The commissary store serves to assist in eliminating this differential by providing food at approximately the same price, regardless of location.

The availability of commissary stores and the implicit belief that such facilities would continue to be available during their term of service and upon retirement, have been a major factor in influencing servicemen to stay on in a career status. This is particularly true of enlisted personnel, who are the hard core of our military forces. Any curtailment in this privilege would hit hardest at the enlisted man with a family, and it is he who can least afford to lose the benefit. Increasing numbers of servicemen are married, primarily in the lower enlisted grades. For example, in 1956, approximately 37 percent of the enlisted personnel were married. At present approximately 47 percent of the enlisted personnel are married and over 300,000 or 23.2 percent of enlisted personnel in grades E-1, E-2, E-3, and E-4, with less than 4 years' service, are married or drawing dependents' allowances.

The commissary privilege is a substantial one for married men with families. Based on the average differential between commissary prices and supermarket prices, and the average annual family food costs, the annual saving from using the commissary for a family of four would be approximately $400. To take away that saving, without at the same time offering servicemen an equivalent increase in their compensation, would have an adverse effect on retention rates and particularly on the retention of service people with skills that are equally sought after in civilian life.

The commissary store privilege would be difficult to match through pay increases or changes in other cash benefits. Basic pay increases have never been made proportionate to family size. An increase in allowance for commuted rations would do no good for the enlisted man who is on field rations or overseas while his family is living in the United States. Moreover, any equalizing change in pay or cash benefits would greatly exceed in cost the present cost in appropriated funds for commissary store operations and be virtually impossible to administer on an equitable basis.

The GAO report in estimating that the unrecovered costs to the Government in operating commissary stores totaled $149 million for fiscal year 1963, based their estimate on the premise that costs of commissary stores should be at least comparable to the costs of highly competitive food stores. The report further stated that of this amount, $65 million consisted of pay and allowance of military and civilian employees engaged in operating the stores. The Department of Defense agrees with the

$65 million personnel cost figure but disagrees with the balance of the alleged cost—$94 million. It is unrealistic to compare all overhead costs in commissary stores to commercial food stores, since commissary stores do not provide facilities and services comparable to those available in commercial food stores. For example, line items carried in commissary stores are limited to approximately 28 percent of those carried in most supermarkets. Many services provided by supermarkets, such as check cash services, bagging, carryout and loading of groceries, are not normally provided by commissary stores. In addition, commissary store operating hours are generally restricted to less than 70 percent of normal commercial hours of operation. According to the Supermarket Institute Report for 1963, commercial supermarket sales per full-time store employee averaged $57,000 for the year, with sales per square foot of sales space being $180 for the same period. Like data compiled on military commissary stores, factored to equalize the sales price, reveal that annual sales per employee amount to $96,720, with sales per square foot being $423 for the same period.

The Department of Defense appreciates the opportunity to comment on this report.

Sincerely,

NORMAN S. PAUL.

Policy Debates Get Nasty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, farmers may be in disagreement on some policy issues but I find they are in almost unanimous agreement that farm organizations need more unity as farmers become a smaller percentage of the population. I have found farmers are more in agreement than the different organizations. For example, a poll indicated that between 89 and 95 percent of the members of every farm organization in Iowa favored the feed grains program, yet the leadership of some have consistently opposed it.

While most Members of Congress fully realize that a farmer does not assign his right to his opinion by joining a farm organization, they do hope their membership dues are not usually used to oppose their own position.

A recent editorial in the Wallaces Farmer points out that in some ways, general farm organizations seem to be cooperating less rather than more. So that it will be readily available to my colleagues and so the difficult position of members, who do not believe that either all Government or no Government is the answer, can be better understood, I set forth the article which is as follows:

POLICY DEBATES GET NASTY

Our national farm organizations have always cooperated in some areas even while disagreeing over many basic issues. But recently the disagreements have broken out into open warfare, and there's danger that cooperation may be coming to an end.

One reason for the growing tension: 1965 is likely to be a very crucial year in farm policy. The American Farm Bureau Federation, strengthened by rising membership, is intensifying its fight against Government subsidies for farmers. At the same time former middle-of-the-road National Grange has moved further into the opposite camp. Grange President Herschel Newsom is becoming more outspoken for price support and production control programs.

The National Farmers Union has gone even further. President James Patton has made direct attacks on Charles Shuman (president of AFBF) in news releases and in his organization's publications. Some of his statements are rather venomous.

"The latest antics of Farm Bureau President Shuman prove, once again, that he is selling America's family farmers a bill of rotten goods or worse yet, selling them out," says Patton.

His accusation was based on Shuman's role in the National Food Conference and his failure to testify on President Johnson's proposed National Commission on Food Marketing.

Shuman has taken a leading role in the National Food Conference, and the organization has its headquarters in AFBF offices in Chicago. A number of farmer-supported groups are members, including the American Dairy Association, National Livestock and Meat Board, and the National Livestock Producers Association.

But the bulk of the 65 members are food processors and distributors or their national organizations. Included are the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., National Canners Association, the Super Market Institute, Inc., and many meatpackers and retail food chains.

Most of the public efforts of the Food Conference have been directed toward better nutrition for teenagers. Farmers can't quarrel with this goal. But Farmers Union and others have been suspicious of the link between Farm Bureau and the food handlers. The National Grange dropped its membership in the organization.

Patton has also attacked AFBF for its opposition to the administration's war on rural poverty, and its "bread tax" campaign against the wheat bill.

Shuman has not directly answered Patton's accusations to date. But he has sent Patton telegrams stating that he considers Patton's statements libelous, and that an attorney is checking into possible court action.

It's true that Shuman's speeches make good listening for food middlemen and other business groups. He frequently appears on the programs of their national meetings. He would find considerable farmer opposition to some of his statements in a speech to the National Industrial Conference Board in New York on May 21.

"Government tampering with markets and prices is the principal cause of the current problem in agriculture," Shuman said. [Most economists agree that it is our technological breakthrough which, in turn, made it possible for us to overproduce our markets greatly.]

"The result [of the feed grain program] was excess feeding and buildup of cattle numbers that contributed to a serious break in livestock prices," Shuman stated, "At the same time, the guaranteed feed grain price to cooperators—while probably lower than it would have averaged in a free market—stimulated the use of fertilizer and heavier seedings and actual production of feed grains increased."

[Why the higher prices that Shuman says would not have still further stimulated the use of fertilizer and heavier seedings is a mystery. And would not production have been stimulated on the additional 25 million acres that was diverted by the feed grain program last year, resulting in even heavier feeding?]

"I am convinced," Shuman continued, "that the new program for wheat will result in lower prices and lower income for wheat farmers, higher costs to taxpayers, and increased bread prices for consumers."

[Direct payments to 47½ cents per bushel to producers will boost their income by some $500 million on 1.1 billion bushels this year. Can farmers improve their lot if it's "unfair" to raise food prices to consumers?]

Prognosis for the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, among the most gravely important matters which has faced the United States since the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, has been that of the Panama Canal. Recognizing the magnitude of the subject and the necessity for the exercise by the Congress of its constitutional power as the ultimate authority in the formation of Isthmian policy, my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] seized the torch of leadership and since that time, in a series of notable addresses and statements, in and out of the Congress, has fearlessly and forcefully clarified the key problems and offered remedial plans of action. When viewed as a whole, his contributions have been unique, making him the most respected leader in the Congress on Isthmian Canal policy matters.

It was, therefore, with the highest interest that I read in the June 1964 issue of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings an extremely able article by my greatly esteemed and able colleague from Pennsylvania in which, with characteristic candor and vigor, he emphasizes the imperative necessity to stick with fundamentals in dealing with interoceanic canal problems, especially the retention of indispensable and undiluted sovereignty of the United States over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

Early in the present Congress, the late Chairman Clarence Cannon of the Committee on Appropriations introduced House Concurrent Resolution 105, 88th Congress, to clarify, make definite, and reaffirm our Isthmian Canal policy.

The indicated article follows:

"PROGNOSIS FOR THE PANAMA CANAL": COMMENT AND DISCUSSION

The Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD, Member of Congress—As a member of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations charged with the formulation of appropriations bills for the Armed Forces and as a student of Panama Canal history and interoceanic canal problems over many years, I have read with the greatest interest the article by Professor Miller. All thoughtful members of the Congress that I know concur with his conclusion that: "Any real erosion of our position in the Canal Zone is bound to have widespread and adverse effects throughout the Caribbean, in Latin America generally, and on our global relationships." This is a realistic appraisal of the situation now facing the United States with respect to the Panama Canal, which has long been the key target for the Communistic revolutionary conquest of the Caribbean.

The sovereign status of the United States over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal is the direct result of a long-range commitment by our Government for the construction, and perpetual maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of an isthmus canal by whatever route that may be considered, pursuant to the 1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain and the 1902 Spooner Act authorizing the securing of perpetual control of the Canal Zone by treaty with the sovereign of the Isthmus of Panama.

As a result of the Panama Revolution of November 3, 1903, and the diplomatic intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt, the necessary treaty was made with Panama, a successor state, rather than with Colombia, the sovereign of the isthmus prior to the 1903 revolt. This treaty, prepared under the close supervision of Secretary of State John M. Hay, granted sovereignty en bloc over the Canal Zone to the United States, "in perpetuity" and most significantly to the "entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority." Moreover, the United States obtained ownership of all land and property in the Canal Zone by purchase from individual owners as well as sovereignty of the entire Canal Zone and its auxiliary areas by payment of $10 million as indemnity.

This control and ownership of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal was formally recognized by Colombia in the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of April 6, 1914, proclaimed March 30, 1922. In return, Colombia received certain rights for transit of the Panama Canal and transport over the Panama Railroad comparable to those enjoyed by the Governments of the United States and Panama.

Thus the commitments of the United States, as regards the perpetual operation of the Panama Canal, are rooted not only in law but also in three important treaties. The width of the Canal Zone and the grant of sovereignty in perpetuity over it are not happenstances attributable to unauthorized clandestine maneuvering of foreign agents, as partisans have implied, but are due to the important studies made by the Isthmian Canal Commission (1899 to 1902) headed by Rear Admiral John G. Walker, one of the most distinguished officers of the Navy. In his report on January 18, 1902, he emphasized that suitable treaty arrangements must be made "if an isthmian canal is to be constructed by our Government across the Isthmus of Panama," that "the grant must be not for a term of years, but in perpetuity, and a strip of territory from ocean to ocean of sufficient width must be placed under the control of the United States," and that "in this strip the United States must have the right to enforce police regulations, preserve order, protect property rights, and exercise such other powers as are appropriate and necessary.

History has amply justified the vision of this distinguished naval officer in laying the basis for U.S. treaty-granted exclusive sovereignty over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal in an area that has been the scene of endless bloody revolution and political instability. The isthmus is less stable today than it was in 1903, and the challenge of the 1903 Treaty by Panama has not been met in a forthright manner by the United States. Experience has certainly shown that should the time ever come when any part of the Canal Zone or Panama Canal becomes a political pawn of Panamanian politicians, the days of U.S. control will be numbered. The inevitable result will be taken over by Communist revolutionary power.

Lest the current enthusiasm for a second Isthmian Canal serve to divert due consideration from fundamentals, attention is invited to the following facts:

1. The United States has a fine canal at Panama now, but it is rapidly approaching saturation.

2. Experience has shown that it will work, that our Government knows how to maintain and operate it, and how to provide for its major increase of capacity and operational efficiency without the requirement of a new treaty with Panama, all of which are paramount considerations transcending wishful thinking of promoters and idealists.

3. This modernization program, which was developed in the Panama Canal organization from meticulous studies of operations during World War II, provides for the adaptation of the existing canal to the principles of the Terminal Lake solution. This idea has been authoritatively recognized by maritime agencies of our Government and independent engineers, navigators, and lawyers as providing the best operational canal practicable of achievement, and at the least cost without involvement in treaty negotiations. The last, indeed, is a prime consideration.

4. The United States now has workable treaties for the Panama Canal granting the indispensables of undiluted sovereignty and ownership over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal and its auxiliary areas, and the protection of the summit level water supply of the Chagres River Valley.

5. The United States has suffered abrogation by ill-advised treaty amendments and nullification by Executive actions of vital parts of the 1903 Treaty through policies and practices in direct opposition to the 1923 position of Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, who considered such reversals unthinkable.

6. The United States has had to defend its sovereignty over the Canal Zone by the use of force—an action absolutely necessary to protect the lives of our citizens and to save the canal itself from destruction by Red-directed mobs from Panama.

7. The United States has a treaty for a canal at Nicaragua, which would require a supplementary treaty with that country to supply necessary details as well as conventions with Costa Rica, Salvador, and possibly, Honduras, but it has no treaties for a canal at any other site.

8. The United States would have to defend a new canal at any site of any type constructed in addition to the Panama Canal from lawlessness and disorder as was illustrated at Panama from January 9 to 11, 1964, and against aggressive warfare.

9. The use of nuclear explosions for excavation is limited by the nuclear test-ban treaty and, in any case, is still in the conjectural stage, requiring from 7 to 10 years of experiment and the expenditure of some $250 million to develop proper devices for such excavation by nuclear explosion.

10. The expenditure of vast sums on an extravagant so-called sea-level project in the Canal Zone in the name of security and national defense will inevitably divert huge sums from other, more pressing programs for the defense of the United States and, on the whole, will involve much greater fixed costs than the present canal as improved by the economic means of additional locks. Moreover, dogmatic assertions that a canal at sea level would only require a small number of employees, perhaps 500, to operate and maintain it are perfectly absurd. A much larger number would be required because of the related conditions involved.

11. While it is true that a sea-level project at Panama has the support of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and industrial interests and professional engineers associated with it, there has been, and still is, sharp opposition to this project on the part of many independent nuclear warfare, engineering, maritime, and other ship canal experts who cannot be dismissed as uninformed, incompetent, or inexperienced.

12. If the United States does not stand firm at Panama it cannot stand anywhere else, and weakness at Panama will cause other nations having possible canal sites to be more demanding in their consideration of treaties for new canal construction.

Certain writers, whose experience hardly entitles them to speak with authority, have urged that the United States surrender its sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Panama Canal to the United Nations or some other international body. They do not reveal that such transfer has been a prime objective of Soviet policy since 1917 and is directly related to Soviet aims to secure the control of the Dardanelles. Moreover, such a transfer would not solve problems but would be an abdication of responsibilities and would bring about the complete extinction of the Monroe Doctrine designed for the protection of the Western Hemisphere. In the light of what has happened in the Caribbean since 1959 when Castro took over Cuba, any such proposal is, to say the least, naive and, in its effect, amounts to downright subversion.

The Isthmian Canal policy of the United States, as basically evolved, has had for its objective the best canal at the best site for the transit of vessels of commerce and war on terms of equality and at low cost of construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection in the interest of tolls which interoceanic commerce can bear.

The most comprehensive, scholarly, forthright, and objective yet brief and rigorous clarification of overall canal problems ever written is that by Capt. Miles P. DuVal.[1] This article has become a state paper of the first importance and is must reading for all who wish to know the truth about this very confusing subject.

In planning our future interoceanic canal policy, it is imperative to stick to fundamentals. And the first of these is retention of indispensable and undiluted sovereignty of the United States over the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal, for if any part of the zone or interest in the canal becomes a political pawn for Panamanian politicians, the days of efficient operations of the Panama Canal, indeed, will end. Moreover, no one has ever been able to explain how the United States can adequately maintain, operate, and protect the canal with less authority than that accorded in the 1903 treaty.

[1] Miles P. DuVal, "Isthmian Canal Policy—An Evaluation," U.S. Naval Institute proceedings, March 1955, pp. 263-275.

Lumber Orders Threatened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, in the June 1964 issue of the trade publication, Western Timber Industry, there appeared a story noting that, because of provisions of the Jones Act which require U.S. mills to ship intercoastally only in American vessels, an important lumber producer in my district stands to loose up to $50,000 immediately, and perhaps much more in the future.

The story said this could come about because the required U.S. flagships were simply unavailable to meet delivery schedules necessary to fill orders. Significantly, the article pointed out that competing Canadian mills, located just across the border, could arrange to have their lumber arrive at U.S. destination points within 2 weeks.

It is just for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I introduced and have continued to support my bill, H.R. 7961, to repeal

certain sections of the Merchant Marine Act, the so-called Jones Act, with respect to the transportation of American-produced lumber.

You will recall that it was only earlier this month that I presented certain information supplied to me by the Simpson Timber Co., of Washington State. This information documented inroads by British Columbia lumber mills on potentially American markets made possible by the very provisions which my bill seeks to strike from the Merchant Marine Act.

The situation with respect to Merrill & Ring Western Lumber Co,, as reported by the Western Timber Industry, adds a further note of urgency to the matter. Because I believe this problem continues to warrant the closest attention of the Congress, I ask Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, that the article "Jones Act Leaves Mill Sans Any Transport for Finish Lumber," be inserted in the RECORD:

JONES ACT LEAVES MILL SANS ANY TRANSPORTATION FOR FINISHED LUMBER

PORT ANGELES, WASH.—Requirements of the Federal Jones Act have piled millions of feet of unshipped lumber on the Port Angeles wharf of Merrill & Ring Western Lumber Co. It threatens the firm's order file.

Because of the law's requirement that U.S. mills can ship intercoastally only in U.S. bottoms, lumber on which Merrill & Ring had booked space for April delivery in Boston will not arrive until mid-June, if then.

"Buyers are reluctant to place more orders with this kind of delivery performance," A. H. "Gus" Haley, M. & R. manager, commented.

Haley related that a ship broker in Seattle had told him, "It's too bad you've got to use American flagships. I could get you a foreign ship tomorrow." That foreign ship, however, had to make its return run to the Atlantic on ballast, as it was unable to find adequate cargo.

Merrill & Ring Western is a 100-percent cargo mill. It produces about 4 million board feet monthly. Haley had told States Marine steamship's management late last year that the mill would take 4 million feet of space monthly in 1964.

Normally, two ships have called at M. & R.'s wharf monthly. However, only one tied up in April, on the 30th. It lifted 3 million board feet. Only one called in May. It took 0.9 million feet.

States Marine ships have presumably been diverted into carrying U.S. grain to Russia and into other offshore cargo which needed handling when the grain deal created a ship shortage. Lumber is normally a backhaul for States vessels returning to the Atlantic.

M. & R. customers must wait 6 weeks to 2 months between sawing of an order and delivery. Canadian mills—just across the Strait of Juan de Fuca on Vancouver Island—can have their lumber set down on the U.S. Atlantic coast within 2 weeks at the longest.

Haley pointed out that before World War II there were 12 shipping firms in the intercoastal trade. Despite the so-called protection of the Jones Act, there are now two—States Marine and Cal Mar—plus Weyerhaeuser Steamship Co.

Yet, Haley remarked, this water mill produced 50 million board feet of cargo lumber last year but is unable to get U.S. flagship service, or even to charter a special ship at top premium prices.

He estimated that an order cancellation because of inability to meet delivery schedules would cost M. & R. $40,000 to $50,000 immediately, with considering the effect on future orders.

Architecture of Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, Americans' mounting concern over Supreme Court decisions is reflected in an excellent editorial appearing in the Wall Street Journal of Monday, June 22, entitled "The Case Against the Court." When we realize that there is no appeal from the Supreme Court we know that Congress itself is the last bulwark of protection of our constitutional rights in the fields in which it can act. Congress should act now to alleviate the shameful effect on America of the rash of high court opinions that are destroying the Federal-State relationship, freeing criminals, allowing pornography, giving passports to persons of doubtful loyalty.

A more disturbing question and one which deeply troubles all Members of both sides of the aisle is whether, in light of the fact that decisions of this type have now continued for almost a decade, a determined few on the High Court who judicially legislate the Nation toward disaster are now fairly chargeable with knowing what they do, are planning a descent to anarchy by allowing individual license? This Nation faces a desperate situation indeed at this hour unless Congress acts to propose constitutional amendments to correct constitutional imbalance before this session is ended.

Under unanimous consent, I include at this point in the RECORD the Journal's editorial and commend it to most earnest study.

THE CASE AGAINST THE COURT

As the Supreme Court winds up its term today, it is the target of renewed and more insistent criticism. While some of the criticism, bitterly expressed in personalities, is beneath serious discussion, there are sound reasons for the reasoned objections.

For the fact is that Court members, or rather the often thin majorities, have exhibited in recent years several related attitudes which seem both harmful and increasingly habitual.

One of these—by no means new—is the predilection for ruling according to members' theories or prejudices instead of on a strict construction of the Constitution. Unfortunately that all too human weakness is compounded by other tendencies of more recent vintage.

Time was, for example, when the Court tried to judge a case on the narrowest available ground, in order to avoid presuming to make sweeping law. These days the aim frequently seems to be to rule in the most sweeping possible terms, expounded in the context of a broadly applicable philosophy or ideology.

Presumably an explanation of that trend is another phenomenon: The apparent belief of some members that the Supreme Court should rush to the rescue where the normal workings of the political process seem to them to have failed or been inadequate or too tardy. In practice this means moving into areas the Court itself long considered beyond its proper reach.

Though all these traits can be found in a number of decisions in the past several years, they are glaringly brought together in last week's rulings on the apportionment of State legislatures. The rulings contend that representation in not just one but both houses must be based almost solely on population; history, tradition, economic and other interests are to be largely ignored. Because many State legislatures have been weighted in favor of rural regions, the Court now sets out to squelch those interests in favor of urban majorities.

Here is how we think the apportionment decisions illustrate the prevailing tendencies:

First, it is hard to find persuasive constitutional justification for the view that population should be the controlling criterion of representation. Indeed, in what strikes us as a demolishing dissent, Justice Harlan shows that neither the wording nor the intent of the drafters of the 14th amendment, on which the majority decision relies, supports the contention. "In my judgment," he says, "today's decisions are refuted by the language of the amendment which they construe."

Second, the opinions are sweeping. Though the Court ruled on cases involving only six States, the accepted meaning is that the legislatures of most of the 50 are illegal as presently constituted and must be drastically overhauled. The chaos and consequences of the upheaval are not pleasant to contemplate.

Third, a main reason for the far-reaching impact of such decisions is the general philosophy of ideology which the majority propounds in justification. It is not just a question of whether New York State or Alabama or whatever is deemed wrongly apportioned in its particular circumstances; the population principle—as nearly as possible the one-man-one-vote concept—becomes the requirement for all.

The principle is itself dubious. Unlike pure democracy, a representative, republican form of government does not proceed from a one-man-one-vote premise. It does attempt to represent. and accommodate, a host of different interests, in addition to reflecting population proportions. That is because in our system majority rules but minority rights are to be protected; hence one of the disturbing things about the present decision is its overriding of one kind of minority, the residents of lightly populated areas.

But whatever anyone thinks of the population principle, the point is that the Court here implants in the Constitution a particular political theory which was not there before. It substitutes arbitrary edict for the amendment process.

Even in the unlikely event that all were agreed that this particular theory was the best imaginable, says Justice Stewart in his separate dissent, "I could not join in the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought into our Constitution, and forever denies to every State any opportunity for enlightened and progressive innovation in the design of its democratic institutions."

Fourth, and perhaps potentially most harmful of all, is the prevalent feeling that the Court should promote reform where other brances or levels of government have been slow to move; in the present instance, the reluctance of the States to do much of any reapportioning on their own. This general notion obviously appeals to those impatient with the sometimes lethargic pace of our political processes, but it perverts the meaning of the Constitution, misunderstands the role of the Court and menaces the delicate balances of government.

As Justice Harlan observes, "the Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements." If

it is to be that, why bother with our legislative and other cumbersome political procedures? What such an approach can only lead to is an undermining of the dispersion of governmental authority and reliance on private initiative which have so far kept this a nation of free citizens.

Loose construction of the Constitution, sweeping decisions, enshrinement of favored theories, moves into areas of doubtful Constitutional legality—these appear to us and other observers, including not a few Constitutional experts, as grave deficiencies in many Court decisions.

Still, the real case against the Court, it seems to us, is not that any of its members are ill-intentioned or deliberately trying to subvert the relationships among the branches and levels of government. To some extent they merely mirror a widespread emotionalism in contemporary society which puts speed above order and demands instant solutions without regard to the political and social cost. The case against the Court is simply that some of the members, for whatever reasons, too often stray far beyond their limited and preeminently judicial function.

As always in the past, the mood of the Court can change with maturing views or new appointments. But until this Court is willing to reassess and moderate its role, it can only expect mounting criticism, reasoned and otherwise, deserved and undeserved. For the Nation will not lightly suffer such damage to its institutions.

In Defense of the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling to change the pattern of State government, a sound constitutional plan to reverse this latest power grab has been advocated by Tom Waring, editor of the News and Courier—one of South Carolina's leading newspapers.

In a thought-provoking editorial, Mr. Waring calls for invoking article V of the Constitution to amend this decision of the Court.

On the surface, I would consider his proposal sound and heartily endorse his stand. As you know, article V permits the States to initiate an amendment to the Constitution instead of following the general procedure of a congressional proposal being ratified by three-fourths of the States.

If our States are to survive as entities, they had better do something and do it immediately.

Under unanimous consent, I hereby insert the editorial in the RECORD inorder that the Members of this body and Americans everywhere may have the benefit of the counsel offered by this distinguished editor:

DEFENSE OF THE STATES

If the public becomes sufficiently aroused against the Supreme Court's order to change the pattern of State government, the States have a means of redress in the U.S. Constitution.

Article V of the Constitution provides two methods for amendment. So far as we know, one of these methods never has been used. It gives the States the privilege of initiating amendments by convention.

Here is the language of the Constitution:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of is equal suffrage in the Senate."

The authors of the Constitution in their wisdom recognized the risk that Federal authority someday might coerce the States beyond tolerance. They provided means for the State legislatures to start amendment procedure even should the Congress fail to initiate amendments.

Heretofore, amendments have been initiated in Congress and passed along to the States for ratification.

In the current conflict over reapportionment of State legislatures, many citizens believe that the Supreme Court has exceeded its authority, and that its ruling interferes with the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to every State. Leaders of State government may decide to communicate with their opopsite numbers in other States and present a united front.

They have a right to do so, under the Constitution. Article V spells out the way in which they can act. We shall be listening for public discussion that could turn grumbling into action.

Unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Statue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 27, 1964, there will be an unveiling of a statue in honor of Taras Shevchenko, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Europe's early freedom fighter.

It is indeed highly appropriate that such a statue should occupy a prominent place on the American landscape, for the free shore of America is an ideal site for this tribute to one who so nobly and effectively fought for freedom.

This structure will serve as a stirring salute to the burning deeds of this freedom fighter, reminding all men that liberty is a prize not freely given but dearly won.

It will also serve to remind those of us who are free that there are others who do not live in the warm atmosphere of liberty—that we who abide with independence must send out a constant flow of understanding and encouragement to those not so blessed, thereby providing a current of hope that the iron curtain which has fallen down upon them will someday yield to the penetrating and all-conquering force of freemen.

Words Get New Meanings in Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the major concern of the public at the present time is the collapse of our foreign policy. The inconsistencies in our foreign policy are obvious to all and Columnist Walter Trohan, of the Chicago Tribune, very effectively points out the doubletalk involved in explanations to the American public. This morning's Chicago Tribune article is truly an accurate summary of our foreign policy doubletalk, and I insert it at this point into the RECORD:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: WORDS GET NEW MEANINGS IN COLD WAR

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, June 23.—One of the greatest difficulties in understanding the history of our times is that words no longer mean what they say or no longer say what they mean.

War is no longer war, but is a hot war or a cold war or a police action, although a cold war can be as costly in money, in blood, and in loss of liberty as any hot war.

We have been in the cold war for 18 years. It has cost us a trillion dollars—$900 billions on maintenance of our Military Establishment at war footing in time of peace and more than $120 billions on foreign aid.

In the Korean war, which former President Truman insisted was a police action, casualties—killed and wounded—totaled 157,530—more than in any of our wars, except the Civil War, World War I, and World War II. We are suffering casualties in Vietnam, some 226 dead, and have suffered them in other areas in guerrilla action, planes shot down, and accidents.

In China some 500 to 660 million people lost their liberty when Reds took over on the mainland. Cuba was taken over. Patriots were murdered in Hungary. Other areas fell under Communist or dictatorial rule. Communism has scored many gains in the cold war and the non-Communist world has had trouble holding its own.

If the non-Communist world can be said to have scored a victory, it was in Brazil, where middle class army officers moved to head off a threatened Red takeover. This victory cannot be credited to our policy or to our dollars.

A DEFEAT IS A DEFEAT

The cold war can be just as disastrous in defeat as any hot war.

Conciliation, appeasement, and even surrender are too often cloaked as peace. About a year ago a nuclear test ban treaty was offered to the Senate and approved after some weeks of debate. It was hailed as a great step toward peace. In the succeeding 9 months this so-called first step hasn't advanced the cause of peace by a hair's breadth.

Actually the treaty was a step back to the moratorium on nuclear tests which was effected in 1958 and broken by Russia in 1961. The treaty froze the strategic advances Rus-

ria gained from the tests she made when she broke the moratorium and worked to give her breathing time during the ideological war in Communist ranks.

Early this month a consular treaty was effected with Russia which President Johnson hailed as "a significant step." Yet the treaty is fraught with dangers to the United States, and without any advantage.

TREATY GIVES UNUSUAL BENEFIT

Under the treaty the United States agreed to give full diplomatic immunity to Red consular officers, which is not a customary action. Coupled with the facts that Russia uses every possible contact with other nations for espionage purposes, it would seem that Russians will use the treaty to establish offices for immune spies in Chicago, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The only concession given the United States should have been the practice all along. That is the Russian promise that it will notify the State Department any time any American is arrested on any charge in Russia.

This, too, constitutes conciliation and appeasement, if not surrender. It can hardly be termed a step forward.

Although we have been spending billions on foreign aid to fight the cold war, some of the billions have gone to the enemy we are fighting. Yugoslavia has been given more than $2 billions, purportedly to encourage a split with Moscow, yet Marshal Tito and Nikita S. Khrushchev have grown closer together. More millions have gone to Poland, whose Red leaders grow chummier and chummier with those in the Kremlin.

If our policy sounds crazy it could be because the words are as wacky as the music.

Graduate Fellowship Program of National Defense Education Act Highly Successful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, 1964 marks the 6th year of operation of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. I have the honor to be a member of the Special Subcommittee on Education, chaired by the able and distinguished gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN], which is now considering needed amendments to the National Defense Education Act.

I think I can speak for Members on both sides of the aisle when I say that the subcommittee has been impressed by the marked educational progress which has been made possible by the National Defense Education Act. We have been particularly pleased to note the expanded educational opportunities which the Title IV: Graduate Fellowship Program has made possible, the opportunities for financially needy but talented young people to go on to graduate education and prepare themselves for a career of service as college teachers.

Because I believe it would be of great interest to my colleagues to have some firsthand evidence of the worth of the graduate fellowship program, two letters, one from a National Defense Education Act fellow and the other from a National Defense Education Act faculty member, follow:

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
Madison, Wis., June 12, 1964.

Dr. ALAN FERGUSON,
Director, Graduate Fellowship Section, Division of College and University Assistance, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. FERGUSON: With no immediate motive in mind, I would like to comment upon the success, from my point of view, of the National Defense Education Act, title IV, program. At the University of Wisconsin we initiated this program in cartography 3 years ago with three fellowships, followed by two fellowships the next year. Nothing that we could have done would, I believe, have been as beneficial to our program as has this.

The tangible dividends from the program have been very important and much welcomed; but they are straightforward and need no itemization. What I did not anticipate was the intellectual effect on the program as a consequence of having enough students to form what might be called a scholarly "cadre." I have had regularly for many years a very few students doing advanced work in cartography. Never, however, have I been able to have as many quite good ones all at once. The immediate effect was to provide the students with a sufficient number of peers that they could discuss problems with, try out new ideas on, and generally establish a kind of "interested group." I find from talking with them that this makes all the difference in the world from the point of view of intellectual development. Just having more than one or two others who talk the same language seems to make a great deal of difference.

A second great dividend was provided by the fact that the very existence of six or seven people interested in the same field acted as a kind of magnet for others. One would think that numbers is evidence of the "worthwhileness" of a field. At any rate, because they were a good group, graduate students who probably never would have given cartography a second thought joined up, so to speak. Obviously, for both these dividends I am very grateful.

My experience with this program has made it evident that the main need for such small programs is some sort of subsidy for fellowships. I hope that ultimately these will become available so that we can keep going the interest that has apparently been promoted by the title IV program.

Very sincerely yours,
ARTHUR H. ROBINSON,
Professor.

JUNE 8, 1964.

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP BRANCH,
DIVISION OF COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ASSISTANCE,
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: Although the legislative history of the National Defense Education Act is doubtless so complicated that I could hardly track down, even if I had the time to make the attempt, the names of those who conceived the title IV graduate fellowship program, I did not want to end the last week of my tenure as a National Defense Education Act fellow without a gesture at thanking the people who made it possible. And so, equally unable to thank the men who planned my fellowship and all my fellow citizens who paid for it, I thank you.

Wishing to work for a doctorate and eventually the chance to teach college and having received from my parents all the financial support I could reasonably accept, I was spared by the fellowship from the miserable alternatives of having to let my wife work (at the expense of our infant son and daughter) or of creeping toward the degree with parttime study, living exiguously on a teaching fellowship, thinking always of having to get extra money, never doing well by either my students or my work—and, as I now realize, in all probability never finishing. If the need for trained teachers cannot be filled by prospective graduate students who either are celibate or willing to be subsidized by their parents almost indefinitely, then National Defense Education Act title IV fellowships are justified as within the national interest.

I believe my own teachers would bear me out in saying that I shall teach the better for having been allowed to prepare slowly, always able to follow out a momentary interest or trace down a recollected thought, able to reflect and converse and to afford the luxuries of false starts and dead ends and of putting matters aside when they were not going well or when the passage of a little time would correct my view of them. For if there are occasions when a student of literature ploughs through many books in a day, there are others when, if the weight of practical matters has not robbed him of the necessary leisure, he lingers for many minutes over a single line. At least as much as any of the other humanities, the study of literature, well undertaken, humanizes, widens, and deepens a man's vision, sweetens him with wisdom. That cannot be jammed into odd moments of the day, prosecuted by schedule.

A conspiracy of friends, some of them known, most of them not, has given me three unconstrained years during which the jobs of reading and writing have very seldom ceased to be labors of love. I was freed from the necessity to teach prematurely, before I either wanted to or was ready for it. And because I was not obliged to teach poorly for 4 years, I hope I shall do it well for 40.

Sincerely yours,
BRITTON J. HARWOOD,
National Defense Education Act Fellow in English, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Crime in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, a young lady was a victim of assassination near Times Square, in the heart of New York City. Miss Joan Wilson was brutally murdered by a sniper's bullet, apparently for no reason other than the fact that she was there.

Mr. Speaker, certain Members of Congress representing that beleaguered city derive their political subsistence from continuing demagogic harangues of hatred directed against the people of Mississippi. Their chief stock in trade is in maligning the people of the South while sweeping their own dirt under the rug.

Mr. Speaker, New York City is one of the most crime-infested areas in the country, and its crime rate makes that of Mississippi look like a Sunday School picnic by comparison.

Mr. Speaker, if these Members are so deeply concerned about law, order, and civil peace, they would devote their

energies and such talents as they may have in the protection of their own people, rather than encouraging and fomenting racial incidents in the South.

The Remarkable "Credit Bubble"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration is continuing to prod and praise the economy in a manner which raises serious reservations about the future in the minds of many economists. On April 15, I pointed out to the House that overoptimism about the rate of economic expansion and overexuberance in the use of stimulative measures may hasten the administration's drive down the road of "boom and bust." The Johnson administration may feel that an overly expansive economy is politically expedient, but the ultimate result is certain to be harmful to the Nation and, especially, to its working men and women.

Another of the administration's articles of economic faith also needs further attention. This is the "growth at any cost" thesis, the belief, for instance, that a little inflation, such as the economy is now experiencing, is a price worth paying for a vigorous economic expansion.

Even more harmful than the inflation gamble, however, is the administration's policy of allowing the volume of private credit to swell to a degree where it threatens the growth and stability of the economy. A timely and important article in the June 17 Wall Street Journal takes a searching and disturbing look at the credit situation.

Presently, more than a fifth of family after-tax income is eaten up by interest charges and repayments. Private debt in 1963 was 65 percent of gross national product, the highest credit level since roaring 1929. One noted economist calculates that a full quarter of the Nation's families have at least a third of their income committed to servicing their debts and concludes that we are fast approaching the level of effective debt capacity.

Mushrooming credit presents a real threat to economic growth. Since so much recent growth is apparently debt fueled the slowdown in debt as we near effective capacity will tend to curb the overall rate of business expansion.

The quality of outstanding debt also promotes misgivings. The funds competing for investment are so large that bankers must make unnecessary loans with undue risk in order to continue to pay high interest rates to attract depositers. Some of today's loans, reckless by previous standards, include mortgage loans for nonhousing purposes and building loans for projects unwarranted by demand.

The presence of so much freewheeling credit makes the economy particularly vulnerable and can turn a minor setback into a major recession.

Why has not appropriate action been taken to restrict ballooning credit?

Some analysts charge that the Johnson administration has applied intense political pressure to the Federal Reserve to defer restrictive action until after the November presidential election. Action taken now could limit the rate of business expansion and its political value. Even if so such pressure exists, the administration condones the credit binge by failing to call for moderation and restrictive measures.

The pervading atmosphere of excessive optimism has obscured the alarming private debt situation far too long. With unanimous consent, I place the Wall Street Journal article by Alfred L. Malabre in the RECORD at this point:

WORRY OVER DEBT: SOME ECONOMISTS FEAR SOARING CREDIT VOLUME IS THREAT TO ECONOMY—THEY SEE PUBLIC'S CLIMBING DEBT DEEPENING A SLUMP—ARE RISKIER LOANS RISING?—PESSIMISTS STILL IN MINORITY

(By Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.)

Is there a slow-ticking time bomb at the heart of the Nation's mightiest business expansion?

Some economists suspect there is. They represent only a minority, but the nagging questions they raise are heard more often.

The nub of their worry is the debt people owe—debt that grows faster than income year after year.

On average, more than a fifth of the after-tax income of American families is eaten up by interest charges and repayments, or servicing, on installment loans and mortgages. The table below traces the fast rise of this debt commitment:

	Average family income	Average debt service	Debt service as percent of income
1951	$4,420	$620	14
1955	5,090	870	17
1959	5,940	1,107	19
1963	6,720	1,397	21

Debt fueling of prosperity, as the record shows, has flourished through expansion and recession during most of the post-World War II era. Consumers pay a little cash and borrow heavily to buy a house, a car, a TV set, a refrigerator. Increasingly of late they have added to the list such items as college tuition and trips abroad.

The credit-expanded buying power enables them to purchase more of all these things, and the economy reflects the jobs and profits that supplying these goods and services creates.

DEBT LOAD GROWS

But, as the prosperous postwar years roll by, interrupted only by minor recessions, the debt load grows ever larger. And the question becomes more frequent: Is debt reaching a dangerous level?

No one knows, of course. "We're in uncharted waters," says an economist who keeps close tabs on debt at the Commerce Department. Nevertheless, history offers some indications.

Though figures of the sort contained above aren't available prior to World War II, a roughly similar yardstick can be used. This compares total private noncorporate debt with gross national product, or the Nation's overall output of goods and services.

The following table pinpoints where this debt-to-GNP ratio stands now and sketches its postwar climb. It also shows the ratio in prewar 1939 and in 1929, just before the great depression. Figures in the first two columns are billions:

	GNP	Debt	Debt as percent of GNP
1963	$585	$378	65
1945	214	55	26
1939	91	51	56
1929	104	72	69

People had relatively little debt at World War II's end, of course. Has the build-up since been just getting back to normal? If prewar 1939 is taken as "normal," we have long since passed it. If roaring 1929 was "normal," we haven't reached it—not quite.

Other indications that debt may be nearing a dangerous level come from those economists who are concerned over today's general credit situation.

Because, as the first table shows, the debt payment load of American families averages 21 percent of income, "a substantial number of families are in debt right up to the hilt," estimates Alan Greenspan, president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co., a New York City economics consultant firm.

MANY HAVE NO DEBT

Studies shown only half of American families have any installment debt at all, Mr. Greenspan and other economists observe. Therefore, these analysts reason, the debt payment load of many families must be far higher than the average for all families.

"Many families—perhaps some 6 million—now have at least 40 percent of their yearly income committed to debt payments," reckons Mr. Greenspan. And a full quarter of the Nation's 60 million families, he estimates, have at least a third of their income committed to servicing their debts.

Mr. Greenspan concludes that "there's little question we're approaching levels of effective debt capacity" above which many families would find it hard to take on further debt and, at the same time, keep up their repayment schedules.

A pressing concern: The use of mortgage loans for nonhousing purposes, such as for a car, a boat, stocks, or even a trip to Europe. "There is conclusive evidence that people are using mortgage loans for purposes that have nothing to do with homes," asserts Avram Kisselgoff, chief economist of Allied Chemical Corp., who has made detailed studies of debt trends. "This obviously can't go on, because it tends to exhaust assets on which further borrowing can be done."

The rise of mortgage borrowing for purposes other than the purchase of a new home is suggested by some Government statistics. For instance, nonfarm family housing starts totaled some 1.5 million units last year, only 4 percent more than 4 years earlier. Yet the net rise of mortgage debt on nonfarm family homes was $15.7 billion, a full 19 percent more than the corresponding 1959 increase.

Most mortgage borrowing, it is worth noting, entails relatively small monthly payments extended over very long repayment periods.

Lengthy repayments, of course, provide one means by which debt-burdened consumers can take on additional obligations at minimum extra monthly expense. However, further debt increases through this avenue are limited because, as an economist at the National Bureau of Economic Research puts it, "terms have already been stretched about as far as they can go."

Because the debt burden of so many families appears so near what Mr. Greenspan

terms "effective capacity," further debt increases probably will be limited approximately to further rises in consumer income, many analysts predict. And they warn, parenthetically, that since so much of the economy's recent growth apparently is debt-fueled, a slowdown in debt would tend to curb the overall rate of business expansion.

Besides their concern over the considerable amount of debt millions of families owe, many economists express deep worry about the quality of debt now outstanding.

SEE UNDUE RISK

They contend that much of the debt that pervades the current economy entails undue risk. Behind their doubt over the "quality" of debt is what they regard as an excessive amount of funds available for borrowing.

Gilbert M. Haas, a New York economic consultant who has grown particularly pessimistic about the course of business, puts it this way: "The record amount of funds seeking investment dwarfs the actual number of sound investment outlets available." Mr. Haas says these "excessive" funds are now pouring into such "essentially nonproductive facilities" as real estate, and, in effect, are triggering many building projects that are "completely unwarranted by demand."

Mr. Haas believes the hour for corrective action—in the form of more stringent monetary policy by the Federal Reserve Board—already has passed. And he claims that when the "credit bubble" bursts—within the next year or so in his opinion—the ensuing economic collapse may well be "worse than 1929."

To be sure, few economists share this degree of gloom. But a surprising number—perhaps more than a third of some 50 analysts interviewed in recent weeks—express grave concern, though few admit as much publicly. This is because, as one corporate economist explains, "such pessimistic statements wouldn't be appreciated" by top management.

"DAY OF RECKONING"

"We're making loans we wouldn't have even looked at a couple of years ago," concedes the financial vice president of a large New York insurance company. "I'm very much afraid we'll soon be caught in a day of reckoning."

Says an official at a Connecticut bank: "The grim joke around our shop right now is that we're planning to enter the business of renting autos and appliances—with all the goods we'll be repossessing one of these days."

Why, if they are so skeptical of the quality of their loans, do such institutions continue to make them?

"Competition" is the reason given by the Connecticut banker. A Chicago economist adds: "With so large an amount of lendable funds available, institutions must make riskier, longer loans to afford the high interest rates they pay depositors; the alternative is to quite competing for depositors."

Only half-jokingly, the economist adds: "Perhaps that wouldn't be such a bad idea." New York's Mr. Greenspan bluntly asserts that "many loan officers are being forced to act against their better judgment."

Debt alone, even if its quality is badly eroded, won't actually trigger any economic collapse, most of these analysts agree. As Mr. Greenspan remarks, "Debt only becomes a problem after something else turns the economy down."

IMPACT OF A RECESSION

The fear is that the economy, which is in the midst of a record expansion, is becoming dangerously vulnerable to even minor setbacks. "So long as income continues to increase, the high debt level shouldn't cause much trouble," says a National Industrial Conference Board official. "The trouble starts when we have a recession."

Henry Kaufman, economist of Salomon Bros. & Hutzler, a New York-based securities firm, observed in a recent study that large amounts of debt in the economy "make any economic setback extremely dangerous." He explained this is because when consumer income declines, as it does in recessions, the margin by which it covers debt service falls proportionately even faster.

Allied Chemical's Mr. Kisselgoff concedes that the ratio of delinquent bank loans to loans outstanding is presently "very low"—a fact often cited by those who say debt isn't out of line. But this ratio "will shoot up very quickly if we get into any recession," he warns. "The economy is very much more vulnerable now than in the early postwar years, when debt was low."

Mr. Greenspan believes that "many debtholders couldn't take much of an income decline before they would run into real trouble." The economist, whose views fall roughly between the pessimism of Mr. Haas and the high optimism of the Johnson administration, believes that "a recession of the 1957–58 variety probably wouldn't be quite enough to set off a real crisis."

However, anything more severe would, he feels. And, if the present debt climb continues at anything like the current pace for another 5 years or so, even a recession of 1957–58 magnitude could bring on a serious economic crisis, Mr. Greenspan predicts.

EYE ON PERSONAL INCOME

The 1957–58 recession that Mr. Greenspan uses as a yardstick lasted only 9 months, 1.5 months less than the average length of all four recessions of the postwar era. Moreover, in the 1957–58 setback, personal income—the economic measure economists worried by debt watch warily—dropped a mere 0.3 percent, far less than the average decline of 1.2 percent for all four postwar recessions.

Few economists concerned by the debt situation share Mr. Haas' view that the opportunity for corrective action has been missed. But, almost to a man, they agree that the Federal Reserve should act now to tighten up on credit.

This tightening could take various forms, such as a boost of the so-called discount rate Federal Reserve banks charge borrowing member banks, an increase in the amount of reserves member banks are required to keep on hand to back up deposits, or other monetary measures aimed at draining existing free reserves from the banking system. Some analysts expect, if the Fed does act soon to tighten credit, the move will entail a combination of steps.

"It's most important that the Fed tighten up," says Mr. Greenspan. "Such action is already overdue, but I don't think it's too late yet," for action.

The Fed, of course, never announces its monetary plans beforehand. Nevertheless, a high Government official close to the Fed concedes it is "clear the credit situation requires careful watching and may call for action" soon.

If the credit situation is as dire as many economists say, why hasn't the Fed already acted?

Some analysts flatly charge the Fed is under intense political pressure from the Johnson administration to defer any restrictive action until after the November presidential election. Action now, of course, would tend to slow the rate of business expansion, at the very least, and this could cost the administration many votes. In theory, the Fed is free to act without direction from the administration, and most Government officials insist this is precisely how it does act.

Defending the Fed's no-action policy, one Government official says he is "not prepared to accept the idea of Mr. Haas and some others that a catastrophic economic collapse" is growing out of the debt situation. He cites, among "vital differences" between the current situation and before the 1929 collapse, the fact that stock market credit appears not nearly so excessive today and that mortage debt amortization provides a continuing flow of cash to institutions, as mortgages are paid off piecemeal, rather than in lump sums, as was frequently the case in 1929.

The Cool Mr. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, last May 24 the San Francisco Chronicle carried an article by Mr. Henry Brandon, a representative of the London Sunday Times, which I found quite interesting and which I would like to share with my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Brandon, writing from his detached position as a foreign correspondent, assesses the personality of President Lyndon B. Johnson. It is a good assessment of the President as his friends will all agree:

THE COOL MR. J.

(By Henry Brandon)

WASHINGTON.—What strikes me most after 2 months' absence from Washington is how light-hearted confident this usually excessively crisis-conscious capital feels today under President Johnson's leadership: How much its ingrained skepticism has been swept away by an intoxication with the President's earthy Americanism, his human spontaneity, his power display in getting things done.

Mr. Johnson's seemingly inexhaustible kinetic energy now ranks with such awe-inspiring natural wonders as the Grand Canyon. But it all adds up to the important fact that he had now become President in his own right.

Mr. Johnson, who is his own sort of one-man public relations firm—but in blue jeans rather than grey flannels—continues to keep an extraordinarily high popularity rating: 75 percent give him their approval.

This he achieved not simply by being oblivious to presidential dignity nor by being so uninhibited in the use of corn that the commonplace becomes the unique and inimitable, but by proving that he is a man who gets things done.

His performance is a demonstration of what a superb politician with long experience, with indefatigable industry and an intrinsic sense for the use of power can achieve.

Among Americans I think he is not really a popular figure, but an understandable one. They do not particularly care about style but about substance, and so far, on that score, he has done remarkably well.

His two great aims—and they are of far-reaching historic significance—are:

1. To weld this country, which is still a confederacy, into a union. As a man with an unmistakable honeyed southern lilt, who has also strong support in the North, there is no one who has a better chance of accomplishing this. His appeal to reason the other day in Georgia showed both statesmanship and courage.

2. To establish a better understanding between the White House and Congress.

At a time when this country is passing through one of its great historic tests—the Negro revolution—it is not surprising, therefore, that a great majority is anxious to see this kind of leader succeed. It is also reassuring that the economic boom looks as if it will hold up for the rest of the year and that the detente between East and West continues.

The crucial turning point in Mr. Johnson's position was his personal success in averting a railway strike. "It was not collective bargaining, it was compulsory Johnson," an official remarked later.

Unlike Mr. Kennedy, he did not question his advisers about the details of the strike issues, but merely asked what the consequences of a nationwide strike on the country would be. By dangling carrots and wielding the stick in the best Rooseveltion manner, he finally relieved the country of this nightmare of economic troubles.

This success also gave him that final inch of confidence in himself which he still needed. It led him to drop his grave self-conscious dignity, and to act entirely as himself. His speeches are still more pep-talks than declarations of policy.

Except for what are more day-to-day problems, he does not have to think of new policies yet. He shrewdly chose to be the executor of the Kennedy legacy and he is managing this with great aplomb.

Nothing seems to nonplus Mr. Johnson, and wherever he has aroused criticism he has shown a touch of genius for turning it into laughter. First, he angered all dog lovers by pulling his Beagle up by the ears, but now he has owners of Beagles holding up their dogs to him in the crowd to have their ears pulled.

"I found out," the President says to them, "that Beagles have a constituency and I am glad to be out of the doghouse."

His answer to the reporters' early complaints that he did not hold enough press conferences was to dispense information at every possible or impossible opportunity. Their cry now is "freedom from information."

Meanwhile it is not surprising for him to ask, as he did recently, putting his arm around the Republican Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN: "Don't you think I am quite a President?"

Even President Kennedy, if he has a chance to watch from somewhere, would, in his wry, detached way, have nodded.

Reserve Officers' Training Corps Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9124) to amend title 10, United States Code, to vitalize the Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and for other purposes.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Chairman, I shall not use my entire 5 minutes.

I merely rise to associate myself with the very cogent, valid, and impressive arguments which have been made by the two gentlemen who have preceded me, the gentleman from New York [Mr. PIKE] and the gentleman from California [Mr. COHELAN].

Mr. Chairman, I therefore move that we reject the amendment.

The Political Case for Economic Development Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the best statements about the need for foreign aid is a recent article by Max Millikan of MIT, a renowned world expert in the field of international economics.

Mr. Millikan makes a very cogent and compelling case for development assistance. While admitting the difficulties in development, he points out how essential foreign aid is in helping to maintain the stability required for the process of modernization.

Mr. Millikan's statement is a realistic appraisal of the problem of modern societies. He does not consider foreign aid to be a cure-all. Nor does he think foreign aid can save the world. He does feel that foreign aid, if skillfully used, can help provide the stability necessary for channeling potentially explosive energy in a constructive direction. This he calls the "political purpose of economic development programs."

Mr. Millikan's article is one of the most challenging and original essays on the subject, and I commend it to all those interested in why foreign aid is important despite its limitations. Under unanimous consent I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

THE POLITICAL CASE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AID

(By Max F. Millikan)

Our experience with foreign aid as an important instrument of U.S. policy toward the underdeveloped countries is limited to the few years since World War II. As with any new tool, we have been experimenting with it, and have discovered over the past decade a surprising number of uses to which it could be put. There is considerable distress in many quarters that we have not developed a more adequate doctrine to guide the employment of this instrument. Something that might loosely be described as doctrine emerges from the annual attempt of the executive branch to extract from Congress an allocation of funds for foreign aid, and there has been increasing sophistication in the broad justifications put forward each year. But anyone close to the actual process by which decisions about individual projects and programs have been made in the past would be hard put to it to argue that these decisions flow simply and logically from a well understood set of first principles.

While these inadequacies of doctrine are distressing to the logical mind, they seem to me less surprising than some people find them. There are a number of good reasons for this state of affairs.

First, foreign aid is not a goal of the United States nor even a separable element in our foreign policy, but rather a handy multipurpose instrument of that policy which we have been tempted to use in an increasingly wide variety of ways for an increasingly broad range of purposes. Attempts to specify a single doctrine of foreign aid are like attempts to construct a doctrine which will relate all the uses of a screwdriver to the ultimate objectives the user may have in mind before one has available a catalog of all types of mechanical equipment and of all kinds of malfunctioning of each. I am not saying the attempt should not be made. One must decide how many screwdrivers of each type to order. But we should not be surprised if the early attempts are a bit primitive.

The second reason for confusion is that foreign aid is one of the instruments we use in our relations with the so-called underdeveloped countries. With the exception of a few policies, like the Monroe Doctrine and the open door in China, we have only very recently come to feel that we needed to have policies toward the underdeveloped countries and that these policies were an important part of the complex of American foreign policy. We have just begun to worry about the nature of the forces at work in those societies, about our interest in the direction those forces take, and about what instruments we can use to influence that direction. The scholarly community has paid the most attention to date to the first of these factors, the nature of the transitional process through which the underdeveloped countries are going. It has paid least attention to the third, the possible character, scope, and limitations of detailed U.S. influence.

This is related to the third source of confusion about systematic foreign aid doctrine; namely, our hesitation and embarrassment in thinking seriously about American manipulation of foreign cultures. Our hesitation reflects a very proper concern for the sensitivities of other peoples, who do not like to be manipulated, and our embarrassment reflects our long immersion in the doctrine of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states. The facts of American power and pervasive influence throughout the world make this hesitation and embarrassment irrational, as I shall try to explain in more detail presently, but they have nonetheless understandably inhibited serious academic attention to these problems.

There is a final reason why we have not developed a more satisfactory aid doctrine. In view of the variety and complexity of the situations in which the aid instrument has been used in the past and will inevitably be used in the future, I am convinced that doctrine which will provide useful guidance to the aid administrator can be developed much more satisfactorily by an inductive process of generalizing from detailed case studies of a large number of particular situations than from any broad a priori reasoning. I would defend the utility of some of the superficial philosophizing about aid objectives in which persons like myself have indulged in the past as an essential first step in the infinite series of successive approximations from the grossly oversimplified to the realistically complex by which the public in a democracy must be brought to an understanding of the foreign policies of its government.

Since World War II, with the exception of Berlin and perhaps Quemoy and Matsu, all of the crises which have occupied the attention of American foreign policymakers have had their origins in the underdeveloped world. Our concern with Korea, Vietnam, Suez, the Congo, Algeria, Cuba—merely to start the list—has not been the result of a perverse insistence of American policymakers of all parties on dabbling in matters of no real interest to the United States but is rather an inevitable concomitant of our new and inescapable global, political, military, economic, and cultural responsibilities. Whether we like it or not, and whatever policies our Government pursues, this interdependence is going to increase, not decrease. over the next couple of decades. If, as I am inclined to do, we take increasing involvement of the United States all over the world, not as a matter of policy choice but as historically inevitable, the dangers posed for us by gross instability and outbreaks of violence in the underde-

veloped countries become very much more complex and pervasive.

Let us take our military position for example. The most serious military threat to American security and welfare posed by the underdeveloped countries seems to me to be that out of the social and political conflicts within these areas consequent upon the modernization process crises will be generated which, because of American, European, and Soviet bloc involvements of many kinds, will escalate first into limited war and then potentially into nuclear exchanges. This is sometimes referred to as nuclear war by miscalculation, but this suggests too simple a pattern to be adequately descriptive of what I have in mind. As tensions and irritations mount and inflammatory incidents occur, the growing circle of parties to these disputes becomes increasingly committed by irreversible steps to an escalation of conflict to higher and higher levels. We can perhaps deter calculated nuclear attacks by determined enemies upon the United States by maintaining our own deterrent forces at adequate levels. In a world of nuclear proliferation, however, this kind of logical deterrent in a two-party game provides us very little protection against the step-by-step spread of local conflict into general conflagration.

This military danger is only one of the threats confronting us. Our future welfare will be increasingly dependent on international cooperation and on effectively operating international institutions in the economic, political, and cultural fields as well. This is not the place to spell out the nature of this dependence, but it too will be seriously threatened by widespread chaos and instability in any part of the world. This threat is more immediately menacing because some elements, at least in the Communist world, still see major opportunities for the advancement of their interests in the generation of instability in the underdeveloped countries and therefore use their influence to promote it wherever possible. But even if the East-West conflict were somehow to be resolved, the United States would have a powerful interest in promoting the emergence of stable, moderate states capable of meeting at least some of the new aspirations of their own populations and willing and able to play their role in an orderly and interdependent community.

While our interests are great, our capabilities of influence are severely limited. To understand them better we must take a look at the sources of the instabilities which we can confidently predict will trouble the underdeveloped world over the next two decades. They are associated with the process of modernization through which all these countries in varying degrees and at various stages have been going in recent years. This process did not begin abruptly. Its roots go back into the 19th century and earlier. But the tempo has accelerated by several orders of magnitude in the recent past.

Until this tempo of modernization quickened, the societies of the underdeveloped world were at their roots by and large quite stable. Sociologically, they exhibited, each in its own way, a fairly clear pattern of castes and classes broadly accepted by most groups in the population as natural and inevitable. There was very little mobility among these classes and a very low level of aspiration for such mobility. Anthropologically, group loyalties were concentrated on an extended family, a village, or a small tribe, which powerfully shaped the values and perspectives of its members. Politically, the conflicts for power at the national level, where nations existed, were limited to a very small elite and the bulk of the population was politically apathetic or inert. Economically, the rural areas in which the bulk of the population lived were minimally dependent on outside markets. These primarily subsistence economies were of course dependent on the vagaries of nature and the weather, but exhibited quite stable patterns of occupational structure and of agricultural technology. Psychologically, the small communities with which people associated themselves provided great security. People's perception of the alternatives open to them was exceedingly limited. The pressures for change were small for the bulk of the population because while living was hard it did not occur to most people that they had any options.

Modernization is changing all this. Its key characteristic is an enormous widening of perceived alternatives by a constantly growing fraction of the population. Sociologically, the less privileged classes no longer accept their status as part of the scheme of things. They now see as possible, if not for themselves at least for their children, movement outside the narrow bounds of their traditional place in the community. Anthropologically, the growth of cities, the spread of education, the expansion of trade, and the dramatic mushrooming of interregional communication have led to an abrupt challenge to old values, a weakening of the cement of traditional loyalties, and rising levels of restlessness and frustration. Politically, rapidly increasing numbers of people are seeking participation in the making of decisions they formerly left to a distant elite, so that even in totalitarian states the leadership is confronted with the necessity of building a much broader mass base for its power. National consciousness and a sense of national responsibility is still in most places grossly inadequate for the successful operation of a national polity. But the political apathy which characterized the bulk of the populations of the traditional society is rapidly disappearing.

Economically, patterns of production, of skill acquisition, of employment, and of exchange are in a state of flux. The self-sufficiency of local communities is breaking down and the cities are filling with people escaping from traditional agriculture but unable as yet to find jobs in the urban economy. Psychologically, the security of the traditional society is disappearing, the search for a new identity is intense, and new activities and new movements which promise to give significance to the lives of restless and footloose individuals have great appeal.

This brief rough sketch of some of the destabilizing forces at work throughout the underdeveloped world can do no more than suggest a few of the facets of a revolutionary process which has many varieties and many dimensions. We badly need many more detailed case studies of what is happening to the attitudes and aspirations of each of a wide variety of groups of people in each of a large number of emerging nations. The term "revolution of rising expectations" commonly applied to this phenomenon is often given a focus too narrowly economic. The rapidly changing frustrations, ambitions, and hopes spreading through previously largely inert segments of the societies of the underdeveloped world and giving rise to protest, revolt, and extremism cannot be quieted by an increasing availability of consumption goods. This is not the political purpose of economic development programs. What is required to reduce the explosiveness of the modernization process is a fundamental transformation of social structure, of loyalties and values, of modes of political participation, of opportunities for education, skill acquisition, and challenging employment, and of channels for constructive energies.

As I shall argue presently, well designed economic programs are, I believe, a necessary prerequisite for the development of the complex conditions in which viable modern societies can flourish. But the consumption effects are not the primary ones.

It may be helpful to look at the new problems posed for the political leadership of the underdeveloped countries by the forces at work in their societies. Their primary problem, whether they are demagoges concerned only with their own position and perquisites or statements devoted to the national interest, is to stay in power. This was a relatively simple problem in a traditional society with a well-established hierarchial structure dominated by a small elite and supported by an apathetic and largely fatalistic mass. Power could be maintained by a skillful manipulation of personal loyalties and obligations supplemented where necessary by the use of a limited amount of force applied at the few places where it was needed. As the traditional society becomes disrupted by social, economic, and psychological change the problems of the leadership become very much more complex. As an increasing number of segments of the poulation are shaken loose from their traditional bonds and perceive new opportunities of influence and of the manipulation of their position, the sources of challenges to power multiply and become increasingly unpredictable. Protest begins to make itself felt among the rising middle classes, students, workers, the urban unemployed, and the peasantry. At the same time as the number of groups with some political awareness multiplies the interdependence of different sectors of the society greatly increases. This is partly the consequence of such economic factors as the extension of markets, the monetization of what was formerly subsistence production, and the increasing degrees of specialization in the functions performed by different groups in the society, partly a consequence of the greatly increased ease of communication among different segments of the society, and partly a result of the increasing interconnections between local and national political activity.

These two phenomena, the increasing number of sources of potential challenges to the power of the leadership and the increasing interdependence of all sectors of the society, pose new problems of the management of power for the leadership. They must find symbols which, for increasing numbers of people, will effectively override local and parochial interests and attach all groups more effectively to the national leadership. They must somehow see to it that in one way or another the society offers the newly emerging elements of the population an opportunity to participate in activities which have national purposes and thus connect these elements to the nation, which meet aspirations for new career patterns, and which provide chances for these new groups to use some of the new skills they are increasingly acquiring. In a broad sense the leadership must provide employment for its constituents, and that employment must have certain qualitative characteristics if there is not to be widespread frustration and instability.

The efforts of the leaders of the underdeveloped countries to meet these new and increasingly complex problems of unifying their societies under their leadership take a great many forms. In most of these efforts we can, oversimplifying greatly, perceive three elements. The first is an effort to maintain control over the ever-widening circle of newly restless groups by perfecting the instruments of force and coercion and applying them ever more broadly and deeply throughout the society. The second is to try to focus the attention of the various segments of the population on real or fancied external threats to the dignity, integrity, and independence of the national state. The third is to try to build national consensus around constructive programs for the eco-

nomic and social development of the country as a whole. All three of these elements are to be found in the strategies of virtually every leadership group in the underdeveloped world, but there are enormous differences in relative emphasis. Let us consider briefly some of the attractions and disadvantages of three alternative political strategies involving primary reliance on each of these three elements.

An emphasis on control by repression of dissent and by an extension of the instruments of force is likely to be characteristic of two quite different sorts of leadership. On the one hand traditional leaders, accustomed to employing the military or the police to keep individual challengers from the traditional elite circle in line, will find it perfectly natural to attempt to extend this method to new sectors of the population as they become politically active and indeed ultimately may be forced to try to extend it to the population as a whole. By opening military careers to wider and wider segments of the population, that is by democratizing the military, this technique may for a time provide some outlets for the energies of newly restless men and some upward mobility for those who have begun to chafe under the limitations imposed upon them by their traditional status. As a short-term measure in the fairly early stages of modernization this kind of forcible control by the traditional elite may be quite effective.

In the longer run, however, exclusive reliance upon it is likely to prove difficult or impossible. As the instabilities inherent in modernization spread through the society, the maintenance of control by this technique requires an increasingly complex and dispersed military and police organization of a kind traditional elites have very little experience with. Beyond this a modern military establishment is almost everywhere itself a powerful modernizing force. The traditional elite following this route runs the serious danger that its own military establishment may turn upon it as has occurred in Iraq, Egypt, and Korea.

Heavy reliance is likely to be placed on this instrument also by a very different type of leadership, namely by a revolutionary elite which has come to power through the skillful manipulation of a dedicated and disciplined subversive organization, which may or may not be Communist. This kind of an elite which knows intimately from experience the tactics of opposition and resistance and which is likely to have an organization in intimate contact with the grassroots of the society is much better equipped, as Castro and Sekou Touré have discovered, to exercise comprehensive control.

Neither of these types of elite, however, is likely to be able to maintain stability over time as modernization proceeds through police instruments alone. The pressures of changing social, political, and economic aspirations are likely to mount in time to a point where protest gets beyond control. One of the great appeals of communism to revolutionary elites is of course that it offers an organizational model for how to establish the kind of discipline in depth in all dimensions of the society that is necessary to forestall violent challenges to the leadership. While the Communists appear to have managed to pull this off with some success in a number of places to date, it seems to me doubtful whether many underdeveloped countries have even a potential leadership which could hold the rising forces of instability in line even with Communist help.

The appeal for national support against an external enemy has very considerable short-term advantages for the leadership, especially where, as in the ex-colonial countries, such an external enemy has been visibly present in the lives of a large part of the population over a considerable past period. During the colonial period the goal of establishing independence from colonial domination is a simple and clear one having considerable appeal to almost all groups in the population. As modernization proceeds, satisfaction of the new aspirations to which it gives rise can easily be made to appear dependent on the throwing off of the colonial yoke. The organization over time of resistance against the colonial power requires the development of the kind of discipline, the sort of grass roots organization, and the kinds of hierarchical lines of authority which will be useful in maintaining the power structure once its heights have been seized.

The difficulties begin to arise after the colonial power has withdrawn, when it is difficult for the leadership to keep the external threat real and meaningful to all segments of the population. The history of underdeveloped countries without a colonial experience and of those whose colonial era is receding into the past is replete with instances of attempts by the leadership to find substitute symbols of external danger. Economic influence, great-power domination, Leninist imperialism, and neocolonial politics have all been seized upon as potentially effective symbols by underdeveloped country leaders. Residual specks of colonial control (such as were West Irian and Goa) can be made to have much more domestic utility by a skillful leadership than their real importance to the nation would warrant.

But this kind of appeal is bound to be, over time, a wasting asset for the political leadership of an independent country. Increasingly people want to get on with the things independence was thought to be the condition for. The rising tide of demands for new patterns of living which the pressures of modernization bring with them cannot, I would argue, be stemmed indefinitely by external adventure or by appeals to an external threat. Without at least some elements of a real internal development program it seems to me unlikely that the leadership of most underdeveloped countries can avoid serious and often violent challenges to their continued exercise of power.

This is not to say that the third strategy of primary reliance on programs of internal construction and development can guarantee a leadership against extremist challenges to its rule. Internal development is a complex and difficult process, and even with substantial outside help the leadership may be incapable of making it work. There is the further danger that great emphasis on the symbols of growth and reform may stir the aspirations of the modernizers much more rapidly than actual development programs provide opportunities for them to participate in its realization. Even moderately successful development requires both administrative skills and political skills of a significantly higher order than those needed for the other two strategies.

High administrative skills are required because the number of things to be managed simultaneously for development is very great and reaches into every nook and cranny of domestic economy. As interdependence grows, breakdowns in the administration of any one of a large number of programs can menace the entire effort. Unusual political skills are required because to achieve its political purpose a development program must be designed to provide a wide range of kinds of opportunities for new activity to each major group in the society as its aspirations alter. If major groups fail to share not so much in the inevitably slowly expanding stream of goods and services as in the energy-absorbing and skill-utilising activities which such a program generates, there will be the familiar cycle of rising frustration associated at first with apathy and then with an increasing resort to extremist views.

On the other hand, if development programs are even moderately skillfully handled by the leadership, they can have great political payoff even in the relatively short run. India has demonstrated the symbolic appeal to an electorate of 5-year development plans which have been brought close to the heart of politics in that country. A sense that the country is even very slowly beginning to move forward, that education is becoming more broadly available, that opportunities are opening up for small entrepreneurs, that school-leavers are able to find interesting employment, that rural communities can begin constructing new patterns of living—all these can have a significant impact on attitudes and hence on politics some time before substantial economic fruits of these activities begin to appear. Nonetheless, modernization is undoubtedly costly, and without at least slowly rising levels of gross national product the transformation of traditional societies, which is necessary to make them viable in the modern world, can probably not be brought about.

What I have attempted to argue up to this point is, first, that it is very much in the U.S. interest to do what we can to reduce the risks of chaos, instability, and violence in the underdeveloped world; and, second, that these risks are likely to be significantly less if the leaders of the underdeveloped countries devote a large share of their attention and their energies to promoting the internal economic, social, and political development of their national states.

I have said very little about democracy up to this point. I have argued not that development produces democracy and democracy produces stability, but rather that certain kinds of effective measures to promote development are in the long run a necessary prerequisite for reasonable stability. This is true whether the regimes in question are seriously attempting to build a society based broadly on consent or whether they are placing heavy reliance on totalitarian instruments of repression to contain disaffection. Thus I would argue that while in the absence of development democracy does not have much chance in the long run, the same may be said of authoritarianism. While this seems to me valid as a matter of objective prediction, it seems to me also highly likely that a leadership which has either not tried seriously to launch development activities or has tried and failed badly is going to be under very much heavier pressure both to adopt internally repressive measures and to experiment with external adventure, simply to maintain itself in power in the face of the rising frustrations among its constituents, than one which has launched even moderately successful development programs. While the prospects of these more disruptive strategies are also not good, in the absence of effective development the leadership has no alternatives.

I do not think I need to argue the case for the proposition that a commitment to forms of government that will take some account of the wants and interests of the major elements of the population is in the U.S. interest. The real question is whether the prospects for finding leadership elements with this kind of commitment in a significant number of underdeveloped countries are sufficiently good to justify our devoting resources to supporting the economic development ambitions of potential leaders of this kind. We will certainly not see smoothly operating, fully democratic societies in any significant number of underdeveloped countries for at least several decades to come. The question is whether we can have a significant marginal influence on the rate of progress toward decentralized decisionmaking and toward governments in one way or another more responsive to the popular will. Here I think there is reason for considerable hope.

The thing that is surprising to me, observing the history of the last decade in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, is not how weak the forces for democracy have been but rather how strongly these forces have operated. While there is certainly no automatic connection between development and a trend toward democracy, and while I would oppose assisting the development efforts of regimes like the Communist Chinese which appear firmly committed to authoritarian techniques, the issue seems to me far from settled throughout most of the underdeveloped world, and the case is very strong for our helping to establish the economic and social conditions in which alone the spread of government by consent has a chance.

If a serious concentration of the efforts and energies of the leadership of the underdeveloped countries of the free world on economic and social development is indeed an important interest of the United States, it remains to be argued whether a vigorous American aid program can promote such a concentration and marginally increase its prospects of success. India, which is an example, represents nearly a third of the total population of the underdeveloped countries of the free world. Something like a third of Indian capital formation is in turn currently made possible by the inflow of aid to India, a considerable part of which comes from the United States. Most foreign observers who have studied the Indian scene would agree that if this aid were cut off, the result would be not just a proportionate cut in the Indian growth rate but the stalling of the Indian development program, the depression of the private as well as the public sector of the Indian economy, a sharp drop in employment opportunities, and probably a severe decay of the internal political situation. While India is one of the most promising, one could select others with better than even present development prospects which would bring the population of this important group with high absorptive capacity for aid to over half the population of the underdeveloped free world.

With respect to the remainder there are a few countries where those parts of our foreign aid program which are devoted to economic development assistance should probably be more selective than they have been and should make a few dramatic demonstrations of our determination to withdraw economic development assistance where the local leadership is either unable or unwilling to try seriously to establish the conditions which will make the aid productive. But these two sets of countries—those like India where the leadership needs no incentive to press development programs but only the marginal resources to make such programs possible, and those which are clearly unable and unwilling to use aid effectively for development—do not exhaust the list. There is a large group of countries where the actual potential leadership is divided as to appropriate national strategy, some paying at most lipservice to development goals and relying more heavily on instruments of force or symbols of external threat to maintain their power, and others genuinely and realistically eager to confront the hard task of internal construction. In these cases where the present development prospects may not be great, U.S. support and encouragement for the development-minded elements in the leadership may have considerable influence in focusing national energies on development efforts.

The interactions between economic, social, psychological, and political change are multiple and interdependent. Economic development partly requires and partly produces in a variety of ways the noneconomic circumstances which make further economic development possible. There is no possibility of launching from the outside a modernization process for which there is no support from the internal forces at work in the society. But this is the situation in few if any of the underdeveloped countries. Most of them present a complex picture of some forces promoting and other forces resisting movement in a developmental direction. The secret of effective development assistance policy is to employ a kind of economic and political jujitsu, exploiting and reinforcing the constructive forces of modernization already at work on the local scene. This requires a much more sophisticated appraisal of the character of those forces than we now have available for many countries and a more skillful tailoring of our own instrument to them than we have achieved in the past. A careful appraisal of our potential influence can be made only on a detailed country-by-country basis. But to argue that it is a priori close to zero is as implausible to argue, as some of the less cautious supporters of aid have done, that it can be decisive everywhere.

That modernization is on balance destabilizing, and economic growth difficult and at best uncertain, is certainly incontrovertible. But these are risks inherent in the world environment in which we find ourselves which we can wholly avoid neither by offering aid nor by refusing to do so. The real question with respect to development aid is whether by skillful use of this instrument over a rather long period, say a decade, we can marginally influence the course of economic, social, and political modernization so as to reduce somewhat the risks with which it confronts us. In my view, the past decade of aid efforts, confused as it has been both in purpose and in execution, has produced political results which have been well worth the cost. With the new clarifications of doctrine currently being formulated in detail, our prospects for favorable influence seem to me much brighter. We shall certainly not avoid failures, crises, instability, and chaos in some parts of the world. But we have a fair chance of some notable successes which can make the whole effort enormously rewarding.

Shine Off the Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week the House reluctantly increased the ceiling on the national debt. This performance has now become an annual event and is marked by pious platitudes promising economy which is never truly practiced.

The Lemonter, one of the Graphic newspaper chain, serving southwest Cook and Will Counties in Illinois, very succinctly discusses the falseness of the administration's debt ceiling maneuver, and I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

SHINE OFF THE TAX CUT

"Here we go again."

That seems the most apt commentary that can be made on the administration's request that the national debt ceiling—now at an alltime high of $315 billion—be raised by another $9 billion. If that is not done, say the proposal's supporters, the Government won't be able to borrow the money it will need to pay its bills when the next fiscal year starts on July 1.

To any thoughtful person, this development should take a great deal of the shine off the tax cut. That cut was made in the face of the fact that, unless a compensating drive to reduce expenditures accompanied it, more massive deficits were inevitable. Instead of an economy program, however, the Nation is offered more and more welfare state programs—both new and enlarged.

What will come of all this? No one can say for sure—but past identical situations have resulted in more inflation. If that happens this time, any benefits conferred by the tax cut will be eliminated and then some. The purchasing power of the dollar and living standards of the people will go downhill because of it.

You don't successfully fight a war against poverty—or against any other undesirable condition by fiscal juggling. You weaken the Nation—here and abroad—in its very foundations.

Michigan City (Ind.) News-Dispatch Says "Alliance Is Making Progress"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of a thoughtful editorial in the June 16, 1964, issue of the Michigan City (Ind.) News-Dispatch, entitled, "Alliance is Making Progress."

The editorial follows:

ALLIANCE IS MAKING PROGRESS

Politicians and unfriendly propagandists generally make sure that we hear about Alliance for Progress failures in Latin America—no matter how small or inconsequential.

Successes get less attention, since they generally are slow, gradual and unspectacular, and since it is human nature to take what is right for granted and to get excited about what is wrong.

But the Alliance definitely is making progress in Latin America—quietly, tediously, unspectacularly but surely. Consider just one example, as reported by the Pan American Union in a recent newsletter:

"Chile's comprehensive 10-year development program, now in its third year, records an accelerating rate of progress.

"New income taxes, running as high as 60 percent, took effect last month. The new law is expected to increase tax revenues by 25 percent.

"Tax-collection procedures have been tightened and all urban and rural real estate is currently being reassessed.

"Agrarian reform is being spurred by passage of a constitutional amendment last September permitting deferred payment for expropriated agricultural land. Between 5,000 and 6,000 farmers are scheduled to receive land in 1964, rising to 7,000 in 1965.

"Chile's housing deficit is being reduced by a substantial public housing program and by the dramatic growth of the savings and loan system. During 1963, the system, with 80,000 members and deposits of $24 million, helped finance 10,000 new homes.

"Illiteracy dropped to 16.5 percent of the population in 1963, from 19.9 percent in 1962, as 119,000 adults learned to read and write under a national literacy program."

This kind of dull, laborious progress never makes headlines—but it is going on similarly in all Latin American countries to a greater

or lesser extent, depending on local factors. It is, moreover, building a strong, solid foundation for a better tomorrow for our neighbors to the south as well as ourselves.

Mr. Bryant Figeroid: Producer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fine work of Mr. Bryant Figeroid, of San Leandro, Calif., who has developed an excellent group of young people who are contributing much to the cultural advancement of their contemporaries.

The efforts of Mr. Bryant Figeroid on behalf of youth of the San Francisco Bay area are recalled in a newspaper article in the San Leandro Morning News of June 10, 1964, which I am pleased to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SAN LEANDRO'S "YOUNG AMERICA ON STAGE" FEATURED ON KGO THIS SATURDAY EVENING

A dream that has existed for many years will come to full flower on channel 7 KGO-TV this Saturday evening at 7:30 p.m. when 115 members of the Annex Workshop group from the San Leandro Fine Arts Workshop will be featured in a dazzling presentation of "Young America on Stage."

This production has already pleased south county audiences and received critical acclaim at the Berkeley Theater on February 29 of this year.

Students, instructors, and especially the supervisor of music for the San Leandro Unified School District, Bryant Figeroid, have after years of hard work and innumerable attempts to acquire big time recognition, finally won their place in the spotlight. It is recognition long overdue as the caliber of the production is highly professional.

A 40-piece orchestra, a 44-voice choral group, a 24-girl dance team, a variety of individual dancing and singing solists will appear in a fast-moving musical revenue. Cast members will perform some of the Nation's best known Broadway tunes in colorful style.

Shirley Temple will be mistress of ceremony for the 2-hour spectacular which will climax KGO's "Youth Week" campaign.

Other stars featured will be Tommy Kirk, Walt Disney Studios star; Tim Considelne and Don Grady of "My Three Sons" series; Mickey Sholdar of "The Farmer's Daughter" and Jody Miller, 17-year-old Capitol recording star.

Each star will take a solo spot and each will make their particular appeal for high school students to finish their education before seeking employment.

However for San Leandrans and for many residents of the entire bay area, the real stars will be students from 31 high schools and the instructors.

George Jenkins' brilliant "Manhattan Towers" with original choreography will receive 16 minutes of time.

Lyle Bardo is musical arranger and conductor; Darrell Bond, choral director; Stanley Kahn and Pat Mason, dance directors.

Bryant Figeroid, originator of the San Leandro Fine Arts Workshop is the executive producer.

Dick Fernandes, lighting technician from KGO-TV will have more than a special interest in Saturday's production. Fernandez supervised the lighting for the Berkeley Community Theater production of "Young America on Stage."

Fernandez was so impressed by the very professional production that he called it to the attention of Gordon Waldear, production manager of KGO-TV, who made arrangements for Saturday's presentation.

The Fine Arts Workshop was started in 1950 by Bryant Figeroid, music supervisor of the San Leandro School District. It was then called the San Leandro Summer Music Workshop and has been sponsored by the San Leandro Unified School District over the years.

The original staff was composed of Figeroid, one music teacher and two student music teachers from San Francisco State College. One hundred and twenty-five students from elementary schools were listed the first year.

Winning national recognition over the years as a unique summer program the Fine Arts Workshop now enrolls over 600 students each summer. The staff has grown to 26 persons.

In 1963 students from 68 different East Bay schools were listed on the register. All staff members of the Fine Arts Workshop have professional backgrounds in the subjects which they teach.

Over 50 classes are offered daily in the Fine Arts Workshop. These include beginning piano and organ, music, dance, voice culture, chorus, instrumental instruction at all levels, five bands, three orchestras, show band, advanced band, intermediate dance band, arranging, conducting, drama, and other subjects including art, sculpture, and ceramics.

Guest artists of national and international note have appeared with student groups of the Workshop. They have included members of the San Francisco Symphony String Ensemble; Rafael Mendez, trumpet virtuoso in 1958; Gabor Retjo, cellist in 1959, a member of the Alma Trio; Bill Paige, woodwind performer of the Lawrence Welk Band in 1960; and the Griller String Quartet in 1961. Each of these soloists and groups have given a free clinic to students.

Productions have included Gilbert and Sullivan's "H.M.S. Pinafore" and "Showtime U.S.A." featured dance classics from "Oklahoma" and "My Fair Lady."

"Showtime U.S.A." became traditional over the years and each year gave prominence to different musical comedies and typical Americana music.

Bryant Figeroid, director in speaking of the Fine Arts Workshop says that the summer classes for students offer opportunities to develop their talents during summer vacation. This year's program which starts on June 22 calls for a continuation and development of this program for youth.

"The San Leandro Fine Arts Workshop will be given at both Bancroft and John Muir Junior High Schools this year," Figeriod said.

"Applications will be accepted up to and including the first day of the workshop. Registration blanks are available at all San Leandro School offices or may be obtained by calling LO 9-8877.

"Outstanding talent and interest appears to be the keynote of all Fine Arts Workshop sessions," said Figeroid. "The Workshop Annex, which represents the best talent at all levels drawn from the Fine Arts Workshop should continue the fine tradition of 'Young America on Stage.'

"Using an Americana theme, featuring musical comedies, the regional music, the folk songs of United States, students and instructors alike believe that the Workshop Annex offers the public something unique and stimulating. It is a magnificent picture of a young, vital country featuring the young people of the area and a production hailing both America and its youth."

Cuba Today—First of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Canadian Newspaperman Bruce Taylor has just completed a 2,200-mile tour of Cuba. His eyewitness accounts of the chaos which the Communists have introduced in Castro's island are the first comprehensive reports of these conditions which have appeared for some time, and the Washington Star is publishing these reports in a series.

In order that the widest possible audience of Americans may see for themselves what present conditions in Cuba are, I am inserting each installment of Bruce Taylor's articles in the RECORD. The first such installment is as follows:

CUBA TODAY: CASTRO LOSING STEAM—BUT IS READY TO CRUSH EXILES

(By Bruce Taylor)

The Cuban exiles who have begun to infiltrate their homeland to organize a revolt against the dictatorship of Fidel Castro face almost certain failure.

Cuba is coming apart at the seams. Its economy is shattered. Conditions overall are far worse now than at the time of Premier Castro's ascendancy 5 years ago, and are deteriorating relentlessly. But there will be no widespread civilian uprising on the island now.

Cuba is totally a police state. Mr. Castro is its supreme ruler, and his incredibly efficient internal security network has the nation's 7 million people—who are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with his system of government—tightly in control.

If Mr. Castro can keep his island alive for another 15 years—and his only hope of doing so is continuing commerce with Canada and other NATO partners of the United States which have elected to ignore the American trade embargo—Cuba will be irrevocably Communist.

He needs that length of time to imbue Cuba's schoolchildren with a thorough hatred of "Yankee imperialism," and to prepare them to carry his political philosophy through all of Latin American. His program of indoctrination is similar to that used by prewar Germany to rear its fire-eating Hitler youth.

The adult population, meanwhile, is being restrained by terror, helpless to prevent the brainwashing of its children.

Mr. Castro is not endangered by the returning exiles. It would take major military action to destroy what he has built. He stands ready today to resist even the full-scale invasion he believes is imminent.

His army of 200,000 fit, well trained, and dedicated soldiers is equipped with the best weapons in the Russian arsenal. There is no reason to believe it would not fight, or that it could be beaten by anything less than a force of comparable size.

Anti-Castro leaders in Cuba, who hope rather than fear that an invasion is inevitable, are concerned that the United States underestimates Castro's real strength. And they have little but prayer and pity to offer the exiles who are landing in Cuba.

The exiles are scattering into the Sierra Maestra and Escambray Mountain ranges of the 700-mile-long island, where they hope to set up guerrilla bases from which to rally open resistance to Mr. Castro.

They are finding themselves almost entirely without help.

Mr. Castro is isolating them. He does not intend to give them the kind of toehold he grasped—and held—in his own revolution against Fulgencia Batista, the dictator he deposed in 1959.

Mr. Batista didn't understand guerrilla warfare; he merely tried to keep the Castro rebels bottled up in the hills. He lost Cuba in 3 years.

Premier Castro, on the other hand, probably knows more about guerrilla fighting—and certainly more about the mountains—than the exiles who have come back to overthrow him.

He is going into the hills after them. He is using 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers at a time to encircle individual mountains and root out pockets of as few as 4 or 5 rebels.

The civilians are too frightened to move. They are waiting for "the invasion"—their first question to me often was a despairing "When are the Americans coming?"—but even if a major invasion is launched, few civilians will attempt to support it until they are convinced it is succeeding.

A HARD LESSON

They feel there is good reason for their reticence. They say they were taught a bitter and bloody lesson by the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs 3 years ago.

They learned then that Mr. Castro's omniscient secret police had far greater knowledge of the then substantial underground than was suspected, and knew where to find its leaders before they could organize an uprising to coincide with the attack. They were rounded up within hours of the landings at the Bay of Pigs, and were butchered or imprisoned.

The underground has never regained even a semblance of its former strength.

And the Cubans dread a repetition of the military blunders that caused the attack to abort when it showed every indication of success, and left them wide open to repercussion.

It can be stated for the first time now that the assault on the island was within inches of victory. It failed only because early advantages were not pressed, and because there was no real air support for the invaders.

Mr. Castro's immediate subordinates admit now they were almost powerless to stop the invaders, and that if the latter had been given even minimal support the island would have fallen.

"We had no air strength then," a ranking Cuban army officer concedes. "A few American F–104 (supersonic) jet fighters would have knocked down anything we sent up.

"We were using obsolete jet trainers and just about anything else that would fly.

BOMBERS FEEBLE

"The B–26 bombers which attacked us came from so far away they had fuel for only a few minutes over Cuba. We were able to send troops and armor unhindered over open roads to the Bay of Pigs.

"Even so, we ran into trouble immediately and probably would have been destroyed if there had been support for the invasion. The mercenaries (the Cuban Government's epithet for the anti-Castro forces it claims were in the pay of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency) shot up the first three tanks we sent in against them."

(These were Russian tanks. However, Cuba later released photographs of them lying useless on the beach and claimed they were American tanks which had come ashore with the invaders, and which had been stopped by the Castro army.)

"We were so weak that only stupidity prevented us from being beaten," the officer says. "But the situation has changed considerably since then."

Mr. Castro, realizing how close he'd come to being toppled by an invasion he hadn't expected, set out at once to build the army he now boasts is second only to that of the United States in the Americas.

He has modern MIG fighters and the men to fly them (both Cuban and Russian), a fleet of fast Russian motor torpedo boats, the best arms and ammunition the Soviet has to offer, and a thoroughly Communist-indoctrinated army that is Russian trained.

PLENTY OF MISSILES

And all over the island there are Russian surface-to-air missiles capable of bringing down even the high-flying U–2 reconnaissance planes which make daily sorties over Cuba from Florida, just 90 miles away.

(The Russians say they have removed their intercontinental atomic missiles from Cuba, but underground leaders there insist that some remain, that they have seen them, and that they are well hidden from the spying cameras of the U–2's.)

Cuba is expanding its armed forces. It has begun compulsory military training for all men between the ages of 17 and 45. Those it deems too solidly entrenched in their opposition to Premier Castro to be converted are being used, literally, as slave labor where manpower is short, such as in sugarcane cutting; the others are being given full political indoctrination and are being trained as fighters.

Augmenting the armed forces are 100,000 militia men and women, all volunteers. They are used to guard nonstrategic civilian sites which could be targets for sabotage: department storers, hotels, banks, theaters, government buildings.

Half the "milicianos" have been given military training—many are ex-servicemen—and can be counted on to fight.

Not so the other half. It is comprised of clerks, secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers, ushers. They take turns guarding the buildings in which they work. Each puts in 6 to 8 hours of duty a week. The women are used mainly in daylight hours.

Most have volunteered only to show that, on the surface at least they are with the government.

They have had little or no training—many have never even fired the rifles issued to them—and might reasonably be counted on to run for their lives at the sight of an aircraft carrier off Havana.

NOT WORRIED

So Cuba has at least a quarter of a million people under arms it can depend on in an emergency. It is clearly alert.

"We're not too worried about the exiles who are coming ashore," says a Castro aide. "We're well able to cope with internal trouble."

"Even the chaos that might be created by assassination of Castro would be short-lived. We're prepared for that eventuality.

"Our main concern is a military invasion.

"We have every reason to expect one. The United States already has supported one invasion. It has blockaded us. It is flying U–2s over us. It had stated publicly it considers the present situation intolerable. Many of its leaders have called for a new attack.

"But we are going to give the United States one hell of a surprise if it thinks it can take us with its famous "handful of Marines."

Cuban underground leaders agree.

"Any new exterior action against Cuba must not be another Bay of Pigs," one told me. "It must be a full-scale invasion, or it will fail horribly.

"The invaders must not count on an internal uprising to help them. There won't be one.

"Most of Cuba wants desperately to be rid of Castro's communism. But all it can do is wait and hope.

"And if it has to wait too long, there will be nothing that can be done for it.

"It will be too late."

Question Answered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the officials and people of Prince Edward County, Va., are to be commended for the splendid fight they have made to preserve constitutional government as well as to try to get legal interpretations of constitutional principles in an orderly and proper manner. While I realize that all of the questions have not been answered so far, at least this fight has demonstrated to the people of America that we are facing a judicial dictatorship such as has never been known in a republican form of government. The people of America must know now, unless like an ostrich they are hiding their heads in the sand, that unless something is done in the very near future we will lose our rights, freedoms, and privileges to a grasping, power-hungry judicial oligarchy.

There appeared in the Farmville Herald of Friday, June 19, 1964, an editorial entitled "Question Answered." It is a calm analysis of the situation presently facing the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County. I believe it points out the only course open to the board at this time.

I again commend the splendid fight—yes, the great fight—that has been carried on by the magnificent people and officials of Prince Edward County. Their leadership has been excellent. Law and order has been preserved. And, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include the editorial referred to above, which is as follows:

QUESTION ANSWERED

It has taken a long time to get the answer to a constitutional question posed by the action of the Prince Edward Board of Supervisors 10 years ago. The question:

Can a legislative body be forced to levy taxes by a Federal judicial edict? The answer is: Yes.

Final determination came Wednesday when the Federal district court ordered the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County to levy taxes and appropriate funds to support public schools beginning with the term in September 1964. The order finalized a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on May 25, a precedent shattering decision which may raise its ugly head again and again to haunt the freedom of individuals in other fields in the future. A review of the legal maze through which this historic question has passed during the 10-year period indicates the struggle the courts have made to find a semblance of law upon which to justify their decision. The question has been bat-

ted around from district Federal court to the Federal circuit court and back again, to the State courts and the State supreme court, until the U.S. Supreme Court, with two Justices dissenting, used sociological reasoning to establish a new interpretation of the Constitution.

An exponent of law and order, Prince Edward County and its official boards must obey the order of the Court, reluctantly and under duress, but not without the knowledge that a new and dangerous precedent has been set in American jurisprudence.

If we interpret the order of Judge Lewis correctly, he has attempted to leave administration of public education in the hands of the local boards. He refused to order specific amounts of taxes to be levied. He refused to order the school board to employ teachers "without regard to race." He did not enjoin the State of Virginia, but left such action open, indicating the responsibility of the State. The situation is simply that the Federal court has assumed control of the public schools of Prince Edward County, ordered the legislative body to levy taxes, and the school board to operate public schools to an accepted State standard. If and when future questions occur they may be referred logically to the Federal court, which we assume will retain jurisdiction of the case.

We believe Prince Edward County will continue to act in good faith. The future will depend upon cooperation of the county board of supervisors, the county school board, the State department of education, the State of Virginia, the white and Negro citizens of the county. The future demands the best from the leadership in the county. The county must be left alone, free from outside dictation and agitation, to work out its future program.

During the past 10 years Prince Edward citizens have demonstrated great restraint and commendable responsibility in the face of unusual pressures, unwarranted criticism and at times malicious propaganda. We would expect this same high type of action in the future.

Prince Edward, stand steady.

Baltic Nations Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution issued by the Baltic Nations Committee of Detroit commemorating the 23d anniversary of mass deportations by the Communists from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

We are indeed fortunate that Americans of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian descent stir the conscience of all Americans by recalling the frightful outrage inflicted upon the fine people of those three nations by this mass deportation to Siberia.

The resolution follows:

Whereas during the independence between the two World Wars, the Baltic States showed great social and economic progress. After the forceful incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union, the progress was replaced by misery, terror, and oppression. The Soviet occupation represents the crudest form of colonialism. At the time many countries throughout the world have gained independence from their colonial powers, the Soviet Union has expanded its colonial rule: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we are thankful to the U.S. Government for refusing to recognize the forceful incorporation of the Baltic States and urge to continue this policy; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the United States to adopt as a primary objective of its foreign policy the restoration of freedom and democracy in all countries now dominated by the Communists. This should be the basic policy to fulfill the goal of a world without fear, as advocated by President Johnson; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the U.S. Government to bring before the United Nations the question of the Baltic States, where the citizens are deprived of the right of self-determination for the last 24 years; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the U.S. Congress to request the President of the United States to urge action in behalf of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as introduced in the Senate and House in more than 50 resolutions; be it further

Resolved, That we urge the U.S. Government to use extreme caution in entering into any agreements—political, trade, or cultural—and take no action that would indicate approval of Communist rule in any part of the world. Instead, we urge the U.S. Government to use all peaceful means to extend freedom to all mankind; be it finally

Resolved, That the resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of State, the chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Senators from Michigan, Members of the House of Representatives from Michigan, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Governor of the State of Michigan, and the mayor of the city of Detroit.

Mr. Young Would Be Appreciative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the little village of Van Hornesville in my district is very proud that it remained until his death in 1962, the home of that distinguished American Owen D. Young. Although he achieved prominent leadership in industry and discharged exacting responsibilities in the field of government and finance at home and abroad, he never lost the common touch. This great and wise man was simple in his tastes, basic in his loyalties.

Therefore, I felt privileged last Sunday to participate in the ceremony which dedicated a plaque to his memory on the grounds of a school which bears not only his name, but also the impact of his generosity and personality. A large throng of friends and neighbors who loved and respected this man had gathered in a beautiful sylvan setting for commencement exercises which concluded with a simple, but sincere, tribute to Mr. Young, including the reading of an editorial from the Little Falls Evening Times. No words could fully express the significance of the bond of this great man to the community he so dearly loved. However, in the hope that it may inspire others to foster such a relationship with their community, I am happy to share this editorial with my colleagues, many of whom will recall with deep respect and admiration this fine gentleman:

MR. YOUNG WOULD BE APPRECIATIVE

At the Owen D. Young Central School commencement exercises at Van Hornesville on Sunday, June 21, a marker honoring the memory of the school's namesake and benefactor is to be unveiled. This will be a reminder to all who see it of the services rendered by Mr. Young to the cause of education and to the community for which he felt a lifelong affection. It is the sort of memorial he would have appreciated, as the fostering of educational facilities and opportunities was one of his delights and he did much personally to improve the scope and quality of education in the State of New York.

Mr. Young grew up in the days of "the little red schoolhouse," famed in song and story. He knew the handicaps and shortcomings of the one-room school, as well as the achievements of its dedicated teachers and earnest students. He determined to do all in his power to increase opportunities for boys and girls to obtain a good education and became a champion of the centralization movement in the State. The Van Hornesville area became one of the first to centralize and, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Young, its handsome school became one of the showpieces in the movement. His contributions to secondary education received recognition in his appointment to the board of regents, on which he served with distinction for a number of years.

His interest in higher education was reflected in his many gifts and services to St. Lawrence University, where the Owen Young Library is a permanent memorial to the school's most distinguished alumnus.

Mr. Young was a modest man who cared little for public honor and acclaim, but who would be happy to know that the generations whose educational opportunities he helped improve has seen to it that his contributions in this field shall not be forgotten.

Tribute to Jester Hairston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, in the great State of California, and city of Los Angeles, resides a noted and talented American. Most TV viewers or radio listeners know him as LeRoy, the brother of Sapphire, and the tyrant of Kingfish. However, I feel that his contribution to the American society and the entertainment world has been much more influential and forceful.

This famed American and outstanding Californian is the inimitable Jester Hairston. Mr. Hairston studied music at Tufts University, where he received his degree in music, and did further study at the Juilliard Conservatory. Shortly afterward, Mr. Hairston began composing and arranging choral music for the Hall Johnson Choir. His talent in this

field was quickly recognized and he eventually moved up to assistant conductor of the choir.

He served with the choir for 15 dedicated years. During those 15 years, he conducted and arranged choral music for radio and Broadway musical shows. He worked with such outstanding artists as the late Al Jolson, Andre Kostelantz, Alfred Wallenstein—former conductor of the Los Angeles Symphony—and Fred Waring.

In 1935 the choir was contracted to do the choral music for the play "Green Pastures." Hairston went West with the choir to arrange the choral music for the play. The success of the play elevated Jester to the ranks of the greats, and put him in constant demand. Hollywood kept him, and thusly he arranged and conducted superb background choral music for many meritorious movies. Many of us have seen "Duel in the Sun," "The Foxes of Harrow," "Red River," "Land of the Pharaohs," "Friendly Persuasion," and "Carmen Jones." We can vividly remember these great movies, and I am sure can almost hear the melodious strains in the background that painted and unfolded the moods, thoughts, and feelings conveyed through them. These raptures of ecstatic tones were produced from the sensitive and brilliant mind of Jester Hairston.

But Hairston's excellence is not limited to background music, nor to the movies of the early fifties. He is also an actor of wide acclaim. We remember him as Jethro in John Wayne's "The Alamo," and he recently appeared in the movie version of Harper Lee's "To Kill a Mockingbird" with Gregory Peck.

As a lecturer on Negro folksongs, and as a choral conductor, he is in constant demand among schools and colleges all over the country. He has prepared programs and concerts for Stanford University, and the University of the Pacific, where he recently received an honorary degree. He conducted choirs at both schools in arrangements of Negro spirituals and folksongs. His choral arrangements of "Angels Rolled the Stone Away," "Brother Rabbit," "Sweet Potatoes," and "Nobody Knows The Troubles I Seen," can be found in all music stores, and are used repeatedly by schools and colleges throughout the two hemispheres.

In the field of recording his style has spurred millions to understand and appreciate more Negro folksongs and lore. Such records as "Christmas Gift," which was the most successful song on an album by Walter Schuman, and "Mary's Boy Chile," recorded by Harry Belafonte, have reached the million mark in sales. "Mary's Boy Chile" has been translated into a dozen or more languages, and has been recorded by scores of artists.

Jester Hariston acted as a good will ambassador in 1961 from our country to instruct Europeans in American folksongs. This tour was so successful, that he was asked to return to Germany, Finland, Yugoslavia, Denmark, and Sweden to conduct choral groups in singing Negro folksongs. His performance in these countries resulted in a better understanding of nationalities, their struggles, heartaches, and their pleasures.

This was a memorable event for Hairston. He was asked to conduct the famous Godesburg Men's Choir in Germany for the choir's centennial anniversary, which occurred simultaneously with the Emancipation Proclamation. This aggrandizement was deeply felt and appreciated by Jester Hairston, who felt that no man could ask for more. But the choir felt that for a man of his caliber and integrity, this was not enough. The choir, therefore, presented him with a gold medal to show their admiration and respect for having the honor to perform under such an accomplished artist.

Jester Hairston has not ceased to produce and display his talents. His latest achievements helped to win an Emmy. He did the vocal music for the best film of the year, "Lilies of the Field," and it is his voice heard as that of Sidney Poitier singing the theme song.

With all of these successes and achievements, Jester Hairston has not lost the common touch. He refuses to sit and wait to be called. He loves people, and is always ready to serve. He has no plans for retirement, for he feels that there are still too many songs to be sung, and too many wonderful people to meet.

Stocking Fish: Big Job in Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, one of the big year-round jobs in the State of Idaho, is keeping our lakes and streams stocked with game fish. On June 13, 1964, the Idaho Free Press, in their supplement, Weekender magazine, published an excellent article regarding this job.

Since many of my colleagues here are fishermen, I would like to include this article in today's RECORD under leave to extend my remarks.

The article follows:

KEEPING LAKES, STREAMS STOCKED WITH FISH IS BIG JOB IN GEM STATE

(By Fred Dodds)

Around the turn of the century, civilization came to Idaho and found a raw, harsh wilderness.

Turbulent streams spilled down from the mountains, unhampered by dams; and pine trees grew where highways now pass. The elk wandered loose and unafraid on the plains and fish spawned in the streams by the thousands. The land supported civilization then.

But a change has come. Huge concrete monuments rise, clogging rivers, and civilization has pushed the trees back to the solitude of the mountains.

With this change has come man and his desire to live more comfortably from the land—and with achieved comfort he has developed more time for leisure. And this leisure is probably the main reason for the Idaho State Fish and Game Department's being.

It is a full-time job for biologists, chemists, conservation specialists and a host of other fields. They make sure there is enough wildlife to go around, so Idahoans can enjoy the wilderness they seek.

And a large part of the department's job comes around summertime, when vacationers, tourists and a full complement of Idaho anglers—more than 260,000 strong—turn to the State's waterways for recreation.

To keep enough fish in the waters for these anglers requires hard work and long hours by many department personnel.

The department operates 18 fisheries installations in the State, which includes fish hatcheries, spawn-taking stations and distributing stations. The majority of these hatcheries are located in the southern part of Idaho and the largest is the hatchery at Hagerman Valley.

Here such species as kokanee, brown trout, mackinaw, golden trout, rainbow, and bass are raised for planting in the streams of Idaho.

According to Keith Rudd, Nampa area game warden, the raising of the "egg" to a mature trout is a precise process—requiring an even water temperature, the right foods, proper distribution of trout in each cubic foot of water, and constant checking by trained personnel to make sure the hatch is right.

At one time, the spawning cycle of a trout was 1½ years. Through scientific control, a spawn—from egg to trout—is about 3 months.

Thousands of trout are raised to maturity, or legal size, then released into the streams of Idaho for sportsmen; but not all the trout are "raised" by the department. Often a spawn is taken by a process known as "milking." This done, the egg is cared for until it "eyes up." This means it is starting to develop life. This takes about 15 days in water of 52 degrees.

When the egg is ready, it is taken to a stream and planted, the same as natural trout cover their eggs when they are spawned.

One such place is a stream in the Selway region, where a diversion stream has been built by department personnel. It is a slice from a main stream or river where the depth and overall temperature is almost constant. The eggs are planted in the bed of the diversion stream and left to hatch.

Rudd notes that with this process, the rate of eggs growing to adult trout is about 80 percent. He added that with natural trout, the rate is about 10 percent.

Of course not all trout are placed in Idaho's streams in this manner. A large portion is done by releasing legal-size (6 to 10 inches) trout directly into the prepicked streams of the State.

These are the trout that are grown at the hatcheries, and the trout fishermen most often catch around the first of the season.

Stocking takes place as soon after the spring thaw as possible, Rudd states, so the fish may become adapted to natural surroundings and disperse throughout the intricate waterways of Idaho.

Selection of the streams to place these trout in, however, it not done by chance.

Every Monday game wardens throughout Idaho send a detailed report to department headquarters in Boise. The report includes information taken from fishermen on the catch—where, when, and the size of the fish. Through this maze of information, department personnel find the places that are heavily fished.

Rudd offered that it would be useless to stock a high mountain lake with $5,000 worth of fish if only five sportsmen were to fish there during the year. Therefore, the main streams, lakes and reservoirs are tabulated, and from this an indication on how many trout to any given area can be determined.

Rudd also noted that in his years with the department he has heard the complaint, "You say this stream was stocked, but I haven't caught a thing all day."

"This," he says, "is very hard for people to understand."

He went on to note that some streams can support only so much life. A certain stream, for instance, can support only 5 trout per

1,000 gallons of water, while another may support 50 trout per 1,000 gallons of water.

"The trout," he notes, "when planted, are naturally going to seek out the best place where they have cover, clean, cool water, and plenty of natural food. Trout disperse fast, and thus the old saying that the stream has no trout, even though it was stocked only last week."

He also brought out a common misconception about game wardens. "They are not there to check on the sportsman—to see how many they can arrest," he stated. "Their main function is to find out where the trout are, how many there are, and how they are doing. This is to keep a constant check on the habits of trout, and to keep ahead of the depletion of Idaho's game fish."

He noted the same is true in big game season.

The actual stocking of trout is also a difficult process. Often personnel have to fight snow drifts, muddy roads, and fallen timber to get their cargo to an appointed stream or lake. This is done in many ways, and with the advent of modernization, it can be done more swiftly and economically.

The airplane plays a big role now. From the time the trout are loaded until the time the job is done, no more than 3 or 4 hours have elapsed—a big change from the time young trout had to be carted into the wilderness country by packhorse. This sometimes took weeks, and the fatality rate among the fingerling trout was high.

Often a person wonders if such an airdrop doesn't kill a large percentage of the trout; but Rudd points out that tests have shown only a small number—about 5 percent—die in the drop. He noted that water released with the fingerlings cushions the fall to a great degree and the trout are released in mountain lakes with only a small shock from the effects of falling and temperature change.

Another way is the familiar white truck that resembles a milk wagon. These take thousands of legal size trout to Idaho streams where they are released.

Sometimes people make a point of trying to follow the trucks to be sure of a good catch. Rudd notes that often such a sportsman does catch his limit in a short time, but he wonders if they really get the thrill they would have if the trout were caught naturally. He noted that the trout might taste a little better on the dinner table if they were allowed to live in its natural state for a week or so.

The stocking of trout and other game fish in the State isn't entirely a job of supply either, Rudd points out. Sometimes it is necessary to kill off a large number of game fish while destroying large numbers of trash fish, in order to replant.

Magic Reservoir, Roseworth, south of Twin Falls, and Island Park are a few examples. These at one time were filled with suckers and carp, making it necessary to kill the fish in these waters with chemicals in order to restock them with game fish.

Again, a constant check by the department is necessary to keep ahead of the depletion of Idaho's game fish.

Rudd notes that his job is a year-round job, filled with satisfaction and a knowledge that he is doing a vital service to the State.

U.S. Senate Worst Inequity of All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of last week's Supreme Court decision establishing the rule that population must be the basis for representation in both houses of a State legislature, the political implications of this decision are clear.

Unfortunately, many of the comments upon this decision are motivated either by political approval or disapproval. I have seen few truly scholarly and practical analyses.

However, Mr. A. T. Burch, retired editor of the Chicago Daily News in his column of Saturday, June 20, discusses this momentous decision as it applies to Illinois and the other 49 States, in a concrete, logical manner. I believe Mr. Burch's comments merit widespread attention and I place the article into the RECORD at this point:

U.S. SENATE WORST INEQUITY OF ALL

In February 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Federal courts had jurisdiction over the districting of State legislatures to insure the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

That decision, entitled *Baker* v. *Carr*, gave no guidelines to the lower Federal courts as to what the Supreme Court would finally consider permissible.

As a result, some Federal district courts and State courts held that "equal protection" was assured if one house was districted in a manner to give approximate equality among districts, measured solely by population.

Others held that "equal protection" was guaranteed only if both houses were districted according to population.

Still others held that "equal protection" could be insured by any rational plan, without an absolute requirement for equal population in the districts of either chamber, provided population was given substantial weight.

This week, the Supreme Court established the rule that population must be the basis for representation in both houses of a State legislature.

The majority opinions in several cases, all written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, did recognize the impracticality of establishing absolute equality. So long as substantial equality is preserved, the Court said, some consideration may be given to political boundaries and geographical divisions.

These decisions clearly require the redistricting of the Illinois Senate as well as the house, although the Illinois case was not among those decided this week. The members of the Illinois House are being elected this year at large because a commission appointed by Gov. Otto Kerner could not agree on a plan after the Governor had vetoed a bill to redistrict the house voted by the 1963 legislature.

The Supreme Court's decisions this week did not surprise me. I thought the Court was logically bound to come up with this conclusion as a result of recent prior opinions.

Furthermore, I think that the line of reasoning adopted by the majority of the Court in the cases decided this week should lead finally to a decision that the U.S. Senate itself, notwithstanding the specific constitutional provisions guaranteeing each State two Senators, is unconstitutional.

That will be a long time coming, but it may come if the view continues to spread (Walter Lippmann advocates it) that the Court can remedy any political wrong. The principal deterrent to this development will not be logic but the knowledge that the Senate still has power to impeach the members of the Supreme Court.

ORDER DELAYED

Nobody seems to assume that the Supreme Court will require redistricting of the Illinois Senate before the November election this year. In fact, the Supreme Court commended a U.S. district court for not making its order effective in Alabama in the year it decided against the legislative system there.

If the Illinois case had been decided by the Supreme Court before the Alabama, Colorado, and New York cases, or at the same time, this State's senatorial system might have been condemned with special severity.

There was historical if not logical support for giving at least minimum representation to every county in States where the counties were as old as the State—older, in some instances, than the U.S. Constitution.

In such circumstances, the analogy with the Federal system was clearer than it is in the 1954 Illinois amendment under which we have been operating. Here, a senatorial district is an artificial creation, with no historical antecedents.

The 1954 Illinois amendment divided the senatorial districts into three grand divisions—the city of Chicago, Cook County outside Chicago, and the rest of the State outside Cook County. Chicago was to have 18 senators, suburban Cook County 6 and the State outside Cook County 34. These numbers could be changed only by another amendment to the State constitution.

VETO "UPHELD"

Governor Kerner has declared that the Supreme Court's decisions this week justify his veto of the 1963 bill to redistrict the house. This is not absolutely provable. The 1954 amendment restricted the permissible variation in one direction: No district was to have less than 80 percent of the "quota"—the population of the State divided by the number of representative districts. No district did have less than this figure.

As to the house, the weakness of the 1954 amendment was failure to provide an upper limit for variation above the quota. Some districts—particularly Lake County—greatly exceeded it in the 1963 bill.

The U.S. Supreme Court has recognized the inevitability of some variation from absolute equality. One can only conjecture whether it would have considered the Illinois minimum rule as inadequate.

In its current role as a continuous Federal constitutional convention, 50 continuous State conventions and 50 State legislatures (revising the Federal and State constitutions at will without referendums), the Supreme Court still has a lot of legislating to do before anybody knows for sure what uniform rules it will finally lay down.

Chief Justice Warren talks a great deal in his opinions about the necessity of giving all votes equal weight in electing State legislatures. He talks less, but to some extent, about "fair representation." The two things are not necessarily identical.

The 1964 special session of the Illinois Legislature provided for an election of house members at large. The bill provided that no party could nominate more candidates at large than two-thirds the house membership. This was intended to guarantee substantial minority representation as between the major political parties.

Nothing in the Warren doctrine, however, would have prevented the legislature from directing both party conventions to nominate candidates equal to the total membership of the house. Had it done so, one party might have won every seat in the house by a very small statewide majority.

UNDER ATTACK

In Ohio, where I wrote editorials for many years before coming to the Chicago Daily News in 1945, the system of house representation is under attack in the Federal courts.

An amendment to the State constitution sponsored by Mark Hanna when he was the State's political boss provided that every

county should have at least one representative. This tends to perpetuate rural domination by giving some counties of small population at least one house member. The tendency has an offset.

Larger counties have more members, proportioned to their population. But the members are elected at large in each country. Cuyahoga County, where Cleveland is, elects 17 members of the house.

In the late 1920's, during the regime of Maurice Maschke as Republican boss, the county's delegation often was entirely Republican. In the 1930's, it was entirely Democratic. Was this "fair representation?" It was not, either in the 1920's or the 1930's.

The Cuyahoga County house delegation in the legislature now consists of 15 Democrats and 2 Republicans. The county's six senators (also elected at large in the county) are all Democrats. Is this "fair representation"? It is not.

Chief Justice Warren's attempt to distinguish, historically and logically, between the Federal senatorial system and the State systems is ably answered by Justice John Marshall Harlan's penetrating analysis. He dissented in all the cases decided this week as he did, with Justice Felix Frankfurter (who has since retired), from *Baker* v. *Carr* in 1962.

This week, Justices Tom Clark and Potter Stewart joined him in two dissents.

The Federal system is justified by the presumed "sovereignty" of the States, although, as Warren concedes, the 13 original States surrendered some of their sovereignty when they formed the Union, and the other 37 States are all creatures of the Federal Government, never independently "sovereign" in the American system.

A COMPROMISE

The essence of Warren's argument about the Federal-State analogy is that the Federal guarantee of two Sentaors to every State was a compromise necessary to procure the ratification of the 1787 Constitution.

But Harlan points out that, to procure ratification of the 14th amendment, all its sponsors in the congressional debates of 1866 and on the stump assured the people that the States would retain full power over the composition of their legislatures and the qualifications of their voters.

Without these assurances—without this compromise—the 14th amendment could not have been ratified.

The same thing is historically true of the Illinois amendment of 1954. It was a compromise, overwhelmingly approved by the voters.

But the issue was really decided by the Supreme Court in 1962, and logically it should strike down the congressional compromise of 1787, too.

Before 1954, all the previous constitutions of Illinois—those of 1818, 1848, and 1870—had required the legislature to provide equal districts, based on population, in both houses.

The ordinance of 1787, adopted the same year that the Federal Constitution was drafted, provided that representation should be based on population in the States to be formed from the Northwest Territory. This supports Chief Justice Warren's contention that the State legislatures were not expected at that time follow the congressional model.

By the standards laid down by Warren and a majority of his colleagues, the congressional model is wicked and vicious, much more so than any State legislative system. A little thing like possible impeachment ought not to deter such notable men from doing their duty, since they obviously have no doubt as to their power to do anything.

La Porte (Ind.) Herald-Argus Comments on United States-Russian Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of an editorial appearing in the June 3, 1964, issue of the La Porte, Ind., Herald-Argus entitled "United States-Russian Pact."

The editorial follows:

UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN PACT

Now that the United States and Soviet Russia have signed an agreement, described as the first bilateral treaty between the two nations in 30 years, calling for new consulates in Leningrad and in New York and Chicago, the next move to create even closer relations between the two giants is expected to be the inauguration of transglobal plane travel between New York and Moscow. The decision to approve these flights is now up to President Johnson, and there are some predictions he will do so before the November elections. The flights would begin in the spring of 1965.

Under provisions of the treaty, subject to approval of the U.S. Senate, tourists and other travelers from both countries will have better protection and will get better needed service while traveling. The agreement provides, for example, that United States and Soviet officials be informed within 3 days of the arrest or detention of each other's nationals and communicate with them within 4 days. In the past the Russian Government has frequently held incommunicado Americans arrested for any reason.

This treaty came into being without either side giving up much of anything. It is chiefly a gesture of good will to smooth out relations between the two powers. It will depend, of course, upon the attitude of the Kremlin, which has been known in times past to disregard pacts or parts thereof when to disregard suited the Kremlin purposes. However, the current Khrushchev policies of accommodation with the West presage successful operation of the consular treaty.

United States and Russian interchanges are more extensive now than ever, and with the advent of the treaty even more can be expected. Forty-six Soviet students are studying in America and the same number of Americans are in Russia. The U.S. show, "Holiday on Ice," is traveling through the Soviet Union. A graphic art's exhibit has just closed there. An American communication's exhibit will open in Moscow in the fall. Over the last 6 years the Soviets have bought 125 American films, but U.S. film distributors have bought only 16 films from Russia. Americans are traveling in the Soviet Union at the rate of 8,000 to 12,000 a year, while about 2,000 Russians a year are visiting in the United States. During the next 2 years 55 scientists from each nation will visit in the other for inspections, lectures and cooperative research.

The consular treaty, and later the Moscow-New York flights, will be further means of further reducing the barriers between the two nations. And as these barriers are reduced, better understanding develops. And better understanding is certainly one foundation stone for peace.

Better understanding does not mean that Americans will come to admire communism or its operation but only that they will know more about it and about how the people of the Soviet Union live and think and feel. Knowledge in this case can be a power for good, for the building of a peace.

How Much Foreign Aid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month we enacted the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964. Reporting of the press all but ignored the expressions of the minority which gives the people the erroneous impression that all Members are in agreement with the authorization and with the administration of foreign aid by the executive branch. I am pleased to see that at least one publisher has noted the minority views and I commend to all Members of the House the reading of the following editorial which appeared in the June 17 editorial of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Under unanimous consent I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

FOREIGN AID QUESTIONS

When the foreign assistance bill passed the House of Representatives, virtually without change, the minority views which were extremely ably presented were overshadowed by the victory of the bill itself and by the continuing debate on civil rights. We think these views are worthy of more notice than they received at that time.

The report, signed by Congressmen ADAIR, GROSS, BERRY, DERWINSKI, BATTIN, and THOMSON, stated that their opposition toward making any additional funds available to the executive branch was based on a wide range of faults, almost any one of which would have caused management of any privately operated business to stop and take another look. They declared that:

The Congress has lost all semblance of control over the aid program;

The executive branch continues to make long-term aid commitments without prior congressional approval;

Trade and aid continues with Communist governments; much of the military assistance is beyond the capacity of the recipient nation to utilize;

The program is overfunded and lacks consistency or direction;

There is little evidence that it has been successful in achieving its objectives;

The impact of assistance fails to reach the grassroots level;

The aid effort is diffused and reasonable criteria in the selection of recipients are lacking;

Administrative and program deficiencies abound, including overprograming, hoarding of funds, waste, and extravagance;

We are attempting too much for too many too soon;

AID finances Government-owned facilities which compete with private enterprise; and

Fiscal responsibility is not the watchword of the aid administering agency.

The committee further declared that action by Congress is needed now to regain control and redirect the foreign aid program toward meaningful objectives. They suggested that:

Economic aid funds must be substantially reduced.

Bilateral economic aid should not be given to countries that are giving economic development aid directly to other countries.

Sufficient military and economic assistance funds should be earmarked solely for use in Vietnam.

Loans, if made, should be for projects only and so-called balance of payments or program loans stopped.

Funds presently obligated or reserved for loans, grants, or other projects which have not been firmed up should be released.

The Agency should preaudit intended imports to be purchased with U.S. funds to preclude future imports of ineligible items.

Very few people believe that we should abolish foreign aid. The overwhelming majority of Americans recognize that foreign aid is vital to our security. The big question is: How much foreign aid is necessary?

The questions raised by the Republican minority deserve to be answered.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the Becker amendment, Charles H. Tuttle, Esq., of the New York bar, presented a brilliant analysis of this proposal. Mr. Tuttle is eminently well qualified to speak on this subject, having been a member of the New York Board of Higher Education for many years and counsel in a number of cases involving religious freedom. He is counsel to the National Council of Churches.

Mr. Tuttle's statement clearly points out the grave risks to religious liberty contained in this proposal. I commend his statement, which follows, to my colleagues and all those who desire to preserve our heritage of religious freedom in America:

ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSED BECKER AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

I. The Becker amendment.

This amendment is the most prominent of the many introduced in Congress following the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the prayer and Bible-reading cases. (*Engel* v. *Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, June 1962; and *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, June, 1963.)

The Becker amendment reads:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to, prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

Immediately noteworthy are the facts (1) that this proposed amendment runs to the whole Constitution of the United States and not merely to the first amendment which is not mentioned; an (2) that, in consequence, it affects the whole constitutional structure of freedom in American life, for it authorizes instead of prohibiting Government to select, compose and impose in tax-supported schools and institutions exercises of religion and of the religious faith and creed which such exercises predicate, to require a religious reference in the oath qualifying for public office, and to affect in the area of religion the liberty of which Government cannot deprive an individual without due process of law, and as to which all persons are entitled to the equal protection of the laws.

The extent of this reversal can, in the first instance, best be measured against the background and content of the first amendment which was adopted in 1791 and has never been changed.

II. The "preferred position" of the five basic freedoms in the constitutional structure of liberty.

The first amendment is brief but explicit. It reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

By the 14th amendment these five basic freedoms became equally immune from State abridgment.

By their embodiment in the first amendment these five freedoms "are in a preferred position" in our constitutional system. (*Murdock* v. *Pennsylvania*, 319 U.S. 105, 115.) In *Thomas* v. *Collins*, 323 U.S. 516, 1945, the Supreme Court spoke (p. 530) of "the preferred place given in our scheme to the great, the indispensable democratic freedoms secured by the first amendment", and went on to say (p. 530):

"That priority gives these liberties a sanctity and a sanction not permitting dubious intrusions. * * *

"It was not by accident or coincidence that the rights of freedom in speech and press were coupled in a single guaranty with the rights of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances. All these, though not identical, are inseparable. They are cognate rights, c.f. *De Jonge* v. *Oregon*, 299 U.S. 353, 364, and therefore are united in the first article's assurance. Cf. 1 Annals of Congress 759–760.

III. Provisions in the U.S. Constitution which, in addition to those in the first amendment, are excluded from operation by the Becker amendment to the full scope of its terms.

Both sections 1 and 2 of the Becker amendment introduce themselves in the words "Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit" what follows. Section 3 equally excludes, for it ordains that "nothing in this article (thus including sections 1 and 2) shall constitute an establishment of religion."

The cumulative effect of these three sections not only on the first amendment but also on other provisions of the Constitution concerning religion and liberty is explicit in their very wording.

(1) In reciting the basic purposes of the Constitution, the preamble includes: to "insure domestic tranquillity," "and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

What followed this preamble showed that the Founding Fathers, who drafted the Constitution and the American people who ratified it, were well aware from personal experience and the bitter lessons of preceding centuries that one of the greatest dangers to liberty and domestic tranquillity was inevitable in any effort by the state or by religion to control the machinery of the other, or in concert to control the liberty of the individual. (*Engle* v. *Vitale*, *supra*, 370 U.S. 421, 429; *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, *supra*, 374 U.S. 203, 274; *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, 8–11.)

Indeed; truer today than in 1787 is the statement that (Abington, p. 214):

"This freedom to worship was indispensable in a country whose people came from the four quarters of the earth and brought with them a diversity of religious opinion."

(2) In fulfillment of the basic purposes thus declared in the preamble, the Constitution (art. VI, sec. 3) went on to provide that:

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

The 14th amendment made this prohibition equally applicable to any office or public trust under any of the States. (*Torcaso* v. *Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488, 1961.) In this Torcaso case the Supreme Court said (p. 495):

"We repeat and again reaffirm that neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person 'to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion.' Neither can constitutionally pass laws or impose requirements which aid all religions as against nonbelievers, and neither can aid those religions based on a belief in the existence of God as against those religions founded on different beliefs."

On the other hand, section 2 of the Becker amendment proposes to ordain:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony," etc.

Certainly, a national or State requirement that qualification for office shall require a signed oath or affirmation which professes belief in God or invokes the aid of God for its fulfillment would be a "governmental or public document," and the administration and taking of such an oath would also be a "governmental or public proceeding, activity, ceremony."

So, likewise, the administration of the oath to witnesses in court or to the affiants to affidavits, or to those required to verify under oath governmental forms.

Under the present Constitution, for persons whose conscience does not permit the usual invocation "So help me God," a simple affirmation is a permissible and equally valid substitution.

But under the Becker amendment, that "Nothing in this Constitution" can stand in the way, a requirement by the Nation or a State that such an oath or affirmation to be valid or effective shall contain and profess a religious belief would become constitutional and enforcible under penalty of disqualification or invalidity regardless of the person's actual belief or individual conscience.

Nor, under the Becker amendment, would such a requirement constitute a governmental "establishment of religion."

(3) The fifth amendment to the present Constitution provides that:

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

The term "liberty" as used in this constitutional guarantee "is not confined to mere freedom from bodily restraint," but "extends to the full range of conduct which the individual is free to pursue and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective." (*Bolling* v. *Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497, 499, 195.)

But the Becker amendment expressly annuls everything in the Constitution which presently prohibits or prevents governmental composition of prayers and governmental selection of biblical readings to be conducted in public schools or institutions supported and conducted by public taxation of believers and nonbelievers.

Obviously, such taxation for a governmental formulation of a religious belief is a governmental deprivation of a dissenting taxpayer's religious "liberty," whether or not he feels personally coerced for social or group reasons to participate or allow his children to participate in such state composed and imposed religious exercises.

In recognizing the scope of "liberty" fundamental to the American tradition and concept of constitutional rights, the Supreme Court said in *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, 16, that it "requires the State to be a neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and nonbelievers; it does not require the State to be their adversary." Hence, as also said in the *Abington School* case, 374 U.S. 203, 225–6, 229, liberty of religious belief "has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the State to practice its beliefs," or that, by the compulsion of public taxation, the momentary majority could force the minority who have different beliefs to contribute to the support of the majority's use of the machinery of the state for the profession and practice of the majority's religious beliefs in publicly supported schools and institutions.

Liberty loses its exalted quality and meaning when the majority of the moment can compel a minority to subsidize the majority's use of public tax-supported institutions for official dissemination of their own religious beliefs and practices.

(4) The 14th amendment in the present Constitution provides in section 1:

"Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

What the 5th amendment forbids to the National Government, this 14th amendment also forbids to any State government or subdivision thereof.

By its twice repeated introductory words "Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit," the Becker amendment proposes to annul all the prohibitions of the 14th amendment incompatible with its own terms.

The concept of liberty in the 14th amendment is obviously identical with its concept in the 5th amendment.

"The equal protection of the laws" is clearly denied when a majority may control and use public tax-supported schools and institutions for official dissemination of its particular religious beliefs and practices, and, again, when it can use the power of public taxation to compel subsidizing such special privilege.

The contrary view entails the hazard that the majority of today may be the minority of tomorrow.

IV. Religion under the first amendment.

The freedom insured by the first amendment, as it has stood unaltered since 1791, has been of incalculable benefit to religion.

Under its aegis religion has flourished in this Nation possibly more dynamically than anywhere else. The disastrous consequences, in a democratic and pluralistic society dependent upon fundamental national unity and tranquility, of having religion and politics entangled together or in opposition in National State, and local ballot boxes, have been avoided, an entanglement from which, as the lessons of history show, both religion and government suffer in their integrity.

The test of the reality of the free exercise of religion is whether the same freedom is equally for all. It loses its title to the word "free" when the majority of the moment can bring governmental, economic, and social pressure against any individual's freedom of conscience.

As said by the United States Supreme Court in *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203, 226:

"While the free exercise clause clearly prohibits the use of State action to deny the rights of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the State to practice its beliefs."

V. The Becker amendment undermines the whole structure of religious and hence of individual liberty now guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution in the light of bitter human experience with Government determined and sponsored religious activity and belief.

It makes official whatever in point of practice, content, belief and use a National, State or local government, deriving its existence and authority from the ballot box, shall compose and direct by official sanction as an orthodox expression of religious belief.

While purporting to order that "nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion," everything in all its three sections authorizes the accomplishment of just that. Government selects orthodoxy and sponsors its selection and practice.

There can be no doubt of the historicity of the following statement in *Engel* v. *Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, 429:

"By the time of the adoption of the Constitution, our history shows that there was a widespread awareness among many Americans of the dangers of a union of church and state. These people knew, some of them from bitter personal experience, that one of the greatest dangers to the freedom of the individual to worship in his own way lay in the Government's placing its official stamp of approval upon one particular kind of prayer or one particular form of religious services. They knew the anguish, hardship, and bitter strife that could come when zealous religious groups struggled with one another to obtain the government's stamp of approval from each king, queen, or protector that came to temporary power."

In *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203 (1963), the Supreme Court recorded the fact that (p. 213–214):

"Indeed, only last year an official survey of the country indicated that 64 percent of our people have church membership, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States (83d ed. 1962), 48, while less than 3 percent profess no religion whatever. Id. at p. 46. * * *

"Today authorities list 83 separate religious bodies, each with membership exceeding 50,000, existing among our people, as well as innumerable smaller groups. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., supra, at 46–47."

Thus by silence the proposed amendment avoids recognition of the Pandora box which, for opening, the amendment will hand to the multitude of governments, of sects and of diversities of religious opinion in this country.

Over the centuries Catholics, Protestants, and Jews have shared the same experiences in having endured the bitter consequences of denial or curtailment of religious freedom. Those lessons should not be forgotten. Religious freedom is either full freedom or it is not freedom at all. It is either for all persons—those with faith and those with no faith or with a different faith—or else it is a profession of a right by those of one belief to use the mechanism and funds of the State to promote their own belief and to disadvantage those of a different belief.

In the American system there should not be degrees of human liberty. "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal." There are, of course, governments and people who believe this folly; but we in the United States have staked on it our all. This is no time for any retreat. Neither government nor religion can afford it.

VI. The reservation in section 1 of a privilege of nonparticipation avoids neither of the new powers which that section confers on government as to governmental and public schools and institutions, namely the power to compose and conduct religious exercises for those compulsorily assembled therein, and the power to subsidize such exercises by public taxation. Nor does it avoid the inherent pressures involved.

The purported reservation in section 1, "if participation therein is on a voluntary basis," does not alter or escape the following facts:

(1) An audience assembled by government by compulsion of law;

(2) The act of government in composing, sanctioning and requiring specified religious exercises for such audience so assembled;

(3) Such religious exercises to be part of the educational program and procedure imposed by government for such governmental and public schools and institutions;

(4) The subsidizing thereof by public funds raised by public, general taxation;

(5) Nonconformity by pupils with religious exercises so sponsored and conducted can easily, if not inevitably, involve a religious stigma, loss of class with the conforming majority and a fear of disadvantage in and with the school and its staff. These are factors of coercion and pressure, whether vocal, subtle or both;

(6) Imposing on teachers or other school officials the duty of conducting religious exercises not in conformity with their own beliefs.

By its very nature and definition, a religious exercise presupposes and expresses religious belief and creed and an accompanying rite. The government's selection and promotion at public expense of the religious belief and creed which the officially sponsored religious exercise embodies and expresses is, in point of fact and law and to the full extent of its underlying predicate and rite, a government-aided establishment of religion subsidized by public funds obtained by general taxation.

The repetitive and comprehensive authorizations in sections 1 and 2 of the Becker amendment leave no tangible barrier to direct or indirect religious indoctrination, under government sponsorship, in a religious belief, creed and practice. Indeed, such seems to be their very object. Thus a constitutional way is to be opened for political authority to take sides in the areas of personal conscience and religious liberty.

As said in the *Abington* case (374 U.S. 203, 223):

"We agree with the trial court's finding as to the religious character of the exercises. Given that finding, the exercises and the law requiring them are in violation of the establishment clause."

Such a method of effecting a government-sponsored establishment of religion as part of "the supreme law of the land" (Constitution, art. VI (sec. 2), becomes, because of the very nature of its sponsorship, "subjected to the pressures of government (national, State and local) for a change each time a new political administration is elected to office." It therefore can, and according to all human experience will, convert matters of religious beliefs and practices into political issues and thus into election and sectarian controversies. (*Engel* case, 370 U.S. 421, 429, 430.) The vicissitudes of successes at the ballot

box will determine official selection between orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

Moreover, the consequences could well be that the selection and formulation of such religious exercises could differ and be contradictory from school board to school board across the country, dependent on the special or sectarian views of the board's members. The Supreme Court's opinion in the *Abington* case (374 U.S. 203, 209, 210) quotes the conflicting testimonies of distinguished theologians that reading from the New Testament could be offensive to the Jewish faith; that, on the other hand, within the Christian faith only the New Testament could be regarded as "nonsectarian"; and that "the exclusion of the New Testament would be a sectarian practice."

Furthermore, who is to decide whether non-participation is for sincere reasons of religious belief or nonbelief, or to what extent and in what manner, with due regard to the secular program and good order, it may be manifested?

Mr. Justice Frankfurter merely expressed the most common experience when, in concurring in *McCullom* v. *Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203, he said (p. 227):

"That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and non-conformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. The result is an obvious pressure upon children to attend."

Even Mr. Justice Stewart, dissenting in the *Abington* case (374 U.S. 203, 318), acknowledged:

"And even under a law containing an excusable provision, if the exercises were held during the schoolday, and no equally desirable alternative were provided by the school authorities, the likelihood that children might be under at least some psychological compulsion to participate would be great."

See also the concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Brennan in the Abington case at pages 289–290.

This element of inevitable pressure and coercion has been repeatedly recognized by courts across the country. People ex rel. *Ringo* v. *Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 351; *Tudor* v. *Board of Education*, 14 N.J. 31; 100 A. 2d 857, 866; *State ex rel. Weiss* v. *District Board*, 78 Wisc. 177, 199–200; *Knowlton* v. *Baumhover*, 182 Iowa 691, 699, 700.

So, likewise, the teacher or official required to conduct the prayers or Bible-reading may well be confronted with the choice of participating in disregard of his own conscience and belief or of risking his position or academic future by refusing.

VII. The existing decisions of the Supreme Court do not affect religious expressions, in accordance with American tradition and practice, where governmental composition and direction of religious exercises at public expense for audiences gathered by compulsion of law, are not involved.

A mature and unemotional reading of the opinions of the Supreme Court, of the concurring opinions, and even of the dissenting opinions, shows that the Court was deciding nothing more than that it is not the business of government to compose and impose religous exercises to be conducted in public, tax-supported schools and institutions where the audience is assembled by compulsion of law.

The Court's opinion in the *Abington* case (374 U.S. 202, 205) opens with this definition of the narrow issue to be decided, namely whether "State action requiring that schools begin each day with readings from the Bible," was violative of the first amendment.

The Court's opinion that such a violation resulted was written by Mr. Justice Clark who previously, in a public address concerning the earlier Engel case, had said (49 American Bar Association Journal 444, 1963):

"Here was a State-written prayer circulated to State-employed teachers with instructions to have their pupils recite it in unison at the beginning of each school day. The Constitution says that the Government shall take no part in the establishment of religion. No means no. As soon as people learned that this was all the Court decided—not that there could be no official recognition of a Divine Being or recognition on silver or currency of 'In God We Trust,' or public acknowledgment that we are a religous nation—they understood the basis on which the Court acted."

That nothing more was decided is made manifest by the text and by the footnotes.

The consequences of an opposite decision are made manifest by what has followed—politically sponsored efforts by political means, with resultant strong religious and popular controversy, to use the Constitution of the United States to empower the legislative arm of National, State and local governments to determine on all educational levels across the country what shall be the established expression and exercise of religion in public, tax-supported schools and institutions.

VIII. The American Constitution and religion and the state. For 173 years the revered words "free exercise of religion" have shone as one of the five supreme essentials of "liberty" as Americans have cherished that exalted term from the beginning.

Those words pay tribute to the essential quality of true religion as itself "the perfect law of liberty."

"Free" means "free"—free for difference, diversity and disbelief itself—"free" not for some but for all.

What has true religion to fear, save intrusion and control by the political arm of the state?

The American concept of liberty offers to minorities not second-class citizenship or even mere tolerance, but full equality in freedom; and true religion, with its divine concept of human brotherhood in heirship as sons of God, is not and cannot be less or lower in its concept of liberty.

The Founding Fathers, when they framed the Constitution and spoke of the free exercise of religion as an inalienable right of all citizens, aimed not at mere tolerance but at converting tolerance into liberty.

The present clash of angry words and the rush to sloganeering prove their wisdom and also their solicitude both for the state and for religion.

Religion, as they conceived it, is never political in its nature or in its need. Its summons has always been to free spirits—to a devotion which loses its sincerity when enforced or converted into a civic, social or political badge.

As the widely respected Cardinal Valerian Gracias, Archbishop of Bombay, India, said at the recent Vatican Council:

"A secular state does not mean a godless state, but one in which no particular religion is favored and all religious beliefs are given freedom to practice and propagate."

The Reverend Robert F. Drinan, the Catholic dean of Boston College Law School, speaking at an assembly of the leaders of the three major faiths held at Miami Beach, on April 15 last, called for a cooperative effort (and I quote)"to seek the fullness of religious freedom for all—those with faith and those with no faith."

On June 27, 1962, President Kennedy speaking at a news conference several days after the Supreme Court's decision in the Prayer and Bible Reading cases, said (New York Times, June 28, 1962): "The Supreme Court has made its judgment. A good many people obviously will disagree with it; others will agree with it. But I think that it is important for us, if we are going to maintain our constitutional principle, that we support Supreme Court decisions even when we may not agree with them.

"In addition, we have in this case a very easy remedy, and that is to pray ourselves. And I think that it would be a very welcome reminder to every American family that we can pray a good deal more at home, we can attend our churches with a good deal more fidelity, and we can make the true meaning of prayer much more important in the lives of all our children. That power is very much open to us. And I would hope that as a result of this decision, that all American parents will intensify their efforts at home. And the rest of us will support the Constitution and the responsibility of the Supreme Court in interpreting it, which is theirs and given to them by the Constitution."

These statements by President Kennedy are in harmony with the subsequent formal "Policy Statement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America," adopted by its general board on June 7, 1963, by a vote of 67 to 1, with 1 abstention. That policy statement declared:

"Teaching for religious commitment is the responsibility of the home and the community of faith (such as the church or synagogue) rather than the public schools."

South Bend (Ind.) Tribune Comments on Congressional Action on Excise Taxes

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the text of an excellent editorial concerning recent congressional action on excise taxes.

The editorial, which appeared on June 20, 1964, follows:

POOR TIMING

It is nothing new, certainly, to see Congress overriding attempts to repeal temporary excise taxes. Like subsidies, the temporary imposts have extraordinary staying power.

Thus, nobody should have been very surprised when the House beat down the proposal to reduce forthwith, and terminate next summer, the 10 percent Federal sales tax on such things as women's handbags, costume jewelry, fur-trimmed coats, and cosmetics.

This time, however, there was a better-than-usual case to be made for continuing the taxes in question.

It just wasn't the time for further Federal tax cutting, no matter the appeal to the taxpayer.

The proposed reduction and eventual elimination would have cost the Government $500 million a year in revenue ultimately. That the Treasury is in no position to absorb that kind of loss on the heels of the biggest income tax cut in history should be apparent. It faces a deficit in the range of $9 billion in the fiscal year ending June 30. The most optimistic guess for the following year is that the deficit can be held to around $6 billion.

There hasn't been enough time to see if the income tax cut will live up to its billing as a business stimulator so strong that it soon will lift Federal revenue above the pre-cut level. Until we know more about that,

it is hard to argue for excise tax reduction, much less elimination, as proposed.

If there was to have been serious thought of tampering with the excise tax structure, it should have come in connection with the income tax cutting study and debate.

The aroma of politics was strong around the proposal, made by the Republicans. It was a pitch to curry the favor of the feminine voters. In fact they made no bones about it. Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin, put it bluntly: "We should not penalize the ladies. I think it is about time we did something for them."

Unfortunately, the proposal was poorly timed. It flew in the face of the fiscal facts of life.

Address by Edward N. Costikyan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, with great pleasure I offer for the RECORD the address of the Honorable Edward N. Costikyan, county leader of the Democratic County Committee of the County of New York, at the annual dinner of the New York County Democratic Committee on Thursday, May 14, 1964. Present at the dinner were the working and contributing members and officials of the Democratic Party of New York County. Mr. Costikyan traced the origin of the New York County Democratic organization and the ideals of the Democratic Party in New York which has caused it to function as a vibrant, youthful, and forward-looking organization, despite its centuries-old age.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE NEW YORK COUNTY DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, MAY 14, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope all of you have noticed the great innovation which our program calls for tonight. The men of the cloth outnumber the political speakers 2 to 1. In this year 1964, in light of the many problems which we face in America, I suggest that the ratio is appropriate.

Of course, having limited the political speeches to two, we cheated a little by having a few people bring what the program euphemistically describes as "Greetings."

As one of them, I would like first, on behalf of all those present, to bring greetings to our two distinguished guests, Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.

Senator HUMPHREY and Mayor Wagner, you have before you election district captains from election districts all over Manhattan. They give freely of their time and energy day in and day out throughout the year, and tonight they are here at their own expense to pay tribute to this Democratic Party to which they and you belong.

You have before you many government officials—from commissioners to clerks—from judges to attendants—who serve the public day in and day out, and who remain dedicated members of our party. In their daily work they advance the great traditions of public service which our party has always stood for.

You have before you presidents and vice presidents and secretaries and treasurers and other officers of the 36 local political clubs, which among them cover every block and every building in this county. They, too, give of their time and energy and money year in and year out. Among them they raise and spend over $350,000 year in and year out to maintain these local headquarters and to give service to the people every week of the year.

You have before you the 66 men and women who together head our local political clubs and act as the executive committee for the Democratic Party of this county. They are politicians and they are proud of it, and we are proud of them.

You have before you hundreds upon hundreds of devoted men and women who have, year in and year out, contributed generously to see that the Democratic Party of New York County can continue to function and to perform its obligations.

All of them are here tonight with you to reaffirm their identification with this great party, their devotion to its highest principles, and their willingness to give it continued support.

On their behalf I bring greetings to you, our beloved Mayor Robert F. Wagner, yourself a product of this great institution, and today its most outstanding member. I know I speak for everyone in this room and many who could not join us when I wish for you, after a year of personal travail and deep grief, the continued will and strength to struggle with and to solve what at times appear to be the insoluble problems of our city. You have our support and our deep affection.

And to you, Senator HUMPHREY, on behalf of all those who are here present, I bring an expression of the respect, the admiration, and the gratitude of the Democratic Party of New York County for the years you have devoted to strengthening our party and to helping it to live up to its highest ideals. And, specifically, I bring you expressions of support and gratitude for the battle you are waging now in the Senate of the United States.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I bring greetings to each of you from the county leader. I say "from the county leader" because I must recognize, as you do, that this annual affair is not a tribute to any individual as much as it is to an institution which I have the responsibility and great honor to head.

Last week I attended a dinner at a sister county whose Democratic Party was celebrating its 50th anniversary. Fifty years seems like a long time for an institution to survive.

But how much longer have we existed.

No one can say when our county organization was born. Its origins are found in an ancient secret society formed shortly after the revolution. Its secrecy was so effective that the few historians who have cared to look into it have been relatively free to create their own versions of what it was without fear of contradiction.

Whatever it was—a patriotic society, a philanthropic group (whose philanthropies were sometimes notoriously private), a builder of museums, a preserver of Indian lore and mythology, a Jacobin, revolutionary group which brought about universal male suffrage in this State, or just a bunch of wild-eyed reformers—it spawned an institution which has survived for more than 164 years.

We existed before there was a New York county, before there was a greater city of New York, before there was any formal kind of political organization. Indeed, this institution probably existed before there was a Democratic Party at all. It has survived its own mistakes and misdeeds. It has survived the attacks and ridicule of its adversaries.

Its continued vitality can be attributable to one cause only: that the strength of its principles outweighs the weakness of its faults.

It would, I think, be presumptuous for me to attempt to state for everyone what is it that keeps us as members of this institution. But for me the answer is clear: Our pary believed when it was founded, and believes today, that the pursuit of happiness which the Declaration of Independence declared to be an inalienable right is more than a license to the individual. This Democratic Party—this great political institution—has always believed, and continues to believe, that the pursuit of happiness is a mandate for government action to create the conditions which make that pursuit more than a fruitless chase.

Every year we see expressions of that great ideal in the action of our party. We see it today in the efforts of our distinguished guest of honor on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

The leadership of this institution is, as I have suggested, often a heavy responsibility, but tonight that leadership is an occasion for joy. For our institution has completed another year of service, of activity, of organization, of education, of fighting for the rights of our citizens. And on this, the occasion of our annual dining together, we have the opportunity to share the excitement of our past achievements and the stimulation of being together, which will prepare us for this year's great battles.

On behalf of the Democratic Party of New York County, I therefore bring you the greetings of that organization and its thanks, and mine, for joining us tonight.

Let Us Demand Immediate End to Red Anti-Semitism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am distressed as all true Americans are about the tragic plight of the Jewish people in Russia. More than 2 years ago I officially protested these intolerable conditions.

It is truly incredible that in this 20th century, in this advanced, atomic, nuclear age when people are considered to be so enlightened and civilized, that any government, however committed to totalitarian ideas, should be seeking and moving as the Russian Government is, to pursue a course which, in effect, in some respects constitutes ruthless, spiritual genocide against the great Jewish race.

To people inured as we are to American principles and ideals of free constitutional government, to religious and civic liberty and all the cherished safeguards of the American free way of life, the deliberate, systemized attacks upon Judaism, its social, cultural, and religious roots and practices, its very culture and spirit, attacks designed in time to stagnate and to obliterate the rights, privileges, and status of the Jewish people inside the Soviet Union, constitutes such an outrageous offense against human decency, the rule of law, the rights of minorities, and such flagrant disregard of human rights as to be totally beyond even our imagination in this enlightened day and age.

Religious intolerance, ruthless suppression of the individual, and racial and personal animosity and destruction is not

new to the policies and action of the Soviet Union. But we of the free world are shocked to learn of such horrifying offenses against the Jewish people, a people who throughout all history, have made such fabulous contributions to the growth and development of civilized institutions and the free way of life.

Long since, the Soviet has acted to drive out practically every vestige of free, selective, religious worship, as we know it in this country and the free world, from the boundaries of Russia.

It is a startling and sobering fact that few evangelical churches of the Christian faith are allowed to exercise their sacred function in Russia. The autocratic, super-state strictly controls religious worship and practice in the Soviet Union within the framework of a state church that is a mere creature of the government.

While it is recognized that no freedom, as we know it, is permissible in Russia, except that which is autocratically directed, the American people and the free peoples of the world look with dismay, alarm, and incensed feelings upon the ruthless persecution being conducted against the Jews and their institutions in Russia.

I think it is our sworn duty as Members of Congress and as human beings interested in our fellow man and the cause of freedom, justice, and brotherhood in the world, to protest against the campaign which the Soviet Government is currently waging to destroy Judaism and all its works and cruelly and shamefully to persecute the Jews in the Soviet Union.

It is said that this persecution is an internal matter with which other nations have no concern. But this is brazen semantics, not a valid answer, when the rights of decent, religious-minded human beings are being so flagrantly denied and flouted by antireligious, antidemocratic, despotic leaders and by vicious persecution of a religious group that should not be tolerated in any civilized community.

We speak, not in behalf of political rights for the Jews, because we know that under prevailing conditions, they have no such rights in the Soviet Union. But we do speak in behalf of the human rights of the Jews which they and all peoples should have as members of the human race—rights that are recognized and honored by civilized nations, rights that draw their sanction from the moral codes of mankind from which all law in the world is drawn, and we speak for the helpless, the inarticulate whose voices and hands are stilled by brutal oppression and tyranny, whose right to worship is grossly violated by power-crazed dictators, a people whose very existence as human beings is challenged and threatened, whose status is unrecognized and obliterated.

If international law and convention is to have any force and effect, any respect in this world, some way must be found now without delay to bring about the cessation of oppression and persecution of the Jews in Russia.

With all my heart, I protest against these outrages and I am urging the great President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and our State Department, to take up this matter at once with the Soviet Government, to use its urgent good offices to bring to its attention the existing intolerable persecution of the Jews and, if necessary, to bring these violations of human rights before the United Nations so that in every way possible the organized forces of righteousness and morality of mankind may be given the opportunity to move speedily in a determined, collective action to end once and for all these outrages directed against the religious and racial practices and human rights of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

By no means is this situation an internal matter for the determination of the Government of the Soviet Union alone. This is a human question, one affecting profoundly vital human rights, precious and indispensable to every human being regardless of race or religion, and it is for the righteous, God-fearing, freedom-loving peoples of the world to lift their voices in protest and in unison, and make their strong wishes felt to succor, spare, and liberate the innocent victims of this astonishing, abominable persecution that smacks of the law of the jungle.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to have included in the RECORD as part of my remarks the text of my statement to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in June of 1962 on the subject of the captive European nations. I believe this statement was the first appeal submitted to the committee calling for full exposure of anti-Semitic activities in the Soviet.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS

I am honored and pleased to join today with my valued colleagues in this most impressive and convincing presentation on the vital subject of the "Captive European Nations." At the outset, I would like to express my warm appreciation to my very able and distinguished friend, the Honorable JOHN S. MONAGAN, of Connecticut, who has assumed the direction of these hearings at the request of our able, distinguished colleague, the Honorable EDNA F. KELLY, for the opportunity to be heard in support of freedom from Soviet imperialism for all the unhappy peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Let me commend the members of this outstanding subcommittee for their great work in holding out the hand of friendship, encouragement, and cooperation to the oppressed captive nations in their quest for personal liberty, justice, and peace.

As one of the original sponsors of the captive nations resolutions, I am particularly glad to commend and salute this great subcommittee, which has already heard valuable testimony from persons having a knowledge of conditions in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. The subcommittee is rendering great service by arranging these important hearings.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, let us make it clear to the gallant peoples behind the Iron Curtain that we are truly inspired by their courage and their fight for freedom in the face of oppressions, tyranny, and terror.

Let us keep bright the burning flame of liberty and self-determination which the ruthless and powerful Soviet masters have been unable to smother despite their chains, their brainwashing, their malign persecutions, their mass starvation tactics, their brutal suppression of the individual, their harsh and brutal treatment of religion, their destruction of culture, and their relentless and incessant warfare against free institutions.

None of these brutal and horrible deeds, continuing to this day under the yoke of Red slavery and tyranny, has managed to suppress the shining armor of courage, spirit, and loyalty of the helpless small nations behind the Iron Curtain whose peoples look to America for hope, encouragement, and assistance in being liberated from Communist bondage.

Not too long ago the world was shocked by a renewed wave of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union as part of the intensified atheistic propaganda campaign against all creeds. These outrageous incidents and malicious outbursts have left a deep sense of outrage among all enlightened peoples and races and serve as another reminder of the cynical duplicity of the Communists who constantly engender and promote racial hatred and strife in their unrelenting efforts to create misunderstanding and division wherever they have infiltrated.

The heart of every true American is stirred with profound indignation over these anti-Semitic incidents in the Soviet and I urge that this great subcommittee explore fully this latest example of Communist intolerance and assault upon human dignity and rights.

The liberation of enslaved millions who are the victims of cruel oppression, exploitation, and aggression remains the great challenge of the hour. I urge this outstanding subcommittee of the great and powerful House Committee on Foreign Affairs to let it be known in its report that the United States stands firm and resolute on a policy to give encouragement and help to the captive European nations and oppressed peoples everywhere. Let it be known throughout the world that our Nation is behind them in their efforts to restore freedom and liberty to their unhappy lands.

Let us pledge anew our hearts and hopes in the liberation and aspirations of the captive nations to help speed the day of their deliverance from tyranny and slavery. Let us hold out the hand of friendship and assistance to these helpless and downtrodden peoples so that they may soon regain in full measure the great liberties they cherish.

It is a great privilege for me to appear before this able and distinguished Subcommittee on Europe and I am very thankful to you, Mr. Chairman, and the other members of the subcommittee for this opportunity to be heard. Again, let me compliment and commend you for arranging these important and valuable hearings on the captive European nations.

God Has Many Hands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, Inesse B. Young, of Oakland, Calif., has had published in the Alameda, Calif., Times Star a poem entitled "God Has Many Hands."

The poem is pertinent to the world today and I am happy to insert it in the RECORD:

GOD HAS MANY HANDS

He has white hands, black hands—
And all shades in between.
On the land and sea and in the air
The works of His hands are seen.

Perhaps through the doctor's precious hands
We know God's works the best;
Relieving pain and miseries
His works are thus expressed.

But the hands that build our airplanes
And guide them on their way,
Are the hands that bring us nearer
To God's children far away.

—INESSE B. YOUNG.

Newark Archdiocesan Paper Upholds First Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the most emotionally charged subjects to come before Congress in recent months is the so-called school prayer amendment.

I am sure most of my colleagues have received, as I have, thousands of letters from people representing all shades of opinion—for and against—the proposed amendment, supporting and castigating the Supreme Court decisions that have led to introduction of the legislation.

We of the Judiciary Committee have recently held hearings on the subject, receiving similar testimony, ranging across the spectrum of opinion.

We have all also read a great deal on the subject, in the secular and religious press, with the same wide divergence of opinion.

Two of the better pieces I have read on the subject appeared in the Advocate of May 28. The Advocate is the official newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of Newark and is published there. To bring to the attention of my colleagues the view of this large sector of our Catholic population, I would like to insert into the RECORD this editorial and an article by Father Sheerin.

Opposition to the Becker amendment is taken in certain quarters as opposition to religion. We do not hold with this opinion.

People are confused. They took the Supreme Court's decision in the New York regents' school prayer case to be an outlawing of religion in the land—no such thing. We are as sensitive as the next man to the religious strain in our national heritage. To be otherwise we would be numb to inaugural oaths, Armed Forces chaplaincies, coin and currency mottoes, prescribed chapel services in the U.S. Naval and Military Academies, congressional and judicial invocations, the salute to the flag—indeed blind to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself.

We call for a historically consistent interpretation of the first provision of the first amendment, as framed and ratified. It says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In our land there shall be no law to give priority or predominance to any particular denomination, nor to hamper the freedom of any particular denomination.

In its historical context the first amendment was aimed at preventing the establishment of a state church to the exclusion or semisuppression of other religious convictions. It was not enacted to exclude religion, but to protect free exercise of it.

It is basic in proper constitutional interpretation to determine and maintain the mind of the framers of the Constitution and the people who ratified it. The Court is to be guided by the original intention, not by its own private interpretation.

Our position may seem idealistic. We could do with more of that and less pragmatic concession to the judicial landslide from the twin-peaked travesty of first amendment decisions: the Everson and McCollum cases.

Rather than amend the amendment to accommodate the error of the Court, we look to maintain the intent and purpose of the amendment, as ratified. There is little wisdom in hastily doing the wrong thing, even for an apparently good reason.

GOVERNMENT MAY NOT SANCTION SCHOOL PRAYER

(By Rev. John Sheerin, C.S.P.)

In discussing the Becker amendment, a speaker recently charged that "militant forces of atheism are trying to lock God out of the schools."

This is a prime example of the misconceptions which enter into the arguments about the amendment. Anyone reading the Supreme Court decisions banning prayers in public schools may find reason to disagree. But they will find no atheistic overtones; said the Court in the Murray-Schempp case: "The place of religion in our society is an exalted one * * *."

There has been a parade of witnesses before the House Judiciary Committee testifying for or against the Supreme Court ban, testimony which has been quite irrelevant.

I must confess I take a dim view of those who want to amend the Constitution because they disagree with a Supreme Court decision. Courts have reversed themselves in the past and will do so in the future, and we would do well to trust that the Supreme Court will eventually make a right decision regarding religion in the schools. At any rate, leave the constitutional guarantees of religious liberty alone. They have served us well for 175 years.

I am opposed to the Becker amendment or any amendment with similar provisions. I agree with Rev. William Kenealy, S.J., of Boston College Law School, who told the House Judiciary Committee it would be "a grave mistake" to amend the Constitution to authorize religious exercises in public schools.

Father Kenealy underscored the fact that our religious liberty under the first amendment is "independent of political controversies, subject to no primaries or elections, above popular passions and majority votes and beyond the power of State officials and local school boards, guaranteed by our Constitution and entrusted by it to the protection of our courts. I would not abridge it."

The Constitution renders Federal and State government utterly incompetent to make any judgments of the merits of particular religious bodies. This has been a noble and salutary principle and I would hate to see Congress or State officials empowered to grant any kind of preferential aid to one religious body over another.

Yet, as I see it, that is exactly what the Becker amendment proposes to do. As Paul Kauper, professor of law at Michigan University, said, the Becker amendment would "leave the States constitutionally free to engage in distinctive sectarian practices, favoring one or more religions over others."

Some say that it would be possible for the schoolchildren to assemble for prayer on a purely voluntary basis. How this can be done without State sanction is a mystery to me. If they gather for pray without official approval, then they are doing something illicit. If they assemble for prayer with official appoval, then it is the heavy hand of the State giving sanction to whatever form of prayer they choose.

This is not the State's business. And I believe we should hold firmly to the first amendment to keep government out of a business in which it is utterly incompetent.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

West Virginia University Moves Forward To Aid State and Its People—Appalachian Plan Promises New Progress for Area

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the growth of West Virginia University is an important part of the development of the Mountain State and the Appalachian region. Educational institutions are being pressured to meet the demands of today and the university, located at Morgantown, has broadened its scope in the face of this challenge. Under the leadership of President Paul A. Miller, West Virginia University is trying not only to train and teach scholars, but to create individuals in a society which today tends toward uniformity.

It was my pleasure to attend the annual banquet of the District of Columbia alumni chapter of West Virginia University on June 19, 1964, at the University Club here in Washington.

Mr. President, this year the District of Columbia alumni chapter awarded three scholarships totaling nearly $1,000. Recipients were Miss Nancy M. Davis, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Davis of Silver Spring; Mr. John W. Liston, son of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence L. Liston of Bethesda; and Mr. John F. Nicholas III, son of Col. and Mrs. John F. Nicholas of Arlington. Last year's scholarship winner, Miss Nancy Myers, spoke to the group and told of her first year as a "Mountaineer."

Presiding over the program was Mr. Robert C. Crawford, president of the District of Columbia alumni chapter. West Virginia alumni secretary, David W. Jacobs; told of the recent developments and changes at the university and the invocation was given by Mr. S. Key Dickinson. A program of interpretive dance was presented by Misses Lynn and Noël Baron, national ballet scholarship winners.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to address this gathering and I ask unanimous consent that my remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, AT WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY ALUMNI OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND GREATER METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, JUNE 19, 1964

It is especially pleasing—and I assure you it is a privilege—to meet with the alumni and friends of our State university from the District of Columbia and the Greater Metropolitan Washington area.

Those of us surrounded by and absorbed in national affairs and their impact in the Nation's Capital city have need for more opportunities of this nature.

There is reason for West Virginians to meet as frequently and conveniently as possible in the interest of keeping in closer communication with each other and to work more informatively and more effectively for the betterment of our State.

When I speak of the State's interests I refer not to the principle of States rights but, rather, to the broader aspects of the well-being of West Virginia and our people in the educational, social, and economic spheres, and not in terms of political or governmental philosophy.

A great State university, such as our splendid institution of higher learning at Morgantown, has purposes and functions broader in scope than those embracing education alone. It recognizes its responsibilities and performs its missions also in the spheres of public affairs, economics, and social requirements of the State and its citizens.

Frankly, I am exceedingly gratified by the quality and the sincerity of the effort being made by the dedicated leadership of the State government and the State university to improve the climate of higher education and the degree of involvement of the educational plant and personnel in making for a better West Virginia across the board.

In saying this, I speak not in terms of pleasantry nor as one with only casual attachment and interest.

For 14 years, I represented in the House of Representatives the congressional district which embraces our State university and most of its satellites not actually on campus. My feeling, as a native West Virginian, that what is helpful to West Virginia University is good for the State, was affirmed and broadened by the experiences of that active and interesting—and challenging—period.

During almost 6 years of my current service in the U.S. Senate, representing the State as a whole, I have felt my attachment to the university strengthened and my interest in its development and improvement expanded. But this has not been due entirely to my public service relationships.

One of my most satisfying and significant responsibilities is membership on the board of trustees of the Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation. This foundation, created by the late Michael Benedum as a memorial to his son and as a philanthropic instrumentality to aid the cause of education in West Virginia, has as one of its directors the president of West Virginia University. It has been my privilege to have served with former Presidents Irvin Stewart, Elvis Stahr, and Clyde Colson, and now with your distinguished fellow alumnus, the incumbent dedicated president, Dr. Paul A. Miller.

I have had a close association with the higher education systems, private and public, in West Virginia throughout my adult life on faculties and directing boards. And I married the daughter of a pioneer member of the university board of governors, himself a graduate of the institution. My father graduated from the law school, and my sister and our youngest son were students. Our older son was the "Voice of the Mountaineers" for 2 years while broadcasting intercollegiate sports events.

But serving at the side of President Miller and his able predecessors on the Benedum Foundation Board has been a particularly enriching experience. It has afforded me the additional opportunity to work closely with the West Virginia Association of College and University Presidents and to observe the excellent teamwork of Dr. Miller and his top associates and the executives of the other private and public institutions of higher learning in our State. There is a commendable blending of leadership and partnership with the university as the natural but not overlording hub.

The university continues to make new advances as a center for the discovery of knowledge and the application of new knowledge to the problems of the community it serves. Among the most significant developments is the growing center of Appalachian studies and development, which is bringing a multidisciplined approach to the study of the people, the problems and the potential of the Appalachian region. This represents a new and important development in the concept and function of the land-grant institution.

The university's capabilities in the field of Appalachian studies as been recently augmented by a grant of $265,000 from the Benedum Foundation. This fund, which will be matched by the university from other sources, will be used to establish a new research unit to be headed by a Claude Worthington Benedum, professor of social studies. This professor, who will direct at least three other research professors, will be, according to President Miller, a scholar of established reputation, capable of organizing, directing, and conducting research of a nature and depth which will have great significance to the people of West Virginia and of the larger area around us. He may be chosen from any of the relevant disciplines involved in the projected program, such as economics, anthropology, regional geography or sociology, among others.

This is but one of the many indications of the renewed concern for the Appalachian region. I wish now to talk briefly about the Federal Government's concern for the area, and some of the features of the Appalachian regional development program pending in the Congress.

The late President Kennedy ordered in April 1963, the formation of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission under the chairmanship of Under Secretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. The Commission, comprised of Federal and State representatives, after extensive studies and many conferences with State officials, submitted its report to the President early this year. This report recommended a broad based and many pronged attack on the social and economic problems of the region.

Following his visit to the area, President Johnson submitted his legislative program for Appalachia in the form of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1964. The House Committee on Public Works completed its exhaustive hearings on the bill last week, and will refine the measure in the near future.

The Senate committee will hear witnesses beginning next Monday, and it will be my responsibility to chair these hearings and manage the bill in the Senate.

The Appalachian development program has been termed the "Normandy Beachhead"

of the President's war on poverty. And, as in any modern war, logistics and communication are vital components of a successful campaign; thus, a principal feature of the program will be the construction of some 2,350 miles of so-called development roads in the areas of the 10 States designated as part of the Appalachian region.

In contrast to our customary approach of building roads to meet present and projected traffic loads, the Appalachian development roads are for the purpose of creating traffic to those parts of Appalachia which have been in partial isolation and which have experienced a consequent lag in economic development.

West Virginia, lying in the heart of the Appalachian region, is also the hub of the proposed developmental road system, with some 435 miles of developmental routes allocated. In addition, the developmental road system, in conjunction with the Interstate System, will provide access between major population centers of the East and West Virginia.

One route will connect Interstate 75 north of Knoxville, Tenn., with Charleston, W. Va., and in conjunction with Interstate 79 will provide a direct route from Birmingham and Chattanooga to Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore.

Another artery will connect Strasburg, Va., with Interstate 79 northeast of Charleston, thus providing direct access from the Washington-Baltimore area to the mountains of northeastern West Virginia, to Charleston in conjunction with Interstate 79, and to southwestern West Virginia in conjunction with development Route E.

In addition, a mountain highway, in conjunction with the Highland Scenic Highway which is now being constructed, will connect Beckley, W. Va., with the central Pennsylvania area.

Although the road program is in a sense the very backbone of the Appalachian development plan, the proposed legislation will operate on many fronts. There is provided a $41 million grant program for demonstration health facilities, a pasture improvement program for the small farmer and a timber development program for the small timber owner. Supplementary authorizations will also be provided for such existing Federal grant-in-aid programs as vocational education facilities, sewage treatment works and fish and wildlife restoration.

There have been, of course, many amendments proposed since the House hearings began, and I propose to offer several in the Senate. Representative HARLEY·STAGGERS and I are sponsoring what we believe to be an important proposal in our respective bodies, and it will, I hope, enlist some of the facilities and personnel of the university.

We advocate a 5-year, $10 million contract research program in forest products, their utilization, and a plan to cope with certain production problems in the timber industry, it would be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture and conducted by the forest research laboratories of the 10 or 11 academic institutions in Appalachia which are best qualified. The extensive facilities being developed in the university's division of forestry and their highly qualified faculty and research personnel will be utilized in such a program if it is enacted by the Congress. And I would add that I am most hopeful of the prospects for its passage.

This is but the briefest summary of the Appalachian regional development bill. The program has the backing of President Johnson and wide support in the Congress. It is high on our agenda of priorities, and its enactment will, I believe, furnish new tools for Government and new incentives for the people of Appalachia and West Virginia.

Loyal West Virginians will cooperate in the renaissance for which we are all striving.

More on President Johnson's Boom and Bust Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in spite of the Johnson administration's extravagant declarations of optimism about the future of the economy, many business analysts are sounding a precautionary note. For example, Albert T. Sommers, director of research for the National Industrial Conference Board has warned that although the short-term business outlook is good, a downward trend is likely to set in next spring.

The stimulus of tax reductions and easy money promoted by the Federal Government has brought a number of markets, including the automobile and consumer durables markets, to advanced levels that may not be sustainable, he said.

He pointed out that in these markets, the long abundance of funds has induced a rapid rate of growth in private debt. The outlook for defense production is not better than neutral, he added, and by spring of 1965, new capital facilities will be in production at an impressive rate.

A June 17 article in the New York Times reports on Dr. Sommers' forecast. With unanimous consent, I place it in the RECORD at this point.

ECONOMISTS EYE HORIZON WARILY—SHORT VIEW CALLED BRIGHT, WITH SPRING DIP LIKELY

CHICAGO, June 16.—The near-term business outlook is extremely good, but a downward trend is likely to set in next spring, a group of leading economists predicted today.

Albert T. Sommers, director of research for the National Industrial Conference Board, reflected the tone of the predictions at the midyear forecasting conference sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the American Statistical Association, which was held in the Pick-Congress Hotel.

His bright assessment of the near term was underscored by a forecast of economic indicators compiled from individual predictions made by members of the association's Chicago chapter.

FORECAST IS TRACED

The typical forecast gave these projections:

The Dow-Jones industrial average will climb to 841.6 by October, then drop slightly to 838.4 next April.

Total personal income will hit $494.3 billion by October and $504.3 billion by next April. Last April it was $483.1 billion.

Total civilian employment will rise to 70.5 million in October and will hold at that level in April. Employment now is 69.9 million.

The wholesale price index will be 100.8 in both October and April.

The industrial production index will rise to 131.7 by October and 132.9 by April. This compares with 129.2 today. Both indexes are based on 100 for the period 1957–59.

Mr. Sommers said short-term indications of approaching recessions are almost negligible and inflationary tendencies suggested after the tax cut have not been realized. He said the impact of the tax cut should mean increasing prosperity through next spring, but warned of problems later.

"The stimuli of tax reductions and easy money provided by the Federal Government have brought a number of markets to advanced levels that may not be sustainable," he cautioned. "These include the automobile market, the consumer durables market, and, perhaps, apartment construction.

"In these markets the long abundance of funds has induced a rapid rate of growth in private debt. The outlook for defense production is not better than neutral. And, by the spring of 1965, new capital facilities will be going on stream at a very impressive rate."

Leon T. Kendall, economist of the New York Stock Exchange, said the real estate business is in a transition that will be maintained until 1968–70, but which has passed its low point, having hit bottom in late 1963.

The transition, he said, is from a period of superdemand and short supply to one in which demand grows slowly and supply runs ahead of demand. A result of the trend has been to stop inflation of real estate values.

Mr. Kendall said real estate markets are in the stage where management is regrouping forces, cultivating attractive submarkets, introducing efficiencies and economies, and building a tauter and tougher industry.

"We are fortunate," he said "that the transition, or adjustment, in real estate markets is occurring at a time when the economy can withstand it.

"The end of previous real estate booms typically has been accompanied by quite a rise in delinquencies and foreclosure and by hard times for those businesses engaged in real estate and mortgage lending. The adjustment is proving relatively painless."

EXCHANGE STUDY DISCUSSED

Milton H. Cohen, who directed the recently completed special study of the securities markets for the Securities and Exchange Commission, told of the beneficial impact of the investigation.

He said the American Stock Exchange "appears to have undergone a sorely needed reconstitution and reform" since the publication of the investigators' first interim report. He said the exchange "has changed almost unrecognizably in this relatively short period."

Mr. Cohen said a major reform has been accomplished in floor trading on the New York Stock Exchange, but that more time would be required before a definitive program of action will be evolved concerning the more complex subject of specialists.

However, he said, "it is clear that the specialist system is now receiving the kind of industry-Commission attention that has been needed for some time and that is certain to lead to strengthening this basic institution of the auction market."

Mr. Cohen noted that "the Commission has not accepted every detail of our recommendations as gospel, but has critically examined each item and has sought industry views before acting on any of them and that industry groups have not "treated our recommendations as anathema merely because they came from a governmental study, or merely because they called for change."

Recent Supreme Court Decisions in the Reapportionment Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD an outstanding editorial-page article, by William F. Buckley, Jr., on the subject of the recent Supreme Court decisions in the reapportionment cases. The article is entitled "The Warren Court's New Constitution." I commend the article to all Members of the Congress, because it makes some vital points about the Court's political decisions in these cases.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WARREN COURT'S NEW CONSTITUTION

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

Simply stated the question is to what degree, if at all, the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment limits each sovereign State's freedom to establish appropriate electoral constituencies from which representatives to the State's bicameral legislative assembly are to be chosen. The Supreme Court's answer is a blunt one, and I think, woefully wrong.

The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of the Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union.

With all respect I am convinced that these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were measured not by what it says but by their own notions of wise political theory.

Whatever may be thought of this holding as a piece of political ideology—and even on that score the political history and practices of this country from its earliest beginning leave wide room for debate—I think it demonstrates that the 14th amendment does not impose political tenets on the States nor authorizes the Court to do so.

The Court relies exclusively on that portion of section 1 of the 14th amendment which provides that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," and disregards entirely the significance of section 2, which reads:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State. * * * But when the right to vote at any election * * * is denied * * * the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such * * * citizens shall bear to the whole number of * * * citizens."

The amendment is a single text. I am unable to understand the Court's utter disregard of the second section which expressly recognizes the States' power to deny the right of their inhabitants to vote for "the members of the State legislature," and its express provision of a remedy for such denial or abridgement.

The history of the adoption of the 14th amendment provides conclusive evidence that neither those who proposed nor those who ratified the amendment believed that the equal protection clause limited the power of the States to apportion their legislatures as they saw fit. Moreover, the history demonstrates that the intention to leave this power undisturbed was deliberate and was widely believed to be essential to the adoption of the amendment.

Of the 23 loyal States which ratified the amendment before 1870, 5 had constitutional provisions for apportionment of at least 1 house of their respective legislatures which wholly disregarded the spread of population. Ten more had constitutional provisions which gave primary emphasis to population but which applied also other principles, such as partial ratios and recognition of political subdivisions, which were intended to favor sparsely settled areas.

Can it be seriously contended that the legislatures of these States, almost two-thirds of those concerned, would have ratified an amendment which might render their own States' constitutions unconstitutional?

These decisions cut deeply into the fabric of our federalism. No thinking person can fail to recognize that the aftermath of these cases, however desirable it may be thought in itself, will have been achieved at the cost of a radical alteration in the relationship between the States and the Federal Government, more particularly the Federal judiciary.

Finally, these decisions give support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function of the Court. This view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional "principle," and that the Court should "take the lead" in promoting reform when other branches of government fail to act. The Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should the Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements.

The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens.

When, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process.

The above words—drastic, frightened observations on the ways of the Warren court—are not my own or those of right-wing extremists.

They are, every one of them, called verbatim, from the extensive dissenting opinions last Monday of Justices John Marshall Harlan, Potter Stewart, and Tom C. Clark.

A Boost for Good Literature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues know, my bill to protect the American public from receiving obscene mail has been approved by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and I hope will soon be before the full House of Representatives for debate and a final vote.

In approving this bill, H.R. 319, our committee felt the enactment of such legislation is necessary to close a gap in postal and penal statutes through which a tremendous volume of indecent mail is still pouring into American homes—and particularly into the hands of American youngsters.

We have worked closely with attorneys from the Department of Justice and the Post Office Department in the drafting of this legislation. It gives American parents an effective tool to protect their homes and their children from unwanted and unsolicited mailings, which in their judgment are adverse to the moral climate which they want to maintain in their homes and for their children.

During the years I have fought for this legislation I have had encouragement and backing from persons in nearly every State in the Nation. I hope I will have that same support from my colleagues when the legislation is presented to this honorable body for a final vote.

Mr. MCCULLOCH, my honorable colleague from Ohio, has called my attention to an editorial which appeared in the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram. This is an example of the type of support we are receiving.

I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues in the belief it expresses the feelings of many, many Americans:

A BOOST FOR GOOD LITERATURE

A bill moving through the Congress to put a crimp on unsolicited mail which the receiver regards as morally offensive is of timely interest in Richmond.

This is true because of a current effort here to combat smutty literature through encouraging more wholesome reading.

Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM, Republican, of Nebraska, has proposed that in the event a receiver gets unsolicited mail which he feels is obscene, he may ask the Postmaster General's Office to notify the sender that no more mail is to be sent to him that is not solicited.

If the sender insists on continuing that type of trash, he would be liable, under Representative CUNNINGHAM'S proposal, to contempt proceedings.

Since a good deal of the literary smut which is being peddled is sent through the mail, unsolicited in an attempt to get orders for it, Representative CUNNINGHAM'S idea has considerable merit.

Since it calls for action instituted by the person receiving it, it might seem to involve considerably effort to keep one person from receiving unsolicited smutty literature, but if enough acted, the move could soon snowball and become really effective.

The Department of Justice has expressed some doubt as to the constitutionality of such a measure, on the possible grounds of infringement upon free speech, but we wonder this:

Does our guarantee of free speech mean that a promoter of salacious and smutty literature, not fit for adults, let alone children, should have unlimited freedom to mail it out and let its poisonous seeds be planted wherever it lands?

Locally, a committee on decent literature is seeking to arouse public interest in the question and to educate the public to the need for encouraging the spread of decent literature.

Members of the committee feel, and they have a point, that a program of censorship is wrong. What has to be done is to try to eliminate the market for that kind of trash through a promotion of good literature.

If there is no demand for literary smut, the supply soon will die out. It is that way with every product. If no one wants it, it does no good to produce it. But the quickest way to promote something, it seems, is to put a ban on it. That makes some people want it even more.

Encouragement of good literature is a positive approach. Censorship is negative. The Richmond group deserves support in what it is trying to accomplish.

And on the national scene, so does Congressman CUNNINGHAM.

Yet one wonders what our U.S. Supreme Court would do if the matter came to its attention. In view of the Court's stand on the school prayer issue, would the Court go out of its way to favor the smut salesmen?

Civil Rights Bill Goes So Far It Will Increase Tension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interview with the distinguished editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, and published in the U.S. News & World Report.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RICHMOND, VA.—BILL GOES SO FAR IT WILL INCREASE TENSION

(Interview with Virginius Dabney, editor, the Times-Dispatch)

Question. Mr. Dabney, what effect do you think the new civil rights legislation is going to have in Virginia?

Answer. I think it's going to increase tensions. We in Virginia do not discriminate against Negroes in voting, so the voting part of the act will not benefit the colored people here, and there won't be any particular tension over that.

But I think that the civil rights bill goes so far that it will increase tensions in several different directions—such as in public accommodations, and possibly in the cutting off of Federal funds to certain programs if we don't do everything the way the Federal Government thinks it should be done.

I also think it's a bit disturbing that Negroes talk of having more demonstrations to speed up enforcement of the Civil Rights Act.

Question. Do you foresee any serious difficulties in enforcing it in Virginia?

Answer. I should think so, because of the drastic nature of the act. It gives the Attorney General authority which he himself has said he shouldn't have. And it gives the President authority which President Kennedy said the President should not have. I think it's a very extreme delegation of authority to the Federal Government which people in Virginia will not accept very happily.

There are some genuine grievances that the colored people have. I don't want to minimize those. It is true in both the North and the South. And those grievances should be corrected. But the question is whether this legislation is the right way.

Question. What, in your opinion, would be the best approach to the race problem—Federal laws or local action?

Answer. I think you probably have to have a combination of both. But a lot depends on how far the laws go.

I think that, in this area of human relations, you can't push things too far, and that—as is obvious in many places right now—the tensions have gotten out of hand because of too fast movement. Violence is breaking out and we're on the verge of possible race riots.

Question. As a practical matter, do you expect this law to open up many new jobs for Negroes in Virginia?

Answer. Yes. I think it will gradually open up many new jobs and I think it should. The question is whether the pushing from Washington is going to be so sharp as to get people's backs up.

Question. Where do you see this whole race situation headed? Is it likely to be settled by the Civil Rights Act?

Answer. No, indeed. For one thing, the Civil Rights Act is aimed at the South almost entirely, because most Northern States already have such laws and are practically exempt from this.

The next step is going to be a big push by the colored lobbies to extend the law so it will hit the North and West hard.

For example: force integration of schools in neighborhoods where the races live separated. Negroes will want to bus pupils across district lines and all that, as they are trying to do now. Or they will be forcing housing changes that are not in the present law.

Question. Is there any serious apprehension in Virginia that a big army of Federal agents will come into that State to enforce the new law?

Answer. Yes, I think there is. The bill is so broad and packs so much power, that it seems to me it could happen.

Question. It has been suggested that the South might solve—or at least stabilize—the race problem before the North. What is your opinion on that?

Answer. I think that's entirely possible. I think the relations between the races have been so close for so long here in the South that each race understands the other much better than in the North. And the violence up North, at present, is a pretty good indication.

Mass Transportation and Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, the primary problems of more than 350 cities today is mass transportation and the problem of air pollution. No adequate community planning can be done without recognition of the problem of mass transportation plus a realization that this problem is in a state of change today and that we are on the verge of a new age in the moving of millions of people from one location to another. The entire character of mass transportation is changing with the realization that the speed demanded today plus the size of the vehicle required to carry 40 to 200 passengers means that we must abandon any hope of mass transport at the surface level. Mass transportation must be overhead or underneath or some combination of both. We cannot afford to stop vehicles and start for intersections, cross streets and other delaying obstacles. Speed of 50 to 150 miles an hour requires some distance between stations. It requires area parking facilities for automobiles and buses used as feeders. It requires a complete remaking and rethinking of our present plans.

In my State of California we spend $1,250,000 a day on the problem of transportation. We have developed in Los Angeles, and in California, the finest system of freeways today existent in the world. We plan on building many miles more. The engineering skills that we have acquired in the 10 years since the freeways first began to function are available to the National Government, to the State governments, and to other local governing bodies for their use and guidance. We have had considerable Federal assistance in the development of this magnificent system and it is reasonable to suppose that the system is much further advanced today than it would otherwise be and that the solution of the Nation's problems in moving people in "automobiles" is well on its way to solution.

But this problem brings another—air pollution, which we are well on our way to solving. It points up that we can move 80 to 200 people in one vehicle at a speed of 50 to 120 miles, a distance of 3 to 40 miles. This is a problem that this bill, presently before the House, attempts to assist in solving.

It provies for Federal financial assistance either in grants or loans for the development of facilities and equipment and for planning techniques.

There are approximately 300 cities with populations of 50,000 or more who are concerned with these same problems. It is properly a function of the Federal Government to assist in this financing. With Federal assistance, the knowledge gained is made available for widespread distribution to all cities. With Federal assistance progress and planning, development of facilities and equipment can be faster. There is no waiting to see what we do next. We are assured that the common good of the population of these 300 cities will be served by the Federal governing body. It is properly the function of the Government to do for the people those things which they cannot do for themselves.

The planning and development contained in this bill is not the particular task of any one of these 300 cities, it is the combined task of all of them. The bill, if passed by this House, assures that we will move forward speedily toward the solution of this problem. If it does not pass, we have 300 cities throughout the Nation attempting to cope with the problem, each in their individual way without central guidance, central financing, or without central direction.

The passage or the failure of this bill could advance our transport problems speedily to proper solution or could delay 10 or 20 years or perhaps indefinitely if we fail to take advantage of this opportunity to support this measure.

It is my sincere hope that when this bill is passed and becomes law that the States, cities, and counties take advantage of the bill. That the traffic engineers and traffic experts, when they start to make their plans for the mass transportation systems will give careful consideration to an integrated system that would include, in my opinion, 60 percent elevated, 25 percent subway, and 15 percent surface in the less populated districts.

The State Legislature of California plus advisory committees and elected officials in the cities and rural areas have been studying these problems with interim committees and advisory committees for more than 40 years. They have been assisted in some considerable measure by private interests and financial leaders in this country who want to finance the improvement in mass transportation that now appears inevitable to thinking people.

Many banking houses and corporations with vast financial resources have assisted in the development of the prob-

lem. One of the things which has thus far caused considerable delay, and so far this appears to be a stumbling block, is that few mass transportation systems in this country pay their own way with the exception of Cleveland, San Diego, Chicago, and Berkeley, Calif.

No financial house is interested in investing money in a losing venture. All of the transport systems have to have municipal, State, or Federal financing. They must have Federal financing or a subsidy of some kind from a government body.

Private financial institutions plus adequate governmental assistance can insure sound financing, attractive to private institutions. This is one of the things we seek to solve in this bill. This bill would provide an opportunity to assist in the proper financing of the modern system of today.

"We Can Resolve Now To Do Well in Peace" — Editorial From Vincennes (Ind.) Sun-Commercial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Memorial Day is now behind us for this year; but the memory of the departed whom we honor on that day remains green perpetually, not just on one day.

The day was noted in a worthy editorial published in the Vincennes, Ind., Sun-Commercial. The theme of the editorial is that while we have done well in war, this has merely earned us the necessity to do well in peace. There is no doubt that, as the editorial says, "the road to peace is long and hard." It is encouraging to have such expressions of sentiment, which are so much needed if we are to do more than talk for peace.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "We Can Resolve Now To Do Well in Peace," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE CAN RESOLVE NOW TO DO WELL IN PEACE

"He who did well in war," Robert Browning once said, "just earns the right to begin doing well in peace."

Americans have done well in war. From the battlefields of Lexington and Saratoga to New Orleans, Manassas, Belleau Wood, Anzio, Coral Sea, and Pork Chop Hill, Americans have fought the good fight—and have won well for their country.

For this bravery, this sacrifice for which no number of words can serve as expiation, Americans tried to remember their slain countrymen on Memorial Day. Fresh flags flew on American graves around the world as tiny memorials to young lives too soon spent. But this honest gesture, heartfelt though it may be, will not still the threat of future war and suffering.

The long, hard fight for freedom continues. While the small but bitter struggles in Vietnam and Laos pale when placed against the great, bloody wars of history when thousands of Americans died, the simple fact remains that American lives are being lost in war.

Nearly 250 men have been killed in the jungles of Vietnam and Laos since 1961. These few lives are no less important than the many given in larger wars.

The road to peace is long and hard; there are many bends and forks and bridges to cross. It will be ever thus, but if we are to demonstrate to the dead that their sacrifices are not without meaning, we must travel on that road to peace, always ready to surmount its obstacles. We must "begin doing well in peace."

Memorial Day is the occasion for such a resolution. But if we do so resolve, we should remember that the real memorials to the dead and the real justification for peace and understanding in the world are not in crumbling stones and tottering statues and fine words.

They are in the ideals of truth, freedom, brotherhood—ideals which have sustained us in the past and which must grow to nobler and bolder proportions if they are to sustain us in the future.

Young Writer's Mutual Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, Mary Ann Becker has just completed her first year as a journalism student in the Hayward, Calif., High School. She wrote an editorial for the school paper which so impressed the editor of the San Leandro Morning News that he reprinted it. I am so impressed with the quality of her writing and her thinking that I think the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD should print it. Indeed, my young constituent speaks more maturely and soberly than many whose words are regularly printed there.

YOUNG WRITER'S MUTUAL THINKING

The time is now, and high schools are the place for the young adults of today to learn all about their Government and other governments.

Recently the Hayward Unified School District strengthened a policy concerning speakers at high schools. As the policy now stands, no outside speakers are allowed to address students without permission of the superintendent, for fear that the immature students will be indoctrinated, which could be done by any speaker, Dr. Paul Lawrence or Robert Welch.

There are a few flaws in this policy and in the school board's and parents' way of thinking. Perhaps educators don't or can't believe that the students are mature enough to listen and think about what has been said without wanting to become extremists. Maybe they feel that students' 14 to 17 years of living in a democracy is not enough? Maybe they feel they haven't instilled in our hearts that America is the finest country?

The youth of today has an inquiring mind, and his thirst for knowledge cannot be quenched by reading about these things in a textbook. He will search and undoubtedly in time find his avenue of knowledge, his street of wisdom, a path far more dangerous than a high school lecture.

In a few years these "children," as they've been called, will be out in the world, a world of reality, not unspoken policies, and they will be expected to know about life and to conduct themselves as responsible adults. The student who does not go on to college has completed his education, and he has nowhere else to learn but in high school, where he is considered an easily swayed juvenile.

It is the school's responsibility to acquaint students with all facets of life, whether these facts are considered right or wrong. Do the schools have the right to barricade the students from people actually living in or believing in other types of government? Don't they feel they have trained us properly?

They cannot isolate us from the world around, for "no man is an island."

U.S. Supreme Court Effort To Alter the Political Structure Through Political Decisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, stations WSPA AM–FM and TV, in Spartanburg, S.C., broadcast on June 16 and 17 an editorial which does an excellent job of taking the U.S. Supreme Court to task for its effort to alter the political structure in this country through political, rather than legal, decisions. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so the Members of Congress and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may obtain a better understanding of the deep-seated concern which exists in South Carolina and elsewhere across this country about the recent Supreme Court decisions which pave the way for a socialist America.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WSPA EDITORIAL

Year by year and decision by decision, the U.S. Supreme Court is destroying the right of the States and local home rule and the very concept of government that has made this Nation great.

The 10th amendment says all powers not expressly delegated to the Federal Government are reserved to the States and the people.

The Supreme Court has usurped the power too much in all fields and rewritten the Constitution at will. Nine men, not elected by the people, but appointed by the President, in many cases to pay off a political obligation, are themselves assuming powers which will make the people live under a judicial oligarchy rather than a democracy.

Of all decisions by the Court to rob the people and the States of their rights, the one this week is the worst.

Six of these nine men have told Spartanburg County and South Carolina that its present form of government is unconstitutional because each county has one senator. What this means is the senate will be elected on the basis of population and not by the division by States.

Our system in South Carolina is patterned after the Federal system to protect the smaller States. This was one of the most delicate problems confronting the framers of our Constitution. A compromise was worked out where each State, regardless of size, would have two Senators and the House would be apportioned according to population.

This was called the cup and saucer plan. The House, fresh from votes of the people every 2 years, would enact many bills based on popular demand. With all States having

equal representation in the Senate and only one-third of the body elected every 2 years, the legislative cup from the House would be poured into the Senate saucer and allowed to cool. This system afforded protection to the smaller States and protected a minority from being run over roughshod by a majority.

In South Carolina, as in most other States, each county has one senator, plus a house legislative delegation which is apportioned according to population. This system has promoted good State government. The U.S. Supreme Court has no business meddling with it, and their decision this week is another example of how a majority of the members of this Court have gone mad in their grasp for power.

Everytime the Court comes forward with one of these outrageous decisions some Congressman proposes an amendment to the Constitution to undo what the majority of the Supreme Court has done by a judicial edict.

In other words, six men are amending the Constitution at will, and the only relief these Members of Congress are offering the people is to have two-thirds of the States and two-thirds of the Congress repeal the amendment of six men. What is needed in Washington is men who have the intestinal fortitude to vote to impeach these judges who are trying to remake the Government. These men are usurping for themselves the rights to tell the people how they will run their schools, elect their legislatures, and lead their daily lives, rights which the people are entitled to under the Constitution, as ratified by the several States.

Once some of these judges were impeached by the House and brought to the bar of the Senate to answer for their disregard of the rights of the State and the people, these decisions based on political philosophy of the judges rather than the law of the land, shall cease.

But to expect the House to impeach and the Senate to convict a Federal judge under the present climate in Washington is like wishing for the moon.

The only real hope for the people and for the States is at the ballot box in November.

Teachers and Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, there has been justified criticism by teachers and their organizations over the restrictive approach taken by the Treasury Department in permitting teachers' education expenses to be deducted as business expenses. Under existing law, business expenses may be deducted. Furthermore, by Treasury regulation, certain education expenses may be treated as business expenses. The pertinent regulations provide:

1.162–5(a). Expenditures made by a taxpayer for his education are deductible if they are for education undertaken primarily for the purpose of: (1) Maintaining or improving skills required by the taxpayer in his employment or other trade or business, or (2) meeting the express requirements of a taxpayer's employer or the requirements of applicable law or regulation, imposed as a condition to the retention by the taxpayer of his salary, status, or employment.

1.162–5(b). Expenditures made by a taxpayer for his education are not deductible if they are for education undertaken primarily for the purpose of maintaining a new position or substantial advancement in position, or primarily for the purpose of fulfilling the general educational aspirations or other personal purposes of the taxpayer.

The latter regulation reflects existing congressional policy—section 262 of Internal Revenue Code—that expenses undertaken for personal purposes should not be deducted. This section provides:

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this chapter, no deduction shall be allowed for personal, living, or family expenses.

As a consequence, general education expenses are not deductible.

I feel certain every House Member would agree an educated citizenry is the greatest resource this Nation can have and since it may be considerably augmented and developed by better educated teachers, Congress should insure they are given a fair opportunity to improve their education. This can be done by permitting teachers to deduct education expenses sensibly and reasonably related to their work. The fact education expenses treated as business expenses presents a paradoxical situation is no reason to deny or restrict their deductibility but a reason Congress should provide a solution. This problem cannot be solved entirely by regulation because of the Commissioner's encompassing view of education as a personal asset. As a consequence, Congress should cope with this matter, define a policy and provide guidelines giving the schoolteacher as fair treatment as that given businessmen.

I have therefore introduced a bill today similar in many respects to the one endorsed by the National Education Association. This bill, in my judgment, would aid in eliminating many of the problems and give the teacher, fair and deserving treatment.

My bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and as the title suggests, would authorize and facilitate the deduction from gross income by teachers of the expenses of education undertaken by them, and to provide a uniform method of proving entitlement to such deductions.

More specifically, it would amend section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code which relates to deductions for business expenses by adding a new subsection (f) expressly dealing with educational expenses of teachers. It states that the trade or business deductions will include the ordinary and necessary expenses of a teacher for his education.

The bill provides that if an authorized school official makes a written statement that the teacher was employed as a teacher for not less than 6 months in his taxable year, and if the teacher undertook and completed his education after becoming so employed, and if such education was undertaken primarily for the purpose of maintaining or improving the taxpayer's skills as a teacher or of meeting express requirements of his employer in connection with his employment as a teacher, then this statement will be accepted as proof that the expenses were trade or business expenses unless there is clear proof to the contrary.

The bill also provides the teacher may use other methods to establish entitlement to the deduction. For the purposes of this new provision, the bill contains specific definitions of the terms "teacher," "school," and "education," which will be beneficiary to those who administer the laws and regulations. The bill will apply to taxable years subsequent to 1961.

Certainly, education when used by a teacher to pursue his livelihood should be characterized more as a business asset than a personal one, and doubts as to its substance should, accordingly, be resolved in favor of the former. This is basically what this bill would do. It will, if enacted, alleviate the restrictive attitude taken by the Treasury Department.

Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette Gives Good Advice on Automation and Other Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, all of us are aware of some of the problems which the Nation faces. One of those with which no previous generation has had to contend is the problem of abundance, rather than scarcity. Automation has been a contributing factor to this new kind of economy, but automation has also created employment fears.

The Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette recently editorialized on this situation with the healthy advice:

Don't fear the future.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T FEAR THE FUTURE

A minority of the American people seem to face the changing future with something akin to fear.

They lack faith in the ability of their countryman to solve the problems which will face them as time goes by.

This is an unreasonable fear.

This country has been changing rapidly ever since it was founded and there have always been adjustments to the facts of life in any given period.

Automation is one of the problems which will have to be faced.

It is unlikely that anyone can see exactly what the situation will be from year to year or just what answers will be given.

Theories regarding such matters often have to surrender to reality when a given set of facts appear.

A society which has solved the problem of scarcity to the degree that the United States has surely ought to be able to solve the problems of plenty.

We can, if we permit ourselves to do so.

Economics, political science and sociology will deepen as the years go by and so will the men and women who specialize in these fields become better masters of the entire subjects.

But commonsense must always play a large part in the adjustments.

In due course, the sensible remedy for all our national problems will be found.

Fear will not be of any help. It can lead to stampede, but not to solution.

A backwoodsman out of the American past, who was accustomed to riding a horse as his fastest and best means of travel, would certainly panic, if he found himself behind the wheel of an automobile in New York City's most congested traffic area.

But his great-great-grandson sits behind the wheel of that car in that congested area and eventually finds his way to the place where he wants to go.

Man can adapt to unusual circumstances. No doubt about that.

Radio Station WCFL, Chicago, Celebrates 38th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, this Friday, June 26, radio station WCFL in Chicago, the Voice of Labor, will celebrate its 38th birthday. It is most fitting and with great pleasure that I take this occasion to extend my congratulations and best wishes to WCFL, its board of governors, and its competent and hardworking staff.

The board of governors, which has the responsibility of overall operation of the station, is headed by my good friend and the friend of all laboring men, William A. Lee, as chairman. Bill Lee, whose principal position is president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, comes well equipped to give leadership and direction to the station. He is assisted by four of the ablest union leaders in the Midwest if not the whole country; William L. McFetridge, president, Chicago Flat Janitors Local 1, and vice president, AFL–CIO; Thomas E. Faul, secretary-treasurer, CFL–IUC; Stanley Johnson, executive vice president, Illinois State AFL–CIO; and Daniel J. McNamara, president, Division 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, and member of the CFL–IUC executive board.

The manager of WCFL is Thomas J. Haviland and the program director is a namesake of mine, Bob Finnegan.

WCFL is the first and now the only radio station in the Nation owned and operated by organized labor. This 50,000-watt station, on the air 24 hours a day, is the proud possession of the half-million families of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council. WCFL broadcasts more sports in Chicago than any other station, operating a vast White Sox baseball network of 80 stations reaching down into southern Florida and southwest to San Antonio, Tex. Recently affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting System, WCFL is dedicated to airing fast, comprehensive news from all over the world, and it features good music. In accordance with its objectives of service to labor, to the community, and to the Nation, WCFL broadcasts traffic information, safe driving tips, as well as programs for labor and special services for unions and civic organizations. On countless occasions WCFL has contributed to the success of community projects by bringing them to the attention of the listening public.

BIRTH OF A STATION

Resolved, That the executive board of the Chicago Federation of Labor investigate the possibilities of radio to the end that a broadcasting station for the benefit of organized labor may be erected.

With this modest resolution, adopted by the delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor in March 1963, originated an idea that in 3 years time would produce WCFL's maiden broadcast.

Edward Nockels, the Federation's secretary, requested the job of heading up a committee to investigate the possibility of, and the procedure for setting up, the "Voice of Labor." As Nockels delved into the tremendous task of masterplanning the project, representatives of Chicago's labor community began to close ranks behind the resolution. One delegate declared:

Radio has become universal and is rapidly being converted into an instrument of propaganda. The Chicago Federation of Labor with its large membership should be able to establish a radio station that would be the pride and inspiration of the labor movement.

One of the major tasks facing Nockels was to reach into the many local unions which comprised the Chicago Federation of Labor to arouse grassroots enthusiasm and support. At the same time he had other hurdles to overcome in his efforts to secure from the Federal Radio Commission and from Congress a favorable decision on the licensing of the station. Into the union halls across Chicago went the message that organized labor needed a radio station to "speak out for the worker and consumer on the paramount issues facing the Nation." The problem of financing the radio station was placed squarely on the shoulders of the rank and file, and over 100,000 members responded with pledges of $2 each. The necessary equipment was purchased, facilities for the studios and transmitter at the Navy pier were leased from the city, and the operation was completed and successfully tested on June 19, 1926. One week later on the evening of June 26, WCFL inaugurated its broadcasting and pledged itself to the service of the trade union movement and the community. To Secretary Nockels and to all those who supported and encouraged his remarkable achievements, "a rising voice of thanks was tendered."

Over the years since 1926, the Voice of Labor, under the able and progressive direction of the Chicago Federation of Labor expanded and developed into one of the Nation's truly great radio stations. On the occasion of WCFL's 35th birthday in 1961, President Lee praised the station and renewed its pledge to serve the community.

It would be impossible to list here the achievements of WCFL. Countless local unions have been helped in their organizing work. The station has opened its microphones to an endless variety of community and educational projects. These activities are a natural expression of labor's interest in education and civic betterment. In addition, we have provided a broad variety of entertainment.

As we express our gratitude to those whose sacrifices helped create WCFL, we all pledge to continue the station's operation in their tradition. Service to labor, service to the community, service to the Nation—these have been and will remain the objectives of station WCFL.

WCFL has moved from the original studios at the Navy pier and is now located at 666 North Lake Shore Drive. New facilities will soon be in operation at Marina City—the new, beautiful, and unique apartment and business complex, built and financed with union funds. Those locations all within my congressional district make me especially proud of WCFL's progress and achievements.

I am sure that the many thousands of people in Chicago and throughout the Midwest who deeply appreciate the outstanding public service which WCFL has performed join with me in saluting them on their 38th birthday, and we all hope that they will be around for many more.

Wyoming's Low Rate of Juvenile Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, WMAL radio in Washington made an allusion to Wyoming's phenomenally low juvenile crime rate in an editorial broadcast the week of May 31. WMAL—the Evening Star Broadcasting Co., stated:

Only Wyoming has recorded fewer juvenile crimes in the last year, and it is the only State that publicizes the names of juvenile offenders.

The editorial continues:

This is in contrast to an increase in juvenile crime in the metropolitan area where identities are protected.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the brief editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcast editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUVENILE CRIME

Washington area courts should follow the lead of Wyoming and permit the names of juvenile offenders to be made public. Only Wyoming has recorded fewer juvenile crimes in the last year, and it is the only State that publicizes the names of juvenile offenders.

Officials believe this is a major reason for the Wyoming crime drop. No names are hidden. Youths and their parents are subjected to public exposure.

This is in contrast to an increase in juvenile crime in the metropolitan area where identities are protected.

Juvenile crime is down in Wyoming. It would be worth while to consider making public the names of those youths who scorn the law in the metropolitan area. Perhaps it would help produce greater parental responsibility and reduce juvenile crimes.

Reporter Asks Fair Shake for Barry in U.S. Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Springfield (Mo.) Leader and Press carried an article by Ruth Montgomery which seems somewhat anachronistic that an American reporter would have to remind her fellow reporters of a basic code of ethics in journalism when no one can read the Nation's press or listen to network commentators on TV today without being aware that a concerted effort is being made to discredit Senator GOLDWATER and the conservative philosophy which he represents.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

REPORTER ASKS FAIR SHAKE FOR BARRY IN U.S. PRESS

WASHINGTON.—Americans, traditionally champions of fair play, have had little to crow about lately. The manner in which the so-called liberal press has been striking for the jugular of front-running GOP presidential candidate BARRY GOLDWATER is about as sportsmanlike as a trip to Dachau under Hitler.

Three stories running side by side on the front page of a Washington newspaper this week carried the following leads:

"The agony of the Republican Party was visible to the Nation on television when Gov. William W. Scranton went before the cameras" (because GOLDWATER had begun to look like a winner).

"In spite of a warning that the nomination of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER for President might mean the ultimate 'destruction' of the Republican Party.

"Despite Senator BARRY GOLDWATER'S victory in the Republican primary GOP voters in California still had no clear-cut first choice for their presidential nomination."

To take first things first, what "agony of the Republican Party"? A few GOP presidential rivals and a smattering of liberal congressional candidates naturally are suffering some pangs. Other than that, the chief "agony" over GOLDWATER'S California victory seems to have been endured by some handwringing newsmen who have no intention of voting for a Republican nominee, anyway.

In fact Walter Lippmann, after an agonizing portrayal of the tragedy that could result from a Goldwater nomination, confessed in print that he will vote for Lyndon B. Johnson regardless of whom the Republicans pick.

Now about that warning that GOLDWATER'S nomination might mean the "ultimate destruction" of the Republican Party: Isn't this the same death knell that was sounded in 1936 after Alf Landon carried only two States against the Roosevelt tide? And didn't the bell toll again when "even Harry Truman" defeated Thomas E. Dewey in 1948?

Surprisingly enough the dodo survived, enjoying two landslide victories under Dwight D. Eisenhower, and coming so near to capturing the White House again in 1960 that many believe Richard M. Nixon would have won if some Texas and Cook County, Ill., votes had been honestly counted.

The third "lead" about the California primary was meowed by none other than Louis Harris, whose pollsters fell on their faces in picking Nelson Rockefeller over GOLDWATER in that State's crucial primary.

Americans should perhaps be suffering agony, but not because the conservative Senator from Arizona has a long lead over his GOP rivals. Rather, it should be because they cannot read unbiased reporting about him on the news pages of numerous papers.

GOLDWATER'S occasional gaffs have been played up out of all proportion. Attacks against him are headlined, while praise is buried in the last lines. His warm personality, crowd magic, and dogged restatement of ideology have been virtually ignored. The liberals claim not to know "where he stands."

After many months of harping on the old theme that "BARRY can't win," the "liberal" newspapers are now frantically warning of doom if he does.

What is a liberal? Webster's dictionary defines it as "broadminded, generous, not narrow or contracted in mind." Does this fit the "news" reports written by biased reporters who invariably vote Democratic?

It isn't really important whether we agree with BARRY GOLDWATER'S philosophy, or whether we plan to vote for him if given the opportunity. What is important is that the American press, which so jealously guards its "freedom," should give every candidate the benefit of honest reporting on its news pages.

The public has a right to know the good as well as the bad. Slanting the news in an attempt to defeat a candidate for elective office is no prettier than the sham, one-party elections held behind the Iron Curtain.

Let's give every man a fair shake. Otherwise, we Americans may really have something to "agonize" about.

Passports for Reds Assailed: Perils Seen in Court Ruling That United States Must Allow Its Communists To Travel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Americans who are concerned about the current drive in this country to abolish God, centralize all power in Washington, and put the finishing touches on establishing a socialist America should be very much pleased that the distinguished news columnist, David Lawrence, continues forcefully to present and analyze actions of the Federal Government which promote these despicable ends. Mr. Lawrence has been performing this service for the American public for many years as a newsman, a columnist, and as the editor and publisher of the most outstanding and objective news magazine of national circulation in this country, the U.S. News & World Report.

I have been impressed many times by his syndicated columns and his editorials in U.S. News & World Report. In the June 23, 1964, issue of the Evening Star, there was published an article in which Mr. Lawrence analyzed the U.S. Supreme Court decision of June 22, 1964, which further subverts our internal security laws by permitting Communist Party leaders in this country to be issued passports to travel to other parts of the world, to carry out their tactics of subversion and sabotage.

Again in this decision, Mr. President, the Court demonstrated its willingness to sacrifice the interest of national security, in order to lean over backwards to protect two of the top Communists in this country, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, chairman of the party; and Herbert Aptheker, editor of the party's ideological journal "Political Affairs." What the Court has been doing in breaking down our internal security laws, Mr. President, is to give Communist subversive agents carte blanche authority to undermine and destroy our constitutional form of government. In doing so, the Court shows that it is not cognizant of the fact that we are in a war with communism and that the Communist conspiracy is dedicated to the end of subverting and destroying our form of government and the American way of life.

In order that my colleagues and all those who receive the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may have an opportunity to read Mr. Lawrence's excellent analysis of this recent Supreme Court decision in favor of communism, I ask unanimous consent that his splendid article, entitled "Passports for Reds Assailed: Perils Seen in Court Ruling That United States Must Allow Its Communists To Travel," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PASSPORT FOR REDS ASSAILED: PERILS SEEN IN COURT RULING THAT UNITED STATES MUST ALLOW ITS COMMUNISTS TO TRAVEL

A majority of the members of the Supreme Court of the United States apparently are not ready to help their Government fight the "cold war" effectively. They prefer technicalities to realities. For, in another of its sweeping decisions, the highest Court in the land is willing to consider a member of the Communist Party as no different from a member of the Democratic or Republican Party or any other political organization of citizens.

Yet J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, whose knowledge of the intricacies of espionage and acts of subversion is unequaled in this country, told Congress last January that the Communist Party in this country is an agent of the Soviet Government. He declared:

"The determination of the Soviet Union to maintain the Communist Party, U.S.A., and to strengthen and direct it in such a way as to make it a continuing danger to this Nation is clearly evidenced by the fact that for the past 44 years Soviet Russia has in one way or another directed and controlled the Communist Party, U.S.A., and helped to finance it."

The Congress of the United States, recognizing this danger, passed a law forbidding the issuance of American passports to any member of the Communist organization in America. Now the Supreme Court of the United States has declared this law unconstitutional because it does not provide for proof in advance that the passport would be misused. Only a Communist agent who is willing to tell ahead of time exactly what acts of espionage he may intend to commit or what information he may be getting ready to transmit to a foreign government could thus be prevented by law from getting a passport of the U.S. Government.

Justice Goldberg, who wrote the opinion for the Supreme Court majority, declared that "freedom of travel is a constitutional

liberty closely related to rights of free speech and association."

Justice Douglas, who concurred in this opinion, wrote as follows:

"Being a Communist certainly is not a crime; and while traveling may increase the likelihood of illegal events happening, so does being alive."

Justice Douglas added that war might be a condition for "serious curtailment of liberty," but unless there was a war, he could see no way of keeping a citizen from traveling inside or outside the country.

This is but another way of stating that the cold war is not considered to be a war and that the interests of the United States cannot be protected through preventive measures.

Justices Clark, Harlan and White in their dissenting opinion quoted from a statute passed by Congress in 1954 which stated that "the Communist Party of the United States * * * is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States." The three Justices declared that the findings by Congress concerning the nature of the Communist Party should be binding upon the Supreme Court. The minority opinion continued:

"The right to travel is not absolute. Congress had ample evidence that use of passports by Americans belonging to the world Communist movement is a threat to our national security.

"In 1950 Congress determined, in the Subversive Activities Control Act, that foreign travel 'is a prerequisite for the carrying on of activities to further the purposes of the Communist movement.' The Congress had before it evidence that such passports by Communist Party members:

"1. Enabled the leaders of the world Communist movement in the Soviet Union to give orders to their comrades in the United States and to exchange vital secrets as well;

"2. Facilitated the training of American Communist leaders by experts in sabotage and the like in Moscow;

"3. Gave closer central control to the world Communist movement."

L.B.J. Is No Shoo-In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Henry Taylor, taken from the Washington, D.C., Daily News of Wednesday, June 24, 1964:

L.B.J. Is No SHOO-IN

With the Goldwater vote against the civil rights bill (as finalized), President Johnson no longer is a shoo-in. And the experienced Texan knows it, you can be dead sure about that.

First, there was the sound of Patrick Henry when Senator GOLDWATER stood in the Senate and said: "If my vote is misconstrued, let it be, and let me suffer its consequences. Just let me be judged in this by the real concern I have voiced here, and not by words that others may speak."

Politically, this was mighty, mighty close to "liberty or death." He meant what he said, was undeniably honest in saying what he meant, and in the process had a lot of his opportunistic colleagues sitting there sweating like a butcher.

This appeal by integrity may not be the mainstream of the Republican Party, and persistent Republican defeats seem to prove that it's not. But it is certainly the mainstream of the American people. Lyndon Johnson will not underestimate such an opponent. It is awfully hard to read the public mood 6 months in advance. Men like this sometimes open the doors in the sky.

The political foundation supporting the Senator's stand is extraordinarily solid.

He stands unequivocally in favor of civil rights. But the Nation isn't faced by an idea or slogan. We all face a 55-page piece of specific legislation blanketing all 50 States and 192 million people which he sincerely regards as contradictory, unenforcible, and unconstitutional; a bill much more loosely drawn and full of holes than the Federal Prohibition Act. He voted against it.

The civil rights bill is an enormous political liability to President Johnson and the Democratic Party. The President and his party are stuck with the civil rights turmoil politically and had no choice except to bull some bill through, unconstitutional or not, unenforcible or not, unbalanced or not, and without due regard for its effect on the majority of the people.

The Democrats win the Presidency through the big, decisive majorities obtained in about 28 major cities and the South. Absolutely solid Democratic allegiance in most of the northern vote-power cities is indispensable in order to overcome Republican majorities elsewhere in the same States.

The Negro vote is only 10 percent, at most, of the electorate. It's overwhelmingly Democratic, and Senator GOLDWATER, or any other Republican, is not going to get the Negro vote in any case. Thus the Democrats' civil rights prominence profits Mr. Johnson nothing. It simply solidifies the 1 in 10 minority that is already safe in the Democratic camp.

But what about the 10-to-1 majority? There was growing concern, toward the end of his tenure, that President Kennedy was encouraging minorities to press their causes too fast and too far, which was admittedly costing him noticeable losses of support in the big-city power centers. This backlash is obvious now and has mounted with the growth of militant minority demonstrations.

It's nonsense to call all the primary vote for peripatetic Gov. George C. Wallace votes cast by bigots, racists, etc. Every experienced politician realizes that the majority of these were silent, protest-vote resentments being made known and that a silent threat may be the deadliest.

Should this force continue to mount among the 10-to-1 majority and express itself behind Senator GOLDWATER in a crossover from the Democratic Party to any substantial degree in the big cities, it could threaten the Democratic Party's whole edifice.

Negro demonstrations this summer, of any kind, are a major political problem Mr. Johnson faces. After Senator GOLDWATER's vote, he won't be able to take this presidential campaign now with a slow roll. He has a fight on his hands. And that's all to the good. For nothing needs competition so much as Government bodies.

Job Retraining of Older Workers Found Practical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, the Senate Special Committee on Aging, of which I have the privilege of serving as chairman, has been conducting hearings and studies on increasing employment opportunities for the elderly. Most of our activity in this field has been carried out by our Subcommittee on Employment and Retirement Incomes, under the zealous and effective leadership of this subcommittee's chairman, the able Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH].

In this connection, I was interested in a news article which was published in the Washington Post on Monday, June 22. It was entitled "Job Retraining of Older Workers Found Practical," and was written by Mr. Frank C. Porter, staff reporter of the Post.

The article reported the issuance by the Labor Department of a manpower report which contained facts and statistics indicating that frequently it pays an employer to retrain an older worker for a job in his employ. The report indicates that the older worker can be expected to remain in the job for which he is retrained longer than a younger worker trained for the same position.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 22, 1964]

JOB RETRAINING OF OLDER WORKERS FOUND PRACTICAL

(By Frank C. Porter)

Why retrain a 55-year-old for a job that he will quit on retirement 10 years hence? A youngster of 20 with a work life of 45 years ahead of him is a much better bet.

This is a common attitude among employers. But it was challenged last week in the 10th of a series of manpower reports by the Labor Department.

The survey, by Stuart H. Garfinckle, suggests it may be as much, if not more, in the employer's interest to train the older man.

EXPECTANCY GREATER

Specifically, Garfinckle determined from a large sampling of the labor force that 20-year-olds can be expected to remain on a particular job an average of 5.6 years. For men of 55, job expectancy is 7.2 years.

At 45, an age at which jobseekers find potential employers increasingly hire resistant, this expectancy is 8.1 years.

Garfinckle's conclusion is conservative. "In view of this consideration," he writes, "training a man of 55 for a particular job may provide him with as many years of profitable employment on that job as would be provided by similar training for a young man."

The author does offer a reservation: "These figures noted above are averages, however, and while the average expected length of time on a job for a young man is only 6 or 7 years, a relatively large proportion—at least one-sixth—will undoubtedly stay on this job for more than 20 years."

Less susceptible to statistical analysis is the question of how many men are retrainable at 45 or 50 or 55, a question which the manpower report doesn't raise.

It bothers manpower experts. There is a widespread impression that many, if not most, middle-aged workers cannot be retrained for new jobs because of ingrained habit patterns, lack of basic education, a slowdown in physical reactions, poor geographic mobility, and insufficient motivation.

W. A. (Tony) Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, is sharply skeptical of retraining. "You can't take a man 45 or 50 who has mined coal all his life and teach him to make high-button shoes," he says.

Well, why not?

OTHER POSSIBILITIES

High-button shoes don't have much future. But who is to say that he couldn't make a go of it as a plant guard, restaurant counterman, truckdriver, construction worker, beach concessionaire or grocery clerk—provided, of course, he can be persuaded and helped to move where jobs are plentiful and retraining is available?

There's a growing feeling among some experts that both employer and worker have been too defeatist about adaptation to new jobs in middle age, that there has been a failure to communicate the opportunities that do exist.

Generalization can't be built on a single example. But the following is at least illustrative.

During World War II, a grizzled chief boatswain's mate with 20-years-plus experience was raised to lieutenant (junior grade) aboard a destroyer on orders from Washington.

Both the captain and the chief himself were skeptical. Conning a ship, reading a radarscope, using voice radio and keeping station in a formation of ships were a lot different than bossing the deck gang. Given his choice, the chief would rather have become a ribbon clerk in a department store.

It took time and some uneasy moments, but the eertwhile chief learned his new job and performed it well. He even got so he didn't mind hoisting a few beers with the young ensigns who used to give him such a rough time down on deck.

The Two Magic Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by that distinguished American, the Honorable James A. Farley.

As always Jim Farley has given us some sound advice.

The article follows:

THE TWO MAGIC WORDS

(By James A. Farley)

Not long ago I received a request from a college student in Pennsylvania who said he was writing a thesis on government. He asked me to fill out a questionnaire with at least 40 items, some of which called for complex answers. Believing that any interest in government shoud be encouraged, I dictated a long reply and sent it off with the little glow of satisfaction that comes from completing an arduous voluntary task.

I looked forward to receiving from this young man some acknowledgment. I never heard from him.

I told myself that it was a matter of no great consequence and to forget it. But I didn't forget it because I was disappointed.

The truth is, ingratitude hurts anyone who is the victim of it. It also hurts the person who fails to show appreciation, because he may make an enemy where he could have kept a friend. Nor is it enough simply to feel gratitude; it has to be demonstrated. Perhaps the boy in Pennsylvania was appreciative, but if so his appreciation was wasted because he never told me. Two words—thank you—could have made all the difference.

When someone's performance hurts or displeases, it is a good ildea to ask yourself whether traces of his unpleasant characteristics may not exist in you. So I asked myself, how much do most of us appreciate the countless little daily acts of kindness by others that make our lives more comfortable? How grateful are we, really, for the privilege of living in a country where most of us can take freedom, justice, and security for granted?

How much thankfulness do most of us feel for the marvelous gift of life itself, and how adequately do we express this to the Giver?

The honest answer to each question was painfully clear. Not enough. Not nearly enough. And so I decided to make a resolution:

To thank the people who make my world run smoothly—waitresses, elevator operators, taxi drivers, anyone—not just with a casual word or an impersonal tip, but with some expression of genuine interest in them as fellow human beings.

To make myself more aware of the privileges involved in being an American, and to show my thankfulness by working without thought of reward to make my country better.

To remind myself every day of the infinitely precious value of every minute of existence, and to show my gratitude to God not only with prayers of thanksgiving but by living as close as possible to the way He wants me to live.

A basic rule in showing appreciation, I have found, is this: do it now. Do it while your sense of gratitude is fresh and strong. If you feel a flash of thankfulness, act on it before the impulse dies away.

Gratitude is by no means a simple thing. I believe that there are several stages. The most familiar is the spontaneous feeling of thankfulness for benefits received. A second stage is thankfulness not just for the pleasures and benefits of life but for its hazards and hardships as well. It takes some insight and maturity to realize that troubles and difficulties have values, but they do. All of us have heard of handicapped people who struggled so fiercely to overcome their handicap that ultimately they became champions.

The third stage of gratitude is what the poet Edwin Arlington Robinson had in mind when he wrote that there are two kinds of thankfulness, "the sudden kind we feel for what we take, the larger kind we feel for what we give." When you begin to feel gratitude for the opportunity to help others, then you are getting close to the self-forgetfulness that the Bible tells us is the secret of true happiness.

If you can increase your sense of gratitude and your willingness to express it, you will make the people around you happier, and you will become a happier person yourself. There is a great magic in those two words "thank you."

Crime in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, according to an article in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post, there are 60,000 dope addicts in Harlem alone.

This deplorable condition should receive the attention of New York Congressmen before they try to force their views of racial amalgamation on other areas.

Trade With the Communist Satellite Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the hearings conducted by the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe during the period from January 27 to March 10, 1964, touched on the use of trade as a means of implementing desired changes within the Communist bloc. One of the questions which complicates any attempt to set a consistent policy is the determination as to when our assistance benefits the captive people and when on the contrary it simply strengthens the Communist regime.

A thoughtful editorial in the Wall Street Journal, June 9, 1964, evaluates our current efforts toward agreements with Rumania in terms of these two possible and antagonistic results, and clearly states other vital policy considerations. Rumania has lately displayed notable independence from Moscow, and the prospect of trade with her has significance in our relationships with the countries of Eastern Europe.

The only satisfactory approach to trade with these nations is an empirical one. Therefore, as the editorial points out, our officials and businessmen must make their decisions on trade with our political, as well as economic, interests in mind and with regard to the circumstances at hand, recognizing that the controlling factors vary from country to country and from one month to the next. It is gratifying to see such a balanced editorial appraisal in so crucial an area of our foreign policy.

I ihclude the editorial herewith:

TRADING IN POLITICS

In the course of the changes in the Communist world, the old question of trading with Red nations has become, if anything, harder to answer satisfactorily.

As long as the European satellites were all but completely under Moscow's control, many Americans concluded there was little economic or political point in encouraging trade with the bloc. Some still hold to this view, even though the West now faces several versions of communism and degrees of dependence on the Kremlin; despite the changes, the no-trade argument remains that any significant commerce can only strengthen communism politically or militarily or both.

At the other extreme is an opinion, fortunately not shared by many, that we should do everything possible, including much more trade, to hasten the Soviets' economic development; the theory is that they would then cease to be belligerent. It shouldn't need to be remarked that this is a historically dubious and dangerous assumption.

Since both these are extreme positions in any event, it seems sounder to approach the matter empirically, case by case, with a cold eye always to our political as well as economic interests. The U.S. Government is making at least some attempt to do that.

Rumania is the current case in point. The United States and Rumania have reached understandings that could lead to a considerable growth in trade. In part, the United States would like to compete with Canada and Western Europe for Eastern markets, but

surely the more important consideration is the political potential.

Of all the satellites or erstwhile satellites, Rumania has recently seemed perhaps the most rambunctious in displaying independence of Moscow. If American trade can help continue the trend, and if it grows further elsewhere in Eastern Europe, then there is an advantage for this country. The more Communist fragmentation the better; the more division in the camp, the less able the Soviets to wage war.

When it comes to the Soviet Union itself it is doubtful that any increase in trade that could be realistically expected would be enough to affect military potential. It is most doubtful that the United States can economically starve Russia into military weakness; too many other nations are willing and eager to trade.

As for the idea that the West should demand specific political concessions—a sensible Berlin settlement, for example—in return for more trade, it may be worth a try. Presumably, though, the Soviets would have to be hurting very much indeed to find much appeal in such a deal. On the other hand, more trade could conceivably, in time, have a moderating effect on their foreign policy.

Communist China is yet another case. At a lower stage of development than Russia, it might have more to gain from trade with the West. Given its implacable hostility to the United States, the question of trade with our country is more or less academic at present. Should it come to the fore, however, we would have to consider whether we were in danger of building up what might be our worst enemy in the future.

In a somewhat similar way, the United States is able to hurt Cuba with its trade embargo, even though it has failed to enlist the support of its allies in the effort. And because of the threat Castro's communism poses to the hemisphere, such attempts to deflect it are in the U.S. interest.

Ideally, of course, international trade should not have to be the handmaiden of international politics. When trade is freest, with neither hindrance nor participation of governments, it is usually best for all concerned. But it is fairly idle to talk about free trade with potential enemies whose only merchants are minions of the state. In those circumstances, trade cannot be divorced from politics.

The economic advantages of any expanded commerce with communism may not amount to a great deal. Whatever is done, our officials and businessmen should pick and choose with care, rejecting this or accepting that as conditions change and our interests warrant. If that is done, then the possibilities are worth exploring for the sake of a saner and perhaps safer world.

Unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Statue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, June 27, thousands of Ukrainian-Americans and their friends will gather here in Washington for the unveiling of a statue honoring Taras Shevchenko, the Ukraine's outstanding poet-patriot.

In this, the 150th anniversary year of Shevchenko's birth, and on the occasion of the unveiling of his memorial, I think that all Americans should pause and consider the contributions Taras Shevchenko made to human liberty and the great effect that our American move toward independence had on the Ukrainian struggle against serfdom and Russian colonialism.

Shevchenko was the voice of the Ukrainian freedom movement and his views on freeing the serfs and establishing a Ukraine free from Csarist domination were shaped by his knowledge of the American colonists' success in the fight against English rule and the qualities of the early American patriots.

This influence is clearly shown in the lines of a Shevchenko poem which state:

> When will we receive our Washington
> With a new and righteous law?
> And receive him we will some day.

Our revolution showed the way to Shevchenko and he spread freedom's word throughout the Ukraine. Because of his beliefs, the young poet, born a serf, spent most of his life in prisons and forced military service. Yet, he never stopped telling the story of liberty in his poems, books, and pictures.

The erection of a monument to Taras Shevchenko in this city, the capital of the free world, is indeed fitting and proper for he belongs not only to the Ukraine, but to all freemen.

As an apostle of liberty and an avowed enemy of oppression, his genius extended far beyond the limits of his native country.

The dedicated citizens who have worked so hard to bring the Shevchenko memorial plan to fruition are to be commended for creating a permanent reminder of his contributions to all humanity.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the unveiling this Saturday of the memorial to Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet and patriot, is a fitting time for us to pause and remember the great contribution that this man made to the cause of freedom in eastern Europe. Shevchenko is one of the great Slav poets whose use of the Ukrainian language gave great impetus to the development of that tongue as a literary language. However, he was more than a great artist in his own right, for Taras Shevchenko was a democrat and humanitarian whose poignant poems on the subjugation of his fatherland under the Russian czar inspired his countrymen and other eastern Europeans to crave freedom and national autonomy. Having studied democracy thoroughly and having read deeply on the American experiment, Shevchenko dreamed of a republican form of government for the Slavic peoples. To this end, Shevchenko acted. He helped form, with some of his like-minded friends, the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Its discovery by czarist agents led to his arrest and banishment in the Russian Army to Siberia. Even under these harsh conditions, Shevchenko did not turn from his objective of a free Ukraine. He retained to his death his belief in freedom and democracy.

On this occasion which is also in the 150th year after the birth of Shevchenko, we honor the memory of this great man and once more dedicate ourselves to the cause of freedom and democracy for which Shevchenko so ably stood.

Interest Equalization Proposal Hurts U.S. Financial Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, during the postwar period the United States has become the financial leader of the world. Our capital markets have served borrowers from all over the world in a manner which added to economic strength abroad as well as in our Nation. Income from all forms of U.S. oversea investment has mounted steadily throughout the years and has become a major source of strength in our balance of payments.

Last summer the administration announced that it was asking Congress to pass a so-called interest equalization tax, which would have the effect of raising an artificial wall to flotations of foreign securities in our capital markets. Although the interest equalization proposal has not yet become law, it has had a dramatic effect in virtually drying up U.S. investment in foreign securities. This may produce some temporary balance-of-payments gain, but the loss of investment income will be felt in our balance of payments for years to come.

Perhaps even more important is the fact that foreign flotations formerly made in the United States and representing an important source of business for the U.S. financial community are gradually being taken over by other countries. The London Financial Times recently announced the flotation in West Germany of a large Japanese Government loan. This is business in which American financiers would normally have a large part of participation, if not the origination. It looks very much as though the United States is cutting off its nose to spite its face by permitting the interest equalization proposal to hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the American financial community.

Under unanimous consent, the advertisement announcing the Japanese flotation in West Germany, which appeared in a recent issue of the London Financial Times, follows:

[This advertisement appears as a matter of record only; it does not constitute an invitation to the public to subscribe or purchase any bonds or other securities]

JAPAN: DM200 MILLION, 6-PERCENT, 15-YEAR EXTERNAL LOAN OF 1964

The net proceeds of this issue will be at the free disposal of the Japanese Government to finance a part of Japan's fiscal investment and loan program.

SUMMARY OF TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE LOAN

1. Bonds: The loan will be represented by bonds, payable to bearer and ranking pari passu in all respects, of the denominations of DM500, DM1,000, DM5,000, and DM10,000. For the purpose of drawings the issue is subdivided into 10 series of DM20 million each.

2. Interest: The bonds will carry interest at the rate of 6 percent per annum from June 1, 1964. They will be provided with semiannual coupons maturing on June 1 and December 1 of each year. The first coupon will mature on December 1, 1964.

3. Redemption: Japan will repay this issue at par, beginning June 1, 1970, in 10 annual installments of DM20 million, payable on June 1 of each of the years 1970 to 1979, inclusive, so that the entire issue will have been repaid by June 1, 1979. The first nine series of bonds to be repaid will be selected by lot.

Japan may redeem on June 1, 1970, or any subsequent interest payment date all bonds then outstanding upon advance notice of not less than 3 months, such redemption to be made, as follows:

On June 1, 1970, and on December 1, 1970, at 102¼ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1971, and on December 1, 1971, at 102 percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1972, and on December 1, 1972, at 101¾ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1973, and on December 1, 1973, at 101½ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1974, and on December 1, 1974, at 101¼ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1975, and on December 1, 1975, at 101 percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1976, and on December 1, 1976, at 100¾ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1977, and on December 1, 1977, at 100½ percent of the nominal amount.

On June 1, 1978, and on December 1, 1978, at 100¼ percent of the nominal amount.

4. Security: Negative pledge clause.

5. Trustee: Deutsche Bank Aktiengesellschaft, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

6. Financial servicing: Japan will pay interest, principal, and premium, if any, when due, in deutsche marks. Coupons and bonds will be payable without charge to the holders at the banks listed below, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, Hamburg, and the branch offices of these banks in the Federal Republic of Germany including West Berlin, and without Japan requiring the execution of an affidavit or the compliance with any other formality. Payments will be made in Germany in deutsche marks, and elsewhere by transfer to a deutsche mark account or by check drawn on a German bank subject to any applicable laws or regulations in the country of the paying agent.

7. Quotation of bonds: Trading and official listing of the bonds on the stock exchanges at Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, and Munich has been granted.

This issue has been subscribed by the syndicate listed below and offered for public sale at the issue price of 99 percent. The offer for sale containing more details of the issue and the borrower is published in the German press on June 9, 1964.

Deutsche Bank AG (also on behalf of Berliner Disconto Bank AG).
Wilh. Ahlmann.
H. Aufhäuser.
Badische Bank.
Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft AG.
Bayerische Hypotheken-und Wechsel-Bank.
Bayerische Staatsbank.
Bayerische Vereinsbank.
Joh. Berenberg, Gossler & Co.
Berliner Bank AG.
Berliner Handels-Gesellschaft.
Gebrüder Bethmann.
Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co.
Burkhardt & Co.
Commerzbank AG (also on behalf of Berliner Commerzbank AG).
Delbrück Schickler & Co.
Delbrück von der Heydt & Co.
Deutsche Effecten-und Wechsel-Bank.
Deutsche Genossenschaftskasse.
Deutsche Girozentrale.
Deutsche Kommunalbank.
Deutsche Unionbank G.m.b.H.
Dresdner Bank AG (also on behalf of Bank für Handel und Industrie AG).
Frankfurter Bank.
Handels-und Gewerbebank Heilbronn AG.
Hardy & Co. G.m.b.H.
Georg Hauck & Sohn.
Friedrich Hengst & Co.
I. D. Herstatt K.G.a.A.
von der Heydt-Kersten & Söhne.
Kirchhoites & Co.
Bankhaus Hermann Lampe KG.
Merck, Finck & Co.
B. Metzler seel. Sohn & Co.
Münchmeyer & Co.
National-Bank AG.
Bankhaus Neelmeyer AG.
Neuvians, Reuschel & Co.
Norddeutsche Kreditbank AG.
Sal. Oppenheim Jr. & Cie.
Rheinische Girozentrale und Provinzialbank.
Gebr. Röchling Bank.
Saarländische Kreditbank AG.
Karl Schmidt Bankgeschäft.
Schröder Gebrüder & Co.
Bankhaus Friedrich Simon KG.a.A.
J. H. Stein.
August Thyssen-Bank AG.
C. G. Trinkaus.
Vereinsbank in Hamburg.
Waldthausen & Co.
Westfalenbank AG.
Württembergische Bank.
Amsterdamsche Bank N.V.
Banca Commerciale Italiana.
Bank of Tokyo, Ltd.
Banque de Bruxelles S.A.
Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas S.A.
Banque de la Société Générale de Belgique S.A.
Creditanstalt-Bankverein.
Crédit Lyonnais S.A.
Stockholms Enskilda Bank.
Westminster Bank, Ltd.

Results of a Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DELBERT L. LATTA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, each year I send a questionnaire into my district in order to ascertain the thinking of my constituents on some of the more important issues before the Congress. The response this year was greater than ever. To me, Mr. Speaker, this indicates a growing interest—and growing concern—in what is going on in Washington. This growing interest will make for better legislation and better government.

The results of this questionnaire are as follows:

	Percent	
	Yes	No
Do you favor—		
1. The administration's position on sales of wheat and other commodities to Communist nations (excluding Red China, Cuba, and North Vietnam)?	46.11	53.89
(a) The administration's extension of credit by our Expert-Import Bank to cover such sales?	30.14	69.86
2. The late President Kennedy's proposed joint space effort by the United States and Russia to achieve a lunar landing?	30.55	69.45
3. Any relinquishment of control over the Panama Canal to the Panamanian Government through renegotiation of the treaty?	14.33	85.67
4. Withholding voting rights from United Nations members who do not pay their dues or assessments?	93.51	6.49
5. U.S. support of a free Cuban Government-in-exile?	57.57	42.43
6. Legislation to require the registration of all firearms?	54.05	45.95
7. The administration's compulsory hospitalization plan for the aged to be financed by an increase in social security taxes?	28.34	71.66
8. A voluntary hospitalization-medical plan administered by the States under the Kerr-Mills Act?	59.88	40.12
9. The administration proposal to lower the draft age to 17?	26.15	73.85
10. The abolition of the presidential electoral college?	69.66	30.34
11. A nationwide food stamp program?	27.33	72.67
12. A constitutional amendment to permit pupils to voluntarily recite the Lord's Prayer and read from the Bible in our public schools?	87.15	12.85
13. For farmers only: Do you agree with the administration's plan to put the certificate wheat program into operation without a referendum?	7.44	92.56

The Anniversay of the Birth of Taras Shevchenko, Thursday, June 25, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy today to pay tribute to the memory of Taras Shevchenko, national Poet of the Ukraine, who so nobly upheld the individual's right to freedom from tyranny and oppression. We have been asked by President Johnson to build "bridges across the gulf which has divided us from Eastern Europe," and it is to be hoped that this celebration of the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth will serve to remind us that freedom of opinion, of belief, and of the flow of ideas are fundamental to human dignity and happiness and cannot be divided. It was Shevchenko's lifelong struggle for these personal freedoms that makes his poetry of universal appeal.

And yet he must always have a particular meaning for Ukrainians for it is through his poetry and humanity that they can continue to discover their own nation.

It is appropriate that at this time there should be unveiled in the Capital of our democracy a statue to this man. Let us never forget that what Shevchenko fought for is the basis of our institutions and our Government.

Majority Rule and Minority Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal issue of June 25. In the very highly emotional atmosphere that prevails, this timely evaluation of minority and majority rights under our system of government is apropriate:

MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS

The American version of democracy, it has often been noted, is not only an ideal but a working system. Majority rule is a cardinal principle of both the ideal and the system. But it's obviously not the whole of the system, and neither is it the whole of the ideal.

In the ideal, it may be asked, why should mere size give a majority the right to impose its will? Does size give the majority the right to do anything it wants? What if a minority's feelings on an issue are much more intense—not to mention more reasonable—than the majority disposition? In grappling with such questions, most Americans would reach a pragmatic conclusion: The ideal must establish majority rule, but encompass substantial protection for minorities.

As a system, that is pretty much the way American democracy has worked out. The majority ultimately rules, but minorities have strong protection in their frequent chances to impose delay. While it's sometimes overdone, this protection is salutary. It assures that the majority will not act precipitously. It engenders respect for minority feelings. It promotes the compromise and conciliation necessary to political stability.

Lately, the importance of strong protections for minorities has often been overlooked. Few of the blanket condemnations of the filibuster as an institution, for example, take any notice that it is a bulwark of many an ardent minority.

These condemnations result, of course, from civil rights filibusters, both recent and ancient. But the institution is strictly nonideological. It was a frequent recourse not only of embattled southerners, but of Robert LaFollette's progressives. Even today, as the 1962 fight against the communications satellite bill illustrated, it is wielded by liberals as well as conservatives.

The Supreme Court also brushed aside minority protection in overturning dual representation in State legislatures. This ruling will almost certainly cause sweeping and largely unpredictable changes in our political system. While some of these changes will rectify obvious wrongs, others are likely to introduce new troubles. High among the latter is the wholesale dilution of minority protection at the State level.

On its part, the minority is misguided and ill-advised if it thwarts the majority too long or too often. It was recalcitrance in the South that largely forced the public school integration issue into the Supreme Court. Settlement by local action, if the South had allowed it, would have been preferable both for its interests and those of the Republic.

Even more clearly, the Court would have been highly unlikely to rule on apportionment cases after all these years if rural minorities had not dominated majorities in both houses of many States. By not settling for half a legislature, the rural minorities ended with none at all.

Sometimes, obviously, the system gets out of kilter with the ideal. Too much strength can be invested in either the institution favoring majority action or minority protection. Sometimes adjustment is necessary. But the adjustments would be more careful if it were more often remembered that the genius of American democracy is neither majority rule nor minority rights, but a delicate balance between the two.

At a time when so much attention is quite properly being paid to advancing the rights of one particular minority, it is a bit ironic that we seem to be forgetting our devotion to the political rights of minorities in general. If that dedication continues to ebb, we will unquestionably have majority rule, but we will have moved far from the ideal of representative government.

Clarence Lea, an Outstanding Representative

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 22, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, Clarence Lea was one of the ablest, most farsighted Representatives in Congress that California has ever known. In the 32 years which he served the First District of California before his retirement in 1948, he left a lasting mark upon the history of our Nation.

During this long and productive service to his Nation, Representative Lea performed his most outstanding work as chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Under his leadership, the Congress established the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Food and Drug Administration, and modernized the Federal Trade and Commerce Act. Representative Lea was the principal author of the legislation which achieved these goals and his was the helmsman who steered this legislation through the Congress.

I was privileged to know Clarence Lea and I always admired the manner in which he represented the people of his congressional district and in many ways have tried to pattern my own actions after the example he set for all of us. In 1948, the First District contained one of the counties which now is a part of the Second District I now represent. In Butte County, the name of the man who represented it so long in Congress, Clarence Lea, is always spoken with respect and admiration which is due an outstanding legislator.

Clarence Lea was born in a small community. He received a fine education from California's schools, graduating from Leland Stanford University. He served his country in local government as district attorney of Sonoma County for 10 years prior to his 1916 election to Congress. Probably the greatest tribute given to the man was extended by the voters of the First Congressional District. After his first term, Clarence Lea received the nomination of both his own Democratic Party and the Republican Party for 15 consecutive terms.

In the death of Clarence Lea a few days ago at the age of 89 we lost a fine man, a strong friend, and advocate of good government. The legislation which he steered through the Congress will remain with us for decades to come. He truly has left a great mark upon the Halls of the Congress.

Our deepest sympathies are extended to his wife, Daisy, and his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor.

Press Coverage of Various Political Aspects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, politics are very much in the air these days, and the American press is giving interesting coverage to various political aspects.

For instance, Maine's Morning Sentinel, Waterville, carried a very interesting editorial comment in its June 19 issue, as relating to Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, an article touching on the splendid stature of this legislator from Lincoln land. The people of Maine have an acquaintance with the distinguished Senator, for he has visited the Pine Tree State on several occasions, and in knowing him they have come to admire him.

Another Maine paper—the Houlton Pioneer Times—also comes front and center by carrying within its June 18 issue a fascinating piece written by Bert Mills and entitled "Main Street, U.S.A." This article presents some poignant political references, and it introduces some very new thoughts to some quite old political assertions.

Because the articles from both of these prominent Maine publications are timely, informative, and interesting, I submit them to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and comment them to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Houlton (Maine) Pioneer Times, June 18, 1964]

MAIN STREET, U.S.A.

(By Bert Mills)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Columnists, commentators and editorial writers keep insisting that BARRY GOLDWATER will wreck the Republican Party if he is nominated by the GOP next month. The charge is that GOLDWATER is too conservative for many Republicans,

will win no Democratic or independent votes, and will be defeated by Lyndon Johnson so badly that the Republican Party will never recover.

UPSET IF GOP WINS

Let's examine this thesis in the light of the available evidence. In the first place the odds are the Republicans will lose any presidential election in our time, by simple mathematics, and irrespective of the identity of the candidates. There are millions more Democrats than Republicans. It would be a real upset for any Republican to win the White House in 1964.

Secondly, if the Republicans are doomed to defeat again this year, why is it so widely believed that Johnson would swamp GOLDWATER? Is the Arizona Senator likely to run worse than would Richard Nixon, or Cabot Lodge, or William Scranton, or anybody else the Republicans might name in San Francisco next month? Could it be the opinion polls are influencing national thinking in this respect?

If the polls are part of the answer, consider the vast advantages enjoyed by the President. A Nation aghast at the tragedy of Dallas has been relieved beyond measure that Johnson took hold of the reins of Government with strong hands. One Democrat, thrust suddenly into the most powerful post in the world, convinced the Nation and the world in short order that he was capable of handling the job.

While Johnson was building his image as a doer and a successful President, Republicans were fighting among themselves in a frantic struggle for preferment. Is it any wonder the polls showed Johnson an overwhelming favorite over GOLDWATER or any other Republican? And how accurate are the polls, which picked losers in New Hampshire, Oregon, and California primaries?

Senator GOLDWATER has millions of admirers, including a probable majority of rank-and-file local leaders of his party. But he has few cheerleaders among the writers of syndicated columns or the mouthpieces for electronic media. Nationally at least, GOLDWATER gets a bad press. This in turn probably affects adversely his standing in the polls.

The vast majority of columnists and commentators, operating out of Washington and New York, are dedicated liberals. Many have been personal friends of Lyndon Johnson for many years and you may be sure the President has cultivated them assiduously.

It will be recalled that Nixon cut loose a blast at the press after his narrow defeat by John F. Kennedy in the presidential race in 1960. While Nixon's outburst was ill tempered and politically unwise, there is no doubt that the personal preference of most political correspondents was Kennedy.

BARRY HAD LITTLE SUCCESS

As a Senator, GOLDWATER's only leadership role has been as chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee. Its job is to elect Republicans to the Senate. Bucking the tide as he was, particularly during the Kennedy administration, GOLDWATER was not notably successful. But he did raise a lot of money and make many friends, particularly at the grassroots.

His own presidential candidacy sprung from his travels to spread the GOP gospel to elect Republican Senators. His blunt messages of conservative doctrine won converts everywhere he went. Local editors often became supporters but the metropolitan press never cottoned to him. For example, most important city dailies in California backed Nelson Rockefeller in the recent primary.

If Senator GOLDWATER wins the Republican nomination, it will be said that he is the darling of the "radical right." This is a relatively new term in the political dictionary, used to describe members of the John Birch Society and other groups lean further to the right. Undoubtedly these people will support GOLDWATER against Johnson, and possibly embarrass him in the process.

RADICAL LEFT

But what about the "radical left"? Surely the Socialists and the Communists and those who think similarly will support Johnson, just as they did Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson, Harry Truman and Franklin Roosevelt. It would seem that the Republicans will have at least as good a case against Democratic leftists as the Democrats have against Republican rightists. In total numbers, probably neither group is too important although both are noisy.

Most Americans are not too far off center politically. One may be a confirmed Democrat and another a regular Republican but their views are not too distant. This is why Kennedy was more conservative as President than as a candidate, and why Johnson has been working so hard to live down his New Deal background and appeal to conservatives as a tax cutter and an economizer. He needs the middle as well as the left.

If it is to be Johnson versus GOLDWATER on November 3, the contest will be for the support of those near the political center.

[From the Waterville (Maine) Morning Sentinel, June 19, 1964]

THE MAN FROM ILLINOIS

All statesmen are politicians. If they weren't they never would get the opportunity to be statesmen. That all politicians aren't statesmen is quite evident to all of us, however.

It is not easy to define the qualities or actions that graduate a man in public life from being a mere politician to the position of statesmanship.

One of them would certainly be the courage, when the chips are down, to put aside partisan and selfish considerations and see the big picture.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, the Republican leader of the U.S. Senate, could have taken partisan advantage of the civil rights crisis.

He didn't. The civil rights bill will pass because Senator DIRKSEN saw the big picture and worked hand in glove with Attorney General Kennedy to make possible the bill's passage.

He put his own stamp on the bill by tidying up the original as it had come from the House and was able to deliver all but a tiny handful of Republicans for cloture of debate—the vital vote in the civil rights battle. Ironically, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the likely Republican candidate for President, was one of the six Republicans who refused to follow Senator DIRKSEN's leadership.

It could not have been to win Negro votes that Senator DIRKSEN has made a civil rights bill possible this summer. He won reelection last year over the opposition of Chicago's black belt, demonstrating that he didn't need the Negro votes to win.

He did so because he has those qualities of statesmanship that have been demonstrated time and again when this Nation has been beset by crises. He is from the land of Lincoln in more than mere geography.

No Cure for Potomac Fever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, there is often speculation as to just what it is that lures a man to Congress. Syndicated Columnist Carey Cronan, whose delightful column on this subject appeared in the Bridgeport, Conn., Sunday Post on June 7, 1964, has therein discoursed on the symptoms of that irresistibly pleasant ailment, "Potomac fever." The rigors of the Congressman's schedule and the apparently insatiable demands of constituents vanish under the impact of the elixir of the Capitol. Mr. Cronan observes that once the Congressman is exposed to it, no task is too great if the failure to perform it is likely to remove him from the "mysterious perfume" which delights his heart as well as his nose. With permission to extend my remarks, I include herewith Mr. Cronan's opus:

NO CURE FOR "POTOMAC FEVER"

(By Carey Cronan)

One wonders at times just what interests men and women in the Congress of the United States.

Is it the power and the prestige or the pay? Is it patriotism or patronage? Is it the desire to serve or be served?

Clare Boothe Luce, whether she originated it or not, often says that science will find a cure for cancer long before it discovers a remedy for the political virus. Others have paid like cynical tribute to the ravages of "Potomac fever" and caustically observed that "they never go back to Pocatello."

It is difficult, if not actually impossible and dangerous too, to judge motives. The ultimate decision lies in the judgment of the voters and the voters are often swayed by the most minor incidents. A Connecticut tourist once observed sadly that his wife supported a certain Federal legislator from their State just because he waved at them as they drove by the Capitol. The tourist tried to explain that the legislator evidently saw the Connecticut license plate but this did not dissuade his spouse from working for and voting for the waving lawmaker even though she had to desert the original party of her choice to support him.

Burden of office: The present $22,500 a year that Members of Congress receive does not always satisfy the burdens and demands of office. If a man is lucky enough to represent some remote rural area, which sends few constituents to Washington, he may get by financially. But if he represents a fairly close district or State he is apt to find himself an automatic host at luncheon and/or dinner most frequently and he will be compelled to make many more trips back to his home base than his pocketbook will allow and once he gets there he may find that he has to play the host again.

He usually has to maintain two homes even if one is only a Washington apartment. He will be separated from his family often and he will sometimes have to sacrifice his family obligations for the public weal. If he makes an appointment he gains a friend and makes a dozen enemies. He will be asked to purchase a block of tickets for a dance or a raffle or a testimonial dinner or a building program. He will be expected to pay for advertisements in programs. He will receive collect telephone calls that will eat up his annual allotment of "official" long-distance conversations. He will be forced to use more than his quota of both air mail and special delivery stamps in order to expedite service to his constituents and thus be forced to draw upon his salary to make up the deficit. He will be asked to secure hotel reservations, and every year he will be besieged for pasteboards to the Army and Navy game at Philadelphia.

Choice is hard: Time and again he will have to decide between personal and political friendships and if he wants to succeed

he may have to desert those closest to his heart for those more influential at the nominating convention and on election day.

He will be asked to do a thousand things and at the same time be accused of trying to use his influence improperly. He will find that constituents have the shortest memories of any of humankind remarking: "But you haven't done anything for me lately."

Despite all this, men and women who are independently wealthy have gone out into the hustings and fought for positions that pay them far less than their dividends and interests. They will open their homes to people they have never seen and whom they will probably never see again. They will associate with those in whom they have no real interest and the same people will have little interest in the legislator.

Fascination: But there is a fascination to sitting in Congress, a fascination that some how provides satisfaction, for few if any desert the Capitol voluntarily and many, even after they are defeated return to practice law or just join in the social whirl and the confusion of countless conventions.

Those who have sniffed the air along the Potomac River seem to sense some sort of mysterious perfume that delights their hearts as well as their noses, and transforms them into fanatics who will sacrifice all if need be to keep their names on the official roll. It's a game, once begun, that never seems to lose its adherents.

Remarks of the Honorable Carl Vinson, of Georgia, Before the National Guard Association of the United States and the National Guard of the State of Georgia, June 24, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, last night the National Guard Association of the United States and the National Guard of the State of Georgia honored our distinguished, incomparable colleague, the Honorable CARL VINSON. It was an occasion that those of us who were privileged to attend will never forget. Our beloved Speaker, the Honorable JOHN MCCORMACK, began the testimonials with a stirring, sincere, and highly deserved tribute to Mr. VINSON. After that, Maj. Gen. James Cantwell, president of the National Guard Association of the United States, and former Governor Vandiver, on behalf of Gov. Carl Sanders, of Georgia, presented awards, citations, and trophies in behalf of the entire National Guard and the Georgia National Guard.

Then the chairmen of all chairmen responded. I believe his remarks should be preserved for future generations because they all have deep meaning and significance and, therefore, Mr. Speaker, the brief remarks spoken by the Honorable CARL VINSON on the occasion of the testimonial given by the National Guard Association of the United States in his honor, follows:

REMARKS OF HON. CARL VINSON, OF GEORGIA

General Cantwell, Governor Vandiver, General Hearn, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, words are inadequate to express to you the deep emotion I feel on this occasion.

I am most grateful to you, General Cantwell and Governor Vandiver, for your kind and complimentary remarks concerning my service in the Congress of the United States.

I am not deserving of the high honor you pay me.

Throughout the years I have merely done what I thought was my duty, bearing always in mind that the paramount duty of government is self-preservation.

Let me say that I appreciate from the bottom of my heart the magnificent desk that will be presented by the National Guard Association of the United States to the library in my hometown of Milledgevile, Ga., which is named in memory of my wife.

I want to express my very deep appreciation to the National Guard Association for this truly thoughtful gift. Governor Vandiver and General Hearn, please accept my heartfelt thanks for the plaque that will be placed on the desk, and for the Georgia National Guard Meritorious Award, the citation that accompanied it, and the beautiful trophy. I shall cheriss them with all my heart.

I am also most grateful to each and everyone of you for being here tonight, and I am especially happy that my friends from Georgia are here.

As all of you know, I have been associated with legislation dealing with our armed services for almost half a century and have tried to be of some constructive and beneficial service to the security of the Nation.

Tonight I do not intend to trespass on your patience with a long speech on the accomplishments of the National Guard.

There is little that anyone can add to your glorious record.

Suffice it to say, the National Guard is one of the strongest arms of our national defense.

From the founding of our Nation, the forerunner of the National Guard was the organized militia, composed of citizen-soldiers—which is the keystone of the National Guard.

Our citizen-soldiers have participated in every war in which we have been engaged.

Congress officially recognized the National Guard as the organized militia in 1903.

And then, again, Congress, in 1916, provided the Guard with its charter. At that time, I was a Members of Congress and I supported that legislation and contributed my part in its enactment.

The National Guard has had its ups and downs. It's been threatened, and it's been praised; it's been condemned, and it's been lauded.

There are some who would abolish it. There are others who would enlarge it.

But, I have an idea that the National Guard will still retain its dual status as our organized militia and the first reserve line of defense for the Nation as long as there is a United States.

The greatness of the National Guard is its citizen-soldier character and its unique dual status with its Federal recognition and its State personality.

The people know and understand the citizen-soldier.

They are proud of the 4,406 Army National Guard units and the 700 Air National Guard units that will be found in every State of the Union.

Throughout the length and breadth of the Nation there are 2,807 villages, towns, and cities that point with pride to their National Guard armories, where our citizen-soldiers leave their civilian occupations and meet for drilling and instruction.

There are 461,138 of these citizen-soldiers actively participating in National Guard units being trained and readied to defend the Nation when they are called for duty by the Federal Government.

The entire National Guard system is accepted by the American people, for they cherish the fact that it is their own militia, under complete State jurisdiction, but also ready for national service whenever the Guard is federalized.

No one can question the courage and accomplishments of our National Guard for it has an attribute that no one can deny.

Whenever it is challenged, it can point to a glorious record and a magnificent history.

In fact, how well do I remember when the Rainbow Division was formed in 1917, made up exclusively of National Guard units from 26 States, and the glorious record it wrote in the pages of history.

On every occasion, both in States' service, or when federalized, the National Guard has met its responsibility.

When the chips are down, the National Guard will be there ready, willing, and able to defend the Nation as it has from the beginning.

All Americans are proud of our National Guard.

It has always been, and will always remain, the first reserve line of defense.

When the dark clouds of war begin to gather, the National Guard stands ready and trained to once again defend the Nation from her enemies.

Mr. Chairman, as I said at the outset, I am truly not deserving of the great tribute you have paid me.

But I shall never forget this happy event, and your extremely gracious thoughtfulness.

The memory of this evening will stay with me to the end of my days.

By the End of the 20th Century

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in the May 1964 issue of Fortune there appeared a very fine article by Mr. David Sarnoff entitled "By the End of the 20th Century." This article sets forth many of the very fine achievements which are possible for full development to the benefit of the human race prior to the expiration of this century. The article follows:

BY THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY

(By David Sarnoff)

Science and technology will advance more in the next 36 years than in all the millenniums since man's creation. By the century's end, man will have achieved a growing ascendancy over his physical being, his earth, and his planetary environs.

The primary reason is man's increasing mastery of the electron and the atom from which it springs. Through this knowledge he is capable of transforming everything within his reach, from the infinitesimally small to the infintely large. He is removing the fetters that for more than a million years have chained him to the earth, limited his hegemony over nature, and left him prey to biological infirmities.

By the year, in the year of our Lord 2000, I believe our descendants will have the technological capacity to make obsolete starvation, to lengthen appreciably the Biblical lifespan, and to change hereditary traits.

They will have a limitless abundance of energy sources and raw materials. They will bring the moon and other parts of the solar system within the human domain. They will endow machines with the capacity to multiply thought and logic a millionfold.

FOOD

The Western nations by the turn of the century will be able to produce twice as much food as they consume, and—if political conditions permit—advanced food production and conservation techniques could be extended to the overpopulated and undernourished areas. New approaches—the protein enrichment of foods, genetic alteration of plant and animals, accelerated germination and growth by electronic means—will be widely used. The desalinization of ocean waters and tapping of vast underground frash-water lakes, such as the one some believe to underlie the Sahara, can turn millions of desert acres to bloom. The ocean itself, covering seven-tenths of the earth's surface, will systemically be cultivated for all kinds of plant crops and fish—floating sea farms.

Man's essential nutrients are reducible to chemical formula, and ultimately the laboratory will create highly nutritive synthetic foods, equaling in palatability and price the products of the land. As that happens, his total dependence upon the products of the soil will terminate.

RAW MATERIALS

Technology will find ways of replenishing or replacing the world's industrial materials. The ocean depths will be mined for nickel, cobalt, copper, manganese, and other vital ores. Chemistry will create further substitutes for existing materials, transmute others into new forms and substances, and find hitherto unsuspected uses for the nearly 2,000 recognized minerals that lie within the earth's surface. Oil and coal will be used increasingly as the basis for synthetics. Long before we have exhausted the existing mineral resources, the world will have developed extraction and processing techniques to keep its industries going largely on raw materials provided by the ocean waters and floor, the surface rocks, and the surrounding air. The rocks that crust the earth contain potentially extractable quantities of such basic metals as iron, copper, aluminum, and lead. The ocean abounds in a variety of chemicals.

ENERGY

The energy at man's disposal is potentially without limit. One pound of fissionable uranium the size of a golf ball has the potential energy of nearly 1,500 tons of coal, and the supply of nuclear resources is greater than all the reserves of coal, oil, and gas. Increasingly, electric powerplants will be nuclear, and atomic energy will be a major power source, particularly in the underdeveloped areas. Small atomic generators will operate remote installations for years without refueling. Electronic generators, converting energy directly to electricity, will light, heat, and cool homes, as will solar energy. Many areas of the world also may draw power from thermal gases and fluids within the earth's crust. Ultimately, even more powerful energy sources will be developed—thermonuclear fusion, the tapping of heat from deep rock layers, the mutual annihilation of matter and antimatter.

HEALTH

Science will find increasingly effective ways of deferring death. In this country, technology will advance average life expectancy from the Biblical threescore and ten toward the fivescore mark, and it will be a healthier, more vigorous, and more useful existence. The electron has become the wonder weapon of the assault on disease and disability. Ultraminiature electronic devices implanted in the body will regulate human organs whose functions have become impaired—the lungs, kidney, heart—or replace them entirely. Electronics will replace defective nerve circuits, and substitute for sight, speech, and touch. Chemistry will help to regenerate muscles and tissues. Laser beams—highly concentrated light pulses—operating inside the body within needle-thin tubes will perform swift, bloodless surgery. By the end of the century, medical diagnosis and treatment will be indicated by computers, assembling and analyzing the latest medical information for use by doctors anywhere in the world.

GENETICS

Before the century ends, it will be possible to introduce or eliminate, enhance or diminish, specific hereditary qualities in the living cell—whether viral, microbic, plant, animal, or human. Science will unravel the genetic code which determines the characteristics that pass from parent to child. Science will also take an inanimate grouping of simple chemicals and breathe into it the spark of elementary life, growth, and reproduction. When this occurs, man will have extended his authority over nature to include the creative processes of life. New and healthier strains of plants and animals will be developed. Transmitted defects of the mind or body will be corrected in the gene before life is conceived. If cancer proves to be genetic or viral, it may be destroyed at the source. There appear, in fact, to be few ultimate limits to man's capacity to modify many forms of living species.

COMMUNICATIONS

Through communication satellites, laser beams, and ultraminiaturization, it will be possible by the end of the century to communicate with anyone, anywhere, at any time, by voice, sight, or written message. Satellites weighing several hundred tons will route telephone, radio, and television, and other communication from country to country, continent to continent, and between earth and space vehicles and the planets beyond. Participants will be in full sight and hearing of one another through small desk instruments and three-dimensional color TV screens on the wall. Ultimately, individuals equipped with miniature TV transmitter-receivers will communicate with one another via radio, switchboard, and satellite, using personal channels similar to today's telephone number. Oversea mail will be transmitted via satellite by means of facsimile reproduction. Satellite television will transmit on a worldwide basis directly to the home, and a billion people may be watching the same program with automatic language translation for instant comprehension. Newspaper copy, originating on one continent, will be transmitted and set in type instantly on another. Indeed, by the year 2000 key newspapers will appear in simultaneous editions around the world.

TRAVEL

From techniques developed for lunar travel and other purposes, new forms of terrestrial transport will emerge. Earth vehicles riding on air cushions and powered by nuclear energy or fuel cells will traverse any terrain and skim across water. Forms of personal transportation will include such devices as a rocket belt to carry individuals through the air for short distances. Cities at opposite points of the globe will be no more than 3 to 4 hours apart in travel time, and individuals will breakfast in New York, lunch in Buenos Aires, and be back in New York for dinner. Indeed, the greatest problem will be the adjustment of time and habit to the tremendous acceleration in the speed of travel. As rocket systems are perfected and costs are reduced, it is possible for foresee the transport of cargo across continents and oceans in tens of minutes. Within and among cities and countries, the foundation will be laid for the movement of freight through underground tubes, automatically routed to its destination by computers.

DEFENSE

In tomorrow's national command post, the country's civilian and military leaders will see displayed on a cycloramic color television screen a continuously changing, instantly updated computer synthesis of pertinent events around the world. One section of the cyclorama might be a status map showing the global situation. Another would show an area in detail. A third would present live TV coverage of a critical event, transmitted via satellite from TV cameras on the spot, operating from remote-controlled planes, or from inspection satellites. The computer will report, in written form, what and where the problems are. Another section will delineate the alternatives, and suggest appropriate actions, and still another will assess the probable and actual results. But in all cases, final decisions will be matters for human judgment.

AIR AND SPACE

Around earth, a network of weather satellites will predict with increasing accuracy next season's floods and droughts, extremes of heat and cold. It will note the beginnings of typhoons, tornadoes, and hurricanes in time for the disturbances to be diverted or dissipated before they reach dangerous intensity. Ultimately, the development of worldwide, long-range meteorological theory may lead to the control of weather and climate. Space will become hospitable to sustained human habitation. Manned laboratories will operate for extended periods in space, expanding our basic and practical knowledge about the nature of the universe, the planets, and earth. Permanent bases will be established on the more habitable planetary neighbors, and from these a stream of televised reports and radioed data, inanimate and conceivably also living matter, will flow to earth.

Despite these enormous changes, the machine in the year 2000 will still be the servant of man. The real promise of technology is that it will release man from routine drudgeries of mind and body and will remove the final imprint of the cave. In doing so, science will give new validity to Alfred North Whitehead's profound observation that civilisation advances "by extending the number of important operations we can perform without thinking about them." Man's mind will then be free for the creative thinking that must be done if the impact of science is to be harmonized with man's enduring spiritual, social, and political needs.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed Becker amendment, Dr. Franklin H. Littell gave a brilliant historical and theological analysis of past attempts by governments to impose certain religious practices and beliefs on citizens. This review demonstrates the grave errors inherent in the present proposal.

Dr. Littell is a professor of church history at Chicago Theological Seminary and a leading Methodist theologian. He is a consultant to the National Confer-

ence of Christians and Jews. I commend his statement, which follows, to my colleagues and all those who wish to preserve their religious liberty:

TESTIMONY OF DR. FRANKLIN H. LITTELL, PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 8, 1964, AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, members of committee, a proper awareness of our right to religious liberty as Americans requires some reference to the conditions of peoples less fortunately placed, in the past and in the present. During many centuries it was generally assumed that the peoples of Europe were either Christian or being made so. They were Christianized according to the methods then chiefly obtaining—by cultural impingement and by military conquest. The Middle Ages was the period of the Christianization of the Germanic tribes. The 16th century Reformation did nothing to disturb the parochial and territorial patterns; if anything, they gained increased authority as the various kings and princes came to function as lay bishops in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican Churches which had severed their ties with Rome. During the dreadful wars of religion of the 17th century, the various parties continued to use their claims to universal authority to justify the utmost savagery in the name of religion. With the coming of the enlightenment and modern ideas of toleration, the status of the nonconformist or dissenter was reluctantly established at law. But the facade of Christendom was perpetuated by various forms of establishment, most of them continuing to the present day.

The established churches of Europe have proved increasingly incapable of serving the religious needs of the various peoples and nations, being utterly out of tune with modern views of liberty and with the realities of industrial civilization. They have lost the two most important elements in modern society—the intellectuals and the working classes, and they have proved too feeble to prevent the rise of the most effectively anti-Christian ideologies in many centuries: nazism and communism. After two World Wars, two types of totalitarianism, two depressions (Europe suffered an acute depression in the years 1921–24), they confront us with a situation which their ablest young theologians call post-Christian.

In France, for example, a traditionally Catholic people has become a prime example of baptized heathenism. A few years ago the archbishop of Paris had the situation surveyed, and the figures released showed that only 16 percent of the population in metropolitan France, men and women, kept the minimal requirements set by the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215): one confession and one communion a year. In Italy, a survey authorized by the cardinal archbishop of Milan showed only 11 percent of Italian men performing the same minimal exercises. In other words, 84 percent of the population of greater Paris and 89 percent of the men of Italy—vaunted by some as bulwarks against atheistic communism—are by definition excommunicated.

In the Protestant north the case is no better. Of the people of Sweden, 98 percent are reckoned communicants of the Lutheran state church; the situation in Denmark is roughly the same, and by such procedures Denmark contributes over 4.5 million Lutherans to the rolls and Sweden 7 million. Behind the facade, however, their own official surveys show 3.6 and 3.4 percent of the populations in effective relationship. In England, according to another survey, church affiliation is 15 percent effective, 30 percent friendly, 40 percent indifferent, and 15 percent hostile to organized religion.

On the very face of it, let alone when one probes the ethical and moral and spiritual situation, the whole pretense of Christian nations and Christian civilization is today an open fraud. Worst of all, it stands as a barrier across the path of a thoroughgoing renewal and recovery of the church. From a soundly religious point of view, the only way to view the "Christian West" today has been expressed by a great Dutch theologian:

"The Christian church, religiously speaking, in the West as well as the East, is standing in a pagan, non-Christian world, and has again to consider the whole world its mission field, not in the rhetorical but in the literal sense of the word." [1]

TWENTIETH CENTURY TOTALITARIANISM

When we regard the record of the state churches in respect to the totalitarian creeds and systems, the fundamental sickness of Christendom becomes even more plain to see. For the real tragedy of the ages has not been the persecution of the church, as widespread and savage as that has been. The tragic fact of the 20th century, the fact which led the martyr Dietrich Bonhoeffer to see in this age the awful face of the anti-Christ, has been the wholesale apostasy of millions of the baptized.

The attack of the totalitarians on the church, which is implicit in the unity of dogma of the Nazi and Communist creeds, became violent when rock bottom was reached. Communism has been more openly anti-Christian, although such governments have not been above the exploitation of associations of progressive Christians and Marxist-Christian institutes. At first, fascism claimed to be a defense of religion and morality against the threat of atheistic communism. Many fell for this line, including Catholic and Protestant churchmen in high positions. Many of the baptized then betrayed their calling and reverted to their prebaptismal status as Gentiles. But finally a hard core of resistance was revealed among a small minority—often passive, largely hidden, but persistent. The church then entered the arena of the church struggle.

The church struggle has not been a clean-cut spiritual battle between avowed Christians and avowed anti-Christians. For many of the corruptions of the established churches have deserved criticism and attack: e.g., their misuse of State power and coercion against other faith groups, their resistance to land reform, their identification with the privileged classes rather than with the common folk. Moreover, the style and method of the totalitarian movements has been infiltration and subversion, and many sincerely committed Christian leaders have been slow to discern the spirits and isolate those who were using Christian slogans and inspirations for essentially unbaptized purposes. Thus the church struggle has been most of all "a struggle of the church against itself for itself," [2] and its most heartrending quality has not been the persecution of the faithful minority but the wholesale apostasy of the majority of so-called Christians.

Communism came to power in Russia in good part through the degeneracy of Eastern Orthodoxy. Mussolini and Hitler were assisted to power by a corrupt and faithless type of established catholicism and protestantism. Even in America, the attacks of the political underworld on our constitutional institutions and our liberties are assisted by the skillful misuse of "Christian" slogans and by corrupt alliances of vicious politics and low-grade culture-religion.

The totalitarian style in the religious field is worthy of studied attention, for it can readily be seen that the positive religion (positives Christentum) of the Nazis and the progressive religion of the Communists have their counterpart in the nonsectarian religion which some seek to establish at law, here. Churches and creeds are to be manipulated or used to further the people's state, or the German way of life (das deutsche Volkswesen), or the American way of life, or perhaps the southern way of life. Article 24 of the NSDAP program is clear enough:

"We demand freedom for all religious sects in the State insofar as they do not endanger the State or work against the custom and morals of the German race. The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity [positive Christentum] without binding itself to any particular confession." [3]

The statement that these presently proposed prayer amendments involve only nonsectarian prayers, nonsectarian religious observances, nondenominational religious observance, nonsectarian or nondenominational prayers is doubtless meant to be reassuring. But to those who have studied the rise of modern totalitarian movements and systems it has precisely the opposite effect. To the actual practitioner, prayer and other religious observances cannot be divorced from real communities of faith and actual historical commitments. Religion in general is offensive to any believing person, be he Jew or Catholic or Protestant. Nor is the watering down of the several faiths to create a new common core for the public liturgy as harmless, indeed banal, as it at first seems: it is part and parcel of the rebellion and apostasy of this age, of the very widespread effort to misuse the outward forms of religion for other than truly consecrated ends.

The totalitarian misuse of cultic practices commonly features two catchwords: in the public arena, "nonsectarian religion"; in the private world, "spirituality" (Geistigkeit). In the recently published Nazi program for a final solution to the Christian problem, Nationalsozialismus und evangelische Kirchen im Warthegau,[4] and in the new legal code governing religion in Communist East Germany (the D.D.R.),[5] the same two-pronged subversion of high religion is put into effect:

1. Religion is to bless and serve, in a nonsectarian and positive way, the interests and values of the society at large;

2. The churches as historic communities are increasingly to withdraw to individual and familial affairs, to concentrate on the pigmy world of private piety.

Thus, while in the name of religion a public cultus of doubtful orientation is established, the actual communities of faith are to be driven out of public life. It will not have escaped the attention of this committee, I am sure, that many of the forces rallied behind this proposed outward display of public piety are equally vociferous in condemning the churches and their leaders when they proclaim the crown rights of the King in all spheres of our social existence. "Why don't the preachers stay out of politics?" is the question asked constantly in the Communists' "Neues Deutschland," the Nazis' "Völkische Beobachter," and in Carl McIntire's "New Reformation Newsletter." The real purpose of the totalitarians, behind the facade of an inexpensive outward display, is to drive the churches into a purely privatized domain.

Faced by such attractive and insinuating betrayal of historic faith commitments and disciplined obedience, the faithful church can only answer as did the Confessing Church of Barmen in the declaration of 1934:

"We repudiate the false teaching that there are areas of our life in which we belong not to Jesus Christ, but another lord, areas in which we do not need justification and sanctification through Him.

"We repudiate the false teaching that the church can turn over the forms of her mes-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

sage and ordinances at will or according to some dominant ideological and political conviction." [6]

The exact theological significance of religion in general and vague spirituality has been given by a competent student of totalitarianism:

"The claim of the National Socialists that there had not been in Germany so much spirituality for many years as for instance as in the year 1933 or during the war is not false; yet it was a faith which had in every respect lost its integrity, a false faith in content, purpose, and style." [7]

If we reflect wisely upon the lessons of recent decades, we shall be very sceptical of expressions of religion in general, expressions which may be appealing on the surface but reflect no deep commitment to known traditions of discipline. The phraseological approach to religion is one of the foremost indications of the sickness of Christendom. The honest man does not easily verbalize a position which he is not prepared to make a matter of disciplined commitment.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN LIBERTY

The question naturally arises how, if the door to totalitarianism was opened in part by corrupt establishments of religion, such movements have gained a following here. To answer this query requires a brief excursion into American church history. In sum, it can be asserted that those elements most prone to fall into pretotalitarian ways of thinking and acting are those which have not yet mastered the meaning of the American standard of religious liberty and separation.

During the first period of American church history, of course, our church life was patterned after the Christendom of the Old World. More precisely, our colonial state churches used the same methods of coercion and persecution as obtained in Britain. Until 1820, 85 percent of the U.S. population was of British descent and (officially) Protestant. Eight Colonies had state churches, four more had established religions, and the solitary exception—Rhode Island—was not able to moderate the overall practices until she took her stubborn stand for a religious liberty guarantee during the ratification of the Federal Constitution (1789–91). And even though the standard of liberty was raised at the time of the founding of the Republic, state-church practices continued in New Hampshire until 1817, Connecticut until 1819, and Massachusetts until 1834.

Discrimination against religious minorities continued at law for much longer, and it is only in the modern period that in many areas the old Protestant hegemony has begun to yield in the public liturgy. We did not, in short, in spite of the myth so carefully cultivated in some circles, achieve religious liberty all at once. Much rather, it is a standard to which we have only slowly and painfully been learning to repair.

Contrary to the opposite myth, also widely held, our fathers did not successfully establish a Christian nation. That they tried to, during some two centuries of law and administrative decree, is I think, not subject to historical dispute. But they failed, as every state church fails when men achieve enough literacy and love of liberty to make their own choices. The only religious communication suitable for men who love liberty is that persuasive conviction attested by persons with names and faces, who speak to others with the open face of truth. As Mr. Justice Black said in *Engel* v. *Vitale*, "a union of government and religion tends to destroy government and to degrade religion." That the colonial state churches achieved—like the European state churches, if honest statistics were used—the spiritual alienation of the people has been attested by the late dean of American church historians, William Warren Sweet:

"At the end of the colonial period there were undoubtedly more unchurched people in North America, in proportion to the population, than were to be found in any other land in Christendom." [8]

When the second State constitutional convention was held in Georgia, in 1786, out of 80,000 persons less than 500 were on all the church rolls put together. Across the new Nation, when the people had their choice, they exited the establishments en masse. Church membership fell to less than 10 percent of the population, and Catholic and Protestant missionary societies in Halle, Paris, London, and elsewhere began to discuss the religious situation in North America in the same bulletins and even in the same paragraphs as that in China and India and Africa. And they began that great work, of sending missionaries and literature and other supplies, which continued well past the middle of the 19th century. America, at the end of two centuries of formal establishment of religion, was needy missionary territory.

The men who won the battle for disestablishment, and who raised the great standard of religious liberty, had come to believe, however, that religion could be made viable on another basis: on the basis of voluntary commitment and support. It was above all the experience with the great awakening, that first national movement in the Americas, which convinced the founders of the Virginia Bill of Religious Freedom and the first amendment that noncoerced religion would work, and that it would produce a better quality of church membership and a more stable commonwealth in the process.

We can scarcely praise too highly their courage in risking such a departure from the ancient order of religious coercion, a departure which has for long spared America from the twin evils of the state-church and the militant and persuasive anticlericalism which the state-church produces. Because religious liberty was secured by men of faith, we have not—until recently, as the churches have begun to cool off in their sense of mission, in their universalism—suffered the vicious style of ideological politics which has so debilitated even the healthiest countries of Europe. Our style has been enthusiastic and voluntary religion combined with pedestrian and problem-solving politics, contrasting very sharply with the combination of apocalyptic politics and deadly religion which has characterized European Christendom in decline.

Nor should we underestimate the risk which our fathers took when they determined that "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry, whatsoever, nor shall suffer or account of his religious opinions or belief; opinion in matters of religion shall in nowise diminish, enlarge or affect civil capacities. The rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind." [9]

The reference to natural rights is important, for it shows the context of religious liberty. That liberty, they declared, was neither created nor granted by government: it was prior (logically, not chronologically) to the frame of government itself. Much of the present discussion is wrongly conceived and wrongly directed, for it presupposes a history of toleration rather than an affirmation of liberty. In fact, the whole discussion of religious liberty ends as wrongly as it begins if the political question is primary: i.e., with the political benefits to be derived from efficient use of religion. Most of the so-called prayer amendments are set within the context of toleration rather than liberty, as the repetition of the demurrer reveals: "Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion." The same misapprehension would seem to lie back of the apology for arrangements in the prayer cases, which generously provide that dissenters may remain silent or be excused from the room. This is not the atmosphere of liberty, but rather the style of toleration.

Our enjoyment of religious freedom in America does not now depend upon a tolerating frame of government: the whole area of religious concern and obedience is removed from political control, and placed under the protection of the courts. According to the constitutional rule here established, if the Constitution should be amended to establish or partially establish a church or a religion, such amendment would be unconstitutional even though the outward forms of due process were observed. For by this act of self-abnegation, which many authorities consider the major American contribution to constitutional theory, it was declared that religion is forever removed from the authority of government either to persecute or to tolerate or to assist.

Religious liberty is beyond the reach of any constitutional enactment whatsoever, and those who highly regard the American Constitution and the quality of that religious service which is voluntary and uncoerced will not allow deference to outward formalities to divert them from the heart and core of the matter. In the words of Mr. Justice Jackson, in *West Virginia Board of Education* v. *Barrette*:

"One's right to * * * freedom of worship * * * and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections."

It is important to insist that these rights were not created by the Bill of Rights: the bill simply declared truths which were already true, recognized rights which were already given by the author of our liberties himself.

Our early fathers did not succeed in creating a Christian people by legislation: that goal cannot be reached in that way, even though for centuries well-meaning men have attempted it. Nor did our fathers of the constitutional conventions establish religious liberty once and for all. What they did was to separate the two covenants—the political from the religious. What they dared was a dramatic proposition: that men could be good fellow citizens even though they went to different churches. The true religious implication of the standard they raised has been summarized by the great church historian, Philip Schaff:

"The glory of America is a free Christianity, independent of the secular government, and supported by the voluntary contributions of a free people. This is one of the greatest facts in modern history." [10]

James Madison and his allies had seen enough of the coerced kind, with the show of outward piety which scarcely conceals inward spiritual alienation. Madison put the argument against such lowgrade religion succinctly:

"During almost 15 centuries, has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution." [11]

To many, the risk seemed very great, for religion and religious observances had always been used as a kind of social cement, as the mysterious means for holding a people together. In all of the pre-Bible religions, the function of the gods was to serve men's purposes—to bless and sustain the values and norms, and even the political and military purposes of the society. The cultic practices were devices to compel, or sometimes even trick, the gods into performing well for the desired human ends. With the Biblical covenant, a new level was reached: Israel's leap in being came when the God who is truly God created for Himself and for His own purposes, out of many peoples and tribes,

Footnotes at end of speech.

a servant people.[12] That was Israel's charter of existence, and Christians believe it was confirmed as the charter of the New Israel. But human rebellion is such, and the material the God of history has had to work with has been so refractory, that again and again—in the Christian era too—the baptized have reverted to unregenerate ways of manipulating religion. A lowgrade Canaanite religion has often replaced the life of obedience in the covenant, and all too often unscrupulous political forces have attempted to use an outward show of religion for the achievement of essentially unbaptized purposes. Even in the American setting, where liberty and voluntaryism are our heritage, where churches have tended to settle back to the level of a comfortable culture-religion, they have sometimes forgetfully attempted to use religion in the old way—rather than to maintain the high and vigorous effort of sustaining a voluntary covenant. Religious liberty is not, in short, something we have had: it is something to be gone out after.

The fathers of our religious liberty made it possible, at least, for the church to be truly the church, and for true religion to serve those high ends to which it is rightly called. And it was the great accomplishment of the second period of American church history that, beginning with an unchurched people, our fathers in faith invented new methods which made religious voluntaryism a viable practice. Our constitutional fathers opened the way for voluntary membership, attendance, and support. Our church fathers made the voluntary system work—against all the gloomy predictions of most Europeans churchmen and many American state church men as well. The last 150 years have seen voluntary church membership brought from 7 percent to nearly 70 percent of the population, with 96 percent of all Americans 14 years of age and older claiming affiliation.[13] Seldom, if ever in 2,000 years of church history have there been such mass accessions to the Christian faith—and never before on a willing basis. The confidence of Mr. Justice Bradley in our forefathers' judgment has been more than justified—their judgment "that religion should be left to the free and voluntary action of the people themselves." He wrote further:

"I do not regard it as manifesting any hostility to religion, but as showing a fixed determination to leave the people entirely free on the subject.

"And it seems to me that our fathers were wise; that the great voluntary system of this country is quite as favorable to the promotion of real religion as the systems of governmental protection and patronage have been in other countries."[14]

Now, nearly 100 years later, we can only say that his judgment on the merits of the American voluntary system was overly restrained: the merits of the voluntary system are far greater and the evils of coercion and patronage far worse, than he then noted.

The Protestant new methods ranged from field preaching, the camp meeting, the Sunday school movement and Chautauqua to radio and TV preaching and house-to-house visitation. Of the old British background, the Baptists and Methodists and Disciples or Christians were the most successful revival churches. The newer immigrations, after a few years in which they lost heavily to the dominant religious culture, also developed new methods—unique to the American setting—adequate to hold their own and to gain ground. The Catholics developed teaching and missionary orders and a splendid system of parochial schools. The Jews established major cultural institutions and a great network of charitable and community service organizations. At the end of the second period of American church history, the period during which voluntaryism was made a viable alternative to coercion, all three of the major traditions are better attended on, better supported, and more potential for good than was any American church in 1810, or 1710, or 1610. This must be stated bluntly as rejoinder to those who long for the good old days of Christian America—an imagery which is at best a mythical construct and at its worst a backdrop to a nasty Protestant nativism. The golden age of religion in America is not in the past at all, contrary to the doom-sayers: it lies, potentially at least, in the generation directly before us.

During the transition to religious liberty and voluntaryism, the actual identity of the American churches ceased to be welded to the old coercive establishment of Christendom, and shifted to that of the other younger churches of Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea. The American churches were in fact the bright morningstar of the "Great Century of Christian Missions" (K. S. Latourette), the century which has seen the Bible and basic Christian literature translated into a larger number of languages and converts won among a larger variety of peoples than in any other period of church history. Our true story is that we are children of the mission.

The self-image of American churches is still confused, however, and this has been and still is a fertile source of the dangerous tendency of some church people to revert to measures more in line with the persecutions of the first period than with the voluntaryism of the second period of our religious history, more in line with the European Christendom of the past than with the world Christianity of the future.

THE AGE OF DIALOG

The third period of American church is termed by sociologists, the period of pluralism. That is, it is the time when we must work out the implications of the fact that our society consists of persons of the most varied cultural and racial and religious backgrounds. Many of the customs which were adequate when the society was essentially monochromatic, when the vast majority of entitled citizens was white, Anglo-Saxon, and (officially) Protestant, are no longer equitable nor just. The genius of Mr. Justice Brennan's concurring opinion in *Abington* v. *Schempp* seems to me to lie precisely in his comprehensive and judicious grasp of the fact that "our religious composition makes us a vastly more diverse people than were our forefathers." Avoiding the temptation to sloganize and indulge in nonhistorical dogmatics, and holding to the spirit of the common law, he has insisted that "our interpretation of the first amendment must necessarily be responsive to the much more highly charged nature of religious questions in contemporary society." This brings the discussion down to the level where it belongs: To the level where most questions of initial disagreement can be resolved, if neighbors will deal with each other in the spirit of a maximum of good will and a minimum of dogmatics. There is ample evidence in the murderous years of the 20th century that the worst kind of politics is ideological politics—whether religion or antireligion is the form of it.

Our confusion as to the proper role of religion in public life has been polarized and poisoned by two mythical constructs: (1) The notion that sometime in the past America was made a Christian nation, and that the right kind of governmental action can keep it such; (2) the notion that sometime in the past religion and public life were utterly separated, with a wall placed between them, and that religion is therefore a purely private matter. What we must do as churchmen—Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and others—is to work out the positive meaning of our liberty in a way to do honor to our voluntary religious communities and thereby also to strengthen the texture of our civil liberties. And we must remember to be on guard against the tendency, all too natural and traditional, to seek to misuse political power to enforce our own religious opinions or preferences.

The proper role of a church where commitment and discipline is voluntary is quite different from that of an establishment. The leaders of an establishment profess to speak for the whole of a citizenry, and they urge directly upon the Government such political measures as best serve their interests. The style of free churches is first to attain a measure of internal consensus and discipline, and then to take their recommendations as a group testimony to the society at large. The free church in a free society is forbidden the art of conspiracy and secret influence which was customary in state-church situations: If convinced of the importance of a piece of legislation, after having tested it and validated it by internal discussion and discipline, it must then bring the argument into the public forum on the basis of its general social merits. To define the negative limits: The free church in the free society is not acting in good faith if its leaders seek to attain by political legislation what they have failed to reach by internal discipline; nor is it acting in good faith if the arguments used in the public forum are those only appropriate to the community of faith itself. Most of the arguments advanced for the so-called prayer amendments in fact fall under the latter condemnation.

This argument might bear development, for it is precisely at this point that in their pressing for public legislation—in regard to prohibition, or the antievolution laws of the 1920's, or in restricting the dissemination of birth control legislation—our churches have followed familiar paths of establishment politics rather than develop approaches appropriate to free churches in a free society. This was natural enough, in view of the long centuries of close identity between church and state, but it has more than once sacrificed the liberty of minorities to the mistaken zeal of those who controlled a righteous majority. Our burden as churches is to cut new trials, finding new ways to further respect and strengthen right relations between our religious communities, and to base the public policy on a much higher expression of religious concern than mere coercion or intimidation. When religious initiative descends to such level, it is both unworthy of high grade and responsible religion and it is also subversive of that public policy which reflects judicious decision after full, free, and informed discussion.

It is perhaps worth noting that the pressure which brought laws making Bible reading or morning prayer obligatory in a considerable number of States came precisely at that time (1910 ff.) when internal discipline was breaking down in the larger denominations. There is more than external evidence that the effort to legislate a formal kind of piety reflects the settling of major religious bodies into the mindset and habits of establishments.

The creative potential of the present age is best expressed under the rubric, the age of dialog. For it is the steady growth of interdenominational cooperation, coupled with the emergence of the Catholic-Protestant and Christian-Jewish dialogs, which creates the powerful energy toward religious and civic good. Until the political and religious covenants were separated, true dialog between persons of different faith commitments was impossible. No real dialog can be held between persons, one of whom has a sword in his hand and the other of whom has a noose around his neck. There is a noble reference in the encyclical, Pacem in

Footnotes at end of speech.

Terris, by Pope John XXIII of blessed memory:

"Every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience, and therefore the right to worship God privately and publicly" (par. 14).

It is this natural right to an upright conscience, which many (officially) Catholic and Protestant and Orthodox nations have not yet recognized, which is guaranteed Americans by the first amendment. And it is this which makes honest and open discussion possible in regard to the finer matters of faith and practice.

The point can be illustrated by reference to an apocryphal story of the University of Paris during the high Middle Ages. On this occasion a committee of the holy office visited on a professor rumored to be guilty of heretical opinions. He was asked if he were prepared to confess the threefold God of the holy trinity. He is said to have replied that rather than be put on the rack he would gladly confess a fourfold god.

Our religious liberty, worthy of the most zealous defense against all who would tamper with it, guarantees us the probability that when a fellow citizen of different background and persuasion brings forward his question or concern it is a genuine one. We can assume that he really means what he says, and then we can speak and listen to each other with mutual dignity and respect.

Theoretically, complete indifference to religious issues might be an alternative to controversy. In human history, however, there have been but two ways of resolving fundamental differences: violence and coercion (by far the most frequently used method) and concerned discussion. The alternative to the dialog is, in short, the knife. And even after the standard of religious liberty had been raised our churches have frequently fallen back into the old style of coercion, particularly when confronted by the anxiety producing need for rapid change and adjustment. This is the situation now, when the last remnants of an earlier Protestant domination of the public liturgy are steadily being removed from the public schools.

The most violent resistance, and the most ardent defense of the old customs of coercive establishment, have in America usually come from Protestants. During the three decades before the Civil War, the old settlers organized the American Protestive Association, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner and other coercive instruments to resist the influence of the Catholics. The Know-Nothings, at their peak, controlled Governors, State legislatures, and were a political power in 35 States. Catholic buildings were burnt and laws were proposed which would limit the franchise to persons resident for at least 21 years and forbid public office to all Roman Catholics in perpetuum. In the view of many historians, only the emerging sectional conflict forestalled major civil conflict on confessional lines.

In the 1928 election, religious bigotry again became a major political force, and even in 1960 some Protestant primitives organized or regrouped on politico-religious lines. In terms of our religious history, the victory of a presidential candidate who was also a Catholic layman in 1960 gave Protestants a chance to rethink their self-image and their image of America. Some have become nastier and meaner as a result of frustration, and have alined themselves with racists, radical rightists, and other subversives in a frontal attack on the Supreme Court, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. For most Protestants, however, this has been a time to remember that our most glorious heritage is not the memory of the early state churches when we persecuted others, but the period when the voluntary principle was made operative.

In these years of rethinking our role in American life, the Protestant underworld has continued to spawn a number of viciously anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic groups. The major and responsible churches, however, assisted in the interreligious dialog by the National Council of Churches and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and realizing the opportunities opened up by our American system of religious liberty, have moved ahead more consciously to affirm the principle of voluntary obedience to religious commitments. And this is, for American Protestants, the watershed choice: (1) whether to perpetuate a self-image as America's dominant tradition, regardless of the facts of life, and to cling desperately to those residual privileges left over from an earlier age; or (2) to accept the voluntary principle as a God-given opportunity to build a new kind of church action—more evangelical, more mobile, better disciplined, and more devoted to service of the least brother.

It is worthy of note that the major burden of this choice rests with the people of the southeastern section of the United States. In spite of high population mobility during and since World War II, the culture in that area is still predominantly Protestant and traditional. And today, as a result of Communist conquest in Eastern Germany, it has become the largest single bloc of intact Protestant culture left in the world. Moreover, it is in this area that major solutions to the race issue—the moment of truth for all our churches—must be worked out; 4 out of 5 Negro Christians are Baptists; 1 of 6 is a Methodist; 1 out of 30 is anything else.

The crisis has produced on the one hand a great upsurge of anxiety, expressed in an unholy alliance of political and religious reaction. The characteristic style of this alliance is a massive assault on the civil order, upon due process of law, and upon our most hallowed American institutions; the assault itself is but partially masked by the misuse of an outward show of religion, by the repetition of pious phrases, by the affrontery of the big lie: that our constitutional tradition of separation of the two covenants is secularistic, antireligious, or even communistic. The almost direct parallel to the combination of low-grade spiritual forces which helped to bring nazism to power in Germany is most striking.

The texts which cover this alliance of pious hypocrisy and public wickedness are found at Matthew 23: 24–28.

"Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

"Woe unto you * * * for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

"Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

"Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity."

There is yet ground for cautious hope that our American churches, and particularly the Baptists and Methodists with their tradition of religious liberty, may resist the pressures to reduce them to a low-grade tribalistic religion, and come forth with a new burst of devotion to the universal Lord of the universal church.

Certainly it is the responsibility of this committee, and of this Congress, to defend and strengthen the purpose of our fathers that high-grade, voluntary religious commitment should have an area of liberty within which it could grow and flourish. As Claus Felbinger, one of the earliest martyrs to religious liberty, put it:

"God wants no compulsory service. On the contrary, he loves a free, willing heart that serves Him with a joyful soul and does joyfully what is right." [25]

None of us, citizen or representative, has the right to play to the crowd and to leave to the Supreme Court the burden of the defense of our liberties.

We are meeting at a time when wicked men are mounting a major assault on our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. We read daily reports of how 10 percent of our citizens are brutalized, intimidated, kept insecure in life and person. We must watch trial by jury, which is the form of law, misused to subvert justice, which is the substance of it. If we really want to know and do the will of God for these times, the answer to the prayer amendments has been given in Amos 5: 22–24:

"Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.

"Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.

"But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

"The spiritual heritage of our Nation," for which Mr. Justice Stewart expressed anxious concern in his dissent in *Engel* v. *Vitale*, will not be served by the ritualistic invocation of so-called nonsectarian phrases. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked. * * *" (Galatians 6: 7.) For it is "righteousness that exalth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people." (Proverbs 14: 34.) The responsibility of this committee is, of course, a constitutional one. But let me add my assurance that in defending the first amendment, which has protected our religious liberty for over 170 years, you are also protecting high-level, voluntary religion as well.

May I respectfully urge that the members of committee bury these amendments, which are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the American constitutional and religious development, and get on with the proper business of American legislative bodies. That proper business is not religion at all, but justice.

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[1] Kraemer, Hendrick, "The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World" (New York & London: Harper & Bros., 1938), pp. 16–17.

[2] Cochrane, Arthur C., "The Church's Confession Under Hitler" (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 19.

[3] Littell, Franklin H., "The German Phoenix" (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), p. 3.

[4] Gürtler, Paul, "Nationalsozialismus und Evangelische Kirchen im Warthegau" (Göttingen: Vanderhoech & Ruprecht, 1958), appendix. Doc. No. 8. The Warthegau was the resettled section of Poland in which, under direct authority of Martin Bormann, the Nazis experimented with those measures which were to be used against the churches in the homeland once the war was won.

[5] "Die Kirchen in der Deutschen Demokratischam Republik," in Bechmann, Joachim, ed., "Kirchliches Jahrbuch: 1958" (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1959), p. 199.

[6] *Cf.* "The German Phoenix" app. B.

[7] Buchheim, Hans, "Glaubens Krise im Dritten Reich" (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1953), p. 17.

[8] Sweet, William Warren, "The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier," "II Church History" (1933) 1:3.

[9] Cf. Hunt, Gaillard, "James Madison and Religious Liberty," annual report of the American Historical Association (1901) I, 427–28.

[10] Schaff, Philip, "Germany: Its Universities, Theology and Religion" (Philadelphia and New York, Lindsay and Blakiston/ Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857), p. 105.

[11] "II Writings of Madison" 187.

[12] Voegelin, Eric, "Order and History, I: Israel and Revelation" (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), p. 123.

[13] Littell, Franklin H., "From State Church to Pluralism" (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), pp. 31–32; also, the March 1957 Current Population Survey (CPS) of the U.S. Bureau of Census: "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States: March 1957," Current Population Reports, series p. 20, No. 79 (Feb. 2, 1958).

[14] "Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph P. Bradley" (1901), 358.

[15] Quoted in Estep, William R., "The Anabaptist Story" (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1963), p. 143.

Cuba Today—Second of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my remarks made yesterday regarding the current series of articles written by Canadian newsman Bruce Taylor and published by the Washington Star, I include the second installment on Cuba's plight under communism for the RECORD in order that it may receive the widest possible circulation.

CUBA TODAY—U.S. EMBARGO IS STRANGLING ECONOMY DESPITE SOVIET HELP

(By Bruce Taylor)

Cuba is being strangled by the United States' trade embargo.

It cannot survive at its current rate of import and technical assistance from the Soviet bloc nations. It would perish, slowly but certainly, but for its expanding commerce with Canada and other NATO partners of the United States.

Even that may not be sufficient to keep it alive.

Its sugar production—the core of its economy—will be the lowest in history this year. Its agriculture and livestock programs are failing. Its internal transportation system is about to collapse. Its factories—when they operate at all—are turning out products that cost two and three times more to manufacture than to import. Its major construction schedules have been jettisoned.

WOEFULLY INADEQUATE

Soviet industrial and farm replacements for the United States machinery that is breaking down through misuse and old age are proving woefully inadequate, both in quantity and caliber.

Most serious of all, Cuba's 7 million people are fed up with the government that has been promising them pie-in-the-sky since 1959, and are growing increasingly loath to cooperate with it.

Resentment toward Premier Castro is rising. Deliberate work slowdowns are reaching critical proportions.

Mr. Castro, nonetheless, continues to make grandiose claims of progress. Rigid press censorship in Cuba prevents the escape of editorial comments to the contrary. And most visiting correspondents—confined to Havana or taken on carefully guided tours of the 700-mile-long island—have little way of investigating the truth of his assertions.

TRAGEDY OF COMMUNISM

But photographer Adrian Lunny and I have just ended 2,200 miles of travel within Cuba—the freest movement ever accorded North American newspapermen behind Mr. Castro's Palm Tree Curtain—and have seen at first hand the tragedy that has been wreaked by communism.

Many correspondents who are permitted to go there now have little more with which to compare conditions than the standards of their own countries, and that isn't fair. I lived there in 1957, however, and am able to make comparisons with Cuba then and today.

Foreign correspondents must acquire authorization to travel outside Havana. Mr. Lunny and I were approved for our extensive movement because Mr. Castro is going a long way these days to curry favor with Canadians. He sees Canada as a savior.

It is one of the few countries able to supply him with essential material no longer available to him from the United States and he claims he will do about $60 million worth of business with it this year. (Official figures are far less than that amount, but it is acknowledged that many Cuban purchases, made for cash, are not recorded as such.)

MANY RESTRICTIONS

Even so, there were numerous restrictions on our travel, and there was a not entirely subtle warning that an unfavorable report by us would mean detention and deportation from Cuba if we later attempted to return.

Cubans, generally, were delighted to see us, and would go to great pains to talk to us privately. Sometimes, this wasn't easy.

The state of terror in which Cuba is held is not readily apparent in Havana, where movement is reasonably unhindered. Havana still is one of the world's most beautiful cities, although Mr. Castro has done his best to blight its esthetic attraction by draping it with building-sized propaganda signs. This is the Cuba that most visitors to the island see.

It is only when you go into the interior that you are made very much aware of the real nature of the Castro reign.

VIRTUAL SLAVERY

The people there are in virtual slavery. Everything they do, down to the simplest action, is known to the secret police. They speak to strangers only where they cannot be overheard, and then only after looking over their shoulders.

On some of our travel among them we were closely escorted by secret police or members of the Cuban Communist Party (Partido Unido de la Revolucion Socialistica) who were charged with preventing us from speaking to anyone other than Government officials, or seeing anything other than that which had been designated acceptable.

Escort was particularly close in Oriente Province, biggest of Cuba's six, at the eastern end of the island. There were three men—one of them armed—to meet us when we stepped from the Rusisan Ilyushin 18 airliner that brought us to Santiago from Havana. They were with us until we left that province 4 days and several hundred miles later.

ELUDED ESCORTS

It wasn't too difficult to elude them late at night—usually through a back door somewhere—and getting away from them to talk to people became somewhat of a game. One night, however, when Mr. Lunny remained in our room to give the impression we both still were there, I got into an animated political conversation with what I thought was an ordinary Cuban—who turned out to be chief of the area's secret police.

We were not surprised by the close escort in Oriente. There was a report of impending trouble in the Province the day we arrived. The day after we left the big sugar mill at Pilon was blown up.

CONDITIONS WORSE

Some of our travel in other Provinces was in the company of a driver selected for us by the Government. He spent a great deal of time at the outset attempting to convince us he was a "gusano"—a worm—Mr. Castro's word for Cubans who are opposed to him. But he gave up in disgust eventually and lapsed into long daily propaganda orations.

When necessary, however, as in Oriente, we generally were able to slip away from the various agents keeping an eye on us. We met and talked to a wide cross section of the population. And it soon became evident that Cuba today is in far more terrible condition, materially, than when I lived there during the dictatorship of Fulgencia Batista.

Mr. Batista was a venal man. His Government, devoid of ideology, was unbelievably corrupt. As as opposition to him mounted, he took increasingly severe measures to repress it. At length he gave his secret police, composed in the main of sadists, a free hand. They tortured and killed.

It became commonplace to find the children of his opponents dead in the streets. There was no sense of predictability then; a man could be arrested for anything.

Probably more than 80 percent of the population was opposed to him, and would have supported any man who could topple him. Mr. Castro was given overwhelming support because he promised reform and a high standard of living. He even promised free elections.

TREASURY WAS BLED

He appeared to be blessed relief from the long line of dictators who successively had bled the Cuban treasury. Mr. Batista, for example, is said to have banked $600 million in other countries before he fled.

And if you understand Cubans, you know that politics are of secondary, if even of any, importance to most of them. They wouldn't have cared whether Mr. Castro was Communist, Fascist or democratic, so long as he gave them enough to eat, enough to wear, and enough to spend on simple luxuries.

But he didn't. He imposed a dictatorship that Mr. Batista's could not even begin to match for the manner in which it holds its people in subservience. Mr. Castro has held no elections, and doesn't intend to. He has failed in every promise to make Cuba a better place to live, and the Cubans say they are worse off than ever, that hardship is more widespread now than in the days of Mr. Batista.

POVERTY UNQUESTIONABLE

There is no question but that poverty existed in some sections of Cuba, particularly among the sugarworkers, before 1959.

But even then the country as a whole was far better off. Mr. Castro has slightly improved the welfare of the sugar workers, but greatly decreased that of almost everyone else.

He boasts that no one in Cuba goes hungry today, despite the gigantic failure of his nationalized farm system. That is true, but only because of the vast black market in food. All legal food purchases are rationed. The meat quota, for example, is three-quarters of a pound per person per week in Havana, less in the interior. A Cuban may legally buy six eggs a month.

Eggs are 6 cents each in the grocery stores. They are $2 each on the black market.

The government makes no real attempt to stamp it out. It knows if it did the many small farmers who keep it going would cut down production altogether, rather than sell at government prices. Then, there would be no food at all.

There is a black market for everything. Automobile parts are particularly precious. Only government-approved persons can purchase new East European cars which come to Cuba in extremely limited quantity. All other cars are American, and all are of 1959 vintage or older. Most are barely hanging together. A 1957 Chrysler in bare running

order, for instance, can be sold for the equivalent of $7,000.

Clothing—what little there is of it—is rationed, and new consumer goods are nonexistent. Cubans take you aside to ask in whispers if you can smuggle something-or-other to them from Canada.

You expect them to ask for luxuries, and are startled to hear that what they want, as in the case of one tearful young mother, are items such as baby pacifiers.

The cost of living in Cuba is particularly hard on foreigners because the government there insists the peso is at par with the American dollar. It relieves you of your dollars immediately on arrival at Havana airport, and replaces them with pesos—one for one.

FOOD COST ENORMOUS

That makes the price of eating, for instance, enormous. Soup is 2 pesos: $2. Tomato juice is 1½ pesos. An omelet is 6 pesos.

Hotel rates are unexpectedly low, about $6–$8 per person per room, and service in the major hotels is good. But if you plan to do business around the city you must hire a taxi by the day because you seldom can find one away from the midtown area.

In Cuba, there is a huge black market in American dollars. You are offered 7 and 8 pesos for 1. All of Cuba, it seems, is hoarding U.S. money for the great escape.

The story of what communism has done to Cuba is written in the frantic desire of its people to get away.

Four hundred thousand already have left. Tens of thousands more have applied for the permission to leave that takes up to 2 years, if at all, to acquire. Most will not get it. Many will. Spain's Iberia Airline, which maintains service between Havana and Madrid, is completely booked for the next 3 years.

ESCAPEES SHOT

Hardly a night passes but that a small boat does not set out from some obscure cove for Key West or Jamaica or the Bahamas. Most are discovered before they get far. Their occupants are shot.

Mr. Castro, like his counterparts in East Germany who built the Berlin wall, knows he has lost his bid to convert the adult population to his system of government. He is missing no bets to insure he does not lose his grip entirely.

A young soldier with a machinegun is the last person who boards each domestic Cuban airline flight—to prevent it from becoming an unscheduled international flight.

He comes through the doorway after all passengers are seated and the crew is in the cockpit. He backs all the way up the aisle to the cockpit door, his gun at the ready. Then, he lets himself into the cockpit and bolts the door behind him.

He remains in the cockpit until the flight is completed.

Tribute to Vincent J. Burnelli

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday one of America's great pioneers in aviation was buried in Huntington, Long Island. The record of this Congress should contain for posterity some of his many achievements.

That Mr. Burnelli is one of the outstanding aircraft pioneers can be substantiated by the Smithsonian Institution, the U.S. Patent Office, the Early Birds, the Quiet Birdmen, the Institute of Aerospace Sciences, and so forth. While a large number of aviation firsts were designed and reduced to practice by Mr. Burnelli, his outstanding product remains the development of the lifting fuselage—sometimes referred to as the "body lift," the "lifting body," "flying wing," and so forth—principle of aircraft design.

Other important Burnelli credits are: The first great American airliner, the Lawson Airliner of 1919; the first airfreighter, the RB–2, in 1924; the first reduction to practice of the breakaway leading edge in conjunction with high-lift flaps—currently being used on most high-speed jet aircraft—in the GX–3 of 1927; the first multiengine aircraft with retractable landing gear and the first twin-engine aircraft to maintain single engine performance at design gross weight, the CB–16 in 1928; the first flat-metal stressed skin construction in American aircraft design, the UB–20 of 1930, and so forth.

Mr. Burnelli's work won the acclaim of prominent members of the aviation industry. His death is a great loss to our country.

The June 24 edition of the Washington Post carried an article on this outstanding citizen which I append here and call to the attention of my colleagues:

VINCENT J. BURNELLI, 68; PIONEER PLANE DESIGNER

Vincent J. Burnelli, a pioneering aviation engineer whose inventions include retractable landing gear for multiengine planes and the high-lift wing flap, died of a stroke Monday afternoon in Southampton Hospital, Southampton, N.Y. He was 68.

He was stricken Saturday in Easthampton, where he was attending a meeting of one of the many aviation clubs to which he belonged.

Still an active designer as president of Washington's Burnelli Avionics, Inc., Mr. Burnelli had recently taken out five patents on the lifting-body principle of fuselage design. Conventional fuselages do not contribute to the planes' lifting power. The Burnelli fuselage lifts 50 percent of its own weight.

During his boyhood in Temple, Tex., Mr. Burnelli built models of early aircraft. When his family moved to Brooklyn, N.Y., he took night courses in engineering at St. Peter's Academy in Union, N.J.

He designed and built his first plane with a friend in 1915 in Maspeth, Long Island. The plane was demonstrated at Hempstead Plains Aviation Field, which later became Roosevelt Field.

Before the outbreak of World War I, Mr. Burnelli worked on aircraft designs for the U.S. Navy here. He was called up for service when the United States entered the war, but the Navy discharged him in order to take advantage of his talents.

He designed a night fighter at an airfield in Copiague, Long Island, and though the craft did not see action in the war, it was eventually sold to the New York City Police Department as the first portion of an aerial police force.

In 1919, Mr. Burnelli designed the first enclosed cabin aircraft intended solely for passengers. All prior passenger planes were converted bombers.

His first patent on the lifting-body principle was taken out in 1921, and in 1928, he was designer of the Chapman-Burnelli CB–16, a 16-passenger aircraft.

Mr. Burnelli was a member of the Early Birds, the Quiet Birdmen, and other aviation clubs. He was a member of the Institute of Aerospace Science. His other clubs include the Texas State Society, the Circus Saints and Sinners, and the Connecticut Aeronautical Historical Association.

He is survived by his wife, Hazel, of 9260 Piney Branch Road, Silver Spring; two daughters, Barbara Adams of Huntington, Long Island, and Patricia Kimmins of Mattituck, Long Island, and three sisters.

The Sleeper in the Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, on May 24 of this year, the Reverend Duncan Howlett, minister of the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington delivered a very important sermon, which, under unanimous consent, I submit to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The Reverend Howlett is, of course, well known in this community for the outstanding contributions he has made, not only to his church and his parishioners, but to the welfare of everyone who lives here. On this occasion he made an insightful analysis of the so-called grassroots movement to pressure Congress into hasty action on the proposals to amend the Constitution regarding religious services in the public schools. His sermon reveals, too, how the apparently simple and innocuous words of the Becker amendment contain hidden dangers that could wreck the religious liberty we have so long enjoyed in this country.

The sermon follows:

THE SLEEPER IN THE PRAYER AMENDMENT

(A sermon by the Reverend Duncan Howlett, D.D., All Souls Church (Unitarian), Washington, D.C., Sunday, May 24, 1964)

A few years ago the New York State Board of Regents decided to deal realistically with a problem that was becoming increasingly vexatious in the public schools of the State. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike were dissatisfied with the simple but varying religious exercises with which the school day was begun. Accordingly, the board called in Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders and asked their approval of a prayer which the regents had composed for school use. The board then published a "Statement on Moral and Spiritual Training in the Schools." A part of that statement included the prayer recommended for use each morning in the schools. It was a model of simplicity, and read: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependency upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country." "We believe that this statement will be subscribed to by all men and women of good will," said the board, "and we call upon all of them to aid in giving life to our program."

But the faith of the regents in their handiwork was not justified. Not all men, whether out of good or ill will, subscribed to their prayer. Among these, the parents of 10 pupils initiated court action because, they said, the prayer was contrary to the religious beliefs of themselves and their children. As you know, the case went to the Supreme

Court of the United States, which handed down a decision in June 1962 in which the objection of the 10 parents was sustained. The use of the Regents' Prayer in the New York schools was declared unconstitutional under the first amendment. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," the Court reiterated, and noted that this requirement was extended to the States by the 14th amendment.

Then came the deluge. Cries of outrage, frustration, and fury rose all over the land. Politicians, ordained clergy and ordinary laymen joined the demand for a constitutional amendment to nullify the decision of the Court. "Let us put God back into the schools," they cried.

Nothing daunted, the following June 1963, the Court handed down two more decisions in the same vein as the Regents' Prayer case. Here the Court declared unconstitutional a Pennsylvania statute and a rule of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners, the one requiring Bible reading, the other authorizing recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the public schools of Pennsylvania and Baltimore, respectively.

Thereupon, the outcry grew yet louder and yet more insistent. Attention centered in Congress, where something could be done about it. No less than 146 resolutions were introduced in the House in an attempt to get around these decisions in various ways. Thirty more resolutions were introduced in the Senate. This is an alarming proportion of the Members of both Houses. Apparently our legislators vied with one another to take the lead in "getting God back into the schools."

Of course, no such welter of bills could get anywhere. There was so many and they were so various, they got in each other's way. To unsnarl the tangle, 50 Representatives got behind Congressman FRANK J. BECKER, Republican, of New York, on an amendment to the Constitution he had introduced. This too, was a model of simplicity. It read:

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scripture, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

Now we are in the midst of hearings on this and all the other proposed amendments before the House Judiciary Committee. The issue in virtually all of them is the same, but the argument now centers in the Becker amendment because of its impressive backing. You are familiar with the argument for the amendment—to put God back into the public schools. Those offered against it have been many. Let me touch on the principal ones by way of getting to what I believe to be the heart of the matter. I have noted 10.

1. The amendment is unworkable. It does not say what readings and prayer are to be used, who shall decide upon them, or where or when they shall be used. It does not say with "Biblical Scriptures" are. They are uncounted versions of the Bible: Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. Can we count the Koran or the Book of Mormon as "Biblical Scriptures"?

2. If the amendment is going to state that it does not contravene the establishment clause, will it not also have to state that it does not contravene the free exercise clause? Can you say that without contradicting yourself? In fact, does not the Becker amendment contradict itself?

3. To state that participation is to be voluntary does not make it so in fact, as the Court noted in the Regents' Prayer opinion. The sense of coercion remains even when the right of withdrawal is present.

4. Religion is not strengthened when its offices are enforced. Children who are required to be present at prayers and Bible readings may learn disrespect for religion as a result of it.

5. Religion has also usually been eakened, not strengthened, when supported or enforced by the state.

6. We now have a good working formula of church-state relationships, and we ought not to change it.

7. The prayer amendments really mean the dictatorship of the majority in regard to school religious exercises, which no one wants.

8. It is harmful and divisive to stress religious differences, as Bible readings and prayers will inevitably do.

9. The amendment will introduce religious controversy into the schools as the various religious groups vie with one another to see that their Scriptures are used and that their form of prayer is adopted.

10. We may, of course, amend the Constitution in any way we wish. We quite properly amend it to carry out and implement our traditions as a people. But we enter an area fraught with danger when, as in the case of the prayer amendment, we use the amendment process to reverse a particular decision of the Court. This replaces the judiciary with the legislature.

All these considerations, many of them taken separately, would seem to be enough to defeat the prayer amendment proposal. But far too few people are persuaded by reasoning and logic. In the prayer case in particular, emotions run high because religion itself somehow seems to be threatened. "Don't let them take God out of the schools" is an issue handmade for the demagog.

An alarming aspect of the prayer amendment proposal is the intensive activity of the American far right in connection with it. As a result of its work, mail supporting the amendment, measured by the bushel basket, has poured into the Capitol. Almost without exception, the organized anti-Communists, anti-Semites, anti-Catholics, opponents of the National Council of Churches, segregationists, economic conservatives, superpatriots, and isolationists have been active in supporting the prayer amendment.

To illustrate: The John Birch Society has been urging members to use the school prayer issue as a reason for stepping up its basic campaign to impeach Chief Justice Warren. Billy James Hargis, head of Christian Crusade, is urging prayer petitions to force the measure out of committee. Among the generators of mail are Rev. Carl McIntire and his son. The elder McIntire is the self-appointed opponent of the National Council of Churches, and young McIntire is head of International Christian Youth, an affiliate. Gerald L. K. Smith, the veteran bigot, is also in the act with his fairly new subsidiary, Citizens Congressional Committee, which is run by two of his closest associates, Opal Tanner White and Charles Winegarner.

In addition, there are many groups apparently organized just for this purpose. You may recall that Hollywood Actor Victor Jory came to Washington to testify for the amendment, accompanied by two actresses. They appeared, they said, on behalf of Project Prayer, which they described as a grassroots religious organization. Perhaps they believed it was a grassroots movement. Now, however, we know it as a front for a highly organized and well-financed drive to adopt the amendment.

The proponents of the prayer amendment are in the minority, but they strive by every device possible to make their drive look like a mass protest against a decision but few favor. "An intense and obnoxious microscopic minority" opposes the amendment, said Charles Winegarner at the hearing. But as a result of the hearings we now know that great numbers of church people, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, oppose the amendment. We can assume that the unchurched, who number nearly half of our people, also oppose it. The "microscopic minority" of which Winegarner speaks turns out to be the highly organized, well-financed groups he represents.

What is frightening about this effort is not so much its demagoguery and its subterfuge. We have met and deflated these forces in American life before and we can do it again. But I am frightened by the truly sinister aspects this drive reveals from time to time. You are familiar with the activities of the John Birch Society, Billy James Hargis, Carl McIntire, and the others. You shudder at the distortions their literature contains. But it is all milk and water compared with some of the material now in circulation on the prayer amendment. Brace yourself while I read from a sheet called the Akron Baptist Journal, issued by the Baptist Temple of Akron, Ohio, a church of 17,000 members. The quotations are from a sermon delivered by the minister, Rev. Dallas F. Billington, April 12, 1964.

Speaking of Mrs. Madalyn Murray who, with her two sons, brought suit in the Baltimore prayer case, Billington said, "I want you * * * who are present to pray this prayer beside your bed every night: that God will kill the woman. * * * Now we have no right to go out and take a gun and and kill her, but we can sure pray for God to kill her. I do not want you to stop there, I want you to pray to God to remove any judge or judges that keep us from having our Bible in our schools. * * * It is not wrong for you to pray God to destroy your enemy. * * * Is it wrong for us to pray to remove a judge that is to remove our Bibles? If we say for God to do it, have we committed any sin? No. We ask God to do it. * * * I am allowed to pray for God to destroy the enemies. * * * If you can find any man in Jerusalem that will execute judgment and speak the truth, I will pardon Jerusalem (saith the Lord). Just find me somebody who will execute judgment and truth and if you will, I will pardon Jerusalem."

I lift my head from these quotations and look at you, as one who wakes from an evil dream and finds himself back in the world he has always known, the evil gone, now seem to be but the phantasm of a tortured night. But then I recall that this utterance is no dream. It is real. It was spoken in a church as a sermon on a Sunday morning, broadcast over the air, and printed and circulated no one knows how far.

And then I recall that we gathered here, in this, our church, 6 short months ago to the day, November 24, 1963, to mourn the passing of President John F. Kennedy, killed by an assassin in a city where hatred of this virulent kind had also found voice, and where talk of killing had found voice, too. And I tremble; tremble for my country, for her people and her honor, tremble to think that we have produced people who can talk of killing those with whom they disagree, tremble to think such men can find an audience, tremble above all else that the audience they find will permit them to talk of God and Christ, of the Bible, of religion and the church—and of killing. It is not far from praying to God to kill our enemies, and saying that God seeks an instrument of His will, to executing on God's behalf what we believe His will to be. Happily, in a country like ours, this kind of livid hate reacts against itself. Only on the lunatic fringe could

such a statement win support for the amendment.

Proponents of the amendment have relied heavily, however, on a body of highly respected legal opinion in this country which has criticized the Supreme Court's decision in the school prayer cases. This is the point of view represented by former Justice Frankfurter—judicial self-restraint. Dean Erwin Griswold of the Harvard Law School, for whom I have the greatest respect, not only thinks the decisions in the prayer cases erroneous, he questions the propriety and the wisdom of the Court's entertaining the issue in the first place. The Bill of Rights was never intended to keep all religion out of the schools, he says, and to say so is sheer invention.

The Frankfurter school of thought, so to speak, by no means supports the prayer amendment. But its criticisms of the prayer cases must be noted here because it goes to the root of the issue the prayer amendment raises. Dean Griswold is of course right as to the situation that existed in this country in 1791. Nevertheless—and here I tread very lightly: one does not easily differ with so eminent a legal authority—nevertheless, I hazard the opinion that the Court saw even more deeply into the legal and social realities at issue in these cases than did the dean. Ours was primarily a Protestant country at the time of its founding. Unanimity on many things could be taken for granted then which are disputed today. Then, the principle of the separation of church and state was not at issue in the schools. In fact, public schools were themselves a rarity in 1791. Today, however, there is no longer unanimity on either prayers or Bible readings. It is this that raises the issue in the schools that the Founding Fathers desired to settle with the first amendment.

This the Court saw. Once the issue had come before the country, the Court felt obligated to resolve it, since it related to one of the most basic provisions in the Bill of Rights. Accordingly, the Court took up the case, heard the arguments, and then struck down the prayer and Bible readings, not to eliminate God from the schools, but to keep religious controversy out of government. The furor over the prayer amendment shows how right the Court was. By virtue of the school prayer decisions, the "no establishment" clause remains intact. Religious controversy is still excluded from government, in particular from the public schools. It is relegated to public debate where it belongs.

Mr. Justice Black, speaking on behalf of the Court, made it perfectly clear that this is a principle with which one does not tamper. The Regents' Prayer did not constitute very much establishment. But in the eyes of the Court, any is too much.

In the school prayer cases, the Supreme Court in effect recognized an emerging aspect of American life which only the theologians have as yet noticed. Religiously speaking, we are now a pluralistic society. We are no longer a predominantly Protestant nation where tolerance is extended to Catholics, Jews, Mormons, and others. We are now a Nation in which Protestants, Catholics, and Jews stand together as the chief organized religious bodies. As a result, we now have a kind of religious establishment, as Will Herberg, John Courtney Murray and others have recently been reminding us. But it is an establishment that exists by common consent, not by governmental decree.

There is a sleeper in the prayer amendment of which we must be aware. Its proponents would return us to where we were before the Regents' Prayer case was decided. They would put God, prayer and Bible readings back into the public schools. The Court, they say quoting eminent authorities, has become an instrument of social change. The prayer amendment is designed to nullify one of its changes—that in regard to school Bible readings and prayers.

But a careful look at any of the amendments proposed to achieve this result shows that they and not the Court are the instruments of change. The Supreme Court here was an agency of stability. It preserved an ancient principle. It met the needs of an emerging religious pluralism by extending the principle of the separation of church and state to school prayers and Bible readings where it had never been applied before. When the religious problem in the public schools became so acute that the State of New York felt called upon to solve it, then the Court stepped in and said the process had gone too far and should be halted altogether.

The Supreme Court saw that under the first amendment we may not resolve our religious differences through government. The Court said, in effect, that a prayer composed by and through organized Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism, or anybody else, could not be required to be used by a government agency. It would have said the same had the Moslems, Buddhists, Bahais, and unbelievers all been included in the conference that worked out the prayer. The Court was saying that to require any prayer or Bible reading is to establish a religious orthodoxy through government. By implication the Court was also saying that the use of Bible readings and prayers in the schools amounts to a mixing of church and state even when such exercises are not prescribed by the school board but are selected by the teacher for the pupils on their own. It was one of the basic purposes of the Founding Fathers that in this Nation such an intermixing of church and state should be banished forever.

This then is the sleeper in the prayer amendment: It begins as a move to restore Bible readings and prayers in the public schools. It ends as a move to put government into religion. No such result is intended by most of the supporters of the amendment. They just want our schoolchildren to have a minimal contact with religion each day. This was true in the past, and they do not see why it cannot still be true. But they do not want government mixing into religion. Indeed, many of the supporters of the Becker amendment insist that the first amendment to the Constitution must not be affected in any way.

We as a people have now to see more deeply into what the Supreme Court is really doing if we are to understand the reasons for the school prayer decisions and the danger to our way of life in the proposed prayer amendments. The Supreme Court is far more an instrument of stability than it is an instrument of social change. As American society grows and develops, the Court holds us to our ideals as they are embodied in the Constitution. As American social institutions evolve in accordance with our inner dynamic as a people, the Supreme Court guides their development, as it was designed to do. The Court requires that the changes that occur in our thought and practice take place in accordance with our basic institutions of government.

As the meaning of our basic principles is made explicit in particular instances, as with school prayers or discrimination against the Negro, then the Court steps in and requires that the change be made in accordance with the standards by which the foundations of our Government were laid down. This it did in the Bible and prayer cases. It was American religious pluralism, not the Supreme Court, that forced Scripture and prayer out of the public schools.

The Court was wise enough to see that this was so. We cannot turn the clock back. In our modern pluralistic society, any school prayer becomes coercive and puts government into the business of religion. The elimination of religious exercises from the schools is the price we have paid for tolerance. It is not a very high price. In fact, religion should be the benefactor as heartfelt prayers in the churches take the place of rote exercises in the schools. We cannot restore God to the schools by law, if he can ever be said to have been there. But in our churches we may restore God to the human heart if we preach and practice a selfless faith. God has ever dwelt in the hearts of those who truly seek him. But he will not be induced to touch the hearts of our children by amending the Constitution.

Prayer: God of our fathers, grant us to understand, as they did, the grandeur and the weakness of men and the need to support our ideals with workable institutions of government. Amen.

Investment in Government Quality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this body, on June 11, by overwhelmingly passing the Federal pay raise bill, demonstrated its courage and its self-respect.

As the following editorial from the June 13, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune points out, the pay raise bill is an investment in government quality:

INVESTMENT IN GOVERNMENT QUALITY

The House got up its courage and passed a $535 million pay raise bill for the entire Federal Establishment from Members of Congress, Cabinet, and the judiciary through the policymaking executives and career servants and the entire ranks of lower grades.

Is this justified?

We think so.

Certainly Government needs high quality in public office, and it should be able to pay sufficiently to keep able men and women on the job. The fact that private industry can command greater talent by reason of fiscal lure has prevented the country from getting and keeping top-level people. It is only fair that the citizens willing to serve should not be penalized. To expect such a pecuniary sacrifice, as has been the unfortunate custom, is false economy and mismanagement.

Of course it can be argued that not everybody in Government is equally deserving. But if there is to be an adjustment of such scope, it has to be a general pay increase. You can't very well boost the judges, Cabinet members, and chief executives by $7,500 without as well recognizing the letter carriers (proposed $325 average increase), the typists and file clerks ($310) and all the rest of the 1.7 million Federal employees. And it is not surprising that the House voted that Members of Congress should also share with $7,500 increments, raising their salaries from $22,500 to $30,000. Some of our legislators aren't worth that much, but it can be hoped that pay fitting to full-time duties will raise the level.

The bill is on the whole a good investment in public service.

Now that the House has leaped the hurdle and upgraded dignity with practical recognition, the Senate should hasten to do likewise. Government as a career won't be rejected by the skilled people who couldn't afford the sacrifice.

Worry's a Waste to Sam Gibbons, So He Doesn't

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention the very fine article which appeared in the Miami Herald, authored by Lee Winfrey, outstanding Washington correspondent for the Knight newspapers, which highlights my distinguished colleague from Florida's 10th Congressional District, SAM M. GIBBONS.

Congressman GIBBONS, in the year and one-half that he has served in Congress, has earned the respect and admiration of two Presidents and his colleagues because of his vigorous dedication to his work.

He came to the House of Representatives from the Florida State Legislature where he served 10 years—first in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate. In Florida, he is known as "Mr. Education." In Hillsborough County, he is called "the Father of the University of South Florida."

While in the Florida Legislature, Congressman GIBBONS originated the concept of the University of South Florida and then drafted the act that created the university; he originated Florida's emergency school construction program; he sponsored and backed legislation upgrading the quality of Florida's mental health program, the child and adult correction institutions and child-training centers.

Congressman GIBBONS is well on his way to equal this reputation in the House of Representatives. Although a freshman, he served as a conferee on the historic higher education bill. As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, he is playing a key role in the President's poverty program.

Mr. Speaker, I know my colleagues agree with me that it is rewarding to work with men of Congressman GIBBONS' caliber, and it is for this reason that I commend the following article to them:

WORRY'S A WASTE TO SAM GIBBONS, SO HE DOESN'T
(By Lee Winfrey)

WASHINGTON.—SAM MELVILLE GIBBONS, who voted against the civil rights bill, showed little worry as the measure began to move toward final passage in the Senate last week.

The Congressman from Tampa sees little danger to Florida from the bill, which passed the House in February despite his negative vote.

"The impact of the public accommodations section will probably be the most immediate," GIBBONS said. "But I don't think that Negroes, on the day the bill passes, will flock and mob the restaurants and hotels.

"I think that over the years we'll begin to see more and more Negroes in what used to be white hotels and white restaurants. But that's probably the only impact the bill will have in Florida for several years."

This combination of a vote against the bill, and a refusal to worry about it thereafter, might be said to be typical of GIBBONS. He is his own man and nobody's rubber stamp.

GIBBONS, a tall, lean, lefthanded Democrat with a burr haircut and a sharp blade of a nose, is the third most liberal Congressman in Florida's 12-man delegation. Since he came to Washington last year, only Dade's CLAUDE PEPPER and DANTE FASCELL have voted with the Johnson administration more often than he.

His support of Federal aid to colleges won him the gift of two pens from President Johnson. He voted for the tax cut, backs the poverty program strongly, and generally supports foreign aid.

He opposed the wheat deal with Russia, however, and holds to a wait-and-see attitude on medicare. Administration leaders in the House are known to admire his hard work, but they are under no illusion that he will support just anything they call up.

GIBBON'S way of doing things has served him well during his 12-year political career. His course has been a steady upward progression.

He was born in Tampa 44 years ago, the third generation of a family which moved to Florida in 1880. He reached maturity just in time for World War II.

He spent 5 years with the 501st Parachute Infantry Regiment, dropping into Normandy the night before D–Day. He fought at Bastogne and left the Army as a major with a bronze star.

After graduating from the University of Florida Law School in 1947, GIBBONS practiced in Tampa for 5 years. He ran for the Florida House in 1952, served 6 years, then moved up to the State Senate for 4 more.

In 1962, the legislature took Hillsborough County away from Republican Representative BILL CRAMER and turned it into the new 10th district. GIBBONS beat Sumter Lowry, one of Florida's most extreme segregationists, and got the new job.

Faced with no Republican opposition this fall, GIBBONS is assured of a second term. He has made the Education and Labor Committee his home and likes it very well.

The chairman of the committee is New York's ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, most publicized of the four Negroes in Congress. That might be irksome for some southern Democrats, but GIBBONS doesn't mind.

"I don't approve of all his opinions," GIBBONS says, "but in the committee he presides fairly and moves the committee business with dispatch."

That comment, too, is typical of GIBBONS, who takes things as they come.

Generally, they come his way.

Wrong Time for New Subsidy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I had a long-standing speaking engagement which prevented me from being on the floor in person for the vote on H.R. 3881. I am, as the RECORD will show, paired against the bill. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an editorial in the Oregon Journal of June 22 about the measure:

WRONG TIME FOR NEW SUBSIDY

Within the next few days the House of Representatives is scheduled to vote on a bill authorizing the Federal Government to give hundreds of millions of dollars to local mass transit systems around the country. It should vote "No."

If the bill passes, the Government will be entering for the first time into a new subsidy program—this one for the sake of providing the Nation's biggest cities with improved and expanded systems of rail and bus lines.

It is not an easy plan to pass upon. Practically everyone who studies the subject admits that the big cities are in danger of strangling on their traffic, and that the downtown areas may shrivel and die unless better ways are found to move commuters in and out of them.

But the size of the proposed mass transit subsidy is huge. The bill would authorize $375 million in the next 3 years to State or local governments to equip mass transit systems which are publicly owned or supervised. The local governments would have to provide $1 for every $2 from Uncle Sam, but the Federal Government would have a great deal to say about how the new lines should be built and even what fares they should charge.

In addition, the bill authorizes the Government to guarantee up to $375 million more in bonds which the transit systems might issue.

While the initial authorization would be for $375 million in grants, critics of the bill in Congress say that this would only be a start. In the end, the Government might spend as much as $6 billion on the program. This money would come from all the taxpayers, but it would be spent on transit systems in the biggest metropolitan areas. Critics of the plan say that transit should be a local matter, and that the proposed Federal handouts would be sure to be distributed where they would do the most political good.

Mass transit does need improvement. But evidence is lacking that the transit companies and State and local governments have exhausted their own resources. Right here in Portland, the privately-owned Rose City Transit system is struggling, but it is getting along and even experimenting with a few new services without a Federal subsidy.

This year, when economy in Government is the cry, is not the time to add hundreds of millions and perhaps even billions to the Federal budget in an entirely new subsidy program. The House should reject the mass transit bill.

Baltic Sorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the month of June marks the anniversary of two sorrowful events in the history of the Baltic States. In June of 1940, the hard-won independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia was crushed by the wanton force of Russian troops. In June of 1941, the Russian Communists began the first mass deportations of the Baltic people.

The passage of over 20 years has not dimmed this travesty of human justice and freedom. The suffering and cries of thousands of helpless men, women, and children still pain the hearts of loved ones and free men everywhere.

On this anniversary of sorrows, I urge Congress to act on House Concurrent Resolution 153, which I introduced in behalf of the oppressed Baltic people and those who died under tyranny. The

resolution requests that the President initiate action in the United Nations calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and the return of exiles from the slave-labor camps of the Soviet Union.

Use and Misuse of Bail in Criminal Cases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. GILL
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, the majority floor leader of the House of Representatives of the State of Hawaii, Mr. John Lanham, recently visited this city as a participant in the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Law. This conference, held on May 27–29, was jointly sponsored by the Department of Justice and the Vera Foundation.

One of the key points discussed in the conference was the use and misuse of bail in criminal cases. I am informed that some shocking statistics were related to the effect that bail tends to punish the impoverished accused and allows the professional criminal with access to funds to go free. There were also instances reported of judges using the bail system to jail certain accused whom they thought should be kept out of circulation. It was also developed that allowing accused to go free on their own recognizance resulted in very few failures to appear at time of trial.

In an island State like Hawaii, where departures can be checked with relative ease, and appearances can be required without great difficulty, there seems little sense in excessive use of cash bail. Representative Lanham made a number of suggestions in his report to the legislature which I think warrant serious consideration not only in our State but elsewhere.

Under unanimous consent, I include the suggestions in the RECORD at this point:

1. That we substantially increase the numbers of our probation officers and social workers in the State of Hawaii. These people, if given sufficient manpower and funds, can do a lot toward teaching people who need help how to live with others in a friendly and respectable manner.

2. That we consider split shifts for our social workers so that they can meet with families at their home after work.

3. That we amend our statutes so as to employ, wherever practicable, the use of the summons process in lieu of arrest and bail, and that we respectfully request help from the Supreme Court with its rulemaking powers in this regard.

4. That we consider the need to create additional judgeships so as to make certain that defendants unable to make bail (and all juveniles) get a speedy trial; that we consider letting referees hear adoption and divorce cases to allow more time to the judges for other work.

5. That we consider enacting the Illinois system of refundable 10-percent bail bonds.

6. That the probation officers be required to investigate defendants unable to post bond to determine if they may be safely released pending trial on their own recognizance, and that we amend our laws so as to encourage more pretrial releases upon personal recognizance.

7. That bail requirements be eliminated for most misdemeanors and some felonies for persons who are established in the community.

8. That a separate offense be created to cover misbehaviors while awaiting trial.

9. That we create such facilities for the confinement of juveniles as will comply with the philosophy of the juvenile rehabilitation program, and that separate facilities be provided for the treatment and care of mentally disturbed children.

10. That a specific offense for parental and other interference with the juvenile authorities and juvenile rehabilitation be enacted.

11. That we determine whether or not there need be any regulations established for the conduct of the bail bond business.

12. That probation officers, social workers, and policemen be treated as professionals and that they be paid accordingly.

13. That we request our county governments to set up an exchange program, similar to the principals and teachers exchange programs, for policemen and detectives so that we may gain the knowledge of the police practices and techniques of other cities and that they may gain knowledge of ours, and that the State do the same with respect to probation officers.

14. That we enact laws providing clearer standards for determining what is and what is not a delinquent child, and also providing more definite standards for confinement of juveniles, where necessary.

15. That we provide more psychiatrists and psychologists for our adult and juvenile rehabilitation programs.

16. That we create the Office of a Public Defender with a staff of investigations, or else that we provide an investigation staff for defense counsel under the present system.

17. That we reform our tax laws so as to get the necessary revenue to carry out the foregoing recommendations "in order to have a safer, saner, and cleaner community for ourselves and our children.

Passports and Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington, D.C., Daily News, of Wednesday, June 24, 1964:

PASSPORTS AND LIBERTY

By the scope of its decision in the Communist passport case, the Supreme Court has almost said that the Federal Government must issue a passport to anyone who asks one. The opinion written by Justice Goldberg hints at circumstances in which a passport properly could be refused, but the gist of the opinion is that such circumstances would be extremely narrow and special.

Under the Subversive Control Act passed by Congress in 1950, identified Communists were denied passports. Two Communists, Elizabeth Curley Flynn, chairman of the Communist Party, and Herbert Aptheker, editor of a Communist publication, appealed to the Supreme Court.

Justice Goldberg says this section of the subversives law is unconstitutional because travel abroad is a liberty under the Bill of Rights and not to be denied without due process of law. The fact that the passport applicant is a Communist makes no difference, he said.

This drew a sharp dissent from Justice Clark, joined by Justice White in part and by Justice Harlan.

"Since the (Communist) Party is a secret, conspiratorial organization subject to rigid discipline by Moscow," Justice Clark said, "the Congress merely determined that it was not wise to take the risk which foreign travel by Communists entailed."

That seems to us to be the crucial question.

The Communist conspiracy is aimed at overthrowing our Government. If it should succeed, the Bill of Rights and all the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution would be trampled. The Subversive Control Act was passed to help combat this Communist purpose.

"The right to travel," wrote Justice Clark, "is not absolute."

No right is absolute. All are inhibited, at least to the extent that the exercise of individual liberty may not materially transgress the liberties of others. Communism would transgress the liberties of all, and it would seem reasonable that Congress should attempt to safeguard the security of the Nation against such subversion.

Moreover, a passport is not merely a license to travel. It is a protection for the traveling American citizen. Should the Government, then, be compelled to provide this protection for its sworn enemies? We think not.

Panama Verdict: United States, Not Guilty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, an informative news story in the June 19, 1964, issue of Time about recent events of political significance in the Republic of Panama emphasizes two major points: First, vindication of the United States as the result of an inquiry by an independent International Commission of Jurists for its actions in defending the Canal Zone during the January 1964 Panamanian mob assaults; and, second, the cruel and senseless practice among mercurial Panamanian leaders of assassination of their political opponents.

The indicated news story follows:

PANAMA VERDICT: THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT GUILTY

In the wake of the Canal Zone riots last January, Panama accused the United States of violating the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This violation, Panama charged, was committed by the U.S. Army when it fired "on the defenseless Panamanian population" and denied Panamanians "the right of freedom of peaceful assembly and association." The Panamanian Government asked the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists, an unofficial but highly respected group of international lawyers, to investigate the case.

Last week the ICJ made its report. Verdict: not guilty. The United States violated no one's "human rights." Indeed, the Panamanians themselves, whatever their legitimate grievances, were considerably to blame for the 4 days of violence in which 26 were killed, 400 injured.

CAREFUL PREPARATION

A three-man committee—Prof A. D. Belinfante of Holland's Amsterdam University, Judge Gustaf Petrén of Sweden, and Navroz Vakil, a Bombay attorney—spent 14 days in Panama last March and conducted 100 hours of hearings.

The committee found that the flag-raising march on Balboa High School by some 200 Panamanian students "appears to have been very carefully prepared and not a spontaneous movement," that Panama's President Roberto F. Chiari may well have known about it in advance and that, in any event, the Panamanian Government did absolutely nothing to stop the subsequent rioting. For 4 days, from January 9 to 13, said the committee, Panama's peacekeeping national guard was curiously disarmed and "purposely kept away" from the trouble spots. Said the committee: "There was no evidence before us that any attempts were made by the authorities of the Panamanian Republic to assuage, calm, or otherwise control the crowds."

LONG, HOT WAIT

As for the United States, American students at Balboa acted badly, and Canal Zone police were less than gentle with the crowds in the early stages. Nevertheless, U.S. GI's withstood heavy gunfire along the border of Panama City for 1 hour before firing back, first with shotguns, then with rifles. In Cristobal, at the other end of the canal, U.S. troops were under fire for nearly 2 days before retaliating—with shotguns only. "By then, 3 U.S. soldiers had been killed and 12 had been wounded."

Concluded the committee: "The tempo and violence of the disturbances were such that there is little doubt that they held out a real threat to life and security, which could only be met by strong measures. In these circumstances, zone authorities and U.S. military forces were entitled to use force."

ANOTHER PAYOFF

The polls closed more than a month ago, but Panama's politicians are still paying off election debts. And for some the only way is bullets and blood.

Four weeks ago, Aquilino Boyd, Panama's fire-breathing Ambassador to the U.N. who doubles as a Federal Deputy, shot and wounded a newspaper editor in revenge for an uncomplimentary story about his reelection attempt. Last week another prominent Panamanian was involved in a shooting vendetta—on the receiving end. Lying in a Panama City hospital with severe bullet wounds was Roberto "Tito" Arias, 45, moneyed husband of British Ballerina Dame Margot Fonteyn, nephew of just-defeated presidential candidate Arnulfo Arias, and proud possessor of a long and varied career in his own right.

BAG AND GUN

After marrying Dame Margot in 1955, Tito twice served (1955–58, 1960–62) as Panama's Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. But it was what he did during his undiplomatic moments that made him interesting. Five years ago, angry at the then President, he launched a low-comedy invasion of Panama with seven men and a couple of boatfuls of arms. The invasion failed, of course; Dame Margot, who was along for the ride, was expelled from the country, while Tito scampered into the Brazilian Embassy until the storm blew over. Since then, he has been linked with various gunrunning efforts and last year, still another caper—alleged whisky smuggling—landed him in a Panama jail for 3 days until charges were dropped.

All that ancient history didn't bother the voters, who overwhelmingly elected Tito to the National Assembly last month. Running with him as an Alternate Deputy was one Alfredo Jiménez, 33, an old crony who campaigned energetically for both Tito and Arnulfo. In return, he fully expected to be chosen from the elected alternates to sit in for Tito whenever he is away. Since that is often, Jiménez was counting on earning a near full-scale $12,000 annually. But Tito chose someone else as his alternate, and Jiménez was left holding the bag—and a gun.

AT A TRAFFIC LIGHT

One day last week, as Tito's chauffeur-driven limousine halted for a traffic light in Panama City, Jiménez leaped from a nearby car, crying, "I won't let you doublecross me!" Jiménez then pumped four bullets into Arias' neck, right shoulder, and right side.

Rushed to a hospital, Arias underwent two lengthy operations. Dame Margot went on with her show in England, took the curtain calls and then flew to Panama. At week's end, doctors were hopeful of saving Tito's life, but one bullet may have damaged his spinal cord, possibly paralyzing him from the neck down. And Jiménez? The word reaching frustrated police is that he is hiding out in the home of another political pal, one who has legislative immunity, and is thus quite beyond their reach.

Goldwater Statesmanship and L.B.J.'s Chances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include a column written by Henry J. Taylor in the Washington Daily News of June 24, 1964. I am sure that many Americans will agree that BARRY GOLDWATER'S statesmanship is bringing a new dimension to American politics and, fully aware of the stature of the man, will select him as the next President of the United States.

Mr. Taylor's article follows:

L.B.J. Is No SHOO-IN

[By Henry J. Taylor]

With the Goldwater vote against the civil rights bill (as finalized), President Johnson no longer is a shoo-in. And the experienced Texan knows it, you can be dead sure about that.

First, there was the sound of Patrick Henry when Senator GOLDWATER stood in the Senate and said: "If my vote is misconstrued, let it be, and let me suffer its consequences. Just let me be judged in this by the real concern I have voiced here, and not by words that others may speak."

Politically, this was mighty, mighty close to "liberty or death." He meant what he said, was undeniably honest in saying what he meant and in the process had a lot of his opportunistic colleagues sitting there sweating like a butcher.

This appeal by integrity may not be the "mainstream" of the Republican Party, and persistent Republican defeats seem to prove that it's not. But it is certainly the mainstream of the American people. Lyndon Johnson will not underestimate such an opponent. It is awfully hard to read the public mood 6 months in advance. Men like this sometimes open the doors in the sky.

The political foundation supporting the Senator's stand is extraordinarily solid.

He stands unequivocally in favor of civil rights. But the Nation isn't faced by an idea or slogan. We all face a 55-page piece of specific legislation blanketing all 50 States and 192 million people which he sincerely regards as contradictory, unenforcible and unconstitutional—a bill much more loosely drawn and full of holes than the Federal Prohibition Act. He voted against it.

The civil rights bill is an enormous political liability to President Johnson and the Democratic Party. The President and his party are stuck with the civil rights turmoil—politically—and had no choice except to bull some bill through—unconstitutional or not, unenforcible or not, unbalanced or not, and without due regard for its effect on the majority of the people.

The Democrats win the Presidency through the big, decisive majorities obtained in about 28 major cities and the South. Absolutely solid Democratic allegiance in most of the Northern vote-power cities is indispensable in order to overcome Republican majorities elsewhere in the same States.

The Negro vote is only 10 percent, at most, of the electorate. It's overwhelmingly Democratic and Senator GOLDWATER—or any other Republican—is not going to get the Negro vote in any case. Thus the Democrats' civil rights prominence profits Mr. Johnson nothing. It simply solidifies the 1 in 10 minority that is already safe in the Democratic camp.

But what about the 10-to-1 majority? There was growing concern, toward the end of his tenure, that President Kennedy was encouraging minorities to press their causes too fast and too far, which was admittedly costing him noticeable losses of support in the big-city power centers. This backlash is obvious now and has mounted with the growth of militant minority demonstrations.

It's nonsense to call all the primary vote for peripatetic Gov. George C. Wallace votes casts by bigots, racists, etc. Every experienced politician realizes that the majority of these were silent, protest-vote resentments being made known and that a silent threat may be the deadliest.

Should this force continue to mount among the 10-to-1 majority and express itself behind Senator GOLDWATER in a "crossover" from the Democratic Party to any substantial degree in the big cities it could threaten the Democratic Party's whole edifice.

Negro demonstrations this summer, of any kind, are a major political problem Mr. Johnson faces. After Senator GOLDWATER's vote, he won't be able to take this presidential campaign now with a slow roll. He has a fight on his hands. And that's all to the good. For nothing needs competition so much as Government bodies.

Dedication of Minnesota Thunderbird Mine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, an event of profound significance took place June

3 on the great Iron Range of northeastern Minnesota. The groundbreaking for the Thunderbird Mine of the Eveleth Taconite Co. marked the beginning of an economic breakthrough for this area, which has contributed so much to the State of Minnesota and to the country over the years.

The great natural ore deposits of the Iron Range, which once seemed inexhaustible, have now been considerably diminished. But still lying below the Minnesota earth in vast quantities is a hard ore-bearing rock known as taconite. As the result of processes which took many years and millions of dollars to perfect, this hard taconite rock can be crushed, ground and beneficiated to produce a high-grade iron-ore pellet used in the steelmaking process.

The credit for the persistence and perseverance in developing this process goes to Prof. E. W. Davis of the University of Minnesota, known as the "Father of Taconite." To Professor Davis go congratulations not only for his role in taconite development, but also for their golden wedding anniversary which he and Mrs. Davis celebrated with their friends on the day following the dedication.

The future of northeastern Minnesota is linked with the future of taconite. The development of the great taconic reserves has been and will be a combined effort of business, government, and labor working together as a team. The ground breaking at the Thunderbird Mine is symbolic of the faith shown in the people of Minnesota by the Ford Motor Co. and the Oglebay-Norton Co., joint owners of the Eveleth Taconite Co.

On the occasion of this ground breaking, the Honorable Karl F. Rolvaag, Governor of Minnesota, made a forthright speech stressing the importance of passing the taconite amendment, which will attract hundreds of millions of dollars of new investment into northeastern Minnesota.

Indicative of the bipartisan support behind the taconite amendment was the presence on the platform of State constitutional officers and political leaders of both parties who, together with leaders of industry and labor, are members of a statewide committee on taconite education, headed by the venerable Dr. Charles Mayo.

A key figure who was particularly responsible for getting this project underway was Minnesota senior Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, who, at the time of the ground breaking, was leading the historic civil rights debate on the Senate floor in Washington.

The main presentation at the ground breaking was a most significant address by Charles H. Patterson, executive vice president, Ford Motor Co. Mr. Patterson's words are well worth noting, for they spell out the background of taconite development, as well as the future direction of growth in the steel industry and the part which taconite can be expected to play.

NEW ERA FOR THE IRON RANGE

(By Hon. Karl F. Rolvaag, Governor of Minnesota)

This is a historic moment for the Iron Range and for the whole State of Minnesota. This occasion is tangible proof that the hope of a large-scale taconite mining industry in the State, which we have so long nourished, is no mirage. The bulldozers are ready to move—the construction is about to begin.

The new enterprise being launched here today is in itself a magnificent development. But, we are encouraged to hope that it signals other undertakings of its kind still to come.

Here is the visible product of what is called a good business climate. Without it we could not expect industry to make the kind of investment that is required to transform inert earth into the machines and products of everyday living and provide the jobs and payroll that sustains our State's economy. A mining operation like this most effectively dramatizes the essential role of business investment. The mine itself, with its huge earth-moving operations will be right here, on this ground. Ten miles away will be a plant where the ore will be crushed, milled, and pelletized. Along with a dam in the St. Louis River, these will require an investment of many millions of dollars. Without that investment none of this could happen.

We are proud, incidentally, that some of this ore will find its way back to Minnesota in steel for the frames, bodies, engines and other components for the Ford automobiles assembled at the company's Twin Cities plant.

I think it is important that Minnesotans understand that our State has no monopoly on the kind of ore that is about to be mined on this site. It is available elsewhere. Ford Motor Co. and Oglebay Norton Co. are demonstrating here not only their interest in developing a great natural resource of our State, but at the same time their faith in the sound judgment of its people. For it is ultimately the people whose attitudes and actions determine the business climate in any State or community.

It is up to us to respond to the good faith these companies have evidenced by giving full assurance in November that the taconite industry can continue to count on fair tax treatment in Minnesota. Anyone who questioned that the taconite amendment could actually help clear the way for bringing sizable new mining operations into the State certainly must have his doubts resolved now. We in Minnesota, for our part, can now regard the proposed amendment as a "good faith amendment."

Today can be a milestone in shaping a vigorous new era on the Iron Range, and it is a day in which all Minnesotans take satisfaction.

TACONITE—THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA

(By Charles H. Patterson)

We are here today in deference to an age-old tradition which dictates that important enterprises should be started on their way with appropriate ceremony.

From a purely practical point of view, there is not much point in snipping a bit of colored ribbon, or turning a shovelful of earth or wasting a perfectly good bottle of champagne on the bow of a ship.

But the truth is that the beginning of any promising new endeavor deserves a bit of pomp and ceremony. I welcome this opportunity to wield a symbolic shovel to start construction by the Eveleth Taconite Co., for this is, indeed, the beginning of an important and promising new endeavor.

It has brought together men from widely scattered places, linked two basic industries and brought government and business together in joint concern over an undertaking that may well help achieve a turning point for the Minnesota iron country.

The Mesabi Range, which gave us the sinews for a modern civilization and the armor for two world wars, is now returning to an eminence that had begun to wane three-fourths of the steel backbone of this Nation has come from the ores of the Lake Superior district. Possibly 2.5 billion tons of Mesabi ore have fed the world's greatest steelmaking capacity.

But in the 1950's change overtook the iron-mining and steel industries. Aluminum, concrete and plastics began to move into major material markets long dominated by steel. Foreign ores entered the American iron-ore market. Modern, efficient steel mills overseas cut into American exports and even into the domestic market for steel. Within our borders, new steel mills sprang up too far from the Mesabi to use Minnesota ore economically. And finally, the supply of rich and easily accessible ores, on which this State had so long held a near monopoly, began to diminish.

The impact of these developments on the Minnesota mining country has been painfully clear to most of you here today. One simple comparison tells the story. In 1959, Minnesota shipped some 50 million tons of unprocessed, rich, red ores directly from its open pit mines. In 1962 it shipped only about one-fifth that amount.

Today, taconite promises to recover an important part of the lost markets and diminished prosperity of the Mesabi country. Taconite won't work any Minnesota miracles. But then neither did the rich, red ore of an earlier day.

What brought prosperity and wealth to this area was the application of human ingenuity and hard work to a great natural resource—ore in the ground. Those same attributes can now revitalize the economy of the iron country.

The new challenge men of the iron range have faced in recent years has been one that differs in degree, not in kind, from the challenge that faced the early developers of the Mesabi.

Those pioneers had a great resource, but it was in a relatively remote area. They met the challenge with powerful shovels, railroads punched through wilderness, mammoth dock facilities and great ore boats. The ore flowed in rising streams that stretched away as much as a thousand miles to the mills.

In meeting the challenge of getting ore to the mills, the developers of the Mesabi inevitably fashioned a second challenge. The mining and transportation system the pioneers built led to the eventual depletion of the primary ore source. They left for others the problem of how to remove taconite efficiently and economically from its geologic bonds.

Long before concentration of iron ore became an economic necessity, Edison made it the subject of scientific experiment. In 1896, he constructed near Humboldt, Mich., the first such plant in the Lake Superior district.

Bad luck dogged the program. Fire destroyed the first mill, a storm ruined the second attempt, and, finally, when success seemed at hand, the direct shipping ores of Minnesota overwhelmed the market.

Twenty years after Edison's first effort, a syndicate, including the son of the man who gave taconite its name, began further experiments. Seven years later, the tough, heavy mineral had worn them down, and their effort collapsed.

Twenty more years went by. Then, in the midst of the severe wartime drain on the Mesabi's rich resources, came a warning that depletion of the best surface ores was no longer a distant, indefinite threat, but a clearly foreseeable one. The warning came from Prof. E. W. Davis, who directed the Mines Experiment Station of the University of Minnesota. Professor Davis was more than a talented forecaster. He carried on pioneering research that ultimately provided the basis for efficient magnetic separation and pelletizing. In a real sense, he is the father of the taconite industry.

The technological breakthroughs and the warning came in time. Today there is a young and growing taconite industry in Minnesota and a comparable enriched ore industry in Michigan. As the direct shipping of ores has declined, the production curve for enriched or processed ores has risen. In 1962, two-thirds of the ore shipped from American iron mines had gone through some kind of enriching or improvement process.

One of the fastest growing segments of the processed iron ore industry is the pelletizing of taconite-derived ore. The first cargoes of enriched and pelletized ore did not sail down the Great Lakes until 1950. Yet today, pellets account for 20 percent of U.S. ore consumption.

The Minnesota minerals task force, I am told, foresees a two-and-a-half-fold growth in the consumption of taconites in the decade of the sixties, and a doubling of that figure again by 1990. And the task force figures appear to be conservative.

Although ironmaking and steelmaking are ancient industries, they are by no means perfected arts. For instance, operators are still not sure of all that takes place in the blast furnace. Having concentrated on production in the past, the industry now is devoting considerably more attention to improving quality, efficiency, and know-how.

It has been estimated that steel companies have spent as much on research and development in the last half-dozen years as in all their prior years combined. Research staffs have tripled in the last 12 years.

This rapidly growing research activity has led to the conjecture that ultimately steel mills may use nothing but tailormade ore. That sounds to me like pellets, like taconite—and like prosperity for areas such as Eveleth and Virginia, Minn.

In jointly committing their resources to this venture in mining and ore processing, Oglebay Norton Co. and Ford Motor Co. are taking a multimillion-dollar risk. But we believe it's about as good a risk as any business investment can be.

We are confident that the demand for our pelletized product will be strong and we know we can rely on the two great resources of this area—an energetic and determined citizenry with a tradition of responsibility, and a great body of rockbound ore needing only man's ingenuity and energy for transformation into something useful.

The size of the Thunderbird mine operation here, and the Fairlane pellet plant 10 miles off, is, in itself, proof that we are here to stay. The ore under our feet will provide steel for American cars for generations.

The demand for cars is on a steady rise. We are now in the midst of the third great automotive year in a row. It now appears that 1964 will be the first 8 million year for car sales and a 10 million car year is a distinct possibility in the next decade.

A lot of taconite will be making the round trip from this mine to the steel mills of the Rouge and back to Minnesota. Many thousands of the shiny cars and trucks that are to emerge from the Ford Twin Cities assembly plant will have their beginnings right here in a huge open pit.

I think you'll be interested in the fact that it is estimated that almost $100,000 of investment will be needed to provide each job at Eveleth Taconite. But Eveleth Taconite is not unique in this regard. One of the facts of life in the iron country is the large amount of capital required to provide new jobs.

Another fact of iron range life is that transportation adds about a third to the delivered cost of iron ore.

Eveleth Taconite, you can see, has scant margin for waste. To succeed we have to be efficient. And we can only be efficient in an atmosphere that welcomes business and offers it a chance to flourish.

The friendliness and warmth of this ground breaking augur well for Eveleth Taconite and for the taconite country.

We are going to need workers. So far more than 2,000 Minnesotans have expressed an interest in working for us here.

We needed permission for residue disposal and for water usage. Your State government gave it.

We have asked Congress for approval of our proposed dam. The House of Representatives, at the instance of Minnesota Congressmen, acted quickly and the Senate, once it can break the legislative logjam, appears inclined to do the same.

We are hoping to use natural gas in our operations. We have hit no snags so far and we have encouraging signs of support from civic leaders in this area.

We hope that all these signs that you welcome us to your State are indications of Minnesota's determination to guarantee the young and growing taconite industry tax equity with other industries.

The visible signs of our faith in the people of Minnesota are this mine and the Fairlane plant.

We are confident that we are welcome or we would not be here. We are pleased that Minnesota wants us as a partner in its progress. We at Ford Motor Co. look forward to many years of cordial and mutually rewarding relationships between our company, Oglebay Norton, and the people of Minnesota.

Arlington National Cemetery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on June 15 Arlington National Cemetery reached its 100th anniversary. Rabbi Saul Israel Wisemon, of the Beth El Synagogue in Torrington, Conn., called this fact to my attention and I would like to share his letter to me with my colleagues before presenting my own thoughts in commemoration of this significant occasion.

JUNE 12, 1964.

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GRABOWSKI: On this June 15, our Nation will commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Arlington National Cemetery. Although Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs chose Arlington and the first internment was made on May 13, 1864, it was on June 15, 1864, that Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton established Arlington National Cemetery.

I am sure that you will agree, that as our Capitol symbolizes our American way of life to the Nation and the world, so I believe that Arlington symbolizes to all, the sacrifices of our valiant and heroic men and women, who have given their last full measure of devotion for our beloved country.

In view of the current historic legislation now pending in Congress, I feel that it would be only fitting, that a moment be taken from the deliberations, to pay honor and tribute to our valiant dead, who more tha a century ago planted the seeds, of which only now shall we begin to see the fruition.

Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago, on June 15, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton designated Arlington National Cemetery as a site to accommodate the dead of our wars.

It was a tragic time in this Nation's history. Only 6 years before, Abraham Lincoln had solemnly stated that "this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Only 3 years before, the tensions spawned by slavery, by petty sectionalism, and by fierce animosity over States rights had finally degenerated into a heartbreaking and explosive civil war. Brave men of both sides had grappled with conscience and divided loyalties, then gone out to fight and die "in obedience to duty as they understood it."

Robert E. Lee, general in chief of the Confederate Armies, was such a man. It was ironic, perhaps revengeful, that Lee's beloved home—his beautiful rolling acres overlooking our Nation's Capital—should have been first seized by Union soldiers, then turned into a burial place for the mounting tolls of Union dead.

But on that June in 1864, when Stanton designated Arlington as a national cemetery, it received sanction as a final haven for all the honorable dead of all our wars. And in these convening hundred years, Arlington National Cemetery has become one of the United States most magnificent national shrines and our largest national cemetery.

Since the ending of that bloody civil strife which created the need for Arlington Cemetery and which almost rent this great Republic, we have gained a strong sense of unity as a nation. It has been necessary time and again for our people to go to war—not against each other—but, rather side by side against those who would encroach upon the unity, liberties, and freedom that we have painfully, and through long effort, sought to build and perfect.

The grounds of "Lee's farm" are almost filled now with valiant men who have fought and died in every American conflict from the Revolutionary War to the present. Men of both North and South lie together beneath the quiet beauty of the grounds.

Men of all races and all stations in life—the humble and the mighty—lie side by side. Acceptance for burial depends neither on a man's color nor creed; it is only required that his service to his country have been with honor.

We have come a long way since the immature days of our Nation's youth, but our maturity, our acceptance and our understanding of one another is not yet complete.

From the old Custis-Lee Mansion, which sets massively among the small marble markers of the dead, it is possible to look out across the fresh grave of our late President, John F. Kennedy, to the beautiful memorial of our 16th President, Abraham Lincoln.

A hundred years separate their lifetimes, and yet the words of one, spoken only 1 year ago, could well be the words of the other:

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

Just as our grandfathers had, we too, have a decision to make which will affect the future of America—whether we intend to make our democracy and our professions of Christianity meaningful. We can choose harmony over discord, and we can choose to resolve the hundred years of inequity, conflict, and sorrow which have plagued this Nation.

After bloodshed, we emancipated the slaves. And today—after bloodshed—a far-reaching civil rights bill is before our Congress. But it alone cannot provide the remedy we need as a people. This must come from the heart of the average America, from his conscience, his concept of decency and his respect for democracy and human dignity.

In the words of John F. Kennedy:

[We face today] a moral crisis. * * * It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in Congress, in your State and local legislative body, and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

The centennial of Arlington National Cemetery is a good time for all Americans to remember the just principles that we have felt dear enough to send our loved ones out to fight and die to protect. It is a good time to wonder if they should be reserved only for a chosen race.

It is a good time for us to ponder anew Lincoln's indictment of slavery, and wonder if the shoe still fits:

I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our Republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

"A Plus for Foreign Aid," an Editorial From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the following editorial concerning foreign aid from the South Bend Tribune of June 20, 1964:

A PLUS FOR FOREIGN AID

The foreign aid cause received a significant boost when the State Department announced that economic aid to Nationalist China is scheduled for termination a year from this month.

Military aid and the sale of surplus commodities under the food-for-peace program will continue. But the economic aid, which has totaled $1.2 billion since 1949, can be withdrawn, the announcement said, because of economic growth of the country.

That's fine. The case of Nationalist China helps to blunt one of the favorite arguments of foreign aid critics—that once started it seems destined to go on endlessly.

This kind of criticism is, of course, undeserved. The very nature of the countries that are being helped and the very nature of their problems demand a considerable amount of continuity if good results are to be expected. It is foolish to expect miracles.

It took 15 years for economic aid to Nationalist China to achieve the objectives set for it. That the investment didn't go down the drain is now apparent in the announcement that this facet of assistance to Formosa is coming to a close.

The example of Nationalist China is very encouraging.

The Congo Mudhole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the complete failure of our policy in the Congo is slowly being recognized since it was based on opposing irresponsible elements in that country and conducted by officials who have produced nothing but anarchy.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial of Tuesday, June 23, dramatically directed the public's attention to the situation in that unhappy land. I insert the article into the RECORD at this point.

THE CONGO MUDHOLE

The situation in the Congo is worse than ever, as Senator GOLDWATER says, in spite of the $171 million which, according to a final accounting made public Sunday, the United States paid toward the "peacekeeping" operations of the United Nations.

We were persuaded to pay nearly half of the U.N.'s expenses on the theory that the paper government of Premier Adoula in Leopoldville needed "protection" against the right wing Tshombe regime in Katanga; whereas, in fact, Tshombe wanted only to secede and be left alone. Such experts as "Soapy" Williams, our Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, would have us believe that we have thus "averted" Communist penetration of the Congo.

In the pretense of putting down a civil war, the U.N. succeeded in dismantling the only Congo government which might have had the will and resources to stand up against the Communists. Instead of one fictitious war, the Congo is now threatened by at least two shooting rebellions. One, in Kivu, is being managed by Chinese Communists in neighboring Burundi. Meanwhile, in North Katanga, rebels have captured Albertville, the capital. A dispirited Tshombe sits in Paris, where Communists are said to be courting him. And in the midst of this shambles the United Nations blandly goes on preparing to pull out of the Congo altogether next month, as if it expected praise for a job well done.

Those who so loudly demanded action when the "threat" was from a rightwing Tshombe are singularly silent now that Congo troops are retreating before leftwing terrorists who are guilty of murder and mayhem. It is left to us, apparently, to answer Leopoldville's appeals for help. And we have responded with the customary ambiguity.

We have provided a few old fighter planes. The State Department has denied—and then admitted—that some of these planes were being flown by American pilots hired by Leopoldville, although the same Department had once condemned the Belgian mercenaries fighting for Tshombe. The Department said these pilots were not violating any American laws; but in the same breath it said that their flights would stop. The next day, two pilots said they were quitting. Behind this confusion lie persistent rumors that the fliers were actually employed by the CIA.

It looks very much as if the Congo may prove an even greater election year liability to the Democrats than Laos, which they are so assiduously trying to play down. And those who plunged into the Congo 3 years ago in utter disregard of opposing advice will respond, no doubt, by acting as if it were the responsibility of the Republicans to suggest some solution.

Heroic Nashville Truckdriver Is Named National Driver of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD FULTON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on the 24th of this month, Mr. Woodrow Wilson Given, of 204 Sunset Drive, Nashville, Tenn., is to be honored by the American Trucking Associations, Inc., as "Driver of the Year."

Mr. Given earned this honor at great personal risk as he offered to sacrifice his own life in order to save the lives of others.

His courageous act has earned him the respect of all citizens and has brought honor not only to Nashville and the trucking industry but to truckers throughout the Nation.

Mr. Given's citation reads as follows, and under unanimous consent, I include it in the RECORD, commending it to the consideration of my colleagues:

HEROIC NASHVILLE TRUCKDRIVER IS NAMED NATIONAL DRIVER OF THE YEAR

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 14.—A courageous split-second decision in the face of possible death—a heroic chapter in a truck-driving career covering 23 years and 2.3 million miles—was recalled here today with the naming of Woodrow Wilson Given, of Nashville, Tenn., as National Driver of the Year.

A 52-year-old tractor-trailer driver for Service Lines, Inc., of St. Louis, Mo., Given was chosen for the annual American Trucking Associations honor as the man who best exemplifies the qualities of highway safety and courtesy. His flawless driving record, chalked up mainly on a Nashville-St. Louis run, was enough to earn him the coveted award but Given added glitter to his nomination by risking his own life to save others.

"Many men would have done it," he says modestly of his actions. But it was Given, nonetheless, who responded bravely when a careening automobile smashed into a frame-house in the village of Fayetteville, Ill., in the subzero Sunday dawn of January 13, 1963.

Within a few tragic seconds, the passenger in the car, an 18-year-old boy, was killed and the driver, a 21-year-old companion from St. Libory, was seriously injured and both the vehicle and the house were afire. The impact not only had wedged the automobile firmly into the house's foundation, trapping the two victims, but cut off any way of summoning fire apparatus by knocking out the telephone lines.

A professional driver trained in firefighting and first aid techniques, Given reacted

instantaneously. He pulled his rig to the side of the highway, grabbed his fire extinguisher and directed the occupants of the house, a couple and their two children, to safety as he fought the flames. He succeeded in pulling Kenneth Jansen and the injured William Theisman out of the burning car, saving them from certain cremation and averting total loss of the house.

"He just couldn't have died, his mother needs him so," a grateful woman resident of St. Libory wrote to Given's employers later to report that young Theisman was recovering. She explained that since Billy was only 5 when his father died in an auto accident, he was the sole support of his mother.

The letter had special meaning for Given because he had to drop out of high school himself in his native Swandale, W. Va., in 1928, to supplement the family income. After 3 years in the coal mines, he returned to school, gaining All-State honors as a football tackle in his senior year.

Given joined the U.S. Army in 1934 and while stationed in Panama became the middleweight boxing champ of the Armed Forces in Central America. After a 4-year hitch and 4 more years with the United Mine Workers Union, he began his truckdriving career, in 1941.

His heroic deed last year earned him the 1963 Driver of the Year Award of the Missouri Bus and Truck Association, the ATA-affiliated organization which nominated him for the national title. However, Given is no stranger to honors; he raises and shows pedigree German shepherd dogs, a hobby which has produced several blue ribbons.

The trophy as National Driver of the Year will be presented later this month here in the Nation's Capital—a familiar city to Given and his wife Anne. Their son, Richard, 24 served 2 years with the Marine Ceremonial Honor Guard here, during the Kennedy administration.

Polish Workers' Revolt Against Communism—Poznan Rising in June 28-29, 1956

SPEECH
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the Members have heard me speak often of the flame of freedom that continues to burn in the hearts of men enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. We are aware that the desire to be free and independent exists because on occasion men and women of the enslaved nations cannot control this desire and the fires burn fiercely. Such was the case 8 years ago when the workers in a state-controlled factory in Poznan, Poland, revolted.

Poland's workers have been suffering under communism for nearly 20 years. Since early 1945 they have been regimented, herded into nationalized, state-owned plants and forced to work under abominable conditions. These sturdy and stout-hearted Poles have not concealed their dislike of communism and of the Communist system. They have often expressed their feelings openly and actively. The best known of such instances was the uprising of factory workers in Poznan 8 years ago.

These workers were grossly underpaid for the work they did. Some could not even buy sufficient bread with their pay. They had complained time after time to the authorities, but all their complaints had gone unheeded by the Communist government. On June 28, the workers in the large steel plant, some 30,000 in all, staged a rising which was branded by the government as a revolt. Of course the authorities treated it as such, and did their worst to crush it with regular troops using artillery and tanks. The sad upshot was that in a couple of days these helpless Polish workers were beaten. More than 100 were dead, and several hundred were wounded. Thus ended this gallant rising, but it showed that the spirit to fight against their oppressors was not dead among Polish workers. It also showed that the Communist regime there could ignore complaints, but they did not ignore active resistance. So Polish workers, through their rising in Poznan, secured better pay, their working conditions were improved, and for a while at least the government saw to it that workers' complaints were given due and proper attention.

On the eighth anniversary of the Pozan rising we pay tribute to the victims of that daring deed and express our admiration to those who faced government artillery and tanks with rare courage.

World Peace Through Law Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last July 1,000 lawyers from 105 nations met in Athens, Greece, for the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law. This Conference was the result of 5 years of study and planning by the American Bar Association to increase the participation of lawyers in advancing the rule of law. Four continental conferences of lawyers were held in 1961 and 1962 and, on the recommendation of the ABA Special Committee on World Peace Through Law, laid the foundation for the World Conference in July 1963. The Conference was an important and vital step for the adoption of a worldwide program designed to achieve world peace through law: it approved the establishment of a World Rule of Law Day and a World Rule of Law Year, a declaration of general principles for a world rule of law, and, of foremost importance, created a World Peace Through Law Center. Unquestionably, the center holds the key to the success of the world peace through law program for it provides the institutional framework for the advancement and the implementation of the worldwide program. Ninety-five working committees will sustain the center's program as they formulate plans to develop a world legal system.

A temporary center is now located in Washington and is actively implementing the Athens Conference principles. Possible locations for permanent headquarters are now being considered.

A main objective of the program and the consequent importance of the center is to bring together individuals and institutions for participation within a universal organization. The atmosphere of cooperation arising from this worldwide exchange is a significant step in improving mutual understanding among nations.

The center's functions in promoting the world peace through law program are many. Research, of course, is a principal objective. The vast area of international law rules of institutions contain innumerable subject areas in which research is urgently needed. The resources of the World Peace Through Law Center will help fulfill these research needs.

Another objective of the new center is the education of lawyers as well as the general public to gain their support for the objectives and opportunities offered by the center's program. Seminars, published papers, and courses for law students and laymen are being initiated to provide the widest possible opportunity to participate and benefit from the center's program.

Finally, the fruition of the research and educational functions of the center will come when center programs are submitted to governments and international organizations for official action. It is the ability of the World Peace Through Law Center to mobilize broad, collective support for specific proposals and programs which makes the center unique among legal institutions and offers unlimited promise for a future under the rule of law.

The success of the center's program depends upon the collective efforts of both law leaders and the interested public. The most direct way to help further the World Peace Through Law Center is to become a member of the center. Application forms are available from the temporary headquarters of the center at 400 Hill Building, Washington, D.C. In my State of Minnesota several leading lawyers are already members of the center. In fact, I'm very happy to inform my colleagues in the House that three members of the Minnesota bar attended the world conference at Athens.

In Congress, this same concept is embodied in an informal group called Members of Congress for World Peace Through Rule of Law. This group meets periodically and seeks to further the development of the rule of law in international relations. Senators JAVITS and CHURCH and Representative FULTON and I comprise the steering committee for the congressional organization.

To the efforts of the members of the Minnesota bar and the American Bar Association, to our own efforts among Congressmen in Washington, and to the dedication and participation of others throughout the world, I attach the greatest importance. If a peaceful future is to be assured mankind, then world peace through law and the institutional arrangements needed to sustain this vision must be the common endeavor of all the peoples of this world.

Ukrainian Freedom Fighter—Taras Shevchenko's Statue Unveiling Ceremonies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, June 27 will be a red-letter day in the history of our American citizens of Ukrainian descent, as well as those still held captive under communism in Europe.

The unveiling of the statue of Taras Shevchenko, poet laureate and national hero of Ukraine, and Europe's freedom fighter—is the culmination of an action taken by the American Congress when it unanimously passed Public Law 86–749, authorizing the erection of the statue on public grounds in our Nation's Capital. This act was signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 13, 1960, and represents the special regard held by all Americans toward not only the Ukrainians, but all captive nations of Europe.

Taras Shevchenko was a many-talented man. Born in Moryntsi, a Ukrainian village, of a serf of Baron Engelhardt, he early showed an aptitude for drawing. This aptitude was noted by the baron and developed by affording him an opportunity to study under the master artists of that period. He developed also his latent ability as a poet, expressing the longing of the Ukrainians for their lost freedom and statehood. As a result of his bold ideas, Shevchenko was denounced by Russian authorities, arrested, and exiled as a private in military barracks on the border of Russian Asia. His writing and drawing was so feared by the Emperor Czar Nicholas I that he personally wrote orders that "Shevchenko be placed under strict guard, writing and drawing prohibited." Ten years were spent in this terrible exile—but when Czar Nicholas I died, he was granted amnesty by Czar Alexander II. He did not live long after returning to St. Petersburg but became the symbol of the fight for Ukrainian liberty—and his grave became a national shrine, still visited by pilgrims from all over the still-enslaved territory.

Jeremy Collier, an English bishop in the 17th century, expressed the feelings of the oppressed people when he said:

> Power, unless managed with gentleness and discretion, does but make a man the more hated; no intervals of good humor, no starts of bounty, will atone for tyranny and oppression.

This was proven to be true by the feelings of the Ukrainians toward their oppressors who had exiled their national hero. His funeral became a gigantic demonstration from St. Petersburg to Ukraine of the people's hatred of their Russian enslavement. That the Russians still fear the power and influence of Shevchenko, even many years later, was proved by their removal of the huge iron cross which had been placed upon the hill at Kaniv as a symbol of his own and his people's belief in the hope of Christianity—as well as their attempts to falsify his works and the ideals exhibited by his works.

This Nation, born of its own revolution against tyranny and lack of freedom to worship freely, is firmly committed to the cause of freedom and justice everywhere. Captive Nations Week, 1964, has been designated for the week beginning July 12, 1964, by President Johnson, as a witness to our sympathy and concern for the captive nations of Europe. The unveiling of Shevchenko's statue on Saturday, June 27, 1964—a date which also is the 150th anniversary of his birth—will bind more firmly the hopes and aspirations of the American people with those of the captive nations. I include with my remarks today a press release sent to me by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the State branch of North Dakota of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America:

UKRAINIANS TO STAGE FREEDOM MARCH ON JUNE 27, DATE OF SHEVCHENKO UNVEILING

A freedom march on Washington, D.C., for the unveiling of the statue-monument in honor of Taras Shevchenko, the poet laureate and national hero of Ukraine and Europe's freedom fighter, will be held on Saturday, June 27, 1964, and will emphasize the call for freedom for all captive nations. The date is also the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth and should be one of the greatest national events ever held by Ukrainians in this country. Some 50,00 to 100,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent and guests from all parts of the United States will assemble in the Nation's Capital.

The project is one in which the U.S. Congress and the Government of the United States have participated. They have helped to make this project an international event whose repercussions will be felt wherever the principle of freedom is embraced, or where men are enslaved.

The 86th Congress passed Public Law 86–749 providing for the erection of the statue which will appear on the site at 23d and P Streets NW.

Much has been written about Shevchenko in the past few years. In 1960 the House of Representatives published Document 445, entitled "Europe's Freedom Fighter," which shows Taras Shevchenko as an immortal symbol of freedom not only in Ukraine but throughout Eastern Europe.

In 1964 the U.S. Government Printing Office issued the book on Shevchenko "A Monument to the Liberation, Freedom, and Independence of All Captive Nations."

Since Taras Shevchenko was not only a great Ukrainian poet (his works have been translated into some 52 languages) and national prophet, but also was an outstanding humanitarian and fighter for freedom for all nations and races. In 1857, more than a century ago, Shevchenko advocated a "Ukrainian George Washington" in the belief that the Ukrainian people, then under the despotic rule of czarist Russia would achieve their national freedom and emancipation under such a leader as was George Washington, Father of our Country.

Shevchenko remains to this day a beacon of national aspirations and a symbol of freedom and independence for 45 million Ukrainian people now in the bondage of the Communist empire.

A few years ago all Ukrainian organizations in the United States created "The Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, Inc.," with instructions to collect funds and erect a statute of Taras Shevchenko. Some 300 local and State committees are making preparations for participation in the ceremonies. National and local Shevchenko memorial committees are working in very close cooperation with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Over 30,000 Americans of Ukrainian ancestry and their friends and over 10,000 schoolchildren have donated to the Shevchenko Memorial Fund to help ensure erection of the monument.

Recognizing the international importance of this event more than 150 prominent Americans have joined a national honorary or sponsoring committee for the unveiling. They include 33d President of the United States, Hon. Harry S. Truman, former Vice President, Hon. Richard M. Nixon; Governors of many States, presidents of universities and colleges, leaders of nationality groups, leading journalists; civic and church leaders; U.S. Senators and Representatives of both parties.

From our State members of the National Honorary or Sponsoring Shevchenko Committee are: Hon. William L. Guy, Governor of North Dakota; Hon. Quentin N. Burdick, and Hon. Milton R. Young, U.S. Senators; Hon. Mark Andrews, and Hon. Don L. Short, U.S. Congressmen. Former President Truman is the chairman of the committee.

The unveiling ceremonies will include a program for young people in the Washington Coliseum, on June 27. Two concerts of choruses with a symphony orchestra will be presented in Constitution Hall on that day and a banquet for 5,000 persons will be held in the National Guard Armory in Washington, D.C.

A large delegation from Argentina and a huge crowd of Canadian-Ukrainians in chartered trains and buses are expected from Canada to take part in the Washington ceremonies.

Since Shevchenko—a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln—embodied in his poetry the "holy ideas" of Ukraine as did the American Declaration of Independence, and as the words of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln embody the highest principles of America. Shevchenko expressed the close tie between Ukraine and America over 100 years ago not only by calling for national independence but also for the coming to Ukraine of a Washington with "his new and righteous law."

Therefore let us give them full support by joining together in making this historic event a truly memorable manifestation, both honoring the great Ukrainian poet and champion of liberty and focusing international attention on Ukrainians as a people.

The Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last week on the floor of the House, Republicans led an effort to repeal the Korean war retail excise taxes which discriminate against women and tax necessary items as luxuries.

There is a great deal of support for such action. One recent editorial in the Woburn, Mass., Daily Times points out that any adjustments in our excise taxes should begin with these outmoded levies. I ask consent to include the June 24 editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THE EXCISE TAXES

Federal excise taxes account for $14.7 billion of the total income of the U.S. Govern-

ment. It is this huge revenue that is due for adjustments or cuts in the next round of rewriting the Federal taxes.

The largest portion, $6 billion, come from the levies on alcoholic beverages and tobacco. These are obviously both discriminatory and regressive, but they are also traditional. There has been an excise tax on alcoholic beverages even before there was a republic, and the tax on tobacco is almost as old. They will be retained as so-called sumptuary taxes, to restrain consumption.

Automotive taxes account for $5.8 billion in revenue. They come under the heading of user taxes. The theory is that highway users cost the Government about $12 billion a year for construction, maintenance, and repair. The cost is shared with the States and localities, which levy gasoline and toll charges to make up the difference. It is difficult to eliminate these taxes, but there could be adjustments, especially in the manufacturers' taxes which are passed on to the consumer without his knowing what part of the cost of his vehicle goes to the Government.

The remaining $2.9 billion are on luxuries, services, and the like. They were imposed as wartime taxes in World War II and the Korean war. The excuse for them has long ceased. There is no good reason for maintaining them now, except that the Government needed the money. So do the taxpayers, who can make good use of it. These taxes should go and, by any fair criteria, will be the first to go.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, the 27th of June, a statue will be unveiled and dedicated in the District of Columbia to honor the memory of a true freedom fighter, Taras Shevchenko—the poet laureate and national hero of the Ukraine.

This statue in our Nation's Capital will long remain as a memorial of all he fought for in the cause of freedom, a little more than a century ago, in that it will provide a constant symbol of the modern struggle for liberty and freedom for oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain, particularly in Europe, to whom the name Shevchenko is known and revered and who regard him as the exemplar of freedom fighters.

The U.S. Congress in enacting Public Law 86-749, authorizing the erection of this statue, alined itself with their aspirations and hopes. The dedication of the statue on public ground of the District of Columbia serves as a reassertion of our own dedication to personal liberty and national independence and our remembrance of the plight of those people. In one of his inspiring poems, Shevchenko voiced a prayer for a George Washington to bring to the Russian serfs a new and righteous law, and with a hope based upon a deep and abiding faith he cried out, "and receive him we will some day."

Mr. Speaker, with the dedication of Shevchenko's statue, the American people are demonstrating to the entire world that we have not forgotten Shevchenko or the people for whose freedom and liberty he struggled so valiantly. It is most fitting that the statue be situated in this city which bears the name of the man who inspired his own heroic efforts. I am gratified to have this opportunity to take part in paying tribute to an immortal patriot.

Constituents of Congressman William Fitts Ryan Live in Fortress of Fear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the urging of the gentleman from New York that Federal forces be sent to Mississippi because three persons there are missing, I wonder why he evidences no interest in the safety of persons residing in his own congressional district. According to the New York Times, Mr. RYAN's constituents live in a fortress of fear.

To be consistent, I feel sure Mr. RYAN will ask for Federal marshals and U.S. Marines for his own district in order that the people in New York City will not have to live in fear.

I ask unanimous consent to include the following article which appeared in today's New York Times. It follows:

RISING FEAR FOUND ON UPPER WEST SIDE

(By Layhmond Robinson)

For thousands of New Yorkers, Manhattan's upper West Side has become a "fortress of fear," a survey revealed yesterday.

Apprehension over frequent muggings, thefts, robberies, and other forms of violence cause many residents to "seal themselves in at night" and not venture outdoors after dark.

"It's like a combat zone," reported Joseph Lyford, who has been conducting a survey of the West Side for 2 years for the Fund for the Republic.

"The survey indicates," he said, "that dope addiction, muggings and other crimes have gotten out of hand. This has been the case for some time."

"This paralyzing and constant fear for personal safety" was one of the principal findings of a two-part survey being made by Mr. Lyford and the John F. Kraft public opinion poll.

The first part of the survey, conducted by the Kraft organization, of 527 Madison Avenue, consisted of intensive questioning of 401 residents of the 40-block area from 86th to 96th Streets and from Central Park West to Riverside Drive. It is sometimes called the Stryker's Bay area.

The second part of the survey, conducted by Mr. Lyford, covered a larger, 65-block area that included the 40 blocks in the Kraft poll. Both parts were sponsored by the Center for Democratic Institutions, and arm of the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Lyford, reporting on the results of the Kraft poll at the headquarters of the Kraft organization, said that "more than half of the people polled were tremendously worried about muggings, theft, and other types of violent crime."

"We are kidding ourselves," he added, "if we think this is only a police problem, only a matter of law enforcement."

The Kraft poll, which involved extensive interviews of 200 whites, 157 Puerto Ricans and 44 Negroes in the 40-block area, showed that more residents felt the police were doing a good job than not.

MORE POLICE URGED

"Their chief complaints," Mr. Lyford said, "were that there were not enough policemen, that they were not around when you needed them. But there was very little mention of police brutality."

This indicated, he said, that many in the area thought the police were doing a fairly good job but that the crime problem was becoming insurmountable.

The Stryker's Bay area was selected for the survey because, Mr. Lyford said, it represented a mixed community of racial groups of different economic levels.

He and Jefferson Berryman, vice president of the Kraft organization, said the survey also showed the following:

That Puerto Ricans, who make up 30 percent of the 60,000 inhabitants of the 40-block area, were establishing a "stable, healthy community and were moving toward a middle-class economy."

That Negroes, who make up 11 percent of the area's population, had no roots in the community and were largely "drifters or transients" on their way to other communities.

That the Puerto Ricans, most of whom had moved into the survey area from nearby neighborhoods, were less satisfied with such city services as street lighting and garbage collections than were the Negroes, who had generally come from Harlem, or the whites, who had been there for many years.

That Puerto Ricans were bettering their positions at a faster rate than Negroes. One reason cited for this was the fact that Puerto Ricans are more apt to take advantage of schools and services offered by the Roman Catholic Church. "The Puerto Rican feels this is his neighborhood and the Negro does not," Mr. Berryman emphasized.

Unsurpassed Power Is the Best Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to call attention to an outstanding editorial in the Florida Times-Union of June 14. It is entitled "Unsurpassed Power Is the Best Diplomacy." I am particularly interested in that this fine editorial calls attention to the 50th anniversary of the Pensacola Naval Air Station and to the great work which is done there in the training of naval aviators.

UNSURPASSED POWER IS THE BEST DIPLOMACY

Celebration this weekend of the 50th anniversary of the Pensacola Naval Air Station, the Nation's first such establishment, which heralded the extension of naval power into a new element and a new dimension, has a peculiar significance for Jacksonville as a prime beneficiary of the enlargement of the Navy's role in the total national defense structure.

It was no accident that Pensacola was chosen as the original site for training fledgling Navy fliers in a then highly experimental program. It was ideally suited in

every essential, in terrain, weather and climate, visibility, and access to open water, to provide the excellence in flight training which has continued to mark its record for half a century.

These same physical advantages help explain the favored position of Florida and the entire South in the choice of sites for operational and training facilities of all of the armed services, including the selection of Jacksonville for a naval air station, offering the same advantages at a strategic point on the southeastern coast. The wisdom of that choice was subsequently confirmed by establishment of the Mayport carrier base to serve as an operational center for the seagoing air bases, the development of which was one of the tremendous strides made in the further extension of naval air power since the establishment of the Pensacola station 50 years ago.

The carrier, by its versatility demonstrated in World War II, displaced the battleship as queen of the fleet. Carrier-based aircraft were able to take the attack to the enemy on land or sea to make a lightninglike, crippling assault and return to their maneuverable base for evasive action against counterattack. They were equally effective in standing offshore to send in aircraft to fly tactical support for ground units in land operations.

Jacksonville and Pensacola thus share major roles in the magnificent heritage handed down through 50 years of naval air history. The Navy today, flying the American flag and launching planes from carrier flight decks in every trouble zone on the globe, is just as significant a weapon of diplomacy as when President Theodore Roosevelt sent the Great White Fleet around the world to show the Nation's flag, and its power, in many ports.

The inescapable lesson of this heritage, which the Nation can ignore only at its peril, is the essential role in international diplomacy played by a firm show of strength wherever aggression threatens, and that any foreign policy is meaningless unless fully supported by a defense structure adequate to meet any test.

Saving Nature for Urbanites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this body has always recognized the need for preserving the beauties of nature for the enjoyment of all through the development of national parks and preserves. The following editorial from the May 31, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune reaffirms this thought while suggesting the creation of a national seashore on Fire Island, N.Y.

SAVING NATURE FOR URBANITES

The dedication of the Great Swamp in Morris County, N.J., 30 miles from Manhattan, as a national wildlife refuge under Federal administration is cause for congratulation.

This was where the Port Authority wanted to build a giant jetport. But the birds won out. There were many contributing factors, not least the strenuous local opposition. Obviously the organized citizenry wanted an unusual natural preserve as against the airplanes. And this desire triumphed through broad support for the cause of conservation.

More than $1 million was raised from 6,000 individuals and many organizations in 29 States to buy Great Swamp and deed it to the Federal Government. Of course, the jetport threat helped, but this was, nevertheless, a stirring victory for those who hold that the enjoyment of nature's open spaces is a right to be insured for metropolitan dwellers.

Now that the Great Swamp has been saved, it should be pointed out that the New York region has an even finer opportunity which must be promptly grasped. This is the proposal to create the Fire Island National Seashore, 33 miles of ocean front with magnificent recreational potential. It has almost complete local support; no legislative partisanship is involved. But if public purchase is not prompt, there is grave danger that the private developers will take over and then it will be too late.

The necessary Fire Island bills are in Congress; the committee hearings have been marked by wide acclaim. But despite all this enthusiasm, the sponsors are fearful of the crush of other business. The Fire Island project, however, cannot wait for another year. The time for action is right now. Congress must act vigorously to save an irreplaceable asset for present and future generations.

Memorial to Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to observe that this Saturday afternoon the statue of Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet and patriot, will be unveiled here in Washington. As a member of the national committee sponsoring the memorial, I know how much it means to Ukrainian-Americans, many of whom fled from the same Russian tyranny under which Shevchenko himself lived. Thousands of these people will be in Washington to attend the ceremonies surrounding the event. We welcome them to our city.

This memorial has been erected not only because Taras Shevchenko was a great believer in democracy and freedom for the Ukraine, but because he sought self-determination for all of the slavonic peoples. His thoughts, expressed in beautiful Ukrainian poetry, were translated into many different tongues to inspire other suppressed groups in the Austrian and Ottoman Empires as well as in the Russian Empire.

Thus, it is only right that we, the leader of the free and democratic world, should construct a memorial in our capital to this great freedom fighter who spent most of his years in subjugation either as a serf or political prisoner or under police surveillance. Yes, Taras Shevchenko knew the value of liberty.

And so do many millions of his compatriots and Slavic brothers who today find themselves under Russian tyranny. This memorial is a reminder to us that these people, some of whom temporarily gained their independence and established their own republics, remain in a subjugated state. It is for us to proclaim this fact constantly to the world.

I look forward to the unveiling of the statue of Taras Shevchenko and hope that when all who are here pass by it they will think of this great democrat and patriot and then remember the millions still living under foreign tyranny.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Expansion of Small Business Necessary To Counteract Increasing Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 26, 1964

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article by C. Wilson Harder, president of the National Federation of Independent Business—NFIB—which appears in the June 18, 1964, issue of Roll Call. Mr. George L. Burger, vice president of the NFIB, and well known to many Senators for his long and effective action on behalf of small business, called this matter to my attention.

The article, entitled "An Open Letter to Congress," demonstrates that it is in the private and small business sector of our economy—which provides for 30 million jobs, as compared to the 9.5 million in larger industries—in which the expansion necessary to counteract increasing unemployment will occur.

Adoption of Senate Resolution 30, submitted by me, and supported by 53 Members of this distinguished body, would be one step in the direction of effectively alleviating the economic handicaps of small business. This resolution, which provides for the establishment of a standing Committee on Small Business with authority to report legislation, would enable Congress to act more promptly to insure the continued growth of small business concerns in the United States.

I believe this article will provide additional information for Senators on this matter, and will encourage prompt action on Senate Resolution 30.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS: YOU NOW FACE THE MOMENT OF TRUTH—20 MILLION NEW JOBS ARE NEEDED IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS TO PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT FOR YOUTH, FOR THOSE DISPLACED BY AUTOMATION, FOR THOSE ALREADY UNEMPLOYED

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO PROMOTE JOBS?

Time is short. And the problem will not just fade away. Look not to big business to solve the matter. Today the Nation's 500 largest corporations employ only slightly more than 9,500,000, and they are fast cutting down on this number by automation. And if the big business that is essential to our economy is to survive, in world competition, it is necessary that they continue to automate.

But do you believe that small business can pay higher and higher unemployment taxes to support the people whom big business can no longer utilize?

SMALL BUSINESS CAN CARRY EVEN A GREATER LOAD

Wake up to the fact that independent business today, despite handicaps, is providing jobs for 30 million, and with a little help from you can provide many more.

Face up to facts. The results of the first 4 months of a continuous survey being conducted by the National Federation of Independent Business, comprising today 198,941 independent business proprietors, gives you the answers.

Out of the first 19,681 contacted in the current survey, 4,235, or 21 percent, report plans to expand to add 18,411 new workers, or an average of 4.3 new jobs per unit expanding.

HEREIN LIES THE POTENTIAL FOR 4 MILLION JOBS THIS YEAR

Project this percentage over 4,500,000 independent enterprises in the Nation, and you find there are 900,000 firms that can employ over 4 million people this year.

NERO COULD FIDDLE BUT CAN YOU?

Nero knew when the town burned down, there would be nothing left to burn. But the problem of unemployment is not a passing crisis * * * but a growing one. The jobless keep increasing * * * their numbers swell.

HOW CAN YOU EXPLAIN YOUR LETHARGY?

How can you account for your fiddling around? What high-flown oratory, or statement of high principle on your stand for alleviating the economic situation of the natives of southeast Patagonia, will give assurance to the man without a job?

What does the teenager, unable to find a job, care about your views on the situation in Vietnam?

What wife of an unemployed worker, whose children need milk, cares how you stand on the Pakistan question?

WHAT IS THE REAL POVERTY?

Is this vaunted war on poverty for real, or another strategem for raising more taxes, raising the Government debt, to spend billions on relief, and other temporary measures, which feed the cancer, but not cure it?

TALK DOES NOT CREATE JOBS

Many centuries have passed since Samson accomplished much of anything with the jawbone of an ass. But today talk is not going to create new jobs; talk is not going to bring about fair competition in the marketplace.

Of what use are millions spent on retraining people to handle jobs for which there are no openings?

NEITHER CAN YOU GET BLOOD OUT OF A TURNIP

You should remember the story of the slaying of the goose that laid golden eggs when you are asked to consider methods whereby shorter workweeks, et al., big business would be forced to hire more people. Again, we say, if big business is to compete with foreign industry, it must cut production costs.

The problem today is not to try to milk more out of existing enterprises; rather the problem is encouraging the creation of new payrolls.

CONSIDER THE FACTOR OF SELECTIVITY

And even if you still believe that somehow, some way, big business can employ more, and not less people, bear in mind that big business will be more and more selective in hiring policies. The hands that grasped the hod cannot always be trained to operate an automated production unit.

Bear in mind the largest segment of our unemployed are unemployable in big automated industry. Small business is better geared to employ and teach the necessary skills than is big business, with its need for the higher skills only. And small business does not seek a Government subsidy to train people to work for it. Small business will train people at its own expense.

HERE ARE SOME AREAS IN WHICH YOU HAVE SO FAR FAILED IN YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESENT AND FUTURE UNEMPLOYED

1. You have failed to take action on Senate Resolution 30, which would give the Senate Small Business Committee the same legislative authority as is enjoyed by labor, agriculture, and many other segments of the economy.

Although 54 percent of the Senators have declared themselves in favor of this measure, you have permitted a willful minority to keep this needed reform from coming up for a vote.

2. You have failed to take action on H.R. 754, the so-called "plowback allowance," that would permit independent business to take the steps to expand employment.

3. You have failed to take action on H.R. 3786 and H.R. 3826, which would promote fair competition in the marketplace and free independent enterprise from monopolistic depredations.

4. You have failed to insist that the Federal Trade Commission adequately enforce the Robinson-Patman Act.

These measures have all been endorsed by the Nation's independent business proprietors by substantial majority votes.

THERE'S A TIME TO DILLYDALLY—A TIME TO ACT

There is nothing academic about unemployment. The man who is out of work is not inclined to be philosophical about the situation * * * and relief payments, under whatever name used for them * * * are not palatable.

Unemployment is here now—is steadily growing now. Yet, you have done little to combat it. Why?

GET THE FACTS TODAY—ACT TODAY

Neither can you use the excuse that you know not how to combat unemployment. The National Federation of Independent Business has in its files signed documentary evidence of how to cure the blight of unemployment. You need merely ask to see this evidence.

We hope you do review this valid evidence. And unless you do so, let no Member of Congress go home and tell his constituents that there is no solution to the unemployment problem, because this evidence compiled by the Federation stands as inviolable refutation of any such claim that may be made.

Sincerely,

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
C. W. HARDER, *President*.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 26, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the written word attains its most superb essence of understanding to the human mind in its poetical conception and portrayal of thought.

Today we commemorate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the poet genius of the Ukraine, who, born of humble peasant parentage, became known as one of the most outstanding fighters for freedom in Eastern Europe during the sanguine-tyranny-ridden era of the Russian Empire.

The observance of this day by free men throughout the world is not solely because of his ennobled talents in art or his advancement of the cultural influences in his generation, but rather of greater importance for the symbolic influence of his works in stimulating the spirit and influencing the thinking of millions of human beings to unify their efforts to write the new history of mankind, to fight for the freedoms that advance and protect the dignity of the human race.

One need only study the growing resistance to tyranny in Russia to understand the tremendous effect of his writings on changing the course of contemporary history in Eastern Europe.

His works depicted, in living political and literary word pictures, the oppression of the Ukrainian people as well as all others who were captive peoples under the yoke of their piratical conquerors.

His story of the tyranny of the czaristic masters became the powerful source of inspiration that resulted in the overthrow of its social order.

His important contributions to Ukrainian literature were reflected in his first poems entitled "Kolzar." These, with other fiery anti-Russian and antidespotic poems written later, attacked and destroyed despotic rule.

The Shevchenko name has been the promulgating influence between hope and despair of the millions that seek emancipation even to this day. In his poem "Yurodyry," translated: "The Feeble Minded" he attacked tyrants, czars, and oppressors.

His religious interests throughout his life are exemplified by his expressed letters to Princess Repnia and others disclosing his attendance of church services during his imprisonment in the fortress, and later he endeavored to secure permission to decorate both the Catholic and an Orthodox chapel, showing his deep feeling that he could dedicate part of his work to God.

On his return to St. Petersburg—although fraternizing with atheists and radicals—he studied the Old Testament for its harsh treatment on judgments of kings and rich men who robbed the poor and oppressed their fellow man. His book on "Mary" the blessed virgin is an analytical treatise on typical motherhood. Also, he received permission to publish his "Primer" treating with voluminous religious material on the social ideas of Christianity, a few months before his death.

Thus, one of his interests attributable to influencing his crying need for reform and human brotherhood was his acceptance of the pure reasoning and applied teaching of the Gospel. His was a believing mind in the crucifixion of the Risen Saviour who supported His teachings by suffering with his fellow men. Even in his extreme writings there is no question that his prayers and invocations were sincere, indicating a believing mind and a great soul.

Shevchenko's masterful portrayal of the injustices to man through his writings and paintings, even during the period of his banishment, could not stop the recitation of his poems or the massage conveyed by his writings and drawings throughout Russia and the people of the Ukraine. Even the illiterate learned by heart these passages and stanzas of truth—it gave them hope—even to the present period of their enslavement. His 10 years in prison only served to accentuate his activity upon his release under the new Czar Alexander, who in futilelike gestures attempted insignificant reforms.

The populations of the captive nations today hold to the same hope that stirred the masses in 1917 to acclaim their freedom. They hold in their memory the striving appeals voiced by Shevchenko to keep alive the spirit of freedom.

His inspiring life is their symbol of hope for the future.

As the leader of free nations we are grateful that the Ukrainian community in America keep alive the memory of one of the greatest freedom fighters of all history, Taras Schevchenko, that in this tribute to him others who remain in bondage will not forget his dedication to the cause of liberty and freedom. This movement of tribute should impress us to continue our efforts to free the captive nations of the world.

The Basque People of Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 26, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, only last week a group of Basques visited Washington, and presented some of their native dances in the rotunda of the Old Senate Office Building, thrilling an appreciative audience. The Oinkari—meaning "fast of feet"—dancers had performed at the New York World's Fair on Monday, visited New York, and then flew to Washington for their appearance here.

Since then, my office has answered numerous questions about this dance group, and about the Basques, a most wonderful people. Both are unique and invite attention.

Idaho is proud that it has the largest Basque colony in North America, a people loyally American, hard working, independent, talented and one which has contributed generously to the history, economy, and social fabric of Idaho.

The Basques come from the Pyrenees, the magnificent mountains between Spain and France, although their origin beyond that is shrouded in much mystery, and authorities seldom agree as to the source of the race. Scholars have listed as their ancestors such divergent and ancient peoples as the Berbers and the original inhabitants of the lost continent of Atlantis.

Iberians, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Vandals, Moors—all swept across portions of the Spanish Peninsula, but the Basques preserved their identity, and fought off numerous would-be invaders.

An Idaho Basque historian, Joe V. Eiguren, says that the first news referring to the Basques came from the writings of the Roman Geographer Strabo, born in the year 57 B.C. Strabo referred to them as "those ferocious tribes who speak a very strange language."

Indeed, the language is strange and difficult to master, so much so that Scallinger, a medieval writer, said:

> The Basques claim they understand one another, but I don't believe it.

The Basques have an amusing tale of their own concerning the language. They say no Basque can go to hell.

It seems the Devil spent 7 years in the Basque country trying to learn the language. After diligent study he had learned only "bai," and "ez,"—"yes" and "no."

As he was fleeing the country during a terrible thunderstorm he fell, hitting his head and knocking the two words he had learned from his memory.

Since the Devil knows nothing of the language, he cannot tempt the Basques, thus, none can go to hell.

Basques fear their ancient language will become extinct. In that part of the Basque country annexed by Spain at the end of the first Carlist War of 1839, the Spanish Government historically has done everything possible to suppress and eradicate the Basque tongue.

By decree in 1839, Queen Isabella of Spain abolished the independent Basque nation, and established the Basque provinces. Historian Eiguren tells how the speaking of the Basque language was first prohibited, all publications of the language ceased, and schools were closed or Spanish teachers were sent to replace Basque teachers. The Basque alphabet was abolished and replaced with the Spanish alphabet. Spanish agents administered Spanish rule. The Basques revolted in 1872, but failed to free themselves.

In 1931, the government of the new republic of Spain allowed the Basques the right to present their case in the "Cortes" parliament. As a result, the provinces were granted their independence in 1936, and their own republic formed. When

the Spanish Republic was overthrown in the Spanish Civil War, so, too, was the Basque Republic. Today, once more, the Basques are forbidden to speak their native tongue, and writings in Basque are not allowed. Basque schools have again been closed.

The Basques, of course, dream of eventual freedom. They have been stubborn freedom fighters throughout their history, and their character is not about to change.

Many of the Basques who have come to Idaho did so with the northward migrations from the California gold strike. One pioneered a stageline from Virginia City to Boise, following the new gold discoveries in Idaho. They were early involved with the sheep-raising industry in the State, and some became major ranch owners and producers. I have been told that Idaho's mountains are not unlike sections of the Pyrenees, and thus were a magnet for the Basques. I do know that hundreds of Basques came to Idaho to herd sheep, for Idaho ranchers say that no man takes a herd of sheep into the mountains and cares for them with the fidelity, patience and intelligence of the Basque.

Basques fill important roles in Idaho's government, finance, business, agriculture, and industry. Yet, as this Basque dance group illustrates, they have preserved their centuries-old culture.

Missing only, in Idaho, from this transplanted culture is the role of the sea, for the Bay of Biscay abuts against the Basque homeland, and the Basques have long been outstanding fishermen and navigators. Two famous Basque mariners were Kakotza, who was the navigator who led Columbus to the New World, and Elkano, who assumed command from Magellan after the latter's death, and became the first seaman to circumnavigate the earth.

Many other laudatory things may be said about these outstanding and remarkable people, but we in Idaho know them simply as our neighbors, fine citizens and good friends. We in Idaho are very proud of our Basques.

U.N. Peacekeeping Record Is Admirable, Informative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 3, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, with nuclear war an ever-present possibility, this country is vitally and directly affected by every crisis, however small, which erupts around the globe. In some way, the interests of one or more major powers are almost always involved.

In a recent address at the Midwest Model United Nations in St. Louis, the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, stated that a survey of U.N. peacekeeping missions up to and including Cyprus suggests that an essential identity of interests exists between the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the U.N.: the preservation of peace.

So crucial is our vested interest in a strong U.N., Mr. Cleveland feels, that U.S. support for the Organization can never be too great.

The following are Mr. Cleveland's actual remarks:

"THE 13TH ALARM"—ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HARLAN CLEVELAND, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS, AT THE MIDWEST MODEL UNITED NATIONS, IN THE CHASE-PARK PLAZA HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, MO., MARCH 21, 1964

I

Just a week ago the United Nations answered the peacekeeping firebell for the 13th time.

This time the alarm came from a troubled island in the Mediterranean Sea: one island with two warring ethnic communities. As a result, two of our friends and NATO Allies found themselves locked in an ever-tightening spiral of tension—closer to serious armed conflict than most Americans would believe.

Even before the fighting began last Christmastime, the issues were touchy in the extreme. Cyprus got its independence as part of a complex treaty structure which left British, Greek, and Turkish troops on the island, and a constitution that required both Turk and Greek Cypriots to agree on acts of the independent government. Now the first task became to break the vicious and lengthening chain in which incident begat incident and violence spawned violence. The second was to work out an agreed solution that would go to the root of the trouble.

Talks among North Atlantic Allies produced no workable answer. A regional peace force linked to the U.N. was agreed in principle, but not in practice. Meanwhile, arms flowed in and local fighting infected first one village and then another. The Communists, everywhere the scavengers of independence, began to work to turn the situation to their advantage. And a few thousand harassed, heroic British soldiers tried to keep the island from exploding again in communal strife.

And so the Cyprus issue came to the United Nations—for peacekeeping and peacemaking is the U.N.'s major business. Once again the United Nations Security Council had to listen to acrid debate, and then agree to call up volunteers for an international bucket brigade. For in Cyprus, as in 12 other cases, Shakespeare's wisdom well applies.

"A little fire is quickly trodden out
Which, being suffered, rivers cannot quench."

Beginning with Greece in 1947, the U.N.'s record of on-the-spot peacekeeping operations runs through Palestine, Kashmir, Indonesia, Korea, Trieste, Suez, Lebanon, Laos, the Congo, West New Guinea, Yemen, and now Cyprus. Some of these once-ominous problems still persist, but none of them seriously endangers world peace or threatens to involve the great powers in catastrophic contest. The United Nations has succeeded in moving them away from the battlefields and barricades, into the chambers and corridors where peace is made by lengthy and tedious talk. Solutions may not follow quickly or easily, but the guns are checked outside the conference halls. And that is what counts when the issue is peace or war.

Now that the world has lived through a baker's dozen of these traumatic near-wars, we have a right to ask what progress we are making in keeping the peace. And the real test of progress, of course, is not whether emergencies stop occurring—because in this highly flammable world there are quite a few oily rags lying around and too many careless people with matches.

The real test is whether we are better able to cope with crises when they do occur than we were, say, a decade ago. Is the world profiting from its ticklish experience, or are the peacemakers still playing each crisis by ear—on the same primitive instruments? What does the record show?

II

The record so far tells us at least five things worth telling:

First, threats to the peace can, and do, break out almost anywhere. Over the past 17 years, peacekeeping operations have been undertaken by the U.N. four times in the Middle East, twice in southern Europe, twice in southeast Asia, and once in the Far East, the western Pacific, Africa, and now in the Mediterranean. And while action was in every case left to the Organization of American States, the Security Council has had on its docket 13 crises in the Western Hemisphere. As of tonight the Security Council still has 57 large and small disputes listed on its agenda—some of which have been settled long since and some of which are dangerous enough still to require a watching brief by the Council.

Second, the record tells us that each of these disputes—being different—has required different kinds of peacekeeping machinery. In Korea—uniquely large and uniquely destructive of young lives—the United Nations defended a nation against outside Communist aggression. In the Congo a major military police force was attacked and had to defend itself. In the Middle East and in Kashmir, the need was for armed peacekeepers to patrol armistice lines. In other cases, observation teams, factfinders, and mediators have filled the bill.

What's more, the weaponry, the political sponsorship, the racial composition, and the financing arrangements have all been different—each tailored to the necessities of the case.

In retrospect, this diversity of solutions makes the original idea of a standing U.N. army look rather naive and simplistic. But there was no experience to go on when the founders of the U.N. were trying to figure out, on paper, how to organize for peace in an unpredictable postwar world.

III

Third, our experience in the U.N. demonstrates that an international police force, once on the ground, has a mission unlike most national military missions—because it's much less national and often less military.

Members of U.N. peacekeeping forces are soldiers from the military establishments of the nations contributing units. They are commanded by professional military officers. They wear uniforms and carry guns. They sleep in tents or barracks and eat military rations.

But once they put on the blue beret or—if need be—the blue helmet, they find they are supposed to be soldiers without enemies, fighters without rancor, members of an armed force without a military objective—their mission not to start shooting but to stop it, not to win a battle but to see to it there is no battle to be won or lost.

The implications that flow from this strange state of affairs for soldiers-turned-peacemakers are large and fascinating—and were seen most clearly in the Congo experi-

ence. Having spent some time talking about these things with U.N. officers during the tough days of the Congo operation, I should like to dwell for a moment on what was learned there.

In a remote section of the Congo, I visited with a brigadier general from Malaysia, commanding a Malayan U.N. brigade. In a real war, he said, he would be merely commanding a brigade, but with the U.N. force he had to command each platoon. His point was that the smallest incident in the life of a minor patrol can easily become a major political issue. In the jungles of Malaya, the Communists that had been shooting at these same soldiers were clearly the enemy—no doubt about it. "But here," said the brigadier, "if somebody shoots at our soldiers," he said, "it is a political question whether they should even shoot back."

The point was clear enough in the case of Indian troops manning a checkpoint who were attacked by a howling mob of several thousand women organized by secessionists under Moise Tshombe. The women kicked, spat, slapped, ripped shirts, and tore insignia from the stoic Ghurkas who had been ordered not to fight even in self-defense. As the mob began to tire of this one-sided fight, the Indians fired exactly nine rounds of ammunition over the heads of the crowd and advanced to disperse the mob, using only their batons. The Indian officer in charge told me that an army unit brought in to put down such an outbreak under what he called a "normal situation" could readily have caused dozens or scores of civilian deaths.

One commander in the Congo told me that when opposing troops run from a police force, the "no enemy" principle may require the U.N. force to let them get away. But curiously enough, he did not think this is necessarily a military disadvantage: "If a man has to run away from you," he said, "he will deliberately exaggerate the size and effectiveness of your force, in order to look better in the eyes of his own people."

If the rank-and-file of a peacekeeping force has to make a difficult adjustment, so do the officers. The commander of a peace force often must go out ahead of his troops. This used to be a standard operating practice back in the Middle Ages, when a commander would ride out to parley with the opposing commander, to see whether things could be settled without anybody getting hurt. In more modern warfare, the commanding officer doesn't spend much time in no man's land. But in this sense, U.N. peacekeeping has brought the sensible Middle Ages up to date—for the object, once again, is to pacify.

The brigadier commanding the Indian Brigade in the Congo made a regular and successful practice of going out ahead of his troops and persuading hostile local forces to return stolen helicopters, retire gracefully from the field without battle, and even to give up cities. It is remarkable, this officer reported, how well this sort of thing works in situations where the other side is not quite sure of itself or its orders. "If you do something that looks deliberately stupid, it is sometimes so surprising to others that you get away with it."

A final distinction between an international peace force and a conventional military one is that a peacekeeping force in an underdeveloped area is often drawn deeply into the civil life of the community. U.N. units in the Congo found themselves providing leadership, supplies, trasnportation and other services to local governments and sometimes to private firms, in an effort to help the economy get moving again. The U.N. force even had to develop a scale of charges by which businesses could be billed for hauling goods to market in U.N. military vehicles.

Soldiers without enemies operating on behalf of the world community, are a new kind of people doing a new kind of work. Their doctrine, their mandate, their training manuals, are still first drafts—and not yet ready for final printing.

Let me return to the record of U.N. peacekeeping so far and what it tells us about this unprecedented, pragmatic, and fateful business:

IV

Fourth, the record shows clearly that the United Nations peacekeeping machinery is not an alternative to regional organizations or to direct diplomacy. All three are essential—to be employed separately or in some combination depending upon the task at hand.

Issues directly involving basic national interests of the major powers will be settled between them or not at all. Regional disputes are handled preferably within the framework of regional organizations—like the Organization of American States and the Organization for African Unity—when they are up to the job. In others, the United Nations must play the leading role—and in all disputes, the United Nations by the terms of its Charter is the last resort, the peacemaker in reserve.

The best example of combined use of national, regional and world facilities was the fateful crisis over Soviet installation of missile sites in Cuba. Our response to that effort to change the world's power balance brought into action—at one and the same time—national power, the OAS, and the United Nations. Each played a mutually supporting role in a textbook case of crisis diplomacy. The Cyprus case is another fascinating study in irony and paradox: here the United Nations, by keeping the peace on the island, can prevent the southern flank of NATO from bursting into flames.

Fifth, and finally, the record shows that the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations has operated in the national interests of the United States, as well as in the interest of every other nation that cares about the peace of the world. And that should include every responsible government in the world, regardless of its political, social, or economic structure.

For there is a nuclear seed lurking somewhere in almost any open conflict anywhere today. Even where major power interests do not appear to be directly and immediately involved, there is the danger that organized fighting at any level, and with any kind of arms, could eventually engage the interests or prestige of major powers and drag us into a nuclear war that nobody wanted. As long as nuclear arms exist, the threat exists that an armed skirmish can wind up in a mushroom cloud.

So what serves peace anywhere serves our interests everywhere. This is one all-important area where we share common interests with the Soviet Union. And there is some reason to hope that the Soviet leaders agree.

Maybe that is why Chairman Khrushchev, in his New Year's Day message, put the case for settlement of all territorial disputes by peaceful means, including recourse to the United Nations. We are still dubious whether concrete policies will follow this general declaration; but it is the task of our diplomacy to find out—and to keep on seeking agreement on how to back the doctrine with effective machinery for peaceful settlement.

V

Thus, the record of the peacekeeping experience of the United Nations to date shows:

That threats to the peace can and do arise almost anywhere;

That every peacekeeping operation is likely to require a different kind of peace force than has ever been needed before;

That the conduct of peacekeeping forces must be drawn more from the police books than from the military manuals;

That when crisis comes, national, regional, and world action are not mutually exclusive but mutually reinforcing; and

That the U.N.'s capacity to keep the peace has a lot to do with our national interests and, indeed, our personal chances of survival in the age of the ultimate weapons.

But does that mean the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations is all that it should be—that it is up to such an awesome assignment? It does not, and it is not.

We can take some comfort in the fact that the U.N.'s peacekeeping performance to date has been heartening in most instances, and brilliant in some.

We can all be grateful that the Secretary-General is able to assemble a force of a few thousand men for Cyprus; though if the British had not been holding the fort and had not then contributed half of the manpower, it would have been enormously difficult to mount the peacekeeping mission in Cyprus at all.

We can be grateful, too, that the Canadians and the Nordic countries and Holland have agreed to earmark forces for future emergency duty with the United Nations.

But there is something eerie about the spectacle of the United Nations having to plead and scrounge and cajole to help tack together a minimal peacekeeping force in the nick of time. There is something nightmarish about the notion that in a world which spends some $120 billion a year in the name of defense and keeps some 20 million men under arms, peace could hang on the overnight availability of a few thousand men and a few million dollars.

In short, the performance of the world community is not yet nearly good enough. There will need to be many more earmarked units from every continent, from a variety of nations, large and small—contingents always on the alert for prompt assignment in an emergency—so that once a peacekeeping mission has been authorized, the right mix of forces can be put together, if need be, in a matter of days, not weeks.

We are entitled to hope that U.N. members will search their souls, reexamine their attitudes, and reassess their own national interests to make sure that the United Nations never wants for men or money to act in the interests of peace. We are entitled to hope that acquiescence will give way to enthusiasm—that reluctance will give way to responsibility—that service with the United Nations will be seen not as a burden but as an honor worthy of some of each nation's best men with the best training and talent and experience.

And I speak not only of soldiers called to serve as peacekeepers but of statesmen called to serve as peacemakers. I see no reason why the United Nations should not have available a distinguished international panel of peacemakers—and should not be able to reach into any public or private institution and command the finest talents in the world to serve as factfinders or observers or mediators or arbitrators to disputes which tear at the fragile fabric of world peace. The very difficulty the Secretary-General has been having this week in locating a mediator for Cyprus on whom all concerned can agree, illustrates the need for more of this kind of talent already at the service of the world community.

Meanwhile, the prickly problem of financing peacekeeping operations in the Middle East and Congo has produced a situation in which the United Nations is deeply in debt, a large number of nations are in arrears on their peacekeeping assessments, the Soviet Union and others are headed toward collision with the dictum laid down in article 19 of the charter which says that any member owing more than 2 years of assessments "shall have no vote in the General Assembly."

and a shattering constitutional crisis could be in the making.

Apart from the difficulties of cleaning up the past, there is the very likely prospect that the United Nations will be called upon again and again to restore the peace, to keep the peace, and to build at last a dynamic system of world order which will permit peaceful change in a world which will endure the status quo only until something blows up.

Will the members of the United Nations have the wit and the will to provide the United Nations with enough resources to do the jobs it is likely to be asked to do? The returns are not in, and nobody can say for sure. But I think the U.N.'s members will endow the U.N. with the capacity to act for peace—simply because it's there, and it's badly needed. Nations, like people, seldom do things that require decisions, especially expensive decisions, until the need for action is obvious and compelling. And most learning is by doing.

The margin between success and failure in getting a peacekeeping mission on the island of Cyprus was all too narrow for comfort. But I suspect that this has been noticed by others as well. I suspect that the service of the United Nations in response to 13 fire alarms and scores of other warning signals is being reassesed in more than one capital around this globe. And, bit by bit, I suspect the world community is being drawn by events into an unspoken consensus: Now, in these perilous years of our days, we cannot afford to be without effective, reliable and operational machinery for peace.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 26, 1964

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, on Saturday, June 27, a statue will be unveiled here in Washington in honor of Taras Shevchenko. The ceremony will culminate a series of events which started during the 86th Congress, with the passage of Public Law 86-749, providing for the erection of this statue. Many thousands of Ukrainian descendants, children, and friends have donated to the Shevchenko Memorial Fund, to help complete this memorial.

A large number of Ukrainian descendants from all over the United States and from foreign countries will be attending the unveiling ceremony and the accompanying events. Many people living in the Ukraine and in other countries behind the Iron Curtain will be here only in spirit, for this occasion. Most of them are unable to travel freely and are unable to exercise the many freedoms which we oftentimes take for granted. To these people, the life of Taras Shevchenko as a freedom fighter has been an example for past and present generations to follow. The memory of this great individual will give these oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain courage to continue their fight for freedom and a better way of life.

In my State of North Dakota, where there are many outstanding Ukrainian descendants, this event has been given special attention. Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the state branch of North Dakota, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, has prepared an excellent news release on Taras Shevchenko and the unveiling ceremony. I ask unanimous consent that this news release be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIANS TO STAGE FREEDOM MARCH ON JUNE 27, DATE OF SHEVCHENKO UNVEILING

A freedom march on Washington, D.C., for the unveiling of the statue-monument in honor of Taras Shevchenko, the poet laureate and national hero of Ukraine and Europe's freedom fighter, will be held on Saturday, June 27, 1964, and will emphasize the call for freedom for all captive nations. The date is also the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth and should be one of the greatest national events ever held by Ukrainians in this country. Some 50,000 to 100,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent and guests from all parts of the United States will assemble in the Nation's Capital.

The project is one in which the U.S. Congress and the Government of the United States have participated. They have helped to make this project an international event whose repercussions will be felt wherever the principle of freedom is embraced, or where men are enslaved.

The 86th Congress passed Public Law 86-749 providing for the erection of the statue which will appear on the site at 23d and P Streets NW.

Much has been written about Shevchenko in the past few years. In 1960 the House of Representatives published Document No. 445, entitled "Europe's Freedom Fighter" which shows Taras Shevchenko as an immortal symbol of freedom not only in Ukraine but throughout Eastern Europe.

In 1964 the U.S. Government Printing Office issued the book on Shevchenko "A Monument to the Liberation, Freedom, and Independence of All Captive Nations."

Since Taras Shevchenko was not only a great Ukrainian poet (his works have been translated into some 52 languages) and national prophet, but also was an outstanding humanitarian and fighter for freedom for all nations and races. In 1857, more than a century ago, Shevchenko advocated a "Ukrainian George Washington" in the belief that the Ukrainian people then under the despotic rule of czarist Russia, would achieve their national freedom and emancipation under such a leader as was George Washington, father of our country.

Shevchenko remains to this day a beacon of national aspirations and a symbol of freedom and independence for 45 million Ukrainian people now in the bondage of the Communist empire.

A few years ago all Ukrainian organizations in the United States created "The Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, Inc.," with instructions to collect funds and erect a statue of Taras Shevchenko. Some 300 local and State committees are making preparations for participation in the ceremonies. National and local Shevchenko Memorial Committees are working in very close cooperation with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Over 30,000 Americans of Ukrainian ancestry and their friends and over 10,000 schoolchildren have donated to the Shevchenko Memorial Fund to help insure erection of the monument.

Recognizing the international importance of this event more than 150 prominent Americans have joined a National Honorary or Sponsoring Committee for the unveiling. They include the 33d President of the United States, Hon. Harry S. Truman; former vice President, Hon. Richard M. Nixon; Governors of many States, presidents of universities and colleges; leaders of nationality groups; leading journalists; civic and church leaders; U.S. Senators and Representatives of both parties.

From our State members of the national honorary or sponsoring Shevchenko Committee are: Hon. William L. Guy, Governor of North Dakota; Hon. Quentin N. Burdick and Hon. Milton R. Young, U.S. Senators; Hon. Mark Andrews and Hon. Don L. Short, U.S. Congressmen. Former President Truman is the chairman of the Committee.

The unveiling ceremonies will include a program for young people in the Washington Coliseum on June 27. Two concerts of choruses with a symphony orchestra will be presented in Constitutional Hall on that day and a banquet for 5,000 persons will be held in the National Guard Armory in Washington, D.C.

A large delegation from Argentina and a huge crowd of Canadian-Ukrainians in chartered trains and buses are expected from Canada to take part in the Washington ceremonies.

Since Shevchenko—a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln—embodied in his poetry the holy ideas of Ukraine as did the American Declaration of Independence, and as the words of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln embody the highest principles of America. Shevchenko expressed the close tie between Ukraine and America over 100 years ago not only by calling for national independence but also for the coming to Ukraine of a Washington with "his new and righteous law."

Therefore let us give them full support by joining together in making this historic event a truly memorable manifestation, both honoring the great Ukrainian poet and champion of liberty and focusing international attention on Ukrainians as a people.

Proposed GATT Tariff Reductions Threaten U.S. Industry, Agriculture, and Employment

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PILLION. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, I, too, wish to commend the gentleman from New York on taking the initiative in introducing this bill to amend the trade expansion act of 1962 and I take pleasure too today in joining him in cosponsorship of this bill.

As a matter of fact, during this year I have been particularly interested in this matter insofar as it affects the beef and citrus industries which are vital to the economy of the State of Florida and to my district.

I have appeared before the Trade Information Committee on behalf of these products and also before the Tariff Commission.

I must say insofar as these two products are concerned, and I gather from the remarks of the gentleman from New

York he feels that the same is true of other products, that I am not exactly sure that the administration has a sympathetic understanding of the problems of these industries. So far as citrus products are concerned, in Florida that industry amounts to a $2 billion industry. It is the second money crop in the State of Florida, after tourism. Without a healthy citrus industry, the entire State would be in dire economic straits. Now these tariff negotiations that are now going on over in Geneva, of course, have citrus as one of the products to negotiate. The point of the matter is that we have nothing to negotiate. We have virtually no foreign exports of citrus. Almost all of the citrus produced in this country, and not only in the State of Florida but also in the States of Texas, Arizona and California, are consumed in the United States. As a matter of fact, the market, and a very considerable one, that we had in Canada is now slowly dwindling and being taken up by other citrus producing nations such as Mexico, Brazil and even Israel.

As a matter of fact, there is even fresh fruit, under the present tariff schedule, imported into the State of Florida from Israel. So far as citrus is concerned, we have literally nothing to negotiate at Geneva. Any lowering of tariffs on citrus products will affect the economy of the citrus-producing States drastically and harmfully.

The same is true with respect to beef. Florida is a large beef-producing State and ranks No. 3 east of the Mississippi and No. 17 in the entire United States. This is a multimillion-dollar industry.

Here again we have nothing to negotiate. Our exports are negligible and our beef imports into this country from other beef-producing nations, such as Australia and New Zealand and Argentina, have been increasing over the years.

I have been in touch, from time to time, very closely with the Department of Agriculture in connection with this situation. Here are figures which I believe are interesting and revealing. The imports in 1960 from Australia and New Zealand, of beef and veal, ran 180 million pounds. They are now in excess of 400 million pounds, which is a substantial increase in a short period of time. We seem to get very little cooperation from the Department of Agriculture.

Secretary Freeman stated only a short time ago that 1964 imports would be down 10 or 11 percent compared to previous year figures. Just today I received a telegram from the Florida Cattlemen's Association which says that according to U.S. Department of Agriculture meat inspection statistics for this year, from January through April 1964, the imports are up 25 percent over the previous year.

It occurs to me that in the Department of Agriculture the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.

Certainly, so far as these two products are concerned, in my district and in the State of Florida, this is a serious situation. Others have been pointed out by the gentleman from New York and other speakers. We certainly need to examine this tariff situation thoroughly and to protect the interests of American businessmen, from unfair and disastrous foreign competition.

I commend the gentleman from New York again. I hope the other Members of Congress will take a keen interest in this matter. Perhaps we can curb some of the administration tendencies to be more solicitious about the welfare of foreign businessmen than they are about our own American businessmen.

Mr. PILLION. I thank the gentleman from Florida for his most valuable contribution to this discussion. I might say that it is time we gave this import and tariff situation a second look and a good analysis to determine, in a selective way, the damages which are resulting from present imports, along with the prospective damage that will result if the 50 percent across-the-board reduction is arrived at in Geneva under the GATT negotiations.

I am fearful that an indiscriminate across-the-board wholesale cutting of tariffs will dislocate many industries and seriously damage industry and agriculture throughout the country. We cannot calculate the amount of damage that will result to labor and to industry if that type of agreement is reached in GATT.

This bill would set up the basis for excluding from tariff reduction negotiations these items as to which the greatest amount of damage is occurring in this country or is likely to occur.

Mr. GURNEY. I certainly agree wholeheartedly with the gentleman.

Mr. PILLION. I thank the gentleman.

Pierre S. du Pont High School, Wilmington, Del., Wins 1965 Bellamy Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CALEB BOGGS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 26, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, an outstanding school in my State, Pierre S. du Pont High School in Wilmington, has been presented the annual National Bellamy Award in recognition of its overall excellence.

The students and staff of the school can well be proud of their achievement and the whole State is proud of the school.

The monthly news bulletin of the Wilmington public schools, which is edited by Mrs. Mina P. Thompson, carries an account of the presentation and background on the efforts of Miss Margarette S. Miller, director of the National Bellamy Award. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PIERRE S. DU PONT HIGH SCHOOL WINS NATIONAL BELLAMY AWARD

The memory of Francis Bellamy, who wrote the pledge of allegiance to the flag 72 years ago for Youth's Companion magazine, was honored in ceremonies at Pierre S. du Pont High School on May 18.

The school was chosen to receive the award which memorializes Bellamy, a journalist who left the ministry to become a magazine writer. The winning schools are announced each year on May 18, the anniversary of Bellamy's birth at Mount Morris, N.Y., in 1855.

The actual award—the flag that will fly over the Nation's Capitol on May 18, 1965—will be presented to Du Pont on October 8, 1965. While the award goes to only one school in the Nation each year, schools from only one State at a time are considered.

The pledge was first used officially during a nationwide public school demonstration on October 21, 1892, the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, Columbus Day.

Margarette S. Miller, who was present at Du Pont School for the May 18 ceremony, is director of the awards program. In 1936 Miss Miller was attending a local Masonic order State meeting. The speaker at the meeting pointed out that the grave of the author of the pledge lay unmarked. This, Miss Miller felt, was an injustice. It was believed that Frank Bellamy (no relation to the true writer) was the author, though there was some doubt. Because of two other claims, some research was necessary. The question of authorship was first brought to public attention by Miss Miller who in early years of research believed that James Bailey Upham was the author. Upham was part-owner of the Youth's Companion which printed the pledge for the first time on September 8, 1892.

Through letters of protest by the Bellamy family, Miss Miller was inspired to search for further proof of Upham's authorship. This prompted her to request that the U.S. Flag Association weigh the evidence and give a decision. In 1939 a three member panel of university history professors decided in favor of Francis Bellamy as the author of the pledge. Panel members were Charles C. Tansill, Fordham; Bernard Mayo, Georgetown; and W. Reed West, Washington University.

Signing of a congressional act inserting the words "under God," in the pledge, was made the first order of business by President Eisenhower on June 14, 1954. This was the third modification of the pledge. In 1922, at the first U.S. Flag Day conference in Washington, D.C., it was changed to read "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States," instead of "to my flag." A year later, "of America" was added after "United States."

Before the Second World War the pledge was given with the right arm extended forward and raised slightly, with palm upward. Too often this had the appearance of a Nazi salute, so now the pledge is given while standing at attention or with the right hand over the heart.

Pierre S. Du Pont is the 24th high school in the Nation to receive the award since it was started by Miss Miller in 1942.

A Plea to 12 Negro Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in a thoughtful, moving address, Margaret Anderson, of Clinton, Tenn., has identified the critical factor in completing the vital social task of our society—the full equality of all Americans.

There can be no question that passage of the civil rights bill is essential. It must be done without delay. But in her address, Miss Anderson has placed the ultimate responsibility where it does and must belong—on the individual and more particularly on the Negro student who may be disposed because of many, and often valid, pressures to drop out before completing school.

In her remarks to 12 Negro students in special ceremonies at Tuskegee Institute, Miss Anderson has emphasized that "you must develop yourselves to the fullest so that you can be useful citizens in a free society. The perpetuation of a democratic society such as ours depends upon the knowledge, the good judgment and the wisdom of all the people. Boys and girls, it is of paramount importance that you get as much education as you can."

Mr. Speaker, I commend Margaret Anderson's perceptive address to these 12 students to all who are concerned with the future welfare of our country.

Miss Anderson's address follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 14, 1964]

PLEA TO 12 NEGRO CHILDREN

(Late last summer, a Federal court ordered Tuskegee, Ala., to desegregate its high school. The city complied. Thereupon, Gov. George C. Wallace closed the school and sent a National Guard unit to enforce his order. President Kennedy federalized the guardsmen, and the school opened, but all white pupils joined in a boycott. For the rest of the semester, 12 Negro children were alone with 13 white teachers in a building designed for 250 pupils.

(In January, the Alabama Board of Education ordered the school closed; the Negroes were split into two groups and enrolled in previously segregated high schools in towns 10 and 20 miles away. Both these schools were also immediately boycotted by their white pupils (for whom private schooling was provided), and in April one was partially burned. Yet the Negro children finished their year; the three seniors among them graduated. Their ages range from 13 to 18.

(Today, the Tuskegee Civic Association of Tuskegee Institute, the Negro college, will honor the 12 in special ceremonies. One of the speakers will be Margaret Anderson, a teacher and guidance director who has experienced the problems of desegregation at her school in Clinton, Tenn. Here is her speech prepared for the occasion.)

(By Margaret Anderson)

Boys and girls, as young as you are and as unprepared as you may feel for the role in which you have found yourselves, you must realize that you are caught up in a worldwide ferment of people seeking better lives and opportunities to grow. Your struggle is called a revolution for equality. It now extends to every continent on a shrunken globe. Small as your part may be, you are representative of one-tenth of the population of America, and two-fifths of the population of the South.

There are many facets to your revolution for equality. Our racial problems span nearly 300 years of our history. They encompass our economic life and the political and social structure of this Nation. These facets are so entwined that actually to try to solve one without solving another is like sticking fingers in the holes in a dike.

I have tried to consider carefully what I might possibly say to you—out of my own experiences in working with Negro students of your ages and as a plain citizen, a parent, and a teacher—which would be of help to you at this time.

When I think of your youth, I can only think that your place in history must not be to tear down or destroy, but to build. In order to build one must start with himself.

There are few now who doubt that the freedom your parents have worked so hard to gain is within sight. It is our hope that you will never have to endure the indignities suffered by your grandparents. The acceptance, opportunity, and equality which you will know in your time carry many responsibilities and challenges.

Foremost among these responsibilities, I suggest, is that you must develop yourselves to the fullest so that you can be useful citizens in a free society. The perpetuation of a democratic society such as ours depends upon the knowledge, the good judgment, and the wisdom of all the people.

Boys and girls, it is of paramount importance that you get as much education as you can. This means right now that you must stay in school, whether it be segregated or desegregated. And you must read and study, and study and read more.

In addition, you must prepare yourselves for a trade, develop a skill or go on to college so that you can enter the professions. America needs your talents. The talents of your race are relatively untapped.

The world in which you seek equality will be very demanding. Within the next few years, there will be little need for people with no skill or training. Even with a good education, there is a strong possibility that many of you will have to be retrained during your lifetime. It is difficult to retrain a person who cannot read or write, as we are finding out with many of the displaced coal miners in the southern mountains.

Now some of you may say, as I have heard Negro students say, "How can I get an education when the schools are inadequate, when I have no place to study, when there is no one in my family to help me, when I don't have the money to buy the things the other boys and girls have, when my own parents don't really care what happens to me, when I feel lonely and unwanted?"

These conditions exist and will not disappear overnight. You are affected by them. We must face them together in their ugliness. Some of the personal problems faced by Negro students I find are almost insurmountable. Only a few days ago, I talked to a brilliant Negro girl, with unlimited potentialities, who is on the brink of giving up her education. As she said, "I woke up one morning and looked around me and decided it was just too much to undergo."

Let me ask you what I asked here: "Are you willing to lay down your young life as another link in the chain of ignorance, poverty, and deprivation because times are hard now?"

There is no magic button we can push so that all of us can become educated simultaneously. It is largely an individual matter. I say this to you because self-determination is a major factor in the development of any individual. And self-determination can be cultivated.

I can show you Negro boys and girls who had no place to study, yet ways have been found. One girl I know uses as her sanctuary a vacant schoolroom after school hours, or the libary at night. I know two sisters who take turns coming to school because one has to stay with a sick mother. This is not as it should be, but it is better than having neither of them come at all. I can show you Negro students whose parents cannot read or write; the students are learning and teaching ther parents. I can show you boys and girls who once did not dream of going to college; now they are there.

Even today, there are opportunities that were only dreamed of a few years ago. For example, did you know that most colleges now have opened their doors to Negro students and that admissions officers of the finest schools are scouting the country for capable Negro students?

Only recently, a Negro boy I know was invited to enroll in three colleges. At two of these he was offered fine scholarships. Our experiences suggest that too few young Negroes are ready to accept such opportunities. The same is true when it comes to jobs. And so I plead with you to read, study and work. A long history of deprivation can be offset, not by simply opening all doors but only by strenuous effort on your part. This means that you must set your minds to the things in your lives that are important now and will count the most later. Let your parents and the adults of your community bear the burden of complaints. I have a strong feeling that, at your age, you do not really have time to take to the streets.

Your most important tasks would seem to be to face the state of things as they are, to develop yourselves as best you can and to hold on. Merely holding on during crucial times in one's life can be very important to future success; it may take a great deal of courage. Let me tell you the story of a Negro boy I know who was hurt deeply, and what happened because he held on.

James came to us from a small country school in a remote section of the hills where he had been a leader in his community. There he played basketball in the country churchyard as country boys do, without a real team or a real coach. After school hours and on Sunday afternoons, he taught the younger boys all he had learned about the game.

When he enrolled in our large desegregated school, he went out for basketball. As he said, "All of my life I have dreamed of being on a real team with a real coach." When he was permitted to try for the real team, it was as if his dream had come true.

No boy ever worked harder. He saved his money from odd jobs and bought the necessary equipment each boy had to buy for himself. The weeks passed, and the time came for uniforms to be handed out. Sixteen boys were lined up in the school gymnasium. Fifteen uniforms were handed out. James was the 16th boy.

The white boys bowed their heads in shame, for he was good and they knew he was good. But circumstances had arisen concerning Negroes playing against neighboring teams, and for his own protection, it seemed unwise for James to participate with other schools at that time.

Now he was faced with a choice. He could become bitter and resentful. He could give up and say, "What's the use; I don't have a chance." Or he could accept the unkindly incident for what it was and move on. James chose to move on.

I did not hear much more about him that year except to notice his name on the school's honor roll. When the time came to make application for college, he passed the entrance test with excellent scores. He was accepted by a very great college. By now, he had such respect from the white citizens that they all wanted to help in some way—to atone perhaps for this sickness in our society. James received a fine scholarship. Today, he plays on a varsity basketball team.

There is no doubt in my mind that one day you will hear from this young man. He is one of those rare individuals who can see the precipices on both sides of a difficult road and keep a straight course. This is what I am asking you to do—hold on and keep a straight course—mentally, morally, and spiritually. I say this to you because at your age I know of nothing more constructive for you to do.

Second, I suggest that you must face the fact that you are a minority race. Any minority race in any country must have the cooperation of the majority in order to live peacefully and successfully. Despite the bit-

terness that surrounds this struggle, you must not permit yourselves to become intolerant. This will take strength on your part. Here again, education is of the greatest importance. As we improve our abilities to communicate, we grow in our understanding of each other. It is essential that we understand one another.

On Memorial Day, 1963, at Gettysburg, Lyndon Johnson said:

"In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake—it is our Nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision. The Negro says, 'Now.' Others say, 'Never.' The voice of responsible Americans—the voice of those who died here and of the great man who spoke here—their voices say, 'Together.' There is no other way."

I suggest also that not for one moment can you forget that you are, first, citizens of America, with the same responsibilities as every citizen to protect the principles upon which this Republic was founded. If, amid our racial strife this hot summer, you should feel unkindly toward the American way of accomplishing change, remember that nowhere else in the world can grievances be aired so freely as here. The American Negro has always shown great loyalty to his country. Do not permit this loyalty to waver in your generation.

American democracy has produced the largest group of outstanding Negroes in the world, from the colonial poet Phillis Wheatley, to Dr. Ralph Bunche who in 1950 received the world's most distinguished award, the Nobel Peace Prize. Think of your own Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, who walked these very grounds on which we stand. Today, their works are housed in the great libraries of the world. They were not intolerant men or ever disrespectful toward their country. Both never ceased to be concerned for those of their own race less fortunate or less endowed.

Last, I would hope that, as you grow older, you think a long time before leaving the South. We know conditions are not as they should be, but we have also seen that they are little better elsewhere. The South is your home. Your roots are here. Trust with me that in a few more days home will be a better place. Only if we stand together, work together and face these issues with integrity will improvements be possible. More people than you will ever know, both black and white, are working to make them so now.

Sometimes I think back to 1956 when 12 frightened Negro children trudged down a hill to the white school where I work, amid hate and violence of the worst type. They were 12 in number, as you are 12. Those days were hard for all of us, as I know the past months have been hard for you.

Many of our Negro students fell by the wayside that first year. The dropout rate was something over 50 percent. Always, my heart goes back to those children. Some of them are now 25 years old and have families of their own. I see them standing in line for their welfare checks, or sitting idly on a front porch of a dilapidated cabin with no grass or flowers on the lawn, no light inside.

I can only think: "It shouldn't have been this way." For, you see, I knew them as young boys and girls, like yourselves, with hopes and aspirations. Within weeks, their hopes and dreams were crushed and they returned to the old way—to sit and wait for nothing. For this our whole society is to blame.

Only recently, I had occasion to hear some of the Negro members of that first desegregated class discuss their feelings after 8 years. They agreed that except for making the way for others possible, the ordeal was of little benefit to their personal lives.

"But, oh," one girl did say, "I wish I had held on and finished school." She told how she had tried to take courses by correspondence but had to give up even this because of her inability to get a job and pay for such instruction. As she told her story, her own little girl played around the dirty, broken-down chair in which she sat.

Today our students do not always leave us as well prepared as we would desire; nevertheless, some have gone through college and hold responsible positions. And today, I hear young Negroes—13, 14, 15 years old—talk of being doctors, teachers, and ministers.

Truly, the 20th century has bombarded our way of life. Yet today, boys and girls, if by some magic wand, you could have complete equality and every opportunity your hearts desire, you still would not have a millennium. The racial struggle of which you are a part is only one of the great human struggles going on in the world. As conditions for you improve, as we know they must, you are morally obligated not only to assist your own people but to be concerned with other aspects of American life where help is needed.

In my Appalachian country, we have distressed areas. Their problems are not unlike racial problems because they involve human conditions. They may have arisen from different causes but the results have been the same: a debasement of mankind. There, in those beautiful mountains, too many of our children have become the victims of inadequate schools, inadequate job opportunities, ignorance and apathy.

A friend of mine, one of the great craftsmen of the area, who lives with his family on a mountaintop in Georgia, recently wrote:

"Our mountain, like many mountains, is rotten in all the ways man can find to cause things to decay. We have an empty school building crowning our mountaintop. Our unemployment rate in this county is over 16 percent. We have only one lawyer in the county, only one doctor. We have trash heaps on our highway and commercialism (poverty of spirit) ruining and eating up our best resource: nature's creation. It is grim.

"The discouraging realities of every day in the southern mountains are overwhelming. * * * But we have tremendous faith that there can be worked out the best solutions to all of these problems."

Solutions are being offered. As the passage of civil rights legislation will be a major step in easing conditions for you, superhighways, flood control, and reforestation projects have been suggested for the mountain areas. Men of vision plead for industries to provide work so the mountain people can regain their sense of pride and usefulness. These changes must come.

But with them something else must come. It must follow after the conscience of a people has been aroused. It is as necessary for the war against discrimination as it is for the war against poverty. I like to call it "an integrity of spirit." It is what my friend on the mountaintop has. It is what our forebears had.

Together—and it will take all of us working together—we will break this cycle of ignorance, poverty, and prejudice, so that every person in America can lead a better life and achieve his own individual greatness.

Boys and girls, there are many roads to the top of the mountain, but once you reach the top, the view is the same. Do not be afraid to dream big dreams, for America was built on a dream. But claim your rights in dignity.

So nigh is grandeur to our dust
So near is God to man
When duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
"Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can."

Crime in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, knifings, beatings, and muggings are so uncontrolled in New York City that citizens have been forced to organize in an effort to protect themselves, their homes, and their children.

Vigilante groups are obviously necessary in the home city of Members of Congress who criticize peaceful citizens in other areas of this Nation. As a part of my remarks, I include the following article which appeared in U.S. News & World Report under date of June 8, 1964:

AS VIOLENCE GROWS IN A BIG CITY

NEW YORK.—The rising tide of violence in this city has now brought direct action from a citizens' group.

Late in May, a community of Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn—members of the sect called Hasidim—set up a volunteer network of radio-car patrols to protect its members.

The action was taken after a number of Hasidic Jews, including women and children, were victims of knifings, beatings, or muggings. Jewish leaders say the assailants came from the Bedford-Stuyvesant district, which is predominantly Negro.

ASSAULTS, GANG ATTACKS

Among incidents of terrorism were the knifing and attempted rape of a rabbi's wife, an assault on a 10-year-old girl whose parents are mutes, and a gang attack by a band of Negroes on children attending a religious school.

Four radio-equipped cars, each manned by six young men, were assigned to patrol the 100 square blocks of the Hasidic community in the heart of Brooklyn.

The patrols were placed in operation from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. Non-Jewish sympathizers—12 whites and 8 Negroes—offered to man the cars on Friday night, the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath.

The volunteer patrolmen are unarmed, but "all are strong," said Rabbi Samuel Schrage, the sect's leader. The patrol is called "The Maccabees," for the Jewish family which distinguished itself in a fight for religious freedom more than 2,000 years ago.

"In case of trouble," Rabbi Schrage explained, "our people try to overwhelm the attackers by sheer weight of numbers. If it is beyond their capacity, they call us on the radio and we call police."

FEAR OF BLOODSHED

Negro leaders expressed fears that vigilante tactics by the patrols might lead to bloodshed. Police said they disapproved of "The Maccabees," but could not interfere as long as the volunteers were unarmed and no riots broke out.

Rabbi Schrage was unswayed by criticism. He said:

"There's just too much crime here. It's a matter of self-defense and self-preservation. * * * In Europe, Jews used to set up their own police force for self-protection.

"Well, we want our protection here. We are not violent. We are very peaceful. But once they step on our feet we have to react. We have to."

Connecticut's Defense Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the June 1, 1964, issue of Connecticut Business Trends, a publication of the Connecticut Bank & Trust Co., contains an interesting study of the role of defense industry in the economy of my State. The article is entitled "Defense Business and Connecticut's Future."

The article indicates that Connecticut leads the Nation in per capita prime military procurement projects and has done so for a number of years. Defense production, it states, engages 34 percent of the States total manufacturing employment. In particular, 85 percent of those employed in the manufacture of transportation equipment and 45 percent of those producing instruments—a traditional occupation of our State—now labor on contracts for the Government.

Several of Connecticut's leading industries, some located in my own district, are primarily engaged in defense production—General Dynamic's Electric Boat Division at Groton and United Aircraft's Hamilton Standard and Pratt and Whitney Divisions in the Hartford area, for example.

The important role of defense industries is further emphasized in the observation that manufacturing employment in Connecticut has held constant in the last several years "only because the number of defense workers was rising so rapidly."

"Connecticut's economic future rests, therefore, with all of us," the article concludes. It depicts the efforts of private contractors to discover "new avenues of expansion in order to supply the impetus for further growth, which for a number of years has come from our defense industries." It implies, moreover, that the Government must assiduously scrutinize the economic implications of the armament reductions which we all hope we may someday achieve.

This article thus contains valuable information and focuses on crucial issues of public policy. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert it into the RECORD. It reads as follows:

DEFENSE BUSINESS AND CONNECTICUT'S FUTURE

How would a cutback in defense spending affect our Connecticut economy? Two factors make this a particularly significant question. First, a number of very important and successful defense-oriented companies are located in our State. And secondly, the spread of automation has already caused concern over the capacity of industry nationwide to absorb the increasing number of young people who are joining our labor force.

There has been much in the news recently about Government economies, particularly in the Defense Department budget. While major disarmament moves appear unlikely in the immediate future, cold war tensions have eased somewhat. The Nation, moreover, appears to be reaching a peaking-out stage in some of its major weapons programs. In the absence of unforeseen international developments, a decline of about $1 billion a year in the total defense budget over the next 5 years is being predicted by many competent observers. The procurement portion of the 1965 defense budget calls for a decline of $1.9 billion, from $15.7 billion to $13.8 billion. Projected exepnditures for aircraft alone will drop from $6.6 billion in fiscal 1964 to $5.7 billion in fiscal 1965.

CONNECTICUT'S LEADERSHIP IN DEFENSE

The unusual importance of defense work to Connecticut is well known. For a number of years, our State has led the Nation in per capita prime military procurement contracts. In 1963 Connecticut's share of such contract awards was $1.1 billion, or 4.4 percent of the national total.

Late in 1962, the Connecticut Labor Department surveyed the number of our manufacturing workers who were engaged in producing goods for Government purchase. (See table I.) They concluded that the number totaled approximately 140,000 people. This figure represents 34 percent of all our manufacturing employment, a higher proportion, probably, than in any other State. It is estimated that these workers require and support the activities of roughly one-third that number of workers in the service trades, or something in the order of 45,000 people. The resulting total of 185,000 workers represents approximately 20 percent of our total nonagricultural work force.

The greatest proportionate concentration of defenes-related activity is in the New London-Groton area, location of the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics, the Navy's primary producer of submarines. A recent study by the Southeastern Connecticut Regional Planning Agency points out that in addition to the 17,500 employees at Electric Boat there are 13,000 military personnel and 2,300 civilian employees at the military bases in the area for a total of 32,800 people or about 41 percent of the total employment of 79,100. It further estimates that these 32,800 employees generate 18,500 jobs in the service industries. Thus 65 percent of all jobs in the area are dependent on some phase of defense activity.

The next highest concentration of defense work is in the Hartford area, the corporate home of United Aircraft and of its Pratt & Whitney and Hamilton Standard Divisions. The Connecticut Labor Department estimates that 43,000 or 46 percent of the area's manufacturing workers are employed in Government work. Norwalk and Stamford also rank high with 45 and 37 percent, respectively.

These figures, of course, include not only the large and well-known producers like United Aircraft and Electric Boat, but also a numerous array of medium and small sized suppliers and subcontractors. It would be this group which would likely feel the first impact of any major Government cutbacks.

SPACE AND COMMERCIAL APPLICATIONS

The fastest growing area of Government procurement is that of space exploration. It also provides an appropriate application for many of the skills gained in defense work. United Aircraft, through bold use of its own research funds, has achieved significant breakthroughs in space technology. Its United Technology Division has developed the world's largest solid propellant rocket motor. Pratt & Whitney's RL-10 liquid hydrogen engines powered the upper stage of the Centaur rocket and the second stage of the Saturn rocket, both of which have performed very well. Pratt & Whitney has also been selected by NASA to develop fuel cell powerplants to be used in lunar probes. The Hamilton Standard Division has acquired many space contracts, including the development of the astronaut's space suits and portable life support back packs for use in excursions from the Apollo spacecraft.

A recent Connecticut Development Commission study indicates that many of our other companies are also gaining capabilities in the space field. Most space exploration facilities, however, are located in Florida and California. The concentration of facilities and manpower in these regions may impose some limitations, from purely a geographic standpoint, on the research and development funds and actual production contracts which flow into Connecticut.

Our defense-oriented companies are also making imaginative efforts to develop civilian applications for their products and techniques. United Aircraft's commercial business accounted for 21 percent of total 1963 sales, and the company anticipates further increases. In addition to commercial aviation business, UAC has had considerable success in adapting its jet turbines to generation of electric power, locomotive and ship propulsion, saline water conversion, gas liquefaction, and other industrial uses. Its fuel cells may also have extensive commercial applications. Unfortunately, it is more difficult for many smaller companies to muster sufficient resources to develop the commercial possibilities of their Government business.

MAINTAINING CONNECTICUT'S GROWTH

If we assume that the flexibility and astuteness of our Connecticut manufacturers will enable them to divert any manpower likely to be released by slackening defense orders into space age products or civilian production, we must nonetheless, consider one final problem. During the postwar period, Connecticut's total nonagricultural employment has shown a striking growth of 25 percent from 770,000 to 965,000 people. Virtually all of the net increase, however, has come in nonmanufacturing jobs (see table II). Manufacturing employment has only about held constant. Actually, this is a relatively good showing, as in most industrialized States manufacturing employment declined during this period. The problem is that manufacturing employment in Connecticut held even only because the number of defense workers was rising so rapidly. Employment in transportation equipment manufacturing, for instance, (which includes both aircraft and submarines and is estimated to be 85 percent for Government orders) rose from 29,600 to 86,200 people. This industry alone, therefore, including the service employment which it generated, produced something on the order of 80,000 new jobs in Connecticut because of Government orders. This represents about 40 percent of the total net increase in jobs in our State during this period.

The demands made upon Connecticut's supply of skilled labor by the growth of our successful defense producers may have discouraged the entry of some new businesses into our State and diverted them to labor surplus areas. But without this growth, it would have been extremely difficult to sustain the level of manufacturing employment, and unemployment would probably exceed its present total of approximately 55,000 workers.

Connecticut's economic future rests, therefore, with all of us. Our defense manufacturers are working hard to find new markets which will support their present work forces. Other businessmen must also look for new avenues of expansion in order to supply the impetus for further growth, which for a number of years has come from our defense industries. And all of us must help in creating conditions which will attract new firms into Connecticut.

TABLE I.—*Number of workers engaged in producing goods for Government purchase by industry, December 1962*

	Total manufacturing employment	Employed in Government production	Percent Government of total
Total manufacturing	417,850	141,470	33.9
Transportation equipment	84,480	71,690	84.9
Primary metals	26,680	4,390	16.5
Fabricated metals	47,660	10,490	22.0
Machinery	64,730	13,760	21.3
Electrical equipment	38,630	14,090	36.5
Instruments	18,060	8,030	44.5
Other manufacturing	137,610	19,020	13.8

Source: Connecticut Labor Department.

TABLE II.—*Changes in employment by selected industries and sectors of the Connecticut economy, 1947–64*

	June 1947	March 1964	1947–64 change	
			Numerical	Percent
Total manufacturing	413,600	419,800	+6,200	+1.5
Transportation equipment	29,600	86,200	+56,600	+191.2
Primary metals	37,700	26,400	−11,300	−30.0
Fabricated metals	56,200	47,200	−9,000	−16.0
Machinery	74,600	63,100	−11,500	−15.4
Electrical equipment	45,600	42,900	−2,700	−5.9
Instruments	17,600	17,400	−200	−1.1
Other manufacturing	152,300	136,600	−15,700	−10.3
Total nonmanufacturing	356,000	545,300	+189,300	+53.2
Total nonagricultural	769,600	965,100	+195,500	+25.4

Source: Connecticut Labor Department

Lithuanian American Congress Convention in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a great privilege for all of us here in Washington this weekend to welcome to the Nation's Capital more than 400 delegates to the convention being held at the Shoreham Hotel by the Lithuanian American Congress.

In America, where all people have the right of self-determination, it is appropriate that so many of our citizens retain such an active interest in their ethnic backgrounds and heritages.

The Lithuanian-Americans are among our finest, most public-spirited citizens. It is particularly fitting that they have chosen Washington, D.C., as the site of their convention, for our Government continues to recognize the prewar Lithuanian Council. We have remained inflexible in our refusal to grant recognition to the Communist puppet regime which denies liberty to the people of Lithuania.

By their presence in Washington, the Lithuanian American Congress reminds us once again that there are untold thousands in the world who are not free to convene together and who must endure governments which would deny to each man the right to his own thoughts and political beliefs.

I join with my colleagues in welcoming the Lithuanian American Congress Convention to Washington and hope we can look forward to having them return to our Nation's Capital soon again.

Shevchenko Statue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the memory of Ukrainian freedom fighter, Taras Shevchenko, a statue will be unveiled in his honor tomorrow. The unveiling ceremony will take place at 23d and P Streets NW., where the statue is erected.

Erection of the statue not only honors a patriot whose life symbolized opposition to tyranny, it is an additional symbol of U.S. concern for residents of the captive nations. Americans of Ukrainian descent are justly proud on this memorable occasion.

The unveiling ceremonies will include a program in the Washington Coliseum. Two concerts of choruses with a symphony orchestra will also be presented in Constitution Hall on the same day and a banquet for 5,000 persons will be held in the National Guard Armory in Washington, D.C., in the evening.

A large delegation from Argentina and a huge crowd of Canadian-Ukrainians in chartered trains and buses are expected from Canada to take part in the Washington ceremonies.

Shevchenko—a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln—embodied in his poetry the "holy ideas" of Ukraine as did the American Declaration of Independence, and as the words of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln embody the highest principles of America. Shevchenko expressed the close tie between Ukraine and America over 100 years ago not only by calling for national independence but also for the coming to Ukraine of a Washington with "his new and righteous law."

Over 30,000 Americans of Ukrainian ancestry and their friends and over 10,000 schoolchildren have donated to the Shevchenko Memorial Fund to help insure erection of the monument.

Recognizing the international importance of this event more than 150 prominent Americans have joined a national honorary or sponsoring committee for the unveiling. They include 33d President of the United States, Hon. Harry S. Truman; former Vice President, Hon. Richard M. Nixon; Governors of many States, presidents of universities and colleges, leaders of nationality groups, leading journalists, civic and church leaders, U.S. Senators and Representatives of both parties.

The Shevchenko statue in the heart of Washington, our Nation's Capital, symbolizes a long and losting friendship between the people of Ukraine and the United States. Together, we share the love of liberty and a determination to be free.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, many objections were raised to the Becker amendment during the recent House Judiciary Committee hearings on this proposal. Bishop J. Brooke Mosley, the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Delaware, excellently summarized the position of many clergymen who appeared before the committee to oppose the amendment. I commend his statement, which follows, to my colleagues and all those who desire to prevent the debasement of religion in American life:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am glad to be here. Thank you for inviting me to share some of my opinions about prayers and devotional Bible reading in the public schools.

My convictions have led me to welcome the decisions in this matter made by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 25, 1962, and on June 17, 1963.

I oppose amending the U.S. Constitution in order to permit religious devotional exercises to be held in public schools.

I believe that religious devotions, however plain or simple they may be, are highly personal expressions of a man's religious faith and should neither be required nor in any way promoted by the state or by any of the agencies of the state, for this is an encroachment of the state upon an individual's religious freedom. A man has the right to pray if he chooses and an equal right not to pray if he chooses. A free state preserves a man's right to do either. The proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution which would permit school officials (the state) to prescribe religious devotions in public schools is, I believe, a restriction of this freedom and an unwelcome alteration of the Bill of Rights.

It has been said, in support of religious devotions in public schools, that our religious traditions are great national assets, that our democratic institutions are rooted in them and that, therefore, this inheritance must be cherished and advanced.

I believe this without reservation. But I also believe that these religious traditions cannot be well preserved and advanced by coercing others—even in the slightest degree—to join in devotional exercises when in their hearts they do not wish to do so. This does not nourish our religious traditions. It undermines them.

It is not enough to state in reply that there is no coercion because the young people are free to leave the classroom if they or their families object to religious devotions. The fact of the matter is that the students are not completely free to do this. It is a rare child who is able to make himself conspicuous by walking out every day just as these devotions begin. After all, the exercises are prescribed by school officials (the State) and conducted under the authority of the teach-

ers who for most children are perfect symbols of authority. So the pressure upon the student to remain and to participate becomes more than a young person should have to bear. The State has no right to impose this burden upon him. I believe it is especially offensive when it is done in the name of the Christian religion.

It has been maintained by proponents of school prayers and meditative Bible reading that these are not devotional programs at all but merely opening exercises. But to the extent this is true or to the extent that the public school gives the impression that it is true then the state and the church have joined to debase both prayer and Holy Scripture. Neither is a gimmick for cranking up the academic machinery and we shall damage the religious traditions we seek to preserve if we use them as such.

It remains true, however, that religious believers on both sides of this issue want young people—indeed, want all people—to know and to appreciate the religious traditions which have helped to make this Nation what it is. No man is well educated who does not have a mature and adequate understanding of vital religion.

But this can be accomplished by an objective study of religion, including a thorough reading of the Holy Bible as well as other religious literature, which can be done in public schools as an academic pursuit. The Supreme Court has not ruled this out. In fact, it seems to suggest that it be done. In good conscience, therefore, we can encourage and develop such teaching for our children; but what we may not do in good conscience is to require them to participate in any form of corporate worship.

Admittedly, neither the churches nor the public schools have done much to set up appropriate plans of objective study like this. The problems that face us as soon as we think of it are so numerous that it has been easier to settle for "opening devotions." But these problems, although thorny, are not forbidding. It will take a lot of doing, but I believe good religious education can be developed by Protestants, Orthodox, Jews, Roman Catholics, and others working together; and if we are genuinely concerned about wanting our young people to have an understanding of their religious and cultural heritage, we will make honest attempts to do so.

The questions raised by such a proposal are the ones for us to answer, it seems to me. It is no answer to our problem to say to Jews, to Roman Catholics, to 57 varieties of Protestants, to Orthodox, to atheists, and to all the varied and sundry types of believers, nonbelievers, and half-believers in our communities, "Please bow your heads and pray—or leave the room."

Foreign Aid Victory for President Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the recent passage of the foreign aid authorization bill was a historic occasion of which President Johnson can be justly proud. Never in the entire history of American foreign aid has a President been successful in obtaining the total amount of money requested for foreign assistance.

I think this is a significant milestone in the history of foreign policy and indicates the true support for this vital program.

The following editorial which appeared recently in the Washington Star commends President Johnson on his judicious leadership in the field of foreign aid. I join with the Washington Star in commending President Johnson for his skillful leadership and want to bring the editorial to the attention of my colleagues in the House.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 15, 1964]

A GIFT

President Johnson has good reason to feel a glow of gratification over the way the House has dealt with his request for foreign aid. By a rollcall vote of 230 to 175, it has authorized—almost exactly down to the last penny—the $3.5 billion he has asked for.

This has never before happened in the 17-year history of foreign aid. Always in the past, the House has slashed away at the annual Presidential recommendations. But now, setting a precedent of sorts, it has accepted at face value Mr. Johnson's argument that $3.5 billion must be regarded as a preshrunk, barebones, rockbottom sum vitally needed to serve the Nation's best interests abroad. We hope the Senate follows suit.

Still to come, of course, is the vote needed to appropriate the authorized funds. But what the House has already done is a promising augury. It is a measure of Mr. Johnson's unique skill and persuasiveness in dealing with the Congress. It suggests that honesty may be a better policy than the traditional practice of padding appropriations requests in anticipation of their being cut.

Given such a gift, any occupant of the White House must cherish it as something good not only for himself, but for all the Nation.

Cuba Today—Third of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as I stated on June 24, the articles on conditions in Cuba written by Bruce Taylor and published by the Washington Star should be given the widest circulation, and accordingly I am inserting the third installment in the RECORD today:

CUBA TODAY: CASTRO HAS TALENT—FOR RUINING THE ECONOMY

(By Bruce Taylor)

It is not despite Fidel Castro's best efforts that Cuba is grievously ill. It is because of them. There is no realism in his programs to make the country self-sufficient.

He establishes himself as the ultimate authority in a project, becomes entirely engrossed in it, sets unattainable goals for it, makes mistakes, loses interest, leaves all of it to be puzzled out by subordinates who know less about it than he does, and moves on to something else.

The results are disastrous.

Cuba's economic welfare is determined almost wholly by its ability to produce sugar. It is Cuba's only real currency. Last year's production was 3.8 million tons, the lowest in the nation's recent history. Premier Castro is talking about 10 million tons by 1970, but this year's production will be even lower than last year's.

FORCED TO BUY SUGAR

He is committed for 3.84 million tons, and has admitted in speeches he has been forced to buy sugar on the open market to meet that commitment.

Mr. Castro is unable to plan ahead.

Last year's low production was caused by the shortage of experienced cane cutters he created by bringing them into the cities after the previous season to work in industry He was unable to free them to return to the fields at harvest time.

Wielding a machete is backbreaking work, and it is definitely an art. Amateurs not only can ruin the current crop, but the succeeding one.

IMPORTS CANE CUTTERS

This year, Mr. Castro thought he had the problem beaten by importing new, specially designed Russian mechanical cane cutters. They did not prove effective. So he ordered practically all of his army into the fields. This improved the situation to some extent—although we saw thousands upon thousands of acres of cane that could never be cut in time—but this year there was a new problem: transportation.

Where it was relatively good last year, it broke down this year. The old American trucks he has been using were another year older. There are not nearly enough Soviet vehicles in Cuba to replace them. He used oxen.

Next year, he doubtlessly will be plagued by the increasing malfunction of the machinery in the American-built sugar mills. All of it is at least 5 years old, and no replacement parts for it are available to him.

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT

This second successive sugar crop failure has had a tremendous psychological effect on the Cubans. It has heightened anti-Castro emotion everywhere on the island, but most particularly in the agricultural areas where his main strength originally lay.

It is not generally known that Mr. Castro last year carried out a second agrarian reform. It nationalized the farms of the very people who had given him his most solid support.

His first agrarian reform law was enacted in 1960, a year after he became dictator, and was the one which he had promised. It took over for the state all farms of more than 30 "cavallerias." There are 33 acres to a cavelleria.

Most of these farms and plantations belonged to absentee United States and Cuban landlords, and there was little general sympathy for them. The land was not turned over to individuals, however; the individuals were turned onto it, to work it for the state.

REPORTS START TO FLY

Last year, reports began to fly that Mr. Castro was contemplating further agrarian measures.

ANAP, an association of owners of small private farms, was worried. It called a convention last summer to ask Mr. Castro what, if any, plans he had. Mr. Castro assured the association he was satisfied to take no more than 70 percent of all land under cultivation and to leave the balance to the ANAP.

Less than 2 months later he quietly enacted his second agrarian reform law. It nationalized all farms of more than five cavallerias.

ANAP was destroyed, but if that wasn't bad enough, Mr. Castro had more bad news.

TOOK ALL OF LAND

The state took every last acre of every farm of more than five cavallerias. It also took all buildings on the farms, and turned out their owners with nothing more than clothes on their backs.

Compensation varied, from a minimum of 100 pesos a month to a maximum of 250 pesos a month for 10 years, according to the size of the farm.

A farmer with even one or two children could not survive. To maintain a stable diet he would have to buy food on the black market, and he would now have to pay rent—if he was lucky enough to find a place to live.

Premier Castro's typical lack of foresight compounded their troubles even further. He had neglected the mechanics of a system by which the compensation payments could be made. A great number of the evicted farmers received no money at all for several months.

CONSCRIPTION RESENTED

The reasons for their mounting antagonism toward Mr. Castro do not end even there. He has begun compulsory military service for all able-bodied men between 17 and 45. His method of conscription is to go into small towns, seemingly at random, and strip them of all men who fit the bill.

Mr. Castro began his reign with a great rash of construction. He had reasonable success putting up homes for laborers and farmers in the interior, but his project in East Havana—across the bay from the city proper—was a flop.

MEANT AS SHOWPLACE

It was to have been a showplace. He put up beautiful seven- and eight-story apartment buildings. They are impressive, and Government officials delight in pointing them out to you.

But when you get away from the officials and talk to the people who live there, you find the buildings are anything but practical.

You learn that Mr. Castro couldn't get elevators for them, so no one on the upper floors is happy. And transportation to the city is so unpredictable the people can't comfortably get to and from their jobs. Most of them would move—if there was somewhere else to go.

BUILDS POWERPLANTS

Cuba is in the process of constructing two thermoelectric powerplants, one at each end of the island. These, however, are being built by Russians, and are progressing well.

To the very bare credit side of Mr. Castro's construction ledger must be inscribed his fishermen's cooperative at Manzanillo, on the Caribbean coast of Oriente Province. Almost 600 fishermen and their families live in small but very attractive prefabricated concrete homes. They pay no rent.

The development has a barbershop, a hospital, a pharmacy, and other such services. All are free.

RUSH GIVES OUT

The fishermen earn up to 400 pesos a month, three to four times the national average.

Mr. Castro's early gush of construction has petered out now. There is a sign in Havana that tells people who can't get past the city to see for themselves that 70 percent of the population lived in "bohios"—huts made of palm leaves thatched over wood frames—when Castro came to power, and implies this condition no longer exists.

It is an outrageous lie. The bohios still are there. So are the mud-floor hovels that line every roadway through the interior.

Castro is attempting to inject some reality into his planning now, but without notable achievement.

LECTURES ON LIVESTOCK

Currently, he is an expert on livestock, and lectures at great length on the subject in speeches and in private conversation. He wants to export beef, and says he is experimenting with natural feeds that will enable him to raise cattle without having to import the fertilizers of which he is so desperately short.

At the moment there is not enough good beef in Cuba for his own people.

Cuba's climate is such that it should be a prolific producer of food. Properly tended, its soil can be induced to give three crops of corn a year, for instance. But the island's agriculture is in a mess. The Russian and Red Chinese technicians brought there to straighten it out do not appear to be making much headway.

CANADIANS' FARM SUCCESS

They are being shown to great disadvantage by several Ontario tobacco farmers working on contract in Cuba. Their success has been spectacular. They have introduced Canadian seed and methods to Cuban tobacco farming in Pinar del Rio Province, and have increased production there in the past year by 300 percent.

Mr. Castro's own inadequacies are largely responsible for the failure of his programs and, accordingly, the condition in which Cuba finds itself today.

But he also is handicapped by the fact that the only people he can trust are the people who fought with him in his revolution, and they are the ones he has had to install in positions of wide authority. Most are totally unfit to hold them.

AVOID DECISIONS

It is seldom that the head of one department or ministry knows what his counterpart in another is doing; it is even more seldom that one of them will make a decision.

Cubans have always been famous for getting things done "manana"—tomorrow.

With the addition of inept Communist bureaucracy, you're extremely fortunate in Cuba today if you can get things done by "la semana proxima"—next week.

ARA's OEDP Program Was a Farce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, communities scrambling for ARA benefits lost no time in filing their overall economic development plans. By May 1, 1963, 81 percent of the designated areas—850 areas—had filed OEDP's. Most of them involved only limited thoughtful analysis of community resources and contained little that would provide a blueprint for future community economic development. Many were poorly conceived and failed to contain essential economic data. Most were choked with information having no bearing upon the purpose of the OEDP. Since many of the filing organizations were direct successors of the established local economic development groups—by 1961 there were more than 3,000 in existence according to SBA estimates—it was not surprising to find that the OEDP's followed the long-established tradition of such groups by basing the "plans" for future development on enticing new manufacturing plants from some far-off place. In short, most of the OEDP's were "pie in the sky" documents. Actually, manufacturing employment is declining. ARA could scarcely base sound economic planning for its customers upon expanding manufacturing plants.

The community OEDP's also emphasized the need for more public works and facilities. A good many of the "needed" public works projects had little relationship to the future economic development of the community. Few promoters paid any attention to the potential cost of the proposed projects even when they had relevance to economic development. Few bothered to compute a cost-benefit ratio to justify the proposed public works. The planning process was not taken seriously; it was just looked upon as a preliminary hurdle to obtaining Federal largess.

Local communities of State economic development agencies often ignored the congressional and ARA desire for "grassroots" preparation. For one example, most, if not all, of the OEDP's for Kentucky were prepared by the State area program office in Frankfort. They were in such general terms that without basic changes they could have described almost any area.

Incredibly, the ARA went along with this cavalier attitude. It faced the choice of either approving inadequate plans or disqualifying areas for receiving ARA cash until better plans were produced. The ARA was no less anxious to help than the communities were to receive help. So it accepted the plans. The ARA had developed neither the expertise nor the staff to appraise the validity of the local programs and to offer sound suggestions for the development of more comprehensive plans.

ARA and its staff are inexperienced in the crucial business of economic development and planning. Their main objective is to stimulate and process applications for Federal cash. ARA does not let essentials interfere with spending.

ARA also dissipated funds on foolish engineering studies. For example, ARA financed one study of the feasibility and design of a multipurpose reservoir in the Willapa River Basin, Wash., the kind of job that Congress has the Corps of Engineers to do. It did the same thing in southern Illinois, where the Corps of Engineers has for several years been considering the building of a multimillion-dollar reservoir to supply industrial water and create a tourist attraction.

Critical View of Student Grouping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 26, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., secretary of the Chicago chapter, Industrial Relations Research Association, has prepared a "Critical Review of Student Groupings," with a review of its early history and a compendium of the various plans that have been experimented with in the United States and abroad, for the purpose of giving deliberate and scholarly thought to the evaluation and recon-

struction of their administrative organization, in order to aid the instructional process. He has perfected, with cryptic clarity, an illuminating review of the subject.

He also develops an interesting outline of trends contributing to its practical application and ultimate perfection and, also, to institute these effective methods to deal with the problems of educating the growing number of children, and other problems.

Dr. Reuter's review follows:

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF STUDENT GROUPING

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.[1])

Dr. D. Richard Wynn recently said in his new book, "Organization of Public Schools," something that is significant: "More and more school systems are giving deliberate and scholarly thought to the evaluation and reconstruction of their administrative organization. This new ferment in the study of organization as an administrative process is sorely needed and long overdue as school organization struggles to keep pace with the heavy burdens of sharply rising enrollments, expanded staff, increased services to youth and society, and growing complexity of the school's relationship to society." I believe another area of equal importance is student grouping.

EARLY HISTORY OF GROUPINGS

Children have always been grouped in some manner to aid the instructional process. The Boston system is one of the pioneers in the area of the grouping of students. Prof. J. D. Philbrick organized the Quincy Grammar School of Boston about 1848, and this was probably the first graded American school.

Grouping first became popular as an administrative device and by 1860 it was an accepted nationwide principle. The trend from no established system to a complete system that did not fully consider the pupils, brought about many recognized defects. The defects were recognized long before positive remedies were suggested. One such recommendation came from the "44th Yearbook": [2] "School systems of the United States are poorly organized to deal effectively with the problems of educating the growing number of children who move from place to place."

A large number of grouping plans have been tried in America and abroad. Below is a brief review of some of these plans: [3]

1. The St. Louis, Mo., plan was prepared in 1862. Each school year was divided into four 10-week periods. This quarterly promotion plan has remained as a part of the elementary schools for many years.

2. The Pueblo, Colo., plan was established on the recommendation of Preston W. Search. The plan provided for complete individual progress for each pupil. All units in each course were studied by each pupil, but were completed at different rates. The program lasted only a short time and was discontinued in 1894.

3. The Cambridge, Mass., plan was established in 1893 and provided the same work for all pupils for the first 3 years in elementary school, with the last 6 years arranged in two parallel courses. This plan was geared for the average and superior children.

4. The Portland, Oreg., plan organized the elementary school around 54 units. There were two groups of students, with one group completing six units and the other eight each year. The two groups articulated at various points so that transfer was possible.

5. The Batavia, N.Y., plan was geared primarily for slow learners in large classes. There were two teachers for each room, with the first one in charge of instruction and the second one as a remedial coach.

6. The North Denver, Colo., plan was geared primarily for bright children. All children completed minimum assignments with the bright ones receiving additional topics.

7. The Santa Barbara, Calif., plan divided the school population into three sections. The low section did the minimum assignments, with the second section achieving more, and the top section even more extensive work.

8. The platoon plan has been termed the "work-study-play school." At all times one group would be in the homeroom studying fundamental subjects while the other group would be engaged in special rooms. The plan was used in Bluffton and Gary, Ind.

9. The Dalton, Mass., plan was first introduced by Helen Parkhurst in 1919 and was adopted the next year in the high school at Dalton, Mass. It has been applied more successfully in Europe than in the United States and in the high school than in the elementary grades. The subjects are divided into academic and nonacademic groups, with the former being based on individual pupil progress and the latter taught by class method.

10. The Winnetka, Ill., plan. Frederic Burk initiated this program in the Laboratory School of the San Francisco State Teachers College in 1913, and under the leadership of Carlton W. Washburne, it was established in the elementary schools of Winnetka, Ill. The individual instruction used in the plan is essentially a method of curriculum organization.

A number of educational authorities have classified these plans under various headings. All groups are classified under four headings: the self-contained classroom unit, the departmental plan, the platoon organization, and the plan of individual instruction. These various plans and modifications were conceived to fit the needs of pupils of America.[4]

CURRENT PROGRAMS

There are several important programs in operation in various sections of the Nation at the present time. These programs are more general in nature than previous ones and most of them do not bear individual surnames. Instead, they are classified more nearly according to function. Perhaps Dr. Harl R. Douglass has indicated the need for these programs: [5] "Critics from both groups have argued that more adequate provisions should be made for the education of students." Some of these current grouping plans follow:

1. The Woodring plan provides for an ungraded primary school and a middle elementary school, with children moving as fast as their abilities will allow.

2. The multiple-track plan is ordinarily used where there are three ability groups and each child is assigned to one of these. The plan is primarily used in secondary schools.

3. The departmental plan is where students are assigned to various teachers who are specialists in their fields. This plan is normally used in the secondary schools.

4. The ungraded plan is normally used in elementary schools. The time element is not particularly important as emphasis is in the direction of successful completion of the task.

5. The primary-intermediate plan is normally used in small schools in which one teacher will instruct all primary grade pupils and the other teacher will instruct the intermediate grade pupils. The pupils are thus grouped together for instruction in one or more subjects, regardless of grade.

6. The intrasubject plan is where children may be in several groups for different subjects. The plan is common in secondary schools.

7. The cooperative group plan is where teachers will cooperate in a program where each teacher is responsible for his own subject matter.

8. The vestibule plan is where students are given special help until they are ready to proceed into regular classes.

9. The social maturity plan is where children are assigned on the basis of social development.

10. The grade plan is where students in the same chronological age are placed together in a grade.

11. The split-grade plan is where students in two or three grade levels are assigned to one teacher.

12. The advanced-class plan is where children of higher ability are placed in a class for more advanced instruction.

13. The special grouping plan is used for a small group of gifted children when they are brought together from separate schools.

14. The tutoring plan is where students are in a regular class for instruction, but where the gifted members assume special projects outside the class under the supervision of teachers.

15. The special class plan is where students scoring less than 70 on an individual intelligence test are placed in an ungraded situation.

TWO MAJOR TYPES OF GROUPING

While there are currently several types of grouping, homogeneous and heterogeneous are the two major ones.

The "Dictionary of Education" defines homogeneous grouping as: [6] "the classification of pupils for the purpose of forming instructional groups having a relatively high degree of similarity in regard to certain factors that affect learning; the procedure of organizing data in subject-matter fields or areas of experience into groups or divisions, the parts of which are relatively alike in respect to one or more characteristics, such as degree of difficulty, usefulness, or appeal to pupils."

Many advantages are given for homogeneous grouping. Among the ones most commonly used are the following:

1. The freedom of children to proceed with others of like ability at their own rate.

2. The challenge of children to do their best work.

3. The possibility of children maintaining democratic living without constant association in all activities.

4. The preparation of better materials because of the similarity of the children studying them.

5. The possibility of more individual attention for the children with less ability.

While it is normally conceded that complete homogeneous grouping is impossible because individuals differ in many ways, there are other factors to consider. Homogeneous grouping essentially occurs when children are placed together on the basis of some specific similarity. One example of similarity is when children are grouped together based on mental ability. The results of standardized tests, individual mental tests of ability, and the judgment of the teacher, are units normally used to make this determination. Many authorities, however, consider mental ability to be too narrow in the homogeneous grouping of children because of other factors such as social and emotional development.

Homogeneous grouping is sometimes based on achievement. Again, various tests are used to make this determination. The results of standardized achievement tests, teacher judgments, and other tests are used. A defect can be found in this characterization also because the achievement must be determined before assignments are made.

Homogeneous grouping is probably the most successful where both ability and achievement are considered together.

The "Dictionary of Education" defines heterogeneous grouping as: [7] "the classification of pupils for the purpose of forming

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Footnotes at end of speech.

certain groups having a high degree of dissimilarity." Some of the reasons for heterogeneous grouping are:

1. Provision is made for classes similar to experiences in life.
2. Provision is made for children to work with others of different ability.
3. Provision is made for appropriate instruction at various levels in a classroom.
4. Children with less ability share the rich experience of their leaders.
5. Most children have ability in one or more fields, and this is stimulated in association with children of the same age and different abilities.

Heterogeneous grouping is thus the other extreme to homogeneous grouping. Often children are assigned to heterogeneous groups based on their residence. For example, one class may include those children from a certain number of blocks on a certain street. It is assumed that these children play together because they live in the same neighborhood.

A second type of assignment of heterogeneous grouping occurs when the alphabet is used. The child becomes a member of a given class because of his surname. When either of these methods of heterogeneous grouping is used, there are certain noticable shortcomings. While in many cases these groups may provide a lifelike situation as one would find in a neighborhood, there may be a lack of balance in the class. Some authorities take care of this criticism by providing for planned heterogeneous grouping. The latter is achieved by insuring that each class has a certain percent of children in the low, average, and high[7] classifications. This results in a step toward better grouping.

THE GOAL

The final answer to the adequate grouping of children in American schools will probably vary throughout the Nation because of many factors. The essential need, however, is that the outcomes should guarantee the following in grouping:[8]

1. Pupils learn to plan activities.
2. Common interests and purposes are discovered.
3. Practice in leadership is gained.
4. Initiative is encouraged.
5. Independence of thought is achieved.
6. Training in courtesy is given.
7. Ability to report is developed.
8. Pupils learn how to take part in discussion.
9. Practice is had in passing judgment.
10. Extensive experience is made possible.
11. Self-confidence is gained.
12. Respect for others is developed.
13. Cooperation is learned.
14. Teachers know pupils better.
15. Pupils have greater admiration and respect for teachers.
16. Learning is more highly motivated.

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[1] Dr. Reuter is secretary, Chicago chapter, Industrial Relations Research Association, and this article is based on his recent study entitled, "Necessity for Student Grouping in the Public Schools."

[2] National Society for the Study of Education, "Forty-fourth Yearbook," pt. II. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945, p. 48.

[3] George S. Reuter, Jr., "In School and At Work," College Heights: Arkansas A. & M. College, 1954, pp. 2–5.

[4] George S. Reuter, Jr., "In School and At Class Size," Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1961, p. 4.

[5] Harl R. Douglass, "Trends and Issues in Secondary Education," Washington, D.C.: The Center of Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1962, p. 1.

[6] Carter V. Good, "Dictionary of Education," 2d ed. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959, p. 256.

[7] Ibid., p. 256.

[8] George S. Reuter, Jr., "In School and At Work," College Heights: Arkansas A. & M. College, 1954, pp. 26–27.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Texas Eastman Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we of east Texas are exceedingly proud of the Texas Eastman Co. at Longview, Tex., and its wonderful people. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial that appeared in the Longview Daily News, May 28, 1964:

TEXAS EASTMAN

It was only fitting and proper that Longview set aside a special day to honor the great Texas Eastman Co., a division of Eastman Kodak Co., one of the world's foremost industries.

As far as I am concerned, every day is Texas Eastman Appreciation Day, because this wonderful organization and its fine people have had a gargantuan impact on every facet of our community life. While the economic benefits have been of tremendous proportions—I would estimate the dollar total at many hundreds of millions—there are numerous other noteworthy dividends that have accrued to Longview and the area. You will find Texas Eastman people in responsible positions in the church, the schools, the youth organizations, civic and cultural units, and elsewhere in the mainstream of Longview's everyday activities.

It was a red letter day for Longview and east Texas when Eastman became identified with our city and the State. It is a constant source of satisfaction to have had the distinct privilege of working with officials of Eastman Kodak Co. in connection with the selection of Longview as the base of operations for its Texas division.

Since ours is the fastest growing industrial community in this part of the State, it is well to use information given by President David Hull to show what Texas Eastman Co. has meant to the immediate area in 1963 alone. More than $25 million, including payrolls, went into the economy.

In 1952, the first year of Eastman's operations here, the total payments to and for the benefit of employees was more than $2 million. In 1963, the total had climbed to $12 million—a sixfold increase.

These figures include fringe benefits such as the wage dividend. It is very interesting to note that the first wage dividend, paid in March 1953, for the preceding year was slightly under $100,000. The one paid last March for 1963 was more than $1,400,000.

The 1964 wage dividend payment figures approximately 9½ weeks pay at average rate for those employees with 5 years service. The company had 815 individuals who completed 5 years service in 1963. This 5-year group is increasing by almost 100 each year. Almost 500 employees will complete 10 years service during 1964.

I should like to emphasize the significance of the wage dividend. It is a lump sum payment made annually over and above regular wages. This year's payment of $1,400,000 is the equivalent of the annual payroll of an industry such as Texas Eastman employing 225 people. In other words, without anyone's lifting a finger, Longview is getting the equivalent of a new major industry every year. Of course, as Eastman continues to grow the wage dividend, everything considered, also will become larger.

When the company began production in 1952 it had about 350 production employees and ended the year with approximately 425. That number did not change appreciably during 1953. Then the company started adding to the payroll in 1954 as new and expanded units came into production. At the end of 1962 it had 1,250 on the payroll, an increase in excess of 800 in 9 years. Total employment for 1963 was substantially the same as the preceding year.

It is interesting to note that 237 of the employees are college graduates, representing degrees at all levels from 89 colleges and universities and two service academies located in 31 States as well as two German colleges. They represent 15 sciences and professions. Of this group, about 47 have graduate degrees—28 at the masters level and 19 at the doctoral level. It is self-evident what these outstanding people mean to our community.

A multimillion-dollar expansion program has been announced by Texas Eastman. This will include a cracking plant, as acetaldehyde plant and additions to some existing lines just as the company has made annually since it came to Longview. It is calculated these projects when completed will add less than 25 percent to the payroll. However, Dave Hull has pointed out that during the construction period it is probable that the work force may peak out around 750 employees. This is comparable with the top construction period in 1951.

Many months of very strenuous work, including more than a hundred thousand miles of travel, went into the herculean task of piecing together the segments of Eastman's requirement pattern relative to the selection of Longview. Among those who worked faithfully and tirelessly with me at the local level were my wife, Margaret, C. A. Loftis, Perry Thompson, R. B. Williams, Judge Oscar B. Jones, Fred Erisman, R. G. LeTourneau, V. A. Clements, G. A. McCreight, Congressmen Lindley Beckworth and Wright Patman, Earl Roberts, R. O. Kenley, Paul Bramlette, John Kuykendall, city and county officials, the late J. A. McCann and Leo E. Butler, R. M. Nichols, then county judge of Harrison County, and others. These good people, and W. R. Burton, F. M. Kelley, C. F. Schaeffer and James Ellis, of Tennessee Eastman Co., knew some of the problems that were encountered in land procurement for the 2,500-acre site. And only I know how some of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles were overcome. Eastman was a prize plum, and many other cities were after it with all the ammunition at their command. In retrospect, I cannot recall any industrial campaigns in which we worked any harder than those of Eastman and LeTourneau. However, we have been handsomely repaid many times in the satisfaction of knowing what they have meant to Longview and the area.

To James C. White, Dave Hull, H. H. (Bud) Imray, Jr., Jim Witt and the other stalwarts of Texas Eastman, as well as to their associates at Eastman Kodak and Tennessee Eastman, let us all extend felicitations and best wishes on the continued growth of the parent company and its divisions.—CARL L. ESTES.

United Press International Praises Work of Bill Parker, Director of Region 5, Office of Civil Defense, Denton, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Preston McGraw of the United Press International office in Dallas has written an interesting, vivid article describing some of the outstanding work of the Civil Defense Director, Bill Parker, of Region 5 of the Office of Civil Defense in the Denton, Tex., Federal Center.

This Federal Center is a headquarters for Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Louisiana.

I ask unanimous consent that this UPI article, published in newspapers nationwide, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL DEFENSE STATION IN TEXAS HOUSES NUCLEAR ATTACK CENTER FOR ARKANSAS

DENTON, TEX.—"Everybody understands coming here will mean leaving his family behind," says Bill Parker in a matter-of-fact tone. "Nobody has signed anything, but that is firmly understood."

Bill Parker is director of Region 5 of the Office of Civil Defense. To talk to him you go to the guard sitting at the entrance to the Denton Federal Center, 25 miles north of Dallas. The guard picks up the telephone, then reports: "Have a seat. He'll be up in a minute."

The official has to come up because everything in the Denton Federal Center is deep underground.

It was built to be one of the safest places in the world in the event of a nuclear attack. Officials believe it could survive a nuclear burst right over it.

It houses the Office of Civil Defense and the Office of Emergency Planning for region 5—Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and New Mexico.

OCD has eight such regional offices and the Government plans eventually to get them all underground so operations could be directed from them for at least a month if there were a nuclear war.

Parker acknowledges that if there were an attack anywhere around Denton, the center would be besieged by hundreds of frantic citizens, all demanding refuge.

None would be let in, he says. There is a secret way for getting officials in without letting civilians crowd in after them, he said.

FIRST COMPLETED

The Denton center was the first to be completed and so far is the only one.

There are two floors of the center underground, protected by 5 feet of earth and a layer of cement on top.

A small, modernistic structure sits above ground, on top of the center. It houses an

entrance hall, a coffee shop, and a few offices that could be quickly moved underground.

The topside structure is deliberately planned to be blown away by a nuclear weapon so the wreckage would not cover the entrances and exits to the center underground.

There are two ways of getting in and out of the center. One is from the surface building and the other is from inside it.

The inside entrance is a ponderous door of lead and iron, 6 inches thick. It is opened and closed by a hydraulic apparatus.

The elevator is pushed up and pulled down from the bottom to keep a blast from putting it out of action.

The lights that illuminate the center's halls and rooms are all suspended from springs. So are pipes. Everything that has to be fixed to the floor is bolted to springs. There are flexible sections in pipes so they will give without breaking.

The idea is to prevent anything in the center from breaking, even if a bomb blast is so close that it moves the hill like an earthquake.

ONE HUNDRED ON STAFF

About 100 men and women staff the center 24 hours a day.

The Treasury Department, Federal Aviation Agency, Commerce Department, Interior Department, General Services Administration, and Federal Reserve bank all have liaison offices in it.

In case of an attack, it would house a total of about 500 persons—regular personnel in the center and the rest Government officials from the Dallas-Fort Worth area.

Two doctors from Denton have agreed to report to the center in case of attack and be locked in with the others.

The public is not admitted in Denton Federal Center and pictures are not permitted of any part of it for security reasons.

There have been suggestions that the center would become a "second White House" if Washington were bombed. Parker doubts it, unless the President were visiting the Denton area.

There is a secret shelter for the President in Washington and if President Johnson continues in the White House, Parker expects that a shelter will be built at the L.B.J. Ranch.

But Denton Federal Center's communications are elaborate enough for it to become an administrative center for the whole country.

It is tied in by telephone and a 100-word-a-minute teleprinters to an elaborate civil defense landline communications network.

The network avoids large places that would likely be bombed in a war. There are many alternate routes that the equipment seeks automatically.

RADIO TRANSMITTERS

If telephone lines fail, there are powerful radio transmitters, connected to an antenna system 3 miles east of the center.

Radio provides voice, teleprinter and dot-and-dash communications with almost any point in the world.

Communications Director E. K. Akin has asked for a special pop-up antenna that can be pushed up out of the ground like a submarine periscope in case all other antennas are blown away.

A machine in the center is connected with a computer in the national resources evaluation center in Washington.

The computer is programed with information about the population of thousands of cities and towns, the kind of buildings in them, the number of hospitals, the number of bomb shelters and even the number of blood banks.

If there were a nuclear attack in region 5, the Denton Federal Center would feed to Washington information on the size of the blast and wind direction and strength.

This information would be fed into the computer which would feed back to Denton at a maximum rate of 3,000 words a minute, an estimate of the number of casualties, how many structures were destroyed, how big an area was contaminated by fallout and what supplies were needed.

The Treasury's Program for Meeting the Coin Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, nearly all of the Members of the House have received complaints from banks and businesses in their districts about the shortage of coins for regular day-to-day commercial activities. The shortage has been nationwide, and it has been serious.

To help to meet it, the House has provided funds in the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill for a new mint at Philadelphia, and for around-the-clock operations, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, at the existing Denver and Philadelphia Mints. These measures, plus allowances for additional equipment, were intended to raise coin production from a current rate of about 4.3 billion pieces a year to nearly 5 billion, in the coming fiscal year, with projected further substantial increases in subsequent years, particularly after the new mint comes into operation.

However, in view of the current demand for coins, it appeared to many of us that the projected output of 4.97 billion pieces in fiscal 1965 would not be enough to meet the needs of business, and also to prove conclusively the absurdity of hoarding coins against possible future shortages. A tremendous amount of coin hoarding now seems to be going on, and this must be ended.

The Committee on Banking and Currency, under Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, has been watching the coin situation closely. The Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, of which I am chairman, and which has jurisdiction in the committee over legislation dealing with coins and currency, has been in constant touch with the Treasury on various administrative, as well as possible legislative, steps which could be taken. The new program just announced today follows discussions held by Chairman PATMAN and me with the responsible officials of the Treasury Department.

RATE OF PRODUCTION WILL DOUBLE IN YEAR

Mr. Speaker, instead of a projected annual production of about 5 billion coins in the coming fiscal year, as called for in the appropriation bill, the Treasury now proposes to produce at a rate of 7 billion for the remainder of calendar 1964 and at the rate of 9 billion a year by the end of the 1965 fiscal year, a year from now. That would be more than double the 1964 fiscal year production rate of 4.3 billion coins.

The Treasury has been making more silver coin production capacity available by purchasing from private sources the rolled nickel strip used for making 5-cent coins; it now also plans to buy rolled bronze strip for pennies, so that all of the melting, casting and rolling operations in the two mints can be devoted exclusively to silver coin production.

New coin presses have been ordered, and some stamping equipment located in Government surplus is going to be converted to coin use. The proof coin equipment will be converted to higher speeds for production of regular coins, after present commitments are met for proof coin orders which had been accepted.

The U.S. Assay Office at San Francisco, formerly a mint, will be put back into partial coin production use, at least temporarily, as a facility for the annealing of blanks for nickels and pennies.

In an effort to discourage the hoarding of 1964 coins for possible speculative numismatic value, the Treasury proposes legislation to continue indefinitely the 1964 date on all new coins.

Mr. Speaker, I submit at this point the official announcement made public by the Treasury Department today on its program for seeking to meet and overcome the coin shortage, as follows:

[For release morning newspapers, Monday, June 29, 1964]

TREASURY TO DOUBLE COIN PRODUCTION

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D.C., June 26, 1964.

The Treasury today announced an intensified program to double the Nation's rate of coin production within a year and raise it by 75 percent during the next 6 months.

By next June, the program will boost our coin production to an annual rate of over 9 billion new coins—more than double the 4.3 billion level for fiscal 1964 and triple the 3 billion level for fiscal 1961. For the last 6 months of this year—normally a time of peak demand for coins—the program will mean a 75-percent increase in coin production over the same period last year, a rise to 3.5 billion new coins from the 2 billion produced in the last half of 1963.

This increased production will be distributed among the present five denominations of coins in about the present ratios—roughly two-thirds pennies, one-fourth nickels and dimes, and the rest quarters and half-dollars.

The new program will augment the Treasury's already heightened efforts to expand the Nation's coin production in the face of a growing need for coins.

Steps already taken to expand current production of coins include the purchase of rolled nickel strip for the making of all 5-cent coins—thus freeing equipment for other production—and the inauguration of a continuous 7-day, 24-hour production schedule at the Nation's two mints, in Denver and Philadelphia.

These actions will increase production for the coming fiscal year by 600 million coins, bringing total budgeted production up to some 5 billion coins.

To augment these measures, the following new steps will be taken:

1. Beginning early in July, bronze strip for pennies will be purchased (in addition to the nickel strip already being acquired for 5-cent coins), thus freeing all melting, casting and rolling operations for the production of more silver coins.

2. New coin presses (used to imprint the design of the coin) are being ordered for delivery early this fall and additional stamping machines, which can be converted for

mint use, are being acquired from the surplus stocks of the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, and private industry.

3. In December, when current orders have been filled, the proof coin operation (the production of special sets of coins for collectors) will be suspended. Those of its presses that are suitable will be converted to allow higher speeds and will be devoted to the production of coins for circulation.

4. As additional presses become available, production of annealed blanks (round pieces of metal the actual size of the coin softened to take the die) for nickels and pennies will be temporarily shifted to the U.S. Assay Office in San Francisco, thus permitting the mints to concentrate on the final stages of the production of all coins.

5. The Congress will be asked to continue the 1964 date on all coins indefinitely, thus eliminating any possible incentives for keeping 1964 coins out of circulation for speculative purposes.

Through these and other measures, the Treasury Department will continue to seek out ways of assuring an adequate supply of coinage with existing facilities—pending the construction of the new Philadelphia Mint authorized last August. This mint will replace the current Philadelphia Mint, and will be capable of producing coins at a higher rate than both existing mints together. However, since funds are only now becoming available to proceed with construction of the new mint, its construction is 9 months behind the Treasury's original schedule—and it will probably begin coin production in 1967, instead of in 1966 as originally expected by the Treasury.

Commendation of Representative Gene Snyder, of Kentucky, for Helping Reduce Government Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, during these times of $98 billion budgets and deficit spending, it is always comforting to learn of situations wherein savings were accomplished in spending the taxpayers' money. One of these situations has been called to my attention by a fellow townsman of Louisville, Ky., in a letter commending our Congressman, the Honorable GENE SNYDER, for interceding with the General Services Administration in a contract matter which resulted in the Government's saving between $8,000 and $10,000.

I believe that my colleagues will be interested in reading this letter, because it exemplifies the type of vigilance all of us should exercise in connection with the expenditure of public funds. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the communication be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOUISVILLE, KY.,
June 18, 1964.

Senator THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Madrid Building,
Louisville, Ky.

DEAR SENATOR MORTON: It is always a pleasure for this taxpayer to compliment a Congressman for a job well done. We of course have been in the coal business for many years and have furnished coal to various Government institutions.

This spring the General Services Administration, who took over the buying for the Veterans' Administration advertised for bids on coal for the veterans hospital on Zorn Avenue here in Louisville. The coal requested was of an inferior type that would have placed a burden on the equipment and employees. The coal was sized to require a more than double the freight rate and a higher mine price. After several futile attempts with General Services Administration we contacted Congressman GENE SNYDER. Within a few days the error was corrected, an addendum was issued and the taxpayers were saved between $8,000 and $10,000.

It was a pleasure to have worked with a man as energetic and intelligent as Congressman SNYDER, and I think that this incident should not go by without calling it to your attention.

With best wishes,

RICHARD J. HENCHEY, Jr.

P.S.—We were not the successful bidders.

The Salt Institute's 50th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago this month, there was established in this country an organization known as the Salt Producers Association. With a name change so that it now is simply the Salt Institute and the added membership of Canadian producers to give it international status, the organization currently is quietly marking its 50th anniversary.

The Salt Institute, acting in behalf of the major producers of one of the essential elements in life, merits a "well done" for its work in helping to develop new ways salt can be helpful to industry, in agriculture and in a broadening range of facets of everyday living.

As rarely as does the average person think about it, common salt—sodium chloride, to the chemist—is one of the essentials of life. It has been throughout history, from the earliest records extant, and we have every reason to believe it always will be even into the unforeseeable future. As uninteresting and commonplace as it may look sitting in a kitchen or on a dining table, the story of salt is laden with romance and adventure. As far back as 27 centuries B.C.—4,700 years ago—the earliest known treatise on pharmacology was published in China, and a major portion of it was a discussion of more than 40 types and forms of salt. Ancient Greece's widely practiced trade of salt for slaves gave rise to our expression, "not worth his salt." Application of the Latin phrase "salarium argentum" to the special salt rations given early Roman soldiers was the genesis of the English word "salary."

So it has been over the years. The deaths of thousands of Napoleon's troops during their retreat from Moscow are supposed to have been attributable to lack of salt in their scanty diets. Thousands of Britons languished in prison for smuggling salt into their country in violation of laws promulgated by ancient-times British monarchs establishing salt monopolies; oppressive salt monopolies were a major contributing factor to the rise of the French revolution. On our own continent, the British commander, Lord Howe, was reported jubilant and scenting victory when he captured Gen. George Washington's salt supply in 1777.

Today, the importance of salt to all life is better known and more widely acknowledged than ever. We all know of its essentiality to the human diet, even to the point of taking supplemental rations in some such form as salt tablets when, in hot weather, heavy perspiration depletes the body of its needed salt supplies. It is universally accepted as a vital element in livestock diets.

Salt's uses in chemical and industrial processes are legion. It has saved untold thousands of lives in its role as the most important element in keeping our streets, roads, and highways clear of accident-causing ice in wintertime, to say nothing of helping keep them clear of snow accumulations that would make them impassable to traffic. Its value in stabilizing earths and making them a solid, lasting base for lesser travelled roads, for farm ponds, even for aircraft landing strips, is gaining increasing recognition.

Another of the many uses of salt developed in recent years is as an essential agent in water-softening devices in which it is a part of the process of removing minerals and other impurities from "hard" water to make it "soft" and more satisfactory to the palate and for general household use.

The Salt Institute has contributed substantially to the development of many of these modern uses of its product. It has assisted in much research and development work in connection with highway, agricultural, dietary, and other uses of salt. It has assisted materially in developing the use of salt as a "carrier" for materials helpful to various forms of life, such as "trace minerals" essential to cattle and many other domesticated animals, and "iodized salt," which has been a major factor in drastically curtailing the incidence of goiter in humans.

One of the Institute's most important contributions, however, has been its functioning as an information-disseminating service. In this capacity, it gives circulation not only to information de-

veloped by its own research projects but to other data, produced by any reputable salt or its use. The institute has pro-research unit, having any bearing on duced a veritable library of pamphlets, booklets, and bulletins on a broad variety of subjects involving salt which are of inestimable value to highway engineers and maintenance officials, dieticians, agriculturalists, industrialists, and others.

Quarterly meetings of the institute's specialized groups, such as its subcommittees on highways, dietary, agricultural and soft water salt uses, serve as a clearinghouse for information about new developments. New developments are canvassed thoroughly in discussions which may even produce solutions to the problems. If any development, favorable or unfavorable, is deemed to warrant the action, the institute then will see that it is publicized.

The Salt Institute was established 50 years ago by 15 salt producers. Of the individuals involved, the only one still active is Howard J. Carey, Sr., president of the Carey Salt Co., of Hutchinson, Kans., who still frequently attends meetings of the institute and whose company is among the Nation's half-dozen biggest salt producers.

Today, the institute comprises 18 producer-members:

American Salt Corp., the Barton Salt Co., the Canadian Salt Co., Ltd.; the Carey Salt Co., Diamond Crystal Salt Co., Gordy Salt Co., Hardy Salt Co., International Salt Co., Leslie Salt Co., Michigan Salt Co., Morton Salt Co., Oliver Brothers Salt Co., Pawnee Salt Co., Solar Salt Co., United Salt Corp., Watkins Salt Co., Western Salt Co., Domtar Chemicals Ltd., Sifto Salt Division.

I know we all hope the institute will continue to make similarly helpful contributions in life for many, many years to come.

Big Boost for Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Connecticut Light & Power Co. recently published an advertisement announcing the second reduction in its rates since last November. The two reductions total more than $4 million. I would like the text of the advertisement to appear in the RECORD as an outstanding example of one company's public service and how it has fulfilled the intended purpose of the tax-reduction bill, which made these reductions possible:

BIG BOOST FOR CONNECTICUT—RATES REDUCED AGAIN

Today, after discussions with the State public utilities commission, we filed a reduction of $2,254,000 in electric and gas rates affecting many of our customers. This reduction, to be effective with July bills, is designed specifically to stimulate the State's continued growth and prosperity. Seven months ago also, C.L. & P. cut its customer rates—that time by over $1¾ million.

(These two reductions bring to over $4 million the total amount by which we have lowered customer rates since last November.)

The month's rate cut is due principally to recent changes in the Federal income tax laws. As you know, these changes were made to lessen restraints on the free enterprise system which prevented it from generating necessary growth itself. By making this rate reduction C.L. & P. is doing its part to stimulate economic progress.

Lower electric and gas rates for C.L. & P. service help to prove again—you can't buy better value.

Edward M. Sneed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the death of Cook County Commissioner Edward M. Sneed, Democratic committeeman of the third ward in the city of Chicago, marks the end of a powerful leader's career in politics.

He was the first Negro committeeman elected to the office of committeeman in the State of Illinois in 1932.

Commissioner Sneed was born in Nashville, Tenn., the youngest of 15 children. His family moved to Chicago. Edward, as a boy, entered the grammar school and upon graduation attended Jones Commercial High School.

His political career began with his appointment to the unexpired term of the third ward committeemanship. He filled various positions in State and local governments—sanitary district, the State parole office, the Illinois Vehicle License Commission, and as a deputy bailiff of the municipal court.

In 1938 he was elected county commissioner and held that office as well as the office of committeeman of the third ward at his death.

Mr. Sneed was a quiet person, gentle of disposition, who throughout his life dedicated his talents to serving the needs of the poor and unfortunate of the city and county communities, who seek the professional services of our county institutions.

Mr. Sneed had a natural gift for making one seeking advice or help to feel at ease. His personality radiated a sweet friendly interest. He was warm and understanding in handling the problems of his constituency. His popularity contributed much to the political strength of his party—the returns of the third ward gave tremendous pluralities to the Democratic candidates, election after election. The loss of this dedicated public servant will be felt by the party leadership. The city of Chicago, County of Cook, and State of Illinois have lost a dedicated leader and public servant. We, the members of the Illinois congressional delegation, send our heartfelt condolences to his lovely wife, Josephine; his son, Edward, and his sister, on their great loss. May the good Lord reward him with everlasting happiness for his undeviating and constant services to the indigent population of our communities.

Losing Ground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLETON J. KING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, the people of this country will make a crucial decision at the general election next November. They will have an opportunity to either elect a President who will fight for the freedom of this country and lead America to a place of dignity and respect, or to return an administration to power which has stumbled along expensively, incompetently, overmanned and inadequate to do the kind of job that is necessary in a changing world situation.

On leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article, which appeared in the Troy Record newspaper by Mr. Dwight Marvin. It is my hope that all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will take the time to read Mr. Marvin's article, as I believe his criticism of the present administration is justifiable in light of our foreign policy failures throughout the world:

A THOUGHT FOR TODAY: LOSING GROUND

(By Dwight Marvin)

We don't like to say it because it is our country and, as Lincoln put it, "the last hope of earth." But it is a fact that, for some years, we have been losing influence, respect, and friendship everywhere.

Senator LAUSCHE, in the Reader's Digest, points out Panama, Cambodia, Ghana, Bolivia, and Indonesia as places where our standing is low and getting lower. He might have added Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, and the Arab countries.

Why? Haven't we the brains to fight, at least on even terms, in the cold war against Russia and China? They are outpointing us steadily at every turn.

What is wrong? Why not tell the truth? Our State Department is a mess of inefficiency and its head is apparently essentially inept. We have no foreign policy worthy of the name. And what is piously referred to in Washington as policy is a mishmash of weakness and decrepitude.

If the present trend should continue until 1969—supposing President Johnson is reelected—we will be in desperate plight. Cataclysmic failure might come even sooner, perhaps this year.

We are flouted and ignored around the world. Even our supposed friends—Britain, France, Pakistan—are hesitant. De Gaulle says frankly he can't trust us. Britain pursues a policy in Cuba, China, and elsewhere directly antagonistic to our program, threatening to destroy it. Pakistan is turning the other way.

Dean Rusk is a fine gentleman, but he seems to lack the vitality to deal with the impossible Department he heads. So it stumbles along, expensively, incompetently,

overmanned, inadequate to do its job as it should be done.

The Nation never fell in love with Secretary Dulles. But during his term of office communism gained not an acre, not a victory. Now southeast Asia is on the skids, Egypt has turned to Moscow. Algeria is making terms. Indeed, most of Africa is in the crucible.

We all like Johnson. But can't he see that the most important Department of his administration is moth-eaten, impotent, and desperately dangerous to our future? Must we face a continuing lag until after election? Can't we get rid of politics and save the situation? We cannot believe it is too late. But there is always a point of no return.

Independence Day of the Republic of Malagasy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on June 26, the Malagasy Republic celebrated the fourth anniversary of her independence. We would like to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic, Philibert Tsiranana; and his Excellency the Malagasy Ambassador to the United States, Louis Rakotomalala.

The Malagasy Republic, now entering its fifth year of independence, is considered today to be one of the future great nations of Africa. An island nation, the fourth largest in the world, it gained its independence from French colonial rule on June 26, 1960. Since then, the Malagasy Republic has maintained close and amicable relations with France, receiving generous foreign aid assistance and guidance.

The people who comprise this Republic are predominantly of Malaysian stock, having migrated to this island off the African continent from the East Indies. The latest arrivals were the Merinas who formed a kingdom in the interior and who, at the time of the French occupation in 1896, had subjugated two-thirds of the entire island. It was they who fostered a common language and first attempted to unite all the tribes to form one nation.

The present government, ably guided by its President, Philibert Tsiranana, is democratic in form, modeled predominantly on French lines. Because the country is greatly underdeveloped, there has been inaugurated a 5-year plan to develop and encourage industry and agriculture. Although 8 percent of the total land area is cultivable, only 3 percent is actually farmed. Fortunately the Republic is underpopulated and food is sufficient to feed the population. But with a birth rate of over 2½ percent, the day is envisaged when demand will equal or surpass supply.

This 5-year plan will also concentrate on the development of industries. Chief among these will be the fishing industry, whose potential is almost unlimited since the territorial waters abound in fish of all kinds. Although current industries now in operation compliment agricultural production, expansion of mining facilities is scheduled. Recent mineral surveys have noted vast deposits of coal, as yet untapped. Uranium, thorium, and nickle will also be exploited for the benefit of the Nation's economy.

As a member of the United Nations, the Malagasy Republic takes an active interest in the proceedings of the world community. Because of its close ties with France, the Malagasy Republic is linked to and stands behind the Common Market. Furthermore, Mr. Tsiranana was instrumental in establishing the union of the majority of French-speaking African states, the Union of African and Malagasy States, and continues to support a policy of closer ties with the former French colonies of Africa.

Although considered a Francophile, Mr. Tsiranana differs with President de Gaulle on his policy toward Red China. Adamantly hostile to communism, Mr. Tsiranana has steadfastly refused to recognize Communist China and repeatedly warns the other African countries of the dangers of internal Communist interference. He has even accused the Soviet Union of having built a military base in Somalia and has linked the recent mutinies in East Africa to Communist subversion.

I am happy to extend my greetings to the people of the Malagasy Republic on the anniversary of their fourth year of independence. I am certain that the relations between the United States and its sister democracy will become more amicable as the Malagasy Republic progresses toward its future greatness in the world community.

The Game of Symbols

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Abe Mellinkoff, columnist in the San Francisco Chronicle, had the following comments to make in his morning report of June 26, 1964:

MORNING REPORT
(By Abe Mellinkoff)

It's a new game and anybody can play. But Mr. Johnson plays it best of all. The game of symbols.

Turn off the lights in the White House means an economical administration. Everybody forgets a $98.4 billion budget. Send Maxwell Taylor, our No. 1 general, to South Vietnam as an Ambassador. We want peace, but look out, generals mean fighting. Send Allen Dulles, our great master spy, to Mississippi. The President really wants to know what's going on, although 50 FBI agents could tell him more.

Mr. Johnson has lots more symbols sitting around Washington and lots of trouble spots. Earl Warren? Bobby Kennedy? Barry Goldwater? Dean Rusk? Who will go where?

Statement in Support of the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights and Against the Proposed "Becker" Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. GILL
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, this House has been under considerable pressure generated by people and groups backing the so-called "Becker" or "prayer amendment." The Judiciary Committee has held long and intensive hearings. A discharge petition has been filed in an attempt to bring the matter to the floor.

I realize that many sincere people have favored one or more of the proposed changes to the first amendment to our Constitution, including some of the Members of this House. However, I am also aware that some of the organized backers of these proposals across the country seem to be using them for the ulterior purpose of attacking both the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

Therefore, it pleases me greatly to find that many responsible church leaders, representing the larger part of the churches, denominations, and religions in my State, have seen fit to speak out publicly against the "Becker" or "prayer amendment" and in favor of keeping our traditional separation between church and state.

I submit the statement of the ministers and the names of those who subscribed to it to be printed in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND AGAINST THE PROPOSED "BECKER" AMENDMENT

In full accord with many religious leaders in America, we, the undersigned clergymen of Hawaii, would like to make public our own vigorous opposition to the "Becker" amendment, now the center of controversy in the House of Representatives.

First, we deeply believe in the consummate wisdom of the first amendment to the Constitution by which government on every level in the United States is bound not to "establish" religion nor prohibit the "free exercise thereof" It were folly to substitute another amendment which may open the way not only to Government support of religion but also to Government control over religion.

Second, we believe that the Supreme Court, in the celebrated Engel and Schempp cases, has in no way abridged the freedom to pray voluntarily in school, or to read the Bible, or otherwise include religion as part of the educational curriculum of the public schools. It is merely that governmental sponsorship of religious exercises is now declared to be unconstitutional, not the spontaneous and voluntary interchange of religion and public education which has always been the American practice. The Becker amendment is not only dangerous departure then; it is quite unnecessary for either true religion or good education.

Third, we believe that any change in the direction of governmental support for religion would seriously threaten the freedom of religion to criticize the state, as sometimes it must. The Becker proposal would tend

to confuse the functions of both state and church to the detriment of both. It would tend to establish religion in a social, if not a legal, sense, and in a way which would equate religion and national values. In consequence there would be dangerous pressure to conformity, and it would be more difficult for the church and temple to speak out on public issues.

Finally, however, we believe that the Becker amendment would betray religion into deceptive dependence upon the state for a task which it alone must do. We join the National Council of Churches in warning "against the all-too-human tendency to look to the State and its agencies for support in fulfilling the churches' mission." Religion is too inward and personal, too intimately related to the mystery of person-hood and individual conscience, too crucial to human freedom to be ever entrusted to the care and feeding of the State.

We join in the public debate on the side of the first amendment and urge our fellow citizens to think long and deeply before they ever contenance a revision of it.

Hawaii clergymen who support the public statement against the Becker amendment:

Allport, Thomas A. (Lutheran Church of America).
Bevilacqua, Joseph J. (United Church of Christ).
Bower, Porter (United Church of Christ).
Brantz, Edward (United Church of Christ).
Brewster, Charles (United Church of Christ).
Brink, Philip A. (United Church of Christ).
Beck, John (United Church of Christ).
Chandler, Theodore (United Church of Christ).
Chun, Richard (United Church of Christ).
Coffman, Ford G. (United Church of Christ.
Bridges, Gene (Unitarian).
Caldwell, Lillian (Independent).
Decker, John (United Church of Christ).
Engelcke, John (Episcopal).
Fujitani, Yoshiaki (Shin Buddhist).
Hammer, Norman L. (Evangelical Luthern Church).
Harada, David J. (Methodist).
Harley, James F. (Baptist).
Higuchi, Hiro (United Church of Christ).
Hiratani, Moriyoshi (Southern Baptist Convention).
Hoffman, Lester W. (Evangelical Luthern Church).
Fujiyoshi, Donald (United Church of Christ).
Hanashiro, Steven (United Church of Christ).
Jones, Lawrence (United Church of Christ).
Jow, Harold (United Church of Christ).
Junasa, Ben (United Church of Christ).
Kaneshiro, Moriamasa (Episcopal).
Kapoo, Edward (United Church of Christ).
Kautz, William (United Church of Christ).
Kawata, Teruo (United Church of Christ).
Konda, Ryosho (Shin Buddhist).
Kirchoffer, Richard A. (Episcopal).
Ledbetter, James T. (American Baptist Convention).
Loveless, Robert C. (United Church of Christ).
Goebel, G. Dean (United Church of Christ).
MacLean, Burton A. (Episcopal).
Martin, B. Rhodes (Methodist).
Merseberg, James P. (United Church of Christ).
Misajon, James J. M. (Methodist).
Morita, Isamu (United Church of Christ).
Mulholland, John F. (United Church of Christ).
Morrett, John J. (Episcopal).
Mosley, Ernest E. (Southern Baptist Convention).
Nagao, Norito (Shin Buddhist).
Ogoshi, Theodore T. (United Church of Christ).
Ogawa, Seido (United Church of Christ).
Oi, Shojo (Shin Buddhist).
Osumi, Paul S. (United Church of Christ).
Pendleton, Olin (United Church of Christ).
Piotenhaeur, Norman G. (Missouri Synod Luthern Church).
Phifer, William E. (United Presbyterian).
Rayson, Delwyn R. (United Church of Christ).
Russell, Galen (United Church of Christ).
Sanderson, E. J. (United Church of Christ).
Smith, Jack C. (Methodist).
Terpstra, Chester (United Church of Christ).
Vosseler, E. Gene (Lutheran).
Williams, Abraham B. (United Church of Christ).
Wong, Richard (United Church of Christ).
Yamada, Masao (United Church of Christ).
Youngblood, Ben F. (Methodist).
Yamane, Susumu (United Church of Christ).
Tamayosi, Fred (Shin Buddhist).

Whose Side Is the Supreme Court on?—Are the Members Trying To Curb or Encourage Crime?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL C. JONES
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, as I pointed out last week, respect for the decisions of the Supreme Court deteriorate practically every time that highest tribunal releases a decision.

I regret that it is not possible to reproduce in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some of the impressive cartoons which have been printed in recent weeks, pointing up how the Supreme Court has been alining itself with the subversive, lawless, and gangster elements of society. In a recent issue of the St. Louis Globe Democrat appeared a classic example of this type of cartoon, depicting an unsavory character—labeled crime—holding in his hand a pistol—which the cartoonist described as legal loophole protection—with which he was firing a fatal shot into a policemen—representing law enforcement in the United States. The cartoon was appropriately captioned "I've Got My Rights," and accompanying the cartoon was an editorial captioned "Return Police Powers."

More and more people are agreeing with the statements carried in this editorial to the effect, "we find the highest Court in the land, seemingly oblivious to it all, handing down decision after decision further restricting the power of the men who must cope with the rising tide of crime."

Among the letters I have received critical of the Supreme Court, and I think typical of the thinking of the honest, law-abiding citizens of this Nation, was one from the president of a college in my district, who writes:

Enclosed you will find a copy of an editorial and a cartoon appearing in the Globe Democrat on Wednesday, July 24, which I think tells a tremendous story. I think the time has come when Congress is going to have to curb the Court's majority in this field and in the field of State government. I refer specifically to the recent decision requiring State senates to be apportioned on the basis of population. I had hoped against hope that the House and Senate would act to curb the Court long before now.

Mr. Speaker, I think this editorial expresses the feelings of a vast majority of the law-abiding citizens of this country when it says:

It is time we realize that the good people of this country, all of them, have a stake in seeing that all criminals are convicted and imprisoned and that they do not escape punishment through some technicality. This is not just a contest between police and criminals where we can choose sides and cheer. It is a war of all law-abiding men against criminals.

And, I might add, it is beginning to be a war of the people against the perverted views of a majority of the Supreme Court.

Following is the editorial referred to above, which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

RETURN POLICE POWERS

What communities in recorded history have bred and tolerated the savagery and crime prevalent in the great cities of America? In the single decade from 1950 to 1960 American crime doubled while the population grew by only 18 percent.

What city in the civilized world can match, for sheer barbarism, New York, whose Central Park is an admitted nocturnal preserve for perverts, marauding gangs, rapists, and killers?

St. Louis is no exception. The lawlessness in our central crime corridor is a municipal disgrace. In the major area of the county we find that crime is up 35 percent over last year which is an ominous portent of things to come.

Never before in American history has respect for human dignity, human life and property been lower.

But even as the caldron of national crime threatens to boil over, we find the highest court in the land, seemingly oblivious to it all, handing down decision after decision further restricting the power of the men who must cope with the rising tide.

Last week, the Supreme Court, reversing 50 years of precedent, extended to witnesses and defendants whatever their status the Federal guarantee against self-incrimination—into State courts. Monday, amid vigorous dissent, by a 5-to-4 vote, the Supreme Court decided to restrict the power of police to question a suspect in the absence of his attorney.

These men must think they are somehow guaranteeing the freedom of us all and improving our society. What they are doing seems to guarantee that we shall continue to live in the most lawless society of free men on the face of the earth.

They have disregarded the ugly reality of American crime in their efforts to remake our society according to what they think it should be.

What is the matter with the sensible men of America that they will not see? The rights of future victims have not even been considered in the vigorous efforts of so many to effect the release of men obviously as guilty as sin.

Our lawyers are supposed to uphold justice and the law. Are justice and the law upheld when some foul rapist and killer walks out of a courtroom laughing because his crafty counsel found a technical flaw in the way the hard-pressed police officer gathered the evidence?

Yet, these decisions are hailed as vindication for the rights of us all. Throughout the Nation in its courtrooms we find tables

turned, judges lecturing police officers and criminals being freed because the policeman failed to grant the thug a phone call or procedure was overlooked in collecting evidence.

The releasing of these criminals is no tribute to the American judicial system. It is an indictment and libel of the country that we cannot protect our innocent.

Problems of such magnitude do not exist in Europe where police have the respect and authority needed to deal with the animals bred in the big cities, and their courts mete out justice.

In 1961 the New York courts adopted stringent rules of search and seizure which gave elaborate protection to suspects. In the first year, convictions for drug peddling dropped 38 percent. Is this a triumph as the civil libertarians claim?

We know of few men who feel freer because of such court decisions, but a great many who feel less secure.

Again in New York a shopkeeper, who maintains he was robbed and beaten twice by the same assailant, shot the assailant on the third try. He faces a possible 7 years in prison now for owning an unlicensed and concealable weapon.

The American tendency to take the part of the underdog has been perverted to the point where a newsworthy criminal can almost bank on the backing of some of the best attorneys in town and the good wishes of a sentimental and vocal minority.

It is time we realize that the good people of this country, all of them, have a stake in seeing that all criminals are convicted and imprisoned and that they do not escape punishment through some technicality. This is not just a contest between police and criminals where we can choose sides and cheer. It is a war of all law-abiding men against criminals.

Eulogy for President John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a moving eulogy for President John F. Kennedy delivered by Rabbi Dr. Hugo Stransky on Monday, November 25, 1963, at Congregation Beth Hillel of Washington Heights, New York City. I urge all my colleagues to read Rabbi Stransky's eloquent eulogy:

EULOGY FOR PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, DELIVERED BY RABBI DR. HUGO STRANSKY, AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE, NOVEMBER 25, 1963, CONGREGATION BETH HILLEL OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, NEW YORK CITY

Friends, the world mourns the loss of our President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and is distressed for humanity. Similarly once the Jewish world of the talmudic period was in distress over the life of their great and beloved teacher, "Rabbi." Bar Kapara, who was to be the messenger of the demise and who did not want to use the word "death," said in a euphemistic phrase to his colleagues: "Those in heaven and those on earth took hold of the holy casket. The beings above got finally the upper hand and the sacred shrine was taken a prisoner."

At our last Sabbath service, within 24 hours of the dastardly removal of President John F. Kennedy from among the living, we gave brief expression to the shock and grief that has overcome us. We could not yet believe that the sunny countenance of John Kennedy has been turned into eternal night, that his handsome stature has become immobile forever and that his vibrant mind has come to a permanent standstill. At present the last rites are being tendered to him and soon the "aron," the casket with his remains, will be laid to rest at Arlington Cemetery. We are assembled here for this reason, to pay homage to his memory and to try to bear with our emotions by adjusting ourselves together with the rest of the world to this stark reality.

Let us, therefore, seek comfort in the knowledge that John Kennedy was on three fateful occasions in danger of life, that three times those above intervened unsuccessfully and those below won.

The politicians maintained that his older brother Joe would have sought and won the congressional seat of Jack, as the late President was generally known, because of his extremely qualified political ambitions. However, he was killed in war.

Next, John Kennedy had a miraculous escape from death as a PT boat skipper in the Pacific.

And he was spared a third time when critically ill from a most delicate operation on the spine that might have crippled him. Instead he recovered.

His physical stamina and courage combined with an excellent mind brought him to the helm of the mightiest and most responsible country in present times, in the role of the President of the United States of America. Therefore, though cowardly killed so young in years and so young in his office, and survived by three immediate past Presidents of a very high age, let us be thankful to Providence that he was spared for us at least for this little while. He came and went like a comet. History may one day judge it as a decisive turning point in the relations of peoples on the globe as well as in the relations of planets.

More than a hundred peoples, numbering in the millions, bewail with our Nation his departure from the world scene while their top-ranking representatives prayerfully invoke at his coffin the balm of Heaven's comfort upon the bereaved widow, his children, his parents, and all his family. We are asked by the Biblical text of the past Sabbath to console ourselves with the expression of Jacob who fled Laban and was confronted with murder by Esau (Gen. 31: 42): "God has seen my affliction and the labor of my hands, and gave judgment yesternight."

From the portrait of the late President by one of his biographers soon after his election, I recall the following brief account that now sounds like a fulfilled prophecy: "John Fitzgerald Kennedy is not a great man. But there are within him the human materials that could produce greatness. And, most important of all, there is the burning desire, the steady, strong, overmastering will to be a great man and to be remembered in the history books for the great and worthy achievements."

It is not only the element of youth in the loss, nor only the meaningless brutality of the assassination that has so uniquely plunged the complete world in deep sorrow and even more into feelings of horror out of a sense of insecurity; by far more, it has united in common feelings his antagonists and foes together with his partisans and friends because of that greatness which he aimed at and partly achieved and on which right and left could lean despite hostilities. He was the right figure at the right time. His type of man was sorely needed and will now be sorely missed by the powers decisive of the future of humanity. He was admired and he was hated, he was respected and he was feared because his ambition was equally intellectual and humane as it was realistic and economic. He was a flame that fused the human materials of heart, mind, and character in an exemplary manner; it produced that greatness that could bridge the grandeur of the old West with the social aims of the Near East by ties of genuine religious belief and faith in God, without extremity of either. He was the great hope in our time because he aimed to make the New World not an isolationist showcase but a concept of a permanent and steady bridge over which all people of good will and peace could walk and meet with safety and a hope for mankind. It was for this that he had to pay the price with his young life in the manner that he did.

"I sleep but my heart waketh," says King Solomon in the "Song of Songs." John Kennedy has not lived in vain, he has not worked in vain. His mortal frame sleepeth—his spirit waketh. This is the order of the hour which is solemn for homage and for prayer only. The coffin is not yet at rest, the spirit therefore not yet received. And still, many issues are even now evolving from Kennedy's short life and many moral lessons are to be drawn from the tragic circumstances of his death and the revenge of his death. It was unnecessary in this country of the greatest freedom of expression and wide opportunity for all. The world must realize that the language of expression used against the President was of the worst and most inhuman kind and the abuse of opportunity the gravest and most abominable.

Millions over millions of fellow human beings feel that a prince and great man has fallen. We may apply to such a man the rabbinic phrase: "By his life he gave joy to his Creator." He was one of the "Matzdikey Harabim," defenders and champions of the masses whose services to the peoples of the world are of abiding value:

"Were a star quenched on high,
For ages would its light,
Still traveling downward from the sky,
Shine on our mortal sight."

"So when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him, lies
Upon the path of men."

So let us realize one overall item. Kennedy has above all shown the way to the young world that is maturing. This way should not become a blind alley and dead history. If his work should bear fruit we have to see to it that the blow we have received becomes a wound that should not be healed by time but by our spiritual and moral attitude, strenuous labor and practice of personal sacrifice. These were the instruments which brought greatness and success to the young President John F. Kennedy as well as to our country and which kept the world in a tolerable peace with the accent on problems rather than on hostility and war.

Our prayer today is therefore not only for the soul of our late President and his stricken family; it is also a prayer for the future. May God give protection to his successor and all who labor for the welfare of the Nation and humanity.

My friends. Through the clouds of indignation, through the pain of the wound we look to the future with the cheerfulness and comfort of the pending thanksgiving. The radiant face and brilliant man John F. Kennedy should not fall into oblivion but should remain with us. It will give us hope, hope in a bright future for all, an element that was his goal and sincere endeavor. The light of God will continue to shine in man, goodness and justice will triumph and loving kindness will live in the world if we are all determined, as was John F. Kennedy, that it should be so, if we all will go by his motto and apply it to our personal lives as well as extend it beyond the borders of our country: "Do not ask how much your country can do for you, but how much you can do for your country." Indeed, then we shall ap-

proach the time the prophet Isaiah foretold (60:18): "Violence shall no more be heard on thy land, desolation and destruction within thy borders, but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise." Amen.

School Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, recently Lowell I. Torgerson, Jr., pastor of the Ascension Lutheran Church of San Francisco, preached a sermon on school prayer, documenting some of the early actions by our Founding Fathers on this subject.

His sermon follows:

SCHOOL PRAYER

I Thessalonians 5:17, 18: "Pray continually; give thanks whatever happens; for this is what God in Christ wills for you."

The question of the legality of prayer and Bible reading in our schools along with other big questions is rocking our Nation—and not rocking it to sleep. It seems to be a pattern of human nature that we don't fully appreciate something until it is taken away from us. Prayer has been taken from our schools. Bible reading has been outlawed, and an awakened citizenry is rising up in protest.

At present the House Judiciary Committee is debating the antischool prayer decision of the Supreme Court. The House Republican Policy Committee is promoting an amendment that would clarify the meaning of the first amendment of our Constitution. A letter from you to your Congressman would be very meaningful at this crucial time. This is the way you can voice your Christian convictions—whether you are pro or con.

So now let's look at what is involved.

In 1791 the first amendment became law. It states in part, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *"

This did not stop the First Congress from financially subsidizing Christian missionaries among the Indians—after the first amendment was ratified.

This did not stop most of the 13 States from having established churches. In Massachusetts, for example, the Congregational Church was the only recognized church until 1833—42 years after the first amendment. The salaries of the clergy were paid by the city or town during that time.

Thomas Jefferson said that the States could favor established churches without constitutional violation.

But today's Supreme Court has an opposite opinion, when they claim to interpret the intent of the First Congress. Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address of March 4, 1861, said: "If the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

For all of these years, no one has challenged the interpretation of these words of the first amendment in regard to school prayer and Bible reading. Thirty-nine States required or authorized the reading of a few Bible verses and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. (United Press.)

But then in 1962, one athiest was able to take away a privilege enjoyed by millions of Christians and nominal Christians. In this democratic land, where the will of the majority is supposed to rule—one athiest was able to impose her will on the lives of millions who would oppose her if the question were brought to a national vote.

And this 45-year-old divorcee, who uses her children as pawns, is not stopping there. At present she is pressing a court suit to eliminate the words "under God" from our pledge of allegiance, which she claims "is itself unconstitutional."

After this she plans to attack the military chaplaincy, claiming that it is illegal to financially support religion.

She will also contest the legality of courtroom oaths—swearing by God on the Bible.

If she has her way your church contributions will not be tax deductible.

And because she believes that churches are "leaches on society" she has already begun a suit against the State of Maryland by which she intends to destroy tax exemption for all U.S. property.

Someone else has legally challenged the use of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" because it is a bit religious.

Another person threw a monkey wrench into school baccalaureate services—because religion is a part of the program.

Jumping on the atheist's bandwagon are newspapers like the Chronicle which recently wrote, "Governors jump on a bandwagon. Most Western Governors voted like storm-blinded sheep in their conference here last week to support a constitutional amendment to permit prayers in public schools * * *" (May 10, 1964). Only Governor Brown of California opposed them.

And then there was Drew Pearson who slurred the clergymen, such as Billy Graham, Bishop Pike, Cardinal Spellman, and others in favor of school prayer, by writing: "If you want to know why Congress is being flooded with mail in favor of school prayer while at the same time most responsible clergymen oppose school prayer, you can find part of the answer with the radical right * * *project prayer has backstage ties with the John Birch Society * * *."

In other words, if clergymen agree with Drew Pearson, they are responsible clergymen. According to his biased definition, I would guess that the majority of clergymen would therefore be classified as irresponsible. He would also unjustly tie them in with the Birch Society. Then too, because the National Council of Churches makes a pronouncement against school prayer, this does not mean that the rank and file of clergymen agree with this. When the National Council of Churches speaks on something like this, it is only the hierarchy, a few leaders, who are presenting their views. I know of no vote taken to find the opinion of the majority of the council's members. And I believe that the same would be true of any denominational leaders who pretended to speak for their clergy. They are in no position to do so without a vote.

It is interesting that since 1791 no complaints were made. No problem seemed to exist. And now, suddenly, some people are fiercely opposed to something that they never even thought about a few years ago. One day, the Bible and prayer are accepted in school—the next day they are forbidden—in a so-called Christian Nation.

Let us look now at some of the religious reasons given for opposing school prayer. The Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches said, "It is unreal to expect that an appreciation of religious values can be communicated to our children by the rote recitation of formalized prayer in public school classrooms."

Dr. F. A. Schiotz, the President of our American Lutheran Church wrote essentially the same thing, calling it "religion in general served in an atmosphere devoid of convictions."

We might first note that if "rote recitation of formalized prayer" is ineffectual—if they are to be consistent, then they will eliminate much of our formalized Sunday morning liturgy. But when we think through the meaning of our formalized prayers, then they make an impression on our lives.

We cannot assume that children do not think of the meaning of their prayers. If we said this about school prayers, we would have to say this about their prayers in church also—for these too are often memorized.

I believe that the mere fact that children's prayers and Bible reading included in school, gave religion an official sanction that made religion even more socially acceptable in their minds.

But now that prayer is outlawed, their young minds will infer, without understanding the technicalities involved: they will infer that there is something wrong with prayer and the Bible—that it is socially, educationally, and legally not acceptable.

In reply to Dr. Schiotz's criticism of "religion in general" I believe that "religion in general" is at least a start. It is better than no religion at all. Specific "convictions" concerning a person's religious faith can begin to grow in the soil of "religion in general."

Dr. Schiotz also gives this reason for supporting the anti-prayer Supreme Court decision: "We may find that the new Nations in Africa and Asia will imitate our actions. And should this happen, the preference may not be for the Christian faith."

In reply, the "preference" is not for the Christian faith at the present time. There is no reason to believe that there will be a change in the forseeable future, because Christianity is considered the white man's religion.

If the new Nations were to imitate our Supreme Court action—this would simply mean that the school prayers if they had any would be affected—nothing more, nothing less. This would certainly not hurt the cause of Christian missions.

Another one of our Lutheran leaders, Dr. C. F. Reuss writing in the Luthern Standard has given this unrealistic alternative to school prayer. As I read this try to picture this happening in our metropolitan area. He naively states, "We can help the schools to teach sound ethical and moral values necessary to civic life, to recognize the influence of religion in personal and social life, and to bring into the regular curriculum and textbooks an objective study of religion and its contributions."

How could we help schools teach anything, and especially ethics and morals? This would be outlawed as a religious subject. Of course we could teach immorality under the guise of a psychology course.

And when it comes to influencing curriculum and textbooks, in our State I believe that this would be a pipedream.

The only avenue that I see open is the Becker amendment to the first amendment. Essentially it is aimed at legalizing the practice of school prayer and Bible reading as it was prior to the Supreme Court decision. It states "nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical scriptures, if participating therein is on a voluntary basis in any governmental or public school, institution or place.

2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding,

activity, ceremony, school, institution or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

This is the proposed amendment by Congressman BECKER of New York. I have written to my Congressman and expressed my views. I hope that you will do the same.

Dr. Daniel Poling, editor of the Christian Herald magazine, summarized it well when he pointed out the difference between compulsion and permission to pray in school. He said, "I support an amendment to the Constitution that will make it unmistakably clear that separation of church and state does not mean exclusion of nonsectarian religious practices in the public schools."

Our text for this morning said, "pray without ceasing. In everything give thanks * * *."

This is a reminder to us that we have so very much to be thankful to God for, and that at any time of the day or night, whether at home, school, work, or wherever we are—we can offer up a prayer to God.

But I wonder how many of you take advantage of this opportunity? When is the last time you offered up a prayer of thanksgiving for the gift of a Christian faith—a faith that lifts you out of the doldrums—a faith that inspires you to "press on toward the goal of the high calling of Christ?"

When did you last take advantage of prayer as a means of confession unloading your guilt, admitting your failings, seeking forgiveness?

And how often do you thank Christ for coming down to this earth—for enduring the indifference, scorn, and brutality of sinful man?

Do you thank him for the perfect and inspiring example He set for us to follow. Do you thank Him for the gift of salvation? Because prayer maintains a personal relationship and communication with God we should "pray without ceasing."

As a closing example of this we might note the words of Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist. Once when he was sailing across the Atlantic Ocean, "there was a fire in the hold of the ship, and the crew and some volunteers stood in line to pass buckets of water."

A friend said, "Mr. Moody, let us go to the other end of the ship and engage in prayer." "Not so, sir; we will stand right here and pass buckets and pray hard all the time we are doing so."

Prayer is not a substitute for work. It goes hand in hand with daily life. And so we can pray without ceasing.

"What I Think About the Texas First Officers Training Camp Association," Lyndon B. Johnson

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very masterful address which was delivered by President Lyndon Johnson in 1953. It is an address to the First Camp's 37th rollcall.

The address follows:

WHAT I THINK ABOUT THE TEXAS FIRST OFFICERS TRAINING CAMP ASSOCIATION

(By Lyndon B. Johnson)

Mr. Buck, members, and guests, there is a flavor to this meeting that tastes sweet in the mouth of every American.

It is compounded from a deep love of country; the memory of past sacrifice; a burning desire for present and future service.

This is a reunion of men who served their Nation in time of war—and who built their Nation to greater heights in time of peace.

Just a few days ago, I was looking over the roll of the members of the Texas First Camp. Is is an impressive list—a cross section of America.

The men who completed that "last, dusty mile" at Leon Springs in August 1917, can be found in almost every State in our country. They are in every walk of life * * * in every activity * * * in every community effort to increase the public welfare.

They include lawyers and doctors; merchants and businessmen; farmers and ranchers; engineers and technicians; teachers and public servants.

And everywhere they are leaders—men who are actively at work shaping the community in a form that is good and enduring.

Upon your silver bugle are engraved the names of great Texans and great Americans—men like Beauford Jester who died in office while still serving his people.

The Texas First Camp has remained true to its motto—a motto that should be burned into the mind of every American.

"Brave men shall not die because I faltered."

Those words were your guiding star through the dark days of the First World War. For many of you, they were a sustaining force when once again you put aside your civilian pursuits to face the enemy of World War II.

There is a larger sense in which we can consider those words in the troubled world of today. We can look about us as loyal Americans and devoutly pledge:

A nation shall not die because we faltered.

We are living through a period correctly called the most critical in the history of our Nation.

These are times that try men's souls and test the limits of their devotion. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will not long stand firm against the trial.

It is a time that calls for loyalty and dedication to our country—for purity of faith and unshaken patriotism.

I like to think that meetings of this character are graced not only by the presence of the living but by the presence of those who have gone before.

It is from the heritage of the past that we draw the strength to meet the problems of the present. It is from the collective wisdom of all America that we devise the plans which solve our difficulties.

We need the strength of that heritage and the force of that collective wisdom to steer us safely through the troubled currents of the modern world.

There is loose on the globe a mighty power for evil.

It is a vast power sprawling across two continents. It has enslaved hundreds of millions of people. It combines in one huge military machine unlimited manpower and the weapons of modern technology.

It is led by men who acknowledge no god; who obey no law; who concede no rights to their fellowman. They have sworn eternal enmity to the cause of freedom. They have no goal other than power for themselves and slavery for the multitudes.

To that end, they have devoted all the resources of their science; all the energies of their people.

They live in a world in which there is no room for liberty; no space for conscience; no tolerance of the rights of man.

It is not the first time in history that such a force has been unleased upon the world. Nor is it the first time free men have assembled to defend their sacred liberties.

But it is the first time that such a force has threatened to engulf not just a free nation but the concept of freedom itself.

You who fought so nobly against the enemies of World Wars I and II have understood this threat from the beginning. You refused to be deceived by clever propaganda or misleading words.

The evidence is in your publications and in the attitudes that you have taken as individuals toward the problems of our time. You identified the Communists for what they were and you called for the action that was needed.

When the Communists called for "progress"—you knew they meant a retreat to dictatorship.

When the Communists said "peace"—you knew they meant war.

Old soldiers are not easily fooled. Men who have fought for freedom know that it will not be granted by a power-mad despot.

Many of you are among my closest friends. I know how you have worked in your communities for the kind of defense program that will make America strong. I know how you have fought the agents of communism and their insidious activities.

It is that fight for a strong defense program that has saved America. It is that struggle for preparedness that will bring us peace and freedom in the days that lie ahead.

The unselfish work of the past few years is now bearing fruit and the fruit is rich.

The mighty Communist war machine—but yesterday so strong, so invincible—is creaking at the joints.

It has been battered by proud East Germans who faced Soviet tanks armed only with fists and bricks.

It has been scarred by Poles and Czechs and Hungarians who have defied the whole power of the mighty police state.

It has been stopped in its tracks by the free people of West Germany who repudiated the Communists for all time to come.

It has been bruised internally by a mighty struggle between the rulers themselves behind the walls of the Kremlin.

Victory for the free world is not yet in sight. We would be deluding only ourselves if we made that claim.

But the road to victory is on our horizon. We can march on that road firm in the belief that liberty will win. We can achieve our goal provided only that we are armored with the strength that knows not fear.

We have reached the point where we can call for a showdown. We have arrived at the stage where we can demand redemption of the broken pledges—the promises so easily given and so ruthlessly ignored.

The world is looking to us today for leadership—for bold but wise action that will break the stalemate of the cold war.

The time is ripe—the omens are propitious.

We were promised—at the end of World War II—a united and free Korea.

We were promised—at the end of World War II—an Eastern Europe in which the people would have the right to select their own leaders.

We were promised—at the end of World War II—a united Germany in which the people could live in freedom.

We were promised—at the end of World War II—that there would be no more plotting for the overthrow of constitutional governments.

These pledges have been stubbornly ignored. These pledges have been ruthlessly broken.

It is time to demand an accounting—to press for a settlement of those issues which are driving the world to a third great war.

We will not gain strength by waiting while the Russians stockpile atomic weapons and their newly developed hydrogen bomb.

We will not improve our position by waiting while they stamp out unrest in their satellite provinces.

We will not improve our position by waiting while they settle their own internal difficulties.

We will not increase our power by waiting while the Chinese Communists consolidate their gains and industrialize their country.

The time to call for a settlement is now—now before they recover the ground they have lost in recent months.

We must act boldly but not rashly. We do not want to run the risk of world war III—a war that could destroy civilization. But neither can we allow our fears of that risk to be the overriding consideration.

We will not avoid world war III by weakness and timidity. We will merely hasten the day when our liberties will be destroyed.

There is a path by which we can obtain our objectives. It is through strength—the kind of strength that is prepared for war even though war is not our goal.

In the entire field of human thought, endeavor, and achievement, there is only one element which the Communists respect. It is strength—the kind of strength which is effective and decisive.

They have no respect for law. They have no respect for constitutional government. They have no respect for the integrity of the human individual.

They even have no respect for their own cynical and corrupt philosophy.

They retreat from their objectives only when they are confronted by force—force too great for them to conquer.

In this historical fact, there is a lesson upon which we all can draw.

There is no security in weakness.

There is no peace when the forces of freedom are feeble.

Security and peace will come only if we are strong enough to demand them and to enforce them.

We are all united in a deep and lasting love for our country.

But love of country alone is not enough. It must be coupled with a willingness to sacrifice; a desire to work; a determination to preserve our way of life for ourselves and our posterity.

That has been the character of the men of the First Camp. That has been the bond that has held you together regardless of your field of endeavor or your geographical location.

That is still the character of your association. That is the attribute which will call you to service now and in the future.

The problems which we face cannot be settled on the field of battle. But they will be solved if we face them in the same spirit which men must display to win on the field of battle.

We must set aside our petty quarrels and meaningless divisions. We must forget our selfish desires for advancement at the expense of others. We must ignore the ignoble demands of partisanship that would subordinate the needs of our country.

There must be only one goal—the preservation of these United States as a land of freedom and opportunity.

We must unite behind our country's duly elected leaders and strive for victory for our way of life.

In the days ahead, our country will make many demands upon all of us. It will call for our best effort; our most unselfish loyalty; our finest and purest patriotism. It will ask us to work as we have never worked before; to dare as we have never dared before; to strive as we have never striven before.

To each and everyone of us there will fall duties and obligations. I know every American will be worthy of them.

The tasks that come to us may be great or humble. They may be in the uniform of the soldier or in the office behind the production line.

Whatever they may be, we will perform them.

And when, in time of impending danger, America calls the roll of those who are ready to fight or work for their country, I know the men of the First Camp will again be among the first to respond.

The Congressman From Bexar Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE CONGRESSMAN FROM BEXAR REPORTS

TWO NEW FEDERAL BUILDINGS—FROM $7.2 TO $10 MILLION

The Government Services Administration has asked the Public Works Committee to approve a revision of plans for the San Antonio Federal Building project.

GSA plans are to increase the building project from $7.1 million to $10 million and to eventually construct a second building at $7 million. Also, GSA plans call for a remodeling of the present Federal building at a cost of approximately $1 million.

ECONOMIC SURVEY STILL UNDERWAY

A 19-member committee has been formed to work on the proposed economic survey for San Antonio. The business and other civic leaders met June 19 to map plans for project to evaluate San Antonio's resources and plan for their future utilization. The survey would be partially financed by ARA funds.

HENRY B. GONZALEZ TO SPEAK AT VALLEJO KEEL LAYING

There are many occasions when a U.S. Senator or Representative seeks the support of others in the House or Senate with a project. In January I joined the Honorable ROBERT L. LEGGETT and other colleagues in requesting of the President that the new Polaris submarine under construction at the Mare Island Naval Shipyard in Vallejo, Calif., be named after Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who supported the rebellion that led to the proclamation of the "free State" of California in 1836. In 1838 he was named commander of the State forces.

Vallejo protected and encouraged the immigration of American families and was influential in securing the admission of California to the United States in 1850. Since it has been the policy of the Navy to remind our citizens of the accomplishments and contributions of outstanding persons in our Nation's history, we thought that this would be a fitting way of honoring the general's inspiring record.

A couple of months later the President announced that the submarine would, indeed, be named after General Vallejo, and now the Secretary of the Navy has asked that I be the main speaker for the keel laying on July 7.

JOBS SOUGHT FOR MEDINA WORKERS

There has understandably been much complaint about the Atomic Energy Commission announcement that the AEC facility at Medina Base will be closed in 1966.

Needless to say, I was not at all happy about this disclosure which is not exaggerated to term as a surprise, and I have sought help on all levels of our Government for a complete investigation of why this AEC facility is being shut down, why it has been handled in this way, and what can be done to assist the nearly 700 persons who will lose their jobs.

Although only 40 of these employees are civil service employees (the others are contract employees with the Silas-Mason-Mason-Hanger Corp.) I feel that the Government certainly has a responsibility in this matter as it was a Government contract with the private corporation which resulted in jobs for these persons.

In response to an inquiry to him, John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, told me on June 16, that he has asked the regional director of Civil Service, Louis Lyons at Dallas, to instruct his representative, Francis B. Roser, to give whatever assistance possible in placing these people in the San Antonio area.

Mr. Roser is to meet with the contractor to arrange for meetings of all employees in order to provide information on civil service examining procedures and job opportunities. These outplacements efforts will be carried out with the full cooperation of the Army-Air Force Joint Board of Civil Service Examiners.

PART II. THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

In the previous issue of the Newsletter I initiated a discussion of the legislative process and the legislative duties of your Congressman. In that issue I outlined the Federal lawmaking process from the origin of an idea for a legislative proposal through its introduction, passage, and publication as a statute, and I reviewed my own voting record.

In this issue I will continue that discussion with an explanation of the work in committee and speeches delivered in the House. It is my hope that these comments will add to your understanding of the legislative process and the legislative duties of your Congressman.

Committee assignments

Each Member of the House of Representatives receives at least one committee assignment. Generally speaking, no Member will be assigned to more than one major committee. The Committees on Agriculture, Appropriations, Armed Services, Banking and Currency, Foreign Affairs, among others, are considered major committees. In the Senate, because there are many less Senators than there are Representatives, Senators are appointed to more than one committee. Also, the majority party in each House will have a majority of its Members in each and every committee.

For example, on the House Committee on Banking and Currency, of which I am a member, there are 33 members. Of these, 19 are Democrats and 14 are Republicans. The chairman, WRIGHT PATMAN, is a Democrat, because the Democrats are in the majority in the House of Representatives. If, in the next election, a majority of Republicans are elected to the House, then this situation would be reversed and the Republicans would be in the majority in each committee and every committee chairman would be a Republican.

Subcommittees

Most committees are also organized into several subcommittees. Often the greatest amount of work is done in the subcommittee.

For example, in the Banking and Currency Committee there are seven subcommittees. I am assigned to three: the Subcommittees on Housing, Bank Supervision and Insurance, and Consumer Affairs. All bills affecting low rent public housing and slum clearance and urban renewal introduced in the House are immediately referred to the Banking and Currency Committee. Once in this committee the bills are referred to the Subcommittee on Housing. It is in the subcommittee that these bills receive their closest scrutiny. If public hearings are required they are conducted by the subcommittee. After the subcommittee completes its consideration of a bill assigned to it, the bill is sent to the full committee where a vote to approve or reject it is taken. If the full committee approves the bill it may be brought up on the floor of the House for a final vote. Sometimes public hearings will be conducted by the full committee, but, in many instances the subcommittee does an exhaustive and comprehensive study before the full committee is called upon to approve or reject a legislative proposal.

Committee jurisdiction

The jurisdiction of the Committee on Banking and Currency as well as the jurisdiction of all other committees is set out in the rules of the House of Representatives. The jurisdiction as set forth in the rules is listed in general terms only, and is not intended to summarize or to include all the subject matter of all bills referred to the committee over the years. It is only meant to illustrate the different subjects within the committee's jurisdiction. The enumeration as contained in rule XI of the rules of the House of Representatives follows:

Banks and banking: National Bank Act; Federal Reserve Act; Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Act; Reserve requirements of Federal Reserve member banks; bank holding companies; mergers, consolidations, and conversions of insured banks; chartering, regulation, conservation, and liquidation of national banks; insurance of bank deposits; examination of national banks, insured banks, and Federal Reserve member banks; investments by national banks; branches of national banks; unclaimed deposits in national banks; capital requirements of State banks for membership in Federal Reserve System.

Coins and coinage: Commemorative coins; denominations, value, and weight of coins; metals used in coinage; U.S. mints.

Creation of Government corporations: Commodity Credit Corporation; Federal Minerals Corporation; Federal National Mortgage Association; International Finance Corporation; National Disaster Relief Corporation; War Damage Corporation.

Currency: Denominations, value, and designs; issue and redemption; printing.

Economic stabilization and defense production measures: Redevelopment of economically distressed areas; encouraging maximum employment; price controls on commodities and services; wage controls; rent controls; credit controls; consumer and installment credit terms, real estate credit terms; allocations and priorities; Government requisition and condemnation of commodities and facilities; rationing; dispersal of defense plants; hoarding; guarantee of bank loans; business loans; Government purchase or resale of metals, minerals, and other raw materials; installation of Government-owned equipment in private plants; subsidy payments; voluntary agreements regarding prices, wages, service, or credit.

Export controls.

Federal credit unions: Chartering, regulations, examination and supervision.

Government lending: Flood and catastrophe loans; housing loans in Alaska; slum clearance and public housing loans; loans to small business; loans to small business investment companies; loans to State and local development companies; Export-Import Bank loans; defense production loans; CCC loans; municipal loan program; loans for community facilities; loans for prefabricated housing; loans for college housing.

Housing: FHA insurance of single family, and multiple unit rental projects; FHA insurance of repair and improvement loans; FHA insurance of disaster housing; FHA insurance of servicemen's housing; FHA insurance of housing in urban renewal areas; FHA insurance of defense housing; FHA insurance of military and atomic energy installation housing; FHA insurance of cooperative housing; FHA insurance of equity investments in rental housing; FHA insurance for elderly family housing; construction, operation, and disposition of Government-owned permanent and temporary war and defense housing; low-rent public housing; prefabricated housing; trailers and trailer camps; veteran preferences in housing occupancy; college housing; Alaska housing program; farm housing; housing census; housing research; moderate income housing; slum clearance and urban renewal; construction warranties.

Insurance: Against loss caused by war or expropriation of U.S. commodities stored abroad; against political and credit risks of loss arising in connection with U.S. exports; against property damage caused by floods; of deposits in national banks; of share accounts in savings and loan associations.

International finance: Bretton Woods Agreements Act; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; International Monetary Fund; International Finance Corporation; International Development Association; Inter-American Development Bank.

International Wheat Agreement.

Mass transit.

Medals, commemorative: Issuance and striking.

Monetary policies: Valuation and revaluation of the dollar; gold and gold standard; support of Government bonds; general price level; bank reserves; operation of Federal Open Market Committee; Federal Reserve rediscount rates; issue of, and reserves behind, Federal Reserve notes; gold payments and ownership; credit terms; establishment of a National Monetary Commission; interest rates on bank deposits.

Residential mortgage credit, insurance, and guarantee: FHA insurance programs; Government secondary mortgage market (FNMA); national bank real estate loans; voluntary home mortgage credit program.

Savings and loan associations: Federal Home Loan Bank System; chartering and supervision of Federal savings and loan associations; savings and loan holding companies.

Silver: Coinage, value, and use.

Small business: Small Business Act; Small Business Investment Act.

Tin: Texas City tin smelter; Government purchase and sale.

Five hundred referred

This list of subjects over which the Banking and Currency Committee has jurisdiction will give you some idea of the tremendous volume of work performed by this committee. As of June 1, 1964, more than 500 bills and resolutions introduced in the House were referred to the Banking and Currency Committee. In addition, 14 bills and resolutions which had originally been introduced in the Senate were referred to the House Banking and Currency Committee after being passed by the Senate.

Busy committee

It would be almost impossible to calculate the amount of time and work that goes into a Congressman's committee assignment. It it necessary that each Congressman have a good working familiarity with all the bills pending in his committee; that he attend all hearings, some of which stretch out for weeks; that he study the testimony and evidence introduced at those hearings; and, in general, that he become somewhat of an expert in the subject matter over which his committee has jurisdiction.

To illustrate the amount of work that may be required on any legislative proposal, let us look at one bill, H.R. 5845. This bill was introduced into the House on April 24, 1963. Its purpose is to authorize national banks to underwrite and deal in securities issued by State and local governments. The subject matter of the bill is a complicated one, involving a proposed amendment to the National Banking Act of 1933. The National Banking Act was passed during the depression and has been the foundation of our present system of banking. The passage of this act in 1933, in the middle of the depression, saved the banking industry. Since that time this industry has made an amazing record of solvency and stability. Therefore, it is quite understandable that any proposal to modify the National Banking Act will become controversial. Our committee began public hearings on H.R. 5845 on September 23, 1963. So far, we have spent 20 days hearing testimony and evidence from interested parties. We had the honor and the privilege of listening to the testimony of both William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and James J. Saxon, Comptroller of the Currency. These are two of the most respected and important persons in the field of banking, yet their views are exactly opposite to one another on the question of whether this bill should be passed. The committee has not taken final action on this matter.

Productive

Not only is the House Banking and Currency one of the busiest committees in Congress, it is also one of the most productive. Below, I have listed some of the more important legislative proposals which have been handled successfully by my committee, passed by both houses, and signed into law by the President during the 88th Congress:

1. Silver legislation, Public Law 88–36: Reenacts with modifications certain provisions of the Silver Purchase Act of 1934, and authorizes the Federal Reserve banks to issue Federal Reserve notes of $1 and $2 denominations.

2. Extension of mortgage insurance authority, Public Law 88–54: Extends for 2 years the broadened eligibility provided under the House act of 1961 for FHA mortgage insurance on rental and sales housing.

3. Export-Import Bank Act extension, Public Law 88–101: Extends the life of the bank to 1968 and increases the aggregate amount of loans, guarantees, and insurance which the bank may have outstanding at any one time.

4. Amendments to the Federal Credit Union Act, Public Law 88–150: Provides Federal credit unions greater flexibility in the conduct of their operations.

5. Housing for the elderly, Public Law 88–158: Authorizes the appropriation of an additional $50 million for the program of Federal loans for housing for the elderly.

6. Increase in authorized capital stock of World Bank, Public Law 88–178: Authorizes the U.S. Governor of the World Bank to vote for a billion increase in capital stock. Such an increase will permit new countries to subscribe to the Bank and allow other free world countries to put funds into international economic development at no cost to the United States.

7. Coinage of John Fitzgerald Kennedy 50-cent pieces, Public Law 88–256.

8. Increased participation in the Inter-American Development Bank, Public Law 88–259: Authorizes the U.S. Governor for the

Bank to vote for increases in the callable stock of the Bank and to vote for an increase in the Bank's fund for special operations.

9. Small Business Investment Act amendments, Public Law 88–273.

10. Increase in the resources of the International Development Association and U.S. participation, Public Law 88–310: Authorizes the U.S. Governor for the IDA to vote in favor of an increase in its resources and to contribute $312 million to that end.

Other bills

Other bills which have been before the Banking and Currency Committee and on which further action may be expected before the end of this session of Congress include the Urban Mass Transportation Act, Area Redevelopment Act amendments, a bill to increase the investment powers of Federal savings and loan associations and the Housing Act of 1964.

In addition to my regular committee and subcommittee assignments, Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN has designated me special liaison representative for the Banking and Currency Committee in connection with matters related to Latin America. In this capacity I had the distinct honor of accompanying Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon to Panama City, Panama, for the Inter-American Development Bank Board of Governors conference in April.

I feel that this assignment further enables me to make a constructive contribution to United States-Latin American relations.

As you can see, committee assignments represent weighty, time-consuming responsibilities. The work in this area does not receive much publicity and there is little glamour attached to it. But, the legislative process could not function without the groundwork laid down at this stage, and it is a great source of satisfaction to me to be assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee.

House speeches

The Constitution provides that each House may determine the rules of its proceedings. Accordingly, both the Senate and the House have developed their own rules and procedures to regulate the time that each Member may consume in debate of pending legislation and the manner in which a Member may obtain permission to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD speeches not actually delivered on the floor. Originally debate in the House was unlimited, as in the Senate. But, a rule limiting each Representative to 1 hour began in 1820 when John Randolph, of Virginia, consumed so much time that the rule was urged to prevent his holding the floor indefinitely.

The purpose of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is to provide an accurate and comprehensive record of the proceedings. Such a record is an indispensable adjunct to representative government. It lets the people know what their elected representatives are saying and doing in Congress. But, Congress is a large legislative body, and time is necessarily at a premium. By use of the 1-hour rule of debate in the House and the right to extend remarks and insert speeches in the RECORD, a Member has the opportunity to explain his attitude on pending questions of regional and national importance. This gives constituents a basis on which to approve or disapprove of his position on the issues. It also informs the Member's colleagues of the local sentiment of the people that Member has been elected to represent.

Speechmaking on the floor of the House and the insertion of speeches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD should therefore be considered an integral part of the legislative process as well as of our democratic and representative form of government. The rules governing this function are protected by the Constitution itself, as the Founding Fathers of this Nation knew well the importance of each elected representative having a public forum in which to debate the issues and voice his opinions.

So far this year, I have delivered more than 30 speeches in the House. The subjects range from purely local matters to national domestic and foreign affairs. Of course, I do not claim to be an expert on every subject, and I have tried to limit my remarks to areas of importance to the people of the 20th district, areas of particular concern to all Americans and in which I have some familiarity, and areas related to my committee assignments. Some of the subjects on which I have gone on record are as follows:

1. "Texas and Local History and Tradition: Texas Independence Day" (Mar. 2), "Battle of San Jacinto" (Apr. 21), "The Alamo" (May 6, 19).

2. "United States—Latin American Affairs: The Alliance for Progress" (Mar. 19, May 21), "Good Neighbor Bowling" (Apr. 10), "Hemisfair" (May 21), "Teodoro Moscoso" (May 21), "Peru's President" (Jan. 18).

3. "Civil Defense: Steuart Pittman, Secretary of Civil Defense" (Mar. 11).

4. "Banking and Currency: Federal Reserve System" (Mar. 10, 24), "Printing of Money" (June 8, 18).

5. "Foreign Affairs: Shooting Down of U.S. Planes in East Germany" (Feb. 4, Mar. 16, 23).

6. "Extremist Organizations: The "Minutemen" (Jan. 21), "Ease With Which Extremist Organizations May Obtain Arms and Ammunition" (May 26, 27, June 1, 9).

7. "Civil Rights" (Feb. 13).

8. "The Bracero Program" (Feb. 19).

9. "The Chamizal Treaty" (Feb. 20).

10. "Residual Oil Imports" (Apr. 10).

11. "Military Commissaries and Military Pay" (May 6).

12 "The Medina Atomic Energy Commission Facility" (May 7).

In addition, a Congressman (as well as other interested citizens) may testify before committees in the House or Senate holding public hearings. There is no requirement that a Congressman testify at any hearing, but, because of the rare opportunity of being in the Nation's Capitol and to further fulfill my obligation to the people, I represent, it is my policy to testify at those hearings in which I feel I may make a constructive contribution and in which the people of Bexar County have a deep concern. In the past I have given testimony at hearings involving the San Antonio River (House Appropriations Committee), the Bracero program and unemployment (House Agriculture Committee, Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee), water pollution (House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee), Brooke Army Medical Center (House Armed Services Committee), and most recently, on May 22, I testified in favor of the World War I veterans' pension bill (House Veterans Affairs Committee).

I have a limited supply of all the speeches I have delivered in Congress, and will be happy to forward copies of those in which you may be interested, at your request.

USIA FILM

Recently the U.S. Information Agency asked me to make a film with them which will be viewed via television in Latin American countries.

The program is a half hour long and consists of an informal interview and discussion of my role as a Congressman and my background and political history. My interviewers were two Spanish-speaking journalists and two students from Latin America at the University of Maryland.

TEXAS ALLIANCE PARTNERS

June 19 marked the formal announcement of the Texas Partners of the Alliance for Progress with a dinner meeting in San Antonio.

The speaker for the occasion was Peruvian Ambassador Celso Pastor.

The Texas Partners will assist with self-help programs for the country of Peru. San Antonian Harry Jersig and Bill Sinkin are members of the State steering committee.

FIVE FILL DISTRICT ACADEMY SPOTS

Five San Antonio youths have emerged as the nominees who will fill the vacancies at the service academies for the 20th Congressional District of Texas.

These young men fully qualified and made the highest scores among those I nominated to compete for each academy.

John Joseph Gonzalez (no kin), 259 Barbara, will fill the vacancy at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Victor Gonzalez and is a May graduate of Central Catholic High School.

The Air Force Academy vacancy will be filled by Steve Anthony McPhail, son of M/Sgt. and Mrs. Steve W. McPhail, 518 East Palfrey. He is a graduate of Highlands High School and attended the University of Texas before he was selected to enter the Academy.

Oscar Rey De Rodriguez, 238 Dresden, a May graduate of Central Catholic High School, qualified as 1 of 10 in the State of Texas to fill vacancies at the Merchant Marine Academy at Kingsport, N.Y. Each Texas Congressman may submit as many as 10 nominees to compete for 10 vacancies for the State rather than for individual congressional district vacancies.

Ray A. Wallace and Joe A. Ylitalo, graduates of John Marshall and Douglas MacArthur High Schools, respectively, will fill the vacancies for the congressional district at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. Wallace's parents reside at 124 West Broadview Drive and Ylitalo's at 9503 Nona Kay Drive.

However, three other of my nominees for the Naval Academy will also enter the Academy this month. The Secretary of the Navy chose 2 of our qualified alternates for the 150 he selected from congressional sources for the first time this year due to legislation passed in March. They are Robert Kent Borden, 254 Latch Drive, 1962 graduate of Thomas Edison High School and a student at San Antonio College, and R. Allen Thacker, 411 Preswick Boulevard, May graduate of Highlands High School.

The Secretary also chose Charles C. Stevens, Route 8, Box 223, another congressional nominee, but, selected him through Mr. Stevens' nomination from the president of Rice University in connection with the university's NROTC contract program.

BEXAR GUESTS

Guests in the Washington office from Bexar County since my last newsletter have been Jack A. Martin, Gordon L. Clemmons, Sandra Callaway, Elton E. Schroeder, T. G. Peters, Larry W. Jenkins, Beverly Nix and William L. Coiner, Thomas G. Lowery, A. J. Lewis, Andrew Hernandez, Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Sullivan, Kenneth C. Buckholdt, George T. Fanner, Joseph D. Foulkes, Mrs. Harold Henze, Col. C. E. Brand, Mrs. Luz Piazini Castiglioni, Col, and Mrs. Merrick Bayer, John G. Morris, Mrs. H. E. Handley, Mrs. Frances G. Harper, Capt. Robert E. Rigney, Mrs. Elizabeth Weissmann, Walter Koenig, Rev. Dermot N. Brosnan, Ray Ellison, Jesse A. Baker, E. H. Jarorzewski, W. S. Hale, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Charles Garrett and family, Quino Lee, Elizabeth S. Goldberg, Virginia L. Williams, Ruth Mitchell, David C. Campbell, Jr., Dr. Byron N. Dooley, Finis O. Kingery, Jr., Mrs. L. C. Whitehead, James R. Gillespie, Norman Fischer, David H. Brune, Melvin Sisk, Sister Mary Vincent, F. F. Devine, Jr., James E. Fields, Allen H. Elrod, Robert A. Walton, George C. Sarran, Ben Singleton, Capt. A. F. Curtis, Ann F. Miniel, Vivian Rosales, Joe Reid, Capt. Tom Jacobs, S. Lee Davis, James Reid, Mrs. E. H. Pfeiffer and Glenda, Robert D. Victoria, Mrs. Joyce Slaughter, Mr. and Mrs. Eloy Ceneno, Dr. Max E. Johnson, Dr. John M. Smith, C. Wal-

lace Miller, Rosemary and Jack Nankervis, John R. Ulrich, Jr., and family, Mrs. H. R. Crakshank, Mrs. John R. Ulrich, Sr., Elva Ruiz, Ken Rogers, Louis W. Libscomb, Robert Stem, W. A. Weilbacher, Col. Robert C. DuBose, Dr. Russell T. Snip, Mrs. Roy Chambers, Miss Byrne Jones, Net Goodyear, Midshipman 3/c James N. Higdon, Robert Garcia, Carlos F. Brunet, Arthur A. Seeligson, Martin Goland, Mr. and Mrs. A. Belous and Alice, Joel and David Berry, Freddy, Miss Gloria Ortiz, Mr. and Mrs. George Ortiz, Mrs. C. H. Grasso and Randy, LeRoy K. Heidbreder, Mrs. H. F. Adler and Max, Mrs. Leona Pappas, H. T. Kramer, Charles J. Thiess, Jr., Judy Marcus, Raymond B. Ochoa, Rev. Arnold Anders, Mrs. Sam K. Reed and family, Mrs. Annie M. Sanchez and son, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Gish and Marijane, Dr. and Mrs. Charles Hodges, Lucille Benton, Miss Jerry Benton, David Jockrusch, Frank B. Lammons, Mr. and Mrs. Cecil M. Dawson, Alice Cerda, Mr. and Mrs. Bill Sinkin, Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Mebane, G. Torres, Robert E. Pugwand family, San Sinkin and family, Tammy Tiner, Mr. and Mrs. M. C. Maese and family, Louis Engelke, Tom Taylor, Mrs. J. Loustaunau, and Mrs. Lorraine Morton.

A DOUBLE WIN

May 22 was National Maritime Day and it was particularly significant to our area this year because San Antonio had two winners in the National Maritime Poster Contest.

Above, I am pictured with the two posters submitted by Richard C. Heldt, Jr., who graduated last month from Luther Burbank High School, Jesse Trevino, who will be a senior at Fox Tech High School this fall. Mr. Heldt's poster placed third. His instructor was Jim Dulin. Mr. Trevino was a fourth place winner and his instructor was K. Alsup. This is the third consecutive year for one of Mr. Alsup's students to place among the top 53 winners in the Nation (there was a total of 8,500 entries this year). Benjamin Juarez, former Tech student, received honorable mention in 1962 and placed fourth in 1963.

ARMY-AIR FORCE WAGE SURVEY

The Army-Air Force Wage Board told me June 18 that they have started a survey of wages paid in the San Antonio area.

The results of the survey will be used as a basis for setting pay of hourly workers at San Antonio military installations (about 25,000 workers).

For some time now I have attacked the wage rates paid San Antonio workers as often San Antonians are paid 20- to 30-percent less than their counterparts in the Corpus Christi area. I hope that this survey will result in erasing some of the inequities of the differentials now paid.

TWO AT CORPS JOBS

The latest two Peace Corps volunteers from San Antonio to depart for their assignments this month are Miss Marguerite M. Kivlin, 56, for India, and Roy K. Cox, 25, for Ecuador.

Miss Kivlin, who will work as a secretary in agricultural extension program with which the volunteers will assist in the state of Maharashtra in west central India, has previously made her home with her sister, Mrs. John Dunsmore, 115 West Rosewood Avenue.

Mr. Cox is the son of R. K. Cox, Sr., 8515 Sagebrush Lane, and will teach biology in a small secondary school in Ecuador in order to help improve classroom instruction.

The Peace Corps reports that nearly 6,500 volunteers are now at work in 45 countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and that requests for additional volunteers are received daily. Plans are being made to train up to 5,000 more volunteers this summer and 1,200 this fall. Applicants interested in the fall or subsequent training programs are urged to submit their questionnaires now and take the next nationwide placement test on August 8.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of June 27, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District of Texas)

RED DESIGN TO CONQUER THE UNITED STATES

The Communist goal to conquer the United States has not changed. Khrushchev, in all his recent speeches, has made it clear:

1. The worldwide Communist apparatus has not been abandoned.

2. The world cannot permanently be divided between capitalist societies and Communist societies.

3. The Reds fully intend to rule the world.

4. The destruction of the United States is a major part of the grand design of Soviet conquest.

Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, a reputable authority on the Communist conspiracy, offers some pertinent points on the Red plan for defeating the United States and winning the cold war. To understand fully what is happening it is necessary to review the battle plan which has now been discarded by the Kremlin.

1. The defeat of the United States in thermonuclear war.

2. The seizure of power by a violent revolutionary coup under Communist leadership.

3. Election of a majority of Communist and pro-Communist candidates in a national, constitutional election.

The Communists have given up these methods for a less dramatic, but what they believe to be a surer way to bring about our defeat—progressive surrender. This will be brought about by a three-pronged attack for the destruction of the Republic:

1. The revolutionary Communist conquest of Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

2. The neutralization of Western Europe.

3. The isolation and demoralization of the United States.

Even a casual study or recent history shows the Communists are making steady gains on the progress of this program.

The Communits conquest of Asia, Africa, Central and South America: This area of the world is in ferment with country after country falling into chaos or communism while American foreign policy disintegrates. In his study Dr. Schwarz says: "During recent interviews I have turned the tables on the newsmen by asking this question, 'Can you name one country in the world where American foreign policy is proceeding satisfactorily at the present time?' I have yet to meet one newsman who can name one country. We have only to look at such countries as South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Zanzibar, the Congo, Ghana, Cyprus, Cuba, and Panama to gain some insight into the magnitude of the Communist success. All of these countries have lessons to teach, but do we have the capacity to learn?"

That we are falling into the trap of progressive surrender is shown in the foreign policy of the past two administrations. We forced a coalition government on Laos insuring an eventual Communist takeover; we have had an indecisive, no-win program in South Vietnam; we contributed to the United Nations debacle in the Congo which has resulted in the Reds overrunning Africa; we abandoned any firm program to get the Communists out of Cuba; and we allowed the Panama situation to deteriorate without any effort to protect U.S. prestige or sovereignty.

Neutralization of Western Europe: The present Communist goal in Western Europe is to neutralize it, not to communize it. This accounts for the moderation of the huge Italian Communist Party. Once again this program is succeeding as illustrated by:

1. France's recognition of Red China.

2. The determination of the principal allies of America to trade with Communist Cuba.

The Johnson administration has helped weaken U.S. influence by making deals with the Soviet Union, increasing trade and credit with Communist countries, and by refusing to stop aid to Communist countries. How can we demand others stop trading with Cuba when we trade directly with the Soviet Union the heart of the Communist conspiracy?

Demoralization of the United States: Communist strategy aims to isolate and demoralize the United States. The demoralization will be achieved when the will to resist Communist blackmail is inadequate. This point will be reached when a substantial number of American citizens, particularly the youth, believe that their country no longer merits their death and that accommodation with communism is inevitable.

The State Department under both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations has stressed "accommodation of the Communists" as necessary to keep the peace. Actions which have contributed to the demoralization of the United States include, the test ban treaty which limits our development of new weapons, but not the Soviets; the wheat deal which forces the American taxpayers to support the sinking Soviet economy to insure its health even at the expense of our economy; the Supreme Court decisions banning the right of the States to invoke loyalty oaths; preventing the Government from denying passports to sworn enemies of the United States; overruling action to force Communist Party members to register as enemy agents. The demand of the Johnson administration for more Federal power, bigger spending, expanded welfare programs.

This analysis is based only on the things we know. This administration, like the last one, is not telling Congress or the American people all the facts, so the actual situation could be much worse. What is needed is a winning policy and a leadership determined to see that we have such a policy.

Polish Workers' Rising in Poznan, June 28–29, 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the Poles have endured much suffering under alien regimes in their homeland in modern times, but they have never given up their hope for freedom and their distinct individuality. They have always defiantly fought their overlords and have rebelled against them. One of the most recent and the best known such actions is the rising staged by the factory workers in the industrial city in western Poland, in Poznan in 1956. These sturdy and tenacious workers felt that they were grossly underpaid by the gov-

vernment—which owned and operated the plant—some could not even buy sufficient bread with their hard-earned pay, and they all worked under abominable conditions. Thus they had real grievances against the government. They had complained more than once, but all their complaints had gone unheeded by the Communist-controlled regime. On June 28 the workers in this large steel plant, some 30,000 in all, staged a rising which was branded by the government as an open revolt against it. The authorities treated it as such, and did their worst to crush it with tanks, artillery and regular troops. The upshot of such a cruel move by the government was that in 48 hours the helpless Polish workers were beaten. More than 100 were dead, and several hundred were wounded. Thus ended this rising, the Polish workers' rising in Poznan in 1956.

As one views this event after 8 years, one cannot help but think that whatever improvements have been made in workin conditions in industrial establishments in Poland in recent years, and also the better pay which workers in these establishments have been receiving, these beneficial moves were made subsequent to the Poznan rising. Though the actual rising was ruthlessly suppressed before its spread to other towns, the events of Poznan proved once more that the spirit of freedom and liberty was very much alive and active among the Poles, and that even the most oppressive of totalitarian regimes could not succeed in their efforts to suppress it effectively. Besides, the Polish Communist government sensed this, and then proceeded to make a number of concessions to workers, such as better pay, improved working conditions and shorter working hours. Thus the workers' rising in Poznan has had its benefical results. Today, on the eighth anniversary of that rising, let us hope that all workers in Poland keep up their heads and maintain their spirit of freedom against their Communist totalitarian overlords.

Manpower Conservation in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, the continuing problems of unemployment in this country are indeed very serious, and the search for solutions is the responsibility of all levels of government, management, and labor. In keeping with this responsibility, I commend to my colleagues and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "Manpower Conservation in Europe," which was brought to my attention by my good friend, Frank McCallister, director, labor education division, Roosevelt University.

The article, in two parts, appeared in the quarterly Illinois Labor Bulletin. The author is Samuel C. Bernstein, employment security administrator of the State of Illinois, one of our foremost experts on labor and unemployment. His article explores some of his findings while on a study mission in Europe last year under the auspices of the Department of Labor.

The article follows:

MANPOWER CONSERVATION IN EUROPE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Presented herewith is part I of Employment Security Administrator Samuel C. Bernstein's report on a 2-month study of employment policies and manpower development and conservation in European nations. Mr. Bernstein was a member of a team of experts sent to Europe in the summer of 1963 by the U.S. Department of Labor to make the study. Part II of Mr. Bernstein's findings will be published in the first quarter 1964 issue of the Illinois Labor Bulletin. Because of the importance of Mr. Bernstein's findings, we recommend close study of his report.)

(By Samuel C. Bernstein, employment security administrator, State of Illinois)

PART 1

Let us consider the cases of two hypothetical workers, one in the United States, the other Sweden. Nels Johnson, aged 55, lost his job as a laborer in a leather factory after 15 years' work, when the company he worked for in Stockholm, Sweden, automated his department. Pete Smith, aged 55, lost his job as a laborer in an electronics plant in Chicago when his company changed its line of products.

Both men have similar family responsibilities. Both are union members. Both are eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. Yet there is a tremendous difference between the two men.

Nels has no fear of unemployment. The unemployment rate in Sweden hovers between 1½ and 2 percent, even including seasonal unemployment. Nels knows that all parties concerned in his country—government, industry, and labor—are solidly behind a determined effort to achieve full employment, that the primary aim of Sweden's economic policy is to see to it that all manpower resources are utilized to the fullest extent possible.

Lack coordinated programs

Pete Smith, on the other hand, has many fears. As far back as he can recall, the specter of unemployment has swung nervously over his head. He has seen many good men laid off and out of work for months. True, he has some economic cushion in the form of unemployment compensation. But what assurance has he that he will be able to find work before his benefits are exhausted? The truth is that there is no real, all-out, coordinated, stubborn effort by management, labor, and government to get Pete back to work. Indeed, in some areas, he is looked upon with scorn, because the feeling is that "anyone who really wants a job can get one."

The unemployment rate for our country as a whole is just a few points below 6 percent. As of July, it was 4.7 percent for the State of Illinois. In some sections, as in southern Illinois, there are pockets where the unemployment rate touches 22 percent. At 55, Pete Smith, a worker in the most prosperous nation in all history, with more homes, cars, television sets, bathrooms, and swimming pools than any other nation on earth, is desperately afraid of unemployment.

Public policy outlined

We have been working on this problem for a long time, of course. The United States has had a policy of full employment for the past 17 years, ever since the passage of the Employment Act of 1946. But there has been general recognition that this policy has not been fully implemented, and there has been a growing concern with the need to adopt measures to fulfill this policy more adequately. The President's proposed tax program and the Public Works Acceleration Act are two measures aimed at this goal. There has also been a growing recognition in this country that full employment cannot be achieved without simultaneous and parallel actions to deal directly with maladjustments in the labor market, and a number of steps have been taken recently to that end. These include the Area Redevelopment Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Trade Expansion Act's adjustment features, major expansion and improvement of the Employment Service and reorganization of the U.S. Department of Labor.

But all these steps, even if fully developed, would have difficulty coping with the serious manpower problems confronting our country today. We must, therefore, welcome any knowledge or experience which comes to us from other free nations which can help us stimulate our economic growth and reduce our national rate of unemployment.

Factors favoring European nations

It was to find the reasons for the difference in economic situations that the U.S. Department of Labor decided to undertake a study of manpower programs and policies in four European countries last summer. During the past 10 years, these nations—Sweden, France, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser degree, England—have achieved an enviable condition of full employment. What specific economic policies have they adopted, how have they dealt with labor market maladjustments to attain full employment and permit the operation of their economics at capacity levels?

There are, of course, many factors which operate in favor of these nations, factors which do not exist in our country.

For one thing, they are all much smaller than the United States. England, the largest, has a population the size of New York, California, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Sweden, the smallest, has fewer people than Michigan. All have homogeneous populations. Sweden, probably the most successful of these nations, has absolutely no illiteracy problem.

Union organization

There is also a tremendous difference between union organizations and policies in these countries and those in the United States. There are no craft unions in Sweden, Frnace, and the Netherlands; all unions there are organized on an industry basis, so that an all-around building trades worker, running out of work as a carpenter, can take a job as a bricklayer or painter or structural steelworker, as needs arise, without stirring up possibilities of a jurisdictional dispute. Labor and management also have a far greater respect for one another in these countries; they work very closely in industrywide and national planning programs, and labor disputes, especially in a nation like Sweden, are at a minimum today.

There are, however, other things which each of these nations is doing which might be applicable to our own problems and which therefore deserve careful study. For this reason, let me give you a brief résumé of the manpower and economic programs of these four countries.

France's planned economy

France today has probably the most extensively planned economy this side of the Iron Curtain. Among other things, all banks in France have been nationalized; this is highly important to their economy; as we shall see later. The great stress is on economic growth—all else is secondary—and to achieve this a national planning council was organized after World War II. This council sets the goal for the country's economic growth. There are many other industrywide

and local planning councils and each must plan and develop in accordance with the goal set by the national council.

What is most impressive here is the tremendous degree of participation in all these councils by all parties involved in the French economy. Furthermore, all people involved in the development of plans are the same ones involved in carrying them out, so that there is no difficulty in communications, no disagreement or misunderstanding on even the minutest aspects of the program. The same people who develop a plan and are most interested in its success are the ones who administer it. This includes industry, labor, education, training and government representatives, all working together to achieve a set growth rate goal.

Economic plans have been extremely successful in France. An exception occurred a number of years ago when the economic growth actually outran the resources of the country so that serious inflation and the devaluation of the franc resulted.

The drive for decentralization

One of the great difficulties of France is what has been referred to as the "Parisian monster." There are serious shortages of labor in Paris and one of the main purposes of the current 4-year plan is to decentralize industry away from Paris to other areas where additional jobs are welcome. For this reason, a firm in Paris must request permission to expand or open in that city and permission is not easily obtained. On the other hand, firms are encouraged to go where there is a surplus of labor; the Government offers very low rate bank loans in such cases, as well as outright gifts to industry, based on the number of workers to be employed in the new addition or enterprise.

French training is excellent

France has done an excellent job in training and retraining workers. There are now 1,200 trade schools in 150 centers in the country and they offer 190 different courses. Housing and subsistence allowances and a guaranteed minimum wage are paid trainees by the Ministry of Labor. The country has trained 346,000 workers since 1946 and is now training 30,000 a year; on a population comparison basis, this is equivalent to our training 135,000 workers a year, instead of 30,298 as in the last fiscal year under MDT.

Selection of all trainees in France is through aptitude tests by the Employment Service. Instructors come from plants—they need not have any college background—and are taught at the National Institute of Training. These instructors also serve as trainers back at their plants so they can help with reconversion or retraining problems. Training centers in France are geared for rapid changes in labor market demand as was demonstrated when they shifted quickly from building trades to metal trades when building declined. An attempt is made to stimulate mobility of labor by offering incentives to workers to go where the jobs are, but these incentives are nowhere near as extensive as they are in Sweden and, consequently, this program has not been as successful in France. One of the things which particularly impressed me in France, as well as Sweden and the Netherlands, was the great awareness among all of the people in those countries that, because of the elimination of trade barriers and because of the development of the Common Market, a country must be able to compete in order to survive economically. This means it must be able to produce economically and efficiently. For this reason, automation and technological change are actually welcomed as means of increasing productivity. These are facts of life that have been accepted by labor in these countries. Generally industry shares with labor the additional profits resulting from this increased productivity.

The Netherlands program

One of the most amazing manpower achievements of modern times has certainly been attained in the Netherlands, where, according to Government figures, unemployment during 1962 averaged only 0.8 of 1 percent of the total male labor force.

This is indeed an astonishing country. For perhaps 200 years it was a strictly commercial nation, tied to its colonies. When these colonies were lost at the same time as the country was undergoing considerable population growth, serious permanent unemployment was forecast. The planners in the country saw several things clearly, though. First, that their only salvation was industrialization, with every foot of land accounted for in order to support the country's 11 million population. Secondly, they realized that in order to compete industrially with other, better established countries, the Netherlands had to be able to undersell. This meant maintaining rigid controls over prices and wages, which are substantially lower today than you will find in any other industrial nation in Europe.

The Netherlands does several things to hold unemployment to a minimum. Subsidies are offered to business for expansion in less-developed areas, including a gift of one-half the land cost and loans from municipalities. Where workers move to other jobs, transportation costs, housing allowance, and room and board for up to 1 year are paid. Training of 40 hours a week for up to 9 months is available to workers who must acquire new skills, and extra monetary incentives are offered to workers to speed training. There are no set classes for trainees; a trainee may begin a course on an individual basis on any day and training is completed as soon as he is equipped to take a job. They have done a remarkable job of speeding up training, particularly in the skilled crafts.

English problems more troublesome

A good, but nowhere near as excellent, a picture exists in England. In recent years this country has never had a national unemployment rate exceeding 3½ percent. However, it has pockets of unemployment in Scotland, Wales, and parts of south England. In spite of the fact that a maximum of 3½ percent unemployment would be welcomed in our country, it is a serious political problem in England, where it is considered excessive.

During the war, England was one of the most controlled countries in the world, and all controls were readily accepted. Once the war was over, however, the economy spurted because of the need to rebuild the entire country. People were sick of government controls and planning. When the war ended, "planning" became a dirty word in England. All plans and economic objectives were cast aside. The result was that inflation took hold. The British faced the grim specter of an unfavorable balance of trade leading to devaluation of the pound and considerable unemployment.

Finally, it was realized by all parties that a stop-and-go economy, with alternating inflation-deflation, could not be condoned indefinitely and the Government began to find support for economic planning. The National Economic Development Council was established with members from all facets of the economy, including the most important members of the Government, to do the general, overall economic planning for the country.

The first problem faced by the planners was the serious shortage of skilled labor, which is still creating a bottleneck that stymies England's economic growth today. A prime reason for this shortage is the lack of information about occupations. Such data was never collected in England and the country had no detailed knowledge as to where shortages were developing. The country belatedly recognized that it must improve its training programs and techniques, that it must make a far greater, more determined effort to upgrade its work force through training to take up the slack in its ranks of skilled workers. The Government had just issued a white paper setting forth its new policy in this field.

PART 2

In Sweden there is perhaps more intensive training of the unemployed being conducted to equip workers to take new jobs than anywhere else in the world.

Sweden has a manpower philosophy which is quite different from that of the other nations visited. While France, England and the Netherlands are primarily concerned about economic growth, with full employment developing as a byproduct, in Sweden full employment is the primary national objective from which economic growth is a byproduct.

The philosophy here is that there is nothing of greater importance than the fullest utilization of its manpower, that there is nothing more vital to the individual than a job, and that it is the firstline responsibility of the nation to see that he gets one. In Sweden, the feeling is that the full resources of a nation must be utilized to keep its people prosperous, and manpower is the most important of these resources.

Special help provided

When a man is unemployed and no job is readily available for him, Sweden does several things to help him find work. If he must learn a new skill, an effort is made to give him training that will qualify him for employment. One percent of Sweden's entire labor force—some 30,000 people—are currently being trained each year and the goal is to step up this total to 40,000, even 45,000 a year. On a population comparison basis, the United States would have to train some 700,000 workers a year to equal Sweden's present record.

Sweden also does much to stimulate mobility of labor from pockets of unemployment to areas of labor shortage. If a worker and his wife would like to visit a prospective place of employment, to look it over, Sweden will pay his transportation costs. Later, if he decides to take the job, his family's moving expenses will be paid, along with housing costs both in his new and old home for up to 6 months or until he can dispose of his former home. He will also be given what is called starting money to help him get settled in his new home. All these things, Sweden has found, are far less expensive than keeping a man on relief indefinitely or paying him unemployment insurance without any plan in mind until his benefits run out.

Industrial investment encouraged

One of the more unusual phases of Sweden's economic policy is its industrial investment program. Under this program, industry is permitted to set aside up to 46 percent of its profits each year in a reserve fund, to be used at a time when the economy needs stimulation. During such periods, when there is a lull in the economy, permission is given firms to use such funds tax free. Most companies in Sweden have plans already developed for just such a time and, when the go-ahead is given, the country receives a real lift—quickly. During the 1957–58 recession, for example, money used for expansion purposes by Swedish firms under this plan was the equivalent of the U.S. Government suddenly releasing $5 billion into the economy. The difference was that Sweden's so-called pump priming was pinpointed by 10,000 industrial sharpshooters, each with his own program in mind, a program that generally meant more jobs—immediately. Since July this program has been expanded to permit use of these funds in areas of excessive unemployment.

Our apprentice programs obsolete

In Sweden, as in the other countries visited, there was a general feeling that apprenticeship training, as we know it in the United States, is archaic and obsolete. They feel that it is unnecessary and wrong to take 4 or 5 years to train a craftsman. In all the countries this is done in far less time. In all these countries, too, vocational training duplicates as closely as possible the same conditions as the trainee will meet on the job—the same hours, type of shop, equipment, and so forth.

In the United States, we are now training only about one-tenth as many apprentices as we actually need to fill journeymen requirements. The European countries we visited showed us what can be done in this field. I personally believe that they are far ahead of us in vocational training generally. I feel strongly that more of our vocational education people should visit Europe to study training methods there. I also feel that European vocational training people should be invited to this country to evaluate our system.

Employment service most influential

Two things particularly impressed me during the study trip last year. The first was the importance of the employment service in all of these countries. This is least true in England, but even there the picture has changed during the last year and indications are that it will, before long, approach the situation in France, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

In those countries the employment service is considered the manpower agency. It collects and furnishes information on labor market programs and needs. The schools in these countries depend on the information and advice of the employment service in setting up curriculums and counseling students. The employment service is the focal point of all adult training. It works closely with labor and management in determining manpower programs and activities. It grants funds to workers to help them find jobs in other parts of the country. In Sweden, through its labor market and economic studies, it gives industry permission to use accumulated investment funds for expansion purposes on a tax-free basis.

The other thing which most impressed me was the wholehearted acceptance of the effects of advancing technology, particularly in Sweden and the Netherlands. There was a genuine freedom from fear that stemmed primarily from the conditions of full employment which they had achieved, and the steps which are taken to reestablish the disemployed as an active participant in the labor market.

Root of our difficulties

The greatest source of truble in our country today is a fear of unemployment which, consciously or unconsciously, touches the lives of most of us. It is a fear which has literally worried many of our people sick. It is the reason behind some of our most bitterly fought strikes and jurisdictional disputes. It is the reason membership requirements in some unions have been made so difficult, why apprenticeship training in some cases is so long drawn out. It is the reason why we almost had a railroad strike last year. It is the reason for much of our racial discrimination today. It is why not only labor, but all thinking men in the United States are so concerned about job security and automation and job obsolescence.

Our country cannot afford the luxury of long unemployment lines, of half-staffed factories, of a creeping economy. Countries like Sweden and the Netherlands have virtually eliminated unemployment. They are countries were unemployment no longer hangs like a pall over the production worker. We must do all we can to remove it from the American scene.

Sending General Norstad to Gordium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger in today's issue of the New York Times makes the highly important and appropriate suggestion that President Johnson appoint Gen. Lauris Norstad as his personal envoy in an effort to bring about a peaceful solution to the critical Cyprus situation. I concur in this suggestion.

General Norstad ,as Mr. Sulzberger points out, is highly respected in both Athens and Ankara. His appointment as the U.S. mediator in this dispute would greatly strengthen the peacemaking efforts of our regular ambassadors to those countries without further entangling our efforts in intra-allied conflicts.

On October 4, 1962, I introduced a resolution to authorize the President to present a gold medal to General Norstad in recognition of his outstanding service as Chief of the Armed Forces of NATO. I paid tribute at that time to his firmness and steadfastness of purpose, his tact, and diplomacy, and enlightened leadership as the head of the free world's defenses in a most critical period of our history.

I wish to reaffirm my unqualified confidence in General Norstad's abilities and express the hope that the President will recognize the wisdom of this suggestion and employ his services in this most important capacity.

The article by Mr. Sulzberger follows:

SENDING GENERAL NORSTAD TO GORDIUM

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

The Cyprus crisis has drifted another inch toward disaster, and when a situation verges on catastrophe, inches count. President Johnson's personal intervention with the Turkish and Greek Premiers failed. The only original idea offered was Greece's proposal for an interim accord that did not pretend to solve the basic problem.

This Greek formula, first handed early this month to Dirk Stikker, NATO's Secretary General, and later to George Ball, Johnson's envoy, was again explained to the President by Premier Papandreou. It suggests two simultaneous steps:

1. Athens should proclaim a guarantee to protect the Turkish Cypriotes, with Papandreou committing his personal influence to insure this would be applied.

2. Ankara should announce abandonment of any threats to land troops in Cyprus to protect its minority. The Zurich and London agreements creating an independent Cyprus permit this. But they have been denounced by Archbishop Makarios and are considered dead letters by Greece, though not by Britain and Turkey.

Papandreou believes this stopgap formula would dissuade Greek Cypriotes from bullying the Turkish minority and thus reduce pressure on Inonu for drastic action. However, it obviously implies indirect Athens control over events in Cyprus and would ask the Turks to relinquish their one theoretical trump, a landing.

Athens has already demonstrated that Cyprus is no longer genuinely independent. General Grivas, a Greek officer although Cypriote by birth, has again been sent to Cyprus at Greece's initiative. His orders are to guarantee the Turkish minority's safety by incorporating all irregular armed bands into the uniformed Cyprus militia and police.

But it is obvious two other aims are sought by Athens. A Cypriote army would be developed to use arms received from Greece and Egypt. Secondly, Grivas, a well-known rightist, would try to curb growing Communist strength.

NEED TO SAVE FACE

Before Johnson's intervention the Cyprus crisis was at an impasse. Now that impasse has become what Inonu terms "impenetrable." The President invited the Premiers to Washington after he had acted through Ball and General Lemnitzer to halt an imminent Turkish landing. But he found no way of following up this single vital act. Inonu and Papandreou refused to meet and they have both rushed off to solicit De Gaulle's support.

The problem has never been one of pure reason and justice. Any solution must save face for both Inonu and Papandreou. If the Turkish Premier cannot gain some concession he will almost certainly be overthrown by a military coup d'état. If Papandreou concedes too much Greece might swing leftward.

No one has devised a means of cutting this new Gordian knot. There have been vague suggestions of a population exchange between Turkish Cypriotes and the Greek minority in Turkey; or a territorial transfer of some Greek island against abandonment of Turkish claims in Cyprus. Neither Ankara nor Athens is interested.

So the downward drift continues. All concede war between Greece and Turkey could destroy NATO and produce holocaust. But war, alas, is not to be excluded.

This being the case, it would seem sensible for Johnson to follow up on his intervention by appointing a special personal ambassador charged, if possible, with seeking solution and, at least, with avoiding intra-allied conflict. An obvious choice would be General Norstad, former NATO commander, who is highly esteemed in Athens and Ankara. Norstad could shuttle among the capitals directly involved: Nicosia, London, Athens and Ankara, and complement U.N.'s mediatory role.

By inclination the United States might prefer to dump Cyprus back entirely on U.N. But President Johnson has intervened, and rightly, as the most powerful ally of Greece and Turkey. He should continue his efforts.

Under Secretary Ball cannot devote all his time to this sole problem. A special Presidential envoy like Norstad, assigned not to a place but to a problem, could coordinate the peacemaking efforts of our regular ambassadors. He might conceivably help stave off explosion until some Alexander finds his way to Turkish Gordium, north of Cyprus, to cut a new and mystifying knot.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, all who had the privilege of attending the festivities last Saturday, June 27, in honor of Taras Shevchenko were deeply impressed by the moving ceremonies. I am proud to have the honor of representing many members of the large delegation from New Jersey. These fine people are deeply committed to the ideals exem-

plified in the life of the poet laureate of the Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, and I am happy to join them in paying tribute to this great freedom fighter.

His statue has been erected here in Washington as a source of encouragement to his admirers working for Ukrainian freedom everywhere around the world. By putting it here, the American people honor the language, culture, and democratic hopes of the Ukrainian people.

In a very brief 47 years, Taras Shevchenko did more for his nation than most men can ever hope to accomplish. He gave them for the first time a national literary language. He inspired them with the rights to independence and personal liberty for which our Founding Fathers fought. And by his personal example, he taught the downtrodden Ukrainian peasant how skill and intelligence can triumph if men are free.

The hearts of all Americans are heavy today with sorrow that Taras Shevchenko's memorial cannot be freely constructed in his own country. The Ukraine is still beset with the burdens of Russian domination. We hope that a new era of democracy may be opening in which the aspirations of Taras Shevchenko will be realized and the Ukrainian people will find freedom at last.

Our fellow Americans of Ukrainian descent have made a notable contribution to the strength and welfare of our beloved Nation. Their love of freedom, their hatred of tyranny, is shared by the 45 million Ukrainians, the largest captive nation in Eastern Europe. This splendid memorial to Taras Shevchenko in the Capital City of the United States will serve as a bridge of understanding and sympathy between our people and the unhappy captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The Need for Federal Marshals in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have urged that Federal marshals be assigned to Mississippi to protect civil rights workers. The tragic disappearance of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner on June 21, and other terroristic activities make clear the need. There have been attempts to deny the necessity for Federal protection in Mississippi by arguing that crimes of violence are committed in New York City. The twisted logic in this proposition is apparent. The case for Federal marshals in Mississippi is not predicated on the assumption that they can protect everyone 100 percent of the time. That is impossible in Mississippi or New York or anywhere else. However, there is a difference between Mississippi and New York City. The New York City Police Department is committed to the protection of all citizens regardless of race, creed, or color. In Mississippi there is every reason to doubt that the police are making a good faith effort to protect all persons. In fact, in today's New York Herald Tribune William Bradford Huie, a veteran reporter who happens to be a southerner, outlines the relationship betwen the Ku Klux Klan and other violent hate groups and the local law enforcement authorities. For those who pretend not to see the distinction between Mississippi and New York I strongly urge reading the following article:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, June 29, 1964]

DEAD OR ALIVE?—TOWN: PHILADELPHIA, MISS.—AUTHOR: WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE—SUBJECT: KLANSMEN AS LAWMEN

(By William Bradford Huie)

PHILADELPHIA, MISS.—What about the police officer who is also a Ku Klux Klansman?

This is a key question here where, before the world, the United States and Mississippi pretend to be cooperating in a search for the bodies of three youths feared murdered.

Klansmen or Klan sympathizers are the murderers. Many Mississippi police—municipal, county and State—are Klansmen. To become a Klansman a man must swear to be willing to "get nigger blood on his hands." He must swear fidelity to his fellows. So how, effectively, can a Klansman-policeman cooperate in a search for evidence against a brother Klansman?

Gov. Paul Johnson goes on television and asks people to allow Mississippi police to protect the young civil rights visitors and to find the bodies and the murderers. Does Governor Johnson know how many of his police are Klansmen? Does he care? He has doubled the size of his highway patrol. Does he know that many of these new men are Klansmen?

The United States is represented in the search by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. FBI agents are forbidden to join the Klan. To the FBI, the Klan is as dangerous to men's freedom as the Communist Party. The FBI is now infiltrating the Klan, just as it infiltrated the Communist Party.

How can FBI agents cooperate with Mississippi police? To the FBI every Mississippi policeman must be suspected of being a Klansman, or a Klan sympathizer, until he is found to be otherwise.

Consider the key situation in this case:

Two young men—one white, one Negro—have been in Meridian for months making deadly enemies, both by their activities and by riding along streets together. In Lauderdale County (Meridian), the Klan is known to be strong and dangerous. But the two young men are careful: they never let darkness catch them at a disadvantage.

But the night comes when, along with a third youth, they are caught. In an adjoining county they are arrested for speeding. Who arrests them? A highway patrolman and a deputy sheriff. Is their arrest reported on the highway patrol radio? Apparently not. They are brought to the Philadelphia jail. The jail is empty; the sheriff and his wife are gone for the evening. The three are held until 10:30 p.m., then released. As far as is known, only one other man, a city patrolman, knew of their being in the jail.

This gives Klansmen the opportunity for which they had been watching. The youths disappear. They don't even telephone from the Philadelphia jail when they are released. Yet they had just spent a week at Oxford, Ohio, emphasizing to other such workers that the telephone call is an imperative which must never be neglected.

QUESTION FOR FBI

So here are the questions for which the FBI agents are seeking answers:

Who else knew that the three youths were being held in the Nashoba County jail? Who else knew that the youths would be released at 10:30 p.m.? How did these parties learn these facts?

In particular: What toll telephone calls were made from the jail to parties in Meridian while the three were being held? What are the Meridian telephone numbers? If no calls were made from the jail, what calls to Meridian were placed from public telephones in Philadelphia during the critical period?

These telephone records are now being obtained; and if this mystery is solved, the telephone records may be the solution.

But note how pivotal the Klan question is. Are any of the officers involved in the arrest members of the Klan? Are their brothers members? Are they members of what Allen Dulles calls the other "clandestine, terroristic organizations," Americans for the Preservation of the White Race?

It is more or less conceded here today that telephone calls were made between Philadelphia and Meridian. When the parties to those calls are established, the conspiracy in this case may be unmasked.

It is also beginning to be conceded that the bodies are unlikely to be found. If the murder had been planned, the disposition of the bodies had been more carefully planned. If the young men were captured at 10:30 p.m., the murderers had 6 hours of darkness in which to dispose of the bodies. In this time they could have driven to any point in Mississippi, and to many points in Alabama, Florida, or Louisiana. There is, in fact, little reason to suspect that the bodies would have been burned, buried, or submerged in the areas which have been searched.

THE LOCAL POLICE

Because so many Mississippi police officers belong to the Klan, one statement in Washington by Mr. Dulles has caused eyebrows to lift everywhere in this State. Mr. Dulles is quoted as saying: "The visiting civil rights workers should by all means report their whereabouts each day to the local police, so that they can be adequately protected."

Was the former Central Intelligence Chief being facetious? Or was it a slip of the tongue? How is a young civil rights worker, 2 days out of New England or the Midwest, to know which Mississippi police officer to trust? How is a 22-year-old coed from Ohio State to know which policeman dons a hood when he doffs his police cap?

Here in Philadelphia an auxiliary police force is to be born. Scores of citizens have volunteered. The force is to have two assignments: to try to find the bodies presently missing, and then to arrest any other civil rights workers who enter the town.

I was told here yesterday that at least a fourth of those who volunteered for auxiliary police duty are Klansmen in good standing.

Mississippi "Invasion"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the "invasion" of Mississippi by this group of immature young Americans apparently has brought about the desired results of

those who planned it. The liberal press and like-minded commentators on the radio and TV are really whooping up the case of the three "missing" invaders.

The Governor of Mississippi, the Honorable Paul Johnson, the Mississippi press, and many good citizens and responsible organizations, such as the Mississippi Economic Council, have counseled the citizens of Mississippi generally to forego any demonstration or unlawful act against the "invaders." These responsible citizens and organizations have counseled and the people of Mississippi generally have practiced remarkable restraint in this ordeal through which they are passing.

No one knows at this time just what has transpired in the disappearance of these misguided youths. We join with the other 99 percent of Mississippians in the hope that there has been no foul play. But should it develop that there has been, we would then join with the same high percentage of our fellow Mississippians in demanding the prosecution of those responsible therefor. However, Mr. Speaker, we also join in the hope that those responsible for the "invasion" will use a little commonsense and restraint on their part and call off its provocative venture.

After all, is there really any necessity or justification for this activity other than the desire of those heading these committees and organizations, as has been charged, to create a climate to bring about the intrusion of the Federal Government into the domestic affairs of a sovereign State?

Is the statement of Columnist Joseph Alsop really true when he wrote a couple of weeks ago that, "the real aim of extreme Negro organizations is to secure the military occupation of Mississippi by Federal troops."

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I submit a couple of editorials from the Chronicle—Pascagoula, Miss.—and the Hattiesburg American—Hattiesburg, Miss.—dated June 24 and June 23, respectively, both substantial and responsible newspapers in my congressional district.

The editorials follow:

INEXCUSABLE ACTION

Sending Allen Dulles to Mississippi was another unnecessary, inexcusable, and insulting action on the part of the Washington administration. It was taken yesterday after President Johnson had lengthy conferences with Attorney General Robert Kennedy and other officials of the Department of Justice.

The decision to dispatch Mr. Dulles was made before any evidence was disclosed that local or State officials in Mississippi had shown any reluctance or inability to cope with the suspected crime. The FBI was on the job and made no public complaints or called for help from a special emissary of the President.

The Washington politicians, with their eyes on the November elections, saw an opportunity to make political capital out of what may prove to be a horrible crime. It's the Southern States that get this special treatment from Washington. New York escapes the attention of the Potomac hierarchy.

Broadcasting networks and the Negro spokesmen were quick to take advantage of this opening to serve their purpose and made the most of it.

Nothing has been said about how much wiser the missing young men would have been had they stayed home and minded their own business. Nor is any such admonition to others so minded likely to come from the President or the Attorney General.

Furthermore, we are sorry to see Allen Dulles suckered into such a conscienceless political ploy. He is a successful and renowned corporation lawyer with a long record of distinguished public service, completely out of character in his present role.

A TIME FOR SELF-CONTROL

The Mississippi "freedom summer" project under which student volunteers are coming into the State for civil rights work is off to a disturbing start with the reported disappearance of three persons in Neshoba County.

It is possible the mystery will have been cleared up by the time this is in print, but as of this morning three civil rights workers were unaccounted for since they were released from jail in Philadelphia Sunday night after arrest and payment of a fine on a speeding charge. One of the three is a student who had just arrived in Mississippi for the summer project.

The Council of Federated Organizations, a composite of four Negro organizations which is coordinating the project, said the three had driven from Meridian to Neshoba County to check into the reported burning of a Negro church.

COFO insists that the summer project is aimed only at aiding the Negro in Mississippi to gain the right to vote and avail himself of citizenship rights. Demonstrations, sit-ins, etc., are not a part of the program, according to the announced COFO plan for the summer volunteers.

If the project is carried out as COFO has said it will be there should be no serious trouble in Mississippi this summer. Until and unless developments prove otherwise, we should assume that the students will do their educational work among the Negroes quietly and things in Hattiesburg should be much as they have been for several months with the ministers project, which also is continuing.

Some students already are here and no doubt others will be coming in later.

Should demonstrations develop, we once more urge the people of the Hattiesburg area to follow the course they have in the past and let law enforcement officers handle the situation. They know what should be done and they know how to do it.

Attempts by individual citizens or organized groups to take the law into their own hands or to go outside the law can lead only to trouble and to untold future difficulties for the entire State.

Columnist Joseph Alsop wrote from Washington last week that "the real aim of extreme Negro organizations is to secure the military occupation of Mississippi by Federal troops."

If this is correct, and we have little doubt that it is, violence would only play into the hands of the leaders of these extremist groups.

Governor Johnson and other State and local officials have called upon citizens to be calm and law abiding. Civic leaders have emphasized the same theme.

The Mississippi Economic Council last week urged Mississippians to exert patience and self-control, although they no doubt will be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our State.

The final admonition of the MEC, with which we agree wholeheartedly, was:

"It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and if possible, even good humor.

"We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit on our State. We should support the Governor in his declaration that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters."

Joe Pepper, Covaledictorian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I hope I may be forgiven for the pride I take in a young nephew, Joe Pepper, of Tallahassee, Fla., who was recently covaledictorian of his graduating class in Leon High School and who will enter the Air Force Academy at the end of this month and in the valedictorian address my nephew made upon the occasion of his recent graduation. I think it contains something of interest and challenge to all young men and in fact to us all. I submit it herewith to my colleagues and those who shall observe this RECORD with the hope that they will find it of interest:

When I was a sophomore, a poem was read that has meant a great deal to me and has helped many times to carry me over a rough spot. If you would bear with me for just a moment, I would like to read it to you.

"IF

"(By Rudyard Kipling)

"If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;

"If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hatred
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise.

"If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two imposters just the same;

"If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life for, broken,
And stoop to build them up with worn-out tools;

"If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch and toss,
And lose, and start again at the beginning
And never breathe a word about your loss;

"If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after you are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the will which says to them: 'Hold On!'

"If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count on you, but none too much;

"If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and all the glory in it,
And—what's more you'll be a man, my son!"

"Yours is the earth and everything that's in it, and what is more you'll be a man, my son." A man—what distinguishes a boy with a high school diploma in his hand from the man who has met and conquered life? Can you pick out the one characteristic that determines the difference between the boy who has let life run roughshod over him and the man who has mastered life and all its ups and downs? Would you say determination? Capability? Leadership ability? I contend that the qualities that establish this essential difference are as numerous and varied as life itself.

A man who devotes himself to the perfection of one aspect only of the person he presents to the rest of mankind is a man in one respect only, a boy in all others.

In dealings with your fellowman are you willing to go the "second mile?" To forgive the "7 times 70?" Are you calm when confusion prevails? Is your faith in yourself able to withstand the distrust of others and willing to understand this distrust? Can you wait for the right opportunity to present itself while others all around you are "joining the crowd?" Can you be lied about and despised by others and still keep yourself above all this?

Can you look to the future and still live for today? Are you able to look success and failure in the face and treat them both the same? Can you hear the truth you've spoken and see the work you've accomplished twisted and torn by fools and then return to rebuild? Are you able to take your life's work and place it on one turn of the wheel, lose, and never say a word about your loss? Is your will strong enough to carry you when you should have quit long ago? When nobody but you really cares whether or not you sink or swim?

Can you go to the crowd and remain an individual? Are you able to go to kings and remain one of the crowd? Can you withstand the scorn of friends and foes alike, and depend on neither too much? Can you take every precious minute that life gives you and fill it to overflowing with a robust, hearty existence? Finally, and most important, when you're through, can you say to yourself:

"I'd like to think life is done
That I had taken gifts divine;
The breath of life and manhood fine
And tried to use them now and then
In service for my fellow men."

Then when you have accomplished all this and come back for more and when you have taken all life has to offer and asked for more; then and only then will the earth and everything in it be yours; and—which is more—you'll be a man, my son.

What Do the Stop Goldwater Advocates Really Want?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 17, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the following article written by Paul Harvey for Human Events makes us wonder what is really behind the stop Goldwater movement. If you have not read "A Choice, Not an Echo" by Phillis Schlafly and referred to in Mr. Harvey's column, I advise you to do so. You will find her conclusions most interesting In view of Senator GOLDWATER's support among the voters in the primary elections, I cannot but agree with Mr. Harvey's conclusion that BARRY GOLDWATER is in the mainstream of Republican thinking and in the mainstream of the thinking of most Americans. It is the kingmakers who have held sway so long who are out of step.

The Harvey article follows:

DO MODERN REPUBLICANS WANT A CHOICE?

(By Paul Harvey)

The same Republicans who are demanding that "the party must have a choice" at the convention, are seeking to deprive the voters of a choice in the election.

Former President Eisenhower, and friends, ganging up on GOLDWATER, insist that all they want is "an open convention."

"It's good for the virility of the party," they say, "for the delegates to have a choice." Yet these same men are seeking to deprive voters of their best chance for choice in decades.

The hot air balloons for Scranton and Rockefeller and Lodge are intended to nominate a Republican who differs with GOLDWATER. The Republicans should be looking for a candidate who differs with Johnson.

Governor Scranton, now so conscientiously convinced that the delegates deserve "a choice," was himself unwilling to get into the several State primaries where the people had a choice. He describes himself as "a liberal on civil rights, a conservative on fiscal policies and an internationalist on foreign affairs."

That is precisely the way Democrat President Johnson describes himself.

Yet Governor Scranton has tardily and dramatically thrown his hat into the ring, claiming that he is giving us a choice.

There is a small book getting a big play called A Choice, Not an Echo. It's partisan, but it's worth reading. It details in shirtsleeve English the manner in which GOP kingmakers have taken the choice away from the people.

The lady author says they comprise the most powerful force of opinion makers in the world, and she names them.

She says they have dictated the choice of the Republican presidential nominee just as completely as the Paris dressmakers control the length of women's skirts, and she tells how.

The so-called liberal wing of the party urges non-Republicans to come over and help pick the GOP convention choice. Naturally, the non-Republicans pick the "me-too" kind of candidate whom they know they can beat at the polls.

The author, Phyllis Schlafly, president of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, is admittedly a GOLDWATER supporter. She may imagine a liaison among the "kingmakers" which is more sinister than the ideology which motivates and mobilizes them.

But she is surely correct in her contention that these Eisenhower-Scranton-Rockefeller-Lodge-Stassen Republicans, now demanding that their convention "have a choice," are actually aiming to deprive the voters of any bona fide "choice" in November.

It is undeniable now that Senator GOLDWATER's conservative philosophy has popular party support, dramatically demonstrated in State primaries and State party conventions.

If the kingmakers cannot subscribe to the Senator's philosophy, it is they who are in the wrong party, not he.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend in Washington witnessed the impressive gathering of thousands of Ukrainian-Americans for the unveiling of a statue honoring Taras Shevchenko.

Shevchenko was the Ukraine's poet of freedom. His verse still inspires the freedom-loving passions of people in the Ukraine and other areas of the world where people are held in bondage by Soviet imperialism.

An indication of the respect which we in the free world hold for this great patriot was the presence of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States, at the ceremonies dedicating the Shevchenko statue. General Eisenhower spoke warmly of the love of liberty and justice which flowed from Taras Shevchenko's heart and so influenced his poetic genius.

On this 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth, let us reflect on the unfinished business which so occupied the man whose memory we honor. To the millions of once-free peoples now enslaved by communism, the celebration of anniversaries like this one must be conducted under cover. Any attempt to publicly express the convictions that are so precious to democratic societies would be dealt with harshly by the Communist captors.

Mr. Speaker, Taras Shevchenko is a noble example of Ukrainian contribution to humanity. Those from the Urkraine or whose ancestry is in the Ukraine have inherited his faith in the individual and they practice it today here in the United States.

Many of my constituents have a Ukrainian background. They are industrious and honorable members of my home community of Rochester, N.Y. I am proud of the solid role they play and of their concern for the conditions that now exist in their land of their fathers.

In connection with the events of this past weekend, the Washington Post published an interesting account of Ukrainian influence on the United States and its relationship to the heritage of Taras Shevchenko. I take pleasure in including this article with my remarks:

UKRAINIANS HAVE HISTORY OF FREEDOM-SEEKING

The Ukrainian-born American and Americans of Ukrainian descent who came to Washington yesterday brought with them freedom-seeking traditions inherited from Cossacks and peasants.

Although the Ukraine has been a Soviet Socialist Republic since 1920, the Ukrainian-Americans retain a distinctive language, music, and dress—all of which were in abundant evidence yesterday around the statue of Taras Shevchenko at 22d and P Streets.

According to Orest Horodyskyj, a native of the Ukraine and writer for the weekly news-

paper Ukrainian Life in Chicago, about a million Ukrainian-Americans now live in the United States, and some 40,000 were in Washington yesterday for the statue-unveiling ceremonies.

Horodyskyj said the main immigration of these people to America was about 90 years ago, and that most initially took jobs as farmers and laborers.

They now are concentrated in the urban centers of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. About 80 percent of them speak Ukrainian, a Slavic tongue, and youngsters could be heard talking in Slavic sounds around the statue.

Standing beside his Scout-uniformed, 15-year-old son under a glaring sun, Horodyskyj, 45, gave this account of Taras Shevchenko and his meaning to Ukrainian-Americans:

Shevchenko lived from 1814 to 1861 in a time when landlords owned not only large pieces of land, but also their peasants. Shevchenko, though a peasant, was a very able painter, so friends bought him from his landlord and sent him to St. Petersburg in Russia to an art academy, from which he was graduated with a gold medal.

He began writing poems about the hard life of the Ukrainian peasant and political oppression under the czar. For these poems, and for membership in the inter-Slavic Cyrylo-Methodius Brotherhood, Shevchenko was put in the czarist army for 10 years.

Freed, he wrote anticzarist poems and became one of the first strong voices in this time against the persecution and oppression of his people.

The poems were translated into other Slavic languages and marked Shevchenko as a champion of liberty whose works are still held up as models of the independent spirit.

The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two articles which appeared in the New York Times of Friday, June 26, 1964:

(By Marjorie Hunter)

WASHINGTON, June 25.—The five children of President Franklin D. Roosevelt are objecting to the recently approved design for a memorial to their father.

Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT said today he would seek congressional action, if necessary, to prevent the building of the eight-tablet memorial.

"We don't like it, and I'm sure father wouldn't either," the California Democrat said.

The family's decision to oppose the tablet design was made at a meeting attended by all five of the Roosevelt children last Sunday at Hyde Park, N.Y. Representative ROOSEVELT said.

"We all oppose it strongly," he said.

The other members of the Roosevelt family include Elliott, John, Franklin Delano Jr., and Anna, the wife of Dr. James Addison Halsted of Birmingham, Mich.

CHOSEN FROM 574 ENTRIES

The opposition of the Roosevelt family reopens a controversy that appeared to be settled. Just yesterday the Fine Arts Commission of Washington approved the design for the memorial to President Roosevelt.

An earlier commission, 2 years ago, had rejected the design. Congress, too, had turned it down and had instructed the Roosevelt Memorial Commission either to choose a new design or get the original one modified.

The original design, chosen from 574 entries in a national contest in 1960, called for eight concrete steles—free-standing pillars, or tablets—inscribed with words from speeches by President Roosevelt.

Acting on the congressional mandate, the award-winning firm of Federsen, Tilney, Hoberman, Wasserman & Beer of New York scaled down the towering tablets and added a statue of the late President as a focal point.

APPROVED BY VOTE

It was this revised design that won the approval of the Fine Arts Commission, by a vote of 4 to 2.

The design has been controversial from the beginning. Artists, architects, and the public have been debating its merits for nearly 4 years.

Supporters have praised the design as "powerful" and " a splendid expression of 20th century art." Critics have called it "instant Stonehenge" and "unfinished bookends."

The biggest setback for those seeking approval of the tablet design came in the spring of 1961 when Felix Frankfurter, then an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, reported that President Roosevelt had wanted a simple stone marker.

Writing in the Atlantic Monthly magazine that spring, Justice Frankfurter said that the President had called him to his office September 26, 1941, and had outlined his views.

He quoted Mr. Roosevelt as saying:

"If any memorial is to be erected to me, I know exactly what I should like it to be. Now, please remember what I am telling you as my wish, in case they are to put up any memorial to me.

"About halfway between here [the White House] and the Capitol is the Archives Building * * * and right in front of the Archives Building is a little green triangle. If, as I say, they are to put up any memorial to me, I should like it to be placed in the center of that green plot in front of the Archives Building."

Justice Frankfurter said the President then described the monument he wanted: a simple stone, unornamented, and inscribed, "In memory of * * *."

The tablet design, to be placed on a 26-acre site in East Potomac Park, would cost an estimated total of $4.5 million. Most of the money would be raised through private donations, but Congress would be expected to contribute an unspecified sum.

Representative ROOSEVELT will first seek to have the design rejected by the 12-member Roosevelt Memorial Commission will meet next Wednesday.

If he fails in the commission, Mr. ROOSEVELT said in a brief speech to the House today, he will carry his fight to the House floor.

The commission was authorized by Congress 9 years ago to find a suitable memorial to President Roosevelt. Under that original resolution, it has the final word on what, if anything, will be built.

GROVE OF TREES ASKED

In identical letters to William Walton, chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, and Francis Biddle, chairman of the Roosevelt Memorial Commission, members of the Roosevelt family made one specific request. Any memorial to their father, they said, should include a grove of trees "in recognition of the tremendous feeling Franklin D. Roosevelt had for trees and his great interest in their conservation."

They did not detail their objections to the tablet design. However, Representative ROOSEVELT said today that the proposed memorial did not reflect his father's life.

Because of the Roosevelt family's opposition, a fight has begun shaping up within the memorial commission.

Mr. Biddle, who was Attorney General under President Roosevelt, is a strong supporter of the tablet design. He is chairman of the commission.

Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, Democrat, of Brooklyn, secretary of the commission, said today that he would like to take the family's wishes into consideration, "but I don't see how we can fail to go through with this design."

"We can't reject the winning firm," Representative KEOGH went on. "Why, that would make a mockery of the architectural profession."

But two other commission members—Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, and Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon—said they would be reluctant to approve a design opposed by the Roosevelt family.

"I rather liked it myself," Senator NEUBERGER said, "but, if the family doesn't like it, then I'm afraid it's out. We'll just have to start all over again."

Senator JAVITS, too, said he would not favor "forcing anything on the family."

"I think we should give it another try to find something they could go with," he said. "It looks all right to me, but they apparently don't like it."

(By Ada Louise Huxtable)

The proposal for the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, which has run a stormy course since it was unveiled in January 1961, is in rough waters again. With its total rejection by the Roosevelt family, it may even sink out of sight.

No design for a monument has had a more turbulent history. The first prize winner in a nationwide competition that attracted some of the country's top architectural talent, it was greeted by a violently hostile press.

Those who felt that the monument should reflect the man, including Roosevelt's family and associates, thought it failed grievously. Others objected to the bold modern design to be placed between the traditional Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials in classical Washington.

REDESIGN BEGAN IN JANUARY

In October 1963, the architects, Pedersen, Tilney, Hoberman, Wasserman & Beer, met unofficially with the Fine Arts Commission, which had rejected the design in 1962. The Commission had been radically overhauled and liberalized with the appointment of new members by President Kennedy in the intervening year. Redesign began this January. This week, with Fine Arts Commission approval of the latest version, the uproar started all over again.

The difference between the first and second versions is slight, but significant. The first group, a sculpturesque arrangement of giant slabs through which the visitor would progress on a series of stepped platforms, stressed theatrical variations in height. The revised design emphasizes a larger-than-life figure of Roosevelt, the same size as the statues of the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials.

To meet objections against the maximum height of 167 feet the slabs have been reduced to 130 feet for the tallest, and have been more uniformly related to place the emphasis on the central figure.

There is no formal axis, no bowling alley vista of the kind that Washington is accustomed to. The statue of Roosevelt, seen first from the Potomac approach, or hidden behind wall-like slabs from the parking lot,

would appear, disappear and reappear as the viewer walked up and down steps, through narrow apertures between steles and out again onto the open platforms with the heroic figure backframed by stone or sky.

The only way to judge this design is to study the model three dimensionally, imagining the movement through it, visualizing the changing relationships of towering slabs like serene classic columns, the heroic statue and the contoured, tree-rich, carefully landscaped surroundings.

DEPENDS ON MOVEMENT

This is a subtle, processional monumentality that depends as much for effect on the movement of the visitor as on its purely visual aspect. It is an impressive monumentality that surrounds the visitor and contains him, a setting that gives him an emotional, spatial and architectural involvement rather than the remote, single point of reference—there it is, look at it—of the conventional memorial. It could even avoid that bugaboo of all memorials, banality.

* * * * *

The Bail-Bond Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a most important article by Don Oberdorfer published in the June 20, 1964, edition of the Saturday Evening Post which describes the splendid work of the Vera Foundation, Inc. This foundation, organized by Louis Schweitzer, a retired chemist, has allowed many defendants to remain out of jail while awaiting trial. The system developed by the Vera Foundation may point the way to the elimination of the inequity resulting from the fact that people of modest means are often forced to remain in jail while those of affluence are released on bond. Don Oberdorfer's article follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post, June 20, 1964]

THE BAIL-BOND SCANDAL

(By Don Oberdorfer)

At his arraignment in a gray moldering courtroom in Brooklyn on April 23, 1963, Robert Cary was formally accused of taking $14.05 in one of a series of change-booth robberies that had been plaguing New York subways. A nighttime security guard for a fur storage firm, he had been on his way home from work when a transit policeman spotted him trying to slip past a turnstile without paying the fare. Cary had a pistol in his pocket. When police later placed him in a lineup, one robbery victim said Cary wasn't the right man, but then another subway employee picked him as the culprit—first hesitatingly, then quite firmly.

Cary was 25 years old, and had never been in trouble before. When his case came to trial, it developed that the robber had been described as clean shaven, while Cary always wore a mustache. Cary weighed 185 pounds, but the culprit was described as much slimmer. A search of Cary's possessions after his arrest turned up his ordinary raincoat, but the guilty man wore a trench coat.

At his trial Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, feared by defendants as the toughest jurist in New York City, directed a verdict of not guilty. In the hall a court official congratulated Cary and handed him 15 cents to continue his subway ride home. By then it was October and Cary had spent almost 6 months in jail while waiting for trial. He had lost his job, his tiny apartment and an entire summer of his life. Though Robert Cary had been found innocent, justice had failed.

"I'll never forget that experience," he said recently. "It makes no difference to the jailers that you haven't been convicted of anything. They treat you like the lowest common criminal. Once they assigned a drug addict as my cellmate and another time a homosexual. My lucky day was when they paired me with a veteran convict from Dannemora, who gave me a quick course in my constitutional rights. I knew I had a right to bail, but there was no way to scrape up the money. My bail was $2,500, and the professional bondsman's fee alone would have been $105. One day I heard that members of a famous underworld gang had been arrested and were in jail. They were bailed out within a few hours."

The bail system that kept Robert Cary in jail while known criminals went free raises grave constitutional and moral issues that affect the entire Nation. The eighth amendment to the U.S. Constitution assures every citizen that "excessive bail shall not be required." Nevertheless, on any given day tens of thousands of Americans are jammed into crowded jails because their bail is "excessive" for them. By contrast, grand juries and judges have charged that some bondsmen receive kickbacks from criminal lawyers and make payoffs to court clerks and higher-ups. In short, the bail system provides one law for the underworld and the well-to-do, and another for the poor.

In Philadelphia, for example, Angelo Bruno, the reputed chief of the local Cosa Nostra, had no trouble producing $75,000 bail recently when he was arrested on charges of extortion and conspiracy. For a premium of about $6,000, a bail bondsman saw to it that Bruno did not spend even a minute in jail. Ironically, Philadelphia had just opened a new $6 million detention center to imprison less affluent citizens. It is already filled to capacity with men who lack bail money. Among the inmates there was Robert A. Murray, a 21-year-old butcher who couldn't produce $300 bail, and spent 54 days in jail before being tried for driving without a license. The maximum penalty for that offense is only 5 days. As it turned out, Murray was given a suspended sentence after pleading guilty.

Many bail bondsmen look on all those who come to them with the same hard eye as a cattle buyer. Sitting behind their garish, neon-lit windows near the courthouse, they demand that each applicant produce cash for the bondsman's fee—and usually substantial collateral as well. Otherwise he can rot in jail.

Curiously, it was a wealthy retired chemical engineer, Louis Schweitzer, who came up with a simple yet revolutionary solution to a problem that has long confounded reform-minded judges, prison officials, and attorneys. Until relatively recently, Schweitzer knew almost nothing about how the bail bond system worked. Then in late 1960 an interested friend told him that at the Brooklyn House of Detention, only a few blocks from where Schweitzer had once lived as an immigrant boy from Russia, there were more than 1,000 adolescent boys who were awaiting trial in an atmosphere similar to Sing Sing.

"I'd never been in a criminal court, and hardly knew anybody who had," Schweitzer recalls, "so I failed to realize that this was considered perfectly logical. I visited the prison and was appalled. The youngsters were treated like already convicted criminals, despite our treasured principle that people are presumed innocent until proven guilty. The only crime we know they committed was the crime of being too poor for bail. I found out later that most of them were eventually given suspended sentences or acquitted—after an average wait in jail of more than a month each."

After many discussions with legal experts, Schweitzer hit on a procedure so simple and so workable that many leaders of New York criminal justice now claim to be its godfather. For years Manhattan judges, like most jurists throughout the Nation, have been empowered to release, without bail, defendants who simply give their word they will appear in court for trial. This procedure, however, is rarely followed because no machinery exists to conduct pretrial investigations. In 1961 Schweitzer established and endowed the Vera Foundation, Inc., which he named after his mother. Its staff members supply judges with accurate information on a defendant's family ties, employment, residence, and health and then—when they feel it is justified—recommend the prisoner for release without bond.

In order to put his plan in operation, Schweitzer hired Herbert Sturz, a former associate editor of Boys' Life magazine, and a battery of New York University law students. When a newly arrested prisoner arrives at the detention pens in the Manhattan Criminal Court Building, he is greeted by a Vera worker who conducts a voluntary background interview through the forbidding steel bars. This information is passed on to other Vera assistants who check it over the telephone in a two-room office upstairs. Then another worker, in the courtroom, presents the recommendation of the Vera staff to the judge. The whole procedure can be completed in 1 hour.

The first beneficiary, on September 14, 1961, was an unemployed grocery clerk accused of stealing a car. While he was free on Vera's recommendation, the charge against him was dropped. Then came a waiter, accused of knowingly possessing a stolen clock; he returned to court by subway after several weeks on the outside and pleaded guilty, whereupon the judge meted out a suspended sentence and a stern lecture.

As defendant after defendant was granted pretrial release, Schweitzer and Sturz nervously awaited the time when their charges would commit new crimes, or fail to report for trial. Instead they found that only 1 out of 100 prisoners freed on Vera's recommendations had fled—compared to the 3 out of 100 prisoners who ordinarily skip bail. Eventually releases climbed from 5 to 80 a week. Among those set free were accused forgers, shoplifters, and other felons. Prostitutes, dope addicts, habitual offenders, and some others are ineligible.

At latest count only 23 out of 2,600 defendants released on Vera's recommendations have failed to show up in court. About 10 more have been charged with additional crimes while at liberty. This remarkable record far exceeds the average performance of people who gain their freedom by posting bail bonds or cash.

TICKETING SHOPLIFTERS

Building on its successful bail-free experiment, Vera put into operation in April a plan that eliminates entirely all pretrial detention for petty offenders. In Manhattan's 14th police precinct, located in the heart of the city's department store district, Vera aids have been checking the backgrounds of people who moments before were arrested on charges of shoplifting. So far 45 suspects have been set free after being handed summonses similar to ordinary traffic tickets, which direct them to appear in court for trial.

Commenting on Vera's bail-free plan, Judge Bernard Botein, the top-ranking jurist in New York County, recently declared, "This procedure deserves careful consideration. I do not advocate releasing every prisoner, not by a long shot. However, it is shocking to learn that in 1962, the last year for which we have completely compiled records, a total of 58,458 people—including 12,955 adolescents—spent an average of a month each locked up in New York City jails awaiting trial. Based on Vera's results, I'm convinced that the majority of those people could have been safely released and would have returned to court to face their charges."

A penal official at the Tombs, Manhattan's dank, crowded detention house for men, puts the need for reform more concretely. "I have 1,760 men this morning in a prison with a rated capacity of 984. Last week we had some men lying on the floor for lack of bunks. To make room for new arrivals, we had to shift 150 inmates to bunks we had set up in a factory building at the Riker's Island prison. On the other hand, if the law allowed, I could send half these guys out for a cup of coffee or a pack of cigarettes and never worry."

Every time a defendant is released before trial, New York City saves about $120 in prison expenses. The cost to Vera for each prisoner's release is only $13. As a result, the New York City Office of Probation has begun using the Vera procedure in the adult courts of Brooklyn and Queens, and by the end of the year the system will be operating in all five of the city's boroughs.

Word of the Vera project has spread to Chicago, Des Moines, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., and Nassau County, N.Y., where similar experiments are underway. Twenty other cities are now considering projects of their own as a result of the foundation's work.

The most startling consequence of the Vera experiment can be seen in studies which show that defendants who are at liberty while awaiting trial are three times as likely to have their cases dismissed as those who remain in jail, and nine times as likely to draw a suspended sentence if convicted. Staff Director Sturz explains why:

"The man at liberty can try to patch up the trouble which led to his arrest and can often make restitution for minor damages. He can locate witnesses in his own behalf and find a lawyer who suits him. He can keep his job, sometimes bringing his employer to court to vouch for him. He comes clean and well dressed, and walks to the bar of justice from a citizen's seat in the courtroom. Naturally he'll get a better break."

What the work of the Vera Foundation has meant to thousands was simply summed up by Anthony F. Marra, the respected chief of the criminal division of the Legal Aid Society in New York. "Every morning on my way to work," he says, "I can see a quotation from Jefferson blazoned in monumental letters of stone across the face of the Criminal Courts building. It says: 'Equal and Exact Justice to All Men of Whatever State or Persuasion.' Vera hasn't solved all the problems, for from it, but these days that inscription somehow looks a little bit bigger."

Socialization of the Cotton Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, on April 8 of this year, the House of Representatives passed the cotton-wheat bill through what was an obvious majority power play; in fact the power play was so obvious at one point in the proceedings boos were heard on the floor—an unusual performance.

A great deal of the opposition to the cotton-wheat bill arose because some believed it would socialize the cotton industry. The bill extended Federal subsidies to not only large and small growers and exporters, but for the first time to the mills. The mills receive 6½ cents a pound for all cotton for domestic consumption. The bill is costing the taxpayers $750 million annually.

It seems the belief in reference to socialization of the cotton industry is beginning to come true since a news story in the Washington Sunday Star reports the closing of the historic New Orleans Cotton Exchange. Officials at the exchange said that the Government price subsidy has left the exchange with no economic job.

As I read this clipping, I also note another in reference to the resignation of Dr. Willard W. Cochran, a top assistant to Secretary of Agriculture Freeman.

Dr. Cochran is the leading exponent of a philosophy that holds agriculture cannot attain prosperity without Government management. Dr. Cochran recently resigned from the USDA and in a last-day interview said he was sorry that he has not had much success in selling the Government management philosophy to farmers and Congress as he had hoped. "Yet," as he is quoted as saying, "I am certain that in time it will be adopted. There is no other way for agriculture."

In the light of what Dr. Cochran has said and what has happened to the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, it would seem we are moving much faster toward Government management or "socialization" of agriculture than is generally surmised. To underscore this belief, I include a clipping from the Washington Sunday Star in reference to the closing of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange.

With that clipping, I include a second from the American Farm Bureau Federation's Official News Letter listing subsidies paid to the cotton mills.

Both articles follow:

[From the Washington Star, Sunday, June 28, 1964]

COTTON MART IN NEW ORLEANS TO END TRADING

NEW ORLEANS.—Trading on the historic New Orleans Cotton Exchange will be suspended July 9 because its officials say the Government's price subsidy has left the exchange with no economic job to do.

Members voted to end all trading—except for liquidation purposes.

Herman S. Kohlmeyer, Sr., treasurer of the 93-year-old exchange, said the doors will stay open in hope that the Federal Government may change its role in pricing.

There is no longer any reason for the cotton exchange here to continue trading in futures, he said, because the Federal Government "has socialized the industry."

The Government subsidy consists of 6½ cents a pound to be paid to let United States-grown cotton compete in price with foreign-grown cotton.

[From the American Farm Bureau Federation's June 22, 1964, Official Newsletter]

COTTON MILLS GET MILLIONS IN SUBSIDIES DURING OPENING WEEKS OF PROGRAM

Cotton mills received $24,561,018.26 in payments under the new cotton-wheat law between mid-May and June 11, USDA reported last week.

Of the total, $18,977,084.14 was paid in sight drafts and $5,583,934.12 in payment-in-kind certificates.

Among the larger payments during the opening weeks of the new program were:

Avondale Mills, Alabama, $836,839.06 (also $58,189.23 in Georgia).

West Point Manufacturing Co., Alabama, $798,094.36.

Bates Manufacturing Co., Maine, $300,608.27.

Graniteville Co., South Carolina, $661,812.95 (also $268,930.60 in Georgia).

The Kendall Co., North Carolina, $456,209.24.

Lowenstein Cotton & Storage Corp., South Carolina, $364,124.91 (also $101,819.50 in North Carolina).

Spring Cotton Mills, South Carolina, $782,961.12.

J. P. Stevens & Co., South Carolina, $527,611.98 (also $75,642.71 in Georgia and $183,142.29 in North Carolina).

Woodside Mills, South Carolina, $548,530.04.

Dan River Mills, Virginia, $344,622.65.

Pepperell Manufacturing Co., Georgia, $405,515.30.

Bibb Manufacturing Co., Georgia, $316,514.37.

Cannon Mills Co., North Carolina, $709,380.01.

Cone Mills Corp., North Carolina, $646,619.74.

Erwin Mills, North Carolina, $303,767.29.

Among the smaller payments reported were $10,431.13 to the Texas Department of Correction and a total of $3,931.53 to the prison industries of New York State.

USDA's announcement of the payments listed payees by States (and not always alphabetically within States.) A person lacking knowledge of the extent to which some payees are subsidiaries of others is unable to compile an exact total for some of the firms receiving the subsidy payment.

Loans Help Peru Reforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, today the world suffers from the disorders and threats of tyranny which breed where men are denied a decent way of life, yet are aware that abundance and the tools of progress are within reach. Our past record has shown our determination to secure the freedom and promote a better life for the peoples of the world. We act both from respect for the intrinsic value of the human individual and concern for the evolution of a free, peaceful, and progressive international society.

The Alliance for Progress represents one of our most recent and ambitious efforts in this regard. President Kennedy, in launching this program for a decade of development, recognizing our special obligation to the advancement of our own hemisphere, of Americans bound by

a common heritage of a struggle for independence and common desire for freedom and an equitable social order.

While the United States and other international organizations supply economic and technical aid, the program relies on the initiative of Latin American states to organize and implement their own plans for development and reform. Profound changes in national policies, institutions, and internal structures are called for by the Charter of Punta del Este. The progress is slow when measured against the requirements of the future, but even in the few years since the inception of the Alliance, there have been significant advances from the conditions of the past.

It was therefore especially encouraging and satisfying to read of another instance of the gains achieved through the Alliance for Progress as reported in the Evening Star of May 13, 1964. The example of Peru's massive effort at tax and agrarian reform, facilitated by funds from the Agency for International Development and the Export-Import Bank, teaches an important lesson in the potential of free people to carry out a peaceful revolution.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 13, 1964]

LOANS HELP PERU REFORMS

(By Jerry O'Leary, Jr.)

One of the Alliance for Progress loan agreements President Johnson signed this week will help lift Peru out of the long stagnation that has kept literally thousands of Indians in feudal serfdom.

In cold type, the documents do not sound very graphic—two new credits totaling $6.6 million from the Agency for International Development and $1.7 million from the Export-Import Bank.

But in terms of the miserably poor descendants of the Incas, in or near bondage at a bare subsistence level and completely outside the cash economy, the whole theory of and need for the Alliance becomes crystal clear.

The central point is that Peru, where 90 percent of the arable land is owned by 1.4 percent of the popultation, is on the verge of enacting an agrarian land reform program that bids fair to revolutionize the lives of millions of Indians and remake the very face of the land.

President Johnson's aim, through the Alliance, is to help Peru help its landless Indians achieve a dignity they have not possessed since their ancestors discovered Pizzaro and the Conquistadores were not gods.

BELAUNDE IN CONTROL

The money would serve no purpose whatever without the aid of Peru's President Fernando Belaunde Terry who took office last July and is moving to bring about real land reform.

The U.S.-educated architect has so successfully led a coalition of the leftist Popular Action and Christian Democrat Parties that the Chamber of Deputies has already passed his land reform measure. The Senate is expected to enact a modified version soon.

When that happens, Peru will embark on a program of expropriation of land from vast estates, division of land among the landless Indians and colonization of virgin territories on the eastern slopes of the Andes.

This will break the stranglehold of a few—the so-called "40 families"—landed interests on the hapless Indians and small farmers. Most of the problem is in the Andean region where 60 percent of Peru's people live, most of them on a subsistence level.

INDIANS IN SEPARATE CULTURE

Indians—comprising half the population—speak no Spanish, only Quechua and Aymara. They are politically and socially inert and really live in a separate culture from the rest of Peru, made up of 13 percent white latinos and 37 percent mestizos, or halfbreeds.

Mr. Belaunde's problem is how to integrate the illiterate Indian half of Peru with the lifestream of the nation. In the north, the Indians are sharecroppers on the highland farms. In the south, they receive only a small proportion of the crops they raise, living on an average income of well under $100 a year.

In wide areas of the feudal Sierra, the Indians go with the land as it was with the serfs in Europe's Middle Ages. When the land is sold, the Indians literally are part of the deal.

Some of the estates for the growing of potatoes and corn, or the grazing of sheep, cattle and llamas, are unbelievably huge. One holding is 940,000 acres. The Fernandini estate of 750,000 acres already has been acquired by the Government for $1.8 million and will be divided among 25,000 Indian families in the Junin and Pasco areas.

Mr. Belaunde, with the aid of the opposition APRA party, pushed through the chamber of deputies a law that excludes the rich cotton and sugar lands on the coast. There are 80,000 of these small farms. The land reform law is aimed at all holdings over 1,500 acres as well as all land an owner rents to another. The remainder is to be expropriated by the Government and paid for with 20-year maturity, 5 percent bonds.

In general, the land will be given to the people who are now cultivating it—the sharecroppers and tenant farmers and the groups of Indians who live in "communidades" on a communal basis.

In the case of grazing lands, such as the Fernandini estate, instead of breaking the land into small parcels, Peru is paying $3 million for the 160,000 Merino sheep on the range and these will be distributed among the 25,000 Indian families. First, however, the Indians will be taught how to raise wool profitably and how to prevent overgrazing. They will be loaned capital for seed, fencing and other needs with low mortgages and a grace period.

In all, Peru plans to spend $300 million over the next 10 years for land acquisition alone. There are separate projects planned for roadbuilding and for aid to 50,000 small farmers along the coast.

FUND SET UP

This is part of what President Johnson's signature made possible this week. The $6.6 million from AID and $1.7 million from the Export-Import Bank will go into a fund totaling $27,164,000 for the first 18-month phase of Peru's 5-year national agricultural redevelopment program. Peru is putting up $8.9 million and AID previously had authorized $9 million, plus the equivalent of $1 million in Peruvian soles for the program.

President Belaunde, in addition, asked for and got six men of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service to help change things in a land where tax dodging is a national sport.

The American tax men are not telling Peru what tax laws to write but are imparting some know-how on collecting.

Crime in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, U.S. News & World Report in a June 8, 1964, article quoted a New York resident, a Negro, as follows:

One of the worst things in Harlem these days is that it is so easy for kids to get marijuana.

Representatives from an area where it is easy for kinds to get marijuana should stop such a dastardly practice before deploring law enforcement officials in other States.

The Longest Parade in History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I have observed in recent weeks the results of a magnificent people-to-people program carried out by the city of Jersey City, N.J., and the citizens of Dublin, Ireland. Although the main event of this program took place in March 1964, a great deal of mail continues to cross the Atlantic, cementing the friendships that were made when 137 Americans flew to Dublin to participate in a great parade in that city.

The Dublin parade was held in the morning on March 15. Jet transport, the time differential, and excellent planning by Jersey City officials made it possible for these same 137 Americans on the afternoon of that same day to march in a St. Patrick's parade in Jersey City, N.J.

Thus, it is claimed to have been the "longest parade in history."

The truly important thing is, not that this event was conceived and carried out, but that the spirit of friendship that was born of that event continues. A people-to-people effort can be judged truly successful if the relationships that are developed endure. There are many indications that this venture was indeed a success.

I would like to recall the highlights of the year long program, calling attention to the important roles played in it by President Johnson, Secretary of State Rusk, Speaker McCormack, the Honorable Matthew F. McCloskey, U.S. Ambassador to Eire; the Honorable Thomas J. Whelan, mayor of Jersey City; the Honorable John J. Grogan, mayor of the city of Hoboken, N.J., the Honorable Sean Moore, Lord Mayor of Dublin; and by the Honorable Joe Dowling, Deputy Lord Mayor of Dublin.

It was at the suggestion of Eugene G. Farrell, editor of the Jersey Journal, published in Jersey City, that the Jersey City St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee, which is headed by Eugene J. Scanlon, plan for the "longest parade" to include the march in Dublin in the morning and in Jersey City the same afternoon.

The imaginative suggestion for the 1964 St. Patrick's Day celebration was promptly acted upon by Mr. Scanlon and the other charter members of the parade committee, Warren B. Murphy, John F. Thompson, James E. McCloskey and

Frederick LaRoche. The stage was set for the grand celebration honoring the Irish among us and before us; one that was also to pay tribute to the people of Ireland and to the State of New Jersey on its 300th anniversary.

Thus it was that on Friday evening, March 6, 1964, an Aer Lingus "Shamrock jet" took off from John F. Kennedy International Airport with 136 New Jerseyans.

The passengers ranged in age from Eileen Hayes, 17, to Mrs. Josephine Hanley, 84. They included 22 family groups, a score of public officials and civil leaders. Many had never been to Ireland; others were returning to their native homeland after absences from 40 to 65 years. It was my good fortune to be able to join the group in Dublin.

I am told that at Dublin Airport on Saturday morning, March 7, the sight was something to behold. There to greet the contingent of Americans as they stepped off their plane, with their banners whipping in the breeze, were hundreds of Dubliners led by the Lord Mayor himself.

It was a grand week for all concerned. Irish hospitality manifested itself from Cork to Donegal, from Dublin to Galway as the goodwill contingent from Jersey City renewed old acquaintances and made lasting friendships with Irish of all walks of life.

Ambassador McCloskey graciously offered to hold a reception in honor of the visiting Americans at his official residence in the beautiful and spacious Phoenix Park in Dublin. This was an exhilarating experience for all the travelers.

That same evening, March 14, the night before our departure, there was a testimonial dinner at Jury's Hotel in Dublin. All of the American officials, including Ambassador McCloskey, the entire flight group and Irish municipal and national officials were there.

It was my privilege on that occasion to convey this message from President Johnson:

I am pleased to learn that you and a large group of distinguished citizens of New Jersey will be in Dublin this weekend to participate in St. Patrick's Day ceremonies.

We in America have observed St. Patrick's Day since the founding of our country, and we are all aware of the close bonds that have existed between our country and Ireland. I know that these bonds will endure.

However, I'm sure it is particularly pleasing for Americans to participate in the Feast of St. Patrick on Irish soil.

I therefore wish to take this opportunity to extend my personal good wishes to all those in attendance.

The following morning, Sunday, March 15, the longest St. Patrick's Day parade in history was held.

It began at 8 a.m. at historic College Green in Dublin. Led by a civic guard police detail assigned by Commissioner Daniel Costigan and by the colorful Emerald Isle Girls' Piper Band, courtesy of the Irish Tourist Board, the contingent of Americans and Irish marched past Trinity College, up O'Connell Street, over the River Liffey bridge, past the Government Post Office, famed as a site in the struggle for Irish independence, past the towering Nelson's Pillar, and on to Parnell Square.

It was a stirring march for all, with the American and Irish flags side by side followed by the New Jersey State flag and tercentenary banner. All along the line of march there were enthusiastic Dubliners cheering us on.

At Parnell Square we boarded buses for the trip to Dublin Airport where the flagship of the Irish International Airlines, a Boeing 707 named *St. Patrick*, was waiting to carry us home.

Hours later, after a pleasant transatlantic flight, we were over Jersey City.

Forty-five minutes after the plane landed, it was my honor to be marching alongside Mayors Whelan and Grogan, the members of the clergy, and officials of the Jersey City St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee.

What a spectacular celebration it was—20,000 marchers and 250,000 spectators braving a bitter March chill to the very end.

I recall these events, more than 3 months after they occurred, because I have seen and continue to see the fine results of a well planned and executed people-to-people project that continues to reap a harvest of international good will.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed Becker amendment many clergymen testified in opposition to it. The Right Reverend William F. Creighton, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Washington, appeared before the committee to testify for himself and at the request of the Right Reverend Arthur J. Lichtenberger, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Creighton's statement, which follows, succinctly summarizes the reasons why this amendment would be harmful to religion in America:

I wish to express my opposition to the proposed amendment to the Constitution with respect to prayer in public schools for the following reasons:

1. Because I believe that it is important to make clear that the decisions of the Supreme Court are supportive of religion and not in any degree hostile toward it. It is especially unfortunate that a contrary impression has been encouraged in the minds of many people who are not familiar with the Court decisions or with the proposed amendment. Far from being hostile toward religion, the Court decisions have encouraged the teaching in our public schools of the place of religion in our culture and history.

2. Because we must recognize the changes that have occurred in American life that make it more than ever before a pluralistic society. The Christian Church has always been committed to a concern for the freedom of all people, including minority groups. We can easily realize the discomfort of Jewish parents or members of other faiths, or members of no religious faith, who do not wish their children to join in prayers or in religious "opening exercises" or be put in the position of publicizing their dissent. Just because of our concern for the freedom of conscience of all people, I do not believe that Christians or Jews should be put in the position of embarrassment that would result if the proposed amendment were to be adopted. We may regret that the issue ever arose, but now that it has arisen, to support the amendment would be to contradict our basic concern for the freedom of conscience of those whose faith is not ours.

3. Because there are real questions as to the effect upon children of Bible reading and devotions in public schools. Prayer is meaningless except as it is an act of faith, and corporate prayer is the religious expression of a comunity of faithful people. It is doubted that a public school can provide setting that does anything other than diminish the reality of worship in the minds of children. It must surely, at the very least, be confusing for children whose parents never pray at home, or whose parents never attend church, to be expected to take part in acts of worship in school.

4. Because the amendment, if adopted, would tend to reverse the good effect that the Court decision has already begun to have. The Court has said, "Nothing we have said here indicated that * * * study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the first amendment." Many of us have taken this with seriousness, and have rejoiced at the possibility of rescuing religious concern from its confinement in a brief period of Bible reading and prayer, and of making it an integral part of the educational process. It is not possible to study our cultural heritage, to study literature or history or social sciences without including the Bible or church history or the development of faith in the lives of our people. This appeals to me as of much more importance than the granting of legislative permission for prayers before classes begin. Religious concerns have too often been put in a special category, and usually a very minute one. I can only believe that the proposed amendment would have the effect of making our people believe again that religion has been adequately taken care of so soon as a Bible verse has been read and a brief prayer said. This again is a serious misconception of the place of religion in American life. In the granting to religion of a more important place in the curriculum, we will offend no one. Christian children should be familiar with our Jewish heritage, and Jewish children with our Christian background, and children whose parents have no faith cannot understand American life without knowing the history from which we have grown, and how it has shaped us. A fundamental problem in our educational system, and in our national life, is a growing moral and spiritual vacuum at the center. This will not be corrected by school prayers. We do need to reappraise the content of American education, and I should much prefer to see you gentlemen concerned with that.

Communist Party Grows Bolder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, there are those who can see no harm to the United States in its decisions which favor the

Communist Party of the United States. We are told that we must protect the constitutional rights of these avowed enemies of this country and our free institutions.

What has happened since the Supreme Court ruled that the Communist Party did not have to register as an agent of a foreign government, since we have been told that the United States cannot refuse passports to allow these agents to travel freely even though their travels are directed against the security of this Nation? Emboldened by their successes in court, the Communist Party now plans to reactivate its political activity, to renew its organizational efforts, to strengthen its subversive objective of overthrowing the Government of the United States.

What answer will the Supreme Court give the American people when the Communists destroy the very Constitution under which it seeks sanctity?

The following article by Victor Riesel, written for Human Events, exposes what the Communists are doing as a result of the Supreme Court decisions:

AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY PLANS NATION-WIDE VOTE DRIVE

(By Victor Riesel)

Over at national Communist Party headquarters, the political strategists are planning to plunge their organization into the fall elections in many cities. They are confident they can poll a total of over three quarters of a million votes. For the first time since 1940 they may even nominate a candidate for the Presidency and attempt to make a showing for him with a write-in campaign.

All this enthusiasm is based on the strength revealed by one of their comrades in the California June 2 primary election in a minor race virtually overlooked by the Nation. An avowed Communist candidate running for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors from the Second District rolled up 33,576 votes. This was 13 percent of the total cast.

This tally, nothing short of astounding, was won by William Cottle Taylor, a 54-year-old Negro party organizer who, I recall, was once chairman of the Maryland-District of Columbia Communist Party district. More startling is the fact that he ran in the Los Angeles district as an avowed Communist. He boasted openly and with enthusiasm that he was the party's spokesman in that region and never hid the fact that he was a paid functionary of the organization.

When the final results on Taylor's race were in, I called the Communist Party headquarters in New York to inquire about their future political plans in view of their California success—and of the Supreme Court decision June 8 which freed the party from having to register with the Government as an internationally controlled Communist action group.

I was not exactly received with enthusiasm when I ask to speak to Party Leader Gus Hall. He was out, they said. Instead, I was shunted to party publicist and image maker, Arnold Johnson. Several times he started to say something, but then abruptly said he would tell me nothing.

However, even without being taken into the party's confidence, it is possible to report that its officials are raising a political war chest. They reckon that if they can get well over 33,000 votes in just one section of Los Angeles for a frankly announced Communist candidate, they can poll a strong vote in San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and New York.

Gus Hall and his national board have been discussing the number of strategic districts to hit now that the Soviets appear on the record to have "thawed" the cold war. Party leaders also are elated by an apparent trend in many Western nations to view local Communists as reformers. There seems to be a swing back to the "popular front" era of the thirties.

Evidence of this attitude can be easily seen in the recent British elections. There the party, which never has had more than 60,000 members, had rip-roaring success at the polls. Though the Communist Party now has only 32,500 members in the British Isles, its candidates polled over 200,000 votes in these local elections. The party actually elected 24 councillors in several cities and missed out electing 6 others by less than 100 votes in each district.

With the Los Angeles and British polls in mind, the American Communist Party leaders are preparing to call a national convention either in New York or Chicago to nominate a national ticket for the first time in many years. They had only been waiting for the Supreme Court to indicate that they need not register as a foreign controlled group. This decision came down on Monday, June 8.

The party chiefs immediately went into a huddle on political action. They decided to attempt to make a showing for their own candidates so they could convince some left-wing political figures that their public support is not the kiss of death. Then in 1966 they hope to back some of these non-affiliated pro-Communist personalities for office. They especially have their eye on the congressional elections. If they can get a front man into the House of Representatives, as once they had, they will have developed a terrific propaganda mechanism.

What could be better than an American Congressman to boost the prestige of pro-Soviet rallies and so-called "peace" conferences across the United States—and across the world?

Development of such a front-runner is their immediate goal.

Fort Caroline, 400 Years Old, Began the Permanent Settlement of United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, 400 years ago, in June 1564, Rene Loudonniere, the great French admiral, established a colony on the banks of the St. Johns River, Florida, which began the permanent settlement of the United States. Loudonniere and his band of French Huguenots named their colony Fort Caroline in honor of King Charles IX of France.

Fort Caroline grew out of the power struggle between the ruling European countries during the 16th century, France, England and Spain. The battle was joined at that spot, located about 10 miles east of what now is downtown Jacksonville, Fla. The Spanish, under the direction of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, captured Fort Caroline in 1565, in dramatic fashion with Loudonniere being overrun on the land by Menendez, and with Jean Ribault and his men being swept to sea by a violent storm, and then executed by the Spanish on the beach at Matanzas.

St. Augustine, Fla., the Nation's oldest city, was founded by Menendez upon the defeat of Loudonniere at Fort Caroline.

Sunday, June 28, 1964, at Fort Caroline, now a national memorial, the 400th anniversary ceremonies were held at the spot where Loudonniere founded the French colony. Dedication services were also held for the reconstructed triangular, moated fort, which has added greatly to the already existing museum at the fort. A feature attraction at the museum is a rare 16th century navigational display, one of the finest in the world.

The anniversary and dedication was sponsored by the Fort Caroline Quadricentennial Committee, whose chairman is Harold R. Clark, of Jacksonville, Fla.

Participating in the ceremonies were Vice Adm. John S. Thach, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Air; Maj. Gen. Michel I. Dorance, representing Gen. Charles de Gaulle of France, who presented a rare, two volume work, Cosmographic Universelle—Paris, 1575—to Fort Caroline; Clark Stratton, Associate Director of the National Park Service; and many elements of the U.S. Navy.

Admiral Thach delivered an excellent address at this historic occasion, and I include it here as part of my remarks:

ADDRESS BY VICE ADM. JOHN S. THACH, DCNO (AIR), AT THE FORT CAROLINE QUADRICENTENNIAL, JACKSONVILLE, FLA., ON JUNE 28, 1964

Congressman Bennett, Chairman Clark, distinguished guests of the quadricentennial, and ladies and gentlemen, 400 years ago on this date and on this spot, 300 people were preparing for the first dedication of Fort Caroline. They had only been here a short time and had just begun to build their new home in this strange and wild land of uncertain promise. What must have been their thoughts as they lifted their voices in a psalm of Thanksgiving and prayed for God's blessing on their enterprise? Was there a man or woman among them who could foresee the wonders of civilization that would spring from this western world?

They were a mixed company of Europeans—mostly French Huguenots, but including some Roman Catholics, agnostics, and African "infidels." They had little between them to assure their survival except faith and, as their records tell us, "ammunition, pikes, arquebuses, armor, gun powder, bullets, explosive devices, and other things." It is very probable that among those "other things" was a good deal of dependence upon the ability and leadership of their captain and Governor, Rene de Laudonniere.

Laudonniere knew that this effort to colonize Florida would be no "bed of roses." He was a faithful Protestant Huguenot, but he was also a very practical man. He intended to establish this settlement as a permanent haven for religious freedom and as a base from which to gather whatever wealth he could find for the French crown. He had been instructed to hold whatever gold and silver might be found and return it intact to France. This he intended to do, come what may. He had also been led to believe that he would receive reinforcements and replenishment in good time if he governed well and kept his colony going. He knew he may be in for lots of trouble. He therefore built this fort early as a bastion against external attack.

Laudonniere was no stranger here. In 1562, 2 years before, he had been here as second in command to Jean Ribault on the first French colonizing expedition to what is now

the United States. They had visited here, made friends with the local Indians, and built a marker column claiming this land for France. They were not the first Europeans to set foot in this general area. They may have known that Ponce de Leon had been here and that he had looked over this country. They were therefore careful to stake their claim before sailing north to what is now Parris Island. Their colonizing effort in Carolina failed, and now in 1564 Laudonniere was starting from scratch here at Fort Caroline as the commander of the second French expedition.

Things began rather well at Fort Caroline. Laudonniere had already proved his skill as a navigator by returning to the exact location he and Ribault had marked 2 years before. He then became a firm and just Governor over his colony. There was game in the forests and plenty of fish to be caught, and the Indians were friendly. In fact the Indians had many fields of corn and tobacco, some of which they were happy to trade for mirrors and trinkets. It is probably for these reasons that the colonists did not make a very serious effort to get their own agriculture on a paying basis. Laudonniere delt shrewdly with the Indians, and although there were problems in human relations instigated by the shortage of woman colonists and the abundance of Indian maids, the Governor managed to keep things reasonably in hand. He organized exploration parties to search for gold and hoarded his chickens and livestock for the future. Although things looked fair at first, the pattern for trouble was already drawn.

As the months wore on Laudonniere found little in the way of treasure to gather for his King. He did learn that there was gold to be found in the "Apalatchy" Mountains to the north where the Indians were said to mine it, but the Indians in Florida had little of it to trade. It turned out that the Indians actually raised only enough corn and vegetables for their own bare needs, and after a while the settlers could get very little from the Indians in the way of food. The Indians had no livestock, and before long the colonists were unhappy with Laudonniere because he would not allow them to slaughter his chickens and livestock for fresh meat. The problem of cohabitation by certain men with the Indian girls became a constant moral problem. These men refused to marry the Indians by Christian ceremony and failed to recognize their common law obligations. This caused rancor among both the pious Christians and the Indian fathers.

As the situation began to turn sour on Laudonniere, some of the men deserted and traveled southward to seek their fortune. His stern justice with offenders and his prudent hoarding of supplies apparently augmented the growing dissatisfaction of the colonists, and he was eventually faced with mutinous acts in Fort Caroline. In fact, for awhile he became a prisoner of the mutineers. He must have exercised all his strength of character and intelligence to avoid disaster from within his own domain.

Before a year had passed the colonists were reaching a state of desperation brought about by starvation, deprivation, and general frustration. There had been no relief from France, and finally the decision was made to build a ship and return to Europe. Just when their spirits had reached low ebb, ships appeared on the horizon. The ships turned out to be English, under the command of Sir John Hawkins, the English privateer. He put into the St. Johns River to replenish his water and to trade foodstuffs and supplies in return for French cannon and powder, with which he would resume his raids on the rich Spanish treasure galleons running from Central America to Spain. With his arrival and timely replenishment of the colonists, spirits rose in Fort Caroline and the plan to depart was abandoned.

Shortly after Sir John Hawkins sailed away, two significant arrivals occurred. Pedro Menendez had been sent with a force of Spaniards by King Phillip to wipe out the French incursion on the lands claimed exclusively by Spain. Menendez landed and established a base of operations at St. Augustine, which became the first permanent community within the territory of the United States. At approximately the same time Jean Ribault sailed from France with a force to relieve and replenish Fort Caroline.

Ribault had just arrived off the mouth of the St. Johns, which the French called "the river of May," when Menendez sailed onto the scene in search of the Frenchmen. A confrontation seemed to be imminent, but Ribault slipped his anchors and escaped. Menendez found that a seaborne attack on Fort Caroline was not possible due to the draft of his ships and returned to St. Augustine to contemplate his next move.

When Ribault returned to Fort Caroline it was obvious to him and Laudonniere that they must somehow deal with the Spaniard. The two captains put their heads together in a council of war. Ribault was in favor of attacking Menendez by sea. Laudonniere warned against this method of attack because of the hurricane season, but Ribault prevailed and sailed south to "beard the lion in his den." He may have succeeded had he not indeed been hit by a storm and shipwrecked on Cape Canaveral.

In the meantime, Menendez had gathered intelligence from the Indians and a French defector that persuaded him to attack Fort Caroline by land march. He subsequently fell on Fort Caroline from the rear by land in a well executed surprise attack. He caught Laudonniere and his brave defenders in a weakened condition and proceeded to annihilate them and pillage the fort. Laudonniere fought valiantly with his back to the wall literally, and finally managed to escape over the wall with a few survivors. They fled through the thickets to the river mouth and made it to the ships that had been left there by Ribault under the command of his son. Eventually two of these ships sailed with the escapees of Fort Caroline's fall. One of them, with Laudonniere embarked, made landfall in England; the other made France. The loss of Fort Caroline was complete.

By the time Menendez was able to stop the slaughter in Fort Caroline, about two-thirds of the French population had been killed. He restored order, put the fort under Spanish garrison and returned to St. Augustine to report his success and determine what had happened to Ribault.

Ribault and his shipwrecked men were by now in bad condition, having lost their supplies and ammunition. Menendez found them at the Matanzas Strait, where they surrendered to him in two increments. He systematically slaughtered most of the captives with their hands tied behind them. Ribault died a martyr's death. When offered his life on the condition that he recant his heretical religion, he remained true to his Huguenot faith and refused the offer. The conquest of Menendez against the French colony at Fort Caroline was finished.

Laudonniere lived to sail again for France as "captain of the western fleet," but he never returned to Fort Caroline. He sensed that glory and fame had passed him by. It is true that historians have not given him an aura of greatness, but his faith and courage in his effort to establish this colony lend his image more than a touch of glory. He glimpsed success where many others had failed before him, and he brought the concept of freedom of religion to our shores. He initiated the movement to permanently settle the lands north of Mexico and the Caribbean. It is quite fitting that the Fort Caroline memorial is in part a memorial to Laudonniere, the navigator, captain, and governor.

Although Laudonniere left much in heritage to us, his conqueror, Menendez also left his mark on this land. He built one of the first churches in the United States from the planks of a captured Huguenot boat at St. John's Bluff. He cleared a road from St. Augustine to Fort Caroline that became the first regularly and continuously used highway in the United States. He also turned Fort Caroline into a mission and named it San Mateo. From the mission went the first colonists to Virginia in 1566.

The 16th century was a period of rapid change and growth of knowledge. The great ocean navigators were the men of the hour. Today, the growth of knowledge knows no bounds. Science and technology have given us the rocket and nuclear power for propulsion, and once again the navigator is the man of the hour. But no longer is the navigator moving on only two dimensions—he can now move in three dimensions.

Not far from Jacksonville—the modern gateway to Florida—we can see splendid examples of the bases from which our modern navigators operate. Mayport, on Ribault Basin, is the haven for our mighty aircraft carriers. The nearby naval air stations are the home and training ground for our air carriers of the sea, some of whom have changed their designation from "naval aviator" to "astronaut" and moved their base of operations to the missile pads at Cape Canaveral, now known as Cape Kennedy.

We now know that marvelous discoveries are within our reach in the space above us and in the space below the surface of the seas. But also remember that we must insure the right to freedom of navigation in the realms of inner and outer space if man is to benefit from our new capabilities to exploit it. To this end, the United States must continue to preserve the might of its mobile sea-based forces—the Navy—as its best insurance for freedom of the seas. We cannot allow a monopoly of space that should belong to everyone for peaceful purposes.

The modern navigator owes his heritage to men like Rene de Laudonniere. Freemen owe them recognition for the opportunity to develop new lands, which they brought within reach by their exploitation of the seas. We Americans owe them our gratitude for the foundation upon which we have built a nation that leads the world toward the future, and from which navigators of tomorrow will push back the frontiers of man's knowledge.

The Milwaukee Journal Endorses the Wilderness Bill Reported by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 1, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include a recent editorial from the Milwaukee Journal endorsing the wilderness bill:

WILDERNESS BILL ADVANCED

Finally the logjam has broken. The House Interior Committee has reported out a wilderness bill, perhaps not quite the bill its supporters had fought for but a hopeful compromise which may yet be improved.

The first wilderness proposal was introduced 8 years ago. Twice the Senate passed its own version, one warmly endorsed by most conservationists. The Senate bill would at once incorporate 8.9 million acres of wild national forestland into a protected wilderness system. It would allow the executive branch to review an additional 52 million acres and recommend that they be included or excluded as wilderness—subject to a veto by either

House of Congress. Mining in the wilderness areas would be flatly prohibited unless authorized by the President in the national interest. Prospecting could continue if it didn't interfere with wilderness preservation.

The new House committee bill would give Congress more than a mere veto over prospective additions to the wilderness; it would take an affirmative vote by Congress to include them. This was a necessary and not unworkable compromise which the wilderness bill backers had to accept.

The bad feature of the House committee bill is one which would permit prospecting and mining in wilderness areas for 25 years. This, in potentially mineral rich areas, is an open invitation to gouge and scar wild land beyond reclaiming. Protection provided in the Senate bill is far superior.

A brisk House floor fight is expected on the mining provision. Differences between Senate and House versions still must be reconciled in conference. The Senate, which passed its latest bill 73 to 12, may put up a fight for its own ban on mining.

At worst, a compromise wilderness act—even one with flaws—is preferable to no protection at all for that land where, as the Senate bill puts it, "the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man."

Trans World Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, a very distressing situation has arisen with regard to one of America's leading air carriers and the Government of Greece.

Trans World Airlines has worked hard to build up tourist travel to Greece, an operation that is of benefit not only to the carrier but to both the United States and Greece. For example, last year 147,000 Americans visited this ancient land—a record number. There is every reason to expect that increasing numbers will wish to do so, taking advantage of the direct travel facilities developed by TWA. However, this bright future is clouded by recent orders of the Greek Government that restrict the American carrier's operation.

This order provides that the carrier cannot carry passengers on certain fights moving over the following segments of its route, in both directions: Athens-Rome, Athens-Cairo, and Athens-Tel Aviv. Specific flights are included in this restriction. Thus 5 flights per week out of a total of 27 are restricted between Athens and Rome; 4 flights per week out of a total of 14 are restricted between Athens and Tel Aviv, and 3 flights per week are restricted out of a total of 13 between Athens and Cairo.

These specific flights are the flights that compete with Olympic airlines, a Greek airline owned by Aristotle Onassis who is well known to most Americans as one of the world's wealthiest ship owners.

To illustrate, the Greek Government will not permit the carrier to transport a passenger on a restricted flight from Athens to Rome even though this passenger is an American who merely wishes to stop over in Rome on his way to the United States and holds a through ticket.

Since these restrictions were imposed in late May, more than 500 passengers of TWA have ben forced to transfer to other airlines in order to complete their journeys.

Most of these passengers were American citizens whose trips began and ended in the United States.

The restrictions are so rigidly enforced that two mechanics employed by the carrier in Athens who were needed in Tel Aviv to service an aircract were not permitted to go to Tel Aviv on their own airline.

A TWA tour consisting of 23 Americans was not permitted to transit Greece. The tour flew from Cairo to Athens solely to make a connection from Athens to Ted Aviv but was not permitted to board the connecting flight.

Our Government and the airline feel that this is in violation of the Air Transport Agreement between Greece and the United States. This agreement gives the carrier relative freedom to schedule as required to meet the needs of through traffic moving between the two countries. The Greeks assert that anyone who stops in Greece, or on the way to or from Greece, is not a through passenger and therefore subject to special restrictions by the Greek Government.

This policy cannot help but have an adverse effect upon efforts to promote tourism to Greece. It is a serious inconvenience to the traveling public and it is prejudicial to TWA. It seems to me that on sober reflection, the Government of Greece will realize that this is not the proper way to promote the interests of good business and good relations between the citizens of our two countries. Certainly any benefit that may result by enhancing the competitive situation of Olympic Airline cannot outweigh the disadvantages of this policy.

I am told that Olympic operated with a profit last year without this artifically created competitive advantage. This makes the action of the Government of Greece even more difficult to understand.

Amendment of Immigration Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 24, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD my testimony before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization on behalf of my bill, H.R. 7849, as well as on behalf of other legislation presently being considered by the subcommittee to amend our present immigration laws:

TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSMAN LEONARD FARBSTEIN, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION ON PENDING IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION JUNE 25, 1964

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, I appear before you this morning, in support of my bill, H.R. 7849, which is the same bill sponsored by the late President Kennedy and now by this administration.

A study of my bill and the administration proposals will show that it in no way significantly increases the basic numbers of immigrants to be permitted entry into this country. There is no increased immigration involved. There is, however, involved the promise of equality of opportunity which has always been the basic philosophy of the United States. Under this legislation there is an equal reduction of the percentage of quota numbers for a period of 5 years, at the end of which period, all quotas will be eliminated and these numbers will then be allocated to all countries on a basis of priority registration.

I do not think it necessary that I go into the details of the bill—each of you, I am certain, has studied the measure thoroughly and are knowledgeable of its content. I would prefer presenting my arguments in its favor, and to this end, I bespeak your indulgence.

It is almost 40 years since the national origins theory was enacted. Were that restrictive policy part of our laws when my parents emigrated to this country, I question whether I would be here today asking for the liberalization and equalization of our immigration laws. I question whether the majority of those present in this room today would be here were this restrictive law in existence when their parents or forebears emigrated to this country.

Let us not forget for a moment that we are a nation of immigrants which has grown great through the fusion of the blood, the ideas, the skills and the diversity of the peoples emanting from the four corners of the earth. Should we forego the opportunity to choose freely from all the corners of the earth the talents and the skills we need? Shall we limit our choice because an individual of genius, by accident of birth, is deprived of the opportunity to emigrate to this country? How fair is a law which would permit 65,000 immigrants from England and only 300 from Greece? Could we possibly have attained the world leadership which we presently enjoy were we to follow rigid formulas in our daily existence? It is high time that we see the light; it is high time that we recognize the equality of peoples generally.

The attacks upon the national origins formula have been constant. In the 40 years that the theory has been in effect the discriminatory pattern of this law has produced only an imbalance to such a degree that Congress has found itself as compelled to modify the formula in numerous instances. In 1950, in 1952, in 1953, and in 1957 we chipped off and whittled away portions of the national origins formula. Since 1957 every Congress without exception passed laws attempting to equalize the situation until today the national origins formula governs the admission of only approximately 33 percent of our total annual immigration. The Congress has enacted legislation to permit the entry, outside of the quota regulations, of Hungarian refugees, of the Portuguese victims of the earthquake which took place on the Azores, of the Dutch expelled from Indonesia—to mention but a few instances. To maintain our status along side the other nations of the world which have, since World War II, given refuge to those unfortunates who sought escape from persecution and discrimination, this action has been essential. Would it not be more in keeping with our own traditions to eliminate the need for such emergency legislation? Have not these one-shot laws made evident the inadequacy of the national origins formula?

Enactment of this legislation will bring to an end a policy clearly at odds with the American tradition of freedom and democracy.

Since I was first privileged to become a Member of Congress 8 years ago I have advocated the liberalisation of our immigration laws. I have, since 1957, been presenting legislation to eliminate the national origins quota by replacing them with a system that would descriminate against no individual because of his country of birth. I was happy to cosponsor the present legislation because I believe in it and because I believe the country is prepared to accept the modifications contained therein. I believe in the overwhelming necessity and desirability of this legislation and I am proud to count myself as one of those who has taken unto himself its adoption so that it may become the new law of this land—a law truly representative of the greatest democracy in the world.

Gentlemen, I urge your favorable and immediate action on the measure. Thank you for the privilege of appearing before you.

Cuba Today—Fourth of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with remarks which I made earlier, I am submitting for insertion in the RECORD the fourth installment of the articles entitled "Cuba Today" which have been published by the Washington Star.

CUBA TODAY

(By Bruce Taylor)

Of all the programs Fidel Castro has initiated in his 5-year dictatorship in Cuba, only one has been entirely successful. It is in the field of education.

No other program will do more to solidify his brand of communism in Cuba, or to spread it through Latin America.

He has swept the island of illiteracy—almost a million adults in a total population of 7 million could not read or write when he came to power—and he has made all education up to and including university free.

Schooling is compulsory now through grade six, for children and adults alike. Only a shortage of teachers prevents him from making it compulsory through high school. He has begun an intensive teacher-training program, but the process admittedly is slow.

SPENDING MILLIONS

Meanwhile, university undergraduates are tutoring high school students; high school students are teaching grade school students; grade school students are helping in kindergartens.

Education is totally a state affair. But Mr. Castro is compensating for shutting down all private schools and colleges—such as those operated by the Jesuits—by spending millions of dollars for new school construction, even in the remotest areas of the interior.

There was only one state university in Cuba 5 years ago, at Havana. Others since have been built at Santa Clara, in mid-island Las Villas Province, and at Santiago de Cuba in Oriente Province, at the eastern end of the island.

BOASTS ON EDUCATION

Cuba boasts that it is the first country in Latin America to rid itself of illiteracy, and the first to launch a widespread program of training in technical fields.

"In the area of education," says a Castro aide, "even our enemies must acknowledge what we have accomplished."

The hugh fortresses former dictator Batista maintained as barracks for his troops within the limits of Cuba's biggest cities have been converted to schools.

Largest of these at the moment is Ciudad Liberad (Liberty City) on the site of the old Camp Columbia. It is on the outskirts of Havana, and formerly housed 30,000 of Batista's soldiers.

The buildings have been renovated to rid them of the barracks look, and 7,000 children go to school there. More than 2,000 of them are boarders; the others live in Havana. Construction is being carried out to increase high school and technical school facilities.

SERVES AS MODEL

It eventually will handle 10,000 children. It serves as the model for other such centers.

Biggest of them all will be the still uncompleted Cuidad Escolar Camilo Cienfuegos, high in the Sierra Maestra Mountains near Manzanillo, in Oriente Province, birthplace of Castro's revolution.

Officials at the school say Mr. Castro conceived it one day while he was still in the mountains, brooding over the squalor he hoped to eradicate.

The squalor still is there. But right in the middle of it is the incongruous, architecturally attractive concrete and glass complex that has been named for one of Mr. Castro's closest aides in the revolution.

Camilo Cienfuegos disappeared on a flight over the interior not long after he helped Mr. Castro take Cuba. His body has never been found. Mr. Castro is enshrining him; a tremendous number of state projects have been named for him, and his image adorns the 50-peso note.

TWO THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AT THE SCHOOL

There are 2,700 students at the school now. It is being built to accommodate 20,000 by 1974. All of them will be "becados"—special scholarship students in science and technical courses—and all will board there from the time they enter first grade until they are ready to enter university.

The "becados"—there and in other scholarship schools—are Cuba's elite. They are the children upon whom Mr. Castro is building communism for his nation, and all treatment of them is directed to that end. The method of indoctrination for them is the same as that utilized to instill nazism in the Hitler youth of prewar Germany.

There are 125,000 of them at present. Plans are being formulated to triple and quadruple their number.

All Cuban schoolchildren are given political indoctrination. The "becados" are saturated with it.

TAKEN FROM PARENTS

They are taken from their parents, and are permitted to visit them only for short periods. Their school year is 11 months long, but even during vacation periods most of them are kept busy in enterprises of value to the State.

They attend class from 8 o'clock in the morning until 4 in the afternoon. About one-quarter of their time in the classroom is taken up by Marxism, Leninism, Castroism and anti-Americanism. They are given 6 hours of homework 6 nights a week.

The "Becados," unlike regular school children who live with their families, are housed in large dormitories or in groups of 40–45 in slogan-adorned homes which once belonged to the wealthy. They are subjected to further political indoctrination every evening.

REGIMENTED, PAMPERED

They are completely regimented, but they are pampered like no other children in Cuba.

When food is scarce, as it often is, and the mothers of other children hunt frantically for sustenance, the "becados" have the best of everything. They are dressed well, they receive the finest medical and dental services available, and are kept in excellent physical trim by wide-ranging sports activities. Even entertainment—most of it politically slanted is arranged for them.

And it doesn't take them long to learn that their first duty is not to their parents, but to the fatherland. Good students are "rewarded", for example, by being allowed to "volunteer" to go out into the mountains under the broiling sun to pick coffee beans on their summer vacation, instead of spending the time with their families.

PICKED FOR DISCIPLINE

Most of the "becados" are selected from among farming and laboring classes. The scholarships, a Ministry of Education official told me, are awarded for "merit, aptitude, and discipline."

"What kind of discipline?" I asked. "Party discipline?"

He shrugged. "Of course."

The emphasis in all Cuban schools today, scholarship and otherwise, is on political economy. And Cuba's history books have been rewritten to conform.

They also teach that history previously had been "falsified to create the impression that the United States helped Cuba gain independence from Spain." And that "it is a lie" to credit Briton Sir Ronald Ross with the discovery that malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes; Cuban textbooks now assert that the real discoverer was Carolis J. Finlay, a Cuban.

English is the official second language of the Cuban school system. It is taught from the fourth grade onward, mainly because English is the international language in the technical fields, and most textbooks and manuals are published in English.

Cuba is in desperate need of physicians. Most fled the country when Mr. Castro came to power. There are 2,000 medical students in the universities now, but even some Government officials fear they are being rushed through too quickly.

Of even more pressing importance to Cuba's chances of survival as a Communist country is its need to develop skilled technicians.

But Cubans are by no means inherently inclined toward things mechanical—the country previously had imported almost all of its manufactured goods—and the youngsters are driving their Russian and Czechoslovakian instructors to distraction.

What they learn one day they are apt to forget the next. And if they aren't disappearing half a dozen times a lesson for coffee, they are wandering off for a siesta.

But on the whole, Fidel Castro's education factories are turning out the kind of product he needs. He knows, and makes no bones about the fact, that if he can retain control of the country for another 15 years Cuba will be solidly Communist; he is twisting the children's minds to assure it.

Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art, July and August 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the following calendar of events for the National Gallery of Art, July and August 1964:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY AND AUGUST 1964

Gallery hours: Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Sundays 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Permanent collection: Paintings and sculpture comprising the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress Widener, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are located on the main floor. The Widener collection of decorative arts is on the ground floor.

Continuing exhibition: 7,000 Years of Iranian Art, Central Gallery, Galleries G–7 and G–8. Through July 19.

Recent publication: 7,000 Years of Iranian Art. Exhibition catalog; 183 pages, 10¾ x 8¼ inches, with foreward by S. Dillon Ripley, and essays by Edith Porada and Richard Ettinghausen, 18 color plates and 140 black-and-white illustrations. Price, $3.50 postpaid.

New reproductions: Color postcards—Rembrandt, "The Mill;" Margaritone, "Madonna and Child Enthroned"; Henri, "New York Street in Winter"; Fragonard, "Blindman's Buff"; Metsu, "The Intruder"; Holbein, "Sir Brian Tuke"; Crivelli, "Madonna and Child"; Ingres, "Madame Moitessier"; Degas, "Duke and Duchess of Morbilli." Price, 5 cents each, postpaid.

Lectures and films: Following the final lecture on Iranian art on July 5, the Sunday lectures will be discontinued until fall. However, films on the National Gallery of Art will be shown each Sunday at 4 p.m. in the auditorium.

Lectour: A radio lecture device is installed in 30 exhibition galleries. Talks, running continuously, cover most of the periods of art represented by the collections. A visitor may rent a small receiving set for 25 cents to use in hearing these Lectour broadcasts.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Monday through Saturday 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sunday 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, JUNE 29, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 5

Sculpture of the week: Francesco da Laurana, "A Princess of the House of Aragon" (Andrew Mellon collection) gallery 6. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday 11, 1 and 3; Sunday 2:30 and 5.

Sunday lecture: "Safavid Architecture of Isfahan: Persia Under the Great Sophy." Guest speaker: Myron Bement Smith, honorary consultant in Islamic archaeology and Near Eastern art, Library of Congress, Washington, lecture hall, 4 .

MONDAY, JULY 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 12

Painting of the week: Bellotto, "The Castle of Nymphenburg" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 36. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 19

Painting of the week: Dosso Dossi, "Circe and Her Lovers in a Landscape" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 21. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 26

Painting of the week: Constable, "The White Horse" (Widener collection), gallery 58. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 2

Sculpture of the week: Houdon, "Voltaire" (Widener collection), gallery 60. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour; Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 9

Painting of the week: Hobbema, "A View on a High Road" (Andrew Mellon collection), gallery 47. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 16

Painting of the week: Annibale Carracci, "Landscape" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 36. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 17, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 23

Painting of the week: Sithium, "A Knight of the Order of Calathava" (Andrew Mellon collection), gallery 39. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 3; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 30

Painting of the week: Piazzetta, "Madonna and Child Appearing to San Filippo Neri" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 34. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday, through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday films: "Art in the Western World" and "Time Enough To See a World," lecture hall, 4.

Inquiries concerning the gallery educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737–4215, extension 272.

Land of the Free?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, although it would appear that many members of the business and industrial community have accepted the "democratic socialism" of the New Frontier philosophy, there are some who still speak out against Federal encroachment on our freedoms.

Such a statement is contained in the following editorial from the Engineering Construction magazine of May 20, 1964. The editorial, written by B. R. Pruitt, publisher, reminds businessmen what passage of the civil rights bill will mean to them.

The editorial follows:

LAND OF THE FREE?

(By B. R. Pruitt, publisher)

Today a battle is being waged in Congress which is as crucial to our freedoms as that described during the War of 1812 by Francis Scott Key in our beloved national anthem.

At stake is the most precious right enjoyed under our constitutional form of government—the right to private ownership of property. In the name of civil rights, this right could be lost, and with it, our government of law would be lost to government of men.

In utter disregard for individual rights, proponents of the civil rights bill would have private businessmen surrender to Federal officials their right to decide who they will hire and who they will serve.

How this insidious concept of civil rights could affect contractors and other private employers in competitive business was seen in a recent case in Illinois. An examiner for that State's fair employment practices committee ruled that the Motorola Co. must stop giving a standard ability test to job applicants. The test, ruled the examiner, was "unfair to culturally deprived and disadvantaged groups."

If the preposterous "fair employment" and "public accommodations" sections of the civil rights bill are passed, your future business decisions may be dictated by whatever social doctrine is currently popular with the social planners.

When the smoke clears in Congress over the civil rights battle, will our "land of the free" be just another socialistic state where a businessman runs his business as he's told, or can he operate it the way he built it, using his own good judgment?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Big Government Causes Difficulties for a Small State in the Federal System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, since its creation in 1959, I have served with the Honorable Robert E. Smylie, Governor of Idaho, as a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Recently there was published in the spring 1964 issue of State Government an article, written by Governor Smylie, pointing up some problems of the smaller States in their contemporary relationships with the Federal Government. He observes that, increasingly, Federal requirements in both grant-in-aid and direct Federal programs have an accelerating effect on State and local programs out of proportion to the Federal expenditures involved, and, further, that such requirements frequently have a more marked impact on the smaller States.

From my own experiences in South Dakota, I would agree with this observation by Governor Smylie. The Governor urges that the unduly restrictive requirements on the States as conditions to their participation in the undertakings of the Federal Government be relaxed, and that the States be given a greater voice in the coordinated planning of Federal-State-local cooperative programs. The Governor's views are in accord with ACIR recommendations. I ask unanimous consent that Governor Smylie's article be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIFFICULTIES OF A SMALL STATE IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR DEALING WITH THEM

(By Robert E. Smylie, Governor of Idaho)

The genius of the federal system of government under which we have striven, persevered, and accomplished for nearly two centuries in this Nation was largely the product of the ingenuity of those Virginia politician-lawyers who had learned their craft at Williamsburg and Richmond, and who furnished from among their number four of the first five Presidents of the new Republic.

I suspect that the contrivance which finally permitted Federal union was as much designed, as for any other purpose, to assuage the fears of the small States among the 13 that they would not be dominated to their detriment by the larger States. In the intervening two centuries much has happened. A brief review will help to put some of the salient developments in perspective.

UNION AND DIVERSITY

Today we are primarily concerned with how to make the system work. At the time of the framing and adoption of the Constitution the concern was how to establish any national government at all. Prior to independence, the very status of being colonies provided at least a minimal unifying influence. Once independence was secured and the necessity of cooperation in the Revolution no longer existed, the Continental Congress and the Articles of Confederation did not provide any adequate, unifying national government. It became necessary to develop a form of government which would provide a basis for establishing a nation while still recognizing the great diversity that existed among the formerly independent colonies, and the tremendous importance they attached to their independence and to self-government.

The lasting contribution made in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia was the devising of a governmental basis for the Nation's development as an alternative to anarchy.

The new system gave unique status to the States in a "national government" that was also "Federal"—one which recognized the existence of formerly independent governments that chose to join together. The Central Government thus established governed both States and individual citizens within the authority delegated to it. The States continued to govern their citizens in the areas of powers they themselves reserved. The new form of government made it possible for the Nation to expand to the west, taking in additional States on a basis equal to that of the original States, and to continue to govern the expanding Nation while accommodating the diversity and differences of a vast section of the continent.

A number of specific values associated with the type of government invented in Philadelphia in 1787 can be cited. An important and fundamental advantage is that it permits diversity within union. State and local governments can arrive at decisions which reflect varying views regarding the desirable scope of governmental activity. Policies particularly adapted for varying geographic, social and economic conditions can be reflected in legislation enacted, in public agencies established, and in programs and services provided.

This potential for accommodation to diversity made it possible for our country to recover from a Civil War while preserving the Union. Moreover, the existence of 50 different governments has made experimentation possible. Out of experimentation, desirable and feasible alternatives have been and continue to be developed and refined without involving the whole Nation. The results of such experimentation can be of value to many States and to the National Government.

Another and probably the most important value of the Federal system has been its diffusion of governmental authority, and the consequent avoidance of undue concentrations of power at any one level of Government. Governmental powers are designed to be exercised at the level closest to those who are subject to the powers, and their exercise is thus more responsive to the necessities, desires, and aspirations of the citizens.

While adjustments to changing conditions must be made, it is of the utmost importance to maintain the fundamental nature of the Federal system. This calls for strengthening and assisting the States in performing an increasingly large share of the total task of Government in domestic programs.

As the report of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations states, this "* * * means also that the National Government has a responsibility on its part to leave room for and not to frustrate such development." I would now like to point to developments that may well hamper this objective.

AN OLD CAPTIVITY BROKEN

Let us begin by taking the West as a case in point.

The Mountain West—and by that I mean all the West that is east of the coastal States—is just now emerging from an old captivity. No dark and guilty conspiracy can be faulted for this captivity. Rather it was produced by the harsh realities of geography. High up on the rim of the continent, far distant from the normal markets for the produce of its mines, forests, and farms, the whole region was at a production disadvantage when it sought the trade of the world.

Even the coastal West was slow to escape the old captivity. But where the sea was a highway for commerce, development was quicker. As numbers of people grew more numerous, and learned how to exercise "political muscle" on the national scene, national development dollars began to flow more swiftly to them. But this century was nearly 40 years old before California really began to break out of the cocoon. Then the coastal West became the great sally port for the Pacific war. Almost everyone in my generation wrote a chapter in his life entitled "San Francisco." The economy of the coast became literally engulfed in a flood of war-born, federally financed industrial developments. With this came people. With the people came the new abundant political muscle that now makes California the biggest and most consequential State in the Union.

Inland, in the Mountain States this did not happen. The sea and Federal dollars were the difference. But in the years since World War II the economy of the Mountain States has begun to develop a "breakout" velocity. The old captivity to the markets and financial centers of the East and Midwest has begun to evaporate.

NEW DANGER FOR SMALL STATES

Now we are in serious danger of trading that old captivity for a newer, but equally dangerous captivity. And, strangely, it has its root in the very system which was first devised to protect the small independent colonies of the east coast in their Federal Union with the large States in the New Republic.

What is this new period? It is one of danger to the small States that is implicit in looking always to the National Government for the solution to every problem. For in national affairs the people of the large States will always outvote us of the small. Their numbers and resources will make them stronger in the national councils, and for that reason their needs will get first attention.

Let me emphasize that it is not the system that is wrong. It is the way in which we use it. What is wrong is our multilateral unwillingness to exercise the self-restraint and responsibility that have made the system work.

The trend of events has brought rapid changes in the relationships between governments without our Federal Union. Periods of economic crisis, a wartime economy, increased industrialization and, most recently, increasing urbanization have come on the heels of one another. The net result of the changes that have been made in response to the demands of emergency and crisis has been the growth of national authority and importance at the expense of State governments. This has threatened the very values and advantages which led to the formation of our Federal system, and which have justified its continuation.

One of the results of the trends reviewed here has been an increase in the percentage of the gross national product represented by Government expenditures. The rate of increase of State and local expenditures has been more rapid than that of Federal expenditures for domestic, nondefense programs. At the present time State and local expenditures are more than 50 percent of the total. Thus it would appear, using expenditures as a guide, that State and local governments are not only holding their own, but are becoming increasingly important. However, it is necessary to look behind the figures. Increasingly, Federal requirements in both grant-in-aid and direct Federal programs have an effect on State and local programs out of proportion to the Federal expenditures involved.

Such requirements frequently have a particularly marked impact on the smaller States. The larger States can, because of the size of their programs, hire large technical staffs, and they can concentrate more of their staff time on dealing with Federal programs and agencies. It is thus frequently possible for them to produce the necessary technical data to influence the course taken in combined programs or in grant-in-aid programs. But with their much more limited staffs, it is difficult for smaller States to present alternates along with supporting information.

What happens, then, is that the small States help to pay for programs that are dictated by the needs of the larger States when they—the smaller States—could achieve the same results for their own people in a much more satisfactory and economical way.

In many instances the program itself suffers. It is not keyed to the diverse needs and differing aspirations of the smaller States and, as a consequence, does not appeal broadly to their people.

TWO KEY NEEDS

If the States are to assume the increasing responsibility for domestic programs that seems to be the current trend, their scope of decision in administrative and policy roles must be retained, enlarged, and strengthened. One of the ways in which this can be accomplished is to avoid placing unduly restrictive requirements on the States as conditions to their participation in cooperative undertakings with the Federal Government. Another, of a more positive nature, is to use the facilities of the Federal Government to plan ahead—so that it will be possible for Federal programs to be developed on a consistent and predictable basis, coordinated with State and local programs and with full consideration of their needs.

An example comes quickly to mind. The President of the United States has announced a new and widely heralded assault on poverty. It previously had received little description in the public media of communications. If this is a serious social program designed to solve a serious problem in all 50 States, would it not have been better, and would it not have better hope of success, if the States and their staffs had been cranked into the initial planning? Surely some of the peculiarities in economic and sociological structure that are the product of diversity could have been more easily accommodated by preliminary consideration of the needs of the several States.

SOME IMPACTS OF GRANTS

A problem of increasing significance, as grant-in-aid programs grow, is the effect of Federal program requirements on State government organization and operation. The requirements are of varying nature and significance. Some affect program decisions, others affect administrative structure, and others bear on administrative procedures.

The rigid compartmentalization of Federal grants can well exert an undue influence on program decisions within the States. If a State desires to participate in grant programs, it may find that the only grants available in an area of importance and significance to it are so rigidly defined that it has the alternative of either arbitrarily accepting for emphasis the specific program areas covered or of foregoing funds which may be needed to support programs in the broader general area involved.

Grants-in-aid for public health services are a prime example. Federal funds are appropriated, apportioned, and administered in the following public health categories: general health, heart disease control, cancer control, venereal disease control, tuberculosis control, mental health, maternal and child health services, and crippled children's services. State funds expended for any of the categories can be used to match Federal funds only within that category. But a State may find that it needs only limited expenditures for, say venereal disease control, while it has major needs for cancer control. It must let some of the available Federal venereal disease control funds go unmatched, while it spends considerably beyond the available matching funds for cancer control. Not only does this deny a State Federal matching funds in areas where they are most needed; it may also result in devoting undue attention to areas where matching funds are available, while neglecting other fields. The same situation could be cited in vocational education programs, the categorical welfare grants and other aspects.

The problem of program balance and the influence of Federal grant money bears with particular weight on the smaller States. With their limited budgets, they feel a proportionately greater impact of the pressure to match Federal grant money, since this money constitutes a larger portion of their total budgets. This impact is demonstrated by the fact that in smaller States the ratio of federally aided, categorical welfare expenditures to general assistance expenditures solely supported by the States and localities is higher than in the larger States.

The Advisory Commission in Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that flexibility be introduced into grant-in-aid categories by allowing States to transfer up to one-third of the funds available among several of the public health grant categories. This principle could no doubt be extended to other grant programs. It is an idea that merits enactment.

Another way in which Federal requirements in connection with grant-in-aid programs may serve as a limiting factor on the ability of States to make individual adjustments and decisions regarding their own functioning is that of administrative organization. A number of grant programs include specific requirements regarding the State agencies that must administer the programs. While requirements regarding adequate administrative provisions for programs appear logical enough, they can exert a particularly unfortunate adverse influence on efforts to achieve reorganization of State administrative structures.

In 1960, for example, a special Committee on Reorganizing the Executive Branch in Oregon endeavored to consolidate a number of functions within a department of social services. However, the "single State agency" concept embedded in Federal law as regards grants for a given program served as a barrier to enactment. When the new State of Hawaii sought to transfer its vocational rehabilitation programs into a new department of social services, the Federal agency involved indicated that this was not acceptable, since the law requires that the State agency primarily concerned with vocational rehabilitation must be an independent State agency. It was also proposed to consolidate the employment service and office of State labor representative in each of the Island counties. This would have resulted in personnel reduction and a single location for provision of the services. However, here again, the single agency concept foreclosed this arrangement if the State wished to continue to participate in the grant program.

In Wisconsin efforts to transfer a number of functions involving mental health to a single agency had to be abandoned because of specific Federal provisions. For example, vocational rehabilitation funds could not be used for vocational rehabilitation of the mentally handicapped by an integrated agency responsible for most mental health activities.

While the requirements regarding administrative organization have not had a major adverse effect on State government organization nationwide, their impact can be particularly great on smaller States. In the smaller States, with less extensive programs, consolidation of functions may be particularly important in order to realize economies. States with extensive programs can afford to have a fairly high degree of specialization in separate agencies.

Closely related are requirements dealing with specific administrative procedures. Although the individual requirements may appear relatively unimportant, cumulatively they can constitute a considerable burden on State agencies. For example, the record and reporting requirements of Federal agencies are so varied that on occasion it is necessary to keep more than one set of records if both State needs and Federal requirements are to be met. National accounting requirements are not correlated with State accounting necessities. In some instances superfluous information is demanded. Instances can be cited of additional staff personnel required solely to meet the statistical reporting demands of Federal agencies. Inflexible requirements such as these place burdensome demands upon smaller State governments, where it is particularly difficult for small staffs to assume duplicating and time-consuming administrative details.

FOR COORDINATED PLANNING

Additional attention needs to be devoted in the United States to provisions for adequate, coordinated planning for the development of physical resources by Federal, State, and local governments. There is a necessity for facilitating an exchange of information which will permit coordinated planning by all levels of government.

In certain program areas, procedures with this objective now exist. For example, plans for water resource projects developed by the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation and the Department of Agriculture are submitted to affected States for their comment and recommendations before final submission of the plans to Congress for specific project approval. The States are given 90 days in which to comment. For such a procedure to be effective, however, it is necessary that States be brought into the plan-

ning process from the very beginning, and to be kept apprised of developments. It is not enough for a final plan to be presented to the States for their comment. It might appear that 90 days are adequate for development of State comments. However, with a limited staff such as exists in a number of the smaller States, it is not possible to develop the State's position adequately on the basis of a final plan only.

The States must be kept informed at all stages of the development. Review must be elicited during initial planning phases while specific details remain flexible, so that they can be adjusted to accommodate varying State needs where this is possible.

POLITICAL "MUSCLE"

And always involved is the old question of political muscle and weight. In the Congress, the three coastal States have a good many more votes than all of the rest of the West together. For that reason national administrations, of whatever political coloration, have a tendency which is understandable enough to listen first to those States whose problems and political potentials are largest.

And so the system that was first designed to protect small States can get to be a peril in the modern federal republic.

TOWARD A NEW INITIATIVE

How do we strengthen the Federal system? How do we make it work better as an instrument of service to all the people?

First, as the late Meyer Kestnbaum suggested when head of an earlier Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the National Government has a responsibility, which it too often forgets, to establish a climate in which State and local governments can achieve their objective of meeting the needs and aspirations of their own peoples. This involves restraint by the National Government in taxing policies and in the administration of joint programs. This restraint must be exercised in both the Congress and in the executive branch, but most importantly in the Congress itself. Failure to enact a State water rights supremacy bill for 17 years is an adequate example of what has been lacking.

There is need for the establishment of a formal relationship between the Federal and State Governments, possibly through the creation of an appropriate section in the Executive Office of the President, or the designation of an appropriate official in the Executive Office, for the sole purpose of cooperation and communication with the Governors and the State governments.

Such a special section could serve as a point of contact for States with particular problems. Such an office also could serve as a liaison with various departments and agencies in the Federal establishment in developing the many different kinds of specialized arrangements for cooperation and coordination that are necessary if the full resources of all levels of government are to be brought to bear in carrying out public programs. Such an arrangement, creatively used, could be particularly valuable to the small States, facing as they do their own particular problems in dealing with the Federal Government.

THE SYSTEM DOES NOT FALTER

It may have seemed that there has been much of criticism in the presentation. While this is true, there has been no intention to understate the value inherent in the State-Federal system and its great and lasting contribution to the conservation of our political and human freedom.

Without the individual States as strong, vibrant, and effective instruments of government, it is doubtful that the National Government could ever have been established without resort to "a man on horseback." Without some of these same States as strong individual units of government, it is unlikely that Union could have been preserved.

This is a system which has served us well; a system which, to the surprise of many in the world, was able to make a swift and orderly transition of power one darkly tragic day last November. A less virile and viable system could have faltered and fallen under the impact of swift and unforeseen circumstance. But the system did not falter, and the Republic was safe once again.

For these reasons we are wise to be vigilant to protect, preserve, and extend the values of a system that accommodates unity within diversity of power and problems. It is, after all, a system of government so uniquely successful that in terms of continuity it is now the oldest in the world.

Address of Arthur H. Courshon Before the Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations, Chicago, April 21, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of your colleagues the following address by Arthur H. Courshon, chairman of the board of the Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami Beach, Fla. Mr. Courshon delivered his perceptive address before the Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations at Chicago on April 21, 1964.

Mr. Courshon reiterates the fact that this Congress and its Banking and Currency Committee must continually keep reappraising and reevaluating the supervisory powers of the bank regulatory agencies.

The address follows:

PRESENT AND PROPOSED SUPERVISORY POWERS OF THE FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

(Address of Arthur H. Courshon before the Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations, Chicago, Ill., April 21, 1964)

Gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure to have this opportunity to address your Cook County Council of Insured Savings Associations. I am particularly pleased to be talking to you today since it is not often that I have the opportunity to return to the city of my birth. It is certainly a rare privilege for me to be present in this wonderful area with such distinguished citizens; to wit, my fellow practitioners in the business and art of operating insured savings associations under the State and Federal regulatory powers, as they now exist.

I would like to make it perfectly clear that my remarks today are purely my own personal observations and are, in my opinion, probably concurred in by no one other than my wife.

I have not travelled all this distance to talk to you today merely to describe to you the existing supervisory powers of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board as they apply to Federal savings and loan associations and State chartered Federally insured institutions, nor is it my purpose to simply read to you the two bills before the Congress of the United States that would modify the existing law.

I think that I would serve a more useful purpose to you today if my remarks did several things:

1. Went into the background of the existing supervisory powers of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

2. Analyzed for you the differences that exist between the two bills now before the Congress that would propose to change the Federal Home Loan Bank Board supervisory power; to wit, the bill known as H.R. 10494, submitted by Congressman PEPPER of my home State of Florida and a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and the bill bearing Senate No. 2677, submitted by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and introduced in the Senate and House, upon the request of the Board.

After I have analyzed the two bills and pointed out their differences, I would like to conclude my remarks today with my personal observations concerning the problem of supervision of our industry and the relationship that exists between our industry and the regulatory agency.

The supervisory powers of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board are bottomed on sections 5(d) (1) and (2) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, an independent agency, has been directed by the Congress to assume the responsibility for the supervision of the Federal savings and loan associations created by the Board and, further, to be responsible for the administration and welfare of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, which acts in a limited fashion as an underwriter of State chartered federally insured savings and loan associations.

The Federal institutions being supervised by the Board are wholly owned by their members in the instance of these mutual institutions. To the limited extent that it has supervisory power over State chartered institutions as the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Board in a much narrower scope attempts to supervise these institutions which are also wholly owned by their shareholders, be they mutual institutions or stock companies.

The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation is completely supported through premium payments by the institutions it insures, be they federally chartered or State chartered. It is true that the Federal law provides that under certain circumstances the Treasury may provide financial support for the Insurance Corporation, which support has neither been asked for nor extended after the original inception of the Insurance Corporation.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, which, for all practical purposes, are one and the same, have fostered and encouraged the growth and development of the federally insured private savings and loan system. Inasmuch as the Federal Home Loan Bank Board is also the managing Board of Directors of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, it is directly concerned with the safety and welfare of the federally insured State chartered savings and loan associations.

Sections 5(d) (1) and (2) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended, are the source of supervisory power over the Federal savings and loan associations. Section 407 of the National Housing Act, as amended, is the basic supervisory tool of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation over the State chartered savings and loan associations it insures.

The bills presently before the Congress, which I will refer to hereafter as the "Pepper" bill and the "Board's" bill, deal with proposed amendments to section 5(d) (1) and (2) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 as amended, and, thus, directly concern themselves with the supervision of Fed-

eral savings and loan associations. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has not yet presented to Congress any suggested legislation to amend section 407 of the National Housing Act.

It would appear highly inconsistent to me, however, if the Board did not submit at some time in the immediate future an amendment to section 407 of the National Housing Act as amended, which amendment would be consistent with the Board's suggested amendment to sections 5(d) (1) and (2) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933.

It is my belief that the Board is as equally concerned with its supervisory powers and its underwriting problems as the Insurance Corporation with State-chartered institutions that are federally insured as it is with the Federal savings and loan associations that are directly under its supervision.

Turning our attention, therefore, to the supervisory powers of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board over Federal associations, we find that prior to the amendments of section 5(d) adopted in 1954, the Board had no means except the appointment of a conservator or receiver to enforce the laws or regulations governing Federal associations. Section 503 of the Housing Act of 1954 revised the enforcement procedures of the Board. The purpose and intent of the revisions were to establish procedures that would enable the Board to enforce its supervisory responsibilities over Federal associations short of the drastic remedy of seizure of an association through the appointment of a supervisory representative in charge, a conservator or receiver.

Section 5(d) (1) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as it now exists, was the principal result of the 1954 congressional revision. Let us look back together at what Congress and the then Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Mr. Walter McAllister, were trying to accomplish in 1954 by the promulgation of our existing section 5(d) (1). Senator Bush, at the congressional hearings held in March of 1954, on the Housing Act of 1954, propounded the following question:

"How have you been handling this question at the present time, and in the past, respecting the emergency requiring the appointment of a conservator?"

The then Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Mr. Walter McAllister, stated:

"We endeavor to get the institutions to comply. In the event the institution does not comply, we will say it is entirely solvent; our only recourse is to take charge and put in a conservator. It seems utterly ridiculous to put a solvent institution in the hands of a conservator."

Senator BUSH went on to state, referring to the proposed 5(d) (1) amendment, as follows:

"This would seem like a real improvement in the situation: This formalizes the machinery, and there can't be any possible question about your authority then. Is that the purpose of the bill?"

Mr. McAllister replied:

"That is one of the purposes. The other purpose is to protect the institution and management from the capricious and arbitrary acts of the Board. If the Board were to simply make up its mind it wanted to take a certain action with regard to an institution, they would cause that institution and management considerable embarrassment, if not loss and cessation of business. Here, reasonable grounds are determined, and under what conditions we would proceed and the institution is given fair protection."

Senator BUSH continuing:

"That is why you provide for the court procedure?"

Mr. MCCALLISTER. Yes.

Senator BUSH. I think it is a good regulation.

Senator BENNETT then stated:

"Mr. McCallister, I think it might be well for the record if you could point out to us the existence, or the type of question or the type of disagreement that might have existed between the Board and the industry, which led to the development of this program."

Mr. McAllister then went on to testify:

"We have a well-known case, that of the Long Beach Federal, Long Beach, Calif.; that has been in the courts for about 7 years, and they have had various kinds of congressional hearings. It is my honest belief that if that statute had been in force at that time, that the difficulty could have been avoided." (The statute being referred to was 5(d) (1) as proposed.)

Mr. MULTER, a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, when the 1954 bill was heard before it, stated:

"Mr. Chairman, this proposed change in the law was initiated primarily because it was charged that at least in one instance they went in and took over a perfectly solvent association and wound it up. Isn't that what brought this up, and there was no way of reviewing that action of the Board?"

Mr. McAllister:

"Well, the Board took over the San Diego Federal, and the institution, from subsequent examination, was not insolvent, and later was returned to the management. And the subject is still in dispute, as far as some suits in the courts are concerned."

Mr. McAllister further testified, in support of 5(d) (1), as then proposed:

"In other words, as the law stands right now we have the authority to go in and appoint a conservator, and that seems to be a foolish thing to do if the institution is solvent, and is merely guilty of violating the law or some of the rules of the Board, and this will give us a practical means of discussing and arbitrating and settling such disputes. It gives the association and its management a protection that it does not have today, from what might be termed capricious acts on the part of the Board. On the other hand, it does retain full authority in the Board to step in and take over an institution if it is necessary to do so, immediately."

Mr. MULTER, on commenting about 5(d) (2), in 1954, at that time stated:

"The difficulty is we have no definition of an emergency. If the Board determined there is an emergency they go in with a supervisory representative as a temporary expedient; I can easily understand how you cannot put into language a description of emergency."

Mr. MULTER apparently being apprehensive about 5(d) (2), and history proves him to have been right, further went on to state, in 1954, in conversation with Mr. McAllister, as follows:

"You have tried to do a good job, and I know you have been conscientious about it. But you cannot blame me for being somewhat cautious about it. For instance, you say one of the grounds for the appointment of a receiver shall be violation of law or of a regulation. Now, it could be the most minor regulation that they send out their mail under a frank, that they have no right to use. That is violation of a regulation and it is a violation of a law. Certainly you are not going to appoint a receiver for that reason. I am trying to think of the most picayune thing you can pick on."

Now, let us see what has happened since 1954, when Congress, at the instance of the industry and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, amended the law and 5(d) (1) came into being. Despite the testimony of the then Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Mr. Walter McAllister, despite the concern of the members of the Senate subcommittee before whom testimony was taken, despite the concern of the members of the House subcommittee, before whom testimony was taken, with one possible exception, in the 10 years that have elapsed since the adoption of 5(d) (1), there has been no instance of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board having availed itself of 5(d) (1) that I know of.

What has actually come about is that the Board, given a knotty supervisory problem to unravel, when faced with resistance on the part of the institution or the managers of the institution involved in that problem, have looked to the remedies that were available to them. The Board, being human, have availed themselves of what appeared to be the swiftest, simplest remedy; to wit, the use of their emergency powers under 5(d) (2).

It is ridiculous not to recognize the human factors involved. The history of the past 10 years has shown that when Board members are faced with a difficult supervisory problem to solve, involving honest differences of opinion, they do not choose to use the mildest weapon and most complicated tool available to them; to wit, section 5(d) (1).

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has, continuously since 1954, used its emergency power under 5(d) (2) or threatened so to do, as its principal means to enforce its concept of safe and sound operation. In many instances, the mere threat of seizure was sufficient to cause the principals involved to abandon their association.

The Miami Beach Federal case, in 1958, is a case in point. A supervisory representative, conservator or receiver was threatened and the principal management of the association, in the face of said seizure threat, removed themselves from the association. The complaint on the part of the Board, at that time, involved a question of "self-dealing," not a question of solvency or actual emergency * * * yet, a former Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, in 1954, Mr. McAllister, speaking in support of 5(d) (1), stated before Congress, as follows: "It seems utterly ridiculous to put a solvent institution in the hands of a conservator." Nevertheless, in the Miami Beach Federal case, that is exactly what the Board threatened to do unless the management resigned.

The Miami Beach Federal, at that time, had one of the highest ratios of reserves to saving or risk assets of any institution that started in business initially as a Federal savings and loan association.

It is obvious, therefore, that the question of the ratio of reserves to savings or risk assets was not the grounds for the threatened seizure of the Miami Beach Federal Savings and Loan Association, nor has it appeared that the Board's concern in the Miami Beach Federal case was with the quality of the association's assets, but with the question of alleged self-dealing on the part of some of the managing officers of the association. Whether the alleged self-dealing involved was continuing at the time of the threatened seizure of that institution by the Board and, thus, in fact, creating an emergency granting the Board the right to seize the Association has never come to light, since there was no administrative hearing ever held by the Board, as provided under section 5(d) (1), that would create a public record either of the self-dealing alleged or of the fact of an emergency as alleged.

It was hoped, in 1954, that with the adoption of 5(d) (1), the use of seizure or the threat of seizure by the Board would be avoided except in the most extreme cases, and only after the Board had exhausted all other means to correct the improper practice or violation of law involved.

To date, the Board, in repeatedly chooosings to use its emergency powers under 5(d)(2), or threatening to do so, has apparently done so because it has not felt it wanted to have its judgment in supervisory matters challenged by management or questioned by a Federal court.

In 1957, during hearings on the Financial Institutions Act of that year, in testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, the United States Savings & Loan League submitted the following additional sentence to be added to the existing section 5(d)(2):

"No supervisory representative in charge, conservator, or receiver, shall be appointed for a solvent and nonimpaired institution, if the alleged wrongdoing can be corrected as provided in this section, or otherwise by law, without the seizure of private property."

The Board itself has indicated that the reason it has not used 5(d)(1) to date is that its orders would not be immediately effective and as a result thereof its supervisory powers would be nullified or impaired; yet, section 5(d)(1), as it now exists, presently provides that the Board can issue an order and go to court immediately to secure an injunction for the immediate enforcement of the order.

Gentlemen, make no mistake as to what I am thinking or intend by what I am saying. My analysis of the history of 5(d)(1) and (2) is neither meant to imply nor to be a criticism of the sincerity, purpose, or motive of any past or present members of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. These gentlemen, in accepting the high office of member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, have accepted an almost well-nigh impossible task in their capacity as Board members. They are required to constantly carry out interests which conflict. On the one hand, as Board members, they are required to promote this business by chartering new institutions where a public need is shown for such institutions and by granting branches to existing institutions where additional branches meet a public need. These same gentlemen are asked to be policemen over the institutions they chartered. They are asked to act as district attorneys in a sense—to prepare charges against the industry they police and then, in addition to wearing the policeman's badge and carrying a district attorneys' briefcase, they are then asked to don the robes of a judge and make a quasi-judicial determination of the innocence or guilt of an institution that they have policed and possibly prosecuted—all in good faith and with proper motivation.

I fail to see, under a constitutional system such as ours, which calls for a check and balance system, how any man can be a policeman, a prosecutor, and an unbiased judge at the same time and still retain his sanity and perform all three functions with equal ability.

Imagine the further dilemma and terrible burden placed upon the shoulder of a Federal Home Loan Bank Board member, when he also has to be the insurance underwriter of a business that he is attempting to promote. On the one hand, as a promoter of the business, the Board member recognizes that the granting of each new charter involves certain financial risks. On the other hand, the Board member, wearing his hat as the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, then has to underwrite this promotional risk. Therefore, gentlemen, make no mistake—the problems we have today in the supervision of the Federal savings and loan system and the problems we have today of conflict between the federally insured State chartered savings and loan associations and the Board lie not with the men who assume the thankless burden of Board member but lie with the structure of laws that has created the bureaucracy known as the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Let us now address our attention to the Pepper bill and the Board bill, which are now before the Congress to further amend sections 5(d)(1) and (2) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, in recent testimony before congressional committees, has stated that the problem with 5(d)(1) and (2), as it now exists, is that it leaves the Board with the choice of either a slap on the wrist, in its capacity as supervisor, or a nuclear bomb. Chairman McMurray has testified, therefore, that what is needed is a third alternative, to wit, a shotgun. The chairman has stated that with a shotgun he doubts very seriously that the nuclear weapon of seizure as provided under 5(d)(2) would ever be needed. Let us examine the shotgun proposed by the Board under S. 2677 and compare it with the present law and with the Pepper bill.

The bill presented by the Board, which purports to be a simple shot gun, which shotgun is the cease and desist powers asked for by the Board, in my opinion, is not a shotgun but the most advanced type of nuclear weapon that could be conceived of.

It is true that the Board's bill contains features that include the shotgun of cease and desist, but, to stay with the analogy, the shotgun requested is merely part of the advanced arsenal including additional nuclear warheads. The Board's bill would bring about substantial changes in the entire realm of the supervisory and statutory powers of the Board and would greatly diminish the ability of associations to controvert or defend themselves against the exercise of the new powers requested.

Under the present law, anyone has the right to take the Board to court for the determination of an issue and the court has jurisdiction over the matter. An association upon which an administrative order is served, under the present law, is given the specific right to ask a U.S. district court for declaratory judgment on any issue raised by such order. The Board proposes now that it can be taken to court only:

1. In the case of the issuance by the Board of a temporary cease-and-desist order;

2. When petitioning for a court review of an appointment of a conservator or receiver;

3. When petitioning the circuit court of appeals for the review of a cease-and-desist order issued after an administrative hearing;

4. Except, as the right is otherwise restricted specifically in the bill, in relation to pending proceedings, a Federal savings and loan association may bring the Board before a U.S. district court with respect to any matter under the proposed section or rules or regulations thereunder.

An individual officer or director could take the Board to court only upon a petition for review to a U.S. circuit court of appeals on an order of removal issued after an administrative hearing. The net effect of this narrowing of the right of an association or a person to bring the Board before a court is to restrict the right to resort to the courts mostly in the cases where the Board itself has initiated the related procedure.

This means it becomes almost impossible for an association to initiate court proceedings where:

1. A valid issue needs determination of the courts; and

2. Relief against an action of the Board is required by court procedure, even when the new bill suggests a court review of the cease-and-desist order issued after an administrative hearing.

Under the present 5(d)(1) of the existing law, anyone can sue the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and there is no limitation as to the source of the issue regarding which the suit or action is brought or the cause of the proceedings. This is equally true of a suit against the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation or the Federal home loan banks. This right of suit does not arise, however, from the underlying Federal Home Loan Bank Act; it is derived from 5(d)(1). If there were no such express provision as is found in the existing 5(d)(1), the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, as an agent of the Federal Government, would not be subject to suit. The proposed Board bill would strike this privilege from 5(d)(1). It would also strike a right given to either the Board of an association affected by a notice of violation to ask the local U.S. district judge for a declaratory judgment, and an injunction or other relief with respect to the controversy.

The new Board bill would put in the place of the existing necessary procedure the right of a Federal association to sue the Board with respect to a matter, under the new section or rules or regulations thereunder. This substitution would greatly narrow the ability of those affected by Board actions to bring the Board to court and test whether they acted properly and legally.

The limited review provision suggested under the Board's proposal, in my opinion, is not a statisfactory review for other reasons: It does not clearly give the reviewing court the right to go into the factual matter as a trial de novo would. It practically prevents real and adequate review of the facts of the case and the questions of law involved.

The cease and desist order provision suggested breaks down into two types:

1. Those effective after a hearing.

2. Those immediately effective upon service without a hearing. The first type is very similar to the present 5(d)(1) under the present law, since it becomes effective after service of documents and a full administrative hearing. The judicial review of this type or order takes place through the circuit court of appeals. The second type of cease and desist order, which is effective upon service, in my opinion, would be the one the Board would most commonly use. In this instance, the association may apply to the U.S. district court in which it is located for injunctive relief to set aside, limit, or suspend the order. This would appear to be a concession on the part of the Board if the Board's bill did not contain the further provisions concerning the right of removal of officers or directors.

The right of removal is one of the new types of nuclear weapons I referred to inherent in the Board's bill, which had been advertised in advance as merely granting to the Board the shotgun that it did not have but claimed it needed.

The Board uses, among other things, such language for removal as "has committed or engaged in any act, omission, or practice which constitutes a breach of his fiduciary duty as such director or officer, whether or not the director or officer thereby made any pecuniary profit or secured any demonstrable personal gain or advantage as a result of such breach of fiduciary duty."

Nowhere in this awesome request for power of removal, which, in fact, can mean the destruction of the reputation and, therefore, the very life of the person involved, does the Board bother to define "fiduciary duty." It is possible that the Board, after being granted all of the power it requests under its proposed amendment, will later define "fiduciary duty," at which time it may be too late to be concerned with the definition.

Admiral Rickover, in a recent booklet, put out by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, reminded us that bureaucracy is essentially opposed to democracy. In democracy, the power is in the people; inside a bureaucracy, power rests with the top official, subject only to the supervision of the general government. While

all of us must, in the public interest, grant to our Government and the bureaucracy involved, in carrying on the business of government, the necessary powers that this bureaucracy serving the public interest needs, we must always continue to protect the individual liberties of the business entities and people involved.

Many supervisory people in Government insist that the Congress intended them to supervise and that supervision should not pass to the Federal courts. This is true but it is likewise true that the supervisor must be as concerned with the constitutional framework of law and order and, therefore, for the rights of the individuals supervised, as he is for his obligation to supervise. When the Federal Home Loan Bank Board asks for a cease-and-desist power, and a right of removal of officers and directors, to prevent injury to the institutions it supervises, and to protect the public from a breach of law or regulation, whether it involves self-dealing or a dissipation of the assets of an institution, the supervisor must be sure that he grants to the supervised additional protection from an abuse of power by the supervisor.

I submit that the Board's proposed bill, rather than granting to the supervised fair and proper review powers, takes from the supervised review powers that the institutions and officers and directors already have.

As I stated before, in my opinion, the proposed bill of the Board greatly limits the ability of an association or individuals serving the association as officers and directors from taking the Board to court in the first instance or properly review the actions of the Board, except when the Board itself has initiated the court proceedings.

I suggest that when a Federal agency submits to the people of this country a request for such broad power as a denial of the courts' power to review, modify, suspend, terminate, or set aside any action of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, except as specifically provided in the Board's bill, we must ask ourselves whether the means here suggested are not much more dangerous than the end in mind.

No Federal regulatory agency should, under any circumstances, ever be above the right of the Federal courts of this land to review, modify, terminate, or set aside any of its actions.

The Pepper bill submitted to the Congress attempts to give the Federal Home Loan Bank Board exactly what it had previously asked for; to wit, an additional power in the form of a cease and desist order that it does not now have.

In my opinion, if it is accompanied by the proper safeguards to see that there is no abuse practiced with the new power requested, under certain circumstances, the public interest may well be served by granting the Federal Home Loan Bank Board the right to have a cease and desist order, since Congress has charged the Board with the obligation to supervise the Federal savings and loan associations.

Amendments to section 5(d)(1) in the Pepper bill would equip the Board with a new tool of cease and desist order, which can take effect immediately when served on the savings and loan associations involved. However, in keeping with the check and balance system in our country and consistent with the Constitution, the amendment would also confer on management the right to petition the U.S. district court in which the home office of the association is located, for a review of such cease and desist order; yet, during the period of review, the cease and desist order could remain in effect if the court so determines. Upon the termination of the review period, which could be prolonged equally by the Board as by the Association, the court might well find the Board to have acted outside of the law and regulation and, thus dissolve the cease and desist order—yet, during this entire period of review the Association involved could be under the effects of the Board's cease and desist order.

The Pepper bill spells out more precisely than does the present law the several grounds upon which a conservator or receiver could be appointed and provides that the appointment of a receiver would be deemed a default under the laws initiating the payment of insurance by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, thus preventing an association from going on rotation and frustrating the prompt action of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. What the Pepper bill does not do, however, is to in any way recognize the right of the association or the people involved to a full, practical, and feasible court review, nor does it suggest that the Board, directly or indirectly, through the use of a cease-and-desist order, can bring about the removal of officers, directors, agents, or employees of an association. It does, however, prohibit employment by a Federal association of anyone convicted of an offense of dishonesty or a breach of trust.

I suggest that there are adequate laws to deal with the few dishonest and unscrupulous persons that may be involved in the banking or savings and loan business of our country. The Board does not need the right of removal of an officer or director to bring about the proper indictment of a transgressor of the criminal laws.

In conclusion, I remind all of you that many of the laws and regulations propounded by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board originated at the suggestion of all of us in the savings and loan business, including, I am sure, many, if not all, of the proposals contained in the Board's present suggested amendment to 5(d) (1) and (2). I suggest that all of us, in our sincerity to protect the public from the few wrong doers that are involved in any great business, such as the banking or savings and loan business, become overenthusiastic. I suggest that when we examine the end that we seek to bring into being, we equally examine the means to that end, to insure that the means we suggest do not bring about a greater evil; to wit, the erosion of our individual liberties. If we, in this country, are going to remain politically free, we must remain economically free. I suggest that we slow down our headlong rush to grant our public servants more powers over us. Further, if we do grant more powers, that we be very careful to be sure that we examine the means for implementing these powers and the means of redress that we have as individual Americans, if these powers are abused by our public servants. There is always the danger in the granting of new powers that we become oppressed rather than supervised or regulated in the public interest. Thank you.

Wabash, Ind., Fights School Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, all of us are aware of the educational and employment problem posed by the school dropout. We know there is a vicious circle which involves lack of education, increasing lack of jobs for the uneducated, resulting poverty, frequently relief and welfare payments to families headed by these persons ill equipped to face our modern society, and the frequent perpetuation of the cycle into the next generation.

One of the most essential tools in our fight against poverty, and one of the greatest means for developing our full potential without regard to the individual's economic background, is education. In seeing to it that our youth achieve at least a full high school education, community responsibility is necessary.

Wabash, Ind., a small city of some 13,000 by the last census, is making an organized attack on the school dropout problem. In marshaling the community's resources, the Wabash School Dropout Committee has been formed as a part of the school system. Members of the chamber of commerce are cooperating in a project to find summer jobs. The community is making an effort which should be emulated throughout the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this matter, which appeared in the Marion (Ind.) Leader-Tribune for June 10, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Marion (Ind.) Leader-Tribune, June 10, 1964]

FIGHTING DROPOUT PROBLEM

Wabash's School Dropout Committee and the chamber of commerce deserve applause for seeking solutions to the school dropout problem with concrete action instead of just talking about the problem.

The committee, organized as part of the Wabash city school system, and the chamber of commerce are cooperating in a project to find summer jobs for youngsters 15 through 18 years of age so that they can earn money during the vacation period and then return to school in the fall.

The youngsters are filling out special application blanks, listing the type of work they would like to do or feel qualified to perform. And it is quite obvious that most of the youngsters certainly are eager to get jobs that include hard work on farms, in filling stations, industrial plants.

Students who have not yet filled out application blanks are being encouraged to do so. Professional men, businessmen, and industrialists of the community are being asked to do their part by going over the applications and participating in the worthwhile program by hiring the youngsters.

The dropout problem is serious. Too often youngsters who quit school are unaware of the seriousness of their actions which will be reflected all through life.

Again we would like to congratulate the school dropout committee, the Wabash Chamber of Commerce, and others who are working in the project. It's a project that every community might benefit from watching and then converting talk into action in keeping the youngsters in school.

Green-Eyed Monster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Mr. Henry C.

Tieck, of Mill Valley, Calif., wrote an economic thesis in 1955 which I found to be extremely thought provoking. This essay, following the principles of American economy, it seemed to me, would be of great interest to my colleagues in the House.

Under permission previously granted, I submit the essay to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of all:

GREEN-EYED MONSTER

The United States is the world's most prosperous Nation. There is no need to dwell upon this fact. None contests it.

But, in the present-day political and ideological climate, riches are held in evil repute. By and large, people look upon the more prosperous with unzealed envy and hatred. The New Deal-Fair Deal philosophy assures that an individual's fortune which exceeds that of the much-talked-about common man is ill gotten and that it is the task of the Government to equalize wealth and incomes by confiscatory taxation.

Most Americans fail to realize that the same ideas that shape the anticapitalists bias of American domestic policies also determine foreign nations' attitudes toward the United States.

The average European—not to speak of the Asiatics and Africans—looks upon the United States with the same envy and hatred which the American "progressive" displays toward American business.

He finds fault with the American because it is more prosperous than his own country. In his opinion—all Americans are bad for the simple reason that they enjoy a higher standard of living than he does.

And just as the American "progressive" disparages as bribed "sycophants" of the exploiting bourgeoisie, those few economists who have the courage to raise their voices against the New Deal, so the European "progressive" condemns as traitors all statesmen and writers supporting his governments pro-American policy in the cold war.

The many billions of dollars that the American Government has distributed all over the world have not tempered these anti-American sentiments.

This aid, say the Socialists, is a mere pittance, a quite insufficient payment on the immense debt that America owes to the rest of mankind. For, by rights, all the wealth of the United States ought be equally distributed among all the nations. In the opinion of foreign radicals it is an infringement of devine and natural law, that the average American lives in a nice gadget-equipped home, and drives a car while millions abroad lack the necessities of a decent existence.

It is a shame, they say, that the scions of the people who have created Western civilization are living in straightened conditions, while the Americans, mere moneymakers, lead a luxurious life.

In the opinion of the typical foreign "intellectuals," mankind is divided into two classes; the exploiting Americans on one side and the exploited have-nots on the other side. The Communist intellectuals put all their hopes on liberation by the Soviets.

The moderates expect that the United Nations will some day evolve into an effective world government that by means of a progressive world income tax will try to bring about more equality in the distribution of incomes all over the world, just as national income tax laws try to do within their respective countries.

Both groups agree in rejecting what they call a pro-American policy on the part of their nation and favor neutralism as the first step toward worldwide establishment of a fair social order.

This blend of anticapitalistic and anti-American sentiments plays an ominous role in the present-day world affairs. It excites sympathies for the cause of the Soviets and jeopardizes the best designed attempts to block the further advance of Russian power. It threatens to overthrow Europe's civilization from within.

Sober-minded European patriots are worried. They are aware of the dangers that the neutralist ideology generates.

They would like to unmask its fallacies. But they are checked by the fact that the essential content of the anti-American doctrine fully agrees with the economic—or rather pseudoeconomic—theories that in their own countries are taught at universities and are accepted by all political parties. From the point of view of the ideas that determine the domestic policies of most European nations—and, for that matter, also those of the United States—the cause of man's penury is due to the fact that some people have appropriated too much to themselves. Hence, the only efficacious remedy is to bring about by government interference a more equal distribution of what is called the national income.

No argument whatever can be discovered to show that this doctrine and the practical conclusions derived from it ought to be limited to conditions within a nation and should not also be applied in international relations in order to equalize the distribution of world income.

The ideological obstacles that stand in the way of a European who wants to attack the prevailing anti-American mentality seem therefore almost insuromountable. The more remarkable is the fact that an eminent author, braving all these difficulties, has published an essay that goes to the heart of the matter.

Prof. William E. Rappard is not unknown to the American public. An outstanding historian and economist, this Genovese who was born in New York, graduated from an American university and taught at Harvard, is the world's foremost expert in the field of international political and economic relations. His contributions to political philosophy, first of all those expounded 1938 in his book "The Crisis of Democracy" will be remembered in the history of ideas as the most powerful refutation of the doctrines of communism and nazism. There are but few authors whose judgment, competence, and impartiality enjoy a prestige comparable to that of Rappard.

He is neither pro-American nor anti-American. With cool detachment he tries to bring out in full relief the factors that account for the economic superiority of the United States. He starts by marshaling the statistical data and proceeds with a critical examination of the explanations provided by some older and some newer authors. Then comes his own analysis of the causes of American prosperity. As he sees it, these causes can be put together under four broad headings: mass production, the application of science to production, the passion for productivity, and the spirit of competition.

The political importance of Rappard's conclusions is to be seen in the fact that they ascribe American prosperity fully to factors operating within the United States. America's present-day economic superiority is purely an American phenomenon. It is the achievement of Americans and is in no way caused by or furthered by anything that would harm foreign nations. There is no question of "exploitation of the 'have-nots.'" No non-American is needy because there is well-being in America. Professor Rappard carefully avoids any allusion to the heated controversy concerning the European nations' attitudes toward the United States.

He does not even mention the exploitation doctrine and the complaints of the self-styled have-nots. But his book demolishes the counterfeit doctrines and, by implication, the political programs derived from them. It can hardly be disputed says Rappard, "that the wealth of a country very largely depends on the will of the nation. Other things being equal, then a country will be richer and its economy will be more productive in proportion as its inhabitants want it to be." America is prosperous because its people want prosperity and resorted to policies fitted to the purpose.

The operation of the four factors to which Rappard attributes the superior productivity of labor in the United States is certainly not confined to the United States. They are characteristic features of the capitalistic mode of production that originated in Western Europe and only later came to the United States. Mass production was the essential innovation of the industrial revolution. In earlier ages craftsmen produced with primitive tools in small workshops almost exclusively for the needs of a limited number of well-to-do. The factory system inaugurated new methods of production as well as marketing. Cheap goods for the many were and are its objective. It is this principle that—combined with the one principle of competition—accounts for the expansion of the most efficient enterprises and the disappearance of inefficient ones.

It is true that these tendencies are today more powerful in the United States than in European countries this side of the Iron Curtain. But this is principally due to the fact that political antagonism to big business and its superior competitive power set in earlier and is more drastic in Europe than in the United States, and has therefore more vigorously curbed "the rugged individualism" of business. The difference which in this regard exists between Europe and America is a difference of degree, not of kind.

With regard to the application of science to production and the passion for productivity, there is little, if any, difference between America and Europe. There is no need to stress the fact that the passion to make his outfit as productive as possible is strong in every businessman. Concerning the application of science to production, Professor Rappard observes that "the most fruitful investigations of recent years have nearly all been carried out by Europeans working either in their own countries or in American laboratories." Not the discovery of new theoretical truth—he goes on further to say, but the rapid and constantly improved application of discoveries of any origin whatsoever explains the industrial lead of the United States.

In enunciating this fact, Rappard gives us the decisive answer to the problem he has investigated. America's industrial superiority is due to the circumstance that its plants, workshops, farms, and mines are equipped with better and more efficient tools and machines. Therefore, the marginal productivity of labor and consequently wage rates are higher than anywhere else.

As the average quality and quantity of goods produced in the same period of time by the same number of hands is greater and better, more and better goods are available for competition.

Here we have the "secret" of American prosperity.

With some insignificant exceptions, there is no secrecy whatever about the best modern methods of production. They are taught in numerous technological universities and described in technological magazines. Thousands of highly gifted youths from economically backward countries have acquired full knowledge of them at the educational institutions and in the workshops of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and other Western countries. Besides, a great many American engineers, chemists, and agriculturists are prepared to offer their expert services to the business of the so-called underdeveloped countries.

Every intelligent businessman—not only in Western Europe, but no less in all other countries—is obsessed by the urge to furnish his enterprise with the most efficient modern equipment. How is it then that in spite of all these facts the American (and Canadian)

firms alone make full use of modern technological achievements and by far outstrip the industries of all other countries?

It is the insufficient supply of capital that prevents the rest of the world from adjusting its industries to the most efficient ways of production. Technological know-how and the passion for productivity, are useless if the capital required for the acquisition of new equipment and the inauguration of new methods is lacking.

What made modern capitalism possible and enables nations first of Western Europe and later of Central Europe and North America to eclipse the rest of mankind in productivity was the fact that they created the political, legal, and institutional conditions that made capital accumulation safe. What prevents India, for example, from replacing its host of inefficient cobblers with shoe factories is only the lack of capital.

As the Indian Government virtually expropriates foreign capitalists and obstructs capital formation by natives, there is no way to remedy this situation. The result is that millions are barefoot in India while the average American buys several pairs of shoes every year.

America's present economic supremacy is due to the plentiful supply of capital. The allegedly progressive policies that slow down savings and capital accumulation, or bring about dissaving and capital decumulation, came later to the United States than to most European countries. While Europe was being impoverished by excessive armaments, colonial adventures, anticapitalistic policies, and finally by wars and revolutions, the United States was committed to a free enterprise policy. At that time Europeans used to stigmatize American economic policies as socially backward. But it was precisely this alleged social backwardness that accounted for an amount of capital accumulation that by far surpassed the amount of capital available in other countries.

When later the New Deal began to imitate the anticapitalistic policies of Europe, America had already acquired an advanatge that it still retains today.

Wealth does not consist, as Marx said, in a collection of commodities, but in a collection of capital goods.

Such a collection is the result of previous saving. The antisaving doctrines of what is, paradoxically enough, called new economics, first developed by Messrs. Foster and Catchings and then reshaped by Lord Keynes, are untenable.

If one wants to improve economic conditions, to raise the productivity of labor, wage rates, and the people's standard of living, one must accumulate more capital goods in order to invest more and more.

And there is no other way to increase the amount of capital available than to expand saving by doing away with ideological and institutional factors that hinder saving or even directly make for dissaving and capital decumulation.

This is what the underdeveloped nations need to learn.

Opposition to the Civil Rights Act—Resolution by Searcy, Ark., Civitan Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I have before me a copy of a resolution of the Searcy, Ark., Civitan Club on the subject of the Civil Rights Act. It is a reasoned and objective discussion of the possible effects of that measure, and, as such, I think, constitutes a valid criticism of the proposed law. In the course of the debate on civil rights, I had intended to include this resolution in other material which I inserted in the RECORD. However, it was inadvertently omitted; and I now ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Searcy Civitan Club is dedicated to the building of good citizenship and to the protection of freedom's future. We are, therefore, gravely concerned and deeply disturbed over the proposed legislation now pending before the Congress and known as the Civil Rights Act.

We are disturbed and concerned because the provisions of this proposed legislation would attempt to give lawful sanction for a totally powerful national government and its officers and employees to intervene in practicaly all private affairs among men, and to control and adjust property uses and relationships in accordance with the judgment of governmental personnel. It is our opinion that such legislation would inevitably lead to encroachments upon the liberties and freedoms which all Americans hold dear. To destroy, in the name of civil rights, the rights, freedoms, and liberties of homeowners, businessmen, professional men, and all persons other than those who by the terms of this legislation would become the special favorites of the law, is to endanger the very fundamentals and undermine the foundations of the American way of life which has meant, and can continue to mean, so much to every person, regardless of creed, color, or origin, who has been, or will be, fortunate enough to live under the flag of this great Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Searcy Civitan Club, That we do hereby go on record as being opposed to the enactment of the so-called Civil Rights Act of 1963 and that we urge the Congress to reject this proposed legislation; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent the Senators and Representatives from Arkansas with a request that they provide the appropriate committees and Members of Congress with copies thereof.

Adopted: May 12, 1964.

EVERETT R. ANDERSON,
President.
DEWITT KIHNL,
First Vice President.
WILLIAM H. WALKER,
Second Vice President.
EARL SNIDER,
Secretary.

Many Policies Have Been Significantly Modified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in our consideration of the specifics of foreign aid, it is of paramount importance that we keep before us as our standard of evaluation as clear a picture as possible of just what we are seeking to achieve through the program.

Mr. Peter Jones, Deputy to the Secretary of Commerce, has recently written an outstanding analysis of just what the Alliance for Progress is attempting to do in Latin America and how it differs from our past policy. Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Jones' article in the Appendix of today's RECORD:

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS: OLD OR NEW?

(By Peter T. Jones)[1]

The aims of the United States in the Alliance for Progress are traditional. Viewed in historical perspective, the Alliance seems less startlingly new. Only its magnitude and the assumption that the U.S. Government can spend funds for a wider variety of purposes make the Alliance different from the past. So contends Ernest R. May of Harvard University in his article "The Alliance for Progress in Historical Perspective" (Foreign Affairs, July 1963). And Professor May is not alone in expressing these sentiments.

Others among us, however, believe that the Alianza of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson and its forerunner, the Special Social Development Fund of Dwight D. Eisenhower, mark a turning point in U.S. foreign policy as significant as was the New Deal in domestic policy, and with about the same degree of continuity wth the past. This article attempts to demonstrate that thesis by examining specific areas of our relations with Latin America before and during the Alliance.

Consider first the question of trade. At the Economic Conference in Buenos Aires in 1935, the United States flatly opposed the concept of a common market for Latin America, a concept that Latin officials have pushed for more than a hundred years. U.S. policy on this question subsequently fluctuated between active hostility and total indifference until the midfifties when we shifted first to encouragement and then to enthusiastic backing for such a plan. Last spring we favored for the first time a proposal for the Inter-American Development Bank to finance the export of products between these countries, thus implementing our policy of support for economic integration of the area.

THE DROPPING OF TRADE BARRIERS

Shortly thereafter, at the biannual meeting of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America in Mar del Plata, Argentina, our Government announced that it would champion a new proposal of Raul Prebisch and other leading spokesmen: that the Latin American Free Trade Area follow the example of the European Common Market in setting a fixed time schedule for a series of across-the-board sweeping tariff cuts of whole categories of industries. This is an alternative to the current practice of reducing tariffs on an item-by-item basis without a schedule, which has thus far yielded little benefit. The new proposal is such a major departure from the past that the Latin American governments have not thus far been prepared to go along with it.

In sum, on this question of the economic integration of the continent, we have moved from complete opposition to heel dragging, to support, and now to leadership. Today we are out in front, with a few Latin colleagues, encouraging our neighbors to move faster.

The reason is a simple one. If these countries are ever to look down the long dark tunnel of foreign assistance and see the light

[1] Peter T. Jones is a young lawyer who has held several posts with the Federal Government in recent years. He is presently Deputy to the Secretary of Commerce. This is his second contribution to Christianity and Crisis.

of self-sustaining growth, they must take such a step. If their sales are confined to thin national markets, industrialization—a precondition for adequate self-sustaining growth—will be impossible to achieve in a reasonable period of time. Unless they break down the trade barriers between countries and create a continental market such as we have enjoyed since 1788 and the Europeans since 1957, industrialization will not take place rapidly enough. Accordingly, our switch from opposition to hearty approval and even leadership in the movement toward economic integration is most important.

For many years the United States strongly opposed commodity stabilization agreements, which are designed to curtail widely fluctuating world prices of basic products. But we have recently changed to at least a willingness to listen and in certain instances to qualified support. Why is this a significant new feature of U.S. policy? When up to 60 percent or more of a country's foreign exchange comes from the sale of coffee, for example, and when the price of coffee fluctuates as widely as it has in recent years, plans for industrialization, dependent upon a steady supply of foreign exchange to pay for imported machinery, can be knocked into a cocked hat.

The price trends of a number of primary products—i.e., unprocessed commodities—have varied in this fashion during the last century. For years everyone said, there's nothing we can do about it. But, as a result of negotiations begun under President Eisenhower and continued under President Kennedy, we have now signed and the U.S. Senate has ratified a Coffee Stabilization Agreement aimed at reducing these fluctuations (although at this writing full Senate approval of the implementing legislation is still pending). We have also been prepared to study the feasibility of similar arrangements for a few other commodities, while recognizing that there are serious dangers and limitations inherent in such devices.

Another change has taken place in the area of U.S. tariff policy with the coming of the Alliance. Throughout the history of multilateral tariff negotiations, starting with the trade agreements program of Cordell Hull in the 1930's, both major political parties in this country have insisted that underdeveloped nations be treated exactly like the British, Germans, French, and other industrial nations. They were expected to pay with their own tariff reductions for the benefits they received from the reductions of others.

Such a rigid policy makes little sense. Just as we needed certain protective tariffs to enable our infant industries to get a foothold during our early history as an underdeveloped nation, so the emerging nations of today also require special tariff arrangements. Nevertheless, for a long time neither we nor our Western European allies recognized the necessity for some differential treatment for developing areas.

However, at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ministerial meeting last May, a shift was recorded. With former Secretary of State Christian Herter representing the United States, all members including the industrial powers of Europe, Japan, and the United States passed a resolution saying:

"In trade negotiations every effort shall be made to reduce barriers to exports, but the developed countries cannot expect to receive reciprocity from the underdeveloped countries."

This had not been said before at a GATT ministerial meeting. It reflected an important modification in policy, one further supported by Mr. Herter's statement at the time that no task faced by the meeting was more important than that of finding ways to improve the export opportunities of less-developed countries.

MULTILATERAL PLANNING IN FOREIGN AID

Is there anything really new about our Agency for International Development (AID) program in Latin America? Let's look at the way we viewed that continent and the other underdeveloped countries in the thirties and forties, and even up until the mid fifties. First, the good neighbor policy of the thirties was primarily a commitment on the part of our Government to stop intervening in the internal affairs of Latin countries on behalf of American business interests. Second, no substantial public capital assistance was given to any nation. Private capital—at first alone and later accompanied by small amounts of technical assistance—was to do the job.

Then in 1959 President Eisenhower reversed this latter policy and established a $500 million social progress fund. Under President Kennedy at the launching of the Alliance, the United States set a target for a annual foreign input of $2 billion. This included $1.1 billion in U.S. public funds and $300 million each from private U.S. investment, private foreign investment, and public international agency sources. It represented a not inconsequential shift from the past.

Another policy pushed for some time by Latin officials and steadfastly opposed by ourselves was the creation of an Inter-American Development Bank. In such a bank our neighbors would share the financing and the responsibility for certain development programs. U.S. opposition, according to some sources, was based on hostility toward sharing control over our aid funds and a lack of confidence in the ability of others to make the right decisions.

However, in 1959, under President Eisenhower and Mr. Dillon, the United States adopted a new policy in support of an Inter-American Development Bank with the United States and the Latin American countries as voting members. Thus, U.S. financing is no longer confined to a unilateral or bilateral program where we alone make most of the decisions. Part of our funds now are contributed to a multilateral partnership. This concept is growing in use and acceptance in various phases of the Alliance, and many believe it essential to the program's success. Again, it is a departure from the past.

Another example of this multilateral approach is the Committee of Nine, Alliance for Progress. It consists of nine economists, only one of whom is a North American. Its responsibility is to review and advise individual countries on their development plans, usually prior to any appreciable additional financing from other external sources. In addition there is the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP), a new agency that is based in part on certain of the operating concepts underlying United States-European cooperation during the Marshall plan.

The policy of having development plans was another concept we opposed for years because it smacked of socialism. Now we understand the difference between flexible broad planning that allows a large role for competitive private enterprise and that of doctrinaire socialism. In the new policy we usually insist on a certain amount of planning because we know that in a number of these countries substantial capital assistance often loses much of its effectiveness without a solid, carefully worked out plan.

In the past we also opposed or ignored certain basic changes such as land reform and fiscal reform, both frequently prerequisite to real stability and sustained growth. Now such self-help measures as tax reform are stressed. Land reform is regarded as one essential part of a total rural development program of agricultural extension, rural credit, rural schools, etc. Education, health, and low- and middle-income housing programs also are being financed on a broad scale for the first time. As a result real income is being significantly redistributed as never before, thus broadening the markets upon which industrialization must be based.

PARTNERSHIP NOT OWNERSHIP

Even in the area of private capital, policies are changing under the influence of the Alliance. Until the latter years of the Eisenhower administration, the basic U.S. private and public attitude toward Latin America was often that the profit motive was all that was needed. Now we have moved to a concept of profit and partnership. American business and local business must make a profit for the economy to flourish, but they must also be in partnership with the rest of the society in order to achieve greater economic growth and social justice. Under such a concept private enterprise, both foreign and domestic, has an invaluable contribution to make. Badly needed foreign exchange, managerial and technical know-how, and decentralized decisionmaking—these are just a few of the benefits that a competitive private sector can provide.

In our foreign investment we have also moved increasingly from a philosophy of 100 percent go-it-alone ownership by Americans to one of mixed ownership, mixed management, and mixed economies. American business is beginning to recognize and accept this sharing of resources, opportunities, and responsibilities as the modus operandi for success in the future.

Many of our outstanding spokesmen with business backgrounds—David Rockefeller, Peter Grace, and others—have given real leadership to improving the role of the American business community. While calling for greater government support for the private sector, they have also endorsed a continued or increased level of expenditures in the public sector of these economies. This again is a new phenomenon occurring in conjunction with the Alliance for Progress.

It is significant that a small but increasing number of businessmen today support current or increased levels of expenditures in the public sector and at least a certain amount of social reform. They no longer subscribe to the international trickle-down theory; i.e., all that is needed is more productivity, which will eventually benefit the average citizen.

These developments are all related to the old question of the economic pie: Should the common man wait while a bigger pie is baked, hoping then to get a bigger slice? Or should the existing pie be resliced to give the lower income groups a larger piece today? Fortunately or unfortunately, the Western Hemisphere no longer has an option. We must do both, or they are going to turn off the oven.

A frequently quoted estimate of current income distribution in Latin America is that each year 5 percent of the people consume 30 percent of the gross national product. And some part of that 30 percent is spent in Switzerland, Paris, London, and Rome. One doesn't have to be a professional economist to see that this seriously inhibits the creation of broadly based markets for basic consumer goods and other industrial products. And it hardly contributes to the development of a sense of social justice and stability.

THE RABBIT IS OUT OF THE HAT

As the publisher of one of the largest, oldest, and most conservative newspapers in Latin America said to me recently, "The problem is that the rabbit is out of the hat, and we can't put him back, and we can't shoot him. We can only hope to guide him a bit." The rabbit is the new idea that the common man has a right to a decent job for himself, adequate clothing and schooling for his children, and a decent home for his family.

Thus not only is the Alliance new, but the ideas and conditions it is responding to are also new.

Milton Eisenhower, one of the men responsible for some of the basic changes in our

policy and by no means a flaming radical, has some disquieting comments about these new conditions in the preface to his recent book "The Wine Is Bitter" (Doubleday):

"There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that revolution is inevitable in Latin America. The people are angry. They are shackled to the past with bonds of ignorance, injustice, and poverty. And they no longer accept as universal or inevitable the oppressive prevailing order which has filled their lives with toil, want, and pain. The terrible realization has dawned upon them that the futility of their lives and of their parents' lives need not have been, that it is the bitter fruit of an evil system of injustice. And so they are filled with a fury and a determination to change the future.

"How will they change it? The enlightened among them—the good leaders, most intellectuals—call for a peaceful revolution, a series of sweeping reforms to topple the oligarchists, the corrupt, the dictators. But there are loud and insistent voices demanding violent revolution. The Communists and their fellow travelers feed the fury of the underprivileged with half-truths and false promises. They nourish a lust for revenge and a cynical conviction that only blood will wash away injustice.

"The choice between these two courses is awesome. Cuba has succumbed to the lust for blood and violence. The remainder of the hemisphere teeters precariously on the verge of revolution—peaceful or violent.

People who complain that we are pushing for change forget we cannot stand still. They forget the demands of our own depression in the thirties. They forget the demands of our civil rights movement today. We could not stand still in the thirties and preserve our way of life; we cannot do so today—whether in civil rights at home or in human rights in Latin America.

In any such case a moderate, democratic leadership must move forward with new evolutionary policies fast enough to convince those being led that a violent, extremist leadership is not required to achieve satisfactory progress.

This is what the Alliance for Progress is trying to do through a new partnership of public and private endeavor by the United States and our neighbors to the South. Our role, our goals, and our methods are vastly different from our policies and programs of the past. And if Professor May's judgment of the past is correct, we are well off for the change. He says:

"In appraising the American record in Latin America one ought to judge by either intentions or results. If by the one, the Government comes off well; if by the other, business does."

In the future let us hope our Government can also be judged by its results, and business by its intentions.

Community Progress in Columbus, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, one of Indiana's progressive small cities is Columbus, Ind. Its leading employer is the Cummins Engine Co., whose community consciousness and concern for the welfare of the citizens, so many of whom it employs, are outstanding. That company's distinguished chairman of the board is J. Irwin Miller, who recently completed a 3-year term as president of the National Council of Churches—the first layman to be awarded that distinction.

Mr. Miller spoke the other day at the dedication of the Otter Creek Golf Course, which is a gift by his company to the community, worth more than $1 million. Mr. Miller stated the motive for such generosity when he said:

We would like to see this community come to be, not the cheapest, but the very best community of its size in this country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial commenting on this occasion and Mr. Miller's attitude be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial, entitled "For the Best," was published in the Columbus, Ind., Evening Republican on June 23.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR THE BEST

Comments of J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board of Cummins Engine Co., at the Otter Creek Golf Course dedication Sunday are worth repeating many times because they not only reflect the thinking of Cummins Engine Co., but also that of other industries within the Columbus community.

And it is this philosophy of industry toward the community which has put Columbus head and shoulders above most cities of its size.

"Why should an industrial company, organized for profit, think it a good and right thing to take a million dollars and more of that profit and give it to this community in the form of this golf course and clubhouse?" Mr. Miller asked.

"Why, instead, isn't Cummins, largest taxpayer in the county, spending the same energy to try to get its taxes reduced, cost of education cut, cost of city government cut, less money spent on streets, utilities, schools?"

"The answer," he said, "is that we would like to see this community come to be, not the cheapest, but the very best community of its size in this country.

"We would like to see it become the city in which the smartest ablest and best young families would like to live; a community open in every respect to persons of every race, color and opinion; one that makes them feel welcome and at home here; a community which offers their children the best education; a community of outspoken churches, genuine cultural interests, exciting opportunities for recreation and a community whose citizens are themselves well paid and who will not tolerate poverty for others."

The Cummins board chairman added that no such community can be built without citizens determined to make their community best, without city government which works boldly, ahead of its problems, and not always struggling to catch up, and without money sufficient to get the job done.

The concepts expressed by Mr. Miller have been the attitude of many industrial leaders in Columbus through the years. Evidence of this is on all sides, but, as Mr. Miller stressed, such a community as these leaders envision is impossible without individual citizens equally determined to do the best for their community.

The best is not always the cheapest and there will always be those who complain about costs, rightly or wrongly. Nevertheless, we would ask of all and each that he and she take stock of their own motives as citizens of Columbus and question themselves, "Am I asking what my community can do for me, or what I can do for my community?"

As for the gift of Otter Creek Golf Course to the city of Columbus, we say "Thank you" to Cummins Engine Co.

"Iowa Is Many Things to Many People"—A Poem by Mrs. W. E. Weaver, of Davenport, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the greatness of a State is reflected in the greatness of its people. Down through the years, my State of Iowa has had its fair share of citizens who have carved a niche in history which transcends State lines.

Mrs. W. E. Weaver, 2101 Scott Street, Davenport, Iowa, has caught the spirit of Iowa's renown in a poem, "Iowa Is Many Things to Many People." It gives me a great deal of pride to call it to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I ask that Mrs. Weaver's poem appear in the Appendix.

IOWA IS MANY THINGS TO MANY PEOPLE

What is Iowa?
Iowa is the land from the big purchase, Louisiana in 1803.
It's a land west of the big Mississippi and east of the wide Missouri.
It's 55,000 square miles of rolling plains and jet black soils.
It's Chief Blackhawk down the trail of the Blackhawk War.
It's Chief Keokuk and his pipe of peace.

What makes Iowa?
Iowa is the heritage of many fortunes.
It's the early day settlers from across the sea.
The Germans and their peaceful Amana colonies,
The Dutch and Tulip Festival time in Pella,
The Quakers and their immortal Herbert Hoover,
A bit of England in our Plymouth County,
Norway and Luther College at Decorah,
A French miner's namesake city, Dubuque, high on the bluff of a river he loved, and a little bit of Sweden in Henry County.

Iowa is Hamlin Garland's gifted pen in Iowa stories.
It's Phil Stong's Blue Boy in "State Fair."
It's Grant Wood, painter renown.
It's Paul Engle, Iowa's "man of letters."
It's Meredith Willson's "Music Man" and his 76 trombones.
It's Bob Feller, Iowa's farm boy and baseball hero.
It's the Wallace's-editors, farmers and politicians.
It's steamboats and rafting, a lost panorama of the Mississippi.
It's the Ringling Bros.' backyard show,
Forerunner of the "Greatest Show on Earth."

Iowa is a land of Indian legends—beautiful as legends go * * *
It's the Whispering River, the Wapsipinicon and whence came its name.
It's the Broken Hearted Rock.
It's the Little Brown Church in the Vale—born for a song was born.

Iowa is the greatest agricultural State in the world.
It's first in corn, first in hogs and first in grade A lands.
Iowa is big in production—Quaker Oats, Maytag washers, Alcoa aluminum, Shaeffer pens, John Deere farm machinery, Des Moines, Cedar Rapids and Davenport.
Iowa is Okiboji Lake, Maquoketa Caves and Tama, land of the Indians.
Iowa is the State University of Iowa City's Dr. Van Allen, world-famed physicist in the endless frontier of outer space.
Iowa is officially a gold finch, an oak, a wild rose, "Song of Iowa" and the Hawkeye State.
Iowa is a corn stalk, a soy bean, a delicious apple, a pound of bacon, a roller dam, a cliff, a cave, a factory, a farm, a Hampshire, a Guernsey, a meadow, a busy street, a new shopping center, a county fair, a ringneck pheasant and the capitol's golden dome.

Iowa is big in men and their immortality.
There's George Washington Carver, graduate of Ames' State.
There's Billy Sunday, Iowa's orphan boy and world-known evangelist.
There's Antoine LeClaire, bargaining with the early day Indian.
There's Herbert Hoover and his march from West Branch to the White House.
There's Bix Beiderbecke, American jazz and his bugle.
There's "Buffalo Bill" Cody to quicken a boy's fancy of how the West began.
There's Emmett Kelly, the sad clown, to make you smile.

Iowa's countryside is a red barn in a shaded hollow.
It's a big silo with a belly full of fodder.
It's pigs wallowing in the cool of the mud.
It's a market stand by the roadside.
It's a Holstein and her cud at eventide.
It's a church spire tall against the horizon.
It's a pilot who feels mighty close to God!

Iowa is a snowstorm and wintertime glory.
It's a deluge of rains to warm the farmer's heart!
It's a tornado to revenge the evil gods!
It's hot and humid and a bone chiller!
It's a soft breeze whose kiss is tender in the sunny afternoon!

Iowa, land of a fascinating past!
Iowa, land of a busy, bustling present!
Iowa, land of promise and a good future!

—Mrs. W. E. Weaver.

U.N. Role in the Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, as the United Nations Peace Force moves out of the Congo today, the American public will be stirred to ask what has been accomplished there. Former U.S. Ambassador to the Congo, Edmund A. Gullion, has analyzed the United Nation's role in this area in the Baltimore Sun, of June 29, 1964. Under unanimous consent I include this article hailing the Congo peace mission in the Record and include an editorial from the New York Times, June 29 edition:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, June 29, 1964]

U.N. Role

(By Edmund A. Gullion)

Washington, June 28.—In 2 days' time, on June 30, the re... guard of the United Nations force in the Congo, its mandate from the General Assembly expired, will be on its way back to home bases in Lagos and Addis Ababa after 3 years of unprecedented operations in the most unpredictable of the new countries which have gained independence since World War II.

The United Nations force is leaving mainly because its money has run out. Since last December it has stood guard on borrowed time, a 6-month extension of its tour financed a little more than one-third by the United States.

RECORD QUESTIONED

What has the United Nations accomplished? Without the United Nations, what lies ahead for the Republic of the Congo?

At the price of $400 million and 126 young lives in military operations, the United Nations has—

1. Prevented what might have been a Korean-type struggle between the superpowers in the heart of Africa.

2. Spared the Congolese people the ravages of a step-up from cold war to hot war.

3. Helped hold together a country of over 14 million people, comprising scores of tribes, possessing unequaled potential wealth, and sharing frontiers with nine countries.

4. Offered counsel and moral support while the Congo, one of the least prepared of the new states, struggled to create the forms of legal government.

5. Carried on the biggest technical assistance program yet conducted by an international organization and which, finances permitting, will continue.

6. Incurred the resentment of the Soviet Union which has balked at paying assessments for an operation which it does not approve (and which has seen its representatives twice ejected by the Congolese Government).

PRECEDENTS SET

7. Furnished the critical, controversial precedents for the future of a world organization. If the United Nations had not stood to its task as it did in the Congo, it might well be on the road into the shadows to join the League of Nations. What it has done, it seems to me, not only increases the chances that it will be more constantly used (with the safeguards built into its charter), but also speeds up its evolution into what its founders expected it one day to become.

In supporting the United Nations through the heat of the day in Africa and controversy at home, the United States clung to a central idea:

If the Congo should break into pieces, the Communist conspiracy could pick up some of the pieces.

To keep this from happening, multilateral action through the United Nations appeared better than direct intervention which could not only call for similar action on the part of the Soviet Union but would also look to the hypersensitive new nations like self-serving neoimperialism.

If one part of the Congo, the mineral-rich Katanga, were to break away, taking with it almost half of the country's wealth and revenue, other defections would follow. Indeed this disintegration was in full swing in the first year of Congolese independence when not one secession but three were in the making—in Katanga, in the Kasai, and in Orientale Province, where Antoine Gizenga, self-styled spiritual heir of Patrice Lumumba, held sway amid a cluster of Communist and satellite embassies.

"SURE THING" DIFFICULT

In almost a dozen diffuse but closely negotiated texts and resolutions, the United Nations in the Congo was enjoined to expel foreign mercenaries, prevent civil war, "by force if necessary," and to preserve the integrity of the country.

It achieved these goals, not without blood, sweat and tears, while it remained in the Congo. Now that it is going will all of this be undone? Will the Congo fall apart again?

A man would have to have his head examined to offer a sure thing in forecasting the Congo. The best which can be done is to weigh up the good and bad. To this observer, the former seems slightly to outweigh the latter.

We may expect a spate of sensational headlines from Leopoldville, the Kivu, Kantanga, and elsewhere, doubtless reflecting incidents timed by their planners to coincide with the United Nations exit. The gruesomely picturesque detail, inevitable in Congolese reporting, will cause these incidents to stick in the mind of the reader.

And there are plenty of grim aspects to relate. There are tribal rebellions in Kwilu mounted by tribesmen who think they are immune to bullets, and pygmoid spearmen in the Kivu have bushwhacked small units of the striving but faltering Congolese army.

More serious are indications, imprecise but ominous, of Chinese Communist quarterbacking of these activities from neighboring countries; the intrigues of dissident emigree politicians ensconced across the river in Brazzaville: the presence of large numbers of unemployed in the cities, likely tinder for social conflagrations; and the possibilities of a renewal of the Katanga secession.

But there are good signs, too.

The tax revenues and export earnings of the Katanga, which were lost to the Congo when it most needed them, are beginning to flow back to the Central Government.

The Central Government of Cyrile Adoula, tied and beleaguered as it is, yet maintains the support of the African world which has consistently rejected the separatist pretensions of Moise Tshombe's Katanga. This is a factor in Congolese domestic as well as international politics.

While maintaining its "nonalined" stance, the Congo Government has repeatedly shown its good understanding of the issues which divide the world of today, as well as its hospitality to private enterprise.

The Adoula government has made a long effort, despite disappointments, to govern by constitutional and parliamentary means. It is now considering the draft a new constitution which it hopes to submit to popular referendum.

INDEPENDENT STRESSED

Whatever grievances some Congolese have against their Government, the people are convinced of their independence. For this reason, plus weariness, plus vigilant police, the masses of Leopoldville did not rise in sympathy with the coup d'etat in Gabon and Brazzaville, as some expected them to do.

Inflation and smuggling are being fought by means of a stabilization plan worked out by the International Monetary Fund.

The Congolese Army for all its shortcomings has improved significantly since 1961.

The local tribal revolts endemic in the Congo—as in some other African countries—so far have not coalesced into any coherent national revolution and their logistics are not good.

The span of attention demonstratd by the opposition groups is not long, divisions among them proliferate, and the effort by a foreign conspiracy to organize them for its own purposes is likely to prove frustrating.

Even the risky withdrawal of the United Nations forces has some good aspects. As

Adoula's domestic opposition does not cease to point out, the country must eventually stand on its feet and in doing so national feeling can be stimulated.

Perhaps the most constructive yet ambivalent development is the growth of better understanding and harmony between the Belgians and the Congolese politicians. This is highly constructive for many obvious reasons, including increased and more effective Belgian assistance for a unified Congo and a check to support for separatism, or at least for autonomy in a degree unacceptable to Leopoldville, which formerly dominated some sectors of Belgian opinion.

This reconciliation hopefully may extend to contending groups within the country from Leopoldville to Bukavu, from Elisabethville to Stanleyville. All to the good—provided the principles of a unified Congo which the United Nations defended and which can stand against Communist infiltration are not compromised.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 29, 1964]

CHANGE IN THE CONGO

With the last detachments of the United Nations peace force set to move out tomorrow, the Congo is trying frantically to put together a "government of national reconciliation" to keep the shaky young state from falling apart. Premier Adoula, whose efforts to rally popular support have been notably unsuccessful, is now turning for succor to those with whom he once fought most bitterly.

Out of the current scramble may come a new coalition government of dizzying political diversity. It may cover the full range from Moise Tshombe, now in heroic return from the exile that was his punishment for leading Katanga into secession, to leftist Antoine Gizenga, Premier Lumumba's self-proclaimed heir. Whether such a government could hold together is questionable. Its ability to put down the revolts that are sweeping through the Congolese provinces would be even more so.

Does all this uncertainty mean that the U.N.'s pacification effort—the most massive it has undertaken since Korea—was a failure? Would it have been better to have shunned an operation that nearly bankrupted the world organization and that cost many lives, including that of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold? The answer seems to us clearly no. The Congo has been given 4 years of time it desperately needed to learn at least the fundaments of order and effective public administration.

The internal splits and rebellions kept that time from being used to maximum benefit, but the central government still functions and the U.N. did ward off an East-West confrontation in the heart of Africa that would have imperiled world peace. With the departure of the U.N. troops, the internal and external dangers are multiplied. Chinese-backed rebels are seeking to turn the territory into an African Vietnam. Tribal uprisings add to the instability. The problems are political and economic, as well as military. The Congo's survival will depend on how well it meets the challenges in all three fields.

"The Grim Truth About Fluoridation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I have just received from G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York City, an advance copy of Mr. Robert M. Buck's new book "The Grim Truth About Fluoridation." It is an excellent presentation about the highly controversial subject of fluoridation of public water supplies. In the process of commending this book to my colleagues, I quote from the introductory remarks of the above mentioned publisher, as follows:

Few issues of public health and safety have aroused the storm of controversy that has raged in recent years over the practice of adding minute quantities of fluoride compounds to public water supplies as a means of reducing the number of cavities in children's teeth. Responsible health authorities have defended water fluoridation; equally responsible doctors and dentists have called for further study and research. Profluoridationists have cited surveys showing fewer cavities in children drinking fluoridated water. Uncommitted doctors have questioned the validity of such test areas, pointing out inadequacies of control in these experiments. Antifluoridationists have pointed to reports exposing the long-term effects of fluoridation, and at least one responsible medical source has demonstrated the possibility of a link between fluorides and certain forms of cancer. Through all the conflicting statements and heated arguments a few basic facts about fluorides and fluoridation have become startlingly clear. These facts, diligently set forth in this concise book, classify it as must reading for everyone concerned about his own health and the health of his children in this generation and in generations to come. It is also a book of enormous importance to those who are concerned about freedom of choice in medical matters and those who seek an answer to the question of whether fluoridation is a medical boon or a possible menace to mankind.

Robert M. Buck has been a newspaperman for over half a century. He started his long career on the Chicago Tribune, went from there to the Chicago Daily News, then to the Washington Post and finally to the Washington Daily News where, for 34 years, he covered events in the District of Columbia's municipal government. He has also been an alderman in Chicago, an employee of the Federal Government, and a magazine editor.

Congo Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today the Republic of the Congo—Léopoldville—celebrates the fourth anniversary of her independence. We would like to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic, Joseph Kasavubu; and to the Congolese Chargé d'Affaires to the United States, Mario Cardoso.

The Republic of the Congo—Léopoldville—is situated in the heart of Africa. With only a small window on the Atlantic Ocean at the mouth of the Congo River, the country covers most of the Congo River basin, one of the great river systems of the continent. Its inland waterways are the main means of transportation in the country, although roads and railways are needed to circumvent its waterfalls and cataracts.

To the east, the Republic extends to the lakes of the Great Rift Valley: Lake Tanganyika, Lake Kivu, Lake Edward, and Lake Albert. Thus, its eastern area with its fairly temperate weather in the higher territory borders on East Africa and the headwaters of the Nile. This region is in contrast to the tropical rain forest which covers one half of the Republic's area. Lying in or near the equator, the air is tropically hot and humid and the land rich in tropical flora and fauna.

It was across East Africa from Zanzibar, Lake Victoria, and Lake Tanganyika that Henry Stanley made his historic trans-African trip in the mid-1870's that established the source of the Congo River. As he traveled up the Lualaba River and then down the Congo, this hardy explorer had to fight for practically every mile as he and his party struggled over the river's natural obstacles.

The Belgian king quickly sensed the economic possibilities of the Congo and took control of it. In 1908 the region became the Belgian Congo. After agitation in the late 1950's, Belgium agreed to grant the Congo its independence on June 30, 1960. On September 20 of that year the Congo was admitted to the United Nations. Since that time the government has made valiant efforts to solve the problems that have faced the newly independent country. The United Nations has been of great assistance, as has our own Government.

The country is economically well endowed. Its mineral wealth, particularly in copper, diamonds, cobalt, and uranium, is already contributing greatly to the revenue of that country. It also has a great potential in hydroelectric power.

On its 4th anniversary, we salute the Republic of the Congo and wish it well for the future.

Michigan Jewish War Veterans' Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Jewish War Veterans at their annual convention adopted a resolution petitioning Congress to provide adequate scholarships and grants to teachers in the fields of English, the arts, and humanities. At this time I submit this resolution to be printed in the RECORD:

Whereas Jewish life has always viewed education as a vital and integral part of human existence; and

Whereas education has been a fundamental aspect of the American philosophy as encompassed in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787; and

Whereas scientific and technological superiority over foreign accomplishments has been achieved by "crash" educational programs; and

Whereas this attainment has been reached at the cost of neglecting the arts and hu-

manities which our late beloved President Kennedy attempted to upgrade; and

Whereas an educated and enlightened citizenry assures a better and more wholesome country; and

Whereas the Jewish War Veterans have fought to perpetuate the blessings of democracy which is basic to educated citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Bloch-Rose Post No. 420, in session June 1, 1964, does hereby petition the Congress of the United States to recognize the extreme importance of further educating our citizens in the areas of English, arts, and humanities by providing sufficient and adequate scholarships and grants to teachers in these fields; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be presented to the Department of Michigan, in convention session June 6 and 7, 1964, for their approval and subsequent submission to the appropriate educational representatives in Congress for their consideration and action.

The Virgin Islands at the Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, at various times throughout this session, I have brought to the attention of Congress questionable circumstances as they developed surrounding preparations for the Virgin Islands exhibit at the New York World's Fair. As you will recall, much of the trouble seemed to center in the office of the commissioner of commerce for the Virgin Islands.

The Virgin Islands Daily News, published at St. Thomas, has watched this situation carefully. In an editorial on June 27, it reported on results of those preparations, saying of the Virgin Islands exhibit that "a number of competent observers have indicated that the impressions to date are totally negative." The newspaper went on to suggest that these preparations had been marked, at least, by "colossal bungling" and perhaps more.

Dr. Albert Prendergast has now succeeded Henry L. Kimelman as the Virgin Islands commissioner of commerce. In its editorial, the Daily News expresses the hope that Dr. Prendergast will have the help of the Virgin Islands government and private citizens in efforts to remedy "gross errors." I share that hope, in view of the paper's expressed opinion that the present Virgin Islands exhibit is "doing more harm than good."

As a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, my interest in the Virgin Islands, Mr. Speaker, is well known. Because I am confident that other Members of Congress share that interest, I ask that the June 27 editorial, "The Islands at the Fair," be entered in the RECORD:

THE ISLANDS AT THE FAIR

Someone in authority should move rapidly to save the pathetic showing of the Virgin Islands at the New York World's Fair. Reports we have heard from a number of competent observers have indicated that the impressions to date are totally negative.

The monumental sugar mill must be most confusing to the perplexed viewer who is unacquainted with Virgin Islands history. Since there is no literature explaining the monstrosity—or anything else about the islands—and since there is no person acquainted with the islands to offer a proper introduction, it makes the whole setup doubly enigmatic.

The fact that the legislature was hypnotized by a former commissioner of commerce into spending large sums of taxpayers' money on this obvious bust, and the further fact that the government was hoodwinked into signing an "exclusive contract"—which is now denied—with an elusive purveyor of literature, who has not yet delivered in lo, these 3 months, are matters of sorry history.

So far nothing in the Virgin Islands exhibit could possibly stimulate anyone (1) to visit the islands; (2) to appreciate the charm of the islands; or (3) to drink Virgin Islands rum. On the contrary, everything suggests colossal bungling, or perhaps a refined, but not quite so subtle, racket.

As it stands, the Virgin Islands exhibit is doing more harm than good.

Immediate steps should be taken to remedy the gross errors. Since the persons who have financed the advertising at the fair have apparently received little help from the Government, we recommend that an advisory group be formed to assist the new commissioner of commerce in making the exhibit meaningful and in projecting a proper image of the Virgin Islands.

Since these businessmen have plenty at stake and the know-how in projecting the true Virgin Islands image, the government should use and draw freely upon their skills and experience.

What we should be boosting at the fair are Virgin Islands people, Virgin Islands attractions, and Virgin Islands products. The whole concept and management of the exhibit should be carefully reviewed.

We urge that a study of the matter be made by the legislature and, if necessary, that additional funds be allocated to correct the mistakes which have been made. Such funds could well be charged to advertising and might be well spent.

We sincerely hope that the new commissioner of commerce, assisted by a committee of concerned citizens, can somehow repair the damage and do something concrete to offer a proper image of the islands at the World's Fair.

Rushville, Ind., Paper Comments on Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it is all too often true that the press in our smaller cities and small towns takes almost no interest in international affairs. In order to build circulation, it is often much better to devote attention almost exclusively to the local scene.

But many smaller dailies and other newspapers have a concern. The Rushville, Ind., Daily Telegram is a relatively small newspaper; but recently its editor commented on the situation in Cyprus, in an editorial entitled "Just a Backdrop." His comments pose the problem which the United Nations faces there and in some other instances, in which the international agency becomes, as the title indicates, a "backdrop" for what the editor, Louis C. Hiner, calls political fanatics.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, which was published in the June 23 issue of the Rushville Daily Telegram, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUST A BACKDROP

The full cost of keeping the peace force on Cyprus will not be known until the United Nations presents its accounting. Britain, which has the largest contingent, has warned that if some progress is not made toward a settlement it will pull out.

The whole affair is a political stage, brightly lit, on which Makarios is the star performer. There is more than a suspicion that the whole Cyprus affair is a two-bit demonstration of fanaticism of the kind that is all too common these days. If the U.N. is to live up to its name as a peacemaking body, it should settle this business satisfactorily.

It is part of modern idiocy that fanatics and rabblerousers are listened to with respect and that otherwise sane and mature people run around trying to soothe inferiority complexes and to change or adjust that which is unalterable.

All that is needed in Cyprus is a little good will on both sides and a sincere desire for peace and order. Without this the U.N. force will remain indefinitely, supported by the money of people far away who have no real interest in the affair, even if they know what it is about, which is doubtful.

The U.N. force was invited by the Government of Cyprus to help keep the peace. Now peacekeeping forces are spat upon and insulted by the very people who invited them and whose fanatical factions she is helping to hold apart.

It is time to inject a little sanity into the treatment of such affairs as Cyprus and to start considering seriously how long the U.N. can continue to act as a backdrop before which political fanatics perform to their heart's content.

Clarence Frederick Lea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the passing of Clarence Frederick Lea, on Saturday, June 20, 1964, I think it is appropriate that the biography of this dedicated and outstanding Member of the House be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time. I am certain many of his former colleagues, with whom he served, will appreciate the reminder of his many accomplishments. Clarence F. Lea was loved and respected by all of his constituency, irrespective of party affiliation. His record of accomplishment can be matched by only a few Members of the House. In this day of rapid travel and expanding communications, we tend to

overlook the great service and record of achievements by outstanding political leaders who have given their life to the cause of justice and the interests of mankind. I, therefore, take this opportunity to include the record of one of our greatest Americans, the Honorable Clarence F. Lea. I was proud to call him my friend:

CLARENCE FREDERICK LEA

Born in Lake County, Calif., July 11, 1874. Son of James M. and Elizabeth Lea; father born in Tennessee and mother in Kentucky. Father crossed the plains with a covered-wagon train on a 6 months' journey in 1851 with the gold rush.

Attended common schools, Lakeport Academy, Stanford University, and graduated from the law department, University of Denver.

Had his first job at the age of 14 years, operating a sulky hayrack at 75 cents a day, working from 6 a.m. till sundown. Got his money to go to Stanford University by farming part of his father's place on shares.

Went from Lake to Sonoma County by bicycle, about 75 miles over the mountains, to begin the practice of law shortly after graduating from the University of Denver in 1898.

In 1906 was elected district attorney of Sonoma County, in which office he served for 10 years. Was president of the District Attorneys' Association in California, 1916–17. Resigned when elected to Congress.

Elected to U.S. Congress in 1916 as a Member of the House of Representatives from the First Congressional District of California. Elected to each succeeding Congress, having secured the nomination of both major parties in 14 of the 16 elections. He is now serving his 32d year. Has a longer service in the U.S. Congress than any Member from California. There are only four Members in the House who have served longer than Mr. Lea.

Was one of 15 members of the House War Investigating Committee of the First World War. For several years he has been the only surviving Member in the House of that committee. Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, W. J. Graham, Illinois, chairman.

Was a member of the Subcommittee on Aviation of the above investigating committee and wrote a report on aviation during the World War, which has since been made a study of seronautical education in some military courses.

Was chairman of the Democratic caucus of the 73d Congress. Was also a member of the House Aviation Investigating Committee of the 68th Congress. Select Committee on Inquiry Into Operations of the U.S. Air Services, Florian Lampert, of Wisconsin, chairman.

Member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce since 1921. Became chairman of that committee on the election of Sam Rayburn as Speaker in 1937, serving for 10 years.

Has the record of securing passage by the House of Representatives of the largest number of bills in any 1 day: Panama Canal, 21. This legislation came from Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during Mr. Lea's chairmanship.

Was on the subcommittee of above committee which wrote the Securities Act of 1933. He is author of the National Gas Act of 1938, which became a law and provided for Government regulation of the interstate shipment of natural gas.

Was coauthor of the Federal Food and Drug Act to safeguard the health of the Nation.

Lea amendment to Federal Trade Commission Act prohibits false and misleading advertising of foods, drugs, cosmetics, and so forth.

Had charge of legislation in House which resulted in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938.

Was author of the act providing for the regulation of freight forwarders; the Air Pilot Training Act, and the resolution which called for a report from the Civil Aeronautics Administration to provide a national airport system. Mr. Lea was coauthor of the Federal Airport Act enacted in the 79th Congress.

He piloted through the House the noted Wool Products Labeling Act, which requires all woolen goods to be sold under a label correctly stating their wool content.

Since 1934, Mr. Lea has taken an active interest in coordinating the different types of transportation. He was coauthor of a number of acts relating to transportation, including the Transportation Act of 1940, which coordinated the transporation agencies of the country, consisting of railroads, highways, inland and coastal waterways. This law helped our transportation system to handle the tremendous burden of freight imposed upon it by the last war.

While chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Mr. Lea was head of a national transportation survey of all forms of transportation, as authorized by Congress, to make a study of postwar problems of our transportation agencies.

Author of the act to prohibit certain coercive practices affecting radio broadcasting commonly referred to as the Petrillo Act.

MODERNIZING OUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

For 20 years Congressman Lea has been interested in this matter, advocating through resolutions in various Congresses a proposed constitutional amendment to modernize the method of electing the President. His first resolution was filed in 1926; a similar resolution was reported to the House favorably in 1933—72d Congress—and another in the 73d Congress. He has repeatedly since filed similar resolutions, and in this Congress filed House Joint Resolution 124. The principal proposals embodied in the resolution are that:

First. The electoral college be abolished.

Second. The relative voting strength of each State be preserved as at present by allowing it electoral votes in the same number as now.

Third. The President be elected by direct vote of the people.

Fourth. The unit State vote be eliminated.

Fifth. The electoral votes of each State be divided between the candidates in exact proportion to their popular votes in that State.

A few weeks ago, the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee recommended and subsequently the full committee, which has 27 members, unanimously reported to the House favorably a resolution for the adoption of a constitutional amendment in the exact language proposed by Mr. Lea. The resolution was reported in the name of Mr. Gossett, a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, has introduced in the Senate a resolution carrying the same language of the Lea resolution.

The adoption of this amendment would be an outstanding historical contribution to our method of electing the President.

Open Opportunity for Coal Progress: Appalachia to Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, now that coal communities are being headlined as the Nation's major surplus labor areas, the administration has indicated a determination to undertake a variety of measures to boost coal production. Based on undeniable statistics, the best ways to get miners back to work would be to cut back residual oil imports, reject further proposals to build uneconomic hydroelectric plants at Government expense, and stop Federal subsidies for atomic electric power. The demand for electricity is constantly moving upward, but unless coal is protected from inequitable competition permitted and promoted by ridiculous Government policies, the coal miner does not have a chance in the world of benefiting from this natural increase in energy requirements.

There are other steps by which Congress can open the way to coal progress. Last October 20 I introduced H.R. 8960, which is designed to promote the development of coal on the public domain by increasing acreage on leases. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON] and my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Dr. MORGAN, introduced identical bills at the same time, and we are hopeful that this legislation will be ready for floor action in a very short time. Your support will be particularly appreciated by Rocky Mountain States, where vast storehouses of coal lie ready to be developed for use in the growing power markets from Denver to Los Angeles.

On May 12 of this year the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] introduced H.R. 11204, a bill to grant consent for construction of a dam across the Savannah River so that the Duke Power Co. will have necessary water supply for use in a steamplant whose coal requirements would amount to 3½ million tons annually. This supply would necessarily come from the Appalachian region, which would benefit by at least $24 million each year in the sale of coal alone. When transportation costs are added and the value of mine supplies and equipment taken into consideration, it is easy to understand the enormous benefits that will accrue to Appalachian mining communities if H.R. 11204 becomes law.

Congress also has the opportunity of making a contribution to the future of Alaska, which contains 47 billion tons of coal reserves. On January 31, 1963, the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. RIVERS] introducer H.R. 3111, which would amend section 201(a)(3) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act relating to contracts for public utility services and the purchase of natural gas, coal, or oil. Presently the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act is interpreted to permit natural gas suppliers to enter into 10-year contracts to supply Government agencies with natural gas for the production of utilities while denying this privilege to coal and oil producers.

Despite the fact that H.R. 3111 was introduced almost a year and a half ago, it has not yet been the subject of hearings on this side of the Capitol. An identical bill, S. 572, was introduced at approximately the same time by Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, and was approved by the Senate in May of 1963. Senator

GRUENING made this statement with regard to the need for enactment:

Alaska, Mr. President, is fortunately blessed not only with an abundance of fuel but also with a variety of fuels. It has oil, natural gas, and coal in goodly amount and the greatest hydroelectric potential under the flag. Less than one-quarter of 1 percent of it has been developed. I am pressing for early completion of projects to utilize this great resource at Rampart on the Yukon, at Snettisham in southeastern Alaska, and at Lake Bradley in the Kenai Peninsula. Others will follow.

We in Alaska welcome the discovery and development of new sources of fuel be they oilfields, gasfields, or coal mines. All are needed and, in the true spirit of free enterprise, should compete, without let or hindrance, for their sale.

However, the provision of the Federal act to which I have referred, places coal and oil under a competitive handicap in bidding for Government contracts and gives to natural gas a competitive advantage.

That should not be.

An oil producer, a natural gas producer, a coal producer faces long-term expenditures and investments if he is to operate properly. Producers of one fuel must not have an advantage denied to his competitors.

To achieve and insure equality, the enactment of my amendment is necessary.

The urgency for making whatever adjustments are necessary to encourage development of the coal industry in Alaska is explained in the 13th Annual Report of the Activities of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, which contains material on mobilization from departments and agencies of the Federal Government. The following is a direct quotation from this report, which was submitted on January 13 of this year:

MOBILIZATION BASE FOR ALASKA COAL

Recently there has been a change in the coal supply situation in the Healy River field of Alaska, which services military installations "north of the range," which could have an adverse effect on the future coal supply of the military installations in that area.

Several years ago the Department of the Interior, because of its responsibility for assuring that there will be an adequate coal supply for both military and civilian requirements in an emergency, recommended that loans under the Defense Production Act be granted to assist producers in Alaska in expanding existing facilities in order to provide an adequate supply for the expanding military installations in Alaska. Such loans were granted, and for several years both the expanded capacity and the mobilization base for coal in the area were adequate, with three producers operating and the coal reserves of all three being readily available for expansion of production if needed.

Today, however, instead of three producers, there is only one, and this producer has only limited coal reserves for the future.

In view of this condition, the Director of OMSF and a staff member met with officials of the Department of Defense and pointed out that the coal reserves of the only mine now in operation in this area are rapidly diminishing, according to an investigation by the Geological Survey. It was suggested that the Department of Defense should consider these facts in connection with its coal purchasing policy, in an effort to encourage reactivation of one or more mines in this area.

The Office is concerned with the rapidly deteriorating supply situation and is initiating a mobilization base study to determine what other actions can appropriately be taken to alleviate the situation.

Under the circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I consider it an obligation of the House to move rapidly toward making this adjustment to the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act in order that the coal and oil industries of Alaska may enjoy the same right as their competitor, thus permitting these industries to expand and to become a part of the State's basic economy.

Congress has a serious obligation to the coal industry and to the people who depend upon it for a livelihood. We are not going to be able to rectify the prevailing numerous policy discriminations before the end of this session, but the spotlight on Appalachia and other depressed mining areas emphasizes the need for us to do whatever is possible before adjournment. Let there be no further delay in enactment of the bills to which I have referred. None would involve any Government expenditures whatsoever. All can serve as steps in the reinvigoration of the coal industry. It is incumbent that we act upon them all as quickly as possible.

Bringing Government Closer to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I believe firmly that one of the very urgent needs in our Nation is to bring the Federal Government closer to the people. As a Member of this legislative branch of that Government I have tried to accomplish that purpose each year by traveling throughout the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan with my mobile office, a 22-foot house trailer, making as many as 35 to 40 stops in a 10-day period. Over the years I believe this office on wheels has not only afforded the residents of my district an opportunity to discuss personal problems and to express themselves on national issues, but equally important it has helped to stimulate their interest in our Federal Government. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith for the interest of my colleagues my July 1, 1964, newsletter and mobile office schedule:

WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

(By Congressman JIM HARVEY)

With Congress scheduled to recess for at least a 10-day period this month, I intend to take advantage of the brief legislative lull to personally visit 39 communities in the new Eighth Congressional District with our mobile trailer office. This annual tour is an effort to bring Washington and the Federal Government closer to the people. We will begin on July 10 and make twice as many stops as we did last October, including six stops in Saginaw County, seven in Huron, eight in St. Clair, and nine each in Tuscola and Sanilac Counties.

This is my fourth annual tour with our office on wheels. I hope you will drop by at one of the stops closest to where you live to express your views on current national affairs, to discuss any personal problem you may have, or just to visit. No appointment is necessary. Our complete mobile office schedule is listed below.

ECONOMY CAMPAIGN—FACT OR FICTION

Recently in a letter to the President, Senator BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, referred to the need for restoring the Federal Government to a sound fiscal condition and said, "No need is more urgent." The 1964 fiscal year came to a close yesterday and with it the fifth consecutive deficit (some $8 billion). A sixth deficit for fiscal 1965 is already in sight. The last time the books were balanced was in 1960, when it cost $77 billion to run our country. Our budget is now $100 billion annually, with little hope of cutting costs. In June the administration succeeded in raising the limit on the national debt from $309 billion to $324 billion, the seventh time the limit has been raised since I came to Congress in January 1961.

As the election draws near, it is no doubt tempting for the administration to urge the enactment of even more spending bills, following the philosophy of "something for everyone." These bills include the anti-poverty program ($963 million as a starter); Appalachian economic relief ($4 billion); accelerated public works ($1.5 billion); Area Redevelopment Administration ($355 million expansion); housing and urban renewal ($8 billion); and the food stamp program ($375 million). It is quite a load for our taxpayers.

Perhaps, because of the tax cut, the American people are not as alarmed about Government spending and our fiscal condition as a year ago. But our weakened fiscal standard today is as much a danger and threat to our Nation's well-being as armed conflict. It is time for facts and an honest approach to economy. We cannot afford fiction and slogans, for if our Government cannot live within its means in this period of prosperity, what sort of a future do we offer our children

ANOTHER LOSS OF FREEDOM

Americans everywhere, whether they make their home in a city, a village hamlet, or on a farm suffered a loss on June 15 when the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision on State legislative apportionment. They lost the right to decide for themselves how they shall be represented in their State legislatures. It is a substantial loss of freedom and choice, which is not made smaller simply because the "one person, one vote" theory enunciated by the Court appears on the surface to be a fair guideline. In the Colorado case, for example, not only a 2-to-1 majority of all the voters in the State, but also a majority of the voters in each county, expressed themselves by voting in favor of a plan giving some weight to geography in selecting their State legislators, and turned down overwhelmingly a plan based solely on the "one person, one vote" theory. Yet, the Supreme Court says that neither Colorado nor Michigan can do this, and thereby appears to have forgotten that the people are the ultimate source of power in Government. I agree with Justice Potter Stewart who, in his dissent, stated: "The rule announced today is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create."

VISITING WASHINGTON?

If you will let us know when you are coming, we can furnish literature and helpful hints on places of scenic and historic

interest. When the House of Representatives is in session, we can provide passes to see your Congress in action. My office is in the Longworth Building right across from the Capitol. Stop in and visit and if your feet are tired, rest awhile.

MOBILE OFFICE SCHEDULE IN YOUR AREA

Friday, July 10

Frankenmuth: 9:30 to 10:15 a.m.
Chesaning: 11 a.m. to noon.
St. Charles: 1 to 1:30 p.m.
Merrill, 2:15 to 2:45 p.m.
Hemlock: 3 to 3:30 p.m.
Freeland: 4:15 to 4:45 p.m.

Monday, July 13

Brown City: 9 to 9:30 a.m.
Marlette: 10 to 10:30 a.m.
Sandusky: 11:15 to noon.
Deckerville: 1:30 to 2 p.m.
Carsonville: 2:30 to 3 p.m.
Port Sanilac: 3:15 to 3:45 p.m.

Tuesday, July 14

Lexington: 9 to 9:30 a.m.
Croswell: 10 to 10:30 a.m.
Peck: 10:45 to 11:15 a.m.
Yale: 11:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.
Emmett: 1:30 to 2:15 p.m.
Capac: 3 to 3:30 p.m.

Wednesday, July 15

Algonac: 9:30 to 10 a.m.
Marine City: 10:30 to 11 a.m.
St. Clair: 11:30 a.m. to noon.
Marysville: 1 to 1:30 p.m.
Port Huron (downtown on Military Street): 2 to 3 p.m.

Thursday, July 16

Harbor Beach: 9:30 to 10 a.m.
Port Austin: 11 to 11:45 a.m.
Bad Axe: 1:30 to 2:30 p.m.
Elkton: 3 to 3:30 p.m.
Pigeon: 4 to 4:30 p.m.

Friday, July 17

Bay Port: 9 to 9:30 a.m.
Sebewaing: 10 to 10:45 a.m.
Unionville: 11 to 11:30 a.m.
Cass City: 1:30 to 2:30 p.m.
Kingston: 3:15 to 3:45 p.m.

Saturday, July 18

Mayville: 9:30 to 10 a.m.
Millington: 10:30 to 11 a.m.
Vassar: 11:15 a.m. to noon.

Monday, July 20

Caro: 9:30 to 10:30 a.m.
Fairgrove: 11 to 11:30 a.m.
Reese: 1 to 1:30 p.m.

Sacrificing American Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott have outlined the facts in our continued policy of weakness. Their article appeared in the Long Island Press on June 24, as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT KOW-TOWS TO NASSER AGAIN

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—There is apparently no limit to State Department kow-towing to President Gamal Nasser.

Latest instance of this constant truckling to the war-blustering Egyptian dictator is the Department's strenuous balking at the sale on the world market of thousands of bales of Government-owned surplus extra-long staple cotton—which would net the Treasury a profit of around $25 million, and save taxpayers many more millions in storage charges.

Sole reason for this extraordinary State Department obstructionism is to keep this U.S. cotton "out of the export market so that prices will remain at high levels"—for the benefit of Nasser, as well as Peru and Sudan, the other two principal exporters of this type of cotton.

That's the flat charge of Representative THOMAS MORRIS, Democrat, of New Mexico, who is spearheading a militant drive against the State Department's policy.

"The Department's opposition is consistent with its past practices of being willing to sacrifice American interests for the sake of foreign countries," asserted MORRIS. "In this instance its opposition is particularly difficult to justify as the United Arab Republic is certainly not among this country's best friends, although it is a big beneficiary of our foreign aid.

"Without the tens of millions of dollars of surplus grain we have sold the United Arab Republic in recent years, for its own currency which stays there and we can't use, there would be real famine there. In addition, we have granted more tens of millions to Nasser in loans at three-quarters of 1 percent interest."

Against this background, MORRIS vehemently declared he was utterly unable to understand "why this country should subordinate its policy to the self-serving interests of the United Arab Republic."

"Why should American farmers not be permitted to supply a demand outside of our country which is not being met from other sources?" demanded MORRIS. "What possible reason can be advanced for refusing to permit importing countries to buy surplus American stocks for dollars when supplies from elsewhere are unavailable?"

Pointing out that one of the serious financial problems facing the United States is the persistent balance-of-payments deficit, MORRIS contended the sale of the surplus extra long staple cotton would importantly contribute to offsetting this deficit.

"Not only would the export of this cotton yield the Treasury upward of $25 million in foreign exchange, so vital to our international balance-of-payments position," said MORRIS, "but also save the Government what it costs to store this cotton for 3 years. The door is open only a crack—if that much.

"Our growers urgently favor the sale of this surplus cotton. Foreign buyers are clamoring for it. It would net the Government a handsome profit and save taxpayers millions in storage costs. There is every reason why this cotton should be sold. Only the State Department is balking at it—in line with its policy of constant truckling to Nasser."

Under Representative MORRIS' militant lambasting and a storm of protests from cotton-growers, the State Department has proposed a so-called compromise.

Characteristic of the Department, this scheme seemingly does something but actually doesn't.

In effect, what the compromise amounts to is that while it offers to clear the way for export sales of the surplus extra-long staple cotton, actually the more than 150,000 (500 pounds) bales of this Government-owned cotton at a minimum of 49 cents a pound—the current support (loan) price to farmers.

The joker is that the world price is around 42 cents a pound.

In other words, the U.S. cotton would still be at a competitive disadvantage; the 49-cent-a-pound minimum would be a crippling damper on sales. The only prospect for large-scale sales would be a rise in the world market price—a distinct gamble.

This backstage compromise, concocted by the State Department, is now pending in the White House for President Johnson's approval.

The chances are strong he will OK it.

The Commodity Credit Corporation has some $50 million invested in this cotton in price supports ranging from 53 to 49 cents a pound. Most of the cotton is grown in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. To meet foreign competition on this select-grade cotton, U.S. growers have twice obtained congressional approval to cut price supports.

As a result of these and other efforts, U.S. consumption of this cotton has more than doubled in the past 5 years.

Due to rising world demand and supply shortages abroad, prices have soared. In the past year, the United Arab Republic has raised its export prices 12 times, and Peru and the Sudan have hiked certain of their grades 5 percent. The prospects are for continued tight supplies outside the United States.

The United Arab Republic is the biggest producer of extra-long staple cotton, with 947,000 bales last year. The Sudan was second with 350,000 bales; Peru third with 150,000 bales. The three countries have exported the equivalent of more than $200 million, some of it in barters and other trade deals.

Indiana: Land of Reasonable Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the search for additional State revenue to meet the increases in Government costs has led 38 States and the District of Columbia to the use of a sales tax. Indiana recently joined the list; and, as in the case of other States, the payment for the first time of this new and highly visible tax has led to much grumbling and complaint by citizens of the State. But the fact of the matter is that Indiana compares favorably with other States in its tax structure, both in the sales-tax rate, which is lower than that of 28 other States, and in the overall tax picture.

A recent editorial in the Sellersburg, Ind., News makes clear this situation, and hits at the fallacy that Indiana is, as some novelty auto "license" plates state, a "Land of Taxes." Rather, as the editorial's headline states, Indiana is a "land of reasonable taxes." Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, from the June 10 issue of the Sellersburg News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDIANA: LAND OF REASONABLE TAXES

An angry attack on the growing use of a novelty automobile "license" plate which carries a four-word slogan: "Indiana: Land of Taxes," was recently launched by an Indiana public official.

It is especially bad now with the vacation season coming on. This means that hundreds of Hoosier cars will be traveling in other States spreading vicious propaganda which even a cursory investigation will show

is false. A lot of people all over the country would be glad to trade their State taxload for ours.

The official said he had no idea who originated the license plate, but said he assumed it was some "fast-buck opportunist seeking to cash in on the widespread dissatisfaction with Indiana's new sales tax."

In support of his attack on the novelty plate, the official pointed out that of the 50 States now in the Union, 38 States and the District of Columbia have a sales tax. "Of the other 37 States and the District," he said, "28 have a higher rate than Indiana and 9 have the same rate."

It was further stated that 35 States and the District of Columbia have State income taxes, and 24 States and the District have both a sales tax and an income tax. Moreover, he said, a great many States have granted cities the right to levy their own local sales and income taxes, and dozens of them have done it. "This," he said, "has not been done in Indiana."

With one exception, Indiana is the only one among the States with income taxes that levies a flat rate. Maryland levies a flat rate of 3 percent on individual income, and 5 percent on investment income of more than $500 a year. All the other States having income taxes use a graduated or progressive scale patterned after the Federal income tax. "And believe me," he added, "some of them graduate pretty fast."

States using the graduated type of tax in most cases grant exemptions for the head of a family and for dependents, as is done in Indiana. Moreover, they grant deductions for contributions to religious and charitable causes and for medical expenses, or they allow an optional standard deduction. "In spite of this, people in most other States, except in very destitute areas, pay as much income tax or more than we do in Indiana."

To prove his point, the official compared Hoosiers' taxload with that of people in several other States.

"As most of us know, Indiana levies a straight 2 percent tax, with an exemption of $1,000 for the head of a family and $500 for each dependent. Tax men tell me that for 1964 we will have an additional exemption of $300 per person to reimburse people for the amount they will presumably pay in sales taxes on food and medicines.

"As an example, then, a married man with two children and making $5,000 a year will pay an Indiana income tax of $26. The same man in New York would pay $53 State income tax and in some cities would have to pay a city income tax. New York also has a 4-percent sales tax and an annual tax of $100 on all passenger cars.

"The same man in North Carolina would pay $56.70 State income tax, and North Carolina has a 3-percent sales tax. In Washington, D.C., he would pay $43.75 State income tax, and Washington also has a 3-percent sales tax. In Hawaii, which has a 3½-percent sales tax, he would have to pay a State income tax of $80. In Idaho, which has no sales tax, he would have to pay $168.48 income tax, which is considerably more than he would pay in both income and sales tax in Indiana. Move this same man to Vermont and he would pay $95 income tax.

"Citing some typical examples of how the graduated income tax works, some further comparisons were made.

"If this same theoretical Hoosier were to raise his income to $6,000, he would pay a State income tax of $46. In Colorado, if he got into the $6,000 bracket his tax would jump from $39.37 to $80.80. In Vermont, for making that extra $1,000 income, his tax would zoom from $95 to $199.50, and in Montana his tax would triple—from $40 to $120. In Idaho it would jump from $168.48 to $267.30.

"I could cite other States and other rates, but it would merely be repetitious. If Hoosiers want to adopt an honest and truthful slogan, it should be 'Indiana: The Land of Reasonable Taxes.'"

When Does Majority Count?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, many of us were disturbed with the recent decision of the Supreme Court holding that Members of both houses in a bicameral State legislature must be elected in proportion to population. The Court held that this should be done even though a majority of the voters of the State had approved a different plan. I have joined others in introducing a joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population.

The Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press, on June 28, 1964, discussed the issues involved in this matter in an excellent editorial entitled "When Does Majority Count?" It seems to me that this editorial sets forth logically and effectively strong arguments in support of action to overrule this decision of the Supreme Court.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the editorial entitled, "When Does Majority Count?" in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHEN DOES MAJORITY COUNT?

Grave questions were raised by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the several legislative reapportionment cases with regard to the people's right to act for themselves. In the case of Colorado, as Alexander M. Bickel has pointed out in the New Republic, "a majority (of the voters) approved the apportionment by direct vote in a referendum, and yet the Chief Justice (Earl Warren) struck it down."

There is an obvious contradiction in the Court's ruling. That ruling in effect was intended to establish the principle of one man, one vote in electing members of legislatures. It is rooted in the sound American principle of majority rule. But it was precisely through application of the one man, one vote principle in Colorado that that State's apportionment formula was adopted. It was done by a vote of the majority.

Similarly, a majority of those voting on the new constitution in Michigan approved the formula under which this State's legislature was to be apportioned. In that election also—which was statewide—the principle of one man, one vote was applied.

The idea that the majority is not capable of making its own decisions—except, perhaps, under rules laid down by a court—appears to be infectious. Although State Supreme Court Justice Theodore Souris went along with the majority in approving the Austin-Kleiner plan for apportioning the legislature, he filed a supplementary opinion in which he dissented from the court majority on some points. One of these points had to do with the Legislative Apportionment Commission. It is provided for in the new State constitution, and therefore was approved by a majority of those who voted on it. But Justice Souris says this section is void. We gather from this that he means that a majority of the voters do not have the right to establish the rules under which their legislature is to be apportioned.

Implicit in the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Colorado case is the Court's right to substitute its judgment for that of a majority of the people in matters confined strictly within a State.

Implicit also in that decision is the premise that henceforth the judges of the lower Federal courts will set the rules for legislative apportionment. The judges are, as Professor Bickel observes, "plunged into second guessing the expedient, empirical, political judgments of 50 State legislatures decade after decade." We fear that he is only too right in averring that "this they are unfitted to do—by experience, by access to relevant information, and by responsiveness to the interests affected—and the attempt can only bring them and the task that they are fitted to perform into disrepute."

The time may yet come when the High Court will consider it prudent to give the legislatures back to the people to construct as they wish.

Michigan Doesn't Need Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial from the Grand Rapids, Mich., Press for June 27, 1964, entitled "Michigan Doesn't Need Medicare."

Those of us who have supported the Kerr-Mills program are pleased to know that it is operating satisfactorily in a number of States including my own State of Michigan.

The editorial which follows sets forth, it seems to me, most effectively the merits of the Kerr-Mills program as opposed to the so-called medicare system under social security.

[From the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press, June 27, 1964]

MICHIGAN DOESN'T NEED MEDICARE

It is entirely unlikely that a medical care plan financed through social security can get through Congress without the vigorous support of WILBUR D. MILLS, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and MILLS appears to have turned his back on the proposition. One possible reason is that he coauthored the Kerr-Mills Act under which medical care is provided for persons over 65 in those States that have elected to come under the law.

Michigan is one of those States. Under Kerr-Mills it and the Federal Government jointly finance the medical assistance to the aged program which is available to persons who are not on old age assistance but have limited financial means. Persons receiving OAA are provided medical care through regular welfare programs. In effect, therefore, all needy persons over 65 in Michigan are

assured adequate medical attention, either through MAA or OAA. Moreover, the provisions of the Michigan act were liberalized by the legislature this year to make still more persons eligible for MAA.

Kerr-Mills is working well in Michigan. It is well administered because the State and local units are responsible for its operations. Although some persons who are eligible for help under it don't realize it until after they have been cared for in a hospital—in which case they cannot receive benefits—complaints about the program have been rare. And as the public generally becomes more familiar with the way it operates, few will be denied assistance under it because of ignorance of the rules.

There is no real taint of socialized medicine under this system. It is financed on a sound basis. It in no way threatens to bankrupt social security, which is a very real danger under proposed medicare plans. It is true that many States have done nothing to come under Kerr-Mills. But we don't believe that their failure to act on behalf of their elderly citizens is any reason for the Federal Government to foist a national medical plan on all of the States. It is up to the residents of the States without Kerr-Mills to develop adequate medical protection for their senior citizens. Medicare financed by social security, in our opinion, is merely an attempt to pass someone else's responsibility on the the people of Michigan and the other States that have adopted the Kerr-Mills program and are paying their proper share toward its costs.

De Gaulle's Independent Nuclear Bombing Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article entitled "De Gaulle's Force de Dissuasion," written by Richard Clayton Peet and appearing in the Air Force magazine for June 1964. All Americans—all men and women everywhere, for that matter—are deeply concerned about the problems of nuclear armament and the proliferation of strategies based on nuclear armament. Mr. Peet has made a real contribution to our understanding of the overall situation, and I commend his article to my colleagues in the Congress.

The article follows:

[From Air Force, June 1964]

DE GAULLE'S FORCE DE DISSUASION—HOW IT CAME ABOUT—WHAT IT IS—WHAT IT MEANS

(By Richard Clayton Peet)

"All my life, I have thought of France in a certain way. * * * My mind assures me that France is not really herself unless she is in the front rank; that only vast enterprises are capable of counterbalancing the ferments of disintegration inherent in her people; that our country, as it is, surrounded by the others, as they are, must aim high and hold itself straight, on pain of mortal danger. In short, to my mind, France cannot be France without greatness."

With these words, Gen. Charles de Gaulle led off the first volume of his war memoirs, "The Call to Honor." As well as any others, they explain his single-minded determination to thrust France back into a position of leadership in the world.

The latest manifestation of that determination became a reality a short time ago. From Paris came word that first elements of France's Force de Dissuasion had become operational. While it will be some time before the force is molded into an effective retaliatory instrument, there can be no doubt that France is well on its way toward joining the United States, Russia, and Great Britain as an atomic power of consequence.

This development is viewed on our side of the Atlantic with a mixture of fear, scorn, and suspicion—fear that a fourth power now has its finger on the atomic trigger; scorn over the puniness of the French force in comparison with our own; and suspicion over De Gaulle's motives and intentions in perfecting it. Our main reaction has been to dismiss the whole business as the aberration of a prideful and conceited old man.

But the force de dissuasion is no aberration. It represents something more than conceit and something less than pride. Viewed in perspective, it turns out to be a carefully thought out answer to French strategic imperatives in the 1960's and 1970's. General de Gaulle appears to have grasped the fundamental fact that, as McGeorge Bundy has observed, "The problem of defense in the nuclear age is as much psychological as military."

The chief architect of the force de dissuasion is retired Air Force Gen. Pierre Gallois. A brilliant intellectual, Gallois for a decade has campaigned tirelessly for the creation of a national deterrent. His book, "The Balance of Terror—Strategy for the Nuclear Age," sets forth why he believes such a retaliatory capability is essential for France. One may disagree with his conclusions, but it is difficult to dispute the logic and subtlety of his thesis.

Gallois divides the time since the end of World War II into three distinct periods. The first extends from 1945 to 1953. From the end of the war until the explosion of the first Russian A-bomb, in September 1949, the United States enjoyed an atomic monopoly. And from then until the first Russian H-bomb test in August 1953, the United States held an almost overwhelming nuclear advantage. Unfortunately, of its own accord, it "neutralized the advantages its scientific achievements had won for it." A combination of "ideology, moral constraint, formalism, pusillanimity, even real terror, paralyzed" the effective utilization of its advantage. America chose not "to pursue a rollback policy—which was, nevertheless, the Soviet policy, despite their evident military inferiority." For a time, the United States even abandoned its efforts to maintain the status quo in Europe. It so hedged its nuclear monopoly with moral and psychological constraints that the Soviets "realized that if the new, all-powerful arsenal was ever to be brandished—or even used—it would only be to defend objectives that were absolutely vital."

Gallois believes that during this period both sides were, in a sense, dupes of the atom—"the Soviets, in their ignorance, not fearing it; and the Americans not realizing the advantage their monopoly might have given them." Thus it was that, during these years of uncontested atomic supremacy, "the West lost the control it had had, or the influence it directly or indirectly wielded over a billion human beings." Gallois prophesies that "history will judge severely our incomprehension and cowardice."

The second period commenced with the Russian development of a deliverable thermonuclear device in 1953–54. Our loss of monopoly complicated but did not really alter the strategic picture, however, for by that time we had recognized the Soviet imperialistic thrust, had met it in Korea, and had organized to resist it in Europe. NATO had been established under an American nuclear umbrella. Since U.S. territory was still invulnerable to Soviet offensive capability and our instruments of reprisal remained beyond Russian reach, the status quo, in Europe at least, was maintainable.

Russian entry into the nuclear club, Gallois asserts, made future Korean-type engagements impossible. Due to the danger of escalation, localized conflicts of this sort were "excluded from the list of possible confrontations. * * * To pursue a strategy of territorial expansion or political annexation, other methods must be employed—less brutal, more subtle, and in no case likely to lead to classical warfare."

In 1957, a third technological factor, the development by the U.S.S.R. of the ICBM with an H-bomb warhead, radically altered the equilibrium between the two great powers. For the first time, U.S. territory became vulnerable to direct nuclear attack. Gallois believes that this development created a balance of terror which imposed "if not universal peace, at least the integrity of the great powers and, to a certain degree, respect for their respective vital interests."

Thus was born the diplomacy of thermonuclear dissuasion.

In the world of yesterday, Gallois declares, "One began a campaign once a flyswatter landed on the nose of the French Consul in Algiers." But when two nations are armed with atomic weapons, confrontations become a deadly business. The consequences of a major nuclear exchange are out of all proportion to any possible advantages of victory for either side. "If nations were ever to report to such weapons, the stake of the conflict would automatically become a capital one." Peace, then, depends upon the capacity to wage nuclear war.

Dissuading an adversary from resorting to force is not a new approach to relations among nations. In 1934, speaking in the House of Commons, Winston Churchill outlined its essentials: "Pending some new discovery," he said, "the only direct measure of defense upon a great scale is the certainty of being able to inflict simultaneously upon the enemy as great damage as he can inflict upon ourselves." Dissuasion failed in those days because an evaluation of risks by the initiator of a conflict was seldom out of proportion to the stakes of the dispute. But risks are high, the penalties immediate, and recourse to force unattractive where nuclear weapons are concerned.

This is not the case, however, in confrontations between a possessor and a nonpossessor of these devices. The former can always impose his will on the latter unless he is dissuaded from doing so by another atomic power. But can any nation guarantee another against thermonuclear blackmail? Since the possible penalties are so severe, Gallois does not think so. No aggressor would take seriously threats of intervention on behalf of a protégé. Under the circumstances, a national nuclear capability becomes essential for all leading states, France in particular. This has become the official French position. It was reflected by General de Gaulle in his April 17 press conference:

"As long as the ambitions of the Soviets and the nature of their regime hold over the free world * * * the threat of a terrible conflict, France is in danger of destruction and invasion, with no certitude that her American allies, themselves directly exposed to death, would find themselves able to protect her from them.

"For France to deprive herself of the means capable of dissuading the adversary from a possible attack while she is able to have them, would be to attract the lightning after having thrown away the lightning rod. Also, this would mean that she would confide herself for her defense, and, therefore, for her existence, and in the end for her policy, to

a foreign, and, for that matter, an uncertain protectorate.

"No; we deserve better than that."

There are, of course, other factors prompting France's entry into the nuclear business. Foremost among them is her desire to sit once again at the councils of the mighty. Moreover, entry into the atomic club will materially assist France to realize her long nurtured ambition of organizing Europe under French hegemony. With Germany prohibited from possessing an atomic arsenal and Britain excluded from the Common Market while she has one, the stage is set for France to play the leading role on a resurgent continent.

"The President of the Republic," writes French pundit Raymond Aron, "has never hidden the nostalgia which he feels for a Europe capable of defending itself by itself and therefore playing an independent role on the world scene. * * * At least he has always preferred and always will prefer a Europe which could arbitrate world conflicts to a Europe reduced to being nothing but a partner in the Atlantic pair."

On the negative side, De Gaulle bitterly resents the de facto exclusion of France from a role in Western decisionmaking since World War II. The Anglo-American partners have proceeded, more often than not, without consultation or advice from their Continental ally. This attitude was understandable when France lay prostrate. But it hardly reflects the realities of today. Yet the attitude continues. If anything it has grown worse. Even Britain's voice has been muted in recent years. "American strategic policy," wrote Alastair Buchanan not long ago, is being "evolved with less consultation * * * than at any other time in the history of the Alliance."

The general has forcefully set about redressing the balance. American dominance is no longer tolerable to him. Europe, he maintains, must assume responsibility for its own destiny.

To De Gaulle, the overriding reality in today's world is the nuclear one. Atomic power, not ideology or intentions, has enabled the United States and Russia to dominate events. A fortiori, if France is to play a leading role, she must have an atomic capability of her own. To paraphrase Clemenceau, nuclear weapons are far too important to be left exclusively in the hands of foreigners.

Underlying all of the foregoing is yet another factor of compelling importance. The research, development, and production of the instruments of dissuasion is a tremendous animator of technology. In today's world, if a nation is to ascend to the front rank, she cannot afford to fall behind in the technology race. Nor does France intend to. Indeed, it has been unkindly suggested that if the threat of Soviet aggression which impels construction of the force de dissuasion did not exist, De Gaulle would have to invent it.

On this side of the Atlantic, we have generally viewed with alarm this manifestation of nuclear nationalism. Our fears are grounded upon reasons likely to appeal to Americans but hardly to Frenchmen. They fall into four separate categories.

The first relates to the dangers of proliferation. We have long nurtured an almost pathological aversion to the spread of nuclear weapons. To us, it seems essential that the nuclear club be closed to new members. The how of accomplishing this has escaped us, however. To date there has been no instance of a nation which possessed the intellectual and material means of developing such a capability refraining voluntarily from doing so. If anything, the trend is the other way. In the view of the French Foreign Minister, Couve de Murville: "It is normal and it is inevitable that all major countries progressively come to possess atomic armaments." President de Gaulle has wryly suggested that "in politics and in strategy, as in the economy, monopoly quite naturally appears to the person who holds it as the best possible system."

Our next bogeyman is the fear that possession of a small atomic force might make France triggerhappy; that it might tempt her to nuclear adventurism. The French pointed out that the major menace to freedom has been, and will continue to be, Soviet, not French. Gen. Paul Stehlin, former chief of the French Air Force, writing in Foreign Affairs, has condemned, out of hand, those Americans who seem to "place more faith in the ability of the Russians to control their tremendous stockpiles of offensive weapons that they do in my country's capacity to use with wisdom and moderation the modest armaments it is working so hard to develop for purely deterrent purposes."

The third U.S. concern, and it would appear a more valid one, is the reluctance to have more than one finger on the West's atomic trigger. Since this country will remain, even if a French force is built, the essential guarantor of peace, direction of the nuclear power of the Western World should, it is asserted, remain exclusively in our hands. Walter Lippmann has drawn the analogy of a fast-moving car on a twisting mountain road. "Only one man can sit at the wheel. * * * While the other passengers may not wholly like him * * * or * * * think he is a very good driver, it is still safer for all concerned than if there were two or three drivers trying to grab the steering wheel at the same time."

To this, Raymond Aron retorts that it "is expecting a lot" for European countries "to have complete faith in the driver." After all, "What do they know of [his] intentions?"

The U.S. assumption that only it is capable of exercising prudent leadership in an atomic world has become a bone in the throat of the French. "If 'nuclear wisdom' comes with the possession of nuclear weapons," chides General Stehlin, "the Europeans are ready to let grace descend upon them."

In this context, General Stehlin volunteers a jibe or two at the U.S. proposed multilateral nuclear force. "This system," he declares, "does not strike me as either rational or wise since it * * * would require the unanimous consent of all members." This would likely "paralyze the force." Such an arrangement hardly squares with a one-man-at-the-wheel philosophy. Instead of reinforcing our leadership position, such programs, due to lack of realism, tend to erode it. They raise questions as to this country's qualifications to lead and its true intentions. "Without in the least doubting the good faith of the United States—which would be manifestly unjust" writes General Stehlin, "many of us in that part of the Old World which has not been engulfed by the Soviet tide wonder how much trust the Russians place in the American promises of commitment for, in the last analysis, that is the angle from which the problem of deterrance must be viewed."

Last of the U.S. reservations relates to the size of the force de frappe. Puny by SAC standards, it is presumed over here that the French force will be unlikely to deter anyone. But this notion fails to take into account the limited purpose for which the force was created and the strategy governing its use. Additionally, it ignores our own actions and experience of recent years.

To begin with, it must be clearly understood that the force de dissuasion is not intended, nor could it be used, as an instrument of aggression. Size does preclude that. But size does not preclude self-defense even against the Soviet colossus. The French rationale is based upon the made-in-America concept of "the old equalizer." Stated in modern terms: God made big nations and God made little nations, but Dr. Teller made them all the same size again. Put another way, so long as the size of a thermonuclear force is proportional to the value of the stake it is defending, it can dissuade a potential aggressor. Thus, while the U.S.S.R. might be willing to lose 20 million of its population and a third of its industrial complex to annihilate the United States, it would hardly be willing to pay such a penalty for the dispatch of France. From this stems a corollary principle, that the lesser the prize, the smaller the dissuasive force needed to defend it. This is the philosophic underpinning of the small force approach.

An additional supportive factor is the avowed countercity strategy of the force de frappe. The French dismiss counterforce as wholly unsuited to their purposes. Even if they knew the location of Russian launching sites, they see little advantage in attempting to delineate military from civilian targets. The purpose of dissuasion is to convince an aggressor that no prize is worth the penalty. The more dread the reprisal, the more certain that dissuasion will succeed. And so the French strategy is openly and avowedly anticity. Its targets are Moscow, Leningrad, and other centers of population in the U.S.S.R. De Gaulle has repeatedly underlined this with warnings that "the French atomic force * * * will have the somber and terrible capability of destroying in a few seconds millions and millions of men. This fact," he believes, "cannot fail to have at least some bearing on the intents of any possible aggressor." Considered in this light, even a small force, if viable, will have a tremendous dissuasive effect insofar as French vital interests are concerned. And even in the unlikely event an aggressor were willing to absorb a French reprisal, he would still be faced with the very real danger that his adventure might incur American intervention.

The logic of proportionality seems to elude American policymakers, even though the present equilibrium between the United States and Russia is based upon a substantial disparity of nuclear means. Moreover, less than 2 years ago this country allegedly went to the brink of nuclear war over a small Soviet missile force in Cuba. And currently we are touting a multilateral Polaris surface fleet which would not be much larger but certainly more cumbersome and vulnerable than its nationally controlled French counterpart.

Before leaving proportionality, a fascinating hypothesis advanced by Gallois is worth thinking about. "If, for instance, in November 1956," he writes, "the Hungarian Government had possessed the means to inflict only three 'Hiroshimas' on the U.S.S.R., it is probable that the fear of such a retaliation would have imposed negotiation and a new modus vivendi between Budapest and Moscow, and that neither repression nor occupation would have occurred." Considering our own reaction in the Cuban missile crisis, his surmise seems reasonable.

A small nuclear force can pack a tremendous dissuasive wallop. All this proves, of course, is that thermonuclear terrorism can be a two-edged sword. If the victim possesses the means to execute the criminal concurrently with the crime, the chances are the crime will never be committed.

The strategy of dissuasion like cost/effectiveness, can be mathematically formulated. Credibility may be postulated as the product of the value of the military means employed times the will of the threatened power to resist. If either factor turns out to be zero, the dissuasive effect of the force will likewise be zero.

On the element of will to react, De Gaulle scores high. Doubts, where they exist, relate solely to the adequacy of the dissuasive

force. One detractor has unkindly suggested that "the French have de gall but not de weapons to make dissuasion work." To be sure, the Force de Frappe will have its limitations (as does SAC). But, presently and as planned, it shapes up as an impressive retaliatory instrument.

The nuclear part of it has been in the works for quite some time. French scientists have been in the forefront of the atomic energy field from the beginning. Indeed, many fundamental contributions, such as the discovery of radioactivity by Becquerel, and its isolation into elements by the Curies, were made by Frenchmen. The Perrins, de Broglies, Joliot-Curies, to name but a few, significantly expanded the world's atomic horizons. World War II, unfortunately, interrupted their labors, but research was commenced again in 1945 with the establishment of the Commissariat a l'Energie Atomique (CEA—French Atomic Energy Commission) by General De Gaulle, then President of the Provisional Government. At first, the agency directed its attentions to prospecting for nuclear ores, setting up laboratories, and training scientists, engineers, and technicians. It was not until 1955 that a program for the development of atomic energy for military purposes was launched.

In February 1960, France exploded her first atomic device over the Sahara. Three more atmospheric tests followed. After 1961, she conducted a series of underground tests. These led to the development, testing, and production of a deliverable plutonium bomb of around 60 kilotons. This weapon will be the mainstay of the Force de Dissuasion until such time as the infinitely more powerful fusion bomb becomes available. That will not be for several years, however.

Many critics question whether, in the meantime, the relatively small power of the French weapon can deter anyone. Sixty kilotons, they say, will not be likely to impress the Russians who have managed to produce a 100-megaton monster of their own. The French are mindful of the disparity but not overly disturbed by it. Since theirs is an anticity device, it need not possess the bang to destroy targets such as hardened missile sites. Three times as powerful as the bomb which annihilated Hiroshima, the French bomb's destructive force is ample to inspire terror and respect, to make an aggressor stop and think.

The problem will be one of short duration, in any event. Toward the end of the decade, more powerful fission bombs will become available. And by 1970, deliverable fusion weapons should be ready. Development of the latter has been delayed due to the requirement of enriched uranium as the explosive element. Because she was unable to secure a supply from the United States, France has been forced to provide her own. A gas-diffusion plant is under construction at Pierrelatte. It is scheduled to commence production in 1967. By then most of the preliminary work on an H-bomb should be completed. Tests will likely commence soon thereafter at the French nuclear site in the Pacific.

One of the major difficulties in developing nuclear weapons is shrinking them down to deliverable size. We were plagued with this problem. No doubt the French are too. But there can be little doubt that they will succeed eventually. Whether these thermonuclear weapons will contitute the explosive half of a credible deterrent, however, depends upon the availability of effective delivery systems. In this sphere the French have pursued a bold policy which is already paying off handsomely.

The first generation strike force is built around the Mirage IVA bomber. This aircraft was conceived in 1957—prior, it should be noted, to General de Gaulle's return to power. It was specifically designed as a strategic bomber by Générale Aéronautique Marcel Dassault, although it evolved directly out of the successful development by Dassault of a Mach 2 interceptor, the Mirage III.

The bomber is a straightforward scale-up of the fighter, about one and a half times its size. The configuration of the two is essentially the same. This approach was decided upon as the fastest and most expeditious way of producing a strategic bomber.

Powered by two SNECMA Atar 9K afterburning turbojet engines, producing 15,000 pounds of thrust apiece, top speed of the Mirage IVA is mach 2.2. Its profile includes a high altitude cruise for much of its mission at mach 1.7. Wing span is 38 feet 10 inches; length, 77 feet; height, 18 feet 3 inches. Its crew of two sits in tandem beneath a largely metal canopy, designed to withstand kinetic heating effects at high speeds.

The Mirage IVA utilizes the most advanced construction techniques. Machine-tapered skin constitutes 95 percent of its structural weight. At 66,000 pounds, it is one of the smallest and cheapest strategic bombers anywhere.

Principal drawback of the aircraft is its limited range. Despite the fact that it uses even its tail fin to carry fuel, its officially stated operational radius with internal stores is only 1,000 miles. This makes it a virtually one-way, one-strike retaliatory weapon, since it could not hope to reach any Russian target and return again to base. But, if ever the balloon went up, there would probably be no French base to return to anyway.

The addition of two 550-gallon wing tanks has improved the Mirage IVA's range somewhat. Procurement of 12 KC–135F tanker-transports will alleviate matters still further. Inflight refueling will not only extend range but will also permit the maintenance of a 24-hour airborne alert.

An initial batch of 50 Mirage IVA's is on order. Of this number, 12 aircraft will remain on airborne alert at all times. Another 12 will remain on the ground on 4-minute alert. A third group of 12 will be on 45-minute standby status. It is expected that the remaining 14 aircraft will be in for normal overhauls.

The first units of the Force de Dissuasion are already operational with the Armée de l'Air (French Air Force). New elements of four are forming as aircraft are delivered to the Commandement des Forces Aeriennes Stratégiques (Strategic Air Command). They are being phased into service at the rate of about two a month. All 50 should be operational by the end of 1965. The force is under the command of Gen. Philippe Maurin.

The Mirage IVA is an extremely versatile aircraft. It can take off from a 6,000-foot dirt strip hardened by a new chemical spray. While problems have been encountered with heating and vibration at extremely high speeds and at low altitudes, these are expected to be overcome in the months ahead. This should facilitate a low-level, high-speed dash under the enemy radar screen.

The Force de Dissuasion will be widely dispersed at secret fields throughout France. Aircraft will be housed individually in air-conditioned concrete hangar shelters located at the ends of runways. These structures are designed to withstand all but direct nuclear hits.

Development of navigation, ECM, and bombing techniques is well along. Concerning the latter, the present French bomb is of a streamlined shape and is carried in the belly with part of it projecting below the fuselage. It has three stabilizing fins 120 degrees apart. Its configuration will allow it to be launched at some distance from its target. Until recently, there had been talk of developing the AS–2 Gamma air-to-ground standoff missile. With a range of 178 miles, the Gamma would have enabled the Mirage IVA to attack targets without having to penetrate close-in defenses. This capability would have extended the operational life of the aircraft considerably. Informed sources indicated recently, however, that plans for the missile have been abandoned.

But the same sources confirm that a super Mirage IV bomber is in the works. It is said to be powered either by two SNECMA TF–106 or two Pratt & Whitney TF30 turbofan engines, the same ones programed for the TFX. These should measurably increase range and overall performance. An improved low-level capability will likely be buit into the aircraft also. Twelve of the super versions are on order.

The first generation of the Force de Dissuasion will be backed up by 150 Mirage IIIE strike fighters armed with nuclear weapons and a further 75 similarly equipped Etendard IVM carrier-based aircraft.

Succeeding generations will further improve the force. By 1967, the second generation should be operational. It will consist of an unannounced number of surface-to-surface ballistic missiles. They will be solid fueled with a range in the neighborhood of 1,300 miles. Plans call for their deployment to widely dispersed hardened underground sites.

In its third generation, the Force de Dissuasion will go to the sea. Three to five nuclear-powered submarines are to be built. Each will carry 16 sea-to-land Polaris-type ballistic missiles armed with thermonuclear warheads. Individual submarines will join the fleet at 2-year intervals from 1968 onward. They will be operational as an effective force around 1973.

This then is the Force de Dissuasion. While no SAC, it is certainly a force to be reckoned with—one likely to cast a formidable nuclear shadow across Europe and the world in the years ahead.

Marin County Leads Way With Tax Relief Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, recently a television editorial describing a tax relief proposal by one of the outstanding county supervisors of my district, the Honorable Peter H. Behr, was presented on KPIX television in San Francisco.

I think this proposal warrants the consideration of every local government unit in the United States. I take this opportunity to submit the editorial for the benefit of my colleagues:

MARIN COUNTY LEADS WAY WITH TAX RELIEF PROPOSAL

(Delivered by Louis S. Simon, general manager, television station KPIX, channel 5, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc., group W)

Marin County may be on the track to the solution of a tax problem that confronts all counties in California.

This involves elderly, retired residents living on small fixed incomes.

Many of them are threatened with the loss of homes in which they had planned to spend their declining years. This is the result of rising property taxes.

The Federal census 4 years ago disclosed 2,500 homes in Marin County in which the annual income of the occupants was $3,000 or less. A great many were occupied by elderly couples.

Probably many more are in the same plight today. Recently nearly 1,000 Marin County residents complained to the assessor about increased assessments on their property.

The most productive years of many of these people are behind them. Many have low, fixed incomes—but taxes on their homes are going up.

The county assessor is not to blame. It's his job to appraise property on the basis of its fair market value regardless of the owner's ability to pay taxes.

But many who worked hard to accumulate a home and modest income for their old age could not foresee the current trend of rising property valuations. They purchased their homes before the tremendous migration to California with its consequent real estate boom.

Had they been land speculators they probably would have no tax problems today. But they took what was regarded as the responsible citizen's approach to providing for his old age.

Now they face a serious tax problem over which they had no control. So, some kind of tax-deferment relief for them should be devised. But this is an extremely complex problem—legally and from a practical standpoint.

Marin County Supervisor Peter Behr has proposed a novel plan for such relief. Under it, Marin county voters would approve a bond issue. The property taxes of the elderly homeowners who qualified for tax deferment would be paid when due from the bond money.

The homeowners would pay 7 percent interest on all their deferred taxes. This would pay the interest on the bond issue, cover administrative costs and leave money for a reserve fund for exigencies, according to Supervisor Behr.

If the home were sold, the deferred taxes would be paid from proceeds of the sale. Upon death of the homeowner, his heirs would pay the back taxes from the proceeds of the sale of the home, or the county would foreclose for the taxes.

These provisions are designed to prevent any unfair burden on other taxpayers. Supervisor Behr is dead right in insisting that the plan should not cost other taxpayers a dime.

And to make sure of this, his plan calls for a committee of experts to refine the proposal and eliminate all legal and practical bugs at the outset.

Marin County supervisors quite properly are thoroughly exploring this tax-deferment relief plan. But this is a statewide problem. So, KPIX strongly recommends that other California counties follow Marin County's example in seeking a solution to this problem.

Telecast dates: Wednesday, June 3, 1964, Friday, June 5, 1964.

California Federation of Young Democrats—Part 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I should like to publicly commend the young men and women of the California Federation of Young Democrats for their deep and critical concern with the crucial problems of our growing democratic society and for their enthusiastic and responsible participation in the public life of our State.

Idealism and eagerness to grapple with the significant issues of the day are a clear sign of the vitality of the political process and the increasing maturity of our young people. Their forthright discussions of the problems of individual freedoms, equal justice, and public and private responsibility add greatly to the political awareness of our people and to the strength of our party. I may on occasion disagree with a particular position they might take, but I am always eager to accept the challenge that their honesty presents.

Following are some of the resolutions passed in their recent convention. I hope that they will prove as challenging to my colleagues as they are to me:

RESOLUTION OF THE CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS

* * * * *

II. CIVIL LIBERTIES

Our democratic heritage is founded upon the premise that government, which has a rightful place in the areas of the material welfare of its citizens, has no place in the area of thought. As the late President Kennedy stated in February of 1962, "A nation that is afraid to have the people hear conflicting values and competing ideas is a nation that is afraid of its people."

A. Citizen participation in politics

We reaffirm our belief in, and support of, grassroots politics as typified by the California Federation of Young Democrats and the California Democratic Council. We call for a broadening of official party structure to permit greater citizen participation.

We support the right of volunteer groups to make preprimary endorsements, and look forward to the extending of this procedure throughout the country. We express our opposition to the recently passed assembly bill 2922, which forces volunteer groups to label their campaign literature. Aside from grave doubts about the constitutionality of this measure, we believe it to be a serious threat to the kind of voluntary citizen's participation in politics which forms the backbone of the Democratic Party in California. We applaud those courageous assemblymen who voted against this bill.

We object to various kinds of National, State, and local Hatch Acts, which relegate great numbers of public employees to second class political citizenship. Originally enacted to prevent the abuse of political power and patronage systems, they now serve to prevent employees from joining in legitimate political pursuits. We are pleased by the passage of the bill by Assemblyman Danielson, Democrat, of Los Angeles, in 1963, and hope to see the passage of further constructive legislation such as the bills presented by Assemblymen Petris, Democrat, of Alameda, and Meyers, Democrat, of San Francisco.

We call upon the California Legislature to revoke the requirement that a person convicted of a felony shall never again enjoy the right to vote. This is unjust punishment, and the effective denial of the right to vote to citizens who have paid their debt to society.

Another disenfranchisement, that of America's younger voters, also should end. Youth who are 18 years old are old enough to marry, to work, to serve in the armed services. Students of this age ordinarily are high school graduates who have just completed training courses in citizenship, and therefore should be better informed voters than many older citizens. We urge the California Legislature to adopt laws permitting 18-year-olds to vote. We also ask our congressional delegation to introduce Federal legislation to the same end.

B. Congressional investigating committees

The power of Congress to conduct investigations is not mentioned in the Constitution at all. It exists for one reason alone: Without it Congress could not perform its duties as outlined in the Constitution.

Congress should not, however, conduct investigations to punish crimes, or help the political fortunes of its Members. Nor can it properly call recalcitrant witnesses solely for the purpose of setting up a contempt of Congress or perjury case against him.

At present there exist no safeguards to prevent the abuses outlined above. The need for these safeguards is apparent when one looks at the record of various congressional committees and Congressmen. Too often we see witnesses humiliated before television cameras with no adequate means of defense. Too often the desire for the limelight clouds the judgment of Congressmen and they proceed to browbeat or "get" a certain witness when the proceedings do not and cannot aid in the formation of legislation. To prevent such abuses, a bill of rights for congressional committees is needed. Such a bill of rights would include the following proposals:

1. All witnesses shall be notified in advance of appearance by subpena or written request stating the nature of the inquiry. No witness shall be held for longer than 10 days under the same subpena.

2. Subpenas shall be issued only with the approval of a majority of the committee, unless the committee has delegated the authority to the chairman and a member of the minority party.

3. Every witness shall have the right to counsel, who shall be entitled to object to the jurisdiction of the committee, questions it propounds, or its failure to follow procedural requirements; to submit legal memorandums in support of such objectives; to advise the witness of his legal and constitutional rights; to ask clarifying questions of the witness, subject to the control of the length of interrogation by a majority of the members present.

4. Every witness shall have the right to read into the record a statement of reasonable length if it is pertinent to the subject of the hearing and submitted to the committee in writing before the hearing.

5. No witness shall be compelled to have his testimony presented at any hearing unless at east 50 percent of the members of the committee are present.

6. No witness shall be compelled to have his testimony broadcast, televised, or filmed for newsreels.

7. No witness who has testified in executive session or closed session shall be required over his objection to repeat such testimony in an open hearing.

8. All testimony likely to defame another person shall be heard in executive session. If the testimony is made public the person defamed shall be notified in advance and shall be entitled to testify and to have the committee subpena witnesses on his behalf; and to personally or through counsel cross-examine his own and adverse witnesses, all in executive session. Examination shall be subject to reasonable regulations by that committee to prevent abuse. No testimony or summary of an executive session shall be released except by approval of a majority of the committee and all rebuttal testimony shall be released simultaneously with defamatory evidence.

9. No committee report containing defamatory statements shall be made public unless the person defamed has been given an

opportunity to testify before the committee and his testimony is published or summarized as part of the report.

10. Every witness shall be entitled to correct and inspect transcripts of his testimony and same shall be made available to him at reasonable expense.

C. House Un-American Activities Committee

Because of violations of the principles listed above, and for the additional reasons listed below, we urge the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

1. The mandate of this committee is unconstitutional in that it authorizes investigation in the protected areas of speech and the press.

The committee lacks clear direction from Congress. The words "un-American" are vague and open to various definitions.

3. The committee has become an agency for the repression of beliefs and associations.

4. This committee has misused its authority for self-aggrandizing purposes (e.g., production of the film "Operation Abolition").

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has sown confusion and distrust among Americans and has served no legitimate purpose. The investigation of overt acts of subversion such as espionage and treason, should be left to existing agencies designed for this purpose, such as the FBI, the Attorney General, and the Judicial Committees of both Houses.

Since many of these objections also apply to the Senate Internal Securities Subcommittee, and to the State Un-American Activities Committee, popularly called the Burns committee, we also urge the abolition of these committees.

D. Freedoms of speech and thought

We concur with Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas' opinion that "The first amendment makes confidence in the commonsense of our people and in their maturity of judgment the great postulate of our democracy. Its philosophy is that violence is rarely, if ever, stopped by denying civil liberties." As a result, we urge the revocation of the "conspiracy to advocate" clause of the Smith Act as a dangerous violation of the first amendment.

We would further urge that Congress repeal the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, due to the dangerous precedents it sets in stifling dissent (a freedom of speech) and freedom of association, and because of its use of cruel and unusual punishments.

Out of a concern for academic freedom, we deplore any prohibition against any speakers on campuses of institutions of higher learning. We recommend that student political and religious groups be allowed to meet and function freely on campuses.

Our concern for free speech and thought leads to concern about censorship. We believe that all expression should be protected by the 1st and 14th amendments and should be secure from punishment unless there is a clear and present danger that they will produce a substantive evil. We believe that the "Roth formula" for censorship; i.e., whether the "dominant theme when taken as a whole, to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, appeals to prurient interests," is vague, unworkable, and unreasonably limited. We believe that materials which advocate a change in public morality should be constitutionally protected in order to prevent a far greater evil—the enforced imposition by society of conformity in thoughts and ideas.

Freedoms of speech and press are emasculated if we are not permitted to travel and investigate as our interests direct. Further, it curtails understanding among the nations of the world in a time when such understanding is crucial to the continued existence of humanity. We categorically reject the thesis that our Government has any right to impose restrictions on the travel of American citizens during peacetime.

We support the recent Supreme Court decisions regarding prayer in public schools as these decisions uphold the first amendment.

E. Rights of privacy

The right of Americans to privacy is in constantly increasing danger as American life grows more interdependent. It is a right which needs defending. We view the growing use of lie detector tests in industry as a dangerous invasion of this privacy, and applaud the passage of the bill by Assemblyman Knox, Democrat, of Richmond, which makes it illegal for a private employer to require a lie detector test as a condition for getting or keeping a job.

The fourth amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees that the right of the individual to be secure in his person and home shall not be violated. The Congress and the Supreme Court have seen fit to extend this right of privacy to telephone conversation. However, the U.S. Attorney General has requested Congress to pass a law that would allow law enforcement officers to intrude upon individual's privacy by means of legalized wiretapping. We urge Congress to resist this and all other attempts to whittle away the rights of individuals under the guise of law enforcement.

F. Criminal and legal rights

American democratic theory is founded on the premise that governmental power, particularly the power of police, must be limited. Our Founding Fathers took great care to spell out in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights limitations upon the arbitrary exercise of police power. Three of these guarantees include the right of silence, the right to counsel, and the prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure, guaranteed by the fifth, sixth, and fourth amendments, respectively.

We firmly support these constitutional protections and call for adequate safeguards against violation. We congratulate the Supreme Court of the United States for its recent decision (*Mapp* v. *Ohio*) forbidding the use of evidence seized in violation of the Constitution. We believe it will provide effective judicial supervision over police activities.

We support legislation to expunge the arrest records of persons who are acquitted or whose cases are not brought to trial, as in the bill sponsored by Assemblyman Carrell, Democrat, of San Fernando.

We are distressed by the defeat of the proposal by Assemblyman Bielenson, Democrat, of Beverly Hills, which would have required the attorney general to prepare a statement of an arrested person's rights, and the police to give a copy of the statement to each arrested person when he is booked. We hope that this bill will be resubmitted and passed by the legislature.

We heartily support increased training of police, including courses in civil liberties and the treatment of minorities. We praise California's Attorney General Stanley Mosk for his program of subsidization for proper police training programs.

Continued assaults upon the police by people living in the ghettoes, reflect the growing tension between minority groups and law enforcement officers, tensions which may lead to recurrences of the tragedy of race riots in California.

The major cause of the antagonism on the part of the minority groups is frustration born of fear and anger—fear of what appears to be unequal enforcement of the law and anger that there is no prompt justice for the poor, the black, or the man who doesn't speak English.

Reports of police malpractice often upon investigation prove unfounded, sometimes the result of a citizen not knowing the law, infrequently the product of a vengeful person. Whether or not the reported incidences are true, the community reacts as if they are.

The police too frequently, if inadvertently, substantiate the charges of malpractice and brutality. In Los Angeles alone, there are more than 200 incidents each year in which it would appear that law enforcement officers have acted outside the law. Search warrants are so seldom used that they have become rarities in the courts; thousands of arrests are made each year with less than probable cause.

Retribution in the civil courts is a slow process and a costly one, with little hope of anything more than a token award in the few civil cases successfully prosecuted.

The police departments may enforce their own discipline—punishing officers when complaints by citizens are sustained—but the citizen benefits not at all by this. Often enough, he does not even learn that the department has punished the offending officer, for the police are ever conscious of their public image and departmental linen is not aired in public.

We support the creation of independent police review boards, empowered to award damages up to $500 to be paid from the city treasury if the citizen's complaint is found by independent investigators to have merit. Rather than destroy police-community relations, as some law enforcement officers have charged, such a board would permit prompt justice, the airing of grievances deeply felt, and the easing of the growing tension in minority communities.

G. Disclaimer loyalty oath

On the grounds that it is an insult to the integrity of the individual, we urge the abolition of the negative disclaimer loyalty oath.

H. Immigration policy

We condemn the continued use of the long outdated and highly discriminatory quota system of the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act and support the efforts of President Johnson and Senator MANSFIELD to effect its abolition.

We further support clarifications of our total immigration policies in order to discourage their inconsistent and discriminatory use.

III. GOVERNMENT ROLE AND STRUCTURE

A. Governmental planning

The word "planning" has been a bogey in American political life, but the fact of planning has become a necessity. We propose that the United States adopt a public policy of State and Federal democratic, social planning. We are not simply for planning—that can be done in the name of totalitarian dictatorship, or as a means of providing larger corporate profits. We are for planning for democratic social goals. Further, we insist that planning must not only be directed to democratic aims, but must be subject to democratic control.

We urge the creation of comprehensive planning authorities in critical areas of public life. This may be done within the framework of existing agencies such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, or it may require new institutions such as the proposed Department of Urban Affairs. But whatever the locus, planning should be comprehensive and integrated, and dedicated to the enlargement of individual freedoms in a democratic society.

B. Congressional reform

In a fast changing world of rising expectations of emergent nations and the threat of a final nuclear cataclysm, of the urgent demands for freedom now and the ominous pall of poverty and automation, the American people can no longer afford the dubious luxury of a Congress unresponsive to the

needs of the Nation or a Congress devoted to frustrating necessary reforms.

The congressional committee system—based upon the hallowed institution of seniority—serves to raise to leadership in both Houses precisely those men least responsive to the needs of their constituents, the men of both parties who represent safe, one-party districts, who are able to pile up ever greater seniority and power in the cause of preserving various status quos.

This conservative leadership in both Houses of the Congress has killed the proposed Department of Urban Affairs, medicare, tax reform, the $1.25 minimum wage, throttled the Domestic Service Corps, the International Development Association, the Kefauver drug bill, the mass transit bill, and entombed such necessary legislation as truth in lending and truth in packaging. The whole Congress must be given the opportunity and necessity of considering major legislative proposals. We urge the abolition of the conservative leadership system in Congress, through the abilition of the seniority system for choosing committee chairmen, and a reduction of the power of committee chairmen to bottle up legislation. We further urge the principle that congressional committee chairmen should be chosen on merit by the majority party caucus, and we call upon the Democratic caucuses in both the House and Senate to refuse to name as committee chairmen those member who will not support the Democratic national platform.

Out of concern for a congressional consideration of all major legislative proposals, and for democratic processes which allow the American people to have representative government in their legislatures, we call upon Congress to abolish rules of procedure which permit filibusters.

We call upon the State and Federal legislatures to develop conflict of interest and purity-of-election legislation. Congress demands stringent conflict-of-interest rules for men in the executive branch, but permits a Bobby Baker to flourish. The bipartisan tragedy of the Baker affair is that legislators were actively involved in Baker's influence peddling and business dealings. We urge legislation establishing the authority of the attorneys general to police conflicts of interest in the legislative branch of Government.

With each passing year, as the cost of political campaigning rises, the blandishments of lobbyists grow more enticing. If an elected official receives a campaign donation, either in money or in services rendered, the public has a right to know the source before, not after, an election is completed. Lobbyist registration laws, and the laws governing the revelation of campaign contributions must be strengthened and the Congress itself, under the powers granted by article I, section 4 of the Constitution, must make determined efforts to enforce these regulations.

C. California constitutional reform

An extensive constitution, lake that of California's, departs from the sound rule that a constitution should contain only important principles and structural outlines.

We, therefore, call upon the California Legislature to enact a proposition calling for a convention to draft a new constitution for California.

D. Congressional reapportionment

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled, in *Wesbury* v. *Sanders*, that congressional districts must be roughly equal in population, in order to comply with constitutional requirements for equal representation.

We, therefore, call on the California Legislature to redistrict California's congressional districts so that there shall not be a disproportionate population distribution between the smallest and largest districts in excess of 100,000.

E. California Senate reapportionment

We call upon the California Legislature to revise the current system of apportioning seats in the State senate. We feel that the present so-called federal system has become unrepresentative of the majority of the population living in the State's metropolitan areas. The system was established in 1926 and was pushed through the legislature by small and rural counties in order to preserve their domination of the Senate at a time when the State's metropolitan areas were just beginning to grow. The result has been an ever-increasing imbalance in representation. It is possible for only 11 percent of the State's population to elect a majority of the State senators. Counties with 75 percent of the State's population elect only 25 percent of the State senators. The senators from Alpine, Mono, and Inyo Counties represent 14,291 people, while the State senator from Los Angeles represents over 6 million people.

We feel that this goes beyond mere "federalism," and is in fact a denial of equal protection of the laws. In view of recent Supreme Court decisions on equitable apportionment systems, starting with *Baker* v. *Carr*, and in view of the growth of electorial support for reform by initiative, we call on the State legislature to act for reform. At the very least, the proposals of the Governor's study commission on senate reapportionment should be adopted. If the legislature does not act, the result can only be action by a Federal court or unwise initiative proposals. The legislature should try to preclude this.

California Federation of Young Democrats Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to state my belief that the California Federation of Young Democrats have consistently demonstrated their concern with the great issues of the day as well as their awareness of their duty to participate in the day-to-day political processes in a responsible manner. They have provided a training ground for young people in California where they can develop as political leaders of our party in the future.

As a former national officer of the YDCA, I am proud of my association with the CFYD. Their idealism and understanding of the need to discuss the significant issues of our times is in the tradition of the best leadership, past and present, in our party.

While my colleagues and myself may not agree with all of their positions, they make a distinct contribution to the creation of an intelligent political dialog in this country.

Their platform follows:

PREAMBLE OF THE CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS PLATFORM

The fair experiment, American democracy, has been thrust into the center of the world struggle, and by its presence has served to transform the terms of that struggle. Our political revolution has helped to unleash a series of similar revolutions. Throughout Asia, Africa, and the Americas, millions of people are rising against exploitation.

In such a time, foreign policy becomes our No. 1 domestic issue, for neither we nor our fair experiment can survive unless security against nuclear destruction can be established. And at the same time, our domestic issues become matters of foreign policy: civil rights becomes the struggle of white men to adjust to their minority status in the world, civil liberties and social welfare issues test our ability to continue to lead the revolutions of rising expectations.

The great challenge has produced great leadership from the Democratic Party. We remember with gratitude the call to "ask what you may do for your country" issued by a President born in this century of revolution and war, and we remember with pride the instinctive worldwide response which John F. Kennedy's leadership brought all round the globe, and the instinctive worldwide mourning which followed his shocking murder. His death made men conscious for a moment of their common bonds.

With Kennedy we began; with Johnson we continue. We salute, in Lyndon B. Johnson, the leadership of a wise, calm, experienced President, who out of tragedy has brought new strength to the struggle for civil justice and against poverty. He inherited good wishes; he has earned trust and confidence.

Great leadership has also been produced in the Democratic Party in California. In the years since 1958 whole series of massive legislative programs have been proposed, and a great number of them have been successfully enacted into law. California's emergence into first place among the States in population has coincided with her emergence into first place in the development of just patterns of social life.

Problems remain, unprecedented ones. The pace of change in California, in America, across the world, quickens. The end of the fair experiment has not yet come. Abraham Lincoln said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. We must think anew. We must act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves." In that spirit let us continue to lead revolutions, and seek solutions.

* * * * *

VII. THE ECONOMY

President Johnson has helped us rediscover the other America of poverty and deprivation in our midst. Worried concern over unemployment, the effects of automation and the national growth rate has become evident even among many who were once willing to accept the image of the affluent society at face value. More and more problems which once might have been seen as narrowly economic are seen as vitally connected with problems of racial equality, international peace, and defense cutbacks, and other problems which have generally concerned liberals. Economics can no longer be viewed as some kind of parochial issue, but must become a central concern of any serious liberal program.

A. War on poverty

Michael Harrington's book has helped bring the reality of physical poverty in the United States back into the public eye. President Johnson has proclaimed a war against the curse of want and deprivation in the richest country in the world. But the actual allotment of resources so far committed to this war has been pitifully short of the amount required for victory. What is required is a really massive devotion of men and dollars to the task. These steps readily suggest themselves:

1. A minimum wage, from which farm labor would not be excluded.

2. Massive Federal aid to housing, community services and education.

3. An area redevelopment plan to provide aid for distressed sections of the Nation—a point 4 for our own underdeveloped regions.

B. Unemployment

Unemployment continues to hover near 6 percent of our work force. Among Negroes, the unskilled, and the young it is at least twice as high. Unemployment is a disaster for our country—because of the human misery it directly causes, because of its crippling effect upon the trade-union movement, and because it poses a roadblock to the struggle of Negroes and other minorities for economic equality. Any real attack on the other America demands a program designed to end joblessness. Unemployment is not only a disaster—it is a scandal, because the unemployed could be producing goods and services which America and the world want and need. The United States is one of the few important industrial countries in the world with an unemployment rate of more than 2 percent. Steps are possible to guarantee every American, 18 to 65, the right to a job.

1. Make the State employment services really effective agencies. With modern data processing techniques, there is no reason why a worker anywhere in the United States could not learn about all the jobs for which he is qualified within half an hour.

2. If relocation is necessary, governmental grants or loans should be available, as well as assistance in finding and financing housing for the workers and their families.

3. If the worker is qualified for retraining, there should be a program of full support to the worker and his family during training or retraining for whatever occupational openings for which he might qualify. There is no reason why such support should be confined to strictly vocational training; it should range from basic literacy to university education.

4. Public works programs should be selected to give the unemployed useful jobs at their present level of skills, or skills for which they can be easily trained.

5. Direct noncompetitive public employment at some reasonable minimum wage should be created for those who cannot be employed by the above means.

C. Automation and cybernation

Anyone who has read the pamphlet "Cybernation" by Donald Michael, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, is aware of the terrifying problems raised for our society by the forward march of modern technology. While there are disagreements about the exact role of automation in creating unemployment, there is no disagreement that the advance of automation in a nation whose private economy is not dynamically expanding raises the most serious threats of high-level joblessness and economic crisis. We need a large-scale and long-range program to provide economic security for all of our people.

American economic planning must include the following steps:

1. A program of public investment as an antirecession measure.

2. Extension of the principle of the Tennessee Valley Authority to other areas, such as the Columbia and Missouri River Valleys.

3. The serious study of possibilities for public ownership in areas such as oil and other natural resources which are presently exploited by private corporations which often powerfully inject themselves into domestic and foreign policies. Public ownership should also be considered in the basic means of transport. We deplore the subsidization of railroad passenger traffic which allows private operators to reap the profits from freight traffic.

4. Legislation to make the Employment Act of 1946 operative, by requiring Executive action whenever unemployment rises: Federal spending for useful social purposes, progressive tax relief to the broad mass of consumers, a Government banking and finance policy to stimulate maximum investment, etc.

D. Tax policy

Up to the present, tax reform has tended to be often too little, too, late, and too little concerned with the benefit of lower- and middle-income groups. We urge:

1. Raising the personal income tax deduction to $900.

2. Overhauling the whole income tax law structure to make the tax truly progressive and to eliminate loopholes.

3. Ending favoritism to the oil industry, through legislation which would terminate the special oil depletion allowance.

E. The trade-union movement

Today, many liberals are inclined to regard the labor movement as just another bureaucratized structure. Influenced by the apathy, conservatism, or corruption observed in some unions, the liberal is led to a cynical attitude which is a disservice both to liberalism and trade unions. We feel it would be a serious mistake to underestimate the potential represented by the greatest organized force on the liberal side of our social and political spectrum. We believe the labor movement deserves the encouragement and support as well as the friendly criticism of liberals.

1. We support the demand for a 35-hour week, with time and a half for overtime beyond 35 hours, and double time beyond 40 hours, as a partial and short-range response to the problem of automation and unemployment.

2. We urge an increase in the minimum wage, and the inclusion of all types of labor under minimum-wage laws, excepting domestic workers.

3. We support the right of teachers and other public employees to organize and strike.

4. We support all democratic struggles to defend democracy and eliminate racial bias within unions.

F. Consumer protection

American consumers have for too long been denied protection from unscrupulous business practices. Governor Brown, Attorney General Mosk's consumer fraud section, and President Johnson have all indicated their concern for this problem. The establishment of a consumer counsel for California is commendable, as is President Johnson's appointment of a Federal counsel. The work of these offices needs to be strengthened by prompt enactment by the Congress of a truth-in-lending bill, and a truth-in-packaging bill.

* * * * *

IX. NATURAL RESOURCES

The natural resources of California and the United States, while abundant, are not unlimited and must be protected from wasteful exploitation, safeguarded against monopolistic control, and developed and preserved in the best public interest. The principles and policies under which our natural resources are developed will help to determine the distribution of economic opportunity and power, and consequently, the vigor of our democracy. We support the following policies:

A. Water, power, and land

California and the American West require an orderly and democratic development of all the water resources available to us, along the general lines suggested by former President Truman's united western concept. In addition to available interior water resources we urge an expanded crash program for the conversion of sea water to meet western water shortages which are only decades away.

Both water and the electric energy derived from it must be subject to strict enforcement of antimonopoly and antispeculation regulations, in line with recent decisions made by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall on the Pine Flat and Isabella projects. This policy should be extended to all water passing through the San Luis project, and all electric power at any public dam in the West. We would urge the establishing of an integrated and publicly owned electric power intertie between California and the Pacific Northwest as proposed by Secretary Udall.

Large California landholdings, available for agricultural uses, were created by railroad grants, special giveaway legislation and Spanish land grants, and benefit a few large landowners and private utilities. When land is tightly held and exploited as much of the western San Joaquin Valley is, the quality of the social, economic and political life of the community is demeaned. Democracy and individual liberty suffers whether the large holdings exist in South America or in California. We therefore urge application of the Federal 160-acre acreage limitation law to all land irrigated from federally subsidized reclamation installations, including the so-called State service area of the San Luis project.

B. Public land

Recreation facilities at all reservoirs should be provided, in line with the policy advocated by Democratic Congressman B. F. SISK, including public control of surrounding land. There should be an expansion of State and National public parks, including the setting aside of at least one new national park in the Washington Cascades and one in the Great Plains, as outlined by Secretary Udall, and the Indiana Dunes as proposed by Democratic Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois. For the preservation of our wilderness land, we need immediate protective legislation similar to that proposed by former President Kennedy.

C. Other resources

1. We suggest public control of atomic energy patents developed under Government contract.

2. We call for public control of communications space satellites, preferably through the United Nations.

3. We urge a severance tax on all oil and minerals in California as proposed in 1959 by Gov. Edmund G. Brown.

X. AGRICULTURE

American agriculture is faced with three fundamental problems, all of which are concerned with the deterioration of the distributive process: (1) Upgrading the nutritional standards of millions of Americans; (2) insuring the farmer a fair return for his efforts; and (3) protecting the consumer against high prices and quality deficiencies. To accomplish these goals, we suggest the following steps:

1. Expansion of President Johnson's investigation into the disparity in wholesale and retail prices of farm products.

2. The continuation of long-term low interest farm loans.

3. The implementation of Federal and State marketing orders including marketing and production research, trade promotion and quality improvement.

4. Support for farm cooperatives in purchasing farm supplies and processing equipment, and in marketing farm commodities.

5. Expeditious development and orderly distribution of additional water for arid and semiarid areas.

We further recognize a sectional problem in our southwest and encourage the Governors and legislatures of our own State and neigh-

boring States to work toward emergency legislation to create housing and a minimum wage for farm and other migratory laborers in order to fill the needed labor force without another extension of the bracero program.

XI. FOREIGN POLICY

"We are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation," stated Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in March of 1964, "and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities and we are seeking to escape the contradictions by narrowing the permissible bounds of public discussion, by relegating an increasing number of ideas and viewpoints to a growing category of unthinkable thoughts."

The California Federation of Young Democrats is dedicated to thinking unthinkable thoughts, and pursuing their implications, as our contribution to the constant search for new possibilities which may lead us to world peace and justice. To that end, we present the following proposals:

A. Dictatorships

We stand opposed to communism and all other forms of dictatorship, which seek to create monolithic worlds, destroying the free development of men's minds, beliefs, and cultures. As the world's most powerful exponent of the revolutionary belief in the rights of men everywhere, the United States must take a firm and unequivocal stand against all forms of dictatorship. Opposition to communism alone will not suffice in a world filled with millions who are impoverished materially and spiritually. We must make clear to the world exactly what we are for and not only what we are against.

B. The United Nations

We believe that world peace can be best preserved and world holocaust averted through some kind of world federal government. To that end, the United Nations is our best available instrument. It is indeed man's "last, best hope" for peace. It is an essential forum for the development of that measure of world understanding and trust which will permit more binding international arrangements for the well-being of humanity.

We commend the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson for their support of the U.N. as a means of solving international conflicts and promoting international governmental arrangements, and we urge the present administration to increase its support of the U.N.

We condemn the American ultraright for its vicious and ignorant attacks on the U.N. We are now a leading world power, not an isolated and isolationist minor state, and rightwing attempts to lead us back to yesteryear can only serve the causes of international communism and the frustration of universal human aspirations.

We propose the following program to solidify and strengthen the position of the U.N. in its quest for world order:

1. We believe that all countries must pay their just share of the costs of the U.N. and we call for enforcement of the provision in the U.N. Charter which calls for loss of voting rights for a nation whose debt exceeds established limits.

2. The U.N. should be strengthened to the point where it can enforce the decisions of the World Court.

3. The Connally reservation to U.S. participation in the U.N., preventing our full participation in the World Court, should be removed.

4. The United States should ratify the Genocide Convention.

5. The United States should ratify the convention against slavery and forced labor and the convention for political rights for women.

C. Disarmament and peace

The imperative of our day is peace. Without peace, no human values, no civilization will survive but only "the unsullied reign of dust and ashes." We believe that the United States must continue its efforts to negotiate an acceptable disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union and other nations. We are compelled to explore every opportunity for the establishment of an effective disarmament agreement with proper controls. This agreement must be a step-by-step process with adequate international safeguards so as to promote trust between nations and proper domestic economic planning to insure continued prosperity during reconversion.

D. Military policies

We support Secretary of Defense McNamara in his drive to assert civilian leadership in the Pentagon and we strongly support the historical constitutional concept of civilian sovereignty over the military. We further applaud his cutbacks in defense spending, and elimination of unneeded military bases and duplications in defense procurements.

We applaud the increased emphasis on conventional forces as an instrument of national policy. Where massive retaliation is the only alternative to surrender, the implementation of policy is made more difficult and more dangerous.

We strongly commend the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for opposing the spread of nuclear information and materials for military purposes to any nation. The dangers of accidental explosions leading to nuclear war are greatly enhanced if the nuclear trigger is held by many nations. We recommend, however, the continued transmission of such materials and information for peaceful purposes. We oppose the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force on the grounds that it encourages the dissemination of nuclear weapons.

E. Latin America

Believing that economic progress with social justice is the only effective and meaningful way to combat all forms of totalitarianism, including communism, we support the Alliance for Progress and call for a rededication of our best efforts toward the success of this program. Furthermore, we believe that where planned private investment fails to meet the goals necessary for the effective implementation of the Alliance for Progress, public funds should be used in socially useful and beneficial ways in order to compensate for the lack of private investment.

We feel that the basic purpose of Alliance-for-Progress money is reform in employment, land distribution, and health. Its purpose is not to prolong dictatorial regimes nor to help the United States or any Latin American country for a short run political purpose or cold war goal. Therefore, we oppose the use of Alliance funds for narrow purposes alien to the original goals of the Alliance.

Because we believe that one of the aims of the Alliance for Progress is to create in Latin American states a climate in which political democracy can become strengthened, we call upon the U.S. Government to decrease, and cease, if necessary, the flow of Alliance-for-Progress moneys and materials to those nations ruled by oligarchies and dictators who are making insufficient efforts to comply with the conditions established as criteria for aid under the Alliance for Progress.

F. Cuba

We recognize the Cuban revolution to be symptomatic of the unrest and impatience sweeping Latin America, an unrest and dissatisfaction borne of years of physical deprivation and unmet desires for a better life built upon individual dignity and personal liberty.

We must come to terms with this revolution of rising expectations. No matter how unpleasant the fact may be, much of the bitterness of these revolutions is directed toward the United States. We can only break down barriers of confusion, emotion, and misinformation so long as we keep open all the channels of communications and debate.

We do not agree with the totalitarian methods of the Cuban Government. We do not agree with all of the actions taken by the Cuban Government. Yet, we cannot hope either to support and strengthen the legitimate aims of the Cuban people or to minimize Soviet influence in Cuba if we do not have open and complete commuication.

We have taken steps to lessen tension between ourselves and the Soviet Union. It is time we took similar steps in regard to Cuba.

Therefore, we call upon the United States to open talks with the Cuban Government directed toward a resumption of normal diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries and full payment for American property expropriated.

G. Middle East

We deplore the increased buildup of arms in the Middle East and call for stronger U.N. peacekeeping operaitons there. We also call for a regional arms control agreement for the area and the neutrality of the Middle East guaranteed by the U.N.

We urge Israel and the Arab States to negotiate their differences. Peace in the Middle East can become a reality with the realization of the opposing parties that there are grievances on both sides. All the people of the Middle East desire a better life, a wish that will only become reality with the casing of tensions.

H. Vietnam

Our present policy of responding to Communist agitation in the underdeveloped areas of the world on primarily a military basis fails to recognize the crying need for progressive economic changes and democratic reforms demanded by the population in those areas. Such a policy presents the people with a choice between military dictatorship on one hand and totalitarian revolutionary movements on the other, with no meaningful democratic alternative in between. We therefore urge the United States to take the leadership in pressing for peace and democracy in southeast Asia by calling for a conference of the powers involved to discuss periodic United Nations supervised elections to unify North and South Vietnam in such a way as will neutralize the area.

I. China

It has become obvious that an increasing number of our friends will no longer continue to support our intransigent mainland China policy of no trade, no recognition, no seat in the U.N.

Our China policy can no longer be considered realistic in light of changing world conditions. China is a major power and solutions to many of the world's problems cannot be reached without her agreement. No disarmament agreement would be valuable without the inclusion of China. Many spokesmen such as Governor Brown and the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have cited the need for trade with China in nonstrategic goods. General De Gaulle has stated that no solution in southeast Asia is possible without China.

Therefore, we urge American diplomatic recognition of the Peiping government and the development of an American policy for the seating of China in the United Nations

J. World economy

The Kennedy round of tariff discussions point the way to the careful and gradual reduction of trade barriers throughout the world. A world that erects economic walls to divide itself leads us to that narrow nationalism which creates tension between na-

tions. The lowering of economic barriers, will, on the other hand, lead to an increase in the communication between nations—a step that will lessen their conflicts.

K. Africa

The apartheid policy of the South African Government is an affront to every civilized practice of democracy and human rights and stands condemned before the forums of the United Nations. We strongly condemn these inhuman acts of violence and call on the United States to support motions in the United Nations for economic pressure against South Africa directed toward the elimination of apartheid.

Space Age Electronics Speed the Wheels of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on June 16 of this year the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, president judge, court of comon pleas, Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa., delivered a significant speech before the conference of judges and court administrators. The judge, a former Member of the House of Representatives, made a series of recommendations regarding the use of automated data processing systems for court administration. I wish to call his suggestions to the attention of the Members of Congress:

"SPACE AGE ELECTRONICS SPEED THE WHEELS OF JUSTICE"—AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY ELLENBOGEN, PRESIDENT JUDGE, COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PITTSBURGH, PA., ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERENCE OF JUDGES AND COURT ADMINISTRATORS STUDYING THE USE OF AUTOMATED DATA PROCESSING SYSTEMS FOR COURT ADMINISTRATION, JUNE 16, 1964

I am pleased to welcome so distinguished an audience, consisting of president and associate judges, court administrators, and public officials. You represent the largest metropolitan courts of the United States, and other organization or institutions which are vitally concerned with the improvement of the administration of the courts.

You have taken time out of your busy lives to come to Pittsburgh from California, Texas and New York, from Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, and other big cities. Your presence proves that you share our belief that the adoption of an automated data processing system for use in the civil division of large metropolitan courts marks an important advance in the administration of justice.

Your problems are our problems. Your presence here today shows your interest in the progress which we have made in court administration.

GOLD RESTORED TO GOLDEN TRIANGLE

Pittsburgh, once defamed the world over as the "Smoky City," is today hailed for restoring the gold to its Golden Triangle. Smoke control, urban renewal, and teamwork between local government and industrial and business leaders have combined to give Pittsburgh both clear skies and a shining new reputation among the major cities of the United States.

It is my fond hope that our progress in court administration may add new luster to the image of the city of Pittsburgh and the county of Allegheny.

The law's delays pose an even greater threat to the well-being and the happiness of the people of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County than did the smoke-filled skies of yesterday's Pittsburgh. Modern technology has given us a new Pittsburgh. Modern technology can help us solve the problems of court congestion and delay.

Our problems, I assure you, are both tremendous and acute.

The court of common pleas is the highest trial court in Pennsylvania. Its general jurisdiction embraces all cases, civil, criminal, and equity. All political and economic questions which are litigated and up in our court.

EIGHTH LARGEST COURT IN NATION

Our court is a large court; indeed it is the eighth largest metropolitan court in the United States. It consists of 19 judges, and, in its various divisions, has 204 employees.

Our judges are sincere and hard working. They faced up to the fact that old philosophies and old procedures were inadequate to deal even with the daily influx of new cases. From year to year the backlog of untried cases in our court was getting larger and ever larger. We became convinced that a new approach to the whole problem was necessary, that a solution had to be found to preserve the faith of our people in the courts, in the judges, and in the administration of justice.

This was the climate in which I succeeded to the position of president judge of the court of common pleas of Allegheny County.

Justice becomes faint, and often fails, when our citizens must wait years for their day in court. Gladstone was eternally right when he said, "Justice delayed is justice denied." Remedial action was called for—and quickly.

What was the cause of the ever-growing backlog? How did it come about?

HORSE AND BUGGY METHODS OUTDATED

It is easy to answer that question. The cause of the backlog was the motor vehicle, and the ever-increasing number of serious accidents which attended its use.

The increase in population, the migration from the rural areas into the cities, the expansion of business and industry, all these played their part. But the dominating cause, the one factor which overshadowed all others, was the ever growing number of serious automobile accidents caused by millions of motor vehicles crowding our streets and highways.

For all practical purposes the procedures and the practices of the courts, the court dockets with their handwritten entries, indeed, the whole recordkeeping machinery and administrative techniques have changed little from what they were in the days of the horse and buggy, and even of the oxcart. With this antiquated, obsolete machinery, we were attempting to handle the flood of litigation in this age of the automobile, the airplane, and the space vehicle.

This is the root and the core of the problem. Today, practically all our activities are mechanized. Our business and social life is dependent on the motor vehicle.

HIGHWAY ACCIDENTS, 78 PERCENT OF CASELOAD

Motor vehicle accidents causing property damages and personal injuries constitute 78 percent of our caseload today.

When the judges of our court began to face this problem squarely, it became obvious that the administrative machinery of the court must be made as modern and up-to-date as the society which we are serving.

When I became President Judge on March 1, 1963, I wanted to determine the dimensions of our problem. I asked our clerks to make a careful check of our records and to advise me how large our backlog was, what type of cases it included, and how long a case had to wait before it could be tried.

After some days I got answers to some of my questions, answers which admittedly were not reliable and not complete. Some of my questions could not be answered at all by a study of our records.

I found cases that were 10 years old. Some were even older. Some had been put away in special files and drawers and then forgotten.

GOOD STAFF BUT BAD SYSTEM

The fault was not that of the clerks. It was the system, or rather the lack of system.

We had a good staff for the preparation of our trial list. And yet more often than not, our daily trial list broke down. The trial court rooms were open but empty; the judges were available but there were no cases for them. In short, our judicial manpower was wasted, the backlog was growing, and the lawyers were fretting.

I quickly realized that our caseload had outgrown our administrative machinery. To improve our system would not solve our problem. What was needed was a radical change, an entirely new system.

I want to emphasize right here that the automated data processing system which you saw demonstrated this morning is but a part of the answer. It gives us the necessary facts speedily and up to date.

NEW CONCEPT OF ADMINISTRATION VITAL

However, it is necessary to realize that the administrator still has the responsibility of utilizing this tool of the space age in an efficient manner. Along with modern technology must come a new concept of court administration. Indeed, we might call it a change in the basic administrative philosophy of the judges of the court.

If we are to attack successfully the problems posed by the ever-mounting backlog of personal injury cases, we must face and answer the question as to who is responsible for moving a case along and seeing to it that it is disposed of. Is it the court and its judges, or is it the lawyers for the plaintiffs and the defendants?

The answer to that question bears upon the use of a modern, up-to-date automated data processing system for the control and disposition of cases in the civil division of the court.

Lawyers frequently seek continuances of their cases when they are listed for trial. The personal convenience of the lawyers or of the party litigants or witnesses, or the fact that they have other more remunerative or pressing business to attend to elsewhere, brings persistent requests by lawyers to take cases off the trial list and to continue them to an indefinite future date.

Such continuances are responsible for empty trial court rooms; they inevitably bring about waste of judicial manpower and of the court's physical machinery. They are and always have been a substantial contributing cause to the accumulation of a backlog.

LAWYERS TRADITIONALLY SET PACE

In the past, it seemed natural and proper that judges should only pass on cases brought to their attention by the lawyers or parties to the litigation. If the lawyer for the plaintiff for reasons of his own decided to let his case lie dormant and gather dust rather than bring it up for trial, and if the defendant did not object, the judges took no notice of it.

As a rule the judges felt that the speed or lack of speed with which a case moved from the date of filing until the date of trial, or the question of whether it should be tried at all, should be left to the lawyers. It was because of that basic concept that when one of the parties moved to continue a case and

the other party did not object, the judges almost always allowed the case to go off the trial list.

It is certain that continuances are one of the major reasons why cases are often quite old before they come to trial, or why they are allowed to lie in the files of the court for years without ever being called up for trial.

JUDGES MUST EXPEDITE CASES

I submit that this viewpoint is no longer tenable. I believe that once a case is filed in court, it is not only the right, but it is the duty of the judges to see that the case moves to trial and final disposition as expeditiously as possible.

In other words, the judges are responsible for the flow of the cases and for the speed with which they move from filing date to trial. The judges must set up procedural and administrative devices to move the cases along, even though the parties concerned may be indifferent or unwilling to try their cases. To do otherwise permits old cases to grow older, and to accumulate. This interferes with the flow of new cases which are being filed every day and acts as a road block to their being reached for trial. Thus the backlog grows and grows. Soon all cases are subjected to interminable delays before reaching a trial date.

I am firmly of the opinion that a proper regard for speedy justice and for the public interest demands that the court and the judges assume the responsibility for the speedy disposition of all cases filed in the court. This is a matter which must not be left to the discretion or the wishes of the litigants and their lawyers. The judges must make it their business to move the cases along. If a litigant is not willing to have his case tried, it should be dismissed. Once it is filed in court, the case must be disposed of with all reasonable speed.

I am aware of the fact that there are still many judges who hold to the contrary.

CASE ON TRIAL LIST MUST BE TRIED

In our court, we have adopted the principle that a case must move along. Once placed on the trial list it must be tried. It will not be postponed except for compelling reasons, and then only upon a petition under oath stating adequate cause for a continuance.

Parallel with the problem of continuances and aggravating it, is a heavy, indeed, an extreme accumulation of personal injury cases, the bulk of jury trial cases, in the hands of a very few law firms. This is a new development of the last 10 years or so. Our data processing system shows the extraordinary extent of this accumulation. Allegheny County has about 2,400 lawyers, but only 3 percent of the lawyers handle most jury cases.

I do not wish to belabor the lawyers. Their acceptance of clients who come to them is understandable. Until now, however, these law firms were not aware of their contribution to the backlog—backlogs which might be called individual backlogs of specific law firms or of specific litigants, such as the traction company or the city of Pittsburgh.

Bulwarked by our statistics, we are meeting this problem head on by requesting that law firms with individual backlogs engage additional trial lawyers.

The problem of excessive accumulation of personal injury cases in a few law firms makes the preparation of a workable daily trial list very difficult in a large court such as ours. Twelve to 14 civil trial courts and 5 or 6 criminal courts are operating here every trial day.

ELECTRONICS SPEED COURTWORK

Our automated data processing system, shaped and fashioned to our specific needs, has helped to meet this difficulty also.

What are the benefits of this system? What are its advantages over the old-fashioned system which prevailed before its adoption?

There are many. Automated data processing, of course, supplies quickly complete information about our caseload. It provides a most detailed analysis of that caseload. We learn how much of that caseload requires a jury trial; how many cases are equity cases; how many are tax appeals; etc. In other words, we can quickly determine how much of our trial period should be devoted to jury trials, and how much to nonjury sessions. Data processing tells us accurately the average time which it takes to try a case before a judge and jury. This, in turn, helps to determine the size of the daily, weekly, and monthly trial lists. It is important that the data processing system matches plaintiff firms with defense firms. A major snafu would result if we listed the cases without regard to the law firms involved. A few law firms would be swamped. The others would be idle. The list would break down. Many of our courtrooms would be unoccupied. Judicial manpower would be wasted and lost.

CASES AND LAW FIRMS MATCHED

Automated data processing prints a list which allots to each law firm the number of cases which it can handle with its trial personnel. It matches each trial law firm with the opposing law firm. It distributes the work among all available trial firms and trial lawyers, so that the entire trial list can be serviced by the trial bar, so that no law firm has more cases listed for a particular day than it can and should handle. Based upon these considerations, the automated data processing system matches the cases and the law firms, and then prints the daily, weekly, and monthly trial lists with as many copies as are desired.

Basically, we take the oldest cases first. Data processing does that with ease.

Periodically we ask the machines to analyze the backlog and to tell us how many of the older cases have not yet been disposed of. This the machine will do by means of a printed list containing the titles or captions of the cases, the names of the lawyers, the number and term and year when each case was filed, and its number on the issue docket.

This enables us to inquire again into the reason for the delay of each case to determine whether the reason given for passing it by is still valid, and, if invalid, to restore it to the active trial lists. This process goes on periodically so that the average waiting time for all cases is constantly reduced.

LAGGARDS ARE EASILY INDENTIFIED

There is still another basic service which this system provides. It controls the flow of each case.

On October 2, 1963, we adopted an order of court which provides that each case must be placed at issue, that is, declared ready for trial, within 30 days after the pleadings are closed. If the plaintiff fails to do so, the defendant may move for judgment of nonpros. Failing that, the court, of its own motion, may order the case upon the issue docket.

Our automated data processing system searches out the laggards among litigants and lawyers. It advises us when a party fails to comply and move the case along, so that we can compel appropriate action. In this manner we control and speed the flow of litigation. Once at issue, each case is reached in turn.

There is also our order of October 3, 1963. A copy of this order is included in our data processing manual. I direct your attention to it. It makes the automated data processing system an integral part of our court records.

It stipulates that no action in equity or at law, embracing actions of trespass, assumpsit, eminent domain, divorce, ejectment, foreign attachment, fraudulent debtors attachment, libel and slander, mandamus, quiet title, quo warranto, replevin, sci fa sur mechanics lien, or tax appeal, may be commenced in our court unless the plaintiff or his attorney fills out the prescribed source document (punch card) for our automated data processing system.

The order further stipulates that no attorney can enter his appearance or place a case at issue or withdraw his appearance, or issue a praecipe for a writ of scire facias for adding additional parties, or discontinue and settle a case without filling out the appropriate form.

For the benefit of our guests here today, and so that other courts may have the benefit of our experience, we have prepared a manual on the operation of the automated data processing system in use in our court, which we have distributed to you. This manual contains the detailed operation of the system. Therefore we need not discuss it here.

AN 8,000 BACKLOG CUT TO 5,559

The substantial reduction in our backlog of cases is an achievement in which every judge of this court played a part, and in which everyone can take pride. When I became president judge on March 1, 1963, the backlog of cases at issue was about 8,000. As of June 15, it is 5,559.

During this period our court disposed of an amazing total of 3,703 jury cases—2,414 of them from our inherited backlog. This means that we have been able to dispose of many more cases than have been newly filed.

It would not be true to say that this is due solely to the use of the automated data processing system. We have instituted a number of procedural reforms which are largely responsible for our success, and we are planning additional reforms. However, it is true that the data processing system has been of substantial help to us in our task. Each new procedural reform has been analyzed and tested by it. Furthermore, it has supplied a steady check for us to see whether we are moving ahead or falling behind.

The United States is the most advanced country in the world. Its technology is ahead of that of every other country. Its courts should make use of the modern miracles of technology to provide the most efficient machinery to dispense justice.

My colleagues on the court and I are gratified that we have been able to adapt an automated data processing system to the needs of a large metropolitan court in handling the civil caseload.

THRESHOLD OF BASIC REFORM

I believe that we stand at the threshold of a great and basic reform in court administration. Our use of automated data processing is just at the beginning. We intend to refine it further. We plan to extend its use to many other divisions of this court. We feel great satisfaction in charting a new course in the field of judicial administration, and in having adapted the products of modern technology to one of the oldest fields of human endeavor.

Electronic control and management of court cases are not important in themselves. Neither is the availability of complete and accurate statistics of the court activity, but speedy and complete justice is important. Throughout all of history, men of vision have led the way to enlightened law and justice.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States enumerates the aims and purposes which inspired the framers of the Constitution. Listed as the very first goal is, "to establish justice."

To establish justice—this is our aim. This is our purpose. We have dedicated our very lives to this goal.

The courts are an ancient and honorable institution. Each generation must do its

part to uphold the ideal of full and complete justice and to adjust the machinery of the courts to the age in which it lives. It is our humble hope that the innovations which we have pioneered in Allegheny County, and which you have seen today, will contribute to the improvement of justice in the courts of law in the United States of America. The United States—man's last great hope for justice, freedom, and liberty, should lead the way toward making justice speedy and complete.

Happy Birthday, Miss Helen Keller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, June 27, was the 84th birthday of my most remarkable constituent, Miss Helen Keller. Miss Keller, who has been both blind and deaf throughout her life, has become an international symbol of human courage. She is the author of nine books, and continues as a counselor for the American Foundation for the Blind and the American Foundation for Oversea Blind, for whom she formerly toured the world and lectured on behalf of the blind and the deaf. Millions of Americans have taken her into their hearts after seeing "The Miracle Worker," the well-known play and movie which was based on her liberation from a world of darkness and silence.

I am happy to extend my warmest congratulations to this great lady who has so courageously demonstrated the ruggedness of the human spirit. The New York Herald Tribune, June 29, 1964, carried an article on Miss Keller which, with permission to extend my remarks, I include herewith:

HELEN KELLER'S SEAT ON THE TERRACE—NEIGHBORS DROP IN FOR HER 84TH BIRTHDAY

(By Don Ross)

EASTON, CONN.—Helen Keller, the blind and deaf woman who has become a world-wide symbol of the toughness of the human spirit observed her 84th birthday yesterday her at her white clapboard home, Arcan Ridge.

She suffered a slight stroke about a year ago and, although she has almost completely recovered from it, she is no longer permitted by her physician to go downstairs. She likes to sit on the terrace outside her bedroom, often with Tinker, her dachshund.

At the back of Miss Keller's spacious house there is a cedar railing that winds down to the garden where she used to love to smell the flowers that she couldn't see. The railing is no longer used and there are now flowers in boxes on her terrace. Helen Keller without flowers, a friend once said, would be unthinkable; and Mark Twain, who profoundly admired her courage, remarked that she had as rare a fragrance as any flower.

NINE BOOKS

Miss Keller, author of nine books, has given up her writing and lecturing. She devoted herself to traveling and writing in the interests of the blind-deaf, and she once said that no life was deeply lived unless it was dedicated to others. Now the blind-deaf will have to find another great champion.

Her last public appearance was in Washington, D.C., on April 8, 1961. President Kennedy received her at the White House.

Though she is in retirement, she still holds the title of counselor on national and international relations for the American Foundation for the Blind and the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, 15 West 16th Street, in New York, in whose behalf she toured the world and became one of its best-known women.

BELOVED "TEACHER"

Miss Keller's immediate family includes only her sister, Mrs. Mildred Tyson, of Montgomery, Ala., and her brother, Phillips Brooks Keller, of Dallas, Tex. But she has what has been described as "slews" of nieces, nephews, great-nieces and great-nephews. Mrs. Tyson was born at just about the time when young Helen, then a violent, unruly 7-year-old who could utter only shrill cries like a wild animal, was being liberated from her dark and silent world by her teacher, Miss Anne Sullivan.

It was Miss Sullivan, herself almost blind, who taught the struggling, kicking Helen Keller that there were words and that they had a meaning and that through them she could communicate with other human beings. Miss Sullivan, Helen Keller's beloved "teacher"—she never called her anything else—died in 1936.

The poignant moment when Miss Sullivan thrust the young Helen's left hand under a water pump and at the same time kept "spelling" into her right hand the manual alphabet symbol for water—and finally made the child understand—has become a prized possession of millions of Americans, thanks in large part to the successful play and movie, "The Miracle Worker" in which Patty Duke was young Helen and Anne Bancroft was Anne Sullivan.

Neighbors are expected to drop in today to pay their respects at the house that was named for South Arcan, Scotland, where Miss Keller and teacher used to spend pleasant vacation days. (The first Arcan Ridge in Easton burned to the ground November 23, 1946 and the second, almost a replica, was built some months later.)

DEAR FRIENDS

Among Miss Keller's dearest friends these days are Miss Katharine Cornell, the actress, and Miss Nancy Hamilton, Miss Cornell's secretary. Miss Cornell and Miss Hamilton know the manual alphabet, which is used by friends to converse with Miss Keller. Miss Keller holds out her right hand, cupped and palm up, with the thumb and first finger separated. Her friends then form letter symbols by the pressure of their finger against Miss Keller's hand. In times past, Miss Keller also has "read" her friends' lips and throats by placing her sensitive fingers against them, but she uses this method less frequently these days.

Among those who now visit Miss Keller regularly are the three trustees who take care of her business affairs. They are James S. Adams, of Greenwich; Richard H. Migel, of Monroe, N.Y., and Jansen Noyes, Jr., of Darien.

From the American Foundation for the Blind frequently comes Mrs. Mary Gallagher, whose title is Administrative Secretary for Helen Keller Affairs. She handles Miss Keller's correspondence. M. Robert Barnett, the foundation's executive secretary, also visits Miss Keller.

The household staff at Arcan Ridge consists of three women—a supervisor, a housekeeper, and a cook.

Miss Keller has outlived the two women who were closest to her—Miss Sullivan and Miss Polly Thomson, who succeeded Miss Sullivan as her companion. Miss Thomson died in 1960. Mrs. Evelyn D. Seide, who had been Miss Keller's secretary for years, succeeded Miss Thomson as companion, but her services in this latter role were not long needed because it was shortly after this that Miss Keller made her last public appearance.

Battle of Gettysburg Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, each year the Gettysburg Fire Department marks the anniversary of the battle with appropriate services.

Sunday evening, June 28, Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin, of Baltimore, gave the anniversary address, on the high school football field. This was followed by an inspiring concert played by the Marine Corps School Band of Quantico, Va.

The mayor's address follows:

ADDRESS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (JULY 1, 2, 3), GETTYSBURG, PA., SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 1964

One hundred and one years have passed since the greatest tragedy in American history reached its culmination on this spot; and on this spot a few months later was delivered the speech that for a hundred years has remained the supreme example of American oratory. Lincoln was dedicating a memorial to the past, but he dismissed that briefly and turned his attention to the present and the future—"it is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

After a century and more that warning remains in full force and effect. There is still a great task remaining before us, and it is for us here to be dedicated to that task rather than to the remembrance of things past. The union was preserved at Gettysburg, but the first words of the document creating the Union, the Constitution of the United States, are: "We the people * * * to form a more perfect union * * * do ordain and establish this Constitution."

Other things are mentioned, but our first proclaimed purpose then was "to form a more perfect Union," and it remains our purpose today. Note carefully that the phrase is not "a perfect Union," but "a more perfect Union." The men who wrote the Constitution were realists. They knew that perfection is not attainable in this world. But they were also progressives. They believed that a closer approach to perfection is always possible, therefore "to form a more perfect Union" is a continuing process. It is "the great task remaining before us" as it was before the people who listened to Lincoln on the field of Gettysburg in 1863. And it is for us, as it was for them, to be dedicated to that task.

I regard it as a most happy circumstance that just a few days before this celebration we took another long step toward the formation of a more perfect Union. I am keenly aware of the fact that the passage of Federal civil rights legislation will not solve all our racial problems, any more than the Battle of Gettysburg solved all the problems of dissension within the Union; but as the battle made it possible for the Union to survive, so passage of the civil rights bill makes it possible for our ideal to survive—the ideal of equal justice under law. It is true that we have not yet attained that ideal; but it is

equally true—and this is what counts—that we have not abandoned that ideal, we have not turned our backs upon it, we are still marching toward it. Therefore it is our right to cry to the spirit of Lincoln, brooding over this battlefield, "We are coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more"—no, not 300,000, 160 million, willing a larger measure of justice to a minority of 20 million.

While that spirit animates us we can listen untroubled to the admonition of 1863, "that these honored dead shall not have died in vain." For every step we take toward establishing equal justice for all men is proof that they have not died in vain. We may indeed regret that our progress is not faster; but that regret is counterbalanced by rejoicing that we do move forward, not toward, old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago.

I am not forgetting that this view of our present situation meets with strong dissent in certain quarters; but neither am I forgetting that in 1863 one-third of the country saw the Battle of Gettysburg as undiluted calamity. But that view is no longer taken by intelligent Americans anywhere. There are no more loyal citizens of a far greater and more powerful union than the descendants of the losers on this field. Over and over again, they have sealed their faith with their blood—at Santiago, at Chateau Thierry, at Bastogne, at Okinawa, on Heartbreak Ridge in Korea.

Nor do I believe that it will be long before those perturbed spirits see in the events of 1964 that distress them now an outcome fully as fortunate as the defeat of secession. For it is a far from perfect union, it is not even a free country in which any man drags a chain riveted upon him by the law of the land. It does not matter that it may be an invisible chain whose links are not of iron, but of discrimination, deprivation, unequal justice; they are still chains, and when we strike them off we obey the injunction cast on the surface of the Liberty Bell—"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

But the crown of our good fortune in 1964 is the fact that this long stride forward was made possible, not by the terrible ordeal of battle but by the orderly processes of self-government, by taking counsel together, by substituting ballots for bullets. A victory without carnage is twice as great a triumph as one won by fire and steel. But as we stand here let us never forget that such a victory in our time was made possible by the men who fought here with blood and iron. Indeed, they did not die in vain.

Yet on this occasion I think there is another speech made by Lincoln that we should bear in mind. I refer to the second inaugural when, at the end of a great war, he asserted that the first duty of the American people was to "bind up the Nation's wounds." We should bear that in mind today, for the battle over civil rights has left wounds. I do not think they are deep, but even a superficial wound left unattended can give great trouble.

We must face the fact that there are some among us who seem inclined rather to irritate than to bind up the wounds. I am frank to say that I do not understand their mental processes. When it is suggested, apparently in all seriousness, that the political history of the past 30 years should be, or could be reversed, I simply don't know what those people are talking about.

For my part, I think we may take pride in the record of the past 30 years. Of course, it isn't perfect. Part of the time under Democratic, part of the time under Republican leadership, we have done some unwise things, some wasteful things, some downright stupid things; but I do not believe that we have done many vicious things. The few incidents that I recall with shame were never the work of the responsible party leadership, and I grant that to the other party as well as to my own. They were always the work of some irresponsible individual on the lower political levels and usually in revolt against the leaders of his own party.

It is my opinion that the overall record of this Republican for the past 30 years shows progress toward, not away from the ideal of equal justice for all men. No doubt we still have a long way to go, but the point at issue is not the distance we have covered, but the direction we have taken. To reverse history is, of course, impossible, but if it were possible in this case it would be undesirable, for it would mean going in the opposite direction, the direction of inequality, of oppression, of injustice.

To suggest such an about-face, even as theoretically desirable, is not to bind up the Nation's wounds, but rather to rub salt into them. The curative process is to make every effort to see that the new legislation is applied to the purpose for which it was designed. This means that it must not carry any infection of greed, self-interest, or malice. The body politic was never infected by equal justice, for it is an antiseptic; the damage is done when wounds are exposed to ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. Men who handle such things are not competent to bind up the Nation's wounds.

There is no more appropriate spot than the field of Gettysburg on which to consider our duty as citizens who have inherited the task of carrying on what Lincoln called "the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced." That was not partisan work. It was not work for the advantage of any party, or faction, or caste, or class; it was to proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.

To the extent that each of us works honestly and sincerely to establish equal justice under law we shall be binding up the Nation's wounds. To the extent that our efforts are successful, those wounds will prove to be superficial, and will soon heal without leaving a scar. But the task admits of no delay. The time is now; for even trifling injuries not given first aid promptly may soon be hard to heal, and if they were deliberately irritated and inflamed might swiftly pass beyond the power of medication and require surgery too severe to be contemplated without a shudder.

Let us leave this field, then, determined to do everything in our power, not in some distant future, but tomorrow, to discourage every effort to divide our people, to turn back the clock, to reverse history; for only so can we discharge the duty laid upon us in Lincoln's immortal words: "Highly resolve that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, or the people shall not perish from the earth."

Polls as Political Weapons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, from now until the Republican Convention, we are going to be surfeited with polls which are used primarily to influence delegates and in all probability have little or no basis in truthfully representing public opinion, as noted by William S. White in his column entitled "The Passing Scene" which appeared in the Washington Star of June 29. Mr. White's article follows:

THE PASSING SCENE
(By William S. White)

POLLS AS POLITICAL WEAPONS

Gov. William Scranton's forces are now calling in the most doubtful of all "sciences"—that of the pollsters—in their attempt to defeat Senator BARRY GOLDWATER for the Republican presidential nomination.

The gathering purpose is to saturate the country with all sorts of polls showing or purporting to show that "GOLDWATER can't win" and with chilling statistics suggesting that with Senator GOLDWATER on the ticket the GOP might as well not go into the campaign at all.

The first and most obvious shortcoming of this tactic from the point of view of the Republicans themselves is that they may well wind up with Senator GOLDWATER as their candidate anyhow, meanwhile having drenched the Nation with violent claims that he is as good as licked before he reaches the starting line. But there are other and far deeper shortcomings.

DESTROYING A CANDIDATE

Nothing in law or Constitution forbids the effort. The technique of attempting to destroy a candidacy before the voters themselves get an opportunity at it has before this been shown in American politics—though not on the present scale.

All the same—and in spite of the profound objective likelihood that in all present circumstances Senator GOLDWATER would indeed stand a very thin chance against President Johnson—those who take up this weapon are accepting a heavy responsibility.

There is, first of all, an unavoidable question as to whether this form of polling for propaganda purposes is not an abuse of fair play and a means of subverting free and thoughtful voter choice by creating—rather than merely reporting—a reverse bandwagon psychology against a marked candidate.

Then there is, second, the important related question as to how disinterested and reliable the polls generally really are and whether they are not taking onto themselves an undue place and weight in the American electoral process.

Is this form of half-hidden persuasion actually a good thing, a tolerable thing, or simply and clearly a bad thing in a political society supposedly resting upon the conscientious and dutiful choices of millions of individual voters as to what candidate ought to be elected rather than what candidate can be elected?

The issues posed here are by no means novel to those whose professional obligations have required them for years now to ponder anxiously the increasing—if not now overweening—power of the polling industry in this land. Many sensitive newspaper editors, for example, are troubled between the right and duty to give the people all the news, against the undoubted possibility that some of the polls sometimes more nearly make the news, by creating public attitudes, than merely pass it on to the public.

The true question here is not whether Senator GOLDWATER can in fact be denied the nomination. Nor do his public positions—some of which to this columnist for one have long seemed honorably but badly wrong—have anything whatever to do with the matter at hand.

GOOD AND BAD POLLS

For the true question here goes to the heart of what is a proper public philosophy. It is not whether Senator GOLDWATER should be stopped, but rather what means and methods for trying to stop him are permissible in a responsible political society.

The system of nominating high public officials in America has for more than one century been consciously based on the idea not merely of a free choice for the sovereign voters but of a free choice sheltered to the

last possible degree from the intrusions of such things as gimmickry and hucksterism. These things are foreign to free choice, in any adult sense.

There are, of course, some good and useful polls—the Gallup and Roper polls, for illustration—and this column is in no way an attack upon them. But there are polls and polls. And some of them go on seemingly unchallenged from one major error to another because our political processes are simply not geared to make objective evaluations of either their competence or their motives.

The more or less unidentified poll, the "they-say" poll, the gee-whiz, isn't-it-ghastly poll, is a most dubious political weapon—quite regardless of what one may think of the person against whom it is being used.

The Results of Changing Our Constitutional Concepts by Supreme Court Rulings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming more and more evident that a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court have accepted the notion that a new order must be brought about in the United States by the judicial, rather than the legislative branch. That such a concept will do violence to constitutional government is without doubt. That such a concept will lead to dissension and internal disorder is being proven daily in the lawless demonstrations and flaunting of law-enforcement officers in every part of the country.

The strength of our Government was built on a respect for the Constitution and the authority of the law. The law was respected because it was developed through careful and deliberate consideration by elected representatives of the people. The problems of violence and lawlessness began with the breakdown of the separation of powers as set forth in the Constitution, when the Executive and the Supreme Court seized the power which should remain in the hands of Congress.

An interesting point on what is happening under the Supreme Court concept of government is developed in the following editorial from the Dallas Morning News of June 27, 1964:

IF IT HAD NOT COME UP

Negro partisans now act as if the civil rights bill were law and had already passed both Houses of Congress, which is confidently expected. Also expected is militant enforcement of what has been constitutionally implied for a century.

Less articulate and pugnacious, however, are the millions of detached and uninvolved observers among both races who were spurred to meditation, anyhow, in this the 10th year of the Supreme Court scholastic judgment.

Suppose the ruling on integration had not come up. Suppose the States with heavy Negro populations had not been confronted with bayonets in challengeable lower court force rulings.

A social stratification not based on pigmentation was taking place everywhere, and faster in the South than in the North. There are records of scholastic integration based on a human being's qualifications and not on token ratios of whites to blacks. Negro concert societies and theaters in New Orleans, Dallas, and elsewhere were giving programs to unsegregated audiences.

Long before Metropolitan Opera Soprano Leontyne Price came on the scene, Dallas was buying tickets to hear the "Black Patti," Roland Hayes, Marian Anderson, et al. Marion Anderson was not the outstanding Negro mezza-soprano but one of the most distinguished art-song singers in international music.

The force provisions of the 1954 decision, symbolized by the Little Rock imbroglio, actually hardened feelings. The result now is a deeper racial cleavage that will take five times as long to mend as did the facts of pre-1954 biracialism.

The substance of equality was set back for fanatical pursuit of the forms. The Supreme Court decision, further, gave rise to a judicial philosophy that makes any five politically untouchable Justices (a majority of nine) the arbiters of human nature and, fearfully, the rulers by decree in some areas.

The Court, now in recess until October, continues more and more to reform rather than to decide. An exasperated Justice Harlan objects strenuously to some of the Court's recent rulings and particularly to the view on the Court that it should reform when other branches of the Government fail to act.

The private acts of individuals, as well as their private property, are controlled by Court decree. States not only are told to redistrict—but told how to do it even to percentage points.

Negroes, in the meantime, still express doubt that the civil rights bill can or will insure fulfilment of their ambitions. Their followers are being enjoined to continue their picketing, marching, and sit-in techniques.

Peace—it once was wonderful.

State Taxation Subcommittee Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce of the House Committee on the Judiciary, on which I serve, issued the first part of its report pursuant to its mandate under Public Law 86–272. It deals with the effect of State income taxes on businesses selling across State lines. We on the subcommittee were aware of the importance of the questions being studied, but it has only been since the filing of the report that the great magnitude of the interest of the business community and other concerned Americans has become apparent.

I know that requests for copies of House Report No. 1480 have been received by a great many offices on both sides of Capitol Hill. The mass media have assigned much importance to this subject which vitally affects hundreds of thousands of businesses throughout the United States. By and large, they have performed good service to their readers by lucidly explaining a complex subject.

As an example, I should like at this time to present for the information of my colleagues a story on House Report No. 1480 which appeared in the June 20, 1964, issue of Business Week magazine:

Five years ago, Congress made a historic foray into the maze of State taxes on businesses that operate in more than one State. It passed a law prohibiting States from taxing the income of out-of-State companies that do no more than solicit orders within the State. And it promised more definitive laws after a thorough study.

This week, results of a 3-year study by a special subcommittee began to emerge through the House Judiciary Committee. The first two volumes of the report focus on income taxes; two more volumes, due early next year, will deal with taxes on inventories, sales, and use. With these reports in hand, Congress could act next year.

BASIC CHANGES

This week's report by a subcommittee headed by Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, of Louisiana, makes no legislative recommendations, and WILLIS himself says: "I don't visualize vast revision of State's taxes." But the suggestions of a new approach to taxation of interstate companies add up to fundamental changes—and perhaps a new row over States' rights.

SOURCE OF INCOME

Most of the 38 States and subdivisions that levy business income taxes use "source of income" as their criterion in taxing out-of-State companies. Each State applies its tax to the share of a company's income that was generated within its boundaries.

This has proved to be a cloudy area of decision. The study suggests that it might be better to apply taxes on the basis of the activities of a company that have caused the State to incur costs. International tax law and treaties generally give a country jurisdiction over foreign companies only when they have a "permanent establishment" within the country.

THE COURT TREND

The subcommittee's proposals are flying in the face of Supreme Court decisions trending in the opposite direction, but Representative WILLIS points out that all these rulings have been on State laws. The committee does not think that the courts would rule against Federal laws that set guidelines in this area.

The 1959 law was sparked by a Supreme Court decision that a State could tax a portion of income of an out-of-state company that had a sales office in that State. Shortly afterward, the Court refused to review two cases in which lower courts had upheld State taxes on companies that only solicited orders in the States.

Last week, in a 5-to-4 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the power of the State of Washington to levy a gross receipts tax on General Motors Corp. on business generated within its borders by salesmen who are based in neighboring Oregon. The High Court held that "the privilege of doing business" was sufficient basis for paying a tax. Gross receipts and sales taxes are not covered by the 1959 Federal law.

BAD FOR EVERYONE

The House study attempts to prove that the present system "works badly for both business and the States." It says:

"It is the picture of a system in which the States are reaching farther and farther to impose smaller and smaller liabilities on more and more companies. It is the picture of a system which calls upon tax adminis-

trators to enforce the unenforcible, and the taxpayer to comply with the uncompliable."

As compliance breaks down, the States lose revenue and the tax burden on business becomes inequitable. At least 120,000 and possibly 200,000 corporations, most of them small, operate in more than one State. But only about 21,000 companies, most of them large, pay taxes in more than one State.

Part of the leakage of revenues is the result of the complexity of State tax policies, the committee says.

"The complexities and diversity become overwhelming for all but the biggest companies," the report notes. Thus, in collecting taxes, States "appear to concentrate on the larger companies, but even then are not entirely successful," it says.

TOO MUCH, TOO LITTLE

The greatest difficulty, the report finds, is in allocating income among the States. Many companies are overtaxed, yet overall business is undertaxed, partly because the complex apportionment of income opens loopholes.

Instead of basing the apportionment on sales, it might be easier to base it on payroll or property value, the committee suggests. Any formula based on sales founders on the very question of what a sale is. Does it take place when a contract is signed, when the seller's home office accepts the order, when the seller ships the goods, or when they reach the buyer?

This leads, the report says, "to a bewildering maze of complications from which even the most eager taxpayer may be expected to recoil." The group suggests basing taxes on the "permanent establishment" within each State, but perhaps including such items as inventories in public warehouses.

Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a few words on Taras Shevchenko:

TARAS SHEVCHENKO, FIGHTER FOR UKRAINE'S FREEDOM (1814–61)

Taras Shevchenko was among the boldest and bravest fighters for the freedom of the Ukrainian people. He was the most gifted and gallant leader of his people during the 19th century, and was perhaps the most famous Ukrainian in their modern history. During his short but distinguished and meteoric career he was an intellectual giant, an unrivalled poet, a master of the Ukrainian literature, a great patriot, and above all an inspiring leader of his people through his writings on the Ukraine's national literature.

This humble son of the Ukraine, whose 150th birthday anniversary is being observed in all Ukrainian communities throughout the world, was born under bondage as a serf, and he did not live to see how hard his compatriots were struggling to shake off their serfdom from Russia's czarist tyranny. Throughout his mature life he advocated, through his beautiful poems on Ukrainian national heroes, the fight for freedom for which their forebears fought and died. Because of his undying love for his people, and painfully aware of their inability to regain their freedom, his efforts were directed to the revival and regeneration of the Ukrainian national spirit. He wanted to awaken them from their complacency and slumber, and be prepared to fight for it.

Shevchenko actually took part in some uprisings in his early youth, and in fact was the leader in some of these uprisings against Russian authorities in the 1830's. Of course when caught he was imprisoned for a number of years, thus experiencing harsh treatment in the hands of Russian agents for the sake of the cause he had been advocating. But his most significant and signal services for the freedom of the Ukrainian people were rendered through his soul-stirring and life-giving writings, especially through his poems. Long before his death he had become the Ukraine's national bard, the poet laureate of the Ukrainian people, and the most beloved of their leaders. As such he is duly honored today, and as a token of the free world's admiration for his services for Ukraine's freedom and also for freedom as a sacred human cause, his statue was erected and unveiled on June 27 in the Nation's Capital.

State Taxation of Interstate Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, a serious problem which requires our careful consideration is that created by the unwieldly mass of State income tax laws confronting companies which sell goods across State lines. So complex is the present system of multistate taxation that until recently no detailed analysis was available to us of its actual operation. However, as the result of the report recently submitted by the Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce of the House Judiciary Committee, we can now gage the compliance burdens which the system of multiple State laws imposes on businesses both large and small.

The special subcommittee should be commended for what the New York Times has described on its front page as "the first serious effort by Congress to appraise the effect of State taxation on interstate commerce." The story was written by the able journalist, Anthony Lewis. I believe that this report will convince us that we must take steps to remedy a system which works badly for both businesses and for the States. We are grateful to the special subcommittee for the excellent legislative tool which it has prepared for us.

At this time I wish to introduce into the RECORD an editorial on this important subject which appeared in the New York Times on Wednesday, June 17, 1964:

STRAIGHTENING A TAX MAZE

Corporations engaged in interstate commerce face a burdensome bedeviling maze of taxes levied by the States. The result, according to a special study made by a House judiciary subcommittee, is a big gap between what the States should get and what they receive. It is a thoroughly inequitable system, with some companies paying too much but many more paying too little. The shortfall in revenues has led the States to make things even more difficult; they have imposed new taxes that add more to the complexities and paperwork of corporations than to State treasuries.

Most of the trouble stems from the diversity of corporate taxation. With each sovereign State insisting on its own set of laws, noncompliance is encouraged and economic distortions made inevitable. Small companies simply cannot cope with the varying formulas; bigger companies have been concentrating their business where tax payments are least onerous. Clearly, the entire area of corporate taxation by the States must be so reformed as to benefit both the States and business.

The solution lies in a more uniform tax code applied across the board. Unfortunately the States have resisted any such code. But they may be spurred to action by the subcommittee report, for it demonstrates that the States are reaching a point of no return in their pursuit of independent taxing policies. The incredible hodgepodge they have created is unable to generate the revenues they need to improve and extend their own services. Unless they are prepared to carry out reforms, they will have to depend on Washington for funds, which means keeping up the level of Federal taxation.

Congress can help straighten out the maze of State taxation by establishing comprehensive guidelines. The States may object that this would encroach on their own rights of taxation, but it is painfully obvious that these rights have been abused and misused. A uniform tax formula written by Congress would give the States a greater share of tax revenues while easing the lot of corporations.

We have long urged that tax structure reform must go hand in hand with tax reduction. If Congress is prepared to make further cuts in Federal rates, including exicse taxes, it must also produce a fairer and simpler tax system. This applies to the States as well as to the Federal Government. The States have much to gain in added revenues by adopting the kind of tax system that will invite compliance.

Corning Glass Donates to Project Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the success of our people-to-people programs overseas—particularly the great work carried on by Project Hope—is only possible with the support and cooperation of individual Americans and U.S. business and industrial concerns.

I was proud to learn that one of our Nation's leading glass manufacturing companies, Corning Glass, recently donated more than 70,000 individual pieces of laboratory glassware for use on the SS *Hope* hospital ship's forthcoming mission to Africa.

I am particularly proud because much of this laboratory glassware was manufactured in Corning's Muskogee, Okla., plant.

As an original supporter of Project Hope and similar people-to-people programs, I take this opportunity to congratulate and express my appreciation to the Corning Glass Works Foundation,

and also to congratulate the many Muskogee employees of Corning who worked on this project.

The Corning donation is most significant and worthwhile. It will bring direct benefits to thousands in the form of improved health and sanitation, on the troubled African Continent where communism is fighting daily to subvert and overthrow free governments.

The donation undoubtedly will bring long-range benefits to every citizen of the United States by helping to create a bond of friendship and understanding between the people of America and the emerging nations of Africa.

Every Muskogeean and every other Corning employee who worked on this project can be proud of the part they have played in exporting American know-how and friendship to the underdeveloped countries of the world. They have certainly earned a debt of gratitude for being responsible and worthwhile citizens, aware of the challenging nature of today's world and the burden of responsibility upon the people of our great Nation.

One Nation Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of references to God Almighty in the public life of the United States extends far beyond the wisdom of allowing children in the public schools the option of participating in voluntary prayer or reading from the Scriptures. Together with many other colleagues in the House I have sponsored a constitutional amendment to allow such references to God in our public schools. My bill is House Joint Resolution 603, introduced in June of 1963.

A recent commentary by Paul Benzaquin on radio station WEEI in Boston cleverly presents a humorous side to the problem that would deserve a laugh if it were not so serious a matter. Under unanimous consent I am inserting this commentary in the RECORD so that others may have the opportunity to read it:

FIERY DIARY

(Written and broadcast by Paul Benzaquin)

FIERY DIARY, Thursday, June 11.—DEAR DIARY: The freethinkers had another one of their days in court yesterday and as a result may not be thinking quite so freely today.

In Albany, N.Y., the State's highest court ruled that the words "Under God," which were added to the Pledge of Allegiance during the Eisenhower administration, do not violate the U.S. Constitution.

Can you imagine what a jolt this must have given members of the freethinkers of America? Here they were, thinking as free as the breeze, comforted by the fact that nobody is saying the Lord's Prayer in public schools, no principal is standing up in the assembly hall to read the 23d Psalm, and even North Brookfield knuckling under to the hush rule against God, then the highest court in New York jars their intellectual equilibrium by telling them that, like it or not, this Nation still operates under a Supreme Being, and is willing to give Him name credits.

It's hard enough to be a freethinker anyway, what with the John Birchers looking under all the beds and the pinkos ready to lead you down the primrose path of the proletariat by your own chain of logic. But how can a man conjure up truly unfettered ideas when he knows that millions of school kids, every day are standing up to proclaim aloud that somebody up there likes us. Why, it's enough to smash your syllogism.

According to the ground rules of free thinking, you're allowed to let your mind wonder over such subjects as sex, transcendantalism, the futility of joy, or the symbolism of motherhood, but you're not supposed to get hung up on religion or ethics. The God concept, according to the brainflexers, stifles the flow of ideas, inhibits the exercise of logic, and may even tend to plug up the sinuses.

The reason the freethinkers entered their suit in the first place was not just to emancipate children from the tyranny of admitting that God is boss every morning, but because just knowing the kids were reciting it was frustrating to the freethinkers thinking freely. You take an idea as tricky as the notion that the freethinkers, though no more than a splinter minority, nevertheless have the right to keep God absolutely out of government on the grounds that the Founding Fathers never expected that so small a group could be so noisy. The logic of this thought is slippery and elusive, and can disappear entirely if you must constantly remind yourself that children are saying "under God" in a public school.

These freethinkers may also be considerably upset by all those commas that are now necessary in the Pledge of Allegiance since "under God" was added in 1954. Look at it grammatically: "One Nation, comma, under God, another comma, indivisible, a third comma, with liberty and justice for all." Who can think freely through a thought like that?

The thinkers were a little discouraged by the New York decision, but will nevertheless appeal now to Chief Justice Warren and the boys, confident that the same team which knocked out the regent's prayer, disqualified the one that Jesus recited, and put the Bible back in the library will also be willing to edit the Pledge of Allegiance to put God into the rumble seat again.

Then maybe they'll be able to settle down to some real free thinking: how to get that "in God we trust" jazz off our nickels and dimes.

A Salute to a Great American—the Honorable Marvin Jones, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Tuesday night a reception was given by the members of the University Club here in honor of the Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Claims, the Honorable Marvin Jones, who recently announced his retirement.

A large crowd was in attendance, a dozen or so of them being Members of Congress. I was honored to be one of them.

A number of those present were introduced and made short talks voicing their high esteem for this great and good man. I was also among those.

It was my good fortune to serve in Congress with Marvin. I learned very soon to honor and respect him as a statesman of the highest order. Early in World War II Marvin Jones was appointed by the President to be Food Administrator for War. He served in that very important assignment with great distinction and honor to himself and his country.

During that time he cooperated fully with Members of Congress from farm districts in all things beneficial to our farmers in producing feed, food, and fiber to feed and clothe the homefront, our own military forces as well as to help feed and clothe our allies across the seven seas.

After the war ended he was appointed by the President as a member of the U.S. Court of Claims and soon became Chief Judge. His service there as a lawyer of outstanding ability and sense of justice has endeared him in the hearts of all who know him well, as do I.

At the reception for him last Tuesday night it was my great pleasure and privilege to touch on these fine qualities in his presence. Then on last Friday I received the following letter, which I shall value and cherish so long as I shall live:

CHAMBERS, U.S. COURT OF CLAIMS,
Washington, D.C., June 26, 1964.

DEAR BEN: I want to thank you for the generous words you spoke at the dinner last Tuesday evening.

Nothing has ever been said that pleased me more. We have been friends for many years, and this fact made the tribute all the more pleasing.

You have been a great Representative, not only for your native State but for the entire Nation—able, industrious, and unafraid. I hope you may remain in public service many years.

With every good wish.

Your friend,

MARVIN JONES.

Lodge's Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Evening News of Newburgh, N.Y., in my district, under the dateline of June 25.

Mr. Speaker, it clearly points up the muddle in Vietnam, which has now become a calamity since the coup in which the Diem regime was thrown out and President Diem and his brothers murdered. Anyone who had a part in all this, whether through malice or ignorance, has nothing to be proud of.

Now, Madame Nhu, the widow of one of these murdered men, is denied a visa by our State Department. Why? Does she know, or would she say, things we cannot stand? Perhaps we had better stop, look, and listen.

LODGE'S PLIGHT

When Henry Cabot Lodge says the war in Vietnam should not be a campaign issue, he is as wrong as can be. He can't stop it from being an issue.

True, the war is a reality and has been one for some time. However, during the past year the outcome has collapsed in a downward spiral, ever since claims of religious persecution resulted in overthrow of the constitutionally elected administration of Ngo Dinh Diem and the assassination of Diem and his brother. If Mr. Lodge thinks he is going to sidetrack discussion of this situation, in which he was deeply involved himself, he is trying to whistle his way past the graveyard.

The Washington administration and Mr. Lodge himself have much to explain here—why a constitutionally elected administration was overthrown with American approval, if not active support (as shown by the articles of Pulitzer Prizewinner Marguerite Higgins last January); why the American people were misled into thinking there was religious persecution of Buddhists by the Diem administration (a minority of whose members were Catholic, as compared with a substantial Buddhist majority); why, in short, the tragic series of events under Mr. Lodge's incumbency as Ambassador should not even be discussed.

The Higgins series will not be forgotten, especially those portions describing Mr. Lodge's activities while Diem was being overthrown and shot to death.

American voters are entitled to know why there has been such failure in Asia, and neither Mr. Lodge nor the Democratic administration should be permitted to keep the subject quiet, either in the party convention at San Francisco or during the campaign itself.

Mr. Lodge is a Republican, but he is in a good position to give the voters full and complete information on the Vietnamese situation.

He may hold that he cannot do so, because his lips are sealed with respect to information he got while serving as Ambassador. If this is so, then there is nothing at all he should say on the affair, and he should stand aside and let the issue be discussed and settled through the usual political channels of an American election.

This should be evident to Mr. Lodge, since both Senator Goldwater and Governor Scranton, leading contenders for the Republican presidential nomination, have given conduct of the Vietnam affair high priority as an issue to be exploited with the Johnson administration.

About the only way Mr. Lodge can keep Vietnam out of the discussion is for him to campaign on that basis and win the support of the Republican delegates for his position.

That we don't believe he can do.

Propaganda a Totalitarian Device

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the Nazis came to power in Germany when the news media became completely controlled and the people were fed a constant stream of propaganda under the guise of news and news analysis. The Communists have seized the control of the minds of over a third of the population of the world by replacing the free flow of news and propaganda to delude the people.

There is a serious danger that what has happened to other peoples who have become victims of totalitarianism is happening in America. Too many supposedly news stories are now filled with personal opinion and editorial comment. Too many widely read columnists and commentators are stating as fact their personal beliefs. Let us pray that the American people do not become the victims of such propaganda efforts as are now being made to bring about a virtual one-party system in the United States which must inevitably be followed by dictatorship.

How the American people are being propagandized is illustrated in two editorials from the Chicago Tribune of June 30. I include them as a part of these remarks:

LOADED DICE

Undeterred by their flops in reading the omens in New Hampshire, Oregon, and California, the public opinion pollsters have bounced back, as brash as ever. They are now announcing that Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, is the choice of Republican voters over Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

The news is not unexpected, for it had been announced in advance that national polls would flood the country in the last weeks before the Republican National Convention and that they would all show how Republicans loved Scranton.

George Gallup reads the tea leaves to prove that Scranton has 55 percent to GOLDWATER's 34 percent, with 11 percent undecided. Louis Harris, who used to run polls for John F. Kennedy, goes Gallup a little better. He reports Scranton leading GOLDWATER by a margin of 62 to 38 percent.

Another poll in Illinois, based upon a telephone canvass of 1,000 persons, is said to show that Lyndon Johnson would defeat any Republican. That is Harris' contention, too.

We are skeptical about these samplings, not only because the record of the pollsters shows their extreme fallibility but because the impartiality and objectivity of polls have been questioned even by members of the soothsayers' guild.

At the 1960 annual conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Elmo Roper, who also conducts a poll, sharply criticized the use of private polls as a "propaganda device" by political candidates.

"I wonder," he said "if these polls are not being used to frighten people out of running for office or into getting aboard someone else's bandwagon."

Whether the polls are consciously loaded, they have been uniformly inaccurate throughout a series of primaries. After Henry Cabot Lodge won a surprise victory in New Hampshire, the pollsters made him the favorite in Oregon. One poll had Lodge leading by 46 percent in that State, with Nelson Rockefeller supposedly commanding only 13 percent of the vote. Rockefeller won.

He was then promoted to favorite in California. A poll there purportedly showed that he had climbed in 2 weeks from 27 to 46 percent, while GOLDWATER had slipped from 43 to 33 percent. In the last 24 hours the polls which had been forecasting a Rockefeller victory began fudging and hedging. This enabled them to retreat with a minimum of dignity when GOLDWATER polled more than a million votes and swept all of California's 86 delegates into his fold.

So we think that the public will be wise to take these prognostications with a pound or two of salt. On demonstrated performance they are about as scientific as the auguries of ancient Rome, which were conducted by consultation with the entrails of a chicken. Especially are telephone surveys suspect. Would you tell a stranger what you really thought, particularly when an eavesdropper might be listening in?

Somebody must be financing these ventures in prophecy, and the fellow who comes out on top is the most likely bet. If he is kept happy, he will be a repeat customer. Oddly enough, the latest polls appear on the eve of the presentation of the views of Scranton, GOLDWATER, and other candidates before the Illinois delegation. Scranton may be represented as the dream boat in the morning line, but if nobody yearns for BARRY where did he ever get all that clutch of delegates?

THE EVOLUTION OF BR'ER LIPPMANN

Walter Lippmann, the prepackaged oracle, yields to no one in his horror of Senator GOLDWATER as the Republican presidential candidate. Mr. Lippmann's solocitude is touching, for it may be assumed he will vote Democratic and propagandize Democratic, as usual.

After the California primary earlier this month, Lippmann found it "disturbing" that the Republican party might be controlled "by an extremist faction." GOLDWATER, he said, incarnates "a divisive force" which would "rupture" the comfortable consensus achieved when Republicans "me, too" the Democrats.

Somewhat earlier, on March 3, Lippmann dismissed GOLDWATER as impersonating "the eternal juvenile who lurks in the American soul." The country, he thought, would approve Johnson, who had put away "childish things."

Before that, on January 7, Lippmann found that GOLDWATER was "a radical reactionary who would, if we are to believe what he says, dismantle the modern state."

Now hold your hats, for retreating further into time we find Lippmann on May 1, 1963, remarking that "if they wanted to make American politics logical and clear and get a final clear-cut decision, the Republicans ought to nominate GOLDWATER and get a Republican who is a Republican. Now, whether they have got the nerve to do that, I don't know."

Expatiating on this view, Lippmann said, "I'd like to see the issue put to the test once. Now, we have been hearing for a generation that the Republican candidate is never a real Republican, and that's why he doesn't get elected; that he's always a 'me, too' man, and I think it would be just as well to try it once and let Kennedy and GOLDWATER, who is supposed to be a true Republican, fight it out and see what the country wants."

So GOLDWATER, who in Lippmann's estimation a year ago was "a Republican who is a Republican" and was entitled to be nominated if his party acted logically and clearly to demonstrate its differences from the Democrats, has got cold feet as the actuality of that prospect has advanced upon him. Senator GOLDWATER has become transformed in his mind into a dangerous fellow, and Br'er Lippmann is in panic that he should run against the Democrats, although just 13 months ago he was all in favor of that idea.

We thought you would enjoy this intellectual progression in reverse.

The Plight of the Negro in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, it has been truly said that man cannot deny the humanity of his fellow man without ultimately destroying his own.

Apparently, this truth is clearly demonstrated by the people of Mississippi. It is the poorest State in the Union, even in this age of affluence. Of the 915,000 Negroes, an infinitesimal number are permitted to vote. Many have been jailed, lynched, shot, beaten, and subjected to cruel and inhumane treatment when they sought to register.

The record of violence toward the Negro, the record of lynching and murder in Mississippi, beginning before 1898, transcends in brutality that of any other southern State, and certainly equals the brutality in any country in the world, during the twentieth century. This violence toward the Negro, this hatred for the Negro has been nurtured by the political leaders of the State of Mississippi. They have fanned this antipathy into a force so corrosive that it touches and distorts the lives of even the children in Mississippi, and the people who are responsible, are those who hold public office from the Congress to the county courthouse. Their leadership is and has been morally bankrupt.

As far back as 1890 when the constitution of Mississippi was revised, the avowed purpose for the revision was stated as follows:

> The policy of crushing out the manhood of the Negro citizens is to be carried on to success.

Mr. Speaker, I conceive it to be the duty of every responsible citizen in this country to point the finger of blame at the leaders of the State of Mississippi, at the leaders of the State of Louisiana, at the leaders of the South, and assert unqualifiedly that they and they alone must take the full responsibility for the attitude of those poor and ignorant people whom they have misled, deceived, and denied leadership to over the years. I say nothing of the incomparable and inexcusable plight to which they have subjected the Negro. History has already condemned them for that, and I suspect that God, too, has taken note of it.

Speaking further of the plight of the Negro, it cannot be denied that he is mired deep in poverty, terroized by white policemen and State troopers, kept in shackles of ignorance.

As of a year ago, not a single Negro high school in segregated Mississippi had been accredited by the regional association.

As to the poor whites in Mississippi, their hard labor produce a miserable living. So much so that Mississippi is lowest of all States in per capita income. The figure in 1961 was only $1,229 by comparison with $2,672 for Illinois, and $2,780 for California.

These leaders tell their white constituents, "We must fight for our way of life," which can only be interpreted to mean the impoverishment of the poor whites, which includes heavy mortgages, unending debt, religious revivalism, evangelical preaching, county fairs, and always the howling political stump orators. Typical of this group have been the late Senators Bilbo and Vardaman. Of course, along with all of this, the Negro is kept in the ditch. Of course, these spellbinders and these leaders whom I condemn today often remain aloof from the violence they encourage and abet. A part of this "way of life" doctrine that they have disseminated is the spurious doctrine that anyone who comes into the State to teach and help the Negro are agitators, radicals, and Communists, and, like the Negroes, are not entitled to the protection of the law.

Mr. Speaker, I wish further to call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that these so-called leaders have time and again stated to the people of Mississippi that these young students, now in Mississippi and those traveling to Mississippi in ever-increasing numbers, are agitators who are coming into the State to make trouble. These statements have been made and repeated despite the fact that there is not one scintilla of evidence to support the assertion. The utter irresponsibility of such statements and of such doctrines serve to create the impression that anyone from the outside should be arrested, beaten, intimidated, and as in the horrible case of the three missing young civil rights workers, spirited away.

This is nothing new. There is the case of the native Mississippian, Mack Charles Parker, in which they have confessions of murder; yet, the grand jury will not indict.

Mr. Speaker, in closing these remarks, I say to my colleagues that Allen Dulles served no purpose in Mississippi. His report offers nothing new or constructive. The Governor of that State, who now ask the citizens to search their own farms, contributes nothing. He has already created the atmosphere of violence and lawlessness. He has already given the people justification for withholding information. The only hope for the people of this unfortunate State is the use of the power of the Federal Government to supply Federal agents, soldiers, and other personnel in sufficient numbers to cover every inch of the territory, to flush out, arrest, and punish the offenders, and thereby expose to the world, the duplicity and falsity of those in positions of leadership.

To this end, I appeal for the active support of my colleagues.

Human, but Hardly Constructive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of June 17, 1964, which, in considering a specific and very recent case, elucidates the problems—to both society and the criminal—that reside in the institution of capital punishment.

The article follows:

HUMAN, BUT HARDLY CONSERVATIVE

Judge J. Irwin Shapiro's courtroom comments on the death sentence given Winston Moseley were understandable, and human. The crime for which he was tried—the wanton murder of Kitty Genovese—was vicious, brutal, and senseless, as were the other murders (not to mention rapes) to which he also confessed. The judge no doubt spoke for much of the community when, after the jury had decreed a death sentence, he said: "I don't believe in capital punishment. If I had the power I would abolish it. But here was a monster walking the streets of Queens County. I would not hesitate to pull the switch myself."

Also understandable, and human, were the cheers that broke out in the courtroom when sentence was pronounced.

And that's one of the things wrong with the whole concept of capital punishment. It brings out the blood lust in even sensible, civilized, law-abiding people; by offering the possibility of a violent vengeance wrapped in the trappings of law, and therefore unpunishable, it encourages the very passions law is meant to curb.

If it were in fact an effective deterrent, this could be ignored. But the whole comparative history of those states and nations which have retained it, and those which have abandoned it, makes clear that its actual deterrent value is nil. Where it still is practiced (as in New York) it exists not to prevent crimes but to avenge them. In so doing it not only sets a brutal example, but also offers the public a catharsis of violence likely to divert attention from those more subtle and difficult measures which might do more toward actually staying other Moseleys from other murders.

Gallaudet College 1864–1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Gallaudet College, the world's only college for the deaf, is celebrating its centennial this year. As a member of its board of directors, I have a deep and continuing interest in the education of the deaf.

Education is the means by which each generation is made aware of its directions and realities. Upon every generation of the future will rest the responsibility for maintaining and strengthening this Nation's position of leadership in the free world and in the preservation of our security against tyranny.

The challenges facing our educational system today and in the years just ahead are indeed formidable, for the kind of education a young person receives will have a direct bearing on his future, the satisfactions he will derive from life, and the contributions he will make to society. When we undertake to impart the knowledge he will require to a child

whose mind is imprisoned in a world of silence, the challenge becomes infinitely greater.

Fortunately for our country, and for its deaf citizens, more resources are being devoted to meeting the special needs of the young, who are so afflicted.

Dr. Leonard Elstad, president of Gallaudet College, has devoted his life to the education of the deaf. Dr. Elstad and the faculty of Gallaudet have moved quietly and with determination to remove the educational inadequacies and inequities for deaf students. The efforts have resulted in the intellectual and cultural growth of the students of Gallaudet and in the lifting and expanding of their horizons.

As Gallaudet embarks upon a new century, we wish Dr. Elstad and his faculty every success in their new realms of endeavor, for as we advance into the 20th century we become more convinced that the fortunate synthesis of Government support and dedicated educators will offer our young deaf students the greatest opportunity to leave a richer legacy to those who follow them.

Mr. Speaker, the April 1964 issue of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Indicators contained a very timely and enlightening article entitled "Gallaudet College, 1864–1964—A Century of Higher Education for the Deaf." This article was written by Patria G. Winalski, assistant to the congressional liaison officer, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mrs. Winalski is the mother of a deaf son who is presently a student at Gallaudet College. She has long been interested in the education of the deaf, having served as president of the Connecticut Association of Parents, Teachers, and Counselors of the Deaf and is presently a director of the American School for the Deaf at West Hartford, Conn.

Mr. Speaker, to those who are deeply concerned about the education of the deaf, I commend the aforementioned article, which follows:

GALLAUDET COLLEGE, 1864–1964—A CENTURY OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE DEAF

(By Patria G. Winalsky [1])

Founded by an act of Congress April 8, 1864, Gallaudet College is the world's only college devoted to higher education for the deaf. The charter establishing Gallaudet was signed by President Lincoln. Edward Miner Gallaudet, founder and first president of the college that now bears the family name, was the son of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet who founded the first school for the deaf in the United States in Connecticut in 1817.

GALLAUDET: FEDERALLY AIDED CORPORATION

The President of the United States, a patron of the college, signs all its diplomas. Gallaudet College, along with Howard University and the American Printing House for the Blind, is one of three federally aided educational institutions. Federal appropriations for these institutions are channeled through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Assistant Secretary for Health, Boisfeuillet Jones, represents the Department in serving as a member of Gallaudet's Board of Directors. The Department provides approximately 70 percent of Gallaudet's operating budget. Since 1956, Congress has also appropriated about $14 million for the construction of modern facilities at the college.

EXPANSION OF FACILITIES, FACULTY, AND ENROLLMENT

Gallaudet has experienced an unprecedented growth in plant, staff, student body, and curriculum. The strides made in the past 10 years have been very great by any standards, especially when measured against those for the years prior to 1950. Indicative of the growth of physical plant in the past decade, eight new buildings have been erected on campus.

When Gallaudet opened its doors 100 years ago, there were seven instructors and five students. Currently the faculty number 111, and enrollment is at a record level of 666 students from 47 States, the District of Columbia and 12 foreign nations. Enrollment may increase to 1,100 by 1970.

IMPROVEMENTS IN CURRICULUM

An accredited college of liberal arts and science, Gallaudet offers 22 major fields of study leading to a bachelor of arts degree. Gallaudet's Graduate Department of Education was established in 1891 to train "hearing" students to become teachers of the deaf. In September 1962 enrollment was opened to deaf graduate students in the program leading to a master of science degree in education.

The teacher training center has expanded to meet the growing shortage of teachers especially trained to teach the deaf. A deaf student is educationally as well as physically handicapped. The normal classroom communication of knowledge and ideas from speaker to listener is lost to the deaf student. Because the deaf student receives a major portion of information about the external world by visual perception, Gallaudet uses a combination of methods to communicate information to its students.

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT

Students come to Gallaudet College from diversified educational backgrounds, both in this country and abroad. Gallaudet provides a 1-year course of study to allow a smooth transition from high school to college courses. The Kendall School, which offers elementary and secondary education to deaf students from the District of Columbia area, is a part of the Gallaudet campus and serves as the laboratory school for the graduate department of education. The primary concern of Gallaudet is higher education of the deaf, but this does not preclude other activities.

PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The International Congress on the Education of the Deaf was held on the Gallaudet campus in June 1963. Leading educators from 50 nations gathered for an exchange of information, knowledge and the discussion of major developments in the education of the deaf.

Gallaudet students were selected to participate in a weightlessness experiment at Cape Kennedy (formerly Cape Canaveral), Fla. They were uniquely qualified for this experiment due to their lack of a functional middle ear which controls one's balance.

Gallaudet also participates in the International Deaf Olympic Games and has several gold and silver medal winners in the present student body. The college will also play host to these Olympic games in 1965.

THE NEXT CENTURY OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE DEAF

President Leonard Elstad, the third president of Gallaudet College, has designated 1964 as the centennial year. Recognizing its continuing responsibility in providing equal opportunity for education to the deaf, Gallaudet begins its second century with the theme "The Next 100 Years in Education of the Deaf."

[1] Mrs. Winalski is the Assistant to the Congressional Liaison Officer, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. "The Voice of the Deaf" by Dr. Maxine Tullboatner (Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1959, 199 pages) traces the history of Gallaudet College over the past century.

A Tribute to Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to an event of particular interest to Connecticut and to the Nation in general: the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Connecticut Jewish Ledger, an excellent weekly publication under the distinguished editorship of Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman.

Rabbi Feldman has served as the editor of the Ledger since its inception. He has consciously strived to render the newspaper as an instrument of his greater ministry. In so doing, Rabbi Feldman and the Ledger have instructed Connecticut Jewry in the meaning and application of its faith, have generated a profound understanding of public responsibility, and have created a well-informed, responsible, and articulate voice in public affairs. Rabbi Feldman and the Connecticut Jewish Ledger have therefore been honorable and capable servants of the Jewish community and the greater society of our State.

I therefore wish to insert in the RECORD a well-deserved tribute to Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, written by the publisher of the Ledger, Mr. Lee B. Neusner, which appeared in the paper's 35th anniversary edition, published on June 25, 1964. I hope that this insertion will serve as an indication of my respect for this distinguished scholar and spiritual leader, and for the newspaper with which he is associated. I strongly feel that, in the words of the article, he "has exhibited the broadest sympathies and most sane judgments" on all matters of public concern.

TO RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, D.D., OUR EDITOR FOR 35 YEARS—RABBI FELDMAN'S SERVICE TO LEDGER, COMMUNITY ARE CITED

This issue of the Connecticut Jewish Ledger, which marks our 35th year of service to Connecticut's Jewish communities, is dedicated to our editor for all of these 35 years, Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman.

What tribute can we pay our editor?

How can we suitably honor a man whose association with this newspaper from the very beginning to the present day has brought honor to us?

Indeed, what tribute or honor are ever appropriate to the lavish gifts given to society, to the Jewish community, by such gifted and generous men? Rabbi Feldman's decades of loyal and faithful, generous service to the Connecticut Jewish Ledger, and, through it to the community which it has tried to serve effectively and honorably can be appreciated in one way only. They can be held up for emulation to the whole of American Jewry, as an example for how American Jewry has been served by its present leaders, and how it

should continue to be served in the future.

These years of service cannot be taken for granted. Rabbi Feldman chose to give them, because he regarded the Ledger as a worthy instrument of his greater ministry, his rabbinical service to Connecticut Jewry and his rabbinical leadership at home and throughout the Nation. He was, in 1929, a busy and successful man. He chose then, and continued through three and a half decades to choose, to take substantial time away from his congregational and organizational responsibilities, and to devote it through this newspaper to the leadership of the Jewish community.

Through the Ledger he talked to a broad and significant public audience. He tried to illumine the lives of this great body of leaders. He taught them about the day-to-day-meaning and application of the Jewish religion. He instructed them about the festivals throughout the years. He exhorted them to a deeper understanding of their public responsibilities. He advocated a wide variety of Jewish and general "causes," and has thus made himself, and his newspaper, into an effective medium of public and Jewish community service. In the dismal years before World War II, he sounded the warning, again and again, to a complacent and unheeding community. When the terror struck, he spoke to the frightened and foolish community of how to meet and endure the crisis. When the black years passed, he was a harbinger of the light from the east. In the recent years, he has kept a steady and experienced eye on events, and through these columns, he has kept his readers informed of the greater issues inhering in them.

Elsewhere in this issue, we reproduce a very few of the thousands of editorials that Rabbi Feldman has composed over the years. They can only hint at the vast energy, the endless devotion, the faithful and ever-timely service which he has lavished upon this newspaper and upon the community it serves.

With pardonable pride, we acknowledge that we believe our 35 years to have mattered in Connecticut Jewry. We believe that this newspaper has been a powerful servant of that community. We believe that it has served to give Connecticut Jewry a voice in the affairs of our State, and to give to Connecticut Jewry a means of reaching, of recognizing, of understanding itself. We believe that we have, in fact, helped to create and to sustain the community we serve. We have brought to our readers a shared awareness of the Jewish community and the Jewish world. We have made a substantial contribution to the building of Jewish institutions, both local and national, by publishing news of their activities to interest the community of our readers in them. No Jewish religious, social, cultural, or philanthropic cause has, over these years, failed to find in the Ledger a firm and effective friend. Thus we believe that the Ledger has made a difference, a very great difference, in the life of Connecticut Jewry, and in the lives of its individual members.

If this is the case, then we believe we have won some merit in these past decades.

And the merit the Connecticut Jewish Ledger may have won belongs to our editor. To him belongs the merit of the self-sustaining, free editorial voice, raised honestly and courageously, which this newspaper has represented. We belong to no party. We espouse no partisan cause, neither Jewish nor general, except the cause of Judaism. We serve no vested interest. We are not a mere publicity sheet for one or another organization, however meritorious. And if this is so, it is because our editor has exhibited the broadest sympathies and most sane judgment. He transformed this newspaper into an instrument of his ministry to the Jewish faith and Jewish people.

And, it should not be forgotten, he helped to sustain the hope and the courage of those who were responsible for the day-to-day affairs of the Ledger. Publishing a Jewish newspaper is not the easiest vocation. It may even be one of the hardest. When the Ledger was founded by our editor and the late Samuel Neusner, of blessed memory, it was on the eve of the depression. Then and afterward, the Ledger's existence was precarious. Mr. Neusner had to make great sacrifices, both professional and personal, in order to see it through. And he was willing to do so because he felt it was a worthwhile venture. He regarded it as worthwhile because of the continuing eloquence of its editor, and the increasing significance of his messages, more than for any other reason.

To some generations much is given. To the generation which held in its hand the sacred responsibilities of Jewish communal leadership from 1929 to 1964, this newspaper was given as an instrument of public service and public information. Without it no Jewish cause in Connecticut could have prospered so well as it did with its support.

The gift which was these 35 years of Jewish journalism comes from a very few self-sacrificing men and women. Chief among them at the start and chief among them today, stands our editor, Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman. We wish him long and healthy years, to 120. We pray that through them all, he will be, as he has been, whatever else he is, the editor of the Connecticut Jewish Ledger.—LEE B. NEUSNER, publisher.

Lawbooks, U.S.A., Program Is Rapidly Expanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Lawbooks, U.S.A., program, which was so excellently described in the RECORD of April 14, 1964, by the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois, is just barely getting underway, but its beginning has been auspicious. Already far more requests have been received from foreign countries for the Lawbooks, U.S.A., packet than can be filled at present.

Under this program, packets of books dealing with the philosophy and spirit of our legal system are sent to lawyers, jurists, teachers, and law students abroad by the Lawbooks, U.S.A., Association, with headquarters here in Washington. The mailings are financed by donations, and the donor's name accompanies each packet of lawbooks. It is hoped that the recipient of a packet will benefit not only from reading the books contained in it, but also from the ensuing correspondence which he will carry on with the donor of the books.

The idea behind the Lawbooks, U.S.A., program is a simple but potent one: To acquaint foreign jurists and lawyers, in particular those in whose hands lie the futures of so many emerging nations around the world, with the venerable principles of Western jurisprudence forged out of centuries of common law experience.

While requests for lawbooks have been received from all over the world, the program's sponsors will concentrate on meeting the demand from the emerging nations of Asia and Africa first. They consider it especially important that these countries be encouraged to take advantage of the program.

BOOKS ARE ON NONTECHNICAL SUBJECTS

Ordinarily, the books included in a typical Lawbooks, U.S.A. packet are not technical. Rather, they are most often essays by renowned legal scholars and jurists like Justices Learned Hand and Benjamin Cardozo. In their essays, these men treat subjects of general interest to legalists the world over, and they explain concepts—such as constitutionalism, freedom of speech, press, religion and assemply, and due process—which, while familiar to most Americans, may be new and untried, and even unknown, in the jurisprudence of emerging nations.

THE NEED IS GREAT, URGENT

The knowledge which a Lawbooks, U.S.A. packet can impart is invaluable; the need for such knowledge abroad is urgent and great. NLRB Attorney Herman Levy, recently back from Africa, found the libraries of universities throughout that continent sorely lacking in adequate supplies of lawbooks.

Often, American jurists and professors of law are responsible for creating law school curricula from scratch in brand-new universities abroad. Invariably, one of their most pressing needs is for books.

In a report from one country, the USIA, which distributes the lawbooks, said:

It is difficult for us to imagine a number adequate to reach the saturation point of effective and useful distribution of packets.

SUPPORT FOR PROGRAM ASKED

Lawbooks, U.S.A., is catching on, and it merits every encouragement and assistance we can give it. It has received the enthusiastic endorsement of prominent jurists, statesmen, and lawmakers everywhere in the world.

Committees to promote the nonprofit Lawbooks, U.S.A. program are springing up all across the country. I am proud to announce that one is already very active in Minnesota. The Board of Governors of the Minnesota State Bar Association adopted the following resolution regarding the Lawbooks, U.S.A., program:

Whereas the dissemination of information concerning the free world, and particularly the United States, is one of the most potent weapons in the struggle for men's minds; and

Whereas we as lawyers are particularly aware of the need of the emerging nations for information concerning the American legal system with its reliance upon a government of laws and not of men; and

Whereas the U.S. Information Agency has joined with the World Peace Through Law Committee of the American Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association in promulgation of a lawyer-to-lawyer program entitled "Lawbooks, U.S.A.," whereby American lawyers are encouraged to contribute a set of paperback lawbooks to a lawyer in one of the emerging nations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Minnesota State Bar Association, acting through its board of governors, hereby expresses its unqualified endorsement of Lawbooks, U.S.A., and urges the lawyers of Minnesota individually to give

their financial support to this worthy undertaking; be it further

Resolved, That the Minnesota State Bar Association authorizes its president to utilize association funds to finance a mailing to all its members in order to bring this program to their attention.

Justice Felix Frankfurter once called due process a "majestic concept." No less majestic and admirable are the many other facets of Western constitutional and legal tradition. When jurists around the world are more familiar with them, the day will be nearer when the rights and privileges of free speech and due process shall extend in actual practice to every man, and the rule of law began to take precedence in the conduct of international relations.

Who Runs the FPA?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Randal Teague describing the pro-Communist orientation of the Foreign Policy Association and its brainchild, "Great Decisions." The article appeared in the June issue of the Young Americans for Freedom publication, the New Guard:

ARCHITECTS OF COEXISTENCE—WHO RUNS THE FPA?

(By Randal Teague)

(For more than 40 years, the Foreign Policy Association has been the unseen inspiration for much of our uninspiring foreign nonpolicy.)

Since its inception in 1921 the history of the Foreign Policy Association (FPA) has been concommitant with the rise of American liberalism. The association limits actual membership to 40 directors, but claims a subscription to its official publication, the Foreign Policy Bulletin, of over 20,000. FPA, like many left-of-center "educational" organizations, enjoys tax exemption status and claims to be financed by dues, grants, individual contributions, and the sale of publications. A close investigation reveals the major source of its income to be the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations.

Because contributions to it are tax exempt, the FPA lays great emphasis on its educational work and nonpartisan character. Since the late 1950's the educational arm of FPA has been the great decisions program and its fact sheets. Only one congressional committee, the Reece Committee on TAX EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS, has dared to make revealing statements about the nature of FPA's publications and policies.

During the 1920's FPA was struggling to gain initial support. With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 FPA surged into prominence as an international affairs organization. FPA continued to grow through the 1930's and early 1940's. During the latter years of the 1940's and the early years of the 1950's FPA soft-pedalled its activities as public reaction and concern over the number of Communist sympathizers in Government agencies and advisory organizations increased. The investigations of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), later cited as a Communist front organization by the Senate Judiciary Committee, drove many FPA leaders into temporary silence. Many FPA leaders were closely associated with the institute.

During the second Eisenhower administration FPA officials came out of hiding and launched a massive campaign to influence foreign policy through its "educational" activities. With the election of John Kennedy and the growing great decisions program, FPA grew considerably during the New Frontier years. Its activities now are not as evident as they have been in the past, but the influence of FPA and its leaders continues to increase in many Government circles.

The history of FPA since 1928 has been profoundly influenced by Vera Micheles Dean. Mrs. Dean has been associated with Communist-front organizations since the 1920's. Other writers with similar views toward communism who have held high positions of leadership with FPA or who have recently written for its publications are numerous. Herbert Matthews of pro-Castro infamy; Henry Steele Commager of many antinationalist movements; John K. Fairbanks who has been identified during the Institute of Pacific Relations hearings as a Communist; Brooks Emeny who was very active in the IPR; and Benjamin J. Buttenwieser who has been mentioned many times in the movement to free the now deceased Soviet spy, Robert Soblen, are but a few of the individuals who have headed FPA for some years.

LEADERSHIP

The record of Vera Micheles Dean becomes strikingly clear when the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are inspected. She signed the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union (cited 1944). The New Masses (cited 1942) printed an article about one of Dean's books which they praised. The Daily Worker has mentioned her works frequently in favorable light. She has been referred to by a national columnist as the "smoothest and most ambiguous of Soviet apologists," and an, "unbiquitous missionary for the Soviet Union." She is the author of the book, the Nature of the Non-Western World, within which she expounds an almost blind philosophy of coexistence with communism and a system of state socialism for the Eastern powers. She also attempts to justify the actions of the Chinese Communists in the takeover of that nation during the 1940's.

Herbert Matthews, who has been accused in sworn testimony by two former ambassadors to Cuba with having deluded the American people as to the nature and intent of Castro, has been active in FPA circles. His Communist front record goes back to 1938 when he was listed as a member of the League of American Writers (cited 1942). Matthews was very active in promoting the Communist-dominated Loyalist position during the Spanish Civil War and was praised for his actions on the war in an article in The Volunteer for Liberty, organ of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (cited 1949). He was further praised in a leaflet during the 1950's published by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (cited 1955).

Emil Lengyel, sometimes known as Dean's "New York University scholar," has also been a member of many front groups. He sponsored an event for the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (cited 1942) joined with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (cited 1942) joined with the American Committee To Save Refugees (cited 1944) in the release of an official statement, has sponsored events of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (cited 1944), endorsed an appeal of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (cited 1944), ad inifintum.

John K. Fairbanks has been closely associated with IPR and was identified as a Communist by Louis Budenz in sworn testimony before a congressional committee during 1952. He denied it. He was also affiliated with the China Aid Council (cited 1942) and Indusco, Inc. (cited 1945).

Brooks Emeny has also been identified with IPR and is a former president of FPA. Benjamin J. Buttenwieser, who wept openly when Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury, has also been active on the left, and his wife posted $60,000 for the bond of Robert Soblen, the Soviet spy, who jumped bail and fled to Israel creating an international incident before he successfully committed suicide.

The FPA-Great Decisions leaders have been so oriented toward the Communist psyche that the People's World of Los Angeles and The Worker of New York City has actually carried Great Decisions Fact Sheet materials.

PUBLICATIONS

The fact sheets are heavily slanted toward an extreme position on the left. They are prepared by such writers as those previously mentioned. Some examples of fact sheets include "U.N. Goals Must Be Made Clear," "New Era in Venezuela," "What Future for Eastern Europe," "Red China on the March," and many others with halfway sensible sounding titles. These fact sheets are loaded with appeals for coexistence, accommodation policies, recognition of Communist countries, nuclear disarmament, extension of United Nations powers, trade with Communist bloc nations, and foreign aid free of conditions.

From a recent fact sheet on Brazil a typical statement goes, "Brazil's foreign policy looks like traditional neutralism—the policy of small powers determined to avoid being crushed by the cold war battle of the giants." Evidently, FPA writers did not think that Goulart's government would change its neutralist position because it pursued close relations with Communist bloc nations and allowed free movement for the Communists in the country.

The notorious opinion ballots which accompany each fact sheet are heavily weighted toward responses which favor the programs of the liberal foreign policy experts. From the accompanying opinion ballot to the fact sheet, "Red China on the March," not only are two out of three replies to one question slanted toward favorable recognition of Red China, but one reply is worded thusly, "Offer recognition if Peiping will make important concessions, such as renunciation of the use of force." Evidently, the writer must have felt that the United States could trust the Red Chinese to keep a promise to renunciate the use of force. Such slanting is typical of FPA materials.

RECENT ACTIVITIES

Among the many organizations which have officially endorsed the activities of FPA-Great Decisions are the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Association for the United Nations, the United World Federalists, and the National Council of Churches of Christ. Among individuals, the organization is endorsed by such individuals as Adlai Stevenson, Senator J. William Fulbright, and Cleveland industrialist, Cyrus Eaton.

The FPA has enjoyed the closest relations with and cooperation of the State Department for many years. Adlai Stevenson, who has officially endorsed the FPA-Great Decisions at least four times, in October 1963, sent out a letter to FPA's subscribers and friends (20,000 plus) on his stationery as the U.S. Representative to the United Nations requesting them to attend one of the special affairs programs being presented at the U.N. in New York by FPA. In this letter he states, "I am asking my principal colleagues in the United Nations to take as full a part in these programs as their duties in the General Assembly permit."

In a desperate attempt to gain endorsements from individuals to further the ends of the association, FPA has twisted statements by former Vice President Richard Nixon, Senators Richard Russell, George Aiken, Herman Talmadge, and Warren Magnuson, and Richard Cardinal Cushing into endorsements. All of those individuals later denied any connection with having endorsed FPA-Great Decisions programs.

Unfortunately, as a result of inadequate exposure of the FPA-Great Decisions programs during the past decade, civic organizations, schools and colleges, churches, newspapers, broadcasting studios, and even farm organizations have been part of the FPA-Great Decisions discussion group structure. In some areas entire community or statewide broadcasts have carried the discussion forums associated with the program to unsuspecting listening audiences.

Due to the effort of small groups seeking to expose the FPA-Great Decisions activities, its image has been damaged in some sections of the Nation. In Florida the publicized resignation of a program chairman and two other influential people sparked a movement against the association. The southern regional director of FPA refused to even answer the charges made against the association. In the same State the efforts of individuals were responsible for getting the "Great Decisions" program removed from the educational television station.

COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

FPA-Great Decisions claims to have over 600 discussion clubs affiliated with it on college campuses. FPA's influence over the thinking of an entire generation of college graduates who have participated in the FPA program—new and old—predominantly international relations and political science majors is, therefore, incalculable.

Most Great Decisions college discussion groups consist of 10 to 15 students and 1 or more faculty members. Most colleges have one or more of these groups. Since the only apparent purpose of the group is to discuss foreign affairs informally, these groups usually do not require formal college recognition from the college administration or the student government.

After having used the fact sheets as a résumé of existing conditions and views on the particular subject for discussion, after having discussed the subject thoroughly with the discussion guidelines controlled usually by the same individual who originally suggested using FPA materials, and after having heard 2 or 3 hours, usual discussion time, of continuous "propaganda" on the subject, the students then fill out the opinion ballot.

Most college students do not realize that these opinion ballots are sent to the FPA national offices, assimilated, and then forwarded on to policymaking officials as representative of student opinion on the American college campus.

A Newspaperman's Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist Bob Considine has often offered us sound advice—not only in the field of writing but for all we do.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column by Mr. Considine which appeared in the June 19, 1964, edition of the New York Journal-American. The credo offered in this "Newspaperman's Prayer" is one which all too many of Mr. Considine's colleagues in the world of journalism, do not follow.

The column follows:

A NEWSPAPERMAN'S PRAYER
(By Bob Considine)

Dear God, may I be fair. Circumstances and dumb luck have placed in my thumby paws a degree of authority which I may not fully comprehend. Let me not profane it.

Give me the drive that will make me check and countercheck the facts. Guide me when, lost for want of a rudder or a lead, I stumble through the jungle of speculation. Grant me, as the poet sang:

"The courage to change
The things I can change.
The serenity to accept
Those I cannot change, and
The wisdom to know the difference."

The 26 sharp-edged tools we call our alphabet can do what other tools do; build or destroy. Let me build. But let me know clearly, also, what should be destroyed, what darkness, what bigotry, what evil, what curse, what ignorance.

Never let me slip into writing down, in fatuous fear that readers will not understand. Let me write from the shoulder, and always with the assumption that those who read know more than I.

Such news as I find or comes my way, let me tell it quickly and accurately and simply, with an eye to my responsibilities. For news is precious. Few could live without it. When it is stopped or thwarted or twisted, something goes out of the hearts of men it might have nourished. Confront a starving man with his choice of a succulent meal or the promise to reveal instantly news of great importance, and he will first take the news. Think pieces, as we say in the trade to identify articles and columns contrived out of airy nothingness, or from a prone position, can never replace the meat and potatoes of news.

Let me champion just causes, avoid expediency, never lose the stimulation engendered by printer's ink. Remind me to be kind to copyboys, for I'll meet them on the way back down—when they are editors. Protect the innocent from me when, with deadline pressing, my aim grows fuzzy.

Make me use my legs and eyes, the better to track down and see the truth. Deafen me to the Lorelei song of rootless hearsay, rumor, and the gossip of town loafers. If word that could cause great harm comes to me, even from sources far above reproach, let me have dexterity and decency to pick up a phone and ask the subject about it.

When the customers write in to accuse me of being a bum, let me consider carefully the possibility or probability that I am * * * and try to do better. Let me work harder, try harder and recall with proper humility that history produced some notably abler reporters, including four journeymen named Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

Let my stomach rebel at plucking meat from publicity handouts and let me not be miffed when someone says, "You had a pretty good piece last week but I can't remember what it was."

As long as our men fight, sweat, freeze and die in actual or cold war, sacrifices which at times should make our food stick in our throats and our luxuries a torment, let me never cheaply use the words "courage" or "guts" to describe the means by which a pitcher wins a ball game, a gridman bucks a line, a golfer sinks a putt, or a fellow makes a speech.

And above all, let me recall repeatedly what the great teachers of the past * * * Moses and Socrates and Christ * * * would have done if by some alchemy they had been given the breathtaking break of swift and farflung communications.

Baptists Oppose Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the groups which most vigorously opposed the Becker amendment during the recent hearings held on this proposal by the House Judiciary Committee was the Baptist Church, Mr. C. Emanuel Carlson, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, speaking for seven Baptist conventions in the United States made it clear that Baptists will not sanction the undermining of our precious heritage of religious freedom.

At the conclusion of his statement, which follows, Mr. Carlson set forth several resolutions by State and National Baptist organizations which have taken a stand against compulsory Bible reading and prayers in the public schools. I commend these statements and resolutions to my colleagues. They demonstrate the breadth and depth of religious opposition to the Becker amendment.

The statements and resolutions follow:

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BY C. EMANUEL CARLSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS, MAY 28, 1964

My name is C. Emanuel Carlson. I am the executive director of the Baptist Joint Commitee on Public Affairs, whose offices are here in Washington.

I appreciate the Chairman CELLER and the members of this committee have taken the time to go into this matter of the adequacy of the first amendment. I also appreciate that you have found place in the schedule to hear representatives of our organization. We are deeply indebted to all who have helped to give the public spotlight to these issues so that the masses of the American people have the opportunity of becoming knowledgeable about the proposals. If the time should ever come when an adjustment is necessary in the fundamental law that guarantees the religious freedom of the American people, such proposals will merit not only extended debate in this committee but also a decade of study and discussion by all the people. We are glad that you have not taken the proposals lightly, or attempted to rush through some emotional expression of grievance. We, too, have sought to be deliberate on the issues, and to make it possible for our churches and people to confront the ideas. Before dealing with the substance of our problem, permit me to explain something of the nature and the work of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

This joint committee consists of responsible representative committees from seven Baptist conventions in the United States. The seven conventions are the following:

Southern Baptist Convention; American Baptist Convention; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; National Baptist Con-

vention of America; Baptist General Conference; North American Baptist General Conference; Seventh Day Baptist General Conference.

Each convention chooses its own delegation according to its own bylaws. Those conventions which number more than 1 million members may send a committee of 15, and smaller conventions send smaller delegations. The customary pattern is for the convention to include its president, its chief executive official, a number of executives from its major agencies, and pastors and laymen to complete the group.

The purpose of the joint committee is to discern the meanings of our movement and to see how these meanings bear upon contemporary issues and problems, especially in matters of religious liberty and in church-state relations. In advancing this responsibility the organization carries forward studies and research projects, keeps abreast of developments by means of an information service, gives expression to public interpretations that make the movement understood, and facilitates conferences and discussions for the correlation of information and interpretations. Dr. Walter Pope Binns is the chairman of the organization and I am its chief executive officer.

I am aware that you have already heard many witnesses and that most viewpoints and emphases have already been expressed. Nonetheless, I believe your invitation indicates a desire for some interpretation of how Baptists work and think in these matters.

Throughout its long history the Baptist movement has stressed that in Christ God calls men to response and to responsibility under God. To proclaim this call we have developed large and well-known programs of evangelism, of missions, of Christian education, and of Christian service. These efforts to relate men to God have always recognized that this cannot be achieved by law, or by conformity to government programs. Man's relationship to God lies beyond the competence of the powers of government.

In most historical situations in which our movement has arisen it has confronted some form of "established religion." In each instance the movement has carried a protest against the use of the powers of government for the imposition of religious ideas or religious practices. "Separation of church and state" has been a constant aspiration and goal. This goal, however, has been a means rather than the ultimte end. We hold the conviction that the free exercise of religion makes for genuine responses and for full commitment, such as cannot be obtained by pressure of conformity. Hence we have seen freedom of religion as a natural right of man, as the basis of vital religious experience, and as the beginning of civic freedom. So much of our history is directly relevant to the issues which are now before this committee that I am strongly tempted to cite data out of the past at great length. However, I am certain that you are more interested in what Baptists think now.

Among us the first amendment has been and is looked upon as a great advance in the history of freedom. My predecessor in office, Dr. J. M. Dawson, pleased all of us with his description of the contributions made by the Baptists, through the political leaders of several States, including Virginia. (See J. M. Dawson, "Baptists and the American Republic," Nashville, Broadman Press, 1956.) The first amendment is seen as a statement of fundamental rights of all the people, and as such it has been happily accepted as national policy. Any revision of its concepts immediately strikes apprehension into the minds of those who meet the proposals.

If the Supreme Court decisions of 1962 and 1963 had curtailed the free exercise of religion by the people, our churches would have protested this as a violation of the Constitution. However, since the decisions dealt with the role of government powers the Baptist channels that dealt with the issues saw them as contributing to the progress of a great principle.

Among us prayer is not a matter of social adjustment or of national heritage. It is understood to involve communication between a person or people and God. The presence or the absence of such communication is in no wise dependent upon the actions of Federal, State, or local governments. On the contrary, attempts by public authorities to claim some permissive or regulatory power over prayer or worship is an immediate cause of apprehension among us.

THE EDUCATIVE AND CONSULTATIVE PROCESS AMONG US

While the viewpoints and analyses on this subject which have developed to date among Baptists will be of some interest to you, as surveyed in appendixes I through V, it is probable that the educative and consultative processes will have a still larger significance for the future.

A movement which involves more than 75,000 local congregations with upward of 20 million members, all of them encouraged to use their own freedom and responsibility, obviously presents a major educational and communications need. The meeting of these needs involves some processes which are rapid and contemporary, and others which are slower and more penetrating. The most rapid communication among us is the teletype system maintained 8 hours per day with 19 openings in the Southern Baptist Convention. These openings include most of the State secretaries and editors of the several State convention weeklies. At the other extreme within the same structure are the educational materials prepared by the publication organizations for the Sunday schools and the training programs in the churches. These materials are planned around special emphases a year or two in advance. Those done in 1963 are just now beginning to get consideration. The same can be said of the educational materials planned by the men's and women's organizations.

It is the responsibility of our office to study and to report developments on the Washington scene. Accordingly, at the time of the Supreme Court's decisions we not only attempted an objective view for ourselves but we encouraged our leaders generally to read the decisions for themselves. In each case we distributed thousands of copies of the actual text, with urgent admonitions to study. The result has been a wide consensus among our leaders, including the various agencies, the educational organizations, the communications channels, the executive and elected leaders, and the leaders of special organizations for men, for women, and for youth.

At the present time educational and consultative programs on this topic are taking shape in the State conventions and in the men's and women's groups in the States. We have been highly pleased with the concern and the insights already expressed in State groups. We expect interesting developments as the local congregations have a chance to have the facts and to do their own studying. The vast majority of the pastors already have some materials with which to begin their own studies, and they have information on how to get the decisions and the other materials they may need. Accordingly, before many weeks have passed formal State promotions will have given our people the opportunity to think together with a view to longer range wisdom and more permanently valid convictions on the proposals.

While the outburst of easy answers that have troubled the staffs of Congressmen may seem to be of doubtful value, I would look upon the episode as making an important contribution to the future of freedom in America and in the world. Someone needed to get excited and to throw out some superficial proposals in order for more penetrating thought processes to be engendered. The months and years ahead will certainly help Baptists recover a direct involvement in that which we may have come to take for granted as American heritage or tradition. We are watching similar developments in all the major denominations and interdenominational organizations. We are also watching the increasing effectiveness of the public press. In all probability freedom will be stronger for having had this experience.

Several years ago our leaders found that they could not permit themselves to be dependent upon the communications media without supplementing and checking by means of our own studies and channels. It is now 6 years since we started our own news releases and feature materials from Washington. This has greatly facilitated the growth of competence among us in these areas of special concern.

During the past 2 years the State, association, and local leaders have also found that they need contacts with resources of known quality. Many of these are asking for a direct contact with the Washington office. This has necessitated the setting up of a department with special executive supervision. The importance of it has been urged especially by laymen. Mr. James M. Sapp, who for 12 years was promotion director of the Brotherhood Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, joined our Washington staff on April 1, 1964, to care for this need. Thus, this present wave of misinformation has helped to produce some adjustments in our organizational structure and in the channels of communication. We believe that these adjustments will be salutary to objective analysis, to a national concern, and to a more constructive sharing by our people in the democratic process.

The new service is being offered to State convention committees, to superintendents and to committees of associations, to State and local leaders of men's and women's organizations, and to local committees set up for special studies or assignments. These various organizations carry the responsibility for offering local church people an opportunity for deliberate group analysis and involvement. In short, I believe that the inadequacies of this recent crusade will produce better and more lasting fruit than the sponsors could have visualized.

That Congressmen and denominational offices such as ours have been put to some extra effort is not really significant. We might have expected that many local churches would adopt resolutions or somehow express themselves on the basis of misinformation, but actually only three Baptist Churches have reported that they heard a radio report and then took action against the viewpoints of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Even after we were attacked and misrepresented in nationwide broadcasts, only a very few letters came into the office. For 2 or 3 days we had five or six critical letters and then it dropped to two or three per week, offset by a great deal of appreciation.

Of course Baptists are not through with this thing. We want to grapple thoroughly with all the dimensions of it. While we seem to have an overwhelming consensus that the first amendment states well the natural right of all Americans, and while we also seem to have the same consensus that the "no establishment" clause means and should mean that government powers at all levels should respect their limitations and refrain from using public powers for religious ends, we are aware that there remain many unanswered questions as to the proper scope of free exercise of religion for persons in various forms of public service.

Once a year our office sponsors a 3-day Religious Liberty Conference for the analysis of some special topic. This fall, in early

October, the topic will be "The Meaning of the Free Exercise of Religion." A dozen local seminar groups have been working for some time preparing raw data and draft formulations of ideas on several different topics. For your information I attach a copy of our first prospectus on the subject (see appendix V). About 700 copies were distributed to start local preliminary discussions. In October we will have some hundreds of knowledgeable Baptist consultants from all parts of the country and from the various Baptist fellowships sit down for 3 days to deal with this important subject, "The Meaning of Free Exercise."

Obviously, no one can read in advance the results of that conference or of the longer process of consultation. I have no way of knowing what the conference will say to the Baptist movement. Nevertheless, after having directed seven such conferences previously on other topics, I am personally confident of certain broad guidelines of emphasis.

I would be greatly surprised if we are not now as we have been in the past fully in support of the first amendment's restraint on governments as contained in the clause, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion * * *." We are also in support of the application of this principle to all other levels of authority. I have seen no significant disposition to confuse this restraint on public authorities with restraint on the popular right to free exercise of religion. On the contrary, our people see that the guarantee of "free exercise" of religion is supported and not threatened by the restraints on political efforts in the field. That the fundamental law of our freedom should leave governments bound while people are left free in matters of religion is to us fully consistent with both good government and good religion.

In our opinions the constitutional protection of a person's free exercise of religion is as applicable to those in public service as it is to those in private or church-related service. Accordingly, we warmly espouse the right of free exercise for all in public service in all the branches of government and at all the levels of government. In this matter the President and the Congressmen have the same freedom as do judges, teachers, and policemen, and all public servants have the same freedom that is enjoyed by all the people. It does at times become necessary to urge upon public servants the need for awareness that the powers of their offices are not to be used in attempts to give force to religious ideas as impositions on those who are not in public service. Our people can be expected to insist, with Rogers Williams and with many generations of Baptists, that the powers of public office are "civic only."

What constitutes proper free exercise of religion on the part of public schoolteachers will certainly be a topic for discussion. That teachers ought not to use their official powers or positions for the sponsoring of religious exercises will be readily agreed, but this will not answer all the questions about freedom of personal expression, the freedom of interpretation of subject matter, and the freedom to serve as personal counselor for pupils. Upon deliberation, our people will undoubtedly endorse the propriety of "objective study" of the Bible, of personal freedom of expression for the pupils, of the pupils' freedom to engage in religious practices while in the public schools, all with due respect for the like freedom of others and for the best interests of the group as a whole. Where the community's population has pluralism and mobility, scores of questions will continue to arise regarding details in the classroom. I would expect our people to favor a maximum of both freedom and responsibility for the administrators and the teachers within a legal framework that protects the religious rights of people.

I doubt that our people will ask either the Supreme Court or the U.S. Congress for the solutions to the problems in the fine art of sensitive interfaith relations. I am abundantly sure that they will not want to amend the Bill of Rights every time a question or a problem arises. I am also confident that, when it becomes necessary to do so, they will want the courts to guard the equal rights to religious freedom for all the people, and to restrain the legislative function so as to guard this right.

Furthermore, I am confident that our people will conclude that the churches and the homes of America can do the job of giving a religious education to American youth. Our view of the long list of historical experiments does not encourage us to optimism regarding the effects of Government participation, either by law or by financial support. Free religious commitments can help to produce a healthy national life, but the support of religion by the public power will erode rather than strengthen the impact of the religious experience.

Someone will certainly ask, "What about communism? Are you not giving aid to the enemy?" And our conferees will surely point out that a central evil of communism is that governments arrogate to themselves a competence to tell people what to believe and not to believe. Our answer to official atheism is official freedom of religion, not officially prescribed prayers or devotions. To those who fear that God is somehow being pushed around, locked out, and robbed of His power, our people will reply that God does not need our defense, but that we need the humility to serve Him. The politician who says he believes in reducing the scope of Government and then asks for a Government role in nurturing or guiding the inner man can expect scrutinizing conversations as these issues are pursued by our people in future debate.

The question will also surely arise, "Do not the majority have some rights?" And to this our people will reply that the members of a majority group have the same rights as the members of a minority group and that none of them have the right to use the sovereign powers of Government to advance their religious ideas or practices. And in the application of this principle there will be no basic difference between Federal, State, or local law. Our emphasis on religious freedom is no charter for antireligion, and we believe it lies within the competence of our democratic society to guard us at these points.

A number of our people are concerned about the State and local applications of the "no establishment" principle lest these compromise the "free exercise" principle. However, the two principles are complementary rather than contradictory. Fortunately relatively few States have rested religious instruction on law in recent years. However, where local practices have rested on law, a time of education and adjustment may be needed.

In this process the churches can and will do much. As indicated above, Baptists will do their part. We may also hope that very soon the respective legal officers in the States will find their way to constructive applications in the State school programs. Separation of church and state is designed for harmonious programing of the institutions of religion and the institutions of political practice. It would be a misfortune for both sets of institutions and for the causes for which they exist if the principle of separation should be turned into either a weapon of war or a line of conflict.

The hearings conducted by the committee have been of inestimable service in bringing information to the general public. I am personally confident that this information will serve to strengthen the future of freedom by clarifying the scope and the methods of the democratic process.

APPENDIX I. RESOLUTIONS

A. BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE RESOLUTIONS

(Resolution adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention, in annual session in Atlantic City, N.J., May 22, 1964:)

"RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

"In this anniversary year we are grateful for the witness which our Baptist movement has been privileged to bear. The discernment of the call of God in Christ has led us to a glorious experience of evangelism and missionary outreach through the power of the Holy Spirit.

"Our leaders and our people have firmly rejected the use of the coercive powers of government in the realm of religion. Baptists had much to do with writing the first amendment into the Constitution of the United States and have been in the forefront in preserving the religious liberty that our Nation has enjoyed. We have unflinchingly declared our desire for separation of church and state in resolutions, in sermons, and in policies and practices.

"1. We, the messengers of the convention hereby affirm our support for the concepts and the vocabulary of the first amendment, including both its prohibition upon government roles in religious programs and its protection of free exercise of religion for the people.

"2. We enunciate our concern that public officials and public servants of all types shall have the same free exercise of religion as other citizens, but that this freedom does not entitle them to use public or official powers for the advancement of religious commitments or ideas. In applying this principle to the field of public education we affirm the historic right of our schools to full academic freedom for the pursuit of all knowledge, religious or otherwise.

"3. We appeal to the Congress of the United States to allow the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States to stand as our guarantee of religious liberty, and we oppose the adoption of any further amendment to that Constitution respecting establishment of religion or free exercise thereof.

"4. We urge all our channels, leaders, and churches to involve themselves thoroughly in study of the Biblical, the historical, and the contemporary issues related to religious liberty to the end that our heritage of freedom and responsibility under God may be clearly understood and appreciated by the next generation and by ever larger proportions of the world's peoples."

(Resolution adopted by the American Baptist Convention, in annual session in Atlantic City, N.J., May 22, 1964:)

"SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

"Baptists believe that religious faith must involve a vital encounter between man and God and that religious form cannot be substituted for this encounter.

"The viewpoints of Baptists (in particular, John Leland, of Virginia) with regard to religious liberty and the necessity for the separation of church and state had its influence on the writers of the Bill of Rights and resulted in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has become the cornerstone of religious liberty.

"Thus Baptists have long opposed any compulsion to conformity in religious belief or in the practice of religion. The first amendment has supported this freedom. The proposed change in that amendment could weaken it and bring the power of the state to bear on individuals to conform and to participate in prescribed religious practices.

"An amendment to permit compulsory Bible reading and prayer in the public schools is not only a danger to the freedom of nonbelievers, it is also a threat to the religious well-being of the believer. It is

because of a deep respect for worship, and the recognition that prayer is essential and should be a vital encounter between man and God, that Baptists oppose devotional exercises that are more rote than worship. Therefore we affirm our belief in the separation of church and state as written in the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

"And we reaffirm our historic Baptist belief that religion should not be a matter of compulsion and that prayers and religious practices should not be prescribed by law or by a teacher or public school official;

"We further urge that American Baptists develop present programs and explore new and more effective ways of reaching children and youth for Jesus Christ who are currently not being reached; and

"We also urge American Baptist churches and families to give special study this year to our historic Baptist position in the context of current issues in church and state relations."

(Excerpt from the message adopted unanimously at Atlantic City, N.J., May 24, 1964, by the Baptist jubilee celebration of seven North American Baptist fellowships with a total constituency of 19,600,000: American Baptist Convention; Baptist Federation of Canada; National Baptist Convention of America; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; North American Baptist General Conference; Seventh Day Baptist General Conference; Southern Baptist Convention:)

"Man has the right to be free. Religious or soul liberty is the fountainhead of all freedoms. As Christian citizens we are dedicated to the achievement of freedom for all men.

"We declare that both church and state have their respective places in the purpose of God. They bear mutual responsibilities, but neither is to invade the rights and purposes of the other. Wherever conflicts arise we must obey God rather than man."

(Statement adopted by Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Mar. 6, 1964:)

"The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has taken note of a trend in many parts of our land to assume that the prayer and devotional experiences of children are and should be subject to legislation by boards of education. Accordingly, many are urging that the Constitution of the United States should be amended so as to permit such regulations by boards of education or by State legislatures.

"1. The Baptist Joint Committee reaffirms its conviction that laws and regulations prescribing prayers or devotional exercises do not contribute to a free exercise of religion and should not be encouraged.

"2. The Baptist Joint Committee also expresses a deep concern lest such laws and regulations become the means for confusing the moral values of American society for a devotion to religious insights. While the committee is enthusiastic about much in the American heritage as a national way of life, the equation of religious ideas and practices with our national culture will erode rather than strengthen the American heritage.

"3. The committee holds that it is the business of the public schools, operated under law, supported by taxation, and attended by pupils under compulsory school attendance laws, to transmit the cultural legacy of our land. This requires the objective recognition of religion as part of the experiences of the people and as one force operating in our society. These premises, however, do not constitute religion and should not be advanced as the ultimate commitments for which people exist.

"4. The committee recognizes that some political leaders may make appeals for the establishment of religious acts through legalized means to arouse public sentiment. This we regard to be in bad taste as a violation of the principle of separation of church and state. This is the basic principle of the Constitution of the United States that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *.'

"5. Conversely, the committee appeals to Baptists everywhere to inform themselves carefully regarding the fundamental principles of freedom and to participate as informed citizens in the creation of a social order in which people of all religions or of no religion have the equitable civic treatment which they merit as people. Legislative representatives and political leaders should be made aware of our Baptist support for a clear distinction between the roles of the churches and those of state agencies."

B. LOCAL RESOLUTIONS

1. Resolution, Dover Baptist Association, Virginia, July 1925 (Garnett Ryland, "The Baptists of Virginia, 1699–1926," Richmond, the Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1955, pp. 340–341).

At its meeting in July 1925, the Dover Association resolved unanimously that:

"Whereas there is an effort being made to induce the next legislature of Virginia to pass an act requiring the compulsory reading of the Bible in every public school; and, whereas the Bible is primarily a book of religion and as such its use should be left to the individual conscience free from legislative compulsion, and the duty of teaching it is a function of the home and the churches and not of the State; therefore, the Dover Association reaffirms the historic opposition of Virginia Baptists to any meddling by the State in matters concerning religion and respectfully protests to the general assembly against the passage of any such laws on the ground that it would be an improper interference by the State in the realm of religion and a violation of the principles of religious liberty and of the complete separation of the spheres of church and state, as embodied in the constitution of the Commonwealth."

Seventeen district associations responded to the call of the Dover for similar action. So did the general association at its meeting in November when R. H. Pitt, at the request of the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, presented an address on "Soul Liberty—Some of the Implications." In it he discussed the age-long struggle for the separation of church and state and voiced the objections to the State's compelling the reading of the Bible in tax-supported schools. This was given wide publicity by the secular papers. The association appointed a large committee to prepare and present to the general assembly at its next session a memorial against the proposed law.[1] This was drawn by John Garland Pollard, a member of the committee. The memorial with the resolutions of the district associations were presented at a large public meeting of a committee of the senate by George W. McDaniel, who stated clearly and forcibly the position of the Baptists. The committee by indefinite postponement killed the bill.

2. Resolution, Executive Board, Long Run Association of Baptists in Louisville, Ky., July 2, 1962.

"Whereas the Supreme Court ruling of last week on official prayer in the public schools has far-reaching implications for the religious life and practice of our Nation, and whereas this decision has caused widespread concern and discussion among the public at large, we, the members of the executive board of the Long Run Association of Baptists in Louisville, Ky., hereby resolve:

"1. That the citizens note carefully the exact nature and scope of the Court's ruling. It did not rule unconstitutional all forms of prayer in the public schools. Rather, it prohibited a specific 22-word prayer because it was formulated and enforced by an arm of the Government. The central issue is not: Should prayer be offered in the public school? It is rather: Should the Government prescribe prayers? The Court's opinion is summarized in this sentence from Justice Black's majority opinion: "It is no part of the business of Government to compose official prayers for any group of American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by Government." The Court went out of its way to say that this opinion is not antireligious or opposed to the general practice of prayer. It addressed itself exclusively to the role of Government in defining and demanding a religious exercise.

"2. In the light of our Baptist heritage, which has played a significant role in the creation and preservation of religious liberty in this country and which has always advocated the separation of church and state, we commend the majority decision of the Supreme Court.

"3. We profoundly regret that great misunderstanding has come from this decision. Our Nation has suffered both at home and abroad because the issue has been interpreted as antireligious or atheistic in spirit. We should clarify the situation and point out that these damaging results have come from misinterpretation and not from the action of the Supreme Court itself."

This resolution was unanimously adopted at the official meeting of the executive board of the Long Run Association on July 2, 1962.

3. Statement approved by executive board, Missouri Baptist Convention, July 17, 1962:

"We commend the majority opinion of the Supreme Court which ruled that no State can impose a prescribed prayer upon public schools."

4. Resolution adopted by the Minnesota Convention of American Baptist Churches, in annual session at Duluth, September 21–23, 1962:

"SUPREME COURT AND PRAYER

"It is with gratitude that we support the recent ruling of the Supreme Court on prayer as an effort to protect our religious freedom and the separation of church and state. We direct the attention of our people to the fact that the Supreme Court ruling did not rule against prayer, or other religious expression in the public schools, but did rule that the government as such—local, State, or national—should not prepare, prescribe, or officially sanction prayers and other religious materials for use in the public schools, and did so on the clear grounds that this is not a legitimate function of government."

5. Resolution adopted by the Pennsylvania Baptist Convention, in annual session at Uniontown, October 16, 1962:

"RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

"We affirm our belief in prayer as the voluntary communication of the person with God. Thus prayer cannot properly be equated with the recitation of words addressed to Deity. We therefor view with disfavor the prescribing of prayer by legislation, since such procedure involves the promotion of religion by the state, obscures or destroys the voluntary aspect of prayer, and engages in an experiment with sacred freedoms that risks unforeseen and perilous consequences. We therefore endorse the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States involving the prayer that the New York State Board of Regents formulated for use in public schools, understanding that this decision places no restriction on the voluntary practice of prayer in connection with

[1] The bill as offered in the State senate in 1926 compelled the reading of five verses of the King James version of the Bible "at the opening of every public school on every schoolday by each teacher in charge" and prescribed "such discipline by the district board of education for failure to do so as may be necessary to bring about the performance."

any public function or any semireligious activities in public schools. We recommend increased attention to the importance of prayer in deepening our spiritual lives and in challenging us in our social awareness."

6. Resolution adopted by the Baptist General Convention of Oregon-Washington, in annual session at Wenatchee, October 24–26, 1962:

"Further, be it resolved that while viewing with concern the increasing secularization of our public school systems and the decreasing emphasis on moral and spiritual values, we also recognize that there are religious groups seeking to break down the wall between church and state; therefore we commend the Supreme Court of the Nation for its recent decision to ban from the school so-called official prayers; that we endeavor to increase the spiritual activities of our homes and our churches; and that we refuse as a group of cooperative churches to seek special monetary benefits from the local, State, or Federal Government and in any way would renounce any intention of advancing the work of the Lord at the expense of the Public Treasury."

7. Resolution adopted by the Norfolk Baptist Association, in annual session at Norfolk, Va., October 26, 1962:

"Whereas we hold fast to the concept of religion as a voluntary exercise of man in his voluntary response to his Maker; and

"Whereas we have historically affirmed that the created dignity of man is lessened in any atmosphere of compulsion or coercion regarding his freedom to engage in, or refrain from engaging in, such voluntary response; and

"Whereas we believe the role of government, insofar as its relationship to religious exercises is concerned, is to provide a permissive atmosphere, devoid of compulsion, coercion, or financial support, wherein free men may freely and personally exercise such voluntariness as they personally choose;

"We, therefore, as messengers to this meeting of the Norfolk Baptist Association, on October 26, 1962, do express our gratitude to the Supreme Court of these United States for their recent decision which reaffirmed the guarantee of religious freedom as embodied in the first amendment to the Constitution; and

"Further, we reaffirm the historic position of Virginia Baptists as expressed by messengers to the 1925 meeting of the Dover Association; and

"Further, we call upon our brethren to bolster and enhance these freedoms by giving greater diligence to the exercise of prayer and the study of the Holy Scriptures in the home and in the church, recognizing these as the true domains for the furtherance of the religious life of the individual."

8. Recommendation of the Christian Life Commission, approved by the Baptist General Convention of Texas, in annual session at Fort Worth, October 30–November 1, 1962:

"SUPREME COURT DECISION ON OFFICIAL PRAYER

"In the past prayers composed by the Government have been dismissed by Americans as an affront to conscience. But in the emotional context of the historic Supreme Court decision last June such a prayer drew considerable support. As a result, a major new church-state controversy was created. Although the specific issue was narrow, the ensuing debate has ranged far and wide.

"The Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for an agency of the Government to coerce religious expression. It held that for a public school to require the reading of a prayer as part of the standard school procedure constitutes coercion, even when dissenting pupils are permitted to abstain from the reading. The decision was based on the fact that prayer composed by Government officials and ordered by a Government agency is contrary to the Constitution.

"The Court did not outlaw prayer. It made prayer free from political control. It expressly stated that its action is not hostile toward religion or prayer, but rather is for the protection of religion and for the guarantee of its free exercise. If the Court is wrong, then must we not concede that Government officials have the authority to compose prayers and enforce their repetition?

"The Court's decision is in harmony with the fundamentals of democracy. It takes religion away from no man and forces it upon none. It declares again that under our form of government a man is free to worship as he sees fit, or not to worship at all. Citizenship is in no way dependent upon his affirmation of certain religious beliefs, or his refusal to make such an affirmation.

"We urge Baptists to get the facts before they attempt to evaluate any court decision.

"We urge Baptists to accept heartily the responsibility of religious worship and training of children. The answer to an ever-increasing secularism is not to use the compulsory attendance law to force the presence of children at religious worship but rather to call our churches and families to rededication to God.

"We urge Baptists to support the principle of separation of church and state. This principle has been greatly strengthened by the Supreme Court's decision. The action of the Court is an act of liberation. It frees schoolchildren from what was, in effect, a forced repetition of prayer; prayer ought to be voluntary, not forced. It frees the public school from an observance much more likely to be divisive than unifying. And most important of all, it may free religion from an essentially perilous sort of secular support."

9. Resolution, executive board, the Southern Baptist General Convention of California, April 14, 1964:

"We the Executive Board of The Southern Baptist General Convention of California are opposed to any and all of the current attempts to amend the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America. We believe those proposed amendments are well-meaning but misguided actions.

"We believe the first amendment to the Constitution should be held inviolate. It is the guarantee of religious liberty in America. To alter its provisions would alter the basic concept of religious liberty.

"We urge a careful study of the Supreme Court decisions in the so-called Bible reading and prayer cases. These decisions have not taken the Bible and prayer out of the schools. The Court simply said the schools may not require religious observances.

"Since attempts are now being made in Congress to amend the Constitution to allow required prayer and Bible reading in public schools, we urge our churches and their constituent members to write their Congressmen urging them to defeat any and all such amendments offered."

10. Resolution, executive board, Kentucky Baptist Convention, May 4, 1964.

The Executive Board of the Kentucky Baptist Convention in session on May 4, at Cedarmore Baptist Assembly expresses its sentiments on the Becker amendment (H.J. Res. 693) with the following resolutions:

"Whereas the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution was made an indispensable part of the Bill of Rights by America's Founding Fathers who were determined that government and religion be forever kept separate.

"Whereas the first amendment has proven throughout American history to be a precious safeguard of separation of church and state.

"Whereas no Supreme Court ruling has forbidden voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools but has ruled as unconstitutional only prescribed and required Bible reading and prayer in public schools.

"Whereas true religion is always voluntary and a matter for churches, homes, and individuals instead of a matter of civil government; and

"Whereas the Becker proposals would weaken or completely undo the provisions of the first amendment: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we express vigorous opposition to the Becker proposals and to any and all other such proposals,

"That we reaffirm our belief that the first amendment in its present form is superior to any present proposals for changes;

"That we call upon Congress and especially the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to oppose the Becker proposals and any similar suggestions;

"That we urge Kentucky Baptists to express in writing or otherwise their views on this matter to their respective Congressmen;

"That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee (EMANUEL CELLER, chairman) and to each Congressman and Senator from Kentucky; and

"That the executive secretary represent the executive board in communicating this action to the secular and denominational press."

11. Resolution, executive board, Louisiana Baptist Convention, May 5, 1964:

"*Be it resolved*, That the executive board of the Louisiana Baptist Convention which is composed of 74 members, including pastors and laymen from all areas of the State and serving the 1,500 Louisiana Baptist Churches and missions, opposes the Becker amendment for the reason that the first amendment has proved adequate as it now stands, and that, furthermore, the ruling of the Supreme Court in the Regents prayer case did not disallow voluntary praying and Bible reading in schools but did rule out compulsory and school-controlled prayers as it should have done; be it

"*Resolved, further*, That a strongly expressed statement opposing the Becker amendment be sent to each of the representatives from the State of Louisiana in the Congress of the United States; be it

"*Resolved, furthermore*, That the executive board secretary implement these resolutions by sending information and materials to pastors and other Baptist leaders in the State interpreting the propriety of the Supreme Court ruling in the Regents prayer case and citing the dangers imposed on the first amendment to the Constitution by the proposed Becker amendment; be it

"*Resolved also*, That Baptist pastors and church leaders urge church members and their friends to write or wire their Congressmen to oppose the Becker amendment."

12. Statement adopted by Public Affairs Committee, Baptist Convention of the State of Georgia, May 7, 1964:

"Along with other Americans, Georgia Baptists are concerned with the preservation and enrichment of the religious heritage of our Nation. Efforts to destroy the moral and spiritual foundations upon which American society has developed must be resisted, but resistance must be in harmony with the heritage which is being defended.

"The Georgia Baptist Convention's Committee on Public Affairs reaffirms the right of all people to religious liberty, and confidence in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States as a safeguard to religious freedom. Any effort to breach the historic wall separating church and state is to be resisted as a dangerous threat to the perpetuation of religious freedom for all Americans."

13. Statement, Commission on Christian Life and Public Affairs, Alabama Baptist State Convention, May 12, 1964:

"This commission affirms its confidence in the first amendment to the national Constitution to safeguard religious freedom adequately for all citizens of our beloved country. We reject the erroneous ideas that recent decisions of the Supreme Court forbid Bible reading and prayer in the public

schools. We believe that the Court is technically correct in saying that the State, through its agencies, cannot promote or establish the reading of the Bible or prayer in the public school.

"We firmly believe that the proposed Becker amendment poses a threat to religious liberty. 'If government units at any level are given powers to promote or support religion, this means that they also gain the powers to neglect, to propose, and to change it.' (Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.)

"We strongly urge our Baptist people to inform themselves on the Supreme Court rulings on Bible reading and prayer cases and on the content of this proposed amendment, and to study the excellent analysis of it as made by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Let us not be a party to an uninformed emotional reaction to decisions of the Supreme Court which seems to be widespread among our people.

"Let us continue to strengthen the religious instruction given our children in our homes and churches while urging voluntary (already free—second clause of first amendment safeguards this) religious activities in the public school."

14. Resolution, State Board of Missions, Florida Baptist Convention, May 8, 1964:

"The first amendment of the Constitution of the United States has served our Nation and our churches well throughout our national history. It has been the bulwark for preserving our religious freedom, and we are opposed to any change in its wording or meaning. We are opposed to governmental sponsorship of religion, and we respectfully request Members of Congress to leave religion to the homes and churches of the Nation."

15. Statement, State board of promotion, Indiana Baptist Convention, May 12, 1964:

"We, the members of the State board of promotion of the Indiana Baptist Convention, approve the following statement and submit it to pastors and the churches of the Indiana Baptist Convention. We urge that careful consideration be given to the matter in the local church and that our representatives in the U.S. Senate and in the House of Representatives be advised of our convictions.

"By vote of the board, it was requested that the count concerning this action be placed in this letter. There were 3 opposing votes and 31 votes in favor of the action concerning the amendment.

"STATEMENT CONCERNING PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

"We believe that the first amendment is adequate to protect the religious liberty of all Americans and see no need for any amendment which would change the wording or intent of this first amendment. We are opposed to governmental sponsorship of religion, and we respectfully request Members of Congress to leave religion to the homes and churches of the Nation.

"Consequently, we must stand in opposition to any amendment which would threaten the integrity of the Bill of Rights, threaten the principle of the church and state separation, threaten the principle of religious freedom, threaten the integrity of the public school system, and is harmful and not helpful to religion and religious freedoms."

16. Statement, Christian Life Committee, Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, May 1964:

"This committee desires to affirm its opinion that the first amendment of the Constitution allows adequately for voluntary prayer and Bible reading; and, more importantly, is basic to the continued separation of church and state. The Becker amendment would weaken the first amendment."

Bermuda's Role in the Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one phase of the Civil War about which little is known, is the role played by the island of Bermuda in this great conflict between the States. Recently Capt. R. S. Belcher, Jr., U.S. Navy, commanding officer, U.S. Naval Base, Bermuda, covered this phase of the war in a speech. Because of its general interest in this final year of the Civil War Centennial, I submit Captain Belcher's address here and call it to the attention of my colleagues:

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the U.S. Civil War is the personalities which were alined against each other in this great struggle. The two presidents were, of course, famous men and both meddled rather extensively in military affairs. Neither, however, took much direct interest in naval or nautical affairs. This was in part because both had competent and trusted Navy Secretaries—Gideon Welles was Lincoln's. He was a tactiturn Connecticut newspaperman with previous Navy Department experience. He served Lincoln well throughout the entire war.

Steven R. Mallory was Davis' Navy Secretary. He, too, had served on the Naval Affairs Committee of the U.S. Senate and thus had previous knowledge of how a navy was run. He proved to be one of Davis' most competent secretaries and although, like Welles, he took much criticism, history reveals that he did well under the circumstances.

Another interesting character who influenced the strategy of the North more than most people realize, was old Gen. Winfield Scott. At the time of Lincoln's inauguration, Scott was General-in-Chief of the U.S. Army. He was 75 years old, a tremendous man in size who suffered from old wounds and from his great appetite for good food and drink. He was a national hero, however, and deserved his status as he had had a brilliant military career.

Scott was a Virginian but was intensely loyal to the government he had served for more than 52 years. He retired from his post because of ill health, not long after the commencement of the war but not until he had planted the seeds of the plan which was later used against the South.

Scott's plan got into the public press where it was called Scott's Anaconda Plan since it envisioned an encirclement of the South which would eventually crush it just as a python or boa constrictor crushes its prey. His plan in brief was to establish a blockade of the southern ports along the Atlantic and gulf coasts and then drive a force down the Mississippi River. By these means the principle Confederate States would be encircled and soon starved into submission.

At the outset of the war many northerners failed to realize the deepness of the discord and felt that a quick thrust by the Union Army into the South would put a stop to the whole thing. Scott recognized this feeling and wrote in that regard, that the greatest danger to his plan was "the impatience of many loyal and patriotic Union friends who would urge instant and vigorous action, regardless of consequences." He had judged this accurately because it was this impatience which led to the first Battle of Bull Run in which the Union Army was roundly beaten. Some of these people living in Washington, packed picnic lunches and in their carriages, drove out from Washington to see the battle. The battle beaten, disorganized troops which streamed back to the Capital that hot dusty afternoon, convinced many of them that it was not to be as easy as they supposed.

Well, Scott retired and he gets little credit for the northern strategy but it was essentially his "Anacanda plan."

President Lincoln lost no time in establishing the blockade. Just 6 days after the fall of Fort Sumter which marked the beginning of hostilities, he issued a proclamation of blockade from South Carolina to Texas and a few days later when Virginia committed herself to the South, he extended to cover the remainder of the Confederate coast.

This was a tremendous undertaking—3,000 miles of coast and at the war's outset only 35 modern steam vessels were available.

By establishing a formal blockade in accordance with international law of the times had the effect of tacitly recognizing the Confederacy as a belligerent—as opposed to a rebellious internal segment. Both his Secretary of State, Seward and Secretary Welles, opposed this move but Lincoln felt that if he simply closed the southern ports, the world's neutrals would then have grounds for intervention, something he certainly wished to avoid.

International law said that to be binding on neutrals and belligerents, it must be effective, so the Union set about to acquire the ships and sailors to make it so. Twice in the lifetime of most of us here, the United States has demonstrated its ability to come out with a rush after a slow start in its war efforts. This is also true of both North and South in the Civil War.

The scope of the blockade was greater than any ever before attempted and was looked upon with skepticism by Britain, the greatest maritime power in the world. By the end of the war, however, the blockade was most effective. This is adequately borne out by the steadily rising price of cotton and the scarcity of goods in the Confederacy.

In November of 1861, the first year of the war, an event took place which was to have long lasting effects in the British Empire. This episode has been called the Trent Affair. The principal actors in the Trent Affair were a U.S. Navy captain named Wilkes and two Confederate commissioners—Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell. Mason and Slidell with their wives and secretaries were on their way to Europe as representatives of the Confederate States. They first tried to leave the Confederacy by way of a blockade runner out of Charleston directly for Europe but the Union blockaders prevented their departure. Finally, they transferred to a small coastal steamer in which they successfully left Charleston for Nassau and eventually Cuba where they boarded the next available ship, the British mail packet *Trent*.

Wilkes was an arrogant man who had made something of a name for himself as an explorer. Also he fancied himself as quite an expert in international law. When he heard that Mason and Slidell were to take passage on the *Trent* he busied himself in studying the laws of seizure and finally convinced himself that Mason and Slidell were agents of a belligerent and surely carrying dispatches that he had a right, under international law, to seize the vessel and the commissioners.

On November 6 the U.S.S. *San Jacinto*, Wilkes' ship lay in wait in the Old Bahama channel as the *Trent* steamed into view. Wilkes stopped the *Trent* by firing across her bow and sent his executive officer and

a marine guard to board her. In the course of events the executive officer took Mason, Slidell and their secretaries back to the *San Jacinto* but did not take the *Trent* as a prize—allowing her to continue.

Wilkes headed for New York with his prisoners but because of a lack of coal he put into Hampton Roads, Va., from whence he sent dispatches to Washington. Again he started for New York but on entering the channel he found orders waiting to proceed on to Boston where he was to turn over his prisoners to the commanding officer of Fort Warren where the prisoners were to be detained.

The country went wild with the news—even old Gideon Welles who wasn't easily stampeded was carried away in the enthusiams. He wrote Wilkes: "Your conduct in seizing these public enemies, was marked by intelligence, ability, decision and firmness and has the emphatic approval of the Department." This was the way most everyone felt about it until the possible consequences came more clearly into focus.

When the word reached England there was a tremendous furor and war preparations were immediately started. The Union government was in a bad situation. They could ill afford to invite Britain and perhaps France to enter the war.

So when Lord Lyons, the British Minister in Washington, voiced his country's protest and demanded the release of the prisoners, the Government disavowed the actions of Wilkes and gave the prisoners up with humble apology.

This act of what the neutrals called "piracy" had a great influence on public opinion. England particularly was suffering from a great cotton famine, many cotton millworkers were out of work and in need. This was an indication of how the North was interfering with the commerce of the South. Nobody liked it.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances Bermuda's sympathies were with the South. After all, Bermuda had many contacts with the South—and it was only an accident of fate that put Bermuda's original families here rather than Virginia. With Bermuda naturally sympathetic to the South and with her strategic position off the Atlantic coast, it is not surprising that she became a staging point for blockade running into the Confederacy.

In April of 1862 New Orleans fell to the might of the U.S. Navy under Flag Officer Farragut, thus closing the Confederacy's largest port—indeed New Orleans had been the largest export port in the world just prior to the war.

With New Orleans closed to the Confederates, Savannah, Charleston and Wilmington were greatly increased in importance. Bermuda is only 674 miles from Wilmington, N.C., which was to become even more important as the principle Confederate blockade running port.

St. George's quite logically became the center of the blockade traffic. Her harbor with its quick access to the open sea was ideal and it was here that the blockade runners gathered. Aside from the natural sympathies of the Bermudians for the South, it was also a lucrative business which attracted the adventuresome. The figures vary considerably but a captain often received 3,000 or 4,000 pounds for a round trip to Wilmington with a bonus for each bale of cotton brought out. In addition there was money to be made by the individual as prices in the Confederacy skyrocketed. One hundred and two years ago today a turkey in Richmond, Va., would bring $45 to $60, flour $300 per barrel and coffee $12 a pound.

As an indication of the tremendous profits possible on successful voyages; quinine could be bought in Nassau for $2.80 an ounce. It was sold in Confederate ports for as much as $1,200 per ounce in Confederate currency. The currency was then converted into cotton at 10 cents per pound which was sold in Nassau at 50 cents per pound. By my calculations that's a return of $2,140 per dollar invested. Bermuda was the scene of much the same type of profits and money was plentiful—especially around St. George's where the sailors looked for interesting ways to spend their high pay.

Early in 1863, the Confederates were interested in Bermuda enough to send Major Walker of the Confederate Army to Bermuda to act as a Confederate agent. Mrs. Walker with three childiren, arrived in March 1863 and took a "snug, cozy little cottage" in St. George's.

Mrs. Walker kept a dairy which has now been published and which gives one a good glimpse into their life in Bermuda. She tells about the social life which included a hospitable welcome for Confederate naval officers and blockade runners. Their home was a haven for these men and life was pleasant here, far from the dangers of the sea and the U.S. Navy.

All sorts of people passed through the port and were guests of the Walkers. She mentions one famous lady, Mrs. Rose Greenhow, who was well known as a Confederate spy in Washington. Mrs. Greenhow was a vivacious widow who had lived in Washington society for a number of years. She continued to live there after the outbreak of the war and is credited with passing much valuable information to the South. She said herself that she stayed in Washington to be useful to the South and said "To this end I employed every capacity with which God had endowed me and the results were far more successful than my hopes could have flattered me to expect." She was caught, however, and expelled to Richmond. From there she made a trip to France and England where she was warmly received. Later she came again through Bermuda—again on her way to the Confederacy. On this trip she went to Wilmington on a blockade runner but it was intercepted and ran aground in a heavy sea. Mrs. Greenhow, much afraid of capture, prevailed upon the captain to put her ashore in a small boat. In the attempt, the boat capsized in the surf and Mrs. Greenhow was drowned. Her body was found the next morning on the beach. The wife of the Commander of Fort Fisher examined her clothing, finding a number of dispatches and considerable gold sewn into the hems.

Bermuda had its troubles with the blockade runners as well as profits. The sailors who crowded St. George's caused no end of trouble with Shin Bone Alley, the scene of nightly fights and riots. Then, too, the yellow fever came. It was undoubtedly imported and during the summer of 1863 it ran rampant over the islands.

In the end the losses of ships mounted until finally with the fall of Fort Fisher guarding the entrance to Wilmington, the coast was closed. Soon after the war was over.

It was an interesting time, a sad time, and one neither Bermuda nor America will ever forget.

Personal Thoughts on the Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK MINOR MARTIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of California. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues the following expression of a constituent of mine on the Bill of Rights.

I am confident this young gentleman will add much to the future of America and his "Personal Thoughts on the Bill of Rights" show a refreshing understanding in depth of our freedoms. He is 13 years old.

The article follows:

PERSONAL THOUGHTS ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS

As I walked into the large, round, quiet marble room, the first thing I noticed was the soft light shining on the large marble vault on the far side of the room. As I walked toward it I saw what was in it. In a large case was the original Declaration of Independence. Below the Declaration was the Constitution and Bill of Rights. As I stood staring at the Bill of Rights I began to think, "What does the Bill of Rights really mean to me?"

This Bill of Rights gives me the right to walk to school and get an education. It gives me the right to grow up free; to push forward; not to stay and wait for a next time. Our Bill of Rights gives to me what might be called a competitive spirit. A spirit to fight the forces that would go against the freedoms given us. Knowledge that if I and others fight hard enough we will defeat these forces. The Bill of Rights also gives me the privilege to read books and put the ideas I get from them into action. In fact it gives me the right to write this essay telling what our great Bill of Rights means to me as a young person. In my opinion this document lets me make by own life and not have someone else make it for me, as is done in Communist countries. As I grow older I can look forward to more responsibilities and freedoms that will be mine because of the Bill of Rights.

JEFF SILVER,
Age 13, Eighth Grade,
Sierra Junior High.
RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

What the Flag Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, recently a grade school student in my district, Johann Manganelli of Utica, New York, sent a letter to the Utica Observer Dispatch entitled "What the Flag Means." It expresses so forcefully and yet sensibly the true meaning of our national emblem that I feel compelled to share it with my colleagues. We can be proud of a 12-year-old girl who feels so deeply and writes so beautifully. Her effort is an inspiration to us all.

WHAT THE FLAG MEANS

The flag symbolizes the spirit of America. It stands for courage, for generosity, and for honor. No hand shall touch it roughly. No hand shall touch it irreverently. Its position is afloat over its children, uplifting their eyes and hearts by its glowing colors and splendid promises. In the heart of every American citizen the American flag has its highest place. It is supreme.

America is "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Many people have suffered oppression to win her independence. They have hungered with Washington at Valley Forge and died on such battlefields as Lexington, Oriskany, Saratoga, Pork Chop Hill, Iwo Jima, and Korea. Although the flag has flown in numerous wars, it has never

been lowered in defeat. It waved high in battle, giving the soldiers a symbol to follow and defend.

Our flag is a patriotic emblem that stands for the ideals of the American people. These ideals are noble. We try to maintain superior standards of living, spiritually, morally, and economically. The very sight of the glorious flag arouses people to joy, sadness, courage, and sacrifice, according to the time and the circumstances in which it is displayed.

Freedom is its title—freedom from want, freedom to worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. These rights which we enjoy under the flag are self-explanatory, with the exception of freedom of the press. The Government allows us this freedom if we are guided by the truth.

Our flag represents justice on which our country is founded. Wherever men have lived together, they have found it necessary to develop rules of conduct. Justice makes it possible for men to live together peacefully in a community. Without it some might ignore the rights of others. With it, the people in a community live together without serious conflict.

Strong is our flag and we have made it that way. Strong is our country and the people who support it. Democratic is our Nation, made by such statesmen as Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Lincoln. Independence is our goal for all people.

Our flag, gentle and sensitive, is the great emblem of one nation indivisible. We are proud as Americans to be living under this sacred symbol of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity.

JOHANN MANGANELLI.

A Living Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I join with those who suggest a living memorial for the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt rather than slabs of marble or concrete, or another structure in Washington.

The following is a suggestion from the Connecticut Avenue Citizens Association:

STATEMENT OF THE CONNECTICUT AVENUE CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 28, 1964

The Connecticut Avenue Citizens Association wishes to lend its strong support to the Franklin D. Roosevelt family, and to the District of Columbia Recreation Department to keep West Potomac Park a suitable memorial for the late President. A memorial, which truly represents the ideals and desires of Mr. Roosevelt, is the one we will support.

Now that the family has suggested new ideas should be considered, we urge that the park be named for the President, that the planting of trees be carried out in a proper manner, and that the rest of the park be kept in proper balance between the other great memorials.

President Roosevelt, himself, loved all outdoor activity before and after the polio attack. Wouldn't he enjoy seeing an ice-skating pond in the winter? The view of happy families skating together, getting rosy cheeks, doing figure eights, becoming strong and staying well, is a sight which would have delighted him. The details could easily be worked out.

At the entrance a 15-foot landscaped mound can be built, and on the top of it, where it can be seen by all persons from all angles—a twice life-size sculpture of that famous picture of the President. He is standing on the bridge of a ship, his cape blowing back from his shoulders, and his head high in the air. A plaque on the mound, beneath the prow of the ship at eye level, could carry the famous quotation, which President Roosevelt sent to Prime Minister Churchill.

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State.
Sail on, O Union, strong and great.
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."
—LONGFELLOW.

We believe such suggestions as these would meet the approval of President Roosevelt.

TIMOTHY V. A. DILLON,
President.
Mrs. JOSEPH L. MILLER,
Recreation Chairman.

The Act of State Doctrine—Its Use by the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1964

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Supreme Court on March 23 had the result of giving extraterritorial effect to a totalitarian government's acts, namely those of Fidel Castro in Cuba of expropriating an American-owned Cuban company, even though such expropriation has been condemned by the executive branch of our Government.

The result of this decision was to award the proceeds of a sale of sugar belonging to the American-owned Cuban company that had been expropriated without compensation by Cuba to the Banco Nacional de Cuba, a Cuban Government agency.

Many persons, including myself, were shocked to see the Supreme Court reverse the lower courts that had declared the expropriation invalid because it violated international law.

A very learned discussion of the basic conflict that results from this decision was made by Hermine Herta Meyer in the Wall Street Journal of June 1, 1964, and I include it in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

THE ACT OF STATE DOCTRINE—A LAWYER QUESTIONS ITS USE BY THE SUPREME COURT

(By Hermine Herta Meyer)

WASHINGTON.—In a decision on March 23, the U.S. Supreme Court held that American courts must recognize the validity of Cuba's nationalization of American-owned property.

Under the decision, Banco Nacional de Cuba, a Cuban Government agency, was awarded the proceeds of a sale of sugar that had belonged to an American-owned Cuban company. The company had been expropriated without compensation by Cuba in retaliation to America's reduction of its quota limiting Cuba's sugar sales to the United States.

Though lower courts had held Cuba's action was invalid under international law, the Supreme Court disagreed. Citing the so-called act of state doctrine, the High Court held that the judicial branch will not examine the validity of a taking of property within its own territory by a foreign sovereign government, extant and recognized by this country at the time of suit, in the absence of a treaty or other unambiguous agreement regarding controlling legal principles even if the complaint alleges that the taking violates customary international law."

The rationale advanced for the Act of State Doctrine is that in a governmental system of separation of power the judiciary, "by passing on the validity of foreign acts of state," may hinder the operations of the Executive branch in the international sphere. However, the irony of the result in the Cuban case ought to be warning that there may be something seriously wrong with the Supreme Court's application of the doctrine.

SWITZERLAND'S POLICY

As Justice White showed in his vigorous dissent, judicial application of the doctrine in the past has resulted in considerable embarrassment to the executive branch. Under the doctrine, for example, American courts in 1947 applied Nazi Germany's discriminatory racial laws in open conflict with the policy of the executive branch. Aware of such patent inconsistency, Justice Clark dissented in the case (*Bernstein* v. *Van Heyghen Societe Anonyme*) and stated:

"I suspect that they (our allies) as well as our enemies may be mystified by what must seem the vagaries of a policy looking to restitution to the Jews in Germany at the same time that it accepts the acts of Nazi oppression of the Jews as binding in American courts."

Here, as in the Cuban sugar case, the act of state doctrine led the judiciary to give extraterritorial effect to a totalitarian government's acts which were condemned by the executive branch.

As Justice White indicated in his dissent in the Cuban case, probably no Western nation would follow the U.S. Supreme Court in its unmitigated application of the act of state doctrine or in its interpretation of the meaning of the separation of governmental powers. Among the Western nations, Switzerland has held the clearest line in its refusal to give extraterritorial effect to foreign discriminatory expropriation decrees.

Swiss courts, like many other European courts, employ no act of state doctrine. But like the U.S. Supreme Court, a Swiss court will not pass on the validity of a foreign law or foreign nations acts of state within their own territory. In a Swiss court's approach, however, the question of validity will not arise. The court will simply ask: Shall we in certain situations apply a foreign law and thus give it extraterritorial effect?

Following the Roman law, the laws of continental Europe distinguished between "public law," involving the government in its sovereign capacity, and "private law," involving contractual and proprietary relationships between individuals or between government and individual. In private law, the government is treated as any individual, thus avoiding in this field the undemocratic concept of sovereign immunity adopted in the United States from the authoritarian English doctrine, "The King can do no wrong."

Therefore, if the Cuban Government through the Banco Nacional de Cuba, went into a continental court to sue for the purchase price of sugar allegedly owned and sold by it, it would be regarded to be in the field of private law. Like any other litigant, the Cuban Government would have to prove title to the merchandise as well as a valid contract of sale in order to establish its right to the purchase price.

Whenever international trade situations are involved, the question arises as to what

law a court should apply to determine the rights and obligations of the parties. This is so because, in proprietary or contractual controversies, courts will as far as possible give effect to the will of the parties and to the laws under which they acquired their rights and assumed their obligations.

Traditionally, Swiss courts, like practically all other courts, will not apply the public laws of a foreign state, such as revenue or penal laws, unless there is a treaty obligation or Swiss law itself requires such an application (as, for instance, in a question of the acquisition of foreign citizenship). It should be clear that the courts apply any foreign or international laws only when their own rules tell them to do so; thereby such laws become part of their forum's own law.

It is only logical that a court will not apply a foreign law if it is offensive to certain of the nation's fundamental principles that is, if it contravenes "public policy." In such cases the court does not question the validity of foreign laws or foreign acts of state; it simply refuses to apply them.

Since in this field of private law the courts are dealing primarily with proprietary or contractual rights mostly of private parties, the Swiss Federal Tribunal, Switzerland's highest court, has taken the position that recognition or nonrecognition of a foreign government has no influence on a Swiss court's application of foreign laws.

The Federal Tribunal reasons that refusal to recognize a foreign government cannot prevent its laws from existing or from developing their effects. Moreover, recognition of a foreign government is based on purely political grounds. It does not carry with it an approval of the foreign government's laws or acts of state.

POLICY ON NAZI LAWS

Thus the courts of Switzerland have steadfastly refused to give effect to Nazi laws on Swiss soil because these laws offended Swiss public policy on two points: (1) They contravened the principle of equality before the law which will not permit impairment of a person's property rights solely because of his race, and (2) they contravened the principle of recognition of private property which precludes expropriation without compensation. On the same principles, Swiss courts have also refused to apply expropriation laws of the Communist countries. By testing the applicability of foreign laws solely on the basis of Swiss public policy, the Swiss judiciary has remained in conformity with the policy of the executive, since the "public policy" of the courts usually reflects the ideology of the nation as a whole.

Since Switzerland, like all Continental European democracies, operates under the system of separation of governmental powers, there could be no "embarrassment" to the executive branch, because it is well known that under such a system the executive is powerless to influence the decisions of the judiciary.

What laws are applicable in a given case and how they should be constructed is a matter exclusively within the province of the courts, which must not be subordinated to the political acts of the executive. Swiss, as probably all other jurists in the democracies of the European Continent, therefore would not agree wit hthe U.S. Supreme Court that, in matters of foreign affairs, the principle of separation of power compels the judiciary to subordinate its function to adjudicate to the executive's function to conduct foreign relations. In continental eyes, such an approach leads to a division, not a separation, of governmental powers.

ONE SIDE OF THE PICTURE

The U.S. Supreme Court's application of the unmitigated act of state doctrine creates inconsistencies because it considers only one side of the picture. While there is an ancient rule that the validity of a foreign government's act of state on its own territory may not be questioned by another nation, there is no rule that the foreign act of state must be given extraterritorial effect.

There is, however, an even more ancient rule that a person's right to own property is an important human right that the state has a duty to protect. A modern reiteration of this principle appears in article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

In international law, this principle is reflected by the rule that expropriation of private property is valid only if it is for a public purpose, nondiscriminatory and with provision for prompt and adequate compensation. This rule is adhered to by the West; it coincides with the U.S. Constitution's fifth amendment which forbids the taking of private property for public use without just compensation.

This rule was applied by the lower courts in the Cuban sugar case; they declared the expropriation invalid because it violated international law. The Supreme Court reversed the lower courts mainly on the ground that customary international law could no longer serve as a standard of international law because Communist and certain newly independent nations do not adhere to it and do not recognize an obligation for compensation.

In the Supreme Court's opinion, "both the national interest and progress toward the goal of establishing the rule of law among nations are best served by maintaining intact the act of state doctrine in this realm of its application."

CONFLICT WITH THE EXECUTIVE

Thus, because nations with whose ideology the West disagrees decide to repudiate an ancient rule of international law, the U.S. Supreme Court finds it necessary to apply a doctrine which is not recognized in international law and which forces American courts to give extraterritorial effect to foreign acts of state, even if they are based on laws incompatible with U.S. constitutional principles. The result is that in such situations the judiciary is in conflict with the executive, which operates under the principles of the U.S. Constitution.

The Supreme Court admitted that the act of state doctrine which causes such an ironic situation is "compelled by neither international law nor the Constitution." Are we then not permitted to ask whether it might be preferable to discard the act of state doctrine?

Silver and the Coin Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, since the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act last year there has been increased interest in the silver and coin shortage prevalent in this country. I have spoken many times on the floor and to the committees in the Congress about the critical need for a thorough and enlightened study of this problem. Today I was encouraged by the fact that the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations is conducting hearings on this problem. I insert a copy of my testimony before the subcommittee and the observations of a very astute expert on monetary problems, Mr. Harry Magnuson.

STATEMENT OF HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR., BEFORE THE LEGAL AND MONETARY AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, JUNE 30, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I was delighted to learn that you had called this hearing on a subject I have been studying for many years. It is a pleasure and an honor for me to present to you my views on the coinage problem in the United States and to offer some of my ideas for your consideration.

Other witnesses will document the need for speedy action on our general coinage problems so I will address myself to but one facet of it; namely the silver content of the dollar and our subsidiary coins. At the present time the silver dollar contains 412.5 grains of silver at a monetary value of $1.29 per ounce. Our subsidiary coins, the dime, 25- and 50-cent pieces contain 7 percent less silver content than the dollar, so the monetary value of the silver in them is $1.38 per ounce. The world market price of silver is equal to the monetary value contained in silver dollars or obtainable through the redemption or retirement of silver certificates. The willingness of the U.S. Treasury to sell its silver at $1.29 per ounce places a ceiling on the market price and prevents the operation of the law of supply and demand with regard to silver. Last year free world consumption of silver was about double free world production, 210 million ounces produced and 419 million ounces consumed. In the United States production lagged behind consumption by 147 million ounces; 37 million produced and 184 million consumed.

The gap between silver consumption and production is presently being filled by sales of Treasury silver. Last year the net reduction in the U.S. Treasury silver stocks was 182 million ounces according to Handy and Harmon. At this rate the entire stock of U.S. Treasury silver will soon be depleted and we will have to eliminate silver from our coins and buy our strategic silver from other nations at a price three and four times higher than the present monetary values. Time is of the essence if we are to correct this situation, because silver consumption is steadily increasing, while production continues to dwindle.

I have offered a legislative solution to our critical silver shortage. The bills which I introduced, H.R. 10559 and H.R. 10560, would stop silver bullion sales by the Treasury and double the monetary value of the precious metal. Quite frankly, I don't know whether doubling the monetary price will bring production and consumption into line, but it certainly will allow silver to seek its true value in the marketplace and hopefully close the gap between production and use. When the market price of silver went from 90 cents per ounce in 1961 to $1.29 in 1963, there was but a 2-percent increase in silver production. I hope that this percentage will increase substantially by removing the present ceiling price.

After months of consideration and study I proposed doubling the monetary value for two reasons. I believe the increase will be sufficient to conserve the U.S. Treasury stocks for coinage and strategic uses. Secondly, by using the factor of 2 in adjusting the monetary value, the horrendous problems of immediately calling in all our outstanding coins and reminting them will be avoided. The doubling of our coins' value has its problems admittedly, but it certainly is superior to the prospect of having our coins melted down. Briefly, I ask that the subcommittee bear in mind the need for reduced silver content in our coins, while studying this overall problem of our coin shortage.

The large increase in the use of silver has been for coinage purposes. This is probably

due to the increase in population and the increased use of vending machines, as well as in the increase in our standard of living. This use of silver could conceivably be eliminated if our country were to commence using metal slugs or buttons for coins. Handy and Harmon have sent up a trial balloon proposing that the silver content in coins be eliminated. Historically, sound governments have been based upon sound money. Silver is an emblem of sound money and I doubt very much if our people will want to see it completely eliminated from our coins.

I am of the opinion that unless something is done with respect to the relation of silver and our coinage in the very near future, conceivably within the next 12 months, that we are going to have a serious crisis. This ultimately could be very detrimental to our economy and to the silver industry.

A year ago when Congress amended the silver laws and provided for $1 paper certificates, it was commonly stated in Washington, D.C., that we had a supply of 15 years of silver for coinage and indsutrial purposes. In 1963, 200 million ounces were sold by the Treasury or consumed in coinage. Hence, the present supply of silver backing our Federal Reserve silver certificates could be consumed in 7 years providing the present rate continues. However, the present rate is going to accelerate at a much faster rate unless something is done with respect to our coinage problem.

It is a matter of record that the silver dollars in the U.S. Treasury have decreased from about 200 million on January 1, 1962, to about 96 million on January 1, 1963, and to about 24 million at the present time. For all intents and purposes, the silver dollar is extinct.

The U.S. Treasury could perhaps solve this problem by minting another hundred million or two hundred million silver dollars. There have been no silver dollars minted since 1935. However, as soon as these new silver dollars were minted, they would merely become collectors items and this would merely aggravate the situation and not solve the coin problem.

The Treasury made another mistake with respect to the coinage problem by seeking approval for the Kennedy 50-cent piece. In doing this the U.S. mint quit making Ben Franklin half dollars, after making them for 17 years. Hence, all the Ben Franklin half dollars made in the last 2 or 3 years are going into the hands of collectors and out of circulation. The new Kennedy half dollar will never be a coin. It will be a symbol or medal of President Kennedy and I would venture to say they would go out of existence faster than they can be minted. Every individual in many of the underprivileged nations of the world, for example, India, Africa, South America, will all want a Kennedy 50-cent piece as a remembrance of the President. As a consequence, our Government can mint the half dollars and they will go out of circulation as fast as they are minted. This will merely further the silver coins problem.

With the large pressure on the half dollars, the stress is now increasing on the 25-cent pieces and 10-cent pieces and smaller coins. In many areas it is becoming very difficult to make small change and banks are rationing their small coins. I understand that many of the coins are being hoarded or are going out of the country since our coins now have sufficient silver that they can be sold on the open market at any time in the form of silver. Hence, this provides a hedge for the person hoarding silver.

I am fearful that if we do nothing about our coinage problem, that as this silver situation deteriorates, that our coins will literally disappear and that we will wake up some morning in the not too distant future and not have any coins. Utter chaos could result. This could bring about a complete lack of confidence in our Government and its financial policies. When people lose confidence in the money, anything might happen. Previously the Government printed paper 25-cent pieces and 50-cent pieces. This may have to happen again.

Here is where, in my opinion, the silver producers can be of benefit. Rather than waiting until this situation gets really critical, I think that we might come forward with some proposals at this time while the problem ca still be solved.

I would suggest—(1) that the quantity of silver placed in our coins be reduced by 50 percent. This in effect would be increasing the monetary price of silver from $1.29 to $2.58 an ounce; (2) call in all Federal silver certificates and conserve the silver for future coinage needs and for backing of our currency; (3) to eliminate the sale of silver by the U.S. Treasury and retain this silver for coinage and monetary purposes with one exception. This exception would be one suggested by A. J. Teske to me yesterday and would provide for the Treasury selling a certain amount of silver to U.S. industry for a period of 5 years. It is our thought that this might be phased out over a 5-year period; for example, we could sell 50 million ounces the first year, 40 million the second, 30 million the third, etc. The effect of this would be to eliminate any tremendous fluctuation in the price of silver upon the cessation of sales by the U.S. Treasury.

I think that going to Congress and to the public, we could well explain that the content of silver in our silver coins has remained the same since 1793, that in view of the industrial needs and consumption of the metal, that we are decreasing it by 50 percent. I think if this is done at this time, before the situation gets real critical, the public will not become really over aroused and hence, this will not adversely affect our financial or physical condition. The new coins can be gradually circulated in with the old coins and as the mint gets additional capacity, the old coins can be melted down and converted into new coins. If this is done, gradually, no crisis will come about. However, if all the old coins go underground overnight, because of lack of action, then the problem is much more acute. This transition must be done very smoothly and the sooner, the better.

I think the mining industry should take the lead and advance these proposals as soon as possible in view of the forthcoming coinage crisis.

Statement on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the statement I submitted to the Subcommittee on Immigration, House Committee on the Judiciary, which is currently holding hearings on legislation to amend our immigration laws. Among these bills is also my bill, H.R. 8106.

My statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ON H.R. 8106, JUNE 29, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am gratified that your committee is considering legislation for the revision of the laws governing the immigration policy of this country.

The distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee has introduced a bill, H.R. 7700, embodying the principles and provisions of a new policy of immigration and naturalization based upon the recommendations to the Congress by the late President Kennedy. President Johnson has also urged Congress to endorse these proposals. I have chosen to indicate my support of the suggested revisions by submitting an identical bill, H.R. 8106.

The basic principle of the current immigration laws—the so-called principle of national origins—is offensive to many of our citizens. It is also harmful to our relations with other countries.

Save for the American Indians, all citizens of this country are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants; and all are Americans, regardless of their place of birth or national origin. To discriminate among persons seeking residence or citizenship in this country on the basis of their national or racial origins is, therefore, to discriminate among persons accordings to a principle repugnant to the traditions of our country and offensive to the great majority of the American people.

The inequities of the current law are extreme. The immigration quotas are based on the national origins of the United States population of 1890, at which time immigration from southern and eastern Europe had hardly begun. The Italians and Poles, for example, are particularly slighted. From Italy, with a total population of 46 million, we can accept only 5,666 immigrants annually; from Poland, with a population of 25 million, only 6,488 persons are permitted to enter the country each year. The same applies to Greece, Hungary, France, Czechoslovakia, and other European countries. I am privileged to have experienced the loyalty and diligence of these people who have vastly enriched our country. I am, therefore, baffled by the inequities imposed upon their kinsmen by this law and I share their resentment of it.

The principle of the current immigration laws also stands as an insult to many countries abroad. The allocation of quotas among nations cannot but be interpreted as an evaluation of the relative worth of their nationals. That this is not in fact our intention should be obvious; so too, however, should be the fact that our good intentions are discredited by the reality of our laws. It should also be recalled that a central tenet of our foreign policy is respect for the equality of all nations; the unfortunate inconsistency of our immigration laws with this principle should also be apparent. Inconsistency in our principles and misunderstandings of our intentions—these are the effects upon our foreign policy of our immigration laws.

The principle of the 1924 legislation is, therefore, unacceptable. I seek its revision in this bill. All considerations based upon national or racial origins are to be abolished. Though representing a major departure from the current laws, this provision does not, in fact, represent a great departure from actual practice. For the multiple revisions of the law of 1924 have eroded to the point of abolition the actual implementation of the rule of national origins.

The new bill, recognizing the inadequacies and inequities of the old, applies the categories and priorities hitherto used for single countries to a worldwide quota, as specified in amended section 203 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. First priority to the first 50 percent is given to persons whose admission, because of exceptional skill, training or education, is advantageous to the United States. First priority on the next 30 percent, plus any part of the first 50 percent not filled, is given to unmarried sons and daughters not eligible for nonquota status. First priority on the remaining 20 percent,

plus the unfilled portion of the additional 80 percent, is given to the spouses and children of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence. No country would be allowed to receive more than 10 percent of the quota available in any year, with certain exceptions.

These principles are to replace the old system over a 5-year period. During this period, a worldwide quota of 164,582 immigrants will be fashioned from the present national quotas, and the complex administration of our immigration policies will be revised accordingly.

The bill has other important provisions. Nonquota status is extended to all the natives of the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere. The parents of U.S. citizens are also given nonquota status, thus alleviating a longtime source of inconvenience and grief. The methods of issuing visas are amended to obviate potential procedural means of countering the provisions of the bill. And flexibility is insured by granting the Attorney General, the Secretary of State, the Surgeon General, and the proposed Immigration Board the power of revising immigration policy in the face of new political needs, foreign or domestic.

All the above revisions represent clear improvements in our immigration laws. The provisions replacing the principle of national origins, I again stress, represent long-needed departures from a principle inconsistent with the central tenets of our Nation's political tradition. I, therefore, strongly endorse the revision of our immigration and nationalization laws. I urge the subcommittee's approval of this measure. And I look forward to the privilege of voting for it in our full Committee on the Judiciary.

Crime in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, thousands of citizens of New York are daily denied their civil rights. They are denied the use of the parks of that city because they may be raped or robbed, stabbed, or murdered. The use of many streets of the city is prohibited to citizens for the same reason.

This denial of civil rights of New York citizens should be corrected. The atmosphere for such lawlessness was created by the pampering of greedy self-anointed leaders of racist movements by political leaders. When Members of Congress restore civil rights to New Yorkers, then they might turn their attention to the rest of the country.

Probably the most reprehensible violation of civil rights occurred in midtown New York on June 14, 1964. The climate of fear in that city is so great that 50 bystanders refused to aid 4 white persons when they were attacked by a mob of Negroes.

Mr. Speaker, this sordid episode is related in the following Associated Press story which appeared in the Washington Star, June 15, 1964:

FIFTY WATCH NEGROES BATTLE FOUR ON BROADWAY

NEW YORK, June 15.—Two men, who knocked down two Negroes for allegedly molesting their wives as they walked along brightly lighted Broadway last night, were mobbed and beaten by eight Negroes minutes later. Dozens of strollers just watched.

As the two men's wives screamed and begged for help, one bystander did call police.

Of the 50 persons who merely looked on, an unidentified detective commented: "That's about par for the course."

The victims were Michael Massa, 30, and his wife, Ann, 27, and Edward Costa, 38, and his wife, Margaret, 30, all of Brooklyn.

Police gave this account:

Today is the Massas' 11th wedding anniversary. They had a late dinner with their friends and the foursome was strolling on Broadway between 51st and 52d Streets, headed for a nightclub, when two men made obscene remarks to the women, but were ignored.

Then the pair put their hands on the women. Mr. Costa and Mr. Massa knocked the men down. The Negroes fled to a lunchroom on Broadway near 52d Street.

The couples then headed down Broadway.

In the lunchroom, a witness told police, the Negroes turned to patrons, whom they apparently knew, and said: "Come on. Let's get those guys. They roughed us up."

At 49th Street, eight men jumped Mr. Costa and Mr. Massa, throwing them to the sidewalk and kicking them about the body and face.

One of the attackers turned to the crowd and said: "Don't anybody interfere. We got a knife."

By the time police came, the attackers had fled.

"We yelled for help but nobody helped," one of the women said.

The Costas and Mr. Massa were treated at a hospital for face and body cuts. Mr. Costa was detained for X-rays.

Said Mrs. Costa: "It's a disgrace. Not one person lifted a finger to help my husband or Mike * * * nobody cares about each other."

The Youngstown Vindicator: 95 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article concerning the Youngstown Vindicator, my hometown newspaper of Youngstown, Ohio.

During the 95 years that it has been in existence, the Youngstown Vindicator has risen from a weekly to its rightful place among the leading newspapers of the country. It is an independent newspaper, supporting both Democrats and Republicans on a National, State, and local basis.

The Vindicator is remarkable for a number of reasons, but particularly because of the caliber of men who were its early founders. Mr. William F. Maag, Sr., was elected to serve in the Ohio State Legislature, as a Democrat, and John Hessin Clarke, was appointed a member of the U.S. Supreme Court by President Woodrow Wilson.

The feature writers and entire staff of the Youngstown Vindicator is composed of the highest type of men and women, and most all of the outstanding national columnists appear on their editorial pages. It is most capably represented on the national scene by Bascom Timmons and his news staff.

I am proud to bring the Youngstown Vindicator's achievements to the notice of the Members of Congress and to salute this newspaper and its outstanding editor, William F. Maag, Jr., on the very happy occasion of its 95th anniversary of service to the people of the Mahoning Valley and its vast circulation surrounding area of northeastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

The article follows:

[From the Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator, June 25, 1964]

THE VINDICATOR PUBLISHED FIRST EDITION 95 YEARS AGO

Ninety-five years ago today there appeared on Youngstown's streets the first edition of the Vindicator.

The editor and proprietor was J. H. Odell and the stanchly Democratic newspaper was launched in an era when the Republican Party was strongest in the valley.

In his lead editorial, Mr. Odell called for the speedy triumph of "the grand principles of democracy, the sheet-anchor of the country," and rescue of the Government from the grasp of its "imperialistic assassins."

PROMISED FULL COVERAGE

Mr. Odell added that the local news and interests of the country would be carefully summarized, markets reported.

The first issue contained a directory of churches with times of service, societies, attorneys, and physicians. Its four pages note the week's fire losses were $11,650, the German Catholics had bought a lot at Wick and Rayen Avenues for a church and the Mahoning River was high, submerging the lower part of the city. Continued wet weather was causing alarm to the farmers.

Also in the news was the reunion of survivors of the Seventh Ohio Volunteers, with Gen. E. B. Tyler elected president. More than $100 was realized at the strawberry festival of St. John's Episcopal Church in Jewell Hall.

BEGINS AS WEEKLY

The newspaper appeared on Friday and was to be published weekly every Friday morning. Advertisers were Theobald & Co., clothing emporium; W. and A. J. Packard, hardware; Diamond Drugstore (Metz and Neal); W. L. and G. McKelvey, groceries, West Side, and T. Confoy's Book and Stationery Store.

After a number of changes in management and a fire July 24, 1887, the Vindicator ceased publication for a time until the late William F. Maag, Sr., publisher of the Rundschau, a German weekly, bought the plant at sheriff's sale. Publication was resumed June 8, 1888.

The Vindicator's volume numbers are based from September 1, 1889, when the newspaper became a daily. It is how in its 75th volume.

The old plant was at Phelps and Commerce Streets, now occupied by the Terminal Building.

Republican newspapers of the era opposed and ridiculed the Vindicator, but it survived and prospered. Later it built what rival newspapers called "its own monument," the former publishing plant at South Phelps and West Boardman Streets, where WFMJ–TV and radio studios now are located. It moved to its present location in July 1937.

Cuba Today—Fifth of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to insert in the RECORD, I ask that the fifth installment of "Cuba Today," published by the Washington Star be included in order that it may receive the widest possible circulation.

This installment deals with Castro efforts to overthrow the Government of Spain, and points up even further the need for ridding this hemisphere of communism in Cuba.

The article follows:

CUBA TODAY: CASTRO MOVES TO SUBVERT SPAIN

(By Bruce Taylor)

Fidel Castro is preparing to extend his sphere of subversion to Spain.

He has agreed to train Spanish Communists in guerrilla warfare, and will supply them with arms for a revolt against the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

The plan, until now, has been top secret. Cuba enjoys good relations with Spain and is, in fact, negotiating to increase its trade with the European nation.

But Communist members of the Spanish underground now in Cuba have been assured by Castro he will support them in an attempted overthrow of Franco.

NO. 1 EXPORT

Subversion has become Cuba's No. 1 export. The chaos it has created in Latin America already has ruptured diplomatic relations with all but four members of the Organization of American States.

Latest to cut ties was Brazil. Diplomats in Cuba believe Uruguay may be next. Mexico, Chile, and Bolivia would be the only OAS members with ambassadors in Cuba.

Opinion is fairly unanimous in Havana that the continuing deterioration of relations between Cuba and the OAS indicates an invasion of the island may be in the works.

Brazil, prior to the coup which deposed the Goulart government, had—like Mexico, Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay—resisted all efforts to be pressured into adopting a hard line against Cuba.

ARMED ACTION POSSIBLE

But now that Brazil has severed relations, and with Uruguay expected to follow suit, tremendous pressure is being applied to the three other OAS members still in Cuba to reappraise their policies. Eventual armed action against Mr. Castro is considered a distinct possibility.

It is generally believed that such action would come under the guise of the combined OAS. The excuse would be Mr. Castro's continuing export of subversion.

Mr. Castro is aware of the risk he is running. But he has dedicated himself, he says, "to the liberation of all of Latin America," and he can't stop now.

Who is this man who can create such turmoil?

ABSOLUTE RULER

He is, first and foremost, the absolute ruler of his nation. Recurring, and widely accepted reports that he is merely the puppet of the other men about him are just so much hokum. Mr. Castro's word is law.

The task of keeping his police state in order falls to two highly trusted subordinates. Their names are little known outside Cuba, but they are becoming tremendously powerful there. They are responsible only to Mr. Castro, and are acknowledged to be second only to him in succession of strength, even ahead of the brilliant, ubiquitous Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

They are Ramiro Valdes, Minister of the Interior, and Jose Matar, chief of the dreaded Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR).

INCLUDES G–2

The Minister of the Interior includes G–2, the counter-intelligence department. Not even Mr. Castro can free a prisoner held by G–2 until the prisoner's guilt or innocence has been determined. G–2 is concerned mainly with espionage and armed insurrection.

The CDR is the organization charged with keeping the civilian population in line, and the one which most affects the lives of everyday Cubans. It is a pyramid which descends from Havana into each province, each city, each town, each village, each hamlet, each block, each street, each house. No one makes a move, no matter how inconsequential, that is not known to the CDR.

KNOWN AS SADIST

CDR members cannot make an arrest, but they can order one by the simple expedient of denouncing the person they want picked up. People are denounced for all manner of things.

Raul Castro, Fidel's younger brother and his Minister of Defense, is fairly strong in his own right, but has nowhere near the power of Mr. Valdes and Mr. Matar. Raul is known in Cuba as something of a sadist.

Mr. Guevara, Minister of Industry, remains at the top of the hierarchy and is generally considered to possess one of its keenest minds. He is one of the very few men in key posts who really knows what he is doing. His speeches, unlike the propaganda drivel spouted by the others, including Mr. Castro, are intelligent and always interesting to listen to.

Mr. Guevara is the one government leader who is not afraid to lay the facts of life squarely on the line. Mr. Castro and the others tell the Cubans utopia is on the way. Mr. Guevara tells them they will get nothing without hard work.

He is intensely loyal to Mr. Castro.

CASTRO BOTCHES JOB

Mr. Castro has botched the job of giving Cuba the utopia he talks about. And instead of contenting himself with attempting to rectify the situation, he has embarked on his dangerous scheme to spread communism through Latin America. He is a fanatic, but he is also a sincere and courageous man, and his desire to improve the lot of his people was not always touched with madness. It began before he was 12 years old.

(Much of the following information about Mr. Castro's youth and the early days of his revolution was hitherto unknown. It was obtained in Havana from his sister Angelita, 49, who did not realize she was being interviewed.)

Mr. Castro was born August 13, 1927, although the world believes he is a year older. His father, a Spaniard from Galizia, had been married previously and had sired two children, Lydia and Pedro Emile. He was 30 years older than Mr. Castro's mother, Lina Ruza, a Cuban. They had seven children, in this order: Angelita, Ramon, Fidel, Raul, Quena, Emma and Auguistina.

ONE LIVES IN MOSCOW

Emma married a Mexican engineer and has three children. They live in Mexico City. Auguistina, now 22, became a Protestant while studying in Zurich. She married a Cuban pianist and they live in Moscow. They have a daughter.

Mr. Castro was married and divorced. He claimed he discovered his wife was a relative of Fulgencia Batista, the dictator he deposed in 1959. Mr. Castro's son, nicknamed Fidelito (Little Fidel), is 14 and lives in Havana. Mr. Castro doesn't often see the boy, but has lunch with him on occasion.

Mr. Castro grew up near Santiago, in Oriente Province, at the eastern end of the island. It was there he would launch his revolution.

His father, a wealthy plantation owner, was a conservative. His mother was a fiery revolutionist, and from her he inherited much of his zeal.

RECALLS STATEMENT

Before he was 12, his sister recalls, he announced to his family one day after returning from a trip through the slum section of Santiago: "When I am a man, I will buy shoes and clothes for all the world."

From that moment on, she says, he became interested in the problems of the poor, and in his teens plunged into campus politics. His father warned him: "You must be calm in a country like this. Don't get mixed up in public affairs."

His mother, however, urged him on.

Mr. Castro went to Havana to win his degree in law at the Catholic University there. He since has nationalized the school and exiled its rector, Msgr. Masvidal, auxiliary bishop of Havana.

The church plays no important role in the general affairs of Cuba now.

WORKS IN SLUM

Mr. Castro could have begun practice in the wealthy section of the city. Instead, he and two other young men opened an office in the Composteia slum area. They often handled cases without charge.

Outraged beyond endurance by the mounting atrocities of the Batista regime, he returned to Santiago in 1953 to rally support for a revolution.

On July 26, 1953—the day for which he named his revolt—he and 149 other young men, divided, into two bands of 75 each, left a farmhouse 7 miles outside Santiago, where they had stored arms, and attacked the Batista fortress of Moncado in the heart of the city. It was the second largest stronghold in Cuba, and Mr. Castro's men were routed, but only after they had made their way over its walls and very nearly captured the machine gun that stopped their assault.

Mr. Castro and his brother Raul, who had accompanied him on the raid, were found in the mountains not long after and brought to Santiago for trial. There was no death penalty in Cuba then. They were each sentenced to 15 years. But Batista wanted them killed. He organized a plot to do so.

Several men, pretending to be Castro followers, would smuggle him out of prison, then shoot him for attempting to escape. But a priest, Msgr. Perez Serantes, bishop of Santiago, learned of the plot from a prison guard. He convinced Batista not to go through with it.

Two years later, in 1955, Batista declared amnesty for all political prisoners as the prelude to a rigged election, and exiled them. Fidel and Raul went to Mexico, where they met Guevara, an Argentine Communist and professional bombthrower. They rounded up all the other Cuban exiles they could find and began to learn about guerrilla warfare.

FATHER DIES

On October 21, 1956, Mr. Castro's father died on his Cuban plantation at the age of 82.

Two months later, Fidel, Raul, Che Guevara and 79 others, all armed to the teeth, set sail for Cuba aboard a pleasure cruiser called the *Granma*.

Their plan was to land at Colorado Beach on Oriente Province's south coast, where the Sierra Maestra mountains are closest (about 15 miles) to the water. The *Granma* was spotted by a Cuban patrol boat just 2 miles from its target, and was turned at once to shore. The spot where Mr. Castro landed

was an incredible tangle of tropical growth and waistdeep marsh alive with crabs.

Batista's commanders, alerted to the landing by the patrol boat, sent troops and aircraft into the area. The planes bombed and strafed the rebels. Of the 82 who came ashore, only 12—including Fidel, Raul and Guevara—reached the mountains.

TAKE ON 50,000

The 12 set out to take on Batista's 50,000 soldiers.

Batista was ignorant of guerrilla fighting, and never could launch an effective assault on the rebels. Mr. Castro's will-o'-the-wisp band, often near starvation, was constantly on the move, never more than a few hours in any one place.

The revolution would have ended one night in 1957, but for one of those miracles which always seem to save the Hitlers and the Mussolinis—and the Castros—for bigger things.

A small patrol led by a Batista captain found Mr. Castro and several others, exhausted after a long day's march, asleep in a shelter made of branches.

MARVELED AT CANDOR

The captain, completely unaware he had discovered the rebel leader, woke the men. Mr. Castro stood and faced him, and put his hand on the captain's shoulder. "I am the man you are looking for," he said. "I am Fidel."

The captain marveled at Mr. Castro's candor. He stared silently at the unkempt, fiery-eyed rebel for several moments. Then he asked, "Don't you know that it is my duty to kill you?"

"Yes."

"And you are not afraid?"

"No."

"Nor the others who are scattered throughout the mountains?"

"No."

The captain shook his head. He turned to his soldiers and told them, "Let these men go. It will do no good to kill them. It is impossible to kill an ideal."

A month later the captain defected from Batista's army and joined Castro in the mountains. Today he is aide-de-camp to Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos.

Mr. Castro's band grew. If one member of a family joined him, the others went too for fear of being tortured or shot. Children of 14 and 15, both boys and girls, became guerrillas.

Whenever an unarmed person—and most were unarmed—showed up to offer his services, Castro would take him to the edge of a clearing near a Batista patrol post and point to it.

"These soldiers have guns," he would say. "Go and get one. Then you can join us."

Men and women who fought with Castro say his revolution was dedicated entirely to social reform and the reversion of large, private landholding to the state, but they insist he was in no way a Communist then, or that he gave communism even serious consideration.

They blame his embrace of communism on the hatred he developed for the United States when that Nation refused pointblank to help him when he went there to seek financial assistance shortly after he came to power.

PAY VISIT TO FAMILY

In 1958, Fidel and Raul came down out of the mountains to spend part of Christmas with their family. They made their way past the soldiers guarding the plantation, spent several hours with their mother, their grandmother and sister Angelita.

Exactly 1 year and 1 week later, on New Year's Day, 1959, Batista, still in command of 30,000 soliders in Havana who had never been sent into battle, fled Cuba.

Mr. Castro's mother who had inspired him to revolution, lived to see his victory. She died last September at the age of 57.

Mr. Castro held a family reunion shortly after he came to power. An uncle who traveled to it from Buenos Aires made a speech. He said: "I am happy my family produced a man who will liberate his people from discrimination, corruption and bad government."

Mr. Castro nodded.

"Ours was a revolution not to change a man," he said, "but a system. I will begin to make that change now. My system will be one such as no Latin American nation has ever had."

Pan American World Airways—$7 Million Jet Overhaul Facility in Miami, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, just recently Pan American World Airways, a pioneer in Latin America, dedicated a $7 million jet overhaul facility in Miami. This dedication took place on the site of the United States' first permanent international air terminal. It was my pleasure to have been present and to take part in the ceremonies.

Mr. Speaker, this new pioneering job instituted by Pan American is further indication of the tremendously close cooperation existing between the airline and the Dade County Port Authority with whom Pan American has signed a long-term lease to pay off the entire cost of construction. When the $7 million obligation on the part of Pan American has been liquidated, the building complex will become the property of the Dade County Port Authority.

The new Miami facility is the biggest jet overhaul base in the Pan American system and has the mission of keeping flying the airline's fleet of 129 airliners, 79 jet and 50 propeller aircraft.

Included in the big base complex are the huge maintenance building and an adjacent strikingly modern, gold-grilled headquarters building for the Latin American division, as well as several small satellite buildings.

The maintenance building consolidates under one 7-acre roof, 18 special shops, supply warehouse, engineering and production offices that have been dispersed in various locations around the airport, often several miles apart.

Stretching the equivalent of more than two city blocks along Northwest 36th Street, 372 feet deep, the building contains 660,000 square feet of hangars, shops, and offices. Two huge jet clippers can be positioned simultaneously in the hangar area.

The maintenance unit is big enough to contain more than 50 buildings of the size of Pan American's original Miami base, built in 1929, which launched Miami as the country's first international air gateway.

Pan Am's new Miami base represents a jet age overhaul complex as modern as any to be found anywhere in the world, Executive Vice President Wilbur L. Morrison, in charge of the Latin American division, has told me.

In addition, it has been carefully planned and engineered so that it can be expanded easily. Pan Am is confident that expansion will be needed to meet the growing air travel of the next few years, as well as the 2,000-mile-an-hour supersonic age which the next decade will usher in.

The overhaul base represents a modern industrial version of the mountain coming to Mahomet—the shops come to the plane, instead of vice versa.

When a jet clipper is rolled into the hangar for overhaul, nestled over, under, and around its sweptback wings and half-block-long fuselage are the repair shops, various special rooms, engineering and production offices, and vast supply warehouse necessary to support it.

A worker, for example, can remove a delicate and complicated piece of radio or eltctronic gear in the two-story-high cockpit of a jet clipper and step directly outside onto a ramp which leads to the radio or instrument shop less than 50 feet away.

Previously, and in less modern bases, these and similar components would have to be removed from the aircraft, loaded on trucks and be transported often several miles to the proper shop. Once overhauled, the part would have to be transported back to the plane. This uses up valuable extra time and poses problems of having components damaged or thrown out of adjustment during transit.

All the shops and offices in the maintenance building are air conditioned except the propeller shop, welding shop and plating shop. In these three areas a special ventilation system is provided. Air cooling also is provided in the cavernous supply warehouse, where fans and power roof ventilators furnish a complete change of air every 6 minutes.

The air conditioning required units totaling 1,000 tons capacity, sufficient to air condition 300 average-size homes.

Two 350-seat cafeterias, a medical department, industrial relations offices, base security offices and credit union offices also are housed in the maintenance building.

The administration building, Mr. Speaker, of contemporary design, is patterned after the prize-winning design of the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, India. It contains some 32,000 square feet of executive offices, in the form of a hollow square with an interior patio open to the sky. In the patio are a fountain, reflecting pool and colorful tropical plantings.

Exterior walls of the two-story administration building are of bronze-pierced grilles with gold-anodized trim.

The building is set 225 feet back from the street and twin driveways leading to the entrance are centered by a landscaped 150-foot reflecting pool.

Forming an impressive column marching up to the front entrance are 24 flagstaffs from which will fly the flags of the United States and Latin American Republics.

In addition to the buildings, 3 separate employee parking areas have been established around the base, with spaces for 2,100 cars. A 785-foot covered, lighted walkway leads from the main-

tenance building entrance to the main parking lot.

Some $25,000 has been spent on landscaping the entire complex, designed to make it an attractive adjunct to the area.

Construction of the base has required 18 months from the time the first spadeful of earth was turned on November 17, 1962.

The entire project was under the auspices of the Dade County Port Authority, with whom Pan American has signed a lease sufficient to pay off the entire cost of construction. At the termination of the lease, the port authority owns the buildings free and clear.

Architects for the Pan Am complex were a joint venture team of Maurice Connell, Inc., architects-engineers, and Steward-Skinner Associates, architects, of Miami. Both firms have done considerable work on other Miami Internatioanl Airport facilities.

Contractors were H. C. Beck Construction Co. of Dallas, for the Maintenance Building, and Witters Construction Co. of Miami, who built the Administration Building.

Mr, Speaker, an impressive list of "firsts" in international aviation history have been racked up at Miami by Pan American World Airways over the years.

Here are some of them:

First U.S. airline to operate a permanent international air service, initially out of Key West, then for many years, Miami.

First U.S. airline to operate landplanes over water on regularly scheduled flights, initially between Key West-Miami and Havana.

First U.S. airline to operate multiengined aircraft permanently on scheduled transportation.

First U.S. airline to use radio communications, starting with the Miami-Havana flights in 1928.

First U.S. airline to carry emergency lifesaving equipment.

First U.S. airline to carry multiple-flight crews.

First U.S. airline to develop an airport and airways traffic control system, originated at the Miami base in 1928.

First airline to order and purchase aircraft built to its own specifications, the Sikorsky S-38 used by Col. Charles Lindbergh on the first Miami-Panama flight.

First airline to develop and use instrument flying techniques, begun on the long overwater flights between Miami and the Caribbean.

First U.S. airline to develop a complete aviation weather service.

First airline to employ cabin attendants and serve meals aloft.

First U.S. airline to offer international air express service, inaugurated in Miami.

First U.S. airline to develop and use four-engine flying boats, the glamourous luxury airliners which made Miami's Dinner Key base one of the most famous air terminals in the world.

First airline to sell all-expense international air tours, starting with Miami-Caribbean-South America junkets in 1932.

First airline to operate a scheduled transpacific service, in 1935, and transatlantic passenger and mail service, in 1939, using lessons learned in the Caribbean laboratory on flights out of Miami.

First airline to operate a scheduled commercial around-the-world service, again using overwater navigation and other techniques developed in the Miami-Caribbean-South America flights.

First U.S. airline to fly a commercial jet flight, between Miami and San Juan, P.R., on August 23, 1958.

Tribute to Taras Shevchenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, 1964, the American-Ukrainian Cultural Society, in cooperation with the Ukrainian civic organizations of Buffalo, N.Y., paid tribute to Taras H. Shevchenko, poet-laureate of Ukraine.

The evening was filled with beautiful music, songs, and dances, reflecting the echoes of the Ukraine.

During the program, two poems were read, "It's All the Same for Me," and one of Shevchenko's most famous works, "The Testament," and these follow:

IT'S ALL THE SAME FOR ME

(Translated by Nestor Procyk)

It's all the same for me, shall I
Be dwelling in Ukraine, or—not;
Shall be remembered, or denied
Forgotten here, in alien snow—
It's simply just the same! I know.
In serfdom I grew up, 'mong strangers
And, by my own folks unremembered,
In serfdom, weeping, shall I die,
Take along everything what's mine.
No track, no footprints will remain
In my dear, glorious Ukraine,
In our—yet not owned—homeland.
No mention will make son nor father;
Father won't ask his son: "Come—pray,
Do pray, my son! For our Ukraine,
For her he, once, was wildly smothered!"
It will be all the same: Will son
Be praying for me, or will not.
Yet, never'll be the same for me
Should my Ukraine be lulled to sleep
By wily foe and then—in grief,
All plundered, robbed—aroused in flames—
God—No! It won't be all the same!

THE TESTAMENT

(Translated by Clarence A. Manning)

The poem is one of the most famous of Shevchenko's works and has been accepted as the keynote of the movement for Ukrainian liberation.

When I die, O lay my body
In a lofty tomb
Out upon the steppes unbounded
In my own dear Ukraine;
So that I can see before me
The wide stretching meadows
And Dnipro, its banks so lofty,
And can hear it roaring,
As it carries far from Ukraine
Unto the blue sea
All our foemen's blood—and then
I will leave the meadows
And the hills and fly away
Unto God himself—
For a prayer—But till that moment
I will know no God.
Bury me and then rise boldly,
Break in twain your fetters
And with the foul blood of foemen
Sprinkle well your freedom.
And of me in your great family,
When it's freed and new,
Do not fail to make a mention
With a soft, kind word.

At the conclusion of the program, all those who participated received a standing ovation.

I wish to include in the RECORD the program which follows:

PART I

Master of ceremonies, Bill Gregory, of WKBW-TV.

1. Anthems: American National Anthem, Mrs. Halyna Pryshlak; at the piano, Mrs. Lida Stasiuk; Ukrainian National Anthem, male choir "Prometheus."

2. Opening remarks, Dr. Gerald B. Leighbody.

3. Male choir "Prometheus":

(a) "Zapovit" (Testament of T. Shevchenko): Music by O. Koshetz. A forceful entreaty of the poet urging his people to unite and shake off the shackles of oppression.

(b) "Blazhen Muzh" (Blessed Man): Music arranged by A. Hnatyshyn. Religious hymn sung in traditional melodious succession and harmony of the Cave Monastery of Kiev (Kievo-Pecherska Lavra).

(c) "Sadok Vyshnevey" (The Cherry Orchard): Poem by T. Shevchenko. Music arranged by A. Hnatyshyn. The poet depicts the tranquility of a Ukrainian evening after an arduous day in the fields. Soloists: Wasyl Drabyk, Jurij Chomyn.

(d) "Dzwony" (The Bells): Music arranged by D. Kotko. Ukrainian Epiphany carol with vocal imitation of bells. Soloist: Andrij Soroka.

4. "Chayka" Dancers: "Hutzulka." A dance of the Ukrainian mountaineers—Hutzuly, dwellers of the picturesque Carpathian Mountains.

5. Ladies Bandura ensemble "Kapela Bandurystok":

(a) "Miy Ridney Krayu" (My Native Land): By W. Matiuk, arranged by P. Potapenko. A nostalgic trip to memory lane describing the beauty of Ukraine and youthful days spent there. Soloist: Halyna Krawchenko.

(b) "Sontse Hriye, Viter Viye" (The Sun Is Shining, the Wind Is Blowing). Folk song based on words of T. Shevchenko.

(c) "Ishov Kozak Potaykom" (A Kozak Soldier Wandered Secretly). Music arranged by P. Potapenko. A folk song about a young Kozak in love, asking his girl for a secret date.

(d) "Oy Divchyna Ulana * * *" (The Maiden Ulana * * *). A merry Ukrainian folk song about a young girl named Ulana, pretty as a fresh garden flower. Soloist: Halyna Krawchenko.

6. "Chayka" Dancers: "Tryasunetz," Ukrainian Transcarpathian dance.

INTERMISSION

Ladies' Bandura ensemble "Kapela Bandurystok" (Ukrainian-American Youth Association of Detroit, Mich. Conductor, Petro Potapenko; manager, Eugene Repeta.

Male choir "Prometheus" (Ukrainian Youth Association) of Toronto, Ontario. Conductor, Stephan Huminiiovych; manager, Petro Mykulak.

PART II

1. Ladies Bandura ensemble "Kapela Bandurystok":

(a) "Nahaday Banduro Spiwamy" (Ode to the Bandura). Words by N. Kaluzhna, music

by H. Kytastyj, arranged for Bandura choir by P. Potapenko. A song begging the Bandura to recall, with its haunting melodies, the beauty of the Ukrainian landscape. Soloist, Valentyna Bykovetz.

(b) "Ta Tuman Yarom Kotytsya" (Haze Rolling Through the Valley). Romantic folk song urging the young people to fun and frolic.

(c) "Chy znayesh Ty * * *." (Do you know * * *?). Words and music by R. Kupchynskey, arranged by P. Potapenko. A ballad in which the Ukrainian countryside is likened to a song never to be forgotten, a song that follows one's lifepath forever. Soloist, Halyna Krawchenko.

(d) "Ne Khylysya Berizonko" (Do not Bend, Young Birchtree). A song of the Ukrainian Freedom Army (UPA) with an urgent call to the young women to join in the fight to liberate the land.

(e) "Ta Orav Muzhyk" (The Ploughman and the Girls). A gay Ukrainian folk song about a girlish prank played upon a ploughman.

2. Male choir "Prometheus":

(a) Serenade: A medley of Ukrainian folk songs, arranged by S. Huminilovych:

(1) "Sonce Nyzenko" (The Sun Is Setting). A young man hastens to meet his beloved. Soloist, W. Drabyk.

(2) "Oy Polola Horlytsya" (The Weeding Turtle-Dove). A witty love song about a jealous mate.

(3) "Zwiky idesh Cholovichenku?" (Whence are you coming, dearest?). A merry song about a gayblade husband called to account for his whereabouts by his wife. Soloists, Ivan Tkachenko, Stepan Harasovskey, Stepan Kryvenkey.

(4) "Zibrav Batko Kompaniu" (Father and His Company). Father assembled a merry group and is disregarding the warnings of his fellow companions about his wife's imminent approach. He feels he can handle the situation.

(b) "Rozlahalysya Tumany" (Mist Envelops the Valley). Music by P. Máyboroda. Ukrainian Freedom Fighters' (UPA) song describing the heroic deeds of the fearless UPA, their exploits on battlefields, love for the maiden who awaits the lover's return.

(c) "Ptychej Khor" (Birds' Chorus). Music arranged by D. Kotko. Let's go to the grove to enjoy the songs of the birds and relax for a while, forget all troubles there. Vocal imitations of bird songs. Soloists, W. Drabyk, F. Chomyn.

3. "Chayka" Dancers: "Vesnivka" (Spring Dance). Male choir "Prometheus" accompanying in the background.

The Ukrainian Folk Dance Ensemble "Chayka" of Hamilton, Ont. Choreographer and director, Yaroslav R. Klun; at the piano, Misses Marusia Gulas and Hala Kufil; Accordionists, Yaroslav Zaokipnyj and Ivan Seliwoniuk.

Stage arrangements by artist Marian Borachok, Buffalo, N.Y.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: The Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the official reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the official reporters of the respective Houses.

The official reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment diately following the lead items as indicated by the official reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records limitations, which shall be printed immeprinted after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

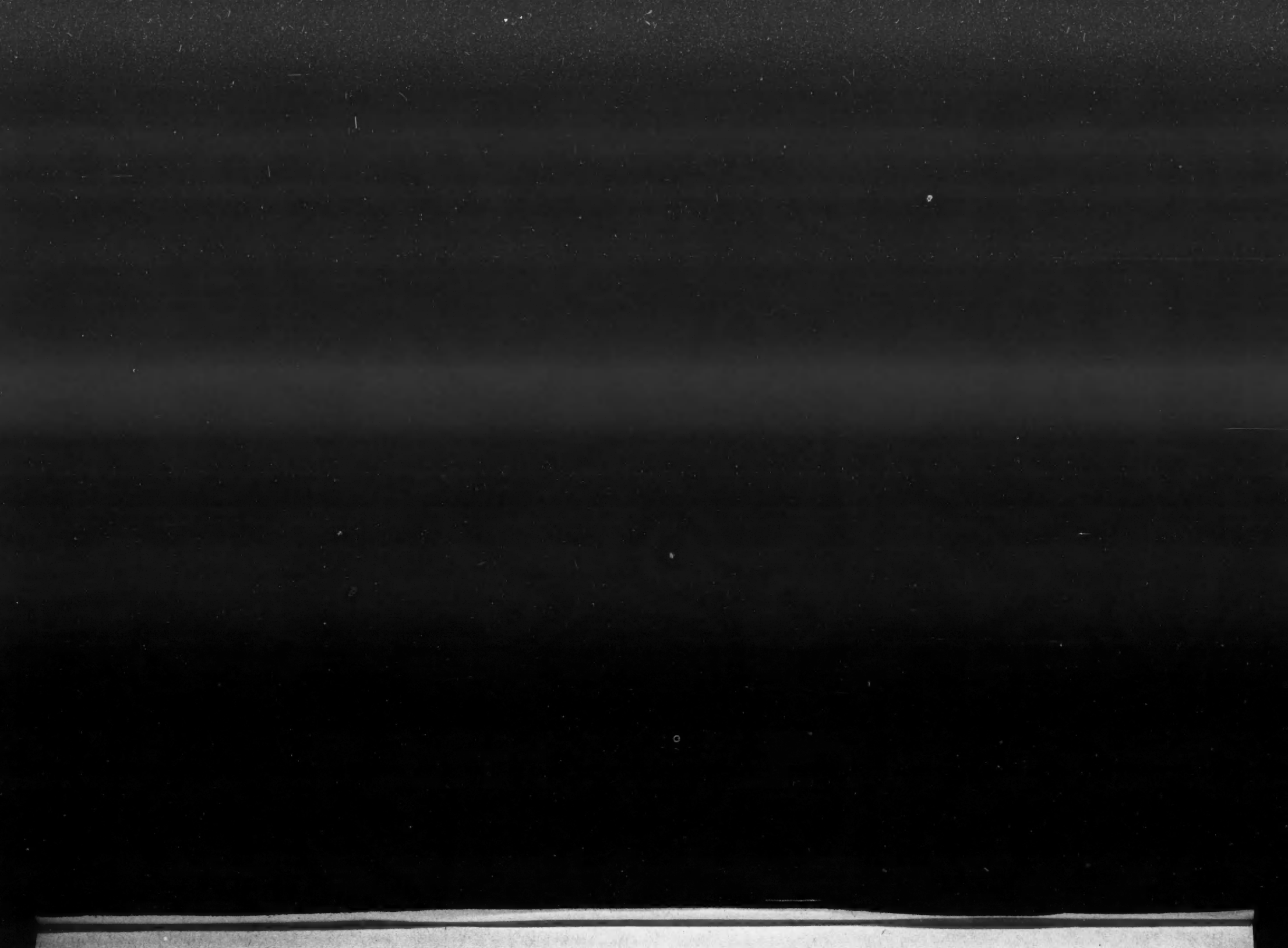

Appendix

Beet Sugar Quota Must Be Increased

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of last week I addressed the House on the subject of the need of American consumers for ample supplies of sugar at reasonable prices. This consumer need will be met through enactment of legislation embodying the provisions of some 30 bills now pending in the Committee on Agriculture to raise the basic marketing quota for beet sugar producers by 750,000 tons. This is the production level achieved at Government urging because of a shortage of foreign sugar supplies. In my speech, Mr. Speaker, I outlined the surprise and shock I felt when, a few days earlier, I had noted in the press a report that the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture favored a simple 1-year extension of the foreign quotas in the present sugar act, with no regard for the domestic quotas in the law.

Mr. Speaker, I am far from being alone in my concern. Last Saturday, two of my colleagues on the Committee on Agriculture also took strong issue with the advisability of a simple 1-year extension of the foreign quotas that would not increase marketing quotas for domestic sugar producers. The gentleman from California [Mr. HAGEN] and the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. SHORT] both spoke at the annual summer convention of the National Association of Television and Radio Farm Directors at Cherry Hill, N.J. Their speeches were concise and clearly demonstrate the reasons that marketing quotas for domestic sugar producers must be increased this year.

Under unanimous consent, I include the remarks of the gentleman from California [Mr. HAGEN] and the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. SHORT] at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN HARLAN HAGEN, OF CALIFORNIA, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TELEVISION AND RADIO FARM DIRECTORS, CHERRY HILL INN, CHERRY HILL, N.J., JUNE 25, 1964

Mr. Chairman, farm broadcasters, ladies and gentlemen, Congressman SHORT has very effectively explained why beet sugar production is now considerably above the beet sugar marketing quota in the Sugar Act—because the Government appealed for increased production to meet the needs of consumers for more sugar at reasonable prices, and the sugarbeet producers responded to that appeal. He has also shown why, because of the continued uncertainty of the world sugar picture, it is in the consumer interest to place greater reliance on the domestic sugar-producing industry.

It also would be a matter of simple justice to raise the basic beet sugar quota by 750,000 tons. The Government asked for increased production, and the beet sugar industry delivered; it is only just, therefore, as well as logical and in the public interest, that the industry be permitted to market the additional sugar it is producing at the urging of the Government.

Why, then, doesn't the Congress go ahead and increase the beet sugar quota and be done with it? Unfortunately, it is not as simple as that.

I am confident that before Congress adjourns, the beet sugar quota will be increased, but it will not be until after a struggle. For I have learned in nearly 12 years in Congress that even the best causes, even the most logical and just measures, can have their opponents and can become matters of great controversy.

The opponents of adjusting the beet sugar marketing quota to present levels of beet sugar production are the cane sugar refiners, and their vociferous and bitter opposition has indeed made sugar quotas a matter of great controversy.

A distinction must be drawn between cane sugar producers and cane sugar refiners. Cane sugar on the market is almost always the result of two steps in processing, that normally takes place in two different plants. The first phase takes place close to the sugarcane fields, and consists of the extraction of the sugar juices from the cane, purification, crystallization, and the production of what is called raw sugar. This is crystallized sugar which is almost, but not quite, ready for the consumer market. It still has 1 to 2 percent of the molasses clinging to the crystals. The raw sugar is then shipped to the cane refineries, where this small amount of molasses is removed and the sugar—then called refined cane sugar—is offered to consumers.

The cane sugar refiners, therefore, are not sugar producers. They do not add an ounce to the world's supply of sugar. They merely convert, from raw to refined, sugar that someone else has produced, and into which most of the labor has already gone.

This is in contrast to the methods of beet sugar production in the United States. Here, all the extraction, purification, and refining processess take place in each plant—the sugarbeets go into one end, and completely refined sugar comes out of the other end of a beet sugar processing plant. Obviously, the amount of labor required is greater per hundred pounds of sugar—and therefore the contribution to the American economy is greater—for the complete beet sugar extraction, processing, and refining operation than for the cane refining operation alone.

In addition, there is the tremendous contribution which sugarbeet production makes to the well-being of American agriculture in scores of communities in some 27 States. The cane sugar refiners not only make no contribution to the welfare of American agriculture—their operations have a negative influence on the American farmer, because more than half their raw sugar supplies, under the present law, come from foreign nations. Every ton of sugar the cane refiners import is a ton of sugar that American farmers are prevented from producing. And let me remind you that sugarbeets are a nonsurplus crop. We now import about 40 percent of our annual sugar needs—and the cane refiners extract their toll, collect their margin, on virtually every ton of it. The present law permits less than 75,000 tons of refined sugar to be imported, including 60,000 tons from the Philippines; all the rest must come in as raw sugar, for further processing in the plants of the cane sugar refiners. To put this in perspective, let me point out that at the present consumption level, foreign imports this year will amount to around 4 million tons—and all but about 75,000 tons, as I have said, are required to come in as raw sugar for the express benefit of the U.S. cane sugar refiners. In addition, nearly all the sugar shipped to the continental United States from our own offshore cane producing areas—Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands—must also come in as raw sugar, for the express benefit of the continental cane refiners.

Under the present law, the cane sugar refiners have about 70 percent of the total U.S. sugar market. They are the dominant market influence on the high side. It is a reflection of a simple fact of competition under such circumstances that beet sugar never sells for more than cane sugar in the same market, and usually sells for less—although, as the home economists among you ladies know, beet sugar, and cane sugar are identical products, of equal purity and identical chemical composition, equally suited for all food uses.

Although I obviously cannot and would not want to attempt to speak for the cane sugar refiners, it seems obvious that their bitter opposition to a beet sugar quota increase stems from two reasons: they want to maintain their present stranglehold on 70 percent of the U.S. sugar market, and they fear beet sugar competition.

It is significant that where the cane refiners normally have the market all to themselves, such as in the Northeast States, base sugar prices for many years have been the highest in the United States—while in the Chicago-West marketing territory, where beet sugar competition is particularly intense, base sugar prices have been the lowest in the United States. When some beet sugar moved here to the East last year, and earlier this year, and sold at prices considerably under cane prices, the cane refiners squealed like stuck pigs.

The can refiners have no valid argument for preventing sugarbeet producers from being permitted to sell the sugar they have produced at the urging of the U.S. Government. And so the refiners have resorted to raising a lot of false arguments, a smokescreen by which they hope to confuse the real issue. If I had the time today, I would be delighted to knock down each of those false arguments with the facts. You will find them all answered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 8, beginning on page 12457. I had the privilege of joining with a number of my colleagues on the floor that day, in a thorough discussion of the whole situation, and I believe you will find it interesting as well as enlightening.

While the arguments are going on, of course, the days roll by, the political conventions are coming up, and some day this session of Congress will be over. Since the foreign quotas in the present act expire at the end of this year, some action on sugar will be taken. Otherwise, all the foreign imports will be lumped in a single "global" quota, except for the Philippine quotas, and there will be no prohibition against imports

of refined sugar. I am sure neither the foreign sugar interests nor the can refiners want that to happen.

Although they have not yet come out publicly for it, I am equally sure the cane refiners would support the proposal that has been made for a stopgap 1-year extension of the foreign quotas, with no increase in domestic quotas. This would solve none of the pressing problems facing the domestic sugar-producing industry, and would benefit only some foreign sugar interests and, principally, the cane sugar refiners by preserving for them for another year their present monopoly of 70 percent of the American sugar market. I am firmly convinced that a majority of the House Committee on Agriculture would vote against such a proposal.

Some 30 bills, introduced by Members of both political parties, are now pending in the House committee which would increase the beet sugar quota to the industry's current level of production. A similar bill is pending in the Senate, with the sponsorship there also of Members of both sides of the aisle, including the majority leader and the majority whip. There is no legitimate reason why the House Committee on Agriculture could not begin sugar hearings tomorrow.

To delay further is merely to postpone settlement of an issue which should, in all justice and by all logic, be resolved in favor of the American sugar consumer and American agriculture.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN DON L. SHORT, OF NORTH DAKOTA, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TELEVISION AND RADIO FARM DIRECTORS, CHERRY HILL INN, CHERRY HILL, N.J., JUNE 25, 1964

Mr. Chairman, farm broadcasters, ladies and gentlemen, I am most appreciative of the opportunity to visit with you for a few minutes this morning about the present situation in Congress on sugar legislation. I am especially pleased to see the ladies and children here. It is inspiring to see a group in which the whole family not only has an interest in what dad's job is, or in his pay check, but also joins with him in important activities in connection with that job. This is something that is good for the family, and when families work and play together as a unit, that is good for America.

It is for this reason that when we on the House Agriculture Committee develop and consider legislation for agriculture, I for one—and I believe this holds for most members of the committee—weigh and measure the merits of such legislation on the basis of how it would help to preserve the family farm, as well as how it would help the total agricultural and economic well-being of the Nation. In this respect our goals are similar to your goals as television and radio farm directors, for the information on better farming methods, and the day-to-day farm news, which you have brought to rural America through the years, have contributed immeasurably to improving the competitive position of the family farm in this country, and, therefore, you have contributed significantly to a better America. I strongly feel that the family, whether urban or rural, is the foundation of our entire society and the fundamental sources of the strength of our Republic.

To the ladies of the family—to you ladies as consumers—I particularly wish to address my brief comments this morning.

You will remember that early last year when you went to the grocery store, you noticed—especially if you lived here in the East—that the price of sugar was going up. The underlying cause was that the world sugar situation had completely reversed itself since the Communist takeover in Cuba. Instead of a world surplus of sugar, there was a world shortage. With Cuban sugar quite properly barred from the United States, we no longer had a foreign sugar bowl upon which we could draw, as we had in the past, to fill our own sugar bowl, and so we had to scour the sugar bins of the world, a world short of sugar, in an attempt to find enough for our consumers.

In this emergency, the cane sugar refiners showed very clearly that they were not able to obtain enough foreign sugar, in the amounts and at the times required, at reasonable prices, to meet the needs of our consumers. As a result, prices of imported sugar went up sharply, and affected our entire sugar market.

During this critical period, our Government called upon the domestic suagr producers, and particularly the sugarbeet industry, to increase production to the full extent of their capacity, and to increase that capacity by making additional investments in processing equipment, in order to make more sugar available to American consumers at reasonable prices. The Government turned especially to sugarbeet producers, because sugarbeets are a 6-month crop, from planting to harvest, and offered not only the closest source of sugar geographically but also the quickest potential for substantial increases in sugar production.

As incentives for making the necessary investments in farm machinery and increased processing facilities, the Government announced that there would be no controls in sugarbeet acreage through the 1965 crop year. The sugarbeet industry responded to the pleas of their government, in behalf of consumers, by increasing sugar production in 1963 by some half million tons over 1962; and the crop now in the ground is expected to yield another quarter million tons more sugar than the 1963 crop. Moreover, the beet sugar industry sold its sugar during the emergency at from $1 to $3 per hundred pounds less than cane sugar, refined from high priced foreign raw sugar, was selling for in the same markets.

The steller performance of the sugarbeet producers and the beet sugar industry generally, in behalf of American consumers, undoubtedly kept cane sugar prices from going even higher than they did.

Now you would expect that the sugarbeet producers, and the beet sugar industry generally, would receive wholehearted approval for its performance in behalf of consumers—or, at the very least, that it would not be penalized for this perormance.

Well, the industry's performance has received widespread recognition and approval—by officials of the Government, by various consumer and farm groups, and by a large number of Members of Congress, in both the House and the Senate. But, strangely enough, the industry will be penalized for its performance—and penalized severely—unless the Congress translates words into action, and amends the present Sugar Act to permit the industry to market the additional sugar it is producing.

You ladies may well ask why Congress enters the sugar picture. Well, Congress is right in the middle of the sugar picture because that's where we belong. For some 30 years, the marketing of sugar in this country has been regulated by a Federal law. In this respect, we are no different from almost every other country in the world, because nearly every nation has some kind of sugar law to assist its own sugar producers and to help assure supplies for its consumers. The law in the United States is called the Sugar Act. The basic feature of the Sugar Act is a pattern of marketing quotas—which determine how much sugar each part of the domestic sugar producing industry, beet or cane, may sell in a year, and how much a long list of foreign countries may market in this country in a year. The formula for setting these marketing quotas, at any given level of sugar consumption, is established by the Congress.

One reason the Sugar Act has worked so well over the years, for the benefit of consumers as well as for producers, is that Congress has reviewed the act frequently and made changes as necessary to fit changing conditions. When we last amended the act, in July of 1962, neither the Government nor the sugar trade recognized that an explosive world sugar situation, with world supply falling short of world demand, was ahead of us. Consequently, the quota pattern established by the Congress then, which fit the situation then, is now already out of date and does not fit the drastically changed situation that exists today. The present quota pattern does not sufficiently protect American consumers.

For example, under the present law, the beet sugar marketing quota for this year is 2,700,000 tons. That is the amount of sugar the beet sugar industry is permitted to sell this year. Yet, because of the insistent urging of the Government to produce more sugar for consumers at reasonable prices, the production of the beet sugar industry has far outstripped the beet sugar marketing quota. The crop now in the ground is expected to yield from 3,350,000 to 3,400,000 tons of sugar—and the expansion of processing facilities, urged by the Government, is expected to result in still greater beet sugar production next year.

An increase of 750,000 tons is needed in order to bring the basic beet sugar marketing quota up to date, in line with the industry's current production level. Unless the marketing quota is increased, the beet sugar industry will not be permitted, under the law, to sell the additional sugar it is producing at the request of the Government. Drastic acreage reductions will be inevitable. The prospect for new beet sugar mills in areas urgently needing an alternative cash crop will be dark. And American sugar consumers will be forced to depend to too large a degree—as they have to, today—on supplies from a world in which nearly a third of the sugar production is in Communist hands, a world in which production is still running below consumption, a world in which many sugar-producing nations are threatened with revolution.

As long as 3 months ago, a number of bills were introduced in Congress which would provide the necessary 750,000-ton increase in the basic beet sugar marketing quota. No action has yet been taken. Now it has been proposed that the only action practical this session would be a 1-year extension of the foreign sugar quotas, which expire at the end of this year, and no increase in the basic beet sugar quota. Such a stopgap measure would be grossly unfair both to producers and consumers. It would severely penalize the domestic sugarbeet producers who have increased production at the Government's request, would put an effective roadblock on establishment of new beet sugar mills, and would threaten consumers with sugar shortages and high prices.

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope in these few minutes I have been able at least to explain the background of the sugar situation as it it today, and why it is in your interests as consumers to see the law changed to permit greater marketing of beet sugar produced on our own farms. My distinguished colleague from California, I believe, will help to complete the sugar picture for you. Again I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunity to be with you today.

Twentieth Anniversary of the Signing of the GI Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Raymond Moley in which he comments upon the passage of the GI bill of rights in 1944 and the significance of that act and the great accomplishments and achievements and general good which has resulted from it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER ANNIVERSARY
(By Raymond Moley)

Early in June of this year the 20th anniversary of the Normandy invasion was noted and appropriately observed. But this month also commemorates the enactment of a measure by which a grateful nation expressed in substantial terms its obligation to the men who served not only in the deliverance of Europe but in every area of a war which comprehended the entire world. For on June 22, 1944, President Roosevelt signed the GI bill of rights. This legislation was conceived and pushed through Congress by leading figures of the American Legion, some of whom were in civil life at the time and others who were elected members of the legislative branch itself.

It had long been acknowledged that back to the early days of the Republic, legislation for the benefit of veterans had been generally piecemeal, inequitable, and badly administered. What was needed, the Legion recognized, was a more comprehensive recognition of the losses and sacrifices suffered by the millions who had given years of their lives in military service.

Since wars are fought by very young men, a call to military service takes from them an indeterminate number of years at the very beginning of their careers. To take those years is, to paraphrase a famous expression of Pericles, like taking the "spring from the year." Their early training for a useful life has been denied them. In many cases their education has been terminated. When they return to private life they may well find others in their jobs. Their whole pattern of life must be altered. And in countless instances in the past their whole future has been blighted.

TO PROVIDE EQUITY

While no government can give them back those lost years, some means of equity can be provided. This was the objective of the GI bill of rights.

The leaders of the Legion first grappled with a concept of a comprehensive bill in 1943. It was necessary to head off hodgepodge veterans' legislation, for no less than 640 bills had already been introduced in Congress. Against opposition from other veterans groups and some educators and economists, the Legion's concept prevailed. Credit for the GI bill should go to many of the Legion's leaders, but special note should be made of John Stelle, a former Governor of Illinois; Harry Colmery, of Topeka, who drafted the measure; Robert Sisson, of Little Rock; Francis M. Sullivan, the national legislative director; and Jack Cejnar, the Legion's publicity officer.

Senator Bennett Champ Clark introduced the bill in the Senate and secured its unanimous passage. Clark was one of the original founders of the Legion in 1919.

THE RECORD

An anniversary release by the Veterans' Administration notes that "the GI bill provided six separate benefits for veterans. Three—(a) education and training, (b) guaranteed loans, and (c) unemployment pay—were major benefits. The other three were (d) job-finding assistance, (e) military review of dishonorable discharges, and (f) top priority for VA to build hospitals."

Since the bill was passed, 5,268,000 GI loans have been made to World War II veterans. The total amount loaned or guaranteed has been $43.6 billion. Experience has shown that veterans have been good risks. One out of every five single-family homes built since 1945 has been financed by GI loans.

Of the 7.8 million who have received educational opportunities, 2.2 million attended colleges or universities, 3.5 million went to schools below college level, 1.4 million had on-the-job training, and 700,000, training on farms. The influx of such a large number of older, more mature people in the classrooms has changed the pattern of education. Although some educators had been pessimistic in their predictions, a greater intensity of purpose was found among veteran students. Generally, the veterans completed more years of schooling than nonveterans.

The GI bill of rights is a measure of a nation's recognition of service in its defense. It is also a tribute to the statesmanship in the American Legion which conceived and planned the bill itself.

Somali Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Somali Republic today celebrates the fourth anniversary of her independence. We take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Somali, Osman Abdulla Aden; and to His Excellency the Somali Ambassador to the United States, Omar Mohallim.

Somalia lies on one of the crossroads of the world. On the north it faces the Gulf of Aden, the gateway to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. On the east, which is the easternmost area on the African Continent the Republic looks out over the Arabian Sea to Iran, Pakistan, and India. To the southwest lies the Indian Ocean. This strategic location has made the country an interest point for foreigners from the Arabs of antiquity who came for myrrh to the powers of the 19th century—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Egypt—who sought to control the vital trade routes to the east which passed by Somali territory or the hinterland beyond.

Considering its position it is not surprising that the Somalis were known for their fierceness and ability to fight. Theirs was a rough environment with mountains, plateaus, and deserts and a tropical climate. Most of these Somalis were and are still pastoralists.

On July 1, 1960, Somalia received its independence from Italy which had administered the country under a United Nations trust. Four days earlier British Somaliland to the north had received its independence, too. These two territories joined together in the Somali Republic. Although natural difficulties have arisen over integrating these two parts of the country that were so long under different rule, the Somalis are confident that these problems can be overcome. They hope that some day they can be joined by their brethren residing outside the Republic.

In the meantime Somalis are concentrating on their economic and social development. They can be well pleased with what they have accomplished so far. Port facilities are being expanded and improved, roads constructed, airlines inaugurated, and radio communications installed. Because of the country's dependence on agriculture, this field has not been neglected. An agricultural experimental station and training center for farmers has been established—with American aid. Some industries to process local products have also been started, as well as electrical generating projects. Meanwhile, educational and health facilities have been improved. Local personnel are being trained at home and abroad and institutions are being built.

All of this progress is very heartening, but it has not been able to come to pass without foreign assistance. In line with its policy of nonalinement, the Somali Government has accepted aid from all sources. Our own government has been generous with its offers and we can be proud of the technical and economic aid that we have extended to Somalia.

Thus, on the fourth anniversary of its independence, I salute the Somali Republic and wish it well in the future.

Law-Abiding Americans Have the Constitutional Right Not To Be the Victim of Criminals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, enactment of the civil rights bill will please some Americans and displease others. Nevertheless, it will be the law of the land and all are bound to obey it. We have no privilege to decide which laws we will obey and which we will not.

Questions have been raised about the constitutionality of some of the law's provisions. Until the Supreme Court decides these questions, all provisions must be obeyed. Under the Constitution, the individual citizen has no power to determine constitutionality. That is a function solely of the courts.

This law assures those amongst us who believe they have received less rights

than other Americans that they will have equal rights according to due process of law. In so doing it clearly signals an absolute halt to disobedience of law in efforts to deny those rights. It equally clearly signals an absolute halt to disobedience of law in efforts to attain them.

But the civil rights law is only one of thousands of the laws of our land. It is high time that vigorous enforcement of all laws be pursued. The rights of the majorities must be protected as well as the rights of the minorities. One of the most important of these rights for all Americans is protection against criminal acts involving either their persons or their property. One of the primary purposes of our Constitution, listed in its preamble, is to "assure domestic tranquillity."

Yet, in the recent past, the citizen's right to protection against criminal acts has steadily eroded. Effective law enforcement has steadily declined. The crime rate has increased alarmingly. Recent FBI figures disclose a drastic 19-percent rise in serious crimes in the United States during the first 3 months of 1964 over 1963. Even in the Nation's Capital neither women nor men are safe on the streets at night or even in their homes and churches.

Part of this shame is due to the Supreme Court decisions hampering law enforcement officials. The Court inexplicably follows a philosophy holding the criminal's so-called right to a fair trial more dear than the honest citizen's right not to be the criminal's victim. Congress shares the blame in failing to move more swiftly to restore absolutely essential powers to law enforcement officers.

Another part of the rise in crime can, with equal validity, be ascribed to the actions of President Johnson and Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Although it has not been their intention to do so, the constantly publicized zeal of these highest officials of our land in the matter of civil rights laws unfortunately has given the impression that obedience to other laws is, somehow, less necessary and important. They have created a feeling that use of law enforcement resources in instances when a "cause" is involved has priority over their use when only ordinary law-abiding citizens are concerned.

Events during recent weeks in the forests of Mississippi and the jungles of New York City are cases in point. Three civil rights workers disappeared in Mississippi. Their station wagon was found burned. In New York City scores of subway riders have been maimed and terrorized by lawless gangs. Innocent people have been murdered on the streets and in the elevators of their apartment houses. Large numbers of Federal law enforcement agents have been mobilized in Mississippi. No similar action has been taken in New York City.

Is an American's life less precious, less to be protected, in New York than in Mississippi? Is an American's right not to be the victim of a criminal act greater in Mississippi than in another State? Are some individuals in some locations on some pursuits more entitled to the full protection of the law than other individuals in other locations on other pursuits?

Under the Constitution of the United States and the traditions of our country the answer to these questions is "No."

I therefore call upon the President, the Attorney General and all State and local law enforcement officers for the equal enforcement of the law, for the relentless pursuit of all criminal offenders, irrespective of race, color, creed, or other irrelevant considerations. I call upon the courts of the land for swift, sure and equal punishment of all who disobey the law. I demand that the American citizen's right to protection against criminal acts be held in greater dignity than the criminal's opportunities to avoid punishment for his crimes.

Unless we act with determination and vigor to restore respect for and obedience to the law in our Nation the consequence will be fatal. We shall as surely perish as any other society which exchanges the principle of law and order for the anarchy of force and violence.

Memorial to William A. Galewski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, in communities throughout the United States, there are men and women, invaluable but not often enough recognized, who live their lives according to the highest principles of our national ideals.

These are the people who give of themselves unselfishly for the good of their communities. They ask no tangible rewards or public acclaim. Their own sense of contribution is their reward.

They recognize that achievement, like charity, begins at home and that they must assume their personal responsibility for their neighbors.

Such a man was William A. Galewski, formerly mayor of Winona, Minn. Many of us were saddened last week by news of his death, for he worked hard and long for his community, State, and Nation and during his lifetime was bestowed by his community with the highest title a city can give one of its citizens—"Mr. Mayor." He richly deserved such recognition for his scores of achievements in the areas of civic improvements, philanthropic accomplishments, and contributions to the educational system.

To those of us who had the honor to know Mayor Galewski, his many achievements and high qualities of idealism and personal responsibility will not be forgotten. I hope that my colleagues will, in some measure, share in my admiration for him. It was through his efforts that air service was brought to Winona, public and private education upgraded, new housing developments provided, and the Mississippi River improved.

The sense of loss which his community feels at his passing is fully expressed in the following editorial, which appeared in the Winona Daily News:

ALL-OUT EFFORT FOR WINONA BEST MEMORIAL TO GALEWSKI

You start to write, "Winona today mourns the loss of William A. Galewski," and then it occurs to you that he wouldn't have wanted it put that way. Because Bill Galewski never was one to talk much about losing or losers.

He was convinced that anything worth working for was worthy of achievement and the longer the odds against the realization of something he believed in, the more energetically he devoted his time and efforts to its fulfillment. Remaining as a memorial to this philosophy of progressive action are the scores of civic improvements, philanthropic accomplishments and educational advances carried to fruition with the willing and active support of this tireless booster of Winona.

As a matter of fact, at his untimely death Bill Galewski was engaged in one of the most challenging projects of his long and distinguished campaign to make Winona a better, more productive, and attractive city in which to live and work—the retention of airline service for Winona. For more than two decades Galewski lived with the conviction that airline service and a modern airport facility were essential to the ultimate realization of this city's full industrial and business potential. With determination born of unflagging confidence in the success of this venture, "Mr. Airport" bucked airline indecision and bickers, bureaucratic entanglements and—perhaps most disappointing to him, frequent inertia on the part of his fellow citizens—in a hard-won struggle to put Winona on the airline map and, later, the even more difficult task of keeping it there.

Elsewhere in this newspaper today in the impressive list of offices held and organizations supported by this dedicated and tireless worker for the betterment of Winona. The legacy he leaves is one of municipal improvements, an increasing awareness among his fellow citizens that only through cooperation and sympathetic understanding can the goals of a truly progressive city be attained and a philosophy of pride in accomplishment as the most satisfying reward for unselfish participation in community activity.

In his lifetime Bill Galewski was honored with the highest title this city can bestow on one of its citizens—"Mr. Mayor." He is remembered as one of the architects of Winona's noteworthy programs of public and private education. His efforts on behalf of his church and the many civic and fraternal organizations which benefited from his membership earned for him positions of honor and responsibility.

But Bill Galewski pointed with special pride to a piece of paper hanging on his office wall—a Government check showing him to have been a "dollar-a-year-man" during World War II. And the obvious satisfaction with which he described his role in the war effort was dramatic testimony to the character of this man; one who measured rewards for services rendered only in terms of achievements realized and who treasured the personal satisfaction of having done his best more than any material gains for such accomplishments.

The ledger shows that Winona owes a great debt to Bill Galewski but one that he would want repaid in a continuation by others of the work for progress in Winona he so ably and aggressively had pursued.

Inflation Checked as Fiscal 1964 Ends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the following news article, in accounting for the 41st straight month whereby our national economy has registered improvement and expansion in an unprecedented sustained drive, gives the credit for this success to the positive leadership of this administration and its legislative programs in the 87th and 88th Congresses. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a column by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., in the New York Times of July 1, 1964:

INFLATION CHECKED AS FISCAL 1964 ENDS

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, June 30.—The Government wound up the fiscal year 1964 today with another large deficit and with the economy more prosperous than ever.

The deficits in the last 3 years, while believed to have spurred the economy, have clearly not been inflationary. The wholesale price index is the same today as it was 6 years ago, and consumer prices have crept upward at a pace slower than that of any other industrial nation.

Final figures on expenditures and receipts, due next month, will probably show a budget deficit slightly less than the most recent estimate of $8.8 billion. But this fiscal year and last, taken together, will still show the largest deficit in peacetime history.

This is, in major part, a conscious policy of the administration, as distenct from the unplanned and unwanted deficits that frequently occurred during the decade of the 1950's.

The administration believes that the mix of Government spending and taxation, which has resulted in purposeful deficits in the last 3 years, has been a major sustaining force in the economy.

Today Congress completed action on the last item in the administration's program for the upcoming fiscal year by sending to the President a bill extending the present level of excise taxes, imposed in the Korean war, for another year. Passage was completed well in time for the President's signature before the midnight deadline, when these taxes would have expired.

The main item in the fiscal program, the big income tax cut, will produce what the administration considers a proper level of deficit for the fiscal year ahead. It would be somewhat less than the deficit in the fiscal year that ended today.

The present administration's underlying fiscal philosophy is that budget balance should be achieved only when the economy is at or near the level of full employment; which it defines as unemployment of 4 percent or less of the labor force.

Thus, it does not now expect a balance until the fiscal year 1967, which ends 3 years from today.

The President's economic advisers are convinced that previous efforts to balance the budget when the economy was operating with idle plant and idle labor prolonged unemployment and produced frequent recessions.

Under the present policy, the economic expansion has reached a peacetime record for duration, with the expansion entering its 41st month tomorrow.

Economists are almost unanimous in predicting that, influenced by the big tax cut, the expansion will continue through the end of this year at least and probably well into calendar 1965.

The expansion will add to revenues, despite the tax cut, and the deficit for the fiscal year 1965, starting tomorrow, is scheduled to be smaller than that for the fiscal year that ended today. The latest estimate puts it at $5.8 billion.

The original estimate for the deficit in the fiscal year that ended today was made 18 months ago in the budget submitted to Congress in January 1963. The estimate then was for a deficit of $11.9 billion, but this assumed passage of the tax cut by the middle of last year. It was actually passed at the end of February this year, with the fiscal year two-thirds over.

Last January, the deficit estimate was changed to $10 billion, assuming passage of the tax cut in January. The estimate was revised to $8.8 billion last month, and the final figure will be close to this.

Besides the delay in the tax cut, the deficit has been reduced from the original estimate because spending is running a little below the expected level. It will come to about $96 billion, compared to the original estimates of $98.8 billion 18 months ago.

The Treasury has had no difficulty in borrowing the necessary sums in the money market to make up the difference between expenditures and receipts.

For the most part it has borrowed various forms of savings and has not resorted to borrowing from banks, which can result in creation of new credit and, in some circumstances, can be inflationary. In effect, the Treasury has tapped savings that otherwise might have been idle.

INTEREST RATES HELD DOWN

The Treasury borrowing has not led to any increase in interest rates for private borrowers. In addition, the Treasury has been able to stretch out the maturity schedule of the public debt by selling long-term issues from time to time.

The borrowing has required regular increases in the ceiling on the national debt, the latest of which was signed into law by President Johnson yesterday. This allows for a rise in the debt to $324 billion in the course of the next 12 months, compared to $312 billion today.

The debt, while at a high, is a far smaller proportion of the gross national product than it was at the end of World War II. The Federal debt has also risen far less rapidly than private debt in the postwar period.

The legislation extending a set of Korean war excise taxes for another year would save the Treasury nearly $2 billion in revenue.

The loss of this revenue, in the administration view, would have made the deficit in the forthcoming fiscal year larger than desirable.

The Rising Tide of Antifederalism Finds a New Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, blind support of public works has long been a favorite liberal cause. The building of more and more dams is looked on as a universal blessing by free spenders of the public purse whose solutions to every economic and political problem always seems to be more power in Washington and more spending.

On March 16, 17, and 18 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 5121, 5330, and 5378–80, I spoke out against plans to build the Livermore Falls Dam in my own district in New Hampshire. I stated that this unneeded dam would cost at least $50 million, would obliterate much of the beautiful Pemigewasset Valley, and would flood out cemeteries, schools, industries, churches, homes, and some of the State's best farmland. Opposition to the dam was voiced by 10 New Hampshire communities. In addition, I included in the RECORD an article from the U.S. New & World Report citing growing opposition to big dams and big spending in the West.

It is interesting to note that the Washington Post recently published an editorial in opposition to the Corps of Engineers' proposed Seneca Dam on the Potomac River. I can only say "welcome aboard." It is indeed satisfying to find that the Washington Post can admit that a dam "would flood nearly 90 square miles of the Potomac Basin and utterly disfigure a lovely and verdant valley."

It is reassuring to hear the Post refer to a large dam as "monstrous." It is interesting to note that the Post feels "the Corps of Engineers, in its passion for large structures, has gone too far." Perhaps now the Washington Post knows how lesser citizens throughout this broad land sometimes feel when large and sometimes unnecessary Federal projects threaten their well being. It is regrettable that the Washington Post is so late in coming to the conclusion that just because a dam is big and designed and paid for from Washington, it doesn't necessarily mean that its construction is wise and well conceived.

The June 16 editorial reads as follows:

THE DEFENSE OF THE RIVER

The opposition to the monstrous Seneca Dam is becoming increasingly official and increasingly articulate. It is none too soon, for the dam would flood nearly 90 square miles of the Potomac Basin and utterly disfigure a lovely and verdant valley. The Corps of Engineers, in its passion for large structures, has gone too far. It has designed the Seneca Dam chiefly to provide water for flushing out the estuary, from Washington southward. But the interstate commission on the Potomac River Basin comments, coldly, that it is unable to locate research data to show that the flushing technique would effectively reduce water pollution.

The enlightened and thoroughly constructive report of the Virginia Potomac Commission suggests an alternative to the Corps of Engineers. First among its recommendations, it urges Governor Harrison to look into the possibility of a broad interstate authority following the example of the Delaware River Basin compact, where four States and the Federal Government have jointly undertaken the development of that river's vast potential. The present interstate commission is narrowly restricted to pollution control; a future compact authority could very well take responsibility for water supply as well as waste disposal and for example, use recreation revenues to buy riverside parklands. It is ironic, of course, that Virginia alone has blocked every attempt to expand

the existing interstate commission over the past several years. But, as a disastrous flood provided the impetus to the Delaware compact, so the specter of Seneca may induce Virginia into a Potomac compact. Certainly the Virginia Potomac Commission understands very well that the Corps of Engineers will develop the basin if a compact does not; and Virginia will have a much stronger influence over a compact than over the Engineers.

Of all the comments so far, the least useful is Mr. Richards' misguided proposal to the Joint Open-Space Project Committee. He urges Congress to buy either land or easements in the proposed Seneca Reservoir, to prevent construction there while the Federal authorities decide whether actually to proceed with the dam. First of all, it is already quite obvious that the dam ought not be built. Second, Congress ought not spend money on a reservoir that remains in doubt. Easements need to be purchased to protect the river's shoreline, as a conservation measure, but it is a job for an interstate authority charged with preserving the beauty and usefulness of the river as well as the quality of its water.

Address by New York State Comptroller Arthur Levitt Before State Chamber of Commerce Executives, June 23, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, in this era of increasing operational costs of government, I should like to call the attention of our colleagues to a statesmanlike address by the Honorable Arthur Levitt, comptroller of the State of New York, to the executives of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, assembled in summer conference at Glens Falls.

Colonel Levitt is the 50th and one of the most notable of New York State's chief fiscal officers. While occupying his office for the past decade, he has achieved many accomplishments well known to the financial community and has brought complex fiscal issues to the level of the people, thereby creating a public awareness and interest in these matters of vital concern.

His remarks are a matter of major import to every State in the Union, and I therefore wish to insert his speech in its entirety in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY COMPTROLLER ARTHUR LEVITT AT THE SUMMER CONFERENCE OF THE NEW YORK STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE EXECUTIVES, GLENS FALLS, N.Y., JUNE 23, 1964

Two months ago, when Arthur Sutty invited me to your luncheon, he said that your primary interest is in the business climate of the State. My purpose this noon is to discuss a most important factor bearing on our whole economy: The factor of public finance. It affects every citizen, every community, every business establishment.

In my discussion we will search for the basic principles of public finance—principles which should assure us that government is still the servant of the people, not their exorbitant master. I believe it is the lack of such an assurance that has led to the restlessness of taxpayers across the Nation today. There is an impression that we are making gigantic expenditures, plunging into tremendous debt, beyond the control or even the comprehension of the electorate. The expenditures are indeed great, the debt very high. But if there is no control by the electorate, no real understanding, then government has not followed constitutional principles; it has evaded them. Control and understanding must be restored.

The basic inquiry is not a simple one. Can the needs of an expanding democratic society be met within a constitutional framework, with its limitations on purposes, on taxes and on debt? Or are we in an era when government must turn its construction work over to outside agencies, not hampered by ordinary restraints? If so, then public authorities constitute a fourth and permanent branch of government in America, with no control by the electorate.

Fifteen years ago, the Hoover Commission said that there were two other questions that lie at the root of any fiscal system. First, what is the money wanted for? Second, what do the taxpayers get for it? Just as our basic inquiry was aimed at restoring constitutional control, these questions by the Hoover Commission are designed to assure understanding by the taxpayers. And there can be no real understanding unless a financial plan, or budget, is so drawn as to show program. It is not enough to list departments, bureaus, and personnel. They will be with us always. Just what are they going to accomplish with the money appropriated? That is the first question posed by the Hoover Commission. But understanding also depends upon full reporting, or accounting. How did the program in fact turn out, in all honesty? That is the second question posed by the Commission. The Federal Government is still struggling to meet these standards. State and local governments, for the most part, are far behind.

An analogy to a business corporation may make these points clearer. Before any annual program can be presented it must be tested for legality. Is it within the charter, and within State and Federal rules? If so, how much money will be needed for what purposes? And finally, what will the stockholders get for it? Whether we are talking about government or business, we are talking about three basic concepts in proper finance: there must be strict legality, there must be prudent planning, and there must be full reporting. Many governmental agencies are shaky on all three counts today.

But let me digress long enough to demonstrate that Government is not a business and cannot be operated like one. It is to be contrasted with a private corporation, not compared. A corporate charter does not normally restrict borrowing capacity, nor does it rigidly define corporate purposes, nor does it require a vote of the stockholders every time a bond is issued. A corporate budget is not adopted in the glare of publicity. Top executives do not come and go with every election. Results are normally measured by profits, not by the intangibles and the political considerations which frequently test public service.

Government requires a strange admixture of talents and techniques. We need businessmen—I have personally called upon them repeatedly for advice and guidance—just as we need lawyers and accountants and engineers. But public affairs cannot respond to the cures of any one group of experts, and many have tried. The assembly line did not work when prescribed for the U.S. Patent Office. The task-force approach has been tried and repudiated in Albany. We lawyers have failed to set everything aright by our statutes, our opinions, and our court orders. And certainly public authorities have failed to be the self-supporting wonders originally promised.

My fear is that we are now letting other experts undermine basic concepts of public finance in the name of progress. If a constitution stands in the way of borrowing money, let an appointed agency borrow it and then give the agency some public revenues. If a program can be taken out of a budget and given to an agency, do so. There will be no need to account for it in the annual report. These are not exaggerated proposals—they have become fact in New York and several other States.

Our democracy is not so weak or inflexible that it needs such cures. The heartening part is that citizens have greater faith in democracy than some of the experts. Voters respond magnificently to a need when they have confidence and understanding. Now, then, just what are the principles of public finance which we need to follow?

First, public money should be raised and expended only in accordance with the powers and duties vested in the State constitutionally by the people. This is the only true taxing power, all else is evasion. And note that this power is both mandated and restricted. For example, under our own State constitution, the people have mandated a system of free education for their children but have restricted the power to borrow money. Constitutional provisions such as these are the premises upon which our system of government is erected. Evasion will lead to erosion and decay.

The second principle is that the plan for spending public money should clearly show what programs will be accomplished and how they will be financed. This is the budgetary power and duty. Too often members of a governing body do not have adequate opportunity to understand what is really in a budget. This can happen to a city councilman, or to a State legislator, or to a Congressman. If they do not understand, how can taxpayers? I am glad to report that there is a trend throughout the Nation today to improve the budgetary process, but the time is getting late.

The final principle is that a full report must be made of all revenues, all expenditures, and all results. This is the accounting power and duty, to which is linked the auditing process. Again, there is a nationwide trend toward looking upon this function as a tool of management, just as it is in industry. In New York State I have revitalized our audits with this concept in mind, with significant results. And we are equally concerned about the accounting system. The Governor and I have jointly appointed a committee to make our system as modern as any in the Nation. But the system will be inadequate unless it ultimately reflects all public expenditures, inside or outside of the budget. And it should reflect outstanding accounts, not just cash transactions. There should be no dispute over surplus or deficit.

Do not say that I have overlooked economy in government as a principle. Economy is implicit in observing legal requirements, in proper budgeting, and in vigilant auditing. It is part of all three, not a separate concept.

These principles are not new, but they are newly important. The trends in public finance have been away from the people. They must be swung back if we are to have the control and the understanding we sought at the beginning of my remarks. In turn, there will be new faith in government and new vitality in our democratic society. As for the business climate, I can think of no better omen for clearer skies ahead.

Iron Imports Continue To Feed the Fire of Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, pig iron and cast iron soil pipe imports continue to feed the fire of unemployment and ever-decreasing workloads in one of our basic American industries. Many of our plants in iron and steel areas are now working far below capacity. It just does not make sense for us to allow pig iron and cast iron soil pipe imports to come flooding in when so many of our hard-hit areas are suffering from lack of orders.

This situation in the first quarter of this year has become increasingly worse as compared with the first quarter of 1963. To support this contention and to further point out the factors contributing to this already deplorable situation, I submit herewith substantiating figures derived from U.S. Department of Commerce statistics:

Pig iron imports by customs district	1st quarter, 1964	1st quarter, 1963	Change, 1964 versus 1963
			Percent
Atlantic coast	33,414	17,684	+88.9
Gulf coast	32,217	10,259	+214.0
West coast	2,718	7,032	−61.3
Canadian border and inland	16,200	11,464	+41.3
Offshore	346	248	+39.5
Total pig iron imports	84,895	46,439	+82.8

Mr. Speaker, the dollar value of pig iron imports for the first quarter of 1964 totaled $3,352,618 versus $1,942,561 for the same period in 1963, or an increase of 73 percent, or $1,410,057. Pig iron exports for the same period totaled $421,461 in 1964 versus $1,191,510 for 1963, or a decrease of 65 percent, or $770,049 in 1964. The total outflow of dollars for pig iron imports and the decrease in dollars for exports represent an increase in dollar loss to the United States of $2,180,106 for the first quarter of 1964 over 1963.

Cast iron soil pipe imports, by customs district	1st quarter, 1964	1st quarter, 1963	Change, 1964 versus 1963
			Percent
Atlantic coast	2,502	3,323	−24.7
Gulf coast	527	87	+505.7
West coast	6,910	4,225	+63.5
Offshore	120	320	−62.5
Total cast iron soil pipe imports	10,059	7,955	+26.4

Mr. Speaker, in 1964 the dollar value of the above pipe imports was $1,114,978; in 1963, $821,243, or an increase of 36 percent. As a matter of information, cast iron pressure pipe imports are no longer identified.

New Wheat Program Adds Half Billion Dollars to Income of Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, misunderstandings and some confusion have developed in the operation of the new voluntary certificate wheat program.

Some wheatgrowers are raising questions concerning the market price of wheat and the income of wheatgrowers under the program which is effective for the 1964 crop. Some of the questions and statements imply that the new program imposes a tax against wheat and that the market price is lower as a result. Other questions indicate the wheatgrowers are being given misleading information—or information far from the facts. Some growers are complaining that they did not know when they seeded their wheat last fall that those farmers planting within their production allotments would receive substantially higher income than those who did not comply with their allotments.

Mr. Speaker, the new voluntary wheat program takes not one cent away from any wheat producer, and adds substantially to the income of those farmers who are cooperating in this program to hold down surplus and wasteful output of this food grain.

The fact is that even farmers who are not cooperating in the voluntary program are profiting by its operation.

In the May 1963 referendum wheat farmers rejected the marketing quota certificate program offered to them. If two-thirds of the producers had approved this marketing quota approach, all producers would have complied with production adjustments to prevent market gluts and wasteful surpluses, and all producers would have received substantial price supports through Commodity Credit Corporation loans and through certificates adding to their income.

But this program was disapproved, and this left in force only the law already on the books which provided a price support for the 1964 crop of wheat at 50 percent of parity, or about $1.25 or $1.26 a bushel, with the only growers receiving such support being those who stayed within their farm wheat allotments.

The situation threatened disaster for the wheat country. Wheat producers confronted a reduction in their 1964 income of over a half a billion dollars, as compared with 1963, when the wheat crop was supported at 82.6 percent of parity.

Congress could not permit such a catastrophe to befall the wheat country. Not only the income of wheat farmers would be slashed, but the well-being of hundreds of towns and cities in wheat States and the Nation's general economy were involved.

When wheat was being planted last fall there was widespread discussion of the prospects for Congress enacting a new wheat law that would add to the income of producers cooperating in efforts to hold down production.

Immediately after the May 1963 referendum, bills were introduced in the Congress proposing new wheat programs. The first bill embracing a voluntary certificate program was introduced on July 29. As early as December 11, the Wheat Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture, headed by Hon. GRAHAM PURCELL, held public hearings to survey the thinking among wheat producers, and the public generally, on a new program.

Farmers were aware of the possibilities of new legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the prevention of a disastrous drop in wheat prices and in the purchasing power of wheatgrowers was the basic reason for enactment of the new wheat legislation that became law last April 11. This is what the new wheat program is doing for farmers:

First. The farmer who exceeds his wheat allotment and even the one who is growing wheat from fence to fence is not subject to marketing quota penalties. He can sell his wheat without any interference whatever and whenever he wants to, just as he would have done had Congress not enacted the new voluntary program. In fact, because so many others growers are producing within their allotments and the loan rate has been increased 4 cents a bushel, his market should be about 4 cents a bushel higher than it would have been without the new program.

Second. The average loan level for wheat produced in 1964 was increased from $1.26 a bushel to $1.30. These price support loans are available to farmers who are within their allotments.

Third. Farmers participating in the voluntary program will receive, in addition, certificates valued at 70 cents a bushel on 45 percent of the normal production of the farm allotment, and certificates valued at 25 cents a bushel on another 45 percent of their normal production. Thus, when the value of the certificates is added to the price-support loan the wheat for domestic food will return the participating producers on the average $2 a bushel, and the wheat going into export will return to the producers $1.55 a bushel.

Fourth. Moreover, farmers who actually have taken acreage out of wheat production are receiving diversion payments, based upon normal yields.

In summary, this is the present situation:

Noncomplying farmers: There has been only one change, which is an improvement in their market by a 4 cents a bushel increase in the price-support loans to compliers and by a reduction in the overall wheat supply by those who are participating in the program.

Cooperating farmers: Those who are complying with the production adjustment features of the voluntary program are receiving in 1964 around half a billion dollars more in income than would have been the case had not Congress

enacted the voluntary wheat certificate program.

Mr. Speaker, of course, in a new program so vast, there will be some errors in administration. I am confident that the county ASCS committees and the program administrators in Washington will promptly correct such errors as they are brought to their attention.

The main thing to remember, in appraising this new program, is that it placed no penalty whatever against the marketing of wheat by those farmers who are not complying with the program, and it increases substantially the income of those farmers who have cooperated by not exceeding their farm allotments.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that farmers will not be misled by some people who already are trying to destroy this program, as they destroyed the old wheat program which worked for so long and so well in the past. The new program was enacted entirely for the purpose of improving the income of wheat producers, which in turn will maintain business stability in hundreds of towns and cities in the wheat country, and in the economy generally.

Mr. Speaker, I, today, issued a press statement pertinent to these remarks. This press release follows:

COOLEY EMPHASIZES FARMER PROFITS IN NEW WHEAT PROGRAM

Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY of the House Committee on Agriculture said today the new voluntary wheat program "takes not one cent away from any wheat producer, and adds substantially to the income of those farmers who are cooperating in this program to hold down surplus and wasteful output of this food grain."

Mr. COOLEY made the statement in response to numerous inquiries about the operation of the voluntary certificate program effective for the 1964 wheat crop.

"Some wheat growers are raising questions concerning the market price of wheat and the income of wheat growers under the new wheat program," he said. "Some of the questions and statements imply that the new wheat program imposes a tax against wheat and that the market price is lower as a result. Other questions indicate the wheat growers are being given misleading information—or information far from the facts."

The fact is, he pointed out, even farmers who are not cooperating in the voluntary program are profiting by its operation.

"With the disapproval of marketing quotas in the May 1963 referendum," Mr. COOLEY said, "the law required that the price support for the 1964 crop of wheat be reduced to 50 percent of parity, or an indicated support of $1.25 or $1.26 a bushel, and the only growers receiving such support would be those who stayed within their farm wheat allotments.

"The prevention of a disastrous drop in wheat prices and in the purchasing power of wheat growers was the basic reason for the new wheat legislation that became law last April 11. This is what the new wheat program is doing for farmers:

"1. The farmer who exceeds his wheat allotment and even the one who is 'growing wheat from fence to fence' is not subject to marketing quota penalties. He can sell his wheat without any interference wherever and whenever he want to, just as he would have done had Congress not enacted the new voluntary wheat program. In fact, because so many other growers are producing within their allotments and the loan rate has been increased 4 cents a bushel, his market should be about 4 cents a bushel higher than it would have been without the new program.

"2. The average loan level for wheat produced in 1964 was increased from $1.26 a bushel to $1.30. These price-support loans are available to farmers who are within their allotments.

"3. Farmers participating in the voluntary program will receive, in addition, certificates valued at 70 cents a bushel on 45 percent of the normal production of the farm allotment, and certificates valued at 25 cents a bushel on another 45 percent of their normal production. Thus, when the value of the certificate is added to the price-support loan the wheat for domestic food will return the participating producers on the average $2 a bushel, and the wheat going into export will return the producers $1.55 a bushel.

"4. Moreover, farmers who actually have taken acreage out of wheat production are receiving diversion payments, based upon normal yields.

"In summary, this is the situation:

"Noncomplying farmers: There has been only one change, which is an improvement in their market by a 4 cents a bushel increase in the price-support loans to compliers and by a reduction in the overall wheat supply by those who are participating in the program.

"Cooperating farmers: Those who are complying with the production adjustment features of the voluntary program are receiving in 1964 around half a billion dollars more in income than would have been the case had not Congress enacted the voluntary wheat certificate program."

Mr. COOLEY said that farmer rejection of the marketing quota certificate program in the 1963 referendum threatened disaster for the wheat country, with wheat producers confronting a reduction of their 1964 income by over a half a billion dollars as compared with 1963.

"Congress could not let such a catastrophe to befall the wheat country," he said, and he pointed out that immediately after the May referendum last year bills were introduced in the Congress proposing new wheat programs. He emphasized that when the 1964 wheat crop was planted last fall farmers were aware of the possibilities of new legislation.

"Of course, in a new program so vast," he said, "there will be some errors in administration. He voiced confidence that the county ASCS committees and the program administrators in Washington would promptly correct such errors as they are brought to their attention.

"I hope that farmers will not be misled," he said, "by some people who now are trying to destroy this program, as they destroyed the old wheat program which worked for so long and so well in the past. The new program was enacted entirely for the purpose of improving the income of wheat producers, which in turn will maintain business stability in hundreds of towns and cities in the wheat country, and in the economy generally."

Burundi Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Burundi today celebrates the second anniversary of her independence. We take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty King Mwambutsa IV; and to His Excellency the Burundi Ambassador to the United States, Leon Ndenzako.

Burundi is a small kingdom situated in the mountains and plateaus which separate the Nile and Congo River Basins. Its many rivers, two of which are the southernmost sources of the Nile, rise in these mountains to begin their long twisting journey to the sea. The capital, Usumbura, which is a bustling city of 50,000 inhabitants, overlooks Lake Tanganyika, the longest fresh-water lake in the world. Most of the trade between this landlocked country and the outside world travels down this body of water to be taken either to Atlantic or Indian Ocean ports.

Three different ethnic groups in Burundi live harmoniously together. A small number of pygmies remain, while the overwhelming number are Hutus, who from 85 percent of the population. These industrious people have traditionally been farmers, an occupation that most in Burundi still follow. Since the fifteenth century, their overlords have been the Tutsi, a nomadic, pastoral people of Hamitic origins who migrated to this area from Ethiopia.

European influence came late to this land which is nestled far from the oceans. Visits by the great explorers, Speke, Stanley and Livingstone, were soon followed by those of Germans and in the 1880's Germany was given control of Burundi. This rule lasted until World War I when Belgian troops occupied the country for the Allies. Under their rule, health measures, schools and new crops were introduced, as well as other improvements.

With Belgian preparations for independence, Burundi has enjoyed a stable government since its independence. The Mwami, or leader of the Tutsi, heads the government, while a national assembly is elected by direct universal suffrage from among the competing political parties.

On this second anniversary of Burundi independence, we send our best wishes to the Burundi people and their government and look forward to watching them solve the many problems that have and will face them as they grow within the world community.

To Amend the Immigration Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD my statement before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Committee on the Judiciary, in support of H.R. 10990. I have introduced this bill, and may I add that other Members have introduced similar bills, for the purpose of effecting a much-needed revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN, DEMOCRAT, OF CONNECTICUT, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 10990

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appear today in support of H.R. 10990, the bill which I have introduced to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The demands and pressures which existed when the basic law was enacted some 40 years ago have become radically different. The countries which provided the bulk of our immigrants in times past now barely use the quotas available to them, while the needs of other countries far exceed their allotted number. The subsequent McCarran-Walter Act was at best a patch-up job which has since proven woefully inadequate.

The bill for which I now speak is similar to that which President Kennedy sponsored a year ago. Its passage has likewise been formally urged by President Johnson. The purpose of the bill is to liberalize the existing national origins quota system which has worked such hardship upon members of the families of American citizens who have been compelled to remain abroad. It has been the peoples of Mediterranean and southern European origin, particularly from Greece, Italy, and Portugal, who have suffered most under the existing law. A law which permits large numbers of families to remain broken can only work misery on both sides of the ocean. As Mr. CELLER has already pointed out, the criterion for admissibility to this country must no longer be "What is your race or origin," but rather "Who are you and what can you do for the country in which you have chosen to live?"

H.R. 10990 provides for gradual elimination of the quota system over a 5-year period. During this period it further provides for the allocation of unused quota numbers to oversubscribed countries. While the minimum number admissible from each country is raised to 200, the total quota figure for each country is to be reduced by 20 percent each year. These places by which the national totals are reduced are placed in a "pool," from which admissions are to be allocated on a first-come, first-served basis in order of the established preferences.

The issuance of visas is rendered considerably more flexible. Each year foreign citizens seek to visit this country on business or pleasure. Likewise increasing numbers of students from abroad want to attend our universities. The inordinate difficulty which they now encounter in obtaining visas tends only to deter qualified foreigners from visiting the United States. Whereas under the existing law the quotas provide for order of preference only within each individual country, my bill will now determine the priority between nationals of different countries throughout the world. In addition to this, the broad discretion to be vested in the President and in the Immigration Board allows the free allocation of previously unused quotas to applicants from any nation, so that the basic provision of a 10-percent maximum monthly allocation of visas does not prevent the subsequent issuance of visas which were not used up during a previous month. The bill further eliminates the waste of quota numbers by those who apply for visas and then never apply for admission, thereby depriving others of the right. To the same end, quotas may not be used up by people of nonquota status.

The nonquota status itself is to be extended to several important groups, including parents of U.S. citizens and all natives of independent Western Hemisphere countries. Likewise, at the discretion of the Attorney General, certain mentally afflicted members of the immediate family of a U.S. citizen, barred from admission under the existing laws, may be admitted as nonquota immigrants.

There are several significant changes in the preference system. Further latitude is allowed for immigrants with special skills, or with the ability to perform a job for the filling of which a shortage exists in the United States. Also, in addition to the three existing categories, a new fourth preference is created in favor of the parents of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence. The process of applying for a preference is simplified as well. Replacing the existing and often harsh requirement that an applicant for a "special skills" preference submit an affidavit from a U.S. employer is a provision that allows the Attorney General to grant the preference upon affidavit from the immigrant, plus any further documentary evidence which the Attorney General, having consulted the Secretary of Labor, may require.

To administer our immigration policy, this bill provides for the establishment of a seven-member Immigration Board, three members of which would be appointed by the President, two by the President of the Senate, and two by the Speaker of the House. The function of this Board would be to study the conditions here and abroad which bear on our immigration policy. The members would consult with the Secretaries of Labor, State, and Defense and would then in turn make recommendations to the President and the Attorney General as to the allocation of quotas and admissions such as will best serve the purposes of this act.

A more flexible, up-to-date immigration law has long been a necessity. Our Chief Executive has urged this reform. Our citizens demand it, as evidenced by each day's mail, which brings new pleas from those suffering from the inequity of the existing laws. I believe we have a moral obligation to answer their call.

Alexandria's Landmark Closes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in the Alexandria Gazette for Monday, June 29, carries a message that should be of deep concern to the Members of this 88th Congress. It is perhaps significant that the Alexandria Gazette, established in 1784, is America's oldest newspaper.

It is far more important to us in Congress, too many of whom have reached a conclusion before knowing the problem, to realize that this story of one independently owned store failure could have been repeated 1,200 times for 1,200 more closing on that same day.

In this election year we are all of us hearing of more benefits, protections, opportunities, and insurances to the individual than ever before. To hear the stories without doubt is to believe that poverty will be obliterated, small business will be protected, old folks will live better, medicines will be for all and America will be heaven on earth.

During this Congress, many of its Members—including myself—have been fighting for passage of a bill to give some small measure of protection to the independent merchant. The pressures against it have been strong. They have been constructed on slogans and false conclusions.

Those slogans have created an answer even before the question is understood. They have completely, it would seem, buried the real problem facing this Nation today—that problem is the certain fact that almost 400,000 small businesses will have failed this year. Many of them have failed and thousands more will close before the 89th Congress convenes because they have had no protection from us. Is this fulfillment of our duty? I think not.

The quality stabilization bill is important because it is the only measure in Congress offering any protection, any hope, to these dying small businesses. Yet it was "shelved" by the Senate Committee on Commerce without any discussion on its merits.

Mr. Speaker, the Alexandria Gazette in this editorial gives the story of but one store. There are 1,200 such stories for the same day. There will be 1,200 more today, and tomorrow. I ask you all, as I insert this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, are we not being derelict and damned in our sworn duties to the people we represent?

The editorial follows:

THE CORNER DRUGSTORE PASSES

On Tuesday night one of Alexandria's ancient landmarks closes its doors forever, a casualty of what we have come to accept as progress. The drugstore of W. F. Creighton at the northwest corner of King and Royal Streets, which never bowed to the soda and lunch counter or a line of toys or garden and lawn furniture but has limped along nonetheless, bows to the inevitable. Its ancient mahogany fittings, darkened with the patina of time, may go under the auctioneer's hammer and wind up in a museum, a marvel of man's handiwork before the advent of stainless steel and brilliant plastic. The apothecary jars of many colors will go the same route or become decorative conversation pieces in a parlor.

The passing of Creighton's will touch a nostalgic note in the hearts of many oldsters as well as remove a neighborhood convenience. It is one in a procession that seems to mark the demise of the small, neighborly shopkeeper, powerless in the face of the competition of the mighty chains. In days when the drugstores close at dusk and send the suddenly ill to a distant all-night establishment, accessible only by automobile, we might recall the role played by the corner apothecary shop in our history.

The oldtime druggist seemed to be a breed in himself. He had to be a registered pharmacist, capable of deciphering the scribbled notes of the doctor, making sure the dosage was not lethal. He prided himself on his service to the community. Either he or a clerk-pharmacist lived on the premises or one slept in the store. This was essential in the days before the telephone. One never knew when the local general practitioner might be called in the dark of night and give a prescription that had to be filled in greatest haste.

Never was the store closed without a sign in the door telling where the proprietor could be found in emergency. The shop often was a community gathering place. Civic associations were unnecessary. Views were given frequently and vehemently down at "doc's," a common name for the man behind the prescription counter. When one was ill but not

seriously enough for consulting his physician, "doc" could turn to his shelves and select a remedy from his line of specifics. Very often it worked.

The passing of the corner drugstore is more than a symptom of the march of progress. It also marks the passing of an era of spontaneous neighborly relations and the departure of a friendly hand.

How To Make Things Worse Than They Really Are

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in today's New York Times, James Reston discusses the politics of Vietnam as it relates to the politics of the 1964 presidential election. He doesn't say so, but implied in the article is the fact that we no longer have a bipartisan foreign policy in this country. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this article:

HOW TO MAKE THINGS WORSE THAN THEY REALLY ARE

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, June 30.—The first major foreign policy issue of the election campaign is developing over Vietnam, and it illustrates the dangers of letting campaign rhetoric influence fundamental decisions on peace and war.

The Republicans are insisting quite rightly, that Vietnam is a proper subject for criticism and debate between the parties, but they are also insisting that the policy of the United States in that country must be to achieve total victory.

The Johnson administration is less adventuresome. Its stated aim there is "to prevent a Communist victory," but lately, under the pressure of events in Saigon and of politics here, it has been talking rather more boldly about "winning" the war there, and Secretary of State Rusk has even gone as far as to suggest that the defense of Vietnam is as vital to the security of the United States as the defense of Berlin and West Germany.

FRANCE'S AGONY

Before we confuse what is good politics with what is good policy or even good sense, maybe we should take a look at the history of that melancholy peninsula. The French were in control there for 70 years, except during the Japanese occupation during World War II.

They finally gave up and left just 10 years ago this coming month, at 0340 Geneva time, July 21, 1954, to be exact. They were not merely "advising" the anti-Communist Vietnamese against Ho Chi Minh's Communist Vietminh guerrillas. They had 400,000 of their best troops directly involved in the struggle and they were beaten, though even the French received considerable aid from the United States in the last years of the struggle.

Over a period of 8 years that war cost France 172,000 casualties. The Vietminh lost a quarter of a million. Economically, from 1945 to 1955, France lost 10 times the total value of its vast investments in that country, and as Bernard B. Fall reports in "Two Vietnams," "The French Army came out of the war a gaunt ghost of its former self, the cream of its regular officers dead and crippled, the rest of them embittered."

It is true that conditions there are not the same. The United States is guiding a counterinsurgency war there primarily to gain time to create a counterrevolution, but this is a slow business, and this is precisely the issue the Republicans are raising.

It is not only Senator GOLDWATER who is calling for a strategy of total victory, but the House Republican policy committee issued a detailed report this week that puts the point in more specific terms.

"A victory in South Vietnam over the military and subversive threats of communism," it said, "is urgently required. We must repeal today's complacent commitment 'to prevent a Communist victory' and substitute a commitment to insure a victory for freedom."

But how is this to be done? Who is to repeal it? The committee does not tell us, but Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, the chairman of the House Republican conference and ranking Republican on the Defense Appropriations Committee, who issued the report, wants the United States itself to take over the conduct of the war.

Something very odd is happening here to the Republican Party, when responsible leaders of the GOP like FORD, who for years have been contrasting the Republicans as the "party of peace" with the Democrats as the "war party," are now calling for instant victory in a jungle war 8,000 miles from home, right up against the borders of China, which commands the allegiance of almost a quarter of the human race.

The Republican Party has managed to occupy the White House for only 8 out of the last 32 years and it got there then only because General Eisenhower was regarded rightly as a prudent, experienced and peaceful man.

Yet his successors in the party that is supposed to have unusual respect for history are now complaining, not that we are doing to much but that we are doing too little; not that we should limit our objectives and our risks but that, as the Ford committee says, we should "take the initiative in effecting a 'revolution of liberty' throughout the world."

KENNAN'S WARNING

When George Kennan, who is one of our most experienced and articulate students of foreign affairs, came at the end of his diplomatic career to sum up his views of America's diplomatic blunders of the past, he blamed in particular:

"The American tendency to view any war in which we might be involved not as a means of achieving limited objectives in the way of changes in a given status quo but as a struggle to the death between total virtue and total evil."

The United States has slowly, very slowly, come to ponder the wisdom of this observation in Vietnam, but in the emotion of the campaign this limited exercise will be savagely attacked and all we can hope is that the administration will not be pushed in the process into political promises it will not want to redeem in the future.

Rwanda Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Rwanda today celebrates the second anniversary of her independence. We take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Rwanda, Gregoire Kayibanda; and to His Excellency the Ambassador of Rwanda to the United States; Pierre Canisius Cyicarano.

Rwanda, a country of mountains and plateaus, lies in the very heart of Africa on the divide between the great Congo and Nile River Basins. Most of its territory has a tropical, highland climate and is covered with savanna grassland. Agriculture remains the basis of the economy, although deforestation and erosion, scourges against which the Rwandans are making valiant efforts to amend, has long hampered production in this densely populated African country.

Because of its remote position, Rwanda was one of the last regions in Africa to be visited by the explorers of the 19th century. John Speke, on his tortuous journey which lead to the discovery of Lake Victoria, was probably the first European to cross its terrain in 1858. He was followed over a decade later by Stanley and Livingstone on their famous trip together around Lake Tanganyika and its environs. Later German explorers, who were a prelude to control by their country, arrived. German rule passed to the Belgians after World War I. Under the Belgians, a 10-year program to improve all aspects of Rwanda's economy, social services, and education was launched in 1952.

Even before independence, the Rwandans exhibited their love of democracy and rule by the majority. By an overwhelming vote in 1961, the monarchy was replaced with a republican form of government. Rwanda also voted against independence with Burundi, the kingdom to the south, also under Belgian tutelege. Today Rwanda has a president and legislative assembly which was elected by direct universal suffrage. Officials of local government are also democratically elected.

Two years is a short time in the history of any nation, but already much has happened in Rwanda. On September 18, 1962, it became a member of the United Nations. Rwanda is also a member of some of that organization's specialized agencies.

Today Rwanda, which was once considered an exotic country in central Africa, is a recognized and accepted member of the family of nations. We salute Rwanda on its second anniversary of independence and wish it the best in its fight to realize social equality, economic advancement, and political stability.

WSBXTV's "Salute to America" Parade Is Smash Hit According to Variety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, every American takes pride in the founding of

our Republic. As we approach the anniversary of independence, I am pleased to report that, again, in the city of Atlanta, a great parade is planned in honor of the day. This will be the fourth annual salute to America, sponsored by WSB–TV. Last year's event drew a crowd of 300,000, second only in Atlanta's history to the throngs who turned out to welcome President Johnson.

The theme of this year's salute is "The Spirit of America." I am confident that it will surpass all previous celebrations.

Under leave I insert in the RECORD an article appearing in Variety magazine, hoping that others may find this a good means of expressing, each Fourth of July, their pride in being Americans:

WSB HIGH AS A KITE ON FOURTH OF JULY—DEEP SOUTH TV STATION DAZZLES SCOFFERS AND YANKEES IN PATRIOTIC EXHIBITION

ATLANTA, July 10.—A changing pattern was evident this year in observance of Fourth of July in this Deep South metropolis and most of credit must go to WSB–TV, of which Marcus Bartlett is general manager, and his No. I aid, Jean Hendrix.

Heretofore, July 4, to most Atlantans was just another day on the calendar. Holiday observance was confined to a few yankees transplanted into somewhat hostile southern territory.

Miss Hendrix last year asked for permission to commit station to sponsorship of a patriotic parade on holiday, the first in 25 years. She got the green light, but was cautioned not to be heartbroken if nobody showed up along line of march. Scoffers were bugeyed when 200,000 did appear in an exhibition of patriotism that more or less set the skeptics—and Dixie diehards—back on their heels.

This year Miss Hendrix had no trouble at all getting OK for her pet project. Station gave her ample time to promote parade and, furthermore, cleared 90 minutes of prime afternoon time to put the event on the air in toto.

Newspapers, owned and operated by Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., which in turn, also owns WSB–TV, AM and FM, went overboard in pushing parade and distributing thousands of small American flags—for free—to kids for waving purposes on day of parade.

A good group of TV personalities appearing in parade was headed by Victor Jory, Craig Hill and Kenneth Toby (of "Whirlybirds"), singer Eddy Arnold and Gospel singer Wally Fowler. They joined WSB–TV personalities Ruth Kent, Don Stewart, John Palmer and George Page and a host of State, city and county officials in parade, along with military units, Shriners, a dozen marching bands, patriotic organizations and what have you in a really outstanding spectacle.

Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, who participated in parade, estimated 1962 crowd at 300,000.

Needless to say, Fourth of July parade will be an annual WSB–TV promotion in future.

Socialized Futility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the sad commentaries of present-day Federal financing is the fact that astronomical figures are involved, amounts in fact that seem hardly comprehended by Congress itself. The man on the street has long since given up and in the course of his confusion, our bureaucrats readily engage in plain or fancy bookkeeping as the occasion may require.

An old-line favorite is the foot-in-the-door approach, a fancy title, and mass appeal to the greatest possible number of voters with ever-increasing appropriations to follow "to complete this great program." Such is the mass transit bill, barely authorizing funds enough to assist a single one of our great cities, but holding out false hopes to all communities of 2,500 or more inhabitants. These funds, which must be borrowed in excess of 4-percent interest and added to our national debt, now double all of the others in the world combined. They will be distributed politically, have no double of that, just as ARA funds were sought to relieve unemployment but in practice actually added to the rolls by defeating private enterprise.

Today's Washington News carries an excellent editorial touching upon this latest venture in socialized futility, which I quote herewith:

SPEND NOW; PAY LATER

The $375 million for aid to mass transit, just authorized by the House, will not even pay the sales taxes on the eventual bill for this new Federal spending project.

To put this sum of money in perspective, it is only a little more than a third of the amount being spent in one city alone—San Francisco—for a mass transit system.

The San Francisco system, incidentally, was planned and financed through local initiative, without benefit of this Federal mass transit bill.

It is our largest cities, which through failure to comprehend the passing of the horse and buggy, have allowed themselves to get smothered in traffic jams. Remedies will cost billions.

But under terms of this bill as passed by the House, any community of 2,500 can come in for a slice of the loot. Big city legislators had to include the little fellows, to get enough votes. These small towns can, for instance, apply for cash to buy a new bus. The very term "mass" transit is a joke as applied to towns of this size. Since their number is legion the potential aggregate amount of their demands also is vast. They will have to move in for their handouts on the familiar theory that if they do not get their share somebody else will.

This bill, now before the Senate for concurrence on amendments, is the perfect illustration of the process through which Government expenditures keep rising, economy efforts fail, and the budget stays in the red ink.

This $375 million is just the small downpayment. The "easy" installments will come later as Congress, having committed itself to this massive program, digs up the snowballing appropriations to pay the bills the cities should be paying for themselves.

Urban Renewal in Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, within the past several weeks I have received a letter from the mayor of Baltimore, Theodore R. McKeldin, urging me to vote in favor of the 1964 housing legislation, which includes additional authorization for the urban renewal and public housing programs.

This is just another instance of the long history of bipartisan support that has evidenced itself since the Federal involvement in urban renewal and housing began. The first program of Federal assistance to cities wishing to engage in urban renewal was passed in 1949. One of the three primary sponsors of that legislation was the late Robert A. Taft, then Republican leader of the Senate; the other two principal sponsors were Senators Wagner, of New York, and ELLENDER, of Louisiana.

In many cities of the country, leading citizens of both parties have supported and been involved in local urban renewal programs. This is true in Baltimore, which has one of the most dramatic and successful urban renewal programs of any city in the United States. One need but visit the city and see what has been done in removing both residential and commercial slums to realize the impact of the program on Baltimore. The downtown Charles Center development is not only a tremendous economic boon to the city, but its handsome buildings are a delight to the eye as well.

Maryland has indeed always been quite active in the urban renewal program. As of March 31, 1964, the State had reserved grants of $81,819,399 for 29 projects under the program. And these Federal urban renewal and public housing subsidies are achieving their purpose. For example, in Maryland, the 1960 census showed that 12.5 percent of the housing was substandard. However, in localities which were not subsidized, 15.5 percent were substandard. In areas subsidized under these programs, only 7.1 percent was substandard. A significant difference all will agree. Another positive aspect is revealed through the programs' effect on the tax structure of Baltimore City. In the Charles Center development area previously mentioned, taxes—at the 1961 rate—before renewal were $600,035; after renewal the returns were over four times as much $2,725,012. These additional tax dollars can now be used to meet the city's crucial needs such as construction of new schools, for example.

Certainly the extension of the urban renewal program as contained in the new housing bill is sorely needed, not only in Maryland but in other States as well. No one is going to claim that the program has not had its problems such as little provision for low and middle income housing and inadequate relocation services, for example, but like other programs of action, we must move ahead through improvements to reach the ultimate goals. The new bill does embody some of these improvements, to help meet problem areas which have existed before. For example, section 306 of the administration's housing bill would provide a new method for determining the selling price of land in an urban renewal area, where the land is to be used for low-rent public housing. It would result in a uniform sales price for such property

whether sold for use for public housing or moderate income housing. This change, together with the grant-in-aid credit already allowed by law, should result in a greater use of public housing in urban renewal areas.

Thus we can see that improvements are being made in the bill all the time. I am sure that again in 1964, with bipartisan support, Congress will enact legislation, both continuing and improving the program of federally assisted urban renewal and public housing which has meant so much to so many of our communities, large and small.

The text of Mayor McKeldin's letter to me follows:

JUNE 8, 1964.

Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES,
U.S. Congressman of Maryland,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SICKLES: I am writing you and the other Members of Maryland's congressional delegation to advise you that a serious gap could develop in Baltimore's urban renewal program if a new Federal Housing and Community Development Act is not passed during the present session of Congress.

As of now, the city has already availed itself of all funds possible for it to receive under existing legislation and new fund authorizations will be necessary to permit work now in the planning stages to proceed without interruption. Specifically, a $10 million project in the Gay Street area could be stalled if the Congress does not pass the housing bill before adjourning and plans for the development of Flag House Park and the city's inner harbor could also be affected.

I realize the pressures which have been placed upon the Congress by the extended debate on the civil rights bill, the creation of a backlog of other important legislation, the rapid approach of the national conventions, and the natural desire of many Senators and Representatives to return home as quickly as possible during this election year, but it is my most fervent hope that none of these factors will prevent the approval this year of a strong Housing and Community Development Act.

As you know, the aforementioned consideration, plus the fact that the proposed housing legislation is still in committees in both Houses of the Congress, have given rise to a very real fear on the part of urban developers that consideration of the measure will be postponed until next year's 89th Congress.

Such a delay would be highly disruptive to the important continuity of Baltimore's urban renewal program, and under certain circumstances it could actually spell disaster for some of our projects.

In addition, the Federal Government currently owes the city approximately $10 million for work already completed in the Charles Center area, and although there is no question whatsoever concerning the Federal obligation in this case, payment cannot be made to Baltimore until new funds are made available by the Congress.

Another aspect of the matter which affects Baltimore is the fact that the city, in its long-range planning, has anticipated, on what seemed to be fairly sound information that funds would be available for new, low-rent public housing and probably for rent-assistance programs for families which have to be relocated during the city's reconstruction program.

Since an adequate relocation program is fundamental to any project which involves the necessity for moving families, it is essential that funds be made available for such work so that vital projects will not be unduly delayed.

The entire matter, as you can see, is of the utmost importance to the city of Baltimore, and I have been told that other cities would be affected in a similar way.

I urge you as strongly as possible, therefore, to do everything within your power to see that a strong housing and community development act is passed as promptly as possible, and certainly no later than the end of the present session of the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE R. MCKELDIN,
Mayor.

Tshombe's Comeback

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial appearing in the June 30 issue of the Washington Evening Star. This Congress and the people of America should hang their heads in shame for the illicit support which they gave the United Nations in conducting the reign of terror which destroyed the Congo. The blood is on our hands.

I have faith that Tshombe can lead the Congo through the days of reconstruction because he is a man of faith and of prayer. That combination will not be defeated.

The editorial follows:

TSHOMBE'S COMEBACK

One of the great ironies of our time is the hero's welcome recently accorded Moise Tshombe on his return to the Congo Republic. Little more than a year ago, he was driven into exile by the United Nations, whose armed forces—with the support of our Government—had toppled his army and his secessionist regime in Katanga, the richest of all the Congolese provinces.

There are many Americans, among whom we include ourselves, who have always looked upon this U.N. action as folly of the worst kind. For it destroyed the stablest pro-Western part of the former Belgian colony. It smashed the region's most disciplined and most effective military force, and it smashed also the most orderly and most sophisticated political rule to be found anywhere in the otherwise chaotic Congo. In short, it smashed Mr. Tshombe's basically sound and promising effort—with the help of white "mercenaries"—to establish a measure of efficiency and stability in a primitive land bordering on anarchy and caught up in a torment of tribal warfare.

Well, as they mark the fourth anniversary of their independence from Belgium, and as the U.N. withdraws the last of its policing force, the unhappily divided Congolese—who have never had a true sense of unity or nationhood—are still living in near anarchic conditions. Under the earnest but beleaguered Premier Adoula, whose resignation has just been announced, their "central government" in Leopoldville has done little more than drift from inadequacy to inadequacy in a situation that sometimes seems ungovernable. Their army has proved to be utterly incompentnt, even against pygmies armed only with bows and arrows. Rebellion (much of it inspired and supported by the Chinese Reds) abounds throughout the country, and the tribal fighting—which apparently involves cannibalism—is unspeakably savage.

It is against this background that Mr. Tshombe, on arriving in Leopoldville, has heard a wildly enthusiastic crowd hail him with cries of "Brother, Brother." "Liberate us," and "Save the Congo." He has replied with talk about the need to organize "a government of national reconciliation." And now that Mr. Adoula is out and as other Congolese exiles return, there are strong indications that he will be chosen to form such a government. But the hour is very late for that sort of thing, and the multiplicity and mutual hate of the region's tribes—all being exploited by the Communists—discourage optimism.

Nevertheless Mr. Tshombe, at this juncture, walks high among the Congolese. To great number of them, he is the man of the hour and a source of hope, however fleeting. His comeback in that respect speaks for itself as a measure of the U.N.'s unwisdom, and our Government's in dealing with him in the past.

Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James H. Boren, special assistant to the U.S. Coordinator, Alliance for Progress, and director of the new partners of the Alliance program, was in Denver on June 12, and spoke before the Colorado Society of Engineers on the new program. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution passed by the society on June 17, 1964, approved by the board of managers, be printed in the RECORD. I also ask that descriptive material on the partners of the Alliance program be printed following the resolution.

Resolved, That Colorado Society of Engineers be a supporter of partners of the Alliance, a part of the Alliance for Progress program of the U.S. Department of State, and that the society assist in arrangement of meetings for a representative of the Alliance for Progress to make presentations of the program to the people and public organizations of Colorado.

DESCRIPTION OF PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS PROGRAM

This type of "partnership" program helps to assure the people of Latin America of our concern for their struggle to rise above poverty and despair. It aims to give a sense of movement of the Alliance in the slums and the rural areas where help is most needed. And, most importantly, it can buy time until the institution-building economic development programs of the Alliance make themselves felt at the grassroots level.

This is not an "adoption" program in which a city or a State "adopts" a Latin American state or city. It is a partnership program that has as its base direct assistance to help people help themselves. It is not a patronizing or handout approach. It is not an "old clothes" charity program—it is a direct alliance between a U.S. group and a Latin American group to work toward the establishment of a lasting personal relationship outside official channels.

The questions "what do we do, and how do we do it," might be answered best by de-

scribing some of the projects already undertaken by Partners Committees in several States. Idaho and Ecuador have begun their alliance through the needs of El Hogar Indignea, an orphanage near Conocoto, Ecuador. The Idaho Partners of the Alliance Committee provided four pedal-operated sewing machines and a typewriter to the orphanage. These few items not only permit the students at El Hogar Indignea to develop employable skills, but enable the students to make their own clothes and saleable articles to provide desperately needed funds for the orphanage.

The city of Pensacola, Fla., has provided almost $30,000 for the establishment of a medical center and recreation facilities in Chimbote, Peru.

The Oakland County, Mich., partners of the Alliance committee, have sent an expert in municipal administration to act as an adviser to the city of Cali, Colombia. His assignment is the first phase of an extensive program for a continuing two-way direct-assistance alliance between the two communities.

In Oregon, 15 public school districts and Costa Rica have been linked in a double-pronged program providing inservice training for Costa Rican public school administrators and teachers, while at the same time affording Oregon schools the opportunity to use the Costa Ricans as experts in Spanish language programs and Latin American social studies activities.

Texas and Virginia high school students have undertaken projects involving a number of Indian villages and vocational schools in Peru. The funds they have collected have purchased items such as school supplies and equipment, vocational training tools, cement mixers and hand tools for village self-improvement projects.

Mr. Speaker, other partners of the Alliance committee are now being organized and planned in a growing number of States—Alabama has planned an alliance with Guatemala; Arizona with El Salvador; and Idaho and Ecuador have already become partners. Utah has presented its partnership plans to Bolivia, and Texas has formed a statewide alliance with Peru. Other plans in varying stages of development have begun in Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

Can We Wave the Flag Too Much?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, as our most important national holiday approaches, plans are being made throughout the country and, indeed, throughout the world wherever Americans may be, in typical Independence Day tradition to celebrate this significant day in our history. There is no more significant way of expressing our devotion to our country than through the display of our flag, the symbol of a nation dedicated to liberty and justice for all, and I would like at this time to recall once more the words of Dr. Sidney DeLove, president of Independence Hall, of Chicago, which follow:

CAN WE WAVE THE FLAG TOO MUCH?

Is it possible to wave the flag too much? Provided, of course, that you wave it with integrity? Is it possible to study Lincoln or Shakespeare too much? Is it possible to read the Bible too much?

The great, the good, the true, are inexhaustible for inspiration, example and strength. I believe that we are not waving our flag enough, not nearly enough.

It seems to me that we are developing a tendency to be timid or even apologetic about waving the Stars and Stripes. Walk up and down the streets on July 4th and count the flags. It is our Nation's birthday, a sacred day in world history, the most important day of America. Why isn't the flag flying on every rooftop and from every home and building? This complacent attitude is strong evidence of cancerous patriotic decay. The flag is a symbol of our national unity. It is the spirit of our undying devotion to our country. It stands for the best that is in us—for loyalty, character, and faith in democracy.

Isn't our flag a synonym of the United States of America? Does it not represent man's greatest, noblest, most sublime dream? Is it not the zenith of achievement, the goal to which generations have aspired?

Ladies and gentlemen, I believe it is time for us—for the mad, rushing 20th century American—to stop for a moment and think. Let us arrest our near reverential admiration of material success and return to the spiritual and ethical values. Let us imbue and rekindle in ourselves and our children the so-called old-fashioned way of patriotism, a burning devotion to the principles and ideals upon which our country was founded.

Should not every home own and proudly display the colors on holidays and other such occasions? Isn't the flag Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Nathan Hale, Gettysburg and Valley Forge, Paul Revere, Jackson and other great men and women who have given us our heritage. When you look at the flag can't you see the Alamo, Corregidor, Pearl Harbor, *The Monitor, The Merrimac,* Wake Island, and Korea? Lest we forget, isn't the flag Flanders Field, Bataan, Iwo Jima, Normandy, Babe Ruth and Davy Crockett? The great events of our past and present are wrapped up in our flag.

It is a symbol of this blessed Nation, a giant in industry, education, and commerce. Millions of fertile square miles, wheatlands, coal mines, steel plants. Our great Republic, the chosen infant destined to be man's last and remaining hope for suffering humanity, a shining beacon of light, noble, and glorious, the haven for the oppressed and persecuted and truly God's gift to mankind.

That is what the flag means to me. Can we wave it too much? I don't think so.

Sale of Zinc Pursuant to Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I believe there is something basically wrong with a Government policy of releasing some of its stockpiled material every time a shortage develops, instead of letting the basic law of supply and demand set the prices of metals such as lead and zinc.

The Government plan to dispose of 75,000 tons of zinc and 50,000 tons of lead means that U.S. mines will not process this amount of these metals. If the prices of lead and zinc were to rise, as do most prices during a shortage, some mines might open up that otherwise would remain closed.

Under the present policy the Government is paying out money to some mines on low prices, under the Small Lead-Zinc Producers Act, and with the other hand the Government is importing ores under quotas, and so forth, or releasing lead-zinc from its stockpiles which holds down these prices.

Is it the proper role of the Government to preserve one part of an industry at the expense of another? The Midwest, for example, possesses untapped resources of lead known to most geologists and to the lead-zinc trade, but no effort is being made to mine these resources because of the encouragement given imports of these metals.

There are so many inconsistencies in our present policy that it surely needs an overall review and study. How can we say it is Government policy to dispose of Government stockpiles, when the current administration 2 years ago participated in a barter deal that resulted in the importation of 100,000 tons of lead in exchange for domestic surplus farm products? Does Government have the right to give the nod to one problem area at the expense of the other, instead of letting the marketplace be the determining factor? Quo vadis—the law of supply and demand?

Suffolk Rehabilitation Center for the Physically Handicapped, Commack, Long Island, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, how many people find existence one long struggle to overcome or to accept their physical disabilities? It is a moot question. Yet for those in suburban Long Island, the Suffolk Rehabilitation Center for the Physically Handicapped has brought a ray of light, a helping hand.

Now, however, that helping hand seeks to grow to provide a wider range of services and facilities. It is proposed to build a new wing with approximately 30 treatment areas in all spectrums of physical therapy. Also projected are special facilities to teach the patients to help themselves. Among these are a model apartment and various craft shops. The wing will also provide a professional research library.

Most of the treatment rooms and equipment are of highly specialized design and construction which of course makes them very expensive. Normally, the cost of materials and labor would make such an addition as this an almost insurmountable financial barrier. But fortunately for the people of Long Island, providence, in the form of a man called "Buddy" Long, intervened.

One often hears the noble thought, "it is more blessed to give than to receive," but it is seldom given such concrete reality as that constructed by the Nassau-Suffolk Building and Construction Trades Council on Long Island. Under the presidency of John E. "Buddy" Long this labor union group has donated a conservatively estimated 470,000 man-hours to the construction of six major public welfare projects.

Not only do these knights of labor serve unpaid, they also sacrifice their free time. As a reporter in Construction Craftsman magazine wrote:

Saturdays—and even Sundays and holidays—have been "big days" on the * * * job.

President Long himself has served almost without a vacation since the idea was conceived in 1947. His one "break" resulted from a fall from scaffolding at one of the projects. After a short rest he returned, still in pain, but determined to finish the job.

Inspired by the contribution of labor, management and building supply firms have followed suit. They have given a skilled guidance and large amounts of material to the various projects. Similar action can be expected in connection with this project. This is a community effort, a heart warming experience not only for the participants and benefactors but also for the community as a whole, Long Island may indeed take pride in this work.

This dedication of those who built this center is only matched by the devotion of the dozens of volunteer ladies and gentlemen who operate its facilities with a zeal and worth which is inspiring and which insures its continued success.

New York City Study Pinpoints Structural Nature of Unemployment Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, a recent study by New York City Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson reported in the June 21 edition of the New York Times lends support to the view that the Johnson administration's policy to eliminate unemployment primarily through increasing aggregate demand will not solve the problem. While 217,000 persons in the New York area—over 5 percent of the labor force—are without work, there are thousands of jobs going begging because they call for education and training the jobseekers do not have. The kind of unemployment we now have, Commissioner Dumpson asserts, is the kind that isn't eliminated by and expanding economy which passes many of the unemployed by.

What is needed is a new approach to the vocational upgrading of the chronically jobless and those who face the loss of demand for their labor. An expanding economy is by no means a panacea for our unemployment ills. The skills of the labor force must be adapted to the changing structure of the labor market.

As there is no quick and easy cure for unemployment, the solution to the poverty problem is also complex. Despite what administration spokesmen imply, there are immense difficulties in winning a total victory over poverty. The article notes that of the more than 450,000 persons on the city relief rolls, almost 98 percent are unemployable, most often because of age or physical and mental handicaps. Rehabilitation programs become of increasing importance. Neither economic expansion nor retraining nor rehabilitation alone will eliminate the acute difficulties of those who live in grinding poverty. The need is for creative programs directed at the specific problems of the poor and these programs, I suggest probably should be essentially in the private sector. Government can help and can supplement, and above all Government can stop hindering, the programs being developed in the private sector.

The situation in New York is similar, I think, to that in many areas of the economy. For this reason, I include the timely and detailed article in the RECORD at this point:

LACK OF TRAINING KEEPS THOUSANDS UNEMPLOYED HERE—JOBLESS LEVEL OF OVER 5 PERCENT IS SAME AS IN 1949–50 SLUMP DESPITE ECONOMIC BOOM

(By Will Lissner)

In the midst of boom more than 5 percent of the workers in the New York area are unemployed—the same percentage as in the recession of 1949–50.

And yet, while 217,000 persons are without work, thousands of jobs are going begging because they call for education and training the jobseekers do not have.

Nationally, the unemployment level is about the same, while many jobs are unfilled.

City Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson said yesterday that the facts led to one conclusion.

EXPANSION NO HELP

"The kind of unemployment we now have," he said; "is the kind that isn't eliminated by an expanding economy. The jobs that economic expansion produces go begging as far as the unemployed are concerned, because they cannot fill them. The economy has moved on—and passed them by."

In every boom some industries contract while most expand. Federal, State, and city analysts find four industries in the New York area contracting as sources of jobs: apparel, printing and publishing, contract construction and defense. The other industries have been providing more and more jobs year by year.

Commissioner Dumpson warns, however, that even the industries with expanding work forces show contraction for some kinds of jobs. He said: "The man who only knows how to push an elevator button or work an elevator lever is out when the elevator is converted to automatic operation."

In the New York-northeastern New Jersey area last year total nonagricultural employment was 4,346,600. In January this year the total dropped, as is normal for the season, to 4,294,800.

The figure had increased by April to 4,363,100. There was a further expansion from April to May, and a surge from May to June, according to sample data.

But factory jobs, showing a different pattern, lagged behind 1963 levels.

An average of 1,101,100 persons found work in the area's manufacturing plants last year. In January of this year the total was about 500 higher than in January 1963: 1,065,500.

But in February a decline began. The total manufacturing employment for that month was 1,085,300, compared with 1,090,100 in February 1963. In March the total was 1,089,000, against 1,105,200 in March 1963. And in April there was a drop to 1,076,600 against 1,094,300 in April 1963.

While May and June figures are not available, sample data indicate any improvement will be small.

Economists and labor analysts have found that the work forces in the New York area's two largest manufacturing industries—apparel and printing—have either not been expanded as their output has grown—or have been reduced.

Apparel showed a 15-percent drop in employment to 306,200 jobs from March to April. The total was nearly 7 percent below that for April 1963.

TREND IN APPAREL

The cause of the trend in apparel is evidently not automation, but the lack of it. The plants in the Northeast appear to be losing part of their trade to plants in other parts of the country. The economists believe that the northeastern plants should be modernized, as Leon H. Keyserling's staff recommended to the Nation's dressmakers last November.

In printing and publishing in the city area, the situation—for the manufacturer—is the reverse. Many technological improvements are being made here, and throughout the industry, which are expected to prevent the loss of business to other regions.

But this is small consolation to the jobseeker. In 1962 printing and publishing provided an average of 143,600 jobs. The total was the same in 1963 immediately after the city's newspaper strike.

This year, from January to April, the total has never reached 141,000, although the industry's output has soared. The monthly employment figures were 140,400, 140,000, 140,700, and 140,800.

About 1,300 jobs were lost with the closing of the New York Mirror. From 500 to 1,000 have been lost in commercial printing and about 500 in bookbinding.

The apparel trade and the printing and publishing industry account for the loss of 6,000 jobs in nondurable manufacturing. The job losses have been higher in the manufacture of durable goods.

Defense cutbacks in the city area apparently have been responsible for the loss of 12,000 jobs. Defense employment in some areas, however, is more than in 1963, concealing the overall decline. In ordnance, for example, a few hundred more workers have jobs.

But in electrical equipment and supplies the current level is 161,000, against 173,300 a year ago. In transportation equipment the job total is 81,900, against 90,200 a year ago and an average last year of 87,600.

Employment in instrument making is 71,800, against 76,900 a year ago and an average of 76,400 last year.

CONSTRUCTION DECLINE

In contract construction, employment has dropped by from 4,000 to 6,000. Last year the industry provided 187,900 jobs. This year the seasonal rise has been from 160,600 in January (nearly 13,000 below January 1963) to 178,200 in April. In April 1963, contract construction engaged 190,200 workers.

The job loss in contract construction is attributed in part to the completion of the World's Fair. Part of the loss arises because projects planned at various levels of gov-

ernment are still in the drafting or contract-letting stage.

More jobs are available in transportation, public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, and in the service industries. Jobs in the latter have gone up from an average of 780,500 in 1963 to 804,600 in April.

The State employment service and employment agencies are having trouble filling many jobs. Shortages in nursing and physical therapy continue.

Cabinetmakers are in short supply, as are barbers, many of whom have become hair stylists for better pay.

ANALYST SUMS UP

One of the analysts put it this way: "Who are the chronically unemployed? The old. The young. The less literate. The untrained. The unskilled. The Negro and the Puerto Rican, when he has another of the disabilities. The disabled. The man or woman with obsolete skills."

Yet so far, only a small percentage have landed on relief rolls in the city. Commissioner Dumpson ordered a study last December of the 460,432 persons receiving public aid. Only 10,524, or 2.3 percent, were found employable.

In addition, 7,518, or 1.6 percent, had jobs at wages the department had to supplement. The rest were over 65 years old, under 18, burdened with the care of children, disabled, or homeless with physical or psychogenetic problems.

The economists, the analysts, and Mr. Dumpson agreed that what was needed was a new approach toward vocational upgrading of the chronically jobless and those who face the loss of a demand for their labor. They say that the skills of the labor force must be adapted to the changing structure of the labor market.

Honorary Award to the City of Norwalk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, today as never before the peoples of the world yearn for peace. They fear war because they instinctively feel nuclear war will be so destructive that hundreds of millions will die and the cities of the world will be destroyed.

The diplomatic leaders of the different nations also have this feeling of deep concern, based on secret information regarding the quantity and deliverability of these fearsome atomic and hydrogen weapons. President Kennedy, President Johnson and even Chairman Khrushchev have repeatedly renounced the use of nuclear weapons and are constantly seeking peaceful solutions to the international controversies and tensions which might plunge us into war.

The leaders of nations, however, cannot solve the problem of establishing peace by their efforts alone. They must have the power of public opinion solidly behind them, in order that they may be supported by the combined moral strength of their citizens in their negotiations. Public opinion, therefore, must be mobilized for peace.

One of the most potent forces in mobilizing public opinion for peace and friendship between nations is the programs of visitation and friendship being established under the people-to-people program. This is also sometimes called the sister city program.

In this program a city in the United States contacts a city in a foreign country and the two agree to engage in alternate visits and in some instances, they sponsor community projects in their sister city.

I am pleased to report that California cities are very active in this people-to-people program of developing friendship with cities in other countries. I am also pleased to report Norwalk, Calif., one of the cities in my congressional district, has been given a special award for developing the best single project in competition with all cities in the population category of 75,000 to 150,000.

The mayor of Norwalk, Hon. D. A. Apodaca and City Councilmen Peter Fogarty, Macuen Freeman, and John Zimmerman, visited the town affiliation convention in Washington, D.C., June 30, 1964, to receive the presentation of the award by the Reader's Digest, sponsors of the movement.

The mayor and city councilmen were also accompanied by the mayor of Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico, the Honorable Eduardo Loustanau, the sister city of Norwalk, Calif., and a group of Norwalk's prominent citizens including Mr. Frank Grieshaber, Mr. John Echeveste, Mr. Jess Vela, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Kahanek, and Mark Fogarty, son of Councilman Fogarty.

Following is a brief description of the single project program and pertinent information regarding the event.

A film on the subject of international understanding was shown to an international audience Sunday evening, June 28, 1964, in the Pan-American room of the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

The 27-minute sound and color motion picture was prepared by the city of Norwalk, Calif., and depicts its sister-city program in action. Written and narrated by Norwalk's director of public information, Richard Kahanek, the film additionally covers Norwalk's counterpart in the town affiliation movement, Hermosillo, State of Sonora, Mexico.

The standing room only audience Sunday evening saw a series of behind-the-scenes color slides prior to the film showing. The slides numbering 36 in all showed the city's cameramen in action in various scenes taken on location in Hermosillo. Purpose of the slide series will be for educational use in the many schools of the city of Norwalk—thus giving youngsters the opportunity to become better acquainted with the land of Mexico and the city of Hermosillo in particular.

Norwalk's film was shown as the first order of programed business as a part of the town affiliation conference, currently being held in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the American Municipal Association in conjunction with the Reader's Digest Foundation. Norwalk, Calif., had previously been named winner in international competition as having the best single project for sister-city programs in cities of 75,000 to 150,000 population. Norwalk, with a population of 94,000 received the coveted top award during a State Department banquet Tuesday evening, June 30.

Persons attending the film showing received a dollar-sized commemorative medallion struck in both English and Spanish commemorating Norwalk's affiliation with Hermosillo and a vast people-to-people exchange of visitors which took place last year in October. In this exchange of citizens from both communities, the entire Norwalk business and civ community joined in making possible a 4-day fiesta—a fiesta which, in the words of the visiting Hermosillo mayor, "has brought us together and made possible the building of strong ties between us."

Norwalk affiliated with Hermosillo in May of 1961 following former President Eisenhower's plea for communities to develop bonds of friendship with foreign nations on a citizen level; thus the name of the program, sister city or people to people. Norwalk's affiliation is one of 278 such programs now in action within the United States.

Need the Poor Be Always With Us?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the July 11, 1964, edition of the Cheviot (Ohio) Western Hills Press.

Recently in this Chamber the distinguished Member from Ohio, Mr. ROBERT TAFT, JR., made an energetic and able presentation on the need for local participation and planning in the battle against poverty. The editorial discusses this approach in a manner which commends it to the attention of the membership:

NEED THE POOR BE ALWAYS WITH US?

A woman who scrapes her meager living from "cleaning by the day" asked for our opinion recently on the administration's antipoverty legislation. Accustomed to working hard for the small favors life affords her, we detected both skepticism and hope in her honest question.

Inasmuch as our judgments in this matter have also been mixed, we hesitated either to pour the proverbial cold water on her hopes or to fan them to an enthusiasm that realization may never provide.

We, too, would like to believe that, at least here in affluent America, it will not always be necessary to accept the proverbial adage of the ages that the poor will always be with us. Likewise, we acknowledge there are conditions and circumstances, many beyond the competence or the ability of the individual to surmount, that can be and must be eliminated to make further gains if poverty is to be reduced, much less eliminated.

Although greater resources than those available to any individual, city or State are

required, the ultimate answer calls for more than national legislation and even more than Uncle Sam's seemingly bottomless moneybags. The professedly noble aspirations of this crusade could be diverted to the grossest and most costly political purposes in less time than it takes to recite the alphabetical agencies of the depression-ridden 1930's.

And should this eventuality develop, the poor would be the greatest losers, for the resulting bureaucracy might, in the process, destroy the local governmental agencies and private charities that have long been the sole bulwark between the impoverished and absolute destitution.

ROBERT TAFT, JR., Ohio's Congressman at Large, was probably thinking of these possibilities when he stressed the need for insuring local participation in the formulation and implementation of the antipoverty programs in the House of Representatives last week, when he said that antipoverty proposals for any local community "must be considered by the local people best able to make a judgment as to what programs are necessary to attack the problem."

The Congressman contended further that the bill, as now written, grants unrestrained power and discretion to the director of the proposed Office of Economic Opportunity. The Congressman foresaw that this "blanket and unlimited delegation of authority" could well make the director a "poverty czar" who could intervene and interfere at will in local programs.

Noting that community health and welfare planning councils are set up under one name or another in the States and cities of the Nation, he said, "They are doing a fine job of coordinating planning in the health and welfare fields of the various governments and also private units so as to eliminate duplication."

The proposed bill, which would consolidate under the Office of Economic Opportunity functions of eight existing Federal departments now carrying poverty-oriented programs involving budgetary items totaling $8.7 billion, makes no provision requiring use of this local know-how.

During committee consideration, Congressman TAFT offered an amendment requiring local planning council approval of any antipoverty program in which the Federal Government is a participant. His proposal was not accepted, but he plans to offer it again when the legislation comes to the House floor for final action.

This, we feel, should be a must, for like Congressman TAFT and the concerned "cleaning woman" we, too, are skeptical of unrestrained bureaucracy, particularly in the politically potent area of antipoverty legislation.

Attention: Secretary Freeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the following short editorial appeared in the June 30 edition of the Wall Street Journal.

Thirty years of irresponsible, costly, asinine, completely unworkable farm programs have magnified the problems. There is just a bare possibility that, given a chance, the old law of supply and demand might be a better solution than any yet devised by bureaucrats:

HIGHER ON THE HOG

Since hogs are one farm commodity the Government does not try to manage, we find recent developments in pork production rather interesting.

When hog prices declined last year, farmers started breeding fewer sows. With lower prices continuing earlier this year, the producers cut the spring pig crop by 8 percent and planned a similar reduction for this fall. Prices already have begun edging upward.

There's nothing remarkable about these developments, of course. Except as one more reminder that farmers are capable of managing their own affairs when the planners aren't hogging the show.

Hon. James B. Utt: A Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED FOREMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, oft-times, in our rush, bustle and hurry, we forget to do some of the more important things of life—we forget to recognize and thank those friends who work and fight the hardest to preserve our free enterprise system and the freedom that made this the greatest nation ever known in the history of mankind.

Having once been a resident of that beautiful and growing city of Escondido, Calif., I am pleased, indeed, today to pause and join with the friends of our distinguished colleague from California, JIM UTT, in saying, "Thank you, JIM. Thank you for standing up for principle and for doing the outstanding job you are doing."

We need more men in America, and in government today, Republicans and Democrats alike, who have the courage of their convictions—like JIM UTT. We need men who are willing, able, and unashamed, to stand up for principles, regardless of political popularity—like JIM UTT. We need stouthearted men who are not for sale—honest men who can tell the truth and look the world straight in the eye—men who are not too lazy to work, nor too proud to be poor—men who are willing to live on what they have earned, and wear what they have paid for—men who are not ashamed to say "No" to socialism and communism with emphasis, and who are not ashamed to say, "I can't afford it"—men like JIM UTT.

America needs more of these kind of men. I don't think America will ever give up or go down, but if we ever do, it will not be because the world has developed a hydrogen bomb—it would because we have developed a philosophy that says the individual is no longer economically responsible for his own welfare, or morally responsible for his own conduct.

In thanking JIM UTT, it is only appropriate that we include an editorial written by Mr. Fred Speers, editor and publisher of the Escondido (Calif.) Times Advocate on June 22, 1964. Editor Speers is to be congratulated for recognizing, and publicly commending, the many outstanding qualities of this distinguished statesman and outstanding American, our own friend and colleague, the Honorable JAMES B. UTT.

JIMMY UTT'S PRINCIPLES

The critics of Congressman JAMES B. UTT (and they are more vocal than numerous) will be hard put to fit into their cacophony any remarks about his having turned down an invitation from the President of the United States to hook a "free" ride from Washington to California so both, particularly the President, could do a bit of politicking here.

There was nothing "free" about that ride so far as the taxpayers were concerned. In fact, it was the taxpayers who were taken for a ride. They paid the way for this part of President Johnson's program of visiting every State before election.

And while the attention of the Californians who gaped and "oohed" when the President showed up was being diverted the finishing touches were being put on the administration backed bill to raise the ceiling on the national debt by $9 to $324 billion. That should help pay for a lot more presidential trips by his special jetliner as November draws closer. UTT voted against the bill.

It is clear that UTT's declining of the offer of the "free" ride wasn't a case of grandstanding. In this gerrymandered congressional district, UTT doesn't have to go through the usual gyrations of most officeholders seeking reelection. He's about as sure of reelection as any Congressman running.

So it was a matter of principle that prompted him to turn down the invitation of President Johnson to help spend more tax money. Not that JIMMY UTT's 150 pounds (including luggage) would have made much difference in fuel consumption, but there was that sticky matter of principle. How, UTT must have figured, could I in all conscience vote against increasing the debt limit and then accept an invitation to spend taxpayers' dollars for a junket to California on the same day?

Principles are something JIMMY UTT has a lot of—even if they're too big and too numerous to fit aboard a presidential jetliner. UTT, it should be remembered voted against the congressional pay raise of $7,500 which was rammed through by the freeloaders and wheeling-dealing spenders who backed the increase in the national debt. Difference betweeen them and UTT is that they talk economy but practice profligacy while he talks and practices economy.

A deeply religious man, UTT is on record in behalf of the so-called Becker prayer amendment. Curiously, this is opposed largely by much the same elements that favored increasing their salaries while raising the national debt ceiling. (It's difficult to recognize why the same people should line up that way but it's nevertheless true.)

Testifying last April on the Becker amendment, UTT said this, "It is true that you cannot legislate religion or morality, but you certainly can stop legislatng against it, either by legislative enactment or by judicial decisions."

Perhaps someday there'll be a Congress that will have the backbone to pass legislation against fiscal immorality and irresponsibility such as we're seeing rampant in the land today. If so, we hope UTT is there to introduce the bill. It should bear his name.

Salute to Ghana Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today, Ghana celebrates the seventh anniversary of her independence. We take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah; and to His Excellency the Ambassador of Ghana to the United States, Miguel A. Ribeiro.

Once again we salute Ghana on its national day, July 1. It is now 7 years since Ghana received its independence from Britain and led the surge to freedom which the African Continent has recently witnessed. Just as Ghana was a leader in the independence movement, so Ghana has remained a leader on the African Continent. Ghana's successful development program, of which the monumental Volta Dam project is one of the most striking achievements, has set the example for the rest of Africa.

Ghana is, in fact, rapidly becoming a bustling modern nation. The difficulties of developing all segments of the economy at once have been staggering, but through intelligent planning and flexible policies Ghana has successfully met and overcome them. The economy is still overbalanced toward a single crop, cocoa, an unstabilizing factor since world cocoa prices tend to fluctuate considerably, but important strides have been made toward crop diversification and industrialization. Bananas, coffee, copra, kolanuts, coconuts, rubber, tobacco, oranges, limes, lemons, and tomatoes are quickly becoming important secondary crops. Ghana's fishing industry is expanding rapidly. Exports of timber and timber products from Ghana's hardwood forests, among the finest in the world, are contributing significantly to export earnings. Ghana has the good fortune to be abundantly endowed with natural resources—gold, diamonds, manganese, and bauxite.

The key to Ghana's successful development program is planning. A new 7-year development plan destined to run through 1970 is designed to speed up economic development with maximum economy and efficiency. The plan projects an annual rate of increase in national income of 5.5 percent, or a total of 42 percent over the 7-year period. The Government, wisely realizing that it could not finance a development plan of this scope alone, has called on private investors to finance a significant portion of the plan. In order to encourage foreign investment, a little over a year ago the Ghanaian Parliament passed a Capital Investments Act protecting investments from expropriation and allowing the free transfer abroad of profits after tax liabilities have been satisfied.

Although at times relations between the United States and Ghana have been strained, the basic good will between the countries seems always to succeed in patching up differences. After Ghanaian newspapers last winter criticized U.S. officials as a result of a series of misunderstandings, the Ghanaian Government sent official apologies to the U.S. State Department. Perhaps a better indication of relations between the two countries is the extent of U.S. investment and Government sponsorship of investment in Ghana. The United States is one of the major contributors of loans to the Volta River Dam project. Backed by the U.S. Government, the Volta Aluminum Co., an American consortium, is to build a $110 million aluminum smelter to use power produced by the Volta Dam. Another U.S. firm, Unilever, is already operating a soap factory in Ghana.

Thus, on this Ghana's national day, we in the United States rejoice with the people of Ghana in their fruitful development over the past 7 years. This success is a measure of the people themselves—their determniation, their industry, their intelligence and resourcefulness. We are confident that the next 7 years will witness as much progress as the last 7 in a country which already has one of the highest standards of living in Africa.

The White Ocean

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of July 1, 1964:

THE WHITE OCEAN

It has happened at last. At St. Augustine, Fla., despite the zealous efforts of local segregationists, some Negroes were allowed to go swimming in the Atlantic Ocean. Given the devious patterns pursued by the Gulf Stream, reinforced by a branch of the trade-wind current off Florida, the whole eastern coast of North America must now be considered desegregated by every true-blue, red-blooded white supremacist. It is doubtful, moreover, if even the Gulf of Mexico can any longer be deemed completely white. The tides these days are so erratic that there is no telling where the consequences of this momentous immersion may be felt.

The marvelous thing about the immersion of St. Augustine is that it took place with the consent of the local authorities and under the protection of more than 100 policemen who guarded the bathers—some white, some colored civil rights demonstrators—from a jeering horde of onlookers determined to preserve the purity of the white race and of the Atlantic Ocean. This is the more remarkable because a large part of the law enforcement personnel in St. Augustine is said to consist of Ku Klux Klansmen.

Moreover, the civil rights demonstrators—that is, the persons asserting a right to use part of the Atlantic Ocean—offered just the kind of target that contemporary Klansmen like best. The demonstrators were committed to nonviolence, so that the white supremacists were able to show their supremacy by slugging and stomping their helpless victims at will. During the early demonstrations at St. Augustine, the police did nothing to interfere with this bloody sport, watching it, apparently, with amusement and approval. But suddenly, they have called a halt.

Perhaps economics had something to do with the change. The executive vice president of the St. Augustine and St. Johns County Chamber of Commerce said to Post Reporter George Lardner, Jr., "We are vulnerable. We have been getting 2 million tourists through here a year. They spend $22 million before they leave. I estimate this is going to cost us $8 to $10 million of that this summer. Summertime is our big season." As everyone knows, $10 million is color blind.

Perhaps, however, there is another factor at work in the situation. Perhaps, observing the dignity and the purposefulness of the rights demonstrators, some of the Klansmen began uneasily to ask themselves if it was really so unreasonable for these Negroes to want to use a little bit of the Atlantic Ocean for themselves. And perhaps they looked at the Atlantic after the Negroes had used it for a little while and saw that it seemed quite unchanged.

We should like to think that one other thought occurred to the people of St. Augustine. Just the other day the U.S. Army conferred the Army Air Medal with oak leaf clusters on a fellow southerner who came, actually, not from Florida but from Mount Airy, La., not so very far away. The medal was conferred—posthumously—on 1st Lt. Bryford G. Metoyer, Negro pilot, who had participated in over 300 combat operation or aerial missions in South Vietnam until one day last January when he was returning from a combat mission and his aircraft, damaged by enemy fire, plunged into the Pacific Ocean.

So, in a manner of speaking, the Pacific had already been desegregated and perhaps it was really high time for the Atlantic to go, too.

New York Times on Domestic Finance Subcommittee's Proposals To Strengthen Federal Reserve System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include the New York Times editorial of June 30, 1964, on the proposals of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee to strengthen the Federal Reserve System.

The text of the editorial follows:

COORDINATING MONETARY POLICY

Congress plans to take a fresh look at the independent status of the Federal Reserve System. The Democratic majority of a House banking subcommittee has urged action next year on a series of reform proposals designed to limit the Federal Reserve's freedom.

The independence of the Federal Reserve does need reexamination. Its control over the Nation's supply of money and credit gives it an enormous influence over economic conditions; yet it is nominally so free from control that it has sometimes been called the fourth branch of Government.

The subcommittee recommends reducing the seven members of the Federal Reserve Board to five and giving the President the right to choose his own chairman. It also wants to retire the stock owned by commer-

cial banks and eliminate the 12-man Open Market Committee. This is the Federal Reserve's chief instrument for regulating the credit supply, and its members include representatives of the regional Federal Reserve banks.

Under the present system the Federal Reserve has survived by accommodating itself to the administration. Nevertheless, because the President is responsible for economic policy and monetary policy must be coordinated with other weapons, there is point to clearing up confusion about the Federal Reserve's role. Its public character can be emphasized by eliminating private stockholders and by having its books audited by the Geenral Accounting Office, as the subcommittee suggests. The President should have the privilege of choosing his own chairman and vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to make clear that monetary policy wil lbe both responsive and responsible.

But reforms to clarify the position of the Federal Reserve would be weakened if the Opent Market Committee was eliminated by getting rid of its regional representatives. There is a real danger in giving a small group, based in Washington, full control. The Federal Reserve has worked so well mainly because it can draw on regional experts who have both experience and a feel for economic developments in formulating its policies. If these men are deprived of responsibility, then the Federal Reserve itself is likely to lose its effectiveness.

Reforms are needed, particularly those emphasizing that the Federal Reserve is a public institution alert and responsive to change. But because the important issue is coordination rather than independence, regionalism must be preserved by keeping the Open Market Committee as the Federal Reserve's main operating weapon. If management is too important to be left entirely to monetary managers, it is also too important to be put into the hands of a few men in a marble palace in Washington who may be out of touch with what is going on in the rest of the country or the world beyond our border.

Springfield, Mass., Daily News Hails Passage of Mass Transportation Bill; Massachusetts First State in Union To Enact Statewide Mass Transportation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, our great Commonwealth of Massachusetts is the first State in the Union to enact into law its own mass transportation bill. This legislation which was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts and signed into law a couple of weeks ago by Gov. Endicott Peabody will complement the mass transportation legislation passed by the Senate and House, and now awaiting the President's signature. Both pieces of legislation will greatly aid the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in comprehensively planning and implementing a statewide Massachusetts transportation program.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Springfield Daily News, of June 27, entitled "Transit Help From Washington," to be printed with my remarks, along with a letter and telegram I received from Governor Peabody with respect to the Federal mass transit legislation:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Daily News, June 27, 1964]

TRANSIT HELP FROM WASHINGTON

Passage of a $375 million mass transportation subsidy bill by the House of Representatives, the first Federal spending program for large-scale improvement of commuter facilities, was the best news for Massachusetts to come out of Washington this week.

Hailed by President Lyndon B. Johnson as a "major step forward in cooperation between the Federal and State governments on urban problems," the measure is not only a legislative victory for his administration but is also a feather in the caps of House Speaker John W. MCCORMACK and Boston's Mayor Collins, president of the American Municipal Association, which sparked the drive for the bill.

A year ago the Senate passed a slightly different measure and there will now have to be a House-Senate compromise worked out before the legislation goes to the White House. Since this is a presidential year, it should be noted that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER was one of the 24 Republicans who voted against the bill. The leading GOP presidential contender is also expected to oppose the compromise measure that will come out of joint conference. Gov. William W. Scranton, on the other hand, wrote to the Pennsylvania GOP delegation in the House on behalf of the bill before becoming a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Ten of the fourteen Pennsylvania Republicans voted in favor of the legislation.

For Massachusetts, this historymaking subsidy bill will, in all probability, prove a financial bonanza. States will be eligible for up to 12.5 percent of the $375 million, with grants made on a first come, first served basis. This means the Commonwealth could be eligible for up to nearly $47 million over the 3-year period.

Massachusetts, due to Governor Peabody's $225 million mass transportation program, will be eligible to make application for Federal aid almost as soon as the ink is dry on the President's signature to the bill. The Governor's program was written and designed specifically so that the Commonwealth could obtain the maximum aid possible under the Federal transit law.

Under the Federal transit law, the State will be eligible to apply for aid as soon as plans are completed for the first two extensions by the new Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority—probably to Braintree on the South Shore and to Route 128 in Reading. The plans and the application could be on the way to Washington very quickly.

Governor Peabody termed the Federal transit bill "an important link in the implementation of the Commonwealth's own mass transportation program" and said he is hopeful that Massachusetts—first in the Nation to adopt a mass transportation program—will also be the first to qualify for assistance under the Federal legislation.

The MBTA and the State, acting jointly, would be eligible for 12.5 percent of the $75 million to be allocated by the Federal Government for urban transit aid in 1965 and the Commonwealth will also be eligible for a similar percentage of the $150 million in aid to be available to the States for this purpose in 1966 and 1967.

There is a real plus in this for Springfield and other urban centers as well as Greater Boston. Based on what the Federal Government will allot, there will be surplus revenue from the cigarette tax hike earmarked for mass transportation. This could be channeled to mass transit aid outside of the MBTA or, by amending the tax law, used for other purposes. In any event, Springfield and other communities should benefit directly or indirectly.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
STATE HOUSE,
Boston, Mass., June 22, 1964.

Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BOLAND: I have just learned that H.R. 3881 is scheduled for vote on June 25. The passage of this legislation is vital to Massachusetts and I do solicit your favorable consideration of this matter. It is an important link in the effectuation of my own mass transportation legislation which has already been signed into law.

Mass transportation is an area where Federal-State participation can achieve manifold benefits and truly conquer new frontiers.

Massachusetts has achieved significant firsts in this field; it was the first State to have an HHFA Office of Transportation demonstration project of $5.4 million on a two-thirds Federal-one-third State basis administered by the Mass Transportation Commission.

It was the first State to submit to a legislature a comprehensive and statewide mass transportation program—and with enactment of H.R. 3881 it can be the first State to qualify and to implement this legislation. Since a statewide cigarette tax helps pay for this program, every Congressman will be able to benefit his constituents by obtaining reimbursement to the State for its share of the cost.

For these reasons, I hope you will forge another important link in Federal-State cooperation with your vote for H.R. 3881.

Sincerely,

ENDICOTT PEABODY,
Governor.

BOSTON, MASS.,
June 25, 1964.

EDWARD P. BOLAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your great victory. The Federal mass transportation bill is an important link in the implementation of the Commonwealth's own mass transportation program, which I signed into law last week.

I am hopeful that Massachusetts, as the first State in the Nation to adopt a mass transit program, will also become the first State to qualify for assistance under this Federal legislation.

GOV. ENDICOTT PEABODY.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we take this time each year to renew our expressions of deep concern for the victims of communism on behalf of the American people.

Each of us, whatever our individual heritage, shares in the common heritage of liberty. This heritage comes to us as a gift of the Creator, a gift which we have brought to life in America, a gift which we must constantly defend.

Today, as for many years, the threat to this heritage is Communist imperialism, which has already blighted half the world, and which recognizes no individual rights but seeks to shackle humanity to the will of a souleless state.

Until the tide of Red oppression has been turned back and the peoples of the captive nations can decide their destinies for themselves, no freemen anywhere can rest secure.

As one of the sponsors of the proposal to create a Select Committee on the Captive Nations in this House, I am proud to take part in these ceremonies today. I also take this opportunity of urging once more that the Rules Committee act at the earliest possible moment to send this legislation to the floor.

Raises Much Speculation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of June 19, 1964:

RAISES MUCH SPECULATION

Interest in one-chamber legislatures may be increased by the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned strictly on a population basis. For the main purpose of having two legislative chambers is to have one serve as a check upon the other. If the membership of both houses is to be based only on population both will represent substantially the same political bases. Neither would likely be a control on the other.

So it would seem that the advocates of a unicameral (single house) legislature have been given a powerful argument by the Supreme Court. It will be pointed out that with a single-house legislature, legislation will be more speedily enacted. Also it can be argued that there would be some saving in government costs. These are old arguments and they never have been persuasive in any State except Nebraska which has operated under the unicameral system for several years. But be it noted that Nebraska has not escaped apportionment troubles. It has one now. And it's the familiar one—city legislative districts containing far more voters than rural districts. Rural areas in Nebraska do not like control of State government concentrated in big cities any more than do the rural areas of any other State, including Michigan.

Whenever any State contains a single large city, or two or three of them, there are practical reasons—irrespective of the U.S. Supreme Court—for a legislative apportionment that protects the remainder of the State from domination. For notwithstanding the one-man, one-vote principle which the highest court of the land says is wholly right and fair and must prevail, the American governmental system also recognizes the rights of minorities. Basically, the struggle over civil rights is concerned with the rights of minorities.

And there's another angle to the one-man, one-vote principle which the Supreme Court holds applies to congressional and State legislative districts. Does it apply to county boards of supervisors? It does not at this time. Yet the Court stepped into county affairs in Virginia recently. It ruled that the supervisors of Prince Edward County had been altogether "too deliberate" in effecting integration of their schools, and it ordered integration.

Having told a county it must levy taxes for public schools, and admit Negro pupils to those schools, it's conceivable that the Court might consider complaints from counties about apportionment of votes in boards of supervisors between townships and cities.

In the State apportionment decisions, Chief Justice Warren in trampling down the idea that a State senate could be apportioned on a geographical as well as population basis, declared that State legislatures could not be compared with the U.S. Senate. He wrote: "Political subdivisions of States—counties, cities or whatever—never were and never have been considered as sovereign entities. Rather, they have traditionally been regarded as subordinate government instrumentalities created by the State to assist in carrying out State governmental functions."

The Chief Justice says that States are sovereign entities. But they are sovereign only to a limited extent. Their governmental privileges are limited by the Federal Constitution, and most especially the way in which the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution. And as Justice Potter Stewart put it in his dissenting opinion on the apportionment ruling, the Court has converted "a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule" binding on all the States.

The Court has moved into the affairs of the States and into the affairs of at least one county. Its next step might take it into county affairs all over the country.

Small Business Moves Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Frank M. Cruger is one of Indiana's distinguished citizens, president of the National Small Business Association, a member of the Small Business Administration National Advisory Council, and now a member of the board of the new International Executive Service Corps. Out of his concern for the Nation's small businessmen, who include 35 million owners and employees in 4,800,000 small firms, he has written a pamphlet entitled "Small Business Moves Ahead," distributed by the association of which he is president. Mr. Cruger has effectively presented facts, figures, and needs of small business in a helpful way, to provide an understanding of the position of this group, about which he says, "Small business is America's biggest business."

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Mr. Cruger's statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SMALL BUSINESS MOVES AHEAD

(By Frank M. Cruger)

Small business is alive and kicking. As Mark Twain once remarked "the report of my demise has been greatly exaggerated." Small business is growing to the tune of 60,000 additional new firms each year—thanks to ingenuity, progressive bankers, the helpful hand of big business and the light hand of government. Small business, in the vast majority, has not only prospered but is optimistic. A survey by Dun & Bradstreet disclosed that four out of five small businesses reported they had grown in the last 5 years. Almost 80 percent thought they would continue to grow. The balance, with minor exceptions, believed they would maintain present size, and 95 percent thought their best progress would be served in their present status. The "For Sale" signs are not nearly as numerous as the "Help Wanted" signs. A prophet of doom would be in strange company here.

SMALL BUSINESS PROBLEMS

This does not mean that small business has no problems, nor that it wants no problems, but the problems are far outweighed by the opportunities of our free enterprise system. Although one could logically ask why almost 7 percent of the small businesses in America cease operations each year—only to be followed by even more new businessmen who are willing to try it for themselves to add to, rather than take from the supply of jobs. Does this indicate a deterioration of opportunity? Or is this really an expansion of opportunity? It should be emphasized that an extremely low percentage of these business "stops" are failures. Many see the handwriting on the wall in time to sell, merge or liquidate without a very close relationship to bankruptcy. Some need to prove to themselves that they are not businessmen or managers. Some will try again and succeed. Certainly this is the weeding-out process of competition. If competition were eliminated our free enterprise system would cease to exist and we would soon become wards of the state. Although the big gap between those at the top and those at the bottom may not be desirable, all business cannot be made equal. I do not believe that competent small business wants something for nothing. The great preference would be that equality of opportunity be further explored and encouraged. Not many would seriously want to trade opportunity for security.

INTERDEPENDENCE

Small business is America's biggest business. In analyzing the problems and opportunities of small business we should recognize that the success of one segment of our economy is irrevocably tied to the other segments. Big business and small business are interdependent, not only for their mutual progress but for their responsibility to the public. The importance of small business in a democracy can hardly be overestimated. Government for and by the people would be inconceivable without small enterprise. It is regrettable that in some quarters small business is taken as a synonym for unfit business, and that possibly the preservation of small business is regarded as the survival of inefficient business. Small business is of the very essence of our way of life which is based on the right of all to push forward and become sucessful through ingenuity, intelligence, hard work, and fairplay. As long as this philosophy exists, small size is perfectly compatible with fitness and high quality.

IMPORTANCE OF SMALL BUSINESS

Small business need not be an economic orphan or a political vagrant. It well may be a sleeping giant not quite conscious—even in 1962—of its tremendous political strength. The 35 million owners and employees of America's 4,800,000 small firms indicate that more than 60 percent of our population is dependent upon small business for its livelihood and support. The real challenge to free economy is not so much to the relatively few industrial giants, but to the millions of small businesses to grow stronger and bigger. And most of all a challenge to

individuals—to you and to me—to keep the fountain of new enterprises flowing in greater volume, recognizing that the mainspring of our economy is not government but the built-in thrust and vigor of private enterprise. Government may influence our economy for better or for worse.

* * * * *

THE POWER OF CHOICE

In helping small business it appears we should be concerned with only that segment of small business that wants to grow. Many firms are under no compulsion to expand. Others are content to drift along. Others will insist on their right to fail—some to try again and succeed. But we should be opposed to a Federal crutch for an inefficient business of any size that will not develop its best ability and energy to help itself. We should concern ourselves with small business that really wants to make progress. From a standpoint of ethics I do not see any significant difference between large and small firms. A large company differs from a small one, not that its employees are 7 feet tall instead of 5 feet tall—not that they are more honest—or less honest. They are the same kind of people, motivated in the same way. The difference between large and small is mostly quantitative, not always qualitative. And bigness alone does not guarantee survival.

The Sherman Act of 1890 sought to preserve competitive free enterprise by prohibiting monopoly and restraint of trade. The goal was an organization of industry into units small enough to compete effectively with one another. This antimonopoly legislation reflected a fear of concentrated economic power which is deeply rooted in American tradition. Even today in the public mind there seems to be a feeling that big business is responsible for whatever ills may affect the small business community. Certainly the reverse is true in many instances. Big business has made it possible for thousands of small firms to grow and prosper. Actually, these big concerns—that once were small—are the bulwarks of small business.

COOPERATION

Many millions of dollars are channeled into small business through subcontracts, through purchase of the products of small business, through research programs and in numerous other ways. Witness the 26,000 suppliers of General Motors, 98 percent being small firms—or Western Electric with 40,000 small suppliers—or Du Pont with 30,000 small firm suppliers and more than 100,000 small business customers—many of whom owe their success to the development of new products by large industries. Several hundred other large corporations have become aware of the cooperative possibilities with smaller firms. Many of these larger industries have employed specialists to investigate the opportunities and have shared their production and distribution with smaller firms to mutual advantage. These events are additional proof that small business and big business are dependent upon each other for their economic progress. Each does the job it is fitted by its size and talents to do.

* * * * *

THE SIZE OF SMALL BUSINESS

In the United States today there are approximately 4,800,000 small business establishments. These firms include all of the manufacturing, wholesale, retail, and service businesses. Reflecting the extreme importance of small business in our economy is the fact that 94 percent of all business firms employ less than 20 persons—over 97 percent employ 50 or fewer persons. Wholesale, retail, and service establishments comprise about 93 percent of the total number of firms while manufacturing firms account for the remaining 7 percent or about 300,000. Firms with less than 50 employees comprise 99 percent of the total, have 72 percent of the employees, and do 78 percent of the total dollar volume.

Firms with 50 or more employees comprise 1 percent of the total, have 28 percent of the employees, and do 22 percent of the total sales dollar volume. Since 99 percent of all of the wholesale, retail, and service establishments have less than 50 employees and in view of the fact that 98½ percent of all of the manufacturers have less than 500 employees, it can be readily seen that any improvements accruing to small business will have great effect on the economy. Conversely, any detrimental effect in the direction of small business could seriously affect the general prosperity. These figures clearly demonstrate why the small business movement has gained such national prominence in recent years. Like labor and the farmer, small business has great influence at the polls due to the employees and owners of 4,800,000 small firms. But this numerical strength should not be used for special privilege—nor the individual be subordinated to the desires of the majority.

* * * * *

Many businessmen of long experience are amazed to learn of the huge number of small business stops and starts each year. By stops we mean business firms that quit for any number of reasons, not all of them financial. In 1957 there were 437,000 stops and 480,000 starts for a net gain of 43,000 additional small businesses. In 1958 there were 356,000 stops and 411,000 starts for a net gain of 75,000 new businesses. The results in 1960 indicated about the same general increase in additional small firms. Last year the average was about 5,000 new firms each month as a net gain.

Needless to say, the majority of these small firms were engaged in the retail and service trades, although included were some substantial concerns. The normal question at this point is why so many small businesses should stop in recent good years even though more new businesses started than stopped. Well, I think it is often said that the number of new business starts is substantial, but the number with growth possibilities is limited.

PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS

What are the major problems of small business? The Small Business Adiminstration in a recent report to the President and to the Congress lists seven prominent problems of small businessmen—taxes, labor relations, shrinking profits, competition from imports and big business, management inadequacies, and competition from tax-exempt cooperatives. It is assumed that all business, large and small, suffers from many of these elements. Why do we have this high mortality rate among small business? When it is realized that only a limited number of small firms have profits year after year it is easy to understand.

* * * * *

The essence of the American economic system of private enterprise is free competition. Of course assistance should not be forced upon small business. Freedom for some means "let me alone"; for others freedom means "help me."

* * * * *

The average small businessman has a high regard for the traditions and institutions of America. Many people prefer to work in small business, and often among these is found the man who will sacrifice security for opportunity.

Our American democratic system will function only in a society in which the most eligible citizens participate in public affairs. The challenge boils down to this: Businessmen must translate their interest into terms of what is best for the public. You are invited to join with us in the National Small Business Association in building a better America.

Law Professors' Statement on the Federal Government's Power To Act in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have urged that Federal marshals be assigned to Mississippi this summer to protect the several hundred civil rights volunteers as well as the Negro population of that State. The tragic disappearance of three dedicated and courageous young civil rights workers has awakened the Nation to the dangerous situation in Mississippi. A distinguished group of law professors from Columbia, Harvard, New York University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale Law Schools have issued a statement outlining the legal basis upon which the Attorney General and the President are authorized to act. I urge all of my colleagues to read this statement:

It has been reported in the press that the Attorney General has stated that the Federal Government lacks power to take preventive police action in Mississippi to secure the safety of persons who have come into that State to aid its colored residents in the effective exercise of their rights as citizens of the United Staets. The undersigned students of public law are troubled by the misleading simplicity of this reported pronouncement, and believing that the Federal power to take protective action in the circumstances that now prevail in Mississippi is clear, are moved to make this statement.

Under section 332 of title 10 of the United States Code the President is authorized to use the State militia and the Armed Forces of the United States "whenever he considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages * * * make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States * * * by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings." Should the President be persuaded that judicial processes are not able to secure the rights of Negro voters in Mississippi, or should he consider that those processes are not effectively safegarding the rights of other Americans as they are defined in existing civil rights acts (e.g. sec. 1981 and 1983 of title 42) the quoted section would clearly authorize him to use armed forces to secure the rights referred to.

Of course the Attorney General knows this, for it was under section 332 that President Kennedy took military action at the University of Mississippi in 1962. Quite probably two considerations are factors in the Attorney General's determination that section 332 has no immediate relevance. He and the President may be convinced that the time has not yet come to send military forces into Mississippi—that other processes should be exhausted before that most drastic of all remedies is pursued. If that judgment is a crucial element in the decision one wishes that it had been reported, for it would have made it clear that it is not lack of Presidential power to act but the absence of a conviction that action is now called for that explains nonaction. Furthermore, the Attorney General may, with some justification, feel that when military action is taken under section 332 it is not fairly to be described as "police action"—the type of action which he has denied the Federal Government is empowered to take. These con-

siderations, which may explain the Attorney General's rejection of the current relevance of section 332, seem far less applicable to the provisions of section 333 of title 10.

Under the terms of that section the scope of the Presidential power to take protective and preventive action is not confined to the use of the militia or Armed Forces. Through section 333 mentions specifically the power to use those forces it also empowers him "by any other means (to) take such action as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it (1) so hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege, or immunity, or to give that protection; or (2) opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws."

Surely there is reason to believe that violence and combination are now so hindering the execution of the laws of Mississippi and of the United States as to deny to the Negroes of Mississippi rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. Whether the deplorable circumstances are such as to make the provisions in subsection (1) of the quoted section now operative is not important, for there can be no question but that the provisions of subsection (2) fit the present circumstances precisely. Violence, combination, and conspiracy in Mississippi are unquestionably obstructing the execution of the civil rights laws of the United States—the provisions, that is, of sections 1981 and 1983 of title 42 and the provisions of the acts of 1957 and 1960 with respect to voting rights.

Doubtless some creditable considerations of expedience could be cited to support a decision against now taking vigorous Presidential action under section 333 in Mississippi. Surely, however, the Attorney General's position would be less misleading and therefore less perilous if he would acknowledge that the President today has power to act but believes that "police action" under section 333 of title 10 is inadvisable.

In the year 1879 it was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States that when Federal marshals sought to enforce the electoral laws of the United States their conduct infringed the prerogatives of the States—that the Nation, in other words, could not, through the authority of its agents, take "police action" within the borders of any State. "It is argued," said Mr. Justice Bradley, "that the preservation of peace and good order in society is not within the powers confided to the Government of the United States, but belongs exclusively to the States. Here again we are met with the theory that the Government of the United States does not rest upon the soil and territory of the country. We think that this theory is founded upon an entire misconception of the nature and powers of that Government. We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle, that the Government of the United States may, by means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it. This necessarily involves the power to command obedience to its laws, and hence the power to keep the peace to that extent." Ex parte Siebold, 100 U.S. 371, 394–395.

Unless the Attorney General disregards or somehow emasculates this prononucement of the Supreme Court he cannot rest his case for executive inaction of the facile pronouncement that the Federal Government and the President of the United States are not empowered to take "police action" in Mississippi. It is at once disappointing and ironic that the Department of Justice, which has been bold beyond precedent in successfully urging the Supreme Court that the judiciary possesses the broadest powers to enforce the constitutional assurances of equality, should now discover nonexistent barriers to executive action.

Marvin E. Frankel, Arthur W. Murphy, Maurice Rosenberg, Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University Law School; Paul Bator, Vern Countryman, Charles Fried, Mark DeW. Howe, Louis Loss, John Mansfield, Henry Steiner, Arthur E. Sutherland, Harvard Law School; Charles E. Ares, Norman Dorsen, Henry Foster, Jr., Robert B. McKay, Gerhard O. W. Mueller, New York University Law School;

Caleb Foote, Jefferson B. Fordham (reservations as to phrasing), Alexander H Frey, Noyes Leech, Clarence Morris, Louis B. Schwartz (reservations as to phrasing), Bernard Wolfman, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Boris I. Bittker, Charles L. Black, Jr., Thomas I. Emerson, Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School.

Fallacies Involved in Governmental Attempt To Force Economic and Social Equality

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., published in its June 23, 1964, issue an editorial which, in several paragraphs, does an excellent job of analyzing the fallacies involved in attempting to have the Government force economic and social equality. The editorial is entitled "The Leveling Off Process."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenville News, June 23, 1964]

THE LEVELING OFF PROCESS

From a reader and friend who has given much time and thought to study of public affairs and feels strongly about the welfare and the ultimate fate of his country comes this difficult inquiry:

"Perhaps 2 weeks ago, F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., was quoted in the press as saying, 'President Johnson plans to wipe out all lines separating Americans, including economic and social.' Since then I have been waiting for some reaction to that Marxian statement.

"No one has disavowed such intentions on the part of the President, and so far as I have seen no one has objected to it. Can it be that we have so far advanced down the road to socialism that such a statement by our President can go unnoticed?

"Maybe it would not convert him, but I would like to read your editorial on the subject. I turn to the News' editorial page for answers to questions that bother me frequently."

No, there has been no denial or disavowal of the statement attributed to Mr. Roosevelt, Jr., as to the intentions of President Johnson and the purposes of the program which he inherited from the previous administration and seems to have adopted largely as his own.

At least, it is the program with which he is going into the nominating convention in August and he intends to take there a few concrete samples of his wares, such as the civil rights bill.

Nor do we expect to see any denial or disavowal. For, call them Marxists, Socialists, fighters for equality or what have you, it is the purpose of the majority of the men and women running the country these days to try to be and to offer all things to all people.

The avowed purpose of the civil rights bill is to guarantee absolute equality to all persons regardless of race, color or ethnical origin and, in the process, to knock down all racial barriers.

The purpose claimed for the "war on poverty" in all of its various forms or fronts is to wipe out poverty, ostensibly to provide job training and opportunities for all persons making less than $3,000 a year at least to come up to the national median, or average income.

These, of course, are but the beginning.

The civil rights bill will not make all men equal, even if it could be enforced. Nor will it knock down all racial and social barriers, as Mr. Roosevelt said. As long as men are individuals there will be differences among them, differences of color, personality, and the like. They will tend to separate, each unto his own kind, and nothing short of harsh and continuous force can change that.

Nor will the war on poverty accomplish its objective. There is no way to bring the majority of the impoverished up to the national average income, or into the so-called middle class income brackets from which come most of the taxes and which are hardest hit by all Federal programs.

The trouble, again, is that people are individuals and there are many who are either incapable or unwilling to do what is necessary to improve their economic lot.

What the politico-socio-economic planners will do when all of their schemes have failed, we do not know. There is no telling. The only thing left would be to take from those who have almost all they have to give to those who have not.

Huey Long, the reader will recall, promised to make "every man a king." The wealth was to be divided so that everyone would be rich and no one would be poor. The story is told of the citizen who was discussing this with an "underprivileged" person and said to him:

"You know good and well, John, that if the money was all divided up, you'd take your share, get drunk Saturday night and lose it all in a crap game."

Came the happy reply:

"Maybe so, but the way I understand it, Mr. Huey is goin' to divide it all up again every Monday morning."

All of which leads us back to what we have said many times before. All of the schemes now afoot to uplift the underprivileged will do little to lift them up without dragging others down.

The trend seems to be toward reducing all of society to the lowest common denominator.

The only hope is that there is enough individuality left in the majority of the American people to put a stop to the trend somewhere—and soon. We don't believe anyone really wants to be a "common man" and the "leveling off" process would produce a society of faceless mediocrities.

We must hope that even the common man one of these days will decide it's worth the effort to be an uncommon man and to do uncommon things for himself and others.

Problems of Beef Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter I have received in connection with problems of beef producers. The screw-worm problem and the problem of importation of beef are mentioned:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., June 22, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BECKWORTH: This is in reference to your letter of May 27, 1964, accompanied by an article from the June issue of the Progressive Farmer regarding the screw-worm eradication program and the importation of beef into the United States.

The screw-worm eradication program in the Southwestern United States has been remarkably successful. Screw-worm infestations in the area of eradication have been decreased by more than 99 percent over pre-program years. The Southeastern States have remained virtually free since the Southwestern program was initiated in 1962.

A sterile fly barrier zone has been established along the Mexico-United States border and has greatly decreased the threat of screw-worms reinvading the eradication area from south of the border.

Sporadic outbreaks have occurred this year in southern Texas and are expected to continue to occur periodically. However, established techniques for emergency treatment of such outbreaks are able to suppress them and prevent a population from becoming established.

Approximately $5,500,000 of Federal, State, and producers' funds were required to conduct the program in fiscal year 1964. These funds were provided in substantially equal amounts by Federal and non-Federal sources. The screw-worm program financial requirements will continue at approximately the same level during the next year. The fiscal year 1965 agricultural appropriation bill, now before the Congress, includes a request for $2,750,000 to continue the Federal contribution at the fiscal year 1964 level. Also included in this bill is language limiting Federal expenditures to an amount that is matched by funds from non-Federal sources. To continue operations in fiscal year 1965 at the current level of operation, at least $2,500,000 must be contributed by State or local sources.

State and producer funds provided for screw-worm eradication will be nearly exhausted by July 1, 1964. If additional funds are not provided, it will be necessary to reduce screw-worm eradication activities to a level which will provide some control, but which will allow large numbers of screw-worms to invade the eradication area.

In regard to the question of beef imports, we recognize that the problems faced by cattlemen over the past year have been particularly difficult. A number of actions are being taken to help improve the situation.

The major factor in low cattle prices is the sharp increase that has occurred in domestic production. Overall meat production was about 2 billion pounds or 5 percent higher in 1963 than in 1962, and beef production is running about 12 percent higher this year than last.

Another contributor to the increased supplies and lower prices has been importation of beef and veal. Imports are a relatively minor cause, however, and those who focus attention on that factor alone avoid examining the need for broad-based remedial action.

Our Government cannot control production of livestock and does not wish to institute any controls. Bringing the domestic supply into better balance with demand is primarily the responsibility of cattle producers.

The administration has, however, taken steps to reduce imports and has instituted emergency purchase programs that reduce supplies available in normal trade channels.

We have, by agreement, established meat import quotas with major exporting countries and established them without endangering export markets for our own farm products—markets which take the output of 1 of every 6 acres planted by American farmers.

Beef imports are down substantially so far this year as compared with 1963. Imports for the whole of 1964 are expected to be down about a fourth from last year.

This cut in imports, combined with the strong buying program launched by the Department of Agriculture and Department of Defense, has about the same effect as if imports had been rolled back to the average of 1958–62. This is the level advocated by many cattlemen and feeders and specified in proposed beef import quota legislation now pending in the U.S. Senate. This legislation would set a quota of 705 million pounds, approximately 400 million pounds under 1963 imports. The 400 million pounds will be more than eliminated from our normal domestic market by the voluntary import agreements, welfare distribution, and, stepped-up Armed Forces buying.

In addition, the Department of Agriculture is cooperating with the National Meat Board in a nationwide promotional effort to increase domestic beef consumption. We also are cooperating with the American Meat Institute in a program to develop and expand oversea sales of U.S. beef.

The voluntary import quota agreements, the purchase and promotion programs, and widespread utilization by farmers of the feed grains and wheat programs will contribute to stability in the important livestock industry.

The enclosed copy of Secretary Freeman's recent statement before the House Ways and Means Committee contains considerably more detail on the cattle problem and actions that have been taken to help improve the situation.

Your letter and comments are appreciated. As you know, cattle prices recently have shown some strength but we still are concerned about the situation. You may be assured that the Department of Agriculture will continue to do whatever is possible to help the cattle industry.

Sincerely yours,

CARL P. HEISIG,
Deputy Administrator.

United Presbyterian Church Opposes Prayer Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. testified in opposition to the so-called school prayer amendments during the recent hearings on that subject by the Committee on the Judiciary.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the distinguished stated clerk of that denomination, and Dr. William A. Morrison, chairman of its Committee on Christian Education, gave trenchant reasons for viewing askance this onslaught on the freedom of religion clauses of the Bill of Rights.

Subsequently, in its 176th general convention in Oklahoma City, the United Presbyterian Church adopted a resolution reaffirming its opposition to the so-called school prayer amendments.

The statements of Dr. Blake and Dr. Morrison follow:

TESTIMONY OF EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, STATED CLERK, ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

My name is Eugene Carson Blake. As stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., I am grateful for the privilege to address this committee in opposition to proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution relating to school prayers, Bible reading, etc.

In 1789, 2 years before the Bill of Rights became a part of the U.S. Constitution, Presbyterians in their first general assembly had this to say about the separation of church and state: "* * * 'God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in any thing contrary to His word, or beside it, in matters of faith and worship.' Therefore, they consider the rights of private judgment, in all matters that respect religion, as universal and unalienable: they do not even wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power, further than may be necessary for protection and security, and, at the same time, be equal and common to all others."

That early Presbyterian statement remains unchanged today as a part of the United Presbyterian Church's constitution.

The first amendment to our Federal Constitution, a masterpiece of simplicity and conciseness, has stood for almost 175 years as a civil counterpart to this theological statement by my own ecclesiastical forebears. It begins:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

I would vigorously oppose any effort to change either my own church's or the U.S. Constitution with respect to the implications of these two principles. They articulate, each in its own way, the inviolability of the citadel of a man's faith and worship, the freedom of his belief and practice, hewn out at so great a cost in the history of western man.

Neither our ecclesiastical nor our civil forefathers foresaw precisely the mid-20th century society that has developed in the United States, particularly with respect to our common public school system and the diversity of faiths represented among its teachers and pupils. Hence, in May of 1963, the 175th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, took two actions in harmony with that taken nearly two centuries ago, but addressed to our contemporary situation. One of them spoke implicitly, and the other explicitly to the matter now before this Committee. I would point out that both actions were taken prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Schempp and Murrary cases involving prayer and Bible reading as devotional acts in the public schools.

First, with respect to the practice of holding religious observances as a part of the program of public schools, the 175th general assembly adopted the following position:

"Religious observances [should] never be held in a public school or introduced into the public school system as a part of its program. Bible reading in connection with courses in the American heritage, world history, literature, the social sciences, and other academic subjects is completely appropriate to public school instruction. Bible reading and prayers as devotional acts tend toward indoctrination or meaningless ritual and should be omitted for both reasons. Ministers, priests, and rabbis should be free to speak in public schools, provided their speaking does not constitute religious indoctrination of their presence form a part of a religious observance." [1]

This statement was probably the most controversial part of a larger statement "Relations between Church and State," approved by the same general assembly. The entire report, including the portion I have just quoted, was studied during the previous year by 131 presbyteries and 989 congregational groups in our denomination. The portion on prayer and Bible reading—the most disputed part—was approved by vote in over two-thirds of these. The vote by which the entire report was adopted by the general assembly was 528 in favor and 298 opposed.

I cite these figures to indicate a point that, in my opinion, deserves special consideration by the committee. We are all aware of the considerable body of sentiment expressed in this country that suggests for some kind of amendment to the U.S. Constitution so as to modify the import of the first article in the Bill of Rights. I daresay that much of that opinion is expressed by sincere and devout church members, some indeed by members of the United Presbyterian Church. But my own experience, and that of other church leaders with whom I have discussed this matter, is uniformly that where there is careful study of the issues involved in this matter—as over against an initial and unconsidered emotional reaction—a substantial body of thoughtful American and church-member opinion sees the dangers inherent in the practice of devotions in the public schools.

The other action taken by the general assembly last year bears more directly upon the immediate concern of this Committee with respect to proposed amendments to the Constitution relating to school prayers, Bible reading, etc. The official statement adopted follows:

"The 175th general assembly—

"Gives thanks to God for the civil procedure termed 'due process of law' which provides for orderly resolution of social conflict. We affirm the indispensable role of the Supreme Court of the United States in this process. While responsible criticism of the Court's opinion is within the tradition of our Nation, we are out of sympathy with the kind of criticism which impugns the integrity of the highest Court of the land.

"Records its endorsement of the principles laid down by the Supreme Court in the Regent's prayer case (*Engel* v. *Vitale*, June 25, 1962) that 'in this country it is no part of the business of Government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the government.'

"Expresses its conviction that the first amendment to the Constitution in its present wording has minimized tension and conflict among religious interests, and for [nearly] 180 years has provided the framework within which responsible citizens and our courts have been able to afford maximum protection for the religious liberty of all citizens.

"Reminds the church that the development and practice of Christian worship is the inescapable obligation of the congregation and the family, and not of the public schools.

"Warns the church of an all-too-human tendency to look to the state and its agencies for support in fulfilling the church's mission. Such a tendency on the American scene endangers true religion as well as civil liberties. Consequently, this general assembly calls the church to renewed worship, study, work, and sacrifice to fulfill its mission as God's people in the world."

Mr. Chairman, the history of Western civilization has examples in it—enough to give us pause—of countries that have shifted from one religion to another and back again as the prevailing forces of the government have caused a change in policy. The first amendment, by removing the coercive forces of government from among those that play upon the theological convictions of the people, has served well to protect the freedom of belief of Americans. Any efforts, therefore, to tamper with this constitutional protection ought to cause us to pause and call into question those impulses that seem at first glance most congenial in attempting to enlist the power of government to strengthen the forces of faith. The forces that prevail tomorrow or next year or next generation may not be so congenial to our faith. As James Madison said in his great "Memorial and Remonstrance" in 1785:

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians in exclusion of all other sects?"

With no disturbance of his argument one could amend Mr. Madison's statement by substituting "theism" for Christianity and "other faith or no faith" for "any particular sect of Christians * * *" so that the argument would run: Who does not see that the same authority which can establish theism in exclusion of all other religions may establish, with the same ease, "other faith or no faith?"

Mr. Chairman, I take alarm at this experiment on our liberties, and urge the committee to oppose any change in the protections offered by the first amendment. The Bill of Rights should remain unamended for the rights are inalienable.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM A. MORRISON, GENERAL SECRETARY, BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION, UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

My name is William A. Morrison. I am general secretary of the Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. I am grateful for the opportunity to appear before the committee and, as a clergyman and educator, oppose amendments to the Constitution of the United States that would make prayer and Bible reading as devotional acts permissible in the public schools.

As a Christian minister, I am opposed to prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. Of necessity, because of the religiously pluralistic nature of the public schools, any act of worship or religious education made an official part of the program of the school would have its content determined by one or the other of two factors. That content might derive, on the one hand, from the faith of the religious group that predominated numerically in a given jurisdiction. Such a practice would seriously violate the religious liberty of those children being raised in a different religious faith from the one that dominated the public schools. Even if their participation were "voluntary," i.e., if they were permitted to be excused on request of their parents, the results would be harmful to their own religious growth and development. The effect on a child of having to choose publicly before his peers between participating in a religious exercise that conflicts with his own faith or withdrawing from such participation, perhaps as a minority of one, could hardly be regarded as favorable by one deeply concerned about the growth and development of children either psychologically or spiritually.

On the other hand, if the form and content of religious exercises in the public school derives from some kind of syncretism or blend of only those elements of several religious traditions that are acceptable to everyone, then the result (as in the case of the regents prayer in New York State), from the standpoint of any religious tradition that takes its own heritage with seriousness and commitment, can only be seen as a theological caricature at best or a theological monstrosity at worst.

With respect to this "common core" concept of a religious belief or practice acceptable to all faiths, my own communion in 1957 had this to say after months of study and research:

"Religious commitment arises in a specific and concrete religious community, highly articulate, and never abstracted into common elements. As Presbyterians we believe that human relationships derive their meanings from God as known through Jesus Christ and nurtured through the sacraments and through teaching within the fellowship of the church. * * * The highly specific beliefs and convictions derived from this central position are incompatible with a 'faith of synthesis.' While we neither expect nor desire any teacher to indoctrinate any form of sectarianism, neither do we countenance the teaching of devitalized 'common faith' as a proper substitute for highly specific religious belief. We encourage the public schools, therefore, in emphasizing the religious heritage of students, but we reject the assumption that such an emphasis can be the answer to our quest for adequate religious education for our youth." [1]

As a Christian minister, I am aware of the widespread anxiety among many Americans about the religious training and moral upbringing of the thousands of young people for whom these disciplines are never adequately provided by home, church or synagogue. I respect and share this concern, and believe that the many proposals to amend the United States' Constitution so as to permit the public schools to provide devotional exercises have been motivated in part by a commendable desire to do something about the religiously unreached and the religiously uncommitted.

If evidence were available from the years in which Bible reading and the recitation of prayers have been observed in some of the schools of our Nation prior to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court, that moral self-discipline and religious commitment had resulted from these exercises, we might infer that the decisions of the Supreme Court had deprived the Nation of an effective means for the moral and religious guidance of young people. However, no substantial evidence is available to indicate that anything more wholesome happened to the pupils exposed to Bible reading and recitation of prayers than was observable in the case of schools where these were not practiced. In my judgment the Supreme Court decisions have not deprived the Nation of an effective means of reaching children and young people with religious instruction not now being provided by home, church or synagogue. On the contrary, these decisions have made more evident what was already known; that is that the churches and synagogues must do better what is clearly their peculiar responsibility for moral and religious education within the context of the theology and life of the particular community of faith.

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[1] "Relations between Church and State," p. 7. A copy is appended for the interest of Judiciary Committee members.

[1] "The Church and the Public Schools," p. 13. This document, approved by the 169th general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. as an official statement, is attached for the information of the committee.

But as a Christian minister I must also be highly critical of the method suggested to correct the lack of moral and religious training of young people. By definition, the civil government or any of its agencies simply cannot accomplish the task of inculcating moral and theological commitment to the God whom thousands of Americans believe has disclosed himself uniquely in the Holy Bible. In fact, to attempt to do so under the limitations of a pluralistic society would, from the biblical point of view, impose upon future generations of Americans an idolatry far more serious, regardless of its good intentions, than the present biblical illiteracy that afflicts so many young people. The knowledge, worship, and obedience of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whom the Christians know as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is instilled within the total life of a community of faith. The only god who can be taught within and under the sponsorship of the civil community inevitably turns out to be one of several attractive idols or pseudo-gods, against whom the whole testimony of Old and New Testament witness must be directed.

As an educator, I am also opposed to prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. Their practice, if constitutionally permissible, would seriously displace a major emphasis of public education away from a task it can perform to one it cannot perform, as I have suggested above. I believe it is possible to develop within the public schools a functional ethic based upon respect for human personality, compassion for one's fellow human beings, a sense of justice, and personal integrity. Creative and sensitive teachers, without injecting their own theological dogma into learning situation, have demonstrated this to be true in the experience of many of us. So long as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other religious communions remain vital forces in the lives of their adherents, and these adherents are free to participate in the religious upbringing of their own children, I have confidence that such a humane functional ethic as I suggested above in the public schools would be a positive contributions—even a positive "religious" contribution as interpreted by the respective faith groups—to the growing maturity of our pluralistic society.

As for the use of the Bible in connection with courses in the humanities, this is already being done in at least one creative experiment in the public schools of Newton, Mass.,[2] and nothing in the Supreme Court decisions of recent years, as I read them, forbids such a use.

Mr. Chairman, the Biblical illiteracy of large numbers of the American people of all ages is indeed a matter for deep concern by those who take the Bible seriously as a religious book and also as a part of the secular cultural heritage of Western civilization. So also is the ethical and spiritual void that surrounds too many of our Nation's young people. The churches bear much of the responsibility for these deficiencies and are seeking more earnestly to correct them. But the public schools can also do their part, as carefully defined by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution, if they can get on about their business, which is not the creation of church members but the preparation of youth for adult life in our complex, pluralistic society.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution, in my opinion, would not make that task easier or even possible, but would rather create insuperable obstacles to its being adequately understood, let alone fulfilled.

[2] "We're Studying the Bible in Our High School," by Thayer S. Washaw, from Liberty, March–April 1964.

New Jerseyites Win Student Composer Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, 13 years ago, Broadcast Music, Inc., in cooperation with music educators and composers, instituted an annual Student Composer Award to encourage the composition of concert music.

The award offers scholarship and subsistence prizes to student composers living anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. This year, $11,600 was awarded 14 student composers, 3 of whom are from New Jersey.

Peter F. Huse and John Earl Rogers, of Princeton, are students of Roger Sessions, at Princeton University, and David Saperstein, of Rutherford, is a student of Norman L. Grossman, at the Juilliard School of Music, in New York City.

These young artists may now continue their musical educations and, in the years to come, perhaps enrich our lives. With the emphasis today so heavily on science and technology, and with so many scholarship programs geared to giving encouragement only to those who will labor in the laboratory, it is important that we not lose sight of those who make their contributions in the conservatory. Broadcast Music, Inc., is, therefore, to be commended for the assistance it is offering to youngsters in the arts. I ask unanimous consent that a description of its fine program be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOURTEEN STUDENT COMPOSERS AWARDED $11,600

Fourteen young composers will share $11,600 in the 12th annual Student Composers Awards (SCA), sponsored by Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI), it was announced today by Robert J. Burton, president of the music performing rights licensing organization. This year's awards bring to 90 the number of talented young people in the United States, Canada, and South America who have been presented SCA grants enabling them to continue their musical education.

Established in 1951 by Broadcast Music, Inc., in cooperation with music educators and composers, SCA annually offers scholarship aid and subsistence prizes to student composers under the age of 26, residing anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. All entries are submitted to the judges under pseudonyms. In cases where the judges might recognize the works of their own students, they refrain from voting on the merits of these works.

BMI annually makes the sum of $7,500 available to the national judging panel, in addition to all moneys not previously distributed. Prizes ranging from $250 to $2,000 are awarded at the discretion of the judges, who have the right to determine the amount and the number of all awards. In 1965, the panel will have a total of $14,450 available for distribution, which includes $6,950 it chose not to distribute previously.

The permanent SCA judging panel is made up of William Schuman, president of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts; Earl V. Moore, chairman, department of music, University of Houston; Claude Champagne, assistant director of the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art of the Province of Quebec, Canada, and Henry Cowell, composer and adjunct professor of music at Columbia University.

Other musical figures who participated in the competition as judges this year were composers Milton Babbitt, Chou Wen-Chung, Arthur Custer, Ronald Herder, Ulysses Kay, Vincent Persichetti, Gunther Schuller, Carlos Surinach, and Charles Whittenberg; Frank Brieff, conductor of the New Haven Symphony; H. Wiley Hitchcock, chairman of the department of music at Hunter College, New York City, and Boyd Neel, dean of the Royal Conservatory of Music, University of Toronto.

SCA 1964 will be announced at the beginning of the next school year. Inquiries regarding rules and official entry blanks should be addressed to Oliver Daniel, SCA project, Broadcast Music, Inc., 589 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A Law Unto Itself?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News of June 19, 1964:

A LAW UNTO ITSELF?

In recent years U.S. Supreme Court decisions have taken on an added character that the framers of the Constitution could not have dreamed of. Modern-day fundamentalists view them with rising concern. As the present Court moves farther and farther away from legal precedent into the field of social and economic experimentation as well as political theorizing, it almost seems as if the Court has assumed position as amender of the Constitution.

One is forced to wonder whether there is any recourse. When the Court makes such historic decisions changing the pattern of Government under which the Nation has enjoyed successes that make it the model and envy of almost every democratic nation, there are few official dissents except by minority members of the Court itself.

The revolutionary political impact of the ruling concerning the organization of State legislatures—a matter on which the Constitution is silent except to say that the Federal Government will guarantee a republican form of Government to each State—is best stated by Justice Potter Stewart's dissent:

"What the Court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States * * *, without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State * * * stemming from [its] distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution of population and distinct political heritage * * *," Justice Stewart writes.

"I could not join the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought within our Constitution * * * and forever denies to every State any opportunity * * * to accommodate within a system of representative Government the interests and aspirations of diverse groups of people, without subjecting any group or class to absolute domination by a geographically concentrated or highly organized majority."

What the High Court decision does, in addition, is to deny the States the same republican checks and balances that are basic to the Federal Government. Can the States once under the control of highly organized majorities concentrated in urban areas, withstand special pleas to the Federal Government for continued Federal intervention in State affairs? And what happens now to the once protected rights of the minority group in the States? These and other questions are sure to loom larger in the years ahead.

Dairy Prices and Election Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the transcript of the following broadcast. It appeared on ABC-Radio's "The American Farm Daily," and was broadcast by Norman Kraeft, national agricultural editor of the American Broadcasting Co. This is the transcript:

The administration push is on for an increase in dairy price supports in this election year. Democratic Congressman ROBERT KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin, according to a news release issued from his office last Thursday, has acted to hasten a government decision on an increase in milk price supports. KASTENMEIER said the House Agriculture Committee would immediately ask for USDA's official report on his Dairy Consumption Incentive Act of 1964, known more familiarly as the butter subsidy bill. "This is the first step in the committee's active consideration of any legislation," said KASTENMEIER.

Now, last week that same House Agriculture Committee held a 1-day hearing on the dairymen's class one base plan bill. There was so much criticism, crossfire, and confusion during that hearing that Committee Vice Chairman W. R. POAGE, one of the bill's cosponsors, said he sees little chance of the measure being reported out of committee. That bill has passed the Senate.

The Kastenmeier bill would appear to be even more controversial. It embraces a new concept, that of subsidizing butter consumption. It is based largely on the premise that our stocks of nonfat dry milk are dangerously low and production needs to be encouraged. The Proxmire class I base plan bill and the McCarthy amendment, which would offer payments to producers who hold the line on production, are structured on the need to limit production.

But this is an election year, and I guess that means it's time for the administration to limber up for another round of dairy price-support pushups even though, last time around, similar action caused such an attack on milk production that it brought Secretary Freeman to the necessity of prescribing lower dairy supports.

Must dairy farmers continue to suffer election-year mirages only to bear the consequences, while politicos repent at leisure?

The Southwestern Electric Co. and the Wilkes Powerplant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD articles that concerns the success of the Southwestern Electric Co. As one who is a customer of the fine people of this company, I knew Hon. Frank Wilkes and thought highly of him, and I have known Mr. Welch and others in the company a long time, and have a high regard for them. I commend this great company on the progress it has made and on its many worthwhile contributions to our area and other areas.

The editorial entitled "Southwestern Electric" was in the Longview Daily News and the article entitled "Gladeites Attend New Power Plant Dedication" was in the Gladewater Mirror:

GLADEITES ATTEND NEW POWERPLANT DEDICATION

The low, steady rumble of steam turbines provided the proper background for the dedication of Southwestern Electric Power Co.'s new Wilkes powerplant located on a company-built 650-acre lake hard by Lake o' the Pines near Jefferson.

Some 800 persons enjoyed an old-fashioned Texas barbecue lunch under a huge tent, heard speeches by Byron M. Tunnell, of Tyler, speaker of the Texas House of Representatives; J. Robert Welsh, of Shreveport, president of Southwestern Electric; R. W. Dodson, vice president and superintendent of power of Southwestern Electric, and toured the new, natural-gas-gas fired, steam turbine powerplant.

The new plant is named in honor of the late Frank M. Wilkes, longtime president and chairman of the board of directors of Southwestern Electric Power and champion of privately financed electric power companies. He suffered a fatal heart attack in 1958 while making an appearance before a congressional committee in opposition to a proposed federally financed electric power project.

GUESTS INTRODUCED

After the invocation by Rev. William H. Benchoff, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Marshall, the guests were introduced by R. W. Dodson. Mrs. Robert Dodson, Shreveport, daughter of Wilkes, and her two sons, Robert and David, along with other grandchildren, were introduced.

Among the dignitaries attending were E. B. Germany, Lone Star Steel chairman of the board; State Representative John Allen, of Longview; and many other east Texas business and civil leaders.

Speaker Tunnell, who delivered the principal address, praised the company for its contribution to the east Texas economy. Said Tunnell: "It is the element of free enterprise that makes the wheels of progress turn. The State must create and maintain a climate of progress through free enterprise."

PROPER MONUMENT

Company President Welsh eulogized "Cap'n" Wilkes saying, "Wilkes Power Plant is a proper monument to Frank M. Wilkes. It represents the kind of industry he helped build, and is the kind of free enterprise to which he devoted his life."

Welsh officially dedicated the plant and a bronze plaque was unveiled by Wilkes' grandson, Frank Wilkes Dodson.

After the ceremonies, the benediction was given by Rev. John J. Garry, Immaculate Conception Church, Jefferson.

The new plant, one of five operated by Southwestern Electric Power in the east Texas-north Louisiana area, began operating this month. The unit has a capability of 186,000 kilowatts. Other units can be installed on the site as needed. The plant took 22 months to construct and cost an estimated $20 million. Some 25 people are employed at the new plant.

Those from Gladewater attending the dedication were Mayor Jack Phillips, City Manager Ivan Oliver, School Superintendent James T. Ogg, Loyce Phillips, City Councilman D. P. Dake, Kenneth Allen, Foy Shepperd, C. F. McChesney, manager of Southwestern Electric's Gladewater office, O. C. Brown, and Garland Ferguson, Union Grove school superintendent.

SOUTHWESTERN ELECTRIC

Dedication of the multimillion-dollar Wilkes powerplant Friday marked another milestone in the growth of Southwestern Electric Power Co. and the area it serves, while at the same time perpetuating the memory of a great man and carrying forward a program which was so close to his heart—the private enterprise system.

The new plant, the company's third in east Texas and fifth in Texas and Louisiana, is named in honor of Frank Marshall Wilkes, who served as president of Southwestern from 1942 until 1954, and chairman of the board until his death in 1958.

Captain Wilkes devoted 50 years to the electric utility business. During the last 20 years of his life he spent much of his time fighting for the interest of investor-owned electric companies against the encroachment of Government power. He was known throughout the Nation as a capable advocate of the cause of freedom in the United States. A heart attack felled him as he was making an appearance before a congressional committee in opposition to a proposed federally financed electric project. He died as he had lived—a fighter.

Well do we remember the part Frank Wilkes had in the industrial development program in Longview and the rest of the east Texas area. He was always at our side, willing and ready to do everything within his power to help.

We shall never forget the time in 1947 when we called him considerably beyond the midnight hour and secured his promise he would build the Knox Lee powerplant in Longview, and that his company would put up $100,000 for advance payment on water so as to assure the building of Lake Cherokee.

Wilkes powerplant, 15 miles northwest of Jefferson, is a monument to Frank M. Wilkes—the kind of monument that he would have wanted, because it is a symbol of life, vitality, energy, and progress. There could have been no more fitting memorial to him and his philosophy.

In J. Robert Welsh, Southwestern has a worthy successor to Captain Wilkes. A graduate in engineering from the University of Illinois, he became associated with the company in 1940, was named superintendent of operations in 1945, vice president in 1949, general manager in 1954, and president the same year. He is a member of the board of directors of the Edison Electric Institute and is president of Southwest Atomic Energy Associates, a 17-company group engaged in major atomic power research programs. Many industry and civic positions have been assigned to him in recognition of his ability and leadership.

The Wilkes powerplant, part of an expansion program that will ultimately reach $60 million, is the fourth to be built by Southwestern since 1945, three of which are in east Texas. The other two in this area are Knox Lee in Longview and the Lone

Star plant near the huge Lone Star Steel Co. operation north of here. In other words, one of these plants is 9 miles from Longview, the second 25 miles, and the third (Wilkes) approximately 40 miles. Their locations form a golden triangle in the heart of this rich and fabulous natural resources belt. Each is engineered to serve a specific territory, but the three are interconnected, creating a rated capacity of 885,000 kilowatts. They also are tied in with other electric utilities in the Southwest power pool, thus assuring an adequate supply of power in case of any emergency.

The original unit of the Wilkes facility has a capability of 186,000 kilowatts, largest single unit ever installed in a Southwestern plant. Grounds and other facilities at the site are so arranged that additional units can be installed as the demand requires. Growth in east Texas in recent years, and encouraging prospects for the immediate future strongly indicate more capacity will be needed sometime soon.

Southwestern, under the inspired leadership of Bob Welsh, will continue to set the pace. The Wilkes plant is an example. The Knox Lee installation started operating in December 1949, with a 37,000-kilowatt unit. The plant now has a capability of 195,000 kilowatts, three 37,000 units and one 84,000. Compare the total capability of these four units and the one unit (186,000 kilowatts) at the Wilkes plant and you readily see the pattern of thinking of the top executive of the company and his brilliant team of coworkers.

Southwestern's plants are strategically located near electric load centers. Each is in a growth area. This is another demonstration the company is always prepared and ready to meet any demand.

This power firm not only has made possible the growth of the Texas-Louisiana-Arkansas region it serves, but has been a vital part of it. Through the efforts of its officers and other key officials, including its highly efficient industrial development department, thousands of industries have been informed of the advantages of this area, and many have moved in as a direct result of the selling job by Southwestern, backed by strong local support.

The trend is for industries to move closer to their markets. This is of particular significance to the Longview area, since both the census and scientific tests prove this locality is in a very favorable position from the standpoint of population. It will be recalled a Dallas banker-economist made an address in Daingerfield about 6 weeks ago in which he said a major industry seeking a Texas site took all the data it could assemble about its market and ran it through computers. The mechanical brain findings showed that in 10 years Longview would be the population center of its southwest market.

Business Week magazine recently surveyed 3,896 major industries and 2,064 or 52 percent replied. Twenty-eight percent reported they are in the market now for new locations. Add those companies that expect to be site hunting within the next 5 years and the figure jumps to 47 percent.

Southwestern Electric Power is keeping abreast of the changes in the industrial picture. It is one of the first to know, through its alert industrial development department, when a major manufacturer is planning to move to the South or Southwest. Right now it has at least eight good prospects investigating the east Texas area, and more will be moving in soon.

Longview and the other cities in east Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas which are served by Southwestern owe more to this great friend and partner than they will ever realize.

We know from many years of experience what Southwestern has meant to Longview and east Texas, and we honor it not only on the occasion of the opening of its new plant, but for the invaluable services it has rendered since it became a vital part of this matchless area many years ago.—CARL L. ESTES.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues today in observing the celebration of Captive Nations Week. It is well for us to pause in our legislative duties to remind ourselves of the fate of over 100 million people in the world today. These citizens of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and Cuba are being denied the basic freedoms which at one time they all possessed, and which we hold so dear. Through the use of the most ruthless tactics the Soviet Union has subjected these peoples to economic, political, and intellectual slavery. Freedom of speech, religion, association, and expression are only memories to the older generations of these unfortunate nations.

One of the purposes of this special observation is to call attention to the love of freedom which continues to burn in the hearts of these brave peoples. The demonstrations by workers in East Germany in 1953, the uprising of the Polish people in 1956, the Hungarian revolution in October of that same year—all these are indications of how the captive peoples feel about their rulers. We all must feel a sense of loss and alarm when we read recently about the attempts of the Polish intellectual class to obtain just a minimum of freedom of expression—a sense that is magnified when we realize that the activities we read about are only a few of the thousands that take place each day behind the Iron Curtain. These attempts to regain liberty excite our admiration and respect.

Captive Nations Week must serve as a reminder to us all that the love of freedom and liberty does not die—deprivation of freedom does not in any way eliminate the desire for it. The respect we have for these men and women is matched by our horror of the deceitful tactics which their oppressors have employed in order to reduce these millions of people to poverty, hardship, and slavery. It is important for us to remember that the desires of the people and those of their governments are completely opposed. It is crucial that today we recognize this vital fact, for Captive Nations Week is a recognition of the hope of the U.S. Government that some day the wishes of the captive peoples of Europe and their governments may be one.

The citizens of the State of Florida are particularly conscious of the plight of the captive nations, for one of them lies just 90 miles from our shores. Weekly, dozens of refugees arrive in our State with stories of the plight of the peoples subject to Soviet oppression. Such a situation makes Florida especially conscious of the need of U.S. support for all the captive peoples around the globe.

Finally, it is fitting that this week we reflect on the duties of each American in the drive for the eventual release of these peoples who are denied the very rights for which we fought the Revolutionary War.

This Saturday we will celebrate the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a landmark in the struggle for the liberties which these captive peoples lack. Today, we reiterate our moral and spiritual support for these valiant people and support the avowed intention of our Government to bring freedom to all men in the world. Until this goal is reached—while these brave peoples are subjugated—peace can never be a permanent reality in our world.

Ralph McGill's Indictment of Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the three students reported missing in Mississippi some 10 days ago are now presumed to be dead by most of the searchers. Not on the scene of the tragedy, we can hardly accept that this was the fate of the three young men, no less understand the actual deed itself.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the New York Herald Tribune of June 26, 1964. In it, Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, a writer well-known and respected for his courageous stand on the civil rights issue, claims that the young men and women who are now in Mississippi with the intention of securing equal rights for Negroes are not "invaders" as Mississippians claim, but are similar in intention and goals to a Domestic Peace Corps.

The article follows:

RALPH MCGILL'S INDICTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI

ATLANTA.—A teacher telephoned from Jackson, Miss.

"There are fine, good people in this State—many of them. They are here," he said, "but they are not running the government. The Governor has no real support. The sheriffs, the mayors—they are captives of what Mississippi is and has been—the 'good people' are here, but they are not represented in government—God help us."

So, as the search goes on for the bodies of three young students presumed murdered, the Nation waits.

There is need to think rationally, calmly, and to get to answer the "why."

Mississippi provides the example, illustrations of why a domestic Peace Corps is impractical in regions where it is most needed.

Student volunteers in Mississippi essentially are a Peace Corps. They volunteered to set up adult education schools. Illiterate persons would be taught to read and

write. Instruction is to be given on other adult subjects. Children would be taught subjects not available in the public school system. For those who want it, instruction is offered in how to register for voting. This includes education on the background of the literacy questions asked in such tests.

These students went peacefully. They carried no arms. They were, in fact and in effect, a domestic Peace Corps, engaged in peaceful actions. Yet, some Mississippi political leaders, in and out of the Congress, have labeled them "invaders" and have sought to discredit and distort them. Organized harassment of them has gone largely unopposed by local law enforcement officers, or has been, but temporarily halted. Intimidation and outright violence against the student Peace-Corps-type operation is the rule.

Mississippi has been producing violence of the most desperate sort for some years. This includes a number of killings classified as murders. Homes have been fired into and churches and homes burned and dynamited. The tragedy of the three students is in the pattern.

What do thoughtful Mississippians think? James Silver, for almost 30 years head of the history department at the University of Mississippi, has described the State in a book just published "Mississippi: A Closed Society." In an honest attempt to enable himself and others to understand his State, he wrote:

"Hostility to authority and disrespect for law are commonplace in Mississippi. How could it be otherwise in a State that tolerates the cynical disregard of the Mississippi prohibition law and blithely collects a black-market tax on liquor? Mississippi's spiritual secession from modern America has never ended. For more than a century Mississippians have refused to be bound by the will of the national society. Perhaps this recalcitrance could be borne with in the past but now that the sanctuary once provided by the two oceans is gone and the country is fighting for its survival, the national interest and the instinct for survival demand discipline. Mississippi has erected a totalitarian society which to the present moment has eliminated the ordinary processes through which change may be channeled. Through its police power, coercion, and force prevail instead of accommodation, and the result is social paralysis.

"The strongest preservative of the closed society is the closed mind," wrote Professor Silver, after near three decades of study of Mississippi. "It has been argued that in the history of the United States, democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite is true in Mississippi."

That individuals should be obsessed with a fantasy of past and present and are unwilling, or unable, to accept their obligations as Americans is bad enough—that a State should do so is melancholy and disturbing in the extreme.

That Senators and Congressmen should say of idealistic young students that they "asked for it" is enough to make all but the more callous stop and reconsider the facts of life—and the values of life.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my 4th congressional voting report for the 2d session of the 88th Congress. Covering the period from May 13 through June 30, it contains my comments on the International Development Association, raising of insurance coverage provided by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, foreign aid, the Federal pay bill, excise taxes, and the mass transit bill:

Rollcall No.	Date	H.R. No.	Vote				Brief description
			R.B.C.	Yea	Nay	Not voting	
125	May 13		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Derwinski, Republican, of Illinois. (62 Members absent.)
*126	May 13	S. 2214	Nay	132	247	49	Motion to recommit bill authorizing the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the International Development Association. (3 Members answered "present.")
127	May 18	1020	Yea	150	143	138	House joint resolution authorizing issuance of a gold medal to Henry J. Kaiser. (Measure failed; ⅔ vote needed for passage.)
128	May 19		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (78 Members absent; R.B.C. at Vietnam briefing with Secretaries Rusk and McNamara and General Taylor.)
129	May 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (47 Members absent.)
130	May 20	11202	Nay	181	198	51	Amending agricultural appropriation bill to provide funds for constructing a peanut research plant. (1 Member answered "present.")
131	May 20	11202	Nay	187	186	56	Motion to recommit agricultural appropriation bill. (2 Members answered "present.")
132	May 20	11202	Yea	311	64	56	On passage of agricultural appropriation bill.
133	May 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ashbrook, Republican, of Ohio. (106 Members absent.)
134	May 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Beermann, Republican, of Nebraska. (108 Members absent.)
135	May 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Springer, Republican, of Illinois. (102 Members absent.)
136	May 26	11369	Yea	340	5	66	On passage of military construction appropriation bill.
137	May 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gary, Democrat, of Virginia. (93 Members absent.)
138	May 27	724	Yea	218	115	98	To permit consideration of H.R. 5130, amending Federal Deposit Insurance Act.
*139	May 27	5130	Yea	197	142	91	Motion to recommit bill amending Federal Deposit Insurance Act relating to the insurance of savings and loan accounts.
140–7	June 3–4		Absent				During this period R.B.C. was in California for the primary election. There were 5 quorum calls, 2 motions to adjourn, and 1 rollcall on a noncontroversial bill.
148	June 9		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (73 Members absent.)
149	June 9		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (74 Members absent.)
150	June 9		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Collier, Republican, of Illinois. (69 Members absent.)
151	June 10		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Berry, Republican, of South Dakota. (40 Members absent.)
*152	June 10	11380	Nay	193	211	27	Motion to recommit Foreign Assistance Act.
*153	June 10	11380	Yea	220	175	26	On passage of Foreign Assistance Act.
154	June 11		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (48 Members absent.)
*155	June 11	11049	Yea	243	157	27	On passage of Federal pay bill. (4 Members answered "present.")
156	June 16		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Beermann, Republican, of Nebraska. (68 Members absent.)
157	June 16	11579	Yea	360	11	58	On passage of public works appropriation bill. (2 Members answered "present.")
158	June 17		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (56 Members absent.)
159	June 17		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (R.B.C. attending reception for the Los Angeles Angels.)
*160	June 17	11376	Nay	185	207	43	Motion to recommit bill extending excise tax rates for 1 year. (1 Member answered "present.")
161	June 18		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican, of Ohio. (47 Members absent.)
162	June 18	11375	Yea	203	182	43	On passage of 1-year increase in debt ceiling. (3 Members answered "present.") For R.B.C. position on debt, see rollcalls 51 and 52, 1st sess., 88th Cong.
*163–170	June 18–25		Absent				During this period R.B.C. was in California attending to district matters. There were 5 quorum calls and 3 rollcall votes on the mass transit bill.
171	June 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (54 Members absent.)
172	June 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Waggonner, Democrat, of Louisiana. (66 Members absent.)
173	June 30	793	Yea	222	162	47	To permit consideration of H.R. 11812, foreign assistance appropriation bill.
174	June 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Dorn, Democrat, of South Carolina. (48 Members absent.)

*Items so marked are considered to be of greater significance, and a brief explanation is included herein.

ROLLCALL NO. 126, INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In February, much to my concern, the House voted to recommit—in effect, kill—a bill calling for continued U.S. participation in the International Development Association. The bill had my strong support and in an earlier rollcall report I pointed out that IDA, which was initiated during the Eisenhower administration, had always received bipartisan backing. I was thus dismayed that the Republican Party fought the measure on partisan grounds.

My concern was apparently shared by former President Eisenhower, for after defeat of H.R. 9022 he and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce joined with President Johnson in an ecort to save IDA. Mr. Eisenhower had this to say in a letter to the Republican leadership:

I note with concern the action of the House of Representatives on the International Development Association measure and

am hopeful that this unfavorable action can be reversed. * * * I do believe the fundamentals which we had in mind when we created this venture are still eminently worthy. That is, wherever possible we should favor a loan in place of grants and, to the degree possible we should encourage other nations to join us in carrying the foreign aid burden.

Mr. Eisenhower's admonishment subsequently prompted Republicans to take a more responsible stand on the foreign affairs front. When the House reconsidered the IDA proposal, this time under Senate bill 2214, 36 Republicans switched their votes and supported the Johnson administration.

WORTHWHILE CAUSE

The President called the House action "a major victory for the American people, for an effective foreign policy and for commonsense in our international dealings. This measure is bipartisan in its origins, and I congratulate those Members of both parties who joined in advancing it a step closer to reality. It may have taken two tries, but a worthwhile cause has won a significant success. We will always continue to try when the cause is just."

The International Development Association represents the direction in which I am sure taxpayers want the United States to move in the area of assistance to underdeveloped countries: A sharing of the aid burden by the wealthier nations of the free world, nations such as Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, and Canada.

Under the agreement for replenishing the resources of IDA, an affiliate of the World Bank—which has an unequaled record of never having had a defaulted loan in 18 years—16 other countries will put up $1.40 for every dollar provided by the United States. Such multinational participation of course reduces the amount required for our own bilateral aid program.

NATIONAL INTEREST

The $312 million which the United States will loan to IDA over a 3-year period will in turn draw from other countries $438 million which might otherwise be lost if the program were allowed to lapse, and it would lapse without our participation. As Secretary of State Rusk has pointed out, this would be profoundly contrary to the national interest.

Critics of IDA have charged that the $438 million to be contributed by other member nations will merely be a rechanneling of American aid, and, therefore, not a genuine contribution of their own. The charge is false. There have been no new commitments for economic aid to these countries since 1963, and an amendment prohibits any new military commitments to these countries after July 1964.

Critics also allege that participation in IDA hurts the U.S. balance of payments. This charge, too, is false. The future IDA procurement pattern will quite likely follow that of the World Bank's: about 80 percent of the U.S. contribution would be spent in the United States.

REPAID LOANS

Another important point in IDA's favor is that contributions are loans, not grants. All borrowed funds are repaid. By no stretch of the imagination can this be called a "giveaway" program, or as critics are quick to charge, "pouring money down a rathole."

There are several other points which encourage support of the International Development Association. No Communist nation will receive IDA funds. The association will not lend to nations which expropriate foreign investments without adequate compensation. IDA has never made any loans to Government-owned industrial enterprises that would compete with private enterprise, nor will it do so in the future. It will not lend to countries which are unwilling to carry out needed economic and social reforms. IDA is managed by the World Bank, which is renowned for its high technical standards. Strict policies are followed in determining priorities, appraising projects, and negotiating credits. No loans are made until the plans are fully approved, and all procurement is by public bidding.

EXCELLENT PROGRAM

In short, the association represents an excellent approach to foreign aid. As I pointed out following IDA's earlier defeat in the House, it presents our best opportunity to pursue a program of meaningful assistance to developing countries, and to share with other affluent peoples the burden of securing economic strength for starving millions who are haunted daily by the specter of communism. I am pleased that many Republicans, on IDA's second trip to the House, acknowledged support of this point of view.

ROLLCALL NO. 139—FEDERAL INSURANCE COVERAGE

Although I was the only California Democrat to stand with a majority of Republicans in sending H.R. 5130 back to the Banking and Currency Committee for reconsideration, my vote reflected support for the Treasury Department, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

To fully understand the issues involved in this rollcall some background information is needed. Last summer, at the request of the Kennedy administration, the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee introduced H.R. 7404. The proposal called for a 50-percent increase in the maximum amount of insurance coverage for bank deposits and savings and loan accounts; it also contained provisions to protect further the safety and liquidity of insured institutions, to strengthen safeguards against conflicts of interest, and to set up standby controls over dividend rates. Unfortunately, the committee chairman never held hearings on this bill.

NO SAFEGUARDS

Some 6 months later, however, he held hearings on H.R. 5130. This measure proposed a 100-percent increase in Federal insurance coverage, but it contained none of the regulatory safeguards included in H.R. 7404. The administration was particularly concerned over H.R. 5130 because it felt that increasing insurance coverage from the present $10,000 per account to $20,000—without adequate safeguards—would tempt weaker institutions to compete more aggressively in the basis of interest rate alone, and would weaken existing incentives to careful and responsible management of the public's funds. Regrettably, the administration was not given an opportunity to present its views to the Banking and Currency Committee in formal testimony on the bill.

In voting to recommit H.R. 5130 it was my belief that the questions of increased insurance and adequate safeguards should be considered at the same time—the cart should not be put before the horse. This approach should be reflected in committee action. I believe it is important that legislators remain open-minded on matters which come before them, and I think that committee members—and the Congress—should be given every chance to listen to and consider the views of the executive agencies which are close to any given situation. I do not believe in legislating in the dark.

In addition to the lack of safeguards and irregular committee procedure, I have yet to be convinced that a 100-percent increase in deposit and share account insurance is justified. Recent figures provided by the FDIC indicate that 98 percent of all deposit accounts in insured banks have balances of less than $10,000 and are therefore fully protected by existing coverage. The figures for savings and loan associations indicate that 95 percent of all accounts are under $10,000, also presently protected.

DANGER CITED

Raising the insurance limits to $20,000 would affect perhaps only an additional 1 percent of all deposit accounts in insured banks and savings and loan institutions. In my judgment, this might be achieved at the expense of healthy competition between established institutions in the lending business. Institutions which advertise and pay high dividend rates would capitalize on the increase in insurance coverage in their efforts to attract savings from other lending institutions. To quote the Treasury Department:

> The danger in a substantial increase in insurance coverage, taken alone, is that it could encourage competitive and other practices among promotionally minded institutions that would tend to undermine their safety and solvency, since more depositors or account holders would be inclined simply to look to the Federal Government for protection in the event difficulties arose, instead of prudently assessing the management and performance of the institution concerned.

It is for all the reasons cited here that I voted against H.R. 5130.

Tribute to Senator McGovern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to the hard-working and brilliant Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] for his

tireless efforts to bring to the attention of the American people the problems of economic conversion.

Senator McGOVERN has demonstrated his talent as an excellent legislator in helping to guide many bills through the Senate; and those of us who support his bill, S. 2274, to establish an Economic Conversion Commission, are confident that passage of this vital legislation will be added to the growing list of legislative accomplishments of the junior Senator from South Dakota.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an editorial—which appeared in the New York Daily News, of June 8, 1964—describing the need for an Economic Conversion Commission.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM'S UNEMPLOYED

The United States owns and operates 6,800 military installations, here and around the world. Backing up these Army-Navy-Air Force locations are countless thousands of defense plants. Their paychecks are an important factor in their communities' economy.

But now, in the interest of the taxpayers, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has embarked on a drastic cutback program. Hundreds of aircraft, missile, aerospace, naval and such plants have been engaged in activities which no longer are regarded as essential. It's probably a sound idea to get them off the public back.

However, says Senator GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, haphazard shutdowns to date have caused serious hardships in at least 29 States, and he insists that Government-made poverty is bound to snowball.

MCGOVERN'S remedy, as spelled out before the Senate Commerce Committee, is the creation of a National Economic Conversion Commission to deal with the entire problem.

Defense firms about to be cut or shut down, he recommends, should be given plenty of advance notice, plus help in landing nondefense contracts. Plant personnel—as in our own Brooklyn Navy Yard or Long Island or New Jersey aircraft plants—would be steered to or trained for new jobs.

M'NAMARA CAN'T TELL

One grim feature of this growing, Washington-made unemployment emergency is that only the politically naive really expect Secretary McNamara to give adequate warning notices to any great number of defense plants before November. This is an election year.

But the McGovern plan is both sound and humane, and it or something like it must be adopted unless our Washington ruler-employers crave to be cursed from coast to coast. Here is one bill on which Congress, if only in its own interest, should act with alacrity.

The Moral Issue Is the Great Issue of Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very much impressed with a statement which has been prepared by a teenager in South Carolina, Mr. Marion C. Perry, of Simpsonville, S.C. His brief statement is entitled "The Great Issue of Our Time," and is one of the most incisive and eloquent statements I have read on the great issue facing our country today—the question of whether we are going to be free men or slaves and whether we are going to bow to the will of God or the will of man and materialism.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this outstanding statement by Mr. Perry.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"THE GREAT ISSUE OF OUR TIME"—STATEMENT BY MARION C. PERRY

The great issue of our time is not economic, it is moral. The United States has many problems. But one overshadows all others. That problem is morality. We try to buy and bribe the world.

God made man free. Men fought, bled, and died for freedom—God-given, individual freedom. Man is born free to choose, free to exercise his own will, to develop his own personality as long as he does not injure his fellow man. A slave is a person whose will is in the possession of another. The more decisions the Government denies us, the nearer we are to slavery.

Without freedom morality can't survive, without morality freedom can't survive. America has a great mission to perform—to save the world from slavery; to save the world for Christianity.

What can you do then? If our country can be saved from becoming a socialist-welfare dictatorship it can only be saved the same way it was founded; by rebellious patriots. By responsible citizens demanding a return to the Constitution, the greatest "freedom" document ever devised by man.

What can one person do? You can stand up and be counted—else you will be counted out. You can believe in your God, in your country, and in yourself and in that order. You can go to work for God and country. Maybe one man can't save our country, but he can try.

"It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep may be."

Anniversary Rites Sound Grim Defense Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Florida Times Union, probably Florida's outstanding newspaper, has published a thought-provoking editorial on the Fort Caroline 400th anniversary rites held recently near Jacksonville, comparing the Fort Caroline venture with present day military thinking. Vice Adm. John S. Thach, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Air, was the principal speaker. Congressman CHARLES E. BENNETT, who so ably represents the Jacksonville district, is the principal author of the Fort Caroline restoration. He, more than anyone else, designed and pushed through plans leading to the restoration of the fort and its historic 400th anniversary rites.

The editorial follows:

[From the Florida Times-Union, Jacksonville, Fla., June 23, 1964]

ANNIVERSARY RITES SOUND GRIM DEFENSE WARNING

A stroke of genius was evidenced by the program planners who arranged events today at Fort Caroline, in that they selected Vice Adm. John S. Thach, deputy chief of naval operations for air, as the principal speaker of the 400th anniversary rites.

A 16th century French admiral, Rene de Loudonniere, led the expedition which established the bastion on St. Johns Bluff in the name of religious freedom in 1564. In the four centuries that have elapsed, "military outputs" of all kinds have taken on different shapes, and are operated on a different philosophy—a philosophy that is symbolized by the presence a few miles distant from Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River of an aircraft carrier basin.

History being the theme of the ceremony today, as rightly it should be, let us not give all of our thought to the significance of that French fort on the St. Johns four centuries ago. The replica of that defense installation, which will be open to the public today, is a reminder of other events of the more recent past which have as much meaning as the first Protestant prayer said on these shores.

At the outbreak of World War II, the French were still thinking in terms of the military doctrine which built Fort Caroline. The fixed installation theory of conducting a war was responsible for the construction of the Maginot Line which has given its name to a defense posture that can be fatal to a nation. The French sat behind an established line of defenses and were encircled by the German panzers. They didn't understand the meaning of maneuver.

Admiral Thach is the product of a different age in warfare, and as a result of the "carrier thinking" in the U.S. Navy, he knows the value of the maneuverability of the sea arm's attack equipment. He and every other military man abhor the fixed defense philosophy because wars can only be won by staying on the offensive. Lack of aggressiveness is the greatest sin that a soldier can commit.

The Mayport carrier basin within sight of today's ceremonies is testimony to Jacksonville's stake in the preservation of this principle that must remain the essence of Uncle Sam's national defense philosophy.

Meanwhile, the confused and hesitant policy of our State Department in Vietnam and elsewhere offers a sign that the American nation is on the run, exposing an Achilles heel that is as vulnerable as France's Maginot Line thinking in World War II.

Voluntary Foreign Aid: Ancestor of the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP A. HART
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the imagination, enthusiasm, and directness of the Peace Corps have established a high standard for judging programs of assistance, and it is hoped that it will continue at this high level for many years to come. The Peace Corps is an important arm of American assistance abroad.

Of equal importance is the voluntary foreign aid carried out by American mis-

sionaries and voluntary agencies. Their activities, faithfully supported by millions of citizens in every corner of this country, have been in progress for many decades, and are truly an ancestor of the Peace Corps. The private voluntary efforts long have expressed America's concern for the world's needy; and the continued dedication of our missionaries and of the representatives of America's voluntary agencies inspires all who will look.

Today, America's religious communities and the voluntary agencies are also contributing directly to the operation of Government-sponsored assistance programs. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, I am keenly aware of the splendid work being done among refugees and displaced persons. The agencies are frequently the essential links between the Government programs and the person in need.

The partnership between these private agencies and our Federal Government is a great success, and is one of the brightest spots in our assistance programs abroad. Congress and the executive branch can take some pride in the encouragement given this partnership and voluntary foreign aid. The agencies must also be commended—and especially their dedicated representatives in the field—for their splendid and effective work in this total national effort to further the cause of justice and freedom throughout the world.

I feel sure that the American people, whose support of the agencies' programs is generous and sustained, will recognize the responsibility that Government programs be supported, as well.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Ancestor of the Peace Corps," from the Washington Daily News of May 26, 1964.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANCESTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

The dramatic success of the Peace Corps tends to distract public attention, and credit, from the similar and much older work of missionaries representing Christian churches in the United States.

These missionaries truly are the ancestors of the Peace Corps. Their example inspired its creation. And their efforts continue unabated, despite the fact our Government has moved into their chosen field. The world's reservoir of human misery and ignorance is so vast that both combined can affect only a small percentage of it.

Work of the missionaries is called to mind by the request of the Government of the Congo for more Methodist missionaries. The Methodist Church long has been working in the Congo and had 160 missionaries there before the civil war which started in 1961. The church still has 90 there and is preparing to answer the plea for more.

In June a "Congo task force" of 15 unmarried Methodist laymen will go to Brussels, Belgium, for an intensive course in the French language. Then they will go to the Congo for 2 years and a half, establishing missions and training the Congolese in their operation. Their pay will amount to little more than the satisfaction gained from helping their fellow men. The Congo Government wants them particularly to establish schools in remote areas. Education is a main problem in this new nation.

The Methodists, of course, are not alone in this missionary work. Most, or all, churches in the United States maintain missions abroad, including doctors as well as teachers. The work is financed by pennies and dimes in the collection plates. These missionaries have made more true friends for the United States than all our billions in foreign aid—and perhaps have done more lasting good.

Groundbreaking for New Ohio River Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Cannelton and Tell City are neighboring Indiana towns of some 2,000 and 7,000 population, respectively. Both are built on the banks of the Ohio River. Although there have long been efforts to construct a bridge in this area, spanning the river to the Kentucky side, it has always been necessary for residents to travel a considerable distance in order to cross into that neighboring State.

Consequently, the actual beginning of work on a bridge to connect Cannelton with Hawesville, Ky., is an event of considerable significance to this area. Groundbreaking ceremonies took place on Saturday, June 13, and it is expected that the bridge will be open to traffic by the end of 1966.

The Cannelton-Tell City News took note, in its issue of June 9, of the celebration planned for the groundbreaking day. I ask unanimous consent that two editorials from that issue be made a part of the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARRIVAL OF LONG ANTICIPATED BRIDGE

Saturday will be a historic day in Cannelton. That will be the date for groundbreaking exercises that will herald the start of the long anticipated Cannelton-Hawesville Bridge. Within 2 years and a half, people will be using this great, new avenue between Indiana and Kentucky. Great benefits will come to each State after its completion.

For generations people have been working to bring about construction of this span. It will be located at a spot that has been a historic crossing place for people through the entire life of civilization in this vicinity. the crossing here was a natural for canoes, rafts, rowboats, steam ferries, and now a stationery link that will start on the Indiana shore and extend to Kentucky. Through it, the two States will become as one, especially to those who live here.

Many people, disappointed at failures to build this bridge, had become downhearted about its chances of ever being built. Even as late as the early part of this summer, many remarked, "I'll believe it when I see it." We hope their fears have been dispelled. For the Cannelton-Hawesville Bridge will certainly be put up. In recent months, events have taken place that have demanded, more than ever, its construction.

Step by step this area is becoming one of the most vital spots in the industrial growth of the Ohio Valley. One giant step will come Saturday when the start of the span here is made. No vicinity, located along a major stream like the Ohio River, can develop without modern means of transportation. This bridge guarantees this locality will have that necessary facility. As traffic grows because this bridge is built and because new plants and enlarging ones demand additional routes of travel, the demand will be heard and answered to create new and additional developed roads. All of this follows hand in hand. There must be a bridge across a river where any big development is hoped for. We are getting that span now. In the years ahead the progress of our vicinity will reflect the historic impact of what is taking place in starting this bridge this week. It is truly one of the greatest events ever to happen here.

MANY COOPERATED TO BRING SUCCESS

When Cannelton-Hawesville Bridge is started Saturday, that action will reflect the cooperation that has been a part of its successful pursuit through the years. Any project of this kind demands hard work by many. Since such a program is usually developed after years of effort, there are always many who share in the work to make its birth a sure thing.

That has been true here. A bridge is to be started with ground breaking ceremonies Saturday. It will be a fact that this can be done because of the unselfish devotion to duty and hard work of scores and scores of people through the years.

For at least four decades, the prime motive in this area has been to secure a bridge that would link Indiana and Kentucky at Cannelton and Hawesville. That means many have taken on the task of bringing about this span. Down through those years, every step has been important in the final, successful conclusion of the job. For through the work of those living and dead who have worked for this bridge, the project has been kept alive and vibrant, so that when the hour was right, the final, successful blow could be struck.

There's no telling how many letters have been written, how many miles have been traveled, how many meetings held and how many people have joined in the work to get this bridge—and the one that will soon be contracted for at Mauckport. When the glistening new spans are finished and life returns to normal and use of the bridges become taken for granted, the real history of endeavor will be a worthwhile one. Because it has brought about something that is great and necessary for growth in this modern world.

Thus, it is fitting, that in this moment of great realization we remember this effort was shared by many. Some will be present Saturday, some will be unable to attend because of other requirements, while some cannot be here because they have passed on from this world. Yet, because there was always someone ready to rise up and strike a lick for this great program, we are able to celebrate this week, the actual start of the bridge's construction. This is another place where so many owe so much to those who didn't hide when the call for work was sounded.

Poverty and the Dropout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, as Americans, we proudly

boast that our country is a land of equal opportunity. Yet, cruel economic circumstance annually bars the way to a decent high school education for over one-third of our young people. We are faced with the terrifying trend of poverty. Children are forced to leave school, to work to help support the family. Thus, they—in turn—find no path to better their own future. Poverty begets itself.

As Governor Hughes, of my own State, has so well stated:

We have for a long time talked about inherited wealth, but we never talk about inherited poverty—and we should.

I agree.

Indeed, Thomas Jefferson deeply believed that the unique quality of the new society created by our forefathers was its openness and its mobility—the freedom which allows all who have the ability to rise. But lack of education defeats this hope. Aspiring young Americans have been one of our greatest sources of strength; we must not, through complacency, permit them to become our most severe weakness.

We cannot afford to turn our backs. We cannot, and should not, punish a child because of the economic circumstance into which he is born. To do so is tantamount to punishing the future of our Nation, under the callous philosophy that a child's predicament is due to stupidity and lack of ambition.

On March 4, I sponsored, along with 17 other Senators, a bill to alleviate the growing problem of high school dropouts.

So important is this problem, that a proposal similar to S. 2594 was incorporated into President Johnson's poverty bill.

Failure to gain a high school education has a crushing effect on both the individuals involved and society as a whole. It belies the sustaining concept of American democracy—equal opportunity for all citizens. It stifles economic and technological advancement. It creates an unproductive burden on the taxpayer, in the form of increased relief rolls. And—perhaps most self-defeating—lack of education perpetuates inability to live and work in a society committed to independence, self-reliance, and technical know-how. Social progress and economic progress spring from improved educational standards offered to more Americans. Only then will the great minds of today find successors who can guide us to a better tomorrow.

Mr. President, the distressing magnitude of the high school dropout situation has been perceptively presented by Sylvia Porter, in the Washington Star. She has blasted the myth that dropouts are neither inherently equipped nor eager to learn.

I hope all Members of Congress and, indeed, all other Americans will take this opportunity to read of a vexing problem which demands our immediate and thoughtful attention.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH—DROPOUT FIGURES TRULY ALARMING

(By Sylvia Porter)

At this peak of the high school dropout season, let me submit some hitherto undisclosed statistics about who is dropping out this year which I suspect will stun you as they have just stunned me.

A full 82,500 who will drop out of high school in 1964 alone have the scholastic ability to complete a college program and to make a significant contribution to our economy and society. These represent a tremendous loss to our Nation.

Another 375,000 who will leave this year without getting a diploma have the potential to complete difficult post-high school vocational programs and to fill our urgent need for trained technicians. These represent an enormous loss, too.

HEADED FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

An additional 150,000 who will drop out have enough intelligence to complete special high school courses designed for them and to acquire the skills with which to earn a decent living. They'll not find the courses, though, and they'll be heading for the jobless rolls.

Only 142,500 of all who will drop out are at the bottom of the IQ pile and need special education programs. But they won't find the programs. But they won't find the programs either and they'll join our swelling numbers of unemployed juvenile delinquents and welfare cases.

Despite the many-pronged attack we are launching on the dropout problem, the estimate still is that in this decade of the 1960's 7.5 million will leave high school before graduation. The above breakdown, made by O. Roy Warner of the U.S. Office of Education, signals what is to happen in 1964 alone and indicates what sort of teenager is quitting.

Consider the startling implications of these statistics on the brainpower and potential of the dropout. The widespread impression that the dropout is a dullard with a below-normal IQ is not true. On the contrary, 61 percent—or 4,575,000 of this decade's dropouts—have the ability to complete tough vocational-technical programs and college.

WASTE IS DEVASTATING

The waste of human resources and talent—in an era when the economy is demanding increasing education and when a shortage of skilled manpower could undermine our future growth—is devastating.

Mr. Warner evaluated 21,497 dropouts tested in 9 studies carried on at the Federal, State, and city levels. The students were ranked on the standardized scale: An IQ below 80 indicates the need for special education; an IQ between 80 and 89 indicates the need for special high school courses; an IQ between 90 and 109 indicates the student can complete vocational-technical programs; an IQ of 110 and above indicates the student can complete college. Here's how the 21,497 came out.

Only 19 percent had IQ's of less than 80 and only 20 percent had IQ's between 80 and 89.

A full 50 percent had IQ's between 90 and 109, and about 11 percent had IQ's of 110 and above.

VERSATILE EDUCATION

We must drastically revise our school curriculums to make the education more versatile and compelling. We must provide far more postschool training programs for the millions of students capable of becoming skilled technicians. We must develop special courses for the low IQ groups to make them capable of holding jobs. We must upgrade the caliber and dignity of vocational education across the board as rapidly as possible. We must vastly improve our guidance services. We must make a searching examination of our own attitudes toward types of education, insist not just on a reappraisal of our education system but also on follow-up corrective action.

As Mr. Warner says, though, no matter "how versatile the school curriculum, how effective the guidance services, or how many special programs are developed, it will not be possible to keep every potential dropout in school. The home, the church, and other societal institutions must assist the school if the problem is to be solved."

On every front, the gap between what we're doing and what we should be doing is awful.

Wheat Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to insert in the RECORD a letter dated July 1, 1964, addressed to me and signed by E. A. Jaenke, Associate Administrator of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture, which, of course, is self-explanatory.

It seems to me that all of this adds up to the fact that the new wheat program is in the interest of wheat farmers, our consumers, and in the interest of the taxpayers of our country.

The letter follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE, OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR,
Washington, D.C., July 1, 1964.

Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. COOLEY: During our visit this morning you indicated that some farmers in North Carolina had contacted you regarding the new wheat program of 1964. It appeared that these producers felt they did not have an opportunity to participate in the program.

While we all realize that it was necessary that wheat legislation be enacted this spring after most of the wheat in the fall-seeded areas was already planted, nevertheless and, in fact, because of the relative lateness of the new program, the ASC organization took every possible step to make sure that every farmer was aware of the provisions of the new program and how they might affect him. Since our visit this morning I checked with the North Carolina State ASC office and found that in addition to the notification of their 1964 allotments, mailed to every farmer prior to last year's referendum, the following actions were taken after enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1964:

(a) All county committeemen and county office managers attended 2-day meetings on April 16 and 17 to have the new program explained to them.

(b) All persons with allotments were sent a new mailing which included a description of the program (PA–618 attached) and a letter from the county office informing them of the time and place of signup and other localized program provisions.

(c) All farms with wheat allotments were visited by county employees for the purpose of measuring 1964 wheat if the farmer so desired. This afforded an opportunity to discuss the program.

(d) The signup period was extended to May 22 to provide additional time for farmers to avail themselves of the opportunity to visit the county offices and sign up to participate in the program.

(e) Farmers were mailed followup letters giving them an opportunity to participate in the program. In some counties, as many as four letters were sent to wheatgrowers.

(f) Releases to public information media were numerous. In general, very good coverage was received on radio and TV stations and in newspapers.

While we believe that the program offers definite advantages to the producer who cooperated, I want to reiterate that even the noncooperating producer is better off than he would have been in the absence of the wheat bill passed this spring. He benefits from an increase in the loan level to participants, and he benefits by the reduced production on participating farms.

I trust the above information will be helpful in answering inquiries. We stand ready to assist you at any time in any way.

Sincerely,

E. A. JAENKE,
Associate Administrator.

Lithuanian-American Congress Resolution Adopted in Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, our Nation's Capital played host to the Lithuanian-American Congress, whose delegates came here from all over the United States to participate in their quadrennial convention in Washington.

Following is the resolution adopted by the patriotic organization whose dedication to freedom and justice deserves the admiration of all Americans. It is fitting that we here in Congress should share the aspirations of these dedicated Americans of Lithuanian descent who continue to wage the battle for liberation from Communist oppression of their countrymen in Lithuania.

I am confident President Johnson shares with these loyal Americans the hope that we, as a nation, must do all within our strength to restore freedom and dignity to all people of the world. The United States, to this day, refuses to recognize the illegal seizure of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia by the Communists. And we shall continue to refuse such recognition until Lithuania and her two Baltic neighbors can again join the family of free nations.

The resolution follows:

MEMORANDUM

To: The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States.

From: The Lithuanian American Congress, convened in Washington, D.C., June 26–28, 1964, by the Lithuanian American Council, Inc.

Recent developments in Eastern Europe and the Baltic States are of deep concern to the 1 million Americans of Lithuanian descent. In behalf of these citizens, the Lithuanian American Congress calls your attention to several items concerning the interests of the United States and the cause of freedom for the Baltic States.

As stated in one of your recent addresses: "Peace depends upon rebuilding old European civilization within historic boundaries. * * * Freedom is the tide of history."

While some Eastern European nations appear to be reasserting their identities, we are dismayed by the plight of the Baltic States, whose situation remains unchanged since 1940. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia continue to be militarily and politically dominated by a giant neighbor. The prerogative of self-determination has been taken from these Baltic people.

We have been encouraged by the consistent refusal of the U.S. Government to recognize the forced incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. This policy has been reaffirmed by every administration since it was voiced in 1940 by the then Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

Mr. President, we respectfully ask your assurance that this policy shall be continued under your administration, and that you consider the implementation of the following:

1. Activation of the nonrecognition principle by stressing at every opportunity the restoration of independence to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

2. Use of the United Nations and all other appropriate international forums to request restoration of human rights and national freedom to the Baltic people.

3. Expanding coverage of the Baltic States by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and other means of communication in the truth campaign.

4. Encourage establishment of a Captive Nations Committee in the House of Representatives to study the Baltic situation and recommend an honorable solution of the problem.

5. Avoid cultural, economic, or other agreements with the Soviet Union which could or would be detrimental to the captive nations.

6. Refuse to enter into any nonaggression pacts with the Soviet Union which would serve to bolster Soviet colonialism and make the liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia more difficult to achieve.

Mr. President, we ask your indulgence in these matters not only because we are deeply concerned for the people and the land of our forefathers, but also because we are convinced that the suggested actions are vital to the national interests of the United States and the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world.

Dr. Leonard Carmichael

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Leonard Carmichael and his good wife, Pearl Kidston Carmichael deserve the thanks of the U.S. Congress and the American people for the fine and successful service they rendered during Dr. Carmichael's service as secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

As I believe the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution presentation of its appreciation to Leonard Carmichael will receive wide acceptance in the United States, I am submitting it for the U.S. Congress and the American people:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

There follows the text of the resolution adopted by the Board of Regents to signify the gratitude of the Board for Dr. Carmichael's distinguished service to the Smithsonian Institution.

"SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

"The Board of Regents presents this tribute of appreciation to Leonard Carmichael, greetings:

"*Be it resolved,* Whereas on January 31, 1964, Leonard Carmichael will retire as Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, after 11 years of superb leadership and achievement in that office; and

"Whereas in his tenure as the seventh Secretary since 1846, remarkable advances in the usefulness and the vision of the Institution were made, redounding to his credit, to ours, and to the people of the United States. Among these advances were:

"Enlargement of the professional staff in numbers and distinction, expansion of the scholarly publication program and its continued worldwide acclaim, planning, supervision of construction, and opening of the great new Museum of History and Technology.

"Of notable importance also were the enlargement of the Museum of National History, transfer of the handsome and historic U.S. Patent Office Building to the Smithsonian as a long-sought National Portrait Gallery, and for the children of the Nation and the young-in-heart, a wonderfully improved National Zoological Park.

"With his knowledge and deft touch, almost all public displays were modernized and many new exhibit halls were opened, the famed Astrophysical Observatory, relocated in Cambridge, Mass., turned its farseeing eyes to space-age projects, including the establishment of satellite observing stations around the globe;

"As an Ex-Offico Trustee, Dr. Carmichael has been tireless in his efforts on behalf of the National Cultural Center, a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution, now renamed the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts by action of the Congress. Likewise, the National Gallery of Art, also a bureau of the Smithsonian Institution, has greatly benefited by the distinguished services rendered by Dr. Carmichael as an Ex-Officio Trustee of the National Gallery;

"Moreover, in Dr. Carmichael's tenure the endowment funds of the institution were greatly increased, both through gain in investment value and through generous new gifts and bequests. In the conduct of the financial affairs of the Smithsonian he has evidenced exceptional financial prudence and sagacity;

"Finally, we commend to public attention that now upward of 15 million Americans annually visit the Smithsonian Institution to be inspired and instructed by its public displays and scientific research collections of more than 57 million objects; therefore,

"*By this resolution, which will be spread upon the record,* The Chancellor and Board of Regents reaffirm their admiration for and gratitude to Dr. Leonard Carmichael for all he has done to bring the Smithsonian Institution to its present state of prestige and usefulness. They rejoice that, in retirement, he will still be available for advice and counsel. They are proud of this able, dedicated, kindly man. They think that James Smithson would have been proud, too.

"Unanimously adopted by the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution January 23, 1964.

"Robert V. Fleming, Chairman, Executive Committee; Earl Warren, Chancellor; Clint P. Anderson, J. W. Fulbright, Leverett Saltonstall, Frank T. Bow, Clarence Cannon, Michael J. Kirwan, John Nicholas Brown, William A. M. Burden, Crawford H. Greenewalt, Caryl P. Haskins, and Jerome C. Hunsaker."

Cuba Today—Last of a Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 25, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with my remarks made earlier, I include the last installment of the Washington Star series on Cuba in the RECORD:

CUBA TODAY—SOCIALISM BRINGS DESPAIR TO NATION

(By Bruce Taylor)

The people who run Cuba tell you that what is happening there today is "socialism with a cha-cha-cha." The inference, of course, is that life on the island is a gay affair.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more removed from the truth. Cuba is a nation of despair.

You see it in the incredible scenes of heartbreak when one or more members of a family who finally have been given authorization to leave the island are being seen off at Havana airport by those who must stay behind. They know they may never see each other again.

A Santa Clara man and his 4-year-old son, the only members of a family of seven who have been allowed to leave, have been waiting more than 2 years to get the exit visas for which the entire family applied. They must go now because it will be their only chance. They can only hope the others will be permitted to follow in time.

STRIPPED OF POSSESSIONS

They are stripped of everything but the clothes on their backs. A pin of no value that belonged to the man's grandmother is taken from his, as is his tie bar. His watch is demanded. So is every last centavo in his pocket.

The little boy is afraid of the guard who is searching him. His only possession is a pocket comb and he cries when the guard takes it from him. He tries to retrieve it. The guard shoves him away.

The man says nothing. He has heard of people getting all the way to the plane, only to be dragged from their seats at the last moment. Nor does he say anything to anyone other than the boy while the plane is in flight.

He walks stiffly from the aircraft at Mexico City, holding his son close to him. The man is crying when he comes into the immigration area.

USE GLOWING TERMS

Two people near him are talking. One is a self-described freelance writer from Canada's west coast. The other is a Belgian woman. They have come over from Cuba on the same flight, and are discussing Mr. Castro in glowing terms.

The man looks at them in disbelief. "You are Communists?" he asks in heavy accents.

The woman smiles condescendingly. "Socialists."

"You are fools," ths Cuban says. "Crazy fools." He takes his son to the other side of the room.

And you see despair in the eyes of the beautiful young mother of 22 who has become a prostitute in Havana in order to feed and clothe her 2-year-old daughter.

She knows she will go to jail if she is caught. Prostitution once was a flourishing industry in Cuba, but is outlawed now.

FAMILY WAS WEALTHY

She comes from a family which was wealthy before the revolution, and is well educated. She was married in her teens to a prosperous businessman from another Latin American country and went there to live with him. He died while she was pregnant. She wasn't really aware of what had happened to Cuba in her absence, and returned to Havana to be with her family when she gave birth. Now, she can't leave.

She has been able to buy only two pairs of shoes for her baby. She cut the toes out of them as the child grew. She says she has difficulty buying enough milk for her daughter, even on the black market. Twice the baby was sick, and she couldn't get a doctor.

Is prostitution the only answer?

She shrugs. "They know I am a gusano (a worm, someone opposed to the government) and will give me a menial job at the minimum pay of 85 pesos a month. It cost me more than that for food."

DREAMS OF ESCAPE

She, like most other Cubans, cherishes a dream of escape. She says she belongs to a group which is planning to steal an airplane. She knows the penalty for even plotting such a scheme, but says she is not afraid.

"My daughter and I would be better off dead than have to live here," she says. "I will kill her before they can take her from me for one of their schools."

She speaks with such quite sincerity you believe her.

Cuba is controlled by a minority which has created the means of maintaining control. It performed a very necessary task 5 years ago, and set off on a patch of noble intentions. Along the way it went awry.

It wallows now in the eminence of its position. It takes for itself the best of whatever is available: The good cars, the good food, the good clothes, the good homes.

EPITOME OF OPULENCE

Photographer Adrian Lunny and I spent 2 days and a night in Manzanillo at the home maintained for visiting party leaders. It was the very epitome of opulence. It had a swimming pool and huge, immaculately kept gardens. Its table setting would have done justice to a maharajah.

At our final dinner, one of our party leader hosts pushed away the remains of one of the finest meals I had ever shared, and leaned forward to wipe his mouth on the hem of the exquisite damask tablecloth.

"Well now," he asked, interrupting himself with a belch, "do you still believe the lies of the Yankee imperialists that there is a food shortage in Cuba?"

Across the street, other Cubans were coming home to their palm-thatched huts with their meager quota of rationed foodstuffs.

YANKEE SCAPEGOAT

The "Yankee imperialists" are the convenient scapegoat for everything that goes wrong on the island. Mr. Castro runs his country like a crooked labor leader runs a union; he talks about all the wonderful things that are going to happen, uses force to beat down opposition, and tries to take his people's minds off what he is doing by keeping them angry at someone else.

In Mr. Castro's case, the target is the United States. It has been blamed for everything imaginable, including last year's failure of the tomatoes to grow.

Oddly enough, the Stars and Stripes are carried in all Cuban parades, and Cuban soldiers on the far side of the 3-mile-wide no man's land salute the flag when it is lowered every evening at the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base.

Why?

"Because we aren't mad at the American people," explains an official in the Cuban Foreign Ministry. "We hate only their Government."

TOLD PEOPLE ELECT

But it is the American people who elect the Government, he is told.

"That's a lie," he retorts. "The Government is elected by the capitalists and the monopolists. The people have no voice."

He believes it. Everyone who is close to Mr. Castro believes it. The entire population of Cuba is coming to believe it. Their propaganda tells them so.

It blares night and day from radios and sound trucks. Television is one continuous political harangue. Every available space on homes and buildings and streets is taken up by signs and banners. The country's newspapers are no more than propaganda sheets. They are subscribers to Tass news service and to Prensa Latina, a service which does little more than rewrite United Press International and Associated Press to conform with Cuba's political line.

We ran into two outstanding examples of this.

One was a story carried on the front pages of all newspapers in Cuba to the effect that Prime Minister Pearson virtually had told President Johnson to go fly a kite in the matter of Canada's continuing trade with Cuba. The stories indicated there had been a great deal of vituperation in Person's remarks, and quoted him at great length.

We were in Pinar del Rio at the time. A copy of a newspaper containing the story was shown to us by a government official who was very pleased. "Good for Canada," he said.

We learned from the Canadian Embassy when we returned to Havana, however, that all Mr. Pearson had done was answer "no" to a question by Opposition Leader Diefenbaker as to whether Canada was planning changes in its trade with socialist countries. There had been no mention of Cuba. The whole thing had been made up by an imaginative Prensa Latina hack on orders of the Cuban Government.

CONCERNED DIRECTLY

The second example concerned me directly. Lunny and I were photographed when we arrived by air in Santiago. I told the reporter who interviewed me that we were on a tour of the country to see what changes had come about since I lived there in 1957, prior to the revolution. That was all.

The next day we were on the front page of the newspaper Sierra Maestra. Among other things, I was "quoted" about how impressed I had been by the May Day celebrations in Havana. And to top it off, the newspaper called me "el companero Taylor"—Comrade Taylor.

Mr. Castro's May Day parade does more to impress foreigners than Cubans. Propaganda ordering Habaneros to the parade begins to build up about 6 weeks before the event. It is intense in the week just prior to it.

FEW DARE SHUN PARADE

Few dare shun it. As the marchers pass Mr. Castro's reviewing stand at the base of the towering monument to Jose Marti, the man who led Cuba's fight for independence from Fidel."

If you don't listen too closely, it sounds like: "Sieg heil, sieg heil."

The Cuban propaganda machine is aimed now at Havana's next big parade, July 26, to mark the 11th anniversary of the start of the Castro revolution.

The third big parade of the year is January 2. It commemorates the fall of the Batista government on New Year's Day 1959. It is held a day late to give the Cubans time to recover from their New Year's celebrations. This is the one in which Mr. Castro shows off his military strength.

Mr. Castro spends untold fortunes on internal propaganda. Cubans have learned to live with most of it, but some of it causes great bitterness.

WOMEN ARE BITTER

Cuban women are unable to buy linen and other whitewear. There is little available in the stores. Yet, every time there is a parade or special event, tens of thousands of banners and streamers made of whitewear flutter out all over the country.

Women, in fact, are among Mr. Castro's most dissatisfied subjects. They cannot buy things to make themselves pretty, as in the days of Batista.

The only stockings available to them are from East Europe, and are heavy and unattractive. Lipstick is hard to come by, and a $2 cake of mascara sells for $25 on the black market. Brassieres are sturdy, but hardly flattering. There is an acute shortage of razor blades, and the women are horrified by the prospect of being unable to control the growth of hair on their legs. Mr. Castro now wants them to stop wearing scanty bathing suits and the form-fitting sheath dresses that are their trademark.

Cuban women are among the most beautiful in the world, and are aware of it. They will abide all manner of shortages and inconvenience. But their pride is severely hurt now, and that is the one thing they will not accept.

It is the small things, far too numerous to chronicle in detail, which piled upon the continuing failures of Mr. Castro's major programs, have produced the great resentment toward, and growing lack of cooperation with, his government.

He now is preparing to nationalize the taxi industry, one of the very few remaining fields of free enterprise on the island. Almost all Cubans will be working directly for the state.

Cubans are not by nature self-sacrificing people. They are not at all pleased by the growing awareness they will never again revert to the over-all material well-being of pre-Castro days, and that everything now is projected in terms of succeeding generations.

ALL RIGHT FOR OTHERS

"That was all right for the Russians and the Chinese," says a disgruntled former member of the Castro government still living, but precariously, in Havana. "They had nothing to begin with when they adopted communism.

"We had plenty. Now we have less." He went into the bathroom of my Capri Hotel room for a glass of water, and spewed it into the sink. It was sea water. The fresh water plumbing had broken down.

If there are two positive points of Mr. Castro's revolution, they are the education he has made available, and the increased sense of dignity he has brought to such people as the sugar workers who had been so cruelly exploited by the U.S. companies. They are no better off materially now, but at least they feel they no longer are serfs of foreigners.

RETAINS LOYALTIES

Mr. Castro still maintains the loyalty of most youth, the army, a very small segment of the laboring class and, of course, his substantial number of government officials.

All others are opposed to him, including a proportionate number of the Negro third of the population, against whom official discrimination has been ended and to whom most miracles have been promised.

Mr. Castro is making ever louder threats against the United States. He warns now he will shoot down the U–2 reconnaissance planes which are of such great annoyance to him as soon as the Russians fulfill their promise to turn over control of their surface-to-air missiles to him.

His opponents in Cuba hope he will, indeed, shoot one down and that the action will trigger armed repercussion by the United States.

SHORT OF AGGRESSION

However, for all his threats, Mr. Castro so far has stopped short of anything that might be considered an act of aggression. An example was his threat to take over the U.S. Embassy Building in Havana, now occupied by Swiss diplomats. The Swiss warned him of possible consequences, and he relented.

In total, the Cubans are in a quandary. Most hate Mr. Castro's system, and want it destroyed. But they know that the only way it can be destroyed is a full-scale invasion supported by the United States.

And they certainly do not want to revert to unrestricted U.S. exploitation.

Somewhere, they hope, is an answer.

A Crisis of Legality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, by July 4, Americans who are deeply committed to the ideals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all, will witness a milestone in American history: the enactment of the long-awaited civil rights bill.

The problems we are now to face in implementing this great legislative achievement are enormous. The highly respected dean of Yale University Law School, Eugene V. Rostow, sees the problem revolving around the respect that the law will receive from the people antagonistic to it. We have had certain ideals for over 200 years and only now are we beginning to see our way clear to the fulfillment of them. Now we will take a giant step forward; we will have enacted a law to enforce these ideals. Are we mature enough to respect this law? These are the problems Dean Rostow poses, and the following article from the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin for June 1964 offers some profound insights into them:

A CRISIS OF LEGALITY

(Equality cannot be achieved as long as law is resisted and contempt of court tolerated, says the dean of Yale Law School.)

(By Eugene V. Rostow)

It is characteristic of our outlook that we no longer give the Devil his due. In our hearts, we don't believe in the existence of evil. We tend to think that evil is really antisocial behavior, to be explained as neurosis, and cured by social workers, or, in serious cases, by psychiatrists.

Mankind used to have more respect for evil. Milton knew how attractive it is, and so did Goethe. Less sophisticated artists have vividly portrayed the necessity for man to wrestle with devils if he wished to achieve good. And they knew that the outcome of such struggles was by no means assured.

Today we celebrate progress in the long, slow history of our effort to achieve, in fact, the social decency we profess; we celebrate signal victories in the war against evil. But the war is not won. The victories we cheer do not end what John P. Roche has called so well "The Quest for the Dream:" that dream of freedom for every man. It is a dream of many colors. None of us can evade it entirely, or indefinitely. It includes our commitment to the ideal of libertarian dignity protected by law, but so respected by custom and opinion that it no longer needs the protection of law.

The explosive development of our law of civil rights during this generation has outstripped the reach of judge-made law, although law made by judges in a common law way will continue to be a factor of primary importance in the evolution of our liberties. But the political branches of the Government, and many classes of private bodies and associations, have been willing for far too long to leave the bulk of the task to the judges. Now, elected officials and private associations must be led by public opinion to take their share of responsibility for the condition of freedom. At this point, social and political action, public and private, is needed on a far wider scale than any we have yet achieved if we are to fulfill the just demands of our people, and the plain intendment of the law.

During the last decade, responding to the lead of the Supreme Court, the political process and public opinion have begun to break out of the chrysalis of their passivity. The Nation has soberly begun to realize the magnitude of the social changes which will be required to make good our constitutional promises to the Negro. But equality for the Negro as a citizen and as a human being is not the only area of our social behavior where our performance falls short of our professions. In other branches of our law and custom touching on human rights, the challenge to our conscience is quite as acute, although the political power behind the challenge is weaker.

We must continue to labor for improvement of the law, but above all for its enforcement. There is need for new programs, new institutions, new policies, and new doctrines; need to carry our quest for the dream forward in the courts, in Congress, and in other forums where the law is made. And we need the will and spark to carry the quest forward from the courts and the law books into every police station and every slum of the Nation, into every school board and bar association, every church and synagogue, every college and university, every real estate board and voting booth, and every jury panel.

For most of our history as a nation, we have been content to close our eyes to wide gaps between our official creed and social reality. We have nailed our sacred documents to the door—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution—and we have genuflected when we passed them, but we callously tolerated their betrayal, or their most haphazard enforcement, in every area of their application to human rights and civic privileges.

In the 19th century, in a pattern of ebb and flow, the Supreme Court developed the tools and accumulated the power which it has been using with such mastery in our time. Then as now, our minds were dominated by the vista of equality. But our social life was marred by habits of repression and restriction.

In this century, at an accelerating pace, we have witnessed a remarkable transformation. American society has made great progress toward social justice; and the law, and lawyers, have played a constructive role. But the progress is not a victory of law alone. It did not take place only because imaginative lawyers and creative judges spun eloquent webs of words in the courts and in the law books. They did that, of course, a long and honorable line of them—Clarence Darrow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Erskine and Seward, Arthur Garfield Hays, Walter Pollak, Brandeis, Hughes and many others whose example is part of our heritage. But a number of forces, and a number of historical experiences, made it possible for their views to gain steadily in strength.

Since the turn of the century, when the progressive movement began to temper the social blindness of the gilded age, the American people have debated, considered, resisted and gradually absorbed a series of proposals put forward by the courts, and particularly by the Supreme Court of the United States, as interpretations and applications of the Constitution. The 14th amendment was read to apply the Bill of Rights to the States. State criminal pro-

cedure and practice, and State controls over political activity, were brought under national surveillance, and required more and more emphatically to meet national standards. And so the whole spectrum of our modern law of liberty developed, from equality in apportionment and the ancient freedom to travel, to the cases dealing with the exercise of religion, the position of citizens before Congress, and, of course, the rights, privileges and immunities of the Negro. It is a most remarkable, indeed an astonishing achievement, one of the finest accomplishments of our culture.

Proposals of the law have helped to reshape our society, not because law is magic, and not because the power of the State imposes it. The law prevails only if it corresponds to and in time becomes the willing view of the people themselves. Our law of human dignity is prevailing over contrary custom only because it corresponds to the deepest aspirations of our social order, our notion of what we want our law to become, as contrasted with the State of the law in the streets of Harlem, or Jackson, Miss. It prevails only when the strongest kind of political and social effort is made to overcome the tenacious inertia of old habits and of the old order.

In many parts of the law of civil rights, the law on the books has far outstripped the law in action. The normal self-corrective processes of bringing practice into line with the changing law have proved to be too slow and too casual for present-day circumstances. The law is being resisted; in many places State courts and local police officials refuse to comply with the Supreme Court's views on what due process requires in procedures of arrest, arraignment, interrogation, and trial. And in every area of social life, and in every part of the country, we are now beginning to realize that to achieve constitutional equality for the Negro will require not merely the Federal marshals who went to Oxford, Miss., or the troops who went to Little Rock, but commitment, and devoted action by almost every branch of our National and State Governments, and by responsible bodies of citizens everywhere.

For what we face today, in many parts of the country, North and South, is not a crisis of Negro rights, important as they are, but a crisis of legality. This contest is our Algeria. The resistance movement, North and South, is careful to avoid a head-on defiance of a specific court order. The leaders know that open contempt of court will not be tolerated. But we are tolerating contempt of court once removed. We have tolerated it for years, until it has become second nature to us. And we have tolerated it on so large a scale that the character and stability of our society are now challenged, as they have not been challenged for a century.

It is contrary to our temperament to anticipate trouble. Our formidable national capacity for action is normally mobilized only after we have had the shock of a Fort Sumter or a Pearl Harbor. I hope we now realize that the frustrations and hypocrisies of the last decade—the violence of Alabama and Mississippi; the hundreds of unpunished beatings, acts of intimidation and murders; the atmosphere of fear and repression, and of mounting tension in so many parts of the country—are danger signals quite as real and quite as dangerous as those of Fort Sumter and of Pearl Harbor.

The coming together of a civil rights coalition of both parties in the Congress is a hopeful sign for the future. But it will bring progress, rather than more despair, only if those who are joining together in this fight realize that it has only begun, and that their coalition is not a temporary alliance for a single purpose but a new beginning in American politics.

The struggle requires a change in our social policy as far reaching as the change in our concept of social justice during the thirties when we accepted unemployment, old age, and disaster as responsibilities of government. Now we must take another long step toward social justice—the acceptance of the Negro as a genuinely equal member of the community after centuries in which his status has been the most difficult problem of American politics and of the American conscience.

For the present crisis will not abate until Negroes vote in the South, and serve on juries; until schools and churches and trade unions throughout the Nation are integrated in fact; until careers are really open to talent; until the basic obstacle of discrimination in housing is genuinely excised, not by half-hearted token gestures, but by a massive regrouping of peoples into neighborhoods which can serve as the true base of a unified society.

To accomplish these ends, more is needed than victory in a few scattered lawsuits. Men must wish to obey the law even when they are not directly commanded to obey it by a specific decree in which they are named.

Let us be clear about what this proposition means: we can hope that the President, with the remarkable fervor of his being, will succeed in persuading southern Governors to enforce the law with regard to voting, schools, juries, and public accommodations, and equally will persuade northern Governors to enforce the law with regard to schools, housing, and jobs. But we must be prepared for the situation if his mission is only partly successful. The massive resistance to law of the last decade is no longer tolerable. It will have to be recognized for what it has been and is—a movement of civil disobedience—and dealt with as such.

We shall have to develop procedures of law enforcement commensurate in scope with the defiance of law we confront today. Take the case of juries and of voting, two of the most basic protections of the individual against the State. There is no possible doubt that jury commissioners and voting registrars are breaking the law of the Nation in many parts of the South. But the Nation is not impotent. There are remedies which can and should be involved unless the course of disobedience is soon abandoned. I have in mind the potentials for action by the Congress which are here in two parts of the Constitution: in that momentous sentence in article IV—once called the sleeping giant of the Constitution—which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and in the equally momentous sentences of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments which give Congress the power to enforce each of those amendments by appropriate legislation.

I contend that a State which systematically denies the vote to a half or a third or a quarter of its citizens does not possess a republican form of government. And I contend that the grants of power to Congress in the three great amendments which followed the Civil War permit adequate and effective national action to hold the States to high national standards in dealing with the rights, privileges, and immunities of our people wherever State action, or custom having the force of law, operates to restrict them.

Apart from new procedures of law enforcement, and the specific development of our judge-made law in many areas, I urge another kind of step. Our constructive experience with the Civil Rights Commission suggests its development in this field as the "Ministry of Justice" proposed by Judge Cardozo 40 years ago. He urged the need for special bodies to help the courts in the adaptation of law to justice: bodies whose business it would be to give warning that help is needed. Such a body could mediate between courts and legislatures, whose work now moves on in proud and silent isolation. Its duty would be to watch the law in action, observe the manner of its functioning and report the need for changes. In part, such work is the business of the law schools, and of the organized bar. But for various reasons, their work, while sometimes useful, does not and cannot meet the need, and the Department of Justice, for all its strength, is necessarily too much absorbed in the fray to be a research organization as well. The taking on of this function by a strong permanent Civil Rights Commission, for the whole range of our liberties under the Bill of Rights—its development as a body studying the actual condition of the law and proposing its systematic improvement by judges, legislatures, and administrative bodies—should help to assure advancement both in our law and in the climate of opinion and practice which define it.

It is important to avoid self-deception and self-congratulation. Opinions of the Supreme Court, however eloquent, are words, means to social improvement, never to be confused with improvement itself. I do not undervalue the power of eloquence in human affairs, nor the strength of our loyalty to the values for which the Supreme Court speaks. But in the end, the Court's work will prevail only if we make it prevail, all of us, those in high positions and in little ones, our visitors from Olympus and those who labor in neighborhoods and precincts and churches and in the humble local committees meeting at night, in old school buildings or city halls, where the decisions are made that truly determine the quality of our society.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, June 19, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the best statements given to the House Judiciary Committee against the Becker amendment, during the recent hearings on this proposal, was made by Mr. Edwin H. Tuller. Mr. Tuller testified in behalf of the National Council of Churches and in his capacity as general secretary of the American Baptist Convention. Following this testimony the American Baptist Convention adopted a resolution opposing the Becker amendment on May 22, 1964. I commend Mr. Tuller's statement, which follows, to my colleagues. It is an excellent statement of the reasons why this proposal should be rejected:

PRAYER AMENDMENT

Mr. Chairman, my name is Edwin H. Tuller. In addition to the testimony I have just given on behalf of the National Council of Churches, I would like to speak also in my capacity as general secretary of the American Baptist Convention. On May 17, 1963, the American Baptist Convention in session at Detroit passed the following resolution:

"In the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions, we reaffirm our historic Baptist belief that religion should not be a matter of compulsion and that prayers and religious practices should not be prescribed by law or by a teacher or public school official."

While this resolution was passed by the convention before the Supreme Court decision of June 17, 1963, it was clearly recognized at the time that there was a possibility that the Supreme Court would decide that compulsory Bible reading and prayer in public schools would be ruled unconstitutional.

We must clearly recognize that this resolution does not represent the viewpoint of all American Baptists, but it does represent the position voted by a large majority of the

delegates present at our national convention in Detroit coming from churches across the Nation, and it is in the longstanding tradition of the American Baptist Convention.

Baptists have known the pressure of religious persecution in the past, and have been the victims of religious groups that sought to push religious conformity upon them. Roger Williams founded the first Baptist church in America after he was forced from the Massachusetts Bay colony because his views differed from those of the ruling church there. His stand for religious freedom has become the symbol for religious liberty in all the United States.

The viewpoints of Baptists (in particular, John Leland of Virginia) with regard to religious liberty and the necessity for the separation of church and state had its influence on the writers of the Bill of Rights and resulted in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has become the cornerstone of religious liberty.

Thus Baptists have long opposed any compulsion to conformity in religious belief or in the practice of religion. The first amendment has supported this freedom. The proposed change in that amendment could weaken it and bring the power of the State to bear on individuals to conform and to participate in prescribed religious practices.

An amendment to permit compulsory Bible reading and prayer in the public schools is not only a danger to the freedom of nonbelievers, it is also a threat to the religious well-being of the believer. It is because of a deep respect for worship, and the recognition that prayer is essential and should be a vital encounter between man and God, that Baptists oppose devotional exercises that are more rote than worship. The conviction that worship should not be a matter of form is seen in the fact that many Baptists are still reluctant to use written prayers of any kind. While the Lord's Prayer is used, of course, it is recognized that the words themselves have no meaning unless the person praying them thoughtfully makes the words his own. Were the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading are compulsory the words can quickly become a meaningless rote to be completed as soon as possible in order to get on with the business of the day.

Baptists believe that the exercise of religion should be voluntary and that while each person should have his own private devotions each day, it is not necessary that prayer be limited to one's own room, church, or to a public utterance. A person can pray at any time in any place and God will hear his prayer. A child can pray at his desk in his schoolroom, passing from room to room, or in the playground. These prayers may have far more meaning for the child than prescribed devotional exercises.

Some persons have said that these devotional exercises may be the only time some children are exposed to religious ideas and to the Bible. If these devotional exercises are to be religious education, then this is not a business in which the state should be engaged. That is the responsibility of the church and the church should not depend on the state to do the church's work. There is, however, a legitimate place for a study of the Bible and the place it holds in history, literature, and culture. The place for this to be done, however, is in the context of the classroom and not in devotional exercises where there is no opportunity for study and discussion.

Another very real danger is the possibility that in time this amendment could bring about a kind of "state religion" in which forms of religious observance and patriotism could become confused. Participating in a religious act as an exercise without giving real attention to the meaning of the act can erode the vitality and content of religious faith. The act of worship might become part of being an American or being patriotic and in time the ideas of God and the Nation can fuse into one. There would be a real danger then that religion could become the tool of the state and eventually be used for the state's purposes as has already happened in the history of many countries.

Up to this time the cases in the Supreme Court have been brought under the clause "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," but there has been no real exploration of what is meant by the rest of the sentence "or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Before any amendment is made to the Constitution there should be careful exploration to find out what is meant by "free exercise." The Supreme Court in the June 17, 1963 decision has laid down some guidelines that would be worth following.

The first amendment has served the Nation well for nearly 200 years. It would be tragic if in a moment of emotional turmoil the Nation weakened the amendment and woke too late to the realization that fundamental American freedom had been damaged, perhaps destroyed.

Tribute to Mayor Joe Savitz, of Abbeville, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of Senators an article from the 1964 summer issue of South Carolina City, the official publication of the South Carolina Municipal Association. The article is about an outstanding and distinguished South Carolina citizen who, as a former resident of Russia, realizes full well the values inherent in the system of freedom in America. The article pays tribute to Mayor Joe Savitz, of Abbeville, S.C., and briefly illustrates how the Savitz family was able to make a success in this country, after immigrating here and capitalizing on ingenuity, initiative, integrity, and a tremendous amount of personal industry.

Mayor Savitz is one of several children of the late Mr. and Mrs. Soloman Savitz, who moved their family to the United States in search of freedom. All members of this family have been very successful, and, as such, have proved the value of our great system of freedom, which has meant so much to our people and our country for so many years. Mr. President, one of Mayor Savitz's nephews, Stephen Savitz, of Columbia, S.C., was one of two South Carolinians selected this year to participate in the U.S. Senate youth program.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM SOVIET CITIZEN TO SOUTH CAROLINA MAYOR

Instead of continually complaining about oppressive taxation, the high cost of living, and politicians, the only South Carolina mayor born behind the Iron Curtain says count your blessings because "no other people on earth live so free of fear, and have such great opportunities."

Mayor Joe L. Savitz of Abbeville was born in the town of Dvinsk, in the Baltic Sea "Republic" of Latvia during the reign of Czar Nicholas II. He recalls that even though Dvinsk was about the size of Greenwood today there were no telephones, no automobiles, no electricity, and no surface-treated streets in his early years.

His father owned and operated the equivalent of an office supply store and his family had the only running water in their entire section of the city. "We sold it," Savitz recalls, "for a half-penny a bucket."

The mayor said he remembers most vividly that they lived under a constant cloud of terror, always fearful of the Czar's police force, the Cossacks. "These men were given to heavy drinking and cruelty and used to ride through the streets at night slashing at the people with their sabers and long leather whips," he said.

Mayor Savitz recalls also that the greatest dream of almost everyone was to somehow get to America. Our country was never spoken of as the United States, but always America. He recalls that it was difficult for them to comprehend the wonders of life and freedom. Relatives who had found their way to this country wrote back about it.

The one that impressed them the most was freedom from fear; of being able to speak openly against those in political office and actually take part in voting to change them.

Soloman Savitz, the mayor's father, after realizing there was no future for his family in Latvia, applied for and finally received permission to leave Russia. He told the children only that they were going on an excursion. After many tiring days of no rest and little food the family managed to book passage on the German liner "New Rotterdam," and, came to America, landing at Charleston where some relatives had already settled. The family shortly thereafter moved to Bonneau in Berkeley County.

The mayor's father now had to find a new way to make a living for his wife and children and did it by peddling household goods from a covered wagon. During his travels St. Matthews struck his fancy and it was there that he settled to stay. He opened a store there and the business prospered.

Soloman Savitz hated czarist Russia so intensely that he forbade his family ever again to speak the Russian language. Even when asked an important question in the language he would refuse to answer until it was asked in English.

Mayor Savitz grew up in St. Matthews and then attended the University of South Carolina where he met his wife, the former Catherine Faulkner, who was also a student there. She was a resident of Abbeville and after graduation Mayor Savitz moved there to live. For many years he operated an automobile agency. He is now retired but the family name is carried on in business in the community by his two sons.

Mayor Savitz was first elected in 1958 and is currently serving his fourth consecutive term as chief executive of his city.

Mellon Grant Boost Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Housing of the Banking and Currency Committee,

I was particularly interested in an announcement that I received today from the Richard King Mellon Charitable Trusts of Pittsburgh.

The Mellon Trusts have established fellowships in city planning and urban renewal in 10 U.S. universities through a grant of $1 million.

In an area of graduate study that needs such backing this is a most welcome announcement.

The information contained in this announcement is of interest to many Members of the House and to the staffs of a number of Federal bureaus and agencies. Therefore, I wish to place it in the RECORD.

The announcement follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., July 1.—Fellowships in city planning and urban renewal will be established in graduate schools of 10 U.S. universities through a $1 million grant of the Richard King Mellon Charitable Trusts, it was announced here today.

Each school will receive $100,000, payable over a 5-year period in annual installments of $20,000. Half of this amount is to be granted by the school as fellowship aid to one or more Mellon Fellows in city planning or urban renewal. The other half will be allocated to the schools for faculty salaries to support the fellowship programs.

The fellowships are designed to improve the professional capabilities of men and women now involved in city planning, urban renewal, or closely related fields and to encourage a greater number of talented persons to achieve excellence in urban development.

In announcing its action, the Board of Trustees of the Richard King Mellon Charitable Trusts stated: "It is apparent that the relatively new but highly important professions of city planning and urban renewal are being neglected in comparison with other graduate fields. Many business organizations offer graduate fellowships in the areas of their interest, but there are relatively few sources of funds for scholarships and teaching posts in urban planning.

"As a result, it is difficult for graduate schools concerned with urban planning and urban affairs to attract exceptional students and to hold able, full-time faculty members.

"These schools are competing with the other professional schools for top students. All too often, the field of graduate training a student chooses will depend on the amount of assistance that is offered to him. Much more assistance is needed for graduate education in urban professional fields.

"We feel, therefore, that we can make a needed contribution to better planning, development, and renewal of our cities by providing grants to universities that will supplement teaching salaries and will offer fellowship assistance for outstanding students."

The trustees pointed out that the demand for men and women trained for these complex urban tasks is so great that the schools cannot begin to meet the need in an age when every progressive U.S. city must have a comprehensive development and renewal program.

"It is estimated, for example, that in the one field of city planning fewer than 250 men and women are graduated annually, and that these are fewer than one-half the number of topflight openings. In urban renewal education the number of graduates is but a trickle in relation to the annual requirements. More programs in this and other urban policy professional fields are obviously needed."

Selection of the 10 universities was based on a study made in consultation with a number of educators and leaders in city planning and urban renewal.

The universities receiving the grants are: University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Ga.; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.; University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

The universities were chosen on the combined basis of need, demonstrated excellence, and geographical distribution.

Richar King Mellon, donor of the charitable trusts, is governor and president of T. Mellon & Sons, Pittsburgh, investment management firm. He has been active in Pittsburgh's postwar urban renewal and redevelopment program and continues as one of the original directors of ACTION, Inc., a national public service organization concerned with the physical environment of cities.

In talking of the Pittsburgh program Mr. Mellon once said, "However important the daily conduct of our business is to all of us, however demanding upon our time and energy, it is clear that we cannot isolate ourselves from the universal public service demands and the social problems which surround us. We cannot get away from the fact that the very basis of our industrial society rests upon the environment in which we live."

School Prayers and Party Platforms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, during its extensive consideration of constitutional amendments to authorize religious exercises in public schools, the Judiciary Committee heard testimony from Edwin H. Tuller, representing the National Council of the Churches of Christ. Carrying the authority of a great organization, Mr. Tuller's statement sets out with care and precision the reasons why religious leaders oppose any alteration of the first amendment to allow school prayer. I commend it to the attention of all Members as the time draws closer for each party to review its traditional purposes and formulate its legislative platform.

Mr. Tuller's testimony follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A., TESTIMONY ON AMENDMENTS TO THE BILL OF RIGHTS TO PERMIT PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS (H.J. RES. 693, ETC.) IN THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Chairman, my name is Edwin H. Tuller and I am offering testimony today for the National Council of Churches as the chief executive officer of one of its member communions, the American Baptist Convention. This testimony is derived chiefly from explicit actions of the General Board of the National Council of Churches, as contained in the recent pronouncement "The Churches and the Public Schools," and this testimony has been authorized by the president and the general secretary of the National Council of Churches for presentation to this committee of Congress.

We are grateful for this opportunity to appear before the Committee on the Judiciary as it considers an unprecedented step—the alteration of the Bill of Rights which has not been amended in all the years of our history as a nation. Such a step should be as widely and thoroughly deliberated as possible by this committee. The views of responsible religious leaders and organizations as well as those of others in our society, should be carefully canvassed and considered, since the amendments now proposed deal particularly with the sensitive areas of the free exercise and the establishment of religion.

We welcome the concern and solicitude for religion which these proposed amendments represent, and we are impressed at the number of Congressmen who have come forward to show their devotion to spiritual interests, even as they do daily for the prayers offered in the Halls of Congress by the official chaplains of that body. We commend their concern, but question whether they have chosen a just or effective means to achieve it.

The National Council of Churches believes in prayer and in worship as important elements in the life of faith.

"Man can know the will of God as it has been revealed—and can also enter into communion with Him. Since God rules in history and since man is His child created in His likeness, prayer is powerfully relevant. Constant prayer by all who put their trust in the righteousness of God can release the greatest power conceivable in the world. To neglect prayer is to forego the most important source of light, strength, and composure * * *.

"The churches must encourage and help the people to engage in common and individual worship and to participate in the sacraments more frequently, regularly, and earnestly. Worship enables individuals and groups to view the present scene in the light of God's eternal being and purpose. It provides spiritual undergirding, brings to people troubled by fears and doubts a fresh and clear consciousness of God in whom they may find strength and composure." (The National Council of Churches Views its Task in Christian Life and Work, a pronouncement adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches, May 16, 1951.)

The National Council of Churches is governed by a General Assembly which meets every 3 years, and in the interim by a General Board which meets several times a year. The General Board is composed of 278 delegates designated by the 31-member communions of the National Council in proportion to their respective memberships, which together aggregate approximately 40 million American Christians.

The General Board determines the policies under which the National Council operates, and occasionally offers guidance to its constituents on current moral, ethical, and religious issues. This guidance takes the form of pronouncements addressed to the churches. They do not pretend to embody the only possible Christian point of view, and they are not binding upon anyone but the units and staff of the National Council itself. They possess no authority but that of persuasion, to the extent that their arguments commend themselves to others.

These pronouncements do not happen spontaneously or capriciously. They are products of long processes of study and deliberation beginning in the appropriate program unit and progressing upward through several levels to the General Board. At every stage where decisions are made, the employed staff have no vote. The franchise is always reserved to the officially elected representatives of the communions. No pronouncement in the history of the National Council of Churches is the product of a longer or more diligent preparation than the one which forms the basis of our testimony today. Beginning in 1954, the Department of Religion and Public Education undertook a comprehensive study of church-state prob-

lems in public and religious education, acting at the request of the General Board. The study resulted in a major study document, which for 2 years was the subject of discussion and comment in church agencies and congregations across the country, not only among the council's constituency of Protestant and Orthodox Christians, but among Jewish laymen and rabbis, among Roman Catholic priests and laymen, and among professional public school men of many religious affiliations.

From this doucment and the comments on it was derived a proposal for a pronouncement in June of 1962, which went to the Department's parent body, the Commission on General Christian Education, in November 1962, and from there to the division of Christian education, at each of which stages it was democratically debated, revised, and approved by the leaders of the National Council's Division of Christian Education.

In February 1963, this pronouncement was presented to the general board at its meeting in Denver, but the rules of the National Council provide that a pronouncement must lie over until the session following its introduction to allow the member communions to study it thoroughly and determine their position. Therefore, it was not until the general board session of June 1963, that the pronouncement came up for action. It was debated at length, amended repeatedly, referred to a special committee for rewording and reported back for further debate. At last, on June 7, 1963, it was adopted by a vote of 65 for, 1 against, and 1 abstaining.

The Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, because of its somewhat different tradition and outlook, dissented and disassociated itself from this pronouncement. The pronouncement "the churches and the public schools" was issued just a few weeks before the Supreme Court handed down its decision on prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, and Mr. Justice Brennan refers to it in his concurring opinion.

During the week in which the pronouncement was first drafted, the Supreme Court of the United States issued its decision in *Engel* v. *Vitale,* and that decision was the center of controversy in church circles throughout the year of the pronouncement's development. Two new cases were awaiting dicision by the Supreme Court during the same year, dealing with the use of the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading in the public schools of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The general board sought to speak to these issues:

"The full treatment of some regular school subjects requires the use of the Bible as a source book. In such studies—including those related to character development—the Bible has a valid educational purpose. But neither true religion nor good education is dependent upon the devotional use of the Bible in the public school program.

"The Supreme Court of the United States in the Regents' Prayer case has ruled that 'in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by the government.' We recognize the wisdom as well as the authority of this ruling. But whether prayers may be offered at special occasions in the public schools may well be left to the judgment of the board responsible for the program of the public schools in the local community."

The last sentence quoted is designed to distinguish between required daily prayers in classrooms, which are not countenanced, and prayers at commencements or special assemblies, which may be if the local board desires.

Expressing a concern that had evolved in the Department of Religion and Public Education years before, the general board warned against the temptation to take advantage of the instrumentality of the public schools for religious purposes:

"Neither the church nor the State should use the public school to compel acceptance of any creed or conformity to any specific religious practice.

"We warn the churches against the all-too-human tendency to look to the State and its agencies for support in fulfilling the churches' mission. Such a tendency endangers both true religion and civil liberties."

As a result of the Supreme Court decision on the Regents' Prayer, many constitutional amendments had been proposed by Members of Congress at the time the general board met, which do not differ appreciably from those now before this committee. In reference to such efforts to rewrite the first amendment, the general board said:

"We express the conviction that the first amendment to our Constitution in its present wording has provided the framework within which responsible citizens and our courts have been able to afford maximum protection for the religious liberty of all our citizens."

The general board did not single out a specific proposed amendment for comemnt, but they were in effect rejecting the current proposals to rewrite the first amendment.

Many people assume that church leaders would of course favor anything designed to "aid religion," and some do not understand why they do not favor prayer and Bible reading in public schools. "What harm can it do?" they ask. It is not possible to know the mind of all members of the general board, but some of them expressed their convictions in debate or discussion on such points as these:

(a) Public institutions belong to all citizens, whatever their religious beliefs or lack of them; it is not right for the majority to impose religious beliefs or practices on the minority in public institutions when adequate opportunities are available for those who desire to do so to express such beliefs and follow such practices in nonpublic settings with others of like mind;

(b) Because of American religious variety, our public schools are particularly inappropriate places for corporate religious exercises. Young and impressionable children from a wide variety of religious backgrounds and from no religious background at all, are present not by choice, but by compulsion of law and are not genuinely free to decide for themselves whether or not they will participate. Many of them are thus compelled to choose between the religious (or nonreligious) intentions of their parents and the expectations of their teachers and fellow pupils.

(c) In such a setting, children are almost always not given a genuinely free choice by glib use of the words "voluntary participation," when the whole atmosphere of the classroom is one of compliance and conformity to group activities. When the teacher (or a group of pupils) selects a prayer or Bible reading, and all or most of the class members participate in it, at a time and in a procedure instituted by the teacher as the adult bearer of the authority of the public school, it is a rare child indeed who will isolate himself from his fellows by declining to participate. Thus a subtle but no less affective form of duress is present which should never blight the act of worship. If a completely spontaneous effort should arise among devout children of a fairly uniform religious heritage, we doubt that police action of any community would interfere. We equally doubt that the Bill of Rights has to be amended to permit this possibility, since it already guarantees the "free exercise" of religion.

(d) Who is to compose the prayers, and who is to select the Scriptures? What form of the Lord's Prayer will be used, and which version of the Bible? To those who take their faith seriously, these things are important. They do not consider all prayers or scriptures interchangeable. Many devout Christians do not want their children to conclude that their transactions with the Most High are something routine, casual and indiscriminate, in the same category with algebra and spelling;

(e) What a nonsectarian theistic majority can require today in the way of a regents' prayer or Bible reading "without comment" a sectarian majority can require tomorrow in the way of an Augsburg Confession, a Hail Mary or a theistic tract. These things are best not subject to majority decision, but left to the free choice of each person at the time and place his conscience directs;

(f) Religious practices that are "nonsectarian" are too vague and generalized to have much meaning or effect for character development or moral motivation; whereas practices which are specific or demanding enough to affect character or motivation are unacceptable to some and therefore "sectarian." As the pronouncement says: 'Major faith groups have not agreed on a formulation of religious beliefs common to all. Even if they had done so, such a body of religious doctrine would tend to become a substitute for the more demanding commitments of historic faiths."

The United Presbyterian General Assembly has said: "Bible reading and prayers as devotional acts in public schools tend toward indoctrination or meaningless ritual and should be omitted for both reasons ("Relations Between Church and State," p. 7).

(g) Protestants believe that prayer can be effectively addressed to God by any believer at any time and in any place. It does not have to be oral or formal, it does not have to be in unison or collective, it does not require a set garb or posture. Any and all children can pray to God in public schools or anywhere else at any time, and no one can stop them. It is not necessary, however, that the children who happen to be assigned to the same classroom should stop what they are doing to pray with them. God will hear and answer the prayer of one child, though his petition be uttered in the secret places of his inmost self. The effectiveness and the availability of prayer is not enhanced by the intervention of the agencies of the public school or government; in fact, the reverse is as likely to be the case.

(h) Many Christians see in routine formal corporate rituals in public schools at least the danger against which their Lord warned in the Sermon on the Mount—that what begins as a spontaneous and sincere outpouring of devotion can become a public display of hypocrisy, "making a show" of piety.

For these reasons and others the leadership of the major Protestant churches, men and women who have given their lives to seek the will of God and attempt to do it, and who have been entrusted by their fellow seekers with positions of responsibility and trust, are not convinced, by and large, that God desires an attenuated and conventional worship administered in public school classrooms by the State. They are not requesting or demanding it on behalf of the churches and churchmen whom they have been called to lead. And most of them are opposed to jeopardizing our long-cherished freedom to worship God as conscience dictates by tampering with the first amendment.

State Versus Federal Conflict Over the Unemployment Compensation System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, a serious conflict is developing between State efforts to strengthen their unemployment insurance funds and thus better serve the deserving and efforts by the Johnson administration and labor unions to broaden coverage of the already heavily burdened system.

According to an article in the Wall Street Journal of June 15, the administration claims that it wishes to broaden unemployment compensation coverage as part of the war on long-term unemployment and poverty in general. Federal legislation to increase the tax on employers would supplement benefits already provided by State programs. Extending the term of coverage, the administration maintains, would keep many hard-pressed families off the relief rolls.

However, many State unemployment insurance officials oppose this plan as placing too great a burden on State insurance fund reserves. They note that jobless insurance fund reserves have dropped 23 percent since 1957, although employers are now contributing about $2.54 for every $1 they paid in 1950. The administration's plan would exert further pressures on the insurance funds and the employers who contribute, badly weakening the system.

The States also maintain that unemployment compensation was originally designed only to provide short-term aid to those looking for jobs. It should not become welfare. They contend that loopholes in the law are already growing through which seasonal workers, pensioners, working wives and others who have no firm attachment to the labor force are getting benefits. If the Federal Government has its way, there is concern that weekly benefits may be raised high enough to destroy the incentive to work.

Administration moves to broaden unemployment compensation coverage will strengthen its control over functions allotted to the States while not effectively attacking the problems of poverty and unemployment. More efficient and direct ways of aiding the poor and the jobless than through the unemployment benefit system can and should be found. The Wall Street Journal article cites the present shortcomings of the unemployment benefits system and notes how increasing the Federal participation could aggravate them. With unanimous consent, I place this article in the RECORD at this point:

JOBLESS PAY FIGHT—RISING COST OF NATION'S UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS SPARKS HEATED DEBATE: 12 STATES CURTAIL PAYMENTS TO SOME WORKERS; UNIONS, PRESIDENT PUSH EXPANSION

TROUBLES DEFINING A LOOPHOLE

(By John F. Lawrence)

A major controversy is brewing over the rising cost of the Nation's unemployment insurance system. A key argument: Whether its strength is being sapped by payments to people not actively looking for work.

In the face of severe union opposition, 12 States last year enacted laws reducing payments to a portion of their unemployed. Ohio, for example, curtailed benefits previously going legally to thousands of retired workers who also collected pensions and social security; Wyoming imposed tough new curbs on payments to seasonal workers and those who voluntarily quit jobs. In addition, some States are cracking down harder on fraudulent claims by individuals secretly employed.

Proponents of such moves contend "unnecessary" benefits aggravate already serious pressures on insurance cost. The insured work force has risen 43 percent to more than 47 million since 1950. Average weekly wages, which partly determine the level of benefits, rose 65 percent in the same period, helping to boost weekly payments to the unemployed 70 percent, to an average of $35 last year.

EMPLOYER TAXES RISE

As a result, employers who pay the bill for such insurance are contributing about $2.54 a year now for every $1 they paid in 1950. Even so, the benefits paid exceeded taxes from employers for 5 straight years up to 1952. And the benefits were more than 90 percent of unemployment tax revenues even in the rising prosperity of the last 2 years, exceeding revenues in 15 States last year. This has prevented any substantial recovery in jobless insurance fund reserves, which have dropped 23 percent since 1957.

New moves to tighten qualifications for benefits clash with labor union and administration efforts to broaden compensation coverage as part of the war on long-term unemployment and poverty in general. The conflict could well boil over into a campaign issue this year. Pennsylvania's Governor Scranton may have set the stage for this by ramrodding through the legislature this spring extensive changes in the State's compensation program over nearly solid opposition from Democrats.

The debate in all the States centers about what the program is intended to do. Employers and some State unemployment compensation officials contend Congress meant to provide only short-term aid to those thrown out of work through no fault of their own when it enacted the joint Federal-State program in the 1930's. This support is intended to give them a chance to seek a job similar to the one they lost. But critics now see loopholes in the law through which, they contend, growing numbers of seasonal workers, pensioners, and working wives who have no firm attachment to the labor force are getting benefits.

LABOR'S VIEW

Labor leaders see the problem in a far different light. They argue that underfinancing and growing unemployment created by automation are the key elements endangering the health of the insurance system. Restrictive measures only serve to force more hard-pressed families onto relief, they maintain. "Conservatives contend there are a lot of freeloaders but this isn't really the case," declares an assistant to one Democratic Governor. "The liberal idea is that the fund is there to keep the economy strong and that benefits should be as broad as possible."

Accordingly, the AFL–CIO is urging passage of Federal legislation to supplement benefits provided by State programs. Under plans originally proposed by the Kennedy administration, the Federal portion of taxes employers pay would be increased to lift minimum weekly benefits and add 13 to 26 weeks to present payments. This would be provided for any worker exhausting State benefits, which now run to a maximum of 26 to 30 weeks. All but three States now pay benefits for at least 26 weeks; in 1950, more than half provided 20 weeks or less.

There's broad opposition to the proposed new Federal payments from State unemployment insurance officials. Many believe that extending the term of coverage would get the program into outright welfare and let a person collect payments too long without demonstrating his attachment to the work force. "I'm in favor of more support for the structurally unemployed, but not for malingerers," says a Michigan State official.

CAN BENEFITS BE TOO HIGH?

These officials also contend weekly benefits can be raised too high. Under the proposed Federal legislation, maximum weekly benefits would climb to two-thirds of the average weekly wage in each State by 1970, compared with less than half now. "When you get benefits that high, with no taxes and no travel or lunch expenses, you reach the point where there's very little incentive to get back to work," argues Willard Dudley, Ohio's unemployment compensation chief.

Such opposition, plus the relatively lack of urgency to increase benefits during the current economic boom, appear certain to prevent consideration of Federal legislation this year.

Meanwhile, it seems certain the drive for reform of present State laws will continue. Nearly half the States don't specifically require compensation claimants to maintain an active search for work. Twenty-two States still allow workers newly retired under compulsory retirement programs to collect benefits in addition to pensions and social security. Most allow payments to women who leave their jobs due to pregnancy, although many employers complain such women rarely make an effort to get their jobs back later.

In addition, 28 States allow workers who quit a job voluntarily or refuse suitable work when unemployed to receive compensation after a brief waiting period. In Massachusetts, for example, a worker who resigns a job waits as little as 4 weeks before he can collect and as little as 1 week after turning down a job similar to one he has lost.

Only 21 States limit off-season payments to unemployed workers who regularly take seasonal jobs. A reporter talking to about a dozen unemployed construction workers in Pittsburgh last winter found that nearly half weren't interested in interim employment pending the spring hiring. Yet all were collecting compensation.

Employers blame unions for defeating efforts to close alleged loopholes in the laws. Says Walter Muther, counsel for the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, a manufacturers group: "In an old, industrialized State like this, where some areas are more than 50 percent unionized, the unemployment compensation program is substantially a part of the collective bargaining program." The Bay State legislature killed a number of

proposals recently to restrict unemployment benefits, despite the fact the State's insurance fund reserves dropped 4 percent last year.

A Federal unemployment insurance official observes, on the other hand, that a major problem in enacting restrictive legislation to close so-called loopholes is that at least some of the people deprived of benefits are really in need of jobs and searching for them.

STATE CHANGES DESCRIBED

Whatever the objections, many States recently have attempted to modify benefit provisions. Pennsylvania expects to save $9 million a year by reducing its compensation payments to pensioners under Governor Scranton's changes. Ohio and Pennsylvania under new laws both deduct employer-paid pensions and the employer-paid half of social security from payments made to the unemployed. Both made it far tougher for women to collect benefits after pregnancy and both also now require an active search for work by the unemployed.

Ohio also requires workers discharged for cause, as opposed to being laid off, to hold another job for 6 weeks instead of the former requirement of 1 week in order to reestablish eligibility for benefits. And Pennsylvania eliminated a second 30 weeks of benefits in the second year for workers who haven't held a job since collecting the first round of payments. Twenty-two States still allow this "double dip," as it's called.

While trimming benefits, Ohio and Pennsylvania also increased taxes on employers in order to beef up their reserves which were among the lowest in the Nation in relation to benefit costs. Ohio lifted the maximum tax rate to 4.5 percent of the first $3,000 of wages from 3.2 percent and Pennsylvania increased the base pay on which taxes are levied to $3,600 from $3,000. As in most States, tax rates are highest for companies with frequent layoffs.

Among more limited recent changes, Florida and Colorado now disqualify more workers who quit a job voluntarily. Michigan has broadened the type of jobs an unemployed worker must accept or else forfeit benefits. Wyoming restricts payments to seasonal workers to the season in which they're normally employed. The State also reduced by up to $6 a week the special dependency allowance paid to unemployed fathers.

Most of these restrictive changes are too recent to measure the effect on cost. Too, they're often balanced by increased benefits to the majority of the unemployed. Pennsylvania, for example, raised maximum weekly payments to $45 from $40 under the new law and provided for a 9-week extension of benefits in times of severe recession. Nevertheless, Pennsylvania hopes to save $30 million a year, or 13 percent of last year's cost. Ohio expects its new law to trim costs by $21 million, or 14 percent. Wyoming anticipates compensation costs this year will run only half of last year's $6 million, partly due to changes in its law and partly due to higher employment in the State this year.

State insurance fund administrators also are taking aim on costs by attacking fraud, vigorously. Ohio last year prosecuted nearly 570 recipients of unemployment benefits, up from 450 in 1960; it investigated 3,000 recipients in the first quarter this year, many of whom were suspected of holding jobs. It found evidence of wrongdoing in 65 percent of cases, though only about 50 were flagrant enough to prosecute. Last year the State reclaimed $432,000 in fraudulently claimed benefits.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Farm Paper Comments on Supreme Court Reapportionment Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Farmer's Exchange is a well-known publication edited and published by L. E. Yeater, of New Paris, Ind., and widely circulated in the area known as Michiana—northern Indiana and southern Michigan.

It is well known that the June 15 Supreme Court decision that seats in both houses of a State legislature must be established on a population basis will have as its greatest effect the reduction of representation from rural districts. The Farmer's Exchange, in an editorial printed in a recent issue, states the background and meaning of the decision.

I commend this paper and its editor; and I request unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Supreme Court in Historic Decision," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT IN HISTORIC DECISION

The Supreme Court of the United States on June 15 handed down an historic decision dealing with representation in State legislatures.

The Court decreed that seats in both houses of a State legislature must be established on a population basis. The common practice has been to have the lower house seats apportioned on a population basis, and the upper house, or senate, on a regional basis.

This has resulted in great disparity in populations between different senate districts in the same State. Districts with urban populations, usually have much larger populations than neighboring rural districts. This resulted in giving rural districts a large and growing advantage over urban districts.

The rapid growth of cities and steady decline of rural populations since about the turn of the century, tended to greatly accentuate this disparity of representation. It is common to find urban senate districts with 5 to 10 times the population of rural districts in the same State. This means that it takes 10 urban citizens to have the same representation that 1 rural citizen enjoys. There are cases where the disparity is 20 to 1.

Some seek to justify this on the theory that the States are only applying the Federal pattern where each State has two U.S. Senators regardless of size or population.

The High Court emphatically rejected this contention, holding that the Federal system adopted under a necessary compromise was inapplicable and "irrelevant to State legislative districting schemes," such as now exist, and that "legislators represent people, not trees or acres." Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests.

Failure of many States to heed their own constitutions, which require them to reapportion their districts periodically, has greatly enlarged this problem. Indiana had not reapportioned its districts for over 40 years until recently.

Failing to get relief from State legislatures or State courts, the aggrieved cities and districts appealed to the U.S. courts. Some years ago the U.S. Supreme Court refused to accept such cases. In 1962, under the growing number of appeals, the High Court agreed that Federal courts have "jurisdiction over suits questioning the apportionment of legislatures" since some practices in the States were in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.

Prior to the June 15 decree of the Supreme Court, the Federal district courts apparently had no firm precedent.

Now, the High Court has spoken and it holds that "in every instance" States make honest efforts in good faith to construct districts in both houses of their legislatures as nearly equal in population as practicable.

Some of the worst instances of dispartity in representation known to exist, are in one-party States. This confirms that the issue is not fundamentally a partisan one. Those who make it such, are simply beclouding the real issues.

Residual Fuel Oil Import Controls and the Domestic Petroleum Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, on June 18, 1964, speaking to a group of independent oilmen in Dallas, Tex., Mr. Jake L. Hamon, an independent oilman of Dallas and the chairman of the Independent Petroleum Association's import policy committee, had this to say about residual fuel oil import controls:

Another phase of the import program that is all wrong is our present policy of restricting residual imports. We should eliminate all quotas and restrictions on residual oil and allow it to come in freely. I am tired of incurring the wrath of the eastern and New England consumers just to keep up the price of coal. The domestic oil refiners cannot supply the New Englanders and the other Eastern States with fuel oil, so let's let them buy it freely and openly without any quotas or restrictions. We are needlessly making enemies of eastern fuel oil users who blame the oil industry for the imposition of these quotas. After all, we need all the friends in Congress we can get to help us with our many legislative problems.

Later on in his speech Mr. Hamon cited certain goals which he considers essential for the welfare of the domestic petroleum industry. According to Mr. Hamon, one of the industry's objectives should be to "eliminate all restrictions on residual imports."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention the fact that on the same day Mr. Hamon was delivering his speech Mr. Charles W. Colson, of the New England council, was speaking to another group of oil producers at Boulder, Colo. During his speech, Mr. Colson endeavored to point out to his audience the damage being done to the domestic petroleum industry because of its continued support of residual import controls. Mr. Colson stressed that the people of New England and their elected representatives were becoming increasingly concerned over continuation of these controls which cannot be justified on the grounds of national security nor can they be justified on the basis that they are essential to the welfare of the domestic petroleum or coal industries.

Yesterday, the gentleman from Oklahoma took issue with Mr. Colson's remarks and particularly his statement that New England's concern is spilling over to the entire petroleum industry. Lest there be any doubt on this issue, I would like to call to the gentleman from Oklahoma's attention a letter signed by myself and 10 other of my New England colleagues which was sent to the Secretary of the Interior on March 4, 1964. This letter read in part as follows:

For too long this emergency power to restrict residual oil imports has been misused for the political purpose of supporting the price of Texas crude oil, at the expense of the economy of the northeastern portion of the United States. Texas oil is fully capable of competing fairly in a free market, without the crutch supplied so faithfully and so constantly by the Department of the Interior.

New England industry has progressed to a point where we are now almost completely dependent upon residual oil. We would be happy to burn domestic residual if it were available at a competitive price, but since the domestic refiners can obtain greater profits by producing less each year we have become more and more dependent on imports. We have tried logically and reasonably to end import restrictions, without success. The time has come, however, where we must consider our next line of attack for New England's economy cannot much longer stand this economic injustice.

On several occasions the Boston Herald has spoken out editorially on the basic inequities of the residual oil import control program. I would like to include at this point the Herald's most recent editorial which appeared on June 30, 1964:

LESSON IN OIL BUYING

The Federal Government is too big to be thoroughly consistent. But sometimes it is so beautifully inconsistent that it is worth looking at with an amused, if pained, smile.

The prime example today concerns residual oil, that cheap fuel so useful in high-fuel-

cost New England. The Government which has rationed our supply of residual oil through import quotas is now demonstrating that what it has said isn't so really is so. It has said the import quotas are no burden to New England. But look what it reveals:

The General Services Administration, which provides oil for Federal buildings in Washington, found last year that it could not get oil dealers to bid for the supplying of 1,052,864 barrels of residual. Under the Government restrictions, each dealer has a limited quota of oil allowed him which he can sell readily, so there is no competition.

The GSA, forced to negotiate for the best price it could manage, contracted for 1,052,864 barrels of oil at $2.85 a barrel.

Then the GSA appealed to the Interior Department, which handles the oil import curbs, and got its own quota for a million barrels, which is two-thirds of its needs this year.

And what happened? No less than 10 importers eagerly submitted bids to supply the million barrels. And all the bids were substantially lower than last year's negotiated price. In fact, one bid offered to sell for $1.693 a barrel, lowest price in recent years.

Of course GSA will probably have to negotiate for the remaining 500,000 barrels for which it lacks its own quota. But this arm of the Government has plainly demonstrated that the import restrictions can compel consumers to pay up to $1.15 a barrel more than a free market price. No burden on the New England economy, eh?

The New England Council, which, with the New England delegation in Congress, has been carrying on a valiant fight to abolish the restrictions, calculates that, if consumers in the 6-State area could realize savings similar to GSA's, $37.5 million would be pumped into our economy. (Boston City Hospital recently paid a $58,000 premium on one oil purchase alone.)

The domestic oil industry is not helped by the import restrictions on residual—the industry is rapidly abandoning its production. The coal industry, which claims to be hurt by residual imports, is really not hurt and, even if it were, it could not justify forcing high-fuel-cost New England to subsidize coal.

And now the Government has its own irrefutable example of the needless penalty imposed by residual import restrictions.

How long, Secretary Udall, will you permit this crass inequity to continue?

The Devil's Bait for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, my attention has been called to an editorial which points up the best strategy an enemy might devise to bring about the destruction of American democracy and freedom. The editorial ties in with this strategy the many similarities which exist in a number of programs and actions being pushed and followed in this country today. This editorial, entitled "The Devil's Bait for America," was originally printed in the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald, and has been reprinted in the June 27, 1964, issue of the Augusta Chronicle.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEVIL'S BAIT FOR AMERICA

What if it were your motive to undermine the strengths of America and ruin the democracy which has been nurtured in this Nation for 300 years?

How would you go about it?

A Baptist minister from Michigan gave some thought to the proposition. He used it in a sermon and his message has a dramatic impact for all Americans.

Said the Reverend Kenneth W. Sollitt:

If I were the Devil and wanted to turn America into a Communist hell, I think I would do something like this:

I would cultivate among the people the idea that the individual is nothing, the indiscriminate mass of people everything. I would also seek to convince Americans that God and Christian ethics and an honest desire to make one's way in the world are old fashioned.

I would get elected to office on the promise of helping everybody at someone else's expense.

Then I'd treat the Constitution as sort of a handbook on the philosophy of government to be referred to only if it served my purpose.

I would increase the size and scope of government in every way possible, going into every conceivable business in competition with established enterprise, paying the state's business losses out of the treasury. I would try to keep hidden how this could lead at the right time to the nationalization of industry.

I would create a government strong enough to give its citizens everything they want. Thus I could create a government strong enough to take from them everything they have.

By a combination of inflation and taxes I would rob the very people I pretended to help until, if they ever should want to return to freedom they couldn't—but would be dependent on the state.

Next, I would gradually raise taxes to 100 percent of income (we are one-third of the way now) so that the state could have it all. Then I'd give back to the people enough to keep them alive and little enough to keep them enslaved.

In the meantime I would take from those who have and give it to those who want until I killed the incentive of the presently ambitious man and satisfied the meager needs of the rest. The police state would then be required to make everybody work—and the transformation of America from a republic to a second-rate Communist nation would be complete.

Do you see in this similarities to what we have been doing for the past 30 years?

Safe Tires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Public Health and Safety Subcommittee, I have had the opportunity to hear much testimony as to the causes of traffic accidents on our streets and highways. This has led me to introduce a number of bills in the Congress in an endeavor to eliminate some of these causes. The Congress in its wisdom has seen fit to pass some of these bills and they have become public law.

On April 8, 1964, Mr. Speaker, I introduced H.R. 10712, to provide that tires sold or shipped in interstate commerce for use on motor vehicles shall meet certain safety standards. Mr. Speaker, I introduced this bill since the information available to me indicated that the motoring public was unaware of the safety factors, or lack of safety factors, of certain tires.

Since introducing H.R. 10712, I have received hundreds of letters and inquiries from individuals as well as industry and industry associations.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I received a press release issued by the Rubber Manufacturers Association announcing that it has adopted a set of punishing passenger tire tests designed to assure the public that all new tires are safe. This, Mr. Speaker, is a commendable step in the right direction and I would like to insert the press release in the RECORD at this point:

SAFE TIRES

NEW YORK, N.Y., July 1.—The tire industry today announced that it has adopted a set of punishing passenger tire tests designed to assure the public that all new tires are safe tires.

The program sets forth three laboratory test performance standards chosen as the most important to the motoring public. A fourth standard establishes minimum cross section widths for each size of passenger tire.

Ross R. Ormsby, president of the Rubber Manufacturers Association, says that the recommended standards provide that every type of tire manufactured must demonstrate its high-speed performance, endurance, and strength under exacting laboratory conditions.

In the high-speed test, a break-in period of 100 miles at 50 miles per hour will be followed by a half hour at 75 miles per hour. The speed will then be stepped up to 80 miles per hour for another half hour, and to 85 miles per hour for the final half hour.

In addition, test overloads ranging from 20 to 40 percent will be placed on tires for a total of 1,700 miles at a speed of 50 miles per hour.

A three-quarter inch cylindrical steel plunger will be forced into the tire tread of an inflated tire, with each tire size having an established minimum breaking point, to evaluate its strength factors.

Ormsby said the standards have been set up to create a better understanding among the motoring public of the severe rigors new tires have long undergone in voinntary tests by the tire manufacturer.

"Tests similar, or even identical, to these standards are only part of the quality controls which must be continually maintained to meet the increasing requirements of an always-advancing automotive industry, and the demanding conditions of higher speed expressways and a growing motoring public," Ormsby explained.

The modern pneumatic tire is a complex construction combining different types of rubbers, chemicals, fabrics, and steel wire. Each is a separate part, but must be fully integrated for balanced overall tire performance.

The association further pointed out that satisfactory and safe tire performance depends upon proper use, and periodic tire in-

spection. The motorist himself is responsible for the air pressure in tires which must be constantly maintained at levels recommended by the car manufacturer for average urban driving. Before starting on long trips at sustained high speeds, air pressure should always be increased four pounds.

Underinflation coupled with sustained high speeds results in increased flexing of the sidewalls causing temperatures within tires to rise to dangerously high levels. Such high temperatures cause deterioration of tire materials leading to fast tread wear and weakening of tire bodies.

All tires should be periodically inspected to detect excessive wear or damage that prevent them from performing reliably. Even new tires can be damaged by misuse or abuse. Eventually, with wear, all tires become unsafe. The likelihood of tire failure increases tenfold when the tire tread is worn away.

The RMA standards relate only to those factors which affect tire strength and safety and do not cover such nonstrength characteristics as mileage of the rubber treads, vehicle ride, or noise. The laboratory test performance standards are effective January 1, 1965, and the minimum dimensional standards are effective January 1, 1966.

Basically, the four standards are these:

1. Minimum dimensional standards: For each size of passenger car tire listed in appendix A of the detailed specifications, there is established a minimum cross-sectional width when mounted and inflated as specified.

Tire strength: A cylindrical steel plunger three-quarters of an inch in diameter with a hemispherical end is forced into the tire tread when the tire is mounted and inflated. For each size tire a specific energy value has been established as the minimum breaking point.

3. Tire endurance: A tire is run on a smooth test wheel at constant speed and inflation pressure at various percentages of test overloads ranging from 20 to 40 percent for a total of 1,700 miles. At the completion of the test the tire shall not show evidence of tread, ply, cord, or bead separation or broken cords.

4. High speed performance: A tire is run on a high speed smooth test wheel at constant test load and inflation pressure. Speeds begin at 50 miles per hour and during the test are progressively increased at one-half-hour intervals up to 85 miles per hour. At the completion of the test the tire shall not show evidence of tread chunking or separation.

Adoption of these standards by the RMA has industrywide acceptance and approval.

I might go one step further, Mr. Speaker, and say that while the Rubber Manufacturers Association has stated that the effective date of laboratory test performance standards is January 1, 1965, and the effective date for minimum dimensional standards is January 1, 1966, I also note that adherence to the standards is voluntary on the part of the manufacturers.

Mr. Speaker, we all are interested in preventing unnecessary Federal legislation whenever possible. We desire to see free enterprise flourish—but not at the expense of human life. For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the tire manufacturers will take the "bull by the horns" and move in the direction shown to them by the Rubber Manufacturers Association. It is a start that could eliminate the necessity of Federal action. I must say, however, Mr. Speaker, that if the industry does not proceed in this direction, Federal legislation should be enacted forthwith.

Eastern Labor and Southern Liberals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, a proposition that has long held the attention of Eastern liberals—the realinement of parties on philosophical rather than partisan grounds—is the subject of a recently released newspaper column written by Victor Riesel.

The author discusses a meeting of top labor leaders and the backing they pledged to a liberal who derives not from the citadel of liberalism—the northeastern shore—but from the traditionally conservative South.

This column is an extremely enlightening bit of top reporting by a first-class journalist and author, and I ask unanimous consent to have it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSIDE LABOR—LABOR LEADERS BELIEVE GOLDWATER-JOHNSON BATTLE WILL END OLD PARTIES—SEEK TO LEAD NEW MOVEMENT

(By Victor Riesel)

NEW YORK.—It was 1 o'clock on Thursday, June 4, when three liberal labor leaders, wise—and long successfully active—in the making of U.S. Presidents prepared to make history by meeting for lunch at the Hickory House here. They were Ladies Garment Workers' David Dubinsky, labor's own Disraeli; the Hatters' Alex Rose, labor's oracle, and the auto union's Walter Reuther, labor's orator.

The table was laden with political sophistication, and so these three intimates of Lyndon Johnson discussed more than the making of a Chief Executive circa 1964. They talked of what they believed would be the coming realinement of parties; the moving of conservatives to conservatives, liberals to liberals; the breaking of the coalitions which had held together conservative Republican and liberal Republican, conservative Democrat and liberal and labor Democrat.

The three union chiefs talked of progressive labor taking the lead in the realinement of political forces and making Mr. Johnson's "victory" that of a liberal philosophy and not just the victory of a man.

They spoke of doing for Lyndon Johnson what they had once for John Kennedy—making "L.B.J." the indelible and unmistakable symbol of militant liberalism as they had made "J.F.K." its brand name. On such a base a new movement could be built to fight the conservatives rallying to BARRY GOLDWATER'S standard. Few recall that it was the New York State Liberal Party, founded by Dubinsky and Rose, which put the liberal imprimatur on Senator John Kennedy when he desperately needed this label 4 years ago.

On June 23, 1960, a few weeks before the Los Angeles Democratic nominating convention, the young man from Massachusetts met with the 31-member Liberal Party policy committee in the Hotel Astor here. His problem was how to swing them away from Adlai Stevenson and convince them of his own liberalism, of which many liberal labor and intellectual leaders were not certain at the time.

John Kennedy spoke of his positions on labor, civil rights, and housing. This they had expected. But what warmed them most was his prediction that the conservative North-South coalition in Congress would be broken up under a Democratic President such as he by "uniting the liberal members from the East, northern Midwest, and Far West."

The Liberal Party leaders then publicly endorsed him and automatically wiped out Stevenson's chances for the nomination. Although the organization is a one-State party, its policies have always had a contagious effect on liberal and labor opinion makers far beyond New York.

Now these liberal and labor leaders are doing for Mr. Johnson what they did for Mr. Kennedy, but on a massive scale. And the President, in turn, is eagerly tying himself more tightly to them than to any other force in the land for a reason which goes beyond vote getting. The President is showing them a fierce loyalty because of the support they showed him a year ago when certain White House circles decided to knock him off the 1964 national ticket. The feeling in those circles was that as a Texan identified with Southern Senators during the Negro upheaval he might drag down the Kennedy ticket.

But last September leaders of the Liberal Party went to him with an invitation to speak at their annual banquet on October 15. They made it plain later that this dinner would be the opening of their campaign to reelect him Vice President. As that time I wrote on good authority that the event would be a "doubleheader"—that they were in effect also nominating him for the presidency in 1968.

On the dais that October 15 evening they surrounded him with Negro and white labor leaders, progressives, and the vanguard of New York intellectuals. They gave him an audience of 2,000 Eastern men and women who set philosophical fashions for tens of thousands of activists across the country.

After that banquet there was no doubt where the liberal-labor coalition stood on Mr. Johnson's liberal reputation.

Now once again they want to demonstrate this to the Nation. On June 2 the party leaders officially offered him their nomination for the presidency. They were the first to move. He accepted and agreed to speak for the Liberal Party in Madison Square Garden next October 15—exactly 1 year after the banquet.

The President has also agreed to go to Detroit on Labor Day and march in the parade with Walter Reuther. As there was for John Kennedy, there will be a massive New York garment-area rally run for him by Dave Dubinsky just a few days before election day. And in the weeks between, a huge labor committee, 5,000 men strong, will stump this State for L.B.J. while its counterparts campaign in other sectors of the United States.

Out of all this they believe will come a new movement, a new alinement, a new party. And it will have come not out of the Northeast's Franklin Roosevelt or John Kennedy but out of the Southwest's Lyndon Johnson. He may not have dreamt of this, but it is the dream of the Dubinskys, the Roses, the Reuthers.

Mississippi River Fish Kill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to insert a statement by Mrs. Ruth G. Desmond given at

a public hearing on the Mississippi River fish kill conducted by the Department of Agriculture. I have had extensive correspondence with the Federation of Homemakers, which Mrs. Desmond represents, and know them to be of outstanding character with a deep interest in the welfare of their community:

STATEMENT OF RUTH GRAHAM DESMOND

This federation, a nationwide organization of public-spirited housewives, welcomes the opportunity to express concern regarding the hazards of pesticides generally and to question the effects of this particular incident in the Louisiana area.

The federation was formed shortly after passage of the Food Additives Act primarily to inform homemakers of the potential risks we are taking as a result of environmental hazards—especially from pesticide residues in and on foods and in water; and from the extensive use of thousands of additives in food processing. Our members are then encouraged to communicate their concern for the well-being of their families and for the Nation to their congressional representatives in the hope of protective legislation—or stricter enforcement of present laws.

The federation's first public statement was given at the open hearing conducted by former Secretary Flemming of HEW to resolve the cranberry crisis. At that hearing this group urged the Department of Agriculture to drastically reduce the numbers of pesticides permitted registration and to limit the combination of same. It seemed even back in 1959 that permitting thousands of combinations of pesticides presented a virtually impossible enforcement program for FDA then struggling with a meager appropriation, limited, outdated facilities, and personnel shortages. This agency also had to develop valid methods of detecting pesticide residues when much of the delicate laboratory equipment had not yet been designed.

At the cranberry hearing, we learned there had been misuse of a dangerous weedkiller, Aminotriazole, which resulted in residues of a chemical which animal tests had just revealed could cause thyroid cancer at just 10 parts per million (rats and mice). Only days before this hearing FDA developed a method of determining residues of Aminotriazole, which had been used at the wrong season—thus causing residues. The harassed growers volunteered that Aminotriazole had been widely used in orchards too. Not a comforting reflection for informed citizens. There was mention that this chemical occurred naturally in minute quantities in a few vegetables. This did not seem to our members any justification for permitting residues of it on food.

From that hearing on federation officers stressed at public hearings and when presenting statements the need for reviewing the pesticide laws—despite assurances that all was fine—no cause for worry. It seemed to us that when the FDA had the personnel to check only one-fifth of 1 percent of interstate shipments of farm products for violation of pesticide tolerances—there was ample cause for concern. Even now that FDA can check 1 percent of interstate shipments of farm produce for violations of pesticide regulations—many of us would be happier if 10 percent was being sampled. Otherwise it seems sensible to curtail the varieties and amounts of pesticides permitted for commercial farming.

Then the White House report on "Use of Pesticides" was issued which recommended "safer and more specific methods of pest control; to suggested amendments or public laws governing the use of pesticides; and to public education" (p. 19 of said White House report). It is encouraging and gratifying to have our own suggestions affirmed by this White House report.

As a result of his subcommittee hearings, Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF has introduced legislation (S. 1605) to plug a loophole in the Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947 which should soon be enacted. From the testimony given at these hearings, it seems likely other legislation will be necessary to afford adequate protection to helpless consumers.

Hearings on S. 1605 and related bills before the House Agriculture Committee indicated that the food supply can still be contaminated not only from misuse of pesticides, but because of errors in judgment when a manufacturer expects no residue from proper use but unexpectedly a residue remains. Unanticipated weather conditions can prevent pesticides from leaving a crop. This federation hopes that the Congress will take another look at this 1947 Pesticide Act with the view of giving FDA more authority to act when there is evidence in their opinion of a hazard to the public possibly during production, transportation, or storage, including food processing. Because of drifts and miscalculations all pesticides—even those not intended for use on food crops—should submit reliable methods of analysis.

With regard to the massive fish kills in the Louisiana area, it is hoped that the USPHS will endeavor to learn if residues of endrin, Dieldrin, and Aldrin, or metabolites of them are being stored in the body fat of residents of the area. It was brought out at the Ribicoff hearings on this fish kill that certain tenant farmers and people in the low-income group may eat catfish daily from necessity. We trust this opportunity to learn how the body handles these pesticides is utilized. Naturally humans cannot be examined as have been the fish. But body fat could be examined and excretions, too. And certainly individuals should be persuaded (educated) to permit post mortem examinations for the advancement of scientific knowledge and the benefit or humanity. Animals living in the area should be examined to learn how they handled these pesticides—how they stored them.

The evidence of dead fish, birds, wildlife, can be seen and examined—yet the public is always reassured with tranquilizing statements—no need for alarm—the situation is well in hand. Therefore it was a distinct shock for many of us to learn but recently (after publication of "Silent Spring" and the White House report on pesticides) that residents of the United States can count on 12.5 parts per million of DDT in their body fat. Also it was a surprise to learn that we have had this large amount of DDT stored in our bodies since 1951. This is presumed to be stable. But much has yet to be learned about the metabolism of body fat—we are also told. Even mothers' milk has larger quantities of DDT than cows' milk—because of the human diet with butter, cream, meats, poultry. Vegetarians are presumed to have less DDT content in their bodies (H. F. Kraybill, Bureau of Farm Service, USPHS, talk given at Norman, Okla., November 1963).

Our members would like to know if humans who ingest large amounts of butter, cream, fatty meats, poultry, etc., have larger amounts of DDT stored—since pesticides of this type are supposed to magnify in fats. What amount of Dieldrin is stored in the human body? Should not a report on body fat content of Dieldrin be available? What is the fate of the DDT type pesticide in a human body when the human has a high temperature? Or what happens when the human goes on a crash diet? Are these residues circulated through our bodies at such times and do these pesticides penetrate the brain? Surely the citizen is entitled to this knowledge.

Dr. William B. Diechman, chairman, Department of Pharmacology, University of Miami School of Medicine, Coral Gables, Fla., on page 236 of the printed hearing on food additives before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce stated:

"It is most important to learn whether the compound is stored in the body temporarily, or for a more prolonged period of time.

"If the compound is stored, we want to know where it is held, whether it is deposited in the bones, in the liver, in the hair and nails, or in other parts of the body.

"It is of particular significance to ascertain whether a compound is stored in the fatty tissues. I am thinking of the body fat, the adipose tissue, and the central nervous system, the brain and the spinal cord. It is of particular importance to know what will happen to a compound that is stored in the fatty tissues in lactating women, or in people who, months later, for some reason should undergo a period of mild, moderate, or severe starvation.

"We know from experience that compounds stored in fatty tissues may become mobilized during starvation and that they may induce an acute intoxication long after the ingestion or exposure to the particular agent has ceased."

The experiments by Dr. Wayland Hayes and others on volunteer prisoners some years ago are supposed to prove that individuals can tolerate a sizable amount of DDT in their diets without adverse effects. You recall that Dr. Hayes used bread for the DDT. What would have been the results if these prisoners had been fed these amounts of DDT in fatty foods—such as ice cream, cream, butter, cheese? Is not the catfish cooked in fat in Louisiana? Do not most people enjoy seafoods cooked in deep fat—or melted butter as an accompaniment? Will the DDT-contaminated salmon in Maine be served with butter sauce or mayonnaise? Contaminated oysters—what effect? The answers to these questions are vital. For instance, what is the effect when an infant is given cod liver oil derived from ocean fish which contains a high amount of DDT in its liver? As you must all know, the Department of the Interior discovered ocean fish to be contaminated with DDT and related pesticides. (Statement of Daniel H. Janzen, Director, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife before Senate Subcommittee for Appropriations, fiscal year 1964.) Joint examinations by FDA and the National Canners Association confirmed this finding. Fish in the Mississippi River have died from pesticides it is claimed. Yet all over this country people are ingesting pesticide residues in combination wtih oils and fats—what is the cumulative result?

The American Scientist, March 1964 issue, has an interesting article by Dr. Frank E. Egler—"Pesticides In Our Ecosystem." Two references given in this article will be read by federation officers in the hope of getting information on the questions asked above. Dale and Quimby—"Chlorinated Insecticides in the Body Fat of People in the United States" Science, November 1, 1963; and Dale, Gaines, Hayes, and Pearce—"Poisoning by DDT; Relation Between Clinical Signs and Concentration in Rat Brain," Science, December 13, 1963.

At the afternoon hearing yesterday, many witnesses spoke eloquently on the positive side of pesticide use. Federation members in Michigan have written of an ill-advised aerial spraying with Dieldrin pellets this late summer in an attempt to eradicate the Japanese beetle. Dieldrin treated pellets even fell on school children awaiting their buses, we are told. After publication of the White House Report on Pesticides which recommended further evaluation of this pesticide and knowledge that FDA had asked the National Academy of Science to select a committee to review both Dieldrin and Aldrin—the State of Michigan Agriculture Department actually attempted to spread Dieldrin in Monroe County, Mich, aerially. Loud citizen protests changed the method of application to one considered safer. Certain citizens are suing the Michigan Department of Agriculture to prevent this eradication

program. They have been joined in their action by their local Audubon Society, a veterans organization, and 10 natural gardening clubs—the petition contained 1,600 names. No doubt it may be more expensive to employ milky spore to control the Japanese beetles, but it would be safe for humans—isn't that important? Brochure re Michigan court action marked as an exhibit for the record.

Many heard the March Huntley-Brinkley TV broadcasts when they covered the disposal of the poisoned earth in England by mixing it with concrete and then depositing it on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. Here is a full account of how this soil became poisoned. This Kent veterinarian's report was mailed to us from England. For your record this account of poisoning was marked as an exhibit. (Explained this poison also was placed in an insecticide and sold over the counter to the public. What will be result?)

This federation has inquired of the USPHS (Air Pollution Branch) to learn if it is monitoring the atmosphere for pesticide residues. This need became apparent when Miss Rachel Carson testified before the Ribicoff subcommittee on June 4, 1963. Presently very little monitoring of the atmosphere for pesticide content has been carried out but the program calls for accelerated action in the coming year.

It seems to this federation that the towns adjacent to commercial orchards and commercial farming ventures should have their atmosphere monitored frequently during the spraying season. One of our members had an unhappy experience as the result of living adjacent to a commercial orchard. The drifts from the new, powerful sprayer came over to her terrace and patio on breezy summer days and both she and her infant son were exposed to dangerous pesticides. That year five valuable horses belonging to her died. It was necessary to sell the lovely home and move away and start a new life. Only now, 4 years later, is this member regaining her health. During the trial the orchard owner testified he used in early spring lead arsenate in solution—followed by DDT, Dieldrin, Parathion, Phosdrin, Systox, and Guthion. Occasionally Malathion was used, but not often—as stronger sprays were more satisfactory.

If adverse effects are experienced by people in good health from spray drifts—what effect do these potent sprays have on the ill? Especially ill people taking modern prescription drugs? These questions should be answered. After all, the total effect of the environment must be considered. This federation has always pointed out this need when giving statements before pertinent congressional committees. One of our members wrote to Dr. Jerome Wiesner, when he was scientific adviser to our late President, deploring the fragmented approach to our environmental problems.

It was pointed out at our recent congressional air pollution hearing that when the surrounding atmosphere is badly contaminated there is no substitute for it. No wonder said legislation passed swiftly this session. Water pollution hearings brought forth testimony about numerous fish kills and danger to the commercial fish industry in certain areas. Measures may save these commercial ventures, but for citizens living near industries it looks as though they can never again have the clean water enjoyed and taken for granted 20 years ago.

It seems prudent (especially in the light of the extensive fish kills in the Louisiana area) to investigate more sophisticated methods of curbing insects and pests. In Beltsville, Md., some interesting experiments have been carried out with virus control of insects. Canada, France, Australia and several other countries seem ahead of the United States in experiments with viruses. It may be necessary in the public interest to return to diversified farming methods and more use of biological controls with extra farm labor needed. This labor would help to solve the employment problems of some of our unemployed young men. However, if there is continued use of more and more dangerous pesticides to attempt to keep insects under control—then consumers must insist on guarantees that the food does not exceed the tolerances set by FDA. If the economy must be kept healthy in this industry—then use half as much of pesticides but charge twice as much. Also find work for employees—so they will not join the ranks of the unemployed. The public must be kept healthy too.

This is a problem of great magnitude but this federation is convinced it can be solved through the combined efforts of our Federal agencies and industry.

The War Against Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Wall Street Journal, of May 6, 1964, published a very interesting and important editorial entitled "The War Against Religion." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAR AGAINST RELIGION

What is the place, if any, of religion in the public schools?

Contrary to some prevalent views, we think it self-evident that it has a place and an important one. Yet much of the discussion, both for, and against, turns on issues that are secondary and even trivial.

Religion has a place in education because it is an integral part of the life of man. No one, whether he professes a religion or not, whether he considers himself an agnostic or an atheist, can escape its presence. It is all about us, in the material as well as the spiritual world.

One of the great streams from which our culture flows is, as Matthew Arnold long ago observed, Hellenism, the legacy of Greece, the other Hebraism, the Judeo-Christian tradition. Over the centuries the two have intertwined and fed on each other and enriched the life of the mind of Western man.

The Judeo-Christian concept gave us not only one of the world's most majestic literary works but a whole torrent of additional poetry and art and architecture. It is more than the direct inspiration in the holy sonnets of Donne or Hopkins or the Pieta of Michelangelo, it is also the implicit fabric of almost all art that is recognizable as such.

For it is the same concept, with its significant Hellenistic heritage which fashions our society, informs our relations with other men and provides us with the philosophical view of the universe that makes it possible to live on a higher plane than the beasts. Even the secular philosophy of humanism is Aristotelian-Christian without the supernatural edifice.

Not to teach the Bible, directly or derivatively; not to teach about religion—this attitude is a silly attempt to escape reality and is in fact all but impossible if teaching is to mean anything. How can anyone presume to teach history or art or philosophy or economics or government without reference to the religious underpinning of it all?

The men who formed our Nation understood the reality well enough. Unlike some people today, they were not seeking to drive religion out of the schools or other structures of society. They were only concerned that no denomination become established as a State religion. They proscribed it and no one is attempting to do any such thing.

Since that is the real as opposed to the imagined situation, the controversy often seems tangential at best. Just how tangential can be seen in Congress, where the Members scratch their heads in a laborious effort to determine what sort of school prayers might be permissible. To use a religious allusion, it is a bit like the famed argument concerning the number of angels that can dance on a pin.

We think the local authorities should be able to decide whether they want prayers; if they do, it's not going to hurt anybody so long as there is no compulsion and no attempt to indoctrinate in a particular creed. But the issue, of course, is much broader than prayers. There is a push to eradicate all traces of religion from all public life even to the barring of any Christmas observances in schools and communities.

This undertaking would be pitiable if it were not rather formidable. It represents, we suppose, not so much an attack on religion as a hopeless misunderstanding of our culture. Certainly it is the wildest kind of discrimination, not least against the children it would deprive of pleasure and spiritual profit.

The prevalance of such views must reflect something peculiar to and about our age. Perhaps, reduced to fundamentals, they develop because the Judeo-Christian ethic is being denied in other and subtler ways as well—notably the denial of the responsibility of the individual for his conduct and his life.

Whatever the causes, it is an unhealthy and unhappy development. The furor need not have arisen at all, had not reason fled the forum.

Tshombe Recalled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial for inclusion in the RECORD, entitled "Tshombe Recalled," appearing in the Peoria Journal Star of June 30, 1964:

TSHOMBE RECALLED

Remember the great debate over the Congo, when the United Nations assumed the role of an aggressor to launch a shooting invasion of Katanga and oust Moise Tshombe?

Our experts explained that it was necessary to clobber Tshombe in order to provide the Congo with a "viable government" and make it a "viable state"—i.e., one that could survive and grow.

A few bravehearted Members of Congress screamed and howled that the U.N. was assuming a role for which it was never created, and one which was in fact contrary to its very founding principles of opposing aggression from whatever source.

Dag Hammersjold was killed, and the fever against Katanga and Tshombe hit its highest pitch. The U.N. teetered on the verge of bankruptcy and the good old United States bailed them out—all because of the "Congo action."

Still, a few brave Members of Congress protested that we were the direct cause of an

action which would destroy the only stable and reliable anti-Red force in the Congo, and that chaos would result, and renewed Red guerrilla action.

They were brushed aside as "archconservatives" and "colonialists." It was necessary, said our Washington experts in the administration, to squash Tshombe, for only then could a solid Congo Government be built.

They won the argument. They had their way. After all, they were the people who supposedly understood the wave of the future and their critics were living in "the age of dinosaurs."

Well, we have often said that the final proof of wisdom lies not in who had the cleverest arguments or the most arguments or the most complex, ingenious, and sophisticated reasoning. The final proof comes with actual results in time.

And what has happened in the Congo? Do they have a "viable state" and government?

The Congo is in chaos, with massive Red guerrilla activity, as the critics forecast before they were snowed under by words and theories from a host of our air-conditioned experts.

And what has the Congo Government that we set up by force after destroying Tshombe's organization and exiling him now done to try to bring some stability to the land and save it from the Reds?

They have asked Tshombe to please, please, come back.

The moving finger writes, as the poet said, but there are those who do not want to see it. They wish to preserve their sophistries, their catch phrases, and their popular pitches—and ignore the evidence of history that all their cleverness led us down the wrong path once again.

Especially, they want to ignore the evidence that those hardheaded, reactionary dunderheads they ridiculed so much were dead right all along.

Someday, perhaps, we shall base our future decisions on past performance, and on the facts as they occurred, instead of the siren songs of clever debate—and get some workable answers for a change.

"Portrait of President Kennedy"—Poem by Robert H. McLaughlin, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, President Kennedy was greatly beloved in my own State of Rhode Island. Among those who admired him and shared this love was a friend and constituent of mine, Robert H. McLaughlin, Sr., who wrote a poem about him.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his poem be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

John Kennedy, beloved of Presidents
In heaven, God grant him residence.

Because of an act that took his life,
We grieve for his children, and his wife.

How lucky our land, he passed this way,
Goodwill came because of his stay.

This man born with a silver spoon,
Struck down by a maniac, a little past noon
November, sixty-three, the twenty-second,

While with us, believed we should reckon
With our conscience, as to being fair
To those about us, whose life we share.

A hero in war, a believer in peace
From hate and greed he has a release
I'd like his chance to rest in peace.

Let's look at ourselves, if we can see
A little of him in you and me
If not; from this vale of tears, comes our release
Will or won't we rest in peace?

—*Robert H. McLaughlin, Sr.*

"Impulsive" Proving Popular Word—It Can't Be Said Goldwater Was—What's Prudent Not Known Till Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD another of the many very excellent columns by David Lawrence. This column appeared in the Washington Star July 1 and very effectively analyzes the term "impulsive" which is being used so freely in recent days.

Mr. Lawrence's article follows:

"IMPULSIVE" PROVING POPULAR WORD—IT CAN'T BE SAID GOLDWATER WAS—WHAT'S PRUDENT NOT KNOWN TILL FALL

"Impulsive" seems to have become a popular word in the political vocabulary of the hour. Maybe it will even provide an issue in the campaign.

Governor Scranton, of Pennsylvania, uses the word in describing Senator GOLDWATER'S alleged lack of qualification for the Presidency. Henry Cabot Lodge, just returned from serving as Ambassador to Vietnam in order to campaign for the Pennsylvania Governor, promptly adopts the word as applying to the Arizona Senator. So perhaps it is timely to make an exhaustive analysis, if not a "sophisticated" study, of just what the word means historically as well as in the field of political debate.

It was just a short span of years ago, in the summer of 1950, that an important decision confronted a Democratic President, Harry Truman. The Communist armies had crossed the 38th parallel from North Korea to invade the territory of South Korea. Within 48 hours after the Communist invasion, the President—without waiting for the United Nations to organize an international army and without asking Congress to authorize the employment of our military forces—had ordered U.S. sea or air forces into action against the invaders. Was this "impulsive"?

It was under a Republican President, Dwight Eisenhower, in the autumn of 1957, that trouble developed in Little Rock, Ark., where a Federal court had ordered a public school to desegregate. The State's National Guard, sent by the Governor to preserve order at the high school, was withdrawn on orders from the court, and there was some disorder near the school as the Negro students entered. But in the course of a few hours that evening the advisers around the President became panicky and urged that Federal troops be ordered to the scene. He agreed and issued a proclamation threatening the use of Federal forces, and they took charge the next morning even though the violence had subsided and before the local populace or police had been given an opportunity to show compliance with the warning proclamation. Was this "impulsive?"

It was under another Democratic President, John F. Kennedy, in April 1961, that Cuban exiles undertook an invasion of their homeland. The U.S. Government had worked with the exiled Cubans for several months to plan and implement the operation and to give clandestine help. Air support was expected as a natural military maneuver essential to the success of the project. American naval forces were standing by when the Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs. But the President's advisers—including Adlai Stevenson, American Ambassador to the U.N.—had persuaded Mr. Kennedy to cancel an airstrike by the Cuban exiles designed to knock out Castro's air force, and to forbid U.S. planes to be used at any time, since this might create an unfavorable impression in the U.N.

It is reported that Mr. Kennedy later changed his mind again and told the Cubans they could make the airstrike and also agreed to allow U.S. planes to provide desperately needed air cover, but it was all too late.

The expedition failed, and thus the United States lost an opportunity to get rid of the Castro problem. Can the President's action in suddenly overriding his military advisers be called impulsive?

Governor Scranton, a few weeks ago, had a long talk with former President Eisenhower at Gettysburg, and the impression was given that the Governor was making himself available for the nomination. The next day, however, on a television appearance, he said things which indicated that he was not in the race for the presidential nomination. Was this impulsive, or does the word better describe the action of Mr. Scranton 5 days later in reversing himself and becoming an active candidate?

Former Ambassador Lodge said this week that a President must not only refrain from impulsiveness, but must be prudent. There comes to mind the action of Senator GOLDWATER who had for several months known that an emotional wave of public opinion was pushing the civil rights bill to passage by Congress. But Senator GOLDWATER carefully studied past decisions of the Supreme Court and concluded that the measure as drawn was a violation of the Constitution, which, as a Senator, he has taken an oath to support. So he decided to vote against the bill.

Certainly it cannot be charged that Senator GOLDWATER was impulsive, but may it be said that he was imprudent by his vote? The answer isn't immediately available, as the political dictionary of the year has not gone to press as yet. For what is politically prudent in 1964 will not be established until after the presidential election has taken place in November.

Notre Dame Address by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, this year the commencement speaker at the graduation exercises at the University of Notre Dame, in South Bend, Ind., was

the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas C. Mann. Notre Dame has an interest in, and ties with, Latin America; and, in his address, Mr. Mann made what the South Bend Tribune called editorially "a definitive statement of the U.S. attitude toward Latin American coups d'etat."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "A Shift in Emphasis," which was published in the South Bend Tribune of June 12, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SHIFT IN EMPHASIS

It was a tribute to the University of Notre Dame, and to that institution's interest in and ties with Latin America, that the top U.S. policymaker for Latin affairs chose Notre Dame's commencement exercises for a definitive statement of the U.S. attitude toward Latin American coups d'etat.

The problem Thomas C. Mann tackled in his speech Sunday is a thorny one. When a government is overthrown by unconstitutional means, the United States faces hazards whichever way it reacts.

If it breaks relations and cuts off aid, it runs the serious risk of winning enmity from a regime that may stay in power for a long time, and it eliminates any possibility for exerting pressures toward a return to constitutional government.

On the other hand, if the United States appears too eager to go on dealing with the new government as if nothing important had happened, it runs the risk of encouraging antigovernment groups in other Latin countries to think they can launch coups with impunity.

Until recently, U.S. policy leaned toward the first approach. Recently, specifically in Brazil, it has seemed that the latter approach is in favor.

Mr. Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, more or less confirmed that impression Sunday, although he made it clear that the shift is more a matter of emphasis than of policy.

He made an important distinction, however, in the kind of measuring stick the United States will now apply to governments by coup. Rather than constitutional principles, individual freedom will be the standard by which to judge new governments.

In principle, the policy sounds good. The problem will arise in convincing Latin America that it is indeed U.S. policy and that it will be impartially adhered to.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the Mail-Order Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Flag Day, June 14, 1960, Richard Amberg, publisher of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat noted the lack of flags flying in the St. Louis area. In an editorial which followed this sorry display of patriotism, Mr. Amberg urged all home and business owners in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat's circulation area to fly Old Glory on all the national holidays.

It was discovered a few days later that a fair-sized U.S. flag was very costly—something between $5 and $10—and that very few flags were available. The newspaper then decided to buy several thousand flags and sell them to the public at cost. A brief news story about the bulk purchase and the offer of sale of these flags at costs to the readers, was followed by thousands of orders for the $1 flag.

Thus began an annual sales program by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat—the first newspaper in this Nation to do so—to promote the patriotic flying of the U.S. flag. Late last month, the Globe sold its 100,000th U.S. flag. Since the time of the first sale, many other newspapers have used the idea, and probably millions of flags are flying throughout the United States on national holidays because of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

I think that the Globe and its publisher—who by the way was a close friend of that most patriotic of all Americans, the late Gen. Douglas MacArthur—are owed the deepest gratitude by the Members of Congress and all Americans. History may well record that the survival of American patriotism and idealism were based, in part, on the concern shown by one newspaper and its publisher on Flag Day, 1960.

I would like to include in the RECORD at this point a news item which appeared in the June 25 edition of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

FOUR-YEAR CAMPAIGN—100,000TH FLAG SOLD BY GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

The Globe-Democrat, the first newspaper in the Nation to offer U.S. flags for sale as public service Thursday sold its 100,000th flag.

The 3- by 5-foot Old Glory was purchased by Raford R. Knight of 6332 Sutherland Ave., St. Louis, who retired 2 weeks ago as an employee of International Shoe Co.

"My wife has been after me for the last 10 days to go downtown and buy a flag so we'd have one for Flag Day this Sunday and for the Fourth of July," said Mr. Knight. "I'm glad I delayed now."

Mr. Knight was presented a special nylon flag with a 12-foot pole by G. Duncan Bauman, business manager of the Globe-Democrat.

LACK OF FLAGS NOTED

This newspaper first offered flags for sale in June 1960, after Globe Publisher Richard Amberg noted the lack of flags flying on Flag Day, June 14, that year.

An editorial urging the flying of Old Glory on national holidays followed, but many readers wrote the Globe saying that few flags were available and were too costly.

In a "Fly the Flag" campaign that followed, the Globe purchased several thousand flags and offered them to readers at cost. They were sold in a few days. The paper's public relations department continued to order the flags in bulk to assure their low cost.

Through news stories and advertisements, the Globe has promoted its campaign during the summer months only, but has had flags available for sale at all times during the past 4 years.

Because of its continuing drive to have flags flown from every home and business in its circulation area of Missouri and Illinois on all national holidays, the Globe has won numerous awards from civic and patriotic organizations.

The paper's efforts have been noted in several national periodicals.

More than 100 newspapers throughout the Nation have copied the Globe's successful campaign and have flags for sale.

The Globe not only sells flags at its public relations department on the first floor of the Globe Building, 12th and Delmar Boulevards, but also offers them by mail.

FLAG KITS

Flags have been mailed to every State in the Union and to several countries overseas.

The flags—actually flag kits consisting of a 3- by 5-foot flag, 6-foot pole with balltop decoration, cord halyard, window bracket, and flag etiquette folder—are sold for $2.50 each and $2.75 by mail.

In addition to the U.S. flag, this newspaper is offering 12- by 18-inch Missouri and Illinois State flags and the new city of St. Louis flag. These are sold for 75 cents each and $1 by mail.

Address by E. J. McNeely, President of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., at Grinnell College Commencement, June 5, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Mr. E. J. McNeely, president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., delivered a commencement address at Grinnell College on June 5 which is worthy of consideration by every young person who is entering into his life's work.

Mr. McNeely advised the graduates:

The world revolves around you today and well it should. * * * It expects so much of you.

It looks to you to keep the peace and preserve the American economy.

It looks to you to speed to the moon and speed up crosstown traffic.

It looks to you to aid underdeveloped nations and accelerate the development of your own Nation.

It looks to you to produce laughter and good will as well as material goods.

And it looks to you to set new and refreshing goals, not only for yourselves but possibly for all mankind.

I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"SETTING YOUR GOALS"—COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT GRINNELL COLLEGE, JUNE 5, 1964, BY E. J. MCNEELY, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO.

Thank you, President Bowen. Honored guests, members of the faculty, members of the graduating class and friends, it's an honor and pleasure to be with you today.

Since my boyhood I've known Grinnell as one of the great schools.

The company where I work is deeply indebted to Grinnell for many of our fine people. I shall mention but one of them—Dr. Oliver Buckley.

Dr. Buckley was president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories from 1940 to 1950, and chairman from 1950 to 1952.

A few months ago, while reading a biographical sketch of Dr. Buckley, I came across these lines:

"Going to college was taken as a matter of course in the Buckley family. Upon completion of his postgraduate high school year,

he entered Grinnell College * * * which was outstanding among midwestern colleges of that day in its high educational standards."

I am sure you are convinced after 4 years of work at Grinnell that the standards have risen even higher since then.

And today you can look back, and take stock, and begin to appreciate what a good 4 years it has been. Four years of intellectual stimulation * * * 4 years of quiet, and sometimes not so quiet, study * * * 4 years of comradeship * * * 4 years of increasing mental stature.

As a result you are better equipped than most of us in the older generation when we were your age.

So what have we to tell you?

Very little in the way of maxims and advice. Nor is it my thought today to try to add to your knowledge. Even if I could do so, it would probably be out of date tomorrow. As has been recently said, the time has now arrived when much of the knowledge acquired in school is likely to be obsolete by the time one goes to work.

This is, of course, an overstatement, but it is simply a way of saying that change comes very fast these days. And, especially in this circumstance, I think you might agree that now is a good time for you to reexamine your aims; to make sure that you give purpose to your life; to make sure that you have set meaningful goals.

I say this because it seems to me this is what is needed to make sense of change, to give it order and direction. As an example, if you will permit a reference to my business, I believe the single most important factor in its success has been the setting of the right goals. More than 50 years ago, for example, Theodore N. Vail, who then headed A.T. & T., said in effect:

"We will build a telephone system so that anybody, anywhere, can talk with anyone else, any place in the world, quickly, cheaply, and satisfactorily."

At the time this was a startling and seemingly unrealistic objective. Remember it was set when it was difficult to put a call through across town and impossible to call across the country. It was set when the technical means to achieve it did not exist. In short, it was a dream.

Why was it so useful?

It gave direction to the business. All in the business could now see where they were headed. The goal served to channel the energies of many people, doing many different jobs, toward one end. It joined the talents of the scientists, engineers, operators, salesmen, linemen, managers, lawyers, accountants into a common effort.

I bring up this example because I believe it has application in our personal lives.

You must have a dream if your life is to be truly useful. But it must be a dream—not a daydream.

A dream focuses your energy and your talent, a daydream is a sieve that lets them leak away. A dream draws you on. It almost forces you to be successful and at the same time it gives you an understanding of failure because you never quite reach your goal. There is always a new goal ahead.

A dream, in prosaic language, is nothing more than the setting of definite personal goals. And the very act of setting these goals pulls you on toward excellence—you, who are equipped to excel by your background and education. And when you set goals it is important to aim high. It is important to choose a goal that will strain all your ability. And this is essential not only for your personal development but for the development of the country.

Dr. John Gardner, in his book "Excellence" puts it this way:

"An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."

And when you set for yourself objectives worthy of your capabilities they help you make the most productive use of the one natural resource that neither an individual nor a nation ever has enough of. That resource is time.

In striving toward your goal you come face to face with the inevitable fact that time is limited, but work is limitless. For the person who is really alive there is never enough time. There is no precise amount of work laid out for you to accomplish in your lifetime. There is always more to do * * * if your life is purposeful.

Some years ago there was a popular song with the title, "The 5 o'clock Whistle Forgot To Blow." Well, in work or in your family life it never really blows.

Not even on such a day as this when the world revolves around you. A day when you join with parents and friends in celebrating the reaching of an important personal goal.

The world revolves around you today and well it should * * * It expects so much of you.

It looks to you to keep the peace and preserve the American economy.

It looks to you to speed to the moon and speed up crosstown traffic.

It looks to you to aid underdeveloped nations and accelerate the development of your own Nation.

It looks to you to produce laughter and good will as well as material goods.

And it looks to you to set new and refreshing goals, not only for yourselves but possibly for all mankind.

And in the realm of these goals, I have a suggestion that the class of 1964 might consider.

The distinguished Dr. Toynbee whom you have had here at Grinnell has said:

"Personal relations and human beings count for less nowadays everywhere in the Western World * * * the individual feels he cannot do anything about things, and that is the death of democracy."

Perhaps the class of 1964 should dedicate itself to making the individual count for more * * * to ridding the Western World of the tired feeling that the individual cannot do anything about things * * * to fostering a renewal of democracy.

You can do these things because you believe in the individual * * * because you believe in individual accomplishment * * * because you believe in compensation commensurate with one's contribution.

Because you believe in every man's right to set his own personal goals, you can make the individual count for more.

You can renew in our Nation the philosophy stated by Abraham Lincoln a hundred years ago:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that people can do as well for themselves, the government should not interfere."

Yes, this truly recognizes the rights, the freedom, and the importance of the individual.

Again, 50 years ago, Samuel Gompers, who founded the American Federation of Labor said:

"Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. Whatever is done under the guidance of philanthropy which in any way lessens initiative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers."

I believe you feel as I do that our national welfare, our very survival as a free people, depend on the continued vitality and forward thrust of our free economy. It depends upon you as an individual—upon the goals you set and upon the determination with which you pursue them.

One word of caution here—goals must be specific—either personal or national. They are worthless unless you are determined to achieve them. They must involve a time element. Efforts to achieve them must be something for today and every day—not something abstract for some time in the future. They must be a part of you—the individual.

I'm confident that you will reach your goals * * * that you will accomplish almost anything you set out to do and that enthusiasm and humor will mark your accomplishments because you have already learned that the fun and a good deal of the compensation is in the work itself. The diploma isn't the reward, but the 4 years of work at Grinnell.

And I'm also confident that you will fill your work with a certain grace since at Grinnell you have acquired an understanding of your debt to others—to those whose thoughts you now build on; to those who have taught you how to build.

Your goals will be high, your contribution large. Undoubtedly, you will bare many of the secrets of the universe.

But to get real satisfaction from such exploits you will have to bury all remnants of an attitude that belittles the individual. For life will not be improved if you are awed by the beauty of space but disregard the greatness of man.

I have every confidence in you and your generation; I know you won't be misled by false statements or by fancy theories. I know that you won't accept collectivism by whatever name it may be called. In fact, I know that through your leadership as individuals the years ahead will be the greatest period of progress in the history of mankind.

Thank you.

Cotton Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Agriculture has made available a list of those companies receiving subsidy payments under the 1963–64 cotton equalization program.

In a speech made on the floor of the House and in a letter to Secretary Freeman, I requested the information because every Government agency in the United States must make available information of this kind. I was more than surprised when the Secretary—in a news conference—refused to divulge the names of the mills and the individual payments.

Many Members of Congress have asked me to insert this material in the RECORD, and I am pleased to do so at this point. The information follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—INDIVIDUAL PAYMENTS, INTERIM COTTON PIK PROGRAM

Following is a listing of individual payments under the interim cotton equalization payment-in-kind program through June 11, 1964. Payments which began about mid-May cover bale openings by domestic users beginning on April 11 when the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1964 became effective. The total of payments reported through June 11 is $24,561,018.26, of which $18,977,084.14 were sight drafts and $5,583,934.12 were payment-in-kind certificates.

Name and address	Sight-draft payments	Payment-in-kind certificates
ALABAMA		
Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala.	$365,070.01	$471,769.05
Aliceville Cotton Mill, Inc., Aliceville, Ala.	20,862.14	25,950.67
Bama Cotton Mills, Inc., Geneva, Ala.	22,651.91	27,237.86
Botany Cottons, Inc., Gurney Plant, Prattville, Ala.	8,871.96	
Danville Yarn Mills, Inc., Bon Air, Ala.	74,423.17	
Fayette Cotton Mill, Inc., Fayette, Ala.	31,341.18	44,627.76
Geneva Cotton Mills, Inc., Geneva, Ala.	22,669.40	28,694.64
The Linen Thread Co., Blue Mountain, Ala.	19,550.96	
Opelika Manufacturing Corp., Opelika, Ala.	128,411.71	
Riverview Mills, Inc., Geneva, Ala.		6,060.79
Russell Mills, Inc., Alexander City, Ala.	94,732.56	113,168.44
Union Yarn Mills, Inc., Jacksonville, Ala.	47,416.98	57,862.35
Victorian Furniture Corp., Post Office Box 60, Montgomery, Ala.	119.99	
Siluria Mills, Inc., Siluria, Ala.	26,047.06	32,217.51
Winfield Cotton Mill, Inc., Winfield, Ala.	15,687.55	18,067.40
Mount Vernon Mills, Inc., Tallassee Division, Tallassee, Ala.	105,483.04	
Standard-Coosa-Thatcher Co., Coosa Spinning Mill, Piedmont, Ala.	48,887.73	
West Point Manufacturing Co., Fairfax, Ala.	347,948.37	450,145.99
Bemis Bros. Bag Co., Talladega, Ala.	78,622.96	
Pepperell Manufacturing Co., Opelika, Ala.	54,198.17	69,784.46
West Boylston Manufacturing Co., Montgomery, Ala.	31,517.26	
Handley Mills, Roanoke, Ala.	57,555.68	
Anniston Manufacturing Co., Anniston, Ala.	56,101.11	
Lowenstein Cotton & Storage Corp., Box 470, Anderson, S.C.	108,758.00	133,407.36
Opp Cotton Mills, Opp, Ala.	33,361.83	
Micolas Cotton Mills, Opp, Ala.	98,552.87	
Adelaide Mills, Inc., Post Office Box 1320, Anniston, Ala.	23,739.95	31,641.48
The Kendall Co., Albertville Plant, Albertville, Ala.	17,286.42	23,977.91
Cowikiee Mills, Post Office Box 422, Dufaula, Ala.	72,940.78	95,690.77
Wehadkee Yarn Mills, Box 150, West Point, Ga.	9,358.50	14,629.87
Dan River Mills, Inc., Post Office Box 261, Danville, Va.		143,640.55
Samson Cordage Works, Anniston, Ala.	6,698.64	
Wehadkee Yarn Mills, Talladega, Ala.	45,859.06	54,352.08
Johnson Cordage & Gin Co., Prattville, Ala.	133.64	
Total	2,074,861.01	1,842,954.14
ARKANSAS		
Pinecrest Cotton Mills, Inc., Pine Bluff, Ark.	8,570.25	
Crompton-Arkansas Mills, Inc., Morrilton, Ark.	58,721.78	
Total	67,292.03	
CONNECTICUT		
Acme Cotton Products Co., Inc., East Killingly, Conn.	1,000.87	
The American Thread Co., Inc., New York City, N.Y.	10,223.52	
The Gould Products Corp., Middletown, Conn.	651.10	
The Baltic Mills Co., Baltic, Conn.	1,773.20	
Total	13,648.69	
GEORGIA		
Not completed.		
ILLINOIS		
Johnson & Johnson, Chicago, Ill.	14,643.72	
Bear Brand Hosiery Co., Chicago, Ill.	12,233.85	
Total	26,877.57	
KENTUCKY		
January & Wood Co., Maysville, Ky.	7,839.65	
Louisville Textile, Inc.	2,115.81	
Total	9,955.46	
MAINE		
Pepperell Mills, Biddeford, Maine	83,300.30	106,640.10
Bates Manufacturing Co., Lewiston, Maine	300,608.27	
Subtotal	383,908.57	106,640.10
Total	490,548.67	
MASSACHUSETTS		
Sagamore Manufacturing Co., Fall River, Mass.	18,302.83	
United Products Cotton Co., Fall River, Mass.	507.71	
Berkshire Hathaway, Inc., New Bedford, Mass.	45,222.31	
The Kendall Co., Griswoldville, Mass.	4,107.73	
Total	68,140.58	
MISSISSIPPI		
Erwin Mills, Inc., Durham, N.C.	110,264.50	
MISSOURI		
Absorbent Cotton Co., Valley Park, Mo.	30.03	
American White Cross Laboratory of Missouri, Cape Girardeau, Mo.	1,386.26	
Total	1,416.29	

Name and address	Sight-draft payments	Payment-in-kind certificates
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Chicopee Manufacturing Co., New Brunswick, N.J.	$63,826.62	
NEW YORK		
Greenhaven Prison Industry, Stormville, N.Y.	1,915.03	
Clinton Prison Industries, Dannemora, N.Y.	2,016.50	
Total	3,931.53	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Not yet completed.		
OKLAHOMA		
Oklahoma City Mattress & Feed Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.	21.32	
RHODE ISLAND		
Coats & Clark, Inc., Pawtucket, R.I.	4,053.79	
Berkshire Hathaway, Inc., New Bedford, Mass.	18,895.43	
Total	22,949.22	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Not yet completed.		
TENNESSEE		
Bemis Bros. Bag Co., Bemis, Tenn.	145,584.58	
Cherokee Textile Mills, Sevierville, Tenn.	50,540.75	
Dixie Mercerizing Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.	97,940.70	
Dyersburg Cotton Products, Inc., Dyersburg, Tenn.	55,052.59	
Elk Cotton Mills, Fayetteville, Tenn.	41,975.89	
Rockford Manufacturing Co., Rockford, Tenn.	29,451.75	
Standard-Coosa Thatcher Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.	72,942.03	
Standard Knitting Mills, Inc., Knoxville, Tenn.	88,302.75	
Trenton Mills, Inc., Trenton, Tenn.	13,843.30	
Werther Bag Corp., Nashville, Tenn.	89,235.63	
J. P. Stevens Co., Inc., Kingsport, Tenn.		$61,002.69
Subtotal	648,869.97	61,002.69
Total	745,872.66	
TEXAS		
Denison Cotton Mill Co., Denison, Tex.	67,453.10	
Contral Texas Development Co., West, Tex.	3,603.79	
Lone Star Textiles, Inc., Mexia, Tex.	37,222.64	
Red River Cotton Mills, Bonham, Tex.	18,549.31	
Houston Cotton Mills Co., Houston, Tex.	6,377.15	
Hillsboro Cotton Mills, Hillsboro, Tex.	13,495.16	
Brenham Cotton Mill, Brenham, Tex.	81,326.89	
Mission Valley Mills, New Braunfels, Tex.	38,603.65	
Corsicana Cotton Mills, Corsicana, Tex.	10,226.25	
Texas Department of Corrections, Huntsville, Tex.	10,431.13	
Plainview Mattress Factory, Plainview, Tex.	135.52	
Postex Cotton Mills, Post, Tex.	50,100.04	
B. I. Cotton Mills, West, Tex.	17,374.62	
Sherman Manufacturing Co., Sherman, Tex.	99,351.85	
Texas Textile Mills, McKinney, Tex.	110,833.64	
Houston Textile Co., Houston, Tex.		10,912.52
Subtotal	565,174.74	10,912.52
Total	576,087.26	
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Abney Mills, Greenwood, S.C.	235,644.87	
Alice Manufacturing Co., Easley, S.C.	257,799.07	
American Thread Co., Inc., N.Y.	87,091.87	
Arkwright Mills, Spartanburg, S.C.	77,292.54	95,777.17
Bamberg Textile Mills, Bamberg, S.C.	31,232.62	
Beacon Manufacturing Co., Swannanoa, N.C.	24,138.92	
Blair Mills, Inc., Belton, S.C.	35,788.86	
Blanche Cotton Mills, Inc., Augusta, Ga.	4,508.79	
Bowling Green Spinning Co. Gastonia, N.C.	29,029.38	
B & I Cotton Mills, Spartanburg, S.C.	99,156.97	
Cannon Mills Co., Kannapolis, N.C.	89,428.75	
Catlin Farish Co., Batesburg, S.C.	28,133.30	
Cherokee Cotton Mills, Inc., Cheraw, S.C.	59,581.14	
Chicopee Manufacturing Co., New Brunswick, N.J.	80,304.31	
Clifton Manufacturing Co., Clifton, S.C.	248,676.21	
Clinton Cotton Mills, Clinton, S.C.	74,308.32	
Cone Mills Corp., Greensboro, N.C.	48,577.55	
Drayton Mills, Spartanburg, S.C.	16,540.42	
Fireston Textiles, Bennettsville, S.C.	9,936.55	
Franklin Process Co., Greenville, S.C.	23,549.17	
Gaffney Manufacturing Co., Gaffney, S.C.	49,018.84	
Graniteville Co., Graniteville, S.C.	279,395.27	382,417.68
Greenwood Mills, Greenwood, S.C.	214,843.90	
Greer Manufacturing Co., Easley, S.C.	24,864.45	
Hamer Spinning Mills, Hamer, S.C.	28,485.08	
Hamrick Mills, Gaffney, S.C.	19,896.56	
Hartsville Mill, Hartsville, S.C.	13,700.18	
Hermitage Cotton Mills, Camden, S.C.	19,247.54	
Highland Park Manufacturing Co., Rock Hill, S.C.	39,262.79	
Inman Mills, Inman, S.C.	123,634.80	166,253.48
Jackson Mills, Wellford, S.C.	188,322.48	
Joanna Cotton Mills Co., Joanna, S.C.	128,746.08	
Joint Research Prototype Mill, Spartanburg, S.C.	12,621.83	
Judson Mills, Greenville, S.C.	16,581.69	
The Kendall Co., Charlotte, N.C.	195,392.40	260,816.84

Name and address	Sight-draft payments	Payment-in-kind certificates
SOUTH CAROLINA—continued		
Lockhart Mill, Lockhart, S.C.	$50,996.33	
Lowenstein Cotton & Storage Corp., Anderson, S.C.	364,124.91	
Lydia Cotton Mills, Clinton, S.C.	116,299.82	
Mackintosh Spinning Mill, Inc., Clover, S.C.	15,744.68	
Manette Mills, Inc., Lando, S.C.	857.02	
Massachusetts Mohair Plush Co., Kingsmountain, N.C.	9,700.07	
Mayfair Mills, Arcadia, S.C.	292,420.68	
Monarch Mill, Union, S.C.	106,019.35	
Mount Vernon Mills, Inc., Baltimore, Md.	193,751.43	
Musgrove Mills, Gaffney, S.C.	14,978.60	
Newberry Mills, Inc., Newberry, S.C.	66,611.67	
Orange Cotton Mills, Orangeburg, S.C.	18,707.90	
Pacolet Yarns, Greenville, S.C.	22,243.45	
Pacolet Mill, Pacolet, S.C.	73,141.31	
Parke, Davis, & Co., Greenwood, S.C.	3,953.69	
F. W. Poe Manufacturing Co., Greenville, S.C.	70,782.46	
Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., North Charleston, S.C.	1,562.88	
Reeves Bros., Inc., Spartanburg, S.C.	158,019.14	
Riegal Textile Co., Ware Shoals, S.C.	138,850.13	
South Carolina Cotton Mills, Orangeburg, S.C.	40,161.02	
Scotland Mills, Inc., Lancaster, S.C.	26,839.34	
Spartan Mills, Spartansburg, S.C.	279,998.80	
Springs Cotton Mills, Lancaster, S.C.	782,961.12	
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., Greenville, S.C.		$527,611.98
Townsend Cotton Mills, Anderson, S.C.	4,536.93	
United Merchants & Manufacturers, Inc., Bath, S.C.	97,432.20	
West Point Manufacturing Co., West Point, Ga.	34,720,07	
Woodside Mills, Greenville, S.C.		548,530.04
Total	5,840,446.62	1,961,407.19
VIRGINIA		
Halifax Cotton Mills, South Boston, Va.	14,860.63	
Fieldcrest Mills, Spray, N.C.	42,876.08	
Washington Mills, Fries, Va.	164,708.31	
Dan River Mills, Danville, Va.		344,622.65
Subtotal	222,445.02	344,622.65
Total	567,067.67	
GEORGIA		
J. P. Stevens Co., Inc., Atlanta, Ga.		75,642.71
Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala.	25,813.71	32,375.52
Erwin Mills, Durham, N.C.	8,333.77	
Canton Cotton Mills, Canton, Ga.	89,179.09	
Calloway Mills Co., La Grange, Ga.	46,349.75	
Chicopee Manufacturing Co., Athens, Ga.	24,216.33	
Crompton Highland Mills, Griffin, Ga.	18,608.52	
Crown Cotton Mills, Dalton, Ga.	70,279.29	
Crystal Springs Bleachey, Chickamauga, Ga.	66,497.79	
Eastman Cotton Mills, Eastman, Ga.	40,597.37	
Echota Cotton Mills, Calhoun, Ga.	14,064.89	
Federal Prison Industries, Atlanta, Ga.	31,004.74	
Fitzgerald Mills Corp., Fitzgerald, Ga.	9,224.99	
Flagg-Utica Corp., Grantville, Ga.	13,204.49	
Graniteville Co., Graniteville, S.C.	111,438.79	157,491.81
Habersham Mills, Habersham, Ga.	25,607.79	
Harmony Grove Mills, Commerce, Ga.	43,976.79	
Harriet & Henderson Cotton Mill, Inc., Beryton, Ga.	33,764.83	
Imperial Cotton Mills, Eatonton, Ga.	16,699.02	
Juliette Milling Co., Macon, Ga.	7,461.48	
Klopman Mills, Inc., Greensboro, N.C.	30,696.57	
Monroe Mills, Monroe, Ga.	27,938.10	
Opelika Manufacturing Co., Hawkinsville, Ga.	15,095.53	
Pepperill Manufacturing Co., La Grange, Ga.	85,258.74	110,931.99
Piedmont Cotton Mills, East Point, Ga.	1,551.22	
Social Circle Cotton Mill, Social Circle, Ga.	20,849.53	
Strichland Cotton Mills, Valdosta, Ga.	41,111.46	
Summerville Manufacturing Co., Summerville, Ga.	19,680.11	
The American Thread Co., Dalton, Ga.	31,628.61	
The Hartwell Mill, Hartwell, Ga.	22,749.95	
Thomaston Cotton Mills, Thomaston, Ga.	144,305.91	
Union Manufacturing Co., Union Point, Ga.	3,956.09	
U.S. Rubber Co., Hogansville, Ga.	40,233.30	
Walton Cotton Mill Co., Monroe, Ga.	48,345.18	
Washington Manufacturing Co., Tenville, Ga.	14,045.72	
West Point Manufacturing Co., West Point, Ga.	105,879.47	
Whitfield Spinning Co., Dallas, Ga.	11,954.54	
Willingham Cotton Mills, Macon, Ga.	21,957.39	
Buck Creek Cotton Mills, Columbiana, Ala.	4,619.74	
Chicopee Manufacturing Co., Gainesville, Ga.	48,695.27	
The Jefferson Mills, Jefferson, Ga.	36,240.23	
Rushton Cotton Mills, Griffin, Ga.	18,166.14	
Swift Spinning Mills, Columbus, Ga.	64,558.06	
The American Thread Co., Tallapoosa, Ga.	21,276.90	
Lavania Manufacturing Co., Hickory, N.C.	1,476.80	
B. F. Goodrich Textile Products, Thomaston, Ga.	150,963.34	
Tifton Cotton Mills, Tifton, Ga.	25,899.51	
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Cedartown, Ga.	18,246.07	
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc., Spray, N.C.	68,735.16	
Dundee Mills, Inc., Griffin, Ga.	94,968.25	
Mary-Lells Cotton Mills, Greensboro, Ga.	20,415.65	
Reeves Bros., Inc., Columbus, Ga.	44,246.28	
Moultrie Cotton Mills, Moultrie, Ga.	14,828.06	
Georgia Duck & Cordage Mills, Scottdale, Ga.	11,000.40	
Pepperell Manufacturing Co., Tindale, Ga.	189,397.26	216,118.04
Riegal Textile Corp., Trion, Ga.	251,721.60	
Callaway Mills, La Grange, Ga.	94,554.19	
Swift Manufacturing Co., Columbus, Ga.	81,554.33	
Coats & Clark, Inc., Clarkdale, Ga.	11,987.43	
The John P. King Manufacturing Co., Augusta, Ga.	82,720.04	
Coats & Clark, Inc., Albany, Ga.	2,476.88	
Fulton Cotton Mills, Atlanta, Ga.	41,637.96	

Name and address	Sight-draft payments	Payment-in-kind certificates
GEORGIA—continued		
Whittier Mills Co., Atlanta, Ga.	$23,347.02	
Puritan Cordage Mills, Athens, Ga.	1,917.30	
Atlantic Cotton Mills, Macon, Ga.	11,719.82	
Trio Manufacturing Co., Forsyth, Ga.	4,856.34	
Scottdale Mills, Inc., Scottdale, Ga.	33,516.66	
Gainesville Mills, Gainesville, Ga.	45,181.82	$59,801.88
New Holland Mill, New Holland, Ga.	96,161.39	130,646.19
Bibb Manufacturing Co., Macon, Ga.	316,514.37	
Total	3,317,161.10	
NORTH CAROLINA		
Acme Spinning Co., Belmont, N.C.	40,975.48	
Alexander Mills, Forest City, N.C.	40,812.59	
Amazon Cotton Mills Co., Thomasville, N.C.	31,918.25	
American & Efird Mills, Inc., Mount Holly, N.C.	120,394.55	
Arista Mills Co., Winston-Salem, N.C.	22,088.30	
Balston Yarn Mills, Inc., Lincolnton, N.C.	5,760.23	
Bartex Spinning Co., Clayton, N.C.	8,964.60	
Bannit (Rockingham), New York, N.Y.	6,270.74	
B. I. Cotton Mills, Asheville, N.C.	145,563.26	
Bladenboro Cotton Mills, Inc., Bladenboro, N.C.	51,054.12	
Bonnie Cotton Mills, Kings Mountain, N.C.	8,130.45	
Borden Manufacturing Co., Goldsboro, N.C.	36,851.16	45,030.15
Botany Cotton, Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	48,121.30	
Caldwell Cotton Mills, Co., Lenoir, N.C.	25,944.87	
Cannon Mills, Co., Kannapolis, N.C.	709,380.01	
Carlton Yarn Mills, Inc., Cherryville, N.C.	2,995.07	
Carolina Mills Inc., Maiden, N.C.	152,080.94	
China Grove Cotton Mills Co., Inc., China Grove, N.C.	52,257.46	
The Chronicle Mills, Belmont, N.C.	22,574.69	
Clayton Spinning Co., Gastonia, N.C.	14,236.30	
Cleveland Mills Co., Lawndale, N.C.	36,719.47	
Climax Spinning Co., Belmont, N.C.	27,483.04	
Clyde Fabrics, Inc., Newton, N.C.	24,792.09	
Cane Mills Corp., Greensboro, N.C.	646,619.74	
Corriher Mills Co., Inc., Landis, N.C.	30,716.59	
Craftstun Yarns, Inc., Kings Mountain, N.C.	32,943.82	
Cramerton Mills, Cramerton, N.C.	45,541.40	
Crescent Spinning Co., Belmont, N.C.	13,573.56	
Cross Cotton Mills Co., Marion, N.C.	30,464.91	
Dacotah Cotton Mills, Inc., Lexington, N.C.	33,875.27	
Dora Yarn Mill Co., Cherryville, N.C.	2,428.20	
Dover Mill Co., Shelby, N.C.	3,523.51	
Dover Yarn Mill, Inc., Shelby, N.C.	1,219.33	
Durham Hosiery Mills, Durham, N.C.	1,212.37	
Eagle Yarn Mills, Inc., Belmont, N.C.	13,955.69	
Eastern Manufacturing Co., Selma, N.C.	32,047.86	
Edenton Cotton Mills, Edenton, N.C.	31,867.03	
Elizabeth City Cotton Mills, Elizabeth City, N.C.	15,571.59	
Elk Cotton Mills, Inc., Fayetteville, Tenn.	11,895.97	
Erlanger Mills, Inc., Lexington, N.C.	17,840.87	
Erwin Mills, Inc., Durham, N.C.	303,767.29	
Esther Mills Corp., Shelby, N.C.	284.44	
Falls Manufacturing Co., Granite Falls, N.C.	17,196.14	
Fieldcrest Mills, Inc., Spray, N.C.	92,262.42	
Firestone Textiles, Gastonia, N.C.	8,421.07	
Flint Plant, Gastonia, N.C.	41,574.90	
Gambrill Melvin, Inc., Bessemer City, N.C.	11,489.27	
Gibson & Cushman, Inc., Lincolnton, N.C.	7,545.39	
Glenn Raven Cotton Mills, Inc., Kinston, N.C.	1,577.68	
Globe Mill, Mount Holly, N.C.	11,517.35	
Golden Belt Manufacturing Co., Durham, N.C.	9,775.80	
Groves Thread Co., Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	40,502.99	
Hadley Peoples Manufacturing Co., Siler City, N.C.	52,024.76	
P. H. Hanes Knitting Co., Winston-Salem, N.C.	74,815.91	96,648.09
Harriett Cotton Mills, Henderson, N.C.	55,854.10	
Hart Cotton Mills, Tarboro, N.C.	33,791.22	
Hayes Cotton Mills Co., Lenoir, N.C.	13,129.22	
Henderson Cotton Mills, Henderson, N.C.	65,869,83	
Henry River Mill Co., Henry River, N.C.	1,224.86	
Hickory Spinners, Inc., Hickory, N.C.	9,109.94	
Highland Cotton Mills, Inc., High Point, N.C.	58,075.09	
Holt-Williamson Manufacturing Co., Fayetteville, N.C.	10,863.58	
Howell Manufacturing Co., Cherryville, N.C.	7,807.28	
Hudson Cotton Manufacturing Co., Inc., Lenior, N.C.	4,897.23	
Imperial Yarn Mill, Inc., McAdenville, N.C.	14,239,61	
Ivy Weaver Plant No. 174, Hickory, N.C.	8,873.47	
Johnston Manufacturing Co., Charlotte, N.C.	34,303.81	
Johnston Spinning Co., Monroe, N.C.	14,900.66	
Jordan Spinning Co., Saxapaw, N.C.	10,490.29	
Kasas Mills, Inc., Casar, N.C.	1,183.32	
Kindley Cotton Mill, Inc., Mount Pleasant, N.C.	8,186.42	
Kings Mountain Manufacturing Co., Kings Mountain, N.C.	6,227.71	
Klopman Mill, Inc., Greensboro, N.C.	40,913.00	
Lily Mills, Co., Shelby, N.C.	7,438.79	
Linford Mills, Inc., Belmont, N.C.	14,815.32	
Linn Mills Co., Inc., Landis, N.C.	28,385.04	
Lions Club Industries for the Blind, Durham, N.C.	361.98	
Little Cotton Manufacturing Co., Wadesboro, N.C.	29,345.94	
Long Shoals Cotton Mills, Inc., Lincolnton, N.C.	8,222.04	
R. C. G. Love Plant, Gastonia, N.C.	7,396.80	
Lowenstein Cotton & Storage Corp., Anderson, S.C.	44,187.26	57,632.24
Majestic Manufacturing Co., Belmont, N.C.	6,881.93	
Macanal Mills, Salisbury, N.C.	15,262.45	
Marion Manufacturing Co., Marion, N.C.	13,242.90	
Marshall Mill No. 2, Charlotte, N.C.	8,647.34	
Mauney Mills, Inc., Kings Mount, N.C.	7,167.42	
J. D. Mills, Inc., Henderson, N.C.	19,906.14	
Moore Cotton Mill Co., Lenoir, N.C.	2,351.37	
Mooresville Mills, Mooresville, N.C.	68,949.75	
Moorehead Mills, Inc., Spray, N.C.	9,960.79	
National Yarn Mills, Inc., Belmont, N.C.	22,420.12	

Name and address	Sight-draft payments	Payment-in-kind certificates
NORTH CAROLINA—continued		
Oakboro Cotton Mills Co., Mount Pleasant, N.C.	$8,408.01	
Oakdale Cotton Mills, Jamestown, N.C.	13,371.21	
J. M. Odell Manufacturing Co., Pittsboro, N.C.	10,881.91	
Peale Cotton Mill, Inc., Statesville, N.C.	14,937.32	
Parkdale Mills, Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	54,331.61	$70,927.61
Park Yarn Mills Co., Kings Mountain, N.C.	7,443.67	
Peck Manufacturing Co., Gastonia, N.C.	35,047.99	
Peerless Spinning Corp., Lowell, N.C.	3,351.27	
Perfection Spinning Co., Belmont, N.C.	10,979.80	
Phenix No. 1 Plant, Kings Mountain, N.C.	73,963.17	
Pickett Cotton Mills Corp., High Point, N.C.	20,181.39	
Piedmont Processing Co., Belmont, N.C.	18,220.28	
Pilot Mills Co., Raleigh, N.C.	11,660.22	
Quaker Meadows Mills, Inc., Hickory, N.C.	4,037.86	
Randolph Mills, Inc., Concord, N.C.	42,630.38	
Rhodes-Whitener Mills, Inc., Raylorsville, N.C.	17,605.90	
D. E. Rhyne Mills, Inc., Lincolnton, N.C.	2,961.94	
Roberta Manufacturing Co., Concord, N.C.	16,416.14	
Robinson Mills, Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	21,146.32	
Rockfish-Mebane Yarn Mill, Inc., Chattanooga, Tenn.	40,344.91	
Rocky Mountain Mills, Rocky Mount, N.C.	74,122.81	
Rowan Cotton Mills Co., Salisbury, N.C.	26,423.86	
Roxboro Cotton Mills, Roxboro, N.C.	55,760.37	
Royal Cotton Mill Co., Saxapahaw, N.C.	13,311.48	
Rudisell Spinning Mills, Inc., Hickory, N.C.	4,576.97	
Sadil Cotton Mills Co., Inc., Kings Mountains, N.C.	14,445.01	
Schneider Mills, Inc., Taylorville, N.C.	3,455.27	
Scotland Mills, Inc., Lancaster, S.C.	66,555.97	
Sellers Manufacturing Co., Saxapahaw, N.C.	10,837.19	
Shelby Mills, Inc., Shelby, N.C.	$395.65	
Sherrill Yarn Mills, Inc., Taylorsville, N.C.	666.51	
Shuford Mills, Inc., Hickory, N.C.	23,279.35	
Smitherman Cotton Mills, Troy, N.C.	16,833.63	
Smithfield Spinning Co., Smithfield, N.C.	3,319.90	
A. M. Smyre Manufacturing Co., Gastonia, N.C.	38,879.55	
South Fork Manufacturing Co., Belmont, N.C.	16,518.84	
Spindale Mills, Inc., Spindale, N.C.	26,219.83	
Spray Cotton Mills, Spray, N.C.	5,504.90	
Sterling Cotton Mills, Inc., Franklinton, N.C.	5,413.32	
J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., Greensville, S.C.	0	$183,142.29
Stowe Spinning Co., Belmont, N.C.	23,709.20	
Stowe Thread Co., Belmont, N.C.	5,872.62	
Superior Yarn Mills, Inc., Mount Holly, N.C.	19,781.38	
Textiles, Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	144,418.68	
Tolar, Hart & Holt Mills, Inc., Gastonia, N.C.	21,623.55	
Travara Textiles, Inc., Graham, N.C.	21,378.24	
Tuscarora Cotton Mills, Mount Pleasant, N.C.	6,213.93	
United Spinners Corp, Lowell, N.C.	167.57	
U.S. Rubber Co., Gastonia, N.C.	14,925.10	
Valdese Manufacturing Co., Valdese, N.C.	18,801.92	
Virginia Mills Inc., Sevepsonville, N.C.	5,777.65	
Wade Manufacturing Co., Box 32, Wadesboro, N.C.	30,671.94	
Washington Mills, Inc., Laurinburg, N.C.	1,783.14	
Wennonah Cotton Mills Co., Lexington, N.C.	9,699.10	
Wiscassett Mills Co., Albemarle, N.C.	134,957.81	
Worth Spinning Co., Stoney Point, N.C.	3,980.92	
Total	5,499,893.50	453,389.98

Disarmament (Project Phoenix)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed by an outstanding presentation, on the broadcast program "Life Line," on the subject of Project Phoenix, a think factory contract paper which proposes a number of unilateral disarmament moves by the United States in the war with communism. This program was broadcast over the "Life Line" program network on June 23, 1964, and is entitled "Disarmament (Project Phoenix)."

I ask unanimous consent to have this excellent broadcast printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DISARMAMENT (PROJECT PHOENIX)

This is "Life Line," Bob White from Washington. Just as the cause of a murder is not a gun but a killer, so the cause of a war is not arms but an aggressor. The almost incredible folly of disarmament schemes today is that they completely ignore this simple and obvious fact. So long as there are aggressors in the world, so long as there are governments dedicated to the destruction of freedom, we will be in danger and in need of protection whatever happens to armaments. Suppose that, by some miracle, all the Communist nations were to agree with us on a total disarmament plan with inspection and workable controls. Suppose that nuclear weapons were banned and armies outlawed. So long as communism still sought world conquest, the struggle would go on with rifles, pistols, bayonets, and knives. Suppose even these were banned; it could and would still go on with bare fists and clubs.

Aggression, not armaments, causes war. We should have learned that lesson once and for all in the rise of Germany and Japan before World War II. Most Americans did learn it. But some, who claim to be intellectuals and students of human behavior, still blindly refuse to see it. The blindness of such men to reality, when they hold high Government positions and make our foreign policy plans, can be a greater danger to our survival as freemen than the atomic and hydrogen bombs. A recent example, which we'll consider, should show us why.

Last summer, a group of the kind an Air Force Chief of Staff once called "tree-full-of owls" intellectuals drew up a lengthy policy plan for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The project to prepare this plan was known as Project Phoenix. The title of the plan itself was "Common Action for the Control of Conflict." Efforts were made to keep it secret. When these proved unsuccessful, the first examination of the plan by a profreedom columnist revealed that the "common action" proposed was common action between the United States and the Soviet Union. More exactly, it was to be common action between the White House and the Kremlin, with our Congress bypassed entirely.

The Phoenix plan called for use of our Federal tax money to "support a program of growing constructive interdependence with the Soviet Union * * * to provide the intricate web of understanding and communication essential to Soviet-American entente and common action." The 85 words in that statement mean nothing more nor less than alliance with Russia ("entente" is a French word which means just that.)

Today, the Phoenix plan goes on to say, "The United States and the Soviet Union combined have for all practical purposes a near monopoly of force in the world. If the use and direction of this power could somehow be synchronized, stability and indeed even unity might be within reach." The section including this startling statement is headed "Unification." The unity referred to is unity of both purpose and action between the United States and Russia.

Nothing is said, in the Phoenix plan, about the necessity or even the desirability of any changes in Communist policy and plans before we seek unity of purpose and action with Russia. And the plan recommends avoiding any formal treaty of alliance or cooperation because of the certainty that Congress would reject it. Instead, the cooperation with the Kremlin is to be carried out through tacit—that is, unspoken or merely assumed—agreements between our President and Khrushchev.

Project Phoenix outlines 11 steps toward United States-Russian cooperation and "entente"; that is, alliance. Step 1 is to slow down and halt the buildup of our military strength until Russia catches up and we are both exactly equal. Then, supposedly, Russia will stop, too. Step 2 of the Phoenix plan is for us actually to support Soviet agriculture through outright tax-money grants and long-term loans amounting to no less than $20 billion—in other words, to make Moscow one of the top beneficiaries of foreign aid. Even the feeble defenses and excuses offered for the recent Russian wheat deal will not fit this proposal, since it calls for no gold from the Kremlin at all and admits a purpose of directly helping the Russian economy. Step 3 is for us to make available to the Kremlin all of our technical know-how that Khrushchev and his associates may want. Step 4 is tacit political agreements rather than formal treaties, as we mentioned, in order to get around the obstacle of sensible and patriotic Congressmen who wouldn't touch any step of this plan with a 10-foot pole. Step 5 is to combine our tax cut with a policy of no cuts in nondefense spending, thus forcing a cutback in our military spending and putting Congress in a trap. This would make it possible to equalize United States and Soviet military forces more quickly. Step 6 is to encourage much more American trade with Russia on credit entirely. And that's just half of the plan.

Step 7 of the Phoenix plan for cooperation and alliance with Russia is one already proposed, which received very harsh criticism in Congress: complete American-Russian partnership in putting a man on the moon.

Step 8 is close American-Russian partnership in science generally through the directed exchange of scientists.

Step 9 is joint consultation between Washington and Moscow on preparing the annual budgets of both countries.

Step 10 is Washington-Moscow agreement on what is called a calculated stalemate of Communist guerrilla wars wherever they are now being waged. (Can anyone really believe such an agreement would be honored? Moscow denies that it has anything to do with most of the guerrilla wars now going on, despite obvious proof to the contrary.)

Step 11 is close American-Russian partnership in education.

And what are we to gain, according to this plan, in return for these enormous sacrifices and surrenders of our national interest? Simply the support of Russia in worldwide

disarmament, and (hopefully) a measure of Kremlin good will—surely the most worthless commodity on the face of the earth. Our allies in Western Europe learned of this plan and its contents even before it was published, and expressed deep concern at the prospect of our joining with Moscow to work together with the Soviet leaders while leaving them out. Our Government spokesmen said their concern was based on mere unfounded rumors. The publication of the Project Phoenix report showed how very well founded their concern was. Nothing less than complete repudiation of the Phoenix plan is called for. But there has been nothing like repudiation of it. Instead, a number of its recommendations seem to be gaining acceptance as part of our foreign policy.

All of the facts about our defense spending, and top level Pentagon decisions on which weapons to build and which to scrap, strongly suggest that it is being more and more influenced by the idea that we should let Russia catch up with us in arms. Program after program for new weapons development has been written off. We are "putting all our eggs in one basket" by concentrating almost entirely on a very few types of missiles with which Russia is already familiar. We are hardly even trying any more to work out a defense against the latest Russian missiles. If this is not an attempt to hold us up and let Russia overtake us, equalizing our forces, then it is very hard to see what possible reason there could be for such a self-defeating defense policy.

Our foreign aiders have not yet dared to propose publicly outright grants to aid Soviet agriculture, but they and all their supporters made a tremendous effort to have most of the recent Russian wheat deal carried out on credit rather than cash terms. They were not entirely successful, but their aim is clear—and it fits in neatly with the Phoenix recommendation for grants and very long-term loans for agriculture in Russia.

The tax cut is now law and it is a fact that almost all spending reductions are in defense, just as the Phoenix plan urged. Nondefense spending is actually increasing despite the tax cut. Recently, a cutback in budget allotments for nuclear weapons was announced at the same time by President Johnson and Premier Khrushchev. Clearly, there must have been some prior discussion between them on this subject before the public announcements. This fits in very well with the Phoenix plan for tacit agreements and step 9 which calls for joint consultations to prepare and allocate items in the American and Russian annual budgets. And partnership in the moon project between America and Russia was proposed shortly after the publication of the Phoenix plan, though little has been heard about it since because of the angry reaction in Congress.

Enough of the steps proposed in the Phoenix plan have already been taken, or at least tried, to show that in spite of its perilous foolishness it has been taken very seriously by some of our top policymakers and that the ideas it displays in their most startling form are widely held in Washington. So long as communism remains in power anywhere, disarmament is madness—the one short, swift road to surrender. So long as communism remains in power, active cooperation with it by any free nation can neither be justified nor tolerated. Most Americans are deeply and vividly aware of these truths. The Washington appeasers know this well, which is why they must strive constantly to keep their real thinking hidden. But in a free country which still has a free press, this is not easy. The facts about Project Phoenix are out now. Every patriotic American should become aware of them. Wide public knowledge and indignation, supported by the people's spokesmen in Congress, can prevent the full plan from being put into effect.

The American people do not want and will not accept peace at any price. They do not want and will not allow this Nation to be stripped of its defenses in order to impress the conquerors of a third of the world with our good will. The commonsense and patriotism of the American people is our last safeguard against those who would rather be Red than dead, and try to make that craven slogan a basis for our national policy. We can still trust the American people, if only they know the truth.

Until we meet again, remember: Nothing is more evil than military aggression which starts a war; but nothing is more noble than a resolute defense of freedom which ends it.

Oration on "The Great Spectators" a Winner for Oklahoma Southeastern State College Student Patricia Kelley

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, each year the State colleges in my congressional district participate in an intercollegiate oratorical contest. I am always impressed by the high quality of the students' efforts in this contest.

One of the winners of this year's oratorical contest is Miss Patricia Kelley, a student at Oklahoma Southeastern State College located in Durant, Okla.

I am sure all Members will be interested in her winning oration, entitled "The Great Spectators";

THE GREAT SPECTATORS

The year was A.D. 64. The place was a small rocky clearing just outside the gates of a city, a customary place for ritual executions by stoning. The people laid down their clothes at the feet of a young man whose name was Saul. At a nod from this man the stoning began, and the people stood by and watched.

Nineteen hundred years have passed, and yet the complacent attitude of this man and the crowd is descriptive of our modern society.

May I begin by saying the ever-increasing unconcern in the attitudes among those of my age came as a shocking surprise to me during my first year in college. They too were content to stand by and watch—not objecting, not participating—merely watching. It was then with what I thought was justifiable anger that I approached this subject, but it is with a more serious and determined spirit that I speak to you today on the silent danger of our times—that of complacency.

An author of our times said it in the best seller of the early 1960's. As if in prophetic warning, Ayn Rand entitled that book "Atlas Shrugged." She cleverly outlines the areas of complacency for us as we see this peril politically and socially. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in an article entitled "Danger From Within," recently said: "The surest way to blow up our Nation is through indolence and lack of principle. These are the dangers from within, perhaps greater than the dangers from without." Indolence and lack of principle. These are prevalent in every undertaking of Americans today. Apathy, indifference, complacency—these are the great American crimes.

We have become victims of political complacency in the area of indifference to the decay of national ideals. In 1956, for instance, there were 40 million Americans who were eligible to vote but did not do so; 1956 was a record year for the number of votes cast, and yet only 45 percent of all those who were eligible to vote, did so. But what about 1960? Only one-third of all those who were eligible voted. We have become so accustomed to every form of political graft and corruption that these are now accepted with little protest as a normal part of our life. We have become so hardened to every type of crime, including murder, that the chief offense is no longer the criminal act itself, but in having been found out. A recent article in the Saturday Evening Post about Crimetown, U.S.A., exemplifies the truism that rackets cannot exist without two basic conditions—the sanction of police and politicians, and an apathetic public. The average yearly income for the rackets in Crimetown, U.S.A., which is in reality Youngstown, Ohio, is in excess of $15 million a year, derived from bookmaking on football, baseball, and basketball games, as well as on horse races, and cheat spots that furnish liquor after legal hours, gambling, and girls. A summation of the causes of the existence of such a state in Crimetown, U.S.A.: Complacent judges who perpetuate the sources of illegal profit, and a wall of silence from the people who watch. The subtitle of the article was "Youngstown has had 75 bombings, 11 killings in a decade, and no one seems to care." No one seems to care.

And this brings us to our second major area of complacency. Socially speaking, 1963 was a year of tragedies by soceity itself. Our Nation's highways—or should we say our Nation's drivers—massacred thousands of people and ended the year 1963 with the label of the deadliest 30 hours in our Nation's history. Abortion, too, is destroying life at an appalling rate. There were more than 1 million abortions in America last year—approximately one abortion for every 4 births. Dr. Saul B. Gushering, director of obstetrics and gynecology at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, expressed the same opinion as doctors everywhere: parental permissiveness and unconcern in everything a child does, including relations with the opposite sex, is now showing up in the alarming rise of criminal abortions performed by amateurs. But what about those babies which are born? Out of every 1,000 babies born within the next 24 hours, 35 will die within 8 weeks, 35 will have a damaged brain or nervous system, and 35 will have hereditary defects. Total loss: more than 100 babies in every 1,000. But why are conditions like this allowed to exist? These statistics are a basis for worry, not for action because of the popular American saying, It can't happen to me. We are the richest nation on earth, and yet one American in every five is without adequate food, shelter, or medicine. The Bureau of Labor Statistics tells us that if the minimum income which is necessary for a lone individual to exist is $500, and that for a family is $2,000, there are still 20 million Americans who fail to meet those standards. But it is easier than ever to avoid seeing the poor. This does not mean that Americans are callous toward the poor, it simply means that most comfortable Americans have come to believe that the poor just do not exist. They simply do not seem to care.

John Donne expressed the fallacy in this way of thinking when he said:

"No man is an island, entire of itself,
Each is a part of the continent, a piece of the main.
Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls—
It tolls for thee."

And now it becomes a personal matter of our own individual weaknesses. We are cleverly clad under the mask of indifference,

using as an excuse: don't get involved; when what we really mean is do as little as you can to get by. It is easy to be complacent. It is not easy to make decisions, and it is not easy to be always capable of rational thought and actions. But can we not, in today's modern society, at least be able to say we care enough to try?

Remember the description of the crowd I gave you at the beginning of my speech? The year was A.D. 64, and little did those people realize as they stood there, not objecting, not participating, little did they realize they were witnessing the death of the first Christian martyr. The year is A.D. 1964, and, as a nation of spectators, we, too, are standing by and watching.

Allies Doubt U.S. Intentions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the San Diego Union which appeared Friday morning, June 12, 1964, entitled "Fighting Sham Battles, Allies Doubt U.S. Intentions":

FIGHTING SHAM BATTLES—ALLIES DOUBT U.S. INTENTIONS

The United States continues to scold its European allies for trading with Communist Cuba while at the same time seeking closer ties with Communist Russia and extension of trade with its captive satellite states.

Europe, with the exception of West Germany, yawns. The distinction the administration seeks to draw between the two situations is too fine for political leaders who have easily slipped into coexistence with communism.

What is the distinction we seek to draw? Presumably, as expressed by Christian A. Herter, U.S. representative to the Geneva Trade Conference, by trading with the captive satellite nations we can draw them farther away from control by Communist Russia.

In the case of Cuba, trade will only strengthen the regime of Fidel Castro and enable him to promote subversion and revolution throughout all of Latin America.

But in the view of many Europeans, Cuba could not possibly be the menace to our security that we contend the Soviet Union is to Europe, and if we can sell to the satellite countries, Europe can sell to Cuba.

The truth of the matter is, as one writer has expressed it, the heresies of Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT are the orthodoxies of wide European thinking. Western European countries, and most particularly Great Britain, have accepted as a foregone conclusion that most if not all of the underdeveloped areas of the world will go Socialist, at the very least, and most probably Communist. That is one reason why so many European spokesmen reacted so adversely, and seemingly in surprise, at the successful campaign of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER. Senator GOLDWATER has urged a much firmer stand against the spread of communism.

The problem as so many Europeans see it is not to try to defeat a theistic communism but to contain it, and to do this by encouraging the develoment of Socialist governments.

Europeans thus would apply the same rule to Cuba as we apply to the captive satellite countries. As for southeast Asia, President de Gaulle, of France, urges a neutralization, not a rollback of communism, a situation which most certainly would find the former Indochina colonies drifting swiftly into communism, either as satellites of Red China or Communist states in the nature of Tito's Yugoslavia.

That this same thinking is permeating the administration is beyond question. We never speak of winning the cold war, of turning back atheistic communism, but of living in peaceful coexistence.

West Germany almost stands alone in its fear of our acceptance of this fatal philosophy, and its leaders were alarmed at President Johnson's remarks that he could understand Russia's distrust of West Germany and that he was willing to meet the Soviet Union halfway to insure world peace.

We seem to be fighting sham battles in the cold war, and our summons to our allies to fall into line rings hollow. Our effort, such as it is, seems bent to opposing military manifestations of communism, and not communism itself. The thinking is that if the Red Chinese would give up shooting, we could live in peace with them.

Until the economic power and purpose of the United States is employed in stopping communism, and turning it back, the drift of the world will continue—a leaderless and fatalistic acceptance of inevitability.

Imports and Unemployment of the Bearing Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the impact of sharply increasing imports on vital segments of our economy calls for the exercise of restraint and good judgment by the President and those he selects to represent the United States in tariff negotiations. The bearing industry which is vitally important to the economy of my district in New Hampshire is a good example. It is interesting to note that from 1958 to 1963 the value of imports increased from $2,789,933 to $19,268,752 for an increase of 590 percent. Even more startling was the increase of imports from Japan from $16,914 to $8,496,824, during the same period an increase of 46,140 percent. Surely, in the face of such steeply rising imports, it is not unreasonable to request that bearings be reserved from the negotiations currently being conducted.

In my opinion, additional relief is also needed. I have long felt that a wage differential factor should be added to our tariff structure. Also tariffs on goods coming into this country should have a factor reflecting direct or indirect subsidies given by foreign governments to industries who are exporting goods to our country.

A letter from Mr. Charles L. Shaw, Jr., director of industrial relations for the Miniature Precision Bearings, Inc., of Keene and Lebanon, New Hampshire graphically portrays the problems faced by his company. Because his letter is of general interest, I am including it in the RECORD at this point:

MINIATURE PRECISION BEARINGS, INC.,
Keene, N.H., June 29, 1964.

Hon. JAMES C. CLEVELAND,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLEVELAND: Once again, we must ask for your assistance. You have undoubtedly heard from other manufacturers of ball and roller bearings in the district, but I would like to add MPB's views to what has already been written to you.

As you know, Miniature Precision Bearings, Inc., has two plants in your district. One is located at Keene and the second at Lebanon. I would like to point out to you just what these two plants mean to our State and district and then request that you contact Hon. Christian Herter urging that bearings be reserved from the tariff negotiations currently underway in Geneva.

At our Keene plant, we have 675 full-time employees which means that approximately 2,600 family members are dependent upon the salaries and wages paid. We had a payroll of over $3,650,000 in 1963 at this one plant alone and I am certain that a majority of it was spent with retail, service, and professional people in the Keene area. You can see that this is rather a substantial amount for a city with about 17,000 population. In addition, we paid in Keene about $108,757 in local taxes which provided for local government, schools, and other local needs. The loss of this income would have a very detrimental effect on the entire area.

We also have a plant at Lebanon which, as you know, is designated as a depressed area. In this plant we have 280 full-time employees so another 1,000 family members are dependent upon the success of the Miniature Precision Bearings Co. We had an annual payroll of $1,325,000 in 1963 and again this money was by and large spent in the Lebanon area. We paid approximately $31,145 in local taxes in addition to the payroll.

We feel that these investments, these payrolls, and these workers should be protected from the flood of imports of balls, rollers, ball and roller bearings. From 1958 to 1963 the value of imports increased from $2,789,933 to $19,268,752 for an increase of 590 percent. Imports from Japan alone increased from $16,914 to $8,496,824 during the same period for an increase of 46,140 percent. It is estimated that imports of bearings have displaced approximately 20 percent of the domestic production and this means jobs, payrolls, and taxes.

Again, I would like to ask you to contact Hon. Christian Herter to reserve bearings from the negotiations and also I would appreciate it if this letter could be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so other House and Senate Members will be apprised of the plight of the domestic bearing industry.

Very truly yours,
MINIATURE PRECISION BEARINGS, INC.
CHARLES L. SHAW, Jr.,
Director of Industrial Relations.

A Century of Political Campaigning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, in this historic election year, it is most appropriate that the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology has set up a display of campaign memorabilia which dates back over the past

century and is a significant part of our political heritage.

This exhibit was opened this week with appropriate ceremonies and our own distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Ohio, Representative FRANCES BOLTON, added to the importance of the occasion with pertinent remarks which have a message for all of us, young and old, who view this exhibit and reflect on the chain of events which have brought our Nation from that historic date in 1776 to the present.

Representative BOLTON's background and experience on the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives permits her to view history with a perspective which few of us have. She has served on the committee for 22 years and is its ranking minority member. She is close to the work of all of the subcommittees and has traveled extensively so that she knows not only what is meaningful for Americans but also how the American story is an inspiration and a hope to other nations, especially those which are emerging as separate entities in the family of nations.

Her remarks at the opening of the campaign display offer a great deal of food for thought, not only for students of history but for patriotic Americans. I wish that I could have been present to have heard them. It is always a treat to hear this gracious lady speak on subjects which are close to her heart. In order that they have the circulation they merit, I have the honor of placing them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

OPENING OF THE HALL OF HISTORIC AMERICANS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Mr. Bradley, if you are here, even though you might be in hiding, and Mr. Taylor, the privilege of taking part in the opening of this Hall of Historic Americans in this wonderful Smithsonian Institution is greatly appreciated. May I take this first moment to thank you and the Board of Regents from my heart.

May I also thank Mr. Washburn and Dr. Melder, who were good enough to let me come over a few days ago so that I could get the feel of this remarkable place that gives us such a sense of the reality of these men and women whose lives are part of the warp and woof of our country.

This great Institution, begun by the gift of an Englishman and built step by step with other gifts from collectors of Americana such as Miss Mary Louise Adams Clement, Mr. Peter Jay, Jr., Mr. Lincoln Isham, Mr. Walter G. Peter, Mr. Ralph Becker, and many others, plays and will play an increasingly useful and important role.

In such a country as ours there is great need for us to remember the roots from which we stem and the influences that have given us our direction. This wing holds much of which we should be aware. It shows us one part at least of our inherited procedures. Studied, it might bring us to a saner, safer way of working out our destiny. We need so urgently a feeling of understanding of all that has gone into the making and the development of this Nation.

I would ask you first of all, What is a nation? "Surely it is not something built of bricks and mortar that will crash to ruins at the first strong blow. Rather, it is an echo from the past and a whisper from the future, the whole bound together by the hopes and fears, the dreams and endeavors, the joys and the anguish in the lives of millions of men and women." It is never static. It is constantly evolving, changing, moving now out, now in, now up, now down—but moving, moving, moving.

We have believed that this Nation of ours came into being with a great destiny. That our Declaration of Independence and especially our Constitution and the Bill of Rights are documents written under the inspiration of overshadowing spiritual forces.

We like to think ourselves worthy of all that was given us to do. We like to believe we have upheld the principles laid down in those documents. What was it Mr. Lincoln said: "It is for us to prove whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

A century has passed since he spoke those words. How much have we proven? How true have we been to those profound principles that were expressed so all embracingly in our great documents? How true are we going to be in the onrushing future?

Let me first remind you of matters to which we seldom give any thought:

We have been told that some 25,000 years ago there was a sheet of ice 1,000 feet thick covering the New England part of the United States. It ground the earth down for a very long time and it had much to do with the people who came over from England in the early days of the 17th century at Plymouth Rock. These people had unusual ideas about freedom that fitted into the terrain of the New England area—and when they were made part of what the glaciers did to the earth, they add up pretty well to what good old Thomas Jefferson said about what we call "our way of life." It was one of the products of what he described as the individual family farm of his time. The story of the terrain, of the centuries of grinding ice, the heavy rain, the trees, the rocks forming as they did these small areas where the soil was good were the natural sources of our ideas about individual initiative, private enterprise, our kind of capitalist economy—and our kind of freedom. The one-family farm with all it means of what we've been—what we are—and what many of our people would like to go on being—has its very roots imbedded in the ice, rain, trees, and rocks which are really the takeoff point for any understanding of the American story.

There in the early New England are the roots of what we've been, what we still are, what we shall become.

What we were and are can never be explained to anyone unless this unique combination of things in our history is understood. Ours is an unusual story—as unusual as the land itself. Because this land spelled freedom and opportunity, these words are at the very heart of what we were and are.

"The past is but the beginning of a beginning" (H. G. Wells). The ice-covered earth, the rain forests, the small areas of fruitful soil, the hardy men whose women came with them into untold hardships because there was love between them. All they had was character. All they did was work. All they wanted was self-respect. The sum of those three traits became America. They built their own churches, their own town halls, their own schools with their own hands.

From earliest days as has been expressed so beautifully by an unknown author in "The Flag Speaks":

"There was a dream * * * that men could one day speak the thoughts of their own choosing.

"There was a hope * * * that men could one day stroll through streets at evening, unafraid.

"There was a prayer * * * that each could speak to his own God—in his own church.

"That dream, that hope, that prayer—became America.

"Great strength, youthful heart, vast enterprise, hard work, make it so."

All down the ages after the spark was kindled in the human breast men dreamed dreams of freedom. Then a man saw a vision—and in spite of confusion, bitterness, hardship, and bloodshed, brought it into being, protected its first and made it a nation. This man was George Washington. Towering above his companions in physical, mental, and spiritual stature, he drank deep of the cup of loneliness that freedom might be given form.

And again a tall figure raised himself up by the sheer force of his inner need to serve that same freedom under law—and the Union was saved. Lonely beyond most men's knowledge of loneliness, Lincoln lived out his destiny and forged a great link in the chain of human freedoms.

Leadership, friends, is a lonely business. How many are today prepared in their hearts for the possible loneliness of such responsibility?

Every 4 years we face a choice of leaders. Do we base our judgments upon profound American principles, or, in the excitement of the moment, in strangely thoughtless eagerness do we look only at the superficialities, forgetting that—

"Leadership is only courage and wisdom and a great carelessness of self" (John Bucham, Lord Tweedsmuir). Do we forget that in Philadelphia when Franklin was asked what form of government had been set up he replied, "A Republic if you can keep it so." And he said in no uncertain terms that the power had been given to the people. Did he know that he was repeating what was said in Rome in the year 452 B.C.? "What the votes of the people have ordained in the last instance is the law." And which Cicero followed in 49 B.C. by saying that "No one has power except from the people * * *. This is the condition of a free people: to be able to give or to take away by their votes whatever they see fit."

We are at a moment in time when two powerful nations are meeting on the great battlefield of life—head on. Oh, yes, we "back and fill," we try dance steps along the way—but each day, each month, each year makes it clearer that we are in a war to the death between those who deny the very existence of God and those who believe that "in the beginning God."

For 40 years Moscow has been training its younger generations in argument—infusing them with a passion that is like a flame. Have we prepared our youth to meet them in such combat?

When are we going to give our oncoming generations a truly feeling understanding of the miracle of freedom under God that is ours so that they may be filled with power to withstand the icy arguments, the cold certainty of the adversary? When are we going to see to it that they know that adversary and can answer him with an equal certainty plus the faith that should be ours?

Here in this hall is much that can help us all to see the visible side of the great urge that created and sustained us—that has been built into the Nation we call the United States of America, one Nation under God.

United States Adopts Mystique as New Policy: Seeks To Persuade People To Work With Soviet Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, some of the most perceptive news columns which are written in this country

have come from the pen of Miss Edith K. Roosevelt, a granddaughter of former President Teddy Roosevelt. Miss Roosevelt seeks in her columns to present stories and news developments which are not usually available to the public, or even to many Members of the Congress; and she does an outstanding job in presenting these hidden stories in a very readable and interesting manner to the public.

I have been impressed by her column of June 13, 1964, as published in the Shreveport Journal, of Shreveport, La. The column is entitled "United States Adopts Mystique as New Policy: Seeks To Persuade People To Work With Soviet Russia."

I ask unanimous consent that this excellent article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BETWEEN THE LINES—UNITED STATES ADOPTS MYSTIQUE AS NEW POLICY—SEEKS TO PERSUADE PEOPLE TO WORK WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

(By Edith K. Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—The most subtle and exotic techniques developed by behavioral scientists are being used by our Government to persuade the American people to work with Soviet Russia for the same ends.

In this approach, the American people are treated like credulous, unruly schoolchildren with Big Brother in Washington assuming the role of the wise school psychologist with the all-seeing eye.

A study entitled "Human Behavior and the Control of Conflict" produced for the U.S. Disarmament Agency advises a policy that will channel frustrations in the public mind so as to condition it to accept common purposes with Soviet Russia.

The study was produced by Vincent Rock, of the International Studies Division of the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA). This is another in the Phoenix paper series which predict and justify the administration's grand design as it is implemented step by step.

While many people unthinkingly make psychoanalytical techniques the butt of jokes, these methods for mind changing enjoy great prestige at our State Department.

In the Foreign Service alone there are 19 Foreign Service officers who graduated in sociology, 11 in anthropology, and 20 in psychology. Some of these have advanced degrees. The Ambassador to Kuwait, Howard Rex Cottam, has a Ph. D. in psychology from the University of Wisconsin.

A number of the Department's civil service officers have also received their academic training in the behavioral field. In addition, nearly every bureau of the Department makes use of consultants. Among them are well-known specialists in this field including Dr. Lincoln P. Bloomfield, a psychological warfare expert from MIT, Prof. Herbert C. Kelman, University of Michigan psychologist; Dr. Margaret Mead, anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History, and former president of the World Federation for Mental Health; and Dr. Mittram Torre, New York City psychiatrist.

We recognize the psychiatric jargon in the words and phrases that creep into the speeches of some of our Government officials.

A favorite word is "tensions," frequently applied to less developed countries to justify endless concessions to them. Another is "myths," a word which has come to apply to our traditional values of individualism and nationalism.

The IDA paper refers to important laboratory experiments in two-person situations which supposedly reveal that mutual gain results from a cooperative motivation rather than one which is individualistic or competitive.

The study suggests that these same principles of small group research be applied to United States-Soviet relations. Mentioned in this context is interaction through various communications systems (e.g., Radio Free Europe). This broadcasting agency with links to Washington broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain.

Such so-called "gray operations," secretly subsidized by the Government are an utterly new development on the American scene in peacetime. More and more they are being used as a cover for highly trained psychological warfare experts and behavioral scientists to manipulate the American press, the Congress, and the public instead of our supposed enemy, Soviet Russia and Red China.

One expert on tap is Dr. Reuben S. Nathan, who heads a consultant group in international communications in Fairfield, Conn., and who formerly served with OWI, the Army's Psychological Warfare Division. While policy director for Radio Free Europe, Dr. Nathan spoke of "obsolete conceptions of national sovereignty" in an address before the annual conference of the Laymen's Movement, Wainwright House, Rye, N.Y. (May 6–8, 1960).

The movement, founded by physicist Arthur Compton, is composed of big businessmen and scientists who hold seminars on psychical research and "science as an enlarged religion." Dr. Nathan also told this group: "If we propagandists are talking about democracy and are then confronted with things that happen in Mississippi, well, the talk of our democracy isn't going to carry us very far. This is treason today." This is an example of skillful molding of minds.

It can only be designed to give us collective guilt feelings about our complex racial problems which responsible white and Negro Americans are trying to solve. It diverts attention from Soviet Russia's record of genocide. Not mentioned, of course, is the real treason being perpetrated against all Americans today—the continuing Communist espionage within our borders and the shockingly lax security in the State Department of which the Otto F. Otepka case is a current example.

Oddly enough, Dr. Nathan's remarks are published in a Wainwright House publication entitled, "Missiles, Man, and God." To my way of thinking this also typifies the State Department's desire to elevate its policy to a virtual mystique and even to lend it the aura of a humanistic pseudoreligion.

For instance, one State Department backed project is "a spiritual United Nations" to be built in Washington. Endorsing this "temple of understanding" are no less than eight American ambassadors; the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs, U. Alexis Johnson; Assistant Secretary of State Robert F. Woodward; many embassy, USIA, and other Government officials including Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara.

The announced purpose of the temple-backers is for the citizen of the world to develop universal understanding in place of his nationalist limitations.

Readers wanting to know just how far the "psy warfare" planners in Government are willing to go should send for Robert Keith Spenser's intriguing booklet on a State Department apparatus which uses perverted religious symbolism as a weapon for mind control (Monte Cristo Press, Post Office Box 4000, New York, N.Y., $2).

The plans being implemented were described in Aldous Huxley's book, "Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow." He wrote: "The intelligence services of every government are staffed by persons who (in happier circumstances or if their temperament were a little different) would be inoffensively engaged in hunting for Tibetan masters, proving that the English are the lost 10 tribes, celebrating black masses * * * or intoning the Tetragrammaton backward."

"If these neurotics could be content to play the cloak-and-dagger game according to the rules of patriotism, all would be relatively speaking, well." But Huxley adds significantly, "To intensify their strange fun, they surreptitiously work for the enemy as well as their own gang, and end in a delirium of duplicity by doublecrossing everyone."

Indeed, there is insanity in high places.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Edith Kermit Roosevelt's column, "Between the Lines," is a regular feature of the Journal's editorial page.)

Address by Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia, at the Luncheon Held in Honor of the Millionth Subscriber of Group Hospitalization, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to insert the text of an address by the Honorable HARRY F. BYRD of Virginia, at the luncheon held in honor of the millionth subscriber of Group Hospitalization, Inc., Mr. Carl G. Kirk of Alexandria, Va. This luncheon was held at the Mayflower Hotel yesterday. Inasmuch as I would like to afford my distinguished colleagues the opportunity of reading Senator BYRD's address, I herewith insert it in the RECORD.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR HARRY FLOOD BYRD, OF VIRGINIA, AT THE LUNCHEON HELD IN HONOR OF THE MILLIONTH SUBSCRIBER OF GROUP HOSPITALIZATION, INC., MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1964

It is a pleasure to meet with people engaged in such a worthwhile business as Group Hospitalization, Inc. I am pleased to join those congratulating you on your millionth participant.

I have a special interest in this milestone because more than 100,000 residents of nearby counties in Virginia are among the million who have chosen to associate with GHI.

I have come here today to express my appreciation for the nonprofit Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans which you represent. So many have reason to regard them as godsends.

Personally I can understand the importance of the mission you have chosen for yourselves. And, officially, as a Member of the Senate I can appreciate the tremendous responsibility which is yours.

You cannot fail people who rely on you. They have paid for insurance against a rainy day. They have a responsibility not to exploit your services. But you are dealing with human suffering.

I have had some experience with responsibilities of this kind. I was a Member of the Senate, and the Senate Finance Committee, when the first OASI (Old Age and Survivors) Act was passed.

In the beginning I was not satisfied with the soundness of the program. I think it is evil to make promises to people—particularly involving their old age and health—unless every reasonable safeguard is taken to guarantee their fulfillment.

I think the evil is compounded if it is the Central Government that is remiss in a com-

pulsory program which applies Federal taxing power against the lowest brackets of income.

Senator Pat Harrison—then chairman of the Finance Committee—named me to a three-member special committee to work with some of the best insurance experts in the world to devise additional safeguards for the OASI.

It took us 2 years to come up with the 1939 amendments, and I have spent much of the past 25 years trying to protect the OASI trust fund from raids that would impair its soundness.

From what I have said, you can see some of the reasons I oppose financing old-age medicare through the social security trust fund. The pressure for it is tremendous. I am still opposed to it.

Group Hospitalization, Inc.—chartered by act of Congress—is about the same age as social security. It is reassuring to see the sound maturity you have reached in constructive enterprise.

Acceptance of the contributions you are making to the requirements of our time are exemplified by the fact that 59 million persons have availed themselves of Blue Cross coverage which you represent in this area.

This is a third of the Nation's population, and it includes employees of such great American industry as A.T. & T., General Motors, Ford, United States Steel, Du Pont, and Western Electric.

The 3½ million Federal employees and their families constitute the largest prepayment health insurance group in the world. And they may exercise free choice of coverage offered by 38 carriers.

I can understand your pride in the fact that 56 percent of those participating in the Government group chose your Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans.

And Group Hospitalization, Inc. is an institution which has never sought or received any Government subsidy. It has paid its way since the beginning—more than a quarter of a century.

Its strength lies in the motivation of constructive initiative, the achievements of sound progress, and the profitable benefits of efficient management and operation.

Your record of operating expenses for Blue Cross in the Washington area, which account for 4.9 percent of subscription income, tells a story of interest. And the national record is not far behind.

This may be one good reason why you can tell me that Blue Cross alone pays nearly half of all the hospitalization benefits which are paid out under our insurance and prepayment programs.

Your record of service in the Nation's Capitol area may well be regarded as a monument to the vision of the late Joseph Hendrix Himes who, in the days of depression, called your founding group together.

His objective was to bring hospital care within easier reach of those who needed it—particularly those of limited means. Your founders were pioneers in an uncharted field.

Since then the developments in medicine, surgery, and related facilities, have been remarkable. But the costs have risen too—for all of the reasons involved.

This makes your work—trying to keep hospitalization and medical care within the reach of those who need it, when they need it—more and more important. No one is more aware of this than GHI.

You are a company of high purpose. You have met your earlier challenges. You have earned a fine reputation. You have experience, know-how, and motivation.

You have the gratitude of so many whom you have served so well. You have the confidence of many of us who have been privileged to watch your sound development over the years.

These are the rewards of a good company, rendering good service to the public, as you do. But there is another side to the coin. An institution, such as yours, has responsibilities too.

You have all of the responsibilities of an institution on which the community has come to rely so heavily for the important services of your business.

You have the responsibilities of an institution dedicated to the principles of competitive enterprise which is vital to our economic welfare and our system of government.

You have the responsibilities of an institution which knows the public evils of socialized medicine and understands the importance of protecting medical services against government control.

All of those associated with you—participants and others—share these responsibilities. But as leaders in your field, you have the added responsibilities of leadership.

Men and women in your business have my very best wishes in their endeavor to meet their responsibilities as they see them. It is a privilege to be with you.

A Force To Be Recognized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the San Diego Union on June 22 entitled "Coercive Collectivism: A Force To Be Recognized":

COERCIVE COLLECTIVISM: A FORCE TO BE RECOGNIZED

Opposition to the administration's medicare bill is not as some would suggest, opposition to medical care for the aged. The argument is not one of ends, but rather of means to an end.

President Johnson recently listed medical care for the aged under social security as "must" legislation, and with the November elections just a few months away it looks as though medicare along with the war on poverty package will be major issues.

Adm. Ben Moreell, U.S. Navy, retired, in a recent speech remarked, "The crucial conflict of our times is between self-disciplined, morally responsible individualism and coercive collectivism, functioning under disciplines imposed by the State."

Solving the problems of health, education, houisng, agriculture, transportation, etc., etc., ad infinitum, is indicative of the growing reliance on the coercive collectivism of which Admiral Moreell was speaking. The World War II Chief of the Navy's Bureau of Yards and Docks pointed out that the collectivists would substitute the controls and restrictions of the planning "elite" for the "laws of nature and of nature's God."

There is no doubt that if this medicare bill were passed it would soon be asked that the age requirements be lowered and the benefits increased until all came under a national compulsory health scheme which the majority of people in this country have continually and vigorously opposed.

Great progress has been made in the field of voluntary and private plans, which now cover more than 60 percent of the aged, although not all of that coverage could be considered adequate.

The Federal-State Kerr-Mills program is an important adjunct to health care for the aged. It provides help only to those in need rather than to all persons.

It would appear to us to be more sensible at this time to explore the ways of improving and extending existing services rather than to turn to a compulsory plan inconsistent with American principles of freedom of choice.

Under our system of free institutions and individual initiative this country has achieved the highest standards of medical care the world has ever known.

If we are to continue this progress under freedom, this trend toward government intervention must be resisted not only in the field of health care but in all fields.

We oppose the idea that all problems must be met through collective action at the Federal level with little reliance on freemen whose progress is unequaled in the pages of history.

With the increased role of the state there is a corresponding concentration of power, increased restrictions, and deficit spending. As a result the individual becomes less and less the master of his own destiny with less and less control over his own subsistence. We should not forget the lessons of history that "whoso controls our subsistence controls us." The Supreme Court has ruled that the Government has the right to control that which it subsidizes.

It becomes increasingly clear that the philosophy of coercive collectivism is prevalent when we hear statements such as expressed by President Johnson recently, "We are going to try to take all of the money that we think is being spent unnecessarily, and take it from the haves and give it to the have-nots that need it so much."

We should be on guard for liberty when words like that are spoken and should consider the words of President Woodrow Wilson, who said, "The history of liberty is the history of limitation of government power, not the increase of it."

Reform by Judicial Decree Is Chief Justice's Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Max Freedman, a national syndicated columnist, who generally finds himself in agreement with most of the so-called liberal causes in this country, has written a very interesting analysis of the Supreme Court's recent decision designed to reapportion State senates on a population basis. I do not agree with all of the comments in Mr. Freedman's column, but I do agree with, and applaud, his criticism of the Court's unwarranted intrusion into the political area of legislative apportionment, which comes under the jurisdiction of the States.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Freedman's column—from the Columbia Record, of Columbia, S.C., of June 23, 1964—entitled "Reform by Judicial Decree Is Chief Justice's Doctrine."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REFORM BY JUDICIAL DECREE IS CHIEF JUSTICE'S DOCTRINE

(By Max Freedman)

No parallel exists between what the Supreme Court did in the segregation cases and what it has now done with reapportionment. For many years the Court dealt with problems of segregation, moving finally to an examination of the problem in the public school system. Its opinions at different times in the Court's history showed changes in outlook and in emphasis. Sometimes the decisions upheld segregation, sometimes they rejected it. But no one has ever questioned the right and the power of the Supreme Court to deal with these matters.

Until very recently, however, the situation was very different with respect to questions of reapportionment. The decision of seats in a legislature, and the ratio of power between the cities and the rural areas, were deemed to be precisely the political questions from which the Court should shrink. A majority on the present Court rejected this doctrine and invited these political cases to come before it. Now the Court has ruled that membership in both houses of a legislature must be governed by the rough rule that all votes are equal, no matter where they are cast in the State.

No member belonging to the minority side in these cases has ever denied that the present system of representation contains gross abuses. The only point at issue has always been whether the Supreme Court should be used to remove these abuses. That is still the issue.

It has not been settled by Chief Justice Warren's opinion. He proceeds on the assumption that it is beyond dispute that representation in State legislatures should rest on the principle of one man one vote. That principle sounds like a truism that no one in his senses would challenge. Yet it has in fact been most seriously challenged both by dissenting Justices on this Court and by respected scholars outside it. On the most generous terms, it must be said that the case made by the majority is still open to the gravest doubt. There is abundant evidence in American history and in American political thought to prove that equality of representation was not always the master rule.

But the case against the Court's majority goes deeper than a complaint against their imperfect scholarship. It touches their basic concepts of their judicial function, and their concept of the Supreme Court's role today.

Chief Justice Warren has spoken of weighted representation as an evil which paralyzes true democracy, which exerts a stranglehold on the system of freedom, and which dilutes all other rights which depend upon equality in the polling booth for their maintenance.

Now it would seem reasonable to expect that an evil of this magnitude would have provoked repeated and vehement resistance. Yet it is precisely this evidence of public resistance that is absent from Chief Justice Warren's opinion.

His pages are filled with references to the injustices and inequalities of State representation. He refers with weary iteration to the failure of legislatures to redistrict after the census held at 10-year intervals, though clearly bound by their own regulations to make these changes. But nowhere does he produce evidence of sustained public campaigns that have tried to grapple with these problems and have utterly failed to solve them. The truth is that Chief Justice Warren has not suppressed evidence because it is too voluminous to put into an opinion; there is very little evidence available to him.

Like other members of the Court's majority, Chief Justice Warren has assumed that it would be futile to seek a political solution to the problems of representation because the people being asked to make the concessions would be the very persons who are benefiting from the injustices. Precisely the same assumption was made by reformers across the country. That explains why something less than a flame of agitation on these matters has been visible over the years.

Now it was not easy to crusade against slavery, or child labor, or the denial of votes to women. There always were powerful beneficiaries of injustice that had to be challenged and repulsed.

But in this campaign against representation the popular agitation, measured against the issues involved, was brief and fragmentary. The Supreme Court took jurisdiction and gave us reform by judicial decree. Is it a good thing for the Supreme Court to deal with the most complicated political questions now facing the American people? And is it a good thing for American democracy to turn its gravest political problems over to the Supreme Court instead of trying to solve them by self-exertion and reform? These are questions left totally unanswered by Chief Justice Warren.

Understanding Seapower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD C. BRUCE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, after an exhaustive inquiry, concluded unanimously:

The decision announced by the Secretary of Defense * * * against utilization of nuclear propulsion in the next aircraft carrier * * * was incorrect. * * * More tragically, such a decision means that the Navy may be committed to a future of planned obsolescence with grave implications for the national security.

The Indianapolis Star of June 7, 1964, carried an excellent editorial outlining the vital role our naval forces play in our fight against international communism. One can easily envision the dire straits we would be in today if such a program of planned obsolescence had been in existence in the past.

The editorial follows:

UNDERSTANDING SEAPOWER

It remains to be seen whether the nation with the greatest navy in history will be able to make the greatest use of the seas, both for its own interest and in the interest of world order.

This is the question in a broad strategic sense that faces the United States in southeast Asia.

The war may be a matter of slipping through the jungles and slogging past the rice paddies. Yet, the only reason the United States is able to concern itself in South Vietnam, or southeast Asia, is the ability of its Navy to control the sealanes leading to that part of the world.

World War II was fought against the Japanese for this reason. The Japanese, who understood the value of seaborne commerce as only an island nation can, proposed to set up a vast water highway connecting the homeland with the "Greater southeast Asia coprosperity sphere." Then as now, that roadway runs from the East Indies between the mainland of Asia and the islands that form a barrier north from Borneo through the Philippines, Formosa, the Ryukyus, and Japan.

Aid to South Vietnam and support for the American troops fighting and flying there would end in a matter of days if the sea routes through the South China Sea were closed. Without the Navy, there would be no contest in southeast Asia. Without an appreciation for maritime power, there is no need to contest southeast Asia.

The forces of the U.S. Navy offer a variety and subtlety of choice in southeast Asia that are not available to any nation lacking naval strength. Red China, it must be emphasized, has no significant naval power. Operating from the South China Sea, American carrier aircraft exhibited one such capability when it was announced that they are flying reconnaissance missions over Laos in an effort to find out what is going on in that country.

Sailing in international waters, the ships of the American fleet can move freely in this tense part of the world. Possible missions might include mining selected ports, partial or full blockage of coastal traffic, supply of raiders or support of guerrillas and an almost infinite number of other possibilities. Yet, these are actions that cannot be carried out unless there is a full understanding of naval capability in such places as the office of the Secretary of Defense.

It is a fact that civilian planners prior to the Cuban crisis failed to grasp what the Russians were capable of doing if they made use of seaborne transport to move into that island. The world's greatest land power applied the naval principles of mobility and surprise to achieve a victory in the face of the world's greatest Navy, all because those in political office in Washington failed or refused to understand the uses of the sea.

Events in the near future will show whether that lesson has been learned or not, and whether seapower will be used to the greatest advantage in southeast Asia to protect against the unwarranted ambitions of Red China.

Let Freedom Ring: July 4, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of the 188th Anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1964, the members of the American National Cowbelles—an auxiliary of the American National Cattlemen's Association—have sponsored the presentation of tiny cow bells to each Member of Congress to observe Independence Day by the ringing of bells across the Nation.

Since the initial effort to revive this American custom of ringing bells in celebration was started, it has grown steadily through the participation of patriotic citizens throughout the Nation. In Nebraska, the American Legion has sponsored a statewide program to enlist communities to ring school and church bells at a specified time. It has been enthusiastically received.

I can think of no better time than the present for each of us to reflect upon the freedoms we hold so dear and to renew our personal dedication to continue our American way-of-life in the face of growing threats from all sides.

We should rekindle in the hearts of all of our citizens a feeling of pride and

patriotism such as that felt by our forebears when the first Independence Day was celebrated or when this young Nation withstood trials and emerged stronger and more prosperous than before.

I join with the members of the National Cowbelles and invite you to "ring out the bells on the 4th of July."

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountainside
Let freedom ring."
—*Samuel Francis Smith, 1808–95.*

April and November

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the tax cut bill, recently enacted by the Congress, reduced personal income tax rates from a minimum of 20 percent to a low of 16 percent this year and to 14 percent next year. However, the bill lowered the withholding rate from 18 to 14 percent all at once. Therefore, sufficient taxes are not now being withheld from salaries to meet the amounts owed in Federal income taxes. The purpose is twofold: The first is to release greater sums to stimulate an economy already reaching boom proportions and the other is to make it appear that the tax cut is greater than it really is. A recent editorial in the Chattanooga News-Free Press illustrates the political aspects of the tax scheme.

The article, "April and November," follows:

APRIL AND NOVEMBER

It's a long, long while from March to November. But it's not so long that a lot of Americans won't still have somewhere in the back of their minds the recollection that it was under President Lyndon Johnson that an income tax cut was voted this year—a cut which in March began to result in lower withholding rates and a few extra dollars in the take-home pay of millions of Americans.

And it does't require a very suspicious mind to conjecture that this is probably just what Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats in Congress who helped push through the political tax cut legislation have been counting on all along: the hope that a few extra dollars in the paychecks of millions of Americans—many of whom honestly disagreed with the principle of a tax cut without a comparable spending cut—may buy a big chunk of votes for everybody who helped get the bill passed.

It's also a long, long while from November to April—undoubtedly because politicians of years past decided that it just wouldn't do to have income taxes come due anywhere near election time. But next April—April 15, to be exact—millions of Americans who have been blithely spending the extra "tax cut" dollars in their paychecks are going to be in for a rude awakening. They will discover—probably to their horror—that the Government hasn't been deducting enough to cover what they're going to be owing in taxes. And even taxpayers in average income brackets may find themselves owing lump sums in the hundreds of dollars to the Internal Revenue Service.

It has long been obvious that the withholding system is nothing but a sneaky way to "sugar coat" taxes on income, and theories have been advanced very logically that if Americans had to pay their income taxes in one lump sum at the end of the year instead of on the "easy installment" plan, there would be a popular rebellion.

The Internal Revenue Service is already worried about just such an event, and it is warning employers to let their employees know what to expect. Unfortunately, the "rebellion," if it occurs, will come too late to undo any votes the grossly political tax cut of 1964 may have already won for the administration and the Congressmen who put it over on the people.

Handouts Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego Union, June 26, 1964]

HANDOUTS NOT THE ANSWER—WON'T CURE POVERTY

President Johnson has made a great to-do the last few months about his "war on poverty." He wants to spend $962.5 million the first year, but that is just a starter; the cost is bound to grow in future years.

No one contradicts the President's claim there are thousands of Americans who eke out a bare existence. No one wants poverty in this rich land of ours. But his "war on poverty" is shot through with inconsistencies.

To illustrate his view that $3,000 is the "poverty level" for a family of four, the President toured a North Carolina area. Mrs. William Marlow told of Mr. Johnson's visit to her husband's sharecropper farm:

"A State extension service official came around first. He said to be sure to have a washing on the line when the President arrived and to be sure the children were barefoot. We thought we were getting along fine. Now we're told we're the poorest folks in the county."

The "poverty" program seems to be a gigantic Civilian Conservation Corps, with a program that, once started, will soon grow into one of big Government's largest bureaus. John Kenneth Galbraith, a Presidential adviser, has said an effective plan would cost $5 billion a year.

The first year it is planned to:

Set up a 40,000-member Job Corps to train boys and girls, 16 to 22, in conservation and other work.

Establish a work-training program to keep 200,000 youths in school.

Subsidize part-time jobs for 140,000 college students.

Grant funds to local authorities to fight specific poverty problems.

Train unemployed fathers and unskilled widows.

Set up 5,000-member Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), modeled on the Peace Corps, to do antipoverty work.

Granted that there is much poverty in the country; we do not think a gigantic handout of Government funds and the creation of another huge bureaucracy is the answer.

The unemployed must be put to work in private industry, not make-work projects such as the Government envisions. Many firms conduct their own training programs. Many are ready to expand, but are deterred by restrictive Government rulings, bureaucratic redtape, and lack of protective tariffs.

More Government cooperation with business and industry would do more to end the poverty problem than Government handouts, which would grow and grow with the years, forcing tax increases which could impoverish millions, and making them in turn eligible for the "poverty program."

City Fights Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the city of Lawrence, Mass., like many other New England cities has been plagued with economic difficulties in recent years. High unemployment, a deteriorating central city, pressure on local tax bases from rising needs for community facilities have all played a role in straining existing resources.

But Lawrence has not given up in despair. Instead its city government has taken the initiative in developing imaginative programs to cope with these problems. City development, job counseling, and retraining have important elements in this assault on urban difficulties.

Writing in the Boston Globe on June 30, Peter B. Greenough, discussed the city's efforts to bounce back from economic hardship and paid tribute to the leadership of local officials. Under unanimous consent I include the article in the RECORD:

JOBLESS CITIES FIGHT BACK—III: 1,300 POVERTY-STRICKEN—BUT THEY DON'T KNOW IT

(By Peter B. Greenough)

LAWRENCE, MASS.—For what they're worth, statistical studies show that this city still has 18.5 percent of its population whose annual income is under $3,000.

If you accept this at face value, then 13,000 Lawrencians are poverty stricken. That's Presiden Johnson's criterion.

Only they don't realize it.

Time and again during this reporter's visits here, simple questions were posed:

"Who are the unemployed? Where are they?"

Invariably, the rejoinder was:

"We don't know."

Strange, isn't it? A major Massachusetts community recognizes it has problems. Yet trying to finger them precisely is difficult indeed.

Nationally the unemployment situation has taken on new aspects lately. Fewer than 3 out of 100 married men are now jobless. Also, it has become a many-splintered thing. In general, people are on unemployed rolls only a very short time. Less than 1 percent of our total work force is out for more than 6 months. Thus a high degree of optional or voluntary joblessness—more than there has ever been in our history—has come into being.

Against this, Lawrence offers quite a different picture.

Sylvester O'Toole, manager of the Massachusetts division of Employment Security in

Lawrence, supervises an area covering Lawrence, Andover, North Andover and Methuen.

"This year, to date, we've paid out $161,600 in checks. For the same period last year it was $139,000. And people are drawing checks for a longer period," O'Toole observes.

"Now we pay seven checks on every new or reopened claim. In past it was 3 to 3½ checks. So it's quite the reverse from the national trend."

Jobless statistics can tell you a wealth of things—about age, sex, color, marital status, duration of employment, household relationships. Yet there is one key thing the figures do not indicate: how hard and in what way an unemployed person is looking for work.

It is no exaggeration to say that the unemployment count, in Lawrence as anywhere else, contains some individuals who aren't looking at all.

By the same token, though, there are fair numbers who have fallen clear off all misery charts.

Some have become discouraged from looking for work by repeated failures during interviews. Finally, they give up and drop from the statistics.

O'Toole can cite quite a few in this category.

The day the Globe talked with him, he had just finished interviewing a man who had drawn his 12th consecutive compensation check. This was a vigorous-looking fellow, a onetime operator in a plastics plant.

"I'm 65," he told O'Toole with a shrug.

Darned soon this man will give up. He'll go on social security for good and become officially retired.

In truth, if you shook out Lawrence's jobless statistics, so that pregnant women, the elderly and the partially employed were not counted, then a great many could be pared away.

This is what makes O'Toole say, with a good deal of positiveness, that "there aren't 3,700 unemployed here," though this is the official figure. O'Toole's guess is that 2,700, a thousand fewer, is a much more accurate assessment.

Again, let's try to learn just who they are.

Young people? These are the ones the Government tells us are having such a hard time being assimilated into the labor market.

O'Toole gets lists of 18-year-olds around Lawrence who are rejected by the draft. He checked 33 recently to see how they were making out finding work. Some 18 responded. All were employed or partially so. The others? O'Toole has no way of knowing about them. On the whole, though, the young are making out reasonably well.

Again, so many around Lawrence now work elsewhere.

Interstate 93 makes it easy to pop down to Route 128 or even to Boston.

New 495, soon to open all across the northeast corner of the Bay State, will have equally far-reaching effects in influencing worker mobility.

"In the old days people lived across the street from their jobs," O'Toole says (with a wave of the hand toward typical old three-decker dwellings). "Now they commute like all get-out."

A great 35-acre hole smack in the center of town, where numbers of three-deckers have gone under the wreckers' hammer, testifies how the old order changeth.

Lawrence is undergoing a major downtown urban redevelopment program, on a scale naturally smaller than Boston's, yet most impressive. A new post office, supermarket, and fine apartments soon will rise in that section.

The catalyst behind this is the same individual who helped fire up much of Lawrence's industrial bounceback, the man who helped put city funds into the industrial park: Mayor John J. Buckley (also a member of the Governor's Council).

Buckley's ears must burn constantly. His long and successful tenure in office, 10 years, confirms what the public thinks of him.

Lawrence's journey out of the economic backwaters can, in large measure, be ascribed to Buckley's drive. The real worry around town is that next fall they may lose him, to higher State office.

The continuity of Buckley's regime has held the city on the comeback path. It has also, this writer believes, helped foster a spirit of area awareness, of planning and metropolitan thinking that genuinely is new. Many other Bay State communities might thrive by it.

Robert P. (Rob) Parker of Longview, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we are very proud of an outstanding young man of Longview, Tex., Rob Parker. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article that appeared in the Longview Daily News about him recently. We shall continue to expect great things.

The article follows:

AUSTRALIAN ROTARIAN PAYS TRIBUTE TO ROB PARKER

(By Wells Burton)

Robert P. (Rob) Parker, of Longview, was described as a fine Rotary fellow and ambassador in a letter received this week by Duncan E. Kincheloe, president of the Longview Rotary Club, from E. L. Callaway, president of the Sydney, Australia, Downtown Rotary organization.

Parker, who is doing graduate work in political science at the University of Sydney, was sponsored for the Rotary International Foundation Fellowship by the Longview club and nominated by the 581st Rotary District, one of the largest in the South. He has been in Sydney since early February.

In his letter to Kincheloe which was read before the Longview club at its meeting Tuesday at the Downtowner Motor Inn, Callaway told of a "most inspiring address" made by the young Longview man at an international day program, and praised Parker for his efforts in the furtherance of international understanding.

The letter follows:

"I write to tell you of an outstanding experience of our club yesterday, when Rotary Foundation Fellow Robert Parker addressed us on the occasion of our international day.

"This is an annual function of our club, when we invite the consular and diplomatic representatives of all oversea countries who are stationed in Sydney to join us at luncheon, and we usually present a speaker from the political sphere.

"Robert gave us a most inspiring address—delightfully presented with the greatest assurance (before an audience of almost 300, including 30 of our special guests). The content of his talk was most mature for a lad of his age, and his personality made an extremely favorable impression on us all. He obviously derives the keenest pleasure from speaking, and can surely look forward to a brilliant future.

"You would have been proud of him yesterday, as we were, and we must pay tribute to the wonderful ideal behind the Rotary Foundation program which makes it possible for ambassadors such as Robert to visit oversea countries in the furtherance of international understanding.

"Congratulations to your club on having sponsored such a fine candidate, and our good wishes to yourself and all your members."

Rob is the son of Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Parker. Since arriving in Sydney, he has addressed several Rotary district conferences and a number of clubs in various parts of the country.

In the following letter to Publisher and Mrs. Carl Estes, he relates some of his experiences during a recent holiday period:

"My 3 weeks' holidays are finally over, and it's good to be back in the relatively quiet routine of the dedicated student. I covered so much ground in the past 2 weeks that I am really tired.

"The first week of the holidays was spent here in Sydney speaking to local Rotary clubs.

"The second week found me in New Zealand, and the third in Tasmania, Melbourne, and Canberra. I was at all times trying to see everything in a short period of time and work with Rotarians at every opportunity possible. It reminded me of your old story about the one-eyed man at a three-ring circus, Uncle Carl. (Rob has called the publisher Uncle Carl since he learned to talk.)

"Of all the places I visited, I was most impressed with Tasmania. It is a lovely little island, though very cold. That business about nothing but a barbed wire fence between them and the South Pole is a fact. The cold weather is more than offset, however, by the warmth of Tasmanian hospitality. They were wonderful to me. Members of the Hobart Rotary Club met me at the airport when I arrived, showed me the sights all around, and entertained me in several of their homes. I was the house guest of a different family each night I was there, and when I left, my bags were full of gifts from my hosts.

"I speak this week to the downtown Rotary Club. It's the biggest club in Australia with about 300 members, and Tuesday is a specially declared International Day. They were to have had the Prime Minister as speaker, but he is ill, and I have been invited to take his place. The state premier and the leader of the opposition will be there, as will the consuls and ministers of approximately 30 governments. Several Communist countries will be among those represented, so I shall have to be at my diplomatic as well as my forensic best.

"When I was in Melbourne, I met, through Rotary, the editor of the best newspaper in the city, the Age. He is a Mr. Keith Sinclair, who has just returned from a trip to the United States to observe our newspapers and their techniques. We had a nice long talk about the newspaper business here and at home, and he showed me around their very impressive facilities at the Age. He also gave me a letter of introduction to the editor of the best newspaper here in Sydney, the Sydney Morning Herald, or SMH as it is popularly known. I plan to visit the SMH and further my knowledge of Australian newspapers still more after I appear before the downtown Rotary Club.

"The two papers I have mentioned here are the only ones in Australia that have not turned to tabloid sensationalism to boost circulation, and even their coverage of international news is scanty at best. Several weeks ago I made a close examination of the column inches allotted to types of international news, and in a typical instance there were more inches given to the story of Lyndon Johnson lifting his dog by the ears than all other stories coming out of the States that week put together. This included no mention at all of the settlement of the rail dispute.

"Time and Newsweek both have editions over here, and I buy them both each week.

Dad keeps me posted on the local scene and has sent me several excellent special supplements and features as well as news stories from the Longview Daily News and Longview Morning Journal. Believe me, I am prouder than ever of our fine newspapers."

Parker has been associated with Longview newspapers since boyhood, starting as a carrier. In his junior year, he covered the Boy Scout National Jamboree in Valley Forge and the International Scout meeting in London. During the last several summers, he has been a sales representative.

Rob received his B.A. degree from the University of Texas last year and has completed one semester in its law school. He plans to resume his law studies next January.

A Pioneer Air Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, citizens of the great State of Alaska have a particular reason to be concerned with any activity or ceremony affecting Pan American World Airways. That is why I take great pleasure and pride in joining with my other colleagues in commemorating the memorable and significant event in the history of Pan American World Airways, consisting of its successful inaugural flight across the Atlantic.

Residents of Alaska, Mr. Speaker, recall all too clearly the horror which struck our State last March. Well do we remember the immediate, enthusiastic, and unselfish response of Pan American in making available its equipment and extensive facilities to alleviate continued suffering in Alaska.

Commercial jet transportation played an important role in helping Alaska back to its feet after the Good Friday earthquake.

When the docks at Seward and Whittier were demolished, Pan American Airways' jet clippers began carrying average cargo loads of 6 to 9 tons every night to Fairbanks.

One passenger jet carried 23,826 pounds of badly needed supplies to Alaska—one of the heaviest cargo loads ever transported on a passenger aircraft.

Part of this record load was 9,000 pounds of fresh milk. Foods and other perishables make up a heavy proportion of each jet flight, augmented by drugs, clothing, and other necessities.

Passenger traffic for the weeks following the earthquake reflected the resurgence of the 49th State with a 41 percent gain for Pan American during April over the same month of 1963.

Destruction of the docks at Seward and Whittier posed a major threat to the entire State, even areas not directly affected by the earthquake. Port facilities at these two cities serve as important gateways to Alaska for surface cargo, shipped in bulk or containers.

From these points, cargo is transshipped aboard the Alaska Railroad for carriage into the interior. Following the earthquake, Alaska had the alternative of bringing in vitally needed goods via the long hard truck haul along the Alcan Highway or by a 3-hour nonstop jet Clipper flight.

Although cargo volume doubled almost overnight the capacity of Pan Am's Boeing 707 jet clippers was so great that no backlog of cargo developed except for the first few days immediately following the earthquake.

While the entire community was dependent on air transportation for fresh produce and dairy products, Pan Am's highly nonstop flights to Fairbanks provided a 1,520-mile aerial supply line.

During the emergency, Seattle and Fairbanks airport personnel referred to Pan Am's nightly jet flight 901 as the "flying milkwagon" because of the large amounts of fresh milk and dairy products that went aboard each evening.

Mr. Speaker, it appears that Pan American, who pioneered service to Alaska in 1931, will be serving our great State for an indefinite period of time. We certainly hope so and we anticipate that its services will be maintained, not solely for emergency purposes, but to bring to the great State of Alaska many thousands of our fellow Americans who have never been exposed to the magnificence and beauty of the northernmost State in this Union.

Oration on "The Starvation Bloc" a Winner for Oklahoma Southeastern State College Student Paul Westbrook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, each year the State colleges in my congressional district participate in an intercollegiate oratorical contest. I am always impressed by the high quality of the students' efforts in this contest.

One of the winners of this year's oratorical contest is Mr. Paul Westbrook, a student at Oklahoma Southeastern State College located in Durant, Okla.

I am sure all Members will be interested in his winning oration, entitled "The Starvation Bloc":

THE STARVATION BLOC

Nine years ago, in Puerto Rico, a child was born to a family named Rodriguez. He was a fat, happy baby, gurgling and cooing the universal language of infancy. But the initial blessing of his birth soon turned to misery for this child. Juan Rodriguez, you see, was the youngest of eight children, eight children born to devoted, but, unfortunately, uneducated parents, born into a land where hunger is the rule rather than the exception.

At the age of two Juan was struck by scurvy, this disease leaving him virtually toothless, with gums so tender they still bleed when he tries to eat hard foods. At five he contracted rickets, this disease leaving his right leg so crippled he can hardly walk; and, as long as anyone can remember, none of the children in the Rodriguez family have been able to see well at night.

Juan Rodriguez is not an unusual child. There are thousands, indeed millions of children just like Juan all over the world. The names are different; there are Muktals, Wang Lees, and Go Dins. But the condition is the same. They were all born into countries which offer only a life of poverty and disease; they were born into lives in which success is measured by the amount of food set on the table; they were born into lives of starvation.

These people are not a minority group; in fact, the people of the starvation bloc countries comprise over one-half of the population of the world.

What we Americans fail to realize is the effect these starvation bloc people will exert on us. To understand precisely what effect the population explosion will have on the world, and consequently us in the United States, let's back up a little bit, and see what's happening to the population of our world.

According to our best historical and archeological evidence, it has taken mankind about a million and a half years to reach the 3 billion mark. But according to United Nations demographers, in the next 36 years—a mere twinkling of a cosmic eye—the population will more than double, reaching 6.9 billion by the year 2000. In less than half a lifetime the population increase will exceed the total accumulated in about a million and a half years.

Now the sheer bulk of the population increase is in itself a problem; but the problem is compounded by the fact that the major part of this increase is occurring in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

Let's look at India and China for example. A United Nations statistical survey showed, that if present growth rates continue, by the year 2000 there will be a billion Indians, and a billion and a half Chinese. We remember the story from "Ripley's Believe It or Not," when Mr. Ripley posed the question: "If all the Chinese in the world began marching at a double time, four abreast past a given point, how long would it take the column to pass by?" And the answer was that the column would never stop marching, that the population of China is growing so rapidly that the column would indeed grow continually longer.

Considering all the members of the starvation bloc at once, the same United Nations survey indicated that their population is increasing at a rate more than double that of the advanced nations. In 40 years it is estimated that 75 percent of the people in the world will live in today's least developed lands.

Let's take this down to a personal level and see what it means.

In India, where the average diet is only 1,700 calories, uncounted thousands spend their whole lives on the street, abject beggars from birth to death.

In Ceylon, the wife of an American AID official said, "So undernourished are many of the people they resemble walking skeletons." This same woman visited a school for deaf and blind children conducted by Belgian Sisters. She was told that in every case the blindness of the child was caused by semistarvation in infancy. She concluded, "Misery, sickness, and disease from undernourishment stalk the visitor everywhere."

And in Hong Kong the problem is so severe that refugees from Communist China are turned back or even shot, for there is not enough room for them in the city.

What can we expect from these people?

We see the effect of overpopulation all over the world. It is causing revolts, riots, and the rise of totalitarian governments, governments which are leaning more and more toward communism. The U.S. News & World Report, in January of this year, stated that all of the new African nations, while not necessarily Communist dominated, are ex-

pressing pro-Communist feelings. These are the nations of the starvation bloc, these are the nations in which a war is being waged against hunger, poverty, and disease, a war which must be won if we in the United States are to remain free.

For you see it is the backward nations, the uneducated nations, the overpopulated nations, that are most susceptible to Communist takeover. And when this Communist takeover does occur, the United States will be placed on a permanent war or near war footing. Those of you who remember World War II, or have read about the social conditions existing in the United States during that period, know that civil liberties are greatly restricted during times of war. The freedoms we hold most dear are often overlooked and forgotten, and democracy tends to be replaced by a strong Central Government. We must take steps to prevent this from taking place.

It is time to ask ourselves, what can be done?

Here we find all the authorities in the world in surprising agreement. Statements from Julian Huxley, former head of UNESCO, Frank W. Nosestein, director of the Population Center, the Roman Catholic newspaper the Catholic Mind, and a stationment of conviction signed by 39 Nobel Prize winners all point to a similar answer—that we have discovered means of controlling death, we have made tremendous strides in increasing the average life span of man, now it is time to do something about controlling birth. Father John O'Brien, writing in the Christian Century, summarized the position most aptly; "one measure of crucial and decisive importance is the regulation of conception and birth * * * until we come to honest grips with this factor we are but playing with and shall never solve the problem."

The first idea that comes to a person's mind when the subject of birth control is discussed is that some religious sects oppose it. Yet if you noticed the authorities I just cited, you saw that two of these are Roman Catholic; when we examine the other major religions of the world we find a similar idea running through each: that while all religions tend to encourage procreation, none maintains that it ought to be unlimited.

In fact, in some areas of the world, birth-control programs are already in existence; Japan, Egypt, and India, for example, have initiated programs. The problem here is that they lack the resources to carry out their goals.

It is up to us to see that they have the resources they need. Living in the midst of the plenty we have in the United States it is easy to forget the starving people of the world. But then none of us have ever gone to bed, and curled up in a ball and wished the hunger pains throbbing through your body would subside enough to enable us to sleep. We haven't worked 18 hours a day in order to feed our children bread and water, and, if they're lucky, a bit of fish. We've never watched our children grow thinner and thinner from starvation until they are nothing but fleshless bones, walking skeletons, and finally they lie down and die. We've never looked into the pitiful eyes of a child, ravaged by disease, and been unable to succor him at all. But people in India have, people in Japan have, people in Laos, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Borneo have. And these are the people who are asking for help.

Are we to let the influence of religious groups keep these people from living like human beings, rather than animals? Are we to force these people to turn in desperation to communism, because we in the United States will not give assistance? Are we to stand idly by and watch ourselves become surrounded by starving, diseased people, because we have problems of our own? I hope not.

All I ask you to do is this: Become aware of the problem of overpopulation, become concerned with this problem, and, when the opportunity presents itself, state your views, and through such programs as UNICEF and UNESCO, treat the children of the starvation bloc as if they were your own. Put yourself in the place of the fathers of these children. Think of your sons and daughters slowly dying of hunger, and then decide if you can help. It is a responsibility I'm asking you to assume, a responsibility you are obligated to assume as a citizen of the world and as a human being—to help those people who are unable to help themselves. Can you as a moral individual conscientiously refuse this aid?

On Minding One's Own Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY A. TAYLOR
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Asheville Times has long advocated equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of race, color, religion, or background. I believe that the editorial set out below which appeared in the Asheville Times on June 29, 1964, carries a message which all Members of this body and the public generally should consider:

ON MINDING ONE'S OWN BUSINESS

Evangelist Billy Graham, speaking in New York the other day, said he doubted the wisdom of sending civil rights workers from the north into Mississippi.

We agree with Dr. Graham. Such methods tend to cause more harm than good, as is evidenced by recent happenings in Mississippi. No community likes to have outsiders come in and tell it what to do and how to handle its problems.

Dr. Graham also said he admired the idealism and courage of these workers in going to Mississippi. On that point, we are inclined to believe that idealism is not the biggest moving force behind individual decisons of the workers to join such an undertaking. Neither is courage.

In all too many instances, it would seem to us, very few so-called civil rights workers could afford to leave their homes, their jobs and their families unless they are well compensated for their efforts.

It also should be pointed out that whenever there is ready money to be had all sorts of fast-buck artists and just plain hoodlums are to be found in abundance.

Therein, we believe, lies one of the biggest stumbling blocks to the civil rights movement.

Certainly we believe in fair and equal treatment to everyone, regardless of his color, race, religion or creed. What we cannot accept is the well-paid "idealist" who would tell the South what it should believe.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH
OF
HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to join my colleagues in observing Captive Nations Week.

In this fifth annual observance by Congress we are helping to dramatize the plight of the captive nations of Eastern Europe. By our action, we emphasize the right of self-determination by all peoples and we are speaking for freedom against the imposition of alien rule.

The situation in the captive nations cannot be accepted as unalterable and hopeless. On the contrary, the events of the past few years have shown the tremendous endurance of deep-rooted nationalism and the spirit of independence.

In my judgment, we must reject the notion that Russia's conquest of the nations of Eastern Europe should be accepted in the name of political realism. The fact is that the Soviet Union leads not from strength but from weakness as far as these nations are concerned. Does anyone doubt that, if genuinely free elections were held in such nations as Poland, Ukrainia, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and the others, the forces of independence and democracy would prevail?

Historically and psychologically most of the nations of Eastern Europe have a strong attachment to the West. When the opportunity arises, as in the case of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's visit to Poland this week, the people will demonstrate their affection for the western way of life.

With this observance by Congress, we give encouragement and hope to 100 million restive and unhappy people who yearn for the day when their nations will become free nations and they, once again, will have control of their own destiny.

District of Columbia DAR Commends Director Holtzclaw on "In God We Trust" Currency Conversion Schedule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, I am always interested in the activities of our patriotic sister organization, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and in its efforts to encourage wider public awareness of the principles on which our Nation was founded under God. Furthermore, as the Member of Congress who sponsored Public Law 140 of the 84th Congress, which requires the use of the national motto, "In God We Trust," on all coins, and eventually on all currency, I was particularly interested in a resolution adopted earlier this year by the District of Columbia Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, dealing with this subject.

Public Law 140, approved July 11, 1955, required:

That at such time as new dies for the printing of currency are adopted in connection with the current program of the Treasury Department to increase the capacity of

presses utilized by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the dies shall bear, at such place or places thereon as the Secretary of the Treasury may determine to be appropriate, the inscription "In God We Trust" and thereafter this inscription shall appear on all U.S. currency and coins.

On January 20, 1964, the Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, of Missouri, chairof the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at pages A191–A192, a report from the director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Mr. H. J. Holtzclaw, on the schedule which is being followed by the Bureau in converting the various denominations of currency to include the national motto, as called for in Public Law 140 of the 84th Congress. This conversion schedule showed that in addition to the billions of $1 silver certificates delivered since 1957, and more than 150 million $1 Federal Reserve notes delivered in November and December 1963, containing the national motto, the Bureau would soon be printing $2 U.S. notes, $5 U.S. notes, and $10 Federal Reserve notes bearing the inscription "In God We Trust." Other denominations would follow in turn later this year and early next year.

Subsequently, it was a pleasure and an honor for me to accompany Congresswoman SULLIVAN and Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, of the Committee on Banking and Currency, to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for a little ceremony marking the printing of the first new series of currency this year to carry the national motto, the $2 U.S. note. I am happy to report that Director Holtzclaw has succeeded in maintaining the conversion schedule as outlined on January 20.

COMMENDATION TO DIRECTOR HOLTZCLAW

The District of Columbia Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, in its 63d State conference, noted that by 1965, under the conversion schedule proposed by Director Holtzclaw, approximately 77 percent of our total currency note production will carry the national motto, as provided under Public Law 140. It commended the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for the manner in which he has been carrying out his responsibility under this law. I, too, commend the Director, and I also want to take this opportunity to commend the DAR for its thoughtfulness in praising a good job well done. Too often, public servants receive only criticism for their errors or alleged errors while seldom receiving recognition for excellence in the performance of their duties.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the text of the resolution adopted by the District of Columbia Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, as follows:

COMMENDATION TO DIRECTOR OF BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

Whereas many citizens of the United States have expressed concern over rumors that the time-honored motto "In God We Trust" was to be removed from our coins and currency; and

Whereas a conclusive statement appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 20, 1964, by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs which has the responsibility for bills dealing with coins and currency, that there is no bill pending in Congress to remove the motto from coins and currency; and

Whereas "In God We Trust" appears on all coins in keeping with a law passed in 1955 making it mandatory, which law also made it mandatory that the motto be placed on all currency issues at such time as new dies for printing are adopted; and

Whereas the same CONGRESSIONAL RECORD published a chart furnished by the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing which showed that by 1965 over 77 percent of our total currency will carry the motto:

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, commend Mr. H. J. Holtzclaw, Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, for placing into effect the conversion schedule for new currency as rapidly as manpower availability will allow.

Checking on L.B.J.'s Frugality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CHECKING ON L.B.J.'S "FRUGALITY"

When President Johnson, declaring he stood for "fiscal prudence" and "national frugality," submitted a $97,900 million budget to Congress—$500 million less than the year before—there was great rejoicing throughout the land.

And when he followed words with action, turning off the White House lights, many began comparing the free-wheeling Texas millionaire with tight-fisted Calvin Coolidge.

It may thus come as a surprise that this popular image of L.B.J. has been called into question by two organizations which have been checking into the figures.

In a report just released by the Republican Critical Issues Council, Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, head of its committee on taxes and fiscal policies, charges that the Johnson administration is in a class by itself in employing budgeteering to create a favorable image.

Far from saving money, he says that the Kennedy-Johnson expenditure explosion is a threat to the Nation's financial solvency. He asserts L.B.J.'s projected spending reductions are either of doubtful practicality or stem from bookkeeping devices.

One of these devices employed quite recently was the action of the Senate, which interrupted its filibuster to rush through a $1,350 million deficiency funds bill. By getting this bill passed by July 1, the President can have this huge deficit charged against the Kennedy budget for fiscal 1964 instead of against the Johnson budget for fiscal 1965.

A somewhat similar report comes from the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, which has been checking the President's budget by the action taken on appropriation bills by Congress.

As of now, it says the picture isn't too bad. So far, on the basis of the bills already considered, the 1965 appropriation total appears to be only "a little above the 1964 total in the same bills."

But there's a catch to this reckoning. As Eugene F. Rinta, director of research for the State chamber group points out: "This obviously leaves no room for Congress to enact any costly new spending programs."

Where, then, does Mr. Johnson expect Congress to find the money for the eight new spending programs he has proposed?

His attack on poverty, aid to Appalachia, urban mass transportation, area redevelopment, expansion of urban renewal, and public housing, general aid to public schools, and medicare, all remain to be considered.

When the President first submitted this budget to Congress—and proposed to provide vastly more benefits for the American people as voters at even less expense to them as taxpayers—some of the more levelheaded of the legislators regarded it skeptically.

Among them, Senator DIRKSEN said Mr. Johnson might have to employ "some legerdemain" to give more for less. House Republican leader CHARLES A. HALLECK was even more blunt describing L.B.J.'s proposal as "putting together a fast buck budget with mirrors."

That certainly appears to be what happened this week when, for the first time since the foreign aid program was instituted in 1946, the House voted to authorize the expenditure of every dollar a President had asked for—this time for $3,516,700,000.

Apparently, opposition was disarmed by the poor talk of L.B.J., his repeated claim that it was a "bare bones" program, a "bikini-sized bill."

Truth is, it was for exactly $516,700,000 more than Congress voted for foreign aid a year ago, when President Kennedy's request was slashed to $3 billion. But then the Agency for International Development (AID) suddenly discovered it had $660,876,000 in unexpended funds, with which to supplement the appropriation.

Would it not have been more prudent and more frugal of L.B.J., before asking for a half billion dollars more this year, to have found out how much AID will have in unexpended funds this time?

East-West Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the June 24, 1964, Dallas Morning News. The editorial contains pertinent comment on administration policy relating to trade with the Communist bloc which will be of interest to the Congress.

EAST-WEST TRADE

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has just released a report in depth on the "Many Crises of the Soviet Economy" which is not only revealing of the inherent failures of the Communist system but suggests obvious trade and diplomatic strategies for the West.

Itemizing the Russians' crises in agriculture, industry, raw materials, quality control, planning, and, most of all, the lack of human incentive, the report concludes that "these crises persist from year to year" and "appear to grow from year to year." A few examples follow:

In 1961, some 193,000 tractors, 21,000 grain combines, and 20,000 forage harvesters were inactive at harvest time because parts were not available.

Repair of existing machine tools requires 3.5 times as many people as those employed in the manufacture of new tools; electric motors spend 30 to 40 percent of their first year of working time undergoing repairs.

At any given time, not less than 40 percent of all vehicles in the U.S.S.R. are idle awaiting repairs.

In 1960, 47 percent of all television sets went on the blink in the first 6 months of operation; in 1961 the figure was 52 percent; in 1962 it was 61 percent. In most advanced societies, the quality of manufacturing tends to improve; in the Soviet Union, it seems to get worse.

Instead of catching up with the West, Soviet industry is actually falling further behind and is becoming more dependent on the West. In an introduction to the subcommittee's report, Senator THOMAS DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut observes that increased East-West trade "may well be a matter of survival" for the Communists.

For this reason, he says, we can expect that "a firm attitude on the part of the West will produce political concessions on the part of the Soviets. The possibilities before Western diplomacy are limitless, if we are prepared to use our economic bargaining power as an instrument for the extension of freedom. East-West trade could be a boon to all the peoples of the world (but) may turn out to be a curse if the West is foolish enough to give it to the Communist bloc on a platter, demanding nothing in return."

Perhaps the best example of our failure to use our economic bargaining power in trade negotiations with the Communists was the multimillion-dollar wheat deal recently approved by the administration. Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, Republican, of California, has just uncovered a startling fact buried in the Commerce Department's May 22 export license report: In May, the Department authorized the Soviet Union to reexport $12,589,000 worth of our wheat to Rumania.

At the time the wheat deal was made, we were told that it was necessary to feed hungry Russians and were assured that the U.S.S.R. would not be allowed to transship any of the wheat to its satellites. LIPSCOMB's discovery brings up several obvious questions.

Have the Soviet's made a profit reselling this wheat which the U.S. taxpayers subsidized?

Are those "hungry Russians" going to starve, or will we send more wheat to take care of that problem?

How realistic is the administration's current view that Rumania is becoming independent of the Soviet Union, in light of this latest deal?

It seems incredible that the Commerce Department would authorize the Soviet resale of our wheat to Rumania at the very time the State Department is trying to establish diplomatic relations and expand trade with Rumania in order to wean it away from the Moscow orbit.

If the State Department's thesis about Rumanian independence is valid, we should be selling wheat to the Rumanians directly, instead of letting the Russians use our wheat to hold them in the Communist bloc.

Senator Earle B. Mayfield, of Tyler, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article that appeared in the Tyler Courier Times June 24, 1964. Senator Mayfield was a devoted husband, father, and churchman. He was an outstanding lawyer and businessman and public official. Texas and the Nation owe much to the vision and foresight of this outstanding and noble personality.

Loyalty to the Democratic Party was a characteristic of Senator Mayfield. He was not one who respected and supported his party only while he was receiving honors from it. The last time I had a long chat with Senator Mayfield was in the fall of 1962 in Tyler when he and I sat at the head table where the Honorable John Connally was the principal speaker in behalf of his candidacy for Governor and the Democratic Party.

There survive Senator Mayfield in his immediate family his wonderful wife, Miss Ora, and two very outstanding sons, John and Earle B. Mayfield, Jr. Senator Mayfield and the great Mayfield family will never be forgotten among the people of east Texas and Texas and the Nation. I extend my sincere sympathy to the family and friends of my believed friend, Senator Mayfield. I pray that God will sustain and comfort them all.

EARLE MAYFIELD, FORMER SENATOR, DIES IN TYLER

Former U.S. Senator from Texas, Earle Bradford Mayfield, 83, died at 4:20 p.m. Tuesday at his home, 505 South Chilton, in Tyler, after a short illness.

Funeral services will be held at 2:30 p.m. Thursday at Marvin Methodist Church. Dr. Harry V. Rankin and Dr. Walter Kerr will officiate.

Burial will be in the family plot at Oakwood Cemetery. Burks-Walker-Tippit Funeral Home is directing arrangements. Masonic services will be held at graveside with St. John's Masonic Lodge of Tyler in charge.

Survivors include his wife, Mrs. Ora Mayfield; two sons, John S. Mayfield, of Syracuse, N.Y., and Earle B. Mayfield, Jr., of Dallas; two brothers, John P. Mayfield, of Corsicana, and Dr. Jack Mayfield of Houston; and a sister, Mrs. Irwin Hill of Houston.

Pallbearers are T. C. Harvey, Jr., Ocie Grimes, George Jones, James W. Aston, James D. Berry, Judge Joe Estes, Brady Gentry, Joe Swann, Fred Hall, and Pete White.

Honorary pallbearers are James S. Gresham, C. N. Avery, Ben Sutton, James Truelove, Henry Carter, Wilton Daniel, and Gus Pinkerton, Sr. Members of the board of stewards and Friendly Bible Class at Marvin Methodist Church also are pallbearers.

W. F. Weeks, president of the Smith County Bar Association, said all members of the bar who plan to attend the funeral are requested to sit together "as a show of affection and respect for this very outstanding member of our group." He said the group will meet at the church a few minutes early.

Since his retirement from the Senate in 1929, Mr. Mayfield has been recognized as a power in Texas Democratic Party circles.

He served one term in the Senate, being elected in 1922. Prior to that time he had served 10 years as railroad commissioner and 6 years as State senator from the 27th District.

Counties in that district included Bell, Bosque, Coryell, and Hamilton. He carried every county in the two races he made for the State office. At the time of his first election, he held the distinction of being the youngest man ever to serve in the upper chamber of the Texas Legislature. He had not lived in the district long enough to vote, but he was still elected.

During his term in the Senate, he fought for judicial reforms, better public education, operation of the State on a cash basis, a State department of agriculture, the spread of experiment stations, and improved penal system, and larger appropriations for State eleemosynary institutions.

He also supported actively all prohibition legislation.

Among the laws which he authored while serving in the U.S. Senate were: authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make emergency freight rates into drought or flood-stricken areas; authorizing the Secretary of State to regulate the tolls for transit across the Red River bridges; control classification law which directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make a survey of the surplus cotton in the United States by Staple lengths and grade and thereby separating low from high grade; direct the Secretary of Agriculture to study the possible uses for low-grade cotton.

Mr. Mayfield had resided in Tyler since 1931. He came here after the opening of the East Texas Oil Field. In 1939, he organized the law firm of Mayfield and Grisham.

He was a graduate of Southwestern University in Georgetown in 1900. He was a member of the Methodist Church, which he served as a steward for 60 years.

He was a 32d degree Mason, a member of the Scottish Rite, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the Woodmen of the World, and the Knights of Pythias.

He was a native of Rusk County.

Speaker John W. McCormack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dynamic, outstanding, and hardworking public servants of our time is the gentleman from Massachusetts who presides over this body as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

He has devoted his life to the public service of his State and Nation. Indeed, he has reached the pinnacle of public life as Speaker of this House and now stands second in line to the Presidency of the United States.

Many tributes and honors have come to him during his long service. I am pleased to bring to the attention of the Members of the House additional articles praising this great man and the magnificent manner in which he has conducted himself in public office and the great success he has enjoyed since assuming the speakership of this great body.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Fall River (Mass.) Herald News. I also offer a fine article written by Donald R. Larrabee, Washington correspondent for the Herald and a number of other newspapers in the country. Mr. Larrabee has been on the Washington scene and on Capitol Hill for a number of years. He has distinguished himself for his perceptive and knowledgeable reporting and his excellent understanding of what goes on here in the Nation's Capital.

MAJOR ROLE

For the second time in recent years a Massachusetts Congressman is the "next in line" to succeed to the Presidency in case the Chief Executive dies or is unable to

function. Congressman JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., served in this capacity when he was House Speaker during the first term of President Truman. House Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK is the next in line of succession to the Presidency right now.

There is no possible way of minimising the importance of Speaker MCCORMACK's position, both as leader of the lower Chamber of Congress and the possible heir to the Presidency. It is characteristic of the man that he carries his responsibilities lightly and without undue strain.

Speaker MCCORMACK has been a professional for many years in a field where amateurs, however well intentioned, often accomplish little. He is not flamboyant; he is not a headline grabber. Rather, he has been content to serve the best interests of this State and the Nation, quietly and without fanfare.

He is a major figure in the public life of the country, and Massachusetts should be pleased that, once again, one of the men it has sent to Washington has been able to attain such high rank.

SPEAKER JOHN W. MCCORMACK—HE IS HAPPY IN HIS JOB AND DOING IT COMPETENTLY

(By Donald R. Larrabee)

WASHINGTON.—About a dozen years ago, U.S. Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of south Boston, was being urged by some powerful labor leaders to campaign for the Democartic vice presidential nomination. He told his enthusiastic supporters at the 1952 nations convention that the House of Representatives was his love—he was the Democratic floor leader at the time—and that he had neither desire nor ambition for national office.

Today, MCCORMACK is thrust by events into a position he did not seek—the second most powerful office in the Nation. Until January 20, 1965, he stands next in succession to the White House. He is, at once, the Speaker of the House and the "Vice President," culminating 35 years of dedicated public service which have prepared him better than most men for the demanding job of the Presidency.

MCCORMACK's is an American success story with all the ingredients—from poverty to great political power. In his 2½ years as Speaker, he has confounded the early critics who questioned his ability to put on the Rayburn mantle and to provide the kind of shrewd leadership that wolud get legislative results. At one point, a couple of newspapers in Massachusetts suggested, in effect, he was too old for the job and should step aside.

All that has changed in recent months. Working in close harmony with a former House colleague, President Lyndon Johnson, the 72-year-old Speaker has overcome the unfavorable image with a series of smashing victories—the TAX cut bill, civil rights, a Federal pay increase, a foreign aid authorization which survived all attempt at cutting the Johnson figure, and a cotton-wheat bill that once seemed doomed. What's more, MCCORMACK has insisted that the House pass its appropriations bills before the fiscal year ends June 30. Ten of these money measures have now been cleared—and there are only two to go.

VIEWS ARE SIMILAR

There's a report between the Speaker and President Johnson. They worked together on New Deal measures in the House as long ago as 1937 and both had an intense loyalty and devotion to Franklin D. Roosevelt, as well as the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. President Johnson knows, first-hand, that Rayburn and MCCORMACK were a team during probably the most trying period in world history.

When it comes to philosophy of government, MCCORMACK says "no two men are more similar in their views than President Johnson and myself." Their voting records bear this out. They see much of each other these days, more often than the regular Tuesday meetings of the congressional leadership at the White House. They talk by telephone regularly. And the two men have an understanding covering any disability on the part of President Johnson. The Speaker is kept fully informed on White House decisions, plans, and policies. He is privy to the Nation's innermost secrets. MCCORMACK attends all meetings of the National Security Council.

In apparent prefect health, MCCORMACK is in the peculiar situation of being the constitutional heir to the Presidency while being singularly ignored by his party and the press in speculation over a possible running mate for Lyndon Johnson this year. His age is cited as the principal reason although he sounds like the best health risk in the world. The Speaker has never really been sick a day in his life.

PRAISED BY GOP'ER

Republican Representative JOHN SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania, took the House floor last December on the occasion of MCCORMACK's 72d birthday and sought to answer those who are "writing off" the Speaker because of his age. Saylor reminded his colleagues that McCormack is younger than seven chairmen of the standing committees of the House; 10 years younger than Benjamin Franklin when he became a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, 10 years younger than Winston Churchill when he became Prime Minister of England again in 1955, etc.

If party loyalty were the criterion, it would be hard to think of anyone with a more perfect record of support for the Democratic programs from the New Deal through the New Frontier to L.B.J.'s Great Society. Strangely MCCORMACK seems to be regarded as something of a conservative by the liberals and intellectuals of his party.

"I've got a 100-percent progressive voting record," he says, "but I'm not a radical."

LOVES YOUNGSTERS

MCCORMACK, who has no children of his own, loves to entertain youngsters who visit the Capitol. He's been known to invite them into the House chamber, during the morning hour before the session convenes, and invites them to take turns sitting in the big chair when he presides.

"Go ahead. Try it," he says, "I never thought I'd be sitting there one day."

In those early years, when MCCORMACK had to quit school to support his mother and young brothers after his father died, a position of national leadership could hardly have entered his tender imagination. He landed a spot as an office boy for a lawyer at $4 a week and studied law on his own until he could pass the Massachusetts bar examination. He won election to an unexpired House term in 1928 and has been sent back to Washington every 2 years since then—often without Republicans bothering to put an opponent in the race against him.

Despite his years in Washington, serving through depression, war, postwar adjustment, the atomic and space ages, as floor leader for his party in the House, and adviser to four Democratic Presidents, MCCORMACK remains a mystery man to many persons and very few claim that they know him intimately. This may be due, in part, to the fact that the MCCORMACKS have managed to stay out of the social stream in Washington all these years.

AVOIDS COCKTAIL CIRCUIT

Indeed, it seems to startle sophisticated and hardened Washington types that John and Harriet McCormack have been able to escape the cocktail circuit. The invitations arrive by the score every day but unless the White House beckons or there is a compelling Democratic Party fund-raising dinner, MCCORMACK is able to say "no thanks." He has always enjoyed dinner with his wife in their Washington hotel apartment.

There are other facets of the Speaker's life and personality that make him atypical among U.S. politicians: Over the years he has always traveled exclusively by automobile or train. The only airplane trip he ever made was to the Rayburn funeral in 1961. MCCORMACK has lived with the most crucial problems of our times but he has never been out of the United States. He still writes scores of letters to Members of Congress and friends in a heavy large scrawl, rather than dictating to a secretary.

He has a light lunch, loves cheese sandwiches, chocolate ice cream, and a good cigar (although he's not smoking as many these days). Friends have never known him to take an alcoholic drink, tell an offcolor story or, they say, go back on his word.

The Speaker claims he's working no harder today with his dual responsibilities than he was as Democratic floor leader. Staff members point out, however, that he must attend more meetings and give more time to national and world developments. When he was elevated to the speakership in 1962, MCCORMACK's salary became $35,000 a year, instead of $22,500—the current rate for Members of Congress. He has the use of a limousine and driver, an expense allowance of $10,000 a year and salary allowances for clerical help in the office of the Speaker as well as for his own congressional office.

HANDLES DISTRICT AFFAIRS

For, he cannot afford to forget that he was elected as a Representative of the 9th Congressional District of Massachusetts and there are still people and problems back home in Boston. In addition to the suite off the House floor, provided him as Speaker, MCCORMACK has his congressional offices in a new area of the Capitol created by the extension of the east front. Here, a faithful crew—small but intensely loyal—conducts the "Boston business." Most of the staff has been with him for years. They work long hours.

There are no guards about the door. When Secret Service men surrounded MCCORMACK after the Kennedy assassination, they were noticed for only a brief period. Friends say the MCCORMACKS decided they didn't need such protection.

If anything, the Speaker goes overboard to make himself accessible, especially to other House Members. He circulates in the lobby, always has an ear for committee chairmen and Congressmen with special problems. He stays on good terms with all factions, never knowing when he'll need them for an important vote. He loves the House, its rules, its procedures, its traditions. He knows its weaknesses and the problems of its Members.

And the present membership has demonstrated a growing respect for MCCORMACK's statesmanlike handling of the speakership. It can be said, without fear of contradiction, that he has secured his hold on what has been described as "the second most powerful office" in the Nation. Assuming Democrats sweep Congress again this fall, MCCORMACK will continue as Speaker—political leader of his party in the House, counselor, and adviser to Presidents.

Congressman John Anderson: A Congressman With a Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a most interesting account about a friend and colleague, Congressman JOHN

B. ANDERSON, of Rockford, Ill., in the June 21 issue of the Chicago Tribune. The political profile was written by Willard Edwards, a highly respected writer on the Washington scene and a 30-year veteran on Capitol Hill as a member of the Chicago Tribune's Washington staff. Our friend and colleague, JOHN ANDERSON, has compiled a remarkable record, has a bright future, and I am certain the article about him will be of interest to all; for, as the author states, he is a "man to watch" in the Halls of Congress.

The article follows:

MAN TO WATCH IN U.S. CONGRESS: JOHN ANDERSON IS A "COMER" ON CAPITOL HILL

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, June 20.—The young would-be diplomat from the Middle West was about as raw a recruit for the U.S. Foreign Service as the State Department had seen in years.

When he was photographed for a passport, a nervous grin split his features. The secretary in charge of his processing frowned at the results.

"This is not the suitable expression for a sincere young diplomat," she informed him, sternly. "You must pose again."

The second sitting produced a likeness pronounced satisfactory by the State Department girl. He was stirred by an emotion which he conceived to be gratitude for her interest. It quickly developed into a stronger sentiment and he asked her for a date.

STUDY IN CONTRASTS

They were a study in contrasts—he the blond son of Swedish immigrants, she the brunet daughter of Greek parents. People turned their heads to look at this well-favored alliance of Scandinavia and the Mediterranean.

Both were new to Washington. She had just come from Boston to work in the State Department; he was from Rockford, Ill., where only a few months earlier he had suddenly decided upon a Foreign Service career and, amazingly, had passed the difficult examinations.

They had only a few days together before he departed for his first foreign assignment. In West Berlin, as third secretary, he had an exciting duty—reporting on events in the Soviet zone—but something was lacking.

A CABLE PROPOSAL

A cable went from Berlin to the girl in the State Department. Would she come to the rescue of a very sincere and very lonely junior officer by marrying him and accepting the luxuries afforded by a salary of $5,093 a year? She would and did.

That was less than 12 years ago. Today, JOHN B. ANDERSON and the former Keke Machakos, the principal figures in this romantic interlude, are again in Washington. He is completing his second term as Representative in Congress of the 15th Illinois District, an area which embraces 6 counties and 400,000 citizens in the northwest corner of the State. They have three daughters and a son as a result of their Berlin marriage in January 1953.

MAKES REMARKABLE PROGRESS

For a man who never considered running for office until 1956 and who didn't win a seat in Congress until January 1961, ANDERSON has made remarkable progress on Capitol Hill. Only those versed in the intricacies of the House power structure could appreciate the significance of his selection this week to a seat on the House Rules Committee, a potent group which exercises vast influence over the legislative program.

The Rules Committee is, in reality, a steering committee. Without it, there would be chaos. It decides which of the thousands of bills approved by committees shall be admitted to the floor for a vote. It decides also how long a bill shall be debated, whether or not amendments will be permitted, and whether differences with the Senate may be negotiated in conference. It shapes the very substance of legislation although it never initiates any.

A POWERFUL GROUP

The Rules Committee has only 15 members—10 Democrats and 5 Republicans. Most of these are veterans, men high in party councils, fully aware of their potential power to bottle up or release measures affecting the domestic and foreign policies of the Nation. Presidents of the United States, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to John F. Kennedy, have been successfully challenged by this small group.

House sophomores like ANDERSON are not ordinarily considered for the Rules Committee. At 42, he will be far its junior member. At its head are men like Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, 81, who started service in Congress before ANDERSON was born; and Representative CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio, 68, the ranking Republican member, who has served for a quarter century. The average age of ANDERSON's four Republican colleagues is more than 60 years.

COULD BE CHAIRMAN

The small size of the committee, plus the advanced age of many of its members, places the new member closer to eventual chairmanship than many legislators of greater seniority serving on other committees. This was a factor considered in the selection of ANDERSON. It did not deter the leaders who picked him.

It was not the first time in his comparatively short congressional career that ANDERSON had been singled out for a leadership role. Last year, the 32 Republican Members who came to Congress in 1961 selected him as one of the 2 voting Representatives they were allotted on the GOP policy committee. This group recommends Republican action and policy to the minority as a guide for consideration of legislation.

Early this year, he was appointed by Republican leaders to a seat on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, consisting of nine Senators and nine Representatives, which is one of the highly prized assignments on Capitol Hill. The committee is entrusted with all nuclear secrets and has a watchdog function over programs which affect the security of every American citizen.

ON PAUL REVERE TEAM

In recognition of his talents as a speaker, he was leader of one of the seven "Paul Revere" teams who toured the Nation this spring to inform the electorate of the Republican view on U.S. foreign and domestic policies. The assignment called not only for oratorical ability but wide knowledge of domestic and international affairs, the state of the economy, and the record and performance of the Johnson administration.

A fourth acknowledgment of his ability came in his appointment by the Speaker as one of the nine members of a select committee to investigate Government research programs. The staggering extent of these programs, which have mushroomed from $2 billion to $14 billion in the last decade, has disturbed leaders of both parties who fear that duplication and waste has flourished.

LOOKED ON AS COMER

ANDERSON is thus marked in the House as a potential leader, one of the energetic young Republican conservatives who are striving to substitute more aggressive policies for the complacent "live and let live" attitude of some Republican spokesmen in the past. Minority Leader CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, whose approval was essential at every step in ANDERSON's climb up the House ladder, acclaims him as a genuine "comer."

He is, like most of this group, a supporter of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, as the GOP nominee for President, but he has evolved his own ideas on foreign and domestic policy and is extraordinarily articulate in expressing them.

ANDERSON's story is unusual in that he was frankly groping, for many years, for a career in which he could take full satisfaction. The private practice of law was remunerative but left him vaguely discontented. He considered the teaching of law but decided it was not for him.

WORLD WAR II VETERANS

Thirty months in uniform during World War II and participation in four major campaigns in the European theater convinced him he was not a spectacular success as a military man. More than 2 years in the Foreign Service opened his eyes to the bureaucratic frustrations and financial handicaps of American diplomacy. Four years as State's attorney for Winnebago County (Rockford) enriched his experience but the prospect of a lifetime career as a prosecutor did not inspire him.

It was not until 1959 when he was 37 that the opportunity of running for Congress presented itself and the odds against him were overwhelming. Representative Leo Allen, the veteran Republic incumbent, announced his retirement. State Senator Marvin Burt was the obvious replacement, a man who had for 15 years in the State legislatures represented four of the seven counties then in the district. Backed by the Republican organization, Burt announced his candidacy in May 1959. Three others jumped into the primary race and ANDERSON was a tardy fifth entrant in October.

STARTS BUILDING ORGANIZATION

As the result of his election as State's attorney 4 years earlier, ANDERSON had a substantial following in his home county but he was almost literally unknown in other counties. He located an old law school friend in Whiteside County and prevailed upon him to head a campaign committee. He knew nobody in Lee County but convinced the mayor of Dixon to head another committee.

His opponent was not only widely known but enjoyed organizational support. He could argue truthfully that ANDERSON was a brash young man who wouldn't know a legislative chamber if he saw one, Burt declared.

UPSET OF UPSETS

It was the upset of upsets when ANDERSON topped his major primary opponent by 6,500 votes and went on to win the election against a Democratic rival. He accomplished the miracle by making three times as many speeches as any other candidate, by extensive use of television, by stressing the need for youth and new ideas in Congress.

ANDERSON's qualities as a speechmaker are unquestioned. He projects a sincerity and fervor which an oldtimer compared to the zeal of revivalist Billy Sunday but an examination of his orations in the House and on the campaign trail revealed no trace of demagogery. A lively sense of humor saves them from solemnity.

From boyhood in Rockford, where he was born February 15, 1922, he loved to talk in public and he was a star debater in high school later at the University of Illinois. He had little interest in sports, preferred to spend an evening in the school library, and he has a suspicion he was regarded as a grind. He made Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year.

GOOD TRIAL LAWYER

The law appeared to be a good profession for one whose great passion was debating but 30 months of war service intervened before he could complete his legal education at Illinois and Harvard Law School where he got a master's degree. He had offers to teach law at several universities but he was still sort of groping and decided to return home to Rockford and practice law. He became a fairly decent trial lawyer.

Suddenly, in 1952, he was seized by an urge to enter the Foreign Service. He was then 30, vaguely dissatisfied despite some success. Without preparation, he took the rigorous 3-day examination and passed it, except for the foreign language section. In 3 months of special tutoring, he brushed up his college German, passed the examination, and found himself a class 6 Foreign Service officer.

THE GREATEST THING

In Washington, while taking the 90-day "wonder course" which would qualify him to represent the United States abroad, he met the girl who would become his wife. The incident about the passport photo is now, of course, a family joke in which he expresses a suspicion that her insistence upon a second photograph was merely a ruse to promote a better acquaintance. In serious vein, ANDERSON says the meeting was "the greatest thing that ever happened."

He found his assignment in Berlin tremendously exciting. As the reporting officer on Soviet affairs, he was in contact with both overt and covert sources. He was on this duty when Stalin died and witnessed the subsequent East Berlin riots which were crushed by Russian tanks. He gained from his 2½ years abroad, during which he traveled extensively in Europe, a background now serving him in good stead in the consideration of international problems.

WHY HE RESIGNED

He resigned this post for a simple reason—he could not support a family on the meager salary of a third secretary. Back home in Rockford, after a few months of law practice, the office of State's attorney became vacant and he made his first venture into politics.

As in his later try for Congress, ANDERSON was the underdog in a primary where the other four candidates could claim more experience and enjoyed organizational and financial backing. It was a strictly amateurish effort in which he almost literally talked himself to victory, winning by 1,800 votes. It is still talked about as the upset to end all upsets in Rockford.

After nearly 4 years in Congress, he is busy and contented. He has no more doubts about his career.

"I've found my niche," he said. "I feel that I belong here. It is a daily challenge, offering opportunities for accomplishment. There may be moments of frustration but never of boredom. After all the twists and turns, I've found the thing I like to do most."

Red Trade: Can We Afford It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

RED TRADE: CAN WE AFFORD IT?

At the conclusion of the American-Rumanian trade agreement, with our allies visibly drooling at the possibility of getting a piece of the big Red market, it is time all Western states took a long-range view of such trade with the enemy and adopted a joint posture.

To say that such trade in itself eases tension and promotes peace, or to assert as the English do, that a well-fed Communist is easier to deal with than a hungry one, is unadulterated tommyrot.

Such arguments are designed either to convince the cold-war weary of the West, who want desperately to believe such nonsense, or to salve the easily salved consciences of Western profiteers.

Trade with the East can only be justified on the hard ground of Western self-interest, if it is to be justified at all. One such motive might exist if our balance of payments were so out of whack as to imperil the Western monetary system. But, in that event, we may be sure the Soviets would be in no hurry to buy.

A case may be made for trading with some European satellites. In the instance of Rumania, our trade deal seems to have bred some disunity in the Soviet camp. The Rumanians simply jettisoned their assigned breadbasket role in the Red common market and got a Western reward for balking.

If similar wedges can be induced in the Eastern camp by the bait of trade, a good case can be made for selective use of that lure—in nonstrategic items of course.

However, the report that the United States is considering icing the Rumanian cake with a plutonium-producing nuclear reactor is so preposterous as to assume Mr. Johnson is unaware the bargain is in the making. Such talk should be dropped at once.

Sale of that strategic item would require allied approval, and we may be sure that approval would be followed with allied requests for permits to sell everything from jets to rocket engines.

The drawbacks to trade with the Soviets are enormous. First, the Russians really have nothing of which the West is in need. One can eat just so much caviar and drink just so much vodka.

Secondly, the Soviet bloc benefits more than the West from trade, as a Chase Manhattan Bank report demonstrates. Western technology is far more advanced, and trade thus offers the Russians an easy way to acquire our know-how without expensive research and experiment.

In addition, Red planning has miscalculated the needs of their industries and consumers. Leaving them to make do with their own resources would retard their growth, already in an advanced state of retardation.

As the Soviets are short of foreign exchange they need extensive Western credit for purchases of the magnitude being discussed. Granting such credit, especially long-term, would be the depth of folly. It would enable the Russians to keep industrially and militarily apace and deny us the opportunity of forcing them to retrench and divert to consumer goods.

Political drawbacks are more evident and prohibitive of such trade. As our first wheat deal agonizingly demonstrated, American initiative to sell to the Russians has the effect of opening the European floodgates. It was directly upon that odious grain deal that Britain sold buses and France locomotives to Fidel Castro.

While the wheat sale momentarily eased the gold problem, it made our diplomatic position indefensible. How can we oppose European trade with Cuba when we deal in hundreds of millions with the man who alone supports Cuba? We have been called hypocrites and what is our defense?

President Johnson should review all the shoals of the sea on which he appears ready to embark and ask himself—Is it really worth it?

LIMITING LOYALTY OATHS

The Supreme Court, as is its wont, has held invalid two Washington State laws requiring State employees to swear they are not subversive.

If the Court were not forever quibbling over the efforts of States to bar subversives and ban subversion, the reason given for this decision by Justice Byron White, writing the majority opinion, might receive more credence.

He says the Washington State laws are so vague that they do not "allow public servants to know what is and is not disloyal." In which case, they certainly ought to be clarified.

Why is it, though, that the Supreme Court only seems to get persnickety in such an area.

On loyalty oaths and the like, it always strains at gnats. In other matters, it has no hesitancy at all in discarding its own long-standing precedents to swallow camels.

TVA'S NEW GRAB

To Americans of the 1930's, the Tennessee Valley Authority was portrayed as a crown prince holding aloft the shining sword of Federal power, standing for the rights of the "little man" against the cold impersonal forces of capitalism.

As history often shows, handsome crown princes can age into tyrants. Such seems the case with TVA. An example of the metamorphosis is in evidence today.

Because the great men of TVA desire today to build a grand $35 million park of 170,000 acres with taxpayers' money, three small towns must be blotted out of existence. They are Golden Pond and Twin Lakes, Ky., and Model, Tenn.

The protests of citizens and counties seem to have been shunted aside to make room for the visions of the grand designers. The townspeople have complained, "We need our homes, businesses, churches and schools much more than we need our land bought as a haven for opossums, coons, rattlesnakes, and mangy buffalo."

The TVA replied it was "most sympathetic" but added that "homes, businesses, churches, and schools must give way to the greater public need."

We wonder what wrongs have not been committed, what injustices not done, what rights not trampled upon, because they stood in the way of some powerful bureaucrat's arbitrary interpretation of the "greater public need."

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, during the past year more and more Americans have become aware of the great need for continued support of our Nation's mutual assistance program—if the free world is to prevail in the long twilight struggle against communism. This fact was dramatically demonstrated when, for the first time in the 17-year history of the program, the House approved, without cuts, the entire administration aid request. Most observers interpreted this action as strong congressional approval of President Johnson's approach to foreign aid.

ROLLCALLS NOS. 152, 153—FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

The President's request was stripped of all fat, and if an effective assistance program is to be maintained cuts cannot be tolerated. This view was reflected on rollcall No. 152 when a motion to recommit the bill for a $222 million cut was defeated. As passed by the House, H.R. 11380 authorizes $2,041 billion in new foreign aid appropriations for fiscal year

1965. Coupled with existing foreign aid authority, this sum brings the total authorization to $3.5 billion, a figure equal to last year's appropriation.

Designed to bolster the economies of recipient nations and foster needed social and political changes, the bill also contained these features which had my strong support: More than $1 billion for military assistance, with $200 million, earmarked solely for use in Vietnam; assistance to American schools, libraries, and hospitals abroad; authorization for the President to guarantee U.S. companies against political and credit risks of nonpayment in connection with privately financed sales of U.S. defense equipment and services to friendly countries or international organizations; expressed the sense of Congress that the Agency for International Development should encourage the use of private U.S. engineering and professional services in connection with capital projects financed by AID funds; continued a prohibition on grant assistance to nations capable of sustaining their own defense burden and economic growth; and authorized the President to deny U.S. assistance to a foreign enterprise if it would result in depriving similar U.S. enterprises of their reasonable share of world markets.

During debate on the bill I delivered a speech supporting the mutual assistance program, and I include it in my remarks at this time for the benefit of my constituents:

HOUSE SPEECH

When I was first elected to the California legislature a few years ago, a very dear friend of mine gave me a little book of satire which I am sure many of the Members have read. The book, "Parkinson's Law," had a chapter describing a meeting of a corporation board of directors where the board in 2¾ minutes approved a $10 million expenditure to build an atomic reactor and then spent a half hour on a $2,300 expenditure for a bicycle shed, and over an hour on a $4.75 expenditure for refreshments for the board meeting.

I believe that the debate described in "Parkinson's Law" is not dissimilar to what has happened to the debate on foreign assistance over the last 17 years. It appears to me that so much emphasis has been put on whether the high "muckymuck" of some remote spot did or did not abscond with a book from the local library that the American public has nearly lost sight of the objective of foreign assistance.

Applying Parkinson's law, it is easy to see why the taxpayer wonders what foreign assistance is all about. It is difficult to visualize the abstract—and you can be sure that the headline of the "Morning Bugle" will not help to clarify the situation—but will lay emphasis on that stolen library book.

For my part, I hope no books are stolen. I hope that the program will run so efficiently that every last dime provided will be used for the intended purpose. But just as I know my church in Whittier has wasted funds in the past—just as I know my professional society, though it be of accountants, has been guilty of errors in judgment, so I know economic assistance will continue to be plagued with the stolen library book.

To me this minutia is not of major importance. What is of crucial importance is the accomplishment of our real objectives. There can be no question that the United States is engaged in a death struggle with communism—a cancerous growth in the universal body politic. To remove this condition, as in most dangerous body growths, we have two alternatives—one is radical surgery, the other is a program of intensive treatment—treatment designed to arrest and ultimately to eliminate the foreign growth. A good physician will, of course, advise his patient of the consequences of both actions and will take all possible steps to protect the life of the patient.

We, sitting here as the Nation's physician, are doing just that. We will provide over $55 billion this year to take care of surgery—should it become necessary. Now, what we are about to do today is provide less than 7 percent of that amount for treatment.

The treatment will be flexible. It will be completely successful on some growths, less so on others, and, for the moment, it may fail on still others. But it is the best and only program of treatment we know today. As with any arresting and preventive medicine, as new facts and techniques are developed, they will be incorporated into the program for the good of the patient.

I believe that it is the destiny of the United States to show the world the wonders of a free, democratic, capitalistic society—to show mankind, by example and by deed, that it is possible to live under a government of laws, not of men—to build not just a nation, but a world free from fear, to use the wonders of science for the benefit of all mankind, and to develop a universal philosophy of brotherhood of man.

As imperfect as it may be, the Foreign Assistance Act is our only current means to accomplish these lofty objectives, and the United States is the only country with the resolve and the ability to meet the challenge.

A vote to cut, or a vote against, this bill is a decision for radical surgery and surely fatal surgery on a very sick world.

A vote for the bill in its present form is a decision for prolonged treatment of a patient that has the latent strength to survive.

ROLLCALL NO. 155—FEDERAL PAY BILL

With passage of H.R. 11049 the House reversed its negative attitude toward a Federal employee pay raise and concurred with the position I took when an earlier pay bill was defeated. At that time I urged adoption of increases to remedy gross inadequacies in the Federal pay scale, and to comply with a legal mandate that Government career employees be paid salaries comparable to those in the private sector.

A majority of the House, however, incorrectly anticipating voter reprisals because of proposed increases in congressional salaries, rejected H.R. 8986 with hollow arguments that it was not economical. Faced with a rollcall vote, they allowed their fears to overcome their judgment. For it is clear that the greatest economy lies in attracting our Nation's best minds and talent into important Government positions. As President Johnson declared in warning against false economy, the dollars paid to attract brains and ability to the Federal service will come back to the American people many times over in more economical and effective Government. Only first-class managers can tighten organizations, simplify procedures, trim waste, and inspire maximum effort.

VOTE SWITCH

Widespread and sharp protests from public and private sources followed the defeat of H.R. 8986 and created strong demand for passage of H.R. 11049. When the rollcall was taken on this measure an almost equal number of Republicans and Democrats switched their previous positions and voted for passage.

There is no question that the Federal pay structure needs overhauling. Congress has received no pay increase since 1955, and Federal executive employees have not had a raise since 1956. During the Eisenhower administration a committee representing industry, labor, education, and Government recommended salary increases far above the provisions of either H.R. 8986 or H.R. 11049. The aim was to put Government pay scales on par with those of private enterprise.

Without a pay increase, Government workers in both high- and low-income brackets will continue to suffer financial penalties. For example, 56 executives of General Motors drew in salaries and bonuses a sum greater than the salaries of all the following combined:

All 435 Representatives, all 100 Senators, all Cabinet officers, the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Supreme Court Justices, and the Governors of all 50 States.

COMPARABLE PAY

As passed by the House the pay bill increases by $7,500 the salaries of Members of Congress, Federal judges, and Cabinet officers, effective January 1, 1965. The principle of comparability of governmental salaries with those of private enterprise for equal levels of responsibility will also be automatically maintained. A fair and rational approach to Federal salary adjustment, this will avoid in the future the erratic and unsatisfactory methods used in the past.

Of the $533.2 million which H.R. 11049 provides, only 2.2 percent will go toward congressional salaries. The total expenditure is $11 million less than what has already been provided in the budget for Federal pay increases.

I voted for the pay bill with the conviction that it does much to assure the future competence, vigor, and smooth functioning of our National Government.

ROLLCALL NO. 160—EXCISE TAXES

H.R. 11376 proposes to extend until June 30, 1965, certain excise taxes which were scheduled to be reduced or expire on July 1, 1964. The levies on alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, passenger cars, auto parts and accessories were increased during the Korean war, and without annual congressional extensions

the rates would revert to their pre-1951 level. Five years ago general telephone service and air transportation were added to the excise tax list.

I supported the bill, a position endorsed by the highly respected chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, WILBUR MILLS. However, we shared a consciousness of the many objectionable aspects of these taxes: the harassing inconsistencies and contradictions in their application, so burdensome to the local businessman; the anachronism of taxation evolved in response to the demands of wartime; and their discriminatory effect on particular groups in our economy. Opponents of the bill voiced concern over such aspects of this taxation, but their haphazard solution called for recommitting the measure with instructions for phasing out an arbitrarily favored few of these taxes.

HEARINGS NEEDED

Only the majority position reflected a responsible approach to the problem, one which could genuinely redress grievances—holding up change until the Ways and Means Committee completes a detailed and comprehensive examination of the entire excise tax structure. In view of the more than 200 bills for excise tax reform now pending in the House, and the fact that the taxes with which H.R. 11376 is concerned cover but $1.8 billion of the $14.7 billion in Federal excise tax revenues, I felt that only a complete review of the whole system could adequately meet public demand. A piecemeal approach could result only in rash and inequitable dicisions. The Ways and Means Committee, which initiated the studies that finally led to enactment of the tax cut bill, has already begun hearings on the excise tax structure. As Chairman MILLS said, "When the Commiteee on Ways and Means undertakes one of these studies, the committee seriously intends to achieve results."

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

From the standpoint of fiscal responsibility—ironically the favorite cry of those who seem willing to abondon it here—I believe that present excise taxes should be extended through fiscal 1965. As the Secretary of the Treasury pointed out when the tax cut bill was being considered, a reduction in income taxes rather than excise taxes followed a thorough review of the various components of our Federal tax system to determine where reductions might most stimulate the growth of our economy and increase the overall equity of the tax system. The predicted returns of the unprecedented $11.6 billion income tax cut are already being fulfilled, but time must be given without interference to allow the full gains to be realized. To cancel expected excise tax revenues at this time would upset the administration's planned program of economic progress for the coming year, and increase the budget deficit of $1.8 billion. I am sure most people would agree that these effects are undesirable.

Thus, from consideration of the budgetary situation for the next fiscal year, and anticipating sound recommendations for a more equitable and up-to-date excise tax structure—which I am confident the Ways and Means Committee will present to the next Congress—I agree to extend present excise tax rates for 1 more year.

The Senate, however, subsequently voted to cut $503 million in revenue by repealing the 10-percent tax on jewelry, furs, toilet articles, and luggage selling for $100 or less. A proposal to repeal the 10-percent levy on local telephone service was rejected.

In a House-Senate conference designed to resolve differences between the two legislative bodies, the wisdom of Chairman MILLS prevailed and Senate conferees agreed to eliminate all amendments which would have provided for excise tax reductions this year.

ROLLCALLS NOS. 168–170—MASS TRANSIT BILL

Because district business kept me in California when the mass transit bill was before the House, I am recorded as "not voting" on the measure. Had I been present I would have voted against passage and did so advise the bill's proponents who solicited my support. I would also have voted to recommit or kill the bill on rollcall No. 169, but would have supported the amendment on rollcall No. 168 which prohibits the Federal Government from regulating rates and fares of transit systems which receive grants under the bill.

There are many reasons why I opposed H.R. 3881. I have consistently advocated that private and municipal transit systems should be self-sustaining through revenue received at the fare box. The mass transit bill contained no such provision. Instead, it called for $375 million in taxpayers' money to bolster faltering public transit systems throughout the country. This sum, in outright Federal grants on a matching basis, represents only a drop in the bucket if the Nation's transit problems are to be solved by the National Government. The bill merely opens the door for larger Federal grants in the future, grants which, according to conservative estimates, would reach about $15 billion in a relatively short time.

I am convinced that large and wealthy cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and Chicago are capable of solving their own transit problems without Federal help. Not only are they able to devise sound, economical systems, but they can do it cheaper than the Federal Government. Local government jurisdictions, for example, can sell bonds in the private market at 3-percent interest. The Federal Government would pay 4 percent.

MEETING PROBLEM

California's efforts to cope with complex transit problems in the southland are reflected in the State's 1964 Rapid Transit Act which will go into effect next August. When a comprehensive plan has been perfected it will be submitted to the voters for approval. Along with many local officials and transit experts, I am confident that a good plan will draw wide citizen support and that transit difficulties can be ironed out without Federal grants.

Under provisions of H.R. 3881 the Los Angeles area would receive practically no benefits. The $375 million to be doled out over a 3-year span could go to any city of 2,500 or more people. There are 6,000 such communities in the Nation. Simple division shows what would accrue to Los Angeles.

In arguing their case, supporters of the proposal used the false analogy of Federal aid for highway construction. They failed to point out, however, that highways are not local, that they link all sections of the country. And highway users pay for highways—not the general taxpayer. Mass transit systems, on the other hand, are strictly local in scope. I see no reason why taxpayers living in rural communities should finance urban transit facilities which they will never use.

My views were apparently shared by my constituency for I did not receive one letter from a commuter asking me to support the mass transit bill. It is regrettable that it passed by a substantial margin.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to join with the many others who are this week commemorating Captive Nations Week. The plight of these poor countries who during and since World War II have found themselves under an alien and rigid Communist rule is indeed heartrending.

But freedom fighters in these suppressed countries have risen time and again to show that all is not well behind the Iron Curtain and that the people are not satisfied or willing to let a group of foreign-backed stooges trample on their rights and attempt to impose a foreign economic doctrine on them.

The world gasped at the daring and courage of the East Germans in 1953, the Poles in 1956, and the Hungarians in the same year. Young people sacrificed their lives that freedom might reign once again in their countries. This same spirit has motivated more than one East German to attempt the escape to West Berlin in the face of the imposing Berlin Wall and the surrounding armed guards. Many have made it, but some of their more unfortunate comrades have been killed or dragged back, bleeding from bullet wounds.

But their spirit lives on, smoldering underground. Their sacrifice has not been in vain, for they will rise again, followed by others who have been inspired by their example, just as today we are inspired.

No finer explanation of the meaning of Captive Nations Week can be found than that set forth in a letter from Dr. Lev E.

Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, dated June 26, 1964. It follows:

The week will emphasize that (1) on the psychopolitical front, no breather be given with the U.S.S.R. itself being no monolith, the Russians in their time of troubles; (2) we concentrate on the dozen non-Russian nations in this inner empire; (3) we carefully distinguish between the true patriotic nationalism of the captive nations as against the mythical "patriotic socialism" of their imposed and representative governments; (4) our Congress create a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; and (5) we adopt a policy of Emancipation that will insure no psychopolitical sanctuary for Moscow and Peiping in their imperial systems.

With these objectives I wholeheartedly concur and promise my continued support in the future.

Resolution for Freedom of Lithuania and Other Baltic States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to include, at this point, the resolution unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of area Lithuanian-Americans in Shrewsbury, Mass., on June 14, last, in condemnation of the Soviet Union's unlawful and barbaric deprivation and suffocation of the rights of the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to govern themselves in freedom and independence.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION FOR FREEDOM OF LITHUANIA AND OTHER BALTIC STATES

(At a mass meeting of Lithuanian-Americans gathered together for the commemoration of the mass deportation of hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians to Siberia at Maironis Park, Shrewsbury, Mass., on June 14, 1964, under the auspices of the Lithuanian Community of Worcester, Mass., the following resolution was unanimously voted:)

"Whereas in total disregard of the aforesaid treaties of peace and nonaggression, Soviet Russia forcibly seized and illegally incorporated Lithuania and two other Baltic States—Latvia and Estonia—into the Empire of the Soviet Union; and

"Whereas Soviet occupational forces—Red army and secret police—have conducted and continue to conduct an elaborate plan of genocide, aiming at the destruction of the people of these three Baltic nations by executions and deportation to remote regions of Soviet Russia; and

"Whereas Soviet Russia through her representatives in the United Nations and at other International forums has been posing as a protector of subjugated peoples, especially former colonies in Africa and Asia: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, Lithuanian-Americans in Worcester, do hereby express our gratitude to the Government of the United States for its support of Lithuania's cause for freedom and for its refusal to recognize the occupational and illegal annexation of the Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—by Soviet Russia; and

"*Resolved*, That we, Lithuanian-Americans, are determined and united to uphold the efforts of Lithuanian people to regain their liberation and national independence; and

"*Resolved*, That the Government of the United States take appropriate steps through the United Nations and other channels to stop the policy of colonialism of Soviet Russia in Eastern Europe and to force the Soviet Union to conduct free elections in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia under the supervision of the United Nations; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That the copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, to the U.S. Senators from Massachusetts, to the Representative of the Fourth Congressional District of Massachusetts, and to the press."

Let's Have Some Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in a recent mail I received a resolution from the Missouri Federation of Postal Clerks which condemned certain programs of the Post Office Department. This resolution contained some provisions which I thought might be of interest to the membership of the House.

My office has received many letters from individuals containing complaints against the Post Office practices outlined in the resolution. However, this is the first time a State federation of postal clerks has agreed upon some very strongly worded criticism of the Post Office Department. For this reason, it seemed to me that the complaints registered are not just a personal gripe of a few clerks but must be something beyond that. The contents of the resolution should merit the immediate attention not only of the Post Office Department itself but also the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I realize some hearings have been held and some progress may have been made toward correcting some of the things complained against in the resolution, but the fact that a resolution has been adopted statewide is evidence enough to indicate that there may be much which remains to be done in the way of taking action. A statewide resolution is much more than some scattered personal complaints by a few disgruntled persons. There should be an immediate and thorough review of the situations described in the resolution. My conclusion is we should have more action and less talk to eliminate the underlying causes of these complaints.

The following resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the delegates to the State convention of the Missouri Federation of Postal Clerks. Those provisions of the resolution having only local application have been omitted. Those portions of the resolution having nationwide application are set forth below:

Whereas in his memorandum of June 22, 1961, the late President Kennedy stated: "The right of all employees in the Federal Government to join and participate in the activities of employee organizations and to seek to improve working conditions and resolutions of grievances, should be recognized in all departments and agencies"; which memorandum was implemented by Executive Order No. 10988; and President Johnson has followed this policy and as stated in the Official Department Bulletin of February 6, 1964, said: "The Federal Government must be a good employer. * * *"

Whereas despite these fine words, certain acts of the Department have cut the ground under the feet of postal clerks as a craft and neutralized much of the fine intent of Executive Order No. 10988, said acts are as follows:

Failure to negotiate with the * * * Federation of Postal Clerks on distribution standards imposed by the works measurement system after it had been established beyond a doubt that said system was a speed up causing deterioration of labor management relations in post offices, resulting in over 70 different bills being introduced in the Senate and House to do away with the works measurement system, with prominent Members of both Houses of Congress condemning the bad labor practices imposed by this system; negotiations on productions are standard in private industry.

Excessive restrictive employment practices and arbitrary cutbacks in clerical personnel, in the face of an almost 3-percent annual increase in mail volume for the last several years, going even beyond the * * * job freeze of October 1962, the additional 5,000 jobs cut by the Budget Bureau, and the still further additional 3,100 more jobs cut by our overzealous Postmaster General; causing further deterioration of working conditions at workroom level, with the imposition of bad labor practices to offset loss of clerical personnel necessary to the public service.

Extremely bad, * * * treatment of career substitute clerks, consistent 12-hour days with 60- and 70-hour workweeks, without overtime, no time for family life, going back to the 19th century * * * standards to the extent that Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Civil Service and Post Office Committee, in his letter of April 28, 1964, expressed his concern to the Postmaster General about this matter;

Undue pressure tactics of the Department through regional offices, in the name of economy, and efficiency, going to rockbottom extremes without regard to consequences or welfare of postal clerks, or the facts of life in labor-mangament relations at work-floor level;

The recent unilateral order by the Department over the protests of our organization to work circulars on Sundays and holidays, just a year after we had negotiated in good faith with the Department for the discontinuance of this practice, which means more clerks working over the weekend; section 333.441 of the Postal Manual refers to circulars as the least important mail in the matter of time, being listed as sixth or last of all categories in importance of delivery: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Missouri United Federation of Postal Clerks in convention assembled in Kansas City, Mo., June 12–13, 1964, condemn the Department for all aforesaid acts as contrary to the spirit and intent of Executive Order No. 10988, and we call on our friends in Congress to pass legislation for legitimate recognition * * *; and be it further

Resolved, That we condemn the double standards of this administration calling for an end to unemployment, while excessive restrictive employment practices deny legitimate jobs in the postal service, the largest Government agency, to our unemployed; and we further condemn this excessive restrictive employment policy as contrary to the

best interests of our national economy and national welfare; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Postmaster General, the heads of the Personnel and Operations Bureaus, the Director of the St. Louis regional office, the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Missouri.

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, an excellent statement of the reasons why the Congress should reject the Becker amendment was given to the House Judiciary Committee during its recent hearings on this proposal by Mr. Ben M. Herbster, president of the United Church of Christ. His statement clearly points out the harm which would be done to religion and the cause of religious liberty in America from the adoption of this proposal. I commend Mr. Herbster's statement, which follows, to my colleagues and all those who seek to gain a better understanding of the undesirable effects which would result from the passage of this proposal:

My name is Ben M. Herbster, of New York City. I am president of the United Church of Christ, a union of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church. The membership of the United Church of Christ is 2,056,000. No one person may speak for the whole membership of our church, and I do not represent myself as so speaking. I appear before you in my personal capacity and also representing the United Church Council for Christian Social Action.

On July 10, 1962, the Council for Christian Social Action adopted the following statement concerning *Engel* v. *Vitale*, the Supreme Court decision involving the New York regents prayer.

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ declares its support of the U.S. Supreme Court in its decision in *Engel* v. *Vitale*, for the following reasons:

1. The decision upholds the principle of church-state separation. * * * Because the New York State regents prayer was created, adopted, and administered by State officials and used as a religious exercise in the public schools, it violated the establishment clause of the first amendment of the Federal Constitution. The fact that the prayer was nondenominational and its recitation voluntary does not alter the fact that the State prescribed a particular form of prayer to be used as an official prayer in a program of governmentally sponsored religious activity. Thus the State was carrying out a function which is not its business to perform.

2. The responsibility for religious education and worship belongs to the church and home where it can be most effectively performed. Significant prayer is an expression of deep religious faith and conviction which cannot be appropriately expressed corporately in a public school setting where there is a wide variety of belief and nonbelief.

3. There is nothing in the decision which bans private prayer. Nor is there anything in the decision which restricts teaching about the contributions religious leaders, movements, and ideas have made in the shaping of our history and culture; and we would encourage the public school to do this more effectively.

One year later, in June 1963, the Council for Christian Social Action adopted the following statement on "Religion and the Public Schools":

"1. The aim of education is the fullest possible development of the person's capacities as a human being created by God.

"2. The responsibility for education of the child is shared by parents, the church, and the government, and, therefore, parents, church, and government each have rightful interests in the education of the child.

"3. The people of the United States have, as a matter of fact, various religious loyalties: Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish. Some are not adherents of any religious body or do not profess any religious beliefs. The fact of this religious pluralism cannot be disregarded in formulating policies concerned with the relation of education and religion in public schools and of the churches to the public schools.

"4. The religious pluralism, characteristic of the United States, and the disavowal of societal compulsion in religious activities and observances have in many communities undermined traditional relations between the public schools and the church. These facts have confronted both the church and the public school with the need to devise new ways through which their respective responsibilities for the development of children can be best discharged.

"5. Recognition and awareness of the vital part played by religion in the shaping of our history and culture is an important part of education. Hence, information about religion, objectively presented, is an essential part of many school subjects and should be so treated.

"6. Responsibility for religious education and worship belongs primarily to the church and to the home.

"7. Devotional activities or religious teaching directed to commitment should not be included in the curriculum or program of the public schools. In the setting of the public school, there is no satisfactory way of escaping the association of compulsion with such teaching and activities.

"8. Members of the churches are encouraged to participate in efforts to strengthen and improve public education."

The two documents I have just read to you illustrate (1) our belief that education is essential, not just for advancement of the person, but to further God's purpose for humankind; (2) our confidence in and support of free, universal education through the public schools; (3) our belief that the church and the home are primarily responsible for religious education and worship; (4) our objection to the introduction of sectarian religious material—from whatever source, governmental or private—into the public schools; and (5) our determination that the constitutional guarantee of freedom and equality for all in the practice of religion shall not be abridged.

On the basis of the position I have just outlined, we oppose and we urge the Congress to reject the proposed amendment to the Constitution introduced by Representative Frank J. Becker and any and all other proposed constitutional amendments designed to affect in any way the practice of religion.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to place in your record my personal convictions about the relations between religion and public education. First of all, I hardly need tell you that I speak from a Christian point of view. I am a convinced and practicing Christian. My whole life has been spent within the Christian church, my adult life as a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ. I would like to see every child of Christian parents, every child of Jewish parents, instructed in his faith in the school where he receives the rest of his education. But I would far rather see these children grow up free to practice their faiths, as their forefathers have been free to do so in the United States. It is just because I am devotedly and, perhaps, selfishly a Christian that I oppose the proposed constitutional amendments that are before you, for I am convinced that their end results would not be helpful to the Christian cause.

Let me be specific. Section 1 of the House Joint Resolution 693 would permit the "offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place." There is an assumption here that as long as participation is voluntary religious freedom is protected. What is ignored is that this amendment would seriously jeopardize the right of all parents to determine the religious faith of their children. Parents would be coerced into putting their children into a position where they must submit to prayers and other religious activities, the content of which would be determined by the agents of the State, or refuse to conform and thus incur for their children the wrath, ridicule and ostracism which the nonconformist faces. Is there any member of this committee who would want his children put in such a position, or who would defend the right of the State to put anyone else's child in such a position?

There will be winners and losers if House Joint Resolution 693 ever should be adopted. The losers will be those of us who believe that religious views are too personal, too sacred to be determined by the State or promulgated by the State. The winners will be those persons who believe they have a monopoly on religious truth and are willing to employ the power of the State to require all of society to accept their version of the truth or to face possible ridicule and reprisal. At best the State will be used to discourage nonconformity with whatever religious views can achieve dominance.

I recognize the sincerity of people who feel that absence of standardized religious exercises in the public schools denies to pupils exposure to faith in a Supreme Being and appreciation of America's religious heritage. These people are not educators, though. If they were, they would know that recitation of a standard prayer and hearing a few verses of Scripture read without comment will neither make students religious nor instill in them a faith in God. Furthermore, there is an assumption in this proposed legislation that those who doubt the existence of God deserve less consideration than do those who believe in a Supreme Being.

None of the assumptions of the sponsors of this legislation is acceptable. A rote prayer or a few verses of Scripture, read without comment, can make no significant contribution to the spirtual growth of a child. A prayer which one is required to recite will not instill deep religious faith in those without faith. On the contrary, its necessarily nonsectarian, watered-down character will cause the truly religious child to question the tenets of his own faith.

Nor do we need the Becker amendment to preserve our religious heritage. The Supreme Court indicated the desirability and the permissability of teaching about religion in all phases of the public school curriculum—in history, art, literature, social studies, and other subjects. The Supreme Court said: "* * * one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and

historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education may not be effected consistent with the first amendment." We should require of our schools that they teach objectively about religion, just as they teach objectively about science, humanities, or any other subject. We should neither wish, nor above all, require that the schools treat religion in any other way. The basic ethical and spiritual values of religion must and should be taught in church and home. Their application is seen by children in the lives of the people about them; and our children are fortunate, indeed, that the vast majority of our public schoolteachers illustrate these values daily in their conduct in their classrooms. Finally, there is the educational function of teaching about religion, which is properly the function of any school system—public or private—that deals openly and honestly with the culture and the values with which its pupils must cope. But this form of teaching is professional education. It is far removed from worship and Scripture reading, which are functions of the church and home.

As a man who has devoted his life to the cause of defending, preserving, and strengthening the Christian faith, I must protest against what I am convinced would harm that faith and the religious faith of others. I adjure you, do not tamper with the first amendment or with any other portion of the Bill of Rights. I know of no document, outside of the Bible, that is so imbued with wisdom and timelessness, so clearly definitive of what constitutes freedom and equality, and so protective of the rights of the individual person and conscience as is the Constitution of the United States with its Bill of Rights. We of the generation to which you and I belong have committed blunder after blunder in our efforts to manage the world's affairs. Let us not now commit the ultimate folly and fasten it upon our children unto the third and forth generation by abandoning our chief long-run protection against the intolerance of terror, the protection we now have in an unimpaired first amendment.

To sum up, I oppose the Becker proposal and any other attempts to amend the religious clause of the first amendment. I oppose them on at least three grounds of conscience and of consideration of my own rights and of the rights of others. First, I oppose them because I respect the faith of other people who do not see religious truth as I see it or even as a majority of their fellow citizens may see it. They and their children have the right to believe as they want to believe, or not believe at all. Second, I oppose these proposals because, at best, they would provide for a weak, puerile, almost meaningless exercise of religious education in our public schools. Third, I oppose them for the protection of my own religious liberty. History overflows with examples of Christian communities which, enjoying a majority position, used their numerical strength to garner privileges which later, when they became weak were turned against them to deny them religious freedom. Any minor advantage which may accrue to the dominant faith groups today through amendment of the Constitution, might in a year or a decade or a generation provide the means of undoing their successors in the faith. The only guarantee of my religious liberty and that of my children is scrupulous protection of the religious liberty of everyone else—majority and minority—now and in the future.

Boston (Mass.) Canon Lawyer Asks School Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to include, at this point, a very timely article that appeared in the May 23, last, issue of the Pilot magazine commenting upon the paper presented by Rt. Rev. Paul V. Harrington, J.C.L., before the Canon Law Society of America on the subject of the "School Prayer Amendment" pending in the Congress. The article follows:

BOSTON CANON LAWYER ASKS SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT

An amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed in Dallas, Tex., during a regional conference of the Canon Law Society of America as the only immediate correction of Supreme Court decisions on prayer cases.

Rt. Rev. Paul V. Harrington, J.C.L., vice-official of the Archdiocese of Boston and president of the Society, read a paper during the conference, held May 11 and 12, in which he reviewed the decision of the Supreme Court on prayer cases over the past 17 years, pointing out what he considered errors in their judgment.

GOD-GIVEN RIGHT

Msgr. Harrington noted that the issue was not so much whether the recitation of prayers in schools was beneficial, but rather "to consider if these children have a God-given and Constitution-protected right to offer prayer at the beginning of the school day in the classroom of public schools."

Holding that the rights of minority groups should be protected, he underlined the fact that the rights of the majority should not be denied in the process.

"It is disturbing," he said, "to find that, in a given school community one dissenting child can take away from all of the other children the right to offer prayer, and, when this dissenter is upheld in his complaint by the highest court of the land, the result is that the right of all public school children in the entire country to offer prayer at the beginning of school exercises is taken away."

In the case of *Torcaso* v. *Watkins* (1961) he showed, for example, that the Supreme Court had declared that belief in God or in a Supreme Being is no longer necessary to constitute religion. This position, he remarked, "elevates secularism to the dignity of a religion, having equal rights with all christian religions, and make a religion out of secularism.

SECULARISM

"In an effort to maintain a supposed neutrality between all Christian sects, the Supreme Court has in effect reduced all religion to the common denominator of the religion of secularism, thereby inevitably showing preference to secularism and violating its own dictum that any preference for one religion would constitute an establishment of religion."

Since the opinions of the Supreme Court Judges so often cite Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to support absolute separation of church and state, Monsignor Harrington went into a detailed examination of some expressions of their thought.

He demonstrated that "they (Jefferson and Madison) did not wish to prefer one religion over another; to deny the existence of God; to reward nonbelief and discriminate against belief in an Infinite Being."

Furthermore, he pointed out the primary right of the parent to educate his own child and then of seriously restricting that right by refusing to recognize the constitutional validity of opening prayer in public schools, when this practice is desired and sought by the greater number of parents.

Monsignor Harrington concluded, "Since the decisions of the Supreme Court have outlawed each and every one of these (cases of prayer) in the past 17 years, against the consensus of the greater majority of the citizens, responsible means must be found whereby the rights, guaranteed by the Constitution, might once again be enjoyed.

"While the possibility of a complete reversal by the Supreme Court must be recognized, whereby its decisions would reflect the true meaning and intent of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, this is not to be expected in the near or foreseeable future.

"The only other remedy seems to be an amendment to the Constitution. This would at first appear to be superfluous, since it would only be guaranteeing what is already guaranteed but, since the original rights cannot now be enjoyed or exercised, an amendment is necessary."

The Captive Nations Need Our Continued Support

SPEECH
OF
HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues in observing Captive Nations Week. We are gratified that President Johnson issued the Captive Nations Week proclamation which calls attention to the sad fate of the millions of persons who have been brought under the oppressive rule of the Soviet Union—whose freedom and fundamental rights have been wrested from them. I wish to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] for his tireless efforts in bringing the problems of these enslaved people to our attention and in urging action in their behalf.

I take this opportunity again to urge our Committee on Rules to report out favorably the measure creating a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. I introduced a bill providing for the creation of such a committee and I feel it is imperative that the Congress take action as soon as possible so the important work can go forward. We must ever keep in mind that the captive nations and peoples have not lost hope, they have not lost their desire for freedom and independence, and they deplore as much as ever the fact that they have been en-

slaved. They pray for the day of deliverance and true independence and self-government. They have kept alive in their hearts the democratic ideal.

It is our duty and privilege to give them the moral support they desperately need; to let them know we have not forgotten them, to say that we hold out the hand of friendship and understanding and that we will continue to do all we can to hasten the day when they can take their rightful place in the world's family of free nations.

Renewal at the Crossroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, my attention was recently called to an editorial entitled "Renewal at the Crossroads," which appeared in the May 1964 issue of the Nation's Cities, the magazine of the American Municipal Association.

I think that there is much substance in this editorial; and inasmuch as the extension of the urban renewal program will be debated in the House in the near future, I am including this editorial in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of all Members:

RENEWAL AT THE CROSSROADS

It is clearer every day that urban renewal is a national program for large and small communities. Renewal efforts have rejuvenated civic pride and have reversed trends toward commercial blight and neighborhood decay. In more than 700 American communities, local governments have initiated urban renewal projects which involve Federal assistance. The number of projects—about 1,300—and their rising proportion of completions give ample evidence of the importance of this program to urban America.

Pending legislation calls for a 2-year extension of urban renewal grants to localities at a time when mounting criticisms are directed at renewal.

This is incongruous—that urban renewal, with its broad base of support in communities and among legislators, should be facing the most difficult moments in its 15-year history. To a large extent, perhaps, renewal has been a victim of its own advance publicity. Glamorous architects' sketches didn't answer the problems of delays: to relocate families and small businessmen; to determine the best public uses of the acquired land; to find developers who would risk their capital in once-dilapidated areas; to fight vexing lawsuits; to get final approval from voters for city participation.

But the program picked up momentum, gained adherents, and largely convinced fair-minded observers. Along the way, both Federal departments and local agencies picked up a fair amount of expertise, legal and economic know-how, and, in many cases, rare political wisdom.

Due to the prospects of more widespread success of this program, criticism has grown more angry in recent months. What are the kep criticisms? Federal control, relocation, legal authority, economic justification, overall impact, and big-city orientation are prime areas of criticism. They represent both conservative and liberal viewpoints. At their best, they serve to curb any possible abuse of governmental power or corruption. But many are irresponsible.

Federal control: The charge that urban renewal is another step toward centralized national power is feeble. Every project is locally conceived, locally planned, locally executed. Those who fight the program on this basis often try to have it both ways—that local governments have too much leeway in their actions and that they ought to subscribe to stiffer Federal requirements.

Relocation: The bulldozer will continue to serve in renewal, but its symbolic meaning of destruction is declining. Better than 80 percent of the 157,000 families relocated through urban renewal have been rehoused in safe, sanitary, standard dwellings. No similar achievements can be cited for any other private or governmental activity which reduces a city's housing inventory.

Legal authority: From the landmark *Berman* v. *Parker* decision 10 years ago, which affirmed the program's constitutionality, urban renewal has inspired a large volume of litigation. The guidelines, however, are firmly established. Enabling legislation in 45 States reflects the attitude that urban renewal is an appropriate public activity in a democratic society.

Economic justification: Doubts have been expressed that land acquired through renewal will attract sufficient investment. A private study of the national market for land in downtown showed that, for 12 to 15 years ahead, demand will be strong. It is a "highly selective" market, one which will require sound judgments by local officials, but it is an optimistic prospect. As for the larger "gray areas" which encircle many downtowns, total development through renewal seems less rosy. It is here that rehabilitation must be undertaken vigorously. The private building community will have to show it can do the job better than public housing. More attention must also be paid to the needs of middle-income families under the progressive sections of the present and pending housing legislation.

Overall impact: "Projectitis"—the oasis of redeveloped land in a desert of slum and blight—is on the way out, but there is, unfortunately, ample evidence that urban renewal does not fit fully into the entire community's patterns of housing, shopping, and travel. The community renewal plan, in helping cities to analyze their future needs comprehensively, can show all agencies and departments of local government how much interdependence there is in making renewal a success.

Big-city program: Statistics show that the great majority of communities with renewal projects are smaller than 50,000 in population. In many respects, they have more at stake in having effective renewal because their tax bases are more rapidly affected by outlying suburban development, which siphons off higher income families and commercial activity. For many of these communities, a single well-planned and executed renewal project will accomplish more in respect to housing, transportation facilities, and retail trade than half a dozen more costly ones in a huge metropolitan center.

In sum, renewal can answer its critics on what is has done. More important, it can point to the sense of community involvement and rising expectations that come from a successful program. As a significant weapon to halt massive anticity developments, urban renewal has turned the corner. Its partisans cannot claim that it will restore grace, beauty, and prosperity to metropolitan areas or even to entire cities, but no government activity today promises to unlease so many forces for progress in our communities.—D. W. L.

The Situation in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the current "invasion" of the State of Mississippi by outsiders who think of themselves as aiding in the cause of civil rights has occasioned much erroneous comment in the northern press and on the floor of this House. To set the RECORD straight I am submitting an editorial from the Vicksburg, Miss., Sunday Post of June 28 which exemplifies the responsible attitudes of the citizens of Mississippi who are laboring hard to solve their local problems and who can only be hindered in their efforts by the influence of these good-intentioned but misinformed crusaders.

The editorial follows:

THE SITUATION IN MISSISSIPPI

There is no doubt about it, Mississippi is both in the limelight and under siege. For months the highly publicized summer project has been blared forth from radio and TV and in the national news. The publicity campaign was of such a nature as to engender resentment on the part of every Mississippian. Then the "crusaders" came, and, at the very first an incident of tragic nature happened. The cry now is for occupation by Federal marshals, with many calling for Federal troops to come to the State. On the floor of Congress, the right of people to travel anywhere in the United States was given as the reason for the call for Federal intervention. It appears that this was the ultimate goal of all the agencies which have set about to "reform" Mississippi.

We do not, under any circumstances, condone violence, whether by outsiders or our own people. Violence never resolves problems, and our columns have been used to exhort our people to remain calm and dignified during this "invasion." We do not, under any circumstances, believe a person should be restricted in his movements anywhere in our country, provided he is not prepared to act contrary to the common good. Had these "crusaders" come to Mississippi quietly and without fanfare, in an honest desire to help anyone, there would have been no Philadelphia story. But the pitiless publicity which had been given every phase of this project, put it in the category of inciting anger and passion, and was definitely not in the common good.

The very prepublicity which this project received should have been enough to make official Washington take preventive measures. But support and encouragement was given the project. It was given, though it was contrary to reasonable precautionary principles to allow an explosive situation to develop in any part of our country. But our State, the target for such vicious propaganda, has been marked again. It is good politics not to interfere. There is a presidential election coming up in November, and we remember very clearly, there was a congressional election in the offing when the Ole Miss tragedy occurred.

Much has been said about the "breakdown of law and order" in Mississippi. Nothing has been said about the dereliction of duty of the highest Executive Officer in the land and the highest law enforcement officer in the land. One word from them would have

prevented this publicized "invasion" as not in the best interests of the people either of Mississippi or of the United States.

We have much to do in Mississippi to settle our problems, but we are capable of solving them. We need no help from the outside, and, by a like token, we do not feel we would be welcome in any other State or section, if we set about to impose our ideas and will upon their people.

In the meantime, it is our hope and prayer that Mississippians will stand firm in their characteristic dignity and will keep both their calmness and their perspective. By all means, it is in the very best interests of our State that any incident be handled exclusively by our law enforcement officials, and that no one be so presumptuous as to take the law in his own hands.

Memorandum From the Lithuanian-American Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Lithuanian-American Council recently met in Washington, D.C., and forwarded a memo to President Johnson which I believe merits the attention of all of us. I place this memo in the RECORD at this point, expressing as it does the strong feelings of the Americans of Lithuanian extraction.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM FROM THE LITHUANIAN AMERICAN CONGRESS

Recent developments in Eastern Europe and the Baltic States are of deep concern to the 1 million Americans of Lithuanian descent. In behalf of these citizens, the Lithuanian American Congress calls your attention to several items concerning the interests of the United States and the cause of freedom for the Baltic States.

As stated in one of your recent addresses: "Peace depends upon rebuilding old European civilization within historic boundaries * * * freedom is the tide of history."

While some eastern European nations appear to be reasserting their identities, we are dismayed by the plight of the Baltic States, whose situation remains unchanged since 1940. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia continue to be militarily and politically dominated by a giant neighbor. The prerogative of self-determination has been taken from these Baltic peoples.

We have been encouraged by the consistent refusal of the U.S. Government to recognize the forced incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. This policy has been reaffirmed by every administration since it was voiced in 1940 by the then Under Secretary of States Sumner Welles.

Mr. President, we respectfully ask your assurance that this policy shall be continued under your administration, and that you consider the implementation of the following:

1. Activation of the nonrecognition principle by stressing at every opportunity the restoration of independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

2. Use of the United Nations and all other appropriate international forums to request restoration of human rights and national freedom to the Baltic peoples.

3. Expanding coverage of the Baltic States by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and other means of communication in the truth campaign.

4. Encourage establishment of a Captive Nations Committee in the House of Representatives to study the Baltic situation and recommend an honorable solution of the problem.

5. Avoid cultural, economic or other agreements with the Soviet Union, which could or would be detrimental to the captive nations.

6. Refuse to enter into any nonaggression pacts with the Soviet Union which would serve to bolster Soviet colonialism and make the liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia more difficult to achieve.

Mr. President, we ask your indulgence in these matters not only because we are deeply concerned for the people and the land of our forefathers, but also because we are convinced that the suggested actions are vital to the national interests of the United States and the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world.

Barry Goldwater Supported by Millions of Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 16, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial from the Alliance Review which expresses very well the feelings of millions of Americans who support BARRY GOLDWATER:

SO, WE'RE A BUNCH OF KOOKS

The self-styled liberals of the Nation are trying desperately to sell the idea that the only support for conservative politicians comes from petrified nonagenarians or young kooks who don't know any better than to think there might have been something good in our country prior to the New Deal.

But it is evident now that far more than a handful of citizens are showing discontent with the welfarism trend of Government. This discontent cannot be removed merely by a change of party, since both parties have their liberals and conservatives.

When more people are employed, earning more money than ever, and when we're all enjoying a tax cut, why the uneasiness?

Perhaps the answer lies in what the "progressives" of both political parties have been offering—a "great society" of cushions against adversity, with the challenges and risks deleted. Great plans are being made, but the ordinary citizen has no part in them other than paying his taxes.

Nobody courts adversity—but many will often risk his belongings and his life for good causes, even for adventure. This may well be a characteristic of our people which the paternalistic politicans overlook or fail to comprehend, and which may arise to plague them.

On the other hand, there could be resentment against the barrage of good advice we get from our Federal friends—advice we must take, or else. It extends to big things, such as requirements that our local relief programs meet Federal standards or else no Federal money. But it is extending to more and more small, intimate matters also.

Such as an announcement that the FHA will attempt to "stimulate" good design in homes "through the appraisal process." In other words, if the Feds don't like the looks of your place, you may not be able to mortgage it for what it's worth.

A Government so obstreperously intrusive that it will use our own tax money to dictate our tastes in homes may be risking serious dissent at the polls in the future.

Mishawaka (Ind.) Times Praises a New Kind of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to insert in the RECORD an interesting editorial from the June 23, 1964, issue of the Mishawaka (Ind.) Times describing two recent developments in the field of foreign aid.

The editorial follows:

A NEW KIND OF FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid, some people feel, could be more effective and useful if it had not quite so much a governmental image * * * with somewhat more emphasis upon people helping people.

Two recent events are cases in point.

Development of a privately supported Hoosier partnership with Latin America to supplement the Alliance for Progress program has been brought up for discussion by businessmen in the Indiana University executive development program and by University faculty members having Latin American interests.

The initiation of a State program of aid to a Latin American community or group was urged during a series of conferences just concluded at the university by Wade Fleetwood, special assistant, State and local partnership programs, Alliance for Progress. His visit was sponsored by the Indiana University Foundation.

The privately supported partnership programs were described by Fleetwood as "a high priority effort that seeks to buy a little time until the institution-building economic development programs of the Alliance make themselves felt at the grassroots level."

"The partnership plan is not an adoption program in which a city or State adopts a Latin American State or city," Fleetwood told those with whom he conferred at the University.

"It is a partnership program that has as its base the direct assistance to help people help themselves. It is not a patronizing or handout approach. It is not an 'old-clothes' charity program but a direct alliance between a U.S. group and a Latin American group to work toward the establishment of a lasting personal relationship outside official channels."

Partnership arrangements, Fleetwood said, have been entered into by Alabama with Guatemala, Arizona with El Salvador, Idaho with Ecuador, Utah with Bolivia, Texas with Peru, and in addition the matter is being discussed in Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Kentucky, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin.

Meanwhile, an adjunct to the Peace Corps has been formed.

The idea is for some U.S. executives to volunteer to take leaves of absence from their firms here, and perform—in some undeveloped country—the same functions they perform here. The United States will pay $1

million to start the project and eventually it will operate altogether by private donations.

Such programs have the potential not alone to improve the U.S. image, but the image of the free enterprise system abroad.

Toward Religious Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the remarks by Franklin H. Littell, professor at the Chicago Theological Seminary, which he delivered at the annual meeting of the Conference on Jewish Social Studies in New York City on May 22, 1963. His perceptive analysis of religious attitudes and myths in America today should be read by everyone who concerns himself with the problems posed by church-state relations.

The article follows:

TOWARD RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

(By Franklin H. Littell)

The subject to which we are addressing ourselves is highly sensitive. In spite of the burning urgency of racial justice, there are more cases before the Federal courts today involving church-state relations than on any other problem.

Moreover, it is a subject concerning which confusion is rampant. Let us consider a few homely illustrations. In San Antonio, this spring, an incumbent city council member who is also a Methodist minister has been challenged by an opposing candidate who runs on the slogan, "separation of church and State." (The argument here would seem to be that the clergy should not be allowed to hold public office.) In Michigan, by contrast, Governor Romney (a Mormon) has recently appointed a committee of 21 religious leaders to oversee ethical practices in State government. (The argument here would seem to be that leaders of the various religious communities are trained to unusual insight into the nature of public morality.) In Iowa, Amish people are leaving for Canada and Mexico because the State educational authorities refuse to recognize the validity of Amish-staffed and Amish-controlled school systems. (The argument here would seem to be that religious liberty includes the right to have the children in the covenant educated by the church.) In Miami, some months ago, the Baptist Ministerial Alliance passed two resolutions within the space of 2 minutes. In one they condemned the presumed Catholic threat to separation of church and state; in the other they criticized bringing up an ACLU case to remove Protestant liturgy from the public schools. (The argument here, if it can be summarized at all, would seem to be that Catholic penetration of public institutions constitutes a challenge to our way of life, while the maintenance of Protestant hegemony is to be sustained where it still exists.)

THE PRIMITIVIST MYTHS

The Miami case is perhaps most revealing, for it leads us to two parallel mythical constructs which are widespread and which lend confusion rather than light to any serious analysis of religious liberty and its significance to American history. Both of these myths are primitivist in nature, to use the typology elaborated in literary criticism and historical research by Prof. A. O. Lovejoy of Johns Hopkins University and his associates and students.

Primitivism has been defined as "civilized man's misgivings about his performances, about his prospects—and about himself."[1] As applied to the interpretation of history, it involves three periods:

1. A Golden Age, marked by heroic virtue, sound human relations, ethical institutions;

2. A period of "the fall," characterized by corruption of institutions and persons;

3. A restitution, with return to the program of the age of heroes. As applied to American history, the primitivist typology is revealed by repeated reference to the presumed views and practices of the Founding Fathers, which are held to be normative for all times to come.

Relating this typology to our discussion of religious liberty, the achievement of a public consensus is presently threatened by two parallel myths, both of which breed ideological politics. One is the myth of the "good old days" of "Christian America." The other is the myth of an absolute "wall of separation between church and state." In fact—except in the minds of those who wish to defend the state-church system and legislated religion—the American people have never been Christianized. Neither have we ever had "separation of church and state," nor do we have it now. Both of these mythical constructs simply confuse the issue and make the attainment of religious liberty and voluntaryism more difficult.

The myth that the Founding Fathers established a "Christian America" is perhaps the more widespread of the two constructs, at least in Protestant circles. And here, wtih the telescoping of historical events which is so frequently encountered in the mind essentially unschooled by history, it is usually impossible to discern whether the esteemed "Founding Fathers" are those of Plymouth or those of the Constitutional Conventions, 175 years later. In any case, America is said to have been once a "Christian nation," and—at least since F.D.R.—things have subsequently been going to the Devil. This is the theme song of the Protestant underworld—of spiritual mobilization, Christian economics, the Christian anti-Communist crusade, the Christian nationalists, the circuit riders, the American Churchmen's League, and other clerical pensioners of the radical right.

An illustration of the intellectual level of this thrust may not be out of order. Some weeks ago we were treated in Dallas to the obscene spectacle of a former military person and present mob leader, who went on the TV to arouse the people against what he called "the antichrist Supreme Court" and to return to what he called "Christian America." Shortly thereafter he was on the SMU campus speaking to a rather rudely incredulous meeting of several hundred students. He opened his discourse—which was punctuated by long and painful silences, during which he evidently tried to remember who he was, and where he was, and what he was going there—by reading from Daniel. He clearly felt identified personally with Daniel in the lions' den. In his speech he referred repeatedly to "that great Christian Daniel," who had stood to his principles at great personal risk. Afterward, one of the theology students asked, "General, since when was Daniel a Christian?" The poor man never got the point at all, but responded valiantly, "Why, he was a Christian from his boyhood on." And this is the kind of Biblical exegesis by midnight riders which is to take us "back to Christian America."

[1] Lovejoy, Arthur O., et al., "A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas * * * in Antiquity" (Baltimore 1935), p. ix.

It is worth noting, however, that the primitivist myth of "Christian America" is strong in much more sober and responsible circles than those of the Fortestant Nativists. Indeed, it would appear to lie back of the protests to the Supreme Court's decision in *Engel* v. *Vitale* by such distinguished men as Bishop James Pike and President Henry P. Van Dusen. It also comes frequently to the fore when some Protestant leaders join league with some Catholic leaders to attack a so-called creeping secularism in public education.

There is another primitivist myth, much less widespread but nevertheless influential in literate circles. That is the myth that the Founding Fathers, in the great bill of religious freedom in Virginia and in the first amendment to the Federal Constitution, "established an absolute wall of separation between church and state." Having once had religious liberty, we are now said to be in danger of losing it. The Roman Catholics usually are said to be to blame, and among Protestant leaders who would be ashamed to be seen in the presence of anti-Semites there is still found a wild and unreasoning anticatholicism of the most bigoted sort. Take the school controversy. Although the public schools have been largely a Protestant institution, with a prevailingly Protestant liturgy for generations, and although for many decades in various States Protestant boards received tax moneys in contract to perform a public purpose, the petitions of the Catholics for scholarships or other tax assistance for their schools is condemned as un-American, "contrary to the principle of separation of church and state," and so on ad nauseam. Organizations such as Protestants and Other Americans United (POAU) build up their staffs and budgets by appealing to Protestant anxiety at the rise and increasing acceptance of the Catholic community, and flood our churches with the most vicious and scurrilous attacks on American Catholicism, its leadership, and on such Protestants or Jews as seek solutions to specific issues by reasoned discussion rather than blind prejudice. There is a powerful case for the maintenance of a single tax-supported system of common schools, just as there is a compelling case for the truth that the soundest religious instruction and service is that which inspires voluntary service and sacrificial support. But neither the public schools nor religious liberty are served by a widespread lying about our neighbors of Catholic persuasion, or by attempting to mythologize away the slow and painful development of religious liberty in American history.

It is no more just to tar American Catholics with the brush of Torquemada than it would be to attack American Lutherans because Martin Luther urged that Baptists be put to death. Nor are American Catholics as much responsible for mob violence in villages in Colombia as are American Baptists and Methodists responsible for mobs defying the Constitution and elemental decency in Greenwood, Miss., or Birmingham, Ala. The truth is that when we step back but a few generations the relations between Catholics, Protestants, and Jews were generally bad, and the practice of the dominant group toward the minorities—in America as well as in Europe—was shameful. And in America, since most of the culture lags have reflected the earlier dominance of Protestant state churches, most of the insensitivity in this problem area has been displayed by Protestants.

It is a curious fact that most Protestants who have nourished the primitivist motif have used the two myths alternately. Thus is the confusion thrice compounded. Against any effort to eliminate remants of the old Protestant public liturgy, many Protestants join league with many Catholics

to denounce the secularists. Against any effort by the Catholics to share in the public liturgy, many Protestants join league with many Jews and humanists to denounce infringement of separation of church and state. This ambivalence works out very well, in practice, for those who are satisfied with the continuance in America of a kind of Protestant culture-religion. It becomes possible to champion at one moment the myth of "Christian America" and at the next moment the myth of an absolute wall of separation. And since, as is well known in some circles, Protestantism and freedom are synonymous terms, the theological problem is settled as quickly as the political.

THE THREE AGES OF RELIGION IN AMERICA

In fact, however, the American record of church-state relations has been much more ambiguous, and the achievement of a more consistent pattern of religious liberty in the years ahead will require much more painstaking effort than mere sloganizing or mythmaking.

During the first period, we had state churches in America for over 200 years, and they were no more successful here than in Europe. Time does not allow the narration of illustrations of the long and brutal record of persecution and discrimination, both in New England and in the Anglican colonies.[1] Suffice it to say that—with the exception of a few enlightened spirits such as Sir Henry Vane the Younger, Roger Williams and William Penn—even those who came here seeking freedom for themselves had not yet realized that freedom is indivisible, that my liberty is insecure if another man is deprived. In America, too, the coercive system produced irreligion, so that the liquidation of the establishments exposed widespread indifference to the churches. Just as would happen in the so-called "Christian nations" of Europe today, if they were compelled to depend upon their effective membership rather than upon the watered statistic of the rolls of the territorial churches, the population as a whole was revealed to be unchurched, uncommitted, and unconfirmed.

These Protestant state churches were simply an extension of British Christendom. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, out of 3.6 millions in the 13 revolting colonies only about 20,000 were Catholics and about 6,000 were Jews. The rest were officially Protestant, but in fact heathen. North America was needy missionary territory, and regarded as such by Catholic and Protestant missionary societies in Europe. In part with oversea assistance, and in part by developing home missions, after the colonial state churches collapsed, new methods of mass evangelism were developed by Protestants to win the people back to the churches on a voluntary basis. This has been done, from 7-percent membership in 1800 to nearly 70 percent in 1960—and with 96 percent of adults claiming affiliation, when asked. The real glory of American Protestant history is not that we once had state churches which discriminated against Catholics and Jews and dissenting minorities, but rather that through the great revivals of religion religious liberty and voluntaryism have been made workable alternatives to religious coercion and establishment.

At the end of the second period of the religious history of America, the period of the shift of the Protestant churches from state-church ways to voluntary support, the Protestant churches were stronger than ever before in terms of attendance, membership, and freewill offerings. At the same time this was going on in Protestantism, great immigrations of persons of Catholic and Jewish background were occurring. At first the newer immigrants tended to get caught up in the dominant Protestant culture, except when insulated by the continuance of foreign-language cultures. Both Catholic and Jewish communities, however, developed their own methods for holding their own and for reaching out to the unchurched. Among the Catholics the chief instrument has been the parochial school system, among the Jews an elaborate network of charitable and cultural organizations. Today all three major communities of faith, entering the third period of our religious history, the age of dialog, are of a vigor, membership, financial and intellectual energy almost unparalleled in history.

Never before have three such lively religious communities entered the public forum with each other, equally entitled at law, equally dependent for making their case upon the support and disciplined witness of companies of volunteers. It is this which gives the quality of real exictement to the present encounter. It is this which establishes the case for religious liberty far more surely than any mythical constructs of an imaginary past event. It is this which makes clear that any fruitful discussion of religious liberty in the American tradition must begin with the nature of true religion rather than with the political issue. It is this which gives promise to the future, promise of the flowering of religion which is the expression of joyful and willing hearts (to use the language of the 16th-centry martyr to religious liberty, Claus Felbinger) rather than the coerced sanctification of political or even military objectives.

The conclusions to be drawn from this quick review may be listed as follows:

1. All three major religious communities, including the Protestant, are stronger than ever before. If there is a golden age in American religious history it lies not in the past but—potentially at least—directly before us.

2. Even though there are still widespread culture lags, carrying over from the older Protestant hegemony, the real genius of the Protestant churches lies with voluntary initiative and support. During the "great century" the American Protestant church shifted their identity from the style of European Christendom to the style of the younger churches of Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea.

3. Some say ours is a post-Christian era. This may be true of Europe, where the established churches are in serious decline and but small fractions of the various peoples have effective relationships to any church. In America, however, after the great revivals of religion most church members are new Christians. From a Protestant point of view, the United States is not a post-Christian but, if anything, a pre-Christian situation.

4. Religious liberty is not something which we have had, and are now in danger of losing. Religious liberty is an art which we are slowly learning to practice: it is not a possession of the past, but something to be gone out after. Politically speaking, it is a right which is antecedent to the frame of government itself and to the whole poltical discussion. Religiously speaking, it rests upon a foundation of faithful voluntary membership and support. We must remember religious liberty, like our other liberties, will not long endure if citizens neglect the disciplined initiative which brought it into existence in the first place.

THE CHALLENGE TO PROTESTANTS IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

In former times it was possible for our courts to say, as they did say, that America was a Protestant nation and Christianity part of the common law of the land. Today this cannot be said, and those who choose to glorify the false image of the first period of Protestant establishment rather than the work of the second period of emerging voluntaryism find it difficult to accept this fact. Nevertheless, the question whether Protestantism will slowly decline to the status of a snarling and defensive minority or perhaps experience a new burst of evangelical faith and witness depends almost entirely upon whether we learn to accept and affirm the plain implications of religious liberty.

The record shows very clearly that, even during the period of the most active home missions and mass evangelism, whenever Protestantism has been threatened in this country it has tended to revert to use of state power to effect its objectives. This was the case during the first wave of Protestant nativism, in the 1840's and 1850's, when anxieties aroused by the newer immigrations produced the virulent anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism of the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner (know-nothing party), the American Protective Association, and other precursors of the contemporary clerics of the radical right. No person was to be allowed to vote until he had been resident in this country 21 years, and no Catholic was ever to be allowed to hold public office. To speak of a more constructive collaboration of church and state, Protestants cooperated closely with the Government and used available tax moneys in the care of the American Indians, as wards to the freed Negroes, in the founding and administration of numerous State universities, and in many other areas involving public policy. The most dramatic illustration of continuing misunderstanding of the nature of sound religion and of sound government was in the campaign which induced 11 State legislatures during the 1920's to pass legislation that only a certain Protestant doctrine of the origins of man could be taught in the public schools.

It should be no matter of wonder, then, that we are still confronted from time to time by misguided Protestant efforts to preserve remnants of the old establishment—particularly in the public schools. The direction in which we should move, if we understand the true genius of our style of religious liberty and voluntaryism, is clear; but the right response to court decisions is not helped by slogans such as "a wall of separation"—which are unrelated to our true history, to the actual decisions by which we have been moving painfully in the right direction.

In this crisis of self-image, the first temptation for Protestantism is to defend to the last the slowly disappearing remnants of an earlier dominance. It should become increasingly clear, however, that to maintain a Protestant public liturgy in dramatic moments where participants are of mixed religious commitment is not only doubtful civics but bad religion. As good an illustration as any is the use of Protestant prayers to open football spectacles—say, between Georgia and Alabama. Dean Kelley of the Commission on Religious Liberty of the National Council of Churches has pointed out the issue here, in stressing in a recent manuscript the significance of the "reservation of the holy" to Biblical thinking. The highest symbols of faith are not properly exposed to profane or frivolous view. A more lighthearted critic might suggest that the religious ceremony appropriate to the opening of a football game would be the sacrifice of a rooster. Then, perhaps, the religious officers could inspect the entrails and determine which side is to win—or, at least, whether the day is propitious for the playing of games.

The second temptation, and one related to the first, is to seek a "cheap identity" through a bigoted anti-Catholicism. The appeal of this activity becomes apparent when we refer to the major problem of those churches which have been most successful during the period of mass evangelism. It is

[1] See the writer's "From State Church to Pluralism" (New York, 1962), ch. I.

true that the revival churches—notably the Baptists, Methodists, and Disciples or Christians—have scored tremendous statistical accessions during the last century and a half. But the problematic of the situation in which they now find themselves is given by the fact that in doing so they have virtually eliminated all membership standards. For example: during the generations when the Wesleyan movement maintained its integrity, a clear distinction was made between conversion and entry into church membership. Before being recommended for full membership, a person was required to spend at least 6 months on probation, learning elementary Christian disciplines, studying the teachings of the church, and indicating by consistent effort and devotion that he took his new responsibilities seriously. When he was recommended, accepted, and joined, he promised to maintain the standards of the movement—both those intellectual and those revealed in a certain style of life. In the 1908 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church these requirements were deleted, completing a cheapening process which was already well underway, and today few churches observe even the most elementary standards for preparing new members or developing and maintaining excellence among the older members.

One of the results of this slackening of standard has been that since the turn of the century some 20 smaller groups have split off to form new denominations, in protest against the promiscuity of the larger Methodist bodies. Another, and more serious, is the fact that today there is scarcely an issue on which the denomination is able to present a clear and coherent witness. The new Christians have carried over into the churches many characteristics of their prebaptismal life, and of these carryovers racism is the most widespread and the most scandalous denial of biblical truth. Verbalization still continues, but without the binding quality by which the Word becomes flesh.

The desperate need of the larger Protestant bodies, including the Methodists, is to introduce such programs of lay training as will develop a people worthy of the name. For a discipline, whether theological or cultic or ethical or moral, once abandoned cannot be restored by fiat. It can only be developed again, in the new forms appropriate to a new age, through study groups, fellowship groups, lay academies and the like. But such programs require determined effort on the part of church leadership, and sometimes agonizing moments of decision between popular approval and right action. Moreover, the affluent society will respond eagerly to promotional drives which expand institutions and call for the giving of money rather than the giving of one's self. As a bishop of my denomination recently put it, in criticizing the work of some of the younger preachers who have been trying to restore a quality of membership understanding and behavior, "The trouble with this emphasis on 'lay training' is that it interferes with the program of the church."

Nevertheless, from time to time even the most nondescript religious body needs a sense of identity. It is precisely at this point that the usefulness of a blind anti-Catholicism becomes evident. This is the cheapest and quickest way for a Protestant body to discover a lost sense of identity, and it has the appeal that it requires none of the effort which the needed program of lay training would involve. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, German theologian and martyr to the July 20 attempt on Hitler's life, warned his people against cheap grace. The spiritual peril to American Protestantism, and the detour around the rocky road of recovery of integrity, is the cheap identity of anti-Catholicism.

THE AGE OF DIALOGUE

The imperative quality of the practice of the dialogue is thus given. It is true, of course, that good citizenship calls for growing cooperation between Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, at the level and with the timeliness of the recent National Conference on Religion and Race. For Protestants, however, the Catholic-Protestant dialogue is the alternative path to the "cheap identity" of anti-Catholicism or the other temptations of the Nativist line. The Christian-Jewish dimension of the dialogue is just as vital for the theological progress of Protestantism. It is not enough any more to speak of our responsibilities in the third period of American religious history, the Age of Dialogue, simply in terms of decent human relations or positive civic enterprise.

For the dialogue is not an end in itself: Truth is the end, and full, free, and informed discussion among those who share a common destiny is simply a means thereto. It may be recalled that in classical Greece there were two contrasting schools of thought and practice whose stance carries over to today. There were the Sophists, for whom there was no ultimate truth. They trained their men to take any case and to "win"; out of their circles emerged the style and activity of the demagogs. On the other ledger of existence was the Platonic Academy, which operated upon the assumption that there was ultimate truth, even though human knowledge of it was partial. They trained their men to share their questions and concerns with each other and with reasonable men. They knew that out of the speaking and listening, which is such a satisfactory way of meeting and solving practical problems as they emerge from day to day, solutions frequently emerge which are much better than any one could have conceived of when he entered the discussion.

But dialog, to be fruitful and avoid foolishness (amathia), must be carried on with reference to a responsibility which transcends the immediate issues. Believing Jews know, and Christians know—when they do not betray their baptism and revert to their former status as gentiles—that the ultimate reference is honor and praise to the God of the Bible, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is precisely this reference which gives the dialog its conclusive promise in this setting of noncoerced religion, where for the first time in history these three great religious communities face each other with potential and promise and with an equality guaranteed by law.

For the dialog to function, however, we must reject the sophistries of the ideologues. In no area is this more needed, accompanied by an imperative consequent return to the common law tradition of pedestrian politics and constitutional evolution, than in the area of church-state relations. Let us reject the false images and slogans of the myth-makers, which can polarize a community (e.g., Hamden, Conn., during the Christmas season, 1961), which can destroy the public consensus, and move forward to solve specific issues as they arise in a spirit of reason and good will. Religious liberty is not secured by defending the continued practice of something called "nonsectarian religion" in public life, by avoidance of all reference to historic religious commitments. Neither is it secured by enthroning the dogmatics of the irreligious. Religious liberty began to emerge in this country with the realization of the profound truth that that service only is pleasing to God which is voluntary and uncoerced. And that political practice is best—whether the issue is religion in the public schools or tax support of religious programs overseas—which begins the discussion with recognition of that fundamental discovery.

Our constitutional fathers did not separate church and state. Neither did they establish a Christian state. What they dared to risk was far more dynamic: the separation of the political covenant from the religious covenants. In other words, they attempted a new thing in history: the proposition that men could be good fellow citizens even though they were loyal members and supporters of differing religions. They thereby freed true religion from its earlier bondage to political and military purposes, and they freed governments from the intrigue of ecclesiastical conspiracies and cabals. Our responsibility, in the age of dialog, is to work out the next level of a style of religious service and of civic virtue appropriate to the high standard which they raised.

Immigration and Nationality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been urging favorable action on proposed legislation—including my bill H.R. 7960—seeking to correct discriminatory provisions in our Immigration and Nationality Act. Because of the widespread interest on this vitally important subject, I wish to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my statement on June 26 before Subcommittee No. 1 on Immigration and Nationality, House Committee on the Judiciary, which reads as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN HERMAN TOLL AT HEARINGS OF SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 1 ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 25, 1964

It is a privilege to present this statement on behalf of my bill, H.R. 7960, and I thank the Chairman and members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to do so.

The experience under the Immigration and Nationality Act, since it was enacted in 1952, has corroborated the views of Presidents Truman and Kennedy and the major religious, labor, nationality, and community organizations, that the policy on which the law is based and the law itself are designed to exclude people and not to facilitate their entry. The law constitutes an obstacle race for new Americans and not an avenue for immigration.

The single major defect of our Immigration Code is retention of the discriminatory national origins quota system as the basis for admission. This formula was first adopted in the isolationist period of the 1920's. The present law is not only exclusionary, but its deportation provisions are harsh beyond reasonable requirements, and inequities in the law as between native-born and naturalized citizens make a farce of the principle of naturalization.

It is because of these and other discriminatory features of the present law that the great 1960 Democratic National Convention included a forthright plank on immigration in the party platform.

That plank does the following:

1. Calls for adjustment of present American immigration, nationality, and refugee policies to eliminate discrimination and to enable members of scattered families abroad to be united with relatives already in our midst.

2. Acknowledges that the national origins quota system of limiting immigration contradicts the founding principles of this Nation and is inconsistent with our belief in the rights of man.

3. Reaffirms adherence of the Democratic Party to the principle that enlightened immigration, naturalization and refugee pol-

icies, and the humane administration of them, are important aspects of American foreign policy.

4. Recognizes that laws to bring greater skills to our land, reunite families, permit the United States to meet its fair share of world programs of rescue and rehabilitation are important factors in the growth of the American economy.

The deficiencies of the present law are also responsible for the historic call made by President Kennedy in his special immigration message to the Congress on July 23, 1963. The President's demand for correction of the unequal and discriminatory provisions of the present immigration law has met with widespread approval by citizens and citizens' groups. On August 8, 1963, 72 organizations affiliated in the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference commended the President for his message, in particular his recommendation to substitute an equitable and nondiscriminatory formula for the iniquitous national origins quota system. Attached to this testimony is the full text of that brief joint statement with a listing of the 72 signatory organizations. It will be seen that they are representative of the religious, labor, nationality and civic groups that make up these great United States.

Within 60 days after he assumed the presidency, following the grievous tragedy suffered by our Nation when President Kennedy was assassinated, President Johnson met with a representative group of some 50 congressional leaders and leaders of private national organizations to indicate his complete support for reform of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, our present Immigration Code.

The committee will also be interested to know that immigration reform, along the lines of President Kennedy's message and my bill H.R. 7960, has the approval of practically all leading organizations and citizens in Philadelphia. On May 13, 1963, 45 organizations cooperated in the Second Annual Greater Philadelphia Conference on American Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Refugee Matters. The representative nature of this conference is reflected in the list of cooperating agencies which are: AFL–CIO Philadelphia Council; American Commiteee for Italian Migration, Philadelphia chapter; American Jewish Committee, Philadelphia chapter; American Jewish Congress, Greater Philadelphia region; Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers; Association of Philadelphia Settlements; B'nai B'rith of Philadelphia—Men and Women; Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia; Catholic Resettlement Council; Casa Del Carmen; Commission on Human Relations; Division of School Extension, School District of Philadelphia; Episcopal Community Services; Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania; Family Service of Philadelphia; Federation of American Hellenic Societies; Federal Bar Association; Fellowship Commission; Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches, Community Services Department; Health and Welfare Council HIAS and Council Migration Service; International House of Philadelphia, Inc.; International Institute of Philadelphia; Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia; Jewish Employment and Vocational Service; Jewish Family Service; Jewish Labor Committee; League of Women Voters of Philadelphia; Legal Aid Society of Philadelphia; Lithuanian American Society; Lutheran Board of Social Ministry; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Association of Social Workers, Philadelphia chapter; Neighborhood Friends Guild; Netherlands American Association; Philadelphia Citizens Committee on Immigration and Citizenship; Philadelphia Council for International Visitors; Philadelphia Housing Authority, Social Services; Travelers Aid Society of Philadelphia; United World Federalists; YMCA of Philadelphia; YWCA.

As at the first conference held in March 1962, Gregory Lagakos, Esq., an eminent member of the Philadelphia Bar and then President of International Institute of Philadelphia, was chairman of the conference. The cochairman of the conference committee were Jules Cohen, Executive Director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia, and Sharon Hatch, executive director, International Institute of Philadelphia. The other committee members were: Tess Corens, HIAS & Council Migration Service; Florence Davies, Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania; Herman Gart, Jewish Employment and Vocational Service; Lary Groth, Commission on Human Relations; Helen E. Heydrick, Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches; Melba Hyde, International Institute; Audrey Maetzold, Health and Welfare Council; Beatrice Muller, Jewish Family Service; Richard F. Smith, American Friends Service Committee; Joseph Vanko, Catholic Resettlement Council; Grace Yocum, Travelers Aid.

This significant meeting was not a legislative conference. It was convened for informational and educational purposes. Nevertheless, it is quite clear from the summary of the proceedings that in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, there is widespread support for substantial improvement of American immigration policy and extensive revision of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, to eliminate unnecessary exclusionary provisions, the unfair national origins quota system and other discriminatory sections.

I introduced H.R. 7960 on August 6, 1963, to help carry out the recommendations made by the late and beloved President Kennedy in his July 23, 1963, message. Those recommendations have my full and unequivocal support. Respectfully, and strongly, I urge this Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality to report out favorably H.R. 7960. Enactment of my measure by the U.S. Congress would, in large measure, redeem the pledge made by the Democratic Party in its 1960 platform plank on immigration. This becomes especially important on the eve of the 1964 Democratic Party Convention. The Democratic Party pledge on immigration reflects my views on the subject of immigration, nationality, and citizenship. It is also clear that enactment of my bill would be in keeping with the announced wishes of the citizens of Philadelphia, as well as the rest of the country.

My bill, H.R. 7960, is identical with H.R. 7700, introduced by the eminent chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER. Since Congressman CELLER presented an excellent detailed analysis of his bill in his July 11 testimony, at these hearings, I will avoid repetition and save the time of the committee by omitting my own analysis.

AUGUST 7, 1963.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

We, the undersigned organizations, wish to endorse strongly the historic step you have taken in your message of July 23 in calling for the elimination of the national origins quota system.

We have long urged the removal of this discriminatory aspect of our American immigration policy.

We are greatly encouraged and wish to express our appreciation for the outstanding leadership you are giving in this major field of human rights.

American Baptist Home Mission Societies.
American Civil Liberties Union.
American Council for Emigres in the Professions.
American Council for Nationalities Service.
American Committee on Italian Migration.
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc.
American Federation of Musicians.
American Friends Service Committee.
American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees.
American Jewish Committee.
American Jewish Congress.
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
B'nai B'rith, National Commission on Citizenship, Veterans and Community Affairs.
Brethren Service Commission.
Catholic Committee for Refugees.
Catholic Relief Services, NCWC.
Church World Service, National Council of Churches of Christ.
Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ.
Division of Immigration and Americanization, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.
Governor's Commission on Refugees, Boston, Mass.
Greater Miami Section, National Council of Jewish Women.
HIAS and Council Migration Service of Philadelphia.
Immigrants' Service League.
International Institute of Gary, Ind.
International Institute of Greater Bridgeport, Inc.
International Institute of Jersey City.
International Institute of Los Angeles.
International Institute of Metropolitan Detroit.
International Institute of Providence, Inc.
International Institute of San Francisco.
International Institute of Toledo, Inc.
International Rescue Committee.
International Social Service—American Branch.
International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, AFL–CIO.
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW.
Iuliu Maniu American Romanian Relief Society.
Italian Welfare League.
Japanese American Citizens League.
Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Philadelphia.
Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Pittsburgh.
Jewish Counselling and Service Agency.
Jewish Labor Committee.
Jewish War Veterans in the U.S.A., National Ladies Auxiliary.
Lutheran Immigration Service.
Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief.
Michigan Committee on Immigration.
National Board YWCA.
National Catholic Rural Life Conference.
National Catholic Welfare Conference, Department on Immigration.
National Community Relations Advisory Council.
National Conference of Catholic Charities.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Chrisian Social Relations.
National Travelers Aid Association.
Nationalities Service Center of Philadelphia.
Naturalization Council of Metropolitan Area, Kansas City, Mo.
New York Association of New Americans.
New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society.
New York Section—National Council of Jewish Women.
Order of AHEPA.
Philadelphia Citizens Committee on Immigration and Citizenship.
Polish American Immigration and Relief Committee.
Selfhelp of Emigres From Central Europe.
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Committee on Resettlement Service.
Tolstoy Foundaton.

Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Social Action Commission.
United Friends of Needy and Displaced People of Yugoslavia.
United HIAS Service.
United States Committee for Refugees.
United Steelworkers of America.

The San Antonio HemisFair for the Americas

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report on the progress of the HemisFair project which is scheduled to be opened in my hometown of San Antonio, Tex., in 1968.

Last Monday, June 29, 1964, the formal dedication ceremonies for HemisFair executive headquarters were conducted, highlighted by a flag-raising ceremony representing 21 countries participating in the fair. Also, on that day the HemisFair executive committee met with members of the armed services and Assistant Secretary of Defense Nils A. Lennartson for the purpose of coordinating the fair activities with the military and laying the groundwork for further military cooperation and assistance.

The HemisFair is progressing smoothly and according to schedule, and with the continued efforts of those local, State, and Federal officials directly involved, and the full cooperation and support of the San Antonio community, we look forward to the opening of the fair in 1968 marking the tremendous strides toward better pan-American relations, which this fair is designed to foster and encourage.

With the unanimous consent of this House I would like to insert in the RECORD four newspaper articles from our local newspapers, the San Antonio Light and the San Antonio News and Express, relating some of the details of the events I have outlined.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) News and Express, June 28, 1964]

FAIR HEADQUARTERS WILL BE DEDICATED

An address by U.S. Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ and a presentation of flags of 19 Latin American nations will feature dedication ceremonies of HemisFair executive headquarters here at 5 p.m. Sunday.

The headquarters are at 421 South Alamo, site of the historic German-English School.

GONZALEZ will speak on national and intertional aspects of the HemisFair. Representatives from Latin American nations will present their countries' flags for a flag-raising ceremony. Invited are representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

H. B. Zachry, chairman of the board of HemisFair, will welcome guests. HemisFair President William R. Sinkin will introduce guests. Ewen C. Dingwall, HemisFair executive vice president, will speak on the history of the German-English School.

Following the flag-raising ceremony, a reception is scheduled on the school patio.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, June 28, 1964]

CEREMONY TO MARK HEMISFAIR MILESTONE

Dedication ceremonies at 5 p.m. Sunday at the German-English School, 421 South Alamo, will officially mark the site as the HemisFair headquarters.

The Air Force Band of the West will provide music for the ceremonies. H. B. Zachry, Henis Fair board chairman, will give the welcoming address, and Rabbi David Jacobson, Temple Beth-El, will give the dedicatory prayer.

William R. Sinkin, HemisFair president, will introduce the guests and speak on the renovation program, while Ewen C. Dingwall, executive vice president, will speak on the history of the school.

Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ, honorary cochairman with Mayor McAllister, will speak on the national and international aspects of the HemisFair. Following his talk, representatives of Latin American countries will present their flags.

A reception will be held on the patio following the ceremonies.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, June 28, 1964]

HEMISFAIR HUB—200 AT CEREMONIES

About 200 persons attended dedication ceremonies for the HemisFair executive headquarters at 421 South Alamo Sunday.

Representative GONZALEZ, principal speaker, said the 1968 exposition "can be one of the most significant events in the history of this area."

HemisFair Executive Vice President Ewen C. Dingwall noted about 70 buildings will be restored on the fair grounds, in order that the fair "will be a link between the great past of San Antonio and its greater future."

William R. Sinkin, HemisFair president, traced the history of the fair and said GONZALEZ first advanced the idea in 1962. He also pointed out the HemisFair emblem was designed by GONZALEZ' son.

A flag-raising ceremony cited representatives from 21 countries participating in the fair. Consuls from several Latin American countries and military commanders were present for the ceremonies.

Music was furnished by the Lackland Air Force Base Band of the West.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, June 29, 1964]

HEMISFAIR PLANS—HELP FROM MILITARY

San Antonio's military commanders were feted at a noon luncheon Monday by the HemisFair Executive Committee at the Menger Hotel.

HemisFair President William R. Sinkin told the 15 officers present that the 1968 fair depends greatly on military cooperation and assistance.

He also quoted a letter from Mils A. Lennartson, Assistant Secretary of Defense, who said, "The Department of Defense appreciates this opportunity to take part in the early planning of HemisFair, and asks that you provide us with information concerning the form of military support required so we can reach a clear and common understanding."

FROM SOLON

Sinkin also read a telegram from Senator YARBOROUGH expressing his gratitude and appreciation to the area commanders for their support and assistance to the HemisFair.

Ewen C. Dingwall, executive vice president of HemisFair, told of the forms of military cooperation at the Seattle Century 21 Exposition, and outlined possible forms of cooperation in the San Antonio area.

Among those he discussed was advice and coordination on the proposed military or aviation museum which will be a part of HemisFair.

WILL PLAN

In the near future, assigned project officers from various commands will meet with the HemisFair staff for detailed planning and coordination of coming events.

Attending the luncheon were Maj. Gen. William A. Harris, commanding general of Ft. Sam Houston; Maj. Gen. H. K. Mooney, vice commander, Air Training Command; Maj. Gen. Prescott M. Spicer, commander, Lackland Military Training Center; Maj. Gen. Richard P. Klocko, commander, Air Force Security Service, and Brig. Gen. J. L. Riley, 4th Air Reserve Region, Randolph Air Force Base.

Court Ruling Is Capricious

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the strength of the country comes from the grassroots level, and I believe it is most accurate to state that the innate political wisdom of America is found there. The recent Supreme Court ruling on State legislative apportionment deliberately defies not only historically strong precedent but, more than that, the obvious views of a vast majority of American citizens.

The Chicago Heights Star, an outstanding publication serving south suburban Cook County, in their Thursday, June 18, edition carried a necessarily strong indictment of the Supreme Court decision:

AS WE SEE IT—COURT RULING IS CAPRICIOUS

A majority of the U.S. Supreme Court Justices tried their hand at legislating for the various States this week and, in our opinion, turned out a shabby job.

The Court majority decreed that States having a bicameral legislature must apportion for both branches on the basis of population. It ruled that this is to be the case, irrespective of what the great majority of residents in the States might prefer.

Although Illinois was not included among the States immediately affected by the decision—our day in court will come later—it is virtually certain that the result will be to invalidate our present State senate districting.

Like a number of other States, Illinois' Legislature is patterned after that of the Federal Government. The lower chamber has representatives elected from districts charted on the basis of population. The senate map is drawn to provide representation for geographic areas throughout the State.

But what is good for the Federal Government, says the Supreme Court majority, is not good for the States. Maps of districts for both legislative bodies must be drawn on the basis of population; an area with relatively sparse population is to have little or no voice in the lawmaking process.

The reason for actually having two chambers rather than a unicameral legislature now becomes somewhat obscure, for there will be no checkrein on populous areas.

The Court majority held that neither a little Federal system nor overwhelming voter approval of such a system, as was given in Illinois, is a valid argument against districting solely according to population.

It is interesting to see how this is likely to affect Illinois. Four counties—Cook, DuPage, Lake, and Will—had a combined population of 5,928,457 when the 1960 census was compiled. This is roughly 60 percent of the State's 10,081,000 population at that time.

Even without considering the past 5 years' growth in the metropolitan area, which undoubtedly has increased these four counties' population beyond 60 percent of the State total, it can readily be seen what kind of representation a vast proportion of Illinois will have under the Supreme Court formula.

Nevertheless, many areas of the State have problems peculiar to them—problems deserving sympathetic consideration and in many cases correction through the legislative process. The luxury of corrective legislation is one they may be about to forfeit.

We do not view the Supreme Court's opinion with derision founded on selfish motives. Indeed, suburban representation in the State senate would increase upon implementation of the population formula, and it would continue to increase with the continuing flight to the suburbs. The growth would more than match the added representation given Chicago.

The Supreme Court majority hold that the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment calls for representation based on population, while providing little or no protection for residents of thinly populated areas of a State. We think it is an arbitrary and capricious interpretation of the amendment and an invasion of States rights.

It is one thing to order dilatory States to reapportion periodically in obedience to their constitutions; it is quite another to declare that the constitutions of States are unconstitutional when they in fact provide a formula similar to that of the Federal Government.

The question of whether the Federal Government is then violating its own constitution in choosing Senators on a geographic basis immediately arises.

Surely the "one man—one vote" theory espoused by the Court majority fares badly, too, when we consider our method of electing a President and Vice President of the United States. Under the electoral college procedure, anyone voting for the candidates failing to carry his State has completely lost his vote, as far as the nationwide outcome is concerned.

When a panel of three Federal judges dismissed a suit challenging Illinois' 1954 reapportionment amendment and its "little Federal" system. Chief Judge William J. Campbell asked, "Must the subject be more royal than the king?"

We second the motion, and suggest that the Supreme Court cease poking its collective nose further and further into the business of the various States.

Prayer of Rev. Peter Marks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Peter Marks of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Communion, Mahopac, N.Y., delivered an inspiring opening prayer at last week's annual dinner of the Putnam County Republican Committee. At this time I would like to insert his impelling words in the RECORD.

Almighty God, who dost govern the universe, we beseech Thy presence, Thy power, and Thy spirit among us—that Thou wilt make us mindful of political power—its threats, opportunities, and consequences. Help us to realize that the talents, insights, and balance which allow the power to rule and govern come not from us—but from Thee.

Raise up, we beseech Thee, in this party, leaders local and national who will be gifted with the prudence of Dwight Eisenhower, the zeal for social justice of Theodore Roosevelt, and the compassion of Abraham Lincoln.

Finally, we beseech Thee to help us arrive at compromise openly and with honesty.

And this we beg from whom we love and adore. Amen.

Senator Muskie Pays Tribute to Polish Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Maine, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, delivered an eloquent address at the Polish Constitution Day observance in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 3.

It is a pleasure to call Senator MUSKIE's inspiring message to the attention of my colleagues. Senator MUSKIE's speech has universal significance, for it reaffirms and acknowledges the cherished ideals of freedom and independence which burn in the hearts of Poland's captive people.

Mr. Speaker, Senator MUSKIE's speech follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE, DEMOCRAT, OF MAINE

I consider it a great personal privilege to be with you today, on the 173d anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791. May 3, 1791, was a day of significance for all freedom-loving people. For on that day, a group of brave and visionary Poles wrote an important page in the never-ending book of freedom.

Few events in Polish history match the drama of the May 3 constitution. The partition of 1792 had once again imposed the yoke of foreign domination upon the people of Poland. But in 1786, Frederick the Great of Prussia died, and Prussian policy became one of opposition to Russia and friendship with Poland. Russia was distracted by war with Turkey, and Austria by the French Revolution of 1789. Thus—for one brief moment in history—the Poles were free to fashion a future for themselves.

In 1791 the spirit of freedom was sweeping across the globe like a fresh spring breeze. The American Declaration of Independence and Constitution were new and noble documents. The French declaration of the rights of man made an important impression upon the members of the Polish Diet. And concern over renewed Russian interest in Polish affairs added a sense of urgency to the deliberations of that spring of 1791.

Finally, on May 3, amid wild excitement throughout Poland, the constitution was approved. Its noble purpose was stated in these words:

"All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation."

The Constitution changed the Government of Poland from an absolute monarchy to a hereditary monarchy, with regular meetings of the Parliament, and responsible Ministers. The Third of May Constitution reorganized the life of Poland, providing for political, economic, and social reforms. The power of king and nobility were reduced, and relations between peasants and landlords were placed under the rule of law. The schools were reformed, and the new organization of her society would have enabled Poland to develop her resources and gain a new sense of democratic national consciousness.

As we all know, the Constitution was never put to work, and the Polish people were again subjugated by force. But the spirit which gave birth to that great document cannot be subjugated by force. It has lived through centuries of conquest and oppression. It lives on today, in the hearts and minds of Poles everywhere. It is the spirit of freedom.

Every person of Polish ancestry who came to America in later years brought with him a part of that Constitution. They brought with them the burning desire to be free, and we are all richer in spirt today because of it.

Being here with you today, seeing many old friends and acquaintances, brings back memories of my father and of a trip I took to his birthplace a few years ago. In 1959 I made a 27-day tour of the Soviet Union. At the end of that trip, I took advantage of the opportunity to spend two all-too-brief days in Poland.

As you may know, my father was born in Poland. He left it 64 years ago at the age of 17 in search of freedom and opportunity. He found both, not only for himself, but also for his children—and for that we will be eternally grateful.

At the same time, he always spoke to us warmly of his homeland, the loveliness and the scenes of his childhood.

Remote as the possibility seemed, I wanted to find the village where he was born, in order that I might tread, in his name, the soil to which he never found it possible to return in his lifetime.

I found it—a tiny rural village called Jasiomowka, 20-odd miles north of Bialystok, not too far from the Russian border, in what was described to me as the saddest part of Poland.

To reach it, I drove 75 miles northeasterly from Warsaw. The main roads in Poland are excellent and we made good time—thoroughly enjoying the flat but pleasant and attractive countryside and the mild and sunny autumn day. As we approached the village, we passed, of all coincidences, a lake with a familiar name, Augusta. At this point, I became profoundly moved as I considered that in a matter of minutes my eyes would see fields, streams, and trees, and possibly even faces, that my father's eyes had last seen more than half a century before.

We had left the main road and were driving over a narrow, cobbled country road. As we topped a slight rise, there came into view in the distance a large white building, somewhat shabby, but clinging to the shreds of an ancient dignity, which I instinctively felt must be the manor house of a nobleman's estate which my grandfather had managed at the turn of the century. And so it proved to be, now converted to a state farm with a new barn, some battered older buildings, ruins of others, and a small duck pond which may have been a favorite spot for children in my father's day. A short distance beyond, the pitiful unpainted, weather-beaten homes of the villagers were clustered about a broad

square, dominated by the stately white church which my father attended.

In sharp contrast to the Soviet Union, the folks are devout in their belief in God and extremely conscientious in discharging their religious duties. It was heartwarming to see them swarming to the churches on Sunday morning, walking, on bicycles, or in spotless wagons, behind their horses. Their extremely difficult economic and political circumstances seem simply to strengthen their faith in God's purposes.

With little more than an hour at my disposal, my first objective was to find some trace of my father's family. We proceeded to the local presidium and almost immediately located a friendly girl who recalled an old lady bearing the family name. She escorted us to a drab little house on one of the side streets. We knocked on the door and entered. In a lark little cubbyhole of a kitchen, I met the widow of my father's brother, tiny and stooped under the weight of almost 80 years. With her was my father's niece, herself a widow with a young child, her husband killed in the war. Having grasped the almost incomprehensible fact of my identity, my cousin quickly showed me pictures of my father and my mother which he had sent her long ago, and letters he had written. They did not know of his death and accepted his silence over the past 3 years as just another of the burdens which filled their daily lives.

By this time, the local grapevine had spread the word and the street in front of the little house swarmed with villagers. They were obviously delighted to welcome me and wanted to know all about me and my family. A surveillance team had picked us up on the border of Bialystok Province and followed us. The villagers were highly amused when these two representatives of the state police rather shamefacedly refused my invitation to pose for pictures which I said I wanted to show the Deputy Foreign Minister when I met him that afternoon.

It is difficult to comprehend the economic circumstances of the people in that little village—the bareness of their lives. They have no meat; they stand in line for bread. Their diet appears to consist of potatoes and cabbage. The monthly wage is roughly the equivalent of $10 to $20. Their personal possessions are almost unbelievably meager. This is indeed the saddest part of Poland. But for my father's dream of freedom and opportunity this would be my life—the life of my children.

And what of the people who live this life? They have courage. They have their belief, and their faith in God. They value friendship, and love, and family ties, and derive such happiness as they know from these. Sadly, however, they have no hope that their lot will be improved. And the results is a deep apathy which strifles ambition and interest in the public issues which will shape their future.

Poland is a country in an almost hopeless political and economic dilemma. Its people historically have cherished independence and freedom and love of country above all else. Geographically, today, they find themselves in such proximity to the Russian colossus that like the turtle they are forced to withdraw into the shell of their obvious security alliances. Were they free to do otherwise, their hearts and their traditions would take them elsewhere.

Economically, following the war, the Russians in their own interests, developed an industrial complex in Poland, notably steel and textiles, which make the country almost irrevocably committed to the Soviet Union for the necessary raw materials. It must rely upon coal and agriculture for the exports to balance its international payments, and its agricultural lands are fragmentized into small holdings which are committed to ancient unmechanized methods and practices which fall far short of the production necessary to meet domestic needs and export requirements. These current difficulties, which I have probably oversimplified for the sake of brevity, plus centuries of living in the crossroads of war in Eastern Europe, have made my father's village what it is today.

The past and the present time created a far different, more comfortable, and better world for me than they have for my cousins.

Must this be?

What does the future hold?

We speak constantly of a just peace. We pray for it. But what would a just peace mean to my cousins? And there are many, many more millions in the world, living in circumstances, no better, and indeed, far worse than they.

Before I left the village, I visited the cemetery in search of my grandparents' graves. There was no trace. As is so often the case in Europe, they are probably at rest two or three layers deep. People have lived and died for many, many centuries in this part of the world—some with their grinding misery and their fleeting happiness—some with flaming hopes, and others with forlorn hopelessness—some, with lives of abundance and more with lives of emptiness.

Europe is an ancient civilization. We are an outgrowth of it, and, out of this deep past, its lessons and experience, as well as its aspirations, we seek the promise of a brighter future for all mankind. Can we find it? May God will it so.

As we drove away from the village, I caught a last chance glimpse of the white church, gleaming as it shed its shabbiness in the sunlight in the distance. Suddenly and hauntingly, I felt myself to be a second generation bearer of the dream of freedom and opportunity which prompted my father to leave his home behind him.

When I returned to America, I knew, as I never really knew before, why my father left his home. I knew, as I never really knew before, the meaning of freedom of choice and freedom of expression. I knew, as I never really knew before, the meaning of freedom for the individual.

On this memorable day, each of us has much to be thankful for.

Congratulations to Daniel Elmore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star carried an editorial not long ago concerning Daniel Elmore, a resident of the 23d District of California whose spirit and enterprise is representative of American character as we all like to think of ourselves. The editorial from the Star of June 21, 1964, follows:

CONGRATULATIONS

To the congratulations of his family, his school and his community, we'd like to add ours to Daniel Elmore of Watts, Calif., who has just, at age 72, graduated from high school.

The reason for Mr. Elmore's lengthy matriculation is that he deferred his own education while he worked as a handyman to put all of his 10 children through college. His children now are teachers, nurses, a biologist, and musician. Their services to mankind, to art, and science are an impressive extension of Daniel Elmore's own dedication. They also represent, at the one-family level, a miniature prospect of the national return to be expected from higher education for Negroes.

Mr. Elmore has worked all his life in an old American tradition of self-improvement and advancement through education. We do not for a moment suggest that that tradition is everywhere and always equal to the staggering necessities of education today or to those of full Negro emancipation today.

But however social needs have changed, it remains uplifting and inspiring to hear of such a man. With gratitude and good wishes, we salute him.

Dan West, Middlebury, Ind., Farmer, Chosen Moderator-Elect of the Church of the Brethren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest citizens of my congressional district and of my State is Dan West, of Middlebury, Ind.

Mr. West has just been chosen for the position of moderator-elect for 1966 of the Church of the Brethren by the 178th World Conference of the Church of the Brethren.

Mr. West is the first layman ever to head his denomination.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the following article from the June 26, 1964, issue of the South Bend Tribune which describes the outstanding career of this fine churchman and citizen:

MIDDLEBURY FARMER CHOSEN CHURCH HEAD

(By Beverly Welsh)

In less than a week, northern Indiana has come to the fore again with another precedent set by a church denomination.

The latest is the announcement by the 178th World Conference of the Church of the Brethren that Dan West, a Middlebury farmer, hs been named the first layman ever to head the denomination.

West, a retired member of the denomination's general staff, was named Thursday at Lincoln, Nebr., as moderator-elect for 1966, succeeding Rev. A. Stauffer Gary, D.D., of Elgin, Ill.

Last week, Rev. Donald Bastian, 38, of Greenville, Ill., was elected the second youngest bishop of the Free Methodist Church at the general conference at Winona Lake. He refused the post "because he was too young to leave the pastorate." He serves a congregation of 600 in Greenville.

Commenting this morning in a telephone interview on the appointment, West said that he "was grateful" for the honor; but that the "responsibility weighs down more than the honor."

He also said that it would be his goal to fulfill "the best in faith and heritage."

Identified as a farmer, he was quick to qualify the identification. He explained that he had always lived on a farm but that he, himself, had really never done much of the work, except to help out in a pinch.

At 70, he has behind him more than 30 years of service to the church. From 1930 to 1959, he was a member of the general

staff, which now is known as the brotherhood board. He still serves as a member of that board.

IN CHURCH 60 YEARS

Although his address is Route 2, Goshen, he identifies himsef with his "home church" which is in Middlebury.

Throughout his years as a member of staff, he has been engaged in youth work, relief work and leadership training, which is a program within the Brethren Service Commission. During the Spanish Civil War, he was in Spain where he worked closely with both the Loyalists and Franco.

He holds a 60-year membership with the church.

Prior to entering the service of the church, he was a high school teacher, from 1918 to 1930, in Hammond and in schools in Ohio, his birthplace. He was graduated from Manchester College in North Manchester, as was his wife, who teaches first grade in Middlebury, and four of his five childen.

He has been a resident of Elkhart County for 26 years, and has lived near Middlebury for about 14 years. It was West who initiated the community ambassador program in Elkhart County, a program which today is one of recognized success. He also has worked closely with the training home towns program.

His first year as moderator-elect of the denomination, he explained, would be one of training. Later, he will be expected to travel, something to which he is accustomed and a prospect which looms as inviting, despite his years.

His success, he said, is shadowed by the success of his children. Joel teaches psychology in Elizabethtown College near Harrisburg, Pa. Janet is married to Gladden Schrock who is with the Drama Department of Yale University. Philip and Lawrence, the twins, are graduate students at Harvard University and Temple University, respectively. Steven, the youngest, is returning from the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, where he took his third year of college.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, Captive Nations Week, July 12–18, 1964, reminds an all-too-forgetful world that there has been no lessening o fthe chains put around these enslaved countries.

We have been brainwashed to believe that communism headed by Mr. Khrushchev is changing its spots. Surely it must never be forgotten that Stalin chose Khrushchev because of his innate cruelty to institute and carry out the food shortages in the Ukraine and caused the death of at least 8 million people.

Moscow has tried for years to make the free world believe it no longer follows the terrorist measures of Stalin. Certainly the Hungarians and Poles in 1956 along with all the captive peoples have experienced Communist brutality.

Supported by the Red army in 1945 the national Communist parties have established effective control over the economic, political and social life of 100 million people. A systematic campaign has been under way these past years to nationalize industry and trade, collectivize agriculture and enforce state economic planning. Characteristically the Communists have been tireless in their efforts to destroy all forms of individual liberty as well as religious worship and education. In turn an insidious program was introduced to indoctrinate the youth and destroy family loyalties by requiring blind obedience to the state.

As Americans it is part of our tradition and heritage to stand clearly for freedom for all nations on all continents. Today we salute the inalienable right of these captive people to decide their own destiny in freedom, under God.

The Fall of the House of Usher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since we are adjourning for 2 weeks for the Republican National Convention, the interest of Members and certainly the voters of the country is turning to Republican Party politics.

The return of Ambassador Lodge from Vietnam evidently to cooperate with the Democrats in attacking the Republican Party, as he cooperated with the administration's mishandling of the problem in southeast Asia, is receiving special attention.

This morning's Chicago Tribune provides accurate editorial comment on Mr. Lodge and his return and correctly describes it as a political failure:

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF USHER

The morbid history of Poe's character, Roderick Usher, hardly outdoes the tribulations of Henry Cabot Lodge, whose grandfather was quite a man. Lodge has rushed home from South Vietnam, where he was the Democrats' Ambassador, to rescue the Republican Party from Senator GOLDWATER. Lyndon Johnson promptly hooked him in a sucker play by providing him with the White House Cabinet room as a forum for a political press conference.

The President, relishing the prospect of the opposition getting involved in a Donnybrook with himself as host, overcame his inclination toward petty economy and switched on the lights. Mr. Lodge then suggested that Governor Scranton was prudent, while Senator GOLDWATER might be impulsive. Thus the great Lodge crusade of 1964 got off to a cumbersome start.

Readers of Poe will recall that Roderick Usher and his sister dropped dead in tandem, and that a horrified house guest, fleeing the scene, looked back to see the house of Usher cleft asunder by a lightning bolt and sink into the tarn. Much the same fate befell Lodge and Scranton when the roof fell at the O'Hara Inn.

About all that was left to Lodge was to attempt to seek solace from Dwight Eisenhower, who was checking into Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, not feeling too well himself. Deductive analysis suggests that Lodge got no comfort from Ike, for he was unable to announce that the former President was unfurling the Scranton banner.

It is a little saddening to see the bush league Machiavelli of Boston, Mass., crushed like a cod, flattened like a flounder, and baked like a bean. All that is left now are memories of the great days—say, of 1952, when Lodge was driving the dirk into Senator Taft's back and hollering that the great Ohioan was a thief.

Somebody else always profits from Lodge's dirty work. On that occasion it was Mr. Eisenhower, who copped the Presidential nomination from Taft. This year it was to be Scranton, but the plot has failed to jell and no payoff is in prospect—not even the ambassadorship to the United Nations, which Ike threw Cabot's way for services rendered.

There, as Bill Buckley recounts, Lodge put on a performance redolent of ham. Television depicted him pleading for the repatriation of American pilots periodically shot down by the Russians and illegally detained. Pointing to three weeping women in the galleries, Lodge appealed to the stony faced Soviet delegation, "I ask you, gentleman, look at those bereaved women and open up your hearts."

As Buckley remarks, it is probably by now a standing joke at Lubianka prison: "Warden, open up your heart. * * *"

As Mr. Johnson's deputy in Vietnam, Lodge crossed up the Trilby of Scranton, Pa., by announcing on his return that the Johnson adminstration's conduct of the war against the Communist Vietcong could not be a campaign issue. Mr. Scranton was obliged to differ. It is so an issue, he said. Senator GOLDWATER thinks so, too.

Lodge discreetly avoided extended discussion of the overthrow of the Vietnamese government of President Diem, who was then murdered in company of his brother. (Purely a Vietnamese internal affair.)

Well, we have been noticing that there have been complaints from the Scranton-Lodge camp that Senator GOLDWATER doesn't think it is worth his while to engage the duumvirate in debate. If it is debate that Lodge wants, why doesn't he persuade the State Department to revoke its decision to deny Mme. Nhu a passport? She has a rather different account of the murder of her husband and her brother-in-law, and she would be happy to debate it with Cabot.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy of our century lies in the suppression of those people who fought so bravely against one form of totalitarianism only to find themselves victims of another. More than 800 million people have found themselves in this condition since the conclusion of World War II. It is the story of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Lithuania, and other nations of Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

For the sixth time the President has issued a proclamation observing a Captive Nations Week. This year, the solemn observance of our concern and sympathy for the more than 100 million people of the 9 captive nations will be commemorated July 12–18.

The fate of our fellow human beings in the captive nations has been a con-

stant concern of the people and the Government of this country. Fortunately, enlightened policies pursued by President Kennedy and President Johnson, including efforts to foster national independence and some degree of economic self-sufficiency through broadened trade with the free world, have encouraged a greater desire and expression for freedom in several of the captive nations. But we in America must not forget their continued enthrallment by Russian imperialism and their unquenchable desire for freedom.

Captive Nations Week Manifesto, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the Presidential proclamation of Captive Nations Week and in relation to the House Resolution 347, which I introduced in this Congress, to establish a Special Congressional Committee on the Captive Nations, I am pleased to include, at this point, the manifesto adopted and signed on June 20, 1964, by the chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations and the chairman of the several associated organizations listed below. The manifesto follows:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK MANIFESTO 1964

The undersigned organizations dedicated to the restoration of freedom in the capitve nations, call attention to Public Law 86–90, unanimously adopted in 1959 by the Congress of the United States by which the third week of July of each year was designated as Captive Nations Week.

Despite some relaxation of police state rule and some indications of increased independence, there has been no fundamental change within the Soviet empire. The changes are welcome as far as they go, but they can be dangerous if their significance is exaggerated or misinterpreted, as is often the case today. The basic fact remains that all the captive peoples of Europe and Asia, including the Russian and Chinese peoples themselves, still suffer under the tyranny which has enslaved them for so many long years. Since the Russian Revolution the Soviet Union not only has maintained the colonial conquests of czarist Russia but, in the wake of World War II, has extended them into the heartland of Europe, so that not only have the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. been deprived of their promised rights of national self-determination, but the once-free peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hunagry, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania have become no more than satellites of the Kremlin.

The captive peoples of central and eastern Europe have never ceased to resist actively when the opportunity presented itself, passively when necessity dictated. Even after both the United Nations and the Western Powers failed to come to the aid of the Hungarian Revolution, they did not cease to hope. The May Day demonstrations in Prague, the Easter Sunday riot in Sofia and the protest of the Polish writers against Gomulka's increasing repression of the intellectuals show that neither the tyranny of communism nor the longing for freedom has changed.

But this longing—which alone feeds the embers of resistance—depends on two major factors: the resolve with which the free world responds to Soviet threats, whether military or political, whether in Europe, Asia, or Latin America; and the clarity and steadfastness with which the Western Powers—the United States above all—commit themselves to, and pursue the goal of, freedom for the captive nations.

Despite formal assurances of continued support to the aspirations of the captive peoples for freedom, there are strong indications that the policy of the major Western Powers is, in fact, evolving toward accommodation with the Communist governments. This is illustrated by the large credits extended by a number of Western countries to Communist regimes and the recent agreement with Rumania for the purchase on credit of chemical plants and other industrial installations.

It is claimed by the supporters of a new approach that expanded relations with the Communist regimes will induce them to follow a course of greater independence toward Moscow and to grant some freedoms to their subjects. But this overlooks the basic fact that all the real improvements in the lot of the captive peoples have invariably been the result of pressures on the Communists. If the people of Hungary and Poland are still better off than their neighbors in Eastern Europe, it is because the freedom fighters of Hungary challenged the Soviet might with their bare hands—and because the Soviet Union, fearful that the revolution might spread to Poland, agreed in panic to the Gomulka policy of relaxation. Now that Gomulka is firmly in the saddle, he feels free to resume a repressive policy.

The gradual improvement in the lot of the Hungarians since the black repressions of 1956 and 1957 is also due to the past public pressure exerted by the United Nations to secure compliance with its resolutions, and to the United States formerly steadfast refusal to recognize the legitimacy of a government forced on the Hungarian people by Soviet tanks. It is also partly a function of economic necessity; for without concessions the Communists could not secure the cooperations of the workers and technicians.

We are fearful that the policy of accommodation will have disastrous results not only for the captive peoples themselves, but the whole free world. The resistance of the captive peoples, which has long been a powerful deterrent to Soviet aggression, might be weakened to the point when it would cease to be a factor in the calculations of the Kremlin. This would leave the Kremlin free to undertake further adventures against a West already noticeably weakened by dissensions in NATO.

We call upon the U.S. Government and other Western governments not to embark on a course of accommodation with the Communist dictatorships. Only by leading the fight for freedom of oppressed peoples everywhere can the West assume the spiritual and diplomatic offensive in the worldwide struggle of liberty and justice. Only thus can the West effectively counter the Soviet strategy of expansion by economic, political and military pressure, and the threat of nuclear war.

In commemoration Captive Nations Week:

We accuse the Soviet Union of violating its solemn promises of freedom and independence to the nine nations made captive after World War II—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania;

We further accuse the Government of the U.S.S.R. of forcibly depriving the captive non-Russian peoples within its own borders of the promised right of self-determination and of destroying the formerly independent states of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and others;

We urge that the Hungarian question be retained on the United Nations agenda until the U.N. resolutions on Hungary have been complied with.

We urge the governments of the United States and its allies (1) to declare, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the universal declaration of human rights, and the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries adopted by the United Nations on October 14, 1960, their support of the right of self-determination of all peoples held in captivity by the Communist imperial system and, consequently, make this issue the permanent concern of the United Nations; (2) to recognize that any relaxation of tensions can only follow, not precede, the realization of self-determination through free elections in these captive nations; that there can be no end to the cold war as long as an Iron Curtain runs through Europe and half of Europe remains enslaved; (3) to refuse to sign any nonaggression pact based on the present status quo, because this would legitimize and perpetuate the present injustices, and would be interpreted by the captive peoples as their final abandonment by the West; and (4) to be always mindful of the proven fact that the Soviet Union and the satellite regimes desperately need as much of the Western economic strength as they can draw from trading with the West, and, accordingly, to use the tremendous bargaining power their economic strength confers upon the Western Powers to exact meaningful political concessions for the captive peoples and for the entire free world.

We appeal to the people of the United States of America, during Captive Nations Week, July 12–19, 1964, to manifest their awareness of the importance of their silent allies in the Soviet-subjugated lands to the worldwide conflict between the forces of liberty and Communist tyranny, and to pledge themselves to help them in their struggle for freedom and independence.

(The above manifesto was signed by Christopher Emmet, chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations; Alexander Kutt, chairman, Assembly of Captive European Nations; Msgr. John Balkunas, president, Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent; Maria Detar, chairman, Council of European Women in Exile; Geraldine Fitch, president, Women for Freedom, Inc.; Thomas J. Cuite, member, Captive Nations Week Committee; Steven J. Jarema, chairman, American Conference for the Liberation of the Non-Russian Nations in the U.S.S.R.)

Captive Nations Week, July 12–18, 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, for those of us in the United States who have been concerned with Soviet subjugation of the freedom-loving people of Eastern Europe, continuing faith in these peoples' desire to be free has not diminished.

One of this Government's primary failings in its obligations to the captive peoples of the satellite nations has been its failure to realize that the "governments" with which we deal do not represent the people they claim their citizens.

While these leaders are "puppets" their people remain proud. They refuse to yield an inch of their own conviction and principle to accommodate the impositions made upon them by a Moscow-controlled regime, and pray that the United States, whose people understand the meaning of freedom as their own governments do not, will never fail in the obligations placed upon us by our Creator and theirs—to insure freedom of choice for all peoples everywhere, under an ethical and moral system which recognizes, above all else, the rights of the individual.

– So as we commemorate this Captive Nations Week, let us not be content with repeated remonstrations about how "our hearts bleed" for these captive peoples. Let us instead, as the leaders of the free world and the hope of those not free, offer concrete plans to discourage this Communist tyranny over the hearts and minds of some of the world's greatest patriots—the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania.

National Open

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago the Nation's Capital and the Congressional County Club were host to one of the world's prime sporting events, the 64th Open Championship of the U.S. Golf Association.

Golf fans who witnessed the National Open this year, either on the scene at the Congressional Country Club or via television, were privileged to see the greatest chapter in the long history of this event. In every respect, from the hospitality given visitors by the community and the club to the thrilling climax of the tournament itself, this 64th National Open was the finest of them all.

For this success we can thank Frank J. Murphy, Jr., general chairman of the tournament. It was Mr. Murphy's initiative, planning, and dedication that brought the 64th Open to Washington and the Congressional Country Club, and assured its flawless operation during tournament week. Appreciation must also be expressed to A. E. (Lon) Martin, club manager, and to all the officials and employees of the Congressional who contributed so much to making the Open a success.

And, of course, no one will ever be able to mention the 64th National Open without remembering the gallant and inspiring championship effort of the tournament winner, Ken Venturi, of the Paradise Country Club, Crystal River, Fla., which is in my congressional district. By his performance and courage in winning this year's Open, Ken Venturi reflected credit not only upon the club he represented, but the entire golfing world. We are proud of Ken Venturi, as all those who are interested in golf and the Nation's Capital might well be proud of the success of the 64th Open Championship of the USGA.

Conte's Stand for Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the political party system of the United States is often compared with the systems of nations with parliamentary forms of government. In such systems, party loyalty is strictly enforced on every issue and governments can fall on the loss of a few votes. Here in the United States, our political system has a greater degree of flexibility, but ties of party loyalty remain strong. After all we have operated with our existing two major parties for more than a century.

As a result, it is always difficult for a Member of Congress to go against the wishes of the leadership of his party. But there are occasions when a deep belief in the rightness of a policy or a piece of legislation causes one to take unpopular positions. Such an occasion arose for my colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, SILVIO O. CONTE, over the Foreign Aid Appropriations Act. Mr. CONTE felt that his long support for the foreign aid program and his consistent efforts to improve it required him to support the full amount authorized by the Foreign Affairs Committee despite considerable opposition within the Republican Party.

It was a difficult decision to make and one which I know he did not like to make. He acted only after the most careful thought and consideration.

His courage was noted in many parts of the country. Let me quote in part from editorials in the New York Times and the Boston Herald.

The New York Times wrote:

The administration's foreign aid budget has survived a stormy passage through the House Appropriations Committee with comparatively minor damage. In previous years, the committee voted severe reductions, but this time it cut only $200 million out the $3.5 billion "barebones" request made by the President. —It rejected a series of attempts, spearheaded by Representative OTTO E. PASSMAN and the Republican minority to make further cuts. * * *

Although former President Eisenhower's announcement of his support for the program had little visible effect, with only SILVIO O. CONTE of Massachusetts deserting the ranks of committee Republicans to vote against reductions, many more seem certain to support the administration when the bill comes before the entire House.

And the Boston Herald said:

The big thing about the House Appropriations Committee's vote on foreign aid Thursday was that it completely ignored the recommedations of te committee's longtime foreign aid chairman, Representative OTTO E. PASSMAN.

For the first time in PASSMAN's 9-year tenure as foreign aid boss, the committee made only token cuts in the President's aid requests, thereby vindicating President Johnson's decision to present an unpadded aid bill and rely on the House to give him the full amount. Representative PASSMAN made six attempts to undercut the President's $3.5 billion figure and was overruled every time. * * *

Almost equally interesting, however, was the refusal of Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, of Massachusetts, to go along with his Republican colleagues on this vote. * * *

We congratulate the Pittsfield Congressman for having the courage to stand up for his own beliefs.

I would also like to insert two editorials from newspapers in the First Massachusetts District in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks:

[From the Berkshire (Mass.) Eagle, June 27, 1964]

CONTE'S STAND FOR PRINCIPLE

It is a sad commentary on the Republican leadership in the House that Congressman SILVIO CONTE is being threatened with political reprisals for refusing to follow the party line on the foreign aid bill.

His offense in the eyes of fellow Republicans consisted of casting a crucial vote in the Appropriations Subcommittee against a half-billion-dollar foreign aid cut Tuesday, and then following it up 2 days later by being the only one of 20 GOP members to go down the line against further cuts when the bill was acted upon by the full committee.

Yet the fact is that CONTE would have been inconsistent—as well as quite wrong, in our judgment—if he had followed any other course. He has fought valiantly for an adequate foreign aid program ever since he went to Washington. He supported it wholeheartedly when it was Republican policy during the Eisenhower administration. He would be contradicting his own record and his own principles if he were to oppose it now simply because it bears the label of a Democratic administration.

There is, moreover, even less reason to oppose the foreign aid bill this year than in the past; for this year's bill has been "preshrunk" by the administration in an effort to break away from the unsound policy of asking for the moon with the intention of settling for a good deal less. The fat was removed from the bill before it went to Capitol Hill, on the assumption that Congress would welcome this straightforward approach and act accordingly.

Thanks in part to CONTE's willingness to put principle ahead of partisanship, it now appears likely that this calculated risk will succeed. Democratic Congressman OTTO E. PASSMAN of Louisiana, who has made a career out of torpedoing foreign aid in his role as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee, has been worsted for the first time in his 9-year tenure. And the bill now stands an excellent chance of being passed without further cuts when it comes to the floor of the House next week.

If CONTE has hurt himself with some of the movers and shakers in his own party, he can find more than sufficient consolation in the fact that his stand will have quite the opposite effect in his own district. Since his first bid for public office a decade and a half ago, his biggest political asset has been a willingness to vote his convictions, even when it means alienating important colleagues. It is an asset that is both rare and valuable.

[From the North Adams (Mass.) Transcript, June 26, 1964]

TRADITION UPHELD

The First Massachusetts District has a long record of being represented in Congress by extremely able men.

When the late Allen T. Treadway closed out his long career, he ranked as one of the most distinguished and influential Members of the House. His successor, the late Representative John W. Heselton, upheld the tradition.

And now it is evident that Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, of Pittsfield, is preserving and perhaps even will enhance that record.

It is no easy matter for a Member of Congress to take a stand opposite to that of his party colleagues, as Representative CONTE did when he, the lone Republican member of the Appropriations Committee, sided with President Johnson and voted against a cut in the foreign aid bill.

Published reports of the wrath visited upon him by his party leadership probably are only pale copies of the actuality. He undoubtedly was subjected to a severe tongue lashing and certainly was warned that disciplinary measures might be taken against him.

But he stood up to it. He did not permit partisan considerations to override his convictions on an important issue.

He need have no fear that his political days are numbered because of this display of integrity. On the contrary, he inevitably will grow in stature, and his opinions will be heard with respect.

The First District applauds Representative CONTE. He is proving himself a worthy heir to his predecessors.

Medal of the City of New York Presented to Dr. Tuttle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call this body's attention to one of New York City's most distinguished citizens, Mr. Charles H. Tuttle, member of the board of higher education, who recently was honored for his 50 years of public service. Late last month Dr. Tuttle was presented with a bronze medal by Mayor Wagner for a half-century of invaluable service to the people of New York.

Of Dr. Tuttle's many contributions, he must be particularly remembered for his dedication to the education of young people and to the concept of free education for every child—from kindergarten through college. During his 50 years of service, Dr. Tuttle has been instrumental in the impressive and dramatic growth of the City University of New York. When school doors open this fall, the system will include four senior colleges and six community colleges with a total enrollment of more than 250,000 students. Dr. Tuttle has made an impact on New York education which will be lasting. As Dr. Gustave Rosenberg, chairman of the Board of Higher Education, described him:

He has never failed us. He has truly been a servant of the people.

Mr. Speaker, an article from the Villager, a distinguished weekly newspaper in Greenwich Village, New York, N.Y., reporting the ceremony at which Dr. Tuttle was honored, follows:

THE MAYOR CITES AN ILLUSTRIOUS CITIZEN

(By Barbara Galgano)

In recognition of his more than 50 years of service to the citizens of New York, Dr. Charles H. Tuttle, University Place, member of the Board of Higher Education, was presented with the bronze medal of the city by Mayor Robert F. Wagner in ceremonies Wednesday, May 20, at City Hall.

In making the presentation the Mayor said, "Dr. Tuttle has actively participated in the encouragement of every aspect of our society through his devotion to the education of our young people. He has truly helped to maintain the precarious balance of our modern work—in favor of education, and against ignorance, which is one of the greatest enemies of mankind."

Dr. Tuttle was appointed to the Board of Trustees of City College in 1913 by Mayor Gaynor. At that time there was only one other municipal college—Hunter—which had its own board of trustees. The population of both schools was 3,000. In 1926 the two boards were combined and the present 22-member Board of Higher Education, the governing board of the municipal colleges, was constituted.

WHOLEHEARTEDLY COMMITTED

The Mayor also declared that "the city of New York is deeply and wholeheartedly committed to the education of its young people—and specifically to the ideal of a free education of every child, from kindergarten through college."

He cited the growth of the City University of New York, which this autumn will comprise four senior colleges and six community colleges with an enrollment of over 250,000 students.

SALK SCHOLARSHIPS

Pointing to the recipients of the Salk scholarships for medical study, which awards were also made on this occasion, as "more examples of the excellence fostered at our City University," the Mayor said that it could not be produced "without the dedication and guidance of individuals who have devoted themselves to this great purpose."

Continuing, he said that today we "pay tribute to a man young in heart and spirit who has labored long, even before the dawn of my memory, in this vineyard."

Attending the ceremonies were Mrs. Tuttle, members of the board of higher education, its chairman, Dr. Gustave Rosenberg, and officials of the City University.

Dr. Rosenberg said of Dr. Tuttle: "This is a man who has served selflessly, tirelessly, and with the deepest of dedication in the case of free public higher education. We on the board think of him as our dean and the magnetic north of our compass. As chairman, I have always given him the toughest of assignments. He has never failed us. He has truly been a servant of the people."

In accepting from the mayor his medal, inscribed to "an illustrious citizen," Dr. Tuttle said, "If there is any luster to it it comes to me because of you. You've done more than any other man to fashion this 10-star crown on the brow of this great city."

He cited the growth of the City University during the mayor's 11 years in office, pointing out that six community colleges have come into existence, which next year will be free from tuition, and the City University, which offers postgraduate courses, was also created.

"One thing you've done, and I've got to mention it," he continued, "is that you've given us the best chairman we've ever had. Nightly I pray he be endowed with immortality."

Dr. Tuttle concluded by saying, "The best hope I have for higher education is that you remain mayor for a long time to come."

With the medal the mayor read the following citation:

"Charles H. Tuttle, illustrious citizen of New York, through 50 years of continuous, dedicated membership on the board of higher education:

"You have served the youth of the city of New York through your dedication to the continuing development and expansion of excellence in education, now represented in the 10 colleges of the City University of New York.

"Your stanch devotion to free tuition in the institutions of higher education in the city is based upon your knowledge of the results of such education, and the civic loss which would be suffered if free tuition was no more.

"You have been a pioneer in intergroup relations—when you served as legal counsel to the New York State Temporary Commission Against Discrimination—and when you served as chairman of the Greater New York Committee on Released Time of Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics.

"Your conscientious, wholehearted participation in civic affairs establishes a model for a democratic society.

"It is with pleasure and pride that I present this bronze medal of the city of New York to you, Dr. Charles H. Tuttle, illustrious citizen of our city, in recognition of your services to our fellow citizens for more than half a century."

U.S. Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written in the past few weeks about the U.S. space program. Peter Hackes, of NBC News, recently presented a very informative speech on this subject to the Retail Trade Bureau of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce. For those unfamiliar with the numerous aspects of the program, this speech is a concise and accurate summary. For those opponents of the space effort, it is a persuasive defense of Federal participation. I commend this speech to the House for its information and consideration:

WHAT'S IN IT FOR YOU

If there is one thing we Americans do—and do well—it's criticize. And why not? This is a free country and in this democratic society, even the smoothest-working, best-intentioned scheme stands right out in the open, subject to the most learned and practical criticism—and to the most foolhardy and knuckle-headed questioning as well. Unlike Russia, where government plans are formulated in the dark and carried out in secret, our form of planned living not only permits violent criticism, it in fact requires it.

Thus it is, of late, that we've had a deluge of opinion—some of it reasoned and in-

formed, some of it of the wildest sort * * * an avalanche of views on what the Government is doing with your money and mine—particularly in the so-called space race. It's been called one vast "moondoggle." It's been called a great waste of time, money, and talent. Others, however, have called it "the greatest single scientific enterprise since the invention of the wheel." The truth obviously, lies somewhere in between these extremes. And it might be well this evening to try to put some of these opposing views in perspective—particularly inasmuch as the U.S. space program is now a reality. No matter what the critics say, the space program will be with us forever.

Of course it's debatable from month to month what project should get the greatest emphasis. It is also a matter of conjecture—even among the experts—where we should go in space after the first party lands on the moon. What once was the prime business of the science-fiction writers now occupies the brains of full-time science thinkers in the ivory towers at NASA and in private industry. Literally thousands of these far-out schemers are busy every day. While you and I worry about driving through the city during rush hour, these birds are trying to solve the puzzle of how to land on Mars—even without a traffic jam.

What lies ahead for us in space over the next 50 years? It hardly stretches the imagination these days to conceive of a large flourishing colony on the moon—with tourist rocket ships leaving for vacations there every week or so. Space stations as big as skyscrapers floating around in orbit. Space taxis scooting back and forth from vehicle to vehicle or from the Moon to the Earth—with a timetable. Closer to home, there are plans for passenger travel from point to point on earth, by rocket. Imagine a trip to Paris from Cape Kennedy. Not space suit—you'd wear your regular everyday clothing. You'd ride in a large luxurious cabin—cushioned so well you'd hardly feel the acceleration and said cabin would come to earth softly underneath a series of parachutes. Total time: 38 minutes * * * hardly time for one of those luxurious meals in flight. Nor is it too farfetched to envision a horrible space conflict—a nuclear war fought between space vehicles which could also send down to earth from orbit thousands of tons of atomic destruction. Or possibly the new Laser light beams used as death rays focused on earth from outer space.

Just a few years back these concepts were almost as unbelievable to us untrained, unschooled, nonscientists, as were the first scientific gyrations of Dr. Robert Goddard, now considered the father of the space age—when he began tinkering around with ideas and equipment back in the days of World War I and the 1920's. And when his first primitive rockets began to shatter the quiet around Worcester, Mass., he was asked to leave, lest this madness blow up the whole countryside. He did leave. Went out to Roswell, N. Mex., where the desert coyotes didn't mind a little noise, and where Goddard developed the first operating rocket engines in history. The pity of Dr. Goddard's experience is not that he wasn't believed or understood by the general public * * * but most of the learned scientists, military and Government leaders paid no attention to his work. Those most interested, it appears, were the Germans. The result—the dreaded V-bombs of World War II. After the war, they told American officials they learned most of what they needed in basic rocketry research from the writings of Goddard. In effect, by paying so little attention to this giant of science, we lost about 20 years * * * which helped give the Russians their huge lead in space activities. But having learned this lesson the hard way, we are now dedicated to catching up. And in some areas—many areas—we are now far ahead of the Russians. The U.S. program of space exploration shows no sign of slackening its pace. Between now and the end of 1964, for example, we'll be launching—among others—the following space ventures:

Two more Saturn I rockets like the one we hope to fire into orbit Thursday—one in August, the other in November. Both will carry into orbit the so-called 8½-ton boilerplate dummy models of the Apollo capsule designed to take three men to the moon by 1970. This year we'll have two more Gemini test flights. Gemini will one day take two men into orbit—the forerunner of the Apollo program. We orbited a Gemini capsule, with no one aboard, in February. Next comes an unmanned suborbital, up-down trajectory flight. Then in December, if all goes well, Astronauts "Gus" Grissom and John Young will be sent into a 3-orbit flight aboard Gemini, the first American flight with more than one pilot aboard.

In addition, another so-called synchronous communication satellite, Syncom, will be fired out to a distance of 22,300 miles. It will orbit at the same speed as the earth and thus appear to be stationary at all times. The 1,000-pound OGO—Orbiting Geophysical Observatory—to report back on the earth's radiation belts and magnetic fields.

There will be two unmanned flights to Mars this year if all goes well, Mariners 3 and 4, in November and December. These will be fly-bys like the Mariner 2 that whizzed past Venus last year. That flight, by the way, is being called by many experts the most intricate, and in some ways, the most significant space achievement in history. Besides these, we'll orbit two Nimbus advanced weather satellites. And two OSO's—Orbiting Solar Observatories—to send back information on the sun during this year of special scientific observation of the sun called the IQSY—the International Quiet Sun Year—a time when the sun's firey explosions are at a minimum. In addition to the Ranger 6 moonshot—which got there but failed to send back moon pictures—we hope to get off one more Ranger shot to the moon surface this year, possibly in July. Over the next few years there will be scores of American satellites doing everything from investigating other planets to charting the depths of space so clearly we'll have a chart for space travelers about as useful as the Esso road map is to the July 4th holiday motorist.

To give you an idea of how much of a going concern space has become, there have been 272 satellites and interplanetary probes launched successfully into space since the eventful fall of 1957. Of these more than 70 percent have had stamped on them "Made in U.S.A." Only 67 have been Russian. The United States fired off 60 payloads into space last year as compared to 17 for Russia. This, of course, does not include the whole series of secret launchings by the Air Force—launchings of Discoverer, Samos, and Midas satellites—which now total two-thirds of all U.S. launches.

Admittedly a great deal of what we must spend to do the things we want to in space cannot be seen. Many millions go to universities and to Government installations for the research necessary to develop concepts and workable models. Then comes the expensive work of testing—wind tunnels, space chambers, vibration, heat, cold * * * and the equally expensive necessity of developing a prototype for every single piece of equipment—whether it's a wafer-thin bit of mylar plastic recording tape or a huge booster skeleton weighing many tons. After this comes the fantastic series of flight tests—the first few of which may produce nothing except to build a structure of reliability. The more failures the experts find along the way, the fewer failures we'll have in outer space. Once a vehicle is launched into orbit, for instance, it must function perfectly. There are no mechanics to make repairs out in space.

When we speak of huge spending for space activity, we're not just kidding. The organization in charge of our civilian space program—NASA—was set up formally in 1959 with an outlay of less than a half million dollars. Today NASA has grown to the point where the budget for the 12 months beginning in July will run $5.2 billion. And we can add to that a request from the Pentagon for about $1½ billion for military space projects—a good deal of it to be spent on trying to develop an antimissile missile that works. Critics have been eager to jump on the huge total outlay for space, charging that the $20 billion-plus it will cost to put a couple of Americans on the moon could be spent much more wisely for schools, to conquer diseases such as cancer, to help underdeveloped countries, and for many other worthwhile projects. While it is no doubt true that these sums could help in such areas, let me point out that these needs existed long before the space age began and there wasn't any stampede to put up huge sums of money to conquer them. Nor is there any guarantee—or even a hint for that matter—that this money would be used for these other programs instead of for space. Look how difficult it's been to get any Federal money into education—with or without the space race. It is the opinion of many experts in Washington that we can afford to tackle both the space age and these other problems. Our present annual space bill, for example, could be paid for in our liquor taxes alone. It is far less than we spend each year on recreation or even on parimutuel betting * * * and space, I might add, is a much safer bet. Since sputnik space spending by the United States has averaged about 20 cents a week per person.

There are those who say the amount spent just to send a couple of Americans to the moon to grab off a headline is preposterous. But this country's moonshot program is far from merely a propagandistic headline hunt. There will be a second flight to the moon and a third and a fourth. And we plan to use the moon as a sort of staging base from which to study and go out to explore the limits of our solar system. The moon, indeed, will be only a small fraction of what we hope to learn about the rest of the universe, within our lifetime.

Some of those who have studied space age economics tell us that by the mid-1970's our space spending will return to the American economy a dime for every nickel we're spending now. Aside from the very obvious race with Russia to be first to land on the moon; in addition to advancing science to the point where we may locate life on another planet and might discover the secrets of the beginnings of mankind; and besides the use of space to defend ourselves militarily—besides all these reasons, the U.S. space program will bring us two other exceedingly important dollars and cents benefits; a sizable advance in industry and employment. And an as-yet-uncalculated fallout in new civilian products. In the 6-plus years of the space age the number of private companies and research organizations taking part in space activities has now grown to more than 5,000. The last Mercury flight of Astronaut Gordon Cooper, for example, required the support of more than 400,000 individual jobholders. And the increased momentum shows no sign of slackening off.

Out of our space research programs already have come an estimated 3,000 new products or new ideas and methods available for use in private industry. Which is the kind of payoff a hardheaded American free enterprise businessman can appreciate. Let me cite just a few of these:

A whole family of new rugged plastics, developed for lightweight rocket structures,

are being used in making unbreakable household items such as dishes, chairs, and tables; Teflon, a nonreactive chemical used for rocket gaskets, is now used in making greaseless frying pans; Douglas, through its space research, has developed an electronic stethoscope to permit doctors to hear chest sounds undetected by the ordinary stethoscope. They have also perfected an electric thermometer to allow the surgeon to read internal body temperatures on external dials. Through space-age miniaturization of equipment (which must be small, compact, and very lightweight to travel inside space satellites) scientists are researching a tiny hearing aid that is so small it is implanted underneath the skin surgically, behind ear. Also through miniaturization, we are working on an articificial electronic larynx which allows people to talk who otherwise could not because of trachea or vocal chord difficulties; doctors now foresee a tiny television system small enough to be swallowed, from which a picture would be transmitted from inside a patient's stomach. There is now a lightweight sensor-and-telemetry system worn by heart patients which gives continuous monitoring of the heart as they go about their business. When a fluctuation is noticed on a receiver at the hospital, a warning is flashed so corrective lifesaving measures can be taken.

Because items used in space probes must be extremely small (many of them are manufactured—literally—under a magnifying glass), and have to be rugged enough to last indefinitely without repair, U.S. space contractors have developed heat-resistant electronic parts to give longer life to smaller and smaller radio and television sets. The same is true of tiny tape recorders, batteries, compact cameras, and projection systems. Computers have been made smaller and smaller, to the point where manufacturers see the day soon when a small home computer will take over the family's tax and budget controls * * * perhaps even regulate our trips to the corner supermarket for groceries.

There is an electronic device, an infrared horizon sensor used in guiding space vehicles and missiles, which has been converted into an apparatus to measure the thickness of white-hot steel plates and rods moving through rolling mills at 70 miles an hour. The sensor is accurate to within one two-thousandths of an inch. The technology used in landing delicate instruments on the moon has led to the development of crushable and flexible materials, plus air bags, which automakers are studying for ways to collisionproof cars. Plane companies are looking it over for use in protecting passengers in crashes and emergency landings. The methods of sterilizing spacecraft headed out to Mars will be applied by the canning industry.

You may have seen a picture recently of a lady wearing a strange pair of slacks. She's a stroke victim who otherwise would be bedridden. But her pressurized suit, developed by B. F. Goodrich, which made the Project Mercury spacesuits, now allows her to move around and go about her regular daily life. The same pressure principles are being used in new gadgets to save the lives of premature babies. The new foods to be used by astronauts, which can be stored without refrigeration and pack extra calories into a tiny cube, are in the works for civil defense and disaster use as well as for military maneuvers and for reducing hunger in underdeveloped countries.

In addition to these items we can see and use in our daily lives, we're on the verge (through the use of space satellites) of learning all manner of information to make life easier here on earth. President Johnson made a speech recently in which he estimated the next couple of decades might produce enough of this information to save the American economy as much as $6 billion a year, that's more than enough to pay for our present-day space program. Here's how he explains part of that saving:

Extremely accurate weather predictions 5 days in advance would save American farmers $2½ billion a year. Take just one agricultural item, the cutting of hay. Farmers lose about $60 million a year in rotted hay from unpredicted rainfall that comes before they can get the hay under cover. Similarly it costs a farmer $5 or $6 an acre to have his crop resprayed when unpredicted rains wash away the insecticide of an earlier crop dusting.

Millions can be saved, the experts tell us, when future satellites spot and report the smoke of otherwise unobserved forest fire. Data-gathering satellites will keep close tabs on snow deposits and the thickness of ice on rivers as a means of flood control and a measure of water resources. The trucking and aviation industries, by rerouting in advance, will be able to operate to alternate delivery points when a satellite-predicted heavy snow, for instance, blocks highways and shuts down airports. Other satellite systems will warn farmers of approaching swarms of locusts and determine their future course by charting the winds that carry them; they'll be tracking icebergs that menace the sealanes; they may even be used to help fishermen follow schools of fish at sea and to allow zoologists and hunters to keep track of wild herds as they migrate. In the weather field, NASA experts are predicting the use of satellites and sounding rockets to break up or reduce the severity of storms, to make it rain in a specific area, to disperse fog at airports, and to modify temperatures here and there to ease the danger of night frost in citrus fruit areas.

In the field of communications, imagine TV relays from satellites, in color, to be picked up on your own set at home for the price of a $50 antenna. My friends at the Voice of America tell me they plan to beam TV broadcasts from the U.N. and from Washington to the jungles of Africa or to remote places in South America or Asia. What a blessing it might be to thus far unreachable people in underdeveloped areas to learn, via satellite-TV, how to raise more food or how to care for the sick, or maybe just how to read.

The reasons put forth for advocating a progressive space program differ, of course, depending on who you are. There are those who warn that operational space weapons will 1 day hold the key to survival here on earth. A vast majority of all U.S. satellites for peaceful ventures have been launched by military missiles. And I might point out that all of the Americans who have traveled into space under the NASA manned flight program, all of our astronauts, have been Navy, Marine, and Air Force officers. The Air Force is currently training its own group of astronauts to fly military space vehicles of the future. Although this country is committed to the peaceful uses of outer space, it would be shortsighted, I think, to say there is no military significance to space operations. The Johnson administration has already hinted what its future attitude will be by emphasizing that our limited military space activity is wholly defensive. The Executive Secretary of the National Space Council, Dr. Edward Welsh puts it this way: "Surely no action is more peaceful than the action which discourages war." The major basis for distinguishing peaceful from nonpeaceful," he continues, "is a matter of intent." Dr. Welsh goes on to say the Russians have long since made it clear their policy is one of world domination, while we have declared our sole purpose is to maintain peace.

The opinion has been expressed that Russia's entire space program (even the so-called peaceful projects they've told us about) is aimed at military domination of space. Thus it would seem foolish not to prepare ourselves—now—for such a development, because the long leadtime necessary to produce such weapons and to gain the necessary technology might one day find us defenseless against a sudden Russian space threat.

This is not to say the United States should scrap NASA and devote all its energies to military domination of space. But a continuation and expansion of the Pentagon programs now underway might insure space peace in the same fashion that our leadership of NATO and the other Western alliances is now protecting the shaky peace here on earth.

Thus, for reasons of military defense, scientific progress, world prestige and leadership, and for the most practical of all reasons—to help the country's economy by creating new jobs and new products for the civilian market—for all these reasons it would seem the spending of funds for space projects is worthwhile.

Not that even these reason are all-compelling. Not that the intelligent criticism of how much is to be spent, when, and for what, shouldn't continue. It must. Only through such constant reexamination can we use our funds and manpower wisely.

Once the basic goals are established and understood, and the country realizes the magnificent potential that lies just ahead, it may then help make the future worth looking toward.

Northwest Area Marketing Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Interior Udall has, within the past week, made his report and recommendations with respect to a Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie. Because of the long-time interest which I have had in the development of power, particularly public power, and in securing passage of the bill, S. 1007, known as the Northwest area marketing bill, I feel that my colleagues in Congress will be interested in the strong supporting statements sent to me this week by public power groups in my congressional district and I present for the RECORD the following:

ABERDEEN, WASH.

Representative JULIA B. HANSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

The economic stability and growth of the Grays Harbor area of Washington State is dependent upon the continued availability of low-cost electric power. The Grays Harbor Public Utility District has agreed to purchase treaty power to support the Canadian agreement which will provide flood control and a substantial quantity of electric power. The financing of the U.S. obligation to Canada of $254 million by October 4, 1964, is dependent upon marketing this large block of power.

It is the obligation of the U.S. Congress to recognize the national interest and immediately enact legislation for the Northwest-Southwest tie lines as recommended by Secretary Udall. The Canadian treaty power together with the U.S. Bonneville Power Administration's surplus power can then be

sold in California which will conserve the fossil fuel supply and make maximum use of the Northwest's hydroelectric potential.

H. S. SWENSON,
President, Board of Commissioners, PUD No. 1 of Grays Harbor County.

Mr. Glenn Hittle, manager, Public Utility District No. 1 of Cowlitz County, Wash., says:

We strongly support the package plan of (1) the four west coast electric transmission lines as proposed by the Department of the Interior, city of Los Angeles, and other interests; (2) an appropriation for Federal construction of the line to Hoover Dam; and (3) enactment of S. 1007 as passed by the Senate.

Volumes of testimony favorable to this plan have been presented for your consideration. At the risk of being repetitive we submit our arguments as follows:

One of the Pacific coast's most valuable resources, low-cost hydroelectric power, is in jeopardy if Congress fails to enact legislation authorizing Federal construction of its part of the high voltage power intertie between the Pacific Northwest power load centers and the Pacific Southwest which has a drought of low-cost hydroelectric energy.

Millions of kilowatts of wasted hydroelectric energy are presently flowing over the dams in the Northwest for lack of a market, while the Southwest can absorb this energy by slacking off steam production.

The immediate benefits of the recent successfully negotiated power pact with the Canadian Government cannot be immediately realized unless the intertie makes it possible to absorb the surplus power generated in the Pacific Northwest, including Canadian entitlement, particularly in the early years of the pact. Failure to salvage this waste and temporary surplus firm power for sale to the Southwest would cost the Northwest billions of dollars over the next half-century. To Cowlitz County alone, this means approximately $1 million per year.

To diversity in power requirements between the Pacific Northwest-Southwest regions makes an intertie a natural since power may flow to and from these areas as diversity demands.

We feel that Federal construction and control of these transmission facilities is a must for the optimum benefit to the public in low rates and maximum utilization, including conservation.

We are deeply appreciative of your past efforts in support of public power in the Northwest. If there is any way in which we may implement your support of this vital legislation, please call on us.

Very truly yours,

O. G. HITTLE, *Manager.*

PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICT NO. 2
OF PACIFIC COUNTY,
Raymond, Wash., June 29, 1964.

Representative JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: We appreciate the continued interest you have given to the many problems concerning the Northwest power problems. Again, we sincerely request your support of the problem now before us.

Now that the Canadian Treaty has become a reality, it is very important that the Northwest-Southwest tielines be built.

We urge you to support a Federal line from The Dalles Dam to Hoover Dam. This would be one of four lines connecting the Federal power of the Northwest with the Southwest Power Pool. Since peak loads of the Northwest occur in the winter and peak loads of the Southwest occur in the summer, considerable savings will benefit ratepayers in both regions.

Passage of S. 1007 should also be accomplished before the interties are under construction.

Federal appropriations should be made this year to assure all of the Federal construction.

Your continued interest and support of this program is urged by the Pacific County Public Utility District.

Yours very truly,

R. O. ADAMS, *Manager.*

LEWIS COUNTY
PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICT,
Chehalis, Wash., June 29, 1964.

Hon. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
Member of Congress, House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: In order to make the utmost use of the hydro resources of the Pacific Northwest, electric energy resulting from the Canadian Treaty and to make this energy available to other regions, we urge your support of the four line intertie as proposed by Secretary Udall between the Pacific Northwest and Pacific Southwest. We also urge Federal construction of the transmission line to Hoover Dam. Passage of S. 1007 is most essential and should be passed prior to start of construction.

Very truly yours,

R. A. PERKINS,
G. A. PETERS,
T. R. TEITZEL,
Commissioners of Public Utility District No. 1 of Lewis County.

PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICT NO. 1,
SKAMANIA COUNTY,
Stevenson, Wash., June 29, 1964.

Representative JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JULIA: We are aware you are using every effort to secure favorable committee action on the four-line package proposal of Pacific Northwest-Southwest Intertie.

Also, passage of S. 1007 prior to any construction start.

We recommend a Federal line to Hoover Dam should be assured as a condition to non-Federal lines in California, thereby preventing monopoly control.

We want you to know this public utility district is completely supporting your action in this matter.

Best regards.

Yours very truly,

PUBLIC UTILITY DISTRICT NO. 1
OF SKAMANIA COUNTY.
ROSS B. SHEPEARD,
Chairman.
SIDNEY G. ADAMS,
Vice Chairman.
ROLF E. JEMTEGAARD,
Secretary.

STATEMENT OF GUS NORWOOD, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NORTHWEST PUBLIC POWER ASSOCIATION, ENDORSING CONSTRUCTION OF WEST COAST ELECTRIC POWER TRANSMISSION LINES, JULY 1, 1964

For the past 17 years I have served as executive secretary of the Northwest Public Power Association comprising 120 public and cooperative electric systems serving about 4 million people in Alaska, British Columbia, Montana, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

Our systems own about $2½ billion in electric facilities and have a billion-dollar construction program. We operate about 5 million kilowatts of generating capacity.

Our systems are paying about $40 million per year into the U.S. Treasury for power purchased from Federal projects.

Our purchases have increased rapidly over the years and we will continue to increase our payments into the Treasury as our electric loads grow. In any event we are determined that this program shall be self-liquidating and that all Federal funds invested in power be repaid.

THREE RECOMMENDATIONS

We respectfully submit three basic recommendations.

First, we recommend that Congress approve generally the program of four west coast electric transmission lines as proposed in the June 24, 1964, report of the Secretary of the Interior.

Second, we endorse S. 1007 as passed by the Senate to provide ground rules for the exchange and sale of hydro energy and power capacity which is surplus to the needs of the respective Federal power marketing areas and agencies.

Third, we urge actual appropriations for the Federal portion of this program, and especially for the 750,000 volt direct current line from the Dalles Dam to Hoover Dam so as to insure that at least one of these four lines is clearly assured as a Federal line.

Recognizing the scope and complexity of this program and the need for implementation by means of many long-term contracts, we would appreciate the establishment of a procedure whereby proposed major contracts might be subject to public notice and a waiting period of perhaps 60 days during which time comments might be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior before final approval.

APPRECIATION

May we take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the entire Congress and to the Department of the Interior for the many years of effort and interest in this program. We especially appreciate the fine leadership and good management of Mr. Charles F. Luce, Administrator of the Bonneville Power Administration.

It is most gratifying to see in the Secretary's report the balancing of vital interests consistent with the objective of the best public interest.

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

More important than even the vital and important interests of our electric systems and of our regions in the forward progress of this program is the national interest.

For example no value has been placed on the national defense importance of this program: Yet one need go back only to the power shortages of 1948 both in California and in the Pacific Northwest to recognize how fortunate the Nation has been that 1948 did not occur during the critical days of World War II.

Even one of these interties could have prevented the west coast power shortages of 1948. Entirely aside from the conservation of oil and natural gas, the saving of investment in generation, and the economies in providing electric utility service at lower cost, this program represents a major step in strengthening the Nation's energy supply program which is so essential to national defense. Since no part of this program will be charged to national defense, it is appropriate to call attention to the national bonus in the form of national defense benefits.

Another public interest aspect of this program is the technological surge ahead in high-voltage transmission, both alternating current and direct current.

RISK OF MONOPOLY

Another public interest concern has to to do with the risk of monopoly. Throughout the many hearings of the Congress and the negotiations, we have been opposed to the ownership and control of these lines exclusively by private companies. For this reason our resolutions year after year have urged that at least one of these interties

should be owned and operated by the Federal Government.

In previous testimony we have suggested that the three Federal power systems of the west coast be considered to be three composite dams. We hold that a Federal transmission line should interconnect these three composite dams so that the Secretary of the Interior can optimize his power marketing, and as a corollary so that the customers of the respective Federal power marketing agencies can have available an optimum power supply.

We estimate that the Federal investment in power and irrigation in these States is about $4 billion and that the construction of these lines will increase the value of these investments by at least 10 percent.

The alternative to such an interconnecting Federal power line is a toll bridge line which would be monopolistic and against the public interest.

For this reason in part we emphasize the need for a firm commitment on the Federal line from the Dalles Dam to Hoover Dam.

Frankly we would have preferred that this line also tied in the Central Valley Project. We hope that the wheeling rights, the energy banking program and other assurances will constitute an equivalent arrangement.

We would also have preferred that the Bonneville Power Administration be authorized to construct all lines in Oregon. The assurance that half of the proposed PGE line will be furnished at Federal equivalent costs is helpful but we cannot understand why PGE should want to assume the risks and costs of building this portion of a line and thus preclude Federal construction.

MUTUAL BENEFITS

It would appear that the $2.6 billion in benefits over the first fifty-year period are reasonably distributed among the regions and interests involved.

Only about $1 billion or about 40 percent of the benefits accrue to the Pacific Northwest. We welcome and we are gratified by the inclusion of Arizona, Nevada, and the entire Colorado River Basin in this program for about $724 million in benefits.

Likewise we are gratified by the inclusion of the California Water Plan and many public entities in California. Total benefits in California are estimated at $869 million.

We deplore any omissions in the sharing of these benefits and if further negotiations can insure the widening of the scope of benefits, for example, to include the Truckee District, the three rural electric cooperatives of southern California and any other public or cooperative agency or Federal installation which is entitled under the law to share the benefits, we hope that every consideration will be given to these needs.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST BENEFITS

This program provides major benefits to the Pacific Northwest by increasing our firm power about 700,000 kilowatts, by insuring a market for surplus peaking capacity and energy, by reducing the risk of power shortages and by reducing the risk or the extent of rate increases.

This program facilitates the Canadian Treaty by providing a market for any power surplus to Northwest needs. It provides an outlet for temporary surpluses from dams now under construction or proposed. Planning for power supply will be made easier.

The Pacific Northwest economy has suffered from the surging relationship between power supply and actual power loads. The shortages of 1948 and 1952 hurt our region but likewise the inability to sell our huge mountain of summer surplus secondary energy and peaking has already resulted in a loss of about $200 million.

Another cost is the cost of uncertainty and the inability to plan ahead intelligently and with assurance.

ENDORSEMENTS

The basic policy in resolutions and previous testimony of the Northwest Public Power Association has been to urge S. 1007 as approved by the Senate and, with such legislation, we have consistently urged that at least one of these west coast interties should be a Federal line.

Many other groups in the Pacific Northwest have adopted similar resolutions.

For example, rural electric cooperatives in the Pacific Northwest have repeatedly adopted resolutions in favor of west coast interties.

As recently as October 22, 1963, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association's Region Nine meeting at Spokane voted approval of the following resolution, reading in part:

"We specifically endorse construction of the proposed Federal high voltage transmission interties between the Pacific Northwest and Southwest, and we endorse the Jackson bill, S. 1007, as adopted by the Senate to govern the operation of these interties; and, we urge construction of a transmission line between McNary Dam and southeastern Idaho."

LONG HISTORY

The idea of a west coast intertie dates back to 1935. The specific proposal dates back to the power shortages of 1948.

Our Association in 1948 recommended to the then-Congressman Clair Engle a bill which served as the predecessor to S. 1007.

It has been a long, hard road.

CONCLUSION

We respectfully recommend that Congress approve the plan envisioned in the Secretary's report of June 24, 1964, subject to the governing policies of S. 1007 and subject to firm commitments as to the Federal portions of the plan.

The Mississippi Projects—II: Beards and Volkswagens Are Frowned Upon

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this summer's Mississippi civil rights project will have two major purposes. It will not only aim to acquaint Mississippi Negroes with their rights and help them to register to vote; it will aim also to acquaint the rest of the country with the flagrant abuse and misapplication of the law by Mississippi law enforcement agencies.

Minneapolis Tribune reporter Dick Cunningham began to publicize the project in a series of front-page articles in the Tribune from the time civil rights volunteers from Minneapolis arrived at Oxford, Ohio, for their orientation sessions.

He and other newspapermen like him are performing an invaluable service by keeping the rest of the country constantly aware of events in Mississippi.

In the following article, Mr. Cunningham describes how civil rights leaders at the Ohio orientation discouraged volunteers from conforming in any way to the stereotype of a troublemaker or agitator:

RIGHTS WORKERS SPRUCE UP—VOLUNTEERS "PLAY ACT"—WITH A PURPOSE

(By Dick Cunningham)

OXFORD, OHIO.—Some 200 college students looked tidier Thursday as they reached the three-quarter mark in their training for volunteer voter registration and education work among Negroes in Mississippi this summer.

When they arrived at Western College for Women here last weekend, some of them tucked their shoes in their airplane luggage and wandered around barefoot.

That was the fashion of many of the Negro field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) brought here to train them for the Mississippi summer project.

But now the volunteers have learned why. The field secretaries receive only $9.64 every 2 weeks, when there is enough money to pay them.

Over and over again there have been hints about "beards, sandals, guitars, long hair and Volkswagens" in this training program which is being sponsored by the National Council of Churches.

Charles Morgan, the white lawyer who had to leave Birmingham, Ala., for his criticism of segregation, hit the issue squarely in a speech to the group.

"You're going to have enough trouble without asking for it," Morgan said. "They don't like folks from 'Greenwich Village' down there. A lot of Mississippi farmers have never seen a pair of sandals.

"You come down and look nice and neat, and that in itself is going to make an impression," Morgan said.

More of the white boys had shaved and more of the girls had done something with their hair yesterday as they heard Negro lawyers from Mississippi warn them that an academic knowledge of their rights might just "invite the club."

If they are snatched out of a car some night by a policeman, "Don't stand out there at midnight and try to teach him constitutional law," urged R. Jess Brown, Jackson, Miss., Negro lawyer who has handled dozens of civil rights cases.

"He's got a second grade education. A club and a pistol is all he knows about rights," said Brown.

Ask for a lawyer, ask to phone, don't answer questions until you consult a lawyer, but don't argue the fifth amendment. "Just forget or don't know," Brown said.

And don't be shocked at the "Yassah, Nossuh" obsequiousness of your lawyer as he seeks the sheriff's approval for your bond, he said.

"It's not Uncle Tomism, it's extreme discretion," said the lawyer. "I'm alone in that courthouse. The judge is in bed, and the Supreme Court is 'out to lunch'."

The volunteers, 17 of whom are students in Minnesota, have been getting information on a variety of subjects—history, politics, white attitudes, Negro attitudes—in two or more long general sessions in the college auditorium each day.

In small section meetings, in bull sessions that go on until after midnight and in "role playing" they have been refining information, arguing about it and developing the personal intellectual baggage they will take South next week.

The lawn under the locust tree that arches over the entrance of the college's main building becomes a sharecropper's shanty, the courthouse steps a registrar's office or a jail as the students act out hypothetical incidents.

James Foreman, executive secretary of SNCC, a Chicago, Ill., Negro who has done graduate work at two colleges, becomes a feeble, old sharecropper being introduced by a Negro registration worker to a white student from Pennsylvania, Morton Thomas.

"How you do, Mistuh Thomas."

"Morton," says the volunteer, who has been taught that the old social habits must change if the nonvoting habit is to change.

"Yessuh, Mistuh Morton."

"No, just plain Morton," insists the volunteer.

"Yessuh, Mistah," say the Negro, sqirming.

"Morton."

"Morton, then," says the Negro, and then in a whine, "But I ain't never called no white man nothin' like Morton."

Then the lawn becomes a registrar's office and a white student cajoles, berates and threatens a Negro voting applicant—all in a New York City accent.

Then it becomes a jail. A California youth goes limp as he's been taught to do and, with a hand in back of his head, rolls up to protect himself from internal injury.

He's a big, strong youth, but he can't lose himself in the role the way the white deputies do.

"Hey, pull the punches a little," he growls angrily.

Then it becomes a barn. Foreman says seriously, "OK, I'm white now."

He starts whipping up a vigilante committee to bomb a store headquartering the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), the league of civil rights groups which is sponsoring the summer project.

A White Citizens' Council member pleads that the sheriff be consulted instead to see if there isn't a law that can rid the area of the vote workers.

"We gave you people your chance and you couldn't handle it," Foreman answers. "The only way to do it is to shoot them and some of them nigger-lovin' whites too."

In the group around the tree there is little of the joking that goes with watching friends act. That is because the people believe what Foreman says next:

"Tonight in Mississippi they are having that kind of meeting and talking that kind of talk."

United Latvian Association of Chicago Resolution, June 14, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the United Latvian Association of Chicago, meeting on June 14, passed a resolution which is direct, timely, and important and I insert it into the RECORD at this point:

UNITED LATVIAN ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO RESOLUTION, JUNE 14, 1964

Whereas in commemoration of the mass deportations in Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania on June 14, 1941, by the occupational forces of Russian Communists, we have gathered to honor those who suffered and the ones who are still carrying the chains of slavery in the Communist empire, and to pray that no more people or nations become enslaved by Communists;

Whereas Communists have proclaimed to bring the whole world under their domination and today are actively attacking Laos, South Vietnam, and British Guiana;

Whereas the persecution of churches and the official campaign against teaching of religion has reached a new intensity in Soviet Union;

Whereas to encourage the oppressed people to demand more liberties from the ruling Communist Party and to show free world concern for the oppressed: Now be it therefore

Resolved by the member organizations of the United Latvian Organization Association of Chicago, That the following U.S. policy toward the Baltic and other captive nations would be helpful.

1. Ask a debate in United Nations about Communist colonies.
2. Create a Captive Nations Committee in the U.S. Congress.
3. Establishing a Freedom Academy.
4. Help Cuban refugees to liberate Cuba.
5. Continue to proclaim the Captive Nations Week.

V. LANDMANIS,
President, United Latvian Organization Association of Chicago.

I Bid You Farewell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, an eloquent tribute to Gen. Douglas MacArthur is the article "I Bid You Farewell," by Vice Adm. Leland P. Lovette, U.S. Navy, retired, which appeared in the May 1964 issue of the VFW magazine. The great Americanism as lived by the General in both peace and war is an inspiration to all Americans, and this article serves to reinspire a patriotic spirit in anyone who reads it. The message follows:

I BID YOU FAREWELL, MACARTHUR

(By Vice Adm. Leland P. Lovette, U.S. Navy, retired)

The great captain is no more—the most renowned of the ancient and historic clan of the MacArtairs of Scotland has passed to the Valhalla of mighty warriors. We mourn him and we miss him. People remember best, color, drama, tragedy. Soon the legend and the man will merge to the extent that other than the scholar and student of things military, future generations will know only his dramatic parts on history's stage, his flair for moving eloquence with overtones that bespoke a man of destiny.

Why are such meteoric leaders so rare—where do they come from? Stephen Spender explained it poetically:

"Born of the sun they travelled a short while toward the sun.
And left the vivid air signed with their honor."

A career of high honors that spanned the era from the whiz of Indian arrows to the havoc of the atomic bomb; a military background that comprised an heroic soldier—father of Civil War fame, and a mother of proud Virginia blood; and, nature's gifts of brilliant mind and personality, handsome physical demeanor and impeccable military bearing, in the vernacular, it could be said MacArthur had all that it took and more, to reach the top.

He was born to be a soldier. "Always before me," he wrote, "was the vision of West Point, that greatest military institution in the world. To join the Long Gray Line had been the lodestar of all my hopes since the sound of bugles had ushered me in the world." This shining example of heredity and environment at its best knew much before he went to West Point Academy of its noble motto: "Duty, Honor, Country."

He never forgot it. When in 1962, the old soldier, answered his last rollcall at his beloved West Point, and gave his historic farewell, he said: "Duty, Honor, Country, those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you want to be, what you can be and what you will be." Then its most distinguished living graduate said the honor paid him that day was not "intended primarily for a personality, but to symbolize a great moral code—the code of conduct and chivalry of those who guard this beloved land of culture and ancient descent." In this address he paid a moving tribute to the soldiers of the ranks: "I did not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death." To them the motto also applied. And when he crossed the last river, his Commander in Chief, President Lyndon B. Johnson said: "He was a living example of the code he so eloquently expressed—duty, honor, country."

As to honor, he could say, as did Shakespeare's Henry V:

"If it is a sin to covet honor,
I am the most offending soul alive."

As a "soldier's soldier" on European battlefields he won early honors and renown. On a "hundred battlefields" MacArthur was the leader of men who considered him the veritable symbol of honor and duty. He was the holder of two Purple Hearts. Both MacArthur and his father won the Medal of Honor—the only father and son holders of this Nation's highest honor in our history. His father, Gen. Arthur MacArthur (commander in chief in 1906, of one of the early veterans organizations that merged to form the Veterans of Foreign Wars), won his Medal of Honor in the bloody fighting at Missionary Ridge in the Civil War. Perhaps there were thoughts of his hero father as young MacArthur led his men in the historic battles of northern France as a brigade commander with the 42d Rainbow Division which he helped to organize. Ever outreaching the call of duty, he was honored by his officer staff with the presentation of a gold cigarette case that bears the inscription—"The Bravest of the Brave."

Early he sensed "The path of duty leads to glory." He was unswerving in his allegiance to his superiors and only once were his actions considered recalcitrant to higher authority; that was his clash over policy with President Truman concerning the conduct of the Korean war that effected his relief and retirement. The finer points of this regrettable historic incident will be argued to eternity pro and con by the military historians. The two principals, President and general, were both steeped in history; however, MacArthur was perhaps more widely read in military history, the details of campaigns, strategy, and tactics. They would both agree with one of President Kennedy's last personal written pieces: "The High Value of History." He said: "The future arises out of the past, and a country's history is a statement of the values and hopes which, having forged what has gone before will now forecast what is to come." The general believed that we should go all out to win in Korea, because if we did not, history had taught him to expect future trouble. He knew that "Past is Prolog" and from a sense of duty felt he should make definite recommendations. This and other circumstances led to his relief. We shall never know the exact answer, however, there are many intelligent Americans who believe his proposed plan for victory in the Korean war to be audacious, but sound. As MacArthur said: "There is no substitute for victory." It is never good to be right too early.

As for love of country, his whole life bears witness. He is said to be the most decorated person in the history of the Armed Forces. To review his standing and honors at West Point, to read of his campaign ribbons in

4 American wars, to take notes of the citations of over 30 high foreign decorations—all reflect a life spent in defense of all the country holds dear. Then the supreme honor, the one the general cherished most of all—the Japanese decoration. For the first time in recorded history, the vanquished gave to the victor a cherished decoration. Our pro consul brought order out of chaos in devastated, defeated, despondent Japan, and the Japanese Government wanted MacArthur to know the appreciation of its people. He may have been called the "Star Spangled Mikado" by some; however, at the height of his prestige, he ranked in power equal that of an emperor of ancient lineage, and with attributes of majesty, represented the world's most powerful republic. As cities were being rebuilt, as a constitution was being drafted, yes, as an emperor was stripped of his divinity, he must have often recalled the motto of his career: duty, honor, country.

It is his last voyage: He will never return—only the history he made and the traditions he created are left us. His own concise account of deeds and high mission as an American are inscribed on the wall of the rotunda, near his sarcophagus in the Norfolk mausoleum: "In 20 campaigns, on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, in long years of peace as well as war—a soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty."

Mortals frequently leave immortal gifts to posterity. But as was said of Lee of Virginia, it may be said of MacArthur whose remains will ever rest in Virginia—

"The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
Is to have been a hero."

The Endless Investigations of the Federal Reserve System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Journal of Commerce and Commercial, Wednesday, July 1, 1964, which comments on the recently released proposals on the Federal Reserve System by the Democratic majority of the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the House Banking and Currency Committee:

UP THE WRONG TREE

A Democratic majority of the House Banking and Currency Committee has endorsed and reported a watered-down version of some of the proposed reforms in the Federal Reserve System favored by its chairman, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN. It has decided to drop the idea of any immediate legislative action but holds out the depressing promise of more hearings next year.

In the watering-down process Mr. PATMAN and his fellow members of the committee have dropped the idea of having the Secretary of the Treasury run the Federal Reserve Board, but they favor most of the other proposals which we have frequently opposed in this column. They include cutting the Board from seven to five members, reducing their terms from 14 to 5 years, and having the Board act as the Federal Open Market Committee. This would seemingly eliminate all participation by the presidents of five Reserve Banks, now serving in rotation on the Committee.

We don't intend to belabor further now a horse that is dead, at least until next year, but we are calling attention to some plain foolishness in one of the House group's proposals.

This is that the President be required to include annually in his economic report some guidelines on growth in the money supply and if the Reserve Board failed to follow such guidelines for any reason it must give its reasons in a report to Congress and to the President.

In short, the money supply should be inflated every year and the burden of proof as to why it should not be would be put upon the Federal Reserve, by inference any contraction of the money supply would be suspect.

It would accept as fact the very doubtful premise, upon which even leading economists are split, that money supply has to go up to provide for annual growth in business activity.

That there is some kind of relationship between the growth in the money supply and business activity seems as obvious as when the father of the theory, Prof. Milton Friedman, of the University of Chicago, some years ago went extensively into the subject. But it has never been determined that the money supply—which is the sum of circulating currency and bank deposits—has to grow at any fixed rate. After all, where most of the money supply is and whether its possessors feel like using it, are important determining factors. In the 1930's there was a tremendous money supply which many possessors were afraid to employ.

What we feel is most interesting, in view of the House committee's proposal to write expansion of the money supply into the law, so to speak, is Professor Friedman's recent report that there is not satisfactory proof yet whether the behavior of the money supply affects the business cycle or whether the cycle influences the behavior of the money supply.

Leaving out the question of putting such an inflationary and rigid thing into the Nation's fundamental banking law, there is the curious question of how a majority of the House Banking Committee could adopt as fact something about which the greatest experts cannot yet tell which is cause and which is effect?

Also, there is cause for wonder why the Patman committee should pursue these more or less fruitless issues of putting back the clock in Federal Reserve operations—and they were all explored and rejected for good cause years ago—when there are so many more important banking and financial matters that the committee might go into.

These are issues generally concerned with how monetary and credit policy affects the economy, such as the supervision of investments and mergers of banks, and what Government agency will do the supervising. Also such things as the use of savings deposits by corporations and the modernization of financial institutions, this latter subject, comprising suggestions of the Heller Committee is, we think, already before the House committee as H.R. 7404.

Also, why doesn't the Patman group go in for some useful studies such as the Radcliffe Committee did in Britain and the Royal Commission has recently done in Canada?

Since the Federal Reserve System now is working well in most respects and since some of the new Patman recommendations in the past have been actually tried and failed, why pursue these stale issues longer?

The majority of the House committee which has just favorably reported the Patman proposals seems to be high up in a tree after game that isn't there. Somebody ought to bring the poor fellows down.

Appalachia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for the RECORD my statement on the proposed Appalachian program now being considered by the House Public Works Committee:

STATEMENT OF THE APPALACHIA BILL

(By Congressman CARLTON R. SICKLES)

I am pleased to support the proposed program to relieve poverty and develop economic resources in the 10-State region of Appalachia. As Representative of a State which has three counties in the Appalachian area, I can only add my own voice to the call for urgency which has been sounded so clearly by President Johnson. We in Maryland realize that the full potential of our counties in the western part of the State cannot be realized except as a part of a program whose aim would be to rebuild and revitalize the economy of the entire Appalachian region. We realize that the full potential of the port of Baltimore cannot be reached without full development of the port's natural economic hinterland. We in Maryland realize that the whole country has a stake in what happens in the western part of our State and a stake in the similar progress throughout the whole mountain range from Pennsylvania to Alabama. It has been said that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The same thing applies to a nation's economy; when part of the economy or the economy of a region lags, it affects other parts and other people. The program before this committee aims, as President Johnson has put it, "not merely at the symptoms of the economic malnutrition but at its causes." Let us consider for a moment the problems which have accrued in this region of the country.

The largely rural Appalachian region has fallen behind the rest of the country in economic development. In every category of human welfare our fellow citizens in Appalachia are below, and some of them are well below desirable national standards. Low income and an inadequate standard of living are commonplace. In health, in housing, in employment, in education, in the level of community services, in transportation, in farm technology, and in sanitation the region lags. In community after community and in county after county, the struggle against these inadequacies goes on without being won. While the Appalachian region is classified as predominantly rural by census definition, it has never been a major agricultural region. Its present ills arise in part from the decline in employment in leading nonagricultural industries, principally coal, and its cures lie mainly in the development of nonagricultural pursuits, principally recreation and manufacturing industries, including industries based on the timber resources.

The region's farms, while they should be made as productive as possible, can never become the economic base for more than a small proportion of the population now residing therein. Many of them are too small, and the terrain is too rough, for efficient farming techniques. Almost half of the farms in the region have gross incomes of under $2,000 a year.

Survey after survey has been made in the Appalachian area and plan after plan has been developed, but until now there has been no satisfactory regionwide plan for develop-

ment—one which measures the level of resources, both public and private, required to provide the framework for rapid economic growth.

The Government program that is proposed would provide an economic framework for future economic growth. Nothing in the bill works against private efforts—certainly the people in the area are doing their best, and they will do better with the help of this proposal. Far too often in the past the fragmented efforts of individual communities have been understandably inadequate to the task.

Also, we can never really arrive at a permanent solution to the problems of this region until we stop thinking of it as a "distressed area" shoving its problems under a rug of gloom and begin to consider it as an underdeveloped region with vast untapped human and natural resources—a region that can only find its rightful economic level through a plan of overall economic development, programed for a period of sufficient years to rectify the situation. This plan has three necessary ingredients; investment in the people of the area to improve their schools, housing, health, and to help them acquire new skills; investment in needed physical facilities such as roads, airports, and dams; and finally a regional organization to coordinate the efforts of Federal, State, and local officials in attacking the problems of the region. TVA has proved that these officials can work together for the general good of the community, and similar cooperation is certainly feasible in the Appalachian region.

In summary, this bill is based on the idea that the economc progress of the region requires the wholehearted cooperation of both local, State, and Federal officials dealing with the problems of Appalachia, and the leaders of business, industry, labor, and the local communities in the region. The special needs of this area justify a special approach. The entire Nation, not only the people of the region, have a stake in what is done there. In addition to the fact that development of this area will provide new markets for industries all over the country, the people here must be given the opportunity to fully enjoy the productive fruits of American society. We have this obligation to all of our people.

Downtown Cleveland Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, Clevelanders and their suburban neighbors celebrated during the 3 days of June 18–20 what was locally billed as "Downtown Cleveland Days," an event sponsored by the Downtown Cleveland Council.

One of the focal points of attraction was the development now well underway in the Erieview urban renewal project.

The downtown area is the site of a 40-story office building being constructed at a cost of in excess of $25 million, a 32-story Federal office building involving a cost of about $32 million, a 20-story, 400 suite apartment building, costing some $9 million, and so on. Actually, with the ground breaking for the Erieview Plaza, more than $100 million of new construction and modernization was triggered.

What this will mean to the city in terms of jobs and dollars is evident when we look at one building. Erieview Plaza has or will involve over 1.5 million man hours of labor, for a total payroll of in excess of $7.5 million.

What has been done and what is being done in Erieview is set forth in a well, fine, and brief article which appeared in the June 17 issue of the Cleveland Press, entitled "Walk About Downtown and See Your City Grow." I commend this to the attention of all the Members, particularly since the Congress will soon have before it the question of extending the Federal urban renewal program—the program which has helped make possible a better Cleveland:

WALK ABOUT DOWNTOWN AND SEE YOUR CITY GROW

While you're downtown during the next 3 days to take part in Downtown Cleveland Days—leave early enough and allow time enough to see the biggest building boom in the city's history.

Park your car and walk.

When you're through, your legs might be a trifle weary, but you'll leave with the satisfaction of having seen progress on more than $100 million worth of downtown improvements.

From the corner of East Ninth Street and Lakeside Avenue you can see in one wide sweep more than $76 million worth of new construction underway.

From left to right, you can see the $26 million Erieview Tower, the $2 million residence hall for St. John College, work on the $32 million Federal office building, and completion of the $16 million mall underground exhibition hall.

Take a closer look at the new 40-story office skyscraper—Cleveland's second tallest building—which triggered Erieview and the start of a new $250 million downtown rebuilding program.

In front of the tower is its spacious four-acre plaza—the largest privately financed public downtown park in America. Its 52 trees, reflecting pool and fountains, serpentine-pattern walks, benches, and future outdoor ice skating rink brought a new look to Cleveland.

The East 12th Street entrance is just as spectacular.

East 12th Street, between Lakeside and St. Clair Avenues, has been made into a divided highway, separated by a 30-foot wide center strip planted with trees, roses, and other floral decorations.

Eventually this landscaped boulevard—more than 100 feet wide—will be carried through to Chester Avenue to give Erieview and downtown a widened north-south artery.

From East 12th and Lakeside you can see the last of the demolition of the power block—a group of three large buildings which were razed for another John Galbreath-Peter Ruffin office building. They are the builders of the Erieview Tower.

Walk back to East Ninth Street and Lakeside Avenue and take a look into the gigantic excavation for the 32-story Federal office building.

There huge drilling machines—with 8-foot-diameter augers—are reaming out huge holes, 155 feet deep, for caissons to carry the weight of the new building.

Along the west side of the excavation—closest to public hall—a concrete mat—3 feet thick—is being poured for the base of a 350-car underground garage.

Further down Lakeside—at East Sixth Street—finishing touches are being completed for the new mall underground exhibition hall and the new mall.

The new hall—the biggest and best in America—will be dedicated later this summer during Cleveland's Parade of Progress.

Then walk south on East Sixth Street to Superior Avenue to see the concrete pouring for the 12th floor of the new 13-story Hollenden Motor Inn—costing in excess of $7 million—which is replacing the old Hollenden Hotel.

Just a couple of blocks away—at East Ninth Street and Superior Avenue—the 48-year-old Olmsted Hotel is being converted into a modern 125-suite apartment building. It will be known as Regency House.

Want some more? Roam down toward Public Square and see the new Memorial Fountain on the mall at Rockwell Avenue. It's beautiful during the day and dazzling at night.

Look at the work started on the Marshall Building which is getting a 13-story addition and a $1,500,000 facelifting.

Walk over to Ontario and Prospect Avenue where the former Bailey Co. store has been razed and is being replaced by a multi-level parking garage.

All of this is just a beginning. Many more projects will be started this year. Cleveland is on the move. Watch it grow.

Public Support for FTC Cigarette Ruling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Federal Trade Commission took a historic step toward increased consumer protection when it ruled that, effective January 1, 1965, cigarette companies must label their cigarettes as a health hazard. It has long been held by the courts that "to tell less than the whole truth is a well-known method of deception"—*P. Lorillard Co.* v. *F.T.C.* (186 F. 2d 52, 58, 4th Cir. 1950). For example, for some time the Federal Trade Commission has required that a seller of a product of foreign origin affirmatively disclose the country of origin on the grounds that to do otherwise is to withhold from the consumer a fact material to his decisionmaking process. Similarly, the Commission has required affirmative disclosure concerning the hazardous characteristics of commodities. The rationale underlying the requirement of affirmative disclosure is that in the absence of a warning to the contrary, a product cannot be safely employed for its intended use.

Some persons have argued that sufficient publicity has been accorded the medical findings of the health hazards of smoking to make it unnecessary for the Federal Trade Commission to act in this matter. These persons argue that a cigarette company should be permitted to sell its particular brand of cigarettes without reference to the hazards involved since the public has already been alerted to them. I think the Commission answered this question very ably in its decision, when it said:

There is no inconsistency in holding that such disclosure is necessary because of lack of sufficient public knowledge of the hazards of smoking and in recognizing, as the Commission has implicitly throughout this report, that there is considerable public concern with and anxiety about the hazards of smoking. In the first place, a deception, to be actionable, need not be universal. If many people are cognizant of the hazards of smoking, many others, and probably more, are not. In the second place, while there is little doubt that the publicity accorded the smoking and health problem has engendered widespread anxiety about smoking—anxiety which some cigarette advertising, at least, has attempted to allay—there is an obvious difference between a generalized anxiety, suspicion or fear, on the one hand, and particularized knowledge of a fact, on the other. The existence of the former kind of awareness without the latter is likely to create public confusion, and therefore increases rather than eliminates the need for clear disclosure in cigarette advertising and labeling that smoking is a substantial health hazard.

An argument based on the present level of public awareness of the Advisory Committee's report or other sources fails, in any event, to reckon with the dynamic factors that are involved here. It is perhaps true that today, but a few months after publication of the Advisory Committee's report, public awareness of the hazards of smoking is at a higher level than previously. But the release of that report was an extraordinary event. No similar event has occurred since or is likely to occur within the near future. The publicity given the report has already diminished greatly and it may be surmised that the report is rapidly receding in the public consciousness. There is no basis on which to project the amount of publicity that will be given to health hazards of cigarette smoking in the future. (Commission decision, pp. 115–116.)

Other persons, though admitting that a real public problem of crisis proportions exist in this matter, argue that it is best left to voluntary industry action for correction. I think the statement, before the Commission by Dr. Edgar F. Borgatta, chairman of the Department of Sociology of the University of Wisconsin explains admirably why it is imperative that the Federal Government assume the legitimate responsibility of requiring an explicit statement concerning the health hazards of cigarettes. He said, in part:

Currently, there is no implication that there are any dangers or potential hazards associated with cigarette smoking. Further, from my limited experience, it appears to be a most common assumption that the health hazards associated with cigarette smoking are trivial because no action is taken on the part of the Federal Government. There appears to be an implicit assumption on the part of a substantial number of persons that if there were something really wrong with cigarette smoking, the Government would do something about it. The Government has intervened dramatically in the case of obviously dangerous drugs and of immediate food hazards, and thus there is some obvious reliance on the Government for protection from such hazards. Since the dangers associated with smoking are less immediate, dramatic or coercive action certainly cannot be used. However, implicitly until a caution * * * is instituted, a significant segment of the population will continue to believe that there is no hazard because no caution is required by the Federal Government. (Commission decision, pp. 117–118.)

Let me say also, Mr. Speaker, that the FTC decision need not reflect adversly on the tobacco industry. It certainly does not mean that people have no confidence in the industry's efforts to assist in solving what must be termed a major public health problem.

The results of my annual newsletter questionnaire are, I think, a good indication that the public supports the FTC in this issue and, at the same time, looks to cigarette manufacturers with hope and confidence. This poll of Wisconsin's Second Congressional District was taken in February and March of this year, resulting in over 5,000 returns—70 percent of those replying said they favored regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling; 90 percent wanted to see a campaign to educate people about the risks of smoking; while 87 percent favored joint research by the tobacco industry and the medical profession to reduce the health hazards of smoking.

This shows an impressive degree of support for both the FTC's recent action and the industry's voluntary efforts.

The industry will continue to have this support during a very difficult period in its history if it rededicates its major effort toward reducing rather than repressing the health risks associated with smoking. While it has the right to test the FTC's decision in the courts, we must hope it will exercise that right responsibly and with due regard to what is at stake in terms of the health of the whole Nation.

Pierre Monteux

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the long musical career of Pierre Monteux has come to an end. For everyone who heard Mr. Monteux in concert, for all who are familiar with his recordings, for everyone who ever attended the Tanglewood festivals a deep silence now prevails.

I commend to my colleagues the following articles from the New York Times. They are a fitting tribute to Mr. Monteux who at 89 was still one of our greatest conductors, bringing to the ears of millions the beauty and pleasure of symphonic music:

LONG MUSICAL LIFE—MONTEUX EVOKED FRESH RESPONSES IN LEADING FAMILIAR SYMPHONIES

(By Ross Parmenter)

When Pierre Monteux lifted his hands before an orchestra, peace seemed to descend on the hall—peace and silence. And out of the silence the music seemed to rise as if it were a multivoiced song, but with the singers being instrumentalists capable of a purity of line, a control and tonal subtlety, and a variety of color that human voices could never match.

It was one of Mr. Monteux's great gifts, too, that he could give the illusion that his orchestra was playing, not on a comparatively shallow stage, but in a great open courtyard from which the sounds could come at will from various distances. He could create the sense that the listener was simultaneously hearing some sounds from far off and others from up close.

Technically, all this was amazing. But as he conducted one was never conscious of technique as an end in itself. Rather, the impression one gained was of being admitted into the creative mind of the composer. And not only did one feel that it was the composer, rather than the conductor, that one was hearing, but one felt one was hearing the composer in a double way.

A KIND OF SUGGESTION

One heard him both as a man of meaning and as an instrumental master. That is, besides hearing the message of his music one also heard the instruments he entrusted it to. Mr. Monteux's understanding of what he performed always seemed so profound that he seemed to reveal why his composers chose the particular instruments they did in order to give the shade of expression they wanted.

Once when he was asked how he managed to give so many instructions to his instrumentalists to get the effects he wanted, he replied, "It's a kind of suggestion. You take the minds of the musicians in your hands, and they will understand you."

Because of his feeling for orchestral color, it was a particular pleasure to hear him lead the music of Debusy and Ravel who were master colorists. But Mr. Monteux also had extraordinary feeling for structure and balance, which meant that he could conduct the great Germans, like Beethoven and Brahms. Thus it was always also a pleasure to hear him in the Germanic repertory. Not only were his readings convincing, but because they were not quite so heavy-handed as others they also lent fresh illumination to sometimes overplayed symphonies.

He was good with Wagner, Richard Strauss and Tchaikovsky, too. With the last named he always seemed to drain away the element of self-pity so that one heard the music in all its shapeliness and sweetness, and with a new respect for the skill and imaginativeness of its orchestration.

Mr. Monteux was a most lovable man, who somehow seemed to ride free of the tensions of our age. Thus he was always a refreshing presence and because music never seemed to grow stale for him, it always emerged from his leadership with a sort of dawnlike freshness.

FAREWELL TO TANGLEWOOD

Hindemith's "Nobilissima Visione" was the last work this listener heard Mr. Monteux conduct. That was at Tanglewood last summer. As it turned out, it was his farewell to Tanglewood and probably it was no accident that he chose this particular work for what he must have known was one of his closing programs. It is a work about St. Francis and it is a dignified and poignant evocation of the saint's feeling for life and all its creatures.

Mr. Monteux led it as a sort of benediction after an uncommonly long life in music. Beyond the girders of the shed there were birds singing, and there was afternoon sunlight to match the blessings of the sun that Hindemith was praising and that Mr. Monteux, in conducting Hindemith was also praising.

Mr. Monteux's death reduces still further the ranks of the grand old men of conducting. In fact, the 82-year-old Leopold Stokowski, the 80-year-old Ernest Ansermet, and the 79-year-old Otto Klemperer are almost the only giants left. The thinning of the ranks began in 1951 when Serge Koussevitzky died at the age of 76. In 1957 Arturo Toscanini died at the age of 89. Sir Thomas Beecham went in 1961, age 82, Bruno Walter in 1962, at 86, and last fall Fritz Reiner died at the age of 74.

In his 85th birthday, Mr. Monteux specifically forbade the Boston Symphony to give

him a party. It was, he said, too small an occasion for so large a fuss.

"They can give me a party on my 90th birthday," he said with a benevolent smile.

PIERRE MONTEUX IS DEAD AT 89, DEAN OF SYMPHONY CONDUCTORS

HANCOCK, MAINE, July 1.—Pierre Monteux, a commanding figure among orchestra conductors for half a century, died at his home early today. He was 89 years old.

As one of the great musical figures of the century, Pierre Monteux set a record for continuous service to music by remaining an active conductor beyond his 89th birthday.

We went beyond Arturo Toscanini, who also lived to be 89, but who retired as a conductor 10 days after his 87th birthday.

Mr. Monteux, however, had not planned to retire when he canceled his summer engagements recently. He had hoped to save his diminished strength so he could devote it wholly to the student conductors who were to gather at Hancock for his annual summer school.

The school, which he founded in 1941, was one of his dearest projects. Originally he wanted to leave something to posterity as a composer, but when he found this was not possible he decided to transmit to the new generation what he could about conducting. Once he confided however, that technique was all he could pass on.

"Music," he said, "must be second nature. That's something you don't learn."

It certainly seemed second nature to Mr. Monteux. One of the remarkable features about his conducting was that it always seemed so effortless. His beat was small. He never indulged in histrionics. And yet, when in front of the orchestra, his authority was absolute. The music unfolded with the utmost subtlety of nuance. One orchestral section was always transparent to another. And the music always seemed as fresh as on the day of its creation.

MAKES HIS POINT

An instance of his way with musicians came the day before his 85th birthday, when he was starting to rehearse the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which was the orchestra's birth day present to him. He was rosy-cheeked and in good humor and he found the men less alert than himself. After they had played a passage sluggishly—by his standards—he stopped and said, "I don't want to follow you, so you have to follow me." And thereafter they did.

He was an unforgettable figure on the poduim, for though he was short, he was chunky. His hair remained black to the end, but his walruslike mustache long ago turned white. He wore glasses only when conducting, and his wise, kindly eyes were so dark a green that unless one looked very closely they appeared brown.

His choice of Beethoven's Ninth as a birthday present was characteristic. He led it as his farewell with the Boston Symphony at the end of his period as its musical director (1919–24) and he always closed his San Francisco Symphony season with it. Besides, he liked to emphasize that he was not exclusively as some tended to think—"French" conductor.

"After all," he said, "Debussy didn't exist when I was educated. Neither did Ravel. I was brought up on Haydn, Mozart, and a little Brahms. I have learned the French since." He added that Brahms, of all the composers he had been associated with, was the one with whom he felt the most rapport.

But perhaps his best known association was with Igor Stravinsky. One of the stormiest and most exciting evenings of Mr. Monteux's life—and indeed in the life of contemporary music—took place in 1913 when Mr. Monteux led the Ballet Russe de Diaghilev in Paris in the premiere of Stravinsky's "Le Sacre du Printemps."

Last year in London when Mr. Monteux led his last orchestra, the London Symphony, in the same work to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the premiere, Mr. Stravinsky was in the audience to join in the tumultuous applause.

Mr. Stravinsky said yesterday: "I am deeply sad and deeply affected. It is very difficult to sit and watch the passing of many fine friends. Poulenc and Cocteau and Aldous Huxley—and now Monteaux."

INTRODUCED MANY WORKS

Despite his association with Stravinsky, though, Mr. Monteux was not personally very interested in post impressionist music. But in the years as leader of the San Francisco Symphony (1934–52) he performed a number of new works, including pieces by young Americans. He also insisted that his students conduct contemporary works as part of their obligation to musical culture.

Mr. Monteux was known chiefly as a symphonic conductor, but he also led opera. He was at the Metropolitan Opera from 1917 to 1919 and he returned there for two more seasons from 1954 to 1956, leading notable performances of "Faust," "Manon," "Carmen," "Pelléas et Mélisande," and perhaps most notable of all, Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice."

Mr. Monteux was born in Paris on April 4, 1875. He attended the Paris Conservatoire and studied theory and composition. His instrument was the violin and he won the first violin prize in 1896. But when he began his career as a professional musician he turned to the viola. He played that instrument with the Colonne Orchestra of Paris and also in the orchestra of the Opéra-Comique.

Later he organized his own "Concerts Berlioz" at the Casino de Paris. In 1911 he became the conductor for Diaghilev's Ballet Russe and in 1913 and 1914 he also conducted at the Paris Opera and founded the Société de Concerts Populaires.

He entered the army at the start of World War I, but he was relieved from his military duties by the French Government so that he could tour the United States in 1916–17 with the Russian Ballet. This led to his first engagement with the Metropolitan Opera.

BUILT UP ORCHESTRA

From the Metropolitan he went to the Boston Symphony, where he served for 5 years as musical director. He was replaced by Sergei Koussevitzky. After leaving Boston, Mr. Monteux returned to France and in 1929 he founded the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, which he led until his return to this country. His return was to suceed Issay Dobrowen as head of the rehabilitated San Francisco Symphony. While in San Francisco, Mr. Monteux built up the little-known organization into one of the country's major orchestras.

He often returned to Europe for guest engagements, but thereafter his association was chiefly with the American scene. He married an American, the former Doris Hodgkins, and he himself became an American citizen in 1942. They made their permanent home on Mrs. Monteux's family estate at Hancock, Maine.

Mr. Monteux was also a great fire buff. Only last year the London Fire Brigade presented to him a helmet and enrolled him as an honorary member. Earlier, this feeling for fires helped endear him to his fellow citizens of Hancock. Not only did he buy the town its fire engine but he also donated a station to house it.

Mrs. Monteux, a cheerful, friendly, bustling woman, always accompanied her husband and took care of him, seeing that he ate nourishing food and took the proper rest. She loved to sit in on interviews and often answered questions on her husband's behalf.

Fifi, a poodle, was also often part of the family traveling entourage. Two years ago Mrs. Monteux wrote an amusing book about their travels called "Everyone Is Somone." The author was listed as Fifi Monteux. It was told through her eyes.

TRAVELED IN EAST

Once he left San Francisco, Mr. Monteux was free to accept many more guest engagements in the East. He became a regular guest at Lewisohn Stadium. Charles Munch invited him back to Boston, and he frequently led the Boston Symphony both in its home city and at its summer home at Tanglewood.

He also led the Philadelphia Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic. Leonard Bernstein, the musical director of the Philharmonic, paid tihs tribute yesterday to Mr. Monteux:

"The whole world is poorer for the passing of a great man. Pierre Monteux was a monument to music and to everything positive in the art. He lived out his long and luminous musical life without rancor, fuss, competitiveness, or pretentiousness.

"His humility was almost a passion. Perhaps most passionately he taught and guided the young artists who sought him out, and through them he will survive the passing of generations."

Just as Mr. Monteux was becoming a fixture as a touring guest conductor, he surprised the music world in 1960 by becoming the permanent conductor of another orchestra, the London Symphony. This limited his American appearances.

FELL INTO ORCHESTRA PIT

He had been scheduled to take the orchestra to Japan this fall and to lead it in a gala program in New York during its U.S. tour next season. But all these plans had to be canceled when Mr. Monteux overtaxed himself in the spring. Part of his trouble was a nasty fall on April 1 at the Santa Cecilia Academy in Rome, when he slipped from the podium and fell into the pit.

He pulled himself together, though, and insisted on finishing the concert. He also continued the rest of his European engagements, including concerts in Amsterdam, Israel, and London. While in London there was a power failure that knocked out the elevators in his hotel. He walked up eight flights of stairs to his room. When Mrs. Monteux brought him back to this country last month, he was exhausted.

The conducting students were quietly told that he would not be able to hold his classes this summer. Then it was announced that he would give up his summer engagements at Tanglewood, Mass., and at Ravinia in Chicago. When he went into a coma, it was also announced that he would cancel his plans for next season. They included appearances with the Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans orchestras.

Mr. Monteux married three times. In addition to his widow, he is survived by 2 children by his second wife, Mrs. Germaine Monteux; a son, Claude Monteux, a well-known flutist and conductor of the Hudson Valley Philharmonic; a daughter, Mrs. Thomas Lanese, and 12 grandchildren.

A mass of requiem will be offered Saturday at 9 a.m. at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Ellsworth, Maine, near Hancock. Burial will be in Hancock.

Chicago's Encore Theater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Chicago is renowned as one of the great in-

dustrial and trading giants of the world. Few may be aware, however, of this great city's sophisticated, intellectual, and noteworthy contributions to the arts.

In the event any of my out-of-State colleagues are contemplating a visit to Chicago, I urge them to pay a visit to the Encore Theater, one of the most interesting and thought-provoking theatrical instiutions in the world.

Following is a descriptive account of the existing and creative work being accomplished by some of the most talented people in the country at this little theater:

THE STORY BEHIND ONE OF CHICAGO'S MOST INTERESTING AND FASTEST GROWING THEATERS

When you next spend a weekend in Chicago, make it a point to take in a show at the Encore Theater. When you do, you may not be particularly impressed with the luxurious appointments of the Encore's outward appearance—because you won't find any. Even the seats you occupy may be a little uncomfortable. You'll find them more * * * interesting, you might say, because everything has a flavor of Greenwich Village or, more pointedly, of Chicago's somewhat bohemian Old Town.

But you'll come away knowing, if nothing else, that you've seen a darned good show. Odds-on you'll have the feeling, if you've seen the original Broadway or a big-city touring company production, that the Encore's interpretation may be just a tiny bit better. This delightful impression may be derived from the fact that the theater is rather small. In all, it can accommodate only 200 playgoers at a time, and the seating is such that it is physically impossible to get a bad seat. Unlike bigger professional theaters, where you may have to use your opera glasses to have a close look at the actors' faces, one feels at the Encore a strange sort of rapport with not only the actors and actresses, but with the play itself. The very proximity of the stage makes you feel as though you are a part of it in reality, less a play than a series of human events.

It would be difficult to explain this phenomenon, except to point out that with some investigation you'll find that every member of the cast, every crewmember from executive director to ticket seller—the Encore is incorporated as a not-for-profit corporation under the provisions of the laws of Illinois—is fully and completely dedicated to superior showmanship in general and to the Encore Theater's productions in particular.

Consequently, this dedication is carried over, in some manner transported, to the audience. There are a great many Chicagoans—and non-Chicagoans, to—who are fiercly loyal to the Encore as a theatrical entity. It is not at all unusual for groups of professional actors and actresses, working at various Chicagoland theaters, to spend a Sunday evening (professional theaters are closed on Sundays in Chicago) seeing a show at the little theater on North Wells Street. Nor is it unusual for theater-concerned newspaper columnists to cover the Encore along with Chicagoland's multitude of other theaters. And ordinarily, reviewers come up with a surprising number of glowing reports.

Despite its limitations in size, the Encore does not limit its performing activities to small, cozy play material. The group appears perfectly willing to tackle anything—from limited-character productions (such as "Bad Seed," in which only eight or nine actors are required) to full-scale spectaculars. They even took a crack at "Kismet."

As of April 1964, the Encore was presenting a highly successful version of "West Side Story," with a full cast of dancers, singers, and actors; at the same time, the cast for "Oklahoma" was in rehearsal for opening at the end of May.

There is nothing picayune nor nonprofessional about the Encore's man-agreement attitude. The theater is operated as a serious business, and controlled on that basis. Casting is accomplished in a manner directly comparable to the way it's done for the professional stage: that is, with complete disregard for personal preferences. This is sometimes difficult, since so many of the Encore players have demonstrated outstanding talent in previous shows. Nevertheless, whenever the Encore holds an audition, that fact is advertised in the newspapers and new talent is invited to participate. Surprisingly, completely new players are frequently selected to play lead parts, even though Encore veteran actors and actresses may have auditioned for those parts.

"If an old Encore player and a newcomer are voted to be equally capable of playing a certain part, we usually give it to the Encore player," admits Charles Largent, executive director of the group, "because we have enough previous experience with that player to know that he or she is fully dependable and wants to work. On the other hand, during any audition we divorce ourselves from the past as much as possible. We try to be as cold as we can."

Mr. Lagent, known to everybody in the Encore as "Chuck," is a young man of apparently unlimited reserves of energy, with a driving urge to make the Encore a theater of consequence in Chicago; to all appearances, he is well on his way to accomplishing that goal. His interest in drama started early, when for all of his 4 years at Thornton High School, in Harvey, Ill., he worked with school dramatic groups. Subsequently he attended Grinnell College, Iowa, and New York University. In 1953, he joined the American National Theater Association and did an apprenticeship with a summer stock company, where, after originally serving as the director's houseboy he became assistant to the director.

At the end of this segment of his career, he worked for Lion's International as a convention booker. But there came the day when he learned that Lawson YMCA in Chicago was looking for an assistant director, and temptation became too great for him. Chuck has been in the business ever since.

In reality, the Encore Theater was originally the Lawson Playhouse, and productions were staged in the Y ballroom. The Lawson Playhouse flourished for 4 years * * * but unfortunately the YMCA management found it necessary to limit operations to two productions a year. For the dedicated hard core of players, two plays a year was an unacceptable limitation.

With virtually nothing more than high spirits, a lot of hope, and a handful of good workers, the Lawson Playhouse was renamed "the Encore Theater" and removed to 641 North Clark Street, a building which previously housed a strip joint called the French Casino.

For 3 years, the youngsters struggled with all the problems which can beset a new theatrical organization. The neighborhood was bad, one of the worst in the city, and was getting no better. It was, in fact, one of the two or three areas in Chicago where "nice" people go only when slumming.

Old Town, however, the triangle bounded by Clark Street, North Avenue, and Ogden Avenue, had already reached the bottom of the sociological level, and was on its way up again. Old Town is in itself an interesting historical phenomenon, in that much of the area was spared, for some miraculous reason, the ravages of the Chicago fire. Not more than 10 years ago, residents of the Old Town area began an organized campaign to revitalize the district. Many of the residents were themselves artists, writers, architects, or otherwise professionally creative. Wells Street, which is not actually within the Old Town Triangle, began to feel the symptoms of the contagious movement when unique restaurants, antique shops, and general rehabilitation began to appear and thrive with a quiet vigor.

Furthermore, other streets and neighborhoods adjacent to Old Town began to take similar action. Zoning laws, not so strict as in other parts of the city, have permitted the construction of garden walls, artistic modernizations, and a magnificent renovation of the mid-19th-century Victorian homes which had been considered eyesores in the past.

For months, Chuck Largent and his Encore associates drove up and down the streets of Old Town and the surrounding area in an effort to locate a building suitable as a site for the Encore. Just over a year ago, the group found an empty building at 1419 North Wells Street. The place was a shambles; it had none of the attributes necessary for anything resembling a theater.

So the kids went to work. The floor was removed, redesigned, and rebuilt on the slant essential to the installation of theater seats. They built a stage with operable turntables for almost magic changes of sets, leaving adequate room backstage for the storage of scenes and the mountainous heaps of miscellany that characterize backstages everywhere in the world. They wired and installed equipment for proper theatrical lighting and a light booth. One tiny room upstairs at the rear is reserved for office space. There are two other crowded and cluttered rooms backstage known as "dressing rooms," but whose only pretense at privacy is comprised by some ragged curtains which cover the doorways. No one seems particularly concerned about these minor discomforts so long as the show is good.

Mr. Largent has not been alone in the development and growth of the Encore. The staff that surrounds him is composed of young people who are equally dedicated and determined. Gene Ice, musical director, is a good example. Unlike Chuck, Mr. Ice has an outside job; like Chuck, he is a convention booker by profession, for a savings and loan association. His avocation, as he calls it, however, is the development of choral groups. And his talent for his avocation is truly remarkable. It is true that he most frequently works with trained voices—or, at least, voices with some training. When his profession calls him away from the Encore, he is sometimes forced to bring his chorus up to performance pitch (or give them a foundation for that happy state) in a very few days.

"I suppose, when that happens, my methods seem rather brutal," he says, apologetically. Brutal is a word completely incongruous to the man. It is far more accurate to say that he charms the best music out of his singers with his facile hands, patient explanation and a gentle, almost shy smile. In 3 days, with any luck, and some reasonably good voices, he can make a raw group of singers sound as though they had been working together for years.

Another contributor to the success of the Encore is Al Gossan, choreographer. Where Mr. Ice is warm, gentle appearing, and cheerfully ruddy, Mr. Gossan is muscularly trim, dark, sparkling, with a hint of lightning beneath the surface. His smile is bright and contagious, but a deadly seriousness about his work is evident in every gesture, every fluid step he takes, and the endless hours of practice and exercise his dancers willingly endure. He will accept nothing second rate. If one of his dancers does not immediately understand the complexity of movement in a routine. Mr. Gossan will demonstrate the movement over and over again with the lagging individual until he or she has attained perfection.

Even though a show may be in full swing, Mr. Gossan never lets up. An audience may

never see a flaw in the dancing, but dancers are required to attend frequent rehearsals.

Alternate choreographer at the Encore is Gary Giocomo, a slim intense and strikingly handsome young man who works with Mr. Gossan in developing the dance talent. Mr. Giocomo, too, walks as though his feet were 2 inches above the floor in the floating manner so common to professional dancers.

Tom Ventriss, another of the hard-core functionaries is regarded as the "permanent guest" director. Mr. Ventriss has worked in cooperation with Mr. Largent during a great many of the productions which have, without doubt, boosted the Encore's reputation and stature.

Two other members of the staff, both of whom have been with the group since its inception at the Lawson Y, are somewhat more difficult to classify, since they work both behind and in front of the curtain. Regina Zabel, a pretty, petite little blond with great startling eyes, doubles as secretary-treasurer of the corporation and one of the group's most talented actresses. Her dazzling interpretation of the alcohol-sodden, grief-stricken and almost-incoherent mother of the murdered boy in "Bad Seed" compared very favorably with the professional version which held Broadway entranced for many months.

Lou Sortman also provides an outstanding personality for playgoers as well as a steady technical hand behind the scenes. Lou is something of an institution at the Encore, a friendly, outgoing, deliberate man with wistful, appealing eyes and a penchant to grow scraggly beards and heavy mustachios. On stage, Lou plays character roles with warmth and humor; backstage, he is seriously devoted to the job of supervising maintenance and equipment.

Between performances, the Encore is frantically active. The stage is most often occupied with rehearsing actors and actresses, dancers or singing groups, more of the same is in progress backstage; an actress may be rocking a baby while her actor husband is on stage or carrying sets with a work crew. Wiring crews string cables around a couple practicing a dance routine, while a painting crew labors over new set designs.

Theater maintenance is a part of everyone's job. After performances and rehearsals, actors, singers, dancers—everybody, in short—gets into the act with brooms and dustcloths. Nobody is excepted.

The stars? Not a chance at the Encore, if you are selected to play a lead part, you are also chosen, coincidentally, to make certain that the washrooms are spotlessly clean before and after every performance.

Cost of College Education Continues To Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to insert in the RECORD a statement dated June 25, 1964, from the U.S. Office of Education concerning the increasing cost of college education.

The statement, which I believe will be of interest to all those concerned with education, follows:

STATEMENT FROM THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The cost of a college education continues to increase.

A survey of 92 percent of public and private colleges and universities by the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of charges for tuition, fees, board and room during the academic year ending in June, showed:

1. Male undergraduates attending private colleges and universities paid $1,399 for the two semesters, 5.1 percent more than a year ago. Women paid $1,425, compared with $1,364, an increase of 4.5 percent.

2. Male undergraduates attending public institutions outside their own State paid $1,084, nearly one percent increase from $1,039 of 1962–63. Coeds were charged $1,042 compared with $1,036.

3. Costs for male students in public colleges in their own State jumped 4.2 percent from $758 to $790. Coeds had about the same proportionate increase, from $755 to $784.

In addition to tuition, room and board, costs for clothing, transportation, textbooks and recreation ran between $500 and $1,000, the Office of Education said.

Tuition alone is the same for both sexes though women sometimes pay more for room and board. Students in public colleges in their own State paid only $191, an increase of $21. Students in out-of-State public colleges were charged $449, virtually the same amount as last year. Undergraduates at private colleges saw a $44 increase, from $690 to $734.

Tuition fees were highest in the Northeast, whether the student chose a public or a private college. In that section, tuition at private colleges reached $893. Nonresident students in public institutions paid $598. Resident students were charged $298.

The large number of 2-year public colleges in the West and Southwest charging little or no tuition made these areas the most economical for those attending a public institution. Resident students in those areas paid only $141. Nonresident students paid $426.

For those attending a private college, tuition fees were lowest in the Southeast. Median tuition there was $556.

Small but significant differences in the amounts charged men and women for board and room persisted. Women were obliged to pay $249 for lodging and $442 for board in a private institution while the male student was charged only $237 and $428 for the two items.

In public colleges and universities, women were charged $381 for board, compared to $389 for men. Dormitory charges, however, favored male students by a slight margin, $199 as compared to $204.

Ethics in an Unethical World

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, June 10, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, on May 24 of this year, Mr. Sidney Scheuer, president of Scheuer & Co., delivered a thoughtful and pertinent address before the Society of Ethical Culture in New York City on the subject, "Ethics in an Unethical World." Mr. Scheuer is treasurer of the International Humanist and Ethical Union and is former president of the Ethical Society of New York. He is internationally known in the fields of economics and business and has had a long record of public service. During the war years he served as Director of the Foreign Economic Administration. Mr. Scheuer's private philosophy and personal conduct in his long and illustrious career clearly reflect the high ethics of which he speaks.

In these changing times when standards are inched lower and lower to make way for practicality and material success, Mr. Scheuer's strong case in favor of the highest possible code of ethics deserves the closest attention. Although I do not agree with all of his conclusions—I believe stricter codes of ethics can and should be written in order to provide proper guidelines—I think everyone in public life can benefit from this fine discussion. I commend Mr. Scheuer's address to my colleagues and I am pleased to include it in the RECORD:

ETHICS IN AN UNETHICAL WORLD

(By Sidney H. Scheuer)

In the short span that each of us is privileged to be on this earth, we should want to count and to count we should use our faculties and gifts to the full. These may lie in personal relationships, in technical skills, in the sciences and professions, in teaching or business, in government or in social service, but in whatever activities we are engaged and wherever we use ourselves, there is a right way and a wrong way. I submit that the right way, or the way which ennobles and enriches, is to base accomplishment on the constructive radiations we are able to generate in our environments, and on the impact we bring into our contacts and to our responsibilities.

New problems, changing conditions, new insights, research, invention, and the ongoing evolution of society require that ethical people advance and grow ethically. Therefore, one should make a practice of testing one's relationships and actions for their ethical validity. This should become a conscious consideration of each of us. It is a good habit and one which yields great satisfactions.

How would each of you within hearing of my voice answer such questions as: Have I by example influenced others? Have I been an educator? Have I enriched the lives of those whose lives touched mine? Such constructive self-examination is invaluable. Too many people are unwilling or unable to undertake the continuing task of facing themselves; to the degree one can accomplish this and evaluate his own actions, to that degree he becomes effective. The growth of an individual can be measured by his ability to translate such self-examination into constructive purposes.

Does this sound idealistic, impractical, unreal? I am afraid it might to many who feel that ethical conduct prevents tangible accomplishment in a world of hard realities. I can testify to the contrary. I have found that such conduct develops one's resources and strengths in ways which are not otherwise accomplishable. Those of you who have also found this to be the best way to conduct your lives will have had the same experience. I suggest that those who have not yet adopted this more self-respecting pattern of conduct should give thought to the fulfillment they are missing.

Man pays an enormous price for ethical indifference. Many such become mere

money machines as distinguished from being successful businessmen, using their energies almost exclusively in predatory pursuits; others are power hungry; still others are insatiable in their ego hungers. All such extremists do violence to ethical concerns.

Such men in large measure live for themselves alone and this is a lonesome and corrupintg way of life. Frequently people of the type described are talented and could be much more useful and happy if they were able to discipline their appetites and face the insecurity within themselves which these drives evidence. Such people are often so absorbed in the willful accomplishment of their goals that they fail to recognize the damage which their activities sometimes generate. They lose themselves in business, in causes or in "doing good" and in the process never stop to examine their methods, their values and heir purposes. Each of us in his various activities is making a life, a fact which we recognize but frequently overlook. Success in all endeavors can be accomplished ethically.

Throughout history, human frailty as expressed in unethical conduct stemming from undisciplined drives has been an impediment to the advancement of society. The world has both suffered and profited from people's drives; yet we have learned very little about channeling and disciplining them. Could we gain competence in directing these powerful human forces, there would be no limit to man's accomplishments in this 20th century of new and expanding technology. Hitler and Mussolini are outstanding examples of misapplied and undisciplined drives; Gandhi and Schweitzer, examples of effective application of powerful concern with worthy accomplishment. Each of us knows admirable people who lack balance in using their gifts and who thereby impede their potentialities and sometimes do great harm.

Self-interest to the exclusion of mutuality of interest is no longer accepted as a principle of conduct or as an adequate approach to life. Man has begun to understand that these instinctive attitudes are not as productive and enduring as they were thought to be or may have been in the past. He has come to understand that the world is a society, and that the country, the State, the community, or the environment in which he lives and works cannot be preyed upon with immunity. He has learned that the price paid for such conduct is frequently the loss of self-respect and the sacrifice of esteem. Mutuality has come to be a necessary element to worthy accomplishment. The catastrophic events which my generation has experienced (two World Wars and the upheavals which have followed them) have resulted in profound questioning of many of man's past assumptions.

Bribery is accepted as a necessity in some areas of the world. This has been known and is countenanced. The economic injustices which persist in many countries put a premium on such practices. We cannot ignore such realities; we must recognize them for what they are and deal with them accordingly. Unless the necessity for such dishonesty ultimately is eradicated, the spiritual and economic well-being of nations cannot be solidly established. Our Alliance for Progress, now operating with South American countries, is attempting to change some of these attitudes and is addressing itself to such fundamentals. While this represents but a meager beginning, we should take heart that this subject is being recognized as a matter of international moral concern.

The advances of science, communication, travel, and education, too, have served to challenge man in all his capacities and tend to increasingly influence him toward more seemly conduct. In the United Nations and in the chancelleries of the world, statesmen are forced to conduct themselves with a higher degree of consistency and a greater consciousness of world opinion. This reflects some ethical progress. While force still controls in many parts of the world, it cannot be used with the shamelessness and cruelty which might have been risked even 5 or 10 years ago. Respect for a nation's rights is now of greater international concern than heretofore. I doubt, for instance, that the Russians today would handle a Hungarian uprising with the indifference and cruelty they exhibited a few years ago. New restraints upon statesmen of all nations are evidenced in the conduct of both their domestic and international policies. Isolation is passé. None of this may be motivated by purely ethical concerns but all of it produces more ethical results; the trend, therefore, is in the right direction even if perhaps for the wrong reasons.

I do not believe that ethically sensitive people require prescribed codes to motivate their actions, nor do I think codes of conduct make people ethical any more than laws in themselves make people honest; indeed, they frequently put a premium on evasion. Ethical living is a process which the limits of a predetermined or final code cannot accomplish.

My views on this subject are reflected in a statement I prepared in July 1951 for the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of Congress which at that time was examining the subject of ethics in government. I then suggested that we did not need more laws or codes but that perhaps more simple and direct measures might accomplish the objectives. I recommended the installation in the office of every Government official of a framed poster on which would be printed a series of questions, such as:

Have I arrived at my decisions today solely in the public interest?

Would I be willing to reveal the actions I have taken today publicly?

Would I be willing to describe the motivations and purposes of each policy determination I have made to my wife, children, friends, and associates?

Did I weakly succumb to influence, flattery, or personal preference in arriving at this decision?

Have I been accommodating at the public expense?

Did I judge the issue before me today with a view to my personal advantage or future?

Am I postponing or avoiding a decision for reasons of convenience or to avoid unpleasantness?

If such a poster were installed in all Government offices, officials and their visitors would face this tangible reminder of what proper Government standards should be; therefore, anyone violating such standards would be conscious of the likelihood that his official actions could be subjected to these tests.

I believe such a daily reminder would be more effective than written codes which are usually composed in moments of crisis and then filed away. I believe such questions should be the conscious concern of all good men because they bespeak self-respect, answerability and self-examination.

Regulatory agencies have been established by our Congress for the purpose of advancing the standards of conduct in many types of activities. Amendments of the laws creating these agencies have been devised from time to time which are calculated to limit unethical and inequitable practices and to improve the functioning of our country's affairs and the activities of its citizens. This process may seem slow and cumbersome and it is, but it is an essential part of our way of life. Those who have a will to evade and avoid regulations will continue to do so; but the very existence and improvement of such laws clearly put the unethical practitioners at an increasing disadvantage. The areas in which they can pursue their arts are thereby increasingly being narrowed.

To establish greater confidence in our country's foreign policies, self-questioning similar to that which I suggested to Congress in 1951 is desirable. A comparable group of questions can be devised against which our international statements and policies might be tested. If we work at our international relations with such a spirit, we will contribute a higher degree of consistency and increasing moral emphasis and, most important, accomplish the greatness we talk about. Our example then would more likely become the beacon of influence throughout the world, which it should be; unhappily, most politicians and many statesmen underestimate the moral potentials of mankind. One day, moral leadership and all it implies will be recognized by government leaders as the most powerful weapon available to them.

The troubled societies in the Middle and Far East and in South America which are demanding the world's attention reflect the cumulative fruits of injustice and neglect. The great nations must assume chief responsibility for their improvement. Unless the more fortunate nations ultimately move with some degree of cooperation in these areas, unrest will persist and the potentialities of full and rewarding living everywhere will be impaired. While competition for influence appears to be a dominant motivation in foreign aid programs, this should not in itself discourage the ultimate possibility of more enlightened and cooperative policies and programs. We should strive to attain this goal. If by the 1970's some such cooperation is accomplished, we will have contributed a monumental service to all mankind. The cynic will be unable to tolerate such a possibility but the cynic usually underestimates the potentialities of statesmanship.

We have learned from two World Wars that the sickness of mankind anywhere is the sickness of man everywhere. I think we should be patiently impatient but I do not think we should despair regarding any of these besetting concerns. The increasing number of international conferences evidence interdependence, concern and progress. They are not held because of indifference; quite the contrary. Ground will be lost at times but one can be assured that the world is moving in the right direction. Time is forcing the pace of betterment upon all nations. There will be no overall turning back.

It is a sad fact that critics and reformers are often people who are not builders; they never could have developed the advanced societies in which we live. Such people are useful and their intentions usually are of the best but they lack the functional and operational abilities which are indispensable to the advancement of society. The "doers" of the world are few and far between; they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by those who are preoccupied with the imperfections in the world around us. Were we able to combine the gifts of constitutional dissenters and/or critics with the gifts of "doers," we might more closely approach a just society and perhaps a sane world order. Such activities as the operation of government, industry or educational institutions are not theoretical; they call for great organizational and leadership talents. The "doer" is usually able to overcome whatever besetting difficulties may arise in such undertakings. Unfortunately, the habitual critics and theoretical analysts seldom are equal to such responsibilities.

Felix Adler, the founder of the ethical movement, was one of those rare men who combined the talents of the "doer" with those of the reformer. He was gifted with the insights of a prophet and the wisdom of the organizer. Tangibility of accomplishment was the test he applied to all his activities. As a result, his powerful influence was felt by people of all types and in all

walks of life; indeed, it is still being felt throughout the world of ideas and ideals.

The critical approach is usually negative and is rarely creative. Many of our fellow members indulge themselves in this. An instance was evidenced at the American Ethical Union assembly, held in Washington, D.C. last month, when all the resolutions presented were critical and called for changes. I agreed with some of these but I was disturbed when I found none which praised accomplishment or initiated new concepts. Surely our Government has recorded some such; to mention but a few, the test ban treaty, the cutback in production of fissionable materials and the recent railroad settlement. Many other gains have been made which might have warranted commendation.

I suspect that many of our children will see the world in clearer perspective and with greater vision. They will come to appreciate increasingly the needlessness of limitless aggrandizement—personal, national, or international. They will, I hope, measure success for what it is and what it does to people and for people. They will realize with new clarity that the resources available to man are sufficient to meet his needs and they will do more about making this availability universal. They will contribute inventiveness to the business of living which the dominant forces in society have not done to the extent necessary. They will see the importance of preserving opportunities, incentives, and rewards for the gifted, for men who can manage and lead. The world will never have enough such individuals and the world cannot function effectively unless such men are encouraged and permitted to make their contribution. They will likewise see the necessity for creating conditions which encourage useful and worthy living for men of lesser capacities.

The doubtful credo that man should obtain more and more material rewards for doing less and less must be reexamined. This applies to capitalists, workers, governments, and nations. It is a central moral issue. If this credo continues to go unchallenged, our way of life will be impaired. The sense of service and responsibility which has been the cornerstone of the development of democratic societies has been and is being tarnished by this thesis. Indifference, routinized relationships, rigid and limiting rules are not the values of a great people. We can do much better than this and must find the way to do so. The labor movement, too, would be well advised to address itself to this subject as a matter of basic concern.

But as to the here and now, we must make work and career prideful. We must broaden the meaning of citizenship. We must involve greater responsibility for all. We must practice less indifference to the world outside of self. We must be ever conscious of the injustices which are present in the world and we must come to appreciate that they are ignored at our peril.

How do we relate these vast considerations to our personal lives? What changes should we make in our attitudes and relationships? Are we satisfied with everything we have done personally in our ethical determinations and in our human relationships? To what extent should we adopt more consciously ethical motivations and evaluations? Are you proud of your life and, if not, what can you do about it now?

I think you can do much and your presence here suggests that you want to do much. I say to you: "It is a happier and more productive way of life to set your standards high regardless of what the standards of others may be." We are in a high, not a low, common denominator society. This is or should be the distinctive characteristic of a free democratic society. The joys of an ethical life are unknown to those who have failed to consider its satisfactions. The day-to-day situations you deal with, the manner of your speech, your reactions, the quality of your personal relationships and the respect and admiration you earn are not to be underestimated. You must care; you must want to make the world a better place in which to live; not by criticism and objection alone, not by financial gifts alone, desirable as they may be; but by constructive concern, affirmative and generous participation and some sacrifice. This is living worthily. Wealth is not the keystone of happiness; it can and does afford some opportunities not available to those who lack financial resources but it does not insure successful living. Each of us has experienced nobility and ethical sensitivity in the most unexpected places; indeed, amidst poverty and suffering.

In any discussion of ethics, one should include the Communist world which knows so little about us and about which we, too, really know so little. I have had considerable experience in working with and observing Communist governments and people, Communist industry and institutes, and Communist planning agencies and their functioning. As a result, I am convinced that no theory of government in itself creates or maintains ideal conditions.

I regard the totally planned society as a theoretician's dream. I believe that its seeming successes have been accomplished at enormous cost in economic and personal terms. While the Communist hierarchy, largely for ideological reasons, condemn policies which deviate from Marxist-Leninism, in practice they are constantly changing their methods and policies. I am confident radical changes in the functioning of Communist countries will continue to be necessary.

The Western World can help speed this process—a consideration which I fear has been overlooked by our Government and our people. Domestic political biases have been allowed to exert dominant influence upon policy. Anticommunism has been permitted to become the "sure fire" tool of the demagog in all walks of life. It has been a foolproof political weapon which is equally effective in attracting the ill equipped and ill informed. The net result has been to unfit many of our citizens to make the objective judgments which the times demand.

Our Government needs the support and encouragement of an informed citizenry if its leadership is to initiate the services it is obligated to contribute. We begin to see increasing evidence of a better balanced and more mature view of our role in East-West relations. This must become an affirmative and creative one. It is a moral necessity.

The Communists have greater problems than we have, both within individual countries and within their bloc but this does not reduce our responsibility. As people, we must learn to relate to the billion or more humans who presently live under that form of government. You and I must and can do this. Only by so doing, will it be possible for us to influence them and the world in which both we and they live. We must reach them on all levels of life and in functioning relationships and the sooner this can be brought about, the better for mankind. This is an ethical necessity.

Returning to my main theme, it seems to me that the central task of mankind is the development of man in the free world, man in the Communist world and man in the emerging world. The ethical emphasis is applicable in all environments. There are ethical answers to man's difficulties and each of us in his small way is, or should be, engaged in the vineyards of ethical clarification.

War on Poverty Bill Explained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the President's war on poverty program has been approved by the House Education and Labor Committee and is currently before the Rules Committee awaiting a rule so that it can be taken up on the floor.

I have seen several fact-sheets describing the provisions of the bill, one of the best being the one issued by the United Auto Workers.

I want to commend this excellent summary of the program to my colleagues in the House:

THE WAR ON POVERTY

The United States is the first major industrial nation in world history which can realistically look forward to a genuine victory over poverty. President Lyndon B. Johnson, in his January 8, 1964, state of the Union message, declared "unconditional war on poverty in America," and on March 16 he sent to the Congress his antipoverty program, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The AFL–CIO supports this program as an important first step in winning the war against poverty.

WHO ARE THE POOR?

Of 35 million Americans, 1 out of every 5 lives in poverty. Of these poverty-stricken Americans, 30 million live in family groups which have less than $3,000 a year money income and 5 million live by themselves on less than $1,500 a year. Nearly 10 million families are trying to get along on less than $60 a week and two-thirds of these families are trying to get along on less than $40 a week.

Poor people live in city slums, in depressed rural and industrial areas across the Nation. They lack schooling. They lack skills. They lack education and training opportunities. They lack jobs. They lack opportunity to get jobs. Here are major poverty characteristics—some of them overlapping:

More than half of the poverty-stricken families have members who are working or looking for work. This means that more than half the poverty problem is directly related to low wages, unemployment, and involuntary part-time work.

One-third of the poverty-stricken families include people past retirement age. This means higher social security pensions and enactment of "medicare" hospital insurance for the elderly will ease a major part of the poverty problem.

One-quarter are families without a worker, without any breadwinner at all because of death, desertion, disability, or old age.

One-fifth of the poverty-stricken are nonwhite Americans, mainly Negroes, although they are only 10 percent of the total population. The unemployment rate for Negro workers is more than double the rate for white workers.

THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

The Economic Opportunity Act, H.R. 11377, approved by the House Education and Labor Committee on May 24, 1964, aims at opening up to poor people opportunities to earn a decent living for themselves and their

families. Senator MCNAMARA, Democrat, of Michigan, sponsored a similar bill, S. 2642. To attack the multiple causes of poverty, the antipoverty legislation contains a variety of programs.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY

To open up new job opportunities and to expand existing opportunities for young people to get work, education, and training, title I of the bill sets up three youth programs—(1) Job Corps for out-of-work, out-of-school youths, (2) work training to help high school dropouts and potential dropouts, and (3) work-study to help needy college students with part-time jobs. The bill authorizes $412 million for these programs in fiscal 1965.

Job Corps: Jobless young men and women, aged 16 through 21, who volunteer and are selected, will get a maximum of 2 years' education, vocational training, useful work, recreation, and physical training. They will live in conservation camps and training centers in rural areas while learning new skills and getting work experience to prepare them to earn their living later. The Job Corps, like the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, will provide healthy outdoor work experience in the Nation's parks and forests while the members live in conservation camps of 100 to 200 youths each. "In no instances will the youth thus employed replace others already now employed," the House committee report declares. Education and vocational training will be provided through local public educational agencies or private vocational institutes which can provide such training at reduced cost. Job Corps members will get a maximum of $50 a month.

Work training: Jobless young men and women, aged 16 through 21, who are school dropouts or potential dropouts, who need work experience to prepare for a job or for job training, who need some incentive to stay in school or return to school, will have an opportunity to get work training, to acquire new skills and work habits on the job. Young men and women who get work training will subsequently get job counseling and job placement help. H.R. 11377 states specifically that the work-training program must not displace employed workers or impair existing contracts for services.

Work-study: Some 140,000 college students from low-income families will get part-time work and vacation-time work opportunities each year in on-campus service jobs and in off-campus jobs in public or nonprofit organizations. The antipoverty bill limits student employment to 15 hours a week and specifically prohibits displacement of employed workers or impairment of existing contracts for services.

URBAN-RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION

To stimulate antipoverty community action at the local level, title II of H.R. 11377 authorizes Federal support for such action programs. The Office of Economic Opportunity will—when requested—help public and nonprofit agencies develop and carry out action programs in employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational, rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, aid for migrant farmworker families, and various remedial out-of-school education projects. In addition to technical assistance, research, training, and demonstration projects in community action, the bill authorizes Federal payments up to 90 percent of the cost of community action projects in fiscal 1965 and 1966, and up to 50 percent thereafter. Maximum participation by local residents and by State agencies in community action projects is encouraged.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

Rapidly changing technology is constantly changing the nature of the job opportunity market. Workers who lack basic education will be unable to find jobs and they will sink deeper into hopeless poverty. To help 11 million poverty-stricken adult Americans aged 22 and older who have less than 6 years of schooling, H.R. 11377 authorizes support for State adult education programs aimed at teaching basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. Antipoverty adult education grants may also go to pilot, demonstration literacy projects. For adult education and for community action the bill authorizes $340 million in fiscal 1965.

RURAL ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

About half of this Nation's poor people live in rural areas. To raise the income and the living standards of poverty-stricken rural Americans, title III of the Economic Opportunity Act authorizes small grants ($1,500) and small long-term loans ($2,500) to help farm families join cooperatives, improve farm operations, and purchase essential income-raising farm equipment. It authorizes family-farm development corporations to help low-income family farmers acquire land. It authorizes loans to nonmanufacturing local cooperatives serving low-income rural families.

Migrant farmworker families: H.R. 11377 gives special emphasis to the needs of America's poverty-stricken, downtrodden migrant farmworkers and their families. The Office of Economic Opportunity has broad authority to help State and local governments, public and nonprofit agencies, other organizations, and individuals develop and carry out programs to help migrant farmworker families in education, day care of children, housing, sanitation, and health. Of the $50 million total authorized for rural antipoverty programs, $15 million will be available for programs to help migrant farmworker families.

EMPLOYMENT-INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

Title IV of H.R. 11377 authorizes Federal loans and loan guarantees for job-creating investment by small businesses which plan to hire hard-core unemployed workers and members of low-income families. The job-creating loans, not to exceed $15,000, will be made through the Small Business Administration, and may be coordinated with community action programs against poverty.

WORK EXPERIENCE

To help unemployed fathers and other needy people on welfare rolls acquire new skills and work experience in line with the 1962 Social Security Amendments, title V of H.R. 11377 proposes to expand programs now available under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1963 and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. H.R. 11377 authorizes $150 million for fiscal 1965 to develop and support pilot, demonstration projects under the 1962 Social Security Amendments to help jobless people on welfare rolls keep their families together and become self-supporting.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Title VI of H.R. 11377 sets up the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President under a Director appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The bill calls for maximum use of existing Federal agencies in administering the antipoverty programs. Specifically, the Department of Labor will administer work training and Manpower Development and Training Act programs and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will administer the work study, work experience, adult basic education, and vocational education programs. The Agriculture Department will administer the rural antipoverty program and the Small Business Administration will administer the employment investment incentive program. The OEO will administer the other antipoverty programs, including a volunteer corps.

LABOR STANDARDS

Section 607 of H.R. 11377 provides that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the construction, alteration, or repair, including painting and decorating of projects, buildings, and works which are federally assisted under any title of the bill shall be paid at prevailing wage rates determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended.

AFL–CIO SUPPORTS ANTIPOVERTY BILL

The American labor movement has been fighting poverty, fighting for better conditions of life and work for a long time. "The elimination of poverty is and always has been a primary goal of organized labor and a basic reason for its existence," AFL–CIO President George Meany declared April 9, 1964, in supporting the objectives of the antipoverty legislation. But President Meany warned that other measures are essential in the war on poverty—extension of protective wage-hour coverage to all workers, increasing the minimum wage to $2 an hour, double-time pay for overtime work, a shorter basic workweek, Federal standards for unemployment compensation, medicare health benefits for elderly people, Federal aid for primary and secondary education, equal employment opportunity, and full employment Government programs, including expansion and extension of the job-creating accelerated public works program. To fight poverty that now grips one-fifth of the Nation—to build a society in which every youngster has a full and equal opportunity to develop his talents and to use them—there must be jobs at good wages for every American who is able and willing to work.

Urge your Congressmen and your Senators to vote for the antipoverty bill, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

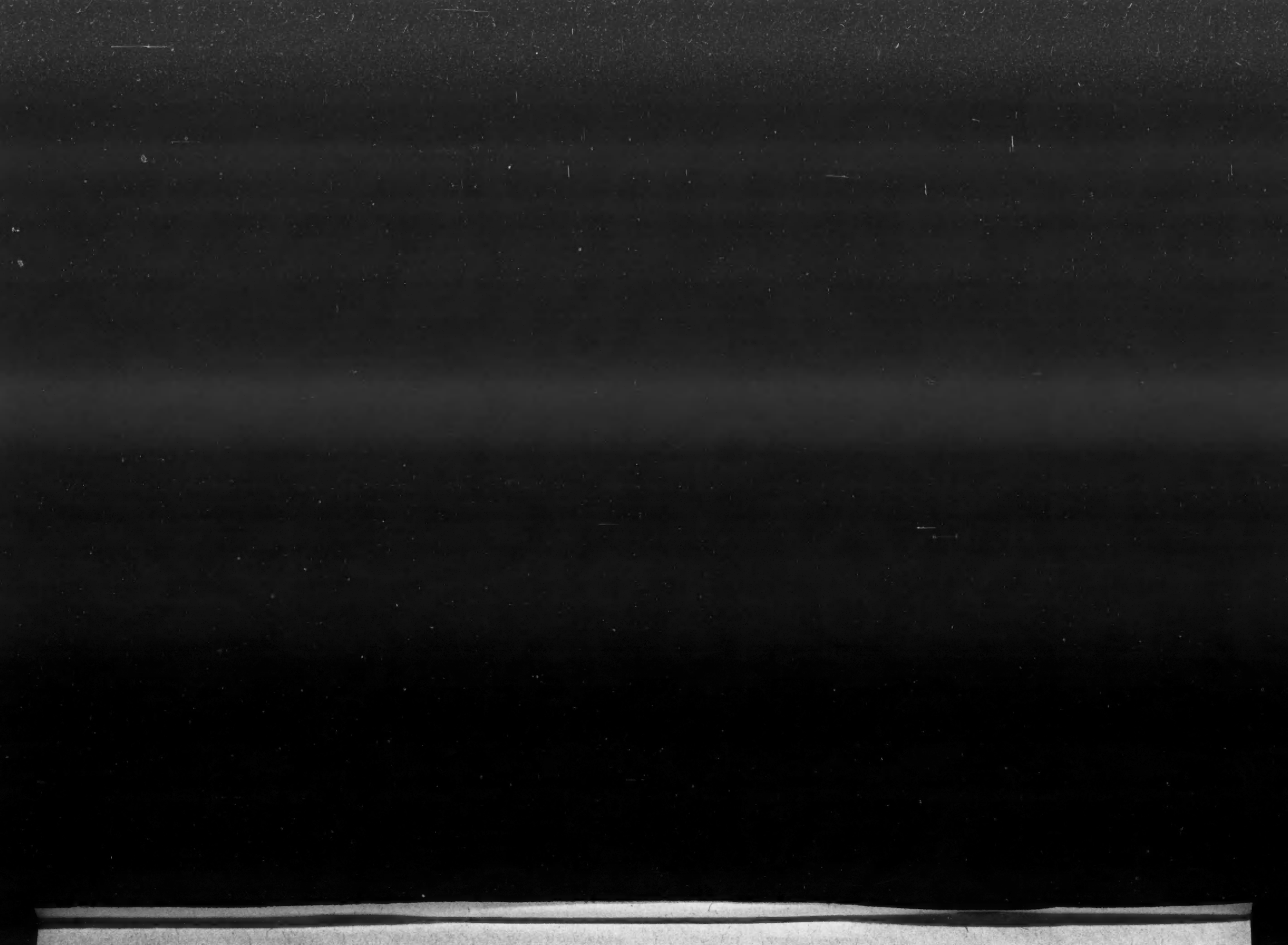

Appendix

Residual Fuel Oil Imports—A Consumer's-Eye View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, June 29, 1964

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, on June 18, 1964, Mr. Charles W. Colson, of the New England Council's Washington office, spoke to a group of western petroleum executives who were attending the Rocky Mountain Petroleum Institute, in Boulder, Colo. In his talk, Mr. Colson presented an excellent case for the removal of residual oil restrictions. He discussed the economic hardships which are caused by continuing controls on imports of this fuel, and effectively pointed up some of the misconceptions on which present policy is based. He demonstrated, for example, that there is no relationship between imports of residual oil and the welfare of the domestic oil and coal industries. His speech is of particular interest to consumers, because of its emphasis on the special problems which residual restrictions cause in the consumer areas of the east coast.

Because of the significance of this address and the effective case it makes for a review and revision of our policy regarding residual oil imports, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESIDUAL FUEL OIL IMPORTS—A CONSUMER'S-EYE VIEW

(Prepared for delivery by Charles W. Colson, counsel for the New England Council, to the Rocky Mountain Petroleum Institute, Boulder, Colo., June 18, 1964)

I am sure all of you are aware that our country today is more consumer conscious than at any other time in our history. Just as everyone talks about the weather, but no one does anything about it, so it is with the consumer. Everyone thinks and talks about the dangerous erosion of his pocketbook either through obvious inflationary pressures or through subtle, hidden costs which, in the long run, can hurt him more because he doesn't realize what is happening. Residual fuel oil import restrictions have created subtle and hidden, but substantial, costs to the consumer.

Since March 1959, when these restrictions were first imposed by the Federal Government through Presidential proclamation, the New England Council, along with other east coast consumer groups, has been actively urging their removal.

In an effort to understand the true impact of the quota program, the council conducted a survey of residual oil users throughout our six State region. Over the past 5 years, our survey showed us, individual consumers of residual oil have paid price premiums per barrel of between 15 and 65 cents. Particularly hard hit by the artificially high price of residual oil have been public institutions which must obtain their supplies through public bidding. We found, for example, that the Boston City Hospital paid a $58,000 premium on one purchase alone, and that sanatoriums, hospitals, and charitable institutions throughout our area have had to pay substantially higher prices as a result of the quota program. These are the consumers least able to bear the burden of the quota program. Overall, our statistics revealed that New England consumers pay on average $30 million per year excess costs due solely to the quota program. Since inception of the program, these excess costs have totaled somewhere in the neighborhood of $150 million, a big bite to take out of the economy of any region in the country.

You will recall that prior to March 1959 there had been a period of 17 months of "voluntary" restrictions. During those months there had been growing concern over the increasing size of crude oil imports and our growing dependence on them.

Control advocates argued that in time of emergency these imports would not be available and that unless they were restricted, they would adversely affect the development of the domestic oil and coal industries and their availability in time of national crisis.

During discussions and findings preceding the imposition of controls, no attention had been paid to residual fuel oil which had been explicitly excluded from the voluntary control program.

Why then was it included among related petroleum products? It has been suggested, and I believe there is factual evidence to the effect that it was added by the executive department as an afterthought.

The announced purpose of the mandatory control program was to safeguard our oil reserves and to protect our domestic oil industry. On this basis, no amount of reasoning can possibly justify inclusion of residual oil in the program. Residual oil imports simply have no effect on the domestic oil industry.

We found that refiners in the Texas gulf and Louisiana gulf districts used domestic crude oil almost exclusively. Their percentage yield of residual was running at the rate of approximately 7.5 percent and they were paying an average of $3 a barrel at the wellhead. The low cargo price for residual at the gulf was $2.20. Thus, with a residual yield of 7½ percent, the loss for each barrel of crude was less than 8 cents. If, because of imports of residual oil, the gulf price would have dropped as much as 10 percent, a very unlikely result since imported residual has never competed with domestic residual, the loss per barrel of crude resulting from the decline would run an additional 1½ cents, or one-half of 1 percent of the price of crude. Certainly, it is clear to you that this is a completely insignificant and meaningless fluctuation. The fluctuation of a major product such as gasoline would obviously obliterate any conceivable effect caused by a change in the price of residual. To say that residual oil has any effect on the price of crude is like saying that the price of sawdust affects the price at which a sawmill purchases raw timber.

As you are well aware and is readily apparent from the illustration I have just given, residual oil does not return a profit to the domestic refiner and for that reason less and less American residual oil is available each year. On Monday, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Kelly, pointed out that residual fuel oil yields in U.S. refineries dropped from 28 percent of the total product yield in 1944 to approximately 8 percent today. In New England alone during 1962 we needed over 75 million barrels of residual oil and could obtain only slightly more than 6 million barrels from domestic sources—this in spite of the fact that several New England consumers would prefer to use domestic residual which they say has a higher British thermal unit output with less sulfur content.

During the period from 1953 through 1963, total demand for residual oil increased from 1,234,000 barrels per day to 1,262,000 barrels per day, a total increase of only 28,000 barrels a day. In the same period the amount of this fuel available from domestic sources decreased by 345,000 barrels per day. As a result imports had to increase by 373,000 barrels each day to fill the gap. This was an increase which Interior Secretary Udall on March 23, 1964, observed was "due entirely to the declining availability of domestic supplies," since "overall residual use merely kept pace with the Nation's industrial growth."

Since New England has historically—even prior to World War I—depended on residual fuel oil for heating our hospitals, apartment houses, and other public buildings, to power our industries and to produce our electricity, and since the domestic oil industry no longer wishes, for obvious economic reasons, to furnish this fuel with the result that we have become almost completely dependent on imports—the consumers from our area and their elected representatives are becoming more and more concerned about the economic hardships they have suffered from continuing controls on imports of this fuel.

Originally, the rationale for maintaining imports on residual oil was thought to be the relationship of these imports to the domestic oil industry. As is obvious from the declining domestic production of residual, however, there is simply no relationship at all. In recent months, officials of the administration have finally acknowledged that the real reason for continuing controls on residual oil is the possible effect which their removal might have on the domestic coal industry.

Spokesmen for the coal industry maintain that residual imports displace 56 million tons of American produced coal and have cost thousands of coal miners their jobs. Such arguments are false because they are based on the premise that all consumers of residual oil if suddenly cut off from imports would switch to coal. In other words, hospitals, schools, and apartment houses would have to turn back the pages of time and install coal burning furnaces. American ships would once again be powered by coal and areas of the country such as Florida where coal has never been a factor would immediately install facilities for coal. This, of course, never would happen and claims that it would are unrealistic.

It is true that coal and residual oil are competitive only in the utility market and then only in those utilities equipped to burn either fuel. Others could not and would not make a switch from oil to coal because of prohibitive costs. Coal's share of this market has shown a steady increase even with-

out controls. Instead of 56 million tons, the Interior Department says that only 6 million tons of coal are affected by residual. This is less than 2 percent of the total annual coal production and is insignificant compared to the total tonnage the coal industry exports each year.

Statements that residual imports cause coal mining unemployment can have only one purpose—to deceive the coal miners.

Let me enumerate at this point some of the basic arguments for the removal of residual oil restrictions, and let me clear away some of the misunderstandings which exist with respect to the effect of this program:

1. It has been argued that residual oil restrictions are essential in the interest of national security. First this argument was advanced in connection with the supposed effect of residual oil on the domestic oil industry. But when plain economic facts disproved this, it was then argued that the east coast and New England in particular, by relying upon imports from a foreign source, would in the event of a national emergency be in great danger of being isolated from its vital energy supply source. The fact is, however, that during World War II, New England had to rely on tanker shipments from the gulf coast or from Venezuela and we received the oil we needed. In the event of another emergency, if we find that an enemy has cut off our Atlantic supply lines, then almost certainly he will have cut off our railroad supply lines, and coal from West Virginia will be as inaccessible as oil from Venezuela.

In the conclusions of its 2-year study, the Office of Emergency Planning found that maintenance of residual oil controls had no relationship to the national security but rather that "a careful and meaningful relaxation of controls would be consistent with national security and the attainment of hemispheric objectives which contribute to the national security."

2. Residual oil restrictions have had a devastating effect upon independent oil marketers and upon fuel competition generally in New England and other east coast areas. Today no buyer is able to approach a new source for his oil requirement. Sellers are unable to solicit new accounts and the residual oil market in New England has become truly a "seller's market."

3. Controls have stifled economic development generally throughout New England and have cost our area countless thousands of job opportunities.

4. These restrictions have done serious injury to our relations with Venezuela and today stand as No. 1 problem—if not the only outstanding problem between our two countries. In spite of this, Venezuela has still become the showcase of free enterprise in South America and neither receives nor asks for foreign aid. In this we should encourage her—not throw roadblocks in her path of progress and perhaps even force her to look elsewhere for markets for this fuel we must have.

You may quite properly be asking yourselves what effect all of this has on you as oil producers in the Rocky Mountain States. It is my opinion that your continued support for residual oil quotas is wholly contrary to your own self-interest both as oil producers and citizens. Those who seek to enlist your aid in their efforts to tighten restrictions on residual oil imports are doing you gross disservice, and I think it is high time that the independent oil producers of this and, in fact, of every other region in this country, realize the real harm that these quotas are inflicting on your industry.

Frankly, in the eyes of most New Englanders, all oil comes from Texas—that is somewhere west of Boston. They picture all oil men as "wheeler-dealers"—extravagant, eccentric, pompous Texans. When New Englanders get riled up because they have to pay more than they think they should for fuel, their resentment spills over to the oil industry as a whole. This resentment is being felt with increasing intensity by their elected representatives in Washington.

Let me quote from a letter sent to the Secretary of the Interior a few months ago and signed by 11 New England Congressmen:

"For too long this emergency power to restrict residual oil imports has been misused for the political purpose of supporting the price of Texas crude oil, at the expense of the economy of the Northeastern portion of the United States. Texas oil is fully capable of competing fairly in a free market, without the crutch supplied so faithfully and so constantly by the Department of the Interior."

On May 15, 1964, the feelings of Representative WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts, were conveyed to Secretary of Defense McNamara when he wrote in part as follows:

"It is true that my original suggestion to you related only to Defense exemption from residual controls * * *, and in view of recent information coming to my attention, I think it would be proper for you at this time to review the cost to the Department of Defense of the entire oil import control program."

In short, you are jeopardizing some of the most vital and important objectives of your industry by your support for a program which helps you not at all, but which hurts New England and the East deeply.

Second, I'm sure that you are well aware that the petroleum industry can only be healthy if it is part and parcel of a healthy national economy. Your job is to supply a most vital source of energy to power our industries, to generate our electric current, to heat our homes, and to fuel our automobiles. Restrictive import policies can over the long run only hamper genuine national economic growth. At the moment, our restrictive oil import policies represent the largest single obstacle to expansion of foreign trade. Whenever our trade negotiators go to a bargaining table with trade negotiators from the common market or from any other foreign countries, they are constantly reminded of each and every restrictive U.S. trade policy. Under the Geneva reservation, items which are reserved from negotiation by the United States entitle our foreign counterparts to comparable reservations. Great Britain may restrict imports of U.S. automobiles in retaliation for our restricting imports of woolens, etc. The net effect of every U.S. trade barrier has been to blunt the growth, through export markets of vital U.S. industries.

Third, Government policies which prevent the normal competitive process and which inevitably drive up the price not only of residual oil but of all other natural fuels, can ultimately serve only one purpose. The fact that New Englanders today are faced with record-high oil prices and inability to obtain vital sources of energy, and the fact that they fail to enjoy the benefit of competition, forces New England consumers to look elsewhere for sources of energy. In many areas, nuclear power has become a competitive source of energy for the generation of electric power. If by shortsighted policies the fuel-producing industries of this country—coal, gas, and oil—continue to drive prices unnaturally high, the ingenuity and inventiveness of our people will lead us to other sources of energy and will hasten the day when either nuclear power or solar energy drive conventional fuels out of the market.

Finally, restrictions on residual fuel oil imports which impose a needless burden on the consumers of the East, are a continuing and irritating reminder of the entire oil import control program. Import restrictions on crude oil which are defended by many as essential to the national defense and for which there is a plausible and rational justification, are clearly imperiled by the continuing attacks by those of us from New England and the East upon the residual oil quota program. In the area I come from, this appears to be a classic illustration of the tail that wags the dog.

I think the consumer's viewpoint which those of us who live along the east coast share was perhaps best expressed by Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, in a recent speech on the Senate floor:

"Let us not fall for the fallacy of turning back the clock. Time and technology do not stand still. To yearn for the coal status quo, or the good old days, is to surrender to a dream and to invite disappointment and disaster. In these restrictions upon imports of residual fuel oil there is no help and no hope for the miner. For the threat to his job does not come from that source.

"America does not advance by itself by creating roadblocks among the sister States. All that is negative. Progress is positive, sincere, sound, and mutual.

"Unemployment is our universal ill and our common concern. Let us meet it with directness, not with detours. Let us employ all our resources of research to put men to work in the mining regions and the manufacturing regions of America. Let us conquer unemployment, not by delusions but by determination.

"And conquer it we can."

The Mississippi Project—III: The Volunteers Arrive, Three Disappear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this summer's Mississippi civil rights project will have two major purposes. It will not only aim to acquaint Mississippi Negroes with their rights and help them to register to vote; it will aim also to acquaint the rest of the country with the flagrant abuse and misapplication of the law by Mississippi law-enforcement agencies.

Minneapolis Tribune Reporter Dick Cunningham began to publicize the project in a series of front-page articles in the Tribune from the time civil rights volunteers from Minneapolis arrived at Oxford, Ohio, for their orientation sessions.

He and other newspapermen like him are performing an invaluable service by keeping the rest of the country constantly aware of events in Mississippi.

Cunningham reported the tragic disappearance of three civil rights workers to Minneapolitans a full day before the news was carried in other newspapers across the country.

In the following article, which appeared in the Monday, June 22, Minneapolis Tribune, Cunningham describes the harassment to which incoming volunteers were immediately subjected and the disappearance of three workers near Philadelphia, Miss.:

THREE MISSING ON RIGHTS TRIP—FBI CALLED IN

(By Dick Cunningham)

JACKSON, MISS.—The FBI was called in late Sunday when three civil rights workers, one of them a student volunteer in the Missis-

sippi summer project, were reported missing.

The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), project sponsor, called the FBI in Jackson shortly before midnight after the three failed to return to their Meridian, Miss., headquarters from an on-the-scene investigation of a recent church bombing.

COFO spokesmen said the three left Meridian at 9 a.m. yesterday for Philadelphia, Miss., where a Negro church was burned last week. They were due to return to Meridian by 4 p.m. or to make contact with COFO, if delayed. Philadelphia is 40 miles north of Meridian in eastern Mississippi.

Missing were Mickey Schwerner, New York, who has operated a COFO center in Meridian for several months; James Chaney, Meridian, and Andy Goodman, Queens, N.Y., a student volunteer. Chaney is a Negro, the other two are white.

Meanwhile yesterday, some 150 college students had arrived for summer project work in voter registration and education. Some 50 other volunteers were expected to arrive later last night and today from Oxford, Ohio, where they underwent orientation work last week.

With the arrival of the first students, 80 of them in 2 chartered buses and the rest in private cars, came the first series of harassments—most directed at 6 Negroes traveling southward to Jackson.

At Maben, Miss., a passenger, Stephen E. Smith, was beleaguered in a phone booth by a band of whites after the driver was arrested for reckless driving.

Smith, a volunteer from Chicago, said he was calling Jackson COFO headquarters for help when the youths broke the glass in the booth and spat on him. One pumped an empty shotgun aimed at him and pulled the trigger several times.

Smith's rescue illustrated the importance of one lesson the students were taught at Oxford—"keep in touch with headquarters."

"There's the man that saved my life," Smith said yesterday afternoon, pointing to Don White, a Negro who is in charge of the office. White drove to Maben to put up Smith and the other waiting in the car, none of whom had driver licenses.

The original driver, James R. Brown, 20, Ittabena, Miss., meanwhile was held in Choctaw County jail in Ackerman on the reckless driving charge. That was on Saturday.

Yesterday, after being released on a $50 bond posted by one of a group of volunteer lawyers associated with the COFO project, Brown sat in Jackson headquarters and discussed his trip in detail.

Traveling southward from Bricks, N.C., the 1963 station wagon was stopped earlier Saturday in Tuscaloosa, Ala. Brown said local police searched the vehicle and asked pointedly:

"When are the two buses and the cars coming through?"

Arrested on a speeding charge, Brown paid a $115 fine in Tuscaloosa. Continuing the trip, the group was followed by Alabama State police for the next 40 miles.

At the State line, Brown said, a Mississippi highway patrolman took over. Then Columbus, Miss., police. Then another highway patrolman. Then a third—the one who made the reckless driving arrest.

Brown is scheduled to stand trial on the charge Friday in Choctaw County. But he also was told to appear in court today in Webster County. The highway where the arrest occurred barely jags through Choctaw County, and the patrolman who made the arrest charged him with driving recklessly in both counties.

Brown denied both the speeding and reckless driving charges. He said they were charged in Alabama with speeding in a 60-mile-an-hour zone and with reckless driving for allegedly straddling the highway's center line.

He said the guilty plea to the speeding charge was entered to get them out of Alabama and into Mississippi.

Arrests for traffic violations, COFO workers said, form part of the pattern of southern harassment of civil rights workers. Indeed, they say, the recent Mississippi Legislature stiffened penalties for traffic violators in acknowledged anticipation of the "invasion of brainwashed kids."

According to Robert Weil, COFO communications chief, there were some volunteers in each of 15 headquarters throughout the State. They will begin voter registration work today, he said.

Among those arriving safely was Emily Schrader, 22, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ernst J. Schrader, 30 Kenwood Parkway, St. Paul. She was doing communications work yesterday in the Jackson office.

Unmanned so far are five more headquarters in the southwestern part of the State, where there have been several incidents of violence.

The students assigned to that area, including Wayne Anderson, 24, St. Cloud, Minn., went from Oxford to Washington, D.C., yesterday to seek Federal protection.

Tough Talk—What Action?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 6, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, there is food for thought in a recent editorial in the Washington Evening Star entitled "Tough Talk." The surprising replacement of Ambassador Cabot Lodge by one of our country's top-ranking military leaders, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, and the subsequent confusion being generated by a series of anonymous policy statements and on-the-record Presidential reports to the people fail to clarify the situation or the prospects in Vietnam.

Clearly there is little of optimism in the public reports made by former Ambassador Lodge since his decision to resign his post on the frontlines of one of America's most difficult and dangerous ventures in foreign policy. Whether the Lodge resignation was strictly his own decision or whether it was the result of a decision by the Johnson administration to sharply alter our policies and actions in Vietnam is being argued in many places on Capitol Hill, but it is not nearly as important a question at the moment as what really is to be our new, or continuing, American policy in that troubled area of the world.

The significant deletion made in the delivery of President Johnson's Minneapolis speech on our southeast Asian position, referred to in the Evening Star editorial, raises far more questions than it answers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Evening Star editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOUGH TALK

There is a strong probability, it seems to us, that some of our officials have been talking too much and saying too little in the recent series of "warnings" directed to Red China.

This series began with a background talk by one of our highest officials who, while keeping the door open to negotiated settlements, spoke in strong though anonymous terms of our resolve to fight if necessary in southeast Asia. Clearly, this was intended for the ears of Peiping and Hanoi.

If that message got through, however, the Chinese and the North Vietnamese must be wondering what to make of the most recent "warning"—President Johnson's Minneapolis address.

There are two principal things to be said about this speech. First, the prepared text as released to the press contained this language: "In Vietnam we are engaged in a brutal and bitter struggle for the freedom of a friend. There, too, we will use the force necessary to help them maintain their own freedom."

In delivering the speech, the President dropped the second of these sentences. He contented himself with asserting our willingness to "risk war" if necessary to preserve freedom.

What does this mean? Clearly, to say that we will "risk war" to preserve freedom falls considerably short of saying that we will fight a war to preserve freedom. And when this is taken together with the deleted sentence in the Minneapolis address the suspicion emerges that all of the seeming tough talk in Washington in recent days has been, in reality, a bluff.

If so, it is a dangerous business to be engaged in. For this country may find itself one day with its bluff called.

It does not add to the credible toughness of our position for us to keep reiterating that we may fight—particularly if we say it less and less clearly. If we mean business, we have said quite enough to put the Communists on warning. If we do not mean business, we should pipe down.

The most important factor, in the end, is not what the Red Chinese believe about our intentions. It is what the American people believe. The administration would be well advised to bend its most serious efforts to convincing the public at home that we are, in fact, in a situation in southeast Asia which may call for sacrifices and effort far beyond those we have been making.

Nothing would do so much, incidentally, to convince the Communists that the tiger isn't made of paper.

Results of Questionnaire From Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 2, 1964

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, it is essential that a Congressman be properly informed on the views of the people he represents. In this connection, a public information questionnaire was sent to the constituents of the Second Congressional District of Kansas. Approximately 110,000 questionnaires were distributed. These were mailed to every person with a telephone and copies were distributed through clubs and organizations request-

ing such. Slightly more than 10,000 questionnaires have been returned to date with over 30 percent including a special letter or additional comments. My office continues to receive a few completed questionnaires daily. I have purposely delayed this tabulation of results in order to allow as many of the returned questionnaires as possible to be included in the final tally.

When analyzing the results, consideration was made for the fact that it is difficult to answer some of the questions with a simple "yes" or "no."

If anyone desires extra copies of the tabulation, I will be happy to furnish them.

I am grateful for the fine response and I hope everyone will continue to write me on matters of interest.

The tabulation follows:

Question	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you favor sale of wheat to Russia and other Communist countries?	54	40	6
(a) Would you favor this sale if a Federal subsidy is required?	11	73	16
2. Do you favor a continuation of the foreign aid program at present level ($3,000,000,000)?	20	73	7
3. Do you favor a civil rights bill that extends the police power of the Federal Government over business not in interstate commerce?	16	72	12
4. Do you believe our foreign policy has been sufficiently firm in dealing with Castro and Cuba?	19	75	6
5. Would you favor an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to permit Bible reading and voluntary prayer in public schools?	77	18	5
6. Do you believe the administration tax reduction bill should pass without regard to Federal spending?	17	76	7
7. Do you favor the continuing efforts of the Federal Communications Commission to regulate the programs on radio and television stations?	56	29	15
8. Should Congress—			
(a) Approve a new voluntary wheat program?	46	19	35
(b) Extend the soil bank contracts?	23	34	43
(c) Take no action?	11	24	65
(d) Repeal present programs?	29	14	57
9. Do you believe present U.S. import duties are fair to our farmers and manufacturers in view of the treatment given American products abroad?	11	61	28
10. Do you favor Federal aid for—			
(a) Elementary and high schools?	40	51	9
(b) Colleges, public and private?	37	51	12
(c) Vocational training schools?	52	35	13
11. (a) Do you favor a voluntary medical aid program on a cooperative basis with the Government contributing to premium costs for health insurance with private companies?	30	52	18
(b) Do you favor compulsory medical aid program for the aged attached to social security?	27	62	11
12. (a) Do you favor the U.S. membership in the United Nations?	76	16	8
(b) Do you believe U.S. problems are handled with fairness in the United Nations as presently organized?	34	45	21
13. Do you believe the test ban treaty negotiated with Russia was in the national interest?	52	31	17
14. (a) Do you believe the Peace Corps mission is necessary for the success of our foreign policy at a $100,000,000 annual cost?	35	50	15
(b) Do you favor a National Service Corps if costs are comparable to the Peace Corps?	24	47	29
15. Do you believe the present veterans' pension and hospital programs are adequate?	57	20	23
16. Number the following issues in the order of their importance to you:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Foreign affairs.			
(4) Balanced budget.			
(5) Tax reduction.			
(6) Farm problem.			
(7) Juvenile delinquency.			
(8) Civil rights.			
(9) Labor problems.			
(10) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

ATCHISON COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	55	41	4
Question 1(a)	14	71	15
Question 2	14	81	5
Question 3	18	69	13
Question 4	22	72	6
Question 5	77	18	5
Question 6	16	78	6
Question 7	59	26	15
Question 8(a)	43	18	39
Question 8(b)	22	34	44
Question 8(c)	12	27	61
Question 8(c)	30	14	56
Question 9	9	68	23
Question 10(a)	40	50	10
Question 10(b)	36	52	12
Question 10(c)	53	33	14
Question 11(a)	36	44	20
Question 11(b)	20	55	15
Question 12(a)	81	11	8
Question 12(b)	30	45	25
Question 13	49	34	17
Question 14(a)	33	50	17
Question 14(b)	22	56	32
Question 15	64	35	21
Question 16:			
(1) National defense. Reduction in Government spending.			
(2) Foreign affairs. Balanced budget.			
(4) Tax reduction.			
(5) Civil rights.			
(6) Farm problem.			
(7) Labor problems.			
(8) Juvenile delinquency.			
(10) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

BROWN COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	50	44	6
Question 1(a)	14	67	19
Question 2	11	81	8
Question 3	20	66	14
Question 4	16	76	8
Question 5	82	16	2
Question 6	12	76	11
Question 7	63	26	11
Question 8(a)	50	20	30
Question 8(b)	35	30	35
Question 8(c)	16	27	57
Question 8(d)	29	15	56
Question 9	6	74	20
Question 10(a)	35	55	10
Question 10(b)	34	53	13
Question 10(c)	47	38	15
Question 11(a)	20	56	24
Question 11(b)	24	66	10
Question 12(a)	70	23	7
Question 12(b)	27	46	27
Question 13	42	35	23
Question 14(a)	30	53	17
Question 14(b)	20	46	34
Question 15	52	27	21
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Reduction in Government spending. Foreign affairs.			
(3) Balanced budget. Tax reduction.			
(5) Farm problem.			
(7) Civil rights. Juvenile delinquency.			
(9) Labor problems.			
(9) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

CLAY COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	51	41	8
Question 1(a)	3	72	25
Question 2	10	67	23
Question 3	12	64	24
Question 4	10	75	15
Question 5	91	6	3
Question 6	5	87	8
Question 7	57	20	23
Question 8(a)	59	12	29
Question 8(b)	37	21	42
Question 8(c)	9	23	68
Question 8(d)	30	15	55
Question 9	5	75	20
Question 10(a)	25	58	17
Question 10(b)	24	55	21
Question 10(c)	41	37	22
Question 11(a)	25	55	20
Question 11(b)	12	74	14
Question 12(a)	60	19	21
Question 12(b)	20	55	25
Question 13	36	35	29
Question 14(a)	29	42	29
Question 14(b)	16	37	47
Question 15	56	29	15
Question 16			
(1) National defense. Farm problem.			
(2) Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Balanced budget.			
(4) Tax reduction.			
(5) Foreign affairs.			
(8) Civil rights. Labor problems.			
(9) Juvenile delinquency.			
(10) Veterans' benefits.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

DONIPHAN COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	46	45	9
Question 1(a)	13	67	20
Question 2	17	78	5
Question 3	12	73	15
Question 4	19	79	2
Question 5	71	24	5
Question 6	17	79	4
Question 7	55	27	18
Question 8(a)	53	16	31
Question 8(b)	36	27	37
Question 8(c)	10	19	71
Question 8(d)	29	16	55
Question 9	7	75	18
Question 10(a)	35	57	8
Question 10(b)	27	60	13
Question 10(c)	50	37	13
Question 11(a)	23	62	15
Question 11(b)	24	66	10
Question 12(a)	69	23	8
Question 12(b)	28	44	28
Question 13	43	34	23
Question 14(a)	26	58	16
Question 14(b)	25	48	27
Question 15	50	32	18
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Balanced budget. Foreign affairs.			
(3) Reduction in Government spending.			
(4) Tax reduction.			
(6) Juvenile delinquency.			
(7) Farm problem.			
(8) Labor problem.			
(9) Civil rights. Veterans benefits.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

JACKSON COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	56	39	5
Question 1(a)	10	70	20
Question 2	10	77	13
Question 3	16	70	14
Question 4	14	80	6
Question 5	83	13	4
Question 6	9	84	7
Question 7	58	26	16
Question 8(a)	59	20	21
Question 8(b)	40	30	30
Question 8(c)	5	31	64
Question 8(d)	23	21	56
Question 9	7	67	26
Question 10(a)	34	57	9
Question 10(b)	31	53	16
Question 10(c)	51	31	18
Question 11(a)	26	50	24
Question 11(b)	26	58	16
Question 12(a)	74	18	8
Question 12(b)	33	46	21
Question 13	51	33	16
Question 14(a)	27	57	16
Question 14(b)	20	50	30
Question 15	58	21	21
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Balanced budget.			
(3) Tax reduction.			
(4) Foreign affairs. Reduction in Government spending.			
(5) Civil rights.			
(6) Farm problem. Juvenile delinquency.			
(7) Labor problems.			
(10) Veterans' benefits.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

MARSHALL COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	55	36	9
Question 1(a)	10	71	19
Question 2	14	75	11
Question 3	13	72	16
Question 4	12	81	7
Question 5	78	17	5
Question 6	15	78	7
Question 7	47	33	20
Question 8(a)	60	14	26
Question 8(b)	43	21	36
Question 8(c)	9	37	54
Question 8(d)	27	18	55
Question 9	8	68	24
Question 10(a)	34	56	10
Question 10(b)	28	56	16
Question 10(c)	47	40	13
Question 11(a)	33	50	17
Question 11(b)	20	70	10
Question 12(a)	65	27	8
Question 12(b)	21	55	24
Question 13	43	37	20
Question 14(a)	27	55	18
Question 14(b)	16	49	35
Question 15	58	22	19
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Reduction in Government spending. Balanced budget. Farm problem.			
(4) Foreign affairs. Tax reduction.			
(7) Juvenile delinquency.			
(8) Labor problems.			
(9) Civil rights.			
(10) Veterans benefits.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

GEARY COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	59	35	6
Question 1(a)	16	70	14
Question 2	18	74	8
Question 3	17	73	10
Question 4	19	75	6
Question 5	82	15	3
Question 6	19	74	7
Question 7	58	28	14
Question 8(a)	50	17	33
Question 8(b)	24	30	46
Question 8(c)	7	19	74
Question 8(d)	31	15	54
Question 9	9	65	26
Question 10(a)	49	43	8
Question 10(b)	38	46	16
Question 10(c)	55	32	13
Question 11(a)	38	47	15
Question 11(b)	27	62	11
Question 12(a)	82	14	4
Question 12(b)	38	46	16
Question 13	50	34	16
Question 14(a)	33	55	12
Question 14(b)	24	53	23
Question 15	53	24	23
Question 16:			
(1) National defense. Reduction in Government spending.			
(2) Foreign affairs. Balanced budget.			
(5) Tax reduction.			
(6) Civil rights.			
(7) Federal aid to education.			
(8) Labor problems. Juvenile delinquency.			
(9) Farm problem.			
(11) Veterans benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	50	44	6
Question 1(a)	11	70	19
Question 2	17	74	9
Question 3	13	75	12
Question 4	19	74	7
Question 5	76	20	4
Question 6	20	71	9
Question 7	54	29	17
Question 8(a)	44	19	37
Question 8(b)	19	35	46
Question 8(c)	12	20	68
Question 8(d)	28	15	57
Question 9	9	64	27
Question 10(a)	48	42	10
Question 10(b)	39	47	14
Question 10(c)	52	36	12
Question 11(a)	32	51	17
Question 11(b)	30	55	15
Question 12(a)	71	20	9
Question 12(b)	31	45	24
Question 13	48	34	18
Question 14(a)	30	57	13
Question 14(b)	25	48	27
Question 15	55	26	19
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Balanced budget. Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Tax reduction.			
(5) Foreign affairs.			
(6) Juvenile delinquency.			
(7) Farm problem.			
(8) Civil rights. Labor problems.			
(10) Veterans' benefits.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

NEMAHA COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	55	35	10
Question 1(a)	14	65	21
Question 2	16	74	10
Question 3	14	59	27
Question 4	22	72	6
Question 5	84	13	3
Question 6	14	75	11
Question 7	56	25	19
Question 8(a)	56	16	28
Question 8(b)	42	26	32
Question 8(c)	15	22	63
Question 8(d)	23	20	57
Question 9	5	77	18
Question 10(a)	28	60	12
Question 10(b)	30	53	17
Question 10(c)	40	43	17
Question 11(a)	25	56	19
Question 11(b)	12	75	13
Question 12(a)	79	9	12
Question 12(b)	33	38	29
Question 13	49	25	26
Question 14(a)	34	41	25
Question 14(b)	18	36	46
Question 15	57	16	27
Question 16:			
(1) National defense. Farm problem.			
(2) Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Tax reduction. Balanced budget.			
(4) Foreign affairs.			
(5) Juvenile delinquency.			
(6) Civil rights.			
(8) Labor problems.			
(9) Federal aid to education.			
(10) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	57	37	6
Question 1(a)	12	67	21
Question 2	18	71	11
Question 3	18	67	15
Question 4	22	70	8
Question 5	79	15	6
Question 6	18	71	11
Question 7	51	29	20
Question 8(a)	50	23	27
Question 8(b)	33	32	35
Question 8(c)	16	24	60
Question 8(d)	31	15	54
Question 9	11	64	25
Question 10(a)	34	55	11
Question 10(b)	32	54	14
Question 10(c)	45	38	17
Question 11(a)	29	52	19
Question 11(b)	22	66	12
Question 12(a)	69	18	13
Question 12(b)	30	44	26
Question 13	52	26	22
Question 14(a)	37	44	19
Question 14(b)	23	45	32
Question 15	62	16	22
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Balanced budget. Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Tax reduction.			
(4) Farm problem.			
(5) Foreign affairs.			
(7) Juvenile delinquency.			
(8) Labor problems. Civil rights.			
(10) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

SHAWNEE COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	52	43	5
Question 1(a)	9	78	13
Question 2	20	74	6
Question 3	17	75	8
Question 4	19	76	5
Question 5	76	19	5
Question 6	17	77	6
Question 7	54	31	15
Question 8(a)	43	18	39
Question 8(b)	19	35	46
Question 8(c)	11	22	67
Question 8(d)	30	11	59
Question 9	11	58	31
Question 10(a)	38	53	9
Question 10(b)	37	52	11
Question 10(c)	53	36	11
Question 11(a)	31	51	18
Question 11(b)	26	63	11
Question 12(a)	77	16	7
Question 12(b)	34	47	19
Question 13	52	34	14
Question 14(a)	36	51	13
Question 14(b)	24	49	27
Question 15	63	16	21
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Foreign affairs.			
(3) Balanced budget. Tax reduction. Reduction in Government spending.			
(6) Farm problem.			
(8) Juvenile delinquency. Labor problems.			
(9) Federal aid to education. Civil rights.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

WASHINGTON COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	54	39	7
Question 1(a)	14	65	21
Question 2	15	75	10
Question 3	13	60	27
Question 4	13	76	11
Question 5	71	21	8
Question 6	11	82	7
Question 7	55	25	20
Question 8(a)	53	17	30
Question 8(b)	35	32	33
Question 8(c)	13	24	63
Question 8(d)	30	21	49
Question 9	6	78	16
Question 10(a)	29	57	14
Question 10(b)	23	58	19
Question 10(c)	46	41	13
Question 11(a)	26	57	17
Question 11(b)	16	76	8
Question 12(a)	69	17	14
Question 12(b)	25	50	25
Question 13	42	30	28
Question 14(a)	26	55	19
Question 14(b)	20	42	38
Question 15	60	15	26
Question 16:			
(1) National defense. Reduction in Government spending.			
(2) Foreign affairs. Balanced budget.			
(4) Tax reduction.			
(5) Juvenile delinquency.			
(6) Farm problem.			
(8) Civil rights. Labor problems.			
(10) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

RILEY COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	63	29	8
Question 1(a)	16	67	17
Question 2	32	60	8
Question 3	23	66	11
Question 4	22	72	6
Question 5	67	28	5
Question 6	18	72	10
Question 7	53	29	18
Question 8(a)	46	21	33
Question 8(b)	24	33	43
Question 8(c)	12	29	59
Question 8(d)	31	18	51
Question 9	15	47	38
Question 10(a)	40	52	8
Question 10(b)	44	46	10
Question 10(c)	57	31	12
Question 11(a)	33	50	17
Question 11(b)	23	65	12
Question 12(a)	79	13	8
Question 12(b)	40	39	21
Question 13	50	23	18
Question 14(a)	51	37	12
Question 14(b)	32	42	26
Question 15	57	13	30
Question 16:			
(1) National defense.			
(2) Foreign affairs. Balanced budget. Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Tax reduction. Civil rights.			
(4) Farm problem.			
(7) Juvenile delinquency.			
(8) Labor problems.			
(9) Federal aid to education.			
(11) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation.			

WABAUNSEE COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	53	42	5
Question 1(a)	16	74	10
Question 2	25	71	4
Question 3	18	69	13
Question 4	17	81	2
Question 5	77	20	3
Question 6	21	71	8
Question 7	55	30	15
Question 8(a)	55	22	23
Question 8(b)	44	29	27
Question 8(c)	10	21	69
Question 8(d)	13	26	61
Question 9	4	77	19
Question 10(a)	33	53	14
Question 10(b)	31	55	14
Question 10(c)	49	38	13
Question 11(a)	18	64	18
Question 11(b)	23	64	13
Question 12(a)	82	13	5
Question 12(b)	33	62	5
Question 13	51	27	22
Question 14(a)	29	56	15
Question 14(b)	20	46	34
Question 15	53	25	22
Question 16:			
(1) National defense. Farm problem.			
(3) Balanced budget. Reduction in Government spending.			
(4) Civil rights.			
(5) Tax reduction.			
(6) Juvenile delinquency.			
(7) Foreign affairs.			
(10) Labor problems.			
(11) Federal aid to education.			
(12) Bobby Baker investigation. Veterans' benefits.			

WYANDOTTE COUNTY

	Percent		
	Yes	No	No opinion
Question 1	56	41	3
Question 1(a)	11	75	14
Question 2	24	70	6
Question 3	14	78	8
Question 4	22	72	6
Question 5	82	16	2
Question 6	21	75	4
Question 7	62	26	12
Question 8(a)	42	20	38
Question 8(b)	16	42	42
Question 8(c)	12	24	64
Question 8(d)	31	13	56
Question 9	12	61	27
Question 10(a)	54	40	6
Question 10(b)	45	46	9
Question 10(c)	55	35	10
Question 11(a)	31	53	16
Question 11(b)	39	52	9
Question 12(a)	79	15	6
Question 12(b)	41	40	19
Question 13	58	28	14
Question 14(a)	35	52	13
Question 14(b)	25	49	26
Question 15	49	29	22
Question 16:			
(1) National Defense.			
(2) Foreign affairs. Reduction in Government spending.			
(3) Balanced budget.			
(4) Tax reduction.			
(6) Farm problem.			
(7) Juvenile delinquency.			
(8) Federal aid to education.			
(9) Labor problems.			
(10) Veterans' benefits.			
(12) Civil rights. Bobby Baker investigation.			

Compulsory Social Security Taxation

SPEECH
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the gentlemen from New Jersey have marched to the rostrum and back again to complain of the fact that the distinguished and able Ways and Means Committee of the House has decided not to approve a program under which all people in this Nation over a certain age would receive limited hospital and medical benefits financed through compulsory social security taxation.

Alternate solutions to the problem of meeting health care costs of the elderly are dismissed. Private health insurance cannot do the job, they say. It would be too expensive. Kerr-Mills is not the answer because it has a test under which persons who have ample financial means are not allowed to receive free care at the taxpayers' expense.

It is always puzzling me to encounter the argument that private enterprise coupled with limited aid of the Federal Government for those who need help cannot solve a social problem. When proponents of a massive and very expensive Federal program are asked why people of working age cannot set aside money for their retirement health care needs through nongovernmental insurance channels, the blunt answer by these advocates is something to the effect that people are not wise enough to do this; that the only effective program is one that forces them to do so. In other words, "big brother" knows best. I have even heard the reply that people cannot afford to protect themselves in their old age. Yet, who is being asked to pay for King-Anderson? Is it the great corporations of the land, or the wealthy individuals? No. It is a tax on the first $5,400 of income, a tax which hits hardest those of limited income.

If private health insurance is too expensive, how can a Federal program with its inevitable bureaucratic mushrooming be less expensive? Somebody is going to have to pay the bills.

Kerr-Mills, financed out of general revenues, represents the proper role of Government. It is geared to provide all needed medical and hospital care for those elderly who are not on public assistance but who have limited financial resources. This Federal-State plan is not perfect, yet, by a long shot, and one of the reasons is the obvious lack of enthusiasm on the part of the administration which is afraid it might prove King-Anderson unnecessary.

The phenomenal growth of private health insurance coverage of older persons, now some 60 percent, within the past 15 years proves that the problem is a diminishing one, and one that will require less Federal expenditures as the years go by, not the uncontrollable expansion of outlays that would stem from a King-Anderson program.

The argument has been made on the House floor a few minutes ago that our Government is not humane in its treatment of the elderly. Yet Government figures reveal that more than $1.5 billion is being spent annually for their health care, alone. All told, from trust funds and public funds, the Nation's aged receive more than $17 billion a year from the U.S. Government.

I believe it is unfair for these gentlemen in effect to castigate the medical profession in the United States by saying that we have nothing to be proud of for the care we have given our people when life expectancy has dramatically increased, when medical students study here from all over the world to learn the latest techniques, when our medical research is by far the best in the world. There are many of us who would not be here on the floor today if it were not for the skill and dedication of our medical profession, which probably devotes more time and effort in helping the aged than any other group in the Nation.

I believe it is also unfair to criticize the majority of the members of the Ways and Means Committee who have studied the problems for years and are experts in the field. They know that a King-Anderson program grafted onto social security would jeopardize the fiscal soundness of the entire social security program and make the overall social security taxes so outrageously high there would be a public rebellion.

I find it difficult to believe that the humane approach to the problem of health care of the aged is one that could wreck social security.

Proponents of King-Anderson are not taking cognizance of the fact that outcries for compulsory taxation of this type would lead to ruining the finest system of medicine anyone has ever known.

Will Goldwater Reject the Me-Tooers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Chico Enterprise-Record on June 10, 1964. Entitled "Will GOLDWATER Reject the Me-Tooers?" I believe it will be of interest to the Members of Congress:

WILL GOLDWATER REJECT THE ME-TOOERS?

The name of the game is "Water Down GOLDWATER."

The American people are going to see a lot of the game in the next few weeks.

You will be able to tell the players without a program because most of them are prominent in the so-called moderate or liberal wings of the Republican Party and are familiar to newspaper readers and television viewers.

The stated purpose of the game is to take charge of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER and moderate him to the point at which the players believe he will be acceptable.

But if the game turns out to be successful, the certain result will be the sorry weakening of the only strong man the GOP has this year and, subsequently, a whopping victory by the Democrats in the November presidential election.

This prediction of disaster is valid because the "Water Down Goldwater" game is the last-ditch gimmick by the rule-or-ruin segments of the GOP who have for a generation or so devised the "me too" philosophies which have enabled the Democrats to stay in power.

It is a last-ditch gimmick because the players—up until last Tuesday's California primary—did everything they could to bounce Senator GOLDWATER from the list of hopefuls for the GOP nomination.

GOLDWATER upset their apple cart by winning California's 86 convention delegates in the primary, bringing him very close to the 655 delegates needed for the convention's nomination.

During the next few days after the convention, we saw the rule-or-ruin bloc do everything possible to mount an effective "Stop Goldwater" drive. Gradually, however, the cold fact that GOLDWATER seems sure of a first-ballot nomination penetrated their skulls.

The acceptance of that cold fact was the signal for the rule-or-ruin GOP factions to start the game of "Water Down GOLDWATER." Since they can't beat him, the only and last alternative is to attempt to remodel him in their own image.

The first inning of the game is currently underway in the Republican caucus rooms at the big Governors' conference in Cleveland. Statements by the players are being issued almost every hour on the hour to the effect that this player or that player will back GOLDWATER if he will "moderate" his stand on this point, or if he will "move a little nearer to center" on that point.

Under the circumstances, GOLDWATER at this moment faces the historic dilemma of all candidates who have attained initial successes by firm stands and by taking positions counter to existing "accommodations," as it were.

This is the point at which the candidate (GOLDWATER, in this instance) has to make up his mind either to yield to the pressures to "moderate" in order to appeal to the center, or else retain his distinctive and countering position.

The choice undoubtedly is and will be a very difficult one for Senator GOLDWATER to make. Every man likes to have "friends at the top," and the Senator is aware that the only way he can be friends with the rule-or-ruin clique is to go along with them.

But, on the other hand, Senator GOLDWATER must certainly be aware that he has come this far—to the very threshold of the nomination—without a single helping hand from any of the "moderate" and "liberal" chiefs who now are so desperately trying to remake him in their image.

He must be aware that those fellows have been engaged in a stop-Goldwater drive ever since the 1960 convention. They have never for a moment been for him. But despite these anti-Goldwater efforts, millions upon millions of Americans have demonstrated at the polls in primary elections that they want GOLDWATER to run for President.

As such, the choice for Senator GOLDWATER really narrows down into whether he wants to be friends with the people, who like him for what he now stands for, or friends with the party bosses, who want to "moderate" him.

History tells us that GOLDWATER will be a certain loser if he goes along with the "water down Goldwater" game. Republican Tom Dewey lost once to F.D.R. and once to Truman because he waged "me too" campaigns based on liberal middle-of-the-road philosophies. Republican Dick Nixon lost to Kennedy because he, too, stayed close to center on almost every issue.

The same thing would happen to GOLDWATER because the further he moves leftward toward the center, the nearer he will approach the present programs and philosophies of the Democratic Johnson administration. And no "me too" candidate ever is going to defeat an incumbent with the political savvy of Lyndon B. Johnson.

As such, Senator GOLDWATER's only chance appears to be to adhere firmly to his right-of-center positions and philosophies, to continue to give life and sustenance to his pledge that he offers "a choice, not an echo."

Scotty Reston, eminent pundit for the liberal New York Times, and Walter Lippmann, elder statesman of the left fielders on the me-too team, have blasted GOLDWATER on an almost daily basis. They blast him because they say he is "the reaper of discontent," "the candidate of the disenchanted," and "the rallying point for dissatisfied and angry Americans."

Reston and Lippmann are correct. GOLDWATER is everything they say he is.

But is that bad? We do not think so.

We believe that by being just what Reston, Lippmann, and the other liberal me-tooers say he is, GOLDWATER stands as the major hope for a much larger portion of the American people than the me-tooers are willing to admit.

Millions of Americans—Democrats as well as Republicans—are "disenchanted" with the way the Democratic leadership and GOP me-tooers are trying to legislate "special rights" under the guise of "civil rights." For example, why else would thousands upon thousands of Democrats in States such as Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland hand protest votes to Alabama Governor Wallace in their own State primaries?

Millions of Americans of both parties are "discontented" with our current administration's handling of such problems as Laos, Vietnam, Cuba, and all of Latin America. They are soulsick from seeing American boys die in futile and confusing wars thousands of miles from home while we tolerate a Communist nest of subversion only 90 miles off our shores.

Millions of Americans of both parties are "dissatisfied" and "angry" over foreign aid giveaway programs and screwball trade agreements which rob our businesses of world markets and our workers of jobs.

These are the people who have bucked the party bosses and lined up instead with Senator GOLDWATER in the amazing drive which now has all but assured him of the nomination.

It is likely that these people will stay with GOLDWATER as long as he remains the GOLDWATER around whom they have rallied. They want "a choice, not an echo."

But if the "water down Goldwater" game is successful, then for all practical purposes the presidential election game will be all over.

Realism demands admission that GOLDWATER, even if he stays as he is, will be a long-shot darkhorse in the November battle against President Johnson.

But if he falls prey to the "water down Goldwater" clique, then you can bet your life it won't even be a horse race. Even the thick-skulled me-tooers should realize by now that the GOP will never beat the Democrats with an echo campaign.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of July 4, 1964:

FREEDOM'S BIRTHDAY

Today America observes the 188th anniversary of the birth of freedom. It is a good time to reflect on what America means to each of us. It is a good time for us to re-evaluate the meaning of such words and phrases as: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, freedom, patriotism, the flag, constitutional government, the Bill of Rights.

Consider what Gladstone, Prime Minister of Great Britain, said of the American Constitution:

"I have always regarded that Constitution as the most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect, at a single stroke, in its application to political affairs."

Contrast this view of the Constitution with the modern liberals and "democratic Socialists." Read some of President Johnson's recent speeches as he attacks those who believe in constitutional limited government as "living in the past," or having "outmoded ideas." How do you feel about maintaining individual freedom, the right of the people to govern themselves, on this 188th birthday of American liberty? This is the question you will be called to answer in the coming months when the essence of constitutional limited government is under attack. It is the issue you will be voting on in November. Independence, not interdependence, is the issue.

WELL, WE PASSED THE FOREIGN AID BILL

The House approved a foreign aid bill to spend $3,739,249,400 of money we don't have and will have to borrow to give away. The key vote on the foreign aid appropriation bill, H.R. 11812, was on the motion to recommit. This lost by only 10 votes 208 to 198. My objections to the appropriation were detailed in the newsletter of June 13. I voiced additional arguments in debate this week.

1. "We are told that our foreign aid is saving the world from communism. This is not true.

"The United States is supporting and aiding communism by money, by food, by arms, by moral support, by trade, by cultural exchange, by giving them our military and nuclear secrets. We are pretending that communism and Communists mean no harm. We are aiding them as they aid other Communists and eliminate any vestige of freedom in the subjugated countries.

2. "Why? Because there is profit to be made by some businessmen in foreign aid, military expenditures, and big Government spending.

3. "We now jeopardize the very currency of our country. Example: In 5 years, 1958 to 1963, we gave $12½ billion to 57 countries who promptly bought $7 billion of our gold with the dollars we gave them.

4. "Now we propose to give them $3.7 billion more. Already foreign governments hold $26 billion in money which can be redeemed in our gold, except we have only $15½ billion in gold left to give away ($12 billion must be kept on hand to back up our money).

5. "Further, there are $7 billion now in the 'pipeline' of unexpended accumulated funds, whether we appropriate any more now or not. Large amounts can be deobligated and spent for new and other programs."

In view of these facts brought out in a masterful minority report of the subcommittee on appropriations for foreign aid, where is the justification for spending more than $3½ billion of your money at a time when we have just raised the debt limit another $9 billion? In spite of all the contrary propaganda, the truth is President Johnson is spending more of your money. Instead of working toward a balanced budget, an end to deficit spending, less Federal spending, he is demanding more and greater expenditures for Federal programs. Such fiscal irresponsibility is a serious threat to your freedom. This is something to think about on this July 4. Maybe its time for Americans to reassert their independence and demand a return to the constitutional principles which alone guarantee freedom for all our citizens. The burden of Federal debt and taxation is not economic freedom.

WHERE DO YOU STAND?

My mail is filled with thousands of letters protesting much of the legislation we are passing. Businessmen, chambers of commerce, trade associations, and individuals demand that I vote against the civil rights bill, the extension of wartime excise taxes, the mass transit bill, the inclusion of tips in figuring withholding taxes, and dozens of other measures. All of these bills are sponsored by President Johnson. He uses every means including pressure, coercion, reward to get them through Congress. The same people who demand that Congress oppose the legislation, in many cases, go all out in support of the sponsor of the bills, the President. Does this make sense? Where do you stand? Do you have the courage to vote your convictions? Or is your Representative in Congress supposed to go it alone?

A Really Free America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Chinese World is the largest bilingual Chinese-English language newspaper of daily circulation. Its editor, Mr. C. H. Kwock, is noted for his thoughtful and articulate presentation and editorial comment on current events.

The editorial follows:

[From the Chinese World, June 17, 1964]

A REALLY FREE AMERICA

In our country's continued and suspenseful interest in the outcome of the civil rights struggle, other issues are often shelved or forgotten—forgotten by those who are not directly concerned.

Chinese-Americans, for example, cannot forget that many of their loved ones are still trying to squeeze through the Bamboo Curtain into the United States, under an annual quota of 105.

That is a shocking and humiliating thought to bear for even the most liberal-minded Chinatown intellectual.

And one doesn't have to be an egghead, to feel morally and psychically offended at this

outmoded racist formula for dealing with the 19th century concept of engulfment by the "yellow peril."

In all modesty, Chinese-Americans can claim that never did so few immigrants coming to America offer so much to the land that received them. No more generally law abiding and productive body of people exists in the Nation.

This is so generally known as to be almost a cliche. One has to work pretty hard even to convince the average American that there is such a possibility, in the Chinese-American community, of juvenile delinquency.

The problems Chinese-Americans do have in the making are socially solvable, given the cultural and community centers they require to build.

But it hurts the heart to know that one has to abandon one's unfortunate relatives and friends to the mercy of an authoritarian regime on the mainland of China or on the tight little, dictatorially controlled island of Formosa.

Representative EMANUEL CELLER, himself the descendant of immigrants—as who in America isn't?—has termed the principle of national origins a gratuitous insult to many nations.

Speaking at the opening of congressional hearings on immigration policy last Thursday, he called for a new immigration law to replace the one adopted in 1921.

The old law, he said, was devised in an atmosphere of fear bordering on hysteria, that accompanied the end of World War I.

Of all the nations offered this gratuitous insult, it is the face of China that has received the most stinging slap.

England, by comparison, has been patted on the cheek; 65,000 of her people are ushered into this country annually. For them a shore-to-shore floating red carpet is spread across the Atlantic.

We have nothing against England, per se, but we are offended that altogether 98 percent of all immigrants into the United States come from Europe.

It has been noted by Senator HIRAM FONG, that our present law sets up special, biased provisions against peoples of the countries in the Asia-Pacific triangle, this vast area that covers all the countries from Pakistan to Japan, and all the Pacific islands north of Australia and New Zealand.

Only 1.53 percent of the total immigration quotas apply to these countries. Yet more than one-half of the world's total population lives there.

Fantastic, isn't it?

It is this fantasy of white supremacy that is causing so much trouble around this teeming, troubled globe and in our own United States. It leaves us open to derisive and corrosive criticism every time we speak of the elite people inside our Western alliance as the free world.

Then when we try to aline ourselves with, or struggle for the freedoms of, Asians, we wonder why they don't show enough fighting spirit.

Now, Congressman CELLER is asking for the enactment of a bill that would provide for the elimination of the quota system over a 5-year period. This bill would embody recommendations by our late President.

J.F.K., a year ago this July, called for complete abrogation of racist discrimination in immigration.

As he saw it, preferential treatment of applicants would be based on two criteria only, special skills useful to the United States, and family relationships to persons already resident here. Oriental quotas would be completely dropped.

Preisdent Lyndon Johnson has endorsed all of Kennedy's ideas on this matter, including the plan to reserve up to 20 percent of unallocated quota numbers from each nation, for refugees whose sudden dislocation requires special handling.

In the Associated Press report of CELLER's remarks to the House Judiciary Subcommittee, the Congressman from New York asserted that the new procedure would not admit any more persons into this country than are now eligible to come in.

But where they came from, under this racially open policy, would make a world of difference.

The AP dispatch ends with a line, the Chinese world, for one, will never accept complacently. It reads, "There is little likelihood of action on the bill this session."

We beg to disagree: With men like EMANUEL CELLER and PHILIP BURTON in the House of Representatives, that kind of defeatism is uncalled for.

And with millions of disturbed faces, of whatever color, pressed against America's glass wall which one of our legislators will dare to cast racial stones against them?

Moreover, can any Congressman or Senator say that this country is too busy with civil rights to work out an equitable system of immigration?

For so many worthy people, arbitrarily exiled from our society, the first, and most basic, civil right is the right of unbiased entry into an unprejudiced, really free America.

Water Resources Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the Congress has finally taken action on the subject of water research legislation. I introduced one of the original bills in the House of Representatives on this subject and appeared before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in support of it. The bill, S. 2, when signed into law and implemented, will meet two national needs, the acceleration of research in water problems and the acceleration of the training of hydroscientists, who are desperately needed to deal with the regional and national water problems that are growing so swiftly.

The bill is designed to enlist the competence of our university faculties and facilities in needed water research work and at the same time to develop and train new additional scientists and engineers. It proposes to do this patterned after the original Hatch Act which created the system of State agriculture experiment stations. I do not believe there is a person in this Congress who has any knowledge of these facilities who could not attest to the fact of the fine work and contributions they have made to our everyday life.

Many schools throughout the country have done pioneer work in the field of water research and conservation. One of the leaders in this work is my own alma mater, the Texas A. & M. University, located at College Station, Tex. Early in 1952, a water advisory council was organized at Texas A. & M. to study the water problems of Texas and to submit recommendations which would enable them to more effectively discharge the responsibility of education and research in the important area of water resources. Following this action on the part of Texas A. & M., the board of directors of the A. & M. University established the Water Research and Information Center. By this action, the board of directors directed that Texas A. & M. University take leadership in education and research programs in water resources. Also, the responsibility for publication and dispensing of research results to the public was emphasized. Since that time, A. & M. has developed an increasingly effective interdisciplinary program of cooperation between the many parts of the institution concerned with water problems. One specific result of the establishment of the Water Research and Information Center has been the successful conduct of eight water-for-Texas conferences held on the campus with published proceedings available the country over.

Another result of past emphasis on water problems has been the bringing together of many documents on water and hydrology in the form of a collection. This collection, which includes many publications not available anywhere in the country, is housed in the Texas Professional Engineers Library located on the Texas A. & M. University campus.

In the field of research, over 100 Texas Agricultural Experiment Station research projects deal either directly or indirectly with water. In addition, many water projects are included in the research activities of the Texas Engineering Experiment Station and the Texas A. & M. Research Foundation. In the past 4 years, there have been over 100 graduate theses having some bearing on hydrology completed at the Texas A. & M. University. During the past year Texas A. & M. has become a member of the Universities Council on Hydrology, a voluntary organization of leading universities with a demonstrated interest in strong programs of teaching and research in the field of hydrology.

The Texas A. & M. University board of directors has just recently approved the renaming of the Water Research and Information Center to the Water Resources Institute. At the same time the organization is being given added strength so that greater emphasis can be placed on research and education in water resources on a multidisciplinary basis. The Institute will provide a focal point for concentrating the many aspects of A. & M.'s total resources effort toward a unified plan for the better understanding and solution of water problems.

The Texas A. & M. University is ready, willing, and able to assume the leadership for the research activities provided for in this bill Mr. Speaker, and I am glad that I had a personal part in its passage.

Jerry S. Lewis, the People-to-People Program and CARE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in the late 1950's a young naval Reserve officer, Lt. (jg.) Jerry S. Lewis, serving aboard the U.S.S. *Bryce Canyon*, was assigned collateral duty as officer in charge of that ship's people-to-people program. This program, initiated by Adm. Arleigh Burke, is an entirely voluntary effort by navymen, on a personal basis, to create good will for the United States during their tours of duty in foreign lands. Under Lewis' guidance the crew of the *Bryce Canyon* won awards from the commander in chief, Pacific Fleet, for outstanding contributions in the people-to-people program.

Returning to civilian life, young Lewis retained his ambition to improve our relations with other people of other lands. He joined CARE in 1962 and was sent to Hyderabad, India, to start a feeding program under Public Law 480 for some 200,000 children. So successful was his work that in less than a year some 952,000 children were being fed in the Andhra Pradesh State alone. Lewis' work took him to remote villages all over the state in order to check on distribution of the food. He traveled in areas hardly accessible even by four-wheel-drive Jeeps.

Even in the most remote areas Lewis found proper distribution of the food. In many instances, schools provided an entire lunch made up wholly of U.S. supplied foods. "This is a program that gets the message of American friendship across," said Lewis. Aside from the containers that note the origin of the food, the U.S. Information Service has furnished CARE with color posters which state, in the local language, "Milk, Cornmeal, and Oil, a Gift of the People of America to the Children of Andhra Pradesh."

Recently Mr. Lewis was transferred from Hyderabad to New Delhi to assume duties as deputy director of CARE in India which provides almost 7 million children of that nation at least one good meal each day. The excellence and effectiveness of his work, of the CARE program and the benefits of Public Law 480 were attested in the following article appearing in the Hyderabad Deccan Chronical newspaper:

J. S. LEWIS APPOINTED DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CARE–India

HYDERABAD, June 6.—Mr. Jerry S. Lewis, CARE Administrator in Andhra Pradesh, has been appointed the deputy director of CARE India it is learned here. Mr. Lewis is likely to leave for Delhi by the middle of this month to take up the new assignment.

The news came as no surprise to the people in this state who knew him and his work. The remarkable strides the CARE project has made in the last 2 years, the term of Mr. Lewis, bear eloquent testimony to the administrative acumen and organizing abilities of this shy young man. It was a great leap forward. The number of children covered by CARE rose from two lakhs in 1962 to over nine lakhs today. This covers one-third of of the schoolgoing population of this State.

CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) is a voluntary organization sponsored by the people of the United States, pledged to help the needy and the poor of the underdeveloped countries like India. CARE operates in eight States of India. In the State of Andhra Pradesh alone, CARE pumps in Rs4 crores worth of food every year. This has been made possible only by the initiative and drive of Mr. Lewis and the cooperation of the State government. In addition to the publicity and encouragement the State government also provides storage and transport facilities which form one-third of the expenses involved in the implementation of the partnership program.

Apart from the midday meals, CARE, on a people-to-people basis also helps many institutions in the State. Equipments for the maternity ward of the Andhra Mahila Sabha, a blacksmithy shop for the Boys Town are among the many contributions made by CARE. In view of the vitamin A deficiency in the food consumed by the people. CARE also donates garden seeds which are high in vitamin A content.

The success of CARE project in this country where over 70 million schoolgoing children are benefited and especially in this State has not come that easy. The relentless work and the determination and sincerity of purpose of Mr. Lewis, coupled with the cooperation of the government, and the voluntary help of the people have made CARE a household name in every village and town of Andhra Pradesh. There is no doubt that Mr. Lewis will be remembered with affection and regards by the people of this state, especially the kids for a long time to come.

Local Airline Service Action Committee—LASAC—Stirs Interest in Better Airline Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a number of cities are asking questions about our national policy on air transportation. What is the intent of Congress with respect to local airline service? How is the FAA applying the regional airport policy? Are the use it or lose it standards of the CAB improving air transportation?

A group of cities started a committee called LASAC—Local Airline Service Action Committee—to get a review of our national policy and how it is being applied.

I believe every Member of Congress will be interested in reading a recent report of LASAC. These problems deserve our immediate attention:

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE LOCAL AIRLINE SERVICE ACTION COMMITTEE, 1964 ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF AIRPORT EXECUTIVES (AAAE), MAY 27, 1964, DETROIT, MICH.

Last March (March 4) a group of men met at the Minneapolis-St. Paul Airport. They were the representatives of outraged communities. The city attorney from Winona stated the purpose of the meeting. His city had been temporarily certificated as a point on a local service airline, and he went through a CAB case to get that certification. Then the question of the renewal of the service arose, and he went through another CAB case to win so-called permanent certification, and the city won over the objections of the airline. The city exceeds use it or lose it standards. Now, he is going through another case to determine if the service should be removed to another city's airport which is an hour's drive away.

His question was directed toward the good faith of the Federal Government: How many times must a city try the same case and why?

Another city was exceeding the use it or lose it minimums, with two round trips per day. The local air carrier reduced the service to one trip per day and traffic fell off. This city expects the local airline to file for suspension. His question likewise was directed toward the good faith of the Federal Government: Does the Government allow the air carriers to decide which cities they will serve?

You may be familiar with the situation whereby a community has been certificated on the route of a local service air carrier. Following certification, the community has either constructed or improved its airport only to find that in a year or two, its service is taken away. This happened in a case of a New England airport which is 85 miles from the nearest airport having air service. The CAB terminated air service at the community (Millinocket) although it recognized that the community had acted in good faith in completing its airport program and has an airport adequate to accommodate the airline's service. Nevertheless, the Board did not accord the community an opportunity to prove its traffic generating power at the improved airport.

These situations are not unique. They exist from Pendleton, Oreg., to Yuma, Ariz., to Lamar, Col., to Hazleton, Pa. They exist throughout the country.

The problem is, indeed, nationwide, but it is not handled on a national basis. Instead it is being handled on an individual basis. The result, to quote a man from Yuma, is that for a single city to fight CAB alone is like fighting a bear with a stick.

With this introduction to the problem, let me explain what came out of the meeting in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.

A committee was formed with the name of Local Airline Service Action Committee—rapidly becoming known as LASAC. There is nothing unusual about forming a committee—hundreds are formed every year in the aviation business alone. But, this committee has the word "action" in the title and it is dedicated to action. While the committee has broad objectives, the present action is directed toward two immediate goals:

1. A review by the Congress of the administration by the Civil Aeronautics Board of the policy of the Federal Aviation Act with respect to local air service and the adoption of a resolution or a statute expressing the sense of the Congress in regard to local air service.

2. The maintenance of at least the current level of local air service (with regard to cities served and schedules operated pending such review via the Congress).

Why should there be a review by the Congress? We think there are good reasons. Before turning to these reasons, I want to add one caveat. If my remarks seem critical of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the criticism is directed to the Board as an institution, not to any member of the Board or its staff.

How does the Board operate? Primarily through formal proceedings. These are quasi-judicial in nature and must be decided on a record. In such cases, I agree as a lawyer, that the record evidence must govern. On the other hand, the CAB is not a court. The CAB makes policy statements which have the effect of legislation and, in effect,

establishes the rules which decide the formal proceedings.

We fear the CAB has lost the common touch. It has revised its rules of practice and principles so that even a Senator or a Congressman may not appear at an oral argument, except as the legal representative of a city. A city representative is given 5 or 10 minutes to discuss issues which involve hundreds of thousands of dollars to the community for which he appears. Is this an adequate or a fair arrangement for a decision which may spell economic life or death?

The CAB holds meetings with the presidents of the trunk airlines; it holds meetings with the presidents of the local service airlines; it calls in the heads of the supplemental carriers for conferences; it meets with the presidents of the air freight forwarders; it even consults with foreign air carriers which are government-owned; but when has the CAB called representatives of communities to discuss their air service problems with the members of the Board? It regularly meets with the carriers which are supposed to serve the communities, but, to the best of my knowledge, it never holds meetings with the representatives of the public—the users of air transportation. The Local Airline Service Action Committee can fill that void and become an effective spokesman for a public which now speaks only in a babble of tongues.

There are cogent reasons for congressional review of the local airline service policy.

In the airline subsidy reduction report, which was prepared by the Civil Aeronautics Board, it is indicated that the Board intends to close 67 airports through the application of a "regional airport program." In addition, it expects to eliminate one-third of the so-called marginal points by the application of the use it or lose it policy. This will result in the loss of another 40 points now having local air service. We are concerned with the prospect that over 100 cities now having local service will lose that service. We think our concern is justified.

The subsidy reduction report itself has never been reviewed by the executive branch of the Government. When the report was delivered to President Kennedy, he realized it was a "hot potato" and he turned it over to the Secretary of Commerce with directions to appoint a committee to review the report and to submit the committee's views. The best information we have is that President Johnson wants no part of the report and that any review of the report will die in the Commerce Department.

Individual Congressmen have spoken out with respect to the report:

Senator MONRONEY, chairman of a Senate Aviation Subcommittee, charged that the Board's program is based on "wild assumptions" and would strike a severe blow at the small- and medium-sized communities of America. Senator BARTLETT characterized the program as a meat-ax approach which would create "absolute chaos." Senator GRUENING that he was "outraged at the stupidity of the CAB."

The reaction of these individual Members of Congress apparently means nothing. The CAB continues with the program and it says that Congress can do nothing about it. This is because the matters are being decided in formal proceedings, and the Board says that in view of the formal nature of the cases, there is little that can be done by Members of Congress. We wonder if this is so.

We also wonder what a policy means. Is it to be applied across the country and across the board or is it to be used arbitrarily? We think the policy is now being used arbitrarily.

Why is it that a city enplaning three or four "briefcase passengers" per day is losing service? By "briefcase passengers" I mean a businessman who has bought his ticket for a bona fide destination to a distant point. But the city with three or four "briefcase passengers" loses its service and at the same time a city enplaning 5½ Boys Scouts a day retains it. These 5½ Boy Scouts go only to the next airline stop where their mothers are waiting in cars to drive them home. Is this a fair application of a policy?

We wonder why it is that the Michigan Regional Airport case was dismissed at the request of bureau counsel and when the examiner recommended dismissing most of the Wisconsin Regional Airport case for the same reasons, his decision was immediately reviewed by the Board. Does this seem fair to the cities and States involved?

We wonder why it is that the policy announced to govern the regional airport case in Wisconsin is not followed by the Board when it decides a regional airport case in Mississippi?

The CAB decisions are 3 to 2 and 2 to 1. A trunkline is permitted to suspend at one point by a 2-to-1 vote, but the same trunkline on substantially the same facts is not permitted to suspend at another point by a 3-to-2 vote. One member dissents because new local service is established. Another member dissents because new local service is not established. This dissension and disagreement among the Board members themselves does not indicate to us that there is any real policy on which a city can plan community and airport development.

The local air carriers apparently do not agree either with the policy or the meaning of the policy which the Civil Aeronautics Board announced.

On occasion airline management seems to be more interested in making profits than in providing service. A carrier has arbitrarily reduced schedules at a community on the ground that it could not afford to operate the schedules because its subsidy was reduced. While refusing to operate 2 round trips over one segment, the carrier will operate 14 or 15 round trips over another segment.

In a recent case the examiner ruled that the city had not been accorded a fair trial because it had not received two round trips per day. He held that without a minimum of two round trips per day there was no real test of traffic potential.

The local air carrier appealed to the Board. It said:

"Since 1958, the Board has deleted service at 52 points which were receiving only 1 round trip per day. But under the examiner's application of the policy, unless a community has received two round trips during the so-called test period, the Board could not delete the point."

We thought it was clear that two round trips was the minimum for a fair test. If this is so, why does the local air carrier dispute it before the Board?

CAB staff members have said that one round trip is better than none, but we do not entirely agree with that. If the result of having one round trip is the loss of our service without a fair trail, than one round trip is the same as none.

Does the policy require two round trips for a fair test? If so, was it fair to delete service at 52 points which were receiving only 1 round trip per day? We cannot agree that one round trip is better than none when two round trips are required for a real test of the traffic generating potential.

The FAA is asking for proposals for a new local service airplane. Nine companies have submitted designs, two of which are in the STOL category. This airplane is supposed to be a short-haul airplane for local service carriers; yet, the CAB is eliminating 50-mile hops. We feel this is a lack of policy on the part of the Government and certainly a lack of cooperation between Government agencies.

These questions—these disputes—are not good. They do not build air transportation. Instead of a solid transport system which we can rely on, we have a wavering uncertain system. Has air transportation reached a point where it must be cut back? We think not. We believe that air transportation is on the threshold of even greater development.

To combat this reduction in service, the Local Airline Service Action Committee has gone to Congress. A ground swell has already started.

LASAC is an unincorporated association comprised of cities, counties, airport authorities, chambers of commerce, and similar governmental groups. It is acting, and some 40 Congressmen and Senators have expressed approval of the objectives of the committee.

I have a question to put to you and I hope you are already asking it yourself. What can you do? The answer is: Join LASAC. I have a further question which I hope you are already asking: How do we join LASAC? The answer is very simple:

First, write your Congressman and Senators explaining your interest in the committee and requesting them to cooperate with the committee.

Second, send a copy of your letter to LASAC. The committee will follow up your communications.

That, in brief, is the immediate program to be employed—not next year, not this year, but next month.

Our key word is "action" and we intend to act together for the common good. We need your help.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

West Coast Electric Power Interties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, we all know that the Senator from California [Mr. ENGLE] is recuperating at home from a difficult operation. But he has not lost contact with a subject that has always been close to his heart—water and power development.

On the controversial issue of the west coast electric power intertie, the Senator from California, in a statement presented last week to the Senate Appropriations Committee, let his position be known with certainty and clarity. He is for public power—for at least one all-Federal intertie line that will go through Oregon and through the Central Valley of California to Los Angeles, without any intermediary private toll gates.

I ask unanimous consent that the good statement by the Senator from California be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"WEST COAST ELECTRIC POWER INTERTIES"—STATEMENT BY SENATOR CLAIR ENGLE, DEMOCRAT, OF CALIFORNIA, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, JULY 2, 1964

Mr. Chairman, this intertie package is offered to us as a great westernwide partnership power plan of mutual benefit to Federal, public, and private electrical systems in 11 Western States.

It is not that, in my judgment.

More realistically, I think, it is a surrender of control of the most lucrative power market in the West to a combine of six private utility companies.

The reason I say this is that no one of the four lines proposed in this package is truly an all-Federal line. This in spite of the fact that the principal power producing plants involved in the proposal are three of the greatest Federal power developments in the country—the Bonneville system in the Northwest, the Central Valley project in northern California, and the Colorado River system in the Southwest. These three systems are Federal systems, built by taxpayers' money. And the Secretary now proposes to interconnect them with six private companies in charge of the transmission toll gates.

As I have said before, this is analogous to having the Federal Government build and own the store and permitting the private companies to operate the cash register. I object to such business.

I recognize that one of the lines—the one that is proposed for deferred construction by 1971—is called a Federal line in the Secretary's announcement. But its only connection to California, via Hoover Dam, would be non-Federal. And even for the Federal portion of this line, which would go through Nevada, the Secretary mentions in his report that he sees no objection to non-Federal construction. Perhaps he has a point here. Because I am sure that if the Congress were faced with a "fait accompli" of the other three lines, which are scheduled to be completed in 1967 and 1968, it would be a poor political bet to expect the Congress to put up money to build a fourth line at that late date. Realistically then, we would have no Federal line at all, through Nevada or California. That would be the end of Federal competition, the end of the Federal yardstick, principle, and the doom of most electric ratepayers and taxpayers in California, if not in other States as well.

I recognize also that another of the package lines is in fact proposed as a public line, to be built and operated by Bonneville in the north, then by the city of Los Angeles through the State of Nevada and over to Los Angeles. This is fine for Los Angeles. The city has been successful in getting a special deal from the Department that I would be glad to support by itself. But as an integral part of the private package, no—the price tag for the rest of California is too great. I agree with Assemblyman Charles B. Garrigus of California who has called it a "weekend loss leader special" to try to sell the whole package.

Getting back to the Secretary's announcement about the 11-State deal, I can see quite well what it does for the Northwest States. It gets Bonneville out of the red and protects the Northwest's present low power rates. That is fine. I have some difficulty seeing what it does for some of the other States on the list. However, I will leave that question to be judged by the Senators from Montana, for example, and the Senators from Utah and New Mexico and other States.

I have no difficulty at all seeing what the package does to my own State of California. It would rescue Bonneville at the expense of California. It would be ruinous to our public power agencies, our Government water projects, and our power consumers both public and private—for all except possibly those in the city of Los Angeles.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, that I can see what the package deal might do for your State of Arizona. Tied in with the proposed Federal line to Hoover Dam (if that line is ever built) are two lines from Hoover Dam to Phoenix. One would be built and operated by the Arizona Public Service Co., a private utility. The other would be built and operated by the Bureau of Reclamation—and therein you would have your protection. The public power users of your great Salt River project would have the benefit of Federal competition and the Federal yardstick on rates.

No such protection is offered to California. No Federal line is proposed down through California to serve the Central Valley project or the new California State water plan. No Federal line is proposed to serve, through the CVP, our municipal systems at Sacramento, Palo Alto, Redding, Roseville, and other cities; or the many public irrigation districts in California which need summer power for water pumping; or the U.S. military bases and other Government institutions which also are public agencies and are supposed to have the benefit of public power preference under reclamation law—and, I might add, Bonneville law. The time-honored public preference law would be neatly circumvented by the Department's package intertie plan.

The Secretary's report claims that the package "would provide great benefits to the small public agencies and cooperatives in the Central Valley of California." This I challenge, because all service in northern California would be at the will and whim of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. which would own and operate both intertie lines proposed for that territory. The P.G. & E. would have control of its own large private system, of course, and the Government's public system as well. This kind of partnership between private business and Government has been described as good business. It obviously is, for the P.G. & E.; but it is not good government.

In conclusion I want to refer to a series of conferences that were held on this subject with officials of the Department in May and June prior to last Thursday's announcement. My office was represented. Secretary Udall was present at two of them.

On the matter of control—which is the vital issue—the Secretary maintained that control would rest with the Federal Government because of Bonneville's commanding position in the north. My answer is that in electric power distribution, control does not come from the act of power generation or at the upper end of any intertie. Control comes down at the load centers—in the last transmission mile, so to speak—where, under this package deal, the P.G. & E., the Southern California Edison Co., the city of Los Angeles, and the San Diego Gas & Electric Co. would be in charge. They would have transmission control—cash register control. In no case would the Federal Government have control where it counts, so far as California power users are concerned.

My final point has to do with those who have told us that, after 3 years of discussion since 1961, they are tired of fighting for a Federal intertie * * * that the fight for a Federal line has been lost. To them I ask, when has the fight been made by the present administration of the Department of the Interior? The Congress in 1962 voted funds to start an all-Federal intertie, with a corollary injunction to the Secretary to explore other possibilities. He has done so, with the package proposal we now have before us. What kind of fight is this?

As for myself, I first introduced an exploratory Federal intertie bill in 1948. That was 16 years ago. Now the issue finally is coming to a head. I am not ready to surrender. I am not that tired.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I repeat my strong conviction that the public interest can be served only if one—at least one—all-Federal line is built through California prior to or simultaneously with any combination of private lines. I testified on this point before this committee a year ago, on June 21, 1963. I did not then ask and I do not now ask for a 100-percent Federal intertie package. I ask only that at least one Federal line be routed through California with top or equal priority in time of construction.

Since this cannot be achieved under the present proposal of the Department of the Interior, I suggest we take a little more time for reanalysis and reflection. Let us think a little more about the interests of power consumers, water users, and taxpayers everywhere. Let us not base this crucial decision at this time only in terms of Bonneville's red ink. I respectfully request, Mr.

Chairman, that you deny any funds whatsoever to the Department of the Interior for any west coast intertie construction at this time.

H.R. 6367

(Mr. ENGLE, of California, introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands)

A bill to conserve water and power for irrigation and related purposes and to conserve petroleum used in power generation and to direct the construction, operation, and maintenance of transmission lines interconnecting Federal power systems of the Bonneville Power Administration and the Bureau of Reclamation in the Pacific Northwest and northern and central California

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the purpose of conserving water and power for irrigation and related purposes and to conserve petroleum used in power generation, the Secretary of the Interior, through such agency or agencies in the Department of the Interior as he may select, is hereby directed to construct, operate, and maintain such transmission lines as may be required in his judgment, for the adequate interconnection of the power generating, marketing and transmission facilities heretofore or hereafter constructed and/or administered by the Bonneville Power Administration and/or the Bureau of Reclamation in the States of California, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

SEC. 2. The construction costs of such interconnecting transmission lines shall be apportioned by the Secretary among the projects or systems interconnected and shall be amortized in accordance with the laws governing the amortization of such investments in connection with the projects or systems to which they are apportioned. Operation and maintenance costs of such lines shall be apportioned annually among the projects or systems interconnected and shall be returned in accordance with the laws governing the return of operation and maintenance costs of the projects or systems to which they are apportioned.

SEC. 3. The system of origin shall have first right to any and all power of that system without regard to the requirements of any other system or systems. Exportation of power from any system shall be limited to dump or waste power except that exportation of firm and/or secondary power or power of other classifications may occur only on certification of the Administrator of the system of origin that there is a surplus of that classification to the needs of that system.

SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be required for the purposes of this Act.

The 1964 Alcoa Student Design Merit Award Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the brilliance demonstrated by young men and women of America gives constant hope of an ever greater America on tomorrow. I am very proud of the fact that a 1964 Alcoa Student Design Merit Award winner was George C. Cowgill III, of Panama City Beach, Fla., in my district. He is a student at Auburn University. His award was based on the design of a thermoplastic heat seaming machine. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. George C. Cowgill, Jr., his father being a prominent Panama City businessman. The following account appeared in the June 10 issue of Design News, which also featured young Cowgill's machine on its front cover:

THE 1964 ALCOA STUDENT DESIGN MERIT AWARD WINNERS

(By E. J. Stefanides, Central States editor)

Sponsored by the Aluminum Co. of America, the Alcoa Student Design Merit Awards program is an annual competition designed to encourage creativity among industrial-design students. Six schools are invited each year to participate in the program. The faculty of each school defines the assignment and the rules by which the student's efforts will be judged. The rules, therefore, reflected the variations in subject-matter emphasis and teaching techniques at the various schools. The end result was a wide variety of products and concepts covering human needs ranging from feeding the hungry to providing the tools for manufacture of the necessities of life.

MATERIALS USAGE

A secondary object of the program is to encourage the students to explore aluminum as a material for use in their own designs. When viewed from this standpoint, the results lead to the interesting conclusion that, as a group, the students were more concerned with mechanical properties and ease of fabrication than with the inherent decorative versatility of the material. Thus, they tended to use aluminum primarily as a material of construction, varying product forms and fabricating techniques to solve mechanical design problems rather than for creation of purely esthetic effects.

In applying aluminum in their designs, the students also appeared to be well versed in the state of the art, using or specifying the latest techniques and product forms. These included such concepts as fluidized-bed coatings, honeycomb sandwich panels, and impact extrusions.

EXPLORING THE MATERIAL

Among the award winners, only one group, the students at the University of Southern California, appeared to approach the problem from the literal standpoint of exploring the material. This group, motivated by the excellent formability of aluminum, created a low-energy process for producing compound-curved, three-dimensional shapes without intricate dies. To demonstrate the feasibility of the process, they then developed a machine from cast-off parts and actually produced a number of experimental samples. The results of their work indicate that the process has considerable merit and could become, with further development, a practical method for production of complex shapes from aluminum sheet.

OVERALL RESULTS

A survey of the award-winning designs leads to the conclusion that the field of industrial design is daily becoming more closely allied to design engineering. If these schools are truly representative of trends in the field, we can expect the coming generation of industrial designers to be more and more concerned with human needs and functional capabilities in their design work.

(NOTE.—Thermoplastic heat-seaming machine was top award winner at Auburn University School of Architecture and Arts. Machine was designed by George C. Cowgill III, for use by small fabric and upholstery operators. Equipped with thermostatically controlled, electrically heated rollers, it is capable of joining a wide range of types and thicknesses (0.004 to 0.031 inch) of thermoplastic material. Rollers are driven by foot-switch-energized electric motor, and are pressure loaded. Seam width can be varied from one-sixteenth to one-fourth inch. Exterior housing is designed as aluminum die casting to provide strength, lightness, and formability. In production, it would be fluidized bed coated for improved appearance. Housing is contoured to permit material to pile up during gathering and working and to provide unlimited forward, backward, and turning of material being joined.)

The Most Dangerous Period of the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues another outstanding report from the American Security Council on U.S. strategy in the war with the forces of communism. This report is entitled "The Most Dangerous Period of the Cold War," and was published on June 29, 1964. It was written by the new national editor for Washington Report of the American Security Council, Mr. William Gill. Mr. Gill is an award-winning reporter and contributor to major national magazines.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that this excellent report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follqws:

THE MOST DANGEROUS PERIOD OF THE COLD WAR

On a recent cross-country tour of major Air Force installations I stopped off at the Strategic Air Command headquarters near Omaha. Deep beneath the earth in the SAC command control center where the famous red phones are poised, there was little evidence that the dedicated men who man America's strategic ramparts have been lulled by the present climate of accommodation. But they are clearly worried that the peace offensive will cause the United States to drop its guard. Some believe, in fact, that we are already embarked on a planned program of de facto unilateral disarmament.

"This," tersely observed one senior SAC officer, "is the most dangerous period of the cold war. In 1960, at Villach, Austria, Nikita Khrushchev said: 'Life is short and I want to see the Red flag fly over the whole world in my lifetime. Here at SAC we are acutely conscious of the fact that 4 years have elapsed since Khrushchev made that boast. And he isn't getting any younger."

Another veteran SAC officer called 1964 "a very critical year." Reluctantly, he elaborated: "For the first time in the history of the Air Force—or of the old Army Air Corps—we have no new major follow-on offensive weapons or delivery systems in active development. Not one."

Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Air Force Chief of Staff, has warned Congress that the Soviet Union may rapidly be narrowing the

armament lead the United States has held since the start of the cold war. To counter the warnings of General LeMay and other knowledgeable experts President Johnson recently divulged the details of America's military might, which, he said, is stronger "than any adversary or combination of adversaries." This is undoubtedly true—today. But it is not the present status of our deterrent force that LeMay and the others are so deeply concerned about. It is the capability of that force, to use the words of one high-ranking Air Force man, "tomorrow and the day after tomorrow."

A partial checklist of programs dropped, curtailed, or delayed by the Department of Defense gives some idea of why General LeMay and top SAC officers are concerned:

(1) Pluto, the low-flying, atomic-powered missile that many believe could be the most powerful single weapon yet conceived, mothballed in mid-June by Congress because of resistance from the Department of Defense, particularly Dr. Harold Brown, Director of Defense Research and Engineering.

(2) The X–20 Dyna-Soar, once viewed as the key to America's military operations in space, summarily scrapped 6 months ago after $400 million had already been spent on its development.

(3) The B–70, follow-on manned bomber designed to fly at 70,000 feet at mach 3, cut back to development of three experimental prototypes. Meanwhile, all production of B–52's and B–58 Hustlers has been halted and the B–52 is being phased out in favor of Minuteman missiles with far smaller bomb loads. As of June, the United States had more missiles on the firing line than manned bombers and the imbalance will continue to grow, greatly reducing our overall firepower.

(4) AMPSS—the Air Force's new "advanced manned precision strike system"—will never get off the drawing board if Defense Secretary McNamara has his way. Although slower than the B–70, the Air Force is willing to settle for AMPSS. But McNamara makes it clear that he plans to do away with SAC's bomber fleet entirely and has told Congress "we have no plan * * * to produce a successor to the B–52."

(5) B–47, once SAC's mainstay, has been consigned to the graveyard although Gen. Thomas S. Power, SAC commander, regards it as "still an extremely effective system." Oversea bases for this medium-range bomber are being abandoned and 480 B–47's are scheduled to fuel the "bomber bonfire" which the United States and the U.S.S.R. are reported close to agreement on at the Geneva disarmament negotiations.

(6) The controversial TFX medium-range fighter-bomber is running into difficulty. It has been argued that oversea air bases would no longer be needed because the Navy version of TFX (F–111–B) would operate from carriers. At the end of May, the Department of Defense admitted the F–111–B is delayed a year because of weight problems about which the Navy had long ago warned Secretary McNamara.

(7) Atlas missiles, which cost U.S. taxpayers $5.4 billion, are being junked. Admittedly, this first effective ICBM is vulnerable because of its soft-site above ground launch pad. But the 129 Atlases produced to date can still carry nuclear warheads six to eight times greater than the smaller solid-fuel Minuteman upon which the Department of Defense now places its main reliance.

(8) Thor and Jupiter, intermediate range missiles, were removed in 1963 from the United Kingdom (60), Italy (30), and Turkey (15). Their retention in these three countries would have served to greatly complicate Soviet strike strategy by loading the enemy with additional missions.

(9) Skybolt, air-to-surface weapons system, canceled over British objections in 1962. The British had been willing to bypass their own Blue Steel system in favor of Skybolt but are now forced to continue working on Blue Steel, which they readily admit is inferior.

(10) Bomarc-A missiles—all 195 of them—phased out over the past year.

(11) Nike-Zeus, believed an answer to the search for an antimissile missile, shelved in favor of the Nike-X, "without", as McNamara puts it, "any commitment at this time to its ultimate production and deployment." In mid-June the administration indicated further delay in a decision on an antimissile missile until next year despite a warning by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that if the Soviets beat us to this system "we face the possibility of a cold war defeat." (Some Intelligence sources claim the Soviet already has beaten us to it, and is now deploying antimissile missiles around its major cities.)

(12) Typhon frigates and weapons systems for Navy deleted from fiscal 1965 budget because, McNamarra says, they are "too large, complex, and expensive to be deployed."

The list could go on and on. It would range from the scrapping of plans for construction of a deep underground support center for SAC, through the phasing out of a dozen other operational weapons systems.

But there is even more evidence that America is, in fact, far gone down the suicidal road toward unilateral disarmament. In April, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatrick announced the administration's goal of a 25-percent reduction in military expenditures by July 1, 1966. Already, severe cutbacks in defense expenditures are creating a vast pool of unemployed among skilled technicians and scientists. Defense spending, which for years ran around 10 percent of gross national product, is presently under 9 percent and is expected to sink to 6 percent within 4 years.

A justification for defense cuts on this sweeping scale might be hard proof that the Soviet is making compensatory reductions in its own armament. But leading U.S. Intelligence experts inform me that there is absolutely no real evidence that the U.S.S.R. is disarming.

The apostles of accommodation are not, however, concerned with Intelligence reports. They argue that it is up to the United States to "take the first steps toward peace." The test ban treaty, under which we waived on-site inspection, is not enough. They claim that only when we permit the Soviet to achieve military "parity" can we prove our good faith and the credibility of our deep desire for peace.

The test ban treaty has already imposed a serious handicap on U.S. technology. It not only hampers development of an effective anti-missile-missile system, but prevents us from devising a way to offset the electromagnetic pulse from high-altitude bursts of 50 to 100 megaton bombs. Many scientists suspect that such explosions would render our missiles useless and completely disrupt our warning and communications systems.

If, on top of this critical handicap, our defense planners continue to hold down development of weapons and delivery systems designed to maintain America's massive deterrent power. the free world may, much sooner than anyone now foresees, be confronted by the Kremlin with the fateful choice—"Surrender or die."

Prayer in Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with an editorial commentary by the distinguished and able Congressman from the Second District of South Carolina, the Honorable ALBERT W. WATSON, on the subject of prayers and Bible reading in our schools. This editorial was broadcast by television station WBTW, in Florence, S.C., on July 2, 1964, in accordance with that station's policy of permitting responses to editorial comments by the station.

I point out, Mr. President, that the people of the Second Congressional District of South Carolina, in which district I have the honor to reside, have demonstrated in a recent poll that they staunchly back Mr. WATSON in his strong stand against the recent Supreme Court decision against prayers and Bible reading. Congressman WATSON has recently released a poll of constituents which shows that 90 percent of people in his district are against these court decisions.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial response printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESPONSE TO PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS EDITORIAL

The following response to WBTW's editorial on "Prayer in Public Schools," is from South Carolina Representative ALBERT W. WATSON, of the Second District.

Congressman WATSON said, "While there is much honest disagreement on the Supreme Court's decision prohibiting prayer and Bible reading in the public schools of America, I believe the Court's interpretation of the first amendment is exactly the opposite to what the framers of our Constitution had in mind. Seeking to protect the people from a state religion, they designed the amendment to guarantee to all Americans freedom of religion, not freedom from religion."

Congressman WATSON continued, "Certainly a law or decision of a court should not discourage—much less forbid—the offering of a voluntary prayer or the reading of a few verses of Scripture. For the Supreme Court to forbid such is in actuality protecting the atheists and agnostics to the point of virtually establishing atheism as a state religion, the thing our forefathers sought to prohibit."

Congressman WATSON said further, "The argument of the Supreme Court that a stigma would be placed upon the child of the nonbeliever who voluntarily leaves the classroom during a brief period of devotion is a dubious one at best. The atheist, by deciding against the beliefs of the majority, has, in fact, chosen to separate himself, and it is ridiculous for him to ask society to subordinate its wishes in order to protect him against something of his own choosing.

While everyone will agree that it is the primary responsibility of the church and home to provide a child with religious instruction," said Congressman WATSON, "it is illogical for the Court to conclude that the Government and school officials should tell the child that the Bible reading and prayer he learned through the church and the home are illegal and unconstitutional in a classroom. This places the Government in a position of opposition to religion rather than a proper position of neutrality."

Congressman WATSON also wrote, "Many in South Carolina are under the false impression that, because schools are still conducting brief devotionals in spite of the Court's decision, this condition will continue. However, you can rest assured that the Federal Government will enforce the decision to the point of doing away with all such devotional periods. Unless the Supreme Court is checked," Congressman WATSON concluded,

"the freedom of Americans to express trust in God in any place other than the church, synagogue, or home, is in serious jeopardy."

This has been a response to a WBTW editorial from South Carolina Representative ALBERT W. WATSON of the Second District.

Broommakers Having Trouble With Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following article from the Omaha, Nebr., World Herald, of Wednesday, July 1. The story outlines the desperate straits of a small business located in the town of Deshler, Nebr.

This business is another suffering from the efforts of the administration's current attempts to help business firms of other nations at the expense of our own.

The story follows:

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, July 1, 1964]

DESHLER HAS BIG STAKE—BROOMMAKERS HAVING TROUBLE WITH IMPORTS

(By Tom Allan)

DESHLER, NEBR.—A new broom may sweep clean but if it's a foreign import, it may be helping to curtail if not wipe out part of a small but important American industry.

Like foreign imports of steel and beef, receipt of cheaply made foreign brooms from Mexico and the Iron Curtain countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary is hurting the U.S. business economy.

The concern was voiced this week by V. C. Struve, vice president and general manager of the Deshler Broom Factory, Inc., "the world's largest."

"It is safe to say," he said, "that if the corn broom industry does not receive relief through present legislation, it is certainly possible that many of the present manufacturers now in business will be forced to reduce production or to close their doors.

He gave figures showing that in the last 2 years 84 U.S. broom manufacturers have had to shut down.

"In fact, since 1960 there have been more than 200 broom factories with from 3 to as many as 60 employees each that have closed their doors mainly because of the foreign imports which are increasing each year substantially," he said.

"Last year alone, 5 million brooms, whisk brooms and toy brooms were imported. This roughly covers nearly one-fifth of the American corn broom usage each year."

The problem:

The American manufacturer cannot hope to compete with foreign imports because of higher wages in the United States.

Mr. Struve said his skilled broom winders earn from $1.85 to $2.65 an hour. In Mexico the pay for most skilled broom makers is about $1.25 a day.

The result: Importers can get good-grade Mexican brooms for $6 a dozen compared with $9.25 a dozen for the lowest priced brand made here.

The industry was heartened and then disappointed last year.

The Tariff Commission unanimously recommended protection for the corn broom industry by duties on imports based on a cost equal to the American selling price.

But President Kennedy turned down the recommendation, stating that in his opinion the broom industry did not need the relief, Mr. Struve said.

Two bills are now in the congressional hopper to provide relief. Both would amend the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to duty rates on corn brooms.

The bills would yield a duty of $2.88 a dozen for floor brooms and 96 cents a dozen for whisk brooms, short of equaling production costs but still of substantial benefit to domestic industry.

While optimistic about passage of the bills, Mr. Struve said the industry is "extremely worried about the action President Johnson may take."

Mr. Struve stressed that the American broom industry does not want to be favored.

"All we want is just an equal opportunity to compete on the American domestic market," he said.

Much more is at stake, he said, than the broom manufacturing industry.

Involved are farmers who raise broom corn; lumber dealers who supply the broom handles; steel, fabric, twine, and paint companies who supply other manufacturing materials; and the transportation industry.

Much is also at stake in this Thayer County community of 1,000. The 74-year-old factory here has approximately 80 employees. Eighty families constitute almost a third of the population.

The National Labor Relations Board Decision in the Darlington Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the editor of the Times & Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C., has called attention, in his July 1, 1964, issue, to important legislation now pending in both the House and the Senate. I refer to H.R. 10642 and S. 2744 which would give legislative sanction to a businessman's inherent right to close his business for whatever reason he may choose. I am pleased, Mr. President, to be a cosponsor of S. 2744.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial comments on this important subject by Mr. Dean Livingston, the able editor and publisher of the Times & Democrat.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET YOUR VIEWS BE KNOWN

Do you, as a businessman, believe that it is your inherent right to close your business whenever you see fit, regardless of the reason?

If so, you may have a surprise in store for you. The National Labor Relations Board, prodded by labor unions, has brought a case before the U.S. Supreme Court which would deprive an employer of the right of going out of business unless a union which represents his employees agrees to the step.

The unions are taking the position that it is illegal, under the Taft-Hartley Act that set up the NLRB, for an employer to close down all or any part of his business if it can be established that such action was taken to avoid signing a contract with the union.

That is similar to an imaginary case in which John Doe's customers might sue to prevent him from going out of business if he is not making the profit he believes he should make, or is actually losing money.

U.S. Representative WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN in the House has introduced a bill to clarify the Taft-Hartley law in this respect (H.R. 10642). Substantially the same bill is now before the Senate, introduced by Senator JOHN TOWER, Republican, of Texas, and Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican, of Arizona (S. 2744).

The background of the issue started in 1956 when the Darlington Manufacturing Co. at Darlington closed its mills and went out of business shortly after the textile workers union won an election by a narrow margin to represent the employees.

The NLRB stepped into the picture, claiming that Deering Millikin & Co. and other related corporations held an ownership interest in the closed company. Deering Milliken was ordered to provide back pay for the Darlington workers until they obtained equivalent jobs with other companies.

It got short shrift from a U.S. district court of appeals, which held, in part, that "to go out of business in total, or to discontinue it in part, permanently at any time, we think was Darlington's absolute prerogative." Hence the NLRB's appeal to the High Court.

If the NLRB wins, it would become the ultimate arbiter of whether a man faced with an unprofitable business can be forced to stay in business until his capital and resources are exhausted and he, himself, goes bankrupt.

No one knows yet what the Supreme Court will do. But if it follows its usual trend, one can expect the NLRB to win out. The Dorn and the Tower-Goldwater bills are designed to thwart the NLRB. South Carolina's Senators and Representatives, undoubtedly, will support the bills. If Orangeburgers have influence with any out-of-State solons, or have friends who have such influence, now would be a good time to acquaint them with their views.

Panama Canal Policy: Dangerous Failings of State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, among the most crucial foreign affairs policy matters to come before the Congress in many years have been those affecting the Panama Canal and interoceanic canals generally. Expounded on the floor of the House on many occasions by my able and brilliant colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], the canal problem, especially the role played by the Department of State, has become a subject of national interest and concern.

Featured by indecision, timidity, and downright incompetence, the conduct of our relations with Panama concerning the Panama Canal culminated on January 9–11, 1964, in Red led and directed mob assaults on the Canal Zone, killing a number of our soldiers, endangering the lives of our citizens, and jeopardizing the security of the canal itself.

It was, therefore, with the greatest interest that I read, in the June 1964 issue of the Reader's Digest, a thoughtful and very able article on "The Dangerous Failings of Our State Department," by Hon. FRANK J. LAUSCHE, distinguished senior Senator from Ohio and member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. It is especially gratifying that in this revealing article Senator LAUSCHE emphasizes our failures at Panama.

The major part of the indicated article follows:

THE DANGEROUS FAILINGS OF OUR STATE DEPARTMENT

(The Government agency primarily responsible for fighting the cold war is a study in indecision, timidity, and inefficiency. Result: we're in danger of losing that war.)

(By Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE)

In every corner of the world we are losing ground to the Communists. From Panama to Cambodia to Ghana to Bolivia to Indonesia, we are belittled, battered, and backpedaling. Our flag is trampled, our prestige and power are flouted. Our embassies are mobbed, our officials threatened or arrested at gunpoint. Respect for our strength dwindles.

As the agency responsbile for our foreign relations, the State Department must stand chiefly accountable for our defeats in the long struggle against communism. The harsh fact is that State is not equipped to cope with the explosive conflicts our enemies are stirring. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is a sincere, devoted diplomat who works tirelessly to do the best job he can; but, unfortunately, the vast organization over which he presides contains long-entrenched and frequently misguided men whose views too often account for our unsuccessful policies. Thus, while our opponents run circles around us, these officials, from their lofty glass-and-granite heights above the Potomac, persist in underplaying Communist advances.

Consider the Department's actions during last January's revolution in Zanzibar. After a band of rebels, at least 30 of them trained in Cuba, seized power, statements began to ooze out of our foreign-policy superstructure disparaging the importance of the Communists. "U.S. Aids Unconvinced Pro-Reds Run Zanzibar" ran a New York Times headline based on one State briefing.

Yet, State's own files revealed that a Zanzibar political office had been set up in Havana in 1961. Cuban-instructed students had returned to Zanzibar shortly before the rebellion—and State knew about it. The new Foreign and Defense Minister, Abdul Rahman Mohammed, had been a paid agent of the Chinese Communist press agency—and State knew about it. Vice President Kassim Hanga, educated in Moscow and with a fanatical hate-America record, had stalked out of a meeting last fall when it moved to express regret over President Kennedy's assassination—and State knew about this, too.

But what did State do? It soft pedaled the grim facts and clung to the old line that the coup was merely a nationalist revolution that had picked up some Communist overtones. Then Red China announced a half-million-dollar loan to Zanzibar, and our one remaining diplomat was given 24 hours to pack his bags and get out of "The People's Republic of Zanzibar." Four days later, at State's insistence, we responded by recognizing this Communist-riddled regime which was soon to demand removal of our space tracking station and receive Soviet arms and technicians. Yet, in stark contrast, when a new anti-Communist regime took over last fall in the Dominican Republic, we would not recognize it although we knew the overthrown government had refused to crack down on serious Communist infiltration.

Such foolishness can lead only to further failures. Before we suffer additional setbacks, something must be done now. For a campaign is already mounting within our foreign-policy complex to change our attitudes toward Communists. Honest criticism of our State Department, especially by Congress, has been scorned long enough. Real reforms have been shelved too often. My own experience on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, plus a vast amount of material on the public record, convinces me that there are five chronic weaknesses which plague the Department:

Weakness 1. State has a habit of glossing over critical matters until they turn into disasters.

Indonesia is one case. More than 2 years ago the Department's files were crammed with hair-raising evidence revealing how Communist-leaning President Sukarno had mortgaged his Government to the hilt to acquire Soviet military aid, while accepting what has added up to $780 million in U.S. economic aid. Naively hoping for the best, State's policymakers insisted we keep propping up Indonesia.

Because we did not dare tell Sukarno to give up his partnership with the Russians or get along without our help, a dangerous small war is brewing in Asia—as Sukarno threatens to crush the newly formed Federation of Malaysia with his Russian weapons, telling us, "To hell with your aid."

Much the same folly has been evident in our policy toward Ghana. For more than 3 years the government of President Kwame Nkrumah has been degenerating into a Marxist tyranny. Again we ducked a showdown, not having the guts to inform Nkrumah that we would not subsidize his regime as it slide toward communism. All the while State issued rosy "fact sheets," including a recent one claiming that Ghana has "steadily increasing ties of friendship with the United States." Today Ghana has all but plunged into the Soviet orbit; our Embassy has been mobbed and our flag pulled down by Nkrumah's stooges.

To force State to rise above its fears of showdowns, a persistent effort must be made by both the press and Congress to compel the Department to tell the truth. Coverup and deception are too often practiced by misguided, arrogant officials who distrust and fear the judgment of American citizens.

Weakness 2. State too frequently forgets that we must act our role as the free world's leader, and enforce our rights if we expect to survive.

No major nation has ever achieved peace without courageous use of its might at proper times. The calm that descended over Berlin and other crisis points after President Kennedy's dramatic action on the Soviet missiles in Cuba in October 1962 is proof. Yet, a deep-seated feeling is too often evident at State that there's something sinful about exercising strength.

Take Vietnam. In the wake of the State Department-encouraged overthrow of President Diem last November, the war against the Communist Vietcong gravely deteriorated. Nonetheless, elements in our State Department continued to resist the one obvious and long overdue tactic: hit-and-run guerrilla strikes by the Vietnamese against the enemy on his own home ground in North Vietnam. To be sure, this is a power maneuver, but the alternative may be to abandon Vietnam—and ultimately the rest of southeast Asia—to communism.

State's attitude toward exercising leadership was also obvious after the bloody January riots in Panama. Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban propaganda instantly spread lies that our troops had slaughtered innocent Panamanians. Then Panama lodged a charge of "aggression" against us before the Organization of American States.

Instead of responding to these smears in a manner befitting a great power, the State Department timidly consented to an investigation of Panama's complaints. Then and there, vast evidence could have been presented for the public record, including photographs and tape recordings showing how at least 70 trained Communists, some recently schooled in Cuba, staged the riots and fanned them to a bloody pitch. Indeed, State so underplayed Communist influence that Cuba was not even openly mentioned before the OAS at that crucial time.

Obedient to State's orders, our Voice of America made only fleeting mention of Communist involvement in the riots, during broadcasts to Latin America about the OAS meetings. Communist activity was not discussed at all in VOA's newscasts to Western Europe and most other regions. Is it any wonder that after the OAS voted 16 to 1 to seek evidence of U.S. aggression, our allies and most of the rest of the world concluded we were in the wrong?

Until the State Department realizes that we must act like the great nation we are, opportunists, half-pint dictators and even some of our friends will continue to slice away at us. And in doing so they will gladly watch us slide into second-class status. Former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Murphy, who directly served three Presidents, recently said, "In appropriate cases our Government should use its power and capacity to deal directly with a provocation whether in Panama, Ghana or Cuba. If we do this from time to time in suitable situations, I am convinced the United States will regain an element which it seems more recently to have lost—international respect both for American leadership and American power."

Weakness 3. State has not devised a consistent plan to defeat communism's political-warfare strategy.

This stems from an ingrained belief that the solution to our conflict with communism lies not in taking the offensive but in seeking areas of understanding. This attitude was typified recently by our Ambassador to West Germany, George C. McGhee, who declared, "We must seek solutions by indirection through promotion of evolutionary change in the context in which the problems appear on the world scene."

This naiveté has filled the corridors and conference rooms at State for years. The entrenched powers at State are still convinced they can reach gentlemanly agreements with the Communists, and talk them out of aggressive aims.

State has gone even further down this road of self-delusion with its policy of making life more palatable behind the Iron Curtain. If, the Department argues, we sell our wheat to Russia, we help Khrushchev avert an agricultural difficulty and give him a breather to put his house in order. Then a better atmosphere will prevail for negotiation. Help poor Nikita, so the line goes, prove to his Communist competitors, particularly Red China, that his peaceful coexistence policy works.

His policy works all right! It stirs terror and mass murder in the Congo, spreads lies about us in Panama. It shoots down our off-course fliers over East Germany, even as State Department encouraged trade deals send tons of U.S. grain to this despised puppet regime. It teaches Castro's elite how to operate missiles, and it poisons the bloodstream of every free society with anti-American hate.

Still, our State Department strategists are so enchanted with the search for minor agreements that they have not even begun to think through the major problem: ways to thwart and destroy communism's worldwide social-demolition apparatus—be it directed from Moscow or Peiping.

Weakness 4. State's decisionmaking machinery is so inefficient that it moves at a caterpillar pace.

Shortly after President Kennedy took office, the White House asked the Department for a swift answer to a Russian maneuver in Berlin; 43 days later it arrived. Bureaucracy has reached such proportions that an estimated one out of every three Foreign Service employees is bogged down in strictly administrative chores, while well over half of State's 24,000-man payroll performs clerical, housekeeping duties such as processing 2 million pieces of paper a week. Vital matters crawl through in-out boxes gathering signatures of approval as crucial hours tick by. Recently, Secretary of State Rusk admitted to Congress that telegrams which come to him can take as many as 10 days to go up and down the line before a decision is reached, when everyone knows what the answer should be.

Such a senseless roundrobbin is an outrage. And not just because of the delays involved. All too frequently, in the course of the buckpassing and the ponderous discussion in one committee after another, proposals get so emasculated that the decision is: don't act. Surely the unnecessary echelons can be eliminated.

Weakness 5. State's personnel is not up to the tasks that confront it.

Despite numerous dedicated, able Foreign Service officers, the entire personnel structure needs more disciplined, realistic men coming in at the bottom and moving toward the top. The Department has more than enough bodies, and not nearly enough mental brawn. Particularly is this true at the desk-officer level. For nearly every country we deal with, there is a "desk man" in Washington whose authority and influence on foreign-policy decisions can be enormous. Too often these posts are filled by juniors who either buck decisions up another rung or, worse, make mistakes that are not caught. We need seasoned top diplomats in these jobs, men who can be held accountable for decisions.

Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration William J. Crockett recently admitted to a congressional committee that a rigorous "weeding-out process" at State was "a matter of highest priority." The real question, however, is who goes out. Too often it is the wrong man. Ambassador Clare Timberlake, among those credited with saving the Congo from a Soviet-run takeover, was called home in 1961 because Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian U.N. commander in the Congo, considered him too anti-Communist.

* * * * *

The Department's ability to discern between desirables and undesirables is in serious doubt.

Just as alarming, the raw talent coming into the Foreign Service, our future Ambassadors, is below par. Moreover, State's personnel training continues to be grossly inadequate, and all too few of our diplomats have a sophisticated knowledge of communism's social-demolition techniques. Not nearly enough of those in Red target areas know how to deal with a professional agitator or can spot a Communist-led riot in the making.

Individually and collectively, these five weaknesses at State have spelled setbacks, blunders, and catastrophes. Nothing more vividly shows this than the case of Cuba. For months we watched as the slow infiltration of Soviet troops and weapons wiped out the Monroe Doctrine, yet did nothing. Finally the missile crisis of October 1962 was upon us, and we stood at the brink of world war III. Afterward, the State Department announced a bold program to isolate Cuba by discouraging all free world shipping to the island. Promise was further made that Cuba's exportation of communism would not be tolerated. Nearly 2 years ago Secretary Rusk told our committee that "if the Cubans or the Soviets in Cuba attempted to move arms illicitly into other Latin American countries, the Armed Forces of the United States would be used to intercept such traffic."

Both programs have now collapsed. Cuba is today a training center for guerrillas and terrorists. A full-scale African indoctrination program there has already sent more than 100 graduates back to their homelands, which range from Algeria to Southern Rhodesia. The OAS has compiled massive evidence showing Cuban aggression against Venezuela, including financial aid and substantial arms shipments. (Captured plans disclosed a plot to seize Caracas with the help of mortars, bazookas, and recoilless rifles slipped in from Cuba.)

As for the economic embargo, its ballyhooed success was rudely shattered by Britain's $11 million sale of 400 buses to Castro. We knew well in advance that this and other deals by our various allies were in the making. State might have devised a campaign to nip these deals in the bud. Instead, it argued that we should sell wheat to the Soviet Union, the main source of economic support to Cuba.

Nothing could have more thoroughly undermined our embargo, since it was precisely the kind of excuse our allies were looking for to launch full-scale commerce with Castro. Thus, even while a 42-million-dollar contract for the sale of 1 million tons of wheat to Russia was being negotiated in New York last January, a British freighter, the *Sycamore Hill*, was taking on 10,000 tons of Canadian wheat in Nova Scotia. Destination: a Russian Black Sea port. Some 48 hours after the deal was consummated, the ship's captain got new orders from Moscow: Head for Havana.

A few days later the *Tulse Hill*, another British vessel, docked in Baltimore. Longshoremen refused to load it and 25 other ships, some of them scheduled to carry wheat for Iron Curtain countries. Why? These same ships had been delivering goods to Cuba. State Department officials rushed to talk the union out of its anti-Cuban boycott.

Small wonder that our friends fall away from us and our foes make mincemeat of us. Yet, instead of stern measures, we are now hearing calls for reevaluations looking to a still weaker line against communism. From my own party in Congress, one influential foreign-policy voice, conditioned by State Department thinking, decries, cold war "myths" and declares that Russia has "ceased to be totally and implacably hostile to the West." Approval reverberates through our diplomatic echelons, where the word is out to educate the public about "good" Communist nations. Our officials pontificate about the Soviet-Chinese dispute over how to bury us, and all the while communism creeps ahead.

If we will but courageously help our friends and not aid our enemies, the protection of our interests can be achieved with the least risk of violence. And if we are to survive, one top piece of business at the White House must be an immediate study, reshaping and strengthening of our State Department. For how long can we afford to fail?

Communist Successes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Augusta Chronicle, of Augusta, Ga., has printed in its July 2 and 3 editorial columns two outstanding editorials on Communist successes in this time when it seems to be unpopular to be an anti-Communist. The editorials are entitled "Red Renaissance." I ask unanimous consent to have these two editorials printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Augusta Chronicle, July 2, 1964]

RED RENAISSANCE—I

The Communist Party, by its utilization of the current election campaign to expand and intensify its activities in this country, is making manifest to every American capable of comprehension that it feels the climate for Communists is improving in the United States.

And it may be that the party bosses, examining carefully every straw in the wind, are accurately interpreting recent trends in this country as being increasingly favorable to the Red cause.

Colleges and universities throughout the Nation are extending invitations to Communist speakers. Press conferences held by party leaders are well attended, and the resulting publicity brings the party to the attention of everyone. In addition, party morale has been aided by the courts. A December decision of the U.S. court of appeals which upset the conviction of the party for failure to register as it is required to do by the McCarran Act was as a shot of adrenalin. More recently, Supreme Court rulings have favored intensification of Communist activity.

The conclusion by party leaders that the climate is conducive to an expanding operation became apparent several months ago. The party's legislative director, Arnold Johnson, sent letters to all 50 States last January requesting information concerning the requirements for placing a candidate on the ballot or for establishing a write-in candidate. Sources close to the Chronicle now report that Johnson is pleased not only with the large number of replies he received but also with the volume of information he was furnished on the election laws in various States.

Several Red objectives appear to be emerging for the forthcoming political campaign.

As it does with its appearances on college campuses, the Communist Party sees in such a campaign an opportunity to present itself to the general public as a legitimate political party and to conceal what it is in fact—an instrumentality of the international Communist movement. It also sees this campaign as the means of obtaining publicity influencing vital issues of the day, promoting its program, and advancing the cause of communism generally.

It has now become apparent that the party will make every effort to run Communists for public office either as Communist Party candidates or as independents. William C. Taylor, a paid party functionary in southern California, ran as an independent for the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County in the California primary earlier this month. While he ran as an independent, Taylor admitted publicly that he is a Communist. He was defeated by the incumbent—but he polled 32,000 votes, some 13 percent of the total number cast for this office.

Emboldened to reenter the national political arena, the Communist Party, U.S.A., has decided to offer the party's general secretary, Gus Hall, and its vice chairman, Claude Lightfoot, as write-in candidates, respectively, for President and Vice President of the United States.

Soon will come a flood of propaganda, and calls for a Communist form of government for this country. The party may be expected to demand, on the assertion that it is a

legitimate political party, radio and television time for its write-in candidates on a level of equality with the two major political parties. If the time issue reaches the courts, who can tell but what the Communists will win their point.

Although there is an indication that the issue of civil rights will be superseded in part by international issues, it can be anticipated that race will play some role in the Communist propaganda effort. Party members in California have been told that, in their political activities, they should make the point that no Negro is the Governor of a State, a U.S. Senator, or a member of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The public can expect this, as well as other matters which party leaders figure to be of value to the Communist cause, to be agitated in every conceivable manner and through every forum available to the party.

How the party fares will bear evidence on how accurate its leaders have been in their analysis of the political climate in this country.

A further look at this subject will be taken in this space tomorrow.

[From the Augusta Chronicle, July 3, 1964]

RED RENNAISSANCE—II

America's crafty Communists, quick to exploit any cleavage among the ranks and file of this country, are, as we said Thursday, turning to the 1964 political campaign to promote the cause of communism.

While we cited the rase issue as one that could be expected to supply the American reds with a double handful of propaganda ammunition, there is a growing indication that party leaders have begun looking elsewhere for something to exploit. They are assuming that enactment of the civil rights bill will lessen the propaganda value of that issue.

As a result, we look for the Communists to strive to wring from developments in southeast Asia as much divisive propaganda as they can.

Leading functionaries of the party in this country are hoping to revive the tactic of the united front and join with other organizations in a campaign designed to oppose the policy of the U.S. Government in that area of the world. Sources in which the Chronicle has the greatest confidence say these party bosses envision a front which would include leftist groups, labor unions, organizations of Negro citizens, and religious groups. They hope to gain from the last element the "tone" they believe religion will lend to their campaign.

What the party hopes to do is to take advantage of the increasing call in this country for more aggressive tactics by the United States is the fight against communism in southeast Asia. The Communists here will hammer away at the theme that this will extend the war, hoping to stir a widespread movement against any possible United States assault on North Vietnam.

Already, the party here is contending that the situation in southeast Asia can be settled only through negotiations in which Red China is an active participant. They also argue that the central issue in southeast Asia is the right of countries in that part of the world to conduct their own affairs.

They deliberately and conveniently ignore the real issue—Communist invasion, terror, and insurgency.

Increasingly, in the weeks that lie ahead, the Communists in the United States may be expected to attack without surcease any suggestion that we enlarge our activities in southeast Asia. Anyone suggesting that we fight to win there will be branded an ultrarightist. Our purposes there, in fact, already are being distorted in every way imaginable. Currently being circulated is the statement that the United States wants to exploit the natural resources and the inhabitants of that area of the world, while the object of North Vietnam is only to secure peace and a reunified Vietnam.

In its utilization of politics as an instrument to promote communism, the party will stress any issue which it feels is to its advantage. It will call for repeal of anti-Communist legislation, peaceful coexistence, as well as the withdrawal of U.S. military support from South Vietnam.

We can be sure, too, that Communists will also campaign for the election of candidates they consider to be liberal, and for the defeat of candidates they deem to be ultraright.

Strong Action Must Be Taken To Limit Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a strong editorial which appeared in the Florida Times-Union correctly portrays the problem presented through usurpation of authority by the U.S. Supreme Court. It is worthy of careful study at all levels of government and particularly in the Congress.

The editorial follows:

STRONG ACTION MUST BE TAKEN TO LIMIT COURT

Members of the U.S. Supreme Court will probably find a $5,000 increase in their paychecks when that august body reconvenes in the fall. The figure is $2,500 more than it might have been.

The House of Representatives voted the Court a $7,500 raise, the same as given all Congressmen, but the Senate reduced the amount to $2,500. A compromise committee split the difference and the Court will probably end up with a $5,000 increase.

The Senate action sharply cutting the Court pay raise has been interpreted as a censure of the Court's actions and rulings relative to the method for apportioning both houses of the State legislatures. It has also been interpreted as a warning to the Court to stop entering the legislative domain.

In seeking to reduce the Court's pay, the Senate has merely acted out the role assigned it when the Constitution was drafted. A system of "checks and balances" was established by that document which would keep the three branches, executive, legislative, and judicial, always at odds with each other, thus preventing a centralization of governmental power.

Under the Constitution, each branch has designated duties and powers, and the authority to maintain itself within its own field as long as it acts with vigor. If any branch becomes lackadaisical, it may find the others usurping its powers.

Such a system, as explained above, allows the people to assess accurately responsibility for the operations of the Government, and to take appropriate actions to correct deficiencies. Lately, however, this ability of the people to determine responsibility, has become clouded because the three branches are taking on aspects of each other.

In the past two decades, the Supreme Court has sought to amend the Constitution outside of the prescribed procedure and the other departments have committed equally as serious encroachments outside of their areas of authority.

The most serious usurpations of power, however, have been committed by the Court and it is remarkable that Congress has waited so long to attempt to retaliate. Unfortunately, the method chosen by the Congress to limit the Court does not appear to be one that will effectively do the job.

The only way in which the Court will be properly limited is for the Congress to take an aggressive legislative stand and enact laws specifically defining the presently vague authority of the Court. Such an act would be entirely constitutional. Lastly, the Congress must also vigorously exercise all of the powers granted it so that they won't be lost through default.

Communism's Many Faces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Greenville Piedmont, of Greenville, S.C., has printed a very eloquent, but brief, commentary on "Communism's Many Faces." This editorial points up the fallacies in the foolhardy notion that the Communists can be trusted to be anything except Communists. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, from the July 7, 1964, issue of the Greenville Piedmont, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNISM'S MANY FACES

As warm coexistence winds blow across the ideological no man's land dividing capitalist and Communist, the Russians have been practicing their best political art: deceit.

A smiling Nikita Khrushchev bounced around Scandinavia trying to give the impression that he was a good comrade who wasn't too unlike many good capitalists, and that he really didn't want to "bury" anyone.

The Soviet Premier posed with his face stuck in a bunch of roses; then he showed off his rowing ability by propelling the Swedish Premier across a lake. It was all so disarming.

Meanwhile, in Indonesia, Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan was also busy—helping to foment another international explosion.

In Jakarta, Mikoyan announced that Moscow was shipping new and better arms to Indonesia for use in the "confrontation" with Malaysia.

Malaysia is a federation of states conceived last year out of British possessions in the Far East. Great Britain helped mold the territories of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah into an independent state. The new nation had one desire: to be left in peace.

But that Red-lining upstart, President Sukarno, of Indonesia, decided otherwise. He began rattling his territorial kettledrums and mobilizing troops for his grand land-grabbing expeditions.

Great Britain and Australia told Sukarno they would defend Malaysia's interests. They mobilized forces to show Sukarno they meant business. Thus the two faces of Russia are again being shown to the world: smiles in Scandinavia and straight-faced warmongering in southeast Asia.

The Communists can always be trusted—to be Communists.

The Mission of the Church

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 8, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the July 3, 1964, issue of Christianity Today contains an excellent article on the importance of trying to keep churches out of the political arena. This article, entitled "The Mission of the Church," is written by Mr. J. Howard Pew, a distinguished Christian layman and a dedicated American patriot. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

(By J. Howard Pew)

(J. Howard Pew is a distinguished Christian layman and is active in many evangelical causes. He is the president of the board of trustees of the United Presbyterian Foundation and a member of the board of directors of Christianity Today. He also serves as an elder in the Ardmore Presbyterian Church, Ardmore, Pa.)

A vital question before the United Presbyterian Church is whether or not the church, as a corporate body, should involve herself in economic, social, and political affairs. Many of its leaders, by precept and example, have already given an affirmative answer to this question, and much of their activity is concerned with civil affairs. The church has become involved through pronouncements, through appeals to political pressures, and through lobbies in Washington. Other denominations could be cited as examples, but this article discusses only the situation within the United Presbyterian Church. So far as Presbyterians are concerned, the elders are responsible for the spiritual welfare of the church. The very term "ruling elder" indicates an active role in governing the church.

In the United Presbyterian Church, a manual entitled "Consider Your Ministry" has been produced to help in governing the church. The second chapter defines the mission of the church; its thrust is that the church should be planted "in the middle of life with its everyday decisions." No one would seriously deny that the individual Christian must relate his Christian convictions to the society of which he is a part in the economic, social, and political life about him. He must live out his Christianity in every phase of life, showing that he is salt and light in an unbelieving world. Nor is the right of the pulpit to speak out according to moral, ethical, and Christian principles in question. But chapter II declares these things are also the responsibility of the corporate congregation. If the thesis of this chapter is true, then a session should involve the congregation "in the jobs men do to earn a living, in the power structures of the social order, in the decisions of politics, in the relationships of persons with one another as neighbors and members of various groups and clubs" (pp. 18, 19).

A paragraph on page 21 indicates the type of guidance a session should provide for the congregation:

"But there are also things that the congregation as a corporate body can do; there are ways for the congregation itself to accept its being sent out into the world. A congregation may provide forums for the exploring of crucial issues, or it may conduct a survey of housing or job opportunities for minority groups, or it may establish an agency to meet the recreational needs of youth. It may deal forthrightly with some corruption of justice or even press for the passage or repeal of some law."

According to this, the session has the responsibility as a session to set up forums for every social, economic, and political issue of the day; to survey the community for housing and job opportunities for minority groups. But it is to do much more since the 1963 general assembly passed this recommendation:

"The 175th general assembly * * * alerts the church to other pressing metropolitan problems including methods of metropolitan government, mass transportation, equitable representation in State legislatures, suburban residential segregation, and chronic poverty of segments of our population." (Minutes of general assembly, part I, p. 326.)

This means that sessions must lead their congregations in a study of method of metropolitan government and inform all cities of the Nation what is the best type of metropolitan government. They must study mass transportation and inform, among others, the leaders of the city in which they live how to overcome traffic problems and how best to transport the working population to and from work. They must inform their State capitals as to what is an equitable representation in State legislatures. And they must come up with the solution to such poverty as may exist in certain segments of our population.

Since the congregation speaks as a Christian congregation, the assumption must be made that it knows the mind of Christ concerning metropolitan government, mass transportation, equitable representation, and so on. It must be able to declare to the various governing bodies: "Thus saith the Lord."

But to continue, sessions must be ready to send out members of the congregation to various cities, here and abroad, so that they can adequately study methods of metropolitan government. The problem of mass transportation has already cost millions of dollars, and still it remains unsolved. Must the church spend more millions, or does church affiliation equip individuals with greater knowledge and competence? Must the congregation engage political experts to help determine equitable representation in Federal, State, and local government? And who can estimate the cost of eliminating chronic poverty? These are but a small fraction of the economic, social, and political problems about which the general assembly, through its committee of church and society, has already issued statements and made pronouncements.

But is this the mission of the church? Does such a program square with the teachings of Christ, with the Scriptures, with the history and traditions of the church, with the constitution of the United Presbyterian Church, and with reason and logic?

CAESAR'S KINGDOM AND GOD'S

Even a superficial reading of Christ's words reveals that he did not interfere with civil affairs. This disappointed the Pharisees, who were looking for a political messiah. And in order to entangle Jesus in the political and economic situation of their day, they asked him whether it was lawful to pay taxes to Caesar. Jesus gave a classic answer that is timeless for the church: Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22: 21). Christ definitely distinguishes between Caesar's kingdom and God's. There is a clear distinction between temporal kingdoms and the kingdom of heaven. The jurisdiction of the state and that of the church differ. Jesus never concerned himself about Caesar's affairs. Job opportunities, methods of metropolitan government, mass transportation, equitable representation in legislatures are plainly problems for Caesar and not for the church. And let us not forget that the economic, social, and political problems of Christ's day were just as serious as they are today, if not more so.

That Jesus refused to involve himself or the church in economic situations even when they involved justice is borne out by Luke 12: 13, 14. One of His followers said, "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me." The brother was evidently cheating this follower of Christ out of his rightful inheritance. Here Christ had the opportunity to exercise justice and see that there was an equal distribution of wealth. But Christ refused to enter into a sphere that fell outside His divine calling. There are some church committees that feel that one of the functions of the church is to bring about an equal distribution of wealth which they call justice. Yet Christ said, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18: 36). What right has any court of the church to cast the Saviour into a political role by involving His church in civil affairs?

Most church pronouncements have to do with the material welfare of men. Now suppose someone would come and say to the church: "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, nor what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on" (Matthew 6: 25). One can readily imagine that a committee on social action would vehemently attack Him. Yet these were the words of Christ to the church in the Sermon on the Mount.

THE LORDSHIP OF CHRIST

The modern-day church justifies her invasion of economic, social, and political spheres on the ground of the lordship of Christ. Is not Christ the Lord of all life? Then modern theologians, like the Roman Catholic theologians, proceed from the Lordship of Christ to the lordship of the church over all facets of life. Christ forbids the church to enter into the sphere of Caesar. If the church really takes the lordship of Christ seriously, then she must listen to Him as He defines the separate jurisdictions of state and church, as He declared that His kingdom is not of this world, as He maintains that He is not a divider of wealth, as He limits the church to spiritual weapons. If the church is not hypocritical in declaring the lordship of Christ, she must follow both His example and His teachings.

In the Scriptures we find that the apostles followed the same principles as their Lord. They were interested in establishing a spiritual kingdom and refused to become involved in secular affairs. The Apostle Paul declared: "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Romans 14: 7). The sixth chapter of the Book of Acts describes an incident that arose about the distribution of charity. The apostles said to the church: "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables" (verse 3). So they asked for the appointment of seven laymen to handle this business and stated: "But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word" (verse 4). Now if the apostles felt that prayer and preaching were of such supreme importance that they could spare no time for the distribution of charity, what would they say to denominational leaders of our time who seek to solve the problem of metropolitan government and mass transportation? The apostles knew that prayer and preaching the Gospel would bring a thousandfold greater benefit to mankind than even feeding and clothing the poor.

Calvin in commenting on this incident calls attention to the preoccupation of the Roman Catholic Church with secular business. He said: "They entangled themselves in divers businesses, which they were scarce

able to overcome, though every one of them had had 10 heads." If denominational leaders are going to solve all the secular problems they have taken upon themselves in this complex society, it would appear that they should be multiheaded.

The whole emphasis of the Book of Acts and of the Epistles is upon the preaching of salvation, the sanctification of believers, and the application of the Gospel in daily life according to the law of love. The apostles did not seek to reform society by external and political means; they used only the persuasive power of the Gospel. It was their conviction that the Gospel, and not legislative acts, would transform society. They did not discuss or become involved in economic, social, and political affairs, even though the society of their day was in a sadder state than ours.

Jesus Christ, the apostles, and the early church knew that it was very important for the church to adhere strictly to the Gospel, realizing that, should she become involved in nonecclesiastical, controversial issues, those who opposed the position she took would question her competence to speak on ecclesiastical subjects.

During the Middle Ages the church left the Gospel and entered into economic, social, and political spheres. By means of canon law the church forbade the use of interest, fixed the amount of wages, and attempted to control the price of goods. The result was a period of poverty and stagnation. Society became corrupt because the church neglected her spiritual weapons. Surely the example of the Middle Ages is sufficient to warn us against the folly of the church's interfering in fields outside her God-given jurisdiction.

The Reformation brought the church back to the preaching of the Gospel. Both Luther and Calvin confined the church to spiritual functions. One of the first things Calvin did in organizing the new Protestant church in Geneva was to set up two groups: one he called the "consistory"—this was composed of 5 ministers and 12 lay elders; the other he called the "company of pastors"—this was composed solely of ministers. Concerning the consistory the constitution stated, "All this is to be done in such a way that the ministers have no civil jurisdiction and wield only the spiritual sword of the Word of God, as St. Paul commands them." The consistory (which was the forerunner of what we know as the session) could reprove according to the Word of God. The severest punishment it could mete out was excommunication. It was denied any civil jurisdiction.

The ecclesiastical body, known as the "company of pastors," had in its constitution that the pastor's duty was "to preach the Word of God, to instruct, to admonish, to exhort and reprove in public and in private, to administer the sacraments and, with the consistory, to pronounce the ecclesiastical censures."

It is commonly thought that Calvin and the ministers of Geneva dominated the civil affairs of that city. That is contrary to the facs, as original records recently discovered and translated prove. Calvin himself wrote: "I know well that the impious everywhere cry out that I aspire with an insatiable passion to political influence, and yet I keep myself so strongly separated from all public affairs, that each day I hear people discoursing upon subjects of which I have not the least knowledge. The government has recourse to my counsels only in grave affairs, when it is irresolute or incapable of deciding by itself" (letter to Zurich in 1555).

According to an eminent Swiss historian, Anedee Roget: "We do not know that the Council ever consulted the church for any subject in the offing, nor the assembly of ministers, nor the consistory, a mixed body." Common sense tells us that the Reformation would never have proceeded from Geneva if the church had occupied herself with the civil affairs of Geneva. It was because the Geneva church concentrated on the Gospel that she came to have such an international influence.

John Knox and the Westminster Divines carried out the same policy and practice. Their belief found expression in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which forms part of the United Presbyterian constitution. Chapter XXXI, section IV, reads:

"Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical; and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition, in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate."

Many of the doctrines of the Westminster Confession were debated for weeks and months, but there was 100 percent agreement on this section, which passed without debate. The Westminster divines knew the damage the Roman Catholic Church brought upon Christianity by presuming to "intermeddle with civil affairs" and sought to safeguard the Presbyterian Church from such a proved folly.

Every time the Presbyterian Church as a corporate body becomes involved in economic, social, and political affairs, she transgresses both the word and the spirit of the constitution that elders and ministers sacredly vow to uphold.

ADVICE FROM JOHN WITHERSPOON

When the Presbyterian Church in the United States was formed in Philadelphia in 1789, it adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith with its proviso that there would be no "intermeddl[ing] with civil affairs." One of the leading spirits in the formation of that church was Dr. John Witherspoon, the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. He separated his duties as a citizen from those of a minister. In a sermon he stated:

"The other direction I would offer upon this subject is, that ministers take care to avoid officiously intermeddling in civil matters. A minister should be separated and set apart for his own work; he should be consecrated to his office. * * * But it is still more sinful and dangerous, for them to desire or claim direction of such matters as fall within the province of the civil magistrate. When our blessed Saviour says, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' He plainly intimates to his disciples that they have no title to intermeddle with state affairs."

From 1789 to 1912 the Presbyterian Church kept out of the civil sphere, except for the slavery question. During this time it had its greatest influence and strength. During the 19th century Alexis de Tocqueville made these discerning comments in comparing the effect of religion in America with that in Europe: "There is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America; and there can be no greater proof of its utility and of its conformity to human nature, than that its influence is most powerfully felt over the most enlightened and free nation of the earth. * * * They [clergy] keep aloof from parties and from public affairs" (Democracy in America," I, 314, 315). In other words, it was not by interfering in civil affairs and not by political pressures that the Presbyterian Church became such a powerful influence for moral good but by keeping strictly to her spiritual sphere and by employing the persuasive power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

From the year 1912 we find the beginning of an encroachment into civil affairs by the Presbyterian Church, chiefly through the influence of a united effort on the part of major denominations and centering in the Federal Council of Churches. It is obvious from history that in proportion to her engrossment with economic, social, and political matters, the spiritual and moral influence of the church waned. The moral corruption and spiritual poverty of our day certainly stem in great measure from the neglect of the church to carry out her spiritual mission. The social gospel has proved to be ineffective in lifting up the moral standards of our Nation.

If the church as a corporate body should follow through with the economic, social, and political programs presented by the United Presbyterian General Asesmbly's Committee of Church and Society, she would find herself in opposition to the teachings of Christ and the apostles; she would ignore the lessons of history; she would despise the finest traditions of the Presbyterian Church and violate the constitution its elders and ministers have vowed to uphold.

Surely it is against all reason and logic that the congregation or the church as a whole should enter into a program that can only prove divisive and weaken the spiritual witness of the church. The program advocated is divisive. The church has been known as an institution that proclaims the infallible truth of God, but when she issues pronouncements in fields outside her sphere, this can only bring shame, confusion, and disillusionment.

The great need of today is for the church to be the church and to manifest the spiritual power with which God has endowed her. Our people have a spiritual hunger; they desire the bread of life, not secular pronouncements. And if the church proclaims the bread of life, she will, as has been proved in the past, so transform society that many of the prevalent social ills will disappear. She will infuse such virtues into society as to elevate all phases of human life. The mission of the church is to redeem souls by the Gospel of salvation, and only as she redeems individuals will society be redeemed.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Conservation Triumph in New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, among the Nation's most precious natural resources are its thousands of acres of unused land, of open spaces. The preservation of that land and its beauty is a goal to which thousands of Americans in 29 States have devoted themselves.

The celebration of their long and arduous efforts took place on May 29, when New Jersey dedicated the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge in Morris County. Present for that occasion were the Honorable Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New Jersey, and many other individuals who gave much time and energy to this project, including Senator Clifford P. Case; Congressman Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen; Mr. Robert A. Roe, the commissioner of the Department of Conservation and Economic Developments of the State of New Jersey; Hon. Thomas J. Hillery, State senator from Morris County; Mr. William Louis Arthur, president of the Morris County Park Commission; Mr. Daniel Johnson, Director of the U.S. Department of Interior's Bureau of Fisheries and Wildlife; Mr. John S. Goodschalk, Regional Director of the Fisheries and Wildlife Service; Sister Hildegard Marie, president of the College of St. Elizabeth's; Dean Samuel Pratt, Farleigh Dickinson University; Mr. Carl Bucheister, president of the National Audubon Society; Mr. Herbert P. Onick, president of the New Jersey Audubon Society; the honorary chairman of the Great Swamp Committee, Warren Ted Kenny; and its executive Secretary, Mrs. Helen Fenske.

The conclusion of this task represents a victory for both the State and the Nation. It demonstrates the strides that can be achieved by the concerted efforts of many individuals joining in a meaningful, cooperative venture guided by able leadership.

The constant expansion of urban centers threatens to destroy much of our Nation's beautiful wildlands. The initiative which New Jersey and other States have just taken may help to retard this process of deterioration. Secretary Udall and Governor Hughes are acting to meet this challenge, and their words merit citation.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the remarks made at the May 29 ceremonies be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE STEWART UDALL, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

This is not simply a matter of significance in this particular region of New Jersey, but I think this is an occasion that has significance for all the people of this country. I'm encouraged to think that the conservation movement is getting somewhere by what has been accomplished here by so many people. And I am here to express to you my feeling of optimism regarding what has been done. President Kennedy, every time I talked with him about conservation problems, used to say to me, "Let's do the things now near the great centers of population, for the opportunity will be lost unless we act in the next few years." And this is precisely what you people have done. Last Saturday in Michigan, President Johnson gave what I think was one of the finest speeches of his Presidency. In the course of it, he challenged the American people to join the battles that build a great society, to prove that our material progress is always the foundation on which we build a richer life of mind and spirit. * * * He spoke of three areas where he suggested that we can begin to build this great society—in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms. And we are gathered here today to celebrate what in my opinion is one of the most successful and meaningful battles to save the American countryside in recent memory. It is the distinctive nature of this battle that makes the Great Swamp so important. For we applaud not action by the Federal Government, or by a single public-spirited philanthropist or foundation, but by discipline, toughminded action, by many voluntary citizens groups, who were determined that a unique outdoor place did not have to be sacrificed to the demands of development. I am hopeful that this will serve as a memorable example for the whole country. This is an extraordinary thing and I want all those who participated to realize that this does set a pattern for the country. I think this is the significance of this occasion and I certainly hope that from here on in the Federal Government shall provide part of the help.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PETER FRELINGHUYSEN

To explain this project in one way, it raised a million dollars. That is no small job, and I think that we can take pride in that achievement. But, of more significance—who gave that million dollars? There were over 6,000 people, and not only was New Jersey represented in that list of donors, but contributions came from some 29 States. * * * The many individual firms in the area realized that a wildlife refuge within reach of some 30 million people is a sound investment, because it makes New Jersey a better place in which to live. What we are establishing today is a permanent resource not only for ourselves, but for future generations. This resource will increase in value in the years to come. This ceremony will have meaning therefore not only for those who are here, it will also give encouragement to groups all over the United States who hope to save a river, or a forest, or a marsh. For what we have done, they can do as well.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD J. HUGHES, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

It is a grand triumph, a triumph of determined effort, which in Secretary Udall's words deserves to be trumpeted throughout the land as an abiding example of effective citizen action. The forces of conservation throughout this region and the country have presesrved this wonderful wilderness in the heart of urban America. The effective action of many citizens whose work we honor this afternoon in this dedication, reflects the very best in America. It is the America of the voluntary association. Citizens banded together on their own initiative for a common cause.

To meet similar demands for the preservation of open space and recreational lands, the State of New Jersey has embarked on its new nationally famous Green Acres program. As of April 1964, we have bought a total of 103,000 acres either purchased or approved for purchase under the State government through its Green Acres program to enhance the esthetic and practical values of the Great Swamp region. Many other acquisitions are under consideration within the Federal open space program.

STATEMENT OF MR. WARREN TED KENNY, HONORARY CHAIRMAN

The job has been anything but an easy one. Five long years have actually gone by since we first organized, and most of our members and workers have been with us fom the beginning. We are indeed grateful, Mr. Secretary, that our country has had the very good fortune to have you and your capable staff. We have never had a more steadfast and dedicated leader than yourself.

Washington Report by Congressman M. G. Snyder, of Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of those interested, I enclose my July 1 newsletter, omitting therefrom excerpts from the RECORD which would be a duplication of material already printed herein:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Congressman M. G. "GENE" SNYDER, Third District, Kentucky, July 1, 1964)

DEAR FRIENDS: Another month has rolled around since my last report to you. I am grateful and humbled by your many kind letters. A few are not so kind but the goodness of the good letters heals all the wounds made by the little cuts along the way. The encouragement of your letters; the inspiration of your comments and the promise of your prayers gives me the courage to face up to the great odds in advocating and laboring for the positions I believe in and in which you have given me such wonderful support. I am confident that in the days, weeks, and years ahead, we will

win the fight for fiscal sanity in our Government; for responsible foreign policy which does not insult our friends and cater to our enemies and for a domestic policy which recognizes the importance of each individual citizen who has the God-given ability to think for himself.

BUREAUCRATIC BUNGLING

One can always find examples where tax money hurts taxpayers because of projects authorized and administered from Washington. One recent incident is typical of complaints. The Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) was set up supposedly to assist in depressed areas. Eighteen years ago, Mr. and Mrs. James Willis built a 10-room motel in Woodville, Tex. They were thrifty, worked hard, and later built on an additional 14 rooms. Twelve years ago, Mr. Willis passed away, but his wife carried on the business and improved the motel which is now her sole income. The ARA looked around Woodville, decided it was "poverty stricken" and channeled some $850,000 into a 72-room motel near Mrs. Willis. The 68-year old Texas widow has had to cut her paid staff thereby creating more unemployment. The new motel has its own problem in that occupancy is only 50 percent compared with the 65 percent necessary for an operating profit. According to the bureaucrats, there is a solution to the problem. Let ARA help Mrs. Willis—which has been proposed. But Mrs. Willis reacted: "I don't want a nickel from anybody, and I'm not interested in anything the Federal Government has to give away."

NEED SOMETHING TO READ?

The U.S. Government Printing Office, using taxpayers' money, prints just about anything. Here are a few examples: (1) "Restoration of Lost or Obliterated Corners and Subdivision of Sections"; (2) "Porosity and Bulk Density of Sedimentary Rocks"; (3) "Your Baby's First Year," Spanish edition; (4) "The Search for Extraterrestrial Life"; (5) "Impact of Office Automation on the U.S. Revenue Service"; and (6) "Screw Thread Standards for Federal Services."

General Accounting Office reports uncovering of $486,900,000 in wasteful spending and mismanagement practices by the Defense Department in a 12-month period ending May 1, 1964.

America fights poverty yet Uncle Sam raises the cost of living. Much is being said in favor of programs which are supposed to eliminate poverty and prevent inflation, but little is said about how the low-income families will pay more.

Item: Housewives will pay more for flour and the price of bread will rise.

Reason: The newly enacted farm bill increases the price of wheat.

Item: Coffee prices will continue to increase.

Reason: The administration backed the International Coffee Agreement Act of 1963 which passed Congress and which set a floor protecting producers but provides no protection for the American consumer.

Item: Milk prices in most metropolitan areas are increasing.

Reason: Dairy economists report that Federal milk orders raise consumer prices of milk about 5 percent above what they would be otherwise.

According to a letter of June 22 from OTTO E. PASSMAN, Democrat, of Louisiana, Member of Congress, chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Appropriations, he is being asked to yield to strong executive demands and pressures to get more foreign aid money appropriated. Mr. PASSMAN, who is an outstanding member of Congress, indicates that the facts are so overwhelmingly against the claims of the foreign aid people that there is positively no honorable way for him to yield to the pressures. He reveals that during fiscal 1965 our Government will be dispensing Federal aid in 99 nations and 9 territories. Further, Mr. PASSMAN writes, "This uncontrolled and apparently uncontrollable program now has 71,416 people on its payroll. It has reached such proportions that even the confusion is confused. There are now 26 Federal agencies dispensing some type of foreign aid and the aggregate for fiscal 1965 may exceed $7 billion. This does not include the interest our Government is paying on the money it has borrowed to give away, which is now in excess of $3 billion annually."

As of June 30, 1964, the foreign aid people have on hand and unexpended from previous years' appropriations, $7,133,461,000. During the past 9 years, total economic and military assistance under the regular foreign aid appropriation bill totaled over $30½ billion.

Of the countries of the world receiving foreign aid, there are 57 which from 1958 to 1963 received $12,436,400,000 in military and economic handouts from us. During this same period, these same 57 countries purchased $6,977,800,000 in gold from the United States. This would indicate that to some extent they are buying our gold with our money. Even though the latest Treasury reports indicate that the outflow has been somewhat arrested, our gold stockpile stood at only $15,596 million on December 31, 1963. This compares with the gold stockpile of $22,857 million on December 31, 1957.

A popular slogan in Washington today is that bills before Congress should be voted up or voted down. I agree. However, the administration refuses to go along with this idea. When a measure is voted down, the administration turns up its power, twists a few more arms, makes a few more deals, and the legislative chambers must again act on the same bill. For example, on March 12, by a vote of 184 to 222, we voted down the pay raise bill for Federal employees including Congressmen. With a few minor changes and without further hearings, it came back to the House on June 11 and was approved by a vote of 243 to 157. There were many proposed raises in the bill which I thought could have been deleted. For instance, increases for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers, Foreign Service Officers, members of the Supreme Court, judges and other judicial employees whose incomes are over $20,000 a year and cannot be called totally inadequate. A pay raise of approximately $450 a year for letter carriers certainly is reasonable, but we could not afford the luxury of such a bill at this time.

The spectacle of a Member of Congress voting to reduce Government income by $11.5 billion (the tax cut bill), and then voting himself and all other Federal employees a sizable pay increase, which has to be paid from borrowed money, makes a mockery of a decent standard of fiscal morality. The administration made a faithful promise that strict spending restraint would follow the tax cut, and I think they should practice what they preach.

Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of Southern Conference Education Fund, is registered as representing Castro's Communist Cuba in this country, according to the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. The SCEF is listed in the Louisville telephone directory with an address of 4403 Virginia Avenue. Carl Braden is listed as residing at the same address.

AMERICA MUST WAKE UP

I am worried and deeply concerned about the course our country is taking. Most Americans, I think, share this concern. The gall and callousness of those who would destroy our traditional way of life is shown in the letters below: Madalyn Murray is the Baltimore atheist who filed the suit which banned prayer and Bible reading in the schools and has another suit pending to delete the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag.

GENTLEMEN: It has been brought to my attention that you are circulating mimeographed half sheets asking for signatures for "protest" against "under God" being deleted from the flag.

Have fun.

But meantime, at least, spell my name correctly if you are going to spread hate. It is Madalyn, not Madeline—the latter spelling is the name of the alleged Jesus Christ's girl friend, a streetwalker with whom he played footsie—or haven't you ever read the Bible?

Sincerely,

FREETHOUGHT SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.,
MADALYN MURRAY, *President.*

GENTLEMEN: One of our members sent us a tract that your organization is passing out titled "A National Emergency."

Buddy, you ain't seen nothing yet. This is more than an emergency for you superstitious Neanderthals.

You are absolutely correct, we fully intend to destroy superstition in the United States of America for one and for all.

We threw superstition out of the schools, next we will throw the chaplains off the battleships, and we will teach American children that Tyrannosaurus was not on Noah's ark.

The exploitation of sex by the church is another era that has passed.

Defiantly,

GARRY DEYOUNG,
Vice President.

NAACP Joins Struggle on Behalf of America's Migrant Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, recently Washington was proud to host the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP has long served as a catalyst for progressive ideas—seeking to translate the lofty promise of American democracy into practical, workable programs. The NAACP works not only for the betterment of its own people—it serves this country as well. The results of the convention attest to the responsible role it plays in American life.

At its concluding session, the NAACP passed a resolution concerning migrant farmworkers. Agricultural workers have long been either forgotten or ignored. The NAACP statement reflects a vital awareness of the doleful state of America's agricultural farmworkers. It stresses the need for legislation dealing with housing, wages, health, education, and day care for children for this totally unprotected segment of our population.

The year of 1964 has been a year of equality, a year of opportunity, a year of beginning, and a year of renewed faith in a working democracy for our forgotten citizens. It has been a year of individual and social opportunity. We have begun to destroy the vicious bonds of racial discrimination.

Racial prejudice is closely linked with economic hardship. Without improved living and working conditions, economic

advancement is a slim hope. The migrant worker legislation promotes increased economic opportunity while eradicating the economic basis of racial prejudice. We must stimulate and foster these two closely related ideas if we are to build what President Johnson has so aptly called the great society.

The NAACP resolution is not simply a token commitment: It is a solemn pledge to join the ranks of Americans who have committed themselves to aid the President in his war on poverty.

I am grateful for the NAACP's recognition of the plight of the migrant worker, part of America's unfinished business, and I thank them for their support.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the NAACP resolution on migrant workers be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ON MIGRATORY WORKERS

The seasonal character of farm harvesting requires the labor of migrant farmworkers who with their children number well over a million. They are the most exploited, impoverished workers in the United States. They earn less money, and are more poorly clothed, live in more wretched housing, and have less education, less medical care, and less legal protection than other American workers.

The NAACP urges legislation and enforcement on all levels of government to protect these migrants and their children from exploitation and to give them equal opportunity to live in health and decency, and to raise their children under wholesome conditions. We call on the House to pass the bills for this purpose already passed by the Senate, and we urge the President to enforce them vigorously when passed.

The NAACP demands an end to importing Mexican nationals and other foreign workers in accord with Public Law 78, and we will oppose any other method to continuing bringing them in. Importing foreign farmworkers depresses labor standards, and perpetuates unemployment among workers living here permanently.

We will try to initiate and push an effective program to make the lot of migratory workers conform to decent standards of living, and will support efforts to unionize them. This is in accord with the war on poverty program.

War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is concerned with the tide of events in Vietnam, and more particularly concerned with the increased role the United States is playing in southeast Asia.

In a recent editorial, Editor Jim Whyte, of the Hollywood Sun-Tattler, one of Florida's leading newspapers, states this concern in his usually perceptive manner.

I urge that Editor Whyte's fine article be included in the RECORD at this point in order that it may receive the widest possible circulation:

HERE AT HOME—VIETNAM AND AESOP'S FABLE
(By Jim Whyte)

The other day Sid Holland recalled the Aesop fable of the six blind men who touched the elephant.

Each touched only one spot, you'll remember, and each gave a description of the elephant far different than the other five.

Vietnam, it is beginning to seem to me, is like Aesop's elephant.

Everyone who touches it comes away with a different reaction.

Such as that of the Army officer to whom I talked who has just returned from a year's stint as an adviser to the Vietnamese Army.

He had a touched a part of the country and its situation which I never had heard before. I was especially startled when he said:

"Many of the Americans being killed there are being killed by American bullets fired by American weapons."

What sort of riddle is that, he was asked. Were Americans killing each other in Vietnam?

"No, certainly not," he replied. "But American weapons, loaded with American bullets, are being provided to the Communist Vietcong by the Vietnamese themselves."

It seems there's a certain element in either the Vietnamese Government or the Vietnamese Army, or perhaps both, which does not want the war to end.

Consequently, members of Vietnamese units frequently are reported "missing in action" after encounters with the Vietcong. Their weapons are "missing in action" with them.

However, after a few days the missing troops show up. They have escaped, all well and healthy.

But they don't have their weapons.

These weapons, and the bullets with which they are loaded, turn up in the hands of the Vietcong.

"Some of the Vietnamese simply hand over their weapons to the Vietcong so the war can be prolonged," the officer explained.

He went on to tell about a Vietnamese battalion commander with whom he had talked.

"You know where the Vietcong are in this area," the American officers said to the battalion commander. "You know exactly where they're hiding, what their strength is, and the extent of their arms. And you know you can move in and wipe them out in one operation. Why don't you do it?"

"Don't be silly," the Vietnamese commander replied seriously, "If I did that I'd be out of a job."

But how can the Vietnamese have any desire to prolong a war which is so brutal and which occasions so much suffering for innocent women and children?

"It's the money, really," the American officer said. "We're pouring a million and a half dollars a day into Vietnam and, frankly, in that respect they've never had it so good. Also, the war has given many people, such as the battalion commander I told you about, a prestige which they've never had before."

But the suffering?

"It just doesn't bother them as it would us," he explained. "And as for the children, the Vietnamese don't feel about youngsters as we do. There are so many children, and the death rate is so high anyway, that it is not an important concern to them."

Does the officer believe the United States ought to pull out of Vietnam?

"No, I don't believe we should pull out. It's vital to our own security. I believe, rather, that we or the Vietnamese should move forward with force and get the thing over with."

West Virginia Sponsors Second Annual National Youth Science Camp; Delegates Visit Washington, Attend Senate Luncheon, Hear Worthwhile Message by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, from June 28 to July 18, 1964, 100 young men are participating in a unique program of recreation and education in the scenic mountains of West Virginia. Delegates to the Second Annual National Youth Science Camp, these high school youths have been chosen on the basis of demonstrated leadership capability and achievement in scientific study. They come from every section of our country, two from each State, to join in this positive activity sponsored by the State of West Virginia, and the Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation, and administered by West Virginia University.

In addition to the pleasant pursuits associated with a camp the delegates have access to the facilities of the National Radio Astronomy Observatory, at Green Bank. Scientists, university professors and research experts visit the camp, conducting panel discussions and lectures in an informal atmosphere where questions and answers are encouraged. There is a definite emphasis on stimulating young minds so that they will return to their homes and schools with new insights and higher goals.

Mr. President, again, as last year, it was my privilege to cooperate with camp officials in planning a brief 2-day visit to Washington for the delegates. Yesterday afternoon they toured the installations of the Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, Md., and last night were at the beautiful Water Gate Theater.

This morning the group was escorted through the White House, after which they went to the Department of Justice and were personally received by the Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy. Representative KEN HECHLER, of West Virginia, arranged this memorable meeting and guided the campers as they inspected the U.S. Capitol Building.

A luncheon was scheduled in the New Senate Office Building to which all members of the Senate were invited. As host, it was my pleasure to introduce to the delegates many Senators to greet the young men from their respective States. Also introduced were: Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate; Prof. Charles N. Cochran of West Virginia University, director of the National Youth Science Camp; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; Hon. James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Representative HECHLER, a member of the

House Committee on Science and Astronautics; Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director of the National Science Foundation; and myself.

In the principal address, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Seaborg called attention to the expanding role of the scientists, not only in building a stronger nation, but in helping to govern it as well. Dr. Seaborg said: "Over the years as the United States matured in its industrial development many other trades and professions have furnished legislators. Now that we are strongly entering into a revolution of science we may expect to see scientists taking part in making the laws of the Nation as duly elected representatives of the people."

Mr. President, I request that Dr. Seaborg's inspiring message be printed in the Appendix, together with my remarks in introducing him, and a list of the delegates to the second annual national youth science camp.

There being no objection, the address, introductory remarks, and list were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH, DEMOCRAT, OF WEST VIRGINIA, INTRODUCING DR. GLENN T. SEABORG AT LUNCHEON HONORING DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL YOUTH SCIENCE CAMP, NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1964

We honor the 100 delegates to the National Youth Science Camp—young men of scholastic and leadership ability from the 50 States of the Union. This luncheon is designed to provide an opportunity for "mutual inspection" between the delegates and the U.S. Senators who represent them. We seek an air of informality in which these youthful scientists can gain a new appreciation of the responsibilities and challenges which confront the legislator in the discharge of his duties. In turn, each Senator will leave this room with renewed confidence in young Americans and clearer insights into the goals and ambitions they embrace.

The world-renowned Albert Einstein was asked how he explained that outstanding progress could be achieved in the intricate and unfathomed world of physics, and yet there appeared to be little progress in politics. He replied simply: "Physics is easier."

Without commenting pro or con, I express the hope that the scientists and politicians gathered here will depart with a better understanding of each others' role in building a better America.

Albert Einstein may have achieved an intellectual feat which will never be repeated. He may have been the last man ever to reestablish the foundations of physics singlehandedly. I do not infer that this complex discipline will never need revision, for it probably will. But, few physicists believe that a single mind will ever again be capable of so enormous a task.

Still, who can tell? Perhaps in some small laboratory, or isolated schoolhouse, or perhaps even in this very room there is a budding genius who will write a short paper which will establish his name alongside those of Newton, Archimedes and Einstein.

You delegates are doubtless inspired by the presence here today of internationally respected men of science and authority such as Dr. Haworth, Dr. Hornig and Mr. Webb. Theirs in considerable degree is the task of shaping the patterns of scientific inquiry and effort in the most powerful Nation on earth.

It is fitting then, that we have as our principal speaker a gentleman who is no stranger to public service, and who has also won acclaim for his achievements in the world of the test tube, beaker and bunsen burner—or more properly,—the world of reactors, isotopes and transuranium elements.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg is Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and a member of the highly sensitive National Aeronautics and Space Council, a top-level policymaking group headed personally by President Johnson.

As a young instructor in chemistry at the University of California, he became the co-discoverer in 1940, of element 94, plutonium. Since then he has established himself as a foremost authority on the transuranium elements and has personally contributed to the discovery and identification of a number of these vital properties.

His work in this field led to his appointment in 1942 to take part in the famed Manhattan project at the University of Chicago, where he remained until after the close of World War II.

Dr. Seaborg is author of approximately 200 scientific papers, and several books. He served for a time as chancellor of the University of California and in various teaching posts. He was chosen in 1947 by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the Nation's 10 outstanding young men. He has earned innumerable recognitions and honors including the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1951, and the AEC's Enrico Fermi Award in 1959.

The late President Kennedy appointed our guest as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission in January of 1961, and he was reappointed for a succeeding 5-year term in 1963.

It is a privilege to introduce a learned man of science who has become an effective force in the molding of public policy. I present the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg.

PIONEERING IN THE NEW WORLD OF SCIENCE

(By Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission)

I am particularly gratified to be able to speaker before this large group of young men who are taking time out from a pleasant and stimulating 3 weeks' encampment in the mountains of West Virginia, a period devoted to outdoor sport and science studies, to visit us here in Washington. I only wish the shoe were on the other foot and I were able to listen to what some of you have to say about the future of science, for it is really in the imaginative enthusiasm of the young scientists that we of previous generation will be able to visualize what is in store for us in these beginnings of the third revolution, the revolution of science.

Last year another group of delegates such as this heard Mr. Webb on the subject of man's adventure into space, and I believe that earlier during the encampment they had an opportunity of talking with Astronaut Scott Carpenter about his experiences beyond the earth's atmosphere. This is no doubt that today the pioneers are those who are engaged in pushing back the frontiers of science. The terra incognita—the unexplored territories of our time—are the territories beyond the bounds of present scientific knowledge and they are yielding rapidly to man's insatiable quest for further knowledge of the universe in which he finds himself.

I want to stress today that these frontiers should not be considered only in terms of the dimensions and extent of physical space. There are many dimensions involved in the pioneering explorations of modern science. Time has become an exceedingly important dimension. Some 30 years ago a French philosopher and poet, Paul Valery, found it remarkable that at that time man had begun to measure the duration of many events in units as small as a twentieth of a second instead of by hours or days or years as he once did. What would Mr. Valery thing if he should return to the present-day world and learn that we have by now found ways of measuring time not in twentieths, hundredths, or even thousandths of a second but in microseconds or millionths of a second? And we are not doing this out of idle curiosity alone. The precise control of the giant rockets that launch or astronauts on their voyages into space depends on this kind of accuracy in timing and coordinating the sequence of operations. Here we have an example of man creating an extension of himself in the computer for doing a task that he is incapable of doing unaided. The first approaches to such superhuman timing were the gunsighting control systems developed during World War II.

I want to emphasize further that the great physical exploits of our time are all of them based on a multitude of even greater intellectual exploits that formed the foundation of their accomplishment.

Many of these intellectual exploits involve an exploration of the structure and particles that compose the atom, once thought to be the smallest possible division of matter. As a matter of fact the clocks on which we now depend for the fabulous degrees of accuracy we have achieved in measuring time are atomic clocks. Before this we were using the vibrations of very precisely dimensioned crystals of quartz. And still earlier we used such comparatively crude devices as pendulums.

You may have suspected by this time that I am leading you into the realm of nuclear science and engineering and I must confess that this is indeed the case. Nuclear science—the field of particular interest to those of us who are concerned with the national nuclear energy program—opens out in many fascinating directions. Not the least of these is its connection with the space program (and I will give you a little more detail on that in a moment). The Atomic Energy Commission has for many years been deeply involved in fundamental scientific research programs—high- and low-energy physics, radiochemistry and radiobiology, metallurgy, solid state physics, and plasma physics, to mention some major areas. In our applied research and development activities a major objective, as many of you know, has been the use of nuclear energy for electrical power and propulsion. In this field of endeavor we have already to our credit the unparalleled achievements of the *Nautilus* type submarine and the NS *Savannah* and we have developed, years sooner than we expected to do so, reactors which promise to make electrical power from nuclear fuel widely available at a reasonable price.

The frontiers of today include research on means of desalting seawater to provide ample supplies of fresh water for the arid regions of the world, including some sections of the United States. We see nuclear energy as one of the most promising implements for conquering this frontier. Our imaginations are stirred also by the objectives of Plowshare, the use of nuclear detonations to accomplish civil engineering projects on a scale previously inconceivable—cutting gaps through mountain ranges and digging canals to connect ocean with ocean and waterway with waterway.

Less spectacular in their dimensions but of no less importance to the national health and economy are the widespread applications of radioisotopes. These products of the nuclear reactor and cyclotron have revolutionized many industrial control processes, have served as tracers enabling us to better observe some of the key biological processes such a photosynthesis and genetic transformation, have been useful in locating and tracing the flow of water underground, and have made important contributions to medical diagnosis and therapy.

What I have to say about nuclear energy and the space program isn't based on first-hand participation because Mr. Webb hasn't yet come up with a capsule built to my dimensions.

But I can assure you we are hard at work with his people developing nuclear power sources to furnish both electrical energy and propulsion for the space program. We have two programs in this area. The Rover program is the development of a nuclear rocket which utilizes a nuclear reactor to heat liquid hydrogen, the most efficient rocket propellant, to high temperatures. In May of this year, a possible reactor for this rocket was successfully tested at our Nuclear Rocket Development Station near Las Vegas. Our other program is the SNAP program (which stands for Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power). This program is aimed at the development of both radioisotope sources and compact, reliable nuclear reactors which would generate electrical power in space. It was in the SNAP program that we achieved our first space success in June 1961 when a small 3-watt generator was successfully orbited in space. It still operates today. Since then, several of these radioisotopic electric generators, which have no moving parts since they utilize thermoelectric elements to convert the heat into electricity, have been placed in orbit. Next year we expect to place in orbit our first compact nuclear reactor.

Further in the future, but—according to many AEC scientists enthusiastically working in this field—not beyond our ultimate grasp is the possibility of controlled thermonuclear power. The international peaceful competition in this field to harness the potentially limitless energy of the fusion reaction (the reaction by means of which the sun's energy is released) is gaining in momentum year by year. I need not emphasize the significance a real breakthrough in this field would have for the future of mankind.

Here then are a few of the varied opportunities awaiting young scientists in the field of nuclear energy alone.

As I have said on other occasions there is room for a broad spectrum of abilities in the democracy of science. I want to push that point even further than before. Most of you young men here today are capable of becoming leaders in science and engineering. You are here because you have demonstrated not only your intellectual capability in science but have also shown promise of leadership. You therefore have a wide range of choice opening before you into the future. At the same time you have obligations that cannot be disregarded without serious consequences both to yourself and to the society, the country, which has done much to shape you into the excellent young men you are today. You have the obligation to accept the responsibilities that go with outstanding capability.

The scientists of the generation which made its great contribution during the period of World War II were the first, I think, to have strongly impressed on them that no scientist of the future—even the most theoretical—can expect to live insulated from the social consequences of his work as a scientist. At one time this was possible.

The scientist was a remote figure in a quiet laboratory whose ideas may have been of tremendous consequence to others in his field, but whose prime achievements were not so well reported in the newspapers as the fact that Man-of-War had won the Derby. There may be a few of the more senior Senators in the audience who will remember Man-of-War.

Today the scientist finds himself called upon to advise and assist in the process of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. He may even find himself lured away from the laboratory and the university, which he has always considered his natural habitat, to become the administrator of an agency when the agency's programs deal largely with his field of competence. He will almost certainly—if he makes any considerable mark in his specialization—be asked to serve on one of the numerous scientific advisory committees that are now essential to almost every agency—the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Institutes of Health, the Atomic Energy Commission to name only a few of the most demanding customers. I don't believe many scientists today can complain of leading sheltered lives. They may not visit places quite as interesting as those reached by the jet set, but scientists of the present day accumulate about as many miles of airline travel. The other day starting on a trip I told my third son (there are four altogether), "I'm off to Nebraska." He just waved me a backhanded goodbye without interrupting his surveillance of a game between the Senators and the Chicago White Sox. This story also illustrates another point I suppose—that as important as science has become it still has to compete with baseball.

Frankly, I don't foresee the demands on the scientist stopping with things as they are now. I believe the time is approaching when the scientist will be moved—and should be moved—to seek responsibility of the highest order in the legislative process itself. There was a time in our country when the Congress was composed almost entirely in its membership of those trained in the legal profession and this profession no doubt will continue to be predominant. But over the years as the United States matured in its industrial development many other trades and professions have furnished legislators. Now that we are strongly entering into a revolution of science we may expect to see scientists taking part in making the laws of the Nation as duly elected representatives of the people. It would not surprise me some day to hear that one of the young men present at this luncheon had—after making a name for himself as a scientist—gone ahead to achieve equal eminence in the Congress of the United States.

I would hope that this may happen because I believe the scientists has obligations of this kind to his fellow citizens. Having had this brief opportunity to size up another promising group of future scientists and citizens such as this one further strengthens my belief that America's future lies in good hands.

DELEGATES TO NATIONAL YOUTH SCIENCE CAMP

ALABAMA

Billy Collier, Titus.
Charles Michael Simpson, Hartselle.

ALASKA

Robert Edward Sands, Juneau.
William Dale Allen, Anchorage.

ARIZONA

Carl T. Swanson, Jr., Phoenix.
Gerard R. Bogue, Tucson.

ARKANSAS

Gibson Preston Stroupe, Helena.
Victor Manuel Lovell, Fort Smith.

CALIFORNIA

Patrick G. Hogan, San Francisco.
David B. MacQueen, Saratoga.

COLORADO

Jeffrey H. Loesch, Montrose.
Daniel James Wilson, Durango.

CONNECTICUT

Michael Zeilik, Stratford.
Robert Michael Wilson, Woodbridge.

DELAWARE

Norman A. Nielsen, Wilmington.
Richard Platt, Wilmington.

FLORIDA

Terry Alan Grossman, West Miami.
Neil Erling Olsen, Cape Kennedy.

GEORGIA

Robert W. Willingham, Washington.
David F. Foster, Athens.

HAWAII

Patrick T. Murata, Hawaii.
Michael Takemori, Honolulu.

IDAHO

Terrence Roy White, New Plymouth.
Jack Haxton, Genesee.

ILLINOIS

Stephen Butler, Leland.
Michael James Berry, Chicago.

INDIANA

Michael Wayne Dybel, Highland.
Stephen D. Ahlbrand, Columbus.

IOWA

Richard C. Randell, Keosauqua.
Donald B. Irwin, Bagley.

KANSAS

Richard A. Berg, Wichita.
Robert E. Jacoby II, Topeka.

KENTUCKY

John Howard Duff, Jr., Bowling Green.
Crawford Harris Blakeman, Jr., Middlesboro.

LOUISIANA

John Walter Harris, Baton Rouge.
Joseph Peter Frederick, New Orleans.

MAINE

Richard E. Pollard, Falmouth.
Roger Pinkos, Falmouth.

MARYLAND

Arnold L. Polinger, Chevy Chase.
Edward T. Strassberger, Aberdeen Proving Ground.

MASSACHUSETTS

C. Whiting Rice, Wrentham.
William H. Ryder, Hamilton.

MICHIGAN

Timothy Murphy, East Lansing.
Thomas Riddering, Detroit.

MINNESOTA

Richard J. Borken, Duluth.
Randall R. Gawtry, International Falls.

MISSISSIPPI

D. Conrad Smith, Jackson.
Robert Douglas Gillette, Biloxi.

MISSOURI

John Charles Lamy, Sedalia.
Mel Piehl, St. Louis.

MONTANA

Charles Campana, Anaconda.
Franklin Lamb, Helena.

NEBRASKA

Stephen L. Coy, Lincoln.
Kenneth R. Middleton, Bellevue.

NEVADA

Mark Duane Wallace, Elko.
Robert D. Spitzer, Reno.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Robert Chasse, Sommersworth.
Ronald Labbe, Berlin.

NEW JERSEY

John J. Clair, Trenton.
William Ehrhardt, Paterson.

NEW MEXICO

Richard H. St. John, Albuquerque.
Robert L. Mercer, Albuquerque.

NEW YORK

Robert T. Baumel, Elmhurst,
William C. Mead, Lancaster.

NORTH CAROLINA

William O. Wallace, Washington.
Richard T. Williams, Mount Holly.

NORTH DAKOTA

Brady Vick, Minot.
Jerry L. Sander, Bismarck.

OHIO

Joseph Pottebaum, Middletown.
Frederick W. Walker, Toledo.

OKLAHOMA

Barry A. Blackman, Duncan.
Raymond Simons, Ponca City.

OREGON

Douglas DeHart, Portland.
Conrad Fong, Corvallis.

PENNSYLVANIA

William Shaheen, Pittsburgh.
Robert B. Litman, Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND

Theodore E. Kubaska, Chepachet.
Paul Edward McNamee, Woonsocket.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Tommy Littlejohn, Spartanburg.
William John Hilton, Jr., Rock Hill.

SOUTH DAKOTA

James Conrad Giebink, Sioux Falls.
Brian E. Tucholke, Hot Springs.

TENNESSEE

Joe Alexander Sigman, Dyersburg.
Donald Eric Peterson, Oak Ridge.

TEXAS

Arthur E. Cavazos, Houston.
Tom L. Neal, Austin.

UTAH

Lynn B. Higgs, Bountiful.
Thomas D. Rogerson, Salt Lake City.

VERMONT

William Joseph Kolasky, Jr., Springfield.
Edward Henry Beaudette, Northfield.

VIRGINIA

Stephen Ira Gallant, Fredericksburg.
David Brownell Coomber, Arlington.

WASHINGTON

Julian Tarnowski, Vancouver.
Dennis McGuire, Seattle.

WEST VIRGINIA

Daniel Kurtz, Charleston.
Edgar Norris Jaynes, Jr., Fairmont.

WISCONSIN

Max S. Elbaum, Milwaukee.
William H. Carlson, Superior.

WYOMING

James Albert Helzer, Cheyenne.
David Kimport, Newcastle.

Governor Hughes and Equal Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, this Nation is now engaged in a major national effort to bring down the discriminatory barriers which have plagued it for so long.

The Honorable Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New Jersey, gave eloquent voice to these aspirations at a recent conference in Boston which dealt with the question of providing equal opportunities in housing.

Governor Hughes has considerable experience in these matters, having conducted a statewide conference on fair housing practices last July.

In his address, the Governor cited the need for doing away with the "segregated neighborhood," and the fear and distrust which it has engendered. He pointed out that New Jersey has made important strides in eliminating the inequities created by "de facto" segregation in the schools. As a result, children of all backgrounds are being provided the opportunity for a better education, free from destructive bias.

Governor Hughes reflects a dedication to those principles which now are beginning to unite the entire Nation.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF GOV. RICHARD J. HUGHES AT THE GREATER BOSTON CONFERENCE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING, AUSTIN HALL, HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

When Governor Lawrence first asked me to join in this conference today, I was honored by the thought that the Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing would call upon the Governor of New Jersey to assist the citizens of Greater Boston in this commendable effort to secure, for all, equal opportunity in housing.

Certainly, Massachusetts can be proud of its leadership in the field of civil rights. The housing provisions of your Fair Practices Act are a model for the Nation. And I salute you, Governor Peabody, for your leadership in this advancement of equal opportunity in housing.

Even though we in New Jersey have experienced more difficulty than Massachusetts in strengthening our fair housing laws, I can assure you that men of good will from both parties and all walks of life will continue this good fight on behalf of equal opportunity.

This seems an opportune time for me to express publicly, as I often have before, my admiration for this great American, Gov. David Lawrence, who has never tired in the fight for equal opportunity for all his fellow citizens. Even after his retirement from active political life, he joined eagerly with President John F. Kennedy and now with President Lyndon B. Johnson in our present struggle for the soul of America.

We were privileged last July to have Goveror Lawrence participate in a statewide conference on fair housing practices. We are proud, I might say, that this conference was one of the first to be held in the Nation and served to provide the impetus for some significant advances in our State regulations governing the real estate industry.

The most significant of our new regulations prohibits a real estate broker from accepting a listing of residential property if the owner refuses to abide by the State's laws against discrimination. Our purpose is to rule out discrimination as a mean weapon of competition in the real estate business. In this way we aim to protect responsible brokers so that prospective sellers, who might seek to circumvent the law against discrimination, will be unable to "shop around" for a cooperative broker, who will aid them in violating the law.

In calling some of our New Jersey efforts to your attention, I do not mean to appear parochial. But I want to indicate that there is a universal concern in America that we do justice to all our citizens. I would like, mainly, to share with you some thoughts on the human and moral dimensions of equal opportunity in housing.

The wall of discrimination that has been built up—stereotype upon stereotype—must come down. For this wall—this invisible, terrible barrier—has made of the Negro, to use Ralph Ellison's expression, "the invisible man." The white American does not know the Negro as a person; too often he knows the Negro as stereotype.

Too few of us know the Negroes as friends; they remain perpetual strangers to many in white America. For the wall of stereotype separates man from man and encloses the Negro in his racial ghetto, in physical separation from the rest of the community. Thus grows the erroneous conviction that those in the enclave deserve to be isolated from the general community—whether they choose to be or not.

Segregated neighborhoods reinforce that all too human penchant to lump people into categories with neat labels so that we can avoid judging individuals as distinct persons. Given the profile of prejudice of the white American and this physical segregation, it is little wonder that the wall isolates Negro from white and in place of the bonds of brotherhood creates fear and distrust—even hate—between them.

As a nation and as individuals, we face a predicament. It was stated succinctly in the well-known Newsweek survey:

"The white man is eternally torn between the right that he knows and the wrong that he does. And for most Americans, it is as hard to give up prejudices as it would be to deny openly the democratic ideal of equality."

The moral crisis of America today is a crisis of confrontation between the dream and the reality, between our ideals and our practices. In no aspect of life is this confrontation as painful and difficult as in housing. In no aspect of life is racial discrimination so well entrenched and resistant to change.

We learn from the Newsweek survey that most whites would support measures to provide good housing for Negroes. But, it is apparent that many white Americans do not consider good housing to mean integrated neighborhoods. Given the stereotype of the Negro held by white Americans, it is not surprising that they reject the concept of integrated neighborhoods.

Soon, however, it seems that the American people must make a fundamental decision on public policy—either to encourage, by all means, an open market and equal opportunity in housing or to allow the present trends of growing neighborhood segregation to be perpetuated and with it, the many other problems which flow from such segregation.

The problem of de facto segregation in schools is the foremost of the consequences of neighborhood segregation. In New Jersey we cherish the neighborhood school principle which, in fact, was first looked upon as a means of protecting minorities so, for example, a Negro child would be entitled to attend his neighborhood school and not be relegated to some Negro school. Over the course of years the pattern of residency has distorted the principle and many neighborhood schools have become segregated schools. This has posed a serious threat to a school system dedicated to equal educational opportunity for all.

I am proud to say that in New Jersey we have had a series of landmark decisions—the first of their kind in the Nation—by commissioner of education, Dr. Frederick M. Raubinger, in which he ruled that an extreme concentration of Negro pupils in a public school—de facto segregation—constitutes a deprivation of equal educational opportunity where appropriate means can be found to avoid it. In short, the neighborhood school policy must be adapted, when necessary, to the primary requirement of equal education for all children.

But when we speak of progress in dealing with de facto school segregation, we must never forget that the root of this problem remains racial discrimination in housing. As long as we fail to move forward toward equal housing opportunity, we will continue to be plagued by its tragic consequences.

While the ravages of racism upon the Negro are easily discernible, white Americans should realize that they, too, pay a price—a price that is mounting daily as the Negro advances his claim to be treated as a man, as any other American. It is a price that is paid not only in coin—whether measured in the economic loss of wasted resources or in the tax costs of welfare and law enforcement—but in national pride and prestige, in community tension and conflict, in personal guilt and frustration.

It is no longer possible to avoid the moral question which America has avoided for some 100 years. Although there are, we must admit, too many Americans who are willing to say today what has been said for those hundred years: it is not yet time for Negroes to advance a full claim to the civil rights which are theirs as citizens and to equal opportunity which should be theirs as human beings.

In the quest for racial justice we have no more valuable ally than the churches and synagogues. The voice of organized religion has been raised loud and clear to remind us of the sacred and undeniable truths upon which this Nation was established: "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Declaration of Independence affirms that the rights of Americans are not bestowed upon them by government, but by God. In no way can we better contend with those who resist the religious and democratic imperatives of interracial justice than to confront them with the unequivocal pronouncements and the social action of their own religious leaders.

But, having aroused the conscience of the people, it is our task to translate moral principle into social action—which, indeed, is the very purpose of this conference. It will not be an easy task even for those who are convinced that the brotherhood of man and the civic peace require equal opportunity in housing. Complex as is the problem of tearing down the walls of discrimination, it must be done.

For if America is to have any meaning, every person, every family must be free to live where their hearts desire and their means permit.

The world is watching America as it struggles to eradicate racism from its national life. It is our good fortune in this time of crisis to have men of moral leadership to lead this Nation's fight for human decency and freedom, men like our beloved John Kennedy and now, a great man from the South, President Lyndon Johnson. Mankind, then, is measuring our achievement against our promise of freedom and justice. We can no longer carry the burden of the failure to fulfill that promise.

Address of Congresswoman Catherine May, of Washington, Before Maryland-Washington, D.C.-Delaware Broadcasters' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on June 26, 1964, Congresswoman CATHERINE MAY addressed the annual convention of the Maryland-Washington, D.C.-Delaware Broadcasters' Association at Rehobeth Beach, Del.

In a forthright statement, Mrs. MAY reviewed the role and responsibility of private industry in today's free enterprise economy. I was privileged to be present on this occasion and was delighted to hear a Member of Congress set forth, with such insight and understanding, the problems facing our Nation's businesses.

Mr. President, in order that my colleagues may have the benefit of Mrs. MAY's thoughts, I ask unanimous consent that the speech delivered before the Maryland-Washington, D.C.-Delaware Broadcasters' Association be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I feel a special kinship to members of the broadcasting industry. I started my business career—as a bachelor girl—telling housewives how to handle their homes, their husbands, and their children.

Not having any of these at the time, I was extremely generous with my advice.

Needless to say, I escaped with my life and limbs intact, although both have grown older since then.

As a result of my radio experience and subsequent election to the Congress, I have been privileged to view your industry from two vantage points—as it actually performs and as it reacts to Congress and Congress reacts to it.

I am reminded of a line from Shakespeare, which you will note I altered a bit, that reads: "Ten thousand men that 'Minows' (fishes) gnawed upon."

"Me thought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks," he added, an appellation which I will not apply on this occasion, despite your problems with the Federal agency that watches over you with such benevolence.

In any event, just as you now are dealing with a new voice and personality in the segment of the Government that concerns you the most, so are you facing new problems within your own industry.

Satellites, Telstar, and Lord know what, confront your visions daily as you look into the future and what it will bring.

I am confident that with your wisdom and know-how, you will meet the challenge of the sixties just as you have met the challenge of each decade of change in the past.

But, I think the main reason that I am very proud and happy to be with your group today is that it has always been my sincere belief that there isn't very much that can go wrong with this country if we keep the communication lines open between the people and those who serve them in public office and make governmental decisions on their behalf. You are a vitally important segment of that two-way communication line.

I went to Congress 5 years ago with the announced intention that I would try to be, at the congressional level, a true and faithful partner to American business. And that intention was based on my sincere belief that the great American dream of better living will be realized only if we keep our private enterprise system healthy and unhampered in its growth.

When I entered the Halls of the Nation's Capitol back in 1959, our Nation was well along in the most complex period of its history. And a flashback of those intervening 5 years presents to me an almost unbelievable panorama of events that have quite literally occurred one on top of the other. The international crises keeping us always on the brink of peril: in Cuba, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Congo—Latin America, today—Zanzibar, Tanganyika, Panama, Cyprus. Our own Nation torn by racial riot, one change of Presidency by hard-fought election, and another change of Presidency by tragic, horrifying assassination. And always, Congress grinding along, turning out those laws that inevitably will set into action a change of pattern for the American people. A Congress that is alternately charged with doing too much and then lambasted for doing nothing. You and I together have lived through a lot in the past 5 years. And it looks like we're probably going to have to live through a lot more. But I never lose my faith that we'll come through all right if we can just stay free to roll with the punches.

And, thank God, that's what our Founding Fathers had in mind. Those wise, foresighted gentlemen couldn't promise us we wouldn't have our terrible troubles and our tragic problems. Maybe they couldn't label them: Fascism, communism, racism, population explosion, automation—they just knew we'd have them. So, in the absence of a guarantee against problems, they set up a strong system to guarantee us the freedom to use our individual strength and know-how to meet those problems, figure out the best way to lick them, and all of us have something to say about the choices we made. And that system has been working just fine for 177 years—developing us into the richest, strongest nation in the world, free from completely centralized power and dictatorship. And so you would just naturally think that at this climax in our Nation's history we Americans would be busier than ever strengthening this system, releasing more of our creative energies to build bigger and better mousetraps to lick our at-home problems, to meet the challenge, every place it rose around the world, of fending off the attempted takeover of freemen by slave societies.

Instead, strange paradox, the challenge to America today is to remain free ourselves while we combat the concepts of dictator nations. We have two battlefronts—abroad and at home. And what worries me is that while everyone is aware of the existence of the cold war on the far-flung fronts of the world * * * a lot of Americans, too many, remain completely oblivious of the battle on the homefront. Now this isn't too surprising because the shape of that battle is very hazy in outline sometimes. And we have a lot of well-meaning people who muddy up the picture running around in little circles crying "charge" and "attack" when the dragon just isn't there. (And in this respect may I assure you that I am not one of those who wants to turn back the hands on the clock of history. Even if I wanted to it would be politically impossible, and even if it were politically feasible, it would be economically disastrous.)

But it seems to me that the main reason so many citizens are unaware of this battle is that it is so subtle. The line which separates legitimate government regulation from encroachment by government on our personal liberty and free choice is extremely fine. I am frank to admit to you that this is the question that, above all else, causes me the most soul searching as I evaluate the various legislative proposals we process in the U.S. Congress. So, if it is difficult for those of us who are sitting in the front row on the 50-yard line to determine what is sound regulation by government and what is unbridled regimentation, it is not surprising that many of our citizens today fail to be aware that the game is even being played.

There recently came across my desk a book, just published, titled "The Attack on Our Free Choice." It was written by Meryle Rukeyser, an outstanding economist and journalist. In his book, Mr. Rukeyser gives an excellent appraisal of the state of our Nation in regards regimentation versus free choice. He gives a detailed analysis of the many ways we have, over the past few years, wrested decisionmaking from the individual citizen and given it to the bureaucrats. And he really puts the finger on those so-called liberals who promote the idea that our Constitution is an old-fashioned, outmoded document, a relic of the dark ages. Because they are stymied by the Constitution itself in removing its safeguards by legal means, they seek to circumvent the Constitution with promises of a millenium. On this Mr. Rukeyser says, "Nowadays words are weapons in the battle for men's hearts and minds and in the search for power through

boob appeal, a school of thought in universities and high posts of government has seductively, through blue-sky word usage, sought to make varying degrees of slavery (or regimentation) seem more glamorous than freedom." In other words, the devastating and diabolical technique of offering sugar-coated alternative to free choice.

Now I want to make it very clear that I don't think my fellow Americans are stupid, I don't think they are gullible, and I don't think they are indifferent to the welfare of their country. I believe 100 percent with the man who said, "Americans will never give away their freedom, except under a delusion." But there is the rub—the delusion.

As I said in the beginning we have a host of problems to settle in this country. It shames and irritates us all that in a nation as rich and strong as ours we should be plagued with the social festers of the too-many jobless, deprived and under-nourished children, the helpless elderly who need more adequate medical care, hovel housing, and those other sore spots that mar the great image of a great country. And so it is not to be wondered at that in our deep concern over these things we find ourselves succumbing to the appeal of socially desirable programs associated with government action. And then, too, because it gives comfort to our enemies, we're especially humiliated when one of the members of our great American business sector gets caught with his hand in the cookie jar. In these cases the American public, embarrassed and indignant, is too often ready to be persuaded that government intervention is the sole approach for dealing with abuses and evils and malpractices.

And there lies the fertile, fallow ground in which the dedicated liberals plant their seeds, with high hopes of harvesting another good crop of programs by Government and more Federal rules and regulations. And there lies another million jobs for Federal employees to do the weeding and the watering.

Five years ago I went to Congress determined to try and be an effective partner to the best interest of American business. May I be the first to publicly confess that we partners haven't been anywhere near as effective as we should be.

The voice of business has been a splintered voice and there have been many times that I felt great concern for industry when it either did not deserve criticism, or because of its own political ineptitude, created a situation that aroused comments from its harshest critics.

There has been a steady, constant, centralized control of power within the Federal Government that has not been completely arrested under either Republican or Democratic administration.

There is the antibusiness attitude prevalent today. It has become popular to criticize business, to use it as a whipping boy, to criticize bigness or profits as being something bad or extremely distasteful, if not indecent.

Punitive legislation is still finding its way into law at the Federal, State, and local levels. Our opposition is increasing its vocal strength and in a much more articulate way than we are. There are those who fear encroachment on Federal powers and would fight to preserve the Government bureaucracy. The presence of labor is evident to anyone who has traveled between Capitol Hill and the White House and noticed the marble palaces that house their headquarters and legislative liaison machinery. These people—many of them dedicated and sincere—work daily, hammer and tong, on the development of policies which over the years will be detrimental to business. I often ask myself if we, who believe in the free enterprise system, are half as zealous.

To make matters difficult, the business record is not completely clean. We have to admit that there are chinks in the armor and that a few in the ranks of business have marred the good record of many by false advertising, unfair prices, nonperformance on Government contracts, and antitrust involvements which have been of great concern to us all. In addition, there is the fragmentation of industry itself and the diversions of viewpoint. Add to this a fear of political involvement on one hand and complete lack of interest on the other from some segments of business and one finds a dilution of the private enterprise story.

So the chips are down for America and we, who believe in the private enterprise system, are faced with the greatest challenge we have ever had. We also have tremendous resources with which to do the job. The American business sector possesses intelligence, loyalty, and a tremendous devotion to an ideal which made our Nation what it is today. We are unified in our belief that the purpose of the Constitution is to set the ground rules, and limit even the right of democratically chosen legislatures, National and State, to invade the inalienable rights of citizens. We are experienced in recognizing areas for Government action and private decisionmaking. And we know that if we show the lines of demarcation clearly to our fellow citizens they'll support us in seeing that they are respected. We can meet this challenge. But it will take a modern approach in these modern times, so that our way of life will not merely survive but will gain ground at the same time. A standoff will not do.

I mentioned earlier that as a young upstart how I advised housewives to run their homes and so, today, I am sure you in your brodacasting industry, feel that everybody is advising you how to conduct your business.

I shall, of course, hasten to add my own two cents worth, not only for the obvious benefit of those before me, but to business in general.

Yours is a unique industry, an important industry, but you as individuals are no different from the run of the mill businessman when it comes to community responsibility, and national interest. In fact, if anything, you are more so.

By your own volition you have become the eyes and the ears of the world. I leave it to your own aches and pains to determine whether or not this is a blessing, but it is an inescapable fact and one you cannot avoid facing, even if you wanted to do so.

Because there is glamor, immediately, and close personal contact in what you are doing and selling, you often are the victims of catalystic reaction from the people—and you often return the compliment—in spades.

Now, business is my business, as a woman, housewife, mother, and as a Member of Congress. So I'm no patsy about the claims some segments of your community may try to sell as alleged wounded dragons of the free enterprise system.

Nor do I think you and your profit system brethren in other areas of our economy are all bad—or I wouldn't be here and neither would you.

We are coming down to the wire, faster than you think, in the constant struggle between business and government over who is going to control our national economy—and thence the welfare and freedom of all of us.

At this point in our history I would wish that every American citizen would have hanging in his home or his office the words of Alexander Fraser Tytler:

"A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury. From that moment on the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits from the public treasury with the result that democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a dictatorship and then a monarchy."

It is essential then that you give renewed consideration to the important role your industry plays in this drama of titans.

Look about you, here in Washington today—at the White House, the regulatory agencies, the Congress itself—at the steps being taken or contemplated—to control by Federal fiat (sanction; decree) the payrolls of industry's employees; the packaging, the labeling, the customers you can or cannot service, the teaching, the transportation and maybe even dialogue between our people and its elected representatives.

Some of you are worried about where the yellow went—more of you had better be concerned about where the freedom went—because what I am talking about is not a speck on the horizon, a dark cloud in our future or a bad apple in the barrel, or any other bit of wisdom we might glean from Benjamin Franklin. It's here today, now, on Capitol Hill, the White House, and up and down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Whether we get what they are planning for us, or avoid it, largely depends on what and how well the facts are communicated to the American people.

And this is your job. And the job of all business interests.

(1) Business must police itself—every abuse of the business trust creates a clamor for government action. You have code of ethics—some of you live up to it—some of you live up to it—some of you hang a sign in your window. It must assume, in word and fact, the true sense of corporate responsibility, and with this a sense of humility and sincerity. It is important that everyone work at this to build a convincing image of integrity through action rather than words.

(2) From business should come creative leadership in meeting the social problems of our day with positive programs. Attempts of the private sector to sweep the mess under the rug, or just pretend it isn't there, raises the hue and cry for government action.

(3) Business must do a better job of telling its story. If too many Americans today have the feeling that business is a class apart or a special interest group instead of the most important operating arm of our entire national structure, then business must share part of the blame. The public must be given the economic facts of life in an understandable, forthright way.

My fourth and final point is that business should encourage employees to develop and maintain contact with elected representatives and take an active interest in political issues and party work. There is only one way to influence national policy and that is within the framework of this country's two-party system. Unless you participate at some level of political life in your country today, then you are letting someone else make your final decisions for you. Unlike Soviet Russia and other Communist countries, in a republic there is no law compelling you to be politically active. You can shirk your responsibilities, you can stand on the sidelines and there is no legal penalty. But the penalty in a free nation when a large percentage of the population refuses to give their country a helping hand comes to everyone when a nation goes down to defeat, not only does the present generation go down with it but their children and their children's children.

In many areas of current distress your industry has done a superb job. The victims of racial unfairness, of poverty and poor education are advertised better than bars of soap today, and this is honest journalism or communicating, or whatever you want to call it.

You present it, you analyze it, you editorialize on it.

And you serve your Nation when you do.

But the coin has another side—how do we cure our economic and personal ailments?

Just reporting what government wants is not enough.

Business has a viewpoint. Let's hear what it is, more often, more loudly, and more consistently.

If you aren't embarrassed about selling underarm deodorants, I can't see why there should be any bashfulness about selling the business viewpoint with the same freedom and glibness. You get paid for advertising the deodorant—but I doubt if you have seen a check from government for your public service time.

Nor should there be any bashfulness about clouting business, including your own, when it gets off base.

Business is trying—with public affairs programs—business-industry political action committees—in hundred of different ways it is trying to make its voice heard—and all it needs is a little encouragement.

The voice of labor, the voice of government comes across loud and clear on your wave lengths—largely, I believe, because it does not have the responsibility of paying for all the bright new ideas and ideals it propounds.

But the voice of business is truly the voice of the turtle, unless my creeping deafness is getting worse.

Somebody has got to pay the piper, for all of these grand schemes if they are sold to the American people—and they are being sold because the voice of caution is awfully quiet.

You are the technicians and the experts on how to bring balance to our economic arguments and benefit all of the people.

In Congress we can only respond to the wishes of our people and provide our own poor efforts in trying to lead them down the pathways of decency, happiness, and security.

You are the petitioners, in a way that no other industry can be.

You are the communicators of ideas as well as being partial owners of our free enterprise system as individuals, employers, and stockholders.

Your opportunity is unique, as you have recognized. Your job now, as I see it, is to concentrate the same genius, energy, and facilities—in utmost fairness—in selling the other half of the story about where America is headed behind the mounting pressure of Government supervision and regulation.

Some of it we must have. But we had better be intelligent about how much of it we can stand. There are limits, Germany learned that, and the Russian people are beginning to behave like international Beatles under the same yoke.

My office door is open to help. I have no fear about the results, only the consequences if we default our obligations to inform.

We did not build this great Nation overnight—but we did build it enwrapped in an ideal of freedom that glows with the same brightness today as it did almost 200 years ago.

You did not build your industry in a day. It took sweat, tears, intelligence, and hard cash.

It does today.

It also takes courage. It involves risks and it demands leaders.

Your industry is blessed with men and women of talent and imagination that is the envy of all others.

You have met change, consternation, and confusion before—and conquered them all.

The American people look to you for leadership. They have not been disappointed in the past nor will they be in the days ahead. The need to know is greater than ever before. The facilities to inform are more sophisticated than ever before.

Your energy and courage will provide the mix. Get on with the job. I'll be listening.

Camden County Health Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, recently 1,500 south Jersey women gathered for the 37th annual Health Education Day program sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary to the Camden County Medical Association. Outstanding speakers gave firsthand information of direct help to individual citizens on a matter of concern to all: how can we detect worthless treatments or products offered by unscrupulous promoters or practitioners who promise cures or miraculous improvements in health?

The Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly—Senate Committee on Aging—has been interested in this question. We realize that the problem is not limited to a single age group; we believe that all Americans should be alerted to the dangers and costly consequences of health frauds and quackery.

The excellent program by the Camden Auxiliary is a worthy annual effort by private citizens determined to help bring essential information to the attention of the general public. We in New Jersey can be proud that such efforts are made in our State, and we can hope that other groups will emulate our friends from Camden.

Mr. President, an article in the Camden Courier-Post of May 18 describes the program in more detail. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANCER CHARLATANS HIT—PROFESSOR WARNS WOMEN OF SECRET FORMULAS

(By Barbara S. Williams)

Directions to sit in a zinc-lined pine box inhaling ozone is one of many bizarre tools of cancer quacks who extract $500 million yearly from Americans, a medical professor told 1,500 South Jersey women yesterday.

Charlatans and their modes of operation were hit on four medical fronts yesterday at the 37th annual Health Education Day program, sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary to the Camden County Medical Association.

Dr. George A. Hahn, professor of obstetrics and gynecology, Jefferson Medical College, dug into his voluminous file on "miracle cures" for cancer, and came up with some shocking stories. He said the public pays for such "secret formulas" as consumption of the juice of 60 carrots daily, 2 gallons of bread mold daily, a 5-minute dip in the ocean, followed by a shower with "city water," the liquid from ground lobster claws and a snake serum borrowed from an old Aztec Indian.

Hahn said these quacks prey on fear and despair of persons who may or may not have cancer. The doctor said a biopsy is the only method to determine if a cell is cancerous. Once that fact is determined, the only cures are surgery, radium treatments and medically approved drugs, he said.

The greatest cost of medical quackery is in human lives, according to the doctor. He said "tremendous strides" have been made in saving cancer victims in the last 25 years. "At that time one out of seven were saved. Now we're saving one out of three and we have the knowledge to save one out of two. Those who rely on quacks often wait until too late, the doctor noted.

He said a quack usually has these earmarks: A special secret machine or formula, a guaranteed quick cure and advertisements. Also, he clamors to have physicians investigate his cure, makes statements that he is being persecuted by the medical associations and contends surgery does no good.

Some lighter moments were provided at the all-day session by Dr. Philip L. White, secretary of the Council on Foods and Nutrition, American Medical Association.

He hit hard at the "health huckster who sells his super special elixir containing nature's wonder foods, 'easy-off diets' or nutritional advice." He said these people "usually stay just within the law, just on the fringe of propriety. They know the gullible public can be confused or convinced by pseudoscientific talk"

White said the Food and Drug Administration has seized millions of tons of literature on food supplement products that were misleading. He told his laughing audience he doesn't care if they serve tiger's milk every day as long as they know it won't make their husbands feel like bridegrooms again.

"Dieting is no fun, and the charlatans know it," he said. "The public is exposed to miracle discoveries which claim to strip off pounds without dieting. You can shake it off, steam it off, roll it off, knock it off, and for awhile you could smoke it off until the Federal Trade Commission cracked down."

He emphasized that a normal person on an adequate diet has no need for supplements. He said that although vitamins are not a health insurance, they are of no harm unless used as a crutch to justify haphazard meal planning. Dr. White said that the person who believes it is impossible to obtain a proper diet without supplementation needs educational help.

Dr. White noted that "the phenominal popularity of the book, 'Calories Don't Count', shows that even well-informed people can be influenced by the personable writings of an unknown physician."

The truth about heart disease was discussed by Dr. Thomas Durant, chairman of the Department of Internal Medicine, Temple University Medical Center. He told the women they "have something better than men in their metabolism," in regard to diseases of the heart.

He noted, however, that "do-it-yourself" patients often find themselves in serious trouble. He said extreme exercise is not recommended for persons with a serious heart defect, but sensible exercise is a preventive measure.

Dr. Georgia Allen, assistant pneumatologist, Department of Medicine, Cooper Hospital, said arthritis is not limited to the older age bracket. She said its causes are many and a separate treatment must be formulated for each patient. She said self-treatment is dangerous and costly and that cortisone should not be used for every case.

Illegitimacy, Immorality, and Illegality in Communist Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, from press reports it appears that not only is

Cuba hopelessly helpless from economic collapse and the stagnation of communism but that the Godless regime of Fidel Castro—"Infidel Castro" might put it better—is developing in the Western Hemisphere a new fleshpot in Havana rivaling the ancient cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report by John Chamberlain based on an interview with Juana Castro, Fidel's sister, who has recently fled Communist Cuba to establish a new life in the free world. The Chamberlain column is from the Daily Plainsman, published in Huron, S. Dak.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE FACTS ABOUT FIDEL

(By John Chamberlain)

The story brought to Mexico by Juana Castro, Fidel's sister, which stressed the degradation of Cuba under the Communists, is sordid enough in all conscience. But it is only the social and economic extension, so to speak, of a festering family saga that rivals some of the dark legends of ancient Greece for its Freudian hatreds and evil doings.

It is an indisputable fact that Fidel Castro hated his father. Fidel himself was one of a brood that was born out of wedlock. His mother, a practical lady named Alma Ruiz Gonzalez, was the family cook—and Fidel, along with some of his brothers and sisters, was only legitimatized after his father's first wife had died. Juana and another sister, Emma, came along after the cook had become the legally married mother of the family.

The bad blood among the Castros caused by quarrels over legitimacy long predates the revolution, and is thus not attributable in the first instance to ideology. However, though Alma Ruiz Gonzales loved her sons Fidel and Raul as her offspring, she always hated their Marxism. She even referred to them as "lazy Socialist bums." And she had the temerity to say, even after the revolution, that she liked the old dictator Batista for having spared her son's life when a death penalty for treasonable activity might have been declared against Fidel. Because of the old lady's refusal to bow her head to his revolution or to his socialism, Fidel refused to go to her funeral and would not sign his name to the death notice.

The family tangle grows even more disreputable when young brother Raul's in-law relationships are investigated. Raul's wife Vilma had a sister who was married to an officer. The officer, having fallen into disfavor with Fidel, was either killed or chivied into taking his own life. Vilma's sister then committed suicide. Raul Castro would not permit his own mother-in-law to make any public demonstration of her reaction to the dark chain of events that had robbed her of daughter and son-in-law.

Juana Castro is not the first sister of Fidel to defect to Mexico. When sister Emma wanted to go to Mexico to be married, Che Guevara, the Communist economic czar of Cuba, refused to give her the necessary foreign exchange. It was only after Juana and her mother made a terrific family issue of it that Emma was permitted to depart.

The family story of the Castros is conclusive evidence that Fidel is a person without heart even when dealing with close blood relatives. Juana has told some of the horrible things which the heartless Castroite revolution has done to Cuba. Her defection came at a time when the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba in Washington, D.C., was busy preparing a dossier on the Soviet military buildup that continues in Cuba while our eyes are focussed on Vietnam.

Soviet military cargoes have been unloaded in recent weeks at the ports of Mariel, Tarafe, Cienfuegos, and Santiago. Lenin tanks, the newest type in the Soviet armory, have been landed in considerable numbers. Five shiploads of surface-to-air missiles have been put into position. Soviet mountain tunnelers have gouged out 57 underground bases in Cuba. And refugees have told of seeing surface-to-air missiles capable of bringing down even the highest flying U.S. reconnaissance planes. Castro now boasts that Cuba has a bigger armament than Canada.

The budgetary aspects of all this are interesting. In 1964 Castro has approved an expenditure of $221 million for military purposes. This is exclusive of direct aid from Russia. While this sort of spending goes on, the per capita income of the average Cuban citizen had declined from $356 in 1959 to $177 in 1964. It's a real guns-without-butter economy.

Meanwhile the Cuban refugees continue to have bad luck in their attempts to rid their homeland of the Muscovite plague. The guerrilla invasion of Manuel Ray, scheduled for May 20, had been timed to coincide with an assassination attempt on Fidel Castro from inside the Cuban national police. But the assassins' plans miscarried. Samuel Rodiles, aid to the Cuban chief of police, had to flee the country in a motorboat. He is now being held incommunicado in the United States. Manuel Ray had to call off his landing, for Castro had been thoroughly alerted to everything when Rodiles took it on the lam.

Newark Paper Calls for Aid to Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 9, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on June 15, 1964, the Newark Star Ledger wrote editorially on one of the most critical matters confronting New Jersey—the transformation of the big cities.

To combat the multiple problems of urban renewal, mass transit, inadequate housing, and the migration of city dwellers to the suburbs, the editorial stressed the urgent need for substantial and rapid Federal assistance.

This editorial calls our attention to a matter of national concern. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PATIENT'S BETTER

Jersey's six big cities have passed through a serious crisis that began after World War II, and the decline has been arrested.

There are encouraging signs that the patient is recovering—but the period of convalescence is going to be long and costly.

In a series of articles last week, the Star-Ledger took a long look at the patient and explained what steps have been prescribed to speed the recovery.

Large cities are no longer able to do the job themselves * * * or even with State aid alone.

Help must come from the Federal Government in large doses, a fact of community life that President Kennedy recognized when he attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish an Urban Affairs Department on a Cabinet level.

The big cities are the old cities, because it takes a municipality a long time to grow and to take on not only the growing problems in the formative stage but the more acute ones of old age.

Time and use have made Jersey's major cities prematurely old. People are moving out of congested urban centers into the suburban areas, and this exodus has created a number of complex and baffling problems.

For one thing, a large city is now the hub for a cluster of surrounding suburban communities. A wage earner may move his family but in most cases his job remains in the economic center, the large city.

This creates problems: A large daytime population that must be moved in and out at prescribed hours; the emphasis on apartment construction, the need for urban renewal, the dwindling tax base, the drastic change in the economic character of the city dweller.

The need for Federal and State assistance is clear; getting it is another matter, much more difficult. The legislatures in Washington and Trenton are rural oriented and there is a historical reluctance to change long-held concepts.

But change it must, if our large cities are to survive and grow. Otherwise they will stultify and die, the victims of a stubborn failure to recognize the problems created by major shifts in population. A lot of people have left the cities but a lot have remained and others have moved in.

There is hope for the big city. There is gradual awakening in Washington and Trenton to the acute needs of the large city. But the salvation of the big city will depend on how fast this assistance is given and how much is given.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

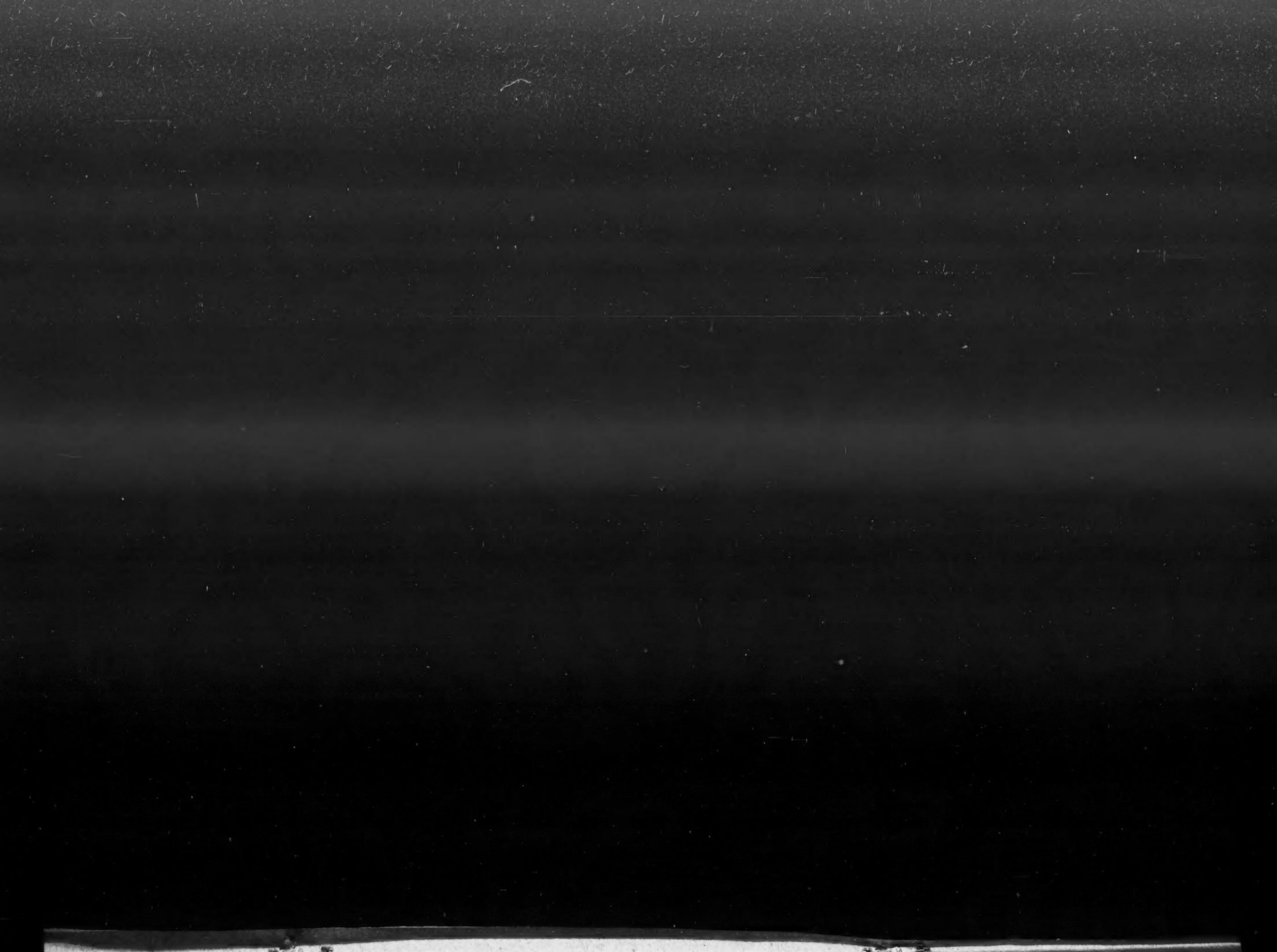

Appendix

Roscoe Pound Dead at 93

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, July 1, a man recognized as the greatest student of common law of all time passed away in my home city of Cambridge, Mass. Dean Roscoe Pound is world renowned for the great contributions he has made in the field of American jurisprudence. His work at the Harvard Law School has contributed immensely both to the reputation of the school and to the world reputation of legal procedure as practiced in this country.

I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD the obituary of Dean Pound which appeared in the Washington Post on Thursday, July 2.

NOTED LAW DEAN ROSCOE POUND IS DEAD AT 93

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., July 1.—Roscoe Pound, 93, former dean of the Harvard Law School and known as the grand old man of the law to generations of lawyers, died tonight in the Harvard Infirmary.

Although in poor health in recent months, the legendary legal scholar, until recently, strolled from his infirmary quarters to his office in Langdell Hall at Harvard.

In 1961, an association of lawyers in Spain voted him "worldwide patriarch of comparative law." And Mr. Pound's associates in the legal profession called him the man whom lawyers recognize as the greatest student of common law of all time.

On his 92d birthday—October 27, 1962—Chief Justice Earl Warren said of Mr. Pound: "His devotion to the law, his contributions to the education of members of both bench and bar, and his great contributions to the jurisprudence of our country have not been excelled in our history."

TWENTY HONORARY DEGREES

Dean Pound held some 20 honorary degrees from universities in this country and abroad. In 1940, he was awarded the Golden Medal of the American Bar Association for "conspicuous service to the cause of American jurisprudence."

Born in Lincoln, Nebr., he was the son of Stephen B. Pound, who eventually became a lawyer and a judge. His mother, Laura Biddlecombe Pound, a native of New York, was Mr. Pound's first teacher.

At the University of Nebraska, he majored in botany and did graduate work in plant geography, ecology, and parasitic fungi, earning a B.A., an M.A., and a Ph. D. in the field. He was the first director of the Botanical Survey of Nebraska.

Although he attained far greater prominence in the law, Dean Pound never received a bachelor of laws degree. Admitted to the Nebraska Bar in 1890 after a year's law study at Harvard, he practiced for a time in Lincoln, served as Commissioner of Appeals in the Supreme Court of Nebraska, taught jurisprudence and Roman law at the University of Nebraska and became dean there in 1903.

After further stints of teaching at Northwestern University and at the University of Chicago, he returned to Harvard in 1910 as Story Professor of Law. Six years later, still one of the newest members of the Harvard faculty, he was appointed dean.

NOTABLES ON FACULTY

On his faculty over the years were such men as Edward H. Warren, James M. Landis and Felix Frankfurter. The number of students rose from 791 to a peak of 1,440 in 1925. Among them were Thomas Corcoran, David E. Lilienthal and Dean Acheson.

Witty, a great storyteller and a powerful yet matter-of-fact speaker who never lost his Nebraska accent, Pound was one of Harvard's most popular lecturers.

In his teaching, he followed the traditional case method, adding others of his own out of his philosophies of sociological jurisprudence. He often turned to illustrations from actual practice, and he treated the ideas of his students seriously.

When he resigned as dean in 1936, Mr. Pound became Harvard's first roving professor—entitled to teach in any faculty of the university he wished.

During the New Deal and afterward, Dean Pound assailed what he called administrative absolution, contending that the new administrative agencies were seeking exemption from judicial scrutiny.

His critics recalled that in the celebrated speech of 1906 he had condemned the spectacle of law paralyzing administration. He continued to attack the agencies even after a conservative Congress had enacted the Administrative Procedure Act to rectify the very shortcomings of which he had complained.

HIS LEARNING IS VAST

Dean Pound was renowned for his encyclopedic mind and his vast learning. At 76, already a master of French, German, Italian, Spanish, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, he took up Chinese for a trip to China.

A prolific author, he was revising two articles on labor unions and the law when he flew West to be honored by the American Judicature Society, of which he was the only surviving founder.

Heavy-framed, standing 5 feet 10 and weighing 200 pounds in his prime, Dean Pond was long possessed of great physical stamina. According to one story, he could still run a mile in less than 5 minutes at the age of 50.

He was variously chairman of the section of legal education of the American Bar Association, president of the Association of American Law Schools, as a member of the standing Advisory Committee for the Juristic Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (a League of Nations instrument), and a member of the celebrated Wickersham Commission, whose report to President Hoover in 1931 on the prohibition question caused a national furor.

Mr. Pound sided with the majority in urging a further trial of prohibition but in the individual reports, which the several members of the commission appended, declared his belief that the more important gains, such as the closing of the saloons and the establishment of Federal control over the liquor business, ought to be safeguarded by a revision of the 18th amendment to permit adaptation to local conditions where it was demonstrably futile to expect total abstinence.

Dean Pound, who was twice a widower, met his second wife, as a member of the Wickersham Commission.

FBI Chief Sees No Change in Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a most important article by FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, as written for the distinguished news columnist, Victor Riesel. This column, entitled "FBI Chiefs Sees No Change in Reds," was printed in the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C., on July 12, 1964.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix to the RECORD together with a news story reporting on a speech I made in South Carolina on this same subject on July 11, 1964.

There being no objection, the article and speech were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

MONCKS CORNER, S.C., July 11.—U.S. Senator STROM THURMOND tonight outlined "seven false notions about communism" which he described as being comparable to the "seven deadly sins."

The Senator discussed these points in a speech before the American Legion post in Moncks Corner. He charged that they are in large part responsible for U.S. setbacks in the war with communism.

Tabbed as "false notions about communism" were ideas (1) that the Communist leaders are changing into peaceful Socialists; (2) that the Communists can be trusted; (3) that communism is not an international conspiracy; (4) that there are good Communists, like Tito; (5) that communism feeds on poverty; (6) that the first Christians were Communists; and (7) that there is no need to fear communism in a prosperous country.

THURMOND lashed out strongly at the "false notions" that the Communists are changing and can be trusted. He said these fallacious ideas are primarily responsible for the U.S. "no win" foreign policy. "The idea our policy planners have," the Senator said, "is that we in this country can move swiftly to the left to become a Socialist state while the Soviets will move to the right and we can all get together in an international utopian Socialist order."

The Senator then cited quotations, facts, and statistics to support his position that the Communist aim of world domination has not changed. "All they change," he declared, "is their strategy and tactics—their goal of enslaving the world remains the same."

FBI CHIEF SEES NO CHANGE IN REDS

(By J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Knowledge without commonsense is very unwise. If we do not understand what we learn, then our knowledge has absolutely no power. Today we know a great deal about international communism, but do we fully understand the issue in this struggle between communism and democracy for leadership of the world? Or is it that we fully understand but have become tired of hearing the truth?

Some of our commentators and writers have recently been telling us that Russian communism is becoming more democratic; that it is moving nearer and nearer to our Western way of life; and that even the current rift between the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese is proof that we can trust the Russians—that we can deal with them on terms of mutual respect.

I wonder if we may be permitting our sincere and deep-seated longing for a peaceful world to dull our judgment? Certainly, there are many changes taking place today in the Communist world; however, these changes are primarily a rearrangement of the Communist structure to make tyranny more adaptable to the changing conditions of our era. Make no mistake, this attitude of hailing every change inside the Soviet as a sure sign that democracy is flowering behind the Iron Curtain can be dangerous. While I have no argument with efforts to achieve a peaceful world, I do think it would be folly to ignore the fact that we are dealing with individuals whose goal is the destruction of legitimate governments. In our hungry desire for peace, we must guard against being deluded into sacrificing interests that are not ours to give away. Peace cannot be bought by a compromise with evil.

The real issue is freedom—a principle handed down to us by those serious-minded and dedicated men who made a reality of a dream of national sovereignty. It is our solemn obligation to transmit that freedom to posterity—not to barter it away because we may lack the stamina to sustain loyalty to principle.

I have often called attention to the intensive program of the Communist Party, U.S.A. I have cited pertinent facts which should be known to every citizen who considers himself well informed about international communism. These included the fact that 40 million Communists now rule approximately one-third of the earth's 3 billion inhabitants and a fourth of her land surface. That, like it or not, communism exists legally or illegally in more than 70 free world countries, including our own. In the United States, international communism is represented by an aggressively defiant party whose members have an unswerving allegiance to the Soviet Union. This domestic party follows the dictates of Moscow, reflecting every significant change of direction or emphasis of policy, regardless of the consequences to our country.

And I pointed out that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is currently attempting to exploit every problem of American society by stressing issues such as the racial situation, the reduction of military spending and the abolition of all internal security programs including those congressional committees investigating communism.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is also waging a relentless campaign to woo the youth of America into its ranks. The intensity of this effort is revealed by a statement made recently by Gus Hall, top-ranking national Communist Party official. He spoke of the success the party had in placing Communist speakers on various college campuses all over the country and he said this youth program was so important that he or any other national leader would go anywhere to meet with young students even if but one student is met.

The action already taken by the party emphasizes Hall meant what he said. Top party spokesmen, skilled in imparting the Communist line with espousals paralleling Soviet views, appeared before 45 college student groups during 1963. This drive is achieving success. Not too long ago Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the party, boasted that 65 percent of the young people attracted in the party's latest recruiting drive were students.

Our knowledge of communism must culminate in an implicit understanding that we are continually dealing with a false ideology—one that can assume many faces and one that can juggle words so that they have one sense in their premise but an entirely different sense in their conclusion. Commonsense must tell us that tyranny can take other forms than slave labor camps, firing squads, and purge trials.

And we must realize that peace cannot be purchased by a toleration of some of the excesses of communism. We must understand there can be no hope for the relaxation of the sufferings of mankind under communism except through logical thinking and action, and through a resolute facing of the world as it is, when the mask of make-believe is stripped off.

This deadly struggle will not be won by "halfway" Americans to whom life in this country is only the enjoyment of rights and privileges devoid of responsibilities. Its success may well depend on whether we are still capable of matching John Hancock's devotion to the cause of freedom. When told that lifting the siege of Boston would probably mean the complete destruction of the houses and other real estate on which his wealth was based, Hancock said: "If the liberties of our country require their being burnt to ashes—issue the order for that purpose immediately."

California Federation of Young Democrats Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following:

CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS PLATFORM

I. CIVIL RIGHTS

We want equality and freedom now for all people of all faiths, colors, and backgrounds. The historic march on Washington for jobs and freedom symbolized the protest of the American people against the wrongs that have so long shamed our Nation and made hypocrites of us. There can be no such thing as an "apprenticeship for freedom." Freedom is the birthright of all men and the constitutional guarantee of all Americans.

This birthright includes the right to vote, the right to hold a job on the basis of ability, the right to an adequate education, and the right to shop, live, eat, and travel wherever one wishes. Yet, if all these rights are won for minority groups, we still have not done enough. Years of oppression and discrimination have left scars: ghettos, lack of education, unemployment, delinquency, school dropouts, and the greatest crime of all, denial of opportunity and hope.

Therefore, a solution to the problems of minority groups not only hinges upon the achievement of full equality for all men, but also demands compensatory measures. It is clear that public and private efforts will need to be combined in this effort to make the American dream a present reality for all our citizens. Strong, comprehensive Federal civil rights legislation is an indispensable first step, and we support it completely.

A. Voting

The right to vote is crucial in the struggle of minority groups to help themselves to a just share of America's freedoms and benefits, and yet the right to vote is effectively denied to most Negroes in the South, to Mexican-Americans and others who are migrant workers, and to others who face language or educational handicaps.

We urge the Federal Government, acting under amendment 15 of the Constitution, to provide Federal registrars in those States where discrimination in voting occurs and particularly in the Southern States whose congressional delegations are not representative of the populace there. Those registered by Federal authorities should be given the right to vote in all primary and general elections, local, State, and national.

Further, we would urge State and Federal Governments to support and protect civil rights workers in all parts of the country. We call on the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department to protect civil rights workers in the South. We stand by the courageous freedom fighters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and other groups attempting to secure the first right, the ballot, for all Americans.

B. Jobs

The man who is earning an income has a better chance to earn other rights and benefits of American life. But the handicaps under which our minorities live have created a depression among them. Americans worry about a national recession when the jobless rate hits 7 percent; yet in the ghettos of the North and South, where minorities are forced to live, the unemployment rate fluctuates between 12 and 18 percent; a rate comparable to that of the great depression of the 1930's, which saw 15 to 20 percent of Americans unemployed. Further, those jobs which are available to minorities only rarely afford them opportunity for advancement.

We call upon private employers and unions to make positive efforts to recruit minority groups as employees or members, to offer them job training services, and to publicize themselves as fair employment groups. Further, we call for a national Fair Employment Practices Commission with sufficient power to prohibit discrimination in hiring. Such power should include the right to subpena and the right to hear and initiate complaints. In California the present FEPC should be broadened to include the above powers and to cover businesses which the Federal FEPC cannot cover.

We recognize, however, that with the present high unemployment rate, mere nondiscriminatory hiring practices will never solve the basic dilemma in which minority groups find themselves. At best, fair employment practices will only result in equality of unemployment. We therefore call for massive public works programs, government retraining programs, assistance for families who need to be relocated for new jobs, and other positive steps to end unemployment in this country.

C. Housing

In a world where the most international of all issues is the equality of man, we must now renew our strong faith in the principle of equal rights to housing for all citizens.

Housing legislation is, in essence, an issue of values. John Buggs, executive director of the Los Angeles County Commission on Hu-

man Relations, clearly defined the issue when he posed this question: "Do we believe that the highest achievement of a democracy is gaged by the extent to which a man's right to practice racial discrimination is protected—or do we believe that the highest achievement of a democracy is gaged by the extent to which each man's right to enjoy full and unfettered participation in the mainstream of community life is promoted?

In answer to this question, we believe in the right of every citizen to buy, rent or sell any housing accommodation if he can qualify under the reasonable conditions set by the seller or renter that are applicable to all. When the requirements of race, religion, or national ancestry are imposed, we believe that a human right is being violated. We commend the California Fair Employment Practice Commission for its efforts in the area of upholding California's fair housing laws. Citizens encountering discrimination in housing are able to file their complaint with the commission, whose job it is to investigate, to endeavor to correct the problem through conciliation and, if necessary, to seek court enforcement. We especially commend the commission for the success it has had in encouraginig, through educational methods, the widest possible voluntary observance of the letter and spirit of the laws governing fair housing in our State.

Finally, we praise Governor Brown, Controller Alan Cranston, and Attorney General Mosk for their constant support and indefatigable labors in the fight to preserve equal opportunities for all citizens. As Governor Brown has said, "If California is to be a sound State, a healthy State, and not just a big State, we cannot tolerate discrimination against any of our people."

We also ask that housing and urban renewal projects provide for the adequate relocation of residents to be temporarily evicted for building purposes and that urban renewal not be corrupted into the building of apartments so expensive that low-income groups cannot afford to live there.

D. Schools

The true end to discrimination lies in the hearts and minds of our children. Bigotry and prejudice are taught. To provide all children with the opportunity to meet and mix with children of all races requires a positive program aimed at producing integrated schools. Under existing housing conditions, the natural mixture of different races which will herald an end to color consciousness is a long way off. To provide for integration now, we urge a modification of the neighborhood school concept to end de facto segregation. Segregated education caused by the existence of dual school systems or gerrymandered school boundary lines should be eliminated and school boundary lines redrawn to promote integration.

Further, we urge State and local school boards to adopt educational policies designed to further integration and an awareness of the multitude of ethnic and racial heritages of our Nation. We ask for the reevaluation of school curriculums and textbooks to insure adequate presentation of the historical roles played by minority groups. We congratulate the California State Legislature for its pilot program to aid the culturally disadvantaged and hope that it will be extended as a regular feature of educational policy. We support attempts to broaden the adult education program to help newcomers from the South, both Negro and white, who have received inferior education. We support the courses in the English language presented as part of education for non-English speaking immigrants.

E. Community action

We are encouraged by the increase in official and unofficial groups working to further civil equality. We commend the Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations and urge the establishment of similar organizations in other cities.

We support the use of militant, nonviolent tactics in the civil rights struggle. Specifically, we endorse such actions as shopins and the type of mass picketing and civil disobedience engaged in at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel and the Van Ness auto agencies, as long as public safety is not endangered. We commend those individuals who have been arrested on behalf of the civil rights movement; we urge Government agencies to remove civil rights arrests from individuals' police records.

We support the leadership of CORE, NAACP, SNCC, and other legitimate civil rights organizations in the civil rights struggle. We feel that these groups, dedicated to the civil rights struggle full time, should stay in the forefront of leadership, as opposed to the alternative of groups whose activity is tempered by their concern over other, non-civil-rights issues.

We urge all Young Democrats and all citizens to join in demonstrations, sit-ins, walk-ins, and other forms of nonviolent protest. We urge Young Democrats to work with established civil rights groups in their own communities to establish racial justice.

After thorough investigation, where definite evidence is found that a company discriminates and/or supports and subsidizes organizations or publications that promote hate and discrimination, and after thorough warning to such companies, the California Federation of Young Democrats or its member clubs should organize boycotts of the products and services of such companies. All findings should be made public and widely distributed, while efforts are made to induce the Democratic Party, labor, and all thinking citizens to support the boycotts.

F. Political realinement

In spite of the crying need for rapid legislative progress in all of the above civil rights areas, we recognize that under the present peculiar system of political alinement in both Houses of the U.S. Congress, such legislation is extremely unlikely to be passed. This alinement, which consists of southern racist Democrats and conservative Republicans, is the major obstacle not only to the achievement of full equality for Negroes but to the passage of any progressive legislation.

The primary mechanism through which the Dixiecrats maintain their minority power in Congress is through committee appointments, supposedly made by the majority Democrats in both Houses. Since the majority of Democrats in this country are increasingly a coalition of labor, liberal, and civil rights forces, this continued domination of committee chairmanships by southern racists is a real contradiction for the Democratic Party, as Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania has eloquently pointed out. The time is long overdue for a direct assault by liberals on the power of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. We must demand a "war against racism" as well as a "war against poverty." In short, we call for all labor, civil rights, liberal, and other progressive forces to press for a radical realinement of American politics, to transform a liberal victory in the country as whole to a liberal victory in the U.S. Congress as well.

Respectfully, we urge:

1. That delegates from California to the Democratic National Convention this summer vote to refuse to seat racist and undemocratically elected delegations from Southern States, and if alternate civil rights delegations appear, as is being planned from Mississippi, that they be seated.

2. That no committee chairmanships be given by the Democratic caucus to Democrats who oppose the purpose of civil rights planks in the platform.

3. That no aid in any form go to racist Democrats in their attempts at reelection; that the Democratic National Committee lend its support to moderate and civil rights Democrats in primaries where they oppose incumbent racists.

That all young Democrats clubs, CDC clubs, and Democratic Party clubs and supporters demand a public pledge before Democratic primaries of all candidates for Congress or the Seante that they will publicly oppose giving key committee appointments to racists.

These are demands that we raise as practical implementations of our belief that civil rights is the overwhelminng moral question in our Nation today. The real test of commitment to civil rights today by legislators is nothing less than the willingness to directly assault the power of the House and Senate Establishment. Civil rights cannot be compromised.

* * * * *

IV. SOCIAL WELFARE

("Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply."—Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933.)

Our modern society demands and constitutional preamble establishes the responsibility of governments to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare." The California Federation of Young Democrats therefore makes these recommendations in the specific areas dealing with general or social welfare:

A. Federal social security

The California Federation of Young Democrats, believing that the social security law is one of our Nation's major vehicles for achieving social progress, recommends the following revisions in that law:

1. Expanding social security to cover all persons gainfully employed without consideration to occupation or type of employment.

2. Increasing retirement and disability benefits to reflect current costs of living.

3. Lowering the voluntary retirement age without penalty to age 60 for women, age 62 for men.

4. Providing health insurance under social security for all those who receive social security benefits. We view this as a necessary first step to the establishment of a national health insurance program.

5. Abolishing durational residence requirements in all public assistance programs in which the Federal Government provides matching funds under this act.

B. Wages and social insurance

The California Federation of Young Democrats, recognizing a responsibility to provide safeguards against the exploitation of unskilled labor, and to protect those displaced by automation, recommends the following:

1. Establishment of a minimum wage of $1.50 per hour.

2. Support for the Manpower Retraining Act which retrains workers replaced by automation.

C. Public assistance

The California Federation of Young Democrats acknowledges the obligation of society to provide for those who for a variety of reasons cannot fully provide for their own needs, and recommends the following:

In old-age assistance programs, we suggest the reduction of the eligibility requirement to age 62, and the development of adequate publicly financed housing for the aged.

As aid to the blind, we call for the provision of expanded services, including counseling services, orientation centers for the blind, special home training, and assistance in the area of employment, etc., by taking advantage of existing Federal funds established for these purposes.

We acknowledge with gratitude the tremendous forward strides of California in providing adequate aid to dependent chil-

dren, and particularly commend the labors of former Assemblyman PHILLIP BURTON. We call for the extension of this aid by the elimination of any durational residence requirements, waiting periods, and we endorse a plan which enables aid to dependent children to be given according to the needs of the children whether or not the father is in the home.

D. Legalized abortion

We support legalizing abortions for any reasons, with the State providing a mandatory counseling service.

We support the efforts of Assemblyman Bielenson in proposing legislation germane to this matter.

E. Mental health

Mental illness is a phenomenon of increased incidence in our complex and oftentimes confusing society. We need to take vigorous steps to increase public knowledge of the factors involved in mental illness and health, and to develop our resources for healing the ill.

We commend our mental health agencies for the development of the philosophy of community mental health clinics, including out-patient treatment which keeps the patient in touch with his normal environment. This philosophy implies a new role for Government in this field—that of financially stimulating and subsidizing local mental health plans, and acting as adviser to local plans. Our legislature has provided the Short-Doyle Act to implement this philosophy. We suggest young Democrats join with other groups to move their local community mental health programs forward.

F. Family planning

The California Federation of Young Democrats recognizes a newer and presently more controversial area of social concern. This area of concern is the role of government in the deeply personal area of family planning, or more simply stated, the question of a publicly financed birth control program.

While we respect the right of individuals and groups to oppose this concept on religious grounds, we must at the same time deny their right to impose their religious or moral standards on the rest of society.

We view the question of a publicly financed program of birth control as one of the many social concerns in which the obligation of public action through governmental action is already clearly established.

We therefore recommend the establishment of a statewide policy that those who seek advice in the area of family planning shall be provided information concerning available methods of birth control by those agencies of State and local government for which this is deemed to be a proper function. In the case of those who besides information and education need financial assistance to provide the means of implementing a program of planned parenthood we recommend that the State Department of Social Welfare expand the existing Public Assistance medical care program to include this medically related expense as an item for which reimbursement will be made under the PAMC program to licensed physicians or pharmacists. In the case of those who do not qualify for assistance under PAMC, we recommend that the Department of Public Health, in conjunction with local health services, expand their present clinical services to provide means of implenting programs of planned parenthood.

We are, however, mindful that there are those who would advocate this public program solely as a fiscal expedient and that there are even those who for other motives see this program as a means of controlling rather than assisting the underprivileged or the socially and culturally deprived.

We, therefore, recommend the following safeguards:

1. That this program be administered in a manner which preserves individual dignity and integrity.

2. That legislation be adopted which specifically prohibits the imposition of a requirement of participation in this program as a condition for receiving any other assistance or aid to which a person would otherwise be entitled.

3. That legislation or regulation be adopted which established the policy that any public employee of this State or any subdivision thereof who discusses this program with an applicant for or recipient of public assistance shall be required to inform said applicant or recipient that this program is voluntary and totally disassociated from any other assistance or aid to which they might be entitled.

G. Penal reform—The death penalty

Traditionally, the California Federation of Young Democrats has supported the abolition of the death penalty in California and the Nation. Despite the failure of Governor Brown's efforts to establish a moratorium on the death penalty, we continue to support him in efforts for steps toward abolition. We continue to call for public support for the complete abolition of capital punishment in California, without any limitations requiring life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. We support abolition of capital punishment on grounds that it is immoral and that its practice is a criminal act in itself.

V. EDUCATION

Mass education is the new educational fact of our age. Never before in human history has a society attempted to provide education for all of its members, nor made advanced academic or technical education a necessity for the majority of its people. And tomorrow, when automation dictates that 2 percent of the population will produce the goods needed for all and only a minority of Americans may be gainfully employed in providing all goods and services, our citizens will need to be prepared to help determine the goals of a society in which they do not labor, but which nonetheless supports them.

One implication of this education revolution is that as a nation we have reached the period in history when we can no longer select some few goals to guide us in the whole of education. We cannot choose to emphasize the priority of the humanities and thereby slight technical training; we cannot choose to emphasize the sciences without affirming the equal necessity of other phases of education. Nor can we any longer assume that either technical or general humanities education is for the young only. Whereas in the past we have argued about the egalitarian concepts of learning as opposed to the elitist concepts and whereas we had pitted the classical intellectual approach against the more vocational and "pragmatic" modes of learning, today we must realize that because of technological unemployment we cannot slight vocational training and because of the demand for more advanced human skills we cannot simply aim the program at the dull normal student. Nor because of dropouts can we write off those students who are performing at below-grade levels. And by tomorrow, all these educational programs will be outmoded and we will need to provide a general education in the uses of citizenship and leisure for all of our people. If we are to attempt mass education in a meaningful way, we will need to utilize our resources in the most efficient way. We will have to take care that every public dollar that goes into education will yield greater returns to all of society. The basis of our efforts is the intense cultivation of all our intellectual resources for the maximum yield to society.

In order to achieve these goals of maximum education opportunities for all we feel that the following proposals should become public policy: These proposals should not be thought of as elegant alternatives but rather as exasperating imperatives. The proposals fall into three classes: (A) general education policy, (B) education finance, and (C) higher education.

A. General education policy

1. Because California is being pressed into heavier responsibilities in education, it becomes increasingly more apparent that her education program will suffer if she does not take steps to prevent it. One of the most effective ways to insure that this will not happen is to maintain a teacher-pupil ratio at the elementary school level that will guarantee a greater amount of individual attention per student. California ranks 45th in the Nation in numbers of pupils to teachers in the elementary schools, specifically 28.7 to 1. With comparable population pressure New York has an average of 23.1 to 1. We recommend that the bill recently introduced by Assemblyman Petris calling for a maximum of 29 pupils per teacher be passed because there are too many schools in this State which still operate at close to a 40-to-1 ratio. This legislation should require that State support be withdrawn if a district exceeded the 29-to-1 limit.

The problem of too many pupils per classroom teacher is not confined to the elementary schools, but is a problem that should also be studied on the secondary and higher education levels as well. Primary interest, however, should be directed first at the elementary school in this regard.

2. We recommend higher salaries for teachers and at the same time we urge that teacher certification standards be raised. It should be increasingly difficult for administrators to hire provisional teachers.

3. The democratic process cannot be taught in educational institutions unless students are allowed to participate in it in a meaningful way. A policy should be established whereby students can make decisions on meaningful policy matters in the life of the college and university.

4. Because education costs are rising at the same time that demands for education are increasing it will be advantageous to extend the school year to 11 months. The major advantages would be (1) more economical use of the physical plant, (2) speedup of education for those who attend all year, (3) enabling schools to teach more students and, (4) the increase of overall salaries for teachers.

5. We recognize that some young people do not wish an academic education for various economic and social reasons. As the minimum age limit now stands, many of these students will drop out of school at the age of 16, without an education and without training in a trade. They often end up on the streets and make up a major part of our unemployed impoverished masses. We also recognize that a large proportion of our presently unemployed are those young people who have dropped out of school.

Therefore, we urge that all high school students who are so inclined be given the opportunity to pursue a program which includes both academic study and vocational training.

We further urge the Federal Government to give grants-in-aid to the States for the purpose of setting up trade high schools and trade colleges which would be under the jurisdiction of the local boards of education consistent with broad Federal policies. These trade schools could act as employment agencies for the students they graduate, and could work with local industries as training centers. We also urge the institution of work-study programs in these schools.

6. In order to develop a climate of equal opportunity for all education a policy should be initiated at the State level banning discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or

national origin in all student organizations recognized by school administrations.

7. Teachers shall have a right to organize in collective bargaining units without pressure of harassment from administration for so doing. Such activity shall be on a voluntary basis.

B. Educational finance

While California ranks high in the total amount it spends for elementary and secondary education it has been justly criticized for its failure to collect and distribute these funds on an equitable, efficient basis, This failure has resulted in gross inequities in the individual tax burden and in educational opportunity.

It is time, we feel, for a revolution in school finance and school district organization in California. This revolution should include, as a minimal foundation, the following proposals:

1. Abandonment of the school district as presently constituted. In its place we should erect a system of countywide school districts administered by elected county school boards. The benefits of such a system would include reduced administration costs, elimination of intracounty tax inequities, and increased educational opportunity.

2. State financial aid for elementary and secondary education should be increased to a point where only 50 percent of the burden is borne by the local property taxpayer.

3. Establishment of an intercountry equalization fund in which all counties would deposit a certain portion of their school property tax receipts. These funds would be distributed by the State Department of Education to the various counties on the basis of need. This would decrease inequities resulting from intercounty discrepancies in assessed valuation per pupil.

4. The legal provisions whereby the State government has imposed ceilings on tax rates in local districts should be abolished. If the school board of a given district desires to increase its efforts in support of a desirable project, its hand should not be stayed by State government preestablished maximums. Neither should school boards have to appeal to the voters each time they wish to increase the tax rate.

C. Higher education

1. The National Government should guarantee an opportunity for higher education to all qualified high school graduates. Fewer than one-half of the best 25 percent of our high school graduates graduate from college. Only 5 out of 10 of the potentially most promising 5 percent of high school graduates earn college degrees. The financial barrier encourages a lack of incentive and motivation for students to enter and finish school. Average expenses for 1 year at major colleges and universities amount to $1,700. When we consider in addition that the average family income in the United States is $5,770 and when we discover that half of the college eligible population comes from families in the average income bracket, we can readily see that family income plays a large role in who goes to, and stays in college.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 was initiated to extend aid directly to college students. But the major emphasis has been in the areas of science, technical training, and languages. This loan program needs to be substantially increased. Present loans help about 5 percent of those enrolled in the institutions of higher learning. This is not adequate. Education is a prerequisite for effective citizenship in a technological age in which great numbers who are not employed will be setting the goals of our society.

We suggest that the concept of education for national defense be broadened to include the social sciences and the humanities, because these develop national strengths also.

The total expenditure on education in America today is about $14 billion annually. This is 3.6 percent of the gross national product. We suggest that the expenditure be increased at least 5 percent of the gross national product, based on estimates of future needs by educational organizations.

2. The California State scholarship program should be expanded as a continuing effort at the State level to supplement national efforts.

3. Traditionally the junior and senior college faculty have been quite outside the policymaking scope of administration. The legislature should spell out in more detail the role of the teaching faculty in policy decisions in the areas of course content, promotion, employment, and salaries.

4. The authors and molders of the master plan for higher education are to be commended for their untiring efforts and special compliment should be paid to those who have continued to implement the letter and spirit of the master plan. Special appreciation is extended to Charles B. Garrigus, chairman of the assembly education committee.

VI. AMERICAN CULTURE AND LEISURE

A. Cultural arts

The technological revolution makes possible a society of increasing leisure, and makes necessary a wise use of human time and energy. In this era, the cultural arts take on a greater significance than ever before. The benefits of modern science and technology enrich our lives physically and materially, but it is the arts which must serve to enrich life emotionally.

We believe that it is a proper function of government to concern itself with the esthetic as well as the physical needs of the people.

We recognize the fact that no longer can society depend upon a small number of individual philanthropists alone, to provide the necessary platforms and performers. We believe that it is possible in a free and democratic society to provide vigorous and independent artistic endeavor with governmental support.

We remember and commemorate the late President John F. Kennedy's interest in the arts. His proposal to establish a Nationl Council of the Fine Arts should be implemented. Further, we recommend the establishment of a Bureau of Cultural Affairs in the Federal Government. It should be given the funds necessary to subsidize existing companies in the performing arts.

We further recommend that Federal funds be allocated on a matching basis to local communities for the establishment of local programs in the performing arts.

Finally we urge the State Department to accelerate its program of cultural exchange with the other countries of the world.

We commend the State legislature for providing during the 1963 session, an act establishing a cultural arts commission for California, the first major effort on the part of State government to enrich the cultural opportunities in the State. We would recommend that either this commission, or a separate one; concern itself with the preservation of California's rich folk art heritage, which is in continual danger of extinction.

B. Television

American television fare has, with rare exceptions, remained a vast wasteland. We deplore the present system of enslaving all programing to a questionable system of ratings. We believe that the public should have a broader choice in its television fare. Toward this end we propose:

1. Support of those measures which will make pay television without commercials available. Specifically, we oppose any attempt to freeze into the State constitution a measure to outlaw pay television.

2. Encouragement of nonprofit community television channels which could provide an interesting blend of the educational, informational, and cultural programing.

My Vote: A Priceless Privilege

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, some time ago, in connection with the city election campaign, the Vincennes (Ind.) Sun-Commercial published an editorial under the caption "My Vote." In it, this paper, which traces its lineage back to the Western Sun, founded in 1804, and one of the oldest in the Middle West, quotes an alliterative "soliloquy" on voting which is most timely as we fix our eyes on the coming election.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent for the printing of this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY VOTE

The city election campaign is over, but for the last few hours.

The candidates for mayor, for clerk-treasurer, for council, have had their last say—in the newspapers, over the radio, in the ringing of doorbells and contacting the voters. Tuesday the voters will make their choices. How big will the vote be? Will it be truly representative?

Many appeals have been made to the citizens. One of the most eloquent of these has come to our desk, described as a soliloquy by Lillian P. Canon, of Oklahoma City, which appeared recently in the Christian Science Monitor. It is addressed to all voters, not just those in Oklahoma, not just for a city election, but all elections.

Read it and then see if you can stay away from the polls Tuesday:

Scene: Voting booth in ward 1, precinct 17, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Time: Election day, 1960.

The lever of the automatic voting machine has automatically closed the curtain behind me. I, an American citizen, am alone, and in my hand lies the destiny of my country—perhaps the universe.

My vote is priceless:

I could not buy it nor sell it.

I could not lend it nor borrow it.

It is my most cherished possession.

My vote is a privilege (and a responsibility):

It was granted to me by the Constitution of my beloved United States of America. Remember, Lillian, the Preamble you learned in the fifth grade:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

My vote is the principle of freedom:

My love of freedom is innate, even as my baby's first word was "no" to express his rebellion against restraint.

Freedom is my human right, given to me by divine authority, and I must insure that right for my children and grandchildren.

My vote is powerful:

Do you recall, Lillian, the headlines of the Daily Oklahoman on April 8, 1959, announcing the election of Mayor James Norick, "a dramatic one-vote winner (by recount)?

I am proud to have a part in the events that move man, and states, and nations.

My vote is my very own preference:
I have weighed the issues;
I have listened to the candidates;
I know the principles for which they stand.
I will not exercise blind emotion * * * I will not be swayed by impossible and impracticable promises.
My vote is a prayer:
It is inspired by the love of my neighbor, a love which strengthens the bands of peace around the world.
With an abundance of faith, I shall leave with God the government of His creation, knowing it will be safe with Him.
I joyously, yet humbly, pull the lever which attests my patriotism. I have cast my vote. Have you?

H.R. 3846 Is Needed Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, passage of H.R. 3846, the land and water conservation fund bill which this House is considering, would be of substantial benefit to my State of Iowa and to my district in southwest Iowa.

In Iowa we hear a lot of talk about the recreation pressures of the East and about need for more areas around the metropolitan complexes. You can take it from me that my State is just as concerned about outdoor recreation as anyone else, East or West. A few years ago we passed legislation enabling counties to establish county conservation boards for the express purpose of acquiring and developing park and other outdoor recreation areas. Seventy-two of our ninety-nine counties have established such boards. They levy a tax averaging 0.6 mill. This provides about $2 million annually and all of it is going into needed recreation areas. In my own district, 14 of the 19 counties have such boards.

In my estimation, passage of the land and water conservation fund with its grants-in-aid to States for recreation purposes would stimulate increased activity on the part of both the State and of the counties. For example, the Federal funds, available on a matching basis, could help us develop the three new State parks which we have acquired in my district. They would help also in acquisition and development of other Iowa State parks, both in my district and elsewhere. The counties could benefit from passage of the land and water conservation fund because of the provision which allows States to allocate to political subdivisions moneys received as grants-in-aid. This is possible providing the county projects involved are incorporated in a comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plan. Iowa is working on such a plan.

All of this can mean more picnic and camping grounds, better protection of the spring feeding grounds for all wildlife along the Missouri River, and development of recreation areas in the Ox-Bow Lake areas being created as channel straightening on the Missouri progresses, among many other benefits. Significantly the Iowa State Legislature in 1963 passed a law which enables us to accept Federal funds for use in planning, acquiring and developing outdoor recreation areas.

The provisions of the land and water conservation fund bill constitute a responsible approach to resolving some of our outdoor recreation needs. It makes good sense to charge modest admission and user fees at developed Federal recreation areas, for the recreationist who goes to such places is getting special service. It makes good sense to transfer proceeds from the present tax on motorboat fuels from the highway trust fund to the land and water conservation fund. There is sound logic in allocating proceeds from sale of surplus Federal real property to the land and water conservation fund. Proposed advance appropriations to the fund meet with my approval, since they are to be repaid to the Treasury out of proceeds from recreation revenues.

We are particularly anxious to see the Federal Government devote part of its share of the land and water conservation fund to such projects as those which enhance recreation and fish and wildlife at Federal water facilities projects. We think Iowa and other States would benefit if they were to channel some of the available funds into developing recreation areas along the route of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Our recreation needs in Iowa, as elsewhere, are great and growing. The land and water conservation fund bill, H.R. 3846, will help provide for future requirements. It has our wholehearted support.

The Hubbard Brook Experimental Forest, West Thornton, N.H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, when the newspapers and magazines of our Nation chose to discuss the research activities of the Federal Government, they all too often speak only of those gigantic laboratories whose construction and maintenance costs stagger the imagination with their size. The budget for the present fiscal year calls for over $158 million to be expended at the Marshall Space Flight Center, and for close to $100 million to be spent at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston alone. But there are many other research centers operated by the Government, on a much smaller scale, which are in their own way as important to the well-being of our Nation's citizens as the space effort and which are all but ignored by the press.

The State of New Hampshire takes great pride in the work being done in one of the smallest Federal research installations, the Hubbard Brook Experimental Forest of the U.S. Forest Service in West Thornton, N.H. A small experimental station with a personnel complement of only four men, the Hubbard Brook Experimental Forest is making its own contribution to man's knowledge of the workings of nature.

Mr. President, the magazine New Hampshire Profiles is to be commended for devoting its pages to a story of the work of the Hubbard Brook Experimental Forest. This article, which was published in the July 1964 issue of New Hampshire Profiles, is a fine statement of the watershed management research projects undertaken at Hubbard Brook.

I ask unanimous consent that the article "Woods Laboratory," written by Richard Schuster, and published in the July 1964 issue of New Hampshire Profiles, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOODS LABORATORY

(By Richard Schuster)

HUBBARD BROOK IS A CENTER WHERE A FEW MEN DO A BIG, IMPORTANT JOB

Scientific laboratory? That's a brightly lit, clean room containing a few workbenches, scientists in white coats, test tubes, sinks, some odd-looking machines.

Unless you happen to be thinking of a certain scientific laboratory in West Thornton, a few miles west of Route 3 along a little country road. This particular laboratory consists of a 7,500-acre chunk of the White Mountains, including two 3,000-foot peaks. It's called the Hubbard Brook Experimental Forest because its center is Hubbard Brook. It's part of the Northeastern Forest Experiment Station of the U.S. Forest Service. The scientists who work in it—project leader Bob Pierce, Ray Leonard, George Hart and their assistant, Ray Lavigne—wear flannel shirts and khakis, not white coats. And the work they are doing is important.

The work is called "watershed management research." A "watershed" is an area of land whose water all drains into a certain stream. "Management" is what people do to that area of land, and in the Forest Service usually means how they treat what grows on it. The "research" that Pierce, Leonard, and Hart are working at is aimed at finding out what happens to the water in a watershed when the forest is managed in one way or another—and why it happens.

The research starts by learning the watershed, learning it yard by yard: soils, slopes, temperatures, rainfall, vegetation, wildlife, in all their changes from hour to hour during the day, month to month during the year, year to year during rainfall cycles. Once the watershed has been learned in this very precise way then experiments can be started in management of the forest to see what changes in the water patterns the experiments cause.

Getting to know the watershed takes time, work, skill and money. The process has been going on for nearly 10 years at Hubbard Brook, and is not yet complete enough for large-scale management experiments to be started. Take just one part of the process, that called stream gaging.

Since one of the key questions is what happens to streamflow in watersheds, one of the key devices is a gage for measuring and recording how much water actually flows in a stream at any given moment. Seven of these devices have been built at Hubbard Brook so far; five others are still on paper. They are remarkably precise, able to measure accurately not only heavy spring runoff but a summer trickle amounting to no more than a few cubic inches per second. They are remarkably massive, including dozens of cubic yards of concrete and tons of

steel to make sure all the stream's water goes through the measuring point. And they are remarkably awkward to construct on a hillside without unnecessarily disturbing the scene and disrupting the natural course of the water.

From the stream gage—and rain gages and hygrothermographs and pyroheliometers and soil pits and snow measurements—come the graphs, cards, traces, tapes, maps and columns of figures which are the essence of Hubbard Brook's research. While these basic data mount up and are interpreted all sorts of special projects are being carried on.

Some of them are just what a layman expects such work as watershed management research to be. There was an important study of ways to reduce erosion on old logging roads, and another working out the relationship between types of forest cover and depths of snow on the ground. More recent special projects are unexpected, impressive, and closer to basic science, precise measurements, for example, of tiny differences in soil and air temperatures under all sorts of conditions in an effort to move a trifle closer to the fundamental "why" of water's patterns in a watershed.

Measurements accurate to 90 and 95 percent are hard to achieve in a laboratory like Hubbard Brook, where acorns, dead leaves, inquisitive chipmunks, frogs, and pieces of beaver dam keep falling into the test tubes, but they are achieved. The watersheds and subwatersheds are becoming "known" in the special, careful way needed. The necessary roads and trails to make the whole laboratory useful are being built, season by season, And in another year or so, Bob Pierce hopes, the actual management experiments can begin.

Why bother with it all?

The more that's learned at Hubbard Brook the more likely man will be able to control the way water runs down such streams into the Pemigewasset River, or the Contoocook, or Ashuelot, or Androscoggin. That is knowledge with a dollars-and-cents value. Proof is the dam finished in 1943 at Franklin Falls on the Pemi. It cost the equivalent of a charge of $13 on every acre in the thousand-square-mile Pemi watershed to build Franklin Falls as flood protection for the Merrimack Valley cities downstream. And Franklin Fills is only designed to hold about 3 inches of runoff.

"Inches of runoff": how, when, where, why they occur and can be controlled—that's what Hubbard Brook is all about.

An Attempt To Stifle Criticism of the Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I was quite surprised recently to receive a copy of a letter which Mr. Luther W. Martin, owner and general manager of radio station KTTR in Rolla, Mo., had written to Mr. Samuel C. Brightman, deputy chairman for public affairs of the Democratic National Committee, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Here again we have the long arm of the Federal Government reaching out to stifle criticism of the administration. It appears not to be enough to control the Congress, making it almost a rubber stamp, but now we have an apparent attempt to prevent information from getting to the public on what is being done in Washington.

Mr. Martin's letter follows:

SHOW-ME BROADCASTING CO.,
Rolla, Mo., June 29, 1964.

Mr. SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN,
Deputy Chairman for Public Affairs, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BRIGHTMAN: On June 25, 1964, I received your undated form letter along with its enclosure, a reprint from the Nation, May 25, 1964; said reprint being an article entitled "Hate Clubs of the Air" written by Fred J. Cook.

First, Mr. Brightman, I flatly deny that the two program series broadcast by KTTR can be accurately described as "Hate Clubs" by the author that your committee has elected to endorse. KTTR airs Life Line and Kershner's Commentary.

Secondly, Mr. Brightman, noting the last two paragraphs of your form letter, I ask, Sir: Since when have we lost freedom of speech in the United States wherein it is forbidden to discuss, criticize, or even verbally "attack" persons in public office and/or their policies? We of KTTR similarly discuss, criticize, and even verbally "attack" those who desire to run for public office, in an effort to keep them out of office. This, Sir, is democracy in action! Would you stifle it? I believe you would, Sir, so long as you may happen to agree with the party in power.

Further, Mr. Brightman, your last paragraph smacks of intimidation, wherein if you could do so, you would attempt to scare timid broadcasters into either airing only your party's views or second best, scaring them into taking all controversial broadcasts off the air!

Surely, Mr. Brightman, you can offer argumentation for your position that would better reflect the past honor and respect that we have had for the Democratic Party in this Nation. Do you know that your author, Fred J. Cook, has written a defense of Alger Hiss? Have you read and do you applaud Mr. Cook's criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency in the June 22d issue of The Nation? Have you similarly endorsed Mr. Cook's treatise devoted to the Hoffa trial (The Nation, April 27, 1964) in which the author attacks the methods used by our Federal Government in convicting Hoffa? Does the Democratic National Committee also endorse Mr. Cook's new book in which he criticizes the FBI?

Since 1948, KTTR has broadcast editorials dealing with numerous controversial issues. When we allow one side to be heard, we allow any or all "other sides" of the question to be aired under identical conditions; i.e., if the first broadcast used free time, then the others were given free time. If the initial broadcast was made on paid time, then the rebuttal was provided time at the same rate.

Mr. Brightman, I will sincerely appreciate a reply from you, in answer to the questions posed in this letter.

Very truly yours,

LUTHER W. MARTIN,
Owner and General Manager.

Looking to Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, North Dakota, this year, is observing its 75th or diamond jubilee.

The North Dakota daily newspapers jointly produced a special edition which appeared in all of our daily newspapers. This edition gave a most interesting and valuable account of the history of our State dating back to the early 19th century. To many people a good portion of this special edition brought back many fond memories. This edition, as I have indicated, traced the history of North Dakota from the early 19th century when the only white people in the State were a few fur traders and some Army units.

Mr. President, a gifted writer and former North Dakotan, Lew Muenz, wrote a beautiful and moving tribute to North Dakota's past and to its future in which we all have great confidence. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Muenz' article, appearing in the July 6 edition of the Farmers Union Herald published in St. Paul, Minn., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOOKING TO TOMORROW

All 10 daily newspapers in North Dakota paid tribute to their State on June 30 by folding into their regular editions a 28-page Diamond Jubilee supplement that is a capsule history of their great area.

It should be required reading for every North Dakotan, and other citizens in neighboring States could read it with great intellectual profit and pleasure.

We join with the North Dakota dailies in saluting the great past and the even greater future that compose that State's heritage. There is no finer citizenry anywhere than the residents of the Land of the Long Furrow.

If North Dakota has a golden past, it has a platinum tomorrow. So a diamond, symbol of 75 magnificent years, is not out of place in that State's tiara of progress.

In the introductory article of the special Diamond Jubilee supplement there is a significant paragraph that we would like to repeat here. It says:

"But the farm is still the source of 80 percent of the new wealth produced in North Dakota each year. The towns and cities depend upon the farmer getting a good growing season and a good price."

Well written, good unidentified friend. You never penned a truer word. Your tribute to your State's farmers should be inscribed in words of neon at each gateway to your astonishingly productive commonwealth.

Your words should be drummed into the ears of all those who today are prone to minimize the efforts and the accomplishments of farmers.

It is good that these daily newspapers, chroniclers of the march of time, should have sent these words all over the State and Nation. They are backed up each week by those other faithful chroniclers—the weekly newspapers—whose contribution to the growth and well-being of their communities is too great to calculate.

A wonderful poet has said "the past is a bucket of ashes." But that is true to only a degree. It is from the sparks of the past that the great flames of tomorrow's accomplishments are kindled. We learn from what has gone on before; and this wisdom is used again to plan our future.

North Dakota's yesterdays are still important; but her tomorrows are of even greater promise. Let us plan well for tomorrow, then, so that we may, as Winston Churchill has put it, "walk forward together—in majesty, in justice, and in peace."

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, once again, during the third week of July, it is my privilege to pause with my colleagues in observance of Captive Nations Week. Again we solemnly renew our pledge to keep alive the ideals of freedom and independence which still exist among those people cut off from freedom by the Iron Curtain.

Almost 20 years have passed since the people of Eastern Europe fell vicitm to the iron grip of communism. The Soviet Union devoured Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. She then went on to dominate Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a tragic list, but it would be an even greater tragedy if we, as Americans, were to forget the plight of these once-free people. Although time has passed since the subjection was fresh in our minds, and spots of rust are appearing on the Iron Curtain with the easing of tension in Poland and Hungary, and the recent independent economic policies of Rumania, we would, nevertheless, be untrue to our American heritage and remiss in our duties as free men, if we did not do everything in our power to keep alive the torch of freedom which burns in the hearts of all captive peoples.

More than 100 million citizens live in these captive nations. Thousands of them have given their lives in protest against their captivity. In East Germany in 1953, patriots fought tanks with bricks torn up from the street in a valliant but futile attempt at rebellion. In Poland in 1956, workers dared the wrath of the Soviet oriented government with their protests against oppression. How many brave men still languish in the prisons of Budapest, because of their desire to be free from the yoke of tyranny? How many more died under Russian bayonets as their shortlived revolution in 1956 was crushed by the Soviet Army? Today resistance to Communist domination continues. The Berlin wall gives mute testimony to this fact. Less than 100 miles from our own shores, Cubans are, at this very moment, risking the perils of the sea in tiny boats because their belief in liberty is greater than their fear of such a hazardous journey.

Our task, as the leader of the free world, is to keep alive the hope of liberty in the hearts of the freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain. We must continue to show these people that we have not forgotten them, and we must give them hope that someday they may again enjoy the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We must encourage the nations of Eastern Europe to identify themselves with their Western neighbors and turn their eyes from East to West. Finally, we must continue our efforts through our broadcasts over the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe to be a constant source of truth and inspiration to the people of these nations, for the fight for freedom in our world today is the responsibility of all people, not just those who are struggling to escape the oppression of Communist domination.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago we fought as a nation to free ourselves from foreign domination and we were not denied this aspiration. We cannot be forgetful of, nor faithless to the brave men who preceded us and endowed us with the blessings of a free country. It is our responsibility as the leaders of a country which has historically supported the cause of freedom and has traditionally abhorred the conditions of slavery and servitude which have been forced upon the nations behind the Iron Curtain, to once again reaffirm our position that we will never close our eyes to the tyranny perpetrated by the Soviet Union upon the nations it dominates.

Stevenson Gives Dangerous Advice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the publisher of the Manchester Union Leader in Manchester, New Hampshire, has very appropriately given Ambassador Adlai Stevenson a good editorial tongue lashing for advising college graduates to take pride in prison records. The editorial, printed in the July 6, 1964, issue of the Manchester Union Leader, is entitled "Stevenson Gives Dangerous Advice" and was written by Mr. William Loeb, the publisher of New Hampshire's largest daily newspaper.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, July 6, 1964]

STEVENSON GIVES DANGEROUS ADVICE

(By William Loeb)

Adlai Stevenson, our representative in the United Nations, gave strange advice to the graduates at Colby College not long ago when he praised civil rights demonstrators for breaking the law. You would think that a man of Stevenson's stature, background and present position would realize what a dangerous suggestion he was making.

Here's what Stevenson said:

"While sometimes their emotions exceed their judgment, student demonstrators have been toppling governments all over the world in the last few years.

"It's getting so that old-fashioned dictators can't enjoy a safe night's sleep any more.

"Happily for us, students have not tried to overthrow the government of the United States but they certainly are making their views felt in public affairs.

"Indeed, even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor but a proud achievement. Perhaps we are destined to see in this law-loving land people running for office, not on their stainless records but on their prison records."

In an age when one of the greatest problems is lawlessness, this is certainly miserable advice from a prominent national "leader" to the youths who will be our leaders of tomorrow.

There are two other interesting words in Ambassador Stevenson's advice. He speaks about old-fashioned dictators being overthrown by young people. Interestingly, not a single Communist dictatorship has been overthrown by a "student demonstration." Does Stevenson, therefore, favor new-fashioned dictators and Communist dictators, as opposed to non-Communist dictators? Student demonstrations helped Castro to come into power. Does Stevenson consider that a progressive step?

How does Stevenson distinguish between the types of jail sentences that are desirable ones to have on your record and those that aren't?

All together, Stevenson's performance at Colby was not only silly—it was disgraceful.

Proposed Revision of the Copyright Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have today, at the request of the Librarian of Congress, introduced a bill for revision of the copyright law.

The last general revision of the copyright laws occurred in 1909. Tremendous changes in technology have taken place in the intervening half century. These have fostered entire new industries and new methods for the reproduction and dissemination of literary and artistic works. The 1909 statute is no longer adequate for present-day conditions.

Past efforts to bring the copyright laws up to date have failed. In 1955 Congress provided funds for a comprehensive study by the Copyright Office as the groundwork for a general revision and in 1961, after much study, the Register issued a tentative report containing detailed recommendations. Widespread discussions of the Register's report were undertaken.

A little over a year ago, the Copyright Office began presentation of sections of a draft bill to a panel of experts. The transcript of earlier meetings of the panel on the Register's report have been printed by our committee and we will also print the further discussions on the draft sections.

In the 87th Congress, the Judiciary Committee considered and approved House Joint Resolution 627, which provided for the temporary extension to December 31, 1964, of the renewal terms of all copyrights subsisting at the time the President signed the measure on September 19, 1962. The approval of this bill by the Congress indicated its interest in considering overall copyright legislation. I am therefore glad to find that

the Register of Copyrights has submitted a bill at this time.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the purpose of introducing this legislation at this time is to provide an opportunity for examination by interested groups so that any suggestions or recommendations which they may wish to submit may be studied before the measure is taken up for consideration in the next session of Congress.

The auguries for substantial progress in copyright law reform are favorable. I cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for flexibility and compromise in this area. We have had a long period of preparation and it is time to proceed.

Rightwing Extremism a Threat to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the National Education Association recently held its national convention in Seattle, Wash. Among those who addressed the convention, three speakers laid down warnings concerning what one of them called "extreme-right meddlers" who aim, as another said, to "dictate what shall be taught and who shall teach."

The growth of such rightwing dictatorial efforts to force the schools in their direction is not an isolated phenomenon. It has occurred, and it will doubtless continue to occur, in school systems in many areas of the country. Both the public and the teachers and school administrators need to be alert to such efforts.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by G. K. Hodenfield, Associated Press education writer, reporting the three addresses, including that by the national PTA president, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article was published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on July 3.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PTA CHIEF SOUNDS WARNING: RIGHTWING EXTREMISTS CALLED SCHOOL THREAT

(By G. K. Hodenfield)

SEATTLE.—Rightwing extremists are trying to take over the public schools, the president of the national PTA said here yesterday, and their aim is to "dictate what shall be taught and who will teach."

Mrs. Jennelle Morhead, said extremism, of either right or left, "cannot be dismissed as a ridiculous nuisance. It is dangerous. It is a dangerous foe of free organizations, free schools, a free nation."

In a statement issued during the national convention of the National Education Association, Mrs. Morhead said:

"Extremism ignores real problems of the schools—understanding and underfinancing, the population explosion, the knowledge explosion, the education of the disadvantaged.

"Instead, it raises ghosts of its own creation, shadows of its own imagination * * * it accuses the public schools of not doing the patriotic job they ought to do."

Fred C. Nus, who, with 18 teachers, resigned under political pressure as superintendent of schools in Pleasantaville, Iowa, told the NEA delegates:

"The extremist groups, preaching hate and suspicion, are more dangerous than communism to our way of life.

"A sad part of their attack on our schools is that it is the children who must suffer the most."

Nus said the Nation's educators must recognize the threat of extremism and lead the fight against it.

"Don't wait for a personal attack," he said. "You have a responsibility to expose extreme-right meddlers, even if it jeopardizes your job security."

Richard B. Kennan, executive secretary of the NEA's commission on professional rights and responsibilities, said the extreme right and the extreme left have four tactics in common:

"They frequently work under cover to accomplish some of their objectives.

"Both extremes endeavor to take over respected organizations.

"They appear to disdain the forces and factors that have made and keep America a great, free, united nation.

"They operate on the theory that they are superior beings who know what is best for all the rest of us."

"There Are Other Great Men in This Nation, but This Country Will Miss Mr. Cannon"—Editorial by Fred V. Heinkel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us loved the late Clarence Cannon. We admired his almost limitless knowledge of Government programs and of congressional parliamentary procedures. We unashamedly spoke of our love and admiration for Mr. Cannon—especially many of us who were his colleagues from Missouri—both during his lifetime and after his death May 12 in his 85th year. Clarence Cannon's nearly 42 years as a Member of Congress and nearly 20 years as chairman of the House Appropriations Committee brought him honors befitting an outstanding public servant, and it is a comfort to know that he knew, during his long and active service, that he was held in such esteem by his colleagues here.

It is well that the hurt which humans feel in the loss of loved ones gradually eases. But we continue to feel the loss, knowing that things are not as they were. I have missed our late colleague, as I know we all have. And that is why I call to the attention of the House a moving and eloquent editorial by Fred V. Heinkel, nationally known president of the Missouri Farmers Association, which appeared in the June 1964 edition of the Missouri Farmer. When I read Mr. Heinkel's words, I felt that he had succeeded in capturing the real story of the late Clarence Cannon. The caption, "He Loved the Role of the Representative," was a perfect heading for the summary of a very useful life of a great public servant.

The editorial follows:

HE LOVED THE ROLE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE

(By Fred V. Heinkel)

Clarence Cannon was dedicated to serving the best interests of the people in his district. He did that well for nearly 42 years. Close attention to the electorate is the key to successful politics. It is the way to get elected to office. But more than that. The way Mr. Cannon practiced the art of politics, with a natural sincerity and forthrightness, not only endeared him to his district but resulted in dedicated service to all the Nation.

A national magazine once commented, "To Clarence Cannon the world is bounded on the north by Missouri, on the south by Missouri, on the east by Missouri, and on the west by Missouri."

The intent of the statement—to make it appear that the Congressman was not interested in other problems—was completely wrong. I never knew a man more informed about more issues than Mr. Cannon. But this statement about his intense interest in Missouri had a deeper meaning to those who knew him well. It was just this philosophy—that he owed his first allegiance to those who sent him to Congress—that made him such a valuable servant to all.

Few others have served so long in the sometimes fickle political arena. He went to Washington more than 50 years ago as secretary to Champ Clark, who at that time represented the Ninth District. A few years later he was named Parliamentarian of the House and in 1920 first published his now famous "Cannon's Procedure in the House of Representatives." It contains the parliamentary rules by which official business of that legislative body is conducted.

In 1922 he was first elected to the House of Representatives and was reelected each term since then.

For 19 of his nearly 42 years in Congress, he was chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. There is no way to measure the invaluable contribution he has made there. His modest, unassuming manner foiled the attempts of those who would publicize him. He wasn't well known to the general public. For a man with such a powerful post, he was seldom quoted in the press. His picture was only occasionally seen in the papers or on television. He sought office not to bolster his ego but because he loved the role of the representative. His ambition was to serve the people he'd grown up with, his friends and neighbors in the Ninth District, in Lincoln County, in Elsberry, Mo.

He wasn't a crusader, nor an innovator of great Federal projects. I can think of no particular Federal program which bears his name, or famous law he authored. But his mark is on most of them. He was in close touch with rural people. He could always be counted on to wield his powerful influence when it came to legislation for REA, soil conservation, farmer cooperatives, rural roads, agricultural research, farm price support programs, farm credit, and the numerous other important similar programs which have stood the test of time.

His readiness to do battle for any cause he judged just, often provided the necessary weight to tip the scales in favor of a particular bill, or halt attempts to cut appropriations for a vital program. On the other hand his sharp pencil was a warning to those too eager to spend public moneys. He periodically took the floor of the House to deliver a lesson to his colleagues from his down-to-earth store of knowledge on people and government.

There are other great men in this Nation, but this country will miss Mr. Cannon.

Supreme Court's New American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Dean Clarence E. Manion, a former dean of the School of Law at Notre Dame University, is noted as an outstanding legal scholar and a keen student of the Constitution. In a broadcast on the Manion Forum on July 5, 1964, Dean Manion has done an outstanding job of analyzing recent Supreme Court decisions and their adverse effects on our constitutional system of government.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have the Manion Forum broadcast entitled "The Supreme Court's New American Revolution," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUPREME COURT'S NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(By Dean Clarence E. Manion)

The time has come for the American people to take a long, hard look at what has happened to the U.S. Supreme Court. Constructive criticism of American officials is an essential counterpart of that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, and the present Supreme Court is earning much more of that criticism than it is getting.

Throughout our history every President of the United States has been widely and bitterly criticized whenever his official judgment appeared to be had. Congress functions under a sustained barrage of criticism from the press, the pulpit, and the general public. The same is true of those who manage all branches of our State and local governments.

But for some esoteric reason, all judgments of the U.S. Supreme Court are now quite generally regarded as sacred—even when these judgments require radical, unpopular departures from our historic and accepted way of life.

A part of the reason for this popular complacency concerning Supreme Court decisions is in the historic nature of the judicial process itself. In legal theory, a court decision settles merely the particular problems of the parties before the court. For these parties, the decision lays down the law of the decided case and directs the participants to act accordingly.

The current impression that a Supreme Court decision proclaims the law of the land for the entire country is a popular delusion, whipped up by propagandists who brandish sociological axes that Congress and State legislatures have refused to grind for them.

No single Supreme Court decision is or can become "the law of the land." It is, and forever remains, merely the law of the decided case. The basic law of the land is the Constitution itself. When Congress passes a law pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution, that congressional statute likewise becomes the law of the land and as such it binds everybody in the country.

The Constitution, its amendments, and the constitutional laws passed by Congress make a policy pattern for subsequent legal observance by the Government and by the American people. Note that this congressional policy pattern is made for the future. On the contrary, and by its very nature, a Supreme Court judgment always looks backward. It considers specific acts that have already been performed by the parties to the litigation.

It is the Court's duty to declare whether those acts, by those particular parties, were in conformity with the Constitution, and with the legal pattern prescribed for them at the time the acts were performed. In deciding such a case, it is the Court's function to declare the reasons for its ultimate conclusion that the acts complained of were legal or illegal.

It is not the Court's function, nor is it within the Court's constitutional power to declare policies and patterns for future action that may be expected to meet its approval in future cases.

Nevertheless, for more than 10 years the Supreme Court has been making just such declarations, and prescribing just such patterns for future action. To this extent it has been flagrantly and unconstitutionally misappropriating the legislative functions of Congress and of the State legislatures as well.

Furthermore, it has been delegating the enforcement of this judicial legislation to subordinate Federal courts with authority to rule by decree over designated subjects in particular areas. In the process, the Court has usurped the constitutional function of Congress, and all but paralyzed the legislative power of the several States in areas that must be controlled by the State legislation if local law and order is to prevail, and if our Federal system of constitutional government is to survive.

In this 10-year process, the Supreme Court has rewritten laws of Congress, made new Federal regulations, and wiped out important segments of the States lawmaking power altogether. It has assumed the powers of a supreme, judicial oligarchy that moves without respect or regard for other constitutional branches of our Federal system upon the apparent expectation that "the law of the land" that it makes by these Draconian decrees must and will be enforced by the President in all parts of the country, ultimately, if necessary, by the employment of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Twelve years ago (1952), when President Truman seized the Nation's steel mills, the protesting private owners went to court and ultimately to the Supreme Court which reversed the unconstitutional exercise of Presidential power and restored the steel properties to those who owned them. The seizure of unconstitutional power now by the Supreme Court itself is more flagrant and far-reaching than that act of the President in 1952.

LEGISLATION BY THE COURTS VIOLATES THE CONSTITUTION

The consequences of the seizure now are infinitely more serious because it is the Supreme Court itself which is in violation of the law, and there is no higher judicial tribunal in existence to which its unconstitutional usurpations of power may be appealed and nullified.

The possibility that the Court's new unconstitutional legislation may be better morally or sociologically than the congressional and/or State law that it supersedes is beside the point. It is basic, moral principle that a good end does not justify the use of a bad means to attain it. According to this principle, judicial legislation of any kind, for any purpose, is bad because it violates the Constitution which every Federal judge has sworn to uphold and defend.

Of all the judicial legislation that has proceeded from the Supreme Court in the past 10 years, the most revolutionary, and to sensitive constitutionalists, the most positively revolting, are its recent decrees that prescribe and command new formulas and procedures for the reapportionment of State legislatures.

In the Constitution of the United States the several State governments have retained all of the powers not delegated to the Federal Government by that document (10th amendment). These reserved powers are to be exercised by the several States with due regard for specific restrictions imposed upon the States by various provisions contained in the Constitution and in its amendments.

Some of these State-restricting provisions are in the 1st section of the 14th amendment, which was certified as a part of the Constitution 96 years ago (July 26, 1868). One of these provisions forbids any State to deprive any person within its jurisdiction of equal protection of the laws. But in the next section of the same 14th amendment, we find that when the right to vote in any Federal election "is in any way abridged" (with certain exceptions), the State shall suffer a proportionate reduction of its representation in the lower House of Congress.

And, finally, in section 5 of the 14th amendment, we read that "Congress shall have the right to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article." This is the say, of course, that legislative enforcement of this amendment, including its equal protection clause, is to be made by Congress and not by the Federal courts.

In plain terms, the 14th amendment provides that when the right of anybody to vote "is in any way abridged" by State law, it is the duty of the Congress to come forth with legislation to correct such abridgment in the manner specified. The amendment gives no power to the Supreme Court to correct any State's possible abridgment, "dilution" or "debasement" of the citizen's vote. Such corrective power is conferred upon Congress, expressly and exclusively.

Nevertheless, in 1962, after 94 years of consistent compliance with this Constitutional mandate, the Supreme Court finally put its foot in the door of the State legislative reapportionment problem and directed the Federal Court for the Middle District of Tennessee to grant complaining Tennessee voters "appropriate relief" from what the Supreme Court found to be disproportionate representation in the Tennessee Legislature, and failing that, to enjoin and prevent the next State election that was provided for by the Tennessee Constitution.

Subsequently, in two Georgia cases, the Court knocked out that State's long established "county unit" system of voting in statewide elections (*Gray* v. *Sanders*, March 18, 1963). It called for reapportionment of all congressional districts on a mathematical formula that would abolish geographical considerations in congressional districting and make one man's vote worth as much as another's in every congressional election (*Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, February 17, 1964).

Finally, last June 15, in sweeping decisions affecting the existing legislative apportionment in six States (Alabama, New York, Colorado, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware), the Court forbade all county or other geographical considerations in legislative districting that might interfere with the purity of the Court-created population pattern of "one man—one vote" for the composition of State senates, as the lower house for each State legislature.

COURT ABANDONS LEGAL FUNCTION TO LEAD REVOLUTION

In these decisions the State's right to constitutional self-government in the management of its own legislative household was ignored. It made no difference to the Court, for instance, that just 2 years ago the people of Colorado, by a popular vote of nearly two to one, had amended their State constitution to include the apportionment of their State senate which the Court struck down. The Colorado formula violated the

Supreme Court-created "one man—one vote" formula, and that was that.

Read in the context of the unprecedented record it has made during the past 10 years on subjects including, but not restricted to, crimes, communism, colored people and prayer in the schools, the Court's reapportionment decisions confirm the fact that this august tribunal has all but abandoned its historic function of deciding cases for the more exciting role of conducting a new American revolution.

In reviewing this ominous record, the U.S. News & World Report (June 29, 1964) points out that "a whole new pattern of authority is emerging." This is an understatement. The record reveals that in case after case, the constitutional power of State government has been deliberately diminished—the scope of Federal power enlarged, and the Supreme Court itself vaulted into the high position of general manager of the general welfare.

Editorial comment on the June 15 reapportionment decisions was disturbed, but characteristically deferential. The sharpest and most candid criticism came from the Court itself in the dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan.

Said he: "The local district court or the State court are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment of the State legislatures. It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States. * * * In my judgment, today's decisions are refuted by the language of the amendment which they construe * * * they are unequivocally refuted by history and by consistent theory and practice from the time of the adoption of the 14th amendment until today. The Court's elaboration of its new constitutional doctrine indicates how far and how unwisely it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

How much further is the Court prepared to go in the enforcement of its "one man—one vote" legislation? Deferentially and diffidently, but nevertheless pointedly, the Washington Star speculates (June 18, 1964), "one may be pardoned the suspicion that what is ruled right for the States today may logically be ruled right for the Federal Government tomorrow. Why should not every vote, for example, have the same value when it comes to the election of the President? * * * For that matter, what is the modern justification for the U.S. Senate under the philosophy of those rulings? What indeed is the justification for the Federal system itself?* * * The Supreme Court has moved into uncharted territory. Whether the potential dangers materialize, as we move ahead, depends upon the practical and moral judgment of nine very powerful men."

Which is to say, in substance, that we are now approaching a government not by the Constitution and by ascertainable law—but by nine men—appointed for life. What does that portend? Back to Justice Harlan again: "This decision involves the Court amending the Constitution. If the time comes when this Court is looked upon * * * by the Court itself as the repository of all reforms, I think the seeds of trouble are being sown for this institution."

Many people believe that those seeds of trouble have already been sown and that some of them have already sprouted.

On the House floor (June 19) Congressman JOHANSEN, of Michigan, asked: "Are the American people being given a preview of the obituary of the Republic? If the potential dangers (from these decisions) * * * are to be averted it will not be through the Casper Milquetoast attitude of resigned acceptance. Only the Congress can call a halt * * * but the method once chosen, must be pursued with speed and all-out effort."

The proper method—as I have stated before on this program—is for Congress to strip this arrogant, incompetent Supreme Court of its appelate jurisdiction; of its power, in other words, to hear cases appealed to it from lower courts. This the Congress has the expressed constitutional power to do (U.S. Constitution, art. III, sec. 2) and the present dangerous direction of the Supreme Court makes it the sworn duty of Congress to exercise that power now.

Tell Congressman JOHANSEN to introduce the appropriate legislation and tell your own Congressman to support it.

The Confederate Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Confederate Air Force made up of flight-minded men from all walks of life have undertaken the worthy project of endeavoring to collect and preserve one each of the World War II vintage aircraft.

In an effort to explain the Confederate Air Force to those who were not familiar with the spirit which motivates it, Mr. Ed Syers wrote an article on this group of men which appeared in the Texas Parade magazine. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this article.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CONFEDERATE AIR FORCE

Underlying all the tongue-in-cheek humor of this Rebel squadron, overriding their nonprofit shows where their "Beauregard Flips, Do-wa-Ditties and Whifferdills in Echelon" are a slightly slower version of the jet-teamed Blue Angels—out of all this, one thing stands clear and nationally important.

CAF is a dedicated undertaking to maintain a museum of great fighter planes—ours and theirs: Mustang to Messerschmitt: Hellcat to Zero—ready to fly to any place in our land and show what fought in the skies over 30 million of us in World War II.

Further, it is the world's only such enterprise. It's too late for another.

Finally, it is a privately underwritten struggle against incredibly indifferent Government policy. Many of the planes it seeks are near extinction—smelted to aluminum ingots.

How did all this happen?

Some years ago, a group of Texas flyers bought a surplus North American P-51 Mustang for the sheer love of flying. To Air Force men, it is the greatest flying machine—prop-driven—ever devised by man. This knifelike killer flew more than 200,000 combat sorties, destroyed nearly 10,000 enemy planes.

Spitfire pilots might argue. So might those who flew the deadly M.E.'s with the ominous swastikas. Navy men in the Texas cadre did argue.

A growing group of air-minded men, ranging from businessmen and farmers to doctors and schoolmen, sought Navy's best: Grumman F8F Bearcat. They raced the two. What came out was a performance tossup.

Far more important, came a determination to collect all the great fighters and to maintain them at their proud, past best.

Other flight-minded men, in and out of Texas, became interested and, at the same moment, ran head-on into a race against time and redtape. World War II's warriors, under enigmatic Government edict, were near extinction. The F4F Wildcats, P-39 Aircobras, P-40 Warhawks were almost gone. Very nearly so were the F4U Corsairs, P-38 Lightnings, F6F Hellcats.

The great P-47 Thunderbolt was gone. One of those sold to Nicaragua could be repurchased by our civilians at a cool $8,000.

Surplus disposal plants like Texas' Pyote already had cremated their thousands. At the Davis-Monthan base in Arizona, what the searchers found—plane after plane clipped and melted—made these men cry, then made them mad.

"Just one each," they wanted. "Just one to show all our kids what helped win that war."

Government policy said no further sale, simply disposal. Private use was the banned word. The proposed museum was construed "private use."

So they bought where they could. And they created the Confederate Air Force, an imaginary Southern air militia in defiance of "Yankee" orders which had killed their planes.

And Confederates sprang up on both sides of the Mason-Dixon. South Dakotan Joe Foss, for example, with 27 Rising Suns to remember. Able Texas Congressman Joe Kilgore, who bombed so low-level he could have plucked cactus pears each time he pulled up.

There appeared, in full-bloom cornpone and hominy grits tradition, an imaginary Col. Jethro E. Culpeper, who looks like Stonewall Jackson and awards top citations such as "Silver Magnolia Blossom (Heroic)."

Depend on it: deal with Confederate Air Force and you deal with Jethro E. Culpeper, colonel CAF, commanding. There is a reason.

The 80-plus men who now support this air militia want Colonel Jethro out front lest any of them seem to seek personal publicity and thus destroy their real intent: that thin line of flying fighters ready for display, flying or static, anywhere in the United States.

They put on shows at "friendly Union outposts" such as the one which drew 150,000 to their planes at Ellington Field, Houston.

They are gray-uniformed, shoulder-patched, Confederate-winged flyers who sing the airmen's rollicking, unprintable songs like "Save a Fighter Pilot," "Itazuke Tower," and "Barnacle Bill, the Pilot."

When one of their number gets in a jam (as one did, upside down in his P-40 with a dead engine), their Colonel Culpeper awards him a double-talk citation referring to the "forebysider inadvertently disengaging from the hemmingway which * * * severed the cotton pickin' franistan; and the engine quit."

He rated the citation. 'He could have taken the highway, but he took out a barbed wire fence and part of a plowed field, instead. CAF was proudest because he saved that Warhawk, the type dating back to Chennault's Flying Tigers.

I think, however, that for the magnitude of their undertaking—and it is a magnificent one, in which these men give and give of their time and money to preserve a flyers' shrine—perhaps they may ease off the Confederate angle just a little.

This flying fleet is of national importance. Colonel Culpeper states it in a couple of serious asides in his general orders: "Our purpose."

"Perpetuate in the minds and hearts of all Americans the spirit and memory of the accomplishments of these great airplanes.

"Our ultimate goal is to have a complete line of World War II fighters, in flying condition and ready to go."

There was the graceful, deadly Corsair we knew in the Pacific. She fought first with the Marines on Guadalcanal, boasts the longest service record of any American fighter, nailed 2,140 Japanese aircraft with a loss of 189 of her comrades in arms. She

was still good enough to take a jet Mig over Korea.

The Bearcat that can climb to 10,000 feet in 92 seconds.

The FM2 Wildcat. We stopped before this stub that was all engine and guns.

"Butch O'Hare got six Jap bombers in 4 minutes in one like that," somebody said. "He's a kind of posthumous member of this outfit."

I was looking at about the last of the Wildcat breed. It had big painted Confederate Air Force just behind the pilot's canopy.

You see, this isn't Confederate Air Force at all, except in the delicate sense that all Americans are rebels at heart—or we've lost a country.

This air force is the business of all of us. It is a nonprofit corporation to dedicate and memorialize. And it needs help now.

Check its charter with the Texas secretary of state. Its quiet supporters have invested six figures in keeping alive a shrine that ranks with the Alamo.

Smithsonian or Washington might have done it, but they still have the Enola Gay (the one for Hiroshima) in crates. And had we left the Alamo up to Government preservation, it would be office space today.

CAF needs some specifics like a full-time mechanic, equipment, and parts. They need scant inside personnel to handle the deluge of mail asking for shows, never realizing that every dime comes out of these men's pockets just as it costs some Confederate Colonels about $100 to make ready, then take me up.

CAF needs maintenance and operating fuel.

It needs a sponsoring foundation or company or patriot. Otherwise, it inevitably faces Appomattox.

Our sons need CAF. It is last remaining proof that nothing whips America in the air.

Anytime you're deep in the valley, you can drive beyond Mercedes 2 miles, turn north into the resacas and pencil-thin palms and find the Rebels at what was old Central Valley Airport.

I drove away, wondering why a little ship surface Navy man gets steamed up over the flyers' fight. Then I remembered old Roman Horatius, before he held the bridge; and it wasn't Air Force or Navy or Army at all—just America. "For the ashes of our fathers, and the temples of our Gods" was what Horatius exhorted.

And I recalled that we are trying to spend $2.5 million to move some Egyptian temples from the backwash of their Aswan Dam.

And not a dime for the ashes of our fathers, the ones like Butch O'Hare, the thousands of them, for whom these Rebel planes stand.

They're scattered to the wind unless some Americans help.

They Shall Not Pass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Aiken Standard and Review of Aiken, S.C., has published an outstanding and important editorial commentary on legislation pending in the Congress to drastically alter the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY SHALL NOT PASS

The national origins quota system, which is the backbone of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and of our highly successful immigration policy of the past dozen years, is under ruthless and sinister attack. Passage of any of several bills, now receiving token hearings in the Congress, would open the floodgates to Asiatic and African hordes, destroy the security screen that now protects us against the mass influx of Communist spies and saboteurs and subversives in general.

Specifically, the restraints of the quota system, which insures immigration proportional to the ethnic makeup of the Nation—and therefore assimilable—would be removed, and arbitrary control of origins placed in the hands of a board of politicians. The tide of immigrants would rise more than threefold—from 300,000 to more than a million.

Five years of committee hearings and exhaustive research preceded passage of the McCarran-Walter Act after thoroughgoing debate in both houses of Congress. Its destruction could come swiftly at the hand of a Congress eager to be off for the political wars in San Francisco and Atlantic City. The place to stop these sly, subversive bills (that have had mighty little publicity) is in the subcommittees where they now rest. But time is running with the freebooters determined to scuttle a vital safeguard, and only prompt and massive voter resistance can stop them.

This is our country. And this is our problem. We will not like the solution if it is left to the 90 leftwing organizations that are pushing to make this wardheeler's dream come true. Write or wire Chairman MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, Washington, D.C. And by all means tell our own Congressman and our Senators to hold fast to the national origins quota system. But don't, at our peril, wait till tomorrow.

Rogers Says Castro's Sister Presents U.S. With Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM GIBBONS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, Congressman PAUL ROGERS, recently suggested that the United States utilize Fidel Castro's sister's defection from Cuba by letting her tour the hemisphere telling our sister republics of the destruction wrought by communism.

The idea has been recognized in an editorial in the Holywood Sun-Tattler, and I urge that it be included at this point in the RECORD.

[Article from Hollywood Sun-Tattler, July 2, 1964]

REPRESENTATIVE ROGERS CORRECT; UNITED STATES HAS OPPORTUNITY

The urging of U.S. Representative PAUL G. ROGERS that the United States capitalize on the defection of Fidel Castro's sister certainly should be heeded.

The most notable weakness of the Nation's worldwide "information" effort is that we seemingly always place ourselves on the defensive, seeking to explain, and to apologize for our alleged shortcomings to the rest of the world.

In the areas of race relations, for example, the Nation's policy has been to evidence the attitude that ours is the only nation with such problems and our total effort should be directed toward "improving our image" rather than taking the initiative to point out the much greater shortcomings of the Communist bloc countries.

Now, as Representative ROGERS emphasizes, we have an unexcelled opportunity to mount a telling propaganda attack against the regime of the Cuban dictator. Why more scathing denunciation could be made than to have his own sister turn against him because of his shameful sell-out to the Communists?

To date, the Nation's record in dealing with what we call the Cuban situation has been one boo-boo after another. We have, in truth, been humiliated before the world by a rinky-dink island dictatorship because we have timidly remained on the defensive in every case.

Let's not lose this opportunity, too. The U.S. Information Agency and other agencies of the Federal Government can stir world opinion against Cuba now as it has never been stirred before.

The Incredible Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very pleased to read in the July 6, 1964, issue of the Manchester Union Leader, of Manchester, N.H., a reprint of an editorial from the State, of Columbia, S.C., entitled "The Incredible Court."

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this outstanding editorial on judicial usurpation of power printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manchester Union Leader, July 6, 1964]

THE INCREDIBLE COURT

The first law of nations, as of nature, is self-preservation, but the Supreme Court of the United States obviously takes a different view.

The nine men who sit astride this country's Federal judiciary are steadily and brazenly taking our Government apart at the seams. Stitch by stitch, thread by thread, they are unraveling the fabric which was so carefully woven by the founders of this Republic.

The Supreme Court has long since assumed until itself an arrogance and an authority which were never granted it by the Constitution of the United States. Over the years it has positioned itself as the chief determinant of national policy, usurping the powers of Congress and—more often than not—implementing the political policies of the executive branch.

The Court has placed itself above the levels of the other two branches of Government, through default on the part of the legislative branch and through desire on the part of the executive.

With that done, the Supreme Court began its relentless and ruthless attack upon the rights of the several States, although our pattern of government calls for a joint sovereignty between the Central Government and the State governments. The 10th amendment of the Bill of Rights, which was intended to safeguard the rights of States and to limit the powers of the Central Government, has been flouted repeatedly by the very jurists who are charged with guarding the Constitution in its entirety.

More recently, the Supreme Court has begun to cripple the Federal Government itself by hamstringing the agencies of law enforcement and national security. Decision after decision has profited the criminal at the expense of the innocent. More threateningly, the Court has thrown a mantle of judicial protection about the sworn enemy of this country and all it stands for—the Communist Party.

Now, the Supreme Court is cutting away at the very pattern which holds the Nation itself together. The Court has ruled that the States must make population the basis of representation in upper legislative Houses as well as in the lower. This strikes at the essence of the Federal system, and the compromises which brought it into being.

The men who drafted the Constitution of the United States grappled with the problem of representation at great length and with great deliberation. All the arguments which are present today were present then. And out of their wisdom and foresight, the Founding Fathers devised a system which blended geographic and popular representation. The lower house would be representation of population; the upper house would represent political divisions.

In late years, there is a growing insistence to best complete political authority in sheer numbers, to concentrate political control in the teeming centers of population where American ideals are at their lowest ebb and political venality is at its peak. The movement is calculated and coldblooded on the part of those who would manipulate the massed votes of the big cities of the Nation.

We readily visualize the time when the Supreme Court, following the lead of a Democratic administration obsessed with a mob mentality, may seek to upset the composition of the U.S. Senate itself.

More than a century ago, when Karl Marx began plotting the downfall of the Western democracies, he wrote that capitalist societies had within themselves the seeds of their own destruction.

The Supreme Court of the United States is making his words come true.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I speak for the first time as a Member of this House. I do so on an occasion of great historical significance. The thread of history which runs through Runnymede and Magna Carta in 1215, through Independence Hall and the Declaration of Independence in 1776, through Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of July 4, 1863, through every act of this great deliberative body which advances the cause of human dignity and freedom, binds our act today to all of these great events.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 will take its place in history—not as an attempt to solve a regional issue but as a means of answering a national problem. This Congress has worked its will. Bipartisan efforts have produced this piece of legislation which proclaims to the world that a free society can adjust—can make amends for the wrongs of the past century—can and does reaffirm the ringing declaration of our national greatness which proudly proclaims that "all men are created equal." The passage of this civil rights bill is no panacea—nor is it a Pandora's box. It gives us a constructive framework within which to work. Only experience will indicate where we must strengthen or modify. It will call for adjustments in ways of life—but adjustment and change, to achieve harmony, are the blood and sinew of a democracy.

We will have this day advanced the cause of freedom and equality.

We will have moved to give those who hunger and thirst after justice, their fill.

We will have given the rule of law an effective tool with which to cope with the problems facing our society.

We will have demonstrated to the world that freedom, justice, equality, and the dignity of man are not concepts of our past—but goals of our future which we will secure for all of our people—goals which this Congress has achieved—in part today—in passing this Civil Rights Act.

Ahepa Resolution on the Cyprus Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have received a resolution adopted by the Greek fraternal organization, the Order of Ahepa, at its convention held in Gary, Ind., and dated July 13, 1964. The resolution expresses the views of the Order on the crisis in Cyprus. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.

AHEPA RESOLUTION ON THE CYPRUS CRISIS

Whereas the United States and its allies are deeply and most seriously involved in the preesnt-day Cyprus crisis;

Whereas the said Cyprus crisis, also primarily involves both Greece and Turkey who are members of NATO;

Whereas said Cyprus issue has, through the various communications media of the press, radio, TV, etc., more or less caused to project, an image of anti-Greek and pro-Turkish aspects arising therefrom;

Whereas the noble nation (and race) of Greece, has been a bulwark in the freedom's fight against Communist aggression, and in both World War I and World War II wars: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the unanimous consensus of opinion of the entire Ahepa Convention, with its Ahepa families, at Gary, Ind., that the President of the United States of America, the Congress, and the several Cabinet Secretaries involved, to give urgent and due consideration to a speedy, favorable solution of the Cyprus crisis, so that the overwhelming Greek Cypriots, which consist of over 80 percent of the Cyprus population, may be unshackled and freed from treaty and constitutional restrictions, so that they may be able to voice, vote, and put into full operation, a genuine democracy, through self-government, and a constitution formed and duly accepted, along with legislative assembly action, without outside interference or influences; and be it further

Resolved, That such action and solution advanced and forged by the United States, will further reaffirm America's friendship in that noble heroic ally of Greece, as desired most highly, by over 20,000 Hellenes and Phil-Hellenes in the State of Indiana; with the attention and thoughts of all liberty loving peoples and Eastern Orthodoxy focused upon the action of Congress and our President in the immediate succeeding days ahead.

Unanimously carried at Gary, Ind., on this 13th day of July 1964.

S. SENES,
Convention Chairman.
N. SMYRNIS,
Supreme Secretary.
LEO J. LAMBERSON,
Committee Chairman.

Equal Time?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic National Committee, following an interpretation published by the Federal Communications Commission on the Doctrine of Fairness, is following a course of demanding free time to answer paid broadcasts in which the administration is criticized. The following letter was received from Mr. Samuel C. Brightman, deputy chairman for public affairs of the Democratic National Committee, by Mr. Clarence Jones, of radio station WQIZ, St. George, S.C., together with a copy of Mr. Jones' letter in answer to Mr. Brightman.

JULY 1, 1964.

Mr. SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN,
Democratic National Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to take this opportunity for forwarding me your duplicated letter of whatever date it was; as you gave no date. We carry several of the programs you list, but none of the others. The reason was that I did not know the address and you have been kind enough to furnish me with those. I deeply appreciate this.

Your letter amounts to threats of coercion to attempt to "muzzle" free thought in America. We understand the fairness doctrine, and it does not make us liable to any claim for time you may demand unless we have not presented the other side of an issue, which we always do.

You "kooks" at the Democratic headquarters had better hire you another public relations man, because you are headed in the wrong direction.

In my opinion, and it wasn't asked for, the Democratic Party is doing more to destroy America today than any group of people, and second only to the Communist infiltrated National Council of Churches.

In short, don't threaten me, sir.

Very truly yours,

CLARENCE JONES.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a reprint of an article appearing recently in the Nation.

I thought it would be of interest to you since it is my understanding that your station is one of those carrying the programs it describes.

All of these programs have repeatedly attacked the candidates, programs and policies of the Democratic Party.

In view of the coming political campaign I thought you should be aware both of the content of these programs and the claims for time to which these attacks can make you liable.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN.

War on Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the July 20, 1964, issue of Newsweek magazine the distinguished columnist, Mr. Raymond Moley, has written a very outstanding and interesting article entitled "War on Business." The subject of this article is the National Labor Relations Board's determination to assume the power to dictate to a businessman when or whether he can go out of business. This question will soon be coming before the U.S. Supreme Court for a decision and, unfortunately, in the interest of freedom and our free enterprise system the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has decided that a company does have an "absolute prerogative" to go out of business.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this excellent article printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR ON BUSINESS

(By Raymond Moley)

While the public is fascinated by L.B.J.'s war on poverty, several of the agencies over which the great almoner presides are pursuing their war on business with unabated vigor.

A good example is a case which originated with the Darlington Manufacturing Co., a small textile operation which had its origin in South Carolina in 1883. In 1937 it ran into trouble and passed through bankruptcy proceedings. At that time, Deering Milliken, Inc., acquired 41 percent of the Darlington stock shares. Deering Milliken continued as sales agent for Darlington.

For a while the company did well, but beginning in 1952 it encountered hard going, which continued until 1956, when the company was liquidated. There was nothing dubious about this dissolution of the company. Its plant and equipment were sold, and its contracts were transferred to other independent companies.

However, early in the year of its liquidation the Textile Workers Union of America had held an organization drive and won a small majority for the union. The National Labor Relations Board certified the union as the employees' bargaining agent. After the liquidation, the union appealed to the NLRB, which sent in a trial examiner. He ruled that closing the business was an unfair labor practice, and also that Darlington was responsible for wages up to the actual termination of the business.

SWEEPING DECISION

Nevertheless, the trial examiner ruled that Deering Milliken and its affiliated companies were not to be regarded as a single company with Darlington and were not responsible for the unfair labor practice. He also ruled that there was ample justification for the liquidation other than the presence of the union.

The NLRB was not satisfied with the rulings of the trial examiner and three more examinations were held. Ultimately, after the Kennedy administration took over and substantially reconstructed the NLRB, the NLRB rendered a sweeping decision that the plant closing was an unfair labor practice because one of the reasons was the advent of the union. It also held that Deering Milliken and the companies affiliated with it along with Darlington constituted a single employer and that all were accountable for the unfair labor practice. They were ordered to pay back wages until such time as the employees were either hired by Deering Milliken or were placed on preferential hiring lists in the mills operated by the affiliated companies.

The case was taken to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which decided that Darlington had an "absolute prerogative" to go out of business and that the NLRB had no authority to assess damages. The union appealed the case to the Supreme Court, where it will be argued this fall.

LIABILITY UNLIMITED

Two basic principles are involved in this case, both of which bear upon the vast authority which has been assumed by the NLRB.

The owners of a business have a right to liquidate their company, provided it is a bona fide closing and does not disturb the public welfare materially. Going out of business, as well as going into business, is a basic element in a free enterprise system.

Equally important is the threat that the NLRB decision presents to the principles of corporate liability. In determining that a single employer was involved, the NLRB lumped together numerous companies which were related to Deering Milliken as sales agent. While these companies were owned in varying degrees by the same interests that owned Darlington, they also had hundreds of other stockholders who had no interest in Darlington or in one another. All were held liable.

If the Supreme Court should hold one corporation liable for the debts of another simply because there is an identity of stockholders, it would be a devastating blow to the corporate form of business enterprise. It would mean that a corporation could never be sure about its real financial obligations because it could not know the complete holdings of its stockholders. Without the corporate form of business with its limited liability, it would be impossible to raise the capital necessary to keep the Nation moving forward and to provide jobs for our ever-growing population.

Why Low Farm Prices Are Leading to Economic Chaos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, writing in the July issue of the Independent Banker, the national voice of America's independent bankers, Carl H. Wilken, warns that if we continue present policies of low farm prices as compared to wages and the interest on an ever-expanding debt, economic collapse will be the inevitable result.

To offset the losses involved in cutting back the value of farm production, Mr. Wilken points out that the gross public and private debt in the United States has expanded from $498.6 billion at the end of 1948 to $1,260.4 billion at the end of 1963, or a total increase of $761.8 billion. Despite this huge and expanding mortgage of debt, President Johnson and others in his administration would hoodwink the public into believing that these are prosperous times.

Director of research for the National Foundation for Economic Stability in Washington, D.C., Mr. Wilken is one of the leading agricultural economists in the Nation. His warning ought to be heeded before it is too late.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the excellent article by Mr. Wilken:

The classics tell us, quite simply, "Listen, O Stranger, arithmetic is the most accurate of all sciences, the mother of safety."

During the past 20 years we have developed airplanes that will fly at speeds of 1,500 to 2,000 miles an hour. We have developed the atomic and hydrogen bombs, the most destructive instruments ever known to man.

We had the materials to produce these bombs, and we had the labor. But we obtained the money for this production from a mortgage against the future income of the United States. The important factor is that without arithmetic we could not have developed either the planes or the bombs. In fact, without arithmetic to determine income, by multiplying units of production by price, we would not have had dollar income. We would still be in the barter stage.

For some reason or other, we did not apply arithmetic to the operation of our economy, and we have moved from a condition of balance among the economic segments to the most serious economic dislocations in our history. The errors, as we operated our economy with theories rather than arithmetic, have been very costly in terms of billions of dollars of unnecessary debt against our future.

The proof, with the use of arithmetic, is found in our economic record from 1929 to 1963.

In 1929 we had a fully operating economy and were paying off about $1 billion a year of Federal debt resulting from World War I. From 1929 to 1932 we permitted a drop of 54 percent in our farm price structure, and, in turn, newly earned farm production.

This set the stage for a similar drop in our national income, and the so-called surpluses of farm products, labor, etc., were due entirely to a shortage of income as our national income dropped from $87.8 billion in 1929 to $40.2 billion in 1933.

Now let's see what happens to our national income when farm prices drop. For purposes of illustration, let's compare the personal income of five States—Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota—with the personal income of the United States and total wages and net interest income used in computing the national income. Remember that total wages and interest are the principal cost factors in production and distribution (they represented 76 percent of the national income in 1963).

Table I shows what happened between 1929 and 1933, when personal income of the United States dropped 45 percent, wages and interest declined 40 percent and personal income of the five States dropped 55.2 percent on the average.

Then, from 1933 to 1940, we had partial economic recovery, followed by World War II and peacetime recovery to a fully employed economy in 1948 and a surplus in the Federal Treasury.

By 1948 we had achieved an economic balance approximately the same as in 1929, as revealed by table II. Personal income of the United States had increased 143 percent, wages and interest 152 percent and personal income of the five States, 168 percent (these five States produce approximately 18 percent of all farm production in the United States).

The variation on a single year basis for the farm States is not unusual, due to climatic conditions affecting production. It is important to note that agriculture was leading the way with newly earned farm income under the price support program, enacted to maintain economic balance.

Our economy in 1948 was in approximate balance, and definitely solvent, with a surplus of $8 billion in the Federal budget and a $300 million surplus in the combined budgets of the various States.

In 1948 a move was made to reduce farm price supports by passing legislation to substitute a sliding scale of 60 to 90 percent of parity, or price balance. This legislation was passed under a theory that lower farm prices would mean cheaper food and thereby leave more consumer income with which to buy other goods.

We forgot arithmetic, not realizing that the reduction would also reduce national income as well as the income of rural areas. Table III reveals what happened.

It will be noted that in 1963 the increase in our national personal income (121 percent) had fallen far behind the increase in wages and interest (151 percent). The personal income of the five States, instead of advancing a little ahead of national income and wages and interest as it did from 1929 to 1948, advanced in the period 1948–63 only 78 percent as compared to the 151 percent increase in wages and interest.

LOSS OF BIG MARKET

Had farm income, one of the principal sources of income in the five States, been kept in balance with the increase in wages and interest its 1963 total would have been 2.51 times the $11.5 billion, or $28.8 billion. This would have been in balance with the 1948–63 increase of 151 percent in wages and interest, the principal cost factor in the goods that must be purchased by the income in rural areas. By subtracting the actual personal income ($20.543 billion) a shortage of $8.3 billion is revealed. Since the five States are part of the whole economy, this meant a loss of $8.3 billion of personal income for the United States. It also represented a loss of a $8.3 billion market, which in turn contributed to the unemployment and the lag in national income.

The national income in 1963 should have increased 151 percent to be in balance with the increase in wages and interest. Had this been the case, the personal income of the United States as a whole would have been $523 billion, or $63 billion more than the actual income recorded. That means that in 1963 we lacked approximately $63 billion of having enough income to meet wages and interest.

Most of the shortage was absorbed by a loss of income on the part of private enterprise. For example, in 1948 the farm proprietor income, small business income, and corporate profits after taxes totaled $60.7 billion. The same group in 1963 had a total income of $77.7 billion, an increase of only 28 percent, as compared to 151 percent in wages and interest. This lack of income for rural areas and private enterprise reflected an increase of only 18 percent in the gross realized farm income from 1948 to 1963, and proves that we are setting the stage to liquidate private enterprise. As farmers go broke, small businesses in rural communities go broke, bankers go broke, and eventually the entire economy collapses, as it did in 1929–33.

To offset the loss of income to rural areas and private enterprise in 1963 we expanded the gross debt (public and private) from a total of $1,176.4 billion at the end of 1962 to $1,260.4 billion, an increase of $84 billion. While expanding the total debt in 1963 by $84 billion, to offset errors in operating our economy, we called it prosperity.

HOW "PROSPEROUS" ARE WE?

Summing up the result from 1948 to 1963, to offset the losses involved in cutting back the value of our farm production, the principal source of income for rural areas, we have expanded the gross debt (public and private) from $498.6 billion at the end of 1948 to $1,260.4 billion at the end of 1963. This is a total increase of $761.8 billion. If we were "prosperous" during this period, why did we add this amount to the total debt?

From 1929 to 1941 we lost $563 billion of national income because we did not maintain 1929 farm income levels. At the time we took the loss by doing without the goods and services which this amount of money would have bought at 1929 prices.

MORTGAGE FUTURE INCOME

In the past 15 years our losses have more than trebled those of the 1929–41 period, but we have continued to buy goods by placing an ever-increasing mortgage against our future income.

If we continue the economic policies of low farm prices as compared to wages and the interest on an ever-expanding debt, created by offsetting operating losses, we will end in economic collapse.

To reduce wages and interest to balance with the present value of our farm production would force a huge loss of income and also bring on liquidation in all segments of our economy.

Therefore, the only solution for our economic dislocation should be dictated by arithmetic, and to restore price and income balance among agriculture, private enterprise, wages, and interest payments.

This, in turn, would restore the personal income of all segments to a level of earned income and solvency.

Let's end economic confusion by substituting arithmetic for economic theories.

TABLE I.—*1929 and 1933 comparison*

	1929	1933	Decrease
	Billions	*Billions*	*Percent*
Personal income of the United States	$85.6	$47.1	45.0
Wages and interest in national income	57.5	34.5	40.0
Personal income of—			
Iowa	1.419	.633	55.3
Minnesota	1.539	.832	46.0
Nebraska	.811	.382	53.0
South Dakota	.288	.089	70.0
North Dakota	.253	.098	61.3
Total	4.310	2.034	[1] 55.2

[1] Average.

TABLE II.—*1929 and 1948 comparison*

	1929	1948	Increase
	Billions	*Billions*	*Percent*
Personal income of the United States	$85.6	$208.4	143
Wages and interest in national income	57.5	145.2	152
Personal income of—			
Iowa	1.419	3.934	176
Minnesota	1.539	4.028	161
Nebraska	.811	1.851	127
South Dakota	.288	.888	200
North Dakota	.253	.802	217
Total	4.310	11.553	[1] 168

[1] Average.

TABLE III.—*1948 and 1963 comparison*

	1948	1963	Increase
	Billions	*Billions*	*Percent*
Personal income of the United States	$208.4	$460.5	121.0
Wages and interest in national income	145.2	364.5	151.0
Personal income of—			
Iowa	3.934	6.322	60.7
Minnesota	4.028	8.162	102.6
Nebraska	1.851	3.348	80.9
South Dakota	.888	1.424	60.4
North Dakota	.802	1.287	60.5
Total	11.5	20.543	[1] 78.0

[1] Average.

Negro Gains Greatest in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a column by Mr. Victor Riesel printed in the State of Columbia, S.C., on June 25, 1964, points out with eloquence and important statistics what great strides the American Negro has made in the free enterprise system in America.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGRO GAINS GREATEST IN UNITED STATES—WORKERS MAKE MORE THAN EXECUTIVES IN EUROPE

(By Victor Riesel)

NEW YORK.—In an austere international conference room of one of Geneva's old League of Nations' "palaces" this summer an American Negro leader, Whitney Young, will take the podium and face an unusual gathering of world scholars.

Among the intellectuals will be those from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and India. He will not be defiant. Neither will he defer. He will speak frankly of the bitter racial battle back home, but he will warn—and advise—against the use of this conflict as a propaganda weapon to beat down the U.S. image abroad.

Whitney Young, Jr., head of the National Urban League, whose militancy is second to none in the leadership of his people, will speak bluntly of the tremenous Negro gains in the United States. He will say that he would rather live in this land and make his fight here than anywhere else in the world.

Since Young will be talking to scholars brought together by the American Foundation on Automation and Employment, Inc.,

headed by industrialist and world crusader John I. Snyder, Jr., he will provide the specific grist for their mills—some startling statistics which prove the Negro in America is better off than billions of people elsewhere.

Young will point out that the total income of American Negroes in 1963 after taxes was $21.9 billion. As he faces such socialist intellectuals as Poland's Prof. Andrezej Salewski, who is scheduled to talk on the influence of automation on top level management in Poland, Young will talk of Negro housing in America.

By 1960, U.S. Negroes owned 1,974,000 homes. And the vast percentages of these are in nonfarm areas. Since this figure is 4 years old, conservative estimates now put it at some half a million homes higher than in 1960. Tens of thousands of these are worth over $35,000, and many of the latter are in Southern States.

As for automobiles, the total Negro population of some 18 million now owns 2,278,800 cars.

Employment? During the past year 8.1 million Negroes worked. This means that 76 percent of all Negro males were at work compared with 78 percent of white males. No one doubts that the white income was higher in general but not in all businesses and industries.

As of 1962 the average income of all Negro workers was $3,023 a year. However, the family unit income in nonfarm areas has arisen to an average of $5,810 where both the husband and wife work.

In the big industrial areas the wage is higher. Pay in these sectors runs even higher than that of executives in England and continental Europe. The General Motors Corp., for example, reports that it employs more than 44,000 nonwhites who average more than $6,000 annually in wages and another $1,000 in fringe benefits.

In speaking of Negro income, it is generally overlooked that the average wage of all factory workers has topped $100 a week. This applies to Negroes as well as white workers in the mass industries such as auto, rubber, steel, and metal production. Since 1.5 million Negroes are members of the AFL–CIO and tens of thousands belong to independent unions such as the Mine Workers and the Teamsters, they automatically get the same wage hikes and fringe benefits as other workers.

And then there is Federal, State and municipal employment. The number of nonwhites in these jobs sprang from 214,000 in 1940 to over 1 million in 1962. Such employment ranges from blue-collar jobs to foreign ambassadorships and cabinet level positions.

In 1962 the increase in Negro employment in such civil service fields was over 300 percent more than that of the whites.

All these statistics are now on Whitney Young's desk as he prepares to go to the dramatic conference which opens in the Swiss city on July 20. And nowhere could such blunt talk be more effectively made than at this parley of the International Institute for Labor Studies.

Nigerian Newspaper Praises Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the Nigerian Tribune of May 20, 1964.

IMPACT OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS ON NIGERIA

(By Abiodun Ajiborisha)

For the past 2 years Nigeria has benefited immensely from the services provided by American Peace Corps created in 1961 during the regime of the late President Kennedy.

Within the last 2 years more than 567 Peace Corps volunteers (PCV's) have come to the country to serve the educational advancement of the federation both at secondary and university levels. Today, Nigeria has 525 Peace Corps volunteers; the largest in the whole of Africa and the second largest in the world, the first being the Philippines.

For the next 2 or 3 years the number of volunteer teachers is expected to remain at the 500–600 level with the annual average request for about 300.

The services of the volunteers have been of great value to Nigeria when one thinks of the financial relief given to both Federal Government and the four regional governments by the Peace Corps programs.

For instance, with an estimated saving of £1,500 per volunteer per year, the total relief provided by 550 volunteers over a 2-year period amounted to £1,650,000. This amount was met by the American Government.

The Peace Corps program has also been important when one thinks of its magnitude.

At our secondary schools and colleges 25 percent of our graduate teachers are members of the Peace Corps.

With the ratio of 20 : 1 the Peace Corps teachers are responsible for the education of about 9,000 students.

More important still, the Peace Corps is valuable because of the quality of its contribution.

The contribution which is primarily confined to classroom is also extended to school compound and the local community as the Peace Corps volunteers take active part in the activities of the students, village and town people.

For examples some Peace Corps volunteers helped last year to erect one or two buildings at the Mayflower College, Ikenne, Western Nigeria.

The volunteers were seen carrying blocks, wood, cement, sand, and clearing bush for the erection of the buildings. This was done by both male and female volunteers.

In the middle of April this year, the U.S. Peace Corps, headed by its Nigeria Director, Dr. William Saltonstall, provided a dozen volunteers who helped to fence a school compound at Maroko village.

These volunteers hope to share further in the development of the Maroko village community.

The presence of the Peace Corps volunteers in Nigeria was designed to provide greater appreciation of the American educational system, mutual cooperation, and understanding between the two countries.

In 1961, Nigeria submitted an 8-year projection of short-term expatriate graduate teacher requirements to the Peace Corps.

Those requirements were based largely on the Ashby-Archer Reports and the Government white paper on education development for the period 1961–70.

The country has undertaken to submit a project for the period 1965–70 in the middle of the year as it is time for this project to be updated.

With the cooperation of the National Manpower Board and the experts attached to the various ministries of education it is expected that the request for 1965–70 volunteers will be made.

The official annual request must be made on the basis of the separate request by the ministries of education and the universities.

As done in the past, Nigeria is expected to submit formal requests for the Peace Corps volunteers a year in advance before they arrive in the country to take up teaching assignments.

Each volunteer is required to serve a tour of 2 years before returning home. Some might even return to Nigeria on contract terms.

Before coming to Nigeria, the U.S. Government selects for service those persons who are expected to perform well as volunteers.

On the other hand, Nigeria accepts only volunteers who can competently meet educational needs of the country.

While serving in the country, the Peace Corps has the unqualified right to veto any assignment or to remove a volunteer either for reasons of health or housing but in no case does this imply the right of reallocation of the affected volunteer.

Similarly, the ministries of education and universities reserve the right to dispense with the services of a volunteer.

The Peace Corps program has had a great impact on Nigeria. As already examined, 25 percent of our graduate teachers at secondary schools and colleges are members of the Peace Corps.

Why Men Choose Not To Be Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very impressed with a newspaper sermonette which has been printed in the Greenville News of Greenville, S.C., on July 12, 1964. This sermonette was written by Dr. L. D. Johnson, the distinguished pastor of the First Baptist Church of Greenville. It is entitled "Why Men Choose Not To Be Free," and carries a very important message to all Americans.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this article printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermonette was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY MEN CHOOSE NOT TO BE FREE

(By L. D. Johnson)

"Men are slaves," wrote a very wise man, "because freedom is difficult, slavery is easy." I would like to think that that is not true. It ought not to be so. Surely all men want to be free. But the teachings of Scripture confirm the evidence of history that man has again and again surrendered his freedom to someone who promises him security, comfort, and release from responsibility.

Remember the children of Israel, delivered by the providence of God through the leadership of Moses from the oppression of Egypt. But as soon as the going got rough in the wilderness they began to pine for the good old days of slavery in Egypt. Why did you bring us out here to die? they complained. No wonder Moses lost his temper.

That was not the first or the last time such a thing happened. I grew up in the post-World War I days in which we were taught in school that the world had been made safe for democracy, that our fathers had fought, bled, and died to set men free of tyranny. We believed that man given a free choice will always choose a free society.

We couldn't have been more mistaken. Within a generation nearly half of the world has fallen into slavery, either Fascist or Communist. The plain truth is that men find freedom hard. In the current struggle over civil rights it might be helpful to be reminded that freedom is no automatic cure-all for the ills that bedevil us.

Freedom is hard because of human irresponsibility, and freedom requires that those who possess it be responsible. We clamor for the right to vote, but in the last presidential election in this country 34 million eligible Americans did not bother to do so. We are terribly upset at the suggestion that the right to read the Bible and pray may be threatened by court decisions, but on any given summer Sunday two-thirds of any church congregation in your city will be off to the beach or the mountains or just staying home resting up.

Freedom is hard because we like the privileges of it but not its responsibilities. Bishop Newbigin of the Church of South India tells that when the independence of India was attained many thought that Utopia would come. Thousands, for instance, thought that Free India would not expect poor people to pay for their railway journeys, so that in the first year of independence 6 million people were arrested for traveling without tickets on the trains.

Do you recall the moving parable told by Dostoievsky in The Brothers Karamazov? The scene is laid in a prison cell in Seville, Spain, during the time of the Inquisition. Christ had come to the city, walked among the people, who recognized him, surrounded, and worshiped him, falling down to kiss the hot pavement where his feet trod, crying, "Hosanna." He had been arrested and thrown in the dungeon for stirring up the people.

Under the cover of night the Grand Inquisitor came to Christ's cell to rebuke him for bringing his doctrine of freedom to Seville, and to tell him that he would burn him at the stake as the worst of heretics. Why would he burn him? Because the mass of mankind cannot receive the terrible gift of freedom. And the people are glad to receive direction, "for it will save them from the great anxiety and terrible agony they endure at present in making a free decision for themselves."

I used to think that Dostoievsky, had exaggerated man's situation, but I am not so certain anymore. It is true that we have a great surge for freedom in our time, but I am not impressed that we have a comparable demonstration of the will to act responsibly.

Freedom is hard for another reason—human greed. I want my freedom to move about and go where I want to go, but I wish to restrict you from enjoying the same right. Alfred Adler, the psychologist, long ago pointed out that there is within man a desire to dominate others, what he called "the will to power." But long before Adler the Bible witnessed to the basic problem by recording the first murder in the human family, the slaying of his brother Abel by Cain.

Abraham Lincoln with characteristic homeliness once put the problem of greed in human relationships like this: "The wolf and the lamb are not agreed upon the definition of liberty." Indeed they are not. And running like a dark and ugly thread through the fabric of all our relationships is this sinful willfulness of ours to coerce and control the lives of others. Whether it be the domineering parent, the demagogic politician or preacher, the hooded nightrider, the ordinary citizen employing the art of subtle pressure, or at the other extreme, the dictator of a state, we all are infected with the disease of sin which causes us to want to control others.

Here are two reasons why freedom is not easily achieved or maintained: human irresponsibility and human greed and the desire to coerce. Both of these are factors in our present dilemma. No wonder "eternal vigilance is the price of freedom." We have to protect it not only from our enemies, but also from our own worst selves.

A Cold Day for Power of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, perhaps never before in the history of national party conventions did the newswriters, commentators, and columnists, on the air and in newspapers and magazines endeavor to do as much in their effort to control the nomination of a candidate as they did in the Republican Convention just closed in San Francisco. President Eisenhower brought this out very clearly in his address at the convention. Even some of the newspaper columnist themselves sensed the efforts of their associates. One of these is Lucius Beebe who wrote the following column which was published in the San Francisco Chronicle:

A COLD DAY FOR POWER OF THE PRESS

As the monolithic communications fabric of the United States is heading for what may well be its greatest disaster of modern times in the probable nomination for the Presidency of Senator GOLDWATER by the Republicans it may be well, briefly, to inquire into the antecedent causes of the overwhelming rejection by public sentiment of almost everything the contemporary newspaper and periodical press stands for and advocates.

It goes without saying that Mr. GOLDWATER's nomination, if it transpires, will represent the most massive repudiation by public opinion of the monolithic alliance of kingmakers and press lords who have, with no notable exceptions, denounced him as the explicit agency of instant doom and his mere nomination for an office he cannot achieve as the harbinger of the end of everything.

It would be a mistake to imagine that this Moscow for intrenched prejudice and Trafalgar for communicated hysteria came without warning.

"Let us," as Al Smith liked to say, "look at the record."

A year or two back the monolithic press of the United States joyously embarked on an equally monolithic smear of a negligible and almost anonymous group of partisans called the John Birch Society. Not only on its editorial pages where disapproval would be appropriate, but in every penny-a-line columnist, two-bit commentator and news desk lackey with means at his command to distort the news, the cumulative smear was encouraged.

The result has been the emergence of the Birchers as a formidable party whose numbers have increased in direct ratio to the ridicule and abuse of the press.

In the field of what passes for civil rights, the monolithic press has with even greater unanimity and more offensive ostentation of self-righteousness endorsed a minority cause for which it had evidenced scant previous concern until the circulation department discovered virtues in the hitherto unperceived Negro potential.

The result of the hysterical and unqualified partisanship of the monolithic press on behalf of racial equality has engendered serious distrust of the entire civil rights program by thoughtful people who were once its most ardent advocates. The sort of newspaper reporting that excuses every Negro lapse of conduct from car theft to rape as "a civil rights protest" is not conducive to confidence in either colored people or their partisan press.

Now comes to hand what is perhaps the most monstrous and universal smear of all by the monolithic press of Senator GOLDWATER's candidacy for the Presidency. Not since Lincoln's second election in 1864 has there been such a carnival of vilification of a candidate for American high office both at home and abroad. Every devising of prejudice and terror has cascaded through the supposedly objective news columns of the land to discredit a candidate whose plain honesty and personal integrity seem to constitute an intolerable affront to the press lords and the kingmakers.

In their panic lest Senator GOLDWATER be nominated for what can at best be a heroic and sacrificial holding operation with an incalculable potential impact on 1968, his opponents in the press and his own party have participated in a farcical searching of the trash cans in a disheveled effort to stop GOLDWATER. The best they have been able to come up with is the pitiful figure of Governor Scranton, a political call-fireman from the boondocks of oblivion whose sole recommendation for the Presidency of the United States is that his lady dances the polka in her stocking feet.

And in spite of the massive campaign of doom and gloom and the pitiable handwringing of the professionals confronted with the marrow-congealing presence of a political candidate of complete integrity, as this is written it seems that the anti-Goldwater dervishes are headed for repudiation by their party and by public sentiment.

It's a cold day for the power of the press.

The inescapable conclusion that must emerge from these several circumstances is that the monolithic press of the United States, in rejecting its once boasted standard of objective news reporting, has engendered an equally monumental distrust among its once more or less respectful clientele.

For better or worse the news treatment of the Birchers, civil rights, and Senator GOLDWATER is a direct reversion to the primeval journalistic practices of the 19th century and especially the western frontier where news columns explicitly reflected the prejudices, opinions, delusions, and articles of faith of newspaper owners and editors, and nobody tipped their hat in the direction of dispassionate reporting or impartial news presentation.

What will baffle future students of the mores of American journalism will be the sources of this spontaneous and almost universal repudiation of any pretense at objectivity in newspapers and the magazine press. Whence came it and why?

In recent years the once familiar phrase "you can't believe what you read in the papers" had almost vanished from American usage. The monolithic press has now restored it to credible currency.

Canal Zone-Panama Dollar Flow Near $92 Million in 1963

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, during the past few years, much has been published in the United States about the allegedly

cruel treatment of the Republic of Panama by the United States and in support of greater and greater benefits to that country. The same propagandists who have been supporting such attempts at extortions seldom mention the huge benefits from U.S. Government agencies is still receiving in the form of cash benefits from U.S. Government agencies in the Canal Zone.

During the calendar year of 1963 such cash benefits from the Canal Zone rose to a new high—$91,849,000.

An article in the June 26, 1964, issue of the Panama Canal Spillway, an official organ of the Panama Canal Company, supplies significant information on this source of Panamanian income which should clarify some of the exaggerated statements of partisans.

The indicated article follows:

ZONE-PANAMA DOLLAR FLOW NEAR $92 MILLION IN 1963

Income flowing into the Republic of Panama from the Canal Zone during calendar year 1963 rose to a new high of $91,849,000, according to statistics released by the U.S. Embassy in Panama.

The report showed that the estimated annual income for 1963 was approximately $5,700,000 more than during the previous record year of 1962 when Panama received from the Canal Zone an estimated $85,155,000 in cash benefits between January 1 and December 31.

WAGES BIG ITEM

The major portion of the revenue received by the Republic of Panama from the canal organization and the U.S. Government agencies in the Canal Zone came through wages paid to Panamanian residents employed in the Canal Zone. This figure rose to $38,838,000 during 1963 as compared to $33,495,000 in 1962. To this may be added retirement and disability payments to Panama residents amounting to $3,324,000.

Second largest source of income during the 12-month period was through the expenditures made in Panama by U.S. and non-U.S. citizen residents of the Canal Zone. Based on sample surveys, the total amount of goods purchased in Panama by individuals living in the Canal Zone during calendar year 1963 came to a record $21,109,000, or more than $1½ million more than the amount spent in Panama in 1962.

DIRECT PURCHASES UP

Third highest on the list of cash benefits to Panama during the year was the expenditure of $12,189,000 in direct purchases in Panama by the U.S. Government agencies in the Canal Zone for goods and services. This was a substantial increase over the previous year, when direct purchases amounted to $11,781,000.

Canal organization purchases in Panama for consumer goods include such things as meat, eggs, milk, furniture, photo goods, machinery, auto parts, cigarettes, medicine, soft drinks, dairy products, air conditioners, sugar, chemicals, paint, fertilizer, fruit, vegetables, fish, poultry, and petroleum products.

CONTRACTOR PURCHASES

Purchases of goods and services made in Panama by contractors working in the Canal Zone was estimated at a total of $9,959,000 for calendar year 1963. This figure was approximately $1 million less than during a similar period in 1962. The drop was probably due to a decrease in the award of a number of larger military maintenance contracts and to the completion of some of the larger contracts awarded by the Panama Canal organization. In addition, several large construction projects planned for 1963 were postponed until 1964 by the military, the report said.

Private organizations operating in the Canal Zone purchased in Panama during 1963 goods amounting to $4,800,000 or nearly $400,000 more than estimated during the previous fiscal year. This figure also was estimated on the basis of sample surveys.

CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMY

The gradual increase in the purchase of Panama products by the Panama Canal and agencies located in the Canal Zone has been a notable contribution to the total Republic of Panama economic activity, which closed the last calendar year on a high level.

This increase has been attributed to improvements in marketing facilities for agricultural produce and improved distribution methods which have led to higher production in Panama and higher standards of quality.

Furor Over Extremism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I read an editorial in the July 20, 1964, issue of the Washington Post indicating that after all Senator GOLDWATER has said regarding extremism they still cannot understand "how it affects the country's constant search for freedom and justice." The editorial writer gave evidence of possessing a mind which is unable to comprehend logic but fully capable of twisting his statements into a morbid context.

Mr. Speaker, how clearly I recall the words of Carl Sandburg in this very Chamber on February 12, 1959. Mr. Sandburg is unquestionably one of our foremost Lincoln scholars and dealt with this subject as it related to Lincoln. He said:

Not often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect. Here and there across centuries come reports of men alleged to have these contrasts.

Mr. Sandburg added later on:

During the 4 years he was President he at times, especially in the first 3 months, took to himself the powers of a dictator; he commanded the most powerful armies till then assembled in modern warfare; he enforced conscription of soldiers for the first time in American history; under imperative necessity he abolished the right of habeas corpus; he directed politically and spiritually the wild, massive turbulent forces let loose in civil war, a war he argued and pleaded for compensated emancipation of the slaves.

Lincoln did not believe in political extremism for he loved the Union and the Constitution and opposed those who would pay little heed to constitutional restraints. However, President Lincoln had no hesitation in "availing himself," as he put it, "of the broader powers conferred by the Constitution in cases of insurrection," rather than, "let the Government at once fall into ruin."

The story needs no explanation but the more attentively all the circumstances are considered, the more Lincoln's handling of an emergency, which threatened the ruin of his government, throws into shade any inference on Sandburg's remarks that Lincoln did anything more than demonstrate "extremism in the defense of liberty." All Senator GOLDWATER said was that this "is no vice."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include at this point, two fine editorials on this subject:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 15, 1964]

EXTREMISM AND REPUBLICANISM—EFFORT FOR BIRCH SOCIETY AMENDMENT CALLED UNFAIR TO GOLDWATER AND PARTY

(By Max Freedman)

SAN FRANCISCO.—With stark and overwhelming defeat confronting them, the leaders of Governor Scranton's campaign took a desperate gamble when they tried to persuade the convention to adopt an amendment to the platform condemning extremists of various kinds, including the John Birch Society.

In the effort to help Governor Scranton, they were ready to brand the Republican Party itself as a haven for these ugly elements. They were willing to let the impression take root that the Republican Party is unable to protect it or its candidates or its principles from being dominated by these extreme groups.

No wonder the convention rejected this amendment, and the milder one moved by Governor Romney, of Michigan, denouncing sin without naming the sinner, for it omitted the John Birch Society from its censure.

If the convention had done anything else, it would have been guilty of a lack of faith in the party's whole future.

Let one basic point be very plain. Senator GOLDWATER is not under the influence or the control of the John Birch Society. So many unfair things have been said about the Senator—and he is so open to fair criticism on other matters—that he deserves to have this point made with great force.

It should be stated with equal emphasis that the John Birch Society is totally incapable of infiltrating this convention or of corrupting the purposes of the Republican Party. The society is not strong enough to do this dirty deed, and the party is not weak enough to sell its soul in this base fashion.

This whole attempt by the Scranton camp has merely made it all the harder to reach the minds of the Goldwater majority by rational argument and reasoned analysis of public policy. These Goldwater people may be wrong. They may be impulsive; they may be bitter. But they know, in their overwhelming numbers, that they oppose the methods and aims of the John Birch Society, and they resent being denounced in a comprehensive sneer as extremists and bigots.

When they are falsely branded as enemies to the Republican faith, they close their minds to all further argument and harden their conviction that Senator GOLDWATER is the victim of a sinister plot.

Governor Scranton was interested in saving his faltering cause, and so he took a long gamble. But the rest of us must be concerned with the presidential campaign now facing us. That campaign will be hard and ugly and divisive.

It can only be saved from demoralizing the democratic process if we stop treating Senator GOLDWATER as the dupe or the tool of the John Birch Society and treat him instead as a serious contender for the Presidency, entitled to fair treatment and compelled to bear full personal responsibility for all his views. He deserves no more, but he should receive no less.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 15, 1964]

BEHIND THE GOLDWATER TREND—WEARINESS WITH PHONY LIBERALISM IS FOUND IN THE GRASSROOTS

(By David Lawrence)

SAN FRANCISCO.—The real news of this convention is not merely the huge number of delegates counted in favor of Senator GOLDWATER but the intensity of their feeling and their reasons for it.

Talks with leaders and delegates lead to the conclusion that the people back home are tired of phony liberalism in domestic affairs and wobbly opportunism in international affairs At least that's the way to sum up the expressions of criticism that are heard here and to explain the depth of feeling that exists.

What the rank and file of the delegates like about their prospective nominee is his utter candor and directness. For Senator GOLDWATER hasn't backtracked or vacillated or done things to butter up any delegation.

There was, for instance, the question asked the Arizona Senator by the Oregon delegates about right-to-work laws, and his reply stating his support for the right of individual States to pass such laws. Under the existing Federal statue, compulsory unionization to get or keep a job is permitted, but States may pass laws which forbid this. Now the so-called liberals want the Federal law changed so that States cannot exercise the privilege of prohibiting compulsory unionization.

It seems odd that, at a time when liberalism is defined as including freedom of expression or freedom of belief or freedom of association, there should be offered in the name of the mainstream of liberal thought a proposal that all right-to-work laws be banned.

In the minds of many delegates, moreover, are some other import emotional issues that seem to be bothering the folks at the grassroots. There is much talk everywhere about the civil rights controversy. Generalities in platform planks do not obliterate the disturbed feeling which the people in many States have about the effects of the whole dispute. The street demonstrations have done little good and lots of harm. They have served particularly to accentuate political differences in many communities.

In San Francisco this very week a judge on the bench sentenced the Negro who heads the local NAACP to a term of 9 months in jail for participating in a sit-in demonstration that trespassed on private rights in an auto showroom. The judge said the Negro was a well-educated adult and should have obeyed the order to disperse. Across the continent, another judge, however, reversed an order that had enjoined the school authorities in New York City from sending children in buses from their own neighborhood to schools in other parts of the city so as to correct racial imbalance.

This creates complex political issues as the big cities become more and more involved. The Democrats have for 30 years been strong in the big cities of the East and Middle West, but now these same areas may split considerably and add their votes to the Republican majorities in the upstate sections.

Another issue which the delegates say is bothering the people relates to war and peace. Conditions in Vietnam, for instance, are getting no better. In fact, the latest dispatches say the Communists have infiltrated deeply in South Vietnam, and several provinces are in danger.

Senator GOLDWATER has repeatedly said that the American Government has failed to assert a positive policy and is now being compelled to increase its military effort. Will American boys have to be drafted for service in the war in Vietnam? Many families have sons who might be affected.

The convention here, by its platform declarations, shows its disapproval of many administration activities, and the majority of the delegates are convinced that Senator GOLDWATER, as the nominee, will carry on forthrightly in the campaign and will gain votes because he doesn't equivocate on any issue.

So far as party dissension is concerned, the usual efforts to heal differences will be made. General Eisenhower and former Vice President Nixon are trying to bring about unity.

But the real problem is back home where the divisions are the same as they have been for many years. One faction really believes in doctrines espoused by the New Dealers and by the present-day Democrats. The other faction for a long time has been trying to convince the voters that opposition to interference with the rights of the States and to the growth of Central Government is the truly Republican position. The latter group feel they now are about to win over also many Democrats who don't like supergovernment and fiscal looseness, either.

The party conventions do the nominating, but the voters have the last word in the election process, and it is significant that the delegates here, for the most part, insist a real protest vote is in the making back home.

LASAC Organized in Minnesota, Fights To Save Airline Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Local Airline Service Action Committee—LASAC—was founded to save air service threatened by policies of the Civil Aeronautics Board. I think that this Minnesota-organized committee, which is gaining increased nationwide support, has demonstrated the need for a reappraisal of the CAB's local airline service policy. I am proud that LASAC began in Minnesota and that Minnesota leads its program. My colleagues will, I am sure, be interested in reading the following material concerning LASAC, which is reprinted from the May 1964 issue of Airport Services Management:

ACTION FOLLOWS NEED IN LASAC PROGRAM

ASM takes pride in reporting a nationwide movement for which we were first to state the need. In our Red Book issue last October, the lead article by Albert F. Beitel told how more than 100 American communities are threatened by loss of airline service in use-it-or-lose-it and regional airport proceedings of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

A program of local action was recommended: (1) to increase airline use at the low-traffic points; (2) assemble proof that traffic will grow; or, at worst, (3) save fields for general aviation where airline stops are discontinued.

ASM's editorials backed each point, with this urgent overword: "It could be a different story if a nationwide coalition of cities and counties, in teamwork with State and national groups, faced the common danger together and rose to meet it."

This is happening.

It is no coincidence that LASAC, the action group, began in Minnesota, ASM's home State, where Mr. Beitel is Washington counsel for the Twin Cities and where our aeronautics commissioner, Lawrence M. McCabe, does not wait for other States to lead.

The instant success of this grassroots uprising was due, of course, to the fact that the country was ready for the bugle call. Anyhow, ASM is proud to have been the first to blow—and it is not our last toot.

IN WASHINGTON

Saving airline service is the aim of the Local Airline Service Action Committee (LASAC) organized in Minnesota and fast spreading across the country. This is a direct result of recommendations made in ASM last October. Aims are:

1. Continue service to all points, at present level or better, pending restudy.

2. Launch a congressional review of CAB administration of local air service.

3. Seek a resolution or an amendment to law stating the intent of Congress.

4. Establish procedures for Federal, State, and local governments to cooperate in standards and policies for starting and stopping service.

5. Develop local service for broadest coverage at lowest practicable rates.

The first step, which any interested airport management or local government can take, is to ask Members of Congress to write CAB to stop all service suspensions until the review is made.

Dozens of cities already have taken this step and are assured of support by their Senators and Congressmen. The idea is snowballing.

Minnesota leads in the new program. For information, write: LASAC, in care of Minnesota Department of Aeronautics, St. Paul Downtown Airport, St. Paul 7, Minn.

Members of Congress may check with the office of Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota. The State aeronautics commissioner, Lawrence E. McCabe, is spearheading the movement.

The National Association of State Aviation Officials is taking a mail vote on a resolution by Mr. McCabe to support the LASAC program.

The April bulletin of the American Association of Airport Executives, by F. R. Hoyt, declares:

"Anyone feeling strongly on this subject will be welcomed. Congressional support is necessary; those interested should express their support to their Congressmen."

Any findings as to congressional opinions and other info should be relayed to LASAC promptly.

Airlines are divided, as some are seeking to discontinue unprofitable stops—and most are reluctant to antagonize the Civil Aeronautics Board. But Gen. Joseph P. Adams, exec of the Association of Local Transport Airlines, commended the ASM report of last October, by Albert F. Beitel, Washington aviation counsel for the Twin Cities and LASAC.

Since the AAAE bulletin, Mr. Beitel talked at the eastern regional meeting of AAAE last month. Informal discussions also were held at the spring meeting of the Airport Operators Council. Not one adverse note has been sounded.

The GI Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the 20th anniversary of the Servicemen's Aid Act, more often referred to as the GI bill

of rights, was marked by an appreciative editorial in the Danbury (Conn.) News-Times, June 19, 1964.

Often in the course of debate and discussion of VA legislation, skeptical voices ask whether the expense of economic assistance to our war veterans bears fruit, and whether the financial outlay is ultimately justified. As the Danbury News-Times has pointed out, the GI bill of 1944 was simply a case of spending money to make more money. Not only did this legislation produce the greatest housing boom in history, but it provided for extensive education and job training so that the ex-GI's were well equipped to go out and make vigorous and significant contributions to the economic system.

It is always gratifying to find editorial recognition of a job well done, particularly where it has been the entire country which has benefited.

I am happy to append this perceptive editorial.

GI BILL: 20-YEAR ENDOWMENT POLICY

The 20th anniversary of the GI bill of rights is a striking reminder that times of great peril often produce great good. The measure signed June 22, 1944, was formally known as the Servicemen's Aid Act of 1944.

A grateful Congress built better than it could have known. The GI bill was the capstone to a long series of measures enacted by Congress—beginning in 1940—to provide special benefits for members of the armed services and their dependents. The benefits provided in the earlier measures, covering such matters as disability compensation, hospitalization, pensions, and vocational rehabilitation, were for the most part the same as extended to veterans of World War I. The principal additional benefits provided by the GI bill were readjustment allowances, guarantee of loans, and educational allowances.

The bill in effect had been passed before it reached the floor of the Senate. It was sponsored by 81 Members and all other Senators hastened to announce their support. The vote in the Senate was 50 to 0; in the House, 387 to 0.

Nearly 9 million veterans collected $3.2 billion for unemployment and $600 million for self-employment during a postwar period when jobs were hard to find. This was somewhat more than the original estimate of the cost of the entire bill. Critics railed at the "52-20 Club"—$20 a week for 52 weeks. But Veterans' Administration data show that the average veteran was on readjustment allowance rolls for only 19 weeks. And only 900,000 veterans exhausted their full rights to this benefit.

The GI bill turned the United States into a Nation of homeowners. It helped build more than 6 million homes. It financed one out of every five postwar and post-Korean homes—an investment of almost $58 billion—in the greatest housing boom in history.

But the undreamt miracle of the GI bill sprang from its educational allowances. The bill sent almost 2.2 million ex-GI's to college. Almost half of all World War II veterans used its crutch to attend schools, colleges, and universities. The bill gave on-the-job training to 1.4 million vets; on-the-farm training to 700,000. And the veterans on campus set a new pattern of maturity.

The GI bill provided the wherewithal in the making of 450,000 engineers, 180,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses, 360,000 schoolteachers, 150,000 scientists, 107,000 lawyers, 243,000 accountants, 36,000 clergymen, 17,000 writers and journalists, 288,000 metalworkers, 138,000 electricians, 83,000 policemen and firemen, 61,000 printers and typesetters, and 700,000 businessmen.

The total cost of the education program was $14.5 billion. Subsistance allowances accounted for 80 percent. Nearly all the remainder went for tuition and training costs. Five cents out of every dollar went for administration.

The GI bill gave America the skilled men and women she urgently needed in the aftermath of war. And the Veterans' Administration concludes that the bill is paying for itself at close to $1 billion a year—in the additional income taxes paid by these trained and prosperous veterans.

It has just been a case of spending money to make money.

Tribute to Members of Congress by the Reserve Officers Association's President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY ROBERTS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, several days ago the national president of the Reserve Officers Association paid tribute to three outstanding Members of this House upon the occasion of presentation to them of ROA's honorary life membership.

I am sure that all of us share the high regard which ROA's president expressed for KATHERINE ST. GEORGE, HARRY SHEPPARD and DAN FLOOD, and I consider it noteworthy that particular commendation was paid BOB SIKES who introduced the president of the association. Rear Adm. Edgar H. Reeder, of Helena, Mont., who is ROA's president, in paying tribute to these four Members of the House expressed high regard for this entire body. His remarks are as follows:

Mr. SIKES, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, may I say, Mr. Chairman, that it is a privilege to be introduced by you. Montana is a long way from Florida, and from Washington. I do not know whether you have ever visited in our State. But BOB SIKES means something to us in Montana. BOB SIKES represents sound national defense policy, and he epitomizes the citizen-reservist tradition—the citizen of the United States who does not simply talk about protecting our freedoms—he does something about it. Thank you for your kind remarks. Thank you for taking part in this modest program.

Throughout the years ROA has been rather close to the Congress. Since our organization in 1921, and our first convention here in Washington in 1922, the leaders of ROA have looked to the Congress—and the Constitution tells us we should look—for support of the Armed Forces and for their regulation.

The issue of civilian support of Armed Forces historically relates to the constitutional provision that the Army and Navy—and now the Air Force, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard—cannot establish policy without the consent of Congress, nor could they even exist except by the will of the Congress. The reason for this is, of course, that the Congress always is answerable to the people who elect them, and send them to Washington as their representatives.

With that background, and in the spirit of encouraging and supporting those who represent us in the Congress, ROA is privileged to pay its own tribute to three Members of the House of Representatives and to cite them for their extraordinary service to national security.

Congressman HARRY SHEPPARD, of California, has served in the House for nearly 30 years. During this time, which encompasses World war II and the Korean war period, he has been a pillar of strength in the cause of national security. As chairman of the Military Construction Committee, he has seen to it that the Armed Forces were provided the facilities for their training and preparation for defending our freedoms. The ROA is indebted to HARRY SHEPPARD. We believe the United States of America is indebted to him. It is a privilege at this time to award him this honorary life membership in our association.

DAN FLOOD is no less made in the pattern of the patriot. His interests and activities as a citizen are numerous. Out in the Far West, we, too, know of DAN FLOOD and the magnificent job he has done over the years in unmasking the masked, and in stripping to the heart of defense problems. In the Appropriations Committee of the House, many policies which have been supported have stemmed from his keen understanding of their implications. He has been a champion of sound military programs, and of a sound Reserve program, because he understands what they mean to the Nation. It is my high privilege to present him this membership plaque and card, and to welcome him into honorary life membership in ROA.

My last presentation, naturally, is the most pleasant one.

This lovely lady is the living refutation of any suspicion that brains and charm cannot be combined.

During her short life she has equaled any of her male colleagues in the significance of her service. Even before she came to the Congress 18 years ago, she already had earned the respect of her fellow citizens for her leadership. In the Congress, she was a member of the Armed Services Committee, and of the Subcommittee on Reserves during one of the periods when the Reserve concept was on trial. The sound judgments which she applied to the problems of her committee earned her new respect and distinction. I think it is typical that only on June 23, as a member of the Rules Committee, she presented to the House the ROTC bill, analyzing it so clearly and distinctly that there was little that needed to be said afterward. We in ROA are proud to welcome Mrs. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE to the distinction of honorary life membership in our association.

Award of Distinguished Service Medal to Hon. Carl Vinson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the citation which accompanied the Distinguished Service Medal that was awarded to the Honorable CARL VINSON, together with the speech delivered by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in connection with the award of the medal, during the ceremonies honoring the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] at Fort Lesley J. McNair on June 26, 1964.

Secretary McNamara's remarks were most appropriate for this memorable occasion, and the citation accompanying the award of the Distinguished Service Medal to CARL VINSON speaks for itself.

The President of the United States and the Secretary of Defense have bestowed a highly deserved honor upon our most distinguished colleague. No one who has had the privilege of knowing CARL VINSON could find any public servant in the history of the Nation more deserving of the honors that have been bestowed upon him.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA AWARDING DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL TO CHAIRMAN CARL VINSON, JUNE 26, 1964

We meet on occasions such as this primarily to honor our great men—and CARL VINSON is a great man. But we have also another motive, which is selfish: We hope that some of their virtues will be reflected back on us and that we will ourselves be better for having known them.

For myself, certainly, I can say that I have profited from each day of the more than 3 years that I have been privileged to associate with CARL VINSON in the work of preserving the Nation's defense. Wisdom, after all, is a function of age, and Mr. VINSON first took his seat in the Congress of our country 2 years before I was born. He was 15 years old when Theodore Roosevelt charged up San Juan Hill. By the time I came along, he had dealt with whole generations of brash young men. But he greeted them all, as he did me, with unfailing courtesy, infinite patience, and a constant readiness to impart to us whatever portion of his great store of wisdom we were able to absorb.

CARL VINSON has achieved more than most men ever attempt. None has more fully earned the gentle pleasures of retirement or has more laurels on which to rest while doing it.

Since we cannot in good conscience begrudge him the right now to hand on to others a burden he has carried so well and so far, we can only express our gratitude—and our belief that he does indeed leave us wiser than he found us.

It is both my pleasure and honor to award to Mr. VINSON the Distinguished Service Medal, the citation for which will be read by Mr. Vance.

TO CARL VINSON for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service to the Nation in a position of great responsibility.

Since his election to the Congress of the United States in November 1914, as chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, and as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. VINSON has brought to the service of his country a knowledge of military affairs without parallel. With deep concern for the security of America, and with a profound understanding of the relationship of military strength to that security, he has championed legislation which has progressively strengthened the Armed Forces of the Nation. With vigor, fearless integrity, and selfless devotion, he has guided his committee to the resolution of many of the most complex and fundamental problems confronting the Defense Establishment. The Nation is indebted to him and his committee for the fact that it has never been so strong and so secure; the members of the Armed Forces are indebted to him for his unending concern for their welfare.

Patriot, legislator, statesman, military expert, and a man of great humanity—he has earned the deep appreciation of his country, and gained the affection and respect of all.

At the direction of the President, the Distinguished Service Medal is hereby presented to CARL VINSON for his outstanding contributions to the Armed Forces and to the Nation.

———, *Secretary of Defense.*

JUNE 26, 1964.

A Dastardly Crime on a Georgia Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the Nation was shocked recently when a cowardly assassin shot down from ambush a U.S. Army Reserve officer in Georgia on his way home to Washington from a tour of active duty.

The murderer of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn apparently did not know of the outstanding record of his victim. He fired at a car containing three Reserve officers in uniform, according to reports. Others in his State have been prompt to disavow the act and to urge compliance with the new civil rights legislation which is believed to have been a factor in prompting the crime. But the crime is still a horrifying one to contemplate in our Nation—the deliberate extinction of a man who was dedicating his life not only to the education of our youth in civil life, but to the training and preparation for defense of his country.

The Catholic Transcript in Hartford has written a thorough and illuminating editorial on some of the factors involved in this dastardly crime. I offer it for the RECORD and I want to call particular attention to the questions it raises with respect to the way that blind, unreasoning prejudice can rob our Nation of the full potential of all our people.

LEMUEL PENN: AMERICAN ASSET

Many who oppose civil rights and social equality for Americans who happen to be black, point, in attempted justification of their position, to the Negro at his worst. That is, the Negro who is uneducated and unskilled, corrupt and perhaps even criminal. Curiously, they do not advocate restriction and repression for whites because whites include similar cases in their number. Rather, they insist that the Negro who is poor, ignorant, and wayward (almost entirely as the result of immemorial injustice to him) is somehow typical, is somehow definitive of those of his color, and that therefore all of his color should be perpetually kept in one or another form of servitude.

Last week Lemuel A. Penn, a Negro who gave the lie to this canard, was murdered in Georgia. Mr. Penn was director of the vocational high schools in Washington, D.C. Which means that he was an educated man and an educator, a person of such gifts and attainments as to merit one of the top positions in the school system of the national capital. In addition, he was a lieutenant colonel in the Army reserve, a rank requiring intelligence and superior qualities of leadership. By what he was and what he had achieved, Mr. Penn proved that the Negro, if given a chance such as is common to whites, can compete on equal terms and can be an asset to our society.

It is probably going too far to argue that his killing is evidence that the white racist seeks to eliminate the accomplished Negro in order to destroy any case for the black man's inmate equality with the white. This murder appears, so far at least, to have been a random affair, with the murderer unaware of the identity and record of his victim. Even so, the crime points up the utter madness of racism. Mr. Penn was killed because he was a Negro. He was killed because of hatred of the Negro as such and determination to terrorize his kind so as to keep them in the place which prejudice and spite have arbitrarily assigned them.

This is what happens when such insanity runs wild. A man who personifies the Negro's ability to take an equal position in an integrated society, to hold his own there, and to contribute to its successful functioning and welfare, is senselessly wiped out. The responsibility lies on all who in any way foster or even tolerate the idea of the Negro's inferiority and justify his detention in a subordinate status and a second-class citizenship.

The Negro people have suffered a loss in the death of Lemuel A. Penn. But much more are the American people as a whole the losers in this instance. For a man who was an asset not only in what he personally achieved but also in the symbolic significance that his achievement had for our society, has been wantonly wasted. Is this what we want to have happen to the incalculable Negro potential for enriching our society? Are we determined to waste that? In conscience, we can have no such intent. And in fact, we are not going to be allowed to perpetrate such a wrong, whatever our intent. For the Negro is inexorably moving forward, moving up to his rightful place, and the racists, sophisticated or unsophisticated, whether their weapons are guns or words or evasions or equivocations, cannot stop him.

Statement by Congressman Thompson Stresses Importance of Keeping Public Advised on Work of Their Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we all would agree that this Nation could not remain the free country we know it to be today were it not possible for our people to be kept well informed and provided with factual information by which to judge the work of their Representatives.

In this connection I would like to call attention to the following statement by our colleague, Congressman T. A. THOMPSON, reporting on his activities in behalf of his constituents:

To My Good Friends and Constituents:

The past 12 years have been important ones in preparing for the future of our people, and I feel I should give you a progress report at this time. Many things have occurred which have proved most beneficial to our areas, while, of course, some things have transpired which have not, in my opinion, been necessary for securing the welfare of our people. Nevertheless, over the years I have worked with those who share my belief that for America to advance and be strong we must work as a team.

In the spirit of teamwork during this period of tense domestic and international unrest, I have been vigilant to every problem arising in Congress to the extent that my voting record has been documented at 93 percent attendance. The 7 percent of the time for which I am not recorded was spent, for the most part, in meetings in and away from my office on problems affecting the Seventh District involving such matters as persuading Secretary Udall to visit our district (in connection with my efforts to better accommodate our sportsmen and hunters), and in securing approval of a $300,000 four-river-basin Corps of Engineers survey in our areas (consistent with my fight for development and conservation of our water resources, streams and rivers). Of course, in attending meetings in lieu of answering certain quorum calls I have always exercised my best judgment in weighing the relative importance of the considerations on the floor against the matter on which I am working, and whether it has been established by the leadership that the result of the vote will be an overwhelming majority either for or against—such as was the case on the bill extending the Federal Airport Act which passed by a vote of 298 to 11 and which I missed because I was involved in a meeting concerning some industrial problems in Lake Charles.

Recently I gave a press résumé of what has occurred over the years involving problems facing the Seventh Congressional District and my efforts and attitudes in resolving them. In the event you did not note this statement in the local newspapers, I should like to quote principal sections of the report:

"During the past 12 years, I have gained positions of seniority on the Committee on Public Works and on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries—both of which are vital to the economy of our district. Currently, I serve as chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife, and my position as head of this subcommittee has served us well in matters of great interest to 350,000 sportsmen in Louisiana. I am happy to report we can now look forward to a better and more reasonable set of hunting regulations, including an early teal season in Louisiana.

"Briefly, I want to reiterate my platform and outline my accomplishments and aims for the people of the Seventh District. You have no doubt seen in the news recently that I have been able to obtain an important survey on flood control, navigation and drainage which is so essential to the farming interests of our whole district. Over the years, there have been projects for Bayou Courtableau, dredging of the Atchafalaya River, development of the Mermentau Channel, and many important improvements on the Calcasieu River—all of which have helped to create active interest among developers of industry in our district. The evidence of projects completed and those currently under construction show conclusively, in my opinion, that my past performance as Congressman from the Seventh District has not been idle talk. When it is considered that there are 434 other congressional districts over the Nation in competition with us, I am sure we can all agree that the Seventh District of Louisiana has received a lion's share in the return of our tax dollars for various community and public works projects in our areas. This, of course, is where taxpayers' funds rightly belong. Some years ago, as many of you will recall, I began to work on legislation making possible the Toledo Bend Dam. Today if you travel to the Sabine River area you will see it is quickly becoming a reality. Not only will this dam be a boom to the sportsmen, but it will also greatly enhance the economy of our entire area. As I am sure you have been aware, in recent years there has been a definite and ominous sign of Federal interference in matters affecting the everyday lives of our people. I have consistently worked to maintain our position and have fought with others who feel as we do—i.e., that we are well equipped to manage our own business without outside intervention and simply want the Government to give us back that which is rightfully ours through the distribution of taxpayers' funds.

"In the field of agriculture, our rice farmers have prospered during the past several years. In Washington we work as a specialized team and I am sure that you know I have been accepted as a member of that team in good standing. Other than my work on merchant marine and fisheries and matters involving flood control and drainage, I have been designated as the 'rice man' and my efforts with the Department of Agriculture and other Members of Congress have resulted in opening up world markets for additional rice sales. Also, with the enlightened leadership of the rice industry we have managed to publicize the value of rice as a food to the extent that domestic consumption is increasing each year. Consequently, I look forward to many years of sound agricultural economy in our areas.

"We in Washington have been successful in commanding the Nation's attention in the protection of our beef cattle industry, and I can assure you that no foreign imposition will disrupt its status.

"I have been instrumental in developing the food stamp program. I am certain it will soon be accepted nationwide and our great surpluses of farm products will be made available to people who need and deserve them without the loss of dignity.

"I have fought for a continuation of the American heritage of neighborliness where other countries are concerned, and it is my belief that after taking care of our own people, if we have an excess of food and fiber we should give assistance to other nations by shipments of these products to them instead of through the wasteful processes of the foreign aid program which is paid for by the taxpayers' dollars. We simple do not have a surplus of money.

"Over the years, we of the Louisiana team have layed the ground work for an equitable solution to the tidelands problem. Meetings are currently being held by ourselves and the State administration in order that we may present a united front in demanding a just settlement. I am confident that within a year we will have proven our case and will have established agreements which will be to our advantage.

"I am sure that State, parish and city officials throughout the district know that in my service as a full-time Congressman I have helped to develop many things which have added to the economy of our areas and to the comfort of many of our people. The seventh district is first in the development of interstate and other highways in which I have been able to assist because of my membership on the Public Roads Sumcommittee.

"In the matter of national security, I have consistently followed the premise that if America is to remain strong we must defeat communism by showing our economic well-being in order to inspire peoples of other nations to demand a government which would allow them to enjoy life and liberty as we do. Of course, we must also continue our military strength in order to protect our 'government by laws' from being threatened by a communistic 'government by man.'

"With these two strengths evident in our Nation, Russia will always be afraid to chance annihilation by overt action. You may rest assured that our Nation is stronger today than it has ever been. I am in a position to know, and those who would cast doubts on the dedication and sincerity of our country's leaders simply weaken our efforts by creating doubts and suspicions in the minds of some of our people.

"I have stated the same platform every 2 years since I first asked for your support as your Representative in Congress. This platform has not changed and even though much of it has been accomplished, I accept these accomplishments not as a diploma of graduation, but rather as a challenge to move on to greater things.

"While not going into the details of my aims for the people of the seventh district, I would simply like to state that my representation of you is my life's ambition and, if given the opportunity, it is a challenge which I shall continue to meet. I want to help to truly balance agriculture with industry. I want to represent all of the people of our district in order that education and an opportunity of choice in careers might be made available to our youth in the pursuit of their happiness. Further, I pledge never to forget our responsibilities in caring for those who cannot care for themselves."

I truly feel that it is my responsibility and duty to make these views and developments known to you in order that you may be aware that my representation of you in Congress has been based on and in accordace with what you have asked of me during my tenure in office the past 12 years. I want you to know that I appreciate and invite your suggestions and constructive criticism in order that my efforts in your behalf can continue to be compatible with your wishes. Rest assured that I shall remain alert to the problems in our areas and our Nation as a whole.

Capitalizing on Our Export Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the increase in our exports over the past year may well indicate a greater opportunity than appears at first glance. Eliot Janeway, the noted economist, has pointed out in a column which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on July 2, 1964, that this increase is not so much the product of a hustling sales force as it it a reflection of a very great need abroad.

We are often unaware of this demand. Many European and Asian economies, unlike our own, are at full employment. There is even an employment shortage in some areas. For this reason, those nations are ready and able to pay cash for finished products.

Given an affirmative decision on the question of making sales, the demand should be met in such a way as to provide maximum benefits on both sides. Mr. Janeway has noted that the objectives of our trade policy as well as those of our labor policy can best be served by exporting finished products rather than raw materials. The greater the value of our exports, the more favorable will be our balance of trade. Furthermore, by striving to put as much labor into the goods as is practically feasible, we tend to ease our own unemployment situation.

By fostering an energetic trade policy to meet this demand we not only stimulate our own labor force and implement a favorable import-export balance, but

we provide our neighbors with needed goods. Here is a real opportunity for foreign trade which, far from costing us a cent, works toward our economic well-being.

Here is Mr. Janeway's provocative article:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 2, 1964]

EXPORT RISE NOT DUE TO U.S. SALES SKILL

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, July 1.—It would be imprudent to let any improvement in our export business go to our heads. If we're moving more products out of the country, the reason is not any sales drive on the part of U.S. exporters, but because our customers need to step up their buying here.

The most obvious example is grain. Not just Russia, but all of Eastern and Northern Europe had a bad crop year (including countries, like Hungary, counted upon to be grain exporters). Moreover, this happened at a time when political and economic pressures all through Europe, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, have upgraded living standards in general and diet in particular.

The wonder is not that we exported more grain, but that we didn't sell the outside world more American food products. Americanization of living standards is the demand everywhere. Europe and Japan have been increasing their manufacture of cars, appliances, and other consumer hard goods which we take for granted as part of the American standard of living. But, with money chasing goods in both markets, there is little doubt that a broad U.S. export offensive would sell a lot more U.S. food products—canned goods and baby goods, for example.

UNITED STATES LOST ADVANTAGE

As far as industrial exports go, the history of our foreign selling leaves something to be desired, too. A generation ago, we enjoyed a booming auto export business—because of our headstart in auto mass production. Then the rest of the world began to catch up. Once the rest of the world began to compete, we lost our export business along with our headstart.

Not so many years ago, the hustling auto salesman was the 20th century successor to the Yankee trader. He still is—along main street. But there's a competitive selling job to be done for American vehicles abroad that we've been neglecting.

Our big postwar airplane export market seems to be following the same pattern. So is the export market for our heavy equipment, which rose in the wake of the boom in U.S. capital investment abroad. But it seems as if we didn't make many sales to outsiders. For our capital goods markets abroad are apparently topping out with our exports of capital. This should put us on notice that a good deal of the sales of our industrial products abroad have really represented captive business.

SHOWS FOREIGN NEED

There's another category of hard goods exports on the rise. These are our natural products, like copper and molybdenum, lumber, and hides. But, as with grain, the export push is not a dividend on better U.S. selling: it's an expression of greater foreign need.

With the entire free world market for U.S. exports in the throes of a wide open inflationary boom, and with the Communist world on trial to raise consumption levels, this is a golden opportunity to improve our sales export selling results—to reassert our competitiveness internationally and to export our exports in order to reduce our unemployment and our domestic cost. If we can't take advantage of the world's need for our manufactured goods now, we never will.

There's one big new market crying for us to make a start at hard selling. It's the satellite countries—Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. The inflation ridden industries of Western Europe can't divert more of their strained capacities to exports. This is one competition neither Russia nor, certainly, China, have the wherewithal to get into. These customers, who are anxious and able to pay cash, will be glad to take the manufactured products we need to ship. If, for example, instead of letting them just buy hides or copper or lumber, we sell them leather and wire and prefabricated housing, we'll be on our way.

Goldwater Sticks to His Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, some writers and columnists would have us believe sharp differences of opinion evidenced at the Republican convention is something new under the sun and will result in an irreparable split in the GOP. A review of history would show that this is completely erroneous.

We will recall that for a time, Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Congress worked together well enough, but sharp disagreement arose in 1864. It is most interesting to note that the disagreement arose over an interpretation of the Constitution. Lincoln had propounded a particular plan for the reconstruction of Southern States. Senator Benjamin Wade, who was raised in Massachusetts, the formidable chairman of the Joint Committee on the War, and Congressman Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, a keen, acrid, and fluent man who was powerful with the House, carried a bill under which a State could only be reconstructed on the congressional plan, which differed from Lincoln's.

Lincoln felt the Wade-Davis bill would have repressed loyal efforts already made to establish State governments in the South. It contained also a provision imposing the abolition of slavery on every such reconstructed State. The President felt the bill was certainly in itself flagrantly unconstitutional; and the only conclusive way of abolishing slavery was the constitutional amendment, for which Lincoln was now anxious.

The Wade-Davis bill came to Lincoln for signature in the last hours of the session, and, amidst frightened protests from friendly legislators then in his room, he let it lie there unsigned, till it expired with the session, and went on with his work. This was in July 1864; his reelection was at stake.

Some said that Lincoln might be giving extreme offense to the strongest Republicans. "If they choose," said Lincoln, "to make a point of this I do not doubt that they can do harm." And, indeed, those powerful men, Wade and Davis, now declared against Lincoln's renomination with ability and extraordinary bitterness. However, Lincoln added:

At all events I must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near right. I must keep some standard or principle fixed within myself.

Prior to the convention, Lincoln wrote to a friend:

From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody.

The Republican convention of 1864 was a stormy affair. Indeed, some serious politicians had been anxious to postpone the convention, fearing that the ignorant delegates were not yet imbued with that contempt for Lincoln which they had worked up among themselves. However, Lincoln was relying on the fact that ordinary citizens, called upon now and then to decide a broad and grave issue, often judge with greater calm than is possible to any, including the politicians and the journalists. Actually, after Lincoln's renomination, unanimity among Republicans was secured and the political crisis of 1864, the most anxious moment of the war, was resolved in November.

"Seldom in history," wrote Emerson in a letter after the election, "was so much staked upon a popular vote. I suppose never in history."

Mr. Speaker, some journalists do their homework and editorialize objectively. Under unanimous consent, I include the following three editorials which are excellent examples of this type of reporting:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 19, 1964]

A REALIST LOOKS AT GOP CHANCES

(By Karl E. Meyer)

(SAN FRANCISCO.—These scraps of an old news story were found by a reporter in search of evidence that the conventional wisdom of July can be the edible words of November.)

CHICAGO, July 1860.—With the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican Party has picked its weakest candidate and made certain the overwhelming election of Stephen Douglas, the Democrat, who beat Mr. Lincoln once and who is plainly going to do it again.

Moreover, I can confidently predict that those Europeans who are concerned about farfetched possibilities of civil war are profoundly mistaken, though there is talk of violence at the extremist fringes; in the mainstream of American politics the theme is peace and reconciliation.

This reporter also had the impression that the Republican Party, now 4 years old, has an extremely dim future. At this Chicago convention, it became clear that the party has a fatal attraction for cranks, who flock to it like bluebottles to the carcass of a horse. Outside the convention hall I saw little old ladies in lawn tennis shoes marching in support of this strange doctrinaire party.

In retrospect, the Republican convention crossed the divide when it ignored the advice of the eastern wing and of editors like Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune who were in favor of Senator William Seward, of New York. Or it could have picked another well-known figure, Senator Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, a man who has the look and stature one expects in a presidential candidate.

But the delegates were not interested in nominating the man with the best chance of winning. They turned instead to a little-known figure who has held only one national office—a single term in the House of Represenatives, and that more than a decade ago.

The powerful eastern wing of the party does not like the choice at all. Concerned party managers point out that Mr. Lincoln will face one of the master politicians of the age, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, a man with a genius for unifying and for occupying the broad center of the road.

Not only will the Republicans face a Democratic Party pledged to moderation, but Mr. Lincoln will be continually embarrassed by extremists in his own ranks. The party is filled with apostles of antislavery, free soil, free love, funny money schemes. It is inconceivable that a party so plagued by a lunatic fringe could ever become, like the old Whig Party, a respectable political vehicle.

Some Republicans want to blow up the country rather than reach a settlement with Southern States on slavery. Their allies are radical Negro agitators whose fiery words about freedom only hurt their own cause and advance the chances of Mr. Douglas. It is utterly inconceivable that the South could ever support any candidate of this party.

In short, the Republican Party is a sectional party that can only win if the Democrats should split. It is expected that some fantastic proslavery elements in the Democratic Party might balk at Mr. Douglas. But this defection should only make clearer to the mass of American voters that Senator Douglas, who is rightly known as the little giant, is a giant of moderation and good sense.

Quite possibly, Mr. Douglas might lose Mississippi and Alabama to proslavery Democrats. Quite possibly, Mr. Lincoln may carry some of the extremist New England States. But the election will be decided in the big populous centers like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Can we honestly believe that urban voters will choose, at this perilous moment, an utter unknown with little political experience over a candidate of the natural majority party of the United States?

Realistic Republicans share my view, and see Mr. Lincoln as a sacrificial candidate. They are looking ahead to seizing the party machinery in the next campaign. They have polls to show that the so-called Railsplitter hasn't a chance. "Elect Lincoln," one Republican said to me, "why, there's about as much chance that the country would elect a Missouri haberdasher or an Irish Catholic from Boston."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 18, 1964]

RUGGED CANDOR HAS AN APPEAL—GOLDWATER STICKS TO HIS PRINCIPLE, LETS THE MAJORITY COME TO HIM

(By Max Freedman)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Senator GOLDWATER'S acceptance speech was at once strange and strangely impressive.

He began to speak after Richard Nixon, by a skillful appeal, had set the stage for an invocation of Republican strength and the traditional attack on the Democrats in power.

That is not the kind of speech the country heard. For long minutes Senator GOLDWATER spoke like a rather prosy professor explaining the principles of conservatism to an audience of true believers. He seemed more eager to clear his own mind than to win political converts.

What did the country see? It saw a thoughtful man deeply troubled by the growth of Federal Government, alarmed by the challenge of communism, and committed to the principles of personal freedom with stubborn and passionate zeal. There surely has never been an acceptance speech in which the candidate made so few concessions to the doubtful voters whom he must win to his side if he is to have a chance of success in the campaign. He virtually said that the voters must take him as he stands, for he has no intention of making his conservative principles fuzzy and futile by a specious appeal to those who do not share his views.

Perhaps this rugged candor will have its own kind of electoral appeal. At this moment it must be said that Senator GOLDWATER is choosing a curious way to make the Republican Party, a minority, the choice of a majority of the voters. But it is best to reserve judgment on this matter until the shape of the campaign becomes visible. For Senator GOLDWATER, after his unexpected triumph, has earned the right to test the popularity of the conservative faith and to confound the skeptics, if he can.

What we are seeing now is a conflict between the oracles of the press and the judgment of politicians. Most of the respected commentators are saying that Senator GOLDWATER is on the wrong track and has no hope of victory. But many politicians are staking their own careers on the conviction that Senator GOLDWATER is right and that the rising tide is with him. These politicians may know a few vital truths that are hidden as yet from the press. They may have sensed a stirring among the voters, in many parts of the country, against big government that may yet overthrow the assumptions on which the Johnson administration rests its case.

It should be added that Senator GOLDWATER is personally bewildered and surprised by the criticism now common in the press that he has been caught in a fundamental contradiction by opposing a strong Government in Washington while insisting on the strongest possible posture against the Communist challenge.

It can be stated on high authority that Senator GOLDWATER sees no contradiction at all. He has always voted for a strong defense budget and he would like an even more vigorous defense program now. But he thinks that the strength of America, apart from defense planning, rests in the factories and on the farms of a self-reliant people that needs the minimum of direction from Washington.

On this issue he is ready to fight to the last gasp in the campaign. These are the paradoxes of freedom which he is sworn to defend, no matter what the polls may say or what political expediency may dictate.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 17, 1964]

EASTERN LIBERALS ASKED FOR IT: VICIOUS EXAGGERATION MADE MANY RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICANS SEE RED

(By Richard Wilson)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Public opinion polls to the contrary, the sense of the Republican National Convention was that BARRY GOLDWATER will be a strong candidate and make a very respectable showing against President Johnson even if he loses.

It became clearly evident that a great many people in the western reaches of the country who disagree with current policies are tired of being called kooks and extremists. They resent the eastern attitude that anyone who is enthusiastic about Senator GOLDWATER must be some kind of a nut, or at least so stupid and misguided as to risk the security of the Nation and the world.

The convention built up a head of steam behind this resentment and the galleries gave voice to their protest in a noisy way when the eastern liberals, particularly Governor Rockefeller, badly overdrew the picture on the infiltration of the GOP by vicious far-right extremists.

The galleries and the delegates knew that Governor Rockefeller was overdoing it, just as Governor Scranton overdid it so recklessly and imprudently when he allowed his name to be signed to a vituperative letter to Senator GOLDWATER.

A collection of resentments against such eastern-inspired attitudes is causing many people to say that there will be a secret vote for Senator GOLDWATER by people who do not wish to admit to their more hysterical friends that they like the Senator from Arizona and will vote for him.

Hostile attitudes toward Senator GOLDWATER are labeled "eastern" because they seem to appear most often in the eastern press. The press galleries, it must be reported, were rather stunned when the convention erupted with a great roar of approval on General Eisenhower's mention of "sensation-seeking columnists and commentators" who couldn't care less about the good of the Republican Party.

Clare Boothe Luce, in an article distributed by the Goldwater committee as the convention opened, correctly assessed its mood.

This sharp-minded lady said that "a great many angry men" would stand up for Senator GOLDWATER. "Why are they angry?" she continued. "Because these delegates see themselves as ordinary, decent, loyal Americans who believe in fair play for everybody—including their candidate.

"They feel righteously indignant against most of the news media, which more than a year ago singled out Senator GOLDWATER as 'Mr. Republican victim of 1964,' and ever since have subjected him to the most brutal exhibition of reportorial horsewhipping, hiding, bludgeoning, axing, exaggeration, insult, falsification, contempt, and caricaturing that any respected Republican seeking the presidential nomination has been forced to endure—not even excepting the late Senator Robert Taft."

That's the way a large majority in the convention hall felt, all right. They were angry and resentful.

The eastern liberals were not well advised in their assault on the platform on the issues of nuclear policy, civil rights and political extremism. They were not attacking Senator GOLDWATER, even though they thought so. They were attacking the moderates of the Republican Party who had drafted the platform, and who themselves had forced through many adjustments to reflect more faithfully the sentiments of the whole party. It is, for the Republicans, a liberal platform. The convention knew this. It knew that platform drafters Melvin Laird of Wisconsin and his associate, Charles Goodell of New York, a Scranton backer, were moderate Republicans seeking enlighted positions on major issues, including civil rights.

The convention knew also that General Eisenhower, who endorsed the platform and would take no part in the fight against it, was a moderate and certainly not a hot-eyed advocate of a "war party" position on nuclear weapons or winning Vietnam.

But the Scranton-Rockefeller-Scott-Lodge group decided to pursue a line which was more readily identifiable as the left-wing Democratic line than the left-wing Republican line. They had their reasons for this, based on their own political experience in their home States. But this was not an experience from which the Goldwater convention wished to draw its lesson.

The Goldwater convention wished to leave behind this phase of Republicanism and move into areas where the distinctions and differences with the Democrats are sharper. So, the easterners have been left behind for really the first time in this century. The country has moved west, south and southwest—and so has the Republican Party.

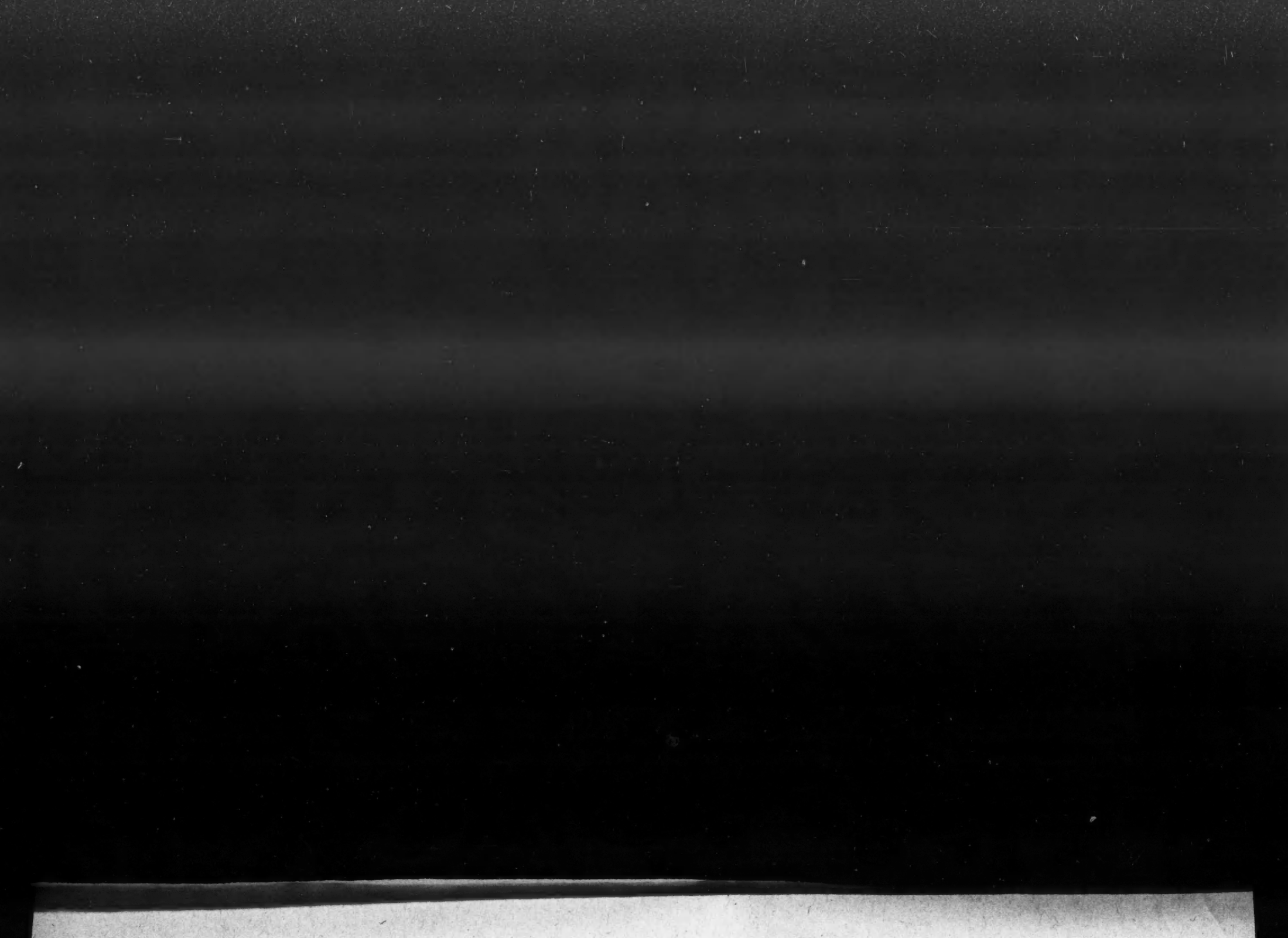

Appendix

Gus Garcia, Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Gus Garcia was a meteor of a man—a shining star in the post-World War II years.

I knew him first while he was Army Judge Advocate for the Port of Yokahoma, when I served on General Eichelberger's staff in the 8th Army Headquarters in the occupation of Japan.

We remained friends through good and bad fortune, until he passed away.

Gus Garcia was one of the early leaders of the American GI forum—an organization of Latin American citizens who were veterans of World War II, and of the later Korean conflict.

Gus Garcia supported me in all my statewide races. He was my friend. I was his friend. Now his brilliant flame has burned out. He is gone before his time. But his brief life benefited millions, and I think a note of his services to humanity should be published in this foremost archive of our Government.

Mr. President, in tribute to Gus Garcia, I ask unanimous consent that the following articles be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: An article entitled "Natural Causes—Noted Attorney Gus Garcia Dies," from the San Antonio Express of June 4, 1964; an article entitled "Seizure Kills Gus Garcia," from the San Antonio Evening News; an article written by Paul Thompson, and published in the San Antonio Evening News of June 4, 1964; and an article entitled "Lulacs Discussing Plans for Special Garcia Rites," from the San Antonio Express of June 5, 1964.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, June 4, 1964]

NOTED ATTORNEY GUS GARCIA DIES

Attorney Gus Garcia, onetime courtroom wonder worker and peerless champion of the Latin American people, was pronounced dead on arrival Wednesday at Robert B. Green Hospital.

A hospital physician said Garcia, 48, died of natural cause.

The story of Gus Garcia is one of fame, acclaim, brilliance and tragedy.

Debater, writer, scholar and student of the law, Garcia was the young Latin lawyer who awed even U.S. Supreme Court Justices in appealing the case of his people.

He died a lonely death on the floor of an office in the Old Farmer's Market here about 2 p.m. Wednesday.

Raul Acevado, market manager, said Garcia asked Tuesday night if he could sleep on a bench in the office. Acevado said he left Garcia there and went home.

Earlier Wednesday, the attorney breakfasted at DeWinne's Belgium Inn on Commerce Street, where he argued politics with commissioner candidate Felix Trevino and Henry Rosales.

Acevado said he returned to his office about 2 p.m. Wednesday where he found Garcia sleeping on the bench. Acevado said Garcia then awakened, lapsed into some sort of seizure and fell dead on the floor.

A native of Laredo, Garcia came to San Antonio where he was an honor student and champion debater at Jefferson High School. Valedictorian of his graduating class, he was the first Latin American student to receive a scholastic scholarship from the high school to the University of Texas.

At the university, Garcia continued his brilliant scholastic achievements, becoming the first Latin American captain of the debating team there which, incidentally, never lost a contest while he was at the helm.

When informed of the death, University of Texas Prof. George Sanchez broke into tears.

"A great man with a lot of difficulties," said Sanchez "Gus rendered a lot of remarkable services to his people."

A university graduate at the age of 20, Garcia entered from the university law school from which he graduated.

It was here, that Garcia's whirlwind ascendancy began.

First an assistant under the late district attorney, John Shook, Garcia then moved to the city attorney's office where he was considered righthand man for Victor Keller, the late city attorney.

In private practice, the young lawyer's most famed feats were the Longoria case and the Hernandez case.

"'He was a true champion of the Latin people," recalls Attorney Jaime Gutierrez, longtime personal friend of Garcia.

Longoria was a Latin boy, killed in the war. His body was shipped home to a Three Rivers funeral home which refused to service the youth.

JOINED BY L.B.J.

Learning of the injustice, Garcia took up the cudgels, and the State of Texas became aware of the young lawyer from San Antonio.

Upshoot of the furor was President Lyndon Johnson, then a U.S. Senator, joined with Garcia. The young man was eventually buried in the Arlington National Cemetery in Washington.

Hernandez was a deformed cottonpicker who received death at the hands of an Edna jury which found him guilty of shotgunning another man to death in a barroom.

Garcia entered the case, appealed it all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where he obtained a reversal on grounds that persons of Latin American extraction had been purposefully excluded from the jury.

So eloquent was the argument that Justice Earl Warren allowed Garcia an extra 16 minutes over the hour time, which is unprecedented.

PRAISED BY MAVERICK

Attesting to Garcia's courtroom prowess, the late Maury Maverick, San Antonio mayor, called him "the Mexican John Barrymore."

In 1946, Garcia was elected to the San Antonio Independent School Board where he served one term.

He was a personal friend and much admired by the late Senator Dennis Chavez, of New Mexico.

At one time, according to Gutierrez, "Gus had the personal telephone number of President Truman."

DROVE ELOPEMENT CAR

Printer Ruben Munguia, another close friend of Garcia's, said Gus's favorite story was that of how he drove the getaway car in which now President and Mrs. Johnson eloped.

Munguia, who talked with Garcia earlier Wednesday, said he was prepared to print a book on the lives of the great American Presidents which Garcia was writing.

"He was a brilliant mind at one time," Munguia said.

Garcia, thrice married, is survived by his father, Alfaro Garcia, of Laredo, a brother Alfaro, Jr., in a San Antonio hospital, and two daughters, by his second wife, Nora, Maria Theresa and Carla, of Kingsville.

Across the State, Garcia fought against separate schools for Latin and Anglo students, and he is given much of the credit for the eventual consolidation of such schools in South Texas.

MEMBER OF LULAC

A member of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Garcia championed their causes, fighting for better jobs and working conditions of Latin people.

About 1955, the lawyer's star began to fade. Gus had his ups and downs, was in and out of several hospitals. He lost his right to practice law for one year, then regained it.

Mourning attorneys were standing ready Wednesday to handle funeral arrangements as soon as authorities contacted the elder Garcia in Laredo.

Lately, Garcia had not been practicing. He had no permanent address.

"I think Gus got too much too soon," Gutierrez said. "He just wasn't quite mature enough to cope with it all. It is very sad. Ask any attorney. Gus was the greatest."

"A true spellbinder," said attorney Fred Semaan. "Why, I can remember when Gus would walk into places like the Casa Blanca Restaurant on Houston Street. The people would stand up and cheer him."

This was the same man whose body lay for several hours Wednesday, unidentified, at the hospital. Preliminary identification was finally made by a police reporter.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Evening News, June 4, 1964]

SEIZURE KILLS GUS GARCIA

(By Clarence J. LaRoche)

Gus Garcia, the fiery southwest Texas attorney who could spellbind audiences in two languages, is dead at the age of 48.

The attorney was dead on arrival at Robert B. Green Hospital Wednesday afternoon. A hospital physician said Garcia died of natural causes.

Witness to Garcia's death was Raul Acevedo, manager of the old Farmers Market.

Acevedo said Garcia had asked to sleep Tuesday night on a bench in the office. He said the attorney remained at the office when he went home Tuesday afternoon.

After breakfast Wednesday, Garcia apparently returned to the—market office. Acevedo said he came back to the office about 2 p.m. Wednesday and found Garcia asleep on the bench.

Acevedo said the attorney awakened, then fell into some type of seizure and fell to the floor. He was pronounced dead at the hospital.

A native of Laredo, Garcia early was marked for greatness. He attended school in San Antonio and was graduated valedictorian of his class at Jefferson High School.

In the years ahead, he achieved brilliance on and off the college campus as a debater, writer, scholar and attorney.

With a full scholarship to University of Texas in his pocket, the 16-year-old hit the U.T. campus like a meteorite. A top student, Garcia soon won a place on the Longhorn forensic team, became its captain, won national championships in intercollegiate debating, and went 3 years without a defeat.

At 20, Garcia received his bachelor of arts degree and entered the university's school of law. There he joined a group of outstanding students and campus leaders such as Gov. John B. Connally and State Highway Commission Chairman Herb Petry of Carrizo Springs.

Garcia was among this group of brilliant student lawyers who became the political leaders on the campus. When Connally and U.T. sweetheart Ida Nell Brill eloped, Garcia was at the wheel of the "getaway car."

He came back to San Antonio with his two degrees and his license to practice law, and started out as an assistant to the late District Attorney John Shook. Later he moved over with the late City Attorney Victor Keller, where he became the attorney's "right hand."

Garcia's awesome eloquence in English and Spanish soon had him in great demand for speaking engagements over southwest Texas. He would drive hundreds of miles to participate in political campaigns, especially one where a candidate was of Mexican descent.

For he was, first and foremost, a champion of the people he had sprung from.

Meanwhile, in San Antonio, he ran for public office for the first time and was elected to the San Antonio independent school board in 1946. He served one term.

Dr. George Sanchez, University of Texas professor, called Garcia "a great man with a lot of difficulties."

Garcia, several years ago, sensed he was "burning himself out." At the time, he said, he hoped to curtail what he termed "riding out in all directions to help people in their battles."

He had ridden off many times to many battles. Two are most noteworthy.

The famed Three Rivers case, where the body of a GI of Mexican descent was refused funeral service. Garcia entered the case and it soon not only became a statewide sensation but grabbed national headlines, as well.

President Lyndon B. Johnson, then a Congressman, joined Garcia in the case. Upshot of the controversy was the burial with military honors of the Three Rivers GI in Arlington National Cemetery.

Garcia "made law" when he carried a death-sentence appeal of a migratory farmworker all the way to the Supreme Court. Garcia argued successfully that citizens of Mexican descent had been purposely excluded from the jury.

The eloquence of his appeal before the Court was such a scintillating effort that Chief Justice Earl Warren granted the San Antonian an additional 16 minutes beyond the 1-hour limit.

Garcia's brilliance began to fade in the mid-1950's. There were marital troubles, drinking problems, and the driving, restless force that propelled him into action. He was in and out of hospitals several times and once surrendered his law license for a year.

Seeking to regain his grip, Garcia left San Antonio to practice elsewhere. He was in San Diego and Kingsville, then went to McAllen for a while. But within 2 years he was back in San Antonio, by the late 1950's.

His friends ranged from the laborers who swept the bullring in Nuevo Laredo to U.S. Presidents. He was said, at one time, to have had the personal telephone number of former President Truman.

He was an intimate of U.S. Senators and Representatives, judges, Governors, and fellow attorneys. The late Maury Maverick once called him the Mexican John Barrymore.

Of his three marriages, Garcia is survived by two children of his second union. They are Maria Theresa and Carla of Kingsville. Surviving also are his father, Alfaro Garcia, of Laredo, and a brother, Alfaro Garcia, Jr., of San Antonio.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Evening News, June 4, 1964]

TOP OF THE NEWS

(By Paul Thompson)

Gustavo (Gus) Garcia, whose life ended suddenly in the Old Farmer's Market here yesterday, was a tragic figure. Once the razor-sharp attorney, glib, versatile, full of astounding tricks, he was toasted by Latin Americans across all Texas.

But he died in obscurity in the Farmer's Market office, broke, sick, and out of friends.

This was the lean, hawk-eyed crusader who joined San Antonio attorney Carlos Cadena and George Sanchez, professor of education at the University of Texas, to force equality for Mexican Americans, in the schools of Texas 17 years ago.

The trio represents Minerva Delgado, schoolgirl in the Austin area.

"We argued that Miss Delgado had been barred from the school of her choice by a prejudiced board of education. Gus did a wonderful job," Cadena recalled last night.

Final chapter of this epic case was written in Federal District Court of Austin. Judge Ben H. Rice, Jr., permanently enjoined the State education director from practicing discrimination of any kind against Latin children. "From there it was simple," Cadena said. "Whenever we heard of prejudice working against a student we notified J. W. Edgar, the top man, and he straightened it out."

MURDER CASE

In 1954 Garcia, Cadena and Sanchez went up to Washington and won an even gaudier victory in the U.S. Supreme Court. This time they represented Pete Hernandez, who had been convicted of murder by an all-Anglo jury in Edna, Tex.

"I argued in front of the justices for 40 minutes and Gus summed up," Cadena said. "I'll never forget it. He used every device in the lawyer's bag of tricks, from easy facility of speech and legal sharpness to anger, sarcasm, the soft voice, dramatic pause and deft touch of humor."

The murder conviction against Hernandez was thrown out. And ever since that historic decision, Mexican Americans have had no trouble sitting on Texas juries.

BIG HERO

In those days, Gus Garcia was cheered to the rooftops wherever a crowd of Mexican Americans got together. He used to say, "I'd rather soak in the applause than make a fat legal fee." But he gathered a bumper crop of both.

He became a member of the San Antonio Independent District school board in 1946, he handled big and important court cases, and his name was a household word in these parts. Then came trouble.

Maybe Gus loved the bright lights too much, or maybe he drew so many honors in early life that they began to pall. Whatever the cause, he lived it up at night, took it easier days and spent the last years of his life in a state of declining fortune.

"Gus always thought that standard conventions didn't apply to him," said Cadena. "He took the attitude that if the Mexican people wanted his leadership, they would have to put up with what he called his idiosyncracies."

So here was a man with a legal brain of the very first order, an excellent sense of history and the ability to express himself in both Spanish and English. He could have had it all—but he settled for less.

"With all his faults and all of the things he did, or was accused of doing, Gus Garcia was a pretty good guy and he did some pretty great things for the Mexican people," Cadena said.

Let that be his obituary.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Express, June 5, 1964]

LULAC DISCUSSING PLANS FOR SPECIAL GARCIA RITES

The League of United Latin American Citizens met Thursday night to discuss funeral arrangements for Attorney Gus Garcia, noted lawyer and champion of the Latin American people, who died Wednesday on the floor of an office in the Old Farmer's Market.

A committee was formed to decide on arrangements at a Friday meeting, and the group discussed everything from erecting a cemetery shrine to the lawyer to a Gus Garcia scholarship to the University of Texas.

Funeral arrangements for Garcia, 48, are pending with Morales Funeral Home, and tentative plans are for burial in Fort Sam Houston National Cemetery.

However, at the Thursday meeting in the International Building, a number of the estimated 30 persons in attendance voiced a desire to bury Garcia in a civilian cemetery where they could erect a monument.

Tony Cruz, district LULAC director, indicated that Garcia's relatives have given the LULAC authority to arrange for the services.

A military funeral was mentioned. Attorney Pete Tijerina asked, "Why not give Gus a better funeral?"

Cruz said, "We want to do something special for Gus. We want to give him a hero's funeral."

A group picked Attorney Jaime Gutierrez, a personal friend of Garcia's, to head a committee which will decide Friday on service arrangements.

Others on the committee are Attorney Mario Obledo, Mrs. John Marckley, Tijerina, Miss Oralia Fuentes, Attorney Tom Guardia, and Frank Gonzales.

Garcia, once on a first-name basis with Governors, Congressmen and mayors across south Texas, was at one time considered the spokesman for the Latin population in this area.

Garcia's legal career began as an assistant district attorney under John Shook. It was erroneously reported in Wednesday's San Antonio Express and News that Shook was deceased.

An honor student and champion debater, Garcia wowed even U.S. Supreme Court Justices with his eloquence in fighting injustices and discrimination.

Personal problems took Garcia from the limelight in the mid-1950's, and from then on his downs out-numbered his ups.

Gutierrez Thursday said he has received about 80 phone calls from persons who wish to give money for a Garcia scholarship fund to the University of Texas.

District of Columbia Crime Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I hope every Member will read the crime record

here in the District of Columbia which I am inserting in the RECORD today.

I would like to advise the Members that since the Mallory rule decision, crime has increased here in the Nation's Capital 83 percent even though Congress has appropriated funds and employed 400 additional policemen and the canine corps, in addition to a number of additional automobiles, in an effort to curb crime.

We are all hoping that the Congress will complete action on the crime bill now pending before the Congress at the earliest possible date before the crime rate gets any worse in our Capital:

GOVERNMENT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT,
July 10, 1964.

Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

The District of Columbia Budget Office, under date of August 7, 1962, requested this Department to forward for information to each congressional committee on District matters one copy of any special report, study, survey, or similar document which is released by this Department to the public and the press.

Accordingly, the enclosed material, which is being released by this Department on this date, is provided for your information.

ROBERT V. MURRAY,
Chief of Police.

CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, JUNE 1964

During June 1964 a total of 2,144 part I offenses were reported in the District, an increase of 82 offenses or 4 percent from June 1963. This was the 25th month with an increase in crime in Washington and brought the trend of serious offenses to an alltime high of 28,952, an increase of 83.3 percent from the low point of June 1957.

This month brought to a close the fiscal year 1964 with a preliminary crime count (subject to final changes because of unfounded offenses) which was 22.6 percent above the preliminary count of fiscal 1963. The following table compares data for fiscal 1957 (the low point under present reporting), fiscal 1963, and fiscal 1964:

Part I offenses reported—Preliminary data

Classification	Fiscal years			Change 1957–64	
	1957	1963	1964	Amount	Percent
Criminal homicide	88	97	137	+49	+55.7
Rape	199	142	162	−37	−18.6
Robbery	944	2,462	2,665	+1,721	+182.3
Aggravated assault	2,555	3,025	2,788	+233	+9.1
Housebreaking	3,023	5,839	8,250	+5,227	+172.9
Grand larceny	798	1,176	1,477	+679	85.1
Petit larceny	6,343	7,885	8,607	+2,264	+35.7
Auto theft	1,843	2,981	4,866	+3,023	+164.0
Total	15,793	23,607	28,952	+13,159	+83.3

GOVERNMENT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT,
July 7, 1964.

Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCMILLAN: Forwarded herewith are copies of the weekly crime report for the District of Columbia for the week beginning June 28, 1964.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT V. MURRAY,
Chief of Police.

Part I offenses reported, June 28, 1964, through July 4, 1964

Classification	Week beginning—		Change	
	June 21, 1964	June 28, 1964	Amount	Percent
Criminal homicide	2	4	+2	+100.0
Rape	1		−1	−100.0
Robbery	34	33	−1	−2.9
Aggravated assault	58	57	−1	−1.7
Housebreaking	123	136	+13	+10.6
Grand larceny	25	17	−8	−32.0
Petit larceny	167	153	−14	−8.3
Auto theft	99	104	+5	+5.0
Total	508	504	−4	−.8

New Castle, Ind., Courier-Times Supports New Selective Service Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, all of us are aware of the increasing concern of the Nation for the welfare of its youth who are faced with the problem of preparation for useful work in a drastically changed world of technology. To meet that problem in part, the Department of Labor has been enrolling young men in the manpower development and training programs authorized by the act of Congress passed last year.

Since February, the Labor Department has been working, in cooperation with Selective Service, to give an opportunity for entrance into the program to those rejected for military service, for failure to attain physical or mental standards. But beginning July 1, the Selective Service has begun a new policy of calling in young men at the beginning of their registration period at age 18, rather than waiting for them to appear as much as 3 or 4 years later.

The advantages of thus reaching the rejected young men at an earlier age, and the problems which surround this selective service and manpower development cooperation, are discussed in an editorial published in the July 3 issue of the New Castle, Ind., Courier-Times. The editorial explores these matters cogently and with concern. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELECTIVE SERVICE HAS A CHANGING SITUATION TO MEET—MILITARY, POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL CHANGES ARE ITS PROBLEM

The Selective Service put a new policy into effect July 1. Physical and mental examinations have been given when the men reached 21 or 22, nearer the time when they might actually be called into service. Now young men of 18 are to be summoned immediately for their tests.

What prompted the presidential directive to this effect was the fact that one-third of the Nation's youth is unqualified for military service on the basis of existing physical and mental standards. Starting last February, the Labor Department has offered the rejects participation in two new, voluntary rehabilitation programs authorized by Congress in 1963—the manpower training and vocational education programs. When unqualified youngsters are identified 2 years earlier, rehabilitation can begin at once.

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz has called the rehabilitation effort "the most important human salvage program in the history of our country." But it has encountered initial difficulties. Fewer than one out of five rejects in the older age bracket has gone to his local employment service office for help. Moreover, only 2,200 of the 134,500 rejects through the end of May have been placed in jobs and just 189 have been enrolled in training programs.

A major problem is that the confidential status of Selective Service records prevents the Labor Department from following up those cases where the rejects fail to visit their employment service office. One thought now is to offer counseling right at the Selective Service examination centers.

The Selective Service has other problems, of course, which relate to the changing international military and political, as well as technical, situation. If the nuclear-test ban has helped us see that nuclear war is really not possible, then it also may make police action by the military an increasing duty. On the technical side, the scientific changes have begun to call with military men of more special skills.

Mission of Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, the city of Milpitas, Calif., is well known to sociologists for its success in achieving democratic integration. Diverse races and nationalities live side by side in harmony, and the children go to school together. In short, Milpitas is way ahead of most other cities in the country and the Civil Rights Act will be redundant there. The Milpitas Post is an excellent smalltown newspaper, concerned with issues that reach far beyond local or California affairs. I am pleased to submit for the RECORD a recent editorial typical of the Milpitas Post commending the young people who have gone to Mississippi to help Negroes register to vote.

MISSION OF CONSCIENCE

Summer is a time when young people, free of the cares of the school year, head for vacation activities. For at least several of our area's young men and women, this summer poses a far greater challenge.

Five local students are now in Mississippi joining many hundreds of other college students for a summer dedicated to putting into action their high ideals. Margaret Aley is one of those students. She is now in Greenwood, Miss. Before she left she told this newspaper:

"I realize the difficulty of ever changing other people—but I can change myself. Most people want to do something but don't know what to do, or how to go about it. Like many other people, I would always argue about issues but never put one iota of energy into action. The turning point for me was the assassination of President Kennedy. I identified with Kennedy and

told people something had to come from his death."

The news that reaches us from Greenwood and other cities in Mississippi is not heartening. All of us are shocked by the reaction these young people are receiving. It is not an understatement to say that a state of war exists beneath the surface of Old Miss.

It is rare to see the courage of youth matched by the courage of convictions. The young people at work now in voter registration and in the "freedom schools" exemplify the finest marriage of those ideals.

There is little we can do to make the job these young people have undertaken more easily accomplished. We can, however, urge our legislators and our President to take the needed steps to insure their safety. Such letters and telegrams will bring an awareness to officials in Washington that the entire Nation is watching the fate of the young people who are in Mississippi on a mission of conscience.

GOP's Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I have in my hand an excellent editorial entitled "GOP's Poverty Program: Poverty of Everything but Higgling Opposition," published in the Independent, Anderson, S.C., on May 17, 1964. I believe that everyone should read, digest, and consider that article. I think it is very important that we be thinking of subjects that really improve people who are in need at the present time.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOP'S POVERTY PROGRAM: POVERTY OF EVERYTHING BUT HIGGLING OPPOSITION

Republicans are accusing President Johnson of "playing politics" with poverty. "It's unfortunate," said Illinois Republican Representative ROBERT MCCLORY, spilling crocodile tears all over the place, "to have this become an election-year campaign gimmick, with the poor as victims."

Well, now, let's review the record. President Johnson sent his poverty message to Congress on March 16. He charted a program to help unskilled, uneducated young Americans get skills and get educations; community action with Federal assistance to strike at the roots of poverty; a domestic Peace Corps to enlist volunteers in the war against poverty; and all to be headed by Sargent Shriver in a new Office of Economic Opportunity.

Since then Republicans have been nitpicking, roadblocking, complaining, muttering, remonstrating, vituperating, viewing with jaundiced eyes, damning with faint praise, cavilling, scoffing, deprecating, disparaging, and denouncing—all purely in the interest of constructive criticism.

They are not against doing something to eradicate poverty. Oh, no, they are very much for doing something. They just don't like the administrative setup. They are dissatisfied with the money it will cost. There are flaws in the programs. There is one thing after another.

During House committee hearings Republicans used every argument they could find to stimulate opposition. They tried to persuade Southern Democrats not to back the program because it might help Negroes. Georgia Representative PHIL M. LANDRUM, a sponsor of the administration bill, told them sternly: "I want it clearly understood here that it is a source of pride to me to have my name on this bill."

Republicans tried spurring Catholic opposition by raising the birth control issue. "This bill could allow birth control information programs, couldn't it?" a California Republican asked Msgr. George Higgins, director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. It was a "fantastic inference," Representative LANDRUM declared.

Three business leaders testified for the program. A New Jersey Republican told them: "You lack faith in State government." And the same New Jersey Representative raised great objections when he discovered that, under the bill, elderly people in rural areas could be helped to remain in their own homes if they received $600 or $700 in grants for indoor plumbing. Without this convenience, many of the elderly who are ill have to go into nursing homes. Indoor plumbing. "I wouldn't put in modern plumbing at Federal expense," said Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN. He went further: "I think, if necessary, there should be a prohibition against installing modern plumbing."

The tipoff on the Republican attitude came from Nebraska GOP Representative DAVE MARTIN. "We can't stop it in committee," he said. "I'm hopeful we can defeat it on the floor of the House."

Is President Johnson playing politics with poverty? Hardly. He is interested first in helping people, which we are sure it has. As for the Republicans, they're playing politics—their usual politics of utter opposition to anything that will do people some good and help the country. It's their usual recipe for deserved defeat, as they will learn again in November.

Rev. Obie A. Baker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I am very sad to learn about the untimely death of my lifelong friend, Rev. Obie A. Baker. We of Upshur County and east Texas and Texas shall forever miss him. He excelled in countless ways. The great good he did and his many accomplishments will never be forgotten. May God sustain and comfort his family and his many friends throughout Texas is my prayer. I include an editorial that appeared in the Longview Daily News, June 29, 1964.

OBIE A. BAKER

A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, says the Scripture which the Reverend Obie A. Baker preached. The East Mountain community minister did not claim to be a prophet, but he proved the general rule by becoming a classical exception in his comparatively short but exceedingly busy life.

In the East Mountain community and throughout all east Texas, Mr. Baker was accorded the highest honor which his friends and the general public could give him. Not only that, but he was widely known and held in highest esteem throughout Texas.

A lifelong resident of the East Mountain area, Obie Baker attended East Mountain High School, East Texas Baptist College, and Baylor University. Upon gradaution at Baylor, he taught 2 years at Glenwood, then moved to the East Mountain schools where he was a member of the faculty for 30 years.

He was the beloved pastor of the New Bethlehem Baptist Church, where he would have observed his 31st year as spiritual leader this October. He had led in building this church into one of the strongest among rural area churches in the east Texas area.

His passing early Saturday at the age of 54 followed a period of declining health and strength. He had literally poured out his strength over the years in service to the people of his community and the east Texas area.

Not only in the field of the ministry and in the field of teaching did Mr. Baker excel, but also in the field of promoting higher education among east Texas area high school students. Those who knew him best are confident he inspired more young people to go ahead with their higher education, and helped them find a way to make this possible, than any other east Texan.

The Reverend Mr. Baker was the active chairman of the Baylor Ex-Students Athletic Committee, and had been a member of the board of directors of the Baylor Ex-Students Association for years. As many an east Texas family knows, he had been responsible for many deserving students being able to attend Baylor University, not only in the field of athletics but in general academic work as well.

This busy man also served often and well in civic endeavors, fraternal and other worthwhile activities. He was a member of the Masonic and the Odd Fellow lodges, and served constantly on numerous community and regional committees.

Obie Baker was a man of unusual energy, keen insight into human nature, ability in many fields of endeavor, and capacity for meeting problem situations and carrying on a great burden of work. He could have made a name for himself in the larger cities, but the East Mountain community and all east Texas are more progressive in civic and economic matters and stronger spiritually because he chose to stay at home and work with the people he knew best.

The body that was the earthly house of Obie A. Baker was laid to rest in the New Bethlehem Baptist Church Cemetery. But the good that he has done across the years will live on in the lives of the thousands he has counseled and led to a better way of life, and in their children. For he was a man of honor in his own community and area and State.

Corydon Democrat Favors Repeal of Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, my position in favor of repeal of retail excise taxes is clear from legislation I have introduced and statements I have made. In standing for repeal of these discriminatory taxes, as do the majority of the Senate, as witnessed by our votes on

June 30, I am sure the Nation's voters give their full approval.

On July 1, the Corydon, Ind., Democrat, a weekly published in the town which served as the State's first capital, printed an editorial on the subject, entitled "Congress Should Repeal Excise Taxes That Increase Cost of Doing Business and Discourage Buying." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD REPEAL EXCISE TAXES THAT INCREASE COST OF DOING BUSINESS AND DISCOURAGE BUYING

It is time that the Federal excise taxes be repealed on jewelry and other merchandise which have been taxed since the charges were put on them in World War II. The excise taxes were imposed for two purposes: No. 1, to raise money to meet stepped-up military expenditures; and, No. 2, as controls on manufacture of merchandise unessential to the winning of the war.

A 10-man panel of experts, economists, and tax study specialists appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee recently and advocated repeal of some of the excise taxes.

John F. Due, a University of Illinois economics professor, was the leadoff panelist.

Written statements by all 10 academic panelists have just been published by the Ways and Means Committee as a basis for this week's discussions. Only the paper prepared by Professor Due contained a specific list of excises recommended for repeal. Following the committee's ground rules, he omitted from consideration the excises on gasoline, tires, trucks and other items earmarked for the Federal highway trust fund.

Mr. Due labeled as undesirable those Federal excises that are paid by companies mainly as a cost of doing business, or that produce only niggling revenue or that are hard to enforce. Like some other panelists, he praised those excises that raise the costs of liquor and tobacco.

Mr. Due said his guidelines point to top-priority repeal of this specific list of excises:

The taxes on business and store machines, matches, pens and mechanical pencils, lubricating and machine-cutting oils, cosmetics and other toilet preparations and costume jewelry. Left off the list was the tax on more expensive jewelry, which Mr. Due said is "less objectionable."

The economist said second priority should be given to repeal of the taxes on light bulbs, household appliances, and home air conditioners, women's handbags and luggage, musical instruments, furs, playing cards, sporting goods (the levy is "contrary to the general philosophy of increasing physical fitness"), cabarets, admission tickets (except for horse and dog racing), bowling alleys and pool tables and transfers of stocks and bonds.

Mr. Due gave last priority to repeal of the taxes on safe-deposit boxes, photographic equipment, radios and TV sets and auto parts.

Mr. Due's list may have little relation to the taxes Congress finally selects for repeal or reduction. Omitted altogether are two excises that are prime targets for criticism by many lawmakers: The 10-percent levy for local telephone calls and the 10-percent manufacturers tax on automobiles.

However, the recommendation for repeal of most of the Federal retail levies on jewelry, luggage, cosmetics and furs jibes with a drive by House Republicans to begin junking them right away.

GOP leaders do not oppose the extension of these taxes, levied on liquor, cigarettes, cars and phone calls. But they will try to amend the bill to provide for a two-stage repeal of the $530 million in the four categories of retail excise taxes. The effort will be opposed by Ways and Means Committee Chairman MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, who wants to wait until his panel finishes its long-range study of the whole excise question.

Later in the session, spokesmen for national business and labor groups will be summoned to testify, and lobbyists for individual industries will conclude the series of hearings with appeals for removal or reduction of specific levies on their products.

The testimony will be collected into a record of advice that the Treasury and the committee can study for legislative action later. In 1959, Mr. MILLS conducted a similar series of hearings on income taxes that helped lay the groundwork for some of the changes enacted in 1962 and 1964.

Let's Regain Self-Respect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the following fine editorial from the July 18, 1964, Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch is most thought provoking and should be fully absorbed by all Members of Congress:

APATHY EXPLAINS NATION'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC WOES

The other day near the Berlin Wall, an American officer was slapped in the face by an East German border guard. There was no retaliation.

Some months ago a young woman was knifed to death in front of 38 witnesses and nobody bothered to even call the police.

Russian weapons are trained toward the United States from Cuba and we do nothing.

American military men are being killed daily in Vietnam, in a war the United States does not choose to win.

The streets and parks of our large cities are fraught with danger, hoodlums seem to be in charge—yet no loud cries to put an end to the intolerable situation are heard from the public.

What is happening in our society?

In a copyrighted interview in "U.S. News & World Report" last week, Adm. Arleigh Burke contends America has lost its will to resist. Here are some of his thoughts:

We, the most powerful country in the whole world, the most productive, with the highest standard of living, where even the poorest are better off than nearly all other peoples in the world, seem to have lost the willingness to compete.

We seem to have an attitude that we don't want to become involved, either as individuals or as a nation.

So many people don't have the moral courage to stand up for their principles. We're comfortable and we don't want to be disturbed.

Not willing to face a problem, we let it get worse—and it always does. Cuba is a good example. And Vietnam.

Michigan Gov. George Romney has said:

"The reason we are soft abroad, the reason we are losing respect abroad, is that we are soft at home, and can't get respect abroad until we regain self-respect at home."

Have we lost our self-respect? It seems so—every time we don't protest—and act—against what we know is wrong—in the home, in the community, in the nation, in the world.

Nobody's going to correct this situation for us. It seems what we need is a renewal of purpose and principle—and that's a job for each individual across the land. The question is: When do we start?

Chicago Tribune 117 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on the masthead of the Chicago Tribune there has long appeared, beneath its title, the legend "The World's Greatest Newspaper" No doubt other newspapers would dispute that accolade; but there can be no doubt that in its long life the Chicago Tribune has had a great influence in molding the thought of a great area within the region known as the heartland of America.

The Chicago Tribune was founded on June 10, 1847. On June 14 of this year, an editorial entitled "Candles for 117 Years," appeared in its pages. In it, the founding editor of the paper, Joseph Medill, is quoted as admonishing that the Tribune should be "an advocator of political and moral progress," and that in all things it should "follow the line of commonsense."

The editorial looks back over the years and the positions which the newspaper has taken as it has attempted to follow that advice. It acknowledges that "To advocate political progress is easier than to achieve it," and comments particularly on the function of criticism it has so often exercised. The editorial concludes that the Tribune has a higher purpose than financial profit, a purpose expressed in its credo: "We shall never be the slave of the countinghouse in our editorial expression."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, together with "The Tribune Credo" preceding it, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the credo and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, June 14, 1964]

CANDLES FOR 117 YEARS

The newspaper is an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry, to inform and lead public opinion, and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide.

—THE TRIBUNE CREDO.

Better to light one candle, so it is said, than to curse the darkness. There were few newspapers and little visibility around Chicago when the Tribune first began to shed its little light 117 years ago last week. The men who lite the taper could not have foreseen that they had created a flame which

well into its second century would still be burning with a steady glow.

Now, in our 118th year, after adding candles for all these birthdays, that light can be seen from afar, and its rays have penetrated everywhere men have gone in this restless world, illuminating their actions and their thoughts. Sometimes the light has fallen upon some seamy doings and made them visible, for light impartially reveals the bad with the good.

The light has been constant this century and more, and if, at times, it has wavered or flared, that, we must concede, was because the wick was trimmed by an uncertain hand, for everyone makes mistakes. Yet we are satisfied that, in the main, the light has cast its rays in the direction our progenitors would have wished.

The parting admonition of our founding editor, Joseph Medill, was that the Tribune be "an advocate of political and moral progress," and that in all things it "follow the line of commonsense." This we have tried to do. The standards of commonsense may not be quite the same today as in 1847, or in the later period of Medill, for this is a shifting world. But we have always sought to maintain our character while accommodating ourselves to change.

More and more the Tribune has tended to seek to give its readers the facts about all things that could concern them, with as complete accuracy and balance as is possible in the presentation of news that changes from hour to hour, and almost from minute to minute. We have tried to print the news unclouded by preconceptions or prejudices, reserving our judgments until both sides of controverted questions have been set forth fairly.

When we are convinced that the time has come to take a stand, we have done so clearly, sometimes bluntly, and without apology. Our extended analysis of the civil rights bill was a recent example, and we did not dodge in our judgments, though we made our position clear, we trust, without acrimony, for we were concerned with constitutionality and methods, not with the need or wisdom of promoting interracial harmony.

On this or any other subject we do not maintain that those who differ with us are irretrievably lost or necessarily wrong. We do not invite discord when we submit opinions. We hope for agreement, but make no pretense of having a right to command it.

While Medill saw us as an instrument for moral advance, we have come to feel that there are limits upon a newspaper as a preceptor of morals. Some of the straitlaced sects once endeavored to lay inhibitions on dancing. We doubt if many persist in the endeavor. We respect and encourage belief and faith, just as we support and maintain ethics and decency, but these are things that we cannot preach into our readers.

To advocate political progress is easier than to achieve it. In matters of local government it has been our unhappy duty to chide more often than to praise, to expose waste and corruption rather than to proclaim virtue. The National Government we have too often found to be grasping, ambitious, overbearing, and rapacious, with power in the hands of men blown up with conceit and impatient with the very citizens they are called upon to serve.

We have tried to be consistent in our appraisals, to detect the ever-present folly in national policy, to puncture dangerous illusions, and to promote what is best for our country. The United Nations, no more than the League of Nations, do we conceive to be the-all and end-all of our aspirations. All too frequently the sound and fury resounding through its halls signifies nothing, when it does not signify something evil.

We have decried the waste of American resources in an idle attempt to play Santa Claus to the world, and the waste of American lives in bootless efforts to bring "democracy" to backward peoples incapable of comprehending the term. We have felt that we might be farther along if we had directed our energies instead to achieving a more perfect Union at home.

We have stood for the liberty of the individual in all matters, for the freedom of a marketplace economy, for resistance to all arbitrary Government controls, and for solutions at the community or State level. We cannot approve turning public education over to the Federal beaurocracy, and we have looked with suspicion on the Department of Justice as the punitive arm of a rising political power.

While we recognize Congress as the surest counter to some of these trends, we could wish that it would stiffen its backbone. The memory of some of its great moments ought to induce it to avoid wavering. When it turned back Franklin Roosevelt's scheme to pack the Supreme Court in 1937, it asserted its dignity and its devotion to principle, and we wish it would do so more often. Its action on that occasion vindicated the stand of the Tribune, which relentlessly opposed Mr. Roosevelt's design.

In that instance, as in countless others, we were exercising the right, and subscribing to the duty, of a responsible newspaper to express legitimate criticism. We adhere to that right and duty, within the bounds of the law of libel. We hope that our voice is undiminished, and we realize that the strength of the Tribune as a flourishing institution—made so under the wise guidance of our predecessors—enables us to speak with greater firmness and courage than would be possible to a weaker newspaper.

We shall never be the slave of the counting-house in our editorial expression. A substantial newspaper must, we know, be financially sound, but it is not in operation primarily as a machine to make money. Its higher purpose is expressed in the credo which appears in our masthead, and to avoid the summons would be to sacrifice character.

So the light burns on.

Economist Notes Defects in Job Retraining Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, retraining jobless workers is an effective and necessary method of reducing unemployment in an economy characterized by rapid technological change. There are indications, however, that the Johnson administration is bungling our critically important job retraining programs.

Joseph Froomkin, an economist of the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, points out in a recent study that defects in the programs include retraining workers for employment in farmwork, where employment has been contracting for years. He joins other prominent economists in deploring the lack of analytical information about current job vacancies. Because there is no solid, verified information about the requirements of job openings, vocational educators sometimes organize training programs for jobs that no longer exist.

An article in the July 6 New York Times discusses Mr. Froomkin's study and conclusions on the ineffectiveness of present retraining programs. With unanimous consent, I place this article in the RECORD at this point:

ECONOMIST DOUBTS RETRAINING PLANS—SAYS MOST APPEAR UNLIKELY TO CUT JOBLESS ROLLS—CALLS SOME PROMISING—LACK OF DATA DEPLORED—COLUMBIA RESEARCHER HOLDS IT LEADS TO PREPARATION FOR NONEXISTENT OPENINGS

(By Will Lissner)

An economist engaged in a large-scale study of the effects of automation says that only a minority of current retraining programs appear likely to get the trainees off the unemployment rolls.

The economist, Joseph Froomkin of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, reports on his survey in the Columbia University Forum.

He points out that $30 million will be spent this year to retrain 275,000 workers under acts of 1958, 1960, and 1962 aimed at meeting labor shortages, revitalizing depressed areas or retraining unemployed workers.

The programs that appear promising, Mr. Froomkin says, are those that prepare workers as aids in the medical field, those that teach skills for various repair services such as television receiver technician, and those in the metal trades.

SKEPTICAL OF OTHERS

He regards skeptically other programs. One provides data-processing training for which employers have traditionally paid the costs, he finds, and others are in this category. There is a course in farmwork, he says, although farming has had a contracting labor force for many years.

Mr. Froomkin joins Arthur F. Burns, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and many Federal and State labor economists in deploring the lack of analytical information about current job opportunities.

The economists say that because there is no solid, verified information about the requirements for job openings, the vocational educators organize training programs for jobs that no longer exist.

THE UNFILLED JOBS

Mr. Froomkin says there is only intelligent guesswork now about what kinds of jobs are available. This guesswork indicates that the great majority of unfilled jobs in this country fall into two categories: jobs for college graduates, especially those with engineering or science degrees, and short-term jobs in certain businesses with seasonal requirements.

The retraining programs do not offer work at the college or graduate level to fit applicants for professional vacancies.

And in hiring temporary workers, Mr. Froomkin says, employers continue to favor experience over training. Hence, he reports, the retraining programs are limited to preparing displaced workers for new long-term openings.

In this they have met with varied success, he says. Retrained employees in the Los Angeles area, where unemployment is less acute, found new jobs and managed to keep them. In Harlan County, Ky., a depressed area, however, when retrained workers could find jobs they were able to hold them only for a short time.

Oversea Criticism of Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the oversea criticism of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is not well founded. The July issue of Intelligence Digest points out that Senator GOLDWATER's views are deserving of reasonable study. The Intelligence Digest is published in England and has a wide circulation throughout the world. The staff of the Intelligence Digest includes expert analysts in world affairs and political science. I commend this publication to the attention of my colleagues. I also recommend close study of those editorials compiled by American writers who are distinguished in the field of foreign affairs.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article from the July issue of Intelligence Digest in addition to two editorials of the type I mentioned above:

[From the Intelligence Digest]

SENATOR GOLDWATER

Recently, President Johnson has described the immense present nuclear power of America. In his view this is so terrific that Russia could not strike at Western Europe or America without overwhelming destruction to herself. The deterrent has proved all-powerful and all-effective, says President Johnson.

That may well now be true.

But what caused America to galvanize herself into the effort which has produced this result?

In 1942, when Russia started her new style, aggressive antiwestern plans only one voice of warning was raised. It was that of Intelligence Digest.

Between 1942 and 1949, a very high proportion of those who joined in the warnings had been, or were, subscribers to or readers of Intelligence Digest.

Between 1949 and 1962, a number of anti-Communist groups and movements sprang up. Most of them derived their first information and sense of anxiety from Intelligence Digest.

A MASS OF SMALL EFFORTS

The anti-Communist groups are much despised. They are also much divided; but they have been like the small springs, the confluence of which provides an immense generating power.

But for the mass of small efforts, the American public as a whole would never have been alerted to such an extent that it became national policy to create a deterrent which has, so far, stopped Russia from the conquest of all Europe and the Middle East.

Contemporary journalism may sneer at the anti-Communist groups as much as it likes, but, in fact, they were responsible for creating a broad public opinion which has permitted the expenditure which has saved the world from a disaster.

NOT A WARMONGER

But what has this to do with Senator GOLDWATER and his critics?

Senator GOLDWATER may or may not get the Republican nomination. If he does get it, he may or may not be America's choice for President. This has nothing to do with Intelligence Digest. What has to do with us is to make an accurate record of facts.

The British press says that Senator GOLDWATER is a warmonger who wants to use nuclear weapons all over the place and to put the American economy back into the Stone Age.

Is this true?

We thinks it to be false.

The Senator has no desire at all to use nuclear weapons anywhere. What he says is that it will be fatal if, despite the deterrent, America allows communism to creep in underneath the barrier which the deterrent provides. If this happens, he said, the deterrent would have proved useless.

It is no use possessing immense power if that power is not applied. By this, Senator GOLDWATER does not mean that it must be physically used, but that its existence must be applied to precise situations.

Senator GOLDWATER maintains that if, despite America's efforts, all southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America are lost, the existence of the deterrent will have proved useless. That is all he says, except to add that the application of the threat should be to a large extent decided on local military advice.

Senator GOLDWATER's policy should be judged in the light of what he means and not what his bitter enemies falsely report that they think he has in mind.

This is a question, therefore, as to whether America's nuclear power should remain a showpiece or be applied—not by dropping the bomb but by making it clear that if aggression does not cease in vital areas, then the risk which the aggressors will have to face is that of the nuclear deterrent.

This means, in other words, the translation of the deterrent into positive, instead of negative, value.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

The immense wealth of America has twice saved civilization from complete disaster—after World Wars I and II.

This wealth may have been used in an irritating manner; it may have been used unwisely in certain areas. But, by and large, it twice saved the civilized world from economic collapse.

It has provided the money for the nuclear deterrent which has saved us from Soviet occupation of western Europe. There can be no doubt at all about this.

This vast wealth sprang from rugged private enterprise, and from that alone. But, as American wealth has increased, there has been a trend toward Government control, and there has been a gradual erosion of enterprise. Senator GOLDWATER fears that, if this tendency persists, the basic system which induced America's wealth may be destroyed. He suggests that it would be unwise completely to destroy what has proved the greatest economic success in recorded history.

That is all he says. One would think that this was a viewpoint worth some thought.

A TRIED SYSTEM

Moreover, he foresees that, apart from the corrupting dangers of overcentralization and government control, a free-for-all welfare system and a wage spree unrelated to production, but financed by limitless paper bills, will lead to an inflation which the built-in supports will not be able to withstand.

Since Senator GOLDWATER is able to observe what is happening in the Common Market countries and India and is likely to occur again in Britain, one cannot blame him for a prudent look at the signs.

If it is to be a fool and a backwoods reactionary to desire to apply power created to avert successful aggression; if it is to be a fool to have a desire to save a system which has worked better than any other in history; and if it is to be a backwoods reactionary to regard with prudence exaggerations likely to cause bankruptcy—then, of course, there is no more to be said.

VIEWS DESERVING STUDY

This service cannot with honesty say that it finds that Senator GOLDWATER's views coincide with what is reported of them in the British press; nor can it say that what he says is altogether foolish. We think that his views deserve close and reasonable study.

Senator GOLDWATER is a reader of Intelligence Digest. We have invited him to give us his comments on the foregoing, which we would like to publish in our August issue if he agrees to do so.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 18, 1964]

GOLDWATER BANDWAGON IN EUROPE—A FEW WEEKS AGO, HE WAS CALLED LAZY, ILLITERATE—NOW, HE'S "SOUND"

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—A "Goldwater bandwagon" has developed in Western Europe.

Until a few weeks ago, the Western European newspapers and magazines were giving prominent place to Pennsylvania's Gov. William W. Scranton, and dramatizing the return of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge from Vietnam to become the Governor's champion. Senator GOLDWATER was frequently mentioned, but as an inevitable loser. The European press parroted many of its American counterparts, saying "The American people don't want him." This was being demonstrated mathematically in various polls. And "pollmania" is spreading fast in Europe.

But in the last few weeks there has been a change of heart.

Many European reporters in Washington and New York began to think for themselves. The Washington correspondent of the influential Paris daily, Le Figaro, which frequently carries the Walter Lippmann and Joseph Alsop columns, woke up to the fact that the Goldwater bloc is homogeneous and admirably organized. It is the result, he now writes, of 4 years of careful and intensive work. While BARRY and his cohorts were paying attention to the grassroots, his opponents were talking: "GOLDWATER is all wind and no substance. Nobody will take him seriously. Moreover, he is not intelligent. Everybody knows that. He is also lazy and illiterate."

The Figaro correspondent, who in the past had accepted these statements heard at Washington cocktail parties and in conversations with fellow newspapermen, came recently to the conclusion that "I don't know the Senator; hence I cannot pass judgment on his intelligence. But what is sure, however, in American politics, is that success is a matter of human warmth and temperament rather than the possession of academic degrees and diplomas. GOLDWATER may be lacking the latter but has ample of the former. It also is evident that GOLDWATER has conducted his campaign with honesty and courage, without making, so far, a single mistake. His warmth and folksiness—which are not a sham—have gained him the support of the little people in America's heartland—those Americans who look with suspicion on the east coast bankers—kingmakers: 'Look at me. I don't owe anything to the powerful east coast interests which have always supported Willkies and Tom Deweys.'"

In Italy and Germany, where until recently the Arizona Senator had been regarded as a contender with no chance to be nominated, the newspapers and magazines also have changed their tune and are in a way hopping on the Goldwater bandwagon. They point out that he may give a hard battle to President Johnson, who is still considered as the likely winner in November—but less so than a few weeks ago.

Until the Roman magazine Lo Specchio, which has a nationwide circulation, came out

with a full reproduction of Senator GOLDWATER's article in Life last March, setting forth his views on NATO and other European and American problems, the feeling here and in the rest of Europe was that the Republican candidate was an unrepentant reactionary and isolationist.

Lo Specchio's six-page spread drew for the first time to the attention of the European that the Arizonan was not what the propaganda had described him. His ideas concerning American-European cooperation were regarded as sound. He favored close cooperation—not dictation—with the Europeans and shared President de Gaulle's ideas about how the alliance should be effectively strengthened.

A slew of Italian newspapers in Rome and in the provinces reproduced condensations of Senator GOLDWATER's March article with ample editorial comment—most of its favorable.

The controversial but influential German weekly, Der Spiegel, which contributed greatly to the resignation of Konrad Adenauer as Chancellor, sent a special correspondent immediately after the publication of the Lo Specchio article to interview Senator GOLDWATER in Washington. The interview on 4 pages seemed to be an eyeopener to the rest of the German newspapers, which had regarded with deep frowns the "vague" possibility of the Arizonan's getting the nomination. He appears now not as an isolationist but as a strong advocate of European unity and dedicated to "rolling back communism," which is so important to all Germans regardless of political color.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 8, 1964]

EUROPE'S POSITION ON GOLDWATER: EDITORS ABROAD ERR ON HIS POSITION, IGNORE PARTY COMPROMISE EFFORTS

(By Max Freedman)

As the Republicans are working on their platform in San Francisco, the European press is continuing its campaign against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER. That criticism suffers always from a lack of good manners and almost always from a lack of good sense.

The only possible justification for this campaign is that Europe will inevitably have to look to the next President of the United States for leadership of NATO. Yet even this argument by no means justifies the sudden rash of irritated criticisms. For Senator GOLDWATER believes in a strong NATO community and wants to make it even stronger. The European editors are ignorant of this fact or else they believe he will choose the wrong methods to strengthen allied unity or will plunge the alliance into reckless danger. How can they be sure?

In Britain, as in the rest of Europe, there was very little serious attention paid to Senator GOLDWATER until he won the California primary. Then the gushing springs of prejudice poured forth abundantly. Most of the editors consulted their fears, not their files, and made a talent for invective a wretched substitute for accurate analysis. As a result, Senator GOLDWATER is being portrayed as a reckless primitive, shooting always from the hip, having a stockpile of prejudices and threats, and incapable of the restraint that sanctifies the exercise of great power.

This is a pleasant caricature but it bears no visible resemblance to the truth. Besides, this entire campaign savors bitterly of something perilously akin to political insolence.

There would be a justified cry of outrage in England or Italy or Germany if the American press by a concerted campaign tried to influence the choice of a party leader in those countries. Yet that is precisely what the European press is now doing. It has not waited for the presidential campaign to start or for the national issues to be defined. It is interfering instead with the right of Republicans to make their own choice for the presidential nomination.

On the lowest grounds of self-interest the European editors are making an exceedingly stupid mistake. For they are stirring up sympathy for Senator GOLDWATER by their surly criticism and lending a color of reality to Senator GOLDWATER's claim that he is the all-American candidate.

If Western Europe really wants to follow the election campaign, it should try to understand the process of compromise now at work in the Republican Party. Unless the Republicans insist on dividing and demoralizing their party beyond hope of cure, they must begin at once to work for a common cause in this election.

This means that both the GOLDWATER supporters and the GOLDWATER critics must begin to blunt their differences. The one fair test will be not whether there are compromises, for compromises are now unavoidable, but whether these compromises are within the traditional principles of a national election.

Senator GOLDWATER, in particular, has the right as a presidential candidate to modify his earlier views. That same right was exercised by earlier candidates. It was exercised by President Kennedy and will be exercised by President Johnson. As the campaign develops, Senator GOLDWATER, if he becomes the Republican candidate, will be speaking in a context of responsibility and with sources of information and advice never before open to him on this large scale.

If this new experience does not alter his views on some questions, he thereby shows himself to be inflexible in his thinking and unworthy of national leadership. The sensible assumption therefore is that Senator GOLDWATER will make some concessions in good conscience for the sake of party unity and will accept still other compromises because his large staff of advisers will persuade him to agree with these changes.

Once this process begins, it will be easy to draw a pitiless contrast between what Senator GOLDWATER said in the past and what he is saying in the campaign. But this sort of analysis can be fair only if it takes into account the frankness with which Senator GOLDWATER admits his new policies and gives candid reasons for them.

The Cow Palace Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "The Cow Palace Disaster," from the Muncie (Ind.) Star:

THE COW PALACE DISASTER

Amid the shambles of their attempt to stop Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, many of the liberal spokesmen cling to the pronouncement that his nomination for the Presidency is a disaster for the Republican Party.

To them it was inconceivable, just a few months ago, that GOLDWATER could possibly be nominated. Now it is inconceivable to them that he could be elected. They still cannot believe that his principles and beliefs are shared by more than a small minority of the people.

Polls have helped to perpetuate and foster this illusion. As late as last Sunday the Gallup poll gave Gov. William Scranton, of Pennsylvania, a 60–34 edge over GOLDWATER among rank-and-file Republicans. The myth has persisted that the convention delegates and professionals favoring the Arizona Senator were simply out of touch with the realities of opinion in the party. The rollcall tally giving GOLDWATER better than 2 to 1 over all other candidates would indicate—on the basis of that thinking—a phenomenal gulf between the thinking of the delegates and that of their constituents.

It is anyone's guess whether the savage infighting, which continued up to the hour of the rollcall, was more a reflection or a contributing cause of the illusion that the main body of Republicans overwhelmingly opposed GOLDWATER. In any case, we believe the events immediately following the rollcall were a more accurate reflection of the true state of affairs. Scranton, who took on the leadership of the bitter last-ditch opposition, strode cheerfully to the podium and manfully declared, with never a tear in his eye or a quaver in his voice, that the convention had spoken and he had heard the message. All but a handful of the opposing delegates then switched their votes to GOLDWATER.

The disaster, of course, is for the liberals who have controlled the party for 30 years. We anticipate that the extent of their disaster will be more clearly revealed in November.

The clear-cut decisive Goldwater victory at San Francisco has set the Republican Party on the road back to the stature and influence it ought to have. We can look forward to a campaign in which there will be genuine issues of fundamental principle and significance, vigorously debated. The people will have a choice.

Bail Reform a Pressing Need Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, the San Jose Mercury-News recently devoted the lead Sunday editorial to a most important problem in the administration of justice—the use and misuse of bail in criminal cases. Judge Robert Beresford of the San Jose municipal court kindly forwarded the editorial to me. Judge Beresford was the only member of the judiciary from the central coast California region who attended the National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice which was cosponsored by the Justice Department and the Vera Foundation. The conference successfully focused national attention on the evils of indiscriminate use of bail and regional conferences are now being contemplated to pursue more specific suggestions for reform. The Mercury-News supports such a regional conference and their editorial is an excellent statement of the reasons why present bail procedures too often result in a denial of equal justice.

BAIL REFORM A PRESSING NEED TODAY

Last month in Washington, D.C., several hundred judges, attorneys, and bail bondsmen gathered to examine critically a ragged-toothed cog in the gears of American justice: the bail system.

In brief, they concluded that the present system is unfair, inefficient, expensive, and

flies in the face of the elemental concept that an individual accused of a crime is innocent until proven guilty.

They were considerably less unanimous in their estimates of what should be done to improve the situation.

The National Conference on Bail and Criminal Justice, in Washington, did, however, serve to focus national attention on a problem that has plagued police, judges, bail bondsmen, social workers and knowledgeable segments of the general public for many years.

A single national conference will do little, in the long run, to right the wrongs of the bail system, but the 3-day Washington meeting pointed up a problem that needs to be examined on a regional basis and attacked, ultimately, in local courtrooms throughout the land.

LOCAL SOLUTIONS

As a starter, the Justice Department, which cosponsored the Washington gathering with the Vera Foundations, Inc., of New York City, should consider a series of regional conferences. San Jose, as the center of California's central coast region, would be an ideal location for such a regional bail conference.

The need to "do something" has been recognized locally by the city of Sunnyvale, whose public safety department last fall began to experiment with a system of releasing on their own recognizance certain individuals arrested for misdemeanor offenses. In the intervening months, there have been virtually no instances of the arrested persons failing to appear for trial, officials of that city say.

The Sunnyvale experiment gets to the heart of the bail problem and, at the same time, suggests at least one potentially valuable solution to the greatest part of it.

ONE PURPOSE ONLY

At bottom, bail has only one legitimate purpose: to ensure that an accused person appears in court to stand trial. The right to bail is absolute; Congress and the courts have settled that question.

But in practice, too often bail boils down to money. The wealthy, or even the person of moderate means who can afford to pay a bail bondsman's fee, stay out of jail pending trial. The indigent stays in jail. If he is subsequently acquitted, he has "served time" through no fault of his own—save that he was poor.

Meanwhile, the individual who can't make bail—guilty or innocent—costs the community dearly. Added to his own jail "board and room" costs, often are welfare payments to his family, since he can't work while in jail.

Also a prisoner in jail is at a disadvantage in helping his attorney prepare his defense. And finally, guilty or innocent, a man's time in jail awaiting trial represents days irretrievably lost from his life. If he should be found guilty, his "waiting time" is not deducted from his sentence.

None of this makes sense. All of it is pernicious, since it tends to vitiate the constitutional guarantee of equal justice for all citizens, rich and poor alike.

TOO MANY HELD

Study after study, in all parts of the country, confirm the fact that far too many persons are being held in jails because they are too poor to make bail or because excessive bail has been set by an arbitrary magistrate. These same studies note that an individual with a family, a job or other ties to the community is an extremely unlikely "bail jumper." This person could well be released on nominal bail or, as in the case of Sunnyvale, on his written word that he will appear in court at the time set for his trial.

Since an estimated 90 percent of all American crime falls into the misdemeanor category, it becomes apparent that a far wider use of release on recognizance could safely be employed. To do so, as a practical matter, it will be necessary for law enforcement agencies or the courts to make a greater effort to find out something about the background of the accused before coming to a bail-on-recognizance decision.

This lack of pertinent information is the greatest single stumbling block in the way of bail reform today, yet it is a lack that can be remedied without too great inconvenience or expense.

The issue is fundamental. It should be explored in detail by every judge and police officer concerned with bringing the principle of equal justice for all into closer conformity with actual practice

Blueprint for Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the July 20th issue of Barron's entitled "Blueprint for Disaster" gives a concise and cogent picture of ill-advised proposals for limiting the independence of the Federal Reserve System. I would like to commend the article to the attention of my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

BLUEPRINT FOR DISASTER: CONGRESS SHOULD NOT TINKER WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE FED

Whatever the dissension it aroused among the delegates on other issues, the GOP platform adopted last week at San Francisco's Cow Palace won thunderous acclaim for its insistence on limited government. The challenge to Big Brother was hurled forcefully by Senator GOLDWATER as he accepted the nomination and, in the months ahead, the Republican standard bearer doubtless will hammer home the theme again and again. Yet even before the last lingering echoes of his vibrant speech had died away, a counterattack was being mounted. Busy Democratic carpenters were at work on a platform of their own, designed to extend still further today's authoritarian sway over every phase of national life. Looking not only to this year's campaign, but also to next year's session of the 89th Congress, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, for one, already has proposed a vast extension of the President's power over the vital area of money and credit.

The Texas gadfly, of course, has made a career of espousing cheap money as a cure-all for the Nation's ills. Last month, after lengthy hearings, his House Banking Subcommittee (with every Republican abstaining), offered no fewer than 13 proposals to make the Federal Reserve Board "more responsive to the will of the people." Some of these warmed-over ideas, moreover, drew quick praise in the press, even in supposedly sophisticated business magazines. A central bank, to be sure, is always an inviting target. And in Barron's view, U.S. monetary policies in recent years have often been misguided, ineffective or both. Most notably, the Board has failed to put up a stout defense of the Nation's currency. However, subjecting the Fed to the whim of the White House, as the Patmanites urge, would be nothing short of disastrous. It would drive good men from key Reserve posts, and make it more difficult to replace them. It would disrupt delicate working relationships with central bankers overseas. It would destroy incomparable assets of flexibility and resourcefulness. Above all, the drastic overhaul envisioned by Mr. Patman would sap the integrity of the dollar, at home and abroad.

Representative PATMAN and his economic fellow travelers, to be sure, profess different aims. They seek to do away with the System's present grassroots base by abolishing the policymaking Open Market Committee, on which the presidents of five Reserve banks serve in rotation. They want to liquidate "banker denomination" by retiring the stock in the 12 regional banks now held by member institutions across the land. To curb the Board's independence, they propose to cut members' terms from 14 years to 5, and make the chairman subject to appointment by each incoming President for a 4-year term. They would strip the Fed of its watchdog role over U.S. banks and make it dependent on congressional appropriations. Not content with all this, the reformers demand that the Board, in tightening and loosening the Nation's credit, meekly follow Presidential "guidelines."

Barron's does not, of course, consider the Fed infallible. The Board, as we have argued time and again, has erred in recent years by too exclusive an attention to domestic needs, real or fancied. In 1958 and in 1960, it failed to anticipate the Nation's heavy gold losses. Two years ago, it foresaw a basic change for the better in the U.S. balance of payments, which soon proved a mirage. Even today, it is doing nothing to deflate ill-founded optimism over our international accounts. Lest anyone doubt that the payments situation continues to deteriorate, the United States last week was forced to seek a massive line of new credit from the International Monetary Fund. At the same time, the Fed seems to regard with strange complacency the unmistakable and ominous stirrings of inflation. The hard fact is that the money managers of late have proved all too willing to lean with the political wind.

The moral of all the foregoing, then, is that the Fed must be more independent of political pressures, not less. The liberal Democrats, in short, are trying to move in precisely the wrong direction. Their blueprint for the great society would, in the first place, greatly add to the difficulties of keeping good men. It would make virtually impossible the already challenging task of recruiting a capable staff for the System. To make a Governor a mere puppet, after all, does far more than merely debase his office; it assures that men of imagination and initiative henceforth will shun the post. Thus in this critical role the dedicated public servant would give way to the party hack. In such circumstances, the Fed and its people are certain to forfeit the high esteem in which they are now held throughout the banking world.

Nor is that all. The Democrats would do nothing less than destroy the very qualities which have made the Fed distinctive among central banks. Wittingly or otherwise, they seek to exchange the admirable flexibility of operation which the Reserve has traditionally commanded for a sterile conformity. They propose as well to summarily abandon the deliberative process that now characterizes the System from top to bottom and by virtue of which it has achieved an enviable breadth of vision. They would supplant this invaluable consensus with unthinking obedience to political ukase. Were Mr. PATMAN's ideas to make the great leap from fantasy to reality, the mischief which would ultimately follow is incalculable. In the realm of money management, as elsewhere, there is no substitute for the give-and-take of unfettered minds. As John Maynard

Keynes once shrewdly observed: "Hitler so concentrated the decisionmaking in the Germany of his day that the only mistakes he could make were major ones." Surely America ought not to pursue the same ill-advised course.

Most disturbing of all would be the impact on the crucial network of relationships which the Federal Reserve officials have painstakingly built up over the years with central bankers abroad. By destroying their trust in the Fed, its personnel and its policies, the Patmanites would jeopardize this close and delicate cooperation. The immediate consequence would be to seriously undermine confidence in the dollar. On this score, Alfred Hayes, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, minced no words in his testimony before the Patman subcommittee earlier this year. The faith of foreign bankers in the integrity of the dollar, he warned, stems in very substantial measure from "the existence of an independent monetary authority able to pursue its programs unhampered by political pressures." The long-term effects of the inflationists' grand design for prosperity would be even more grave. The Texan's ill-conceived scheme threatens, indeed, to shake to its very foundations the prosperity so hard won by the free world.

In his forthright statement of principle last week, Senator GOLDWATER time and again called for the defense of freedom on every front, in every sphere. In the realm of money and credit, as elsewhere, not least among the forces encroaching on liberty is big government. The radical proposals of Representative PATMAN for reshaping the Federal Reserve System would make money management the servant of political purpose. The evil consequences, as all the foregoing suggests, would reach far beyond America's shores. Far from emasculating the Fed, the clear need today is to reaffirm and strengthen its independence.

Tax-Cut Effect Uncertain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the premise on which the administration based its arguments for a tax cut was that a reduction, particularly in individual tax rates, would immediately stimulate economic activity through increased consumer spending. People would notice the extra money in their pay envelopes, it was argued, and increased their expenditures on goods and services, thus raising the level of business activity.

A recent survey by the University of Michigan Research Center, reported in the July 9 edition of the New York Times, indicates that few consumers have increased their consumption as a result of the tax reduction. In fact, only 5 percent of those questioned in the study said that the extra money available to them through the tax cut made a "considerable" difference to them. This feeling is echoed by leading retailers who note that the tax reduction has had relatively little effect on sales volume.

The point I wish to make, Mr. Speaker, is that there apparently exists some doubt as to how much of the recent expansion in the economy can rightfully be attributed to the recent tax cut. More time will have to elapse before a final determination can be made on the ultimate results of the tax cut.

With unanimous consent, I place the article from the New York Times in the RECORD at this point.

SURVEY DISPUTES TAX-CUT EFFECT—MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY CENTER FINDS FEW CONSUMERS RUSH TO BUY MORE

(By Leonard Sloane)

The Federal income tax cut, which went into effect in March, has not yet touched off the splurge of retail buying it was intended to, according to a nationwide survey of consumer attitudes.

Only 5 percent of those queried by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center said that the extra money available because of the tax cut made a "considerable" difference to them.

The overwhelming majority of respondents, on the other hand, replied that the additional income made either "a small difference" or "practically no difference."

But while the tax cut did not represent a new stimulus to economic activity this spring, the study showed it has provided Americans with a reason for having confidence in the business outlook.

PUBLIC COMMENTS PREVAIL

Public reaction to the tax cut dominated the report of the center that was released yesterday at Ann Arbor. In its regular quarterly survey conducted in May and June, the center questioned 1,500 adults about the tax cut as well as their attitudes and inclinations to buy.

The directors of the survey, George Katona and Eva Mueller reported that "some wage and salary earners appear to be unaware of any gains from the tax cut, while some others appear to underestimate the gain."

They noted that while 40 percent said they were better off financially than they were a year ago, less than 2 percent attributed the improvement to the tax cut.

Thus they observe that pay increases, overtime or higher business or professional earnings and other such factors "clearly loom larger in people's minds than the extra funds resulting from the tax cut."

ON ALL PAYROLLS

The income tax cut has been reflected in all payrolls prepared beginning March 5. Under the tax bill, the withholding rate declined.

The Michigan economists offered the following analysis of the tax cut's effect:

Before the reduction was enacted, consumer anticipation stimulated a good psychological impact. But after the law was passed, there has been little apparent effect on the family purse.

Few major spending decisions are attributable to the tax cut, the center reported. And most of those who feel they did benefit from the reduction told interviewers that they had no specific idea how the added money was spent.

TERMED LIVING EXPENSE

"Very few consumers believe that they used their tax savings to buy major consumer durables," the center said. Respondents gave such explanations as "for living expenses" or "nothing special" in answer to questions about where the money went.

The university's report backs up the informal comments about the tax cut made by some leading retailers in the last few weeks.

For example, Morton D. May, president of the May Department Stores Co., said that "the reduction in income tax withholding did not appear to have much influence on first quarter volume." May's first quarter encompasses the months of February, March and April, he said.

And Ralph Lazarus, president of Federated Department Stores, Inc., while noting "some anticipated effect" of the reduction, said "relatively little effect has been registered up to now."

Goldwater Invites Johnson To Discuss Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to see that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER does not want the race issue injected into the campaign and would be pleased to work out an agreement with President Johnson in order to bring about a clear-cut contest between right and left without letting it become a battle between black and white.

Under unanimous consent, I include at this point, two fine editorials on this subject:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, July 5, 1964]

NO RACIAL ISSUE

If Senator GOLDWATER is to be the Republican presidential nominee, there is reason for much gratification in the views on the "race issue" which have been attributed to him in an apparently authentic interview.

In essence, he is reported to have said that he does not think the race question should be injected into the campaign and that he will not try in any way to exploit the so-called "white backlash."

Senator GOLDWATER has never been a racist, and this latest expression of his views is consistent with his former pronouncements. Nevertheless, it is an expression which, if confirmed by events, can be of very great importance to the country.

It can be of great importance because much of Senator GOLDWATER'S support, assuming his nomination, will come from people who know that he voted against the civil rights bill and who may thing that, if elected, he would not really try to enforce it.

Senator GOLDWATER did vote against the bill. He said at the time that he thought parts of it were unconstitutional, that the problems covered by he legislation might better be left to the States, and that any real enforcement could lead to a "police state" in this country. We do not share these views. But neither do we question Senator GOLDWATER'S sincerity in expressing them. Nor do we doubt that, if elected, he would do what he is reported to have promised—support enforcement himself and appoint an Attorney General who would enforce the law.

In all of this, there may seem to be a certain inconsistency, a certain paradox. But not necessarily so. For instance, Harry Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley law. But, pursuant to his oath as President, he enforced it after Congress passed the measure over his veto. As President, Senator GOLDWATER doubtless would accept the same obligation. If any paradox is involved it is the paradox of the man himself.

Over and above these points, however, there remains the overriding fact that Senator GOLDWATER is reliably reported to have said that he will refuse to conduct a racist bid for votes. This reflects much credit on him and encourages the hope that this potentially destructive issue really can be kept out of the campaign.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 16, 1964]

GOLDWATER GIVES AIDS MAXIM OF CHURCHILL'S

(By Marguerite Higgins)

SAN FRANCISCO, July 16.—Not long after Senator GOLDWATER captured the Republican Party for conservatism, he quietly reminded his aids of the Churchillian admonition: "In defeat—defiance; in victory—magnanimity."

But, his aids say, this in no way diminishes the GOP nominee's determination that a first order of postconvention business must be to destroy the liberal contention that the Goldwater victory represents only a small and unrepresentative rightwing faction of the Republican Party.

And the truth or falsity of this accusation is, of course, crucial to the future of the Republican Party and to its success or failure in the campaign against President Johnson.

OPPOSITION OF EAST

In the overwhelmingly pro-Goldwater tide at the convention, it was difficult to remember that the Arizona Senator had scored his "impossible" victory in the face of adverse public opinion polls and the opposition of the ruling eastern Republican "establishment."

But long after the shouts of "We want BARRY" fade away, the key question will remain:

Was the Goldwater victory merely a matter of political techniques and pressure, starting early, organizing skillfully, lining up the Republican wheelhorses?

Or, is there any evidence to sustain Senator GOLDWATER'S claim that his conservatism is increasingly in the mainstream, not just of Republican thinking, but representative of increased conservative trends among Democrats as well?

It is clear that Senator GOLDWATER'S opponents overlooked an important maxim: "Never underestimate your enemy."

APPEAL UNDERESTIMATED

Said a key Republican of the Eisenhower vintage: "Governor Scranton not only underestimated GOLDWATER'S appeal to many Americans but he acted as if he believed his own propaganda about him."

Senator GOLDWATER is not a kook, an extremist, or a fanatic. And neither are 99 percent of his supporters.

Many of us may not like it, but the fact is that there are quite a few unfashionable Americans who are unfashionably distressed at what they regard to be a world picture in which this country is ceaselessly pushed around and pushed back.

NOT ANTI-NEGRO

They are not by and large anti-Negro, not in the North at least.

Some Goldwaterites may be mistaken Americans. But they are not evil Americans. For the most part, they are good people incapable of being cynics. One of the reasons Senator GOLDWATER attracts them is that he, too, is unable to be a cynic. And it is certain that the Scranton camp underestimated the dedication of the Goldwater following.

It is also clear that Governor Scranton failed to do his homework on the issues.

And the supreme irony of this convention was the vitriolic letter sent by the Scranton camp to Senator GOLDWATER.

It later turned out that Governor Scranton had not seen it, though he accepted responsibility for it.

Nonetheless, this turnabout made Governor Scranton vulnerable to the labels of irresponsibility and extremism that he had been pinning on Senator GOLDWATER.

What about the public opinion polls?

There is a good case for wondering if the American people are as honest in talking to pollsters on such delicate questions as race and communism as they are in the privacy of the ballot box.

NEW TYPE OF PARTY

Senator GOLDWATER contends that an entirely new type of Republican Party is being built that will realine the American political system.

It is his belief that conservative Democrats will join his ranks and liberal Republicans will find a haven with the Johnson camp.

Since Senator GOLDWATER has already accomplished the impossible once, it is difficult to scoff when he proposes to try it the second time.

And if he can bring about a clear contest between right and left without letting it become a battle between black and white, the country will be served.

Adult Education Association of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has called all Americans to join with him in a determined effort to eliminate those most flagrant areas of poverty in our land that degrade the dignity of so many of our citizens and destroy their chances for achieving a successful and useful life. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the discussions of a distinguished group of professional educators, the members of the Adult Education Association of the United States of America, as they accept his challenge and urge the support of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964.

I firmly believe that solutions to the debilitating effects of poverty must begin in comprehensive programs of education and training, especially among those adults who are hampered in their attempts to find employment because they cannot read or write. The Adult Education Association, with which I have proudly been associated for 10 years, has consistently encouraged effective programs of adult night school, junior college, and university evening classes and extensions to eliminate illiteracy from our land and thereby to create the necessary conditions for combating poverty and strengthening our democratic institutions which depend so much upon a literate, informed, and concerned citizenry. I would like to publicly commend the association for its foresight and imagination and for its deep concern for the public welfare. The work of its members has been invaluable in developing adult education in America.

For this reason I sincerely hope that all will read with interest the following statement which will appear in the summer issue of the association's widely read and respected periodical, Adult Leadership.

STATEMENT OF THE ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO ITS MEMBERS AND FRIENDS, JULY 14, 1964, ABOUT THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ACT OF 1964

Most Americans today enjoy a standard of living never before available to the majority of the people of any country. Ironically, this very fact tends to blur our awareness that one out of every five Americans does not participate in the abundant life. These Americans are the forgotten men of our time. They are trapped in poverty. They and their children—unless we help them—seem headed for a future they can view only with apathy, bitterness or despair.

What can adult educators do about poverty? How can the educational forces linked together in this association most effectively help our fellow citizens replace apathy and despair with hope, vision and accomplishment? Do we really believe this Nation can abolish poverty? Are we really convinced that the forgotten Americans of our time can become full partners in building the great society to which our President has challenged us?

From the letters and comments of recent weeks it is apparent that most adult educators believe this Nation can eliminate poverty. It is also clear they believe we should. Many of them are already on record in support of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964. This association's executive committee has directed the staff to give every possible support to the antipoverty program.

If these sentiments are to become more than pious hopes, we must see clearly the essential tasks ahead of us and tackle them with unflinching resolve and wisdom. For these purposes, the Adult Education Association has invited interested national adult education agencies to join in an adult education task force on poverty—a task force that can take its place with other sources of national strength in a concerted drive to eliminate poverty. The task force will hold its first total meeting in September, although conversations have been underway more than 3 months looking toward its creation.

Some 24 national organizations have participated in these discussions to date. From their conversations three major conclusions stand out:

The first is that passage of legislation, called the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 (S. 2642 and H.R. 11377) will be aided by a personal commitment and action on the part of all those who believe in it. Sometime within the next month, this legislation will be voted on in both Houses. It is essential for those adult educators who believe in the act to let their sentiments be known and to encourage others to do likewise. Telegrams and letters to Congressmen and Senators are still appropriate ways to do this.

Second, it is necessary to know what the act actually authorizes and to be ready to move quickly to put its provisions into effect. Actually, the poverty program is not one program but a collection of programs. They will involve different educational agencies in different ways. For example, the primary responsibility of the public schools will come in section B of title II which authorizes $25 million for a program of adult basic education.

The universities will be involved in carrying out several sections of the bill. Right now 27 universities are conducting special 8-week training programs to prepare counselors to staff the youth opportunity centers that will be set up once the legislation passes.

Finally, it is apparent that even the generous programs authorized by the legislation will not, by themselves, be adequate for the magnitude of the task. It is essential that all the many agencies—public and private—with resources to combat poverty be enlisted

in a total national effort that can be effective in every place where poverty exists.

The antipoverty campaign must become urgent business for every church, industry, labor union, neighborhood organization, civic association, women's group, service club, professional association as well as for the formal institutions of education and public welfare, if it is to be successful.

It may well be that the chief value of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 will rest in its ability to focus vast resources and efforts that would otherwise remain unfocused, scattered, diffused. As America begins to draw on its many sources of energy, concern and skill, the services of almost every person and every organization will be needed in one way or another. The adult education resources of America—both formal and informal—face in the challenge of the poverty program a real measure of their ability to work together, and together to contribute to the expansion of opportunities for all.

Babbitt's Revolt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent column by Alice Widener, much wisdom is offered concerning the changing political climate of our Nation. It appears to be prophetic and I commend it to the attention of all thinking Americans. The article follows:

BABBITT'S REVOLT—SIGNIFICANT NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS TAKING FORM

(By Alice Widener)

In our Nation a significant new political movement appears to be taking place. It is the revolt of the American white and Negro middle class, after 32 years of being buffeted by the forces of social revolution.

If the Republican Party nominates Senator GOLDWATER as its candidate for President, the effects of the new American middle class attitude might enable him to win the election next November.

If the nomination is denied to GOLDWATER, the Republican Party probably will disintegrate and a major new political movement reflecting the middle class revolt will arise.

In a sense, this movement can be characterized as "Babbitt's revolt"—meaning that Babbitt, the generous, hardworking American middle class man of Main Street, will no longer tolerate being maligned, belittled, exploited, and scoffed at by the demagogic advocates of the welfare state and one Socialist world.

Today Babbitt knows he pays most of our Nation's bills; he knows he makes three of its four wheels go round; he also knows he is a giver to human society and not a taker from it.

Still more important, Babbitt has caught on to the fact that many highly touted new social values proved to be virtually worthless.

Mass progressive education didn't liberate American children for discovery of a new world; it turned them into Johnnies who can't read, write, spell, or do basic arithmetic. Federal and State aid-to-dependent-children didn't keep decent families together or rescue orphans from the storm of life.

Instead, ADC subsidized the breeding of thousands upon thousands of illegitimate offspring dependent for support on Babbitt's tax money.

Unemployment insurance didn't cure unemployment; it created a nationwide scarcity of essential service personnel.

Spend-and-spend economic policies didn't make the Nation prosperous; Babbitt's hard work, thrift, courage, and ambition did. The Federal spending only created a $334 billion national debt with a $12 billion annual burden of fixed Federal interest charges on Babbitt's back.

It took a long time for Babbitt to become aroused enough to revolt against the liberal establishment. He was too busy working and running his own family's affairs to pay much attention to the liberals' poor opinion of him.

The Supreme Court's school prayer decision, however, hit Babbitt where it really hurt—in his soul. In this decision, the liberals misjudged their man, for they didn't believe Babbitt had a soul.

After all, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Arthur Miller, Lillian Hellman and many other famous writers had proved in novels, plays, and movies that Babbitt was only a dull, selfish moneygrubber.

If given a chance, next November Mr. and Mrs. Babbitt and all the little Babbitts of voting age are going to defend themselves in the privacy of the voting booths against exploitation by demagogs.

If not given a chance, the Babbitts will get along with their own new political party.

Aristotle said more than 2,000 years ago that when a democracy degenerates into a demagogy, the superior people revolt. They always win, explained the great Greek, because they are superior.

In America today, the Babbitts are far superior to the so-called intellectual elite who toil not as they spin utopian illusions.

The Babbits also are superior to "let the government take care of me" chiselers, spongers, and beatniks. This is why the Babbitts' revolt will eventually be victorious, if not next November, then in the not too distant future.

Words Out of Season

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial on July 2, had some significant comments concerning the assassination of President Kennedy and the responsibility of the Commission appointed by President Johnson to investigate the assassination.

The editorial was entitled "Words Out of Season." Under leave to extend my remarks I include the editorial.

WORDS OUT OF SEASON

Attorney General Kennedy's comments in Cracow on the assassination of his brother doubtless sprang from the best motives. But he should not have made them before the official release of the Warren Commission's report.

In response to a diffident question from a student, according to reports, Mr. Kennedy frankly said he believed the murderer was Lee Oswald and that his crime was that of a misfit acting alone without ideological motivation.

Considering the European rumors and speculations on the crime as a possible conspiracy and Oswald as a possible scapegoat, Mr. Kennedy's words could have been calculated to have a clarifying and reassuring effect. However, they may also contribute to an impression that Americans have prejudged the case in less than strict compliance to expressed standards of justice.

What complicates the issue is that the Warren Commission is not a court of law, but an investigatory body. Its forthcoming "verdict" is nevertheless being given a weight similar to that of a trial. To many it appears that the accused should not be called guilty until and unless he is officially so found.

The unofficial publication of parts of the Oswald diary, which is in the hands of the Commission, is properly being investigated as a dubious "leak" of information, though apparently no one associated with the Commission was responsible. Some would question the frequent release to the press of information on Commission hearings and expected findings before the final report itself.

In the latter instance, there may have been justification for breaking what would have been a long silence between the assassination and the report. It may have been reasoned that some authoritative information was necessary to allay the uneasiness caused by insistent and sometimes bizarre second guessing by outsiders.

This is more understandable than an expression of opinion by the Attorney General of the United States in advance of the opinion of what amounts to the accused's court of last resort.

Legislative Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. WATSON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision of the Supreme Court dealing with legislative reapportionment has virtually condemned the time-tested legislative organization of almost every State in the Union. I for one can only express disbelief and amazement at such a flagrant abuse of the right of the people and individual States to decide such questions.

It has been brought to my attention by South Carolina's secretary of state, the Honorable O. Frank Thornton, that the National Association of Secretaries of State recently adopted a resolution dealing with this matter. In essence, the resolution calls for a constitutional amendment which would insure the right of States to organize their bicameral legislative bodies in line with the wishes of their citizens, provided the membership of one house is based on population.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of the complete resolution as passed by the association.

The text of the resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States in decisions rendered June 15, 1964, held that the equal protection clause of the Federal Constitution requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned solely on a population basis: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this National Association of Secretaries of State recommend that the Constitution of the United States be

amended to insure the right of the individual States to organize their bicameral legislative bodies in such manner as the people of such States may determine, so long as one house of said bicameral legislative bodies be apportioned on the basis of population as nearly as may be practical; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the National Association of Secretaries of State is directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and each Member of the House of Representatives and each Member of the Senate of the United States, and to the Attorney General of the United States.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the people of Arkansas are proud to claim General of the Army Douglas MacArthur as a native son. The late general was born at Little Rock on January 26, 1880, and during the months since his death, many of the citizens of the congressional district that I have the honor to represent have written to me to express their sadness at the passing of this great soldier.

A number of citizens of Searcy, Ark., sent me a petition recommending that a special postage stamp be issued commemorating the 85th anniversary of the birth of this outstanding man who led the Nation to victory in World War II. It is upon this very splendid suggestion that I have today introduced a bill calling for the issuance of such a stamp and appropriately providing that the place of initial sale be Little Rock, Ark., the place of the general's birth.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps the feelings of my constituents are best summarized by the many articles and editorials which appeared in the various Arkansas papers shortly after the death of General MacArthur. Among the noteworthy articles were those appearing in the Searcy Daily Citizen, the Arkansas Democrat, and the Arkansas Gazette, which follow:

[From the Searcy Daily Citizen, Apr. 6, 1964]

NOT PRESENT, BUT WELL ACCOUNTED FOR

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

The sad news has come in from Walter Reed Hospital. There never seemed really to be any doubt but that this time General MacArthur would die. But the news has shocked the public just the same because we are once again reminded that even the imperishable perish.

MacArthur was the last of the great Americans. It isn't at all certain that America is capable of producing another man of McArthur's caste. Such men spring from the loins of nations in whose blood courage runs: and we are grown anemic. That is why so many have spoken of an age that would die with MacArthur. An age where, occasionally, heroes arose, acknowledging as their imperatives that duty, honor, and country which MacArthur cherished, but which the Nation that rejected him has no stomach for, preferring the adulterated substitutes of the age of modulation.

I have often thought that it is a key to the understanding of what has happened to this country that Dwight Eisenhower became President, rather than Douglas MacArthur. This is not the time to slight Mr. Eisenhower, whose principal fault, after all, lies in his being quintessentially a part of his age: the age is at fault, not Eisenhower; the age was not imaginative enough for MacArthur. The age was afraid of MacArthur and well might it have been, because he stood above it, as De Gaulle stands above his own time. In France they turned, at last, to De Gaulle but only because the monstrous inefficiency of the French finally prevented recourse to yet one more mediocrity. We in America, being more efficient, more conservative, than the French, never felt the need to reach beyond a mediocrity, so we elected the affable Eisenhower and let MacArthur go to his Colombey-les-deux Eglises at the Waldorf Tower, there to fade away.

Even while he did that, he managed to retain his grandeur. It is an unfortunate image—fade away—as if, as the years went by, the general had grown paler and paler, ending up in a pastel inspidity from which all the vital colors of his manhood had drained. He grew, eventually, physically weak, but his powers were undiminished, his august presence unmistakable. When, as recently as a year ago, he walked into the meeting of the jaded celebrities from all over the world that Time magazine had convoked to celebrate an anniversary, he, and only he, produced that throat-catching sense of excitement which Henry Luce, subsequently introducing him, was prepared honestly and boyishly, to acknowledge, as an almost metaphysical property of that man.

It did not matter that he lived as a recluse in the Waldorf Towers, his presence was felt right up until the last minute, when messages of grief and concern stormed the Walter Reed Hospital, on a scale that overwhelmed hospital officials, who had never seen the like of it. A lot of us felt that for so long as he lived, the Nation drew, somehow, from his great strength. And now they are, we are, sad, and lonely; and grateful. If we as a nation must die, we can find no better words to die by, this side of Scripture, than his, given at his last public appearance at West Point:

"The shadows are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished—tone and tint. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll * * * But the evening of my memory * * * always there echoes and re-echoes: duty, honor, country."

[From the Arkansas Democrat, Apr. 7, 1964]

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

Few military men since the founding of the Nation have been held in so high regard by the public as Gen. Douglas MacArthur. He has passed into history, enjoying public esteem of a degree that has been bestowed on relatively few heroes of our country.

His life was cast in a heroic mold. His father, Arthur MacArthur, who was stationed at the Little Rock Arsenal when Douglas was born, had won the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroic action at Missionary Ridge in the Civil War, and later became one of the most distinguished military leaders of U.S. forces in the Spanish-American War.

At West Point, in setting a new record for academic performance, Douglas MacArthur gave promise of the succession of brilliant achievements that was to follow. In World War I, as Chief of Staff of the Rainbow Division he demonstrated the personal fearlessness, the determination, and the concern for his troops that Americans want in their generals.

As Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy, General MacArthur reorganized and broadened the training. He put substance into the curriculum.

In the defense of the Philippines he inspired his countrymen to greater efforts. He personified the Nation's will to victory in the face of tremendous setbacks, and in command of the Allied forces in the Southwest Pacific he fulfilled his heroic pledge that he had made on leaving the Philippine Islands.

Occupied Japan under his administration got the best possible lesson in the character of American democracy. Firm and fair, he established a new order that preserved the fine things of the old culture and afforded a basis for the prosperity and freedom of Japan.

The Korean war might have had a vastly different outcome if the general's advice had been followed.

General MacArthur lived as eloquently as he spoke. He epitomized the American military tradition. Arkansas is proud to claim him as a native son.

[From the Arkansas Gazette, Apr. 6, 1964]

GENERAL'S VISIT TO LITTLE ROCK WAS A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY

Gen. Douglas MacArthur was at Little Rock twice during his 84 years—at his birth, and for a 5-hour-and-15-minute visit 72 years later, on March 24, 1952.

He returned then only at the insistence of Pratt C. Remmel, who had impressed the military hero by having become the first Republican in 60 years to be elected mayor of Little Rock.

It was a stopover from a trip to Jackson, Miss., where he was given a tumultuous welcome and where he had addressed the Mississippi Legislature.

He was "tired and sentimental" on that visit, wrote one observer. MacArthur sat "immobile and erect" during a Lenten sermon at Christ Episcopal Church, where he had been christened as a baby, and afterward told the minister, Rev. J. Hodge Alves, "You've given me a breath of fresh air."

He was taken directly to the church from the airport, and afterward dedicated a rose garden at MacArthur Park, site of the old Arsenal Building that had served years before as officers' quarters, including those of his father, Gen. Arthur MacArthur. MacArthur was born there January 26, 1880, and moved away with his family 18 months later.

While at MacArthur Park he toured the old building, now the restored Museum of Natural History and Antiquities, and quipped with the curator, Mrs. Bernie Babcock, that he couldn't recall the room of his birth.

The MacArthur party had an informal lunch at the home of Mr. and Mrs. A. Howard Stebbins, Jr., at 34 Edgehill Road, leaving there for the airport and departure at 3 p.m.

His only speech was a brief one from a bandshell at MacArthur Park.

NEARLY 26,000 GREETED HIM

An estimated 26,000 persons, many with cameras, saw the MacArthur party, which included Mrs. MacArthur, their only son, Arthur, the general's three aides.

On that visit, the MacArthurs seemed to have impressed everyone with their graciousness, ease of manner and cooperativeness with the hundreds of photographers, among them the Negro houseboy of the Stebbinses, for whose Brownie camera the three MacArthurs posed on the Stebbins terrace.

The meeting was a nonpolitical one at a time when MacArthur, only recently recalled from his Far East Command by President Truman, was being frequently mentioned as a possible presidential nominee.

The Little Rock visit, said MacArthur's longtime aide, Maj. Gen. Courtney Whitney, was "the best managed reception of this sort the MacArthurs have attended since their return" to the United States from Japan. He paid particular credit for it to Jack Pickens, now of the Pickens-Bond Construction Co., who had directed arrangements.

Reduced Withholding Tax Rates: Spend Now, Pay Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, many Americans finding extra money in their pockets from the recent reduction in taxes are in for a rude shock next April 15. An article in the July 6 New York Times notes that few people have exercised the privilege of having their employers increase their tax-withholding to avoid extra payments or reduced refunds when income tax payments come due at that time.

Because of the greater reduction in withholding rates than in tax rates, net tax refunds next spring will be less by several billion dollars than they were this year, and many individual taxpayers will have to make a payment to the Treasury instead of owing nothing or getting a refund.

During debate on the tax cut proposal, I pointed out that the administration-backed steep, one-shot cut in the withholding rate from 18 to 14 percent could have harmful effects on individuals and on the economy in general. This article serves to warn those who have been led to believe they can freely spend all of their tax cut now and still have only a small tax payment or even a refund when tax returns are due next year. With unanimous consent, I place the article in the RECORD at this time.

FEW ARE RAISING TAX WITHHOLDING—TREASURY FINDS TAXPAYERS ARE NOT MOVING IN LARGE NUMBERS TO SHIFT RATE—BUYING POWER BUOYED—EXTRA PAYMENTS WILL RESULT FROM FAILURE TO REVISE DEDUCTION SCHEDULES

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, July 5.—American taxpayers have not moved in large numbers to have their employers increase their withholding taxes to avoid extra payments or reduced refunds next year.

This conclusion, of considerable importance for the economy, has been reached by the Treasury on the basis of tax collections in the months following the tax cut.

The first month on which firm conclusions could be based was June, and officials are now reasonably convinced that the bulk of wage and salary earners simply let their withholding taxes drop in line with the new schedules in the tax bill.

This means that new purchasing power is being pumped into the economy in almost the amount anticipated, or $800 million a month.

TAX REFUNDS ESTIMATED

However, it also means that net tax refunds next April and May will be less by several billion dollars than they were this year.

Many individual taxpayers will have to make a payment to the Treasury instead of owing nothing or getting a refund, others will get smaller refunds than usual, and others will make a larger payment than in the past. The reason is the steep, one-shot cut in the withholding rate from 18 to 14 percent provided in the tax bill.

The fact was fairly widely publicized at the time the tax bill was enacted, as was the fact that taxpayers have the right to have their withholding increased by decreasing the number of claimed exemptions.

However, relatively few taxpayers seem to have done so.

COLLECTIONS CITED

Actual collections in June from withholding taxes were about $500 million less than in June a year earlier. But the rise in total wages and salaries would have produced an increase of $200 million but for the tax cut. This accounts for $700 million of the $800 million a month counted upon.

The remainder, officials report, is within the normal margin of error in estimating revenues and other factors. Hence the conclusion is that not much adjusting of withholding on the initiative of individual wage and salary earners has taken place.

The problem of "underwithholding" arises only for 1 year. Next year tax rates will decline under the tax bill to a point in line with a 14-percent withholding rate.

Trying To Protect States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed editorial from the July 8 edition of the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item is a tribute to our colleague, Mr. MCCULLOCH. I ask that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

TRYING TO PROTECT STATES RIGHTS

Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, a Congressman from Ohio, whose district includes Preble and Darke Counties, is among those who are concerned over the Supreme Court's increasing encroachment upon the powers of individual States.

The most recent case in point involves a decision last month in which the Supreme Court held that States must apportion their legislatures on the basis of population alone, not geographically.

Representative MCCULLOCH, opposing the high Court's view has introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution which would guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population.

"It has appeared to a rapidly increasing number of thoughtful citizens that the Supreme Court has begun in recent years to exceed its proper authority and usurp powers which long have been held to belong to the States or to other branches of the Federal Government," Representative MCCULLOCH has charged.

Representative MCCULLOCH takes the position, rightly so, that it is up to the States themselves, not the U.S. Supreme Court, to make any needed remedies in legislative apportionment.

But the Supreme Court has been sticking its nose more and more into States' rights. It wants to act as a reformer, but its sole job is that of legal interpreter.

Incidentally, Chief Justice Earl Warren has been caught in a reversal of his own opinions in connection with the legislative reapportionment issue.

When he was Governor of California he took a view opposite from that of the Supreme Court which held that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned according to population.

Warren as Governor cited the example of the U.S. Congress. Members of the House of Representatives are chosen on a basis of population while each State, large and small, has two Senators.

Warren spoke at that time of the "balanced representation" through equal representation in one House and proportionate representation in the other.

Now Warren is singing a different tune. He says to cite the argument that the National Congress has two types of representation is only rationalization.

Was Chief Justice Warren rationalizing when he was Governor of California? What caused him to change his mind?

The Role of Health and Sanitation in Recreation Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, the problem of keeping the great outdoors in a sufficient state of nature and yet providing shelter and the other facilities now required to keep recreational areas from becoming health hazards is plaguing all levels of government. Mr. Francis Dunn, a personal friend of mine, and chief of the housing division of the department of industrial relations of the State of California, delivered an excellent speech on this problem which is highly informative. But I commend it to my colleagues for another reason as well. It is a model of the concise and witty exposition we would do well to emulate.

THE ROLE OF HEALTH AND SANITATION IN RECREATION DEVELOPMENT

(By Francis Dunn)

I eagerly accepted the opportunity to report to my former colleagues, members of National Association of Counties, the problems I have encountered in the year I have served as chief of the Division of Housing for the State of California, an agency with the responsibility of establishing and enforcing health and safety standards for the operation, among other things, of private resorts, recreational trailer parks and campgrounds.

I could be brief and stop by merely saying the role of health and sanitation in recreation development is law enforcing-bureaucratic interference with recreational trailer park and camp developers and a cause of much expense to people whose only desire is to provide a place where jaded city folk can get back to nature, often exemplified by a hand water pump and an outhouse in close proximity to each other. Sometimes there are modern conveniences like weather-beaten electrical drop cords strung around to illuminate the area.

We in the West from our ideas of eastern-type camping from records such as Allen Sherman's recent hit "Dear Mudda, Dear Fadda" and we assume private recreation areas are highly organized and developed.

In the West this type of private development has been usually carried on by responsible organizations such as Scouts, YMCA's, and similar groups and some industrial companies with active personnel departments.

I have often asked people of my acquaintance about their own desires when seeking the great outdoors. The answer is usually "I like to get out where it's quiet beside a pure mountain stream—preferably hiking into a wilderness area with just a pack and perhaps a sleeping bag." Some of the more effete want the luxury of a packhorse. Well—there now exists a noisy, smelly monster called a "tote goat," it's really a motorcycle, which has suplanted the packhorse and even the jeep in penetrating the wilderness even beyond places where a horse can go within the limits of a brief vacation or hunting trip.

Perhaps most of these expressions of desire for the wilderness are wistful thinking, born of boyhood dreams when both cash and paid vacations—and hence the opportunity to make these dreams come true—were once in much shorter supply than they are today.

Formerly only a relative few could find the opportunity to realize their youthful dreams. Now it is literally possible for hundreds of thousands of people to invade our shrinking wilderness areas and turn the pristine beauties of nature into a litter-strewn, junk-studded rural slum without even the sometimes inadequate sewage and garbage disposal and drinking water facilities found in the urban slum.

Archeologists will tell you ancient civilizations often perished in their own garbage. Our modern civilization with its canned—packaged—precooked way of life provides us with more rubbish and garbage; and with cars, station wagons, camp cars and trailers, not to mention the aforesaid "tote goat," we can spread our litter wider and transport it and ourselves further than ever before. And being free, individual Americans, we resent bitterly any bureaucrat who attempts to interfere, or question our right to do so.

Someone has said, "show me a home where the buffalo roam and I'll show you a messy house." The modern seeker after solitude and the company of the grizzly bear, the eagle, and the elk will most likely find himself today surrounded by swarms of people in number akin to buffalo herds of the 19th century.

I will not bore you with the usual population statistics. It is well to remember that added to more people is the inevitable trend to the shorter workweek, longer vacations, retirement programs, and by no means least the boating craze, all creating demands for more and more sanitation facilities—expensive to install and seasonal in nature—the prospect of the private developer breaking even on his investment is remote in many cases.

The established pattern of Federal and State parks has been a requirement for a low registration or a daily camping fee, creating a competitive situation often misunderstood or unknown to the general public but sufficient to discourage the development of badly needed additional recreation facilities by private investors or even local agencies.

The basic needs of man for potable water and sewage disposal facilities must be met wherever he goes. When he congregates in ever greater numbers in areas once thought remote, the necessity for sometimes large financial investments to meet the needs required by even minimum standards of health and safety to protect the individual and the general public from the hazards of contagious diseases and epidemics are as apparent as they are difficult to achieve.

In California, and I am sure we are not alone, it has not been uncommon for the clear mountain stream on its meanderings to the Golden Gate to become alternately the water supply and the sewer outfall for many communities along its banks. Great efforts and much money have been expended to correct these conditions; surely, knowing as we do the impact added population will have on our recreational areas, the problem should not be now compounded by permitting pollution further upstream.

The National Association of Counties in endorsing the recommendation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission that the pivotal role "in adequately meeting the Nation's outdoor recreation needs lie with 'private enterprise,' the State and local government" surely recognized that certain facts are beyond dispute:

1. Outdoor recreational facilities will be in ever greater demand. They will become accessible to more people.

2. Potable water and sanitary facilities sufficient for the need in the area to be served must be available. They must be designed and installed so as not to create a pollution or health problem either in the immediate area or in other places.

3. Where buildings are required or permitted they must be safe for occupancy.

4. Where electricity is used, it must be safely installed and maintained. The same is true of heating appliances.

The obligation to make and maintain the foregoing installations is generally based on a use that will normally not extend beyond a period each year ranging from 70 to 100 days with high peak loads for perhaps not more than 20 of those days.

Surely "private enterprise" is not going to rush in to meet such needs in the face of unfair competition from governmental agencies.

The Federal parks and camps, of course, cannot be regulated by States without the consent of Congress. California, I know, excludes not only itself, but also "any agency or political subdivision of the State from compliance with its own laws with regard to trailer parks and tent camps."

This means not merely cities and counties but also flood control; irrigation, conservation, and reclamation districts, most of which have a potential for creating useful recreational assets.

The California State park system has established a policy that all trailer facilities providing full services to trailers will be built to standards required of private trailer park operators.

Many local agencies have just plain not been able to keep people away from a dam or other manmade recreational facility, despite the lack of any sanitary facilities and, in the case of many special districts, no authority to spend money to make them available.

In 1958 Lake Berryessa in Napa County, Calif., a flood control project became available to the public. Despite poor access roads and no development or facilities for visitors, half-a-million people visited the lake that year, creating almost disastrous problems of traffic, water safety, and health and sanitation. The Board of Supervisors of Napa County courageously faced this challenge and has developed a land management plan which, if properly carried out, should provide an ideal self-liquidating recreational asset for northern california. The 1963 attendance has risen to about 1,100,000 people. This lake has the benefit of a long season and is readily accessible to close to 4 million people within 2 hour's drive.

Almost every visitor to South America reports performing an exercise known as the Aztec trot. The problem in developing outdoor recreation areas is financing and providing a place to which to trot.

Perhaps I have drawn a pessimistic picture. The role of "enforcer" of health and safety regulations is not always a pleasant one.

I have not tried to offer solutions; other speakers may do that. All I want to do is to tell you the situation as I have found it. There are case histories which in the interests of time I have omitted, but despite the magnitude of the problem—it must be met—the increasing migration to the outdoors cannot and should not be halted; rather it needs to be encouraged.

Every opportunity for increasing the inventory of potential areas for recreation, ranging from local playground to national park, must be seized and properly developed as investments in our future. Our responsibility, as we use up the land, is to cherish as much as possible for future generations the heritage of America as a land where the free, clean air and the great outdoors can be reached by all of its people.

What the Supreme Court Did to Your Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a resolution to amend the Constitution so as to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population. This becomes necessary because of the recent decision of the Supreme Court holding that State legislatures must be composed of representatives elected only on the basis of population. The Court has in effect held that the "one person, one vote" theory must be applied to the legislative apportioning of all the State legislatures.

I seriously question the constitutional and historical basis for this Supreme Court decision, but there is certainly no question about the effect compliance with this edict will have on the patterns of representation in the various States and the blow which has been leveled at the rural areas of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the August issue of the Farm Journal entitled "What the Supreme Court Did to Your Vote," and I ask that this article by Claude Gifford be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT DID TO YOUR VOTE

(By Claude W. Gifford)

In one sweeping, historic gesture, the U.S. Supreme Court has voted (6 to 3) to:

Reach down into each State and remake the State legislatures across the land.

The Court has ordered that States must stir themselves to district both houses of their State legislatures on the basis of population—and the population in each district must be substantially equal. This is likely to force 40 or more States to revamp their legislatures.

This will toss into the ashcan one of the basic, time-honored cornerstones of our system of American representative government.

Since colonial days, States and the Federal Government have selected one house on the basis of population, and the other house partially or entirely by area. It has been one of the vital parts of our check-and-balance governmental system.

The new Court decision shears farm people of a good share of the influence they've had in their State governments.

A State senate based largely on area permits representatives of farm sections to better serve widely scattered farm people and their economic and minority interests.

Also, it has served as a brake against population centers running off with all the marbles, or imposing the "tyrany of the majority"—a point held dear by the Founding Fathers.

If this Court decision stands, it will bring one of the most sweeping overnight changes in American government since the Revolution. Farmers and rural areas will feel it most:

It will immediately give farmers less voice in their States over the use of road funds, water rights, school consolidation, allocation of State school aid, real estate taxes, extension programs, conservation, condemning land for recreation and open spaces, hunting laws, and other matters close to the interests of farmers and rural areas.

Cities and their suburbs, which will be handed more seats in one house—adding to what they already have in the other—will increasingly run things at the State capitol.

"If this Supreme Court decision is permitted to stand, the State of Illinois will be completely ruled from this day forward by Chicago," sums up Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Similar prospects face other States, where a few big cities have a majority, or close to a majority, of the State's citizens.

Organized labor was quick to sense the crippling blow to farmers. The Committee on Political Education of the AFL–CIO, in its COPE publication of June 29, appraised the decision: "Curtains for rural-dominated horse-and-buggy State governments unresponsive to the needs of an increasingly urban nation."

COPE told its labor-union readers to expect a "surge of responsible, progressive action within the States aimed at advancing the social and economic welfare of their citizens."

Sensing a jugular vein strike at farmers, COPE applauded: "The Court pitched the third strike against lopsided representation which has given the rural voter a powerful advantage over his city and suburban counterpart. And, as in baseball, three strikes means you're out."

Another view, long held by political scholars, is that farmers represent an independent spirit, stable social qualities, desirable moral values, and unique economic interests. In a typical legislature where one house gives greater weight to area representation, these qualities of farm people balance off city political action which is more impulsive, more reliant on central government, and is more inclined to organize into political machines that are run by "bosses."

"One house based on population and one based on area, assures minority and area interests of some representation and contributes to the check-and-balance system that has worked well for 188 years," says Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

What led the Supreme Court to invade this balance and upset State legislatures? The Court opened the door a crack in 1962 in a Tennessee case. The Court said, in effect, that if 30,000 people elect a representative in one district—and 300,000 people elect a representative in another district—the votes of the citizens in the bigger district don't count for as much as those in the smaller district. Their votes are "debased" and the people don't have "equal protection under the law" as guaranteed by the 14th amendment.

That decision was a little vague about what States should do, saying only that State apportionment should make sense.

Since then, State after State has agonized over reapportionment. Meantime, small groups of citizens in densely populated areas caught the scent of new power. Groups in nearly 30 States leaped into their courts to press for a clearer definition of what "made sense" to the Supreme Court.

A band of Alabama citizens sued, contending that the State constitution called for redistricting every 10 years—but it hadn't been done since 1901. They claimed that when 19.4 percent of the State's people live in districts which could elect a majority of the State's senators, that this surely didn't "make sense." (In 13 States, 20 percent or less of the State's population can elect a majority of one house of the State legislature.)

This kind of admittedly laggard action by some States and extreme disparity between districts probably prodded the Court to go whole hog.

Judging cases in Alabama, Colorado, Delaware, Maryland, New York, and Virginia all on the same day, the Court ruled that unequal districts are unconstitutional. Further, in a majority opinion by Chief Justice Warren, the Court said that political equality can mean only one thing: "one person, one vote * * * to say that a vote is worth more in one district than in another would run counter to our fundamental ideas of democratic government."

"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres," said Warren. "Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests."

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union agrees that, "The decision is fully consistent with the principles and ideals of democratic government intended to insure everyone an equal voice in the affairs of government. This principle rightfully should apply, in my judgment, to government whether local, State or National."

Three of the Supreme Court Justices disagreed with the majority Court opinion. "Sixth-grade arithmetic," scoffed Justice Harlan.

Sure, trees, land, or pasture don't vote, said Harlan, but it's more meaningful that "people are not ciphers and legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect the place where the electors live."

Harlan further pointed out that history shows clearly that when the States ratified the 14th amendment after the Civil War that they did not intend that it would upset their State legislatures. Two-thirds of them had constitutions permitting one house to be apportioned on a basis other than population alone. Differences in population between districts was "widespread and substantial" then, as now.

Harlan did an eloquent job from within the Court of summing up an opinion that many of today's citizens are coming to hold of the Supreme Court:

The decision puts the "basic aspects of State political systems under the pervasive overlordship of the Federal judiciary.

"Nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court.

"The Court's elaboration of its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

Several Congressmen agree. They followed the lead of Representative MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, in introducing joint resolutions in Congress to make it clear that States have a right to apportion their State legislatures the way people in the States want to. If passed by Congress and then ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures, it would become a new constitutional amendment.

Representative TUCK of Virginia and others introduced bills to tell the Court flatly that it has no jurisdiction over State apportionment. They feel the Court would back down in a direct showdown with Congress.

These bills (about 60) will get a hearing before the House judiciary committee starting July 22.

The Senate-House Republican leadership has grasped the issue, saying that it will take the lead in preserving the rights of States to select one house geographically.

State governments have spoken up. The Southern and Western Conferences of the Council of State Governments have met and asked for a constitutional amendment to undo the Court's decision.

Speech by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey at State Convention of the Young Democrats in Louisville, Ky., June 26, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a speech delivered by the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the State convention of the Young Democrats in Louisville, Ky., on June 26.

The speech is as follows:

YOUNG DEMOCRATS CONVENTION, LOUISVILLE, KY.

Coming here to address a Young Democrats convention gives me a little pause. It seems like only yesterday that even my wife considered me a Young Democrat.

So, you not only honor me, you flatter me when you ask me to substitute for two such fine young Democrats as TED KENNEDY and BIRCH BAYH.

Since receiving your gracious invitation from Governor Breathitt I've taken a slightly different look at the Senate and it's made me do a little thinking.

The U.S. Senate is a changed body since that day back in 1949 when I first took the oath of office at the age of 37. For one thing, we have many more good Democrats in the chamber now. But there's been another change, too. The people are sending younger men to Washington.

Do you realize that there now are 11 men in the Senate who are under 45? All but two of them are Democrats.

And take a look at the freshmen class of 1962 that produced BIRCH BAYH and TED KENNEDY. There are eight freshmen Democrats in that class. Three of them are under 40—BIRCH BAYH, TED KENNEDY, and DAN INOUYE, of Hawaii. Four of those eight freshman Democrats are in their forties. And the oldest freshman Democrat is 54.

I think this tells us something about the appeal of the Democratic Party. I think this tells us that young people are attracted to the Democratic Party—that there is a future in the Democratic Party for young people.

The main reason for this is that the Democratic Party doesn't discourage its young. It is not afraid of new ideas. It doesn't fear the future.

The Democratic Party doesn't wring its hands over problems and grumble "that's the way things have always been—you can't do anything about it." No, we look on problems as challenges, opportunities, responsibilities.

The late President Kennedy put it well in his stirring inaugural address: "I do not shrink from this responsibility; I welcome it."

This is also the credo of the man who succeeded President Kennedy—Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Johnson has vowed to carry on the New Frontier programs of John F. Kennedy and work toward creation of the great society. He looks forward—not backward to the lost horizon.

The issue in November will be clear. The Republican Party—or at least those who claim to speak for it—is proclaiming its yearning for the good old days of long ago when everything was oh so simple. They would cope with the issues of the 1960's by retreating into the last century.

Now, I don't scoff at nostalgia. It's a lot of fun—in its proper place. But nostalgia is not an acceptable issue for the campaign of 1964. Retreat into the past does not solve the problems that confront us today.

Nor does it do any good to come up with a lot of "shoot from the hip" nonsense about selling the Tennessee Valley Authority or trying to scrap the social security system by making it voluntary.

No; we Democrats believe in keeping the best things of the past and building on them. We are not afraid to look into the future and work for the full development of each man's potential.

Our aim is to give every American the means and the opportunity to secure the better things of life for himself and his children. This is the primary goal of the "great society" envisioned by President Johnson.

It is to our advantage—to the Nation's advantage—to have everyone in this country aspiring to live a better life and reach a little higher on the ladder and have better economic opportunities and more social justice.

This is what we are talking about when we talk about civil rights. With the enactment of the civil rights bill we will be presented with a great opportunity to strive for a true community of people * * * where neighbors regard each other with charity and compassion * * * where Americans of all races live together in harmony and good will.

We must go to the people of America with the message that men are needed to seek peaceful, constructive, and positive responses to the blight of discrimination, segregation, and prejudice. Every American—from the President in Washington to the schoolchild in every State—must become active participants in this crusade for human dignity.

There are political theorists who claim that the essence of politics is power. They are wrong—even though power is a necessary element in the process of politics. The essence of politics is the search for just solutions to the fundamental problems of society. The essence of politics is the asking and reasking of the most difficult of all questions: What is justice? What is right?

I believe that in this country we have had too much emphasis placed on what is wrong in our country. I believe criticism is absolutely necessary in our democratic society. But we shouldn't let any lopsided emphasis on what is wrong with our society blind us to the gains we have made and are making.

Nor should we become so preoccupied with criticism that we fail to point the way to a better life. I am a positive Democrat. The politics of complaint and denunciation does not satisfy my sense of public duty nor my progressive spirit. I believe in the politics of advocacy and action.

That is why I am so proud of the record being made by our great President, Lyndon Johnson. In continuing and adding to the programs of the late President Kennedy he is making sure that the Kennedy-Johnson administration will be known to history as the time of the rebirth of the progressive spirit in America.

One of the clearest expressions of this is the President's declaration of war against poverty.

In ringing terms he has told us that the richest nation in the world can't afford to have one-fifth of its people living in poverty—that the richest nation in the world can't afford unemployment and periods of economic recession.

So far, I'm happy to report that under the Kennedy-Johnson administration we have had a recordbreaking period of more than 40 months of continuing prosperity and progress. Times are good, the number of people working is at a record high and profits and income are all up.

But this should not make us smug or satisfied. We have too much unemployment, too many pockets of poverty, and we must do more to attack the roots of poverty and the conditions that breed it.

One of the main battlegrounds in the war on poverty will be in the rural areas of America where the small farmer is being driven further and further to the wall—or forced to leave the life he and his family have known for generations for the pressure-cooker atmosphere of our big cities.

This administration is trying to help these hard-pressed farmers by providing technical assistance and loans so they can take unneeded and marginal cropland out of production and convert it to other profitable uses—grassland, woodland, wildlife and game refuges, or recreational areas.

We also are acting to improve rural housing, helping smaller communities with urban renewal projects and loans for new public facilities and new water and sewage systems.

All this will help win the war on poverty—but the primary effort will come in the field of education.

We must give better education to our children. I am sure no one would disagree with this. But I also am sure you will hear a lot of grumbling and quibbling about the cost from some of our shortsighted citizens.

I say there is no such thing as an expenditure for education. There is an investment in education. Every dollar we invest in education will come back tenfold. An investment for your sons and daughters, for your grandchildren, for your country * * * because education is power and education is wealth.

This present Congress—the 88th Congress—has done more for education than any Congress since the Morrill Land-Grant College Act was passed in 1863.

But we must do more—and we shall. President Johnson stated our goal in his speech on the Great Society last month. "For every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from," the President said.

Mr. Johnson went on to say that the "place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal."

We still face a critical classroom shortage in this country. We still have too many underpaid teachers. We do not have enough guidance and counseling services for our high school students. We need more specially trained teachers to help 5 million retarded and handicapped children become useful citizens. We need more engineers, scientists, and technicians for an age where excellence is the standard—not merely a desirable goal.

These challenges we can meet. We have the opportunity to make the development of brainpower America's most important task and education our first and foremost industry.

But I can tell you here and now this is a challenge that will never be met by a political party that doesn't care—or even worse by a political party that is bent only on destruction.

We are going into the campaign of 1964 with a President who wants to unite this country and not tear it apart. And our task as fellow Democrats is to maintain that unity within our own party. Above all, we should conduct ourselves with good manners, good taste, and firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.

U.S. Employment Service Against Private Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, there has been a growing concern for some time on the part of private employment agencies that the U.S. Employment Service is interfering with private enterprise in the personnel and employment agency field to the detriment of many small business companies.

On June 11, 1964, Mr. J. Tyson Lee, president of Lee Associates, Inc., of Baltimore, wrote the President of the United States outlining his views on this matter. I believe Mr. Lee's views will be of interest to my colleagues. For this reason I include the text of his letter here in the RECORD:

LEE ASSOCIATES, INC.,
Baltimore, Md., June 11, 1964.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MR. PRESIDENT: As a small businessman, I am earnestly requesting your help for myself and my employees, as well as 4,000 similar businesses throughout this country. I have taken the liberty of communicating with you on this subject as I feel that you are cooperative toward big and little business. For the past 10 years, the U.S. Employment Service has seriously interfered with private enterprise in the personnel and employment agency field. This interference affects small and big business. If allowed to continue, it will put many small companies out of business, and finally control all hiring for all plants throughout the Nation.

Many years ago, the U.S. Employment Service was started with the idea of helping the unemployed get a job. This purpose was good, and it would still be so if this governmental agency was operated along the lines as originally intended. However, like some other Government agencies, it has expanded beyond all reasonable limits. For some time, it has been moving men and women from one job to another. It is continuously advertising in the papers and on the radio job openings for the employed in this country and overseas.

At this time, the USES is requesting the Senate Labor Subcommittee on Appropriations for $50 million more than usual for operating expenses, so that it can further expand. It now wants to put representatives on every college campus to interview the graduates. Many industrial companies send their own recruiters to do this, or ask private agencies to do the screening. It seems clear that under its method of operation, the USES is seeking to control all the placing of new employees, and to be in charge of anyone desiring to change or improve his or her

status in the business world. It is obvious to any intelligent person that this serious menace to private business, if allowed to continue, will lead us into a complete socialistic system.

I believe, Mr. President, that it is easy to visualize that in the not too distant future, management will have to have permission to hire or fire an individual. Should there develop a depressed area, companies will be told to keep on employees and the Government will reimburse them. This could extend to control over who might be hired and fired, and eventually result in the end of our free enterprise system.

The Baltimore Association of Commerce has publicly stated its opposition to the present method of operation of the USES. In addition, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is on record as being opposed to this growing menace to private business.

I earnestly appeal to you, sir, to look into this situation and provide the necessary safeguards for our private enterprise system.

Respectfully,

J. TYSON LEE,
President.

Senator Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, most of the reports from Europe are derogatory to Senator GOLDWATER and his presidential nomination by the Republican Party. It is refreshing, however, to find that the Intelligence Digest, printed in Gloucestershire, England, has a very objective analysis of the Senator's views as expressed in their issue No. 308 published before the Senator was nominated. The analysis follows:

SENATOR GOLDWATER

Recently, President Johnson has described the immense present nuclear power of America. In his view this is so terrific that Russia could not strike at Western Europe or America without overwhelming destruction to herself. The deterrent has proved all powerfull and all effective, says President Johnson.

That may well now be true.

But what caused America to galvanize herself into the effort which has produced this result?

In 1942, when Russia started her new-style, aggressive anti-Western plans only one voice of warning was raised. It was that of Intelligence Digest.

Between 1942 and 1949, a very high proportion of those who joined in the warnings had been, or were, subscribers to or readers of Intelligence Digest.

Between 1949 and 1962, a number of anti-Communist groups and movements sprang up. Most of them derived their first information and sense of anxiety from Intelligence Digest.

A MASS OF SMALL EFFORTS

The anti-Communist groups are much despised. They are also much divided; but they have been like the small springs, the confluence of which provides an immense generating power.

But for the mass of small efforts, the American public as a whole would never have been alerted to such an extent that it became national policy to create a deterrent which has, so far, stopped Russia from the conquest of all Europe and the Middle East.

Contemporary journalism may sneer at the anti-Communist groups as much as it likes, but, in fact, they were responsible for creating a broad public opinion which has permitted the expenditure which has saved the world from a disaster.

NOT A WARMONGER

But what has this to do with Senator GOLDWATER and his critics?

Senator GOLDWATER may or may not get the Republican nomination. If he does get it, he may or may not be America's choice for President. This has nothing to do with Intelligence Digest. What has to do with us is to make an accurate record of facts.

The British press says that Senator GOLDWATER is a warmonger who wants to use nuclear weapons all over the place and to put the American economy back into the Stone Age.

Is this true?

We think it to be false.

The Senator has no desire at all to use nuclear weapons anywhere. What he says is that it will be fatal if, despite the deterrent, America allows communism to creep in underneath the barrier which the deterrent provides. If this happened, he said, the deterrent would have proved useless.

It is no use possessing immense power if that power is not applied. By this, Senator GOLDWATER does not mean that it must be physically used, but that its existence must be applied to precise situations.

Senator GOLDWATER maintains that if, despite America's efforts, all southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America are lost, the existence of the deterrent will have proved useless. That is all he says, except to add that the application of the threat should be to a large extent decided on local military advice.

Senator GOLDWATER's policy should be judged in the light of what he means and not what his bitter enemies falsely report that they think he has in mind.

This is a question, therefore, as to whether America's nuclear power should remain a showpiece or be applied—not by dropping the bomb but by making it clear that if aggression does not cease in vital areas, then the risk which the aggressors will have to face is that of the nuclear deterrent.

This means, in other words, the translation of the deterrent into positive, instead of negative, value.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

The immense wealth of America has twice saved civilization from complete disaster—after World Wars I and II.

This wealth may have been used in an irritating manner; it may have been used unwisely in certain areas. But, by and large, it twice saved the civilized world from economic collapse.

It has provided the money for the nuclear deterrent which has saved us from Soviet occupation of Western Europe. There can be no doubt at all about this.

This vast wealth sprang from rugged private enterprise, and from that alone. But, as American wealth has increased, there has been a trend toward government control, and there has been a gradual erosion of enterprise. Senator GOLDWATER fears that, if this tendency persists, the basic system which induced America's wealth may be destroyed. He suggests that it would be unwise completely to destroy what has proved the greatest economic success in recorded history.

That is all he says. One would think that this was a viewpoint worth some thought.

A TRIED SYSTEM

Moreover, he foresees that, apart from the corrupting dangers of overcentralization and government control, a free-for-all welfare system and a wage spree unrelated to production, but financed by limitless paper bills, will lead to an inflation which the built-in supports will not be able to withstand.

Since Senator GOLDWATER is able to observe what is happening in the Common Market countries and India and is likely to occur again in Britain, one cannot blame him for a prudent look at the signs.

If it is to be a fool and a backwoods reactionary to desire to apply power created to avert successful aggression; if it is to be a fool to have a desire to save a system which has worked better than any other in history; and if it is to be a backwoods reactionary to regard with prudence exaggerations likely to cause bankruptcy—then, of course, there is no more to be said.

VIEWS DESERVING STUDY

This Service cannot with honesty say that it finds that Senator GOLDWATER's views coincide with what is reported of them in the British press; nor can it say that what he says is altogether foolish. We think that his views deserve close and reasonable study.

Goldwater's Popularity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot about defection from Republican ranks to the Democrats because of the poor popularity rating of Senator GOLDWATER. An article in the Washington Star pointed out, even before the Republican Convention, that Senator GOLDWATER outpolled President Johnson among businessmen of both parties by a thumping 58 to 31 percent with 11 percent undecided.

Mr. Max Freedman points out in an editorial that Senator GOLDWATER is growing in his new role and I believe that during the course of the campaign he will convince the skeptics—whose numbers are highly overexaggerated—that he is a man with a deep sense of responsibility.

Under unanimous consent, I include at this point the aforementioned article and editorial:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 9, 1964]

BUSINESSMEN FAVOR GOLDWATER, POLL FINDS

A nationwide poll indicates that Arizona's Senator GOLDWATER is the choice of over half the Republican and independent businessmen for the GOP presidential nomination, the Research Institute of America reports.

But the study also showed that among all 6,000 businessmen polled, regardless of party, President Johnson would get close to one-third of their votes compared with President Kennedy's rating of 1 in 5 before the 1960 election.

A spokesman said the institute is a commercial polling and research firm. He said that no party or candidate had commissioned the poll. The poll was conducted July 1–3.

Replies from Republicans and independents listed Senator GOLDWATER as the first choice of 55 percent, followed by Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, at 20 percent, and former Vice President Nixon at 12 percent.

When paired with Mr. Johnson, Senator GOLDWATER outpolled the President 65 percent to 24 percent among Republicans, with 11 percent undecided. The figures for all businessmen, including Democrats, showed 58 percent for Senator GOLDWATER, 31 percent for Mr. Johnson, and 11 percent undecided.

The percentage of undecided voters rose substantially when Mr. Johnson was paired with several other Republican candidates.

Republican businessmen divided 55 percent for Governor Scranton, 16 percent for Mr. Johnson, and 29 percent undecided.

[From the Evening Star, July 16, 1964]

GOLDWATER'S CONVENTION VICTORY—OUTCOME CALLED SPECTACULAR, A TRIBUTE AND A CHANCE TO PROVE LEADERSHIP

(By Max Freedman)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Now at last Senator GOLDWATER has the chance to prove that he is worthy of the leadership of the Republican Party and worthy of the Presidency of this country.

His victory was more than decisive. It was spectacular beyond all precedent. For no other candidate in this century faced so bleak a furrow when he began the quest for the nomination so many long months ago; and no one has gathered so abundant a harvest.

This result is a tribute to his own qualities and to the organization which he has created inside the Republican Party to carry out his principles. Four years ago those principles were defeated and repudiated at another Republican convention. Now they are so triumphant the critics stand abashed at the power which must be broken before they can hope to regain control of the party.

For the Republican Party will not be shattered by Senator GOLDWATER'S nomination. Of course, there are some disgruntled leaders at this convention and there must be many disappointed Republican voters across the country. But the Democrats are following a dangerous illusion if they think they will be fighting a weak and divided and demoralized Republican Party in the presidential campaign.

The one safe principle on which the Democrats can operate is that Senator GOLDWATER is now riding the crest of a new political wave and there is no assurance that the strength of that wave will soon be spent. The man who could impose himself in such decisive fashion on the Republican Party may also be able to impress far more Americans of his fitness to be President than the Democrats now allow themselves to believe.

Since he took his first hesitant step on the presidential trail, Senator GOLDWATER has always been derided and underestimated. President Johnson is unlikely to make that mistake. After all, elections are always unpredictable. The very violence of the opposition to Senator GOLDWATER tends to blind many of us to the forces which are committed to his support, and these forces will not be beaten without a struggle.

After all, Attlee defeated Churchill in 1945 after Churchill had led Britain to victory in the war. If that upset was possible, anything can happen in this presidential election between now and November.

Certainly, Senator GOLDWATER has been greatly helped by the grave and magnanimous offer from Governor Scranton to campaign actively for him. This offer will be a guide to other Republican leaders who are opposed to Senator GOLDWATER'S philosophy. General Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon, Governor Scranton, and Governor Romney will now take the lead in standing at Senator GOLDWATER'S side and helping to heal the bitter wounds left by this struggle for power. That is an impressive lineup, and once again the Democrats should ponder its meaning.

So should Senator GOLDWATER, himself. His campaign can rise to the height of the great national argument only if he thinks he has a serious chance of victory in November and conveys that conviction to the country. He is not conducting a seminar on conservatism. He is no longer an apostle of a personal philosophy in American politics. He is seeking the Presidency in a campaign where indiscretion is disastrous and where constant responsibility is the secret of victory.

In the last few weeks he has on the whole behaved with a growing sense of responsibility. Now he must prove that he can grow into presidential timber. The audience is skeptical, but he still has the chance to reverse its verdict.

A Boy's Tribute to the Late President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Frazier is an 11-year-old, sixth-grade pupil at the M. H. Stanton School in Philadelphia. He lives in Pennsylvania's Second Congressional District with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Otis Frazier, and his brother and sister, Kenneth, age 9, and Carol, age 6. At this early age, Robert is a keen student of history. His ambition is to have a career in Government service.

Master Robert Frazier was an admirer of the late President John F. Kennedy. It is an indication of his admiration that he was greatly moved by the tragic death of the President at the hands of an assassin. Accordingly, Robert has written a poem and an essay in memory of the late President, his life, and his death. I, as the Representative of the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania, feel honored to include in my remarks the poem and the essay from the pen of my young and talented constituent, Master Robert Frazier:

JOHN F. KENNEDY

(By Robert Frazier)

John F. Kennedy was a well-known man,
He loved the people of every clan.
Kennedy's heart was big, strong, and brave,
Until at last, he was laid in his grave.

Now I must tell you the tragic story,
Of the end of the Kennedy glory.
On November 22 his glory began to fade,
As he and his wife joined a Dallas motorcade.

And as they rode into that fateful town,
A sniper's bullets shot him down.
Mrs. Kennedy was shocked, in her lap was his head,
And even more shocked, when her husband was dead.

Anyone watching TV would have had a heart attack,
At the sight of two children, and their mother in black.
Mrs. Kennedy had to find strength to be brave,
At Arlington, when she visited his grave.

John F. Kennedy was a well-known man,
He loved the people of every clan.
Kennedy's heart was big, strong, and brave,
Until at last, he was laid in his grave.

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

John F. Kennedy was one of the greatest men of our age. In fact, he was one of the greatest men of all time. Kennedy's heart's desire was to be recognized, abroad as well as home.

He was a Roman Catholic and no one of that faith had ever been elected President. John F. Kennedy wanted to change that, as he wanted to change so many things.

From 1956 to 1960 the Nation learned about the Kennedy vigor, his wit, and his intelligent mind. Frankly he discussed the religious issue with these words, "I do not speak for the Catholic Church on issues of public policy."

In his inaugural address, he challenged the American people with stirring words that will be long known as some of the boldest words spoken * * * "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

His inauguration in 1961 meant a change of party as well as administration. Mr. Kennedy didn't think his party should celebrate electing another of their candidates when, in his inaugural address he said, "We observe today not a victory of party."

Kennedy's victory in the Cuban crisis of 1962 convinced most of the people of the United States that he was capable of a second term. He spent his last days in pursuit of reelection. Mrs. Kennedy accompanied him everywhere. On the morning of his last day of life he laughed when asked where his wife was and said, "Mrs. Kennedy is organizing herself."

Wherever President and Mrs. Kennedy went, they were cheered. The President enjoyed practical jokes and had a good humor. They both loved children. Mr. Kennedy fathered four children although two died young. Children were in the Dallas crowd that saw his fateful morning motorcade.

Yes, John F. Kennedy is dead. And he died like a soldier under fire. Today we must dry our tears and return to everyday life.

President Lyndon Baines Johnson has taken up the torch from John F. Kennedy's hand, and has promised to carry on the tasks begun by the late President.

Portrait of a Great Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged recently to place in the RECORD a little article written by the Honorable James A. Farley on the importance of those two magic words "thank you."

The society of men and women across America who honor and love Jim Farley is a host beyond number. One of these is Harley B. Grimsley who wrote the following article which appeared in January 4, 1964, edition of the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot:

BIG ONES ARE THE NICE ONES

(By Harley B. Grimsley)

One of the first things you learn when you get into this business is that the big ones usually are very nice.

I started to write that "the bigger they are, the nicer they are." Only it wouldn't necessarily be true.

Some of the finest people I have met along the way have to scratch gravel like crazy even to touch the foundation of the totem pole. So the old cliche doesn't always apply.

But, all other things being equal, you generally can figure that the really big man is going to be a gentleman.

This was brought home to me when I was a year off the farm, working on a newspaper and so nervous about meeting people that even my ulcers had ulcers.

As I recall, the first really big wheel I ever interviewed was Harry H. Woodring. He then was Governor of my home State of Kansas and later was Secretary of War in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet. He had come to my hometown to make a speech. When I met him, I froze. Gentle and gracious as he was, he told me the questions I should ask and then gave me the answers. I wrote a passable piece about him—and felt pretty good about voting for him.

One of the members of that same Cabinet was James A. Farley, then Democratic national chairman and Postmaster General.

It never has been my privilege to meet Jim Farley personally, but I developed a great deal of admiration for him in the Roosevelt years. He presented, through the daily news stories, the picture of a really right guy.

Now I know, without reservation, that the rather immature judgment rendered by a wet-nosed young reporter was correct.

Let's skip a few years to when I came to Jackson and met one of God's great gentlemen, Levant Vandervoort, better known as "Van," who now is having a bit of trouble with health and is confined to a room in Mercy Hospital. Van knows and loves them all, the high and the mighty and the lowly. And they all love him. They all call him "friend" and he responds in kind.

I learned that Van and Mr. Farley were old friends with a great deal of mutual respect.

Several months ago, Mr. Farley made a marvelous speech on America. I wrote a nice little piece about it. Van promptly clipped it and sent a copy to Mr. Farley. Van does that sort of thing all the time, which is one of the many reasons why he has more friends than almost anybody.

I got a nice letter from Mr. Farley, along with an offer to send me a copy of his book, "The Jim Farley Story." Indeed, I wrote, I would be happy to have it. It arrived in due time, and for 3 or 4 days my little family got nothing but grunts from me as I perused one of the most fascinating documents on the American way of life and politics it has ever been my privilege to read. What a guy.

So our Van has this bit of trouble with his health. I got to thinking, Jim Farley should know. So I shoot off a letter to him. For a time, nothing happened. Then came a gracious letter from a great gentleman. He had been on a business trip in South America for 3 weeks. (He is chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp.) When he got back there were hundreds of letters on his desk, mine among them. All were pushed aside as he wrote a letter to an ailing newspapering friend in Jackson, Mich., who needed a lift, which he got.

It all came naturally to a big man. It always does, it seems.

I have seen it happen so many times through the years. The kindliest treatment has been by the big ones. The nicest letters in response to comment in the newspapers have come from the same.

It's a wonderful gift, or talent, or whatever you want to call it. I don't think I have it. Having a short fuse and low boiling point, if you don't mind a mixed metaphor, I sometimes blow up when I should be listening.

But I don't like to see little people kicked around. I recall once almost refusing a job. The editor who was interviewing me was affable and gracious. After all, newspaper people were in short supply just after the war. He wanted me, and I wanted the job.

When, in my presence, he nastily and arrogantly bawled out the girl on the switchboard a bell rang in my head. I shouldn't take this job, I thought. But I did. I needed it, and I thought he needed me. The money was good.

It didn't take long to learn that my hunch was right. He turned out to be a repulsive little, self-centered man and a very poor editor.

Jim Farley, in a piece first written for publication in Guideposts, termed "thank you" as the two magic words; those which lubricate life and make it possible for people to live with each other. This is not just a smooth bit of writing by an old master politician. He believes this philosophy, and he lives it day by day.

And no one knows it better than our Van, who practices the same, and who got a terrific kick from a gracious letter from his old friend, Mr. Farley.

It is a privilege, along the way, to get to know such people, even on the basis of a letter or two exchanged in a year.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my Washington Report for July 11, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas, July 11, 1964)

CIVIL RIGHTS

Although a number of the 11 sections of the Civil Rights Act may be questioned as to their constitutionality, two sections stand out as doing the most violence to the Constitution: Title II: Public Accommodations, and Title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity. I would like to highlight the provisions contained in these two sections as they affect private enterprise and the ownership and management of private property. This week we will discuss Title II: Public Accommodations, and next week we will treat with the FEPC section.

Part 1. Public accommodations

Hereafter, it will be a violation of law for the following business establishments to refuse to serve, accommodate or sell to any person on account of his race or religion:

1. Lodgings, except an owner-occupied rooming house with less than six rooms;

2. Eating establishments, and gasoline stations if interstate customers are served or if a substantial portion of products sold has moved in interstate commerce;

3. Places of entertainment, if the performers or films have moved in interstate commerce;

4. Any retail establishment in which one of the foregoing is located, or any retail establishment in any of the foregoing; and

5. Any establishment or place if segregation is required by law or order of a State or local government.

Enforcement

Upon violation of this law, the complaining customer may bring a suit in the Federal courts for an injunction compelling the businessman to serve him. In such a suit, the Attorney General may intervene as a party and assist the prosecution of the case. In addition, the Attorney General is empowered, even when the complainant does not sue, to bring suit himself in the name of the United States against the businessman. In such case, he is further authorized to ask the court to appoint a lawyer to represent the complainant and to waive court costs. The businessman must furnish his own lawyer and court costs.

Penalties

If the judge rules against the businessman, he will order him to serve the customer. If he still refuses to do so, he can be punished by a $1,000 fine and/or a 6-month jail sentence for contempt of court.

Explanation

1. Lodgings include hotels, motels, motor hotels, roomings houses, and other lodging establishments serving transient guests. Coverage applies whether or not guests have traveled or intend to travel across State lines.

2. Since most products sold by eating establishments and gasoline stations have moved across State lines or are sold to some interstate travelers, practically all such business places are covered. Bathroom facilities may not be segregated by race.

3. Places of entertainment include movie houses, theaters, coliseums, sports arenas, stadiums, exhibition halls, and so forth.

4. (a) A department store or any other retail establishment (otherwise not covered) is covered if a lunch counter or some other covered establishment is located therein.

(b) A beauty shop, barbershop, or any other service or sales establishment (otherwise not covered) is covered if it is located in a hotel or some other covered establishment.

5. If State or local laws or ordinances require racial segregation in any business place of any kind, it is covered even if not specifically otherwise covered.

Constitutionality

This new law is sought to be based on two clauses of the Constitution. The first is in the 14th amendment which, among other things, guarantees all citizens "equal protection of the laws." But in 1883, the Supreme Court struck down a public accommodations civil rights statute similar to this new law on the grounds that this clause "erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful" but prohibits only acts of discrimination by a State or local government. As late as May 20, 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that "private conduct abridging individual rights does no violence to the equal protection clause."

The other constitutional basis urged is the "interstate commerce clause." But in 1959, the Federal courts ruled that "we do not find that a restaurant is engaged in interstate commerce merely because in the course of its business of furnishing accommodations to the general public it serves persons who are traveling from State to State. As an instrument of local commerce, the restaurant * * * is at liberty to deal with such persons as it may select." Another Federal case decided the same year ruled that the fact that goods sold by a store were obtained outside the State did not bring the business within the definition of the interstate commerce clause.

In my judgment, the public accommodations section of the new Civil Rights Act flies directly in the teeth of these court decisions, and until the Supreme Court changes its mind and reverses its own decisions, is plainly unconstitutional as an invasion of individual property rights.

How Long Can We Afford To Wait?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of Members of Congress a thought provoking and timely article written by Mr. Frank W. Coleman, an independent businessman and former mayor of the city of Wichita, Kans.

Mr. Coleman points up the importance of independent business in the free enterprise system and the vital contributions which have been and are being made by small business in the United States.

Today there is great emphasis upon bigness—big business, big government, and so forth. Our free enterprise system, however, has developed because of the courage, vision, and determination of small business men and women. We must continue to encourage these independent business people in order that they can make their contributions to the economy of our country.

Mr. Coleman, in his statement published in the May 1964 issue of Friendly Dollar, official journal of the Wichita Independent Business Mens' Association outlines actions which are worthy of consideration:

Today, more than ever in our history, it is vitally important and perhaps mandatory, that all types of independent business people under this classification of free enterprise, band together for strength * * * in a desperate struggle to retain freedom in our commerce.

You that are self-employed must carry the torch at any cost, in defense of the proven principles that made us the world's strongest Nation. From the very beginning of this Nation's unparalleled growth and influence, the small businessman has been the heart and backbone of our economic system. Thomas Jefferson once said, "As long as we keep small business units successful, our Nation as a whole, will remain economically sound."

The right of free enterprise and independent thinking is an American heritage. Nowhere else in the world are men as free to act—think—succeed, and find happiness, all under law, as in America.

The rights of the self-employed to legally accumulate additional assets from earnings must be granted by lawmakers in future tax adjustments. Our Government must definitely allow small independent business, a stipulated amount of annual earnings: free from income tax.

Money power of big business with its resulting political influence must not be allowed to control State and National legislation discriminating against small business.

Authentic statistical reports show rapid increase of business failures in the private enterprise field. Self-employed people are becoming much concerned at this time, as to the future security of our system of free enterprise; and supporting their views, nationally known economists throughout the Nation, are ever increasing their warning to our Government, that the self-employed, which includes all Americans involved in private enterprise, have reached the crossroad, and their future existence is being seriously challenged under the influence of world trend toward centralized government and centralized industry at all business levels. This includes the danger of all of our distribution and retailing functions in our commerce.

Most of these warning articles reflect the graveness and seriousness of the present outlook for independent business. Organized effort is needed to mold public opinion and properly acquaint lawmakers with the probable disaster that confronts the future of our greatest economic asset—free enterprise.

The Congress of the United States, in the interest of this Nation's future, must delay no longer in making some definite provision for a percentage of annual earnings to insure reasonable future security—tax exempt—for our free enterprise system.

Small business has been the source of strength throughout the Nation's history, and has never failed to rally to the financial support of our Government in any emergency period.

The recent tax reductions have given relief to a certain percent of our country's businessmen, but when it reaches the self-employed small business man with his low earnings, it can only be of minor help. Small business needs definite government protective strength, and they need it now. The Senate and Congress of our country must realize that if self-employed people and all business involved in private enterprise is to be Federal tax supporting units of Congress, it must be allowed some profit and some protective measure to carry small capital organizations through emergency periods as only out of profits can income tax be paid to our Government.

The answer is clear and we must not wait too long before giving relief to the broad field of commerce that once made our country the financial king of all nations.

The founders of our great Nation crossed the ocean to find freedom from tyranny and extreme taxation, and the powers given the rulers against the people. The Constitution was written with a new interpretation of a government and its people. The wording and intent of the Constitution was born from the minds and hearts of men who wanted to create a government freedom for its people. Laws written with that noble thinking in mind, tells the Government what they cannot do to the people in contrast to the laws of European nations in that period that only said what the oppressed people must not do to monarchs, czars, and emperors. This was the great change in the thinking of a self-governed nation.

The noble men that inspired and wrote the Constitution wished to create a Government that offered freedom, happiness, and opportunity void of different standards by blood heritage.

We as a people, must never forget our rights that were written for our happiness, our loyalty to each other, and our Government; and we must never allow our Government to ever take these rights away from us.

The Constitution of the United States so definitely defines the rights of all, however, when these rights are denied, someone in our Government is traitorous to the Constitution and the colonists that wrote a guide for humanity for centuries to follow. If these all-important articles are never violated, we will have a happy, prosperous people with opportunity and protected rights, then this Nation can forever be (truly) a government for the people and by the people.

In the interest of every man, woman, and child in America * * * we ask you * * * is there anything more patriotic in the traditions of this Nation, than the happiness of its people and the proper interpretation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, in the relationship between government and the governed?

You and I have thought of some of the things we have said here. You as an American and an heir to the conditions of a Constitution that if honorably administered, will protect you and the generations to follow.

The strength and administration of the free enterprise system of commerce has an all-important part in the future soundness of this Nation. You are a part of that great system of free enterprise, and you also have responsibility to see that your rights and the rights of your children to follow, are your responsibility today.

My plea is in the interest of the future happiness and security of our people; and it means that every individual is a privileged citizen and an important and powerful factor in our Nation's Government. Therefore, it is apparent that, after all, the administration of this Government rests in the hands of all of us who are today fighting our Nation's problems. Your influence and those to follow you will and must constantly defend your rights under our noble Constitution. We must band together and constantly protest any government administration that attempts to violate our man- and God-given rights.

Our American forefathers, driven to a new world to seek freedom from tyranny and oppression, in the wording of our Constitution, was an emotional expression that man's freedom must never be destroyed by tyranny or overtaxation, and you have no nobler position in the world today, than to be unafraid to protect the heritage that our forefathers have written into law for your freedom and opportunity in America.

—FRANK W. COLEMAN.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, a constituent has written and sent to me a poem she has composed in honor of that great American who served this country with valor and distinction, Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Her poem is worthy of the attention of all and I take pleasure in making it a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

Mere words can scarcely serve to frame
The picture of this greatest name
To walk upon the hall of fame
In graceful strides of lofty aims.

Nor was the world his single goal
In glimpses of his godly soul
Are visions as his life is told
Of divinity etching this noble mold.

Of men who walked the hall of fame
He tops them all on every claim
A divine nobility lights the flame
As destiny scores its highest gain.

Divergent ideals, ideologies are fused
From the chaos of war new freedoms ensue
In eloquent diction the web he pursues
Cementing men's hearts in the freedom they choose.

No man had thus forged within his being
Those rare qualities of which poets sing.
Gen. Douglas MacArthur stands alone
On the pedestal of time in the great white dome.

—CLAIRE HELEN GRUSS.

Crapehangers Hung Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, recently we have heard irresponsible partisan charges about the United States being "a nation becalmed—plodding along at a pace set by centralized planning—regimentation without recourse." But what are the facts? What really is America's current economic health?

When this Democratic administration took office in January 1961 the Nation was in the grip of recession with the highest unemployment rate in 20 years. With a determination to better conditions and with confidence in our capacity to formulate and implement programs of economic advance, the new administration quickly launched—and has sustained throughout these 4 years—a bold program attacking the economic problem on all its fronts: by tax reduction, education, and retraining; by public works and housing programs; by minimum wage, social security, and unemployment compensation reforms.

The direct result of these policies is the longest and strongest peacetime economic expansion of the century, a record outstanding by any measure—by figures of gross national product, unemployment levels, personal income, corporation profits, industrial production, or price-wage ratio.

Of course, the efforts to realize for all Americans the vast potential of our economic system are by no means complete. Continued vigorous action is still called for—and such legislation still awaits congressional action.

But those partisan prophets of gloom and doom who would hurl cries of "deception" and "destruction" at the administration's economic program can have no audience among the informed—or as Malcolm Forbes succinctly puts it in his July 15 Forbes editorial, they are "Crapehangers Hung Up."

The editorial follows:

CRAPEHANGERS HUNG UP

No matter how you slice it—or slice at it—there is a simple, glorious unadorned fact that, when all is said and done, remains a fact:

Business is good.

Very good.

At worst it is going to stay that way for the immediate future. But I believe that, good as it is, business is going to get even better in the next 12 months.

Proving present prosperity is a happy exercise for those statistical compilers who compute the economic indices of the recent past. The professional pessimists and the perpetual hedgers do manage to come up with bits of gloom, such as the sort of hypothetical situation where someone says new-car sales this week were "only" 6 percent ahead of last year, while in the same month last year they were 10 percent ahead, or some such gyration. In my untutored judgment, the fact that new-car sales continue at a record pace seems more significant than the figure doodling of the doomsdayers.

Straining to find flies in the economic ointment, any analyst can come up with a few gnats. After all, it is summer. I just cannot see what for the balance of the year can pull the plug on our prosperity.

The election?

Only if the result is contrary to every prediction.

War?

Those able to undertake big ones seem intelligently determined to avoid escalating little ones.

The impact of the tax cut is now beginning to be felt in wide measure on the individual level—retail sales, goods hard and soft, leisure-related services, etc.

Most important, and almost without precedent, this sustained economic growth is not in any detectable part a result of inflation. There is no false bottom to the present economy.

Time enough in January to take a new look.

Meanwhile, in the months that lie ahead—Who could ask for anything more?

The Migrant in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the migrant worker in America must no longer be overlooked by the Congress. The President has declared a war on poverty in our country and it is imperative that we take favorable action on the pending legislation affecting migrant workers who are probably the most poverty-stricken group in America.

I have prepared a statement on the subject of the Migrant in America which contains many facts illustrating the need of the Congress to take effective action on behalf of approximately 2 million migrant workers and their families and I respectfully request this statement be included in the Appendix of the RECORD so that my colleagues will be reminded of the great need for passage of effective legislation to help these 2 million Americans whose needs have been largely overlooked in the past.

The statement follows:

THE MIGRANT IN AMERICA

(By Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER, Congressman from the State of Florida)

I appear before you today to urge this body to take action on behalf of America's forgotten man—the migrant worker and his family. The phrase "forgotten" is particularly apt. More than 20 years ago, responsible Americans were jolted into an awareness of the plight of the migratory worker with the appearance of John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath." Since that time, the sad story of the migrant has appeared in countless articles, reports, and broadcasts. There is no question about the fact that we are aware of the problems of the migrant, and there is no excuse for the fact that only 1 out of some 150 attempts of Congress to legislate on their behalf has been successful. The 1960 platforms of both major parties called specifically for action on behalf of the migrant: the Democrats—a "comprehensive program to bring them not only decent wages but also an adequate standard of health, housing, social security protection, education and welfare services": the Republicans—"improvement of job opportunities and working conditions."

There has been much talk in recent months of poverty in the United States. We have spoken of one-fifth of a nation that remains ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-fed. Our national attention has suddenly been focused on the poor in general. We have been made aware of the fact that the poor exist and barely subsist in the city and on the farm, in California and in New York, among the very young and among the very old; $3,000 of annual income for a family of four has become the recognized yardstick for need. With a yearly income of only slightly more than $1,000 surely the migrant family must be regarded as among the most needy, the most deserving of our attention and our aid.

No one knows precisely how many American migrant farmworkers there are. The official estimate which counts only heads of families is 380,000 while the national sharecroppers fund sets the figure as high as 2 million when both the workers and their families are included. Their numbers may be disputed, but there can be little argument over the fact that the migrants are among the most desperately disadvantaged of all our fellow citizens. In 1962 the average migrant worked only 116 days of the year, and earned only $1,123. There are 750,000 children of migrants also employed in agricultural work. These migratory farm children enroll in several different schools each year which results in retardation early in their school careers. The 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth revealed studies showing "that most of these children are far below grade level and that their school achievement generally is under fourth grade [the attainment established as a minimum standard for literacy in the United States]."

Adult migratory workers therefore have an extremely low educational attainment since lack of basic formal education in the children tends to make these children, as adults, follow in the footsteps of their parents. A vicious circle is in existence where the children without education have little incentive to move beyond the deplorable situation into which they were born. The migratory farmworker is deprived in other ways as well. Almost nowhere that he travels in search of work can he find adequate housing or sanitation facilities; he has no collective bargaining rights, frequently no social security benefits under the old-age and survivor's insurance provisions of the social security act; he is not entitled to workmen's compensation in many of the States in which he works, and in most instances he is ineligible for unemployment or welfare assistance.

Not only does he not receive the welfare benefits that most of the deprived in this country are eligible for, he cannot possibly make a living wage in his occupation as a farmworker because this Congress has never amended the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to provide for minimum wages for certain persons employed in agriculture.

As the law and circumstances now stand, the migrant worker is hemmed in from all sides. Unless we legislate on his behalf, the migrant will remain the forgotten man. He has no powerful lobbying group to champion his cause; he has no political power, for he is a wanderer and does not belong to a particular State or a particular district.

His problem may be regional in impact, but as Senator Harrison Williams, the legislative champion of the migrant's rights, has so aptly put it, "it is interstate in nature and national in scope." Migrant workers exist in almost every State in the Union. In 1958 there were more than a thousand migrants in each State but eight. There are at least 22 States which are dependent on a skilled or semiskilled migratory labor force

to harvest their perishable fruits and vegetables. For this simple basic economic reason, if for none other, we must not fail to legislate on the migrant's behalf. Because the migrant problem is interstate in nature, we must not leave this legislation up to the States. It is the duty and the responsibility of this Congress.

I wholeheartedly support the Economic Opportunity Act and the provisions for the migrant workers that it contains, but I do not think that it goes far enough. These provisions contained in part B of title III incorporate the substance of four Senate bills and cover the problems of education, day care of children, sanitation, and housing facilities. All three of the bills with the exception of S. 981 had been passed by the Senate and prior to their inclusion in the Economic Opportunity Act had been pending in the House committee. I am pleased to see that the House has taken this step in legislating for the migrant.

But there are other bills now pending which I strongly support and on which I should like to see the House take action. The bills in question are those that would establish a minimum wage rate applicable to migrant agricultural workers. That of my distinguished colleague from Hawaii, Mr. GILL, which would provide for the registration of contractors of migrant agricultural workers—H.R. 4516, which would amend the National Labor Relations Act as to make its provisions applicable to agriculture; and H.R. 4904, which would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend the child labor provisions to certain children employed in agriculture. I should also like to recommend that we might go even further than this and that we examine the possibilities of legislating on behalf of the migrant in the areas of unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and that we look into the possibilities of amending the social security act so as to make its public assistance and old-age and social security benefits applicable to the large body of migrant workers to whom it does not now apply.

Now that war has been declared on poverty in general, I would like to see us fight this crucial battle for the migrant worker. Let us not forget him any longer. The 1930's brought a New Deal for many of the American impoverished. Somehow the migrant was excluded from the mainstream of the social legislation that began in the thirties and is still continuing today. We must no longer exclude him.

Fact and Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from Forbes magazine, July 15, should prove of interest to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle:

FACT AND COMMENT
(By Malcolm S. Forbes)
CRAPEHANGERS HUNG UP

No matter how you slice it—or slice at it—there is a simple, glorious, unadorned fact that, when all is said and done, remains a fact:

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Very good.

At worst it is going to stay that way for the immediate future. But I believe that, good as it is, business is going to get even better in the next 12 months.

Proving present prosperity is a happy exercise for those statistical compilers who compute the economic indices of the recent past. The professional pessimists and the perpetual hedgers do manage to come up with bits of gloom, such as the sort of hypothetical situation where someone says new-car sales this week were "only" 6 percent ahead of last year, while in the same month last year they were 10 percent ahead, or some such gyration. In my untutored judgment, the fact that new-car sales continue at a record pace seems more significant than the figure doodling of the doomsdayers.

Straining to find flies in the economic ointment, any analyst can come up with a few gnats. After all, it is summer. I just cannot see what for the balance of the year can pull the plug on our prosperity.

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Those able to undertake big ones seem intelligently determined to avoid escalating little ones.

The impact of the tax cut is now beginning to be felt in wide measure on the individual level—retail sales, goods hard and soft, leisure-related services, etc.

Most important, and almost without precedent, this sustained economic growth is not in any detectable part a result of inflation. There is no false bottom to the present economy.

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Captive Nations Week

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, July 12–18 marked the sixth year observance of Captive Nations Week throughout the Nation. July is the month in which Americans celebrate their 188th anniversary of independence and the French celebrate Bastille Day—both milestones of freedom. Over 100 million people are forcibly living under Soviet tyranny to date and many more are threatened by Communist aggression; they look to America for inspiration and guidance. The ring of Russian domination and oppression extends to the citizens of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Armenia.

Ironically, the Eastern European satellites were once free and sovereign independent states between the two world wars. They were vital assets to free Europe, demonstrating their capability and desire to remain free to the rest of the world. Yet their freedom was doomed to be short lived. Ruthlessly, our World War II ally, Russia, seized their independence and substituted totalitarianism for democracy. Despite the adverse odds, the captive peoples have rebelled time and time again against tyranny, exhibiting extreme tremendous courage and faith in their conviction for freedom.

Russia is unable to quell all the intersatellite rebellions; outbursts of impassioned citizens erupt within Soviet ranks with often tragic results. Deadly efficient tanks and armies leave a wake of terror and bloodshed as Poland, East Germany, and Hungary can bluntly testify. The Katyn Forest massacre of 1943 led to the deaths of 15,000 Polish officers at the hands of the Russians; this led to a thorough investigation and the first formal indictment of U.S.S.R. for committing crimes against our allies by a special House Committee under the leadership of the distinguished gentlemen from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN]. Yet these uprisings are only manifestations of rebellion brought to the attention of the world; much more lies undetected beneath the surface.

Due to international and internal pressure, Soviet Russia cannot afford such open and brutal methods of suppression. There is a growing awareness among the captive nations that Russia is not a monolithic entity and it is up to the free world to encourage the fight for freedom through economic aid and moral support. The battle has been waged for 25 years, since the end of World War II, and must continue to increase its efforts to make the dream of freedom a concrete reality for these captive nations. The past few weeks have witnessed the assertions of many such nations for independence from Soviet tyranny.

The Rumanians have snubbed a Russian proposal at the Geneva disarmament talks. They have openly defied the Soviet plans for incorporating them into the Danube program, insisting on their economic sovereignty. Instead, Rumania has entered into a trade agreement with the United States and will confer with France on possible trade ties next month.

The overwhelming enthusiasm for Robert Kennedy in Cracow is a vidid demonstration of the strength and freedom aspirations of Poland.

The Taras Shevchenko monument stands in Washington as a memorial to the Ukrainian freedom fighters who are still struggling for those rights we Americans tend to take for granted.

These are only a few of the events that remind us that freedom is won through sacrifice and determination. We must encourage the captive nations all over the globe to fight for their independence and combat communism relentlessly. We must show strength through our example and action in order to further their rightful cause for freedom. Captive Nations Week is but one way we show the world the extent of Soviet oppression in its satellite countries and our intention to alleviate their plight. We must encourage the peoples of captive nations to resist their oppressors; to keep alive their traditions and patriotism which were once able to express themselves freely, yet are now so forcibly curbed.

The Minnesota-Dakota American Assembly of the United States and Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last month the World Affairs Center and the Center for Continuation Study of the University of Minnesota sponsored a 3-day conference at Moorhead, Minn., entitled "The Minnesota-Dakotas American Assembly on the United States and Latin America."

It was attended by people from all walks of life—professors, businessmen, community leaders, teachers, and housewives—who share a common interest in the future of Latin America and how the United States will influence that future.

I cannot praise too highly the efforts of these men and women in gathering together for the purpose of informing each other and taking advantage of the knowledge of experts in the field of Latin American affairs. Their experience was at once enjoyable and edifying.

The informative report of the Assembly is proof of the success of this endeavor. It is calm and reflective testimony to the ease with which citizens can inform themselves on the pressing and complicated issues of our time, and to the worthwhile results which come of their having done so.

It is with pride in the initiative of these Minnesotans and Dakotans that I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the final report of their June 3–6 assembly on the United States and Latin America.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA—FINAL REPORT

At the close of their discussion the participants of the Minnesota-Dakotas Assembly on the United States and Latin America at Moorhead, Minn., June 3–6, 1964, reviewed as a group the following statements. The findings and conclusions represent general agreement. However, no one was asked to sign the report and it must not be assumed that every participant subscribed to every recommendation.

The geography of Latin America is characterized by physical features which tend to act as barriers to communication and contacts between individual countries. Moreover, climatic conditions prevail in certain areas which impede progress toward modernization.

The social system is characterized by diversity in cultures and races and extremes in the class structure. In many Latin American countries there is a large percentage of illiteracy and only a minority enjoys the benefits of an adequate education.

The economy of much of Latin America, historically based on a semifeudal agricultural system, is in the throes of an agricultural and industrial revolution; aspirations for improved living standards are rising more rapidly than the economy. At the same time, the prices of agricultural and other prime commodities have been subject periodically to wide price fluctuations causing serious economic difficulties in a number of Latin American countries.

The economic problems are compounded by the highest rate of population growth in the world which might tend to continue or even enlarge an existing wide gap between small groups enjoying high personal incomes and large segments of the population living in extreme poverty. Simultaneously, large-scale migrations into urban areas have created explosive slum conditions.

The socioeconomic factors described above have created conditions of political instability of varying severity in most Latin American countries. Frequently contributing to this political instability are an obsolete land tenure structure, an ineffective tax collection system and a concessionary view of public office resulting in corrupt practices by the officeholders and in little responsibility of the officials toward the citizenry at large. These unstable political conditions offer opportunities for exploitation by extreme elements of the right and left. Economic and social discontent provide an environment favorable to the growth of communism in Latin America.

Personality factors are also politically significant as is the high prestige of the military. Both phenomena stem from a cultural heritage not only embracing the colonial period of Latin America but reaching back to the Iberian Peninsula.

In consideration of the conditions prevailing in the Latin American countries at the present time the members of the Minnesota-Dakotas Assembly on the United States and Latin America make the following recommendations in the interest of both the United States and the countries of Latin America:

1. Our policies must be fashioned to individual countries and must not take a "broad brush" approach to Latin America as a whole. We should always keep in mind the differences within and between the countries and try to consider each situation within its own set of circumstances. We should emphasize goals and ideals which we value, and encourage other governments in the same direction.

2. Self-help should be encouraged by the U.S. Government as an underlying principle for all policies.

3. The United States should encourage and give particular support to Latin American governments that are seeking to meet the social and economic aspirations of their people. While maintaining some relationships with all Latin American governments, the U.S. Government should bring pressure to bear on governments that seek to prevent social reform or which overthrow governments promoting such reform. In this endeavor the U.S. Government should encourage democratic development. United States policy must at all times differentiate between genuine reform movements in Latin America and movements which are inspired by international communism.

4. United States foreign policy should generally oppose the use of force. We should work through the Organization of American States employing provisions of the OAS charter in seeking to settle inter-American political disputes peacefully.

5. The U.S. Government should play a strong role in the economic development of Latin America.

(a) The United States should explore the feasibility of various international arrangements for the stabilization of raw material prices.

(b) United States tariff policies should be reviewed with possible revision of rates and the U.S. "Buy American" policy in foreign aid should be reexamined.

(c) The Central American Common Market should be encouraged with U.S. aid and technical assistance and we should consider assistance to other common market movements in Latin America.

(d) Both the United States and Latin America should encourage private capital investments in Latin America where feasible. Government funds (grants and low interest loans) should be made available in those areas (such as roads and schools) which cannot attract private capital.

(e) The United States should encourage other economic programs such as improved tax systems, technological improvements in agriculture, and increased foreign trade.

(f) It is recognized that in promoting the economic development of Latin America, particular U.S. domestic interests may at times be adversely affected.

6. The United States should provide assistance to improve all levels and types of education. One aspect of this assistance should be the enlargement of the operation of the Peace Corps.

7. The U.S. Government should upon request provide information, research facilities and technological assistance in family planning to Latin American countries. Furthermore, the United States should endorse positive action in this direction in the United Nations.

8. In its efforts to improve the political, economic, educational and social conditions in Latin America, the United States should utilize the services of private groups and institutions, cooperatives and universities.

Return of the Masked Bobwhite

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in this period of great national and international problems there are battles being fought that we never read about in our newspapers. One such battle is an endeavor to save the masked bobwhite quail from extinction. I am happy to say that the Federal Government is playing a small part in this struggle.

Recently the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, in Tucson, published a special bulletin entitled "Return of the Masked Bobwhite." It is fascinating reading. If the people who are fighting to save the masked bobwhite succeed, we will still have a few other problems and crises in this world, but the world will be a better place nonetheless.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I extend my remarks at this point by including the following:

RETURN OF THE MASKED BOBWHITE

(By Lewis Wayne Walker, associate director, Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, Tucson)

Mystery may always surround Arizona's only race of bobwhite. Just what made these grassland birds settle along the Sonoran border in the past? Did the venturesome feathered immigrants come from southern Mexico or from the Atlantic coast? No one knows—for sure. And if we now look at the territory where once the masked bobwhite were plentiful, we wonder why they stopped at all. Presently it is hard to find much grassland where these birds are believed to have developed their distinctive black heads and mahogany breasts.

However, the former Arizona haunts of these birds were not always barren. At one time the grass was thick and verdant. Founders of San Xavier Mission wrote that it "scratched the bellies of horses," and there are settlers, still living, with memories of

their parents going to the valleys of Avra and Altar to cut hay for their stock. The grass made excellent cover for these game birds which remained hidden from the eyes of scientists until 1885 when the form was recorded as Colinus virginianus ridgwayi. Although recognition of a new bird or mammal always creates some demand for museum skins, subsequent spasmodic collecting had no bearing on the sudden demise of these birds within a period of 27 years.

The date of their sudden extirpation came at the tail end of a cattle-moving era which had been in progress for over a century. After an estimated 12 million bovines had made the trip from Mexico to American markets, greasewood, mesquite and cholla became the dominant plants. Grassy ground cover was a growth of the past. Bobwhite, antelope, Aplomado falcon, and some other forms of life could no longer live there. With the abrupt change of ground cover, flash floods as we know them now came into being, and each summer's deluge ripped across the land unhampered, creating rivers of topsoil which, as some humorist remarked, "was too thick to drink, too thin to plow."

In place of a specially balanced biotic community which had taken eons to develop, the extensive root systems of the spreading brush growth precluded a recurrence of grasses. This situation still exists over most of the area that was formerly occupied by masked bobwhite; thus any natural comeback of the birds has been virtually impossible.

With the disappearance of the birds from Arizona in 1912, reports of their existence south of the border became few and far between. After World War I it was thought by some naturalists that if not already extinct they would be in a very few years. In 1927, Les Wooddell, an American rancher with land holdings in Mexico, was driving a herd of steers in the Noria country, south of Magdalena. The herd before him flushed a covey of masked bobwhite from which Wooddell collected five to be shipped to his friend, Griffing Bancroft. Upon receiving these rare birds the noted southern California oologist requested Les to be on the watch for more, and a few days later the Bancrofts drove to Sonora. While there Les Wooddell and the Bancrofts visited a Magdalena restaurant owned by "Jerry the Greek." As in many Mexican restaurants of that day the menu offered game birds trapped nearby. Included were masked bobwhite which, instead of being served to the American visitors, were reprieved and brought to the States. It is rumored that from this stock of the subspecies the first eggs to be seen by scientists eventually appeared.

A few years passed. Then, while collecting in Sonora, Mexico, for a western museum, A. J. van Rossum marked a few crosses on a map—spots where bobwhite calls had been heard in the few habitats he encountered that were unchanged by overgrazing. Later, several collectors utilized his marked map, but found that in a few years cattle had moved in, putting the finishing touches on the grasslands and forcing the masked bobwhite further into oblivion.

Les Wooddell entered the picture again when he reported to the late J. Stokley Ligon that a few of the birds still were to be found on his ranch holdings east of Guaymas. This was the tip that Ligon, great conservationist and author of "Birds of New Mexico," had been waiting for. From then on he practically dedicated his life to saving the masked bobwhite from certain extinction. Between 1937 and 1950 he led three trips into the area. These were jointly sponsored by the Arizona and New Mexico Game Departments with the objective to trap enough birds to attempt reintroduction into former haunts. Although these trips were productive, each succeeding foray into Sonoran masked bobwhite territory showed that the bird's survival, even in remote sections, was on a rapid downgrade.

Some parts of Ligon's accounts have a detective story atmosphere with the trappers following the slimmest of clues to locate survivors. Even the cactus wren's trait of utilizing discarded feathers of other birds in nest building was used in this diligent search. Every time an area was found with any semblance of proper habitat, deserted cactus wren nests were dismantled. Finally one nest supplied the evidence in the form of a few mahogany-colored feathers, and a foot-by-foot search disclosed several ground roosts. Two days later five adult bobwhite were captured. Then came days of more searching. By tracing feathers over much of Sonora, four coveys containing a total of 27 birds were located. Of these, 20 were secured, and now the fate of the masked bobwhite hinges on their descendants.

Almost a decade passed before Ligon and I started to collaborate on methods which might, with luck, save this beautiful game bird. His thoughts concurred with mine in that if an attempt were made to reintroduce the species it should be done in an area known to have been inhabited by the birds in bygone years. We chose the beautiful Avra and Altar valleys which may be viewed from the porch of the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum. Ligon's attempts to reintroduce birds obtained prior to the 1950 trip had proven conclusively that drastic habitat change precluded all hope of success unless steps were taken to bring the country back to normal, back to grassland. His extensive experience soon proved to me that simple release without preliminary captive breeding on the range was too wasteful to be tried with these rare birds. We both knew that any introduction that was tried would be on a "do or die" basis. Breeding stock would never be available for a second attempt.

Saving this form became a complex challenge wherein any single miscalculation could spell an expensive failure. As we worked at the plans our list of musts grew to staggering proportions. All required financing and the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, only 8 years old at the time, could not support such a venture. Frankly, the staff and the board of trustees felt it was a dream that would never materialize, but our museum bulletin of 1960 devoted a page to the possibility of saving the masked bobwhite from extinction. Soon after this was sent to museum members I received a letter from Richard M. Scaife, of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman of the board of the Allegheny Foundation, requesting further particulars. After some correspondence he told us to crystallize the project into a workable plan which he would examine on his next Tucson visit.

With financial help on the horizon we were given hope, but we also had qualms because, as mentioned earlier, this was "do or die." Plans worked out in detail seemed foolproof, yet people more versed in conservation perhaps could make helpful suggestions on vital points that we had overlooked. Some of the help we sought was along legal lines in regard to land acquisition. Arizona's Governor Fannin devoted time on this aspect. Other aid was necessary concerning water and its use in an area already declared "critical." Even Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was contacted. His reaction, "let us get a move on; it sounds fine to me," gave the project added impetus. Robert J. Smith, director of the Arizona Game and Fish Department, was actually a part of the Arizona group that originally promulgated the introduction plans, and his valuable participation was based on saving a bird from extinction.

Our first endeavor was to find land that had been untrampled by cattle, but this was an impossibility. In our search we saw land that recently had been barren but had made a comeback under the skillful guidance of John Donaldson. His system was to bulldoze catchment dams across every erosion gully and to plant them with grass seeds just before the summer rains. The water, stopped in its mad rush to the sea, caused roots to grow and develop a surface cover. Runoff from each succeeding storm was hampered by this growth and after 4 or 5 years of such treatment his hundreds of acres had an undulating carpet, probably similar to the grasses mentioned by the early Arizona padres.

This was proof that grasslands could be brought back and our search started again. With the unwavering interest and aid of Fred J. Weller, State director of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, topographic maps were perused by Robert Smith, William H. Woodin, director of the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, and the author. Ten separate sections of national land reserves were selected on the basis of their position in what formerly was bobwhite territory. Their even countour with drops of not more than 25 feet per mile made them similar to the property already reclaimed by John Donaldson. As the friendship of neighbors was essential for future success, all ranchers holding grazing leases on the selected sections were visited and the project explained in detail. One section, mutually agreeable, finally was selected. In the long run this inclusion of the ranchers, making them part of the project, may spell the difference between success and failure.

When Richard Scaife visited the museum our tentative plans were formulated, each with a cost estimate. Sixty-four dams were planned, 4 to divert and spread water from major gullies, 60 to break and hold the flow of water down the small eroded depressions. One acre, divided into 16 equal parts, each 25 by 100 feet, was to be used for the breeding cages. This size was selected on the advice of several quail breeders as adequate for the quail to pair off, lay, incubate, and raise young if grass cover was plentifully supplied. Grass cover was a problem. Some of the relinquished sections had wells nearby which could have supplied water, but the section chosen made piping impractical. Our only alternative was to sink a well. When all the factors were totaled, our estimate came to $15,000.

As soon as Mr. Scaife approved this figure, tentative contracts went into effect and with the assistance of Joseph Carithers, Department of the Interior, and Fred Weller, transfer of the land was expedited and work commenced. The chugging of bulldozers and the pounding of a well-digging rig would have been music to the ears of J. Stokley Ligon had he lived to see the start of this project.

Before many weeks had passed scores of dams blocked the gullies and 40,000 square feet of roof wire were stretched over an acre of cleared ground. Technicians from the Soil Conservation Service and the University of Arizona suggested a new method of water conservation and seeding adapted to barren semidesert areas and supplied appropriate grasses. Within a few weeks ground cover inside the enclosures was eighteen inches high. But outside on soil that had received the same water, seed and weather conditions, grass remained as sparse as ever, kept down by small vegetarians that converged on the area's only oasis.

Rains, much lighter than predicted, began to fall in July causing a scant growth throughout the section; rodent pressure around the enclosures was alleviated. With this reaction to a rainy season so dry as to be consiedred almost a drought, we wished for rain and lots of it.

But rain, so necessary to vindicate the project, seemed unwilling to cooperate and our 30 masked bobwhite, pampered like royalty for several years, were forming coveys. This usually signals the end of the laying season. Another winter in cramped museum quarters would not have been the best conditioning for birds we had hopefully destined to restock the area and so they were moved to their valley location. We soon noticed a change in their attitude toward each other. Pairs which a few days before had not minded the nearness of neighbors suddenly became conscious of intrustion and fought them off. Each cage with three pairs soon became three separate territories, each defended as though marked by visible borders.

Then on September 26, 1962, two converging storms met over Altar and Avra valleys and for 12 hours it poured, 7 inches in all, until even the runoff 40 miles away created a State disaster area. For 5 days after this flood all we could do about the quail was view the site from a hilltop about 4 miles away and lament the fact that we had "wished for for water, lots of it." The desert valley was a lake and subsidence of the water seemed interminably slow. When we were able to slosh through the mud and reach the cages we thanked our lucky stars that the ranchers had been friendly consultants, for on their advice the breeding enclosures had been placed on a sandy section that to the naked eye didn't seem higher than any of the surrounding country. Of all the area where the pens could have been constructed this spot alone had remained an island.

Here and there sprigs of our planted grasses were struggling through the mud in patterns which roughly outlined our catchment basins before the basins were washed away. If the roots of these perennials could stand such torrents, normal rains should cause them to spread and eventually blanket the section. But, as we gloated over the growth we also were dejected by the numbers of black and yellow caterpillars that were nibbling the precious foliage.

Cattle, ground squirrels, kangaroo rats, and now caterpillars, combined with a year of peculiar weather—all seemed intent on thwarting any comeback of normal growth. As we proceeded from pen to pen checking the birds, a lone female dashed from a group that had been moving away from us. After momentarily hiding in the grass she reappeared with a caterpillar in her beak. Proof that this creature was a tasty and sought-after morsel was evident when another of the covey fought her for possession. Here was a strange situation. Could it be that the masked bobwhite of bygone days were nature's biological check that kept these caterpillars at a minimum population level? Could it be that with the elimination of the birds, caterpillars had increased to such numbers that yearly poisoning seemed to be the only answer to control their seasonal explosions?

While still several hundred feet from our cage-covered "island," the clear call of a bobwhite came from the grasses within and was answered from another pen, erasing some of our dejection. While conjecturing on this point, a white glint in the grass drew our attention, and then two eggs, washed from their place of hiding, were seen on the ground. Again we were reassured for the date was early October and the eggs were from birds that, by all the rules of the game, had stopped laying at least a month before. Could we use this happening as a criterion to again raise hopes almost completely shattered by the storm—a storm that killed cattle, even people, but left the world's only known pure-bred stock of masked bobwhite unharmed? Was this an omen pointing toward future success? The next few years should tell that story.

Right To Be Lonely in a Crowd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, after reading so many scare articles written by columnists regarding Senator GOLDWATER, it comes as a breath of fresh air to read an article by Richard Wilson published in the Washington Star of July 20, in which he gives his analysis of the Senator's views.

His article follows:

RIGHT TO BE LONELY IN A CROWD: GOLDWATER BELIEVES IN FREE CHOICE OF INDIVIDUAL IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY

If it's any comfort to the high minded, the western intellectuals have taken control of the ideology of the Republican Party. They include a graduate of the London School of Economics, honor graduates of Harvard, former college professors, and others of undeniable academic standing—but oriented to new thought on old problems.

We have had in positions of influence many older men whose rationalizations originated in such events as the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the twenties, a hearty distaste for the placidity of Calvin Coolidge, resentment against the Volstead Act, and the revolutionary attitudes produced by the great depression of the thirties.

These are, as time passes, old attitudes for other times.

It is more the intellectuals of the East who are relics of past times than the intellectuals of the West who are around BARRY GOLDWATER. By contrast, the Goldwater ideas are novel. Senator GOLDWATER is less of the 18th century than are the conventional intellectuals of the earlier 20th century.

But the wheel is turning and we are now well into the latter half of the 20th century. What was modern in 1920 and 1930 is, to use the language of that time, passé. Senator GOLDWATER is more the modern man, engrossed in his electronic hobbies, flying his jet plane and content in his glass house exposing the Arizona landscape.

What is new about the Goldwater idea is this: The free mind and free choice of the individual must, and can, be sustained in a growingly complex society. A man has a right to be lonely in a crowd, although organized society is growing larger and more stratified, with more and more group action.

Still the individual man, if rational, must be respected. Moral and ethical postures must not be imposed upon him against his conscience or even the vague intimation of his inner nature.

This contrasts with the older idea of collective action which submerges the individual in a labor union, a professional organization, a business group, or a social or intellectual group with a norm of ethical, moral, or professional standards.

How the difference between the old and the new attitude has its application can be found in three illustrations. One involves the graduated income tax. Tax experts have known for a long time what the individual knows. This tax is inequitably applied, and people have tried but have found no way to correct the inequities. It is well known to the tax experts, as it is to the individual, that the penalty on individual initiative in this tax has flaws.

The individual objects to the tax because it denies him the reward of his skill, ingenuity, or luck. The tax expert objects because this kind of a tax may be self-defeating in producing the maximum tax revenue.

Senator GOLDWATER says let us examine this tax. Such a statement is challenged by thinkers frozen to the attitudes of the earlier part of the century as an attempt to destroy an effective Federal Government, which Senator GOLDWATER is not trying to do.

Another example is the attitude to be taken toward Negro equality. The Goldwater idea asserts this equality. It contends also that others have rights which must not be infringed in guaranteeing the rights to which the Negro is entitled in law and morals. In this, as in other matters, under the Goldwater idea, the individual has the freedom of choice, and is not to be bound by group attitudes, so long as his individual attitude conforms to the law.

Finally, the Goldwater idea corresponds on major labor questions to ideas which are developing in the social-democratic systems of Europe. Labor unions are found there to have become reactionary power centers with large investments and vested personal interests.

The feeling is growing that the right of the individual to join or not join such vested organizations must be protected, and this is what Senator GOLDWATER thinks.

It might be well for the individual, therefore, not to accept blindly the shibboleths on Senator GOLDWATER's recklessness or backwardness, but to listen to him with care to see if what he is saying does anything to solve the problem of the loss of man's identity in collective society without sacrificing the benefits of such a society.

The voter has nearly 4 months to mull this over and he owes it to himself to know what he is doing when he votes for or against Senator GOLDWATER.

Heroic Rescue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, many of us are not exactly sure how we would react in an emergency. It is my earnest belief and hope that we would have the presence of mind to act quickly and effectively as did the two cable splicers whose experience is related in the July issue of the Telephone Times, a publication of the Southern New England Telephone Co. They rescued a policeman from the turbulent waters of the Housatonic River in Connecticut last month and I commend this account of their daring to my colleagues.

TWO NEW MILFORD CABLE SPLICERS HELP RESCUE STRUGGLING POLICEMAN FROM HOUSATONIC RIVER

Two New Milford cable splicers, Bob Eyes and Mickey Russell, played a vital role in the rescue of a policeman struggling against a turbulent current in the Housatonic River on June 3.

Bob and Mickey were working at the intersection of Pickett District Road and Route 7, near our New Milford garage, when a passerby alerted them to the policeman's plight.

The officer, Ted Adams, and another policeman, Kenneth Couch, had been investigating a report of an unoccupied boat floating on the river when their own motorboat

overturned, throwing both men into the water. Couch's body was recovered several hours later. Apparently, no one had been in the first boat.

Both splicers were familiar with the dangerous current near the Bleachery Dam on the Housatonic, and they rushed into action when they learned of the accident.

Bob, who was on the ground, jumped into the company truck and drove the few hundred feet to the dam. Meanwhile, Mickey, on an aerial platform, called the test board and asked Testman Mel Kiefer to summon more aid. Then he climbed down and ran to the dam.

ONLY ADAMS VISIBLE

Only the struggling Adams and the two boats were visible. The SNET men obtained ropes from their truck and, with Mickey on shore holding one end, Bob plunged into the current and swam to the policeman.

By this time, Foreman Ted Titemore and House Serviceman John Reynolds had arrived on the scene and helped Mickey pull both men into shallow water. Bob sat the exhausted Adams on a rock until he could proceed to shore.

Bob accompanied Patrolman Adams to New Milford Hospital, where the policeman was treated and later released.

Both cable splicers are veteran employees. Bob has 23 years' service and Mickey, 16 years.

The Ending of the Bracero Program Will Create a Critical Agricultural Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to the following excellent editorial entitled "The Ending of the Bracero Program Will Create a Critical Agricultural Dilemma," by M. H. Jacaban, acting editor and business manager of the Bataan News. This editorial appeared in the July 4–5, 1964, issue of the Bataan News, which is the largest Filipino-American publication in California.

THE ENDING OF THE BRACERO PROGRAM WILL CREATE A CRITICAL AGRICULTURAL DILEMMA

(By M. H. Jacaban)

In one of the imposing State buildings located at the Capitol Park in Sacramento, above its massive entrances is an inscription chiseled indelibly in marble "Bring Me Men to Match My Mountains." These are challenging words which were duly met by the pioneers of old.

As far as the agricultural industry is concerned, there seems to be no one who wants to answer the call of matching its mountains of problems arising from the result of ending of the bracero program. The ending of the bracero program at the end of the year 1964 is going to create a dilemma which requires a man of great intellect and great foresight to solve. And I do not see that man as yet.

Six months from now California is going to be faced with a crisis. California agriculture is going to be faced with no foreign workers to harvest its crops.

In attempting to discuss the problems caused by the ending of the bracero program, first let us consider the great importance of the agricultural industry as it affects the State and the Nation. After our 49'er ancestors had cleared the virgin lands and paved the way to an industrial giant, it created today for our own benefit a wealth of $2 billion worth yearly. Aside from that, it had created more billions of dollars in allied industries such as the canning industry, the equipment manufacturing industry, the wholesale and retail trades, the banking and finance, etc.

California agriculture, in short, is producing yearly foods and fibers enough to supply about 41 percent of the needs of the population of the whole Nation. That is a lot of wealth which generates a lot of economic activities that provide employment for many of our people.

This wealth is created by a combination of rugged entrepreneurship on the part of the farmers, and tons and tons of eyebrow sweat of mostly foreign laborers. In their historical order, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Japanese, the Filipinos, and finally the Mexican nationals came to California and helped create this giant industry.

Through the easing of the then existing immigration laws the Chinese, the Hindus, and the Japanese came to California in big numbers and worked on the farms. Some of the business-minded people of these ethnic groups have remained on the farms to become farmers themselves and became pillars in the industry. The Filipinos came en masse to California in the late twenties and early thirties as a result of their free entry when the Philippines was a dependency of the United States. The Mexican nationals came as a result of the treaty called Public Law 78 during World War II. America was then in need of tremendous amounts of food to win the war, hence it negotiated the treaty with the Mexican Government. It had been renewed every 2 years ever since.

Right after the war the bracero program created two contending forces; namely, the labor unions and the farmers. The unions contend that the bracero program has taken away jobs from our domestic workers; and because of their superb publicity they have been able to garner a majority in the U.S. Congress to end the progrem. The farmers, on the other hand, contend that the program is not depriving our local people of the much needed jobs; instead it had created jobs for many of our people. Because of their lack of organization and ineptness in bringing their cause to the people, especially the city folik, they lost out in their desire to extend the program.

The fact remains in spite of the claim and counterclaims of the farmers and the unions, that in certain crops the farmers could not get along without foreign workers. In the asparagus industry, the cutting or harvesting of the crops could not be done by domestics. The job requires stooping positions; and no 6-foot domestic worker would be able to endure such strenuous work. The asparagus worker usually wakes up at 4 o'clock in the morning and starts working as soon as it is light enough to see the grass; he practically runs in a stooping position until practically sundown. Heat or rain do not stop the grass from growing, hence the worker has to work in the 110° sun or in the rain-soaked soil. No domestic, as far as the records show, has ever tackled the job and stayed during the whole asparagus season.

Some union leaders claim that if the wages are high enough, people will be attracted to go to work in such jobs. Such leaders either do not know about the jobs or they refuse to know about the jobs. Some union leaders who are honest and sincere agree that even though the farmers pay $5 per hour, no domestic will tackle the job. William (Bud) Kenyon, secretary-treasurer of the General Teamsters Union, Local 890, Salinas, who knows the nature of these farm jobs, and who has the courage and honesty to say the truth stated, "No matter how much you pay the domestics, they will not stay on the jobs." Besides the asparagus cutting, harvesting lettuce and picking strawberries are other jobs that our domestics would not care to do.

Thomas L. Pitts, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Federation of Labor, speaking for the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, which has been in the field for 3 years now trying to organize the farmworkers, has accused the farmers of being vigorously opposed to unionization of the fieldworkers. Some of the farmers and farm organizations may have shown their reluctance to unionization, but all could agree with me that the final decision of unionization lies entirely on the workers themselves. The unions have the job of unionizing the fieldworkers cut out for them; they have to sell each one of the workers the merit of unionization.

Again on the other hand, the farmers' inner feelings was voiced by Keith Mets, of El Centro, Calif., when he testified at the Governor's hearing on farm labor last March when he said in effect the farmers are not averse to unionization if the union and its leadership is reliable and trustworthy. We hasten to add here that with reliable union that could police their membership well we think the proposal to unionize the fieldworkers will not be opposed vigorously by the farmers.

We should realize here at this point that the farmers and the farmworkers are one insofar as the success of the agricultural industry is concerned. If there is no farmer it follows as surely as the night follows day that there will be no farmworkers either. Hence, there will be no workers for the union to organize. The moment the two start pulling against each other the mainspring of our economy will be crippled.

Farming is a peculiar business. The farmer is a natural gambler because oftentimes the natural elements are against him. His products are highly perishable commodities, which if left unharvested at the time of harvest, will all go to rot. Hence, there should be a way of guaranteeing from spoilage of the food commodities caused by labor strikes. To do this, there should be a clause in the union contract forbidding the unions the right to strike at the time of harvest. Crops, as everyone knows, do not wait for the strike to end.

The scheduled ending of the bracero program at the end of the year will:

1. Create unemployment. There will be a decrease of workers in the fields, in the canning industry, in the farm equipment manufacturing, in the wholesale and retail trades, etc.

2. Create higher prices. Most of our fresh vegetables will cost higher as a result of no one to harvest them.

3. Create scarcity of food items. If there is not going to be any substitute program whereby foreign workers would be allowed to come and work in California, most of our fresh vegetables will disappear from our dinner tables.

As an alternative, in order not to cripple our agricultural industry, there should be another program to replace the bracero program. Under Public Law 414 of the Nationality Act, known as the McCarran Act, workers from foreign countries like the Philippines, etc., should be allowed to come to California to work in those crops that could not be done by domestics.

Who is going to solve the dilemma? As far as this writer is concerned, there is none in the horizon that is willing to answer the call "Bring me men to match my mountains." Our officials who are in position of authority to do something to remedy the situation are reluctant to come out and seek a solution to the problem. They are afraid of reprisal

from the unions which exert a lot of influence in the polls. There is none in authority who is courageous and honest enough to come out and solve the problem as it should be solved. Now is the time to face the problem squarely in the face or it will be too late. It is later than you think. If we do not act now the mainspring of our economy will be crippled, which will bring chaos in the agricultural industry and work hardship in our daily life.

Address of Senator Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. WATSON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, a number of recent decisions by the Supreme Court have aroused cries of protest from many Constitution-loving Americans, not only from my State, but from all States in the Union. With this in mind, I would like to include at the end of my remarks a most timely address made recently before a joint meeting of the Greenville County Medical Society and the Greenville County Bar Association, Greenville, S.C., on July 3, 1964, by the distinguished junior Senator from South Carolina, Senator STROM THURMOND.

The address echoes the distress of many citizens at the excessive abuses of the Supreme Court in such decisions as the one dealing with legislative reapportionment. However, Senator THURMOND goes further than a simple discussion of the "counter-revolution" which the Supreme Court has instigated in its "preoccupation with equality," as he also explores possible remedies and methods of halting this arbitrary judicial usurpation of power.

I commend his remarks as worthy of the most careful attention and consideration of each of my colleagues in both Houses of Congress.

The text of the address follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, TO JOINT MEETING OF THE GREENVILLE COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY AND THE GREENVILLE COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION, GREENVILLE, S.C., JULY 3, 1964

On the eve of the 188th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, it is fitting and appropriate that we should turn our thoughts to revolutions, for it was of, by, and through revolution that the Declaration came into being. That Revolution was a noble undertaking, based on such devotion to principles of liberty and justice that the participants pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

Out of the American Revolution sprang a new political order, dedicated to implementing the same high principles for which the Revolution was waged. The genius of the new political order lay in its combinations of carefully designed checks and balances, and divisions and separations of power for the protection of individual rights against the will of a majority, while retaining the ultimate power of decision on political questions in the people.

Tonight I come not to speak to you of this glorious Revolution of almost two centuries ago, nor even of the dear and bountiful benefits which we all have enjoyed as a direct consequence. On the contrary, my remarks are directed at the counterrevolution taking place here and now, and which has already gone far toward destroying and undoing the accomplishments of the American Revolution.

Thomas Jefferson foresaw and predicted the main source of this counterrevolution, as is indicated by his statement in 1821 that:

"The germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the * * * Federal judiciary; an irresponsible body * * * working like gravity * * * gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the States, and the Government of all be consolidated into one. When all government * * * in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated."

Thomas Jefferson through his wisdom rather than clairvoyance anticipated the role and course of the Supreme Court with astonishing accuracy. Although the Supreme Court is joined in its counterrevolution against our existing political, economic, and social order by the executive branch and apparently a majority of Congress as well as many outside the official structure of Government, it is concerning the role of the Court in this counterrevolution to which I shall address my remarks tonight.

The Supreme Court began its counterrevolution years ago. It is not my purpose to trace the genesis of the Court's assaults on the constitutional system, nor is there time available for such an exhaustive subject. The first priority is to understand how far this counterrevolution has already gone and its current rate of momentum. For that purpose, a brief review of some of the decisions of the Court in the past 90 days is quite adequate.

The most far reaching of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court are the cases on reapportionment of State legislatures handed down on June 15 of this year. Although only six States were parties to these cases, these decisions could ultimately destroy the existing political structure of at least 44 of the 50 States. In the reapportionment decisions, the Court so construed the 14th amendment to the Constitution as to prohibit either body of State legislatures from being apportioned on any other basis than population. As applied to South Carolina, these decisions would not only require drastic reapportionment of the State house of representatives, but would virtually preclude the existence of the senate, unless it was a substantial duplication of the reapportioned house.

In discussing the reapportionment decisions, there is no need, and indeed, no way, to become involved in legal technicalities. This is because the fundamental issue involved is not a legal question, but a political one. Political questions are not within the jurisdiction of the Court. Political questions are for decision of the people, exercised by the ballot and through legislative bodies.

Justice Harlan, dissenting in the Alabama case, said: "What is done today deepens my conviction that judicial entry into this realm is profoundly ill-advised and constitutionally impermissible. * * * I believe that the vitality of our political system, on which in the last analysis all else depends, is weakened by reliance on the judiciary for political reform."

Justice Harlan put his finger on the real key to the apportionment decisions—the Supreme Court is undermining our political system. In so doing, the Court took unto itself power which rightfully and constitutionally belongs to the people.

To understand the full consequence of this counterrevolutionary decision, we must look even beyond the Court's usurpation of the power of the people to decide the political question, however, and examine the substance of the new rule of political order sought to be imposed by the Court.

The new political principle sought to be imposed by the Court is characterized as "one person, one vote." In application, this "one person, one vote" would mean that numbers, or population, could be the only basis for representation.

The people, to whom the political decisions of apportionment rightfully belong, could, of course, decide to follow the "one person, one vote" idea. The fact is, however, that the people have never made such a choice. The Court arbitrarily assumed that the people had not made such a choice because they were powerless, under existing political structure, to do so. The Supreme Court never even recognized the possibility that the people had not adopted the "one person, one vote" concept because they did not believe that it was practical or sound. Yet the latter is obviously the case. Every State constitution which departs materially from the concept of "one person, one vote"—and nearly all of them do—was originally adopted in an election or referendum where the rule of "one person, one vote" was followed.

Population is, of course, the principal basis for apportionment of legislative representation in all States. But the various States have found it practical, workable, just, and beneficial to weight the apportionment of legislative representation with various other factors in their own States, just as was done in framing the structure of the National Government.

Consider just one illustration, the one about which the Supreme Court had its sensibilities so shocked; that is, the heavier weighting in one body of bicameral State legislatures in favor of rural residents.

Let me point out initially that such departures from apportionment based purely on population result in purely defensive powers to those so favored. The U.S. Congress provides a good example. Each State has equal representation in the Senate, regardless of its population. Thus Delaware has equal representation in the Senate with New York, although New York has at least 35 times more population. But Delaware, even with its equal representation in the Senate, nor even in combination with other small population States which might give them a majority in the Senate, does not have the affirmative power to pass legislation; for the House of Representatives must also concur, and its membership is based on population, or "one person, one vote."

Thus, the equal representation of Delaware in the Senate gives it at most an increased defensive power to what it would have were representation in Congress based solely on "one person, one vote."

Similarly, the weighting of representation in favor of rural residents gives them an increased defensive power, leaving them less vulnerable to the whims of a majority.

By the very nature of their occupations, agricultural areas are necessarily less densely populated than nonagricultural areas. We in the United States, with our consistent departure from the concept of "one person, one vote," have progressed to the point where approximately 8 percent of the population of the Nation produces the entire food and fiber for its consumption, with a large margin for export. This progress has been undoubtedly due in part to the fact that the agricultural sector through its defensive power stemming from its weighted representation has managed to protect its vital interests in the intertwined political and economic order.

Nor is the nature of agricultural enterprise such that those engaged therein can

protect their vital interests outside the formal political structure by combined economic action through organization, as is done by industrial labor through the means of labor unions. So long as political issues have been left to the decision of the people, where they rightfully belong, these factors have been recognized, and the departures from the "one person, one vote" concept have not only been tolerated, but affirmatively approved by the majority of the people.

The arbitrary imposition of an unadulterated "one person, one vote" rule of legislative apportionment, could well, therefore, insofar as the agricultural sector is concerned, start the United States back down the road of inefficiency toward the status of such nations as the Soviet Union, where it takes 60 percent of the population to raise food and fibers for the nation, and even then there are severe shortages.

In no instance is the counterrevolutionary conduct of the Supreme Court more obvious than in the reapportionment decisions, for these cases strike at the heart of our political structure. A review of other decisions of the Court reveals, however, that the Court takes every opportunity, large or small, to undercut the constitutional, political, economic, and social order, and thereby to counter and destroy the products of the American Revolution.

Probably the most evident motivation which occasioned the American Revolution was the unwillingness of Americans to suffer taxation without representation. Therefore, one of the most fundamental concepts built into the resulting political structure was the vesting of the power of taxation and appropriation in legislatures where the people had representation. In our political order, as contrasted to authoritarian regimes, the power to tax and appropriate is legislative.

On May 25, 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision against Prince Edward County, Va., in which the Court claimed that the judiciary has the power to both tax and appropriate. The Court ruled that if the county failed to levy taxes for public schools and to appropriate for their operation, the Court had the power to do so. To exercise the power claimed, the Court would necessarily have to make the decision of how much to tax and how much to appropriate, and if the Court can decide how much taxes to levy and how much money to appropriate for schools at the county level, in one instance, it has also arrogated unto itself the power to decide in any case on the adequacy of taxes levied and funds appropriated. Yet it is hard to imagine any body on which the people have less representation than on the Supreme Court. Its members are appointed, not elected, and they are appointed for life, not for a term. Thus has the Court struck at the vitals of the motto of the American Revolution, "No taxation without representation."

Of course, the Court has long since arrogated unto itself all manners of executive powers. But it is worthy of note that in the Prince Edward County case, the Court also claimed the power to perform the function of operating the schools, a purely executive function.

While the Court has been usurping the rights of the people to decide political issues, and arrogating unto itself executive and legislative powers, it has also found opportunity and time to continue making a shambles of our system of justice.

The people, in establishing our political structure, correctly concluded that they were less able to protect themselves from abuses stemming from the power of the National Government than they were from State governments. Consequently, the fifth amendment to the Constitution imposed stricter requirements of due process on the National Government than is imposed on most State governments by State constitutions. The Court, however, has perverted the fifth amendment to apply to State, as well as Federal Government action.

On June 22, 1964, the Supreme Court held that an accused's statements made during a police interrogation could not be admitted as evidence in a trial in State court because the accused's lawyer was not present. In so holding, the Court abandoned the tried and proven test of whether the statement was in fact voluntary. This is but one of many rulings in criminal cases which have made it very difficult for our society to protect itself from crime and which fails to take cognizance of the fact that the purpose of a trial is actually to determine the truth.

While hopelessly perverting and misapplying due process requirements in criminal cases tried in State courts, the Court has at the same time continued to thwart the substantive requirements of due process. This is well illustrated by the steady expansion of the use and scope of injunctive proceedings and the concomitant denial of jury trials. A landmark in this insidious trend was the denial of a jury trial to Mississippi Governor Barnett in its decision handed down on April 6, 1964.

Indeed, the Supreme Court has made it nearly impossible for State and local authorities to maintain peace and good order by its repeated overturning of convictions of demonstrators who have violated trespass and breach of peace laws. The Court in order to reach such illogical ends, has even ruled that police action at the demand of owners and proprietors amounted to State action as to who was designated a trespasser. Demonstrably, the Court has no respect for law as such; it prefers to pick and choose from the valid laws those which it will permit to be enforced. In effect, the Court has arrogated unto itself a veto of what laws the people, through its legislature, may enact and enforce.

The complete disdain for the political order established as an outcome of the American Revolution is nowhere more bluntly stated than in the Court's decisions on internal security matters.

In the case of *Baggett* v. *Bullit*, decided on June 1, 1964, the Court was particularly disturbed by and overturned a State requirement that employees of the State swear that they would not in any way undertake, counsel, abet, or teach the overthrow of our constitutional form of government by means of revolution. Significantly, the Court conjectured that such a promise might make it imposible for "one to support * * * participation by this country in a world government."

In the same case, the Court held that a State cannot exact "undivided allegiance to the Government of the United States."

In the case of *Apetheker* v. *Secretary of State*, decided on June 22, 1964, the Court held that the Government could not refuse a passport to a person on the ground that the person was a member of a subversive organization—in this case, a member of the Communist Party. The Court so ruled in full knowledge of the fact that a passport is a privilege, not a right, and that the travel performed by members of the Communist Party by virtue of the passport was endangering the security of the Nation.

One June 1, 1964, the Court held that the Communist Party, U.S.A., cannot be compelled to register with the Attorney General and to provide pertinent information on its membership, finances, and meetings. The Court so held despite the fact that as late as June 4, 1961, the Court itself had recognized that the Communist Party, U.S.A., was an instrument and arm of a foreign power; namely, the Soviet Union.

Thus, not only has the Court led the counterrevolution against our political, economic, and social order from within, but it has protected and succored our enemies from without.

Some have found it difficult to understand what philosophy the Court could be following to reach such conclusions. I believe I have found the key to their philosophy from studying their decisions.

The point of departure of the philosophy followed by the Court from that underlying our political order is found in the very preamble to the Constitution.

The preamble states that one of the primary purposes of the Union is, and I quote, to "secure the blessings of liberty." The philosophy of the Supreme Court requires the substitution of the word "equality" for the word "liberty." The Court cares not for the blessings of liberty, with which we have been so bountifully blessed.

Rather, its preoccupation is with "equality," that keyword of socialism which seeks to even out all persons and all nations, even if it must be at the level of the lowest common denominator. Equality can be perfectly realized in the status of slavery; but equality can never be found in a society where liberty is present, for liberty demands that each individual have the opportunity to develop and enjoy the benefits of his unequal talents and abilities. Even more pertinent to the court's preoccupation with equality rather than liberty is the fact that arbitrary power concentration is consistent with equalitarian societies, but is an abomination to societies where the premium is placed on liberty.

The counterrevolution against our political order of liberty and justice has progressed so far that only drastic and forceful steps can crush it.

The Congress, of course, has the authority to check the Supreme Court. For example, it has the power under article III, section 2, to curtail the jurisdiction of the Federal Judiciary, including that of the Supreme Court, by passing a law. I have introduced bills to deprive the court of jurisdiction in education and legislative apportionment cases, as well as bills to curb the court itself. The Congress could also initiate a constitutional amendment to curb the usurpations of the courts. Unfortunately, it apears that there is enough of the same counterrevolutionary philosophy in the Congress as to preclude congressional remedies.

As a practical matter, the only remedy remaining is in the hands of the States and the people themselves. They must now take the initiative to amend the Constitution if our political, economic, and social order is to be secured against the counterrevolution.

Presently, constitutional amendments can be submitted for ratification only by the Congress or by a constitutional convention called by the Congress on application of the State legislatures.

There is a proposal—which I have introduced in Congress—which would amend the Constitution to give to two-thirds of the State legislatures approving an identical resolution the power to propose amendments to the Constitution for the purpose of ratification by three-fourths of the States. This amendment would permit the States to bypass the barrier of Congress in submitting constitutional amendments for ratification.

There is another proposal—which I have also introduced in the Congress—which would establish a Court of the Union. This court would consist of the chief justices of each State with authority to determine whether the power or jurisdiction sought to be exercised by the National Government in a particular case is a power granted to it under the Constitution. The Court of the Union could reverse U.S. Supreme Court decisions by a majority vote of the entire court, and determinations made by the Court of the Union could be changed only by amending the U.S. Constituton. To get an

issue before the Court of the Union, however, would require an application by the legislatures of five States, "no two of which shall share any common boundary."

The State legislatures have a responsibility and an opportunity to act under the present article V of the U.S. Constitution to petition the Congress for a constitutional convention to consider specific proposals such as these two suggestions. Both of these proposals already have the support of units of the Council of State Governments. Former President Eisenhower has called upon State legislatures to exercise their right to propose constitutional amendments.

In the final analysis, however, it is with the people that the fight must now begin. It is they who must spur the legislatures to action. It is they who have enjoyed the blessings of liberty which have been possible under our political, economic, and social order which, in turn, was made possible by the American Revolution.

On this eve of the 188th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, I would charge you, as community leaders, to go forth and lead the people to a victory over the forces of counterrevolution. By no other means can the products of the American Revolution be saved and the blessings of liberty secured.

May God bless your endeavors with victory.

Reform in Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, much of current discussion of the problems and prospects of Latin America centers on an effort to assess the success of the Alliance. In pursuing this discussion, we often take for granted one of the key contributions the Alliance has made. The Alliance has injected a standard into the problem of direction for the hemisphere. We may ask how much progress has been made in a given country, but we rarely question the goal against which that progress is to be measured. The members of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, who are presently meeting in Mexico City are asking not what are Latin America's goals, but what are the best means for achieving them.

As the goals of the Alliance are, in increasing degree, becoming a political factor in Latin America, they are being given effect in action. An example of such action is seen in the current economic plans Brazil has adopted as described in a recent editorial by Robert Brunn of the Christian Science Monitor. Under unanimous consent I place Mr. Brunn's editorial in the RECORD:

BRAZILIAN REFORMS

(By Robert R. Brunn)

The U.S. Government could hardly be happier over the economic plans of the new Brazilian regime.

A complicated renegotiation of part of the towering Brazilian debt has ended successfully. But beyond this the government of President Humberto Castelo Branco is on the verge of major reforms.

A foundation is being laid for an attack on the vicious inflation which is running at an annual rate of 120 percent. As the planned reforms come along mounting American aid is almost certain.

Reforms planned include these:

Elimination of subsidies to wheat, petroleum, and newsprint.

An imminent new tax bill for Congress. Another tax bill will be in shape later in the year.

American officials would not be surprised if the new Brazilian budget is cut back by about 30 percent. In about a month the budget for 1965 will be ready. A more rational budget procedure is planned.

A new national monetary board will be set up to act as a central bank. This has been talked about for 20 years.

A new national housing bank will sponsor low-cost housing developments to be built by private enterprise.

If the new government is able to deliver these changes, and others being planned, the United States has promised that more loans will be forthcoming.

A first downpayment on this promise appeared recently when the Agency for International Development gave Brazil a $50 million loan. This loan is mainly for noninflationary financing of low-cost housing, industrial credits, and loans to farmers.

AID has a backlog of $350 million worth of detailed development projects on the books whenever the coast is financially clear.

The recent renegotiation by 10 nations including the United States of part of the $3.4 billion Brazilian debt extended elements of the debt into a grace period of 2½ years.

Repayments due during 1964 have been extended to 1967, and debt payments due in 1965 have been stretched to begin in 1968. About $800 million was due during these years.

There is little doubt that the revolution that brought the end of the Goulart government eased the renegotiation talks at Paris. The 10 nation creditors were obviously pleased by the Castelo Branco regime's plans and "a more constructive atmosphere" resulted.

A renegotiation of the Brazilian debt would probably have taken place even under the Goulart government. But it would have been a highly painful affair.

This present government is described by American officials as "realistic," and its economic policies were called quite sensible as the Brazilians entered the Paris talks.

If the Brazilian reforms do indeed come into effect there will remain, however, a period which the economists term "corrective inflation." It could take several years for the new government to work itself out of a serious deficit position after the reforms begin to bite.

Florida's Biggest American Flag User

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 4 I called to the attention of my colleagues and those who read that RECORD, an article entitled, "Red, White, and Blue." Shortly thereafter, the Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association located in my congressional district issued a press release announcing that the association claims to be "Florida's Biggest American Flag User" with a distribution of over 50,000 American flags in the past 3 years.

It has been an established practice of Washington Federal to have an annual Independence Day flag distribution for youngsters of all ages at the 4th of July celebration of oceanfront aerial fireworks display on Miami Beach.

In view of the excellent program of NBC, narrated by Walter Brennan on the American flag and the suggestions offered therein of more open display of the flag, I wish to commend this association of my district which has been proudly promoting patriotism and love for this great America which is ours, in the use and display of the American flag.

State Enforced Religion Is No Religion at All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker. I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the November-December 1962, issue of Liberty magazine. The author—Roland R. Hegstad—gives an excellently reasoned argument against State enforcement of religious observances. The supporters of the so-called Becker amendment should read it with close attention.

The article follows:

DOES GOD APPROVE THE USE OF CIVIL POWER TO ENFORCE HIS WILL?

(By Roland R. Hegstad)

Two women visited a professor of theology at Thessalonica University to explain their understanding of Bible passages. The professor locked his visitors in his office and called the police. The women were sentenced to 4 months in prison for teaching doctrines not accepted by the Orthodox Church.

In Colombia and Spain a concordat with the Vatican effectively subverts religious liberty and forces public schools to teach the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.

In the United States a bill that would write a Christian amendment into the Constitution has gained the backing of several Congressmen. Sunday laws that prohibit "desecration of the Sabbath" are forced upon citizens.

Civil interference with conscience is, of course, not a monopoly of Chrisian governments. In the Sudan the Moslem holy day, Friday, has been substituted for Sunday as the official weekly holiday. A Roman Catholic priest who wrote a circular protesting the government's action has been sentenced to a 12-year prison term. The Burmese Government recently made Buddhism the state religion and passed laws that forced citizens to observe Buddhist religious observances (a new government has even more recently rescinded the laws).

These incidents have one thing in common: in one way or another the state has become involved—or in the case of the Christian amendment, is being solicited to become involved—in support of the cause of the church.

The involvement raises certain questions—which I shall formulate in terms common to Christian traditions and answer as one who believes that the Bible is the Word of God. Did God give the state the responsibility of regulating man's relationship to God? Should religion be legislated by civil codes? Is worship a matter of individual conscience? Will God accept obedience forced by law? Is He satisfied with outward conformity where inward piety is lacking?

Supporters of religious legislation justify their position in various ways. "The question has been raised," says the Catholic Encyclopedia, "whether it be lawful for the church, not merely to sentence a delinquent to physical penalties, but itself to inflict these penalties. As to this, it is sufficient to note that the right of the church to invoke the aid of the civil power to execute her sentences is expressly asserted by Boniface VIII in the Bull 'Unam Sanctam.'"[1]

A resolution of the Lord's Day Alliance, a Protestant organization, gives this reason for their pushing Sunday legislation: "Mindful of the fact that the Creator of Life has so directed our ways for the best interests of man and for the glory of God, we are mindful that the observance of the Sabbath Day is the command of God." On this basis church members are urged to "give encouragement to the enactment of such legislation as will protect the Lord's Day from commercialism."

The Alliance calls objections of clergymen and other Christian leaders to religious legislation "real cause for alarm."

"There is a small number of ministers and other Christian leaders who * * * feel that we do not have the right to impose our day of worship upon another," writes the editor of the Lord's Day Leader, voice of the Alliance. "They state that the observance of worship is a matter of conscience and should be left to our conscience. This group within the Church, even though it is small, gives real cause for alarm * * *."

It is my conviction, on the contrary, that backers, not opposers, of religious legislation give "real cause for alarm." They give cause for alarm not only because of the sorry record of persecution written by men attempting to conscript citizens for the kingdom of heaven by legislated religion but also because of the ignorance of basic principles of the kingdom revealed by their activity. Those mindful that "the Creator of Life has so directed our ways for the best interests of man and for the glory of God" should remember, first, that the Creator made man just as free to disobey His precepts as to keep them.

Man was not created a robot, his mind an electrical circuit wired to respond to ciphers in a prepunched card. He was made a creature of will, able to obey or disobey by exercise of his choice. The capacity to rebel as well as to love was made his. He who by civil law denies man his choice to disobey God's will—or what he thinks is God's will—denies man a right given him by his Creator. Denies him, moreover, exercise of a faculty built into his very being—his will.

When civil government forces conformity to God's will, does God accept the forced allegiance? No. The religious zealot can "get on" a man, dig in legal spurs, and ride him to the altar, but when he gets him there he will find that God will accept neither the man ridden nor the rider. For both fail to bring to the altar that which is indispensable for acceptance—loving obedience that is the consequence of free choice.

God is love and will accept only that obedience that springs from love. Adam was not created able to say only, "I love you, I love you, I love you, I love." He could also say, "I hate you, I hate you, I hate you, I hate." Love can be appreciated only where the capacity to be unloving exists. The capacity of man both to hate and to love is itself strong argument that the nature of God precludes acceptance of forced allegiance.

Further support for this conclusion is found in the Scriptural account of Adam and the fall. Adam was told that he could eat of every tree in the garden except one. Access to the forbidden tree was not denied him; no prefabricated mental block inhibited his appetite. Rather the tree stood as a test of voluntary allegiance and love. He could obey or disobey. So long as he exercised his choice not to eat of its fruit, so long as love for God produced voluntary obedience, his worship was acceptable. Allegiance forced by either church or state is unacceptable to God.

The futility of forced allegiance is demonstrated also by the nature of the law of God. This law, a transcript of God's character, witnesses that outward conformity is worthless, for it touches not only the outward acts of man, as do human laws, but also man's motives and desires, which human laws cannot do. Explaining the penetrating dimensions of the law, Christ said to those giving lipservice to its letter: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. * * *

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shall not commit adultery: but I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

The scribes and Pharisees were noted for outward piety unmatched by inward charity. Men saw their pious looks and fine dress. Christ looked into their blighted interiors and pronounced them "whited sepulchers, * * * full of dead men's bones." "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees [have an inward dimension], ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven," He warned.

What else but outward conformity can state-enforced morality produce? It cannot change hearts; all it can do is change acts; and it is out of the heart that worship acceptable to God must come.

After having made man free to sin, that the internal principle of love might work itself out in acts of righteousness unhindered by force—after having made man thus, has God given to any human authority the right to take away that freedom? He has commanded all men everywhere to worship Him and to obey His precepts, but has He ever authorized any man or set of men to compel others to worship Him? Has he commanded men to observe the outward conventions of worship without the inward compulsion of love? Quite the contrary; He has described such outward show as "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."

Human legislation can never produce acceptable obedience to the law of God, for the law of God touches belief and motive while civil law can only regulate acts. The very nature of the law of God bears testimony to the futility of forced allegiance.

Further evidence against God's acceptance of legislated religion is found in the meaning of Calvary. Calvary might be described as the testing ground of the universe. There Lucifer's initial accusation against God was framed as a hypothesis—God's law is unjust and He Himself selfish—and submitted to experimentation. To demonstrate the eternal righteousness and perpetuity of His law, God paid the penalty for its transgression. There at ground zero, when the countdown of the ages had reached its end, the Son of God allowed wicked men to trigger the cruel device we call Calvary. To interrupt the chain reaction of sin, to stop its deadly radiation, He gave His life.

The deadly fallout of sin had written death on every nerve, every tissue, every cell of our bodies. "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men" (Romans 5: 12). Sin had built up in intensity until it became a critical mass at Calvary. But the Son of God threw His own body across the fury of its chain reaction and forever broke its power.

Until Calvary, some in God's creation were confused by Satan's claims, by his attacks on the government of God and the constitution of heaven. Law was a restriction on liberty—law must be abolished. Everyone should be free to live as he pleased. But at Calvary the destructive power of even an atom of sin—transgression of the law (I John 3: 4)—was forever demonstrated. The immutability of the law was settled. There it was shown that with its existence is bound up the happiness of all the beings He has created. There the Son of God paid man's penalty—"God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself."

Having compared the wages of sin and obedience, death and life, the claims of God and the claims of Lucifer, having seen at Calvary the magnitude of God's love contrasted with the malignancy of Lucifer's hate, millions have given, and yet give, the product of free wills freely exercised—the voluntary allegiance of love that alone can delight the heart of God.

Calvary is a scribe in the hand of the Holy Spirit, tracing the principles of God's law upon the conscience and producing obedience that is the consequence of internal principle. Without this inward scribing, efforts to keep the law are useless. No human legislation can produce it, for human laws touch only the actions of man as distinguished from belief; and as we have noted, God will accept acts of righteousness only when they spring from inward principle.

To force men by civil law to serve God is, then, to rob Calvary of its beauty, of its meaning, of its power. Of its beauty: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son"; of its meaning: "Whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life"; of its power: "And I, if I be lifted up * * *," said Christ, "will draw all men unto me." To force men by civil law to serve God is to tear down the cross, symbol of God's justice and mercy, and raise in its place the carnal legalism of man's bigotry and intolerance.

In the ministry and teachings of Christ are found final arguments against legislated religion, most significant of which is His enunciation on the respective spheres of church and state: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." His spiritual kingdom has a sphere; civil government has a sphere. Rulers are "ordained of God" and are to be obeyed in their sphere; that is, when their legislation is confined to the legitimate concerns of civil government. Should their legislation contravene the commands of God, then, "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5: 29).

Christ taught that all men are brothers, sons of one Father, and therefore equal before the law—equal in civil rights. Rulers are servants of their fellow citizens, chosen under God to protect their fellow men in the enjoyment of their rights—one of which is to disobey the law of God if they desire and, ultimately, to suffer the consequences. The civil power of arbitrary force is to compel men who will not be righteous to be at least civil, that men may live together in peace and quietness.

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[1] R. H. Joyce, "Pope," the Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 12, p. 266.

The church, on the other hand, has the mission of changing wicked men by its witness of love into righteous men who reflect the character of Christ. The state compels men to refrain from crime—stealing, murder, perjury, adultery—for only when laws against such are obeyed can men live together in peace and harmony. Men who defy these laws are, in civilized societies, confined or executed. The church by the "sword of the Spirit," the "compulsion" of love, causes men to refrain from sin, brings them into harmony with the very spirit of God's law—Thou shalt not covet (which precedes stealing) thou shalt not hate (which preceds murder), thou shalt not look upon a woman lustfully (which precedes adultery)—in essence, makes them able to "love thy neighbour as thyself."

It is evident that the freedom Christ brings is not freedom from His law, but from its penalty; not license to transgress it, but freedom to keep it. True freedom is to live in harmony with God's will as expressed in His law. Fittingly, that law is called a law of liberty, for obedience to it means liberty from sin, guilt, death. The psalmist could sing: "I will walk at liberty: for I seek Thy precepts" (Psalms 119: 45). It is the work of the church to make men free in a sense the state cannot.

Nowhere does Christ teach that the state is given responsibility for regulating man's relationship to God. The state shares with the church the responsibility of regulating man's relationship to man. The Ten Commandments themselves are divided into two tables, as if to emphasize the demarcation: the first four regulate man's relationship to his Creator (thou shalt not worship other gods, blaspheme, make graven images, break the Sabbath); the last six regulate man's relationship to his fellow man (thou shalt honor thy father and mother, thou shalt not kill, steal, lie). Roger Williams, among others, recognized this distinction between the two tables and urged it as reason for separation of church and state in America. It was his contemporaries who, lacking his insight, wrote civil laws concerning Sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, and other "sins," some of which are still retained on our civil statute books.

Christ taught that the tares (the wicked) are to grow with the wheat (the righteous) until the harvest (the judgment). Then God will send His angels to gather out the tares and burn them. The work of separation is not entrusted to man. The reason for denying man this work is evident: man, who cannot see the heart, would by arbitrary force uproot the wheat also.

In particular, Christ taught that His kingdom could not be advanced by force. When Peter sought to defend his Master by the sword, Jesus pointed to His Father as the Christian's only source of power. "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword (in religious matters) shall perish with the sword."

Arraigned before Pilate, Christ pointed out that the nature of His kingdom made recourse to force impossible. He said, "My kindom is not of this world: if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." Every civil law has the power of the sword behind it. If the state has the right to make a law, it has the right to enforce it. Here Christ taught plainly that even in defense of His life, His disciples could not use force.

In denying the church the use of the power of the sword, Jesus, in effect, forbade the church to ask for laws enforcing religious beliefs and practices. Paul understood this when he said, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." If Christians are still followers of Christ and if the church is still an organization of Christians, then surely it is time for the church to review her arsenal and discard a few unauthorized weapons picked up off the wrong stockpile sometime during the centuries.

Why did God not seek the use of civil power to enforce His law? The answer is plain: For the same reason He did not force obedience to His law by creating man incapable of transgression. Forced obedience is worthless; only the service of love can be accepted by a God of love. Compulsion by civil government could no more please Him than compulsion by spiritual government. By what logic could we conclude that God would accept obedience forced by civil government when He would not accept obedience forced by His own?

Since God made man just as free to disobey His precepts as to keep them, since the law of God cannot be satisfied by outward conformity, and since outward conformity is all civil legislation can produce, I believe Christians can best advance the kingdom of God by seeking to write its principles on the hearts of men rather than in the legal code of the state. To legislate religion is to denegate the character of God, reduce His law to the dimension of the letter, rob Calvary of its beauty, meaning, and power as the symbol of voluntary love, and contravene the clear and explicit teaching of the Son of God.

The early church, strong only in the power of God, triumphed grandly even over the opposing forces of false religions upheld by the state. Only when she allied herself with the state, seeking its aid, did she deny her Lord, lose her power, and darken the world into a night of a thousand years.

A Man Adjusted to a Big Job: Conversation With Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Sunday Star of July 19, 1964:

A MAN ADJUSTED TO A BIG JOB: CONVERSATION WITH HOOVER

(By Jerry O'Leary, Jr.)

In the 40 years J. Edgar Hoover has been Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a rather severe and remote image has grown up around the man who is the symbol of the war against criminals, subversives, and spies.

Unrelenting though he is against the enemies of law and the Republic, Mr. Hoover, outside his office, is an amable, outgoing man with a gift of nearly total recall about the events and adventures of his life.

It would be vacuous to believe Mr. Hoover does not have a deep awareness of his role in America today. He is certainly aware that millions regard him as the epitome of the majesty of the law and the incorruptible chief of the ubiquitous, efficient FBI. He is virtually a father-image.

THE MAN IN RELAXATION

Face to face to the man in relaxation, he is more like the uncle who is comfortably well off, if not rich; who remembers everybody's birthday; who steps in to handle all the family crises and who enjoys life in the Victorian tradition.

At 69 and apparently slated to be Director of the FBI as long as he wants to be, Mr. Hoover is the picture of vigorous health, looking and feeling at least 20 years younger.

"I'm getting ready to go to the La Jolla Medical Clinic in La Jolla, Calif., soon for the physical examination I take there every year," he said. "I got a better reading last year than I did the year before that."

Today he stands 6 feet tall, exceedingly erect, with a barrel-chest build and slim legs reminiscent of Babe Ruth. There is still only a suggestion of gray at the temples of his dark hair. His face is full and florid. He wears eyeglasses for reading.

His mind is unquestionably as sharp as it was the day he took over the FBI in May 1924. He does less traveling now because his world-renowned organization has grown so large that administrative duties tie him to his desk.

LIVES IN ROCK CREEK PARK

Mr. Hoover, who has never married, lives in a relatively modest house on the western slope of Rock Creek Park. His cooking and cleaning are taken care of by a housekeeper who has been with him for more than 12 years.

An ordinary day in the life of J. Edgar Hoover is likely to follow long set patterns. He is up before 7 a.m., more often than not interrupted by at least several calls from one of his assistants on a case in the "hot" category.

He is likely to make or receive more calls before and during breakfast which, invarably, consists of fruit, bacon, toast, eggs, and coffee.

"The dogs, G. Boy and Butch, cairn terriers, get most of the bacon," Mr. Hoover said.

The FBI chauffeur picks him up by 8 a.m. and he always stops by to call for Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson on the way downtown.

The two old friends, if the day is clement, get out somewhere near the White House and walk the rest of the way to the FBI headquarters at Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

Do many people recognize him or stop him on the street?

"Not too many," said Mr. Hoover. "There is one old fellow who pops out of the bushes sometimes when I walk by. He's been doing it for years. They can's seem to keep him in Gallinger (District General Hospital). He's harmless enough. Insists that he has to see me. I told him the first time that I refuse to discuss business anywhere but in my office. Now I just pay him no heed."

In his fifth-floor office overlooking Pennsylvania Avenue, Mr. Hoover embarks on a busy round of conferences with his subordinates. They address him according to their station or length of acquaintanceship.

To the vast majority, he is "Mr. Hoover." The 10 assistant directors, the two assistants to the directors, and the associate director invariably call him "Boss," a habit that spreads to the 56 field offices where the special agents in turn always call their special agent in charge "Boss," too.

A MATTER OF NOMENCLATURE

"My close old friends always call me Edgar," Mr. Hoover said. "I've never used the 'John' and I don't even like 'J. Edgar Hoover' as a signature. It sounds affected. I adopted that signature many years ago because of an incident in a department store in Washington.

"I went up there to buy a coat the year Washington won the pennant (1933) and the weather was cold for the World Series. I told them to charge the coat, but they said, 'Mr. Hoover, you already owe us $900.'"

"I told them I did not. I always pay my bills the first day of every month. It turned out to be another man with the identical name, but he used the 'John' so I decided to drop it."

No matter what he is called, there is no question who is "Boss." At the FBI, it is a

fact of life that Mr. Hoover knows every detail of the organization and makes all the major decisions. He is a stickler in irreproachable conduct, physical fitness, devotion to duty, and adherence to the tried-and-true procedures he has installed at the Bureau over the years.

There are many myths extant about the FBI, one being that they wear almost a "uniform" of narrow-brim hat, white shirt, dark suit, and well-shined shoes. The fact is, this is the "dress" uniform only. Working an assignment, whether it be the surveillance of spy suspects or searching the swamps of Mississippi for a missing kidnap victim, FBI agents dress for utility or to blend into the background.

ON PHYSICAL FITNESS

There are tall agents and short agents and it is a little known fact that there are Negro agents. But as long as Mr. Hoover is around there are going to be very few fat agents. He himself rarely gets down to the gym for a weekly workout any more, but everyone else does.

A man who enjoys good food himself, Mr. Hoover has no objection to trenchermen among his agents, but they are required to work it off. Overindulgence of another sort can bring summary dismissal. FBI agents, contrary to popular belief, will have a drink before dinner as does the "Boss" himself, but habitual intemperance makes for a short career in the FBI.

So does laziness, ineptitude, untruthfulness, or slovenly behavior. The FBI is a quasi-military organization in which orders are given with dispatch; with the expectation they will be carried out with speed.

For many years, Mr. Hoover has made it a habit to have his light lunch in a hotel dining room. His ordering varies little and he is accustomed to having the same Cuban waiter. Mr. Hoover calls him "Fidel" to set the special jesting pattern between a man and his favorite waiter.

HIS BUSY SCHEDULE

Back at the office, Mr. Hoover returns to his busy schedule of receiving visitors, reading reports, issuing orders, and supervising his farflung organization.

A windy, poorly written report is invariably bounced back to the writer with a pithy comment scrawled across the pages. He likes precise reports in short sentences. A speech draft is taken home to be worked and reworked into words recognizable anywhere as Hoover's.

His aids keep him well insulated against the legion of crackpots who think they have important business to discuss with him.

The legitimate mail, of course, is routed much in the manner it is in any well-run organization. The FBI hums busily and efficiently with Hoover-inaugurated procedures. Every letter is answered and Mr. Hoover may well be the most indefatigable letter signer in Washington.

There are hot lines on his desk and at his home to the White House. There is a shortwave radio in his car. Even on trips, he is never away from his life's work.

LESS TRAVELING NOW

Mr. Hoover said he hasn't been able to travel as much now as he once did because the pressure of the FBI's mission is steadily increasing. When he can get away, he likes to go to Aqueduct or one of the racetracks in the New York area where he comports himself as a $2 bettor. He likes the joke about the man who said he hoped to break even at the track today because he needed the money.

A typical day at the FBI ends for Mr. Hoover at about 7 p.m. Few employees leave before "The Boss" does and it is one of the miracles of Washington life, not dissimilar to the "jungle telegraph," how his departure time races through the building.

On an evening when he has no engagements, Mr. Hoover dines at home, more often than not with a guest or two. If he is alone, he may read or watch television until after the 11 o'clock news.

"I read four newspapers a day," Mr. Hoover said, "The Star, the Washington News, the New York Journal-American, and the Daily News." The boys send me clippings from other papers of stories about matters of interest to the FBI.

"The books I like are old friends to me. I love to read the poems of Service and Kipling. I watch television to relax so I avoid the heavy, psychological dramas. My favorite programs are the comedians, Red Skelton and Jack Benny, or the westerns where you don't have to worry about the outcome." J. Edgar Hoover never, ever watches a detective program on television. He dismisses them as too far fetched to be worth the time.

SOME ADVENTURES

If Mr. Hoover were a man given to introspection, he might like to roam in the past a bit and I asked him about a few of his adventures. Alvin Karpis, the notorious gangster and kidnaper, for instance.

"Yes," he said, "He's still alive in Federal prison. I recall that I was summoned to the Hill the day word reached me that we had him spotted in New Orleans. Karpis used to call and write to me during the manhunt, asking if I was man enough to come after him myself and I was terribly anxious to get down to New Orleans to meet the challenge.

"But there I was at Capitol Hill and Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, was harrassing me about something over which his wishes and mine had tangled. He accused me of sitting here in Washington and taking credit for all the captures we were making during that period.

"I wanted more than anything else in the world to get out of that room and get down to New Orleans, but I had to be courteous. And I couldn't tell him about Karpis. So I just waited until he was finished with me.

"I hurried to New Orleans and took up watch outside the apartment where Karpis was hiding. We were ready when he came out and as soon as he sat in the driver's seat of his car, I shoved my pistol against his ear.

"'Well, I guess you've got me,' he said. Later we found a couple of rifles in the car. I remember that nobody had handcuffs so we had to use an agent's necktie to secure his hands. I still have that tie as a souvenir."

(Everybody has handcuffs with them now when the FBI goes out to make an arrest.)

THE BRUNETTE ARREST

Mr. Hoover also recalled a case which resulted in another FBI ironclad rule. It was the arrest in New York of a criminal named Harry Brunette.

"After we arrested him," Mr. Hoover recalled, "I asked Brunette why his upper lip was swollen. He said one of your men hit me. I told him I guessed he deserved it. When we got him to jail, we checked his lip and found he had a $100 bill tucked up there. Now we search them from tip to toe as soon as the arrest is made."

Mr. Hoover very early in his career made two rules from which the Bureau does not vary. If there is to be a raid or a dangerous arrest to be made, the ranking agent on the scene always leads the foray in person. He also made the unchanging rule that no individual FBI man is ever publicly credited with a case that hundreds may have worked on.

"To this day, I have never disclosed the names of the three agents who shot John Dillinger to death when he went for his gun near the Biograph Theater in Chicago," Mr. Hoover said. "One of them is dead. One has retired and one is still on duty with the Bureau. Don't pay any attention to those stories that come out from time to time. Sometimes it seems that at least 50 men must have been the ones who killed Dillinger."

Mr. Hoover said he knew personally many of the criminals who have gotten their comeuppance from the FBI. One of these was the well-known rogue Gaston B. Means who was actually an agent of the Bureau of Investigation that Mr. Hoover took over when it was a hapless organization of political appointees. One of his first acts was to dismiss Means. When Means was convicted of bilking the late Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean of money in the false hope of obtaining release of the kidnaped Lindbergh baby, Mr. Hoover was in the courtroom to see Means safely off to prison.

AGENTS TOTAL 6,300

There were only 900 employees when Mr. Hoover took the reins at the FBI in 1924 with the right he demanded and got to run it without political interference. Today there are nearly 6,300 agents, all handpicked and intelligent career investigators, and about 8,000 other personnel of all kinds.

This vast organization, operating within the framework of the Justice Department, requires more time than the Director can readily spare. His duties have cost him the afternoons he occasionally spent playing tennis at the Columbia Country Club. They keep him in Washington, when he would rather be in the field with agents.

His long-term friendship with President Johnson requires his presence at the White House often.

"In the old days, I used to see Mr. Johnson in a less formal way," Mr. Hoover said. "Often I'd go to his house to dinner and find Sam Rayburn there. It was a place where you could get the best chili con carne and the best mint julep in Washington."

A NATIVE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Hoover is unusual among Washington officialdom in one respect: he was born here.

"I was raised in Southeast Washington around Seward Square," Mr. Hoover said. "There aren't many people around today who remember that my nickname in those days was 'Speed.' I was captain in the cadet corps at old Central High School.

"I went to college at George Washington University at night and if I had a son today he would pay his way through school just as I did."

Two hours with J. Edgar Hoover in an airplane are like 40 years of American history. As a man who can look back with recognition on the American scene from the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Hoover has known virtually every prominent person to decorate that stage.

Seemingly indestructible, he is a warm, intensely human being, who enjoys a full and satisfying life. Aside from his responsibilities, he is relaxed, interested and likable. Away from the office, his greatest pastimes are a good meal, a trip to Sloan's for an auction, the pleasure of contemplating his five Whistlers and a few Frederic Remingtons that hang on his walls at home.

In his 70th year, he is not about to give up any of his standards or activities. There are, he said, too many things left to do.

"The greatest enemy," as he put it, "is time."

Water, Power, and California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, many Californians are concerned about water and power because of the vital role these commodities have historically played in the development of our State.

The Liberal Democrat, an outstanding journal of public opinion, has devoted two recent articles by its legislative correspondent, Keith Murray, to this general topic area. It is my pleasure to include these remarks in the RECORD:

[From the Liberal Democrat, May 1964]

THE LEGISLATIVE SCENE

(By Keith Murray)

Congressman PHILLIP BURTON will be interested to know that on March 5 he voted for a resolution on the assembly floor while he was in Washington—according to the assembly journal. Worse, had he still been in the assembly there is little doubt he would have voted "no." The resolution, authored by Assemblyman Carley Porter and couched in motherhood terms, supported the Kuchel State's water rights bill (S. 1275). Only waterwise Assemblymen Z'Berg, Garrigus, and Davis, and a suspicious Assemblyman Petris opposed it. Other liberals, no doubt bewildered, abstained or assumed that the righteous-sounding measure was OK. It wasn't.

The Kuchel bill, roughly, is an assertion of the supremacy of States water rights over Federal rights. A series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions, particularly the Pelton Dam decision, have established that the Federal Government owns the rights to unappropriated water originating on withdrawn Federal lands (e.g., national forests). Furthermore, the Justice Department now makes a broad claim of water rights in the area originally obtained under the treaty that ended the war with Mexico. A bitter controversy has ensued, and there have been tireless efforts for several years to get one or another version of the present Kuchel bill through Congress.

The Kuchel bill is titled "a bill to clarify the relationship of interests of the United States and of the States in the use of the waters of certain streams." This is sanctimonious rubbish. The Supreme Court has been clarifying the relation in favor of the Federal Government—the purpose of the bill is to overturn those decisions in favor of the States. At a time when the need for comprehensive Federal water and power development is acute, and California and Arizona are at each other's throats, the bill would fritter away Federal authority. For example, private water rights obtained under State law would prevail in national forests, whether obtained before or after the Federal withdrawal of those lands. The United States would be precluded from reserving water for future water and power projects or for recreation or conservation. The bill probably would permit one State to veto the export of water in a multistate project. It certainly would subject the United States to crippling litigation in order to secure already established water rights when they are needed to build a project.

The bill strikes hard at the multiple-use concept for public lands. In most States, water law sharply favors private uses over public ones. As an example of what might be expected, hundreds of claims to water rights in national forests were filed by stockmen in Arizona during 1958 in response to a favorable water-rights ruling. Not much has been said about the effect on public power, but it is fairly obvious that at the very least, States could veto Federal developments on intrastate streams, and further implications may be enormous.

It is not difficult to find the main impetus behind the Kuchel bill. The supporters who parade before Senate committee hearings are the chamber of commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the farm bureau, lumbermen's, wool growers' and cattlemen's associations, and the like. Many western State officials have been enlisted in the campaign. In part, this is a variant of the age-old fight to wrest away control of public lands for private exploitation. But primarily it is, once again, the large corporate landowners, who like Federal funds but abhor Federal policies, and who see a strong Federal program as a threat to their baronial control over water use. In California, the theme is, Keep the State water project free from any Federal entanglements (except money), especially the abhorrent southwest water plan. The motivation is obvious at every turn: if California were integrated into a truly comprehensive southwestern plan, the barons would finally be brought under acreage limitation, which they have thus far evaded under the State plan.

Of course, proponents of the Kuchel bill claim that it is not intended to interfere with multistate-Federal programs. The Justice Department and the Brown administration say it would. A tipoff comes from the 1961 Senate hearings on a Water Resources Planning Act. There the usual array of private pleaders so larded their opposition to that bill with reference to States water rights as to make it perfectly obvious that they saw States rights as their means to queer Federal authority.

It is difficult for me to find any fundamental difference between these Wild West States-righters and the States-righters of the Deep South. Both groups cloak their narrow self-interest in righteousness and the Constitution. Both groups portray the Federal Government as a bogeyman, grasping for new and unwarranted powers. Such a tack by private interest is to be expected, but it ill fits the Democrats who have taken up the battlecry. Incongruously, during recent Senate hearings, we find Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk testifying straight down the line for the Kuchel bill; at the same hearings, Abbott Goldberg, Chief Deputy Director of the Department of Water Resources, testified on behalf of Governor Brown against the bill in flat contradiction to Mosk. One sentence by Goldberg sums it up: "Although the need for cherishing the Nation's powers seems clear to us, there is not one word in S. 1275 but which abridges those powers and encumbers the performance of national functions."

The Kuchel bill has little chance of getting out of committee this year, but the forces are mounting. Although water rights is a cumbersome and tedious subject, those who care about resources and conservation can ill afford to ignore this fight. Recently Pierre Salinger has been making noises like he may take a States-rights position and challenge Alan Cranston on the subject. Try to ignore it then.

One wonders why the land monopolists bother with such elaborate evasions of Federal policy, when there is evidence at every hand that the supposedly all-powerful Government is caving in and compliantly failing to enforce the acreage-limitation law.

The Bureau of Reclamation is engaged in signing contracts with the "Sacramento River diverters" after 20 years of futile negotiations. These diverters have a prior claim to some of the Sacramento flow, plus a supply of water created by building Shasta Dam. The Bureau is offering a grossly inflated amount of water to settle the prior claim—estimated to be at least 6 acre-feet of water per acre annually, or more than double the Central Valley project average. Furthermore, this apparently amounts to a water-rights settlement, so that the diverters could turn around and sell the excess over their needs. Ballooning the water-rights allotment correspondingly diminishes the amount of developed water to be supplied under acreage limitation and by a little juggling of water supplies within the irrigation districts, functional evasion of the acreage law will be complete.

There is a serious question of whether a Dixon-Yates type of conflict of interest was involved in this settlement. Evidently Elmer F. Bennett, an Eisenhower solicitor and Undersecretary of Interior, represented Sacramento diverters in negotiations with the Interior Department. Reportedly he asked Interior officials for permission and was not refused. Conflict-of-interest law states that a former Government official shall be permanently barred from representing an outside interest where the Government is a party in any matter where the official had directly participated as an employee. Secretary Udall, is there a conflict of interest here?

Another example of Government submissiveness is the San Luis project, where Southern Pacific owns 120,000 acres checkerboarded throughout the service area. Interior is preparing a request for appropriations to build a water distribution and drainage system. Where is any effort to obtain a recordable contract applying acreage limitation with SP before a system is built? Failing in this, there is not the slightest doubt that SP will refuse to sign and sop up ground water for their strategically located latticework of lands.

The current version of a southwest water plan says, "The State of California would be the marketing agent for the United States for water conveyed through the enlarged California aqueduct to be marketed in California." Is there any possible doubt that this is laying the groundwork for wholesale evasion of acreage limitation in the pattern of the joint Federal-State San Luis contract?

Faced with constant massive pressures, Interior Secretary Udall obviously has capitulated administratively on acreage limitation and has no intention of preventing the land barons from monopolizing the fruits of public water development while keeping their holdings intact. At the same time, President Johnson announces a war on poverty in which he seeks funds to purchase land to create new family farms. Shouldn't the President tell the Secretary he won't tolerate having one of his generals sabotage the war by failing to enforce a law that directly and specifically accomplishes his announced objective? Write and tell them so.

[From the Liberal Democrat, July 1964]

THE LEGISLATIVE SCENE

(By Keith Murray)

It is not often that an Interior Secretary has the opportunity to abandon simultaneously both historic principles of reclamation policy: acreage limitation and public power. Up to now, no Democratic Secretary would have done so. But a compliant Stewart Udall has lent himself to the systematic administrative sabotage of acreage liimtation, and now he proposes to turn the Pacific coast power intertie from Bonneville over to private power companies at the California border.

I have long been an apologist for Mr. Udall. He has a depth of understanding of land use and conservation that is rarely found in a top administrator. By and large he fights the good fight for scenic resources and recreation. I appreciate the array of powerful special interests that stand in the way of carrying out water and power policies. When he decided not to apply acreage limitation to State service areas under the San Luis project, thus flouting the will of Congress, I wrote, "Secretary Udall almost certainly acted under extreme pressure, not out of desire. He is generally regarded as a friend of reclamation law * * *." While the Interior Department weakly crawfished around the issue of planning a westwide power grid, as directed by President Kennedy, I accepted in good faith its determination to get there in the long run. After all, had not Udall set forth in 1961 a series of guiding principles

that heralded a return to the public-power dedication of the New Deal?

However, there eventually comes a time then the truth is plain even to those who would not see. I have reached that point.

CAPITULATION ON WATER

The Senate debates authorizing the San Luis project were replete with assurances that acreage limitation without question must apply to the Federal service area, as required by reclamation law. Now the time has come to apply it, and what do we find? A contract has been approved by Interior to build a distribution system for Westlands Water District, covering much of the Federal service area, that would virtually guarantee de facto evasion of the law. Nearly all of the land is in large ownerships. No attempt has been made to compel these owners to sign recordable contracts before the system is built. A long and sorry history proves that once the money is spent, the Government has lost its leverage to gain compliance.

The San Luis project overlies one great ground water basin. Under the Westlands contract, water would be used to recharge the basin. This will permit owners of excess land on 105,000 project acres outside the Westlands District to pump Federal water from the ground basin while evading acreage limitation law. The intended evasion of law is so blatant that the contract contains a clause excusing "unavoidable" deliveries of water through percolation. The principal benefactor of the evasion will be Southern Pacific, with 120,000 acres checkerboarded through the Federal service area.

The Westlands contract went before Congress for a 90-day period of review, and will take effect unless disapproved by July 23. It already has whisked through the House Interior Committee. The Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee of the Senate Interior Committee, in response to vigorous protests, now is expected to hold public hearings on the contract.

The Westlands contract is but one of a recent series of quiet administrative acts to subvert enforcement of acreage limitation. A settlement was reached between Interior and the Sacramento River diverters (see May 1964 Tid) that gives them an outright claim to a grotesquely inflated supply of water from the river. By using this policy-free supply on large holdings, the landowners can make a mockery of acreage limitation that supposedly applies to "project water" received from Shasta Dam.

The DiGiorgio Corp., in 1952, signed a contract for its 4,700-acre ranch near Delano to sell its excess lands after receiving Central Valley project water for the succeeding 10 years. The Bureau of Reclamation appraised the land in 1962, then agreed to a dilatory reappraisal, which is still underway. Meanwhile, DiGiorgio continues to receive water. There is no shred of evidence that the Bureau will require buyers to be bona fide and prevent lease-back arrangements to DiGiorgio that would negate the effect of the land breakup.

CAPITULATION ON POWER

A blueprint for capitulation to private power companies was drawn in 1962 when Udall abandoned Federal construction of 1,250 miles of transmission line on the Colorado River storage project. Eisenhower's Interior Secretary, Fred A. Seaton, previously had endorsed an all-Federal system, and so had Udall. Congress approved a Federal system in the face of a massive utility lobbying operation. Inexplicably and unnecessarily, Secretary Udall turned around and delivered a major segment of the distribution system to a private power combine. At about that time, he challenged public and private power interests to engage in "competitive cooperation." The definition apparently is that the utilities compete and the Government cooperates. In Eisenhower's time I believe it was known as "partnership."

Now we are faced with the question of who will build a high-voltage intertie to integrate the Federal Bonneville, Central Valley project, and Colorado River power systems. The California Power Pool, a group of private utilities headed by P.G. & E., has engaged in a relentless campaign to gain control of the intertie. Among other things, this has led to hanky-panky by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, whereby it joined as a partner in proposals to deliver the intertie into the hands of the private utilities. This caused Congressman CHARLES BUCKLEY, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, to send a scorching letter to Secretary Udall in which he said, "In my 30 years in Congress I cannot recall another instance in which the forces of monopoly have been bold enough to advance a scheme more prejudicial to the interests of power consumers in the Pacific Southwest and the American taxpayers than that which has been presented to you by the California power companies. Certainly this is the first time that a great American city has permitted itself to be used in such a strange fashion." BUCKLEY wanted to know whether these "callous proposals" had been encouraged by Bonneville Administrator Charles Luce.

Congress appropriated funds last December to start construction of two intertie lines, but directed the Interior Secretary to negotiate in "good faith" with non-Federal entities so as to determine that their offers to build any part of the lines would not result in "benefits to the national interest at least equal to those derived from Federal construction." This determination would seem almost perfunctory for a Democratic administration. Is it in the national interest to subject the control of public power transmission to a "tollgate" private line? How could the private utilities possibly make a financially competitive offer except by taking it out of the pockets of ratepayers? How could it be competitive when, after amortization, the lines would belong to the utilities instead of he Federal Government?

Nevertheless, as this is written there is evidence on good authority that the Interior Department intends to announce some form of deal whereby the California Power Pool will build the intertie segment from the Oregon border through California to Los Angeles with the stipulation that it wheel power to preference customers. The Fresno Bee stated the issues well in a recent editorial: the deal "would give a private utility control of Government-generated power. It would destroy the public power yardstick by which the rates of the privately owned utilities are kept in line by comparison. It would endanger any further expansion of public power in California."

WHAT DO WE DO?

One might argue that determined efforts have been made at the Interior Department to uphold the public interest in water and power policies, only to be stymied by the overwhelming power and influence of opponents. In practice we find no evidence of determination at all. Far from fighting battles and mobilizing public support, Department figures negotiate in stealth, and letters from defenders of public policy are answered evasively, or more often not at all.

I would not leave it that Secretary Udall is acting out of bad motives. The problem is one of spine and political preservation. The drive for monopoly control over water and power resources is relentless and richly financed; the opposition is weak. In this situation we need a curmudgeon of the Ickes stripe. We don't have one. The only answer is to mount a campaign of public outrage that puts the shoe of political expediency on the other foot. Take a leaf from the book of Senator LEE METCALF, of Montana, who for months has furiously attacked the performance of the self-styled investor-owned utilities—IOU's he calls them—with particular reference to the Montana Power Co., which runs his State.

As a start I urge every reader of Tid to write to Senator FRANK MOSS, chairman of the Senate Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee, asking that the westlands contract be rejected and that ironclad acreage limitation be applied to the San Luis project. Write your representatives in Congress and Governor Brown urging them to fight openly for an all-Federal intertie and to seek public hearings on the issue in California.

Second, join the Western Water and Power Users Council (contact it at 6025 South Temperance, Fowler, or write to me for information). Let's get the show on the road.

Requiem for a Hero: Rev. Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J., Medal of Honor Recipient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, Father Joseph T. O'Callahan, of Roxbury, Mass., was the only Roman Catholic chaplain in the history of this country to be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest military award for bravery that can be given to any individual in the United States of America.

At this point I am pleased indeed to include the most inspiring requiem to this heroic priest composed by his follow Jesuit, the Reverend Richard J. Dowling, S.J.

The requiem follows:

REQUIEM FOR A HERO: FATHER JOSEPH TIMOTHY O'CALLAHAN, S.J.

("Any priest, in like circumstances, should do, and would do, what I did."—JOSEPH T. O'CALLAHAN, S.J.)

A Jesuit funeral is, usually, solemnly simple. But on the first day of spring, March 21, 1964, in the little churchyard, nestling amid the hills of Packachoag, at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass., a soul-stirring pageant was enacted. Three bishops of the Roman Catholic heirarchy were present; the U.S. Navy Chief of Chaplains, Admiral Dreith, stood at attention; representatives of the Federal, State, and civic governments stood among the mourners. A captain of the U.S. Navy, in full-dress uniform, stood beside the grave, as the ramrod sailors fired their farewell salute. The haunting notes of taps echoed through the academic groves. Sailor pallbearers folded the flag, draping the coffin, and presented it to His Excellency, Most Reverend Bernard J. Flanagan, D.D., Bishop of Worcester, who, in turn, presented it to a 90-year-old mother, ensconced in a wheel chair. For this was the funeral of Capt. Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J., U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps (retired).

Joseph T. O'Callahan was a Jesuit with a unique distinction. In the gloried history of the United States, he was the only Roman Catholic chaplain ever awarded the cherished Congressional Medal of Honor.

"By their fruits you shall know them" said the Divine Psychologist. When asked by a fellow chaplain how he explained his courage, Father O'Callahan answered: "I owe it to my Jesuit training." When his late commanding officer on the *Franklin*, then Capt. Leslie E. Gehres, publicly stated: "The bravest man I ever knew was Comdr. Joseph

T. O'Callahan," Father O'Callahan's sincere rejoinder was: "Any priest, in like circumstances, should do, and would do, what I did." If success can be described as preparedness to meet your opportunities, Father O'Callahan's triumphant hour loses much of its mystique. To be well prepared for his allotted tasks could be called the keynote of his life.

Born in Roxbury, Mass., on May 14, 1905, Joseph Timothy O'Callahan was the third son of Cornelius J. O'Callahan and Alice Casey O'Callahan. He attended St. Mary's parochial school in Cambridge, Mass., for his elementary schooling. In September 1918 he entered Boston College High School. Here, his promise began to flower. He was a solid student in the college preparatory course; he wrote for the class magazine; he was a member of the school dramatic society; he ran on the relay team. On July 30, 1922, he entered the Society of Jesus, at the novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, at Poughkeepsie, N.Y. There, on July 31, 1924, he pronounced his first vows as a Jesuit, and received his vow crucifix. Transferred to Weston College in 1926, he completed his philosophical studies there in 1929. From 1929 to 1931 he was a teaching member of the physics department at Boston College. September 1931 found him back at Weston College to begin the formal study of theology. He was ordained a priest on June 20, 1934, by the late Bishop Thomas A. Emmett, S.J., then Bishop of Jamaica, B.W.I. The fall of 1935 welcomed Father O'Callahan as a tertian at St. Robert's Hall in Pomfret Center, Conn. Finishing tertianship, Father O'Callahan proceeded to Georgetown University for a year of special studies. In the summer of 1937 he was appointed to teach cosmology to his brother Jesuits at Weston College. During the summer of 1938, Father O'Callahan was transferred to Holy Cross College to teach mathematics and physics. By 1940, he was head of the mathematics department, and had founded a mathematics library.

Then, the ominous clouds of war were surging in an anxiety afflicted world. To do his part as a Catholic citizen, Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J., applied for a commission as a navy chaplain. Many of his friends sincerely remonstrated with him. His hypertense nervous nature did not augur well for the stringency of combat. More, his obvious talents in physics and mathematics could be used better for the war effort by teaching at Holy Cross, soon to be one of the top Naval ROTC units in the United States. But logical arguments were of little avail with the adamant Father O'Callahan. On August 7, 1940, he was commissioned a lieutenant, junior grade, in the Navy Chaplain Corps. Paradoxically, his first duty assignment in the Navy was teaching calculus at the Naval Air Station at Pensacola, Fla. The fiery chaplain chafed at the confinement, yearning for sea duty, particularly aboard a carrier.

In April 1943, now lieutenant (senior grade) O'Callahan realized his persisting desire. After 18 months of shore duty, he reported to his first ship, the U.S.S. *Ranger*. For 2½ years, Father O'Callahan was aboard the *Ranger*. The good ship made few headlines. But she ranged the Atlantic from the Arctic to the Equator. She played a big part in the invasion of North Africa. She made hit-and-run raids against the Germans in Norway. Her chief morale officer was the newly promoted Lieutenant Commander O'Callahan. The *Ranger* long since has joined the scrap heap of outmoded sea giants. But the life stories of her gallant officers and crews are a golden page in U.S. naval history. At Captain O'Callahan's wake, a beautiful crucifix was the treasured memento of appreciation from the officers and crew of the U.S.S. *Ranger*.

In December 1944, Father O'Callahan was assigned to shore duty at Ford Island, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. After the moil and broil of combat duty, this was a cushion assignment for the energetic chaplain. His roommate recalls that he used to spend his evenings reading poetry.

But Father O'Callahan's life of quiet would be a brief one. His youngest sister, Alice, now Sister Rose Marie, O.P., was a Maryknoll nun, imprisoned in the Japanese detention camp in the Philippines. For 3 years, the O'Callahan family had not heard a word from her. So, Father Joseph prayed that he would be assigned to the Philippines, that he might at first hand discover the fate of his beloved sister. Little did he dream what life had in store for him.

On March 2, 1945, Father O'Callahan received preemptory orders from Capt. John Warner Moore, fleet chaplain of U.S. Pacific Fleet and Ocean Areas from 1943–45, to report for duty to the U.S.S. *Franklin* (C.V. 13). He came aboard *Big Ben* at 15.35, amid piles of potatoes and ammunition, to keep his date with destiny.

The *Franklin*, an *Essex* class, 27,000 ton, aircraft carrier, was named after Admiral Farragut's flagship in the Civil War. She was commissioned in January 1944. In the engagement of Leyte Gulf, she was badly battered by the Japanese. But now she was back at Pearl Harbor, ready to join Task Force 58, to seek out and destroy the remnants of the Japanese Navy left after the disastrous defeat of the battle of the Philippine Sea.

Shortly after dawn on March 3, 1945, *Big Ben*, as she was affectionately called by the sailors, steamed out of Pearl Harbor to accomplish her task. She was only 1 of 16 carriers, 8 battleships, 16 cruisers, and 63 destroyers which made up the formidable American armada, called Task Force 58.

On Saturday afternoon of St. Patrick's day, on the forecastle deck of the *Franklin*, 1,200 Roman Catholics, more than a third of the ship's complement, gathered for mass. For too many, this would be their last mass, since before dawn on the morrow, the first attack would be launched. Who would dare to surmise the thoughts of Commander O'Callahan, as he, another Christ, pronounced the general absolution over his kneeling brothers?

After 12 general quarters during the night, came the cool dawn of March 19, St. Joseph's day. At 0700, fighters zoomed off the deck for a strike at Kobe. Thirty Hell Divers were still warming up on the flight deck. Chaplain O'Callahan was having his breakfast in the wardroom with a few officers.

At 7:07 a.m., out of the cloud bank, flashed a Jap Judy plane, flying 360 miles an hour at a height of 75 feet. It dropped one 500-pound bomb on the center of the flight deck; then, swung around the island, and dropped another aft. Then, ominous silence, a momentary prelude to one of the most fearful tragedies in the history of the U.S. Navy. The world press has justly publicized the chaos on the *Franklin*, but only a Dante could fittingly portray the inferno which greeted Commander O'Callahan, as he, hastily, left his unfinished breakfast.

However, for the ship that would not die, now came a beacon of hope, the white cross of the chaplain's helmet. Amid the murk and fetid grime of destruction it flashed like a guiding star in the fight for survival. Apparently made of indestructible steel, Commander O'Callahan was everywhere; cajoling, helping, encouraging, inspiring. "Look at the old man up there (the captain on the bridge). Don't let him down." And this was the priest who, his friends knew, for years could not even stand the sight of blood.

The saga of the *Franklin* should be recounted in American history as one of the master triumphs of ecumenical courage. Race, color, or creed counted for naught in this sublime struggle of the brotherhood of man. The fatherhood of God, too, had splendid example in the tireless leadership of His vicar, His priest, O'Callahan. To the Jewish boys aboard, he was "Rabbi Tim"; to the Protestant lads, he was their "Padre Joe"; to all hands he was the counselor, consoler, exemplar. Though wounded by shrapnel, for which he was later to be decorated with the Purple Heart, he carried on. There was a job to be done—his job—and he did it. Three days and three nights, he stayed at his post. When Japanese planes strafed the *Franklin* deck, Father O'Callahan continued his ministrations to the dying. When his skipper yelled: "Why don't you duck?" with a grin he answered: "God won't let me go, until He's ready." It was to be a wait of 19 years.

Limping between two tugboats, the once mighty flagship, *Franklin*, arrived at Pearl Harbor on April 3, 1945, just 1 month to the day after she set out to do battle with the Japanese. Hardened Navy veterans were in tears at the sight. Eight hundred and thirty-two officers and crew had lost their lives. But a nondescript band made up mostly of tin pans and an accordion and two horns—and organized by Father O'Callahan heartily sang: "Oh, the big ben, she ain't what she used to be." When the fleet chaplain met the late Reverend Admiral Gehres, N.S. Navy, retired, on the flight deck, he asked the skipper: "What about your two chaplains?" Squaring his shoulders, the doughty warrior answered: "Each of these two chaplains were worth to me any six officers under my command." At Pearl Harbor, also, Chaplain O'Callahan organized what he called a most exclusive club, the 706 Club. These were the men who had survived the catastrophe of the *Franklin*. Until their death day, their membership card in the 706 Club was one of their most cherished trophies.

Once again under her own power, the *Franklin* proceeded from Pearl Harbor, by way of the Panama Canal, to the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Wartime precaution prevented any civic celebration. But on a beautiful spring morning, on the forward flight deck, an appreciative Navy honored her hero sons. Truly, it was an historic ceremony for an historic ship; 388 deserved decorations were bestowed, the greatest number ever given to the personnel of a single ship in Navy history.

Next came Father O'Callahan's own triumph hour. On January 23, 1946, at the White House in Washington, D.C., President Harry Truman placed the Medal of Honor around his neck. The student who literally was scared stiff before his final examinations, now wore his Nation's highest honor. But his joy was not for his modest self. Rather, his eyes keenly watched God's first gift and first teacher to him, his tear-misted mother. His grateful country had glorified him as a symbol of its faith in God and in its citizens. Yet that night the dutiful chaplain returned to his ship, the new aircraft carrier, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*.

However, the glare of publicity did not change Chaplain O'Callahan. On June 17, 1945, he was invited to be the commencement speaker at his beloved alma mater, Georgetown University. On that occasion also, he was laureled with the honorary degree of doctor of science. His terse talk to the war-tense graduates was characteristically O'Callahan. "Take life seriously," he pleaded, "which means for your happiness, that you live your life as God would have you lead it."

On the 12th of November 1946, Father O'Callahan was released from the Navy, with the rank of captain, USNCC (retired).

Returning to his religious community, Father O'Callahan planned to spend the remainder of his life working for the Japanese missions, and the missions of the Caroline Islands. His religious superiors readily cooperated with his wishes. But his yearnings far surpassed his strength. What effect Father O'Callahan's traumatic experience aboard the *Franklin* had on his physical and mental well-being must now remain a medical mystery. Suffice it to say that never again in life would he enjoy adequate health to carry out professorial duties. Yet, quitting was never a word in Father O'Callahan's vocabulary.

Back to his first love, Holy Cross, he came to teach philosophy. His Medal of Honor was locked in the library safe to remain there, at his request, until his death. The Navy chaplain was again the consecrated Jesuit professor. With single-minded will power he went to work. But his anguished body refused to cooperate. In December 1949, he suffered his first stroke. The glory of Thabor and the acclaim of the Medal of Honor would yield to the silent suffering of Gethsemane. Yet the same unflagging spirit which merited him the Medal of Honor aboard the *Franklin* now flared anew—and even stronger. His first stroke had left his right arm paralyzed. Hour after hour, day after day, he exercised that weak member, to restore it to efficient usefulness. Still, amid his lonely hours, there were some refreshing consolations. A personal letter from his commander in chief, President Harry Truman, spurred him to carry on. In 1956 the motion picture, "Battle Stations," depicting his life, appeared in American theaters. On September 21, 1956, a helicopter landed on Fitton Field at Holy Cross College. The commanding officer of the Quonset Naval Air Station, Capt. P. C. Needham presented the invalid hero with the color film "Saga of the *Franklin*." This film is an historic recorded sequence of Father O'Callahan's heroic performance of duty aboard the *Franklin* and is now used as an exemplar in the training of Navy recruits.

Truly, the glamour hero of acclaim was now the hidden hermit of pain. Patient, he was, but his was the perceptive patience of Job, "the Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away." Come glory, come torture, all was God's will. Yet never was he bitter. Few humans could realize more vividly, "man's inhumanity to man" in the awful armageddon that is modern warfare. Still, each summer he prepared meticulously for fall classes, trusting and hoping that by September he would be strong enough to return to the classroom. Now, also, he prepared his best-seller book: "I Was Chaplain on the *Franklin*," though some days he was able only to compose a short paragraph. Perhaps his deepest source of strength was his daily mass. He had received ecclesiastical permission to offer his mass sitting down. Some days, he literally dragged himself to the altar to share with Christ the infinite sacrifice of love.

Then came a deceptive plateau of peace. During the last year of his life, his health and spirits seemed to improve. His ready grin was often in evidence. Tuesday was St. Patrick's Day and he looked forward to its celebration. For him it was an anniversary of treasured memories: the last general absolution aboard the *Franklin*, his doctor altarboy now praying for him in heaven. He began his day by reading St. Patrick's mass. Then, at the breakfast table, he suffered a slight stroke. As soon as a room could be procured for him, he was transferred to St. Vincent's Hospital. His mind remained very clear; his wit was never sharper. He was in God's hands. Even if this were to be his last battle, let God's holy will be done. As ever in his life, he was prepared. Tuesday night, Father O'Callahan endured a restless siege, but on Wednesday morning he appeared much improved. However, late on Wednesday afternoon he took a bad turn. Yet he cheerfully said "goodbye" to his loved ones, as they left his room about 10:30 p.m. About 5 minutes later he suffered a slight convulsion. Five of his Jesuit priest brothers, two Sisters of Providence, and his physician were standing beside his deathbed reciting the prayers for the dying. At 10:40 p.m., during the prayers, his noble soul, quietly, went home to God. It was a wonderful way for a great American, a great Jesuit, and a true priest to die. The official medical report of his death coldly stated that the cause of his death was a ruptured, aortic, abdominal, aneurysm.

On the plain coffin at Father O'Callahan's wake were two symbols which, most fittingly, capsule his life. Side by side on his coffin, lay his vow crucifix, and his Medal of Honor On his first vow day, on St. Ignatius' feast in 1924, as a symbol of his dedication to Ignatian ideals, he received his vow crucifix. From that hour, until he was cradled in his grave, he would be a man crucified to the world, and to whom the world is crucified. More, this son of a soldier saint would strive to gain the crown of Ignatian humility, that all the acts of his life should be done for the greater glory of God. Only through carrying the daily cross Christ chose to send him, could he attain this goal. Drab, monotonous and dreary, many days would be; others might be spent amid the plaudits of the multitudes, cheering daring deeds of heroism. Yet, through all his life the ruling motive of all his actions should be love of God, sweetened by his saving grace. The vow crucifix could be tear stained but the warrior of God carried on—even unto blood. The Medal of Honor pledged mute evidence of how well this servant of the Crucified, fulfilled his assigned tasks. Truly, the eternal "amen," uttered by Father Joseph Timothy O'Callahan, S.J., on his deathbed, came from a holocausted heart of divine love.

In the files of the manuscript department of the Dinand Library at Holy Cross College rests a precious parchment. It is the official citation, issued by the President of the United States, when he bestowed the Medal of Honor on Father O'Callahan. Thus does the most powerful Nation in the world, through the voice of her Commander in Chief, speak of her humble Jesuit citizen: "For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity, at the risk of his life, above and beyond the call of duty, while serving as chaplain on board the U.S.S. *Franklin*, when the vessel was fiercely attacked by enemy Japanese aircraft, during offensive operations near Kobe, Japan, on March 19, 1945. A valiant and forceful leader, calmly braving the perilous barriers of flame and twisted metal to aid his men and his ship, Lieutenant Commander O'Callahan groped his way through smoke-filled corridors to the flight deck, and into the midst of violently exploding bombs, shells, rockets, and other armament. With the ship rocked by incessant explosions, with debris and fragments raining down and fires raging in ever-increasing fury, he ministered to the wounded and dying, comforting and encouraging men of all faiths; he organized and led firefighting crews into the blazing inferno on the flight deck; he directed the jettisoning of live ammunition and the flooding of the magazine; he manned a hose to hot, armed bombs, rolling dangerously on the burning deck, continuing his efforts, despite searing, suffocating smoke, which forced men to fall back gasping, and imperiled others who replaced them. Serving with courage, fortitude, and deep, spiritual strength, Lieutenant Commander O'Callahan inspired the gallant officers and men of the *Franklin* to fight heroically, and with profound faith, in the face of almost certain death, return their stricken ship to port."

Exchange of Remarks Between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister George Papandreou of Greece Upon the Latter's Arrival on the South Lawn of the White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished recent visitor to the United States was His Excellency, Prime Minister George Papandreou of Greece.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD the exchange of remarks between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister Papandreou upon the latter's arrival on the south lawn of the White House on June 24, 1964:

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AND PRIME MINISTER GEORGE PAPANDREOU OF GREECE UPON THE LATTER'S ARRIVAL ON THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE

President JOHNSON. Mr. Prime Minister, it is a proud privilege for me to welcome you to the United States this morning, and to express my deep personal appreciation for your coming to our country at this time.

This country and your country are bound together by ties that are both ancient and modern. The founders of these United States drew deeply from the wisdom and the ideals of ancient Greece in formulating the concepts of our own free and democratic society. In this 20th century, your country and mine have stood stalwartly together to defend those enduring ideals against aggressors, and to advance their fulfillment among our people.

We are friends in freedom; we are allies in NATO for peace; we are coworkers in the common laborers of progress and prosperity. These are strong and welcome bonds. We are bound together also, Mr. Prime Minister, by close and lasting ties of kinship. Americans harbor a very warm affection for those of your countrymen and their dependents who have honored us through the years by coming to live in our midst as neighbors, as friends, and as leaders in American life.

In recent months, occasions of grief have brought us close together in moments of national sorrow. Last November Queen Fredericka came to our country as a representative of your country at the time of the tragic death of President Kennedy. Only a short time later, Mrs. Johnson made a sad mission of mourning to attend the funeral of your beloved King Paul, whom we had been privileged to meet so happily on our visit to your land only 2 years ago.

Today I am confident that your visit and the talks that we shall have together will again affirm the close and cordial relations between Greece and the United States. With diligence and understanding, we shall seek to chart a course that will preserve the union and harmony of free nations, militantly opposed to Communist aggression.

We in America know that the people of Greece yield to no other people in the world in their devotion to freedom and independence, and in their desire to keep the peace won and maintained by such great sacrifice from freemen in our times.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is to that cause of peace that our efforts are dedicated today.

Prime Minister PAPANDREOU. Mr. President, I thank you for your kind welcome. I re-

gard it as a great privilege that upon your friendly invitation I find myself in the Capital of the mighty American democracy, the great friend and ally of Greece, and before this famous mansion which has housed so many illustrious promoters of human achievement, of liberty and justice.

I am happy that I shall be given the opportunity to become personally acquainted with the present great leader of the United States, the champion of peace, as well as with members of his administration and of the Congress of the United States.

Your concern for the maintenance of peace and freedom is shared by the Greek nation and by myself. Greece has always tried for the promotion of peace. A people that has suffered as much as ours from the violence of war and the reverses of history can only long for peace, but no peace can be durable without justice, and no settlement of problems can be right and just if it is not based on democracy and freedom.

In the past there existed a distinction between the world of ideals and the world of politics, between a policy based on idealism and a policy based upon realism. Nowadays they have merged into one, and the policy is today the more positive the more it is consonance with ideas. This constitutes the glory of our times, the glory of the free world whom you are called upon by history to lead.

My country does not forget that the United States, through the doctrine which bears the name of one of your great predecessors, President Truman, has been instrumental in the defense of Greece against aggression, as well as in the rehabilitation of the country, exhausted and devastated by cruel years of war. Greece also feels proud to be represented in your great democracy by a number of citizens of Greek descent who constitute a living link between the two nations, and of our national cultural ties to the world of American civilization.

Mr. President, I welcome this opportunity to bring to you and to the people of the United States the cordial salute of the people of Greece.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF PRIME MINISTER PAPANDREOU OF GREECE AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of the joint communique of June 25, 1964, of Prime Minister Papandreou and President Johnson with respect to the Cyprus situation.

The communique follows:

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF PRIME MINISTER PAPANDREOU OF GREECE AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON

During the visit to Washington of the Prime Minister of Greece conversations were held between Mr. George A. Papandreou and the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other officials of the U.S. Government.

The conservations, which were conducted in an atmosphere of friendship and warm cordiality, have contributed to the strengthening of the close ties between Greece and the United States.

The visit provided the opportunity to the Greek Prime Minister and the President of the United States to review various aspects of the international situation and to discuss subjects of mutual interest.

The President of the United States and the Greek Prime Minister had a sincere and useful exchange of views on the Cyprus situation. Both expressed full support of the efforts undertaken by the Security Council and the Secretary General of the United Nations for the establishment of peace in the island and for rapidly finding a permanent solution. The Greek Prime Minister explained in detail the Greek position on the problem. He emphasized that a permanent solution should be based upon the principles of democracy and justice. The two leaders reiterated their determination to make every effort to increase the understanding among allies.

The Greek Prime Minister expressed the deep appreciation for the generous support of the U.S. Government and people in the hard struggle of the Greek people for their freedom and welfare.

Cooperatives Play Important Role in Underdeveloped Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of the groups which testified in favor of the recently passed foreign aid authorization bill is the cooperative League of the U.S.A.

I want to call to my colleagues' attention the actual and potential significance of the league's work and of cooperatives in general for the underdeveloped countries.

One of the league's projects is the International Cooperative Training Center at the University of Wisconsin, which trains cooperative leaders from all over the world in an attempt to start subsidiary training centers in their countries. The Wisconson center is growing at an almost phenomenal rate. It is an excellent illustration of the league's philosophy that foreign assistance is most effective when it truly helps countries to help themselves. But the league's story is best told by Dwight D. Townsend, director of the Washington office of the league, in his statement of May 1, 1964, before the Foreign Affairs Committee:

STATEMENT OF DWIGHT D. TOWNSEND, DIRECTOR OF THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A. TO THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, HEARINGS ON H.R. 10502, TO AMEND FURTHER THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, AS AMENDED AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, as spokesman for the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., I bring the league's particular endorsement to some of the new aspects of H.R. 10502. In addition I would reiterate the general approval the league has felt over the years for the economic phases of the American foreign aid program, dating back to the Marshall plan and point 4 programs of the late 1940's.

The President has pointed out—and we heartily concur—that a better organized foreign aid budget will not only make possible, but in a sense compel, a greater use of human resources, our own and those in the developing countries, to solve their varied problems. Person-to-person and self-help projects, at the heart of the cooperative movement, have demonstrated that they take deeper root in the lives of individuals and communities than those better financed projects lacking the essential ingredient of human commitment and involvement.

We express warm approval too for the plan embodied in pending legislation to give cooperatives and other segments of private enterprise a more meaningful role in foreign assistance. This we do because our own history and experience as cooperatives, through good times and bad, teaches that it is the people's private institutions which they build, own and control themselves that will become the cornerstone of economic and political democracy in the new nations.

I hope it will not be lost on the committee that the steps I am proposing in agricultural development where farming is still primitive resembles in many particulars something that began to happen in the United States not so long ago. As boys many of us recall the scattered patches of stumpy new ground that passed for farms, and how in our own lifetimes and that of our fathers these low-yield farms have been transformed into units of exploding productivity making American agriculture the envy of the world. Though the results approach the miraculous, it was no miracle which brought this about.

We are all too close to it as yet to appreciate the steps we took in their entirety. But the amalgam of a superb farm credit system, cooperatively oriented land-grant colleges, electric cooperatives, farm agents, and demonstration workers, Future Farmer and 4-H programs for the young people, all of them infused by a spirit of cooperation and community pride, and grounded in solid self-reliance, these are the factors which transformed subsistence agriculture into such an abundance that we can paraphrase Churchill to say that never have so few produced so much for so many, at such a low cost, until our biggest farm problem is, ironically, our surpluses.

Through the cooperative method skillfully applied, this miracle can begin to happen in the lands where four out of five still till the soil. If our foreign aid efforts are to pay off big, it is to this situation that we must steadily address our efforts—for a backward agriculture is at the bottom of almost every problem—hunger, political unrest, lack of capital—faced by the developing nations.

In quick summary, I should like to establish the credentials of the Cooperative League for having an informed judgment on foreign aid and its administration in recent years. Working both on our own and in concert with the Agency for International Development, the league has given concrete evidence of its commitment to the principle of helping the developing nations. These countries stand at that stage of awakening to the rewards of participating in 20th century economic life when the cooperative method makes its maximum appeal to them. This is because the method of cooperatives stands in bold relief against, first, the memory of colonial exploitation, and second, the real and present menace of statism, when governments in thir misguided haste to catch up with the parade often curtail individual liberties and remove from the citizen the right of making choices.

What has the Cooperative League done in this field? We have help to establish at the University of Wisconsin the International Cooperative Training Center where promising cooperative leaders from dozens of countries are being trained. We are in the third year of a program called worldwide co-op partners by means of which individual members of U.S. cooperatives give a minimum of $10 each and up each year to help foster cooperatives in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Our league has actively assisted in training Peace Corpsmen and groups we trained are now at work in Colombia and Panama. The league's New Delhi office, established 8 years ago, is the base from which Dr. Allie Felder, a young North Carolinian trained in agricultural economics, has made an impact on the Indian subcontinent known to the entire Government and of which Prime Minister Nehru has spoken with appreciation.

Most recently the Cooperative League has worked with leaders from other American republics to form the Organization of Cooperatives of America. OCA will serve the entire hemisphere and give new coherence to the cooperative program throughout the Western World. Through OCA the cooperatives of North and South America can work together in the Alliance for Progress as they have never been able to do before. The potential of OCA is foreshadowed by what U.S. rural electric cooperatives and credit unions are already doing. Since credit unions and the rural electric co-ops are among the most effective expressions of cooperation in American history, it is fitting that these bodies are now reaching out a helping hand to their counterparts in Latin America. sharing their know-how and their resources to bring quite literally the light where before was darkness. In exporting their ideas and experitise, U.S. cooperatives are having to test their own principles anew—and this is proving to be a wholesome experience for them.

It heartens us that the administration says our foreign assistance is not merely the program of one nation but a partnership of many nations. This legislation provides for nations in every stage of development to participate along with the United States. Doors are being opened for peoples and countries heretofore inactive in the program to make their contribution to developing countries—and often this is not money—which they don't have—but the skill and competence of dedicated citizens, willing to leave home for long periods to help out in some distant and difficult setting. This is important because in our U.S. experience with foreign aid over the years, the resource of competent, able people has been exhausted many times before the money for a given project was all spent.

The cooperative and private enterprise accent is found more noticeably in this year's foreign aid bill than has been the case in earlier years. This we like. It reflects growing awareness in the United States that the new countries and those moving toward political maturity face a major dilemma. They fear equally the conditions of "colonial exploitation" from their past on the one side and on the other the heavy-handed statism and monolithic government controls that too often replace it. Erasing the vestiges of colonial control while escaping the threat of communism is what these people most want to do. To leaders with this in mind, the cooperative form of economic organization offers a practical middle way.

THE "TOP" IS NOT ENOUGH

Unfortunately, however, decisions at the top are not enough. Neither the heads of government and the intellectual leaders of the new countries, nor the foreign aid programs of the United States and other Western countries can bring good cooperative institutions into being simply by deciding to push a program for their development. Training and education, careful selection of projects and programs to be developed, and the furnishing of more capital—all these are going to be required if the rich potential for freedom which lies in cooperative ideals and practices is to be realized.

Cooperatives flourish best and grow fastest where a deep need for their benefits and help is clear to everyone.

And so in countries where people are fighting their way out of poverty and sometimes oppression, "cooperative" and the word "cooperation" are good, strong, meaningful words—words that become rallying points for people who want to be free and at the same time raise their standards of living.

SOME EXAMPLES

A few quick examples: Under her official 5-year plan, India seeks so broad a development of cooperatives that they will comprise one-third of the entire economy of that country. India has for decades had a nationwide pattern of agricultural cooperative credit societies. So she does not start from scratch.

One of the finest accomplishments of the American occupation of Japan was the development of a truly democratic structure of cooperatives, particularly among Japanese farmers. Today those cooperatives are the backbone of Japanese agriculture. The magazine of the federation of agricultural cooperatives has the largest circulation of any periodical in Japan.

In almost every newly free nation of Africa, the development of cooperatives, particularly credit cooperatives and cooperatives to market farmers' crops, is a principal hope and a principal reliance for a better day. In the Cameroons marketing cooperatives have eliminated middlemen, captured the full market price for farmers, led to new cropping practices and better quality, and have brought about a new interest in education and the building of schools.

AROUSED LATIN INTERESTS

In Latin America (with Puerto Rico as an example of what can be accomplished) there is growing interest in all kinds of cooperatives with the hope that they can become a mainstream in the development of the economies of South and Central America. For example, the whole pattern of life of many of the mountain Indian people in Peru is being changed for the better through the organization of credit unions.

But the foregoing examples are by no means the whole story. It is one thing to declare in a 5-year plan that "cooperatives shall be developed to a point where they comprise a third of the national economy." It is quite another thing to arouse the people's faith and interest and to provide the education and technical guidance to a point where this policy will become reality.

The task of developing viable, beneficial, economically strong cooperative institutions requires skilled, trained leadership such as exists in few of their new countries. It requires some capital—probably more than most of these people can themselves supply. And it requires the overcoming of suspicion and distrust of what may seem to be a new and untried device.

There are increasing numbers of inspiring success stories about development of cooperatives in many parts of the world. But there are also instances of failure and the dashing of premature hopes. And the reasons for such failures—and here we can generalize for almost all the new countries—where they have taken place have been these: Lack of good management, lack of trained leadership, inadequate education of members, and lack of capital, in approximately that order.

Cooperatives to be useful and successful must be economic enterprises that are formed by, partly at least capitalized by, serve the needs of, and are controlled by—the people who really need them. Unless they feel a sense of responsible participation, success is unlikely.

TRAINING CRITICAL

Thus education and training are of primary and critical importance. And they must precede—in any case parallel—the organization of functioning economic institutions. One kind of training is needed for the trainers who will train others. Another kind is needed for the leaders of the cooperatives. Still another kind, less extensive, of course, is needed for the members of the cooperatives.

Most of this education and training must be done in the new country itself. But a seedbed of personnel to do the training back home must be brought into being, beamed at those whose combination of dedication and competence uniquely qualify them for this role.

Seeing this the Cooperative League started 2 years ago to develop an International Cooperative Training Center at the University of Wisconsin. AID has been of critical help in this. Carefully planned courses, including several weeks of practical observation with the kind of cooperatives most necessary for their country are provided for cooperative leaders from the new countries. In the course of time, we expect to complement the remarkable work of this same sort that has been carried on for so many years at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia.

CANNOT STOP WITH TRAINING

We cannot, of course, stop with training and education. In some countries there is already enough experience and knowledge to make possible the launching or expansion of cooperative enterprises. But there is seldom enough capital or enough technical know-how to put such enterprises on the road to assured success. These should be supplied by countries like our own and through our own cooperative institutions. The relationship should be so far as possible on a people-to-people basis rather than government to government. But much of the money will have to come from technical assistance funds of the foreign aid program.

In some of the newly developing countries, cooperatives are already key factors in the political struggle for freedom—non-governmental institutions though they are.

PASSING OUT OF SUBSISTENCE STAGE

The needs and opportunities for the development of self-help mutual and cooperative institutions in the new countries are almost unlimited. Without them, land reform programs are likely to leave the farmers to whom land is allotted little better off than before. For the farmers—and 80 percent of the people of these countries are farmers—are right now passing out of the stage of subsistence, direct-consumption farming and into an agricultural economy which produces for markets, sometimes far away.

Unless marketing, credit, supply, and service cooperatives are organized to enable these farmers to control their own economic destiny, this transition will be tragic. With wise and courageous development of cooperatives, it can be the dawn of a new and better day.

And now for a few words specifically about Latin America.

Our aim there has been severalfold. First and most obvious, we are trying to assist the peoples of the Latin American countries in the development of cooperative type economic institutions wherever these will be useful and helpful in raising living standards and institutionalizing economies in a democratic way.

Second, our experiences have convinced us that by developing close relationships with counterpart cooperative organizations in Latin America we are able to change very constructively the attitude toward our country of the people with whom we deal and to give them a more favorable image of the United States. Over and over, we have had people say that they once thought of the United States as a huge giant concerned with pushing forward its own economic interests no matter what the consequences, but that after learning of U.S. cooperatives and after getting to know the people in the United States who are in our cooperatives here, they see us in a different light and one which appeals to them much more.

Our third purpose lies in the field of trying to give to people who have had few such experiences the actual experience of participating in a democratic manner in the conduct of useful economic enterprises and thus enabling them to learn in a very fundamental way what self-government really means, what the taking of responsibility really means, and what it means to trust one another in a common endeavor of a free, democratic nature.

In recent years a demand has arisen from various Latin American countries, notably Mexico, Peru, and Chile, for a hemispheric-wide organization of cooperatives. Consequently, in the fall of 1961, we brought together in Bogotá a conference attended by about 300 representatives from cooperative organizations in all the countries of the hemisphere except Cuba, Paraguay, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. This conference served to dispel a lot of misunderstandings, to develop a lot of fine personal relationships between our people from the United States and the people from the other countries, and to lay the groundwork for the formation of the Organization of Cooperatives of America. A speech by Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, at the Bogotá Conference was of tremendous assistance to us.

Consequently, in February of 1963, a constitutional assembly was brought together in Montevideo which, out of a week's very intensive discussions, created the Organization of Cooperatives of America as a federation of cooperative organizations in practically all the countries of the hemisphere with the exception of the four countries mentioned above.

The Organization of Cooperatives of America holds promise of making the Alliance for Progress meaningful at the very grassroots of the societies of all these countries, and it has a potential—not only economic but sociological—which is very great indeed.

In the meanwhile, the Cooperative League has been able to assemble sufficient funds in one way and another to send a special cooperative technician to Honduras to guide in that country and neighboring Central American countries the development of cooperatives, for example, in housing among fishermen.

We also were able to send two people to Ecuador to establish and conduct there a training program for people to work in the development of cooperatives and through our intervention, the Church World Service sent one of our best cooperative managers to Brazil some 2 years ago where he has been able to do most effective work assisting the cooperatives in that large country.

This is only a brief outline of the work which we are trying to do. In all of it the cooperatives of Puerto Rico have been of tremendous assistance, a bridge as it were between Anglo-America and Hispanic America that is needed so much.

Let me simply add one more point in relation to a particular type of cooperative which is desperately needed in most of the countries in Latin America. I refer here to marketing cooperatives for the farmers. There are some excellent ones in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil; but in Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador, and the whole northeast part of Brazil, they do not yet exist to anything like the extent that is needed.

Land reform by itself will do little good unless the farmers who come into possession of land for the first time have at hand the institutions through which they can obtain necessary credit, do their marketing, and obtain their supplies. Neither is it possible just to start out and form a lot of such cooperatives. Their future leaders must be trained or many of these enterprises will fail.

We are fully conscious of the tremendous magnitude of this whole challenging effort. It is far beyond the comparatively meager resources of the Cooperatives League to carry out even a fraction of the work that needs to be done. In cooperation, however, with the Alliance for Progress we could accomplish much.

I wish to stress that we are not relying wholly upon funds from AID for the work which we are endeavoring to do with our sister cooperative organizations in Latin America. Indeed we have raised much of the money from other sources, and we are now on a regular program of a continuing fundraising drive among the cooperatives and their members throughout this country each year.

The Cooperative League is the sponsor of two Peace Corps projects—one of them in Colombia and the other one in Panama—where the volunteers are working directly with people in the rural areas of those two countries assisting in the development of new cooperatives and the improvement of the functioning of those already in existence.

We hope that the committee will feel that our efforts are worthwhile from the viewpoint of our country and that it will favor an authorization of funds for the Agency for International Development which will be sufficient so that there will be available the additional help for this work which is so necessary if it is to be fully effective.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, Captive Nations Week is a time for the pondering of values. Following as it does our own Independence Day, our celebration of our own birth of freedom and nationhood, it cannot but make us contrast our own good fortune, our pride, and joyful appreciation of liberty and freedom.

Nor are we smug in any notion that it is peculiar to our people and Nation, this love of freedom. Infrequent though its manifestations may be, sometimes latent, but more often inhibited among the captive nations, there is unquestionably a sense of independence increasingly apparent among all men.

The enormous enthusiasm with which Robert Kennedy was greeted in Poland this month—July 1964—bears witness to the love of freedom which permeates the soul of that captive nation. So great was the display that, according to report, the Polish Government asked that he alter his course and not visit centers where popular acclaim would be likely to occur. Nevertheless, no matter where he went on this family vacation tour, the crowds were there, on the sidewalks, in the streets, filling the doorways and windows stories high. These were smiling and cheering crowds. How they had known of his coming no one was able to say. Something like an intuitive radar had spread the word ahead. It was the more remarkable because he not only was not invited, he was not welcomed by the Government, by the officials of the cities and towns. But the people were not to be stilled in their expressions of fervor.

What better evidence could there be of the undying spirit of liberty, the indomitability of the human heart that bows to no master, the yearning for independence that transcends all barriers? For to these people Robert Kennedy was the symbol of what America stands for; what, despite its foibles, it has stood for since the American Revolution—the spirit of liberty, fraternity, equality in individual worth. To them he carried the torch which his brother, our beloved late President, had so recently relit, and with it kindled a glow seen round the world.

Can we fail to see the implications of these demonstrations on the part of the people of a captive nation? Can we be oblivous to the fact that they have never succumbed in spirit to the yoke which binds them? A whole new generation has been born and reared in this state of semicaptivity. Yet the young people share the deep-rooted sentiments of their forefathers, the ideals of their parents, maintained despite the superimposing of a regime which seeks to shatter their values. They shared in this courageous and happy expression of self in the face of undue authority. They share the will and determination to surmount their shackles, as generation before generation had done. Their ancestors for centuries had withstood waves of invading hordes from east, west, and south, whose physical presence and attempts to submerge this proud nation were unable to obiterate the culture, the customs, and the ideals of the Polish people.

And the Polish people are typical of the peoples of the nations which share the captive yoke. As far back as European history can be traced we find among them records of captivity endured but not subduing, of superimposed authority resisted, of the retaining of the right of self-expression despite attempted suppression, and finally of oppression overcome.

These traits the captive nations have in common. Alas, too, how much else do they share in the history of "man's inhumanity to man"? Many of these peoples, many of these ethnic groups share a place in the annals of civilization which would be overwhelmingly distressing were it not for the fact that the very history of their vicissitudes is also a record of their fortitude, their faith, and the triumph of true values through their undying spirit of independence. For many, their history is a series of dark tales of overrunning hordes from neighboring states, plundering, destroying, attempting complete domination. But, however dark that history, it is studded with the bright and enduring stars of ethnic personality maintained and shining through the clouds that would cover but cannot obliterate them.

Those stars that mark the permanence of enduring values also bespeak the eventual clearing of the skies. And for all of the captive nations there have been long stretches of clear weather, of existence as independent nations, when, as in nature, their growth and strength has been fortified. Perhaps the dark days not only make the days of light more valued; perhaps—as also in nature—the very darkness of the clouds and the precipitation of the deluge lends stimulus to that growth, and the roots of freedom, the strands of individuality and liberty of soul are stronger when the days of light return.

The fortitude with which the peoples of the captive nations cling to their hope for the future, to their independence of

spirit, to their love of freedom—to their enduring values is an inspiration for generation to generation, which we in America share.

My Religion in the Space Age—Address by S. Burman Long, D.D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy, indeed, to include, for the wider reading it merits, the most inspiring and timely address delivered by Dr. S. Burman Long, beloved minister of the Chestnut Street Congregational Church, in the city of Worcester, Mass., on June 7, last, at the 73d Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, at Atlantic City, N.J.

The address by Dr. Long follows:

MY RELIGION IN THE SPACE AGE

(By S. Burman Long, D.D.)

It is a privilege and honor to join fellow religious leaders in presenting "My Religion in the Space Age." The glory is greater because it is being given in Atlantic City to patriotic and influential members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Your influence is tremendous. The federation members have within themselves the power to lift the patterns of human thoughts and actions. The space age is here. What will we do about it? The recent magazine entitled Sky of the space age is being read by persons who go places and do things. They care about the world they live in. The firmament has become the sky about which our fathers dreamed. World reality is making its home among earthly people.

It has been estimated that a nuclear attack would cause at least 100 million persons to perish. When we think of this we are almost paralyzed with fear and despair. But we do not despair or worry. We think, we reason, we pray, and then act. Life urges us onward. The firmament has become unlimited space. This convention and the gathering of people and the assembly of exhibits at the nearby World's Fair, manifests the ongoing of life and worthier deeds. We are planning a bigger and better future. We must do it. The physical and mental breakthrough of life, space, time, and ability propel us onward and upward. The improved mechanisms that operate in the air, beneath the waves, and upon the surface impel us to abandon false and pagan superstitions and notions and to build upon premises that are true and factual. We must accept peace and good will and adopt principles that will assure peace and good will among all people. We must remove thought and space boundaries. The old landmarks are gone. The possibilities are limitless. Already the dreams of centuries have come into being. The golden age has dawned and it has become a compelling age. We cannot stay with the trivial for:

"The words for war are becoming silent
In the era that is highest,
With the flags of peace unfurled
Among the favored people of the world."

My religion in this space age makes me glad and thankful that I am alive. Life is a gift of the Creator to each of us. The person is regarded and should be thought of as sacred and inviolate by all other persons. Man uses for himself or herself what he or she did not create. Each life is a product of the Creator's plan. The prophetic analysis of life is that "God breathed into each of us the breath of life and each of us became a living soul." My religion in the space age accepts as fact that there is something of God in each person. This is basic to the space age. Mankind can communicate with the Creator now as when 20 centuries ago shepherds on duty heard from space the words "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will." The shepherds obeyed, responded, and found. They had tuned themselves to the beam of their Creator. Their minds were alert and they heard the message of God from space. Many since then have heard and communicated the thought waves of peace and good will. Our General Douglas MacArthur at the close of the World War II said from the deck of the Missouri—"The problem—that is the problem of peace is basically theological—one that will synchronize with our matchless advances in science, art, literature, and all material developments of the past 2,000 years—it must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh." The same emphasis was given to the members of the press in the White House garden when President Johnson quoted "It is not by might or power but by my spirit, saith the Lord." We are persons with spiritual insights and the spirit of the Lord is within us and we have the ability to connect and communicate with the overspirit.

My religion in the space age confirms my faith in a spiritual heaven as real as my humble earthly home. The sooner that mankind accepts an orderly and unlimited universe, the earlier we will have faith in truth. Our cosmology has changed because our knowledge has changed. It has changed before. Once a new continent was discovered. We no longer limit the universe to hell below, heaven above and some of both between. The God of creation is in control now as He always has been. "He still stretches out the North over empty space and hangeth the earth upon nothing and there are no outskirts to His ways," and yet, this is the God who notes the fall of the sparrow, comforts the weary and heavy laden, heals the sick and speaks to the spiritual dead, words like those spoken to Lazarus, "loose him and let him go."

We can no longer be bound with the grave clothes of superstition and false premises. We must be alive and people of today. We must carry the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of liberty and the sword of truth and freedom. The gift of liberty was given to us by our fathers and the glory of freedom is ours to use and to enjoy. Liberty with its principles must prevail in each person for the Kingdom of God is within each person. God's presence is unlimited and constant in space and time. It was pilot, John Magee, who "put out his hand and touched the face of God." It was astronaut Gordon Cooper who in his 17 orbital circles recorded this prayer "Help, guide and direct all of us that we may shape our lives to be better Christians, trying to help one another rather than to be fighting and bickering. Help us to show the world that democracy really works." Did Gordon Cooper find God in space? The answer is yes. To him God was spirit and love, therefore a loving spirit who communicates with us and gives us the spirit and way of peace. The nobleness of the idea of the spirit of God in each person has never been surpassed. This is God's world and as persons we are in it. Our God is a personal God.

My religion in the space age reveals the gift of life, space, time, and ability. Each of us have the same amount of time in a single year. We place events in time. History is a record of events. However complete history may be, the events in time are too numerous for tabulation. What will a person give for an extension of life and time? My religion in the space age teaches me that God is whole and complete and that He will not leave the righteous to be extinct or destroyed. We can rely on the judgment of God, the final arbiter. We need and believe in immortality.

In addition to life, space, and time each person has ability. Each person is important to himself or herself, to others and to God. The ability of each person is unlimited. The problem is that of direction. Hitler was a perpetuation of a primitive past idea and a misconceived future. Socrates, Jeremiah, Jesus, Gandhi, and others used life, space, time, and ability to help their fellowmen to think, to reason, decide, and act. They reasoned that all people had spiritual values as well as physical, economic, and political. They were socially minded and accepted the principle that we are our brother's brother and our sister's sister. How much we owe to others. How much are we doing to help others? To give the self is the mission of the space age. The giving of the self exalts the self. Habits in sharing have become reflex to many. The other day a truck driver gave all to help an injured person. Miners risk their lives to help other miners. Astronauts help other astronauts. Police cars and fire trucks carry oxygen equipment. We are changing in this space age from the ideas of revenge, and eye for an eye, to compassion and concern. We are disturbed about neglected old age and poverty. We are no longer asking if all should have the opportunities for education, but we are asking how to better methods of education for all. We are disturbed about dropouts. We are not asking what our country can do for us, but what we can do for our country. We are not asking what God can do for us but what we can do for God. We are no longer discussing whether we should pray. We pray. We have gone beyond the A–B–C grade of elementary, political, social, and religious insights. We see God "blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." As individuals and as a Nation we accept God as perfect in His plan. We are trying to effect and be the highest that we can. We are no longer saying peace, peace, when there is no peace. We are doing the things that make for peace, beginning with ourselves. We are doing something about poverty, immorality, delinquency, crime, and corruption. We are making our religion to be of the mind and soul. We let vengeance to the judgment of God, whom we love.

We are substituting kindness and forgiveness for revenge and retaliation. We are growing up religiously as well as physically and economically. My religion is that of a mature person. It makes me take democracy seriously. Habits in thought and action are formed in liberty to keep us free and to extend freedom to others. Liberty is not possessive. Freedom for us must become freedom for all. Independence has grown into interdependence in governmental affairs. We must make interdependence with God the ecumenical slogan of all the churches and synagogues. Like rockets we must go upward to explore. Robert Goddard, the father of rocketry began his space experiments on a hill. The depths have been too long with us. The heights are to be the incubator area of thoughts and decisions. If we will have a good home we must have good family members. If we will have a righteous nation we must dwell with righteous thoughts. We must fulfill the royal law of love. The minds of persons suggest it. Sociology demands it.

We must break down the walls of jealousy, bigotry, bitterness, hypocrisy, ignorance, and complacency. We are a nation of people who have grown up. This is our world, and we must make it what the minds of persons and God want it to be. We hail the women of

the Nation. They now have the opportunity to save themselves and their children. They have the spirit of noble womanhood in this Nation and toward all nations. We hold that there is no substitute for strength but strength, no substitute for the home and the family, the drill ground of character, but the family. A nation consists of families united. We are getting rid of feuds, however nicely they may be initiated and expressed. We must be loyal, patriotic, upgoing, upsurging with the satisfaction that we have a faithful God who first loved us. Christian love begets Christian character. Righteous love produces character like that of the men and prophets of Israel. We are on the way. We have left the Red Sea behind us. We have crossed the divide. In covered-wagon days a group of pioneers had traveled long over rough roads. They finally came to what seemed an impassable terrain when they met a prospector to whom they asked, "How far is it to Oregon?" They received the reply, "this is Oregon." They had arrived. They were now assured that although there were other roads to Oregon they had chosen the right road for themselves. We still are pioneers and need to take the high roads. We use life to prove life, space to prove space, time to prove time, ability to prove ability, and God to prove God. The walls of ignorance, revenge, self-sufficiency, colonialism, and race superiority are crumbling before the battering rams of truth, righteousness, liberty, freedom, forgiveness and love and there are no boundaries to these principles. Education is beginning to prove its worth. Religion is accepting the Spirit of God at work among His people. The former divisions into religious groups are changing into the uniting of religious groups. The age of ecumenicity is here. No party has a monopoly on truth, but we all may have the truth and fulfill the dictum "you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

The inner urge of the divine within is asserting itself and is leading us onward and upward with all people. We are accepting the message of Dr. Alfred Grant Walton, of Brooklyn:

"It does not need a spoken word
To show the worth in you.
There's eloquence in noble deeds,
We speak in what we do."

Tribute to John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the American Federation of Senior Citizens of Greater Miami have recently sent me a resolution honoring our late beloved President John F. Kennedy which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, and I hereby insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY MR. ROBERT SHARP, PRESIDENT, NORTH MIAMI BEACH CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF SENIOR CITIZENS OF GREATER MIAMI, FLA., TO HONOR THE LATE PRESIDENT, JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

Whereas our beloved late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, met his untimely death; and

Whereas the senior citizens throughout our Nation are deeply grieved at the loss of our beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was the champion of our cause—medicare through social security and our general welfare; and

Whereas he spoke to us at our national convention in Washington, D.C., and in Miami, Fla., expressing his deep concern for our cause, promising to help secure for us what is rightfully ours; and

Whereas he was an inspiration and greatly loved by all: Now, therefore, it is hereby proclaimed that a Senior Citizens Day in his honor be observed on his birthday, the 29th day of May of each year, by holding memorial services to perpetuate his name and memory; and it is further

Resolved, That we shall request Congress to make the 29th day of May of each year a national holiday to honor our late beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy; and

This resolution is hereby approved by our board of directors and by all the members of its affiliated chapters of the American Federation of Senior Citizens of Greater Miami, Fla., this 6th day of February 1964, in the city of Miami, county of Dade, State of Florida.

J.F.K. Bosnian Folk Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is well known that our late President John F. Kennedy had created a remarkable impression on all the peoples of the world. I commend to my colleagues the following article and poem printed in the New York Times on July 12 which indicates that President Kennedy's name is already firmly imprinted in history.

YUGOSLAV BALLAD SALUTES KENNEDY—PRESIDENT IS ALREADY PART OF NATION'S FOLKLORE

SARAJEVO, YUGOSLAVIA, July 11.—In this Balkan land of folk heroes, John F. Kennedy has already become part of the national lore.

The President is a popular figure here.

Now, after streets and squares have been named for him and best-selling books published about him, Mr. Kennedy has become the subject of a folk ballad.

The song was composed recently by a young Bosnian named Ramo Ramovic, who works by day as a bookkeeper in the Bosnafolklor Co.'s offices.

In the evening he sings it in the basement nightclub of the Evropa Hotel, strumming his own accompaniment on a single-stringed gusla, an ancient instrument that produces a haunting whine.

RHYMED COUPLETS

Mr. Ramovic's composition is in the deseterac (10-syllable) style of Bosnian folksongs and he has cast his verse in rhymed couplets.

Following is a translation of "The Assassination of John Kennedy" as far as Mr. Ramovic has carried it. He plans to add more verses later:

"Not even the bird that makes its nest coming,
That the 20th century would herald sad news to all,
That on November 22
Americans would be in great sorrow.
Echoing ring and phones buzz.
Tempests and storms appear.
Sad news spreads everywhere, of America's severe misfortune.
Grief has stirred the whole world,
Kennedy could not be rescued.
The powder was exploded,
The rifle fired from a high floor.
The steel bullet was swift,
That caused John's lethal wounds.
It struck his heroic head,
He met that bitter glory.
Grave pains overcame him,
Johnny fell in Jacqueline's arms.
That dear Jacqueline embraced him
With her white arms.
With a sick heart she embraced him,
To lighten his heavy pains.
With grave suffering darkening his face
They went to Dallas hospital.
Doctors offered help,
In vain; sad news is spreading,
That cursed steel bullet,
Has wounded Johnny mortally.
President Johnny has passed away,
He has left the earth forever.
The news is heard afar,
The world echoes sorrowing despair.
John Kennedy is no more.
Dallas, Tex., what is happening in thee?
Why did you allow that hostile hand,
That "Sniper" to touch that firearm,
So that iron ignited the fire,
And struck John so cunningly.
Johnny has no more strength,
With a sick heart his breath slows,
Dead Johnny falls to earth,
And now Jacqueline suffers heavy grief.
A beautiful person, respected lady
Stays alone without Johnny.
She will never forget him,
Johnny was like blooming flowers.
They tried to save him
In unlucky Dallas' hospital.
The first aid given him
Kept him not one hour.
That wound was mortal
And the earth has seized him forever,
Go rest for eternity,
For there was no cure for Johnny.
Now in sorrow many hearth were silent,
And they drove him to the White House
To give him the last honors,
They know for certain John was gone.
The caisson carries him,
With a white horse from the White House,
To the soldiers' grave of heroes.
This is, Johnny, your eternal home.
The procession turns aside now,
Men of noble face,
All America grieves for him,
There are many foreign friends,
Many notables from abroad.
There are many from all sides,
The chieftains, czars, and Queens,
And many eminent guests,
To say farewell to the great hero,
To many to enumerate.
The relatives go first,
With his wife Jacqueline.
In the line are two brothers now,
The grieving Robert next to brother Edward,
And his daughter, Caroline,
Who is only 6 years old."

The Progress of Public Housing in Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I have long been interested in the state of the Nation's housing supply.

Recently, I had brought to my attention an article in the widely respected Omaha World-Herald dealing with one of the last housing developments to be authorized under the public housing portion of the Housing Act of 1961. Authorization under that act was exhausted at the close of the last fiscal year, June 30.

As my colleagues know, the 1961 act authorized the Public Housing Administration to assist localities to develop approximately 100,000 new units of public housing.

About one-half that authorization will be used to assist in the development of desperately needed housing for elderly Americans.

And there, Mr. Speaker, without new legislation, further expansion of this Federal-local enterprise will halt. Compare that fate with the need that continues to exist in this rich country of ours where, despite record prosperity, some 35 million of our fellow Americans continue to live in poverty and in substandard housing.

Nebraska is one of many States which have awakened to the need for low-rent housing for low-income people, and is alert to the benefits of a Federal-local partnership as indicated by the following:

In 1961, Nebraska had three—three, mind you—local housing authorities participating in the low-rent program of the Public Housing Administration. In mid-1964 that number had increased to 40, despite the State's tough housing referendum law. Voters in 74 localities went to the polls in that 3-year period, overwhelmingly approving proposals to begin low-rent programs, truly a significant advance in a State generally known for its conservative approach to public problems.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I want to insert in my remarks the Omaha World-Herald article dealing with that community's plan to house some 800 elderly families, noting as I do so that these great forward strides in public housing have taken place under the leadership of a fellow Texan, the charming and efficient Commissioner Marie C. McGuire:

BUILDINGS TO SHELTER 800 AGED

(By David A. Sadler)

Within the next 2 years, modest but comfortable apartments for more than 800 elderly persons will be added to the Omaha housing supply.

The Omaha Housing Authority will open bids June 4 for construction of 5 buildings to contain 580 apartments for the elderly. They were approved by the city's voters in 1962.

The cost, including land acquisition, construction, and landscaping, will be more than $7 million.

If bids are acceptable, construction on the first of four sites will begin about June 15. Construction should take about 590 days on all projects.

Shown today are renderings of the buildings prepared by Boyer & Biskup, the architects.

The sites and the sizes of the buildings were chosen in accordance with the numbers of elderly persons in the areas, as shown in the 1960 census. It is estimated the apartments will accommodate 4 percent of these citizens.

In the Park and Woolworth Avenues area, there were 6,840 elderly. Here there will be 2 buildings totaling 223 apartments—137 for single persons and 86 for 2 persons.

The 20th and Burt Streets area had 3,062 elderly. The building in the block between Burt and Webster and 20th and 21st Streets will have 64 apartments for single persons and 57 for two persons.

In the 24th and Evans Streets neighborhood there were 3,363 elderly. There will be 75 single and 43 double apartments in the building on the west side of 24th between Evans and Pratt Streets.

The 25th and J Streets area held 3,448 elderly. The building on the west side of 25th Street between J and K Streets will have 73 single and 45 double apartments.

The 20th and Burt Streets building will have a small annex containing the general offices and a stockroom for the authority. The offices now are at 1728 North 22d Street.

The ground floor of each building will contain a large room for meetings, dances and other activities. Off it will be a kitchen with two purposes—for party snacks and as a demonstration kitchen to train tenants in use of appliances and for cooking classes.

Also on the ground floor will be two crafts rooms, a social services consultation room, an office, a maintenance room, a mailbox room, and a boiler room. Ground floor spaces will be air conditioned.

Outside will be a paved patio. Landscaping plans include gardening plots for tenants. There will be paved parking lots, with the number of stalls equal to 50 percent of the apartments.

There will be four types of apartments: 32 bachelor types, with beds in alcoves; 317 one-bedroom apartments for single persons; 207 one-bedroom apartments for two persons, and 114 two-bedroom apartments for two persons.

EFFICIENCY KITCHENS

All kitchens will be of the efficiency type, with wooden cabinets, laminated plastic countertops, and built-in ovens and ranges.

Fifty percent of the bathrooms will have tubs and 50 percent showers all with nonslip surfaces and grab bars.

Apartments will have dry-wall finishing, with soundproofing between apartments and on walls backing on corridors. They will be painted in several colors with a maximum of four colors to an apartment. Corridor wall colors also will be varied.

The apartments will have horizontally sliding windows and screens in aluminum frames made with thermal barriers to keep out cold and prevent condensation. Sections will be removable for cleaning.

TWO ELEVATORS PER BUILDING

Every other floor will have a laundry room. Each building will have an incinerator, with garbage chutes opening on each floor.

Each building will have two automatic elevators, one somewhat larger than the other for furniture handling.

Lyle E. Lightfoot, the project architect, has chosen rubble stone to face the ground floors and brick for the upper levels, varying the materials.

At Park and Woolworth, the brick will be light buff and the stone Colorado moss rock. At 20th and Burt, there will be brown brick and white stone. The 24th and Evans and 25th and J buildings will be in warm gray brick, with Thompson Creek boulders on the former and California driftwood stone on the latter.

Buildings will have reinforced concrete superstructures and cavity walls of brick and concrete block.

Agriculture Expands Information Access

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Agriculture Department has opened to public inspection a further phase of its operations. A few weeks ago I reported that the Department would make available to the public the comments the agency received on its proposed rule changes. That step toward full public disclosure of Government information apparently was so successful that the procedure has been extended to include comments received on all Department activities—changes in programs and other matters as well as proposed rule changes.

The Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee worked closely with Assistant Secretary George L. Mehren to help develop the Department's new information procedures. Secretary Freeman has now informed the subcommittee that all comments the Department receives from interested parties—the comments which often form a basis for the agency's action—will be open to public inspection unless there is a compelling reason for confidentiality. And permission for confidentiality will be strictly limited, for the decision must be made at the secretarial level. Following is Secretary Freeman's letter announcing the expanded public access procedure:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

Hon. JOHN E. MOSS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOSS: The Department of Agriculture has taken another step in its effort to make information more readily available to the public. You will recall that recently we issued departmental regulations governing disclosure of information submitted by interested persons in any matters affecting rulemaking.

The basic policy of the Department is to disclose all information unless there be compelling reasons to hold part of it confidential. Thus, if viewpoints, data, or analyses relevant to such matters as proposed changes in grades of farm commodities are at issue, we outline in the announcement requesting such submittals the conditions under which they will or will not be held confidential. All information is to be made available to the public unless those submitting information can convince the Department that the standards for public access set out in our regulations should not apply. If it appears that to obtain useful data we must accept it on a confidential basis, clearance in these cases must be obtained at the secretarial level.

We have found that on occasion some requests are made for submittal of information where rulemaking, either formal or informal, is not contemplated. Accordingly, we have decided to apply precisely the same criteria to the disclosure of such submittals as those applied to the formal or informal rulemaking submittals outlined above. Accordingly, we are amending our rulemaking procedures regulations by adding the following subsection:

"(e) This section shall apply in any instance where the Department or agency thereof by published notice solicits, or affords interested members of the public an opportunity to submit, written views with respect to any proposed action relating to any program administered in the Department regardless of the fact that the issuance of a rule may not be contemplated."

We believe that we now have assured better access by the public as to what factors are considered in making public policy. We do not expect that confidential status will be granted frequently.

I want to thank you, your committee and your staff for the help you have given us in formulating these policies. We shall continue to try in the Department of Agriculture to make as much as possible of our data and information generally available.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary.

Helicopters and Air Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the July 1964, issue of Air Transport World, a very interesting new monthly magazine devoted to the air transport industry, has just come to my attention. The editorial, written by the magazine's editor and publisher, Joseph S. Murphy, is entitled "Thinking Ahead About Helicopters." I commend it to the attention of all my colleagues in Congress and to the public generally.

There is no doubt in my mind that helicopters will play a growing role in the future. It is just a question of time. Not only will our air transportation industry gain by it, but the American public will gain by it, too, in comfort, in saving of time, and in other ways. Already, as the editorial states, there are signs that some of our big airlines are considering helicopter service. All airlines should be encouraged to do so because all of them stand to gain by it.

All of us are familiar with the use of helicopters by the late President Kennedy and by his successor, President Johnson. Many business executives are now using helicopters in their travels to various parts of the country. A very interesting experiment in air transportation was inaugurated this year by Robert Cummings, president of New York Airways, in bringing many visitors to and from the New York World's Fair by helicopter. Mr. Cummings deserves to be congratulated for the fine job he is doing in this respect, and especially for his vision in utilizing this advance type of transportation. In a way, he is a pioneer in the field.

I am convinced that as time goes on helicopters will be more widely used all over the country, along with other forms of air travel. In fact, I can visualize the use of helicopters as a complementary system to our airline routes, and for this reason I would like to see all of our airlines give serious consideration to such service.

In my own State of Connecticut we are fortunate to have the United Aircraft Corp., which produces helicopters at its plant at Stratford, and the Kaman Aircraft Corp., with plants at Bloomfield and Moosup. I should like to see helicopter service coming into Connecticut, which is good helicopter country. On my trips to and from Washington each week I have to cover considerable distances from my hometown, Putnam, to the nearest airports at Hartford or New London. By car it takes often an hour to an hour and a half; by helicopter it would probably be no more than 15 or 20 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the thought-provoking editorial by Joseph S. Murphy, which reads as follows:

THINKING AHEAD ABOUT HELICOPTERS

There are now signs that some of the big airlines are changing their attitudes toward helicopter services. This is good. But a few is not enough. Every airline management should get into the act promptly and boost this machine out of the atmosphere of subsidy strangulation by Congress and into its rightful role in the air transport system.

Now we're not proposing helicopter services at every airport to every downtown area of a nearby city. Nothing like that. But there are enough locations at which helicopter services can be turned into a real asset to air transportation where there aren't any signs of relief for years to come. In fact, the surface traffic densities from downtown to the airport are increasing all the time, running times are getting longer, and the net effect is an airport that is getting farther and farther away. The airport-downtown travel times for limos published in airline timetables mostly reflect what happens in off-hour periods. It's impossible to come close to them in peak traffic periods.

What all this adds up to is a creeping paralysis called the growing inconvenience of air transportation. Here's an example: a local businessman who frequently travels from Washington by air tells us he no longer considers going to the west coast nonstop by jet. Why not? Well, he has to leave his home a full hour earlier to come downtown in order to get a limousine that takes another 40 minutes to get him out to Dulles Airport to get on the mobile lounge 15 or more minutes before the airplane takes off.

His alternative is to go to nearby Washington National Airport, hop a nonstop flight to Chicago, change to a jet and proceed to Los Angeles. In this way he arrives at his destination in the same elapsed time, but without all the inconvenience, as he would have had, had he made the long trip to the far-out airport.

Airports such as Dulles are a natural for the helicopter. So are many other airports throughout the world. But if everybody sits back and waits for that miracle machine which will make a profit like the jet at a 40-percent load factor, don't be surprised if it never shows up. In the meantime, a lot more airline passengers will have become a lot more conscious of the inconvenience of air transportation and will have gone elsewhere for their answer.

If the trip to the airport by limo takes too long, the traveling public doesn't think about it in terms of the limo operator being at fault. It's the airline and air transportation that bear the brunt of his ire.

Let's stop thinking about helicopters solely in terms of their break-even costs and think about them in terms of what they can do in protecting present air transport markets and expanding future ones.

The President of the United States is about the only one we know who has a complete transportation system at his disposal. The helicopter makes it complete. We don't begrudge him that privilege, but we certainly feel that it's about time that this sort of convenience is made available to be shared by the traveling public.

This is where the airline industry comes in. As an investment in their future, the airlines should begin participating in helicopter services through joint fares, underwriting speical flights, etc., such as Pan Am and TWA have undertaken in New York. Only in this way will helicopter development move from its present state into the next stage of advanced economics, and ultimately into the V/STOL's of the 1970's.

This is not a domestic situation alone. The advance of air transportation throughout the world stands to benefit from it. Conversely, a perpetuation of the present attitude toward terminal helicopter services would be a distinct disservice to the air transportation world.

Today, the future of the helicopter depends on the airlines. Tomorrow, the future of the airlines may well depend upon the helicopter. Let's start thinking about tomorrow, today.

Goldwater and Militarism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the debacle euphemistically called the Republican National Convention of 1964 is now history, albeit for many—sad history.

Unfortunately for Republicans, and even more unfortunately for the Nation as a whole, the coming election is not destined to present a real choice. When one candidate runs on a platform that logically leads to world war III, while the other runs on a platform that calls for equality, justice, and law and order, only extremists, know-nothings, and lunatics could possibly vote for world war III.

Both Mr. Rowland Evans and Mr. Robert Novak, utilizing their combined intelligence, which might be interpreted by some as editorial collectivism or collectivist editorialism, realize this sad fact.

I commend their column from the July 17, 1964 edition of the New York Herald Tribune to the attention of our colleagues:

INSIDE REPORT: GOLDWATER AND MILITARISM

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

SAN FRANCISCO.—"That's a damned lie," exploded an incensed BARRY GOLDWATER when he returned from church to his suite here in the Mark Hopkins Hotel last Sunday.

He had just been shown a commentary by a CBS European correspondent (reproduced in a Scranton campaign tabloid) reaching the remarkable conclusion that Senator GOLDWATER'S proposed postconvention trip to Germany is a sign "that the American and German rightwings are joining up."

"I've never seen the Senator hotter than he was over this one," one of his aids told us. His German trip was to be a summer vacation to the Bavarian Alps. His aids deny

that he ever planned any speeches there. Anyway, it is ludicrous to think of GOLDWATER in a secret conspiracy with German rightists.

But for GOLDWATER's strategists, the CBS commentary was deadly serious. It is another brick in what they regard the most formidable obstacle between GOLDWATER and the Presidency; his image as a militaristic, bomb-rattling advocate of war, an enemy of peace. The idea of GOLDWATER consorting with jack-booted Germans in Munich embellishes the image.

GOLDWATER erased the problems posed by the German trip by canceling it. But the basic problem of the bomb-rattling image remains. In fact, it grows every time he speaks off the cuff. The cause of this growth is shared by both the press and GOLDWATER himself.

For their part, newsmen pepper GOLDWATER with more intense questioning about his military-foreign policy views than is usually the case, even with a presidential candidate.

For his part, GOLDWATER replies to their questions in breezy, offhand style, as if engaged in a barracks bull session. GOLDWATER's arrival in San Francisco for the National Convention is illustrative. His high command decided a press conference was necessary. Unfortunately for GOLDWATER, it came right after publication in a German magazine of some barracks-room impromptu remarks. As soon as GOLDWATER arrived here, he was rushed to a hotel suite. There, for 45 minutes, staff members briefed him on the German magazine article.

To little avail. "We spent 45 minutes telling him what not to say, and then he went downstairs (to the press conference) and said it," confided one aid.

For instance, he reiterated that he would turn over control in the Vietnamese war to military commanders. Whatever the merits of such statements, they enlarge the image of militarist.

The reason why so many Republicans now tell pollsters they prefer President Johnson to GOLDWATER is not the Senator's conservatism. The vague fear that he will provoke a nuclear holocaust is what really frightens Republican voters—particularly in the isolationist, peaceloving Midwest.

If this immense hurdle could be cleared, GOLDWATER might well make a race of it. His key strategists are even now planning a scatter-shot campaign against Mr. Johnson (with special emphasis on the Bobby Baker and Billie Sol Estes scandals and his 89-vote Senate election victory in 1948). Whichever charges hit home will be pressed.

Simultaneously, Mr. Johnson will be depicted as a leftwinger in hopes of winning the crucial suburban vote. The emphasis here will be on high taxes and the cost of living, with the white backlash a silent ally.

But these same GOLDWATER strategists privately admit that these tactics will have no more effect than barking at the moon unless Goldwater's militaristic image is erased.

How to do it? As a starter, virtually eliminate press conferences. After his grilling in that first San Francisco press conference, GOLDWATER immediately decreed that there be no more during the convention. And there will be precious few between now and November 3.

This will cut down on barrack-room answers to hostile press questions. But beyond this negative formula, GOLDWATER must take positive steps to erase the dangerous image that now exists. If he does not, an L.B.J. landslide looms.

Report From Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit my report from Congress dated July 27, 1964:

REPORT FROM CONGRESS

(By GRAHAM PURCELL, Representative, 13th District of Texas, July 27, 1964)

DEAR FRIENDS: I was appalled when I heard Senator GOLDWATER say in San Francisco, "It has been during Democratic years that our strength to deter war has stood still and even gone into a planned decline." What amazed me about this statement was that the Senator displayed such an astounding lack of information about our Defense Establishment.

If there is any area of our Federal Government in which Americans of all political philosophies can justifiably take pride, it is in the operation of the Department of Defense.

Is our strength declining? Let's look at the facts. In the past 3 years we have accomplished a 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads in the strategic alert forces; a 60-percent increase in the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe; a 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions; a 44 percent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons; a 75-percent increase in airlift capability; a 100-percent increase in general ship construction and conversion to modernize the fleet; and an 800-percent increase in the special forces trained to deal with counterinsurgency threats.

There is no decrease in our defense capability. On the contrary, the United States today is stronger than it has ever been, and we maintain the greatest margin of military superiority over our adversaries than has been the case at any time since the start of the cold war.

And all of this has been accomplished in the midst of a cost reduction program which is saving the American taxpayer billions of dollars. Secretary of Defense McNamara recently issued the second annual progress report on his cost reduction program. Here is what the report shows. Savings of $2.5 billion were actually realized during fiscal year 1964, compared with the forecast of savings of $1.5 billion. Savings of $4.6 billion a year by fiscal year 1968 and each year thereafter have been set as the new long-range goal. This is an increase of $600 million per year over the previous objectives of the cost reduction program.

This program, which is helping to achieve the twin objectives of the required military strength and the lowest possible cost, has three parts:

1. Buying only what is needed to achieve balanced readiness.
2. Buying at the lowest sound price.
3. Reducing operating costs through termination of unnecessary operations, standardization, and consolidation.

The spending policies of the Department of Defense are particularly significant when we realize that this one Department spends over one half of the funds in each year's Federal budget. Over 50 cents out of each Federal tax dollar you pay goes to the task of keeping our Nation the strongest on earth. I think it is most significant that this administration has placed such emphasis on the dual responsibility of maintaining and increasing our defense capability while, at the same time, making an all-out effort to streamline and modernize our efforts to get the most possible benefit from each dollar spent.

Senator GOLDWATER said in San Francisco, "We can keep the peace only if we remain vigilant and strong. Only if we keep our eyes open and keep our guard up can we prevent war." I am in wholehearted agreement with that statement. This is why I support the present administration so strongly in this area. We are doing just that.

I have, in the past few days, had the opportunity of viewing firsthand our defense capabilities at the "top of the world" in Alaska and Greenland. This is our first line of defense in case of nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. I am proud to be able to report to you that our installations there are most impressive in their efficiency and capability. We have the most modern equipment available, and the most dedicated and well-trained personnel to operate it. My visit to these installations was most reassuring and informative.

I hope to be able to tell you more on this subject in a later newsletter.

Cordially,

GRAHAM PURCELL.

We Build Our Competition With Foreign Aid Tax Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB CASEY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I have for some time been deeply concerned over the competition we are building abroad under the foreign aid program for our American workers and our industries.

A year ago, the House adopted my amendment to the foreign aid bill which would bring some protection to the jobs and the markets of our taxpayers footing the bill for this program. Unfortunately, the Senate refused to accept it, and it was lost in conference.

On June 10 of this year, the House again saw fit to adopt my amendment. Most of my colleagues know personally of industries in their own districts suffering from a deluge of foreign imports. They have watched, as I have, while our citizens' tax dollars are used abroad to build plants and modernize industries to take away American jobs. The need for my amendment is imperative to turn the spotlight of publicity upon the aid program, so that our people and this Congress will know just what we are building overseas.

Mr. Speaker, my amendment is not restrictive. It allows ample latitude to the Executive to carry out this program.

Lest there be any doubt about the need for it, I call the attention of my colleagues to a few statistics.

From 1945 through fiscal year 1963, we built, modernized or expanded 179 foreign steel plants; and from 1958 through 1963, we built or expanded 31 pulp and paper plants; 24 chemical plants; 13 aluminum plants; 22 rubber plants; and we made 27 loans or grants for studies and to build plants for petroleum industries.

I did not, at that time, have information covering one segment of our economy suffering heavily from foreign imports—our textile industries.

My colleagues from textile manufacturing areas, and their taxpaying workers dependent upon this industry for their livelihood, will be delighted to know that in the past 5 fiscal years, we built, modernized or expanded 115 textile plants abroad under this program.

As I advised my colleagues a few days ago, I wish to update the statistics I presented to the House on August 22, 1963, on pages 14760–14764 of the RECORD. The statistics I submitted at that time were as complete as possible, but as the Library of Congress researcher pointed out:

> The enumeration of total foreign aid to specific industries can be undertaken with only limited success * * * The Agency itself does not compile aid figures according to industry or by name.

Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following information for fiscal year 1963 on plants we have built, modernized or expanded for specific industries. In addition, I ask my colleagues to examine the text of my amendment, and if in their judgment it is sound and needed to protect the interests of the workers and industries in their areas, I urge its adoption by Congress. The amendment states:

> Page 8, immediately after line 10 insert the following:
>
> "(d) At the end of section 620, add the following new subsection:
>
> "'(n) No assistance shall be furnished under this Act for the construction or operation of any productive enterprise in any country unless the President determines that similar productive enterprises within the United States are operating at a substantial portion of their capacity and that such assistance will not result in depriving such United States enterprises of their reasonable share of world markets. The President shall keep the Foreign Relations Committee and the Appropriations Committee of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives fully and currently informed of assistance furnished under this Act for the construction or operation of productive enterprises in all countries, including specifically the numbers of such enterprises, the types of such enterprises, and the locations of such enterprises.'"

U.S. AID TO TEXTILE INDUSTRIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR FISCAL YEARS, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962

The following figures comprise the major aid totals by loans and grants given specifically to textile industries in foreign countries for the 5 fiscal years as noted. Under each country the various contracts or aid projects are given individually. Most of the larger listings is in the form of loans from the Export-Import Bank. Smaller totals represent specific projects sponsored by the Agency for International Development. In addition to the totals mentioned aid to specific textile activities may also be hidden in disbursements for handicraft promotion centers, technical support, productivity training, industrial education and development, home industries, and vocational education. AID has no breakdown available for distinct projects readily assignable to the textile category.

FISCAL YEAR 1958

Austria: Textile machinery	$192,000
Germany: Drycleaning equipment training	9,000
Greece: Textile training	18,000
Korea: Silk equipment	200,000
Philippines: Textile equipment	7,125
Spain: Textile management	9,000
Yugoslavia: Textile processing	41,000

FISCAL YEAR 1959

Brazil: Textile education	27,000
Greece: Wool textile methods	17,000
Iraq: Industrial sewing	6,000
Nicaragua: Cotton machinery	53,368
Paraguay: Cotton machinery	1,000,000
Philippines:	
Textile dyeing units	41,000
Textile equipment	195,000
Textile machinery	15,116
Cotton mill equipment	98,352
Spinning machinery	141,945
Textile machinery	1,585,803
Do	1,661,381
Spain: Textile production assistance	42,000
Yugoslavia:	
Cotton textile manufacturing	81,000
Wool processing	140,000

FISCAL YEAR 1960

Argentina: Textile equipment	14,000
Belgium: Knitting machinery	10,247
Colombia:	
Textile equipment	102,000
Looms	242,500
Do	60,000
Textile equipment	17,554
Textile bleaching equipment	86,900
Looms	25,607
Cotton equipment	210,600
Textile equipment	20,400
Do	126,358
Korea: Silk manufacturing equipment	8,000
Mexico:	
Looms	94,901
Do	46,546
Textile equipment	15,600
Peru:	
Textile engineering	33,000
Looms	39,600
Philippines:	
Textile equipment	85,328
Yarn dyeing equipment	69,325
Textile equipment	394,203
Do	477,134
Do	1,750,000
Do	4,397,495
Yugoslavia: Manufacturing of cotton textiles	89,000

FISCAL YEAR 1961

Argentina:	
Sewing machinery	5,200
Textile mill equipment	86,000
Do	72,000
Do	18,500
Sewing machinery	186,000
CENTO: Textile development (wool)	2,000
Colombia:	
Fibers development	25,000
Textile equipment	45,500
Do	45,000
Textile washing equipment	36,000
Denmark: Textile machinery	261,000
El Salvador: Cotton machinery	315,800
Germany: Hosiery textile machinery	922,500
Guatemala: Fiber development	3,000
Iran:	
Cotton machinery	$182,000
Do	90,000
Israel: Textile development	25,000
Mexico:	
Textile machinery	58,202
Textile equipment	12,657
Peru:	
Textile engineering	6,000
Textile equipment	55,602
Spain: Cotton machinery	61,000
Thailand: Jute mill machinery	699,000
Uruguay:	
Textile equipment	467,500
Looms	16,878
Yugoslavia: Textile manufacturing	7,000

FISCAL YEAR 1962

Argentina:	
Looms	186,000
Do	38,000
Do	121,000
Do	78,500
Do	116,000
Do	38,000
Do	268,600
Do	122,000
Do	70,000
Do	81,500
Do	151,000
Sewing machinery	35,000
Do	46,500
Textile machinery	11,500
Looms	93,000
Yarn machinery	17,500
Textile equipment	218,000
Sewing machinery	27,000
Brazil: Looms	61,200
Colombia: Fiber development	17,000
El Salvador: Textile equipment	15,693
Guatemala: Cotton equipment	15,236
Honduras: Cotton equipment	207,436
Mexico:	
Textile machinery	352,000
Cotton equipment	67,195
Looms	51,184
Textile machinery	25,517
Looms	42,635
Do	27,818
Nigeria: Textile plant	2,000,000
Spain:	
Textile training	27,000
Do	5,000
Cotton machinery	48,053
Do	43,572
Do	48,881
Do	48,053
United Kingdom: Yarn processing equipment	23,768
Uruguay:	
Textile equipment	31,743
Looms	87,181
Venezuela:	
Looms	41,135
Do	122,524
Do	120,640
Yugoslavia: Wool textile training	6,000

Sources: Export-Import Bank, periodical loan releases. AID project books by fiscal years.

U.S. AID TO SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES BY GRANTS AND LOANS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1963

The following figures provide the basic listing of eight industries in foreign countries which have received some form of U.S. aid either by loans or grants during fiscal year 1963. Many of the larger loans were procured through the Export-Import Bank while aid projects were initiated through the Agency for International Development. In the latter instance itemized totals per industry and per country are not specified. Actual aid to the industries covered may also be included among disbursements for productivity centers, mining developments, research centers, metals fabricating plants, engineering laboratories and services, technical support,

metallic and nonmineral surveys, and industry development and project assistance. The actual aid to the industries in question may therefore be higher than noted.

ALUMINUM INDUSTRY	
Ghana: Volta Aluminum Co.	$55,000,000
India: Hindustan fabricating plant	5,000,000
CHEMICAL INDUSTRY	
India: Expansion of chemical facilities	7,650,000
Mexico: Soda ash plant	4,000,000
IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES	
Afghanistan: Iron ore resources	210,000
India:	
Bokaro steel plant	750,000
Steel training	580,000
Forging factory	3,908,000
Locomotive plant	19,000,000
Korea: Iron ore production	37,000
Spain:	
Foundry services	10,000
Expansion of steel plant	6,600,000
Japan:	
Iron and steel facilities	26,000,000
Expansion of steel facilities	18,500,000
Philippines: Iron ore concentrator mills	5,000,000
Italy:	
Expansion of steel plant	25,000,000
Steel rolling plant	5,000,000
Steel mill expansion	50,000,000
Steel machinery materials	130,000,000
Chile: Expansion of steel plant	8,300,000
Mexico: Expansion of steel plant	16,900,000
Peru: Iron ore facilities	1,250,000
PETROLEUM INDUSTRY	
Pakistan: Gas treating plant	2,800,000
PLASTICS	
Nil.	
RUBBER INDUSTRY	
Guatemala: Rubber development	26,000
Thailand: Tire and tube plant	5,000,000
Dominican Republic: Rubber goods production	24,600
PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY	
Iran: Lumber for pulp	18,000
Nepal: Forest products development	244,000
Egypt: Cellophane plant	3,000,000
Laos: Lao photo press	84,000
Philippines:	
Pulp and paper mill	$100,000
Machinery for pulp making	74,200
Uruguay: Pulp and paper machinery	450,000
TEXTILE INDUSTRY	
India: Rayon tire cord	9,800,000
Spain: Textile production	27,000
Yugoslavia: Wool textile production	6,000
India: Yarn manufacturing plant	4,700,000
Greece: Cotton yarn mill	3,000,000
Mexico:	
Looms	42,840
Do	33,201

Sources: Export-Import Bank: loans fiscal year 1963.
AID: Project Survey for fiscal year 1963.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

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Appendix

John Philip Sousa Birthplace Is Marked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is highly fitting that the people of our Nation's Capital continue to lead the way in appropriately restoring and designating places of significant historical interest. Among the most active of Washington organizations working tirelessly toward this goal is the Capitol Hill Restoration Society.

On June 27, 1964, this society—with the cooperation of the Washington Post and the U.S. Marine Band—sponsored ceremonies marking the house at 636 G Street SE., as the birthplace of John Philip Sousa. To make the historical notes concerning the "March King" available to our colleagues and other interested persons, I offer the following remarks spoken at this ceremony for the RECORD:

REMARKS OF H. CURLEY BOSWELL

Mr. BOSWELL. I want to thank all you good people for being here today and joining with us to do honor to John Philip Sousa—a famous American whose birth and early life we associate with Capitol Hill.

We have some very distinguished guests with us today. May I introduce to you Mrs. Helen Sousa Abert, of New York City, daughter of John Philip Sousa; Mr. and Mrs. James L. Dixon. Mr. Dixon is cochairman of the John Philip Sousa Memorial, Inc.; seated are members of the John Philip Sousa family: Mrs. James H. Pugh, Mr. and Mrs. J. Hunter Pugh, Mr. and Mrs. John F. Geiger, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur A. Varela and their two sons, Arthur, Jr., and Robert, and with them is their niece, Miss Betsy Ann Boynton, of Atherton, Calif., and Mr. and Mrs. John P. S. Pugh.

The following telegram has been received from John Philip Sousa III:

NEW YORK, N.Y.

H. CURLEY BOSWELL,
Executive Vice President, Capitol Hill Restoration Society, Washington, D.C.:

Deeply regret I am unable join the members of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society at the ceremony marking the birthplace of my grandfather, John Philip Sousa. My family and I can only express our gratitude that your organization has taken this means of honoring our grandfather's memory and his achievements. We thank you and wish you every success in the good and important work you are doing on historic Capitol Hill.

JOHN P. SOUSA, III.

Several of our honored guests will address you briefly. First, I will introduce Mr. Charles Horsky, Presidential Adviser for National Capital Affairs. Mr. Horsky.

REMARKS OF CHARLES A. HORSKY

Mr. HORSKY. Mr. Boswell, Mrs. Albert, Congressman Brooks, Miss Carper, ladies and gentlemen, that a plaque should mark the birthplace of John Philip Sousa is highly appropriate. It will testify down through the years that John Philip Sousa continues to live in the hearts of Washingtonians, of all Americans, and indeed of people everywhere that music is played. It will also give continuing evidence of the initiative and community spirit of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society and its members, including Messrs. R. C. and J. B. King. I certainly am delighted to extend my thanks and good wishes to all who have made this ceremony possible.

This house, since John Philip Sousa was born in it 110 years ago, has certainly seen many changes. I lay no claim to be a historian, but there must be few people indeed who can live and work in Washington without becoming interested in the history which enriches every nook and cranny of this city. This area in which we now stand, as many of you know, was a very important part of the original L'Enfant plan—in fact, he planned it as the major residential area of Washington. East Capitol Street was L'Enfant's primary entrance to the city. Unfortunately, land speculators tried to take advantage of his plans. Anticipating a rush of purchasers, speculators priced the land so high that people refused to buy, and turned toward the northwest section instead. For many years the only streets which were more than a line on a map were Maryland Avenue, which followed the old post road to the northeast, and East Capitol Street itself. Even 50 years after L'Enfant, when Sousa was born, the area east of here and north of Pennsylvania Avenue was almost entirely open fields.

By the time Sousa was old enough to care, the development of this area—then known as Navy Yard Hill—had begun to get underway. Philadelphia Row, that wonderful series of 16 3-story row houses on 11th Street SE., brought attention to its residential possibilities. The area was also famous for having one of the best schools in the city—Wallach School, which was constructed in 1864 on the site of the present Hine Junior High.

Sousa, himself, first went to a private school on 7th Street, and then, in 1863, enrolled in public schools. So far as formal academic education is concerned, I suppose today we would call him a dropout. Not so, however, with that part of his education for which we have most reason to be grateful. At age 7, he was a student in John Esputa's conservatory of music. At age 10, he was playing the violin with the Marine Band. At age 13, he was a member of the band. Before he was 20 he, too, was teaching music on Capitol Hill.

Capitol Hill does not have a Wallach School today—a school so superior as to be an attraction to prospective residents. Unfortunately, quite the opposite is true. There are no schools still in use which Sousa might have attended 100 years ago, but there are some that come close. Hine Junior High, which stands on the Wallach School site, dates back in its oldest part to 1887. Brent Elementary stands essentially as it was constructed in 1883—81 years ago. Only three new schools have been built in this area south of East Capitol Street since 1945. Hine, of course, is finally being replaced, and will be open for business in September 1965, although it will be several months later before the old building can be torn down and the playground rehabilitated. The new Gibbs Elementary School, at 18th and E, ought also to be in being by the end of 1965.

Capitol Hill, in fact, is a prime example of the starvation diet to which capital construction programs in the District have been subject for so many years. It needs more schools, because all of them are overcrowded. It needs modern schools; 80-year-old buildings should not be tolerated. It needs more park and playground areas. In fact, already scarce recreation facilities, particularly for children, have been reduced due to freeway construction. I hope that all of you will urge appropriation of the funds necessary to provide this area with the amenities for its children and adults alike that will be at least equal to the level of the rest of the city.

However, that is a digression. The Hill does have its proud history. It has had its full share, and more, of the famous residents and residences of Washington. It has advantages of location. And, most important of all, it has momentum. This ceremony is evidence that the momentum is continuing. It is also evidence that its residents appreciate their stewardship of its historic past, and of the memory of men, like John Philip Sousa, who lived here.

Mr. BOSWELL. It is most appropriate that we have with us today Miss Elsie Carper, president of the Women's National Press Club and for many years a Washington Post congressional reporter on District of Columbia affairs. Miss Carper.

REMARKS OF ELSIE CARPER

Miss CARPER. I am most pleased to represent the Washington Post on this occasion. I was born and brought up on Capitol Hill so for me this is a homecoming.

Washington has many famous sons but none who has brought so much pleasure as John Philip Sousa. The Washington Post has a great affection for him. He made us famous by writing the "Washington Post March" long before the newspaper achieved eminence through its news columns and editorials.

It was a family occasion, much as this one, that inspired Sousa to write the "Washington Post March." The dedication of this plaque today comes almost on the 75th anniversary of the first performance of this stirring march.

The Washington Post had sponsored an essay contest among schoolchildren and the Marine Band was to play at the awards ceremony on the Smithsonian grounds. The publisher of the Washington Post met Sousa on the street and asked him to write a special march for the event. We don't know how long it took Sousa but the "Washington Post March" was the result.

No one recalls who made the speeches that day but the march will never be forgotten as long as there are bands to play it. It became an overnight success. Dance bands took up the music for a daring new dance, the two-step, and in Europe the two-step became known as Washington Posts.

Two and a half years ago the Post tried to pay back some of the debt of gratitude it owes to Sousa. It dedicated in his honor a room in the Washington Post Building that is for community meetings and is in use almost every night. A spotlight shines on a life-sized portrait of the magnificently bearded march king in the scarlet uniform of a Marine Corps bandsman.

On that occasion Mrs. Helen Sousa Abert recalled an incident told by Sousa in his biography, "Marching Along."

While traveling in Venice, he saw the music for the "Washington Post March" in a shop window. "Is that a good composer?" he asked. The shopkeeper replied "He is one of our best Italian composers."

So the music of the Capitol Hill boy became known all over the world.

It has been reported that when Sousa's band paraded down Washington streets in the 1880's and 1890's, it was followed by an army of small enchanted boys. The boys were followed by businessmen and the businessmen by Congressmen. All these ingredients are here today.

May I thank you for the Washington Post for asking that we be represented.

Mr. BOSWELL. And now I want to introduce Congressman JACK BROOKS, who will address us next and present the plaque commemorating the birthplace of John Philip Sousa.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JACK BROOKS

Mr. BROOKS. Friends and neighbors here on Capitol Hill, I am very pleased and honored to have an opportunity to participate in this ceremony marking the birthplace of John Philip Sousa.

It was 110 years ago that he was born in this house—on November 6, 1854. He lived a full and eventful life for 78 years. He conducted bands for Presidents and kings and dignitaries the world over. His music lives on as a part of the American heritage.

Our countrymen will always thrill to the stirring cadences. It was once said that even a peglegged man could keep step with a Sousa march.

In this neighborhood, John Philip Sousa played as a child, went to school, dreamed the dreams of youth, suffered more than an ordinary share of physical ailments, and learned to play the violin and other instruments. He was hardly in his teens when he was in demand for solo concerts and Saturday night dance bands.

We associate his name and fame with the Marine Band—the oldest musical organization in the country, which had its origin in the Fife-and-Drum Corps organized by the Continental Congress for the recruiting of marines in 1775. John Philip was only 13 when a passing circus band caught his attention and almost enticed him to run away. It was then that his father took him by the ear and marched him over to see the Commandant of the Marine Corps.

The elder Sousa was a trombone player in the Marine Band. He also did carpentry work in the Commandant's house. It was arranged then and there that the boy receive the training and discipline traditionally offered by the Marine Corps.

Young Sousa's musical talents also were put to work. He became an apprentice musician at the Marine Barracks at Eighth and I Streets SE. Since his 10th year he had played the triangle, cymbals, and the E-flat alto horn (in his autobiography at this point he pens the words, "God forgive me" in parentheses). Sousa composed an early march or two as a junior member of the Marine Band.

This first tour of duty with the Marine Band lasted about 5 years. Then he resigned to study, teach, and play the "fiddle," as he put it, and conduct his own orchestra.

During an engagement on the road in September 1880, John Philip got word from his father that the Commandant of the Marine Corps wanted him to come home as quickly as possible to lead the Marine Band.

His leadership of the Marine Band spanned the careers of five Presidents, from 1880 to 1892. The first bandmaster to take the band on tour, he became known throughout the United States and abroad.

For all his love of the Marine Corps and his intense patriotism, Sousa was a practical man, afflicted by the same problems that most of us have. We hear today of good men leaving Government service because of low pay. Sousa did the same thing. In 1892 he decided to leave his military position, which paid $1,500 a year, and take charge of a private concert orchestra organized by a syndicate of businessmen. They offered Sousa $6,000 a year plus a 20-percent share of the profits.

During the 12 years of his Marine Band leadership, Sousa had given pleasure to millions and enhanced the musical education and appreciation of the country, if not the world. He wrote many famous marches during that time and became so well known that a music journal, published in England, gave him the title of "March King," comparing him to Strauss, the "Waltz King."

"The Stars and Stripes Forever" probably is his most popular march, but I don't believe there is a single American who does not recognize the strains of "El Capitan," or "High School Cadets," "Semper Fidelis," "The Thunderer," and the famed "Washington Post." Sousa's mark on America is indelible.

In taking measure of the man we may say:

He was a patriotic man. Born of immigrant parents—a Portuguese father and a Bavarian mother, who had made their ways to the New World—Sousa had a strong sense of identification with America and its democratic institutions.

He was a creative man. His musical talents were revealed at an early age and were exercised throughout his long career. He composed more than 100 marches, 12 light operas, and many songs. He even wrote three novels, one of which—"The Fifth String"—was a bestseller in its day, probably due as much to the name of the author as to its literary merit.

He was a versatile man. For all his great love of music and his lifelong preoccupation with it, he could take time off to hunt, fish, play golf, and ride horseback. His ability at trapshooting, I suspect, owed as much to his boyhood quail hunting on the banks of the Anacostia as to his rifle practice in the Marine Corps. In a contest once held in Georgia, Sousa led the field of professional and amateur trapshooters, breaking 98 out of 100 clay pigeons.

He was an understanding and generous man. Sousa always was ready to help his associates. He liked particularly to work with young people, and he gave unstintingly of his time to the development and promotion of high school bands. Oftentimes he took up the baton himself to lead the young musicians.

John Philip Sousa died on March 6, 1932, at Reading, Pa., where he had been scheduled to conduct a band performance. His body was brought home to his native city of Washington, to lie in state in the band hall of the Marine Barracks. He was buried, with military honors, in the Congressional Cemetery, not far from here.

It is clearly apparent that our Nation is the better because John Philip Sousa was born in this place, lived and worked in this city, participated so actively in the life of this country, and left so deep a mark on its history and culture.

To help us remember—with the deepest admiration for his great talents, and many achievements—these lasting contributions of John Philip Sousa, there will be unveiled the plaque marking his birthplace.

(Mrs. Abert unveils John Philip Sousa plaque.)

ACCEPTANCE OF PLAQUE BY RANDALL C. KING

Mr. KING. Congressman Brooks, Mr. Horsky, Colonel Schoepper and members of the Marine Band, Mrs. Abert, members of the Restoration Society, and friends, on behalf of my brother, Jacquire, and myself, it is with great pleasure that I accept this bronze plaque marking the birthplace of John Philip Sousa.

We are both proud to have had the opportunity of restoring this house. We appreciate the efforts of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society in making this commemoration possible.

My brother and I lived next door and in the spring of 1960, we became interested in purchasing this house for two reasons: because of its proximity and our interest in preserving Sousa's birthplace.

At that time, the house was divided into three rental units and was in a sad state of repair, as Mr. Boswell and others may recall.

Originally the main floor had a front and back parlor, with a room on the back separated by a hallway with stairs leading to two bedrooms and bath.

The ground floor served as the kitchen, dining and furnace rooms.

The main staircase, which had been moved to the front of the house when converted into three rental units, has now been placed back in its original location. The two parlors have been consolidated into a large drawing room with a single fireplace. An Adams mantle was obtained and installed. A plaster cornice of the Federal period has been reproduced for the ceiling of the drawing room.

My brother and I went to a great deal of effort to obtain such items as pin-grained flooring, paneled doors and door trim, as well as old brass hardware, paneling, and other items. We wanted to recapture as much of the Sousa era as possible.

This circular staircase is one of our designs, and we employed the lyre as symbolic of Sousa's vast contribution to American music.

I believe that with each passing year it becomes more and more important for groups such as the Restoration Society, as well as individuals, to continue their efforts with even greater determination and enthusiasm so that our historic points of interest can be saved for posterity.

Too often, in our zeal for modernization and change, there are those who thoughtlessly and sometimes wantonly, would erase forever our historic landmarks. Yet, by joining together and working for the preservation of historic places, we have it within our power to keep the best of the past here on Capitol Hill.

I hope that this simple ceremony, honoring one of our great American musicians, will play a part in preserving for future generations other landmarks in other places which belong to our treasured American heritage.

Let those who bear the responsibility of planning our cities, our parks, and suburban areas, take note of former days and places. From them and from great men such as we honor here today, we and generations to come, can derive inspiration and strength.

Thank you.

Mr. BOSWELL. I will take this opportunity, as we bring the ceremony to a close, to thank the Commandant of the Marine Corps for many courtesies, and the U.S. Marine Band, under the leadership of Col. Albert Schoepper, for its inspiring music in reverent memory of John Philip Sousa.

To Congressman BROOKS and our other distinguished speakers and to all our friends and neighbors, including those who have worked so hard to arrange this ceremony, I say thanks again.

And now the ceremony will be concluded with the retirement of the colors and the Marine Hymn. If you will remain standing, please. And after that refreshments await us nearby in Christ Church Parish Hall. All are invited. Thank you.

Retail Clerks Fight Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Retail Clerks International Association is one of the important and forward-looking labor organizations of the country, and is rapidly growing in an occupational area of great importance. This association has long been known for its attitudes of social responsibility and its encouragement of its members to become active contributors to the welfare of their communities. For the past year or more, the RCIA has been developing a nationwide community relations department to stimulate union interest in and the development of useful community projects. Director of that department is Mr. Paul Pierce, a former member of my staff.

One of the concerns of the RCIA in this program is juvenile delinquency. A project now underway in New York City, which has received support from the Clerks' District Council No. 20, is a pilot program, in cooperation with the Department of Labor's Office of Manpower, Automation and Training. The program is known as JOIN, or job orientation in neighborhoods. This program is attacking the problem of youth unemployment, which is such a contributor to delinquency.

A few days ago the Washington Star announced a new program directed at improving the lot of potentially troublesome juveniles in the economically depressed second precinct of this city. As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, I welcome this project, which has the active cooperation and support of the Retail Clerks' Local 400. Working with the Capital Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America, it has now established the first Boy Scout troop in this section of the city. Its development is of importance not only to Washington, but also to other cities with similar areas of juvenile delinquency, since this is intended to move toward the development of a national pilot program to overcome and combat juvenile delinquency, through scouting. I commend the Retail Clerks and local 400, together with the Boy Scouts of America, for joining forces in a promising venture to improve the circumstances and develop the responsibility of youth in a most difficult environment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article in the Washington Evening Star to which I have referred may by printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECOND PRECINCT TO WELCOME SCOUT TROOP

Washington's economically depressed second precinct has its first Boy Scout troop.

This week, Local 400 of the Retail Clerks International Association voted to sponsor 80 boys as Scouts in a program to help combat juvenile delinquency in the District's "Central City."

A paper by Dr. Samuel A. Kramer of the National Institutes of Health first called attention to the absence of any Scouting activity in the midtown area. Delivered last December, the paper on "Predicting Juvenile Delinquency Among Negroes" said there is virtually nothing for a youngster in the area to identify with except his own family.

The Retail Clerks, as part of the group's community relations program, decided to offer financial assistance and sponsor a Scout troop after reading press reports of Dr. Kramer's paper.

Since then, the Clerks have enlisted the aid of the Boy Scouts of America, Howard University, clergymen, the Metropolitan Police and the District Department of Recreation in organizing a Scouting program.

Next week, the 80 boys will take their Scouting oaths.

Tom McFadden, head of the District's Scouting program, said yesterday he hopes there will eventually be 40 groups of Boy Scouts, Cub Scouts and Explorer Scouts in the inner city.

Apportionment in State Legislatures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the subject of apportionment in State legislatures has probably caused more serious concern than any other judicial interpretation of the Constitution. The philosophy of our constitutional form of government is based on the time-tested concept of checks and balances. In the Federal Government the bicameral legislature follows this concept by providing that the Members of one House be elected in proportion to population and the other according to geography. The Court's decision destroys this concept as far as States are concerned by requiring the Members of both Houses to be elected according to population.

One of the ablest students of the Constitution to recognize this inconsistency arising from the Court's ruling is my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, Hon. WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH. He was among the first to introduce a resolution for a constitutional amendment to assure the election of State legislatures on the same basis as the U.S. Congress. His resolution has met with widespread approval as witnessed by the introduction of similar resolutions by many Members of Congress, including myself, as well as by favorable editorial comment. Examples of the latter are the following editorials from the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal and the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch:

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen-Journal]

GOOD AMENDMENT PROPOSED

Congressman WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, is proposing what looks like the proper prescription for dealing with the Supreme Court's recent precedent-shattering decision that each house of State legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis.

This decision, if left untouched, will drastically alter the setup under which most State legislatures have operated throughout the history of our country, with one house usually being apportioned on a basis of geographic as well as population factors.

The influential Ohio Republican, who played a leading role in House approval of the civil rights bill, would overturn at least a part of the Court's ruling by constitutional amendment.

His plan would put into the Constitution a simple and clear sentence stating that nothing shall prohibit a State with a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State have the opportunity to vote upon the apportionment.

This makes sense and seems eminently fair.

It would permit a State, if it so wished, to follow the Supreme Court's edict of apportioning both houses on solely a population basis.

Or it would permit a State, as Colorado for example has just done, to apportion the house on a population basis and the senate on a basis taking geography into account. The Colorado apportionment plan, which now is declared unconstitutional by the High Court's ruling, was overwhelmingly approved by the voters in every county of Colorado and its legality was upheld by a 2-to-1 vote of a three-panel Federal district court.

A State and its citizens, it seems to us, should have considerable say about how it wants to set up its State legislature. The McCulloch amendment would insure that this would be possible.

Whenever the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, conflicts with the preferences of large majorities, recourse is provided in article 5 of the Constitution itself. Congress, by vote of two-thirds in each House, may submit an amendment, which then requires ratification of three-fourths of the States.

Congress, in our opinion, should offer the States a chance to vote on this amendment.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, July 2, 1964]

OHIO SHOULD RESIST ATTEMPT TO UPSET ITS APPORTIONMENT

The U.S. Supreme Court's recent opinion that both houses of State legislatures should be apportioned solely on the basis of population appears to be too severe a remedy for better representation.

There is serious question that the Court may have gone too far, especially in the case of Ohio, to correct inequities that may exist in the various States.

The opinion, by a 7-to-2 vote on the Ohio case, in effect kills the 61-year-old Hanna amendment to the Ohio constitution which has given each county at least one voice in the Ohio House of Representatives.

The amendment won 98 percent approval when enacted in 1903 and it has been sustained in succeeding reviews down to the present.

Whether the ruling upsets the population-based apportionment of the Ohio Senate is unclear.

This question and others relating to the overall provisions in the Ohio constitution for apportioning representation have been referred back to the three-judge U.S. district court in Ohio for "further proceedings."

It appears that the next step, then, is for the district court to reexamine these provisions and determine which do and which do not conform to the broad terms outlined in the Supreme Court decision.

Presumably this would be followed by a legislative session to adjust the provisions

to make them comply to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the 14th amendment as it relates to the matter.

At this point, Ohio should resist the move to take away representation that every county now enjoys. It should be permitted to retain this principle, set up in the Hanna amendment.

Ohio is suffering because Alabama, which has an almost identical provision, has not made it operative. When the Supreme Court ruled Alabama was not conforming, it put Ohio's provision under question. But unlike Alabama, Ohio has made it work.

Yet it might take a Federal constitutional amendment to protect this provision. U.S. Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Piqua, the senior Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee, has submitted such an amendment. It would allow at least one house of the general assembly to give each county at least one representative.

The proposition that the voices of minorities in self-government can make valuable contributions has been honored since the beginnings of the Republic. It should not be lost in the complicated maneuverings to improve representation.

Subversive Activities Control Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. MCCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from one of my constituents, Bill C. Hulsey, major, U.S. Air Force, retired, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD. Major Hulsey's letter is concerned with the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of Aptheker against the Secretary of State, in which the Supreme Court held section 6 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 to be unconstitutional. I share Major Hulsey's concern with respect to the decision, for I feel that the restriction held invalid is reasonably related to the national security. The degree of restraint upon travel represented by the situation in question is outweighed by the dangers to our very existence; and, ultimately, every society has the right of self-preservation. Section 6 simply asserts that right.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., *June 23, 1964.*

Hon. JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCCLELLAN: The Arkansas Gazette today carried a page 1 story entitled "Reds Win Passport Law Case" which hardly came as any surprise, and its format could well have been prepared last week.

The only amazing statement evidenced was one by Mr. Justice Goldberg who was quoted as saying "Congress has not dealt specifically enough with the real danger that concerned it—Communist espionage or other criminal activity."

Well, may the saints preserve us. Congress has most surely tried to deal specifically with the problem of communism; in fact, a record entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 2, 1962, showed that from 1956 to 1958 of 52 cases involving communism and subversion, the Supreme Court supported the Red position in 41 of the 52 cases. Chief Justice Warren had the honor of supporting the Red position in 62 cases, without deviation.

Major upsets due to recent rulings are (1) voiding the long-standing sedition laws of 42 States; (2) preventing the Government from firing known Communists; (3) denied schools the right to fire teachers who refuse to reveal details concerning Communistic activities; and (4) question the right of Congress to inquire into communism and subversion as this "involved a broad scale intrusion into the lives and affairs of private citizens" (*Watkins* v. *U.S.*, 345 U.S. 178). In view of the latter, it would appear difficult to see how the Congress could take Mr. Goldberg's latest advice.

Undoubtedly, this is all part and parcel of what Richard Cardinal Cushing meant when he said "For the past 25 years the United States has by and large been pursuing a policy of appeasement before Soviet Russia." We might be wise to review what Mr. Khrushchev said back in 1955, "Anyone who thinks we have forsaken Marxism-Leninism deceives himself. That won't happen till the shrimps learn to whistle."

As a Reserve officer who served in World War II, the Korean police action, and during the Cuban crisis, I am deeply concerned with the present policy of my Government. We might all ponder Nikita Khrushchev's speech in Bucharest of June 19, 1962, when he said, "The United States will eventually fly the Communist Red flag * * * the American people will hoist it themselves." Our Supreme Court is certainly helping.

BILL C. HULSEY,
Major, U.S. Air Force, Retired.

Panama Canal: Panamanian Program for Increased Jurisdiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions during the past few years, I have summarized in my addresses on Panama Canal problems various demands on the part of the Republic of Panama for greater benefits from the canal enterprise and increased jurisdiction over the Canal Zone territory.

The latest program of claims prepared in the planning office of the President of Panama, as published in the New York Times of July 16, 1964, includes the demand for cession to Panama of virtually the entire Canal Zone except the ship channel, the removal of all residents from the zone, and a voice in setting toll rates.

As usual in such askings, there is no realistic proposal to bear the costs involved or to shoulder the treaty-imposed burden of responsibility for the maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the Panama Canal but only claims for greater and greater benefits and more and more concessions of U.S. sovereignty and jurisdiction. So, Mr. Speaker, I repeat what I have often stated that, in the forthcoming diplomatic discussions between the United States and Panama, instead of further concessions to that country our Government should insist upon the resumption of many of its powers previously exercised under the 1903 treaty and the widening of the Canal Zone to include the entire watershed of the Chagres River.

The indicated news story follows:

PANAMANIANS DRAFT A CANAL ZONE PLAN

PANAMA, July 15.—A program for increased jurisdiction by Panama in the Canal Zone was made public today by the Planning Department of President Roberto F. Chiari's Executive Office. Items of the program might be presented by Panama in any future negotiations with the United States on the Canal Zone's status.

The program would remove all residents—Panamanian and non-Panamanian—from the Canal Zone and all land in the zone not directly used in the operation of the canal would revert to Panama's control.

Panama would collect income taxes from non-Panamanian employees of the canal. She already taxes her own citizens employed in the zone.

By the program, Panama would obtain industrial sites on the canal and would also control port areas at both mouths of the canal. Panama would also have a voice in setting toll rates.

The program would also separate negotiations on military bases from matters relating to the canal except such as directly concern canal defenses. This item appears to refer to Latin American training schools conducted in the Canal Zone by the U.S. military services.

The Legion's Boy and Girl State Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, this week, Washington and the Halls of Congress are being visited by members of the American Legion's Boys' State program from the various States in the country. They have been selected for the Boys' Nation organization now meeting in this city.

The Daily Journal, of Franklin, Ind., commented editorially on this Legion program and the companion program, the Girls' State, run by the Legion Auxiliary. As the editorial says:

Both programs basically exist to provide our youngsters of today and citizens of tomorrow with a fundamental knowledge of our Nation's governmental structure.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, dated July 6, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Franklin (Ind.) Daily Journal, July 6, 1964]

LEGION PROGRAMS

Although quite often considerable criticism is leveled these days at both our youngsters and the adult world for a lack of emphasis on our Nation's heritage and governmental structure, there are accomplishments being made in these areas.

Certainly most public school teachers are aware of the need for such educational pursuits and have been doing their best to fill what is ofttimes referred to as a void in our educational system.

For years Scouting units throughout the Nation also have constantly worked toward instilling our youngsters with the philosophy that made our country great.

And parents too, occasionally are prompted (although not often enough) to discuss our American way of life with their youngsters.

But to our way of thinking Boy and Girl State programs, sponsored annually by American Legion and Legion Auxiliary posts in Johnson County and throughout the State and Nation accomplish a great deal in these educational areas.

Both programs basically exist to provide our youngsters of today and citizens of tomorrow with a fundamental knowledge of our Nation's governmental structure.

The youngsters are trained in the duties and limitations of various public offices, open forums are conducted and lectures are delivered at Boy and Girl State programs held every summer in all States except Hawaii and Alaska.

At conclusion of the summertime programs held in the various States, boys and girls are selected on the basis of competitive tests to participate in national programs held in Washington, D.C.

The national programs are equally as educational and offer an unusual and rewarding experience to the young boys and girls fortunate enough to attend.

So hats off to American Legion and Legion Auxiliary organizations throughout our county, State, and Nation for taking the time to sponsor programs that can't help but make our Nation strong in years to come.

Our Right and Our Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the Indianapolis Star on Tuesday, July 21, 1964, needs no introduction and no explanation: It speaks for itself:

OUR RIGHT AND OUR DUTY

"Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."—BARRY M. GOLDWATER, July 1964.

"It is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government. * * *" The Declaration of Independence, July 1776.

What does "extremism in defense of liberty" mean?

Read once again the Declaration of Independence and you will find out.

Our Founding Fathers knew what it meant for they were extremists, revolutionary extremists, political extremists. And they were extremists in defense of their liberties.

These were liberties which they proclaimed to be unalienable, liberties which had been destroyed by government, liberties which they successfully defended by pledging to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

There were those not only in the British Empire but in America in 1776 who thought extremism in defense of liberty a sin. Some historians say even that a majority of the colonial people thought so. But the men who signed the Declaration of Independence, who fought the American Revolution, who wrote our Constitution and demanded its Bill of Rights, found no sin in extremism.

They believed in liberty and they were willing to fight, to lose their homes and families and to die to defend their liberty.

This is the kind of extremism which has been part of the tradition of these United States for 188 years. This is the kind of extremism in defense of liberty which caused our entry into World War I and World War II. This is the kind of extremism in defense of liberty which Americans have died for on battlefields all over the world.

Those who say that this kind of extremism is a sin, who try to link it with fascism of either the right or the left, who question its timeliness today have turned their backs on American history.

Shortsighted and selfish men hoping for personal political gain have attacked the American dream of liberty and justice for all since the founding of this country. They will continue to do so.

But the great American political virtue will continue to be the pursuit of liberty for all our people. This Nation has become the greatest on earth because of that continued insistence on liberty. It will continue to be the greatest only as long as its citizens are willing to pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the defense of those liberties.

The 79th Annual Report of the Salvation Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the Salvation Army has recently released its 79th annual report for the National Capital area which is a record of the constant war on poverty that has been waged by this outstanding religious and welfare organization down through the years. Brig. Ernest W. Holz, Washington divisional commander, stated:

Since its inception in 1865 the Salvation Army has battled against poverty and the degradation it brings, working increasingly to uplift humanity.

The Salvation Army is a multiservice organization with 18 separate and distinct services that benefit every segment of society. While the general public usually thinks of the Army primarily as helping the down and out, yet the annual report reveals that a major emphasis in the National Capital area is the youth-serving programs operated from seven Corps Community Centers and a summer camp with additional centers in the planning stage. Many of these programs are geared to helping families by providing counseling, material assistance and other aids designed to prevent family breakdown.

Underlying all services is the moral and spiritual emphasis that contributes toward building a better National Capital community as this dedicated Christian army marches forward with "Heart to God and Hand to Man."

I am impressed with the report and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA 79TH ANNUAL REPORT

DIRECTORY—SALVATION ARMY CENTERS, METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON

National Capital Area Headquarters, 508 E Street NW., Executive 3–1881.

Men's Social Service Center, 526 First Street NW., District 7–8023.

Harbor Light Alcoholic Rehabilitation Center, 909 I Street NW., Metropolitan 8–4532.

Family Welfare Department, 504 Fifth Street NW., Executive 3–1882.

The Evangeline Residence, 1330 L Street NW., National 8–7870.

Emergency Home for Women and Children, 504 Fifth Street NW., Executive 3–1887.

Camp Happyland, Prince William Forest Park, Triangle, Va., Trojan 5–8013, Executive 3–1881.

Washington Southeast Corps, 1211 G Street SE, Lincoln 3–9076.

Washington Central Corps, 1318 Ninth Street NW., Adams 4–7291.

Alexandria Citadel Corps, 316 King Street, Temple 6–5900.

Arlington Corps, 1738 Wilson Boulevard, 524–2380.

Fairfax-Church Corps, 2892 Annandale Road, Falls Church, Va., Jefferson 2–8781.

Prince Georges County Corps, Edmonston and Decatur Roads, Post Office Box 97, Bladensburg, Md., 277–6103.

1963 financial report

RECEIPTS

Balance, Jan. 1, 1963	$21.48
Contributions (not designated)	8,152.27
Internal income (including members' giving)	81,925.86
Designated income (Christmas, camp, trust funds, publications)	189,032.87
Evangeline residence [1]	272,545.05
Men's social service center [2]	442,669.86
Total income:	
Salvation Army sources	994,347.39
Received from health and welfare council	301,694.00
Grand total	1,296,081.39

EXPENDITURES

Family welfare services	107,158.45
Emergency home for women and children	16,245.23
Children's fresh air camp	33,466.26
Christmas welfare program	94,737.80
Harbor Light Alcoholic Rehabilitation Center	72,651.02
Hospital and institutional ministry	12,511.63
Evangelistic and youth services	243,665.37
Evangeline residence [1]	272,545.05
Men's social service center [2]	442,669.86
Total expenditures	1,295,650.67
Balance on hand, Dec. 31, 1963	380.72
Grand total	1,296,081.39

[1] The Evangeline residence is self-supporting.

[2] The men's social service center is supported through contributions of discarded materials such as furniture, appliances, clothing, books, etc.

FAITH IN ACTION

Believing that the Word of God should be available to all, the Salvation Army daily conducts indoor and outdoor services based on the Gospel and pointing the way to salvation.

Indoor services (adult attendance)	141,032
Outdoor religious services	672
Youth activities and classes (attendance)	89,532

CHILDREN

"All the milk I wanted," said one child. "I learned to swim," said another. "I made friends with a real possum," chimed in a third. Last year 772 underprivileged children enjoyed 7,950 fun-filled days at the Salvation Army's Camp Happyland in Virginia. Just one of our many programs for the young.

FAMILIES

Many a family is still a family because the Salvation Army helped through a crucial time. Clothing, shoes, furniture, food, fuel, rent payments—these are the ways in which we help. In 1963 we assisted 5,998 families.

CHRISTMAS

A busy time but dear to our hearts. Thanks to you we report on Christmas cheer to the needy as follows:

Children provided new toys and dolls	16,612
Families receiving food orders	4,307
Aged provided Christmas dinners	1,499
Shut-ins given gifts	4,746
Pairs new shoes given	840

PRISONERS

A man in jail cannot help his family but the Salvation Army can and does. The Salvation Army's Correctional Services Bureau also acts as sponsor in working out parole plans and in finding jobs for released prisoners.

Visits to correctional institutions	279
Religious services conducted	174
Inmates aided	1,343
Missing persons located	14

THE MEN'S SOCIAL SERVICE CENTER

The men's social service center is open to men with social, emotional, and spiritual needs who have lost the ability to cope with their problems and, as a result have become economically unable to provide for themselves. The center provides housing and work therapy, physical, spiritual, and psychological care until beneficiaries are ready for reentering society. The collection and repair of discarded materials sold at moderate prices assist in supporting the program.

Beneficiaries aided	754
Meals given	101,562
Lodgings provided	34,128

HARBOR LIGHT CENTER

A live-in program for treatment of alcoholic men who sincerely want to try to rebuild their lives. Program, which includes medical care and employment service, is based on self-help and spiritual counseling.

Men aided	401
Jobs secured	4,673
Night's lodgings	20,444
Meals given	36,260

THE HOMELESS

Hope replaces despair as stranded mothers and their children are given shelter, food, warmth, and understanding at the Salvation Army emergency home. Last year 700 were sheltered there.

WORKING GIRLS

A young working girl finds a real home with recreation, supervision, and good meals at the Evangeline residence. Cost is moderate.

Number of guests	825
Meals served	125,656

THE FRIENDLY VISITORS PROGRAM

Every week members of the Salvation Army League of Mercy visit hospitals and institutions with gifts and words of comfort to shut-ins.

Shut-ins visited in 1963	77,808
Gifts distributed	36,067
Publications distributed	76,008

MEETING HUMAN NEEDS IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

Prince Georges Corps Community Center. This $350,000 facility, complete with full-size gymnasium, was opened in August 1963, and daily serves hundreds of children and families.

Purchase of property on Sherman Avenue NW., in the 10th precinct area for a corps community center.

Plans for a relocated corps community center in Alexandria, Va.

Plans for expanding Washington Southeast Corps Community Center.

A permanent Salvation Army-owned summer camp site of at least 100 acres to insure permanent, long-range growth of the camping program that serves thousands of less privileged children.

A new, modern Evangeline residence that can accommodate up to 400 young women.

Additional recreation and housing facilities for the Harbor Light alcoholic rehabilitation program.

New building facilities in Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va., to serve expanded programs in these fast-growing areas.

WHY THE SALVATION ARMY?

In the National Capital area people turn to the Salvation Army for help every day. An unemployed father asks for food for his five children. A mother and child are stranded and need temporary shelter. An alcoholic has fallen to the depths and needs help in reaching upward again. A teacher asks that one of her pupils be given a vacation at summer camp, respite from the degradation of poverty. A parolee from prison needs a sponsor in locating employment. An old lady, alone and friendless, wants the comfort of friendship and prayer.

In addition to these important programs the Salvation Army conducts year-round activities for youth in both the recreational field and that of character development.

The Salvation Army, founded in 1865, daily dedicates its "Heart to God—Hand to Man" as it seeks to alleviate distress and give spiritual enlightenment to all who ask, regardless of race or creed.

THE SALVATION ARMY ADVISORY BOARD, WASHINGTON, D.C.

George F. Lewin, chairman; G. Bowdoin Craighill, Jr., vice chairman; Charles P. Dake, secretary; Harold D. Fangboner, treasurer; Dorsey F. Hughes, assistant treasurer; Brigadier Ernest W. Holz, Salvation Army representative; Andrew Parker, immediate past president; Frederick A. Ballard, Oscar C. Berry, Crosby N. Boyd, Henry F. Burroughs, William Calomiris, John M. Christie, Howard Covell, Geoffrey Creyke, Jr., Harvey C. Donaldson, Frank W. Gatewood, Philip Larner Gore, Rowland F. Kirks, Noble McCartney, Robert McLaughlin, Dooley Mitchell, Ferd Neuheim, Robert Lee O'Brien, E. Barrett Prettyman, Jr., Peter S. Ridley, Thomas W. Sandoz, Douglas R. Smith, Theodore T. Smith, Winslow B. VanDevanter, Daniel C. Wall, Mrs. Richard Blackburn Black, Brigadier Wilbur Young, ex officio.

LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS

Albert L. Cox (life), Major Ernest W. Brown, Clark G. Diamond, Stanley T. Holland, William R. Winslow.

CHAIRMAN OF COUNTY ADVISORY BOARDS

Alexandria, Va., Robert T. S. Colby; Arlington, Va., Ken McFarlane Smith; Falls Church, Va., Robert F. Lindholm; Prince Georges, Md., J. Edgar Richardson.

THE SALVATION ARMY AUXILIARY

Mrs. Richard Blackburn Black, president; Mrs. Howard de Franceaux, first vice president; Mrs. Frances Burns Hoyland, second vice president; Mrs. Vernon B. Baker, third vice president; Mrs. R. E. Streckenbach, recording secretary; Mrs. Louis A. Montague, assistant recording secretary; Mrs. Robert H. Kulka, treasurer; Mrs. William V. Pruett, assistant treasurer; Mrs. George C. Webster, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Warren T. Faircloth, assistant corresponding secretary; Mrs. James William Butler, parliamentarian; Mrs. Nathan A. Conn, historian; Mrs. Brigadier Ernest W. Holz, Salvation Army representative; Mrs. R. Corbin Dorsey, president, Alexandria Auxiliary.

The Salvation Army Auxiliary is composed of prominent women, living in the Washington area, who volunteer their time and effort to assist the organization with its many humanitarian projects.

Why Senate Double Standard?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, the recent Supreme Court decision concerning reapportionment of State legislatures has had a tremendous impact on every State in this Union.

Generally speaking, the editorial comment concerning this decision has been unfavorable. One of the best editorials I have read appeared on June 17, 1964, in the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post newspaper, entitled "Why Senate Double Standard?" I am pleased to insert this editorial in its entirety in the RECORD and urge the membership to give it their studied attention. The editorial follows:

WHY SENATE DOUBLE STANDARD?

The U.S. Supreme Court has issued a revolutionary—and questionable—decision holding that both houses of all State legislatures must be elected on a basis of equal population in each voting district, even if it is in violation of their constitutions.

New Jersey's is one of these. Our legislative system—antedating the Federal Constitution itself—parallels the Federal system for Congress and may even have been a precedent for the way Congress was set up. Each of the 50 States elects Members to the House of Representatives on the basis of population, but each State has two Members of the Senate, no more or less, regardless of population. New Jersey elects its assembly on the basis of population of each county, but each of the 21 counties elects one Member to the Senate, regardless of its size.

Thus the Supreme Court is imposing a governmental double standard—one standard for the U.S. Senate and one for State legislatures. There is no valid reason for doing so. The Constitution shows no definitive support for the decision.

The court, which has already twisted and distorted the 14th amendment beyond recognition, uses its vague expression against denying to any citizen "the equal protection of the laws" to justify its own new amendment to the Constitution. It flouts the 10th amendment, as much a part of the Constitution as the 14th, which says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Nowhere in the Constitution, so far as the average citizen can see, is the Supreme Court or any other branch of the Federal Government granted the power to apportion State legislatures. That power, then, must be "reserved to the States" under the 10th amendment. But in its superior wisdom and with its assumed authority, under which it has often arrogated to itself supremacy over the executive and legislative branches of the Government, the court now rules otherwise.

Under New Jersey's present legislative set-up, the populous counties which would gain more power under the Supreme Court dictum are already well represented, with as many as nine assemblymen (in Essex) to one for some of the smallest counties.

But if the Senate also is to be based solely on population, the big counties would hold the entire legislative balance of power. The less populous counties, such as those in south Jersey, with their grave economic and other growth problems, would not have the voice they should have in either house.

With the more heavily populated urban areas tending to come under one-party rule, the political machines in such counties as Essex and Hudson would tend to dominate the State house, and not in the public interest, either.

New Jersey's Legislature as now constituted has the inherent checks and balances which are usually regarded as one of the great virtues of the American form of government. They would be destroyed, as in most other States, by the Supreme Court ruling.

Without them, why should any State have two houses in its legislature? Why not a unicameral legislature?

And if the Supreme Court can impose the population-only standard on the State legislatures, why can it not impose the same on the U.S. Senate? Doesn't the U.S. Senate violate the Court's idea of equal protection just as much as the upper houses of most of the State legislatures?

Justices Stewart and Clark, in their dissent, had this to say about the revolutionary majority decision:

"What the Court has done is to convey a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the 50 States * * * without regard and without respect for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State * * * stemming from [its] distinct history, distinct geography, distinct distribution and distinct political heritage * * * the fabrication of a constitutional mandate which imports and forever freezes one theory of political thought within our Constitution * * * and forever denies to every State any opportunity * * * to accommodate within a system of representative government the interests and aspirations of diverse groups of people, without subjecting any group or class to absolute domination by a geographically concentrated or highly organized majority."

In self-protection, New Jersey (and every other State in the same boat) should hold out as long as legally possible against compliance with a decision which probably, but not certainly, affects it. This State was not one of the six specifically involved in the decision and does not have to comply unless and until a case involving it is carried through the courts, and compliance is ordered. Until then we have no reason for going along with the constitutional gymnastics that produced Monday's High Court decision.

Red China: Hot Campaign Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, secret plans, attributed to the one-worlders in the State Department, now being brought to light indicate that moves are afoot whereby resistance to the admission of Red China to the U.N. will be eased after we have made an appropriate show of force in southeast Asia just prior to the November election.

Columnists Allen and Scott have outlined the results of their investigation of this situation and they have come up with the seemingly incredible conclusions that when we have made it appear that we are ready to go to war in defense of the independence of Laos and Vietnam we will shortly thereafter agree to first, withdraw U.S. military forces from South Vietnam; second, accept the admission of Red China to the U.N.; and third, establish some form of diplomatic relations with the Chinese mainland.

hTe duplicity involved in such plans, if they are proved to be valid, constitutes such an indictment of the administration that no American should remain silent in the face of such connivance with those who would destroy us. Understandably, England and France would like to see us in the same uncomfortable bed they now occupy as abettors of these international cutthroats. But how any American could be deluded into acceptance of a philosophy that complacently suggests that we can achieve anything but our own self-degradation by dealing with such pariahs is beyond me.

Here is a section of the Communist conspiracy that has violated every requirement for admission to the U.N. Here is a bunch of Reds who remain firmly committed to war as a matter of international policy. Here is a group of adventurers who spawn their hated ideology wherever they can gain a foothold. Here are wasters and brigands who move across national boundaries at the least suggestion of weakness on the part of a neighbor. Think of it, these are the very people that our own diplomatic agents are reportedly moving with all possible speed to bring into the family of decent nations. God forbid.

If these charges are fully authenticated by an examination of "a policy paper now circulating at top administration levels," there will then be no reason why our foreign policy should not become a campaign issue with full disclosure of the distance we have already traveled down the road of appeasement.

Included with these comments is a reprint of the Allen and Scott article as taken from the June 30, 1964, issue of the Los Angeles Times:

"STICK AND CARROT" PLAN FOR ASIA

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

There are two sides to the grimly tough talk emanating from the very highest administration levels that the United States is prepared to go to war with Red China to maintain the independence of Laos and South Vietnam.

While President Johnson is publicly proclaiming this all-out determination against "those who believe they can violate their neighbors' borders and steal their neighbors' freedom," behind the scenes, through diplomatic channels, Secretary Rusk is tendering Peiping a series of tempting "peace" proposals.

In return for "restraining" their puppet Vietcong and Pathet Lao in aggression-torn South Vietnam and Laos, Rusk is holding out to the Communist rulers of China the following five far-reaching prospects:

"Normalization of relations" with the United States; in effect, the establishment of some form of diplomatic relations.

Surplus food commodities (urgently needed by the Reds), trade and credits.

Admittance to the United Nations.

Access to the "rice bowl" (Mekong Valley) of South Vietnam.

Phased withdrawal of U.S. military forces from South Vietnam.

These profoundly significant backstage overtures are being made chiefly through Britain and France, which have embassies in Peiping and direct access to its key leaders.

Both Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Prime Minister, and French President Charles de Gaulle heartily favor these proposals, and have been actively endeavoring to promote an understanding between the United States and Red China. De Gaulle, particularly, is exerting himself in this effort.

This on-the-record "stick" and behind-the-scenes "carrot" policy is deliverate, carefully planned and extensively organized.

While fully adopted and now being vigorously carried out by President Johnson, this dual strategy originated under the late President John F. Kennedy when it was formulated by the State Department Policy Planning Council, headed by Dr. Walt Rostow.

As understood by informed congressional leaders, this "stick and carrot" concept will constitute the guidelines in the coming weeks and months for vigorously pressing for a direct confrontation with Red China over Communist attempts to seize control of Laos and South Vietnam.

These congressional authorities have been told the President already has approved certain momentous military plans designed to "carry the war to the North"—meaning North Vietnam first, followed by Red China "if necessary."

To that end, 24 targets for "iron (nonnuclear) bombs" have been pinpointed. They are Vietcong training camps whose exact locations in North Vietnam are unknown.

If the destruction of these camps does not have the desired effect, the next step calls for a tight blockade of the North Vietnam coast, coupled with massive bombing of airports, rail and other communication facilities, and finally the new and much prized industrial plants of the Ho Chi Minh Communist regime.

Immediate objective of this "stick" strategy is to force the Reds to abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements that, presumably, cleared the way for the establishment of a neutralist government in Laos and an independent government in South Vietnam. Under these accords Communists are included in the makeup of the Laos regime.

Long-range aim of this strategy is to "create an atmosphere both in the United State and China" that would make possible the application of the "carrot" aspect of the dual policy.

Under the policy there is no thought or plan of any kind to in any way affect the continued Communist domination of China.

The selection of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as new Ambassador to South Vietnam, is directly related to this extremely risky and explosive strategy. Because of his extensive combat experience, intimate knowledge of the southeast Asia struggle and President Johnson's thinking and objectives, Taylor was deemed the ideal choice for this crucial post.

Actually, he will operate as theater commander. That's why career diplomat U. Alexis Johnson, who has held ambassadorial positions, is being sent to Saigon, as deputy ambassador under Taylor. Johnson's job will be to handle diplomatic problems, while Taylor concentrates on the more pressing and currently more vital military aspects.

The stick-and-carrot concept is spelled out in detail in a policy paper circulating in top administration levels.

FCC's Unfairness Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, management of the news in one form or another appears to be one of the key techniques of the administration's drive for its partisan political objectives. Hardly a week, passes without some new evidence of this in the form of actions, new Federal regulations, policy statements, outright news censorship, or information control designed to promote the partisan causes and policies of this administration and to restrict any criticism of them.

One of its most vicious restrictive measures is the Federal Communications Commission's ordering radio and television stations, carrying paid broadcasts on public issues of current importance, to offer free time to so-called responsible groups to argue against what was said.

The Democratic National Committee, following the FCC's so-called fairness doctrine, is demanding free time to answer paid broadcasts in which the administration is criticized.

The following letter was sent to radio stations throughout the country by deputy chairman for public affairs Samuel S. Brightman, Democratic National Committee:

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a reprint of an article appearing recently in the Nation.

I thought it would be of interest to you since it is my understanding that your station is one of those carrying the programs it describes.

All of these programs have repeatedly attacked the candidates, programs, and policies of the Democratic Party.

In view of the coming political campaign I thought you should be aware both of the content of these programs and the claims for time to which these attacks can make you liable.

Sincerely yours,
SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN,
Deputy Chairman for Public Affairs.

One of these letters was sent to radio station KBBI–FM, Los Angeles, Calif., which, among its other programs, broadcasts a recorded program by Dr. Carl McIntire, of Collingswood, N.J. This station received the following, second, threatening letter from the Democratic National Committee, signed by Mr. Brightman:

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1964.
(Urgent attention station owner or manager.)

DEAR SIR: I have been informed that your station broadcast today a recorded program by Carl McIntire, a radio preacher of Collingswood, N.J., which attacked me personally as well as the Democratic National Committee of which I am deputy chairman.

Nearly a year ago the Federal Communications Commission advised broadcast licensees of their obligation to provide individuals or organizations that are attacked on a controversial program with the text of the broadcast and an offer of facilities for an adequate response.

A copy of the FCC's public notice on this matter, with the pertinent portion underlined, is enclosed.

I trust that you will immediately transmit to me the text of this broadcast and the offer of your facilities for an adequate response. In the event that you do not do so the matter will be brought to the attention of the Federal Communications Commission.

SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN,
Deputy Chairman for Public Affairs.

In response to the committee's blatant threat of intimidation, Mr. Thomas E. Steele, general manager of KBBI, wrote to Brightman and to me as follows:

KBBI,
July 8, 1964.

MR. SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN,
Deputy Chairman for Public Affairs, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BRIGHTMAN: Your letter of July 2 arrived here today, closely following your previous communication.

We have very carefully auditioned the program of July 2, which was aired on KBBI on that day. There is absolutely no reference to you or to the Democratic National Committee in that broadcast.

Frankly, I am rather surprised that you would issue such a threat and promise of intimidation purely on the basis of hearsay.

The enclosed copy of a letter which I have sent to our Representatives in Congress will further express my personal viewpoint of such methods.

For your interest, however, I am asking Dr. McIntire to forward to you a copy of the transcript of this program.

Sincerely,
THOMAS E. STEELE,
General Manager.

KBBI,
July 8, 1964.

HON. CRAIG HOSMER,
U.S. House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE HOSMER: The enclosed correspondence from the Democratic National Committee is a blatant threat of intimidation on the part of this organization, against stations carrying programs expressing viewpoints in disagreement with their own.

It is certainly not proper that a political arm of the "party in power" should be permitted to use an agency (though controlled by its own administration) of the Federal Government to threaten news disseminating media.

It is a matter of great importance to us, and I felt that as an elected representative of the people of this area to our National Government should be apprised of it. Any action or counsel from you on this matter would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,
THOMAS E. STEELE,
General Manager.

Aden: Red Shores on the Red Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on numerous occasions in the House, I have emphasized that Red strategists in their drive for world conquest have operated according to a pattern that has shown them to be among the most audacious military planners in history. Their operations disclose that they have made special efforts to secure control of areas that can dominate strategic water routes. These include: Cuba and British Guiana, on the northern and southern flanks of the Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal; the Malay Barrier, controlling the navigation lanes between the Pacific and Indian Oceans; and Egypt, which, with Soviet support, wrested ownership of the Suez Canal from France and Great Britain.

In the light of the above, Spain and Portugal on the Iberian Peninsula dominating the Strait of Gibraltar and its Atlantic and Mediterranean approaches; the Republic of Panama on the American Isthmus; South Africa, Chile, and Aden; are all logical targets for Red infiltration and subversion.

An informative analysis of the question of Aden and the significance of what is transpiring there in the May 1964 issue of the American Security Reporter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars follows:

RED SHORES ON THE RED SEA

What is behind the constant attacks against the British in Aden? Why is this faraway and little known area, over which the British have long exercised a protective control, so important in world strategy?

These are some of the key questions underlying the fast spreading trouble in the lands at the far southern end of the Red Sea. And, too, these developments demonstrate the Kremlin's interest and objectives in this vital area.

Khrushchev may be talking about more and better goulash, but he's still trying to make hash out of Western security in the Mideast and Africa.

And it's precisely in the vital strategic area, where the Mideast and Africa merge, that the bloody fingerprints of the Kremlin's troublemaking and aggression are so apparent.

Where is it this time? It's in Aden—technically the Federation of South Arabia. And where is that? That's a good question, because it is to most Americans one of the little known parts of the world. But it's going to be better known very soon. The reason for its increasing fame is that it is one of the more recent targets for Kremlin aggression. If you look carefully you can find Aden at the southwestern tip of the Arabian peninsula—where the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean meet.

This is a principal clue to the importance of Aden: Its strategic location at the southern—the Indian Ocean—end of the Red Sea.

And if you'll look closer at the map, you'll see why control of the southern end of the Red Sea is of key strategic importance. The Red Sea is the narrow ribbon of water that connects the Indian Ocean with Suez and the Mediterranean. Thus, this Red Sea is, in a real sense, the connecting link—the water highway—between the Orient and the West, between east Africa and Europe, between India and the Western nations, between Pakistan and her allies who provide her military assistance.

And there is something else, too, about the Red Sea. It is a means by which the tankers from the Persian Gulf oilfields carry their huge cargoes of black oil—the economic lifeblood to Europe—to Western refineries. We shouldn't forget either that these Mideast oilfields are critically important to the United States and, for that matter, to much of South America.

One of the most obvious international facts of life is that cutting off the flow of

Mideast oil to the West would strangle much of the West's economy and defensive efforts.

The British long ago recognized Aden's key importance to the strategy of the vast Asian-African area. And with typical British directness in the days when England was carving out an empire, Britain established control over it in 1839. And, although the Empire has largely disappeared since World War II, England still rules Aden. The Union Jack still flies there. British military forces are stationed there, and they are fighting there.

For some time the keener Mideast experts have been warning of a crisis in Aden. Sooner or later, they said, one of two things would happen. Either the British would get out under pressure, or the British would get fed up with the subversion and border raids, and would do some shooting too.

Well, that's just what happened. Here's the background as it can be pieced together from fragmentary reports: A few years ago Russia made her move. She offered to build a seaport for Yemen. It was all, the Kremlin said, in good faith. Just helpful foreign aid. No strings attached. The Yemen Government actually believed the Reds. In came the Red engineers and building equipment and supplies. And, also in came—and this wasn't part of the package deal—Communist agents and Russian weapons.

Then, as is usually the case, there came the revolution, and with it came Nasser of Egypt. He came to "help" the revolution. And he came in force—about 25,000 troops. They are well equipped. They have the latest Russian weapons, tanks, and even Mig jets. And Nasser's troops are still in Yemen, and so are the Russian armaments.

This was the steppingstone toward Aden. Soon border attacks became more frequent. After all, the Kremlin has long known the importance of the Red Sea water highway and what it means to Western strategy. And the Kremlin knows, too, that if it can control the southern entrance of the Red Sea, it will be a major Red victory. To get this control the Kremlin has to drive the British out of Aden.

And that's what Khrushchev is up to. But, as usual, the Kremlin does its dirty work by proxy. Someone else does the shooting. Russia provides the ideas and the weapons.

After a reported 52 shooting incidents, British patience came to an end. There is a persistent, and generally accepted, story in England that the whole Aden matter was the subject of a top-level government meeting the latter part of March. British Government leaders recognized that if some action wasn't taken to show that England meant to stay in Aden, then all the Arabian leaders depending on the British would start looking elsewhere for alliances. And Russia was ready to move in.

The British acted swiftly. They decided to give the Yemen raiders a lesson, in the language that would be understood. British forces in Aden served advance notice that the Yemen border-fort of Harib would be bombed. And that's just what the British did on March 28; they bombed the fort. The old British Lion was tired of having its tail twisted; it still had some teeth; it could still bite.

And now, just as you'd expect, Britain is being accused before the United Nations Security Council. The British angrily defended their action. They put the finger squarely on Nasser's government and "certain other governments." It doesn't take much imagination to suspect that includes the Kremlin. But it's the accusations against the British, and who's making them, that disclose the lineup of the troublemakers, and their objectives.

It's not, really, the bombing of an old mud fort they are complaining about. No, instead, they are demanding that the British get out of Aden and give up the military and naval base there.

And who is pressing the case against the British? It's the old lineup of the Kremlin spokesmen: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Cambodia, and Nasser's United Arab Republic.

All of which demonstrates how Khrushchev may be painting a picture of peace for a gullible public, but, at the same time, he's painting the shores of the Red Sea a crimson blood red.

Appalachia—Some Facts Not Mentioned by the President's Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, an ad hoc subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works has been considering the President's proposed Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1964. The President's proposal presents two basic questions: First, whether the Congress should enact a special massive relief program for one comparatively small part of the Nation to the exclusion of other areas, and second, whether conditions in Appalachia are so much worse than in other areas as to necessitate massive Federal spending.

The report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission sets forth a number of selected statistics which purport to show that the Appalachian region is lagging and is in need of special assistance. But it is questionable whether these statistics give an accurate picture of the situation. Although the report was submitted to the Congress in the spring of 1964, it uses, almost entirely, statistics for 1960 and earlier years. Later statistics are available, but for some reason were not used. Second, the report compares Appalachia to national averages—which are influenced by the most prosperous areas—instead of comparing Appalachia to other economically depressed areas such as the Ozark Mountain region, the upper Great Lakes iron-ore region, and other parts of the Nation. Third, the statistics are largely in terms of dollars and percentages, and do not consider other important factors such as cost of living, property ownership, savings, credit, and so forth.

Before the Congress enacts a special Appalachia relief bill, it must satisfy itself that the region is in urgent need of such relief, that such need is more serious than that of other economically depressed areas, and that the States involved cannot handle the problems through their own financial resources and regular Federal aid programs. The following items concerning the States having areas in Appalachia are pertinent in this connection:

Virginia: At public hearings held by the ad hoc subcommittee, a spokesman for the Governor of Virginia stated that while 21 Virginia counties are in Appalachia, as defined in the President's proposal, some of these are very prosperous and only 6 or 7 counties in extreme southwestern Virginia are in need of help. He commented that the 21 counties were included in Appalachia "because somewhere 2 or 3 years ago some individual simply drew a line on the map at the foot of the mountains." The prepared statement of the Governor, read at the hearings, contained the following statements:

> I am very conscious of the fact that, with the exception of a few counties in southwest Virginia, the need for the assistance and aid contemplated by this bill not imperative in Virginia.
>
> There is little that this bill envisions that is not already being undertaken by existing agencies of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Maryland: Only 3 of Maryland's 24 counties are in Appalachia as defined in the President's relief proposal. These counties include just 6.3 percent of the State's population. In 1963, per capita personal income in Maryland was higher than in 40 other States, and substantially above the national average. The percentage of Maryland families having an annual income of less than $3,000 is substantially less than the national average, and the percentage of Maryland families having an annual income of more than $10,000 is substantially higher than the national average. The State completed the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, with a surplus of about $32 million, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, with a surplus of some $31 million. As a result, pressure is mounting for repeal of a State income tax increase enacted earlier this year.

In view of these facts, it is in order to inquire as to why Maryland cannot or will not meet the problems of its portion of Appalachia through its own resources and existing Federal aid programs.

As to utilization of existing Federal aid programs, there is evidence that Maryland is lagging badly, at least as regards the Federal-aid highway program. As of May 31, 1964, Maryland was at the bottom of the list of States of the Union in terms of obligating Federal aid funds apportioned for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. As of the same date, only Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia ranked lower in terms of obligating Federal aid funds apportioned for the primary and secondary highway systems. This raises the very basic question of whether extending an additional, special Federal aid highway program to the Appalachian portion of Maryland—as would be done under the President's relief proposal—can be justified.

Tennessee: 49 of the 95 counties of Tennessee are in the Appalachian region described in the Presidents' proposal. All of these 49 counties are within the power service area of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is reputed to have accomplished so much in improving the economy of the region. In a statement presented to the ad hoc subcommittee, the Governor of Tennessee said:

> I would like to emphasize from the beginning that while we are here considering the Appalachian region as a whole, not all of the region as such should be considered in a depressed condition. To the contrary, within the region lie some of our most prosperous industrial complexes. In Tennessee's portion of Appalachia, for example, the Kingsport-Johnson City-Bristol area, the

Morristown-Greeneville area, and the Knoxville-Alcoa-Oak Ridge areas, to mention several, serve as the large economic nucleus around which most of our industry exists.

West Virginia: This State is the only one totally included in Appalachia. In a statement presented to the ad hoc subcommittee, the Governor of West Virginia said:

This period [1961–64] has been one of great economic recovery for the State, with a new peak of cooperation reached between the people and all levels of government. Just look at these facts:

Unemployment, which stood at 105,000 in January 1961, has been gradually cut down to less than 60,000 early in 1964. We have beautified and cleaned up the State to make it more attractive to new industry and tourists—and many new plants and a great increase in the tourist trade are the results. We were the first State to institute a State work and training program—providing both the dignity of the individual and means of earning a living—to thousands of unemployed fathers, and this program has been so effective it is being recommended as a model to other States.

The Governor's reference to "many new plants" is confirmed by statistics concerning building contracts. The value of private building contracts for industrial plants in West Virginia awarded during 1962 was $119,500,000—about 4.7 percent of the U.S. total of such contracts. This is significant in view of the fact that the population of West Virginia is only about 1 percent of that of the United States.

Neither this extensive industrial construction nor what the Governor of West Virginia referred to as a period of "great economic recovery" during 1961–64 is reflected in the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission since, as noted above, the statistics quoted in that report are almost entirely for 1960.

Pennsylvania: In 1963, the per capita personal income in Pennsylvania was about the same as the national average, and was higher than such income in the Southeast, Southwest, Plains, and Rocky Mountain regions of the United States. The percentage of families having an annual income of less than $3,000 has been well below the national average, both in the State as a whole and in the Appalachian portion of Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note that as of April 15, 1964, Federal grants totaling $58,988,000 had been extended to the Appalachian portion of Pennsylvania under the Accelerated Public Works Act.

Alabama: Nearly half of the 32 counties in Appalachian Alabama are in the Tennessee Valley Authority region. Of these 32 counties, 6 have never had sufficiently high unemployment rates to be eligible for Federal grants under the Accelerated Public Works Act, and 2 additional counties were once eligible, but have so improved as to be eligible no longer. Thus, eight counties, or one-fourth of the Appalachian counties, are now ineligible for such assistance. Despite this, as of April 15, 1964, Federal grants totaling $20,827,000 had been extended to the Appalachian portion of Alabama under the Accelerated Public Works Act.

Furthermore, the report of the President's Appalachian Commission does not reflect the economic impact of recent developments in the area, since it utilizes 1960 statistics. The July 20, 1964, edition of U.S. News & World Report contains an informative article on the economic boom in the Huntsville, Ala. area—which is part of Appalachia. According to this article, about 4 years ago the Marshall Space Flight Center, employing some 7,000 persons, was established in Huntsville. The Army and NASA have drawn to northern Alabama many hundreds of contractors who want to be close by the Space Center. This year, the Center will award contracts of $1 billion on Saturn rockets, and perhaps $200 million of that will be spent in the Huntsville area. Huntsville has doubled its population in just 4 years, and spawned local industries such as Brown Engineering which has grown from a handful of men to 3,400 employees. Huntsville now leads all Alabama in income per household. It has added one classroom a week to its school system for the last 9 years. Last year, 6,000 jobs were created in the area. In 1963, building permits exceeded $81 million, compared with a little more than $5 million in 1950.

Kentucky: During his testimony before the ad hoc subcommittee the Governor of Kentucky placed great emphasis on the actions taken by the State itself during the past 2 to 4 years to solve problems in Appalachia. He stressed extensive State action in the fields of education, highways, conservation, health, and parks and recreation. He also discussed a proposed 1965 bond issue of $176 million to provide funds for highways, schools, parks, community health centers, agriculture development, small lakes, libraries, and other facilities. In addition to these State actions, Federal grants totaling $27,561,000 have been made in the Appalachian part of Kentucky under the Accelerated Public Works Act. Since these actions occurred during the past 2 to 4 years, and since the Report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission uses 1960 statistics, the report cannot measure the impact or effectiveness of the programs. Certainly, this should be known before another massive Federal spending program is launched.

Ohio: The per capita personal income in Ohio, is well above the national average. The State has a lower percentage of families having an annual income under $3,000, and a higher percentage of families with an annual income over $10,000 than the national average. It appears that even the Appalachian portion of Ohio, which includes less than 10 percent of the State's population, is comparatively well off, may not share common problems with the rest of Appalachia, and may not need or even benefit substantially from the President's proposal to assist Appalachia.

Testimony prepared by the State of Ohio, and submitted for the record during hearings of the ad hoc subcommittee contains the following:

Concerning median family income in Appalachia, those for Ohio counties are substantially larger than the value for all of Appalachia. The lowest median income in any county in the Ohio Valley region was $2,829 in 1959; the highest was $4,974. Concomitantly, the median incomes of 11 counties in the Ohio Valley region exceed $4,000. For the region as a whole, the 18-county average of the individual county median family incomes increased from $2,005 in 1949 to $4,104 in 1959. With adjustment for price-level increases which also prevailed during this same period, the change in the adjusted (deflated) regional average family income represented an increase of almost 70 percent (69.9 percent) in purchasing power during this 10-year period. These relationships suggest a different order of economic condition than that representative of the other areas within Appalachia.

It is acknowledged that the median incomes characteristic of the Ohio Valley region are not equal to those of other counties of Ohio. These inequities notwithstanding, the rate of improvement in the Ohio Valley region (plus 107.8 percent) exceeded the rate of improvement in other Ohio regions. It also exceeded the rate of improvement for Ohio as a whole (89.5 percent) in the decade 1949–59. Clearly, programs immediately applicable to the problems of all of Appalachia may not be of direct significance in improving conditions in the Ohio Valley region if median income constitutes a primary determinant.

Georgia: About one-third of the 35 Appalachian counties in Georgia are in the area serviced by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Ten of the 35 counties have never been eligible for assistance under the Accelerated Public Works Act, because their rate of unemployment is not high enough. In fact, according to the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, in both 1950 and 1960 the unemployment rate in the Appalachian portion of Georgia was lower than in the balance of the United States.

South Carolina: No part of South Carolina was included in Appalachia as that region was defined in the original proposal of the President. No comments or information concerning the economy of this State is to be found in the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. No testimony on behalf of South Carolina was presented at the hearings of the ad hoc subcommittee. Nevertheless, six South Carolina counties are included in Appalachia as the region is defined in the new bill, H.R. 11946. It is pertinent to note that as of April 15, 1964, none of these six counties was eligible for assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act, and only one was eligible for assistance under the Public Works Acceleration Act.

North Carolina: 10 of the 29 Appalachian counties in North Carolina have never been eligible for assistance under the Accelerated Public Works Act, and an additional 5 were eligible at one time but became ineligible because of improved employment rates. According to the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, the Appalachian portion of North Carolina had a lower unemployment rate than the balance of the Nation in both 1950 and 1960. The people in the Appalachian

part of North Carolina have reacted to the President's relief proposal with a "mixture of indifference, amusement, and resentment" according to an editorial in the May 23, 1964, edition of the State, a magazine published in North Carolina and devoted largely to North Carolina affairs. An article in the same edition of that magazine shows that business is booming in the northwestern part of the State—the part in Appalachia. Both the editorial and the article were inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. Cleveland], CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 25, 1964, at page 14496.

Workers in Transylvania County, N.C.—an Appalachian county—have bettered their economic position in recent years, and can live more luxuriously than they did a few years ago, according to an article in the June 25, 1964, edition of the Transylvania Times. This article, which serves to place the Appalachian relief proposal in better perspective, follows:

WAGE EARNERS BETTER OFF IN COUNTY

The average Transylvania County worker has been bettering his economic position in recent years.

Even though his cost of living has been going up, his income has been moving upward at a faster rate.

Without putting in any more effort than he did 10 years ago, in terms of hours or labor, he finds he can live more luxuriously than he did then.

The increase in his income has more than made up for the increase in his living costs.

The average workingman in Transylvania County now earns enough in only 24 minutes on the job, for example, to buy a pound of coffee or a pound of bacon. Ten years ago they would have involved considerably more working time.

By putting in 37 minutes of labor he is able to buy a pound of round steak. He can get an automobile tire (6.70 by 15) with the proceeds of some 13 hours of work.

The changes that have taken place throughout the United States and the comparison of present-day worktimes with those of 1953 are reported by the National Industrial Conference Board and by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Some idea of the extent of this change is brought out in the figures, which show the amount of time that the average American worker must put in to buy various consumer items.

A dozen eggs, grade A, requires 13 minutes of work today, compared with 26 minutes 10 years ago.

A pair of nylon stockings takes 23 minutes, as against 37 minutes previously.

A medium-price man's wool suit, formerly a 27½-hour item, can now be bought with just 20 hours of work.

The reports reveal, also, the wide gap that still exists between the buying power of the American worker and that of his counterparts in other countries.

The loaf of bread that a factory worker in this country is able to buy after only 5 minutes on the job requires 11 minutes in Paris or West Berlin, 19 minutes in Tokyo, 24 minutes in Madrid, and 36 minutes in Moscow.

In the last decade, it is shown the cost of living has advanced about 14 percent in the United States.

This rise has been more than offset in Transylvania County by the increase in per capita income, which amounted to 94 percent in the period.

Ex-Envoy Credits Alliance: El Salvador's Strides Noted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents, the Honorable Murat W. Williams, formerly served as our Ambassador to El Salvador. Ambassador Williams was interviewed recently by Mr. George W. Ashworth, a reporter for the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch, about his work in El Salvador and the situation there. Ambassador Williams reported distinct economic progress and increased stability and credited the Alliance for Progress program for a sizable contribution to the country's rapid development. With the thought that Ambassador Williams' reflections on the program would have some interest to my colleagues, I am inserting the newspaper interview at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, July 13, 1964]

EX-ENVOY CREDITS ALLIANCE—EL SALVADOR'S STRIDES NOTED

(By George W. Ashworth)

A country that once enjoyed a rather dubious prosperity when coffee prices were up and endured privation when prices fell has become a strong partner of the Organization of American States and stable friend of the free world.

The former Ambassador to El Salvador, Murat W. Williams, attributes many of the gains during the past several years to the aid and impetus of the Alliance for Progress.

A native of Richmond, Williams returned to Virginia recently at the completion of his 3½-year tour in the Latin American country—the smallest of Central America's six states. He discussed the effects of the Alliance for Progress in an interview here yesterday.

"There has been a real alliance, a joining together of forces," he began.

"The concept was to try to promote social progress, and, at the same time, promote economic progress, so that the social progress could be paid for."

RECENT SPEECH CITED

This concept, he noted, has been readily accepted by the Government of El Salvador. Williams cited a recent speech by President Julio A. Rivera in which the need for economic progress as a foundation for social progress was recognized.

The precursor of the Alliance for Progress was the Act of Bogotá, approved in 1960 by the Committee of 21. The Alliance itself came into being at the behest of President Kennedy at a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in 1961. The result of the meeting was the Charter of Punta del Este, which identified ills in Latin America and established goals for social and economic betterment.

For El Salvador, Williams said, "the Alliance for Progress came just in time."

President Jose Maria Lemus had been ousted in a coup d'etat late in 1960. The military junta that took over the Government was overthrown and a new directorate followed.

UNSTABLE SITUATION

According to Williams, the political situation after the two quick changes in government was rather unstable.

Shortly after the Alliance came into being, the Rivera-led party came into power. He took office in 1962.

The Government quickly began cooperating with the United States, Williams said, and subsequent advances have been attributed to the four-way cooperation of the Government and private investors of El Salvador and the Government of the United States and foreign investors, particularly American.

When he was still in the small country, Williams said, he was frequently able to show concrete examples of improvements to visitors on the trip from the airport to San Salvador by pointing to the many new factories and housing developments.

Away from the country, his specific information is in the form of statistics. Exports this year will be 25 to 33 percent higher than ever before; $40 million worth or 20 percent of the total will be in the form of manufactured goods; manufactured goods have increased in value during the 5 years ending in 1963 from $4 to $30 million.

The gross national product will increase this year by 8.1 percent; the GNP increase per capita will be 5.3 percent (far above the alliance goal of 2.5 percent).

A help has been the establishment of the Central American Common Market, he noted, which provides 12 million persons as potential customers of industry established in Central America.

An important aspect of the greater availability of capital has been the new-found ability of individual Salvadorans to get credit.

"It is possible for a man to get credit, to buy things for his house or to buy the house itself. When this has happened, it's a real setback for Castroism."

"When the economic base is strengthened, when social progress is being made, and, above all, when there is opportunity, then these people can say they are our friends.

MUTUAL ASPECT STRESSED

Throughout his conversation, Williams stressed that the Alliance is a mutual venture: "We support, we share."

And, he said, it is a venture that has required small percentage of funds in the form of direct grants.

For the future, Williams said, he believes that there will be great advances in education, further industrial development, strengthening of the position of the small farmer, and a general increase in overall welfare of the people.

"Through the Alliance—our sharing with them—they can achieve their own purposes and have the answer to the Castroite appeal," he concluded.

The Roosevelt Campobello International Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the Roosevelt Campobello International Park is now a reality, legislation providing for the establishment of this unique American-Canadian facility having been signed into law on July 7, 1964.

May Craig, in her very fine and thorough way of reporting, touches on various aspects of this project in an article appearing in the July 8 issue of the Waterville Morning Sentinel. Because of the great interest that has been evidenced in this international project, I am submitting May Craig's article to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the convenience of my colleagues:

CAMPOBELLO NOW HAS F.D.R. PARK

WASHINGTON.—Canada and the United States have adopted the legislation to make the old Roosevelt home on Campobello Island the Roosevelt Campobello International Park. The only international park we have.

It will be administered by a Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission, consisting of three members each from the the two countries. One of the U.S. Commissioners will be selected by President Johnson from a list of nominations submitted by Governor Reed of Maine. Thus another bond is forged between our great neighbor to the north and our own country. Campobello is wholly owned by Canada; sovereignty will remain with Canada; property will be "owned" by the Commission and the deeds made over to the Commission by the three Hammar brothers, Armand, Victor, and Harry.

The property was left to Elliott Roosevelt by his father, and the Hammer brothers, New York and California art dealers bought it from him in the early 1950's. After the death of their father, the sons and daughter rarely went to the island home, but the Hammers bought it so Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt could always go there, and find it just as it was when the family spent every summer there.

President Roosevelt's father James Roosevelt, bought the property in 1884 and the family went there every summer from the time Franklin D. Roosevelt was 2 years old. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. was born there. When hearings were being held on the proposal to make the old home an international park, members of the House Interior Committee were perplexed to hear it called a "cottage" and then told it has 34 rooms. In the older days many wealthy people had "summer cottages" as they called them, no matter how big.

It was at this home that polio struck and crippled Franklin D. Roosevelt and it was there that he struggled against the disability and went on to President of the United States. Mrs. Roosevelt went there a great deal and when the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Bridge between Lubec, Maine, and the island was dedicated in 1962, she was driven up to the old home but was not able to come to the dedication. Her fatal illness was almost upon her, she knew she would never again come to the old home—and she was the first to drive across the Roosevelt Bridge, by the officials of the dedication, 2 days before. She died in New York a few months later. As President, Roosevelt visited the home.

The Hammer brothers have always wanted the old home to be a Roosevelt memorial and are donating it to Canada and the United States. In May of 1963 President Kennedy and Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson announced their acceptance of the Hammer gift. In January of 1964, President Johnson and Mr. Pearson signed an executive agreement in the Treaty Room of the White House. Present were Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, eldest son of the late President, the Hammer brothers, the Maine Congressional delegation, and many officials of both governments and old friends of the family, including the Gannett correspondent. F.D.R. Jr. was away.

The bill to set up the Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission, to accept the property, develop it and operate it was introduced by Representative ROOSEVELT. Similar bills were introduced by Representatives MCINTIRE and TUPPER of Maine and by Senators SMITH and MUSKIE of Maine in the Senate. The Senate accepted the House bill and that is what passed—the original bill introduced by JAMES ROOSEVELT, amended in committee. Language was written in so that the Hammer brothers gift of the property would be tax exempt.

The bill was handled by the Interior Committee of the House and Representative TOM MORRIS, of New Mexico, chairman of the National Parks Subcommittee of the Interior Committee took a group of subcommittee members, with officials of State and Interior Departments up to see the property, and the Memorial Bridge. In the Senate the bill went to the Foreign Relations Committee and was accepted on the floor by the Interior Department Subcommittee chairman, Senator BIBLE, of Nevada, who said the Interior Committee would accept the House bill, to expedite action.

There is difference of opinion here whether to open the old house, as is, this summer and proceed with rehabilitation later; general opinion is that it would be best to begin rehabilitation at once, and then have a grand opening when it is refurbished, heating system installed and visitors parking provided. The legislation provides for $217,500 for rehabilitation; $15,000 for land for parking; $27,000 for the new heating system. The two countries will share costs, the first sharing being about $130,000 each. It is estimated that annual maintenance will cost $50,000 which will be shared. Any income from entrance fees will be shared.

The Commission will serve without pay, but receive travel and other operating expenses. It must meet at least once a year, and must make accounting to the two Governments each year. The Commission will select staff and can decide whether to charge a fee and how much. The House committee favored fee, but reasonable, and less for children.

The chairmanship of the Commission will be for 2 years, elected by the Commission; the vice chairman shall not be of the same country as the chairman. The Commission may employ both United States and Canadian citizens and their employment shall be subject to relevant Canadian and other labor laws and the Government of Canada agrees to take any necessary measures to permit U.S. citizens to accept employment with the Commission on similar basis as Canadians. A final paragraph of the bill says: "The Commission shall take appropriate measures to emphasize the international nature of the park."

Rutgers Host to AFGE Leadership Training Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, during the week of June 21–26, Rutgers—the State university was proud to be host to the American Federation of Government Employees Leadership Training Institute. Sixty-two students from 35 AFGE lodges spent a week of classes, lectures and discussions in the new labor education center on the New Brunswick campus. Much of the credit for this project goes to Mr. Arthur Kane, AFGE education director, at whose suggestion the school was conceived. Kane, AFL–CIO assistant education director, Otto Pragan, and Rutgers Labor Education Center staff member, George Boyle also served as regular instructors for the students.

This staff was supplemented by guest lecturers, including Prof. Sterling Spiro, of New York University; Prof. John Stochaj, of Newark Engineering School; Government Employees' Council Operations Director John McCart; and Jerry Leopaldi, Executive Director of the Peace Corps.

The Rutgers University Labor Education Center is one of the most advanced training facilities in the country and is a tribute both to the State university and to the many labor organizations in New Jersey.

When 62 men and women are willing to give up a week of annual leave to attend classes you understand their degree of dedication. The Government Standard, published by the AFGE of July 10, describes this worthy program in full detail. The story follows:

FIRST SUMMER SCHOOL GRADUATE 62—PROGRAM HAILED BY STUDENTS

They're 62 strong and they're unique in AFGE history. They're the AFGE class of 1964, graduates of the Federation's first week-long leadership training institute.

From June 21 to 26 at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., 62 AFGE officers, stewards and members representing 35 lodges took an intensive course designed to make them more effective trade unionists.

The school, which was set up by AFGE Education Director Arthur F. Kane, was an outstanding success. Attendance was excellent, but it takes more than high attendance to make a training program of this scope a success.

It takes dedication and enthusiasm on the part of the students and these ingredients were very much in evidence. By their very attendance the students demonstrated that they are dedicated to building a stronger, more effective union.

Every student had to give up 5 days of leave to attend the school. Most of them had to pay their own travel expenses and some even paid the $65 registration fee out of their own pockets.

Members of the Rutgers staff were impressed by the big turnout, particularly in view of the fact that the students were not compensated for their lost leave. It was pointed out that many unions give per diem allowances to members who attend summer schools.

But if the AFGE students were dismayed at losing leave—or anything else connected with the school—they hid their disappointment admirably. If there was one characteristic of the school that stood out above all others, it was the enthusiasm of the students.

The pace was fast. There were morning, afternoon, and evening sessions. Shop talk, however, didn't end when the classes broke up. Discussions which started in the classroom kept going on an informal basis during meal periods, between classes, and after each day's activities ended.

The students spent most of the week talking union, in and out of the lecture hall.

The students were virtually unanimous in praising the program and the facilities. They said the school was a useful and memorable experience. They said more such programs are needed. And although they said they had worked hard for the diplomas that were

presented to them on the closing day by National President John F. Griner, many said they were sorry to see the school end.

The three regular instructors at the school—Kane, AFL–CIO assistant education director, Otto Pragan, and George V. Boyle, of the Rutgers Labor Education Center staff—said student participation in classroom discussion was good.

Two courses of instruction were offered. One, called the gold group, was for lodge officers and lodge negotiating committeemen. The other, called the blue group, was for stewards and rank-and-file members. There were 38 students in the gold group and 24 in the blue group.

Among the topics covered by the regular instructors were Executive Order No. 10988, collective bargaining in the Government, negotiating techniques, steward training, grievance procedures, lodge administration, communication techniques, organizing, structure and functions of lodge committees, and sources of information, speakers, materials, and films for use in lodge programs.

Generally, the course for officers and negotiating committeemen stressed negotiating techniques and current trends and issues in collective bargaining. The course for stewards and members emphasized grievance handling, adverse action procedures, conducting lodge meetings, and the role of lodge executive boards and committees.

The two groups were combined for a number of classes.

Guest instructors and speakers at the school included Prof. Sterling Spero, of New York University, who discussed the development of government unions from the early 19th century to the present; Prof. John Stochaj, of Newark Engineering School, who talked on "Full Employment and the American Economy"; Government Employees' Council Operations Director John A. McCart, who reported on legislation; and John Clements, of the AFGE Employee Relations Department, who discussed adverse actions procedures.

The students also heard a talk on Labor's Peace Corps by Jerry Leopaldi, the corps executive director. Leopaldi told of the corps' efforts to help fight poverty, disease, and illiteracy in Latin America. Appropriately, Leopaldi addressed the students after they returned from the only field trip on the program, a visit to United Nations Headquarters in nearby New York.

All of the classes were conducted at the labor education center on the Rutgers campus. The center is house in a modern building devoted solely to labor education and is considered one of the finest facilities of its kind in the Nation. Trade unionists attend training programs at the center throughout the year.

In addition to praising the facilities at the labor education center, the students had many kind words for Rutgers' cooks. They They said the fod was fine. And with "seconds" available for the asking no one complained about going hungry.

In fact, one of the few complaints heard at the school was voiced by a student who said he was gaining too much weight.

Although there were no caps and gowns in evidence, the school did close with the traditional graduation ceremony. President Griner gave out the diplomas and congratulated the students for the time and effort they put into the school.

Other speakers at the graduation were AFGE National Vice Presidents Henrietta Olding and John J. Smith, whose districts sponsored the school; Ernest McMahon, dean of Rutgers Institute of Management and Labor Relations; and Kane.

In commenting on the school, Kane pointed out that it is the first step in a coordinated education program to be developed for lodge officers, stewards, and members.

"If the AFGE is to make proper use of the new rights it enjoys, it will need qualified people at every level," Kane side. "In order to meet the many challenges and opportunities that are presented to our union, education will play an increasing role in helping dedicated AFGE members adequately fulfill all their responsibilities as trade unionists."

Following is a list of the students who attended the summer school:

Pearl Alpern, lodge 1151; John Broda, lodge 1699; Melvin Caswell, lodge 1156; Dominic Cavalieri, lodge 1862; Stanley Cieczko, lodge 1647; Marguerite Clarke, lodge 1151; Ruth Collins, lodge 1904; Karl Craig, lodge 1995; Benjamin Crook, lodge 1862; Richard Davis, lodge 1674; John Doss, lodge 225; Alfred Fabrizio, lodge 62.

Walter Falkowski, lodge 225; Andrew Farley, lodge 2187; James Farrar, lodge 1498; Robert Glover, lodge 1627; George Heath, lodge 62; Lester Hixon, lodge 2304; George Hulse, lodge 1627; Ernest Hummel, lodge 1012; Paul Iorio, lodge 1862; Ronald King, lodge 1968; Howard Kleidman, lodge 2119; William Laudeman, lodge 1923; Preston Lewis, lodge 1760; Joseph Lindsey, lodge 2268.

James Lynch, lodge 1899; Joseph Markowitz, lodge 1970; Julia Martini, lodge 62; Albert May, lodge 1904; James McCartney, lodge 2187; John McEwen, lodge 1956; James Meade, lodge 2119; Jean Meadows, lodge 1498; Richard Meyer, lodge 2335; Esther Meyerowitz, lodge 786; Peter Moses, lodge 1647; Dennis Murphy, lodge 2367; Paul Norris, lodge 1156; Henrietta Olding, national vice president; William Pacello, lodge 62; Sal Pico, lodge 1582; Joseph Rall, lodge 1760.

John Rooney, lodge 225; Frank Ross, lodge 2286; David Shampine, lodge 1968; Henry Saunders, lodge 1012; Michael Semenuik, lodge 1923; Harrison Seward, lodge 1800; Mary Stock, lodge 1899; Lena Sye, lodge 62; Walter Tarwacki, lodge 2020; Othello Thompson, lodge 588; Joseph Tillman, lodge 1191; Joseph Tinelli, lodge 2367; Albert Ucci, lodge 1957; Lewis Ulen, lodge 1156; Theodore Waugh, lodge 62; Morris Wenick, lodge 1902; Karl Wentzel, lodge 1627; Keith Williams, lodge 2119; Rudolph Wunsch, lodge 1904.

Freedom of the Seas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to submit the following editorial taken from today's Chicago Sun-Times. Action should be delayed no longer on this urgent matter:

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

After spending 19 days unloading 32,000 tons of American wheat in the Russian port of Novorossisk, Capt. Arthur H. Fertig, of the American grainship *Sister Katingo*, refused to pay what he considered to be excessive unloading charges. He said they were contrary to payment procedures set up by a joint United States-Soviet agreement.

After departure from port his vessel was fired upon and boarded on the high seas by Russian naval units. Captain Fertig was driven from his bridge at gunpoint. His ship was unlawfully searched. Only by signing a statement written in Russian, which was not translated for him, did Captain Fertig regain command of his ship.

During their stay in port members of the American crew saw the wheat they had transported being loaded into a Russian ship bound, they were told, for Cuba. The Americans were also told that Russia didn't need the wheat and that it was purchased only to help the American economy.

When the Kennedy administration was negotiating the sale of grain to Russia this editorial page warned that something more than a temporary solution to a problem in agricultural surplus was at stake. That warning has been borne out. Russia, as predicted, is using American wheat both as a propaganda tool and to maintain its hold over its satellite countries.

The licenses under which American grain is sold to Russia specifically prohibit the reshipment of the grain to Cuba. The United States has asked Russia for an explanation of Captain Fertig's report that this is being done.

The United States also lodged an oral protest with Russia over the firing upon and boarding of a U.S. ship at sea. Russia denies the charge of firing and has rejected the protest.

As might be expected, Russia is trying to draw a red herring across this incident by maligning the captain of the U.S. ship, charging that he abused the port stevedores and used bad language.

The fact remains that Russia did violate international law in boarding a U.S. ship on the high seas at gunpoint. Also, there seems to be sufficient evidence at hand to believe that Russia is also violating the agreement made with the United States not to ship wheat to Cuba. Both charges should be fully investigated by the United States.

Colombia Says Sovereignty Issue Tops in Canal Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the joint United States-Colombian survey of the Atrato-Truando canal site, it is important to know the Colombian attitude on its ownership and control. This view was supplied in a recent statement in Bogotá by Colombian Foreign Minister Fernandez Gomez Martinez, which asserts that Colombian sovereignty will have to be assured before starting work.

Mr. Speaker, our failure to be forthright on the question of U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone is already having its affect. Had our Government been forthright in upholding its treaty-based sovereignty over the Canal Zone, the situation now developing would have been avoided. It now appears that Nicaragua is the only country which can be expected to accord the proper degree of sovereignty to justify the burdening of the taxpayers of the United States with the cost of another interoceanic canal.

The indicated statement as published in a Panamanian newspaper follows:

[From the Panama (Republic of Panama) Star and Herald, Apr. 28, 1964]

COLOMBIA SAYS SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE TOPS IN CANAL PLANS

(By Joseph Novitski)

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA, April 27.—The possibility of the construction of a new interocean canal along Colombia's Atrato and Truando Rivers is "very good" but Colombia's sov-

ereignty will have to be assured before start of any work on the project, said Foreign Minister Fernandez Gomez Martinez. A joint United States-Colombian study of the canal project is now underway.

Gomez Martinez gave Colombia's wholehearted endorsement last night to Venezuela's campaign for stronger measures against Cuban subversion in Latin America.

"I am sure if all other countries had been subjected to the trial shipments of arms in quantity as sent to Venezuela and the invasion of territory, endangering stability of the Government, and menacing sovereignty, those countries would be asking precisely what Venezuela now is seeking," Gomez said in a radio interview.

Gomez told Venezuela's Former Foreign Minister Marcos Falcon Briceño on Friday that Colombia would vote with Venezuela at the coming meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States on Venezuela's charges of aggression against Cuba. Venezuela has been seeking collective action against Cuba since a large cache of arms was found on a Venezuela beach, apparently destined for pro-Cuban rebels in Venezuela.

Brig. Gen. Howard W. Penney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, at the Arkansas Basin Association meeting at Little Rock, Ark., on Friday, July 17, one of the most able presentations of our river development program I have ever heard was given by Brig. Gen. Howard W. Penney, Deputy Director of Civil Works for Comprehensive Planning, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY BRIG. GEN. HOWARD W. PENNEY, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CIVIL WORKS FOR COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING, U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS

It is a pleasure to return to the Arkansas Basin and to join with Colonel Free and Colonel Maynard in speaking for the Corps of Engineers at this meeting. During my 3 years at Tulsa I had the opportunity to meet many of you. I think I have a feel for the pulse of this project. I know that its heartthrob is the people of the Arkansas Basin.

This project, this basin and this State have been served by the finest of our Army Engineer officers in the last couple of years. I know the very high and well-deserved regard you have for Colonel Maynard. He and Colonel Morris at Tulsa are two of the very best we have. Gen. Carrol Dunn, after 2 years of outstanding engineering leadership of the Arkansas project, has moved on to a more responsible job as Deputy Chief of Staff for our 8th Army in Korea. As you recall, his predecessor, General Fleming, who was responsible for advancing the scheduled completion date of this project 3 years, moved on to be Governor of the Canal Zone. This is a tribute to the versatility of these officers and their ability to meet challenging assignments.

In your new division engineer, the Army has again selected one of its best. Col. Dick Free and I were classmates at West Point and I can assure you that even then he demonstrated the leadership and ability which made him the first ranking of all cadet lieutenants in the corps of cadets. Nor is the title of division engineer new to Dick Free. During World War II, with only 4 years' service, he commanded the engineer combat battalion and was the division engineer of one of our infantry divisions fighting in Europe. I am proud for him that he has been selected as a brigadier general and happy for you that in a different division engineer role he will be working with you in the Arkansas Basin.

I understand that local progress on the Arkansas will be fully covered by Colonel Maynard this afternoon. I imagine that progress in the coming year will be discussed by your congressional forum this afternoon.

The Arkansas River project is a major engineering undertaking by any standard of comparison. But the engineering is being solved. The real credit and responsibility for its development, as with any river development, lie with the people involved. To the people of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, it presents the magnificent prospect of extensive new industrial and economic development, increased protection against the ravages of floods, conservation of water, and expansion of outstanding recreational opportunities. To our Nation it represents, among other things, an impressive addition to the more than 20,000 miles of inland waterways which serve our commerce and industry—the great water transport system, built up year by year since America's infancy, which has played so dramatic a role in transforming a struggling new nation into the greatest industrial power on earth.

In broader perspective—in the context of world history—what you are doing here is linked with the vision, the aspirations, and the endeavors of millions of people in many other parts of the globe, and over a span of more than 2,000 years since one of the pharaohs of Egypt sought to connect the Nile and the Red Sea.

Centuries before the earliest navigation improvements were begun in this country, development of the present intricate canal and river networks of Europe and other lands began to get underway. For instance, the Grand Canal of China, joining two rivers with the Yangtze, was built in the 13th century. The many-talented Leonardo da Vinci completed a canal with six locks before Columbus discovered America. What is regarded as the real pioneer of modern European canals, the 119-lock Canal du Midi connecting the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay, was in operation before William Penn signed his famous treaty with the Indians. A canal still in use in England dates back to the Roman occupation.

Man's continued striving to harness, develop, and exploit water resources, primarily to provide himself with cheap transportation which, in turn, nurtures commercial and industrial growth, has been a major factor in shaping the course of development both in Europe and America.

In Europe and Asia today, as in our own country, this effort continues. We, in America, sometimes encounter strong local differences of opinion in connection with water resources development. To your credit this is not the case among the States in the Arkansas Basin. It did exist, and, again to your credit, was overcome in the development of the Little River system. But by and large we have a much easier row to hoe than those engaged in similar enterprises in some parts of the world where people are faced with the problems of developing rivers that involve more than one country.

A fine example of the development of an international waterway is the recently completed canalization of the Moselle River—a joint enterprise of France, Luxembourg, and West Germany. I was in Europe 2 months ago when the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg presided over ceremonies opening this $195 million project, which is 170 miles long and had been under construction for some 6 years.

Desire for the canalization of the tricky Moselle to permit the passage of large barges dates back to the last century when exploitation of the large-scale iron ore deposits in Lorraine was begun and cheap coal and coke became imperative. It was not until 1956, however, that the inherent difficulties were resolved and a canal treaty was signed by the three countries which share the river. The Moselle Waterway represents a notable international triumph of cooperation of people in the provision of a major water transportation system.

Even in southeast Asia people hope to develop the lower basin of the mighty Mekong River. The lower Mekong flows about 1,600 miles through the Indochina Peninsula. Some idea of the magnitude of the Mekong is the fact that extreme floods are estimated to approach about two-thirds of the project flood for our lower Mississippi River. The lower basin is one of the largest drainage systems in the world, comprising nearly all of Laos and Cambodia, the eastern third of Thailand, and about a seventh of South Vietnam. This is an area we think of, not in terms of great engineering works, but as the site of our effort to preserve freedom. Yet, while serving in Vietnam 2 years ago I saw a small truck marked "Mekong River Survey."

At the request of Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam, the U.S. International Cooperation Administration sent a party of experts, including personnel of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, to the Mekong basin in 1955 to make a brief reconnaissance survey. In 1957, another group of experts, dispatched by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and under the leadership of Lt. Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler, former Army Chief of Engineers, made a more intensive survey.

Under the aegis of the Economic Commission, 20 nations, including the United States, are cooperating with the countries of the peninsula in amassing basic data needed for preliminary planning. Experts from the Corps of Engineers, North Pacific division, have recently planned an analysis of the basin by means of electronic computers in order to determine the best systems of dams and reservoirs. This technique was developed by the corps in connection with the Columbia River program. So, even with the unsettled situation in southeast Asia, and in spite of difficult agreements that will have to be worked out by the riparian countries so that development of the Mekong can be undertaken, the people involved are making a start in recognition of the great potential ultimate benefits that could accrue.

So you have reason to be proud that the fruits of your labors here in the Arkansas Basin—truly part and parcel of a great world enterprise to provide the sinews of future progress—will be available for the benefit of this area within a comparatively short period of time.

I want to assure you once more of our abiding interest in the full realization of the basin's vast potential, and voice the pride of the Corps of Engineers in its commitment with you in this cause.

Independence Reviewed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, as a nation, we Americans this month observed the anniversary marking 188 years

of independence for this country. The occasion, it seemed to me, called for some reflection on the value of freedom to our American way of life, and so I made this the subject of my July newsletter to constituents of my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State.

In my newsletter, I pointed out that Americans have fought and died in wars to preserve our freedom against threats from outside our borders. But I also pointed out that there is another war going on right here inside our borders. And that war, I suggested, resolves itself around the question of how much independence the people of this country will preserve for themselves rather than give up by default to their government.

Because of its timely subject, Mr. Speaker, I believe that my newsletter, "Independence and Poverty," will be of interest not only to the people I represent, but to a great many Members of Congress as well. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, the newsletter together with the section entitled, "As I See It," follows:

INDEPENDENCE AND POVERTY

We Americans have once again celebrated Independence Day—or the Fourth of July. During the years since that Declaration, Americans have fought and died to preserve that independence. In this century two World Wars have been fought to prevent the domination of the world by a single power. Even now we are engaged in a war in South Vietnam trying to prevent a takeover of a country by Communist forces. And there is evidence that this war could grow into another Korea. But it seems this Nation stands almost alone in its determination to help people preserve their identity and their nationality.

Yet is seems to me that there is another war going on right here inside our own borders. And that war resolves itself on the question of how much independence the people of this country will preserve for themselves or give by default to their Government. I suppose I can be accused of being reactionary and of seeing bogeys where none exist—but it appears to me that Americans are losing their freedoms by Government takeover.

Sitting here as I do in Washington, D.C., I am more concerned with Federal encroachment than almost any other issue. My concern focuses on the fact of evolving encroachment being veiled by what may appear to be good programs and policies. This reminds me of the frog in the tub. Water was added at a slowly increasing temperature until the frog was boiled to death, but never felt the pain. He just fell asleep and woke up dead. Had the frog been abruptly tossed into boiling water he would have jumped out and saved his life.

The lifeblood of our way of life is our freedom. All government can give you is what it first takes from you. When government gives us benefits funded by our own dollars, it also cinches the binder on our freedoms a little tighter. Our way of life is being atrophied by an ever tighter cinch on our freedoms. This is the fact of which I am most aware when I cast your vote in Congress on issues and programs that involve social and economic problems and solutions.

Professed compassion at the Federal level very often turns out to be cynical vote-buying gimmicks. In such cases qualification for assistance and benefits depends on voting patterns past and prospective.

Now comes the war on poverty. I know of no one who favors poverty, but a study of the simple facts about it raises questions about the sincerity of its authors. For there seems to be little real relief in it for poverty-stricken people. The legislation calls for providing $28 per person per year to those President Johnson says are poverty stricken. That's typical of the benefits. The bill also sets up a poverty czar who will have authority to buy land and set up controlled family-sized farms. Land reform and collectivized farming have not yet been made a part of our heritage of independence.

There are presently 42 Federal programs to combat poverty. They involve an annual outlay of $31.8 billion. The administration's formula for fighting newly discovered poverty would add duplicating programs at an additional $5 billion per annum cost in 3 years.

Local and State governments are currently spending $34.7 billion on welfare programs and private sources add another $35.5. This Nation is spending almost $100 billion per year to reduce poverty, but the expression of the President has the world believing we don't care. Existing law and proposed amendments for vocational training have been rejected and unused by the Executive. Instead the new poverty program will cost $4,700 a year for each Job Corps recruit. Why you could send your son to Harvard for less than that. Yet the administration turns thumbs down on my proposal to give parents who have children in college a tax credit.

You have indicated to me in your replies to my questionnaires that Federal encroachment is one of the important issues today and I agree. I hope, that when we think of the Declaration of Independence, issued 188 years ago, we remind ourselves that that independence which we treasured so greatly then is still just as dear today.

Sincerely yours,

Congressman JACK WESTLAND.

AS I SEE IT

(By Helen Westland)

We have had an unusually large number of Washington Second District friends in our office this summer, most of them with their children, en route to see the New York World's Fair. They all liked our fair better; said ours wasn't as big, but also wasn't so commercial. They sounded like proud westerners talking, and we loved it.

I've been busy this summer helping to open, read, and tabulate the questionnaires JACK sent you, and which so many thousands of you responded to with your opinions. JACK is very appreciative of your efforts in this project. In addition, we had the U.S. National Open golf championship played in Washington, D.C., this summer, and as an official lady scorer, I was lucky in drawing Arnold Palmer to score for the first day. He's a gentleman, and every bit the great golfer we hear about.

Another project that took some time was the Republican quilt which was made by we Republican congressional wives, and which took us a whole year to complete. I was quilt chairman, and this meant keeping track of 213 elephants, seeing that they got embroidered, appliqued, and assembled into the 9-foot 6-inch square quilt that it is. Both political parties have specialties at their conventions, and this was the wives' contribution for the 1964 Republican Convention. Had there been a similar quilt made in Lincoln's time, it would be most interesting today.

Extremism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, the thinking patriot, devoted to this country, but awake to what is going on around him is facing a number of most important political decisions. Decisions magnified by their prominence in the American scheme, and confused by recent developments on this political scene. Confused again, and confounded by the failure of leadership in our Nation.

A failure that runs through the fabric of this country from the top to the bottom, a failure that refuses to act decisively in the face of an emergency and a failure that may wreck our present two-party political system.

To be sure, some leaders have been vocal, but their voice is lost in the atmosphere of hatred that is abroad in the land. Hatred runs wild in the Nation and snarls from the podium and the microphone. History contains no more bitter performance in the actions of partisan politics than the snarl of contempt from a candidate after three Governors had pleaded with the Republican political convention to adopt a plank condemning the Communists, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Birchers.

The convention delegates turned down their own party leaders by a majority estimated at 2 to 1 and rang down the curtain on the two-party system in this country—in the opinion of many people.

The efforts of the three Governors, backed by a former President of this Nation came to naught when the final blast of the party candidate claims "extremism is no vice in defense of liberty."

Wrapping the defense of patriotism around the night raids, the church bombings, the kidnapings, the sneak attacks on homes, the candidate offered a defense of liberty as his excuses for justification of extremism.

Something of this must have been in the mind of Governor Hatfield, of Oregon, in his keynote speech. It fits the situation so perfectly it must be repeated here:

The Republican position—

Declared Hatfield—

challenges any who would destroy freedom, whether they wrap themselves in a false cloak of patriotism or an equally false coat of religion.

And within 48 hours, the party candidate would shout, "moderation is no virtue," when concerned with freedom, from the same platform.

For its clarity of expression and its sound American doctrine, portions of Hatfield's speech cry for repeated reading:

We have faith in the forces of law and order under our Constitution. There are

bigots who spew forth venom and hate. They must be overcome and the Republican Party will lead the quest for victory in the struggle to change the minds and hearts of men because it is only by such a victory that human dignity will be won and preserved.

Although his denunciation of "extreme bigoted groups which include the Communists, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society" brought part of the audience in the hall to their feet and stopped the speech for a full minute, when the time came to vote, the voice vote was adjudged against platform planks to name the groups as objectionable.

Hatfield, as keynoter and as a promising political leader in the Republican Party today, set the pace for the convention. No vote was taken after his speech, the pause of a full minute seemed to promise that the convention was opposed to extremists.

Governor Rockefeller and the Nation found out about this the following day. Rockefeller had urged a plank in the platform naming the Birch Society as objectionable.

It is essential that this convention repudiate, here and now any doctrinaire, militant minority, whether Communist, Ku Klux Klan, or Bircher [John Birch Society].

He declared.

There was a wave of boos and catcalls. Shouts of "No, no," interrupted him. And the plank was overwhelmingly rejected.

But the convention had a third chance to reject extremism.

Governor Romney of Michigan led a fight for almost the same plank as that advocated by Rockefeller except that it did not name Birch or any other group.

His efforts were no more successful than Rockefellers.

The Romney plank was rejected by a voice vote. Some 2,600 and more delegates and alternates sat on the convention floor. They are allegedly selected to represent the people of this Nation. If they do represent the people, we are in a sad plight. More than the two party system is at stake, if this is true.

The power of the Birch Society is no longer in question. It has been claimed that more than a hundred were in attendance at the convention, "attended as individuals" according to John Rousselot, of San Marino, Calif., a national organizer for the group, who was defeated for Congress 2 years ago.

A high California political leader is credited with "not wanting too many Birch members on hand," at the convention, but he was not identified by a lady spokesman. Rousselot stated that the society neither endorses candidates nor makes political contributions although it is generally reported that the organization collected more than $2 million last year.

It was vaguely hinted by Rousselot that other Birchers were not too popular with the leaders picking delegates and alternates when he said:

They had more than done their duty in precinct and other local Republican organizations but they were denied a place in the convention—

According to him—

because they might have been controversial.

While the rejection of the Rockefeller and the Romney planks for the platform brought disappointment to some of the delegates, it is interesting to note that Robert Welch, the founder of the Society was reported "pleased and surprised" at the margin by which the Republican convention rejected the plank, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Urbana, Ill., where Welch was reported in conference with a University of Illinois professor and Birch Society leader.

In conclusion, may I state that the developments in San Francisco definitely indicate a party split worse than that of 1912 and while it will be of great help to the Democratic Party in the upcoming election, the end of the two party system will be a blow for Democrats as well as Republicans.

What is the answer?

Will clear thinking and commonsense repudiate the Republican candidate who supports right-to-work laws, who fights the long overdue civil rights bill, who is opposed to a fair living for our farm population, who would end foreign aid, and who can find no merit in health insurance for the aged.

Or will hate and venom continue to dominate the stage while police and demonstrators fight to the death in the public streets?

Only time can provide the answer. Republican leaders charged with the responsibility to provide their party with intelligent and constructive thinking will do well to review the history of Nazi Germany during the early days when President von Hindenburgh was outmaneuvered by an Austrian corporal who brought the greatest disaster of all times to that nation.

Journalism a Career, a Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. EVERETT, Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago Frank R. Ahlgren, who is an outstanding editor of this Nation of the Commercial Appeal at Memphis, made an address to the students of the department of journalism at Mississippi State College for Women.

This address was so outstanding that it was carried in full in the Tennessee Press, which is the publication of the Tennessee Press Association. The address follows:

JOURNALISM A CAREER, A CHALLENGE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, Memphis, recently addressed students of the department of journalism at Mississippi State College for Women. His subject: The demands for success in a newspaper career and the satisfactions of such a caree. Editor Ahlgren's address was widely acclaimed. The Tennessee Press presents it in full.)

(By Frank R. Ahlgren)

I know of no more rewarding occupation than journalism in this thrilling age. Rapid and mass communications have become a major component of life in our kind of society, and journalism is perhaps the most important area of modern communication.

With all its competition from television, radio, news magazines and newsletters, the daily newspaper remains the most audible and urgent voice of a free country.

I confess that after a lifetime in the newspaper profession I may show some bias on this subject. But I find no conclusive proof that the printed word and the fully explored written report are not superior to the fleeting, temporary images and capsule reports of the television newscast. There is, too, the advantage of a consistently local approach to the problems which confront the particular readers of any given newspaper.

Let me not disparage the attraction and importance of a televised presidential news conference or astronaut launching. But the fact remains that when the deed is done, there will be many who missed the television moment because of the timing, and these will scan the newspaper reports at their leisure. It is the newspaper which most quickly will provide penetrating analysis and interpretation of large events. And only the newspaper brings to the individual citizen the broad accounting of what is happening to his neighbors, what his mayor is up to, how his city or county is shaping his own life, who has died, who has been married, who has been hailed into court.

After the troubles that beset the campus of the University of Mississippi last fall, a young sophomore living on the Ole Miss grounds confessed to me that he actually knew very little about what was happening around him then and that he read the Commercial Appeal each morning to find out.

MAKES PROFESSION REWARDING

Such comment is what makes this a rewarding profession. Oh, we are abused and criticized, but if we weren't we would know we were not doing much of a job. The mere fact that people clamor for newspapers when they want news is assurance enough, and the occasional compliment from an unexpected source lifts our spirits more than a hatful of pep pills.

Newspapermen know they are needed. There is no known substitute for their product. So there is a great inner satisfaction to be attained by those who know that they have done their work well, and to the best of their ability.

Some of you know this. Some of you who are still students are wondering.

There is so much discussion about how young people are being pushed ahead socially and how dangerous it is to your lives. But you are being pushed in another way which may explain in part, to those of us who are older, why you appear to grow up so fast. It's an accepted fact that the wise youngster of this day is the one who picks his career early and pursues a systematic course of study toward that work. If he plans a lifetime in electronics, chemistry, surgery, or even storekeeping, there is so much to be learned, so much to be absorbed if he hopes to be a success.

The same has become true in journalism.

Not so many years ago, newspapermen seemed to drift up out of a cloud. Some were college men, but a good many were not. Don't misunderstand me: many of the old-timers were intelligent, quick-witted, and often brilliant journalists. They had the drive to be self-educated, and the inherent curiosity that makes a good newspaperman.

TAKES MORE THAN WIT

But you and I know that today it requires more than quick wit and native intelligence

to fully comprehend the complex workings of the world. Certainly, it is helpful to know where you are headed and to prepare yourself for the trip.

Many industries and businesses are bidding for the services of the college graduate, and newspapers are right in there among them. Editor & Publisher recently declared that newspapers currently need 3,500 new editorial personnel each year and that this is about 1,000 more than the journalism schools turn out annually. Furthermore, quite a number of the journalism graduates go into public relations and other fields of communications.

Even with demand outrunning supply, conscientious newspaper editors have to be selective in hiring. At today's salaries, and with today's fringe benefits, the editor has a considerable investment in each of his editorial personnel. For that reason, he puts great store in experience and past performance, individual stamina and aggressiveness, and a broad but firm footing in education. All the more reason why those who may be entertaining the thought of a newspaper career must do the groundwork early.

Part of that preparation is a journalistic education. Simply to know and understand some of the problems of mechanical production of a newspaper will be extremely helpful. A comprehension of editorial department organization will make it clear how the individual, whether he be on rewrite, on a beat, or on the copydesk, fits into the team it takes to put out a daily paper.

Finally, and most important, is training in the art of observing, organizing facts, and writing clearly.

OBTAIN LIBERAL EDUCATION

I still know of no better way to become a journalist, or a writer for any medium, than to obtain a liberal education.

If you are to nurture intellectual character it must be done through the avenue of the liberal education. To put it simply: Learn as much as you can about the classics, the peaks of human thought; study and seek to understand the history of civilization and of your own country; learn the languages of other people; enrich yourself with a love for art, music and literature; and obtain—as time will permit—as much knowledge as you can in the field of science, which is perhaps the dominant force in the world we know.

Unless you possess a real love of knowledge, the newspaper career will be a trade rather than a vocation for you.

But this is the really exciting thing about working for a newspaper. Every shred of knowledge you have gained will contribute to your ability as a journalist, because this is one of the most varied businesses I know.

As a reporter, you may be called upon to interview a rocket technician one day, an architect another day, a high political figure another day, or the skipper of a nuclear-powered submarine, or a famous sculptor, a beekeeper, an oil magnate, a foreign student, a police chief, a captured bank robber, a murderer—the list and the possibilities are infinite.

Sunday your assignment may be to listen to a sermon and write understandingly about a particular church denomination. Do you know anything about religion, the differences in church organization, the ecumenical movement, and so on?

Monday, between writing obituaries and answering the city desk phone, you may be sent to the airport to talk briefly to a famed astronaut who is between planes during a cross-country trip. Do you know something about the brief but complex history of space exploration? Can you ask intelligent questions about the space ventures scheduled in the near future?

Tuesday, having returned to the office from covering a civic luncheon and speech, you may be sped out again to interview a visiting Senator at a hotel. Let's suppose he is involved at the moment in a highly publicized dialog with the White House about the constitutionality of certain Presidential actions. Are you familiar with the Constitution? Do you know how Congress operates? Have you studied the history of the Presidency, and the changes made by various Presidents in the powers of that office?

Wednesday, your assignment is to cover a banquet at which a leader in the cotton textile field will address a group. He talks for 45 minutes, and although you have obtained a text of his talk you must be able to select the parts which are newsworthy. You have to compress the gist of his remarks into 350 words, and the speech has about 4,000 words. Will you be able to spot the key phrases which are meaningful to the cotton-growing community, and to the general public?

Thursday, let us imagine, a member of a city commission reveals a new plan for urban renewal in a certain slum section. Another reporter has the job of telling that part of the story, but this happens to be an area where there has been a lot of controversy over the question of development along industrial or residential lines, and a side story is needed on that angle. You're given the side story to write. This means you've got to consult with the other reporter to understand the new developments, and then conduct research in the morgue, read old clippings, and digest the background of the controversy.

This is no casual matter, for you may have to check back on certain facts to be certain that they were accurately reported the first time, and you may have to contact numerous important people for new information. They must know, when you ask a question, that you are fully aware of what has happened before, because outsiders always assume that a reporter knows anything his newspaper has published and they have a right to that assumption.

Friday and Saturday—well, you've had a busy 5-day week so you get these 2 days off.

EACH DAY A CHALLENGE

Every day is a new challenge to a newspaperman. This applies to the desk man, the general assignment reporter, the copy reader (for he must be ready to challenge a story which appears based on misinformation or which does not conform to previously reported facts), and even the "cub," to whom the entire newspaper atmosphere is new and alien.

Rewards? To the new man on the staff it is exciting merely to see his own words in print. The byline, when it is earned, gives him added satisfaction, for it signifies he has done an exceptional job. Finally, there is the reward of knowing that you have given your community, the people you live wth, a satisfying journal of the events which affect their lives most.

The late John H. Sorrells, who rubbed printer's ink into his knuckles in Memphis back in the 1920's, and later was president and general manager of the Memphis Publishing Co. and executive editor of Scripps-Howard Newspapers, once said, "A newspaper gives cohesion and direction and purpose to community life. It agitates; it creates demand; it articulates wants and needs; it establishes and preserves standards of public morals. It is the community's physician, father confessor, and advocate."

To the young person considering a career in journalism, John Sorrells said: "It seems to me that the newspaper business would prove inadequate and unsatisfactory to any one who considers it as merely the means of earning a living, because the newspaper is more than a business or a trade or a profession; it's a way of life.

"One who goes into newspaper work ought to consider that he is enlisting in a cause, is dedicating his life to something. He should inquire not only about the material rewards, but also ask about the spiritual rewards.

"What a man will put into the newspaper business, if he is in earnest, will be hard work, a rigid mental discipline, a certain self-denial, an unglorified anonymity. What he will get out of it, materially, can be easily disposed of. Despite sneers and charges and accusations to the contrary, newspaper work pays well.

"The newspaper business is annual, not seasonal; it is stable; it provides year-round employment, at an annual wage. The hours are decent, the working conditions good. Newspaper people are invariably persons of size in their communities. They have high standards of living; they live in the reflected prestige of their institution."

Again he said: "The newspaper business is not decadent; it has not lost its purpose or direction; it has not lost its ideals or its idealism. How long it continues that way does not lie with me, or men of my age; it rests with men of your age. It lies with the younger men who are asking themselves what it has to offer, and must decide whether the rewards are commensurate with what they must put into it. Journalism's vitality can feed only upon the vitality of new energy and new ideas."

Do you want to try it?

BUILD FOUNDATION

Then avail yourselves of the advantages right here before you. What you learn in your journalism studies will give you a foundation for the experience you may seek later. But also ground yourself well—while you are young and eager—in the humanities. Your English studies are so obviously necessary that I must assume you are reading, writing and learning all you can. Remember that contemporary events, whether in your community or in Washington or Paris or Moscow or Katanga, can be understood fully only when you know history.

Recognize the fact that money is an essential ingredient of human psychology and behaviorism and educate yourselves in the "dismal science" of economics. Obtain more than a smattering of knowledge in political science. Make a comparative study of governmental systems. Find out how our courts operate, and store away in your mind the rudiments of law and its history. Pick up what you can on the subjects of religion and theology, drama, labor and management, military science, chemistry, psychology—any wee bit of information which may someday pay off at some unexpected moment.

Above all, learn to know yourself. Your own sense of independence will pay untold dividends in newspaper work. A probing and skeptical mind will be as useful as a fluent pen. Relate yourself to the world around you and absorb experience. Make it a part of you.

Keep your integrity. You have heard many scholars say that the more they learn, the less they know. That is the honest mind at work. It creates the incentive to learn more. Like the educator, the journalist never ceases to be curious. He is always reading, asking questions, and trying to build blocks of truth out of the answers he obtains.

Rewarding? I've been involved in the business since I stepped out of adolescence. I've seen many newspapermen come and go—some up and some down. But I wouldn't feel that the blood was pulsing in my veins if I couldn't hear the presses throb each day, and see the warm paper roll out with the ink still wet. If there was a day when there weren't problems—and some moments of high exhilaration—it would seem incomplete. At the end of each of those thousands of days behind me there has been the sense of satisfaction.

Maybe some can obtain that same satisfaction in other vocations, but for those like me it comes only through a love that is given to and returned by a life in journalism.

Dean of American Economics Professors Lauds Patman Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, for a committee to work so hard and then find an eminent authority to support its effort must be a great satisfaction to its members. A subcommittee of Chairman PATMAN's Banking and Currency Committee has labored the past 6 months to see not only what makes the Federal Reserve "tick," but more importantly, how it might be made to "tick" better.

Along comes Dr. Seymour E. Harris, the prestigious Harvard economics professor emeritus, who writes an impressive commendatory letter to The Washington Post on July 16. In it, Professor Harris, who was a top Kennedy economic adviser, states flatly a prime contention of Chairman PATMAN's for many years—"On no issue of economic policy has more nonsense been written than on the independence of the Federal Reserve System."

The letter certifies as valid the many contentions of Chairman PATMAN and most of his Democratic colleagues, and in effect, supports the basic recommendations that have recently come out of the subcommittee. I believe it imperative that the full text of Dr. Harris' letter be presented for the RECORD. Majority members of the subcommittee are: WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, chairman; HENRY S. REUSS, of Wisconsin; CHARLES A. VANIK, of Ohio; CLAUDE PEPPER, of Florida; JOSEPH G. MINISH, of New Jersey; CHARLES L. WELTNER, of Georgia; RICHARD T. HANNA, of California; CHARLES H. WILSON, of California.

The text of Dr. Harris' letter follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 16, 1964]

CHANGING THE FED

The House Committee on Banking and Currency is to be congratulated for its proposed changes in the Federal Reserve System. Two crucial issues are at stake: First, the independence of the Fed; second, its constituency.

On no issue of economic policy has more nonsense been written than on the independence of the Federal Reserve System. And no one has proclaimed this independence more insistently than Mr. William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

What exactly does independence mean? In the famous accord of the early 1950's, Senator DOUGLAS made it clear that the Fed should not be required by the Treasury to manufacture money and induce inflation, merely in order to keep the price of Government securities high and the rate of interest on these securities low. This does not mean that the Fed has no responsibility vis-a-vis the Government security market—the Federal Government accounts for 20 percent of our economy—but merely that policies in favor of Government should not be overdone. I am glad that Congressman PATMAN was induced to abandon the idea of making the Secretary of the Treasury once more a member of the Board. The Treasury might overweigh the objectives of a good bond market.

But what the Patman committee now seeks is an avowal that the Fed's policies will be integrated with those of the Executive, that is to say, if, for example, the Government seeks full employment, relative stability of prices, and reasonable balance in international accounts, the Fed would have no alternative but to follow policies that help the Government achieve these ends. This is a must. We cannot afford, in these days of crisis, the luxury of the Executive going one way and the Fed another.

Under President Kennedy, there were threats of restrictive monetary policy (e.g. at one point Mr. Martin would veto the tax cut by not financing the deficit out of additional money). The inference of Mr. Martin, at times, was that the new Treasury issues would have to be purchased out of additional savings made possible by a rise in interest rates. But he early retreated from this position. President Kennedy and President Johnson would not tolerate the kind of monetary policy that pleased President Eisenhower and his top aids.

On the second issue, the constituency: President Wilson asked for a Federal Reserve Board to protect the interests of the Nation; not the financial interests alone. An Open Market Committee which largely determines monetary policy and has heavy representation from the Federal Reserve banks, is contrary to the spirit of Wilson's Federal Reserve System.

The Board itself gives too much attention to the wishes of the financial interests. The banks even more so. Financial interests are biased in favor of excessive monetary restriction and high price for their product and restricted supplies. They might do better, though they do not seem to realize it, by selling more at lower prices.

Hence, I hope the Congress will, as Congressman PATMAN wishes, remove Reserve bank officials from the Open Market Committee and also shorten the terms of members of the Board so that they are more sensitive to the interests of the Nation. A 4-year term would make them more sensitive to the needs of the Nation and to the demands of administration economic policy.

Edgerly House: A Milestone in the Treatment of Narcotics Addiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to note that the advocates of a more enlightened and humane view of the drug addict—particularly the female drug addict—recently achieved a modest but highly significant success. This success was the recent dedication in New York City of Edgerly House, a four-story, two-building "halfway house" designed to help women drug addicts regain a constructive role in society.

The existence of Edgerly House is a product of the dreams and efforts of many people. It required a community-wide effort, in which foundations and a great number of private individuals contributed more than $70,000, to secure the buildings which will be known as Edgerly House. The institution is named after the Edgerly family which made a large gift of money to the project.

While Edgerly House owes its existence to the generosity of many, it is basically the product of the vision of one man—Father Daniel Egan, S.A., of the Graymoor Fathers, reverently known to female addicts as our "junkie priest." For years Father Egan has nursed the dream of establishing a halfway house for girls leaving prison where they can live until they are strong enough to stand on their own feet with a renewed sense of self-respect. It has been his belief that their most immediate need is a place to come for a meal, to get in out of the cold, to take a bath, find some clothes, or perhaps just sit and relax and talk to someone who likes and understands them—a club, a haven where they can feel safe.

The establishment of Edgerly House is dramatic indication of the success of Father Egan's earlier venture in this unexplored region. Two years ago, in November of 1962, the community of Greenwich Village, inspired largely by Father Egan, formed the Village Haven, a voluntary and experimental effort to help the female drug addict. As important as this effort was, Village Haven could not accommodate girls overnight. A bigger and better place was needed to take care of girls until they could get reestablished. In Edgerly House, such a place has now been found.

This new facility will accommodate about 35 women. The halfway house has 36 cheerful bedrooms, large living room, dining room, a kitchen, a clinic, and crafts and classrooms. Further, it will be staffed by competent professional counselors and assistants as well as women volunteers.

Like the haven, Edgerly House is nonsectarian—open to all races, creeds, and religions.

Mr. Speaker, the establishment of Edgerly House should serve to remind us of the need for legislation to combat the very complex problem of narcotics addiction. It is time to consider new approaches, approaches suggested by the successes of Father Egan's Village Haven. At the same time, I call this body's attention to bills I introduced in the 87th Congress to establish new Federal-State programs for the construction and operation of narcotics hospital facilities. In addition, this legislation would have had the State, in order to be eligible for assistance, establish an adequate aftercare program for addicts who had been released from hospitals. A second bill I introduced would have provided for the civil commitment of drug users. Its purpose was to permit treatment and aftercare supervision of victims of narcotic addiction. The important thing is that such civil commitments would not have been deemed a criminal conviction.

It is time, in my opinion, to place the problem of drug addiction in its proper perspective—that it is one for medical solutions rather than penal. Little progress will be made toward cure and the abolition of illegal traffic in drugs until the need for drugs is stamped out. This cannot be accomplished as long as known

addicts are treated as criminals. In the area of law the Nation has a long way to go to combat this very large and complex problem.

But in the area of human awareness a very great contribution has been made with the establishment in New York of Edgerly House, the first institution of its kind in the United States. Indeed, this communitywide project is proving what Father Egan has always known to be true—the plight of the female addict is not hopeless. It is his view that many girls want help and can be rehabilitated, but first they need people who care and who will be there when they need help. This they now have in Edgerly House.

Late in June of this year the "halfway house" was formally dedicated, an occasion that was attended by representatives of social welfare organizations and foundations, the clergy, civic leaders, and private citizens. During ceremonies the following message from Father Egan was read in part:

It [the halfway house] seemed like an impossible dream, but with the help of sympathetic people it has become a reality.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to commend Father Egan and the many others who had a hand in establishing Edgerly House. It is an important step in developing an enlightened approach to the problem of narcotics addiction. Also, I wish to add that if it is to become the great success it can be, it will need the continued support from all of us. If this support is forthcoming, the existence of this house will mean the salvation of countless women in the years to come. One example of this support must come from the Government. I can think of no better investments in this area than a grant of assistance to Edgerly House for research into the causes of narcotics addiction.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent agreement, the article which appeared in the July 2 Greenwich Village Villager, describing the Edgerly House dedication ceremonies, follows:

DEDICATE EDGERLY HOUSE—ACCOMMODATES 35 GIRLS; VOLUNTEERS TO AID STAFF

A wide-ranging community effort to help women drug addicts regain a constructive role in society bore fruit last Monday with the formal dedication of Edgerly House, a four-story, two-building "halfway house" on West 15th Street.

According to Edgar T. Hussey, president of the West Side Savings bank, and president of Edgerly House, over $70,000 has been donated, through last May 31, to the institution by foundations and private individuals since it incorporated on June 18 of last year.

Representatives of the social welfare organizations and foundations which had contributed to the institution, the clergy and private citizens turned out to tour Edgerly House.

The halfway house has 36 spanking-clean bedrooms painted in cheerful colors, large living room, dining room, and kitchen, a clinic, and crafts and class rooms. It will be able to accommodate about 35 women at one time, providing living quarters until they can get reestablished. It will be staffed by competent professional counselors and assistants, aided by friendly women volunteers.

MESSAGE FROM FATHER EGAN

The dedication was formally conducted by Mr. Hussey, who has worked tirelessly to raise money for the institution. Mr. Hussey read a message from Father Daniel Egan, S.A., the Graymoor priest who through his work to better the lot of the drug addicts in general and female drug addicts in particular has come to be known affectionately as the "Junkie Priest."

It was Father Egan whose appeal to the Village Kiwanis Club and to Mr. Hussey in 1962 started a movement to better the lot of the women released, with little or no money or place to turn, from the Women's House of Detention in Greenwich Village.

Through the efforts of Mr. Hussey, a top floor was arranged for in a Sixth Avenue building to start the project on its way. Help was forthcoming from community groups like the Lions and Kiwanis Clubs, and a number of Village women and merchants helped the "Village Haven" as it was first called, on a volunteer basis. A board of directors was formed and the institution incorporated.

MISS EDGERLY'S GIFT

A large gift of money by Patricia Edgerly helped when a building was being sought, and the present structure has been named for the Edgerly family.

Miss Edgerly, with many others, was present at the gathering on Monday.

The message from Father Egan read in part: "It [the halfway house] seemed like an impossible dream, but with the help of sympathetic people it has become a reality."

Among those present were Queens district attorney, Frank O'Connor; business leader, Nathan Straus; Judge Anna Kross; New York City commissioner of correction, Albert McCarthy; chairman of Edgerly House, Dona Felisa R. Gautier; mayor of San Juan, P.R.; Mrs. Triestine Cutrona, executive director of Edgerly House; and Albert J. De Sanctis, deputy commissioner, department of welfare. Many others from all areas of community life were also present.

Mr. O'Connor, speaking for the law-enforcement people in New York City, said he was glad to see the enlightened approach of the Edgerly House brought into being.

A brochure from Edgerly House, pointing out that the project will continue urgently to need funds in the future, points out: "In the city of New York, there is a department to arrest a girl, a department to judge her guilty, a department to punish her—but no department to help the non-parolee (95 percent) when she needs it most—upon release. The whole chain of rehabilitation, at present, is minus this link, and with the link missing—there is no chain." The brochure also observes that 80 to 85 percent of the women released from the Women's House of Detention are addicted to drugs.

Among other community efforts to raise funds for the project was a recent party held by Leon Lianides of the Coach House Restaurant on Waverly Place, which raised $4,000.

The A.T. & T.: A Great American Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes it is difficult to put into words precisely the genius of free enterprise. The concept of free business under the profit system, itself almost synonymous with capitalism, in some quarters of the world by Communist and Socialist propaganda has become associated with epithet, as allegedly synonymous with the selfish enrichment of a few fat tycoons.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Thousands of jobs, tens of thousands of dependents, and millions upon millions of dollars of investments of average citizens are pledged in good faith to the management of America's huge and creditable Telephone & Telegraph Co. The policies of this blue chip corporation affect each of us and it is to the everlasting credit of the management of A.T. & T. that those policies are soundly efficient.

Every once in a while amidst a plethora of editorial comment that is disgustingly enervating of the national esprit des corps there is found an editorial that helps America to be proud of our system. Such an editorial appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star, entitled "Back to Capitalism."

Under unanimous consent I am inserting this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I commend its reading to all interested citizens:

BACK TO CAPITALISM

Having taken the telephone company to task on several occasions for all-digit-dialing and other nefarious schemes, we'd like now to offer a small bouquet to A.T. & T. We got the idea on a recent trip to Europe.

No one accustomed to the ubiquitous American drugstore phone booth, with its ability to accommodate either nickels or dimes, can come away from a contest with the German, French, or British equivalent without a traumatic shock.

Part of the trouble is political. Foreign telephones are apt to be run by the government, and one often finds a booth by looking for the local post office, not a drugstore. The booths are scarce. In Bonn, the capital of Western Germany, there are precisely two phone booths in the main railroad station where one can make a local call. Lines of frustrated customers form everywhere, but with the profit motive missing, the governments remain indifferent to customer needs.

Then there is the matter of coins. In Germany, only 10-pfennig coins will work. In France, the customer must purchase a special token to operate a pay phone. In England, the whole system is Pickwickian. Some booths require a threepence coin inserted after the call is placed. Others instruct the citizen to drop four huge British pennies into a black box before dialing. He waits until his party says "Hello," then pushes a plunger marked "A." With luck, the pennies crash through a trapdoor into another box, whereupon the two parties are able to hear each other. In the midst of their conversation, however, a beeping noise will interrupt, giving the caller a brief, frantic moment to insert four more coins. If he lacks the precise change, the phone will go dead.

It's enough to drive a man back to smoke signals. Or to a capitalistic, moneymaking, efficient phone company.

Why I Am a Conservative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my district's most outstanding citizens, Mr. James C. White, of Kingsport, Tenn.,

recently forwarded me the article, "Why I Am a Conservative," which appeared in the March 1964 issue of the Johns Hopkins magazine.

This article, written by Gottfried Dietze, professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University, is the best that I have had the privilege of reading and I commend it to my colleagues and to all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHY I AM A CONSERVATIVE

(By Gottfried Dietze)

INFRINGEMENTS AGAINST THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY IN THE 20TH CENTURY HAVE SAPPED THE WESTERN NATIONS' STRENGTH AND ROBBED INDIVIDUALS OF INITIATIVE

(Last spring, a well-known political scientists reprimanded his colleagues for shying away from the controversial issues of our day, such as civil rights and welfare legislation. But he might well have criticized also those who discuss these topics but fail to take clear and uncompromising stands on the ground that this is precluded by the scientific nature of their work.

(To me, this guise of scientific objectivity is strange in those who claim political science as their profession. The search for truth can hardly be confined to describing existing conditions. It goes deeper. It assumes that things are not perfect and thus not demonstrative of truth in a broader meaning. The search for truth is not only a quest for veritas, but also one for rectitudo, a search for the what is right. It requires criticism and suggestions for improvement.

(In Germany I witnessed a value-free political science help to bring about an authoritarian form of government which destroyed academic freedom. In part, this is what prompted me to write "In Defense of Property." That book unequivocally contests prevalent academic and popular sentiments which favor a perverted concept of civil rights by discriminating against property rights.

(A reviewer has called the volume an articualtion of Senator GOLDWATER's arguments. The book was not written with that objective. "In Defense of Property" grew out of research which for the past decade has been concerned with human rights and constitutional government. Inquiries into the philosophical foundations and the history of property convinced me of its importance for our civilization and strengthened my belief that infringements upon property rights will lead to serfdom.

(Many of today's so-called liberals are not only indifferent to the protection of property, but in favor of its curtailment. I am interested in the protection of all human rights, including those of property. My book was written not in order to elevate property above other rights, but in order to restore it to its traditional rank on a par with life and liberty.

(The following excerpts from "In Defense of Property" were selected by the editors of the Johns Hopkins magazine, and are published with the kind permission of the Henry Regnery Co. As in all such undertakings, there is a decided risk here of incomplete representation of the author. But my mind was somewhat set at ease when Salvador de Madariaga—perhaps the only great Spaniard left after the passing of his friends Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset—wrote me, having just received the book: "It tastes good. (I've had a few sips of it.)" And so, to the readers, "Bon appétit":)

"We have usually thought of democracy as the best guarantee for the freedom of the individual. Indeed, popular government was established for that purpose in the great democratic revolutions. Many of us still believe that democracy has continued to fulfill this function. But is not such a belief an illusion? Has not popular government, originally adopted to end despotism, itself become despotic in the degenerated form of sheer majority rule?

"On the whole, popular government has been considered superior to other forms of government because it is felt that the people are the best guardians of their liberties. This supposition is justified, as long as the people are sufficiently wise and educated to appreciate their liberties and to know how to protect them. Also, it is generally believed that majority rule is superior to minority rule as far as the protection of the rights of the individual is concerned. Again, this is true as long as the majority cares sufficiently for the rights of the individual, irrespective of whether he belongs to the majority or not. On the other hand, as soon as the majority cares only for its members and not for other individuals, it becomes dangerous.

"The introduction of universal suffrage was extremely important for the development of democracy. Democratic government acquired a broadder basis. With the abolition of property qualifications, that basis consisted no longer of the well-to-do, but also of the not-so-well-to-do.

"The more property qualifications were eased, the more government became based upon the vote of the poor. Democracy, originally based on virtue and talent, became increasingly based upon numbers. Gradually the poor came to rule the rich. Moreover, with the incerasing abolition of property qualifications poorer and poorer elements were admitted to the ruling majority. More and more, the moderately poor were outnumbered by the very poor. The ruling majority became poorer and poorer.

"The march of democracy was also a march toward egalitarianism. Equality before the law was complemented by the equal right of all to make the law. But this was not enough. The equal right of all to make the law resulted in the tendency to make all equal by the law. Since other privileges had been abolished in the democratic revolutions, the surviving privilege of wealth was likely to receive increased attention as an anomaly in a democracy. A thorn in the eyes of a few at the beginning of the democratic era, it became a beam in the eyes of the many once egalitarian democracy had advanced. Having become absolute, democratic government, the mouthpiece for the underprivileged masses, endeavored to gain a more equal distribution of property. Of course, this could be done only by impairing the property rights of the individual.

"Occasionally, the Declaration of Independence is considered to favor the poor over the rich and a fair distribution of property rather than its protection. It is said that the statement, 'all men are created equal,' elevates equality over freedom. However, this is hardly the case. 'Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' are considered unalienable rights of man, while equality is not. The most significant principle of the Declaration is not equality, but freedom. And nowhere in this document can there be found any indication that the value of property is not equal to any of the particular liberties which the Declaration asserts.

"Property is intimately related to life and freedom. It is a prerequisite of the freedom to be and to act. It is as old as life and freedom, and also as important. Property rights are thus distinguishable from such rights as freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly and association, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and so forth. For these rights were not present at the beginning of life. Furthermore, originally they did not enjoy a status equal to that of life and of freedom.

"Property is essential for freedom. The plant which is uprooted has not only its life endangered, but also, its freedom to grow is threatened. An animal deprived of food not only starves to death, but also lacks freedom of action. If a man is deprived of his property, then the development of his personality is retarded. It does not matter whether only his immediate necessities, or what he has stored for later consumption or exchange are taken away. Although depriving him of his immediate necessities threatens his life, the removal of any property would be just as detrimental, because it would threaten his free development and thus his freedom of existence.

"In the 19th century, freedom was the rule and infringements upon liberty, the exception. In the 20th, although lipservice is still paid to the inviolability of freedom, regulations of the individual's rights are so numerous that they seem to have become the rule, and freedom, the exception.

"This is especially true of private property. The protection it enjoyed has waned. The increase of its protection during the 19th century, an increase that, no matter what forms it may have taken in the various countries and how far it may have gone, was so great that one could speak of the century of free property, was followed by a sharp decline. The former intensity of appreciation now was matched by one of disparagement. The exceptional qualifications of free property that had been permitted in the 19th century, increased until there were so many of them that restriction of property became the rule, and free property, the exception.

"Of all the liberties of the individual, that of property fared the worst. Its individualistic concept was replaced by a social one to a greater and greater extent. Not only was static property attacked, but also, the free use of property was restricted. To make things complete, even the freedom to acquire property was curtailed. Property gained in the past, property existing at present, property to be acquired in the future—every kind of property was questioned.

"This development became increasingly absurd. Originally, restrictions upon private property were justified on grounds of social justice. Debatable as such a justification is in view of the vagueness of that term and the fact that people possessed equal rights to acquire and use property, restrictions were defended if they facilitated the acquisition of property by those who were underprivileged or handicapped. However, soon afterwards, restrictions were made not for the sake of creating greater opportunities, but for that of giving property to those who did not take advantage of opportunities. Property, one of man's great incentives throughout history, became restricted for the sake of laziness. Restrictions for the sake of social justice degenerated, inevitably, it seems, into restrictions for the sake of the welfare state and socialism.

"Aside from general restrictions of the free use of property there were restrictions of a more particular character. Covering personal as well as real property, these restrictions varied, although they were concerned mainly with the conservation of goods. Specific types of property were curbed. Such curbs were motivated by different considerations, ranging from those of an aesthetic to those of an ethical, and from those of a more ideal to those of a more material nature. Private property was restricted for the beautification of town and country; for the planning of housing; for securing food supplies; in the interest of good working conditions; in the interest of traffic, to name only some major instances. There was a veritable deluge of regulations.

"Restrictions of the right to abuse one's property are problematic in spite of the presumption that they restrict only the less desirable excesses of property rights.

"If I am prohibited to tear down an old building because of its historic value and to build a new one in its place for more profitable use, the damage I suffer is likely to be out of proportion to the benefit reaped by

each particular visitor with historical interests.

"Does the razing of an intact building constitute waste if the new building erected in its place is likely to be more profitable to the owner? In short, where can the line be drawn between waste and nonwaste? Who is to decide this question? The people, society, or the Government? Is not the owner better qualified?

"Social legislation began in a manner that apparently did not offend many defenders of property. In the beginning, it was stressed that only the excesses of liberalism and free property were to be curtailed. And just as the prohibition of chicanery had been defended on ethical grounds, social legislation was defended on humanitarian grounds. It started with labor legislation.

"Restrictions of labor by children under 12 is one thing; restrictions of the work by those under 16 is already another thing; restrictions of the employment of adult women is still another matter. The general establishment of maximum hours, irrespective of whether the worker is in danger or not, can scarcely be defended. The humanitarian factor of preserving the health of the worker is too small to justify interference with the individuals right to work and to acquire property.

"Legislation restricting free work and free property, felt to be defensible as long as the humanitarian advantage was out of proportion to the liberal disadvantage, became less defensible as soon as this disadvantage increased. Liberty, originally restricted by humanitarian considerations, gradually became curtailed under pseudohumanitarian motives.

"Today it may be said that the Constitution is no longer a constitution of property. The Supreme Court, having become a tool of the social and socialist passions of the day, has interpreted the Constitution in a social manner and transformed it into an instrument for the fulfillment of social needs rather than for the protection of the freedom of the individual and of private property.

"The fall of private property, an event so far-reaching that it is probably the outstanding social feature of our time, provokes questions about the reason for that fall. How could free property, having finally been established after centuries of struggle, having become transmuted from a natural right into positive law, and solemnly been confirmed by constitutions, decline as much as it did within the short span of a few decades?

"We witnessed in this century how the material achievements of generations were destroyed within seconds. We have lamented the values that were thus lost. But these earthly things, precious as they may have been, are usually replaceable. The situation is more serious when ideas are being destroyed. And, although it has hardly been as much noticed as the destruction of more tangible goods, the destruction of the idea of free property is probably the greatest loss we have suffered during this century.

"The decline of property occurred because it was desired by the forces which had been latent throughout the liberal era; namely, the forces of egalitarianism. In spite of the emancipation of men and the opening of opportunities to all, human nature remained much the same. Liberalism, securing to men the right and opportunity to become rich also permitted them to remain poor. It was not only an incentive to hard work, but also a license to laziness.

"Owing to social conditions, but probably more as a result of their inclinations toward idleness, many people remained poor and did not come to share the enormous wealth that was produced as a result of the emancipation of property. Since the later 19th century, these poorer segments of society came increasingly to the fore. Aided by the march of democracy, they came to constitute a powerful majority. As such, they were able to impose their will upon the property-owning minority.

"Equality poses a problem for the existence of freedom, just as freedom poses a problem for equality. Unlimited freedom is likely to result in inequality, just as unqualified equality will have a restriction of freedom in its wake.

"One important reason for the victory of equality is that equality is a mass right. By contrast, freedom is an individualistic right. That is why absolute freedom is anarchy. It is the essence of freedom that it entitles an individual to be outside the crowd and independent of others. A person caring for freedom cares for being able to do things in his own way. He prays the way he wants to and joins the associations he wants to, irrespective of what others think or do.

"Equality, on the other hand, is not characterized by individualism. It is a collective right, a right that is dependent upon other people and presupposes the existence of such people. It is the essence of equality that it entitles an individual to be equal to others; i.e., to be one among many rather than to be outside and independent of them. Of course he wants his freedom. But he does not want it so much in order to be free, but in order to be equal. Inadvertently, equality has become an end in itself.

"So often today we read that the West has no direction, no aim. But we cannot very well have direction and aim if the individual citizen is not encouraged to aim at something that he can be sure will be his permanently. And this cannot be realized as long as private property is not safe.

"John Adams once said that 'the moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence.' Today, many of us are experiencing the tyranny and anarchy he dreaded. It is the tyranny of the great regulator and distributor, of the New Leviathan of majoritarian democracy, over its gluttonous yet timid citizens. It is the anarchy of a society whose members are at a loss where to go because they feel there is no property to strive for, a society that has come to acknowledge the dogma of the impropriety of property, with all its bad consequences.

"People have become neurotic. This is the era of chainsmoking, coffee breaks, sleeping pills, and psychoanalysis. The cocktail party where people float and drift from standing group to standing group to chat about interesting trivialities has replaced the more intimate sittings where more substantial matters were discussed. Ours is the time of the flirt and the divorce. Few things have enduring quality.

"Even our belongings have become more or less temporary. Deeper affection for a few owned things has been superseded by a shallow interest in merely being acquainted with many things. Formerly, people owned a few books that were lifelong companions. Today, many books are borrowed, read quickly, and never looked at again. Rental galleries supply pictures that satisfy our temporary tastes for a few weeks and are then exchanged for other temporary sights. We appreciate what we perceive only on a temporary, superficial basis. Perhaps that is the reason why the impressionist painters are so fashionable. They depict fleeting appearances, and their message can be grasped in a short, relaxing look.

"Many of us are even afraid of owning and of possessing. Even those who still have some appreciation of property have become panicky. Seeing the swelling tide of curtailments upon property, they live just for the day, spending while they still have something to spend, as much as they can. The man who saves is considered a fool.

"The welfare state not only treats the healthy and mature in an undignified manner. In a complementary process, it abets the less desirable elements of society.

"Legislation favoring debtors does not only in a dubious manner help people in their plight, but even induces them to get into a plight. Since the end of the last century, more and more people have become debtors for buying more and more goods on installment. Western society has become largely a society composed of perennial debtors for whom credit accounts have become more cherished than savings accounts.

"Neurotically, people worry a lifetime over paying their debts. An increasing number even acquire luxuries without bothering about the obligations they contract, trusting that their irresponsible attitude will be matched by their government through further legislation in favor of debtors, complemented by inflation. Après nous, le déluge.

"A worldwide welfare state, achieved largely through foreign aid, in all probability will have the same drawbacks as its national counterpart.

"To begin with, foreign aid is not based upon voluntary actions of the citizens of the donor countries. Rather, it has for its basis infringements by the governments of these nations upon the property of their subjects: It is largely the taxpayer's money that is used to defray the expenses of foreign aid.

"This act of injustice is matched by one of unfairness toward the receiving nations. For foreign aid is scarcely a sign of respect for the dignity of those nations. It indicates a belief that their inhabitants are unable to take care of themselves, that they are immature and sick—underdeveloped. It was not without justification that the people concerned protested against this label as if they had been insulted. By the same token, they should consider it beneath their dignity to request and accept foreign aid. But these considerations do not exhaust the arguments against that institution.

'In the longrun, foreign aid is hardly conducive to the well-being of the receiving nations. It makes them rely on aid, and deprives them of the incentive that is the very prerequisite for progress. Nations that grow through foreign aid are not likely to enjoy the respect of other nations. Everywhere, the self-made man is more respected than the person who achieved something through the help of others. It is not different with nations. All contemporary great nations, the United States being the outstanding example, were, in a sense, once underdeveloped. Yet they were developing and achieving prosperity and greatness largely by means of their own efforts. We even venture to say that their rise might not have been possible had they received much aid.

"It may be argued that foreign aid should not be viewed merely from the point of view of the receiving nations, but also from that of the donor nations; that, while it might not be in the long-range interest of the former, it is in the present interest of the latter, since it is likely to prevent the spreading of communism. The weakness of that argument is, however, already indicated by the fact that in spite of all aid given to the developing countries, most of them have so far refused to actively support a policy of anticommunism. More often than not they seem to side with the Communist bloc rather than with the West.

"It seems to have been overlooked that there are important differences between America's struggle for independence and that of modern nations. American independence was a blessing to Western civilization because it propagated the major value of that civilization—freedom. By contrast, the attainment of independence by many modern nations cannot likewise be called a blessing. For a protection of the rights of the individual has not always resulted from the end of

colonial rule. Often, the departure of the colonial power was followed by the establishment of authoritarian governments, democratic as they may have been, that encroach upon the freedom of the individual and, especially, upon his property.

"Foreign aid probably will have still another bad result. The receiving nations will want more and more. They will first want aid in order to have the necessities of life. But they will not be content with that. They will desire aid for luxuries. And if they do not get all they want, they will, not appreciating how much they already received, turn against us. They will begin with blackmail. They will threaten to aline themselves with the Communist bloc. The sums demanded will become bigger and bigger. In the end, when we finally refuse to pay because we are being bled white, they will join the hostile camp. We, their benefactors, will become their victims. Aided nations will not merely forget to show their appreciation. They will openly display that want of appreciation and not shy away from attacking us.

"The best prospects for a reinstitution of property appear to be in the Western countries themselves. However, this author is pessimistic about the possibility of their realization. For such reinstitution would involve undoing all the harm that has been done to private property ever since the end of the last century.

"It would entail revoking such things as progressive taxation, legislation in favor of debtors, and other social legislation. It would involve turning the clock back to the 19th century. This idea at first sight appears to be retrogressive. Whether it actually is, is another question. There is; to begin with, nothing inherently wrong with conserving old values. It all depends upon what these values are and whether they deserve preservation. They often do, and are truly enduring and classic.

"The term 'reaction' has a bad connotation today. But, having experienced the denunciation of the reaction by the Nazis for 12 long years, the author feels that this is unfair. Let it be stated first that there is nothing inherently wrong with reaction in politics. Politics is nothing but a chain of reactions. Reaction need not retard progress. Indeed it can be a great blessing if it is conducive to freedom. No one would doubt that this was the case with the popular reaction against absolute monarchy. How then can it be denied that a reaction against the despotic features of majoritarian democracy will not also be a blessing? For today, the reaction hardly advocates a reinstitution of absolute monarchy. It largely stands for the preservation of the very regime that, for the sake of freedom and progress, was devised to replace absolute monarchy; namely, limited or constitutional democracy.

"The right of revolution being an important feature of American thought, there must, a fortiori, be a right of nonviolent criticism, radical as it may appear. Instead of flatly denouncing it as radicalism, it is advisable to examine how radical it actually is and what its ends and aims really are. One ought to ask whether those denounced as rightwing radicals, a group that consists largely of conservatives and true liberals, want a radical overthrow of the Government or rather a reform of Government that has, by the original standard of American constitutionalism, become radically defective. In the opinion of this writer, most of them merely want to restore Government to its original and only legitimate function—the protection of freedom, including free property.

"The public must be made aware of the pitfalls of the welfare state and the ill effects of curtailments of private property. Fundamentally, this amounts to reeducating the vital center, the middle class, and to make labor realize that its fortunes lie with a free rather than a regulated society. It is, however, especially important to raise a new generation that once again believes in the liberal tradition and firmly rejects infringements upon free property. That task necessitates teachers who are devoted to that tradition.

"Unfortunately, the chances of revitalizing our aims through education are slim. The young are taken care of to a greater extent than ever before, and they like it. Teachers have become enthusiastic adherents of the welfare state, and seem to be more to the left than most other groups of the middle class. And neither can that class be considered any more as the class that sustains states. It is no longer the state's vital center. Under the spell of the welfare state, it has become more and more devitalized. Nor is labor apt to favor the reinstitution of private property, since it has reaped the greatest benefits from social legislation.

"In a word, the great majority are not likely to be sympathetic to our proposals. This means that our present kind of democracy, majoritarian as it is, cannot bring about the needed reforms. Only its curtailment can offer some hope for the reestablishment of an individualistic concept of property, just as only the containment of democracy could prevent the further deterioration of property rights.

"The progress of the human race, while it may be aided by broadening the democratic basis of government, is unthinkable without a natural aristocracy, an aristocracy that exists by virtue of its striving and its achievements; i.e., by the propriety of property.

"A natural aristocracy, based, as Jefferson put it, upon virtue and talents, is not incompatible with democracy. As a matter of fact, democratic government can serve the important function of emancipating men and of giving the virtuous and talented an opportunity to become natural aristocrats. Thus democracy can be conducive to progress. Obviously, this was the original ratio behind the establishment of popular government. By the same token, democracy must lose its rationale if it precludes a natural aristocracy, if it transforms the equality of opportunity into an egalitarianism that gives to each not according to his ability, but according to his need. The moment that happens, progress is hindered. Incentive and effort are punished because property and achievement are made to appear improper.

Here lies a major problem of Western democracy. We lost the sense for the propriety of property. Ever since free property, having been achieved in a long struggle which was propelled by the conviction that property is something proper, has become restricted, our appreciation of property has declined. Since this curtailment of property has been effected by modern democratic government, the question arises as to whether that type of government has not lost its legitimacy. For it has destroyed one of the main factors in the growth and progress of our civilization; namely, the belief in the propriety of property."

Praise for Hon. Silvio Conte, Congressman From the State of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have an opportunity to call attention to the recognition given one of our most effective colleagues in the House of Representatives. This is Representative SILVIO CONTE, of western Massachusetts, recently described by the New York Times as a man who votes his "convictions for the simple reason that he thinks that's the only way to legislate."

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Representative CONTE, gained national attention for his important and courageous vote against a proposal to cut $515 million from the foreign aid bill. As a result of his stand on this and other key issues, he has caught the editorial eye of a number of leading newspapers, including the New York Times, the Providence Journal, and the Holyoke Daily Transcript. The praise extended by these newspapers is well deserved and should not go unnoticed.

Under unanimous-consent agreement, these editorials follow:

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Daily Transcript, June 27, 1964]

MAN OF CONVICTION

Representative SILVIO CONTE as acted in perfect consistency in opposing further cuts in the administration's foreign aid program. The First District Congressman has been an advocate of a sound foreign aid program since he first went to Washington. As he said in explanation of his votes in the Foreign Aid Subcommittee and in the Appropriations Committee, he has backed foreign aid in the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, and is continuing this stand in the Johnson administration.

Representative CONTE's bipartisanship has been partly a matter of individual conviction and partly an expression of the views of an important segment of Republican leadership, in which two other Massachusetts figures have been influential, Senator SALTONSTALL and former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

These were the men who helped carry a consistent support of an internationalist foreign policy on from the origin leadership of the late Senator Vandenburg, who kept it strong in their support of President Eisenhower, who cooperated with President Kennedy, and who now are determined to save the Republican Party from a relapse into chauvinism.

In our view, therefore, Representative CONTE's firm stand against all the other Republicans on the House committee shows not just that he has the stamina to stand up under angry pressure, but that his GOP colleagues are out of step. This is no time for a partisan split on foreign aid.

If there is to be a fight for further cuts in the measure that President Johnson sent in as bedrock in its request, we hope Republican leadership will come to its senses and see that it is Representative CONTE who is right.

Certainly at the GOP Convention, which Representative CONTE will attend as a delegate, he will have allies in the larger battle to make the Republican Party stand for enlightened moderation. This core group should now be rushing to his support in the face of some pretty heedless threats to punish him for defection from the party line. Representative CONTE has been a credit to both his district and his party.

On the political side, there is an ironic twist to the fact that in the battle in the House Appropriations Subcommittee, where CONTE broke the tie, CONTE won his first major victory in his running battle with Representative OTTO PASSMAN without any help from members of his own party. Representative PASSMAN, a Democrat from Louisiana, and, until he quit in anger on Tuesday, chairman of the subcommittee, has been an

implacable foe of foreign aid and a ruthless slasher of foreign aid funds. Representative CONTE has been a David opposing him all along. Finally his stone hit the mark this week, and he was standing all by himself.

[From the Providence (Mass.) Journal, June 30, 1964]

REPRESENTATIVE CONTE—A MAN TO WATCH

House Minority Leader CHARLES HALLECK cracked the whip last week to force GOP members of the Appropriations Committee to support the party's ill-considered drive for a big cut in foreign aid.

One Republican didn't jump.

The maverick was Representative SILVIO OTTO CONTE a tough, bright, hardworking Congressman from western Massachusetts who does his own thinking. Mr. CONTE, a member of aid-hating OTTO E. PASSMAN'S Appropriations Subcommittee, has devoted a lot of thought to foreign aid, and he has concluded that it serves the national interest. He voted with the Democratic majority to grant the administration's aid request with relatively minor cuts.

Washington insiders say that Mr. CONTE has been the only Member of either party over the years who has had the courage to stand up to Mr. PASSMAN on the aid issue. When Mr. PASSMAN refused to let him visit AID missions around the world as a member of the subcommittee, Mr. CONTE managed to get abroad anyway, as a representative of another congressional committee. Instead of paying the superficial visits to AID mission headquarters in foreign capitals, for which Mr. PASSMAN is famous, Mr. CONTE has visited aid personnel in the field, spending as much as a week in difficult interior areas of developing countries to see for himself how the program really works.

Mr. PASSMAN has refused to permit the printing of Mr. CONTE'S reports on these field trips, but the Congressman from the Bay State has carried his story in person to his constituents and has won solid support from them for his stand on behalf of aid.

This young man—he is only 43—who leads instead of follows, and who has the courage to stand up to the old pros in the House, like Mr. PASSMAN and Mr. HALLECK, is a man to watch. This country could use more like him in public life.

MAVERICK REPUBLICAN—SILVIO OTTO CONTE

WASHINGTON, June 25.—Despite the lack of any physical resemblance, people are always talking about Representative SILVIO OTTO CONTE as the nearest thing to Fiorello H. La Guardia since the former New York mayor left the House of Representatives. One reason for the comparison is his insistence that his republicanism as a Member of the House from Massachusetts will always take second place to his personal integrity and convictions. Another is that few third-term Members of that body have been able to become a burr under the saddle of the Democratic majority and a thorn in the side of his own party leadership.

Mr. CONTE WAS the only Republican member of the Appropriations Committee who sided with President Johnson this week and defied the Republican leadership's demand for a party-line vote to cut $515 million from the foreign aid money bill. On the same day he voted with the Democrats on the floor in support of the mass transit bill while Republicans were voting 3 to 1 against it.

EXPLAINS HIS ATTITUDE

"It's not that I take any pleasure in voting against my Republican colleagues," Mr. CONTE remarked afterwards. "It's only that I refuse to let somebody else do my thinking for me—let alone tell me what my convictions should be."

At 43 years of age, the sandy-haired, short-statured Representative from the First Massachusetts District, has a reputation for "possessing more guts than any House Member twice his size."

When the minority leader, CHARLES A. HALLECK, insisted this week that all Republicans vote for the big cut in the foreign aid money bill as a matter of party loyalty, Mr. CONTE'S friends thought he was in real trouble. When Mr. HALLECK and his aids demanded to know, "Are you with us or against us," they reckoned that his political days were numbered.

Mr. CONTE'S reply was that "I'll have to think about it." But anyone who had watched him over the years knew that, whatever the consequences, he would vote his convictions for the simple reason that he thinks that's the only way to legislate.

When one of his sharpest critics on the Appropriations group asked him today, "Why don't you go over there on the Democratic side and sit with them as long as you're voting with them?" Mr. CONTE quickly retorted with a question of his own. "Why don't you put that question to my constituents?" he asked.

His constituents are in the western counties of Massachusetts.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, once told him: "You probably have the highest concentration of intellectuals of any congressional district in the United States."

He was referring to the many educational institutions in the district—colleges, universities, and preparatory schools.

The future representative was born in Pittsfield on November 9, 1921. He was 19 and had just completed his apprenticeship as a machinist when he enlisted in the Seabees. After 5 weeks in boot camp, he was shipped out to the South Pacific.

"After that I never saw as much as a lathe or a grinder," he recalls. "The bunch I was with spent the duration busting coral rocks and pushing bulldozers to build landing strips and plug the holes the Japs made in them."

After the war he used his GI bill benefits for education. He was accepted by Boston College after an entrance examination for which he prepared himself for 6 months. By attending classes during all summer and other vacation periods he qualified for law school and received his degree.

He entered politics in 1951 as a Republican State senate candidate in a normally Democratic district.

He won and was reelected three times, the last as the nominee of both parties.

He won his House seat in 1958 and in 1962 he received the highest percentage of Republican votes of any opposed candidate in the Nation—74.4 percent of the total vote cast.

Mr. CONTE does not consider himself an athlete. But he says of himself: "I think I'm a pretty good bowler but better at hunting and fishing although a lousy golfer."

He was runnerup a year ago in a congressional bowling competition.

He also fancies himself something of a cook. His specialty is polenta—a kind of corn meal mush—and a chicken stew to go with it.

Mr. CONTE is married to the former Corinne L. Duval of Pittsfield. They have four children—three of high school age.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we have recently observed the sixth observance of Captive Nations Week.

Mr. Speaker, captive nations hold the key to the future destiny of the free world. If we forget the captive nations and forever turn them over to Russian domination, then eventually all of the free world will succumb to subversion, Communist infiltration, and conquest.

A principle is involved—a principle of right and wrong. It was wrong for this Nation after spending billions of dollars and thousands of lives for freedom to permit Russia to take over as captives the great peoples of Central Europe. Whenever free people compromise a basic principle for a fleeting political expedient, they pay for it later in the loss of more freedom and with the loss of lives.

Mr. Speaker, we must formulate a policy of victory over oppression. We must go from the negative to the positive, from the defensive to the offensive. Our foreign policy must be built not only around preserving freedom but recapturing freedom for those gallant peoples so long held under ruthless Communist domination.

We should demand in the United Nations, on the floor of this Congress, and in every public forum dealing with international affairs that the captive nations must be freed. War is not necessary. Russia can be forced out of these captive nations through courage, persistence, determination, and public opinion. Justice is on the side of the captive peoples and will eventually prevail.

A Thoughtful View of Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, prior to the recess for the Republican National Convention, I pointed out to the Members the complete miscalculation in effectiveness of our foreign policy as it is applied to the African continent.

Last Sunday's Chicago Tribune carried a most timely article by Mr. Clarence Randall, retired president of Inland Steel, and an editorial in this morning's edition of the Tribune further discusses his observations. I believe these comments worthy of scrutiny by the Members and insert it into the RECORD at this point:

A THOUGHTFUL VIEW OF AFRICA

"Africa is in torment today," wrote Clarence Randall in last Sunday's Chicago Tribune magazine, "but so are the Americans when they think about Africa."

Mr. Randall is a retired Chicago steel executive who is articulate on many subjects and whose advice on economic affairs has been sought by Republican and Democratic administrations alike. We wish his article could be made available to the Africans who are in torment, but the next best thing is to recommend it to those Americans, especially in the present administration, who deal with Africa.

Our attitude toward Africa, Mr. Randall says, has been conditioned too much by emotion and too little by thoughtful and objective inquiry. "Because we so earnest-

ly desire to give the Negro full equality of opportunity, we leap to the conclusion that the problems of Africa are the exact counterparts of our own. * * * We accept intolerance from the blacks which we would instantly condemn if found among the whites."

We denounce South Africa for not permitting black men to own land in certain areas while saying nothing about Basutoland, a British colony which is governed by the blacks but where no white man is permitted to own any land in freehold.

By our express or implied approval of everything that is done in the name of nationalism or anticolonialism, we have encouraged immature governments to assume that they can do no wrong and that we will always be there to help them, no matter how unjustly they treat foreigners, businessmen, or political opponents.

We have encouraged them to think that we and the western Europeans are eager to go on supporting them forever, if only to deny this dubious privilege to the Communists.

As Mr. Randall says quite plainly, there is just not enough public capital available to support vast government aid programs indefinitely. The Africans desperately need capital, and it must include private capital.

"The rosy dreams of Uhuru (freedom) will yield inevitably to grim disillusionment and despair," he wrote, "unless outside private capital and know-how come flowing in to develop the latent values and create employment. There is no possible source for this except the white man. Unless he can be made to want to come, and stay, millions of Africans will starve in the future as they have all through history."

It is the Africans themselves, as we said, who must ultimately be made to understand this. But our Government's recent policies, confused by the antics of such "experts" as "Soapy" Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, are doing very little to set them straight.

Marching as to War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the recent outbreaks of violence in New York City should be evidence to the entire Nation that public officials of that metropolis have been neglecting the sickness at their doorway while pointing to and exaggerating the problems of Mississippi and the South.

The problems of various sections of the country can best be solved by responsible local citizens. In support of this statement I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Alabama Journal, July 5, 1964, which ably demonstrates the absurdity of outsiders attempting to solve local problems.

The editorial follows:

MARCHING AS TO WAR

There are times when one has insights into how men become self-exiles even when not directly menaced, but just to escape the wild and nutty. Illustration of the point comes from the Tuesday column by our syndicated sap Alsop. Hear this:

"If Governor Johnson and the Federal authorities continue to work well and hard together, the military occupation of Mississippi can perhaps be avoided.

"No one in his senses ought to want what John Lewis (of Snick) so obviously wants—unless it becomes absolutely unavoidable, and if President Johnson and the Justice Department staff try every expedient to avoid military occupation, they can hardly be blamed."

Alsop contends that we are looking at the fact of martyrdom. The student conquistadores who descended upon Mississippi do not fulfill the definition of martyrdom, for that is voluntary death for principle. They were tools of perhaps exotic wills and designs, victimized through their own self-righteousness. They went as incendiaries.

Alsop speaks with the levity of the deranged of occupying a State of the Union with the U.S. Army. A second and literal reconstruction of a State is contemplated with a detachment one might expect in the village idiot.

Alsop by himself is only a prissy dilettante. What is unnerving is the fact that he is representative of a considerable and potent element.

With all their advantages of education, travel, experience, and proximity to the Government apparatus in Washington, they remain eyeless in Gaza, utterly enslaved to Civil War concepts, and driven by the passions of the officious preceptor. They recoil from the idea of the stereotype, but their own thinking is a reflex and a stereotype.

Their power of reason is so paltry that they make a distinction between the coprses in a Brooklyn lynching and a Mississippi lynching. For one the prescription is an expanded urban renewal project and for the other the U.S. Army.

We do not know the way to judge with actuarial soundness the relative danger of life around Philadelphia, Miss., and a night stroll on the streets of Washington, or through Central Park in New York, and around Morningside Heights. But the danger must be far greater in the latter since in Mississippi thugs menace selectively whereas in Washington and New York the killing is mostly for the joy of life and is utterly indiscriminate.

Yet the Alsop mentality holds that a Mississippi corpse is deader than a Brooklyn corpse because voting rights are involved in the first case and in the second the mere waywardness of rape and robbery.

More people and more by far are in physical danger in New York and Washington than in Mississippi. But it is to Mississippi that the Army must be marched.

The Alsop twittering is a heavy fact of our national life because he is representative of a class and also because one may confidently conjecture that their thinking for foreign policy issues and all such may be equally awry.

Urban Renewal Gains Momentum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the July 4 issue of Business Week includes an article entitled "A Surge of New Life," which describes the way American cities are rebuilding themselves.

The renaissance in urban renewal is an excellent example of the effectiveness of Federal aid as a catalyst for State, local, and private action. I think my colleagues will be interested in this account of the progress of urban renewal, a process which is central to our national development:

A SURGE OF NEW LIFE: REBUILDING PROJECTS, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, ARE RESHAPING ALL THE NATION'S MAJOR CITIES, GIVING A NEW LOOK TO THE AREAS THAT THREE-FOURTHS OF ALL AMERICANS CALL HOME

The great society, as outlined by President Johnson in a commencement address at the University of Michigan, "is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and hunger for community."

Three-fourths of all Americans now live in urban areas. Social development and human behavior in the next generation will depend on the kind of cities the Nation creates. With urban population expected to double by the year 2000, Johnson asserts that "in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States."

TAKING SHAPE

So ambitious a goal probably never will be realized—certainly not in the next 40 years. However, a great deal of rebuilding already is completed or underway, and more is taking shape on drawing boards across the Nation.

About a third of Boston, for example, is in the process of urban renewal. In Washington, D.C., some 5 percent of the city is slated for rebuilding and rehabilitation under the Federal urban renewal program. Dozens of new office buildings and apartment houses already have been built without Government assistance.

Combined federally aided and unassisted programs will rebuild and spruce up about 18 percent of St. Louis in the next few years. Philadelphia boasts about 70 separate projects—49 of them federally aided—that are lifting the face of that historic city. Six projects will reshape 3.4 percent of San Francisco. And Houston, the only major U.S. city without zoning laws, will rebuild about 10 percent of its downtown core without Federal aid.

MORE STEAM

So it goes in almost every major city and hundreds of small-to-medium-sized towns. Fueled by the longest business upswing on record plus a strong assist from the Federal Government, the urban renaissance has picked up steam in the past 2 years; there is no sign of it slowing down. The Urban Renewal Administration has just about exhausted its $4 billion authorization, and no new funds have yet been voted. But whatever the fate of the President's ambitious housing bill, it seems likely that the resuscitation of cities will continue.

ECONOMIC PROD

Much of what has taken place was generated by sheer economic necessity. Cities, unable to halt blight or handle traffic, were losing population and businesses to the suburbs in alarming numbers. Deteriorating buildings, many of them abandoned, scarred once-important business and residential sections. Businessmen and Government officials realized something had to be done to stem the outflow, relieve strangulation, remove decay, and make cities more attractive.

NEW VALUES

As a result of combined private and public efforts, shiny new towers thrust skyward in nearly every major city. Massive efforts to spruce up and rehabilitate are beginning to pay off.

More attention is paid to esthetic values, to good design and planning, to light and air, and green spaces. Cultural, recreational, and educational complexes play an important role in reshaping Downtown, U.S.A. Profitable commercial and residential ven-

tures have raised assessed values and tax revenues for many a sorely strained city budget.

NEXT GOAL

The next stage of redevelopment—and many think the most critical—is transportation. Several cities already have a leg up on eventual solution to their traffic problems. Last month, Johnson broke ground for San Francisco's billion-dollar mass transit system.

This week, Congress handed the President a new act that provides $375 million in grants for mass transit systems. Next target: water and air pollution.

New commercial structures in downtown areas have set off a chain reaction—attracting investors and inspiring businessmen to improve their properties.

Constitution Plaza in Hartford, Conn. (Business Week, Dec. 7, 1963, p. 72), is a prime example. Pittsburgh's Gateway Center is another. Rochester's unique Midtown Plaza, designed by Architect Victor Gruen, incorporated two existing department stores, formed a nucleus around which to erect new stores, malls, parking facilities, an office tower, and a new hotel.

New York City's office building spree of the past 5 years generated a secondary wave of remodeling and rebuilding as existing facilities lost old tenants and had trouble attracting new ones.

NEW LOOK

In Boston, urban renewal plans were bogged down for years in litigation and political infighting. But the huge, privately financed Prudential Center project has fired civic pride and helped break the logjam. Since then, real progress is visible as the new government center takes shape near once-notorious Scollay Square, and a dozen new highrise offices and apartments near completion.

Houston's $30 million civic center will reclaim 150 tacky acres, now occupied by commercial buildings. The new complex already has attracted a private foundation, which will build a new performing arts center. Gateways are a favored symbol in new cities. Pittsburgh probably was the first with its gateway center office complex. Now comes St. Louis with its gateway arch, dramatizing the city's position as "Gateway to the West." Now under construction, the 630-foot arch overlooks a National Park Service project to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase, an extension of the Interstate Highway System, and two privately financed projects: The $45-million Mansion House apartments and an $89-million downtown stadium and commercial development.

San Francisco and Minneapolis have their gateways. San Francisco's Golden Gateway is an $85 million residential and commercial complex rising on the site of the once-blighted produce district.

Elsewhere in San Francisco, 1,000 persons have moved into the $76 million Diamond Heights redevelopment near the city's center. In addition, work continues on four more sizable projects—residential, commercial, and cultural. These, together with Golden Gateway and Diamond Heights, will rebuild a total 1.56 square miles of the Bay City.

TAX REVENUES

Gateway Center in Minneapolis calls for demolition and replacement of 40 percent of the city's central business district.

When completed—about 35 percent already is in place—the new center will house 1,500 families and yield an additional $2 million in tax revenues. The project is expected to emphasize Minneapolis' role as the natural gateway to the upper Midwest region of the Nation.

All told, Minneapolis has seven urban renewal projects. These will eliminate 267 acres of blighted area and replace them with $155 million in new construction. Downtown apartments are a key factor in the redevelopment of almost every city. This is due partly to pent-up demand for apartments by the very young, the very old, and the disenchanted suburbanite. It's due also to recognition of the fact that unless people actually live there, downtown turns into a sterile, deserted area at night and over weekends.

Developers find that apartments within walking distance of commercial and entertainment centers rent quickly. A new luxury high-rise on New York's Central Park South filled up rapidly with people working a few blocks south in the clutch of new office buildings along the Avenue of the Americas.

SLOW SPOTS

Trail blazers, however, have their troubles. Philadelphia's Society Hill is hard by an unsavory waterfront area; this seems likely to deter the fainthearted from renting there.

Similarly, Jersey City's Gregory Park is surrounded on all sides by 100-year-old slums, inhabited mostly by Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Similar problems will probably curb apartment construction in many cities in the next year or two (Business Week, June 20, 1964, p. 86). But already, enough new buildings have been completed or are under way to reshape skylines.

Last year, construction started on nearly 550,000 apartment units, an increase of more than 100,000 over the previous year. Almost a third of the permits issued for new apartments centered in three cities—New York, Los Angeles, and Washington.

Marketing U.S. Films Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an article of mine published in the July 17 issue of Sales magazine, a leading magazine for meeting and exhibit planners.

The article discusses the Motion Picture Service of the USIA. It refers to the skill exhibited by this Agency in its conduct of an important aspect of American foreign policy. It notes the Agency's capacity for producing maximum results with a minimum of financial costs. Most important, it brings to attention the methods and operations of the Motion Picture Service in the hope that our businessmen may thereby expand and perfect their marketing operations abroad.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert into the RECORD the text of this article, which reads as follows:

TEST YOUR OVERSEA FILMS

(Take a lesson from Uncle Sam. Before it is released, film produced by USIA is checked in country in which it is to be shown. It's easy to violate local taboo; not know it until too late.)

(By Congressman WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE)

Hollywood is considered the film capital of the world, but few realize the part played by the U.S. Government in the overall production and distribution of motion pictures on a worldwide basis. Despite all the talk about the high cost of Federal services, there's a branch of the U.S. Information Agency that provides films for 106 countries on an annual budget of only $6.5 million a year.

When you consider that a single picture, "Cleopatra," cost somewhere in the vicinity of $40 million, it seems incredible that Uncle Sam provides 359 film centers with 7,168 projectors and 207 mobile truck units in more than 100 countries for only one-seventh the cost. Included in this budget is the maintenance of a film library of 1,769 productions, 76 of which were made in 1963 alone.

The little-known branch of USIA responsible for all this is called Motion Picture Service. Its know-how, gained from making much out of a limited budget can be a big help to American industry concerned with producing films to sell the oversea markets.

MORE INDUSTRIAL FILMS

With the expansion of our export markets, American manufacturers are turning more and more to industrial films. These endeavor to train salesmen or to show why customers should buy their products, or consider their companies over competitors.

Unfortunately, many of these films fail to have the desired impact. Reason is that the rules that apply in the United States don't always apply in other countries. What is accepted here is often offensive to foreign cultures.

As an example, a radiant bride, gowned in white, being married because she used a certain brand of soap, would be incomprehensible in certain Eastern countries. White is a sign of mourning there.

A few years ago, USIA acquired a documentary film on Grandma Moses for inclusion in its oversea film program. At one point in the picture, the spry little old lady was shown putting a huge book on her chair so that she might perch higher as she worked at her easel.

When the film was sent abroad for appraisal, one USIA post in the Middle East came back with enthusiastic approval of the film, but asked that the scene that showed Grandma Moses seated on the big book be deleted. Muslim audiences might get the idea she was being disrespectful to the written word—i.e., the Koran.

MUST BE CAUTIOUS

This is typical of the kind of sensitivities which USIA must bear in mind as it produces films for foreign audiences. Same holds true for industry.

Outright taboos are comparatively few. Scenes of beef slaughter would be unacceptable in Hindu countries, where the cow is sacred. Similarly, scenes of rodeos or any event where even the slightest misinterpretation of American treatment of animals might occur would be best to avoid in Hindu or Buddhist countries.

SOME TABOOS

By the same token, it would be unwise to dwell on the raising of pigs or on pork as food in films intended for Muslim areas or in Israel. Where a film uses interior shots of a mosque, it would be advisable for the sound track to be silent. Muslim audiences would prefer this deference to the holy place depicted on the screen.

In Hindu areas, it would be unwise also to show humorous scenes involving elephants. In the case of Buddhist countries, the same caution would prevail with cobras.

CAN LEARN FROM USIA

Motion Picture Service of the USIA is not perfect, but when one considers that it has developed the most far-reaching film distribution network in existence, industry can learn a lot from its methods. More than 750 million people annually see documentaries, newsreels, and short subjects produced by this branch of the Government. Mistakes are inevitable, but every effort is made to insure accuracy and avoid giving offense.

There is no formal list of taboos maintained by USIA, according to my research. Documenting such for more than 100 different countries would be a stupendous and continuing task, particularly with the small budget allotted this branch. The agency has evolved an excellent method to overcome this lack, however. Industry, following the USIA procedure in the production of its own films, could save much time, trouble, and embarassment.

First, the normal distates of good taste govern what goes into USIA documentaries. Upon completion, English versions of the films are usually sent to the field before release for showing, to give the public affairs officers a chance to see them and make suggestions to improve their usefulness for a particular country.

Any company wishing to make films for selling overseas could use its own representatives or distributors in the same manner, to review these selling tools. Foreign representatives of American companies are certainly aware of their own countries' taboos.

FACTS FOR FILM PRODUCERS

If, for some reason, this cannot be done, the USIA can supply information on foreign events, customs and cultural values for producers and scriptwriters. Contact George Stevens, Jr., Motion Picture Service, U.S. Information Agency, 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

Additional aid can be secured by film producers, whether independent companies or individuals, from the film industry itself. Motion Picture Association of America, the film industry trade association, has established a special committee that cooperates closely with the Government. Information may be had by writing: International Film Relations Committee, 8480 Beverly Boulevard, Hollywood, Calif.

In 1942, Josef Stalin told Wendell Wilkie: "If I could control the medium of American motion pictures, I would need nothing else in order to convert the entire world to communism."

This observation may have been a trifle optimistic, but it clearly shows the tremendous impact our films have on the rest of the world. With care and good taste used in their production, American motion pictures can continue to sell our way of life and the products it produces.

The Military Pay Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, after action by the other body earlier this week approving a bill to authorize a pay increase for members of the Armed Forces, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which appeared in the New York Times on July 14, 1964, on this important subject.

Congress recently approved substantial pay increases for its civilian employees. It is only fair and just that substantial increases in military pay be forthcoming.

When this important question of these pay increases for servicemen comes before the House for our consideration, I would urge my colleagues to carefully consider the need for adequate pay to those who are ready, willing and able to defend our Nation and the free world from attack or aggression.

The article follows:

THE MILITARY PAY GAP

The latest Federal pay increase for civilian employees widens the pay gap between civilian and military pay.

The military pay increase approved last year was originally predicated on the basis of comparability with Government civilian and private industrial pay scales, but this principle was ignored in the final legislation. Last year's pay raise did a great deal to make up for years of neglect—but by no means enough. When the bill was passed Secretary McNamara committed himself and his Department to further annual adjustment of service pay scales. But such adjustment has not been pressed this year and, except for endorsement of a 2½-percent increase by the Senate Armed Services Committee, Congress has taken no action in this session.

Yet the dimensions of the problem are increasing year by year. As Senator GAYLORD NELSON has pointed out, last year's military pay raise did not affect beginning pay. An entering private still receives $78 per month as compared to $112 a month in Canada; obviously the inducement to volunteer is low. Some 71,000 enlisted men and officers in the Air Force alone are forced to moonlight, according to the Air Force Times, to supplement their service pay. At least 5,000 Air Force enlisted men, who earn less than $3,000 annually, are depending upon welfare programs of various sorts to help provide for their families.

These and other statistics which will undoubtedly astonish the American public constitute, as Senator KEATING says, "a disgraceful reward for those who have sworn to defend our country."

Pay alone is never enough—nor should it be the primary incentive for the uniformed services. Yet service rewards and emoluments—tangible and intangible—are not adequate to promote professionalism, or to foster what Capt. William A. Golden, U.S. Navy, calls a credible incentive. In a bitter article in the July issue of the Naval Institute Proceedings, Captain Golden predicts that, unless present conditions change, "by 1978 we will have an officer corps generated from a quarter of a century of poor procurement and retention—poorly educated, dissatisfied, and ill equipped to man" the new and technologically complicated Navy. He concludes on behalf of the professional officers and enlisted men of all the services:

"It is now necessary to recognize objectively that officers [and enlisted men] cannot be paid like bus boys, worked like field hands, and released like old, slow halfbacks—not because it is not legal, but because it simply is not good business."

Automobile Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, abundance and inventiveness have made the United States the most mobile nation in history. No citizenry has even been able to travel to so many places so easily in so short a time. Consider the following statistics:

Three-quarters of all American families own at least one car.

Ten percent of our gross national product is somehow related to the automotive industry.

The average vehicle on our highway travels nearly 10,000 miles per year.

By 1974 the 84 million vehicles now registered will have increased past the 100 million mark.

The total mileage recorded by passenger cars, trucks, and buses is increasing at the rate of 175 billion miles a year, and has already reached an annual distance traveled of 800 billion miles.

Unfortunately, many of the merits of mobility have been offset by awesome automobile accident rates. We are plagued by continual death and injury on our streets and highways.

It is actually safer to fight in a war against a foreign power than it is to drive an automobile in the United States. In 1963 alone the total number of personal injuries lasting beyond the day of accident was greater than the sum total of all nonfatal wounds to all American soldiers in all domestic and foreign wars since 1776. Injuries from automobile accidents in 1963 totaled 1,600,000; nonfatal wounds in all wars totaled roughly 1,280,000. No wonder the insurance companies paid out $900 million on bodily injury liability policies between 1953 and 1962.

National Safety Council figures comparing deaths attributable to automobiles and warfare are no more comforting. More than 1,500,000 persons have lost their lives through automobile accidents. Ironically, we have lost only 1,128,000 brave Americans through U.S. participation in eight major wars—including the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, two World Wars, and the Korean conflict. An automobile death rate of 43,400 persons in 1963 should shock our sensibilities and cause us to demand action to protect our citizens.

Automobile safety is a matter for public concern and action. The driving public—more than three-quarters of the Nation's families—has a right to demand that the Nation's highways be free from hazardous driving conditions and that State laws stringently penalize speeding, recklessness, and drunken driving. It also has the right to demand that automobile manufacturers provide a product that is uniformly easy to control in emergencies and that will fully protect passengers in the event of accidents.

By and large the automotive industry has acted very responsibly to promote research into safety devices for automobiles. Hydraulic brakes, directional turn signals, safety glass, and all steel automobile frames have been developed as a result of their research. This year safety belts are standard equipment on all assembly line production cars.

But the record of automobile manufacturers is not without blemish. Too often advanced safety devices have been sold as luxury accessories rather than as the minimum necessities that they are. Too often the customer has had to pay extra money to purchase safety devices that of right should be standard equipment to protect his life. Such items as padded instrument panels, well-anchored seats, dual brake systems, and shock-absorbing bumpers should be developed

as standard equipment for all automobiles.

The House of Representatives has just passed a bill on automobile safety which is a proper first step in the establishment of national standards for passenger safety equipment in automobiles. H.R. 1341 provides that the Administrator of General Services, the purchasing agent for the Federal Government, shall establish commercial standards for passenger safety devices which must be provided in all motor vehicles purchased by the U.S. Government. An immediate effect of the legislation would be to protect the lives and limbs of Government employees while they are on duty.

The bill will affect the annual purchase of some 10,000 passenger-carrying vehicles. It is intended to encourage the automotive industry voluntarily to extend safety devices to all autos, without direct Federal regulation and intervention. However, the Members of Congress will look with great interest at the results of this experiment. Safety of the driving public is a matter of great concern to all of us.

We look forward to the day when our highways will be safe for drivers and pedestrians alike through a combination of optimal passenger safety equipment for all vehicles and a full body of State laws to insure that those who abuse their privileges as drivers are not given further opportunities to abuse their fellow men.

The Long Hours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on June 21 three courageous civil rights workers disappeared in Mississippi. Their fate is still unknown, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is continuing the investigation. In response to this tragedy and to other incidents the Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened a new office in Jackson, Miss. However, further action must be taken to protect those who are in grave danger as they work in a peaceful fashion for civil rights in Mississippi. From my firsthand investigation of conditions in that State I know that further violence is probable unless the Federal Government takes action, such as assigning Federal marshals.

In order to heighten my colleagues' realization of the situation in Mississippi, I wish to call their attention to an article by James A. Wechsler, published in the New York Post on July 9, 1964, in which he asks the pertinent question: "But how many more young men must walk unprotected into this police state before there is a massive assertion of Federal power?"

[From the New York Post, July 9, 1964]
THE LONG HOURS
(By James A. Wechsler)

Now it is 2½ weeks since a phone call from civil rights headquarters in Atlanta awakened Robert and Carolyn Goodman shortly after 2 a.m. to tell them that their 20-year-old son Andrew was missing on the Mississippi front.

In the spacious, tasteful living room of their comfortable West 86th Street apartment, a visitor feels a sense of unreality about all the ensuing horror and suspense. Presumably it was in this room that Andy Goodman sweated out his decision with his parents and his older brother.

Then, one day, he said goodby and headed for the training program at Oxford, Ohio, and the next word was that he was in the first wave heading for Mississippi; almost immediately thereafter came the news that he was one of the first three casualties—kidnaped, one still hopes, but perhaps brutally slain soon after his release from a Mississippi jail.

With each day's passage, hope dwindles but it does not perish. Intermittently one or both of the tormented parents journey to Washington, where there is conscientious, concerned response accompanied by the bleak statement that no significant clues have been uncovered.

And the nightmare goes on.

Robert and Caroyln Goodman talked last night in controlled, measured tones about this fortnight that must already seem a decade. They are a warm, communicative couple in their middle years; their outward composure—perhaps one should say dignity—is remarkable and heartbreaking; the tenacity of their will to believe that Andy is alive and that every effort must be dedicated to making certain that the search is not abandoned has seemingly sustained them. Yet the uncertainty renders their predicament most appalling, for they are obviously asking themselves: if he is alive, what is happening to him? One almost dreads that the phone will ring during the conversation.

Since Andy was under 21, his parents were required to sign a waiver permitting him to enlist in the Mississippi battalion. The realization that they might have prohibited the expedition cannot leave them; but neither do they offer apologia or lamentation. They are convinced that his decision was rational and deliberate, and wholly consistent with his character.

"Andy has always, as far back as I can remember, been a boy who was concerned about people getting a dirty deal," Carolyn Goodman was saying.

"He'd be the first to yell—whether it was some question involving his brothers or some bigger thing going on in the world—'That's not fair.'

"He's the kind of boy who always wanted to be a part of things; he felt you had to live it out, not just talk about it."

Then, in words which offered a glimpse of the inner anguish of these interminable days, Robert Goodman, a gentle, soft-spoken man, remarked:

"Andy was acting out many things he had heard around his home for a long time—these are things we have believed in for a long time."

The visitor found himself unable to ask the question that may occur to the reader: Would they sign the waiver if they had the chance again?

Both father and mother did say they had fully explored the dangers in many long conversations with Andy; there were no illusions about the hazards of the voyage. Yet one also sensed that they hardly visualized so sudden, stunning a blow; like most civilized people, they underestimated Mississippi.

The Goodmans were in President Johnson's office when J. Edgar Hoover telephoned the news that the burned-out car of the three volunteers had been found. When they flew back to New York, a call from the President awaited them; he wanted to offer the slender reassurance that nothing found in the car indicated that fatal violence had been committed. They are appreciative of the continuing concern manifested by the White House; they have found the doors at the Justice Department wide open.

"All that matters now, the only thing we care about, is that the search go on until we find him," says Carolyn Goodman.

One leaves their apartment—this quiet refuge of middle-class serenity—with mingled sadness and anger. How many more homes must be subjected to comparable tragedy before the U.S. Government fully confronts the reality of Mississippi—a State where the rule of lawlessness prevails and where hundreds of other dedicated, decent young men and women are risking their lives? How long can the sheriff of Neshoba County withhold the knowledge he must possess about the events preceding the disappearance of the three? How long will the Federal Government appear impotent in the face of this clear and present challenge? Will Andy Goodman and his missing mates be forgotten as new atrocites occur? Why is J. Edgar Hoover writing essays for the Hearst papers on the "perils" of coexistence when he should be preoccupied with the confrontation with Mississippi?

There are a thousand unanswered questions; there are few good answers. We knew it would be a long, rough summer. But how many more young men must walk unprotected into this police state before there is a massive assertion of Federal power?

Commendation of Eugene T. Kinnaly, Administrative Assistant to the Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, Eugene T. Kinnaly, affectionately known as Gene to a vast number of friends among the Members of Congress and their staffs, is now completing his 46th year of service as a congressional secretary. For 36 of these 46 years, he has been the right-hand man of Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts. Since Mr. MCCORMACK's election as Speaker, in the 2d session of the 87th Congress, he has served as administrative assistant to the Speaker.

Gene's loyalty and devotion to his chief have been outstanding; but equally outstanding has been his constant attitude of courtesy and helpfulness to everyone with whom he has come in contact. Through these many years, Gene has been one of the best liked men in congressional staff service, and many Members of Congress have learned to de-

pend upon him for detailed, accurate information and for wise advice.

A year ago, in recognition of Gene's 45th anniversary as a congressional secretary, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois paid this eloquent and memorable tribute to his character:

The wealth that man accumulates is not in the gold that is mined from the earth, but in the gold that is in the friendships engendered by his words of gentleness and sympathetic understanding, his deeds of helpfulness, his spirit of humility and humaneness. By this measure Gene Kinnaly is one of the richest men on Capitol Hill.

No better summation of Gene Kinnaly's character and achievements could be made than this.

Gene has today a proud record to look back upon—a record of devoted service to his chief, Speaker MCCORMACK, to the House of Representatives, and to the country. He has won a host of faithful friends, of whom I am proud to count myself one. May he long continue to serve his country in the post which he has filled with such distinction.

Why Huge Spending Now?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of the election-year motivated spending schemes of the administration, a voice of sanity from the grassroots level is especially noteworthy, and I insert into the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Desplaines Valley News, Argo, Ill., a community newspaper in my district, which is extremely timely:

WHY HUGE SPENDING NOW?

Current Government statistics indicate that the Nation's economy is on the upswing despite the advent of summer. Job openings are offered by the State employment service, personal income is reported at an all time high, manufacturing profits and production figures are climbing.

Gains were reported in retail sales and capital spending. All this indicated favorable economic times. Yet, thousands of unneeded dollars are being channeled into the market by Federal sources.

Hidden in this upswing is the Federal Housing Authority report of the large number of homes being repossessed because buyers or families were delinquent in paying off their mortgages or purchase contracts.

Lending institutions report that the number of repossessions increased during the past 2 years. In plain words, some persons had followed the Government trend and began deficit financing.

Many couples find it rather difficult to resist the allure of obtaining a new $16,000 to $18,000 home for $300 to $500 down with contract payments like rent, forgetting that it takes other money for furnishings, heating, and maintenance of the building.

Too often, the couple budgets both the husband's and wife's salary for expenses, possibly buying a more luxurious home than they should.

Then hubby gets ill, or the wife announces a new baby is on the way, or the job folds up. That $75 per month for those payments isn't there any longer, so the couple become delinquent and lose their equity and home.

The lending institution, looking over the background of steady payments over a period of years, takes a chance and allows the couple to occupy the home just too long. So, it too, gets into trouble, for the state frowns on the practice of too many delinquent loans.

Since the purchase of a home is no doubt the largest bit of financing attempted by a couple, this writer views the situation of home payment delinquencies with alarm.

Few sources give the couple instructions or methods on budgeting salaries to allow for such emergencies and it is not surprising that people inflate their desires when buying that home, for the Federal Government has made the idea of deficit financing rather popular at all levels.

Large subsidies are offered for not growing crops. Large sums are offered foreign governments for various reasons. Giant spending bills are approved by Congress.

While an economy drive is encouraged by the President, new bureaus employing thousands of new personnel are formed, such as that to end poverty.

Social workers that distribute Christmas or Thanksgiving baskets will tell you that persons that receive such contributions feel rather insulted to be publicly classed as poverty stricken, even if they are.

This writer was informed by several recipients that they were quite embarrassed and that their children suffered unduly from the gibes of their classmates due to the incident and would prefer that no more gift baskets be given their family.

Making public class distinctions for political reasons may help the administration get reelected. However, the dignity of the individual family labeled poverty stricken is bound in shame, doing more harm then good.

When the Federal Government seeks to urge young dropouts to return for schooling, or the unemployed to train for new occupations, it should be remembered that in some cases the individual has neither the ambition nor the character to see one period of training through its conclusion, and such persons will remain among the unemployed and poverty stricken no matter what.

The aptitude of the trainee in any occupation or trade should be considered. Many persons claim to repair TV sets, for example, but few can trace a circuit within the set.

Computers have been heralded as a new field of training, forgetting the fact that it takes someone of rather high caliber of intellect to program the device or repair it when it goes wrong.

When more Federal money is pumped into a prosperous economy, prices and wages shoot up and inflation results. Many enjoy the extra cash, but eventually, as in the case of France and England, the pot boils over and all persons suffer.

The growing effort on the part of the Federal Government to see that individuals join in with their own deficit spending program should be stopped before that debt gets so big that everyone will be bankrupt, or worse, as when England and France went through the inflation period.

Someone must pay, someone must face the consequences. Perhaps it will be you and I during our lifetime, perhaps during the lifetime of our children.

Why not call off the huge Federal spending when "times are good," if the statistics are to be believed, and bank those funds for better use for that rainy day that's sure to come?

It has often been demonstrated that Government spending programs are squandering funds that must be produced by future generations, and this editorial concisely and clearly brings out this point.

Peddling Falsehoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues a timely article entitled "Peddling Falsehoods," appearing in the latest issue of Prevent World War III, No. 64, summer 1964, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization, 24 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. This article deals with the deliberate attempts on the part of Soviet and Arab propaganda to distort the meaning of the Jordan River irrigation project now nearing completion in Israel. It is alleged that this project is an aggressive move and will harm the well-being of the Arabs. Only those who want to maintain tensions and conflict in the Middle East can make this ridiculous assertion. The fact is that this undertaking to increase the fertility of the soil will be a blessing to the peaceful labors of the peoples living in the area. Indeed, if Israel's neighbors devoted their energies to similar projects, the deserts in the Middle East would literally begin to bloom. Because the enemies of peace in the Middle East are trying to depict this project as some sinister plot, I think it is essential that all Americans know the facts. It is for this reason that the society's article deserves to be carefully read:

PEDDLING FALSEHOODS

In the No. 61 issue of Prevent World War III we discussed the Jordan River irrigation project which is now near completion in Israel. Our purpose then was to inform our readers of the pertinent facts relating to this project and to expose the deliberate falsehoods concocted by those who would like to maintain tension and conflict in the Middle East.

In this connection, we took special note of an article dealing with the irrigation project which had appeared in the Soviet publication International Affairs (September 1962). Though this publication professes to be scholarly, it went out of its way to convey the impression that the irrigation project was some sort of a sinister plot against the Arab people. In their desperate effort to prove this allegation, the editors went so far as to test out their own version of the geography of the Middle East. They stated that the Jordan River "flows along the borders of these countries; i.e., Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Israel." We said at that time that either the editors of International Affairs were abysmally ignorant of the geography of that area "or—and this is more likely—they are following the Kremlin's directive to shape the facts to meet the objective"; viz. to distort the truth.

A glance at a map will show that the Jordan River does not at any place touch Lebanon or Syria although it runs parallel to the Syrian border. But apparently the editors of International Affairs are perfectly content to maintain this fiction which they have done in a recent issue (March 1964), repeating the same myth that the Jordan flows across Syria and Lebanon. It is precisely this kind of objective information which beclouds the issues and prevents a

calm, intelligent evaluation of the project and its effect on the neighboring Arab States. Moreover, it bolsters the position of those Arab leaders who are trying desperately to turn this issue into a casus belli.

The much heralded Arab summit conference in January of this year was convened to defend the Arabs against this mythical aggression supposedly resulting from the irrigation project. In calling for this meeting, President Nasser delivered a special address at Port Said (December 24, 1963), where he said, "Egypt is ready to shoulder its responsibility. We will bring our troops from Yemen. If we need still more troops, we can provide more. We have arms. Everything is available." Here was the keynote for the summit conference and indeed, when the Arab kings and presidents concluded their talks, they adopted, according to the Baghdad radio, "several secret resolutions * * * to insure the safety of the sublime Arab interests. * * *" Radio Cairo quoted the Iraqi President as stating, "We must speed up action." The nature of these secret decisions remains to be seen. However, the fact that one of the publicized resolutions called for the establishment of an Arab military command indicates the direction which this conference took.

Now, why are the Arabs so excited about the irrigation project? They have claimed that it would seriously reduce the water level of the Jordan River and, among other things, seriously interfere with the water requirements of the Kingdom of Jordan. However, as we have cited in our previous article, this allegation is completely without foundation for, in effect, the Jordan River irrigation project merely carries out Israel's part of the plan proposed by Eric Johnston in the early 1950's. It is instructive to note that at that time the technical experts of Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and Syria agreed to the Johnston proposals since they contemplated an equitable allocation of water resources.

The plan was turned down by the very same Arab spokesmen who today are wringing their hands and accusing Israel of threatening their countries. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the river Yarmuk which is an important contributary to the Jordan River, has already been diverted for irrigation purposes by the Jordanian Government. This diversion has increased the salinity of the lower reaches of the river. Yet, Israel has not complained although it is considering measures to minimize the effect of this situation insofar as it touches her own agricultural lands.

Now, one might say, this is all very well but why does not Israel sit down with her Arab neighbors to discuss their differences before taking unilateral action? This is exactly what Israel would be happy to do but the Arabs have steadfastly refused all negotiations with Israel on any subject on the grounds that the latter is not a legitimate state and therefore, there is no one to parley with. The corollary of this view, of course, is that Israel must cease to exist.

Certainly, this was one of the main reasons for the summit conference and it has been since reflected in vicious propaganda. It is the kind of propaganda which one does not expect from states professing peaceful intentions. Thus, when Pope Paul VI paid a visit to Jerusalem, the Arab newspaper Al-Jihad appealed to the Pope directly in these words: "Your Holiness: Before you deliver your message to the world from Bethlehem, we hope that your visit to the Holy Land will have enabled you to unmask the Jewish plot to divert the Jordan River, where Christ the Lord was baptized. This imminent Israeli aggression is one against the Christian sanctities which should not be allowed." When the Government of Israel appealed for relaxation of tensions in the Middle East with regard to the dispute over the irrigation project, Radio Cairo promptly retorted: "If Israel really wants a lessening of tension in this area, the Israelis only have to hurry and leave this area" (January 6, 1964). This was Cairo's reply to the appeal of the Prime Minister of Israel for peace.

One could cite numerous statements by Arab leaders since the summit conference calling for the destruction of Israel. Is it really the irrigation project which is disturbing the Arab leaders? This is the impression of most people who pick up their daily papers and find the Arabs denouncing the project as a threat to their very existence. But President Nasser himself does not think that this partial diversion of the Jordan water will dry up the whole Arab world. "In fact, we are not concerned with the question of water projects or with aid, since aid has been given to Israel since 1948" (President Nasser, Feb. 22, 1964).

What really bothers Nasser and his henchmen is the fact that Israel itself exists. Therefore, any measure taken by the Israelis to improve their economy, is bound to be bitterly opposed. That is why President Johnson was attacked by Arab propagandists when he proposed that the United States and Israel begin "discussions to cooperate research on using nuclear energy to turn salt-water into fresh water." Cairo propaganda scorned this suggestion. "Johnson will not be able to do so, no matter what power and weapons he has. The Arabs believe in their rights and their determination to retrieve them are more powerful than all Johnson's weapons and those of the imperialist powers rotating in America's orbit" (March 27, 1964). This attack against Johnson was concluded with these words: "America is playing with fire. It has failed to heed the lesson taught other imperialist powers as a result of their hostility against the Arabs."

It should be pointed out, however, that President Johnson's suggestion had nothing to do with the Jordanian irrigation project. Thus, the Arab opposition to that project is a pretext and nothing more. The seasoned journalist Patrick O'Donovan, writing for the London Observer (Jan. 26, 1964) declared: "The Arabs are still committed to the extinction of Israel and this committal is their greatest unifying factor. The water dispute is only the symptom of this tension, but it is a symptom that could grow serious enough to produce much devastation."

Security-minded Americans should ponder these words for they imply that the Arab opposition to the irrigation project transcends local differences between Israel and certain of her Arab neighbors. For it is a fact that we dare not ignore, that a conflict in the Middle East would soon involve the interests of our own country. In these circumstances, the United States has only one course to take, i.e., to take every conceivable measure to curb those who flout the basic principles of the United Nations which call upon all states to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations. In the meanwhile it is important for all Americans to keep fully alert to the propaganda wiles of those who are trying to confuse the issues through false information in the hope of exacerbating the present tensions in the Middle East.

Religion Should Never be a Tool of the State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, much has been written on the subject of state control of religious worship in the Soviet Union. A short time ago a study by international jurists reaffirmed the rumors that Jews are being unjustly persecuted because of failures and corruption in the Soviet economy.

We are all aware that the ultimate purpose of the Soviet Union in regard to religion is to eliminate it. However, as this article from the July 8, 1964, issue of Awake shows, religions with determination can survive even under the conditions dictated by the Commuist masters of Russia:

The article follows:

SHOULD THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BE A TOOL OF THE STATE?

How far should Christian subjection to the state go? Who decides its limit?

As a lover of what is right you prize highly the freedom to follow the dictates of your conscience. And if you happen to have strong religious convictions you may value your religious freedom even more highly. However, the fact that at present you may be enjoying these freedoms does not of itself make certain that you will enjoy them tomorrow.

Why not? Because today autocratic and often godless governments are spreading and are making ever more demands. In their lust for power they seek to coerce religious organizations to compromise their principles and to make them subservient to the state. Is a church justified in thus yielding for the sake of its continued existence?

That Christians have obligations both to God and to their governments Jesus made clear when he said: "Pay back Caesar's things to Caesar, but God's things to God." But suppose there is a clash between the two, as when Caesar or the state demands what God explicitly claims for himself, or the state demands that one do what God plainly forbids, then what? Who is to determine just what belongs to the state and what to God? Whom is one to obey? Scripture and logic would seem to dictate that Jehovah God is the one to determine what belongs to whom. This is the way the apostles understood it, for, when faced with this issue, they replied: "We must obey God as ruler rather than men."—Mark 12: 17; Acts 5: 29.

However, since the time of so-called Constantine the Great, professedly Christian organizations have yielded and given to Caesar or the state that which belongs only to God, thereby becoming Caesar's tools. Perhaps no more glaring example of this can be found today than that of the leading branches of Christendom residing in the Soviet Union. In particular has the Russian Orthodox Church become the veritable tool of not only a Caesar but an avowedly atheistic Caesar, the godless Russian communistic Government. And painted with the same brush are the satellite Orthodox nationalist churches. The role all these play is well symbolized by the Kremlin with its cathedrals and fortresses.

The fact is that ever since 1721, during the rule of Peter the Great, the Russian Orthodox Church has been the abject tool of the Russian Government. Beginning with that year, it was the czar that appointed from among Orthodox prelates the handful of men that made up the holy governing synod of the Russian church, which body replaced the office of patriarch abolished by Peter the Great. More than that, the czar also had a lay representative on the synod, the ober-procurator, and no action of the synod could receive the czar's approval without the intermediation of this official. Peter thus made doubly certain that the Russian church would be run according to the czar's wishes.

For almost 200 years the czars held this viselike grip on the church. Its hierarchy rolled in wealth and was even more reaction-

ary at times than were the czars, while drunkenness and other misconduct on the part of the priests were common. Remember Rasputin.[1] As a young Russian professor of literature, himself a "believer," put it to a Life correspondent: "In the old days Orthodoxy fought every liberal movement in Russia, from the emancipation of the serfs to the democratic revolutions of 1905 and 1917. It even excommunicated Tolstoy, that man of God" (September 14, 1959). During this time crass ignorance and superstition were fostered and especially the worship of holy pictures known as "icons."

THE PATRIARCHS TIKHON AND SERGEI

Then came the revolution of 1917. The downfall of the czar and the establishment of the provisional government made possible the return of patriarchal church government and the election of a patriarch, Tikhon. But then the Soviets, who were a minority, seized the government and at once took drastic action against religion, secularizing marriage, grabbing church property, and nationalizing the schools.

The patriarch Tikhon at first condemned these acts as "the work of Satan" and excommunicated the perpetrators, telling them that for it they would "suffer the fire of Gehenna in the life to come"; at the same time warning his people to have nothing to do with the Communists. When it appeared the Communists were here to stay, Tikhon changed his position from opposition to strict neutrality, and then, after having been imprisoned for a year, did an about-face, acknowledged his "errors" and pledged his allegiance and that of his church to the Soviet regime. Thereby he took the first step toward making his church again a tool of the state.

Patriarch Tikhon, who had been elected in 1917, imprisoned in 1922 and released in 1923, died in 1925 and was succeeded by Sergei, but not as a patriarch, no election being possible. Sergei started out well, for in a letter to his clergy he stated, among other things:

"One of the results of the Revolution consists in freeing the church from all political and national tasks, and we assuredly cannot surrender that advantage. * * * We firmly promise that to the degree it depends upon our authority, we will not henceforth permit the church to find itself involved in any political adventure whatever, and will not tolerate anyone to hide his own political aspirations under the church name."[2]

Truly a high-sounding statement that Sergei did not intend his church to be Caesar's tool. But when the state applied pressure on the one hand and made an attractive offer on the other hand, Sergei did an about-face. As a result, a year after writing that bold letter, he issued a declaration[2] in which he expressed the very opposite sentiments:

"Let us raise our grateful prayers to the Lord who has been so gracious to our holy church. Let us also express, in behalf of the entire nation, our gratitude to the Soviet Government for this attention to the spiritual welfare of the Orthodox population. * * * We wish to remain Orthodox and at the same time to recognize the Soviet Union as our civil Fatherland whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and whose misfortunes are our misfortunes. Every blow directed against the union * * * we acknowledge as a blow directed against us."

Many of the bishops in exile as well as some within Russia protested this declaration whereby so obviously the church became the tool of the Soviet Caesar. Those protesting inside Russia were gradually apprehended by the secret police and their places filled by bishops willing to cooperate with the Soviet regime. That Sergei clearly appreciated the alternative that faced him is plain from the following statement that also appeared in that declaration: "only armchair visionaries can suppose that such an immense community as our Orthodox Chorrh, with all its organizations, may peacefully exist in this country, hiding itself from the Government." But did Christ promise his followers a peaceful existence, or that they would have tribulation? (John 16: 33).

How total this sellout to the state was can be seen from the fact that from this time on all official Russian Orthodox Church history conforms to Soviet policy. An example of this is Sergei's denial, as reported in the Russian press, of there being any religious persecution in Russia: "In the Soviet Union no religious persecution has ever occurred, nor does it now exist. Churches are not closed by governmental order but because of the will of the people. The reports concerning cruelties of the agents of the Soviet Government in relation to certain priests * * * are lies." Another example is its zealous support of the "Stalin cult," referring to him as "The Defender of the Faithful," "Our Common Father," and so forth.

Shortly after Germany invaded Russia in June 1941 the Orthodox Church rallied to the cause of the Soviet, declaring: "The Church of Christ blesses all Orthodox who are defending the frontiers of our fatherland." Its head, from then on until he died in 1944, issued 23 proclamations urging his people to support the war. He and other church leaders collected large sums of money to help finance the war. For all this support Stalin permitted the calling of the Russian Council or Sobor, which permission he granted at a historic meeting of Stalin, Sergei and two other prelates and which resulted in a far-reaching "concordat." The council, which elected Sergei patriarch—something he had been in fact out not in name all the time—was but a rubberstamp affair consisting of only a handful of prelates favorable to him.

ALEXEI'S ROLE

Sergei was succeeded by Alexei, under whose rule the Orthodox Church of Russia has continued as a Soviet tool, wholeheartedly supporting the war until its close. The Soviet regime still passes on the qualifications of every holder of an office in the Orthodox Church, from the patriarch on down to the lowliest priest; exceeding even the demands of the Nazis, who concerned themselves with the politics of only the higher church officials of the Roman Catholic Church. Every church service still begins with a prayer for the blessing of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. With the coming of peace the church has given all-out support to Red Russia's "peace movement" in pulpit and church press. In fact, the church echoes the Soviet propaganda line on every major international issue. And the fiction of no religious persecution is still dutifully mouthed.

Recent evidence that Russian orthodoxy is a Soviet tool appeared in the New York Times, October 2, 1963, under the heading, "Soviet Eye on Vatican." It told that "Orthodox moves for reconciliation with Rome parallel political line. The Orthodox church's offer to enter into a dialog with the Roman Catholic Church is an ecclesiastical counterpart of Moscow's recent 'campaign of smiles' aimed at rapproachment with the West."

Even as the Soviet regime has expansionist ambitions, so the patriarch of Russia has ambitions to become leader among the dozen and more Eastern Orthodox churches and to have Moscow become the "third Rome," and it is in the interest of the Soviet regime to support him in these ambitions. He has already coerced the Orthodox heads in satellite countries to look to him instead of to the ecumenical patriarch at Constantinople, who is "first among equals." Thus the Russian delegates to the first Pan-Orthodox meeting at the Isle of Rhodes in 1961 tried, though in vain, to have the honor given the ecumenical patriarch bypassed and to inject political peace appeals, Soviet inspired, into the resolutions.

All the Eastern Orthodox churches, except the Greek, met again in 1963 at the same place. In reporting on that meeting a press report stated: "The most serious rift in Orthodoxy divides the Russian and Eastern European churches from the other Orthodox churches. The Russian church appears to wish to restore the position of preeminence it enjoyed in the days of the czars." The report also stated that the real problem of the Middle East churches, small but ancient, is their penetration by the Russian Orthodox Church.—New York Times, September 27, 29, 1963.

Most fittingly, therefore, Matthew Spinka, an authority on Russian church affairs, wrote:

"The present Patriarch Alexei has voluntarily continued the policy of cooperation with the state. He has deliberately made his church the tool of the government. This is particularly evident from his service rendered to the state in the expansion of its political power into satellite Orthodox countries. It has become the significant and conspicuous feature of his term in office."

The Russian Orthodox Church is indeed the tool of the godless Communist Soviet regime. True, its former heads, Tikhon and Sergei, at first struggled against having their church play this role, but in the end each did an about-face because of pressures and inducements. What good is a professedly Christian organization when it becomes a tool of Caesar, and a godless Caesar at that, one whose goals are world conquest and the wiping out of all religion? God and Christ can use only those bearing right fruits.—Matthew 21: 43; John 15: 2, 6.

WITNESSES IN RUSSIA NO STATE TOOLS

According to reports, the leading, Protestant organizations in Russia follow the same course of cooperation with the communistic Soviet regime that the Russian Orthodox Church does, even as do the Roman Catholic churches. They have the benefit of being registered by the government in return for repeating Soviet propaganda, such as that there is no religious persecution in Russia and that the Soviet regime is sincerely advocating world peace. Evidently all these agree with the former Orthodox patriarch Sergei that only armchair visionaries would try to carry on in Russia without coming to terms with the Soviet regime. But there are exceptions that are proving that even in godless communistic Russia sincere worship can be carried on. In particular have Jehovah's Witnesses there demonstrated that a religious community can carry on without becoming a Soviet Caesar's tool, and they have done so by going "underground."

Even as Jehovah's Witnesses refused to compromise or come to terms with Hitler, the godless Nazi Caesar, so they have refused to come to terms with Stalin and Khrushchev, the godless communistic Caesars. While they have had to suffer much for taking this course and have had to carry

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[1] According to the Encyclopedia Americana (1956), vol. 23, p. 222, "Rasputin" is "from the Russian word rasputny, dissolute, profligate, libertine, licentious: an opprobrious nickname conferred upon a notorious Russian monk. * * *" And concerning Rasputin the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1959), vol. 18, p. 988, states that he was responsible for the "wildest orgies," which gained him immense popularity in high circles, that the Holy Synod servilely followed his wishes and that even the empress, the wife of the Czar, came under his influence.

[2] The Church in Soviet Russia—Spinka, pp. 159–162.

on underground, they have kept a clear conscience and can hope to be rewarded by their God Jehovah in his due time. As Jesus foretold: "Shall not God cause justice to be done for His chosen ones who cry out to Him day and night, even though He is long-suffering toward them? I tell you, He will cause justice to be done to them speedily. Nevertheless, when the Son of Man arrives, will He really find the faith on the earth?"—Luke 18: 7, 8; see also John 15: 17–19.

What is more, even at the present time their course of action has not been without rewards, as can be seen from what Walter Kolarz says about them in his book "Religion in the Soviet Union." While obviously not impressed with the beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses, he does accurately tell how they were able to breach the Iron Curtain, by Russian prisoners in German concentration camps becoming converted by Witnesses also in these camps and by Russia's taking over lands in which there were Witnesses. In regard to their activities and persecutions he has, among other things, the following to say:

"In 1957, the Soviet authorities started a nationwide campaign against the Witnesses. The body primarily in charge of it was the Committee for State Security, the notorious KGB, the successor of the MVD which carried out the anti-Jehovist operations in the forties * * * Specifically, political charges against the Witnesses concerned their refusal to participate in elections or serve in the army * * * and their boycott of the appeals of the World Peace Council. They assert that no international body in the world could prevent war nor bring universal peace against God's will, and so the peace movement is a wicked thing.

"Truth and fiction are closely intermingled in the Soviet accusations, but one is outstandingly ludicrous; namely, that Jehovists were racialists who accepted the Nazi philosophy of a master race. * * * In fact, far from being racialists, the Witnesses are more internationally minded than the Communists, for they do not recognize any natural and racial barriers among themselves. They consider themselves part of 'Jehovah's Nation of Worshipers' to which their undivided loyalty belongs. * * * Only the future will show whether Khrushchev has been more successful in fighting the Jehovist danger than were either Hitler or Stalin."

What a contrast the course of Jehovah's Witnesses in Russia presents to that taken by the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and major Protestant churches, such as the Lutherans and the Baptists. If the few thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses have been able to accomplish all this, what could these others have accomplished with their many millions if their leaders had taken a fearless, uncompromising and integrity-keeping stand and kept separate from this system of things, if they had refused to yield to Caesar's demands to give him what belongs to God alone, if they had refused to become tools of the godless Soviet Caesar?

According to the Word of God, all religious organizations that thus became political tools, as were the religions of ancient Babylon, are a part of "Babylon the Great," the world empire of false religion. More than that, God's Word at Revelation 17: 15–18 shows that all such religious organizations, as part of Babylon the Great, will perish at the hands of the very Caesars with whom they consort.

Has your church compromised its principles for the sake of popularity, convenience or to avoid persecution? Has it come to terms with Caesar at the cost of failing to pay back to God what belongs to God? If so, then it is part of Babylon the Great and the call also applies to you: "Get out of her, my people, if you do not want to share with her in her sins, and if you do not want to receive part of her plagues" (Revelation 18: 4).

Strengthen America's Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George F. Miller, Scout executive and secretary of the Theodore Roosevelt Council, Boy Scouts of America, Phoenix, Ariz., spoke in Phoenix on July 4 at the "ring the bells for freedom" celebration. It is my pleasure to insert Mr. Miller's fine speech, "Strengthen America's Heritage," in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all to read:

STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S HERITAGE

(By George F. Miller)

In just 2 weeks, I will be in attendance at the national jamboree of the Boy Scouts of America at Valley Forge, Pa. Once again, 50,000 Scouts and leaders from across America will gather to strengthen America's heritage. On July 18, campfires will burn across America in Scout camps to keep the fires of citizenship burning. The Boy Scouts of America has always stood for patriotism and citizenship, built on the principle of participation and service to others. Many of you will be able to provide leadership and resources necessary to extend this vital program.

America is a spiritual ideal. Out of the hardship, privation and struggle of men, out of the finest ideals of their souls and prayers of the world, God furnished an inspiration, gathered a people and made them a Nation founded on kindliness, endowed it with a great mission and called it America.

American principles are not inherited and those privileges which we so dearly love as Americans are never completely achieved. They must be won and rewon every day in the heart and actions of the individual. Some of us have taken the American way for granted.

We thought our fathers handed it down to us compete and final. We thought the American way needed no defense. We are finding out that it not only needs defense, but that the American way needs an offensive campaign.

Most of us are willing to die for America. We must also be willing to live for it and fight for its principles.

Freedom is somewhat like the air we breathe. We will never miss it until it is taken away from us. Throughout the history of mankind, man has fought to retain or regain his freedom.

Today, we observe the 188th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Why and how it was enacted is well known. It is a document that will bear constant reading and study to make certain that the principles of our original Declaration of Independence are preserved in this 20th century.

Independence means respect for the individual.

Independence means free enterprise, without unnecessary Government controls.

Independence means social progress without socialism.

Independence means national security without appeasement and capitulation to communism.

Independence means the acceptance of responsibility as a citizen. An understanding that for every privilege, there is a corresponding duty.

Independence means that liberty and justice for all protects the innocent as well as the accused. It is not a license for the guilty to evade justice by clever legal manipulation.

Independence means that taxes are imposed by representation, not by bureaucracy.

Independence means that when we pledge allegiance to our country, we are pledging to be true to ourselves.

There are those in America who have placed self-indulgence and pleasure before duty. We need a reawakening of patriotism that challenges our citizens to stand up and be counted for freedom.

We are an idealistic nation; a nation ruled by laws, not by men. Yet, surely, by now, we have learned that we cannot legislate goodness. Nor can we decree by law the spirit of citizenship in the United States of America.

Our citizenship is an ideal, a process, a method. It is, in fact, a way of life.

There is a song in our hearts today about our America. It is "America the Beautiful," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "My Home Town," and "The Street Where I Live" with "Dear Hearts and Gentle People."

America is Valley Forge, Belleau Wood, Bastogne, Guadalcanal, Pusan, Korea. These are proud names in our Nation's history. Challenge, not compromise; victory, not defeat.

We need faith in America, her people, and her institutions. We need to realize that what each one of us do in our own little niche is important. Edmund Burke warned us nearly 200 years ago, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

We need an uprising to demand morality in public office. We need a reawakening of respect for law and order. We need to reaffirm our determination—the God-inspired determination to protect our freedoms and safeguard our American heritage at all costs. Only then will we have preserved the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

In just 12 short years, we will observe the 200th anniversary of the founding of the United States of America.

I would like to close with this observation: "Can it happen here?"

"From bondage to spiritual faith—from spiritual faith to courage,
From courage to liberty—from liberty to abundance,
From abundance to selfishness—from selfishness to complacency,
From complacency to apathy—from apathy to dependency,
From dependency back into bondage.
This cycle is not inevitable—it depends on each of us."

New Bedford Institute of Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, higher education, like most other aspects of life in the United States, is constantly developing and changing. In my district, in New Bedford, Mass., this fact was brought home dramatically to the audience of the last commencement of the New Bedford Institute of Technology.

This school, which had served the area for nearly seven decades, with great credit, was merged July 1 with Bradford Durfee College, in our neighboring city of Fall River, to form the new Southeast-

ern Massachusetts Technological Institute.

The merger is symbolic of our dedication to progress in southeastern Massachusetts. And, while we welcome the new arrangement for its practicality and its promised enrichment of our educational system, we feel the passing of the old order should be noted and that tribute should be paid its many contributions to the young people and the communities it has served over the years.

The final commencement address was delivered by President John W. Lederle, of the University of Massachusetts. Dr. Lederle took the occasion to stress the importance of continuing growth on the part of our State schools; his remarks on the past patterns of education and the changes which have occurred are applicable to schools throughout our country. Vital to all of us is the stress he places on the future responsibilities in this field.

I include a letter, first published in the Massachusetts Teacher, by Walter Smietana, chairman of the board of trustees of New Bedford Institute of Technology. This letter emphaizes the past role of the institute, and yet, looks forward to the future confidently.

I am proud to join the citizens of New Bedford, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in marking the passing of the New Bedford Institute of Technology.

[From the Massachusetts Teacher, May 1964]

NEW BEDFORD TECH

Commencement exercises at New Bedford Institute of Technology, May 31, will end one era of continuous progress in higher education and herald a new one in the Commonwealth's expansion of educational opportunities. Under pending State legislation the institute will merge with Bradford-Durfee College of Fall River, to form the new Southeastern Massachusetts Technological Institute scheduled to open on a 700-acre campus in Dartmouth. Paul Rudolph, head of the department of architecture at Yale, designed the buildings and campus of the new school.

Since its founding in 1895 as a textile school, the New Bedford Institute of Technology has constantly upgraded and modernized its curriculums to be attuned with the needs of the times. Under the administration of its president, Dr. John E. Foster, the coeducational institute continued its internationally recognized textile program and developed departments of mechanical, chemical and electrical engineering, pure mathematics, fashion and design, and business administration. Emphasis on the arts and social sciences was increased. The institute established a graduate school, research foundation, and a computer center. It received accreditation from the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the American Association of University Women.

The institute's history has been one of partnership in progress with the region it services and the Nation as a whole. In addition to its regular degree programs it conducts an evening school, summer school, and specialized programs to fill regional educational needs.

It conducts research for private industry and the Federal Government. Students have matriculated from: Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Formosa, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Iraq, Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal, Salvador, and Turkey.

Advancing technology and the Soviet challenge have greatly increased the importance of technical institutes in the United States. Congress provided specific aid for them in the Higher Educational Facilities Act of 1963.

After seven decades of continuous growth, New Bedford Institute of Technology looks ahead to another lifetime of contribution to technical education. In its transition to Southeastern Massachusetts Technological Institute it will pass on a heritage of progressive change and quality education.

WALTER SMIETANA,
Chairman, Board of Trustees.

"AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE THREE REVOLUTIONS"—SPEECH DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT JOHN W. LEDERLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF THE NEW BEDFORD INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

I am delighted to be with you and I am grateful to President Foster for inviting me to join in these commencement exercises. As president of the University of Massachusetts—our State university, I am especially pleased to be here at the New Bedford Institute of Technology because this occasion gives our two institutions an opportunity to demonstrate that we are partners and not competitors in this vital work of education.

Before beginning to prepare my remarks for this commencement program, I did some reading about the history and objectives of New Bedford Institute. I found that the institute was chartered in 1895, only 32 years after the founding of the University of Massachusetts, then the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Both institutions began with a fairly specialized objective—yours, to produce persons trained in textile technology; ours, to give scientific training in agriculture and related fields.

When you take your college catalog and read about these beginnings, it all sounds tame enough—and yet when I think about the development of education in this country over the past century or so, and as I look at the graduating classes both here and at the State university, and at the kinds of degrees that are awarded, I am struck by the thought that something like a fast revolution must have happened to accomplish all that has taken place in the short space of 100 years or less.

What would our educational system be like if this revolution had never begun? Well, take this graduating class. First of all, the young ladies gathered here to receive their degrees would have to leave. There would be little or no opportunity for them to get the education entitling them to a degree. Next, the men expectantly waiting for the bachelor of science in business administration, chemistry, electrical engineering, mathematics, mechanical engineering, or textile technology, or almost any other field would also have to leave. Why? Because without this revolution there would be room only for men preparing for the ministry. In the mid-19th century, when the revolution began, the aim of most colleges was limited; and efforts in higher education were confined to teaching Latin and Greek and very little else.

But now that I've come close to eliminating this entire graduating class, let me reassure you by saying that this has not been a dream. Public higher educational opportunity is a reality—but only because some people who were considered dreamers a hundred years ago decided that their dreams must come true for the good of America.

All of you, then, are the children of this revolution. How did it begin? It began on the farm. And as we look back on it, we would have to ask: Where else could it have begun? Ours was an agrarian society in the middle of the late 19th century, and farmers and their families accounted for most of the population. But it soon became evident that the farming we were doing and the farmers themselves could stand a little improvement. How? By bringing more science to the agricultural enterprise, and by educating the farmer, and, most important of all, by setting up public institutions of higher learning to which anybody could come, not just those with the highest standing in society and the greatest wealth.

I am talking, of course, about the land-grant institutions like the University of Massachusetts. Briefly, these schools were established as State agricultural colleges through the sale of nationally owned land in the West. The income realized was divided among the existing States and used to set up institutions open to all interested students. This was the practical beginning of the revolution—and the reason that you are gathered here today.

From these land-grant institutions came the notion that there should be other kinds of schools of higher learning that could be set up under tax-supported auspices. By 1895, for instance, the legislature had approved the New Bedford Institute of Technology and the historic mission of your school began in earnest.

But both before and after the passage of the Land-Grant Act of 1862, a hue and cry went up among the more precious inhabitants of the schools where the ivy had twined the longest. The consensus was that agricultural and technical schools were somehow beneath the dignity of true learning. Yet, the fact is that they were closer at that time to what should have been the living spirit of learning than were the older colleges.

There is a great deal to the belief that the agricultural and technical curriculums established in the late 19th century constituted the fresh breath of air that was needed to put life into higher education in this country. The great curriculums in science and engineering that we take so much for granted today were practically nonexistent in the colleges of the older persuasion.

But men of vision saw that education must provide instruction appropriate to the professions rising in or dominating a society. And, most important of all, they knew that in a democracy there must be some mechanism for democratizing educational opportunity—for what, after all, is a democracy really for?

Today, we are on the high crest of this democratization. And we're finding out something most important and most encouraging about these public universities and technological institutes. They, almost more than any other kind of institution, have the built-in capacity to adapt to the changing needs of society.

That there should be an active partnership among our Massachusetts institutions of public higher learning is indisputable. Our planning must be such that we can maintain a wise diversity in order to have unity of purpose—to produce the best possible education in the greatest number of fields for the largest number of students.

We are now, I believe, entering the second phase of the revolution I spoke of earlier. It is a more complicated phase, but the challenge is exciting. First, now that it has been clearly established that a society cannot survive without the commitment of support to our public educational effort, we must move vigorously to assure every qualified candidate a chance to enter college. And second, we must establish the best possible quality control for our educational effort.

I do not believe, as some do, that democracy is incompatible with excellence. It all depends on what is meant by excellence. The best that one can do with the talents one has is excellence in my book. And almost our entire population has the capacity to do just that provided they have the opportunity. For too long we have used a slippery vocabularly in our educational philosophies, and we have often fallen down simply because we were tripped up by our terminology.

The controversy that has raged over the specialist versus the generalist has been, to my mind, futile. All of us simply must be specialists in some field if we are to have any intellectual respectability whatsoever. The human being is not a computer-run robot, unable to do anything except follow a narrow pattern of behavior. No matter what we specialize in, we will still have intellectual interests along with those of our special competence.

What we need, to nourish these interests, however, is a major new adjunct to the process of public education—a tremendous expansion of facilities for continuing education. This will be the third phase of the American revolution in education. In this phase we will have fully developed adult education facilities that will not simply be there "if anyone wants them." If my thinking about the importance of such facilities is at all valid, we will have most of the educated populace attending these centers and engaging in challenging educational experiences.

This is the wave of the future—and you as graduates of one of the finest technical institutes in the country should be leaders in the effort to establish this kind of continuing education program. The old clichés about having to keep up, of getting retreaded must be replaced by a system of education in which it is expected that one will keep up. We must, in fact, convert our whole thinking about leisure time to make certain that we do not fall into what I call the recreational trap. Too often we hear a brand of philosophy that says we will be able to have more and more fun in our leisure time activities. This is all to the good, provided we maintain our sense of human dignity and purpose. To stay vital as human beings we must continue to have intellectual stamina—and this means continuing, disciplined mental activity.

I can conceive of no better remedy to the lethargy and apathy of many of our citizens today than the sustained, lifelong commitment to systematic learning, both specialized and general. The present danger of losing a sense of purpose long before one achieves retirement age, and especially then, could be eliminated by continued attendance at centers for continuing adult education.

These then are the three phases of the revolution in our educational enterprise. We have succeeded in democratizing educational opportunity and modernizing our curriculums; we have opened the gates to as many students as possible while taking precautions to maintain quality; and we hope soon to have educational opportunity proceed throughout the life of man.

I do not know if we will succeed in phase 3. But I believe that here again, public higher education has a ready capacity to provide the means to an important end. I believe that we can complete this revolution. And I believe that there are many of you in this class of graduating students who will be among the leaders in this effort.

This is, after all, New Bedford—the city that Herman Melville called "this famous town" and the "best place to live in all New England." Here in the days when Melville was writing his greatest novel (Moby-Dick: 1851) whaling was one of the city's chief industries—a hard and challenging industry that demanded of all who worked in it the strongest qualities of mind and body. And, as Melville points out, the whalemen of his time deserved "the profoundest homage," for it was they who brought in the whales and the oil that lighted "all the tapers, lamps, and candles that burn around the globe." (Moby-Dick, ch. 24).

Melville was therefore led to assert that no one can "point out one single peaceful influence, which within the last 60 years has operated more potentially upon the whole broad world * * * than the high and mighty business of whaling."

New Bedford has inherited this spirit and perpetuates it. And through this native American spirit, both here and in towns throughout our country, I would say that in the next 60 years nothing will "operate more potentially" for every peaceful influence than the serious and indispensable business of education.

I congratulate you all and wish you the best of success in the work you will soon set out to accomplish.

Minneapolis Aquatennial Celebrates Its Silver Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Minneapolis is currently celebrating the silver anniversary of the birth of its world-famous summer festival, the Aquatennial.

The idea for a water carnival, whose purpose it would be to enhance the reputation of the City of Lakes as a unique summer vacation spot, was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1939. A group of prominent Minneapolitans, among them Tom Hastings, Jack Cornelius, and Dave Onan, had journeyed there to view a Canadian parade in honor of visiting King George VI.

They could think of no reason why their own city should not sponsor an annual summer festival of this kind. Within a year, they had pooled their enthusiasm and competence with that of others like Neil Messick, Sr., Pat Carr, Dave Kitchen, and Win Stephens to come up with the first Minneapolis Aquatennial.

The idea was an instant success, and the Aquatennial has been going strong ever since, attracting more and more visitors every year. During the war years, the Aquatennial switched its purpose from selling Minneapolis to selling war bonds and building morale, but the dominant theme of fun, sports, and laughter was not altered.

Cowboy movie star and singer Gene Autry participated in the first Aquatennial, and he is back this year to help the Aquatennial celebrate its birthday. He is being joined by other frequent Aquatennial visitors, including this year's entertainment master of ceremonies, Bob Hope.

The Minneapolis Aquatennial gets bigger and better every year, and is a source of real pride for all Minneapolitans. Two of its founders, Tom Hastings and Win Stephens, served as the original president and commodore of the Aquatennial. In this 25th year, William G. Hastings takes over the many responsibilities of the presidency, while O. D. Gay and Harold M. Atkinson will man the mainsails as commodores. And Miss Mary Margaret Schultz is the latest in a long line of charming and beautiful Aquatennial queens.

I take real pride in saluting the Minneapolis Aquatennial and the many people who have made it a constant success.

Election Day a Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce a bill to make the day on which we elect the President, Vice President, or Members of Congress a national legal holiday.

The bill is designed to strengthen our country's domestic and international political traditions and to respond to a well-defined, long-pressing political need.

Foremost among the attributes of a democracy is the right of the people to choose their political leaders. Insofar as that right is neglected or insufficiently used by the citizens of a nation, the democratic process of that nation is impaired. It is an unfortunate truth that in the United States, a large percentage of our citizens fail to cast their ballots on election day. My bill is designed to remedy this deficiency, and as such, it is intended to strengthen and perfect the democratic process of this Nation by encouraging greater participation on the part of the people.

The United States has long prided itself on being the world's foremost democratic Nation, but the voting record of our citizens is sometimes embarrassing in the face of our political position. In 1948, of 95 million potential voters in the United States, only 48,834,000 or 51.5 percent voted in the national election. In 1952, of the 98 million persons of voting age, only 61,552,000 actually did vote—62.7 percent. In 1956, 62,027,000 or 60.4 percent of the 103 million possible voters went to the polls. And though in 1960 we recorded our greatest voting record, only 63.3 percent of our 108 million qualified voters—68,382,000—actually cast ballots in the national election.

By contrast, in the democracies of Austria, Italy, and Norway, 90 to 97 percent of those qualified to vote do so, while in England, France, Germany, Greece, Turkey, Denmark, Israel, Korea, Indonesia, and Japan, 75 to 89 percent of the potential voters cast ballots. It is uncomfortably apparent that, rather than possessing the world's foremost record in this crucial index of a functioning democracy, the United States is considerably behind other democratic nations with respect to voter participation.

The bill I propose would emphasize to our citizens and to our friends abroad the importance to the democratic tradition of the right to vote. It would do so by making election day a nationally observed legal holiday. Independence Day, Memorial Day, Veterans Day—all celebrate events central to our democratic heritage. The right to vote, the

struggle to achieve that right, and, above all, the importance of its exercise—these too lie at the heart of our political tradition. They therefore deserve also to be celebrated in a national manifestation.

I am confident that the enactment of this bill would help to remedy the constantly minimal voting record of our citizenry. This it would do by emphasizing the right to vote and by enabling our citizens to exercise this right on a day specifically dedicated to this purpose. Laws releasing citizens from their employment obligations on election day already exist in 27 States. Through this bill I would like to extend such provisions to cover the citizens of all the States of the Union. I am confident that voter participation in our national elections would increase to between 80 and 90 percent of the eligible voters in the country.

This year, for example, the potential number of voters in the country should reach about 114 million. On the basis of our voting record in the past, only about 70 to 72 million citizens will cast their ballots on election day; were election day to be observed as a national, legal holiday, as provided in my bill, I believe that between 90 and 100 million voters would turn out at the polls. I can think of no greater demonstration of the vitality of American democracy. If we continue our present methods, instead of adopting a uniform national law declaring election day a legal holiday, we shall only perpetuate the image of laxity in our democratic system. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I introduce the following bill:

[88th Cong., 2d sess.]

H.R. 12013

In the House of Representatives, July 22, 1964; Mr. ST. ONGE introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

A bill making the day on which electors of President and Vice President and Members of Congress are elected a legal holiday

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November in 1964 and in each even-numbered year thereafter shall be known as Election Day, and is hereby made a legal public holiday to all intents and purposes and in the same manner as the 1st day of January, the 22d day of February, the 30th day of May, the 4th day of July, the first Monday of September, the 11th day of November, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmans Day are now made by law public holidays.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 608.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Calm July in the Other America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Calm July in the Other America," written by Russell Baker, and published in the New York Times of July 23, 1964.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CALM JULY IN THE OTHER AMERICA
(By Russell Baker)

WASHINGTON, July 22.—What is there to say of the America that is not in the headlines this barbarous July? Very little that is new, and nothing that will stir the passions like the overstatement of the political campaign, the rioting in Manhattan and Florida, the hatred in Mississippi.

And yet it is still there, this other country which makes no headlines. You can go out across the continent all the way to the Pacific, and look at it, and stand in it, and touch it, and be moved, awed and amused by it. The trouble is that there is nothing to report from it.

DEER, BEEF, WATER

Consider the Mendocino coast of northern California. It is a place of important things not worth reporting. Several eons ago nature went wild and heaved the beaches high above the level of the sea and gradually turned them into meadows. The serenity is absolute.

In the morning fog, deer prance in the cemeteries. Nights are chill and misty. Woolens are required. The Pacific placidly eats at the rock. News of the latest rioting in the other America seeps in only slowly, brought by San Franciscans come to have their nerves wound down. It feels a long way to Mississippi, but what else is there to say of it?

Wyoming presents the same problem. The news from Wyoming is that there is nobody there. Or hardly anybody. The train travels a hundred miles between human faces across a deserted moonscape of boulder and scrub, snaking along cracked dry riverbeds and vistas of ruined cliffs crumbling to dust.

Occasionally the train stops. Big men with sunburned faces and big hats climb aboard. Their immediate problem is the beef glut. The West is suffering from a beef explosion that has almost doubled the cattle population since 1950, but the great dull problem that will plague America long after this summer's riots are forgotten is water.

COUNTRY OF OLD MEMORIES

If there were water the West would inherit the earth, but everyone knows that, and what else is there to say? It is one of those tediously enduring problems that plague this other country and seldom engage the attention of a world ready to accept the snarl of the mob as the true face of America.

And Iowa. Something important should be said about Iowa. But what is there to say? Iowa is an emotional experience. The beautifully ordered farms, the summer billow of green corn, the floating haze of wildflowers—these things evoke a hopeless sense of regret for the history that has moved America off the land and into the cities.

The towns of Iowa, with their tree-lined squares and upright homes and vegetable gardens in the back yards—these towns are towns out of the memories of childhood.

The mood is not all sentimentality, of course. In Chicago it may be the beery convivality of a touring group of Milwaukee Braves boosters pausing to rag a Polish bartender about the inferiority of the Chicago Cubs. These other Americans still care more about baseball than about ideology and spend more energy hating the other pitcher than hating the man across town.

A HEALTHY CASE OF NO NEWS

They are also predominantly proud of their places that never make the headlines. "How do you like our redwoods?" any waitress at a greasy spoon in the Sequoia country will ask with a pride that brooks nothing but the most outrageous cries of admiration for Sequoia sempervirens.

All are part of the American fiber and they temper the natural strain of violence which has always been part of the American character. It is helpful, during a July like this one, to remind ourselves that there is, as always, another America, and that it is the one in which most Americans live most of the time.

Fortunately, there is very little to say of it that is new, and nothing that will stir the passions.

Resolutions of Connecticut Postal Supervisors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of several resolutions adopted by the Connecticut State branch, National Association of Postal Supervisors, at its State convention on May 24, 1964, at Westport, Conn. These resolutions call for certain improvements in postal legislation, and for this reason I am pleased to insert them into the RECORD. They deal with such matters as overtime pay, life insurance, optional retirement, survivor annuity, and others. The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION ON OVERTIME PAY

Whereas under present law postal supervisors in level 8 and above, required to work in excess of 8 hours in 1 day and to work on Saturdays and Sundays during the month of December, do not receive overtime pay as do others, but must take this time off on compensatory leave instead; and

Whereas we can see no difference between overtime work of any postal employee, and the paying of overtime to one group and denying it to others is unfair and unjust: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Connecticut State Branch, NAPS, in convention assembled at Westport, Conn., on May 24, 1964, go on record urging our national officers encourage and promote legislation granting overtime pay to all supervisors under the same conditions applied to other postal employees.

RESOLUTION ON LIFE INSURANCE

Whereas the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act provides low cost life insurance coverage; and

Whereas the life insurance plan limits the purchase of insurance to the next thousand above the employee's annual rate of salary; and

Whereas such limitations on insurance are unrealistic in view of today's increased cost of living and the expenses of educating a family: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Connecticut State branch, NAPS, in convention assembled at Westport, Conn., on May 24, 1964, ask our national officers urge the changing of the Federal Employees Group Insurance Act of 1954 to have the Government absorb the full cost of the insurance and that postal employees be permitted to purchase additional coverage, at the same rates, up to double the amount they are entitled to carry according to their salaries, at the employees' expense for the additional insurance.

RESOLUTION ON NIGHT DIFFERENTIAL PAYMENTS

Whereas it falls to the lot of a great number of postal employees to work abnormal hours, night differential payments are based on these hours; and

Whereas payment of night differential is to compensate personnel for working during hours not considered normal; and

Whereas a 10-percent night differential for hours worked between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. is not sufficient to reduce the problems of employee morale and employee turnover which result from these abnormal hours: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Connecticut State branch, NAPS, in convention at Westport, Conn., on May 24, 1964, go on record urging the national officers to continue their efforts to have legislation enacted to increase night differential to 15 percent and paid for the entire 8 hours when at least 5 hours of the tour are between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.

RESOLUTION ON FOREMAN, MAILS

Whereas the efficient performance of all duties of a foreman, mails, requires a further limitation on the number of employees assigned to him; and

Whereas most foremen must assume more and more responsibilities resulting from increased safety measures, more training, new automation programs, and increased activities of personnel: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Connecticut State branch of the National Association of Postal Supervisors, assembled in convention at Westport, Conn., on May 24, 1964, instruct the national officers to press for a change to place the position foreman, mails, in level 8 when supervising 21 to 40 employees more than 4 hours per day, regardless of the level of the employees supervised.

RESOLUTION ON OPTIONAL RETIREMENT

Whereas a postal employee with 30 years of service who retires under age 60 is now penalized with reductions to his annuity; and

Whereas 30 years of conscientious and faithful service merits special recognition: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Association of Postal Supervisors continue to strive to secure enactment of legislation to grant employees the option of retirement at full annuity, regardless of age, after 30 years of creditable service; and be it further

Resolved, That this option be exercised only by the employee.

RESOLUTION ON SURVIVOR ANNUITY, NO REDUCTION

Whereas the Civil Service Retirement Act now requires a retiring employee to suffer a 10-percent reduction in basic annuity in order that his spouse may receive an annuity; and

Whereas the widow's annuity is also reduced as the maximum annuity is based on 55 percent of the annuity her husband was receiving at the time of his death; and

Whereas the basic annuity is such as to only allow the actual necessities for man and wife: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Association of Postal Supervisors strongly urge the Congress to enact legislation that will provide the maximum 75 percent annuity to widows without cost to the employee.

RESOLUTION ON UNUSED SICK LEAVE

Whereas many conscientious employees of the postal service accumulate a large amount of sick leave to their credit at the time of death or retirement for which they receive no credit; and

Whereas such devotedness and diligence to duty makes for a greater efficiency to the best interests of the postal service: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the present law be changed to read, one-half the amount of the accumulated sick leave be paid the retiree as severance pay or the entire amount be credited to length of service, the option to be granted to the retiring employee, in the case of death, one half of the amount of accumulated sick leave shall be paid to the beneficiary; and be it further

Resolved, That the Connecticut State branch, NAPS, in convention at Westport, Conn., on May 24, 1964, direct the national officers to continue to seek legislation which will amend the present law dealing with sick leave to prevent the loss of accumulated sick leave at death or retirement.

Our Vanishing Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Americans who cherish the Constitution of the United States and the great principles embodied therein owe a great debt of gratitude to the distinguished news columnist and magazine editor, Mr. David Lawrence, for his eloquent and forthright advocacy of constitutional government in America. I have been particularly impressed with an editorial by Mr. Lawrence which was published in the July 20, 1964, issue of U.S. News & World Report. The editorial is entitled "Our Vanishing Constitution."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR VANISHING CONSTITUTION
(By David Lawrence)

Only 175 years after our forefathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, the document has largely fallen into disuse. Some of the clauses that still remain in operation are being given an interpretation stretched far beyond their original meaning. We see an increasing power being exercised by the judiciary over the other branches of the Federal Government as the rights of the sovereign States are gradually being extinguished.

One hundred and seventy-five years is a relatively brief span in world history, and few republics have been able to maintain for even as long as two centuries their original pattern of a democratic system.

The United States has the largest population that has ever lived under a republican form of government. But the safeguards of democracy are being rapidly demolished, and our system of government is being invaded today by the same deceptive Trojan horses that the governments of yesteryears encountered in those fateful periods when the doctrine that "the end justifies the means" became the political gospel of the day.

Our written Constitution, established in 1789 and amended in the intervening years to meet changing conditions, is being deliberately disregarded, and the doctrine of conformity by coercion is being espoused not only by our so-called intellectual groups but by vote-seeking politicians in our great society.

The words of the Constitution, of course, explicitly specify that rights granted to the people cannot be taken away and that they can be surrendered only by the votes of the people themselves—through the action of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and the ratification of three-fourths of the State legislatures.

This method of effecting a change in the Constitution is sometimes called a cumbersome process, but the procedure for amending was purposely made slowmoving so as better to protect the minority and save it from the intolerance of the majority. If we are to be governed by an unwritten constitution, the parliamentary formula of Canada or Great Britain has in it much to be commended. But as long as we pay homage to a written Constitution, we are in duty bound to abide by it until such time as it is amended or a substitute is adopted by the process prescribed in the original compact between the States.

We can hardly believe our eyes, however, as we reread the provisions of the Constitution that have been torn to shreds by the autocratic action of a judicial oligarchy. Here, for instance, are the exact words of two amendments included in the Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791:

"Article IX: The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"Article X: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The words "United States" mean the Federal Government. Since it is stipulated that only the powers specifically delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution can be exercised by the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of the U.S. Government, an attempt to usurp any other rights not so granted is a plain violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution.

Yet today we see the Supreme Court telling the States how they shall constitute the upper and lower houses of their legislatures, how the public schools in States, counties, and cities shall be operated, what taxes shall be levied, and how powers of local police to deal with violence and trespass must be curtailed whenever a disorderly "demonstration" or a "sit-in" is ruled to be mere "freedom of expression."

Certainly Congress has the power to regulate "interstate commerce," but nowhere in the Constitution is the right given to construe that phrase as covering the age-old uses of private property—in fact, the Constitution says that no citizen shall be deprived of his property unless it is confiscated for public purposes and compensation is made. If, however, the phrase "interstate commerce" is to be applied arbitrarily to regulate the entire economic and social life of the Nation, the Constitution vanishes.

We are witnessing, moreover, the impairment of the rights of the States to maintain order. For instance, to prevent or quell local disturbances, Federal troops have recently been sent into two States—without the request or the consent of the Governors or the legislatures, as is required by the Constitution.

The Constitution, as the protector of the rights of the States and of the people, is thus being eroded. Usurpation has been passively accepted. The only question now is whether public opinion can be aroused and will act in time. For our written Constitution—as the bulwark of human rights under a Republican form of government—is rapidly vanishing.

Irrigation Adjusts to the Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an article by Arthur W. Peterson, extension economist for the Agricultural Extension Service, Washington State University.

Mr. Peterson brings some keen observations and established hard facts to play upon the growth and use-changes of irrigated lands in the State of Washington. All of these are not reassuring at first glance yet they reflect the use and direction that these lands must adhere to if they are to prove successful.

The history of the Columbia Basin project so far verifies this, indicates that the project will be increasingly successful and that the area, the State, the region, and the Nation will be better for it.

The article follows:

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF IRRIGATION ON THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

INTRODUCTION

In discussing the economic impact of irrigation in Washington, I propose to start with a review of some general principles of land use and agricultural development. I will then turn to some findings of historical studies of economic development in specific irrigation projects. Lastly I plan to apply this background information to predictions regarding the economic development of the

central irrigated region of Washington, especially the Columbia Basin region.

Before stating the principles I would like to underscore what I think is one of the biggest problems confronting agricultural development in the State of Washington. This problem is the wide diversity and small size of our agricultural production regions. This diversity and relatively small size of our regions makes it difficult for us to develop efficient, competitive marketing and supplying facilities in each region, and handicaps us in attracting competing buyers from the large consumer outlets.

Let me give you an example. We have small areas that have favorable natural conditions for the production of lamb and wool but the volume produced has not yet been sufficient to give us efficient processing plants. Moreover, the number of competing buyers is limited. Recently I studied a farm on San Juan Island of San Juan County to estimate its income potential for an educational foundation which might receive it as a gift. This farm, and other farms on San Juan have good natural resources for the production of lamb and wool but the limited volume on this island makes processing and selling difficult and expensive. We have many small production "islands" in the State of Washington.

Why do I underline this problem at the beginning of my talk on the economic impact of irrigation on the State of Washington? For this reason: Our present and potential irrigated region of central Washington is a large region. It has attracted efficient processing plants and competing buyers. The future is even brighter because it is likely to increase greatly in size.

In passing, I do not want to overlook the political importance of homogeneity of interests that are likely to exist in a large, relatively homogeneous region. National agricultural policies are uusally geared to the large agricultural regions which have common problems and many votes. In the past we have had a divided voice in the agriculture of this State, partially because of diversified and small agricultural regions from a national viewpoint. In our central irrigated regions we may be large enough to have an important political influence.

Let me turn now to some principles of land use and agricultural development that I suggest we should keep in mind as we think about the economic impact of irrigation on our State.

PRINCIPLES OF LAND USE AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT THAT INFLUENCE THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF IRRIGATION

1. Land moves toward its most intensive competitive use.

2. Intensity of land use is reflected in two ways:

(1) By the number of people who are supported per unit of land, for example per 1,000 acres. Thus we speak of the wheat region of Washington being more intensively used than the cattle region of eastern Washington. Likewise, the dairy regions around Spokane and in western Washington are more intensively used than the wheat regions of the State. The irrigated regions are also more intensively used than neighboring dryland regions because they support more people per thousand acres.

Within the irrigated regions we have a further basis for classifying regions from an intensity-of-use viewpoint. Tree-fruit regions are more intensive than general cropping regions under irrigation. They support about three to four times as many people in direct agricultural production as the nonfruit regions.

(2) By how well people are supported per unit of land within the same agricultural region. Thus within any irrigated general farming area we can expect to find some land areas better suited to the production of adapted irrigated crops than are neighboring areas. Farmers refer to different areas within the same agricultural region as being "good," "fair," and "poor" farming areas.

It is possible to irrigate land that is so low in its economic capacity that it will not pay farm expenses and provide an acceptable level of living based upon the level of living standard of the region. This land is submarginal for the present type of farming and only remains in its present type through various forms of subsidy from outside the area. It is also possible to attempt to extend the tree-fruit region, within irrigated regions, beyond its natural and economic adaptation limits. If this is done a submarginal region, measured by net income per farm family, will develop. These submarginal areas in agriculture present serious problems because they are too densely settled relative to their capacity to support people at acceptable levels of living.

3. Agricultural production is usually more stable under irrigated farming than under dryland farming.

4. Irrigated regions have better community services than nonirrigated regions because of greater density of population in the irrigated than in the nonirrigated region.

5. The income level usually is higher in an irrigated region than in a nonirrigated region because a higher proportion of the population is engaged in services and manufacturing in irrigated areas than in nonirrigated areas. When a region undergoes economic development farm families have lower average net incomes than nonfarm families. The income per farm family is likely to be the same among agricultural regions, however.

6. In irrigated regions, once they have reached maturity, the farm population is likely to decline and the nonfarm population to increase as the region develops. This will be illustrated later in this talk using data from Scotts Bluff County, Nebr.

7. The number of persons employed in processing and packaging of farm products, to meet changing consumer demands, is increasing relative to the number of persons working on the farm producing raw materials.

8. The number of persons employed in off-farm supply and service businesses is increasing relative to the number of persons working on the farm producing raw materials.

9. In order to attract buyers who require products that meet consumer specifications, an agricultural region must be large enough to support efficient processing and marketing facilities. As pointed out previously, the State of Washington has had difficulties in the past because the agricultural regions of the State tend to be widely diversified and relatively small in area when measured as a percentage of the national production. The central irrigated regions of the State, as they grow in size because new lands come under irrigation, should overcome this difficulty. Certain types of agricultural production are likely to become important enough in the State of Washington, under irrigation, to attract additional processing plants, marketing services, and marketing supply companies.

10. Agricultural regions that can support a longer season of operation for processing plants will tend to outcompete other regions. This is one advantage that the State of California has had over many of our own competing areas.

11. Legislation which results in regulations which interfere with competition among farms, businesses and regions delays the introduction of new technology. It is often harmful to recently developed regions because the market is usually divided on a historical basis among existing producing units or regions.

12. A community in which the people study their resources, take time to clarify their goals, identify the problems and opportunities and then analyze their alternatives is likely to develop faster than a community which does not take time for such study and planning.

EXAMPLES OF THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF IRRIGATION

1. Western United States versus the United States as a whole.

The main basis for intensifying the agriculture of the Western part of the United States has been irrigation. Related to this increase in intensification on farms has been the increase in marketing and supply services. Nonfarm industries have been attracted to the region for various reasons but among the factors that brought other industries were well-developed transportation facilities and a supply of skilled labor as a result of agricultural development. Irrigation is one of the causes for the more rapid growth in the Western States than in the United States as a whole. Population trends indicate that by the year 2000 about 30 percent of the population of the United States may be located in the 17 Western States.

Total land used for crops has been stable for approximately the last 40 years. The number of farms, however, has been declining for about that same period, with accelerated speed since 1940. Similar trends have occurred under irrigation. In older irrigated regions we find the farm population declining while the total population continues to increase. It would appear from these data that the on-farm population in the United States is likely to decline until it represents 5 percent or less of the total population. This has already happened in the State of Washington. The development of new irrigated lands has slowed the rate of decline from what it would have been but it has not been fast enough to change the direction.

It is evident that the largest concentration of people and markets in the 17 Western States will be along the west coast including California, Oregon, Washington, and Canada. California with the longest coastline and several good ports will continue to be the most important market for the 17 Western States.

We can expect the foreign markets of Japan and southeast Asia to increase in their influence on the irrigated agriculture of the West. To compete for these markets we will have to concentrate and process our agricultural raw materials. This will mean fewer farmers in relation to nonfarm people, but a continuing increase in the total population.

2. In the State of Washington the 1959 census of agriculture showed a total of approximately 50,000 farms. Of this total 28,000 were classified as commercial farms, that is to say they were being operated as a business. There were about 19,000 farms with irrigation out of the 50,000. The farm families on these farms irrigated a little over 1 million acres.

In the central irrigated region, seven counties, namely, Adams, Benton, Yakima, Franklin, Kittitas, Grant, and Walla Walla, with a total of 10,600 irrigated farms, accounted for over three-fourths of the irrigated acres in the State of Washington in 1959. Three other counties lying in the north central part of the State are noted for their fruit production. They are Chelan, Douglas, and Okanogan. These counties reported about 85,000 acres irrigated on 3,400 farms. In analyzing these data, note the difference in acres per farm between the two regions. The fruit region to the north has about three times as many farm families per 1,000 acres as the seven-county area around Pasco. As most of you know, some of the irrigated area around Pasco is in fruit and some areas not now in fruit can be expected to move in that direction because they have a favorable climate for fruit.

The fact that some areas are suited to fruit, and some are not, leads to the suggestion that future planning of farm unit size for new irrigated regions should recognize this principle. Of course, making farm units smaller is not as difficult as making them larger, especially if buildings or other capital structures have been duplicated as they were developed.

3. A very useful study for showing the comparison of dry land versus irrigated areas has been made for the Scotts Bluffs area in Nebraska and Wyoming. The results of this study have been published by the Bureau of Reclamation in a report on the accomplishments of irrigation in the North Platte project area, Wyoming and Nebraska, prepared for the use of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, April 1956. The information in this report indicates the direction of change that we can expect in the State of Washington. The population change was most rapid in the first 20 years of the project. The urban population has continued to grow, even up to the present time, but the farm population started to decline in 1940 and this decline has continued.

In the depression decade, from 1930 to 1940, the population of Scotts Bluff County, Nebr., gained about 18 percent while the population of adjacent dryland farming counties decreased about 12 percent. During this same period the population of the State of Nebraska decreased about 5 percent and the U.S. population increased about 10 percent. The county of Scotts Bluff grew faster in population than the adjacent dryland farm counties, the State of Nebraska, and the United States as a whole.

In 1950 it took an adjacent dryland area 13 times as large as the North Platte project areas to equal its sales of agricultural products. To equal the total income payments of the project area required a dryland area 40 times as large. This larger increase in off-farm income versus farm income is related to the agri-business sector of an irrigated region. The $44 million value of agricultural production in 1950 was estimated to have induced income payments, mainly wages and profits, of $91 million.

This study of the North Platte project provides us with background data for making estimates of change in the Columbia Basin. Based upon this experience it is possible to predict that the presently irrigated blocks of the Columbia Basin project will continue to have an increase in total population, nonfarm businesses, and total income accompanied by a decline of the on-farm population.

Now let us turn to a study that is closer to home. An evaluation of reclamation accomplishments in the Columbia Basin for the period of 1948 to 1957 has been published in a progress report by the Bureau of Reclamation. The study behind this report was made by Art Walker, of the Bureau of Reclamation, and Prof. B. D. Parrish, of the Agricultural Economics Department, Washington State University. I have selected material based on this report because I believe it indicates what we can expect from future developments in the Columbia Basin.

The areas compared are the dryland wheat region around Davenport and Ritzville, Wash., and the Columbia Basin project area. The comparative data showing changes in these two areas during the last 10 years are summarized in table 1. The dryland area showed no change in population while the project area had an increase of over 43,000 persons. You can note various other items in the table. I will make mention of only a few. For example, the volume of business in the project area had a 128-percent increase compared with a 30-percent increase in the dryland area. This is reflected in the carloadings per year which showed an 11,000 increase in the Columbia Basin compared with a 1,900 decrease in the comparison area. This does not include truck movements but I am sure the comparison would greatly favor the irrigated region versus the dryland region even if these were included. The industrial wages paid in the irrigated region increased over $35 million compared with an increase of slightly less than $1 million in the comparison area.

TABLE 1.—*A comparison of changes in the Columbia Basin project and a dryland wheat region of about the same size, located to the north and east of the project area, 1948 and 1957*

Item	Irrigated project area	Dryland comparison area
Population	43,400 increase	No change.
Rural population	17,000 increase	Decrease.
Number of industrial establishments	770 increase	No change.
Value of real and personal property	$178,000,000 increase	$26,000,000 increase.
Volume of business	128 percent increase	30-percent decrease.
Carloadings per year	11,000 increase	1,900 decrease.
Number of industrial workers employed	100 percent increase	10-percent decrease.
Industrial wages paid	$35,600,000 increase	$8,000,000 increase.
Federal income tax paid	$10,000,000 increase	$5,000,000 increase.
State business and occupation tax	$5,000,000 increase	No change.
Property tax revenues	$3,000,000 increase	$1,000,000 increase.
Postal receipts	200 percent increase	37-percent increase.

The industrial workers employed in the Columbia Basin increased about 100 percent from 1948 to 1957, while the State of Washington had an increase of about 23 percent, and the comparison area, previously mentioned, had a decline. Manufacturing had a terrific growth in the Columbia Basin, partially because of a small starting base. It increased 1,200 percent during the 10-year period. Similar trends are evident in the industries of transportation, communications, utilities, retail and wholesale trade, finance and related service industries.

THE COLUMBIA BASIN PORJECT TODAY

In 1960 the Bureau of Reclamation reported that there were in the Columbia Basin 4,126 farm units managed by 2,736 operators who produced $41 million in crops weighing 1.5 million tons and in processing them 1,250 men earned $5.3 million in wages using plant and equipment valued at $2.2 million, $17 million was added to the value of raw products locally before shipping them to domestic and foreign markets.

Information on land use and tenure is summarized for the year 1962 in table 2. The most important figure to look at is the comparison of the total number of operators with the total number of farm units. On the average, each operator farmed about two farm units. A few operators increased the size of their operation by owning additional units, but since the number of ownerships is restricted under the law, other operators have increased their size by renting additional units. Approximately 500 operators out of the 2,371 owned no land at all. The most common type of operation, however, was the "one-unit owner." They numbered 1,025.

TABLE 2.—*Land use and tenure, 1962*

Kind of operator [1]	Number of operators	Number of farm units [2]
Tenants who rent—		
1 unit	236	236
2 units	128	256
3 units	65	195
4 units	33	132
5 units or more	33	207
Owners who own 1 unit and rent—		
None	1,025	1,025
1 unit	225	450
2 units	92	276
3 units	30	120
4 units or more	34	197
Owners who own 2 units and rent—		
None	221	442
1 unit	74	222
2 units	33	132
3 units	11	55
4 units or more	18	180
Owners who own 3 units and rent—		
None	47	141
1 unit	16	64
2 units	12	60
3 units	8	48
4 units or more	3	36
Owners who own 4 units and rent—		
None	13	52
1 unit	4	20
2 units	1	6
3 units		
4 units or more	1	8
Owners who own 5 or more units and rent—		
None	1	9
1 unit		
2 units	4	32
3 unit	2	16
4 units or more	1	14
Total	2,371	4,601
Average 1.94 farm units per operator.		

[1] A "farm operating unit" consists of 1 or more farm units as defined above and includes all the land under control of 1 person, partnership, or corporation. Control may have been through ownership, or lease, rental, or cropping arrangement.

[2] "Farm units" in the Columbia Basin project consists of tracts of land laid out by the Bureau and containing sufficient acreage for the support of an average sized family at a suitable level of living.

The rapid changes in technology make it difficult for any of us to keep up with the changes in farming. Among the most significant changes are those in mechanization. The farm family with some hired help can now operate a great many more acres and do a better job of it than they could a few years ago. Perhaps we owe it to the future farmers in the new areas of the Columbia Basin to try to alert people who make public policies so that the ownership units in new areas can be larger on the average, and that on the same class of land within the same region we can have more variation in size of unit.

Some areas of the Columbia Basin are better suited to produce forage crops for livestock production than they are to cash crops. It has been difficult for individual farm families to save all the capital necessary to move into livestock production. In the process they have to utilize the service businesses we referred to previously. Among these services is the important one of credit. Most farm units in the Columbia Basin could not have been developed to their present level of production without financial help from outside the farm family's resources. Table 3 shows the livestock numbers in the Columbia Basin as of the fall of 1962. It does not quite give the whole picture because many of the cattle fed in the basin in 1962 are not included in this table. It does, however, give a useful summary of the livestock picture by districts, and in total.

TABLE 3.—*Livestock numbers, Columbia Basin project, fall of 1962*

Kind	South district	East district	Quincy district	Total
Dairy cows	2,175	1,665	1,389	5,229
Beef cows	2,467	6,175	4,722	13,364
Calves	6,095	7,755	5,863	19,713
Other cattle	9,162	8,206	4,316	21,684
Sows	847	560	926	2,333
Market hogs	2,052	1,266	1,358	4,676
Pigs	4,547	2,190	2,583	9,320
Other swine	861	152	313	1,326
Ewes (1 year old or over)	6,824	4,179	7,934	18,937
Lambs	3,396	3,833	3,796	11,025
Other sheep	284	632	168	1,084
Hens and pullets	5,960	6,535	3,218	15,713
Other chickens	61	153	205	419
Turkeys	117	32,014	4,026	36,157
Other poultry	68	283	741	1,091
Horses	142	81	40	263

The number of dairy cows has increased rapidly but the Columbia Basin has not yet become the important dairy region that some forecasters expected. There are economic reasons for this. For example, the west coast farming regions have fewer alternatives in their crop and livestock choices than do the farmers in the Columbia Basin and as a result it can be expected that most farming areas of western Washington will remain as dairy regions unless or until they are absorbed by residential or industrial uses of land. Legislation which allocates to those who have been in the dairy business a priority right on markets probably has tended to slow down the increase in dairying in the Columbia Basin.

Looking at table 4 one can see that livestock numbers of all kinds increased rapidly until about 1958. Since 1958 all cattle numbers have tended to increase but the numbers of hogs and sheep have been relatively stable. Poultry, if one takes the standard that approximately 100 hens equals one animal unit, is not a very important livestock enterprise in the Columbia Basin.

TABLE 4.—*Trends in livestock numbers on farms, Columbia Basin project, 1952–62*

Year	All cattle	All hogs	All sheep	All poultry
1952	1,517	661	1,839	3,092
1953	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
1954	5,150	2,213	4,183	18,645
1955	11,955	3,626	6,725	15,410
1956	9,335	3,119	6,997	18,046
1957	18,506	5,418	15,591	41,328
1958	25,341	10,428	30,724	24,525
1959	32,549	18,068	30,262	27,767
1960	37,335	17,671	30,286	24,195
1961	44,932	17,889	33,387	42,304
1962	50,990	17,655	31,046	53,380

[1] Data not available.

At some future date it is possible that the grain production of the Columbia Basin will be large enough to make it a surplus grain producing area. Until that time in the future, however, the Columbia Basin will tend to be best adapted to the types of livestock that can utilize roughage like alfalfa, pasture, and waste products from cash crops. The latter will continue to be an important source of feed for cattle and sheep. Because Washington is a deficit pork producing area, hogs will have a price advantage over the Midwest, but this may not be sufficient to offset the higher feed cost in the Columbia Basin. Only efficient hog producducers can expect to stay in business under these conditions.

Sheep have been handicapped in their development by the lack of sufficient numbers to attract competing buyers and specialized processing plants. As the Columbia Basin grows it seems likely that the sheep industry will grow with it. Again sometime in the future we might expect that this region will be large enough to attract buyers representing several consumer outlets.

SOME STANDARDS FOR ESTIMATING FUTURE GROWTH

After looking at several independent studies, I decided that the summary presented by Mr. Floyd Dominy in his talk to the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1961, provides a good basis for making future estimates. The following is a quotation from this talk by Mr. Dominy:

"For each 1,000 acres of land developed there are created 13 farming opportunities which support a population of 49 persons on the average for each of these 1,000 acres and produce an average of about $138,000 in crops each year. Additionally, there is generated about $425,000 of investment in farm property, machinery, equipment, and supplies.

"In the local towns this 1,000 acres of farming activity generates 66 jobs which provide for the support of a total of 163 people in the urban center. From both the farming and the urban activities there is generated a demand from each 1,000 irrigated acres, on the average, for 7 new autos and trucks each year and the servicing of 85 vehicles. It also generates trade equivalent to 3 average retail establishments and opportunity for 5 professional or technical workers."

Note that Mr. Dominy does not include livestock receipts in these data.

The large investment required in farm property, machinery, equipment and supplies is indicated by the estimate of $425,000 per 1,000 acres or $425 per acre. Perhaps the most important statistic is the estimate that each 1,000 acres will support a total of 163 people in the urban centers.

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

The Colombia Basin as it is now and probably will be sometime in the future, provides the important data for making estimates of future development. According to the Bureau of Reclamation schedule, 6,600 acres of land came under water this year, 1963. An additional 9,000 will be provided with water in 1964. By 1968 a total of an additional 42,100 acres will receive water. This is all scheduled to occur.

In my estimation, the most important thing to note is the amount of land not scheduled for water at the present time, but which has been provided for in the basic engineering of the Columbia Basin. About 520,000 more acres could receive water. Based upon my earlier statement of principles I expect that this land will move toward its most intensive use and eventually will be irrigated. The scheduling of its development will depend upon the political situation but its eventual scheduling is probably predetermined by economic pressure. In addition to the areas in the Columbia Basin, Mr. Harold Nelson of the Bureau of Reclamation estimates that another 300,000 acres may eventually be irrigated. This would mean a total of about 900,000 acres available for development sometime in the near future. Because I do not fear agricultural surpluses, if we maintain a relatively free market economy nationally and if we are willing to compete internationally, I would welcome the orderly development of these resources as soon as possible.

We have the essential ingredients which make it possible for us to compete. Our land and water resources are among the best in the world. But more important than this our people, including farm families, are well educated and their attitude toward change is acceptance of opportunity rather than fear which leads to restrictions. We have the heritage of a culture which encourages the ability to create ideas and things, and to produce and to trade. I have seen a part of the world and I am convinced that the possibilities are good for production and trade with countries not dominated by communism.

Based upon the standards used by Mr. Dominy I would guess that this development would supply in the neighborhood of 60,000 off-farm jobs. The Washington cities directly affected by these projects are likely to increase their population by at least 150,000 persons. Between 1,500 and 2,000 new retail units can be expected to evolve. The annual farm production from the potential 900,000 acres, using the present value of the dollar, could be expected to equal about $125 million annually.

It is important to ask, "How soon will this happen?" As I see it, it depends upon you and upon me. If this development is to occur rather soon it will require study and understanding on the part of local people, community by community for the total region. We will need to understand that while some community may gain more than some other community, it is probable that the total Nation, including the State of Washington, will gain by this development. Together we will need to study the economics which will govern our ability to compete with other producing regions in the United States and in foreign countries.

The Silver Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter that I received today from the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject of the silver dollar.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, D.C., July 23, 1964.

Hon. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON,
Chairman, Treasury-Post Office Subcommittee, Senate Appropriations Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In connection with the coming conference on Treasury appropriations, there is in disagreement, as you know, an item of $600,000 for the manufacture of 45 million silver dollars in fiscal 1965. I wanted to reemphasize the interest of the Treasury Department in security approval of this item.

While I know you are familiar with our problem, I wanted to reassure you that the administration feels it important to continue the use of the silver dollar, as it is one of the six standard coins prescribed by law, and is particularly used as an ordinary and traditional medium of exchange in many far western States. Also, use of the silver dollar will, to a great extent in the West at least, alleviate the heavy demands we have had on the quarter and 50-cent pieces. This eventually will about balance out the use of silver, as the minting of enough halves and quarters to substitute for the 45 million silver dollars will take almost as much metal for the same end use.

You are fully aware of the Treasury's crash program for the minting of some 8 billion coins this fiscal year, with still higher production planned for fiscal 1966. Under this program we are acquiring many presses from the Department of Defense, GSA, and

private industry and converting them for emergency use, although they will not be suitable nor economical on a long-range basis. With these presses now, however, and the continued purchase of bronze and nickel strip, we will be able to produce the 45 million silver dollars without cutting down on the production of coin of smaller denominations.

Present plans call for the minting of the dollars, if approved, at the Denver Mint only using an old design, and the 1964 date, if the bill for that purpose becomes law, as we hope will be the case.

If this item is approved in our appropriation bill it would be our policy to distribute the silver dollars through the Federal Reserve banks in the West where they are used as a medium of exchange. We would not use them in redemption of silver certificates at the Treasury.

Thank you for your past assistance in this matter, and whatever you can do in the conference to help secure approval of this $600,000 item will be doubly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS DILLON.

National Awakening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Carroll County Times, published in Westminster, Md.

In this editorial, the civil rights bill, recently passed by Congress, is shown to be the true expression of American patriotism; that deep-seated patriotism which goes back to our Founding Fathers who penned the immortal American guideline, "All men are created equal."

NATIONAL AWAKENING

Passage of the long-debated civil rights bill with its immediate as well as future influence on our country was only one of the many events which heralded the entrance of July 1964 onto the historical pages of the volume recording man's progress in civilization.

Since July 1, these have been busy days. There was much to be done—testing the strength of the new law, demonstrations, sit-ins in critical areas, preparations for the long holiday for Independence Day. Despite the scattered violence related to varied reactions to the new law, and the continued mangling of human bodies by automobile accidents caused by drivers in the peaceful pursuit of a holiday "pass time," a long lost feeling pervaded the Nation. The change was welcomed by many.

So long lost has been the expression of national patriotism that in some instances it was actually hard to recognize. But, there it was and one could definitely say that the flag of the United States had regained its rightful place. At Fort McHenry where Old Glory inspired Key to write the national anthem, dedicatory services were held for a new visitors' building. Many buildings and homes displayed the colors. Notably, most flags were of the 50-star design and were possibly bought for future use.

All in all it was a healthy scene with a background on the radio and television of Americana, with old songs and stirring hymns featuring the strength and virility of a great country.

As we absorbed the spirit of the holiday, somehow the feeling crept over us that Americans were more aware of America, its liberties, responsibilities, and its freedoms. These same Americans, in our vision kept saying, "this is our country, we built it, we need it, and we shall protect it at all costs. To all intruders, we repeat, we are one unified front, one people in our devoted and concentrated protection from any enemies boring at our national structure from within or from the outside."

"Mrs. Smith's Candidacy Performs High Service"—Article by Henry J. Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, written by the distinguished columnist, Hon. Henry J. Taylor, entitled, "Mrs. SMITH's Candidacy Performs High Service."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. SMITH'S CANDIDACY PERFORMS HIGH SERVICE

(By Henry J. Taylor)

SAN FRANCISCO.—What's the matter with Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH? Nothing. She knows she has no more chance for the nomination here than Bouncy-Belle, Dogpatch's latest femme fatale. But Mrs. SMITH is no Bouncy-Belle. She is performing a highly desirable and legitimate service.

The Maine Senator is dramatizing the idea that politicians should solidly support more women for elective offices, not just pander to her sex by tossing out an appointment here and there.

California is far and away the greatest place in the world if you like talking to strangers, but few mention Mrs. SMITH. And to most delegates her effort here is merely the most notable scene since Lady Godiva's idea.

New? Men are always more or less bewildered on the subject of women. They see women's importance demonstrated without understanding it, are touched by it without being able to believe it, and often sink engulfed in the problem of it, like Empedocles into Etna.

Sitting in the Cow Palace, where the whole of you weeps from the heat, Mrs. SMITH looks as gay and fresh as a bunch of bridal flowers. But, undeniably, the Maine lady is a woman. In the New England vernacular, "that is what gums up the sapworks." No other defect is needed.

When women won their equal right to vote, famous Orator Chauncey Depew safely chose an all-male audience to make a toast: "Here's to women. Once our superiors; now our equals."

In Depew's outraged murmurings, an old cliche awoke and cried. Men have been saying (profitably) for so long that it's a man's world that they believe it themselves. Well, maybe so. But consider this bloodcurdler:

In the 1960 presidential election women cast approximately the same number of votes as men. The service industries now dominate our economy and women predominate in them. In fact, for the first time in history we have more married women at work than single girls.

On top of this, anyone who thinks women don't have the major stake in America's future must faint dead away at the financial statistics of the entire Nation, from stock and bond holdings to savings accounts to insurance benefits to whatnot.

There are about three times as many widows in our country as widowers. More and more, Mrs. Average Citizen is becoming the owner of American industry. Men may not be tied to women's apron strings, but the Nation is tied to their purse strings, no matter who made or makes the money in the first place.

Yet politicians insist women were not meant to save the country, but to make it more interesting, inspiring, or agreeable. They play a debonair double game. They pander for women's votes, but they will not back them solidly—solidly—in elections. And they run from this subject like Bannister breaking the 4-minute mile.

Mrs. SMITH is in an excellent position to make her point. Few officials here, and at Atlantic City next month, have anything like her record of outstanding service. In fact, most politicians' usefulness to anyone except themselves is not readily apparent.

Not so the lady from Maine, or her equally distinguished counterpart in the House, New York veteran Congresswoman KATHERINE ST. GEORGE. Both have a flair for seeing into the truth about what should be done—public servants of strong convictions, who believe in their own thinking and are prepared to support it.

Mrs. SMITH's House and Senate career spans 24 years. Senator GEORGE AIKEN, of Vermont, the senior Republican in the Senate, correctly dramatized her nomination not on the basis of being a woman but on the basis of her experience as a great Senator. By common consent, she shines like a polestar on the Senate Armed Services, Space and Appropriations Committees—wise, incorruptible, selfless, energetic.

This column is written not to propose Mrs. SMITH for President or Vice President, certainly, but to tip the hat of a writer who doesn't even know Mrs. SMITH but believes such a public servant rates at least a fraction of the space so easily acquired in politics by so many phonies.

Illicit Traffic: What Is Happening to Drug Patents Is a Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, pirating by foreign nations of American drug patents is a serious problem affecting the drug and pharmaceutical industry in this Nation.

Pending before the House Judiciary Committee is a bill (H.R. 1707) which I introduced during the 88th Congress to protect American manufacturers from this pirating of patents.

A leading American publication, Barron's, the national business and financial weekly has brought this problem further

into focus with an outstanding article in the July 13, 1964, edition.

Under unanimous consent, I request the article be reprinted in its entirety.

The article follows:

ILLICIT TRAFFIC: WHAT IS HAPPENING TO DRUG PATENTS IS A SCANDAL

In an article for Barron's last fall, Alice Widener, publisher of U.S.A. magazine, observed that the drug industry has fallen victim to chronic vilification. Despite its unmatched contribution to the Nation's well-being, it has suffered endless abuse at the hands of lawmakers, journalists, and other so-called opinion molders. The late Senator Estates Kefauver made headlines for years by investigating trumped-up charges of price fixing and profiteering in pharmaceuticals. His former chief of staff, who heads the Federal Trade Commission these days, continues to plague the drugmakers. As for the fourth estate, its susceptibility to low-grade bias has now erupted in the London Economist, which, in a recent issue, was forced to admit ruefully that it had maligned Pfizer's British subsidiary.

Long a nagging headache to the industry, such attacks have lately grown more virulent. What's more, they have accompanied—and doubtless aggravated—a dangerous rash of official hostility, both at home and abroad. In Great Britain, the Ministry of Health has seized upon a loophole in the law to import patented products from unlicensed sources. Since the Ministry runs the ubiquitous National Health Service, its resource to such sharp practice (a distorted account of which caused the Economist to run afoul of Pfizer) has become a potent threat to British (and American) drug concerns.

On this side of the Atlantic, the illicit traffic has also spread far and wide, to the point where two leading producers of antibiotics, American Cyanamid and Pfizer, have brought a score of suits against alleged offenders, including the International Rectifier Corp. of El Segundo, Calif., and the city of New York. Several exemployees of Cyanamid's Lederle Laboratories have confessed to the theft and sale of valuable trade secrets, in the process implicating a number of manufacturers in Italy, where drugs enjoy no patent protection and piracy abounds. Mafia economics, to be sure, holds out glittering promise to buyer and seller. The latter is spared the burden of costly outlays for research, not to mention the hazards involved in all scientific advance; the former gets a bargain. The only losers, so far as Barron's can see, are the drug companies and their shareholders, who are robbed of the just rewards of their risk-taking, as well as the rest of the human race, which looks to the industry for new life-enhancing discoveries. "In the long run," said the late Lord Keynes, "we shall all be dead." If his spiritual heirs have their way, the long run will grow shorter all the time.

Like some deadly plague from the Dark Ages, the crippling assault on the drug industry lately has broken out everywhere. In Brazil, which came perilously close to succumbing to communism, Sr. Goulart's government, at the time of its overthrow, was plotting to expropriate foreign drug companies. If the military hadn't taken over, so the chairman of Johnson & Johnson told fellow shareholders in mid-April, the ax would have fallen the week before. More advanced countries opt for the needle. Thus, in the United Kingdom the Ministry of Health, citing an obscure section of the law which gives the Crown the "automatic and compulsory right" to any patents needed for Crown purposes, has chosen to place its orders for tetracycline with unlicensed sellers (known, perhaps, as Her Majesty's illicit purveyors). After vainly seeking redress in the lower courts, Pfizer, Ltd., which holds a British patent on the drug, has taken its plea to the House of Lords, highest tribunal in the land.

The British syndrome is painfully familiar. As The Economist carefully points out, official agitation over drug prices set in nearly 20 years ago, when the Labour Party held power and preached economic protection from the cradle to the grave. Despite its openly Socialist origins, the campaign has made headway under the Tories, who inherited, along with the National Health Service, the increasingly heavy burden of paying for it. Seeking relief, and letting principle go hang, Whitehall has turned to cheap foreign drugs. In defense of such dubious policy, The Economist last month sought to shift the onus to the industry, notably the British subsidiaries of American and Swiss pharmaceutical firms. "Stone-walled, safe as they thought behind the fortress of their patents," averred the publication, the drug companies refused to negotiate on price. After "a series of frustrating encounters," the Ministry of Health decided to do business abroad. However, according to the managing director of Pfizer, Ltd., whose scathing letter appeared a fortnight later (along with the editorial apology), this account "is grossly misleading and unfair * * *." As we read his version of events, the drug companies were ready to make concessions to official pressure. The Ministry, however, abruptly broke off the talks.

Washington has been equally highhanded. Several years ago the Military Medical Supply Agency, invoking a loosely worded 1918 amendment to the Patent Act which granted the U.S. Government access to inventions during wartime, decided to buy the cheap Italian drugs. Outraged licensees, shrugged the Pentagon, could sue for damages in the U.S. Court of Claims. In recent months several local governments, (including the cities of Philadelphia and New York), though lacking statutory authority, have followed the same sharp practice, while smaller users, down to the corner drugstore, are being supplied by a host of import firms which have sprung up to meet the demand. International Rectifier Corp., which is big enough to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange, also has plunged into the promising new field.

The attraction is obvious. Freed of the irksome need either to develop its own products, or to pay royalties, the bootleg foreign producer, or its domestic outlet, can slash prices to the bone; on one contract with the City of New York, Premo Pharmaceutical Laboratories, which Pfizer has charged with "wilfully and wontonly" infringing its patent on tetracycline, underbid all rivals by nearly 75 percent. The customer, if he does not mind doing business this way, naturally saves money. There is one slight drawback. Like the City of New York (and the Aetna Casualty & Surety Co., which issued a policy designed to protect Gotham against the consequences of its recklessness), the buyer may become an unwilling party to a lawsuit.

Whatever his legal status, morally he does not have a leg to stand on. A patent, after all, is property. Hence buying patented products in violation of the patent-holder's rights strikes Barron's as no less reprehensible than dealing in stolen goods. In the case of tetracycline, the comparison is particularly apt. For several employees of Lederle Laboratories, under indictment by a Federal grand jury, have pleaded guilty to stealing and selling trade secrets connected with the manufacture of the drug. According to one confession made public last week, the buyers—and, in consequence, accessories to the crime—were leading Italian drug manufacturers.

The wheeling and dealing in tetracycline, of course, has done injury to U.S. drug companies and their stockholders. While the latter may be the first victims, however, they will surely not be the last. Lacking patent protection, the amazing march of pharaceutical progress, which has helped add 4 years to man's lifespan in the past generation alone, sooner or later will grind to a halt. Under the blight of its misguided patent policies—a legacy of Benito Mussolini, by the way—Italy has developed few if any original drugs. In the Soviet Union, which condemns patents as tools of monopoly, medicines, old or new, are in perenially short supply. Knowingly or not, in sum, collectivists of any shade are merchants of death. While time remains, both the United Kingdom, and the United States should take their business elsewhere.

Resolutions of Connecticut Department, VFW

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD some of the resolutions adopted at the 44th annual convention of the Connecticut Department, Veterans of Foreign Wars, held in Hartford on June 19–21. The resolutions deal with various problems of national interest and matters of particular interest to veterans. A total of 40 resolutions were considered, of which I have selected 10 because of their general interest and because of space limitations. They are as follows:

FOR A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Whereas the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has for many years urged the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to provide for a strong national defense force; and

Whereas world conditions and the Communist threat are still a menace to the security of our Nation and the free world: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That:

1. The Army be constantly modernized and maintained at a minimum of not less than 1 million.

2. We maintain a strong air striking force and air defense capable of meeting any threat to the security of this Nation, to include a strong and ready Air Reserve and Air National Guard.

3. We continue a full combat-ready Marine Corps with the appropriation of sufficient funds to maintain a strength of at least 200,000.

4. The U.S. Navy be modernized and maintained as the most powerful and most versatile naval power, by supporting a naval building program to provide adequate ships of all types, including, but not limited to, amphibious ships, submarines, destroyers, cruisers, and aircraft carriers, with emphasis on nuclear propulsion for new combat ships.

5. We urge Congress to continue to appropriate sufficient funds to maintain, and the executive branch to approve, the strength of the National Guard at 400,000 and 300,000 for Army Reserve.

6. We reaffirm our support of a strong, privately-owned and operated American Merchant Marine as a vital element of defense.

7. We support strong and meaningful military services under their respective Secretaries.

8. We advocate continued development of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the necessary testing of such weapons to achieve and preserve world leadership. The successful development of an antimissile missile requires continued testing of missiles until such a defensive weapon is a reality.

9. We support a policy of control and coordination of research and development by the Secretary of Defense, that eliminates unnecessary duplication, but assures the benefits of constructive competition and experimentation of weapons appropriate to the missions of the military services; and we continue to support the congressionally established basic roles and missions of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps as valuable stabilizing influences in defense organization and as obstacles to unnecessary duplication and unnecessary expense.

10. We support modernization and procurement of manned bombers and manned interceptors as major elements of our Nation's air power.

AMEND PUBLIC LAW 86-211, NON-SERVICE-CONNECTED PENSION

Whereas the present pension program contains many income restrictions and limitations; and

Whereas under the present pension program veterans with low income are not receiving an adequate amount; and

Whereas an amendment of the present pension program is the most equitable way to benefit the large majority of veterans; and

Whereas an amendment of the present pension program will be more beneficial to the veterans of World War I; and

Whereas there is much favorable sentiment and agreement in the Congress that Public Law 86-211 is here to stay and represents the basic structure for determining entitlement to pension benefits so that it is within this framework that this basic law must be strengthened and liberalized; and

Whereas a bill was introduced in the 88th Congress at the request of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; and

Wheras this bill will increase the minimum and intermediate income limitations; and

Whereas this bill will increase the monthly rate of pension to a maximum of $100 a month; and

Whereas this bill will presume that all veterans over 65 will be totally disabled for pension purposes; and

Whereas under this bill a totally disabled veteran who is permanently housebound will receive an additional $35; and

Whereas under this bill the pension rate for aid and attendance will be increased to $85 a month; and

Whereas any veteran on the pension rolls will receive a 10-percent increase if he served outside the United States; and

Whereas this bill will exclude the income of the veteran's spouse; and

Whereas this bill will exclude the amounts paid by the veteran for expense of burial of his wife or child; and

Whereas this bill will exclude any profit realized from the sale of any real estate other than in the course of a trade or business; and

Whereas this bill would exclude the amounts paid by the veteran or his wife for medical, dental, or hospital expenses of the veteran, his wife, or children; and

Whereas this bill will exclude any payment received for the discharge of any obligated civic duties; and

Whereas this bill will provide increases and will be most beneficial to the veterans with low income: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we strongly endorse and support the bill introduced at the request of the Veterans of Foreign Wars which will amend the present nonservice-connected pension by excluding the objectionable features of the present pension program and will increase the amount of pension and raise the income limits and be most beneficial to all veterans.

SUPPORT LEGISLATION FOR NURSING HOME CARE FOR VETERANS

Whereas there have been changing characteristics of our veteran population; and

Whereas there are nearly 1 million veterans who are age 70 or over; and

Whereas the older veterans account for one-third of veterans' hospital admission; and

Whereas these older veterans comprise the bulk in long-term care patient load, and many have attained maximum benefits of hospitalization; and

Whereas because of lack of proper facilities and inadequate financial ability they are unable to be discharged from VA hospitals; and

Whereas these veterans place a strain on the 125,000 VA hospital bed limitations; and

Whereas the need for nursing home care is evidenced by the Executive order issued in 1963, ordering the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration to provide for the implementing of beds for nursing home care; and

Whereas we commend the Administration for authorizing these beds which is a step in the right direction in solving this need for nursing home care; and

Whereas by the time these beds are available they will not be sufficient for the increasing need for this type of care; and

Whereas there has been a bill passed by the House of Representatives which will provide for additional beds for the furnishing of nursing home care and increasing the present per diem payments for veterans in State homes and provide other necessary benefits for these veterans; and

Whereas this legislation will reduce the cost of veterans' hospital care and make beds available for those veterans who only need short-term hospitalization; and

Whereas these additional beds will not deduct from the 125,000 VA bed limitations; and

Whereas the VFW has been a leader in proposing the furnishing of nursing home care of eligible veterans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we strongly support legislation in the 88th Congress which will furnish additional beds for nursing home care and other benefits to our aged veterans who have reached the maximum benefits of hospitalization, and urge that Congress appropriate the necessary funds.

TO MAINTAIN CIVIL SERVICE MERIT EMPLOYMENT AND MERIT PROMOTION SYSTEM IN FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE

Whereas the Veterans' Preference Act is closely intertwined with the Federal merit system which was founded in 1883; and

Whereas the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 is a hollow benefit if not coordinated with the Civil Service Merit Promotion System and is an integral part of the overall Federal Civil Service; and

Whereas the Civil Service Merit System has proven to be the most equitable way of obtaining employment and standardizing promotion and is the basis for sound good government which has provided the United States with a foundation for continuing our democratic way of life; and

Whereas the merit system attracts high-level citizens to Government employment; and

Whereas the merit system follows the principle of the best employees in the job and has effectively eliminated the spoils system; and

Whereas by the use of the merit system, the Federal Government can accomplish an orderly transition during a change of administration thereby being a key factor in continuity of our Government in a time of crisis; and

Whereas the merit system provides for equal opportunities and is the best system devised for rewarding employees on the basis of ability and training; and

Whereas the merit system removes Federal employees from political pressures; and

Whereas the Veterans' Preference Act coupled with the civil service merit employment and merit promotion system are indispensable in maintaining a strong secure government system: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we strongly advocate the continued use of Federal Civil Service merit employment and merit promotion system which at the same time strengthens the Veterans' Preference Act.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY PROGRAM

Be it resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation as applicable:

1. Authorization of outpatient treatment, including hometown care, for all war veterans in receipt of disability pension or disability compensation for required treatment of nonservice-connected condition.

2. No reduction of the number of domiciliary beds and less restrictive admission criteria.

3. Reliance by the VA on the statement under oath of inability to defray the necessary expenses of hospital treatment as directed by section 622, title 38, United States Code and immediate discontinuance of the financial statement requirement and intensive admission counseling.

4. Authorization of distinct priority, by statute if necessary, for admission of veterans of combat and wartime oversea service to VA hospitals for required treatment of any disability.

5. Establishment of eligibility of veterans of campaign and expeditionary service for VA hospitalization and domiciliary care.

6. Assurance of adequate funds to operate the Veterans' Administration medical program without curtailment.

7. Reinstatement of the contract burial program authorized by section 903(c), title 38, United States Code.

8. Revocation of the unilateral, arbitrary and unwarranted order reducing the size of burial flags issued by the Veterans' Administration from the traditional 5- by 9½-foot size to 4½ by 7 feet.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND EDUCATION

Be it resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation as applicable:

1. Increase subsistence and training allowance rates under all vocational rehabilitation and education training programs administered by the VA in conformity with the increased cost of living.

2. Increase the income ceiling applicable to on-the-job training under chapter 33, title 38, United States Code, to not less than $400 per month.

3. Extension of war orphans educational assistance to children of veterans who died from service-connected disability incurred or aggravated during a period of service for which wartime disability compensation rates are authorized.

4. Extension of war orphans educational assistance to children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled because of service-connected disability.

5. Elimination of the age 23 limitation for completion of training imposed on most beneficiaries of war orphans educational assistance.

VETERANS HOUSING AND LOAN PROGRAM

Be it resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation, as applicable:

1. Elimination of the requirement that a veteran suffering from service-connected bilateral blindness plus loss or loss of use of one lower extremity also be confined to a wheelchair by reason of this disability in order to qualify for specially adapted housing under the provisions of section 801(2), title 38, United States Code.

2. Amendment of section 801, title 38, United States Code, to authorize specially adapted housing for other seriously disabled veterans, such as those suffering from loss or loss of use of two extremities on the same side.

3. Authorization of direct loans for specially adapted housing in areas not designated as direct loan areas.

REOPEN THE NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM

Whereas many veterans dropped their national service life insurance policies at the end of their period of service; and

Whereas many veterans were not advised that the continuation of this insurance would be to their benefit; and

Whereas many veterans while in the service did not find it necessary to obtain Government insurance; and

Whereas now many veterans find they have obligations; and

Whereas these veterans do not now have insurance coverage; and

Whereas many of these veterans wish to reinstate their national service life insurance policies; and

Whereas many veterans who did not participate in a plan, now wish to obtain national service life insurance; and

Whereas for many veterans national service life insurance will be the only Government benefit available as a result of this long wartime service; and

Whereas under the proposed reopening the insured shall pay the administrative cost of the program; and

Whereas the proposed reopening shall in no way affect the trust fund now in operation under the present national service life insurance program: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we strongly endorse and support legislation which will permit veterans who served in the Armed Forces between October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956, to reinstate their national service life insurance policies and permit those who did not have insurance to obtain national service life insurance.

VETERANS GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM

Be it resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation, as applicable:

1. Authorization for veterans of World War II and Korea with service on and after October 8, 1940, to September 2, 1945, and from June 27, 1950, to January 31, 1955, uninsurable because of service-connected disabilities, to purchase nonparticipating life insurance under section 722(a), title 38, United States Code for a period of not less than 1 year from the effective date of amendatory legislation.

2. Authorization of waiver of service-connected disabilities for the purpose of reinstating "H" or "RH" policies.

3. Authorization to waive service-connected disabilities to permit granting of the total disability income provision on national service life insurance policies.

INCREASED BENEFITS FOR ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL

Whereas the security of the United States depends on poised and ready military power in-being; and

Whereas our military strength can be measured by the courage, dedication, and proficiency of Americans in uniform at the time of an enemy attack; and

Whereas the present Communist threat to the security of this Nation and the advanced technology used in modern warfare require the highest trained, professional technicians to operate and maintain our weapon systems; and

Whereas the financial hardships imposed by creeping inflation of our present economy, the ever-spiraling costs of education and the high industrial demand for military-trained specialists are resulting in an inordinate loss of military personnel; and

Whereas it is now necessary to take immediate action to offer benefits which will offset the many hardships imposed by a military career in order to attract and retain our most highly trained and best citizens in the military services: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we urge and strongly support an adequate pay scale for armed services personnel; and be it further

Resolved, That we strongly oppose attempts to equate military service and its unique obligations and risks with pay scales in civilian occupations; and be it further

Resolved, That we vigorously oppose proposals and efforts to eliminate or reduce post exchange, commissary, hospitalization, and medical facilities and services for active and retired Armed Forces personnel and dependents.

British Views on American Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Where Turnabout Would Be Fairplay," written by Arthur Krock, and published in the New York Times of July 23, 1964.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE TURNABOUT WOULD BE FAIRPLAY

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, July 22.—The Economist of London, in the issue of July 18, has wisely reminded the British press, which among other voices in the United Kingdom is raging against the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER, of a fundamental fact. This is, that the choice of the next President is "America's own affair. It is not for us in Europe to lecture or hector the Americans"; that this can only serve the interest of those who would weaken the Western Alliance. The proof was promptly supplied yesterday at Warsaw in the attacks on GOLDWATER by Khrushchev and Gomulka.

The British have a vital stake in this Nation's foreign policy; and in its "conduct," which is the exclusive authority of the President under the Constitution. But, conversely, Americans have a vital stake in British foreign policy and its management; also in the economic policies of a nation where American capital has made a very large investment. And this autumn there is to be an election in the United Kingdom that will determine whether fundamental changes will be made in both its foreign and domestic policies.

However, the American media of public information practice a restraint in commenting on, and an objectivity in reporting the news of, the electoral campaigns in other allied nations that are almost totally absent in the daily British press in its Goldwater manhunt. And these Americans standards are being observed as British voters go about their own business of deciding whether to replace a party generally in step with the United States with a party whose policies conflict with ours in major particulars.

WILSON'S DIVISIVE POSITIONS

If, as the indexes of British political preference foreshadow, the Labor Party will come to power in October, with Harold Wilson as Prime Minister, these policy conflicts will be transmitted into divisive political action. For example:

1. Wilson favors the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the company of the nuclear powers, and on July 3, 1964, opposed "any proposal to arm the Germans with nuclear weapons." Washington is uncertain whether this means that a Labor government will also decline to participate in the formation of the multilateral force (MLF), a nuclear naval deterrent, proposed by the United States in which West Germans will be included. If so, British nuclear policy will operate in double reverse to that of the administration.

2. A year ago Wilson proposed an arrangement with the U.S.S.R. for military disengagement in Europe, and a top priority in East-West negotiations for the establishment of nuclear free zones. This proposal generally conforms to one advanced by the U.S.S.R., and lacks the safeguards without which it is wholly unacceptable to the United States.

3. With respect to the nationalization of industry on the Socialist model Wilson has shifted ground in the last few years from his insistence that nationalization include defense industries, those based on community-sponsored scientific research, machine-tool plants and urban building programs. But he is committed to the renationalization of the steel industry as a core principle of socialism, despite the disastrous failure of the past attempt. And he opposes the acquirement by any American company of control of its British subsidiary.

4. Wilson favors the admission of Communist China to the U.N. with no further conditions than that it append its discredited signature to the Charter.

All these positions would justify an American press barrage against the accession of the Labor Party to power if it were to emulate the virulent outcry of the British daily press against the Republican Party's exercise of its right to choose GOLDWATER as its 1964 presidential nominee. And by the same practice the American press would retort to British taunts of discrimination here by critical reminders such as these.

Although parliamentary government had existed for centuries, one-half of the House of Commons was still being chosen by 3 percent of the adult British males late in the

reign of Queen Victoria. Not until 1871 could a Catholic enter Parliament. And the Crown, the Prime Ministry and the post of Lord Chancellor still are barred to British Catholics.

Sixth National Boy Scout Jamboree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, one of the great Boy Scout jamborees in the annals of the American Scouting movement comes to a close today at Valley Forge, Pa. There, in that historic land, more than 52,000 Scouts and Scouters have been encamped for the past week, developing, promulgating, and living the theme of the Sixth National Boy Scout Jamboree—Strength in American Heritage.

Valley Forge has been an excellent setting for this great jamboree. It was upon this hallowed ground that the flame of American liberty survived the terrible winter of 1777–78. Now, 187 years later, these Scouts and all who support their work carry the torch of democracy. In order to fulfill this responsibility, we must strengthen our American heritage.

With the valuable lessons learned at Valley Forge, each Scout has dedicated himself to be henceforth a personal emissary of our proud historic traditions. Upon this foundation, these young men can better face the challenge of the future, never forgetting the jamboree motto, Onward for God and Country.

The jamboree, of course, helps prepare the Scouts physically and mentally for this challenge. For the past 7 days they have received valuable training in history, in conservation, pathfinding, nature, safety, first aid. They have sharpened their skills in friendly competition, from cooking to log rolling, from axmanship to patch swapping.

Too, the jamboree has given the Scouts an opportunity to weld friendships with boys from throughout the United States and from other nations as well. Equally as important, they have enjoyed a happy experience in growing up.

As we pause to congratulate the Scouts on the occasion of a most successful jamboree, we also find it appropriate to comment on the Boy Scout movement in this Nation. Mr. Speaker, I believe we should also honor the 9½ million boys and leaders who are presently registered as Scouts, as well as the 35 million former Scouts who have participated in the valuable work of the Boy Scouts these past 54 years.

Scouting is without question our best bulwark against juvenile delinquency. The program, in its offering of organized and supervised activities, teaches youth to become better sons, better students, better future citizens. These ideals are to be commended. As a nation we count Scouting one of our priceless assets.

Predatory Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, with the House now considering the Land and Water Conservation Act, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial that bears a close and significant relationship to the problem of conserving our natural resources. It deserves the careful consideration of every lawmaker and government administrator, Federal, State, and local.

Entitled "A Striking Phrase Is Coined," it presents a timely warning against "predatory progress," a paradoxical phrase referring to a phenomena with which we have all had some experience at one time or another; the destruction of natural resources or natural beauty, or places and structures of historic importance, to make way for some profitable proposition that too often goes by the name "progress."

The editorial was published June 5, 1964, by the Falmouth, Mass., Enterprise and is worth reading and bearing in mind.

A STRIKING PHRASE IS COINED

An angry citizen of a town on Long Island Sound has coined an arresting phrase. It is, he says, "predatory progress" to build a fuel dock which will "desecrate one of the most beautiful shorelines on the eastern seaboard."

We know what this citizen means. He is characterizing the new that destroys the old; the new values whose price tags are the cost of destruction of past and irreplacable values.

It is predatory progress when the town sanctions destruction of a towering age-old tree so that entrance can be made to a new service station. It is predatory progress when the zoning bylaw is breached to allow building on undersized lots or to put business in a residential district. Full list of the proposals for predatory progress brought forth here in the last few years would be long indeed. Falmouth would be a sorry place today if many of them had not been frustrated. Falmouth would be more beautiful today if all had been defeated.

Yet these propositions have brought many citizens forward to endorse them. They have been urged as bringing new facilities to town; creating new tax values; more jobs. They have been pictured in glowing terms as progress.

Always among the advocates of predatory progress are the owners looking to sell land; the broker eager to negotiate a sale; the builder looking for a job; the agent intent upon selling more insurance. And, of course, the usual numbers of shortsighted citizens; the men and women dazzled by the prospect of something different and blind to the worth of the old which is placed at stake. Our world has many good people who see nothing wrong in cutting down a tree; wider streets and unobstructed sidewalks are more desirable. Our neighborhood has its share of pursuers of the fast buck.

Predatory progress is a useful phrase. It is descriptively accurate. It is strikingly paradoxical. It sounds an alarm which should be sounded.

The Employment Effects of Technological Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an article by George Shea in the July 20 edition of the Wall Street Journal indicates the extent of the employment problem facing the Nation as a result of the accelerating pace of technological change. The article also gives a clue on how the problem has been solved in the recent past and on how our economy may continue to solve it.

Since June 1953, the Federal Reserve Board's manufacturing production index has risen 41 percent, while total employment in manufacturing industries since that time has declined from 17.7 to 17.4 million. Employment of production workers also fell during the period from 14.1 to 13 million. The bright spot in manufacturing employment has been an increase of more than 20 percent in nonproduction workers.

Total employment during the period since 1953 has grown by 14.7 percent, which is about the same as the 14.4 percent growth in the labor force. Subtracting agricultural employment, which has declined sharply in the past decade, one finds that nonagricultural employment grew 19.3 percent between 1953 and the present, while payroll employment grew 16.9 percent.

These figures illustrate the extent to which technological change has held down gains in total manufacturing employment even while output was increasing sharply. They also show, however, how new jobs open up in a period of rapid technological change, principally in the services. There can be little doubt that thus far experience has shown that rapid technological change creates as many, if not more, jobs than it destroys.

The question for the future is whether this historic trend will continue. The Wall Street Journal article suggests that automation is entering new fields where much of the increase in employment has taken place in recent years. The article suggests that adaptations to these changes in our economy may have to include longer years of education, more frequent early retirements, and somewhat shorter working weeks.

Under unanimous consent I place George Shea's column in the July 20 Wall Street Journal in the RECORD at this point.

APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

Employment in manufacturing industries in June rose almost to the level of back in June 1953 after holding well below that level in most of the months and years since then. And employment of production workers in the same industries is substantially lower than in 1953. Yet in the meantime the manufacturing production index of the Federal Reserve Board has risen 41 percent.

The contrast is perhaps even more startling if the figures themselves are looked at. The manufacturing production index in June was 132.6 percent of 1957–59 compared with 94.2 in June 1953. Total employment in manufacturing industries was 17.4 million or not quite the 17.7 million of June 1953. And employment of production workers was 13 million, down sharply from 14.1 million in June 1953.

These figures present in dramatic fashion the problem of keeping the Nation's population employed in the face of the constant progress being made in automating production. And yet in another way they give a clue to how the problem has been pretty well solved, and of how it may continue to be solved.

For it should be noted that the contrast is not merely between the decline in production workers and the rise in output. Nor is it in the fact output of manufacturing industries has risen while employment in those industries has done no better than remain steady. There is also a contrast between the decline in the number of production workers and the relative steadiness in the number of all workers employed in those industries.

This reflects the fact that the number of nonproduction workers in these same industries has increased from 3.6 million in June 1953 to 4.4 million in the latest month. That's an increase of more than 20 percent, not as great as the gain in production, but surely substantial.

Of course, no one would want employment to increase as fast as production. Or rather, no one would want production to be limited to the possible growth in employment, which is necessarily held pretty much within the confines of growth in the population. The population of the United States between 1953 and the present has grown less than 20 percent.

What happened in the manufacturing industries is that as their output and their plans for expanding production grew they had to hire more technicians, more managers and other officials, more clerical workers and more sales people. Nor is that all of the increase in employment caused by the growth in output of manufacturing industries. The wholesalers and retailers who handle their goods, as well as the transport workers who carry them to market and the advertisers and other sales people involved in the distribution but not directly employed by the factories, have all become more numerous for the very reason that manufacturing output has grown. And the production and employment of suppliers of raw materials to the manufacturing industries have likewise benefited.

The combined effect of all these varying forces shows up in the overall employment figures. Total employment of all kinds has grown to about 71 million people or by 14.7 percent since 1953. That's less percentagewise than the total population, which is up 19.3 percent in those years. However, the labor force has grown only 14.4 percent or about the same as total employment. One factor in this disparity between growth in population and in labor force and employment is that the greater proportion of the added population consists of children born in the intervening years.

A little further light is thrown on the matter by gains in nonagricultural and payroll employment. (The payroll figure excludes domestic workers and the self-employed.) Nonagricultural employment grew 19.3 percent between 1953 and the present, while payroll employment grew 16.9 percent. Both figures are helped somewhat, in comparison with the lower percentage growth of total employment, by the fact that agricultural workers, who are included in total employment, have declined sharply in those years, from about 6.6 million to less than 5 million.

These gains in the various overall employment figures, ranging between 14.7 percent for total jobs and 19.3 percent in nonfarm jobs, contrast with a much larger growth in gross national production after taking out the effects of price changes. The expansion in gross national product between 1953 and the present approximate rate, both expressed in 1963 dollars, is 37 percent.

Altogether these figures, just as do those of the manufacturing industries alone, reflect the impact of automation. Increased efficiency and increased productivity have made possible the tremendous rates of growth in production of goods and services in the United States over the past 12 years.

It is true that automation is entering new fields, especially that of clerical work, and that its advance poses always the potential problem that there will not be enough jobs to go around. Much of the increase in employment of the past 12 years has been in the kind of work being invaded by the computer.

It is likewise true that unemployment today is up above 5 percent compared with only 2.9 percent in 1953. Thus it may be said that the automation of those years has made itself felt in an increase in unemployment. Nevertheless it is also possible to ask what the situation would be today if automation had not advanced as rapidly as it has. At what level of growth in automation would we have had less unemployment with the same growth in population?

This is a question no one can answer. Less automation would also almost surely have produced less growth in total output, which would have limited employment opportunities in some ways at the same time it enhanced them by requiring more man-hours per unit of some kinds of output. What would have been the net result, a gain or a loss in employment?

For the future, all we can do is accept the fact of growth in automation, adapting private and national policies to it gradually. Almost surely the adaptations will include longer years of education, more frequent early retirement, and perhaps somewhat shorter working weeks, these being the measures which have been taken over past years. The one thing we do not want to do is discourage automation, which brings with it such tremendous rates of growth in per capita output.

Where Your Money Goes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville, Ind., News of July 18:

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES

Congressman HOMER ABELE, of Ohio, has looked into some of the more unusual Federal appropriations of our tax money. As recounted by the Associated Taxpayers of Idaho, here are a few:

The sum of $15,200 for a study and demography in ancient Babylonia; $36,800 to look into the social behavior of ants; $2,100 to look into the behavior pattern of barren-ground caribou; $20,600 to try to learn about communication signals in birds; $13,700 to study the social structure in Madagascar; $65,400 to examine the behavior and ecology of the wandering albatross.

These studies are of specialized value. But it is difficult to see how they are the responsibility of the Federal Government. They represent the sort of thing that is, and should be, undertaken by universities, foundations, and the various private research centers.

The amounts involved, it will be argued, are small. But a total of all the extracurricular activities, so to speak, that the Government now supports would reach a mighty impressive figure. Economical government can be achieved only if every nonessential expenditure is eliminated—whether the sum involved be $10,000 or $10 million and whether the project involves a power plant or the social behavior of ants.

Clear Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include a statement signed by 13 members of the junior and senior classes of Mansfield High School, Mansfield, Wash., and by their Instructor, Mr. K. David Coe.

Mansfield is a wheat town. It is totally surrounded by wheat fields in every direction, and wheat sales are by far the major source of income for this town.

I have known for years that these good folks think clearly. And now, it is truly reassuring to see this characteristic being expressed by the rising generation.

The statement follows:

MANSFIELD STUDENTS OPPOSE WHEAT SALE

"It is necessary to bribe capitalism with extra profit * * * and we will get the basics [equipment] with the aid of which we will strengthen ourselves, will finally get up on our feet and then defeat it [capitalism] economically." —LENIN

Just what does this refer to? We think it refers to the sale of wheat to Russia. The sale of this wheat for the sole purpose of getting money * * * money * * * and more money, to satisfy our American greed.

Why did we sell the wheat and who wanted to sell it to Russia? The farmers were very much in favor because it would raise the world market and the national market of wheat. It would also get rid of the surplus wheat in the United States and eliminate the cost of storing. Here we find the biggest reason for the sale * * * the farmers want for money.

The longshoremen and shippers were in favor because it would give them jobs and here again, money is the underlying reason for their wanting to make the sale.

Of course, there are some who believed that the United States could not sit back and watch people starve no matter who they were. They are humanitarians. Visitors to the Soviet Union come home and tell of seeing long lines of people lined up to receive their daily rations of food. Thus, if the United States refused to sell wheat to the Soviet Government it would do little harm to the government; it would hurt the Soviet people. They say that the cold war is with communism * * * not the innocent victims of the form of government.

Russia's crop failure shows their need of "capitalists" help. It shows that their Com-

munist way of economy and their agricultural program does not work; that communism itself does not work.

There are those who believe that we might be "missing out" on not getting some money because Canada sold wheat to Russia and so did numerous other countries. Why not the United States? They said we might as well be getting the benefits from the sale as well as the other countries.

These points above were the main reasons for wanting to sell wheat to Russia. Really, if you condense all the reasons you will find that there are only two main reasons; money and the humanitarian aspect, and money takes in three-fourths of these two reasons. Isn't that just what Lenin quoted? That they 'would use the capitalists' greed for money in order to bring about their downfall and defeat them? If you ask us, we are headed for defeat.

The United States selling wheat to Russia shows a weakness; that we didn't take a positive stand. Russia made demands over how the shipping of the wheat should be done. They were asking for our wheat, so we should have been the ones to make the demands. We should have made the rules.

Showing another weakness is the fact that our Government Import-Export Bank has agreed to finance the sale of our own wheat in case the Communists don't come through with the money to pay for it. If they won't pay, then the money will come out of the taxpayer's pocket. A typical Soviet deal, with the United States holding the bag.

Former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, of West Germany, remarked concerning the news of the wheat sale to Russia: "The West has been devoting great energy to show that the Communist system would not work, but then was shipping in wheat just when the Communists were proving it themselves."

We are helping the cause we are trying so hard to defeat * * * that of communism. We had the perfect chance to starve out communism and we let it slip by. It's obvious that communism doesn't work or they wouldn't be asking for handouts.

Are we going to be so stupid as to give the Communists wheat, money, and anything else they want to overthrow us? It sounds absurd, but that's exactly what we're doing. Is Russian money so important that we'll cut our own throats to get it and inevitably become a Communist nation.

Our greed for money will bring about our downfall unless people will open their eyes and see the Communist trap.

Signed by 13 members of Mansfield junior and senior classes—K. David Coe, instructor.

If the War Is To Be Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include an editorial from the Jeffersonian, Baltimore County, Md., family newspaper.

This editorial is on the President's Economic Opportunity Act. It wisely points out that this bill, if enacted into law, will provide only a Federal directive; that success of the program depends on local action geared to local needs, by enterprise and by government. This comment is one we should all bear in mind. The Federal Government is by no means assuming local responsibilities; it is directing and encouraging them. The true American spirit of local initiative is still needed to gain victory in the war on poverty.

The article follows:

IF THE WAR IS TO BE WON

The Economic Opportunity Act—which is the attractive title given to the bill embodying the President's ideas for warring on poverty—was recently approved by the House Education and Labor Committee. And something the Portland Oregonian had to say about it is worth wide public consideration. It gave its blessing to some of the bill's provisions—notably, the emphasis on assisting young people. Then it said:

"A case can be made * * * for dramatization of a national war on poverty. But that war will be won, if it is won, in the communities of America, through the initiative of State and local governments and private enterprise—through a strengthening of local school systems and local industry and opening of job and training opportunities to all races. Federal grants and incentives can help but not if they are in the direction of doling out to the peasantry or of resurrecting emergency relief measures of an earlier decade irrelevant to the 1960's. There is too much of this latter direction in the economic opportunity program, as it now stands; therein lies its flavor of politics."

In other words, the main corrective force must be the traditional one—local action, geared to local needs, by enterprise and by government. If anyone doubts its efficiency, we need only to glance quickly at this Nation's history. It is the force of equal opportunity and individual enterprise that made that history possible and brought us a degree of mass prosperity for all of the isolated sore spots unknown to the rest of the world.

Argument Without Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following editorial from the July 21, 1964, Wall Street Journal.

I urge my colleagues to read this fine editorial. This article very clearly points out that the criticism we read about BARRY GOLDWATER in the daily papers certainly is unfounded and GOLDWATER'S views are, in my judgment, merely an outgrowth of a coalition of dissatisfaction currently developing throughout the United States.

ARGUMENT WITHOUT REASON

One of the more depressing developments in the wake of the Republican convention is the extremely—we use the adverb advisedly—low intellectual level of the arguments used by those opposed to Senator GOLDWATER'S views.

There is in fact hardly any attempt at all to argue, or to examine the Senator's political philosophy and try to understand what it is. Instead of debate the Nation is treated to denunciation and vilification.

Among other purported sins, Mr. GOLDWATER is chastised for allegedly endorsing extremism, although his one reference to the matter in his acceptance speech is constantly taken out of context. He himself says it was not meant to apply to so-called extremist groups as such.

In addition, the readers of a prominent eastern newspaper are advised that the Goldwater nomination is a disaster for the Nation. His foreign policy, it is claimed, is unthinking and his domestic policy is unbelievable.

Now it is one thing to disagree with the Senator's foreign policy approach—for our part, we would not go along with all of it as it has been presented so far—and quite another to castigate it without presenting any reasoned arguments against it. Whatever else it may be, unthinking it is not. It proceeds from firm opposition to communism, and its specifics are designed to implement that policy.

Similarly with domestic issues. It seems some of Mr. GOLDWATER'S critics must have skipped or forgotten their philosophy courses; at any rate they exhibit a painful unawareness of the intellectual basis of his opinions.

As it happens, those opinions stem from a particular view of man, what he calls in rather humanistic terms the whole man. The dignity and fullest possible development of the individual takes precedence over the role of Government, and it is this perfectly respectable philosophical position which makes him a foe of the strong drive toward Federal domination that has characterized the past three decades.

Here again a reasoned argument can be made that the day of the individual is gone and that we have no choice but to resign ourselves to Federal collectivism. But hardly any of the Senator's critics is making the argument or otherwise challenging his proposals on their merits.

Instead they say he offers a "simplistic"—the word is becoming fashionable in some quarters—answer to complex questions. The exact reverse is the truth. He advocates multiple answers, involving the resources of the individual, the community, the State, and the Central Government, to complex questions. If anything deserves to be called simplistic, it is the hope of salvation through State power.

Along the same line it is charged that Mr. GOLDWATER and his supporters long for some vague pastoral past that is gone forever. Well, perhaps some of them do, but it seems to us that to contend a Federal solution to every problem is not the only or necessarily the best solution is more forward than backward looking. After all, the growing authority of the State has failed miserably to deal with some of the Nation's most glaring problems.

All in all, it is a remarkable phenomenon, this unreasoning fear and hatred of the Goldwater outlook. For 30 years the underlying political issue in the Nation has been the role of the Government in the life of the citizen. Now that it has finally been brought to the fore, open for public scrutiny and debate, the proponents of unlimited Government can only scream.

It may be that such people will gradually calm down and subject the Goldwater thesis to the discussion it should be given. In the meantime it reflects poorly on their intellectual credentials that they forgo reason and resort to argument by denunciation.

A Choice, Not an Echo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALLEN SMITH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, it is my desire to insert the enclosed editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which has been written by a constituent of mine:

[From the Valley Times, July 15, 1964]

TRUTH FORUM

(By Ed Delaney)

It may be recorded in history, that in the year 1964 the American people regained their independence. For several decades prior to that, the history books may note, the people had been the pawns of a closely knit coterie of political and financial manipulators who all but changed the Republic into an oligarchy. They cooperated with ultraliberals and crypto-Communists who masqueraded under misleading labels. They formulated policies, particularly as regards foreign affairs. They selected the ones they wished to occupy the White House. Such facts might be in the history books for posterity to read, if current trends are symptomatic of an awakening.

Perhaps the most revealing indictment of those self-appointed architects of party platforms and pickers of Presidents, is in a small book by Phyllis Schlafly entitled "A Choice, Not an Echo." She knows her subject. She is from the land of Lincoln. For 4 years she has been president of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women. She has served as delegate to Republican National Conventions and was a delegate to the 1964 convention in San Francisco. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat named her this year's "Woman of Achievement in Public Affairs."

From her intimate acquaintance with political plotting and chicanery, she exposes the methods by which the kingmakers of her own party—through Madison Avenue promotion tactics—draped an aura of greatness around some men of mediocrity whom they selected for presidential candidates. Her little book, thoroughly documented with names, quotations, and dates, has been read by millions in this country. It is safe to predict that it will have a profound influence on voters, not only those of her own party, but others as well.

The presidential preference of this candid critic who cites the smear techniques of some in her own party is BARRY GOLDWATER. She contends that none of the others who have been exhibited on TV and the public rostrums can get even token support from Republican voters who have been sold out consistently for three decades. Nor will the discontented Democrats switch to a "me-too" Republican. GOLDWATER, she argues, is anathema to many of the Estonians who rally around the "Happy" husband in Albany, N.Y. That is his best recommendation for all living west of the Hudson River. Those tens of millions are displaying signs of self-determination, of which we hear so much these days.

Despite the bias against him, which is glaringly apparent in editorials and columns of many liberal writers, the grassroots support for the Arizona Senator continues to increase like the Federal debt. He has spoken disparagingly of the U.N. He contends the welfare of our country should not be subordinated to our aid for so-called new states of Asia or Africa. In the eyes of the eastern kingmakers such heresy is dangerous. It could mean reduction or even curtailment of billions in foreign aid funds which now filter through brokers, bankers, attorneys, and shadowy characters in New York who reap riches from such foreign aid follies. GOLDWATER has not expressed solicitude for the Soviet's designs around the world. The liberals regard him as much a menace as the late Joe McCarthy, James Forrestal, or Martin Dies. So he must be destroyed—is the verdict of the heretofore political and financial czars.

Since those imperious kingmakers would never admit usurpations of the people's prerogative in such matters, Phyllis Schlafly entered an indictment against them which is tantamount to conviction. Some members of her own GOP may deplore the exposé of how honest political workers have been duped by their own so-called leaders. She states quite frankly that, in conscience, it was necessary to tell the truth. She has. If the people of the United States get a choice and not an echo in 1964, then credit Phyllis Schlafly as deserving well of her country. Another small book on the same subject is "None Dare Call It Treason." Many of us are calling it treason.

Extremism of the Liberals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Senator GOLDWATER has said emphatically that he does not believe in political extremism. The liberals, now in a state of near panic, are lead to extravagant statements—political extremism if you will—which BARRY GOLDWATER has denounced.

As the campaign progresses, the statements of liberals, will, in themselves, show Senator GOLDWATER to be far away, the most responsible of the candidates.

Two editorials in the July 21, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star hit home on this point. Under unanimous consent, I include the editorials at this point:

THE LIBERALS' FRANKENSTEIN MONSTER

We have been in touch the last few days with a number of our dyed-in-the-wool liberal friends, and find them struck with something near panic at the nomination of BARRY GOLDWATER.

This in spite of the fact that they've been telling us he wouldn't have a chance, and reminding us that the polls show him with only 20 or 30 percent approval of the American people.

The near panic leads them to extravagant statements including some concerning the "Nazi rally" in San Francisco, and the like.

Maybe this is a good thing.

Maybe our liberal friends will at long last come face to face with what some of us have been worrying about for years.

For 30 years, these liberals are the folks whose zeal for "causes" of many sorts has led them eagerly to cheer on the expansion of Federal powers and at the same time the concentration of these powers in the hands of the President.

We have been building for 30 years toward a constitutional dictatorship, a limited dictatorship, a system whereby the American people would choose by referendum for a limited period of 4 years a President with dictatorial powers in more and more areas.

It didn't frighten the eager liberals when the late President expanded these powers still more and dictated steel prices, for example, completely outside the framework of law or constitution.

Now perhaps, those who were more interested in the effect of the act than in its significance politically, realize why and how it frightened a lot of Americans for causes totally unrelated to the dispute itself.

Now they can appreciate the fear engendered by the growing system of an all-powerful President in those who did not agree with the philosophy of past Presidents and feared for their country.

For now the very thought of the possibility of a President with the attitudes that many liberal suspect in BARRY GOLDWATER sends cold shivers down their spines.

They now begin to see the presidential dictatorship, limited to 4 years and a referendum selection, as a Frankenstein monster they themselves have created—and one which may turn on them.

The shock and panic of today, hopefully, may make them realize the dangers that have already been implicit in the constant expansion of the personal powers of the Presidency.

Maybe it will cause them to be far less eager to see those powers expanded in the future than they have been in the past.

Maybe the way in which young John F. Kennedy suddenly catapulted into the Presidency, the suddenness with which the powers shifted into the hands of the former conservative leader, Lyndon Johnson, and the surprise of seeing a convention select BARRY GOLDWATER will make them realize that no selection system can meet all circumstances, all fevers, and all political efforts.

Maybe it will make them realize that out of this selection system, plus the circumstances of the moment, plus the very uncertainty of human life makes it possible for the powers of the Presidency to fall into the hands of widely different types of men.

And that, whatever their most cherished beliefs, the chances are that within this 20th century, one way or another, the immense power they created will certainly fall into the hands of someone who stands in an opposite position.

And perhaps there will be a revival among some liberals of respect and support for the system of checks and balances.

There ought to be. Genuine liberals created it for just such a reason.

If the liberals come to recognize the threat that personal power poses in our country, and reverse their position from the past eagerness with which they built and expanded it, they will be very effective because most "conservatives" have opposed the trend all along.

A CANDIDATE WHO WAS HATED

A faint but persistent echo of another political campaign keeps ringing in our ears, a little louder as time passes, as we see 1964's contest shaping up.

Then, too, one of the candidates was apparently terribly unpopular, had a bad "image," and was being roundly attacked and ridiculed on all sides.

The polls showed him overwhelmingly behind. Indeed, at this point more than 60 percent of the people (according to the polls) were arrayed against him, flatly. The figures were, indeed, within a few percentage points of what the poll figures have been today.

The candidate, also, had a tendency to bypass all the usual political toe dancing when he spoke, and he consistently "put his foot in his mouth."

Each time he did so, the opposition pounced, screaming and howling.

They insisted on taking him literally and ripping his words to pieces, and calling him everything from irresponsible and undignified to inconsistent and confused.

He not only contradicted himself, off the cuff, and not only made extreme statements,

but he sometimes punctuated them with profanity.

He called one columnist an s.o.b. (only he didn't use initials), and threatened to personally attack another.

Local candidates fled from his endorsement, and shunned him.

His name, of course, was Harry Truman and the year was 1948.

This comparison is going to be made repeatedly and in various details in the future by many people nationally in the present campaign as it rolls along.

It will give some people warmth and others cold chills.

Elizabeth Janeway Delivers a Witty and Perceptive Commencement Address at Milwaukee-Downer Seminary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Elizabeth Janeway, the widely applauded novelist, recently delivered a commencement address at Milwaukee-Downer Seminary, Milwaukee, Wis., which is a model for such exercises. Milwaukee-Downer Seminary is one of the oldest and most distinguished secondary institutions in the country.

In the thought that it will be of interest to Members on both sides of the aisle, I include the text of Mrs. Janeway's address:

ADDRESS OF MRS. ELIZABETH JANEWAY

Ever since I knew I was coming to your graduation, I've been trying to recall my own. I regret to say that while I can remember exactly what I wore (peach net, with a pale green ribbon sash and pale green silk shoes) I cannot remember one word of the commencement address, nor even who spoke to us.

This realization has been a great comfort to me. It proves that it's perfectly possible to graduate from preparatory school, go on to college and live out one's life without any conscious assistance from the profound truths confided to one at graduation time. I was much relieved when I understood this, because the profound truths which I have at my command are not always the same from day to day. Quite often, in fact, I wake up and discover that yesterday's profound truth has turned into this morning's sweeping—and dubious—generalization. At first I was afraid that I might be going to blight your lives by telling you a number of profound truths, only to realize later on that they were not so at all. But when I realized that I had managed to forget completely everything that had been told me at graduation, and that my life has not been noticeably blighted—at least so far—it gave me courage.

The trouble with profound truths—and it's a general trouble, I think—is the remarkably easy way in which they cease to be profound, or cease to be truths, or both. One of the pleasant things about this milestone of graduation for you is that it is one of the last times when you will have to listen to anyone tell you more profound truths. Graduation is a real step on the road to the time when people will stop educating you—or trying to—by telling you things. As this happens, and I presume that it has already begun to happen at this excellent school—you will begin to be able to educate yourselves by the process of asking questions and setting yourselves to discover the things you need and want to know. There is, as far as I can tell, only one profound truth about education which is as true and as profound today as it was 2,500 years ago. This is—that questions are more important than answers. They last longer. And the big ones are never answered satisfactorily.

I hope that doesn't discourage you. Life is a process of interactions and interrelationships, and one of the gravest mistakes you can make is to think that you can ever solve it, like a problem on an exam, and live happily ever after. Let's look for a moment at a problem which you've all faced this past year—the agonizing problem of getting into college, or as they say, into the college of your choice. It wasn't a problem in my day, we had rather a different assortment of difficulties then, but I've lived through this one quite recently with my sons and I have a reasonable idea of what it's like.

Now some of you undoubtedly got into the college you most particularly wanted to go to, and some of you have had to settle for second or third choices.

In my opinion, those among you who have had to take second choice are probably luckier than those who landed just where they wanted to be to be. Not necessarily, of course, but very probably. In the first place, you've had a jolt. That never hurts anybody. In the second place, it's likely that you're going to go to college with your eyes open, looking out for what's good and what's bad about the place you're in. You're not going to sail smugly in to the spot where you always expected to spend 4 years, and count on life running smoothly along as it has been. Life has shown you very clearly that wanting something doesn't make it happen, and I really don't know a more basic lesson that that, or a more valuable one. It's a very good thing to stub your toe over it a couple of times when you're young and flexible.

Again, some of you will probably find yourself in a college where no friends of yours have gone, nor even any older sisters. Wonderful. You're on your own. You have a chance to explore new places, new kinds of people, new ways of doing things. You are going to get your minds stretched and exercised. I congratulate you. You are free to try out new personalities, new interests, to make new friends. I can't think of anything more exciting.

Of course, it goes without saying that those of you who are heading toward your first choice colleges can do the same thing. Only you're going to find it harder. You will have to take a deep breath and decide to use every chance you have to stretch yourselves and probe new experiences. Otherwise you may find yourselves—like these unfortunate girls in Mary McCarthy's novel—graduating from Vassar only to discover that the adult world is not at all what you expected it to be, and that the standards of your college clique are about as relevant to life in the 20th century as those of the Choctaw Indians.

But basically, what I am saying about the next step in your education is this: solving the getting-into-college problem has brought you face to face with a new question—What do I do when I get there? This, my dears, is what is going to happen to you all your lives—or at least I hope it is. Because if you should ever get your lives arranged and thought out so that you know what is going to happen next, you are going to be bored beyond belief, bored to tears, bored till your teeth ache.

We will hope that unhappy situation won't overtake you, and that you will go through life suffering the normal number of surprises and shocks. Assuming that this is so, it may help in answering the what-do-I-do-at-college question, which you are going to be facing this next year. I'd suggest that a good stab at an answer would go something like this: Fill your minds with as much solid furniture as you can while you have the chance; try some things you haven't done before, both in your studies and socially; don't take things for granted; don't worry more than you have to about marks; worry about learning, about getting some doors opened onto the world. I hope the faculty will forgive me if I say that no one is really going to care very much, 30 years later, about whether or not you made Phi Beta. They are going to be much more interested in whether you are a good conversationalist with a responsive mind.

I realize that this is all pretty old hat as good advice goes. Still, I think it's true. It's particularly true if you marry fairly young and have children rather quickly as—after all—most women do nowadays. This is when you will begin to value the furniture you've stored in your mind. I can't tell you how thankful you are going to be for knowing something about art and literature and history—and mathematics as well, I daresay—as you fix that formula and change those diapers. Poetry and music are enrichments, so is anthropology, so is economic theory. They are windows and doors into a wider life and really, there's no time you need them more than while you are pushing mashed carrots into a small gaping mouth, or sorting out three pairs of mixed up galoshes.

I have read about women resenting the fact that they were educated for careers and then got married and had children instead. This puzzles me very much. I have never heard that any of them were abducted and forcibly married against their will, or snatched screaming and reluctant from the Groves of Academe. I mean, I suppose they wanted to get married. Well, why is their education going to waste, then? Don't they take it along with them?

It's true, very few anthropologists take their 3-year-old twins on expeditions into the mountains of Turkey or New Guinea, but if you have 3-year-old twins and an interest in anthropology, you can still read, you can still keep in touch if you care enough. And if you don't care that much, at least you have been endowed with a great deal of fascinating material on how people live and work in cultures other than ours. I should think it would give you great insight into—say—the structure of nursery school society. Or caste and class in the PTA.

Here, I think, is time for a nod at that boring old argument about education—Should a girl be educated for a career, or should she be educated for marriage? I believe that the reason that's such a boring question is because it's irrelevant. A girl should be educated for herself. She should be educated to be an interested, competent person whatever she finds herself doing. Some years of marriage, when the children are small will be rather confusing. Equally, some career years will be dull and full of drudgery. Well, there you are. Life is like that. But not all years will be that way. When your children grow up and you have more time, when you get to a rung of your career where you can make choices, you will find life opening out again with new questions posed and new opportunities appearing.

Then the material you stored away earlier, that furniture of the mind that I was talking about, can be added to. You can reopen some of the doors and windows that you learned about. I might say in passing that your husband and children will find you a great deal more interesting to talk to if you've stored away stuff to talk about. But even more important, you want that material for yourself. You want those open doors to the world.

We live in very confusing times. Things change rapidly. Customs and patterns of living that were widely accepted 30 or 40 years ago have completely disappeared today. Nor is this rate of change likely to slow down. You girls must expect to face even more upsets and swings of manners and morals than did my generation—and we grew up in a depression and raised our children in wartime. We learned to be flexible and toughminded. We learned that wanting things didn't make them happen. We learned that many ideas and ways of living that we'd taken for granted could vanish overnight. And I expect that you are going to learn this too.

On the face of it, it might seem that if change is to be expected, the less you know about present realities the better. Why bother to learn this or that—Shakespeare's sonnets, the history of the Supreme Court, economic theory before John Maynard Keynes, the philosophy of Immanuel Kant? Isn't it all going to be different. Shouldn't you just go along with what's happening now? Why should you care about what happened a hundred years ago? Or even 20 years ago?

I could invoke some profound truths here in reply to this question. I could appeal to universal values and the wisdom of the past, but I don't think I will. I am just going to point out that at the simplest and most practical level, you can't tell what's happening now unless you know something about what has happened before.

Let us ignore profound truths for the moment, grab hold of the feminine mystique, and take a domestic example. You bake a cake for the first time and it's soggy in the middle. If you don't know anything about cakes at all, you might figure that all cakes are soggy in the middle. If you knew something about cakes but nothing about baking, you're a little better off. You know your cake shouldn't have turned out that way, but you still don't know what to do about it. The wisdom of the past is going to have to come in, I'm afraid. You will have to ask your mother or your aunt or read a cookbook in order to find out what you did wrong. If you don't, and proceed by trial and error, you are going to waste a lot of eggs and flour and time finding out how much to beat your batter and what your oven setting should be. It's more sensible to invest a little effort in learning first what you're doing.

But can you learn about life, really? Do things carry over from the past? Oddly enough, quite a lot does. And oddly enough, people who know that things were once very different, and know how they were different, are often able to adjust faster to new situations than are those who live in an eternal now. A perspective of the past is, first and foremost, a perspective. It can often swivel around and become a sensible projection of what's likely to happen next.

A great deal of life has been lived. It will never be lived again in just the way that it was. But to know something about it gives a basis for comparison of the life you yourself are living. It provides a backdrop for judgment, a frame of reference. It helps you to be more flexible, not less so. It can even let you enjoy life more, because you will not worry over nonsense.

Well, I have passed on very few profound truths, and if I have handed out some unsolicited advice, that is because the occasion calls for it. Now I will stop, and simply end by saying what I wish for you.

I wish—I hope—that you will welcome experience of all kinds. I hope you will not be afraid of doing something that you haven't done before. I hope you will listen to people, all kinds of people. I hope you will find out that learning is a delight that need never stop. I hope you will be inquisitive about ideas and tolerant about people. I hope above all things that you will enjoy the years ahead, which means that I hope you will live deeply and feel deeply, so that when you sit down to rest at the end of your lives you will have with you a great bag of treasure—memories, satisfactions and joys. You are just beginning that journey. I wish you well.

The Liberal Shambles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, at the Republican Convention in San Francisco, former President Eisenhower alluded to "the divisive efforts of those outside our family, including sensation-seeking columnists and commentators who couldn't care less."

On Thursday, July 16, in Columbus, Ohio, the Taft Broadcasting Co., on station WTVN, made a most worthwhile contribution to this subject by the following editorial:

THE LIBERAL SHAMBLES

The nomination of BARRY GOLDWATER as the Republican candidate for President means many things to many people. Most important of all, it means there will be a vigorous, hell-bent-for-election campaign in the oldtime American political tradition. It means there is at last a choice between two nearly opposite theories of government. Whoever wins or loses, there has now been established a party of opposition for the first time since 1936.

The dream world of the professional pollsters and the professional liberal soothsayers who control most of the mass news media in the Nation lies in a smoking shambles. With very few exceptions throughout the Nation, the news writers and commentators have been hysterical in their opposition to Senator GOLDWATER. Led by the once staid and objective New York Times, the liberal and pseudoliberal press establishment has paraded phony polls and dire warnings of doom to ward off the possibility of a Republican candidate who might actually raise a voice of dissent against an all-powerful central state. They have used all but a handful of the news columns and air personalities of the Nation to try to brainwash the American public. Their vitriolic, sometimes libelous attacks on the Arizonan have been unceasing for years. Most commentators and writers have successively flocked to Rockefeller, then Romney, then Scranton, in their desperation to "stop GOLDWATER." They almost turned themselves inside out trying to goad General Eisenhower into an anti-Goldwater attitude. But they failed. They failed miserably.

We think the most significant meaning of the Goldwater convention victory is that the liberal monolith is simply incapable of brainwashing the American people. The liberal press has lost its believability. The overwhelming majority of grassroots Republicans have grown sick and tired of the phony pollsters and the professional liberal soothsayers. In nominating their man BARRY, they have repudiated the brainwasher.

Apparently the remarks concerning certain members of the news media struck a nerve, as many have commented on it, expressing shock that anyone would have the audacity to dare suggest criticism.

Nonpolitical Statements Concerning the National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it is seldom that the public has an opportunity to consider rational nonpolitical statements concerning the national debt. Dr. James D. Calderwood, a professor in the School of Business Administration of the University of Southern California, in a recent speech in my State talked sense about the national debt. His comments were so pertinent to the proper consideration of the campaign oratory on this subject that the public will be hearing during the next 3 months, that I wanted to bring them to the attention of other Senators and other readers of the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFESSOR CALLS U.S. DEBT "SMALL" AND GROWING "SMALLER" ALL THE TIME

An economics professor on the staff of the Economic Education Workshop said last week that the United States will never be free of national debt, in the sense that the debt someday will be "paid off."

It's being paid off all the time, said Dr. James D. Calderwood, professor in the School of Business Administration at the University of Southern California, and at the same time new debts are being contracted.

But as far as national debt is concerned, the United States is far better off now than at the end of World War II, and the situation continues to improve, he said.

Any debt is large or small only in relation to total income. The nearest thing to a national "total income" figure would be the gross national product. At the end of World War II, the debt—$275 billion—exceeded the gross national product, which was then $214 billion.

Now, said Dr. Calderwood, the national debt has increased only to about $309 billion while the gross national product has gone up to $623 billion. And on a per capita basis, the national debt has truly shrunk, because there were only 145 million people to share that 1945 debt, and now there are 192 million to share one not much larger.

Dr. Calderwood agreed that much of the weeping and wailing by politicians over the size of the national debt was largely politics. And he considered the Senate's periodic "temporary increases" in the national debt ceiling somewhat absurd.

"I'm not saying we shouldn't worry about the debt," he said. "But most people worry about the wrong things." The right things involve how the debt is managed, not merely its size, he said.

Debt should be observed in its entirety, including State and local government debt as well as private debt. Relatively, State and local debt has increased much more than the national debt, and private debt has outstripped both.

"Most economic growth is financed by private enterprise," said Dr. Calderwood, and this in the ultimate means private debt—to buy cars, houses, appliances and whatever.

Dr. Calderwood observed that it was politically popular to talk about excessive Gov-

ernment spending, and desire for economy, but that such talk is meaningless unless it is specific.

"Everyone wants to do the cutting on somebody else," he said. "The people of California might be willing to cut spending on the Arkansas River development program, but they wouldn't be willing to reduce the defense spending in the Los Angeles area, for example."

FIXED SPENDING

Eighty percent of Federal spending is in such "fixed" areas as national defense, space, veterans' programs and interest on the national debt. In view of the consequences of reduced spending, there may be many who are not willing to pay the price, he said.

Dr. Calderwood considers it "extremely unlikely" that there will even be a repeat of the depression of the 1930's. Economic adjustments will come in the form of mild recessions such as the four that have occurred since World War II, he said.

"Our major problem as I see it," said Dr. Calderwood, "is to make these mild recessions milder and shorter."

The Workshop, being attended by Arkansas school teachers and administrators, will continue through July 31. It is sponsored by the State Education Department, the Arkansas State Council on Economic Education, the University of Arkansas and the Joint Council on Economic Education. All sessions are at the University Medical Center.

A Republican Committeeman's Tribute to Our Late President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, many fine and outstanding tributes have been paid to our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, representing the sentiments of people in every walk of life. One of my constituents, Mrs. Roger H. Mallery, Sr., of Cobleskill, N.Y., has submitted a very moving and impressive poem which she authored and I am pleased to bring it to the attention of the Members of this House.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mrs. Mallery's composition in verse:

A TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

(By Mrs. Margaret Provost Mallery)

On November 22, 1963,
In America, the land of the free;
The youngest and first Catholic President of the United States,
John Fitzgerald Kennedy,
From a bullet wound lay dead
Murdered by another man
Who somehow had failed to understand
Almighty God's great command
To love not kill.
The news was flashed by radio, television, and word of mouth,
"You're joking—It can't be true," the people said
"Mr. Kennedy, so young and vigorous, just can't be dead."
Shocked, stunned, dazed,
Old and young Americans flocked to their churches and prayed,
As the Pilgrims and our forefathers did of old,
For strength and guidance that the ideal of universal brotherhood might advance,
And the dead American President's stature for posterity enhance.
Oh for a Shakespeare's power to pen the lines of history in the making,
And express the thoughts of millions of people all over the world listening
To the strains of solemn music the symphony orchestras and bands were playing,
And Cardinal Cushing's voice intoning in words so comforting
That faith in God and belief in life everlasting, rich and poor were renewing,
As tear-splashed faces but hopeful eyes were showing!
Amid the pomp and ceremony
In memory, Mr. Kennedy; courageous, smiling,
Kind in life.
Magnificent in death,
With Americans and world leaders
Gathered side by side.
Hatred and fear temporarily put aside
Oh may the people of all nations from our country's sad hours caused
By violence and strife,
Emerge more united, and determined to let the peace of God and love
For their fellowmen,
In each of us abide
Throughout every day of our earthly life.

Eugene Kinnaly: A Great American

SPEECH
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join with many of my fellow colleagues in paying a well-deserved tribute to your very capable administrative assistant, Eugene Kinnaly. Throughout his illustrious tenure on the Hill, Gene Kinnaly has been a rich source of information and helpful advice to myself and to hundreds of others here in the Congress. Now as he can look back upon 46 years of devoted service, 36 of them in your office, Mr. Speaker, Gene without doubt has earned the great privilege which in this case goes so deservedly for his faithful stewardship here in the House. Gene Kinnaly's faithfulness to his duties, his conscientiousness and above all his constantly genial and pleasant manner have quietly but surely endeared him to all of us who have come in contact with him over the years.

The times have been often, especially in the first years of my own service on the Hill, when Gene's enclyclopedic fund of knowledge saved me a much lengthier search for the information I was seeking. I am pleased that Gene's talents, Mr. Speaker, through your own elevation of office, have been made that much more available to the House as a whole. Our body is the richer for it.

Therefore, and in the light of the above, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of myself and many of my constituents in Massachusetts who also know Gene personally to express my deep appreciation to him and to wish him the best of health and happiness in the years to come.

Harvey R. Adams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, a great agricultural leader, Mr. Harvey R. Adams, of West Memphis, Ark., and Memphis, Tenn., passed away on Friday, July 17, 1964. It is a distinct loss to the farmers of the Nation and more particularly, the producers of cotton and the industry itself. Mr. Adams was executive vice president of the Agricultural Council of Arkansas, having been associated with that statewide group for the past 24 years. He was one of the cotton leaders who spearheaded the movement to establish the American Cotton Producer Associates. This organization was composed of members and associations from throughout the Cotton Belt. Due to Harvey Adams' leadership qualities and knowledge of the cotton industry in all of its phases, he was chosen by the American Cotton Producer Associates as its secretary-treasurer. He held that position for quite a number of years, contributing of his time and talents to the work of this great growers' organization.

H. R. Adams was a frequent visitor to my office throughout the many years that he served the people of Arkansas in the capacity of leading the agricultural council in its activities and work. It was a distinct pleasure to know him and work with him. One of the first major pieces of legislation that he gave his attention, cuonsel, and efforts was the Agricultural Act of 1949 in which the cotton laws were rewritten. Subsequently he and his organization, as well as other groups who were interested in the cotton producer, have played important roles in the amendments that have subsequently been passed by the Congress with respect to cotton. The last agricultural act in which cotton was a part was the Agriculture Act of 1962.

He worked tirelessly in the drafting of the producer cotton version of the legislation which was adopted by both Houses of the Congress and written into that act. He was named by the Secretary of Agriculture in 1962 as a member of the National Cotton Advisory Committee. He had served on cotton advisory committees prior to the 1962 assignment.

He played a principal part in the organization of witnesses and the presentation of testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture when the first bracero law was enacted in 1951. Since that time he interested himself in the various extensions of this bracero law consistently. Under appointment by the Secretary of Labor he served as a member of the Labor Users Committee in connection with the various administrative phases of the bracero law.

I will miss H. R. Adams greatly, as I came to appreciate his work on behalf of the cotton farmer as well as for agriculture in general. He was a good man and one that is deserving of the plaudits

of an appreciative people for outstanding services he has rendered. In addition to his many activities in connection with the passage of legislation, he was a writer of note. His many articles with regard to cotton have appeared in various cotton publications.

Harvey Adams was born in Hannibal, Mo. He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy during World War I. He was an active member of the American Legion for quite a long time. Prior to his acceptance of the post with the Agricultural Council of Arkansas, Mr. Adams was manager of the truck and commercial division of the Ford Motor Co., in the city of Memphis. He at one time served as manager for the John C. Dix Corp. He was a member of the Decatur Street Christian Church in Memphis, Tenn. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Adams, of Memphis, one daughter, Mrs. Dan Donahue, and three grandchildren, all residing in New Orleans.

Mrs. Gathings' and my deepest sympathy goes to his beloved companion, Elizabeth, as well as to his daughter and grandchildren in their great loss.

Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville, Fla., Commemorates Fort Caroline Quadricentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. The Cummer Gallery of Art, one of the Nation's youngest and most inspiring art galleries in Jacksonville, Fla., is commemorating the Fort Caroline quadricentennial, the 400th anniversary of the founding of the French fort on the banks of the St. Johns River in 1564.

The highlight of the commemoration is an exhibition of French art of the 16th century, the best ever assembled in this country. Joseph J. Dodge, director of the Cummer Gallery of Art, said in the prolog to an attractive booklet on the exhibition, pointing out the significance of the display:

> French art of this period has been somewhat neglected. This is only the second time it has been given an exhibition in this country. Although some of the outstanding paintings and sculpture have been, for various and good reasons, unobtainable, we are more than gratified at what has been made available to us by private collectors, museums, and dealers both here and abroad. These works of art will, I think, give contemporary Floridians and visitors a fairly good picture of the people and culture of France at the time this area was first settled. If, in addition, some of the works of art give pleasure for their own sakes and in terms of today's tastes, we will feel that our purposes have been accomplished.

It was my pleasure to be home in my district recently and to visit the Cummer Gallery of Art. The board of trustees of the gallery, Mr. John W. Donahoo, Mr. George D. Auchter, Mr. S. Kendrick Guernsey, Mr. Edward W. Lane, Jr., Mr. Edward C. Roe, Mr. Harold F. Saxelbye, Judge Bryan Simpson, and Mr. Powers Williams; the honorary trustees, Mrs. Alfred I. du Pont and Mr. Roger L. Main; the director, Mr. Dodge and his assistant, Mr. Edward F. Weeks; Mrs. John W. Donahoo, chairman of the preview and reception committees, and the DeEtte Holden Cummer Museum Foundation, are to be congratulated on their fine work, which will go a long way in strengthening the ties between France and the United States.

Galleries and private collectors around the world contributed to this exhibition and the Cummer Gallery had tremendous cooperation from the Government of France, including S. E. M. Herve Alphand, French Ambassador to the United States; M. Edouard Morot-Sir, French Cultural Counselor to the United States, and M. Jean Chatelain, director of the Museums of France.

The area of Florida comprising the Second Congressional District is rich in history and tradition of the 16th century, as is evident by the works depicting the founding of Fort Caroline by René Laudonniere, the famous French admiral, in June 1564. This began the permanent settlement of what is now the United States, 400 years ago this year.

A Tribute to Eugene T. Kinnaly

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my many colleagues who yesterday paid tribute to a very remarkable and dedicated person. He is one of the anonymous. indefatigable, selfless, hewers of wood and carriers of water, whose service to Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK is inestimable.

Eugene T. Kinnaly, the administrative assistant to the Speaker, is just rounding out 46 years as the strong right arm of this great legislator from Massachusetts. In fact, Administrative Assistant Kinnaly's active political career parallels that of the Speaker to whom he alined himself when JOHN MCCORMACK was first prominently heard of politically as a member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention more than four and a half decades ago.

As one who is familiar with the remarkable staff work of the Speaker's office, and with the smoothness and quality of the performance of men like Kinnaly throughout Congressman MCCORMACK's long and fruitful life in the politics of this Nation, I would like to take this opportunity to honor this high-level effectiveness and efficiency. For me, Mr. Kinnaly is a model of the public servant. He gives to the staff work of the Congress—not only the staff work of the Speaker—the remarkable reputation Government people enjoy with those of us who are intimately and directly informed of the facts. Here is almost a half century of continuous and faithful devotion to duty. This is the kind of top-level executive staff work that can be felt in a thousand and one different aspects of this Chamber's legislative life. The multitude of details, the massive responsibilities, the assignment of tasks, the prudence, the courtesy, the judgment called for by one in Kinnaly's position, can be judged when we hear of the many extraordinary staff blunders that only recently plagued a candidate of one of the great American political parties.

If I had to answer the question on the wisdom and the skill, the judgment and the foresight of the Speaker himself, I would have to say that one of his greatest gifts is his choice of personnel, precisely as exemplified in Eugene T. Kinnaly. After 46 years the proof is in the record and beyond controversy that Mr. Kinnaly has been one of the most loyal helpmeets to the Speaker and to this Congress. And I am proud to join in the honor that is being accorded to him today.

Jimmy's Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee, which I have the honor of representing in this body, lost an outstanding citizen, James Edward Ramsey, Jr., service officer for Crockett County, Tenn.

As you will read further about, his great physical handicap never dimmed his courage nor devotion to his fellow man.

I had the privilege and honor of attending this memorial service. It was conducted and prepared by the Rev. William Ed Walker, chaplain of the Ripley, Tenn., American Legion Post 86, an outstanding minister and citizen of Lauderdale County, Tenn.

To best describe James Edward Ramsey's life, there follows an article that was in the Tennessee Legionnaire a few weeks ago:

> JIMMY'S LIFE
>
> James Edward Ramsey, Jr., service officer and adjutant, Guy W. Mobley Post 210, Bells, Tenn., was born July 18, 1918, at Junction City, Ark., and died February 22, 1964, at Kennedy Veterans Administration Hospital, Memphis, Tenn.
>
> Jimmy moved to Bells, Tenn., with his parents and little sister, Margaret, in 1924. There he grew and made lifelong friends. There he lived and contributed to his community, his church, and his Nation. His contribution shall stand as a memorial to a great American * * * an outstanding example of humility and heroism in daily action. He was a graduate of Bells High School, and acquired a 3-year course in higher accounting at Bowling Green (Ky.) Business University. He served in his home community as a bookkeeper, and a counsellor for Crokett County veterans affairs. His advice was sought by many others outside his home county.

His service record began November 6, 1941, and ended with an honorable discharge June 11, 1946. Serial No. 34180240. He became a first sergeant with Company G, 66th Armored Regiment, 2d Armored Division. He fought in five battle areas, namely, Algeria-French Morocco, Sicily, Normandy, northern France, and Germany. His decorations: E.A.M.E. Campaign Medal with one Silver Star, Purple Heart, Victory Medal, American Defense Medal, Good Conduct Medal, American Theater Medal.

Jimmy was wounded January 7, 1945, at the Battle of the Bulge in the European theater * * * a piece of shrapnel severed his spinal cord. He was returned to the United States March 3, 1945, and to Battle Creek General Army Hospital. In May 1945 he was transferred to Kennedy General Hospital, Memphis, Tenn. He was to be in and out of this veterans hospital for the next 19 years. He was released from the service and the hospital in June 1946. Throughout his convalescence his sweetheart (from January 1941) was with him every weekend, and close by his side in their happy married life. (They were married March 9, 1946.)

His life was a challenge to everyone. If you could just hear him talking, you would never have believed that he was confined to his wheelchair. He was always having fun. He was an inspiration to all who knew him. His comrades and friends in Bells were interviewed by the chaplain. The following expressions of admiration are typical of the many words of high esteem given. He was the most remarkable fellow I have ever seen. He was never without a smile on his face. He was a fine boy. He was a great man. He could do what he set his mind to do * * * at least he would try. He was most enthusiastic about football, and seldom missed the high school football games wherever his team played. His hobby was construction of boats. He loved to fish and had his own motorboat. He designed the rigging for entering and driving his car. He was one of the boys and not identified with his condition. He never griped about anything. He had a genuine interest in whatever his comrades and friends wanted to do. If he ever had his blue moments * * * (no doubt he did like everyone), no one knew about it. His home was his haven and it was here that his love was so tenderly expressed to his companion and by her for him.

His pastor, the Reverend Clarence E. Hare, conducted his funeral. Mr. Hare quoted from his funeral discourse and the text, "ye are the salt of the earth," saying, that Jimmy was the flavoring of the community. He was the "bracerupper." It was he who created within me and others a thirst to do more. He was one of the best Christians. He was interested and concerned for his church (First Methodist, Bells). He was a tither, and in addition many acts of generosity are known and yet unknown.

Truly, the opening lines of Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" are a fitting conclusion:

"Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning at the bar
When I put out to sea."

Timber and Lumber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, timber and its related industries are very important to the economy of the congressional district I have the honor to represent as well as to all of east Texas. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some letters concerning the problems that confront our timber and lumber people. I will continue to work to help solve these problems.

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., July 7, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BECKWORTH: This is in reply to your letter of June 20 to Secretary Hodges regarding the impact of imported softwood lumber on the domestic lumber industry. You request information on how the lumber and timber industries could be strengthened.

I am sure that you are aware of President Kennedy's six-point program to assist the lumber industry, announced on July 26, 1962. For your convenience, a copy of the White House press release is enclosed. Also enclosed is a summary of measures taken by the Department of Commerce and other Government departments and agencies to implement this program.

You will note that two conferences were held with Canadian Government officials regarding the impact of imported lumber on the domestic lumber industry and other problems which affect the lumber industries of the two countries. In anticipation that a third conference may be held, the Department met with leaders of the U.S. lumber industry on April 2, 1964, to exchange views on problems of the industry and possible solutions. For your information, I am enclosing copies of principal papers submitted by industry and an analysis of these papers prepared by a task group representing the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, State, and Interior.

Currently, the Department, among other things, is engaged in activities relating to negotiations for the removal or reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers in foreign countries, as a means of promoting exports of lumber and other wood products.

We shall continue to maintain close surveillance over the softwood lumber situation and to use every appropriate means to assist the industry.

Sincerely yours,
JACK N. BEHRMAN,
Domestic and International Business.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., July 6, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BECKWORTH: This is in reply to your letter of June 20, 1964, concerning the pine timber situation in your congressional district.

In the last decade or so substantial progress has been made in improving the pine timber supply situation in most parts of the South, largely as a result of increasingly effective forestry programs. Landowners in some areas now have supplies of timber for which there is no market at present. However, this situation is necessarily a prerequisite for the establishment of new timber-based industries. A favorable timber supply situation has been one of the major reasons for the phenomenal growth of the woodpulp industry in the South and for the recent location of new pine plywood plants in Arkansas and Texas.

It also seems likely that any surpluses of pine timber, particularly for larger and better quality sawtimber trees, may be temporary. Studies of the Nation's timber supply-and-demand situation currently underway indicate that demands for timber products are likely to increase substantially over the next several decades in response to the major expansion of the Nation's population and economy that is in prospect. Timber producers in your district are relatively well located with respect to major consuming markets for timber products.

With regard to imports of timber products, about 13 percent of all timber consumed in this country in recent years has consisted of imports, chiefly lumber, newsprint, and hardwood plywood. The problem of softwood lumber imports has received a great deal of attention from the administration in recent years. This is a matter that involves many questions of general trade policy and relationships with Canada and is a subject of continuing consideration, particularly by the Departments of Commerce and State.

Sincerely yours,
EDWARD P. CLIFF, *Chief,*
By A. W. Greeley.

Senator Goldwater's Views on Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Goldwater Views on Farmers Plain—Not One Bit of Aid," written by Leland DuVall, and published in the Arkansas Gazette of July 19. The article will be of considerable interest to farmers.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOLDWATER VIEWS ON FARMERS PLAIN—NOT ONE BIT OF AID

(By Leland DuVall)

Preachers of a former generation often took pride in the fact that they could give "book, chapter, and verse" when delivering a quotation. Now that BARRY M. GOLDWATER has been nominated as the Republican candidate for President, Arkansas farmers quite likely will be interested in his attitude toward agriculture and they can find the answer with little effort. The book is "Conscience of a Conservative" (which lists GOLDWATER as the author); the chapter is No. 5; and the key verse is near the bottom of page 42 in the early edition of the book.

In speaking of the farm situation, GOLDWATER says: "What has been lacking is not an understanding of a problem that is really quite impossible not to understand, but the political courage to do something about it. Doing something about it means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program."

Perhaps no other statement of the candidate illustrates more clearly the truth of Oscar Levant's description of Senator GOLDWATER as a man who has "all the answers and none of the solutions." The "prompt and final termination" of the farm program is the simple answer to the whole question of how to deal with excess production and low prices in an economy geared to controlled production and stable prices.

Students of the candidate's attitude toward agriculture should not form their opinion on the basis of these two sentences. He uses almost six pages in the book (net, after subtracting an extensive quotation from Alexander Hamilton) to elaborate on the theme that the way to deal with the prob-

lem is to terminate all programs. A large part of the space is devoted to the proposition that the whole farm program, and presumably the Agriculture Department as well, is unconstitutional in the first place. Having proved the "unconstitutional intrusion" of the Government into agriculture—at least to his own satisfaction—he still has a couple of pages left in which to explain how the country can return to the free market for farm commodities. The analysis, however, is vaguely familiar. Except for a difference in style, it might have been lifted from the writings of Adam Smith.

"The reason Government intervention has created more problems than it has solved," he wrote, "is quite simple. Farm production, like any other production, is best controlled by the natural operation of the free market. If the Nation's farmers are permitted to sell their produce freely, at prices consumers are willing to pay, they will, under the law of supply and demand, end up producing roughly what can be consumed in national and world markets. And if farmers generally find they are not getting high enough prices for their produce, some of them will move into other kinds of economic activity * * *. In recent years, the Government has sought to alleviate the problem of overproduction by the soil bank and acreage retirement programs * * *. I cannot conceive of a more absurd and self-defeating policy than one which subsidizes nonproduction."

The side effects of the attempt to solve the farm problem, as the candidate sees the situation, are "restriction of freedom, high consumer prices, huge crop surpluses, and a gigantic tax bill."

Probably no group in the United States is more independent or more individualistic by nature than farmers but they also are realists who understand that economic forces over which they have no control can defeat them (as a group) if they do not have assistance. Here are some examples:

The problem is not, as Senator GOLDWATER suggests, a matter of farm prices being so high as to discourage consumption. The level of farm prices has declined 20 to 25 percent in the last 15 years while the prices of production items needed by farmers have climbed steadily. The lower prices of farm commodities have helped check inflation and enable consumers to derive major benefits from the lack of agricultural prosperity. In most cases, further reduction in farm prices would not stimulate consumption for the reason that the decline would not find its way to the consumer. The cotton in a man's shirt, for example, has a farm value of about 15 cents and the price of the shirt would be unchanged if the textile mill bought the fiber for 10 cents or if they got it free.

Virtually everyone agrees that the number of farmers could be reduced without endangering the supply of raw material. A man on a six-row tractor can produce more than he could 30 years ago when he drive a two-row rig. Efficiency has increased faster on the farm than in most other segments of the economy and the business is plagued by excess manpower. This is known and admitted; the problem is developing a way to make the adjustment to other jobs without upsetting the whole economy. The movement from the farm has been underway for a century and no one is trying to halt it. Government programs are designed primarily to keep the adjustment orderly. If, for example, 1 million people should move from the farm before the next planting season the remaining workers would not produce as many surpluses as will be grown. (Unemployment and welfare programs in urban areas would increase sharply and this, too, violates the conscience of a conservative.)

The biggest error in Senator GOLDWATER's reasoning stems from his false assumption that the Government has created more problems than it solved. The first meaningful farm program went into operation when agriculture was in a state of universal bankruptcy. The free market was in full operation but people who are old enough to remember 1932 know the results.

A companion error, which also may be traced to a false assumption, is that the country has a free market for nonagricultural goods and services. This is no longer true.

Production of raw materials, which might be roughly comparable to that of farm commodities, may compete at free market prices in areas where there is little danger of excess production. More often, producing facilities are integrated into the operations of manufacturing or processing corporations that turn out just what they need.

In an exception such as petroleum, where production is spread among many individual companies that could compete for an existing market, various methods have been used to balance supply with demand. The Texas Railroad Commission, for example, cut oil production last week for the fourth consecutive month. The new rate, which is the lowest since January, is 26.5 percent of the maximum permissible capacity. If the same rule were applied to agriculture, it would mean that a Government agency would tell farmers they could produce at just above one-fourth of the capacity of their land and facilities. If agricultural production controls were this rigid, there would be no need for price supports because the tight supplies would permit the not so free market to establish a profitable price.

Handicrafter Cites Wage-Law "Pinch"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, in the political maneuvering by the administration to get the antipoverty bill and the Appalachia bill passed this session of Congress, there are facts being overlooked by proponents of these measures. President Johnson earlier this year visited Eastern Kentucky as part of his poverty tour, but failed to do more than just visit. He failed to observe the progress local citizens are making in this so-called pocket of poverty and how Federal programs right now are causing more problems in this area. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert into the RECORD at this point a newspaper article from the Louisville Times—an article which I might add is extremely timely:

HANDICRAFTER CITES WAGE-LAW "PINCH"

PAINTSVILLE.—The Federal wage law is taking away occupations of some eastern Kentucky craftsmen who were trained at Federal expense, says Miss Jo Pack, operator of Kentucky Hills Handicrafts.

A few jobs and about 200 part-time occupations of men and women in the economically depressed area will have to be ended because of a crackdown on Federal minimum-wage provisions, Miss Pack said yesterday.

The Government first said she could sell products within Kentucky and not have to pay Federal minimum wages, Miss Pack declared. Now they classify her as a dealer in interstate commerce.

She said they "said I couldn't even sell inside Kentucky, because our goods are sold to tourists and the tourists carry them across State lines."

Miss Pack said she has one full-time employee and that she must pay the Federal minimum of $1.25 an hour to all seasonal and incidental help.

"I pay the State minimum of 70 cents an hour, and that is a fair wage for some who can't otherwise get work in Eastern Kentucky," she said.

Miss Pack added the Federal Government spent about $35,000 at the Mayo State Vocational School in Paintsville to teach arts and crafts work to the mountaineers.

Results of Congressional Questionnaire in Third Indiana District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to insert in the RECORD the results of my 1964 questionnaire, which I sent to the registered voters of the Third Congressional District of Indiana.

I have taken similar polls in 1960 and 1962. Response to a question on the 1962 poll indicated that 83 percent of the voters favored being polled for their views by the representatives in Congress. A total of 13,275 questionnaires were returned by registered voters in the four counties of the district I have the honor to represent: Elkhart, La Porte, Marshall, and St. Joseph Counties.

The returns were machine tabulated by Data Management, Inc., an independent data processing service in Washington, D.C.

The results of the questionnaire follow:

RESULTS OF THE 1964 CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS, THIRD INDIANA DISTRICT

1. Do you favor legislation to assure equality of opportunity for all American citizens regardless of race, color, or religion?

	Percent
Yes	76.5
No	17.8
No answer	5.7

2. Do you favor a Youth Conservation Corps providing public service employment and job training for unemployed young people?

	Percent
Yes	77.2
No	17.9
No answer	4.9

3. Do you favor continuation of the nuclear test-ban treaty?

	Percent
Yes	70.1
No	20.1
No answer	9.8

4. Do you favor including hospital and nursing home protection (not doctors' bills) for the elderly under social security?

	Percent
Yes	59.0
No	35.8
No answer	5.2

5. Do you favor continued U.S. financial support of the United Nations?

	Percent
Yes	66.9
No	25.3
No answer	7.8

6. Do you favor continuing loans and grants for industrial and public facility projects in communities of chronic and substantial unemployment?

	Percent
Yes	72.1
No	21.4
No answer	6.5

7. Do you favor expanding U.S. trade with Communist countries in nonstrategic goods?

	Percent
Yes	39.6
No	52.9
No answer	7.5

8. Do you favor a program of price supports with production controls on farm products?

	Percent
Yes	26.0
No	63.5
No answer	10.5

9. Do you favor expanding coverage of Federal wage and hours laws to require payment of $1.25 per hour plus overtime to persons working in hotels, restaurants, laundries, and other industries now exempt?

	Percent
Yes	76.0
No	19.2
No answer	4.8

10. Do you favor legislation which would allow manufacturers to set prices on their products and prohibit merchants from selling such products at lower prices?

	Percent
Yes	16.1
No	77.2
No answer	6.7

If the presidential election were held today, which of these candidates would you vote for?

	Percent
President Lyndon B. Johnson	53.8
Barry Goldwater	9.0
Henry Cabot Lodge	10.3
Richard M. Nixon	7.9
Nelson Rockefellow	2.7
William Scranton	2.1
Margaret Chase Smith	.8
Harold Stassen	.2
No answer	13.2

Which presidential candidate did you vote for in 1960?

	Percent
Kennedy	50.6
Nixon	29.8
No answer or didn't vote	19.6

"John F. Kennedy Peace Cruiser" Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Thomas H. Halloran, commander of the James C. Pryor American Legion Post No. 1725 in my district in Brooklyn, N.Y., and Mr. Joseph Raiti, chairman of the Work Procurement Committee of the New York Naval Shipyard have advanced a provocative and timely suggestion that would make a great contribution to international good will.

The idea suggested by Messrs. Halloran and Raiti is the construction at the New York Naval Shipyard of a large ship to be known as *The John F. Kennedy Peace Cruiser* which would serve as a floating museum of Americana and tour the world in the spirit of the Peace Corps. Its principal purpose would be to make available the latest in educational facilities and provide assistance and information to the various peoples of the more impoverished lands.

In addition to this fundamental purpose it has been proposed that such a ship would also carry a large cargo of food and agricultural and medical equipment as gifts from the American people to the needy throughout the world. Since the ship would bear the name of the late President, typical John F. Kennedy memorabilia such as that now on tour of the United States would be carried abroad the cruiser.

I believe this suggestion has great merit and I have called it to the attention of Mr. R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, with the hope that if he concurs in its value as a means of of promoting good will and improving the American image abroad, that steps will be taken to have the project given serious consideration.

Effect of Eastman on Area Economy Told by David Hull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, it was a great day for east Texas when the Texas Eastman Co. came to Longview, Tex. I include a very splendid article that appeared in the Longview Daily News on May 27, 1964, about the many advantages derived by east Texans because of the presence in east Texas of this splendid company.

EFFECT OF EASTMAN ON AREA ECONOMY TOLD BY DAVID HULL

The history of the Texas Eastman Co. operation in Longview was reviewed by David C. Hull, president, in an address Wednesday to a delegation of more than 250 business, industrial, and financial men at a luncheon at Pinecrest Country Club which followed a tour of the company's properties in the Carl Estes industrial area.

He outlined what an industry such as Texas Eastman brings to a community in the form of people and economic benefits.

Following is a summation of his remarks:

The plant site of approximately 2,400 acres was purchased in 1949, and another 100 acres were added later. Construction was started in 1950. By the end of 1951, about 250 people were on the payroll. Cherokee Construction Co., which did the construction work in the initial period, had about 500 employees and Hudson Engineering Corp. approximately 275 for a total of more than 750 construction workers. The first Texas Eastman product was shipped March 7, 1952.

As the result of a continuing improvement and expansion program, output of several products is five times greater today than in 1953.

By the end of 1952, the company had 425 employees. That number did not change appreciably during 1953, but the following year more were added as new and expanded units came into production. At the end of 1962, employment was almost 1,250, an increase of more than 800 in 9 years. Employment at the end of 1963 was substantially the same as at the end of the preceding year.

In the first year of operation (1952), total payments to and for the benefit of employees were over $2 million. This compares with $12 million in 1963. These figures include wage dividends, the first of which was under $100,000 in 1952, and more than $1,400,000 paid in March this year.

Effect on the economy of Texas as a result of payments made by Texas Eastman during 1963 (including the Shreveport area):

Total payments in the Texas and Shreveport area were $34,400,000, while sales of Texas Eastman products in the same territory were $2 million.

In other words, Texas Eastman spent in Texas and Shreveport $32,400,000 more than it took in from that region.

More than $25 million, including payrolls, was spent in this immediate area—the area from which the company draws its employees.

As to the current capital improvement program:

A cracking plant is being added (the company already has two). An acetaldehyde plant, the firm's first, is being added. It will add one steam boiler; eight already are in operation.

The company has a number of chemical manufacturing plants, each of which requires a comparable number of empolyees.

In addition to the announced projects, additions will be made to existing product lines as has been the case since operations were begun here.

While the program being embarked on this year will create a number of job opportunities, it will not be comparable to the present work force. The projects now beginning, when completed within the next 2 to 3 years, will add something less than 25 percent to the payroll. However, during the construction period, it is probable that the construction forces may peak out at around 750 employees. This is comparable with the peak construction period in 1951.

It is impossible to predict with certainty what the future holds. "We look to the future with confidence, but we can't predict beyond the current program. A lot depends on us. A lot depends on you and other business leaders in Longview and Texas."

Hull said "the degree of success all of us working together achieve in maintaining sound, conservative local and State government—in maintaining a business climate conducive to industrial growth. We at Eastman are, in general, pleased with the local and State picture today. This is amply evidenced by our continued expansion."

Wednesday was designated as "Texas Eastman Appreciation Day" and the large contingent of civil workers was invited by the industrial relations committee of the chamber of commerce to make a tour of the company's properties and to attend the luncheon in honor of Texas Eastman officials. Fred Paris is chairman of the committee, and Jasper Allbright is president of the chamber of commerce.

Proposed Reduction in U.S. Rates of Duty on Motion Picture Film

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following brief in opposition to tariff decrease:

BRIEF IN OPPOSITION TO TARIFF DECREASE

INTRODUCTION

Laboratory Technicians, Local No. 683 of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes & Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, is a labor organization representing for purposes of collective bargaining several thousand film technicians employed in the processing and developing of positive and negative motion picture film by various employers in the motion picture and television industries within the county of Los Angeles, State of California.

As a labor union representing such workers who will be vitally affected from the standpoint of their economic welfare and employment opportunities by any possible elimination, reduction, continuance, or modification of the existing U.S. rates of duty on motion picture film imported into the customs territory of the United States from outside thereof, Local 683 has a definite interest in current tariff reduction proposals being studied by the Trade Information Committee in preparation for the forthcoming trade agreement negotiations to be resumed under the GATT at Geneva in November 1964 to the extent that such proposals would result in offering reduction by 50 percent of the present U.S. rates of duty on "motion picture film in any form on which pictures, or sound and pictures, have been recorded, whether or not developed" (TSUS Item No. 724.10).

We are therefore respectfully submitting this brief in opposition to any such 50-percent tariff decrease insofar as it would reduce the present U.S. rates of duty on motion picture film to the Trade Information Committee, as the interagency committee designated by the President under section 223 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, to receive the views of any interested persons on matters relevant to proposed trade agreements.

I. Motion picture film laboratories are an important source of gainful employment within the motion picture and television industries throughout the United States:

The production, distribution, and exhibition of theatrical motion pictures and television films constitutes a major American industry, employing approximately 200,000 workers, according to statistics published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Notwithstanding the "runaway production" phenomenon which has adversely affected employment opportunities in the U.S. motion picture industry in the last two decades because of "an increasing tendency to produce * * * American theatrical motion pictures abroad" and "a steady and somewhat sharp decline in the annual production of theatrical motion pictures in the United States" (see hearings on impact of imports and exports on employment, House Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Cong., pt. 8, pp. 475, 504, 520–522, 529–530, 536–537, and 538–539; report on impact of imports and exports on employment, House Committee on Education and Labor, 87th Cong., 2d sess., May 7, 1962, p. 85), this important American industry remains a substantial source of employment for large numbers of workers throughout this Nation.

Film laboratory processing, as a highly necessary and integral part of American motion picture and television film production, itself represents an important source of gainful employment for many thousands of U.S. workers in various production centers across the country, such as New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and Colorado Springs, Colo., where extensive laboratory facilities are located.

In Los Angeles County alone, where Hollywood film studios and laboratories represent a huge capital investment which has been valued at nearly $420 million (see hearings cited above, pp. 470, 487, and 492), well over 3,000 employees are engaged in film laboratory processing work. A similar number of film technicians are employed in such work in New York.

II. Foreign motion picture film laboratories are protected against the importation of American-processed films by heavy duties and other trade restrictions imposed by their governments:

As observed by the congressional subcommittee which investigated the "runaway motion picture production" phenomenon during the 87th Congress (report, cited above, pp. 86 and 88), "American motion pictures are subject to a vast array of drastic restrictions abroad. While there are no limitations on the import of foreign films into the United States, virtually every other country in the world imposes some form of restriction on American motion pictures," ranging from various tariffs and special taxes to outright screentime and import quotas. Other signatories of the GATT agreements are among the very governments that have been and are today the most zealous in protecting their domestic motion picture industries against free competition from films made and processed in the United States.

Nineteen foreign countries outside the Communist bloc have adopted laws or decrees requiring theaters in those countries to devote a certain portion of their screentime to the showing of films made and processed within their national boundaries.

Apart from the Communist bloc, according to the latest information available to us, 12 foreign governments impose film import quotas limiting the numbers of films made and processed outside their countries which will be licensed for importation during a given period of time.

A substantial number of non-Communist foreign countries restrict the number of prints of a single feature picture which may be imported.

In addition to such direct import restrictions, various foreign countries levy very heavy import duties on film imports designed deliberately to both discourage the entry of American-made films and to force American film producers to purchase their release prints from local national film laboratories in the foreign country in order to avoid or reduce such duty payments. Very high "release taxes" are also levied on imported films by various foreign governments for the same purposes.

While many of these heavy import duties, import quotas, and other restrictive trade devices are found among the other important film-producing countries affiliated with GATT which compete with American motion picture interests for the world market, such as the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, there are a number of other foreign countries, such as Australia and Brazil which produce practically no motion pictures within their national boundaries but are able to maintain domestic film laboratory industries which exist largely from the proceeds derived from making prints of American motion pictures, because of the imposition of governmental trade restrictions which make the cost of importing processed release prints to those countries prohibitive.

For example, Australia, which is affiliated with GATT, is not even ranked among the 33 important film-producing countries of the world, but maintains 8 film laboratories deriving substantial income from making prints of American-produced pictures. In Brazil, there are 2 film laboratories in São Paulo and another in Rio de Janeiro which derive substantial income from making prints of American-produced pictures, although this GATT affiliate only produced 30 feature films out of a world total of 2,940 during 1961. While there were only 78 feature films produced in all of West Germany, another GATT affiliate, during 1961, Berlin, which is currently not engaged in any important picturemaking, maintains a large film laboratory, known as the Mosaic Laboratory, which is devoted entirely to making prints of American-produced pictures.

The making of duplicate negatives and positive prints of American motion picture films—both new productions and reissues of old pictures—is the main support of film laboratories in such foreign countries as the United Kingdom, France, Italy, West Germany, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Australia, Canada, etc. Practically all of these countries provide protection for their motion picture film laboratories by one or more trade restriction devices, such as import duties, import quotas, release taxes, or screentime quotas.

In the United Kingdom, for example, the import restrictions are so drastic that the law prohibits the importation of more than five prints of a picture into the country regardless of how much is paid in fees, and the various other restrictions are so prohibitive as to make it impractical to import release prints there.

So far as the Communist-bloc countries are concerned, where the governments own and control all film industry facilities, and strict control is exercised over the quantity and nature of films permitted to be shown on their screens, only an extremely small number of American-made films can be exported to these nations, except for Yugoslavia.

Even in a country like India, where the U.S. Government supplied funds to build studios and laboratories as part of our foreign aid program, that foreign government, which is affiliated with GATT, responded by changing its import quota for American-made motion pictures so as to reduce the number of pictures produced and processed in the United States which it would allow to be shown on Indian theater screens. (See hearings, cited above, pp. 465 and 515.)

In contrast to the restrictive practices of these various foreign governments designed to protect motion picture film laboratories within their boundaries, the U.S. Government affords no such protection to American laboratories against foreign competition in the domestic market by means of high tariffs, quotas, or trade restrictions of any kind. The existing low rates of duty on imported release prints of 0.96 cents per linear foot (TSUS item No. 724.10, col. 1) and, for imports from Communist countries, 3 cents per linear foot (same, col. 2) certainly should not be reduced in the face of the prevailing unfair trade barriers and competitive disadvantages still being encountered by American laboratories in foreign markets.

III. Reduction of the existing U.S. rates of duty on motion picture film would seriously jeopardize the economic future of American film laboratories and their thousands of employees:

The proposed 50-percent reduction of the existing low rates of duty on motion picture film would confront the American film laboratories and their thousands of employees

with a greatly increased competitive threat from foreign laboratories which might ultimately prove fatal to their economic future.

Already suffering from periodic unemployment and lower annual earnings due to the decrease in domestic film laboratory employment opportunities because of "runaway production" of American-interest feature pictures, as revealed in the congressional hearings and report previously mentioned, film laboratory workers in the U.S. motion picture and television industries should not be saddled with the adverse consequences of such a tariff reduction at this time.

Not only would such a tariff reduction make it easier for existing foreign film laboratories with lower labor standards to engage in unfair trade competition with the American film laboratories, but the decreased rate of duty would furnish an incentive for establishing new film laboratories in other countries for the purpose of engaging in such unfair competition. (For example, it would be possible to build a Mexican film laboratory in Baja California just across the border from southern California to furnish American motion picture and television film producers with completed positive release prints by means of daily air express transportation. If such a development were permitted to take place, it would not be too long before the film laboratories in Los Angeles County employing local 683 members would be forced out of business.)

While American film producers insist that they do not "want to shirk their responsibilities to American workers" nor "want to evade their contractual obligations to the unions * * * in Hollywood" (see hearings, cited above, pp. 465–466, 500, 503, 536, 539, and 612), a tariff reduction which would make it more attractive to utilize the services of foreign film laboratories with cheaper labor costs would necessarily result in greater unemployment among film laboratory workers here in the United States.

CONCLUSION

Based upon the foregoing facts and circumstances, local 683 urges the continuance of at least the present low rates of duty upon motion picture film, being firmly convinced that the only modification warranted in these rates would be to increase them, rather than lower them.

In the event that the U.S. Government intends offering a general 50-percent reduction of duties in the forthcoming trade negotiations, a suitable exemption should be adopted with respect to the present low rates of duty upon motion picture film (TSUS item No. 724.10) so as to permit their continuance.

Address by Hon. Sam Pryor, Vice President, Pan American Airways, Before the Meriden Boys' Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding businessmen of the country who has contributed much to the progress of aviation in the world as vice president of Pan American Airways, the Honorable Sam Pryor, on June 8 delivered a significant address before the Meriden Boys' Club, one of the boys' clubs of America.

This is a stirring address and will not only be meaningful to the young people who read it but to all who shall have the privilege to observe it. I commend it to my colleagues and the people:

Since December, because of the nature of my business, Mrs. Pryor and I have been to five continents—visiting 26 of the capital cities of our world. We in business have long ago learned that we must fact facts—that difficult problems can be put aside but can never be dismissed. Travel around the world brings facts into sharper focus. World travel opens our eyes to new horizons, to new understanding, to exchange of ideas. But above all, world travel also often opens our eyes to dangers which lie at our very feet.

Looking objectively at human life in these many world areas, one must come to the conclusion that the most important subject before us, not only in Meriden, in Connecticut, in the United States—but in the world, is—boys.

The world—whether it be our city, our town, or State, our country, or any country, is desperately hungry for—leadership.

In this country we should include girls as well as boys for leadership because, sadly, only in this country do girls have an equal responsibility with boys to be future leaders.

So, when we talk about world leadership, we must confine our thoughts to boys. I spoke a few weeks ago to the girls of the junior league about the position of women around the world. I told them I did not think they would like the position of women inside or outside the Iron Curtain—in fact are that in the Near East they are penned up like livestock here—in Africa a woman is worth four goats—a chief Mrs. Pryor and I talked with this winter had 132 wives—in India girls are married off by their parents at ages of 8 or 9—and in the Far East baby girls are disposed of still today like unwanted girl puppies here in America.

Regretfully we must say it will be boys who will have greater responsibility for leadership in the world of tomorrow unless girls get aroused again as they were here in the 1920's.

Just a few weeks ago, during a trip to Japan, I spent some time with a prominent Japanese Government official who said to me, "Mr. Pryor, the United States will survive another 10 years—because your generation has inherited strength. But what about 15 years from now, when the children who are now 9 or 10 years old become men? Mr. Pryor," he went on, "unless you do something to make them strong morally, physically, and spiritually, your Nation can be destroyed—not from without, but from within.

Arnold Toynbee has documented, in the case of civilization after civilization, that complete destruction comes from within. Egypt, Babylon, Crete, Greece, Assyria—and in our own hemisphere the Mayas and the Incas were not destroyed from without. In each case the conqueror found a civilization that had begun its self-destruction from within.

It has been my privilege to visit many ancient cities now in ruins or buried under desert sands. Some of these civilizations have been dead more than 2,000 years. Each at its peak stood at the forefront of civilized achievement and accomplishments. Each asserted its influence throughout the then known world. Each was the leader of its time. Pondering over these ruins caused me to wonder about ourselves.

I called my secretary last Friday from the Island of Maui and asked her to get the latest youth crime report from Edgar Hoover. Let me read you his personal letter to me in answer:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D.C., June 5, 1964.

Hon. SAMUEL F. PRYOR,
Field Point Park,
Greenwich, Conn.

DEAR SIR: In response to the request from your secretary, I am enclosing some material which I hope will be of assistance to you in your speech before the Meriden Boys' Club. The complete statistics on juvenile crime in 1963 are not available as yet; however, I can give you the following information:

During the last 10 years arrests of persons under age 18 have increased 121 percent while our juvenile population has gone up only about 43 percent. In other words, juvenile crime is growing almost three times faster than juvenile population.

In 1963 juveniles were involved in 46 percent of all arrests for serious crimes. Juveniles are involved in 8 percent of the arrests for murder, 18 percent for forcible rape, 26 percent for robbery, 14 percent for aggravated assault, 50 percent for burglary, 51 percent for larceny of $50 or more, and 63 percent for automobile theft.

I certainly wish we could spread the good influence of Boys' Clubs of America to reach all children, and I shudder to think what the juvenile crime rate would be without such organizations.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

EDGAR.

This last year I had the privilege of addressing the graduation class of our Connecticut State Police, and may I say, as a citizen, I am very proud of our State police. I addressed them because I am advisor to the Narcotics Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department and have graduated from their advanced narcotic training school, and 2 years ago represented our commissioner at the Interpol convention in Copenhagen. Narcotics are a major problem in the world—so much so that Communist countries have taken an active part in its distribution. While they have our eyes directed to the heavens for nuclear weapons, they are sowing heroin on earth—not in their own countries but in ours and other free countries. Not only does a teenage boy who experiments with the "kicks" of addiction become a potential dangerous criminal, but government officials and adult leaders can and have become traitors through drug addiction. Narcotics and crime go hand in hand and are truly a world problem—particularly for youth.

The average person today does not realize that we are actually living in the one world that Wendell Willkie so vividly described 20 years ago. No place today is farther than a day from Meriden—and this is nothing to what will happen within 6 years.

Pan Am has already placed an order with the French-British group that is developing a prototype 1,450 miles per hour mach 2 plane. We expect deliverey of our first Concorde supersonic jet some time in 1969. We are also at work with our Government in helping design, develop and produce a mach 3 supersonic jet. At mach 3, this plane, built of steel and titanium, would have a cruising speed of 2,000 miles per hour and carry 200 passengers up to 5,500 miles.

For an idea of mach 3 flying times from New York, here are a few figures:

To:	*Statute miles*
Buenos Aires: 6 hours 49 minutes	5,305
Rio de Janeiro: 4 hours 45 minutes	4,804
London: 2 hours 31 minutes	3,443
Paris: 2 hours 37 minutes	3,625
Rome: 4 hours 22 minutes	4,282
Tokyo: 7 hours 31 minutes	6,757
New Delhi: 14 hours 16 minutes	7,299

Even more dramatic, not long after the availability of mach 3, we shall have flights to the moon and to the planets beyond. It

took our ancestors longer to come from London to Boston than it will take to reach the moon. These pilgrimages into space will come. Rocket engines to make these voyages possible are already under construction. The same is true of space capsules, which will be the forerunners of large space planes. We are truly about to live in "one world."

Last month I had the privilege of being briefed for 2 days at our SAC base in Omaha, Nebr.

It does something strange to your thinking to sit by a gold telephone far underground that is in instant communication with 52 military bases in the world—to say nothing of the surveillance planes continually aloft day and night—and the red telephone over which—on one command from our Chief Executive and no one else—our guided missiles could be released—missiles that can travel at 18,000 miles per hour, then pinpoint the target over 5,000 miles away. The 100-ton megaton bomb has a destructive power equivalent to 100 million tons of TNT. If it exploded in New York, it would obliterate all the city of New York, most of New Jersey, all of Westchester County, and all of lower Connecticut, including Meriden.

Anywhere a nuclear bomb explodes radiation will bar human beings from the area for many years.

The call on this red telephone could destroy every city in Russia within 26 minutes, which is the most dramatic example of the mechanics of the leadership through which our United States has kept the peace of the world today. Winston Churchill said that except for the power of this force and our ability to control it, all of Europe would have been communized today.

Besides the guided missiles ready to go any minute of the day are the bomber squadrons. These bomber squadrons have a much greater total power than the power of all the missiles. I saw them go into the air in 8 minutes after the go signal. These bomber squadrons are strategically located around the world. The Soviets are also likewise equipped but with no comparison to our strength. Today we are stronger than all our known enemies put together—but how about tomorrow? We must face the facts about the present tensions of Saigon, Laos, Cuba, Berlin, India, and the dozens of other potential trouble spots all over the globe.

World leadership, with the exception of Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries, is today in the hands of tough hard-boiled politicians—highly educated—many of whom have attained their leadership through brutal power—but fortunately now know that if they are to maintain their position, they must have law and order. Prime Minister Kenyata of Kenya said this to me in person—that is why he called for the British paratroopers at the first sign of rebellion against his government.

We must guide our youngsters in our homes even before their boys club training toward knowing that the beginning of life in any community in the world, whether it be in Meriden or the Congo, is to have law and order. We must guide our youngsters to believe that they must play their part some day in government—that politics is not a dirty mess—that it is the business of governing ourselves. The only way to good government is through practical politics—if you make politics right, you make government right.

Then we will develop the leadership so desperately needed—then we can continue to fight and settle our world battles politically—not with nuclear weapons.

Having been a director of the Boys' Clubs of America for 30 years, I can enthusiastically join in with Edgar Hoover—the greatest proponent for law and order in the world—and say there is no better influence for these objectives than the Boys' Clubs of America. You have done a splendid job here in Meriden. Joe Coffey has been an excellent leader of boys—if we can only continue here and spread our boys club gospel further around the United States—yes, and around the world—I can tell my Japanese friend not to worry about our country 15 years from now—that we are developing world leaders.

Thank you and may God bless your work for boys.

Record of Progress—75 Years of Service to Longview, Tex., by the First National Bank of Longview

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, east Texas continues to make much progress economically and otherwise. I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Longview Morning Journal, July 19, 1964, which reviews the accomplishments of some of those who have made possible the great progress of our area:

RECORD OF PROGRESS

From its inception in 1889 through the years of farming, oil, and industrial development, the First National Bank has had a definite and very important role in the progress of Longview and Gregg County.

This outstanding bank, which is recognized as one of the State's leading financial institutions, has been part of a massive transformation which has seen Longview advance from the horse-and-buggy era to become a modern city with multifarious advantages which make opportunities for future expansion unlimited.

During its 75 years of service to this community, the First National has enjoyed a consistent growth while witnessing on the national and international scenes many historic events—such as two World Wars, the development of the automobile, the airplane, radio and television, and the coming of the atomic age. It has weathered, because of its strength and the caliber of its officers and directors, depressions and other hardships.

As noted in a special supplement in this issue, which is titled "Of Dinosaurs and Diamonds and a Progressive Bank," the First National has kept pace with changes from quills to simple bookkeeping machines and only last year installed machines that pick up balances automatically and do a variety of other things that allow bank bookkeeping now to be more accurate, faster, and more efficient than ever. It is an assured fact that as changes take place in the future, the First National will keep abreast because it has always been and will continue to be progressive.

Much of the growth of this bank was during the 29 years that Clayton A. Loftis served as president. When he came here in 1930 there were eight employees, a number that has increased almost eight times since then. At that time total capital was $60,000, surplus $40,000, undivided profits $20,000, and loans of $395,553.04.

The latest statement of condition issued June 30, 1964, showed capital of $750,000, surplus of $1 million, undivided profits of $502,276.70 and loans of $10,069,063.88. Deposits on that date totaled $21,617,532.11.

During the administration of Mr. Loftis, who is now chairman of the board, Longview enjoyed a phenomenal growth as a result of oil development and industrial progress. While helping to make it possible for others to start or expand their business operations, it was through the vision and inspiration of Clayton Loftis that a 10-story bank home and office building was erected by the First National. It is the city's largest and tallest structure, and stands as a memorial to the ability and faith of our very dear friend. One of the greatest pleasures we have enjoyed during our 30 years in Longview was the award our newspapers presented to Mr. Loftis in 1954 for the man who did most to aid industrialization of Gregg County in 1953. The honor was symbolic of Longview's appreciation of this great citizen not only for 1953, but for each year of his devoted and dedicated service to his community and his fellowman.

Many prominent names have been associated with the presidency of the First National. The list is headed by A. E. Clemmons, and includes Joe R. Clemmons, Jack W. Yates, R. Marvin Kelly, Leroy Trice, T. C. Morgan, Charles W. Foster, Smith Price, Mr. Loftis, Fred Holland, Henry L. Foster, and Fred A. Bloodworth.

On the occasion of its 75th anniversary and in appreciation of the significant and outstanding part it has had in the remarkable growth of our community, we extend our warmest congratulations to the First National Bank, its officers, directors, staff, personnel, and stockholders. At the same time, we urge our readers throughout east Texas to attend the institution's open house, which will be held Monday through Friday.

We honor Chairman Loftis and President Bloodworth, and other officers—John W. McDavid and S. C. Waggoner, senior vice presidents; Ray E. Matthews, R. V. Haggard, Jr., Jon B. Ruff, and Larry Tate, vice presidents; R. L. Dickerson, auditor, and Mack L. Childers, cashier, together with Gene R. Faires, vice president and trust officer, and B. W. Sunkel, vice president in charge of the First National building. We also salute the board of directors, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Loftis, Mr. Foster, James R. Curtis, David C. Hull, Mrs. Blackshear Jameson, George A. Kelly, Mr. McDavid, Q. G. Murphy, O. L. Norton, Allen C. Tyler, and L. T. Zeigler.

As the First National commemorates its 75th anniversary it pledges to "go forward with confidence in the ability of the free world to meet the challenges of tomorrow."

On the basis of past performance, this pledge not only will be kept—it will be exceeded.

Sculptor John Gregory Marshall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress an article written by a well-known art critic, Martha B. Scott, about a young artist-sculptor who formerly lived in the Quincey-South Shore area of Massachusetts and now resides at 849 Black Rock Turnpike, Easton, Conn.

John G. Marshall is the son of Frank Marshall who is presently with the U.S. Post Office Department. As a father, he takes pride in the fine accomplishments of his son, John, who has already shown evidence of rising to great heights:

JOHN MARSHALL: ARTIST-SCULPTOR, EASTON, CONN.

(By Martha B. Scott)

Today we are witnessing the beginnings of an American age in the arts. One of the most flourishing centers for young design talent is that of Greater Boston. And one of the most promising young talents to be released from Boston is that of sculptor John Gregory Marshall.

Lured to Connecticut by architectural commissions, the Quincy-born, Boston-educated artist has just captured one of the year's most coveted awards in the field of art. The Olivetti award for sculpture in the 15th Annual New England Exhibition in Silvermine, Connecticut, went to Marshall's welded brass abstraction entitled "Wailing Group," one of 96 pieces chosen for exhibit out of 800 entries. Judged by Dorothy Miller, curator of of New York's Museum of Modern Art, the piece is now up for a Ford Foundation Purchase Award. Marshall was one of the few artists mentioned in an enthusiastic review by New York Times critic Stuart Preston.

Prior to the current New England exhibit, Marshall was cited for another welded brass sculpture. His "Reliquary" highlighted the first (1964) Festival of the Religious Arts in the Trinity Parish of Southport, Conn. A large responsive public, both from those who saw the work and from those whose only contact was photography, felt the emotional impact of the artist's powerful creation. In actuality, "Reliquary" was a direct reaction to the assassination of President Kennedy. This was not a traditional art object to be seen as an isolated entity but one to be considered within the context of our expanding environment.

The work of Artist-Sculptor John Marshall is never to be considered as an isolated object. He seeks to establish the relationship between object and environment, taking in the whole scale of architecture, sculpture, and painting. It is in this architectural sculpture that Mr. Marshall is exciting attention with his search for appropriate solutions and a determined sense of originality.

His first commission came from the Cuno Engineering Co., of Meriden, Conn., for a concrete mural. Another mural for the Plasticrete Co. in Hamden resulted in the development and pending patent for a process of casting concrete in polystyrene foam. From this same process Marshall created a concrete sundial to set atop the science building of the Taft School in Watertown, Conn. Another school commission was a dormitory facade and panel figure for Fairfield University in Fairfield, Conn. The titan of Marshall's career is the famed two-story screen of concrete for the Hartford National Bank & Trust Co. in Hartford. The screen was made up of 92 separate sections, each weighing 600 to 800 pounds and the completion was a labor of 2 years.

At the moment, the Boston artist, now residing in Easton, Conn., is at work on an architectural competition, a fountain for Fairmount Park in Philadelphia. The dynamic creative forces of young Marshall can have a pronounced effect upon the new art of America and the urban renewal of tomorrow.

Cuba Receives U.S. Wheat—VFW Protest Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, shipment of U.S. wheat to Cuba in violation of the terms under which sales were made to Russia have been properly criticized by the VFW. As a member of that organization, I commend the commander in chief, Joseph J. Lombardo, for his forthright statement. I urge appropriate governmental agencies to consider carefully his recommendations.

Commander in Chief Lombardo's letter with an accompanying news release are included here for appropriate consideration:

JULY 22, 1964.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The purpose of this letter is to inform you as to the deep concern with which the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States views reports that U.S. wheat shipments are being transshipped to Red Cuba, and other Communist regimes.

The VFW believes that this situation is so serious that the United States should immediately suspend wheat shipments to the Soviet Union pending a thorough investigation by the proper U.S. agencies.

I have enclosed for your information a copy of a press statement by me which I released today on behalf of the 1,300,000 oversea combat veterans who comprise the membership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH J. LOMBARDO.

SUSPEND WHEAT SHIPMENTS TO RUSSIA

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 21.—The national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Mr. Joseph J. Lombardo of Brooklyn, N.Y., today called for a suspension of U.S. wheat shipments to the Soviet Union pending investigation of reports that our wheat is being transshipped to Cuba.

Explaining the VFW's position, Commander Lombardo said, "according to press stories, the captain and first mate of a U.S. ship report that U.S. wheat is being unloaded at a Russian Black Sea port and reloaded aboard a ship bound for Cuba. This is a direct violation of the terms under which the wheat sale was made to the Kremlin."

"It would appear, therefore," Commander Lombardo continued, "two vital issues are involved: First, the Soviet Union breaking its agreement with the United States, and two, the use of U.S. wheat as a means of strengthening the Castro Communist regime in Cuba. If this is happening, then the United States finds itself in the strange position of building up a regime dedicated to our own destruction."

"The VFW urges," Commander Lombardo added, "that an immediate and vigorous investigation be undertaken by the appropriate agencies of the U.S. Government to ascertain the correctness of these reports of the Kremlin sending U.S. wheat to Cuba. The VFW also urges that pending the completion of such investigation, U.S. wheat shipments should be completely suspended. If such reported doubledealing by the Soviet Union is correct, U.S. interests will have been protected by suspending such shipments immediately." Continuing, Commander Lombardo explained, "the investigation should not be confined to the matter of transshipment of U.S. grain to Cuba alone. If transshipment of our wheat to any Communist nation has taken place, it is, also, in violation of the wheat sale agreement, and would also justify termination of the arrangement."

Concluding, Commander Lombardo stated, "this entire episode of a U.S. merchant ship being shot at and boarded in international waters, together with the U.S. captain's report of transshipped wheat to Red Cuba, demonstrates clearly the background of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and apparent outright breach of faith on the part of the Kremlin. But, of course, we should have learned long ago that we shouldn't be surprised by any of these actions by the Soviet Union."

Statement in Support of Amendment Offered by Representative Fascell to the Housing and Community Development Act of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place my solid support behind an amendment to the Housing and Community Development Act of 1964, which has been proposed by my colleague, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

This amendment is the outgrowth of a most inequitable FHA requirement which has been discovered to be not only unfair, but also a burden on this Nation's effort to upgrade its higher education. I have reference to title V of the National Housing Act, which permits FHA to extract from nonprofit educational institutions an adjusted premium upon prepayment of FHA-insured mortgages.

This adjusted premium is actually a penalty for being able to pay off a note ahead of schedule. Of course, an adjusted premium is better than having to pay the entire premium, but why should a nonprofit educational institution be required to pay any extra premium to a Government agency? When an institution is fortunate enough to pay off a mortgage prior to maturity, it should not have to pay for 1-cent of insurance that was not used. After all, do mortgagees normally receive interest for anything more than the time the money was used?

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] has performed a great service to education in this country by bringing to the attention of Congress the inequity of this practice. I join with him in deploring the example of Miami University having to pay FHA an adjusted premium of $49,691 on prepayments of a $4,969,110 loan to build 533 university apartments and a new student union building. The fact is that it was HHFA's requirement that the university obtain clear title to the development site that precipitated the prepayment.

Miami had not been able to complete its development of both the student union and the 533 apartments with its original loan so the university applied to HHFA for a loan to supplement the $4,969,110 loan secured from the Trust Co. of New Jersey. HHFA directed that the university would have to have a clear title to the student union site to be eligible for the HHFA loan, the Trust Co. of New Jersey would not give a partial release, and Miami was forced to repay the loan in advance. Thereupon they were penalized by FHA to the tune of $49,691 for a prepayment virtually required by HHFA.

One example such as this is enough. There is no reason for Congress to sup-

port a billion-dollar college housing loan program and at the same time let FHA extract adjusted premiums from the very institutions we are trying to help.

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] proposes that we correct this situation by changing title V of the National Housing Act—I agree. Under the Fascell amendment a new section 517 will be added to the end of title V. This section will read in part:

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, no adjusted premium charge shall be collected in connection with the payment in full, prior to maturity, of any mortgage insured under this Act, if the mortgagor certifies to the Commissioner that the loan was paid in full by or on behalf of a nonprofit educational institution which intends to use the property for educational purposes.

Mr. Speaker, may I conclude by saying that the essence of a democracy is its concern with inequity, large and small. We who deal in terms of billions often forget how much building can be done by a university with sums such as the $49,691 paid by Miami as penalty for prepaying a loan. It is to the credit of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] that he is willing to champion this amendment and I join him in the hope that Congress will incorporate the Fascell amendment in the Housing Act of 1964.

The Institution as a Whole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Daniel Berman, professor of government and public administration at American University and a resident of Prince Georges County, Md., has recently written a book on the Congress of the United States. Mr. Berman, who served as a congressional fellow for the American Political Science Association, has had direct contact with activities in Congress. His book has already caused considerable controversy and discussion. Although one may not agree with all of Mr. Berman's comments nor with each of his recommendations as we witness the Congress taking on a more crucial role in the affairs of our country and of the world, I think his observations would be good reading for all of us. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article by Mr. Donald Mintz, of the Washington Evening Star, entitled "The Institution as a Whole," which describes Professor Berman's work:

THE INSTITUTION AS A WHOLE

(By Donald Mintz)

("In Congress Assembled, The Legislative Process in the National Government." By Daniel M. Berman. Illustrated, 432 pages. Macmillan Co., $8.75.)

Daniel Berman, professor of government and public administration at American University, begins almost literally with the word "go." The first chapter of his new book, "In Congress Assembled," is called "Running for Congress," and the first section of that chapter is headed "Winning the Nomination."

What follows is essentially a handbook—or perhaps a textbook—dealing with Congress as a structure and with congressional processes.

But Congress cannot profitably be studied in relative isolation. Professor Berman therefore takes his subtitle seriously; there are chapters on "The President in the Legislative Process." "The Courts and Congress," "Appointments and Treaties," and a number of other subjects that are wholly or partly outside Congress and yet essential to its understanding.

CLEAR AND COMPLETE

The completeness and clarity of "In Congress Assembled" match its scope, and the organization of its inherently complex and difficult material is masterful. The reader who pays attention will come out knowing what Calendar Wednesday is, why the House is so fond of the Committee of the Whole device, and why Democratic Senators find it unprofitable to defy the majority leader though the incumbent denies that he has greater power than any other Senator and such power as he has is theoretically bestowed on him by the party caucus.

Details of this sort generally baffle even the well-informed citizen. Because Professor Berman explains them so well and shows then in them in their proper context, his volume could serve as the confused constituent's reference book. Unfortunately, the indexer has not thought in those terms, and it sometimes requires a bit of inventiveness and perseverance to find what one is looking for.

"In Congress Assembled" is not an old-fashioned civics text. Professor Berman knows that Congress is men and processes, not simply structure. Thus, he shows that loyalties and interests modify formal organization so that, for example, an executive agency and the congressional committee it deals with may at times enter a tacit alliance against the rest of the executive branch and the Congress.

AN OBJECTIVE LIBERAL

Dissecting Congress is not like dissecting a cat. While a man's immediate political views are irrelevant to both, his underlying principles and emotions are bound to affect how he perceives the muscles and nerves of the Legislature.

Professor Berman has wisely chosen to remain as nonpartisan as one can reasonably expect and not to pretend to greater nonpartisanship than is humanly possible. He does not announce at the beginning that he is a registered Democrat and perhaps he isn't. But his basic liberal orientation is clear where such clarity is appropriate. Given the topic, fairness and objectivity demand not that the observer try to deny his personal orientation but rather that he both restrain it and make it apparent. Professor Berman has done this.

"In Congress Assembled" is brilliant and and—assuming interest in the details of its topic—essential. Because it is a handbook, it is not its function to go much beyond the immediate aspects of the subject and to explore, for example, the difficult problem of the influence of structures on the behavior of men. But a reader who has finished Professor Berman's book is in a position to think clearly for himself about problems of this sort as they appear in the Congress.

Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, this spring the Dominican Republic played host to the meeting of the board of directors and the Freedom of the Press Committee of the Inter-American Press Association. The occasion was historic for, after 30 years of tyranny, this marked the first time the IAPA had ever selected Santo Domingo as a meeting place. The Dominicans were naturally proud and pleased.

The Freedom of the Press Committee minces no words. For many years it had regularly and roundly condemned the Trujillo dictatorship and the absence of journalistic freedom in the Dominican Republic. Committee Chairman Jules Dubois spoke out bluntly, saying:

Our decision to meet here was made a year ago and it was conditioned on the assurance that freedom of the press would prevail. The fact that we are convened here at this time speaks for itself. We do not meet in police states.

Upon his return from Santo Domingo, the Miami Herald's George Beebe wrote an enlightening series of articles on the new area of freedom in the Caribbean. And the Times of Havana, a paper that operates in exile, said editorially:

It is easy to scoff at good intentions and to denigrate good acts. This is an attitude that comes even more easily to those of us who remember Cuba. But how can one refrain from offering help, assistance and even prayers to a young government that seeks to lead its people to democracy.

Now that additional weeks and months have given more proof of the triumvirate's ability to create democratic processes in a country that needs must create an entirely new spirit of liberty and freedom, and in the days just before that country celebrates its Restoration of Freedom Day on August 16, an anniversary that dates from 1863, I feel that the speech presented to the IAPA delegates by Dr. Reid Cabral becomes even more significant and more worthy of attention and consideration. As chairman of the triumvirate, Dr. Reid Cabral is the principal officer in the present Dominican Government, and his speech is an indication of his dedication to democracy and freedom of the press:

ADDRESS BY DR. DONALD J. REID CABRAL, IN THE NAME OF THE TRIUMVIRATE, BEFORE THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

Ladies and gentlemen, the Dominican people and Government not only extend to the Inter-American Press Association the welcome deserved by those who guide continental public opinion, but also express to that organization, through me, the profound and heartfelt satisfaction of proclaiming that this assembly constitutes the climax of a painful struggle in which the Dominican

people and the Inter-American Press Association combined their efforts to defeat the fiercest and bloodiest tyranny ever to sink its claws in any country of our hemisphere.

Although, fortunately, the Dominican nation has put aside the resentments that grew out of the international indifference and lack of understanding of the tragedy with which it was forced to live, there is one thing that indeed lives and shall always live in its memory: its appreciation of those who, in that night that seemed endless, shared our grief, the anguish of three and a half million prisoners, and the struggle and anxieties of the thousands and thousands of exiles who roamed throughout the world. Among our few loyal and courageous friends of that era is the Inter-American Press Association, which denounced the regime through its Freedom of the Press Committee, headed by the fearless Jules Dubois, and also through the words of distinguished journalists like German Emilio Ornes, who showed the nature of the internal strife.

At other times the IAPA pressed for an investigation of the Galindez crime following the extraordinary and dramatic description presented by Life magazine, and at other times it condemned the Trujillo regime editorially through its hundreds of newspaper members, scattered all through the Americas, flailing the dictator with an invisible whip. Among those who inspired such editorials are Angel Ramos, John O'Rourke, John R. Reitemeyer, Guillermo Martinez Marquez, Andrew Heiskell, Alberto Gainza Paz, Jim Stahlman, Pedro Beltran, Robert Brown, Harmodio Arias, Richardo Castro Beeche and many others impossible to mention within the limits imposed by a speech.

From the time of the dictator's death to this date, the Dominican nation, which has been struggling to attain her democratic destiny and correct the mistakes that are to be expected after more than three decades in which there was a total absence of liberties, is again seeking to build an electoral climate that will permit her to return in as short a time as possible to the rule of representative democracy, which is the chief aspiration of those of us who temporarily govern and of the majority of our fellow citizens. Despite the ups and downs of our struggle to fulfill the historic mandate imposed on us by circumstances, it is very gratifying for me to say to you that the Government is convinced that without freedom of the press there can be no other freedoms. The triumvirate avails itself of this occasion to affirm—once more—the unyielding decision of the Government to continue maintaining press freedom, notwithstanding the fact that the Dominican democracy faces at this time threats from extremists, who use freedom of the press and other existing freedoms to create chaos in the country.

To combat the system that, in an evil hour for America, Trujillo established in our country is a job the Dominican people learned to accomplish in the privacy of their homes, in political jails, in fields that were the scenes of the invasions of Luperon, Constanza, Maimon, and Estero Hondo, in the heroic action of May 30 and in subsequent battles against the legacy of the Trujillo rule that reached a climax with the liberation of January 19, 1962, memorable date in which the people and the Armed Forces sincerely embraced each other after more than three decades of imposed separation. It is for this reason that the Government is confident that that system which produced so much blood and suffering belongs to the past. However, the danger of Castro communism remains, because being a new system of oppression in our hemisphere, it takes advantage of real desires for betterment on the part of our youth, the lack of experience of the Dominican people in the complicated field of geopolitics as a consequence of our isolation, and the economic poverty in a country where one family was able to accumulate a personal fortune of more than a billion dollars. All these circumstances are exploited by a daily barrage of propaganda that Radio Havana spreads over Santo Domingo, which undoubtedly represents Castro's principal goal.

In order to control this danger, the Government relies on the backing of the majority of a Christian people, the unanimous anti-Communist convictions of our Armed Forces and police, and the implementation of a coordinated and solid program whose principal aims are:

1. Constant and unrestricted cooperation designed to mobilize the spiritual forces that, thank God, live and grow in Santo Domingo.

2. The incorporation of the peasants, who constitute 70 percent of the total population, into the daily life of the Republic. To obtain this aim we have asked and received from the United Nations technical assistance for the purpose of promulgating a law guaranteeing that every peasant will be able to assure for himself and his family a decent life, free from fluctuations in the prices of agricultural products, a life which will lead him to love and defend the democratic system. Government tractors have started to plow farm plots of peasants at no cost to them, and a general offensive has been launched to clean out the irrigation canals and improve rural roads, thus giving the peasants a way to take their produce directly to the market.

3. As we are constantly preoccupied with the majority of our helpless countrymen, made up mostly of the peasant class, we are preparing a vast plan for increasing the study of agricultural methods in the rural schools. This new plan will go into effect with the opening of the new school year in September. Its aim is to give peasant children of today—the farmers of tomorrow—an incentive and pride in obtaining for themselves the riches provided by our generous soil, a legacy of God. Only when the peasant becomes prosperous and cultured will we be able to build the democratic fatherland which is the hope of every Dominican.

4. The effort of reestablishing confidence in both national and foreign private capital, the strong source without which no country can collectively prosper. The Government is convinced that to combat unemployment, restore the national economy, and rescue our people from misery it must, without delay, offer an atmosphere of order and security which will insure the growth of investments, limited only by the necessity for justice for the laborer, without whose aid capital cannot produce. In the execution of that policy, the Government proclaims the maximum freedom for private enterprise, although it will maintain a watchful eye to make sure that the worker gets each and every one of his rights.

When we speak of private enterprises we mean, of course, those that are in keeping with modern concepts of economic and social justice, because Santo Domingo has closed its doors forever to monopolistic capital that gives riches to a few and misery to many.

I can assure you that the triumvirate and the people of the oldest Christian country of America are aware of what it means for their present and future, to have the vote of confidence that the Inter-American Press Association has given us by choosing our country as the site for this meeting of its board of directors and freedom of the press committee. Your gesture stimulates us to attain our final democratic restoration. It is our fondest hope that liberty will never again be eclipsed in our land and that your presence in Santo Domingo is not an isolated event, but one of a regular series of meetings of the Inter-American Press Association.

East Texas Bank & Trust Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we who live in east Texas are very proud of the economic growth which is taking place in our era. I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial concerning the East Texas Bank & Trust Co. The editorial appeared in the Longview Daily News, June 20, 1964. I congratulate the officers and directors and customers of the East Texas Bank & Trust Co.:

EAST TEXAS BANK & TRUST CO.

One of the main reasons Longview has continued to move forward at an unusually fast pace is because of the progressive leadership of its banks.

The East Texas Bank & Trust Co. is a striking example. As it has advanced, the Greggton area of Longview has grown proportionately. The inspiration and moral and financial leadership furnished by the bank have been largely instrumental for the tremendous development program which has been under way in the western part of the city over a period of years.

The new home of the East Texas Bank & Trust Co., built at a cost of $200,000, is mute, irrefutable and obvious evidence of the faith of its officers, directors and stockholders in the future of this great, vigorous, vibrant and wealthy area.

The bank has made monumental progress under the brilliant direction of F. L. Sartain, one of the area's ablest and best-known financial leaders. When he assumed the presidency in April 1960, the institution, then known as First State Bank of Greggton, had total assets of $2,652,896.39. By April 15, 1964, they had catapulted to $5,721,433.21, or more than double in a 4-year period.

When the First State Bank opened in 1947 it was hailed as "one of the greatest and most progressive steps in the history of the Greggton community." All of the stock was owned by 89 Gregg County men and women. In June of 1960, after Greggton was annexed, it was necessary to obtain a new charter under the name of "East Texas Bank & Trust Co. of Longview."

It is our considered judgment timing was perfect in connection with the building of this large and modern banking facility. We are in complete agreement with Forest Sartain that the Greggton area of Longview has a great potential for growth, by reason of its geographical location, its proximity to industrial plants already in operation and others to come, its relationship to the Pine Tree, White Oak, Spring Hill, and Longview school districts, and its undeveloped areas which can burgeon into industrial, commercial, and residential sections. It has plenty of room to expand.

Activity is brisk in the Greggton area, sparked by site acquisition for a major industry.

It will be recalled plans are afoot for the extension of West Cotton Street from Court Street to Lamond Drive (and perhaps farther westward); two large tracts of land were purchased recently for industrial purposes; two plants have recently doubled their operations; a shopping center is being built; the Pine Tree school plant is being enlarged again; good progress is being made

on Loop 281 and Interstate 20, both of which will open considerable more territory for development.

We have reason to believe a number of new industries, several of them nationally known, will locate in the Greggton area of Longview in the not too distant future. There are other large projects on the horizon.

Forest Sartain and his directors have accurately envisioned what is in store for the western sector of Longview. Their new building contains twice as much space as its predecessor, and provision has been made for further expansion when warranted.

We commend and congratulate Forest and other officers and directors, as well as the shareholders, for their pride, courage and faith in giving Longview another bank building that would be a credit to any city in the State, and assure them their venture will pay handsome dividends, not only in monetary terms, but in community achievement—because what they have done will encourage others to invest in the future of this city.

We also extend compliments and best wishes to Forest, his vice presidents, Charles Love and L. E. Adkins; his cashier and assistant vice president, W. E. Pritchett and Harold Hatch; and to his directors, O. N. Pederson of Kilgore, James T. Ogg of Gladewater, Bill Brewer, J. R. Dunaway, Fred Erisman, R. E. Darby, Ben C. Cook and A. W. Langston, all of Longview.

With the opening of this modern and attractive banking facility, Longview has reached another milestone in its accelerated march of progress.

Universities and Politicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the great statesmen of the Western Hemisphere in all our time has been Dr. Alberto Lleras-Camarago, former President of Colombia. Dr. Lleras-Camarago has recently been a member of the Harvard faculty for a term. On commencement day, June 11, 1964, at Harvard, Dr. Lleras-Camarago delivered a very significant address entitled "The Universities and the Politicians," which I commend to my colleagues and those who shall read this record as an able and thought-provoking address:

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE POLITICIANS

Two years ago, I was invited by Harvard University to teach during this spring term, which is now drawing to a close. The invitation gratified me—almost as much as it surprised me. For it is common knowledge that I lack the academic background one ought to have in order to be a professor. Furthermore, I was then the incumbent of an office in my country—which has seldom been viewed as much of an asset for teaching. I therefore attributed your invitation to the fact that Harvard's faculty in those days was being systematically and massively depleted so that it could enrich the intellectual climate of Washington. Surely, I would not be likely to receive such a bid these days. Several of the experts on Latin American affairs who migrated to Washington in the halcyon days of the New Frontier have already returned to the campus. Others may soon be back. Thus, both Harvard and Washington are restoring normal relations—business as usual. In such a situation of normalcy, my opportunities to discuss at Harvard some of the mainsprings of public policy in Latin America are rapidly vanishing.

Normalcy, then, is the situation in which two communities live separate lives—both dynamic and concerned with the same problems. One is armed with the evidence accumulated in painstaking and imaginatively conducted research in the laboratory of social science; the other is equipped with a capacity to tackle any problem fearlessly and unburdened by the weight of too much knowledge or imagination. From time to time, these two communities sign a treaty of cooperation which goes under the more sober title of "contract." This happens when a government faces a problem of such complexity and urgency that it dares not attempt to solve it without knowing fairly precisely what it is all about.

In England, for example, a royal commission is set up every year packed with chaps from Oxford and Cambridge, the red-brick universities and the technical institutions, and one or two government people thrown in as witnesses—and they all then work on the problem of finding out what ought to be done. Sometimes this sort of thing is merely a technique of using academic trappings to postpone urgently needed solutions. At any rate, there is a need for such occasional contact between the two communities—if only to reassure people that everything is going to come out all right in the end. But the contact does not go very deep. In reality, universities resent all forms of interference, including appeals for help from hard-pressed governments. And people on the government side look upon academicians as interlopers even when the invasion is only for a brief spell.

By why? Is the politician in fact—as he seems to believe—such a specialist in a world of untold subtleties—a world where academicians and eggheads in general have no right to tread? Or is he—as viewed from academy—merely a master at mouthing platitudes and evading the hard core of issues? These and many other questions are manifestations of the never-ending cold war between the two communities—a conflict that sharpens with every border incident. The answer to these questions lies in the practical performance.

In highly developed countries, the politician is no longer an individual or a personality—he is an organization. He has at his disposal a staff of people who supply him with ideas, well-turned phrases, slogans—experts also known as wordsmiths. Other specialists study likely popular reactions, local and regional characteristics, and all the other data that must be fed into the computer. All this—so that this complex piece of machinery may produce a puny piece of oratory or one of those innocuous, lifeless statements which are guaranteed not to offend anyone. If the universities are content with their role as data suppliers for this computer, then the dangerous dichotomy between intelligence and political technique will disappear, at least in the highly developed countries. For in the underdeveloped nations, the old system that Caesar employed is still in use—the system under which he and he alone in the pauses between campaigns, wrote his commentaries and his speeches * * * running the risk not merely of blundering but of getting stabbed to death by his most faithful friends. This system is still in use in our countries because we do not have an efficient bureaucracy—nor do we have the money to pay the experts well. What is more, these primitive peoples believe, for example, that if a public official does not write his own speeches, he somehow is seeking to deceive his listeners. In fact, there are some countries, like my own, where Members of Congress are expressly forbidden to read prepared speeches or to lean heavily on a sheaf of notes. The intent behind this rule is to give full rein to improvisation, to permit errors to spill out with complete spontaneity, and thus to let the speaker's overpowering ignorance emerge in full dimension.

What is the sensible and intelligent approach between these two extremes? Perhaps the good old middle course is best. That seems to be the way the general public feels about it—even in the industrial and overorganized countries, when politicians take the trouble, on television or at "live" rallies, to avoid giving the impression that they are reading from a written text. Why all this effort? Is it a sign of incompetence not to say anything that has not been carefully thought out, studied, written, and read over several times before it is finally delivered? Might it not be instead a manifestation of the highest respect and consideration for the listeners?

On the other side, we have the improviser, who pounces on a defenseless public with speeches on serious matters and who relies merely on his short memory and on the limited grasp that any bewildered little man can have of this most complicated of worlds. This approach, it seems to me, reflects disrespect for the public.

These seemingly not very significant issues are part of the basic problem bedeviling relations between the academic and political worlds. This country's universities have stored up a vast fund of knowledge and—yes, of wisdom—on all the problems of government and public policy. Every time a decisionmaker in a position of responsibility improvises, this precious resource goes unused, and the Nation is the loser.

But there are no easy solutions for this problem, which arose way back in Greek antiquity and is a subject of sharp controversy in Plato's Republic. Should the politician be a philosopher, or should he simply be an expert in handling the petty problems of his public relations—the relations between himself and his constituency? Which approach is more in keeping with the interests of a republic and of a democratic society?

The philosophers have the disturbing tendency of looking down on the great mass of people, and particularly on the majorities, as misguided bumblers. They believe that this has been mankind's course since the beginning of history. On the other hand, there are those who feel that the practical solution to the problems of a democracy is for the elected representative of the people not to overstrain his intellect, not to argue with the majority view even though he may think it absurd; in short, to act as a mailbox for the opinions of his constituents without any pretense at leadership. In such a situation, the university clearly has no role. The most it can do is let off steam—like those who send letters to the editor, spiced with highbrowed humor and sarcasm and deploring the stupidity of the masses.

It looks as though this great conflict will not be resolved in this century, least of all here and now. In the overly lengthy cold war between the intelligentsia and the government, we occasionally can glimpse slight tokens of good will. At other times, as during the Kennedy and Roosevelt administrations, there are all-too-fleeting periods of unconditional surrender. Another such token is the award of distinctive degrees in science and other academic disciplines on people who conspicuously do not deserve such honors—and who receive them merely because they have spent many years working in the jungle of politics. In doing this, the university most emphatically is not surrendering, and the war can continue unabated and without embarrassment to anyone.

But someone like me must forever feel honored, grateful, and—disarmed.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following interview given by the Honorable James A. Farley, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and former Postmaster General of the United States to Raymond Daniell of the New York Times, as it appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, July 17, 1964:

FARLEY SAYS GOP WILL GET BIG VOTE—BUT HE EXPECTS GOLDWATER TO CARRY FEW STATES

(By Raymond Daniell)

James A. Farley said yesterday that "no other Republican could run any stronger" against President Johnson than Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

He added, however, that while he thought the Arizona Senator probably would pile up a substantial popular vote, he doubted that Mr. GOLDWATER would carry many more States than the six held by former President Herbert Hoover against the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

Such a defeat, Mr. Farley said, would not wreck the Republican Party. He predicted that in such an event the GOP would start rebuilding as the Democrats did after their disastrous defeat of 1928, when the late Governor Alfred E. Smith was the Democratic candidate.

"Al Smith lost all but 8 of the 48 States in 1928, but 4 years later Mr. Roosevelt won the greatest victory in history until that time," said Mr. Farley, who managed Mr. Roosevelt's nomination campaign in 1932 and was his election campaign manager then and in 1936.

Mr. Farley made known his views in an interview in his Madison Avenue office, whose walls are covered with photographic mementos of his political past. The interview was a combination of prophecies for the future and reminiscences of earlier campaigns.

STILL HALE AND FRIENDLY

The former Postmaster General, now in his 76th year and chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., is still hale and friendly, and he still has an infallible memory for names and for the chronology of events.

Behind him in his office is a large picture of President Roosevelt, the man he used to call "the Chief," and on another wall is a color photograph of the late President Kennedy.

He throws out constant reminders that he is out of politics, but it is still his major interest, and he makes it clear that he is happy to leave unfinished business on his desk to chat of old battles and victories.

TO ATTEND 11TH CONVENTION

When the Democratic National Convention opens in Atlantic City August 24, Mr. Farley—for the 11th consecutive time—will be a member of the New York State delegation. No other living Democrat, he believes, can match this record. The first he attended was the historic convention of 1924, which lasted through more than 100 rollcalls in the stifling heat of the old Madison Square Garden.

Mr. Farley, who has had experience in outmaneuvering a movement designed to stop a leading candidate, said there had been no chance to halt the Goldwater forces after the California primary, which cemented his strength and showed that Governor Rockefeller couldn't be nominated.

"No man ever got that close and lost the nomination," Mr. Farley said. "If Rockefeller had won then there might have been a stalemate and there might have been a chance for Nixon.

"If Scranton had made up his mind earlier and declared his intentions at the same time as Governor Rockefeller, with strong Eisenhower support, it might have been possible for him to win the nomination. There's no doubt of Eisenhower's influence, but after California it was too late."

SIMILAR TO 1932

By that time, Mr. Farley declared, Senator GOLDWATER had enough delegates lined up to overcome any movement to stop him. His situation when the convention opened was similar, he said, to Mr. Roosevelt's at Chicago in 1932.

The main difference, Mr. Farley said, is that Senator GOLDWATER did most of the lining up of delegates himself, while Mr. Roosevelt left that task to Mr. Farley. Both candidates, he contended, entered the convention battle with a commanding and unshakable lead.

"The stop-Roosevelt movement never really got underway because Jack Garner had let it be known that he didn't want to see a repetition of the 1924 convention and said that in his judgment if Roosevelt showed a majority he should be the nominee."

Mr. Farley said he believed that the wounds inflicted upon each other by opposing candidates at San Francisco would soon be healed. Also, he said, self-interest will impel candidates for lesser offices than the Presidency to get out the maximum Republican vote in Northern and border States.

"On the whole," Mr. Farley said, "I think it is a good thing for the Republican Party and the country to have the issue so clearly drawn. There is no doubt where GOLDWATER stands on all important issues. The attitude of President Johnson is equally well known. People should have no trouble in making up their minds."

Bureaucratic Bungling in HHFA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House an experience I have had in corresponding with the Housing and Home Finance Agency—an experience that indicates some of the bureaucratic inefficiency and dilatory techniques that need to be corrected in many agencies of the Federal Government.

On April 16, 1964, the Community Facilities Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency notified a mayor in a town in my district that the accelerated public works application filed by that city would be held for future consideration should additional funds become available. In order to confirm the status of this application, the mayor wrote to Mr. Edward H. Baxter, acting regional director of community facilities in Atlanta, Ga. I, too, wrote to Mr. Baxter on June 29, merely requesting a copy of his reply to the mayor so that I would know the status of this particular project.

My request to Mr. Baxter was answered on July 7 by Mr. McClellan Ratchford, regional administrator, who advised me that my letter had been forwarded to the Agency's congressional liaison officer, Mr. Charles M. Smith, for attention and reply. It was not until July 16—17 days after my original letter was sent—that Mr. Smith sent his answer: On July 1, Mr. Baxter in Atlanta notified the mayor that the application was still current.

There is no excuse for making a chain letter out of a simple written request to the Atlanta regional office where the entire matter could have and should have been handled accurately and without delay.

This example of bureaucratic bungling in the Housing and Home Finance Agency wastes manpower, is costly to the taxpayers, and unnecessarily delays the transmission of information to Members of Congress.

Happily, Mr. Speaker, all Federal agencies are not hampered by inefficient procedures which permeate the HHFA in its central office.

Political Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on May 20, the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, at the seventh annual Loeb Awards luncheon in New York, made a very able address entitled "Political Economy—The Need for a New Look." I believe my colleagues and those who read this record will profit by this address and I commend it to all:

POLITICAL ECONOMY—THE NEED FOR A NEW LOOK

Last year about this time a group of young men working toward the doctoral degree in political science came to visit with me in the U.S. Treasury. The purpose of their visit was to discuss the administration's plans for getting the tax bill passed. I launched into an enthusiastic analysis of the bill and described its potential impact on the Nation. I told them what we hoped to achieve with this legislation in the areas of employment and investment, its effect on fiscal policy, and finally how it fitted into our continuing battle with balance-of-payments problems.

When I got to balance of payments, one of the group interrupted to say that he and his colleagues were having difficulties understanding my arguments because they had no background in economics, and would I please confine myself to a description of the political and legislative devices we planned to employ with the Congress.

I must say I was outraged at this suggestion—for no one can work an $11 billion tax cut through the Congress of the United States by political or legislative chicanery. Admittedly, we in the Treasury and the legislative people in the White House had

our plans and techniques, but they were relatively uncomplicated and singularly lacking in drama. They consisted primarily of methods of mobilizing the support then latent in the labor movement, in the industrial and financial communities, and in academic circles—and then translating this support into votes in the Congress. The translation process involved a slow, methodical discussion of the issues with virtually every Member of Congress. Of course, the powerful support of two Presidents, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, was also indispensable.

None of this detracts, however, from the fundamental premise that it was not stratagems but rather the solid intellectual argument which functioned as our most powerful weapon.

To turn the coin slightly, my experience has indicated that economists generally show no more perception with regard to the legislative process than did the visiting political science students. Time and time again over the past 5 years in the Congress and in the Treasury, I have met with groups of economists who seemed to delight in advancing ideas that had absolutely no basis in political reality.

I would certainly not deny either to the political scientist or to the economist the privilege of exploring freely every aspect of his subject matter. Pure research in these disciplines is at least as valuable as in the physical sciences. But I do suggest that both studies—political science and economics—seem to be out of touch with the working politicians.

In developing my theme today, I plan to pick and chose from the storehouse of economic history. Many of my comments may prove debatable. Perhaps some of you will even find my treatment of this history a bit cavalier, but then imagine for a moment what history will do to us.

In any event, I want to focus your attention on what I deem to be an important current problem, and to suggest one part of a possible solution.

Basically, I want to ask: "What happened to the study of politicay economy?" From the early 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century—a span of about 200 years—there was a study known as political economy. What has happened to it?

A simple answer is that this study was born to fulfill the need of the times and died when the need ceased to exist. I think this answer is too pat. In my own opinion, the need has continued to exist, but it has been sorely neglected.

This seems to me a particularly appropriate subject to discuss with you. For example, I do not see how complicated financial matters can be presented intelligently to readers without an awareness of the political trends that are running in this Nation and in the world. Conversely, I cannot see how your colleagues who write of politics can do so intelligently without an awareness of economic trends and developments.

In this context, let us take a brief look at relevant history and the subject of political economy.

The end of the Middle Ages in Europe brought about new social, economic, and political states replacing the old feudal-ecclesiastical political orders. The resulting problems, economic and political, were new and solutions were sought by many.

Mercantilism flourished and was exemplified in countless writings and in the restrictive and regulative policies of statesmen such as Colbert of France.

The doctrine of laissez faire arose naturally as a protest against the excessive regulation of commerce by Government action. Adam Smith and his contemporaries and followers are to be credited with their attempt to see and analyze a national economy as a whole. In doing so, they asked what kinds of governmental policies would best promote national wealth and prosperity. Their answers reinforced the fundamental principles of the doctrine of laissez faire, and turned this economic doctrine into a political slogan: "That government is best which governs least." The political economists made themselves felt in the world of practical affairs and, indeed, Adam Smith and his followers had a profound influence in almost every part of the Western World.

With the activities of government curtailed and with the general acceptance of the concept that economic history would be written in a free market by competing entrepreneurs, I suppose it was only logical that the study of political economy would divide into the separate studies of political science and economics. After all, if government had little place in economic decisions and economic decisions little place in government, what profit could there be in the study of political economy?

By 1890, Adam Smith and the world as he saw it had long since vanished into the shadowing past. His world consisted of vast underdeveloped areas of the North and South American Continents, Australia, and New Zealand, and a European civilization in the early phases of the industrial revolution. By the end of the 19th century, these areas were settled and the liberating forces of the industrial revolution had nearly spent themselves. Though the problems of politics and economics were—and continue to be—entangled, a sizable contingent of economists withdrew intellectually from interest in the broader aspects of their subject matter. By the 20th century, the term "economics" came into general use replacing the older political economy, the change of name reflecting changes in the discipline itself, which had become subdivided into a number of specialties.

To me, this withdrawal and the division of the study of political economy was most unfortunate and perhaps we are still paying the price.

It took the terrible depression of the 1930's to bring home forcibly the fact that national wealth and prosperity are not the automatic results of that government which governs least.

Our Government was forced to make many economic decisions—considered startling innovations by many. But you and I know there was nothing particularly novel about any of the economic decisions of the 1930's. They had all been the subject of numerous economic studies for years. It took a cataclysm to make them a political reality.

To move on into our own times, I can note that Douglas Dillon is the first Secretary of the Treasury to point out that on occasion good fiscal policy requires the temporary acceptance of Federal deficits as a reasonable price to pay for economic growth and a tolerable level of unemployment. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson are the only two Presidents in the history of the United States to support a peacetime tax cut when the Federal budget is in a substantial deficit.

Lyndon B. Johnson is probably the only leader of a free government, in history, who has attempted to dedicate the energies of an entire nation to disprove the old iron law of Ricardo and Malthus that poverty is the perfectly natural corollary of a free enterprise system. All these economic decisions had been debated and rather generally accepted in the world of ideas years before the event. How, then, do we account for the timelag?

By contrast, 20 years after the detonation of the first atomic bomb, this Nation and a large part of the world—with the active participation of the atomic scientists—had come to the conclusion that some method of controlling the destructive potential of this discovery was essential. The result: A test ban treaty ratified by this Nation in 1963 and President Johnson's recent announcement of a cutback in the production of fissionable materials. Surely economics is no more difficult than the study of nuclear physics, yet the evidence strongly suggests that the physicists are in better communication with the politicians than are the economists.

The Nation is now facing a debate which involves the eventual eradication of poverty in this country. I agree with President Johnson that it is an attainable goal. Congress will soon be debating the annual foreign aid authorization and appropriations bills. I agree with Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson that the attempt to bring the undeveloped areas of the world up to some reasonable standard of living is feasible and well within the financial and technical competence of this Nation and our allies in the free world.

On the horizon we can see an array of problems that could confront this Nation in the next few years. To name a few, I would list our trade relations with the Common Market, the question of our peaceful trade with the Soviet bloc, the question of what to do about our Federal excise taxes, and—in my particular area—the entire question of what is an appropriate banking structure to meet the rapidly changing needs of the American economy. In the even more distant future, I would list as potential problems the impact of reduced defense expenditures and how to live with automation. This is only a partial list of problems, and some of them may simply go away. However, I believe a prudent man would agree that we will be forced to face some of them and attempt to find answers.

To meet our current and future problems will require the closest understanding and cooperation between economists and politicians. To be blunt, however, I think if we are to attack these problems with vigor and imagination it will take more than cooperation and understanding. It will take trained people. It will take people with the academic background, the intellectual capacity, and the political awareness to analyze the problems, devise the appropriate programs, and then muster the support in the Nation and votes in the Congress to make them a political reality. In my experience, this is a fairly rare combination of talents and experience.

The question that bothers me is "Where are these people coming from?" In the past they have been recruited from the financial community, from industry, from the labor movement, from the Federal Reserve System, from academic circles, and from the political arena. The record would indicate that the Nation has, on balance, been fortunate in its ability to acquire the right man for the right job at the right time. I know from personal experience that at times the recruiting process has not been easy.

I suggest to you that the time has come when this Nation should consider a more orderly method of developing a ready reserve of men and women, qualified in the intellectual disciplines and with the political exposure required to bridge any gap that may exist between economics and politics. The Employment Act of 1946 creating the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress was a useful and hopeful first step in closing the communication gap. But I believe it may be time to take another step.

I would like to see the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, of which I am Chairman, devote a substantial sum annually to supporting the training of a corps of men and women who would comprise a national financial reserve. At this point, let me stress most emphatically that I am not talking about another educational or executive development program. Rather I contemplate the creation of an extraordinary group which, by virtue of its training and background,

will be especially prepared to serve the Nation in areas of high national and international financial and economic policy.

I would like to see trained, at the graduate level, up to five people each year for a 4-year period, or so long as they showed promise. After the completion of their formal studies, these men and women would continue their training in the Federal Government for an additional 4 years. I envisage a program that would rotate them through our Corporation and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Treasury, the Council of Economic Advisers, the Federal Reserve System, the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of State, and appropriate congressional committees—to illustrate the scope of the training.

After the expiration of their 4-year terms of duty, these men and women would be subject to an additional call for a 4-year term of service during their lifetime at the request of the President of the United States. I do not expect, or even want, all of the people in the corps to remain with the Government. Some of them will return to the academic community, some will enter business or finance, some may prefer Government, some may serve in the labor movement, and, hopefully, some will develop into Democrats and others into Republicans. But this corps will be available as a ready reserve for any future President of either party who needs them.

I am under no illusion that my remarks today will precipitate a remarriage of the political scientists and the economists. Signs of even a mild flirtation between the disciplines are probably more than could be immediately expected. But I do believe that, at this juncture of our history, the Nation badly needs a reservoir of trained men and women who can move with assurance in the world of economic ideas and in the world of political reality while understanding the problems of both. It is for this reason that I am today suggesting that we consider the advisability of creating a national financial reserve.

East Texas and Tourism and Pittsburg Peach Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two editorials, "East Texas and Tourism" and "Pittsburg Peach Festival," which appeared in the Longview Daily News, June 25, 1964:

EAST TEXAS AND TOURISM

How does east Texas fare, in comparison with other sections of the State, in attracting tourists?

Where do Texas tourists come from—what States and regions?

Out-of-State visitors coming to Texas for travel and vacations have destinations that encompass all the State. Some areas, as may be expected, draw better than others.

The east Texas area, for instance, is the destination of 2.5 percent of Texas tourists.

While this may appear to be low, it is exactly the same percentage that is attracted by the Rio Grande Valley area.

East Texas rates above the northwest area of the State, which is the destination of 1.8 percent of visitors.

The Austin area draws 1.7 percent; Beaumont-Port Arthur, 1.4 percent; Waco, 1.4 percent; Amarillo, 1.1 percent; Odessa-Midland, 0.7 percent; Abilene, 0.6 percent; Lubbock, 0.6 percent.

The Big Bend area, which includes the famous Big Bend National Park, attracts 1.2 percent of the visitors.

Padre Island, the well-known Texas seashore which has been designated a national seashore area, draws 0.1 percent of visitors.

Some areas of Texas attract far more visitors than east Texas. The Dallas area leads the State with 15.8 percent, with the Houston-Pasadena area a close second with 14.1 percent.

The east Texas region's 2.5 percent compares with the Southwest area's 2.8 percent, Galveston's 3.9 percent, Corpus Christi's 3.9 percent.

El Paso ranks third in preference with 9.8 percent, while San Antonio is close behind with 9.6 percent, Fort Worth gets 4.6 percent, and Wichita Falls 4.1 percent.

The five largest metropolitan centers thus get more than half of the out-of-State visitors. The most popular nonmetropolitan destination was central Texas—extending from north of Dallas toward Austin and the hill country—attracted 7.2 percent of the visitors questioned.

The great diversity of Texas natural attractions—mountains, mesas, valleys, plains, streams, forests, beaches, lakes, deserts—means that tourists spread out all over the State in search of our infinite variety of pleasures.

Where do the tourists come from?

A surprising number come from adjoining States, attracted by the Texas vacation centers such as metropolitan cities, lakes, and streams.

More than 1,500,000 residents of Louisiana visited Texas last year—more than from any other State. Some 455,000 New Mexico residents visited Texas on vacation travels, while Oklahoma sent us 537,000 visitors and Arkansas supplied another 339,000 tourists for Texas.

In other words, people who know Texas travel and tourist attractions best also like them best and come often to enjoy them.

But two of the most distant States—both considered primary tourist areas in their own right—are among the leaders sending tourists to Texas. Of those visiting the Lone Star State, 13.2 percent were from California and 5.8 percent from Florida.

Every State in the Union, including Alaska and Hawaii, sent visitors to Texas last year. Even the lands of the maple leaf and the sombrero were represented. Nearly 200,000 visitors came from Canada and 58,000 Mexican nationals crossed the Rio Bravo for extended vacations.

Surprisingly, more than 105,000 visitors from foreign lands visited beauty spots in Texas.

The record 11,700,000 tourists who visited Texas last year and spent $532,200,000 in the State gave a real boost to the State's economy. More visitors are expected this year.

(Tomorrow in this column—How to influence tourists to visit your city and area.)

PITTSBURG PEACH FESTIVAL

A spirited triservice club luncheon at Pittsburg's swank new Town House Inn Thursday noon officially opened the second annual Camp County Peach Festival. This colorful and entertaining festival will run through Friday and Saturday and will close Sunday with an invitational archery tournament.

In the neighborly spirit of east Texans, Kiwanians, Lions, and Rotarians from many clubs in the area joined Pittsburg members of these clubs for the luncheon meeting where Dr. R. L. Johnson, cochairman of the festival presided.

Pittsburg and Camp County people are to be commended for the way in which they have expanded and improved the program of events for this second annual peach festival. There will be something of interest going on all day and each evening throughout the event.

Of particular interest to many will be the peach jelly, preserve, pie, and cobbler contest on Friday. Prizes of $220 are offered, but we venture that a taste of some of the delicacies to be displayed would be much more enjoyable than the prize money. This contest will be held at 10 a.m. Friday at Peach Festival Headquarters, 143 Quitman Street.

There will be a peach contest, with many of the northeast Texas area growers of fine peaches displaying some of the best peaches at 9 a.m. Saturday. There is a junior livestock show for Camp County entries. A pageant, a peach queen contest, sky divers show, water show, archery contests, are among the interesting events planned.

A downtown parade in Pittsburg Saturday will feature the peach queen and 19 other contestants who will represent neighboring cities and communities as queens. The Peach Queen's Ball will be held at 8 p.m. Saturday at festival headquarters. The Haywood Shows, consisting of amusement rides, concessions, and other shows, will be at the fairgrounds in Pittsburg City Park all day Saturday.

Started only last year, the Camp County Peach Festival at Pittsburg now appears certain to become one of the premier local and regional festivals in this great east Texas area. It is a worthy project and deserves full support of the people of the area.

We here in Longview extend our best wishes and hope that people from throughout the east Texas area will visit Pittsburg during the festival and help make it the success that it deserves to achieve.

Immigration Plank of GOP Deplored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times contains a most illuminating news item aptly describing the 1964 Republican platform's immigration plank just as it is, "innocuous to the point of being meaningless."

The highly responsible American Immigration and Citizenship Conference has recently asked a group of Republican leaders to repudiate the "discriminatory national origins quota system and other inequities that have such a serious effect on our relationships abroad." This citizens' conference is composed of religious, welfare, and labor organizations covering the entire spectrum of American political interests and is understandably concerned about the intolerable immigration laws currently on this Nation's lawbooks.

I am inserting this news article so that my colleagues may see for themselves how one objective group feels the Republican Party is closing its ears and its eyes to the needs of an oppressed world society.

IMMIGRATION PLANK OF GOP DEPLORED

About 35 religious, welfare, labor, and other organizations interested in immigration and refugee matters have sharply protested the immigration plank in the 1964 Republican platform as being "innocuous to the point of being meaningless," Religious News Service reports.

Representatives of the various groups, all members of the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, sent a statement to Republican leaders in San Francisco calling on them promptly to issue a forthright statement in support of an American immigration policy that would do away with the discriminatory national origins quota system and correct other inequities in our present law that have such a serious effect on our relationships abroad.

The statement was formulated after discussion of the platform plank during a meeting here of the executive committee of the conference, which was formed to promote change of U.S. immigration policy.

The platform plank, the statement said, "completely avoids the basic issues inherent in our present immigration policy and law."

In its platform, the GOP called for "immigration legislation seeking to reunite families and continuation of the 'fair share' refugee program."

At this point, I am also including in my remarks testimony I gave before the Immigration Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on on June 29. I implored the subcommittee to "rectify the injustice of the present immigration law" by enacting H.R. 7700. Our long-respected position of world leader is greatly diminished in the eyes of—for instance—the 104,537 Greeks who are backlogged on a quota list of 308.

Let us eliminate the McCarran-Walter Act from our code of law and then let us feel we are genuinely attempting to promote the concept of liberty and justice—for all.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD J. PATTEN ON JUNE 29, 1964, BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, URGING ADOPTION OF REVISED IMMIGRATION BILL

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcomittee; for 12½ years there has been a dark shadow cast upon the lawbooks of the U.S. Congress. It is a shadow which has harmed America and its prestige both at home and abroad. In a sense, it contradicts the myth of America's open "golden door." It rejects the "huddled masses, yearning to breathe free." It refutes our request for the "tired * * * poor * * * the homeless tempest-tos't." To the world's oppressed, the Statue of Liberty is a beacon and harbinger of New World freedom. In reality, though, the present immigration law mocks the worldwide dream of hope, justice, and opportunity.

Our unfair and unpopular immigration law discriminates against most nations of the world, weakening our position of world leadership and handing Moscow ready-made anti-West propaganda on a silver platter.

Under the existing law, known to many as the McCarran-Walter Act, heavy priority is given to the countries of Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany. Yet, there were 41,600 unused vacancies in the British quota for fiscal 1962.

On the other hand, the countries of India, China, Israel, Australia, New Zealand, and many others are allowed only 100 people per year. To people of these countries, "only in America" is a cruel fantasy.

Examine also the backlogs of other countries, where people are lined up on clogged waiting lists. Greece, with a quota of but 308, has a backlog of 104,537.

Other countries in southern and eastern Europe face similar obstacles. Italy's quota of 5,666 must somehow be split up to cover 265,773 prospective emigrants. There are 63,029 who wish to leave Poland and come here; yet only 6,488 are allowed a year. Yugoslavia has an allocation of 942, but has a backlog of 33,729. Hungary lists 11,999 hopeful Americans-to-be with an annual quota of only 865.

This situation is intolerable. I believe the best method of rectifying the injustice of the present immigration law is to enact H.R. 7700.

The measure, which embodies the recommendations of the late President Kennedy and those of President Johnson, would humanize the existing law and ameliorate the conditions for those who wish to gain permanent residence in America.

Let us briefly examine the administration proposal. It would not allow any great increase in total number of immigrants; rather, it would eliminate—over a period of 5 years—the system of national quotas, thereby helping those from countries with high backlogs. The $50 billion the United States spends on defense and the $3.5 billion used for foreign aid are negated, because other nations point to our discriminatory immigration law as evidence we are not sincere in practicing democracy.

Close relatives of American citizens and resident aliens, persons who have been on waiting lists for the longest period of time, and those who could benefit the United States because of special skills, would be given highest priority regardless of birthplace. Under the proposed measure, an Immigration Board would also be established to review naturalization policy and to recommend special use of unallocated quota numbers. No country would have more than 10 percent of the annual allocation. Under the present law, three nations hold almost two-thirds of all quota numbers.

The need for new legislation is demonstrated every day by the numerous private bills introduced into the hopper, by the frequent newspaper stories of families separated by the Iron and Immigration Curtains, by the letters each Representative receives every week of friends and relatives that not-so-recent immigrants have not seen for years. Earlier this month I testified before this subcommittee in behalf of Miss Rahel Chelico, of Highland Park, N.J.—just one of the many heartbreaking cases that confronts us so many times.

The late President Kennedy said in his immigration message to Congress, "Our investment in new citizens has always been a valuable source of our strength." I can do little more than echo these sentiments.

Nurse Training Act of 1964

SPEECH

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, anyone who has had the misfortune to be a patient in a hospital, including the best, during the past several years can testify personally to the acute and growing shortage of professional nurses in this country. It is a rare and critical case which today receives adequate professional nursing care, for, as the shortage has grown more and more serious, professional nurses have increasingly been assigned to supervisory duties and the nursing services which they were trained to provide have been left to often inexperienced and inadequately trained nurses' aids.

The committee report cites a number of impressive statistics to document the shortage of professional nurses. In some hospitals, for instance, the shortage is so severe that nursing aids provide as much as 80 percent of the direct nursing services, and in New York City over half the positions for professional nurses in the public hospitals were unfilled in 1961.

This is not a new situation, Mr. Speaker; many of us recognized the growing crisis as far back as the mid-1950's and publicly urged a program to encourage the training of more nurses and nursing educators. Legislation for this purpose has been pending in Congress for several years. The astonishing fact about this bill is the length of time it has taken to bring a proposed program to the floor of the House for action. In early 1961, the Surgeon General appointed a Consultant Group on Nursing to study the nursing needs of the country and recommend an appropriate role for the Federal Government in helping to meet these needs. Despite the urgency of the matter and the fact that a reporting date of later that year had been set, the study dragged on and it was not until December 1962, that the group reported. I recall the many inquiries I made of the Public Health Service about the progress of the study during this period only to be told on each occasion that, "It won't be much longer."

In February 1963 the President included recommendations based on the group's report in his message to Congress on the health needs of the country, at which time he announced he would send draft legislation to Congress. Yet, another full year elapsed before an administration bill was drafted and introduced. Throughout this period, of course, the nursing shortage was getting worse. Implementation of the Kerr-Mills law further strained the Nation's nursing resources, and the administration continued to press for enactment of health care for the elderly legislation—a measure which could be made nearly inoperative by the lack of nursing personnel to provide the services called for in the legislation.

Finally, in the latter half of 1964, we have a bill, a good bill which I strongly support. Nevertheless, it is a significant measure of the dimension of the nursing shortage that in 1962 the Surgeon General's Consultant Group determined it would not be feasible to recommend a goal of more than 130,000 additional nurses by 1970 even though they identified the need as being more than twice that number, 300,000. The present bill accepts the group's recommended goal of 130,000 nurses, but the committee has been frank to warn in its report that even if this goal is reached the country will remain seriously short of nurses in 1970.

In the face of this shortage—and undoubtedly contributing to it—the number of nursing schools awarding 3-year diplomas has steadily declined, from 1,-

134 in 1949 to 875 in 1962. The hospitals which operate most of these diploma schools have reported heavy deficits which they are forced to meet through higher charges to their patients, a not very happy arrangement especially in view of the already high costs of hospital care, and many have been forced to abandon their nursing schools as a result.

The pending bill, Mr. Speaker, will help to deal effectively with the nursing shortage in several of its aspects. The program of grants for construction of teaching facilities will help encourage the major expansion of such facilities which is necessary if the annual production of graduate nurses is to be increased from the present 30,000 to the projected 53,000.

The new program of project grants will help stimulate nursing schools to experiment with and develop new methods of training more nurses, in less teaching time and learning time, and with a resulting higher degree of technical and scientific competence.

Because of the heavy deficits incurred by hospitals which operate nursing schools, and because other provisions of this legislation will inevitably increase such operating losses, a new program in the bill will partially reimburse these institutions for costs arising from increased enrollments and from the presence of students receiving assistance under the bill.

Another provision of the bill will continue and expand the professional nurse traineeship program which, since 1956, has focused attention and support on the preparation of nurses in leadership positions—administrators, supervisors, and instructors—upon whom we must depend in large measure for the increased quantity and quality of professionally trained nursing personnel.

Perhaps the most significant part of the bill will establish a student loan program for prospective nursing students who need financial help in order to continue their educations past the high school level. This program, I believe, reaches the heart of the problem of too few nurses—the young women, and men, themselves who can become our future nurses, if they find the incentive, the opportunity and, where necessary, the financial assistance, to pursue this objective.

Finally, the bill will set up a National Advisory Council on Nurse Training, a step which will help assure expert guidance to the Surgeon General in establishing regulations and developing policies for the administration of this legislation.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that Congress can expedite enactment of this extremely important bill and that the Surgeon General can be prepared to implement it as soon as possible. We have lost too much time as it is in seeking to overcome the shortage of nurses. The demand for professionally competent nursing services is not now being filled, and we cannot bring the full benefits of our advanced medical-scientific discoveries to the people who need them until we remedy this critical deficit. This bill is a good, though belated, beginning.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRUCE ALGER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report for July 18, 1964:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

JULY 18, 1964.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The second most controversial section of the Civil Rights Act is title VII, dealing with the freedom of an employer to hire and fire. Last week we discussed title II, public accommodations. This week, I present the highlights of the FEPC section to acquaint employers with the problems which will now face them under the new law.

PART II—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

When the law becomes fully effective, it will be unlawful for any employer engaged in any business "affecting" interstate commerce who employs 25 or more workers, or any labor union with 25 or more members, or any employment agency to commit any of the following so-called unlawful employment practicies:

1. Failure to hire a job applicant on account of his race;
2. Refusal to hire a job applicant on account of his race;
3. Discharge of an employee on account of his race;
4. Discrimination in compensation against an employee on account of his race;
5. Discrimination in terms of employment against an employee on account of his race;
6. Discrimination in conditions of employment against an employee on account of his race;
7. Discrimination in privileges of employment against an employee on account of his race;
8. Limitation of employees on account of race in such a way as to tend to deprive an individual employee of employment opportunities (promotions) or otherwise adversely affect his employee status;
9. Segregation of employees on account of race in such a way as to tend to deprive an individual employee of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his employee status;
10. Classification of employees on account of race in such a way as to deprive an individual employee of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his employee status;
11. Discrimination against any job applicant or any employee who makes a charge under this title or assists or participates in an investigation or proceeding conducted pursuant to this title;
12. Publication of any notice or advertisement relating to employment which indicates "any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race * * *"; and
13. Discrimination on account of race against any individual in an apprenticeship program.

ENFORCEMENT

A worker can file a complaint with a new Federal agency known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC instead of FEPC). If, after investigation, the EEOC finds probable cause for the complaint, conciliation is attempted. If this fails (and there is no State FEPC law), the worker can file suit against the employer and the Attorney General can intervene as a party to help prosecute the case. However, if the Attorney General decides that a general "pattern or practice" of discrimination in employment exists, he may file suit agianst the employer in the name of the United States without waiting for conciliation efforts and even though the worker does not bring suit himself.

PENALTIES

If the judge rules against the employer, he will order him to hire, reinstate, or promote the worker. If the employer does not obey the court order, he can be punished by a $1,000 fine and/or a 6-month jail sentence for contempt of court and ordered to pay back wages. Penalties can also be imposed for failure to keep the records and make the periodic reports required by the EEOC.

CONSTITUTIONALITY

Allegedly, this new law is based on the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. However, coverage is not limited to industries "engaged in interstate commerce" but extends to all business enterprises "affecting interstate commerce." The Supreme Court has ruled that a farmer who produced 239 bushels of wheat, all of which was not sold in the market but consumed on the farm was "affecting" interstate commerce. The same was true of a local drugstore and a neighborhood bakery.

If the Supreme Court should sustain the constitutionality of this new law by applying the same definition of the reach of the interstate commerce clause, then the EEOC can and will assert complete jurisdiction over the hiring, firing, work conditions, and promotion policies of every restaurant, hotel, gas station, drug store, grocery store, manufacturer, bank, barber shop, funeral parlor, beauty salon, and other local retail, service, trade, and professional establishment in the Nation if it employs the statutory number of employees. In such case, there is no longer any such thing as interstate commerce.

Clearly, the authors of our Constitution never intended the interstate commerce clause to give the Central Government such blank check power to regulate, regiment, and control private enterprise in this country.

Employment of Youth in the Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been properly concerned about the employment opportunities of youth, especially youth who, unfortunately, have dropped out or who lack necessary employment skills. I have always believed that plain, old-fashioned work was honorable and good experience for young people.

Fieldwork on the farms of America would seem to be one of the most nearly perfect opportunities for young people—requires limited, easily learned skills; outdoors, little responsibility; ample work; satisfactory wages and working conditions; fits with school vacations.

I was pleased when most California growers agreed to cooperate fully with

youth and groups interested in promoting work opportunities for youth. Many experiments with youth employment on row crop farms have been tried.

The following is a report of Richard Johnsen, Jr., columnist for the Bataan News of Sacramento, Calif.:

THE FARMERS CORNER

(By Richard Johnsen, Jr., executive secretary, Agricultural Council of California)

EMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH

The harvest season for most of California's agricultural crops is rapidly drawing near and farmers throughout the State are seeking stable sources of workers for short periods of time to harvest what in most cases are highly perishable crops. The jobs generally don't last long, but the environment is good, the work is healthful and the wages are satisfactory. One of the most discouraging elements, from the worker's standpoint, is that the work is hard.

The shortage of qualified harvest workers for our farms has been greatly publicized during the past several years, and more particularly this year with the pending termination of Public Law 78, whereby Mexican braceros have been brought into California to work at the time of labor shortage. The California Department of Employment, too, has been concerned with the labor shortage facing farmers and they have intensified their recruitment efforts where possible. Of particular importance to our State is the new all-out effort of the department to secure young people of high school and college age to work in agriculture.

INCREASE IN WORKERS

In its latest bulletin, "Employment of Youth in Agriculture," the department of employment states its purpose, "to encourage this new trend toward increased use of youth as a supplemental work force for agriculture when adult domestics are in short supply." The use of vacation-idled youth can materially assist the farmers during the summer months. The booklet describes the social benefit to young people as it states: "Work for youth is good, builds that pride and reliability that comes from earning money. The local communities, State, and Nation all gain."

The California Department of Employment is to be congratulated on its youth employment record. In 1962, through the efforts of the department of employment, 7,557 youths worked for 786 agricultural employers, earning approximately $750,000. In 1963, 18,600 youths worked for 2,260 agricultural employers, earning approximately $2,246,000. This is indeed a measure of accomplishment and the department of employment is to be congratulated on its youth employment record as well as in its efforts to surpass these employment numbers and dollar figures during the vacation period of 1964.

The employment of young people on our farms causes many problems for the California farmer. There are greater restrictions imposed on youths concerning the types of work and the hours to be worked than there are on adult workers. More direct supervision is also required and, in many cases, more time is needed for the training of these young people. These problems should probably best be referred to as inconveniences, for they are not insurmountable. Most farmers are willing to put in the extra time and effort in preparing these young people for work, because their reward is in getting the crops harvested, which might not be possible without this labor source.

THE REAL PROBLEM

A truly serious problem, for which no answer as yet has been forthcoming, is the securing of adequate numbers of workers during the peak harvest seasons of September and October when the young people are back in school.

These experiments with youth have been partially successful from the point of view of the ambitious, conscientious youth. The experiments do not, and cannot, solve the problem of supplying adequate supplemental labor for the harvesting of perishable crops during the peak seasons.

Vote, and the Choice Is Yours—Don't Vote, and the Choice Is Theirs—Register, or You Have No Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the right to vote in free elections is the mark of a democratic society—a right which is denied to the citizens of many other nations. Yet millions of Americans each election year forego their right to vote.

Soon, however, our citizens will be reminded:

Vote * * * and the choice is yours. Don't vote * * * and the choice is theirs. Register * * * or you have no choice.

This is the reminder which the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council of America is bringing to the attention of the citizens of our Nation. It is an important message, urgently needed to arouse our people to the full use of their democratic rights.

CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS AIDING VOTERS

In my own city of Minneapolis the city council has recognized that an obstacle to increased voting is the difficulty in registering to vote. This year or city council will open special registration places at fire stations in each of the city's 13 wards. They will be open during the last 10 days before voter registration is closed for the primary election and again for the general election. This is the first time that the city council has provided these additional registration places before the primary election.

Minnesota citizens have to reregister if they have not voted in the last 4 years, or if they have moved since they last voted.

AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION HELPING

The American people are indebted to the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council of America for their efforts to enlarge the citizen role in our elections. The vigor of our democracy will be impaired if we do not strive at every election to get as many voters as possible to assume their full responsibilities as free American citizens.

VOTERS DETERMINE OWN FUTURE

The votes of millions of responsible citizens across the Nation next November 3 will determine the actions of government touching every citizen's life for the next 4 years—and, for that matter, scores of years in the future.

Future decisions of government will not be made by "happenstance," for our future is not determined by the stars in the heavens. Rather, as Shakespeare's Cassius counseled Brutus, "men at some time are masters of their fates."

A national election is certainly one time when men are unquestionably masters of their political fate. Who else are responsible for the decisions fo those who are elected to lead this country now and in the years ahead? In the words of the late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy:

Today, the implications of national policy necessarily make politicians of all of us. Today, every citizen regardless of his interest in politics "holds office" every one of us is in a position of responsibility; and, in the final ananlysis, the kind of government we get depends upon how we fulfill those responsibilties. We, the people, are the boss, and we will get the kind of political leadership, be it good or bad, that we demand and deserve.

EACH VOTE COUNTS

Some citizens may say, "Let us be practical. What effect will my one vote have on the outcome of an election when millions of votes are cast?"

In answer it can be said that although the effect of one vote appears to be small, it truly is not. Recall the story of that one piece of straw that broke the camel's back. It certainly was not just that one straw that brought the camel down; every one of the 999,000 other pieces of straw contributed equally to his fall. If we equate each piece of straw with one vote, the point becomes readily clear.

A FEW VOTES HAVE DETERMINED ELECTIONS

In 1916, the outcome of a presidential election was determined by less than one vote per precinct in a single State. In that year, one more vote cast in favor of Charles Evans Hughes in every precinct in the State of California would have given him the election and denied the Presidency to Woodrow Wilson. The margin was only 3,806 votes of a total of nearly 1 million cast in over 5,000 of the State's precincts.

In the election of 1948, President Truman carried the important States of California and Ohio by a margin of less than one vote per precinct and was thereby elected to a full term in the White House.

Again in 1960 the presidential election was determined by a margin of one-half of 1 percent in the same two key States.

In our own State of Minnesota the last election for Governor was determined by a margin of 91 votes out of a total of almost 1,240,000.

EVERY MEMBER SHOULD HELP

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that every Member of this House will heed the urging of Mr. Richard Scammon, chairman of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting, to help provide the constituents of the Member's district with information about the requirements for registration and voting. In this way we can aid the efforts of the Republican and Democratic Parties which are joining with the American Heritage Foundation and the Advertising Council of America as they work to chip away the apathy which is now so widespread.

Mississippi Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the three civil rights fighters, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney, are still missing. By now, all evidence implies that they were brutally murdered somewhere in Mississippi. Those of us who have followed the search for these three young men are bewildered and often disgusted and repulsed by the attitude of Mississippians and the tactics of their police.

We who believe in equal rights and opportunities for all, and who believe in a nation of law, are stunned by the treatment that these young people have received in Mississippi.

But who is guilty: the police? the people? or merely a few roughnecks? I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following two articles by William Bradford Huie, which appeared in the July 3 and 5, 1964, editions of the New York Herald Tribune. In them he tries to show the feeling that is prevalent among the whites of Mississippi as it relates to the lawlessness and the open defiance of all legal customs in that State.

The articles follow:

HUIE: BEHIND MURDER'S MASK

(By William Bradford Huie)

PHILADELPHIA, MISS.—For a hundred invading reporters, yesterday was getaway day in Mississippi. The last of us packed up and left. The hopeless search for the three missing civil rights volunteers—Andy Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney—went on, but the story was fizzling out. It no longer justified the telephone tolls, the rented cars, the chigger bites, and the fruitless waiting for the FBI to break down a conspirator, or for the Navy to find a body.

We left uneasily, feeling that we had lost and the roughnecks had won. A woman jeered at me: "You came here looking for another nigger's body you could bury up in Arlington. Well, yuh didn't find him, didja?"

An old man who had sat each day on the courthouse porch, hating me as I passed, said: "Now you nigger lovers can go back to New York and drink liquor with your three buddies who pulled this stunt for publicity to smear Mississippi with."

So we left bitterly, worried that we may be letting down three young Americans who, even if they were as "backward and misguided" as Ross Barnett says they were, were guilty only of trying to help somebody.

In this, my last report from here, I protest the official version of this story—the version so relentlessly repeated each day by the press associations, not as what some cop says but as established fact:

The youths, in a blue Ford station wagon, were arrested about 6 p.m. Sunday on the outskirts of Philadelphia for driving 65 miles an hour through a 30-mile zone. They were held in the county jail until 10:30 p.m., when they were fined $20 and released. They were last seen driving south toward Meridian on Highway 19.

None of this is true. I now know the approximate truth of what happened here. How do I know it? Did I see it? No, I didn't see it. I have never seen the wind either. But when I feel it blowing, and see leaves rustling, I know the wind is passing through. That's how I know this truth. For three decades I have been a professional gazer at the hate-filled eyes in the South. I qualify as an expert. I know a "nigger killer" and a "nigger lover killer" when I see one.

MARKED

On Sunday, June 21, the three youths drove 40 miles from Meridian into Neshoba County. They expected to make only one stop—in an all-Negro community where white roughnecks, including a cop, had burned down the Mount Zion Methodist Church because a freedom meeting had been held in it.

The youths knew that any other stop in Neshoba County, even in a filling station, would be dangerous. So before leaving Meridian they carefully filled their gasoline tank. They told their friends that if they had not returned by 4:30 p.m. to telephone the FBI. They knew that the station wagon was a marked car. For a month, the highway patrol had been broadcasting descriptions of it, including the tag number. Neshoba County cops had trailed the car and photographed it. The Neshoba County roughnecks blamed the car for the freedom meeting at Mount Zion.

When they left the Mount Zion area just before 3 p.m., the youths decided to return to Meridian by way of Philadelphia. This was longer than the back country route, but it was safer because it was heavily traveled.

Then misfortune struck. Either engine trouble or a puncture compelled the youths to stop the marked car in enemy territory. They stopped in front of the Veterans of Foreign Wars clubhouse, on Highway 16—1.2 miles east of the Philadelphia corporate limit. They were captured by the enemy—by a deputy sheriff who, by radio, summoned two highway patrolmen "to help him carry the prisoners to jail."

Note this: The driver of the station wagon, James Chaney, a Negro, was said to be charged only with speeding, a misdemeanor. By law in Mississippi, a man charged with speeding is carried straightaway before a justice of the peace; he telephones his friends, if he needs bond money; he posts bond; he then goes on his way. But the three officers treated these three youths as if they were bank robbers. None of the youths was allowed to touch the steering wheel of the station wagon. A patrolman drove the station wagon, and the three-car caravan proceeded to the Neshoba County jail as though the State of Mississippi had just captured public enemies Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Not once thereafter was one of these youths allowed to touch the steering wheel of that station wagon, which was subsequently found burned.

And here's the rub. Here's why the people of Mississippi and Neshoba County and Philadelphia stand with dirty hands before the world: For a period of from 5 to 7 hours, those three youths were held incommunicado. In no country of the free world is a man who is charged only with speeding denied the freedom of the telephone.

The sheriff's deputy told the press: "In all that time they were nice to me and I was nice to them."

TERROR

Was the deputy nice enough to allow one of them to use the telephone? The three were terrified. All that they had learned and been taught to fear had come to pass. They didn't have an effective friend within 40 miles. They were helpless, in the hands of men who hated them. Every time they glanced through bars and saw darkness grow deeper their terror intensified. They had been trained to be afraid of the dark in Mississippi. If there is one certainty in the whole tragedy it is this: Those three youths pleaded with their captors for the right to telephone.

What manner of cop or jailer could have denied a 21-year-old boy, charged only with speeding, the right to telephone a friend?

This is what discredits every official account of this case.

The final official word is that at 10:30 p.m. the youths walked free out of the jail, got in their car, and disappeared in the direction of Meridian.

This, too, is not true. Without first telephoning to some friend, they would never have left that jail willingly at 10:30 p.m. They would have insisted on staying there until daylight. And if they had been forced out of the jail and denied use of the jail telephone, their first act would have been to grab one of the several public telephones within two blocks of the jail.

There is only one reasonable manner in which they could have left that jail: They were dragged out. And, later their bodies were disposed of by men who had been considering the problem for 3 weeks.

IDEAL

Mississippi is ideal for disposing of bodies. Neshoba County and the counties adjoining it have lost 40,000 population in the last 20 years, most of it rural. This means that in the back country there are hundreds of crumbling, abandoned wells, either under or near crumbling houses or barns. If a man puts his mind to it, three bodies are no real problem.

This, I believe is the truth. The Federal agents may yet sweat it out of a mobster, or they may not. If the FBI fails, many Mississippians will go on believing it was a plot to smear them.

I'll go on believing that four or five roughnecks murdered three youths who were armed only with words and ideas.

HUIE: LIKE NAZIS, THE STATE IS GUILTY

(By William Bradford Huie)

PHILADELPHIA, MISS.—On Independence Day the heart of the matter here is this: The State of Mississippi stands guilty of murdering three innocent, young, civil rights workers.

When thugs murder despite the best efforts of police, only the thugs may be guilty. But when thugs murder with the permission or assistance of police, then the State is guilty.

This was Nazi Germany's position at Auschwitz; and it is Mississippi's position in the lynching of James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman.

For 2 weeks here, the citizens have complained to the invading press: "Our community is being blamed for what only a few thugs have done. Dallas didn't murder Kennedy. Only Oswald was the murderer. New York is not called guilty of the elevator murders. So why should Mississippi be called guilty in a similar situation?"

Here is the answer.

Dallas police didn't permit Oswald to murder President Kennedy. Or assist him. And after the murder, Dallas citizens didn't minimize the crime and jeer at the efforts of the FBI to apprehend the criminal. A Dallas policeman died in a cooperating effort.

Similarly in New York. There is no evidence that New York police abetted the elevator murderers. No New York citizens have charged that the elevator victims were "asking for it."

SITUATIONS DISSIMILAR

So the situation in Mississippi is not similar. Murder was done here because three youths had held a freedom meeting in a Methodist church in a rural, all-Negro farm community in Neshoba County, 8 miles east of Philadelphia.

The three youths had staged no demonstrations—no sit-ins, wade-ins, or kneel-ins—and they planned to stage none. Their sole threat to Philadelphia, and Neshoba

County and Mississippi, was their plan to hold a freedom school for Negro farmowners and try to help them qualify to vote.

To counter this threat, citizens of Neshoba County beat up some of the farm Negroes, burned down their church, and State, county and city police, armed with the descriptions of the youths and their car, were "laying for" them, waiting to "deal" with them when they could be caught.

The three were "caught" on Sunday afternoon, June 21, when a puncture or engine trouble forced them to stop their blue Ford station wagon about a mile east of Philadelphia on Highway 16 in front of the Veterans of Foreign Wars clubhouse. They were caught by a Neshoba County deputy sheriff who charged the driver, James Chaney, with speeding; with driving 65 miles an hour through a 30-mile zone.

The deputy's first act was radio the Mississippi State Highway Patrol. Why? His answer: "To get their assistance in carrying the three to jail." The county car and the Ford station wagon stood on the roadside until the State car arrived with two patrolmen. Then the three cars, each driven by a policeman, proceeded to jail.

POLICE ACTION QUESTIONED

Why were the three taken to jail? Nowhere in America is a citizen charged only with the misdemeanor of speeding put to jail. He is taken before a justice of the peace where he posts bond or pays his fine. He is free to telephone any friend or counsel. Even under Mississippi law, he cannot be fingerprinted or subjected to any other delay or hindrance.

But these youths were not treated that way. They were jailed. How could the two who were not driving be jailed? Only the driver of a car is guilty of speeding; never the passengers. Here is the Mississippi answer, given to me by Neshoba County Sheriff Lawrence F. Rainey: "Schwerner and Goodman were held on suspicion of arson." The sheriff explained that the two were suspected of having set fire to the church.

But note this. Mr. Goodman had been in Mississippi less than 24 hours. When the church was burned, all three youths, along with the Ford station wagon, had been in Oxford, Ohio, attending a nationally publicized training school backed by the National Council of Churches. This fact was known to the Mississippi Highway Patrol. The two highway patrolmen participating in the arrest were in radio communication with State patrol headquarters in Jackson.

POLICE STAND INDICTED

So the jailing of the three youths was illegal, nothing more than a kidnaping. And both county and State police were party to it.

The arrest and jailing indicts the police, but what followed is much heavier indictment. By their own admission, the police and jailers held these youths incommunicado until 10:30 p.m. By what right? In no free society is a man charged only with a misdemeanor, as was the driver, denied the right to telephone for advice or assistance.

These three youths were terrified. Far from trusting their captors, the youths were in deadly fear of the police. No one doubts or disputes that they pleaded constantly, during all the hours they lived in custody, for the right to call for assistance. That they were denied this right indicts Mississippi before the world.

Efforts of the State police to disclaim responsibility have been noted. The spokesman for the highway patrol has insisted to the press that the two patrolmen who aided in the arrest and jailing "left the jail almost immediately thereafter."

The implication here is not true. The State headquarters of the highway patrol, some of the highest officials of Mississippi, knew exactly what was happening at the Neshoba County jail. These officials knew that the youths were being held incommunicado, and the officials knew that the charge of "suspicion of arson" against Mr. Schwerner and Mr. Goodman was invalid.

The city police of Philadelphia were carefully implicated by the county sheriff's office. The city has six policemen. Two were on duty while the youths were being held. Sheriff Rainey told me that at least one of these city policemen knew that the youths were being held and witnessed their departure from Philadelphia.

SKILL IN SETTING FIRES

The sheriff's deputy who arrested the three was, until last January, the fire chief of Philadelphia. The city hires four full-time firemen. There is evidence that at least two of these firemen knew that the youths were in the county jail where they had been lodged by the former fire chief.

One of the Negro farmers near the burned church told me that he had been questioned by a man he recognized as a "fireman from Philadelphia." The burned church gives evidence of having been set afire by an expert. The church burned rapidly and furiously, with heat so intense that it scorched trees far away from it. Apparently something like napalm was thrown inside it.

The burned station wagon gives evidence of the same skill and intense heat.

So there is no lack of evidence of official responsibility. The city of Philadelphia was involved, as was Neshoba County, and the State of Mississippi.

The three youths were caught. They were jailed on insufficient charges. They were held incommunicado for hours, in defiance of both law and humanity. They were taken from the jail without ever being given a chance to reach a public telephone.

The safest place in any community of freemen must be its jail. The morality of the State can never be higher than the morality of its police action.

This is why Philadelphia, Miss., is not another Dallas, or another New York.

The crime committed here is a State crime, and the blood of three innocent youths is on the hands of every citizen of Mississippi.

An Address by the Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, at the 165th Annual Commencement of Georgetown University, June 8, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on June 8 of this year, Georgetown University held its 165th commencement exercises. The principal speaker on that occasion was the Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps. Mr. Shriver's address, I think, carries a meaningful message for all of us and therefore I wish to insert it in the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF SARGENT SHRIVER AT THE 165TH ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1964

GEORGETOWN PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS

It is embarrassing for me today to confess that I remember only one quotation from St. Ignatius. Fortunately it is only one word: "magis"—"more."

The watchword of the Jesuit order has always been: Ad majorem Dei gloriam. But Ignatius was a man of action. His personal watchword was magis: More. More work, more sacrifice, more men to serve the greater glory of God.

And that is my message now. We need more.

We need more men and women schooled in the tradition of Ignatius and Xavier. We need more like the 238 Peace Corps volunteers now serving overseas who came from Jesuit schools. And we need more like the 38 Peace Corps volunteers who studied at Georgetown, who are serving in towns and villages of 23 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. I have seen them work. I can testify to their spirit and dedication.

As a matter of fact these robes I am wearing here today are evidence of their dedication. These were given to me at Chulalongkorn University by the Foreign Minister of Thailand. He was awarding me an honorary degree to honor the Peace Corps and the 265 volunteers serving in Thailand. Three of those volunteers studied here at Georgetown. In his speech commending them, the Foreign Minister called the Peace Corps "the most powerful idea in recent times."

Let me tell you about 8 other volunteers—8 of the first 300 volunteers for Ethiopia who took their Peace Corps training here at Georgetown. I last saw them in the little provincial town of Debra Marcos, near the blue Nile, in October 1962. We sent men only to that post because it was considered the most difficult, most isolated one in Ethiopia. I will never forget the rocky ride from the strip of grass on which we landed to their school—the cobblestones on the main street were put in with the smooth side down and the pointed, spike side up. I wondered how these eight men, thrown together like that, without any American women around, would get along.

SERVICE BRINGS NEW SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Here is what one of them, Dick Lipez, wrote recently. "Through some unimaginable fluke we got along. We were not only friends, but we stimulated one another intellectually in a way that perhaps no eight people in the same house ever have. Last year, I did more reading and more talking about what I had read than during any 3 years of college. We talked politics endlessly, we talked about history, travel, sports, women, literature." The liberals, he said, became more conservative and the conservatives more liberal. "If anyone in Lock Haven, Pa.," Dick wrote, "discovered four or five men sitting around a Coleman lantern in the middle of the night reading and talking about poetry, the scandal would shake the town from the first island bridge to crow's diner."

Those eight men who went from this campus in 1962 to Debra Marcos, Ethiopia, are now coming home. One of them, a white boy from Alabama, has volunteered to teach in an all-Negro slum high school in Washington, D.C. Another will work for the Peace Corps. All of them are interested in the war on poverty. Why is this?

Dick Lipez in his letter tried to explain why they were coming home with a new sense of responsibility. "Peace Corps life tempers one by its sheer and irresistible intensity," he says. They look forward to coming home, but "missing," he says, will be "the adventure, the thrill that none of us will ever be able to live again with such intensity, such freedom. We had great responsibilities—to our students, to one another, to ourselves—and in meeting these responsibilities we found a kind of freedom greater than any we could have imagined."

Soon Dick Lipez will be home, and so will 3,000 of our first volunteers. You will see how much they have learned. They have learned about the world—not in an abstract way, not in books, but in service—in service of the poor: the poor in education, the poor in health, the poor in spirit. They have learned how to serve. They have learned

responsibility. They are coming home feeling responsible for their own country. They now feel responsible for poverty in America.

My question today is, "Why should they? Why should you? Why should I?" President Johnson has made me responsible for doing something about poverty. But who is really responsible for poverty—who is responsible for the poor?

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR POVERTY?

Is Georgetown University responsible for the poor? Is it responsible even for the poor of the Nation's Capital—the community in which the university was born and has grown to international eminence? Its primary responsibility is surely to its students and to the educational process. Our academic gowns remind us of the high educational purposes of the university. Is it fair to ask it to distract itself from these noble purposes?

Is this faculty responsible for the poor? Surely, the task of educating young men and women should consume practically all its time and energy. Are the students of this university responsible? What time do they have to spare when they should devote themselves fully to their studies—to the academic excellence this Nation needs and this school must require?

Are the alumni responsible? You are about to become alumni. I am told that 40 percent of you will go straight to graduate school, 28 percent of you will enter the Armed Forces, and 32 percent of you will take jobs in business, in teaching, or in government. How responsible for the poor can you be while embarking on such commendable pursuits and professions? A lawyer's first responsibility is to his client, a doctor's is to his patient. These are high professional duties. Then what about the businessman? His duty is to make profits for his stockholders, his partners, his family. Even his duty to his alma mater, to a school like this, may strain his resources.

Who then is responsible for the poor? That leaves only the poor themselves. But they cannot all be responsible for their poverty. One-third of today's poor are children. Can anyone claim they came to be poor because they are lazy, shiftless, drunken, or profligate? They were born poor. And most of their parents were born into poverty. You will find millions of American children who represent the third or fourth generation of poverty in their families. We cannot hold these children responsible.

Many of the poor are Negroes. They are born with a legacy worse than mere poverty. They are born with the mark of slavery and discrimination—with skin that for five generations has shut doors to them. The old signs "Irish Not Wanted" are gone now, but the doors of many schools and many jobs and many neighborhoods are not yet open to someone whose skin is black. A Negro cannot be held responsible for the color that God gave him. Who, then, is responsible? Is anyone responsible? You can point to me and say President Johnson made you responsible. But to have you do that makes me feel like Lady Astor on the sinking ship *Titanic*. As the iceberg crashed through the ship's wall, she said, "I asked for ice, but this is ridiculous."

THE PITFALL OF IRRESPONSIBILITY

Poverty is like an iceberg. Although submerged, cold, and impersonal, it can crash into our lives. When a woman is attacked on a city street, when a gang holds up a subway car, when a bystander is killed in a riot, when little girls are bombed in a church, we suddenly feel one cutting edge of poverty.

Poverty is like an iceberg because if it chills us, it freezes our hearts, it makes us cold and impersonal. It is so frightening that we turn our eyes away from the human constituents of poverty, the people who are drowning in the sea of poverty—the men without jobs, the mothers without a man, or money, the children on the streets. These are the ones who feel the sharpest edge of poverty.

The worst news story of the year was about the murder of a woman in New York who could have been saved by onlookers. But not one of the 38 witnesses came to her aid, not one raised a hand, not one even uttered a cry or called the police until it was all over. No one was ready to go out into the night. No one felt responsible.

When we reach this pit, this bottom, there can be no way but up. This kind of irresponsibility is the great pitfall of our complex modern civilization. The way up and out is not easy. But if any graduating class should know the answer, if any university should teach it, it should be here. For out of the books you read, among the words you ponder, are these ancient ones. "For what does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul?"

What will it profit you or me, if we make all the money in the world, if we reach the height of our professions, even if we earn honorary degrees, but we find ourselves indifferent and our lives narrow? What will it profit this university, if after all its good education, it graduates its students into irresponsibility?

I wonder what kind of education the Good Samaritan had? I suspect that those who passed by that miserable man who had been thrown among robbers probably had college degrees. Certainly they were busy with their professions—too busy to take responsibility for someone who was dirty, half naked, and half dead?

We all raise shields against the poor. Then we say that poverty is invisible. What President Johnson is asking us to do is very simple, but very hard. He is asking us to lower these shields. He is confident that once we see what needs to be done, we will do it.

A PART FOR ALL IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

The President's Task Force for the War on Poverty is going to do its part. Are you going to do your part? Are you, who are graduating today going to graduate into responsibility? Are you who stay on to study and to teach in the years to come going to practice responsibility right here at Georgetown? Or are you going to turn your back on the hungry and the poor and the strangers on our streets here in Washington?

If you on the faculty tell your students that their only responsibility is to their academic studies, if you tell them to think of themselves solely as students, not as responsible citizens, then you are laying the pattern for a lifetime of irresponsibility. If today students are taught to use their books as shields, tomorrow they will find their professions or their family obligations just as effectively shields. That is what I mean by graduating as students into irresponsibility.

You might say that I am wrong here, that the student of today will join the Peace Corps tomorrow. I hope so—I have some applications handy. That is one way to put down your shields and serve your fellow man, full time, for a short period of your life. And when you come back home, I will try to recruit you for the war on poverty.

When we asked 230 of the first returned volunteers, 4 out of 5 said they were interested in the war on poverty. Over 30 percent said they were ready right away to volunteer for part-time, some even for full-time, service.

But do we need this period of service abroad to learn how to serve at home? If we do, then we are in serious trouble. Because the Peace Corps barely scratches the surface of our needs. Soon there will be 10,000 Peace Corps volunteers. But there are a half million college graduates this year alone. There are over 2 million college and university students in our land. If 10,000 are to learn responsibility in the Peace Corps, and 2 million are to practice the irresponsibility of their specialties, then we are in deep trouble. If we do not commit ourselves to waging the war on poverty, if you in our universities and student bodies and faculties do not commit yourselves to this, then the iceberg of poverty is going to bring real havoc to our cities, to our backdoors, yes, even to this university campus.

You of Georgetown have already taken a significant step in the right direction; that is, 300 of your students and faculty members have started on the road to responsibility. They volunteered to give some time each week to serve in 24 social action projects in this city.

CIVIC-MINDED STUDENTS LEARN COMPASSION

From an office under the staircase in Healy lobby, they go out to work in slum neighborhoods and schools. They go out to work with the children of the slums—those behind in school and those out of school and out of work. They do special tutoring, organize sports programs, assist in community organizations, serve in understaffed hospitals and settlement houses. They work Saturdays, on weekday afternoons, and throughout the summer vacation.

They are learning the hard way, but the real way, who the poor are, and what poverty means. For them statistics take on faces. The 60,000 faceless, functional illiterates of Washington have become people to them—boys and girls they are teaching to read. Poverty for them has become something personal.

Is this all a distraction from their true work as students? I do not think so. Far from subverting the educational process, this program, it seems to me, is helping to fulfill it. In accepting responsibility for poverty, and for the great social problems of our national life, these 300 Georgetown volunteers are pointing the way to a great new frontier in American education—the frontier of service. By serving in this way these men and women will not only be better Americans, they will be better doctors, better lawyers, better businessmen, better Foreign Service officers.

The very nature of a profession is service. But when do students learn this most essential part? Medical students are too busy with intensive studies in medical school. A course in professional, legal responsibility is usually offered in the law school curriculum, but not required. But what can be conveyed there about a lawyer's or a doctor's duty to the poor—compared with what these Georgetown volunteers are experiencing? These volunteers are learning the compassion without which no profession or person is complete—the compassion that keeps us from bypassing the poor.

Take Jules Clavadetcher, a Georgetown student who all this year worked 5 hours a week at All Souls Unitarian Church with some hostile and potentially delinquent Negro children. So marked was the good effect upon the children that the Jewish women's organization of B'nai B'rith awarded this Catholic student its yearly citation for enlightened civic action for youth. Jules learned a lot about the problems of race and poverty. Perhaps he learned something about the ecumenical movement, too.

The chairman of your own philosophy department, Dr. Jesse Mann, tells me: "I would much rather have students in my class learning about the philosophy of man by working with underprivileged Negro children of this city than merely by reading dusty volumes of Philosophy 104 in Riggs Library." Any student who is giving up a beer party or a dance or a lazy Saturday afternoon in favor of this work is not subverting Georgetown. This program of university service is rather the extension of education—the broadening of education—the deepening of education which we must have if we are to

find our way through the web of modern technology.

We must find our way through our technical specialties into our full responsibilities as human beings.

MAN'S MISSION WAITS TO BE FULFILLED

Fortunately, the needs of American education and the needs of our war on poverty meet at this point. For what you have begun here is what we must launch on a vast scale, if we are to win this war. And for this reason I call upon all of you, students and faculty alike, to follow in the footsteps of the 300 who have already gone beyond these walls to serve in that "other America" in our Nation's capital. I call upon all the colleges and universities of America to join in this great effort. But this is a special call to all those colleges and universities, which, like Georgetown, stand in the shadow of the cross. For this war against poverty is America's "holy war." And if you who represent Catholic education in America fail to respond, you will deeply wrong yourselves, your country, and your faith.

In our great sacraments, we see the love of God for man. Because His Word became flesh, we vow to try to make the word become flesh, in our own inadequate lives. There is another sacrament that can help us learn how to do this, a sacrament that can give us the strength to keep on trying to do it. It is the sacrament of service to man in need.

Christ considered this so important that He made our final judgment turn, not on the number of prayers we say, or the number of devotions we attend, but on whether or not we are too busy to help Him when He comes to us in the garments of the poor. "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat, I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in! As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me."

Now it is time, as it has always been time, for us to lower our shields, and to see the sacrament awaiting us beyond the altar rail, outside the campus gates. It is this mission to which we are sent, when we leave the chapel that stands at the heart of this campus. Ite missa est does not mean our trivial translation, "It is finished; you can go." And this commencement today does not mean: "I've done my share, I can go and look after my other business." It means instead: "Go and fulfill your mission."

The Return of the Know-Nothings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following article by Joseph Alsop to the attention of our colleagues. It appeared in the July 17, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Mercifully, as he has written, the Republican Convention has ended. But even more merciful to our Nation are those Republicans who use their heads and not their passions alone, who think of the consequences of their party's course and do not make decisions on prejudice alone. Joseph Alsop is wise enough to wonder and doubt how much of and what part of the electorate Candidate GOLDWATER represents.

He claims that he heralds the coming of a new conservatism, or a return to the old. Whichever it is, and it varies from sentence to sentence as he writes or speaks, Mr. Alsop suggests that it is both a variant from and inconsistent with the fundamental Republican conservatism of the past. What it amounts to is that the new health that is to result is really an old disease, do-and-know-nothingism.

The article follows:

ESTABLISHMENTS OLD AND NEW

(By Joseph Alsop)

SAN FRANCISCO.—At the Republican Convention, now mercifully ending, the establishment, sometimes called the eastern establishment, has been a major dirty word.

It has been denounced, defied, ridiculed and routed. Its membership, to be sure, has not been very explicitly defined. But every one has been put on notice, with vigor and eloquence, that this convention's prime task has been the disestablishment of the old Republican establishment and the establishment of something finer, healthier and better in its place.

Who, then, among the living and the dead, has been cast down from the Republican pantheon? The dishonor roll is long.

Arthur H. Vandenberg (no easterner to be sure, but a captive); James V. Forrestal; Robert A. Lovett; John J. McCloy; John Foster Dulles; Thomas E. Dewey (who looks, alas, like the plaster bridegroom on a wedding cake but was a great State Governor despite his leftward inclinations); Henry Cabot Lodge; Christian R. Herter; Lucius Clay and, last but not least, Dwight D. Eisenhower—all these have been condemned for their countless weaknesses and errors.

In their time, to be sure, they and their friends and co-workers seemed like great public servants. The Republican Party was very proud of them in the days of its blindness and folly. But now they have been unmasked, as no better than Henry L. Stimson and that cold, secret intriguer, Frank Knox. Dead or alive, they have been relegated to the limbo also inhabited by George C. Marshall.

Here in this limbo, Theodore Roosevelt and Elihu Root; William Howard Taft, Robert A. Taft (somewhat to his surprise, to be sure, but not to his discomfort); John Hay; the first Hamilton Fish and naturally Abraham Lincoln, are all to be found still plotting, as wicked ghosts will always plot, for such dark purposes as peace and freedom and equality among men.

Since the inquiring Dr. Gallup shows Senator BARRY GOLDWATER with considerably less than one quarter of the total national vote, it may be just a mite premature to hail the new Republican establishment. Yet the selection of the Goldwater cabinet—if and when this great event occurs—will mark the dawn of a new day. And it is always wise to greet the dawn at the earliest possible moment.

The secretaryship of state, to begin with, is bound to cause a Goldwater administration many a painful headache. The natural appointee, to whom heavy commitments have been made, is former Senator William Knowland, of California. But Knowland is unhappily far to the left of the reorganized and purified California Republican Party.

The compromise, one can predict, will be the appointment of Knowland, in brief remembrance of the California Republican primary, plus the secondary appointment of William Buckley as Under Secretary, to guarantee purity of heart and thought in this dangerous region of the Government.

The secretaryship of defense offers no problems, luckily. It will no doubt go to Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker. At the Treasury, George Magoffin Humphrey will feel quite at home again, at any rate until he discovers he has less authority than he enjoyed in the disgraceful Eisenhower era.

The abolition of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department is bound to be given serious consideration. But one can foresee that, pending a final decision, this Department will be confined to the safe-and-sure hands of Robert Welch—provided he does not consider that heading the John Birch Society is a higher duty.

The choice of H. L. Hunt to head the Interior Department is too obvious to call for comment. The oil and gas interests have never had the protection they deserve since the lamented days of Warren Gamaliel Harding. Hunt is the natural candidate to correct this ancient injustice.

The list could be much further prolonged. But the foregoing is enough to indicate that the change promised by this revolution in the Republican Party is radically different from the political change Hilaire Belloc was thinking about when he wrote, "the ancient power of privilege, that goes with women and champagne and bridge, fell. And democracy resumed its reign, that goes with bridge and women and champagne."

This time there is a true change, a real renovation.

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Appendix

The Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 24, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the people of Arkansas are proud of their university, and are especially proud of the choral group of the university known as the Schola Cantorum. This group has received many honors and wide recognition in Europe, as well as in this country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article about this fine group.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Northwest Arkansas Times (Fayetteville, Ark.), July 21, 1964]

MEMBERS OF SCHOLA CANTORUM BACK FROM TRIP, TIRED, EXCITED

Members of the university Schola Cantorum returned to Fayetteville Sunday, tired and excited.

They spent 6 weeks on a European tour, climaxed by an appearance at the famed Summer Music Festival at Aix-en-Provence, France, July 12, followed 6 days later by a concert at the New York World's Fair, and highlighted by an audience with Pope Paul VI.

The Schola, winners of the 1962 international polyphonic competition at Arezzo, Italy, was the only nonprofessional music group invited to the Aix festival, one of Europe's most renowned. And, according to festival critics, Arkansas' singing ambassadors outperformed some of the professional groups with renditions of 16th century sacred music and selections by contemporary American and French composers.

Said Jaen Abel of the Marseilles "Le Provencal," "The Schola Cantorum is the most beautiful mixed choir that one could find in the entire world. At the head of this elite ensemble is a veritable master, Richard Brothers. The choir displayed marvelously all the expressive richness and all of the beauty of these wonderful pieces."

So outstanding was the Schola's performance at the festival, the group was featured on a national French telecast that originated at Aix.

Last Friday, Brothers, professor of music at the University of Arkansas, and his 36 singers, sang for visitors to the fair with a special program that included some of the selections they sang at the festival and several Arkansas folk songs.

The audience with Pope Paul VI was the result of the efforts of Rev. Kevin Watkins of Subiaco Abbey. Father Kevin, a former Schola member who traveled and sang with the group this summer, helped arrange the audience at which the Schola and two other groups were received. Pope Paul greeted Brothers, Father Kevin, and Linda Ellis of North Little Rock personally before he received the groups. When the Pope appeared at the special audience, he was greeted by shouts of "viva il Papa." According to Father Kevin, "After His Holiness had finished his main address, he read off the names of the groups in the audience and said a few words to each. With each successive announcement, there was a round of shouting and applause.

"At last the Pope said in English, 'And next, the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas.' Perhaps our group was not the loudest, but the response was faintly reminiscent of a razorback pep rally before homecoming."

To Establish a Land and Water Conservation Fund, and for Other Purposes

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3846) to establish a land and water conservation fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting present and future outdoor recreation demands and needs of the American people, and for other purposes.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am participating in the debate for the reason that title II of this bill was developed by the Committee on Ways and Means in consultation with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs which developed the other parts of the bill.

We were asked by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] as chairman of his committee, to go into the question of the request that his committee had received from the administration that some of the funds that would create the conservation fund should come from the gasoline tax and the special fuels tax when these fuels are used by motorboats.

The Ways and Means Committee last year in executive session gave consideration to the matter of the transfer from the highway trust fund of these limited amounts of money to the land and water conservation fund. The Ways and Means Committee unanimously approved the provisions which are now in title II of this bill. We transmitted that decision in the form of language both for the bill and for the report to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] as chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON] suggests that this money should not be transferred from the highway trust fund to this new fund. I want to remind the membership of the House of the fact that the highway trust fund was worked out—established—by the Committee on Ways and Means. The Committee on Ways and Means submitted its decision for the creation of such a trust fund to the Public Works Committee and the financing of the public works program involving roads was title II, as I remember, of that bill in 1956.

Mr. Chairman, the Ways and Means Committee has responsibility therefore over the highway trust fund so far as the committees of the House are concerned. After having gone into this matter we concluded unanimously that it was far more appropriate for a tax on gasoline and propane and other special fuels used in boats to go into a land and water conservation fund than it was for it to go into a highway trust fund. You might ask why it ever got into the latter fund in the first place. There was a 2-cent Federal gasoline tax before we ever set up the highway trust fund. That 2-cent gasoline tax applied to gasoline for all kinds of uses. We added 2 cents to it, making the tax 4 cents, when we established the highway trust fund. But in each instance we said with respect to the last 2 cents that if it were used other than in the propulsion of a registered highway vehicle only the initial 2 cents would be retained and the other 2 cents would be refunded upon request.

We are not changing the law in that respect at all. All we are doing here is saying that the provisions of the present law will remain in effect, except that the Secretary of the Treasury will allocate the proceeds from this tax to the land and water conservation fund rather than the highway trust fund.

On this point of the highway trust fund not having enough money, if the commitments in present law relating to authorizations are not to be exceeded, that is, if there are not to be more than 41,000 miles of Interstate Highway System to be built on which this fund is predicated, and if the A–B–C programs are to be kept within the presently agreed limits by the Public Works Committee in the future—limits which we were told they would be kept within when the fund was created—there will be sufficient money within the fund to carry out all of its obligations on the basis of our best estimates. And there will be money left over out of which this transfer can be made.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we will not in any way be jeopardizing the highway construction program if we permit this amount to be transferred.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has expired.

(Mr. MILLS asked and was given permission to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I have asked the gentleman from Arkansas to yield for the purpose of concurring fully in what the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means has said with respect to the action by the Ways and Means Committee concerning the dedication of the gasoline tax on motorboats to the conservation fund, as contained in this bill. It was a unanimous action by the committee.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to concur in what the chairman has said with respect to the general philosophy of the committee when we originally created the highway trust fund. I do not believe that the transfer here is going to jeopardize the general highway program. I believe we can act here in complete reliance that this particular tax probably belongs more in a conservation trust fund and we dedicate it for that purpose and it can be done without jeopardizing our highway building program.

Mr. MILLS. I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I concur in what has been said by both the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES]. However, I would call attention of the members of the Committee to another matter in which I have been particularly jealous myself, and that is the highway trust fund. I know that the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] has taken a similar position on other occasions on the floor of the House. I feel that we are keeping full faith with this concept of the trust fund.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the amendment be defeated.

Egyptian Imperialism in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 24, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the latest issue of Prevent World War III, No. 64, summer 1964, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 24 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., contains a significant study dealing with Egyptian imperialism in Africa. Few people are conversant with this subject; yet, it is a matter which directly affects American interests. The fact is, as this article demonstrates, that Egypt is working with might and main to insinuate its influence into the newly created states of Africa, for two basic reasons: First, to exploit these countries; and second, to undermine the position of the West, particularly of the United States, in Africa. Certainly these objectives are not a challenge only to Africans, who are proud of their newly won independence, but also to the United States, which is working to create amicable relationships with the peoples of Africa.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

To those who seek to fathom the ambitions of Egypt's present ruler, we strongly recommend that they always keep on hand President Nasser's little book entitled "Egypt's Liberation." No matter how one may speculate on the direction of Egyptian policy, this book is a "must" for it delineates the basic strategy and goals of Egyptian policy.

It is well to bear this in mind when evaluating Egypt's aspirations in Africa. Africa today is in a state of ferment as the masses of that great continent endeavor to lay solid foundations for their newly won independence. There is always the danger—and many Africans are becoming aware of it—that, having rid themselves of old style colonialism they may fall into the net of a new type of colonialism sponsored by the minions of Moscow or Peiping.

LIBERATORS

But these are not the only sinister forces who would like to lord over the African peoples in the guise of "liberators." In Nasser's "Egypt's Liberation" he writes: "The peoples of Africa will continue to look to us who guard their northern gate and who constitute their link with the outside world. We will never, in any circumstance, be able to relinquish our responsibility to support with all our might the spread of enlightenment and civilization to the remotest depth of the jungles." Rudyard Kipling is said to have invented the phrase "the white man's burden." President Nasser is prepared to take over this now discredited notion and prettify it with Arab trimmings.

It would be well for African leaders to ponder Mr. Nasser's words, for they not only reveal a political program of tutelage but a frame of mind which relegates the African peoples into a permanent state of inferiority. Indeed, one can detect in Nasser's statement a faint echo of the Arab slave traders who, for centuries, coined huge profits in the traffic of human flesh from Africa. As late as the 1950's, Arabian slave traders were still scouring the African continent for men, women and children to be sold in the slave markets of Saudi Arabia and Yemen for prices ranging from $100 to $550. These barbarous practices have been detailed by eyewitness accounts, articles by reliable journalists and reports from foreign embassies in the Middle East. The United Nations itself acknowledged this shocking state of affairs.

On April 10, 1956, the Wall Street Journal reported that many thousands of "men, women and children, mostly Negroes, are being imported (into Saudi Arabia) and placed into slavery there." The Anti-Slavery Society of the United Kingdom estimated that at least a quarter of a million Africans were living in active slavery in Arab lands. In February 1955, the U.N. Social and Economic Council placed the possible slave population throughout the Middle East at half a million and flourishing widely. Yet, when efforts were made through the United Nations to throttle this lucrative "business," Egypt as well as the Soviet Union blocked effective action.

Now, however, President Nasser poses as the great "liberator" of the African masses from the white man's yoke, brazenly ignoring Egypt's own collusion with the slave traders. Nasser now likes to boast how Cairo is freeing the Africans "from slavery and racial discrimination" (Nasser's speech to the National Assembly, March 26, 1964).

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, when Zanzibar was first given its independence by Great Britain in December 1963, Cairo's "Voice of Africa," broadcasting in Swahili, hailed the Sultan of Zanzibar as the leader of that island's independence. Apparently, the Africans in Zanzibar did not accept Cairo's characterization of their Arab ruler, for he was overthrown the following month and forced to flee the country. The African masses who make up the majority of Zanzibar's population, refused to accept Cairo's claim that under the Sultan's rule they were freemen. Perhaps, they recalled that as recently as two generations ago, many of their fathers and grandfathers were owned as slaves by the Arab feudal oligarchy who themselves were descendents of Arab slave traders. The Africans of Zanzibar had come to the conclusion that they were not ready to accept the rule of the Arab oligarchy after the British pulled out. Certainly, this was a basic factor in the January revolt which once and for all stripped the Arab minority of its power.

EGYPT'S MASTER PLAN

While the Arab frame of mind is a key to the understanding of Cairo's attitude toward the Africans, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate Nasser's basic objectives in Africa. Six years ago, Prevent World War III analyzed the plans of the Egyptians under the title "Africa: Egypt's Dream of Empire." As set forth in the Egyptian publication Economic and Political Review, the plans envisaged the eventual "in-gathering" of the African peoples and their resources under the paternal care of Cairo.

The plans contemplated the reshaping of African political institutions to conform to Egypt's requirements. They also called for the exploitation of Africa's resoures, men and material alike, to strengthen Egypt's own economic base. It was also envisaged that a network of "cultural" institutions under the direction of Cairo's agents, would bring the "enlightenment and civilization" which President Nasser promised in his book.

Hypocritically, the plans declared that the slogan "Africa for the Africans" must become the battlecry for the whole continent. By emphasizing this point, Egypt, in the words of the article, would "win a high position in the hearts of the people of Africa. This will make all these countries direct their gaze toward Egypt and gather around her."

To win over the confidence of the Africans, the Egyptians cunningly tried to incite them against the Western democracies, besides sending thousands of agents throughout Africa. To stir up hate, the Egyptians established a powerful broadcasting network which blanketed wide areas of Africa with daily harangues against the "white imperialists." The so-called "Voice of Africa" was established, which broadcasts daily in Swahili, the most popular of African languages, as well as in other African languages and dialects. The theme of these broadcasts was summed up in a cry that Africans must drive "the dogs of the oppressor countries of the West" from their lands. Although initially the attacks were chiefly directed against France and Great Britain, the United States soon became the major target. America was portrayed as a lecherous parasite exploiting the Arab peoples without mercy.

SLANDERING THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

These incitements against the United States in particular and the West in general continue. Last summer, Cairo was the scene of rejoicing over the vicious attack made by Red China's leader Mao Tse-tung against the United States when he urged the colored peoples of the world to unite against America. When mutinous African troops rioted in east

Africa in January of this year, Radio Cairo immediately tried to pin the responsibility of "western imperialism" even though the African leaders themselves asked the help of the "Western imperialists" to restore order.

On February 4, Radio Cairo charged that the interests of the African people were being ignored for the sake of keeping a white minority in power, so the great powers can force their monopolies on the African economies, plunder their wealth, and consequently dominate the entire continent politically. When the Government of the African Republic of Gabon had to put down a revolt, Radio Cairo tried to make it appear as though the Gabon Government was a mere puppet at the mercy of an imperialist power struggle among France, Britain, and America.

The continuing incitements against the United States were highlighted at the so-called Afro-Asian solidarity conference which took place in late March of this year. As we have noted in the past, the secretary of this organization, Yusuf as-Sabai, is an Egyptian who cannot act without the expressed approval of his master, President Nasser. In his official report to the conference, which is dominated by Communist elements and Nasserites, Sabai made sure that the objectives of Egyptian policy in Africa and in the Middle East would receive due notice. At the same time, he viciously attacked the United States, accusing Americans of committing aggression at the Panama Canal and of being the arch exponent of racial discrimination. At the conference ended, Sabai read a number of resolutions which, as broadcast from Red China, condemned imperialism and old and new colonialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. Thus, the faithful agent of the Egyptian Foreign Office, Mr. Sabai, tries at every conference of this organization to pit the African peoples against the United States, to discredit our leadership, and to cast aspersions on our efforts to help the African peoples their own personality and independence.

This is not to say that the leaders of Africa are ready to accept Cairo's overlordship. The stern rebuff administered to the Arab oligarchy in Zanzibar shows that Mr. Nasser will have a hard time pulling the wool over the eyes of awakened Africa. Perhaps in Cairo, thanks to a huge publicity apparatus, Nasser may be viewed as a demigod, but in the vast spaces of Africa he in shrinking in importance. Thus, last May, when the African leaders met in Addis Ababa and established the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Nasser found himself in the company of 29 leaders, the majority of whom were representing black Africa. It was not a very pleasant experience for a man who is used to the public limelight. The conference itself was moderate in tone, and President Nasser discovered that he was not the cock of the walk. Indeed, he played a very modest role, and, as one reporter put it, Nasser portrayed "the unusual, for him, role of follower, not a leader" (New York Times, May 27, 1963). There is evidence that Nasser is still trying to turn the OAU into an instrument of his own empire building plans. But there is other evidence indicating that the Africans are not prepared to buy his package. If the Africans are skeptical toward the Russians and the Chinese, they are equally wary of President Nasser and his pretensions. There is good reason for this skepticism, for the Africans have already had a taste of Nasserism.

SUBVERSION IN AFRICA

For the last few years, African states have been plagued by the subversive activities of Egyptian agents. In the autumn of 1961, the Egyptian military attaché in Monrovia was expelled from Liberia after having been charged with inciting disorders in that country. The next year, the Liberian Government again warned representatives of the United Arab Republic not to interfere in the internal affairs of Liberia. In January 1962, the President of Upper Volta, Mr. Maurice Yameogo, expelled a United Arab Republic mission from his country. Subsequently, he denounced Egypt's meddlesome activities and deplored Cairo's "useless attempt to subvert our people and to set up himself as the leader of the Africans."

More recently, Egyptian subversive activities have been directed against Senegal and Mali. Indeed, African leaders charge that since the establishment of the OAU, Egypt has been trying to undermine their governments. Such African states as Niger, Dahomey, Upper Volta, and Ivory Coast are constant targets of Egyptian subversion. Assassination plots, riots, revolts are the steady brew of Egyptian agents in these countries.

During the past few months, the long arm of Cairo has turned up in the largest of the African states, Nigeria. Needless to say, the differences among the various political parties should be regarded by all as an internal matter that can only be settled by the Nigerian people, but Egyptian policy simply does not know the meaning of "minding one's own business." The peoples of the Arab Middle East are well acquainted with Nasser's ceaseless efforts to influence their decisions, whether it be on election day or any other time.

The Nigerians are now beginning to experience the brazen intervention of the Egyptians in their own domestic affairs. Thus, the leader of one of the outstanding political parties, the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Dr. Okpara, charged that Egypt was pouring funds into the election campaign. It was also asserted that this was being done to subject the Nigerian Republic "to President Nasser's influence"—London Financial Times, February 4, 1964. The charges made by Dr. Okpara and his party disturbed the "diplomatic missions from Arab countries in Nigeria." They warned that these accusations "conspire to weaken the ties of Afro-Arab solidarity." Obviously, this warning must have been concocted by the Egyptians. It is typical that, when the Egyptians are caught redhanded, they wail that the prospective victim of their plotting is not fully appreciative of Cairo's beneficent and disinterested aid.

OPPRESSION IN THE SUDAN

It is interesting to note that, while President Nasser speaks incessantly of his love for the African peoples, for their dignity and independence, and denounces the alleged racism of the "white imperialists," he is today giving full support to the ruthles suppression of black Africans by the present Sudanese Government which is under Arab control. The southern Sudan is predominantly Negroid and the people there are trying to preserve their own cultural institutions. The Sudanese Government, however, refuses to recognize their dignity and, indeed, is trying to impose the Arab culture as well as the Moslem faith on these peoples. Therefore, the Sudanese Government has embarked on a long-range campaign to crush these people. As a result, there has arisen a vast influx of African refugees into the neighboring states of Uganda, Kenya, the Congo, and Ethiopia. As one reporter wrote (Leo Heiman, WPS, January 6, 1964): "Pillars of smoke rising from rebel villages bombed and burned by Sudanese Government planes, reportedly are clearly visible from hilltops on the Ethiopian side of the border."

Reporters from the area stressed the growing resentment of the Africans, both in the southern Sudan and in neighboring African countries. A report by Sheridan Griswold for the Christian Science Monitor, January 29, 1964, reveals the depth of African animosity toward the Arabs: "The difficulties in the southern Sudan go back nearly a hundred years to the opening up of Equatoria, Bahr al-Ghazal and upper Nile provinces to Arab salvers and European exploration. The impact of slavery is still strongly felt in the southern Sudan. The 3½ million people in the South (out of 11 million in the Sudan altogether) are of African stock and are culturally and linquistically different from the Arabized Sudanese to the North. Since the days of slavery the Africans have resented the presence of Arabs in the South and have been irked by what they felt was an Arab sense of superiority."

Unfortunately, reports concerning what is happening in the southern Sudan are meager and infrequent. However, it seems clear that the Sudanese Government is now pursuing a policy which smacks of genocide, but it should not be thought that the Sudan acts alone. On the contrary, it is brutally stamping out resistance with the full approval and support of President Nasser. As Leo Heiman put it: "Since Egyptian military intervention along the Nile would mean control of Africa's most important river, the Nile, and ultimate union with Sudan under Nasser's overall rule, Egypt is quite willing to risk the enmity of African nations which, tacitly or openly, support the south Sudan rebellion."

The sense of "mission to civilize" Africa, expressed in Nasser's book, remains the core of Egyptian policy. Cairo propagandists seize every opportunity to emphasize the "unique" leadership of Nasser and to clothe it with the special "mission" of leading the Africans to greater glory. There seems to be no bounds to Egypt's boasting concerning her role in Africa. For example, Nasser, addressing a conference of African labor ministers last December, declared that Egypt was mainly responsible for the "victory" of the Africans against the "imperialists." Nasser went further by stating that Egypt was now ready to shoulder the major responsibility for "Africa's future." At the very moment he spoke, the Sudanese Government with his blessings and support, was brutally attacking the Africans in the southern part of Sudan because they refuse to bow to Arab domination. Yet, Nasser had the temerity to tell these African labor leaders that racial discrimination in certain parts of Africa continues to exist because Western imperialism "attempts to dominate and exploit African labor and national wealth."

During the same month of December, the government-controlled newspaper Al Akhbar wrote the following after Nasser had held private talks with Red China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai: "The United Arab Republic is the vanguard of the Arab struggle and the leader of liberation in the wide area which extends from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Indian Ocean in the south. In Africa the United Arab Republic is a liberated power which sponsors new movements in the awakening continent. The imperialist states are the most interested because they know that China and the United Arab Republic have long been in the rank struggling against imperialism, ready to ambush every domination and foreign infiltration. * * * The new image is growing brighter in Africa and Asia. Abd An-Nasir and Chou En-lai and the liberated leaders like them are the vanguards of the new image in this world."

Egyptian propaganda is also careful to link Nasser with other leaders who have made contributions to the development of modern Africa. Thus, Radio Cairo declared: "Modern African history owes gratitude and appreciation to these two great men, Emperor Haile Selassie and President Abd An-Nasir."

ECONOMIC PENETRATION

When the Egyptians speak of aiding the Africans, they really think in terms of extending their economic influence and to make the African states dependent upon Egypt economically. The Egyptians are trying to accomplish this through a variety of ways. For example, last summer Cairo declared that it would make the largest contribution to the capitalization of the pro-

jected African Development Bank. Of a total capitalization of $250 million, Egypt stated that it would buy $30 million in shares. Obviously, although 32 independent African states have indicated their willingness to participate in this Bank, it is the hope of the Egyptians that by virtue of their standing as the largest single shareholder, they will be able to exercise a decisive influence on the use of the Bank's resources.

More recently, Egypt reached an agreement with the Government of Kuwait to establish a jointly owned bank capitalized at $23 million. Although the Kuwait Government will own half of the shares, it is interesting to note that the Bank's headquarters will be in Cairo and that its object, according to one authority, is "to finance foreign trade between Arab and African countries and to participate in the African Development Bank." In short, the Egyptians hope to employ the resources of oil-rich Kuwait to strengthen still further their influence in the African Development Bank.

Besides the use of financial instruments to gain control of African markets, Egypt's "Arab Company for Foreign Trade" has been most active in various parts of Africa trying to sell its wares at cutrate prices. These efforts are almost comical for the fact of the matter is that Egypt fundamentally has neither the resources nor the know-how to make any appreciable dent in the African markets. After all, were it not for the hundreds of millions of dollars that Egypt itself receives from abroad, particularly from the Russians and the United States, the economy of that country would go into a tailspin. Furthermore, the commodities which Egypt has available for sale offer little attraction for the Africans.

Most of the African states are primary producers. They require manufactured goods, machinery and other capital equipment. They certainly cannot be impressed by what Nasser has to offer which, to a considerable extent, consists of raw cotton, rice, onions, potatoes, etc. Yet, the UAR continues to increase the number of so-called commercial attachés who staff their various embassies throughout Africa. These "attachés" are probably more busy in the field of political subversion than they are in helping the host countries economically. Moreover it does not appear that the Africans themselves are in any great rush to do business with the Egyptians. Here is the way the London Financial Times put it: "The Egyptians do suffer a drawback in being Arabs while much of the black African suspicion of former slave traders still remains * * *. The Egyptians themselves are often curiously insensitive to this and patronize their fellow Africans in the emerging states as much as they have the Sudanese in the past."

GROWING SUSPICION

Indeed, the Africans are suspicious. This suspicion came to the surface more recently over the question of setting up an "African High Command" under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Egyptians have been very "hot" on this issue. Alleging that the Africans do not have the know-how to build their own armies and forever waving the danger flag of "imperialism," Nasser has generously offered his own forces to "protect" the Africans. But a number of African states are cold to this altruism. They do not like the idea that Egypt, while pretending to be opposed to nuclear bases in Africa, persists in building up its own nuclear military power, and they are wondering why there should be this exception. They suspect that the Egyptians, for all their spouting about equality, dream of turning the OAU into an instrument for their own aggrandisement at the expense of black Africa.

It is interesting to note that it is precisely in the largest country of black Africa, Nigeria, that there is growing consciousness of the sharp differences that separate Egypt and the African states to the south. Thus, one of Nigeria's leading newspapers, the West African Pilot, came out strongly against the announced intentions of the Arab League which is under the thumb of Cairo, to set up offices in certain western African states—(Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 21, 1964). After stating that Nigeria does not have any relations with the Arab League, the paper noted that Nigeria did have relations with members of the League "who never tire of selling us the political attitudes of the League." The paper then gave this significant warning: The attempt of the Arab League to set up shop in Nigeria must be resisted because "it is a subtle device to involve us more directly with the frenetic politics of the Middle East." The newspaper declared that the African members of the Arab League will have to decide soon where they stand. "Are they in the Middle East or in Africa? They cannot honestly owe loyalties to two separate blocs on two separate continents. It might suit us now to forget this question, but the Organization of African Unity will come face to face with it sometime—the sooner the better."

The West African Pilot's attack against the machinations of the Arab League reflects the growing sensitivity within Nigeria over the bold and brash activities of the Arabs. For example, another leading Nigerian newspaper, the Daily Express, raised the question as to the permanent site for the Secretariat of the OAU. The fact must be faced, this paper declared outright, that the majority of the people of Africa are black and, therefore, the Secretariat itself must be located in black Africa. This, of course, runs counter to Egypt's plan to make Cairo the headquarters.

The Daily Express also took note of the dual loyalty of the Arab States in north Africa to the Arab League and to the OAU. This dualism is becoming a source of deep resentment in many parts of black Africa. When the West African Pilot raised the very pertinent question as to whether the African members of the Arab League were in the Middle East or in Africa, the paper was hitting at the very core of Nasser's imperialism.

In "Egypt's Liberation," President Nasser does not speak of Africa and the Arab Middle East as separate entities; rather does he describe the continent of Africa as "the second circle" surrounding "the first circle," i.e., the Arab world. The two "circles" in turn are encompassed by "the third circle," the world of Islam, "which circumscribes continents and oceans." Thus, black Africa, in Nasser's lexicon, is destined to be but one part of his huge empire.

Nasser's dreams may be limitless but in the real world—the world of the new Africa—he is discovering to his chagrin and anger that the days of the "civilizing" mission of the heirs of Arab slave traders are over.

To Establish a Land and Water Conservation Fund, and for Other Purposes

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3846) to establish a land and water conservation fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting present and future outdoor recreation demands and needs of the American people, and for other purposes.

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not take the full 5 minutes, but only a small portion.

Mr. Chairman, as I said earlier, I support the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY]. I feel that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is somewhat in error. It is my understanding that the Secretary of Interior before he can acquire any in-holdings within a national park must come before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for authorization, unless the basic act establishing that park permits him to acquire those additional in-holdings. Furthermore, if the Secretary of Interior wants to establish any new areas, he certainly must come before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to obtain authorization. This is exactly what the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from North Carolina will do, if adopted.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as far as the Secretary of Agriculture acquiring additional forest lands——

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WESTLAND. I yield to the gentlewoman from Washington.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out with further reference to the gentleman's statement, our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] first of all said that the chairman did not speak for the Committee on Agriculture. I would like to point out that this bill was not sent to our committee, even though we have jurisdiction over Forest Service lands. We have had no opportunity to work on this bill or to hold hearings on it. Certainly, I believe it should be pointed out that under the Weeks Act the location and character of land acquired is done in complete secrecy. The Secretary of Agriculture submits a proposal for land purchase to the National Forest Service Reservation Commission, and that consists of the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, two Members of the Senate and two Members of the House.

Now, Mr. Chairman, purchases must be approved by the National Forest Reservation Commission; that is true. But the Commission makes no announcement of the area it has under consideration for purchase and holds no public hearings. The general public or Members of Congress never have an opportunity to know in advance where or how much land the Forest Service proposes to purchase. They have no chance to express an opinion as to the merits of the proposal.

I wonder if anyone thinks that these busy members of the Commission will have time to give thorough consideration to each purchase under a program that might include $20 million?

Mr. WESTLAND. May I say to my colleague, the gentlewoman from Washington, that being a member of that Forest Reservation Commission, I am

quite well aware of this problem and every so often I get a brochure about a couple of inches thick of tissue paper telling what they plan to acquire. It does take a considerable amount of otherwise busy time to try to do this.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WESTLAND. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman. I would like to state that the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] does speak for this member of that committee, who is also a member of the Subcommittee on Forests of the Committee on Agriculture. I enthusiastically and wholeheartedly support the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY].

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. WESTLAND. Surely.

Mr. ASPINALL. I think we should have the record straight. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has jurisdiction over the national forests in the public domain, which constitutes the largest area of national forests. The chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs notified the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture when we began the discussion of this legislation, and I was very well pleased to see his reference to this fact, not only in yesterday's statement but in his statement today.

REA Serves Oklahoma Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 24, 1964

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, those of us in Congress who helped set up the machinery in 1935 to bring light and power to the Nation's farms need regularly to look full face at the magic achieved by rural Americans with the loans all Americans made possible.

Young Oklahomans recently made the picture shockingly bright for me although none of them can remember when their farms did not have electricity. They interviewed their parents and grandparents about the past and described vividly their firsthand experiences with rural electricity.

My State's 28 REA cooperatives offered Washington trips to young people in their areas who wrote the best histories of their own REA's. The winners came to the Capital in June along with those from nine other States. They were welcomed by President Johnson at the White House. Not until I sent for some of the winning essays did I get the full impact.

These youngsters took me back to the days of "oil lamps, kerosene heaters, hand water pumps, mules, and two-row implements." Dena Gaye Duncan of Frederick, Okla., made me chuckle with the story of a farm wife with her first electric power and her first refrigerator who was so pleased to find out that her new appliance was not out of order. It would freeze ice cubes, she discovered, but not until she learned to put water in the trays. I ask unanimous consent to have her essay inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, Tim L. Haines of Fargo, Okla., tells the story of his family dairy farm, grade A, where his parents do all the work with only his help and that of a younger brother. They use electrically run milkers and a bulk tank. They use electricity to pump the water for the cows, to clean the barns and equipment. They use it to grind and mix the cows' feed. They use electric drills, saws and an electric welder in operating home and farm. With the help of an electric washer, drier and other appliances, Tim's mother does the work of an eight-room home with one and a half baths and a basement and helps with the dairy operation when necessary.

I wish I could include all the essays. Janice Nichols of Haworth reminds us that the electric miracle has ended an era where a mother's chores before starting to cook breakfast included building fires in the wood cookstove, lighting the lamps, and backbreaking trips to and from the well for water. She cites the time and money saved by refrigerators to store leftovers, and freezers in both homes and stores to make fresh foods available all year instead of at harvest time only. Wandering livestock, she says, can be kept within range by electric fences. Rainy days were hard on the eyes of pupils straining to read in the dark, she reports, for her mother and grandmother, but not for her.

Carol Mercer of Logan, Okla., writing of the Tri-County Electric Co-op in Beaver County, tells a wonderful tale of the housewife who promised the linemen a fried chicken dinner if they would connect up her electricity by 3 p.m. so she could use her new electric iron that night after she fed them. She also dug up a memory from the wife of one of those farmers who helped organize the cooperative. She said she was "chilled to the bone" when she had to feed the cattle during her husband's trips to Washington.

Laura Ann Peck of Dewey, Okla., offered still another benefit of low-cost farm electricity. It has made today's farmers more productive, she said. "This has brought down food production costs, which has enabled the people of the United States to be the best fed in the world for the lowest portion of their income." Her picture of the early organizers is vivid, too.

The farmers didn't know anything about running a business; especially an electric business—

Laura wrote.

Half of them didn't even know how to replace a light bulb or a fuse. But they figured they could just find out.

The farmers of this Nation did find out. They have run their business well. In Oklahoma alone, REA cooperatives have invested over $150 million. They operate more than 65,000 miles of line, Miss Peck reports, and in 1963, they served over 142,000 meters. My hat is off to them and to their children and grandchildren who told the story in these wonderful essays.

EXHIBIT 1

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWEST RURAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION

(By Dena Gaye Duncan, Weaver High School, Frederick, Okla.)

"Your old men shall dream dreams; your young men shall see visions." Joel 2: 28.

Out of a past of oil lamps, hand pumps, kerosene heaters, washtubs, mules and two-row implements, rural people of southwest Oklahoma were propelled into a world of laborsaving devices and bigger profits when Mayor Bert Holt pulled a switch at Altus on December 13, 1938, and electrical power surged into the first 26 miles of line.

This momentous occasion marked the culmination of months of planning and laying the ground work for the organization of the Southwest Rural Electric Association in southwest Oklahoma and north Texas. The wonderful energy of harnessed electricity was first available only in the big cities. Later, even small towns had some kind of electric power. Rural people needed and wanted it, too; but it was too expensive getting it out to the country areas. In 1935 Congress set up the Rural Electrification Administration for the purpose of lending money to extend electric systems into rural areas. Private utilities decided there was not enough profit in the plan for them so the Government was faced with two alternatives: to build Government owned and operated systems or to encourage the people to do the job themselves. Instead of the Government doing this job it was decided to try the rural electric cooperatives method—the American way—people working together for a common cause. So, electric cooperatives were started. As the first Americans had banded together for their common defense and to gain improvements for all peoples, the rural kilowatt pioneers joined together to gain the advantage of electricity.

Because of their vision and interested concern, people from various communities in Tillman and Jackson Counties were present to hear Mr. Frank Higgenbotham, of the Rural Electric Administration, Washington, D.C., on March 12, 1937, at Tipton High School explain how a rural electric cooperative could be organized. Out of this meeting came the election of the first project superintendent, Tom Moran, of Tipton. Perry Martin, of Tipton, was selected as secretary. The first members of the board of trustees were H. N. Seymour, Tipton, president; J. H. Wiseman, Tipton, treasurer; S. H. Bell, Ozark, Jackson County, member. This board met on December 18, 1937, at Tipton where W. C. Austin, of Altus, was selected as counsel for the new organization. Homer Shotts, Perry Martin, C. M. Shelton, and D. H. Laing were selected to secure easements and applications from the farm people.

A special stockholders' meeting was held at the First National Bank building in Tipton, Okla., on January 7, 1938, to subscribe to capital stock; and applications for membership in the cooperative were approved. Bylaws were adopted, and it was agreed that electrical distribution lines should be constructed, operated, and maintained in Jackson, Kiowa, and Tillman Counties and possibly other counties later. It was also voted to make applications to the Rural Electrification Administration in Washington, D.C., for a loan not to exceed $150,000 for the purpose of building 160 miles of line, substations,

transformers, and all other things necessary to operate an electrical distribution system. The relationship of Southwest Rural Electric Association with the Rural Electrification Administration in Washington, D.C., is that of lender-borrower. All money borrowed must be paid back with interest.

The dreams and visions of young men and old moved step by step closer to reality as on February 15, 1938, the first annual meeting of the Southwest Rural Electric Association was held in Tipton, Okla. The following stockholders were present: H. N. Seymour, George G. Grant, W. S. Laing, S. H. Bell, Bailey S. Ethridge, J. H. Wiseman, C. T. McWhorter, and Perry Martin. At this meeting all the board members were reelected: H. N. Seymour to serve 1 year, Bailey S. Ethridge and W. S. Laing to serve for 2 years, S. H. Bell and George G. Grant to serve for 3 years.

The annual meetings of today are quite different from this first meeting and they only discussed their business and then went home. Today the meeting is still held in Tipton with some 1,800 to 2,000 members present to attend the business meetings, hear noted speakers and entertainers and afterward to participate in the drawings for electrical appliances which are given away. Many dealers from the area have their electrical appliances on display for the people to see. There is also a carnival air with kiddy rides for the children. It is more of a community day where friends and neighbors get together to discuss their business and to enjoy themselves. People from all over southwestern Oklahoma and northern Texas come to spend the whole day.

In subsequent meetings during the early months of 1938, J. H. Wiseman presented his resignation as treasurer and member of the board and was replaced by the election of Bailey S. Ethridge to serve in this capacity. A power contract with the city of Altus was discussed and approved subject to approval of the Rural Electrification Administration. The board also voted on March 3, 1938, to accept all applicants for electric service provided they had made their deposit of $5 for membership and that it was possible to reach them with electric service. This board adopted rates for farm and home service of $3 per 40 kilowatt-hours. To this date these rates have not been changed. The number of applicants approved was 324.

There was no dreaming but plain hard work on the part of the interested men and women who went out to secure easements and applications from their neighbors and friends in the various communities. In our own area of Tillman County we owe much to the pioneer work of Mr. Homer Shotts, Mr. D. H. Laing, Mr. C. M. Shelton, Mr. Walter Duncan, and Mr. C. D. Wearmouth. Mr. Albert Nulty and Mr. Wearmouth attended one of the first meetings at the consolidated No. 1 school building. They were told they must secure at least 100 miles with 3 applicants per mile who would pay the $5 fee, if they were to have the electricity in our community. They talked to a few who were interested, many who were wary of losing money if the vision should turn out to be a pipedream, and some who were plainly hostile. In order to complete the applications they finally put up some of the $5 fees out of their own pockets. When the lines were built and the neighbors began to tell of the wonderful conveniences of electricity, most of these were happy to repay the $5 fees which had been paid for them. We are grateful that men such as these had faith in the vision, and after 6 months Tillman County was ready to begin a long era during which the realities of the blessings of electricity are continually unfolding and the future promises to be even more than the dreams and visions ever promised.

At first the people thought only in terms of electric lights, but gradually they learned of the countless appliances which are in use today. One amusing incident of this early "learning" period concerned a family who looked forward to the convenience of an electric refrigerator to replace the icebox they had used for years. The wonderful icemaker was purchased from a local store, duly delivered, plugged in, and left with a happy housewife. After the lunch hour the store received a call from the disappointed and half-angry housewife. The appliance was not working at all and would they please check on it immediately. The servicemen arrived promptly and were informed that there had been no ice at the lunch hour and there still was none. After thorough investigation the housewife was informed that in order to have ice, the trays must first be filled with water. Electricity accomplishes many wonderful feats, but freezing ice without water is expecting a little to much. The people were so proud of their electric lights that they were very prompt to call for service if any light failed to burn even though they might not particularly need it immediately. There was one lady who was so happy to receive her electric pump that she threw her water bucket from her front porch and said she never wanted to carry water again.

So men dreamed dreams and men had a vision and a weary woman raised her head from over a rub board and straightened her aching back to stand tall and dare to dream as she looked into a future which was brighter because of automatic washer and dryers, electric stoves and hot water heaters and hundreds of electrical helpers which free her hands and her mind from the drudgery of yesterday.

The initial construction of 26 miles of line extended from the cooperative's substation to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter of section 15, township 1 north, range 19 west, I. M. Jackson County, Okla. This construction was done by B. & M. Construction Co. in the amount of $97,753.01. Today Southwest's lines would reach 2,513 miles, or the distance across the United States. The association sells more than 3 million kilowatt-hours of power each month. The massive system has a capital investment of $4,600,000 and serves 5,500 users, most of them farmers. Southwest has never been late with its payments on loans from the Rural Electrification Association in Washington. They are currently paying $149,806 per year, interest and principal. It takes 35 full-time employees to keep the co-op operating. This amounts to an annual payroll of $150,000. The bulk of this payroll is spent in our own co-op area. Some $16,000 per year remains in Tipton, the association's headquarters. Mr. Homer Shotts was Southwest's first line superintendent and still serves in that capacity. An intercom system and two-way radios and service between the office and the service crews.

Weaver Consolidated School near Frederick, Okla., has the distinction of being Southwest's first all-electric school. Navajo in Jackson County, and Northside in Wilbarger County have since become all electric.

In its 25 years of operation the co-op has never had a fatal acicdent and observes strict safety measures at all times.

The Southwest Rural Electric Association is owned by local individual membership. It repays its loans in the same way any corporation does and is a private enterprise in every sense of the word. The membership of the cooperative elects the board of directors and through this board has the final authority in the cooperative.

The present board of directors are Clark T. McWhorter, Blair; James Gober, Manitou; F. B. Schnorrenberg, Altus; R. H. Owen, president, Vernon; V. H. Cubvahouse, Roosevelt; O. L. Cook, Harrold; J. F. Shrivers, Lockett; and C. D. Wearmouth, secretary-treasurer, Frederick. Mr. Wearmouth has served for over 20 years as secretary-treasurer of the Southwest Rural Electric Association.

Clark McWhorter of Blair could well bear the title of "Mr. Rural Electrification." One of the original incorporators of Southwest, he is Oklahoma's representative on the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association's board of directors and has served as its president. He once served as manager of Southwest. McWhorter is chairman of NRECA's legislative committee and is recognized as a strong leader in the national organization.

A group of men in Washington, D.C., had a vision of what rural electrification could do for our great country and men in southwestern Oklahoma had faith in a practical application to make that vision materialize. So the dreams became reality and the vision materialized and a plodding farmer with anxious eyes on cloudless skies could turn to a switch and send sparkling water to satiate his parched and thirsty land. Now there are over 575 farmers on Southwest's lines farming profitably by irrigation.

According to J. M. Maddox, Southwest's manager since 1948 and president of Oklahoma Association of Electric Cooperatives, farms are constantly being more mechanized by the use of electricity. It will cut down on the hard labor a farmer has to do, yet increase his operation severalfold and show him a bigger profit.

In the first 3 months of 1964, Southwest has built lines to 26 irrigation wells and many oil wells. Out of the bold prairie has risen industrial plants to supplement the farmers' income by providing year-round employment for his community. His children attend all-electric schools while they live in all-electric homes. "I am certain that the fine young people—graduates of our schools and workers in our FFA and 4–H Clubs—would have left the farm if the farm home had not been brought into the brilliantly lighted 20th century, with modern plumbing, lights, kitchen appliances, television and radio, and the countless blessings of modern-day living."[1]

Today the great giant of electricity, with still undiscovered and unused talents, stirs and stretches and wakens from the dreamworld of yesterday, steps into the brilliant light of the present, and strides rapidly toward a promising tomorrow.

[1] The Honorable A. S. "MIKE" MONRONEY, address at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Association of Electric Cooperatives.

California and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, California has long been in the forefront of efforts to provide for the protection of the rights of all of our citizens regardless of race, color, or creed. One of the agencies of the State government which is doing an outstanding job in connection with the protection of civil rights is the fair employment practices commission of the State of California.

This commission is under the chairmanship of Mrs. Carmen Warschaw. Mrs. Warschaw is very dedicated to the principle which underlies the new Federal civil rights law and all of the endeavors to provide the appropriate guarantees of the rights of the people of our great Nation.

I am pleased to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which Mrs. Warschaw and the fair employment practices commission of this State sent to our President commemorating the signing of the civil rights law:

STATE OF CALIFORNIA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION,
San Francisco, Calif., July 8, 1964.

Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the California State agency assigned to deal with problems of human rights and equal opportunity, we take the occasion of our first meeting since enactment of the Federal civil rights law to commend your administration and the bipartisan leadership of the Congress on this great achievement.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act is a landmark in the historic progress of a Nation conceived in freedom and dedicated to equality.

We observe with particular satisfaction that, with few exceptions, businessmen, community leaders and citizens are ready to accept the obligations of social justice spelled out in the Civil Rights Act. Public establishments are serving the public, and it is clear that the majority of Americans nearly everywhere can learn to live on equal terms with other Americans regardless of race, creed, or ancestry.

The California Fair Employment Practice Commission, which has worked toward the same goals for 5 years, welcomes the prospect of cooperating with the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Under the leadership of Gov. Edmund G. Brown and the legislature, with the Fair Employment Practice Act, the Unruh Civil Rights Act, the Rumford Fair Housing Act, the Governor's code of fair practices and the work of the attorney general's constitutional rights section, California has made significant achievements in this field.

Much remains to be done, here and throughout the Nation, toward making civil rights a reality for all Americans. We pledge our earnest efforts and constant support as you move to carry out the provisions of this wise and necessary law.

Respectfully,

CALIFORNIA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION,
(MRS.) CARMEN H. WARSCHAW, *Chairman.*
C. L. DELLUMS, *Vice Chairman.*
ELTON BROMBACHER, *Member.*
JOHN ANSON FORD, *Member.*
LOUIS GARCIA, *Member.*
CLIVE GRAHAM, *Member.*
DWIGHT R. ZOOK, *Member.*

Go Home "Saviors"—A Negro Speaks Out in Pride of His Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 24, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the American people are continuously confronted with a barrage of propaganda to the effect that all American Negroes are behind militant so-called civil rights movements which have been creating and causing racial disturbances in all sections of our country. I have had called to my attention a statement—printed in the Prentiss Headlight, of Prentiss, Miss., on June 25, 1964—by a Negro who appeals to the so-called civil rights workers invading Mississippi to go home and leave the people of Mississippi alone. This article, entitled "Go Home 'Saviors,'" was written by Mr. Joseph F. Albright.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GO HOME "SAVIORS"—A NEGRO SPEAKS OUT IN PRIDE OF HIS RACE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are reprinting another of Joseph F. Albright's columns from Percy Green's Jackson Advocate of Jackson, Miss., this week. It is refreshing in these times for a Negro to speak out in the pride he feels in his own race, and the joy he finds in associating with his own kind. Read it through.)

(By Joseph F. Albright)

I am a Negro, a loyal citizen who lives in the city of Jackson, Miss. * * * and, above all, I am an American who just happens to be a Negro.

Of all these categories, the last is the most important; for anyone * * * race, creed, color, sex, or national origin notwithstanding * * * who lives in this country and fails to be grateful for the blessings endowed in being an American is guilty of the most despicable ingratitude possible. This I say without reservation.

As this is written, Jackson is again confronted with a swarm of saviors who through demonstrations propose to institute a program of saving me.

It seems that this deplorable state of something or other in which I am supposed to be stems from the fact that I am not properly "integrated" with the white folks.

Frankly, I couldn't care less. I have always held the conviction that "people are people," and that any anthropological distinctions they might possess are of scant importance. I am blessed with my own cherished friends and associates * * * which I have chosen voluntarily, as it should be * * * and beyond these it matters but little with whom I come in contact, sit down with, or otherwise meet. So much for that.

But let us get on with this discussion of my salvation. If I gave the matter the consideration of a century of thought I could not come up with anything more stupid than being saved from all the inherent assets of my racial possessions. I have yet to see a single effort made to save the Mississippians of Jewish, Irish, German, Syrian or citizens of any other white racial extraction from the acceptance of their prideful heritages. None of these are being asked to surrender the products of their respective racial distinctions. No, it is just I who am being zealously exhorted by these saviors to integrate myself into being neither fish nor fowl * * * and by so doing to admit that I have nothing worthy of merit and self respect that I have created or with which I am endowed. God forever prevent me from making such a ridiculous and degrading admission.

I don't want to be saved from the continuous, adoring association of my own desirable women, some of the earth's loveliest creatures * * * from my own churches which stand as perpetual guiding lights in showing me the path of righteousness * * * from my own fraternal organizations that have provided me with the treasured fellowship of my own brethren * * * from my own great educational institutions without which it would have been a sorry day for Negro progress * * * from my own publications to America for more than 200 years * * * and certainly not from my friendship and encouragement that I receive daily from that long and splendid list of white Mississippians without whose generous, sympathetic aid I could never walk successfully down the high road of progress.

I'm going to continue placing my salvation where it belongs * * * in my faith in God and the decency of my fellow Mississippians. For I know that the ultimate salvation for me or anyone else lies in that first and great commandment: "Thou shalt have no other God before me," and the second which is like unto it: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

And I know, too, that having said He only helps those who help themselves, He is going to take a dim view of my riding on the backs of saviors, self-appointed or otherwise.

Jacksonville University's Dynamic President Defines University's Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Dr. Robert H. Spiro, the new president of Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, Fla., has assumed an important position of leadership in the community in his short tenure as president of one of the South's outstanding private institutions of higher learning. He has asserted his dynamic spirit into the life—and problems—of Duval County, Fla.

Recently he gave two impressive speeches which outlined his philosophy and his ideas on the challenges facing higher education in the United States today.

In Dr. Spiro's speech at the commencement ceremonies for Jacksonville University, June 20, 1964, he outlined the growth of the university over the last 30 years, suggesting:

Change has always been a feature of human society, that growth is inevitable where there is life, and that time does not stand still.

He said further:

The 20th century is the most dynamic of all, and that rapid educational, political, economic, social, and religious changes will transpire.

Dr. Spiro said a good college must always be looking both forward and backward, like the ancient Italian diety, Janus, who presided over doors and gates, and over beginnings and endings, and who was possessed of two faces peering in opposite directions:

Unlike Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the university does not have two characters. Like Janus, however, it does have two faces, and is both conservative and progressive, conservative of the best of the long heritage of man, progressive in seeking new truth, new ideas, new and improved ways of life and thought.

Dr. Spiro told the graduating class of the 2,400-student university:

Your formal classroom education may now have ended, although some of you will surely seek the advantages of graduate and professional training. But for all of you * * * this is but the beginning of your educational journey. Keep looking back, like Janus, but always look forward. Dream, hope, venture, work, and pray.

In a speech to the Kiwanis Club of Jacksonville, prior to Independence Day, Dr. Spiro proclaimed that the national defense and well-being require that greater attention be given quality education. He said:

The future is bright, not gloomy. To look backward excessively is a mark of old age. Ours is a young country, Florida is a young State, Jacksonville University is a young institution, and quite frankly I myself feel like a young man. I am respectful of the past but exceedingly hopeful for the future.

It is the popular thing today to declare one's belief in education, although not all are willing to pay the price for it. In America one person in three is either enrolled in school or is a teacher. Yes, Americans believe in education, but we spend: More each year on tobacco than on public schools; more on automobiles annually than on public education; more on alcoholic beverages than for educational purposes; twice as much ($50 billion) on national defense as for all educational purposes.

As a citizen and Naval Reserve officer I heartily favor a vigorous and powerful national defense effort. But I also believe that far greater emphasis needs to be placed upon the national educational endeavor. Surely we must have adequate defense, but we must also have quality education, for it is absolutely essential in this age of space for national defense and the public weal.

Quality education is essential for our times. Civilization without education is inconceivable, for education is the process by which the younger generation learns the experiences of the ages.

Racial Rioting in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 24, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Nashville Banner, of Nashville, Tenn., printed two outstanding editorials, in its July 22 and July 23, 1964, editions, on the recent racial rioting in New York. I commend these editorials to the attention of my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed with these editorials a statement on the same subject today which I issued to the news media.

There being no objection, the statement and the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON NEW YORK RIOTING

The rioting and violence in Harlem and Brooklyn is most regrettable. It does seem, however, to have focused attention for the first time on the key role which Communists have been playing in racial disturbances in this country. For the past few years I have been requesting that the Congress investigate the Communist infiltration of the militant civil rights organizations, but my requests have fallen on deaf ears and my evidence ignored.

Now that we have major race riots in New York, however, the Communist connection has been recognized even by the very liberal mayor of New York City. The President has even ordered FBI agents there to investigate.

The difficulty with controlling these Communist-instigated riots in the North lies in the fact that our national leaders have encouraged lawlessness and civil disobedience, and this has been permitted to go too far under Communist inspiration and direction. Down home this is better known as the chickens coming home to roost.

SMEARERS KNOW: WITHOUT POLICE ON THE JOB, ANARCHY WOULD PREVAIL

Why the disparagement of policemen, as such, the almost spontaneous outbreak of vocal assault and wild-eyed accusation derogating that profession and men filling it?

It is a question needing answer because it is happening throughout America * * * in city after city; as a campaign of cultivated opprobrium.

New York right now is exhibit A of that—Harlem a battleground, and in the ensuing pandemonium charges hurled, echoing the Communist Daily Worker, that the police protecting that city from massive bloody riot are a "gestapo."

What is the motive behind this attempted breakdown of public respect and confidence and civilian morale?

It is because they wear the badge signifying law enforcement authority, and are—at the community level—the first line of defense against crime and civil disturbance, that police departments the Nation over have been subjected to this flannel-mouth abuse.

Though they are the immediate present target, they aren't the first to be in that line of fire. The National Guard in State after State—and collectively—has been assailed by groups bent on its dismantlement. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, chief instrument of the Nation's internal security, has undergone continuous potshots from the far left. For if these agencies were discredited, removed or straitjacketed, the last barriers to anarchy would have fallen.

Police departments, composed of these men—for the overwhelming most part, men dedicated and trained for their vital assignment—protect their respective cities from lawlessness. Their job is public safety, day and night.

Yet when in the line of duty they enforce the law and bag an offender, all too many times some mawkish sob-sister element, male or female, throws in, in his behalf, the crying towel, and he goes his wrist-tapped way rejoicing. Or in the present game of war-in-the-streets, where lives, property, and order itself are at stake, policemen enforcing the law are accused of "brutality."

"Brutality?" Nuts. You don't subdue hordes of street fighters, armed with clubs and bricks, rifles, and Molotov cocktails, by expressions of pretty-please and appeals to sweet reason.

Throughout this era of mass upheaval—in community after community, and coast to coast—policemen have leaned over backward to avoid roughhouse treatment of miscreants, from adolescents to their elders. They have, in the main, shown remarkable restraint, as acknowledged time after time by law-abiding citizens—irrespective of race—in the communities involved.

The deliberate effort to derogate police departments, as such, needs public attention—for it serves no American purpose. It fits, rather, the designs of those bent on feeding the flames of conflict; and is a strategem, whether or not all realize it, playing into the hands of the enemy.

Breaking down respect for authority is step 1 of a free nation's decline and fall.

Whether that disrespect stems from disregard of the parental obligation, or laxity at a subsequent level—up to and including the area of public authority—it doesn't build responsible citizenship, but makes both scofflaws and outlaws. It is with these, of whatever degree, that policemen must cope.

The shifting tide of pressures and circumstances has tended in recent years to obscure the precise line defining areas of contemporary law enforcement responsibility. In that pattern of change, itself making for some confusion, the trend has been to State, and increasingly to Federal direction, with priorities hardly calculated to enhance the status of local authority.

Still there are situations—local, instant emergencies among them—demanding ready law enforcement action at the local level.

That is the area of responsibility for the police departments in question. They are there. They are on the job. Had they failed, in instance after instance, anarchy would already have prevailed.

Earned confidence in America's policemen is a prerequisite of public security—and they deserve better than public surrender to the chant of ax grinders out on a mission of their own to undermine this major agency of protection.

DOCUMENTING THE OBVIOUS: A COMMUNIST BOASTS OF HIS ROLE IN HARLEM

If—despite strong evidences—there remained any measure of doubt in any "liberal" mind that communism was inciting, implementing and to a great extent directing racial conflict, the bald assertion of a self-confessed Red about his part in it, in Harlem, must have disposed of that doubt.

"Yes," said William Epton, in a televised interview there, "I am a Communist."

"Yes," he said, his Harlem Defense Council has organized the area block by block, "to defend themselves against attacks by police." Yes, his outfit did print and circulate the "Wanted for Murder" pamphlets against Police Lt. Thomas Gilligan.

That boastful acknowledgment takes the whole business out of the realm of speculation, and points at it the finger of fact.

It underscores the general premise reached long ago by the FBI—the enlightened warning, specifically, of Director J. Edgar Hoover, that Communists were penetrating and exploiting these movements. And it is exactly to ascertain the full facts of this present climatic case that the Federal Bureau is doublechecking the roots of conspiracy in Harlem.

Firebrands of civil insurrection don't like the FBI. Along with all police departments, North and South, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is their target of wild verbal assault; the malicious intent being disruption of public confidence preliminary to a breakdown of law and order.

The Communists here, and the Russians as far away as Moscow, are up to their usual tactics of blaming conservatives—in this case, the candidacy of BARRY GOLDWATER—for the violence occurring. The party organ, Izvestia, did that yesterday.

That is what they did 8 months ago, in the infamous allegation that it was "right-wingers" who were guilty in the murder of President Kennedy—though the assassin was a Communist sympathizer and dedicated disciple of Fidel Castro.

The facts speak for themselves, and did already before William Epton took to the television airwaves to identify his party's role in the movement, loud and clear.

Leech-like, they attach themselves to any operation that lends itself—wittingly or unwittingly—to manipulation and fomentation by their devices.

Communist leaders have been seen at various hate rallies, and have taken part in turning crowds into frenzied mobs bent on violence and destruction.

FBI agents working with the city's police are investigating to determine if Federal law has been violated.

There can be no element of doubt concerning the sponsorship of civil insurrection, and terrorism gripping the Nation's major city, with battles in its streets.

Outright Communists, pinkos, and stooges have infiltrated, along with other organizations, such outfits as the Black Nationalist movement, an organization dedicated to violence and race-baiting.

As a result, Harlem became a dark and bloody battleground. With the aid and comfort of the Reds the hate mongers are vieing for leadership, hoping to depose the more moderate elements whose principal appeal has been based on the doctrine of nonviolence.

The oldest and largest Negro organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has deplored the tactics of the activist Black Muslims and other groups of similar stripe. These NAACP leaders know that the entire civil rights program is being jeopardized by the New York warfare.

The Communists are not interested in anyone's civil rights. They thrive on trouble. The inflammatory race situation in New York and elsewhere provides the Reds a forum from which they can incite the easily led to violence against constituted authority; in the New York case, the police force has become "the enemy," subjected to physical abuse and vile language.

It long has been suspected that the Reds have used racial trouble to further their cause. Now, it has become a documented fact.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Eugene D. Rutland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, recently the Tennessee Press Association held their convention at Reelfoot Lake, which is in the Eighth Congressional District. Elected as the President of the Tennessee Press Association for the new year was Eugene D. Rutland, the tristate editor of the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tenn., an outstanding newspaper of the Nation.

There appeared an article in the Tennessee Press relative to Mr. Rutland which follows:

PRESIDENT RUTLAND 43-YEAR NEWS VET

Eugene D. Rutland, new president of the TPA, has been in the newspaper business 43 years.

That, of course, means he began as a carrier boy. And in between delivering newspapers and becoming a writer, he owned and published a community weekly, giving him an opportunity to touch each phase of the newspaper business.

Gene, as he is known to all TPA'ers, was born in the Fort Pickering section of Memphis.

His parents were Mississippians: his mother, Lula S. Eaton, was born near Amory, Miss., and his father, Eugene Parks Rutland, at Aberdeen, Miss. They were farmers and moved to Memphis shortly before he was born.

His father became a candymaker and the Rutland tribe soon entered the candy business in Memphis. His father died when he was 9 during the 1918 flu epidemic. He has eight brothers and sisters.

Gene received his elementary education at the old Merrill School and Cummings School and was graduated from South High School in 1927. During his grade-school days he delivered the Sunday edition of the Commercial Appeal and during high school he was a carrier for the Press and the Press-Scimitar.

BEGAN STUDYING JOURNALISM

After high school he took a short sojourn at Memphis State University. He quit and began reading watermeters for the city and studying journalism at Memphis Tech High School. During that period he would work all day and report to the city editor of the Commercial Appeal at 7 each night to work for experience.

In June 1929 he decided it was time to get into the newspaper business. So he took his vacation period and worked for free—he thought—on the Commercial Appeal.

When his vacation period was up and he knew he had to have work he went to Sam Kahn, the city editor, and said.

"Mr. Kahn are you going to be able to put me to work?"

And the somewhat surprised editor asked, "What, you haven't picked up your pay checks for the last 2 weeks?"

Gene was more surprised than the city editor.

He began as church and school editor, filling in sometimes as a society reporter. After 2 years as church and school editor he was switched to the police run. Later he became real estate editor.

MARRIED ZERA MERIDETH

While he was real estate editor, he met and married the former Zera Merideth of Caruthersville, Mo. They will celebrate their 32d wedding anniversary July 23 this year. They have two children, Dr. Eugene D. Rutland Jr., of Woodbury, N.J., and Mrs. Mary Jane Johnston, a first grade schoolteacher in Shelby County. They have a grandson and a granddaughter.

Gene moved from real estate to director of the Commercial Appeal's famed plant-to-prosper competition, which at one time attracted more than 100,000 entries and has helped change the one-crop system of farming in the Midsouth.

In April 1939, he was appointed associate information adviser for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, operating in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. After 3 years, the call of the printers ink won out and he became chief of the Little Rock bureau of the Commercial Appeal.

He returned to Memphis in 1943 as a special assignment reporter and remained there until Uncle Sam beckoned in March 1944. He was stationed at Camp Crowder for about 2 years and most of the time he was on the staff of the Message, the camp paper with a giveaway circulation of 15,000 each week. He was editor with the rank of staff sergeant when he was released from the service.

HANDLED ALL ASSIGNMENTS

During his newspaper career, Gene has handled about every kind of assignment. His major assignments as a reporter were a bond scandal which resulted in the disbarment of several attorneys; the starting of a campaign that brought a slum clearance program to Memphis; the waste at the Japanese Relocation Center in Arkansas during World War II; and the handling of the desegregation story since 1954.

He has had reporters at every major integregation fight since 1954.

He returned to the Commercial Appeal after the war as tristate editor and began his active participation in the activities of the Tennessee Press Association in 1947. Always interested in helping promote journalism, he first obtained the approval of a journalism scholarship which continued for 3 or 4 years.

He was elected a director from the ninth district in 1959 and vice president for dailies in 1962. He has served on a number of committees of the association.

He has served as president of the Tennessee Association of the Associated Press for two terms and one term as president of the United Press International in Tennessee.

A rather hardheaded individual, Gene believes that the highest compliment that has been paid him was by Parson Teague, editorial writer for the Commercial Appeal. Of him Mr. Teague said:

"He didn't know that the job could not be done, so he went ahead and did it."

ACTIVE IN CHURCH, SCHOOL

Outside of his newspaper career, Gene has found time to take an active part in church and school endeavors. He served on the publicity committee for the first national meeting of the Brotherhod of the Southern Baptist Convention and lectures frequently at Union University, University of Mississippi, Mississippi State College for Women, and Memphis State University.

He has been a Sunday school teacher for nearly 20 years and a leader in training union work for about 10 years. He was director of public relations and editor of the church paper at Bellevue Baptist for many years.

He was a leader and one of the founders of the Second Baptist Church and is now a teacher in the young married peoples department and leader of an adult training union. He is public relations director of the church and secretary of the finance committee.

For a number of years Gene and Walter Durham presented the farmers program over WMC and later did a television show.

HAS THREE HOBBIES

His hobbies are his home, his church, and his newspaper. He putters about his home at 887 Maple Drive with roses, grass and a workshop. He would rather fix a broken item than have it fixed. His stumbling block is a clock—he doesn't have much luck with them.

Gene and Mrs. Rutland are antique enthusiasts. She finds them and they refinish them together. Mrs. Rutland is a hooked rug artist and has won a number of State awards for her handicraft. Their most recent hobby project is an enlarged patio with a brick wall, which Gene erected and really learned the meaning of "working your fingers to the quick." He found bricks, concrete, and tender hands do not mix.

What other time he has he likes to read, try to play golf and do things for other people.

There's just on thing that bugs him: lazy people.

To best sum up Mr. Rutland's career, which has been outstanding, is an editorial from the Commercial Appeal which follows:

RUTLAND DULY HONORED

The Tennessee Press Association has just chosen Eugene D. Rutland, tristate editor of the Commercial Appeal, as its president. Mr. Rutland has been duly honored and given fully merited recognition by an organization for which he has worked long, hard and effectively. We are proud of Mr. Rutland and very much pleased and not at all surprised at the preferment that has come to him.

After knowing Eugene Rutland and observing him in action for many years, we confidently predict for the TPA that it will be the beneficiary of an administration marked by fidelity and capability devoted to constructive undertakings. The TPA members who know their new president do not need to be told that he will be truly energetic. The others will soon find out.

Oregon Utility Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, "The vision to see; the conscience to reason; the courage to speak" is the byline of the Portland Reporter, a Portland, Oreg., newspaper published by Robert J. Davis. This paper has lived up to its byline many times. A June 30, 1964, editorial entitled "Questions for Boys Town" is evidence of this. This editorial comes to the defense of the junior Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], who was attacked by "an uninformed and careless politician" of Governor Hatfield's administration for remarks she made on the Senate floor concerning the failure of the Oregon Public Service Commission to pass on the recent Federal tax reduction in the form of lower rates to Oregon's utility ratepayers. The editorial concludes by asking several questions concerning Oregon Public Utility Commission action, or lack of action, over the last 18 years—questions in which I am interested, and which I hope the Commission will answer. I for one, however, am confident that these questions, like so many others that I have asked concerning public utility regulation and operations, will remain—at least for the time being—unanswered.

These questions become even more pertinent in light of the recent unprecedented action of the Montana Railroad and Public Service Commission in voluntarily and of its own motion ordering the Montana Power Co. to reduce its rates by about one and one-quarter million dollars, based upon the same tax-reduction savings mentioned in the editorial.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial from the June 30, 1964, issue of the Portland Reporter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUESTIONS FOR BOYS TOWN

U.S. Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER is the latest in a long list of persons treated to a dose of invective from appointed or elected officials of the Hatfield administration. As we recall, it was Howell Appling who established the tradition that every Hatfield man must be able to lick his own weight in wild caterpillars. Verbally, of course. Government by vituperation is a new experience for Oregonians and we have been waiting expectantly for the inevitable reaction. When it comes it should be worth watching.

Critics of the Boardman lease were given a disgraceful tongue lashing last fall by Warne Nunn, the Governor's stand-in for such exercises. A short time later Nunn outdid himself with a torrent of billingsgate directed at State Representative Beulah Hand when she commented on failure of the State police to warn overnight campers in seashore State parks of the impending tidal wave, with ensuing loss of life.

Mr. Hatfield's helpers seem to enjoy and prefer ladies as their targets. Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, Commissioner Emily Logan, and others have been singled out for attack on more than one occasion.

All that is necessary to loose the ball-bearing jaws and swiveled tongues of the statehouse crowd is for someone—anyone, but preferably a woman—to question the wisdom and sanctity of any policy, dear to the Governor. Pointing out a mistake or lack of policy, of course, really does it.

Senator NEUBERGER called forth the most recent blast from Salem—increasingly referred to as Boys Town—when she suggested that Public Utility Commissioner Jonel Hill should take steps to pass on the recent reduction of the Federal corporation income tax paid by utilities, from 52 to 50 percent, in the form of lower rates to Oregon's utility ratepayers. Mr. Hill, not to be outdone by Mr. Nunn, gallantly described Senator NEUBERGER's comments as "the shrill peckings of an uninformed and careless politician."

His metaphor may have been unintelligible but his meaning was plain: His claws are as sharp as any in Salem and his is a mean man in a hair-pulling match. Have a care with those questions, sir or madam.

Well, we on the Reporter have been living dangerously and thriving on it for some time. So we now venture into the lion cubs' den with a few modest questions.

Senator LEE METCALF, of Montana, pointed out on the Senate floor last April 17 that since World War II the Federal Government has drastically reduced the operating expenses of all utilities in the United States by the following means:

1. By repeal of the Federal excess profits tax.
2. By repeal of the Federal 3½-percent gross electric revenue tax.
3. By allowing use of accelerated amortization in computing taxes.
4. By allowing use of liberalized depreciation in computing taxes.
5. By providing for a 3-percent investment tax credit.
6. By revision of Bulletin F on depreciation.
7. By allowing use of compound interest depreciation for tax purposes while using straight line depreciation for ratemaking.
8. By providing a 2-percent reduction in corporate income tax.

Assuming Senator METCALF's list is correct and that every citizen has the right to ask civil questions, what we'd like to know is this: What steps have been taken by the Oregon PUC in the last 18 years to translate all or any of these utility corporation savings into rate reductions for Oregon's utility customers? Have there been any rate reductions? Or has every single rate proceeding of the Oregon PUC during those years resulted in a rate increase? What is the present rate of return on stockholders' equity for each of the major utilities in Oregon?

We are prepared for anything but what we'd like are the answers.

Ridiculous Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier quite properly has branded as ridiculous the contention of Governor Rockefeller that it is wrong to be extremely interested in liberty and justice.

The following excellent editorial appeared in the July 20 issue of the Courier:

TOLERATE INJUSTICE AND ACCEPT SOME SLAVERY?

In an unprecedented quarrel over word meanings, Governor Rockefeller has attacked Senator GOLDWATER for declaring that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

Rockefeller said that "to extol extremism—whether 'in defense of liberty' or 'in pursuit of justice' is dangerous, irresponsible, and frightening."

From a semantic standpoint, Rockefeller's attack is ridiculous. There are many situations in which an "extreme" position is justified. Everyone would want a police chief to be "extremely" interested in preventing murder. A doctor should be an "extremist" in determining that everything possible be done to cure a patient suffering from pneumonia. Rockefeller will not win a sympathetic response from the public by asserting that a presidential candidate should not be extremely interested in liberty and justice.

But, however inadequate his grounds, Rockefeller's attack indicates that the New York Governor proposes to continue the "rule or ruin" policy which he followed during the convention. He has for years merely used the party as a vehicle for his own ambitions and he has never indicated that he had any principles except a belief in his fitness for high office. He had a right to express his views in the controversy before the selection of the nominee. But no loyal Republican will, after the selection has been made, provoke a silly quarrel over word meanings. Rockefeller's attack indicates that he must be considering resigning from the party.

It is true that the John Birch Society supports GOLDWATER as the most conservative of leading candidates and it is true that the program of the Birch Society could properly be called extremely conservative. In order to avoid confusion, we believe GOLDWATER should repudiate the doctrine of the Birchers while acknowledging that they propose to obtain their goals by entirely constitutional and peaceful means.

But we, like GOLDWATER, are extremists on liberty and justice. It may be that Rockefeller has handed the Republican nominee a popular issue. If you are not an extremist on justice and liberty, presumably you are only a moderate on such questions. Does Rockefeller accept a little injustice and compromise with salvery?

Hamilton Fish Predicts Goldwater Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in a recent issue of the New York Times, former Congressman Hamilton Fish has an interesting and impressive letter commenting upon a statement by former national Democratic chairman, James A. Farley, and predicting a Goldwater victory in this fall's election. In addition, "Ham" Fish, as he was known by all his colleagues during his 25 years in Congress, presents some highly impressive reasons for his conclusions.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter, which was published in the New York Times, be printed in the Appendix

of the RECORD, so that the country and the Congress will have an opportunity to read the observations by this veteran New York Republican leader.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARLEY DISPUTED ON GOP—HAMILTON FISH PREDICTS GOLDWATER WILL CARRY ALL BUT SIX STATES

To the EDITOR:

James A. Farley, for whom I have a very high personal regard, has issued a public statement that although Senator BARRY GOLDWATER may get a large vote, he will only carry six States. Mr. Farley has every right to his views as an outstanding Democrat. But he has been spending too much time traveling on business in Europe, where he must have absorbed some unfriendly news items in the English, French, and other European papers.

Senator GOLDWATER is more like Theodore Roosevelt, our most popular and greatest President since Lincoln, than anyone who has been nominated on the Republican ticket. His courage and Americanism have an appeal—let me say to Mr. Farley—not only for the rank and file Republicans but also for the Jeffersonian Democrats both in the North and South. This campaign will be waged on issues greater than the Republican or Democratic Party.

AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENT

I challenge the party of Jefferson to make an issue of Senator GOLDWATER's statement that "extremism in defense of liberty is not a vice." This statement is not strong enough. It should be affirmative. It is a virtue, a very great virtue within the law and Constitution.

Over 100 million American citizens have come to this country in search of liberty since the Revolutionary War, not for 10 percent liberty but for 100 percent liberty. Extremism means 100 percent in defense of liberty.

Every signer of the Declaration of Independence, including my own ancestor, Lewis Morris, was an extremist in defense of liberty. That also includes George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. They were all extremists for liberty, even at the risk of their necks. About 16 million Americans fought for liberty in World War II, and 5 million in World War I. They did not fight in defense of some phony kind of liberty, or appeasement of communism, but for 100 percent of liberty, both at home and abroad.

The statement of Senator GOLDWATER "extremism in defense of liberty" may well become as famous as Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death." Lafayette, Von Steuben, Kosciusko, Pulaski, and De Kalb were French, Polish, and German patriots. The two latter were killed in battle fighting for liberty in our Revolutionary War.

CONTINUED APPEASEMENT

I am disturbed by the mealy-mouth statements on appeasement, or compromising with liberty, either from Democrats or Republicans. When this issue is presented clearly to the American people, GOLDWATER will carry all but six States and be elected the next President of the United States. The continued appeasement of communism transcends party lines. Every radical left-winger, Socialist and Communist is against Senator GOLDWATER's courageous effort to stop the march to state socialism. This may well be the last chance for voters.

With all due respect to my longtime friend Jim Farley, I would point out that in the last 50 years we have had three wars under three different Democratic Presidents, and if President Johnson—backed by the ardent internationalists of the East—is re-elected, we are headed for another war, but this time a nuclear war that will destroy civilization and leave China the only victor.

HAMILTON FISH.

NEW YORK, *July 20, 1964.*

Once Nation's Code: Now Frightening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. McLOSKEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. McLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent days a furor has been raised by many parties who found the remarks in Senator GOLDWATER's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention on the subject of extremism uncalled for. Mr. Speaker, I would like to see a renewal rather than a rejection of devotion to extremism, rightly understood, in the pursuit of liberty. Others feel as I do that we owe an immeasurable debt to the extremists of the past and of our own time who refused to hedge where liberty was at stake.

In the July 23 edition of the Galva News, there appeared an editorial which seems to me to place the extremist issue in its proper perspective. Under unanimous consent, the editorial entitled "Once Nation's Code—Now Frightening," follows:

ONCE NATION'S CODE—NOW FRIGHTENING

Through the years—175 of them—this Nation has had some mighty men who were advocates of extremism in the defense of liberty.

Grade school children are still exposed to the words of Patrick Henry:

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me give me liberty or give me death."

Benjamin Franklin didn't mince words, either, when the subject of liberty arose:

"They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

And Franklin D. Roosevelt put a high price on liberty—to the point of extremism.

"We, too, born to freedom are willing to fight to maintain freedom. We, and others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees."

And the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church asks God's aid in helping Christians to battle for liberty and strive for justice:

"Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations."

Yet, last week, some of the men to whom Americans look to leadership were ready to ostracize another who spoke firmly on behalf of liberty and justice.

"I would remind you," said Senator BARRY GOLDWATER upon his nomination as the Republican candidate for President, "that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Men like Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York—a man who believed himself able to serve as President of the United States—termed GOLDWATER's words "dangerous, irresponsible, and frightening."

Former President Eisenhower, a man who led forces of thousands onto a bloody beach to regain the liberty of France, and assure that of America and England just 20 years ago, asked for an explanation.

An explanation?

Need one in America today explain why it is not a vice to be extreme in defense of liberty? Must one point out that dragging your feet in pursuit of justice is aiding neither God, country, or fellow man?

Can it be that Americans have reached such low ebb that they believe such ideals are symbolic only of membership in the John Birch Society?

When such situations arise it makes one consider the words of Winston Churchill who offered "blood, sweat, and tears" in defense of liberty.

"I have watched this famous island descending incontinently, fecklessly the stairway which leads to a dark gulf. It is a fine, broad stairway at the beginning, but after a bit the carpet ends. A little farther on there are only flagstones, and a little farther on still these break beneath your feet."

Have we started down the stairway?

Purdue Scientists Develop High-Protein Corn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, as we approach debate on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964, it is well to remember that there are many ways, other than direct financial assistance, to aid other nations. Every development by American scientists which can be applied to the uplifting of the living standard in underprivileged countries is a contribution to foreign aid. We have made numerous such advances in the field of agriculture, by developing better strains of rice or other foodstuffs, improving the breeds of poultry and cattle, and in other ways making technical progress by which needy nations advance.

A recent contribution of this kind with a great potential is that of three Purdue University scientists. Dr. E. T. Mertz, Dr. H. H. Kramer, and Dr. O. E. Nelson have developed a high-protein corn with great promise for the nourishment of the protein-short nations. The Lafayette, Ind., Courier-Journal has recently commented editorially, under the title "Good News for the Hungry," on the new discovery.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOOD NEWS FOR THE HUNGRY

Three Purdue men—Dr. E. T. Mertz, Dr. H. H. Kramer, and Dr. O. E. Nelson—have contributed to science what may turn out to be one of the greatest humanitarian discoveries of our era.

Their new high-protein corn bridges a gap for the underprivileged and underdeveloped

lands of the world that may let them quickly join us in our century.

Corn is, of course, one of the most widely available and easily produced cereal staples for most climates.

It is, however, in its normal state, woefully low on vital proteins which human consumers require and demand in their diets.

Those of us in the privileged meat-eating countries have easily solved this problem by growing corn, putting it into meat animals which are the most efficient protein machines known, and then consuming the animal protein.

But in underprivileged countries, this option vanishes. Most of them are too poor to afford meat animals. Their useful land is too crowded to raise and feed the animals. So they are tied to eating, directly, the meager products of their soil.

That's where the Purdue men's new corn comes in. It raises the nutrition level of corn, which henceforth can cheaply feed more people more adequately. The result should be to allow more energy to be expended for projects other than bare subsistence, thereby opening doors to progress.

It is axiomatic that you cannot interest people in the abstractions of progress until they can take their eyes off their bellies and hoes. Once fed, their concerns broaden.

But the man who must spend all of his waking hours on bare subsistence has neither the time nor the interest for anything else. But fed, with time to spare, he will look up to the mountains, and move them if need be.

So Purdue's high-protein corn is particularly exciting. Because it may provide the spark that starts the cycle going that quickly will bring progress to the forgotten corners of the world.

Says Oldtimer James Farley: New Breed of Politician Superior

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the great political leaders of our time has commented on the political scene and whatever Jim Farley says is always of benefit to all of us. I commend to you the article from the Miami Herald of July 26, 1964, which follows:

SAYS OLDTIMER JAMES FARLEY: NEW BREED OF POLITICIAN SUPERIOR

(For decades, James A. Farley has loomed large on the American political scene. At 76, his counsel still is sought, and he speaks with the experience of a man who began political activity more than half century ago. Mr. Farley, now board chairman of Coca-Cola Export Corp., here writes of the new politician molded by a changing world.)

(By James A. Farley)

As the presidential election season gets underway, several important factors are obvious.

For one thing, the new breed of politician is far superior to its predecessors. The reason is patently simple. The country has improved immeasurably, has become far more complex and hence requires far more able men to run it. The American people have made great advances in the past few decades, and the men they have placed in public office reflect that change.

The fact that the quality of public officers has improved reflects more than the improved standards which the American people seek and indeed demand. It reflects, also and obviously, the improved quality of party leadership. To make sure of the future strength and well-being of our country, we need more of this new breed in our political life.

There are very few representatives of either major party who are not aware of the great changes which have taken place, and even more importantly, of the greater changes which are evolving.

The party which gives best expression to this expanding life of the American people will be the party they select to implement their progress.

Since a political leader's first duty is to get his party elected, he—more than anyone in the community—should be aware of the changes. As an example of change, in this one year our colleges graduated more students than the total of graduates in our Nation in 1864. Once higher education was a privilege of wealth; now it is an absolute necessity for any aspiring youth.

This new type in the electorate is perfectly aware that the business of shaping our public strength and welfare is now the largest business in the country. Moreover, educated people are highly cognizant of the fact that public business is the most important business in the country, and that the life of every citizen is intimately bound up with it.

Times have changed. The old-fashioned ward leaders who relied on the May-waltz, the clambake and the Thanksgiving turkey are as quaintly moribund as the old harness shop. The modern district leader has to have the answers on new school financing, public health policies, and proposed zoning changes.

Once he was the political broker, the protecting hand for the illiterate immigrant in a strange land. That kind of immigrant has passed into history. The public school system, which is the real heat under the melting pot, has fused his children and his neighbors' children into a new breed of Americans.

Not only is the American public more open-minded, but the modern means of communication—newspapers, radio, magazine and TV—have provided the average citizen with a continuing and instantaneous account of public matters; a coverage which allows the candidate to appeal directly to the people and which liberates him from the outmoded "bosses" of our political past.

There may or may not have been the legendary "few men in a smoke-filled room who handpicked the top candidates. But if such still exist, you can bet they will not gain a victory merely by concentrating their personal whims. Today's political leaders must use every bit of commonsense and "know-how" and intuition to pick a winner.

They are much more interested in what the average citizen is likely to think than they are in what they personally like or dislike.

These concepts have given rise to what in my opinion is a great fallacy.

There are those who refer to the present crop of public servants as "glamor-age politicians." I do not hold with this view at all. A man has to prove a great more than "glamor" to hold his own in politics these days.

In that respect, TV has been called the greatest lie detector in history. I tend to agree. The deficiencies of a man who is unqualified are beyond the power of any make-up artist. I further cannot bring myself to believe that the most adept of cosmeticians can place upon the face of any candidate the leadership he lacks in his heart.

It may well be that the extreme good looks of our late President John F. Kennedy misled the unanalytical into believing that appearance was his principal asset. It was not. His enthusiasm, his idealism and his leadership were ornamented by his good looks; but his appeal was built on his character.

In terms of our own history, I cannot conceive of much fundamental change, had the present means of communications been available to us since 1776. Indeed, for the true greats of our past, they might have made things easier.

I think the oldtime stem-winding stump orators wouldn't last 5 minutes today. People today want facts and decisions in a terse half-hour, not a 4-hour, exercise in metaphors and similies.

In my own time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt changed all that with his radio fireside chats. The voice was great to be sure, but the public sensed that behind it was an even greater heart. And, as has been elsewhere said, what comes from the heart goes to the heart, whether by radio, TV, or newspaper.

I believe that our age is meeting this new challenge. As one who believes in the two-party system, I am convinced that both parties have brought forth splendid and superior men in our times. The fact that I was not a particular admirer of the policies of the Republican Party when I was chairman of the Democratic National Committee did not blind me to the fact that it possessed in such leaders as Senator Robert L. Taft, of Ohio, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, of Michigan, and Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, men of highest integrity and ability. Indeed, I found former President Herbert C. Hoover to be the noblest of opponents.

Contrary to a widely held opinion, the great leaders of both parties place the Nation over and above any party considerations. Senator Vandenberg, Republican, and the former Senate Majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat, gave full and lasting proof of this. Senator Vandenberg took his party from the backwoods of isolation to the clear ground of bipartisan unity. Senator Johnson, for his part, in the face of bitter criticism from elements within his own party, supported President Eisenhower on foreign policy to a degree unprecedented in American history.

The convulsions inside the Republican Party today validate the stand taken by Senator Vandenberg and Senator Johnson. The responsible leadership of the Republican Party has openly repudiated diehard isolationism and reaction. This repudiation I do not count as intraparty politics; I count it as service to the Nation.

The atomic bomb and its use must not be an issue in this election. The American people will crush overwhelmingly any suggestion that the life and death of hundreds of millions of people is a fit subject for loose campaign oratory.

Like tens of thousands of Democrats, I informed President Eisenhower at the time of the Berlin crisis that I stood solidly behind any American President when the Nation was challenged. I speak, therefore, not as a Democrat, but as an American when I emphatically state that any American President deserves the support the country gave to President Eisenhower in his own hours of decision. And I am not ashamed to say as a Democrat that President Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat, has the same right to support that he gave to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican.

John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, last month WRC–TV presented a program entitled "The House on the Poto-

mac." The distinguished actress, Miss Helen Hayes, donated her services as hostess. The program—for which the time was donated by WRC–TV—was designed primarily to bring viewers up to date on the progress of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

I ask unanimous consent that the audio script for the program be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the script was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HOUSE ON THE POTOMAC—THE JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

(Written by Thomas E. Simonton, directed by Richard Quinnette, produced by Robert G. McHendrix)

(A production of the WRC–TV Public Affairs Department, National Broadcasting Co., Washington, D.C.)

Opening: Videotape recording of President Kennedy's speech, National Guard Armory, November 29, 1962.

Sound on VTR: President KENNEDY. Genius can speak at any time, and the entire world will hear it and listen. Behind the storm of daily conflict and crisis, the dramatic confrontations, the tumult of political struggle * * * the poet, the artist, the musician, continues the quiet work of centuries, building bridges of experience between peoples, reminding man of the universality of his feelings and desires and despairs, and reminding him that the forces that unite are deeper than those that divide.

Thus, art and the encouragement of art is political in the most profound sense, not as a weapon in the struggle, but as an instrument of understanding of the futility of struggle between those who share man's faith.

ANNOUNCER. Ladies and gentlemen, Miss Helen Hayes.

Miss HAYES. Good evening. The words you have just heard were spoken by the 35th President of the United States on November 29, 1962, at the National Guard Armory in the District of Columbia. The occasion was a closed-circuit television broadcast, the purpose of which was to raise funds for the National Cultural Center. Since then, the name of the Center has been changed—but not its purpose. That purpose was and is to enrich the whole cultural life of our society through a center for the performing arts in our Nation's Capital.

What are the performing arts? Some sage once suggested the term lively arts as being descriptive. The theater, music, the dance—all are lively, or at least they should be. What gives these media the life they should have are the works of the writer, the composer, the artist. Certain art forms were created right here in America. Musical comedy, jazz, many forms of contemporary serious music and dance—all were created in the freedom that is our society. And the poet. Certainly there were poets long before the New World was ever known to exist. But the American poet has brought his own extract to flavor the world of letters. That cold, snowy day in January 1961, an American poet was invited to the rostrum on the steps of the Capitol to immortalize the inauguration of a President. Remember these words, written and delivered by Robert Frost?

(Film sequence of Robert Frost reading poem at inauguration, January 1961.)

Miss HAYES. You might say I have a particular interest in a center for the performing, or lively, arts in our Nation's Capital. I was born and raised here in Washington, D.C. And, as an actress, I participated in the performing arts. My interest may be particular, but I cannot presume to call it personal. For such a cultural center is something personal to all of us.

Washington, D.C., is the Nation's Capital to all of us. It is the focal point of our society—the center of our culture.

The center of culture is honored in other capitals of the world; in France, for example, L'Opera in Paris. And in Tunisia, near the site of ancient Carthage. And in Vienna, city of Strauss the elder and Strauss the younger. And in Moscow, where political revolution could not deny the national legacy of Tchaikovsky. Rachmaninoff, and Rimski-Korsakov.

But the United States is the only major country and Washington, D.C., the only major capital which fails to provide a national forum for the performing arts.

It is unfortunate, at a time when we are endeavoring to convince the world that our way of life provides the best environment for cultural development, that we should give the impression that we are indifferent to the arts. We are not indifferent.

The National Gallery of Art—right here in Washington, where it should be—displays some of the most renowned paintings of the world—and all of them belong to the people of the United States. It says so, in marble, right at the entrance. But we have been remiss in not providing for something more in the Capital of our Nation. We have been remiss in not giving recognition to our great achievements in music, ballet, drama, and poetry. We have been remiss in not giving impetus to the artistic activities of local communities, such as the many fine local orchestras, opera companies, and theater groups across the land. We have been remiss in not honoring the art of other countries in a national setting.

And what is more national, than the Federal City that belongs to all the people of the United States?

In our Federal City, Washington, this is where your Cultural Center will be located. It will overlook the historic Potomac River.

The building will be designed by architect Edward Durell Stone, and consist of three halls under the same roof: The symphony hall, with an approximate seating capacity of 2,750; an 1,100-seat theater for the staging of plays. The hall for opera, ballet, and musical theater will comfortably seat 2,200 people. A roof garden will be available for band concerts, art exhibits, festivals, children's theater, theater-in-the-round, and restaurants. White marble facing will sheath the building, and it will be surrounded by a series of delicate steel columns encased in bronze with a gold finish.

Adjacent to the new Theodore Roosevelt Bridge and the Arlington Memorial Bridge further down the parkway, the Center will be convenient to all parts of the Washington metropolitan area. The building will be within sight of the Lincoln Memorial, and within walking distance to the reflecting pool which connects the Memorial with the Washington Monument.

Ray Scherer of NBC News, is with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. They will now trace a little bit of modern history, bipartisan in its span of a Republican and then a Democratic administration.

RAY SCHERER. I wonder if you can tell us, Mr. Attorney General, something of the historical background of the Center, how it came into being.

Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY. In 1958, during the administration of President Dwight Eisenhower, the Congress of the United States passed an act which authorized the creation of a national center for the performing arts in the District of Columbia. The act creating what was then known as the National Cultural Center provided the land upon which the Center would be built, but stipulated that funds for the building must come from voluntary contributions of the American people.

In January 1964, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the act dedicating the National Cultural Center as the official memorial to John F. Kennedy in the Nation's Capital.

The legislation received full bipartisan support in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. This, the last bill concerning the Center, authorized the appropriation of Federal funds up to $15½ million to match those raised by voluntary contributions of the American people.

While the authorization of the appropriation allows work on the Center to proceed sooner than previously anticipated, a substantial sum has yet to be raised through public contribution.

Miss Hayes has already described the Center to you. I should like to say that I personally feel that both the design and the location are magnificent. I concur with Mr. Stone's description of the site as "one of the most exciting and glorious settings for a public building in the world." And I know that in arriving at these plans, the trustees have kept the concept of the Center well in mind and the exciting programs it will one day carry out. Now, let me tell you of still another program to be undertaken in the Center, in addition to providing a home for the performing arts.

The story of our people, our society, our way of life; in short, the story of our Nation, will be on display in a most vivid manner. A place is to be set aside at the Center for the showing of films documenting the progress of that great experiment in freedom which began on a hot July day in Philadelphia 188 years ago. These documentaries will show how our freedom was gained and maintained, through the efforts of Americans from all stations of life—in peace, and when it has been necessary for those Americans to defend their freedoms, in war.

The story of America will be shown in the lives of our great men and women just as they were, not just the moments of vision and victory, but the unending toil that made their vision and victory—George Washington saying that he had not only grown old but blind in the service of his country; John Hancock, plagued by ill health during the Revolution—he died at an early age; George Washington Carver, single handedly making his scientific discoveries, often without aid of sufficient laboratory equipment; Douglas MacArthur driving himself to pass the exams for West Point after missing years of study while on duty at lonely Army posts; President Kennedy pushing vigorously for the programs in which he believed, although suffering with severe pain for almost half his waking hours.

These sacrifices are the price of the freedom and the greatness of America. These lives must be the patterns for our lives if America is to achieve her destiny.

I think that these documentaries can make a visit to Washington into a pilgrimage. They will make us not only have knowledge of our national legacy, but to love it and to use it. My brother, President Kennedy, was constantly aware of the legacy that allowed that noble experiment conceived in Philadelphia in 1776 to continue. And the effort of all who continue to make our country great is only appreciated when it is placed in the perspective of what has gone before.

RAY SCHERER. That will be the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, if you, the American public wish it to be. For it will be your Center—yours through your contributions to build it—yours through your visits and support once it is build.

It will bear the name of a man all of us, despite personal partisanship, had grown to admire during the 3 short years he lived at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW. The Center will be the only memorial to John K. Kennedy in the Federal City he loved.

The Congress of the United States wanted it that way—dignity demands that it be that way—and we are sure he would have wanted it that way. What sort of man was John Fitzgerald Kennedy? We would not presume to answer that. His brother, the Attorney General, has given us some insight. But a man's worth can only be determined by what he inspired in those around him. Merely by his presence, this is what he inspired 40,000 residents of West Berlin to do on June 26, 1963:

(Film sequence showing President Kennedy's arrival in Berlin in June 1963, and his "I am a Berliner" speech.)

Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY. It was not a partisan demonstration, that welcome in Berlin—for the people of West Berlin cared not if he was Republican or Democrat. To them he was the President of the United States.

John F. Kennedy appreciated the arts—and it was his wish that they be preserved and encouraged in the free society that encouraged men such as he to become President.

Miss HAYES. Since the death of John F. Kennedy, streets, buildings, airports, and stadiums have been named for him—a concerted effort by the people whom he served to say: We'll remember you. By this building, devoted to those lively arts, we—the people of the United States—hope to say: This was a man, in the eyes of all of us who lived. Good night.

Pecos Valley, Tex., Cantaloups—Some of the Most Delicious in World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Pecos cantaloups, grown in the warm, dry air of the Pecos Valley, but irrigated at proper times, with the peculiar flavor from the soil of the Pecos Valley permeating the fruit, have been known for decades as some of the most unusual, delicious cantaloups in the world.

Back before the days of air travel, the Texas & Pacific Railway served them for decades on their diners, and gained fame for its dining-car service, the delicacy of the fruit, and also worldwide fame for the delicious taste of the Pecos cantaloup. I first tasted these delicious Pecos Valley cantaloups on a Texas & Pacific dining car, en route to El Paso, to practice law in 1927, and have enjoyed them ever since.

In this day of air travel, Pecos cantaloups are shipped throughout our Nation and to other parts of the world. It is appropriate that West Texas Today, the official publication of the West Texas Chamber of Commerce, takes note of these unusual, well-flavored cantaloups. I commend the writer of this excellent account and the magazine which published it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD a feature article from the July 1964, issue of this publication. The article is entitled "Pecos Cantaloups Are Source of Great Pride." It is a reprint of an article written by Marj Carpenter, and published in the Pecos Independent.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PECOS CANTALOUPS ARE SOURCE OF GREAT PRIDE

(By Marj Carpenter)

Pecos cantaloups have been acclaimed by many as "the best in the world" for almost 30 years. And they continue to claim that title.

Growers in the area this year have over 600 acres planted and expect the season to be underway in mid-July. Around 300 acres have been planted by the two big producers, M. L. Todd Co. and Williams Produce. These two growers have produced the tasty melons successfully in this area for many years.

It was the M. L. Todd Co. that pioneered the crop in the Pecos area and who first gained fame for the Pecos cantaloups by selling them to the Texas & Pacific Railway for use on the dining cars back in the early twenties.

The melons were soon delivered to top hotels throughout the land. Over half of the crop now goes to fill gift orders for special shipments sent throughout the world.

VALUABLE LIST

Last season during a cantaloup shed fire, the M. L. Todd Co.'s primary concern was for their mailing list of these many customers. The bookkeeping portion of the building was saved and the shed has been rebuilt in preparation for a big season again this year.

In the Coyanosa area, one grower this year has put in 150 acres which will be packed by Jones Bros. Producers from south Texas. Still a third melon growing area near Pecos has been added this year with Ceres Ranches putting in some 150 acres of cantaloups on their farms south of Pecos. It looks like a good year for the Pecos melons.

The crop missed early hailstorms which were prevalent in the cotton area, and have thus far escaped any severe water damage.

The Pecos melon looks like it may hit a peak season in 1964, according to Don Vinson of M. L. Todd Co. and Tim Rich, of the Ceres Ranches group, who are pioneering this season in diversified crops on farms which have heretofore only grown cotton.

The Pecos area, which is now a rich cotton growing empire, was for many years a ranching area with only a few farming interests.

FAME FROM CANTALOUPS

Cantaloups were one of these early interests and one that has persisted through the years to gain fame for Pecos. Many persons in other parts of the world first heard of Pecos through its cantaloups.

Growers went through a period when other cantaloup growers tried to capitalize on the Pecos name, but they could never attain the flavor that goes with the Pecos melons. Cantaloup growers who have worked through the years in the area, credit the flavor of the Pecos melons to "something that comes out of the soil in this area." No other area has ever been able to produce the melons that are quite as tasty as Pecos melons, according to packers who move from one cantaloup area to the next as the season progresses.

Religious Liberty and the Armed Forces Sunday Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, there has been called to my attention an excellent editorial from the highly respected religious periodical, Christianity Today. The editorial, entitled "Religious Liberty and the Armed Forces Sunday Schools," points up a situation which exists in the Protestant Sunday schools, which are operated by the Armed Forces that is in clear violation of the first amendment of our Constitution. The Armed Forces promulgate and promote a curriculum for these Sunday schools called unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum for Armed Forces. The Air Force makes the use of this course mandatory in all Sunday schools conducted under the supervision of Air Force chaplains.

Despite numerous protests that have been made from time to time about this matter, the Department of Defense has to date failed or refused to take any remedial action. I hope that other Members of Congress who share my concern at this derogation of the religious liberty guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution will join me in a protest to the Secretary of Defense and call for the discontinuance of the mandatory prescription of the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum for Armed Forces.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE ARMED FORCES SUNDAY SCHOOLS

For some years a situation has existed in the Protestant Sunday schools in the Armed Forces that gives cause for concern regarding violation of the first amendment of the Constitution. Affected is the religious freedom of hundreds of Protestant chaplains and about 150,000 pupils in military Sunday schools. At issue is the official promotion of the "Unified Protestant Sunday School Curriculum for Armed Forces" (UPSSC) and, in the case of the Air Force, the mandatory use of this curriculum in all Sunday schools on Air Force bases. Also in question is the use of Unified Course materials. While these materials are not technically required in the Armed Forces, they are so firmly backed by senior officers of the respective chaplaincies as to tip the scales heavily in favor of their use by chaplains. In the Air Force, only by special permission may substitute materials be used.

We recognize with gratitude the indispensable contributions of chaplains, their supporting denominations, and lay Christians to the men and women and families in the Armed Forces. Basic to the spiritual welfare and morale of service personnel is their relation to chaplains and to Christian commanders. We are also aware of the peculiarly difficult administrative problems of the service Sunday schools.

Nevertheless the Supreme Court said in deciding in *Engel* v. *Vitale* (the Regents' prayer case (and *Abington School District* v. *Schempp* (the Bible reading and Lord's

Prayer case) that for government to prescribe religious and devotional materials is unconstitutional. But in the Armed Forces this very thing is being done extensively and against continued protest.

Since 1962 the National Association of Evangelicals has, in a series of communications, called the situation to the attention of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense. Members of Congress have also protested. Nevertheless, a directive to command chaplains in the Air Force, dated December 16, 1963, declared: "This curriculum is not only suggested; it is the Air Force program, and command chaplains are expected to give it their leadership and support." Of the materials, the directive said, "The unified course materials are selected annually by qualified civilian and military personnel. Because these materials represent the best available and come from many denominational sources, they are recommended for use in the Air Force unified religious education program." Then, after instructions about procurement of supplementary materials, there is this statement: "The authority to supplement does not authorize elimination of the recommended materials. [Does not this imply prescription of materials?] If, however, the chaplains of a major faith group, on any given installation, find that the recommended course materials are inadequate to meet the needs of the religious education program * * * a letter may be submitted through channels to this office stating their reasons for regarding the materials to be inadequate and giving a description and the source of recommended substitute materials. If it is determined that a valid requirement for change exists and if the recommended course materials cover the subjects as outlined in the curriculum, favorable consideration will be given to the recommendation."

Surely it is clear that this is a case in which a religious curriculum is prescribed and religious materials promoted by high military authority and in which the substitution of alternate materials is hedged about by official military procedure. Particularly disturbing is the refusal of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense to alter the situation. In October 1963, the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense, said in a letter to Representative L. MENDELL RIVERS, of South Carolina, "With the pending change in Air Force regulations, there is no regulation which requires a military installation to use the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum materials." But with regard to the curriculum itself, the directive of December 16 of the same year, declaring the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum to be the Air Force program, still stands. And as for the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum materials, how can their official promotion by the directive be constitutionally justified?

At the Air Force Chaplains Conference in Washington in September 1961, endorsing agents and denominational representatives of all the major denominations unanimously requested that mandatory provisions for the use of the unified curriculum be removed. At that time the Chief of Air Force Chaplains promised that the mandatory provisions would be removed. Almost 3 years have passed. The situation has not been rectified, despite protest from the National Association of Evangelicals, Members of Congress, members of the Officers' Christian Union, and others.

The problems of Sunday schools conducted under the military chaplaincies are not simple. Frequent shift of personnel from one post to another makes some uniform plan of study or curriculum highly desirable. Children should not have to study a lesson on Moses again when they move to a different Sunday school. But desirability cannot justify violation of religious freedom. As Mr. Justice Clark said in the majority opinion in *Abington* v. *Schempp*, "It is no defense to urge that the religious practices here may be relatively minor encroachments on the first amendment. The breach of neutrality that is today a trickling stream may all too soon become a raging torrent."

Obviously, some correlation of religious instruction in Armed Forces Sunday schools is needed. An orderly Bible-study program, such as the International Sunday school lessons, might be offered, but with unhampered liberty of substitution. The initiative should come from the religious groups and not through any official Armed Forces action.

As for course materials, religious groups might be invited to provide such materials with an understanding that they measure up to mutually agreed upon criteria. The use of specific materials should be wholly voluntary, and the supplementing or substituting of materials should not require official permission. The Armed Forces Chaplains Board should do nothing more than make available information about materials.

Granting the best of motives administratively and religiously on the part of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board in their endeavor to solve a real problem, the fact remains that the mandatory prescription of the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum and official backing of its materials by the Air Force together with the official promotion of this curriculum and its materials by the other services violates the first amendment. Rectification of this situation, which we respectfully call to the attention of the Department of Defense, is overdue.

The Posture of Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many of my colleagues were fascinated a few days ago to read that amazing document, the platform of the Republican Party, particularly as it made reference to "fiscal irresponsibility" and "retarding free enterprise," dastardly crimes attributed to the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

This morning, by chance, I happened to read an article in the July issue of the Mining Congress Journal which reveals how absurd these Republican charges are. Although not of a political nature, this article by a leading member of the banking community confirms that the present posture of our Nation's economy is one of great strength and confidence. It goes on to give credit to the recently enacted tax bill for the prospect that our country may be facing one of the most prosperous periods since World War II.

Mr. Speaker, these are hardly the evidences one would expect if the Republican charges of "fiscal irresponsibility" and "retarding free enterprise" had even the slightest foundation.

Now, who would you imagine is the prominent banker who made these observations? Some Democrat in banker's clothing? Not at all. The author is none other than L. A. Jennings, chairman of the board of the Riggs National Bank and—note this—First Deputy Comptroller of the Currency during the entire Eisenhower administration.

Mr. Speaker, I want to call this article to the attention of all my colleagues. I insert it at this point in my remarks:

THE POSTURE OF OUR ECONOMY

(By L. A. Jennings, chairman of the board, Riggs National Bank)

In the past, this country has experienced a downturn in business every 4 years, on the average, and a major depression about every 20 years. More irregularly, but usually once in each generation, it has experienced a major war.

We in the United States, and our friends abroad, are engaged in a great effort to establish lasting peace and also a continuing high level of economic activity. These efforts are more likely to be successful if we are continually mindful of the past.

It is over 3 years since the low point of the mild recession of 1960–61. This is a longer period of uninterrupted advance than is customary; in fact, it is the longest in 110 years, with a single exception of the rise from March 1933 to May 1937. Moreover, it may be that the current upturn will exceed the 1933–37 rise since inventories relative to sales are quite low. The ordinary fluctuations in business activity are largely the product of inventory accumulation and liquidation, and it is difficult to imagine merchants, in the months immediately ahead, deciding not to replace goods sold from stock. Surely, those who had any misgivings last fall about the size of their inventories must have been reassured by the enactment of the Revenue Act of 1963 and the four-point reduction in Federal tax withholding rate.

PRODUCTIVITY IS RISING

The present posture of our economy is one of great strength and confidence. We employ more people (68,500,000 civilians in March of this year) and produce more goods and services than ever before. Productivity is rising faster than in the recent past. Confidence is reflected in the willingness of businessmen to make expenditures on new plants and equipment during 1964 at an estimated record figure of $44 billion, an increase of nearly $5 billion or 12 percent over last year. This is, in large part, an outgrowth of the fact that many industries are today operating at near capacity levels. For example, North American Coal Corp. increased its budgeted capital expenditures for 1964 to $3,250,000 because of the need for added coal preparation facilities. The backlog of both machine-tool builders and building contractors is extraordinarily high. The automobile industry may reach a new peak of 8 million cars. Steel production for the first 3½ months of 1964 increased 8 percent over the similar period for 1963. Confidence is reflected also in the demand for raw materials and in the prices of common stocks—that is, what people are willing to pay for a claim on the future earnings of businesses. Corporations paid $4.2 billion in dividends during the first quarter of 1964, an increase of 10 percent over the comparable period in 1963. Dividends were up in every industry group. Additional confidence has been engendered by the fact that the rail strike threat has been resolved, certainly for the present, and, in the coal industry, by the recent wage increase settlement with the mineworkers.

Confidence is justified. There has been no excessive expansion of any major industry, of the kind that is likely to produce widespread bankruptcies and create general mistrust. Wage increases of recent years have been matched, by and large, by gains in output per worker so that the wholesale price level has remained virtually unchanged and is almost exactly the same as in May 1958.

Despite the large increases in home mortgage loans and installment debt, it is noteworthy that only a small fraction of individual borrowers are delinquent on their payments.

It must not be overlooked, however, that prosperity has a way of disguising the marginal character of many enterprises and the unsoundness of some. It also serves to make less obvious certain weaknesses that are seriously adverse to our economic well-being.

LABOR FORCE IS INCREASING

Most immediate is the problem of unemployment. Over the 7 years through 1963, the civilian labor force increased by over 5 million people. Employment rose 4,100,000 and 1,300,000 were added to the unemployed group. This occurred despite an increase of 23 percent in the output of goods and services over the 7-year period. During the next 7 years, it is estimated this labor force will increase 9,800,000, almost twice the gain of the preceding 7 years. One of the more serious facets of this problem is jobs for young people. In the ensuing year, about 1 million more boys and girls will reach their 18th birthday than reached this age during the past year. The wave of children born between July 1946 and July 1949 will begin to hit the colleges and labor market this summer and autumn. The full impact, however, will not be felt until the summer of 1965. We now have 700,000 young people neither at work nor at school. This is bound to be costly in terms of future welfare and police expenditures.

Another problem is that of poverty caused in part by technological and social changes, and more particularly, by lack of education, training, and work experience.

The tax cut will help in the solution of these problems, but it is only a partial solution. Unemployment is not the root cause of much poverty. Many people are not employable and more will have to be spent on general education and vocational rehabilitation. The tax cut should increase the tempo of economic activity and create a climate that will make it easier to solve these hard core unemployment problems.

As has been noted by many authorities, it is still too early to measure with certainty the impact of the tax cut on spending. There is general expectation of notable sales gains in the months ahead, but this cannot presently be pinpointed by a resort to statistics. It is an expectation, and a very general expectation, shared by most authorities and businessmen, and it would be remarkable indeed if sales did not live up to somewhere near the general expectations. Poll takers recently reported that consumers are in a buying mood and confidence in the outlook is the highest in 7 years.

TAXPAYERS EXPECTED TO SPEND TAX CUT

As we face the months ahead and attempt to analyze the probable trend of our economy it might be well to remember that at the time he signed the tax bill, President Johnson observed that "it is the single most important step to strengthen our economy since World War II." He went on to say, "We could have chosen to stimulate the economy through a high level of Government spending. We doubted the wisdom of following that course. Instead, we chose tax reduction, and at the same time we made a conscientious and honest attempt to reduce Government expenditures." If this tax reduction can be made to have its full effect by Government restraint on spending and by very conscientious efforts to prevent inflation in prices, we may indeed be facing one of the most prosperous periods in our economy since World War II.

The immediate effect of the tax cut is to reduce the tax liability of individuals by over $9 billion a year and of business by nearly $2½ billion. Economists expect people to spend most of the $9 billion tax savings, at least 90 percent. But this is not the extent of the stimulus. The spending creates more income which in turn is spent. This fairly obvious "multiplier effect" has been the object of study by economists, who on the basis of past experience predict that consumption expenditures will increase not by just $8 or $9 billion a year, but by $18 or $19 billion.

The tax cut will prove to be a potent, much needed medicine. It will serve to increase employment and militate against any downturn in business. It is not so clear what its effect will be on our already difficult international payments position.

NEED TO CONSERVE U.S. GOLD SUPPLY

This country earns sterling, marks, francs, and other foreign currencies by selling goods and services to foreigners. The United States incurs an international payment deficit when foreigners accumulate more dollars through trade, aid, and lending than they spend here. The U.S. dollars thus amassed in foreign central banks can be exchanged for gold from the diminishing U.S. supply now aggregating about $15½ billion. U.S. exports of merchandise, excluding Department of Defense shipments, reached a new record level in 1963 of $21.9 billion, substantially larger than the merchandise imports of $17 billion. The excess of exports over imports and the net receipts on account of services amounted to $5½ billion. But this huge net revenue was not enough to offset net private and governmental loans and equity investments abroad, and the substantial amount of foreign aid and expenditures of our Military Establishmment abroad. Consequently we had a deficit of nearly $2.7 billion.

Actually this was not a "deficit" in the private accounting sense, for it was produced in part by capital transactions. If American firms and the Government had invested less abroad, there would have been no deficit. Nonetheless this adverse balance had to be financed by the sale of gold and the transfer of dollar bank balances and other assets to the account of foreigners. Deficits for the past 6 consecutive years aggregate $18.4 billion and have been "financed' through the transfer from the United States of $6.7 billion of our gold holdings and $11.7 billion of bank deposits, U.S. securities, and other short-term assets to the account of foreigners.

The tax cut may increase the incentive to invest in the United States rather than abroad and thereby tend to improve our payments position. At the same time, it may create difficulties. As our incomes increase, we are likely to spend more for German cameras, French wines, and the like, and our manufacturers are likely to need more of those raw materials that come mainly from abroad. Also, there is a possibility that our exports may not increase as rapidly. Manufacturers will find it easier to sell in this country and may therefore place somewhat less emphasis on sales abroad. If the demand at home is such as to raise prices a bit, our goods may become slightly less competitive abroad.

Therefore, the tax cut may not react favorably on our international payments position. The balance of payments problem may necessitate other corrective measures. The obvious areas are the curtailment of foreign aid and military expenditures abroad, and, while we sincerely trust it can be avoided, restrictions on the loans and investments we make abroad.

PRICES MUST BE STABILIZED

Above all, it is essential that we avoid an increase in the general price level, that the purchasing power or soundness of the dollar be maintained. If we can do this, our goods will continue to be competitive abroad. If it also develops that wages and prices in Western Europe and other areas continue to rise as they have been rising in the past few years, our goods will become increasingly competitive and our earnings from the sale of goods abroad may grow enough to wipe out our adverse balance—and even reverse the flow of gold and short-term capital.

U.S. merchandise exports of $21.9 billion in 1963 included nearly $500 million derived from the exportation of coal. An unusually severe winter in Europe and labor shortages increased the foreign demand for coal to some extent, and it is not clear at this time whether 1964 coal exports will amount to as much as the 1963 figure of about one-half billion dollars.

It will be very difficult to avoid a general rise in prices over the months ahead. The immediate threat to prices is the ensuing round of wage negotiations in various major industries. The all-important need is for balance—wage increases in relation to increased productivity, the avoidance of overbuilding of houses, office buildings, equipment and generally overestimating the wants of buyers. All of us in industry—miners, manufacturers, distributors and bankers—must do better in gaging future demands.

OUTLOOK FOR COAL INDUSTRY IS GOOD

Fortunately, the problem of planning—of timing the development and exploitation of new coal seams and of installing new equipment—is easier for the coal industry than it was 25 or 30 years ago when the steel mills and the railroads were the major customers and when less than 10 percent of the mine production of bituminous coal was consumed by electric companies.

Today, the coal market is less erratic and more predictable than in the past. Much of the product, after transformation by steam-electric plants is a service, the demand for which is rapidly growing and not so variable—more like that for telephone service. Perhaps it is going too far to suggest that coal mining has become "a service industry." Nonetheless, it is true that households and commercial buildings provide a reasonably steady market for light, heat, and air conditioning—produced largely from coal. Electric powerplants, which as recently as 1946, burned only 13 or 14 percent of the coal sold in the United States, now burn almost half, and it appears clear that this use of coal will continue to increase.

It is impressive that the price of bituminous coal at the mine head is about the same as it was 7 or 8 years ago and that this has been made possible by continuing advances in technology. Improvements continue and the end is not in sight. New improvements include cutting and moving coal hydraulically, self-advancing roof supports, 200-cubic-yard shovels, and 85-cubic-yard dragline buckets that will remove overburden up to 150 feet thick. It is evident that nuclear power is not likely to replace coal for many years, if ever.

Thirty years ago, the output of coal per man-day averaged 4.4 tons. In 1904, 30 years earlier, it had been 3.15 tons. I wonder if any forecasters in 1934 would have predicted that by 1964, output per man-day would average 15 or 16 tons. A straight-time projection would have indicated an output of a little over 6 tons—not 16.

People want to know what's ahead because it's risky to make commitments in ignorance. But none can know.

Uncertainty, however, is so unbearable for some people that they credulously accept forecasts that must of necessity be only guesses. This occurs in all spheres of life. Can these forecasts informed guesses, if you like, but usually the information available to business forecasters and businessmen is not adequate to foretell the future. No one can see ahead more than a very short time.

But there is a paradox: Though the future cannot be forecast, it can be made. It is

made by imaginative, resourceful people—dreamers if you like—who live on the frontiers of business and the professions.

The coal industry of today was made by the people who devised and introduced those giant continuous coal-cutting machines, those great shovels, draglines, augers, and all the marvelous handling equipment that are now available.

Imaginative and wise men will be able to preserve the peace, and, with the tools provided by the technological progress, maintain a high rate of economic activity which will redound to the benefit of all Americans and our friends abroad.

The Civil Rights Act and Negro Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, expressions relating to the acceptance of the Negro on an equal basis with the rest of the Nation will be voiced for many years. Few articles have encouraged the public to face the bad dream which had existed prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act as does the editorial written in the Charlestown Courier, Charlestown, Ind., on July 9, 1964. In an editorial appropriately entitled, "At the Crossroads," the editor, Jack Hester, realizes that the legislative action does not change a man's heart, but it does provide a framework for action that will no longer tolerate muddled thinking.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AT THE CROSSROADS

Our Nation stands at the crossroads today. We have arbitrarily tried to avoid this moment for 100 years. But no more. Lincoln said it best, "How long can this Nation, or any nation, remain half slave, half free."

If we examine closely our intellects, our hearts, and search out truth from under the layers of bigotry, intolerance, and general cussedness, we realize all too well that this day had to come.

The Negro has been granted equal opportunity of education, job opportunities, and equal access to public accommodations.

When we stop to think about it, we wonder why this has been so long coming? Why has it taken us so long to accept the black man on equal footing, as a man of supreme worth in the eyes of God, as a man of dignity, and as an equal. It's almost like a bad dream that we are emerging from.

No one doubts the problems ahead. Legislative action does not change men's hearts, but it does provide a framework for action that will no longer tolerate the muddled thinking that has held sway for much too long.

Now we are forced to deal with it. We can no longer attempt to sweep it under the rug.

Have you ever stopped to wonder what the Negro must think of the white man after all these years of suppression and second-class citizenship. Recent newspaper accounts of the rising tide of Black Muslimism indicate that many Negroes hate the white man's guts. We hate to admit it, but he has excellent reasons for his hatreds. One hundred years of almost no progress leave him with little to love the white man for. Yet we will expect him to be Christian and forgive us our many transgressions against his race.

The Negro is swiftly emerging from his days of darkness. He has seen a light shining across the valley of darkness and he hastens to warm himself beside the fires of self-enlightenment and liberty.

Partners of the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a common misconception in the United States today that the Alliance for Progress is a program between the United States and the Latin American Governments. This misconception should be corrected, since the Alliance is designed as a partnership not only between the governments of the Western Hemisphere, but also between the peoples of the Western Hemishpere. The partners of the Alliance is a program under the Alliance for Progress which is designed to aid and promote participation of American citizens in aiding Latin American communities to help themselves. The partners of the Alliance program presents a challenge to those who are concerned about the dangers of communism in this hemisphere; the challenge is simply to help do something about it rather than being merely shocked and alarmed.

The Alliance for Progress is an alliance among the peoples of Latin America and the United States. The direct participation of the people of the United States with the people of the various Latin American countries is an essential element to the success of the Alliance for Progress. I have always supported a people-to-people approach to foreign aid, and I think that the partners of the Alliance is a wonderful example of the effectiveness of such an approach.

This program is not an "adoption" program in which a city or a state "adopts" a Latin American state or city. It is not a patronizing or handout approach, rather it is a partnership program that has as its base direct assistance to help people help themselves.

By participating in the partners of the Alliance, American citizens are constantly demonstrating to the peoples of Latin America the interest and concern of the American people for the welfare of their Latin American neighbors. The partners of the Alliance also give the people of Latin America a concrete example of the values and principles which have made this Nation the greatest nation in the history of the world.

James Boren, Special Assistant to the U.S. Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, is the very able and energetic head of this program. He has toured the country extensively informing private citizens of the role they can play and activating them to take part in the U.S. economic and ideological offensive. Mr. Boren is particularly qualified for his present position, because he has been active in political affairs and has worked for the State Department in the past. Mr. Boren also speaks Spanish fluently and has had had extensive experience with the U.S. Government in Latin America. He has served as deputy director of both the U.S. operations mission and the AID office in Lima, Peru. He is well qualified to do a good job, and he is doing outstanding work.

At the present time Mr. Boren has arranged for the participation of private groups in 22 States. These citizens are not only learning more about the problems and the viewpoints of their southern neighbors, they are also providing direct economic assistance to Latin Americans who have demonstrated an interest in self-help. Such a person-to-person approach has made Latin Americans aware of the fact that the United States is a nation of concerned and active individuals.

The following article explains the operations of the partners of the Alliance and illustrates how the people of the United States can aid in the winning of the could war:

TWENTY-TWO STATES BECOME PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE

The new "partners of the Alliance" program uniting U.S. public and private resources with the immediate needs of Latin countries is rapidly picking up speed—and a good deal of interest.

James Boren, Special Assistant to the U.S. Coordinator for the Alliance, and head of the Washington office for the program, says he has had responses from 22 States during the past 5 months, and even a few personal contributions—such as a check covering cost of roofing material for a school in northern Peru, and a generator for a village in Conchaylio, Peru.

Many of U.S. groups are on the verge of setting up full-fledged Alliance for Progress committees, and several are already actively engaged in projects. One in particular moved so fast that it had financed a plan less than a week after the Alliance committee was formed.

Spearheaded by John Chapman, the new Idaho Alliance Committee was formed February 3. A few days later, the Boise Junior Chamber of Commerce undertook one of the suggested projects to assist the Hogar Indigena, an orphanage near Conocoto, Ecuador. The Jaycees' first project was financing four pedal-type sewing machines and a typewriter. Now the local committee is working on sending agricultural and auto mechanic tools.

Another phase of the Idaho-Ecuador alliance is assisting the people of Esmaraldas, a north coast city, to obtain two U.S. sanitation collection trucks. For their part, the people of Esmaraldas have collected $6,000 to finance the trucks. The U.S. Banana Supply Co. of Miami, Fla., has agreed to provide transportation to Ecuador. The Idahoans are agreeing on financing the intra-U.S. transportation and additional needed costs.

Pensacola, Fla., is the U.S. source of a self-help program in Peru. Capt. H. B. Grow, U.S. Navy, retired, heads a people-to-people council in Pensacola which just sent off the final installment of $20,000 collected to equip a medical center and help build a sports area for youth activities outside Chimbote, Peru—a seacoast city, whose pop-

ulation rose from 10,000 to 120,000 in 10 years.

The medical center was constructed with materials provided by AID, Peruvian volunteer labor, staffed with a Peace Corps nurse and another volunteer and equipped by the Pensacola Council—$10,000 worth. The center which last summer halted a polio epidemic by issuing Salk vaccine, and which treats 35 to 40 patients daily, is named "El Milacro de Pensacola"—The Miracle of Pensacola. A leader in a nearby barriada files the U.S. flag, a symbol of his gratitude and friendship.

Now the Pensacola group is assisting with recreation facilities for children whose entire lives could be spent minus clean, fresh air and healthy surroundings. The wife of the Chimbote mayor, Mrs. Jose Sarmiento, raised $2,000 which built and equipped playgrounds in each of the five barriadas. She also organized a women's group "Angels of Mercy" whose monthly dues pay for special medical cases. A Chimbote citizen donated land for the recreation center; International Petroleum Co. was asked to build a tennis court; Sears of Peru agreed to buy uniforms for a soccer team, and the Chimbote Lions Club has donated a basketball court. In the United States, Captain Grow's wife organized a thrift center—a citywide project to provide funds for the Peru program.

Three States are moving into action this month:

Utah's new Alliance Committee is sending a team of four citizens including Roy Derrick, president of Western Steel and chairman of the Board of Regents for the University of Utah and Daryl Chase, president of Utah State University, are going to Bolivia for 3 weeks to meet with AID and private sector leaders to exchange notes on possible development programs.

Southern Nevada's planning committee was formed early this month with the help of Las Vegas civic leader Mrs. Eunice (William) Kellett, and students at the University of Nevada have indicated an interest in forming a committee.

Texas has also responded, with citizens of several cities forming a committee in Austin with the collaboration of Glenn Garrett, executive secretary of the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, a State office. A statewide convention of Pan American Student Forum Clubs is scheduled for March 20. The Texas residents are interested in assisting projects in Peru.

Two other programs, Oakland County, Mich., and Cauca Valley, Colombia; and California-Chile, were the first to be coordinated with Boren's office in Washington, and were reported in the December 15 issue of Front Lines.

Doctors in Indiana are interested in expanding their "Holidays for Humanity" program, similar to a Coral Gables, Fla., group which sends vacationing doctors (mainly dentists) to work with Latin American clinics at their own expense.

Ohio is interested in Brazil; and information between Ohio and the State of Parana describing the entire socioeconomic and geographic complex of each is being exchanged. An Arizona group is meeting this month to discuss a project for El Salvador; Illinois is eyeing work in Brazil; Oregon school districts are looking toward Central America; New Mexico is exploring a project with an area of Colombia; Alabama may try for statewide help for Guatemala; Massachusetts may have interest in Colombia; Minnesota already has a people-to-people project with Chile; Kentucky is exploring possible partnership work with a Latin country; and a northern Virginia group is interested in lending a hand.

And the enthusiasm is growing. Boren reports that on his way to work in the District early this month, his car was flagged down by a group of Mt. Vernon High School students who wanted to report that they were organizing a week of fund-raising activities in early April to help the Rural Institute of Education in a community of Huara, north of Lima, Peru.

The Peruvian Institute is made up of rural students who formed their own cooperative and need seed stock.

Purpose of these activities is to "buy time," says Boren—"time to carry out the longer range, more impersonal Alliance programs; and to let the people of Latin America know that their North American neighbors will stand behind their efforts of self-development."

Tying the U.S. resources to needs identified by AID also gives North Americans a chance to know and to become personally involved in Latin American development programs.

Effect of the Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, when the tax bill of 1964, H.R. 8363, was being considered by the Senate, I expressed the conviction that the economy of the Nation would be stimulated by a tax cut. Now that the tax cut has been in effect for 5 months, it is apparent that my view was correct.

An article published in the Washington Post of Sunday, July 26, 1964, points out that the tax cut has indeed had a salutary effect on the Nation's economy. The article, entitled "Report on Great Tax Cut," notes that business investment spending, as well as consumer spending, has been stimulated, more people have work, earnings are up, and profits continue to rise.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT ON GREAT TAX CUT—IT'S STILL EARLY BUT ECONOMIC VERDICT PROVES VERY FAVORABLE

(By Paul A. Samuelson)

Five months have passed since the great tax cut took place. What have been the results? Has that hotly debated measure performed miracles for the economy? Or has it been a failure and something of an anticlimax?

While it is too soon to give a definitive answer to so complicated a question, we have had enough experience this spring and summer to give a tentative jury verdict.

The economic verdict is a very favorable one. The tax cut is working out just about as favorably as the experts had hoped for. Indeed I would say that we have even been a little bit on the lucky side.

Not only has prosperity for 1964 and 1965 been helped by this important measure. In addition, the stock of knowledge about what any modern mixed economy can do to improve its stability and growth has been enriched by recent experience. At some future date, historians will feel grateful to the memory of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and to congressional leaders, for venturing upon what was after all something of an experiment in American fiscal policy—namely, deliberately undertaking budget deficits in the interest of sustained growth with price stability.

When the tax cut first went into effect in March, there were two opposing schools of thought. Both were foolish.

One held that the cut would give the economy a shot in the arm that would cure all its ills. Like the nostrums of the traveling medicine men, which cure everything from boils to dandruff, a massive reduction in taxes was expected to add to consumer purchasing power, create jobs, expand production, and bring us in short time to a condition of permanent full employment.

The pessimistic view was equally extreme. It claimed that the tax savings would have a zero or negligible effect on people's spending. "What difference does a few dollars per week make to anyone? Besides, people will use the money to pay back on their debts." So went the arguments.

Actually, the Kennedy-Johnson tax cut was across the board, helping corporations as well as individuals and families. The top corporate tax rate dropped from 52 percent to 50 percent, with another drop in the offing. The investment tax credit, which rewards businessmen for any investments they make and therefore effectively increases the profit from new investment, was also increased. Finally, the Treasury has begun to be more generous in allowing business firms to take faster depreciation.

To the pessimists all this was expected to be of little avail. "Business already is flush with cash. If they won't invest now, why should a greater cash flow motivate them. Besides, there is excess capacity in many lines. With investment weak, it will not respond favorably to public stimulus."

Well, let us turn to the facts. There is considerable evidence that families have, since March, been spending their tax savings about as earlier statistics had suggested they would. The rise in people's disposable incomes has been well matched by the upswing in their purchases of clothing, cars, and personal services. Only a normal amount has piled up in their savings accounts or been used to repay debts. (Since it takes time for people to adjust their living standards to newly raised income levels, it is normal for them to spend as little as half of their most recent increases in take-home pay on consumption.)

All this is reflected in good retail sales. We continue to break records every year, which is par for the course in a growing economy.

As every new survey shows, businessmen are definitely stepping up their investments in plant and equipment. After many years of soft business, the machine trades are having lively sales. Even decaying industries, like the railroads, have been purchasing new rolling equipment.

Thus, it would appear that the tax cut has had a favorable stimulus on business investment spending as well as on consumer spending. And in economics, 2 and 2 makes more than 4. Good cash register sales to consumers will naturally make businessmen want to buy new equipment and to build new plants. At the same time; building the new plants and producing the new equipment has helped to reduce unemployment and to add to wage earners' spendable income.

Hence, one of those delightful virtuous circles of expansion is currently going on. All of us are the beneficiaries. More people have work. Real earnings are up. Profits continue to rise, as Wall Street keeps noticing.

If the tax cut is working out so well, why don't more people know about it? I think the answer to this must be found in the quaint expectation many people had that somehow the day after the tax bill was signed

there would be some great explosion of prosperity. Economic science gave no warrant to such expectation. In economics success works itself out gradually; and so, usually, does disaster.

In one respect the American economy has been even luckier than we had any right to expect. We have been enjoying marvelous freedom from inflation these last few months. The wholesale price index remains steady, though we are in the fourth year of expansion and are showing vigorous real growth. Plant capacity remains ample for efficient low-cost production. Productivity displays healthy improvement. Businessmen have been extremely restrained in adding to their stocks of merchandise. Not only is this a good thing for 1964, this moderation in inventory accumulation is one of the most favorable omens for the year 1965.

The year 1964 will be a banner year for economic ideology as well as for sustained prosperity, if it helps drive home the lesson that it is prudent to try to unbalance the Federal budget when that is the price to pay for healthy production growth with price stability.

New Jersey Music

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, we of New Jersey are proud of our State. It is a State well endowed with history, with tradition, and with growth in keeping with the pace of the modern world.

The year 1964 is New Jersey's tercentenary. We are celebrating 300 progressive years. Virtually every aspect of the State can be applauded. However, it is with much pride that we salute those who have added to the musical heritage of our State and our great Nation. We are also proud to salute Sister Catherine Cecilia Machette, who, in her spare time during a 5-year period, after diligent research compiled a history of every New Jersey composer and put together a list of every piece of music copyrighted by citizens of the great Garden State. Sister Cecilia's four volumes of fascinating history of an important art and of our State's cultural life will be a permanent addition to the story of New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a story about Sister Cecilia's accomplishment by John Kolesar which appeared in a leading New Jersey daily, the Record of Hackensack, several days ago:

COMPLETE HISTORICAL RUNDOWN OF NEW JERSEY MUSIC IS COMPILED—NUN'S WORK IN FOUR VOLUMES LISTS COMPOSERS AND THEIR WORKS

(By John Kolesar)

TRENTON.—The music may go round and round but if it started in New Jersey, the fact will probably wind up in a new four-volume book by Sister Catherine Cecilia Machette.

Sister Cecilia, a nun who teaches music at the Lacordaire School, Upper Montclair, embarked 5 years ago on a prodigious task: to track down every piece of music ever written and copyrighted by any person who was born in New Jersey or who lived in New Jersey.

The results of her work were presented last week to Gov. Richard J. Hughes: a 4-volume work containing 1,345 pages, providing a historical rundown on more than 3,000 New Jerseyites who have written music, ranging from William "Count" Basie, of Red Bank, to Joseph Rocco "Red Mascara" Mascari, of Phillipsburg. Its title is "The Source Book of Music in New Jersey."

It represents 5 years of evening and summer work by Sister Cecilia, a pianist and organist who has been teaching for the past 10 years at Lacordaire School. She will teach music at St. Dominic's Academy, Jersey City, starting in September.

Her book is unpublished and there are only four bound copies (all are carbon copies of the original version, which she typed). One bound set given to Hughes last week in honor of New Jersey's tercentenary now reposes in the State library, the only complete reference work of its kind in the State.

The book is a marvel of thoroughness. It lists hundreds of composers with brief biographies, and every one of their works. For instance, there is George J. Trinkaus, who was born in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1878 and lived in Ridgewood for many years. He died in 1960. Sister Cecilia took 53 pages to list more than 1,000 published works by Trinkaus.

There are briefer listings of some 2,800 people who wrote and copyrighted songs, but made too small a mark in the musical world to rate separate biographical treatment.

Sister Cecilia came up with some historic finds in compiling the book. She found two New Jerseyites who are competitors for the title of first American composer—Francis Hopkinson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the Reverend James Lyon, a native of Newark who was pastor of churches in Maine and Nova Scotia.

Hopkinson is credited by Sister Cecilia with writing the first real American song in 1759, a tune called My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free. Lyon wrote an ode for his graduation class at Princeton University September 26, 1759, but the music no longer exists.

DETECTIVE WORK

While the book is largely historical, it required many of the talents of a detective to compile.

Sister Cecilia contacted the major song writers' organizations, such as the American Society of Composers, authors and publishers for membership lists. She visited every library in New Jersey.

She contacted 300 song publishers and hundreds of living composers. She asked the composers to give her the names of any other New Jerseyites who wrote music or to provide biographical information on names she had come across.

In one case, all she had was a name and date on a tombstone. Using the year of death, she traced the undertaker and managed to come up with fairly complete biography.

In another case she uncovered the eight carefully concealed pseudonyms of a New Jersey composer. When the composer was confronted with Sister Cecilia's knowledge, he suggested she become a private detective.

As a doublecheck, Sister Cecilia poured through all the U.S. song copyright books from 1898 through 1962, looking for New Jerseyites. Anyone can copyright a song simply by sending two copies of his work along with $4 to the copyright office in Washington. The result is that Sister Cecilia had to go through more than a hundred large volumes with a magnifying glass.

Sister Cecilia believes she tracked down every New Jersey composer there was. But her book doesn't tell quite all she found. Some composers wanted to keep some of their pseudonyms from the public and a few edited the lists of their works to eliminate some of the more embarrassing opuses. She complied with their wishes, but her files still contain the full story.

Sister Cecilia traced the written works of some top Jersey-born jazzman—including hundreds of works by Basie dating back to 1930; the works of the late James P. Johnson, of New Brunswick, an accomplished pianist who wrote "The Charleston"; and Don Elliott of Somerville, a modern musician who plays many instruments and has written works ranging from the score for the musical "Thurber Carnival" to the music for a hairdressing commercial.

There are eminent classical composers: the late George Antheil, who was born in Trenton; Roger Sessions and Roy Harris, who worked in Princeton, and Ferdie Grofe, who lived in Leonia and Teaneck from 1926 to 1940.

Many of the composers remembered their home State in their works. Red Mascara has achieved a small fame with his "I'm From New Jersey," which he is seeking to have legislated as New Jersey's official State song. He also wrote 63 other songs.

And there was Henry I. Marshall, who died in 1958. He wrote a song called "Dinah" in 1913. Less successful, but more topical, was his "Bergen County Song" in 1931, written for the dedication of the George Washington Bridge. Marshall lived in Emerson, River Edge, Elizabeth, Westfield, and Scotch Plains at various times.

One name does not appear on the list of composers—Sister Cecilia's. She says she has written a few small pieces for instruction purposes or to provide melodies for poems written by her students. But she said she does not qualify for the title of composer and thus does not appear in the book.

Prayers in the Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I continue to be impressed by the strong support being given by Hollywood film stars and celebrities to the movement to restore prayers and Bible reading to our public schools. It is indeed ironical that the leadership in this fight is coming from Hollywood, while much of the brunt of the opposition is coming from our clergy. I know many of the movie stars who are supporting Project Prayer in Hollywood, Calif., and they stand among the best and most loyal citizens we have.

In order that my colleagues may have more information about the work of Project Prayer, I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Film Stars Fight Court Ban on Prayers," from the Shreveport Journal of July 6, 1964; and an article entitled "Raymond Massey, Miss Swanson Ask Prayer Amendment," from the Citizen-News of May 8, 1964. I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article on the subject of prayers in our schools, written by Dr. Max Rafferty, the superintendent of

public instruction in California. This article was printed in the Los Angeles Times of June 29, 1964, and is entitled "Schools Have Place for God, Too."

There being no objection, the editorial and the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Shreveport (La.) Journal, July 6, 1964]

FILM STARS FIGHT COURT BAN ON PRAYER

Not all of Hollywood's motion picture stars are alined with liberals who are seeking to change the American way of life.

In these days when it is common to read that some of the biggest names in box office history are being linked to civil rights demonstrations on the part of lawless trespassers, it is good to note that there are representatives of the film industry who seek to preserve our constitutional freedoms.

In Houston, Tex., Wednesday evening, June 24, a group of film stars addressed an open rally of more than 1,000 persons participating in Project Prayer, which has been described as a national effort to support the proposed Becker amendment.

Project Prayer is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, nondenominational organization which has agreed to work with the U.S. Senate and House Ad Hoc Prayer Committee, chairmanned by Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, of Wyoming, and Representative FRANK BECKER, of New York. Project Prayer is leading efforts by citizens for passage and ratification of the Becker prayer amendment.

The first step in this effort is for Americans everywhere to write their Congressmen and ask them to sign Discharge Petition 3, which will bring the Becker amendment to the floor of the House for a vote. A total of 218 signatures is needed.

Participating in the Houston rally were Hollywood's Victor Jory, Irene Hervey, Tony Eisley, Susan Seaforth, Linda Rogers, Brenda Benet, James Best, and Jericho Brown.

In addition, citizens attending the meeting heard the recorded voices of screen stars Ronald Reagan, Lloyd Nolan, Dale Evans, Pat Boone, Gloria Swanson, Colleen Gray, Lou Ayres, Rhonda Fleming, and Walter Brennan.

Actor Jory attacked the Supreme Court's rulings against prayer and Bible readings in public schools, declaring with intensity:

"I believe in prayer and I want it back in our schools."

The Becker amendment follows:

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

All of the Hollywood acters and actresses present delivered testimonials for more than 2½ hours, calling for passage of the Becker amendment to permit voluntary prayers, Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools.

Certainly, the citizens of the United States should commend these men and women of the entertainment world for their devotion to the preservation of the spiritual foundation on which this Nation has grown to greatness and on which its future rests.

[From the Citizens'-News, May 8, 1964]

RAYMOND MASSEY, MISS SWANSON ASK PRAYER AMENDMENT

WILSHIRE.—Gloria Swanson and Raymond Massey yesterday joined church leaders and other film celebrities in a strong endorsement of the Becker prayer amendment.

Speaking at a press conference held by Project Prayer in the Ambassador Hotel Miss Swanson declared: "I'm not interested in politics. I am interested in returning prayer to the classrooms of America. Taking prayer out of the public schools is only a start in a program to undermine our country."

Massey said: "One of my ancestors came to this country in 1629 from England where there was no religious freedom. He realized the importance of keeping church and state separate; but that does not mean we should exclude prayer from our school systems. The Supreme Court that handed down the decision banning prayer opened its session with an invocation. The people must overrule this decision by enacting an amendment restoring prayer to the classroom."

Sam M. Cavnar, national executive director of Project Prayer, denied charges that the organization is backed or in any other way directed by "extremists." "There are those who have tried to smear us. We have been attacked by Congressman JAMES CORMAN, of San Fernando Valley. We want all to know that we're strictly nonpolitical, seeking only to obtain a constitutional amendment rededicating the United States as a nation under God.

"Unless Americans stand up for freedom of worship, the next thing you know chaplains will be removed from our Armed Forces and ultimately we'll be an atheistic nation."

Dale Evans, film star, stated: "I'm not now nor have ever been a member of the John Birch Society. I'm for putting prayer back in the classrooms of America so that the youth can learn the source of their Nation's strength. We're now in a war against forces working to tear down the morals of our young people. Since so few of them go to church regularly, the schools must remind them through prayer of God and his commandments."

The Reverend Harold L. Ficket, of the First Baptist Church of Van Nuys said that one national newspaper columnist has linked him with the Birch Society. "I'm not a Birch member," he declared. "I regard the attack upon me and others identified with Project Prayer as a sinister attempt to undermine a worthy group. Prayer in public institutions is a part of the great American tradition. We must back the Becker prayer amendment to the hilt. There must be no compromise with its objectives. Unless God blesses our Nation, we can come to a time when His judgment will surely weigh heavily against us."

Others urged that the leaders of Project Prayer be allowed to testify in Washington before the Judiciary Committee hearings on the Becker prayer amendment.

Project Prayer is a national nonprofit, nonpartisan, nondenominational organization with local headquarters at 1717 North Vine Street.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, June 29, 1964]

SCHOOLS HAVE PLACE FOR GOD, TOO

(By Dr. Max Rafferty)

The 10th labor: God in the schools.

There is a trend running throughout the land which I mistrust and fear. A whole series of Supreme Court decisions, starting with the Vashti McCollum case back in the 1930's and with obviously more to come in the not too distant future, point in one direction, and that is toward a time when the very mention of God will be forbidden in the Nation's schools.

It's not so much what the Supreme Court has said so far as it is the interpretations which have been placed upon the several decisions by local authorities. In one of our great Eastern States, for example, the recitation in school of the last verse of "The Star-Spangled Banner" has been declared illegal, presumably because it contains the phrase "In God is our trust."

Here in California demands have been served on certain school boards to eliminate all prayers, spoken or sung, from the curriculum. Yet the State music textbooks issued by my own office are full of prayers. For instance:

"Our father's God, to Thee,
Author of liberty, to Thee we sing * * *."

And:

"America, America, God shed His grace on thee * * *."

And even:

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

Another begins with a quotation from Charles Dickens which has gladdened the hearts of mankind ever since Tiny Tim spoke it out of the fullness of his heart and in the happy reverence of the Christmas season: "God bless us, every one."

The move to outlaw Christmas carols in our schools is well known, despite the fact that these innocent, joyous folk songs, many of them out of the childhood of the race, are among our most precious musical treasures, sung alike by Christians and non-Christians during the Yuletide holidays.

In a nation founded largely for religious purposes, with God's name in its national anthem and its pledge of allegiance, with prayers to that same Deity rising each day from the Chambers which shelter its Senate and its House of Represenatives, it is incomprenhensible to me that the litle kindergarteners in my new hometown of Sacramento should be forbidden by legal edict to say their simple thanks to their Creator for their daily cups of milk. No one can tell me that this sort of thing is what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they wisely wrote the principle of separation of church and state into the Constitution.

Teachers should not indulge in preaching, nor in an attempt to interpret the Scriptures. There is no place in our public schools for sectarian religion of any kind. But it seems to me that there is a very positive and important place for God in the schools of the land which was colonized in His name, freed in His name and kept together just 100 years ago in His name—not a Protestant God, nor a Catholic God, nor a Jewish God, but God the common Father of us all.

There is no separating religion and education, any more than there can be the separation of Siamese twins joined by vital organs. Can history be taught minus the rise of Christianity, the crusades, the Reformation? Can art survive the loss of the Sistine Chapel, Raphael's madonnas, "The Last Supper"? Can music tolerate the amputation of Handel's "Messiah" and the magnificent canticles of our Judeo-Christian heritage? Can literature, indeed, be taught at all?

True, our Highest Court has said nothing yet to imperil these great building blocks of education. But a trend is running like a river underground which every now and then foams ominously into view. In a time when national morals are at a record low, when the threat of disaster hangs over the whole land, when our juvenile crime rate has become an object of shuddering horror to the rest of the civilized world, it seems to me that we need more spiritual and moral values in our schools, not fewer.

And there are no spiritual values without God.

Tax Cut Success Refutes Pessimists' View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times in its Sunday editions carried an excellent article by Mr. Paul A. Samuelson on the effect of the tax cut on the Nation's economy.

The article clearly demonstrates how wrong were those who opposed this tax cut and how absolutely right was our late President, John F. Kennedy, in pressing for this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the fact that we are now in the 40th consecutive month of economic expansion proves how absolutely right were President Kennedy and President Johnson in urging this legislation.

True enough, it took a great act of courage and daring on the part of President Kennedy to propose a program of deliberately undertaking budget deficits to sustain economic growth through tax relief.

But Mr. Kennedy's wisdom has been proven beyond any doubt. The following article clearly demonstrates how appropriate it is today to state that our unprecedented sustained economy is indeed a monument to the foresight of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

The article follows:

TAX CUT SUCCESS REFUTES PESSIMISTS' VIEW

(By Paul A. Samuelson)

The tax cut is working out just about as favorably as the experts had hoped for.

Indeed, it seems we have even been a little bit on the lucky side.

The tax cut was, after all, something of an experiment in American fiscal policy—deliberately undertaking budget deficits in the interest of sustained growth with price stability.

When it first went into effect in March, there were two opposing schools of thought. Both were foolish.

One held that the cut would give the economy a shot in the arm that would cure everything from boils to dandruff.

A massive reduction in taxes was expected to add to consumer purchasing power, create jobs, expand production, and bring us in a short time to a condition of permanent full employment.

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

The pessimistic view claimed that the tax savings would have a zero or negligible effect on people's spending. "What difference does a few dollars per week make to anyone? Besides, people will use the money to pay back on their debts."

So went the arguments.

Actually, the Kennedy-Johnson tax cut was across the board, helping corporations as well as individuals and families.

The top corporate tax rate dropped from 52 percent to 50 percent, with another decline in the offing.

The investment tax credit, which rewards businessmen for any investments they make and therefore effectively increases the profit from new investment, was also increased.

Finally, the Treasury has begun to be more generous in allowing business firms to take faster depreciation.

TURNING TO THE FACTS

To the pessimists, all this was expected to be of little avail.

"Business already is flush with cash," they said. "If they won't invest now, why should a greater cash flow motivate them?"

Well, let us turn to the facts. There is considerable evidence that families have, since March, been spending their tax savings about as earlier statistics had suggested they would.

The rise in disposable income has been well matched by the upswing in purchases of clothing, cars, and personal services. Only a normal amount has piled up in savings accounts or been used to repay debts.

(Since it takes time for people to adjust their living standards to newly raised income levels, it is "normal" for them to spend as little as half of their most recent increases in take-home pay on consumption.)

All this is reflected in good retail sales. We continue to break records every year, which is par for the course in a growing economy.

Savings are now at about 8 percent of disposable income, meaning that people have been passing on 92 cents out of every income dollar. Some students, myself included, had been prepared for a temporary rise in this ratio to above 8 percent. So one cannot fault the American oonsumer on this score.

INVESTMENTS ON INCREASE

As every new survey shows, businessmen are definitely stepping up their investments in plant and equipment. After many years of soft business, the machine trades are having lively sales. Even decaying industries, such as the railroads, have been purchasing new rolling equipment.

Thus, it would appear that the tax cut has had a favorable stimulus on business investment spending as well as on consumer spending.

And in economics, two and two makes more than four. Good cash register sales to consumers naturally will make businessmen want to buy new equipment and to build new plants.

At the same time, building new plants and producing new equipment have helped reduce unemployment and add to wage earners' spendable income.

Hence, one of those delightful circles of expansion is currently going on. All of us benefit. More people have work. Real earnings are up. Profits continue to rise, as Wall Street keeps noticing.

If the tax cut is working out so well, why don't more people know about it?

I think the answer to this must be found in the quaint expectation many people had that somehow the day after the tax bill was signed there would be some great explosion of prosperity.

But in economics, success works itself out gradually; and so, usually, does disaster.

FREEDOM FROM INFLATION

In one respect the American economy has been even luckier than we had any right to expect. We have been enjoying freedom from inflation these last few months.

The wholesale price index remains steady, although we are in the fourth year of expansion and are showing vigorous real growth.

Plant capacity remains ample for efficient low-cost production. Productivity displays healthy improvement. Businessmen have been extremely restrained in adding to their stocks of merchandise.

Not only is this a good thing for 1964. This moderation in inventory accumulation is one of the most favorable omens for the year 1965.

This will be a banner year for economic ideology as well as for sustained prosperity, if it helps drive home the lesson that it is prudent to try to unbalance the Federal budget when that is the price to pay for healthy production growth with price stability.

Desalination Study Authorized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, there are, as you know, a number of complex problems pertaining to our water supply now under review and being discussed by the Congress. Because of the importance of the overall subject, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues a recent announcement of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California relating to a significant specific project soon to be underway:

A wide-ranging study which could result in construction on the southern California coastline by 1970 of by far the world's largest sea water conversion plant was given the go-ahead today (Tuesday, July 14) by the metropolitan water district.

The proposed plant would be nuclear fueled and would produce large quantities of electric power, thus reducing the cost of desalting the ocean water.

The metropolitan water district board of directors approved terms of a contract for the study with the Department of Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission under which each will pay one-third of its cost.

To be determined will be the location, feasibility and preliminary design of a plant capable of producing between 50 and 150 million gallons of water a day. That is enough fresh water for a population of from 250,000 to 750,000.

The largest existing desalination plant, located at Kuwait on the Persian Gulf, has a capacity of 6 million gallons daily.

The proposed dual-purpose southern California plant would also produce between 150 and 750 megawatts of electric power to be sold to local utilities, public or private.

Under the contract, metropolitan will have primary responsibility for selecting the engineering firm to make the study and will also supervise its work.

Directly participating in the negotiations with metropolitan water district leading to the contract were Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall, Atomic Energy Commissioner James T. Ramey, and Interior Under Secretary James K. Carr.

R. A. Skinner, metropolitan water district general manager and chief engineer, told the board the interest of the Federal Government "in moving forward with a desalting project of appreciable size is very strong" and offers metropolitan water district a "unique opportunity."

He estimated the cost of the study would not exceed $500,000.

He listed several significant advantages to metropolitan in constructing such a combination plant if the study supports its economic feasibility. They included:

1. A means of meeting water shortages that might develop if the State's program to bring northern California water here in the early 1970's falls behind schedule or if growth in this intervening period exceeds expectations.

2. A supply of dependable information on the costs of converting sea water as a possible alternative to new sources of natural water under a regional water plan.

3. An increase in the emergency supplies of water available if one of the aqueducts importing water to southern California were temporarily out of service.

Increased Participation in Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, "in the last analysis a democracy stands or falls on how many of its citizens participate in the process of self-government."

Those words, Mr. President, are eminently true. There is a great need, for the sake of the health of our political system, for all of our eligible voters to register and go to the polls. Any newspaper or other agency of communication to the public which stresses this fact is performing a public service.

Therefore, I call attention to an editorial—which appeared in the Terre Haute, Ind., Tribune, on July 3—in which appears the sentence I quoted at the beginning of this statement.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Push for a Vote Record," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUSH FOR VOTE RECORD

It is something of an irony that the United States, the world's greatest bastion of democracy, has rather a poor ballot box record. A much higher percentage of eligible voters go to the polls in some other countries than in ours.

This is especially true in the so-called off years, when the Presidency is not at stake. Even in presidential years, however, millions of Americans eligible to vote do not make use of the privilege and thus miss their greatest chance to have a part in Government.

Attempts to "get out the vote" are thus of great importance. The effort this year will be exceptional. The two major party organizations plan intensive drives, hoping to bring a record proportion of eligible voters to the polls next November. In addition, the American Heritage Foundation and the American Advertising Council have joined forces in a campaign to persuade citizens to exercise their right.

It is worth noting that primary emphasis, in this campaign, will be given to getting nonvoters to register. Individuals can help this effort along by urging anyone they know who has been lax in the past to register in good time and make his opinions felt on November 3.

The significance of this can scarcely be overemphasized. There are those who argue that no attempt should be made to encourage voting, since those who need to be prodded may be less well motivated and less well informed than others. This is a specious argument. Education of voters is important, but in the last analysis a democracy stands or falls on how many of its citizens participate in the process of self-government. The key test is at the polling place.

Commonwealth Day: Another Milestone in a People's Advance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, 12 years ago a covenant was proclaimed between more than 2 million Americans in Puerto Rico and their compatriots on the mainland. On July 25, 1952, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was born, heralding the emergence of an entirely novel concept in the governing of a people. Puerto Rico, which had been neither a State nor an incorporated Territory, became neither, but a new entity with nearly all the advantages of the former and few of the disadvantages of the latter. Perhaps the Spanish term, Estado Libre Asociado, literally "Associated Free State," best connotes the basic meaning of the relationship of an American possession that enjoys complete local autonomy but is denied a voting voice either in the National Congress or in national elections. On the other hand, its people pay no Federal income taxes, although they are the recipients, as U.S. citizens, of the services and protection of most Federal agencies.

At first glance, one might assume that the relationship is a one-way street, with the Puerto Ricans receiving much and giving little. This is not the case. True, these fellow citizens from the Caribbean bear no Federal financial obligations; but their sons are subject to Washington's call to arms. Their response has ever been both quick and effective. Sixty thousand of them—including 54,000 volunteers—fought with distinction under the Stars and Stripes in Korea. Despite such sacrifices in terms of blood and time and heartache, Puerto Ricans, unless they take up residence on the mainland, can play no part in determining either policy or practice for the Nation as a whole. Thus, while masters of their own insular destiny, our Puerto Rican brothers are associated with us nationally only in matters of defense and foreign policy, and in such national services as the Federal postal, communications, and social security systems.

In matters of the spirit, however, the association is comprehensive and binding. The great majority of Puerto Ricans, their largely Latin heritage notwithstanding, are almost belligerently proud of their American citizenship. They have been advised time and again by Presidents of the United States that their Commonwealth can become an independent nation any time they so desire. Most of them have continually expressed full satisfaction with the present relationship. Another large segment has been demanding statehood. Very few have called for independence. Statistics for the last general election, in 1960, speak eloquently of the Americanism of the Puerto Rican people. The vote for Popular Democratic candidates, espousing continuing Commonwealth status, was 457,880; for statehood advocates, 252,364; and for those demanding independence, only 24,103.

Whereas the U.S. Government, in accordance with its traditional abjuration of imperialism, afforded the Puerto Ricans the opportunity to advance from a stagnant political position and to emerge from a slough of economic despondency, it was the responsibility of the Puerto Rican people, under the inspired leadership of Governor Muñoz-Marín, to make the most of that opportunity. Their success has been a revelation to free peoples everywhere, and a bitter embarrassment to those who would enslave them.

Puerto Rico has no star in our flag; but that emblem flies more proudly because of Puerto Rico.

Milling Publication Scores Freeman Statement on Flour Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the inaccuracy of Agriculture Secretary Freeman's statement concerning flour prices was fully documented in an article in the Southwestern Miller of Kansas City, dated July 14. Here is the text of the article:

FREEMAN BLUNDERS ON WHEAT, FLOUR PRICES—SECRETARY ASSERTS NO JUSTIFICATION EXISTS FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN FLOUR PRICES THIS YEAR OR FOR HIGHER BREAD WHILE HIS MARKETING SERVICE SHOWS MILLING WHEAT COSTS WITH PROCESSING TAX UP 11 TO 36 CENTS A BUHSEL OVER 1963—RISE ALSO FROM MILLFEED

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman made his press conference of last Thursday in Washington the occasion for issuing an amazingly inaccurate statement on wheat and flour prices that was simultaneously discredited by the Grain Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture that he heads. "There is no justification for any substantial increase in flour prices this year, nor will the price of wheat and flour justify higher bread prices," Secretary Freemen said. Yet, compilations on cash grain prices published on the same day by his own Grain Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service showed that cash prices on the principal markets, plus the 70 cents processing tax, involve advances of 11 to 36 cents a bushel in wheat costs to mills, or the equal of 25 to 84.60 cents per hundredweight of flour.

The Secretary's amazing statement of flour prices made no reference to the fact that millfeed, down $6 a ton from last year in Kansas City owing in part to the lower support for wheat, is raising the cost of flour by 12 cents per hundredweight additionally.

The statement, which had been hinted as in the planning stage in the Department of Agriculture for a week or more, was made public in mimeographed form at the press

conference of Thursday and circulated to the press. It amazed millers, bakers, and the flour trade.

BLIND TO FLOUR RISE OF TO 84.60 CENTS

Amazement over the action of Secretary Freeman in pointing to "no justification for any substantial increase in flour prices this year" was aroused by the fact that the advances in wheat costs to mills over 1963, as reported by his own Agricultural Marketing Service, are equal to as much as 84.60 cents per hundredweight of flour. Other advances in wheat in the principal markets of the United States, as reported by the AMS, range down to 11 cents a bushel or the equal of around 25 cents per hundredweight of flour.

CASH WHEAT PRICE COMPARISONS

Quotations on cash wheat on the principal markets as of July 9 and a year ago, as compiled and published by the Grain Division of the AMS of the Department of Agriculture, together with the cost to mills for flour with the addition of the 70-cent processing tax follow per bushel:

	July 9 market	July 9 with tax	July 9, 1963
Kansas City No. 1 Hard Winter, 13 percent	$1.60-$1.72	$2.30-$2.42	$2.04-$2.15
Chicago No. 2 Red Winter	1.49	2.19	1.86
Toledo No. 2 Red Winter	1.45	2.15	1.79
St. Louis No. 2 Red Winter	1.47-1.50	2.17-2.20	1.84-1.89
Minnesota No. 1 Dark Northern Spring, 18 percent	1.74	2.44	2.31-2.33
Fort Worth No. 1 Hard Winter	1.87-1.92	2.57-2.62	2.34-2.44
Portland No. 1 Soft White	1.53	2.23	1.96-1.97

The Kansas City market quotations are up 26 at 27 cents a bushel over a year ago, including the processing tax of 70 cents, or the equal of as much as 63.45 cents per hundredweight of flour. On the Toledo market, No. 2 Soft Winter wheat is up 36 cents a bushel with the tax, equal to 86.4 cents per hundredweight.

The statement by Mr. Freeman ignored the foregoing price facts on wheat of his own Department and even presented criticisms on mill asking prices on flour absolutely without foundation so far as practical milling practices are concerned.

BEFUDDLING ON PRICES OF BREAD

In his comments on bread prices, Mr. Freeman presented loose, befuddling observations that ignored existing realities. He attributed this season's lack of substantial bookings of flour by bakers to July asking prices of the mills in relation to June inventories of wheat when in fact the new weird wheat program with its tax has raised flour costs to levels which bakers cannot absorb through existing bread prices.

SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON PRICING

The text of Mr. Freeman's statement on wheat and flour, made to the press in mimeographed form, follows:

"All indications point to a very satisfactory transition from one wheat program to another during the past 2 or 3 months. This is the product of close cooperation between the Department and the grain and milling trades.

"The Kansas City Star reported Sunday that 'the transition from the old to the new wheat program last Wednesday at the Kansas City Board of Trade was as smooth as if the grain trade had been equipped with an automatic transmission.'

"At the same time, there are reports that millers have raised flour prices and that bakers may raise bread prices as the new wheat program goes into effect.

"There is no justification for any substantial increase in flour prices this year, nor will the price of wheat and flour justify higher bread prices.

"In fact, there is strong reason to believe that the announced flour price increases of up to 80 cents a hundredweight cannot be sustained.

"During June, for example, millers paid less for a bushel of wheat than at any time in the past 18 years. In Kansas City, the average price of wheat declined by 56 cents between April and June, or an equivalent of about $1.31 per 100 pounds of flour. Flour prices during June, however, were quoted at about April levels and were slightly above May levels.

"Mills operated at about 25 percent above the June 1963 level in June 1964. This action created a large flour inventory to carry bakers through the first weeks of the new crop year.

"Even at the June asking price for flour from this inventory the milling industry likely would enjoy strong profits since it obtained the wheat at very low cost. But the higher July asking price on this inventory is clearly out of line and the lack of any substantial sales to date would indicate the baking industry reflects this view.

"During consideration and since passage of the cotton-wheat bill in April, we predicted that wheat and flour prices in the coming year would be near the levels of the last 2 years. Prices should be below 1962–63 levels and slightly above 1963–64 levels.

"Bakers are expected to pay about as much for the wheat in a loaf of bread as they did in 1962–63 and about two-tenths of a cent more than last year.

"Bread prices increased slightly in 1963 even though the cost of wheat declined, reflecting other cost factors than wheat and other farm commodities. Since bread prices did not come down when wheat prices declined, there is no justification for saying bread prices should go up when wheat prices increase.

"Any increase in the price of bread beyond two-tenths cent will have to be attributed to other costs. We will be watching the movement of prices closely to insure that consumers will be aware of the cause of any significant change in bread prices."

QUESTIONS ANY TAX SIMILARITY

Asked about the certificate levy of 70 cents a bushel which millers and bakers term a tax, Mr. Freeman said that it cannot be compared to the processing tax which the Supreme Court of the United States invalidated in 1936.

Various reports reaching Washington still indicate that suits will be filed to test the validity of the certificate or processing tax plan.

The question and answer at the press conference on the constitutionality of the certificate follows:

"Mr. Secretary, as you may have heard, various associations are exploring the possibilities of challenging the constitutionality of the wheat certificate program in the courts. And in view of the fact that a similar plan was declared unconstitutional in 1938 by the Supreme Court, what would be your reaction?"

Mr. FREEMAN. "Well, I don't think that this plan is a similar plan or is anyway comparable to what would be declared unconstitutional. I am advised by the general counsel of this Department that there is no really valid legal question and I would only say, personally, having looked at this rather closely, and having felt at one time that I was a very competent attorney, I say that now I don't think that there is any unconstitutional question here."

KANSAS CERTIFICATES $100 MILLION

In another statement made by Secretary Freeman at the press conference, in which he presented what he termed some "scorecards" for the coming political campaigns, data were presented on payments which farmers would receive through the certificate program. The statement presented an estimate of $100 million on the certificate value for the wheat farmers of Kansas alone with 100,395 participants. Mr. Freeman placed the average per Kansas farm at $1,070. But the secretary made no reference whatever in this statement to the fact that the drop in wheat supports for 1964 to an average of $1.30 as against $1.82 in 1963 means a potential shrinkage of $111 million in the basic returns of the Kansas farmers from their harvest of this year.

Fair Legislative Apportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the recent decision by the Supreme Court that in States which have bicameral legislatures membership in both houses must be apportioned on the basis of population has caused widespread reaction.

It is argued in many quarters that a complete reliance on population equality does an injustice to other factors which might rightly be included in determining fair and adequate representation. The case for a differentiation between counties in factors other than population alone is well stated in the following editorial, which appeared in the July 24, 1964, issue of the Indianapolis News. It is of interest that Earl Warren, then the Governor of California, at that time opposed reapportionment of the State senate on a strictly population basis.

WARREN VERSUS WARREN

The Supreme Court under Earl Warren has ruled that both houses of America's State legislatures must be apportioned on a strict population basis.

This decision is revolutionary on two counts. It arrogates to the Federal Government the authority to rearrange the purely internal affairs of the States. And it attempts to impose by fiat a populistic, leveling notion of representation which was explicitly rejected by this Nation's Founders.

This being so, rebuttal from a high State official pointing out the fallacy of the Warren Court's decision is very much in order. The "one man one vote" theory is fallacious, said this official on the following grounds:

"Many * * * counties are far more important in the life of the State than their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason that I have never been in favor of restricting their representation in the senate to a strictly population basis.

"It is for the same reason that the Founding Fathers of our country gave balanced representation to the States of the Union, equal representation in one house and proportionate representation in the other.

"There was a time when [this State] was completely dominated by boss rule * * *. Any weakening of the laws would invite a

return of boss rule, which we are now happily rid of."

The State official in question? None other than Earl Warren, speaking some 16 years ago as Governor of the State of California.

Viet Mess Laid to Canadians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune carried a most revealing article in its editions of Thursday, July 23, which puts a new perspective on our problems in Vietnam.

The article was written by the Tribune's Canadian bureau chief, Mr. Eugene Griffin, who is a most highly respected journalist.

I would suggest that the cynics and the skeptics who have been so quick to sell our own country short in our efforts to deal with the problem in Vietnam, carefully analyze Mr. Griffin's article.

It has become popular in some quarters to see who can most thoroughly belittle American efforts in foreign policy. Those who have been selling our country short would do well to reflect on the many forces currently at work in Vietnam which have led to the present situation which President Johnson is attempting to resolve without involving the United States in all-out armed conflict.

Mr. Griffin's excellent article follows:

VIET MESS LAID TO CANADIANS—CHARGES CONTROL UNIT BOWED TO REDS

(By Eugene Griffin)

OTTAWA, ONTARIO, July 22.—Communist power has been built up in Vietnam because of the ineffective Canadian team that represents the West on the International Control Commission, a former officer with the Canadians has charged in Vancouver.

Squadron Leader Hugh Campbell, now retired from the Royal Canadian Air Force, who served in Vietnam in 1961 and 1962 as air adviser to the Canadian mission, said that, "by 1962 the Canadians in North Vietnam were virtually prisoners under armed guard."

Canada is on the Control Commission with India and Poland to see that South Vietnam and Communist North Vietnam adhere to the Geneva agreement of 1954, which forbids the creation of aggressive force. Campbell said that Canada's performance has become a "farce" and an "international joke," as Canadians allow themselves to be pushed around by the Poles.

Canadians on the Control Commission, he said, have accepted such "ridiculous charades" as one 15-minute inspection a week of trains entering Vietnam on the most important railroad from Red China—"the Canadians being free to inspect only empty boxcars."

"Canadians were forbidden entry onto docks and air fields," Campbell said in the Vancouver Sun, "with such smirking explanations as, 'This is now a private civilian flying club'—the Pole standing by grinning."

"During 10 years of Communist military buildup and Vietcong depredations," Campbell said, "when we should have been battling for every vantage point and screaming to high heaven whenever the Communists violated the agreement * * * we protested politely, ineffectually, and thrust our head back into the sand.

"We made no serious attempt to win. On the contrary, so casual was our concern, we didn't bother to field our best team. We sent in a scrub team of ill-trained amateurs to face professionals—tough pros who made their own rules and clobbered the daylights out of us.

"Canadians suffered chivvying and harassment and indignities, and our efforts in Vietnam became an international joke. We should have taken some action. Any action. Even petulant screams would have indicated that at least we cared.

"Instead, we blandly carry on * * * quite unconscious of the fact that a large share of responsibility for today's unholy mess in Vietnam is ours."

Half "Drop Out" in Youth Labor Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the following is a firsthand report of another attempt by desperate growers to find sufficient labor to prevent field crops from spoiling. In this YMCA-supervised experiment, half of the youths lasted only two weeks. This may be a high record of success for a youth employment project, but it gives little satisfaction to the grower whose crops may spoil within hours after maturity unless properly harvested.

The following report is from the Salinas Californian of July 1, 1964:

NINE DROP OUT IN YOUTH LABOR TEST

Half of the 18 San Francisco YMCA youths who started to work in the produce fields here June 17 have dropped out of the experimental summer enjoyment program.

Pete Bowers, the YMCA worker in charge of the group, said four of the boys returned to San Francisco after the first 3 days of work in the strawberry fields. Another four dropped out of the program before the first week ended.

THREE JOIN

Meanwhile, Bowers said, three additional boys from San Francisco joined those who are remaining here at Merrill Farms' Moon Camp with Bowers and his assistant, Art Mays.

Of the nine boys who returned to their homes, Bowers said, only one left the program for medical reasons.

All of the 18 youths who came here went through a rigorous 3-week training program to condition them for work in the fields.

Bowers told the youngsters that they could expect it to take about 2 weeks before they'd become accustomed to the heavy physical demands of 12 hours a day in the fields.

BECOMING ACCUSTOMED

The YMCA supervisor said that the youths who remained are now becoming accustomed to their jobs and are determined to stick it out through the summer.

Moreover, said Bowers, who chartered the experimental program as a source of summer employment for city youths, half the youngsters who dropped out of the program have indicated they'd like to come back down here and return to work.

"That's up to Merrill Farms," said Bowers, "but I don't think I would recommend them."

PICK STRAWBERRIES

During the first week here, the youngsters picked and hoed strawberries. Now the youths are loading celery in the fields and picking strawberries.

Bowers said the boys feel the food at the camp is "top notch" and that they're now making contacts and becoming more familiar with the community.

But, said the supervisor, "Their free time is precious and at a minimum."

Most of the boys, who've now been here more than 2 weeks, have received their first paychecks and have started local bank accounts, Bowers said.

Bowers said he hopes soon to launch a series of programs for the boys, including the scheduling of speakers during the week. "Also," he said, "we hope to get the parents down here sometime, maybe on the rodeo weekend."

Yosemite Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, Yosemite National Park is one of the most famous scenic wonders of the world. Just a few days ago, the 100th anniversary of the creation of this park was marked by appropriate ceremonies.

My good friend and colleague, Representative HAROLD T. (BIZZ) JOHNSON, who ably represents much of the mountainous area of California including Yosemite, traced some history of this world famed park in a speech prepared for the occasion. I would like to share this with my colleagues here in the House of Representatives and at this point I would like to insert his remarks into the RECORD.

Just 100 years ago next Tuesday, President Abraham Lincoln signed the Yosemite grant. This grant—called the act of 1864—transferred from the public domain to the State of California what is described in the language of the grant itself as the "cleft" or "gorge" in the granite peak of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, known as the Yo-Semite Valley, and what is known as the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove." The grant went on to say that it was made on the express condition that "the premises shall be held for public use, resort, and recreation * * * inalienable for all time."

By this act or grant, Congress established a new concept of public land use—to protect and conserve a specified part of the public domain for recreation and enjoyment. Moreover, the action came when the Nation was torn by Civil War and at a time when much of the continent was still wilderness and unknown.

It adds stature to the memory of Abraham Lincoln and to the greatness of the ideas and ideals upon which our Nation is founded to know that in that act of 1864 was laid one of the great foundation stones of conservation—a recognition by our Government that nature and natural beauty have a vital place in our country.

This idea of preserving for all the people examples of their natural heritage was born in the minds of a few men who loved this Yosemite country and had the vision to see

that it was worth saving for future generations.

That idea—a public park for the people—was nourished here, grew and spread through these 100 years until now we have a sturdy and flourishing national park system, the finest in the world. Today we continue to make every effort to expand this system.

In his 1962 message to the Congress John F. Kennedy said: "Conservation * * * can be defined as the wise use of our national environment: it is, in the final analysis, the highest form of national thrift—the prevention of waste and despoilment while preserving, improving, and renewing the quality and usefulness of all our resources."

History tells us that earlier civilizations have declined because they did not learn to live in harmony with the land. America today stands poised on a pinnacle of wealth and power, yet we live in a land of vanishing beauty. It is too late to repair some of the mistakes of the past, but to do so we must grasp completely the relationship between human stewardship and the fulness of the American earth.

The American national park idea is today a conservation ideal in all parts of the world. More and more Americans see, as John Muir did, that in this increasingly commercial civilization there must be natural sanctuaries where commercialism is barred, and where every man may enjoy the spiritual exhilaration of the wilderness. Americans have belatedly begun to prize the values of their wild lands and park lands and each year more and more of them see the significance of Muir's good counsel: "Climb the mountains and get their good tidings. Nature's peace will glow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves."

The Hardin Creek Hunkering and Hankering Society on Star Hill Farm Near Loretto, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I received in the morning mail a mimeographed communication, purporting to be the minutes of what is probably an organization existing only in the delightful imagination of the author. It makes a point which is cogent and worthy of consideration. I respectfully insert it in the Appendix to the RECORD as a part of my remarks:

THE HARDIN CREEK HUNKERING AND HANKERING SOCIETY ON STAR HILL FARM NEAR LORETTO, KY.

The regular meeting of the Hardin Creek Hunkering and Hankering Society was held and a request by Brother Charlie McQuaide that members of the society write their Congressmen about Sunshine Bates and the gun laws that he and his bunch want passed.

"Sunshine Bates," Charlie explained, "is one of the thousands of well-meaning, misguided do-gooders in this country who believe that murderers, muggers, molesters, etc., are just the products of unhappy childhoods and that, probably, if the Boston strangler's mother hadn't deprived him of rope when he was a boy, he wouldn't be going around practicing his plumbing on old ladies' windpipes.

"In short, Sunshine and his kind would have given Hitler the couch instead of the chair, and, as a result of their influence on our courts, etc., there are now so many young hoods, perverts, and paroled thieves and murderers roaming loose, that a man on Main Street is about as safe as a bank runner in the Casbah. My brother, Sid, in New York, writes me that he has seen so many attacks on his way to work that he wonders whether he is riding a subway or a covered wagon.

"But it's not bad enough that Sunshine and them have turned these bloodthirsty bums aloose on us; now they want to pass laws to make it tougher for a man to get a gun to protect his home and family against these maniacs. That's like turning a town into a snake farm and then passing a law against carrying sticks.

"Of course, now, I agree with Sunshine that something ought to be done about selling certain types of guns through the mail. After all, our postal regulations are a little peculiar. For example, a mail-order gun peddler can send some teenage punk a submachinegun and a thousand rounds of live ammunition through the mails and it's all right, but let me send my 86-year-old mother a box of bourbon chocolates through the mail and I'm breaking the law. In short, a submachinegun for boys ain't dangerous but candy for a sweet, old lady is because it's got a little whisky flavoring in it.

"But Sunshine and them want more than a change in the postal regulations. They claim that they can keep guns out of the hands of killers and armed robbers by passing laws saying that anybody who has any kind of a gun has to register it and that anybody who wants to buy a gun of any kind will first have to get clearance from the police.

"Now, I won't insult your intelligence by bothering to tell you how naive Sunshine is being, or how these laws would subject millions of law-abiding hunters and householders to a lot of useless, unconstitutional indignities. Instead, I'll just tell you about the deal I've made with Sunshine.

"I've told him that when the man who shot the teller at the Farmers National Bank comes in and registers his gun, and when the man who broke into Ed Hadley's hardware store and stole 14 pistols comes in and registers those guns, and when just one ex-con comes in and asks the police for clearance for a gun, then I will come in and not only register my quail gun with the police, I will let the police fingerprint me, mug me, bloodtest me, check for gunpowder in my urine and then tattoo the make, model, and manufacturer of my gun on my upper lip. That's how much confidence I've got in these laws that Sunshine and the lunatic fringe want passed.

"And, in the meanwhile," Charlie concluded, "let us all write our Congressmen and pray to the good Lord to save us from those who want to save us from ourselves." With that, Charlie was given a standing ovation and the meeting was adjourned to Bill Samuels' office for pen and paper.

Respectfully submitted.

B. M. ATKINSON, Jr.,
Corresponding Secretary.

Ah, So

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Raymond L. Wise wrote a letter to the editor of the Miami Daily News which appeared in the July 21 issue of that paper about an incident which I thought might be amusing if not informative to my colleagues. It follows:

AH, SO

To the EDITOR:

Hashimuro Togo, that forgotten Japanese schoolboy, is now old enough to vote. He says he is voting for the "plesent Plesident" Lyndon Baines Johnson but that he is also a great admirer of the two-party system and is sorry to see the Republican Party has committed Barry-kari.

RAYMOND L. WISE, *Surfside.*

Poverty Amid Affluence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times, one of the Nation's most respected newspapers, had an excellent editorial in its Sunday edition of July 26 on the President's antipoverty program.

This editorial clearly and concisely marshals the arguments as to why President Johnson's bold program to reduce poverty in this country is urgently needed.

Marshall Field, Jr., publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times, and his chief editorial writer, Robert E. Kennedy, have performed an outstanding public service in bringing this legislation into proper perspective.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

POVERTY AMID AFFLUENCE

The United States is enjoying record prosperity and abundance. The free enterprise system, the giant advances in technology, the vigor of our people all have combined to create an affluent society such as never before existed.

The average family lives in a manner enjoyed only by the rich in earlier generations. Nevertheless, anachronistic pockets of poverty endure.

The poor are fewer in number today than ever before because our booming economy has made more available for everyone. But still one out of five families has less than $3,000 a year income.

Some persons in some places may get along comfortably on $3,000 or less but the great wealth produced by this Nation ought to make it possible for every family to earn more than that. The causes of poverty lie not in the lack of opportunity to do so but in the lack of what is needed to seize the opportunity: skill and education.

It has been recognized for years that in our industrial society the poor cannot lift themselves up by their own bootstraps. Some individuals can perform like a Horatio Alger hero and rise above their hovels but millions—repeat, millions—are trapped by their environment. Poverty begets poverty. There are 11 million children in the families of the 35 million poor.

We cannot agree with BARRY GOLDWATER who has said, "The fact is that most people who have no skill have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition." It has been demonstrated time and again—here in Chicago—that persons on public aid can be taught skills that will

make them self-supporting. Many adults must first be taught to read and write, but they can be taught and are eager to be taught.

It is against this background that President Johnson's antipoverty bill was passed in the Senate last week with the support of 10 Republicans, but not GOLDWATER.

No one questions the need to war on poverty; Democrats and Republicans alike—most of them—agree that it must be waged at the various levels of government. The Johnson program's billion-dollar cost is the same as the cost of the new long-range plane announced by Mr. Johnson Friday. Disagreement has centered on the poverty program's methods rather than its goals.

We have on this page specifically criticized a section that would have put the Government in the business of buying farmland and reselling it at cost to poor rural families. We are pleased to note that this was voted out of the Senate version. The Senate also voted to give State Governors veto power over the allocation of Federal funds to private, nonprofit groups. The House may further improve the bill.

We have said that poverty, first of all, is a community problem that is best met at the local level, with, when necessary, the aid of the Federal Government. In some areas, such as the Appalachian region, local communities can't help themselves. They do need Federal help. There are other combat areas of the war on poverty in which the Government can best function.

For example, since July 1, all eligible males who register with the Selective Service System for the military draft are being referred to the nearest Armed Forces examination station to receive medical and educational testing. Formerly there was an average 5-year wait. Those who need help to make them ready for jobs will be discovered immediately.

Studies begun last September show that one-third of the young men reaching 18 are either mentally or physically unfit for military service. As the late President Kennedy said, "a young man who doesn't have what it takes to perform military service is not likely to have what it takes to make a living. Today's military rejects include tomorrow's hard-core unemployed." The rejects can be reclaimed. Mr. Johnson's bill sets up the machinery.

It is unthinkable that a society as great and affluent as America's should find that one-third of its young men are unfit to serve in its military forces or to hold a 20th century job. Certainly government has a duty and responsibility to try to change this.

Chambersburg, Pa., Celebrates 200th Anniversary of Founding and 100th Anniversary of Its Burning in Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, the community of Chambersburg, Pa., celebrates this week the observance of the 200th anniversary of the town's founding and the 100th anniversary of its burning during the Civil War by Confederate troops.

In this connection, I insert the following news article from the July 22 issue of the Chambersburg Public Opinion in the RECORD:

TOWN BEGINS BICENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE—OPENING CEREMONIES AT 5:45 P.M. TODAY AT COURTHOUSE—MILITARY PARADE TOMORROW EVENING

Chambersburg's long-planned dual observance to mark the 200th anniversary of the laying out of the town by Col. Benjamin Chambers and the 100th anniversary of the town's burning by Confederate troops during the Civil War will formally open with exercises in Memorial Square this evening.

In the 10 days which follow, a busy program of parades, pageants, fireworks displays, open houses, tours, shows, and highjinks will serve as a constant reminder of the town's historical past.

The bicentennial-centennial program is crowed with activities through August 2.

A highlight of the festivities will be the presentation of the outdoor spectacular, "From This Valley," which will include a cast of 387 local residents. This pageant, which will tell the history of Chambersburg during the past 200 years, will be presented each evening at the Chambersburg Senior High School athletic field from July 27 through August 1. A 15-minute fireworks display by the American Fireworks Co. will follow each pageant performance.

Parades will be another bicentennial-centennial feature. The first parade is scheduled for 7 p.m. tomorrow and will come as a climax to Military and Veterans' Day. A firemen's parade is scheduled for 2 p.m. Saturday, a Youth Day parade is planned for 3 p.m. on July 27 and the grand finale parade has been set for 2 p.m. on August 1. Thousands of dollars in parade prizes are being offered, with the firemen's and grand finale parades each having prize purses in excess of $3,000.

Who Is an Extremist?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the left-wing press and some misguided liberal Republicans find fault in Senator GOLDWATER'S statements that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice" and "moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

What do these self-styled critics have to say about President Johnson's statement on the Harlem race riots when he said:

In the preservation of law and order there can be no compromises—just as there can be no compromise in securing equal and exact justice for all Americans.

If there is to be no compromise in the preservation of law and order, does this encompass extraordinary extreme measures in quelling disturbances and the killing of rioters if necessary? This most certainly is an extreme statement on the part of President Johnson. If Senator GOLDWATER is an extremist, then President Johnson is an extremist, also. Apparently, it all depends on whose ox is being gored.

The Cross-Florida Barge Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am delighted to submit a letter addressed to Mr. Gleason N. Stambaugh, chairman of the Committee on Inland Navigation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. This letter was sent to him, at his request, by Mr. Giles L. Evans, Jr., manager of the Canal Authority of the State of Florida.

This splendid letter gives some very interesting information about the proposed Cross-Florida Barge Canal:

THE CANAL AUTHORITY
OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA,
Jacksonville, Fla., July 9, 1964.

Mr. GLEASON N. STAMBAUGH,
Chairman, the Committee on Inland Navigation, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STAMBAUGH: This letter is in response to your recent query regarding the Cross Florida Barge Canal. I believe that your request evidences a most timely and appropriate attitude on the part of your committee, and am pleased to have this opportunity.

As you doubtless are aware, this project is a 12-foot-deep barge waterway, which will cross over a low saddle through the central ridge of Florida, by means of five blocks. I need not elaborate upon the physical characteristics of the canal, but let me reiterate that this is a lock, not a sea-level, canal.

If there be any single aspect of paramount concern to your committee, I believe it lies in the need for diligent and expeditious prosecution of the construction so that the Nation and the Southeast will realize its benefits as soon as possible. Any such efficient construction depends upon adequate congressional appropriations which we believe can be measured only by the full stated capabilities of the Corps of Engineers. You might sum up this position by saying "The national interest dictates funding the Cross-Florida Barge Canal to the fullest Corps of Engineers capability."

My statement presented to the congressional Appropriations Committee in April rather extensively discussed the reasons for our attitude on the matter of appropriations. I will, therefore, incorporate the major portion of that statement for the balance of this letter.

The U.S. Congress authorized this project in 1942 as a critical defense measure. In the interim it has been examined and found economically justified without even assessing any defense values among the benefits. Congress, for fiscal year 1964, appropriated $1 million for starting construction. The work is now underway; and the two initial contracts were awarded for total amounts some 30 percent below the Corps of Engineers' estimates. We are deeply appreciative of the broad perception and sincere interest in our national well-being evidenced by the Appropriations Committee, and by the entire Congress, in furthering the progress of this vital waterway.

The budget request for fiscal year 1965 is $4 million to continue construction. We are gratified at this continued recognition and at the construction progress thereby insured, providing the Congress approves. We strongly urge and request, however, that the

Congress appropriate the full capability of the corps—$6.5 million. This would require adding a $2.5 million increment to the budget request; an increment which amounts to only 1.55 percent of the estimated project cost.

We make this request, not on the basis of any selfish nor extra-cost "crash" program, but rather to insure a realistic, a timely, and an orderly schedule within the corps' capability. We believe that the corps' stated capabilities provide eminently sound criteria for adequate and economic prosecution of civil works programs; and that failure to adhere to these capabilities may prove both expensive and detrimental, particularly, in a project of this scope. The Cross-Florida Barge Canal project involves many interrelated, long leadtime elements. Engineering and economic considerations require that we proceed diligently. We should avoid throwing away, at the start, valuable time which will be reflected in cumulative "stretchouts" thereby imposed during the later stages.

By utilizing the full corps' capability, now, we will minimize any future delays, and at the same time, will provide for compression of the subsequent construction schedule should a national emergency or other future considerations require. The 2.5 million increment requested will allow the corps to advance contract award dates on several jobs by several months. The St. Johns Lock award, for instance, could be moved up to July 1964, or earlier, rather than waiting until late fall in order merely to phase expenditures with the budget request figures. St. Johns lock site is available, the corps has the capability; deferred awards automatically delay construction progress and are entirely unwarranted. Similar considerations prevail in other elements of the project.

Lest skeptics term our request unrealistic, let me remind them that following the authorization in 1942, the corps' definite project report was predicated upon a 2½-year construction schedule; the 1958 and 1962 economic restudies were based on a 6½-year construction period; today, we are advised that no completion date has been scheduled, and we hear guesses and estimates ranging upwards of a decade. Any such dilatory pace can but serve to delay wantonly the realization of this project's national, regional, and local benefits.

Speaking broadly, few navigation benefits, and essentially no defense transportation benefits, can accrue until the project shall have been completed. True enough, significant flood and water conservation benefits will develop with early construction progress at both ends of the canal. But such benefits are minor in comparison with the primary navigation aspects. There also is prospect of having to assess additional construction interest charges should construction be extended uneconomically. It seems especially important that the construction program profit, while it may, from the low contract-cost atmosphere thus far prevailing on the canal construction.

Rather than repeat detailed justifications, I should like to highlight a few key aspects. President Kennedy's fiscal year 1964 supplemental budget request for funds to start construction pointed out that this project would provide a major, direct, and protected waterway link between the gulf and Atlantic seaboards for bulk cargoes; that it would provide an economic impetus to the regional economy; and that it would augment strategic materials capabilities in cases of national emergency. President Johnson, at the groundbreaking exercises in February 1964, emphasized the stimulus to economic growth and industrial development, and the beneficial creation of an interregional transportation facility.

We should not forget that this project is a vital national waterway—not just a local Florida affair. This project is changing the transportation geography of the United States, for it will link the Atlantic and gulf coasts; and it will, for the first time in our history, circumvent the Appalachian barrier with a safe, year-round, slack-water, shallow-draft waterway. The Appalachian barrier throughout our history has imposed economic burdens upon the exchange of commodities between eastern and midcontinent America. As long ago as 1542, DeSoto found this barrier a bar to his westward exploration. After marching from Florida up into the Carolinas, he had to retrace his steps and skirt the southern foothills of the Appalachians before he could work his way westward to his discovery of the Mississippi. Almost ever since, man has dreamed and planned for a water link to shorten travel between the east coast and the midcontinent. We need to eliminate the Appalachian barrier without any further needless delay.

Officials deeply involved in construction for our space effort publicly have proclaimed that the waterways linking the Texas-Mississippi River Delta complex of space vehicle testing sites with the Cape Kennedy launching area constitute a mainstay of the space effort. Barges are essential for transporting the bigger rockets, and tremendous tonnages of heavy bulk construction materials must be supplied to the sites. Our water-borne rockets presently must move to Cape Kennedy around the Florida Keys and through the Straits of Florida under the direct surveillance of Castro Cuba. Aside from the obvious disadvantages of such a route, there is the factor of more than 600 extra needless miles, compared to a route via a completed Cross-Florida Barge Canal. The Okeechobee Waterway, unfortunately, provides no solution, since its bridge and lock clearances are too restricted; the essential draft cannot be assured (the controlling depths in 1962 for extensive periods were around 6 feet); and that route still is about 350 miles longer than via the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Assuredly, our expensive and complex space program should not be hindered through nonmandatory delays in the complete development of a unified barge waterways transportation support system.

As we previously remarked, no dollars-and-cents defense transportation benefits were assigned the project in the economic restudies. Such benefits do not accrue until emergency conditions develop; at that stage, the benefits too often have to be measured by their absence rather than by demonstrated accomplishment, and time limitations generally will preclude remedial construction measures. This certainly has been the case with the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. Had the canal been available, it doubtless could have saved a major portion of the 165 tankers and cargo vessels, with combined gross tonnages of 1,065,337, and estimated present replacement cost (exclusive of cargoes) of $964,029,000 lost to submarines in the Gulf-Atlantic lanes during World War II. The situation can become equally acute in any future emergency. Net petroleum demands for the eastern seaboard by 1961 had risen to 3,863,000 barrels per day; ocean tankers supply 3,408,000 barrels, or 88.3 percent of this total. The demand continues to rise but is partially compensated for by the new Colonial pipeline which has a stated capacity of 800,000 barrels per day. This still would leave a tanker movement of at least 2,608,000 barrels per day, or more than 75 percent of the unrevised 1961 demand. The war risk is obvious.

The Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works testified in the fiscal year 1962 Senate appropriations hearings to the effect that the Cross-Florida Canal would reduce exposure of shipping to submarine attacks and that the project held military benefits which, though not evaluated, would accrue upon construction of the project. The canal's 14-foot lock sill depths will accommodate light Navy and Army vessels, including LST's, LCH's, LCU's, LVT's, and some DE's thereby facilitating rapid deployments by these craft. The Navy, in January 1960, advised the Corps of Engineers that it had more than 12 different classes of seagoing vessels that operate in 12 feet of water, and that these classes of vessels could use the canal at a saving in distance of 600 miles over the Straits of Florida route, in addition to protection from enemy action which would be afforded by the inland route. In the fall of 1962 we watched the exposed and tortuous "around the keys" deployments of our military landing craft from the east to the southwest coast of Florida.

Not only is the overall defense of the Nation involved, but some 3½ million people living in the Florida salient are entirely dependent for their first line of defense upon the military establishments and activities sited therein. Both arterial and secondary avenues of transportation throughout the length of the peninsula will be of vital importance in time of emergency. The Cross-Florida Barge Canal and the waterways of the east and west coasts will be essential to provide adequate transportation facilities to the southern portion of the State. The division engineer testified in the fiscal year 1959 appropriations hearings that the Jacksonville to Miami Waterway, alone, when completed to the authorized 12-foot depth, would carry over 3 million tons per annum during a wartime emergency.

Our present national military policy apparently assumes that we probably shall continue indefinitely with the ever-present threat of possible "hot" conflicts. We at least need to make our plans and develop our resources with that prospect in mind. We must be prepared to wage conventional as well as nuclear warfare. There is little ground to look for any favorable change in the hostile Cuban situation. Faced with this situation, national prudence dictates that we move promptly to complete the Cross-Florida Canal and to eliminate the weakness in our emergency internal transportation capability, engendered by lack of the operating link.

Broad general economic reasoning calls for expeditious prosecution of the canal project. The Nation has given great attention to the urgent need for increasing economic activities and developments through expanded capital investments. This has been the general theme all year, especially with respect to our revised tax laws. Congress long since has expressed the national policy that it is proper responsibility of the Federal Government to develop soundly the Nation's water and related land resources so as best to serve the needs of present and future generations in an expanding economy. The Florida Barge Canal constitutes a capital investment of national significance. The prudent investor endeavors to secure early returns on his investment, rather than invest dribbles over a long period without any return. Basic investment principles require that funding of the Florida Barge Canal proceed at a pace which will provide early transportation benefits. Adhering to the Engineers' capability will conform to these principles.

Some misinformed individuals have expressed concern that the Cross Florida Canal will terminate in an exposed, open-gulf, dead end. The need for digging a Yankeetown-Carabelle section was considered at the time of authorization in 1942, and was eliminated as nonessential by virtue of the very low offshore gradient which precluded close submarine approach and reduced wave energies to almost zero; further, weather conditions would be troublesome only about 15 days a year. In the meantime, since 1954, combination seagoing river barges have been placed

in service; these "gulf-river" barges can operate in the open gulf, or inland rivers without reloading; they outwardly resemble regular river barges, but have partitioned double bottoms, watertight hatches, and other strengthening modifications. In 1960, these barges handled 650,000 tons across the open gulf without incident, and have solved effectively the open gulf question. Similar qualms were expressed in 1951 about the 80-mile open stretch of water along the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway reach, called Mississippi Sound, between New Orleans and Mobile. For the period 1955–61 that reach has carried traffic of between 7 and 8 million tons per year, except for 6,995,865 tons in 1957. True enough, hawser tows tend to be more expensive to operate than consolidated tows. The Corps of Engineers has taken these considerations into account in computing the transportation benefits of the canal. The Cross-Florida Barge Canal benefits would be even greater were there an inland waterway between Carabelle and the gulf terminus; nevertheless, the project is completely operable and economically justified with the present open-bay stretch along this reach.

Another point of concern perennially raises its head. This is the question of salt water intrusion via the canal. Such concern is unfounded. St. Johns lock in the east and Inglis lock in the west will effectively bar salt intrusion into upland waters. In addition, continual fresh water discharges through Rodman Dam and St. Johns lock in the east and through Inglis dam and lock in the west will insure preservation of the present water characteristics in the St. Johns and lower Withlachoochee River. The lower Withlacoochee presents an especially interesting situation since the canal will cross the river a mile or two southwest of Inglis lock. The Corps of Engineers has designed an auxiliary bleeder canal to feed fresh water from the Inglis Pool into the Withlachoochee downstream of its crossing with the barge canal. This auxiliary water supply will insure continued cooling water for the steam powerplant at Inglis and continued fresh water for the lower Withlachoochee.

The actual start of construction on the Florida Barge Canal has stimulated broad national interest in, and support for, the project. This is borne out by numerous newspaper and periodical editorials and articles. Dallas editors see the canal as shortening the distances between Dallas space-age plants and Cape Kennedy; they see Texas profiting from shortened transportation distances and times of travel to the eastern seaboard; and they see the entire gulf region interchanging bulk commodities with the entire eastern coast. Augusta, Ga., considers the project a revolutionary development certain to have far-reaching repercussions in trade and travel patterns throughout the Southeast; it sees Augusta becoming an important distribution center for interchange of goods shipped from the gulf to locations in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee; conversely, it will be the point of origin for shipments going in other directions.

Writers in North Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia, and other locations have expressed similar expectations of benefit to their own regions. This anticipation is only natural when we recall that the Corps of Engineers' economic studies assert that some 85 percent of the traffic will be interstate, rather than intra-Florida in nature. The resultant benefits obviously will be shared by States other than Florida.

The project, if in operation last year, would have connected 150, or 34 percent of the congressional districts, in 27 States, each with all the others, by improved inland navigation channels. This interconnection would augment our total national industrial capability and would tend to unite the gulf-midcontinental and the Atlantic seaboard industrial areas into a unified national complex by virtue of more economical transportation. Interstate commerce considerations demand aggressive efforts to complete the project forthwith and completely substantiate the need for appropriations to the fullest extent of the engineers' capability.

Essentially, the increment of $2.5 million additional funds between the budget request and the corps' stated capabilities would advance the award of certain major work items by several months, rather than new items to the fiscal year 1965 program. Such advances tend to develop cumulative advantages in progress positions and in flexibility of programing construction in future years.

Should you have further questions regarding the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project I shall be glad to develop answers for you.

Sincerely yours,

GILES L. EVANS, Jr.,
Manager.

Appalachian Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on July 5, 1964, our most distinguished colleague from Texas, GEORGE H. MAHON, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, was interviewed on the Mutual Network program "What's the Issue?" presented by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Our distinguished colleague made some pertinent remarks to the legislation currently before the Congress in regard to Appalachian regional development. Congressman MAHON was interviewed by Timothy Hayes of the chamber's Washington staff. The segment of the interview concerning Appalachian expenditures follows, and I commend it to the attention of all Members of this body:

Mr. HAYES. Congressman Mahon, we hear a great deal these days about proposals for the Federal Government to expend large sums for several years to eliminate poverty. You've mentioned the President's poverty program. Another program is to develop the region known as Appalachia. Would you give us your views as to whether or not you think the Government is on the right track in devising and implementing programs of this kind?

Representative MAHON. Well, as the Government becomes more complex I think it is inevitable that we will have more government. Now we had the mass transit bill some time ago in the House. We do need to do something about mass transit because the cities, many of them, are withering up in the downtown areas. This is an important problem. But I don't believe the Federal Government should get heavily involved in this program. We just can't do all of these things without creating a fiscal situation which will lead to further inflation and damage the overall stability of the country.

Now, Appalachia, this is a challenging problem. We all would like to see something done about it. But I think we've got to be pretty skeptical about these programs and these problems. We ought to eliminate poverty to the extent that may be possible. We ought to make taxpayers out of those who are more or less a liability to the Government on welfare, and so forth. This is very much to be desired. But I don't know any quick and easy way to do this now. There's room to pass some sort of antipoverty program but I think the program which has been suggested is too ambitious.

Mr. HAYES. You make a point that is well worth reemphasizing—that reasonable people don't turn their backs on the problem. It's simply finding the best and most equitable solution to the problem, rather than just plunging ahead into it.

Representative MAHON. You can't always answer a problem—or solve a problem—by the mere expenditure of more money. You may even complicate it.

Long Fight Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 1, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times recently carried an editorial about my long struggle to win approval from the Federal Aviation Agency for the installation of crash-proof voice recorders in the cockpits of commercial aircraft.

I was most pleased to see the FAA finally order the installation of such recorders. I am sure that when they become fully operational, the entire aviation agency will have vastly more information from the pilots themselves on the causes of air crashes.

While it is understood that the voice recorders, in themselves, will not necessarily prevent an air tragedy, certainly the lessons that we learn from aircraft disasters will help all parties concerned to take corrective measures to prevent further air tragedies.

The Chicago Sun-Times editorial follows:

LONG FIGHT WON

The Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) has issued an order that all air lines must install crash-proof tape recorders in their aircraft by no later than January 1, 1967. The purpose of the recorders is to take down all cockpit conversation and thus provide possible clues to aircraft disasters.

This order is the culmination of a 3-year fight waged by Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, a former bomber pilot who has been fighting as hard as he knew how to get the FAA to move on his proposal. PUCINSKI should be congratulated for not giving up in the face of bureaucratic lethargy.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Valedictory Address by Sherry Lee Buxton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, a young lady who lives in Strong, Maine, recently delivered a remarkable valedictory address to the people of her town, at her local high school's graduation exercises. Her name is Sherry Lee Buxton. The words she used are forceful; and her articulate style has enabled her to give new life to ideas and phrases which too long have been trite and too often have been repeated without meaning.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this inspiring valedictory address, entitled "This Above All."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS ABOVE ALL

(By Sherry Lee Buxton, Strong High School, Strong, Maine, June 2, 1964)

"This above all: to thine own self-be true; and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

How can you be a true friend to others if you cannot first be one to yourself? The value you place upon yourself will determine the value you will have to others. One of the most important requirements of self-respect is knowing how and when to utter one of the smallest words in our language—"No."

"No" consists of only two letters, one syllable, but it has had a vital part in the making of men and nations. It is a quixotic term. It can place one suddenly alone in a throng, make an enemy of a friend, or vice versa. It can restore one's self-respect and preserve one's individuality. Our colonial forefathers said no to the Stamp Act, no to the tax on tea and a resounding no that echoed round the world to the red-coated, powder-wigged regulars of His Majesty's army. Those seven weary, sweaty Marines struggling up the slopes of Mt. Suribachi said no in a way that no American would ever forget. The result * * * "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Perhaps courage is inborn, a minute spark within each of us but without nourishment and use it flickers and is extinguished. After all, it's so much easier to drift with the current. Never mind the rapids just around the bend. "Sticking to your guns" seems to place one on such a lonely pinnacle where icy blasts from frozen smiles or averted faces penetrate the atmosphere. Some experience a stifling sensation. The air is too thin, the snubs too biting. They scramble down from the mountain ready to join the popular opinion of the moment right or wrong. The grimaces become smiles and the snubs turn to handclasps. "We knew you would see it our way."

But there are others, called kooks by some, by others rugged individualists, who remain on that mountain, and if their stamina and fortitude do not fail them, they often find the population of that peak growing day by day and they are no longer alone.

Our late President was one of these mountain dwellers. "He'll have us in war," was a common hue and cry during the Cuban crisis as the citizenry rushed to construct fallout shelters. The peak must have been lonely and the winds cold, but gradually more and more Americans began to climb the steep grade to help that man and give him their unswerving support, respect, and admiration. The Russian Bear gathered up his playthings and went home.

So many individuals cower through life governing their affairs by the standards of "they." Who are they—a few outspoken leaders perhaps but the majority is comprised of fearful followers creeping along in the shadows afraid of arousing the disapproval or annoyance of the great ones. I was attracted by this excerpt from an Elsa Maxwell CBS broadcast: "I had a wonderful father. I was his only child. In 1904 my father sent for me and said, 'I'm going to die and I've nothing to leave you. You've got to go out into the world and make your own living. How are you going to do it? You're nothing much to look at, never will be. You have no name. You haven't any money. But I'm going to leave you a legacy. It's three simple rules. If you follow them the world will be your oyster. First, never be afraid of "they." People are more afraid of "they" than anything else in the world. Strong generals with great armies will face courageously the most outrageous foes yet be terrified of what they might say, they might do, they might not like. The second rule,' he said, 'is even more important. Never collect inanimate objects. You can't do it, for they collect you. So I thought the more you own the more you are possessed; therefore I own nothing except absolute essentials. I've been as free as air, and it's wonderful. And the third one which suited me rather well,' he said, was 'Always laugh at yourself first, and the laughter of others falls off as harmlessly as if you were in golden armor.' "

To believe in your convictions, to stand and state what you believe to be right "as God gave you to see that right" is one of the marks of greatness. A popular American hero once said, "Be sure you're right, then go ahead." He lived his life by that simple creed and died defending it—in the rubble of the Alamo. Perhaps you do have to live in a crowd, but don't become a stereotype, just another duplicated product rolling off the conveyor belt.

Freedom of expression is a cherished privilege and a duty of Americans. If it were not regarded as such by the majority we would have no democracy, and therefore no government as we know it, for democracy is the voice of the people, 190 million strong, and our Government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people," is it not?

This poem of the late Robert Frost presents a thoughtful summation.

"Two roads diverged in a yellow wood, and sorry I could not travel both and be one traveler, long I stood and looked down one as far as I could to where it bent in the undergrowth; then took the other as just as fair, and having perhaps the better claim, because it was grassy and wanted wear; though as for that the passing there had worn them really about the same, and both that morning equally lay in leaves no step had trodden black. Oh, I kept the first for another day. Yet knowing how way leads on to way, I doubted if I should ever come back. I shall be telling this with a sigh somewhere ages and ages hence: Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—I took the one less traveled by, and that has made all the difference."

It is with mixed emotions, sadness, pride, gratitude that we leave behind our high school years. To our parents who have given us patient understanding, encouragement, love, and a great deal of self-sacrifice, we have for you two words, very small, but straight from the heart's core—thank you.

To our teachers who have given so much of themselves that we might have an education with extras—understanding, guidance, and friendship—to be a friend as well as a teacher is quite a task—we offer our thanks so sincerely meant.

A friend once wrote this small poem in an autograph book: "True friends, like diamonds, are precious and rare. False friends, like autumn leaves, are found everywhere." To those "diamonds" who have remained loyal and steadfast throughout the worst as well as the best of weather, we extend our thanks from grateful hearts. May we prove ourselves worthy recipients of the faith and the trust which you have placed in us.

Urban Renewal—Is It Un-American?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, in the June 1964 publication of Mayor and Manager, there is an excellent article on the federally assisted urban renewal program entitled "Urban Renewal—Is It Un-American?"

As a member of the Subcommittee on Housing and as one who comes from a large metropolitan area, I am deeply interested in this particular program. Frankly, I think that on a nationwide basis urban renewal to date has done an outstanding job. This is certainly true in my own city of Philadelphia, where there are some 35 urban renewal projects now underway, involving almost $158 million in Federal grants. Our city feels strongly that this program has been of tremendous value and certainly should and will be extended by Congress. Actually, the success of urban renewal in Philadelphia is such that communities in other States are looking to our projects as prototypes.

Sometimes I am perplexed when I hear some of the adverse comments about the urban renewal program, and it is in this connection that I think the following

article should be of considerable interest.

The article concludes that:

The future of America lies with its cities and thus far no one has come up with effective alternative proposals for eliminating slums and halting the spread of blight. Urban renewal may run counter to many hallowed American traditions but it is also the best available tool for creating a new America for hundreds of this Nation's cities and millions of its citizens.

I agree with this and commend the article to all Members:

URBAN RENEWAL—IS IT UN-AMERICAN?

(By Lyle E. Schaller)

Twelve months have passed since Mayor and Manager last devoted a special issue to the subject of urban renewal. During this period urban renewal has been subjected to the most severe criticisms in its history. The attack has come from the political left as well as from the right.

A Republican Congressman declared that urban renewal might turn into "The Tea Pot Dome Scandal" of the 1960's. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce assisted in organizing a conference devoted to an attack on urban renewal. The critics of urban renewal included nine Congressmen—six Republicans and three Democrats.

During these same months urban renewal programs all across the Nation have been denounced in public and in private by those who contend that human values have been neglected in the struggle to clear residential slums and replace them with expensive structures which will enhance the city's tax bases. They contend that the major beneficiaries of urban renewal have not been the residents of the blighted areas, but rather that the renewal process has provided huge financial windfalls for slum landlords, who have received exorbitant prices for rotting tenaments, and the speculative redevelopers who have received public subsidies in the "write-down" of land costs. These critics include leaders in the civil rights movement, ministers, social workers, journalists, and a varied assortment of liberal spokesmen.

Much of this opposition has been mobilized at the polls to defeat the city administration's requests for bond issues or tax levies necessary to finance an expansion or continuation of the local renewal effort. A number of recent candidates for municipal office have included an antiurban renewal plank in their campaign platform.

The most widely discussed book on city planning yet published is Jane Jacobs' "The Death and Life of Great American Cities"; its central theme, and one reason for its popularity, is its aggressive criticism of recent renewal efforts. Social workers, small home owners, wealthy businessmen, renters, clergymen of all faiths, shopkeepers who are barely eking out a living, militant segregationists, civil rights leaders and realtors are among the many contemporary opponents of urban renewal.

Why has this program, which dates back only to 1949, encountered such vigorous opposition? No one openly favors the preservation of slums or the spread of blight, yet the program which was enacted to eliminate these conditions has encountered a tremendous quantity of opposition. Why? Much has been promised by the proponents of urban renewal but comparatively little has been accomplished. During the first 14 years a total of 1,180 projects were started in 627 different communities but only 86 were completed by mid-1963. Why has performance lagged so far behind the promises of the promoters?

This opposition to urban renewal and its limited accomplishments stand in marked contrast to the Interstate and Defense Highway program. Seven years younger than the current federally assisted urban renewal effort, the interstate highway program has run into comparatively little opposition and already has completed the construction of thousands of miles of four-lane limited-access high-speed roads.

Both programs involve billions of dollars of Federal aid, both require the supervision and approval of Federal agencies, both involve the forced displacement of thousands of families and businesses, both are subject to political pressures on location, priorities and contracts. Despite these similarities one is moving along almost on schedule and the other is bogged down in a morass of opposition from a variety of sources.

Opponents of urban renewal denounce the program because it involves "handouts" from Washington, yet the Federal contribution to a local renewal program is only two-thirds of the net cost while the highway program requires Uncle Sam to pay nine-tenths of the cost. During the first 17 years of its life the Federal contributions to the urban renewal program will exceed $5.5 billion. During an equal period the Federal contributions to the Interstate and Defense Highway program will approach $40 billion. Opponents of urban renewal base much of their opposition on the unsolved problems of relocating families displaced by slum clearance. However for the past decade the local public agency has been required to help relocate families displaced by urban renewal, but up until recently anyone in the path of an interstate highway was left to his own resources to find a new home or a new location for his business.

Why have the same conditions, which in many communities resulted in a political rebellion against urban renewal, had such a limited adverse effect on the highway program?

REALITIES AND DREAMS

A possible explanation of this apparent paradox is that apparently the highway program is consistent with the American dream while urban renewal is un-American.

The automobile and the engineer are respected and admired symbols of the American way of life. Both represent progress and efficiency. The casual observer is impressed as he watches giant machines remold the surface of the earth. The motorist is grateful for the new highway which reduces his city-to-city driving time by one-third or more. He takes great pride in both the highway and the resulting savings in his time. All of the highly visible characteristics of the highway program are consistent with the typical American standards of success, progress and efficiency.

The contrast with the symbols of urban renewal is overwhelming. The slum represents failure, poverty, crime, and disease. The planner symbolizes the interference of government with the free enterprise system. The motherly social worker attempting to patch up the psychological and social wounds inflicted on the poor in our society stand in marked contrast to the thoroughly masculine image of the engineer bridging vast canyons and cutting mountains down to size.

Even when considered apart from activities such as the highway program, the urban renewal process runs counter to the American dream in at least four respects.

THE POWER STRUCTURE

Perhaps the most subtle, but also the most significant, un-American characteristic is that urban renewal encourages the concentration of a vast quantity of power in the hands of one or two officials. The success of a renewal program is measured by a number of criteria. One of these is the speed with which wornout buildings and dilapidated houses are replaced by shiny new glass and steel structures. Such a transformation can be accomplished most readily when only one man has the authority to act on his own in resolving complex issues of planning, relocation and redevelopment. Speed and the democratic process in urban renewal are incompatible. A recent study by Amos H. Hawley, published in the American Journal of Sociology, demonstrated quite clearly the high correlation between a highly concentrated power structure and a successful urban renewal program.

THE FISCAL ASPECT

A second criterion for success is the amount of cash from the municipal treasury required to complete the project. While the law calls for the local public agency to pay one-third of the net project cost, dozens of communities have been able to use "noncash grants"—the construction of schools, fire stations, streets, sewers, and so forth, to meet a large portion of the required local contribution. The actual direct cash payment may be less than 5 percent of the net project costs. The balance is met by getting credit for the cost of these community facilities, most of which probably would have been constructed anyway.

Here again a successful effort usually requires vesting in one man the power to shift the priority schedules of many city agencies so that the maximum credit can be secured toward the local contribution. This runs counter to the traditional concept of municipal government which disperses authority among a great variety of semi-independent boards and commissions. This may often save the local taxpayers substantial sums of money, but it also may result in the urban renewal director becoming highly unpopular with his colleagues in city hall who conclude that he and his program are attempting to dictate the programs and schedules of other department heads.

ZONING ORDINANCES

This concentration of authority in city hall has created another condition which is repugnant to many Americans. Urban renewal encourages, in fact it requires, cities to exercise a positive voice in future land-use patterns. Until relatively recently the development of cities was left largely to speculators, builders, realtors and a miscellaneous assortment of fast-buck operators. For three hundred years they controlled the physical growth of urban America. The first break in this tradition came with the adoption of zoning ordinances. New York City adopted the first comprehensive zoning law in 1916, but it took another decade before the concept gained the necessary legal approval. Subsequently every large city adopted a zoning ordinance with the exception of Houston. Despite the widespread use of zoning laws many still regard zoning as an unnecessary and unconstitutional interference with the free use of private property.

Despite its unpopularity, zoning was, and still is, largely a negative control by the city over the use of land. It only tells the owner what he cannot do. By contrast urban renewal not only states what cannot be done but also prescribes, often in precise detail, what the private land owner must do. This applies to the redeveloper who buys cleared sites for new structures as well as the property owners who desire to continue the use of older buildings. Frequently this will include specific instructions on the physical rehabilitation of the property, the addition of offstreet parking and additional restrictions on the uses of the buildings. While many city officials, planners, social scientists, and politicians regard this as a legitimate and proper use of governmental authority, countless thousands feel that this attempt by cities to control the pattern of future growth represents an un-American conflict with their basic property rights.

THE TRASH CAN ATTITUDE

Urban renewal, especially the recent emphasis on rehabilitation and conservation, also is in conflict with the frontier practices

of American life. For decades Americans have been accustomed to discarding the old, the used, and the wornout and replacing it with the new. This was the practice of the farmer on the early frontier who often "wore out" three or four farms in his lifetime, each time abandoning the old and moving west to stake out a new homestead. This is the current custom in our use of automobiles, furniture, and beer bottles. It also has been the controlling factor in the growth of American cities. Each generation has had its well-to-do members who discarded the houses built by their parents and moved out to the edge of the metropolis to build new homes in new surroundings. This practice has been facilitated by the continuous influx of unskilled minority members who had no choice but to occupy the second and third hand houses in the old sections of the city.

The contemporary emphasis in urban renewal is in direct opposition to this good old American custom. The homeowner in the blighted area is encouraged to fix up and paint up. The slogan, "You can live in a better house in a better neighborhood without moving," represents a radical departure from the frontier theory and creates a new goal which many find difficult to accept. The upwardly mobile slum dweller who is encouraged to remain and to renovate his home finds himself in a real dilemma. On the one hand he is impressed by the sincerity and the interest of the community worker who is organizing block clubs as a means of stimulating rehabilitation efforts. However, he also knows that in the American system of values his own social and economic progress will be judged by how quickly he moves out into a new house in a new neighborhood. This conflict between current renewal efforts and the American dream not only causes many to question the practicability of rehabilitation and conservation programs, it also intensifies the problem of securing indigenous leadership for such plans.

There are other ways in which this whole idea of rebuilding and rehabilitating the slums runs counter to traditional American practices. The adverse reaction to salvaging the central city is intensified by the historic anticity attitude of millions of Americans. Many of those who have escaped from the city to the suburbs hate the city and any efforts to preserve the city also become objects of their hostility. They express their rejection of the city by their flight from it and they also reject the idea that they should share in the financial cost of renewing that which they discarded. Thus urban renewal has come to stand as a symbol of the central city-suburban dichotomy. One result is that proposals for urban renewal in older suburbs have gone down to political defeat because suburban voters reject any proposal which identifies their community with the problems of the central city.

INTERRUPTING THE CHAIN

Another aspect of the urban renewal program which has reduced its potential appeal is its direct relationship between the local community and the Federal Government. One of the basic differences between the interstate highway program and contemporary urban renewal efforts is the channel used to bring dollars from Washington to a specific local project. Nearly $4 billion in Federal aid has been committed thus far for urban renewal. At least five times that much has been spent by the Federal Government for new urban highways. However, all of the highway funds are being channeled through the various State highway departments while urban renewal grants are made directly and the State government is bypassed.

Under these circumstances urban renewal becomes vulnerable on another front for it violates the cherished local-State-Federal chain of communication. Participants in the conflict between "States rights" and "Federal domination of local affairs" can point to urban renewal as another means by which Washington is attempting to cut the tie which has historically bound city hall to the State capitol. The fact that most State officials have had little sympathy for the plight of the cities, thereby forcing the latter to make the pilgrimage to Washington with an outstretched palm, has little to do with the results of this argument. Urban renewal is identified as one of the arms of the octopus crawling out of the White House while the highway program symbolizes the historically proper interrelationship of the three levels of government.

Perhaps the primary reason for the unpopularity of urban renewal among so many diverse groups is that the program has managed to offend nearly everyone interested in the problems of minority groups.

A SYMBOL OF EXPLOITATION

In urban renewal the poor, the underprivileged and the members of minority groups tend to get pushed around. While this is compatible with historic practices in America, it does conflict with the American dream. Thus urban renewal becomes a symbol of the exploitation of the poor by the rich, of the oppression of blacks by whites and of individuals by government.

Furthermore the pressures of relocation have resulted in Negroes moving into previously all-white neighborhoods. Nearly four-fifths of the 100,000 families displaced by urban renewal have been Negroes. Nearly all of this forced displacement occurred in cities where there already was a shortage of housing available to Negroes. As a result the pressure of relocation helped to break open new neighborhoods for Negro residents.

Thus thousands of Negroes think of urban renewal as a synonym for "Negro removal" while many whites are thoroughly convinced that their block would have remained all white if it had not been for urban renewal. Integrationists contend that urban renewal officials have been negligent by not pushing fair housing policies while segregationists read the open occupancy clauses written into redevelopment contracts and are convinced that urban renewal is but another device developed by the Federal bureaucracy to break down the separation of the races. Both groups are thoroughly convinced that urban renewal is destroying some of the basic value structures of American life.

The unpopular public image of urban renewal should be a cause of real concern not only to mayors, city managers, urban renewal officials and planners, but also to all citizens. The future of America lies with its cities and thus far no one has come up with effective alternative proposals for eliminating slums and halting the spread of blight. Urban renewal may run counter to many hallowed American traditions but it is also the best available tool for creating a new America for hundreds of this Nation's cities and millions of its citizens.

Big Spenders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from an article published in the August 3 issue of the U.S. News & World Report. The excerpt deals with Government spending programs.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM "BIG SPENDERS"—ARTICLE FROM U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

"We are tightening our belts in Government," Mr. Johnson said. "We are making every dollar stretch as far as it will go."

As the political campaign heats up, however, new spending programs that have been proposed by the Johnson administration are likely to come under heavy attack by Republican campaigners.

The antipoverty program, for example, calls for an initial appropriation of almost 1 billion in its first year. Wrapped up in this proposed package are a number of new projects, including a Job Corps for young people, adult education plans, aid to migrant workers, and special rural and urban programs.

A pay raise for Federal employees, awaiting final action in Congress, is to add about half a billion dollars a year to Federal outlays. In the works is a pay boost for the military forces that will cost some $200 million annually.

Aid for cities in setting up programs for mass transportation, now before Congress, calls for new funds of $375 million over a 3-year period as a start.

A new program of medical care under social security has been proposed, at a cost of just over $1 billion annually. While this program would not show up in the regular budget, it promises to be a hotly debated spending issue.

Most of the new proposals would enlarge Government's role in the economy.

In the meantime, existing Government programs have been expanding, costing more and more each year.

A survey by the Economic Unit of U.S. News & World Report shows some of the directions in which the Federal budget has bulged in the past 4 years.

Here is a comparison of the estimated cost of major programs for the current fiscal year compared with the 1961 fiscal year—the last year with an Eisenhower budget:

Health, labor, and welfare activities are now budgeted at $5.8 billion, a rise of $1.6 billion, or 38 percent.

Federally financed education programs, $1.6 billion, a rise of $700 million or 78 percent.

Natural resources and conservation programs, $2.6 billion, up $600 million, or 30 percent.

Space programs, up from 700 millions to $4.9 billion, up 600 percent.

National defense outlays, up from $47.5 to $53.2 billion, or 12 percent.

Interest on the rising Federal debt, up by $2 billion, or 22 percent.

Two Editorials by Jenkin Lloyd Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEL CLAWSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, two exceptionally fine editorials written by Jenkin Lloyd Jones appeared recently in the Salt Lake Telegram Deseret News. One, dated July 13, is entitled "A Time for Delivery," and the other, "What Makes a Nation," appeared in a later issue.

In the thought that it will be of interest to Members on both sides of the aisle, I include the text of these editorials:

NEGRO CHALLENGE: A TIME FOR DELIVERY

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

The time is now approaching when American Negroes must begin to deliver a standard of behavior and performance substantially higher than they have ever delivered before.

For Negroes, the passage of the civil rights bill should be an occasion as solemn as it is happy. The new opportunities will be balanced by new dangers. For if a pattern of irresponsibility persists after artifical barriers have been removed by law then the new freedom will mean only freedom to degrade and lower. And that will result in tragedy all around.

White citizens will be smart if they get behind every program to help Negroes help themselves. This means that there really must be a push for smaller classes and upgraded instruction in those schools with large Negro enrollments. It means the opening of apprentice opportunities and an end to racial restrictions in unions.

It means that the well-pushed broom must now lead to the lathe, and the well-turned lathe must lead to foreman. It means that doors to the white collar world must really swing open.

But it is one thing to provide a ladder and another thing to climb. Nor is climbing the same thing as demanding. If there is to be a new Negro history in America the age of the alibi must be superseded by a new era of performance in which the eager, studious, and highly competent Negro will be less rare.

For years now angry Negro writers like James Baldwin and Richard Wright and many sympathetic white authors and journalists have been telling Negroes that their deficiencies of behavior are all the white man's fault.

But Mr. Silberman hastens to explain. The Negro, he asserts, suffers from a "loss of identity." Because slave traders tore him from his homeland he is without national origins or traditions, a lack which the Black Muslims are trying to fill by pumping up a synthetic identity with Islam.

Successive waves of white European immigrants kept knocking Negroes out of skilled jobs. Chaotic homes provided little of the sophistication necessary to score well on IQ tests.

These arguments are interesting. But they leave unanswered the big question: Where do we go from here?

Present Negro leadership, which ought to be supplying the drive for uplift, seems more intrigued by recriminations and demands. Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL has chortled, "we've got the white man on the run." But where is he to be run and for what purpose?

The other day in St. Louis I picked up the Post-Dispatch. On page 13 there was a story to the effect that CORE was demanding that St. Louis contractors and unions give Negroes immediately 1,000 new construction jobs. And on page 3 was a story that among St. Louis' largely Negro draft rejects only 17 percent responded to the Government's offer for vocational training.

It may be comforting to blame whites for poor class work and deportment exhibited by many Negro children. But white parents are not going to take kindly to the idea of sending their children indefinitely to blackboard jungles just to expiate past sins.

Regardless of the "equal opportunity" section of the civil rights bill no employer will willingly hire shiftlessness and irresponsibility. And the drive for integrated neighborhoods will not be helped by the present general level of Negro housekeeping. After all, soap is cheap and you can buy a bucket of paint for the price of a few beers.

Booker T. Washington, now scorned as an "Uncle Tom," had a saying, "Let down your bucket where you are."

By this he meant that the way to uplift starts with yourself, with your home, on your block, in your precinct. This is wisdom. Opportunities may be guaranteed by law, but they can only be seized by performance. The time when Negroes must prove themselves is getting closer.

ELUSIVE COMBINATION: WHAT MAKES A NATION?

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

It's easy to create a nation.

All you have to do is draw a boundary around some real estate containing people, name a capital, design a flag and set up some authority.

If the real estate had been ruled by a colonial power you can describe the new creation as an "emerging nation." This is a euphemism implying a coming-up, an arising.

But we have lived enough post-war history now to realize that there is no guarantee that a new nation will be buoyant.

Some, like the Congo, have slid down the ways and promptly sunk, stern first. Some, like Cyprus, were born with his resolutions about minority rights, and then relapsed almost immediately into old vendettas. Some, like Indonesia, have wallowed in financial chaos while outdoing the old colonial powers in their greed for conquest.

There is, therefore, a lot more to the making of a country than the drawing of a boundary and the shipment to New York of a U.N. delegation.

First, of course, you have to have some resources. Until we learn more about modifying nature, Antarctica or Greenland or southwest Africa aren't going to serve as home bases for powerful people.

Second, you need people capable of organization. An amorphous mass of human beings organized only as to family, clan or tribe is incapable of the high degree of interrelationship necessary to make a workable society.

Efforts by a few far-seeing American Indians like Chief Pontiac or Sitting Bull to unite warring tribes against a common enemy failed because such a degree of cooperation was beyond the Indian philosophy of the time. The Scots broke the heart of William Wallace, not because they weren't good fighters, but because some clan was always going home in a huff when it was needed against the English.

Third, a nation needs an ideology—a common enthusiasm that gives it cohesiveness and unity of purpose. Strangely enough, the ideology that holds the U.S.S.R. together is not communism, but the "Mother Russia" concept. For "Mother Russia" is the common pride of White Russians, Ukrainians, and Georgians, all of whom have ample historical reason for mutual hate. The Soviet leaders have been tireless in identifying communism as the agency which has glorified Russia.

So an ideology may be an affection for a piece of geography—"this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England"; "allons, enfants de la Patrie"; "Deutschland uber alles." Or it can be a religious tradition, such as the one that produced early Massachusetts or modern Israel. Or it can be a political ideal.

Finally, it's hard to make a country without some standards of behavior in which the common good weighs heavily. Lawless people are incapable of organizing popular governments. In parts of Latin America and Asia, where graft, cumshaw, and exploitation are deeply rooted in tradition, governments can hardly fail to be oppressive because the force of equity is weak.

The most delicate art is the achievement of effectiveness without the sacrifice of essential freedoms. The early Egyptians were effective in building pyramids that remain marvels today. But they did it with slavery. Hitler made Germany a military power far out of proportion to its population. But the cost of freedom was high.

Our fault has lain in confusing flags with countries. There are plenty of new flags. But that combination of morale, national identity, and self-discipline that makes a great people is rare.

We're going to see much chaos and disappointment.

In unskilled hands the fireworks bought for Independence Day can jolly well blow up the Nation.

"More Judicial Subterfuge"—"News in New York'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with two editorials printed in the State, of Columbia, S.C., on July 24, 1964. One is entitled "More Judicial Subterfuge," the other is entitled "News in New York." I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the State, Columbia, S.C., July 24, 1964]

MORE JUDICIAL SUBTERFUGE

Tyranny always can find "justification" for its oppression, and there is nothing surprising in the Federal court decision that the 1964 "civil rights" act is constitutional.

A three-judge panel in Atlanta has concluded that the commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution gave Congress the power to compel a restaurant owner to serve Negroes against his will. Here once more is a subversion and a perversion of the thinking which lay behind the drafting and the ratification of the Constitution.

That much-abused document embodies a statement giving Congress the power "to regulate commerce * * * among the several States." The intent behind that particular phrase, as even the simple minded can learn from history, was purely commercial, not sociological.

The Federalist papers and the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention itself clearly indicate that attitude. The Founding Fathers wished to enhance the flow of goods throughout the new Nation by banning the imposition of tariffs and trade restrictions by the individual States on commodities moving into or through such States.

Accordingly, they gave Congress the power to regulate commerce "among the several States," thus insuring the establishment of national rather than separate State standards for the movement of interstate commerce. This was one of the selected grants of power given to the Central Government; the remainder supposedly being retained by the States.

It is absurd now to twist that commerce clause into a vehicle for justifying congressional interference with the property rights of individuals. Certainly, some of the food which finds its way into the Atlanta restaurant moves through interstate commerce, just as the customers who eat there themselves move from one State to another in interstate travel. But to argue that the pro-

prietor's choice of clientele is a factor of interstate commerce is ridiculous.

We recall a ruling where the manufacturer of manhole covers was considered to be engaged in interstate commerce simply because the vehicles which ran over those covers could themselves be moving in interstate commerce.

This is the sort of "law" to which the American people are being subjected these days. It is part and parcel of the determined drive to concentrate all authority in Washington and to stamp out both State and individual freedoms, while maintaining the outward trappings of legality in the process.

If we are destined to see this Nation converted into an outright dictatorship, let us at least have the job done either by naked force or by public acceptance. But it is shameful to see public officials, especially those occupying positions of judicial eminence, distort the meaning of the Constitution of the United States in serving their tyrannical purpose.

[From the State, Columbia, S.C., July 24, 1964]

NEWS IN NEW YORK

Say what you will about the good, gray New York Times, that self-appointed voice of America takes things in stride.

When pandemonium broke loose in Harlem last Saturday night; when a knife-wielding Negro youth was shot by a police lieutenant; when the heavens rained rocks, bricks, and broken bottles from tenement roofs, and when a full-fledged race riot brought destruction to the Negro community, the Times found space for a 4½-inch, single-column item on the front page.

That same front page carried 13 inches about race relations in Mississippi and Georgia, more than 13 inches about President Johnson's condemnation of "hate groups" (with a three-column picture of the President) and various other items of "news."

Perhaps, by Times standards, race riots in the front yard don't measure up as "news," or could it be that New Yorkers are so used to such affairs that they really aren't interested in them?

The Doctors Face Surgery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House of Representatives will consider a series of proposed revisions of the social security law. I believe most of the changes that have been recommended are based on sound reasoning and certainly they maintain the principle of cash benefits as opposed to the totally foreign concept of service benefits as proposed by the King-Anderson bill. There is, however, one provision in this bill which I believe to be unwarranted and that is the section which would force the Nation's 170,000-plus self-employed doctors into the system without any real effort to determine if this is their wish. The issues at stake are clearly portrayed in the following editorial from the July 25 issue of the Chicago Tribune:

THE DOCTORS FACE SURGERY

When a doctor is about to perform surgery, it is customery whenever possible to obtain the consent of the patient before wheeling him into the operating room. This is so even when the patient is a Member of Congress.

But Congressmen don't seem to feel the same obligation toward doctors. The House Rules Committee has approved a number of social security changes, one of which would force the country's 170,000 self-employed doctors under compulsory social security even though most of them, according to the American Medical Association, do not wish to be dragooned into the system. A doctor would be separated from 5.7 percent of the first $5,400 of his annual income. Nearly all doctors would thus pay the maximum, $307.80 a year [subject, of course, to later increases by Congress].

In recent years the social security maelstrom has sucked in self-employed architects, lawyers, and dentists. Medicine is the largest profession not yet under control.

Doctors have particularly valid reasons for wanting to stay out. A self-employed doctor can rarely count on retiring at the age of 65, partly because he probably won't want to retire; partly because his patients won't want him to retire, and partly because there is a shortage of doctors and his services will be needed as long as he can provide them. More than half the Nation's doctors, according to the American Medical Association, don't retire until they are 74 years old or older and thus would not begin receiving social security benefits until age 72 when the law permits payments regardless of earnings. Most of them are well able to care for themselves during their remaining years and to provide for their widows.

The only doctors who have to retire at 65 are those employed by others, such as corporations and institutions, and they are covered by social security already.

As long as there is no evidence that most doctors want to be under social security or that it would benefit them, the administration's proposal must be regarded as a means of extracting sizable payments from self-employed doctors in order to subsidize other beneficiaries of social security. The fact that our so-called old-age "insurance" system is already so full of glaring examples of trickery is no reason for Congress to add another.

We can think of one more outrageous possibility, and that is that the present plan is a calculated threat which the administration might be willing to forget if the medical profession consented to go along with an even more ominous extension of social security. That is the Kennedy-Johnson plan to extend the system to cover medical care for the elderly. Any such step would be nothing less than blackmail.

Should TV Improve Its Convention Coverage?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, inasmuch as I attended every session of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco, and thus was unable to see any of the proceedings as reported by the radio-television networks, I have neither criticism nor praise for the manner in which this great political convention was relayed or reported to the American public. In fact, until my return from the convention, I had assumed that the radio-television industry scored a real triumph in reporting the event, and that Americans, generally, would be high in their praise of the time, talent, and effort devoted to an objective and live portrayal of what transpired. Certainly, the industry had people enough around the convention hall and city, and equipment was apparent at every turn.

However, I am a bit disturbed and greatly surprised by the reactions to the convention coverage which have come in my mail and which I have heard in visiting with numerous citizens who relied upon, primarily, radio and television for their live reports of the convention proceedings. The criticism, while at times indicating that the viewers and listeners were disappointed because they detected what they deemed to be the slanting of the reports to conform with the personal prejudices and preferments of the commentators and reporters, has mostly been directed at the tendency of those behind the microphones to try to "steal the show" from the principal performers—the delegates, the speakers, and the party officials participating in the actual convention proceedings. Apparently in an attempt to "liven up" or interpret what the radio-television audience would otherwise have been enabled to observe and evaluate for itself, too many of the "experts" behind the microphones interrupted the proceedings, deleted portions of the convention, and injected their own viewpoints, in lieu of letting the audience look and listen for itself.

In this connection, I ask to have printed at this point in my remarks an editorial on this subject, written by Fred H. Breukelman, and published in the Corsica Globe, of Corsica, S. Dak. Mr. Breukelman is a highly regarded and respected newspaper publisher in South Dakota, and his observations always are of interest.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Someone said, "We saw the convention on TV." Someone else said you saw only parts of the convention, you saw certain minor features displayed clearly out of proportion to their importance, and you heard commentators give their ideas rather than letting listeners and viewers see all the proceedings. In general, the objective reporters seemed to be of the opinion that the radio and television coverage left considerable to be desired.

One specific instance comes to mind. One network did not give the final pictures of the last session, but turned rather to the floor of the hall to attempt to get an interview with 1 delegate from 1 of the 50 States; or to show the small mob outside. These pictures could have been gotten after the proceedings on the rostrum were over. One can only speculate as to the reasons for such action, but it is obvious that our news needs better reporting.

Mr. MUNDT. Likewise, Mr. President, I was interested in a letter, published in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star, which deals with the same subject matter. It is entitled "Commentary on TV," and I ask that it also be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENTARY ON TV

For 3 days I tried to watch the Republican Convention on TV. Three stations broadcast it but I was able to see little of it. What I saw was swarms of reporters rushing around asking stupid questions and getting stupid answers, chasing up scandalous rumors only to find them false, making such a commotion in the aisles that even the delegates could not follow the proceedings on the podium. One reporter actually had to be ejected. All this in an effort to create news while the real news was being created off-screen.

Why were the proceedings not broadcast in full? Why were only the speeches of the VIPS's screened? Because, said the pundits, these others are only little fellows, party workers who are filling in the time. Well, those little fellows are friends, relatives, home folks to lots of people, who perhaps would rather listen to them than to two bored news commentators interviewing each other.

And even the VIP's were interrupted. General Eisenhower's speech was cut off by the remark: "There goes Nelson Rockefeller. Wonder where he is going?" Well, as it turned out, he wasn't going anywhere and meanwhile we missed part of Mr. Eisenhower's moving peroration.

The truth is that there are too many prima donnas among TV commentators. They seem to think they are the main show. They will decide what we shall see, hear, and even think. Some of the commentary has been far from impartial.

I have spent my adulthood in the District without a vote. Consequently, I have no party affiliations. I treasure the privilege of voting for President this year. I would like the opportunity to see the people, big and little, of both parties, to hear what they have to say, and to decide for myself whom to vote for without any reporter's advice.—FAIR PLAY.

The Choice Is Clear, and Up to You, the Voter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I appreciate unanimous consent to include an excellent editorial of July 23 in the Denison Bulletin, of Denison, Iowa, in the district I have the honor to represent.

I commend the author of this editorial for clear, deep thinking and the ability to put his innermost thoughts in words clear, concise, and to the point. Shooting straight from the shoulder, which Americans like, not doubletalk and pretty platitudes.

The editorial follows:

[From the Dension (Iowa) Bulletin, July 23, 1964]

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR

Take your choice in November—Goldwater conservatism or L.B.J. liberalism.

If you had any doubts that you would have a choice, the liberal Republicans and the Democrats must have dispelled them last week. GOLDWATER has been attacked again by his own party for "extremism" and the leaders of the Democrats have predicted a landslide victory for their unanimous choice, "Light Bulb" Johnson.

We think GOLDWATER will win the Presidency, not because of extremism, but he is honest. He honestly believes that our Central Government is too big. He honestly believes that we are wasting money on foreign aid. He honestly believes that we should maintain our military might.

We believe that if he is elected and if the people choose to elect a majority in Congress which will return our country to conservative government, GOLDWATER will honestly strive to lead this Nation to our rightful place as the home of the brave and the land of the free.

GOLDWATER has declared that individual and States rights should be restored in this country. This can only be done by taking those rights that have been usurped by the Federal Government and returning them to the individual and to our local and State governments. What will your choice be: more big government with L.B.J. or a return to individual and local control with GOLDWATER?

GOLDWATER has declared that foreign aid can make us friends and strengthen NATO. He visualizes an Atlantic-Pacific economy that will help the free nations of Europe, North and South America stem the tide of collectivism. Contrast this program with what we have witnessed under the Democratic administrations—money poured down ratholes. What will you choose?

GOLDWATER has declared that the only way we can remain free is to keep our guard up. Do we have to be reminded that we were unprepared for World War II and Korea under Democratic administrations? Must we learn the lesson again that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance?

Will you choose between GOLDWATER's commonsense argument for a strong Defense Establishment or L.B.J.'s empty promise of billions for defense, without strength enough to demand and enforce a truce in Laos or Vietnam?

We recall that Truman's Democratic administration could not muster a corporal's guard to safeguard free men in Korea, and that 100,000 American casualties resulted from this lack of preparedness. We forget the terrible cost of weakness if we choose the Democratic moonshot programs over GOLDWATER's proposal for manned bombers and strategic Armed Forces.

We hope that you will define extremism as GOLDWATER has. He states that extremism in defense of liberty is not a vice, that moderation in pursuit of justice is not a virtue. We have witnessed too much moderation in pursuit of human liberties, and the cost has been riot and bloodshed. We hear that GOLDWATER opposes civil rights, but we know, if we look at the record, that he has put integration into practice in the Arizona National Guard long before the Supreme Court ordered our schools integrated. He has likewise practiced fairness in hiring of his own employees long before the sit-in demonstrations. We like good-doers, no do-gooders.

What will your choice be: The lip service of L.B.J.'s administration for civil rights or the actual practice of the ideals set forth in the Constitution of the United States?

We believe that GOLDWATER will honestly strive to enforce the constitutional guarantees of personal and property rights without the use of extreme measures. But if liberty demands that our Constitution be more than just words on parchment, you can count on GOLDWATER to use the enforcement at the command of the President, who is commander in chief of the defense forces, to insure the right to vote, the right to equal opportunity, and the right to hold and use private property.

We do not believe that any ex-GI would claim that extremism is a proper label for his sacrifices and those of his comrades who died for freedom's sake. Yet how extreme can Americans get? There are thousands in Vietnam today, giving their lives if need be, in a war they cannot pursue to victory. This could be called extremism, Mr. L.B.J., we call it the height of the ridiculous.

We support GOLDWATER's stand that extremism is to be preferred to moderation in the pursuit of liberty and that justice must be maintained for free men everywhere, even if we sacrifice the "virtue" of moderation. If America and the free world pursue these goals and make it known we do not intend to be moderate in enforcing the rights of free men everywhere, the would-be conquering Communists will shrink from enforcing slavery and human suffering by bluffing.

Threats of a nuclear war will be real only if we vacillate to the point where the Communists have but one choice—to back up their bluffs by pushing the button.

We can make this choice in November. The choice of L.B.J. and the vain hope that freedom will survive without a determined stand to defend it, L.B.J. and the blind faith that the Communist threat will go away if we ignore it. Or the choice of GOLDWATER and the proposition that life is not so dear that we must purchase it at the price of slavery, GOLDWATER and the uncompromising compact with men who desire freedom anywhere in the world, a compact that boldly declares Americans will defend with their lives, if need be, the right of liberty and justice for those brave enough to deserve freedom.

We believe the choice is clear and the choice is up to you, the voter.

Caleb Lewis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, Maine has lost one of her most noted journalists. For nearly a half century, Caleb Lewis was vitally interested in newsmaking events and the people who caused them. From his schoolboy days at Colby, where he played baseball with Jack Coombs, to his later years as editor of the Waterville Morning Sentinel, his talents and his enthusiasm inspired all who knew him. Through the years, Caleb Lewis, with his many interests, campaigned for such diverse things as air service to the State and informative signs to mark our State's historic landmarks. His many civic contributions to his adopted city of Waterville will long be remembered. His own appreciation for Maine's natural beauty was perhaps his greatest gift to Maine. Caleb Lewis will be missed.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article about this highly respected native of Maine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram, July 19, 1964]

CALEB LEWIS WAS EDITOR OF THE BYGONE DAYS

(By Gene L. Letourneau)

WATERVILLE.—A newspaperman of the old school whose outlook was as new as the next edition was the late Caleb A. Lewis, editor-emeritus of the Waterville Morning Sentinel.

Lewis died last Tuesday. He was 84. He had the gruffness and drive of the editor portrayed in a newspaper novel plus the enthusiasm and eagerness to champion anything which might brighten and improve his beloved product, the morning paper.

The first time this writer was introduced to Caleb Lewis he was covering a court beat. He was fresh out of reporters. We were fresh out of a job, back from New York City and a whirl with one of the leading orchestras of the immediate preprohibition days.

"A musician," he said with the same curt, brief analysis that for the next 30 years would be typical of the man. "I need a reporter in the morning. Guess you'll do."

Lewis was the editorial department of the Sentinel in those days. He also was responsible for regional coverage for the Portland Press Herald and Evening Express. For several years the Express was this writer's responsibility. Each morning, without a miss, Lewis wanted a short briefing which started with "What's new?"

His sincere interest in the development of news—especially the local angles—seemed to wear hard then on his staff. But it rubbed off. It seems almost unbelievable now to recall that the Sentinel's circulation in those early days was less than 5,000. The run now is more than 21,000.

As a newspaper boy in Bangor, a good athlete at Colby College—where he played baseball with one of his favorite classmates Jack Coombs—and a wider traveler than the average young man of his day—he sold some of the first automobiles country folks had seen—Lewis was versed in many fields. His contacts eventually were to be his most valuable assets in the newspaper business.

Lewis came to Waterville to enter Coburn Classical Institute in 1896. His affection for the community increased from that day to his death.

Through the years he campaigned virgorously for many things; air service, improved highways, markers for historical sites, informative signs designating major points of interest, names of rivers, streams, lakes and mountains. He firmly believed that Maine's natural beauty would remain as its most important asset. He was a leading figure in the campaign which kept Colby in Waterville when the college decided to change locations.

As a newspaper editor, Lewis maintained that a picture—make it big or don't use it—was a worth a hundred words, especially if the words came from a volatile space writer.

Lewis obviously had the ability of recognling the value of a story, about any subject. When the Waterville High School basketball team of the early 1940's began winning regularly, he ordered this writer, then city editor, to "stay with them as long as they win."

The story of the Purple Panthers not only attracted interest in Waterville. It made other communities, even Metropolitan Boston, recognize the drawing power of schoolboy sports in newspapers. When the team became the first from Maine to win the New England interscholastic championships at Providence, R.I., it received more general coverage than any of the current sports events.

A powerful, energetic man in his prime, the native of Winn eventually served Waterville in many capacities. He was a member of the city council, city auditor, and active in numerous civic responsibilities. Typical of his loyalty to a cause or commitment, he was one of two men honored by the Waterville Kiwanis Club for having perfect attendance at club meetings over a 40-year period.

Despite his briskness, Lewis had a keen sense of humor. It was revealed during the floods of 1936. The Sentinel was about to lose its first battle against the elements. The bridge at Ticonic Falls was weakening with the rising tide. It would carry the only powerline left which could run the press.

The press was ready to roll when the bell designating the crew's lunch break rang. A newcomer in the pressroom who hadn't yet officially met the man who seemed to be working as hard as anyone there, inquired whether they'd eat first, then start the press.

Lewis grinned, "Tonight, my boy," he said, "you're going to have a late lunch." The press roared and Lewis kept his record of never missing a regular edition.

Lewis' family, of course, came first. His widow and two daughters, Mrs. Frederick Baker, of Farmington, Conn., and Miss Marian Lewis, of Hartford, Conn., survive.

But his life, as the Reverend Leslie Howland eulogized at funeral services in the Methodist Church, "revolved around the newspaperman's world of who, when, where, what, and why."

That recalled Lewis' oft-spoken admonition:

"Once you've done that with a story," he would say, "you punch out 30. That means the end."

In the Gutter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in a recent statement the Democrat Governor of Wisconsin, John Reynolds, stooped to the level of the gutter in his foul and libelous references to Senator GOLDWATER.

Is the vile talk by a supposedly responsible Governor a sample of Democrat strategy for the 1964 presidential campaign? If not, why has there been no repudiation of the Reynolds brand of extremism by President Johnson, spokesman for his administration, or the Democrat National Committee?

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial on the vicious attack by Reynolds which appeared in the July 22 issue of the Waterloo, Iowa, Daily Courier:

ACCUSE GOLDWATER OF EXTREMISM?

Senator GOLDWATER is a "very dangerous man who has a messiah complex of a would-be dictator.

"I think it would be a terrible price if this man got into office. He talks about control by a central government but says if he is given power to rule he'll take over the police powers of the country.

"Hitler never won an election but he still took over control of Germany and people never realized he was a dangerous man until it was too late."

These outrageous remarks were made this week at a press conference by John Reynolds, Democratic Governor of Wisconsin. Critics of GOLDWATER have made a great issue of "extremism," charging that he is supported by extreme rightists. These remarks demonstrate that any "extremists" supporting GOLDWATER are comparatively mild as compared to extremists like Reynolds.

We have never seen a more vicious statement from the supposedly responsible Governor of a State. Politics often gets dirty, but this is the vilest talk we have seen on press service wires.

The attempt to associate GOLDWATER with Hitler is foul enough; but at least the public can judge the vindictiveness of that game. But Reynolds himself engages in Hitler's trick of the big lie when he says that GOLDWATER proposes to "take over the police powers of the country." GOLDWATER, of course, proposes no such thing and the accusation would be libelous if the courts did not allow considerable leeway in political debate.

We hope that the Fair Campaign Practices Committee will sharply rebuke Reynolds. If the Democrats get down to this gutter level in July, what depths of invective will they reach in November?

GOLDWATER admits that he doesn't at present have enough votes to win the Presidency. But smear talk of this kind will assuredly elect him.

The U.S. Supreme Court and Its Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Dallas Morning News, of Dallas, Tex., has printed in its July 13, 1964, edition a very thought-provoking editorial with reference to the Supreme Court. This editorial is entitled "Court and Its Critics." I ask uanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COURT AND ITS CRITICS

Criticism of the Supreme Court for trampling on the rights of the States and the other two branches of the Federal Government should not be coming alone from that faction often labeled "extremists." When the Court exceeds its authority—as it has—all good Americans should criticize.

Well over 100 years ago, Thomas Jefferson—who was no extremist—warned of the danger posed by a power-mad judiciary: "The germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the Federal judiciary; an irresponsible body * * * working like gravity * * * gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the States, and the Government of all be consolidated into one."

If the relatively impotent Federal judiciary of Jefferson's day stirred up such alarm, should anyone be surprised that a considerable number of people today are equally fearful?

Recently, former President Eisenhower—another nonextremist—proposed that State legislatures exercise their right to promote constitutional amendments designed to decentralize power in Washington. Six years ago, the Conference of State Chief Justices—a sober and enlightened group of jurists—lambasted the Supreme Court for its failure to use "judicial restraint" and for assuming "legislative powers."

The latter criticism was made in the "good old days" before the Court moved

into high gear in its drive to rewrite every law in sight by assuming powers it doesn't have and no longer even bothers to apologize for using.

In a series of decisions the past year, the Court has barred all religious exercises from the schools, has given a green light to obscenity, has made the task of law enforcement far more difficult, has ordered drastic and unprecedented reapportionment of State legislatures, has invalidated State trespass laws and weakened our internal security system—to mention only a few.

These decisions come at the very time when crime, obscenity and domestic subversion are at their peak and we need stronger, more efficient laws and law enforcement, plus all the help we can get to bolster the traditional morality, faith and loyalty of our people.

Respect for the Court—and other branches of the Government—is necessary. But there is a great difference between showing proper respect and saying, in effect, that the Court can do no wrong. In a free society, citizens have the right—and the duty—to criticize when they feel that the criticism is just, reasonable and necessary.

Exercising that duty, Senator STROM THURMOND recently declared that "If States rights means anything to State governments, then now is the time for them to act, before the States are finally transformed into territories and their power to act is completely transferred to Washington."

Sounds a little like Jefferson's plea, doesn't it?—though no more extreme.

Cardiac Survey in Alexandria, Va., Is First on Communitywide Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the historic city of Alexandria in my congressional district, which has been honored with an All America City Award, is now the scene of an experimental survey which Dr. Thomas F. McGough, the distinguished director of Alexandria's Health Department, terms "a milestone in public health care."

The city's "heartbeat" is being sampled and recorded electronically. Five hundred Alexandrians, some with known heart ailments, are participating in a project described as the first automated at-home survey on a communitywide basis.

Electrocardiograms are being made with a portable Honeywell electronic device carried into homes by public health nurses. The heart impulses are transmitted by telephone directly from individuals to an instrumentation and data processing center across the Potomac River in Washington. The survey, seen as the forerunner of similar studies in other cities, is designed to test the feasibility of a reliable, portable means of processing large numbers of electrocardiograms.

It is being made by the Alexandria Health Department in conjunction with the U.S. Public Health Service's heart disease control program, which developed the automated system.

Honeywell, Inc., is collaborating in the project with electronic equipment its Denver Division has developed for medical application. These are a 7-pound, battery-operated electrocardiograph, called a Cardioview, and a magnetic tape system for recording the electrocardiograms at the receiving station in Washington.

Telephone "dialing" of electrocardiograms to clinical centers for interpretation is not in itself new. The same means has been employed experimentally for transmittal of physiological data by the Public Health Service and others. This is the first time, however, that medical electronics and a computer have been combined in a large-scale survey of patients at home.

Dr. McGough said:

The availability of electrocardiograms made with equipment that can be taken into homes is a valuable contribution to the medical history of those who seek our services. This knowledge is even more important to the physician in arriving at a diagnosis and in prescribing treatment.

Through similar and larger surveys, he said, the incidence in a city or region of various types of heart disease for different age groups can be learned and thus lead to preventive measures.

At Honeywell's Denver Division, a leading producer of electronic medical systems, General Manager W. D. Owens called the Alexandria survey "a major advance in medical instrumentation and communications.

"Of even greater significance is the promise the systems techniques used in the survey hold for transmitting, recording, and analyzing a wide variety of physiological data, such as brain waves—electroencephalograms—and blood pressure curves, that aid importantly in medical diagnoses."

To date, about one-fourth of the electrocardiograms—wave patterns representing weak electrical signals generated by contraction and relaxation of heart muscle—have been telemetered to the automated system. These are recorded on a Honeywell 8100 magnetic tape system at the field station and later converted into numerical form so that measurements of the wave shapes can be analyzed by the digital computer preprogramed to differentiate between normal and abnormal heart patterns.

In the Alexandria survey, the electrocardiograms, known medically as EKG's, are made in the same manner as those in a physician's office or in a hospital.

Electrodes of the electrocardiograph are strapped to the subject's wrists and ankles. The nurse then dials a telephone number at the field station which is self-answering, automatically starting the tape recorder.

She voice records an assigned patient number and inserts the telephone mouthpiece into a Bell System Dataphone that amplifies the heart impulses and converts them into high frequency signals—frequency modulation—to avert loss of data in transmission and to minimize line noise.

At the field station, a similar data set, built into a telephone but having different circuitry, demodulates the incoming signals to their original form.

The electrocardiograms are monitored at both the transmitting end and at the receiving station. The Honeywell Cardioview produces a standard, permanent graph of the heart's wave patterns. Monitoring at the receiving station is done with an oscilloscope.

Replacing of the receiver in its telephone cradle at the transmitting end automatically shuts off the tape recorder at the receiving station.

The analog signals of the electrocardiograms are then converted to numerical form—a series of numbers representing the curves of the electrocardiograms which the computer scans at the rate of 500 times per second.

Less than a minute is required to obtain a printed mathematical record of the clinical values of the electrocardiograms. The results are turned over to the Alexandria Health Department for followup patient care.

Dr. Cesar A. Caceres, Chief of the USPHS Instrumentation Field Station located at George Washington University, said the survey, while experimental, "brings closer the day when automated systems will collect and reduce electrocardiographic and other physiological data that can sharpen the physician's diagnostic capabilities and improve medical care."

"There is a great potential for electronics to assist the medical profession," he added. "Automation makes it possible to survey large numbers of electrocardiograms rapidly. This can lessen the workload of the physician, the cardiologist, and epidemiologist as well as heart station personnel, and aid the practitioner when the services of a cardiologist are unavailable to him.

"More important, automated systems can provide what physicians, since and before Hippocrates, have searched for—means to improve basic data to improve diagnostic acumen."

A major role of the heart disease control program, Dr. Caceres said, is to identify cardiovascular problems that most concern a community and to apply current knowledge in working toward solutions.

"We hope to make available a practical, economic, and clinically useful automated system of electronic electrocardiographic analysis," he said.

"As these systems prove successful, their use by cooperating private, governmental, industrial, or academic groups will be encouraged so as to obtain increased productivity for the physician and to enhance this capacity to serve his patients and the community," he said.

Keynote Address by Lewis A. McMurran, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD a very eloquent speech made by the Honorable Lewis A. McMurran, Jr., temporary chairman of the Virginia State Democratic Convention, held at Richmond, Va., on July 18.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DELEGATE LEWIS A. MCMURRAN, JR., TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, VIRGINIA STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, JULY 18, 1964, THE MOSQUE AUDITORIUM, RICHMOND, VA.

Mr. Chairman, Governor Harrison, Senator Byrd, Senator Robertson, Members of the Congress of the United States, ladies and gentlemen, we are met here today as Democrats, as Virginians, and, above all, as Americans. We have been assailed from all sides for many days, weeks, and months with talk of our rights as citizens of these United States.

Our rights as citizens are based on three great documents of State—all less than two centuries old: The Virginia bill of rights; the Declaration of Independence; and the Constitution of the United States, together with such amendments to that Constitution as have been legally and constitutionally adopted.

It is not necessary to remind a group of fellow Virginians that these three charter deeds of our individual liberty were largely the work of three great Virginians: George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison.

The Virginia bill of rights admonishes us: "That no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." Certainly, this quadrennial convention of the Democratic Party of Virginia is an appropriate forum in which to "recur" to fundamental principles.

What are the fundamental principles that unite us as Democrats, as Virginians, and as Americans?

We believe, first in ourselves and our rights as freemen.

We believe all governments, National, State, and local, have been instituted, and exist, for the protection of the liberty of each individual citizen. To insure that the power of government is not absolute, and does not become absolute, we have divided the powers of government among the National, State, and local governments. To further insure that government is the servant, and not the master of men, we have divided power at all governmental levels into separate but coequal branches—legislative, executive, and judicial. This Federal system, together with our system of checks and balances, is the unique contribution of the United States to the science and art of government.

The founders of our Republic knew that great republics had risen before, only to fall under the heels of tyrants. They devised the Constitution of the United States to protect themselves and their posterity against a repetition of that sad experience. They built well, for the United States, the youngest great power, is the oldest government under a written constitution in the world today.

It is the duty of each of us to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, and to resist tyranny from every source, whether that tyranny be foreign or domestic, or legislative, executive, or judicial. Our voice may seem as a voice crying in the wilderness today, but it was once the voice of the majority in this Nation. It is still the voice of truth, and will again be the voice of the majority, if we remain firm in our faith, and continue to fight for our principles until we again convert the Nation to the truth of our position.

The catalog of the usurpation of power by Federal authorities in our time is steadily growing: The Supreme Court has attempted to amend the Constitution by judical decree again and again, ignoring all prior judicial and legislative precedents, on the ground that * * * times have changed * * * a doctrine not provided as a means of amending the Constitution. We can never afford to acknowledge the validity of this bald seizure of power. The States, the creators of the Union, cannot be validly destroyed, except by their own consent. That consent we cannot afford to ever give. To do so would be to acquiesce in the eventual destruction of individual liberty by an overwhelming Federal power, inevitably subject to a future dictatorship.

We cannot acknowledge the rights of a judicial body to tell a legislative body that it must levy taxes, that it must redistrict and reapportion representation, contrary to the will of the electorate, or the State constitution.

We cannot acknowledge the rights of the judiciary to legislate by unwarranted use of the contempt process, denying the right of the accused to trial by jury.

We cannot acknowledge the right of the President to occupy sovereign States by armed might, without the consent of the Governors and legislatures of such States.

We cannot acknowledge the right of Congress to legislate in fields which have been reserved to the people themselves, and have never been granted by the people to either the States or the Congress. There are provisions dealing with the relationship between individuals and races in the 1964 Civil Rights Act which are beyond the scope of governmental authority in a democracy.

Nor can we acknowledge the right of Congress to lead the Nation to bankruptcy by continuing to pile deficit on top of deficit, in never-ending succession.

Each of us knows that we can best spend the fruits of our labors and our savings without the blessing of governmental direction. To insure that we taxpayers have anything left to spend, our governments must operate within balanced budgets. We must insist upon the orderly retirement of our national debt, if our free society is to endure. Certainly, a debt-ridden Government and national bankruptcy is not the way to redeem the solemn commitments of our social security system, our State, local, and private pension plans, or to insure the value of the life savings of our frugal citizens.

While we cannot admit the validity of these seizures of power by the Central Government, we believe in law and order. Those differences between citizens, which cannot be resolved peacefully by the parties, should be settled in the courts, or at the polls, and not in the streets and alleys, fields or backwoods. We must insist that the person of each citizen, regardless of race or creed, is sacred and must be inviolate.

The duly enacted laws of the Commonwealth and Nation must be obeyed. If any citizen believes those laws unconstitutional, he is entitled to resort to the courts. Mob violence is not in the Virginia tradition, and has no place in America. There are few problems between citizens that cannot be solved by the practice of mutual courtesy and respect. Actually, the solution to all of our domestic differences is summed up in the final phrase of the Virginia Bill of Rights. * * * "It is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other." I presume the Supreme Court will not enjoin the practice of Christian forbearance.

We must continue to insist upon our rights as individuals, and the rights of our Sovereign State, in the Halls of Congress and in the national councils of our Democratic Party. We are fortunate that our Representatives in the House and in the Senate are men with a dedicated belief in the integrity of public office. They recognize that they were elected to represent the deep-seated convictions of their constituents. They have been faithful to their trust. They have not been rubberstamps. Despite all the pressure inherent in the power of the White House, and the national party machinery, they have asserted their independence as our chosen representatives. They have stood firm against the heresies of these times.

We join them in calling upon the National Democratic Party and the Nation to return to the doctrines of the founding fathers of our party—Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. We call upon the President of the United States to rise above the constant appeasement of pressure groups; to give a national leadership that will unite the party and the Nation against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to insure a presidential succession that is not divisive, but capable of uniting the Nation above the demands of sectionalism, diverse economic interests, race or creed.

Four times in this century, a Vice President has succeeded as President, and twice a President has been seriously incapacitated in the performance of his duties. We all should now know that the Vice Presidency is second only in importance to the Presidency itself.

In the 357-year history of Virginia, many citizens have served her well. High upon the roll of those who have so served are the present Members of the Senate and House. Let us call the roll of those stalwart, lionhearted Virginians: Harry Flood Byrd, A. Willis Robertson, Thomas N. Downing, Porter Hardy, Vaughn Gary, Watkins M. Abbitt, Gov. William M. Tuck, John Marsh, Judge Howard W. Smith, Pat Jennings.

We, the Democrats, of the several congressional districts, have the task of reelecting our faithful representatives who are candidates for reelection. They have stood the test. Let us by resounding majorities assure the Nation, and the party, that they represent our views on the great constitutional issue of the day. In those districts where Congressmen of our party are not standing for reelection, our task is to elect our nominees to Congress.

Democrats of all Virginia, and in this endeavor we welcome all Virginians, ours is the proud task of returning to Congress this fall, a man who has given more than 50 years of service to local, State, and National Government. His place is secure in the top rank among the Governors of Virginia. He has stood resolute in a thousand battles. He has the personal integrity of Washington and Lee; the political wisdom of Jefferson and Madison; and the personal courage of Henry and Clay. He defended the rights of the individual citizens to security of person when it was not popular to do so. Forty years ago, he fathered the toughest antilynch law ever enacted by any State. Had he been willing to drift with the present political tides, he would assuredly have been the ninth Virginia-born President of the United States. He is the living embodiment of all that is greatest in our Virginia tradition of public service. He, more than any other living man, represents to the Nation and to the world, the greatness of our Commonwealth.

Let us here resolve to return to the Senate of the United States, by the greatest majority in our history, that champion of the presently violated rights of the people of Virginia—the Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, of Virginia.

Lack of Adequate Law Governing the Securities Business in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the other day four officers of a District of Columbia-based securities firm pled guilty in district court to SEC violations; this firm—a shoestring operation, now bankrupt—did great financial harm to 800 investors. This might never have happened if the District of Columbia had a securities law—which, incredibly, it does not.

While 48 of the 50 States have some form of "blue sky" laws regulating their respective securities industries, the District has none. The SEC, the only agency with any semblance of control over the District securities business can act usually only "after the fact," that is, after fraud or some other impropriety has been alleged.

The SEC's power, in the main, deals with prosecution and not with prevention inasmuch as the SEC cannot, under Federal law, adequately contral the District of Columbia dealers with respect to qualifications, character, or financial responsibility.

Because of the lack of adequate law governing the District of Columbia securities business, the resulting legal vacuum has made the District a haven for unscrupulous migratory broker-dealers who have gravitated to this area where they know they can expect the least interference with their activities.

Complaints against District of Columbia securities dealers by the National Association of Securities Dealers increased 650 percent within the past 5 years compared with 215 percent nationally. In 1960, the NASD filed complaints against 25 percent of its District members, as compared with 9 percent on a nationwide basis. In 1961, 18 percent of the District members failed, compared to 8 percent nationally. Action by the SEC was taken against more firms in the District than against the combined total in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, all because of the absence of a local regulatory law.

To remedy this dangerous legal void, I introduced a securities bill, H.R. 9419, last year; this measure was the product of the very best thinking of the SEC, the U.S. Attorney's Office, and the securities industry and is patterned after the Uniform Securities Act. The House District Committee favorably reported this bill to the House which unanimously approved it on February 24, of this year.

With this session of Congress rapidly drawing to a close, time is of the essence inasmuch as the Senate has not yet acted. It is my understanding that the Senate District Subcommitee under the chairmanship of the gentleman from Indiana, has held hearings but as yet no further action has been taken.

It is of urgent and immediate interest to the public that the Senate act before the conclusion of this session so that the District of Columbia can have adequate securities protection.

Mr. Speaker, I append herewith an article from the Washington Evening Star of July 26, 1964, covering the case I have mentioned above:

FOUR FACE $10,000 FINES IN INVESTMENT CASE

(By William Basham)

Four officers of a bankrupt investment firm face maximum fines of $10,000 each after pleading guilty to Securities and Exchange Commission violations in the U.S. District Court.

Their firms, American Diversified Services, Inc., filed a petition of bankruptcy in 1961 after a history of ups and downs since its founding in 1958. Its operation was the subject of investigation in part of a 1962 series in the Star.

DEFENDANTS NAMED

Special Assistant U.S. Attorney William Barnes listed the four defendants as Richard A. Gildar, Paul M. Sachs, both of Washington, and two brothers, Frederick W. C. Haddad, of Chicago, and Sidney Haddad, of New York.

They pleaded guilty yesterday to making false statements of material facts and failure to disclose other information about the stability of their firm.

The defendants entered their misdemeanor pleas before Judge Spottswood W. Robinson, III. Mr. Barnes and defense attorneys agred in court the defendants were not aware that they were violating SEC violations.

The Government said the defendants between April and September 1960, claimed their firm was doing well financially, was showing a profit and was well run by experienced management.

But the charge added that the firm failed to disclose that during the same time its books and records were poorly kept and did not reflect its true financial condition; that no reliable balance sheet could be prepared and that it was short of cash and had to borrow to keep operating.

EIGHT HUNDRED INVESTORS HURT

The Star series, written by reporter Miriam Ottenberg, showed how investors were harmed by the shoestring operation—nearly 800 in all. The series told of how the firm quickly grew, opening branches in New York, Philadelphia and Miami.

But American Diversified couldn't keep up with its expansion, and the SEC stepping in during 1960. Court injunctions stopped the company from doing any business until its books were in proper order.

Its management was allowed to make another go in January 1961, but it was in trouble again within 2 months. Customers attempted to get their money back from American Diversified and the firm ran out of funds. In April 1961, a temporary court order halting business again was issued and the firm was shown to be short several hundred thousand dollars. The bankruptcy petition followed.

These Billions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, all of us are very much interested in the views of the people back home relative to Government spending. For that reason, I am sure we will all be interested in an editorial which appeared in the Morning Call of Allentown, Pa., a leading newspaper in my congressional district, on Tuesday, July 21, 1964.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the aforesaid editorial, which is as follows:

THESE BILLIONS

For all his commendable efforts to trim Federal spending, President Johnson still has a long way to go before the budget is balanced.

It's true, of course, that he has reduced the Kennedy deficit for the year just closed to $8.3 billion. But it is just as true that his own budget for the current year is calculated to be $5.8 billion short.

Figures like these too frequently are tossed about loosely. After all, there aren't many Americans who have the foggiest idea of how much money a billion dollars really is. Even remembering that it takes 1,000 millions to make a billion does little to sharpen the focus.

Here is the way one mathematician tries to bring these fantastic amounts into perspective:

If a man worked 12 hours a day and earned $1,000 an hour, it would take him 228 years to collect his first billion. At that rate, to pick up eight of them would take more than 1,800 years, just about 140 years short of all the centuries since the birth of Christ.

Little wonder the President makes such a point about publicizing the savings he was able to effect in about 6 months. Members of Congress will be entitled to just as many bows if they do some judicious pruning of their own before authorizing some of the new spending proposals still before them for approval in the weeks immediately ahead.

Extremists Attack Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT McCLORY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the "extremist" attacks against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER since his acceptance speech as the Republican candidate for President, at San Francisco, demonstrate the reasonable and moderate position of this forthright Republican leader. Extremists who are offensive to our constitutional system—both from the right and from the left—have been unmerciful in their insulting condemnation of Senator GOLDWATER. The Republican candidate for President is a major general in the U.S. Air Force Reserve. He is a leading proponent of the conservative philosophy of government which favors: First, a more limited central government; second, a fiscal system based upon a balanced Federal budget; third, greater incentives to our free enterprise system; and fourth, other elements suggested by our U.S. Constitution.

It is only natural that the followers of the American Nazi Party, and others who oppose our basic American constitutional system, would be making extremist attacks against Senator GOLDWATER. A most illuminating editorial on this sub-

ject appeared in the Waukegan, Ill., News-Sun on July 22, 1964. I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress and to the American public:

EXTREMISTS ATTACK GOLDWATER

The vitriolic attack on Senator GOLDWATER by the American Nazi Party, marring his return to Washington Monday, is not an isolated incident, but rather typical of the smears that have been and will continue to be leveled at GOLDWATER by extremists of the far-right.

Actually, GOLDWATER has been the victim of extremists from both sides, but the attacks from the far-left are not unexpected against the prime exponent of conservatism in America.

Jackie Robinson's labeling of GOLDWATER as "anti-Negro, anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish" could almost be considered a classic in extremist utterances, especially in light of GOLDWATER'S Jewish heritage, and the fact his running mate, Representative WILLIAM MILLER, is Catholic.

The Arizonan also has been the favorite target of liberal Democrats, Republicans, and columnists, who seem to vie with each other in thinking up new broadsides to aim at the Senator.

But the attacks on GOLDWATER, supposedly the darling of the extreme right, by this same ultraright fringe element, might raise a few eyebrows, unless one has followed the rantings and ravings of these nuts before.

The Senator was met at Washington National Airport Monday by American Nazis jeering "Goldblatz is a faker"—an obvious anti-Semitic reference to GOLDWATER'S Jewish ancestry.

In reality, the slogan was rather mild in comparison to some he has had to endure in the past. George Lincoln Rockwell, the self-styled "fuehrer" of the American Nazi Party, has researched the Senator's background and discovered that GOLDWATER had the gall 26 years ago to insist that "all men are created equal." Calling GOLDWATER a "Kosher conservative" linked with Kremlin espionage artists, the frenzied Rockwell has blasted the Senator for these other "sins" of commission:

GOLDWATER has publicly stated he endorses and would vote for JACOB JAVITS, the New York Republican "who is one of the worst race mixers and radicals in Congress."

GOLDWATER has been a "loyal member and heavy contributor to the NAACP."

GOLDWATER has "blasted the courageous patriot, Robert Welch, and called for Welch's resignation as leader of the effective right-wing force, the John Birch Society."

The Republican nominee has also come under attack in a bulletin published by Elizabeth Dilling, an accused pro-Nazi during World War II. Miss Dilling accused GOLDWATER of seeking to herd "patriots" into "concentration camps." The Arizona Senator, it turns out, voted in 1956 for construction of a Federal mental hospital in Alaska—an institution these crackpots claim is for anti-Communists.

He has also been accused of voting "the Communist line" when he cast ballots to outlaw the poll tax and end discrimination in labor unions.

GOLDWATER'S reluctance to castigate extremists at the Republican National Convention, supposedly a result of the vast following he commands on the far right, holds less credence when one considers the remarks of Rockwell and Miss Dilling.

GOLDWATER'S reaction to the American Nazi Party's pitiful demonstration seems, perhaps, the best hope for handling such a situation: "I'll take my chances with the majority of Americans * * *."

Fortunately for the country, neither the fringe element on the left nor the right has ever been able to gain much of a foothold with the majority of Americans.

More Understanding of Farm Labor Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I continue to try to explain the need for supplemental farm labor during peak harvest seasons. Sometimes Members of Congress could not understand, or would not believe me, when I suggested that it was next to impossible to transfer the unemployed from the eastern slums and factories, or from the Kentucky and West Virginia coal fields, to the vegetable fields and orchards of California. Once, I also needed more proof than mere denials by the farmer.

It has been said that the quickest way to prove whether an unemployed factory worker from the Northeast will or will not work on a row crop farm at stoop labor is simply to give him a short handled hoe and the job. This is proof enough for those who have actually seen this experiment occur. A very few will try; fewer will succeed. Not nearly enough are available to satisfy the labor demands to prevent serious crop spoilage.

For further, recent unbiased proof of the difficulty California growers are experiencing in their efforts to induce the unemployed from other States to come to California farms, under unanimous consent I include a short article on this subject from the Salinas Californian of July 18, 1964:

BIAS COMMENTS ON LABOR SITUATION

"Isn't it surprising that West Virginia and other Appalachian States must recruit supplemental workers to harvest their crops when there is so much poverty and unemployment in those same areas?"

This question was asked recently before a meeting of the State board of agriculture by Jack Bias, executive vice president of the Grower-Shipper Vegetable Association of Central California in Salinas.

His question followed a report he gave on an exploratory survey conducted recently through State employment offices in 18 States by a California grower searching for domestic workers to replace braceros.

From the director of employment in the State of West Virginia came this surprising reply:

"We regret to inform you that West Virginia is a demand State instead of a supply State for agricultural labor. We recruit hundreds of workers from Southern States, especially Florida, for our crop harvests. During the past 11 years we have also found it necessary to utilize foreign workers from the British West Indies."

TOO DISTANT

Among the 18 States, only Georgia has a surplus of agricultural workers, the written replies from directors of employment indicated. But, the Georgia director said, "These workers usually prefer work in Florida and the eastern seaboard. It is therefore questionable whether any would be interested in working in California due to the distance involved."

This survey, says the Council of California Growers, is only one of the many frantic efforts being made by grower groups throughout this State searching for domestic workers to replace the 60,000 Mexican braceros hired at peak harvest—a job made necessary by the impending termination of the bracero program on December 31, 1964.

In most instances, results of these recruiting efforts to date have been sorely disappointing.

For example, no group worked harder to recruit domestic workers than the citrus growers through Farmers Harvest Association, which was set up last fall especially to do this job.

Out of approximately 2,000 domestic workers recruited by FHA since these efforts began, only about 50 remain on the job today. Most of these were recruited, screened, and transported from Texas.

Recently, FHA offered free transportation to and from nearby citrus groves for unemployed in the Los Angeles metropolitan district. During the best week, 38 persons showed up for work, but only 18 were working at the end of the week.

Said R. H. Daniels, FHA manager: "Approximately one-half of the 7,000 workers needed in the peak of the citrus harvest in California are domestics. But with results like those just cited, we certainly face a real crisis in the industry."

The results of the survey are clear. All States except Georgia are "agricultural labor demand"—repeat, demand—States. Georgia agricultural workers prefer to work on the eastern seaboard for many good reasons—the weather and climate are more comparable, the distance is lesser—they can return home easier, more often and less expensively—the work is not as arduous as the California row crop work, the migratory way of life is not so severe when distances are less and the living conditions are familiar. Perhaps you cannot blame Georgia farmworkers for preferring Florida fruit picking to California row crop labor—but the tremendous problem of the California grower is still unsolved.

It may surprise Members of Congress, even those Members from States which complain of high unemployment, to know that there is a demand in all States except Georgia for farm labor during peak harvest periods.

The bracero program was a peculiarly excellent solution to this vexing and perplexing problem.

A Tribute to South Dakota's 75 Years of Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD a poem written by Mrs. Violet Gorum of Deadwood, S. Dak., honoring 75 years of statehood.

Mrs. Gorum's tribute follows:

We grew, we gained with reverend awe
Equal justice before the law.
Part of a nation, great and strong
We sift the claims of right from wrong,
Beholding tasks in the making still
For Peace on Earth, our Fathers will.

Log Exports: A Committee Is Formed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the lumber industry plays a vital role in the economy of my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State. For that reason, I share the concern expressed to me over the problem of log exports from the Pacific Northwest to Japan and other foreign countries.

Figures released by the U.S. Forest Service document the scope of this problem. They show that 1963 log exports from the Pacific Northwest totaled 709 million board feet, a figure that is more than double the 311 million board feet exported in 1962. These figures also show that 90 percent of the logs exported in 1963 were shipped directly to Japan while another 7 percent went to Canada. Both countries have made substantial inroads on markets served by American producers, including plants and mills located in the Pacific Northwest.

A great many people in my district have taken the time to write me on this subject. Many are frankly worried that their jobs in mills and related industries may be lost. Just this month the Three Rivers Mill in Darrington has cut its work force from 120 jobs to 40; 80 families have lost their jobs.

To each of these letters, I have replied that I believe it is the first duty of the Forest Service to provide logs at a reasonable price for domestic consumption and processing before they are shipped to Japan, or to any other country. At the same time, I believe that it is the duty of Congress, and of interested public officials and private citizens, to continue to seek a solution to this problem.

Recently, a constituent, Mrs. Quentin Dyer, informed me that a save-our-logs committee has been formed in my district to help in this goal. Under the heading "Log Exports are Job Exports," this group has published a brochure that further examines the log export problem as it relates to jobs for American men and women. Because I think the work of this committee should be brought to the attention of Congress, the publication follows:

LOG EXPORTS ARE JOB EXPORTS

Our mills need logs to provide jobs.

The critical shortage of logs among the small- and medium-sized lumber and plywood mills of Washington State threatens thousands of jobs. These mills, primarily dependent on a supply of logs from public lands, are in trouble, and so are their employees; the scarcity of logs prevents full production and full employment in many mills—threatens the very existence of others.

The log shortage is caused by rapidly increasing log exports, principally to Japan.

Our lumber and plywood communities must create awareness among the public and among public officials. Everybody must realize that our mills need an adequate supply of logs or jobs will be lost.

Here's the log export story (told in terms of Pacific Coast softwood logs shipped to Japan): 1952, 5.1 million board feet; 1960, 93.6 million board feet; 1963, more than 600 million, mostly from Washington State; 1964, first quarter log exports are more than double those of first quarter 1963. Log exports may reach 700 million board feet from Washington State alone.

After the Columbus Day blowdown, log exports increased largely because of the temporary surplus that existed.

Now we are in a tight log supply situation again. Yet log exports continue to increase.

Are we a tree farm for other nation's manufacturing plants?

Will we continue to export logs from public lands when our own mills can't get enough log supply to maintain full production?

One million board feet of logs equals: 5.6 jobs in sawmills, or 13.8 jobs in plywood mills. (Each job in a mill creates additional jobs throughout your community, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce.)

When you add it all up: 1964 log exports could maintain 6,200 primary mill jobs if retained for use at home. This could mean 10,000 total jobs throughout our communities.

Don't log exports create jobs, too? Yes, they do. But log export jobs in the woods and on the waterfront are a drop in the bucket compared with jobs created by use of the logs in domestic mills, jobs in the woods, on the docks, in rail yards particularly, in the mills.

What's the answer?

The save-our-logs committee believe there are several existing programs under which the State government and the Federal Government can move to assure ample log supply for our small- and medium-sized mills.

The main problem is to convince our public officials that our communities are concerned over this problem.

Our public officials do care about this problem and now the people in the mill communities must show that they, too, care about jobs.

By letter, by conversation, by resolution we must show that we are alarmed by the log export problems. Work with your save-our-logs committee, Post Office Box 1008, Everett, Wash.

NOTE.—The State of Washington is desperately trying to create employment, to improve the economy, yet we are exporting logs that would enable our mill towns to preserve and to create jobs.

Why Daley Can't Speak Up for Bobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the RECORD a significant article by Mr. Jay McMullen which appeared in the July 22 Chicago Daily News concerning Chicago's Mayor Daley and his problems with the White House. If anyone has any doubts as to whether politics is involved in distributing Federal aid, this article should dispel them.

WHY DALEY CAN'T SPEAK UP FOR BOBBY
(By Jay McMullen)

Mayor Richard J. Daley's refusal to name his own preference for the Democratic Vice Presidential slot stems from the fact that in President Lyndon Johnson he has a political boss who is as hardnosed as Daley is himself.

Therefore, while Daley undoubtedly would like to get a little behind-the-scenes bandwagon rolling for Bobby Kennedy he dares not do so for various reasons.

The most important is that he might offend Mr. Johnson and jeopardize Chicago's claim to vast sums of Federal aid.

For example, more than $375 million in Federal aid for mass transportation recently was made available for the cities by Congress, and President Johnson signed the bill with a great whoop-de-do, inviting many big city mayors to be present for the occasion.

Daley, a big spender himself who never has been in awe of a few millions, bugged his eyes at the sight of $375 million in Federal funds.

He commented to the press that real money was being made available to the cities for mass transportation for the first time. He's out to get Chicago's share.

However, this will avail nothing if he offends Mr. Johnson in any important way—and there's not much more important way than to go jumping off the deep end on the Vice Presidency without getting the green light from the President.

So the mass transportation money is the big carrot Mr. Johnson is able to dangle in front of the big city mayors to guarantee that they take their political cues from him instead of trying to give them.

Daley is more dependent now than ever before on Federal largesse—distributed at the President's command—in many other areas such as urban renewal, highways, airports, and in amounts totaling many millions. He has run out of city bond funds and the voters in 1962 rejected a $66 million bond issue.

One of the harsh realities of big city politics today is that the man in the White House holds the key—Federal matching funds—to the success of any mayoral plans or programs.

Without these funds, the city of Chicago could not hope to go ahead with urban renewal, its highway building, its airport improvements—and now its mass transportation improvement plans.

It is not that President Johnson has ever threatened to withhold any of these moneys. He doesn't have to. But when the mass transportation aid bill was signed in the White House he let them know who holds the purse strings. You don't need to be much more explicit than that to the realistic men who sit in the city halls of the major cities. It's like a rich parent dangling the will over a son who might be disobedient.

So Daley—and others of his station—are just going to sit back and rest easy until they get the word from the Chief as to who he wants in the second spot in November.

Daley has brushed the matter off casually as saying it has always been the President's personal prerogative to name his own vice presidential candidate.

However, it may be recalled that it was Daley who took command of the determined convention drive to put the late John F. Kennedy in the vice-presidential slot in the 1956 convention when he was defeated by Estes Kefauver.

Four years later, Daley came back and led Kennedy's victorious drive for the presidential nomination.

Since then, he and Bobby Kennedy have become close friends. It was mostly through Bobby that Daley made his White House contacts.

So, Dick Daley, the undisputed boss of Chicago Democratic politics, must be chafing uncomfortably under Mr. Johnson's restraint. There's possibly one consolation: He can sit up all night counting all that Federal money.

Too Big a Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Wall Street Journal under date of July 28, 1964, on the subject of the poverty bill which should be read by every Member before casting his vote on this legislation. The editorial follows:

TOO BIG A TARGET

Many of us who criticize the Government's growing intrusion into the areas of poverty and unemployment do not question the aims of its efforts. Even though this is an election year, we will grant that the Federal heart is in the right place in seeking to mitigate if not eliminate these social ills. One of the chief faults, rather, is the plain and abundant misdirection of the efforts.

For a notable example, the antipoverty bill which the Senate passed last week is a grabbag of hastily thrown-together projects, many duplicating existing programs. Take it all in all, it is difficult to see how it can make much of a dent in the problems of the relatively few poor people in our society.

Some of the measure's provisions, to be sure, are sensible and even promising in a small way. One such would furnish Federal funds for special tutoring of slum schoolchildren; this at least recognizes that attention to the children gives hope they will grow into useful adults. But here it must be asked why in the world the Federal Government should barge into an undertaking which is so manifestly a municipal responsibility.

Other and bigger parts of the bill seem remote from the reality of poverty. Thus a great deal of tax money would be spent to set up job camps for unskilled school dropouts. While the program certainly would get some of them off the streets and out of sight, there is nothing to suggest it would fit them for making a living in an increasingly technological economy. And, of course, it doesn't even begin to get at the reasons the kids drop out in the first place.

Similar misfires plague the Government's activities which are more directly aimed at unemployment. Among others, we have the Area Redevelopment Administration, ostensibly designed to improve depressed areas. What mostly seems to have been developed though, is an awesome boondoggle that merits congressional investigation. As for relieving local unemployment, it has been found time and again that workers have to be brought in from outside the area to provide skills for particular projects.

Even an endeavor that sounds as though it should be most rewarding runs into practical difficulties. We have in mind the Government's manpower retraining program. When men are idled because their skills are no longer needed, it seems only logical to give them the skills—and hence the jobs—the economy does need.

Yet the program doesn't work out that neatly in practice and indeed is largely confused and ineffective. Some of the reasons for the failures are noted by business economist Joseph Froomkin, writing in the Columbia University Forum.

A basic reason is the lack of any accurate information on what jobs are available and therefore what kind of retraining is most suitable. Another basic trouble cited by Mr. Froomkin is that administrators are hard put to decide whether to emphasize training of those with minimal skills or retraining of those with high skills who are recently unemployed for technological reasons.

The upshot is that in regions of relatively little employment, some retrainees have managed to keep their new jobs, but not in depressed areas where general unemployment is severe. In such areas, according to Mr. Froomkin, when retrained workers could find new jobs they held them for only a short time.

The further upshot of fundamental confusions is a weird profusion of projects. Some of them, Mr. Froomkin writes, "provide for training in occupations for which employers have traditionally paid the costs. A course designed to train new members of the vanishing breed of farmers is in the program as well.

"The projects of a few days' or weeks' duration to train hand shoe-stitchers, waiters, and retail clerks should be viewed with healthy skepticism. Were a real need for these workers anticipated, one could expect employers to train them without Government assistance."

From all of this emerges at least a partial explanation of why the Federal Government is so singularly ill-equipped to embark on sweeping programs to alleviate proverty and unemployment. By its nature, its approach must be clumsy and politics ridden if not actually tainted with corruption.

More than that, the Federal officialdom is inherently incapable of devising and administering effective programs applicable to all parts of a diverse nation. In consequence it often resorts to gimmicks or simple-minded and superficial answers to complex questions.

We do not for a moment say the Government has no proper concern with these problems. We merely say it would expend its energies more profitably in exhorting the States and localities, and applying its considerable pressures on them, to get them to work out their own problems.

For the fact remains that when the target is too big and too far off, the chances are multiplied for a wasteful scattering of effort.

Two Poetic Tributes to John F. Kennedy Written by Attorney James Stafford of Weedsport, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two eloquent and moving poems eulogizing our late President, which were written by Mr. James Stafford, an attorney in Weedsport, N.Y., in my congressional district. I am pleased to bring these eulogies to the attention of my colleagues:

THE TORCH

1917 JOHN F. KENNEDY 1963

Good man, Irishman
Who thought the whole world
Loved you because you
Loved the world,
Come back, come back
To live again.
Saint, who filled this sea
With tears, take away
This monument of pain
Lest freedom fail, or God
Be Love. How well in life
We knew you. In death we do.

—JAMES STAFFORD.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, NOVEMBER 22, 1963

The President is dead.
He'd not begrudge the world his blood—
A sniper put a bullet through his head—
And had he his life to live again
He'd go on campaigning.
For it is earth where grows the grain
To give our daily bread.
And it is faith within the cup
To love one's fellow men.
To plant the seed, to make it grow, to die, then say,
Had I my life to live again
I'd go on harvesting.
The President is dead,
Among us slain, the one our best
The Lord to love, who saw
The heavens open after rain
To wash away all bitterness
Put an end to pain, bring the rainbow after rain,
And the peace on earth that man doth seek.
There was a caravan, Jerusalem streets,
The multitudes' acclaim, happiness,
The quickened heart beat, then sorrow
For a death of the Creator of the faith that love is happiness.
A monument of praise for one who'd have it right with all the world.
The campaign ends, the sun has set, and now
A new star appears up in the sky.

—JAMES STAFFORD.

Rochester Knows What Mr. Lawrence Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, as is well known, my home community of Rochester, N.Y., has been racked by racial violence. An armed force now maintains law and order in the community.

When I reported to the House on this incident yesterday, I stressed that contempt for democratic principle was present in the rioter's actions. This subversion of innocent people's rights in a misguided attempt to redress social grievances is plainly perilous.

There is no motive lofty enough to justify defiance of law and order. Let us remember that the forces arrayed against us in the world seek the very disruption of orderly process that some of our own citizens create in their excess.

A very eloquent expression of this feeling has been authored by Columnist David Lawrence. From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star of Monday, July 27, I offer Mr. Lawrence's commentary and commend its contents to my colleagues:

PLATITUDES AND RACIAL VIOLENCE—ABUSE OF RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE CALLED ROOT OF WHOLE PROBLEM

(By David Lawrence)

Platitudes and hortatory statements deploring violence and urging respect for "law and order" will do little good in race conflicts such as have broken out recently in the big cities. The situation will be helped only when President Johnson and State executives, such as New York's Governor Rockefeller, begin to brush aside their political sensitivity and start coming to grips with the root of the whole problem—the abuse of the so-called right of public demonstration.

A dispatch over the wires of United Press International on Saturday afternoon tells in a nutshell the story of what's happening and why. It reads as follows:

"NEW YORK.—A Negro group led by an admitted Communist today went ahead with plans for a Harlem rally despite orders from the police commissioner prohibiting demonstrations by the group.

"The Harlem Defense Council is led by William Epton, who says he is a Communist and recently taunted police by saying 'there is nothing they can do' about political beliefs."

Epton, who is 32 years old, later was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. He was released on $500 bond and ordered to appear for a hearing on August 7. But, in somewhat similar cases in the South, the Supreme Court of the United States has found technical reasons for reversing convictions for disorderly conduct and trespassing on private property.

And, of course, all the Communists keep fully informed about such proceedings and then taunt the police with statements that Communists are "just another political party" and can claim "constitutional rights."

The present Supreme Court has upheld the right to demonstrate, but unfortunately has ignored long-established precedents in which rulings were made that it is unlawful to incite to violence.

There is nothing wrong with demonstrations in a mass meeting held in a hall or an arena, where any person who wishes can attend and listen to speeches. But there is something potentially dangerous about a street demonstration which embitters and offends people whose involvement is involuntary as they happen to be in the area or as their homes are invaded and their places of business are looted.

Former President Eisenhower said in a press conference last year that every group "has a right to bring to the attention of the public its dissatisfactions when its rights are not recognized and allowed to be exercised," but that "when they go to the extent of irritating, exacerbating the situation, then I think we've had a little bit of a step back."

The sensible leaders of the Negro organizations today find themselves hindered by groups that are incited by Communists and other militant organizers who are confident they will not be punished because they can rely for immunity on the right to demonstrate as interpreted by the Supreme Court today.

Leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the other hand, have begged persons to stay off the streets during critical times in their communities. The Chicago Defender, a large newspaper of Negro ownership, has just called for a moratorium on demonstrations.

The UPI a few days ago told of the chairman of the New York State District Committee of the Communist Party being photographed with another Communist as they attended a protest rally at which one leader, Jesse Gray, called for "guerrilla warfare" against the police.

Gray has taken the fifth amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at least 20 times when asked about his Communist activities.

The head of the NAACP's New York branch is quoted as saying that "the Communists find out who is talking the wildest, and then jump in with them." There are, of course, plenty of hate groups without Communist connections whose instinct is to resort to violence when they become angry.

When will the Supreme Court, however, see the trend toward widespread internal disorder due to its own faulty decisions and become realistic again? When will the phony issue of "police brutality" be dealt with courageously everywhere by the issuance of city ordinances prohibiting all kinds of street demonstrations at a time when public feeling has become so embittered over any issue that violence is inevitable?

And in cities where the local police might prove inadequate, why do not the Governors mobilize the State militia beforehand at known places of coming trouble, instead of waiting till after the outbreak to take action?

The basic issue cannot be ignored any longer, despite its political embarrassments. For the American people are beginning to see that the looting of stores, with damages running into the millions, has very little to do with the merits of any civil rights question, but has everything to do with the age-old problem of crushing crime by any measures of law enforcement deemed necessary to protect life and property.

No More Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, those of us who took part in the passage of the most comprehensive civil rights bill in our history have reason to be proud of the great future that our country can look forward to with renewed enthusiasm. The passage of the bill, however, was hardly a final step, but rather only a commencement. The hard work is yet to come.

Today we are faced with the most perilous problem we have known since World War II: Can this country be saved from racial war? The past week has been blemished by troubles not only in the South, which seems to be enforcing the civil rights law in a peaceful manner, but in the North, specifically in New York City, where Negroes have been rioting.

Mr. Louis Lomax, himself a Negro who has felt the pains caused by racial prejudice and discrimination, realizes that the burden for peace lies not only with the white leaders, but as well with Negro leaders. In order to quell the rebellion that is brewing in the hearts and minds of Negroes from Mississippi to Harlem, he implores the Negro leadership to step back from the battle for a moment and view the scene with a broader perspective than they now do. In this manner he hopes that they will realize the danger that general violence presents to our democracy, and that they will disavow these extremist techniques.

I commend the following three articles from the New York Journal American of July 6, 7, and 8, 1964, to the attention of our colleagues as remarkably level-headed advice during these times that test our strength as a free and just nation:

A NEGRO'S PLEA FOR TIME

(Author Louis Lomax knows what the struggle for civil rights means. Only last week his 11-year-old son was involved in a controversy when he applied for entrance into a private all-white Long Island military academy because he is a Negro.

(Despite the bitterness of his own experience, Mr. Lomax, who uncovered the Black Muslim movement and wrote "The Negro Revolt" and "The Reluctant African," pleads for Negro moderation in this first article of a three-part series.)

(By Louis E. Lomax)

Well, we got it. The new civil rights bill is not everything we wanted but it is more than we have ever had before.

The bill is the most detailed spelling out of a citizen's rights since the Magna Carta.

The powering through of this bill was quite an accomplishment for us, for the American Negro for a people just yesterday—as history counts time—in slavery.

That the bill was piloted through both Houses by white men while white clergymen and lay leaders rallied their communities to our support is quite an accomplishment for them, for the American white man, for a people whose chattel we were and who had built a new way of life on the assumption that we would always provide them with a steady stream of social and economic menials.

Most of all the civil rights bill of 1964 is a towering monument to the democratic process; it shows just what democracy can do when allowed to work its will.

Who, standing at the Atlanta Exposition when Booker T. Washington acquiesced in the injustices of that hour, would have believed that half a century later Booker's grandchildren would take to the streets and shout America's guilt?

Who, watching the bloody deeds of the night riders and Klansmen of Booker T.'s days, would have believed that white America would today confess and then go on to enact a civil rights bill which is nothing short of an apologia for past wrongs and a promise that these wrongs shall now cease, never to occur again?

Yet here we are and the deed is done.

Passage of the bill, however, is but the beginning. Much of the white South—and the North for that matter—is unhappy about the turn of events.

Enforcement of the measure could well usher in the bloodiest racial moments since the Civil War.

It is one of ironies of a free society that the passage of such a bill promises, on the one hand, that perhaps the race issue can be settled without major bloodletting; yet, on the other hand, enforcement of the measure may well take us closer to that very bloodletting that we have been averting since the terrible doings at Richmond and Atlanta.

STATESMANSHIP NEEDED

But I am more convinced by the promise of the measure than I am frightened by the dangers that are concommitants of its enforcement. I am also convinced that the promise will win out over the threat only if Negro leadership evidences more statesmanship than it has in the recent past.

The civil rights bill is a child of the streets, not of the conference rooms or of the courthouse.

It was introduced as a direct result of the dogs and fire hoses of Birmingham, Ala.

The bill was supported, to be sure, by a steady stream of legal decisions and Executive orders, which, for the past decade, have prepared the Nation for just this possibility.

FIGHT FOR LEADERSHIP

In the process, Negro leadership became fiercely competitive, the Negro community has endured a long, hot debate between the legalists and the activists.

The Legalists, led by the well-entrenched National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, contended—on the whole—that the racial issue would be settled in the courtroom; the activists, sparked by Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and James Farmer's Congress of Racial Equality, argued that legalism was not enough, that the Negro would gain

his rights only if he took to the streets, and, if necessary, filled the jails.

The activists won.

Not only did demonstrations produce results but the NAACP and Roy Wilkins, the NAACP's executive secretary, defied the law of Jackson, Miss., and Mr. Wilkins was carted off to jail.

A NEW DAY HERE

But now we have a new day; the rights we have been jailed for seeking over the past 4 years are now ours.

When we sat down at a lunch counter along Route 40 in Maryland we defied the laws of that State; now the man who refuses us service in that very restaurant will be defying the laws of the Nation.

The question must be asked, then, Is it time for a shift in tactics?

And once again the philosophical argument that has always rent Negro leadership comes into the open.

Just after the civil rights bill passed the Senate both James Farmer and Martin Luther King, Jr., let it be known that they were readying squads of people to test enforcement of the new measure in various southern cities.

WILKINS VERSUS FARMER

The NAACP's Roy Wilkins publicly chastised Mr. Farmer and Mr. King for engaging in a race toward militancy for militancy's sake.

Mr. Wilkins hinted that his organization would take a more conservative approach to enforcement of the bill.

He did not specify just what the NAACP would do; one wishes that he had, for his proposal may have been a clarion call for sound judgment.

Alas, his strongest statement was a promise that Negro voters would increase their efforts in behalf of legislators who supported the civil rights bill during its year of stormy months in Congress.

With the civil rights bill enacted, there can be no doubt, no argument, that the Negro has every right to walk into any affected motel or restaurant in the land and demand to be accommodated. If he is refused, every law enforcement agency at the Nation's disposal must come to his aid, and in a hurry at that.

But this is not the issue.

If a Negro walks into a hotel in, say, deepest Mississippi and insists on his right, there is a good likelihood that he will be seriously hurt, perhaps killed.

This could set off a chain reaction; the Negro ghettoes of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, to say nothing of Mississippi itself would certainly be activated, and the much-promised long, hot summer would be upon us.

This is why I said earlier that the time for Negro statesmanship has arrived.

STOP, LOOK, LISTEN

Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Martin Luther King, Jr., and James Foreman should stop whatever they are doing, come off the streets and out of jail, and go on a retreat together.

They need to relax, to rest, to do some redemptive loafing and creative thinking—together. They need to hammer out a general agreement on where we are going and how we plan to get there; they need to parcel out the responsibilities as well as the power and the glory of the current struggle.

Then, from their mountain top—or lake front—they should return to the people and issue a lucid call for a united push toward final freedom under the aegis of commonsense.

Mine is but a lonely voice.

As a social critic and writer I have no organization.

Yet, at times, my typewriter's eye has seen these men with more clarity than they have seen themselves. For what it is worth, this is my view:

Negroes should not rush into hotels, motels, and other previously all-white southern establishments while the ink is still wet on the civil rights bill.

NOT BY LAW ALONE

Freedom does not come by law alone; it takes a solid degree of general acceptance.

Sometimes a people can certify forever their hardwon freedoms by temporarily refusing to invoke them for the sake of a more general and permanent public good.

Now, I am convinced, is such an hour for the American Negro.

But the Negro cannot be asked to suffer alone; rather, if this is to be a long summer of change and progress, the entire Nation must be with the Negro as he elects to suffer yet a while longer.

The President of the United States, a child of the South and a man of compromise, should ask both sides, integrationists and segregationists, for time.

Negro leaders should withhold demonstrations for a period of, say, 30 or 60 days; southern political, civil business and church leaders should be summoned to the White House and asked to prepare their various communities for the changes the bill will make in their way of life.

I believe most southern communities will respond.

They will not like it, but if the local white power structure speaks with a firm, clear voice, serious trouble can be avoided in all but a few places.

I am not certain what Negro leaders will say to this proposal. Some of them, I suspect, will not like it.

But to them I say there is no longer any doubt that we Negroes have the power to destroy America in the name of a righteous cause.

We can set off demonstrations and law-testing activities this summer that will wreak havoc.

And our cause would be just; but would our judgment be sound?

Yes, brothers, we have the power to destroy America; but do we have the statesmanship to save it? And that, Can we save America? is the question.

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW'S TARGET—THE SOUTH

(Louis Lomax knows the bitterness of being on the receiving end of racial bias—not only as a writer of "The Negro Revolt" and "The Reluctant African"—but as the father of an 11-year-old who was "advised" by the authorities of an all-white Long Island military academy not to enter his son there.

(Despite his own experience, Mr. Lomax, in the second article of a three-part series, urged the Negro leadership in America to stop, look, and listen before plunging into other Mississippis this summer.)

(By Louis E. Lomax)

Those who argued so long and hard against the Civil Rights Act were right on one score: This is a southern bill.

No one who has followed the course of race relations over the past 10 years can read the new bill and not realize that it is aimed directly at the South.

Much of the language in the public accommodations and voting titles of the bill comes clearly out of southern life and practice.

The obvious clauses designed to thwart local officials who have so long thwarted potential Negro voters, the strident language that plainly questions the basic integrity of southern white juries, these are final evidences that most of the elected representatives of most of the people are convinced that the southern way of life is a calculated conspiracy against the freedom of the Negro.

There is simply no other way to read this bill.

The one section that will affect the non-South—the title outlawing discrimination in hiring—goes into effect within a year of signing; while the section that affects the South most—the public accommodation title—is effective immediately.

Let the truth be told: the South is on the grill in this bill and justifiably so.

This is all the more reason why the Negro's approach to enforcement of the new bill should be that of the statesman rather than that of the wild-eyed, righteous revolutionary.

Overnight, the Negro can force the Deep South's hand and plunge the Nation into turmoil; the blood will be on their hands, not ours.

But it will be blood nonetheless, and one can only hope that the aggrieved Negro is now sophisticated enough to realize that his long-run interests will be best served if he knowingly allows the Deep South a period of grace in which to bind its new wounds.

This is not a sellout.

To the contrary, if the Negro has enough statesmanship to say to the South, "I know you don't like this but you have got to swallow it. For the sake of the Nation I'll give you 60 days to get ready," he will win innumerable new allies for the day when we must march against the hard core pockets of resistance.

Two related factors lie behind my position on this issue: First, this is an election year and it seems all too likely that the Republican Party will field a presidential candidate who voted against both cloture and the bill itself.

Should Arizona Senator BARRY GOLDWATER become the GOP nominee the race issue will be greatly irritated.

THE DANGER OF EXTREMISTS

His private attitude toward Negroes seems to be good and he has defended his votes against civil rights on grounds of conscience and constitutionality.

Even so the most blatant anti-Negro elements outside the non-South have rallied to GOLDWATER, and his supporters have made it clear they will gather the same anti-Negro vote in the South if Alabama Gov. George Wallace would only get out of their way.

The entire election could hinge on a black-versus-white issue.

This is precisely what extremists on both sides want and it would bring on national disaster.

But if the Negro turns statesman, and intentionally elects to suffer a little longer while the President urges the Nation to order and justice, much of the South will fall in line and the ultimate struggle will be in terms of right versus wrong, which is precisely the issue.

The second factor behind my argument is the cruel confrontation that has shaped up in Mississippi.

Several hundred college students, Negro and white, have gone there to participate in a voter registration drive among Negroes.

The State of Mississippi has acted; anticipating their arrival the State legislature has enacted a fist full of laws which prohibit certain civil rights activity.

These laws will surely be declared unconstitutional once they are reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

That, however, will take months, if not years.

Meanwhile, the sons and daughters of some of America's finest families, Negro and white, have already joined the issue.

As every television viewer knows, the State of Mississippi has armed itself with tanks, tear gas, and white supremacist volunteers to beat off these young people who harbor the "Communist-inspired" notion that Mississippi Negroes have the right to vote.

The new civil rights act gives even greater morality to the efforts of these brave young people.

Their planned program cannot be called off at this point.

For several months now, it has been common knowledge that several top Washington officials are convinced that nothing short of Federal troops—occupation, actually—will bring justice to Mississippi Negroes.

And one has but to look at the well-organized, patiently trained student groups that have poured into Mississippi to realize that they are determined to give Federal officials the grounds for this military occupation.

Were these students really prepared for the terror that awaited them in Mississippi?

Is the Nation ready for it, and for other "Mississippis" in the name of civil rights?

Mississippi, after all, is a State in which its most notable intellectual, William Faulkner, once wrote that, if need be, he would shoot down Negroes in the streets.

The Negroes' cause is just, and it is legal.

We have every justification for setting off demonstrations in hotels and motels and restaurants and swimming pools all over the Deep South. We have the law on our side.

And the morality.

But if we race ahead with these demonstrations, provoking the unthinking hatred of the Deep South whites, we will destroy the Nation.

Now is the time for Negroes, on the threshold of a great advance in civil rights, to exercise the kind of statesmanship that will win respect rather than fear among the white communities of the South.

A NEGRO TO NEGROES: DON'T USE DYNAMITE

("Turn him loose in Times Square with a shoeshine box."

(That was the suggestion that the head of an all-white Long Island military school made to Louis Lomax, famous author of "The Negro Revolt" and "The Reluctant African," when he tried to enroll his 11-year-old son.

(But Mr. Lomax, putting country before personal anger, urges restraint on the Negro rights leadership in this final article of a series.)

(By Louis E. Lomax)

Mississippi is one end of the civil rights dynamite stick.

Harlem is the other.

And this is a final reason why Negro leadership must exercise astute statesmanship if we are to save, rather than destroy, the Republic.

Negro leaders have been less than honest in saying that the recent attacks upon white people in New York are not racial in character.

These leaders would have the world believe that the gang assaults are nothing more than run-of-the-mill New York violence carried out by New York gangs that just happen to be all-Negro against people who just happen to be white.

Well, that is so much nonsense, and it is dangerous nonsense at that.

As early as the mid-forties, James Baldwin wrote that every group has its hate object; in Georgia, Baldwin said, it is the Negro, in Harlem it is the Jew.

In 1958 I combined with Mike Wallace to produce a TV spectacular, "The Hate That Hate Produced," which was the first public exposé of the Black Muslims.

NEGRO LEADERS DENOUNCE THE SHOW

Negro leaders, led on by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, denounced the documentary, said we had taken a silly cult and blown it all out of proportion.

He reassured white people that Negroes, on the whole, still loved them.

But even then suspicious killings were occurring in and around New York City.

In my second book, "The Negro Revolt," I called attention to two killings that were clearly racial in origin.

The blunt truth is that Negroes do not, on the whole, love white people; we would be something other than human if we did.

Martin Luther King's preachments about Christian love sound good from the foot of the Lincoln Monument, and his advocacy of nonviolence is an excellent civil rights tactic.

NO TIME LEFT FOR OVERT HATE

But neither doctrine makes sense to the masses of black people caught up in the raw violence and cutthroat competition that is prevalent in the black man's America.

For a century the Negro was so close to the edge of destruction that he had little time to engage in overt, blatant hate and distrust of white people.

We hung—as a race and as individuals—by our toenails from freedom's cliff and our every effort was consumed by the mechanics of sheer survival.

We laughed, and shuffled, and lied; we scratched, and prayed, and swallowed hard.

Meanwhile our strong men were fashioning organizations, seeking legal redress, and, finally organizing demonstrations.

Our survival efforts meshed with the nonwhite uprising that swept Africa and Asia after World War II and only now are we beginning to say what has been in our hearts for a long, long time.

And the Negro's bile is being puked out on Broadway, in books, and through the flashing knives that find their white targets along Harlem streets.

The one thing about the Blood Brothers and other antiwhite Negro gangs that seems to have been overlooked is that they are the television generation.

They came to puberty watching the white mobs at Little Rock, the brick-throwing mothers of Sturgis-Clay, Ky.; their girl friends discovered their womanhood while watching Negro women being washed down with firehoses at Birmingham.

MOMENT HAS COME TO STRIKE BACK

Growing up in squalor, in homes where there were no parents, these boys and girls played hooky from school and discovered sex as the television blared out the account of Negroes being attacked with cattle prods in Louisiana.

Now many Negroes are ready and willing to strike back. After all, the central teaching of the Black Muslim movement is that one day God, the black man, will destroy the Devil, the white man.

Their concept of Armageddon, then, is nothing other than a worldwide race war. And thousands of Negroes have joined the movement.

More, the Muslims have had their own parochial schools for some time and have turned out a generation of children who are as steeped in this doctrine as is a Catholic child in the teaching of the Holy Mother.

THE CREATION OF A MONSTER

During a debate against me in Cleveland recently, Malcolm X brought some 2,000 Negroes screaming to their feet when he said, "We are about ready to practice reciprocal death."

Let the truth be told: Racism has combined with unemployment and lack of foresight on the part of the American educational system and produced a monster.

The black masses of this Nation have been all but incurably crippled by discrimination; they simply cannot get work.

Their problems are complex, but the continuing presence of discrimination gives them a simple, identifiable enemy—the white man.

Negro leaders are slow to come to grips with this aspect of the race issue.

They argue, with some logic, that they are busy bringing an end to discrimination and that once discrimination is ended such things as the recent killings in New York will go away.

Maybe.

But, even so, the current generation of Negroes are already infected. What of them? Are they to be left alone to prepare for the "night of the long knives" one hears so much about?

Hardly.

This mounting and spreading Negro violence imperils us all.

For it is not only aimed at the white man but at the Negro elite as well.

Negroes like Ralph Bunche who have taken what the Black Nationalists call an unpopular stand on certain issues would do well not to walk Harlem's streets at night; after a lecture at Oakland City College, a Black Nationalist shook his finger in my face and assured me that my day would come soon.

Harlem, like Mississippi and for much the same reason, must be occupied.

Not by the police.

Rather, I am suggesting a massive campaign to get Negro youth off the streets and into the classrooms, into better living situations where they can glimpse some of the promise of this Nation.

Now is the time for Negroes to consider some of the things we have, and not solely of what we have not.

Not all the Negroes' problems can or should be looked at in terms of black and white. Now is the time, at this 11th hour in Negro history, for us to act like men of responsibility who must make sure that this Republic is not torn asunder by racism, black or white.

It is a time for Negro statesmanship.

Pensions for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Frank J. Schurtz, of Zanesville, Ohio:

ZANESVILLE, OHIO,
July 23, 1964.

Hon. ROBERT SECREST,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: I ask that you read this loud and clear.

Thousands for the Congressman, and not a cent for the soldier of 1917 and 1918, the forgotten soldier.

We ask you, Mr. Congressman, do you really think this is fair and just for the forgotten soldier of 1917?

Yes, he enlisted in 1917 and received $1 per day to fight and, if necessary, die for the cause he thought right.

I ask you, Mr. Congressman, can you face the forgotten soldier, who is asking for a pension of $100 per month for the twilight years of his life, which are not too many, as many are 68 to 75 years old.

Many of the 1917 soldiers are in dire need of help, as they are too old to work. Some are on relief rolls; some are in county homes, which formerly were called poorhouses.

By granting a pension of $100 a month (no strings attached), you would take many off relief rolls, giving back to them honor and a spirit that they can raise their heads and be proud that they were soldiers of World War I.

This plan we suggest, and think it can be carried out with honor for all, will not be expensive, as many who are now getting $100 or more a month from Government veterans sources would receive no increase.

The plan is as follows:

World War I soldiers who are getting aid to the amount of $100 a month from any

Government veterans source, no increase in pension.

World War I soldiers getting less than $100 a month from Government pension plan to be increased to $100 a month.

Veterans getting no aid from any veterans plan to get $100 a month, with no strings attached.

This would take many off relief rolls, giving them a chance to live their remaining years without the worries of today's living.

This plan we ask you to adopt at this Congress, as it is many years past due. No other U.S. soldier has waited so long for a just pension.

May we remind you that the World War I soldier came home with none of the benefits later soldiers received, such as getting his old job back, a college education, and a GI home loan.

We respectfully ask your sincere consideration of this plan this year, so the old soldier will not have to wait any longer for the pension which is past due by many years, and which he rightly deserves.

Most sincerely,

FRANK J. SHURTZ,
Past Commander, Muskingum County Barracks No. 454, World War I, Zanesville, Ohio.

"A Million and One Votes for Prayer in Public Schools"—A Speech by George Stover, 18 Years, Made at Calvary Baptist Church, Towson, Md., June 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine recently sent me a copy of a speech made one Sunday in June by his nephew, George Stover, an 18-year-old boy in Towson, Md.

I am told this speech was made despite the fact that the pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Towson, where the speech was made, opposed the so-called Becker amendment, which young George Stover was defending.

As I believe this young man has done an excellent job of presenting a young viewpoint on this subject, I welcome the opportunity to insert the text of his speech in full in this RECORD:

"A MILLION AND ONE VOTES FOR PRAYER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS"—A SPEECH BY GEORGE STOVER, 18 YEARS, MADE AT CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, TOWSON, MD., JUNE 1964

The preservation of our religious heritage is one of the problems that faces our country today.

From its beginning, our Nation has operated under God. During the Revolutionary War, George Washington praying in the snow at Valley Forge said, "The event is in the hands of God."

When the leaders of our country assembled to write the Constitution, it was proposed by Benjamin Franklin that each session be opened by prayer. Franklin said, "I have lived a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proof I see of this truth that God governs the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without His aid?"

Today our American way of life is being threatened from within as well as from all sides. The dangers facing our country and the whole world are so great they cannot be taken lightly. One of the threats to the preservation of our religious heritage is the recent decision of the Supreme Court which bans Bible reading and prayer in our public schools.

This decision is a first big step away from God. Behind the scenes are forces at work whose purpose is to remove God as an important influence in the life of our Nation. Billy Graham was right when in his recent Los Angeles crusade he said, "The efforts to remove God and moral teachings from our schools is a diabolical scheme."

And ex-President Eisenhower has said, "I am opposed to any effort to eliminate mention of God in governmental institutions and practices * * * the basic purpose of keeping before the public the clear fact that our form of government rests upon a religious faith is one of which I heartily approve."

In June 1962 the U.S. Supreme Court found unconstitutional the use of this prayer written and recommended by the board of regents for use in New York State public schools:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

I cannot, of course, give a legal opinion on this decision, but I would like to quote from an article published in the Reader's Digest. This quote is from the Right Reverend James A. Pike, Protestant Episcopal bishop of California—a lawyer prior to entering the ministry and still a member of the bar of the U.S. Supreme Court. Reverend Pike states: "In this case the Court has not only gone off on a side track but jumped the track altogether. It's decision in my view is based on a distortion of the first amendment, not on its prime meaning. The first amendment says 'Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' To interpret this amendment as the Court has done threatens the public school idea itself, will hasten the development of schools under religious auspices, and dampen public interest in adequate tax support for public schools. The ruling's danger is not only in what it says but in what it implies. In effect, the decision deconsecrates not merely the schools but the Nation. It is, as someone has said, 'a new declaration of independence—independence from God."

My own views are personal feelings rather than a legal interpretation. I've listened to the pros and cons on this issue and the views of those in favor of the Supreme Court decision seem to narrow down to three main thoughts:

(1) This decision is right because there should be a complete separation between the church and state.

(2) That religion should not be taught in the public schools but in the home and in the churches.

And (3) the saying of a prayer in school violates the first amendment.

Let's examine the first one—a complete separation of church and state. To start with, the saying of a prayer in public schools is a practice that has been going on for over 150 years. If this were unconstitutional and detrimental to our religion, why did our religious leaders and legal leaders do nothing about it in all these years? Why did they leave it to an atheist to bring about this change?

Further, if there is a complete separation between church and state and one accepts the Court's interpretation of the first amendment, many other practices fostering religions are also constitutionally illegal. Specifically, I name a few: Government-paid chaplains, compulsory chapel services in our three service academies, tax exemption of religious organizations, income tax deductibility of contributions to churches, and lower postal rates for religious publications.

While I believe in separation of church and state, I do not believe that there can be a complete separation of church and state. This country was founded because of the need of religious freedom and the Government has the duty to protect that religious freedom. The two are linked. Our Government and churches have been inseparable since our country's inception.

The second argument is that religion should be taught in the home and in the church, not in the schools. I am sure everyone agrees with this. However, I contend that the saying of a prayer or the reading of the Bible in school is not teaching religion. It is a daily reminder that our schools and our Christian country function under God.

As to violation of the first amendment—when I studied the Constitution of the United States I was taught: The first amendment guarantees that the Federal Government shall not restrict freedom of worship; and it specifically prohibits Congress from setting up any official, government-supported church. The free exercise of any religion by its communicants is guaranteed by Congress, provided there is no violation of public morality and decency. I do not see how the saying of a simple, nondenominational, noncompulsory prayer can possibly violate the first amendment.

I maintain that prayer should be encouraged at all times—at school, at home, at work—and that none of us should be too proud to pray in public. It is said that members of the Colt football team, led by Don Schinnick, pray in their locker room before each game. I am a wrestling fan and recently saw Bruno Sammartino, the champion of the world wrestle in defense of his title, and I noticed in his corner before the bout he quickly made the sign of the cross in silent prayer. He did not make a show of this and I admire him for doing it.

In a recent Baltimore News American I read about the Children's Crusade, the purpose of which was to obtain a million signatures on petitions for the school prayer amendment. So far, the signatures that have come in to Congressmen have been mostly those of grownups and the million mark has been exceeded. Now, the signatures of the younger generation are starting to come in and for the first time in their lives, some Members of Congress have simply stopped acknowledging their mail because it would be an impossible task. So I feel that I am speaking for the youth of America when I make this observation: Influences of certain teachers as well as subject matter taught, especially in the area of science, cause us to question our faith. And I honestly believe that if, in addition, we allow the boys and girls of today to grow up thinking it is illegal to pray in school, the men and women of tomorrow will cease to pray altogether.

That Is Prosperity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, a letter from a farmer and rancher out in western South Dakota tells a story that

should be passed on. I have asked unanimous consent to insert it at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The letter is as follows:

Here are some figures you won't find in the Department of Agriculture. In 1960, with a Republican board of county commissioners, my county taxes were $600. We had 60 acres of wheat and got $2 per bushel, also 36 cents for our beef calves. In 1964, we have a Democratic board of county commissioners, taxes on the same place are now $1,600. Calves, 20 cents, and Freeman has cut the wheat to 40 acres and only $1 for a bushel. That is prosperity?

Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed Becker amendment, people of every religious faith stated their opposition to it. Some were clergymen, others laymen. All joined in denouncing this proposal as contrary to the best interests of religion and religious freedom in America.

One of the best of these statements was presented by John Quincy Adams, a Catholic layman. His statement, which follows, concisely summarizes the evils of the Becker amendment and offers a constructive alternative to it. I commend this statement to all those who truly desire to protect and strengthen religious life in our country:

Mr. Chairman, Congressman CELLER, gentlemen and members of the Judiciary Committee, my name is John Quincy Adams and I reside at 128 Highland Avenue, Montclair, N.J.

I am president of the Manhattan Refrigerating Co., in New York City, and the Union Terminal Cold Storage Co., Inc., in Jersey City, N.J.

As a Catholic layman, deeply devoted to the religion of my faith, I have founded, or am an active member of a number of organizations including the Catholic Institute of the Food Industry, National Catholic Employers and Managers Study Group, National Catholic Social Action Conference, National Council of Catholic Men, Holy Name Society, Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, and a member of the Montclair Intercreedal Committee for Religious Education. I am also a member of Cardinal Spellman's Coordinating Committee of Catholic Lay Organizations of the Archdiocese of New York.

As a dedicated Catholic who is active in fostering religion and religious identification among young people, I deplore the Becker amendment or any other amendment that would legalize expressions of religious observance through prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. Such activity in the public schools is bad for religion. Certain of the proposed amendments seek to provide for nondenominational prayer. That would merely succeed in creating a watered-down substitute for religion. Further, many parents are evading their responsibility in the religious education of their children by depending upon meaningless exercises in the public schools. This dilution of prayer in the public schools is hurtful, rather than helpful, to religion. It is a dangerous illusion for parents and children to think they are receiving a true religious experience through the public schools.

The Supreme Court decision banning prayer and Bible reading in the public schools in the spring of 1963 was welcome news. Those of us concerned with genuine religious education of our young, have long believed that the prayer and Bible reading in the public schools was a poor and inadequate substitute for formal religious education in the home, the church, and the synagogue.

In a survey that we conducted in my hometown of Montclair, over the past 5 years, we discovered that a large number of parents and their children actually relied upon the prayer and Bible reading in the schools as the youngsters' principal source of religious awareness. For example, among the Protestant and Jewish boys and girls of high school age, three-quarters are not registered in formal religious classes in their churches and synagogue. The Catholic children had a somewhat better record, because attendance at the confraternity high school classes is obligatory.

Shortly after the Supreme Court decision was announced, a group of responsible citizens in Montclair interested the leaders of the ministerial association, the clergy club, the Catholic pastors, and the rabbi of the local temple in forming a committee to rededicate the entire community of Montclair to a new awareness of the rather shameful situation with regard to religious education of the young people. We decided to leave no stone unturned to alert parents, boys and girls of high school age, as well as religious leaders, to the need for formal religious education of these youngsters in the home, the church, and synagogue. We have held almost weekly meetings since last July. We enlisted the interest of about 24 of the most serious-minded young people, seniors in the local private, parochial, and public high schools, to assist us. All the churches and their religious educators sincerely cooperated. The youngsters themselved showed amazing initiative and an unusual understanding of the gravity of the situation. They prepared and sent out a questionnaire to 1,800 of their fellow students. They interviewed hundreds of their fellow students, and a fortnight ago they conducted a confrontation of all the religious leaders of the community in a 2-hour session at the local temple.

The evaluation of the confrontation is now being summarized and studied by the committee of the religious leaders known as the Convenors.

We believe that we have uncovered a constructive approach to the problem of behavior both in the youth and the adults. We are witnessing a new dedication by our community and our community leaders to restore formal religious education to the home, church, and synagogue. We have the close cooperation of all of the religious leaders in the community who are helping to make sure that religious education programs in the home, church, and synagogue are conducted in such a way that they appeal to the youngsters. In my view, these youngsters will better appreciate the important part that religious education must play in their youthful and adult lives if our country, our society, and our institutions are to be representative of the Judeo-Christian traditions and teachings upon which they were founded.

In the best interest of religion, therefore, I strongly oppose the Becker amendment and I would like to offer the results of our experience to those who feel that this amendment and other suggested amendments are the answer to the crying need for a restoration of religious, moral, and spiritual values in our world today.

Catholic Layman Sees School Prayer Causing Dissension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the House Judiciary Committee's hearings on the school prayer issue have underscored the danger of dissension and litigation which would follow the adoption of a constitutional amendment authorizing religious observances in public schools.

One distinguished Catholic layman who spoke to this problem with unusual clarity was Prof. Donald A. Giannella of the Villanova Law School. I commend his statement to all those who have a continuing interest in the school prayer question, regardless of their religious faith:

STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSED PRAYER AMENDMENT FOR THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE BY DONALD A. GIANNELLA, PROFESSOR OF LAW, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE INSTITUTE OF CHURCH AND STATE

At the outset I want to emphasize that the views I express are my own and should not be regarded as in any way representing the views of the institutions with which I am connected.

My reasons for opposing an amendment that would permit prayers and other devotional exercises in the public schools can be summarized simply: the benefits realized by having such prayers and exercises will be more than offset by the losses incurred because of increased interreligious strife and because of damage to the prestige of our courts as they become inevitably involved in this conflict.

As a Catholic I can appreciate the desire of many parents to have their children begin the school day with common prayer. But recent and not so recent history has surely demonstrated that in a society made up of many religious denominations this cannot be done without creating serious dissension and controversy in the community. Nor has this controversy arisen solely, or even mainly, between believers and nonbelievers. Many religious leaders have recently spoken with approval of the elimination of devotional exercises in the public schools; and it should not be forgotten that in the State courts several longstanding cases that eliminated prayers and Bible reading in the public schools were brought by Catholics in protest of what they believed were sectarian Protestant exercises.

Any proposed amendment that will permit public officials to select or compose prayers or devotional readings will not end this controversy. On the contrary it can only lead to an increase of conflict both in and out of the courts. For in many communities there will be much dissension at the time religious exercises are to be chosen, and then, after they have been chosen, one can anticipate court challenge by religious groups that will find the selections offensive to their religious tradition.

It would go contrary to what has been elemental and most firmly implanted in our constitutional tradition to have the Federal Government sanction sectarian practices. The proposed amendment is ambiguous as to whether it would change this tradition and permit sectarian prayers and devotions.

This in itself is a serious shortcoming that would encourage prolonged and bitter litigation. No matter what the eventual resolution of this ambiguity by the courts, the outcome would be most unfortunate.

If the amendment were interpreted to permit sectarian prayer, it would put the force of Government authority behind one religious denomination at the expense of others. To so prefer one religion over another would do violence to both our tradition against religious establishment and our heritage of religious freedom. I cannot believe that such preference accords with the present consensus of the American people, and I would expect the Supreme Court properly to interpret the amendment as not legitimatizing sectarian prayers in the public schools.

If this indeed were to prove the interpretation given to the amendment, it would lead directly to the previously mentioned widespread litigation as religious groups offended by the selected exercises would challenge them as sectarian. As a citizen I am greatly concerned over the bitterness and divisiveness that such litigation would entail, particularly since the hostility so engendered has a tendency to swell disproportionately in relation to the precise issues involved and to threaten communal cooperation on matters where no division need exist.

As a lawyer I would be greatly concerned over the involvement of our courts in deciding what are "constitutional" nonsectarian prayers, so to speak, and what are "unconstitutional" ones. Putting aside the serious question of whether the civil courts are equipped to make such decisions in our society, this kind of involvement could readily lead to public dissatisfaction with and loss of respect for the courts with consequent damage to the rule of law in our society. Passage of the amendment would lead to public expectation that any prayer adopted by the appropriate school authorities would be constitutional. A Supreme Court decision prohibiting a particular prayer on the ground it was sectarian would be regarded as arbitrary and irresponsible. In the case of sectarian prayers that make reference to doctrines and beliefs clearly repugnant to other religious sects, there might be widespread approval of action taken by the Court to prohibit them, but I doubt there would be the same understanding in borderline cases.

In view of current ecumenical tendencies, it is not completely farfetched to suggest that within the next 10, or perhaps 20 years, some school board in our Nation might attempt to reinforce this trend by choosing either as an inspirational Biblical quotation to be read to the students, or as a prayer to be recited by them, the passage taken from the Gospel of St. John, the 10th chapter, which includes the following:

"And other sheep I have, that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."

Would such a reading, chosen with the manifest purpose and possible effect of encouraging ecumenism, be lawful under the proposed amendment? To many it would not seem a sectarian prayer. Indeed, it can be argued that in a literal sense it is "antisectarian." I doubt, however, that others than Christians would take this view, and even some Christians would find the use made of the passage repugnant. But if the Supreme Court were to rule such a prayer unconstitutional in the face of the proposed amendment, there would undoubtedly be many who would regard this as a wholly unjustified usurpation of power by the courts.

Whatever shortcomings one may find in the recent Supreme Court decisions prohibiting prayers in the public schools, they completely avoided the problem of having courts pass on what are lawful nonsectarian prayers. The proposed amendment will imply to many that these Supreme Court decisions were wrong and unwarranted.

If then the Court should be compelled to prohibit a sectarian school prayer adopted in reliance of the proposed amendment, this will increase substantially the number of those who believe the Court incorrigibly acts in excess of its power. This reaction would occur no matter how justified the Court would be in prohibiting the particular prayer involved.

For these two reasons, the threat of divisive conflict and the danger of loss of prestige by our courts, I believe the proposed amendment is very unwise. Personally, I would like my own child to begin her school day with a prayer, and I do recognize the dangers of making religious commitment appear irrelevant in the world of affairs when religious inspiration seems to be excluded from the child's world of affairs; but I find it difficult to believe that a short period of nonsectarian devotional exercises in the morning will make that much difference. If our spiritual heritage were in danger of suffering gravely because of the exclusion of prayers from our public schools, I would expect our religious leadership to be unanimously in the forefront of those seeking to bring back religious devotions into the schools. This has not been the case; in fact, something closer to the opposite has been the situation. The substantial religious leadership opposing prayers and devotional Bible reading in the public schools has undoubtedly arisen in large part because of concern over the divisive tendency of the devotional exercises.

I respectfully urge the committee to weigh carefully the relatively limited loss of religious values resulting from exclusion of prayers in the public schools against the potentially serious interreligious conflict that could arise in selecting devotional exercises and the blow to the prestige of our courts that may be engendered by the proposed amendment, and I further respectfully urge that the committee take action disapproving it.

Prayer Amendment Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as I have done previously, I would again like to call to the attention of my colleagues the views of a major Catholic organization toward the proposed prayer amendment.

Described by its founders as "the church in the United States at work on matters of general import, under the direction of the bishops," the aim of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is to act as a guide and helper; its purpose, to exercise a moral influence. Since its founding, the NCWC has profoundly influenced the life of the church throughout the Nation, and is presently headed by an administrative board consisting of 22 cardinals, archbishops and bishops, representing all the areas of the country. I think it most appropriate, therefore, to commend for my colleagues' reading the following article by George Reed, associate director of the NCWC legal department:

PRAYER AMENDMENT CONTROVERSY

(By George E. Reed, associate director, legal department, NCWC)

A proposal to amend the Constitution to permit prayer and Bible reading in public schools has become the subject of sharply divided debate in congressional hearings.

The prayer amendment, as it is commonly called, has much popular appeal. But it also raises difficult constitutional problems.

These problems are now being exposed and discussed by the House Committee on the Judiciary. The committee actually has 147 resolutions before it. They reflect about 35 different forms of amendment to nullify the the Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions.

But most testimony has centered on House Joint Resolution 693, sponsored by Representative FRANK J. BECKER, of New York. BECKER has campaigned vigorously for action on his proposal, including an effort to have the House take it out of the hands of the Judiciary Committee.

The Becker amendment has three major sections. These are:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution or place.

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution or place, or upon any coinage, currency or obligation of the United States.

"Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

A great deal of popular support has been mustered for the prayer amendment. This would be expected, particularly in the wake of the Supreme Court decisions which made many citizens irate. Besides, who could possibly be opposed to prayer?

The hearings, however, are throwing a more penetrating light on the proposed amendment. Serious and difficult constitutional questions are emerging. There are, for example, problems of nondenominational prayer in a pluralistic society and the rights of parents regarding the education of their children.

The proposed amendment does not apply to any specific provision of the Constitution. Some contend that it would supersede anything in the Federal Constitution so that there would be no basis for eliminating prayer from public schools or public life. Others wonder if parts of the Constitution would have to be repealed and the new provision substituated. There is no consensus among committee members.

A major question is this: how would the proposal affect the language of the first amendment, which pertains to the "establishment of religion"?

The Supreme Court has declared that recitation of prayer and reading of Bible verses violate the "establishment" clause of the first amendment. While this declaration of the Court has been challenged, students of history know that the Founding Fathers rejected many formulations and drafts before agreeing on the present simple language: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof * * *."

There are State laws which provide that there shall be no religion in public schools. Would the amendment invalidate these laws? Some proponents of the amendment say that it would, but Becker himself believes differently.

Aside from legal considerations, there is the question of the nature of the school prayer. Some feel it must be nondenominational and Becker has indicated a willingness

to accept that idea. Will such a prayer, however, satisfy the wide range of religious beliefs in this Nation?

Furthermore, if the amendment should ultimately become a part of the Constitution, some say prayer and Bible reading would be a matter of constitutional right rather than a reflection of community desire. This right would be vested in the school board and in the children. The school board, then, would be empowered to authorize prayer in the public schools; or, at least there would be no constitutional bar to this.

The involvement of public school officials should give all pause for thought.

If these officials recommend recitation of prayer during the schoolday, is this not an implicit form of coercion? Could the recitation be considered voluntary? And most important, how does the involvement of school officials affect parents' rights?

Ironically, only one witness has mentioned the relevancy of parental rights. The hearings disclose an attitude which gives to the State and its subdivisions all authority over matters relating to the school. Yet, this country has always vested that right in the parents. The State has an obvious interest in education, but not to the exclusion of the primary right of the parents.

The hearings have certainly brought many issues under scrutiny. To that end they are rendering a great service to the American people. It is hoped that the final findings of the hearings will help to balance the genuine concern of the American people for the place of religion in public life and for the preservation of the Constitution which has served the people so well.

"Let us return to the status quo before June 1962."

This is the theme of many persons testifying before the House Judiciary Committee in favor of a proposed constitutional amendment to negate the 1962 and 1963 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court against prayer and Bible reading in public schools.

Like many slogans and facile phrases, the current one loses much of its thrust when carefully scrutinized and when put into historical perspective.

The House hearings are disclosing a deep and significant change in the historic religious-cultural pattern of the United States.

Many witnesses have testified to the historical fact that the reading of verses from the Bible and recitation of prayer in public school rooms are a product of the Protestant culture which dominated our educational institutions and American society in general during the 19th century.

The first amendment of the Federal Constitution did not affect growth of religious exercises in schools because during this period the amendment was not considered applicable to the actions of a State. It was solely a limitation on action by the Federal Government.

The religious practices in the schools, therefore, were a reflection of dominant Protestant attitudes rather than an implicit interpretation or construction of the first amendment.

Because of this, for example, Catholic children who were required to participate in sectarian prayers and practices could not appeal through their parents to the Federal court. Their only recourse was the State courts which, with a few exceptions, declined to enforce the rights asserted by Catholic parents.

Furthermore, as protests against religious practices in public schools mounted, the States, at the turn of the century, began enacting laws to protect Bible reading. The historically dominant Protestant cultural tradition was thus translated into law in many States.

This was a paradoxical development since at the same time the culture that gave rise to this tradition was losing its prominence and religious pluralism was gaining ascendancy.

This important social change coincided with a revolution in constitutional law which resulted in the extension of the first amendment and the principles embodied in the Bill of Rights to State action. Since the 1930's, the first amendment has served as a limitation on State as well as Federal action.

There were, therefore, two new factors affecting American life—a different culture, pluralistic in nature, and a new body of applicable law.

The Supreme Court decisions were made against this background and the court applied the first amendment to this new social condition.

In ruling out prayer and Bible reading as devotional exercises, the Court endeavored, though awkwardly, to react realistically to the new culture, rather than to perpetuate the Protestant tradition in American culture.

In addition, the plea for a return to the status quo before 1962 raises two important questions.

First, why return only to June 1962, the month when the Court held unconstitutional recitation of a 22-word prayer in New York public schools? Why not return to the status quo before 1948 when the basis was laid for the prayer and Bible-reading decisions?

It was the McCollum decision of 1948 that served as legal precedent for these later decisions by ruling out any involvement of public schools and public school officials in religious instruction. The Court held unconstitutional the holding of religious instruction classes on public school property.

If, therefore, a constitutional amendment limited to prayer and Bible reading is adopted, it might be validly argued that the McCollum decision is irrevocably recognized as an acceptable part of constitutional law.

This could result in a rather anomalous situation because on the one hand, schools would be permitted to conduct religious exercises, while on the other hand, use of school property for voluntary religious instruction would be denied.

The second important question is this: Would the proposed prayer amendment actually restore the status quo?

The amendment would certainly not restore the old culture which has yielded to religious pluralism. Moreover, prayer and Bible reading in public schools would derive from the authority of constitutional law, rather than community consensus.

Admittedly, these two factors, constitutional law and parental will, would coincide in many instances. The fact would remain, however, that Federal law would underlie this practice—a law which would reestablish a practice which was a product of a culture that no longer exists.

This is the rub; this is the stumbling block which confronts the advocates of the prayer amendment. And this is the reason why so many religious bodies are opposing it.

One of the disturbing aspects of the House Judiciary Committee's hearings on the prayer amendment is the submergence of the parental right to educate.

Neither side in the controversy has taken full advantage of the importance of this right as a factor in solving the vexatious problem of religion and education.

Arguments in behalf of an amendment to nullify the U.S. Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions against prayer and Bible reading in public schools have focused on Government.

The stress has been on the right of government, acting through public school boards, to provide religious exercises by virtue of the authority of a constitutional amendment.

Opponents of an amendment have on several occasions advanced arguments based on their right of parents, but this approach has not dominated their testimony.

Occasionally, the proposition was advanced that a prayer amendment would conflict with the Supreme Court's famous Oregon school case decision in 1925. The Court held then that the parental right prohibits the State from preventing operation of private schools.

The Court stated that the 14th amendment "excludes any general power of the States to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public school teachers only." Some witnesses citing this decision have contended that a prayer amendment will authorize the State to "standardize" the religious attitudes of schoolchildren by permitting adoption of a particular prayer or version of the Bible—regardless of the desire of parents. They have argued that freedom "of" religion and freedom "from" religion are essential parts of the fundamental parental right guaranteed by the Constitution.

No attempts have been made by amendment supporters to refute this argument. One factor in this failure is possibly a tendency to see the state as the primary educator. Or, to put it more moderately, to look upon the public school system as the exclusive agency of the state. Consequently, the parental stake is not considered relevant and has not drawn the attention it deserves. One result has been to stifle development of the proposition that the Supreme Court, by banning prayers and Bible reading, is not really taking a "neutral" attitude toward parents, but helping to erect a psychological wall of resistance to parental inculcation of religion for the child whose school day is exclusively structured along secular lines tends to develop an attitude of indifference toward religion. This reaction is well documented.

Of course this does not mean that the majority of parents may coerce the minority to adhere to a State-designated form of prayer.

Had arguments stemming from parental right received more attention at the hearings, the problem of religion and education would have been emphasized in terms of the religious freedom of two groups of parents, rather than having been dealt with as an issue between one group and government.

The legal debate would have been cast in terms of religious freedom, rather than in terms of doctrinaire establishment, and would have opened the door to a different approach to the problem.

For example, would not an acceptable solution be a system of religious instruction classes conducted after the school day and on school premises? Instructors would be other than public school teachers. The program would not be integrated or enmeshed with the public school machinery. There would be no coercion on students if the plan were properly administered. Moreover, religion would still be associated with the school to an extent that would accommodate the religiously minded parent.

Such a plan would put government in the business of imparting religious education. Rather, this system would accommodate the facilities of the public school system to the interests of parents.

It would reflect the mutual character of the public school system as designed to implement the interest of both parents and the state in education.

This approach has been explored tentatively by the Judiciary Committee. One difficulty seen was the use of public school property.

The Supreme Court, in the McCollum case, has condemned such use, but the circumstances were different. Religious instruction was given during the school day and with substantial involvement of the school, in matters such as keeping attendance records.

Undoubtedly the committee will give additional attention to this approach. In its careful weighing of the proposal, the committee may take up the possibility of an amendment which would end the constitutional uncertainty concerning the use of public school property.

Such a system of religious instruction, in addition to reflecting the mutual concern of parents and state, would be an application of principle enunciated by the Supreme Court in the Zorach case. The Court upheld in that case the constitutionality of released-time religious instruction held off public school premises. It said:

"When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our tradition for it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs."

L.B.J. Lauds Wright Patman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, one of the things that makes WRIGHT PATMAN a National Congressman is that while he works hard to take care of his own district he is not unmindful of the needs of the rest of the country.

The President of the United States took cognizance of this trait of the dean of the Texas congressional delegation in a speech he made on June 19 at Concord, Calif., at the dedication of that city's rapid transit system.

The President noted a hitherto unreported historical incident that bears repeating.

Referring to the mass transit bill, the President said that when one of the committees of Congress was considering the bill "a distinguished Republican Congressman from Ohio said to Congressman PATMAN, from my State, who was testifying in favor of the bill, 'Why are you from Texas interested in helping the people of New York solve their traffic problems?' And the Congressman from my State said, 'Well, I am interested because this is the United States of America, and the people of my State are as involved with the people of New York and California as the people of New York and California must be with the people of Texas.' "

As a Congressman from Philadelphia, I am grateful to the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee for the leadership he gave in helping our Urban Mass Transportation Act become a part of the law of the land. We in Philadelphia will benefit greatly by Mr. PATMAN's efforts.

I am inserting in the RECORD the full text of President Johnson's speech at Concord, Calif.:

Governor Brown, Mr. Falk, Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen, those who believe that the frontiers of America are closed should be out here today. The dreams and the deeds represented by this ceremony prove that the era of the pioneers is not over. Only the area of pioneering has changed.

Yesterday's frontiers were vast empty lands, waiting to be claimed and cultivated by settlers who crossed the continent to start a new life. Today's frontiers are teeming cities, where too many people already lead a neglected life. Yesterday's frontiers were crisscrossed by wagon trains. Today's frontiers are clogged by automobiles. There are more than 80 million motor vehicles on our roads today. By 1980 there will be 120 million, almost 1 vehicle for every 2 people. There are almost 1½ million registered vehicles in the bay area alone. If they were lined up bumper to bumper, they would stretch from California to Maine—although I wouldn't recommend a trip under such circumstances. So we must develop adequate alternative means of transportation, or the coming crisis of congestion may do more to frustrate the growth and development of America than all the burning deserts and the barren mountains which stood in the path of our ancestors a century ago.

You here in California are doing something about that crisis. This mass transit system is a victory, a victory for vision of men who started 12 long years ago to make it a reality. Now we need a major national effort to solve the problems of rapid transit, and this administration is determined to make that effort.

Our urban mass transportation act sponsored by this administration has already passed the Senate of the United States and it will soon come to a vote in the House. We are going to do our dead level best to see that it passes the House and becomes the law of the land. Both Republicans and Democrats are supporting that measure because transportation is a bipartisan problem. It is also national in scope. Seventy percent of our people live in metropolitan areas. Fifty-three of our country's biggest metropolitan areas either border or cross State lines. Their transit problems ignore local boundaries, but their taxing powers are limited and their resources are already strained. Congress has voted billions of dollars to build highways, to build airports, to dredge harbors, to dredge canals, to improve river navigation. In the last century Congress helped finance railroads and shipping lines, to open up new areas of the country, to open up new trade routes abroad. Now Congress and the Federal Government must help to solve the problems of transportation. These problems require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism between the Federal Government, the State governments and local communities. And that is what our bill will do. When this bill went before one of the committees of Congress last year, a distinguished Republican Congressman from Ohio said to Congressman PATMAN, from my State, who was testifying in favor of the bill, "Why are you from Texas interested in helping the people of New York solve their traffic problems?" And the Congressman from my State said, "Well, I am interested because this is the United States of America, and the people of my State are as involved with the people of New York and California as the people of New York and California must be with the people of Texas."

That is the kind of spirit that we need in this country, and that is the kind of spirit that I have found in California. The idea that we are 50 separate countries, that the Federal Government representing the destiny of 190 million people does not have a duty to meet the needs of those people—this idea is as out of date as the dinosaur.

The well-being of our people, the well-being of all of our people, is our first priority. I do not believe that the American people want to run a losing race with change. I believe that they want a happy partnership with their Government in order to turn the perils of the present into a promising future.

So we are going to work with the people of our States. We are going to work with the people of our communities to solve the problems of those communities and those States. This administration does not intend to permit America to stagnate. This administration is not going to stand still. With the help of you wonderful people who have come here today, with the help of all of the people of the great State of California, your country is going to move ahead, to give every American a fair chance to lead a useful and a happy and a prospereus life. That is the function of government and that is what government under this administration will do.

Thank you.

The Militarized State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEAL SMITH
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Des Moines Register of Wednesday, July 22, 1964, sets forth an analysis of proposals recently made that would directly affect our tax burden and its distribution in terms of goods and services rendered for the American people. It is self-explanatory and is as follows:

THE MILITARIZED STATE

The military proposals in the 1964 Republican platform would cost more than $50 billion, according to estimates made by experts in the Department of Defense for the Chicago Daily News. If this added cost were spread out over a two-term GOLDWATER administration, the national defense budget would rise at least $6 billion per year over the average of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and $16 billion per year above the Eisenhower administration average.

The Republican platform and GOLDWATER recommend the installation of a complete defense system against missiles. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have rejected such a system as unreliable and too expensive. It would cost at least $30 billion. The Republican platform also calls for more manned bombers, more research and development in the military uses of space and more nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. One version of an advanced bomber, recommended by GOLDWATER, would cost about $10 billion for 250 of the planes.

The platform also promises to reduce total Federal spending by $5 billion a year. In order to accomplish this and increase defense spending $6 billion per year, other Federal expenditures would have to be slashed. The News figures this would force a 50 percent cut in farm, highway, welfare, education, and foreign aid programs.

Many Goldwater supporters are attracted to him by his talk about reducing "big government," welfare programs and taxes.

However, the main factor in the rise of big Federal Government has been the rise in military spending, which GOLDWATER wants to increase. At present, the $97 billion Federal budget is more than half for national defense—$55 billion for the Military Establishment (including atomic energy) and $5 billion for defense-related space programs.

Since 1950, when the military buildup for the Korean war began, national defense spending has more than tripled, while non-

defense spending has slightly more than doubled. State and local spending has increased more, both absolutely and relatively, than Federal spending for civil purposes since 1950.

So if it is "big government" that is the evil to be fought, GOLDWATER and the Republican platform have aimed at the wrong target.

The Republican platform and GOLDWATER propose to increase expenditures on defense and space from $60 billion to $66 billion and to reduce the total Federal budget to $92 billion.

This would mean that about 72 percent of current Federal spending would go for essentially military purposes.

Since about $11 billion goes for interest on the national debt (mainly accumulated as a result of World War II), only $15 billion would be left for all other Federal Government functions, now costing about $26 billion a year.

Such a reduction in the civil functions of the Federal Government would have a crippling effect on Federal grants-in-aid programs (amounting to about $9 billion a year) and thus on State and local government. The Federal Government would be pouring more money into heavy industry, electronics industry, and aircraft manufacturing.

This would be a shift to the militarized state and away from the welfare state. It would still be "big government" but without the emphasis on the consumer and human well-being.

Of course, GOLDWATER could not carry through such a drastic program in practice. Few platform programs ever are.

Education Under a Handicap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, we often hear about juvenile delinquency and crime in Washington, D.C. But too little is said about how we in the Congress fail to provide more adequately for the needs of the residents of this, our Nation's Capital.

The following article from the Capitol Hills News should alert us to our responsibility in the area of education:

EDUCATION UNDER A HANDICAP AT LENOX ANNEX

(By Lorna McCarthy)

(Second on a series on Capitol Hill schools)

Capitol Hill has the doubtful distinction of including in its boundaries, besides more widely known edifices, the worst school building in the District of Columbia. Named, somewhat inappropriately, Lenox Annex—Lenox Elementary School is five blocks away—it stands at the corner of Fourth and M Streets SE., its shabbiness intensified by the proximity of the new Van Ness School at Fifth and M.

Some would consider that Lenox Annex is not part of Capitol Hill at all. There are no restored houses in the immediate area; the nearest are five long blocks from the annex. The view on the M Street side is of the Navy yard, on the other three sides of public housing and a vacant lot.

Many do not know that the building even exists. For 2 years the fire marshal thought that the shining new extension added in 1961 to Lenox School at Fifth and G Streets SE., was the Lenox Annex. No wonder he was confused. The building now known as Lenox Annex used to be the original Van Ness School, built in 1908 and closed in 1956 when the Van Ness was completed. Part of the building was at that time condemned and torn down. The new Van Ness was soon bursting at the seams and so the old building was given a coat of paint and reopened in 1958 to take the overflow. Its name was changed to Lenox Annex in 1961, when Mrs. Jennie T. Gross became principal of both Lenox and the annex. The boundary lines for attendance at the annex are still identical to those for Van Ness.

Lenox School, named after Walter P. Lenox, 13th Mayor of Washington, is 19 years older than the annex, but it has never been allowed to fall into such a state of disrepair. The new wing brought the total of classrooms up to 17, but there is still no auditorium.

The Department of Buildings and Grounds frankly admits that the annex is the worst school building in the District and would like to see it condemned. (This is unlikely, however, since it complies with all the codes.) In every room the plaster is cracked, the paint peeling. The worst room of all is the third-grade classroom where bare bricks show through holes in the plaster. Water seeps in through the cracks when it rains. In winter the children wear coats in the classroom because the heating system is inadequate.

The school operates with the barest minimum of rooms. It has eight classrooms, a principal's room, a teacher's room and a basement playroom, but no auditorium, library, lunchroom, office space, examination room (for the school doctor's checkups) or kindergarten facilities. The Annex qualifies for the derogatory label "substandard," not because of overcrowded classrooms, but because of its lack of extra rooms. This means, for example, that the basement playroom doubles as a lunchroom and that the doctor carries out his examinations in the principal's office. The only thing the school does not lack is toilet facilities; it has twice as many as it needs. But there is not a single wall mirror in the building, even in the teachers' washroom.

Mrs. Gross described the situation this way: "It is as if we were putting children into a place where there is absolutely no provision for them. People tell me that this schools is no older than some Northwest schools such as Mann and Stoddard, but those children live in a different world. They don't need attractive surroundings as badly as these children do."

The playground is large by Capitol Hill standards, but a dismal place all the same. Massive cracks crisscross the surface, grass and weeds sprouting from them. There are two pieces of play equipment: a basketball hoop and a set of simple chinning bars, one missing. There is simply no money for more. An alley running alongside the playground was infested with rats until recently. The day the rats were cleared out of the alley, three were seen in the school basement.

A fresh coat of paint inside and outside help, but would be pointless without first repairing the roof, flashing and plaster. The school was painted 7 years ago, which is not too bad compared with other District schools. Schools being painted this year were last painted 8, 9, or 10 years ago. In any case, the Department of Buildings and Grounds believes it is not worth spending money (perhaps as much as $100,000) to repair a substandard building, but would rather put it into a new one or add more classrooms to another school which already has most of the facilities needed at the annex.

A total of 14 new classrooms is needed in the area covered by Van Ness, Lenox, Lenox Annex, Tyler and Giddings elementary schools. But where to build them? It is highly unlikely that a new school will be built on the same site as Lenox Annex. Already virtually segregated—254 of the 256 students are Negro—a new annex, similarly situated cheek by jowl with public housing, would certainly stay that way. Expanding Van Ness is not being considered because it cannot grow upward and there is no land available to build on. The other alternatives are expanding Giddings or Lenox. To expand Giddings, the Department of Buildings and Grounds would need to acquire a neighboring block of land (over the dead bodies of a number of Capitol Hill residents). Another proposal is to add more classrooms to Lenox and make a huge "school complex" of Lenox and Giddings. The adjoining schools would be run independently under two principals but would probably share some facilities.

Understandably, Mrs. Gross would like to have both her schools under one roof—at Lenox. At present she goes to the annex three times a week, mainly to keep up the teachers' morale since all her office work is done at Lenox. Happily for the students, morale is high among the teachers in spite of their dreary working conditions. There are eight teachers at Lenox annex, four of them temporary, which is not necessarily a disadvantage, according to Mrs. Gross. Bright pictures, posters, and maps cover much of the peeling paint and gaping plaster in the classrooms.

"It's amazing, the difference that the spirit of just one person can make," says Mrs. Gross. "A year ago, there was none of this. Then one of the teachers started to hang up in her room—anything colorful she could lay her hands on. The others followed her lead." In the playroom-lunchroom an attractive mural, painted by a teacher, covers an entire wall. Mrs. Gross considers herself lucky to get the staff she has because "it's hard to attract good teachers to a school like this." Her own energy and enthusiasm belie her statement, however.

The students follow the Amidon plan with the track system common to most District schools. Since there is no honors track, students who qualify for it move on to other area schools. The majority of the students are in the regular track. In addition there are two "basic" classes for children who for various reasons cannot keep up with the regular track, and remedial reading classes. The average reading level at Lenox annex is below the District average. This is not surprising since most of the students are economically and culturally deprived and attend school with the minimum of family encouragement.

The largest class is the first grade with 34 students. Others have 28 to 30, except the basic classes which have only 18 students. Communicating with students in these basic classes in the teachers' hardest job.

Once or twice a month the students have art, music, and science lessons from the board of education specialist teachers. The visits of the physical education teacher are equally rare and therefore supplemented by the teachers at the annex.

One of the brightest spots is the weekly visit of a roving recreation leader from the District of Columbia Recreation Department, who takes out groups of 11-, 12-, and 13-year-olds for a walk or on a camping trip, to a skating rink, or a museum. The children desperately need more experiences of this kind. Mrs. Gross feels that the language arts program being tried out in the area known as the inner city would be of immeasurable benefit to children at Lenox Annex. This program encourages culturally deprived children to want to listen, talk, and read by opening to them experiences such as visits to the theater, the ballet, and the circus. Sometimes a teacher will simply bring with her to the classroom a surprise bag full of colorful, intriguing things to show and

talk about. But children at Lenox Annex are not considered to be so deprived as those downtown. Mrs. Gross begs to differ: "A few restored houses five blocks away do not make these children less deprived."

She believes that the school's greatest need, after the all-important one of new quarters, is for some kind of social worker to complement the work of the teachers. Many students at Lenox Annex have problems which go beyond the classroom. Teachers, even when they are aware of problems, do not have time to deal with them. In many cases some contact needs to be established with parents as well as children: this is where a trained social worker would come in.

"We do what we can, but it isn't enough," says Mrs. Gross. She will watch with interest a new pilot project slated to start at Tyler School, involving a social worker working in coordination with teachers and the school doctor and nurse. If successful, the project will be tried at other area schools where needed.

"These children need so much," says Mrs. Gross. "Besides what we teach them in school, they need to learn how to live."

Bracero Status Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, lest anyone believe that issues kept off the floor of the Congress lose their vitality, I thought the Members would be interested in gaining insight as to the current status of agricultural labor prospects for 1964 and 1965 as set forth in the current Council of California Growers Newsletter.

Whether you support the California growers or not, certainly I believe their fortitude and courage in attempting to solve an extremely serious domestic problem without governmental assistance is to be admired.

The letter follows:

THE PROPOSED BILL TO EXTEND THE BRACERO PROGRAM—A COUNCIL WHITE PAPER REPORT

Last week, a Congressman from California, Republican PAT MARTIN, announced to the press that he intends to introduce a 3-year phaseout of the bracero bill. This is the first such bill discussed openly. But it probably won't be the last. After all, it's a most natural thing for a Congressman such as Mr. MARTIN, who represents an agricultural area and who understands the serious problems of his constituents, to introduce such legislation.

The problem is, there's a big difference between introducing such a bill and getting it passed into law. Why? Well, for one reason, because the majority of Congressmen don't see the situation as do the Congressmen from agricultural areas.

Very much aware of this, the press—also remembering full well agriculture's February public statement—called the council for comment on Congressman MARTIN's proposal. The council—also fully cognizant of the political facts of life and in keeping with the February decision of a unified and fully committed California agriculture—reported that while there was no question as to the need for some type of supplementary labor to fill the forthcoming bracero gap, it is felt that the introduction of any foreign-labor bill by any Representative of an agricultural area, is ill-timed at this time.

As we've discussed in past newsletters, and as agriculture agreed in February and announced to the world in a statement before the State board of agriculture, here's why:

It's just not enough for this type of legislation to be introduced by a Congressman from an agricultural area. Not the way this Congress is made up. And certainly not in the middle of an election year. Particularly an election year in which a major campaign issue is—and will continue to be—unemployment and the war on poverty.

Not only is it not enough, it could be disasterous if such a bill were pushed in earnest by agriculture. For such a push could really provide a platform for the people who killed the last attempt at a 3-year phaseout extension; and only begrudgingly went along with the 1-year extension we did get. And in so doing, issued a final warning to agriculture to use this year to utilize the domestic labor that they know exists.

Well, that admonition to agriculture to utilize the domestics that a majority of Congress, the labor leaders, the State government, and others, know exists gave agriculture the real incentive to take the stand that was taken back there in February.

And, as you'll recall, that stand included a multipart program consisting of the following: (1) agriculture stated that because of the political factors involved, it would not seek nor support an extension of Public Law 78, the bracero program; (2) that it would conduct massive recruitment efforts here in California and elsewhere throughout the United States in a sincere attempt to fill what was anticipated to be a major farm labor gap come December 31 of this year; (3) urged the State government to conduct a series of massive studies to answer—once and for all—the questions involved. Questions like, are there enough domestic workers here in California and elsewhere? If there are, where are they and will they be willing, able, qualified, and available to do the work when and where it must be done? If so, at what wages?

In that stand, agriculture, in effect, said to government, to labor, and to everyone else involved who has said there are plenty of domestic workers, "OK, we'll try sincerely. But, you say the workers are available, you say you can supply them. Fine; we'll do our share. But you've got the ball. Now you run with it and score—or go to the showers."

Since taking that stand, agriculture has tried, is trying, and will continue to try. What's more, we've reported the results—and lack of results—to the State administration. And we will continue to do so. As a result, the administration is getting very concerned. Particularly as the results of the State-ordered studies—through the University of California and the department of employment are coming in. Results which even in preliminary form pretty well confirm what growers have reported all along; namely, (1) that there aren't enough qualified workers here in the State or outside the State to properly fill the jobs now filled by braceros; (2) there is no evidence whatever that even greatly increased wages would have any significant effect in providing the number of new workers needed; (3) that mechanization of the stoop-labor crops, while perhaps the ultimate solution, is not yet at the point where it will now do the work done by supplementary foreign workers—in fact, mechanization of many bracero-harvested crops is not presently considered feasible; (4) that the need for temporary labor at peak seasons for the next 5 years will be as great if not greater than is now the case; (5) that agriculture—its allied industries, their workforce, the economy of California and the consumers of this Nation are going to be in trouble all the way down the line if a reasonable, supplementary labor force is not available.

Good grief, you may ask, with this kind of evidence building * * * what are we waiting for? Why not really get in and push a bracero bill extension?

Well, there are a number of reasons. Some of which we've already outlined. And some we haven't. Like, for example, assuming that any kind of a foreign labor program could reasonably be expected to pass at this time, what kind of a program does agriculture really want? Is it Public Law 78 or something else? Is it a 3-year phaseout program? Or is it some other kind—like, perhaps, a program more reasonably geared to the best predictions as to when most stoop-labor crops can be reasonably mechanized. That is, mechanized without driving out the small farmer and mechanized to the extent that, what domestic workers there are, won't be deprived of jobs, but rather, will be able to find a more permanent type of employment in the—at least, so far—unmechanizable crops.

And there are other reasons. As we pointed out in the same United Press International report that referred to the proposed introduction of such a bill by Congressman MARTIN as ill timed, considering the emphasis recently on the country's unemployment and President Johnson's war on poverty.

For in that report we also said: "The time has come for the Government—and labor—those so opposed to supplementary foreign labor—to either admit that we do need some kind of supplemental labor or show us that they were right in saying that we don't. And so far, they have been totally unable to do either."

Once again, it's one thing for a bill to be introduced, but it's another thing for that bill to be passed into law.

So, taking all of the factors into consideration, such a move, at this time, is considered untimely and could, in fact, result in some most adverse effects. Effects which could hurt agriculture and its allied industries for years to come, were such a bill really pushed by agriculture at this stage of the game.

On the other hand, labor, Government, and a lot of others involved, others with a terrific stake in this whole situation, have been tossed the ball. In fact, it's been likened more to a bomb than a ball. A bomb which could well blow up in their faces if they're not careful.

But rather than dwell too much on this phase, let's simply say that the fuse is burning shorter, the heat is being felt. And if agriculture remains calm, cool, and collected, continues to stand by its important February commitment, as indeed it must, we may soon well see the formation of an all around recognition of the problems, and support, for the solution. And that, we would submit, is what it takes to get things done in this day and age. Particularly at this stage of the game. And, in an election year, at that.

Does History Repeat?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the following observation from the Eldorado Success, Eldorado, Tex., is interesting and while the last paragraph is speculation, I believe that students of American history will be interested in these facts:

[From the Eldorado (Tex.) Success, July 16, 1964]

DOES HISTORY REPEAT?

Lincoln and Kennedy:

1. Both Presidents were concerned with civil rights.

2. Lincoln was elected in 1860, Kennedy in 1960.

3. Both were slain on Friday and in the presence of their wives.

4. Their successors both named Johnson, were southerners, Democrats, and had served in the U.S. Army.

5. Andrew Johnson was born in 1808. Lyndon Johnson was born in 1908.

6. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of Lincoln, was born in 1839. Lee Harvey Oswald was born in 1939.

7. Both Booth and Oswald were southerners favoring unpopular causes.

8. Both slayers of Booth and Oswald (Boston Corboth and Jack Ruby) murdered the two assassins before their trials.

9. Both Presidents' wives lost children through death while in the White House.

10. Both Presidents were shot in the head.

11. Kennedy's secretary was named Lincoln. Lincoln's secretary was named Kennedy.

(Now, if you want to speculate further, it is recorded that Lincoln's Vice President served out his term and was not reelected.)

Dangerous Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, ordinarily I do not approve of people from one State advising the people of other States how to run their business. But that seems to have become the practice in these United States.

However, I was so impressed with an editorial written by my good friend, Fitz Hugh McCoy, in the Hattiesburg, Miss., American, which appeared in the July 21 edition, that I desire to place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for others to read. It is just good common horsesense.

The editorial follows:

DANGEROUS LEADERS

(By Fitz McCoy)

Several reasons are being offered for the race rioting in New York City.

It has even been broadly hinted in some press reports that the summer heat is to blame.

Now comes an official of the National Urban League with the claim that it was the nomination of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER by the Republicans which brought on the tension.

If it had happened in Mississippi, of course, the explanation would have been much simpler. In fact, we predict that Mississippi eventually will somehow be blamed for the Harlem savagery.

It is time for responsible voices in high places to tell certain civil rights leaders in clear terms that they themselves must share a large part of the blame. But the voices are silent on this score.

Certain civil rights leaders are appearing at rallies and on television and telling their already inflamed people that the New York police are murderers.

New York City police are the only force restraining the hatred and hysteria of Harlem from spilling out over the city in a nightmarish orgy of violence. And yet when they defend the city from this catastrophe, they are branded "murderers" by the very people who have helped to work the people of Harlem into such a riotous frenzy.

Let the civil rights leaders go on television and explain to the people what they would have the police do in the face of large-scale rioting and looting. Would they have the police stand aside and let it rage and spread? Are they demanding the right of the people of Harlem to riot without interference? If not, what would they have police do?

It is indeed unfortunate that the Harlem Negro boy was shot to death in the incident that actually triggered the rioting. But it should be clearly understood and accepted by all persons of all races that anyone advancing on a policeman with an open knife and refusing to stop is likely to be shot.

And it is also true that the people of Harlem have been taught defiance of the police to such an extent that it does not take a slaying to touch off rioting. The arrest of a prostitute or a dope peddler or a traffic violator can touch off the same deadly chain reaction in the irresponsibly cultivated atmosphere of defiance and lawlessness that characterizes Harlem.

If the civil rights leaders would destroy the effectiveness of police in coping as best they can with New York's explosive racial situation, what would they offer as a replacement?

Until they control their people instead of inflaming them, and until they can suggest more effective ways of breaking up riots in progress than the use of whatever police force is needed, then their continued malicious undercutting of police authority brands them as leaders who are dangerous not only to New York City but to this entire Nation.

The 1964 Republican Platform "For the People"

SPEECH
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to serve as chairman of the 1964 Republican platform committee. Under permission granted, I read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of the 1964 platform:

"SECTION 1. FOR A FREE PEOPLE

"Humanity is tormented once again by an age-old issue—is man to live in dignity and freedom under God or be enslaved—are men in government to serve, or are they to master, their fellow men?

"It befalls us now to resolve this issue anew—perhaps this time for centuries to come. Nor can we evade the issue here at home. Even in this constitutional Republic, for two centuries the beacon of liberty the world over, individual freedom retreats under the mounting assault of expanding centralized power. Fiscal and economic excesses, too long indulged, already have eroded and threatened the greatest experiment in self-government mankind has known.

"We Republicans claim no monopoly of love of freedom. But we challenge as unwise the course the Democrats have charted; we challenge as dangerous the steps they plan along the way; and we deplore as self-defeating and harmful many of the moves already taken.

"Dominant in their council are leaders whose words extol human liberty, but whose deeds have persistently delimited the scope of liberty and sapped its vitality. Year after year, in the name of benevolence, these leaders have sought the enlargement of Federal power. Year after year, in the guise of concern for others, they have lavishly expended the resources of their fellow citizens. And year after year, freedom, diversity, and individual, local, and State responsibility have given way to regimentation, conformity, and subservience to central power.

"We Republicans hold that a leadership so misguided weakens liberty in America and the world. We hold that the glittering enticements so invitingly proffered the people, at their own expense, will inevitably bring disillusionment and cruel disappointment in place of promised happiness.

"Such leaders are Federal extremists—impulsive in the use of national power, improvident in the management of public funds, thoughtless as to the long-term effects of their acts on individual freedom and creative, competitive enterprise. Men so recklessly disposed cannot be safely entrusted with authority over their fellow citizens.

"To Republicans, liberty is still today man's most precious possession. For every citizen, and for the generations to come, we Republicans vow that it shall be preserved.

"In substantiation of this belief the Republican Party submits this platform. To the American people it is our solemn bond.

"TO STAY FREE

"The shape of the future is our paramount concern. Much of today's moral decline and drift—much of the prevailing preoccupation with physical and material comforts of life—much of today's crass political appeals to the appetites of the citizenry—can be traced to a leadership grown demagogic and materialistic through indifference to national ideals founded in devoutly held religious faith. The Republican Party seeks not to renounce this heritage of faith and high purpose; rather, we are determined to reaffirm and reapply it. So doing, these will be our guides:

"1. Every person has the right to govern himself, to fix his own goals, and to make his own way with a minimum of governmental interference.

"2. It is for government to foster and maintain an environment of freedom encouraging every individual to develop to the fullest his God-given powers of mind, heart and body; and, beyond this, government should undertake only needful things, rightly of public concern, which the citizen cannot himself accomplish.

"We Republicans hold that these two priciples must regain their primacy in our Government's relations, not only with the American people, but also with nations and peoples everywhere in the world.

"3. Within our Republic the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or State governments will not or cannot adequately perform. Great power, whether governmental or private, political or economic, must be so checked, balanced, and restrained and, where necessary, so dispersed as to prevent it from becoming a threat to freedom any place in the land.

"4. It is a high mission of government to help assure equal opportunity for all, affording every citizen an equal chance at the starting line but never determining who is to win or lose. But government must also reflect the Nation's compassionate concern for those who are unable, through no fault of their own, to provide adequately for themselves.

"5. Government must be restrained in its demands upon and its use of the resources of the people, remembering that it is not the creator but the steward of the wealth it uses; that its goals must ever discipline its means; and that service to all the people, never to selfish or partisan ends, must be the abiding purpose of men entrusted with public power.

"DEEDS NOT WORDS

"The future we pledge, then, for freedom, by faithful adherence to these guides. Let the people compare these guides with those of the Democratic Party, then test, not the words of the two parties, but their performance during the past 4 years of Democratic control.

"Let the people ask:

"Is the Republic stronger today or wiser than when the present administration took office 4 years ago?

"Is its guardianship of freedom more respected at home and throughout the world?

"For these 4 years the leaders of the Democratic Party have been entrusted with the Nation's executive power and overwhelmingly in control of the Congress. The question must be asked: Have these leaders successfully advanced the purposes of this mightiest Nation mankind has known?

"Tragically, in each instance, the answer must be 'No.'

"Let the Democratic Party stand accused.

"SECTION 2. FAILURES OF FOREIGN POLICY

"This Democratic administration has been, from its beginning, not the master but the prisoner of major events. The will and dependability of its leadership, even for the defense of the free world, have come to be questioned in every area of the globe.

"DISREGARD OF ALLIES

"This administration has neglected to consult with America's allies on critical matters at critical times. This neglect has led to lack of confidence, lack of respect, and disintegrating alliances.

"It has permitted an erosion of NATO force and unity, alienating most of its member nations by negotiating with the common foe behind their backs. It has offered concessions to the Communists while according our allies little understanding, patience, or cooperation.

"This administration has created discord and distrust by failing to develop a nuclear policy for NATO.

"It has provoked crises of confidence with our oldest friends, including England and France, by bungling such major projects as Skybolt and NATO's nuclear needs.

"It has allowed other great alliances—SEATO and CENTO—also to deteriorate, by failing to provide the leadership required for their revitalization and by neglecting their cooperation in keeping the peace.

"WEAKNESS BEFORE COMMUNISM

"This administration has sought accommodations with communism without adequate safeguards and compensating gains for freedom. It has alienated proven allies by opening a 'hot line' first with a sworn enemy rather than with a proven friend, and in general pursued a risky path such as began at Munich a quarter century ago.

"It has misled the American people and forfeited a priceless opportunity to win concessions for freedom by mishandling sales of farm commodities to Communists. At first it disavowed any intent to subsidize prices or use credit; later it demanded such authority and forced the Democrats in Congress to acquiesce. At first it hinted at concessions for freedom in return for wheat sold to Russia; later it obtained no concessions at all. At first it pledged not to breach restraints on trade with Communist countries in other parts of the world; later it stimulated such trade itself, and thus it encouraged trade with Cuba by America's oldest friends.

"This administration has collaborated with Indonesian imperialism by helping it to acquire territory belonging to the Netherlands and control over the Papuan people.

"It has abetted further Communist takeover in Laos, weakly accepted Communist violations of the Geneva agreement, which the present administration perpetrated, and increased Soviet influence in southeast Asia.

"It has encouraged an increase of aggression in South Vietnam by appearing to set limits on America's willingness to act—and then, in the deepening struggle, it has sacrificed the lives of American and allied fightingmen by denial of modern equipment.

"This administration has permitted the shooting down of American pilots, the mistreatment of American citizens, and the destruction of American property to become hallmarks of Communist arrogance.

"It has stood by as wire barricade in Berlin became a wall of shame, defacing that great city, humiliating every American, and disgracing freemen everywhere.

"It has turned its back on the captive peoples of Eastern Europe, abandoning their cause in the United Nations and in the official utterances of our Government.

"This administration has forever blackened our Nation's honor at the Bay of Pigs, bungling the invasion plan and leaving brave men on Cuban beaches to be shot down. Later the forsaken survivors were ransomed, and communism was allowed to march deeper into Latin America.

"It has turned a deaf ear to pleas from throughout the Western Hemisphere for decisive American leadership to seal off subversion from the Soviet base just off our shore.

"It has increased the long-term troubles for America by retreating from its pledge to obtain on-the-spot proof of the withdrawal of Soviet offensive weapons from Cuba.

"It left vacant for many critical months the high posts of ambassador in Panama and with the Organization of American States, and thus it failed to anticipate and forestall the anti-American violence that burst forth in Panama.

"UNDERMINING THE UNITED NATIONS

"This administration has failed to provide forceful, effective leadership in the United Nations.

"It has weakened the power and influence of this world organization by failing to demand basic improvements in its procedures to guard against its becoming merely a forum of anti-Western insult and abuse.

"It has refused to insist upon enforcement of the United Nations rules governing financial support through such enforcement is supported by an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

"It has shouldered virtually the full costs of the United Nations occupation of the Congo, only to have the ousted leadership asked back when United Nations forces had withdrawn.

"FORSAKING AMERICA'S INTERESTS

"This administration has subsidized various forms of socialism throughout the world, to the jeopardy of individual freedom and private enterprise.

"It has proved itself inept and weak in international trade negotiations, allowing the loss of opportunities historically open to American enterprise and bargaining away markets indispensable to prosperity on American farms.

"FAILURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING

"LOSING A CRITICAL LEAD

"This administration has delayed research and development in advanced weapons systems and thus confronted the American people wtih a fearsome possibility that Soviet advances, in the decade of the 1970's, may surpass America's present lead. Its misuse of cost effectiveness has stifled the creativity of the Nation's military, scientific, and industrial communities.

"It has failed to originate a single new major strategic weapons system after inheriting from a Republican administration the most powerful military force of all time. It has concealed a lack of qualitative advance for the 1970's by speaking of a quantitative strength which by then will be obsolete. It has not demonstrated the foresight necessary to prepare a strategic strength which in future years will deter war.

"It has endangered security by downgrading efforts to prepare defenses against enemy ballistic missiles. It has retarded our own military development for near and outer space, while the enemy's development moves on.

"INVITATIONS TO DISASTER

"This administration has adopted policies which will lead to a potentially fatal parity of power with communism instead of continued military superiority for the United States.

"It has permitted disarmament negotiations to proceed without adequate consideration of military judgment—a procedure which tends to bring about, in effect, a unilateral curtailment of American arms rendered the more dangerous by the administration's discounting known Soviet advances in nuclear weaponry.

"It has failed to take minimum safeguards against possible consequences of the limited nuclear test ban treaty, including advanced underground tests where permissible and full readiness to test elsewhere should the need arise.

"DISTORTIONS AND BLACKOUTS

"This administration has adopted the policies of news management and unjustifiable secrecy, in the guise of guarding the Nation's security; it has shown a contempt of the right of the people to know the truth.

"This administration, while claiming major defense savings, has in fact raised defense spending by billions of dollars a year, and yet has shortchanged critical areas.

"UNDERMINING MORALE

"This administration has weakened the bonds of confidence and understanding between civilian leaders and the Nation's top military professionals. It has bypassed seasoned military judgment in vital national security policy decisions.

"It has permitted nonmilitary considerations, political as well as spurious economic arguments, to reverse professional judgment on major weapons and equipment such as the controversial TFX, the X–22, and the nuclear carrier.

"In sum, both in military and foreign affairs, the Democratic record all the world around is one of disappointment and reverses for freedom.

"And this record is no better at home.

"FAILURES AT HOME

"INABILITY TO CREATE JOBS

"This administration has failed to honor its pledges to assure good jobs, full prosperity, and a rapidly growing economy for all the American people:

"Failing to reduce unemployment to 4 percent, falling far short of its announced goal every single month of its tenure in office; and

"Despite glowing promises, allowing a disheartening increase in long-term and youth unemployment.

"This administration has failed to apply Republican-initiated retraining programs where most needed, particularly where they could afford new economic opportunities to Negro citizens. It has preferred, instead, divisive political proposals.

"It has demonstrated its inability to measure up to the challenge of automation which, wisely guided, will enrich the lives of all people. Administration approaches have been negative and unproductive, as for example the proposed penalties upon the use of overtime. Such penalties would serve only to spread existing unemployment and injure those who create jobs.

"It has failed to perform its responsibility under Republican amendments to the Manpower Training Act. It has neglected, for example, the basic requirement of developing a dictionary of labor skills which are locally, regionally, and nationally in short supply, even though many thousands of jobs are unfilled today for lack of qualified applicants.

"FAILING THE POOR

"This administration has refused to take practical free enterprise measures to help the poor. Under the last Republican administration, the percentage of poor in the country dropped encouragingly from 28 to 21 percent. By contrast, the present administration, despite a massive increase in the Federal bureaucracy, has managed a mere 2-percentage-point reduction.

"This administration has proposed a so-called war on poverty which characteristically overlaps, and often contradicts, the 42 existing Federal poverty programs. It would dangerously centralize Federal controls and bypass effective State, local and private programs.

"It has demonstrated little concern for the acute problems created for the poor by inflation. Consumer prices have increased in the past 3½ years by almost 5 percent, amounting in effect to a 5-percent national sales tax on the purchases of a family living on fixed income.

"Under housing and urban renewal programs, notably in the Nation's Capital, it has created new slums by forcing the poor from their homes to make room for luxury apartments, while neglecting the vital need for adequate relocation assistance.

"RETARDING ENTERPRISES

"This administration has violently thrust Federal power into the free market in such areas as steel prices, thus establishing precedents which in future years could critically wound free enterprise in the United States.

"It has so discouraged private enterprise that the annual increase in the number of businesses has plummeted from the Republican level of 70,000 a year to 47,000 a year.

"It has allowed the rate of business failures to rise higher under its leadership than in any period since depression days.

"It has aggravated the problems of small business by multiplying Federal recordkeeping requirements and has hurt thousands of small businessmen by forcing up their costs.

"This administration has curtailed, through such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board, the simple, basic right of Americans voluntarily to go into or to go out of business.

"It has failed to stimulate new housing and attract more private capital into the field. In the past 3 years it has fallen short by 1,500,000 units of meeting its pledge of 2 million new homes each year.

"It has sought to weaken the patent system which is so largely responsible for America's progress in technology, medicine and science.

"It has required private electric power companies to submit to unreasonable Federal controls as a condition to the utilization of rights-of-way over public lands. It has sought to advance, without congressional authorization, a vastly expensive nationwide electrical transmission grid.

"BETRAYAL OF THE FARMER

"This administration has refused, incredibly, to honor the clear mandate of American wheat farmers, in the largest farm referendum ever held, to free them of rigid Federal controls and to restore their birthright to make their own management decisions.

"It has strangled the Republican rural development program with redtape and neglected its most essential ingredient, local initiative.

"It has broken its major promises to farm people, dropping the parity ratio to its lowest level since 1939. It has dumped surplus stocks so as to lower farm income and increase the vicious cost-price squeeze on the farmer.

"It has evidenced hostility toward American livestock producers by proposals to establish mandatory marketing quotas on all livestock, to fine and imprison dairy farmers failing to maintain federally acceptable records, and to establish a subsidized grazing cropland conversion program. It has allowed imports of beef and other meat products to rise to an alltime high during a slump in cattle prices which was aggravated by Government grain sales.

"NEGLECT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

"This administration has delayed the expeditious handling of oil shale patent applications and the early development of a domestic oil shale industry.

"It has allowed the deterioration of the domestic mining and petroleum industries including displacement of domestic markets by foreign imports.

"It has failed to protect the American fishing industry and has retreated from policies providing equitable sharing of international fishing grounds.

"FISCAL IR RESPONSIBILITY

"This administration has misled the American people by such budget manipulations as crowding spending into the previous fiscal year, presenting a proposal to sell off $2.3 billion in Government assets as a cut in spending, and using bookkeeping devices to make expenditures seem smaller than they actually are.

"It has, despite pledges of economy, burdened this Nation with four unbalanced budgets in a row, creating deficits totaling $26 billion, with still more debt to come, reflecting a rate of sustained deficit spending unmatched in peacetime.

"It has failed to establish sensible priorities for Federal funds. In consequence, it has undertaken needlessly expensive crash programs, as for example accelerating a trip to the moon, to the neglect of other critical needs such as research into health and the increasingly serious problems of air and water pollution and urban crowding.

"This administration has continued to endanger retirement under social se-

curity for millions of citizens; it has attempted to overload the system with costly, unrelated programs which ignore the dangers of overly regressive taxation and the unfairness of forcing the poor to finance such programs for the rich.

"It has demanded the elimination of a substantial portion of personal income tax deductions for charitable and church contributions, for real property taxes paid by homeowners, and for interest payments. The elimination of these deductions would impose great hardship upon millions of our citizens and discourage the growth of some of the finest organizations in America.

"This administration has impeded investigations of suspected wrongdoing which might implicate public officials in the highest offices in the land. It has thus aroused justifiable resentment against those who use the high road of public service as the low road to illicitly acquired wealth.

"It has permitted the quality and morale of the postal system to deteriorate and drastically restricted its services. It has made the Post Office almost inaccessible to millions of working people, reduced the once admired parcel post system to a national laughing stock—and yet it is intimated that Americans may soon have to pay 8 cents for a first-class postage stamp.

"It has resisted personal income tax credits for education, always preferring the route leading to Federal control over our schools. Some leading Democrats have even campaigned politically in favor of such tax credits while voting against them in Congress.

"Contrary to the intent of the Manpower Training Act, it has sought to extend Department of Labor influence over vocational education.

"DISCORD AND DISCONTENT

"This administration has exploited interracial tensions by extravagant campaign promises, without fulfillment, playing on the just aspirations of the minority groups, encouraging disorderly and lawless elements, and ineffectually administering the laws.

"It has subjected career civil servants and part-time Federal employees, including employees of the Agriculture Department, to political pressures harmful to the integrity of the entire Federal service. It has weakened veterans preference in Federal jobs.

"It has made Federal intervention, even on the Presidential level, a standard operating practice in labor disputes, thus menacing the entire system of free collective bargaining.

"It has resorted to police-state tactics, using the great power of Federal departments and agencies, to compel compliance with administration desires, notably in the steel-price dispute. The Department of Justice, in particular, has been used improperly to achieve partisan political, economic, and legislative goals. This abuse of power should be the subject of a congressional investigation.

"WEAKENING RESPONSIBILITY

"This administration has moved, through such undertakings as its so-called war on poverty, accelerated public works and the new communities program in the 1964 housing proposal, to establish new Federal offices duplicating existing agencies, bypassing the State capitals, thrusting aside local government, and siphoning off to Washington the administration of private citizen and community affairs.

"It has undermined the federally assisted, State-operated medical and hospital assistance program, while using—and abusing—Federal authority to force a compulsory hospital program upon the people and the Congress.

"This enumeration is necessarily incomplete. It does not exhaust the catalog of misdeeds and failures of the present administration. And let the Nation realize that the full impact of these many ill-conceived and ill-fated activities of the Democratic administration is yet to come.

"SECTION 3. THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE

"We Republicans are not content to record Democratic misdeeds and failures. We now offer policies and programs new in conception and dynamic in operation. These we urge to recapture initiative for freedom at home and abroad and to rebuild our strength at home.

"Nor is this a new role. Republican Presidents from Abraham Lincoln to Dwight D. Eisenhower stand as witness that Republican leadership is steadfast in principle, clear in purpose, and committed to progress. The many achievements of the Eisenhower administration in strengthening peace abroad and the well-being of all at home have been unmatched in recent times. A new Republican administration will stand proudly on this record.

"We do not submit, in this platform, extravagant promises, to be cynically cast aside after election day. Rather, we offer examples of Republican initiatives in areas of overriding concern to the whole Nation—north, south, east, and west—which befit a truly national party. In the interest of brevity, we do not repeat the commitments of the 1960 Republican platform, building a better America, and the 1962 declaration of Republican principle and policy. We incorporate into this platform as pledges renewed those commitments which are relevant to the problems of 1964.

"These, then, will be our guides, and these our additional pledges, in meeting the Nation's needs.

"FAITH IN THE INDIVIDUAL

"1. We Republicans shall first rely on the individual's right and capacity to advance his own economic well-being, to control the fruits of his efforts and to plan his own and his family's future; and, where Government is rightly involved, we shall assist the individual in surmounting urgent problems beyond his own power and responsibility to control. For instance, we pledge:

"Enlargement of employment opportunities for urban and rural citizens, with emphasis on training programs to equip them with needed skills; improved job information and placement services; and research and extension services channeled toward helping rural people improve their opportunities.

"Tax credits and other methods of assistance to help senior citizens meet the costs of medical and hospital insurance.

"A strong, fiscally sound system of social security, with improved benefits to our people.

"Continued Federal support for a sound research program aimed at both the prevention and cure of diseases, and intensified efforts to secure prompt and effective application of the results of research. This will include emphasis on mental illness, drug addiction, alcoholism, cancer, heart disease, and other diseases of increasing incidence.

"Revision of the social security laws to allow higher earnings, without loss of benefits, by our elderly people.

"Full coverage of all medical and hospital costs for the needy elderly people, financed by general revenues through broader implementation of Federal-State plans, rather than the compulsory Democratic scheme covering only a small percentage of such costs for everyone regardless of need.

"Adoption and implementation of a fair and adequate program for providing necessary supplemental farm labor for producing and harvesting agricultural commodities.

"Tax credits for those burdened by the expenses of college education.

"Vocational rehabilitation, through cooperation between Government—Federal and State—and industry, for the mentally and physically handicapped, the chronically unemployed and the poverty stricken.

"Incentives for employers to hire teenagers, including broadening of temporary exemptions under the minimum wage law.

"Repeal of the administration's wheat certificate bread tax on consumers, so burdensome to low-income families and overwhelmingly rejected by farmers.

"Revision of present non-service-connected pension programs to provide increased benefits for low-income pensioners, with emphasis on rehabilitation, nursing homes and World War I veterans.

"Reevaluation of the Armed Forces' manpower procurement programs with the goal of replacing involuntary inductions as soon as possible by an efficient voluntary system, offering real career incentives.

"Enactment of legislation, despite Democratic opposition, to curb the flow through the mails of obscene materials, which has flourished into a multimillion dollar obscenity racket.

"Support of a constitutional amendment permitting those individuals and groups who choose to do so to exercise their religion freely in public places, provided religious exercises are not prepared or prescribed by the State or political subdivision thereof and no person's participation therein is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state.

"Full implementation and faithful execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and all other civil rights statutes, to assure equal rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen.

"Improvements of civil rights statutes adequate to changing needs of our times.

"Such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote.

"Immigration legislation seeking to reunite families and continuation of the fair share refugee program.

"Continued opposition to discrimination based on race, creed, national origin, or sex. We recognize that the elimination of any such discrimination is a matter of heart, conscience, and education, as well as of equal rights under law.

"In all such programs, where Federal initiative is properly involved to relieve or prevent misfortune or meet overpowering need, it will be the Republican way to move promptly and energetically, and whereever possible to provide assistance of a kind enabling the individual to gain or regain the capability to make his own way and to have a fair chance to achieve his own goals. In all matters relating to human rights it will be the Republican way fully to implement all applicable laws and never to lose sight of the intense need for advancing peaceful progress in human relations in our land. The party of Abraham Lincoln will proudly and faithfully live up to its heritage of equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

"In furtherance of our faith in the individual, we also pledge prudent, responsible management of the Government's fiscal affairs to protect the individual against the evils of spendthrift government—protecting most of all the needy and fixed-income families against the cruelest tax, inflation—and protecting every citizen against the high taxes forced by excessive spending, in order that each individual may keep more of his earnings for his own and his family's use. For instance, we pledge:

"A reduction of not less than $5 billion in the present level of Federal spending.

"An end to chronic deficit financing, proudly reaffirming our belief in a balanced budget.

"Further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored.

"Repayments on the public debt.

"Maintenance of an administrative, legislative, and regulatory climate encouraging job-building enterprise to help assure every individual a real chance for a good job.

"Wise, firm, and responsible conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs, backed by military forces kept modern, strong, and ready, thereby assuring every individual of a future promising peace.

"In all such matters it will be the Republican way so to conduct the affairs of government as to give the individual citizen the maximum assurance of a peaceful and prosperous future, freed of the discouragement and hardship produced by wasteful and ineffectual government.

"In furtherance of our faith in the individual, we also pledge the maximum restraint of Federal intrusions into matters more productively left to the individual. For instance, we pledge:

"To continue Republican sponsorship of practical Federal-State-local programs which will effectively treat the needs of the poor, while resisting direct Federal handouts that erode away individual self-reliance and self-respect and perpetuate dependency.

"To continue the advancement of education on all levels, through such programs as selective aid to higher education, strengthened State and local tax resources, including tax credits for college education, while resisting the Democratic efforts which endanger local control of schools.

"To help assure equal opportunity and a good education for all, while opposing federally sponsored inverse discrimination, whether by the shifting of jobs, or the abandonment of neighborhood schools, for reasons of race.

"To provide our farmers, who have contributed so much to the strength of our Nation, with the maximum opportunity to exercise their own management decisions on their own farms, while resisting all efforts to impose upon them further Federal controls.

"To establish realistic priorities for the concentration of Federal spending in the most productive and creative areas, such as education, job training, vocational rehabilitation, educational research, oceanography, and the wise development and use of natural resources in the water as well as on land, while resisting Democratic efforts to spend wastefully and indiscriminately.

"To open avenues of peaceful progress in solving racial controversies while discouraging lawlessness and violence.

"In all such matters, it will be the Republican way to assure the individual of maximum freedom as government meets its proper responsibilities, while resisting the Democratic obsession to impose from above, uniform and rigid schemes for meeting varied and complex human problems.

"FAITH IN THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM

"2. We Republicans shall vigorously protect the dynamo of economic growth—free, competitive enterprise—that has made America the envy of the world. For instance, we pledge:

"Removal of those wartime Federal excise taxes, favored by the Democratic administration, on pens, pencils, jewelry, cosmetics, luggage, handbags, wallets, and toiletries.

"Assistance to small business by simplifying Federal and State tax and regulatory requirements, fostering the availability of longer term credit at fair terms and equity capital for small firms, encouraging strong State programs to foster small business, establishing more effective measures to assure a sharing by small business in Federal procurement, and promoting wider export opportunities.

"An end to power-grabbing regulatory actions, such as the reach by the Federal Trade Commission for injunctive powers and the ceaseless pressing by the White House, the Food and Drug Administration, and Federal Trade Commission to dominate consumer decisions in the marketplace.

"Returning the consumer to the driver's seat as the chief regulator and chief beneficiary of a free economy, by resisting excessive concentration of power, whether public or private.

"A drastic reduction in burdensome Federal paperwork and overlapping regulations, which weigh heavily on small businessmen struggling to compete and to provide jobs.

"A determined drive, through tough, realistic negotiations, to remove the many discriminatory and restrictive trade practices of foreign nations.

"Greater emphasis on oversea sales of surplus farm commodities to friendly countries through long-term credits repayable in dollars under the Republican food-for-peace program.

"Dedication to freedom of expression for all news media, to the right of access by such media to public proceedings, and to the independence of radio, television, and other news-gathering media from excessive Government control.

"Improvement, and full and fair enforcement, of the antitrust statutes, coupled with long-overdue clarification of Federal policies and interpretations relating thereto in order to strengthen competition and protect the consumer and small business.

"Constant opposition to any form of unregulated monopoly, whether business or labor.

"Meaningful safeguards against irreparable injuries to any domestic industries by disruptive surges of imports, such as in the case of beef and other meat products, textiles, oil, glass, coal, lumber, and steel.

"Enactment of law, such as the Democratic administration vetoed in the 88th Congress, requiring that labels of imported items clearly disclose their foreign origin.

"Complete reorganization of the National Labor Relations Board to assure impartial protection of the rights of the public, employees, and employers, ending the defiance of Congress, by the present Board.

"The redevelopment of an atmosphere of confidence throughout the Government and across the Nation, in which vigorous competition can flourish.

"In all such matters it will be the Republican way to support, not harass—to encourage, not restrain—to build confidence, not threaten—to provide stability, not unrest—to speed genuine growth, not conjure up statistical fantasies and to assure that all actions of Government apply fairly to every element of the Nation's economy.

"In furtherance of our faith in the competitive system, we also pledge:

"A continual reexamination and reduction of Government competition with private business, consistent with the recommendations of the Second Hoover Commission.

"Elimination of excessive bureaucracy.

"Full protection of the integrity of the career governmental services, military and civilian, coupled with adequate pay scales.

"Maximum reliance upon subordinate levels of government and individual citizens to meet the Nation's needs, in place of establishing even more Federal agencies to burden the people.

"In all such matters relating to Federal administration it will be the Republican way to provide maximum service for each tax dollar expended, watchfully superintend the size and scope of Federal activities, and assure an administration always fair, efficient, and cooperatively disposed toward every element of our competitive system.

"FAITH IN LIMITED GOVERNMENT

"3. We Republicans shall insist that the Federal Government have effective but limited powers, that it be frugal and efficient, and that it fully meet its constitutional responsibilities to all the American people. For instance, we pledge:

"Restoration of collective bargaining responsibility to labor and management, minimizing third-party intervention and preventing any agency of Goverment from becoming an advocate for any private economic interest.

"Development of truly voluntary commodity programs for commercial agriculture, including payments in kind out of Government-owned surpluses, diversion of unneeded land to conservation uses, price supports free of political manipulation in order to stimulate and attain fair market prices, together with adequate credit facilities and continued support of farmer-owned and operated cooperatives including rural electric and telephone facilities, while resisting all efforts to make the farmer dependent, for his economic survival, upon either compensatory payments by the Federal Government or upon the whim of the Secretary of Agriculture.

"Full cooperation of all governmental levels and private enterprise in advancing the balanced use of the Nation's natural resources to provide for man's multiple needs.

"Continuing review of public-land laws and policies to assure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of the public lands, including the development of mineral resources.

"Comprehensive water-resource planning and development, including projects for our growing cities, expanded research in desalinization of water, and continued support of multipurpose reclamation projects.

"Support of sustained yield management of our forests and expanded research for control of forest insects, disease, and forest fires.

"Protection of traditional domestic fishing grounds and other actions, including tax incentives, to encourage modernization of fishing vessels, and improve processing and marketing practices.

"Continued tax support to encourage exploration and development of domestic sources of minerals and metals, with reasonable depletion allowances.

"Stabilization of present oil programs, private development of atomic power, increased coal research and expansion of coal exports.

"A replanning of the present space program to provide for a more orderly, yet aggressively pursued, step-by-step development, remaining alert to the danger of overdiversion of skilled personnel in critical shortage from other vital areas such as health, industry, education and science.

In furtherance of our faith in limited, frugal, and efficient government we also pledge:

"Credit against Federal taxes for specified State and local taxes paid, and a transfer to the States of excise and other Federal tax sources, to reinforce the fiscal strength of State and local governments so that they may better meet rising school costs and other pressing urban and suburban problems such as transportation, housing, water systems and juvenile delinquency.

"Emphasis upon channeling more private capital into sound urban development projects and private housing.

"Critical reexamination and major overhaul of all Federal grant-in-aid programs with a view to channeling such programs through the States, discontinuing those no longer required, and adjusting others in a determined effort to restore the unique balance and creative energy of the traditional American system of government.

"Revitalization of municipal and county governments throughout America by encouraging them, and private citizens as well, to develop new solutions of their major concerns through a streamlining and modernizing of State and local processes of government, and by a renewed consciousness of their ability to reach these solutions, not through Federal action, but through their own capabilities.

"Support of a constitutional amendment, as well as legislation, enabling States having bicameral legislatures to apportion one House on basis of their choosing, including factors other than population.

"Complete reform of the tax structure, to include simplification as well as lower rates to strengthen individual and business incentives.

"Effective budgetary reform, improved congressional appropriation procedures, and full implementation of the antideficiency statute.

"A wide-ranging reform of other congressional procedures, including the provision of adequate professional staff assistance for the minority membership on congressional committees, to insure that the power and prestige of Congress remain adequate to the needs of the times.

"High priority for the solution of the Nation's balance-of-payment difficulties to assure unquestioned confidence in the dollar, maintenance of the competitiveness of American products in domestic and foreign markets, expansion of exports, stimulation of foreign tourism in the United States, greater foreign sharing of mutual security burdens abroad, a drastic reorganization and redirection of the entire foreign aid effort, gradual reductions in oversea U.S. forces as manpower can be replaced by increased firepower; and strengthening of the international monetary system without sacrifice of our freedom of policymaking.

"In all such matters it will be the Republican way to achieve not feigned but genuine savings, allowing a reduction of the public debt and additional tax reductions while meeting the proper responsibilities of Government. We pledge an especially determined effort to help strengthen the ability of State and local governments to meet the broad range of needs facing the Nation's urban and suburban communities.

"SECTION 4. FREEDOM ABROAD

"The Republican commitment to individual freedom applies no less abroad.

"America must advance freedom throughout the world as a vital condition or orderly human progress, universal justice, and the security of the American people.

"The supreme challenge to this policy is an atheistic imperialism—communism.

"Our Nation's leadership must be judged by—indeed, American independence and even survival are dependent upon—the stand it takes toward communism.

"That stand must be: victory for freedom. There can be no peace, there can be no security, until this goal is won.

"As long as Communist leaders remain ideologically fixed upon ruling the world, there can be no lesser goal. This is the supreme test of America's foreign policy. It must not be defaulted. In the balance is human liberty every place on earth.

"REDUCING THE RISKS OF WAR

"A dynamic strategy aimed at victory—pressing always for initiatives for freedom, rejecting always appeasement and withdrawal—reduces the risk of nuclear war. It is a nation's vacillation, not firmness, that tempts an aggressor into war. It is accommodation, not opposition, that encourages a hostile nation to remain hostile and to remain aggressive.

"The road to peace is a road not of fawning amiability but of strength and respect. Republicans judge foreign policy by its success in advancing freedom and justice, not by its effect on international prestige polls.

"In making foreign policy, these will be our guidelines:

"TRUSTING OURSELVES AND OUR FRIENDS

"1. Secrecy in foreign policy must be at a minium, public understanding at a maximum. Our own citizens, rather than those of other nations, should be accorded primary trust.

"2. Consultation with our allies should take precedence over direct negotiations with Communist powers. The bypassing of our allies has contributed greatly to the shattering of free world unity and to the loss of free world continuity in opposing communism.

"COMMUNISM'S COURSE

"3. We reject the notion that communism has abandoned its goal of world domination, or that fat and well-fed Communists are less dangerous than lean and hungry ones. We also reject the notion that the United States should take sides in the Sino-Soviet rift.

"Republican foreign policy starts with the assumption that communism is the enemy of this Nation in every sense until it can prove that its enmity has been abandoned.

"4. We hold that trade with Communist countries should not be directed toward the enhancement of their power and influence but could only be justified if it would serve to diminish their power.

"5. We are opposed to the recognition of Red China. We oppose its admission into the United Nations. We steadfastly support free China.

"6. In negotiations with Communists, Republicans will probe tirelessly for reasonable, practicable, and trustworthy agreements. However, we will never abandon insistence on advantages for the free world.

"7. Republicans will continue to work for the realization of the open skies policy proposed in 1955 by President Eisenhower. Only open societies offer real hope of confidence among nations.

"COMMUNISM'S CAPTIVES

"8. Republicans reaffirm their longstanding commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America, including the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and its Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene peoples, Cuba, mainland China, and many others. We condemn the persecution of minorities, such as the Jews, within Communist borders.

"THE UNITED NATIONS

"9. Republicans support the United Nations. However, we will never rest in our efforts to revitalize its original purpose.

"We will press for a change in the method of voting in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies that will reflect population disparities among the member states and recognize differing abilities and willingness to meet the obligations of the charter. We will insist upon General Assembly acceptance of the International Court of Justice advisory opinion, upholding denial of the votes of member nations which refuse to meet properly levied assessments, so that the United Nations will more accurately reflect the power realities of the world. Further to assure the carrying out of these recommendations and to correct the above abuses, we urge the calling of an amending convention of the United Nations by the year 1967.

"Republicans will never surrender to any international group the responsibility of the United States for its sovereignty, its own security, and the leadership of the free world.

"NATO: THE GREAT SHEILD

"10. Republicans regard NATO as indispensable for the prevention of war and the protection of freedom. NATO's unity and vitality have alarmingly deteriorated under the present administration. It is a keystone of Republican foreign policy to revitalize the Alliance.

"To hasten its restoration, Republican leadership will move immediately to establish an international commission, comprised of individuals of high competence in NATO affairs, whether in or out of government, to explore and recommend effective new ways to strengthen alliance participation and fulfillment.

"FREEDOM'S FURTHER DEMANDS

"11. To our Nation's associates in SEATO and CENTO, Republicans pledge reciprocal dedication of purpose and revitalized interest. These great alliances, with NATO, must be returned to the forefront of foreign policy planning. A strengthened alliance system is equally necessary in the Western Hemisphere.

"This will remain our constant purpose: Republicans will labor tirelessly with free men everywhere and in every circumstance toward the defeat of communism and victory for freedom.

"THE GEOGRAPHY OF FREEDOM

"12. In diverse regions of the world, Republicans will make clear to any hostile nation that the United States will increase the costs and risks of aggression to make them outweigh hopes for gain. It was just such a communication and determination by the Eisenhower Republican administration that produced the 1953 Korean armistice. The same strategy can win victory for freedom and stop further aggression in southeast Asia.

"We will move decisively to assure victory in South Vietnam. While confining the conflict as closely as possible, America must move to end the fighting in a reasonable time and provide guarantees against further aggression. We must make it clear to the Communist world that, when conflict is forced with America, it will end only in victory for freedom.

"We will demand that the Berlin wall be taken down prior to the resumption of any negotiations with the Soviet Union on the status of forces in, or treaties affecting, Germany.

"We will reassure our German friends that the United States will not accept any plan for the future of Germany which lacks firm assurance of a free election on reunification.

"We will urge the immediate implementation of the Caracas declaration of solidarity against international Communist intervention endorsed in 1954 by the Organization of American States during the Eisenhower administration, which declaration, in accordance with the historic Monroe Doctrine, our Nation's official policy since 1823 opposes domination of any of our neighbor nations by any power outside this hemisphere.

"We will vigorously press our OAS partners to join the United States in restoring a free and independent government in Cuba, stopping the spread of Sino-Soviet subversion, forcing the withdrawal of the foreign military presence now in Latin America, and preventing future intrusions. We Republicans will recognize a Cuban Government-in-exile; we will support its efforts to regain the independence of its homeland; we will assist Cuban freedom fighters in carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Communist regime; we will work for an economic boycott by all nations of the free world in trade with Cuba; we will assist a free Cuba to achieve economic stability; and we will encourage free elections in Cuba after liberty and stability are restored.

"We will consider raising the economic participation of the Republic of Panama in the operation of the Panama Canal and assure the safety of Americans in the area. We will reaffirm this Nation's treaty rights and study the feasibility of a substitute, sea level canal at an appropriate location including the feasibility of nuclear excavation.

"Republicans will make clear to all Communists now supporting or planning to support guerrilla and subversive activities, that henceforth there will be no privileged sanctuaries to protect those who disrupt the peace of the world. We will make clear that blockade, interception of logistical support, and diplomatic and economic pressure are appropriate U.S. counters to deliberate breaches of the peace.

"We will make clear to all Communist leaders everywhere that aggressive actions, including those in the German air corridors, will be grounds for reevaluation of any and all trade or diplomatic relations currently to communism's advantage.

"We will take the cold war offensive on all fronts, including, for example, a reinvigorated USIA. It will broadcast not our weaknesses but our strengths. It will mount a psychological warfare attack on behalf of freedom and against Communist doctrine and imperialism.

"Republicans will recast foreign aid programs. We will see that all will serve the cause of freedom. We will see that none bolster and sustain anti-American regimes; we will increase the use of private capital on a partnership basis with foreign nationals, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect but we assert that property of American Nationals must not be expropriated by any foreign government without prompt and adequate compensation as contemplated by international law.

"Respecting the Middle East, and in addition to our reaffirmed pledges of 1960 concerning this area, we will so direct our economic and military assistance as to help maintain stability in this region and prevent an imbalance of arms.

"Finally, we will improve the efficiency and coordination of the foreign service, and provide adequate allowances for foreign service personnel.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM

"13. Freedom's wealth must never support freedom's decline, always its growth. America's tax revenues derived from free enterprise sources must never be employed in support of freedom's enemies. America must assist young and underdeveloped nations. In the process, however, we must not sacrifice the trust of old friends.

"Our assistance, also, must be conditional upon self-help and progress toward the development of free institutions. We favor the establishment in underdeveloped nations of an economic and political climate that will encourage the investment of local capital and attract the investment of foreign capital.

"FREEDOM'S SHIELD—AND SWORD

"Finally, Republicans pledge to keep the Nation's sword sharp, ready, and dependable.

"We will maintain a superior, not merely equal, military capability as long as the Communist drive for world domination continues. It will be a capability of balanced force, superior in all its arms, maintaining flexibility for effective performance in the rapidly changing science of war.

"Republicans will never unilaterally disarm America.

"We will demand that any arms reduction plan worthy of consideration guarantee reliable inspection. We will demand that any such plan assure this Nation of sufficient strength, step by step, to forestall and defend against possible violations.

"We will take every step necessary to carry forward the vital military research and development programs. We will pursue these programs as absolutely necessary to assure our Nation of superior strength in the 1970's.

"We will revitalize research and development programs needed to enable the Nation to develop advanced new weapons systems, strategic as well as tactical.

"We will include the fields of antisubmarine warfare, astronautics and aeronautics, special guerrilla forces, and such other defense systems required to keep America ready for any threat.

"We will fully implement such safeguards as our security requires under the limited nuclear test ban treaty. We will conduct advanced tests in permissible areas, maintain facilities to test elsewhere in case of violations, and develop to the fullest our ability to detect Communist transgressions. Additionally, we will regularly review the status of nuclear weaponry under the limited nuclear test ban to assure this Nation's protection. We shall also provide sensible, continuing reviews of the treaty itself.

"We will end second-best weapons policies. We will end the false economies which place price ahead of the performance upon which American lives may depend. Republicans will bring an end once again to the peak-and-valley defense planning, so costly in morale and strength as well as in dollars. We will prepare a practical civil defense program.

"We will restore the morale of our Armed Forces by upgrading military professionalism, and we will allow professional dissent while insuring that strong and sound civilian authority controls objective decisionmaking.

"We will return the Joint Chiefs of Staff to their lawful status as the President's principal military advisors. We will insure that an effective planning and operations staff is restored to the National Security Council.

"We will reconsecrate this Nation to human liberty, assuring the freedom of our people, and rallying mankind to a new crusade for freedom all around the world.

"We Republicans, with the help of Almighty God, will keep those who would bury America aware that this Nation has the strength and also the will to defend its every interest. Those interests, we shall make clear, include the preservation and expansion of freedom—and ultimately its victory—every place on earth.

"We do not offer the easy way. We offer dedication and perseverance, leading to victory. This is our platform. This is the Republican way."

Members of the committee were the following:

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Representative Melvin R. Laird, of Wisconsin, chairman; Representative Glenard P. Lipscomb, of California, assistant national security affairs; Representative Charles E. Goodell, of New York, assistant, domestic affairs.

Alabama: J. R. Bennet, Mrs. Joseph Simpson.

Alaska: Theodore Stevens, Mrs. Emily Savage.

Arizona: Representative John J. Rhodes, Mrs. Richard Timmons.

Arkansas: James Grimes, Mrs. W. L. Jameson.

California: M. Philip Davis, Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest Stevens.

Colorado: Senator Peter H. Dominick, Mrs. Ione McMurtry.

Connecticut: Representative Abner W. Sibal, Mrs. Anna-Mae Switaski.

Delaware: William V. Roth, Jr., Mrs. G. Herbert Calhoun.

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Georgia: Roscoe Pickett, Mrs. W. C. Calhoun.

Hawaii: E. E. Black, Mrs. Joan Osborne.

Idaho: George Knowles, Mrs. Irma Scott.

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Maryland: Edward T. Miller, Mrs. K. Black Massenburg.

Massachusetts: Representative Silvio O. Conte, Mrs. Janet K. Starr.

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Minnesota: Representative Clark MacGregor, Mrs. Russell T. Lund.

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Missouri: Representative Thomas B. Curtis, Mrs. James A. Reed.

Montana: Representative James F. Battin, Mrs. Harry Roe.

Nebraska: Robert B. Crosby.

Nevada: William B. Wright, Mrs. Geraldine Stocker.

New Hampshire: Dr. J. Duane Squires.

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New Mexico: John Donnell, Mrs. R. P. Waggoner.

New York: Joseph F. Carlino, Mrs. Wilma C. Rogalin.

North Carolina: John A. Wilkinson, Mrs. Louis G. Rogers.

North Dakota: Dr. B. J. Clayburgh.

Ohio: Representative William M. McCulloch, Representative Frances P. Bolton.

Oklahoma: David A. Bartlett, Mrs. Dorothy Stanislaus.

Oregon: John Dellenback, Miss Shirley Field.

Pennsylvania: Senator Hugh Scott, Mrs. June Honaman.

Puerto Rico: Luis A. Ferre.

Rhode Island: Bayard Ewing, Mrs. D. Eldredge Jackson, Jr.

South Carolina: W. W. Wannamaker, Jr., Mrs. Norman C. Armitage.

South Dakota: William Gibson, Mrs. Bert Phillips.

Tennessee: Harry C. Carbaugh, Mrs. Garrison Elder.

Texas: Senator John Tower, Mrs. Tobin Armstrong.

Utah: Orval Hafen, Mrs. Oma Wilcox.

Vermont: George W. F. Cook, Mrs. Clifford B. Harwood.

Virginia: Jack L. Middleton, Mrs. Virginia Lee Whitford.

Virgin Islands: Jose Shaubah.

Washington: Jack England, Mrs. Fred Niemi.

West Virginia: Representative Arch A. Moore, Jr.

Wisconsin: Representative Melvin R. Laird, Mrs. T. W. Norris.

Wyoming: Richard R. Jones, Mrs. Asa Jarrett.

William B. Prendergast, executive director.

William J. Baroody, Jr., assistant executive director.

Miss Catherine D. Scott, secretary.

Mrs. Barbara B. Kendall, assistant secretary.

Equal Opportunity—For Men, Too—In the Nurse Corps and Medical Specialist Corps

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SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us who have worked long and hard over the years to secure and maintain equal employment opportunities for women are sensitive to unequal opportunities in employment wherever and however they exist. So it is with regret that I learn that the press of other legislation will prevent the Armed Services Committee this year from considering H.R. 1034, sponsored by Congresswoman FRANCES P. BOLTON of Ohio, to permit the Army and the Air Force to commission men for service in the Nurse Corps and the Medical Specialist Corps. Mrs. BOLTON is the author of much of our legislation to upgrade the careers and increase the supply of our country's nurses.

Truly, in the nursing field, perhaps more than in any other profession, women are a "little more equal" than men. Men comprise just about 2 percent of the Nation's professional nurses, and many men among that small percentage are holding administrative rather than nursing assignments. Nursing has been considered a "woman's"

profession for so long that it has always been difficult to attract men into the field. Yet many men have made excellent nurses and medical specialists, particularly in the armed forces, and many more could be—both in the services and in the private health field. I have received a strong endorsement of Mrs. BOLTON's bill from Sister Wilma Marie of the St. Louis University School of Medicine in her capacity as president of the Eastern Missouri Chapter of the American Physical Therapy Association. This organization believes passage of H.R. 1034 would be most helpful in increasing the number of male physical therapists by opening up important new career opportunities in the commissioned ranks of the armed services for men interested in this field.

In 1954 legislation sponsored by Mrs. BOLTON enabled men to receive reserve commissions in the Army Nurse Corps and the Army Medical Specialist Corps. But men still cannot be regular officers in those corps. The Air Force has statutory authority to appoint men as regular officers in those fields, but since the law uses such designations as "she" and "her," the Air Force would like the United States Code to spell out in clear language that men are as "equal" as women for consideration for such appointments. H.R. 1034 would amend this law to refer to "persons" rather than to "women" and to eliminate the word "she" in reference to officers in these categories.

Women have a special stake in supporting Mrs. BOLTON's bill. Here we can show by example that we really do believe in equality of opportunity for all who, by training and experience, qualify for the job.

Religious Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Evangelicals has called my attention to an editorial in the publication Christianity Today dealing with a problem in the Armed Forces Sunday schools. I submit the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues may have an opportunity to become aware of the problem of the controversy which exists:

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE ARMED FORCES SUNDAY SCHOOLS

For some years a situation has existed in the Protestant Sunday schools in the Armed Forces that gives cause for concern regarding violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution. Affected is the religious freedom of hundreds of Protestant chaplains and about 150,000 pupils in military Sunday schools. At issue is the official promotion of the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum for Armed Forces (UPSSC) and, in the case of the Air Force, the mandatory use of this curriculum in all Sunday schools on Air Force bases. Also in question is the use of Unified Course materials. While these materials are not technically required in the Armed Forces, they are so firmly backed by senior officers of the respective chaplaincies as to tip the scales heavily in favor of their use by chaplains. In the Air Force, only by special permission may substitute materials be used.

We recognize with gratitude the indispensable contributions of chaplains, their supporting denominations, and lay Christians to the men and women and families in the Armed Forces. Basic to the spiritual welfare and morale of service personnel is their relation to chaplains and to Christian commanders. We are also aware of the peculiarly difficult administrative problems of the service Sunday schools.

Nevertheless the Supreme Court said in deciding in *Engel* v. *Vitale* (the Regents' prayer case) and *Abington School District* v. *Schempp* (the Bible reading and Lord's prayer case) that for government to prescribe religious and devotional materials is unconstitutional. But in the Armed Forces this very thing is being done extensively and against continued protest.

Since 1962 the National Association of Evangelicals has, in a series of communications, called the situation to the attention of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense. Members of Congress have also protested. Nevertheless, a directive to command chaplains in the Air Force, dated December 16, 1963, declared: "This curriculum (UPSSC) is not only suggested; it is the Air Force program, and command chaplains are expected to give it their leadership and support." Of the materials, the directive said, "The unified course materials are selected annually by qualified civilian and military personnel. Because these materials represent the best available and come from many denominational sources, they are recommended for use in the Air Force unified religionus education program." Then, after instructions about procurement of supplementary materials, there is this statement: "The authority to supplement does not authorize elimination of the recommended materials. (Does not this imply prescription of materials?) If, however, the chaplains of a major faith group, on any given installation, find that the recommended course materials are inadequate to meet the needs of the religious education program * * * a letter may be submitted through channels to this office stating their reasons for regarding the materials to be inadequate and giving a description and the source of recommended substitute materials. If it is determined that a valid requirement for change exists and if the recommended course materials cover the subjects as outlined in the curriculum, favorable consideration will be given to the recommendation."

Surely it is clear that this is a case in which a religious curriculum is prescribed and religious materials promoted by high military authority and in which the substitution of alternate materials is hedged about by official military procedure. Particularly disturbing is the refusal of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense to alter the situation. In October 1963, the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense, said in a letter to Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, "With the pending charge in Air Force regulations, there is no regulation which requires a military installation to use the unified Sunday school curriculum materials." But with regard to the curriculum itself, the directive of December 16 of the same year, declaring the UPSSC to be "the Air Force program," still stands. And as for the UPSSC materials, how can their official promotion by the directive be constitutionally justified?

At the Air Force Chaplains Conference in Washington in September 1961, endorsing agents and denominational representatives of all the major denominations unanimously requested that mandatory provisions for the use of the unified curriculum be removed. At that time the Chief of Air Force Chaplains promised that the mandatory provisions would be removed. Almost 3 years have passed. The situation has not been rectified, despite protest from the National Association of Evangelicals, Members of Congress, members of the Officers' Christian Union, and others.

The problems of Sunday schools conducted under the military chaplaincies are not simple. Frequent shift of personnel from one post to another makes some uniform plan of study or curriculum highly desirable. Children should not have to study a lesson on Moses again when they move to a different Sunday school. But desirability cannot justify violation of religious freedom. As Mr. Justice Clark said in the majority opinion in *Abington* v. *Schempp*, "it is no defense to urge that the religious practices here may be relatively minor encroachments on the first amendment. The breach of neutrality that is today a trickling stream may all too soon become a raging torrent."

Obviously, some correlation of religious instruction in Armed Forces Sunday schools is needed. An orderly Bible-study program, such as the International Sunday School Lessons, might be offered, but with unhampered liberty of substitution. The initiative should come from the religious groups and not through any official Armed Forces action.

As for course materials, religious groups might be invited to provide such materials with an understanding that they measure up to mutually agreed upon criteria. The use of specific materials should be wholly voluntary, and the supplementing or substituting of materials should not require official permission. The Armed Forces Chaplains Board should do nothing more than make available information about materials.

Granting the best motives administratively and religiously on the part of the Armed Foroces Chaplains Board in their endeavor to solve a real problem, the fact remains that the mandatory prescription of the UPSSC and official backing of its materials by the Air Force together with the official promotion of this curriculum and its materials by the other services violates the first amendment. Rectification of this situation, which we respectfully call to the attention of the Department of Defense, is overdue.

Communists Promote Mob Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker—

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.

From Abraham Lincoln's speech at Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Ill., January 27, 1837.

I have received many letters from anxious parents demanding protection for their children who are engaged in civil rights activities in Mississippi. I am therefore constrained to make reference to these activities. I do not wish to impugn the patriotism, dedication, or sincerity of many of those engaged in this

activity, but I do believe that they are doing the sinister work of forces alien to America. They are simply an unidentified piece of a giant jigsaw puzzle being put together by these alien forces. You can rest assured that the master planners know exactly what they are doing and where these pieces will fit into the schematic picture.

The international Communist conspiracy has for many years boasted that the racial question would form the core and center of an American revolution which would result in the domination of this country by the Communists. They rely upon ignorance and emotionalism as the motivating force. The National Negro Congress was founded in 1936 by Ralph Bunche—now Under Secretary of the United Nations—and others, as a Communist front for Negroes. It has been cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark—now Associate Justice of the Supreme Court—and Attorney General Francis Biddle. Dr. Bunche received glowing praise from the Communist Party for this accomplishment.

The invasion of Mississippi, by expeditionary forces from other States, was carefully planned by the Communist conspiracy, for the express purpose of creating civil disturbance beyond the ability of a single State to provide protection, which would result in a demand by the Communist leaders in America that the Federal Government occupy the State of Mississippi, establish martial law, which would suspend habeas corpus, trial by civilian courts, and in fact suspend the entire Bill of Rights. If this is accomplished in Mississippi, it will expand into other States with destructive effect upon freedom and liberty. The cunning Communists have been able to entice fine Americans to do their work, but the guiding hand is still the Communist conspiracy.

A great deal has been said about extremists, and there is no doubt but that the Ku Klux Klan is an extremist organization which had nearly vanished from the scene until they were motivated and reconstituted under the pressure brought on by other extremist organizations, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Black Muslims.

The race riots in New York, Philadelphia, and other northern cities, are other parts of the jigsaw puzzle, and, if law and order is not restored, we will be governed by mob rule. The brutal attacks against the law enforcement officers, the constant charge of police brutality, are still other parts of the jigsaw puzzle. The same can be said for the riots and acts of vandalism which were committed over the weekend of the Fourth of July in Yellowstone, in Yosemite, in Newport, R.I., Indian Lake, Ohio, and Garnett, Kans., by students whose disregard for law and order has reached a new pitch.

The bloody riots in Rochester, N.Y., which included murder, destruction of property, and looting of stores, were a flagrant defiance of law, which necessitated the imposition of a strict curfew on all of the people of Rochester.

It is interesting to note that the leader of the proposed march on police headquarters in New York is a well-known Communist by the name of William Epton, who was arrested last week for defying the orders of the police commissioner, but he will probably be released and exonerated by the Supreme Court.

Now let us return to Mississippi. Working with the invaders there, is Frank S. Pestana—and his wife, Jean—as counsel for the demonstrators in Drew, Miss. These two were among the students who went to Cuba in 1962 in violation of orders from the State Department. Pestana was an instructor of the Peoples' Educational Center, a Communist school so designated by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951. He has been identified with the Communist Party of Alameda County, Calif. In 1952, Pestana took the fifth amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee on questions regarding his Communist affiliations. The California Un-American Activities Committee, in 1961, said that Pestana was active in virtually all Communist fronts and, in 1963, he was actively engaged in raising funds for the Communist-controlled Constitutional Liberties Institutional Center. There is much more in his record.

Maynard Omerber, who has a long record listed in the reports of the California Un-American Activities Committee, is in Drew, Miss., working with Pestana. George Crockett was sent into Mississippi by the National Lawyers Guild. He is a Negro lawyer from Detroit who represented the chairman of the Michigan Communist Party in the New York City Smith Act trial. Judge Medina placed him in contempt at the conclusion of the trial of these Communist leaders, because of his conduct during the course of the trial. He set up headquarters in Mississippi with Benjamin Smith, who is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of Fidel Castro.

Martin Popper, identified as a longtime Communist legal eagle, is counsel for the family of one of the three missing civil rights workers, and he appeared at the White House last month together with the parents of two of the three missing workers. Bob and Lisa Mandel are among the civil rights workers in Mississippi. Bob is the son of William Mandel who was prominent in the San Francisco riots and is a leading Communist commentator in that area. Steve Miller is the son of Hugh B. Miller and Helen Miller, both identified Communists in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Steve was arrested in Gulfport, Miss.

On June 9, five members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee from Greenwood, Miss., were arrested in Columbus, Miss., on traffic charges. In their automobile many copies of the Crusader were found, which they were distributing. This publication is printed in Havana, and published by Robert F. Williams, who was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee before he fled this country. He broadcasts from Havana a program called Radio Free Dixie and urges violence and the use of lye bombs. One short quote from his broadcast:

> The fate of the whole racist nation hinges on the pace set in Mississippi. The word is: "Go for broke." Polish Bladie Mae, wheel out the old lye can or the old shooting irons, stock ammunition, and organize to give "Mr. Charlie" one whale of a tail beating.

The word "nonviolent" is a false shibboleth, even as the many "peace" fronts are also false. I can be completely nonviolent with only "do good" intentions, and create uncontrollable violence. For example, I could put on a red vest and walk into the bull ring for the purpose of petting the bulls or pulling out the banderillas which had been driven into the bulls by the picadors. I would be attacked by the bulls and destroyed and all of my screams for help would be useless, yet I was nonviolent and intent only on doing good.

Conservation Bill Author Is Still Top Farmer at 80

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we have seen the marvelous work done by the Soil Conservation Service in this great Nation of ours.

There recently appeared in the Herald-Register, an outstanding newspaper of Trenton, Tenn., in the April 23 edition, an article relative to an outstanding citizen of our congressional district, Mr. Walter E. Hunt.

Since Mr. Hunt was a pioneer in soil conservation, I felt that this article should be brought to the attention of the membership. The article follows:

CONSERVATION BILL AUTHOR IS STILL TOP FARMER AT 80

(By Bob Parkins, in the Commercial Appeal)

A west Tennessee farmer who introduced the bill in the State legislature in 1939 to launch the Soil Conservation Service in Tennessee is still active despite his 80 years.

He is Walter Everett Hunt, of Fruitland.

He has continued to distinguish himself since those days as a State representative in 1939–40, when he served under Gov. Prentice Cooper.

Mr. Hunt has always been a stanch supporter of soil conserving methods, but until passage of the bill establishing districts throughout the State there were no appropriations.

He recalled how friends "teased me about making all those trips to Nashville without a cent of pay."

Mr. Hunt has served as soil conservation supervisor since 1940 and as chairman of the board many years. "Mr. Hunt remains to be an invaluable asset to the organizations," Joe Boswell of the Gibson County SCS, said.

But to many, Mr. Hunt is best known as the only private corn breeder in Tennessee. He cooperated with the University of Tennessee in past years, and has been producing hybrid seed corn since 1938.

"I remember that year it took all summer to work it and try to give it away," he said.

He produced only 45 bushels that year, but presently about 3,000 bushels per year are produced, certified, and sold to corn growers.

He operates a 520-acre farm with his son, Wayne Hunt, and his son-in-law, Douglas Nix. They raise cotton, cattle, and feeds, in addition to the corn operation.

"Wayne does the corn breeding now and Douglas handles the packing and shipping of the seed corn," Mr. Hunt said.

Wayne has also developed a new variety that required 7 years of breeding work, including the planting of seed in Florida during winter to produce two generations in 1 year. "The new variety is very popular and produces earlier with higher yields," Mr. Hunt said.

"And we grew the first single cross (mating male and female for the first generation) ever produced in Tennessee," Wayne said. Six rows of female seed are planted to every two rows of male, Mr. Hunt explained. "There's a corn silk for each grain of corn which facilitates complete pollination from the tassel."

Only female corn is saved for seed. The male ears are fed to livestock.

Mr. Hunt bought the old Fruitland school building to sort, clean, shell, grade, treat, and bag the certified seed. "And it's about a seven-man operation," he said.

Mr. Hunt has also served as a magistrate 48 years and chairman of the county farm and screening committee 20 years. He has been a deacon in the Fruitland Baptist Church since 1908, and continues to serve as Sunday school superintendent. He operated a cotton gin in Fruitland 20 years and handled farm produce 16 years.

Mr. Hunt's success as a farmer is reflected in the fact that all eight of his children went to college. Six were graduated and two daughters married before finishing. Two sons, Warren Hunt at Trenton, and Joe Hunt at Alamo, are veterinarians.

Other children are Walter Hunt, vocational agriculture teacher at Trenton; Mrs. C. O. Hardison, Trenton teacher; Mrs. G. E. Dooley, postmaster at Fruitland; Miss Mary Hunt, home agent in Virginia; and Mrs. Nix, a substitute teacher.

Wayne Hunt, a University of Tennessee graduate in agriculture, has served five terms in the legislature.

H.R. 12040: A Reasonable and Necessary First Step in Any Meaningful War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, for the last several months we have heard and read much about the administration's self-proclaimed war on poverty. The legislative blueprint of this alleged war is contained in H.R. 11377, the so-called Landrum-Powell poverty package, recently reported to the House by the Committee on Education and Labor.

I do not at this time wish to detain the House with an enumeration and description of the shortcomings and deficiencies of the administration's proposal. Those shortcomings and deficiencies have already been set forth—fully and effectively—in the minority report which has been filed in opposition to H.R. 11377.

I do at this time, however, wish to make the following observation: the numerous programs and undertakings authorized by H.R. 11377 are both dangerous and ill conceived—dangerous because a number of these programs will overlap, compete with, and impede the effective administration of some 42 existing Federal programs (carrying an annual appropriation of $31.8 billion) which are already at work combating poverty in the United States; ill conceived because a number of these proposals have been put forward literally out of thin air and are based neither upon reliable supporting data nor upon any purposeful preplanning or preparation. There is no reasonable basis upon which the need for, nor the success of, any of these programs can be measured or predicted.

Mr. Speaker, it may very well be that additional programs to combat poverty are needed or that some existing programs do require modification. But no action in this direction should be taken by Congress until this body has at hand the information necessary to make an informed and valid decision.

Unfortunately, the information basic to such a decision simply is not available in usable form at this time.

Repeatedly, during the course of the hearings on the poverty bill, this startling lack of information was forcibly brought home. What, specifically, is known about the present status of high school dropouts? What, specifically, is known about the present status of draft rejectees? Is the Manpower Training and Development Act being used to its full extent to assist these groups? Are our vocational education programs being pursued to capacity? The answers to these and numerous other questions simply are not known. The pressing need of the moment is not for scattergun, hit-or-miss legislation. The need of the moment is for detailed, factual, and reliable data.

Mr. Speaker, as a means of obtaining this desperately needed information, and as an effective first step in any meaningful war on poverty, I recently introduced H.R. 12040, a bill to establish a National Human Resources Development Commission. This bill would establish a national commission to evaluate present poverty programs, to inquire into the causes of poverty, and to recommend such specific actions at the local, State, and Federal levels as may be necessary to control and overcome both the causes and effects of poverty.

The procedure outlined in this bill represents sound and prudent action. It reestablishes Congress in a position of legislative leadership from which this body can proceed to the adoption of such antipoverty measures as reliable evidence will support, and, equally as important, proceed to the rejection of those proposals which cannot withstand factual analysis and scrutiny.

Mr. Speaker, I commend H.R. 12040 to the Members of the House for their serious consideration:

H.R. 12040: A BILL TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Human Resources Development Act of 1964".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS OF PURPOSE

SECTION 1. Through the economic system of free enterprise, nurtured under a free society in which the powers of government are limited and decentralized so as to encourage maximum participation and responsibility on the part of individual citizens, the economic and social well-being of the United States have progressed to a level unequaled in world history. The opportunities for personal advancement and the benefits of widespread prosperity, althorugh far exceeding that available to the citizens of any other nation, are unavailable to some citizens of the United States because of their lack of education, lack of training in marketable skills, location in areas afflicted by long-term economic dislocation, or condition of dependency due to social conditions over which they have little control.

It has always been the policy of the United States, implemented by numerous Acts of the Congress and of State and local governments, to foster a society in which every person who is willing to work has the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. In order to more fully effectuate that policy, the Congress finds it necessary:

(1) To review the scope, cost, and effectiveness of all existing programs presently maintained or assisted by the Federal Government to combat the causes and effects of poverty in the United States;

(2) To examine into and analyze the underlying causes of poverty in the United States, including but not limited to the factors of mental and physical capability, industrial dislocation, geographical immobility, lack of proper education and training, and unemployment;

(3) To define those areas of unmet community and individual needs to which new programs need be directed or established programs redirected to more effectively deal with the causes and effects of poverty in the United States;

(4) To assess the most effective means of meeting the problems of poverty in a manner designed to accomplish the maximum degree of self-sufficiency and the minimum degree of dependency among our citizens; and

(5) To recommend specific administrative and legislative action which should be taken by the Federal, State, and/or local governments in meeting their responsibilities to effectively overcome the causes and effects of poverty in the United States.

SEC. 2. In order to carry out the objectives of this Act there is hereby established the National Human Resources Development Commission, hereinafter referred to as the "Commission".

SEC. 3. The Commission shall be composed of eighteen members, twelve of whom shall be public members, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The remaining six members shall be appointed as follows: Three, who shall be Members of the Senate, not more than two of whom shall be members of the same political party, shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate; three, who shall be Members of the House of Representatives, not more than two of whom shall be members of the same political party, shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House. The public members of the Commission shall be drawn from representative segments of the Nation such as indus-

try, labor, education, manpower development and utilization, and related fields. One of such public members shall be designated by the President as Chairman of the Commission. Ten members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum. Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its power, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

SEC. 4. The Commission shall make a comprehensive and impartial study and make recommendations from time to time as needed for constructive action in the areas designated in section 1 of this Act.

SEC. 5. Public members of the Commission appointed from outside Government shall each receive $100 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties of the Commission.

SEC. 6. There is hereby established a Federal Interagency Committee consisting of the heads of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, Defense, Health, Education, and Welfare, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Administrator, Small Business Administration, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, and Director of Bureau of the Census, or their designees, to advise the Commission and to maintain effective liaison with the resources of such departments and agencies. The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall serve as Cochairmen of the Committee.

SEC. 7. (a) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provision of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. In addition, the Commission may procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810), but at rates not to exceed $75 per diem for individuals.

(b) The Commission is authorized to appoint an executive secretary to oversee the work of the staff under the general direction of the Commission.

SEC. 8. All members and other personnel of the Commission shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and necessary expenses in accordance with law.

SEC. 9. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shall provide the Commission necessary administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel, and procurement) for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement, from funds of the Commission in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Commission and the Secretary of Labor.

SEC. 10. The Commission, or on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee or panel thereof, may, for the purposes of carrying out its functions and duties, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission or such subcommittee may deem advisable.

SEC. 11. The Commission is authorized to negotiate and enter into contracts with private organizations to carry out such studies and to prepare such reports as the Commission determines to be necessary in order to carry out its duties.

SEC. 12. The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the Government any information it deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act; and each such department, agency, and instrumentality is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Commission and, to the extent permitted by law, to furnish such information to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman.

SEC. 13. The Commission shall submit a final report of its findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress by June 30, 1965. The Commission shall cease to exist thirty days after submitting its final report.

SEC. 14. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Commission, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums not in excess of $1,500,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Extremism and Racial Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in his two most recent articles appearing in the Washington Post, the distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann, has spoken pointedly and thoughtfully to the critical problem of racial conflict.

In particular, Mr. Lippmann has enunciated several basic truths:

To be an extremist is to encourage and condone the taking of the law into unauthorized private hands.

The distinction between private violence and public force is the central principle of a civilized society.

With the private shootings, the private burnings, the private bomb throwings, the private mobs, is it not the duty of every American to rally to the defense of law and order?

When we look beneath the immediate need, which is to stop the rioting, we are confronted most vividly with a condition—a condition of racial conflict—with which the Cow Palace ideology does not come to grips.

To deal with a great condition like the racial movement, it is necessary to act at all the levels of government from the precinct to the Federal Republic. Not only is it necessary to act at all levels, it is necessary to act more energetically at all levels.

Mr. Speaker, these articles represent an important social document of our time and I commend them to all who are concerned with extending the reign of law and justice:

THE WISECRACKS ABOUT EXTREMISM

(By Walter Lippmann)

There is a furor, which is not mere wordslinging since Senator GOLDWATER justified extremism, saying that in "the defense of liberty" it "is no vice" and attacked moderation saying that "in the pursuit of justice" it "is no virtue." Coming from a candidate for President, these wisecracks can interfere dangerously with the maintenance of law and order in this time of mounting lawlessness.

Since he uttered the words in his acceptance speech on Thursday, the Senator has been defending himself. What he had to say to General Eisenhower, who felt "confused," makes it quite clear that Senator GOLDWATER does not understand the meaning of extremism and that he has never realized the fundamental principle which is at stake in the argument about it. According to his campaign manager, Mr. Denison Kitchel, the Senator said to General Eisenhower: "The most extreme action that you can take in the defense of freedom is to go to war. When you led those troops across the channel into Normandy, you were being an extremist."

The crucial truth is that when General Eisenhower went to war, he was not a private individual. He was not a member of a private and secret society. He was the commander appointed by the legitimate Governments of Great Britain and the United States. He was commanding troops recruited by due process of law. He was engaged in a war which had been authorized by the two Governments.

The essence of the matter is that to be an extremist is to encourage and condone the taking of the law into unauthorized private hands. It is in truth shocking that the Republican candidate for President is unconscious of this sovereign truth. For the distinction between private violence and public force is the central principle of a civilized society.

It has been a long, and as yet uncompleted, struggle to extend the reign of law. In the course of it civilized men have sought, and in a certain measure they have succeeded, in establishing a paramount rule—that no individual or society of individuals may decide for themselves that the defense of liberty and the pursuit of justice require them to go to war or to commit violence. The private defense of liberty and the private administration of justice are lynch law. Private killing is murder. Private war is insurrection.

It is not only in the deadly business of private violence that extremism is intolerable. A civilized society does not condone any breach of the peace, such as spitting in an Ambassador's face, no matter how ardently it is done in the self-induced conviction that it is in the defense of liberty and the pursuit of justice. It is extremism to say that communism is the enemy of the United States and then to declare that General Eisenhower or the New York Times or the anti-Goldwater columnists are working for the public enemy. No private individual has a private right to brand American citizens as traitors. That can be done only by due process of law, and to do it privately is libelous. The laws of libel do not permit the private assassination of private character.

If ever there was time, it is now, when it is against the public interest to tell men that they may take extreme measures in what they believe, the defense of liberty and the pursuit of justice. There is a racial conflict in this country and there is a strong tendency to private violence on both sides, among the white and among the black.

With the private shootings, the private burnings, the private bomb throwings, the private mobs, is it not the duty of every American to rally to the defense of law and order? But how can there be such a rally if we must endure an election in which the challenging contender is telling the inflammable crowd that extremism may be no sin and that moderation may be no virtue?

HARLEM AND THE COW PALACE

(By Walter Lippmann)

Anyone trying to look at the Harlem riots in the light of the official ideology adopted in the Cow Palace is bound, it seems to me, to quote Grover Cleveland. We are dealing, not with a theory, but with a condition.

There is no meaningful relationship between the Harlem facts and the Cow Palace theories. The rioting did not break out because the Goldwater platform is not sympathetic with the grievances of the Negores. The rioting did not break out because a coalition of Republicans and Democrats have enacted the civil rights bill. The rioting did not break out because the budget is unbalanced, or because the Federal Government has an enormously large bureaucracy, or because the Federal Government has usurped the powers of the States.

As a police problem, which it is in the first instance, the Harlem disorders are the responsibility of the New York City government and its police force. If they cannot cope with the disorder, they can call for help upon the Governor of New York and on the

Federal Government. But Federal and State intervention are bound to remain secondary. The main responsibility is and will always remain, that of the mayor of New York. We must suppose, therefore, that when Senator GOLDWATER inveighs against crime and declares that the streets must be made safer for law-abiding citizens, he is not suggesting that we establish in this country a national police force commanded by the President. For of all imaginable kinds of centralized power and potential threats to local and individual freedom, a national police force would be the most blatant.

If he were President, Senator GOLDWATER could do no more than President Johnson is doing, which is to assist the mayor of New York City in his efforts to restore law and order.

When we look beneath the immediate need, which is to stop the rioting, we are confronted most vividly with a condition—a condition of racial conflict—with which the Cow Palace ideology does not come to grips. The condition is that so many of the grievances which more and more Negroes find unendurable are not redressed by the Civil Rights Act itself, and can be redressed only so slowly that the leadership of the moderate Negroes is threatened by the Negro extremists. The moderates are told that in the face of injustice "moderation is no virtue."

These unredressed grievances have to do with housing, jobs, and schools. They will continue to be for a long time inferior to the standards of white people. The "white backlash" is at those points of friction where better housing, better jobs, and better schools for Negroes threaten to encroach on the somewhat better, but not much better, housing, jobs, and schools of the poorer whites.

Senator GOLDWATER has shown a commendable distaste for identifying himself with the white backlash. But the ideology of the Cow Palace would do nothing to allay and much to aggravate the racial conflict between the grievances of the Negroes and the grievances of the whites. For the fact remains that the protest of the whites is against the redress of the grievances of the Negroes.

For one thing, the platform is tailored to attract the votes of the white supremacists, and the immediate withdrawal of Governor Wallace from the presidential race is proof that the platform was accurately tailored. The whole weight of the platform is to throw the onus of racial disorder on the Negroes, and at the same time to do nothing, indeed to obstruct doing anything much, to redress the grievances of the Negroes.

For the indisputable truth of the matter is that in general throughout the country, it would be impossible to provide better houses, better schools, and better jobs through the State and local governments alone. Without substantial increases of Federal aid to the States and localities, without an effective fiscal policy which increases employment, neither the mayor of New York nor the mayor of Phoenix can alone deal with the causes of crime and disorder.

If we look at the facts and not at the theories we must see, I think, that the truth is more comprehensive than the theories. Neither the elephant nor the donkey can walk far on his two right legs alone. The truth is that to deal with a great condition like the racial movement, it is necessary to act at all the levels of government from the precinct to the Federal Republic. Not only is it necessary to act at all levels, it is also necessary to act more energetically at all levels.

The condition which confronts us involves the happiness of millions and the tranquillity and security of all. Dealing with it is a public responsibility from which no citizen can exempt himself.

Harlem and the Cow Palace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, during the past 2 weeks, we have seen two astonishing events: the Republican Convention and riots in New York. The juxtaposition of the two presents a dismal picture. On the one hand, one group is asking for equality in housing, jobs, and schools. As Mr. Walter Lippmann ably points out, such equality cannot be accomplished without aid from the Federal Government.

On the other hand, the other group has formally decided: First, that extremism is not a danger to our country; second, that civil rights is to be ignored as a campaign issue; and third, that problems such as the riots of last week, are local and State ones, not of Federal concern. That the Republican Party has chosen a candidate who refuses or cannot understand today's problems, is truly regrettable for them, but is an extreme danger to us all if he is elected.

In the following article from the New York Herald Tribune of July 23, 1964, Mr. Walter Lippmann takes issue with the idea that today's social revolution is a local problem. He calls for action on all levels, both immediately and with great intensity.

The article follows:

HARLEM AND THE COW PALACE

(By Walter Lippmann)

Anyone trying to look at the Harlem riots in the light of the official ideology adopted in the Cow Palace is bound, it seems to me, to quote Grover Cleveland. We are dealing, not with a theory but with a condition.

There is no meaningful relationship between the Harlem facts and the Cow Palace theories. The rioting did not break out because the Goldwater platform is not sympathetic with the grievances of the Negroes. The rioting did not break out because a coalition of Republicans and Democrats have enacted the Civil Rights Act. The rioting did not break out because the budget is unbalanced, or because the Federal Government has an enormously large bureaucracy, or because the Federal Government has usurped the powers of the State.

As a police problem, which it is in the first instance, the Harlem disorders are the responsibility of the New York City government and its police force. If they cannot cope with the disorder, they can call for help upon the Governor of New York and on the Federal Government. But Federal and State intervention are bound to remain secondary. The main responsibility is and will always remain, that of the mayor of New York. We must suppose, therefore, that when Senator GOLDWATER inveighs against crime and declares that the streets must be made safer for law-abiding citizens, he is not suggesting that we establish in this country a national police force commanded by the President. For of all imaginable kinds of centralized power and potential threats to local and individual freedom, a national police force would be the most blatant.

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These unredressed grievances have to do with housing, jobs, and schools. They will continue to be for a long time inferior to the standards of white people. The "white backlash" is at those points of friction where better housing, better jobs, and better schools for Negroes threaten to encroach on the somewhat better, but not much better, housing, jobs, and schools of the poorer whites.

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For one thing, the platform is tailored to attract the votes of the white supremacists, and the immediate withdrawal of Governor Wallace from the Presidential race is proof that the platform was accurately tailored. The whole weight of the platform is to throw the onus of racial disorder on the Negroes, and at the same time to do nothing, indeed to obstruct doing anything much, to redress the grievances of the Negroes.

For the indisputable truth of the matter is that in general throughout the country, it would be impossible to provide better houses, better schools, and better jobs through the State and local governments alone. Without substantial increases of Federal aid to the States and localities, without an effective fiscal policy which increases employment, neither the mayor of New York nor the Mayor of Phoenix can alone deal with the causes of crime and disorder.

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The condition which confronts us involves the happiness of millions and the tranquility and security of all. Dealing with it is a public responsibility from which no citizen can exempt himself.

The Folly of American Aid to Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I was most interested in reading Mr. Drew Pearson's article in this morning's New York Post wherein attention is once

again focused upon the hypocrisy and absurdity of continued American assistance to the Egyptian ruler, Colonel Nasser.

Mr. Pearson emphasizes the various contradictions and ironies which have riddled this program since its inception. I believe deeply in foreign assistance when it is soundly based and firmly administered. But there is no justifiable criteria for the millions of American dollars which have flowed to the United Arab Republic. In fact, this particular program subverts the whole principle upon which assistance is founded.

The millions in wheat which the United States sent to Egypt allows Colonel Nasser to expend his own valuable foreign currency on subversion, propaganda, foreign intervention, and the purchase of modern, terrifying weaponry. Mr. Pearson estimates that 60 percent of all wheat used in the United Arab Republic comes from the United States.

The Congress has adopted an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 through which the President can act to halt the aid program to Colonel Nasser. I have urged on countless occasions that this be done.

I place the extremely enlightening article of Mr. Pearson at this point in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

WASHINGTON.—While the Pan-American foreign ministers were voting sanctions against Fidel Castro in Cuba, the United States was in the ironic position of supporting with millions of dollars in wheat another dictator who has been even more effective than Castro in opposing U.S. policies; namely, Gamal Abdel Nasser, of Egypt.

President Nasser has seized all American property in Egypt just as Castro did in Cuba. He has socialized industry just as Castro did. And he has waged a vicious, subversive campaign against American interests all around the Near East. It has been far more successful than Castro's campaign against Venezuela and other U.S. friends in the Caribbean.

Despite this, American aid to Nasser is more than the Russian contribution to building the Aswan Dam. It totals $418,100,000 since 1955.

It was in 1956 that Russia decided to start building the Aswan Dam. Since that time the Soviet has loaned Egypt a little over $250 million, all of which is in the form of a credit and must be paid back.

The American contribution to Nasser is in the form of grain paid for in Egyptian currency which is left in the country. It amounts to almost a gift. Sixty percent of all wheat used in Egypt comes from the United States. And this food helps pay for Nasser's propaganda campaign against the United States.

Here is what he is doing:

While the Republican Party was meeting in San Francisco, nobody noticed that the Libyan Foreign Minister, Hussayn Maaziq, visited Cairo and promised Nasser to throw Americans out of the Wheelus Air Force Base at Tripoli. This is the biggest bomber base we have outside the United States and our lease does not expire until 1967. However, the Libyan Government, as a result of Nasser's prodding, is urging us to get out earlier.

Nasser is also putting the heat on Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia to cancel the U.S. communications base we have. It's essential for tracking satellites.

Nasser has received arms from Russia just as Castro has—though considerably more. He is now sending surplus arms to Somalia in order to stir guerrilla warfare against our good friend Ethiopia. This is what Castro has tried to do by shipping arms to Venezuela and Brazil though he has not succeeded.

The United States has had to supply Ethiopia with arms to combat this warfare. Thus we are supplying wheat to Egypt, which helps pay indirectly for arms to Somalia; and then we have to send arms to Ethiopia to combat Nasser's arms.

American wheat is also going to help pay for 40,000 Egyptian troops kept in Yemen. This is an attempt by Nasser to win control of Saudi Arabia and the American oil properties there, just as Castro tried to penetrate Venezuela in order to control U.S. oil properties in that country.

While Nasser does not want war with Israel now, he is paying German technicians and scientists to develop modern rockets and, he hopes, nuclear weapons. American wheat indirectly is helping to pay for the cost of these ex-Nazis.

All this raises a serious question in the minds of our allies. They wonder why the United States continues to subsidize a dictator who follows exactly the same policies as Castro and is more effective in carrying them out.

The French and British, for instance, are still smarting over Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal and Eisenhower's peremptory demand that their troops withdraw. This is one reason the French and British consider their policy of selling buses and trucks to Castro is no more inconsistent than our giving wheat to Nasser.

Doubts About Grain Sale Now Being Borne Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the sale of American wheat to the Soviet bloc was stated by the President to be in the national interest after assurances were given that none of it would be transshipped to Cuba. Reports are now appearing indicating either that the expected has now happened, or is about to take place.

Whether American wheat actually reaches the shores of Cuba is not an altogether crucial point in any case, for the importation of American wheat has made it possible for the Russians to export its home grown grain to whomever it pleases. The result is the same. The economic blockade of Cuba will have been circumvented. This is something that clearly cannot be held to be in the national interest, revealing in clear terms the false reasoning upon which this whole transaction was predicated and justified to the American people.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a timely editorial appearing in the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., on Saturday, July 25, 1964, entitled, "Doubts About Grain Sale Now Being Borne Out."

The editorial follows:

DOUBTS ABOUT GRAIN SALE NOW BEING BORNE OUT

Had the Soviet Government failed to deny that it is shipping American wheat to Cuba it would have come as one of the biggest surprises since the Communists seized power in Russia.

But the Kremlin's standard denial of wrongdoing came through according to schedule. A minister at the Soviet Embassy in Washington told the U.S. State Department Wednesday that reports of such shipments were false.

The report was made by Capt. Arthur H. Fertig, skipper of the *Sister Katingo*, the American grain ship that was boarded and searched by Russians in international waters in the Black Sea last week after it had left the Soviet port of Novorossisk, allegedly without clearance. A Soviet gunboat fired three shots across its bow.

Captain Fertig said that Russian stevedores at the port told him that American grain was being shipped from the Soviet Union to Cuba.

The United States lodged a slap-on-the-wrist protest against what it mildly termed excessive methods employed by Soviet authorities.

The protest had the expected effect—none.

The Soviet Minister denied the reports of the grain shipments and suggested Fertig made his charge to provoke trouble because of the incident at the Black Sea port.

It is also a standard practice of the Soviets to complain that they are the victims of provocation instead of its instigators.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Illinois, a critic of the Kennedy and Johnson administration's deals to sell large quantities of subsidized, surplus American grain to Russia, condemned the deal again, saying the reported transshipments should surprise no one.

We have no way of knowing, of course, whether the Russians are in fact transshipping American wheat to their Communist stronghold in this hemisphere but such action would be wholly in keeping with Soviet tactics.

As far as the effect on the economy of Castro-ruled Communist Cuba is concerned it wouldn't seem to make any difference whether the Russians are providing Cuba with U.S. grain or with that received from other sources.

Representative FINDLEY said in his speech in the House:

"In helping to keep Russia's grain bins full, we enable Khrushchev to meet his commitments to Cuba * * * it is incidental whether the wheat shipped to Castro was actually produced in the United States or produced elsewhere and simply replaced in Russian bins.

"The important and tragic fact is that President Johnson climbed into the wheat-baited beartrap in the first place."

Private U.S. dealers who sell wheat to Russia are required by the American Government to insist on contractual obligations that the grain will not go to Cuba.

State Department officials said it would be difficult, if not impossible, to do anything about it if the contracts were violated.

Unfortunately, this appears to be the administration's attitude toward all anti-U.S. actions by Russia or other countries which have been pulling Uncle Sam's beard and kicking his shins with impunity.

The U.S. Government surely must have power to halt the flow of U.S. grain to the Soviets if it is established that contracts have been violated. Whether that is proved or not, there is the matter of the firing of shots over the bow of an American merchant ship and the boarding and searching of the vessel in international waters.

In the event, the incident should serve as an effective warning against future official U.S. gullibility in dealing with the Soviet regime headed by a dictator who has threatened to bury us and who this week expressed his real sentiments toward the United States by toasting Fidel Castro's revolution with the words, "Cuba, si, Yankees, no."

The Olive Branch for Tshombe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the new developments in the Congo that may produce stability in that country ironically could be under the administration of Moise Tshombe, who was the victim of a concerted U.N.-Kennedy administration-State Department assault during the last 3 years.

The Chicago Tribune made timely and constructive note of these developments in an editorial this morning which I am inserting in the RECORD, recognizing it will be effectively studied by the Members.

THE OLIVE BRANCH FOR TSHOMBE

It was inevitable for the United States to kiss and make up with its old whippingboy, Moise Tshombe, now that the government of the Congo has been lawfully turned over to him and the people of Leopoldville have acclaimed him (prematurely, perhaps) as the savior of the country. President Johnson got the embarrasing job over with on Friday when he gave Mr. Tshombe a friendly, if unenthusiastic, offer of understanding and cooperation.

Now that we've paid our respects to the man whom our State Department repeatedly denounced as an intransigant opportunist who should be stopped with all possible measures short of war, the question is where do we go from here.

The next order of business from everybody's point of view except the Communists and Kwame Nkrumah [who have been hoping that the Congo would crumble and fall into their respective laps] is to reestablish order and create a government and economy sound enough so that they won't collapse the moment somebody mentions responsibility, discipline, or hard work.

Mr. Tshombe is very likely the most capable leader in the Congo, as we said many times while the United States and the United Nations were trying to throw his regime out of Katanga in order to appease an assembly full of anti-colonialists, neutralists, and liberals who couldn't stand the thought of turning the Congo over to a man with European business experience.

But that doesn't mean his task is going to be easy, now that so much damage has been done. Mr. Tshombe returned to the Congo with apparent support from the Belgians and French. These Europeans have had years of experience governing the Congo and neighboring countries. They know more about it than we do, and certainly more than U Thant, who once called Mr. Tshombe's regime "a bunch of clowns." If anybody can help him, it is they; and there are reports that he intends to ask for their help as soon as he can persuade dissident Congo leaders that Europeans are no longer colonialists and that their help will be for the country's good.

The Europeans have the money as well as the experience for the job. They didn't make themselves look silly, as we did, by backing the U.N.'s attempt to oust Mr. Tshombe in order to preserve a paper government which wasn't able to last a minute on its own. We wish Mr. Tshombe luck, and if he shows that he can make a go of things, he will probably find American investors willing to put up some of the money the Congo needs. Meanwhile, Mr. Johnson's friendly words should not tempt anybody to suggest that the United States step in on its own or that we give money to the United Nations so that it can botch the job again.

Change Social Security Disability Definition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, of late, I have had several social security cases in which, in my opinion, a very narrow interpretation was made on the question of disability.

For that reason, I wrote the very able and distinguished chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS, about this matter and have received the very gratifying response that he and his committee had been giving this and related matters careful consideration in relation to studies of the Social Security Act.

The distinguished chairman informed me that over a period of time now his committee had been reviewing the operation of the disability insurance program and a subcommittee had made a report recommending a number of changes.

He stated that while a number of improvements were made as a result of the subcommittee's report, no changes were made in the provision of law relating to the definition of disability.

As it now stands, the law requires as a prerequisite to disability insurance benefits that the individual must meet the following requirement:

The term "disability" means inability to engage in any substantial gainful activity by reason of any medically determinable physical or mental impairment which can be expected to result in death or to be of long continued and indefinite duration.

That is in exact terms the wording of the definition which I think is working very harsh results in a large number of cases where marked, irremediable disability exists and the persons concerned are unable to work and will be unable to work for the foreseeable future, or indeed for the duration of their natural lives.

Chairman MILLS stated that on several occasions since the enactment of this original measure in 1956, the Committee on Ways and Means had reviewed the feasibility of either liberalizing the definition or of making certain other changes in it, and in each instance the committee had concluded it inadvisable to make such changes.

It would seem to be fair and proper for the committee to give further consideration to some appropriate restatement of the disability definition which I think is working hardship, and unfortunately, undesirable effects upon many applicants.

This question is a legal one of some complexity and I think that before a change is made that the language should be very carefully considered and tested, not only by expert counsel, but also by other experts in the field.

It is my hope in the light of some hardship cases I know about which I believe may well be typically widespread throughout the Nation, that the committee and the Congress will give further attention to this matter, because it seems to me that the applicants, who can demonstrate current disability barring gainful work and who can make evident the likely projection of that disability into the foreseeable future, should definitely be in a position to be accorded benefits.

I think that it is the intent of Congress that this should be so, and I hope that some way will be found at an early date to remove any doubt concerning the entitlements of applicants in such cases.

It is my opinion and strong feeling that a different administrative approach by the social security agency that would as a legal matter provide a liberalized construction of the definition formula would produce remedial results in this matter. Barring that, the law should be changed.

Birth Control and Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the welfare department and city hospitals of New York City are to be complimented for what they are doing in the dissemination of birth control information. Others who have a similar responsibility should adopt a similar practice. Certainly, merely making information available does not force anyone to violate his religion or scruples. There is no compulsion involved. In this enlightened age there can be no good reason why welfare agencies and others should not make birth control information readily available for those who want it. Those who do not want it are under no obligation to avail themselves of it.

The late Pope Pius XII stated: "We affirm the legitimacy and, at the same time, the limits—in truth very wide—of a regulation of offspring." Thus we see progress being made in the recognition of the problem of population excesses.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Wall Street Journal, which follows:

BIRTH CONTROL AND POVERTY

New York's welfare department and city hospitals are moving toward fuller distribu-

tion of birth control information among the city's poor, but they are moving with extreme caution.

The hospitals, for example, deny their "basic policy" has changed. They insist they still give the information only for health reasons, and have merely broadened their definition of health—to include "complete physical, mental, and social well-being."

That the hospitals feel a need for this doubletalk merely reflects the emotional reaction the birth control issue can provoke in New York and other cities. The opposition to public agencies dispensing the information does, however, have one rational underlying argument: Since most birth control methods are abhorrent to the religious principles of substantial fractions of our citizens, tax revenues shouldn't be used to spread them in any way.

While we can sympathize with this feeling, we think it's outweighed by the many arguments for giving such information to those who lack the money or knowledge to seek it themselves. First, a majority of our people evidently do condone birth control. Second, merely making information available doesn't force anyone to violate his religion or scruples.

Finally, birth control information is widely available to most of the public; it makes little sense to maintain policies which effectively deny it to groups where it might do the most good. Many welfare recipients, New York's relief commissioner reports, simply do not know it is available. And yet many recipients are the very people who fall into the unhappy trap of bearing more children than they can hope to support properly, then watching these children grow up to bring a third generation into the squalid life of public assistance.

As long as no one is forced to practice birth control and doctors or social workers aren't forced to advocate it against their conscience, we see nothing wrong with public agencies providing such information as they do other medical services. In any event, it is unfortunate that rational discussion of the restrictions can still be suppressed by fear of emotional reactions.

Annual Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as has been my practice since first coming to the Congress I have again this year sent out my questionnaire to the residents of the Sixth Congressional District of Florida. Last year over 52,000 responded and as our area represents a good cross section of citizens from all over America the results have been of interest to many members and officials of the Government.

The questions asked this year were as follows:

1. Should Congress pass legislation for a constitutional amendment to protect traditional prayer and Bible reading in schools?

2. Do you support my plan to give Congress closer supervision over the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)?

3. Do you believe greater Federal participation should be given the fight against beach erosion in south Florida?

4. Do you agree that stronger U.S. efforts are needed to halt allied trade with Cuba and to bring sanctions against Cuba by the nations of this hemisphere?

5. In selecting what will be broadcast, the major TV networks and advertisers depend in part on the "ratings" which programs receive. Congress has investigated the "ratings" services and is interested in their accuracy and the effect they have on what is offered to the viewer.

The following are the most listened to TV programs according to a recent rating: (1) Beverly Hillbillies; (2) Bonanza; and (3) Dick Van Dyke Show.

Does this "rating" reflect your listening habits?

As soon as the results have been received and tabulated I will request that they be included in the RECORD for the information of all.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964—Summary of Basic Provisions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the civil rights law of 1964 is an important step forward in the struggle for human dignity and equal rights. It is important that the provisions of this law be understood by all Americans.

I have therefore taken the liberty of having a "Summary of Basic Provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964" prepared.

The summary follows:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964—SUMMARY OF BASIC PROVISIONS

TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

Title I requires election officials to apply uniform standards in registering voters and prohibits them from disqualifying persons for immaterial errors or omissions on applications for voting in Federal elections.

It creates, in voting rights suits, a rebuttable presumption that a person who has completed a sixth grade education in a predominantly English language school is sufficiently literate or intelligent to vote.

If literacy tests are given they must in writing unless an agreement with the Attorney General provides otherwise.

If the Attorney General has requested the court to find a pattern or practice of discrimination in a voting rights suit, the Attorney General or any defendant is authorized to request a three-judge court to hear the case.

TITLE II—INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Title II prohibits discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the following establishments:

1. Any establishment which provides lodging to transient guests unless it contains not more than five rooms for hire and is occupied by the proprietor as his residence.

2. Any facility primary engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, or any gasoline station, if it offers to serve interstate travelers or if a substantial portion of the products it sells has moved in interstate commerce.

3. Any theater, stadium, or other place of exhibition or entertainment if it customarily presents sources of entertainment which move in interstate commerce.

4. Any establishment which is located in or contains an otherwise covered establishment if it holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment.

Any aggrieved person is entitled to bring suit in a Federal court for injunctive relief and the court has discretion to waive payment of fees, costs and security, appoint an attorney for the plaintiff, and permit the Attorney General to intervene if he certifies that the case is of general public importance.

In a State which prohibits the act complained of, no suit may be brought before 30 days after the State enforcement agency has been notified of the offense and, when brought, the court may stay proceedings until State proceedings have been concluded.

In a State which does not prohibit the act complained of, suit may be brought immediately, but the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service for a period of no longer than 120 days.

The Attorney General is authorized to initiate an action for preventive relief and request a three-judge court whenever he finds a pattern or practice intended to deny full exercise of title II rights.

TITLE III—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

Title III authorizes the Attorney General to bring suit to prevent discrimination in public facilities—e.g. parks, playgrounds, libraries—whenever aggrieved individuals are unable to do so.

TITLE IV—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Title IV authorizes the Attorney General to initiate and intervene in public school desegregation suits when aggrieved persons are unable to sue and provides technical and financial assistance, when requested by school boards, to assist in problems arising out of school desegregation.

Nothing in the title is intended to prohibit classification and assignment of students for reasons other than race, color, religion, or national origin.

Desegregation does not mean assignment of students to schools in order to overcome racial imbalance and nothing in the title shall authorize a court or any official to order the transportation of students from one school district to another in order to achieve racial balance.

TITLE V—COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Title V extends the life of the Commission to 1968 and adds two new duties: to serve as a national clearing house for civil rights information and to investigate voting frauds, and changes the rules of procedure for hearings to make them more like those in effect for other Federal administrative agencies.

TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Title VI permits Federal agencies to withhold funds from programs or parts of programs in which there has been a finding on the record, after a hearing, that a recipient of funds has discriminated on the ground of race, color, or national origin in their application, but not until the recipient has been given an opportunity for compliance and 30 days' notice has been given to the appropriate House and Senate committees. A recipient whose funds have been terminated or refused is entitled to judicial review of the adverse agency action.

Nothing in the title is to authorize agency action with respect to employment practices of recipients of Federal funds unless a primary objective of the Federal assistance is to provide employment.

Although the title does not cover programs involving contracts of insurance or guarantee, nothing in the title is to add or detract from existing authority with respect to activities under which Federal assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guarantee.

TITLE VII—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Title VII prohibits certain employers, labor unions, and employment agencies, whose actions, affect interstate commerce, from discriminating against employees or members on the basis of race, color, religion, sex and national origin.

Ultimately, employers or labor unions with 25 or more employees or members will be covered, but none will be covered for the first year, and only those with 100, 75, and 50 or more during the second, third and fourth years, respectively.

Employment agencies are covered if they regularly undertake to secure employees for covered employers.

When religion, sex or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification an employer may discriminate on those bases.

Religious organizations are exempt with respect to employment of persons of a particular religion for work connected with their religious activities and educational institutions are completely exempt with respect to employment connected with their educational activities. If an educational institution is owned or supported by a religious organization or if its curriculum is directed toward propagation of a particular religion, the institution is exempt with respect to employment of persons of the particular religion in any of its activities.

Indian tribes are exempt from all provisions of the law and any business enterprise on or near an Indian reservation may give preferential treatment in employment to Indians. No action taken against a member of the Communist Party is an unlawful employment practice.

Nothing in the title is to be construed to require preferential treatment to anyone in order to correct a racial or religious imbalance.

Within 90 days of an alleged unfair employment practice an aggrieved individual or a members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission may file with the Commission a written charge. However, in a State which has a law prohibiting the practice, no charge may be filed by an individual nor any action be taken by the Commission until 60 days after the appropriate State agency has been notified (120 days during the first year after enactment of a State or local law). If the Commission finds reasonable cause to believe the charge is true, it shall endeavor to eliminate it by conference, conciliation and persuasion.

If the Commission, within 30 days after a charge is filed or within 30 days after any period of reference to a State agency has expired, whichever is later, has failed to eliminate the practice, an aggrieved individual may bring a civil action in a U.S. district court. The court may waive payment of costs, fees, or security and may appoint an attorney for the complainant. In its discretion, it may permit the Attorney General to intervene if he certifies that the case is of general public importance.

The Attorney General may initiate a civil action whenever he has reasonable cause to believe and pleads that there exists a pattern or practice of resistance intended to deny full exercise of title VII rights.

TITLE VIII—REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS

Title VIII directs the Bureau of the Census to compile statistics of registration and voting by race, color, and national origin in areas of the country recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. No person from whom information is sought is required to disclose his race, color, national origin, political party, or how or why he voted, and every person is to be fully advised of his right to refuse to disclose such information.

TITLE IX—INTERVENTION AND PROCEDURE AFTER REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

In civil rights cases, Federal court orders remanding cases to State courts after removal are made reviewable by appeal or otherwise. Under prior law such orders were not reviewable and the cases had to be disposed of in State courts before further resort to Federal courts.

The Attorney General is permitted to intervene in actions seeking relief from denial of equal protection of the laws under the 14th amendment, on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

TITLE X—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

Title X establishes in the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service to help communities resolve disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin.

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS

In any proceeding for criminal contempt under titles II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII, the accused is entitled to demand a jury trial. With or without a jury trial the limits of punishment are a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for a term of 6 months.

An acquittal or conviction for criminal contempt under the provisions of this act bars a prosecution for a specific crime under U.S. laws based upon the same act or omission, and an acquittal or conviction for a specific crime under U.S. laws bars any proceeding for criminal contempt under this act upon the same act or omission.

Nothing in this act is to invalidate any provision of State law unless it is inconsistent with any purpose or provision of this act.

Stamping of Liquor Bottles by Retailers in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia liquor retailers are at it again; this time by an "end around play" in contempt of the past actions of the Congress. They failed to impress the Congress in past few years; now, they are attempting to attain the same ends through the District of Columbia ABC Board.

I refer to reports that the industry is now importuning the District Alcoholic Beverage Control Board to rescind its regulations—based on District law—requiring liquor dealers to stamp their identification number on their bottles at the time of display.

Commissioner Tobriner and Police Chief Murray are to be heartily commended for their consistent and reasoned stand in opposition to any change in this regulation; their opposition is based on voluminous records which reveal that the identification requirement has provided valuable evidence which has led to the solution of many crimes over the years.

The liquor retailers constantly inveigh against this identification requirement on the grounds that it costs them money and time to stamp their wares. Well, it is high time that this much privileged industry, which handles a highly "volatile" product realizes that along with the exclusive privilege of selling their product goes moral and practical responsibilities to the public.

With crime on the upswing, we can do without any further efforts to strip the police of their steadily shrinking number of weapons to protect the public.

Further, I concur with Chief Murray that the District law be amended to return to the strict requirement that liquor bottles be stamped by the retailer within 24 hours after being received from the wholesaler.

Chief Murray's letters in connection with ABC hearings before the District Committees make an excellent case for continuing the identification requirement:

Mr. Speaker, I append herewith some 31 examples of crimes solved because of identification of liquor bottles through District of Columbia liquor stamps. I append also a letter of Chief of Police Robert V. Murray to Chairman McMILLAN of the District of Columbia Committee, concerning the same matter:

JUNE 22, 1961.

Senator ALAN BIBLE,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR BIBLE: With reference to S. 1427 being considered by your committee and in compliance with your request for evidence to substantiate the position taken by the Police Department that the tax stamp number on whisky bottles has been a valuable aid in the solution of crime in the District of Columbia, I am citing herein a number of cases in point.

By way of explanation, I would like to say that these cases have been identified as a result of memory of circumstances by commanding officers of the detective units rather than through a search of files, since our files are not indexed to reflect this type of information. Therefore, the cases cited do not reflect the total number of this type of case but serve only as samples of the types of case where the ABC stamp number has been an important piece of evidence.

As indicated by the dates, these cases go back over many years but I would emphasize that this is a continuing situation which is apparent from the tabulation which reflects a number of such cases even during the current year.

I would also like to place emphasis on the fact that because the Mallory doctrine has seriously restricted investigative officers in the use of the technique of interrogation, it becomes more and more important that every other investigative aid and technique be explored to its fullest in order to provide the degree of protection to the law-abiding public which they should have. A positive means of identifying stolen property is therefore highly important and as reflected in the housebreaking and larceny and robbery cases cited herein, the identifying tax stamp number on whisky bottles has played an important part in identifying suspects with particular offenses.

While the identifying tax stamp number has been made use of most often in cases of larceny and robbery, it has also been an important piece of evidence in murder cases.

CASE NO. 1

One of the most graphic examples of this is an old case which happened on August 29, 1943, when Grace Grubb Groome was found murdered in Rock Creek Park. There was evidence of an altercation at the scene of the crime, including a whisky bottle nearby which bore an ABC tax stamp with number. This number led to the liquor store dealer who not only remembered the buyer of the package but assisted the police in identifying him as the purchaser of the whisky. With this very important lead, John Morton

was arrested and later convicted of this vicious offense.

CASE NO. 2

In another case just last year which involved the killing of a police officer, an ABC tax stamp number proved to be an important piece of evidence. On January 7, 1960, after the robbery of the LeDroit Liquor Store at 501 Florida Avenue NW., and a subsequent battle with a suspect in a nearby alley, Pvt. Donald J. Brereton was shot and killed and Pvt. Clyde R. Winters was seriously wounded by one of the two holdup men. This case was successfully resolved with the arrest of Ray S. Coleman and his brother, William G. Coleman.

Just prior to executing the holdup, the Colemans had purchased and received from the proprietor of the liquor store a half pint of Ancient Age whisky with ABC stamp No. 9615, issued to the LeDroit Liquor Store, affixed to the bottle. After the Colemans were apprehended, search warrants were obtained and the empty half-pint bottle bearing Ancient Age whisky label with stamp No. 9615 was recovered from the home of Ray Coleman. This proved to be an important piece of evidence in the subsequent trial in which Ray S. Coleman was convicted of robbery and William C. Coleman convicted of first-degree murder and robbery.

CASE NO. 3

On February 27, 1943, two bank guards at the Riggs Bank, 14th and Park Road NW., were shot down at the bank, one killed and the other critically wounded. Among other evidence found at the scene of the crime was a wine bottle on a table in the rear room. The stamp on this bottle led to a dealer who identified Joseph Luxom, another bank guard, as the purchaser. This was one of the strongest pieces of evidence that connnected Luxom with this case. Since ABC stamp numbers are no longer placed on wine bottles, in a similar case today a wine bottle would be of little or no value.

CASE NO. 4

On April 8, 1961, William Gotkin, owner of the liquor store at 300 Massachusetts Avenue NW., reported the show window broken and a quantity of liquor with tax stamp No. 9104 stolen from the show window. This case was closed with the arrest of the perpetrator, who had in his possession some of the whisky with the ABC stamp No. 9104 affixed which identified him with the crime.

CASE NO. 5

Sometime during the night hours of February 28–March 1, 1961, the Skyland Liquor Store at 2648 Naylor Road SE., was entered by knocking a hole in the roof. From the evidence, it appeared that the rear garage sliding door was then apparently opened and a vehicle backed into the garage. A total of $1,265 in money was stolen and 31 cases of assorted whisky bearing ABC stamp No. 9960, total value $3,265. As a result of investigation and inquiries of known informers, evidence was developed that two young Negro males were selling legal bottled whisky. Arrangements were made to purchase whisky through an informer and it was found to have the ABC stamp No. 9960. These two defendants were arrested and through the recovery of the whisky bearing the identifying stamp number they were charged with housebreaking and grand larceny. Without the identifying stamp number, the whisky in this case could not have been connected with the looted premises.

CASE NO. 6

On February 9, 1961, Zavel Sandler, owner of the liquor store at 401 Seventh Street NW., reported a side show window smashed and several bottles of whisky stolen, these bottles bearing ABC tax stamp No. 6950. This case was closed with the arrest of the defendant who had in his possession whisky identified by the tax stamp number.

CASE NO. 7

On January 15, 1961, Herman Price, owner of the Occidental Restaurant, 1411 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., reported his restaurant entered and an undetermined number of cases of whisky bearing tax stamp No. 273 stolen. Investigation disclosed that two subjects had been observed loading what appeared to be cases of whisky into an automobile, the tag number of which was furnished. The owner of the automobile was identified through the tag number and the automobile was located near his residence. Several cases of whisky could be observed in the car, partially covered by coats. The automobile was impounded and found to contain 199 bottles of whisky with the identifying tax stamp No. 273 affixed to them. Four defendants have been charged in this case.

CASE NO. 8

Kelman Ackerman, owner of Ackerman Liquor Store, 748 Sixth Street NW., reported the premises entered during the night of December 22, 1960, by breaking the glass from the rear window, second floor, and stolen money, cigarettes and cigars, and an unknown amount of Canadian Club whisky with ABC stamp No. 476. After receiving information that William A. Staples was responsible for the housebreaking, he was arrested along with one Sidney L. Daniels, who stated that Staples, and one Herbert F. Sullivan, had brought the stolen whisky and cigarettes to his home, asking him to hold it for him and stating that these were Christmas presents. Partial recovery of the property was made and Staples charged with the offense.

CASE NO. 9

On August 20, 1960, Irving Peres, coowner of Smith's Liquor Store, 521 Main Avenue SW., reported that premises were entered and several cases of whisky bearing ABC tax stamp No. 5047 stolen. This case was closed with the arrest of the defendants with whisky bearing the identifying tax stamp number in their possession.

CASE NO. 10

About 5:30 a.m., December 22, 1959, the storeroom to the liquor section on the second floor of O'Donnell's Restaurant, 1207 E Street NW., was broken open and an unknown amount of whisky bearing ABC stamp No. 324 was stolen. Shortly afterward, James Leroy Cousins was observed by detectives walking north in the 700 block of 12th Street NW., carrying a large burlap bag. The rattle of glass could be heard in the bag and Cousins was stopped and questioned. The bag was found to contain 11 bottles of whisky bearing ABC stamp No. 324. Cousins admitted taking this from the restaurant where he worked and stated that one Joe Daniels had actually forced the storeroom and that they were going to split the proceeds.

CASE NO. 11

On July 16, 1958, Isadore Garber reported that he was held up at his place of business, the Plaza Liquor Store, 200 E Street NE., by two colored males who threatened to shoot him. One pint of Old Taylor whisky, bearing ABC stamp No. 9868, was taken during the holdup and later discovered in the alley, rear of the 600 block of Third Street NE. On examination of this bottle at the Identification Bureau, fingerprints were obtained and the bottle identified with the above liquor store through the ABC stamp. Further investigation of the case resulted in the arrest of one Sam Smith, whose fingerprints were found to match the latent prints found on the whisky bottle. The whisky bottle bearing the fingerprints and the ABC stamp number to identify it with the store was an important piece of evidence in the conviction of the defendant.

CASE NO. 12

On September 22, 1958, the owner of the LaSalle du Bois Restaurant, 1800 M Street NW., reported the premises entered and assorted cases of whisky, valued at $240, with ABC stamp No. 6634, stolen. Investigation disclosed that an automobile bearing District of Columbia tags with the number either SH 293 or 294 had been seen near the premises. A lookout was flashed and a 1951 Buick bearing District of Columbia tags SH 293 was located parked at Eighth and T Street NW. The driver was the registered owner, Francis Eugene Jackson, and located on the rear floor of the car was a cardboard carton containing three fifths of whisky with ABC stamp No. 6634. Jackson was charged and plead guilty to the offense. The ABC stamp number in this case not only served to identify Jackson with the theft but was instrumental in obtaining a concession in which he implicated a second man who was also convicted for the offense.

CASE NO. 13

About 2:15 a.m., September 12, 1958, the show window at Bob's Liquor Store, located at 1023 E Street SE., was smashed and an unknown amount of whisky was stolen. A few minutes after the window smashing, Ronald Richardson was apprehended by detectives in a cruiser in the doorway of 903 11th Street SE., and he was found to have one fifth of Four Roses whisky in his pants pocket with ABC stamp No. 9860, corresponding to the stamp number of the whisky that was stolen. Defendant admitted the case.

CASE NO. 14

Louis Friedman, owner of the Diplomat Liquor Store at 1529 17th Street NW., reported premises entered about 4 a.m. on October 20, 1956, by ripping iron door in rear of store and a quantity of whisky stolen. Paul Louis Gordon, colored, 17 years, at 1264 Holbrook Terrace NE., was arrested by officers of the third precinct at 15th and Church Streets NW., with the whisky in his possession at 4:15 a.m. on October 20, 1956. The whisky was identiked by the stamp number.

CASE NO. 15

Ralph Hall, owner of a liquor store at 803 Fourth Street SW., reported premises entered on February 2, 1956, and a quantity of whisky stolen. Calvin C. Jackson, colored, 30 years; Frank Walker, colored, 30 years; and Robert Lee Hall, colored, 30 years, were arrested and whisky identified by the stamp number. As a result of this arrest, a number of other cases were cleared.

CASE NO. 16

Ray Aronstein, owner of Super Liquor Store at 1633 North Capitol Street, reported premises entered on December 7, 1955, and a quantity of whisky stolen. Malcolm A. McDonnell, colored, was arrested at his home at 20 Seaton Place NW., with one of the fifths of whisky in his possession, identified by the stamp number.

CASE NO. 17

At 3.28 a.m. on December 2, 1955, officers responded to a burglar alarm (window smashing) at 1748 Seventh Street NW. Darnell Roger Ruffin, colored, 18 years, was arrested at 11th and Q Streets NW. When searched, he had two half pints of Seagrams Seven Crown whisky, bearing District of Columbia liquor stamp No. 8665 on his person. This was identified by Irving Abraham, owner of the store, 1748 Seventh Street NW., as having been taken out of his broken window.

CASE NO. 18

On November 27, 1955, about 4:30 a.m., two well-known safe thieves, William Russell Carpenter, and Jampton Ray Lackey, were arrested at 11th and Pennsylvania Avenue SE. Upon search of their auto, about 21 fifths of whisky, bearing District of Columbia liquor stamp No. 8422, were found in

the trunk of the car. This number was checked and found to be assigned to McNamara's Liquor Store, 5414 Colorado Avenue NW. A check was made at McNamara's store and the store was found to have been broken into and the safe missing. On November 28, 1955, the safe belonging to McNamara and two bottles of Vat 69 Scotch, bearing District of Columbia stamp No. 8422, were found in a garage in the rear of 700 block of 13th Street, SE. When this case was presented in court, the complainant, Mr. McNamara, was able to identify his whisky by stamp number, which led to the conviction and sentencing of these two criminals.

CASE NO. 19

Leo Slavin, owner of liquor store at 1131 14th Street NW., reported the liquor store entered about 10 p.m. on August 22, 1955, by forcing the rear door and a quantity of whisky stolen. Paul Louis Gordon, colored, 16 years, of 1264 Holbrook Terrace NE., was arrested in a stolen truck, and had the above-stolen whisky in this truck. Liquor was identified by stamp number.

CASE NO. 20

Abraham Finklestein, owner of the Royal Liquor Store at 1006 Florida Avenue NE., reported premises entered by smashing window, on November 22, 1954. Stolen were two bottles of whisky. Ethel Ferguson, colored, 55 years, 1627 West Virginia Avenue NE., was arrested, property recovered, and identified by stamp number.

CASE NO. 21

Louis Storgion, coowner of the Temple Grill, 2416 14th Street NW., reported these premises entered by forcing the rear window, between 12:30 a.m., and 7:45 a.m., on October 25, 1954, and whisky and a television set stolen. Total value of this larceny was $373. Richard B. Gregory, white, 26 years; Edward Hardin, white, 29 years; and Caspar W. Gregory, white, 26 years, were arrested in an apartment at 1424 Chapin Street NW. Above property was found in this apartment and was identified by liquor stamp numbers.

CASE NO. 22

Leonard Reuben, owner of liquor store at 407 Fourth Street SW., reported premises entered on July 17, 1954, and an unknown amount of whisky stolen. George R. Caldwell, colored, 26 years, of 935 E Street NW.; and Milton A. Lee, colored, 25 years, of 242 K Street SW., were arrested in this case. Whisky was recovered and identified through the stamp number.

CASE NO. 23

About 7:20 p.m., on January 18, 1954, the Columbia Liquor Store, 1151 Bladensburg Road NE., operated by Sol Matesky, was held up at the point of a gun by a white man later identified as Joseph E. Murphy, white, 33 years, of 4102 Samson Road, Silver Spring, Md. Murphy had purchased a pint of Bourbon Deluxe whisky from the Columbia Liquor Store earlier in the evening and had this on his person when arrested.

CASE NO. 24

On January 16, 1954, the owner of Syd's Liquor Store, 2325 Bladensburg Road NE., reported that he was held up at the point of a gun by a white man who took between $500 and $600 and a pint of Ancient Age whisky, ABC tax stamp No. 8149. This case was later closed by the arrest of two white subjects and the bottle of whisky with the identifying stamp number was recovered from their possession.

CASE NO. 25

On December 9, 1953, the Modern Liquor Store at 1201 Ninth Street NW., was held up by two colored men at the point of a gun. They obtained $21 in bills and 40 cents in change, 3 fifths of Hunter's whisky, 2 fifths of Calvert Reserve, and 24 half pints of Hunter's whisky. David R. Banks, colored, 24 years, of 915 N Street NW., and Richard L. Anderson, colored, 21 years, of 1213 N Street NW., were arrested. Both men were identified by the complainant and Banks admitted his part and implicated Anderson. The gun used in this case was recovered and identified by Banks. Twelve half pints of Hunter's whisky were recovered from 311 R Street NW., where it had been sold by these men.

CASE NO. 26

About 1:15 p.m. on September 2, 1952, Bobby Davis, colored, 19 years, of 223 F Street NE., and Frederick Frost, colored, 19 years, of 1846 Frederick Place SE., were arrested in the garage in the rear of 524 Third Street NE. Information had been received that the garage contained a quantity of whisky. Check of the whisky by stamp number revealed that it had been taken in a housebreaking at 3304 Georgia Avenue, a liquor store operated by Harry Silverman. Entrance was gained by breaking a transom over the front door, sometime between August 31 and September 1, 1952, and stolen was approximately $5,000 in whisky. All property was recovered.

CASE NO. 27

On May 6, 1961, the Ajax Liquor Store at 200 E Street NE., was held up by two white men, at the point of a gun. They obtained $157 in bills and change, and a fifth of VO. Lester Paul Hockman, white, 23 years, and Gene A. Meadows, white, 21 years, were arrested in Muskegon, Mich. As these men escaped from the scene of the holdup, they were chased by a plainclothes officer in No. 9 precinct. This officer obtained the tag number of the getaway car. This car was parked in front of a residence in the 1500 block of Independence Avenue SE., when found, and under the front seat was a fifth of Seagram's VO bearing the stamp number of the above liquor store. This was an important piece of evidence in the case.

CASE NO. 28

Rose Brown, owner of liquor store located at 1432 New Jersey Avenue NW., reported the show window of the store broken about 3:30 a.m. on April 14, 1949, and an unknown amount of whisky stolen. Theodore Julian Kelly, colored, of no fixed address, was arrested with the whisky in his possession.

CASE NO. 29

On January 3, 1949, two detectives of the robbery squad who were working in the vicinity of Eighth and N Streets NW., in connection with reported pocketbook snatchings, observed two suspicious acting colored males. These two suspects were questioned and when they failed to give a good account of themselves were placed under arrest. One of the subjects was found to have in his possession a substantial sum of money and a fifth of whisky with ABC tax stamp No. 3337, issued to the Central Liquor Store, 518 Ninth Street NW. Also in their possession was a U.S. Employment Service card in the name of George T. McNeely, which was not the name of either suspect. Mr. McNeely was contacted and advised that he had not received his civil service retirement check in the mail as expected. The detectives then contacted the Central Liquor Store and were advised that the McNeely check had been cashed for two colored men and the two suspects were later identified as the two men who had cashed the check. After this identification, the suspects admitted they stole the check from the mail, forged and cashed the same. The ABC stamp number in this case was responsible for its successful conclusion.

CASE NO. 30

Tilly Sanders, owner of Wolf's Liquor Store, located at 81 Florida Avenue NE., reported stolen 16 cases of assorted liquors when premises were entered between 10 p.m. February 3 and 1 p.m. February 4, 1945. John C. Byrd, colored, 37 years, of 32½ Decatur Street NE. was arrested on February 6, 1945, and part of the property was recovered. This property was identified by the liquor stamp number.

CASE NO. 31

Samuel Paper, owner of Carl's Market, 213 10th Street SW., reported his store entered between 9 and 11 p.m. on January 20, 1954, by jimmying the front door and a large quantity of whisky was stolen. Arthur S. Medley, colored, 23 years, of 925 F Street SW., and Paul V. West, colored, 21 years, of 77 K Street SW., were arrested as a result of tracing the liquor stamp number. All property was recovered.

The identifying ABC tax stamp number is consireded sufficiently important to the police department in the investigation of criminal offenses that a special file is set up and maintained in the Identification Bureau. This file is kept current by arrangements with the ABC Board to report new licenses, cancellations, and any other changes reflected in ABC stamp numbers. An index system is maintained by filing under the ABC tax stamp number for all class A and class C licenses, the class licenses which provide for the sale of whisky. This file is maintained so that it is readily available for reference at any hour of the day or night to check a tax stamp number and determine the name and address of the licensee.

Currently, the identifying tax stamp number on whisky bottles is an important piece of evidence in the clearing of criminal cases. Liquor store dealers may recover their losses through insurance, but the eliminating of an identifying tax stamp number on packages of whisky decreases the chances of successful clearance of the type of cases which have been enumerated and will increase the number of uncleared serious offenses charged to the Metropolitan Police Department. This is a most important consideration in view of the rising crime rate in recent years.

The fact that an identifying tax stamp number had been eliminated from a package would also tend to encourage thievery by the employees of ABC establishments as well as by housebreakers and those who might work with an employee who is on the inside to commit these thefts. After the packages have been removed from the premises, they could not be identified without a stamp number.

In addition to the aid in solution of criminal cases, I would like to cite a case of tax evasion by a local liquor store dealer which I think is important enough to warrant serious consideration in connection with the proposed legislation. The case is that of Apex Liquors, Inc., operating at 633–635 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., ABC license No. A–6988. On the basis of complainant received in the Morals Division office, investigation was conducted in June 1957, with reference to the sale and transportation of quantities of whisky from the Apex Liquor Store without a bill of sale. Two cases were presented to the Corporation Counsel's Office but prosecution was declined.

In January 1959, a report was received in the office of the ABC Board from a citizen who had purchased a bottle of whisky on which a stamp was not affixed. An inspection was made of the premises on January 22, 1959, by an ABC inspector in connection with this complaint, and it was found that some 494 cases containing 168 half gallons, 2,124 quarts, 2,965 fifths, 711 pints, and 408 half pints of assorted liquor, cognac, and brandy, were found to be without tax stamps. After discussion, as to the manner of proceedings between the agencies concerned, the ABC Board, Finance Office, police department, and Corporation Council's Office, arrangements were made for the seizure of this merchandise on the following day, January 23, 1959. Further investigation of this

case revealed that the subject merchandise had been delivered during the period between October 13, 1958, and January 9, 1959. This was a clear violation of section 23(i) of the ABS Act, which requires affixing the stamp within 24 hours after receipt and represents more than $1,500 in tax stamps.

This case has just been concluded in district court with Judge McGarraghy ruling on June 20 that 484 cases of the total amount seized should be forfeited to the District of Columbia in accordance with the penalty section of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act. It was demonstrated to the satisfaction of the district court judge that these 484 cases could be identified by inventory and bills of lading as having been delivered to the premises more than 24 hours prior to the time of inspection and were without the required tax stamps.

Through the years, there have also been cases where it became important to good enforcement to determine the source of a particular package of whisky in the case of alleged sales to juveniles and intoxicated persons. While the number of unscrupulous dealers is admittedly a small percent of the total number in the business, it many times is important to be able to identify a package of whisky with a particular location, both to protect the legitimate dealer and to aid the police in enforcing regulations against those who are tempted to be dishonest or otherwise to violate regulations.

In view of the cases cited herein, I am very strongly of the view that the elimination of the identifying stamp tax number would seriously impair law enforcement in the District of Columbia, and I strongly urge that the present bill not be enacted into law.

Trusting that the information submitted herein will be helpful to your committee in reaching a determination, I am,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT V. MURRAY,
Chief of Police.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT,

July 12, 1963.

Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCMILLAN: At the recent public hearings conducted by Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the District of Columbia on H.R. 2036, a bill to revise the ABC Act, it was requested that this Department furnish additional written evidence with reference to the need for retaining authorization in the law to require affixing of retail dealers' ABC license numbers to packages of spiritous liquors.

* * * * *

Since the enactment of Public Law 887-238; 75 Statute 510, approved on September 14, 1961, some 120 cases of housebreaking and larceny of alcoholic beverages have been reported to this Department. In some cases these thefts amounted to hundreds, and even thousands of dollars and, in one case, the value of the stolen property was reported as $3,964.11.

Although regulations promulgated under section 23(g) of the present ABC Act do not require affixing license numbers until the merchandise is displayed for sale, it is noted that most of the reported housebreaking and larceny cases reveal that the license number has been reported as being affixed to the stolen property. This license number is considered an important means of identification by the Police Department and in every case where a housebreaking and larceny from a liquor store is reported, a police teletype message in which the ABC license number is included, is sent to all units of the department. This license number is read at rollcalls throughout the department, so that the police in every unit may be made aware of the theft and the license number made known to them to check against similar merchandise coming to their attention in one of many ways, and giving a lead in clearing the case. In addition to the uniform force, this procedure also applies to the detective force and morals division, so that when containers with such license numbers come to the attention of members of these divisions in their regular activities, the probability of clearing such a case is enhanced. If the requirement for the affixing of license numbers, which has been in effect since the original enactment of the present law are now deleted, this investigative aid for identification of stolen merchandise would be unavailable to investigating officers and their efficiency in clearing these types of cases would be thereby impaired.

The obtaining of the license number is considered sufficiently important to the Police Department in the investigation of criminal offenses that a special file is set up and maintained in the Identification Bureau. This file is kept current by arranging with ABC Board to report new licenses and cancellations and any other changes reflected in the ABC license number and the index system is maintained by filing under ABC license numbers all class A and class C licenses which classes provide for the sale of whisky. This file is maintained so that it will be readily available for reference at any hour of the day and night to check license numbers and determine the name and address of the licensee.

In each case of larceny of whisky, the identifying stamp number furnishes positive means of identification of the stolen property. It is noted that the question has been asked if such identification could not be made by type and size. Experience in this jurisdiction indicates that attempts to make identification of stolen property in court by reference to type and size, would not be satisfactory. It is necessary to be able to identify stolen property as that coming from the particular location and this is frequently accomplished, either through serial numbers, or some imperfection, damage, or flaw in a particular item of stolen property, where a number is not imprinted or not known by the complaining witness. While it is true that many items of property do not carry identification numbers, it is true that many items, including appliances, vehicles, typewriters, athletic equipment, jewelry, and furs do carry an identifying number or mark.

In addition to the general use of license numbers for identification purposes, several recent cases, which are recalled from memory, are cited herein to indicate the use made of these identifying license numbers on containers of whisky.

No. 1: On December 9, 1961, Walter W. Smith, Negro, male, of 1109 New Hampshire Avenue NW., was charged at the eighth precinct with grand larceny of $125 worth of assorted bottles of whisky from a delivery truck. Three fifths of the whisky in this case were recovered from a known bootlegger who stated he bought the whisky from the defendant.

In preparation of this case for trial, the assistant U.S. attorney prosecuting the case, stated that because the recovered evidence was gift wrapped and had no ABC stamp number on the bottles, the defense could be made that it had been bought at any store in the District of Columbia. He felt that this was a weakness in the case and, although the defendant had a long police record for robbery, housebreaking, and grand larceny, the assistant U.S. attorney was reluctant to go to trial and the defendant was permitted to plead guilty to a lesser offense of petit larceny. The assistant attorney in this case indicated that if an ABC number had been imprinted on the evidence, he would have had no reluctance to go to trial in this case.

No. 2: A housebreaking by breaking the front show windows between 9 p.m. on January 12, 1962, and 6:30 a.m. on January 13, 1962, was reported by the owner of the Colonial Liquors, Inc., 1903 M Street NW. Six bottles of whisky were stolen by the defendant in this case, Jerome Davis Foster, Negro, male, 33 years, who has a record for larceny. The defendant was observed by the arresting officer at the corner of 18th and Massachusetts Avenue NW., about 6 a.m. on January 13, 1962. When questioned by the officer, it was found he had in his possession six bottles of whisky identified as that stolen, bearing ABC stamp No. 2147.

No. 3: About 9 a.m. on March 3, 1962, two officers of the eighth precinct, observed an old model Buick automobile parked in the 4200 block of Massachusetts Avenue NW., which was occupied by four Negro males who were found to be in an intoxicated condition. Examination of the automobile disclosed seven half-pints of bourbon whisky, bearing ABC stamp No. A147.

The defendants were transported to the station house where attempts to interview them were unsatisfactory because of their drunken condition. In response to questions about whisky, one gave an answer which referred to "H Street NE." A check of the ABC license number disclosed it was issued to the Jumbo Liquor Store, 1122 H Street NE. Officers of the ninth precinct were directed to this store. which was closed at the time of arrival but, there was no evidence of unlawful entry. The owner arrived shortly after the officers and the store was found to be secured. This investigation was concluded within approximately 35 minutes, because of the ABC license numbers on the bottles, whereas, it would have been impossible to make determinations as to possible involvement of these defendants in a criminal act without this ABC license number.

No. 4: About 2:57 a.m. on March 31, 1962, the side show window of the Capitol Liquors, 123 G Street NW., was broken, and five fifths and six half-pints of whisky stolen. Alden N. Wilson, Negro, 19 years, of 6 M Street NW., was arrested by an officer of the first precinct and was found to have a half-pint of whisky with ABC stamp No. 4758 imprinted on the bottle, which coincided with the license number issued to the Capitol Liquors. Wilson admitted his involvement in the housebreaking. Hillard Johnson, Negro, male, 17 years, of 429 M Street NW., was also arrested and had in his possession one half-pint and one partial fifth of whisky with ABC stamp No. 4758 imprinted on the bottle, which connected him with this offense.

No. 5: About 10:30 p.m. on September 30, 1961, detectives attached to the ninth precinct, observed a male subject walking rapidly in the 500 block of Tennessee Avenue NE. and from time to time glancing furtively behind him. This individual was carrying a large brown paper bag and when stopped for questioning, identified himself as Paul Gerald Herring, Negro, male, 17 years, of 608 Tennessee Avenue NE. He stated to the officer that he was on his way home and that he had found the bag in an alley while taking a shortcut home from a friend's house. Herring denied he was employed, and examination of the bag he was carrying disclosed five bottles of alcoholic beverages bearing ABC stamp No. 5769. In response to further questions the subject reiterated his story of how he came into possession of the whisky and denied any wrongdoing.

The officer checked the stamp number in the files of the Detective Division and found it had been issued to Watergate Inn. The manager of this establishment, located at 2700 F Street NW., was contacted and in response to questions, advised that he had dis-

covered a large amount of whisky missing from the premises over the past several months, but had not been able to make a report to the Police Department since he had not been able to determine the method of its disappearance. When asked if he knew the subject Herring, the manager advised he had hired the subject several months previously as a porter, and that he had left the restaurant that night about 9:30 p.m., after completion of his work.

When confronted with this information, Herring confessed he had taken orders for liquor from his friends for the past several months and had been filling these orders by taking a trash container behind the counter when cleaning, and removing the requested items from the liquor cabinet behind the bar and placing them in the trash container and recovering the items, after he had completed his day's work, from the trash container he had placed in the alley. It is noted that this case was cleared solely because of the ABC stamp number; and since the subject had denied even being employed, this case would have remained unsolved, and financial loss to the complainant would have continued indefinitely, except for the availability of the ABC stamp numbers.

No. 6: On November 6, 1961, Jack O. Lytton, white, 31 years, of Rockville, Md., was arrested by Pvt. W. Spencer, of the 10th precinct, on a charge of false pretense as a result of an ABC stamp number. Sometime prior to November 6, 1961, Private Spencer was advised by a citizen that an individual staying in the 1700 block of Kilbourne Place NW., using the name of "Jack Garrett" was known to have a stock of whisky in his room and had been distributing some to his friends and buddies, and that "Garrett" was not regularly employed and did not appear to have legitimate means of maintaining such a supply. The officer made it his business to become acquainted with "Garrett" and on one occasion made a note of the ABC number on a bottle of whisky in possession of "Garrett." A check of this number revealed that it was listed to Paul's Liquor Store, 5205 Wisconsin Avenue NW. Inquiry of the owner of this store disclosed there had been no housebreaking at these premises but, he had just reported to the eighth precinct that an individual answering the general description of "Garrett" but giving the name of Jack Lytton, had given him a bad check in the amount of $46.54 for a purchase of whisky in his store on October 13, 1961. A warrant was applied for subject Lytton and on this authority he was arrested on November 6, 1961.

Lytton was also charged with two other cases, of false pretense involving giving of a bad check for whisky purchases at Eig's Liquor Store, 5416 Georgia Avenue NW., on September 23 and 26, 1961. Investigation resulting in this defendant's arrest was also initiated on the basis of an ABC stamp number on a bottle of whisky in his possession.

No. 7: About 2:10 a.m. on April 19, 1963, the front showcase window of the Stop and Shop Liquor Store, at 3011 Rhode Island Avenue NE., was broken and an undetermined amount of whisky with ABC stamp No. 8331, was stolen. About 3:45 a.m. on the same date, two men entered the lobby of the Holiday Inn at 730 Monroe Street NE., and attempted to hold up the desk clerk. The officer on the beat, who had entered the premises shortly before, stepped from behind a partition and apprehended these two subjects. A third man who had remained outside, ran to a waiting automobile and was driven away at a high rate of speed. The officer was able to observe that it was a late model Ford with a loud exhaust and a lookout was sent for an automobile of that description.

Shortly after the lookout had been sent, Lieutenant Chaney of the 12th precinct observed an auto fitting the description of the wanted vehicle and as he approached he observed one of the two occupants climb over the front seat and disappear from view. After stopping the vehicle and questioning these two subjects, a revolver was discovered under the front seat of the automobile, along with three bottles of whisky with ABC stamp No. 8331. When confronted with the evidence of the sealed and unopened bottles and the significance of the possession of this whisky, bearing ABC stamp No. 8331, was pointed out, these two subjects confessed that earlier, in company with two other subjects, they had smashed the window of the liquor store and that while driving, and drinking some of the whisky obtained, they had decided to stage a robbery. When the other two subjects were confronted with this statement, they also admitted their part in both offenses. It is pointed out that the ABC stamp number in this case was an important piece of evidence in the interrogation of the second two subjects and assisted materially in obtaining their confessions.

The question has been raised as to whether or not the Federal serial numbers imprinted on case lots of whisky could not be used as well as the retail ABC number. The answer to this question is emphatically negative. This Federal number is used by the manufacturer on making up lots of whisky and no record of such numbers is kept of the distribution to local retailers. It very definitely cannot be used in place of the local ABC number.

Some questions also have been raised as to the use of stamps and cancellation procedures in other jurisdictions. For the information of the committee, I have caused an inspection to be made of copies of the State laws on file in the office of the Alcohol Tax and Tobacco Unit, Internal Revenue Service. Copies of these statutes are currently supplied to that office on a subscription basis by Commerce Clearing House, Inc., liquor control law reporting service. Summaries were prepared with reference to the State laws requiring the use of excise tax stamps as well as a cancellation procedure and are set forth in the attached tabulation as of June 18, 1963. Tax stamps and cancellation procedures were found to be required as follows:

Stamps required:	*Cancellation required*
Colorado (immediately)	Yes.
Florida	
Georgia	Yes.
Idaho (beer only)	Yes.
Indiana	Yes (as directed by administrator).
Kansas	Yes (defaces).
Kentucky (within 24 hours)	Repealed (Mar. 29, 1960).
Louisiana (immediately)	Yes.
Maryland	Yes (beer by return system).
Michigan (beer)	
Mississippi (within 48 hours)	Yes (permit number).
Missouri	Yes (name).
North Dakota (Attorney General's opinion).	
Ohio (wholesalers within 24 hours, retailers immediately).	Yes (name and date).
Oklahoma	
Oregon (law empowers commission to issue stamps).	
Pennsylvania	
Puerto Rico	
Rhode Island	
South Carolina	
South Dakota	
Tennessee (within 72 hours)	
Texas (except beer)	Yes.
Virginia (malt beverages and beer; spirituous liquors sold through State stores).	Yes (cash register receipt by State stores).
Washington (beer; wine optional).	
Wisconsin	

I would not in this communication take time to repeat previous testimony before committees of Congress on this matter but, by reference to such previous oral and written testimony and the additional evidence supplied herewith, reiterate to your committee, and again assert my view that elimination of identifying ABC license numbers would seriously impair law enforcement in the District of Columbia.

I therefore strongly urge to your committee that subsection (g), section 23 of the existing ABC law be retained in any new legislation and in particular H.R. 2036 being considered by your committee.

Trusting that the information submitted herewith may be helpful in the deliberations of your committee, I am,

Very truly yours,

ROBERT V. MURRAY,
Chief of Police.

The Impact of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy on the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when Congress is considering the administration's legislation on the war on poverty, it is perhaps well to consider the effect of our foreign trade on the creation or depletion of job possibilities. The Trade Relations Council of the United States, Inc., recently made a study of the implications of foreign trade developments for the capabilities of U.S. industries to create new job opportunities for the Nation's poverty-stricken unemployed and their report is as follows:

THE IMPACT OF U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY ON THE WAR ON POVERTY

The United States is exporting jobs to foreign countries at a faster rate than either industry or Federal subsidy programs can create new ones.

This is the inescapable conclusion of a well-documented study of the effects of this Nation's foreign trade policies on employment trends in this country.

The study also revealed:

1. President Johnson's appealing war on poverty is threatened with dismal failure in its goal of creating new jobs for America's unskilled and poorly educated men and women who make up the mass of the Nation's poverty stricken.

2. Our foreign economic policy not only contradicts the job goals of the war on poverty, but also is unresponsive to the realities of the employment needs of the Nation's impoverished, job-hungry group.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the administration's blueprint for waging war on unemployment and poverty, ignores the impact of foreign trade on joblessness.

This is an unfortunate and perhaps fatal weakness in the administration's battle plan.

The measure does recognize the need for improvement of social services to the poverty stricken. It does provide for job retraining and creation of new educational opportunities.

But these steps, while necessary, simply do not in themselves create new jobs.

The measure, as introduced, called for an assault on joblessness through a $36 million Federal incentive loan program for domestic industries.

Architects of the plan said this fund would create 10,000 new jobs at the rate of $3,600 per job in industries designated by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges as offering the greatest potential for employ-

ment of the impoverished, poorly educated, unskilled worker.

The Commerce Department designated 83 industries as qualifying for incentive loans based on their meeting a five-point test during the 1958–62 period. The criteria established included:

1. A moderate or better growth trend.
2. A low capital investment per employee.
3. A low to moderate wage rate.
4. A relatively high use of blue-collar workers.
5. A high labor intensity as measured by labor costs as a percentage of sales.

The 83 industries listed by the Commerce Department are engaged in textile and apparel manufacture, furniture making, wood and paper products, glassware and metal production, and appliance and machinery manufacture.

PRECEDENTS FOR LOAN PROGRAM

There is precedent for both the Federal incentive loan program contemplated in the antipoverty bill and for the conviction that high labor content industries offer the greatest promise for creation of jobs that can be filled by impoverished, low-skilled employees.

In its recent annual report the Area Redevelopment Administration said its industrial loan program had been responsible for creation of 20,431 jobs through expenditure of $57.1 million over a 2-year period.

But little or no actual study has been given in the past to what effect, if any, foreign trade and our balance of payments have had on actual employment trends.

Like a shadowy specter, foreign trade has lurked in the background of employment statistics and until now has avoided serious inspection.

This study was undertaken, therefore, in an attempt to relate our foreign trade experience in recent years to the levels of employment in the industries most affected by the antipoverty crusade—a crusade that has captured the imagination of Americans from all walks of life.

The study drew heavily upon available export-import data which had been correlated by the Bureau of the Census. The technique of converting export-import trade balances into job equivalents, through use of output-per-worker ratios, provided the means for analyzing the effects of foreign trade on the employment experience of industries in the control groups.

JOB LOSSES CITED

Using the Commerce Department's criteria, the study disclosed:

1. Imports resulted in a net loss of 21,174 production jobs between 1958 and 1962 in 48 industries counted upon by the administration to provide new jobs through Federal incentive programs.

2. An additional 13,763 jobs in nonproduction and service industries which would have been supported by the 21,174 production jobs were lost.

3. Projection of these experiences to cover 152 industries, of which the 48 were merely a sampling, indicates that 116,460 jobs were lost as a result of increased imports.

(The 152 industries include the 83 which met all 5 tests established by the Commerce Department plus 69 others which met 4 of the 5 tests established to identify those with big potential for employment of unskilled workers.)

Paradoxically, none of the industries represented in this study were damaged by the dramatically higher levels of imports from foreign producers. The American industries, on the contrary, enjoyed moderate to good production, sales, and earning increases, and were able to increase capital investments to expand production facilities.

Where did the damage strike?

The full burden of the adverse economic effects of our foreign trade policy was borne by those least able to shoulder it—jobless unskilled breadwinners whose families represent approximately one-fifth of our 30 million citizens living in poverty today.

An increasing proportion of consumer demand in this country for products of the 152 industries was met by goods imported from foreign countries—each of which enjoyed virtually full employment during the 5-year period.

Consider these contrasts in unemployment rates for 1962 alone: the United States, 5.6 percent; Japan, 0.9 percent; Belgium, 1.8 percent; West Germany, 0.7 percent; France, less than 1 percent; United Kingdom, 2 percent; the Netherlands, 0.8 percent; and Italy, 3.1 percent.

These uemployment ratios were recorded in a year when U.S. imports of goods produced by the 48 industries studied had reached $888.1 million, a 90.9-percent increase over the level of such imports in 1958.

During this same 5-year period, exports of the 48 study industries increased only 18.8 percent from $638.0 million to $758.2 million.

Simply put, imports of products of the industries studied quadrupled the rate of growth of their exports during the 5-year period and America's balance of trade shifted from a plus $172.8 million to a minus $129.9 million.

It is apparent from these facts that any steps taken to reduce joblessness in these particular industries that do not provide for an adjustment in the foreign trade picture will meet with certain failure.

SELECTION OF THE INDUSTRIES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

Of the 83 industries designated by the Commerce Department as meeting all 5 tests, 22 were found to have import-export data correlated by the Census Bureau, providing a representative sampling for study of the effects of foreign trade on their employment trends.

Since one of the five tests—that of a moderate growth trend in employment in recent years—has no connection with identifying industries capable of employing low skill, untrained workers, the study applied the four remaining tests to a broad group of industries. It was found that 69 industries met all of the requirements set by the Secretary of Commerce with the exception of the growth rate tests. Of these 69 industries, 23 were found to have import-export data correlated by the Census Bureau, providing a representative sampling of the 4-test group for purposes of analysis.

In addition, three industries with substantial foreign trade which met four or five of the tests were studied separately. For 1 of the 3, among the 83 designated by the Commerce Department, foreign trade data could not be correlated without joining it to a separate industry not included among the 83. The third industry, also included in the list designated by the Secretary of Commerce, accounted for such a large proportion of the exports of those industries for which import-export data had been correlated that its inclusion in the group would have seriously distorted analysis of the average situation of the industries in the total group. Thus, these three industry groups were studied separately from the other two control groups.

The answers to two questions were sought in the study:

1. Are export trends creating jobs of the type the long-term unemployed and members of poor families can perform?

2. Are import trends eliminating jobs of this type more rapidly than Government programs and private industries can create them?

RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

The results of the analysis of the three groups of industries are depicted graphically, which establish the following salient facts:

1. A weakness common to all of the 48 industries in the three study groups is the labor-intensive nature of their output; that is, their products require a relatively high degree of direct labor in the productive process. Since wage rates abroad are uniformly lower by decisive margins than in the United States, foreign industries with comparable plants, equipment, and technology to those American industries have a competitive advantage through significantly lower production costs.

2. Job losses attributable to increased competition from imports occurred in all three control study groups during the 5-year period regardless of whether consumer demand for the products was slight or relatively high. This reflects the decisive competitive advantage enjoyed by foreign producers as a result of lower production costs stemming from lower wage rates in the labor-intensive industries.

3. Relatively high capital expenditures helped to boost the productivity per worker among the industries in the three control groups. This appears to have contributed to moderate increases in exports by domestic producers, but it did not keep import penetration of domestic markets within the same moderate bounds. The noticeable exception in export growth occurred in the group of 3 industries studied separately from the 22 and 23 industry groups. The 17-percent average annual rate of growth recorded in the smaller grouping was due primarily to the impact of U.S. buying of textile machinery for export to underdeveloped countries under foreign aid programs. From 1955 to 1963 more than $6.2 billion was expended for such purchases with 44 percent of the total spent in the United States.

4. So long as the industries are labor intensive, regardless of the relative strength of demand, imports increase more swiftly than either domestic or export demand, due to the advantage of lower wage rates enjoyed by foreign producers. The inevitable consequence is an adverse change in the U.S. balance of trade in such products and a concurrent net loss of employment from domestic to foreign producers of the goods. A summary of the shift in the U.S. balance of trade in the 48 labor-intensive industries studied shows:

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Products of industry group	1958	1962	Percent change
U.S. imports:			
22 industries	$216.6	$419.8	
23 industries	198.7	336.5	
3 industries	49.9	132.8	
Total	465.2	888.1	+90.9
U.S. exports:			
22 industries	252.4	281.8	
23 industries	307.0	335.7	
3 industries	78.6	140.7	
Total	638.0	758.2	+18.8
U.S. balance of trade:			
22 industries	+35.8	−138.0	
23 industries	+108.3	+.2	
3 industries	+28.7	+7.9	
Total	+172.8	−129.9	−175.2

A summary of the losses in domestic employment in the 48 industries studied re-

sulting from the adverse foreign trade experience shows:

Products of industry group	1958	1962	Change, 1958–62	Percent change
Losses in employment to imports:				
22 industries	13,567	23,752	10,185	-------
23 industries	12,070	17,213	5,143	-------
3 industries	4,355	9,555	5,200	-------
Total	29,992	50,520	20,528	+68.4
Gains in employment due to exports:				
22 industries	13,617	12,742	−875	-------
23 industries	15,435	14,307	−1,128	-------
3 industries	5,705	7,062	+1,357	-------
Total	34,757	34,111	−646	−1.9
Net gain or loss of employment from foreign trade:				
22 industries	+50	−11,010	−11,060	-------
23 industries	+3,365	−2,906	−6,271	-------
3 industries	+1,350	−2,493	−3,843	-------
Total	+4,765	−16,409	−21,174	−444.4

The net loss of jobs of 21,174 represents the number of potential jobs lost as a result of the deterioration of our foreign trade balances in the products of the labor-intensive industries included in the 3 groups.

In addition to the direct loss of these production workers, the nonproduction workers in the same industries and the supporting and service industry workers called into action would have totaled 13,763 (based on 65 supporting workers per 100 production jobs as estimated by ARA) for a gross job loss of 34,937.

The 48 industries studied are a representative sampling of 152 industries, all of which meet 4 or 5 of the Commerce Department tests for high employment potential of impoverished, low skill workers. The sample group represents 30 percent of the 152 industries. Projecting the job loss experience of the sample group to the larger group reveals that the total loss of job potential due to foreign trade in labor-intensive industries was 116,460 during the 5-year period 1958 to 1962.

The total of jobs exported reaches the staggering magnitude of over 11 times the number of jobs (10,000) which the administration proposed creating through a $36 million incentive loan fund to the same types of industries as were adversely affected by our foreign trade imbalance.

ACTION NEEDED TO REVERSE JOB FLOW

It becomes clear that we are exporting jobs at a faster rate than either Government subsidy programs or industry investment spending can create them.

It also becomes clear that our foreign economic policy is unresponsive to the realities of the employment needs of the Nation's impoverished, unemployed worker.

If a successful attack on poverty and unemployment is to be mounted in the United States, some action must be taken to stem the flow of jobs from this country to the relatively low-wage countries competing with our domestic blue-collar industries.

A logical first step is action by President Johnson to reserve the product categories of these labor-intensive industries from further tariff reductions in the trade agreement negotiations now underway in Geneva. This would rule out the proposed 50 percent across-the-board reduction in U.S. duties on the products of foreign industries competing in our domestic markets with our own industries. It would not reverse the outflow of jobs from our shores, but it would at least prevent acceleration of this trend.

A necessary second step to bring back to this country the jobs lost since 1958 to foreign industries is action to limit imports of the products of these blue-collar industries. This could be achieved by limiting such imports to an amount 25.8 percent above the 1958 level of such imports, thus restoring to domestic industry groups the output potential lost to foreign producers since that time.

The reduction of imports required would be $302.7 million, equivalent to only 9.2 percent of the increase in imports in all manufacturing between 1958 and 1962.

Congressional action is needed to set import ceilings because the administration may take such action only when it finds an industry or group of industries has suffered serious injury as a result of unfavorable trade conditions. In the case of the industries cited in this study, no such finding is possible since, as a group, they are enjoying relatively good fiscal health while the army of unemployed in the blue-collar field is growing year by year as producers in other lands increase their sales in the U.S. market at a more rapid rate than the Nation's own industries.

The Wages of Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the rioting and civil disobedience in Rochester and New York can only be deplored and condemned. It must be stopped and law and order restored. For mob violence diminishes personal freedom, it insiduously infringes on individual liberty—the very rights we are seeking to extend and enlarge.

But as the Washington Post has so clearly and correctly emphasized today, more than this is required. What is required, and is in fact imperative, is a recognition that the violence and blind protest came about because of long years of neglect—neglect by the white community of the Negro's fundamental rights and privileges as an American.

It is true that throughout the North, Negroes have been given the semblance of civil rights. But in all too many cases they have not been given the substance of civil rights.

The inevitable consequence must, as the Post has reported, be "unrest and bitterness and sporadic outbursts of violence." And as the Post has so wisely concluded:

It is all very well to say that these consequences must be put down resolutely—that lawlessness and violence cannot be tolerated. It is all very well to say that Negroes must behave more responsibly—must rise above their environment. But the only real and enduring remedy must be sought in correction of the causes.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that all of us give this important message our immediate and careful attention:

THE WAGES OF NEGLECT

Violence breeds violence. The conflagration in Rochester, N.Y., was touched off, perhaps, by a spark blown from New York City And in both places, what started as protest seems to have given away to violence for the sheer sake of violence—carried on by thugs and looters, the dregs, not the leaders, of the community. And this violence is, apparently, being fanned and fomented, as one might expect, by those cormorants of social malaise, the Communists.

The disorder in both places expresses not protest but blind bitterness; it is purposelessly destructive of property except insofar as it abets thievery and private vengeance. But to say all this—and to condemn the rioting as of course one must—is not to justify any obfuscation or glossing over of its causes. The root cause of the New York tragedy is neglect—neglect by the white community which created Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn and the colored section of Rochester as racial concentration camps and which for half a century has ignored every plea and protest concerning them.

Even now the response of the white authorities who govern New York City has been not only too late but grudgingly too little as well. The killing of an allegedly dangerous youth by a police officer does not produce a riot except where there is a deeply felt conviction that the killing reflects a pattern of police cynicism and brutality. The people of Harlem are convinced that white policemen consider their lives of no account; they are convinced that these policemen are among their oppressors and exploiters.

Given that conviction—regardless of its merits—it seems sheer folly on the part of the New York authorities to have dealt with the violence in Harlem by sending hordes of white, instead of Negro, policemen there—armed with clubs and pistols. And it seems worse than folly to persist in a refusal to establish a civilian board empowered to hear and judge charges of police brutality. Negro leaders have been demanding a civilian police review board for months; they are not going to be satisfied—nor should they be—with a consideration of charges against the police by a board of fellow policemen.

The grudging slowness of the New York authorities to meet the demands of responsible Negro leaders has dangerously crippled the efforts of those leaders to restore respect for law and order; there is little they can offer or promise to the desperate and debased urban colored masses who are now the prey of Communists as they have long been the prey of dope peddlers, numbers racketeers, slum landlords and other exploiters. The people who live in Harlem and in Bedford-Stuyvesant and in the Rochester Negro ghetto are generally speaking, far from being ideal citizens. But one must wonder how they could be.

New York and Rochester—and this is in varying degrees true of Washington and other northern cities as well—have long given Negroes the semblance of civil rights—without the substance. They have laws forbidding discrimination in jobs and housing and public accommodations. Nevertheless, the Negro remains segregated and scorned. Unrest and bitterness and sporadic outbursts of violence are the inevitable consequences. It is all very well to say that these consequences must be put down resolutely—that lawlessness and violence cannot be tolerated. It is all very well to say that Negroes must behave more responsibly—must rise above their environment. But the only real and enduring remedy must be sought in correction of the causes.

The True Story of Prince Edward County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, during the many years in which the citizens of

Prince Edward County, Va., have been standing up for their rights before the Federal courts in the matter of protecting their schools, few national publications have made favorable comments upon their efforts. However, some very fine publications have chosen to look at this situation objectively and have informed their readers accordingly.

A very fine article, appearing in the July 20 edition of Washington World, has just come to my attention. This article, written by Mr. Scott Hart and entitled "The True Story of Prince Edward County," is as fine a presentation of the facts as I have seen published outside the confines of Virginia. This magazine has taken the trouble to go into the Prince Edward story in considerable detail and, by looking at the facts objectively, has arrived at the conclusion that the people of Prince Edward deserve fairer comment than they have received at the hands of many other periodicals.

Prince Edward County is one of the finest counties in the United States. Its people have a rich heritage and its community life has always been peaceful and enjoyable. During the long siege under the pressure of the Federal courts, the people of Prince Edward have stood steadfast in their convictions and they have gone about their business in a quiet and law-abiding manner. I believe that time will show that their conduct during this period stands as a monument to the cause in which they so wholeheartedly believe.

Mr. Hart has written a splendid article and I commend it to the reading of the Members of the House.

THE TRUE STORY OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

(By Scott Hart)

Summers are long and hot in Prince Edward County. The people feel the hell of heat smothering the Virginia tobacco fields and creeping along the edges of shade. It's too hot for controversy. In the offices and along the streets of Farmville, they talk of baseball and President Johnson and GOLDWATER and weather and Washington.

Washington has pushed them once more to the brink of decision over schools. Prince Edward alone among the 3,070 counties of the United States closed its public schools in 1959. Since that date the word "school" has been the bete noir of the people there.

On June 16 of 1964 the Scripps-Howard News in Washington said "What Prince Edward is pleading is not financial poverty but poverty of spirit and intellect * * * its officials have adopted a policy of ignorance * * * inappropriate to the State which prided itself on being 'the mother of Presidents.'

"Somewhere along the way, the mother gave up. * * * Five years of makeshift schools, or no schools at all, exact a fearsome price."

This freehand billingsgate is not new to the people of Prince Edward. It is nevertheless a distortion difficult for them to understand, since it turns upon two misrepresentations (a) Prince Edward is deficient in spirit and intellect, (b) Prince Edward denied its Negro children the opportunity to go to school.

Probably no county in Virginia has an intellectual tradition so ancient and so vigorous as Prince Edward. Its Hampden-Sydney College was founded in 1775. Graduates of that college founded or succored the Princeton Theological Seminary, the Medical College of Virginia, the University of Richmond, Transylvania College in Kentucky—the first west of the mountains—and the medical school at Randolph-Macon College.

While the university, as the State institution at Charlottesville is called, generally has been attributed to the initiative of Thomas Jefferson, its cofounder was Joseph G. Cabell, an alumnus of Hampden-Sydney College, class of 1825.

Eleven other colleges or theological seminaries in New York, Mississippi, Texas, West Virginia, and Kentucky grew from the efforts of Hampden-Sydney graduates. And Farmville, county seat of Prince Edward, has been the site of the State normal school since 1884. Now called Longwood, using the estate Longwood—home of the Confederate Army's famous Gen. Joseph E. Johnston—as its recreation center, the teachers' college is an integral part of the town life.

Ironically, in ordering the Prince Edward public schools reopened by September, the Supreme Court has told the Federal court at Richmond to implement the order. Richmond move against Prince Edward? Richmond, which owes its medical college and its university to Hampden-Sydney? Richmond, once tipped toward secession in 1860 by the spirited leaders of Prince Edward County?

Lacking in spirit? When whole blocks of the so-called Baptist belt rose in bigoted wrath against the presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith in 1928, Prince Edward coolly voted for him. Methodist Bishop James Cannon, a trader in prohibitions and prejudices, came to Prince Edward to give one of his "the Pope will rule the land if Smith is elected" speeches, and was pelted with vegetables and eggs for his pains.

Tolerance has been the county's core since its founding in 1753. The early inhabitants addressed a petition for religious liberty to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1776, urging in part "that you raise religious as well as civil liberty to the zenith of glory, and make Virginia an asylum of free inquiry, knowledge, and the virtuous of every denomination."

A second source of puzzlement to the residents of Prince Edward is the belief that the county denied schools to its Negro children. County leaders say that education has not been denied anyone. The county's Negro pupils, outnumbering the whites, were offered private schooling when private classes were established in 1959 for white children.

There, say the citizens, is a fundamental fact almost entirely ignored in the hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles that brought the county's undesired prominence. In 1959, a letter was sent to every Negro parent saying, in part:

"It is our intention to set up good schools, get qualified teachers, and, so that the Negro children of this county will not lose time from school, to run these schools at least 180 days, which is a full school year."

With the letter went an application for school enrollment. Thus was established—by attempt, at least—the Southside Schools, Inc., for colored children.

Few outsiders other than readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD have ever heard of it. The public press worried at one theme—that 1,600 Negro children were inhumanly denied an education.

Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, told the Senate: "When this letter went out, Oliver W. Hill, the Negro lawyer representing NAACP in Richmond, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director from New York, made a hurried return to the county. They showed up at a Christmas party for the county's colored children on December 23, 1959. Hill used such an occasion as the Christmas party for colored children to tell their parents that some benighted individuals are trying to entice you away from your rights by promising you a private school. All you are losing is 1 or 2 years of Jim Crow education, but at the same time in your leisure you can gather more basic education than you would in 5 years of Jim Crow schools."

To the invitation, response came from only one Negro child.

BYRD declared: "Accepting this kind of outside guidance for their 'advancement,' instead of the offer of assistance from their white neighbors who want to work with them for the establishment of schools, the colored people of Prince Edward have ignored educational opportunities provided for them.

"Noting the clear indications of intimidation by the NAACP—when only one application for enrollment was received—officials of Southside Schools, Inc., promised that the identity of applicants for enrollment would not be disclosed until the schools were open. But even this did not result in any more applications," BYRD said.

In the uproar, Prince Edward became the best known county in the United States, to its dismay. The Prince Edward story, its people contend, has been inaccurately told. Reporters have said that their on-the-scene accounts were rewritten and slanted by their editors. Comments Representative WATKINS M. ABBITT, Democrat, of Virginia:

"The people of Prince Edward have tried to emphasize that they are not seeking to break the law but are trying to preserve constitutional government. There has been no violence. The citizens have been subjected to perhaps the heaviest pressure brought to bear against any community in the United States in many years. The forces of the Federal judiciary, the Justice Department, and most of the executive branch of the Government have been pitted against the people. I believe that eventually history will show that the cause for which the county has fought will win the commendation of many communities in the United States."

The Farmville Herald, the county's only newspaper, has said: "The issue is not the people versus public schools. * * * The issue is the control of public schools. The question is: Will public education be controlled by the people who pay for it, or by the Federal courts, which under pressure of organized minorities threaten to dominate it?"

The issue, whatever its merits, has brought such attention to the county that its name is abbreviated to "Edward" in headlines coast to coast with readers knowing what is meant. The county consequently has become self-conscious in the spotlight—and its business leaders wonder about the effect. They believe that the aggregate affect of the heavy unfavorable publicity sets them off as a congregation of wool hats, inhabiting an area of scrub pine and gullies, where Negroes are purposefully tormented and deprived.

They answer: In the county's seven districts, real estate is owned by 2,475 white persons and 1,891 Negroes. In two of the districts, ownership rests with 464 Negroes as compared to 329 whites, and 424 Negroes as compared to 358 whites.

Residential areas of the two races in Farmville exist as in so many southern towns, side by side. Many Negroes maintain their premises meticulously. Some don't—which is among their rights.

Said a Farmville man whose ancestry dates from the town's founding in 1798, and who grew up with Farmville Negroes: "I have noticed lately a strange thing. Some of the colored people are turning distant, even to me. I pass them and they don't look at me." He seemed puzzled.

There was never any trouble between the races in the county, not even during the Reconstruction era. Then the wrath of the whites was directed against whites who came in from the outside to exploit the conditions.

Indeed, the county points with pride to a Negro native son, Dr. Robert R. Moton, longtime president of famed Tuskegee In-

stitute, and recipient of an honorary degree from Harvard.

The county has been a spawning and gathering ground of important people. Patrick Henry and John Randolph, of Roanoke, lived there. All told, the county produced eight Governors of States:

Abner Nash, of North Carolina, second Governor under the Constitution; Patrick Henry, Virginia, 1776–79; Henry Watkins Allen, Louisiana, 1863–65; Thomas W. Ligon, Maryland, 1854–58; Sterling Price, Missouri, 1853–57; William W. Bibb, Alabama, 1817–20; Philip W. McKinney, Virginia, 1890–94, and George Walton, Georgia, 1789–90.

John Caldwell became an early Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky. William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, spent his childhood in the county, and was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College.

People of the county quietly smile when Prince Edward is referred to as "backward." There have been no dynamitings, they remind, such as have occurred in Tennessee and Alabama, nor any rock throwing, as in New Jersey. The NAACP, the county people say, went to the courts. The county did nothing less.

The county, with a population of approximately 15,000, has been characterized as "poor" almost consistently in reports since the desegregation troubles. Actually, Farmville, with a population of 5,000, is the largest of the three dark-fired tobacco markets in the State.

In one average year, $1,523,774 was paid to tobacco growers from the local warehouses. Lumber products bring in excess of $1 million. Retail sales in the town have climbed annually to nearly $20 million. Other business volume (professional, services, manufacturers, and mills) last year added $12,549,550. Three banks have assets exceeding $19 million.

On a map of Virginia's 98 counties or a map of the United States and its 3,070 counties, Prince Edward looks small, a slight 357 square miles of rolling land and tiny villages, inhabited by people with a friendliness so instantly noticeable that the correspondents even mentioned it.

Why did the death grapple with the Supreme Court of the United States occur there? As likely places stand in a dozen other States. Say, only, that in 1954 a thunderhead formed in the sky, lightning flashed and struck, and there is little explaining the ways of such things.

It is a good guess that the schools' doors will reopen, with scant integration. The existing private school will draw probably 98 percent of the 1,250 white pupils. The 1,600 Negro students—served by a privately financed school during the last year—may be back in a public school. And the situation would be just about what it was to begin with. All that resulted was an uproar.

A few sum it up, like this: "I don't know what we'll do." Three words grow repetitious: "I don't know." But one man, maybe speaking for many, said, "You can throw a rope on the ground and pull it. It will come every time. But try to push that rope. Nobody can push that rope. Or push anything."

The expectation of reopening the public schools is based on a firm statement by one of the leaders in the long contention. "We have never been defiant of the law. We simply put the desegregation ruling to its furthest test—in the courts. We shall abide by a final decision."

Serenity, Courage, Wisdom: Mrs. GoldSmith Looked on the Bright Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Daily News of Monday, July 27, 1964. It was my privilege to become acquainted with Mrs. GOLDSMITH during the period she was associated with the American Thrift Assembly in advancing the voluntary retirement plan for the self-employed and which is now known as the Self-Employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act of 1962. She was a brave and gallant lady and an inspiration to all who knew her:

SERENITY, COURAGE, WISDOM: MRS. GOLDSMITH LOOKED ON THE BRIGHT SIDE

Mary GoldSmith, who 5 years ago wrote a series of articles in the Washington Daily News and other Scripps-Howard newspapers on her physical and emotional ordeal after she learned she had breast cancer, died last week of cancer in George Washington University Hospital.

Mrs. GoldSmith, who had been national secretary of the women's auxiliary of the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund, had spent much of her time since her first operation in 1959 making radio and television appearances and writing encouragement to hundreds of cancer victims.

SPREAD

Friends at the International Teamsters Union where she worked as a secretary said Mrs. GoldSmith had no further signs of the disease until about 6 months ago when doctors discovered it had spread to other organs.

"She was in the best of spirits right up until the end," one friend reported. "I think she always thought she could beat it, even then."

Mrs. GoldSmith, the friend said, "was the type of person who always brought a little happiness into your life. She always had time for someone's problem even though she had more problems than most."

She was so successful in reassuring persons they can return to normal lives after such surgery that often doctors would ask her to talk to their patients.

ACTIVE

"I go dancing, swimming, and I even climbed a mountain the other day," Mrs. GoldSmith reported less than a year after she had had her right breast removed. She also saved a 13-year-old boy from drowning.

"Maybe you wonder how I managed to fill a swimming suit now," she had said. "Well, they're doing wonderful things with foam rubber these days. I've even devised a way to wear a low-cut gown."

Mrs. GoldSmith's philosophy perhaps was best summed up by the motto which appeared at the end of the series of articles she wrote for the News in 1959. It reads: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, courage to change the things I can—and wisdom to know the difference."

Mrs. GoldSmith, who was 42, was buried Friday in Columbia Gardens Cemetery. She is survived by a son, John A. Alix, of 240 Cedar Lane, Vienna.

Albert Rains—An Appreciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Alabama, Congressman ALBERT RAINS, is richly deserving of the gratitude of his fellow Members, his party, his State, and his country for his distinguished service in this House. One of the title he has earned is that of "Mr. Housing." Recently, the Cooperative League of the United States in its quarterly publication, Cooperative Housing, printed a series of tributes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS]. I wish to bring these to the attention of the Members:

ALBERT RAINS—AN APPRECIATION

Shelby E. Southard:

"If the U.S. Congress has had a Mr. Housing these last 20 years, his name is ALBERT RAINS.

"Congressman RAINS arrived in the House of Representatives in 1944 representing the Gadsden, Ala., district. From the first he interested himself in the not-so-politically glamorous subject of housing. With membership on the banking and currency committee, he was in a position to do something about it.

"He contributed much to the landmark housing bill of 1949 in which the urban renewal program was born. In his first 5 years, RAINS showed the congressional leadership he was willing to do his homework—and in a field as complex as housing legislation that can be a prodigious chore.

"When there was a rumpus over shoddy construction in the 1950's, ALBERT RAINS agreed to head a special subcommittee to explore this explosive subject. By putting the facts, good and bad, on the line, and pointing out how construction standards could be better safeguarded, this first Rains subcommittee not only exposed but did much to remedy the problem it was set up to investigate.

"In 1955, Congress authorized a permanent Housing Subcommittee as an adjunct of the Banking and Currency Committee. It was the first such with its own charter and staff. There was never any question who would head it. In a decade of service, ALBERT RAINS had won his colleagues' respect in a way few do. He has worked his subcommittee hard and its field investigations, studies, and exhaustive inquiries contributed much to 1956–59 housing legislation.

"Many regard as the climax to his useful House tenure the way RAINS guided through the 1961 omnibus housing bill—fending off crippling amendments by hairbreadth mar-

gins; writing into law the first significant lower middle income housing program 221 (d)(3), and perfecting amendments to section 213.

"Although he has been returned to office by increasingly wider margins and led all Alabama Congressmen when they ran at large in 1962, RAINS has announced he will retire this year. This will close out two decades of signally useful service. He has placed in his debt every American sincerely concerned about better housing."

Dwight D. Townsend, president, National Association of Housing Cooperatives:

"Cooperative housing has been blessed by the devoted public service of ALBERT RAINS during the years when the legislative hopper was full of new and varied proposals for low- and middle-income housing. Because cooperative housing is nonprofit private enterprise by nature and has always been available to low- and middle-income families, Members of Congress sometimes have difficulty in rationalizing its incentive.

"Congressman RAINS was quick to see its meritorious nature and aggressively helped to implement it by enabling legislation. The success story of cooperative housing through FHA mortgage insurance is a tribute to ALBERT RAINS' ability to develop legislation comparable to his ideals."

Irving Sherman, past president, Federation of Section 213 Cooperatives:

"When leadership among the 213 cooperatives first realized that an inequity inhered in this program in connection with the insurance premium, Congress was resorted to for aid. At the very onset of this appeal, Congressman ALBERT RAINS responded and never ceased to respond. Through his perseverance and by his leadership, we in the 213's have come a long way. Through this effort alone—separated from all his vast achievement of 20 years in Congress, ALBERT RAINS leaves behind him a great record of legislative industry and attainment."

David L. Krooth, Krooth & Altman Co.:

"All cooperative and consumer groups recognize ALBERT RAINS as the conscience for the public interest in housing. Whenever there has been an issue on housing legislation, he could be counted upon to arrive at the right decision in the interest of the people.

"While Congressman RAINS was universally respected among home builders and realtors, his decisions and votes were always motivated by what was best for the Nation as a whole rather than for any particular segment. He had the rare capacity for placing all issues in their proper perspective. The result was that his decisions achieved a proper balance between the claims of the competing forces in the housing economy, with all actions measured against the yardstick of the welfare of the Nation as a whole.

"There are many monuments to the achievements of Congressman RAINS in housing. If I were to select a single one, it would be the establishment of the 221(d)(3) program to provide money through FHA insurance of loans—and the Federal National Mortgage Association purchase of them—at below-market interest rates to serve families of moderate income.

"This program is a tribute to the genius and political acumen of ALBERT RAINS. He developed a feasible program to help meet an unmet need and fill a major gap in our housing program.

"He enjoyed such great respect in the Congress that he was able to marshal necessary support for his proposal and to secure its enactment into law. All families who live in the housing built as a result of his efforts owe Congressman RAINS an everlasting debt of gratitude. The cooperatives and consumers of America likewise are eternally thankful for his outstanding achievements."

Wallace J. Campbell, Nationwide Insurance:

"From the time of the first congressional breakthrough on cooperative housing and during all of the continuous history of cooperative legislation, ALBERT RAINS has been the stanchest possible friend of cooperative housing.

"In the House of Representatives, ALBERT RAINS has carved for himself an important niche in legislative history. Much more important, through his legislative leadership, he has made it possible for many thousands of families to own their own homes better and cheaper than they could otherwise possibly have obtained them, through the cooperative technique."

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

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Appendix

"Policy Review of All-Cargo Carriers' Role in Air Transportation"—Statement by Senator Monroney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the Civil Aeronautics Board has recently undertaken a policy review of the all-cargo carriers' role in air transportation. This review is commendable.

The state of the all-cargo industry—that is, the Nation's airfreight specialists—and the actions needed were eloquently set forth by the senior Senator from Oklahoma in his statement before the CAB on July 8, 1964. Senator MONRONEY is an acknowledged congressional authority on this subject, and I concur with his remarks. I ask unanimous consent that his statement before the Civil Aeronautics Board be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR A. S. MIKE MONRONEY BEFORE THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, JULY 8, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the Board, the consideration of proposed amendments to part 207 relating to the limitations on the amount of charter trips which may be performed by combination carriers and all-cargo carriers and to part 399 regarding the Board's policy on block space at wholesale rates marks the first significant effort by the Board to explore measures to carve out a role for the supplemental and all-cargo carriers in aviation. These carriers are the small business segment of aviation. In many respects they have been treated as the stepchildren of oftentimes neglectful parents.

The consideration of these amendments is significant, not only because of the substantive changes involved, but also because it represents an awareness by the Board of the ill health of these carriers and a determination at least to investigate cures. I commend the Board for taking this step. It is in line with the intent of the Senate Committee on Commerce which in 1961 in its report on the supplemental air carrier legislation said:

"In deciding what authority should be given each carrier the Board should certainly start with what the carrier wants to do; what its experience has been; what its capability is in terms of financing, personnel, and equipment. A supplemental industry constructed on this basis requires courage and imagination on the part of the carriers in developing and proposing how they can best serve the public interest. It requires on the part of the Board a sense of liberality and experimentation and a willingess to undertake a trial, even at the cost of occasional error. * * *"

This view is unchanged today. Only by experimentation and innovation can the problems be solved and progress continued. A failure to act can produce only stagnation.

The Board's responsibility is to promote, encourage, and develop the airline industry in this country. This responsibility runs to all classes of carriers and to all individual lines which have been certificated. It is the responsibility of the Congress as well. For we cannot create by legislation that which is in the public interest and then stand aside to watch our infants destroyed.

Neither the Board nor Congress should hesitate to put to the acid test of implementation measures which would help weak segments of the industry. The history of all classes of carriers begins with an initial period of protection and sustenance by the Government. This was certainly true in the case of combination carriers, who are now the mature and prosperous adults of the industry. It was not always so.

Today, our trunk carriers can look forward to a decade of golden years. They have reached maturity and are reaping the rewards. But it is significant to remember the chaotic condition of the industry in general in 1938 when the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed and to note that it has taken over 25 years for the combination carriers to attain the stability and profitability that they enjoy today. Determined and competent management gave strong leadership to this upward progress.

I do not believe that the management of any of these carriers would presume to say that its company alone could have achieved this maturity if, in those early years, there had been no regulation, no subsidy, no mail contracts, no exclusive routes, no wartime military contracts, and no encouragement. In subsidy alone the Federal Government paid out over $580 million during the period from 1939 through 1953. Approximately half of this sum went to four airlines which today are our leading carriers. This has proven to be a good investment for the Nation as well as for the airlines. It has taken beneficent regulation of competition and routes; it has taken generous infusions of subsidy; it has taken virtually guaranteed Government contracts. And, perhaps as important as any, it has taken promotion, encouragement, and development by the Board and by the Congress to enable these carriers to give to the public the benefits which they now provide.

The combination carriers have a definite role to play. Their purpose and function are clearly identified. They are authorized to fly anything that can be loaded on an airplane to anyplace on their assigned routes and, almost without exception, to any place off their routes if they can fill up the plane. Yet, with all this, they passed through difficult years. It is little wonder that the supplementals and the all-cargo carriers are experiencing difficulties in their trying development stage.

These difficulties are matters which the Board and Congress must face head on. We have both concluded that these classes of carriers serve the public interest. In 1961, the Congress enacted legislation authorizing the issuance of certificates to supplementals. This action was based on the conviction that these carriers had a place in aviation and a role to perform which would benefit the public. In this regard the Senate Committee on Commerce said:

"These carriers have been instrumental in expanding the horizon of air commerce. To a large extent they are responsible for the tremendous expansion in the charter field which has taken place in the last few years. They pioneered the military contract business and the airfreight or all-cargo field. They were the first to develop aircoach travel and as a result opened a vast new field of air transportation by encouraging people to travel by air who had never done so previously.

"Since its origin, the supplemental air carrier industry has existed in an atmosphere of uncertainty from one month to the next as to whether operating authority would continue. It has been an era of continued court challenges, protracted, costly, and tedious Government deliberations, anxiety and frustration. Your committee is unanimous in its conviction that the supplemental air carriers have a vital role to play in meeting the air transportation needs of this country. * * *"

As early as 1949, the Board recognized the need for air specialists in cargo movement when it initiated what was then called the "all-cargo experiment." As late as 1962, the Board again affirmed the wisdom of creating this new class of specialists by issuing permanent certificates to two all cargo carriers. The Board said in the *Domestic Cargo—Mail Service* case (docket 10067 et al.):

"The Board is satisfied that * * * the all-cargo experiment has been of real benefit to the Nation as a whole as well as to the shippers and recipients of cargo. It is convinced that the specialized and stimulating effects of the all-cargo carrier are needed for the intensive development of freight potential which is still required. * * * The proportion of * * * cargo carried by the all-cargo carriers, the service which they have provided to civilian and military users, the new aircraft which they introduced and the stimulation which * * * they have afforded the all-purpose carriers, all indicate that renewal of all-cargo carriers will serve the public convenience and necessity. * * *

"We think it is clear that both the all-purpose and the all-cargo carriers have peculiar advantages and can make special contributions to the industry. In our judgment, the development of a system of cargo transportation adapted to the Nation's needs will best be accomplished through their combined efforts."

I am in wholehearted agreement with these statements by the Board. There is a vital necessity for the continuation and preservation of the all-cargo carriers. They have stimulated the development of air cargo. They have pioneered new aircraft and new techniques.

The Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee and the Board have worked closely in the past to achieve a well-balanced air transportation system through the issuance of certificates to both large and small airlines and to encourage the development of new areas of air transportation. One of the results of this joint effort and interest has been the creation of different classes of carriers such as the all-cargo carriers and the supplemental carriers.

I am greatly disturbed by the impending crisis which threatens the balance achieved

in our system and which could bankrupt the all-cargo carriers and the supplementals. Unless steps are taken soon to open greater business oportunities for these two groups of carriers, I am afraid the progress of many years will be lost. That is why some action by the Board is so imperative.

The Defense Department recently reviewed its policy in connection with the MATS procurement program and has now awarded its fiscal 1965 MATS contracts. I understand that the Board was consulted in connection with the review of policy. Although the Defense Department affirmed the wisdom of the Presidentially approved courses of action which were implemented by the Air Force in 1960 and has indicated its intention to continue that policy, it appears that certain other factors have changed significantly the allocation of the total MATS business among the competing carriers. And this is the business upon which supplementals and all-cargo carriers must now rely primarily, until commercial carriage can be secured in greater amounts.

Among these factors are (1) the reduction in rates recently approved by the Board, (2) the addition of many new jet aircraft to the program, and (3) the awarding of contracts to airlines which previously did not participate in the MATS program. For fiscal 1965 alone the above three factors will result in a reduction of about 50 percent in the per jet aircraft allocation and about 30 percent in the per CL–44 allocation. The total amount of MATS business for fiscal 1965 is reduced from $145 million to $129.2 million. Thus, the share which will go to those carriers which did not add new aircraft in 1964 has been cut drastically.

The Defense Department has also put into effect specific rules to implement its previously announced policy with respect to using air carriers which have an appropriate balance between civil and military business. For fiscal 1966 the MATS contracts will be awarded in such a way that the carriers who receive contracts will derive at least 30 percent of their revenue from commercial sources. The Defense Department goal is for the carriers in the near future to derive 60 percent of their revenue from commercial sources. While this is a laudable policy and one with which I am in general agreement, I am concerned about the 30- and 60-percent rules, particularly the timing of their implementation. The carriers which will be affected most severely by this policy are the all-cargo carriers and the supplementals. The combination trunk carriers with their big passenger income have no worries in meeting even more than the 60 percent commercial income test.

The supplementals will also lose this year another source of revenue—their individually ticketed business. One of the all-cargo carriers has lost almost all of its mail revenues as a result of another change in Defense Department and Post Office Department policy regarding the allocation of oversea military and civilian mail transported by air. Of course, domestic all-cargo carriers have never participated to any great degree in the movement of mail. Postal rules effectively preclude their participation.

I know that the Board is familiar with these developments, as well as others, but I state them to apprise you of the specific problems which trouble me. Among other things, the Congress has vested in the Board the authority and imposed upon it the duty to encourage and develop our air transportation system according to the needs of our commerce, the postal service, and the national defense, to foster sound economic conditions and to maintain competition. As one Member of Congress I feel that I should make known my views in this public forum for consideration by the Board.

The malady of the supplementals and the all-cargo carriers cannot and should not be approached as a subsidy matter. These carriers are ineligible for subsidy and should so remain. The solution lies in opening up new avenues of commercial revenue for them so they may compete on a fair and effective basis with combination carriers for a slice of the aviation dollar. The Board must study and consider new approaches which can be taken to remove the operating restrictions presently imposed on these carriers. These carriers must be granted an exclusive niche in the airline industry and a part of the overall traffic must be reserved for them alone. The Board's consideration of the amendments to parts 207 and 399 is a start in this direction.

Without additional promotion by the Board it is unlikely that these classes of certificated and congressionally authorized carriers will have sufficient revenues to survive as sound, safe, and profitable carriers. They have acquired modern turbine-powered equipment for the military which they will have difficulty in paying for on drastically reduced military contracts. It is unlikely that any repossessed aircraft would remain in this country as part of the CRAF program. It is also improbable that these carriers will be able to meet the military 30- and 60-percent requirements, assuming a normal market growth and no change in existing operating authority.

Ways and means must be found to enable these carriers to increase their commercial business and to obtain profitable business. I do not know whether the proposed amendments are the answer. But it is an encouraging sign that the Board is giving consideration to some change which will give relief. The Board should also investigate through actual proceedings the feasibility of granting supplementals the right to sell all-expense tours along the lines being used so successfully in Europe. The Board should work closely with the Department of Defense in matters relating to the award of MATS contracts. Without stable and sound supplemental and all-cargo carriers the strong Civil Reserve Air Fleet built in recent years will vanish. Further, the Board and the Post Office Department should reexamine all existing rules and regulations affecting the movement of mail. These rules preclude all-cargo carriers from obtaining anything but a miniscule amount of mail. In particular, a joint Board-Post Office study should be made to determine whether it would be advantageous to use all-cargo services at low bulk rates for the carriage of types of mail now moving on time-consuming surface routes.

The Board must do now whatever it can within the power vested in it by Congress. If that power is insufficient, recommendations should be made to the Congress requesting authority to take whatever steps are needed.

The Board and Congress have declared a need for these carriers. They perform a function vital to the maintenance of a balanced transportation system. Every appropriate effort must be made to provide a sound base for the growth of these classes of carriers by assigning them separate and select functions in the airline industry. It would be tragic in the extreme that having qualified for certificates of public convenience and necessity, these carriers should have the Board turn its back on them and fail to show any concern over whether they survive or die.

Statement of James E. Van Zandt, National Legislative Committee Chairman, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Before the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, during the recent Republican National Convention it was my privilege to appear before the platform committee. Appearing before the same forum to present the views of the Veterans of Foreign Wars was our former colleague, the Honorable James E. Van Zandt. I am pleased to submit for the RECORD the text of Mr. Van Zandt's statement before the platform committee of the Republican National Convention.

His remarks follow:

STATEMENT OF JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, on behalf of the 1,300,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, I deeply appreciate this opportunity to appear here today to express our recommendations in the field of veterans' rights and benefits which we would like very much to be incorporated in this year's Republican Party platform.

By way of introduction, it was my great honor to be elected as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for three successive terms. Subsequently, I served in the House of Representatives for 11 terms when I was chosen to run as the Republican candidate for a seat in the U.S. Senate, 88th Congress. This bid was unsuccessful and I am presently associated with the Pennsylvania State government with an office in Washington, D.C.

Before commencing with my recommendations, I would like to submit for the record and to perhaps assist you in your deliberations, copies of the veterans' planks which were adopted both in 1956 and in 1960. These include both the Democratic and Republican platforms as they related to veterans and their families. You will note the Republican platform in 1960 was shorter and less comprehensive than the Democratic platform and this has caused considerable adverse comment among organized veterans.

Presently, I am serving as chairman, National Legislative Committee, having been appointed to this high position in the Veterans of Foreign Wars by a great commander in chief, Joseph J. Lombardo, of Brooklyn, N.Y., under whose leadership our organization has achieved its highest membership since the peak days just after World War II.

The population of the United States is approaching 200 million, with the last official count showing over 190 million. War veterans and their families represent almost 45 percent of this population. There are presently living today over 22 million war veterans who with their families constitute close to 85 million Americans. You will readily observe that this represents the largest

single segment in our population. Of these 22 million war veterans, the great majority served during World War II. The World War I veterans have now been reduced to 2.3 million and their average age is 70. Korean conflict veterans, of which there are around 5 million, have an average age of 32 and World War II veterans average age is 45. Counting Spanish War veterans the average age of all war veterans is now 56.

It is with this background that the Veterans of Foreign Wars (as the second largest veterans' organization in the Nation, is coming before you today to present the needs and desires of this veteran population and accordingly, the Veterans of Foreign Wars recommend that the following planks be included in the Republican Party platform.

1. Establishment of a standing veterans' affairs committee in the U.S. Senate: There is no single committee in the Senate structure comparable to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Knowledgeable veterans are becoming increasingly worried that assaults on veterans' programs will be more successful in the Senate because of the lack of a committee devoted to full-time consideration of veterans' programs. Forty-six Senators have signed their names as sponsors or cosponsors of 11 separate Senate resolutions to establish such a committee. Twenty-two Republican Senators including Minority Leader DIRKSEN and Whip KUCHEL are among the sponsors and are lending their fullest support to this objective.

2. Additional nursing home beds for long-term chronically ill invalid veterans: The hopes and desires of veterans to accomplish this objective is found in H.R. 8009, unanimously approved by the House and now pending in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This legislation has been vigorously opposed by the Administration—that is—by both spokesmen for the Bureau of the Budget and the Veterans' Administration. There are already almost 10,000 nursing home patients occupying beds in Veterans' Administration hospitals, who could be released except, they have no home and there are no nursing care beds available. This is causing a terrific strain on the Veterans' Administration hospital system and unnecessary expenditures, since a nursing home patient can be taken care of at an average of $9 a day for ursing care as opposed to $27 a day for full-time care.

The VFW urges the Republican Platform Committee to continue the long-established policy that war veterans of this Nation deserve special consideration for their contribution, which would be reflected in additional nursing home care beds in H.R. 8009.

3. Liberalizing the pension program for aged and disabled veterans: Presently, there are over a million veterans receiving pension payments, for non-service-connected disabilities, which has made them permanently and totally disabled. While there is no age limit for entitlement, the older a veteran gets, the less disability he must have to qualify. Several hundred thousand World War II and Korean veterans are also receiving pension payments and they are in the main extremely disabled. Almost a million of the veterans on the pension rolls are World War I veterans and the great bulk are now in their 70's. Hundreds of thousands of veterans and their widows are living in a poverty status since they are subsisting almost entirely on very modest pension payments, a maximum of $85 for a single veteran and $90 for a married veteran—less than $1100 per annum in each instance. It is strongly recommended that the Republican Party seek to have the present pension program liberalized and made more generous by increasing income payments and limitations with special emphasis directed to the large number of World War II veterans whose average age is now 70. No war veteran should be required to live in a poverty status. The President has defined poverty to mean any American couple who are living on less than $3,000 a year. There are hundreds of thousands of veterans in this condition. All veterans receiving a pension payment cannot exceed the $3,000 per year income limitation if they are married or have one or more dependent children. In the case of a single veteran his income cannot exceed $1800 a year or he loses his eligibility for a modest pension payment. There are then over a million veterans plus several hundred thousand widows of war veterans whose incomes, by Presidential definition, are in the poverty class. The Veterans of Foreign Wars urges the Republican Party to take note of our Nation's war veterans to insure that no war veteran or his widow is forced to live in poverty circumstances. If there is to be any economy, let's not do it at the expense of war veterans, especially when in their declining years they need help and need it desperately in the form of adequate pension payments.

4. Vigorous opposition to governmental efforts to weaken and eliminate veterans preference in Federal civil service: This administration has recommended the elimination of veterans preference with respect to two Federal agencies; namely, the Alaska Railroad and the Agency for International Development (AID). Both have apparently been unsuccessful, because the Congress refused to agree to reduce veterans preference. These recommendations have caused great alarm among veterans since both were strongly supported by both the Civil Service Commission and the administration. Veterans preference is now over 100 years old and has long been a part of our social fabric. It costs practically nothing to administer, and for war veterans in the Federal civil service, it provides an honorarium for the service they rendered when it was needed the most.

5. Elevation of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to Cabinet rank: The Veterans' Administration is the third largest agency being exceeded only by the Department of Defense and the Post Office Department. It has 170,000 employees; operates the largest hospital system in the world (168); makes monthly monetary payments to over 4 million persons, mostly in the form of compensation and pension; and operates a life insurance program representing one-fifth of all ordinary life insurance in force in the United States ($41 billion). One could go on and on to demonstrate this independent agency deserves departmental status. The affairs of veterans affect virtually every segment of our population.

6. Continue favorable consideration of compensation rates for the service disabled: This carries out the principle that the Nation's service disabled deserve the highest consideration and includes dependency and indemnity compensation payable to the widows, children, and dependent parents of veterans who died from service-connected disabilities.

7. Reopening the national service life insurance program, for a period of 1 year to permit World War II and Korean conflict veterans an opportunity to obtain up to $10,000 insurance. Some 10 million veterans' insurance terminated when Congress summarily and without notice ended this program in 1951. To the Veterans of Foreign Wars the service disabled, of which there are 2 million receiving compensation payments are being discriminated against by being unable to obtain commercial life insurance because of their service incurred disabilities. We are strongly recommending that national service life insurance be made available to the service disabled on a continuing basis if, of course, the veteran otherwise qualifies and pays the premium rate at his current age. We cannot do enough for those veterans who suffered the wounds and disabilities on battlefields all over the world. By opening the national service life insurance program at least for the service disabled we will take a giant step toward continuing recognition of the service rendered by these veterans who need this insurance more than ever.

8. Continued veterans' preference by the Veterans' Employment Service of the Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor, in the State employment offices throughout the Nation: This is more important than ever since the average veteran of World War II is now at an age where obtaining reemployment is almost impossible. Unfortunately, unemployment continues to be one of the blights on our otherwise prosperous society.

9. Keep Veterans' Administration intact: The Veterans of Foreign Wars supported President Hoover's order which combined numerous agencies handling veterans' problems into a single Veterans' Administration. This was 1930 and this one stop single agency concept helped more than any other single factor to carry out World War II and Korean veterans' programs. Assaults are being continually made to dismember the Veterans' Administration and transfer its functions back to existing departments. The Veterans of Foreign Wars urges a strong plank that the Veterans' Administration be kept intact.

These, Mr. Chairman, are the recommendations of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the field of veterans' rights and benefits.

This list by no means includes all the goals and objectives the VFW is concerned with and vitally interested in. It is rather a representative group which is of intense interest to our membership which have been singled out for favorable attention and consideration by our Government, both in the executive and legislative branches.

Mr. Chairman, as a longtime Republican officeholder, I would like to pose a question which I have heard many times. It is this. Is there a veteran vote? You will recall in the beginning of my remarks I stated that about 45 percent of the population of this Nation is represented by veterans and their families. If this large group were to vote as a bloc, unquestionably veterans and their families could elect any candidate of their choosing.

Drawing on my own experience, I recall a vivid instance during the depression years when the veterans of this Nation united almost to a man on an issue of vital concern to most veterans. This occurred when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who at the height of his popularity, had his veto of the bonus payment for veterans of World War I promptly overridden by the Congress.

There are in my opinion two issues today which will arouse veterans in the same way as the bonus payment measure did in the 1930's. One is the disestablishment or dismemberment of the Veterans' Administration. The other is the elimination of veterans' preference for veterans employed in the Federal civil service. For many, many years there have been constant attempts to take away from the Veterans' Administration its jurisdiction of veterans' programs which have been successfully administered by this Agency and have been highly satisfactory to veterans and their families. Likewise, there have been almost continuous attempts to diminish veterans' preference rights for veterans employed in our Federal Government. While I have singled out these two, the same holds true for any of the rights and benefits included in my recommendations to be incorporated as a part of the party platform.

One further comment. Most veterans of foreign wars members were keenly disappointed concerning the brevity of the veteran plank in the 1960 Republican platform. The veterans section of the 1956 Republican platform was well received and warmly applauded by most of our membership. Copies of these planks are a part of my statement

and your attention is directed to the comprehensiveness of the 1956 veteran plank as opposed to that adopted in 1960.

The inclusion of VFW recommendations in this platform will not only gain the confidence and support of war veterans who wore the uniform during wartime and received an honorable discharge for service rendered, but will go a long ways toward making all Republican candidates more attractive to the voters of this Nation.

Both Races Must Close Ranks Behind Civil Rights Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD V. LONG
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, not too long ago the Kansas City Star published an excellent editorial concerning the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The editorial deals with three questions. What have we actually sought to accomplish through this particular statutory enactment? What have we still to do, if the purposes of our new law are to be achieved? Finally, what have we not done? And how shall we proceed from here?

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City Star, July 3, 1964]

ACHIEVEMENT AND CHALLENGE: BOTH RACES MUST CLOSE RANKS BEHIND CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Late yesterday afternoon President Johnson signed the civil rights bill of 1964, as amended by the Senate and subsequently repassed by the House. In the familiar but always majestic phrase, his endorsement makes the various provisions of that bill hereafter "the law of the land."

No other recent piece of Federal legislation was more rigorously examined or more thoroughly debated in accordance with our American democratic system. The people have spoken through their duly elected representatives. The conclusions reached by this process now become equally binding on all citizens of the United States, wherever they may live. It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider three questions relating to our historic decision that the basic civil rights of no American shall ever again be abridged by reason of "race, color, religion, or national origin."

What have we actually sought to accomplish through this particular statutory enactment?

What have we still to do, if the purposes of our new law are to be achieved?

Finally, what have we not done? And how shall we proceed from here?

What we are obviously attempting to do at the moment is to remove several clearly defined legal disabilities under which no citizen should have to labor in a free society. This is not, by any means, the first piece of civil rights legislation to be placed on the Federal statute books since human slavery was abolished in the United States a century ago. But it is easily the most comprehensive. Broadly speaking, if we attain our goal, the American Negro should at last be enabled to enjoy all the rights of first-class citizenship that can be conferred by national law.

The provisions of the measure fall into two general categories. In part, the legislation is designed to strengthen the enforcement either of laws already enacted or of rulings with the effect of law that have recently been handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court. Thus in Federal elections—which are conducted under State supervision—the rights of Negro voters were supposed to be adequately protected by earlier statutes. This did not prove everywhere to be the case, probably the worst example being in Mississippi.

Consequently, the new act decrees a uniform standard of eligibility for all registered voters, regardless of race. And, more especially, in order to preclude subterfuges which have worked primarily against Negro applicants, it proclaims a nationwide maximum qualification with respect to literacy tests. (Completion of an accredited sixth-grade education is to be presumed sufficient.)

Or, again, take the Supreme Court's 1964 decision, ordering the integration of all public schools throughout the land. The compliance record in the border States and in parts of the Deep South has been good. Many areas of hardcore resistance still remain, however. The law stipulates, therefore, that when the Attorney General receives what he deems a meritorious complaint, he, himself, may institute public school desegregation suits in the Federal courts.

These are instances of efforts to implement more effectively existing Federal legislation and judicial instructions. They do not expand rights already legally guaranteed. But the law also is designed to initiate some fresh changes of major import to the legal status of the Negro in his capacity as an American citizen. Three of those innovations at the national level are of special significance.

The act requires all establishments offering food, lodging, gasoline or entertainment, wherever situated, to serve everyone, without respect to race. It covers, as well, any other activity conducted on the same premises. The only exceptions apply to private clubs and lodging houses with no more than five rooms for rent. Many States and communities have similar laws. Such statutes will now have Federal backing. And the overall principle of nondiscriminatory access to public accommodations at the same time becomes operative everywhere else.

The equal job opportunity section of the act (applicable 1 year hence) will forbid any employer, labor union or employment agency to discriminate against Negroes in their hiring, firing, promotion or referral practices. Here the only exemption concerns employers ultimately with fewer than 25 workers. Once more, States already having similar legislation will find such laws reinforced. And the general framework of fair employment safeguards will be extended to States that have not yet seen fit to adopt them.

Lastly, the section dealing with federally aided programs of every type will bar the exclusion of anyone by reason of race from the benefits that might otherwise accrue to him. Such assistance is to be withdrawn upon proof of deliberate and continued failure to comply.

These, then, are the principal features of the new law. They add up, on paper, to an impressive achievement. Yet the act will still have to be enforced—and obeyed. Both processes have been rendered somewhat easier by amendments inserted in the original bill with the consent of its proponents.

In the main, these alterations tend to give the States more time in which to solve their own racial problems before Federal intervention, and to afford individuals the protection of a jury trial in most criminal contempt proceedings brought under the act. Nevertheless, it would be naive to assume that so controversial a law will automatically accomplish all its stated objectives.

The enforcement of this legislation is bound to provoke resentment and to test our respect for law. Under such circumstances experience suggests the practical implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be patient and sensible, as well as firm. It likewise teaches that nothing is now to be gained by violent obstruction on the part of the law's more fanatical white opponents or by actions on the part of Negro extremists which would render an even-handed administration of the law more difficult. The law was not intended to be an excuse for the kind of quick-trigger demonstrations that occurred in the Hotel Muehlebach barbershop yesterday. A decision having been reached, the national interest demands that the controversy it provoked shall not be uselessly prolonged. We have established what amounts to a new framework in one area of our national law. It should now be given a chance to operate under the most favorable conditions we can create.

This legislation undoubtedly is a step in the right direction. But it will not usher in any millennium. Those who resisted its enactment most bitterly will eventually discover that such legislation does not mean the end of the world. Those who championed it most ardently are apt to find sooner or later that the new law has brought only limited, though essential, progress. If they have indulged—or led their followers to indulge—in excessive expectations, they will have to brace themselves for disillusionment.

Decent access to public accommodations will hardly be of much benefit to the individual who cannot afford such facilities. Assurance of equal employment opportunities cannot help him much unless he is properly trained to hold a job in a world that is becoming increasingly automated. The value to him of integrated schools must depend, in the long run, on the quality and kinds of education they purvey. Even his voting rights will be meaningless, unless they are systematically and intelligently used.

In the totality of race relations, the civil rights issue is a little like the exposed segment of an iceberg. Shear it off, and some other heretofore comparatively submerged problem will inevitably rise above the surface, demanding national attention. Indeed, we have a long, long way to go, to correct those injustices which lie deeply embedded in custom and habits of thought. These are susceptible to no quick solution by law. Their elimination will require an exercise of much good will on both sides presumably over many years.

Nevertheless, outside that area the chief remaining disadvantages to which the Negro will be subject, after our new civil rights legislation is fully in force, share a common characteristic. Such roadblocks are essentially the outgrowth of poverty and various other environmental handicaps. And while, in proportion, they may bear more heavily upon the Negro, most of them also affect millions of white citizens as well.

To this extent they become national, rather than ethnic, problems, to be attacked by the best leadership of the two races working together. They represent a challenge to the kind of enlightened interracial cooperation the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should now help to make more readily attainable.

Response to a Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in May I mailed 128,000 questionnaires to the people of the Second District of Col-

orado. The response to this poll has been most gratifying and I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to all those Coloradans who participated in this grassroots expression of opinion and conviction.

Experts told me I could expect a 6- to 8-percent return. As of this time, 17,098 people returned questionnaires, answered all or in part. This is a return of almost 14 percent and demonstrates dramatically that the people of the Second District are aware of the problems that face the Nation and are vitally concerned over their solutions.

In addition to the over 17,000 questionnaires, I received over 3,500 individually written letters, supplementing the answers to the questions.

Mr. Speaker, once again I am impressed with the high honor it is to represent these dedicated people of a great district.

I am including at this point in my remarks the final tabulation of the results of the 1964 questionnaire for the Second District of Colorado:

RESPONSE TO BROTZMAN QUESTIONNAIRE

The complete results of the questionnaire are as follows:

1. Do you favor the United States selling wheat or other farm products to Communist nations?

Yes, 41.7 percent; no, 58.3 percent.

2. Should the United States undertake a more aggressive program to rid Cuba of Castro?

Yes, 77.8 percent; no, 22.2 percent.

3. Do you believe appropriations for foreign aid should be:

	Percent
(a) Reduced substantially	62.6
(b) Maintained at present level	32.4
(c) Increased	5.0

4. Should the U.S. Constitution be amended to allow voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools?

Yes, 57.3 percent; no, 42.7 percent.

5. Do you favor hospital and medical care for the elderly through:

	Percent
(a) Emphasis on Federal-State matching funds (Kerr-Mills)	38
(b) Income tax credit to pay for voluntary insurance	41
(c) Hospital insurance, financed through increased social security tax (King-Anderson)	21

6. Do you favor income tax credit for parents of students in college?

Yes, 78.8 percent; no, 21.2 percent.

Immigration Reform Urged by Church Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, President Lyndon Johnson, like former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and the late President Kennedy, has called for modification and liberalization of our Nation's immigration policy and elimination of the highly discriminatory national origins quota system. I am one of the Senate sponsors of Senate bill 1932, which is sponsored by a bipartisan group of 27 Senators.

The United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has recently published a most useful bulletin on the church's support for needed changes in our immigration laws.

I ask unanimous consent that the bulletin be published in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHURCHWIDE SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRATION

For years, church and civic leaders have favored the liberalizing of U.S. immigration policy. They have felt that the quota system based on national origin is out of harmony with U.S. foreign policy and is open to charges of racial and ethnic bias.

Long overdue and much-needed legislation to revise our inadequate and discriminatory immigration quota laws (the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952) was sent to Congress on July 23, 1963, by President John F. Kennedy. The bills—S. 1932, H.R. 7700—which are sponsored by 27 Senators and 53 Representatives, have now been strongly endorsed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Energetic public support is needed to insure the passage of this important reform legislation.

The bills have been referred to the respective Senate and House Judiciary Committees. The Senate Immigration Subcommittee heard supporters of the legislation during 2 days of hearings, January 13 and 14, 1964. But there have been no further Senate hearings. However, hearings began in the House on June 11.

Senators PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan, and KENNETH B. KEATING, of New York, are leading Senate supporters; Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has been a leading House proponent of constructive changes.

The most dramatic feature of the proposed legislation is the elimination of the national origins quota system (based on the 1920 census) and the substitution of a quota pool which would be distributed on the basis of other criteria and priorities such as national interest, special skills, reunion of families, and resettlement of refugees. The bill eliminates discrimination against residents of the Asia-Pacific Triangle. It extends nonquota status to newly independent Western Hemisphere countries previously denied this privilege, that is, Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago.

The bill makes permanent provision for the entry of refugees by authorizing the President, after receiving recommendations from a seven-man immigration board also created under this legislation, to reserve up to 50 percent of the unallocated quota numbers for issuance to persons disadvantaged by the changes in the quota system and up to 20 percent to refugees whose sudden dislocation requires special treatment. These persons, like all other immigrants, must meet rigorous health, morals, and security standards.

WHY IS NEW LEGISLATION NEEDED?

Under our present system:

Ireland, with a population of 2,824,000, has a larger immigration quota than all of Asia with its nearly 1½ billion inhabitants.

The quota for tiny Switzerland is greater than the combined quotas for the entire African Continent.

Countries in northwestern Europe are apportioned nearly 83 percent of the total quota, countries in southeastern Europe 16 percent, and the rest of the world only 2 percent.

While hundreds of thousands of persons wait for endlessly oversubscribed quota numbers, thousands of nontransferable places go unused each year in such undersubscribed countries as Great Britain and Germany.

These and other facts prompted President Kennedy in submitting the proposed legislation to Congress last July to say: "The use of a national origins system is without basis in either logic or reason. It neither satisfies a national need nor accomplishes an international purpose. In an age of interdependence among nations, such a system is an anachronism, for it discriminates among applicants for admission into the United States on the basis of accident of birth."

Note: This will not open the doors to a flood of immigrants. They will still need an affidavit of support for visa issuance. Preference is given to reunion of families and skilled workers.

OUR GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S STAND

In 1954, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America approved a deliverance calling for the radical amendment of the prevailing McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which contained several features that many church bodies regarded as discriminatory and objectionable.

The McCarran-Walter Act has been amended from time to time since it won congressional approval in 1952, but many of its most objectionable features (from the church's point of view) remain as the law of the land and the basis of our Nation's immigration policy. Every year legislation has been introduced in Congress to renovate completely our immigration laws, but none of these offerings has survived the legislative mill.

In the meanwhile, special legislation has been required in increasing volume to take care of urgent situations and cases not covered by the basic law. Since 1952 an average of about 250,000 persons have entered this country annually as immigrants, only 40 percent of them under quotas prescribed in the McCarran-Walter Act, the rest as exceptions or nonquota immigrants covered by special legislation.

There has been mounting pressure upon Congress and the administration from a great variety of voluntary groups interested in the matter to change the basic law to make it more realistic and contemporary and to purge it of the features which many people find discriminatory, inhumane, and contrary to our Nation's best interest.

The 175th general assembly in 1963 called upon United Presbyterians to encourage and support efforts to revise our Nation's present basic immigration laws to:

(a) Remove restrictive and discriminatory provisions against immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, against people from Asian countries, against persons from the sub-Saharan Africa, and against persons who are arbitrarily barred on the basis of race and national origin.

(b) Substitute a new formula for granting visas, which takes into account both the needs of the people seeking admission and the vital interests of our own people, in terms of national security and economic well-being.

(c) Update the basic law to conform with present needs and with actual practices since 1952, which means the admission of as many as 250,000 persons a year instead of 150,000 as under the present basic law.

(d) Provide that, if national and regional quotas are used in equalizing the admission of immigrants, they be based on the census of 1960 rather than on the census of 1920.

(e) Provide that unused quotas be pooled at the end of the year and reallocated to quota areas having a backlog of applications for admission to the United States.

(f) Provide for the admission of refugees in large-enough numbers to alleviate emergency situations which result in refugee communities requiring resettlement.

(g) Encourage the reunification of families by admitting blood relatives of recent immigrants on a nonquota basis.

A Nation Reborn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of July 17, 1964:

A NATION REBORN
(By James S. Copley)

The light has been turned on. We are going to witness a great struggle for the soul of America.

The Republican Party made that decision when it nominated Senator BARRY GOLDWATER of Arizona for President and adopted a platform outspoken for constitutional government and individual freedom, and for the defeat of communism.

The Democratic Party will nominate Lyndon B. Johnson for President, and its platform will not be able to escape the tenets which have bound it to a philosophy of overpowering government, Federal paternalism, and fateful coexistence with communism.

The Republican Party has not really changed. Conservatives always have been the largest group within the party, even as they constitute a formidable but apprehensive body within the Democratic Party.

But a new and younger generation of conservatives, who were not wounded by the defeats of the 1930's, have taken command and there will be no more retreats from what at last must be faced.

They bring to the national stage a plea for a reaffirmation of the American faith.

Is this faith, as we have understood it, no longer tenable?

That, it seems to me, is the great issue that must underlie the debates that soon will be heard in every town and city of the United States.

Most people, Democrats no less than Republicans, believe themselves to be good Americans. And they are. But over the years there has been a rising drift away from constitutional government and both parties have been guilty of avoiding a direct confrontation on whether a time of deep change in America has arrived.

Is the system of government that we have known no longer capable of solving the problems of a modern complex society? Must government absorb the liberties and replace the initiative of its people?

There has been a lot of lip service given to free enterprise, but at the same time there has been a steady erosion of individual responsibility and a deepening penetration of Government into every phase of the people's lives.

In the choice of its leaders and provisions of its platform the Republican Party has told the American people it believes Government cannot be allowed to become their master and that it has a mandate to return the Nation to its historic purposes.

It can be done, as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower told the convention, if Republicans themselves "cleave to the straight path of principle and commonsense" and find their strength in the unity that comes from a consensus broad enough to accommodate all who subscribe to the basic doctrines of the party and the Constitution.

The issue is not just domestic. It is worldwide. The ultimate surrender to Government is communism.

Is the acceptance of coexistence with communism, in the belief it is necessary in the need to do everything possible to avoid a nuclear war, a loss of national will that abandons the cause of freemen around the world and will fatally corrupt our own way of life?

This question, too, must be answered. And the Republicans have chosen to answer it. We must restore our national strength and integrity. We must emerge victorious in the long struggle with atheistic communism or lose everything.

The lines have been drawn, the commanders designated and the forces rallied. There are no sidelines in such a struggle. It will be a compelling and enlightening campaign—and it could be a foreboding one.

But the courage of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is summoning millions of persons to the cause that must not be lost—the rebirth of Americanism in America.

Behind the Scenes With L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Behind the Scenes with L.B.J." The editorial was published in the Gazette Telegraph of Colorado Springs.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Colorado Springs (Colo.) Gazette Telegraph, June 30, 1964]

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH L.B.J.

The President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, says that 20 percent of the people in this country are impoverished. Any way you want to look at it, that means that 80 percent are not.

As a matter of fact, some of the recent maneuvers of the White House crowd have begun to create the impression that the 20-percent figure is something of a myth.

About a month ago, the President was touring about the country making political hay and stopping in lots of unlikely places on the spur of the moment.

One of these stops on May 7 last, was at Rocky Mount, N.C., where the Chief Executive called at the home of William David Marlow. The Marlows obviously were not enjoying a great deal of luxury and the show put on was pretty convincing.

Well, just the other day a reporter stopped back at the home of the Marlows to find out how they were doing and to get some comments. And he began to suspect that the "spur of the moment" visit had been rather well planned and staged in advance.

Mrs. Marlow proved talkative. "We didn't even feel like we were in poverty," she said. "We thought we were on our feet for the first time in 4 years. And along comes the word that we're the poorest folks in the country."

During the Presidential visit it was brought out that Mr. Marlow earned only $1,500 per year.

Dr. George Smith, associate director of the North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service, had called on the Marlows before the presidential entourage came by.

Mrs. Marlow says of him that he "tried to make us look poorer than we are." She added that he "told me to be sure and have a washing on the line when the President came and also be sure the children were barefoot when the President arrived."

When Dr. Smith was queried on this point, he denied that he had wanted the Marlows to look poorer than they were; only that they should act "natural" with the presidential party.

One thing seems certain at least, the "spur of the moment" visit had been prepared in advance. Another item that reporters have now brought out is this: Marlow denies that he makes only $1,500 per year from farming. According to him, he expects to gross about $4,000 this year, of which $1,500 will be his net. But the conversation ensuing during the President's visit implied that the $1,500 anticipated net was really the anticipated gross.

It is possible the President was actually engaged in fooling people into thinking there is a greater problem in respect to poverty than there really is. The evidence is beginning to come in that this is the case.

Of course there are people who are poor. This is not in question. But there is a growing question as to whether Mr. Johnson would know a poor person if he saw one.

If the President of the United States can't even find poor people, it seems a trifle naive to turn a great deal of money over to him so he can end their poverty. It begins to look as though these Johnson tours are simply following a script that may very well have been written by a television director.

Take Dr. George Smith, for instance. Dr. Smith works for the "Extension Service" which is the educational arm of the Department of Agriculture. It is the job of Dr. Smith and others similarly employed to help set the stage in agricultural areas so that Johnson's policies can be dramatized. Some refer to the "Extension Service" as the "political arm" of the administration. It appears to be charged with the task of creating a favorable setting for the Johnson program.

But if the Johnson program has to operate in front of stage props, there's a grave question as to the sincerity of any part of it.

Time was, when men spoke up from deep feelings and convictions. They may not have been impeccably groomed at the time, and they were disinterested in creating an "image." But they thought that what they said was important and it was important because it represented their deepest convictions.

Nowadays, almost everything is staged. Speeches are written by trained verbalists, cameras catch every detail and the overall impression is far more important than the real meaning and intent.

Which leaves us with the overall impression that the "war on poverty" is nothing but a phony and that the administration cares about votes more than it cares about the poor.

Transportation First for Peoria, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an experiment, never tried before in any part of the country, will begin August 1 in Peoria, Ill., in cooperation with the University of Illinois. An article by James A. McCormick in the July 26, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star indicates the extent of the project. Under unanimous consent, I include the article at this point:

CUSTOMIZED BUS SERVICE HERE PLANNED IN RESEARCH PROJECT

(By James A. McCormick)

How would you like to have bus service which would:

1. Pick you up in your neighborhood every morning and take you nonstop to your factory or office, returning you the same way at night and guaranteeing you a seat both ways?
2. Charge you less for a short ride?
3. Provide more frequent bus trips?
4. Offer expressway service from places like Richwoods Township to downtown Peoria?

Whether service of this kind can improve the health of bus companies in cities the size of Peoria will be tested here starting August 1 in a yearlong mass transit research project.

A Federal grant of $83,616 to the University of Illinois will pay two-thirds of the $125,000 cost of the project, which will be administered by the university's bureau of economic and business research in collaboration with Peoria City Lines, Inc., and the city.

The first of its kind in the country, the program will be directed by Michael Blurton, a University of Illinois research assistant who is studying toward a doctorate in transportation economics. The overall program will be under the general supervision of an advisory committee of senior faculty members of the university.

Also playing an active role in the project is James Coke, director of the university's office of community development.

Coke said the Federal grants are provided in the Mass Transportation Act of 1961 and administered by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The findings will help to indicate the extent to which modifications of public transit systems can bring about increased use of them.

In addition to attempting to measure the direct effects of such changes on the demand for transportation, an effort will be made to determine the indirect effects on retail sales and on other aspects of the community's economy.

Interviewed in his offices in Champaign, Blurton, who has worked with transit systems in the United States, Canada, and England and who has invented an automatic fare machine which will be placed in operation here, said the project will seek to determine the response to the following changes in the transportation field.

Providing an express bus service to and from work for 30-person groups on a monthly contract basis.

Augmenting service on a regular route.

Augmenting service on a regular route and splitting the route to provide express service to the outer ends.

Changing the fare structure on a regular route.

Before any changes are made, teams of college students from the University of Illinois and Bradley University will be hired at $2 an hour to conduct surveys.

Before any charter, or contract express service is set up, these teams will survey more than 100 homes for each proposed route. After a route is established, two return interviews will be made at each residence, one about 6 months later and the other about 11 months later.

Such information as how long it takes for the individual to travel to and from work by car, how much the resident would be willing to pay for the proposed charter express service and his opinion of bus travel will be sought.

The idea of the group charter service is to offer an express route on a monthly basis with a seat guarantee and to provide peak-hour capacity loads for the buses.

The surveys will determine the best locations for connecting points. The before and after interviews will determine how bus patrons like the service.

All routes will be analyzed periodically. Each will be divided into zones, and origin and destination data will be recorded in interviews with patrons.

Analyses will be made before any changes are made, every 2 months during the period improvements are in effect and 1 month after the improvements have been withdrawn.

Blurton said his research will get underway next month. He hopes that the charter-express service can be placed in operation about the middle of September, the Richwoods expressway service in October and the augmentation program and fare structure about December.

To get the charter-express bus program on the road, Blurton and his staff will ask industrial plants and other major employers to hand out questionnaires to determine who might be interested in charter bus service.

"Those who are interested will be asked to sign their names and addresses, the place of their employment, the time they leave home for work and the time they are finished working," Blurton said.

"In addition, a telephone operator at the bus company will take requests.

"Using a huge map we will build up 'pinheads of people' and when we have about 30 in a radius of 2 blocks, we then will put a survey crew into the area and interview up to 200 homes."

Blurton said that as soon as 30 persons in the 2-block area who have the same origin-destination setup favor the charter service, the program will be put into operation.

The bus would stop about midway of the blocks, load the 30 passengers and depart nonstop for its desination.

"What can the individual expect to pay for this personalized service?" Blurton was asked.

"I would like to avoid being specific," he said, "but while it would be more than the regular 25 cent fare, it would be set at less than the general cost estimates which have been placed upon automobile travel and parking."

As the program develops, different routes will have different rates according to distance. A personalized monthly pass reserving a seat would be sold.

After 2 months, passengers will be interviewed and their answers compared with data contained in their original interviews.

After the charter-service passengers are delivered, Blurton said, the buses could be used to augment or extend regular routes, or used, again on the personal basis, to transport children to school, or to haul office workers to such destinations as Carson Pirie Scott & Co. and Bergner's.

The reverse procedure would be in effect at the end of the work or school day.

It is estimated that this service will involve eight buses; two will be air conditioned, and all will be drawn from the Peoria City Lines fleet.

Blurton said the charter service buses will carry red and green flags to set them apart from the other buses.

The augmentation of regular routes test will commence after the charter-express routes have been established. The augmented service would then run at least 6 months, while the time the charter service is being tried out.

An attempt to improve bus patronage will be made by establishing an expressway route from Richwoods township, Blurton said.

"The service will start near Exposition Gardens," he said, "proceed to Glen Avenue and Route 150, then travel nonstop to University street where it would connect with another route, then proceed to Forrest Hill, another transfer point, and proceed straight to the Expressway, down Washington to the loop area."

Blurton said it is possible the bus might stop at Nebraska Avenue.

Tenative plans are to augment the Wisconsin-Second Avenue route. This route is 5½ miles long, terminal to terminal, and buses now operate, offpeak, at 20-minute intervals.

It is planned that this service will be increased off-peak to match the existing peak service. This would require two extra buses.

Blurton indicated that other routes might be rearranged.

"We might start a crosstown route with the Bradley University area being the focus point of the shifting," he said.

One other route, with characteristics similar to those being used for the augmentation and expressway service, will have its fare structure changed.

The present fare is a flat 25 cents. The change will involve installing 5-cent zones, each about one-half mile long. Transfers will still be issued.

This experiment, never tried before in any part of the country, will be made possible by a complex automatic fare collection machine invented by Blurton.

The intricacies of this calculating machine are explained in an accompanying story.

This project is the first step in trying to help medium-sized cities keep their bus service. Due to lack of patronage, revenues have fallen so far that many systems are operated at a loss and many companies have already ceased operations and others wish to do so.

Total cost of the research project includes salaries, $42,745; travel and subsistence, $1,550; surveys, $27,450; bus operations, $14,992; zone fare equipment, $18,150; advertising, $7,000; reports, $3,599, and contingencies, $10,000.

Sources of the funds will be: Federal grant, $83,616; Peoria City Lines, Inc., $28,538, and University of Illinois, $13,270.

A Strange Twist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "A Strange Twist," which appeared in the San Diego Union on Wednesday morning, June 10, 1964:

A STRANGE TWIST

The liberal-radicals are sorely disappointed that J. Edgar Hoover did not pass from the public scene upon reaching the usual mandatory retirement age of 70.

President Johnson signed an order waiving the age limit for Mr. Hoover and thus allowing him to continue under him as Director of the FBI as he has for 40 years under six other Presidents and 13 Attorney Generals.

The liberal-radicals have been wary of direct attacks on Mr. Hoover, and on the work of the FBI itself, and instead are grumbling that Mr. Hoover is being "deified" and the organization is becoming "frozen" and developing a rigid reverence for its own past.

This is a strange twist, for them. They are in a perpetual search for a "leader" who will be a powerful White House Executive, put Congress in its place, proclaim laws and regulations for the national good, and lead

all the people, and particularly the liberal-radicals, out of the wilderness of doubt.

It must be assumed, then, that they don't like Mr. Hoover. They don't deny his record but don't want him to go adding to it.

Mr. Hoover has been a relentless foe of communism and all other alien ideologies. In so doing he has brushed many persons who over the years have been taken in by Communist fronts and have allowed misguided idealism to blind them to dangers of Communist deceit, subversion, and bids for disarmament.

This has hurt. They have never, and will never, forgive him.

Institute of Allegheny Life and Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, during the week of July 19–25, 1964, the Council of the Alleghenies, together with Frostburg State College, sponsored an Institute of Allegheny Life and Culture.

The Council of the Alleghenies has been most successful in bringing attention to the unique culture and historical heritage of the people who live in the Allegheny Mountain Range. In order that my colleagues may familiarize themselves with the activities of the Council of the Alleghenies, I ask unanimous consent that the program of the institute, recently held in Frostburg, Md., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSTITUTE OF ALLEGHENY LIFE AND CULTURE, JULY 19–25, 1964

(Sponsored by Frostburg State College, and the Council of the Alleghenies, Featuring Nationally Known Authorities in History, Ecology, Folklore, Architecture, and Folk Music, on the Campus of Frostburg State College, Pullen School, Frostburg, Md.)

The unique historical and cultural heritage of the people who live in the great Allegheny Mountain Range will be the subject of a weeklong series of summer seminars, July 19–25, 1964.

Nationally known authorities in history, ecology, folklore, architecture, and folk music will lecture and lead discussions and field trips to points of interest throughout the mountains. Wholesome mountain cooking will be provided, as well as hiking, swimming, picnics, nature study, and folk singing.

Each morning formal lectures and discussions on a different subject will be held. Each afternoon a field trip will be conducted, and in the evenings special programs will be provided for the entertainment of institute guests.

Accommodations will be provided on the college campus, located in the heart of the Allegheny Tableland, near the highest point on the old National Pike (now U.S. Route 40).

Registration fees are as follows: $25 for members of the council; $30 for nonmembers (including seminar tuition, room, Sunday night dinner, and breakfast and evening meals Monday through Friday). The $30 fee carries with it membership in the council. The fee for member commuter (tuition and Sunday dinner) is $15; for nonmember commuter is $20. Single (morning and evening) sessions are $2; afternoon field trips $3, and the Sunday sessions, including the dinner, $3.

All towels, bedding, and bed linens (including pillows and blankets), as well as desk lamps must be provided by conference participants.

For information, interested persons should phone Dr. Alta Schrock, at 895–5171, Grantsville, Md., or between 8:30 a.m. and 4 p.m., Frostburg State College, 689–6622, Frostburg, Md.

INSTITUTE SCHEDULE

Sunday, July 19: Registration and social hour, Pullen School, 3 to 5.

Dinner: Speaker, Dr. Rudolph Bremen, acting president Frostburg State College, 6.

Illustrated lecture, 8 to 10.

Monday, July 20: History of the Alleghenies, B. Floyd Flickinger, director of cultural programs, Council of the Alleghenies, 9 to 12.

Trip to Fort Necessity, 2 to 4.

Choral production by Casselman Valley Chorus, Charles Sager, director, Frostburg State College, 8 to 10.

Tuesday, July 21: Ecology of the Alleghenies, Alta E. Schrock, president, Council of the Alleghenies, 9 to 12.

Swimming, Deep Creek Lake, 2 to 4.

Picnic and nature study: Swallow Falls State Park, 6 to 9.

Wednesday, July 22: Folklore of the Alleghenies, George Swetnam, tristate historian, staff writer, Pittsburgh Press, 9 to 12.

Crafts demonstration—Penn Alps, 2 to 4.

"O, Say Can You See"—A play, Speech and Drama Department, Frostburg State College, 8 to 9.

Thursday, July 23: Architecture along the national road, James Van Trump, architectural historian, editor, Charette, 9 to 12.

Trip to C. & O. Canal and tunnel, 2 to 4.

Musical program, James Pierce, director, Frostburg State College, 8 to 10.

Friday, July 24: Folk music of the Alleghenies, Patrick Gainer, folklorist, University of West Virginia, 9 to 12.

Institute summary, 2 to 4.

Concert under the stars (college quadrangle), Symphony Orchestra of the Alleghenies, conducted by William Sebastian Hart, music director, Concert Under the Stars, Baltimore.

B. FLOYD FLICKINGER

Professor Flickinger, cofounder and director of cultural programs for the Council of the Alleghenies, is currently lecturer in history, University College, University of Maryland, president of the Charles Carroll American Heritage Association, first vice president of the Greater Baltimore Cultural Council, and member of the board of Baltimore Heritage. Professor Flickinger brings to our institute a wealth of experience resulting from study and research in five eastern colleges and universities and teaching experience in as many more.

Professor Flickinger was appointed the first historian of the National Park Service, later serving as Superintendent of the Colonial Historical Park at Jamestown and Yorktown and subsequently as Coordinating Superintendent of Historical Areas of the Park Service in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.

ALTA E. SCHROCK

Dr. Schrock, cofounder and president of the Council of the Alleghenies, is currently professor of biology at Frostburg State College, has studied and done research in ecology at five colleges and universities in the East, and has taught in the Department of Biology of five other institutions in three Eastern States and the District of Columbia.

She was the founder and is executive secretary of Penn Alps, Inc. She is also executive director of the Springs Historical Society, editor of its quarterly journal, the Casselman Chronicle, curator of its Springs Museum; and general chairman of the annual Springs Folk Festival, now in its seventh year.

GEORGE SWETNAM

Dr. Swetnam, tristate historian and folklorist who is currently staff writer, magazine editor and historian for the Pittsburgh Press, has written all or part of some dozen books on the history and folklore of the region. Trained in the universities of three mountain States of the East, he has served on the Cooperstown and Pennsylvania History Seminars, including the Institute on Pennsylvania Life and Culture, whose predecessor he first proposed and promoted at State College. His "History of Transportation in Pennsylvania" is scheduled for production this summer.

JAMES D. VAN TRUMP

Mr. Van Trump, leading architectural historian of the area and editor of the journal of architecture, Charette, has won international acclaim for this publication, as well as four national awards in 1962. Since 1957 he has served as collaborator in the Historic American Buildings Inventory of the American Institute of Architects of Carnegie Institute of Technology. Since 1960 he has served as visiting critic in the Department of Architecture, where he directs the architectural portion of the Historic American Buildings Survey under the auspices of the National Park Service. He is cofounder and president of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation.

PATRICK W. GAINER

Dr. Gainer, leading folklorist and folk singer of his native State, West Virginia, who is professor of English at West Virginia University, was the founder (1950) and for 10 years director of the State Folk Festival at Glenville and now directs the Mountain State Folk Festival held each summer at Beckley. He also serves as president of the West Virginia Folklore Society and has for more than a quarter century worked to preserve the folk traditions of the West Virginia mountaineers, recording their songs, fiddle tunes, stories and oral traditions.

The Supreme Court Shapes Law and History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD V. LONG
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the U.S. Supreme Court continues to be the center of stormy controversy. It seems that no sooner does the heat generated by one decision begin to subside than fresh fuel is added by another decision.

Many tend to look upon this situation as a phenomenon unique to the last 10 years or so. But history proves this belief unfounded. From the early days of the 1800's when the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice John Marshall, claimed its rightful position as the third branch of Government, equal to the legislative and the executive branches, the Court has sailed a course that often has taken it through rough seas.

On July 5, the Kansas City Star published an editorial on the Supreme Court

and its history. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT SHAPES LAW—AND HISTORY

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time establish.

"(The President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint judges of the Supreme Court."

—Constitution of the United States.

In the term just ended, the U.S. Supreme Court advanced the cause of liberty, invaded the precincts of the legislative and executive branches, protected the rights of the individual, gave freedom to criminals and Communists, preserved the Constitution, damaged the Constitution, increased the value of the vote, decreased the authority of the States, extended the freedom of speech and expression, saved the country and continued to ruin the country. Or so say a variety of observers.

How could nine men, sitting in a marble hall in Washington, achieve such a paradoxical record of progress and destruction? They couldn't, of course, and they didn't. What the Court did was to continue its exploration into sensitive areas of social conflict and constitutional interpretation that stir emotions. Today, the U.S. Supreme Court is more than ever the object of veneration or hatred. Few people, who are interested at all, are neutral about the Court.

According to your point of view, it is either extending liberty or destroying liberty. It is either "making" law (which is the province of Congress) or protecting law. In Texas and California, billboards blossom with the legend: "Impeach Earl Warren." Five State legislatures have approved a proposed constitutional amendment to set up a super-supreme court of State chief justices. A dozen legislatures have called for an amendment to upset the congressional reapportionment decision. Now an amendment is proposed to override the decision last month on the "one man-one vote" pattern for State legislatures. The prayer-in-school issue still can cause citizens to go glassy-eyed with rage, although some are beginning to have second thoughts on that decision.

Unquestionably this is one of the most controversial of all supreme courts. It began with the school desegregation decision of 1954. That involved a basic American dilemma. Feelings rose with the prayer decision. That was a church-state issue, always provocative. Furor came with successive decisions considering the rights of individuals. Unfortunately, most of those individuals seemed to be Communists or convicted criminals who also were American citizens. The controversy continues now with the decisions on apportionment of the House of Representatives and the State legislatures. And these decisions involve the extremely touchy questions of urban against rural voters; State and city political organizations and the deeper issue of State government versus the Federal system. The Court not only has wandered into the political thicket, it has rapidly defoliated the forest.

The Court itself, when seen in action, gives at once an impression of calm, deliberative continuity and vigorous controversy. Under the high ceiling of the marble courtroom, with its cool pillars and red velvet draperies, sit the nine men in black robes. Earl Warren, the Chief Justice, greets the scores of lawyers to be admitted to practice before the Court with a warm smile and words of courtesy and respect. It could be a perfunctory, rapid ritual, but Warren makes it seem special and friendly.

Yet at the same time, when the decisions and dissents are read, they are delivered with conviction and even flashes of oratory, and the visitor can sense the cleavages in the Court itself. Justice Arthur J. Goldberg reads with an emotional flair, and he seems to say that this is right or this is wrong. Justice John Marshall Harlan, who has assumed the role of conservative leader with the retirement of Frankfurter, is not an orator. But his words can sting. Three weeks ago, in his dissent on the legislative malapportionment decision, he said:

"The Court's elaboration of its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

And on the same subject, Justice Tom C. Clark could say with sarcasm:

"After all, the equal protection clause is not an algebraic formula."

Two weeks ago, in the appeal of a suspect questioned by police before he had seen a lawyer, Justice Goldberg spoke with emotion on a "system of criminal law enforcement which comes to depend on the 'confession'" and which could "in the long run, be less reliable and more subject to abuses than a system which depends on * * * evidence and investigation."

Yet Justice Byron T. White, in a dissent, spoke just as convincingly of law enforcement that would "be crippled and its task made more difficult—all, in my opinion, for unsound, unstated reasons which can find no home in any of the provisions of the Constitution."

So what we have now is a Court that is divided on many issues, and rather closely at that. Generally, a five-man majority is seen as the libertarian group: Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Goldberg, Brennan, and Douglas. Justices Clark, Harlan, Stewart, and probably White, seem to hold with the traditionalist view that the Court ought to decide not so much what is "good" or "evil" in a given case, but what is constitutional and not constitutional.

Such thinking assumes that, after all, judges are human beings whose beliefs are based on their own experiences, training and even prejudices; that they are men of great power in one era whose decisions will carry over into other times when conditions may be different.

The answer, by those who support the general pattern of the majority, is that if the Court seems to be invading the legislative and executive branches, then that is because Congress and the Presidency have not done their job in the light of what is necessary to preserve the rights of the individual and guarantee the survival of the Nation. So once again, you get right down to a point of view.

This is nothing new. Consider this quotation: "The Court has been acting not as a judicial body but as a policy-making body * * * This is not only my accusation. It is the accusation of distinguished justices of the present Supreme Court * * * The balance of power between the three great branches of the Federal Government has been tipped out of balance by the courts in direct contradiction of the high purposes of the framers of the Constitution."

This was not the statement of a southern, States rights Senator, a Congressman on a witch hunt or a legislator about to be reapportioned out of existence. Those were the words of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in a fireside chat of 27 years ago. He went on to suggest that a "continuing stream of new and younger blood" be brought into the Court through a packing plan that got nowhere. The 1937 cry of F.D.R., frustrated by decisions affecting New Deal legislation, was very close to the shouts of pain you hear today from the right wing that loathes the Supreme Court of 1964.

William Howard Taft, who was both, said that "being Chief Justice is nearer to my heart" than being President. Yet the first Chief Justice, John Jay, resigned in 1795 with the parting shot that the Court never could acquire weight and dignity, that its organization was fatally defective.

When John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice in 1801, it was generally agreed that while the Congress and the presidency were functioning, the judicial branch was a failure. Through four great opinions Marshall and his colleagues established the power of the Supreme Court. In *Marbury* v. *Madison* the Court became the authority to determine the constitutionality of acts of Congress and State legislatures. In *Cohens* v. *Virginia* appeals from State to Federal courts were established. In *McCullough* v. *Maryland* the doctrine of "implied powers" of Congress came into existence. (A century later Justice Cardozo expanded on the theme: "The Constitution * * * was framed upon the theory that the people of the several States must sink or swim together and that in the long run prosperity and salvation are in union and not division."—In other words, the U.S. Government had the right to exist and the power to assure its existence.) *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* established the Federal authority in interstate commerce and transportation.

All of these decisions, at the time, were greeted with alarm and trepidation. Of *Marbury* v. *Madison*, Thomas Jefferson said: "The Constitution, on this hypothesis, is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary which they may twist and shape into any form they please."

And so went the argument in 1937, when the Court was a restraint on social change, and today, when it seems to be forcing social change. The Supreme Court always has been vilified by those whose philosophy it offends. The remedies proposed for dealing with the Court are often harsh and extreme: The Court must be expanded and packed, Earl Warren must be impeached, the Constitution must be amended to dilute the power of the Court.

But more than 30 years ago the Judiciary Committee of the Senate recommended unanimously that the bill to reorganize the Court "do not pass" and said: "Today it may be the Court which is charged with forgetting its constitutional duties. Tomorrow it may be the Congress. The next day it may be the Executive. If we yield to temptation to lay the lash upon the Court, we are only teaching others how to apply it to ourselves * * *." The practical result, said the committee, would be to make the Constitution what the executive or legislative branches choose to say it is—an interpretation to be changed with each change of administration.

The decisions of the Court historically have not always been popular with Congress, the Executive, or indeed, with the people. But in the long run and in the view of hindsight, many of those decisions have helped to smooth the future—sometimes through restraint, sometimes through a sudden change. The formula has worked—almost magically—for nearly two centuries. And no one can say that the existence of the Nation today may not have depended on the existence also of a strong, independent judiciary.

Volunteering Against Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty has received strong

support this week from the new president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Walter F. Carey.

Addressing a civic luncheon yesterday in my home city of San Diego, Calif., Mr. Carey called upon the business community to accept the challenge of the Johnson administration's proposals, and to supplement needed Federal action with positive programs for widening opportunity at the local level.

Mr. Carey's enlightened message was delivered before a joint luncheon meeting of the Western Traffic Region, Defense Traffic Management Service, and the San Diego Chamber of Commerce. I submit his remarks, in full, for the RECORD:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, your invitation to join you here in San Diego is a very welcome one. In the first place, this is about as far as you can go from Washington without getting your feet wet. Not that I have anything against the Nation's Capital, or that I mind getting wet feet in a good cause, but it helps one's perspective to come out here where there are a few more hours left to ponder each day's events back East.

Another thing that makes this visit so pleasant is that I feel right at home among you, having spent most of my life with traffic and chamber of commerce people like you, who always seem to be around when things are getting done.

Because I do feel we have so much in common, I would like to discuss with you the war on poverty that has been so much in the headlines in recent months, and perhaps consider some practical things you and I can do about it.

Not much needs to be said here, I am sure, about why we should do something. Even if we wanted a selfish reason it would be easy enough to find one. When wasted human resources are put to productive use, our whole economy grows bigger and stronger. We all benefit.

Now certainly, poverty is not a simple or noncontroversial matter. Nor is it one with which we laymen are overly familiar. The fact is, the word poverty is not even easy to define, but for our purposes I will try to explain the kind of poverty I have in mind.

Real poverty is more than just being broke, or out of a job, though that can be bad enough. It is being without a useful skill, without education, without apparent prospects and without hope. This kind of poverty strips a man of his natural dignity, frustrates and shames him, his wife, and children. The late Mike Todd, a great theatrical producer, used to say that he had often been broke, but had never been poor. He knew the difference. I wonder if we know it well enough; we who live in complacent suburbia, ride the expressways to and from our offices, choose our friends to suit our own tastes, and never quite see the face of poverty close up. There seems to be a tendency to think that real poverty exists mostly in foreign countries, and that what we have of it in this country is largely a problem for charity organizations.

There is a need for charity, to be sure, especially charity in its true meaning. You may remember how Jack London described it in one of his famous outdoor stories. Charity, he said, is not tossing a bone to a dog. Charity is sharing a bone with a dog when you're just as hungry as the dog is. But even this kind of charity is not enough in these times. Forty or fifty years ago social responsibilities were commonly discharged by attending a charity ball or sending a basket of food to a poor family across town at Christmas time, and leaving the rest to organized public charity. But the world has whirled around a great many times since those days. The problem of poverty today is too deep rooted and complex to be resolved completely by such simple means, well intended as they are. Now we must work at the poverty problem.

I know there are cynics who would have you believe that this war on poverty is an election year gimmick dreamed up by the political press agents. You can even hear people joke unfeelingly about how folks in the Appalachian hill towns run to hide their shoes and whiskey when a helicopter approaches, in case some Congressmen and photographers might be dropping in.

But let's not be kidded. Poverty in America today is real and Government and political leaders did not start the war against it. They merely intervened—on the right side naturally—in a war that had been going on for a long time in hundreds of communities throughout the country. Sure, the Government and political leaders timed their intervention nicely. They joined in just at the start of a national election campaign. But that is not to imply that their concern over poverty is faked. It means that politicans, who by their very nature are sensitive to rising tides of public opinion, were able to see the oncoming wave of indignation before it splashed over into the headlines. The fact is, the poverty problem would have arisen without any political help, because we had reached a crisis. Here in the richest land on earth, the very poor—the hopeless and traditional poor—were being left so far beind the prosperous majority as to become a national embarrassment. They were ragged relations at the rich man's feast, and they could no longer be ignored. The natural instinct of the American people to lend a helping hand had been aroused. Government and political leaders recognized both the obligation and opportunity confronting them, and so the Government intervened.

Now the fact of our great material progress is not to be overlooked, of course. In general terms we have reduced poverty a great deal. In 1929 more than half our families—51 percent—had incomes of $3,000 or less and only 5 percent had incomes of $10,000 or more. By 1962, only 21 percent had incomes of $3,000 or less and the number earning over $10,000 had increased to 19 percent. These figures are all in terms of 1962 dollars and they were supplied by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Moreover, there are places around the world where $3,000 a year is wealth beyond imagining. But this isn't Asia or Africa or Latin America. This is America, and the year is 1964. Poverty is a tragedy in the underdeveloped areas of the earth where little can be done about it. In America today, it's an outrage.

And so I for one, welcome effective Government assistance. But I am not forgetting for one minute that this is essentially a job for the free market business system. This is fundamentally and inevitably your war and mine, not Government's. Let's bear in mind that the flow of this Nation's strength is from the people who create its wealth and power to the Government, not the other way around. We must rely chiefly on the free market system to provide the jobs, the resources, the skills and the battlefield leadership which this war on poverty demands. Business-Government cooperation is, of course, absolutely essential, but this joint effort must be brought more into balance by a greater outpouring of businessmen's initiative. It is on this basis that I am here to urge you to volunteer in the war on poverty.

Let me say a word about the kind of war it is. It involves long-range strategy as well as short-term tactics directed at immediate needs in specific places. Strategy for the long pull calls for economic growth to provide more jobs for our expanding population, and for upgrading our State and local educational system to keep pace with our technological progress.

The long-range requirements are not new. The chamber of commerce of the United States has been hammering away at them for as long as I can remember. We need Federal tax reduction and reform in order to generate more investment, which alone can provide the tools to increase our productivity, and make our system grow. We have had some tax reduction and more is needed. At the same time, there must be curbs on excessive Federal spending and reduction of the national debt. We need a business climate based on a better understanding of the necessary role of profits. We need to stimulate invention in private industry and to reduce Government participation in research so that consumers can share more adequately in the benefits of our scientific progress.

We also need more information about the nature of the long-range problem. We do not yet fully understand what causes poverty, how to measure it, how to relate it to education, training, health, welfare and economic growth, or how to motivate people to escape from poverty. One of my first actions on being elected president of the national chamber was to organize a national task force on economic growth and opportunity, to seek some of the answers to those and similar problems. More than 100 leading business executives have agreed to serve on this task force. They will be aided by an advisory committee consisting of highly competent scholars who have already begun to study several aspects of poverty. Perhaps it is starry-eyed idealism to hope that all forms of poverty can be stamped out in this generation, even though for the first time in recorded history we may have the material abundance to do so.

Perhaps there will always be an element of society totally lacking in the will or the ability or both, to help itself. The truth is, third and fourth generations of welfare families do exist in our midst. But these are the exceptions. Most of the poor desperately want to be self-supporting, contributing members of our society. They want a chance to be customers, not relief cases. We're going to give them that chance and we're not going to sit on our hands waiting for federally designed strategy to be carried out.

As I mentioned earlier, a great deal is being done by private citizens—businessmen, educators, students, people with ideas who are sufficiently concerned to act, who aren't sitting back waiting for the Washington rescue squad. They're not making many headlines but they are important because they bring into play local initiative, local ideas, local leadership. They have the closeup view of how the enemy works in that area, they have a neighborly interest in winning.

Let's take a look at some of the direct action being taken to create new jobs and develop the skills needed to fill them, in short, to convert human castoffs into useful, contributing citizens. I mention these examples not just to brag about businessmen, or to suggest that we're already winning the war, but rather to encourage an even greater effort. I'd like you to consider them in that light and judge for yourselves whether they suggest something that you and others can do in your community.

The problem of poverty, of course, is not synonymous with unemployment. In fact, it has been said that if we could somehow create 30 million new jobs overnight we would still have poverty, because there are millions of persons who just don't have the skills or the physical or mental equipment to fill a job.

Consequently, many of our local chambers of commerce are laying heavy emphasis on the educational side of this war; on how to

cut down the alarming number of high school dropouts, how to provide better in-school and on-the-job training for youngsters and adult workers alike, how to establish better communications between employers on the one hand and educators and students on the other.

What can we do about dropouts—the kids who found school to be useless—the kids who quit in frustration—often with no salable skills in terms of local job opportunities? Even some high school graduates lack the skills needed for our technical economy. In some towns, chamber volunteers, man and woman teams, meet with these youngsters in groups and individually before they quit; they talk over the problem, try to show the kids what they lose by quitting school and how far behind they will fall in future competition for better jobs and good pay. Of course, this is effective only where schools do provide the curricula and training courses at which the kids could succeed—if guided and encouraged to do so. And it's in this guidance and encouragement that businessmen can really help. One chamber concentrates all its effort on the lower-third of the high school senior class where the dropout potential is greatest; others see to it that every boy and girl in their town's high school system is exposed to plenty of plain talk on the relationship between education and advancement, either through group discussions, classroom lectures, television or graphic pamphlets that get the message across in language the kids can understand, like: "The teenager who lost the future"; or "Don't get stuck in a low-paying job. Hit the books!" Nothing fancy about any of those approaches, but they work; they are encouraging youngsters to give school another try; they are hitting poverty right where it begins.

We've learned it helps to keep school authorities and students well informed on the number and kinds of jobs that will be available at the close of the school year and the specific skills that will be needed. This not only helps the young people, it helps business, too, because even in areas where unemployment is heavy, many jobs requiring certain skills are going unfilled.

Some local chambers conduct periodic surveys to determine job opportunities and requirements in their areas, not just for the immediate present but for years into the future, and they pass the information on to guidance counselors in the schools. Nothing mysterious about it, but it works. And it will work even better when every business firm, no matter how small, recognizes that it has a part to play in coordinating its job requirements with the educational system of its community.

In some places, local chambers have developed youth placement services to provide part-time jobs for high school students. They get on-the-job training in such fields as printing, automobile mechanics, and retail service. Others make a point of distributing up-to-the-minute information to factory workers on the adult educational and vocational training courses available in the area, so that anyone who really wants to upgrade his skills for a better job has the opportunity to do so.

Some communities have figured out that they can attract new industry by making sure that trained workers are readily available. Willmar, Minn., and Pensacola, Fla., have floated bond issues, putting up local tax money to build community colleges which place heavy emphasis on practical vocational-technical training for adults and for high school dropouts. The Willmar community college has been supplying a steady flow of trained sewing machine operators for a garment factory which had located in the town on a trial basis. Now the firm is considering a permanent location in the town because of the vocational training program.

Pensacola is combining with its already established junior college a new $3.1 million institute for continuing adult studies, which will provide both an adult high school academic program and an adult vocational program. The result will be that more Pensacolans will attain high school graduation and 2 years of college level education, or will emerge from the vocational-technical program as skilled workers in a number of trades. School and community leaders predict that this broadening of the educational program can mean millions of dollars added to the economy of the area.

New jobs, as well as skills are needed for local prosperity, so more and more communities are turning to local industrial development corporations to attract new industry. In some cases, factories are built either as speculation or for a specific firm; in others loans are made for building new plants.

Altoona, Pa., has been making loans for plant construction since 1946. The development loan funds have been raised through public subscription campaigns. The 16 new firms brought in by this "more jobs for Joes" effort, have put 6,500 persons to work. This program was sparked by the Altoona Area Chamber of Commerce.

In Mount Airy, N.C., the local chamber formed a development corporation which has had to fight apathy and negativism on the part of city and county officials to carve out a 170-acre industrial park. In the past 3 years, this bootstrap operation has attracted one new industry and financed the expansion of three others. The improved industrial climate led to the expansion of several other local firms. More than 1,400 new jobs have been created in Mount Airy, and the county, which borders the Appalachian region, is no longer listed as a chronic labor surplus area.

Naturally, I am not implying that chambers of commerce are fighting this battle alone. Volunteers are coming from many quarters. For example, in New York City hundreds of Columbia College and Barnard College students are giving 4 to 6 hours of their time every week to tutor underprivileged slum children and to help out in recreational and community centers. Hundreds of these young men are repairing and winterizing the little one and two room public schools that are customary in the mountain areas of Appalachia; they're going from hollow to hollow, cleaning up, painting up, and sprucing up homes, and they're encouraging those people to get off the front porches and start helping themselves. And the next time you hear someone saying our young people are going to seed, tell them about the eastern Kentucky college students who are using their summer vacations right now to help raise living standards of Appalachia. The student volunteers are getting help in the form of money, building materials, and technical advisers from a number of industrial firms that think it's good business to fight poverty.

Individual businesses can easily find ways to help on the poverty front. The Combined Insurance Company of America is underwriting the $25,000 first year cost of a pilot program to help the many migrants from the southern mountains adjust to urban life in Chicago. Some 25,000 mountain families have settled in uptown Chicago; ill suited to city life, many of them are engulfed in worse squalor than that which they sought to escape.

The Chicago program, being carried by the Council of Southern Mountains, has a specially trained worker helping the displaced mountaineers find places to live, helping them get jobs and job training, and seeking to overcome employer prejudices and lack of understanding of the potential and capacity the "hill folk" have for adjusting to industrial employment.

This pilot effort has attracted the attention of groups in other cities with large concentrations of migrants from the southern hills. The Traveler's Aid Society in Cincinnati, Ohio, for example, is making plans to begin a similar program in that city.

It doesn't take a big organization to start things rolling. In Montgomery County, Md., just outside Washington, D.C., one solitary housewife with a little time on her hands started tutoring a few youngsters from an adjacent slum neighborhood. Pretty soon, her neighbors were helping out. The classes began outgrowing their living rooms and moved into nearby churches and public schools. Today, this neighborhood project has spread all over Montgomery County and some 500 underprivileged kids are getting a lift into society from volunteer parent-helpers who are willing to spend their spare time building a better community. The Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce didn't organize this program, but it seems to me that local chambers could provide the necessary organizational impetus to get something like this started in other places.

Or look at what's going on at Western Electric Co.'s Hawthorne Works in Chicago, where more than 17,000 workers are employed. Hawthorne is Western Electric's largest unit, yet this company took the trouble to conduct a pilot training program for 12 young girls, all of whom had been classified as unemployable and some of whom had been picked off the relief rolls. In just four weeks of paid training, 11 of these girls qualified as clerk-typists for the company and the 12th went on the payroll as a file clerk. As a result of this success, Hawthorne will begin a major program in September to train and employ the so-called unemployables on a much larger scale, seeking to train both men and women for jobs in which there is usually a chronic demand—machinists, relay adjusters, wiremen, and operators for comptometers and calculating machines.

The list of direct action programs that have been set in motion by American enterprise is all but endless. Again, let me say that I do not cite them boastfully, but as examples of what can be done—what must be done—if this war on poverty is to be prosecuted successfully. The job cannot be left to government. We have no right to leave it to government. Government has nothing to offer the poor except what it takes from us for that purpose. So, I ask you to take a long look at what is happening in communities all over America where people are volunteering against poverty. Ask yourselves whether you can afford to do less in your hometown.

In his inaugural address in January 1961, the late President Kennedy told the world: "Today, man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty."

We can do nothing more noble than to put this great power to work in our own communities.

Boonville (Ind.) Standard Sounds a Safety Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, every day we read alarming statistics, published by the National Safety Council, on

the extent of accidents in the home, on the highway, and in other areas. Little noticed has been the peril of carrying loose objects on the shelf behind the back seat of an automobile. The danger is evident; yet many of us are guilty of gross neglect in this manner.

The editor of the Boonville (Ind.) Standard, C. Richard Johnson, recently called attention to this danger, against which a warning was recently sounded by J. E. Nicholas, general manager of the Indiana Motor Truck Association. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OF LOCAL INTEREST: WATCH LOOSE OBJECTS, THEY'RE DANGEROUS

For years we were guilty of carrying many, heavy, loose objects in our automobile's shelf behind the back seat. We had never given this a thought as being dangerous. That fact was called to our attention by a friend and we have ceased the habit because it is apparent that tools and other such objects could be really destructive.

It was interesting this week when we read a statement by a trucking industry, who called attention to this danger. In his statement, he urged people to keep loose objects off their car shelf. He called them "potential misguided missiles," which well they might become in a collision.

This gentleman, J. E. Nicholas, general manager of the Indiana Motor Truck Association, issued the warning in connection with Hoosierdom's trucking industry safety campaign. Here is what he had to say. We want our readers to have the benefit of his timely warning.

"It is not uncommon for loose objects under some conditions to become dangerous weapons at time of collision. Many people involved in an accident have become seriously injured or killed when struck by some object such as a flashlight, screwdriver, or similar loose objects," the trucking spokesman warned.

Seat belts, he said, are now used to keep occupants from being thrown forward, but their value is lessened if the occupant is exposed to a blow on the back of the head from a speeding object within the vehicle.

European Air Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, an editorial entitled "European Air Union" was published in the June 15, 1964, issue of Jessen's Weekly, published at Fairbanks, Alaska. Because of its general interest, I ask that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPEAN AIR UNION

An air union of the six member governments of the European Economic Community, which may take place this year, certainly holds implications affecting the future of transpolar air service to Alaska. Three of the carriers in the proposed Common Market airline now serve Alaska. If they join in one operation, the present frequency of flights over the pole could well be reduced and the service restricted to the one airport, Anchorage, where any of them has traffic rights.

According to a New York Times dispatch from Brussels, the proposed air union calls for integrating the continental and overseas operations of six major airlines. These include Air France (France), Lufthansa (West Germany), Alitalia (Italy), KLM Royal Dutch Airlines (the Netherlands), Sabena (Belgium), and Luxair (Luxembourg). Both Air France and KLM fly into Anchorage and the French airline has the right to carry traffic to and from Europe. Lufthansa, a latecomer to the transpolar service, has been coming into Fairbanks, and the problem of high costs—primarily for aviation fuel—makes it problematical whether the company will stay.

Recently members of the Common Market governments met at Brussels to discuss the myriad problems of putting the air union together. Another meeting is scheduled this month and perhaps in September, but most hopefully before the end of the year, the Council of Ministers will meet to sign the final agreement.

An efficient air union would eliminate much of the wasteful competition between the six nations. This competition results in many half-filled airplanes crossing the Atlantic (the example cited by the New York Times). It could also eradicate duplication of schedules on the transpolar route, where fewer planes would suffice.

Air travel is becoming routine in Europe. Through the pooling of planes and pilots, the six Common Market nations would hope to step up the frequency of flights between European capitals, perhaps to every 2 or 3 hours. Today's European air service reportedly leaves much to be desired.

A number of technicalities remain to be worked out before the air union becomes a reality. However, it is sure to be a legal entity by 1965. An international merger of this kind becomes a necessity for survival in the air transportation field, with the rapid transition of recent years from piston-engine to jet-engine aircraft and with supersonic transports soon to come off the drawing boards. The three Scandinavian nations, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, have long since found it advantageous to merge their international airline operations, where enormous financial investments are required.

A realistic view of the Common Market air union, as it may affect Alaska, would indicate the likelihood of a pooling of schedules on the transpolar route and a consolidation of station personnel at the one place in the State where European airlines may pick up and discharge passengers.

The Pentagon "Savings": Fact or Fiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I feel the following editorial which appeared in the July 10 issue of the New York Times entitled "The Pentagon Savings," is most timely in light of our ever-increasing trend toward fiscal irresponsibility. Paper savings are an entirely different thing than actual dollars and cents savings as is clearly portrayed in this editorial.

Under unanimous consent I place this in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all of my colleagues may have the benefit of its message:

THE PENTAGON "SAVINGS"

Secretary McNamara's report of $2.5 billion "savings" in the defense budget for the last fiscal year has political, as well as bookkeeping, overtones.

Some of the savings are real and there is no doubt that Mr. McNamara has instituted some much-needed cost-accounting and monitoring procedures. But many of the savings are more apparent than real. They represent reduction of inventories (some of it needed, some of dubious value) or "savings" classified in the "If" category. If the Pentagon had done such and such it would have spent so-and-so; it did not do this, therefore the Government "saved" x millions.

The plain fact of the matter is that the cost of defense today is running about $9 billion more annually than it was during the Eisenhower administration. There is good reason for this. Our defense forces—particularly the conventional and general-purpose elements—have been considerably strengthened. The readiness of our nuclear war forces is considerably higher to meet the somewhat greater Soviet threat. Airlift and sealift have greater speed and capability. These are commendable achievements.

Mr. McNamara also instituted a more stringent review system for new weapons systems and projects to winnow out the impractical and unneeded. He has continued and expanded a trend started before he took office—and often urged by Congress—toward competitive and incentive contracts. He has closed, despite howls of political anguish from local vested interests, some obsolete or unneeded defense installations. However, new installations and the acquisition of new property for the military—unmentioned in the summary released—probably approximately balance these savings. Mr. McNamara has perhaps gone farther than any other Secretary in stressing the importance of cost-consciousness to the services.

These accomplishments, however, have been at least partially offset by what has become too great an emphasis upon the "cost" part of the Secretary's "cost-effectiveness" formula. Relatively few new weapons systems have been initiated in Mr. McNamara's almost 4 years in office; most of them claimed by the administration represent refinements, or follow-ons of projects initiated years ago. The review system for new projects, which was so much needed, has tended, in the bureaucratic maze of the Pentagon, to become the tail that wags the dog. It requires an inordinate amount of time and effort to develop a promising new idea into finished "hardware." The weakness of the McNamara administration—centralization—has meant that many could say "No" and, in effect, only one (Mr. McNamara) could say "Yes."

Don't Look Down on Government and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it is clear that political and governmental operations are fundamentally efficient.

Nevertheless, we are often taken to task for weaknesses in ways not always justified. One criticism is that much of our accomplishment is painstakingly slow; but this often comes from a process of careful study of a myriad of details. Is not careful study a virtue, rather than an evil?

In a convincing editorial of July 12, 1964, the Vincennes, Ind., Sun-Commercial answers in the affirmative. It quotes a recent article appearing in a publication of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, "Don't Look Down on Government and Politics." Critics of our system of Government should take heed.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Vincennes (Ind.) Sun-Commercial, July 12, 1964]

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Government affairs and party politics are in the news more than ever these days and the news will bring all kinds of different reactions from all manner of citizens.

An article in a recent publication of the Business & Professional Women's Clubs had a remark that carries much significance. "Don't look down on Government and politics," the article advised its readers.

Newspapermen often are close to the political operations of our different factors of government, and sometimes forget that there are many Americans who shrug off politics as a "necessary evil" or even an "unnecessary evil." Such thoughts are a heritage of the old days of great distances and weak communications between the citizen's home and the seats of government, and every instance of crooked politics in the history of the Nation has contributed toward the feeling.

The late Will Rogers helped the pattern along when he made a long career of poking fun at the operations of legislatures and Congress. He did it good naturedly, and with great wit, and doubtless pointed out weaknesses, but fundamentally he got his laughs from the feeling that all of us would be better off if the Congress and legislatures didn't meet at all.

"Don't look down on government and politics," the BPW article says. There is too much in the hands of the people who operate our government units to shrug them off. This applies to every minor cog in the governmental machinery as well as to the mainsprings in Washington, D.C.

Evidence of the disregard for Government can be seen in the great number of American citizens who do not vote. More than a million Hoosiers voted in the primary last spring—but it was less than half of the registered voters. And it was a far lesser percent of the citizens who might have voted had they been registered.

This fall, there will be an even greater vote in Indiana—but it will not include half the citizens of the state who are 21 years of age or older.

When one is being critical of a legislator, a Congressman, or even a member of the county council, it might help if he would imagine himself in the place of the person he is criticizing. It's easy to say "I'd clean things out." Or to say "I'd cut taxes." But often the task of accomplishing this is a slow process of careful study of a myriad of wee details. The study doesn't come easily, facts sometimes are hard to find.

A great political party convention is going to be held during the coming week. It may appear ludicrous to you on your TV screen, but unless you have a better suggestion as to how a great party may pick its candidate, don't look down on the best system this Nation has yet worked out to do the job.

The events of this convention, and those of the Democratic Convention in August, provide amazement for political thinkers all over the world. It isn't just American luck that strong men usually are picked to head the parties. The American political process, on its grandest scale, works slowly but its driving force is the desire of most participants to get a candidate who can win on his own merits and those of his party.

Farley Disputed on GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter, from a former distinguished Member of this House appeared recently in the New York Times.

I think the Honorable Hamilton Fish's predictions will be of interest to the Members of this body, especially to those coming from the great Empire State of New York.

FARLEY DISPUTED ON GOP—HAMILTON FISH PREDICTS GOLDWATER WILL CARRY ALL BUT SIX STATES

To the EDITOR:

James A. Farley, for whom I have a very high personal regard, has issued a public statment that although Senator BARRY GOLDWATER may get a large vote, he will only carry six states. Mr. Farley has every right to his views as an outstanding Democrat. But he has been spending too much time traveling on business in Europe, where he must have absorbed some unfriendly news items in the English, French, and other European papers.

Senator GOLDWATER is more like Theodore Roosevelt, our most popular and greatest President since Lincoln, than anyone who has been nominated on the Republican ticket. His courage and Americanism have an appeal—let me say to Mr. Farley—not only for the rank and file Republicans but also for the Jeffersonian Democrats both in the North and South. This campaign will be waged on issues greater than the Republican or Democratic Party.

AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENT

I challenge the party of Jefferson to make an issue of Senator GOLDWATER'S statement that "extremism in defense of liberty is not a vice." This statement is not strong enough. It should be affirmative. It is a virtue, a very great virtue within the law and Constitution.

Over 100 million American citizens have come to this country in search of liberty since the Revolutionary War, not for 10-percent liberty but for 100-percent liberty. Extremism means 100 percent in defense of liberty.

Every signer of the Declaration of Independence, including my own ancestor, Lewis Morris, was an extremist in defense of liberty. That also includes George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin. They were all extremists for liberty, even at the risk of their necks. About 16 million Americans fought for liberty in World War II, and 5 million in World War I. They did not fight in defense of some phony kind of liberty, or appeasement of communism, but for 100 percent of liberty, both at home and abroad.

The statement of Senator GOLDWATER "extremism in defense of liberty" may well become as famous at Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death." Lafayette, Voh Steuben, Kosciusko, Pulaski, and De Kalb were French, Polish, and German patriots. The two latter were killed in battle fighting for liberty in our Revolutionary War.

CONTINUED APPEASEMENT

I am disturbed by the mealy-mouth statements on appeasement, or compromising with liberty, either from Democrats or Republicans. When this issue is presented clearly to the American people, GOLDWATER will carry all but six States and be elected the next President of the United States. The continued appeasement of communism transcends party lines. Every radical, leftwinger, Socialist, and Communist is against Senator GOLDWATER'S courageous effort to stop the march to state socialism. This may well be the last chance for voters.

With all due respect to my long-time friend Jim Farley, I would point out that in the last 50 years we have three wars under three different Democratic Presidents, and if President Johnson—backed by the ardent internationalists of the East—is reelected, we are headed for another war, but this time a nuclear war that will destroy civilization and leave China the only victor.

A Christian Professor of Law Opposes Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide discussion on the so-called prayer amendment, I think my colleagues will be interested in reading the sensible statement presented to the House Judiciary Committee by Rev. William J. Kenealy, a well-known professor of constitutional law.

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM J. KENEALY, S.J., PROFESSOR OF LAW, BOSTON COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL, TO THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, ON THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION CONCERNING PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MAY 8, 1964

Gentlemen, previous testimony at this hearing, as reported in the press, prompts me to preface my remarks by stating that I am neither an atheist, nor an agnostic, nor a secularist, nor a Communist. I am a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, a member of the Jesuit order, a lawyer, and professor in the Boston College Law School. However, I do not speak for the Catholic Church, or for the Society of Jesus, or for Boston College. I speak for myself alone. With the exception of 3 years in the U.S. Navy in World War II, I have been continually and closely involved in education, as a student or as a teacher, for 54 years; and for the past 25 years I have taught various law courses, with a particular interest in constitutional law, especially in the field of civil rights.

From this background, I believe that it would be a grave mistake to change the Constitution by an amendment authorizing, in the public schools of the country, those prayers or Bible readings which were outlawed by the Supreme Court in *Engel* v.

Vitale and *Abington School District* v. *Schempp*. I do not subscribe, by any means, to all that was said in the opinions expresed in Engel and in Schempp, but I do agree with the results. I do not subscribe to what seems to me the Court's uncritical invocation of the "wall of separation" metaphor, nor to its simplistic interpretation of the "establishment of religion" clause of the first amendment, nor to its mechanistic incorporation of that clause into the "due process" clause of the 14th amendment. But I do belive that the prayers and Bible readings condemned by Engel and Schempp were violative of the fundamental constitutional and personal right of the "free exercise" of religion, expressly protected against Federal action by the 1st amendment, and properly protected against State action by the "due process" clause of the 14th amendment.

Wherefore, prescinding from the disputes about the "establishment" clause which have divided constitutional scholars since 1947, I oppose any constitutional amendment which would nullify the results of Engel and Schempp precisely because any such amendment would seriously abridge the constitutional "free exercise" of religion, which is beyond all dispute a fundamental personal right implicit in the concept of ordered liberty and essential to our pluralistic and democratic society.

For we are a pluralistic society whose members adhere to many religions and to none. We are a democratic society whose members, regardless of religious faith or lack thereof, stand equal before the law. Therefore the constitutional free exercise of religion means, not merely freedom of religion, but also freedom from religion as far as State coercion or pressure is concerned. Suppose a State should enact a statute requiring all persons within its jurisdiction to join some church of the persons' choice—any church, Protestant, Jewish, Catholic, Buddhist, or any other—but some church. This would be freedom of religion in a restricted and Pickwickian sense, but it would obviously not be the constitutional free exercise of religion, precisely because it would not be freedom from religion as far as State coercion or pressure is concerned.

So too, and for exactly the same reason, a State enactment which would require the profession of any religious belief, the performance of any religious ritual, the recitation of any religious prayer, the devotional reading of (or listening to) any religious scripture, would obviously violate the constitutional free exercise of religion. But the free exercise of religion is a fundamental personal right of each and every individual, independent of political controversies, subject to no primaries or elections, above popular passions and majority votes, beyond the power of State officials and local school boards, guaranteed by our Constitution and entrusted by it to the protection of our courts. I would not abridge it. I would keep it intact, for the sake of ordered liberty, civic equality, and personal dignity, in our pluralistic and democratic society.

The free exercise of religion is such a fundamental personal right that, long before the Supreme Court of the United States had occasion in 1940 to hold it applicable to the States via the "due process" clause of the 14th amendment, the supreme courts of half a dozen States found compulsory religious exercises in the public schools in violation of their respective State constitutions: Wisconsin in 1890, Illinois in 1910, Louisiana in 1915, Washington in 1918, South Dakota in 1929, and Washington in 1930. Compulsion is incompatible with freedom.

It has been argued, however, that the proposed constitutional amendments provide, not for compulsory, but for "voluntary" prayers and Bible readings; that dissenting pupils may be excused from such religious exercises; and therefore that religious freedom is neither denied nor abridged. But the free exercise of religion is not a sterile legal concept or an academic abstraction. It is a practical freedom in the real context of a child's life in the actual circumstances of the elementary and secondary school. The fact that some pupils, or theoretically all pupils, may be excused from the officially scheduled religious exercises does not obscure the obligatory nature of the ceremony, nor does it mitigate the serious practical pressure upon the dissenting child to conform to the official orthodoxy.

Seventy-four years ago the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in *Weiss* v. *District Board*, 76 Wis. 177 (1890), put the practicalities of school life this way:

"When * * * a small minority of the pupils in the public school is excluded for any cause from a stated school exercise, particularly when such a cause is apparent hostility to the Bible which a majority of the other pupils have been taught to revere, from that moment the excluded pupil loses caste with his fellows, and is liable to be regarded with aversion and subjected to reproach and insult."

Fifty-four years ago the Supreme Court of Illinois, in *Ring* v. *Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334 (1910), explained the same realities as follows:

"The exclusion of a pupil from this part of the school exercises in which the rest of the school joins, separates him from his fellows, puts him in a class by himself, deprives him of his equality with the other pupils, subjects him to a religious stigma, and places him at a disadvantage in the school, which the law never contemplated. All this because of his religious belief."

Forty-nine years ago the Supreme Court of Louisiana, in *Herold* v. *Board of School Directors*, 136 La. 1034 (1915), described the facts in these words:

"Excusing such children on religious grounds, although the number might be very small, would be a distinct preference in favor of the religious beliefs of the majority, and would work a discrimination against those who were excused. The exclusion of a pupil under such circumstances puts him in a class by himself; it subjects him to a religious stigma; and all because of his religious belief."

And 11 years ago the Supreme Court of New Jersey, in *Tudor* v. *Board of Education*, 14 N.J. 31 (1953), concluded that children of minority groups, who decline to join in the religious activities of the school, will be subjected to disadvantages and pressures to conform, and that a supposition to the contrary "ignores the realities of life." In the Tudor case the New Jersey court had the benefit of extensive testimony by behavioral scientists concerning the effect of such practices upon the attitudes and behaviors of schoolchildren. It would seem that, as with the testimony of psychologists concerning the harmful effects of racial segregation in the School Segregation cases of 1954, the formalized data of the social scientists simply strengthened the findings of informal experience and corroborated the exclusions of commonsense.

Moreover, I think it important to note that the genuine religious freedom of both child and parent is involved. The primary right of education is parental. The Supreme Court of the United States in the Oregon School case of 1925 decided unanimously that "due process" includes the fundamental constitutional right of parents, subject to reasonable State standards and regulations, to choose the education of their children, whether it shall be private or public, religious or nonreligious. Freedom of educational philosophy, freedom of religion, and freedom from religion as far as State coercion or pressure is concerned, are constituent elements of this fundamental parental right. The State may compel a child to attend an accredited school of the parent's free choice; but the State may not deny or unreasonably restrict the freedom of that parental choice. Similarly, if the parent, for financial or other reasons, has no actual choice but to send his child to a public school, the State violates his primary parental right by coercing or pressuring his child into religious exercises against his parental will. It is wrong in principle, wrong against both parent and child, to force the child into the cruel dilemma of going along with the crowd in the classroom or of obeying his parent and suffering the consequences at the hands of his unthinking classmates. I would respect and protect the religious freedom of both parent and child.

But what of the spiritual heritage and religious character of America? The Supreme Court itself has said, in *Zorach* v. *Clauson*, that "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." Some of our religious presuppositions are set out in the Declaration of Independence, which expressly referred to God, to the Creator, to the Supreme Judge of the world, and expressly committed our young nation to His divine providence. Despite the cynics and the secularists, and the moral evils existing among us, we are in fact a predominantly religious people in our origins and in our traditions.

Nevertheless, the logic of our political principles and constitutional law forces us to attribute this spiritual heritage and religious character to the American people, the American community, the American society as such, and not to the American Constitution, the American Government, the American state as such. The state derives its limited authority from society; within that limited authority, the state governs society; but the state is not society. One of the matters subtracted from state competence is religion. Although our society is religious, our state is is not. Neither is it securalistic or irreligious. It is religiously neutral. It has been deliberately constituted religiously neutral, by a religious society, precisely because religious neutrality is the essential condition of religious freedom in a pluralistic society. As a result, while the state can and must protect its constitutional existence and structure, it cannot coercively protect its own religious presuppositions without violating its constitutional obligation to guarantee complete religious and ideological freedom.

The preservation and tradition of the religious heritage of America, therefore, must depend chiefly upon the nongovernmental institutions and activities of American society: upon the church, the home, the religious school, the groups and associations which carry on study, discussion, teaching, writing and publishing on matters philosophical and theological. But the public school, as an official agent of the religiously neutral state, cannot, without betraying the religious neutrality of its principal, provide religious devotions or exercises of its pupils.

What then of the religious parent who wishes to send his child to a school with a religious atmosphere, in which religious exercises are allowed, in which religious instruction is available along with other subjects of desirable human education? Can he too enjoy the free exercise of religion as part of his parental right to choose the education of his child? He can send his child to a religious school, if he is financially able to do so—or is succored by private charity. The plight of the parent who pays his taxes, and would like to send his child to a religious school, but cannot afford to do so, is not made easier by the statement in *Murdock* v. *Pennsylvania* that "Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion are available to all, not merely to those who are able to pay." We have not yet devised or enacted a means to provide practical freedom of parental choice of religious

education for children. The principle of the GI bill of rights seems available within constitutional limitations, but that is another and longer topic.

In the meantime, although I favor the most complete religious liberty for all parents and schoolchildren, believing or unbelieving, I think it would be most unfortunate to abridge the present religious liberty of any by the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendments concerning prayers and Bible readings in the public schools. With patience and civil dialogue, we may some day realize genuine and practical religious freedom and equality for all parents and for all schoolchildren.

Proposed School Prayer and Bible Reading Amendments to the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement made by William B. Ball, Esq., an esteemed lawyer and professor in the field of constitutional law. As a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary I was privileged to participate in the important hearings on the prayer amendment resolutions. We had the benefit of many able minds from a variety of professions, but we were most keenly interested in the views of religious leaders and legal scholars. As you no doubt know, the overwhelming majority of the spokesmen from both fields opposed the resolutions which would result in altering the first amendment to the Constitution.

One of the most cogently reasoned arguments presented was that of Mr. Ball. Although Mr. Ball did not speak for the Catholic Church, as an eminent Catholic layman and a constitutional lawyer his views will be of particular interest to Members whose Catholic constituents are concerned about the school prayer issue:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. BALL, ESQ., BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY AT HEARINGS ON PROPOSED SCHOOL PRAYER AND BIBLE READING AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, MAY 14, 1964

I am William B. Ball, a member of the Pennsylvania and New York bars. Formerly a professor of constitutional law at Villanova University Law School, I have had for several years a specialized interest in the field of church-state relationships. Presently I am general counsel to the Pennsylvania Catholic Welfare Committee. In testifying here today I do not, however, speak for that body nor for the Catholic Church but solely as an individual deeply interested in the religious education of youth and strongly concerned for the integrity of our constitutional law. My appearance here today is based upon the assumption that while you are interested in specific arguments for or against such specific proposals as the Becker amendment, you are also interested in certain broader matters relating to many of the proposed amendments—matters pertaining to overall constitutional policy.

The focus of my remarks is simply this: The Supreme Court of the United States, in a series of decisions interpreting the first amendment, has given the Nation a formulation which—carried to its strictly logical conclusions—may be useful for resolving, in our pluralist society, significant problems respecting religion in education. My point today is not to defend those decisions. Even less is it to defend much of the reasoning upon which they are based. As a corollary, I shall suggest that constitutional amendment is not yet plainly necessary, but trust it will become so should the Supreme Court yield to those who today contest its doctrine of neutrality and who seek to bring about a total—and thus antagonistic—separation of church and state.

At the outset of my testimony, I join with many others in praise of the motives which are producing the amendment proposals and these nationally publicized hearings. The movement to bring about amendment is not—as some have alleged—a product of hysteria. The movement is a tremendously significant expression of a very deep and widespread national concern. To see it as less than this is to miss the truth of the matter. That concern—shared, indeed, by some opponents of the movement—essentially raises the question: how shall the religious education of American children best be aided in a religiously free society?

THE COURT'S FORMULATION

Essentially, the Court has said two things: in one area, that of public education, an area in which for more than a century it has been recognized that very little religion could be offered anyhow, it has gradually (in the McCollum, Engel, and Schempp decisions) evolved a declaration that the schools must be religiously neutral. In another area, that of the church-related school, the area in which religion in education has enjoyed an astoundingly strong development, the Court has declared not only in favor of parental freedom of choice of that kind of school, but has also indicated that such option may be exercised without arbitrary economic hindrance.

Although American education began as church-related education which was aimed at a total religious formation of the child, in time it split into two sorts of education. One—represented today by the church-related school—essentially agreed with the vision of the founders of education on these shores and held to the view that, as society should be God centered, so must be the education of its citizens. The other—represented today by the public school—long sought to cling to that selfsame view. In 1838 its great leader, Horace Mann, in fact defined education to include—

"* * * such a culture of our moral affections and religious sensibilities, as in the course of nature and Providence shall lead to a subjection and conformity of all our appetites, propensities, and sentiments to the will of Heaven."

But as a school for children of different faiths, the public school had early to wrestle with problems relating to the showing a preference for any of these. The resulting compromise in the mid-19th century—the offering of a common core of Protestant Christian instruction and practice—pointed at once to two things. First, it would not be the final compromise. Second, each successive compromise would entail a necessary reduction of the religious content of public education. As history testifies, the Protestant common core was to be the subject of many litigations by Catholics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In our own day, Jews, and finally nonbelievers and atheists have sued for the ouster of religious instruction and practice in the public schools. The Supreme Court has now, in the McCollum, Engel, and Schempp decisions, pronounced that the public school must be neutral not merely with respect to the sects, but indeed neutral as to religion itself.

Now, as the committee should note, this neutrality is very broad. It is broad because the term "religion," as used in the first amendment has been defined by the Court, over the decades, to mean almost anything which can be called a belief. It is broad because the Court, in many cases, has interdicted the use of governmental power to impose conformity, upon persons subject to that power, to any philosophy, orthodoxy, ideology or theory of society.

Decisions of the Supreme Court, then, respecting religion in the public schools, must be read as requiring in those schools a total respect for the individual conscience as against imposition by those schools of any belief or ideology. This principle must, by the way, be taken to apply not merely prayers to God or readings of the Bible. It excludes not only the inculcating of values objectionable to agnostic or atheist. It excludes with equal force the inculcating of values objectionable to the believer in God. (I do not pretend, by the way, that the policing of this neutrality will prove any easy task, especially in the elementary schools where children are of an age at which they are extremely impressionable.)

Undoubtedly, the very nature of a religiously plural society has dictated this result. But the same religiously plural society has dictated this result. But the same religiously plural society also confirms the concept of a pluralism of schools. In 1925 this concept was denied in the State of Oregon and the effort was there made to require all children to attend the "official" government school system. The Supreme Court struck down the Oregon statute which would have required all school children to attend public schools. It declared that the Constitution barred "any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public school teachers only."

The Supreme Court of the United States has since built upon this concept and has today indeed rendered it, for men of all religious faiths, a live and meaningful option. Since the Pierce decision of 1925, the Court has indicated that it may be constitutionally permissible for Government to aid secular, general, neutral, public objectives achieved by the church-related educational institutions. It recognized, in the Cochran case, in 1935, the fact that public objectives are achieved in church-related schools. It recognized in the Everson case, in 1947, that—although the no establishment clause of the first amendment dictates that no tax in any amount, large or small, may be used for the support of religion, nevertheless due to the free exercise clause of that same amendment children may not be barred from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation though these benefits come to them in the church-related schooling process.

This total formulation by the Court respecting religion in public education and education in religious schools has been slow and difficult in evolving. I submit, however, that it provides a sane and workable legal basis for answering our complex question: How shall the religious education of American children best be aided in a religiously free society?

THE FORMULATION UNDER ATTACK

But I fear that this state of our law, as pronounced by the Court, is not satisfying to everyone. It has apparently displeased those who today are seeking Bible-reading and prayer amendments. It has apparently displeased those who would make war upon religion and religious freedom through pushing for an extremist interpretation of the concept of separation of church and state.

First, as to the amenders. Does not amendment to render permissible prayers and Bible reading in the public schools create an unfortunate implication? Does it not plainly imply that a touch of officially sponsored religion will answer the need of American children for religious education? Certainly if it cannot be said to answer that need, then the Nation should not go through the vast exertion of changing its fundamental law in order to accomplish, through amendment, lesser and more speculative results.

Most certainly we should acknowledge the value, in our public schools, of some sort of reminder of God and of human dependence upon Him. But the prayer and Bible reading amendments will not assure this, nor can they assure it, consistently with the liberties of all children and all parents. The Engel and Schempp decisions did not terminate practices which were universal or even widely pursued in our public schools. Though these decisions, for some, terminated meaningful reminders and actual praying, for others they terminated nothing whatsoever. If such describes the status quo ante, now to be restored by constitutional amendment, it is most questionable whether that picture reflected any real concern of parents or society for the religious formation of American children. If there is sadness at the present that the option to pray has been terminated, the tears are belated indeed, and the Court is not their cause. Religion large and meaningful—religion intellectual and permeant—had fled the public schools decades before the Court pronounced victories for the Engel and Schempp families.

At this point, let us note the testimony of those who say that the Justices, in the Schempp case, threw open doors to promising vistas for religion in the public educational processes. One of these, so it is said, consists of courses in comparative religion, or in teaching "about" various religions. Another looks to the permissible introduction of religion through courses in the humanities, history, and so forth. But it is the feeling of many persons that these possibly permissible introductions of religion will share one striking feature in common with the impermissible Bible and prayer practices: They will be of little value in terms of providing the kind of religious formation which many people wish their children to have. They may indeed help create understanding between children—and that will be all to the good—but it cannot be assured that they will create an understanding of religion. It is clear that the public school must tread most lightly in this respect. Under existing Supreme Court prescriptions, while conceivably it may compare religions, it may not compare one adversely to others or all favorably to none. Nor dare it, in teaching "about" religion, move from a base of the most delicately poised neutrality. Use of the humanities to bring in God and religion is, of course, nothing new, nothing somehow compensatory for a deemed loss of religion resulting from the bans of Engel-Schempp.

What I have suggested, therefore, is that it may be vain to look to our public schools for religion in the sense that many seriously religious parents conceive that term. This is true whether it appears through the "teach about" technique, through the humanities, or through subliminal shots of Bible text.

Perhaps, however, the trauma experienced by many from the Supreme Court decisions will spur strong new home-and-church efforts in religious education. We must certainly hope so. Perhaps the widespread experimentation now contemplated for bringing appreciation of religion and the religious into the public schools will yield greater results than now appears likely. Certainly all good efforts to aid our pulbic schools in their immense undertaking should receive sympathetic encouragement.

We must note, however, that already ultra-separationism is at work attacking the Court's formulation, which, with all of the difficulties it raises, is probably the best legal resolution achievable. Wall-eyed separationists, mesmerized by their own relentless logic, now seek to oust every vestige of religion from relationship with the public order. Their campaign is directed not only at the church-related school but indeed promises still more difficulties for the public school. Unhappily, occasional expressions in some Supreme Court opinions give the ultra-separationists toehold premises from which to proceed. For example, there is the expression in the Schempp opinions, that religion is a matter for home and altar and that it impliedly has no proper role in the public order. Yet when the holdings of the Court are examined, it is seen that they give no real support for the extreme positions claimed for them.

Instead of more litigating or more amendment-seeking, we ought to try for a while to live with the formulation which the Court has given us and seek to work out the details of its principles which, it must be remembered, are of neutrality—not antagonism—toward religion.

Improving International Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, just about the time I get to wondering if the "international snarl and sneer," so to speak, has become more fashionable than the international smile and feeling of world neighborliness, something usually happens to restore my faith that decent human instincts yet will prevail. I refer to an example on the good side of the international ledger of human relations.

In this case, it represents an effort by private enterprise to promote better international understanding and good will by conducting the largest and most ambitious golf tournament in the sport's centuries-old history.

It is the forthcoming first Carling World Golf Championship, to be played from August 27–30 at the Oakland Hills Country Club, near Detroit, in my great native State of Michigan.

In a sense, this is the world Olympic Games of Golf. More than 50 players, representing eight world zones outside the United States will participate in this first true open world competition in golf. The Carling World Golf Chambpionship is open to all golfers, professional and amateur, regardless of race, color or creed. It is expected that about 20 nations will be represented in the tournament.

The total prize money of $200,000 is the largest purse for any golf tournament in history. This has attracted entries of all the leading golfers in the world.

The championship will be an annual event, which will be played again in the United States in 1965, in Britain in 1966, in Canada in 1967, and in the United States again in 1968.

It is being sponsored jointly by Carling Brewing Co., of the United States, the Carling Breweries Ltd., of Canada, and Charrington United Breweries Ltd., of Great Britain.

The sponsors, I am informed, are of the firm belief that a genuine world tournament of this kind, embracing all the sterling principles of democracy and conducted in the highest traditions of the ancient game of golf, will make a worthwhile contribution to international good will and will promote better understanding between peoples.

I share this view. To me, the Carling World Golf Championship has every aspect of a sincere attempt by private enterprise to contribute toward the great and growing problem of trying to help the people of the world understand and like each other better.

Earlier this year the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Tunku Abdul Raman, was present at the 1964 Malaya Open Championship, one of the Asian qualifying tournaments for the Carling World Golf Championship. He recorded for television use some words of praise about the part which golf can play to create a friendlier and closer relationship between people of different nations.

Symbolizing this objective, there will be a court of flags at the Oakland Hills Country Club in which the flags of all competing nations in the Carling World Golf Championship will be flown. These will be raised at a formal flag-raising ceremony at 4:30 p.m. on August 26 by a qualifying golfer from each nation represented. There will be a similar closing ceremony on the final day of the tournament.

A total of 18 television cameras instead of the usual 4 will be used to cover tournament play. Telstar will be employed so that it may be viewed in Europe.

I believe it appropriate to remark that we Americans are proud to host the first World Olympics of Golf and that I am personally proud it will be played in my home State of Michigan.

Limitation on Meat Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Senate took a step in the right direction when it added to H.R. 1839 an amendment limiting meat imports. However, not being satisfied with accomplishing a good purpose they then marched all the way back down the hill and removed from H.R. 1839 all of the provisions of the House-passed bill which provided for removal of tariffs on wild birds and animals used for circus purposes.

The House could have adopted the Senate amendment except that after adding the meat import amendment the Senate then eliminated the wild bird and animal provision leaving only the meat amendment in the bill. This means that it now must go to conference where it will now die for lack of action.

Award for San Diego for Friendship Program With the City of Yokohama, Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I know that all of us are proud of the communities which we represent here in the Congress, but I am especially proud to call the attention of my colleagues to an award which was presented to the city of San Diego by the American Municipal Association for the friendship program with the city of Yokohama, Japan. The award was accepted here in Washington on June 30, by Mr. Will Hippen, Jr., who heads our friendship commission in San Diego.

Some of the background of the exchanges of friendship and culture which have been going on between the sister cities of San Diego and Yokohama, is given in the following article from the San Diego Tribune. I include this material as part of my remarks:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune, June 4, 1964]

AWARD FOR SAN DIEGO—FRIENDSHIP WITH YOKOHAMA CITED

(By John Sinor)

It started 10 years ago with a stone lantern, and the glow has been getting stronger ever since.

The peak of brightness will be reached June 30 when San Diego is given an award in Washington, D.C., as the best of this country's "sister cities" for its size.

The bronze plaque will honor the carefully nurtured ties between this city and the bustling port of Yokohama, Japan—a relationship that began years before the sister city program.

Actually, San Diego and Yokohama started out as "brothers."

During a visit to Yokohama in 1954, Chula Vista farmer Saburo Muraoka asked Yokohama Mayor Ryozo Hiranuma if a Yuki-Mi ("snow-viewing lantern") could be sent to San Diego.

Muraoka explained he and other members of the San Diego Chapter, Japanese-American Citizens League, wanted to express their appreciation for the friendly welcome they received in this area after release from wartime internment camps. The lantern, Muraoka said, would be a token expressing Japan's desire for friendly relations.

The mayor obtained the lantern, a replica of the type used as lighting fixtures for shrines and temples in about 1500, and the U.S. Navy agreed to ship it here free.

The 1,800-pound lantern arrived here September 26, 1955, on the destroyer tender *Prairie* and was lighted in a formal ceremony at the San Diego Zoo a year later.

San Diego thus became the first west coast city to implement President Eisenhower's September 11, 1956 request for "people-to-people contacts with other nations." And Yokohama was spoken of here as "San Diego's big brother."

The idea of an exchange of friendship tokens, ideas, bits of culture grasped the imaginations of residents of both cities. The program, still informal, continued to grow.

Charles C. Dail, then San Diego mayor, sent a pair of Cairn terriers, Sandy and Tammie, to Mayor Hiranuma, a dog fancier. And officials of both cities exchanged letters on the possible benefits of a link in spirit between the two ports.

On October 23, 1956, the San Diego-Yokohama Friendship Commission was formed here with Edmund Nuttall, director of evening sessions at San Diego State, as its temporary chairman.

The group held its first general meeting February 26, 1957. The session appropriately was conducted in Balboa Park's House of Hospitality.

Later that year, June 21, the deputy mayor of Yokohama, Shogo Tanaka, and a city councilman, Kenichi Yokoyama, arrived here to meet with San Diegans and discuss Japanese plans for the affiliation program.

Their visit was followed in December by a gift of two Mandarin ducks from Mayor Hiranuma to Mayor Dail.

Then on May 9, 1958, in a ceremony in the ballrooms of a new Yokohama waterfront hotel, San Diego Vice Mayor Ross Tharp and the mayor of Yokohama shook hands and the two cities officially became "sisters."

Tharp said at the time:

"Let this moment stand in the record as a signal to all the peoples of the world that friendship requires only the demonstrated willingness to be a friend."

Mayor Hiranuma expressed hope for "the deep understanding and strong support of the citizens of the two cities."

Since that day, the bond between the two cities has been strengthened a hundredfold.

Gifts, friendly advice, exhibits, and visitors have flowed regularly across the Pacific waters separating Yokohama and San Diego.

A 2-ton bronze "friendship bell" was carried from Yokohama to San Diego, again by the Navy's *Prairie* in mid-1958. The Buddhist ceremonial bell is now on permanent display in a Japanese-style shrine on Shelter Island.

The following year San Diego sent a mission bell, one of 450 which once marked the route of El Camino Real in this country, to Yokohama.

In 1960, San Diego received a small teahouse and assembled it in Balboa Park. Later that year, a 9-ton replica of San Diego's "Guardian of Water" statue was presented to the people of Yokohama.

Young people reaped special educational benefits. An emphasis on Japan, especially Yokohama, showed up in the classrooms. Students from here went there and those from there came here, their tours sponsored by various education groups.

In countless ways, San Diegans and Yokohamans got to know each other.

The award this city will receive June 30 will cite San Diego's program as the best among cities between 250,000 and 750,000 population because of "its many and varied exchanges including virtually all segments of the community."

Will Hippen, Jr., current chairman of the friendship commission here, will accept the award from the American Municipal Association at a special banquet in the grand ballroom of the National Press Club.

The awards will climax the 2-day National Town Affiliation Conference.

Hippen, contacted in Milwaukee, Wis., where he is vacationing, said there is no similar award to be given to the foreign cities involved, but added Yokohama "certainly is entitled to a share of the honor for its part in the program."

"Sisters," he noted, "do share things."

Five other American cities will receive similar awards as winners in their size categories. They are:

New York, Pensacola, Fla.; Portsmouth, Va.; Redondo Beach, and Darien, Conn.

Supreme Court To Rule on Right of a Firm To Discontinue Operations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the distinguished news columnist and analyst, Mr. Holmes Alexander, has called attention in a recent column to a very important case now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court. This is a case of the Darlington Co. of South Carolina, and the key issue involved is whether any private-enterprise venture in this country can go out of business on its own volition for any reason that it may choose. A very basic American right is involved here, Mr. President; and I am glad that Mr. Alexander has brought out this point in his column of July 27, 1964.

I ask unanimous consent to have this excellent column from the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News, July 27, 1964]

SUPREME COURT TO RULE ON RIGHT OF A FIRM TO DISCONTINUE OPERATIONS

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Private enterprise will literally stand before the bar of justice in this same year that conservatism goes in judgment before the people.

The Supreme Court, which returns in October, has agreed to take up the celebrated Darlington case, which involves the right of an employer to go out of business and thereby cause unemployment.

Attorneys for the business interests and for the National Labor Relations Board are in for some hot weather skull sessions because this could be a landmark decision for the American economy. Having talked with persons on both sides, I am pierced with the arrows of their controversy.

The NLRB says it is protecting workers' jobs from "antiunion bias." The businessmen's lawyers contend that a firm should be allowed to close its doors for any reason, including that of bias.

What's plain is that once the Federal Government can force one man to maintain a job for another man, we are coming very close to what Senator GOLDWATER has called a controlled state. GOLDWATER is cosponsor of a Republican bill (S. 2744) which would legalize an industrialist's right to do what the NLRB says he cannot do.

But the bill will undoubtedly languish in committee until after the November election, and the whole matter probably lies at the mercy of the Supreme Court, in which conservatives have little faith these days.

The Darlington Co. was a textile plant in South Carolina that was already losing money in 1956 when it also lost an election. The Textile Workers' Union won the right to organize the plant by an 8-vote margin (256 to 248), whereupon the stockholders, by a much larger margin (134,911 shares to 3,774) decided to close the plant. They put up the machinery and other physical assets at public auction, and the firm ceased to exist.

The NLRB leaped into action with a complaint of "unfair labor practices." But from whom or what could the Labor Board extract "remedies" with which to pay the continuing wages of the disemployed workers or guarantee them new jobs? What corporation or person could be punished for this unfair practice?

Having decided that remedies were due and that punishment was required, the labor board set out to find culprits. It put the finger on Roger Milliken, who was president of both Darlington and the Deering-Milliken Co., the latter firm being a sales agent and stockholder of Darlington.

The concept of "single employer" emerged. Mr. Milliken and Deering-Milliken, as well as several other "affiliated" companies and many stockholders, were ordered to resume responsibility for paying wages and finding jobs for those who had lost them in the closure.

After much litigation, the circuit court of appeals ruled against the labor board. But the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, and the GOP platform for 1964 came out in favor of a company's right to quit. These issues are at stake:

Does a company have a social obligation, enforceible by law, to provide employment even though losing money? If the Supreme Court rules broadly and affirmatively, it will set a precedent which can surely be carried over into automation legislation. The United States is one of the few industrial nations where a company is not required to get Government permission to automate its plant.

In Britain, and in Europe generally, a company that wishes to automate—or even to move its plant—must prove the need to do so and must provide time for workers to retrain and find new jobs. In the United States, this matter is still left to free collective bargaining. In many instances, the unions and the companies will both make concessions in order to moderate the pace of automation.

What effect will a ruling for compulsory employment have upon investors, since it would forbid them to move their money from a poor investment to a good one?

How far can the labor board, or any Government agency, venture into "mindreading" an employer's motives? Few employers are without some "bias" against unions. Does previous prejudice cause a man to forfeit his right to make a future business decision?

In the Darlington case, as in ever-widening areas, citizens and corporations are leery of the long, strong arm of federalia.

Time and Facts?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Detroit is having its ninth newspaper strike in 9 years. Time recently mentioned this matter. Below is the reply of John S. Knight, publisher of the Detroit Free Press:

NO AXES, ONLY HATCHETS

(By John S. Knight)

Time, the weekly newsmagazine, was founded in 1922 with this editorial concept: "To keep men well informed—that, first and last, is the only ax this magazine has to grind."

But readers of Time have often been given reason to believe that it has been grinding many axes in pursuits other than the gathering of information.

Even Clare Booth Luce, wife of Time's editorial chairman, said in San Francisco that her husband's publications had been less than fair in their treatment of BARRY GOLDWATER. Mr. Luce was a Scranton supporter.

Time's most recent hatchet job was done on the Detroit newspapers, victims of a strike which WJBK–TV of that city has called "a blow to public faith in responsible unionism."

The Time article is a mischievous melange of misusage and misinformation. Several of its statements are false and malevolent.

Time's editors, while maliciously attributing antiunion sentiment to Detroit publishers, seem unaware that the Luce publications—including Time—are published in an open shop plant.

Such venom-venting reportage is not unusual at Time, as many of its correspondents could attest. Facts means nothing where editorial policy is involved.

And they call this "keeping men well informed."

I call it vicious distortion of the truth.

The Causes of Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for the past week, the Nation's press has been filled with editorials about the riots in New York. Some of these editorials condemn the riots as being the deeds of totally irresponsible people. Others try to blame them on the Communists. A few, a very few, realize that it is impossible to talk of the riots merely in such terms. They just do not come to grips with the fundamental problems.

The following editorial is one of those that has come to this realization. Instead of condemning a group or groups, or minimizing the importance of the riots, this editorial takes them as a sign of the kind of unrest brewing among the deprived. Instead of condemning, the writer offers a solution, or at least part of one.

Unlike most others, this editorial seems to have begun to scratch the surface of the problem existing in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

The editorial, from the Wall Street Journal of July 23, 1964, follows:

THE CAUSES OF VIOLENCE

There is, surely, blame enough for all in the riots in Harlem and sections of Brooklyn. But to be understood we think they have to be seen in terms of the racial atmosphere that has been enveloping the Nation for almost 2 years.

First of all, it's hard to find a direct link between these disorders and the passage of the Civil Rights Act. In States like New York, where no legal segregation exists, the law's impact is relatively slight; there is no resistance to the measure. It is in the South, ironically, where the impact is great, that many officials are urging compliance with the law in the interest of racial peace.

The immediate trigger of the Harlem riots was the fatal shooting of a Negro youth by a white policeman; he claims he acted in self-defense, and that question is under investigation. If it had not been this occasion, however, it probably would have been another. And it is clear that the riots rapidly grew beyond their purported cause and became the opportunity for looting and destruction by a small criminal element.

Moreover, there has been incitation. According to a high New York City official, Communists were among the inciters; he speaks of "very inflammatory * * * anti-American * * * and seditious statements." But apart from Communists, one of the underlying troubles in the whole national turmoil is that tensions have been needlessly inflamed, even and especially by men of good will.

Negro leaders have often put their demands in terms of total redress of all wrongs right now—"we can't wait"—and often white officials at various levels of government have said this is not only right but possible. Thus have been raised false hopes and unrealistic expectations.

The attitude can be seen in the assumption that a particular development—a Supreme Court decision, the enactment of a Federal law—will bring an instant solution. When the solution does not appear, or emerges only gradually, hopes are frustrated, tempers rise, and anything or nothing will set off a riot. Therein lies the indirect link between the civil rights legislation and the Harlem lawlessness; it is one part of the general atmosphere of unrealistic expectation.

Even now some are predicting more and worse riots unless a great deal is done immediately to change the conditions in Harlem. But the sad truth is that it is impossible to lift Harlem out of its depressed state overnight, and to see why it is necessary only to look at the area.

Harlem is often called a ghetto, but it is that only in the sense of being predominantly Negro; it is not a place where people are corralled and confined by official policy. Many have gravitated to it because it seemed better than what they were leaving. Many have migrated out of it because they chose to and their circumstances permitted them to seek other neighborhoods.

Today the vast majority of the people of Harlem are decent law-abiding citizens. By no means all of them are living in poverty and many want to stay in Harlem, or would if they were not now terrified by the criminal punks and inciters to riot.

For one of the unhappy things about the present tension is that it not only worries the whites and makes them irritated with the Negroes. It also makes life even more difficult for the overwhelming numbers of Negroes who want no part of riots and illegality.

The evil conditions of slums, delinquency, and crime which increasingly do characterize Harlem are frequently blamed on the neglect and indifference of the white community. The charge is valid to the extent that the municipal authorities may have failed to understand the nature of the problem and the remedies, but they have emphatically not been neglectful in providing schools and housing and other services. Nor is it easy

to understand why ordinary white people should be expected to bring reform to Harlem.

Certainly the conditions that need correcting can and will be corrected. Yet the very nature of the conditions means that the improvement requires time.

One basic need is better education; not a futile artificial integration but better quality. If that can be brought about, the social benefits can be large, but they cannot manifest themselves this week or next.

A related need is better motivation in many cases; motivation that can cause the child to stay in school because he believes the education will serve to better his life as an adult. As various programs around the country, reported on this page this week, show, motivation can to some considerable extent be instilled in people of the slums, providing a sensible approach is taken. But again, the results will take time.

Such, it seems to us, are some of the areas in which the energies of the civil rights leaders might profitably be expended. If they and white governmental officials persist in asserting what is manifestly untrue, that utopia is instantly attainable, they will continue to hurt the true interests of the Negro people and, we gravely fear, bring no end to violence.

Speech by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia, Prepared for Delivery Before the 25th Annual Meeting of Commonwealth's Attorneys, Cavalier Hotel, Virginia Beach, Va., July 25, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I believe our Nation occasionally needs reminders that we are governed by laws, not by men.

The Commonwealth of Virginia has always been vigilant against lawlessness and our people have always abhorred violence. We do not believe in noncompliance of any law that is on the books. A respect for the law and a respect for our rights as citizens move in tandem among Virginia's citizenry.

Our rights and the inherent quality of our system of jurisprudence stem from three documents that are largely the work of Virginians. Our basic liberties and laws upon which this Nation was founded are set forth in the Virginia Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. Great Virginians such as George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison greatly contributed to these fundamental documents.

The preservation of law and order in our great Commonwealth has been one of Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD's convictions for a full lifetime. He was Governor of our Commonwealth when the State became the first State to pass an antilynch law—a bulwark against lawlessness at the time of its adoption. Today Senator BYRD continues to be intolerant of any violence in connection with any law. He showed this with dignity and with great strength the other day when he addressed the 25th Annual Meeting of Commonwealth's Attorneys at Virginia Beach, Va. Senator BYRD's address is oft-repeated affirmation of his pride in Virginians for their historic avoidance of lawlessness and his view of law as supreme among men. It is one of the most moving statements I have ever heard; it is remarkably pertinent to each and everyone of us in these times and I would appreciate, Mr. Speaker, your allowing me to let my colleagues here in this body benefit from Senator BYRD's strength and wisdom:

SPEECH BY SENATOR HARRY F. BYRD, DEMOCRAT, OF VIRGINIA, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BEFORE THE 25TH ANNUAL MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH'S ATTORNEYS, CAVALIER HOTEL, VIRGINIA BEACH, VA., JULY 25, 1964

It is an honor to be invited to participate in the 25th annual meeting of your association of Commonwealth's Attorneys here at Virginia Beach.

You are the upholders of the laws of our great Commonwealth, and for you—and them—I have the greatest respect. We are—and must be—ruled by law and not men.

I have always been proud of the way in which we make—interpret—and enforce the law in Virginia. We set high standards for the dignity and quality in jurisprudence which our system requires.

I know some of the difficulties you are experiencing. And I know how much of it is caused by the Federal Government, and particularly the Federal judiciary.

But fortunately most Virginia people are by nature law-abiding citizens. We respect the law, and we have confidence in the integrity of our legislators, our judiciary, and you.

It is to Virginia's great credit that we have avoided violence under all of the so-called "civil rights" pressure to which we have been subject for more than 10 years. May we continue to do so.

When I was Governor, in 1926, the general assembly enacted the strongest antilynching law ever proposed in any State. And there has not been a lynching in Virginia in the 38 years since then.

I have repeatedly urged those on both sides of the so-called civil rights conflict to avoid violence, and I hope you will allow me to take this occasion to do so again.

In this plea I join Senator RUSSELL and other southern Senators counseling against violence in the situation precipated by the Federal law just enacted.

The need for this kind of advice at this time—and the need to heed it—obviously is not limited to those on one side or the other, or to people who live south of the Mason-Dixon line.

I am convinced that parts of the new so-called civil rights legislation are unconstitutional and unworkable, but it has been promoted and signed by the President, and duly enacted by Congress.

Individual views notwithstanding, it is Federal law until it is repealed or declared unconstitutional by the courts. Violation cannot be tolerated; and violence is abhorrent.

But I must add that noncompliance with this law is no more illegal than sit-ins, lie-ins, and other demonstration practices in violation of other laws.

In urging avoidance of violence now I restate my position of 40 years as State senator, Governor, and U.S. Senator. I have always used public office in the interest of preserving law and order.

I am proud of Virginia's record in this—and other respects. Certainly we will use every legal means at our command to fight for what we believe to be in our best interest.

Virginia was the sole target of the NAACP-Federal court integration efforts in the South for years before, and since, the Supreme Court school decree of 1954.

The Clarendon County, S.C., case—also in the 1954 decision—has not been pressed in the district court yet, while Virginia has been under the Federal court guns for a decade.

In all of this siege, the people of Virginia have fought for what they believed to be right and constitutional—but they have done this without resort to violence.

I hope and pray that in the difficult days ahead we shall be able to continue our record for law and order—without violence—despite the Federal Government, in all of its branches.

I am saying advisedly that the Federal Government—in all of its branches—is making it more and more difficult to preserve law and order, and respect the law.

For an example of how the Federal Government, in all of its branches, is making it more difficult to preserve law and order, and respect for the law, we have to go back only 23 days.

On July 2 the President signed into law the so-called civil rights bill which he and his predecessor pushed through Congress—using all the instruments of pressure known to them.

The stated purpose of that bill is to outlaw discrimination. But proponents of the bill have refused to provide the public, the lawyers, and the courts with a legal definition of discrimination.

It will be defined case by case, by some bureaus in Washington and the Federal courts as people are hauled up, arrested, fined, and jailed, for what is alleged to be discrimination.

And as usual, the Federal Supreme Court in Washington will be making new laws of the land every Monday, with Federal bureaus and lower Federal courts aiding and abetting every day in the week.

The Federal Supreme Court has reached a point where we find one Justice with a base of conscience. He is Justice Harlan. In a dissent on June 15—last month—Justice Harlan said:

"The Court's elaboration on its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

And Justice Harlan continued by saying:

"When, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

This, of course, the Supreme Court has done time and time again in recent years. It seems to spend most of its time amending the Constitution to its own will, and usurping legislative authority.

By this process the Federal Supreme Court has become a subtle force in the concentration of power in Washington, from which the people have the minimum of recourse.

Thomas Jefferson said there was no danger he apprehended "so much as the consolidation of our Government by the noiseless, and therefore, unalarming instrumentality of the Supreme Court."

There is good authority to prove that Jefferson's fears were prophetic. The chief justices of the States of this country represent some of the Nation's best legal talent.

The State chief justices met at Pasadena in August 1958, and in carefully documented report, here is what they said (I quote from the State chief justices of the United States):

"The Supreme Court too often has tended to adopt the role of policymaker without proper judicial restraint * * * in the exten-

sion of Federal power, and the supervision of State action.

"In the light of the immense power of the Supreme Court and its practical nonreviewability * * * no more important obligation rests upon it * * * than that of careful moderation in the exercise of its policymaking role."

And then the State chief justices added this statement which I quote directly from their report:

"It has long been an American boast that we have a government of laws and not men. We believe that any study of recent decisions of the Supreme Court will raise considerable doubt as to the validity of this boast."

There can be no doubt about the usurpation of power by the Federal Supreme Court in the manner of Jefferson's apprehension. And it is joined by other branches of the Federal Government as well.

Let me use provisions in the so-called civil rights law just passed by the legislative branch to illustrate some of the power that has been usurped, and how it is being grabbed.

For instance, the law unconstitutionally delegates to Federal enforcement officers power to control purse strings. This is done in title 6 which empowers them to cut off taxpayers' money appropriated for expenditure in programs authorized for Federal assistance.

Some window-dressing language was added to the title to give a camouflage of validity, but proponents of the bill admitted the intent * * * the bureaucratic power is clear * * * and its use with full and effective force is to be expected.

And running in tandem with this Federal agent's power to control the purse strings, the Federal judiciary has usurped the power to impose local taxes for local purposes (in Prince Edward County). It is doing this without approval by local government, or citizens, of either the taxes or the purposes.

I am not reading the rise and fall of the American system in some fiendish fiction; it is the terrible fact of a Federal Supreme Court decree of May 25, 1964, usurping the power to tax the people of the United States and depriving them of the right of recourse by referendum.

John Marshall, in 1819, warned that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." With this power to impose taxes usurped by Federal courts beyond the reach of the ballot—and the purse string control exploited by Federal enforcement agents—restraint against brute Federal force has been cut down.

As another example, the so-called civil rights law, in title I, usurps more power for the Federal Government over State election requirements and confers new power on the Federal Attorney General and the Federal courts, neither of whom is answerable to the electorate.

At the same time the Federal Supreme Court is assuming power to gerrymander districts within States from which people of the respective States choose those whom they wish to represent their local interests in their own State legislatures.

Nothing is further from constitutional Federal jurisdiction than meddling with districts from which State legislators are elected. Gerrymander by Federal judiciary is new and dangerous in our system. It could be used to destroy the fundamental safeguards of our dual governments.

If the Federal courts can devise a law-of-the-land scheme to reduce representation in one area today, they can arbitrarily change the law-of-the-land scheme tomorrow. We have been through this with the separate but equal education law of the land.

I quoted earlier from Justice Harlan's dissent on June 15. He was dissenting from the Supreme Court decisions in the State redistricting cases, involving Virginia, and a majority of the other States in the Union.

I quote again from Justice Harlan's dissent from those decisions by the Court. He said:

"Judicial entry into this realm is profoundly ill advised and constitutionally impermissible * * *.

"Only one who has an overbearing impatience with the federal system and its political processes will believe the cost is not too high * * *.

"The Constitution is an instrument of government fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens."

Do you know who handed down the decisions to which Justice Harlan was dissenting? It was Chief Justice Warren. The 1964 decision by Warren, the Chief Justice, held that each member of each house of each State legislature should represent the same number of people.

But do you know what Warren said as Governor of California? I quote from a 1948 speech by Governor Warren. He said:

"I have never been in favor of restricting the representation in the State senate to a strictly population basis * * * the Founding Fathers of our country gave balanced representation to the States of the Union—equal representation in one House (the Senate) and proportionate representation based on population in the other (the House of Representatives)."

Returning to provisions of the so-called civil rights law; title VII subjects the hiring, firing, pay and promotion of those employed by larger businesses and agriculture enterprises to Federal agency approval, harassment, and punishment.

As a recent reminder of how the whiplash of Federal power may be applied to a vital segment of the Nation's industry—and our competitive enterprise system—I cite the experience which shocked the country in the spring of 1962.

Then we witnessed the ruthless application of authority by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal grand jury, and the threat to withhold Federal contracts from some of the most competent suppliers who were reluctant to conform to Federal edict.

And this Federal crackdown was ordered by the executive branch without benefit of act of Congress, or any so-called law of the land, decreed by some Federal court. It was naked force.

Under this title VII of the so-called civil rights bill, great fanfare was given the Senate proposal that imposition of Federal force be withheld temporarily if Federal requirements could be exacted under State law. Some 30 States have FEPC laws.

Virginia does not have an FEPC law. But those seeking comfort in this alleged concession should remind themselves of the Federal Supreme Court's low regard for State law. For example:

In the Nelson case the Federal Supreme Court threw out a State court decision and at the same time preempted the sedition laws of the 42 States because there was a Federal law in the area.

Whereas title VII of the so-called civil rights law deals with larger businesses, title 2 imposes Federal authority to forbid small business men and women to trade with whom they please, with the same kind of State law concession as given in title VII.

My same warning applies to those seeking comfort in this bogus title 2 concession. And in addition the Federal Supreme Court forbids police protection to small business premises against trespass of undesirables. Commonwealth's attorneys know the difficulties caused by the Court's series of decisions in trespass cases.

Title III of the so-called civil rights law extends the long arm of Federal control over the administration of local public facilities, and grants special powers to the Federal Attorney General and Federal courts to enforce it.

This title demands equal utilization of State and local public facilities for protection of those claiming to be threatened with loss of equal protection of laws on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

But the Federal Supreme Court, in the Clarence Mallory case of 1957, denied innocent women protection against this confessed and convicted rapist, who, after he was freed by the Federal Court, repeated the crime.

The State chief justices in their Pasadena meeting found that the Federal Supreme Court: "does not seem to have given any consideration to the risks to society which might result from the release of a prisoner of this type."

The concern of the State Chief Justices was validated by the horrible crime Mallory committed shortly thereafter.

Commonwealth's attorneys know that the Federal Supreme Court decision became the basis for a rule which has impaired the efficiency of one of the most vital of local facilities—the Nation's police departments, and the local facilities for detection and prosecution of crime.

Commonwealth's attorneys also know the difficulty caused by other Federal Supreme Court decisions outlawing evidence legally obtained under State law and making it easier for Federal judges to review convictions in State courts by issuing writs of habeas corpus.

Every lawyer here is familiar with the Konigsburg case in which the Federal Supreme Court invaded the right of States to establish and administer standards for admission of persons to the bar.

This could go on and on. But I shall conclude by citing one more illustration in the so-called civil rights law of power that has been usurped by the Federal Government, and the method by which power has been grabbed.

Title IV of the law usurps more power for Federal agents—including the Federal Attorney General and Federal judges—to dictate local public school administration, and assert their authority over parental judgment and the lives of pupils.

Meanwhile the Federal Supreme Court has assumed the power to outlaw prayer in public schools by children who wish to pray, and have their parents permission to do so. Foreclosure of this privilege is another Federal Court law of the land.

George Washington—whom we revere as Father of our Country—warned us that—"Usurpation of power is the customary weapon by which free nations are destroyed."

And he went a step further and added that our Government, "will become despotic only when the people have become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other."

You are the elected officials of the Commonwealth of Virginia to uphold the State's law. And I am one of these elected in Virginia to participate in enactment of constructive and valid Federal law.

You and I are going to do all in our power to respect law and order. We are going to do all we can to avoid violence for any reason.

Speaking for myself, I am shocked by the unrelenting usurpation of power on the part of all branches of the Federal Government. I think you are, too.

Speaking for myself, I find this activity by the Federal Government is making it increasingly difficult to preserve respect for law and its proper enforcement for the safety of our people against violence. I suspect you do, too.

Speaking for myself, I intend to speak as loudly as I can against excessive concentration of power in Washington, and do all I can to restrain it. I hope you will join me.

The Congressman and His World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from a Brookings Institution book by Charles L. Clapp:

THE CONGRESSMAN AND HIS WORLD

(The American Republic has little understanding of the legislative process and of the responsibilities and difficulties of the Members of the House of Representatives * * *. Following are excerpts from a Brookings book—"The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It," by Charles L. Clapp—which seeks to provide greater perspective on how the House actually functions. It is based on the transcripts of a series of roundtable sessions in which 36 Democratic and Republican Congressmen participated, on interviews with House Members and on additional research by the author. (Copyright, 1963, by the Brookings Institution.))

When a new Congressman comes to Washington to take his seat in the House of Representatives he finds that he is expected to make his own way in the political and legislative world. The House provides the newcomer with little guidance on the most important problems that concern him: how to obtain choice committee assignments, how to recruit a superior office staff, and what he can anticipate congressional life to be like.

Early in his career the Congressman also faces a difficult decision for which he is inadequately prepared. He finds he must choose between achieving a position of power and influence within the legislative body or seeking to affect public policy by issuing frequent pronouncements aimed at a larger, national audience. Few legislators can do both. Explained one legislator: "The very ingredients which make you a powerful House leader are the ones which keep you from being a public leader."

Most Congressmen find that their office staffs are entirely occupied with district work and are not available to help on legislative problems. Mail is a heavy burden though it may be a source of ideas or a guide to voter sentiment. No Congressman dares ignore it, and all mail—no matter how bizarre the request, how snide the criticism, how stereotyped the comment—must be answered.

A second aspect of the difficulty of fulfilling legislative responsibilities effectively is the increasing complexity of public issues. One legislator commented:

I am appalled at how much Congressmen are expected to do for the Nation. We have to know too much. We have to make too many decisions. No matter how hardworking and conscientious a Congressman is, no matter how much homework he does, he just can't master these problems. We just don't have the time to keep informed properly.

The enormous range of national problems encourages legislative specialization and the tendency for Members to rely on each other for assistance or guidance on legislative topics. A Member who is an expert, whose integrity is recognized, who is hard working, reasonable and responsible comes to be influential. Other sources of information are available, of course, notably the Library of Congress, committee reports, expert witnesses from the executive departments and from outside the Government, travel, and occasionally from special groups of like-minded Members within the House.

In fulfilling his legislative role, the Congressman finds attendance at House sessions an important way to develop knowledge of House rules and parliamentary tactics, and to obtain background on some key issues that arise year after year. But as for the effectiveness of debate itself in determining final votes, the prevailing view is that few votes are swayed. "Most House Members will be more impressed by who is making a speech than by what is said on the subject."

Voting, the final act of the legislative role, is taken seriously, especially when a controversial issue is involved, but on many questions the vote itself does not always mean what it seems to mean. Measures may be passed by one body by large margins because of assurances that the other body will scuttle them; sometimes colleagues rally behind an associate who needs support in his district, secure in the knowledge that a House-Senate conference will eliminate the doubtful measure he is sponsoring. One Member summed it up:

You've got to realize that not only are we sitting there trying to analyze legislation, trying to do the best job we can, but that factors other than absolute reason are always entering the situation. We are not * * * in an academic environment, secluded from pressures and other factors which may not be completely relevant to the situation at hand. We are operating in a political environment, surrounded by lobbyists, constituents, the leadership, and jangling telephones and we virtually have no time alone to think and reflect upon the problems before us. The big miracle is that somehow all of this works.

The committee system is the crux of the legislative process; a person's congressional career may rest largely on the kind of committee post he is given. Freshmen are likely to find the assignment procedure far more complex than they had expected. * * *

In both parties, there is criticism that committee appointments are made in effect by the party leadership as part of a political strategy of their own making—by weaving together strands of regional and State demands, administration interests, committee chairmen's preferences, personal likes and dislikes, and occasionally the "rights" of seniority.

As a result, the factors influencing committee assignments are far from constant; perhaps the only certainty is that a good assignment is worth striving for, because it is in the committee rooms that the real work of Congress is done.

Committees are virtually autonomous bodies, hiring their own staffs, establishing their own rules of procedure, proceeding at their own pace for the most part and resisting, on occasion, the urgings of the leadership or the administration.

They work best in closed rather than open sessions, since partisan stances can often be sublimated and an atmosphere conducive to thoughtful consideration of legislation is more likely to prevail. Consultation between leading majority and minority members of a committee is not uncommon.

Committee chairmen rank high among the most influential Members of Congress. Sometimes respected, sometimes feared, often criticized by their colleagues, the majority have learned well the traditional privileges of their station.

A chairman's power stems from his authority to call meetings (or not), to establish subcommittees (or not), to decide the order in which bills will be considered, to approve travel orders, to handle legislation on the floor and thus decide how the debate should be shaped and to be principal spokesman for the House in the event the measure goes to conference with the Senate. His power is cumulative; association with his colleagues over a period of years enables him to build a strong residue of personal goodwill and I O U's in the face of which open revolt is most difficult.

It is in the area of committee rules of procedure that many members think corrective action might be taken. "Rules of committees are designed to take the sting out of seniority and clip the wings of an arbitrary, negativist chairman," commented one man.

Occasionally, a subcommittee will become so powerful that its influence will exceed that of the full committee. Subcommittee chairmanships are sought not only because of the prestige, publicity, and perquisites that go with them but also because of the opportunities they provide to affect the direction of legislation.

A sore point for many Congressmen is the dependence of committees in reaching decisions on information provided by the Executive. Said one: "Congress is faced with a responsibility for legislating very basic policy but is without the ability to compel the production of information which gives us the facts as a basis for legislating." Said another: "You can't get facts now. The Executive says you can't have them. Today the Executive asserts a new type of privilege which holds him above the law."

The leadership in the House is diffused—divided among elected leaders, Members who have risen to power by means of seniority, and a few individuals who are influential because of their personality and expertise although they do not enjoy official standing in the House or party hierarchy. In recent years, the formal instruments of leadership, such as the party caucus and the policy committee, have not been central elements in its exercise, although the Republicans are now according the conference and policy committee important responsibilities. The absence of official party apparatus that could give direction to the elected leaders has strengthened the hand of the Speaker and the majority leader, increasing their authority and freedom of action.

Persuasion rather than coercion or threat constitutes the main instrument for leadership success. There may be tacit recognition that it is within the power of the leadership to inflict sanctions (or distribute largesse), but rarely is it invoked.

Congressmen find that the election process never ends. As one observed, "You should say 'perennial' election rather than 'biennial.' It's with us every day."

But although most of them believe that the 2-year term complicates their problems, there is relatively little serious agitation for quadrennial elections, partly because many Members also believe that voters should have an opportunity to express their views every 2 years and partly because the possibility of change seems remote.

Regarding the chances for reelection, Members agree that incumbency is a great advantage. They feel that, by and large, State and local political groups do not concern themselves with congressional elections and that the two national committees are relatively useless. The large majority of Members accept the view that the "image" the voter has of the contestants is more important than the issues in determining the outcome:

The people back home don't know what's going on. Issues are not most important. * * * If voters feel the candidate is conscientious and is trying hard to serve them, then that man has a good chance of coming back.

In creating a favorable image, must a Representative follow the preference of his district in voting, or does he have unusual latitude in making up his own mind? Opinions vary. One argument runs:

I think you can vote pretty nearly the way you want to vote on the issues. The people don't expect you to agree with them on every issue, and they respect you for arriving at your independent judgment. You

must demonstrate that you are conscientious, however, and that you are able to arrive at a reasonable and intelligent judgment.

The other argument runs: "You cannot buck district sentiment on certain issues." Or, "A politician's first duty is to get reelected and I think this sometimes requires casting votes you might prefer not to cast."

To which is countered: "You are not just down here getting yourself reelected; you are here standing for a party which is supposed to have a definite philosophy." Or: "What good is it to be reelected if you are not willing to stand up on issues which are important."

In sum, Congressmen and congressional wives who participated in the Brookings study make clear that the life of a House Member is not an easy one. He works long hours but never can meet the many demands on his time. No matter how effective he is and how much he accomplishes he can never satisfy all of his friends and constituents. He can seldom fully anticipate his schedule, being constantly subject to the whims of others. His job will not make him rich and the position he holds is not accorded the respect and deference by the public to which he thinks it entitled. Tension, if not conflict, is a dominant element in his life.

But after all the complaints have been aired, important compensations remain: the challenge of the work, prestige, and the satisfactions that come from active participation in important decisions of government. Politics "gets in the blood," as one said. "There is an emotional excitement in being here," said another. "You are on the board of directors of a $100 billion a year corporation," said one. "Occasionally," said another, "perhaps just once or twice a session, you * * * are able to think of yourself as one tiny particle in the whole stream of history. * * * The hard work falls away, and the tension is relaxed, and you have a sense of purpose that I don't think you find in any other profession."

Advertising and Tax-Exempt Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 24, the Wall Street Journal carried a full report on advertising revenues of tax-exempt organizations. The article states that the Internal Revenue Service is considering issuance of a regulation which would subject profits derived from advertising received by tax-exempt organizations to the same income taxes paid by taxpaying publishers.

I think the interest of the Internal Revenue Service in this matter is most encouraging and I am hopeful that the regulation will be issued shortly. The hearing which would presumably follow issuance of the regulation should help bring about ultimate procedures which should establish tax equality in publishing, where freedom of the press is so important.

The text of the Wall Street Journal article follows:

TAX EXEMPT OR NOT?—INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE SEEKS LEVY ON ADS SOLD BY PUBLICATIONS OF NONPROFIT GROUPS—CHANGE MIGHT FORCE CUTBACK IN ACTIVITIES—AMA STANDS TO LOSE HALF OF ITS INCOME—PAINT INDUSTRY'S NEW VOICE

(By A. Kent MacDougall)

NEW YORK.—The Internal Revenue Service, which in recent years has cast an increasingly critical eye on businesses operated by nonprofit organizations, is about to alter the tax-free status of one type of business engaged in by many of the groups—the publication of magazines and other periodicals.

Before the year is out, perhaps even this summer, the IRS says it will proposed new regulations which will subject to income taxes the advertising revenues of publications of charitable, religious, educational, trade, and labor organizations. The new ruling will reflect a conviction by IRS officials that the sale of ads in periodicals is not related to the purposes for which the nonprofit groups are chartered. All income from such publications currently is tax free. The new ruling could well force many of these groups to cut back on their activities or increase membership dues.

The number of tax-exempt groups which sell advertising in their publications has been climbing rapidly in recent years. According to one study, 695 such periodicals carried ads in 1962, up from 416 a decade earlier. Though no later figures are available there's every indication this growth is continuing. Ad revenues of these publications had been rising even faster, rocketing to $73 million in 1962 from $30 million 10 years earlier.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC INVOLVED

Some of the publications which would be affected by the new ruling are of general interest, with advertising beamed at the general consumer. Perhaps the most notable example is the National Geographic, the monthly magazine of the nonprofit National Geographic Society. The National Geographic now boasts 3.9 million subscribers and last year brought in $5.5 million in ad revenues.

But the vast majority of publications in question are special-interest business, trade and technical journals. Most of them compete with commercially owned periodicals. Publishers of these taxpaying magazines have long complained about the tax exemption granted nonprofit groups. Among other charges, the private publishers claim current tax regulations often permit nonprofit groups to keep ad rates unrealistically low.

The nonprofit associations, not surprisingly, are upset about the coming IRS ruling. In many cases, the income from magazines provide the sponsoring organization with its main source of operating funds.

"It's perfectly natural for the Government to look for new sources of revenue," says an official of the National Geographic Society, "but if we lose our tax exemption on the magazine we probably will have to reduce our scientific and educational activities." These activities, which cost the society $1.1 million last year, included such projects as a study of snakes and frogs in French Guiana and an expedition up Mountain Everest.

SOME EXEMPTIONS WILL REMAIN

The IRS ruling wouldn't slice away all the tax-free benefits of the nonprofit periodicals. Still exempt from income taxes would be revenues from membership subscriptions. But revenues from nonmember subscriptions as well as advertising would be subject to income taxes for the first time. Not affected by the new regulations would be the publications of veterans and fraternal groups, such as the American Legion and the Elks; they are exempt by law from all income taxes. It would take action by Congress to change their status.

But just the taxing of ad revenues and nonmember subscriptions will have a sizable effect on many tax-exempt organizations. The American Medical Association is a case in point. Of its total income of $22.5 million last year, $10.1 million—or 45 percent—came from ads in its publications and $2.7 million—or 12 percent—came from nonmember subscriptions.

The 13 AMA publications that accept advertising range from the Archives of Otolaryngology, read by 8,400 ear and throat specialists, to Today's Health, an 800,000-circulation monthly written for the layman and often found in doctors' waiting rooms.

CEREALS AND SOAP ADS

Included in the list is the Journal of the American Medical Association which last year carried 5,262 pages of ads, more than any other national weekly magazine except the New Yorker and the Oil & Gas Journal. Though most of the Journal's ads are for pharmaceuticals, others plug soft drinks, breakfast cereals, margarine, and hand soap.

Such successes haven't gone unnoticed by other associations, and some are moving into the same type of operation. The Paint and Wallpaper Association of America, for example, currently is putting the finishing touches on plans to launch a monthly—Decorating Retailer—in September. It is accepting advertising and expects to begin with a 30,000-copy distribution.

"Our main reason for starting Decorating Retailer is to make money," frankly comments Willard Rand, managing editor of the new publication. "An association seldom derives enough revenue from dues alone to support its membership activities." He also maintains the new magazine will have an educational value for the association's members. The new magazine will compete directly with American Paint and Wallpaper Dealer, a privately-owned magazine published by American Paint Journal Co., St. Louis. "The industry needs a second voice," says Mr. Rand.

Still other associations are moving to cash in on the advertising boom by permitting existing periodicals to carry ads for the first time. One example is the National Association of Electrical Distributors which next month will expand its 16-page monthly to 32 pages to allow for ads. The association has set a rate of $300 a page, with a maximum of 16 pages a month, for the 5,000-circulation publication.

Nonprofit groups hold out hope that an IRS ruling on ad revenues and non-member subscriptions will eventually be reversed by the Treasury Secretary who has the final say-so in matters of tax interpretations. Public hearings have to be held on regulation changes and the nonprofit groups will be heard.

But the proposed tax change will have the support of at least one major group, Associated Business Publications. Representing commercial publications, many of which are in competition with the tax-exempt periodicals, the ABP has been persistent and outspoken in its criticism of what it calls the "tax subsidy" granted publications of nonprofit organizations. The group has been campaigning hard for the change in IRS regulations.

The ABP, in fact, is critical of other operational aspects of tax-exempt publications. The group charges that some tax-exempt associations use pressure tactics in soliciting advertising. The ABP points to one recent memorandum from the publisher of a trade association magazine to its members. The memo suggested local chapters post lists of advertisers and nonadvertisers, with the hint that nonadvertisers could be contacted. "A word to a supplier's distributor or agent * * * does have an effect," the memorandum advised.

As if the publishing operations of nonprofit associations were not going to be under enough fire from the IRS, another Federal agency is moving in a direction which could mean higher costs. Most associations currently enjoy low postal rates on their magazines. For example, under present second-class rates a commercial publisher must pay 3.36 cents to 9.48 cents—depending on distance—to mail a 1-pound magazine containing 60-percent advertising and 40-percent text. A nonprofit group pays a lowered uniform 1.7 cents.

But in a recent report to Congress, Postmaster General Gronouski called for a reexamination of the special postage rates granted the nonprofit groups. "Public service costs are mounting rapidly," the report said. "The Congress must decide whether the social benefits of these mailings are worth all the costs they engender."

He said mailings at the nonprofit rate account for 20 percent of all second class volume and cost the Post Office $87.6 million to handle in fiscal 1963. It collected $6.4 million in postage, leaving a "public service" deficit of $81.2 million.

However, the chances of any major rate revision are generally regarded as slim. One congressional aid says that the political power of nonprofit groups makes it tough to raise the postal rates they pay.

Address of Welcome by the Honorable James A. Farley, Former Postmaster General of the United States, Past President of the New York State Elks Association, and Presently Chairman of the Board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., at the Opening of the Grand Lodge Convention of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America, in the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, July 12, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I am particularly pleased, as a past exalted ruler of Brooklyn Lodge No. 22 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, to include with these remarks the address of welcome by the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States, at the opening of the Grand Lodge Convention of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the United States of America at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on July 12, 1964:

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Chairman Hall, Grand Exalted Ruler Dunn, past grand exalted rulers, Grand Chaplain Dr. Trout, officers and members of the Grand Lodge, Brother Elks and ladies, as many of you know, I have seldom missed an Elks national convention since my first convention in Atlantic City over 45 years ago. From time to time I have been honored by the privilege of addressing these gatherings of my brothers and my fellow Americans from every site of land under our flag. I am doubly honored tonight, for it is my privilege and pleasure to extend to this 100th grand lodge session of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks the official greetings of the city of New York on behalf of our distinguished mayor, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner. Other duties that took him out of the city tonight have made it impossible for Brother Wagner to be here and personally bid you welcome to our great and wonderful city.

As a member and as a past exalted ruler of New York Lodge No. 1, the fountainhead lodge of Elkdom, Mayor Wagner is himself a member of this grand lodge and shares with all of our 1,330,000 brothers throughout America the love and affection that we hold for the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.

It is always a special occasion when the Elks return to New York for the national convention. New York is the home town to all Elks, wherever we live, for it was here that our order was founded. It was from New York City that the actors and entertainers who conceived the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks introduced it in their travels to distant parts of the land and passed down to other men the high ideal of a brotherhood united by the principles of charity, justice, brotherly love, and fidelity. It is with rightful and justifiable pride that New York looks upon the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks as one of its finest contributions to the people of America.

Today there are more than 2,200 Elks lodges, and every week the number grows. They are in the great cities and in the small cities and in the villages throughout our land. Wherever they are, the Elks lodge is and has always been, thank God, and always will be a home of stouthearted Americans. The history of our order covers half of the history of our country, and at any time, in peace or in war, the Elks have been determined and aggressive defenders of liberty and unyielding foes of whoever sought to destroy or weaken it.

Ours is a great order. Down through the years and since it came into being in the great city of New York, it has given a splendid service to millions of Americans. I think it can be truly said, with no reflection on any other fraternity, that the Order of Elks, since its inception, has contributed as much, if not more, to the happiness and well-being and to the spiritual and educational facilities of the people of this nation as has any other fraternal order.

We have been very fortunate that the order has ever been wise in the selection of men to direct its destinies. I am not going to attempt to mention names, because the list is so long that I fear I might omit some worthy member; but I can say to you that there are gathered on this stage men who for 20 to 40 years or more have served this order faithfully and well. They have given freely of their time and effort for the order during the years. They have come up through the ranks, and after they had served in their own lodges and in their own cities or villages, when they assumed the position of Grand Exalted Ruler, they gave all that was in them to justify the confidence that was placed in them by the membership of our great order. After they completed their year in office, after they gave up the duties of that office, and were succeeded by other Grand Exalted Rulers, they did not stop there. Year after year these very fine Elks, great Americans all, still remain active and give freely of their time and effort for the good of our order.

To the men who now direct the destinies of this Order, and to this group gathered here tonight, may I say that whatever success has come to the Order of Elks can, in my judgment, be attributed to the leadership that has been given to it by the grand exalted rulers who are here tonight and those who have passed on.

We preach Americanism and practice Americanism. We do these things not from a blind acceptance of the past, but because we know that we are the inheritors of the political, social and economic ideas and ideals that have answered the prayers in men's hearts and are the source of our strength and our greatness as a Nation. Because of our firm faith in the American dream we have never lost confidence in our way of life. Spaceships may arise into the heavens, sent there by slaves who have served the despotic ambitions of dangerous men. They may strike into the hearts of those of other lands and cause those of little faith to speak admiringly of Communist triumphs, but we Elks know better. We know that so long as Americans remain true to themselves, so long as we stand faithful to the concepts embodied in the Constitution of the United States and symbolized by that magnificent statue that stands in the harbor of this city, that America will always stand as a rock against which communism and every tyranny will break and perish.

As conservative as Elks are with respect to any attempts to tamper with our liberties, we are just as liberal when it comes to lending a helping hand to those who have suffered the hurts of life, to guide our youth toward the greatest fulfillment of their hopes and their demands. As a measure of this liberality, this generous spirit that animates the men of Elkdom, our Order last year spent more than $7 million for benevolent programs, so many in number and so varied in character that they cannot be listed in detail, and the dollars invested in them are indeed a poor measure of their worth. A far better measure is the many thousands of crippled children whose bodies have been restored at our hospitals, the thousands of cerebral palsied youngsters who have been taught to talk and to dress and to feed themselves, and to have known the immeasurable thrill of joining other youngsters at school and at play, because the Elks provided the treatment which set them free.

When our colleges open their doors next September several hundred young Americans will be able to enter those doors only because the Elks dug into their pockets and gave them scholarships. Some of these young people are superior students, enormously gifted; others are just the average, but they all have talents that our country needs, and they will be able to make their greatest contribution to society because of the generosity of the Elks.

Always remember the men who defended our liberties and who today lie wounded or ill in hospitals. In gratitude for their sacrifices the Elks throughout the year and in every veterans' hospital in the land bring to these men entertainment and recreation. We remember them not only at Christmas but on other special occasions. The Elks National Service Commission under the guidance and leadership of my old and good friend, Judge Hallinan, presents programs of hope and encouragement in veterans' hospitals every week and every month of every year. In these and in other ways we try to bring cheer and pleasure and to share a little of the load they bear and, above all, to make them know that we do not and shall not forget.

These, my friends, are some of the true measures of Elkdom. They are, in fact, a reflection of the true greatness of America. They are the real spirit of America, the spirit that gives a meaning to the words of our Constitution. This is the spirit that flames from the torch high over New York Harbor, high across the world, and sends its messages of serene defiance to sputniks elsewhere.

Proudly indeed the city of New York welcomes the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks to the city of its birth. We rejoice in Elkdom's achievements. We know that this grand lodge session at the business meetings which will get underway tomorrow will chart a course for future achievements for the betterment of all America.

Our city offers you all its resources for your comfort and for your convenience while you attend to the business that brings you here, and as the most hospitable city in the world, New York bids you, when the time comes to play, to enjoy to the fullest the pleasures of good life that this city offers in abundance. And, in addition to its amusements, we have this year the New York World's Fair which all of you must visit as frequently as possible and see as much of it as you can—even if it necessitates remaining for a few extra days.

We all know the joyousness of life when enriched with good fellowship, and we all want to share it with others.

Thank you very much—and God bless you.

Time for Debate on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, 1964, the Washington Post carried an article by Prof. Amitai Etzioni of Columbia University which I believe is of interest. As I stated in my speech on this subject on June 10, there is very little debate carried on in or out of Congress on U.S. policy in southeast Asia. I urge my colleagues to read the following article in the hope that it will stimulate public discussion of this most important issue:

NEUTRAL INDOCHINA STILL A BUFFER—ASIA SCHOLAR ARGUES THAT PEIPING ONLY WANTS A QUIET BORDER

(Two weeks ago in this section, Prof. Wesley R. Fishel, of Michigan State University, wrote that the United States could neither withdraw from former Indochina nor allow it to be neutralized. Our only choice, he argued, was to "stay and fight." Here is a differing opinion on what our policy should be, written by an associate professor of sociology and a staff member of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University. Amitai Etzioni is also the author of "Winning Without War," recently published by Doubleday.)

(By Amitai Etzioni)

In the last few weeks, the United States has again escalated the war in southeast Asia by strafing pro-Communist positions in Laos with rockets which hit, among other targets, a Chinese mission.

Like previous escalations, this one did not bring us an inch closer to winning the war; guerrilla wars are never won from the air. Like previous escalations, it involved us more deeply in a war that continually costs more lives and resources. This involvement, in effect, has given Communist China the option to decide if and when to turn this war into a Korean-type confrontation.

If tomorrow, China were to match our thousands of advisers, our mass supply of modern weapons and our aerial bombardments, we would either have to retreat openly under fire (which is quite inconceivable), engage in a large-scale conventional war (which the Democrats swore never to get entangled in again after Korea) or use nuclear weapons, which would at least push China back into the arms of the Soviet Union and probably instigate a world war.

A DULLES LEGACY

The alternative is not preventive surrender but genuine neutralization. In examining neutralization, we have not yet freed ourselves from the Dulles tradition that sees in neutrality the immoral position of noncommitment in the struggle between the forces of light and darkness as well as an invitation to the Communists to try to fill the resulting vacuum. That neutralization is supported by De Gaulle (and the U.S.S.R.) is viewed by many in the capital as sufficient evidence in itself that this idea does not warrant careful consideration.

The critical question is not whether the area can be neutralized but whether neutralization can be made to stick and not be a thin cover for an American retreat and a Communist takeover. In principle, neutralization can be made to work only if it is in the interest of all the big powers concerned. It is my central contention that this is the case in southeast Asia now.

The key to our mistrust of a neutralist solution for southeast Asia is our expectation that it will result in Chinese domination of the region. China is depicted by our propaganda as a major aggressive, expansionist power ready to engulf first the Indochinese peninsula, then Malaysia and Indonesia and soon all of Asia.

PEIPING OVERRATED

A busy team of learned State Department staff members and consultants provides an endless flood of quotations from Chinese writings and speeches to this effect. But we should learn to distinguish between pronouncements and policy.

In reality, China is neither a major nor an aggressive power, and neutralization of the area would be in line with its present foreign policy. China's bellicose threats seek to cover up a quite cautious foreign policy in order to gain favor in the international Communist movement without incurring the risk of a major war.

China has talked about liberating Taiwan for half a generation but has done nothing, about it. China has criticized Khrushchev for retreating from Cuba but itself did not try to move into next-door Hong Kong, full of pro-Chinese Communists. It has not launched an attack on Quemoy and Matsu, 3 miles from its mainland shore.

Far from being the aggressive nation we tend to describe, it has improved its relations with Japan, Pakistan, and Ceylon, increased its trade with Britain and Canada and won the recognition of more than 50 countries.

In general, Communist China's policy at this stage seems to be to be to support weak neutral governments on its borders. Cambodia has been such a weak neutral country for a decade and a half; Burma readily qualifies for the same characterization; Nepal is not exactly a formidable opponent or a Western ally. Yet these countries are as free as Pakistan or Thailand.

Even when India's defenses collapsed, China did not take the risks involved in marching deeper into the country but limited itself to holding a border zone that has been in dispute for years, and over which even Nationalist China recognizes mainland China's claim. Once India was shown to be weak, it was left alone.

None of these neutral countries has been annexed because China itself is weak. Her agriculture is in a mess; her industrialization is floundering; a succession of administrative crises and food shortages have left the country with a low morale; the Chinese army is poorly equipped; China has found it difficult to obtain gasoline to fly its airplanes since the Soviet Union cut off the supply; it has no nuclear weapons or modern systems of delivery.

For at least the next decade, China will have to focus on building up its industrial base. Whether that goal can be reached in less than 20 years and whether China will be as Stalinist and bellicose after that period as it is now are open questions. For the next 10 years, however, China is to be expected to prefer weak neutral countries on its borders over the risks of a fuller confrontation with the United States as a result of a violation of a neutrality pact.

To be successful, neutralization must be backed by power. We must make clear from the onset that neutralization will win our support only if China and Russia will commit themselves to refrain from armed intervention in the neutralized area, and that any violation of these commitments will bring our return with a vengeance, with whatever force required.

We are now committed to protect the people of the area from external aggression and to assure their right of self-determination; we can fulfill this commitment under neutralization by setting up remote deterrence forces, i.e., by holding forces in a state of readiness outside a given territory to deter the intrusion of the other side and if necessary to counter it.

The zone to be neutralized has yet to be determined. Ideally, all of southeast Asia should be included. North Vietnam was a Chinese vassal for hundreds of years, and its leaders still fear and resent Chinese overlordship. Given an opportunity, Ho Chi Minh might well prefer to act like Yugoslavia, at least like Rumania.

But it might be too late for the inclusion of North Vietnam; the younger generation of pro-Chinese leaders might be too deeply entrenched for this plan. Nor is China likely to let go of North Vietnam.

It would be more realistic to neutralize an area where China would be unwilling to accept the risks involved in continued or renewed conflict with the United States: South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos south and west of the 1962 neutralization line (which the pro-Communist forces have not yet crossed).

Such a zone would obviously meet with the approval of France and have the active support of Russia; the U.S.S.R. seeks to contain Chinese influence in Asia.

A neutral zone established in line with the interests of all concerned might still be eroded and a major war triggered if either side, while seeking to adhere to its commitment, felt that the other side had violated the pact. That is what happened with the 1954 and 1961–62 neutralization accords.

Not only were they not backed by power, but an utterly ineffectual international machinery was set up to supervise their implementation. A fair sized United Nations observer force patrolling the borders of the area would go a long way toward doing that job.

By making violations more visible to world public opinion, they would become less tempting. (No U.N. force could deter a major power intending openly to violate the neutrality pact; that would be the task of the remote deterrence forces.) Such a U.N. force would be much more likely to gain Soviet financial support than the peacekeeping activities in the Congo or Gaza strip.

After a short period of pacification, free elections should be held in the neutralized territories under U.N. supervision. There seems to be no reason why Cambodia would not retain its current Government nor why south Laos, shorn of the Communists in the north, would not continue to be governed by the present Vientiane coalition of rightists and neutralists.

The fate of the South Vietnamese Government is less easy to predict. The present

Government has practically no popular basis and suffers the onus of being the puppet of a foreign power. At worst, free elections would lead to a nationalist pro-Communist government.

As long as South Vietnam was prevented by the neutrality pact from joining any military bloc or being annexed by North Vietnam, however, it would still be a buffer state in the way of future Chinese expansion. And there is the possibility that with the return of a saner life in South Vietnam, viable political alternatives to the national liberation front would emerge.

This is not a sanguine picture. Surely we would prefer to leave South Vietnam with a democratic government committed to economic development and social progress. But there is no way of establishing such a government; surely our massive economic aid to a government by generals and our escalation of the war have not brought such a government closer.

The alternative in southeast Asia is not between flourishing democracy and communism but between trying neutralization and escalating a war in which no military victory seems possible; which devastates the countryside, makes American support of repugnant regimes seem necessary, and leaves China with the option to involve us in another Korean-type war.

Monocacy Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the Battle of the Monocacy in Frederick County, Md., was not one of the larger battles of the Civil War in terms of troops involved, but it was a striking military operation costing the lives of some 2,000 men. Gen. Jubal Early's Confederate troops won a notable victory but the 24-hour delay gave the Union forces time to reinforce their defenses around the city of Washington. Had this battle of the Monocacy not occurred, the Confederate forces would, in all probabilty, have taken the Nation's Capital City.

Last November I introduced a bill to authorize the President to declare July 9 of this year as Monocacy Battle Centennial in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of that battle. The bill was passed and the President signed the proclamation.

The city of Frederick held a 5-day celebration of this anniversary from July 5 through 9 with a program which included the reenactment of the ransom of Frederick and dedication of the first Maryland marker on the Monocacy battlefield. The Frederick County Civil War Centennial, Inc., The Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy all cooperated in this successful celebration. The Honorable E. Paul Magaha, mayor of Frederick, and other city officials joined with Frederick citizens to present the reenactment. Speeches or messages were included from the Honorable J. Millard Tawes, Governor of Maryland; the Honorable Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New Jersey; the Honorable William W. Scranton, Governor of Pennsylvania; the Honorable Philip H. Hoff, Governor of Vermont.

The main address at the ranson of Frederick program on July 5 was delivered by the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, mayor of Baltimore and former Governor of Maryland. I include his inspirational remarks here for the attention of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF MAYOR THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE

For speed and daring Gen. Jubal Early may well be described as the George Patton of the Confederate Army, yet he gets singularly little attention in the history books. The reason is Monocacy. Generals Tyler and Wallace could not stop Early. But on this field they delayed him 2 days and those days were just enough to bring troops back from Virginia to stiffen the defenses of Washington. But for that delay Early might have come down in history as the never-to-be-forgotten Confederate commander who captured the National Capital.

But the Union paid a terrific price for the delay. Tyler lost 1,800 out of 6,000 men, a casualty rate of more than 25 percent, 2½ times the rate at which the Romans called a legion decimated. Monocacy was not as great a battle as Gettysburg, but few fields have been more hotly contested in all the history of warfare. However, it only measured up to the rest of that war. Only about 2 million men were engaged on both sides but the war cost 500,000 lives—probably more because the records, especially on the Confederate side, are not complete.

The explanation is that it was a family fight, traditionally the worst kind. When Americans fought Americans the fighting was more desperate and bloodier than when Americans have faced foes from any other nation. War is the world's great tragedy, but civil war is worse than any other kind, the greatest of all tragedies.

Standing on the field where the fierce struggle took place, it is fitting that we should reverently thank God that all this is a hundred years behind us. For a full century a reunited nation has lived in domestic peace, and in foreign war has been more solidly united than it ever was before Monocacy was fought. Yet even as we return thanks to a beneficent providence, we must not allow ourselves to forget the duty that lies upon us to make sure that conditions like those that produced the Civil War shall not be allowed to exist in this country.

The dragon's teeth that sprang up and flowered hideously from 1861 to 1865 were planted many years before Sumter was fired on. It may be asserted plausibly that the first handful were sown in 1619 when according to the colonial records, a Dutch ship sold to the planters of Jamestown 20 black slaves. With the cheap wisdom of hindsight, we can see now several occasions on which the fatal planting might have been plowed up. Jefferson, for example, wanted to write a repudiation of slavery in the Declaration of Independence. The foreign slave trade was condemned 11 years later in the Constitution, and many delegates wished to decree an end to the rest of the slave system. Several Presidents, the last being Abraham Lincoln, publicly favored emancipation by purchase.

But because each opportunity was allowed to slip, the evil at last had to be wiped out in blood and fire. "I tremble for my country," said Jefferson, "when I reflect that God is just." Each of us may well tremble when we reflect that in this case failure to do right when it was easy had to be paid for with the lives of hundreds of thousands of the bravest and best of both North and South.

Political commentators all assure us that a renewal of civil war in this country is inconceivable, and I thoroughly agree; but there are many evils short of war that are not inconceivable and that may be brought upon us by apathetic refusal to face new duties that new times lay upon us; and some of those evils are little short of the ultimate disaster of war.

It seems to me a plain lesson of history that the greatest villains are not necessarily the greatest dangers to this country. Benedict Arnold was exposed before he could do any serious damage. If Aaron Burr conspired at all, which many doubt, his conspiracy was nipped in the bud. Thieves have wormed their way into public office time and again, yet it is doubtful that all of them put together have stolen as much as the price of one giant aircraft carrier.

But honest men who refuse to face the facts, and dull men who cannot even see the facts, have brought upon us disasters many times worse than the damage that such a character as Boss Tweed inflicted on New York City. By 1861, the time had come when the institution of human slavery was no longer consonant with existence as a civilized nation, so for 4 years we reverted to the savagery of fratricidal strife. In the stress of emotion in those years and immediately after, the North said, and believed, that it was fighting against treason, the South said it was fighting against tyranny. Today we know that the basic cause of the conflict was neither treason nor tyranny. It was the reluctance of men, and especially of political leaders on both sides to face up to the facts, to admit that the poet was right when he said that "new occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," and to act accordingly. But the result was a greater calamity than either treason or tyranny ever inflicted upon the Nation.

If we are honest with ourselves, can we say confidently that no such condition exists today? I am afraid not. It seems to me that there is all too much evidence that we are still afflicted by the reluctance that was the undoing of our ancestors. I still hear men prominent in public life arguing that the facts of the 20th century are not facts at all, that what was accepted as truth by our grandfathers must be accepted as truth by us, and that he who says otherwise is not an honest man but a secret enemy of the American way of life.

I am firmly persuaded that this state of mind is as dangerous today as it was in 1860. If you would know how dangerous it was then, look around you. Observe these monumental shafts, these sculptured figures, all attesting how on this spot thousands of brave men died to correct the errors of the statesmen in whom they had put their trust. I repeat, I do not fear another civil war, but I do fear to see a country riven by rancorous hatreds, not between North and South, but between class and class, race and race, sect and sect, haves and have-nots, rich and poor. A country so divided would be spiritually and intellectually paralyzed, made impotent to carry on the unfinished work that those whose blood once reddened this soil died to advance.

That work is a continuous process of improving, amending, and strengthening the processes of self-government by free men. Perhaps you noticed that I did not say democratic self-government. I omitted it because democracy is not an end, but only a means to an end. The end is equal justice under equal protection of laws that apply to all alike. It follows that to attain the end, governmental institutions must change as conditions change; and the political leader who resists every suggestion of change is resisting the law of life itself.

It is our great good fortune that it rests with us to carry on this work by peaceful means, by the ballot instead of the bullet,

by our labor instead of by the hazard of our lives. But because we are not called on to make the supreme sacrifice, we are all the more bound to make the lesser sacrifice of vigilance, of straight thinking, of honest voting.

We are not permitted to be at ease in Zion. We are not permitted to leave the decision on affairs of public interest to others, to the party, to the Governor, to the President. We shall not be held blameless if, refusing to think for ourselves, we follow blind leaders of the blind, for that means that both—not the blind leaders only, but both—shall fall into the ditch.

The inheritance that we have received from our fathers is great, indeed, but it is not a hoard to be spent idly, but an estate to be cared for and constantly improved. The men who fought here guarded that estate with their lives; we can guard it by nothing more exacting than diligence and honesty. But do not hug the false comfort that it no longer needs guarding. On the contrary, it has always been in danger and it is in danger now.

We have before our eyes shocking evidence that in parts of this country today, it is death to attempt to instruct an American citizen how to exercise his legal rights. It is death for a member of a minority group to try to organize his racial brethren to appeal for justice. It may be death for little children to go into the House of the Lord to pray to the God of our fathers.

All this happened far away from where we stand, but let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls that we have no responsibility in such matters. We have at least the responsibility to set our faces like flint against any political leader who suggests tolerance of such conditions, and who opposes the effort to eliminate them. Only by meeting that responsibility can we do our part toward achieving the ultimate purpose of this Union: "To secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Senator Dodd Was Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, William S. White, in his column, "The Passing Scene," in the Washington Evening Star of July 24, 1964, paid a deserved tribute to the acumen and farsightedness of the senior Senator from Connecticut, THOMAS J. DODD.

Senator DODD has the capacity to take the long view, and his opinions have frequently been justified, in other instances, in the manner described by Mr. White.

I am happy to include Mr. White's column herewith for the information of Members of Congress and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE PASSING SCENE—SENATOR DODD WAS RIGHT

(By William S. White)

Communist-backed rebels are again—and still—at work in the Congo. And, by one of the supreme ironies of our time, the West's one best hope for their ultimate defeat lies in the very man the United Nations and the United States sought to crush in crushing the once independent Congolese Province of Katanga.

Katanga's old separateness from a then chaotic Central Congo Government—a separateness the United Nations was pleased to call "secession"—was destroyed at last by United Nations tanks and aircraft in what was meant to be a final and bloody defeat for Katanga's then premier, Moise Tshombe.

But Mr. Tshombe, who was always visibly the best bet the West had in all the Congo, as its strongest anti-Communist, has now been called back to head the same Central Government which had, under the lash of the United Nations, striven so long for his liquidation even as a mere provincial leader.

It turned out that the Congo as a whole could not do without him. So now—suddenly, indeed—the archvillain of yesterday in the fervid rhetoric of United Nations propagandists—and of some of our State Department propagandists, too—has become the indispensable force if the Congo is to be saved from Communist penetration.

UNLIKE NKRUMAH

One no longer hears him described as "the tool of the Katanga mining interests" or as some sort of evil reactionary. Events—which is to say the slow march of commonsense—have rectified one of the most notable errors of the Kennedy administration. So, too, they have rehabilitated the reputation of the most sensible of current leaders in an Africa all too endowed with "leaders," such as the incredible Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who are quite indistinguishable from the other tin-pot stooges of international communism all around the world.

Saying "I told you so" is an unpopular thing. But it is at times almost irresistible to those who in the past stood here in support of Tshombe in a small and lonely company amid the storms of shrill invective from ultraliberals who convinced themselves that the way to save the Congo was to smash the only man in it with the capacity to push for Western interests and ideals.

At the head of this small minority which has now become a majority—again, simply by the march of commonsense—was the man who took the worst beating of all, Senator DODD, of Connecticut. Senator DODD—an authentic liberal and indeed a man who on some domestic matters is uncomfortably liberal to this columnist at least—with infinite patience and fortitude fought month upon month. He fought most of all to make President Kennedy see that he was being led astray in his anti-Tshombe position by advisers whose patriotism is beyond question but whose judgment and realism have been condemned by history itself.

His reward was to be vilified as few politicians have been—though vilification never came from Mr. Kennedy, who himself was far from easy at the policy which had been thrust upon him. Senator DODD found himself bracketed, in the hot, nonsensical sloganeering of our age, with "rightwingism," with "anticolonialism" and with God knows what else.

AN UNWELCOME HERO

He took his lumps. And he went on and on with what he believed to be, and what was, a high and desperately needed mission to help reclaim for the West what the West seemed hellbent to destroy in the Congo—that is, a Western position of strength.

He kept up communication with the Congo by going repeatedly to the Congo to see for himself. Patiently and repeatedly, he reported the facts to State Department people, most of whom were not willing then to listen and not happy to see the round, determined face of THOMAS J. DODD poking itself resolutely into offices which would gladly have barred him if they could.

It is past time now for a salute to this THOMAS J. DODD; and it is time, too, to draw a lesson or two from this episode.

The first lesson is that the U.S. Senate, where men of courage can take and hold unpopular positions in the teeth of all the massive power of propaganda, is a pretty useful place, after all, in our national society.

The second lesson is that it is not the majority which is always right. The hopelessly minority opinion of today can still become the majority opinion of some tomorrow—always provided that the minority knows the facts and has the persistence to go on crying them out against all the forces of conformism.

Congress Better Act or Else

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, recently an editorial appeared in the Perry News Herald of Perry, Fla., which dealt with the Supreme Court's decision regarding the apportioning of State legislatures. I thought this was a most timely and thought-provoking editorial and agree entirely with the thoughts advanced therein. I am having it reprinted here so that other Members of Congress might have an opportunity to read it as I feel it is an excellent presentation of a most important subject:

CONGRESS BETTER ACT OR ELSE

"All powers not expressly delegated to Federal Government shall be reserved for the several States."

Read it again, two or three times, and let it sink in good. It's taken directly from the Constitution of these United States.

What happened to this portion of our Nation's Constitution when the U.S. Supreme Court declared recently that both houses in State legislatures—including Florida's—must be apportioned according to population?

And what happened to the sections in the Constitution that call for one House in the Federal Government to be apportioned by population, and the other to be apportioned by geography?

Since most State legislatures—also including Florida's legislature—are based on the Federal pattern, it would seem that the Supreme Court's next step, logically, is to declare apportionment of the Congress unconstitutional, and finally, declare the Constitution itself unconstitutional.

Thank goodness the Court has adjourned for the summer and will not meet again until October. Maybe this will give us time to let the awful truth sink in before the Court picks up its rod and staff and begins legislating again.

The Supreme Court, surely, has overstepped its authority with its far-reaching apportionment decision. The concept of the Court was not that it should crack the whip over the States, the Congress, the executive branch, and every other source of leadership in this Nation.

The Court was intended to serve as a valuable check and balance on a potentially headstrong Congress, to preserve the Constitution, constitutional law and its direction, and to make decisions based on justice and the Constitution. However, the Court has gone far afield in its decisionmaking and the results, we feel, do not reflect the conservative, sound reasoning based on law that is in keeping with the image of the Supreme Court.

In recent years we have seen the Court accept suits against the established order of this Nation from persons varying from crack-

pots to high school boys, and many of the cherished traditions, concepts of government, and patriotic ideals that have sparked greatness in this land have been exploded into clouds of dust like so many clay pigeons at a shooting range.

It's true that we in this Nation have our problems, problems that have existed for many years. But it is the function of representative government—namely the Congress—to do something about them. It is not the Court's responsibility nor authority. The Supreme Court is charged with the responsibility of determining the law, not manufacturing it.

Talk of impeaching Supreme Court Justices, or of "packing" the Court with more members to get relief are desperate measures and, in our judgment, set dangerous precedents for the future and are not warranted except in the most perilous circumstances.

It seems to us, however, that action on the part of the Congress is overdue on neutralizing some of the decisions of the Court. Assuming that the Court's decision on apportionment is obnoxious to the majority, then the Constitution should be changed to read specifically what we thought it meant these centuries so the Court will have no leeway in interpreting its meaning.

It appears that such action to amend the Constitution is the only way to bring our runaway Court under control without destroying it. Congress better take some action before it feels the sting of the bee in its own bonnet.

We are looking to the Florida delegation—Senators and Congressmen—for some leadership in Washington along these lines. We hope the people in this county, and counties throughout Florida and this land will express their chagrin to their elected representatives in Congress.

Antipoverty Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter I recently received from Mr. B. E. Youngquist, superintendent of the Northwest School of Agriculture in Crookston, Minn. I think Mr. Youngquist has raised some very provocative and stimulating questions on the administration's antipoverty program and ones which I hope my colleagues will give careful attention to when considering this legislation.

The letter follows:

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE, NORTHWEST SCHOOL AND EXPERIMENT STATION,
Crookston, Minn., June 22, 1964.

Hon. ALBERT H. QUIE,
Congressman, House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: A note of appreciation for your last report. I particularly appreciated your report and comments on the President's poverty package. There has been a lot of talk about this matter, but very little in the nature of detailed intentions. It seems we are faced with another agency to operate in the broad field of education and in some aspects of welfare. Can't we do better by operating within the framework of existing institutions—expanding and adjusting where necessary?

I firmly believe we have plenty of agencies at the State level which can handle education and training problems, providing funds are at hand to harness the manpower. If Federal funds can be provided on an appropriate matching basis so that existing State agencies and community agencies can better handle some problems, I believe such Federal money would be spent as effectively as possible.

I do not like the idea of another Federal director—especially when it seems to superimpose upon other agencies.

At first glance, the Farm Family Development Corporation idea sounds ill advised. This was tried in the 1930's on the Beltrami Island project up in northwestern Minnesota, among other places. Today, this land is back raising trees and wildlife. This, of course, isn't reason to ban all such ideas, but the economics of this needs very careful study. There may be room for some of this within commuting distance of other jobs.

It seems to me that we have not identified the poverty problem as it exists in all places. Do we know enough about the kind of people we are dealing with?

Some of our welfare programs tend to develop some unusual ideas among our young people. I think of the case (a true story) of the young couple who went to the welfare office to ascertain procedures to become eligible for a welfare check. They indicated to the welfare officer that they were going to to be married soon and would like to have all these matters straightened out before they got married. Do we have educative responsibilities to this young couple?

Our economic and social systems are not perfect in the United States of America; yet, for those who have ambition and desire for self-improvement, there seems to be plenty of opportunities to get ahead. Does this legislation foster an attitude of personal irresponsibility and apathy to civic duty? It is true that "the space age" with automation and all has faced us with new problems of retraining, etc.

While I am much for the President's concern for the downtrodden, I firmly believe that it would be ill use of funds to set up an entirely new agency. I trust that "citizen-leaders" in the Congress will rise to a sharp identification of the "poverty problem" before enacting legislation. I trust our Congress will note that it is much easier to distill out programs than it is to administrate effectively with a brand new Federal-level agency. It would seem wisest to use existing agencies and "to harness them" to application of the action programs to the local scene.

Sincerely yours,
B. E. YOUNGQUIST,
Superintendent.

Love Finds Way: Chance Meeting at Kennedy Bier Leads to Wedding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under the headline, "Love Finds Way," the Daily Monitor Leader of Mount Clemens, Mich., recently related how the tragic events of last November 22 brought together a young man and young woman, how the young man later found the young woman and that they now plan to be married.

The young woman is Miss Betty Penar of East Detroit in my congressional district. Her fiance is Mr. Robert Sturgeon of Washington, D.C. They met in Washington last fall as they stood with thousands of other Americans in the long line of mourners who waited through that cold November night to pay their final respects to our late and beloved President Kennedy.

As the Monitor Leader article points out, the lives of this young man and woman "were intermingled with the late President in his hopes, ambitions, and goals."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the article, written by Mr. Bud Sloan for the Daily Monitor Leader, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

LOVE FINDS WAY: CHANCE MEETING AT KENNEDY BIER LEADS TO WEDDING

(By Bud Sloan)

Love, 'tis said, will find its way.

And it found its way to Betty and Bob. She is a sophomore at Wayne State University and he is a senior at the University of Maryland.

They have set the date for the wedding at East Detroit's St. Veronica Catholic Church. It will be November 28.

And it is no happenstance that the marriage will occur during the first anniversary of the week President John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

For the lives of Betty Penar, 18, of 15408 Collinson, East Detroit, and Robert Sturgeon, of Washington, D.C., were intermingled with the late President in his hopes, ambitions, and goals.

In truth, Mr. Kennedy's death brought them together.

Miss Penar, a member of the "Kennedy Girls"—the indefatigable corps of young women who helped popularize Mr. Kennedy when he was campaigning for the office of President—felt she suffered a personal loss when a sniper's bullet took his life in Dallas.

As a Kennedy Girl, Miss Penar was in Mr. Kennedy's entourage when he visited cities in Wayne and Macomb Counties.

So, it was no surprise to her family, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Penar, that Miss Penar announced her intention of traveling to the Nation's Capital to pay her respects to the dead President.

There in Washington, D.C., she joined the long, slow-moving queue to pass, for a moment, Mr. Kennedy's bier.

And, in the manner of people bound together in common grief, a young man spoke to her of the life and tragic death of the young President.

Their hushed friendliness helped pass the long wait to the somber room where Mr. Kennedy's body rested.

Then, after a moment of prayer at the side of the flag-draped casket, the crowd swept the two apart.

Miss Penar took a plane back to Detroit. Her parents met her at the airport and drove her home.

To assuage her grief, Miss Penar started a month of personal mourning.

She wore black and the upper corner of her dress bore only a small Kennedy button.

But, back on the banks of the Potomac, all was not well with the young man who had talked briefly with Miss Penar.

He wanted to see her again.

And to a young man, on the verge of love, nothing is impossible.

Armed with only two salient facts he set about to find her. He knew her name was

Betty and that she attended Wayne State University.

He telephoned WSU by long distance and wondered—if he came to the university's office—if they could produce pictures of all the Bettys enrolled so he could find his Betty.

University officials were sympathetic but told him the thought was impractical.

His next move was to forward money to the university's student newspaper to insert an ad to read: "Lost: One Betty in the vicinity of the Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., on November 25, 1963."

The ad found its way to a sentimental editor. He sent the money back and ran a story on the front page of the student paper about the "lost Betty."

A classmate showed the story to Miss Penar.

She wrote to the young man—Robert Sturgeon.

Then followed many long-distance calls between Washington and East Detroit and plane trips by Sturgeon to visit Miss Penar and her family in East Detroit.

Last Easter week, Miss Penar visited the Sturgeon family in Washington.

During that week, Sturgeon and Miss Penar made several trips to Arlington Cemetery. On each visit they placed flowers on the grave of President Kennedy.

Since she ended her mourning period, Miss Penar's only dress ornament has been a small Kennedy button.

And, perhaps, artfully concealed in her wedding gown, will be the button.

The Color of Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, delivered on ABC-TV in New York during the week of July 11, points out something that we have all felt while rioting was occurring in New York City, specifically, that crime is crime no matter who commits it, and that it can not be excused because of race.

This editorial applauds Roy Wilkins of the NAACP for speaking out—in the face of a possible loss of his following—and condemning the crimes committed by Negroes who are taking advantage of the racial problems in New York.

I commend this editorial to our colleagues as a much needed statement about a fine and respected Negro leader who continues to speak out in the name of law, order, and sanity:

THE COLOR OF CRIME

Because we've heard so much intemperance and so much rashness lately about race and rights, we're glad to applaud statements of moderation and good sense. That's why we'd like to cheer a bit for Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Mr. Wilkins had a lot to say about color and crime lately in a column for a New York newspaper and it made good sense to us. He pointed a stern finger just where it should be pointed when he said that the young Negro hoodlums who have lately terrorized subway trains and streets in the city have been "cutting and slashing at the self-respect of their race." "White or black," said Roy Wilkins, "a punk is a punk." Mr. Wilkins also scolded the civil rights leaders who have excused the subway terrorists and have blamed the city for making them terrorists. He said these excuses were just "coverup for pure, vicious crime." One of the reasons why we're glad Roy Wilkins made these strong statements is because they've been waiting to be said for some time. In fact, they've needed saying by Negro leadership for some time. We think it's a shame that more Negro leaders have not disassociated themselves more strongly from the Negro terrorists who have surfaced lately in this city. Statements that indicate that one or another civil rights group is ready to excuse vice or crime only because it is Negro crime can seriously harm general public sympathy for the advance of racial integration. Civil rights leaders cannot afford to lose the public's sympathy for their cause. Negro leaders cannot forget that they must gain their equal rights within the rules and ethics of a society that already exists. They must build the future of their race on the basis of those rules as they are or as they may change. There are no other rules. They must always associate themselves and their cause with the most moral and stable parts of the broad society. An integrated society should know no color, but neither should crime, and, as parts of a moral society, Negro leaders must oppose crime with equal vigor, regardless of who committs it, in New York or Mississippi. We're glad that Roy Wilkins has taken a lead in such an important area—judging crime because it is wrong and criminals because they hurt all society. We hope other integration leaders will be as broad-minded.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Peter Fornaby, Jr., member of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, N.Y., has written a perceptive article pointing out the inadequacy of present U.S. policies to assist the captive nations of the world to obtain self-determination. Mr. Fornaby calls for stronger action to remind the Soviet Union of her promise to the people of Eastern Europe.

The article follows:

The President recently recommended "new ties to East Europe." However, the action desperately needed with regard to the "captive nations" is not closer ties with Communist regimes. but a demand by the President that Soviet Russia live up to her promise of self-determination for the peoples of Poland, East Germany, and Central Europe.

The administration hopes to play on nationalism to wean the countries of Eastern Europe away from Soviet Russia. This policy seems to overlook several important facts about the nature of Communist domination over these countries. First is police state control. This was vividly and tragically demonstrated by the slaughter of thousands of people in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany who tried to free themselves from the Communist yoke. Secondly, Marxism-Leninism is the pseudoreligion of Communists everywhere, and it is both an international doctrine as well as a total way of life. Thus, the perfect Communist owes all his allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and none to country, family, or church. Communism transcends nationalism and race. The fact that Communists to this day subscribe to this doctrine was illustrated by Khrushchev himself in a podium-pounding speech at Aswam, Egypt, in May of this year, calling for "unity of a Communist kind—workers of the world united ignoring racial and nationalistic lines."

The effect of increased "ties • • • increased trade • • •" with Communist controlled nations of Eastern Europe, as recommended, will be the perpetuating and strengthing of systems that would otherwise sag and possibly collapse. A policy that perpetuates Communist regimes does a cruel injustice to the people held in subjection under them.

The time has long passed for a President of the United States and his spokesmen to set the record straight. Soviet Russia is the largest colonialist, imperialistic, and aggressor nation on the face of the earth. Regardless of this fact this Communist Government has the gall to hold themselves out as the anticolonialist and further to brand the United States what we are not and Soviet Russia is.

The United States, victor in two major World Wars, fought to preserve freedom and did not annex 1 inch of territory. Furthermore, the United States gave massive aid to her adversaries to alleviate suffering and bring them to complete economic recovery. In contrast to this record, Soviet Russia over the same period of time conquered one-fourth of the earth's surface and in the process enslaved 1 billion people. Today the Communists are relentlessly pursuing their unalterable goal: World domination under a godless dictatorship. Acts of aggression are being committed all over the world—in Cuba, Panama, Brazil, Venezuela, Zanzibar, Vietnam, Laos, East Germany, etc.

Although it is doubtful that the Soviet Union would comply with our demand that Soviet Russia live up to her promise of "self-determination" for the people of Eastern Europe the following direct benefits would flow from such a stand:

1. Continued failure by the Soviets to live up to this sacred promise would be testimony to the world that Russia, the professed anticolonialist, is in fact the most brazen colonialist and imperialistic nation of our time.

2. Aid in breaking down the "big lie" technique.

3. Give heart to the billion people enslaved behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, and in Cuba, because they will know that there is still a champion of liberty and freedom in the world—the United States of America.

Cloak and Dagger Druggists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, American drug and pharmaceutical firms spend millions of dollars annually in research and development projects to bring better products to the people of the United States.

This costly research and development has led to the discovery of many new drugs to combat sickness and disease.

In recent years, however, this research investment by American firms has been threatened by the theft of U.S. patents by unscrupulous foreign manufacturers.

I have introduced legislation (H.R. 1707) to protect American firms from this patent pirating, and the bill is now pending before the House Judiciary Committee with no hearings scheduled.

The problem is gradually being brought to the attention of the American people as evidenced by the material contained in an editorial published July 27, in the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star.

This editorial contains a message which should be heeded by the Congress in providing additional safeguards for our drug industry.

Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent that this editorial be reprinted in its entirety in order that the situation be brought to the attention of the entire Congress. The editorial is as follows:

CLOAK AND DAGGER DRUGGISTS

Although it has no James Bond to dramatize its problem, the American drug industry is daily coping with a cloak-and-dagger menace just as serious in its way as political subversion: The company spy.

For 2 years now, one pharmaceutical firm, for example, has been battling through the courts to recover damages for what it terms theft of antibotic secrets. The company, American Cyanamid, claims that Italian concerns purchased through various intermediaries confidential information regarding its products, chiefly Aureomycin and Declomycin. The company is asking $5 million in damages.

The case points up several aspects of a little-understood industry. Drugmakers live largely off brainpower. Their product is the result of long and expensive research. Though a product in the end may cost only pennies to manufacture, the company must recover huge outlays for research. And of course a good many drugs end up in the wastebasket along the way to a success.

The American Cyanamid case raises the question of whether new laws are not needed to protect such research. Civil suits are expensive and slow, and it is debatable whether they really deter foreign piracy.

Although at least two bills, have been introduced in Congress to punish theft of company secrets and halt Government purchase of unlicensed foreign drugs, the States appear to be ahead of Washington in this area. New York State this year enacted a law making it grand larceny to steal laboratory cultures or formulas. A similar bill is pending in Georgia.

As of now, one Federal law protecting research secrets is the National Stolen Properties Act. But it does not cover intangibles such as knowledge, and the Federal patent law, while prohibiting unlicensed manufacture, is ineffective against trade espionage.

Industrial research, a multi-billion-dollar business and one of America's great resources, needs more precise safeguards than this. Congress should help.

Harold P. Hinman: Distinguished Educator and Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, Harold P. Hinman, president and founder of the Cardigan Mountain School in Canaan, N.H., died last week, but his full and active life will long be remembered by the many who knew and respected him. While engaged in the granite monument business, "Hap" Hinman played a prominent role in Dartmouth College alumni affairs through the years. He took a leading part in the community activities of Canaan. Eighteen years ago after retiring from business, he organized the Cardigan Mountain School, a pre-preparatory boarding school for boys, and this notable project became his principal interest. As an educator, community leader, and personal friend, "Hap" Hinman will be sorely missed.

The Canaan Reporter published on July 23 the following editorial in tribute to Harold Hinman:

"HAP" HINMAN

Hap Hinman's death brings home to the Canaan community the profound truth that Hap's contribution to the town is a matchless one.

In building Cardigan Mountain School on a beautiful site on Canaan Street Lake, Hap gave a fresh and appealing image to Canaan, and this was his intention. With a fine boys' school operating on a lovely campus, Canaan itself has moved forward in education, first dropping the old district elementary schools in favor of a modern eight-grade school, then joining in a cooperative district. These promising developments had also been very much in Hap's mind. A man of great resourcefulness, courage, and energy, he was intensely proud of his town and State.

Some years ago Haydn Pearson, after a visit to the Cardigan campus, wrote: "Dreams come true in this taut, uneasy world, and usually behind the dream come true you will find a reason."

Hap Hinman was the reason for Cardigan. The dream was his. In his years of retirement from the business world he devoted most of his time and much of his vast energies to bring to life a dream of long standing—a school for boys below preparatory school age that would prepare them to accept responsibilities and leadership.

For 17 years boys have been coming to Cardigan from every part of the country, and from foreign countries as well, to receive this type of education. Twenty-four enrolled when the school opened September 19, 1946. Last year's enrollment exceeded 135. The current summer school lists nearly 100. In the fall, with an addition nearing completion, enrollment is likely to reach 160.

Cardigan is Hap Hinman's legacy to Canaan and to New Hampshire. It is a rich legacy.

Address of Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 19, 1964, the Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, gave an address at the Captive Nations Day observance in Pittsburgh.

I believe our colleagues would be interested in Governor Williams' remarks and under unanimous consent, I include them at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AT THE CAPTIVE NATIONS DAY OBSERVANCE, PITTSBURGH, PA., JULY 19, 1964

Believe me, I am proud and happy to join you to give, in the words of President Johnson's captive nations proclamation, "renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty."

The Assembly of Captive Nations some years back honored me with a plaque flying the flags of the captive nations. That plaque is the only European note in my collection of African things at my office. But, as I explain to my African friends from time to time, those flags are far from out of place among any people who love freedom. For freedom is indivisible. Those who seek freedom in Africa should be as one with those who seek it in Europe. And those who seek freedom in Europe should be as one with those who seek it in Africa. Not all Africans understand this yet. Neither do all Europeans or Americans. But the day is approaching when all men everywhere will know that they will never be fully free so long as any man anywhere is in any way restricted in his freedom.

In Africa, as in Europe, the Communists, both Russian and Chinese, have sought to win nations and peoples to communism. The United States has done all in its power, consistent with our worldwide commitments, to help African countries strengthen their independence. Largely because of the fierce determination of African countries to be free and independent, no nation in Africa today is a Communist satellite, nor is it likely any African nation will be, if the West continues to help African nations preserve their freedom. But the efforts of the Communists for domination are by no means over, and the forces of freedom and independence must remain alert.

To better my understanding of how Communists work and how the freedom-loving peoples behind the Iron Curtain react to the Soviets, I visited Poland several years ago. What I saw convinced me that not even the heavy yoke of Communist rule can ever crush the will of people behind the Iron Curtain to believe in God and to struggle to be free. This I saw in the eyes and actions of people who, despite the warnings and mockery of Communist officials, thronged a church to witness what they believed to be the miraculous apparition of the Blessed Mother to help her people in their hour of need. I saw it, too, in the response to my words, at Warka, home of Casimir Pulaski, Polish patriot and American Revolutionary hero, when I said: "Polska byla wolna; Polska bedzie wolna—Poland was free; Poland will be free."

But the symbol that touched me as much as anything was a picture you all know well. I saw it in the American Family of Man photographic exhibit right in the heart of Warsaw. This picture was one of barehanded patriots hurling cobblestones at advancing Soviet tanks. That inspiring example of human courage, born of love of freedom, defying the cold steel of Communist oppression, indicated to me that whatever the odds the flame of freedom does not falter in the hearts of men and women behind the Iron Curtain.

My studies of reactions in other Iron Curtain countries convince me that in all those countries there is resistance to oppression and love of liberty. These things I remember as we meet today in a free land to rededicate

ourselves to the return of freedom to those deprived of it by the Communists.

We shall remain steadfast in our adherence to freedom until freedom becomes universal and the captive peoples are able to choose their own leadership; to worship where and as they choose; to read and to listen to uncontrolled news media; to work at a job or profession of their own choice; and are assured of adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, and education for themselves and their children. So long as a single nation remains enslaved and any one of its citizens is denied any of the rights of freemen, particularly the holy right of self-determination, we cannot glory in freedom's magnificent gains, nor can we cease fighting for these victims of oppression and tyranny.

So long as the Soviets maintain their form of colonization when the civilized world is swiftly eliminating all forms of external authority and control over indigenous people, our own peace and freedom are in jeopardy. Thus, we must be ever mindful of the seriousness of our obligations to continue to seek the freedom of these captive states.

At Minneapolis last month, President Johnson said, "if a nation is to keep its freedom it must be prepared to risk war. When necessary, we will take that risk." But he also said, "as long as I am President, I will spare neither my office nor myself in the quest for peace." He then defined peace as "a world where no nation fears another" and where "no nation can force another to follow its command."

This Nation, in its quest for freedom and peace, has not been afraid to risk war when that risk had to be taken. Under the cool and courageous leadership of President John F. Kennedy, our Nation faced up to the Communist threat of nuclear war, and the Russians were compelled to remove their missiles from Cuba. This confrontation did more than remove missiles aimed at the heart of America. It went a long way to release fear from the hearts of millions of men and women behind the Iron Curtain. It showed them that tyranny could not continue to ride roughshod over freedom. It showed them that the United States, if necessary, would fight for freedom, and would fight with the power to win.

In countless tests of will in and around Berlin, under President Kennedy and under President Johnson, the United States has not faltered. Our dedication to freedom and self-determination remains unalterable, and in the end freedom will win.

In his quest for the kind of peace "where no nation can force another to follow its command," President Johnson has said: "we work * * * to strengthen the ability of every European people to select and shape its own society." In the furtherance of that goal he has left no stone unturned. He has worked to build our military, economic and spiritual strength. When he has had to face force with force, from Berlin to Vietnam, he has not faltered. And when he has had the opportunity to build bridges to peace and freedom through lending strength and courage to people behind the Iron Curtain, he has done that, too.

At the dedication of the George C. Marshall Research Library, on May 23 of this year, President Johnson said:

"We will continue to build bridges across the gulf which has divided us from Eastern Europe. They will be bridges of increased trade, of ideas, of visitors, and of humanitarian aid. We do this for four reasons: First, to open new relationships to countries seeking increased independence yet unable to risk isolation. Second, to open the minds of a new generation to the values and the visions of the Western civilization from which they come and to which they belong. Third, to give freer play to the powerful forces of legitimate national pride—the strongest barrier to the ambition of any country to dominate another. Fourth, to demonstrate that identity of interest and the prospects of progress for Eastern Europe lie in a wider relationship with the West."

What has happened since this policy of strength and bridges?

No one who knows the world today can deny that men and women behind the Iron Curtain are beginning to reach for greater freedom with some success.

We can rejoice in several recent actions taken by Hungary to grant amnesty to political exiles; to permit the freedom fighters to return to their homelands on visits; and to assure free travel and exchange of information. We trust that these are merely the first steps toward the acquiring of greater liberty and freedom by the people of Hungary.

Let me mention another example. In compliance with President Johnson's admonition to bulid bridges of understanding between ourselves and the people isolated by the Iron Curtain, our country undertook very helpful discussions with Rumanian representatives which were recently concluded. Rumania is asserting more independence and is becoming more Western-minded. It is turning more of its trade and cultural contacts toward the West, as well as granting amnesty to political offenders at home.

As a result of these developments, I believe we can honestly say that President Johnson has worked to promote conditions where freedom could grow—and freedom has grown, thanks be to God.

Unfortunately, it is human nature to tend to become more and more complacent as time goes on. Americans can all be thankful that so many of you refuse to become complacent about the tragedies and suffering which took place in your homelands.

No real solution can be found to the problem of bringing freedom to captive populations unless people everywhere join them in their determination to be free. Unless we share our blessings of freedom in a concrete and personal way with the people of Eastern Europe, we have failed to merit being called true American citizens.

Before concluding, let me say that America will do a better job in helping others across the world achieve freedom and self-expression as it assures freedom and self-expression to all its own citizens. There isn't an ethnic group here that hasn't known discrimination and hasn't fought against it. A distinguished American of Polish descent, Postmaster General John A. Gronouski, had something to say the other day about America spreading freedom around the world. He said:

"But it will not be the America of hate groups and racial intolerance that will spread freedom throughout the world. It will be the America of Lyndon B. Johnson who said just a year ago;

" 'Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact.' "

My friends, I'm confident Postmaster General Gronouski speaks for us all in demanding dignity and freedom for all men everywhere.

And now, in conclusion, let me urge you to leave no task undone which would implement the admonition contained in the President's proclamation of June 18, when he said: "I invite the people of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people of national independence and human liberty."

It is important that President Johnson didn't end his admonition with a call simply to hold appropriate ceremonies. No, the President included with equal emphasis the admonition to observe Captive Nations Week with appropriate activities. He proposed the initiation or continuation of an action program devoted to fulfillment of the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

May the good Lord give us the wisdom to discern that which will be realistic and effective, the courage to do that which is necessary and the perseverance and faith to work on until the captive peoples, and all peoples everywhere, can enjoy the full blessings of liberty.

WTOP Speaks Out for Law and Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, again I have the occasion to address my remarks to the importance of maintaining law and order in our land, especially in the context of civil rights demonstrations.

On prior occasions this week, I have spoken to the House about the open lawlessness which occurred in my home community of Rochester, N.Y., over the past weekend. Race rioting reached such a state that it became necessary to reinforce local police protection with National Guard troops.

The violence shocked and shamed Rochester. It so arrogantly attacked the roots of democracy that it bore no relation to the true cause of civil rights. Those reasonable and responsible people of Rochester who have labored long and hard in behalf of racial equality were bertayed by a band of hoodlums whose only apparent goal was defiance and destruction.

Here in Washington, WTOP television and WTOP radio, showed broadcast bravery in their editorial comments on this subject. I applaud WTOP's willingness to speak out and to direct its viewers' and listeners' attention to the problems faced by Rochester and other communities.

Jack Jurey, of WTOP, who delivered this statement of editorial opinion, has kindly made its text available to me. I take pleasure in sharing it with my colleagues in the House:

WTOP SPEAKS OUT FOR LAW AND ORDER

This is a WTOP editorial.

The hardest task for a free people in the midst of serious turmoil is to maintain perspective. This certainly applies to the tragic events in Harlem, Brooklyn, and Rochester. In those communities, large and lawless gangs have indulged in riots and looting with little thought for the costs or consequences. Because civilized society cannot tolerate anarchy, all responsible American citizens—no matter what their racial origin—will support whatever measures are necessary to restore order. Domestic peace is an essential first step toward a solution of the problems involved.

But it would be a grievous mistake to think that the application of police power is an answer in itself. Further repression of Ne-

groes jammed into segregated neighborhoods will solve nothing, as the whole of modern history has proved. Once the violence is subdued the urgent need is, first, to understand why certain districts in certain cities have become human tinderboxes and, second, what must be done to relieve the pressure, we would like nothing better than to offer easy answers to these crucial questions. Unfortunately, there are none. What has to be achieved is nothing much less than a miracle in human relations. The provisions of the new Civil Rights Act must be implemented as quickly and fully as possible. What is more, each community must undertake to give positive guarantees that the walls of discrimination will be knocked down that a man's color will not limit his access to a job, to an education, to a home or to a respected role in our national life. In a word, justice is what the crisis requires—and we privileged Americans, harking back to the first slave ships, must well consider that justice has been too long delayed.

This was a WTOP editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

A Civilized Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the headlines scream that riots have broken out in New York City. Coast to coast, Americans hear and read of New York's troubles. As a New Yorker, I am ashamed that these events have occurred in my hometown, no less in our country. But unlike people in certain parts of our Nation, we New Yorkers do not deny responsibility for acting to resolve the trouble; we do not turn our backs and say that the problem does not exist or that we are not responsible.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the New York Times of Wednesday, July 22, 1964, which encourages the citizens of New York to welcome President Johnson's and the FBI's help in solving the existing problems:

A CIVILIZED COMMUNITY

President Johnson spoke for the entire Nation yesterday when he declared that violence and lawlessness cannot, must not and will not be tolerated. His response of shock and distress at the Harlem riots is shared by the residents of this city; and his pledge of Federal aid to help correct the evil social conditions that underlie the disorders is welcome.

If the entrance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation can throw additional light on the background and underlying causes of the tragedy in Harlem, so much the better. Whether in New York or Mississippi, the FBI's investigative talents can doubtless be of help in efforts to cope with the explosive disturbances revolving around civil rights.

Meanwhile the heavy responsibility resting upon New York City and its people to bring peace to the troubled section of this metropolis is not lessened. We share the President's faith that the overwhelming majority of Americans reject violence and believe in the preservation of law and order. Mayor Wagner must take the lead in finding the way to reestablish New York as a civilized community.

Where Do We Go From Here?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith in the Appendix an editorial with reference to the GOP nomination written by Mr. Robert C. Ingalls, editor and publisher of the Corvallis Gazette Times in Corvallis, Oreg.

Mr. Ingalls, and his father, Claude Ingalls, before him, both outstanding individuals, have been among the keystones of solid Republicanism in the State of Oregon, as well as among the best known and respected citizens of the Pacific Northwest for as many years as I can remember.

In view of Mr. Ingalls lifelong devotion to the Republican Party, both as an editor and an active worker on innumerable State Republican committees, I believe this editorial will be of general interest to the public:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

We didn't enjoy the GOP National Convention.

From the outset the far superior strength of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER was obvious. We didn't mind this so much because we have been beaten before. What we objected to was the way this Goldwater muscle was used.

The rudeness to Governor Rockefeller was most disgusting. No one should be treated to such a boorish display. If people object to what a speaker is saying they should sit on their hands and refuse to applaud. But to boo and catcall and whistle shows some of us are not very far removed from our ancestors who swung from tree to tree.

Any platform amendment was doomed to be rejected even before it was offered and debated. The Goldwater forces were determined that not even a nod of the head was going to the opposition.

It is extremely doubtful if Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is the choice of a majority of Republicans. Several things, however, brought about his convention majority.

Governor Rockefeller might have been able to swing it had it not been for his divorce and remarriage. Governor Romney never did make an effort—perhaps he could see the handwriting on the wall. Governor Scranton got in far too late to be effective—he left it up to someone else to stop GOLDWATER. Cabot Lodge might have been successful had he jumped in right after the New Hampshire primary and made an old school try, but he had the drawbacks of being associated with the Democratic administration and he is a little too old. Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH was considered to be a serious candidate only by MARGARET CHASE SMITH.

But even had any one of these people started out a year ago and really campaigned, it is doubtful if they could have headed off GOLDWATER. His backers started in 1961 and moved him too far ahead. He himself didn't actually get into the struggle until later, but the work was already done for him. What he himself had done inadvertently while helping other Republican candidates had put him in solid with party professionals with whom he had worked in every State.

When State jobs became vacant, Goldwater backers moved in and took the jobs. When county and precinct jobs opened up, a Goldwater backer was always available to devote his time and energy. Gradually, the whole organization built up and it was far stronger than any of the liberal or moderate Republicans believed it to be.

While other candidates captured a few scattered primaries (except for the big one in California) the majority of convention delegates were being named by the Goldwater people via State conventions, congressional district conventions and by State central committee appointments.

GOLDWATER'S work for the other candidates and his personal familiarity with the grassroots workers were not all he had going for him. Many people were attracted to his conservatism. They longed for an end of the big centralized Government in Washington, the reckless spending, the increasing debt even in times of prosperity. They wanted more say in how their own money was to be spent. GOLDWATER offered a lead in this direction.

The outcome of the national convention was the result of all these things. Mr. Eisenhower might have been able to stop it had he taken a strong stand in support of Governor Scranton following the California primary, but we doubt it. It might have been stopped earlier had moderate and liberal Republicans rallied behind one candidate earlier in the game, but we doubt it.

GOLDWATER has the party now and it remains to see what he will do with it. If he is soundly defeated in November—as most experts now predict—party control will be up for grabs in 1968. If he wins in November, the party is headed down a new road.

Where does all this leave the moderate Republican? Many of us feel GOLDWATER'S ideas about big government are substantially correct. We are not comfortable with his views on extremism, civil rights, United Nations and foreign policy. On the other hand Mr. Johnson's duplicity in civil rights, the lack of any foreign policy at all, the takeover of Cuba, the no-win policy in Vietnam and the original new deal philosophy to which he subscribes of spend and spend, tax and tax, and elect and elect is also unenlightened.

Where do we moderates go now? It is too early to decide. We will await further developments.

U.S. Customs Service Honors Miss Mollie Strum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson proclaimed 1964 as the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the U.S. Customs Service. For the first time in 175 years, the U.S. Customs Service has honored a lawyer of the Department of Justice who represents Customs in Federal litigation. The lovely and talented lady so honored on May 14, 1964, at a banquet in Chicago and on June 27 at a banquet in San Juan, P.R., is Miss Mollie Strum of Brooklyn, N.Y. I am pleased to include the text of the two citations Miss Strum has received and

several newspaper articles noting this well-deserved honor:

[From the El Mundo, San Juan, P.R., June 29, 1964]

EN FECHA ANIVERSARIO—SERVICIO DE ADUANAS PREMIA TRABAJO DE ABOGADA FEDERAL

(Por Luis Sánchez Cappa)

Como parte de las festividades de la celebracion del aniversario 175 del Servicio de Aduanas de Estàdos Unidos las oficinas de dicha agencia en Puerto Rico rindieron honores ayer a la licenciada Mollie Strum, abogada del Departamento de Justicia de Estados Unidos, quien en los ultimos 13 años ha estado asignada a representar el Gobierno Federal en los casos aduaneros.

La licenciada Strum vino a Puerto Rico para participar en la celebración del aniversario de la agencia y con tal motivo recordó su primera visita a la Isla hace nueve años para actuar como abogada del Departamento de Justicia Federal en un caso de aduanas.

La licenciada Strum es la primera abogada en ser designada por el Departamento de Justicia Federal para actuar en el extranjero en representación del Gobierno Federal cuando en Italia, en noviembre pasado, asumió tal responsabilidad en un caso relacionado con las Aduanas.

La oficina local del Servicio de Aduanas otorgó ayer un diploma a la señorita Strum por sus servicios distinguidos al Servicio de Aduanas en el que se hace constar que ha sido una abogada que ha demostrado gran habilidad, ingenuidad y talento representando al Gobierno de Estados Unidos en los casos aduaneros.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 20, 1964]

CUSTOMS CITES WOMAN TRIAL ATTORNEY

Miss Mollie Strum, trial attorney in the U.S. Department of Justice has received an unusual honor.

For the first time since President George Washington established the U.S. Customs Service in 1789, U.S. Customs officials have honored a lawyer of the Department of Justice who represents Customs in Federal litigation.

President Johnson has proclaimed 1964 as the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the U.S. Customs Service.

Miss Strum, who received an engrossed scroll entitled "Outstanding Service Award," is a career lawyer, who has represented the Government in important trials throughout the United States.

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, May 26, 1964]

Mollie Strum, a trial lawyer with the U.S. Department of Justice and a Brooklyn resident, received the "Outstanding Service Award" at a banquet commemorating the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Customs Service. She received it for her work in cases in which she repersented Customs. Considered one of the foremost authorities in the field of Customs law, Miss Strum has received many honors including the Distinguished Service Citation from the New York State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the Inter-American Award for her work in international judiciary affairs.

U.S. CUSTOMS, PORT OF CHICAGO, OUTSTANDING SERVICE AWARD TO MOLLIE STRUM

In recognition of her distinguished service to the U.S. Government as a brilliant and dedicated Department of Justice trial lawyer, who has successfully represented us in important customs litigation throughout the United States and recently in Europe, whose devoted efforts have gained millions of dollars in customs revenue for the United States, and whose commendable human qualities, gracious manners, fairness to all and unimpeachable integrity have won added goodwill for our efforts in the enforcement of Federal laws.

We take pride in presenting this award to her with our appreciation, affection, and admiration.

Presented at dinner in commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Customs Service.

U.S. Collector of Customs.
HON. JAMES A. REED,
Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Treasury.
CHICAGO, ILL., May 14, 1964.

U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE, PORT OF SAN JUAN, P.R., DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CITATION TO MISS MOLLIE STRUM, TRIAL ATTORNEY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

In appreciation and recognition for outstanding and noteworthy service as a Federal lawyer who has demonstrated great ability, ingenuity, skill, and dilligence in representing the U.S. Government in the trial of customs cases. We are proud of her achievements; we rejoice in bestowing this honor upon her during the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Customs Service; and we highly value her friendship.

W. E. HIGMAN,
Deputy Commissioner.
JEAN S. WHITTEMORE,
U.S. Collector of Customs.
JAMES G. MCLAUGHLIN,
Assistant Collector of Customs.
_____,
Appraiser of Merchandise.
_____,
Chairman, 175th Anniversary.

Presented at San Juan, P.R., June 27, 1964.

Sandpoint, Idaho, ARA Defended Against Reader's Digest Attack

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I want to register a strong protest against the magazine, the Reader's Digest, using the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to disseminate its slanted brand of journalism.

As you may recall, the Reader's Digest last May published a viciously slanted story about the Area Redevelopment Administration and smeared the town of Sandpoint, Idaho, and its Mayor Floyd Gray.

We tried to set the record straight at that time in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because the pages of Reader's Digest are not open to such reply. They won't even offer an attacked person a chance to respond in a letter-to-the-editor fashion as do most respectable publications in our democratic Nation. The ARA prepared a factual, unemotional reply to the Reader's Digest article, and it also was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Now comes the Reader's Digest again, inserting its rebuttal to the ARA reply in the RECORD. Why? Is it because of the immunity offered therein? Are they afraid to write more of that kind of stuff for their own publication? They say their circulation is in the millions. Why don't they print it in their own magazine instead of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

I would say we already are subsidizing them sufficiently in the mails without giving them additional free circulation in our own publication.

Not only does Reader's Digest not print letters to the editor. They won't even reply to people who write to them about the ARA story. They have completely ignored ARA Administrator William L. Batt, Jr.'s letter to them on the subject. They also have ignored a letter from an Idaho law firm written in behalf of Mayor Gray of Sandpoint.

Because of this, I wish to insert that letter into the RECORD along with an article printed in the Spokane Chronicle last week. It is topical, too, in view of the recent Reader's Digest comments which appeared here. The Digest's reporter went to great lengths to try to prove a charge made in his original story that Sandpoint's water supply had been condemned because of a ski resort project in which ARA was involved. The following letter comments on that. I leave it to the people who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to determine who knows the story on Sandpoint's water supply—a reporter whose story was completely negative or the mayor of the town involved?

The letter from Idaho to Reader's Digest and the news story follow:

SANDPOINT PLANNING LEGAL ACTION

SANDPOINT, IDAHO.—Mayor Floyd L. Gray said today that Reader's Digest magazine has failed to reply to a legal demand for correction of statements which appeared in its May issue and that a damage suit will be filed.

He said there has been no response to a service on the magazine in mid-June by a Pleasantville, N.Y., deputy sheriff.

The magazine, in an article attacking the Area Redevelopment Administration, charged that the agency loaned $320,000 to the Schweitzer Basin ski area at a time when two individuals were about to open a nearby ski area.

The Digest also said the city contributed $32,000 toward the Schweitzer access road and that as a result the city's water supply was condemned.

TERM IS CITED

In asking for a retraction of statements which appeared in the article, the Sandpoint law firm of Bandelin and Cogswell said that the use of the term "Sandpoint style" in the article by "Innuendo and insinuation leads persons reading the same to attach a corrupt, dishonest and unethical significance to this term, bearing a direct reflection upon Mayor Gray and the city government."

The action specifically asks that Reader's Digest publish corrections showing that the Sandpoint water supply was not and has not been condemned; that the city council under Mayor Gray's direction did not use public funds to construct an access road to the ski area; and that the term "Sandpoint style" was not intended to insinuate anything of an unethical or dishonest nature toward Mayor Gray or the city council.

Directors of the Schweitzer Basin Corp. said the article was based on half-truths and distortions of facts and was even more wrong in what it did not report than in what it did.

The Digest, they said, made it appear that Sandpoint and Schweitzer Basin had gotten a Federal handout, and failed to make any

mention of the fact that the community (4,856 population) had to invest $460,000 of private capital. They also denied that another ski resort was about to open at the time the ARA loan was made.

TREND SAID STOPPED

A statement issued by directors accompanying Mayor Gray's remarks said: "A significant thing completely overlooked by the Digest is that the ARA loan made it possible to reverse a serious trend of winter unemployment. Not only was a substantial number of new jobs created, but the entire economy was strengthened. Investment of private capital stimulated by success of what promises to be one of the continent's outstanding ski areas is already substantially in excess of total cost of the project and the end is far from being in sight.

"Returns from the ARA loan in terms of general welfare, improved economy and heightened public morale of American citizens is considerably more than Uncle Sam seems to be obtaining from expenditures vastly greater in many parts of the globe. And we expect to pay him back, too."

BANDELIN & COGSWELL,
Sandpoint, Idaho, May 20, 1964.

Re demand for correction of Reader's Digest article, "Is This the Way To Fight the War Against Poverty?" May 1964 issue, page 51. page 51.

READER'S DIGEST AND READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Pleasantville, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: This letter of demand for correction is made to you on behalf of Floyd L. Gray, mayor of the city of Sandpoint, Idaho.

In your May 1964 issue of Reader's Digest, a certain article was published entitled "Is This the Way To Fight the War Against Poverty?"

In this article, and specifically at page 52, the following statement was set forth:

"Next, Sandpoint City Council was prevailed upon to contribute $32,000 toward building a road into the new ski area, despite Idaho Health Department warnings that this could contaminate the municipal watershed. Sure enough, Sandpoint's water supply was condemned by the State even as construction of a new filter plant went ahead with an additional $250,000 from Washington."

That, in truth and in fact, the Sandpoint water supply was not and has not been condemned by the State, nor by any other authority.

That Sandpoint has for many years enjoyed and still does enjoy some of the finest domestic water to be found anywhere.

In addition, your article by direct statement, insinuation, and innuendo leads persons reading the same to believe that members of the Sandpoint City Council and the mayor of the city of Sandpoint contributed city money toward building the road to the ski area. In truth and in fact, said road was constructed on city land as the best means for the city of Sandpoint, Idaho, to complete a logging contract of long standing with the State of Idaho, which contract has resulted in a profitable return to the city treasury.

In addition, the use of your term throughout this article, "Sandpoint style," by insinuation and innuendo leads persons reading the same to attach a corrupt, dishonest, and unethical significance to this term, bearing a direct reflection upon Mayor Gray and the city government of the city of Sandpoint.

Your article can be interpreted in no other way than that Mayor Gray had been guilty of misfeasance and malfeasance in his capacity as mayor of Sandpoint, and has been dishonest and unethical concerning the public confidence placed in him as an elected official.

This article has deprived Mayor Gray of the integrity reposed in him by the citizens of the city of Sandpoint.

This article has injured the reputation and good name of Mayor Gray as an individual citizen and as a public elective official.

Demand is made upon you to correct said article in the next regular publication of the Reader's Digest to show that:

1. The Sandpoint water supply was not and has not been condemned by the State nor by any other authority.

2. That the Sandpoint City Council, under the direction of Mayor Gray, did not use public funds to construct an access road to the ski area.

3. That the term, "Sandpoint style," was not intended by your article to insinuate anything of an unethical or dishonest nature toward Mayor Gray or the Sandpoint City Council.

4. Demand is further made that you publish an article in the Reader's Digest containing the full and true facts concerning the inception and realization of the Schweitzer ski area and the participation of the Sandpoint City Council and Mayor Gray.

In the event that a correction is not published as herein demanded, your organization will be looked to for actual, general, and exemplary damages.

Respectfully submitted,
BANDELIN & COGSWELL,
Attorneys for Floyd L. Gray.
By: DAR COGSWELL.
SANDPOINT, IDAHO.

Massachusetts Observes 50th Anniversary of Cape Cod Canal Opening, July 29, 1914

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, just 50 years ago today, on July 29, 1914, the picturesque 17-mile long Cape Cod Canal in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was opened to marine traffic. Representing the Federal Government at the gala opening ceremony was the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The idea of digging the Cape Cod Canal had its roots with the early settlers of the Plymouth Bay Colony, and President George Washington was one of the early advocates of such a project. Constructed prior to World War I and financed by private capital, the Cape Cod Canal was purchased by the Federal Government 14 years later in 1928.

Mr. Speaker, with permission I include with my remarks an editorial entitled "Cape Cod Canal," which was printed in the Springfield, Mass., Sunday Republican on July 26:

CAPE COD CANAL

A narrow strip of water lies between Cape Cod proper and the mainland. Except that its width can be measured in feet instead of miles, it makes the Cape as much an island as Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard. The canal, however, is spanned by three bridges; those at Bourne and Sagamore, for vehicles, arched and the one at Buzzards Bay, for trains, a vertical-lift.

This picturesque waterway was opened to marine traffic on July 29, 1914, just 50 years ago this week. Commemorations and celebrations are being held at various points in that vicinity. Incidentally, the first ship to pass through the Panama Canal did so on August 15, a little more than 2 weeks later, but that's another story. Franklin Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was among those present at the 1914 Bay State ceremonies.

Between its extremities the sea level Cape Cod Canal is some 17 miles long, over 7 miles cut through land. Unlike the Panama Canal, it has no locks—you just sail in at one end and out at the other, without tolls. More than 500 feet in width, it is said to be the widest artificial waterway anywhere, and with its depth of 32 feet it can accommodate oceangoing vessels as well as smaller commercial craft and pleasure boats. Last year 18,812 transits were recorded.

The obvious possibilities of such a route were apparent even to the early settlers, especially when they noted that the distance between the sources of two small rivers in the vicinity, flowing to the sea in opposite directions was less than a mile. Later, George Washington was among its advocates. For various reasons, however, several attempts to carry out the project failed; its actual construction took 5 years. Financed by private capital, it was bought by the Federal Government in 1928.

Extensive improvements soon followed, including replacement of the old drawbridges by the present ones. In World War II the route provided escape for Allied ships and cargoes from enemy submarines lurking in the waters outside, and in peacetime it serves to save perhaps 50 miles on coastwise voyages, besides avoiding shoals, rough water and thick fogs often encountered in sailing around the cape.

Aside from its usefulness, the canal is one of Cape Cod's best scenic attractions. Watching a good-sized freighter or naval vessel move sedately through the channel is about as close as most inland visitors ever get to one. Many years ago the nightly arrival of the passenger boat on its way from Boston to New York, its lights ablaze, was a sight that never failed to elicit enthusiastic greetings from crowds of spectators gathered along the banks.

The canal is something more than an engineering feat, a convenient shortcut and a pretty picture. Hundreds of ships have been wrecked off the outer cape, most often in fall and winter storms. To survivors of such disasters, to relatives of thousands lost at sea, and to mariners in general, the placid Cape Cod Canal is a sign of progress, an assurance of safe passage, a symbol of security.

United States Strangely Helpful to Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring the attention of my colleagues to an article by Drew Pearson which appeared in the Washington Post of July 28. In presenting some of the remarkable facts concerning the attempts by President Nasser of the United

Arab Republic to undermine the interests of the United States, this article shows the need for a total reevaluation of our policy toward Nasser. I hope that all my colleagues will read the following article:

UNITED STATES STRANGELY HELPFUL TO NASSER

(By Drew Pearson)

While the Pan-American foreign ministers were voting sanctions against Fidel Castro in Cuba, the United States was in the ironic position of supporting with millions of dollars in wheat another dictator who has been even more effective than Castro in opposing U.S. policies; namely, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt.

President Nasser has seized all American property in Egypt just as Castro did in Cuba. He has socialized industry just as Castro did. And he has waged a vicious, subversive campaign against American interests all around the Near East. It has been far more successful than Castro's campaign against Venezuela and other U.S. friends in the Caribbean.

Despite this, American aid to Nasser is more than the Russian contribution to building the Aswan Dam. It totals $418 million since 1955.

It was in 1956 that Russia decided to start building the Aswan Dam. Since that time the Soviet Union has loaned Egypt a little over $250 million, all of which is in the form of a credit and must be paid back.

The American contribution to Nasser is in the form of U.S. grain paid for in Egyptian currency, which is left in the country. It amounts to almost a gift. Sixty percent of all wheat used in Egypt comes from the United States. And this food helps pay for Nasser's propaganda campaign against the United States.

NASSER'S CAMPAIGN

Here is what he is doing:

While the Republican Party was meeting in San Francisco, nobody noticed that the Libyan Foreign Minister, Hussayn Maaziq, visited Cairo and promised Nasser to throw Americans out of the Wheelus Air Force Base at Tripoli. This is the biggest bomber base we have outside the United States. And our lease does not expire until 1967. However, the Libyan Government, as a result of Nasser's prodding, is urging us to get out earlier.

Nasser is also putting the heat on Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia to cancel the U.S. communications base at Kagnew on the Red Sea. This is the most important foreign communications base we have. It is essential for tracking satellites. So far Haile Selassie has refused to budge, but Nasser is now accusing him of being a colonialist.

Castro, incidentally, has tried to get our bases canceled in Panama and Guantanamo but has not succeeded.

Nasser has received arms from Russia just as Castro has—through considerably more. He is now sending surplus arms to Somalia in order to stir up guerrilla warfare against our good friend, Ethiopia. This is what Castro has tried to do, though he has not succeeded, by shipping arms to Venezuela and Brazil.

The United States has had to supply Ethiopia with arms to combat this warfare. Thus, we are supplying wheat to Egypt, which helps pay indirectly for arms to Somalia, and then we have to send arms to Ethiopia to combat Nasser's arms.

American wheat is also going to help pay for 40,000 Egyptian troops kept in Yemen. This is an attempt by Nasser to win control of Saudi Arabia and the American oil properties there, just as Castro tried to penetrate Venezuela in order to control U.S. oil properties in that country.

BITING THE HAND

The radio propaganda campaign against the United States in this Red Sea area is vicious—so much so that the Yemen Republic recently apologized to the American Embassy.

The attacks occurred at the same time the United States was helping Yemen construct new roads, build a water purification plant, and supply other economic aid. Yemen officials made it clear that the Egyptians controlled the press and radio through their 40,000 troops and there was nothing Yemen could do about the anti-American tirades.

While President Nasser does not want war with Israel now, he is paying German technicians and scientists to develop modern rockets and, he hopes, nuclear weapons. American wheat indirectly is helping to pay for the cost of these former Nazis.

All this raises a serious question in the minds of our Allies. They wonder why the United States continues to subsidize a dictator who follows exactly the same policies as Castro and is more effective in carrying them out.

When in Israel, I queried Israel leaders as to whether they were worried over a Nasser attack. They are not—at least not until he develops the modern rockets on which the former Nazi scientists are working, which we are helping to pay for.

Nasser's Rockets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues a significant article entitled "Nasser's Rockets," appearing in the latest issue of Prevent World War III, No. 64, summer 1964, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization, 24 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. The truth about Nasser's military buildup has not received the attention that it deserves. Few people are aware of the fact, for example, that hundreds of German Nazi scientists and technicians are at this very moment helping to build up a rocket arsenal for the Nasser military machine. Military experts admit that rockets without nuclear warheads are wasteful and ineffective weapons. That is why the activities of these German scientists and technicians in Egypt take on such significance. This is especially true since Nasser has proven by word as well as deed that he is power hungry and will resort to force if it will further his imperialistic ambitions. The role of the German scientists and technicians and the failure of the Bonn Government to take appropriate measures that would prevent these people from cooperating with Nasser, must be the concern of all security-minded Americans.

The article follows:

NASSER'S ROCKETS

On October 1 of last year, President Nasser was interviewed by a number of international journalists in Cairo. A British newspaperman asked him: "It has been reiterated that West German scientists are working on the production of atomic rockets for the United Arab Republic. How does this help the policy of peaceful coexistence or the policy of positive neutrality adopted by the United Arab Republic?" This was immediately followed by a similar question from a Ceylonese journalist who asked: "What is your purpose behind the preparation for the manufacture of rockets? Why did you use Nazi scientists for this purpose? Why do you produce rockets and against whom will they be used? Would it not be better to spend the funds for raising the people's living standard?"

These were sharp and pointed questions, but President Nasser was not prepared to tell the truth. Instead, he tried to weasel his way out. The rocket buildup, he assured his interrogators, was strictly for "scientific progress." As if to emphasize the peaceful intentions of his regime, he added that "no more than 13 percent of the budget is being spent on the army and on this (rocket) development." Of course, this statistic does not mean very much because it is known to every sophisticated journalist that the total expenditures for military hardware, are top secret under an aggressive and dictatorial regime such as that over which Nasser presides.

As for the German Nazi scientists, Nasser replied with an air of innocence that he just did not understand the question. The word "Nazi," he said straight-facedly, is "intended for misleading propaganda." Of course, there were German scientists working for the Egyptians and they were "devoted to their work." But as for their Nazi Party affiliations, Nasser said, he did not know, nor did he care.

It is understandable that Nasser would not care. Indeed, there is every reason for him to welcome the Nazis because so much of his own methods of rule and his propaganda techniques are taken straight out of the garbage heap of the Third Reich. Nasser's feelings toward Hitler and the Nazis came to the surface recently when he graciously allocated some of his precious time in granting an interview to Dr. Gerhard Frey, publisher of a rabidly anti-Western and neo-Nazi weekly in West Germany. Nasser told his German admirer that his sympathies and those of most of his fellow Egyptians "were with the Germans in World War II" (CDN, Apr. 30, 1964). Nasser might have told his interviewer that he went much further than pure sympathy and actively cooperated with the German high command during Hitler's African campaign against the Allies.

But to get back to the original interview. It is perfectly clear, and it must have been so to the journalists who questioned Nasser, that he was playing a shabby game of evasion. The fact is that the Egyptian military rocket program is moving ahead at full speed with the indispensable and decisive support of the West German scientists and technicians. The Society revealed many of these sinister activities in previous issues of Prevent World War III (No. 61, "German-Egyptian Rocketry," and No. 62, "Unmasking German Plans in Egypt").

Rocket production, according to a report in the London newspaper the Sunday Telegraph (Mar. 8, 1964), is going ahead "whatever the cost." This is the latest information from some German scientists who have left Cairo. The Telegraph pointed out that at least 250 German scientists are still in Cairo "to carry on work which is a growing threat to Middle East stability." Another item in the same issue of the Telegraph reveals that Nasser may be able to deploy between 500 and 800 missiles for offensive purposes within the next 3 years. At the same time, Nasser's military establishment is stead-

fly building up its inventory of military jet bombers and fighter aircraft. On March 8, Radio Cairo proudly announced to the Arab world the first jet fighters designed and manufactured in Egypt. "The United Arab Republic has thereby achieved a scientific and military victory of great importance." Radio Cairo further boasted that these accomplishments in the field of jet aircraft came on the heels of new sucesses in miltary rocketry. One pro-Egyptian publication, Bayrut al-Masa, went into raptures over the news. As broadcast by Radio Cairo, this paper said: "From long-range rockets to jet fighters, and at such speed. Truly the revolution has begun producing fruit in all fields. Who knows? We may surprise the world by the atomic bomb" (March 1964).

As Prevent World War III disclosed in previous articles, top West German aircraft designers have been playing a vital role in the development of Egypt's military air force. Prof. Willy Messerschmidt, who was Hitler's ace designer, is busily at work in Cairo directing 350 German aircraft technicians. The noted British correspondent Sefton Delmer interviewed Messerschmidt and reported that approximately $300 million had already gone into the building of this powerful jet fighter which is designed as a powerful weapon of attack. There are many things that Nasser's propaganda machine can and has accomplished, but there is one thing that it cannot do; i.e., to build modern jet military aircraft. This is strictly the work of his West German collaborators.

Egypt's atomic potential has grown hand in hand with the military rocket program. When the international journalists referred to rockets with atomic warheads, Nasser rather weakly denied this. But what are the facts? Two years ago, in a speech in Port Said, Nasser bragged that Egypt was now able to manufacture from needles to rockets. He then went on to say: "Today we must be determined to face the common challenge, the challenge is the distance between the mud house of the peasant and the atomic energy factory."

There is not much hope that the poor Egyptian peasants will ever get out of their mud huts, but there is plenty of evidence to indicate that Egypt is indeed developing her atomic potential. Cairo has already purchased a nuclear reactor from Soviet Russia which will be able to product plutonium, an important ingredient for atomic bombs. In February of this year, an Egyptian weekly announced that uranium had been found in Egypt and that its scientists (there are few genuine Egyptian scientists today) could go ahead with their own plans to turn it into plutonium.

But even before Cairo acquired the nuclear reactor from the Soviets at the enormous cost of $200 million, the Egyptians had established firm commitments with West Germany on the building up of Cairo's atomic potential. In December 1960, the official Bulletin of the West German Government disclosed that an agreement had been reached between the Bonn government and Egypt to provide for mutual collaboration and to help "the United Arab Republic in the development of its atomic research for nuclear development."

So, the rockets which are being built in Egypt, are not harmless toys. Indeed, as every military authority knows, rockets without nuclear warheads are wasteful and ineffective weapons. Nasser's rockets have already been assigned by him for their deadly mission. It is only a question of time and circumstance when he will decide to implement that mission.

In this connection, there are some aspects of Nasser's atomic buildup which deserve comment. It is a fact which has received virtually no publicity at all that at the last meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Lagos (February 1964) the Egyptians argued fiercely against the proposal to make Africa a nuclear-free zone. Apparently, most of the other African states were ready to push forward this idea but the Egyptians insisted that each country should have the right to install nuclear bases on its own territory for "defensive" purposes. This was truly an ironic episode since Nasser is always talking about peace to the peoples of Africa and slandering the West. However, in this acid test of his willingness to convert Africa into a zone free of atomic weapons, he beat a hasty retreat. This shows that Nasser is determined to reinforce his military establishment with atomic weapons and that his pitch for African support against "the warlike West" is sheer hypocrisy.

As regards the attitude of the Bonn Government in the matter of German scientists in Cairo, we find that some people are shocked that the West Germans are still marking time on this issue. These same people were mightily pleased to read the assurances of last year by West German authorities that steps would be taken to correct this situation. The society was never taken in by this because we said it then and we repeat it now that the West German scientists in Cairo are there with the secret blessings and instructions of the powers that be in West Germany. Our own charges on this score were confirmed by Dr. Gronau, a West German scientist who returned home after a 3-year stay in Cairo where he was in charge of the jet fighter production program. He told a correspondent of the Daily Telegraph and Morning Post (London, April 8, 1964) that the West German Government not only had full knowledge of the activities of German technicians working in Egypt on military aircraft "but also approved and encouraged it." Even when he (Dr. Gronau) wanted to leave, the German military attaché in Cairo, Colonel Kriebel, urged him to remain at his job. Kriebel said that was the wish of the West German Government and the then Defense Minister Joseph Strauss.

Thus, it is not surprising that West German officialdom continues to equivocate on the issue. For example, the present German Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel, when recently confronted with the facts concerning Messerschmidt's role in Egypt, declined either to approve or disapprove of his activities and those of the German aircraft engineers working for him (Christian Science Monitor, April 21, 1964). As regards the production of atomic, biological, and chemical weapons of war, von Hassel said that he was "unable to say whether German scientists are involved in the development and production of such weapons in foreign countries. Under current laws the Federal Republic has no way of exerting influence on these scientists and telling them to return to Germany" (Frankfurter Rundschau, April 16, 1964).

The simplest thing, of course, would be to pass appropriate laws that would make it mandatory for the German scientists to return. But here again, the West German Government plays the same shabby game. Recently, the Government announced that approval of a proposed law along those lines was postponed indefinitely on the grounds that it was too comprehensive and indeed objectionable to the members of Chancellor Erhard's cabinet. When a correspondent asked West Germany's Minister of the Interior whether Arab pressure was responsible for this change of mind, he refused to reply. However, President Nasser, in his interview with the neo-Nazi journalist referred to above, declared that he had been assured "by competent sources" that the West German Government would take no effective action to recall the German scientists in Egypt.

It is naive to believe that it was Arab pressure which was a major factor in inducing the Germans to refrain from taking action. A first-class economic power, such as West Germany, can hardly be cowed by the Cairo regime. After all, the West Germans had made restitution payments to Israel despite Arab objections and nothing has happened.

Thus it seems that the West German scientists are in Cairo because this is the wish of the West German authorities. Is it, as we have charged in our previous articles, part and parcel of West Germany's postwar plans to revive her war potential by using the resources and manpower of other countries so that she cannot be directly accused of violating her own pledges no less than the basic priciples laid down by the Allies in 1945?

Migrant Annual Worker Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I have attempted to present to Members every possible plan which is suggested as a possibility for the replacement of the bracero program.

The Arroyo Grande Valley Herald-Recorder, Arroyo Grande, Calif., on July 10, 1964, carried an article concerning the migrant annual workers plan. No one has suggested that this plan will ever make any appreciable contribution to the need for supplemental farm labor. The idea is not new. It has been used before in many forms in many places. It helps some and further experimentation and earnest effort for improvement is commendable. I shall continue to report the results of all experiments, whether they be successful or unsuccessful.

The article follows:

ARROYO GRANDE.—A man we will call Frank L.—whose permanent home is in Firebaugh, works in Arroyo Grande fields from February through April.

In May he travels to Stockton to work in the cherry harvest, then he's off to Yakima, Wash., to thin apples and pick prunes in June and July. September finds him picking pears at Hood River, Oreg. Then it's back to Firebaugh and his annual winter job in the cotton gin.

Frank L. is a member of the State department of employment's annual worker plan.

BRACERO SUBSTITUTE

The annual worker is one possible, and at least partial, answer to the question, "What are the farmers going to do now that the bracero program is slated to end December 31, 1964?"

It's not a new plan, Joe Quaresma, farm placement director for the San Luis Obispo County Department of Employment explained. He was careful not to say it offers the answer to the farmers' labor problems.

NEED MORE HOUSING

But, he indicated, it works well for participating individuals and families, and it could be expanded if more family housng were available.

The State Department of Employment acts as a clearing house for employer requests for workers and for employee requests for jobs.

Thumbing through the job orders on his desk, Quaresma said, "Here's a family of seven that wanted to confirm a job from March 15

through June 1. They came over and worked in the sugar beet harvest."

A good sugar beet worker, who knows how to handle a short-handled hoe, can make $30 a day, Quaresma said.

"The annual worker plan works well for sugar beets," he said. "It will work in any crop if there's housing to put families in. Most all of these domestic farm workers have families. There is single family housing up in Paso Robles sitting vacant because there's no demand for it."

BRACEROS TO LEAVE

Unless Congress votes an unlikely last-minute extension, the 12-year-old Mexican labor importation program, now administered under Public Law 78, expires at the end of this year. Last year, California employed a peak of 62,670 braceros.

San Luis Obispo County's peak agricultural labor force includes approximately 4,800 workers. Of course, between 300 and 600 are braceros depending upon the season and crop conditions.

Several months ago the Arroyo Grande Farm Labor Association reported 520 braceros in the fields of about 30 member farmers. About 60 of the Mexicans were working in the Lompoc area, and the others in San Luis Obispo County, most of them in the Arroyo Grande Valley. There are no braceros in northern San Luis Obispo County.

Quaresma emphasized that responsibility for meeting their labor needs rests ultimately with the farmers themselves.

READY FOR ORDERS

"The Department of Employment is not responsible to work out a replacement program for the farmers," he said. "The State is not about to pressure employers into doing this or that. We have clearance procedures, and stand ready to place orders."

Quaresma said he has met with the Farm Labor Association, and informed members of its recruitment service, offering clearance with other States and other areas.

"No orders have been placed yet," he said. "We have been working on job descriptions."

Curtis Berryman, San Luis Obispo County Farm Advisor, said "I don't think it's going to be easy" when asked about replacement of braceros.

He emphasized, however, that the Agricultural Extension Service has no responsibility, legally or otherwise, to concern itself with labor recruitment.

STRAWBERRIES HIT

Strawberries will be the major problem crop in bracero replacement, Berryman said. Vegetable crops will offer some problems too.

He said he had no information as to any change in crop plantings yet because of the impending close of the bracero program.

In neighboring northern Santa Barbara County, Valley Farm Housing Association went to Texas to recruit workers, but met with little success. Then Puerto Rican workers were recruited, and are now working in the fields of the Santa Maria Valley.

PUERTO RICANS HIRED

Puerto Ricans are not foreigns. It is not necessary to give domestic workers preference over Puerto Ricans. Some farmers regard Puerto Ricans as a likely answer to farm labor problems.

In the carrot fields in Oso Flaco, more than 250 housewives and teenage youths are now working, and in one field alone there are 150 employees, all domestic.

This situation prevails, however, because it is summer vacation, and because carrots are a "piece work" crop, so the worker doesn't have to work all day long, but can go home at 3 or 4 p.m.

Quaresma pointed out that San Luis Obispo County has a year-round demand for farm labor, and will have to find an adult supply.

Improving the Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the Economic Statistics Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee has done a good deal of work to try to improve the budget presentation in order to bring about a more efficient and economical allocation of Government resources, as well as to improve the budget's use as an economic document. In August 1963, the full committee issued a report entitled "The Federal Budget as an Economic Document," which made a number of highly important recommendations in this field.

As a number of the Economics Statistics Subcommittee I was highly pleased to note an article in the July 1964 issue of Challenge magazine, entitled "Another Look at the Budget." The article is by Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum, senior economist with the Stanford Research Institute.

Dr. Weidenbaum suggests that an improved allocation of Federal funds could be achieved if expenditures were grouped in certain general categories, such as national defense, public welfare, economic development, and routine operations of the Government. Currently all Federal programs fall into one of these categories, and yet Congress and the Budget Bureau consider individual programs separately rather than in their totality. Considerable savings could be made, Dr. Weidenbaum says, if each Federal program were weighed against all others and evaluated in terms of national priorities.

The article by Dr. Weidenbaum makes an important contribution to the continuing effort being made to improve upon the Federal budget and the manner in which it is considered by the executive branch and the Congress. Under unanimous consent I place the article in the RECORD at this point:

WHICH RESOURCES FOR WHAT GOALS?—ANOTHER LOOK AT THE BUDGET

(By Murray L. Weidenbaum)

A great deal has been written to the effect that the essence of budgeting is the choice among alternatives. The following statements are typical:

"Budgeting is essentially an economic problem, in solving as it does the allocation of scarce resources among almost insatiable and competing demands."[1]

"* * * the primary purpose of budgeting ought to be to achieve the most desirable allocation of funds among alternative uses."[2]

Nevertheless, an examination of Federal budget documents over the years reveals little systematic attempt to appraise the wisdom or desirability of the overall choice implicitly made in the allocation of government resources among the major alternative uses.

This article is an attempt at revamping the budget so as to illustrate how practical application may be made of the simple economic concept of choice among alternatives. Let us begin with first principles. What are the major end purposes for which the various Government programs are carried on?

In a world of critical international tensions, the initial purpose that comes to mind is the protection of the Nation against external agressors—to maintain the national security. A variety of Federal programs exists in this category, ranging from equipping and maintaining our own Military Establishment, to bolstering the armed forces of other nations whom we consider potential allies, to various types of nonmilitary competition.

A second basic national purpose, one also going back to the Constitution, is the promotion of the public welfare. Here, we find the Federal Government operating in the fields of health, unemployment compensation, relief, and many other such activities.

A third major purpose of Government programs has received an increasing amount of attention in recent years—economic development. This area covers the various programs to develop our natural resources and transportation, as well as education and other attempts to quicken the growth rate of the national economy.

Finally, we have the routine day-to-day operation of the Government, such as the functioning of the Congress, the Federal courts, the collection of revenues and the payment of interest on the national debt.

Table 1 shows how the requested funds in the Federal budget for the fiscal year 1965 are allocated among the four major purposes sketched out above. It may come as no surprise that a large portion of the budget—but substantially less than one-half—is devoted to the national security. (This is not the result of any recent economy drive. The share in the 1964 budget document was 46 percent.) In contrast, the fact that the great bulk of all nonmilitary spending is devoted to the various welfare programs may not be as widely known. A comparatively small portion is devoted to economic development and, as we shall see, even some of the latter programs may be quite questionable as to their positive effect on the growth and development of the Nation.

It may be mere conjecture to conclude that, possibly, the allocation of funds would have been somewhat different from that shown in table 1 if the appropriations requests had been reviewed with an eye on the total picture, instead of examined as individual appropriation items in relative isolation. Added insight to the possible program choices that can be made, using the type of framework suggested here, may be gained from a somewhat deeper analysis of the content of each of these categories.

As would be expected, the bulk of the national security budget is devoted to the U.S. military forces. However, one-fifth of the total is comprised of programs that would promote the national security through somewhat more indirect means, such as conducting nonmilitary forms of competition (NASA and USIA), or increasing the military capabilities of friendly nations.

The data in table 2 can be used to indicate the types of strategic choices that can be made—or are currently being made by default or accident—in allocating funds for national security. First of all, these various programs are not currently brought together and viewed as a totality anywhere in the budget process. Hopefully, the approach suggested here would lend itself to first raising and then answering questions such as the following:

Would national security be improved by shifting some or all of the $11 billion for

[1] Arthur Smithies, "The Budgetary Process in the United States," New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955, pp. XIV–XV.

[2] Edward C. Banfield, "Congress and the Budget: A Planner's Criticism," American Political Science Review, Dec. 1949, pp. 1217–1218.

foreign aid and nonmilitary competition to the U.S. Military Establishment itself?

Conversely, would the national security be strengthened by moving a proportionately small share of the direct military budget, say $500 million, to USIA or the arms control effort and thereby obtaining proportionately large increases in these latter programs?

Are we putting too much into foreign economic aid and not enough into the Voice of America (USIA)? Or vice versa?

Would we be better off if we shifted the funds now going to passive (civil) defense to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency? Or vice versa?

The very existence of the type of information presented here may lead not only to attempts to answer questions such as these, but, more fundamentally, to widen the horizons of budget reviewers.

About one-third of the 1965 budget is devoted to programs in the general area of the public welfare. Again, these activities are nowhere brought together so that the various spending programs can be compared against each other. Although the reader may wish to challenge, or change the classification of some of these items, the tabulation of public welfare programs contained in table 3 shows a rather large assortment.

The various quasi-life insurance and retirement programs receive the bulk of the funds for public welfare. However, this is hardly a conscious decision. The level of expenditure for these programs, such as the old-age and survivors insurance system, is predetermined by basic, continuing statutes; they are financed by permanent, indefinite appropriations which are not subject to review during the budget process because they do not even appear in the annual appropriation bills. Hence, it may not be surprising that these programs have grown to dominate the nondefense budget, exceeding by far the total estimated expenditures for the various economic development programs.

Likewise, the expenditures under the various agricultural price support programs (in the category of "Assistance to Farmers and Rural Areas") exceed all of the outlays for the programs of urban housing and development. Again, the farm subsidy program is generally set by the substantive laws on price supports and farm aid, rather than through annual appropriations.

Also, this level of detail may permit some cross-comparisons of Government programs which are not currently made. For example, the $5.4 billion for aid to farmers is roughly equal to the total requested for civilian space exploration ($5.3 billion). Would some tradeoff between the public welfare and national security areas result in a net advantage? Again, we are trying to answer the question, Would an extra dollar (a billion, in the case of the Government) be more wisely spent for program A or for program B? This is the fundamental question implict in the allocation of budgetary funds or any other resources. The literally thousands of pages of budget justifications and congressional hearings which are published each year fail to show even any awareness of the problem, much less any attempt at an answer.

It is suggested that the approach described here would be useful in attempting to achieve various basic aims through the budgetary process. For one thing, an attempt to balance the outgo side against projected revenues might be more successfully accomplished by this process of weighing alternative programs against each other and choosing the more useful or higher priority items.

Similarly, during an inflationary period, the inevitable attempts to hold down Government spending might then proceed in a more logical way. On the other hand, prospective increases in Federal revenues might be consciously allocated between, say, greater welfare and faster economic growth, rather than result from the accidental addition of unrelated individual appropriation decisions.

In the exploratory categorization of Government programs presented here, a number of activities are listed under the heading "Economic Development." A good share of them, such as for the development of needed natural resources or the improvement of necessary transportation facilities, may contribute to the more rapid growth and development of the American economy. Others, such as various subsidies, may be more questionable. Of course, it is inevitable that any classification will contain some borderline cases.

A brief examination of the composition of the economic development category may be revealing (see table 4). Transportation facilities account for the largest single share and, when combined with natural resource programs, account for two-thirds of the total.

A further breakdown also indicates another level of choice which is possible. The amount shown for transportation facilities consists of three types of programs, as follows (in millions):

Land transportation	$3,980
Air transportation	751
Water transportation	423
Total	5,154

The dominance of land transportation, mainly the Federal aid highway program, is striking. It accounts for 77 percent of the transportation total. Would a revised choice between land and air transport expenditures be advisable? Between land transportation ($4 billion) and education, training and research ($3.7 billion)? Raising these questions should not be taken as expressing value judgments, but rather as indicating a pattern for decisionmaking.

As indicated previously, the inclusion of some of these programs under the economic development category may be questionable. In the case of natural resource programs, the bulk of the funds is devoted to the dams, power and related multipurpose projects of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Yet many authorities question the merits of individual projects.

Prof. Otto Eckstein, of Harvard University, concluded in a study published by the congressional Joint Economic Committee as follows:

"In the case of at least half of all the projects that are being built, it is unlikely that their effect on national income will be positive. * * * The return on many projects is so low that their net effect will be to reduce the rate of growth of the economy."

Professor Eckstein pointed out that the techniques used by Federal agencies to measure benefits from water resource projects "considerably overstate the additions to national income," in good measure by inflating the indirect or secondary benefits which might accrue from the expenditure. However, a more basic shortcoming of these projects may be their contribution to the large farm surpluses by adding to the amount of land on which farm products, not needed to meet consumer demands at current prices, are being grown.

The agricultural-resource trade-off, or choice, may be a rather odd, but not unique, one. To some extent, a reduction in funds for natural resources would permit a reduction in farm subsidy outlays. Here we have another aspect of broadening the vista of budgetary review. Not only can we examine choices among programs, but we can also examine the consistency of the various programs in relation to each other.

The final category of Government programs represents, as best as can be estimated, the general costs of operating the Government, the relatively day-to-day functions. Table 5 shows that more than 70 percent of the funds in this category cover the payment of interest on the public debt. The bulk of the remaining outlays for Government operations is devoted to collecting internal revenue and the housekeeping functions of the General Services Administration, such as the Public Buildings Service and the Federal Supply Service.

The budgetary preparation process itself could benefit by making use of a program or purpose approach to decisionmaking. During the last few years, there has been one very good example of congressional interest and concern with a functional or purpose approach to budgeting. In the case of the Department of Defense, the executive branch has made the basic budget decisions via such an end-purpose approach.

Although military appropriation requests are still made for operations and maintenance, personnel, etc., the underlying decisions are made on program grounds. Here, it is a question of strategic versus limited war capability, offensive versus defensive forces, etc. Within these overall categories, the alternative weapons systems which could fulfill the same end mission are compared with each other. One case would be the Navy's Polaris missile system competing with the Air Force's Minuteman ICBM for strategic funds despite the different services involved. (In earlier years it was more a case of the Navy's strategic missiles competing with Marine Corps ordnance—two relatively unrelated items—within the naval procurement budget.)

The advantage of this new method of budget presentation is that it permits the direct comparison of the various programs of the different services which are close substitutes for each other or which contribute to a common mission or purpose. Clearly, this is a general methodology which has application in budgeting for nonmilitary programs.

The incorporation in the budget message and the budget document of the approach here suggested might result in growing congressional and public concern and awareness of the problems of choosing among alternative uses of Government funds. An alternative would be for a congressional committee staff to rework the existing budget submissions within this framework for review, say, by the entire appropriations committees prior to their detailed examination of individual appropriation requests. This might permit the parent appropriation committees to set general guidelines and ground rules for detailed budgetary review. This would be quite different from the present situation where the overall allocation of budgetary funds among the major functions of government is more nearly the accidental result of a myriad of individual budget decisions.

In getting into the details of budget statements, we should not forget that the essential question to be considered is: "Would an extra dollar be more wisely spent for program A or for program B?" This forgotten question in the Federal budgeting process, however, is no more novel than a family's decision to use the Christmas bonus for a new car or a vacation, or a company's decision to use an increase in earnings to raise the dividend rate or to embark upon a new research program.

TABLE 1.—*Program composition of the 1965 budget (new obligational authority)*

Broad purpose	Amount	Percent
	Millions	
National security	$59,820	44
Public welfare	45,783	34
Economic development	14,386	11
Government operations	15,616	11
Total	135,605	100

Source: Computed from details in the budget of the U.S. Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964. These and the following tables are summarized from worksheets prepared by the author.

TABLE 2.—*National security programs, 1965 budget*

Program category	Amount	Percent
	Millions	
U.S. military forces	$48,806	81.6
Scientific competition (NASA)	5,304	8.8
Foreign nonmilitary aid	2,826	4.7
Foreign military forces	2,325	3.9
U.S. passive defense	372	.6
Political and psychological competition (USIA)	176	.3
Arms control and disarmament	11	.1
Total	59,820	100.0

TABLE 3.—*Public welfare programs, 1965 budget*

Program category	Amount	Percent
	Millions	
Life insurance and retirement	$23,402	51.1
Public assistance and welfare	5,967	13.0
Aid to farmers and rural areas	5,398	11.8
Unemployment insurance	4,059	8.9
Health	3,303	7.2
Veterans compensation	2,121	4.6
Urban housing and facilities	1,533	3.4
Total	45,783	100.0

TABLE 4.—*Economic development programs, 1965 budget*

Program category	Amount	Percent
	Millions	
Transportation facilities	$5,154	35.8
Natural resources	4,278	29.7
Education, training, and research	3,677	25.6
Aids and subsidies to business	1,277	8.9
Total	14,386	100.0

TABLE 5.—*Government operations, 1965 budget*

Program category	Amount	Percent
	Millions	
Interest payments	$11,102	71.1
Housekeeping functions	3,299	21.1
Judicial and law enforcement	451	2.9
Conducting foreign relations	395	2.5
Regulatory programs	237	1.5
Legislative functions	132	.9
Total	15,616	100.0

Sister City Affiliations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, for several years, certain cities in this country have adopted sister cities in foreign countries. These two-way relationships under the sister cities affiliation concept of the people-to-people program are continuing to help build better understanding between citizens of this country and citizens of other countries. This mutual understanding can go a long way toward achieving peace between peoples; 252 cities in this country have a total of 280 sister cities abroad, 75 cities in California have 89 sister cities, and 10 cities in the 28th District of California have a total of 15 sister cities on 3 continents. The cities in the 28th District which are participating in this program are: Burbank, El Segundo, Encino, Los Angeles, Manhattan Beach, Redondo Beach, Santa Monica, Studio City, Torrance, and Van Nuys.

Each of these cities and each and every person who is actively associated with the program is to be commended. The value of such a program is immeasurably increased because the work is done on the individual and community level and thus brings greater personal understanding between peoples. The experience of Santa Monica, Calif.—population 86,000—and Mazatlan, Sinaloa, Mexico—population 100,000—is an excellent example of how cities, whether large or small, can contribute to greater understanding and peace between the peoples of the world. Their program is similar to the programs conducted by many other cities in the area and around the country. Following is a description of the very successful Santa Monica-Mazatlan sister city experience:

BEST OVERALL PROGRAM

The sister city program in Santa Monica, Calif., is directed by the Santa Monica Sister City Committee, a 35-member committee appointed by the Santa Monica City Council. The committee operates under bylaws approved by the city council; elects its own officers, administers all sister city programs, obtains and controls its own finances ($600 appropriated by the city council for administrative expenses), and schedules its own meetings. A copy of bylaws is attached.

The Mazatlan Sister City Committee is appointed by the Camera de Comercio de Mazatlan (chamber of commerce) directors, and all functions of this committee operate through the chairman and the Camera de Comercio. The program, however, was initiated by the El Presidenté (mayor) of Mazatlan and delegated to the Camera de Comercio. The Governor of the State of Sinaloa and many Mazatlan municipal officials, including the mayor, county treasurer, and others, have actively participated in sister city activities.

The Santa Monica-Mazatlan affiliation was conceived as a means of bettering understanding and good will between the United State of America and Mexico. A group of Santa Monica community leaders recognized this need, solicited and obtained city support and began the quest for a sister city.

After 4 months of study, the group selected Mazatlan as the first choice due to comparable population, geography, and commerce. The director of town affiliations, was advised of the city of Santa Monica's desire to affiliate with Mazatlan. After Federal Government clearances were obtained, initial contact was made in Mazatlan by means of a letter from the mayor of Santa Monica to El Presidenté Municipal of Mazatlan, suggesting the affiliation.

In March 1962, the mayor of Mazatlan accepted Santa Monica's invitation and the affiliation was established. Further, he extended an invitation to the mayor of Santa Monica to send a delegation to Mazatlan in order to finalize the affiliation. In May 1962, an 11-member delegation which included the mayor, a city council member (committee chairman), president of the chamber of commerce, president elect and manager, visited Mazatlan for Cinco de Mayo celebrations and formally established the program with an exchange of resolutions from the governing bodies of the two cities.

The two committees were formally established and began their activities. In Santa Monica, many local residents, businesses, and industries quickly volunteered their financial and other support.

The first Mazatlan group to visit Santa Monica was Los Rieleritos, a boys baseball team. Despite a loss to the home team, the visitors had a most enjoyable time. This July 1962 visit was followed by a second visit in August 1963, at which time the Mazatlan squad evened the series. It now happens that the visits will take place every summer. Besides the ball game with the Santa Monica Pony League All-Stars, Los Rieleritos each year has spent an entire day at the local amusement park with all expenses covered by sponsors obtained through the Sister City Committee.

The first adult group to visit Santa Monica was a 15-member delegation who came for a week in December 1962. An extensive program was scheduled to acquaint the visitors with Santa Monica people, schools, government, business, industry, and entertainment. Town Affiliation News ran a story on this visit in publication of March 1963—"How to Succeed in Hosting Visiting Delegations from Sister Cities."

Santa Monica City College was the first local school to take an active part in Sister City activities when, in the fall of 1962, they used the Mazatlan affiliation as the theme of their homecoming festivities and for several football halftime stunts.

Numerous other projects were begun in 1962, all of which continue, such as: exchanges of photographs, films, food, local products, books, records, art, clothing, pen pal programs, radio programs (Los Rieleritos games are taped in Spanish and sent to Mazatlan), etc.

The most effective project between the cities was the first annual postgraduate medical seminar in Mazatlan, conducted by 14 physicians and 4 technicians from the staff of St. John's Hospital in Santa Monica. Also Sister Mary David, hospital administrator and one of her assistants went with the group. The seminar lasted 1 week.

The second week, teams of Santa Monica doctors and technicians visited the four Mazatlan hospitals and worked with the hospital medical staff members on new medical techniques. Mazatlan citizens were greatly impressed with this volunteer effort of Santa Monica doctors and hospital staff. The Governor of Sinaloa came from the State capitol to host a reception for the visitors, as did the mayor of Mazatlan. All newspapers carried headlines about the seminar. The success of this seminar paved the way for an event of this kind to be held annually in Mazatlan. St. John's Hospital medical staff have held an annual postgraduate medical seminar at the hospital for many years; each year brings physicians of renown from all over the country and this year of 1964, invitations to certain doctors in Mazatlan will be extended. Also through the endeavors and solicitations of the doctors medical and surgical supply houses, as well as drug houses, many supplies were taken to Mazatlan and distributed to proper persons.

The event which promoted the sister city program to the greatest degree in Santa Monica was Sister City Week. The schedule of activities for this week consisted of:

A Senior Citizens Day, at which time a lecture and slide film was presented to over 100.

A School Day, at which time every public and parochial school (and all other private schools except one) held a program regarding the sister city affiliation with Mazatlan. Some programs consisted of plays, others of classroom discussions, a few of costume parades and/or assemblies, displays of Mexican arts, crafts, products, and speakers, from the sister city committee.

The intracity soccer championship match (to illustrate Mexico's national sport) between the two local clubs which are in different county leagues. The match, between

a Mexican-American team and a Gaelic team, ended in a tie.

Selection of La Reina de Amistad (Queen of Friendship), a young lady to represent Santa Monica in the Mazatlan Mardi Gras carnival.

Numerous speaking engagements by committee members—to explain the sister city program—at which time a pamphlet was distributed.

Special publicity consisting of "Music of Mexico" programs on the local radio station and feature newspaper articles, locally, as well Metropolitan Los Angeles papers.

A benefit show, to raise funds to cover La Reina de Amistad's carnival and float expenses was scheduled but canceled due to President Kennedy's assassination. The funds were later raised by donations.

A kiddies' parade—costumes and wagon floats—was held.

Through Sister City Week over 50,000 citizens of Santa Monica were informed, in some manner, as to the sister city program.

Another successful project was a Rotary-Club-sponsored Girl Scouts' bus trip to Mazatlan and other cities in Mexico in the summer of 1963. About 100 girls and women made this trip. Mazatlan officials received this group warmly and arranged special tours of beach areas, the central market, and several interesting industries.

An 11-person delegation from Santa Monica, including the mayor pro tempore and the city manager, visited Mazatlan during the 1963 Mardi Gras carnival at the invitation of the Mazatlan Sister City Committee. A similar visit is planned for 1964, with Santa Monica participating with a float upon which La Reina de Amistad will reign.

It should be noted that every visitor to Mazatlan has paid his or her own expenses, except for the initial official visit in May 1962, when the city covered the cost of the mayor and council member (committee chairman) since these people were acting in official capacities.

The Santa Monica-Mazatlan affiliation is serving well the concept inherent in the people-to-people program, viz, the establishment and continuance of two-way relationship to build better understanding and to preserve the peace.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

U.S. Aid to Taiwan Pays Off in Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, one solid proof of the success of our foreign assistance program is the fact that in some 17 countries the transition to self-support has been completed and economic aid has been ended. The Republic of China on Taiwan will soon become one of those nations.

Because of past U.S. assistance, the Republic of China is able to stand on its own feet today. It is able to sustain its own economic growth and development.

It is interesting to note the sharp drop in economic and military aid to Taiwan since 1958. Here are the fiscal year figures: In 1958, $263 million; 1959, $261.6 million; 1961, $207.1 million; 1962, $158.9 million; 1963, $157.5 million; and 1964, $2 million.

The budget requests for 1965 call for aid to be phased out in Taiwan.

Recently an editorial appeared in an English-language paper published in the Republic of China, the China News.

It points out that U.S. aid is worth while and has done its job of helping provide a better life to people who have very little, that it has bolstered the Government of free China, and that it has contributed to the halt of Communist Chinese advances.

Because of the heartening statements this editorial contains, I am inserting it at this point in the RECORD, along with an explanatory letter from the Taiwan AID mission director to AID Administrator Bell, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
U.S. AID MISSION TO CHINA,
Taipei, Taiwan, July 7, 1964.

MR. DAVID E. BELL,
Administrator, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DAVE: First, I want to thank you for the time you gave me for discussion during my recent Washington consultation. I was especially happy to be with you when you were getting reports on the House vote for the bill on which you have put so much energy.

I also want to thank you again for the statesmanlike way in which you handled our difficult Tachien problem which has been completely resolved with the signature of two loan agreements on June 29. The Chinese at the signature were all smiles. This was in deep contrast to the situation which prevailed less than a year ago when the least mention of the word "Tachien" would cause these same Chinese to tremble.

I am enclosing an editorial from last night's English language newspaper with regard to the AID success story in Taiwan. I am sure that you will derive the same kind of satisfaction from reading the editorial that we AID people in Taipei experienced I cannot say that these views are widely held in Taiwan; nor can I say how widely these views are held. However, the fact that the editorial appeared in a newspaper in a country where great attention is paid to the Government's reaction to what appears in a newspaper is a source of satisfaction for all of us, I think.

Again, thanks for your time and support and looking forward to further satisfying relations with you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD L. PARSONS,
Director.

PRIMING THE PUMP

Passage of the foreign aid bill in the U.S. House of Representatives had a new twist this year: only a token $200 million was knocked out of the bill. President Johnson asked for $3.5 billion and will receive $3.2 billion.

Ordinarily, aid bill cuts are much larger. In fact the U.S. House usually seems to act on presumption that the administration is asking a good deal more than it needs so as to accommodate the slashes of Representative OTTO E. PASSMAN and those who agree with his antiaid sentiments.

One thing was not changed. The debate was as bitter as ever. Proponents maintained the world would fall apart, and the pieces into communism, without U.S. aid. Opponents still viewed foreign aid as a giant giveaway, a sort of Santa Claus exhibitionism on the part of the United States.

Extremists of both categories, and especially the Representative Passmans and Senator Ellenders, should be set down in Taiwan for a few days' look at a U.S. aid program that is phasing out that will be no more after next June 30, this because it has been so successful.

The Republic of China would have survived without U.S. aid. It would not have gone Communist. But neither would it have been a strong factor in the line of Asian defense against communism; it would not have possessed the strength.

In less than 15 years this island province has been lifted from a level of subsistence economy to a situation of burgeoning prosperity. Our people are well fed and well clothed. They have confidence in their ability and hope for their future.

Militarily, we rank with Korea at the peak of free Asian defense capability. In 1958, we were able to resist and defeat a determined Communist effort to soften and then invade the offshore islands as stepping stones to Taiwan itself.

U.S. aid is not solely responsible. Our people have worked hard. We have a land that is not blessed with many natural resources but that has some advantages of climate and agricultural productivity. Stable central government and local self-rule have provided a healthy environment for private enterprise and individual initiative.

Yet every pump needs to be primed, and it was U.S. assistance that performed this service for the Chinese economy. Last year's favorable balance of trade is testimony that the pump is working well now and can continue on its own.

Scores of other countries around the world—especially those of developing Africa and some of those that are sorely beset by the Communists in east Asia—are not so well off. Without U.S. aid they, too, might survive, but only in great peril and without capacity to give the free world much help in the struggle with communism.

The Republic of China is not a showcase—that is a slick exaggeration. Rather, it is a solid, undeniable proof that U.S. aid is worth while, that it does its job of helping provide a better life for people who have very little, that it bolsters and strengthens free governments, and that it contributes perhaps decisively to the defeat of the aggressors and the creation of conditions for peace.

Investment in Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we of east Texas are very pleased with the great work of our East Texas Area Boy Scout Council and the others who work with scouts. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article that appeared in the Longview Daily News, July 22, 1964:

INVESTMENT IN YOUTH

The East Texas Area Boy Scout Council is the biggest business in this area, rendering more service to more people than any other organization.

It serves 51 percent of boys 8 to 16 years of age in 15 counties, and has 6,000 volunteer leaders.

The council has never had a serious injury or fatality in its activities.

During the last 10 years it has provided a well-rounded program for a total of 12,000 boys at Camp Tonkawa.

Gregg County with nearly 5,000 has more members in Scouting than any other county in the council on any one day of the year.

There are 524 Boy Scout councils and only 4 of these have more registrants than the east Texas unit's 45,000.

The east Texas council is the only one of 36 in the State without its own camp. Conscious of this fact, business and industrial leaders interested in the Boy Scout movement several years planned to do something about it. They brought in camp authorities and engineers from the national headquarters and surveyed the area for the best possible site. A location was selected on Lake Murvaul in Panola County, after which a drive was launched to raise $606,185 to build a modern camp designed to last 100 years. Work on the project is virtually completed. The national camp director of the Boy Scouts of America, as well as an engineer who has helped build 600 camps, said it is perhaps the finest campsite in the country. Although it will not be ready for maximum usage until

1965, many hundreds of boys already have pitched their tents there for overnight or weekend outings.

The new camp will be operated on a year-round basis, which has not been the case with Camp Tonkawa.

Only about $50,700 of the $606,185 needed to build the new facility remains to be raised or pledged. Overton has the highest per capita participation with $12.60 and Carthage is second with $10.50.

Gregg County thus far has subscribed to the extent of $75,432 and this includes one gift of $50,000.

More than 1,900 east Texas citizens, business firms, industries, and organizations are stockholders in the camp. The support of these shareholders, plus others yet to be served, will make it possible for 5,000 to 10,000 Scouts and leaders to use these fine facilities each year.

There is no finer or rewarding investment than an investment in youth, and the new Boy Scout camp on Lake Murvaul presents an opportunity for everyone to share in a program that will pay handsome dividends through the years, even unto generations yet unborn.

Man is never so tall as when he stoops to help a boy.

CARL L. ESTES.

Crime Proves Need for Religious Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article entitled "Crime Outracing Population Growth." This article was published in a Nashville, Tenn., newspaper just recently and was forwarded to me by a guidance counselor who feels very strongly about the necessity of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools on a voluntary basis. It is quite evident that if people will open their eyes, and recognize the deterioration that is taking place in our Nation, that religious training, prayer, and Bible reading cannot be "left to the church and the home," and that a constitutional amendment is needed now. Congress must act.

The article follows:

CRIME OUTRACING POPULATION GROWTH

The number of crimes committed in America is increasing four times as fast as the population explosion, a Federal Bureau of Investigation crime expert said yesterday.

Edward C. Kemper, Jr., inspector of crime research for the FBI, told the American Legion State convention here "we are outdoing ourselves in crime.

"In the past few years, the increase in crime has far outstripped the increase in population—four times fold," Kemper said.

"The cost of crime in the United States is about $22 billion a year," he said.

Kemper spoke before Legion delegates at War Memorial Auditorium.

C. D. (Deke) DeLoach, Assistant Director of the FBI and national chairman of public relations for the Legion, was scheduled to speak but was called to Mississippi in connection with the search for three missing civil rights workers, Legion officials said.

Metro Mayor Beverly Briley welcomed the convention to Nashville at the opening session yesterday morning.

Also making brief remarks were U.S. Representative Richard Fulton, Senator Albert Gore, and Tennessee Secretary of State Joe Carr. Gov. Frank Clement will speak before the convention Sunday morning.

Kemper, in his speech, listed several national trends "that alarm us" in the fight against crime:

The youth problem.

"Kids under 15 in cities alone committed 272,000 major crimes last year," he said.

He said 62 percent of the car thefts reported last year were attributed to people under 18, and 45 percent of the people arrested for major crimes are juveniles.

Spread of crime in suburbia. The crime rate in these areas are increasing twice as fast as in cities.

The number of "juvenile hoodlums" in the Nation.

A national trend of softness. Kemper said this has been one of the major complaints of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Lack of religious training for youth.

Failure of community action to help combat crime in local areas.

Kemper said that among major causes of crime in the Nation was parental failures, moral deterioration of the population, a bad public attitude toward police and law enforcement, and lack of proper facilities for confinement and punishment.

Herbert S. Fairbank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, an event took place recently which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues because it is gratifying when recognition comes to the deserving.

Too often those who make substantial contributions to our country's welfare remain unsung and rarely are accorded the acknowledgement they merit. Their work may be known to persons in the same field of activity but the public which benefits from their efforts usually is unaware of the debt it owes them.

The U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Public Roads, which administers the nationwide Federal-aid highway program, paid a deserving tribute to a Government worker who died on December 14, 1962, at the age of 74 after 45 years of dedicated public service.

The Bureau named its research facility in Langley, Va., the Herbert S. Fairbank Research Station in honor of the man who had been in charge of the Bureau's research organization for many years. He was a resident of Baltimore where he lived with his sister at 2041 East 32d Street.

Mr. Fairbank came to the Bureau of Public Roads after graduating from Cornell University in 1910 and became a recognized authority on highway research, planning and construction. He provided the leadership for three monumental highway studies and was the author of the consequent reports to Congress which laid the groundwork for the 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways now under construction. They were toll roads and free roads in 1939, interregional highways in 1944, and highway needs of the national defense in 1949.

He also served as chairman of the highway transport committee of the American Association of State Highway Officials from 1943 to 1948; chairman of the National Academy of Sciences' Highway Research Board's Department of Economics, Finance and Administration for many years; and was a member of the National Committee on Uniform Traffic Laws and Ordinances. He was a U.S. delegate to the International Road Congress in Munich in 1934 and was vice chairman of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Convention on Road and Motor Transport in Geneva in 1949.

Many professional honors had been bestowed on him during his career. In 1947 he received the George S. Bartlett Award, highest honor in the highway field, given jointly by the American Association of State Highway Officials, the American Road Builders Association, and the Highway Research Board. He was awarded the U.S. Department of Commerce Exceptional Service Award in 1950, and in 1953 was presented with the Highway Research Board's Roy W. Crum Award for outstanding achievement in highway research. He was the first recipient in 1957 of the Thomas H. McDonald Award given by the American Association of State Highway Officials for outstanding contributions to highway progress.

The part Mr. Fairbank played in helping to furnish this country with its superb highways unequaled anywhere in the world cannot be overemphasized. His was a major role in preparing the way for launching the Interstate Highway System. Those already driving on it and the many more who will use it after it is completed in 1972, are indebted to his vision and knowledge.

The Bureau of Public Roads is to be congratulated for naming its research facility for Mr. Fairbank. It is a fitting tribute to a public servant who had devoted his life to research.

A plaque erected in his memory aptly describes the man. It reads in part:

A gifted writer; a man of brilliance, depth, and vision; of warmth, wit, and wisdom; of dedication and integrity; an exacting but inspired leader.

To him we owe in great part the conception and building of the Interstate Highway System, and all of modern highway planning.

Mr. Fairbank had been a resident of the Fourth Congressional District of Baltimore, which I have the privilege of representing in the Congress. In view of this, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads, House Committee on Public Works, I take pleasure in paying tribute to him today and bringing his significant contributions to the Nation's highway program to the attention of the House.

Apportionment of States' Legislatures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, I have today appeared before the Committee on the Judiciary and made the following statement in support of my House Joint Resolution 1068, to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population:

STATEMENT OF HON. MILTON W. GLENN, OF NEW JERSEY

I have introduced House Joint Resolution 1068 for the purpose of amending the Constitution of the United States so that any State having a bicameral legislature may apportion one house on a basis other than population.

The State of New Jersey was one of the Original Thirteen States that ratified the U.S. Constitution and all amendments thereto. The legislative system in New Jersey consists of a senate and a house of assembly. The members of the house of assembly are chosen on the basis of population representation while the senate is chosen on a county basis of one senator for each county. Therefore, the principle that prevails in New Jersey—population representation in one house and regional representation in the other—is exactly the same as that which prevails in Congress. It is clearly mandated by the Constitution—the same Constitution that the Supreme Court would now have us believe does not permit New Jersey or any other State to set up its legislature the same way as it is in Congress. When the State of New Jersey ratified the Constitution of the United States, it is inconceivable that the members thereof would have voted to ratify a system of representation at the Federal level which was unconstitutional at the State level, and yet the Supreme Court would now have us believe that this is so.

In Mr. Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion in the Supreme Court case of *Reynolds* v. *Sims* he pointed out that to accept the majority's belief in its decision, one is confounded by its disregard of recorded history, and he then went on to say "The problems which concern the Court now were problems when the amendment was adopted. By the deliberate choice of those responsible for the amendment, it left those problems untouched." History bears out this statement and unquestionably this is but another example of where the Supreme Court, instead of confining itself to interpretation, seeks to legislate.

I believe that the statement at the conclusion of the opinion by Mr. Justice Harlan concisely states an historically correct and self-evident enunciation, as follows:

"The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens. This Court, limited in function in accordance with that premise, does not serve its high purpose when it exceeds its authority, even to satisfy justified impatience with the slow workings of the political process. For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

In New Jersey, the State's county system of electing its one house other than on a basis of population goes back to 1776, predating the Federal Constitution, and as recently as 1947 a new State constitution was voted upon by public referendum and the people overwhelmingly approved the continuance of a senate on a "one senator per county" basis.

The prevailing principle in New Jersey of population representation in one house and regional representation in the other has worked very well in the past 188 years. Down through the years, the heavily populated areas, particularly in north Jersey, have controlled the house of the assembly by population numbers, but not so in the senate where general representation represented many factors prevailing in each county.

Under our present-day economic system, south Jersey has many problems which are very different from those in north Jersey. Under the Supreme Court's decision these problems would be intensified and multiplied, as both houses unquestionably would be controlled by the heavily populated centers of north Jersey, and any protection of minorities, with which the Supreme Court is so often concerned, would be completely absent. Our system of checks and balances, which we are so proud of at the Federal level, has given splendid service at the State level in New Jersey, and it is unbelievable, after the experience of almost two centuries, that the Supreme Court changes the system by a stroke of the pen. Certainly, the people of the State have a right to determine how they should be governed in that or any State, and in New Jersey we reaffirmed our system by popular vote in 1947.

Unquestionably, all of the States will be affected by this decision and the only method of retaining the status quo is by an amendment to the Constitution. "Time runneth short." My resolution, or a similar one, must be adopted during this Congress in order to forestall a chaotic condition in the governments of the 50 States when one considers the necessary changes which will, of necessity, have to be made if the legislatures of all States have to reapportion as directed in the Supreme Court's decision. This is indeed an outstanding opportunity for the Congress by its action to direct the Supreme Court to "let well enough alone." In so doing, we of the Congress will have again reasserted our faith in our system of government by giving direct approval to the legislatures of the 50 States to organize their bodies like that of the Federal Government, if they so desire, and this without any restraining interpretation as farfetched as that of the Supreme Court.

The L–P–J Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, first in a series of five, by Mr. Paul Martin, chief, of the Washington Bureau of Gannett News Service, on the administration's proposed L–P–J bill aimed at poverty:

WASHINGTON, July 6.—The administration is asking Congress to approve a massive new Government attack on poverty throughout the country, and economic development of the backward Appalachian Mountain region.

President Johnson is sentimentally attracted to this undertaking out of his personal experience with hardship as a poor boy growing up during the farm depression, and later as Texas State Director of the National Youth Administration during the New Deal.

However, these far-reaching proposals are being rushed through Congress in the partisan political atmosphere of an election year, with little public attention on how they would affect the civic and social life of every American community.

The "poverty package" would initiate a dozen new Government subsidy programs for farmers, businessmen, relief recipients, unemployables and young people—primarily school dropouts, draft rejects and juvenile delinquents.

It was approved by a straight party-line vote, 19 to 12, in the House Labor Committee headed by Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York. The bill is pending before the House Rules Committee.

The Appalachia program is sponsored by the veteran chairman of the House Public Works Committee, Representative CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, Democrat, of New York.

It would operate under the supervision of Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

The Appalachia plan calls for spending $4 billion in Federal, State and local funds over a 5-year period to promote economic growth in a 10-State region extending from Pennsylvania to Alabama, with new highways, watershed projects, and improved methods of farming, mining and lumbering.

No Government official has yet been either willing or able to say what the "poverty program" will cost taxpayers in the long run. The price tag for the first year of operation is just under a billion dollars in Federal funds, or $962½ million.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said that in the second and third years, it "might very well cost more than it costs for the first year." He told the House Labor Committee: "I think the idea that we might have to go on for 10 or 20 years or spend large sums of money should not deter us from taking the first step."

Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the Kennedys, has been designated as Director or "poverty czar" in the White House, with the broadest grant of Executive power ever requested for any Government official outside of the wartime emergency powers of the President.

If the bill becomes law, Shriver could make Federal grants or loans at his own discretion to farmers, businessmen, community action groups, educational and religious organizations for a wide variety of new employment, relief and rehabilitation projects.

He could hire Federal jobholders and fix their compensation, employ outside "experts" at $100 a day plus expenses, buy and sell real estate or personal property acquired under Government loans or guarantees, enter into contracts with public agencies or private individuals, and fix his own rules and regulations.

His authority would cut across lines of legal responsibility in established Federal agencies already engaged in combating poverty, such as the Labor, Welfare, Commerce, Agriculture, and Interior Departments.

He could bypass Governors, mayors, county commissioners, and school boards to deal directly with individuals or "community action" groups of his own choosing in each community.

The bill calls for setting up a new "information center" to produce and distribute publicity about the poverty program. The poverty czar would have a revolving fund for making grants and loans.

He could recruit and assign to work in hospitals, parks, playgrounds, schools and other activities an unspecified number of volunteers for a new "Domestic Peace Corps" called "volunteers in service for America."

The poverty package was considered in the Labor Committee for 20 days during March and April, although the farm and business sections more properly belong under jurisdiction of the Agriculture, and Banking or Commerce Committees.

It was virtually a one-party performance. The witnesses consisted almost entirely of Democratic Governors, mayors, Congressmen and administration officials, along with spokesmen for various labor, civil rights, and welfare groups.

Not a single Republican Governor of a big State such as New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio was called to testify. The only Republican mayor was William F. Walsh, of Syracuse. Among Democrats were Mayors Robert Wagner, of New York, and Richard J. Daley, of Chicago.

Although Shriver claimed that businessmen favor the bill, both the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers opposed it, along with the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Refusing to even consider minority views, POWELL locked out the dozen Republicans on his committee in the final 10 days while the Democratic majority drafted the final bill in a closed caucus.

"Partisan politics should stop at poverty's edge," said Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, Republican, of New York. "They destroyed the bipartisan approach that was so effective last year in getting through three major education bills and the Manpower Act amendments.

"We were honestly seeking a profile on poverty. They could have gotten a bill with a nonpartisan approach. Now, unless a miracle happens, the administration won't get anything. We'll all wind up in the fall blaming each other."

The L–P–J Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include thhe following article by Mr. Paul Martin, chief, of the Washington bureau of Gannett News Service dealing with the administration's proposed L–P–J bill aimed at poverty. It is the second article in a series of five.

WASHINGTON, July 7.—Welfare Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze testified before the House Labor Committee that the Federal Government already is operating 42 different programs aimed at combating poverty, including 14 in his own Department.

These include such things as public assistance, social security, unemployment insurance, vocational education and rehabilitation, child welfare services, student loans, public health, various education acts, farm loans, and rural extension services, food stamp plan, school lunch, and school milk, area redevelopment, manpower retraining, low-rent housing, urban renewal, and public works.

The Budget Bureau estimates that Government spending on these 42 subsidy programs totaled $32 billion in the 1964 fiscal year which ended June 30.

The Social Security Bulletin for November 1963 reported that all levels of government in America spent $66½ billion for "social welfare" purposes in the preceding year.

At the same time, private organizations or individuals were spending $35½ billion for the same purposes, or a total national effort of $100 billion to relieve poverty, boost employment, and take care of human needs.

Yet the President's Council of Economic Advisers, headed by Prof. Walter W. Heller, of the University of Minnesota, claims there are 9¼ million families or 35 million individuals constituting 20 percent of the total population who are "living in poverty" in America today.

The Council adopted an arbitrary standard suggested by the Social Security Administration of $3,000 a year cash income per family or $1,500 per individual as the dividing line for determining who are the "poor people" in the Nation.

The Republican minority of the House Labor Committee, headed by Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, of New Jersey, said in a report on the pending poverty bill:

"More than 70 million American citizens are gainfully employed. These Americans earn more, possess more, consume more, and live better than any other people on earth

"The repeated outcry that one-fifth of all Americans exist in a state of poverty is a grave disservice to the Nation, both at home and abroad.

"The standard arbitrarily used to define poverty in America—a cash income of $3,000 a year—would in most foreign lands constitute a regal state."

Who are these poor people? Here are some indications:

A Defense Department report shows that 1,049,248 members of the Armed Forces, or 42 percent of all on active duty, had less than $3,000 a year income, including the value of all pay and allowances for rations, clothing, and shelter, plus Federal income tax exemptions and free medical care.

During House hearings on the poverty bill Representative JOHN H. DENT, Democrat, of Pennsylvania: "Where in our poverty package do we intend to alleviate this situation?"

Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York, suggested: "Make them all colonels."

Medical reports indicate a large number of disabled persons in the Nation including: 5½ to 6 million with mental illness, 5½ million with major heart disease, 3½ million with some visual impairment, and 1 million completely paralyzed.

How many of them fall into the Government's definition of "poverty" is unknown.

The Federal minimum wage was raised in 1961–62 to $1.25 an hour. That amounts to $50 a week for a 40-hour workweek, or $2,600 a year, below the arbitrary $3,000 poverty level.

The average retired person, living on social security supplemented by part-time earnings, would lose all social security benefits before he could possibly reach a cash income of $3,000 a year.

Under existing law, a retired worker loses 50 cents of every social security dollar from the Government for every dollar earned in private employment between $1,200 and $1,700 a year. Above $1,700 a year, he loses a dollar of social security annuity for each dollar earned in part-time employment.

In almost half of the 9¼ million cases classified by the Government as "poor families," the head of the family is not in the labor market or looking for a job. They may be elderly or disabled persons.

Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, Republican, of New York, observed: "Only 600,000 out of the 9¼ million families are classified as unemployed."

Seymour Wolfbein, Director of Manpower in the Labor Department, replied: "The figures you indicate are correct. We were wondering why some of these folks don't show up as actively seeking work."

Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon: "In figuring the $3,000 income, was consideration given to accumulated wealth, homeownership, and so on?"

Harold Goldstein, Assistant Manpower Director: "I believe not, except as reflected in the form of income, in the form of interest or dividends."

Mrs. GREEN: "Then it is conceivable that a family would own its home completely, have some money in the bank, but if the income itself was less than $3,000 a year, they would be included in the 9¼ million?"

Mr. Goldstein: "I believe that is correct."

Mrs. GREEN: "In the rural population, with the $3,000 cutoff, was the value of produce or livestock on the farm considered?"

Mrs. Dorothy Newman, Labor Department consultant: "I don't know."

Representative ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican, of Minnesota: "How many of the 9¼ million could be helped under this poverty program?"

Mr. Wolfbein: "It is difficult to come up with an exact figure."

Many poverty cases already are receiving relief or unemployment benefits. GOODELL said, "A significant number of persons in this country have to be supported."

Despite general prosperity in the Nation, relief rolls have gone up 30 percent since 1957. Approximately 8 million persons got some form of welfare last year costing $5 billion. Around 6 million persons drew unemployment benefits totaling nearly $3 billion.

Mrs. Ellen J. Perkins, of the Welfare Department, said the only group on relief that includes able-bodied employable men are the 69,000 families in the unemployed parent part of the aid to dependent children program, or about 5 percent.

The L–P–J Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, third in a series of five, by Mr. Paul Martin, chief of Washington Bureau of Gannett News Service, on the administration's proposed L–P–J bill aimed at poverty.

WASHINGTON, July 8.—The poverty bill pending in Congress would start three new Federal youth programs at a first-year cost of $412.5 million.

If the bill is passed, the Government would enlist 440,000 young men and women, mostly between the ages of 16 and 21, to serve in these activities:

A job corps of 100,000 to be stationed at 100 conservation camps or job training centers around the Nation, $190 million.

A work-training project for 200,000 costing $150 million to work for public agencies or private nonprofit organizations.

A work-study program for 140,000 providing part-time employment for needy college students at $72.5 million.

The Federal Government would pay all costs of the job corps, and 90 percent of the work-training and work-study programs. The non-Federal contribution could be in cash or kind, including plant, equipment, and services.

The types of work to be performed by the youngsters, rates of pay and other conditions of employment are not specified in the bill.

Sargent Shriver, designated as "poverty czar" in the White House, told the House Labor Committee:

"The boys or girls eligible for the job corps would be the kind most likely to end up in a lifetime of poverty or lifelong trouble with the law."

The youth programs are designed primarily for the benefit of school dropouts, draft rejects and juvenile delinquents.

Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, Detroit school superintendent and former U.S. Commissioner of Education, testified:

"Some people concerned with resident centers in the country are looking for a way to get troublesome young people out of our hair. There is always a tendency to say, 'set up something someplace else and put those people there.' "

Dr. Vern Alden, president of the University of Ohio, who is working for the Job Corps, said the first-year plan calls for setting up 100 conservation centers in the country and/or job training centers near metropolitan areas, with 1,000 to 3,000 young people at each site.

Some categories of youngsters would be excluded—the severely mentally disturbed person, the physically handicapped if he is disabled, the drug addict, and the serious delinquent.

"If a person has a minor offense on the police docket, he would not be excluded," Alden said.

Representative FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Democrat, of New Jersey, pointed out there would be "a regular law enforcement authority at or near the location of every camp in event of difficulty."

Alden said the young people would live in dormitories or at campsites. Universities could be prime contractors in running job training centers. He gave this example:

"Let us say a job training center was set up at Camp Kilmer, next to Brunswick, N.J., and we developed a prime contract with Rutgers University. We would say to the people at Rutgers:

" 'We will deliver 2,000 people at Camp Kilmer on such a date. We will take responsibility for housing, clothing, and feeding these people. We will give you responsibility for developing a new educational program including supervision of work, physical fitness, basic and vocational education.

" 'You would recruit people on your own faculty, pull in social service workers, returning Peace Corps volunteers, and develop an imaginative, creative, new educational program.' "

Alden estimated the cost per job corps enrollee at $4,500 a year, compared to the $3,000 a year family income figure used by the administration to define "poverty."

Mayor William F. Walsh, of Syracuse, a sociologist and former official of the New York State Human Rights Commission, observed:

"The concept of recruiting 100,000 young men and women and placing them in 100 camps across the country for 2 years may not be the best expenditure of public funds.

"It removes the young man from direct family and community associations. I don't think you can take a city kid and put him in the country and rehabilitate him. He is going to come back to the city and live. It is better to keep that same kid in the city and give him something to do."

Walsh blamed "the growing tide of divorce, separation, and desertion" as "one of the basic causes of poverty and social breakdown." He said "great efforts should be made to keep families intact."

Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell University psychologist, said it would be "hard on young people" returning from work camps "to a community where he has been labeled a misfit." Unless the youngster is trained in a job needed in his home community, "he will be pushed back into the role of social misfit.'"

He contended the pending legislation does not go to the heart of the problem.

"To strike at poverty at the source means early childhood," he testified. "It should be a fundamental part of the poverty program to facilitate establishment of day care centers in deprived areas, more than just babysitting establishments, with programs of stimulation and training for infants and preschoolers."

The Cornell professor said "A camp operation is every expensive. If I had $190 million to spend, I would put more of that on the first 10 years of life than the next 10—the older they get, the harder they are to save."

Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat of Oregon, questioned the availability of teachers for all of the educational programs the Government is promoting nowadays.

"We are finding it difficult in Detroit to meet the needs of the manpower retraining act because of a lack of experienced vocational teachers," Brownell said.

"They take away some of our best teachers. We are losing apprentice training teachers to better paid jobs in industry. We are having our school staff raided again to set up the volunteers for America (domestic peace corps) program."

He urged Congress to make sure funds are appropriated to encourage States and localities to develop and manage their own programs with a minimum of Federal interference.

"There is a real danger of developing competing programs if it is not a responsibility of the school system," Brownell asserted.

Representative WILLIAM H. AYRES, Republican of Ohio, raised the question of segregation.

If the Government enlists Job Corps recruits on the basis of low income or education levels, Ayres said, "Then you might have all Negro camps."

"That is fine," replied Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. "I do not care what they are, as long as they are Americans and need help."

Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, Republican, of New York, predicted it would lead to more racial trouble in the South.

"Suppose you set up a camp in Alabama or Mississippi," he said. "All the Negroes would want to go. How about the whites? What are you going to do? Fix racial quotas? Take whites from the big cities of the North and ship them down there?"

Welfare Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, and Kennedy all testified there wouldn't be any problems.

"I think there will be," GOODELL declared.

The L–P–J Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, fourth in a series of five, by Mr. Paul Martin, chief of the Washington bureau of Gannett News Service, on the administration's proposed L–P–J bill aimed at poverty.

WASHINGTON, July 9.—The most expensive part of the administration's poverty package is title II providing $340 million in Federal funds to start new community action programs across the Nation.

This section of the bill is based on experiments of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime headed by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy with pilot projects in 16 test cities under the 1961 Juvenile Delinqueney Act.

Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon, one of the original sponsors, told the House Labor Committee that the juvenile delinquency program has been a pretty dismal failure in city after city.

Here in the Nation's Capital, she said, "they have not been able to work out any satisfactory arrangements with the District of Columbia schools, so the schools are entirely eliminated from the program."

Mrs. GREEN said the public school system should be a vital part of any community action program aimed at youth problems.

Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, Republican, of New York, said in the District of Columbia, "young kids were given special status and privileges. They walked over and ignored the professionals. This has created friction. They went down a lot of blind alleys."

He noted there has been a continuing increase in juvenile delinquency and youth crime in Washington, amounting to 12 percent last year and 12 percent the year before.

Detroit was another of the 16 cities that received a substantial Federal grant under the 1961 act.

Mrs. GREEN said the Detroit project "is one of the poorest in the Nation. Nothing has happened there either to prevent or control juvenile delinquency."

Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, Detroit school superintendent and former U.S. Commissioner of Education, explained:

"Over the years, Detroit has developed a strong united community service of its own that works closely with the city and schools.

"The juvenile delinquency people came in and attempted to set up a new organization and pattern of community action. This slowed down the effort. We have moved less rapidly than if we had utilized existing resources."

Brownell said he had a tome on my desk 3 inches thick requesting increased Federal funds under the new poverty bill for the Detroit juvenile delinquency program.

Annual reports of various police departments show the rate of youth crime and delinquency has continued to go up in virtually every city where a "pilot project" has been operating since 1961.

In New York City, there was a 38-percent increase in arrests of persons under 18 years of age.

The community action programs would be directed from Washington by Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the Kennedys, who has been designated as "poverty czar" in the White House.

He would be authorized to make Federal grants to public or private nonprofit agencies to pay part or all of the costs of community action programs which have been approved by him.

The poverty bill specifies such programs should be focused on the needs of low-income individuals and families, including employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare and special remedial or other noncurricular educational assistance.

The question of Federal grants to churches or parochial schools came up repeatedly in hearings before the House Labor Committee.

Welfare Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze expressed the opinion that public tax money could not be turned over to a church or religious agency.

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz said that it could. Wirtz thought the way the bill is worded, grants might even be made to political parties.

Attorney General Kennedy agreed with Wirtz on the church-state issue. He expounded this constitutional theory:

A Federal grant to a religious organization under the community action section of the bill would be permissible, Kennedy said, as long as the funds were used in a nondiscriminatory way. That is, so everyone could participate in the program, no matter what his religious affiliation.

GOODELL. Would there be any limitation on using the church facilities for the youngsters, or a church camp for the youngsters?

KENNEDY. As long as those who were going to benefit from the program, Congressman, had no restriction on them based on their religious affiliation.

GOODELL. "You see no problem, then, if the grant is made directly to a religious unit, a church—provided it is within the confines of the program where all, regardless of religious faith, may participate?"

KENNEDY. "Yes. Then, of course, it would be part of the community action program."

Representative ROMAN L. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, said both Shriver and Wirtz had testified that community action programs would operate very much like the National Defense Education Act, where public funds could be paid to a private institution for training programs if these programs were not of a religious nature or associated with religious teaching.

Representative ALPHONZO BELL, Republican, of California, asked whether a program of instruction in birth control could be supported with community action funds?

Mr. SHRIVER. "It depends on the programs that come up. It would not be impossible to do this type of thing. We are trying to arrange these programs so they suit the needs of the community."

GOODELL observed. "The way it stands, you could donate Federal funds to build a church camp, or make a direct contribution to a church, or its youth organization."

This applies to Government grants under the $150 million "work-training" program and $72½ million "work study" program under title I of the poverty bill, as well as the $340 million "community action programs" in title II.

Public funds could be used to carry on unspecified work for private organizations including religious institutions.

The pending bill says only that Federal money cannot be used to pay for work on projects involving construction, operation, or maintenance of any "facility" used or to be used "solely" for religious instruction or worship.

The L–P–J Poverty Bill

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OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, last in a series of five, by Mr. Paul Martin, chief, of the Washington Bureau of Gannet News Service, on the administration's proposed L–P–J bill aimed at poverty.

WASHINGTON, July—GNS—The poverty bill contains new Federal subsidy programs to aid poor farmers, migratory farmworkers, unsuccesaful businessmen, unemployed workers, welfare cases and anyone who wants to volunteer for a new Domestic "Peace Corps."

The last four sections of the bill would authorize $235 million in new appropriations for these activities, plus an unspecified amount to be borrowed from the $1.7 billion revolving funds of the Small Business Administration.

Under title III, the Government could make a $1,500 cash contribution to any "poor farmer," followed by a $2,500 long-term low-interest loan.

The White House Director of the poverty program, Sargent Shriver, would determine in his own discretion what constitutes a "low-income rural family" eligible for such grants and loans.

Shriver told the House Labor Committee: "This section is aimed at the rural farmer flat on his back economically, who may be too old or too poorly educated or to tied to the plot of land he lives on to have a chance at a nonfarming career."

Dr. Harry L. Brown of the American Farm Bureau Federation said that no matter what the intent might be, the proposed program would "perpetuate subsistence farming and rural slums."

"Literally millions of people migrating from subsistence agriculture in the last 50 years have carved places for themselves in society," he said. "This migration has furnished the personnel that man our commercial, industrial, and military establishments."

The Agriculture Department, which spent $7 billion on farm subsidies in 1963, already has a long-established loan program operated by the Farmers Home Administration with a $352 million budget for this year.

Secretary Orville L. Freeman testified that 90 percent of FHA assistance goes to farmers was cash incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

Representative DAVE MARTIN, Republican of Nebraska, engaged Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in this line of questions:

Mr. MARTIN. Do you think we are treating all elements of our society equally when we single out one particular group and say we will make a grant of taxpayers money up to $1,500?

Attorney General KENNEDY. There are a lot of programs aimed at particular problems—this was felt the best way to deal with rural poverty.

Mr. MARTIN. With beef prices the way they are right now—the income of many ranchers and feeders in Nebraska last year, and again this year will be considerably below this $3,000. Would they qualify for a $1,500 grant?

Attorney General KENNEDY. If they have an income of less than $1,500, they will.

Mr. MARTIN. Some of these ranchers might be worth half a million or a million dollars, but their income itself would be less than $3,000.

Attorney General KENNEDY. I think that would be considered by the Administrator.

The White House Poverty Director would be authorized to make grants and loans of unspecified amounts to public or private "family farm development corporations" and to purchase their obligations, "upon such terms and conditions as he may determine."

The corporations would use the money to buy up farmland, develop and reconstitute it into "family-size farms" and sell it back at approximately 60 percent of cost to "low-income farm families." The Government would make up the deficiency.

The Republican minority on the Labor Committee claims this is an "agrarian reform program." It is similar to experiments conducted during the depression of the 1930's by the Farm Security Administration under Rexford Guy Tugwell. MARTIN charged they were "a complete failure."

A congressional investigation by a Select House Committee headed by Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, found in 1944 that FSA was financing "communistic resettlement projects."

Title IV of the poverty bill provides Federal subsidies for "employment and investment incentives."

The White House "poverty czar" could make or guarantee $15,000 low-interest, 15-year Government loans to any "small business concern" or "any qualified person seeking to establish such concern."

He could waive repayment of principal for an indefinite "grace period." He could "require that the borrower take steps to improve his management skills by participating in a management training program approved by the Director."

This duplicates existing functions being performed by the Small Business Administration and the $395 million Area Development Administration set up in 1961 to aid economic development of "depressed areas."

SBA was created in 1953 following liquidation of the old Reconstruction Finance Corporation after scandals affecting Government loans to luxury hotels, bars, cocktail lounges, night clubs, mink farms, and racetracks.

ARA has run into a new round of controversy over loans for tourist resorts, civic auditoriums, motels, and wage payments to workers enrolled in training programs long after they were gone.

Title V of the poverty bill provides $150 million to "expand opportunities for constructive work experience and other needed training for persons who are unable to support or care for themselves of their families."

This section, originally called "Family Unity Through Jobs," calls for a vague program of social service "experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects" to help "unemployed fathers and other needy persons" on relief.

It gives the poverty director control over four programs already being conducted by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. It duplicates in part the functions of the $435 million manpower development bill adopted in 1962 and the $1.2 billion Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Following the controversy over the "Newburgh Plan" in 1961, former HEW Secretary Abraham A. Ribicoff persuaded Congress to enact "reforms" aimed at reducing relief rolls by training welfare cases for private employment.

Welfare Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze told the House Labor Committee:

"Enactment of public welfare amendments of 1962 provided the authority and financial resources for a new approach to problems of prolonged dependency where rehabilitation is possible.

"The Department is moving ahead with the States to institute measures designed to break the poverty cycle through community work and training projects, work incentives, day care for children of working mothers, and a full range of supporting services.

"These activities are moving forward as rapidly as the States and localities are able to establish and staff them on a sound basis."

Congress and the People Must Protect and Defend the Constitutional Powers of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced companion bills to the

McCulloch bills, House Joint Resolution 1055 and H.R. 12016, as follows:

H.J. RES. 1055

Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constittuion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Consttiution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE XXV

"SECTION 1. Nothing in the Constittuion of the United States shall prohibit a State, having a bicameral legislature, from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State shall have the opportunity to vote upon the apportionment.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an anmedment to the Constittuion by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

H.R. 12016

A bill to provide that no Federal court shall have jurisdiction of any action to reapportion one house of a State legislature if the other house of such legislature is apportioned according to population

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the seven years following the enactment of this Act, no court of the United States shall have jurisdiction of any action or proceeding (whether instituted prior to or on or after the date of enactment of this Act)—

(1) to enjoin, suspend, or modify the operation of any State law respecting the boundaries of or the number of persons to be elected from any district to be represented in one house of the legislature of such State, if such legislature is bicameral and if—

(A) the other house in required, under the law of such State, to be apportioned substantially according to population, or

(B) an action or proceeding to reapportion the other house is pending in any court;

(2) to reapportion both houses of any State legislature; or

(3) for damages arising out of the operation of any State law apportioning one or both houses of a bicameral State legislature where one such house is apportioned substantially according to population.

Religious Liberty and the Armed Forces Sunday Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the following editorial in Christianity Today, of July 17, 1964:

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE ARMED FORCES SUNDAY SCHOOLS

For some years a situation has existed in the Protestant Sunday schools in the Armed Forces that gives cause for concern regarding violation of the first amendment of the Constitution. Affected is the religious freedom of hundreds of Protestant chaplains and about 150,000 pupils in military Sunday schools. At issue is the official promotion of the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum for Armed Forces and, in the case of the Air Force, the mandatory use of this curriculum in all Sunday schools on Air Force bases. Also in question is the use of unified course materials. While these materials are not technically required in the Armed Forces, they are so firmly backed by senior officers of the respective chaplaincies as to tip the scales heavily in favor of their use by chaplains. In the Air Force, only by special permission may substitute materials be used.

We recognize with gratitude the indispensable contributions of chaplains, their supporting denominations, and lay Christians to the men and women and families in the Armed Forces. Basic to the spiritual welfare and morale of service personnel is their relation to chaplains and to Christian commanders. We are also aware of the peculiarly difficult administrative problems of the service Sunday schools.

Nevertheless the Supreme Court said in deciding in *Engel* v. *Vitale* (the regents' prayer case) and *Abington School District* v. *Schempp* (the Bible reading and Lord's Prayer case) that for government to prescribe religious and devotional materials is unconstitutional. But in the Armed Forces this very thing is being done extensively and against continued protest.

Since 1962 the National Association of Evangelicals has, in a series of communications, called the situation to the attention of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense. Members of Congress have also protested. Nevertheless, a directive to command chaplains in the Air Force, dated December 16, 1963, declared: "This curriculum is not only suggested; it is the Air Force program, and command chaplains are expected to give it their leadership and support." Of the materials, the directive said, "The unified course materials are selected annually by qualified civilian and military personnel. Because these materials represent the best available and come from many denominational sources, they are recommended for use in the Air Force unified religious education program." Then, after instructions about procurement of supplementary materials, there is this statement: "The authority to supplement does not authorize elimination of the recommended materials. [Does not this imply prescription of materials?] If, however, the chaplains of a major faith group, on any given installation, find that the recommended course materials are inadequate to meet the needs of the religious education program * * * a letter may be submitted through channels to this office stating their reasons for regarding the materials to be inadequate and giving a description and the source of recommended substitute materials. If it is determined that a valid requirement for change exists and if the recommended course materials cover the subjects as outlined in the curriculum, favorable consideration will be given to the recommendation."

Surely it is clear that this is a case in which a religious curriculum is prescribed and religious materials promoted by high military authority and in which the substitution of alternate materials is hedged about by official military procedure. Particularly disturbing is the refusal of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board and the Department of Defense to alter the situation. In October 1963, the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense, said in a letter to Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, "With the pending change in Air Force regulations, there is no regulation which requires a military installation to use the unified Sunday school curriculum materials." But with regard to the curriculum itself, the directive of December 16 of the same year, declaring the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum to be "the Air Force program," still stands. And as for the unified Protestant Sunday school curriculum materials, how can their official promotion by the directive be constitutionally justified?

At the Air Force Chaplains Conference in Washington in September 1961, endorsing agents and denominational representatives of all the major denominations unanimously requested that mandatory provisions for the use of the unified curriculum be removed. At that time the chief of Air Force chaplains promised that the mandatory provisions would be removed. Almost 3 years have passed. The situation has not been rectified, despite protest from the National Association of Evangelicals, Members of Congress, members of the Officers' Christian Union, and others.

The problems of Sunday schools conducted under the military chaplaincies are not simple. Frequent shift of personnel from one post to another makes some uniform plan of study or curriculum highly desirable. Children should not have to study a lesson on Moses again when they move to a different Sunday school. But desirability cannot justify violation of religious freedom. As Mr. Justice Clark said in the majority opinion in *Abington* v. *Schempp*, "It is no defense to urge that the religious practices here may be relatively minor encroachments on the first amendment. The breach of neutrality that is today a trickling stream may all too soon become a raging torrent."

Obviously, some correlation of religious instruction in Armed Forces Sunday Schools is needed. An orderly Bible-study program, such as the International Sunday School Lessons, might be offered, but with unhampered liberty of substitution. The initiative should come from the religious groups and not through any official Armed Forces action.

As for course materials, religious groups might be invited to provide such materials with an understanding that they measure up to mutually agreed upon criteria. The use of specific materials should be wholly voluntary, and the supplementing or substituting of materials should not require official permission. The Armed Forces Chaplains Board should do nothing more than make available information about materials.

Granting the best of motives administratively and religiously on the part of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board in their endeavor to solve a real problem, the fact remains that the mandatory prescription of the Unified Protestant Sunday School Curriculum and official backing of its materials by the Air Force together with the official promotion of this curriculum and its materials by the other services violates the first amendment. Rectification of this situation, which we respectfully call to the attention of the Department of Defense, is overdue.

Sheriff Pitchess Discusses Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the July–August issue of Scouting magazine

carries a particularly well written and informative article on juvenile lawlessness by one of the Nation's outstanding authorities. He is Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess, of Los Angeles County. The article, as told to William L. Roper, himself an expert on criminology, follows:

A LAWMAN LOOKS AT LAWLESS YOUTH

(By Peter J. Pitchess)

Why is teenage violence so prevalent across America? What is behind this strange, barbaric behavior of a small but increasing minority of our youth from a cross section of American homes?

Does it portend national decay, growing resentment of all law and order, reversion to anarchy? Or are these violent outbursts mainly the natural exuberance of excitement-seeking young people being permitted to grow up without parental or official discipline?

As an FBI agent in four cities and sheriff in a county of almost 6,500,000 people, I have studied juvenile delinquency at close range. Naturally, I have some definite opinions about it.

I am convinced that lack of discipline is a major cause of teenage violence, against which scouting is a preventive and corrective force—and can be an even greater counterforce.

Failure to discipline comes about through excusing juvenile wrongdoing instead of holding the youthful offender responsible for his criminal acts. We have been blaming everybody and everything except the offender himself—his parents, his school, his Freudian impulses.

Our whole general attitude has become too soft and complacent, too sympathetic for the wrongdoer. I am not criticizing any one person or a single agency, but a system, a mistaken philosophy of softness for the criminal that threatens to make a mockery of law enforcement.

BITTER HARVEST

America is now reaping the bitter fruits of this mistaken attitude. The crop of youthful lawlessness has been growing steadily. Persons under 18 are now responsible for nearly half of all major crimes in this country, for nearly 60 percent of auto thefts; 48 percent of larcenies; 47 percent of burglaries; 22 percent of gun, knife, and strongarm robberies; 17 percent of forcible rapes; 12 percent of aggravated assaults; and 8 percent of murders.

Some misplaced judicial leniency has added to the problem. Light jail sentences and underserved paroles have caused some young offenders—and some potential offenders—to become contemptuous of law and the rights of society and go on to more serious crimes.

Of course, it's easy to feel sorry for these youthful wrongdoers. But we need to show more concern for their unfortunate victims and the victims' families—and potential victims. Many persons appear to feel a deep concern for the young criminal but little or no awareness of his victims. Why? I don't know unless many Americans have come to accept crime as normal, lost their sense of justice, and let their thinking be warped by pleas for an overly sympathetic understanding of the criminal.

THIN LINE

Naturally, those dealing with youngsters must be careful to distinguish between mischief and crime. Often the line is pretty thin, but we must draw the line. If we begin by excusing a first offense of a serious nature, we will be harming the boy as well as society. For it is easy for a youngster, who thinks he can get away with it, to progress from a misdemeanor to a felony. Taking a car merely for a thrill, for example, is a serious offense, for it can easily lead to something worse.

Without question, the automobile has become an important factor in juvenile crime. Some boys get started in crime by stealing gas for an old jalopy they can't afford. But we can't do away with the automobile and return to the horse-and-buggy days. We've got to teach our kids to live with the automobile. That means learning to drive responsibly.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

We must make youngsters realize at an early age that they are responsible for their own acts. When we cast aside the idea of individual responsibility, we open the door to all of the sins of irresponsibility.

A most effective curb on juvenile crime is to make sure the wrongdoer understands that he has done wrong and should not do it again. We must try to make his first step in crime also his last. Instead of merely probing his subconscious to try to find out why he broke the law, we must make clear to him his responsibility.

MAIN GOAL

While rehabilitating the criminal is important, this must not overshadow our main goal—preventing youngsters from becoming criminals in the first place. This means, first of all, religious and moral training.

I am thoroughly convinced that more religious training for the young is one of the great needs of our time. Surveys conducted among juveniles who are in trouble show conclusively that many of these delinquents had little or no religious training. Here Scouting can and does help with its emphasis on a boy's "duty to God," keeping "morally straight," and the 12 points of the Scout law.

Too much leisure runs a close second as a cause of delinquency. Here again Scouting helps to fill a vacuum and provide a constructive, character-building occupation for leisure hours.

Another cause of juvenile misbehavior stems from a lack of respect for authority. Scouting is an effective antidote for this, teaching, as it does, respect for home, country, law and order.

I cannot think of a better way to start the young on the right road than through Scouting. For years I have seen it proving its value in California. But we need to widen Scouting's influence—and do an even better job with the boys we already have.

TO SCOUTERS, TEACHERS, PARENTS

If I could put my message to Scout leaders, teachers, and parents into a few words, I would say: teach responsibility, teach obedience to law, teach discipline.

I would also offer the following suggestions if Scouting is to broaden its crime-prevention program:

Teach the young to obey the letter and the spirit of the law.

Teach respect for law and cooperation with law enforcement officers.

Teach the responsibilities of good citizenship.

Demonstrate disapproval of motion pictures and television programs that glamorize crime and tend to encourage juvenile violence.

These are the things America needs. The very foundation of our Government and society is based upon protective laws and their enforcement. Only with the understanding and cooperation of adults and juveniles alike can the security of our way of life be maintained.

Working together—emphasizing individual responsibility—we can bring a new day of law and order and brotherly love to America. Scouting has a major role to play in building toward that day.

The Mental Retardation Facilities Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter from the New York State Association for Retarded Children, concerning certain provisions of Public Law 88–164, the Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act.

The facts set forth by this worthy and humane organization are very alarming, and I feel they have a very legitimate protest. Their letter follows:

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION FOR RETARDED CHILDREN, INC.,
New York, N.Y., July 27, 1964.

Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI,
Member, House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DULSKI: I must call to your attention a most grave injustice being done by the Federal Government to the State of New York.

I refer to the regulations issued by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare with regard to Public Law 88–164, title I, Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act.

Under these regulations the Federal matching share of mental retardation facilities construction funds for New York is 37.67 percent, based, no doubt, on the Hill-Burton formula. The State or voluntary agencies must put up 62.33 percent of each facility plus the cost of the land.

We protest this as most unfair and ask that you as a Member of the Congress from this State protest this to the Secretary.

The law does not (pt. C of title I) set the Federal share for construction of facilities, although it does set an upper limit of 75 percent for Federal participation for research centers and university affiliated facilities for the mentally retarded.

The concept of allocation of Federal funds to States on the basis of population and income is threadbare, at best, and is viciously discriminating when the matching funds will come from voluntary agencies such as this association.

Voluntary agencies are no richer in New York than in Texas—and get their money with, perhaps, more difficulty. Yet Texas gets 56.96 percent in matching funds.

We refrain to comment on Mississippi that receives 66⅔ percent Federal matching.

There may be some justification for these differences where the State is putting up the matching money, but we submit that where the matching money comes from voluntary parents organizations such as members of the National Association for Retarded Children, the Federal share should be the same in all States.

The act becomes a mockery if this is not corrected and places a terrible burden on the parents in this State as compared to others.

We appeal to you, therefore, to lodge a formal protest on our behalf and on behalf of the State of New York, too long treated as a stepchild in these matters.

This letter is being written to all the New York Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH T. WEINGOLD,
Executive Director.

Fiscal year 1965 Federal percentages for community mental health and mental retardation facility construction

	Percent
Alabama	66 ⅔
Alaska	40.95
Arizona	55.10
Arkansas	66 ⅔
California	38.55
Colorado	48.93
Connecticut	35.00
Delaware	33.51
District fo Columbia	33 ⅓
Florida	56.35
Georgia	63.45
Hawaii	48.64
Idaho	59.72
Illinois	40.12
Indiana	50.53
Iowa	53.90
Kansas	53.46
Kentucky	64.35
Louisiana	63.82
Maine	58.74
Maryland	44.48
Massachusetts	42.12
Michigan	48.77
Minnesota	52.70
Mississippi	66 ⅔
Missouri	49.91
Montana	55.23
Nebraska	52.52
Nevada	34.71
New Hampshire	53.29
New Jersey	39.27
New Mexico	60.40
New York	37.67
North Carolina	63.99
North Dakota	59.15
Ohio	48.55
Oklahoma	59.05
Oregon	50.46
Pennsylvania	49.61
Rhode Island	50.18
South Carolina	66 ⅔
South Dakota	58.13
Tennessee	64.50
Texas	56.96
Utah	56.53
Vermont	57.45
Virginia	57.93
Washington	47.85
West Virginia	61.91
Wisconsin	51.55
Wyoming	51.66
American Samoa	66 ⅔
Guam	66 ⅔
Puerto Rico	66 ⅔
Virgin Islands	66 ⅔

McCulloch Reapportionment Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, on July 26, 1964, published a fine editorial relating to the constitutional amendment proposal of Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH arising out of the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on legislative reapportionment. I commend it to the attention of al Members of Congress. The editorial follows:

GOOD AMENDMENTS PENDING

On June 24, Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio, introduced a constitutional amendment in the House to reverse the U.S. Supreme Court decision that seats in both branches of State legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis.

The amendment provides that nothing in the Constitution shall prohibit a State having a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one of the houses on factors other than population.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, has introduced a similar proposed amendment in the Senate.

Since Representative MCCULLOCH initiated the congressional revolt against the Court's ruling, 60 other House Members have introduced similar bills and 12 of either State or Federal courts to decree the reapportionment of one house of a State legislature.

Representative MCCULLOCH now has introduced also an interim resolution which would abolish, for a period of 7 years, the power of either State or courts to decree the reapportionment of one house of a State legislature.

The purpose of this legislation is to give Congress time to enact, and for the States to ratify, a constitutional amendment making the ban permanent. By statute, amendments must be ratified within 7 years of their passage.

Representative MCCULLOCH regards the Supreme Court ruling on legislative apportionment as the climax of a long series of rulings by the present "liberal" bench that "exceed its proper authority and usurp powers which have long been held to belong to the States or to other branches of the Federal Government."

The resentment in Congress against the steady encroachment of the Federal judiciary on the lawmakers' prerogatives reflects a similar alarm and concern on the part of the general public. It is a feeling which cuts across party lines.

There is little doubt but that a constitutional amendment curbing the High Court's attempt to take over what have long been regarded as purely legislative functions has the support of a strong majority of the Congress.

We hope both Houses may find the time, at the earliest possible moment, to get the machinery started toward enactment and ratification of this badly needed amendment.

Meanwhile, the interim legislation, proposed by Representative MCCULLOCH should be approved, if possible, during the current session.

What a Boy Can Do To Strengthen America's Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, the scouting movement is of great importance in shaping the minds of our young boys and young men in great American traditions of individualism and liberty.

This brief essay comment by Scout Bobby Ellis, age 10, of Centerport, N.Y., is indicative of the basic understanding and devotion to patriotism which the young people in scouting are happily associated with.

WHAT A BOY CAN DO TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S HERITAGE

The most important thing a boy can do to strengthen America's heritage is to love his country. The more you know about your country, the more you will come to love it. By meeting other people, and working with them, and helping them, you will learn to get along well with all other Americans. Through studying the past and learning about our country's laws you will become an informed citizen who will know what is needed to keep America great.

Remarks of George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service, at the Annual Celebration, Moores Creek National Military Park, N.C., May 23, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director of the National Park Service of the Department of Interior, was the principal speaker on May 23 at the Moores Creek National Military Park located at Currie in Pender County, N.C., and in the congressional district I have the honor to represent.

The Battle of Moores Creek Bridge was fought on February 27, 1776, and has been referred to as "the Lexington and Concord of the South." This battle occurred on a branch of the Cape Fear River some 20 miles from the seaport of Wilmington, and was a major factor in preventing a full-scale British invasion of the South in the opening phases of the American Revolution. This victory had a significant role in the North Carolina colonists' decision, on April 12, 1776, to instruct its delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for independence. North Carolina was the first Colony to take such action. The victory at Moores Creek also supplied a needed stimulus for all the colonists as a whole in the movement toward independence.

I was inspired by the remarks of Director Hartzog, as well as by his presence, at the annual celebration in the park sponsored by the Moores Creek Battleground Association. There has been such widespread interest since Mr. Hartzog's delivery of these remarks that I feel it most appropriate to share them with my colleagues under unanimous consent I include this celebrated speech in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF GEORGE B. HARTZOG, JR., DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, AT THE ANNUAL CELEBRATION, MOORES CREEK NATIONAL PARK, N.C., MAY 23, 1964

The warmth of the welcome I have received here today is to me a reminder that I am close to the place of my birth—in South Carolina. It is for me a homecoming, and I am grateful to you for your generous invitation.

The battle which we commemorate today took place nearly two centuries ago, and with the passage of the years we have difficulty in grasping the full reality of the battle for Moores Creek Bridge.

This is regrettable, because the central reality of the American Revolution, which brought a great nation into being, was the living, aspiring, struggling people who were

immediately involved in this battle. The speakers today have brought home to us that the American Revolution was a hard, wearing, bloody struggle, one that we came very close to losing.

It was a struggle fought by people very much like ourselves, which is to say they were often confused, and occasionally discouraged about the possible outcome of the tremendous task they had undertaken. It is to those people we have come to pay homage today. We owe our existence, as Americans, to them.

The colonists fought in pursuit of an idea, a concept best expressed by Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, before the war began, that "there ought to be no more New England men, no New Yorkers * * * but all of us Americans."

In the course of 6 bitter years of warfare, amidst the monotony and the hardship and the danger of constant campaigning, the soldiers of Washington realized their dream of independence and freedom.

For this generation, Moores Creek is more than an isolated battlefield. Moores Creek has become an intergral part of the fabric of America's historic tradition—of her struggle to maturity as a great Nation.

Across our land the national park system represents America at its best. Each park contributes to a deeper unedstanding of the history of the United States and of our way of life; of the natural processes which have given form to our land; and to the enrichment of the environment in which we live.

Grand Canyon, Glacier, the Great Smoky Mountains—these and many other national parks exemplify the slow processes which have carved and shaped the American landscape in superlative fashion and clothed it with plant and animal life.

The cliff dwellings and mesa-top pueblos of Mesa Verde and a score of other sites in the Southwest; the strange images of effigy mounds; and the 10,000-year-old relics of Ocmulgee give us glimpses of peoples who lived here long before the coming of the first European.

Within the national park system lies the whole range of our colonial and national history. There are early Spanish forts in Florida and Puerto Rico, and old Spanish missions in New Mexico and Arizona. Fort Raleigh commemorates the first English attempt to settle the New World; and, nor far away, is Jamestown, where English settlement succeeded.

And there is Independence Hall and Independence Square—where a nation was born—where you can touch the Liberty Bell—and where the Constitution was written.

On the battlefields of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, at Fort McHenry and Fort Pulaski one can give a new sense of American valor and courage. Virtually all of the famous battlefields of the War Between the States—from Manassas to Appomattox—are now embraced in whole or in part in the national park system.

Telling the story of the adventure, hardship, and initiative of our pioneer forefathers who settled the Far West, is the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at St. Louis, Fort Clatsop, and other historic sites.

These and scores of others—including historic monuments and buildings in the Nation's Capital—comprise the national park system—owner by all Americans—a priceless part of the American heritage. At these parks the visitor reviews the highlights of our past, is caught up in the exciting events of other days and other times, and shares in the victories and tragedies, the bitter hardships and the glorious triumphs of the men who created America and made it great.

Our country is now reaping the rewards of the material productivity of the land. It is timely and proper that the intangible benefits of the land be given greater attention to further enrich our lives.

In meeting the urgent need for more outdoor recreational opportunities—especially near big cities—there is presently before the Congress legislation which would establish a land and water conservation fund.

As proposed, the fund would be administered by the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and would provide a consistent and practical means by which additional open space can be acquired to meet the expanding park and recreation needs for an ever-increasing population.

For North Carolina, the fund would provide grants-in-aid on a matching fund basis for recreation planning, land acquisition, and the development of park and recreation areas.

For the Nation, it would provide a means of acquiring—ahead of the bulldozer and in advance of skyrocketing prices—irreplaceable open space, historical areas, seashores, lakeshores, primitive wilderness areas, and free-flowing streams of national significance.

There is also the need to add new areas so that this and future generations may enjoy the great natural beauty of our land—Cape Lookout National Seashore sponsored by Congressman HENDERSON and Senators JORDAN and ERVIN is one such area.

To identify ourselves more completely with the past and from it draw strength for future creativity, we need to make frequent pilgrimages these days to the milestones along the way to greatness.

We need these reminders of our great national heritage—for without them we cannot understand the past—enjoy the present—or build for the future.

At these places of beauty and history, here at Moores Creek—where the British hopes for an invasion of the South were blasted—as well as many thousands of miles away at Mount McKinley National Park in Alaska, we can truly say:

"Here is America.
This is my country.
These are my people."

Address by Jack Yohe, Chief of the Office of Information, Civil Aeronautics Board

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the need for a free flow of accurate information to all segments of the news media was stressed this past week by Jack Yohe, Chief of the Office of Information for the Civil Aeronautics Board, when he appeared at the National Aircraft Accident Investigation School in Oklahoma City, Okla.

The school is comprised of accident investigators and inspectors from the Federal Aviation Agency and the Civil Aeronautics Board. The school itself is a part of the FAA Aeronautical Center.

Mr. Yohe told the group as public servants on the public payroll:

We have strict accountability to the public for what we do, for what we say, and how we conduct ourselves.

He outlined the procedures that are being followed by the CAB in keeping the public informed on accident investigations. I ask unanimous consent that the talk be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

I am delighted to be with you today and to have the opportunity to talk to this group of investigators and inspectors. All of you will play important roles in developing this dynamic aviation industry. The manner in which you conduct yourselves with the press at an accident will be most important.

This then, will be the subject of my brief talk—the desirable manner of releasing information concerning airplane accidents. As the chief news source of the Civil Aeronautics Board, I assume a great responsibility for the dissemination of accurate aviation news—news pertaining both to accidents and to economics. The essence of my work is the continual striving to maintain a free flow of accurate information to all segments of the news media.

Now, all of us here, including newspapermen, are public servants. It seems proper at this time to tell you that I, too, was a working newsman for almost 20 years before I became a congressional aid.

I find most distasteful the suppression of any information whatever to the press and therefore to the public and, of course, and paramount, to the Congress. The public should and must have full and accurate news in the vital interest of a better government for all Americans. Those of us who are on the public payroll have strict accountability to the public for what we do, for what we say, and how we conduct ourselves. Newsmen, too, have a strong responsibility to the public. This accountability is through news media which can overemphasize or underemphasize and sometimes distort.

Some months ago in New York City, I told a group of aviation writers that of all aviation news that comes from the Civil Aeronautics Board, accidents strike the public most dramatically. People can understand accidents. This very thing, of course, is the reason why airline accidents, which are largely spelled in drama and in human tragedy, hit the headlines in such bold print. The operational aspect of airplane flying and, particularly of the flight of an aircraft which comes to grief is completely unlike those economic aspects of the industry with which the Board also is deeply concerned.

These economic aspects create negligible news interest because they are neither tragic nor dramatic to the general public. Whenever an accident happens, most good working newspapermen try to get out the first news flash first. They also try to get a human interest angle, and so obviously they talk to people. These are newspapermen doing their job.

Because most airplane accidents are the end result of a series of events, it is almost always utter folly to attempt to put a reportorial finger on a cause early in the investigation. This is becoming increasingly true with the increased complexity of modern aircraft. It is indeed a far cry from the first aircraft accident, which according to Greek mythology, came about when Icarus flew so high and close to the sun that its heat melted the wax holding his feathered wings and Icarus fell and died. In the crash of a modern jetliner the energy released at high speed impact is often enough to obliterate most, if not all, evidence.

With the Icarus crash the cause was self-evident; with the jet it is often well hidden. This classical legend and the occasional present-day disaster are mentioned merely to stress my point, which is that it is better to weigh every statement rather than say it wrong.

The great majority of news rising from aircraft accidents is of a highly technical and

rather complex nature. As such, it is not readily grasped by the lay public. And, by extension of the same thought it is unbelievably easy to garble information so that errors may be compounded in the press and magnified to great and damaging proportions.

In the good old days of simple aircraft and less congested airways, you would get such simple causes as a wing spar failing and the wing coming off. Or possibly an engine caught fire and destroyed the plane. Now there are all kinds of probable causes.

Maybe it is a seal on a booster pump that operates the auxiliary gadget that starts a chain reaction with more complex equipment toward the probable cause of the crash.

This produces what at the moment appears to be a conflict of viewpoint between the aviation reporter who wants a story immediately and the CAB press office personnel, who want to prevent misleading information, or information that may be false or immature, from being widely distributed. As soon as there is an airline crash there is born a need for a rapid flow of information. The airline involved is faced with many diverse problems. What does it tell the customers? How does it respond to public opinion concerning both the carrier and the aircraft type involved? There also is concern as to whether there are any peculiar circumstances which would indicate a need for voluntary or involuntary grounding of the aircraft or other emergency measures.

The aircraft manufacturers also are interested in early details for essentially the same reasons. The public's first knowledge that an aircraft accident has occurred is usually when he picks up the daily newspaper or has his radio or TV program interrupted with a spot news announcement of the tragedy. As a potential passenger, he has somewhat more than an academic interest in this news. He may wonder if he should cancel his airline transportation plans and travel by some other means. If he still intends to travel by air, he wonders if he should secure reservations with another carrier or at least travel on a different kind of aircraft until the cause of the accident is determined. So his voice is added to those in the industry who are in search of immediate information.

If the accident occurs within the city limits or appears to involve the local airport or any of the facilities associated with it, the municipal officials are directly concerned with early information, since they in turn are being asked a lot of questions. Many times the firefighting department and local, county, city, or State police agencies are needed to assist in preservation and recovery of the wreckage.

The people thus involved also have a need for early information. In order to maintain friendly community relations the city, county, and State officials must be provided with as much factual information as possible—as early as possible—to allow them to answer questions directed to them by people in their sphere of influence. While the dissemination of information in these circumstances is at best a difficult job, it is compounded by desires of the various news media to provide their patrons with news while it is still news, and each has a particular problem in satisfactorily meeting its various deadlines. When all the "need-to-know" and "desire-to-know" requirements meet, the problems incident to demands for information reach staggering proportions.

The steady stream of TV and other cameramen, photographers, newspaper reporters, and others can create an almost constant demand upon the CAB investigators' time for interviews, personal appearances, and photographs.

I realize as well as any newsman here, and for that matter probably as well as any newsman in the country, the urge and drive of a good reporter to get out a first news flash on an accident.

I realize, also, unfortunately, that the scoop may well dominate the accuracy. This can be grossly unfair and costly to the principals in the case even though the error may later be retracted. The fact is that harm has been done. This allows me to come directly to grips with my subject. Most of you men will be on the investigation of general aviation. During this work you nominally will not have a Public Information Officer with you. You must serve in many cases as your own PIO.

First, I want to stress the press plays fair. I do not know of a single instance where the press has not cooperated with me at the CAB. The only thing they ask is that you be honest. Therefore I cannot overemphasize the importance of you men continuing to give only established factual material.

Under no circumstances are you to speculate. You will be working under pressure, and there may be an occasional reporter who will not hesitate to capitalize on this fact. As the link, the only link between Government and public you can be in a sensitive position which may even become precarious should you speak thoughtlessly or injudiciously. While it is the Board's desire to provide factual information as rapidly as possible, the task of satisfying all concerned is at best difficult.

A considerable part of the problem is that information obtained in the early stages of an investigation requires careful and scientific confirmation, correlation and evaluation before it can be used in cause determination. For example, such an apparently simple task as determining the exact time of the accident, in order to provide a precise way of determining the flight path, may require days of investigation.

The Civil Aeronautics Board cannot give out information which may be inaccurate or unsubstantiated. It may lend weight to premature speculation in the news, and inject controversy into the investigation outside of the realm of objective factfinding. Speculation by an investigator as to cause, without adequate substantiation, can result in irreparable damage to the professional standards and economic position of individuals, organizations, and products.

Of course, on major airline accidents, the news interest is so tremendous and the pressure so great that the Civil Aeronautics Board finds it not only desirable but imperative to have a professional PIO at the scene. The job of that PIO—his chief function—is to take from the shoulders of the investigator in charge, a highly burdened man, some of the load which can amount to harassment. Continual phone calls around the clock from eager and sincere newsmen with working hours coinciding with the sleeping hours of the nonpress people do not make for tranquility nor efficiency.

For many years there were too many people, other than the PIO officer, speaking out at accident sites. News information was disseminated almost at random and was often erroneous. It was a pure and simple case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand was doing nor was going to do. Too many people were passing out well meaning but nevertheless conflicting information. Our current procedures call for the Public Information Officer to pick the time, place and method of release.

It seem proper to point out a generality or two. Hanging on office walls around the Bureau of Safety is a framed motto which came from this very school. It reads, "There is not pattern to aircraft accidents but there must be a pattern to accident investigation." In other words, although no two crashes are ever quite alike they are all investigated on the general principle of leaving no stone unturned.

What, for example, may at first suggest an inflight explosion may turn out to be something entirely different. It is easy to visualize the tremendous damage that an unfounded, or even unconfirmed news release on an aircraft bombing could do. Shaking of public confidence would be most vigorous and damaging, and the industry, individuals, and insurance companies would feel the cold wind of a harsh economic impact.

It is desirable to point out, that the investigator in charge or the PIO, whichever the case may be, must be on top of all intelligence stemming from a crash. The better informed the individual is the better job he can do. He must virtually know everything. How he handles this knowledge—how he disseminates it—is a major role in his business. His goal is to keep the public informed.

The CAB is a public agency working in the public's business and the public has a right to know.

There is nothing secret in an aircraft investigation. Through the years we have learned lessons which have proven the wisdom of our current policies regarding premature disclosure of information.

Any significant deviation from these practices would, and we speak from experience, reduce public confidence in the Civil Aeronautics Board, the only Federal Agency charged by law with the determination of the probable cause of aircraft accidents. Sometimes the public believes that the Civil Aeronautics Board can solve airplane crashes almost immediately after their occurrence. In most cases, this is far from true because, as you know, in reality, many months of the most meticulous investigation generally pass before the probable cause is learned.

Now, there is an ancillary fact growing out of this state of affairs. It is the failure sometimes of the news agencies to follow up the release of preliminary information. This happens because the accident no longer is newsworthy. Often the amplifying or additional information which may be crucial to the solution of the case is not uncovered for months, long after newspaper reader interest has waned.

There is within the Bureau of Safety, and for Bureau use, an existing directive on the subject of the relationship and the liaison of members of the Bureau of Safety with the press.

I shall not quote it but I shall lift a thought or two from that three page document. Some of the highlights are:

(a) Information of a purely factual nature, after acceptable confirmation of the facts, is not only to be released to the press but it is to be released as expediently as feasible. If there remains any element of doubt or ambiguity there is to be no release until the doubt has been resolved.

(b) When there has been a tape recording of communications between an aircraft and a control facility, the tape recording is also to be made available to the press, after proper coordination with the Federal Aviation Agency.

(c) Information to be released at the scene of the accident and arrangements for interviews or for photography or for personal appearances, including those on TV, of CAB personnel are to be made only after clearance through the PIO or the investigator in charge.

These are, in all cases, the most knowledgeable individuals and, as a matter of fact, the only ones who may speak officially on matters concerning the conduct of the investigation and the facts which may have been established.

Because no two crashes are ever quite alike and because of their often incredible complexity there arises from time to time the desirability of using the expertise of a particular investigator for news purposes.

This is done, of course, only after clearance with the public information officer.

I can't stress too strongly the importance of accuracy and the need of telling only what has been proven. This is not the same thing as withholding information merely for the sake of withholding. On the contrary, the newsmen should and must be given everything to which they are ethically entitled.

The PIO must, and is going to bend over far backward to do this. That bending over far to the rear has its advantages also for there comes a day when the PIO or investigator in charge, will want something of the newsmen.

It is worthwhile to mention a few examples of the desirability of withholding investigatory intelligence until full confirmation is at hand.

At Unionville, Mo., on May 22, 1962, a Continental Air Lines Boeing 707 was bombed during flight. The entire rear end of the airplane was blown off and was found 3 to 4 miles from the main wreckage. We, the Civil Aeronautics Board, established the fact of bombing and the Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed it. There was the closest liaison between the CAB and the FBI.

Needless to say, the FBI quickly ferreted out the individual responsible for the outrage. Unfortunately, he could not be brought to justice for he, as well as all others aboard the ill-fated craft, was dead.

Consider, if you please, the economic repercussions probable from a premature news release on this case.

The overall costs of aviation, which include insurance rates, or premiums, fluctuate continuously with the prevailing hazards to flights. These hazards may be real or false. We must do our best not to increase hazard by the ill-considered release of any information. Scare headlines are costly to the industry. Never forget that newspaper copywriters, particularly the lads who write the headlines, try to use the most eye-arresting words. That's their job.

This is all the more reason that we must be careful that what we report is factual.

Here is another illustrative example. At Chicago on September 17, 1961, a TWA Constellation crashed a few minutes after takeoff from Midway Airport. The wreckage was brought back to a hangar at that airport where one of our engineer-pilot-investigators found that a critical bolt in the elevator boost package was missing. This information was passed to the press. In this case the investigator's original deduction proved to have been right. However, had it been wrong the operator of the aircraft, as well as others, could well have been hurt grievously as well as unjustly.

Another case. Near Ellicott City, Md., in the fall of 1962, a United Air Lines Viscount collided with whistling swans. These birds average about 13 pounds in weight. The result was sufficient structural disintegration of the aircraft's empennage to cause an immediate crash. It brought death to all occupants. The case was quickly solved by CAB investigators and their findings were confirmed by an ornithologist, who readily identified feathers and other bird remains still adhering to or within the wreckage as having come from a whistling swan.

An early and a completely safe release of information was possible because of the circumstances of this case and the relative ease of its solution. Very few crashes are that obvious.

Let me close with this comment: New investigators are often scared of newsmen because they have been so consistently warned against giving false information. Newsmen have a job to do. Far better to help them, to cooperate with them to the fullest practical extent than to shun them.

The McCulloch Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL W. RICH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives is now hearing almost a hundred joint resolutions granting the States of the Union the right to apportion one or both houses of their legislatures on a basis other than on population alone.

My colleague, and good friend, WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Piqua, Ohio, has introduced a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution which, if ratified by three-fourths of the States, would authorize such apportionment.

The Enquirer, of Cincinnati, Ohio, had its lead editorial on this most important proposal in its issue of July 28, 1964.

The editorial follows and I respectfully urge every Member of Congress to carefully read it:

THE MCCULLOCH AMENDMENT

The House Judiciary Committee last week began hearings on a constitutional amendment proposed by Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio. Its purpose is to restore to the States a right that had remained unquestioned until last June 15—the right of the States to use a basis other than population in apportioning membership of one house of their State legislatures. We think it deserves congressional support.

We did not differ with the U.S. Supreme Court in the Tennessee apportionment case of March 1962. Here it ruled that the people of Tennessee were being denied equal protection under the 14th amendment by the failure of the Tennessee Legislature to initiate or agree upon the State's legislative reapportionment.

Even though the Tennessee constitution provides for periodic reapportionment, the State's lawmakers had refused to act for more than 60 years. So had the State's courts. These circumstances, combined with the absence of initiative or referendum under Tennessee law, meant that there was no avenue available to Tennesseans to correct the overrepresentation of the State's rural counties and the corresponding underrepresentation of its growing urban centers.

In its June decision, however, the Court held that there is also a denial of equal representation in any State that does not apportion both of its legislative chambers on the basis of population.

The record shows that, of the 23 Northern States that ratified the 14th amendment (along with its equal protection clause) before 1870, 5 had constitutional provisions that called for the apportionment of one legislative chamber without regard to population. Ten others gave emphasis to population but called for the consideration of other principles of apportionment as well.

The Supreme Court itself held in 1948 that "it would be strange indeed, and doctrinaire, for this Court * * * to deny a State the power to assure a proper diffusion of political initiative as between its thinly populated counties and those having concentrated masses, in view of the fact that the latter have practical opportunities for exerting their political weight at the polls not available to the former. The Constitution—a practical instrument of government—makes no such demands on the States."

It is also quite clear that the use of a basis other than population to determine the method of representation in one house of State legislatures goes back considerably beyond the enactment of the 14th amendment. The reason was not a conspiracy to deprive Americans of equal representation, but a simple recognition that there were factors other than population that deserved consideration in the lawmaking process.

Indeed, the whole concept of bicameralism—the maintenance of two legislative chambers (only Nebraska's Legislature has a single chamber)—is a reflection of this multiplicity of interests.

Cincinnati's Justice Potter Stewart, who dissented from the June decision, regarded it as giving "support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function" of the Supreme Court. "This view," he said, "* * * is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle,' and that this Court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of Government fail to act."

The Court has demonstrated its proclivities in that direction on many occasions—but none quite so flagrantly as in this one, which represented a notable departure from even its own judgments of only 16 years ago.

All that Representative MCCULLOCH's proposed amendment would do is to make it clear that "nothing in the Constitution * * * shall prohibit a State * * * from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State shall have an opportunity to vote upon the apportionment."

It is grimly ironic, we think, that it becomes necessary to consider a constitutional amendment to safeguard for the States a right that is traditionally theirs, a right that had never been seriously challenged until last month.

The approval of the McCulloch proposal and its eventual incorporation into the Constitution would not only clarify a matter about which clarification is sorely needed; it would also demonstrate that it is not the will of Congress or of the American people that the Supreme Court regard itself as a superlegislative body beyond the restraints of even the Constitution itself.

Project Hope Mission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial and article from the Wichita Eagle-Beacon, Wichita, Kans., concerning two Wichita physicians, Dr. Harold W. Brooks and Dr. Van Parmley, who departed recently for Trujillo, Peru, where they will staff a medical school for Project Hope. I am sure that after reading the following two items my colleagues will share my pride in these two fine American citizens from my congressional district who are performing a valuable service to our country through their voluntary efforts with Project Hope:

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Beacon, July 11, 1964]

HOPE FROM WICHITA

It may be difficult to dispel the image of the "ugly American," but two Wichita doctors will have an opportunity soon.

Dr. Harold W. Brooks and Dr. Van Parmley will leave Wichita this month to teach in a Peruvian medical school. Their assignment will last for at least a year.

The doctors are volunteers of Project Hope, a privately sponsored program designed to teach medicine and treat people of foreign nations. Project Hope has agreed to staff a medical school's hospital in the coast city of Trujillo, Peru.

The doctors are to be commended for their sacrifice. (This will be Dr. Brooks' second trip for Project Hope.) They will be leaving a community of friends and successful practices for rewards that will consist mainly of personal satisfaction.

In the last several years Americans have responded quickly to requests to lend their skills and knowledge to people of other nations. It is these seemingly insignificant "loans," rather than the millions of dollars, that so often are making indelible impressions and slowly changing the mask of the ugly American to something more attractive and more characteristic of the American people.

[From the Witchita (Kans.) Eagle, July 6, 1964]

HOPE SENDS TWO DOCTORS TO PERU

(By Arnold Lewis)

Hope is many things to many people.

For two Wichita physicians, hope means giving up their practices, their homes, friends and their community.

Hope to them is Project Hope and their destination is a Peruvian medical school in the coastal city of Trujillo, about 300 miles north of Lima.

Dr. Harold W. Brooks, specialist in plastic and reconstructive surgery, and Dr. Van Parmley, chief anesthesiologist at Wesley Hospital, are leaving July 16 and will be gone at least a year.

The SS *Hope,* international symbol of American medicine, spent 10 months at Trujillo in 1962. Presently, the big white hospital teaching ship is in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

The two physicians won't be aboard her when she sails for Guinea, West Africa, this fall, however.

Project Hope has a 3-year agreement to staff the Trujillo medical school's new 300-bed hospital. Dr. Brooks and Dr. Parmley will be a part of that staff, teaching and working closely with their Peruvian counterparts.

Both are taking their families. Two of Dr. Brooks' five children will remain in the States, however, to finish college.

It will be Dr. Brooks' second trip for Project Hope and Dr. Parmley's first.

Dr. Brooks and his family returned to Wichita a year and a half ago, after spending a year in southern India.

Both families have been plugging away at Spanish, taking night courses at the University of Wichita and listening to records at home. They can't speak the language well yet, but feel they know enough to get along at first.

Why would two prominent physicians leave their practices and homes for minimal pay and questionable living conditions abroad?

Dr. Brooks described his motive as "altruistic."

Peru is a political hot spot, he explained, with strong anti-American feelings. That's why Project Hope picked it. But when the ship left, there were 45,000 Peruvians lined up along the shore to see her off. Some had walked 30 miles to be there.

"If we're inclined to go, I think we should," he said. "The easy thing to do is to stay here in our established rut, where we have our homes and practices and where there is good education for our children.

"It's hard to pick ourselves up and move to a different environment—but we're doing it to practice medicine. That is what we know best.

"By our example, maybe we can persuade more to do it," Dr. Brooks added.

There has been considerable interest over the country recently in international medicine, a field that 5 years ago was limited to missionaries, he pointed out.

Now there are many primarily volunteer medical organizations serving many parts of the world, such as CARE and Medico.

A person can't just live in Wichita, Kans., anymore, he said, or any other place. It is essential to know what's going on in Vietnam, Peru, and all over the globe.

"We're trying to peddle the American way of life," Dr. Brooks added.

"Many have gone overseas to be 'ugly Americans,'" declared Dr. Parmley. "We're going overseas to be physicians."

Hope's real worth and effectiveness has been that it's nongovernmental. It's directly from the American people to the people of other lands, they said.

"Volunteer agencies have been doing a job to be reckoned with—a job that Government aid cannot do," Dr. Brooks said.

Hope's medical program is essentially a teaching one, although there is treatment involved, they explained. Training is conducted through actual classroom procedures, lectures, and discussion.

Teaching is stressed because it has a more lasting effect on the local population than does widespread treatment. The local people are taught how to disagnose and treat, so that they in turn can teach others, they added.

Thus far, the SS *Hope* has visited Indonesia, Vietnam, Peru, and Ecuador.

By the time it left Peru, more than 500 American physicians, dentists, nurses, and other personnel had served tours aboard the ship. Many more stayed behind to continue the services brought by the ship.

Independence Day of the Republic of Dahomey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on August 1 the Republic of Dahomey will celebrate the fourth anniversary of her independence, and on this occasion, I want to take opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency Sourou-Migan Apithy, the President of Dahomey; and to His Excellency Louis Ignacio-Pinto, the Dahomean Ambassador to the United States.

A small, narrow, tropical land facing the Gulf of Guinea, Dahomey has made serious efforts to develop its resources and to assume its rightful role in the world community. Groomed to assume this position and attitude by the French who had administered the country since the closing years of the 19th century, Dahomey had been gradually given more freedom until it finally attained full independence on August 1, 1960.

However, it has never forgotten its ties with either France or the French speaking nations of Africa, but has instead used these bonds to advance its own prosperity. A member of the West African Monetary Union, Dahomey shares with other former French colonies a common franc currency which facilitates economic relations between them and trade with the outside world. With three other French-speaking neighbors, Dahomey has closer relations which are realized in an entente whose objective is, among other things, to coordinate development plans, establish similar government structures, and form a customs union. This agreement is certainly a good example for other small and large states to follow. At the same time, France has not forgotten the economic well-being of its former colony and today provides annually some several million dollars worth of aid. This European country remains the principal recipient of Dahomey's exports and its chief supplier of imports.

Dahomey also receives aid from our own Government, besides the United Nations, West Germany, Nationalist China, and Israel. This country has become a member of various international economic organizations and encourages foreign investments under a liberal investment code.

However, Dahomey knows that it must rely on its own resources to raise the standard of living of its people and to build a vigorous and thriving modern economy, and it also knows that funds should be carefully allocated so that none are wasted. In 1962, a long-range, 20-year development plan was put into operation which has been broken down into smaller segments with the first being 4 years in length. It is hoped that this program will increase production in agriculture, the branch of the economy in which most Dahomeans make their living, and develop small industries. A Dahomean Development Bank, the majority of whose stock the Government owns, provides agricultural credit to cooperatives and loans to industry, housing, and other projects of national importance.

Thus, Dahomeans are working for their development by using their own resources and supplementing them with outside funds. They are also cementing relations with the rest of Africa in West African organizations and the Organization of African Unity, and with Europe, Asia, and our own country both through and outside the United Nations.

We wish them the best for their future on this, their fourth anniversary of independence.

Robert Moses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, with the New York World's Fair presently in full swing, it is most fitting that we pay tribute to Mr. Moses, whose untiring

efforts made this international spectacle possible.

ROBERT MOSES

Immovable
Sparkling granite,
This face of quartz
Shines now for all
The World to see:
More lustrous than
His Fair.
Hornblendic rage
At blind small men
Revealed in his
Feldsparian
Nature a deep
Craggy cleavage
Spewing
Volcanic stones
On those who would
Obstruct dreams—not
Even guessing
The right-angled
Road leading to
His heart
That igneous
Rock which, flame-touched
Under mica
Laminae, changed
Hot city streets
Into lazy sand
Beside
Light-hearted waves;
And a
Red bricked, green tipped
Water Tower—
Symbol of joy—
Into an
Ocean obelisk.

—KAY MAGENHEIMER.

Rural Co-ops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, back about the middle of June, our Missouri rural electric co-ops sponsored a "Youth Tour to Washington." The group was made up of about 55 high school juniors from all over Missouri. Each was a winner in an essay contest sponsored by their electric cooperative, and because of their success, were given a trip to the Nation's Capital by the Missouri State Rural Electrification Association.

From our congressional district, the winner was Miss Jo Anne Duncan, of Amoret, Mo. In my opinion, she won her prize because she fashioned her assay around an imaginary hypothesis which could have actually happened in real life; namely, the visit of a city cousin to a rural area. The city cousin knew nothing about REA or rural electrical cooperatives, and had even been told before the visit that REA was not good for America. Willie, the country cousin, managed to located a film which very clearly demonstrated the home improvements brought to the people in the country of such conveniences city people had always taken for granted. In my opinion, one of the most important thoughts presented by her essay is the fact that because of REA today farmers live better. Their efficiency has been increased by the help of electricity, with the result that each farm is able to produce more food and fiber for our expanding city population.

This prize-winning essay contains some gems of thought which could well be considered by the membership of this House the next time they hear criticism of our rural electrical cooperatives. Miss Duncan, a high school junior, is certainly to be congratulated and complimented for her winning essay which follows:

RURAL ELECTRIC CO-OPS—GOOD FOR ALL AMERICANS

Now showing: "Rural Electric Co-ops—Good for All Americans."

Cousin City Griper had come for a week's visit to see Willie Wiredhand. Willie, upon seeing the title of Saturday's show, decided this would be the perfect movie for City Griper to see, since he cared and knew so little about the REA. He hoped too, that this would end a longtime quarrel between them on how REA was good for all Americans.

After looking over the previews they decided to go. After all, agreed Cousin City, the previews looked good. For instance, by making low-cost electricity available, it provided home improvements, appliances, and wiring to people in the country, while the city people had always taken this for granted. Also, the members of the board of directors at the present time, must live on the cooperative's line, devote their time and receive no pay. Cousin City knew the people in the city didn't do these things. The movie was filmed on August 9, 1938, and the cast consisted of famous members of REA and all other people having to do with rural electrification. Gee, thought Cousin City, even I could take part in a movie like this one, especially if I lived in the country.

As the movie starts, a farmer is milking his cows when the kerosene lamp he was using is knocked over. Immediately a large fire was started which spread to the farmer's house and then to his fields. There was little saved from the fire and one of his children burned to death. By this time the movie was getting interesting and Cousin City was anxious to know the real problem of the farmer. You might say the farmer's problem was a problem of many other farmers. For instance, a family froze to death because of lack of adequate heat.

These problems would not have been solved without the help of REA. When other companies refused to step in and help the farmers get rural electricity to remedy these problems, REA started a plan by which it was able to give its members electricity at the lowest cost possible, with very reliable service. REA was now able to provide rural homes with electric lights in place of kerosene lamps, electric heating in place of coal and wood heating, electric household appliances, modern electrified consolidated country schools, and more than 600 other different tasks which could be performed by electricity.

These things have increased farm production and farm efficiency, assuring our expanding city populations of plenty of food. It has helped establish new job-creating businesses, rural industries, and a billion dollar a year market for goods produced in the city and in the country. We all live better today because the farmers with the help of electricity have tripled their output of labor. Each farmer used to produce enough for 10 people. Today, with fewer farmers, he produces enough food for 25; in 1975 each farm worker is expected to feed 50 people.

The movie was now over and Cousin City still wanted to know more about REA. During a long chat over a malt, Willie tried to explain to him some other important factors such as REA loans that have paid off in many ways thus enabling groups of rural people to build their own electric power lines and that for every dollar invested in REA electric lines, consumers put $5 or more into wiring, appliances and equipment.

When Cousin City went home, he was no longer the griping cousin as when he arrived, but now the most understanding one. He now realizes that thrifty, independent people owe their community and their cooperative only the thoughtful support of a responsible citizen, the Rural America was electrified by people, not just onlookers who do nothing about problems such as the one he saw at the show.

In closing he would like to leave a thought to his fellow countrymen that "Rural Electric Co-ops—is good for all Americans."

Southern Illinois University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of Time magazine appeared an article on Southern Illinois University. Once thought of as a nondescript State teacher's college, Southern Illinois University is rapidly advancing as an institution of higher learning of first order. Under its dynamic president, Dr. Deleyte Morris, the university, with its main campus at Carbondale, Ill., has expanded its facilities to the extent where present enrollment is 18,200, as compared to 3,000 students 15 years ago, and upon completion of a second permanent campus at Edwardsville, Ill., Southern Illinois University's capacity will reach 36,000.

Not content, however, with just developing an impressive physical plant, Southern Illinois University has upgraded its faculty to a point where 60 percent of its members has doctorates, placing the school among the top 15 or 20 percent in the United States. This ambitious development program is reaping dividends for the university: for the first time, the university is drawing substantial numbers of students from other parts of the State as well as from other States.

This is not the whole picture, however. Rather than remaining in an ivory tower aloof from community needs, the university is devoting much of its collective energy to the revitalization of the surrounding depressed areas. Great emphasis is being placed on vocational and technical training and adult education programs which are designed to provide the unemployed with the necessary skills to gain employment.

I encourage my colleagues to read the following article on Southern Illinois University:

UNIVERSITIES: BIG VOICE IN LITTLE EGYPT

In the first 6 weeks after Delyte Wesley Morris took over as president of decrepit Southern Illinois University in 1948, he gained 10 pounds on the banquet circuit. Morris' nonstop message: SIU would reverse its own sad state and with it the fortunes of the region—a depressed, despairing, vio-

lence-ridden enclave known as Little Egypt (or Egypt, after Cairo, Ill., the southernmost city in the State). "Not one of them had the foggiest thought that anything would come of our efforts," he says—and quietly adds that now "the change has come."

Morris' listeners had a right to be skeptical. The SIU campus at Carbondale 16 years ago was a jumble of old, leaking buildings in a lifeless town whose only reason for existence was the fact that the Illinois Central Railroad had chosen to establish a division headquarters there. The school itself was a mediocre State teachers' college, whose sense of the future was typified by an earlier SIU president whose pride it was to send back money to the legislature from the school's meager appropriation. Even Morris did not come with a big reputation. The son of an auto insurance salesman, he was born in Little Egypt, was professor of speech at Ohio State when he got the offer to head SIU.

DIRECT APPROACH

But Morris, 56, is a hard-driving, restless fellow. From the start, he aimed for twin goals: improving life in the 31 sprawling counties of Little Egypt, and creating a school of excellence. He believes that "you can have pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake along with a practical, direct approach to society."

Now, by way of direct approach, teams of specialists from SIU's department of community development are constantly scouring the region, tempting new industries to settle there. The university's booming Vocational-Technical Institute offers some 160 courses ranging from cosmetology to court reporting, and 10,000 people take adult-education courses. In an area where only a decade ago only 19 percent of the population over 25 had attended high school, researchers at SIU's internationally known education department have strengthened dozens of local public schools by curriculum improvements and new teaching aids. University scientists have tackled such regional problems as water pollution, crop diversification, and transportation. Even the SIU symphony is a regional enterprise; half the members are students, and the other half are jobless coal miners and other amateurs.

But in pursuing scholarship, SIU is doing even better. "The progress has been incredible," says a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. More than 60 percent of the SIU staff have doctorates, which puts the school among the top 15 to 20 percent in the United States. For the first time in "Little Egypt's" history, students are coming from other parts of the State and from other States. They are attracted by strong faculties in the liberal arts and in such specialists as microbiology and theater design. Among the 260 students from 40 foreign countries, many are taking courses at a novel center for the study of crime and correction that works closely with a model Federal prison in nearby Marion. The university press, which published its 1st book in 1956, is now working on its 125th; among its notable volumes are the "Selected Poems of Herman Melville" (Time, May 1) and "Modes of Being," by Paul Weiss, Sterling professor of philosophy at Yale.

PACESETTER

From 3,000 students only 15 years ago, the school now has 18,200 students (apart from adults), of whom 80 percent are the first in their families to attend college. The faculty has grown from 250 to 1,150. By the end of the decade, with completion of a second permanent campus now rising out of the wheatfields near Edwardsville, 110 miles northwest of Carbondale, the university's capacity will reach 36,000 students.

Next month SIU becomes one of the few universities in the United States to operate on a four-quarter academic year. Coupled with a 78-hour week of classroom use that runs from 8 a.m. to midnight, officials have squeezed the most out of the educational facilities—and educators. SIU was the first university in the Nation deliberately to hire visiting professors who were retired or soon to be retired at other schools. Among dozens of such luminaries have been Harvard Astronomer Harlow Shapley, University of Chicago Theologian Henry Wieman and Designer-Dreamer Buckminster Fuller (Time cover, Jan. 10).

AUTONOMY

The Illinois Legislature used to starve SIU, but Supersalesman Morris, with the aid of regional politicians and a separate board of trustees appointed by the Governor, got the school a total appropriation of $103 million for 1963–65 (still far less than the favored land-grant University of Illinois). More than 60 new buildings have been completed or are going up in Carbondale alone, including a 17-story dormitory tower. Students have also pitched in to expand SIU though 4,000 of them work to help support themselves. They paid for a $4,500,000 student union, with 16-lane bowling alley, and are now planning to kick in toward a new medical center.

Morris thrives on such displays of university spirit. Along with Little Egypt's awakening from economic and cultural torpor, it is proof of his promise that SIU "must do more than promote good teaching. We must take the university to the people."

Waiting for Water Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorial from the Los Angeles Times, July 27, 1964, to the attention of my colleagues:

WAITING FOR WATER LEADERSHIP

In politics you can't please everyone. But when it comes to California's water problems, Governor Brown lately has managed to please almost no one.

The members of the Assembly Interim Committee on Water are the latest to express dismay at the Governor's handling of regional water proposals involving the State.

"There seems to be a difference in philosophy and approach between the administration and the legislature," said Assemblyman Carley Porter, committee chairman. He and his colleagues expressed concern that the administration policy might result in a give-away of California water resources.

Porter might have added that the same difference in philosophy and approach also exists between the Governor and U.S. Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, Attorney General Stanley Mosk, a considerable number of California Congressmen and most of the water agencies in the State. The Governor, in fact, seems to have few supervisors at all in the State—except for his own advisers.

It was Brown's advisers, principally Hugo Fisher, State resources agency administrator, who were questioned sharply by the assembly committee at hearings last week. Committee members wanted to know why they hadn't been consulted before the Governor took a position on the regional water plans offered by Interior Secretary Stewart Udall.

Others have wondered why the Governor was unwilling to insist on firm protection of California's water rights to 4.4 million acre-feet from the Colorado River. A concession was subsequently made by Arizona's Senator CARL HAYDEN for a 25-year period of protection, but there is no assurance that supplemental water will be available at that time to meet shortages on the Colorado.

California's interests would best be served by the Governor's support of a bill introduced by Senator KUCHEL which would both protect this State's water rights and permit the building of the controversial central Arizona project. Senator KUCHEL's regional approach, moreover, does not just juggle shortages within the arid Pacific Southwest. It provides for looking beyond the Colorado River Basin to the vast surpluses of water throughout the West.

This is the kind of positive approach that can truly solve the water problems of California and its neighboring States. It is the kind of legislation that offers Governor Brown a chance to play a leading instead of a lonely role in California's water dilemma.

Urban Renewal Is Blighting the Nation's Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, vast sums are being spent on urban renewal projects which we were told would abolish slums and poverty in our cities.

Barron's, in a lead article appearing on July 27, rather deflates these proud boasts and noble hopes.

It would appear that the poor are worse off than ever. In the words of the article:

In short, the most striking achievement of urban renewal, whether in Stamford or San Francisco, Kansas City or Brooklyn, has been the wholesale bulldozing of human and property rights.

We also see the remarkable use of urban renewal to condemn 2 square blocks to help the New York Stock Exchange find new quarters. Mr. Speaker, very few of us had realized before that the New York Stock Exchange was a slum area.

The article follows:

ARROGANT DOMAIN: URBAN RENEWAL IS BLIGHTING THE NATION'S CITIES

For New York City, as the world now knows, the long hot summer began 10 days ago, and the thunderclap of violence still echoes in its streets. The search for who and what triggered the bursts of terror has mobilized investigators of every stripe, from youth workers to the FBI. For the most part, the human agents behind the riots remain hidden in the shadows. However, to judge by much of the comment, editorial and official, the deeper causes, paradoxically, are easier to spot. From Harlem to Washington, prevailing opinion seems to hold that the root of the troubles lies in the slums. Such a view doubtless prompted President Johnson's solemn pledge to extend to Gotham's embattled city fathers "help in correcting the evil social conditions that breed despair and disorder."

The Chief Executive's offer couldn't have been more timely. Even before the first Molotov cocktail was hurled in Harlem, his lieutenants on Capitol Hill were busily

pressing for extension of a program which boasts as its goal "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." However, the prospect that urban renewal (as it is miscalled) may itself be renewed should bring more joy to speculators than to slum dwellers. After well over a decade, the most notable rewards of this grand design for better living have gone to the slick operators. Despite a booming real estate market, its projects somehow rarely got off the ground. Its record is long on delay and default, pitifully short on performance. Far from halting the spread of blight, all the evidence suggests, urban renewal actually has encouraged it.

Urban renewal stands condemned on other grounds as well. In the name of the public interest, it is being used to further some highly dubious private ends. However liberal their view, the legislative architects of the program could scarcely have envisioned that its powers of eminent domain would serve to help secure shelter for the New York Stock Exchange. Again, wherever the blueprints have been carried out, people and business have been ruthlessly uprooted. No wonder that a group of disillusioned citizens in Stamford, Conn., recently were moved to speak out against the injustices threatened in their city by "what originally had been sold to us as a humanitarian slum clearance and decent housing project." In short, the most striking achievement of urban renewal, whether in Stamford or San Francisco, Kansas City or Brooklyn, has been the wholesale bulldozing of human and property rights.

Such a result, of course, was hardly the intent of Congress in 1949, when it passed the Housing Act which created the Urban Renewal Administration to prevent and eliminate blight. The legislation empowered the agency to help towns and cities acquire and raze slum properties, and sell the cleared land at lower prices to private developers. Two-thirds of the mark-down is met by Uncle Sam, the rest by local government. As noted, the program was slated to be wound up this year. However, a measure now being pushed would extend the life of URA until October 1, 1965, and replenish its treasury, which already has run through $4 billion, with an additional $850 million.

Rarely has so massive an investment yielded such meager returns—except, perhaps, to a favored few. Under urban renewal more speculative profits than slums have been cleared. Virtually from the start, the program proved an easy mark for skilled manipulators. Four years ago, to illustrate, the General Accounting Office made public the typical case of a three-story, wood frame house in San Francisco, built well before the turn of the century as a two-family dwelling. The property changed hands in 1952 for $8,800. Subsequently, thanks to some fancy—and, it might be noted, illegal—alterations, the building ultimately passed into the hands of the local slum clearance agency for nearly three times as much. A more recent example of sharp practice occurred in Washington's own backyard. So flagrant and numerous were the abuses uncovered in the Columbia Plaza project, that the investigators of a House subcommittee concluded angrily: "in any other area of contractual relationships with Government agencies, the selecting of a 'chosen instrument' with rules known only to such party, accompanied by the advice, counsel and coaching to conclude an agreement which dissipates public funds, would be labeled collusion or conspiracy."

Even where no hint of scandal exists, the program has suffered from poor management. Frequently, the private developers chosen have proved unwilling or unable to live up to their commitments. No better—or worse—illustration can be found than Webb & Knapp. Overextended and desperately short of cash, Mr. Zeckendorf has been forced to abandon his vast stake in urban renewal to such well-heeled, but scarcely grateful, ex-partners as Alcoa. In the process, Webb & Knapp's numerous projects have been subject to long and costly delay. Because other "chosen instruments" have also failed to measure up, the program's reach has far exceeded its grasp. Of the 21,970 acres acquired to date under urban renewal, a mere 4,163 have been "redeveloped." Nothing daunted by previous failures, however, the URA's demolition experts are busily seeking new worlds to conquer. In their zeal, they have not hesitated to flout the spirit if not the letter of the law. Thus, in the name of urban renewal, New York City has moved to condemn two square blocks to help the New York Stock Exchange find new quarters. For their part, it would seem, the "Big Board's" governors see nothing amiss in building a more splendid citadel of capitalism on the ruins of principle.

From top to bottom, urban renewal is shot through with such faults. A case in point is the proposed Stamford project. In the words of that city's troubled citizens, the scheme calls for a "200-unit motor hotel, 3 parking garages, a major department store, a junior department store, 1,200 high-rise, high-rent apartments." What the blurred blueprint lacks, typically, is "one single apartment for the displaced people of lesser means." The dispossessed in Stamford, like thousands of their counterparts in scores of cities, willy-nilly must crowd into other substandard shelter, thereby creating new slums which, at some future time, doubtless will require Federal attention. "Urban renewal," so the NAACP has bitterly observed, "means Negro removal." As to the small businessmen, they presumably will be free to accept the capricious settlement offered by the authorities or go to court. In any case, their business is gone. In the futile effort to clear slums, urban renewal has merely succeeded in blighting lives.

In view of its flawed design it could hardly do otherwise. For to cure what is purely a local ill, urban renewal prescribes a Federal remedy. Far from reducing the number of slum dwellers, it has swelled their number. Far from correcting social evils, it has spawned fresh abuses. Most notably it has sought to challenge the wise opinion of Federal Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, that "Government has not an unrestricted power to seize one man's property and sell it to another." Urban renewal is eminent domain—and bureaucratic arrogance—run wild. It's high time Congress called a halt.

Barry Goldwater: People's Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. BROYHILL
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, rarely in American history have such unfounded attacks been made upon the judgment of a candidate for President as we have seen leveled against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER. By inference these attacks impugn the judgment and integrity of many Americans of both of our political parties who share Senator GOLDWATER'S principles and believe that he offers a positive and urgently needed alternative to the present leadership in the White House.

I was pleased to read the following editorial used by the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co. of Charlotte, N.C., on July 17. It is a calmer and more objective appraisal of Senator GOLDWATER than the picture painted by some of the more shrill editorial voices recently. In my opinion, it focuses attention where it belongs—on the awesome responsibilities of the Presidency and some of the excellent qualifications Senator GOLDWATER possesses for this office:

NO CALAMITY IN SIGHT

BARRY GOLDWATER has come a long way for a Senator from a thinly populated State without much political strength. There is no question that since his nomination for the Presidency, he is one of the most important men in the United States, if not in the world, and by far the most controversial.

The possibility that he may be elected President has had a visibly sobering effect on him, as it has on practically every man who has come within campaigning distance of that high office.

John F. Kennedy also felt that chastening effect. Before the election he was proclaiming that the prestige of the United States had suffered greatly under Eisenhower, and promising that he would raise it back to its proper level. But after Vienna and the Bay of Pigs, so far as we can recall, he never again used the word "prestige."

It seems that nothing can calm any man down so quickly as the realization that he may have to shoulder the world's most crushing responsibilities. For that reason we do not share the fears of those who seem to feel that the country will face utter ruin if GOLDWATER is elected.

Many Americans had that same fear about Truman, Franklin Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. And in some books Teddy Roosevelt was a reckless fool who swung his big stick in all directions without regard for the consequences.

The country survived all of them, and it will survive whoever is elected President this fall. GOLDWATER is a forthright man who says what he thinks, and this very forthrightness has been a handicap, because it leaves him open to misrepresentation. Words that should be taken with a grain of salt are taken literally. In the hands of the critic, if the liberal interpretation is not damaging enough, the words are made to say things the speaker did not mean. So far as his more recent statements may contradict some of his earlier views, that same game can be played with Lyndon Johnson's words, with equal effectiveness.

The chemistry of BARRY GOLDWATER is more than AuH_2O. It is conservatism. He has the courage of his convictions, as he proved by voting against the civil rights bill because he believed some of its provisions were unconstitutional. Even on the floor of the convention, this was twisted by those who insist that anyone who does not blindly accept this bill verbatim is an enemy of all civil rights.

He has already said that as President he would enforce the civil rights law and all other laws as long as they are on the books. Likewise, we feel sure that he would not try to smash the labor unions; that he would not cut off all foreign aid the next morning; and, knowing that he must answer for whatever follows, he would not force the country into a position from which it could not retreat without nuclear war.

This is not a campaign document or an endorsement. The Democratic political situation will be deserving of equal attention next month. It is merely a reminder that this country is bigger than any of its Presidents; that it controls them, they do not control it.

The Nib Does It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I was somewhat surprised in reading the last issue of Newsweek to find a story wherein the White House has not only contributed to the deficit in our international balance but in all probability has aided in decreasing employment in this country by purchasing 2 gross of foreign-made ballpoint pens.

The article from the August 3d issue of Newsweek follows:

ENTERPRISE: THE NIB DOES IT

President Johnson signs photographs of himself with one. Radio-TV Star Dave Garroway autographs the arms of his female fans with one. More and more, less prominent Americans are reaching for one when they squiggle a signature. What is the ink link here?

The answer is a Japanese fiber-tip pen that can make a smooth, clean-cut line on all surfaces from cardboard to glass, and markets for 49 cents under the name of Pentel. Though introduced less than a year ago, sales of Pentels already are 1.8 million and rising rapidly.

L.B.J. heard of the pen from former White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger shortly after Pentel's appearance in the United States. Mr. Johnson must have been impressed, reports Washington wholesaler Ed Fahrney, because "the White House ordered two gross from me."

"Pentels are selling phenomenally well," said Philip Flax last week in San Francisco, where he runs a large art-supply house. "I have never seen a retail item take off like this one. We have sold hundreds of gross." Among Flax's customers: Pierre Salinger (now a candidate for the U.S. Senate in California).

Secret tip: The pen's manufacturer, the Japan Stationery Co., Ltd., of Tokyo, attributes Pentel's runaway success to its special fiber-like nib. Though the exact composition is a company secret, the firm admits that it is a man-made substance, not unlike nylon. The pen draws a water-soluble ink (in three shades: blue, black, and red) from a reservoir of a highly absorbent cotton-like fiber and lasts for 2 months in normal usage.

Without heavy promotion, the boom in Pentels has gathered momentum primarily by word-of-mouth advertising. New York businessmen and public-relations counselors have been spreading the word by handing out Pentels as souvenirs to office visitors. Enthusiast Garroway has a supply on his desk that he dispenses to friends. And ordinary housewives and officeworkers have been using them for everything from addressing large packages to making out convention name cards.

The demand, in fact, has embarrassed the Japan Stationery Co., whose five Pentel factories—mostly situated in the Tokyo region—cannot maintain production schedules. The company expected to hit sales of 16 million in the United States this year, but can only send 5 million. It also cut its predicted exports to the rest of the world from 32 to 13 million.

"Our production cannot keep up with orders," explains Eiichi Moriyama, manager of Pentel's foreign-trade department. "Most of our factory workers are farmers from the Saitama area. Last month when we needed them most, they had to take time off for the rice planting."

Rival-Riters: Inevitably, Pentel is drawing competition. In the United States, Esterbrook Pen Co.'s Wonderiter (price $1) makes its debut this month. Blaisdell Pencil Co. also plans to come out in early fall with its Mark-Rite pen, at 49 cents. In Japan itself, 15 other firms are already turning out nylon-tipped pens, one of which, the Dri-Mark, is now on sale in the United States for 39 cents.

Pentel meantime is building another factory near Tokyo to step up production and meet the competition. But while Pentel's plastic barrel and other parts are made by machine, the company says the special nib must still be fashioned by hand. "Japanese girls' fingertips," Eiichi Moriyama says mysteriously, "are vital for the finishing touch."

Back to Capitalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the Evening Star, Tuesday, July 21, 1964, is a reminder that our capitalistic system is superior to any system in the world.

This editorial is a tribute to the great American Telephone & Telegraph Co. which daily serves millions of our people in a courteous, friendly, and efficient manner:

BACK TO CAPITALISM

Having taken the telephone company to task on several occasions for all-digit-dialing and other nefarious schemes, we'd like now to offer a small bouquet to A.T. & T. We got the idea on a recent trip to Europe.

No one accustomed to the ubiquitous American drugstore phone booth, with its ability to accommodate either nickels or dimes, can come away from a contest with the German, French, or British equivalent without a traumatic shock.

Part of the trouble is political. Foreign telephones are apt to be run by the government, and one often finds a booth by looking for the local post office, not a drugstore. The booths are scarce. In Bonn, the capital of Western Germany, there are precisely two phone booths in the main railroad station where one can make a local call. Lines of frustrated customers form everywhere, but with the profit motive missing the governments remain indifferent to customer needs.

Then there is the matter of coins. In Germany, only 10-pfennig coins will work. In France, the customer must purchase a special token to operate a pay phone. In England, the whole system is Pickwickian. Some booths require a threepence coin inserted after the call is placed. Others instruct the citizen to drop four huge British pennies into a black box before dialing. He waits until his party says "Hello," then pushes a plunger marked "A." With luck, the pennies crash through a trapdoor into another box, whereupon the two parties are able to hear each other. In the midst of their conversation, however, a beeping noise will interrupt, giving the caller a brief, frantic moment to insert four more coins. If he lacks the precise change, the phone will go dead.

It's enough to drive a man back to smoke signals. Or to a capitalistic, moneymaking, efficient phone company.

William Heffernan: Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include therein a very fine article by the talented Mr. Richard H. Jaskoviak, a staff reporter of the Worcester Evening Gazette, concerning my friend and constituent, Mr. William J. Heffernan, of Spencer, Mass.

I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I am very proud of Mr. Heffernan, who is an outstanding leader of his community, State, and Nation, as well as a valued friend.

I am also happy on the occasion of his 94th birthday to extend him heartiest congratulations and to wish for him many happy returns of the day.

Mr. Heffernan is still active in business and only this month was reelected to the position of president of the Spencer Savings Bank and chairman of the board of trustees, a position which he has held for many years.

A native of Spencer, he is not only a successful business leader, but also an outstanding, devoted civic leader, who has served his beautiful, progressive community as town moderator for 44 years and also served as town treasurer.

William Heffernan is a product of an exacting school. He has worked hard all his life, and by virtue of his ability and devotion to duty, ambition, and determination, he has lifted himself from the humble station of his early youth to a lofty pinnacle of esteem, respect, service, and success in the Spencer community.

At the age of 18 he founded his own business and throughout the years he has assiduously devoted himself, with highly meritorious results, to publishing and the newspaper business.

William never stood still. He steadily moved forward and upward, and knew what it was to work around the clock. He studiously and tirelessly clung to his rugged, basic principles and never deviated from them.

There is great significance to his long, successful career and his participation in public affairs and public concerns, because it marks Bill Heffernan as a keenly aware, dedicated citizen of the finest type, a man who has served the many worthy causes to which he has been attached with great fidelity and credit.

His whole useful life illustrates what character, ability, and dedication can achieve when they are supported and inspired by sound training, ambition, and the will to work.

Bill has raised a distinguished family, has seen them follow his example in public-spirited citizenship and high achievement in the business world, in which they too have obtained wide recognition for accomplishment, honor, trust, and respect.

It is with great pride that I hail and salute Mr. Heffernan upon his 94th birthday. I wish we had many more American citizens like him, because he exemplifies those qualities, characteristics, and principles which are the very foundation for the greatness of our Nation—the best in our American dream.

NEARING HIS 94TH BIRTHDAY

(By Richard H. Jaskoviak)

SPENCER.—On July 10, William J. Heffernan, of 46 Pleasant Street, founder of the Heffernan Press, newspaperman for 45 years, and former town official, will celebrate his 94th birthday.

Heffernan was this month reelected president of the Spencer Savings Bank and chairman of its board of trustees, positions he had held for more than 30 years and which serve as testimony of his heartiness and alertness of mind. He has been a member of that board for more than 40 years.

HELD TOWN OFFICES

A lifelong resident of this town, he served as town moderator for 44 years and also as town treasurer. He has since early manhood owned the home at which he did afternoon chores as a boy.

Reaching the age of 94 is an accomplishment in itself. But, with success and satisfaction attained, it seems doubly rewarding. This is the case with Heffernan.

His career began at the age of 14, after 2 years of high school, when he went to work as an apprentice printer in the office of the Spencer Sun, a weekly newspaper.

TWO DOLLARS A WEEK

"I was making $2 a week," Heffernan recalled. "And, I could have been making at least $3 a week in the shoeshop (the I. Prouty Co.)."

"I complained to the boss," Heffernan continued. "And was reminded that I was being given the opportunity to learn a trade."

The advice paid off. Within 4 years, at the age of 18, Heffernan founded the Heffernan Press and began printing the Spencer Leader. Within a year, he owned the paper. It is still in existence under the ownership of William T. Jordan.

STILL OPERATING

The printing ultimately superseded the newspaper end of the business and it was this sideline of job printing which is today the Heffernan Press.

Owned and managed by Heffernan's son, Neil T. and two grandsons, the press is now a world leader in the printing of college law journals, handles a large volume of other technical journals and college materials, and does job printing also.

FOND MEMORIES

It seems, however, that the years in the newspaper business—which eventually included the founding of the Leicester Banner and management of the Brookfields Union—also now Jordan publications—have given Heffernan the greatest reward and left him with the fondest memories.

The reason for this is perhaps best revealed by what he feels is a duty as well as a privilege of weekly newspaper publishers: providing information, expressing their own ideas, and concerning themselves with public affairs.

Secretary of the Massachusetts Press Association for many years and also a member of other such associations, Heffernan has a high regard for weeklies.

DISCOUNTS FLIERS

He also offered comment on the advertising fliers which have of late crept in as competition to local papers. "Many people feel that 1 inch in a weekly is worth 10 inches in one of the throwaways," he said.

Ironically, the biggest single story of Heffernan's paper—in September of 1893—almost never went to press and the event itself could have easily ended his newspaper and printing career.

On this particular day in 1893, Heffernan returned to Spencer 35 minutes after a fire had broken out in Depot Square, the business district of town and the area in which the Leader was located.

WOMAN'S NEWS

As he stepped from the trolley car, he recalls, a woman came up to him and said, "Mr. Heffernan, don't forget to include in the Spencer Leader this week that the Sons of Temperance is going to hold a popcorn social this weekend."

"By the looks of that fire," Heffernan answered, "there isn't going to be any Spencer Leader this week."

He proved correct in his appraisal of the fire, but underestimated himself relative to the paper.

FOUND NEW QUARTERS

The Leader office and plant were completely destroyed, but other quarters were found. On September 16, the Leader came out on schedule with a "fire edition," and devoted the front page to the "conflagration" that left 6 acres of business blocks in ruins." About 20 buildings were destroyed in the holocaust.

Heffernan is now, of course, retired. Until last year he moved about without aid, but a fall has necessitated the use of a cane now. He is married to the former Katherine Spring, of Boston.

LARGE FAMILY

Heffernan's other son, Ray, is president of the H. H. Brown Shoe Co. of Worcester. The two grandsons who are officers of the Heffernan Press are William J. Heffernan II and Neil Heffernan, Jr. There are 7 other grandchildren and 25 great-grandchildren.

"Invisible Government" and the CIA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, riding high on our Nation's best-seller lists these days is a book "The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

This book has stirred more than routine interest because of its subject matter. It deals with the various secret intelligence agencies that have multiplied in number and grown in power since the end of World War II.

Adding to the controversial nature of the book are charges from the Central Intelligence Agency that it contains a number of security violations and has done considerable damage to clandestine operations carried out by the United States.

There has been some question too of the accuracy of the information in the book. In his review of "The Invisible Government" in the New York Times, Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian, a veteran reporter, observed:

The authors err in small (and unnecessary) items. * * * This and some other annoying carelessness of detail causes one to hope that their substantive assertions are more accurate. There is enough documentation on broad outlines to make us take this book seriously.

Mr. Bagdikian went on to point out that most people will be unable to judge the accuracy and legitimacy of the book in any normal way. The scholars and responsible Government leaders who ordinarily would clear up such matters are by virtue of the secret nature of the subject forced to remain silent, or to deny everything.

This makes it easy for individuals to attack the CIA and other intelligence agencies. There is little danger that the public will ever find out that their attacks are based on prejudice, falsehoods, or misinformation.

This situation, it seems to me, is another good reason for the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence. The committee, which would be created by my bill, House Concurrent Resolution 2, could act as a buffer between the intelligence community and its critics.

Because the members of this committee would be in a position to know the general operations of the CIA and similar agencies, they could quash rumors and refute irresponsible attacks on the intelligence community. This could and would be done with a maximum of discretion and forbearance.

This committee could be a power force for reassuring the American people of the worthiness of the clandestine agencies, even in the face of hostile criticism—criticism that goes unanswered today and causes doubt in the minds of Americans.

Interestingly enough, the authors of "The Invisible Government" also believe that a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence is necessary.

It is their contention that the size, technology, scope, power, and importance of the intelligence have grown in geometric progression with a minimum of congressional or public examination or understanding.

In the summary chapter of the book the authors make these observations:

Congress should also be kept informed. Under the Constitution, Congress is supposed to act as a check upon the activities of the executive branch. Traditionally, the Senate has given its "advice and consent" to major commitments in the sphere of foreign affairs. But in its relations with the invisible government, Congress has all but voted away its rights. It knows relatively little about what goes on in the $4 billion a year intelligence complex for which it appropriates money.

The CIA Subcommittees in the House and Senate are controlled by the most conservative elements in Congress, men who are close personally and philosophically to those who run the invisible government. These subcommittees are now heavily weighted with legislators whose field of competence is military affairs. They should be reorganized to encompass men with a wider view and expert knowledge of foreign affairs.

The shadowy subcommittees should be replaced by a joint committee, including men from both the House and Senate. There is no reason why secrets should leak in any greater degree from one form committee than from the present group of informal

subcommittees. There has not been any leak of classified information from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Although the need for greater congressional control is apparent, both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy resisted it as an infringement upon their Executive power. They established a veneer of outside control by creating advisory boards of private citizens. This produced an anomalous situation. Selected private citizens are privy to the secrets of the invisible government, but the elected representatives of the people are denied any meaningful knowledge.

Congress is not only ignorant of operations overseas, but it has been denied information about the increasing involvement of the invisible government in domestic activities. The mandate to gather and analyze intelligence has been broadened into a justification for clandestine activities in the United States.

In the final paragraph of the excerpt above, the authors make a serious charge: The CIA, they say, is engaging more and more in domestic operations. Who is to say if this assertion is true or false? Who is to banish the picture of secret agents swarming over our land?

Apparently no one, for there has been no official answer to the charge. A knowledgeable congressional committee could be useful in replying for those who by virtue of their positions cannot.

I am hopeful that the presence of this book on the market will demonstrate to responsible officials who may have opposed this committee previously that there is a definite need for its creation.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to insert an article on my proposal for a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence which appeared in the July 6 issue of the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times. Written by the paper's Washington correspondent, Mr. Alfred Maund, the story delineates further my position on this issue:

BIPARTISAN GROUP URGED—NEW BOOK PRODS CIA CHECK PROPOSED BY ZABLOCKI

(By Alfred Maund)

WASHINGTON.—A newly published book analyzing the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency may give fresh impetus to a long stalled proposal of Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, Democrat, of Milwaukee, which seeks to bring the Nation's $4 billion cloak-and-dagger business under closer congressional scrutiny.

"The Invisible Government," by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross makes it plain that the CIA regularly commits the United States "to policies which walk the tightrope between peace and war."

Besides describing the well-known U–2 and Bay of Pigs debacles, the authors cite names, dates, and places in more than 14 countries where U.S. agents plotted assassinations, violent overthrow of regimes, and deliberate sabotage of American Ambassadors.

They contend that intelligence operations are not run by Agency chiefs or by the National Security Council. Actual control, they say, rests with a half dozen men—a special group representing CIA, Defense, State, and the President.

The decisions of this shadowy elite, they warn, can set into motion events which "open government" is powerless to stop.

These statements support ZABLOCKI's concern that some of the hush-hush agencies "have strayed from their original purpose and have engaged in making policy as well as advising in policy."

"To remedy this situation," ZABLOCKI says, "I have introduced a bill since 1953 which would create a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence, patterned after the successful Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

"The joint committee would be composed of seven Congressmen and seven Senators selected on a bipartisan basis. It would make continuing studies of intelligence activities and problems. Although the committee would not pry into details of U.S. covert operations, the CIA and similar agencies would be expected to keep it currently and adequately informed."

ZABLOCKI says his bill has been kept bottled up by "opposition from the intelligence agencies themselves, from the executive branch, and from high-ranking Members of Congress on committees currently dealing with intelligence matters."

However, he takes heart from the fact that the House Rules Committee recently held 2 days of hearings "that may have set the stage for a major effort toward passage during the next session of Congress."

Defenders of the CIA contend it is unfair and dangerous to national security to probe into the workings of our "intelligence community." Furthermore, we shouldn't be squeamish about the methods used, because "black diplomacy" is an essential weapon of the cold war.

Nevertheless, the CIA has certainly made itself a sitting duck for criticism. Its headquarters in suburban Langley, Va., rival the Pentagon in size and outdo it in poshness. Its blunders on the international scene have been beauts. And the record is clear that the Agency has strayed from its original purpose.

President Truman established the CIA in 1947 to serve as a clearinghouse which would objectively sift and appraise the reports of existing military and civilian intelligence outfits. It was not expected to go into business on its own.

However, by 1955, the Hoover Commission studying Government operations found substantial evidence of overlapping activities and bureaucratic waste in the various agencies engaged in intelligence gathering.

Earlier this year, Truman ruefully reviewed the growth of the CIA. He said he regretted creating it in the first place and would abolish it today, if he had the power.

Sgt. William Henry Carney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, one of the proudest pages in American history was written by the heroic deeds of William Henry Carney, the son of a slave, who won the Nation's highest military tribute during the Civil War. I am happy to note that this Medal of Honor winner was a resident of New Bedford, Mass., which, as most of my colleagues know, is in my congressional district.

Recently, the Lynn Sunday Post published an article recounting Carney's courageous exploits. It was written by Anthony Cama, director of the Italian School in Lynn, Mass., and was brought to my attention with the suggestion that it would be of interest to my colleagues in the House. I am glad, therefore, to be able to bring to their attention this little-known story of a great American. Certain introductory material has been deleted because of the limitation of space.

The article follows:

CIVIL WAR MEDAL OF HONOR WINNER
SGT. WILLIAM HENRY CARNEY

(By Anthony Cama)

As the complex and strained battles go on for the passage of the civil rights bill, this writer is honored and privileged to tell a wonderful, inspiring story of Sgt. William Henry Carney of New Bedford, Mass., a native of Norfolk, Va., born of slave parents and freed with his family by a special charitable provision of their master's will. Most of the facts included in this writing were extracted from the splendid little magazine Yankee, of Dublin, N.H., and permission to use the facts was graciously granted by Judson D. Hale, managing editor. The story, written by Marie Cullen, centers around the Civil War battle flags of the Union, including those of the 21st and 54th Regiments. They can be seen today in Doric Hall at the Massachusetts State House, Boston.

When, in 1840, the Carney family found itself free of the bonds and stigma of slaves they shifted about from State to State ever seeking a place to settle and to assume their place in society. Coming to New Bedford, Mass., they believed they had, at last, found a place to rest and provide for their needs of the day and of the future. Here, William Henry Carney, matured through his childhood going to school and mixing in with the white children. As he came into manhood and managed to get along very well with the adult whites around him, the terrible holocaust of the Civil War spread its torment anguish and death all over the embattled Nation.

In February 1863, William and other youthful citizens of New Bedford, joined the first Negro regiment assembled in a northern State east of the Mississippi and his Company C was sent in March to Camp Meigs, Readville, Mass.

On a clear day in May, he stood with mixed ranks of white and Negro, in the square at Camp Meigs, to receive the regimental colors. In the middle of the plaza stood the distinguished Governor Andrew and his military staff in full uniform. Also present were William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass, whose two sons were in the ranks.

Speaking to Col. Robert Gould Shaw, the regiment's white commander, Governor Andrew eloquently said, "It is my high honor to hand you the American flag, the Star-Spangled Banner of the Republic. * * * The white stripes will be red with blood before it will be surrendered to the foe."

Less than 2 weeks after this most memorable and impressive ceremony the 54th was shipped to South Carolina. In an expedition to James Island on July 16, the Negro soldiers helped to repel a violent Confederate attack. They were then ordered to evacuate. Throughout that stormy night they crossed streams and marshes, weary and shivering in the chill air. Tired, hungry, and thirsty * * * no rations had been provided and they were hoarding the little water supply they had. At the dawning they rested on the cool sands at Cole Island until the blistering sun awakened them. In the late afternoon they were ordered to report as quickly as possible to General Strong.

On Saturday afternoon, July 18, short of rations and weary, William and his comrades attacked Fort Wagner on Morris Island. Nearly a full mile of open sand faced them on one side, and on the other side were the enemy, strongly entrenched within the protective walls of the formidible fort.

William, freed slave, American Negro, moved into the tempest of death, mutilation, and destruction, with teeth clenched and un-

wavering determination that he would be as brave as any other of his comrades. The fire of the artillery ripped their ranks to shreds: exploding shells and musket volleys slaughtered whole companies. Somehow, William with scattered remnants, managed to approach the parapet where the enemy outnumbered them 10 to 1.

Suddenly a cry of alarm sprang from William's lips. He saw the color bearer stagger, stumble, and start to fall. With a tremendous burst of speed he reached the stricken man and snatched the flag before it could touch the ground. Now, with a thrilling quiver running through his body, he held the holy emblem of his country in a grip of incredible determination; now, he, and the magnificent flag of his native land were standing alone in the acrid blackness listening to the bugles blowing retreat. Surrounded by the dead and wounded, William suddenly realized that he was the only man of Company C able to move about the carnage.

Writes Marie Cullen, "Winding the flag around the staff, he dashed down the parapet and crossed the ditch, knowing he was a moving target for the enemy's guns. While rising to determine how to continue his course, he was hit in the hip by a musket ball. He was not prostrated, however, he held the staff upright and by crawling on his knees managed to proceed a short distance. Presently, he was hailed by a straggler from a New York regiment, who revived him with a drink of water and helped him to get up.

They had traveled about a mile when Carney fell, hit by a grapeshot on the top of his head. Again, after resting, he was able, with his companion's help, to continue and they kept on until the New York man dropped seriously wounded."

At this point, other soldiers happened along, Carney, still holding the flag, was taken to a spot where men of his regiment had gathered, under the command of Lt. Alexander Johnston, Company F. To him Carney transferred the colors, while the soldiers shouted a hearty three times three for the flag and its bearer. Carney, near collapse from his wounds managed to respond: "The old flag never touched the ground boys."

Thus this magnificent epic of an American Negro * * * his utterance of pride and valor that the old flag never touched the earth was repeated thousands of times in songs, poems, and public speeches. It became a most brilliant torch of patriotism and courage for the northern forces during the terrible brother-against-brother Civil War, a strife that saddened and aged the immortal Abraham Lincoln beyond any words that man could ever write.

Williams was sent to the Beaufort Hospital, where he slowly recuperated from his wounds in December of 1863. He was returned to his regiment but was unable to continue his duties as a soldier and sergeant because of the constant trouble from his wounds and hip. In June 1864 he was discharged for his physical disabilities.

Soon the war terminated; he entered the employ of the Postal Department and became a letter carrier in New Bedford even though he still limped from the bullet embedded in his hip. For 32 years, this humble American hero carried the U.S. mail. When the Robert G. Shaw Post 146, Grand Army of the Republic, was formed in honor of the 54th's colonel, he became its first commander.

In 1902 he was employed by William M. Olin, secretary of the Commonwealth, at the statehouse in Boston. In November 1908 his legs got caught in an elevator mishap, and he died on December 9, 1908, as a result of his injuries.

As the funeral procession of Sergeant Carney moved solemnly through New Bedford's streets, flags were lowered on all public buildings. Nearly every citizen stood by in homage to the Negro hero, Medal of Honor winner, who now lies in Oak Grove Cemetery. There is the grave of the invincible colorbearer who, at Fort Wagner, held in his black hands, pressed to his black skin, the flag of his mother country which he never let touch the ground.

Idaho's War on Alcoholism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH R. HARDING
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, today with increases in the crime rate, juvenile delinquency, broken homes, and general unhappiness among too many of our citizens, we sometimes fail to realize that one of the major causes of these problems is a disease called alcoholism.

On Sunday, July 26, the Washington Post carried an excellent feature story on the disease of alcoholism. Under unanimous consent I include this article at this point in the RECORD:

ALCOHOLISM: REVOLVING DOOR AFFLICTION—DRUNKS REEL IN AND OUT OF JAIL AS DEBATE OVER WHAT MAKES THEM THAT WAY GOES ON

(By Rasa Gustaitis and Dan Morgan)

Sitting in the city's "drunk court" is like listening to a broken record. Day after day tortured faces reappear and stories are repeated, dulling realization that this is a parade of wasted lives.

On any morning in the courtroom in the court of general sessions, one is likely to see an unshaven man who incessantly hitches up his outsize pants; an overly diffident defendant who addresses the court as "Judge, Sir, Your Honor" all at once; and a man who clutches a "bus ticket" and assures the judge, for the 76th time in 10 years, that he "was just passing through town" when arrested.

One by one the persons accused of public drunkenness are brought into the courtroom, from an adjoining cell block that resembles, a high school locker room—with bars. Sometimes the groans and retching of a person suffering the withdrawal symptons of the alcoholic can be heard in the courtroom.

Last week a woman, her right eye closed and blackened, and her dress hanging off one shoulder, was sent off for a mental examination despite her objection that "they done that already."

Next came a well-dressed man in a gray suit who could not remember being locked up. "I'm an alcoholic and I need help," he said.

Each year there are more than 40,000 arrests here for intoxication. Only traffic offenses, including parking violations, outnumber this type of arrest.

More discouraging, an estimated 70 percent of drinking offenses involve repeaters, of whom one-fifth have been arrested more than 50 times. Medical, judicial, and penal authorities recognize that alcoholism is a disease. Yet in more than 16,000 cases here each year, the defendant—often a chronic alcoholic—is jailed for public drunkenness.

It is now generally agreed that an alcoholic is a person who is unable to control his drinking. Whether this is caused by a physical allergy inherited at birth, an allergy developed through years of heavy drinking, or an allergy coupled with a mental obsession is yet to be settled.

"All that is certain is that at some point you cross an invisible line from controlled to uncontrolled drinking. After that you can no longer choose the time, place, or amount," said a member of Alcoholics Anonymous who is now a counselor at a rehabilitation home for alcoholics.

"Nobody knows the cause and nobody knows the cure," said Dr. Earl H. Mitchell, chairman of the subcommittee on alcoholism of the District of Columbia Medical Society. "We don't know how to make a person a normal drinker again. All we can do is to try to help him to stop drinking."

A District law recognizes the distinction between victims of this affliction and persons who drink to excess while in full control of their wills. "Chronic alcoholics are sick persons," it states and sets up procedures for their commitment to clinics.

But the law goes largely unheeded. There are no adequate facilities for treatment of alcoholics who come before the courts, and so they continue to be jailed together with all other public drunkenness offenders.

Next month, the Washington Area Council on Alcoholism and the National Capital chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union plan to attack the problem directly by challenging the constitutionality of punishing alcoholics with jail.

The defense lawer in the test case, Peter Hutt, plans to argue that the defendant, an occasional laborer named Walter W. Bowles, cannot be found guilty of a crime since his intoxication resulted from a disease that compels him to drink.

If the backers of the case achieve their aim, the District will be forced to find a way to provide treatment for alcoholics if they are to be confined for being drunk.

Almost everyone close to the "revolving door" drunkenness offender—the ceaseless traveler on the bottle-arrest-drunk-court-Occoquan Workhouse route—would like to see changes in the present procedures.

Police deplore the expenditure of their manpower. They are required to take intoxicated persons into custody when they are likely to suffer injury from automobiles or criminals or when they may injure others. Drinking cases make up 10 percent of all the city's arrests.

Judges get weary of seeing the same faces appear before them at regular intervals, dozens, even hundreds of times. They vary in the length of sentences they mete out. Some judges tend to give longer sentences in the winter, and thus prolong the lives of some down-and-out patients by giving them warm shelter and food for a while.

District of Columbia Department of Corrections Director Donald Clemmer says "some of these people should never be in jail."

Last week a short-order cook who had just been released on a suspended sentence told how jail affected him.

"I haven't got any will power," he said. "I sit in jail for a few months and I want to celebrate when I get out. The next thing I know I'm back in. Perhaps with social rehabilitation or hospitalization I could get the incentive," he said. "But all my friends are drunks and these are the people I tend to mix with in jail. I don't think jail has done me any good. But it's taken a lot of time out of my life."

Judges do order hospitalization for people who suffer from acute alcoholism and District of Columbia General Hospital has good facilities for their "drying out." But after a week or two in a ward, most are abandoned to their own resources, although many medical authorities hold that a person is not really "dried out" until he has been away from alcohol for several months.

"We can treat the acute alcoholic phase but not alcoholism" said Dr. John D. Schultz, associate director for Mental Health and Retardation at the Public Health Department.

Those with the will and strength to benefit from weekly or twice-weekly therapy sessions can go to the Health Department's alcoholic rehabilitation clinic or take part in the program conducted by the probation department of general sessions court. But very few of the more than 16,000 convicted annually manage to pull out the "revolving door" trap with just that.

This clinic, at 1400 Q Street NW., was established in 1950, partly in the hope of relieving the courts and jails of some of their drunkenness offenders. It is financed by 6 percent of liquor license taxes and $25,000 from the Health Department. Every month, more than 350 patients receive group or individual therapy there. Some are destitute public welfare recipients with little education. Others are clerical or professional people who have hit bottom or are near it. Fees are set in accordance with ability to pay.

About 40 percent appear once or twice and then never come again. (Bowles last week stopped in, began to register, then suddenly decided this would not help him and went away, said Dorothee F. Mindlin, chief clinical psychologist of the District of Columbia Alcoholic Rehabilitation Division.) Those who work with alcoholics expect this.

The clinic is clearly beneficial to many. But it has not reduced the number of court cases. Between 1950 and 1962, nearly half of the total clinic patients were court-referred. But there have been no referrals since October 1962. Discouragement with results and competition with a later established rehabilitation unit at the Court of General Sessions appear to be the reasons for abandoning referrals. Now the clinic does not even have a staff liaison person at the court.

The chronically jailed alcoholic whose intelligence is average or below, whose basic motivation to change is poor or nonexistent, and who has no social resources in the community, seems to have little chance for recovery under outpatient treatment," reported Mrs. Mindlin in 1955. "Outpatient therapy alone apparently is not effective for the typical workhouse inmate."

In an attempt to provide something for this typical inmate, the clinic conducted a pilot project at Occoquan between 1954 and 1957. One hundred selected alcoholic men confined for 90 days were given brief individual therapy, occupational and recreational therapy, and social work counseling about their future after release. Thirty-two of the men registered improvement and 45 showed no change. The rest could not be found for a followup. It was estimated that if the men had been taken at random, about 12 percent would have found such brief treatment beneficial.

But after 2½ years the project was abandoned. An alcoholic clinic spokesman blames the Department of Corrections; the Department's spokesman blames the clinic.

District Health officials and the Washington Council on Alcoholism agree that there is an urgent need for:

A residential facility with a comprehensive treatment program.

Halfway houses to help alcoholics bridge the difficult period between drying out and resumption of a normal life.

More clinics.

More public education about alcoholism.

Dr. Schultz said he is now working on a proposal for a comprehensive mental health program that will include an alcoholic clinic on the grounds of District of Columbia General Hospital among the priority items.

He said a public education program will soon get underway with the hiring of a "very toplevel person" as head of the Bureau of Alcoholism in the Health Department. The needs of alcoholics continue to be neglected because the problem is still widely thought of as the result of misbehavior rather than of disease, he said.

With all its limited facilities, Dr. Schultz added, the District is still ahead of many cities in possessing a good outpatient clinic and in providing some help to alcoholics in a 180-bed psychiatric convalescent service established last year at District of Columbia General.

Treatment for the disease is in an embryonic stage everywhere and there is no agreement on what approach works best. Because alcoholism is often complicated with a variety of mental and emotional disturbances, different methods work for different people.

The approach of Alcoholics Anonymous has shown the most dramatic results. But it can help only those who are ready to help themselves—a small proportion of those who are sick. A widely held AA view is that the others cannot be helped at all.

Many doctors disagree, of course. Part of the illness, they maintain, is the inability to admit that you are ill. With time and professional care, a patient can be helped to the point of this admission, they say. After that he can be helped to cease drinking.

But therapists and doctors with long years of work in this field admit they are still groping. And some psychiatrists refuse to take alcoholics because they say they can get more results helping five other patients in the time they would spend trying to help one alcoholic.

"Fifty-percent results are the best we can hope for. With the chronic drunkenness offender perhaps 10 percent," said Dr. Anthony Zappala, director of an alcoholic treatment program at the Pastoral Institute, a nonsectarian project in which clergy, psychiatrists, and physicians work together.

But any attempt at therapy would be better than the current procedures, some backers of the Bowles case hold. It would at least be an effort in the right direction, they say.

The inequities of the present system do not end with court procedures, some feel. There is a saying that a man who gets drunk in Chevy Chase is a sport, but a person who gets drunk at Fifth and D is a bum.

When a person is arrested for drunkenness he is held at the precinct stationhouse for 4 hours, to give him a chance to sober up. After that he is given a chance to post $10 bond. Nearly half of the persons charged forfeit bond and never show up in court.

Only those without funds end up there, and in most cases they are the same persons from lower economic groups who are unable to afford private, outside treatment.

This contrast was dramatically illustrated last week at Melwood Farm, a luxury rehabilitation home for alcoholics that stands secluded amid 40 acres of trees and rolling meadows near Olney, Md.

Most of the 15 patients at Melwood are well-educated people who have—or had—responsible and well-paying jobs. They pay about $600 a month for their stay and receive counseling, psychotherapy and other care that helps them make another try.

The 15th patient is Walter Bowles, the occasional laborer who is the defendant in the test case being made by the ACLU and the Council on Alcoholism. His residence is as much Occoquan as anyplace else most of the time, for he has been convicted of public drunkenness 54 times in the District during the past 10 years.

But because he has been chosen as a typical "revolving door" case by the two organizations, he is now reaping the benefits of Melwood while paying for his keep by working there. Bowles's backers believe he is as much an alcoholic as the other Melwood patients and as much in need of help. For destitute men like him, the court and the city government offer the only chance.

But what should be done with those who are beyond the reach of the most effective therapy?

There is no agreement on the answer. Some in the field believe they should be institutionalized indefinitely and provided with sheltered workshops. Some say this would be an unwarranted interference with personal freedom. Some even hold that they should be put into some institution and allowed to drink themselves to death.

And what should be done with all the alcoholics who come before the court if there are no other facilities for them than jail? Are they to be allowed to sleep in doorways, beg for a dime and wander helplessly in the streets? Dr. Schultz and veteran General Sessions Judge DeWitt S. Hyde believe that jail is the only practical answer to the problem until other facilities are provided.

But the Bowles case supporters believe that if the jailing of alcoholics is declared unconstitutional, the problem would have to be brought forcibly to public attention and an urgent search for new solutions would begin.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report to you and to my colleagues that in Idaho we have a group of dedicated men and women who have realized what a serious blight alcoholism is on the American way of life and have set out to do something about this disease. Already these dedicated people have incorporated the Idaho Foundation on Alcoholism and organized the Pocatello Council on Alcoholism and the Idaho Falls Council on Alcoholism.

I include at this point in the RECORD some information pertaining to these fine organizations:

IDAHO FOUNDATION ON ALCOHOLISM

(Incorporated in the State of Idaho, September 1963)

Officers pro tempore: Captain Parker J. Moore, president; Arnold Teeples, vice president; Clifford Miller, secretary treasurer; Jack Varney, State organizer; Dale Mangum, assistant State organizer.

IDAHO FOUNDATION ON ALCOHOLISM

The majority of people accept and use alcoholic beverages as a social custom. For one in every 14 of them drinking is a disease which disrupts normal progressive happy living. This disease known as alcoholism is exceeded only by cancer, heart disease, and mental illness as a public health threat to our State and Nation.

By establishing a foundation of interested, responsible citizens, we expect to present the facts about alcoholism to the people of Idaho, demonstrating the ways and establishing the means of helping those afflicted with this disease and to seek to discover the cause and nature of the problem.

OBJECTIVE OF IFA AND COUNCILS

1. To increase public understanding of alcoholism, its nature and treatment.

2. To make this knowledge effectual in solving the problem of alcoholism.

3. To promote the three basic principles—alcoholism is a disease and the alcoholic a sick person—the alcoholic can be helped and is worth helping—alcoholism is a public health problem therefore a public responsibility.

4. To develop and operate facilities for the rehabilitation of alcoholics.

5. To promote and direct research in the field of alcoholism.

POCATELLO COUNCIL ON ALCOHOLISM

(Organized, October 1963)

Conway Grant, president; Spencer Ford, vice president; Clifford Miller, secretary; Jay R. Lowe, treasurer; Jackie Jordan, recording secretary. Directors: Jack Varney, Capt.

Parker J. Moore, Vern Wardle, Judge W. H. (Pete) Jensen, Betty Terrell.

IDAHO FALLS COUNCIL ON ALCOHOLISM

(Organized, May 1964)

Dale Mangum, president; Alvin Ingstrom, vice president; Emmett Summers, secretary; Katherine Draney, treasurer; Suzanne Mangum, corresponding secretary. Executive Committee: Reed Lord, George Roberts, Devere Hansen.

On Monday, June 22 the Idaho Foundation on Alcoholism had its first annual convention on the campus of Idaho State University in Pocatello, Idaho. An outstanding program aimed at combating the evil of alcoholism was presented. I want to congratulate the Idaho State leaders in their war on alcoholism and pledge my fullest support to their efforts and hope that they will be joined in the future by thousands of Idahoans who are dedicated to building better homes, better communities, a better State, a better Nation, and a better world. Certainly one of the best ways we can accomplish this is by eradicating alcoholism.

Teddy's Chaplain at San Juan Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following news story from the Houston (Tex.) Press of March 6, 1964:

STORMED SAN JUAN HILL WITH A BIBLE: 100-YEAR-OLD GI TO HAVE MILITARY BIRTHDAY PARADE

(By Sigman Byrd)

They never die, says that song about old soldiers, the one Douglas MacArthur made famous in our generation.

What the song means, of course, is that devotion to duty is reborn in every generation of American servicemen, and that the service is ennobled by the shining examples of men like General MacArthur, Sgt. Alvin York, the late—and last—Confederate, Walter Williams of Houston, and James Arthur Adams.

Capt. James Arthur Adams of Houston Heights, that is, who will be 100 years old tomorrow. That apparently makes him the oldest GI in Harris County—and maybe in the State.

ARMY CHAPLAIN

Jim Adams was an Army chaplain with a Pennsylvania artillery outfit in the Spanish-American War.

He was born at Staunton, Ill., on March 7, 1864. Now he lives alone in a little three-room rent house on Oxford Street between Whiteoak Drive and the Katy tracks.

And tomorrow, on the centenary of his birth, he expects a military band composed of veterans of much later wars, to play martial music before his home.

Furthermore, he expects to lead the band in a 10-block march down Whiteoak to Heights Boulevard and back, in honor of Colonel Roosevelt's celebrated victory at San Juan Hill.

TR'S RIGHT HAND

Did you ever know a Spanish-American War veteran who wasn't there with Teddy at San Juan Hill? Well, Captain Jim is no exception.

"I was Teddy Roosevelt's righthand man. I stood beside him before he led the Rough Riders up the Hill. I was rough, and I was just 35. But I was a chaplain, and I carried a Bible instead of a gun. So I didn't ride against the enemy. I just prayer for our boys, and the Lord was on our side.

"I'll say this about Teddy Roosevelt. He would have Fidel Castro cornered by now."

Who promised Captain Jim the military band and the White Oak Drive parade is unclear. What is clear is that if the band doesn't play tomorrow morning and he doesn't march, an old soldier's heart will be saddened beyond the weight of his years.

OUTLIVED CHILDREN

Biographically, Captain Jim says he was born the son of a construction engineer, studied at Northwestern Theological Seminary and was ordained a Methodist minister at the age of 18.

A vigorous man with frosty hair and sky-blue eyes, he has been batching in his little three-room house at 532 Oxford since January 14, when his third wife, Florence, died at the age of 74.

Besides three wives, the reverend captain has outlived his three children. Now his only companions are three parakeets, the gift of a friend. And they make so much noise he can scarcely hear the freight trains passing on the Katy tracks. He'd like to be free of the budgies.

Despite the birds, his house is as neat and clean as a barracks. Even his late wife's clothes are arranged with military precision in a builtin closet of the captain's own construction.

SKILLED CRAFTSMAN

Captain Jim spends his days building furniture and repairing clocks for his friends.

As clocksmith and cabinetmaker, his skill is evident in every corner. Clocks tick or hum in every room—electric, 8-day, 30-day, and 400-day clocks.

"Say, did I tell you? I play a fiddle, too."

A fiddling Methodist preacher? That's right. Captain Jim likes to play his violin while Heifetz performs a Bruch concerto on the record player.

HE'S READY

Right now, though, the musical question is whether the veterans' band that somebody seems to have promised is going to play tomorrow morning—or whether the old fiddler will have to play his own birthday music.

Captain Jim is ready. He's waited 100 years to march those 10 blocks wearing his American Legion Medal of Merit. And to yell: "Remember the *Maine*."

But not: "To hell with Spain."

"I wish no one the torments of hell," says Chaplain Jim Adams.

My old friend, Bill Painter, who sent me the above clipping concerning my buddy of 1898, adds this postscript: "The band never showed up and he was heartbroken."

Patent Office Location

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the proposal to rehouse the Patent Office has prompted a concern on the part of interested parties that the General Services Administration is contemplating relocating the Patent Office outside the environs of Washington, D.C. It is my feeling that a move outside the Washington metropolitan area would be both inefficient and inappropriate. This feeling has been substantiated by the American Patent Law Association and other interested groups and individuals.

As an example of the valid reasons for retaining the location of the Patent Office in the Washington, D.C., area, I include here a letter from S. Chesterfield Oppenheim, professor of law at the University of Michigan. His views coincide with many others I have been receiving. The text of Professor Oppenheim's letter follows:

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
LAW SCHOOL,
Ann Arbor, July 3, 1964.

Hon. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MATHIAS: My attention has been called to the proposal to move the Patent Office to the vicinity of Baltimore, Md. I respectfully submit the following reasons why I believe this proposal is unwise.

First, I believe that a site for a new Patent Office Building is available in Washington. The information I have at hand convinces me that moving the Patent Office to the suburb of Baltimore is not a necessity for which no alternative exists.

Second, I feel that it is in the national interest to maintain in the Nation's Capital the seat of the important agencies of the Federal Government. I am sure that the people of this country have a deep attachment for the institutions of Government that are physically represented in buildings which tourists to the Capital respect as part of the institutional traditions dating back to the founding of our Republic. The Patent Office is one of these historic images. It dates back to 1790 when the first patent statute was enacted in 1790.

It seems to me that it is incompatible with one's sense of dignity and historic background of our Federal Government to remove from the Capital the headquarters of any of the leading agencies of the Government. To remove the Patent Office outside the District of Columbia to me is no different than a proposal to locate the Supreme Court Building elsewhere. The same would be true in the case of the Department of Justice, or the Department of Commerce, of which the Patent Office is a part.

Third, apart from these aspects of national pride and tradition, and the fact that there is no emergency which compels locating the Patent Office outside of Washington, there are other considerations of considerable significance. For example, small business firms involved in prosecuting applications for patents will be seriously prejudiced in extra expense and time if their representatives are unable to transact their business with the Government in the Nation's Capital. The large corporations can afford the extra expense that would inevitably be incurred due to the inconvenience of traveling to and from the Patent Office if it were to be located outside Baltimore. It is obvious that in many instances a trip to Washington permits a person to do other business with the Government involving other agencies. It is of prime importance, therefore, to centralize all of the buildings of these Government agencies in the District of Columbia.

Fourth, still another interest is that of the patent bar. Washington has become an important center for patent law firms and patent lawyers or organizations which are concerned not only with the patent laws but also with related trademark registrations

which are also handled by the Patent Office. These very same persons are also apt to practice in the related copyright field. All of this would mean that instead of being able to accomplish their purposes in one city they would have to travel between two places.

Fifth, certainly thoughtful consideration should be given to the interests of the Patent Office personnel, technical and otherwise. The large number of such employees of the Patent Office itself argues against disrupting their living arrangements and other roots already deeply established in Washington. A removal of the Patent Office outside Baltimore would undoubtedly cause resignations from the Patent Office by persons who are not willing to face up to being uprooted. This would be an especially great hardship upon the career employees in the Patent Office.

Sixth, it is also of paramount importance that persons who deal with the Patent Office have ready access to the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals which sits in Washington. Moreover, the Patent Office and technical personnel are constantly required to keep in close touch with other Federal agencies in Washington that are related to this field.

Finally, may I further point out that for decades the George Washington University Law School has been the leading institution for training in patent law. Having taught at that law school for 25 years, from 1927 to 1952, I can testify from personal experience that the location of the Patent Office in Washington has enabled many worthy persons who were employed as Patent Office examiners to attend evening classes at the law school to advance their professional training and opportunities. Whether this has caused some of them to go into private practice or to patent departments of corporations is not a decisive consideration. Many of them have remained in the Patent Office even after obtaining their law degrees. The point is that the resources in this country in technical personnel in the patent field have been greatly enhanced by giving Patent Office examiners the opportunity to become lawyers in the patent field. I may add that Georgetown University Law School also is entitled to consideration in this same connection.

I therefore respectfully conclude that, from the standpoint of the public and private interests involved, the removal of the Patent Office from Washington would be a serious error of judgment. I predict that such a move would understandably produce widespread protests not only from the patent bar but from various other segments of the public who take pride in preserving the traditional sites of our Federal Government agencies.

Respectfully yours,

S. CHESTERFIELD OPPENHEIM,
Professor of Law.

The Choice Is Yours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, D. W. Brosnan, president of the great Southern Railway System, delivered a magnificent address to the graduating class of the Georgia Institute of Technology, June 13, 1964.

I commend to the attention of the Congress and to the citizens of our entire country this superb and timely address:

THE CHOICE IS YOURS

Members of the graduating class, congratulations are in order for each of you and I extend them warmly as one who remembers what lies behind such a day as this.

You have accomplished much. You have a right to be proud that you have met and mastered the high standards by which Georgia Tech has severely tested you before it found you worthy of the degrees being conferred here today. I am sure the pride you feels is shared by the loved ones who have helped you in so many ways—sometimes with great sacrifice—to meet the challenges these past years have held for you.

Your educational base has been laid for beginning the business of life. You have learned to think. It is from this point forward that you will really start to show what kinds of men and women you are. And ahead lie the time when you will be subjected to pressures and challenges for which textbooks have given you no answers. Put most simply, I think I can say you are entering the age of choice. Ahead lie the years when only you can determine whether you will shape your own futures or will choose to accept the kind of lives others impose on you.

This has been no cloister in which you have attended college. From personal knowledge I know that you have worked hard. Yet you have been close to the world through these past years. You are aware of the ebb and flow of events on the world scene. You have had a chance to observe the changing ways occurring in our own country.

I hope all of you have taken time from your textbooks to look critically around you so that you are not entering on this business of life without some ideas of your own. This country and the world needs your ideas. Let me repeat, with all possible emphasis, the word "your."

We have a poverty of true leadership people in this world today. It's worth noting that among the most prominent and effective leaders are many whose philosophies threaten the very future to which you look so hopefully today.

The success of such men in this world—if they are dictators—is measured directly in terms of their abilities to stamp out individualism in whatever form it may appear within the areas of their influence. This form of imposing on the people a pattern of living, making them into a faceless herd-like mass which is now so widespread in the world, runs contrary to all our American beliefs.

It is true that we do not countenance dictatorships nor fear their rise in our country. This does not mean, however, that we are free of the danger of herdlike accepance of limitations on our rights to be individuals.

It is important for us to recognize that the right to personal choice can be given away or voted away in a democracy as well as stolen away by a dictatorship.

In the years ahead of you, there will be many occasions when you will be called upon to decide:

How much more of your freedom is to be given away;

How much more limitation you will accept on your rights to be individuals;

How much more deeply you choose to burrow into the security of a mass existence;

How little you will retain of your rights to be individuals who want to give expression to their own lives.

The colonial history of Georgia gives proof of what individual freedom meant then and means now for this great country of ours. General Oglethorpe was apparently a man of conscience whose high motives led him to obtain the royal charter for a colony where the poor of England and the religiously oppressed in Europe could find a home.

But few wished to remain in the colony after they arrived here because all executive and legislative power was vested in the trustees. There was no political liberty for the individual man. The right to hold property was severely restricted.

Migration from Georgia to South Carolina and other colonies was a common thing because personal liberties were greater there and land could be owned in fee. Only when the charter had expired and Georgia became a royal province with greater liberties for all did the colony begin to flourish.

The people who settled America were individuals who stood for something. Sometimes, it might be more accurate to say, they stood firmly and bravely against some things.

Our forefathers were not people who willingly surrendered individuality or personal rights for security and comfort. They accepted the responsibilities and the risks involved in looking out for themselves. They did not expect or demand to take from society more than they contributed to it.

Throughout its history America has been looked to as a land of opportunity for all by those who sought to come here. In more recent years, there is a growing tendency on the part of those who are here to expect that America will be the land of complete security for all.

We have always demonstrated in this Nation of ours that we are mindful of the needs of others and I do not suggest by what I have said that we should change. But there is a creeping blight which we must arrest. It demands conformity to the belief that cradle to the grave prosperity can be guaranteed if we turn over all our affairs to the management of government. It gives the false promise that, if we do, we need then have no concern about our personal contribution to our own personal advancement and welfare.

There are those among you, without question, who have already accepted employment only after making sure you know what fringe benefits your future employer is offering. You have already looked for guarantees of relative freedom from worry about many of life's trials and tribulations.

Others of you—and I surely hope most—are eager to meet life and its challenges. You know that governments as such create nothing—least of all security. You aren't ready to settle for what others can or will give you. You have some understanding of the virtues of personal effort, of personal thrift, of the individual character, of dedication to personal accomplishment. You are ready to make the personal sacrifice of pleasures and time that true accomplishment has always demanded.

These personal virtues are today the same great force in the lives of men who accomplish goals, who create jobs and national wealth as they have been all through the years. You will be richly rewarded in your personal lives by maintaining and nourishing your traits of individualism and personal integrity.

Closely related to the illusory search for security, and in many ways equally debilitating, is the growing passion for conformity. I am not talking about conformity to minimal standards of conduct and basic moral principles; the very fabric of civilization is woven out of this kind of conformity. Neither am I urging that you reject ideas or customs merely because they are generally accepted.

What I do warn you against, however, is conformity for conformity's sake, especially in the world of ideas. What I am talking about is unthinking conformity, without your own critical analysis of whether the idea or policy or principle or conduct to which you are conforming is in and of itself good for you.

Unhappily, today, the custom of following the crowd, like the increasing passion for security, appears on the increase. I say to you: Have the courage to think for yourself, to plan for yourself, to be yourself, and don't be afraid of being a minority.

Where you think you are right, don't hesitate to be an oddball. Edison was an oddball. Steinmetz was an oddball. Einstein was an oddball. So were the Wright brothers. Without the oddballs of history, we would never have made many of the great advances of which our Western civilization can boast.

The shelter of conformity and submersion in the mass is robbing vast numbers of people in this country today of the richest values of living, such as the sense of accomplishment from making a real contribution to life.

Character is built and grows through exercise, and character is an individual thing. Your own is like no other. It will be shaped usefully only as you make up your own mind to direct and form it. No benevolent government and no artificial norms of social consciousness or conscience can do that for you.

The mark you make and the mark you leave behind you in this world can be sharp and clear only if you live life as an individual. Otherwise, you'll be part of a meaningless blot that really represents the only mark a mass can make.

Perhaps it was a thought like this the poet had in mind who wrote:

By thine own soul's law learn to live,
And if men thwart thee, take no heed,
And if men hate thee, have no care;
Sing thou thy song, and do thy deed,
Hope thou thy hope and pray thy prayer.[1]

Only as we—each of us—do our own deeds, hope our own hopes, and pray our own prayers as individuals will this world become a better place for all men to live. It is individual effort that contributes most to the common good.

There is no storehouse of common good from which each individual can extract a share unless the accumulated efforts of all of us create and constantly replenish such a store.

The store of common good has grown in this United States of ours from generation to generation. Its present richness found you born into better things than your forefathers knew. They made it richer through their efforts. When you have lived your lives, your children should find it richer still because you met your individual responsibilities to make it so.

Chief among the things to be considered by you today is not the mere fact of your birth but that you were born into a world offering greater opportunity to serve, to build—to expand knowledge and to really make the world even better by your having lived.

Time-tested things made this so. Chief among these have been the leadership and active participation in life by people who never forgot their responsibility to themselves. Only such people are in any position to be helpful to others. They are the only truly unselfish ones. They cannot live within themselves but must reach out and think and plan and do, for others as well as for themselves. They are the only truly useful people throughout recorded history.

The vigor of mind and enthusiasm of spirit that you carry away from here with you on this commencement day can remain with you throughout your life. But you must keep them strong and vital by using them constantly. The future isn't charted. Vast areas of the still unknown remain for you to explore. The frontier of a wilderness such as faced the early settlers has its many counterparts to challenge you today. There is no lack of opportunity to exercise your every skill and all of your talents for living a creative, useful life.

For many years, I have kept on the wall of my office a framed copy of what is called "An American Creed."[2] This is how it reads:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon if I can. I seek opportunity—not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled, dulled, by having the state look after me. I want to be a calculated risk; to dream and to build; to fail or succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed existence; the thrill of fulfillment to the calm of utopia.

"I will not trade freedom for beneficence, nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid; to think and act for myself; enjoy the benefits of my creation, and to face the world boldly and say:

" 'This I have done.' "

The choice is yours. You, too, can be this kind of person. I hope, God willing, that you all will be.

[1] "Self-Reliance" by Pakenham Beatty.

[2] Apparently adapted by some anonymous writer from "My Creed" by Dean Alfange. See Reader's Digest, October 1952.

Spires of the Spirit—A Treacherous Truce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in yesterday's Washington Star a most timely message from the Reverend Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, in his weekly column "Spires of the Spirit." The subject of his column is the treacherous truce which today governs relations between the United States and the den of Kremlin thieves who rule over a vast slave empire and plot our destruction as free people.

Dr. Harris points out that the burning issue before the people of our Nation is not peace, but human freedom. He points out it is not possible to work out a peaceful understanding worthy of the name with the marauding Russian bear and that the Russian call for peaceful coexistence is nothing more than a deathtrap for those who walk down the path of cowardice. History stands at the side of Dr. Harris in his conclusion and contemporary events mark his analysis as the ringing voice of truth.

I commend the reading of this column to all my colleagues in the House. I wish it could be read in every home of our Nation. It is a refreshing call to those who carry the responsibilities of leadership to see the crisis of our times in the harsh reality of truth. By leave granted, I include Dr. Harris' article on "A Treacherous Truce," as follows:

A TREACHEROUS TRUCE

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate)

In all directions the word now being broadcast is that there is to be a letup in tensions so far as the threat of communism is concerned. The cold war is to be made at least lukewarm. Let us stop irritating the Kremlin den of thieves by constantly talking about captive nations. This altered attitude seems to be based on alleged changes which are going on in the Soviet Union and on the quarrel which has erupted between Red China and Red Russia. Both these assumptions are loaded with dangerous booby-traps for the free world. The truth is that whatever changes are evolving in the U.S.S.R. are going on in a controlled police state and are allowed because they strengthen the regime and further the unalterable objective of world domination.

The bitter division in world policy among the members of the Communist bloc has to do, not with the desire of one school of thought to be kinder to the West than the other, but because there is a radical difference as to the methods by which the flame of freedom is to be extinguished everywhere. Their idea of coexistence is just an ominous lull in the war they are confident of winning.

It is because of that war-to-the-death policy of the most blasphemous system humanity has ever known that across the sky of this free land is written the fiery warning that the one burning issue of these days of destiny is not peace as many assume. It is freedom. A passion for a spurious peace, when there is no just and righteous peace, finally degenerates into the coward's whine, "Better Red than dead."

The menace of the godless conspiracy of communism is so real and so near that it is a tragedy when pulpits become sounding boards for a so-called peace which is divorced from righteousness. It is tragically true that in America today there are religious leaders advocating the kind of peace which is the objective of Soviet propaganda. They foster a false calm which they call peace, ignoring the dire fact that, as Secretary of State Rusk puts it, "With the Soviet Union peace becomes a word to describe whatever condition will promote their world revolution."

What is being said in some religious quarters of this free land, and from some pulpits, utterly ignores the testimony of Dr. Arthur Voobus, who, in his native Estonia, saw the liquidation of everything for which the Christian Church stands. The methods employed brought no protest from the church in the land of the bandits. From his present theological chair in Chicago this man of God cries out to those who seek accommodation with these betrayers of the Great Head of the church, "The Soviet rule extirpates every human value, obliterates the voice of conscience, violates the sense of morality, uproots human virtues, and erases freedom of thought." How can anyone in our free land who prizes liberty, and unrestrained opportunity to practice and proclaim one's faith, agree to soft pedal heinous methods which betray and deny the things we hold most dear?

Unfortunately the chief social concern of many top denominational officials, largely out of intimate touch with the masses of church members, is to exhort that in most public questions the church take the first turn to the left. There is a plentiful supply of literature aimed at brainwashing the local churches, as its members are propagandized to pursue the paths they are directed to take. When any public question is aired, representatives of many churches, joined in common council, are always there to announce that they speak for so many millions of church members. They do nothing of the kind. The megaphones they put to their lips often broadcast only their individual opinions without reference to the thinking of the millions who make up the church membership of the Nation. In the present titanic global battle for the bodies and souls of men, the voices of such church-labeled organizations are strangely muted. Espousing coexistence, they warn the Government to go slow in any action which tends to

arouse the ire of dictator regimes. In such mistaken attitudes we cannot forget that the churches of England were told by their leaders to applaud when a Prime Minister took an umbrella to Munich—and no righteous sword—and a glorious little democracy in the midst of Europe was thrown to the wolves. That nation is in chains now because of a perfidy committed for "peace in our time."

A world organization of churches has even embraced as Christian colleagues puppets of the subservient Russian church who, as echoes of their master's voice, acquiesced in vile and violent and untrue accusations against the United States when in Korea it flung its righteous might against the atheistic Communist juggernaut.

Whatever menace to the freedom of the world the Chinese dragon may present in the future, it is the Russian bear which is now the present global threat. For that ruthless beast, as with us, it is all or nothing. In this crisis may the God of all truth give us a new breed of Rudyard Kiplings to see clearly in this grim day what he discerned almost three-quarters of a century ago concerning that same marauding bear. It was then that this prophet-poet warned:

"When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near,
When he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise,
When he veils the hate and cunning of his little, swinish eyes,
When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,
That is the time of peril, the time of the truce of the bear."

History and Development of Congregation Habonim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, in November 1964, the Congregation Habonim, a group of Jewish escapees from Nazi persecution will celebrate its 25th anniversary. The congregation was formed in 1939 in New York City to establish a congregation which, within the scope of American Jewry, would carry forward the ideals of liberal Judaism.

Today the Congregation Habonim has become a well-established religious group with a membership of over 1,000 families. It maintains its own temple and community center in the Borough of Manhattan and another community center in Rego Park, N.Y.

I take pleasure in extending my congratulations to the Congregation Habonim on its splendid achievements and am happy to place in the RECORD a short résumé of the history and development of this group which has succeeded in overcoming the hardships entailed in immigrating to this country.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF CONGREGATION HABONIM

On November 9, 1938, the synagogues in Germany were destroyed by the henchmen of Hitler. One year later a small group under the leadership of Dr. Hugo Hahn, former rabbi in Essen, formed a new congregation in New York which was named Habonim (the Builders). The idea of the founders of the new congregation was to form, in memory of the events in Germany, a new religious group to carry on the ideas and ideals of German liberal Judaism within the scope of American Jewry.

After only 1 year, during which time Habonim completed its organization as a religious corporation under the laws of the State of New York, it became necessary to hold the high holiday services in Town Hall in New York City which has a seating capacity of 1,500. From its very beginning Habonim was able to acquire new members; at present the congregation has a membership of approximately 1,000 families which made it necessary and possible to expand the congregational activities of a religious, educational, and social nature. Since many of the members of Habonim reside in the Borough of Queens, the congregation has arranged to hold services, religious school classes, and social activities not only in Manhattan but also in Queens.

After a long and most difficult struggle, the congregation dedicated its own temple and community center at 44 West 66th Street, New York, N.Y., in the month of March 1958; the congregation was able to concentrate many of its activities in this building in which services are held, meetings take place, and other activities are scheduled, except that it still holds high holiday services in town hall (in addition to high holiday services in the temple) and except for the fact that it has parallel religious services, social activities and religious school classes in Queens. In recent years Habonim has also acquired its own community center in Rego Park, Queens, N.Y.

From the very beginning Habonim has maintained strong and successful activities by a brotherhood, members of which have also served as ushers for the congregation, and a sisterhood; in the last years, under the auspices of the sisterhood of Habonim, a new activity was added entitled "sisterhood time" which gives hundreds of elderly men and women the possibility to meet once weekly in the community center to hear lectures, participate in arts and crafts work, etc.

Shortly after Habonim was formed the first plots were purchased to establish a cemetery; in the meantime this cemetery was considerably enlarged so that today a large field at Cedar Park belongs to Habonim.

Congregation Habonim has from the start laid particular stress upon the furtherance of the participation of its younger members in the congregational activities; various groups were formed to enable young people to become associated actively with the work and the interests of Habonim.

It has always been one of the main purposes of Habonim to maintain a high standard for its lectures and educational programs and its members have been privileged to hear many of the most prominent Jewish and non-Jewish speakers of our time address them on religious, literary, philosophical and many other subjects.

Habonim is led by a board of trustees consisting of 21 members; the congregation has 2 rabbis, 2 cantors, 2 organists, 2 choirs, between 10 and 12 teachers for the religious school, and a large office staff.

By joining the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and actively participating in its work, Habonim has become an integral part of American Jewry. It remains the goal of Congregation Habonim to maintain, as active members of the Jewish community in the United States, the ideas and ideals of liberal Judaism.

The 25th anniversary which Habonim will begin to celebrate in November of 1964, appears to be a proper occasion to reiterate its principles, hopes and ideas.

Michigan's Recovery Demands Publicizing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, it was only a couple of years ago that the name of Michigan was synonymous across the Nation with mismanagement and bankruptcy. Today, however, that image of Michigan is completey false for under the leadership of Gov. George Romney, the State of Michigan has regained not only its fiscal solvency but also the confidence and respect of Michigan citizens and businessmen. Because it is surely true that bad news travels faster and farther than good news the story of Michigan's renaissance must be brought before the attention of the entire Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I am pleased to insert an editorial appearing in the State Journal of Lansing, Mich., on Sunday, July 26, which proclaims this good news.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, July 26, 1964]

MICHIGAN'S RECOVERY DEMANDS PUBLICIZING

Let's tell the world about the glorious turnabout in Michigan's economic situation.

Everyone certainly got the word 5 years ago when State employees had payless paydays, when the State was facing a $110 million budget deficit, when there were jibes about "welfare state" and laments over an "unfavorable business climate," when the Governor and the legislature, and Democrats and Republicans alike, were condemning each other for the sorry state of affairs.

Thus it's only fair (and smart business for everyone in the State) that the world now should be made to know that Michigan has reported a $48.8 million general fund surplus, that new industries are moving in and old industries are expanding at impressive rates, that Michigan's unemployment ratio is below the national average, and that conditions are so favorable, indeed, that various political factions are now eager to claim the responsibility rather than to shift the blame.

Who gets the credit, or any particular share of the credit, should be secondary. The important thing is that proper notice be taken of the phenomenon that has occurred.

The $48.8 million budget surplus revealed last week for the fiscal year ended June 30 is even more significant than that figure indicates. Actually, there was an operating surplus of $91.6 million. But $22.9 million of this went to retire a general fund deficit that existed at the start of the fiscal year, and the legislature ordered another $20 million spent to bring State liquor control commission payments to suppliers up to a current or 30-day basis.

A general fund deficit of $85 million, with which Michigan entered the fiscal year that started July 1, 1962, has been entirely wiped out.

Setting aside for the moment any discussion of the possible inequities or other flaws in the taxes that produced Michigan State government's $610.6 milion in revenue for the fiscal year just ended, it is apparent that

this tax revenue was produced by a healthy economy.

Some evidences of this:

The Michigan Economic Extension Department reports a continuation this year of a growth pattern that last year saw 14 industries move into Michigan from other States, while Michigan capital backed the opening of another 72 plants. Five once-defunct industries reopened their doors in 1963, while established Michigan industries expanded with 259 new plants and buildings. In the first 4 months of 1964 announcements were made of plans to spend nearly a billion dollars for new plants and equipment, following up the investment of a whopping $430 million during 1963.

Unemployment in Michigan averaged 5.3 percent last year. That's higher than we like, to be sure. But it was below the national average of 5.7 percent for 1963, and represents a dramatic improvement from the 8.5 percent recorded in 1959.

The auto industry, a big factor in Michigan's current boom, has reported car and truck production to be running at a rate that is likely to top the 1963 output of 9,100,446 vehicles. Michigan assembles about one-third of the Nation's total output of motor vehicles, produces a tremendous volume of parts and provides much of the administrative know-how for the entire auto industry.

Similar optimistic statistics are available for the diversity of other industries located in Michigan, for tourism in the water wonderland, for population growth, for advances in higher education. Figures showing record volumes in construction of homes, warehouses, stores, and public improvements attest to a hearty confidence in the future of our State.

Unfortunately, however, the prevailing image of Michigan in many parts of the country is that which was projected in our dark days of 5 years ago. That the entire country was in trouble then, and that Michigan even then compared favorably with other States and regions by many economic standards, were facts that were conveniently overlooked. We got bad press then, far and wide, and the memories linger on.

"You got to accentuate the positive" said a hit song of some years ago, and that advice is a guiding precept in the fields of advertising and public relations.

Now that Michigan has some very positive facts and figures to cite, let's make the best of our opportunity.

Recognition of Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in recognition of Captive Nations Week, the sixth anniversary of which was held July 12 to 19. At no time can we forget the plight of the oppressed peoples of central and eastern Europe.

We must, of course, encourage and seek out every possible means of easing the tensions and solving the problems of the cold war. But in so doing, we must not forget that today more than 100 million people live in captive nations. The people of these nations have demonstrated time and again—many times with their lives—their desire for freedom. The revolts in East Berlin in 1953 and in Poland and Hungary in 1956 were dramatic and heartrending manifestations of the intense desires of these oppressed peoples to escape from totalitarian tyranny.

Today there is much talk that the regimes in east-central Europe are undergoing a process of liberalization. This is a development greatly to be desired. But whether liberalization is in fact taking place is questionable. While the harsh tactics of terrorism are perhaps less prevalent, the central pattern of repression in east-central Europe remains unchanged. The changes occurring in Eastern Europe, in which these countries at least give the appearance of moving away from Moscow control, have nowhere made a dent in the Communist Party's monopoly of power. The denial of basic human rights in the captive area remains complete.

Indeed, there continue to be instances of intensified repression in east-central Europe, as in Bulgaria where the Communist rulers recently cracked down on the country's intellectuals. This pattern of renewed repression also has been enacted recently in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Despite the emergence of some hopeful signs, communism continues to pose the major threat to the peace of the world. There is a risk that the mere passage of time will cause free peoples to forget the continuing plight of the unfree. The spirit of the people of east-central Europe is the most important weapon in this long struggle. We must encourage this free spirit. The United States must speak out. Our commitment to freedom compels us to dedicate ourselves to the cause of freedom wherever freedom is denied.

Senator Stuart Symington, of Missouri, Summons Us To Meet the Challenge of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States—and particularly the people of Missouri—are indeed fortunate in having in the Senate of the United States so able and outstanding a man as STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri. The senior Senator from Missouri is recognized as one of the straightest thinking, best informed, and most decisive in action of all American public servants.

From a remarkable background in business and in Government, Senator SYMINGTON brings to the problems which confront our country an incisive understanding of the fundamental strengths and weaknesses of our society and of the steps we must take to make this a better country in a better world. A successful businessman before turning to public service, he earned great distinction as the first Secretary of the Air Force, and as head of the National Security Resources Board. For the past 12 years, he has brought honor to Missouri as a Senator noted for his grasp of military and foreign policy issues, on the one hand, and of domestic social and economic problems, on the other. Four years ago, he was Missouri's proud choice for the Democratic nomination as President of the United States, and it was my great honor and privilege to make one of the nominating speeches at the 1960 convention in behalf of his candidacy.

SENATOR SYMINGTON ANALYZES OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Education—the needs of our educational system and the challenges to American progress based on our ability to solve those needs—has long been a subject of great interest to Missouri's senior Senator. Earlier this year, he delivered a characteristically perceptive address on the educational challenge of the next several years—perhaps the greatest single domestic emergency to be faced during this decade. Our communities, our States and the Nation must cope with demands for school enrollment increasing to nearly half again the present level, and college enrollment rising to double the present level by the year 1970.

This address was appropriately made at the dedication by the town of Kinloch, Mo.—a community which had to scrimp and sacrifice to provide the funds—of a new junior high school named in honor of the late President John F. Kennedy. Because of its many contributions to the solution of educational problems facing the Nation, this address, in my opinion, should be made more widely available to Members of Congress and to other Americans interested in this vital issue, and for that reason, Mr. Speaker, I submit Senator SYMINGTON'S address for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under unanimous consent of the House of Representatives, as follows:

EDUCATION: OUR GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCE—ADDRESS BY SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON, DEMOCRAT, OF MISSOURI, AT DEDICATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, KINLOCH, MO., APRIL 5, 1964

It is a privilege to participate with you in Kinloch today in an event which marks a milestone in community effort for the better education of America's children.

Recently your Mayor Clarence Lee came before a committee of the U.S. Senate; and as he described the spirit of local self-reliance characteristic of your community effort, he made a profound impression.

Few communities have displayed the self-sacrifice put forth by Kinloch in effort to help itself through such measures as the passage of bond issues and assumption of one of the heaviest tax burdens borne by the people of any town or city in the State—as you have worked to build your community to the high level which generally prevails throughout St. Louis County.

Today, as we dedicate this superb new junior high school, Kinloch takes another step forward solving one of its most vital needs; and it is a particular pleasure to join with you in the creation of a memorial to one who realized far more clearly than most how important it is for every American to have a chance for an education.

It was President John F. Kennedy who said: "Not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or an equal motivation, but they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves."

John Kennedy was devoted to making this a Nation of opportunity for all Americans. In his first message to the Congress, he said: "Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education."

President Lyndon B. Johnson endorses this principle without reservation—and it is about this principle that I will speak briefly today.

This land of ours draws its strength from a rich variety of resources—but the ultimate source of strength, in this or any other democracy, is an educated citizenry.

This concept has been clear from the earliest days of our Republic. When that wise Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, came to observe us in the 1830's, he reported, "The universal and sincere faith that they profess here in the efficaciousness of education seems to me one of the most remarkable features of America."

Looking back over our growth, we can see that it was a faith well justified.

Our productive economy, vigorous society, high level of health and cultural achievements—these are the dividends we have reaped from this wise and generous investment.

As Americans, we have also believed that both the individual and the school system will best be served when education remains primarily the responsibility of State and local governments—on the assumption that the closer the constituency, the greater the interest in, and support of, the schools.

This belief also has been proven in practice, and to a large extent it accounts for the remarkable growth of, and rich diversity in, our educational institutions.

THE HISTORY OF FEDERAL SUPPORT

The appropriate role of the Federal Government in our educational development has not been so certain. A review of our history, however, indicates a consistent belief that the interest of the Federal Government in education is a necessary and legitimate one—and that there are certain educational needs which the National Government is uniquely qualified to meet.

In his Farewell Address to Congress in 1796, George Washington urged that body to, "Promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Even prior to this plea, Congress had passed the Ordinance of 1785, which set aside lot 16 of each township established therein for the maintenance of public schools. Two years later, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 explicitly stated that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."

Shortly thereafter, in 1802, the U.S. Military Academy was established at West Point—the first clear demonstration that Federal funds for educational purposes were justified in order to produce uniquely trained personnel to meet critical requirements of the National Government.

By the time of the Civil War, our agricultural enterprise had grown to enormous proportions, and industry had become increasingly complex and technical.

Both of these developments were reflected in the historic Morrill Act of 1862, now known as the Land-Grant Act, which ceded public lands to the States for the purpose of financing at least one college adapted to the educational needs of those engaged in agriculture and industry.

Our entry into World War I necessitated establishment of the Reserve officers training program in our universities. The war experience also demonstrated certain national technological weaknesses, which prompted adoption of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 to stimulate interest in vocational education in the public high schools.

The tumultuous thirties had their effects on education as on every other aspect of American life. While the National Youth Administration was training thousands of young people, the Works Progress Administration built about 5,000 schools, and improved an estimated 30,000 others.

Throughout World War II, the university community worked in close cooperation with the Federal Government, undertaking vital research programs, and making such changes in curriculums as the war effort required.

Perhaps the greatest effect came after the war, when the unprecedented Servicemens Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the GI bill, authorized billions of dollars for tuition and subsistence allowances for returning veterans.

In 1958, Congress again responded to a national challenge. The challenge was the Soviet sputnik; and our response was the National Defense Education Act, designed to promote expansion of education in the fields of science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and professional educational training.

These were the major developments, until just last year, when Congress enacted the first broad assistance program for American colleges since the Land Grant Act of 1862.

This measure, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, authorizes a $1.2 billion program of grants and low-interest loans to assist colleges in the construction of classrooms, libraries, and laboratories; President Johnson has termed it the most significant education bill in history.

All of these programs have been adopted as a critical need either on the part of the Government, or on the part of the school system itself, became evident.

And accompanying these major enactments have been numerous subsidiary programs, ranging from scholarships for war orphans to traineeships for Public Health Service personnel.

The list is lengthy, and need not be recounted here. The important point is, that despite continued debate over the pros and cons of Federal aid to education, the Federal Government is already aiding education—and on a large scale; and has been doing so in one way or another since 1785.

One estimate is the Federal expenditures for major programs of education have already amounted to more than $20 billion.

THE CHALLENGE OF FUTURE NEEDS

There remains, however, a strong sense of unfinished business.

Recently (February 18) the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare announced that the classroom shortage in American schools has grown even more acute. Reports from the States show a shortage of 124,000 classrooms this school year as compared to 121,200 the year before.

Colleges across the Nation, public and private alike, are staggering under the pressures of rapidly expanding enrollments and steadily increasing costs.

The vice president and director of the Fund for Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation predicted a year ago that, "If we are to continue operating our colleges along conventional lines, we would need to construct more college facilities in the next 15 years than we have built in all our history."

Perhaps the most shocking statistics are those which have received special attention in recent months. I am referring to the dismal fact that one out of four draftees fails to pass the intelligence portion of the armed services entrance examination. In some States, the percentage is more than 50 percent.

What these and similar statistics seem to indicate is that while we have responded to particular needs with particular programs, we are still neglecting some of the most basic and critical needs of our Nation's children and their schools.

Ten years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously declared that, "In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education."

This momentous decision was directed toward those children being deprived of education due to their race.

The principle, however, applies to all our children—and far too many are now being denied their highest development due to crowded conditions, inadequate facilities, substandard teaching and high college tuitions.

Surely our concern extends to them as well.

And clearly, any serious failings in the system present problems of national dimensions.

Especially in these times, when a person may live and be educated in several States, utilize his education in still others, and see the results of his training—good or bad—dispersed throughout the Nation, no single level of Government can be expected to sustain the sole responsibility for his education.

Somehow it has become customary to assume that should a crop fail, a tornado strike, or a dam break, States and communities may fly to the Federal Government, which immediately responds with whatever assistance is necessary.

It would seem a sad reflection on our system if the flood of children, our hope and our future, be considered with any less urgency, generosity or dispatch.

I am personally hopeful that this Congress will uphold the record established in the last session with the Higher Education Facilities Act, working toward fulfillment of the Nation's unmet educational needs.

They will, and should, remain primarily State and local problems; but as our history clearly demonstrates, the schools have expected and received Federal assistance in times of extraordinary educational need; and the Nation may rely on the school system in times of extraordinary national need.

It is my conviction that both of these conditions now exist.

The pressures on our school system are clear. They are the ones I have outlined, all intensified by the fact that the school-age population has been growing twice as fast as the total population since 1950.

As one result, the secondary schools can expect a 48-percent increase in enrollment during the sixties. And college enrollment, incredible as this may seem, is expected to double during the present decade.

Just as Alice in Wonderland had to run very fast simply to stay in the same place, we will have to move forward quickly in order to keep from dropping backward.

OTHER CRITICAL NATIONAL NEEDS

In such circumstances, it is my conviction that all interested parties, public and private, local and Federal, must cooperate to insure effective use of all available resources.

Aside from the needs of the education system itself, there are critical national needs on which education must be relied for fulfillment—and this too is in accord with our traditions.

In part, these are the needs of an economy, society and political structure grown so complex that the demand for highly trained personnel has mushroomed to unprecedented proportions.

One index of this development is the national unemployment chart, which consistently indicates a jobless rate of less than 1 percent among professional workers, through 9 percent for skilled workers, to nearly 20 percent for unskilled labor.

Here is not only the human problem of people without training and therefore without work; but the national problem of technical and professional support, which is barely being provided by the type and character of personnel our educational system is producing.

There is also the need, shared by mankind everywhere, for the reservoir of superior leadership that can lead us through these times of turmoil into a world of permanent peace.

At present, and for the foreseeable future, much of our best brainpower will necessarily be devoted to the requirements of our national defense effort. It is axiomatic that the strength of the free world depends on the strength of the United States, and that by maintaining our military might, we are hopeful that no hostile nation will ever be tempted to try to conquer the United States.

These efforts in themselves, however, though forestalling armed conflict, will bring us no closer to actual peace.

For many years now I have been proposing the establishment of a National Academy of Foreign Affairs, an institution in which those who work in our farflung international interests could obtain the same kind of intensive training as is now afforded those who serve in the military. The late President Kennedy sent a special message to Congress requesting adoption of this legislation, and I am hopeful that someday the Old Guard of the State Department will reduce its opposition to the point where this Academy will become a reality.

I have no illusions, however, that the problems of peace can be solved by any one institution.

In the long run, what we will require is an unprecedented effort throughout the Nation to identify and develop all of our best talent. Hopefully, this talent in turn will expand our mental universe to now unknown limits.

Perhaps when we approach those limits, we will be able to devise new bases for international agreement and understanding. Perhaps we will be able to envision new structures for organizing this disorderly world.

I say perhaps, because no man can be certain of the outcome.

We can be certain, however, that if solutions are to be found, they will be the product of man's good will and imagination, educated to the utmost.

Surely in this, the greatest challenge ever faced by any nation in history, all citizens, and all levels of government, will join in doing whatever is necessary to insure that our educational institutions—and with them our precious freedoms—will grow and flourish.

Increased Efficiency in the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I recently included in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page A3404, an article on the German Peace Corps which contained some information on the ratio between staff members and volunteers and the cost per volunteer in the American Peace Corps.

Since then, I have learned that the figures given there had been outdated by the Peace Corps' continuing efforts to achieve greater efficiency and economy.

The ratio of staff to volunteers is no longer 1 to 4 but, at the end of August, will be about 1 to 9. By the end of August, 1965, the ratio is expected to improve further, to 1 to 11.

The average annual cost per volunteer has dropped from $9,000 in 1962 to $7,825 in fiscal 1965. This compares favorably with the $6,250 cost estimated by the German Development Service.

The Racial Crisis—Lessons for Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, many New Yorkers feel as if they are being threatened by the riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, but that they are not allowed to take any part in finding and implementing a solution.

Frank Conniff, writing in the New York Journal-American on Friday, July 24, 1964, suggests that one of the primary reasons for this feeling is that Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Murphy are treating the problem as a personal battle. He feels that the problem could better be solved if the various leaders of "business, labor, the clergy, and the communications media" were brought in to help find a solution.

Most New Yorkers desire more helpful involvement than they now have, and Mr. Conniff's suggestions would go a long way to achieving this participation in search of a solution.

The article follows:

THE RACIAL CRISIS—LESSONS FOR FUTURE

(By Frank Conniff)

Can some crucial lessons be learned from the recent past that would provide guidelines for New York City in attempting to defuse the explosive potential in its Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas?

We think so. It was less than 2 years ago that the Justice Department had its moments of despair as it contemplated the disarray in Birmingham, Oxford, and other flashpoints on the South where local racial problems seemed insoluble.

What Attorney General Kennedy and his lieutenants sought was a deeper commitment from the law-and-order elements of the community—the business and professional leaders and especially the clergy, whose stake in a just moral solution was only dimly perceived at the time.

There is some encouragement in the news from Jackson and Meridian, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., indicating the interest of these very groups in an equitable solution designed to conform to the law of the land as outlined by the recently adopted civil rights law.

If we read accounts of the Harlem riots correctly, the battle order seems to pit the police against the brooding elements of that constricted district as though other sectors in the community were only spectators at an absorbing if disturbing event.

This is clearly not so. Every component part of New York has a vital stake in an alleviation of the conditions which provoked the current disorders. The bell tolls for all of us with each shot from a pistol, with every tossed Molotov cocktail, with every pitched battle between one group of Americans and another group of Americans.

So why not move, as Attorney General Kennedy and his troubleshooters did in the last 2 years, to enlist every segment of the community into a "front for decency" and prevent a repetition of this week's disorders?

We're talking about the business leaders, not only in Harlem but throughout the city; we're talking about the labor leaders, Negro and white; we mean the clergy of all faiths; and we definitely mean the newspapers and the radio and television networks, the agencies of communication in this troubled era.

Much as we respect Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Murphy and salute their integrity, it sometimes seems that they, too regard this as a private battle, not to be shared by the rest of the community. Stand back, they seem to be saying, and we will settle this without help from outsiders.

This, simply, cannot be done. What is needed now is a mobilization of the city's best brains and finest idealism in the dedicated belief that justice and honor can be secured for all.

This reporter, who watched the forces of decency slowly gather together in the last 2 years in southern cities previously immune to racial progress, believes the same procedure can be accomplished in the greatest metropolis in the world.

The beginning of honor rests in Harlem itself. Decent, law-abiding elements of that much-abused area want peace and dignity. But the need ripples out to every section of the city. And this mass of belief can be mobilized in the fight for the future.

Mayor Wagner should summon a representative group from New York's diverse and influential groups—business, labor, the clergy, and the communications media and seek to bring their counsel and their influence on the side of justice for all, for the police as well as the residents of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

It is inconceivable that this great city cannot find a solution. Up until now, however, New York's best minds have not been asked to participate in finding a solution that deeply concerns us all. Perhaps Attorney General Kennedy and Burke Marshall would be eager to share their experience with our own harassed leaders.

Mayor Wagner, God bless him, should not wait a moment more than necessary.

"Negro Colleges: Long Ignored, Southern Schools Now Courted by Major Universities and Foundations"—An Article by Elinor Langer in Science, July 24, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a most interesting article concerning the situation of Negro colleges in the United States.

In view of the proposal by the distinguished chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Education, the Honorable EDITH GREEN, of Oregon, to establish an exchange of faculty program which would at least partially benefit some of

the Negro colleges in the United States, I think Members of Congress will find Miss Langer's discussion a most useful one.

The article, which appears in the July 24, 1964, issue of Science, a publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, follows:

NEGRO COLLEGES: LONG IGNORED, SOUTHERN SCHOOLS NOW COURTED BY MAJOR UNIVERSITIES AND FOUNDATIONS

America's Negro colleges, long shunned as the ugly ducklings of this country's system of higher education, are now being courted as if their transformation into swans were expected momentarily. The Negro colleges are benefiting not only from pressures that can specifically be called civil rights but from the increased attention being given the problems of the "culturally deprived" in general, and from the accumulated wisdom and expertise of the educational reformers who have been active since sputnik. The debate on whether Negro institutions should ultimately disappear continues, but it has been quieted by the realization that for the present the country ought to develop all the educational resources it can muster, and that the Negro colleges reach a socially increasingly important segment of the population. The programs being developed to aid the Negro colleges vary in motivation as well as in objective, but behind all of them lies the fact that, for the first time, a community of interest has been recognized between the leaders in American education and the institutions that were so far behind that even "following" had become impossible.

The only adequate generalization one can make about the 116 Negro colleges is that they are uniformly worse off than their white counterparts. Several of the larger institutions—Howard University in Washington, D.C., Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va., Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., and a few others—have not fared badly in attracting the most talented of the Negro high school graduates or in building up, with the aid of the comparatively affluent alumni and donors, comparatively well prepared faculties. These universities are recognizably members of the same species as other U.S. universities, and they are giving as much as they are receiving in the current atmosphere. But the fact that many of the talented faculty members and administrators of these schools are nearly exhausted from the demands now being made on their experience, knowledge, and advice underscores the gross inadequacies of the system from which they came, as much as it highlights the relative successes achieved by a few.

With the exception of a handful of institutions in Ohio, and Pennsylvania, all the Negro colleges are in the South. Of the 116, only 76 are accredited; many of these are accredited only conditionally.

The core of the accredited colleges, according to the American Council on Education, consists of two groups—about 27 colleges supported by the States, and the 32 institutions founded by church groups or private philanthropies and represented by the United Negro College Fund.

SEPARATE BUT EQUAL?

The State-supported colleges were established between, roughly, 1865 and 1890 to parallel the developing land-grant and other State institutions for white students. In competition with white institutions for State funds, Negro institutions have usually received the dregs—and average of 5 to 10 percent of a State's appropriation for higher education. In Mississippi, for example, a State whose white institutions are not regarded as educational Edens, the system has produced the following disparities: in 1962, Mississippi's five white senior colleges had a plant value of $69 million, an educational and general income of $23 million, and an enrollment of 18,467 students. In four of the five schools, tuition was free. Graduate work was available to the State's white students in every subject from accounting and aeronautical engineering to poultry husbandry and zoology. There were also professional schools in law, medicine, pharmacy, engineering, and nursing.

In comparison, the plant value of Mississippi's four Negro public colleges is $8.5 million; their general income, $2.5 million; their enrollment (in 1962), 4,183 students. (The Negro colleges thus receive less than half as much money for each student as white colleges.) Tuition is charged in three of the colleges. The only graduate work available is for the master's degree in education.

Nor have the private and church-related institutions, largely established by missionary and philanthropic groups in the period immediately following emancipation, fared much better. Until this year, when it received generous grants from foundations plus the attention of a committee of businessmen in the North, the United Negro College Fund was able to give only $70,000 annually to each of its members. A year's hard work by a college president in soliciting from friends in the town, alumni, church groups, and others may add only $20,000 to his coffers. Yearly budgets for these institutions have been as low as $200,000 to $400,000.

Many other problems follow from the financial ones. A figure for presidential salaries is hard to establish because many college presidents simply take whatever is left over when all the bills are paid, but the average is thought to be around $8,000. Salaries for full professors average about $1,000 lower. According to the American Council on Education, the combined library facilities of all the Negro colleges are smaller than the facilities of any of a dozen State university libraries. Federal research grants are nonexistent, as are scholarships and fellowships. Buildings and grounds are in bad shape.

Other educational difficulties are related as much to the general pattern of segregation as to financial deprivation. Teachers and students alike are most often the products of inferior segregated education in the South. Almost without exception, students admitted to the Negro colleges require 1 to 2 years of remedial work before they can begin to study on the college level. Pride, poverty, and tradition have all played a role in keeping remedial work at a minimum—pride, because the colleges have been involved in a painful conflict between the attempt to maintain recognizable academic standards (thus keeping up the pretense of equality with white institutions) and the necessity of filling in the holes left by earlier neglect; poverty, because educators have lacked the resources and skill necessary to devise adequate remedial materials, and the students, pressed for money, have lacked the time needed to master them; and tradition, because until recently it never occurred to anyone that you could have both remedial work and a full college schedule if you gave up the idea that college requires 4 years only.

One result of the combination of artificial "standards" and the absence of remedial opportunities has been a phenomenally high dropout rate, thought to average around 70 percent. Another is the fact that a degree from a Negro college is not usually acceptable for entrance to white graduate schools, and few Negroes have had any opportunity for advanced work. Including Ph. D's in education, the principal field in which Negroes have been allowed to advance in the South, the number of Negro Ph. D.'s is thought to be between 1,200 and 1,500. Finally, it is becoming more obvious that segregation has suppressed the ambition and talent of Negro youngsters, and the smallness of the number of students attending the Negro colleges—they currently enroll approximately 115,000 students—is coming to seem more a reason for improvement than an excuse for inaction.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

A major impetus for the involvement of established colleges and universities in the problems of Negro education was a meeting of educators called by President Kennedy in the spring of 1963. At that time, partly in anticipation of the march on Washington, the President was meeting with leading representatives from many groups, including business, labor unions, and the legal profession, and telling them, according to several reports, that "the lid was about to blow off" on the racial situation, and that they had all better figure out ways to contribute to increasing opportunities for Negroes. Aside from such encouragement, however, the Government's role has been very limited. Independent educators and universities have supplied most of the initiative, and the major foundations most of the funds, for all of the current efforts.

The first coherent statement of the problems of the Negro colleges was produced last August, by a private group growing out of the Government's advisory Panel on Educational Research and Development. (The panel is headed by Jerrold Zacharias, an MIT physicist best known for his efforts to promote reform of the physics curriculum.) A draft report called "Program for Negro Colleges" was prepared by Samuel Nabrit, president of Texas Southern College; Stephen White, an officer of Educational Services, Inc., a nonprofit corporation in Watertown, Mass., which has close links with MIT and with curriculum reform movements; and Zacharias. The American Council on Education shortly afterward began formally to encourage its member colleges and universities to interest themselves in the problem, and it is serving as a clearinghouse for information on all activities and a sponsor of some of them. But the Nabrit-White-Zacharias proposals came first, and they serve as the unspoken point of reference for much of what is now going on.

The core of the Nabrit-White-Zacharias plan is that first priority should be given to upgrading the faculties and the level of teaching at Negro colleges, and that this should be done through a nationwide effort drawing intensively on the skills and resources of established universities. In one direct link between civil rights and curriculum reform, the report, stressing the inadequate preparation of students and the need for remedial work, suggested the development of new teaching materials for use in the first 2 years of college, and the establishment of summer institutes where teachers could improve their own skills and be trained in teaching techniques. For advanced college training, the report suggested the establishment of links between flourishing and underprivileged colleges and universities which would permit the two-way exchange of faculty members, and thus doubly contribute to strengthening the weaker institution. In effect, both these programs have been begun.

SUMMER INSTITUTES

Despite the liabilities of a late start, financial uncertainties, and jurisdictional confusion, 5 institutes for the training of teachers from 70 Negro colleges are operating this summer. The five include physics (Princeton), mathematics (University of Wisconsin), biology (University of North Carolina, Greensboro), English (Indiana University), and history (Carnegie Institute of Technology). The institutes are being supported by grants from the Carnegie Corp. ($255,000) and the Rockefeller Foundation ($150,000). The institutes were planned by an ad hoc committee of the American Council on Education headed by

Mina S. Rees, dean of graduate studies of the City University of New York, and including Zacharias, Samuel Nabrit, Roger Heyns (academic vice president of the University of Michigan), Samuel Proctor (former president of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College and now associate director of the Peace Corps), Herman Branson (head of the physics department of Howard University), J. C. Warner (president of Carnegie Tech), Stephen J. Wright (president of Fisk), and Martin Jenkins (president of Morgan State College). Educational Services, Inc., is administering the program.

The institutes are being taught for the most part by members of the faculty of the host colleges, who are paid for their work under the grant. The participating teacher-students from the Negro colleges, chosen by their college presidents, are receiving $105 per week for room and board, plus travel and other expense allowances.

The institutes are varied. Some are organized according to the level of skill of the participants, others on a geographical basis, in the hope that contacts among the members will continue when the program is ended. In history, participants are spending half their time studying major themes of American history, the other half experimenting with new techniques and materials to take back to their own students. In math, participants are studying the modern approach to the teaching of geometry, algebra, function theory, matrix algebra, and finite mathematics. The physics institute is using, among other things, the materials developed by the physical sciences study committee (PSSC) and the PSSC advanced topics materials. The biology institute, too, is using newly prepared teaching materials, and the English institute is concentrating on composition and literature. In all institutes, participants will hear lectures and take part in colloquia with some of the top scholars in their fields, and the physics institute, for example, will visit the Princeton-Pennsylvania 3-Bex proton accelerator and other laboratories and installations—opportunities usually denied them in the South.

Although everyone involved is conservative about drawing premature conclusions, the impression at this stage—when most of the institutes are still in session—is that, while not without flaws, they have been gratifyingly successful in communicating ideas and teaching skills to the Negro teachers, and in overcoming some of the feelings of inferiority which have often interfered with relations between Negro and white professionals. "Most of the students here," said an instructor at one of the institutes, "have been struggling alone for years to communicate things half forgotten or ill understood to unprepared students. This is the first time anyone has paid any attention to their problems in years, and they are fascinated and grateful."

Although there are no concrete plans at present, planners of the institutes hope to be able to continue and expand them next summer—perhaps persuading the Government to foot the bill—and they are also considering establishing refresher programs for winter vacations, and other followup activities.

Related to the institutes, and engineered by the same group, is a "writing conference" of educators and specialists in English and math which is meeting from June through December in Wellesley, Mass., to prepare teaching materials to be used for the crucial period of high school to college transition. The next step will be to set up regional centers throughout the South to use the materials. One plan, at present, is to use the facilities of local universities, working with high school students on Saturday mornings throughout their senior year, to help prepare them for college level work. A similar program, but one starting with kindergarten is about to be begun by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the College Entrance Examination Board. The Southern Association expects to set up project "centers" in at least five southern cities which would tie together the Negro and white universities of the area and selected public schools in a massive effort to improve teaching, provide learning materials, assist students financially as well as psychologically to stay in school, and provide guidance counseling for parents as well as students. The first $1.5 million for the program, which is expected to cost about $20 million over 5 years, has been given by the Ford and Danforth Foundations.

EXCHANGES

Whether stimulated independently or by the suggestion in the Nabrit-White-Zacharias paper, a number of northern institutions are in the process of working out details of broad exchanges with southern colleges and universities, expected to get underway within the next year. Although small-scale exchanges of students have been occurring for some time, and professors from the North and West have occasionally attached themselves to Negro colleges in the South, for the most part the contacts have been minimal. Even now, several of the exchanges will not be too significant, but at least three that have been announced so far represent massive commitments on the part of the wealthier institutions to the poorer ones: Brown University and Tougaloo College (outside of Jackson, Miss.); the University of Michigan and Tuskegee Institute; and the University of Wisconsin and three southern colleges, Texas Southern, North Carolina College at Durham, and North Carolina A. & T.

The University of Wisconsin exchange program, which is financed by a $300,000 grant from the Carnegie Corp., will involve exchanges of faculty members for periods ranging from 1 week to a full year. Faculty members from Wisconsin will serve on combined teams to work on curriculum revision, new teaching techniques, in-service training, and a host of other academic problems. Faculty members from the Negro colleges will do some teaching, complete work for advanced degrees, and generally study the academic life of Wisconsin. The Brown-Tougaloo exchange is basically similar but also involves exchange of administrative personnel, and the university has, in effect, committed itself to active fundraising for Tougaloo to help the poorer college improve its facilities.

COURAGE AND CONVENIENCE

There should be no doubt that these exchanges will pose difficulties for both sides. Relations between the Negro colleges and Southern State legislatures are extremely delicate. The colleges involved in the North Carolina-Wisconsin exchange are almost wholly dependent on the State for funds. Even a private institution such as Tougaloo is dependent on the good will of the State for the licensing of its graduates to serve as teachers in Mississippi schools—and in the case of Tougaloo this good will is already heavily damaged by the proclivity of the college's students and staff to engage in civil rights demonstrations. Local white politicians, embarrassed and angered by this latest manifestation of northern carpetbagging, have tried in some instances to dissuade Negro college administrators from the exchanges. Without question, the colleges' persistence is an act of courage and commitment.

For the northern universities, the problem is not so much one of courage as of convenience. For the exchanges to work, departments and administrations must actively encourage their best faculty members to leave the campus for a semester or year, sometimes—especially at first—without sufficient notice to plan for replacements. In addition, the colleges have to devise ways of utilizing the southern professors who come to their campuses, again with as little disruption as possible to their regular programs. How these problems will be worked out is not yet clear. But other institutions are considering exchanges, and the U.S. Congress will be watching the first ones closely. Congress now has before it a proposal by Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon, to provide $5 million annually for a Domestic Faculty Exchange Act which would establish programs similar to those described on a broader scale. The House Education and Labor Committee is expected to begin hearings on the proposal shortly.

In addition to the institutes and the exchanges, a myriad of other projects have been begun, concentrating on improving the quality of Negro education at all levels, with a view toward raising the beginning level of college students and increasing scholarship opportunities for Negro students at established institutions throughout the country. Not all the programs are perfectly planned or represent the most sensible allocation of funds, and some will have little permanent impact. Several colleges and universities in the North, for example, hastily initiated summer sessions for neighboring Negro students, without preparing teaching plans (or teachers) very different from the daily grind the students reject, and without developing guidance programs to follow through on whatever summertime progress was made. At least 1 major northern university, to take an example of a different sort, put 3 full-time staff members (and considerable effort and money) on the job of recruiting talented Negro undergraduates last year—and managed to produce only 16 students, all of whom, it was thought, would have ended up in a fairly good college anyway.

Despite occasional mistakes and some confusion, however, there is no doubt that what is going on represents a massive and purposeful attack on problems until recently very poorly understood. A point not at all neglected by the educators and specialists who have been developing the new programs is that while they have much to teach, they also have much to learn.

The Warsaw Uprising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago this week the citizens of Poland, with the help of the Polish underground army, demonstrated that courage which is so much a part of their heritage. On August 1, 1944, the Polish underground began an attack upon the German Army occupying Warsaw. The Polish troops, directed by the legitimate government then located in London, recognized the dangers that might result from the occupation of Poland by the Russian Army which was then marching toward their capital city. But they believed that if they could gain possession of their own city they might be able to prevent a Soviet takeover when that army arrived in Warsaw.

The decision for the uprising was a calculated risk of the most dangerous

kind. A Soviet-sponsored puppet government was waiting in Lublin for the Soviet victory and the Polish leaders hoped that a show of strength by the legitimate government would have a powerful impact on Allied public opinion and influence the Allied military leaders.

The uprising was a long and bloody one which lasted until October 2. During this time over 200,000 Poles were killed as German tanks made a battlefield out of Warsaw. The Russian Army could have gone into the city and helped the Polish patriots but it remained outside the capital and allowed the Nazis to slaughter the citizens of Warsaw. The Russians cared little for Polish lives. They planned their strategy carefully and arrived when the bloodshed was over to take possession of Warsaw—and, in a few months, the entire country.

It is important for us to remember the bravery of the Polish people today. The Warsaw uprising of 1944 is in the tradition of Polish resistance to oppressors which was demonstrated in 1831, 1848, 1863, and 1904—a tradition which remains steadfast today. Polish citizens are working daily to reduce the influence of their Communist conquerors and to replace an oppressive government with one dedicated to the ideals of freedom and liberty. By reminding ourselves of the Polish sacrifices 20 years ago, we remind ourselves of the tyranny under which these captive people live behind the Iron Curtain today. The Poles' resistance to oppression and their love of liberty are as great an inspiration to us today as they have been an inspiration to free people for centuries past.

This stirring event in Polish history demonstrates once again the Russians' contempt for human lives and their continuing desire to dominate free peoples whenever and wherever they can. On the anniversary of this great event in Polish history, we pause to reflect upon the plight of the Poles and captive peoples all over the world. The Polish example of 20 years ago serves as an inspiration and a challenge to all men who believe in the power of the idea of liberty.

L.B.J. Fades Norman Thomas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an excellent editorial of July 23, 1964, from the Fort Pierre, S. Dak., Times.

The editor of this paper, Morris Hallock, has done an excellent job of presenting his views to his readers and let me suggest his views correspond with what I suspect are a sizable majority of the people in this country.

The editorial is as follows:

L.B.J. FADES NORMAN THOMAS

President Johnson, in an address of greeting to ladies of various organizations of so-called senior citizens who met in the White House last January 15, said:

"We are going to try to take all of the money we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have-nots' that need it so much."

This statement, at the time, was written off in many quarters as just another aphorism to reassure the medicare proponents that the administration would go all out for health insurance tied in with social security—so that the "haves" (who didn't need or want regimented medical and hospital services) would be paying for the "have-nots."

But anyone who has given any thought to the President's pending war on poverty bill is sadder and wiser today—and ready to accept an earlier L.B.J. statement quoted by Robert Spivack in the New York Herald Tribune of last December 1: "You say I am not a liberal. Let me tell you I am more liberal than Eleanor Roosevelt, and I will prove it to you. Franklin D. Roosevelt was my hero—he gave me my start."

And, if that is not proof enough, there is the very recent praise of our President by Norman Thomas, standard bearer of the Socialist Party, and its quadrennial presidential candidate as far back as memory serves. In his encomium, Mr. Thomas made it plain, we thought, that since L.B.J. expects to run this year, he himself may now take it easy—secure in the realization that the banner of socialism is in strong hands.

For the purposes of the measure now before Congress, poverty (which had been generally regarded as a condition threatening starvation) is the parlous state of a citizen with a cash income of no more than $3,000 a year—who would then be eligible to economic salvation under one or more of the innnumerable programs this Robin Hood legislation would provide.

Among those who are puzzled over this $3,000 figure is South Carolina's Democratic Senator STROM THURMOND who points out that: "More than a million members of the U.S. armed services make less than this amount," and that if $3,000 a year is poverty, "it seems contradictory that in 1963 the Government collected $3.54 billion in personal income taxes from the 4.1 million Americans having incomes of less than $1,500."

Something is rotten in Denmark? No, in Washington. And you have not heard nothing yet.

Racket Picketing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in 1959 Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin bill which was intended to provide effective procedures whereby union members could control their own organizations. It was also intended to curb oppressive tactics by union leaders in the field of rackets.

The intent of Congress is clearly being flaunted by the administration's control of members of the NLRB. I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial which appeared in the July 26 edition of the Chicago Heights Star, a suburban newspaper in my district.

The type of incident reported in this article occurs daily throughout the country as a direct result of the deliberate manner in which the NLRB flaunts the intent of Congress and wishes of the public as it maladministers the Landrum-Griffin bill.

The editorial referred to follows:

EXAMPLE OF RACKET PICKETING

At least one gasoline service station in the south suburban area has been harassed into affiliating with a Chicago Teamsters Union local for no apparent reason except the dubious privilege of paying dues.

Picketing began at the station in Park Forest early last week after the owner and two employees refused to join up. Business went on just about as usual until the arrival of a new supply of gasoline. Honoring the picket line, the union truck driver refused to dump the gas.

The proprietor and his workers thus were faced with being starved out of business and jobs, and they reportedly capitulated.

Here, we believe, is a genuine example of the need for anti-racket picketing legislation in Illinois. By taking the stations one by one, the pickets leave little alternative to paying tribute in the form of union dues. And inclusion of the owner among those forced to join underscores the suggestion that protection of employees is not an issue in the disagreement.

We do not argue with the right of workers to join unions if that is their wish. We do dispute the right of outsiders to coerce them into joining.

Opponents of legislation which would ban racket picketing have argued that it was subject to abuse in the area of legitimate picketing. We think they can demonstrate their sincerity by working with proponents of such legislation toward perfecting a bill which would carry safeguards against an obvious racket.

Meanwhile, operators of other service stations in the area may petition the National Labor Relations Board for an election among their workers to determine whether they wish to be organized. This is the orderly thing to do. It would also be an opportunity for the NLRB to demonstrate its sincerity and devotion to American principles.

World Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, at all times this body seeks enlightened opinions of groups throughout the country on the direction of the Nation's foreign policy. Recently, I received a statement from a group who have been participating in the "great decisions" program of the Foreign Policy Association. These people have been meeting regularly for 8 months with the objective of discussing foreign policy and formulating opinions to be conveyed to officials in Washington. I commend to this body their recommendations on world communism:

Hon. ROBERT R. BARRY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: A group of us are meeting regularly for 8 months to participate in the "great decisions" program of the Foreign Policy Association. Perhaps you know that this is a nationwide citizens' participation program with three objectives:

1. Help citizens get facts.

2. Talk over facts in traditional American way.

3. Reach individual opinions on U.S. foreign policy and communicate ideas to policymakers in Washington.

It is our desire to keep you informed about the opinions that are formulated at each meeting.

Our first topic for discussion was "World Communism." There were three questions to be answered by the eight people participating. The questions and answers are given below.

Question. What policies should the United States adopt toward the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe?

Four favored seeking a detente by such measures as do not weaken U.S. capacity to deter Soviet aggression or resist aggression if it occurs.

Six favored pursuing the cold war struggle by every means possible short of war in order to achieve victory.

Four favored encouraging trade in nonstrategic goods, such as the sale of wheat to Soviet bloc countries.

Five favored encouraging trade with, and give selective aid to, only those Eastern European countries that try to preserve some degree of independence of Moscow.

Comments:

Russia's aim is unchanged—worldwide communism. But her methods are softer now. However, war remains her alternative if other methods fail. Consequently, we must oppose her effectively and actively on all fronts, remembering that we may force her into war. To avoid this, we should work to counter the hold of communism by teaching others about democracy—through trade, cultural exchange, Peace Corps, and technical aid that is wanted.

As long as the Communist bloc is interested in promoting world communism, and holds to Marxist doctrine, meaningful negotiations with them is impossible. The best that can be accomplished is a status quo. A retreat on the part of the U.S.S.R. would only come under pressure and would only be a strategic one not to be taken as a sign of weakness or relenting.

Question. What policies should the United States adopt toward Red China?

Eight favored continuing to oppose Red China's admission to the U.N. and to refuse diplomatic recognition to Red China.

Eight favored continuing substantial military and economic aid to those Asian nations threatened by Chinese aggression.

Comments:

Admission of Red China to the U.N. would be only a disadvantage to the United States politically (perhaps not commercially in the short run) and a great advantage to Red China.

Become better informed on ideological propaganda appeal of Red Chinese to counter it more effectively. Also, stand firm. Korea convinced them we are weak, and we must unconvince.

Question. What policies should the United States adopt toward the Sino-Soviet rift?

One favored ignoring it.

Four favored favoring the U.S.S.R. since it appears to be more moderate.

Comments:

Support neither side but oppose both.

Interference in the dispute between the two would serve to reunify them. Also, promoting the split would not necessarily improve conditions for peace.

Apply Golden Rule. We would not want China or Russia to interfere when we have difficulties with our allies.

Recognize that the more facets there are to communism, the more areas there are in which to be alert. This requires recognition of the split, but only that. We should avoid balance-of-power techniques as these imply support of what we disapprove.

Sincerely,

MARLENE BOWMAN.

Hawaii's Heroes of the Korean Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, July 27, marked our entry into the 12th year of the longest military truce in recorded history with no real indication that a peace treaty ever will be concluded.

Eleven years ago officers of the United Nations military command under the leadership of the United States met in the dusty farm village of Panmunjom in Korea to sign a truce with the North Korean and Chinese Communists. Twelve hours after the signing of the agreement, the guns fell silent along the 155-mile Korean front. But the intended objective of that historic meeting—a peace treaty and settlement of Korea's bisection at the 38th parallel never occurred.

On both sides of the demilitarized zone, soldiers remained in constant readiness in their trenches, dugouts, and bunkers with their guns ready, pointed against each other across the 2½-mile area which separates North and South Korea.

Since the truce was signed, the Military Armistice Commission which was established by the military to secure the armistice, has met 184 times. In each of such meetings, the Communists have charged the United Nations with violations of the truce, and the United Nations command has similarly accused the Reds of transgressing the complex truce agreement.

While awaiting the end of the cold war and the elusive peace that we all hope for along the Korean front, it would be well to remember that there are those who fought and bled and died to preserve liberty and human dignity for our Korean friends during that conflict which we have not even dignified with the term "war."

In the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser of July 26, 1964, Bob Jones, Advertiser staff writer, has an excellent article covering the part that Hawaii played in the bitter battle of Korea.

It reads as follows:

HAWAII SENT HER SHARE OF HEROES INTO THE BITTER BATTLES OF KOREA

(By Bob Jones)

They walked, rode, and flew, 17,000 strong, into the shadow of death in the war years of Korea, in America's first battlefield clash with communism.

They came from Hawaii and when the perimeter of Pusan had to be defended with the sweat and blood of U.S. soldiers, it was the 5th Regimental Combat Team, well laced with Hawaiian boys, who held the line.

Did Hawaii help fight that war?

In the graves are 436 of Hawaii's dead.

Alive are most of the 944 who came from Hawaii and who were wounded in the long, bitter fight.

More than four times as many of Hawaii's soldiers died, and more than three times as many were wounded than from any mainland area of comparable population.

Out of that war came Hawaii's first Medal of Honor winner, Pfc. Herbert K. Pililaau of Waianae, a 22-year-old boy who voluntarily gave his life on September 17, 1951, on Heartbreak Ridge.

When his unit was forced to pull out as human waves of North Koreans attacked, he stayed behind to cover their retreat. He fired with his automatic weapon until the ammunition was gone. Then he threw all his grenades.

Finally he came out of his foxhole and fought, first with his trench knife and then with bare fists until he was killed.

When the ridge at Pia-Ri was retaken later by Americans, they found 40 dead where Pililaau had stood and died.

Some of the boys were born in Hawaii, others were not.

Some lost their lives, others suffered of the flesh.

Some were like Sfc. Ralph Shrinski of Kaneohe who suffered frostbitten feet three times during the campaign.

Or, there was Pvt. Chotoku Oshiro of Wailuku, Maui, who spent Christmas Eve 1951 in a trench. At 2:25 a.m. a company of Chinese Communists overran the line, then were beaten back.

Cpl. Peter L. Kaiwi of Kahului, Maui, was with B Company, 31st Infantry Regiment, 7th Division, when he earned his Bronze Star. Facing their fire he wiped out an enemy bunker with rifle fire.

About 50 boys from Hawaii—and most of them were boys—served in the 32d Regiment, and it became known as the Queen's Own Regiment after Queen Lilioukalani.

Some of the men were heroes in self defense. Like Sgt. Herbert Arakaki of Hilo who had to kill three Chinese who sniped at him as he walked down a hill to fill a 5-gallon can with water from a stream.

Some were heroes for doing their job. Lt. Albert H. B. Young of Honolulu was awarded the Air Medal for flying 20 aerial surveillance missions over enemy territory while he was with the 980th Field Artillery Battalion of the 40th Infantry Division.

Some already had the stuff heroes are made of. Sgt. Hiroshi Miyamura was not from Hawaii, but in the big war he had been with the famed 442d Regimental Combat Team. And he came home to San Francisco out of the Korean war with a Medal of Honor.

Many did not want to be heroes. They wanted to stay alive in the first days of terror and roaring war as they were rushed to the front from the training school at Schofield Barracks.

Cpl. Louis Baldovi of Haiku, Maui, found himself appointed "point man" (lead scout) as the 1st Battalion of the 180th Regiment moved up to take Old Baldy from the North Koreans.

There are a lot of good stories about the 50 Hawaii boys who served in the 180th. They were among the proudest when the regiment got the Presidential Unit Citation for taking a chunk of land known simply as Eerie.

In the outfit was Cpl. Akira Nakata of Wahiawa, who already had worn the Distinguished Service Cross. So was Cpl. Clayton Murakami of Naalehu, Hawaii, who had been wounded by mortar fire and spent a month in a Pusan hospital.

The day of the big push, Pfc. Jitsuo Higa of Wailua, Kauai, was hit by mortar fire and was hospitalized for 20 days.

There were humanitarian Hawaii boys in that war. Like Sgt. Susumu Matsumoto of Honolulu who stayed in the middle of a 2,500-round bombardment for 25 minutes to give aid to the wounded.

There were the physically brave. Like Cpl. Antone Carcartian, Jr. of Lihue, Kauai, who swam a swollen, 75-yard-wide river with a communications wire tied to his waist to set up contact with the rest of his unit.

Maybe it was to all the fathers and mothers of Hawaii soldiers, alive and dead, that

Maj. Gen. Wayne C. Smith spoke as he gave Carcartian the Bronze Star.:

"From your islands come some of our finest soldiers."

Richard A. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, one of the reasons for the success and the stature of the United States in the area of foreign relations is the large number of dedicated public servants working for their country in the foreign field. Those professional, career governmental employees, men and women, spend many years abroad, in strange lands, among foreign peoples, and often under trying circumstances. Their loyalty and patriotism are unswerving. Their efficiency, their accomplishments, and their success is testified to by the fact that we are the leader of the free world. For without the day in and day out work of these "soldiers" in the field we could not lead.

It is proper and right that we, who live comfortably among our own people in the Nation's Capital, pause from time to time to recognize and honor these stalwarts. One whom I have had the privilege and the pleasure to come to know and to work with is Richard A. Johnson, general counsel in the American Embassy in Monterey, Mexico. He has been extremely cooperative and helpful in my dealings with him and has exhibited a compassion and understanding for the problems of individuals unusual and commendable in any person. His diligence and willingness to work is remarkable. His ability to get things done is outstanding. His ability to get along well with the people of Mexico, underscored by his fluency in the Spanish language and his intimate familiarity with the history and culture of Mexico, reflects admirably on the United States and brings great credit, respect, and honor to all of us. One of the indications of the good work that Richard A. Johnson has performed is the fact that he has worked through and liquidated a tremendous backlog of pending cases, since assuming his present position, in record time.

We who enjoy the fruits of our good relations with Mexico and many other nations throughout the world, we who benefit from the hard work of the men and women in the foreign field and whose jobs are made easier by that hard work, are all indebted to Richard A. Johnson and countless others like him.

Outstanding Minneapolis Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, when President Kennedy appointed the President's Commission on the Status of Women, he emphasized strongly that:

We have by no means done enough to strengthen family life and at the same time encourage women to make their full contribution as citizens. It is appropriate at this time * * * to review recent accomplishments and to acknowledge frankly the further steps that must be taken. This is a task for the entire Nation.

A deserved tribute was paid by Elizabeth M. Wood last month in the North Minneapolis Post to Mrs. I. G. Scott, one of the truly remarkable women in the Twin Cities area.

Mrs. Scott is the first woman county commissioner in Hennepin County, and thus she holds the highest elected office of any woman in the State of Minnesota.

It is Mrs. Scott, and millions of other women, whose individual and collective efforts are contributing so greatly to the rapid improvement of the status of women in the United States. I take great pleasure and pride in giving recognition in the Appendix of the RECORD to the many achievements of this outstanding Minneapolis woman:

Please permit me to say that we in the Fourth County Commissioners District are all proud of Mrs. I. G. Scott, our full-time commissioner. We are proud of her because she is the first woman in Hennepin County to be elected to the high position of county commissioner. For the record, she was elected and reelected in her district. The reason for her success is that her constituents feel that she not only represents her district well but she also has the welfare of the whole county at heart which is proven by her studied judgments and deliberations.

For example, Mrs. Scott is keenly aware of the tremendous problems of the growing suburban communities in Hennepin County with ever-increasing needs for schools, roads, and street construction, sanitary sewage plus the need for parks and playgrounds for the youth in these communities.

At the present time, Mrs. Scott, by rank, is the highest elected woman official in the State of Minnesota. Some may ask why Mrs. Scott holds this distinction. Well, I can think of many reasons and will enumerate just a few. Mrs. Scott maintains a forward look, recognizing that we live in a dynamic society where change and progress are inevitable. Mrs. Scott has compassion for people; she has been noted for her many hours of volunteer work, serving on the women's auxiliary of North Memorial Hospital as president and board member, and in other service groups.

Mrs. Scott is very much aware of the veteran and is now chairman of the veterans' affairs committee on the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners. Last, but not least, Mrs. Scott has been very prudent with the taxpayer's money. Before she votes for a project, she is certain in her own mind that the most and best is being obtained for the county for the money spent.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Coin Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, recently, much has been said concerning the shortage of coins in this country. The problem has become so acute in some areas that business firms are printing their own paper pennies and 5-cent pieces.

Vending machines, parking meters, the population explosion, coin dealers, coin speculators, and coin collectors have all been blamed for the shortage. A recent editorial published in the July 1964 Mid-Western Banker offers some insight into the problem, and also lends support to my bill, S. 2870, to eliminate the mint marks and dates from coins.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS BUSINESS OF BANKING—THE COIN SHORTAGE: SENSELESS CENTS-LESS

"Donn't sund alarm and gimme all cesh ye haves,"
Wrote a bank robber by name of Gus Mabbs.
What made the teller surprised,
The note came back revised:
"Maike it in Kennedy halves."

If there's anything that would get a banker's dander up nowadays, it's the request from a noncustomer: "Would you please break this $20 bill with 40 Kennedy half dollars?" What's almost as bad, the coin shortage being what it is, is the request from a loyal customer for 40 ordinary nickels in exchange for two singles.

In Monroe, Wis., the nickel shortage is so acute that the First National Bank there circulated wooden nickels, one of the consequences of which was the wire services' circulation of wooden jokes about banks circulating wooden nickels. Far it be for anyone to throw cold water on a little good-natured fun, but the coin shortage has a very unfunny side to it.

A spokesman at the Detroit Fed reported the branch had only $485 in coins on hand recently. Although the Chicago Fed wouldn't admit to anything that sobering, one official reported to MWB in eloquent simplicity: "We've never been completely out." Fed officials concede a general shortage throughout the various Federal Reserve districts, and most Fed banks have been rationing coins for a year or more. As of May 1, according to Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, the total number of coins in the entire Federal Reserve banks' inventories was down to 215 million pieces.

The coin shortage has been blamed on everything from the population explosion to the penny cannibalism of the parking meter. But all the culprits, save one, pull coins out of circulation temporarily—from one day to a few months. The real heavy has been the coin collector who hoards coins from a few years to eternity.

Although there are about 20,000 professionals, or numismatists, their control over the expansion of the ranks of the ordinary, or amateur, collector is virtually nil. Prior to last year, there were about 10 million amateur coin collectors in the country, but today, after the minting of the Kennedy half dollars, there must be—any banker would swear—at least 197 million.

To call the ordinary coin collector an amateur is particularly apt. He knows little about his hobby. He knows vaguely that some U.S. coins of unusual denomination, size, mint mark, engraver's initials, or date have numistic value, and so he believes that all do. He therefore dutifully hoards any U.S. coin that faintly resembles that description, assured that its value will inevitably increase in leaps with age.

He may wait at least 10 years before he feels the time ripe to sell and will feel enormously proud of his good judgment if he gets anything better than face value. No one can get through to him that he probably could have increased his return on the coin much more if he had invested it in the most conservative bank savings account in the country. More than likely, however, he will never sell passing his precious coin heirlooms down to his family, which knows even less about coin collecting than he does—except to hoard them indefinitely "till they're worth (always) 'a small fortune.'" Occasionally, the entire country becomes coin collecing mad, such as occurred the first time the Lincoln cent was minted in 1909 and is currently the case with the Kennedy half dollars.

The average collector who hoards a Kennedy half believes mulishly: "It'll be worth something some day." It will. It'll be worth 50 cents at any bank, department store, shopping center, or post office. True, the collector may try to find a trusted coin dealer to sell the coin to, but even if he finds one he will be disappointed. Few dealers today are buying individual Kennedy halves, and they are not likely to in years to come.

A good deal of the blame for the coin collecting madness now rampant in the country is attributable to the U.S. Treasury Department and Congress. Unless they learn to stop whetting the appetite of the coin collector by permitting the minting and circulation of unusual coins, such as proof coins, coins with mint marks, coins of irregular design, thickness, metal, etc., he will pull virtually every coin out of circulation and then storm the mints panting for more. Congress should make it more difficult for the mints to strike a new kind of coin or change one in any way—including the pointless practice of dating it—than to pass an amendment to the Constitution.

Senator LEE METCALF, Democrat of Montana, has introduced a bill (S. 2870) that incorporates most of these principles, and for that reason it deserves bankers' wholehearted support. The bill is probably more important than other bills that would merely create more mints, or allow the Treasury to enter into contracts with private individuals to mint coins, since it attacks the greatest cause of the coin shortage—the voracious appetite of coin collectors for unusual coins.

RON MULVANEY.

House Should Approve Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my unequivocal support for the wilderness bill. When Senator HUMPHREY introduced this legislation 7 years ago, he said that it "gives expression to a policy which has long been a reality in the minds and hearts of the American people but has never yet been embodied in legislation." I think it is time to make the policy of the wilderness bill a legislative reality.

WILDERNESS THREATENED

Americans have always found the beauty of untouched wilderness a source of inspiration and enjoyment. But unless we act now, the coming decades will see wilderness increasingly encroached upon by a growing population and increased mechanization. Unless we act now, future generations may never enjoy the natural areas we cherish. We neglect our responsibility to the future if we fail to preserve untouched areas.

THE WILDERNESS BILL

The wilderness bill would preserve natural areas for our continuing use. It would establish a wilderness preservation system consisting of present "wilderness," "wild," and "canoe" areas. It would set up an orderly procedure for additions, deletions or changes in the preservation system, with provisions for due notice, public hearings, and review by Congress.

I see no valid objections to its passage. It will not generally interfere with the established uses of areas it includes, it will not endanger existing private rights, and it will not call for the expenditure of additional funds.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND A PRECEDENT

I think the passage last week of the land and water conservation fund bill serves as fine precedent for the wilderness bill. Both measures are concrete indications of American concern for our outdoor heritage. Among other things, the Conservation Fund Act will help States plan, acquire, and develop land and water areas needed for recreation. My own State will receive over $2 million under this law. I think the wilderness bill, along with this act, would provide a firm foundation for the development and protection of a range of outdoor areas to suit every recreational taste.

BOUNDARY WATERS CANOE AREA

Minnesotans are happy that our boundary waters canoe area is part of the

preservation system established by the wilderness bill. There is much interest in the development of this area, and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman has appointed a six-man commission to make recommendations regarding its future.

Mr. Speaker, let me close by suggesting that the Congress which President Johnson has termed an "Education Congress" could, with the passage of this bill, merit the title of "Conservation Congress" as well. It will have demonstrated its understanding and concern for the educational and recreational needs of the complex society we have become.

Marxism and Progressive Christianity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a very highly respected lay leader in the Presbyterian Church, Mr. Julian Dusenbury, of Florence, S.C., has called my attention to a very interesting and informative article published in the July 22, 1964, issue of the Presbyterian Journal. The article is entitled "A Revealing Look at the Parallels Existing Between Two Revolutions," and was written by the editor of the Presbyterian Journal, Dr. G. Aiken Taylor.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Presbyterian Journal, July 22, 1964]

A REVEALING LOOK AT THE PARALLELS EXISTING BETWEEN TWO REVOLUTIONS

(NOTE.—The following material is taken from an extensive study of Marxism and its virulent effect upon Western thought and culture. The author of the study is a South African university professor. The material is presented here in order to point out the startling similarity between the aims of Marxism and those of so-called progressive Christianity.)

The nature of the materialistic threat to civilization can be determined by an examination of the aims of Bolshevik revolutionaries. In its violent beginnings Communist culture set out to:

Destroy all established values.

Sweep away everything "traditional" in order that they might concern themselves solely with what they considered to be the realities of the present.

Totally reject as guides the supernatural and the absolute.

Attack spiritual reality by the application of the so-called scientific method.

Make art a physiological, mechanical expression of the material experience of physical being.

Everywhere, quantitative values were introduced instead of those of quality. In the field of education this was done by means of a "progressive" attitude, which was intended to fit the student into a future place in modern society—a place where he could best serve the interests of the projected new community.

The new educational aims were quite distinct from previous concepts of education which, broadly speaking, concerned themselves with standards of quality and with building a critical structure of selective powers with which to face the problems of life, rather than merely to be integrated into its commercial or political structures.

The so-called philosophy of modern life which has accompanied the spread of Marxist ideas into the West begins with the cutting off of the past and the forming of entirely new patterns of thought and living. It replaces a consciousness of heritage with an exclusive preoccupation with contemporaneity—with the now.

For the leftist, intellectual life is relatively simple, being devoid of all absolute values except those of rational and existential approach. The law of present necessity replaces the eternal law of God, under the princple of so-called humanism.

This does not mean that the modern "progressive" is tolerant of all men. He speaks of tolerance but he is quite intolerant of those who oppose his ideology. In particular he is intolerant of men who retain and cherish their links with the past. He scorns tradition; for tradition has to do with an eternal order rather than with "science"; and the traditionally minded man is concerned more with the experiences of the past than with so-called progress; and, above all, he believes in a personal God rather than in man.

DIG UP THE ROOTS

In order to achieve world unification through totalitarianism, it is necessary for the "progressive" man to persuade or force the traditional man to pull up his roots. Like a tree a man divested of his roots falls the more easily or, having lost support, will grab at whatever is offered in the way of alternatives.

Thus, by means of persuasion, propaganda, and "education," the objective is sought, which is the destruction of all forms of authoritarianism and of individuality in favor of total uniformity.

By the removal of personal values based on absolutes, and of the individual man, the mentally conditioned, collective man can be firmly established. The purpose is to obliterate the inheritances from the past and all supernaturalistic thought.

In the ascendancy is the new mind, replacing the old mind. The old mind, imperfect as it was and is, nevertheless gropes toward the completion of a purpose—a purpose which is determined by the preexistence of a natural or divine order of things.

The new mind is not groping toward anything, because eternal reality does not exist—so we are told—beyond the existential and material experiences of the present.

The old mind gropes toward an objective outside and beyond its normal orbit.

The new mind expresses itself within the confines of the immediate, material world.

All this is very clearly seen in art—painting, music, drama. Painting today is a highly excitable act which is supposed to give expression to the unconscious, making visible in a kaleidoscope of color one's inner emotions and impulses.

The new mind also expresses itself in music without focus, purpose, or direction, except as it reflects the impulses of the moment. In some quarters electronic tape sounds, mathematical formula, mechanical fragments of "nonmelody" and "nonrhythm" are introduced as serious "music."

All new mind art is not of the same style, of course, but every method of expression concentrates upon the same basic ideology—that of materialism.

One can reasonably draw two conclusions from an examination of the emerging patterns of Western thought:

(1) A new form of "Christian" intellectualism has arisen which, far from being anti-Communist as claimed, is in fact fully engaged in implementing Marxist Socialist ideology and practice. It differs from modern Russian or Chinese communism only by being nonnationalistic.

(2) Whereas this form of Western intellectualism claims to be in creative rebellion, it is in fact a result, knowingly or unknowingly, of consent and submission to Marxist ideology.

The claim to being progressive is entirely false. In fact a very great deal of what is falsely claimed to be individualistic rebellion against outgrown tradition is totally devoid of individualism and is but a slavish reflection of collectivist political forms.

THE PROSPECT AHEAD

The prospect ahead is that of a uniform dialectic which, although denying the absolute, is itself absolutist and which declares to be untrue or even nonexistent everything which does not conform to itself.

It has effectively destroyed the old scale of values and has instigated a new set of values which describe:

A state of general unrest as peaceful coexistence;

A state of economic slavery as political freedom;

A state of collectivist materialism as Christianity;

A state of collective vulgarity as civilized culture;

A state of sabotage and subversion of law and order as the expression of political rights;

A system of group indoctrination as education.

The system into which man is being steadily absorbed is a totalitarian reorganization of the world, from which the accumulated experiences of past civilizations and cultures are being exterminated.

The end product of this system is an incomplete man who is a danger to humanity.

Free thought can be shaped only by men who have not been degraded by a system. Truth is not reassuring; it is demanding. But absolute and demanding truth is being replaced by the assurances of a system.

What is needed is a rebuilding of man to his original strength of purpose and individuality based on eternal truth so that he may reacquire the knowledge and power to resist and destroy the new totalitarian concept which has made him a creature of the mass. The basic need is, of course, a spiritual one.

The above description of modern civilized man's educational and cultural predicament is too convincingly accurate to require debate. We were impressed, as we read it, with its application to the modern world of religion.

Everything the author said about cultural and educational patterns could be applied to the "new theology" which has poisoned the church.

Take the emphasis upon cutting off all binding ties with the past, for instance. In the view by the minister whose thoughts on "Sex and Freedom" appeared in the June 10 Journal there are no absolutes from the past which can determine a person's behavior in the present. Not even the Bible is to be taken as a "rulebook" laying down everlastingly valid principles. That view, typical of the liberal religionist, is an expression of the philosophy of existentialism. Although it pays lip service to God it dovetails with the patterns of collectivism outlined in the article above.

Even the popular philosophy which takes the Bible as "witness and instrument" of revelation serves the purposes of those who would sever man's ties with the past and cut the roots of his spiritual connections. The advocates of this view in the Presbyterian Church of the United States—by and large—do not have such an eventuality in mind, of course. They rather seek to pre-

serve the past in the "insights" of the present. But cutting oneself from the past while trying to preserve it is folly. And changing the authority of the Bible from a revelation to a report of revelation which is to be taken and applied to one's existential situation in the light of present needs is to do exactly what the author of the above article is talking about.

What we need, of course, is a return to authority and to supernatural religion. Practically that might be encouraged if we quit looking for religion values in a hundred curious places—secular literature, novels, drama forms, "adult" films, even the history of the church and the Christian life—and concentrate on the source of truth and righteousness, namely the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the Word of God, the Bible.

And to the extent that suggestion sounds naive, consider whether the "new philosophy" has not done its work in your thinking.

Integrity Within the Internal Revenue Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, in the June issue of the National Association of Internal Revenue Employees Bulletin there appeared a penetrating editorial on integrity within the Internal Revenue Service.

The editorial emphasizes the joint responsibility, between management and employee orgnaizations, for combating any breach of integrity. I highly commend this message for its forthright recognition of the responsibility of the employee organization, particularly that which has exclusive recognition. It is through cooperative efforts such as this that we shall continue to have high standards within the Service.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial comment from the June issue of the NAIRE Bulletin be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Once again the word integrity has been projected into the IRS scene. It has been there before, but each time its definitive meaning has prevailed. That meaning will prevail also this time as steps are underway to restore soundness of principle and character, uprightness, and honesty as the way of life for all within the Service.

There are those who say that the recent breach of integrity within the IRS is symbolic of a similar breach in American life in general. It is said, for instance, that shoddy manufacturing processes, with resultant inferior products, constitute one such symbol. Questionable commercial arrangements, retail and wholesale manipulations, disinterested salesmanship—all to the detriment of the consumer, are other examples cited as evidence of the breakdown of integrity. Relaxation of the discipline in the home which reflects itself in the child as it enters the teens and adult life is given as a reason why integrity suffers. A decline in public morals and morality as a result of present trends in literature and entertainment media, it is contended, inevitably affects integrity. Most likely the answer will be that it is a combination of all these factors that has come to place such a premium on the type of integrity that marked the early decades of this country's history, that brought eminence in world trade, that made America the ideal of free peoples everywhere.

Regardless of what analysis will finally show with respect to integrity in the American body politic in general, counteraction is already underway so far as any breaches of integrity in IRS are concerned. Spearheaded by Commissioner Mortimer Caplin, officials of the Service have been instructed to present their views of what is needed to offset the damaged image created by the malfeasance of a relatively small number of employees and to restore public confidence in the recognized basic integrity of the Service. The task assumes greater importance since IRS, perhaps more than any other agency, is exposed continually to the possibility of this type of malfeasance and its generating influences.

Integrity, as one official puts it, rests with everything anybody in IRS does at all times. It depends upon good management and good, day-to-day normal operations. It calls for an evaluation by every employee of the possible reaction to his or her every activity as an employee. Integrity, this same official said, comes from within one's self. It does not mean the ABC's of life, the routine, the material, but rather it means that which must be built into the employee's day-to-day conduct. It must grow from the bottom up, rather than from the top down. Another official defined integrity as the thing that makes people trust you.

In the instances of malfeasance that have come to light recently, it is merely begging the question to say that they are the result of the way of life in any given geographical area. If integrity prevails as it should, any way of life inconsistent with it stands repudiated. If soundness of moral principles and character and uprightness and honesty are a part of an employee's basic training—and here is meant not only his or her job training—temptations and adverse outside influences cannot find root. Admittedly, this is an idealistic conception, yet it is not less valid because American mores have declined at the present time. Within the memory of some still in the Service, deviation from the highest standards of conduct, from anything that tended to mar the highest public image of those responsible for the fair and impartial enforcement of the Nation's tax laws was inconceivable. Not even the slightest veering away from those standards was thought of and while temptations to depart from them did exist, though not as resisted. That is the integrity, the impeccable character that is so vitally needed extensively as in reecnt times, they were today.

Responsibility for combating any breach of integrity rests both with management and the employee organization, particularly the employee representative that has been granted exclusive recognition. Management's responsibility lies in providing continually, through adequate communications, guidelines that will insure integrity, repeatedly emphasizing avenues of high employee standards. The employee organization, on the other hand, must make certain that in the application of those standards the rights of employees are protected, that improper application is avoided. This NAIRE has done. It has at the same time pledged its continued support of measures that will insure integrity within the Service at its highest level.

O.W.R.

Judicial Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on July 8, I made on the Senate floor a brief speech which I entitled "Judicial Legislation," and in which I said:

In decision after decision, during the past 12 years, the Supreme Court has arrogated to itself the privilege of amending the Constitution, and the full weight of the executive branch of the Government has been placed behind the enforcement of that usurpation of power.

Eleven days later, the same sentiments were echoed by a distinguished Florida lawyer, Hon. Millard F. Caldwell, in a coast-to-coast broadcast on the Dean Manion Forum. I had the honor and pleasure of serving in the House with Judge Caldwell, who later became Governor of Florida, and in recent years has served with great distinction as a Member of the Supreme Court of Florida. Charging that the Warren Court is charting the road back to tyranny, Judge Caldwell said:

The Court, exhibiting its contempt for the Constitution, asserting its power to overrule long-recognized constitutional principles and reading into the Constitution new and alien ideas, has spawned mistrust.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD other excerpts from the Justice Caldwell radio address of July 19.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUDICIAL LEGISLATION

The Russian Constitution provides for equal rights for citizens of all races, for women, for separation of church and state, for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. Russia is a prime example of what can happen to a nation when centralized power is substituted for constitutional safeguards.

In the formation of our government centralization had its strong advocates but a majority of the Founding Fathers, in the light of their firsthand knowledge of despotism, kings and monarches, and being convinced that centralization is synonymous with tyranny, required the historic division of authority between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government and reserved in the States all powers not granted by the States to the Federal Goverment.

It strikes me as elemental that the keystone of stability in a Republic is mutual respect—respect on the part of the institutions for the rights and welfare of the people and respect by the people for the government.

For more than a century the Congress and the Supreme Court maintained profound respect for the people of America, for the rights of the States and for the Constitution. For a century and a half the people entertained profound respect for the Supreme Court and the Congress. Neither premise is now tenable.

COURT TRAMPLING ON RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

I do want to talk about the Constitution—and our obligation to preserve that

Constitution as it safeguards the rights of the people and of the States, the separation of the three branches of Government and the historical checks and balances.

As a lawyer and a judge I should tell you it is no happy experience to find my long-nurtured convictions in conflict. As a law student I was taught the accurate construction of the law and the Constitution is to be found in the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. As a lawyer I have advised my clients and have conducted my litigation on the basis of the opinions of that Court.

But, also, I was taught the whole structure of our Government is founded upon the Federal Constitution—that without a Constitution and without obedience to that Constitution by the citizens, by the public officials and the judiciary, we cannot hope for the liberties incident to a Republic.

* * * * *

The necessity to speak with some frankness imposes an onerous responsibility because, in utter candor, I must tell you the Supreme Court of the United States, not subject to election by the people nor to their will, there for life, has tortured the plain language of the Constitution and, to that extent, has destroyed the rule of law and substituted, in its stead, the rule of man.

The integrity of the Federal Constitution represents the difference between a free government elected by the people and government by nine appointed judges. To make it shockingly plain, our Republic has, in major degree, been converted to a collectivistic sort of principality over which we, as citizens, have lost control.

That is harsh language—language which should not be used unless there is sound and provable basis for the apprehension expressed. We will look at the record and see if what the Court has done and what the justices of that Court have said, warrant the views I have voiced.

The Court, exhibiting its contempt for the Constitution, asserting its power to overrule long-recognized constitutional principles and reading into the Constitution new and alien ideas, has spawned mistrust.

* * * * *

Let me give you an example of the sort of imperiality which has engendered mistrust of the Supreme Court. Mr. Justice Douglas, in the Lincoln Mills case, held the Court was authorized to "fashion a body of Federal law"; that "the range of judicial inventiveness will be determined by the nature of the problem."

Does it intrigue your curiosity to ask when that Court was authorized to "fashion a body of Federal law" or to indulge "judicial inventiveness"?

That's the sort of irresponsibility which Judge Learned Hand, the most eminent jurist of this era, had in mind, in his lecture at Harvard of all places, when he waved the danger flag and pointed to what can happen when the Supreme Court arrogates to itself the power to restrict the rights of legislative bodies to legislate, and assumes, for the Court, the legislative function.

SUPREME COURT ASSUMING ILLEGAL LEGISLATIVE ROLE

Judge Hand said the Supreme Court's definition of powers leaves no doubt that it assumes the role of a "third legislative chamber." He criticized the Court's usurpation of power and said he had never been able to understand on what basis, other than arbitrary usurpation, the Court had adopted the fact it may legislate.

Doubting the wisdom of any judge serving as a "communal mentor," Judge Hand said: "If we do need a third chamber it should appear for what it is, and not as the interpreter of inscrutable principles."

Several years ago the Conference of Chief Justices of the several States, by formal resolution, urged the Supreme Court, as it determines questions touching the powers reserved to the States, to exercise the greatest of all judicial powers—the power of judicial self-restraint—and to recognize the difference between that which the Constitution may prescribe and that which a majority of the Supreme Court may deem desirable.

I am told that, when the resolution was reported, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States walked out of the meeting and resigned from the American Bar Association.

That the Supreme Court has consciously set about rewriting the laws is apparent in the language of the Justices themselves. For example, in the case of *Griffin* v. *Illinois*, one of the Justices said that:

"Candor compels acknowledgement that the decision rendered today is a new ruling. * * * We should not indulge in the fiction that the law now announced has always been the law."

In *Baker* v. *Carr*, two dissenting Justices said of the majority opinion:

"The Court today reversed a uniform course of decision established by a dozen cases, including one by which the very claim now sustained was unanimously rejected only 5 years ago."

That the majority opinion was:

"(A) massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial powers."

In *Cole* v. *Young*, the dissenting Justices said that by its action the Court intruded itself into presidential policymaking—that the Court's order "has stricken down the most effective weapon against subversive activities available to the Government."

In *Mapp* v. *Ohio*, which overruled long-standing precedent affecting State courts, three dissenting Justices agreed they were "bound to say that what has been done is not likely to promote respect either for the Court's adjudicatory process or for the stability of its decisions * * * this Court can increase respect for the Constitution only if it rigidly respects the limitations which the Constitution places upon it * * * our voice becomes only a voice of power, not of reason."

In *Arizona* v. *California*, the majority of the Court became so brazen in stripping the rights from the States that even Mr. Justice Douglas, an avowed centralist and, in his own right, a noted spinner of new law, could not stomach it.

He, joining the dissent, said the majority of the Court granted "the Federal bureaucracy a power and command over water rights in the 17 Western States that it never has had, that it always wanted, that it could never persuade Congress to grant, and that this Court up to now has consistently refused to recognize," that "the present case * * * will, I think, be marked as the baldest attempt by judges of modern times to spin their own philosophy into the fabric of the law."

I Have Lost a Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the Nation shares California's sorrow in the loss of her indomitable Senator Clair Engle.

It was my high privilege to know Clair Engle for more than a quarter of a century during which time we developed a very close relationship, the memory of which I cherish.

I first met Clair Engle when he was elected to the California legislature as State Senator representing Tehama County. I was then executive officer of the California Division of Fish and Game and because of our common interest in conservation, we were thrown pretty much together. He came on to Congress and I followed him about 3 years later. We were both interested in the development of the Central Valley and in the water and power problems of California. During my first term in Congress, I served on the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee. Under the Reorganization Act, Clair Engle was assigned to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs which incorporated the work of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. I went to another committee. During my service on the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee, I introduced a bill for the high dam on the American River in Folsom, Calif. In the 80th Congress, after I had left the committee and Mr. Engle had taken over, he reintroduced the bill, which eventually became law. He was always generous enough to refer to that legislation as the Engle-Miller bill.

Clair became chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and it was here that he made his great contribution to our country and particularly to the West. He was an outstanding authority on reclamation laws. He had an imagination and an understanding of the problems and the necessity for water and power. He had the drive and the courage to fight for this in the face of great odds.

When he got to the Senate, this was still his first love and there again he carried the torch that was responsible for a great deal of our water and power development in the Western United States.

Clair Engle was a humanist. He loved his fellow men and he never ceased to work in their interest.

We shall miss Clair Engle. It will be hard to replace him, and his accomplishments in the short 52 years of his life will go down in the history of our country.

I have been privileged to know him, I appreciate his worth and acknowledge our great loss. To his lovely wife, Lu, Mrs. Miller and I extend our heartfelt sympathy.

"Secure My Blessings"—Poem by Mrs. Harold Disco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I have the good fortune to have a constituent and friend in Connecticut who is an accomplished poetess. She is Mrs. Harold

Disco, of Norwich, Conn. She writes under the pen name of Jo Bingham.

Recently she was kind enough to send me one of her poems, entitled, "Secure My Blessings." It is a piece of patriotic verse which I feel is unusual in its eloquence and beauty; therefore, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURE MY BLESSINGS

I am the country—
Become all my dimensions:
Rise with my mountains,
Reach with my trees,
Spread with my grasses.

I am the Union—
Become my strength:
Be one with me and still be many,
Individual as fern,
Diverse as river veinings,
Sovereign as the stars;
I am the people,
I am the cities,
I am the States;
My being is of these,
My purpose is for these,
My hope lies in them;
Made one from many,
I am the Nation—
Become my shield.

I am the sought and the found,
The symbol and the fact,
The flag and the court of freedom:
I am liberty—
Become my pride.

—JO BINGHAM.

JULY 1961.

Hon. Burris C. Jackson, of Hillsboro, Tex., Keynotes the 25th Annual American Cotton Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the 25th annual American Cotton Congress met in Waco, Tex., on June 5, 1964, and the keynote speaker was my very good and able friend, the Honorable Burris C. Jackson, of Hillsboro, Tex.

I do not know of any one individual who has had as close an association with the cotton industry as Burris Jackson. In fact, he was one of the original members who organized the American Cotton Congress back in 1938, and has since served as president of this organization.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to include with my remarks, the keynote address made by Mr. Jackson as general chairman of the convention.

COTTON'S PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

(By Burris C. Jackson, general chairman of the 25th annual American Cotton Congress delivered at the session in Waco, June 5, 1964)

This is the silver anniversary meeting of this congress. Its theme is "Cotton's Past, Present, and Future." It is an appropriate time to reflect where we were, where we have come, and where we are headed.

Cotton has been on a political roller coaster since the early thirties. It was at the very bottom of one of its dips when this congress convened here in Waco 25 years ago. It was selling for about 9 cents a pound; domestic consumption had sunk to less than 7 million bales annually; exports were decreasing rapidly; surpluses were building up; and rayon was moving into cotton's traditional markets.

Then, you will remember, the coaster started its upward climb. It zoomed to a peak during World War II as most of the surplus was used up. It leveled off for a while and then the Korean war pushed the coaster up another hump. But the track wasn't built for a steady upward climb. The planners did not construct it that way. Export embargoes were imposed on U.S. cotton. The world price soared to as much as a dollar a pound. Every country that could grow cotton began expanding production and taking over our markets.

We were at the bottom of the dip again in 1956 when Congress passed a bill making it mandatory that cotton be sold for export at competitive prices. A subsidy, of course, was necessary to make up the difference between the domestic price and the world price and thereby bail out our export market.

With a view toward eliminating some of the dangerous curves and terrifying dips in the track, the cotton industry—led by producers—successfully spearheaded legislation in 1958 to bring about a gradual lowering of price supports.

We wanted to head toward a true one-price competitive system. This began to pay off. We started to climb again. Exports increased substantially; the trend in domestic consumption was upward; and it was possible to increase acreage.

A real thrill driver climbed into the seat of the roller coaster, however, and released the brakes in 1961. To the astonishment of nearly everyone, the domestic price support was raised. At the same time, rayon manufacturers cut their prices and opened an all-out campaign to win cotton's markets. It all seemed like fiction rather than fact.

We're at the bottom of the dip again after one of the dizziest rides in cotton's history. The raw cotton cost advantage enjoyed by foreign mills since 1956 was hiked further by the price support increase in 1961, and the flow of cotton products from abroad swelled accordingly. Whereas they were the equivalent of 180,000 bales of raw cotton annually in 1955, they had increased to about 650,000 bales in 1963.

The higher export price led to another jump in foreign cotton production and a takeover of more of our oversea markets.

It is in the domestic market, however, where the double-barreled effect of a higher cotton price and a lower rayon price has played havoc. We have been suffering a competitive loss of 600,000 bales a year, piling up surpluses while our synthetics competitors are having a hard time keeping up with the booming demand for textiles.

This Congress would begin on a dismal note indeed if we assessed cotton's last 25 years only in terms of the effectiveness of political panaceas in solving its problems. So let's turn to the brighter side.

Isn't it paradoxical that during the same 25 years it was being battered about on the political roller coaster—that while we were shifting from crisis to crisis trying to politically manipulate the law of supply and demand—cotton was making unparalleled progress on other fronts.

Back in 1939 when we first met in Waco, the beltwide yield was 238 pounds of lint per acre. It took 23,800,000 acres to produce 11,800,000 bales. Last year the beltwide yield was well over a bale to the acre. Only 14,200,000 acres were required for the production of 15,300,000 bales of cotton.

With skip-row planting and other techniques, one grower here in Texas has produced eight bales of cotton per acre. Another farmer over in Mississippi harvested 55 bales on 11 acres in an area where a bale to the acre once was considered a pretty fair average.

It took more than 200 man-hours to produce a bale of cotton in 1939, as compared with approximately 45 hours today. In those days animal power was employed in 70 percent of the land preparation and 80 percent of the planting and cultivation. Except for some stripping with crude sleds, practically all of the crop was harvested by hand.

Now, tractors provide the power for virtually 100 percent of the land preparation, planting, and cultivation. With more than 75,000 pickers and strippers, we harvested approximately 75 percent of the 1963 cotton crop.

During these years there has been a widespread adaptation of multirow, tractor-powered equipment to cotton farming. In one trip down the row, some three or four operations may be performed simultaneously.

We have seen such innovations as anhydrous ammonia, chemical weed control, flame cultivation, rotary hoes, organic insecticides, extensive supplemental irrigation, defoliation, and mechanical harvesting.

These are the fruits of research and its application—advancement of which has been one of the primary goals of this conwidespread adaptation of multirow, tractorgress. Research has given us higher yielding varieties of cotton with excellent staple and other improved fiber characteristics—with built-in resistance to wilt and other diseases and well adapted to climatic conditions and cultural practices of particular areas.

The merchants who buy cotton have precise and easy methods for testing and evaluating the various characteristics of the fiber. There has been a tremendous revolution in ginning to keep pace with mechanization and its associated techniques. Innovations throughout all the various processes of textile manufacture have resulted in greater efficiency, lower costs, and improved product quality.

Twenty-five years ago cotton was a poor stepchild in the world of fashion—a lowly fabric snubbed by big name designers. But today it's different. A couple of years ago it was my privilege as president of the National Cotton Council to present the annual cotton fashion award for outstanding creative work in cotton.

This goes each year to a topflight designer and is one of the most coveted prizes in the highly competitive fashion business. It's presented at an all-cotton style show on the lawn of the mansion of the Mayor of New York. Creations in this show range from smart street wear to the most glamorous evening costumes—a truly fabulous collection of cottons.

Chemical finishing and other processes that were in their infancy 25 years ago now are giving the consumer an amazing array of cotton fabrics. Wash and wear, wrinkle resistance, soil resistance, new weaves and textures, and other desirable qualities have been added. Cotton at the same time retains the beauty, launderability, strength, durability, and comfort that have made it the favorite since the dawn of civilization.

There is another aspect of our progress over these 25 years, however, which, while

not as tangible, is probably more significant than all of these other things put together.

This is the spirit of confidence this industry has developed in its own resources. It is the mutual respect which has come about among the various branches over a quarter of a century in fighting for a common cause—the cause of increasing consumption of cotton, cottonseed, and the products thereof.

I was a member of the committee on organization of the National Cotton Council, convened by Oscar Johnston in November 1938. Those were dark days. Pointing up the seriousness of cotton's situation, Oscar noted that the "ordinary animal instinct prompts us to come together and prompts us to forget our differences just as the mountain lion and the antelope will lope along together down the trail in their fear of a forest fire, neither fearful of the other, all enmity being forgotten in face of the common danger, the approaching forest fire.

"So men will come together," he said, "and subordinate individual ideas and individual prejudices in an effort to reach common understudy and
understanding and present a united front in an effort to solve their problems."

This, as you know, led to unity in our cotton industry such as had never been possible before. It enable us to mount a program of promotion that gained international recognition, kept cotton in the fight during the most intensely competitive period in its history, and provided the pattern for some 16 countries now conducting similar activity through Cotton Council International.

It enabled us to assemble in behalf of cotton the most competent staff of economists, scientists, sales promotion, public relations, and other experts ever brought together by a commodity organization.

Now this talent is being employed also in projecting the research and promotion programs of the Cotton Producers Institute, a beltwide effort wholly financed by cotton farmers.

The institute is putting $800,000 this year into research projects aimed at cutting costs, improving quality, and developing new products. It will spend more than a million and a half dollars for domestic sales promotion.

Combined with the council's own efforts, this means a total of about $3 million will be spent this year to convince consumers of cotton's superior quality and value.

These are the kinds of things that can be done when people of good will dedicate themselves to a common cause, and the fact that we have accomplished this unity within our industry source of satisfaction. It far overshadows our ups and downs in the legislative arena.

As we turn to the present we have some cause for optimism. After 18 months of frustration, we finally have some cotton legislation. The new program, of course, is not permanent. It was enacted to meet an emergency situation. Not everybody is happy about some of the things it does or doesn't do.

Whatever else may be said, however, the bill provides desparately needed improvement in cotton's price position in the domestic market. Now that the mills will have an opportunity to buy cotton on a competitive basis, there's certainly reason for hope that our losses will be checked and there will be some rapid recovery in our markets.

Elimination of the two-price system very likely will result in a substantial cutback in textile imports. It will make cotton more coton more atractive to our mills as a raw material and should result in gains on competing fibers in the domestic market.

The emergency legislation promises temporary relief in a situation that threatened disaster for cotton.

Space Race—United States and Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an editorial by Mr. Robert Hotz which appeared in the July 6 issue of Aviation Week magazine.

Mr. Hotz in his editorial points out that until recently most nations of the international community viewed the exploration of space as a race between Russia and the United States. But he observes that during the past 2 years there has been a radical reversal of this philosophy. More and more nations have now decided there is a role for them in space technology.

Mr. Hotz also points up that "there is a growing realization that space technology is far more than the tremendous prestige battle the United States and the U.S.S.R. have been waging in this area. Most other major nations now recognize that space is a vital new technology that has significance for every spot on this earthly sphere."

The article follows:

SPACE TECHNOLOGY ENTERING ERA OF RAPID INTERNATIONAL GROWTH

(By Robert Hotz)

Space technology is beginning a period of rapid international growth in scientific exploration, hardware development, and operational use of space systems.

For 5 years after the Soviet Sputnik I signaled the dawn of the space age, most of the major nations on this planet debated as to whether there was any role for them in space technology. Many felt there was no room for them between the massive programs mounted by the United States and the U.S.S.R. and few did little more than token space research.

During the past 2 years there has been a radical reversal of this philosophy. More than 28 nations have now decided that there is a role for them in space technology. They have organized vigorous programs tailored to meet their specific national needs. They are increasing space-oriented studies and research in their educational systems, and are developing a capability for operating space hardware. Many are building their own industrial bases to support their future plans in space.

There is a growing realization that space technology is far more than the tremendous prestige battle the United States and the U.S.S.R. have been waging in this area. Most other major nations now recognize that space is a vital new technology that has significance for every spot on this earthly sphere.

This sharp reversal in philosophy that has brought so many nations into active participation in space technology is due primarily to two factors:

First, the technical successes of weather and communications satellites such as Tiros, Telstar, Syncom, and Relay awakened the world to the tremendous possibilities of global space systems in which almost every nation can participate and benefit.

Second, the enlightened and effective international cooperation program of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration helped 65 other countries to develop their own initial capabilities in space technology. The NASA program of training foreign scientists, students and technicians in U.S. space research centers and providing technical support ranging from low-cost boosters to launch and range facilities has enabled many countries to proceed with more speed and certainty than would have been possible if left to their own resources. This generous U.S. program already is paying dividends in obtaining inputs from the best foreign brains. It is developing a rapidly expanding market for U.S. space hardware and technical guidance, and it is modestly spreading the cost of space research among the participating nations.

It also has provided a tremendous contrast with the attitude of the Soviet Union that speaks more eloquently than any political speech on the basic difference between the approach of this Nation to the other peoples of the world and that of the Russians. The U.S.S.R. has even refused to share any significant space technology with it own Communist satellite nations. It has restricted their best technical brains to theoretical studies and bars them from actual scientific exploration with space hardware.

Because of this new approach to space technology by most of the major nations, and the period of rapid expansion it forecasts for the next decade, Aviation Week & Space Technology chose this time to organize a special editorial task force to prepare a detailed and comprehensive report on what every nation now committed to space research is planning for the future. The editors of this task force visited most of the countries whose space programs are detailed in the following pages. This special report offers the first complete picture of international space technology. It is intended to serve as a guide for many years to come for the scientists, engineers, industry managers and government officials who will be working in this field.

The NASA international cooperation program has helped to orient many other national space technology programs toward U.S. industry. During the past few years there has been a modest trickle of about $16 million spent by other nations for U.S. space hardware. But this presages a rapidly expanding international market for U.S. space components and technical knowledge in the decade ahead. This market potential covers an extremely broad spectrum including not only space hardware such as satellites and boosters and their subsystems, but also technical training, range support, quality control techniques, testing and checkout equipment and techniques, and specialized components in areas where it is impractical for every nation to develop its own industrial capability. It will require considerable energy and ingenuity to develop this market for individual firms and products. But it offers rich rewards for those who can master its intricacies.

The competition for the U.S. aerospace industry in this market will of necessity become keener as other nations develop their own industrial bases to support their space technology programs. There is a growing realization among the major European and Pacific powers that space technology is one of the new spearhead sciences that provide the keen competitive cutting edge of a modern industrial system. It is a focal point and synthesizer for all of the other key modern technologies such as atomics, electronics, metallurgy, plastics, and new propulsion methods.

While large nations will develop substantial space technology bases to sharpen their industrial complexes and insure larger shares of the hardware used in global space systems, it is becoming increasingly evident that there is also a place for smaller nations in the overall international space picture.

For example, with an investment as low as $25,000 they can now buy a readout system that will provide instantaneous weather satellite pictures. By joining in the various consortiums and multilateral programs that are organizing, they can contribute commensurate with their modest resources and still share in the broad pool of knowledge obtained. How well individual governments orient their talents and resources in the international space spectrum will be a critical yardstick with which to measure their future successes. For no nation that lets the space age pass it by can possibly thrive as well as one that exploits its possibilities to the full meaure of its needs.

Perhaps the most heartening aspect of the international expansion of space activity is the manner in which the hard technical and financial facts are persuading nations to work together on cooperative projects ranging from global satellite systems to booster development and scientific exploration.

The United States has scored a tremendous diplomatic victory through its enlightened international space policy.

Part of this has been achieved through the NASA international cooperation program for which Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, Deputy NASA Administrator; Arnold Frutkin, head of the international programs office of NASA, and Dr. Harry Goett, director of Goddard Space Flight Center, deserve special credit.

The other portion has been achieved through Communications Satellite Corp., currently organizing a global commercial communications system with heavy international participation, and through the U.S. Weather Bureau's leadership in developing a global weather satellite system, first with Tiros and later with other more technically advanced satellites. These systems are proving to be so important internationally that even the Soviet Union wants to participate—apparently aware that the cost of its continued isolation would be prohibitive.

Europe is finding, despite many differences at the political level, that it can accomplish more in certain areas of space technology by cooperative multination efforts such as the ELDO booster development project and the ESRO research group.

India, Pakistan, Britain, and Australia are joining in a special sounding rocket program. Experimenters in 23 nations will participate in observations and measurements from NASA's S–66 ionospheric beacon satellite. Another 14 countries cooperated with NASA on the S–48 ionosphere sounding satellite program.

British, Canadian, and French satellites will provide the hard core of NASA's ionospheric satellite program during the next 6 years, and seven foreign experiments have been selected in competition with U.S. proposals for flight in NASA observatory-type satellites during the next 3 years.

If the early promise of international space technology is realized during the next decade it may prove to be the most powerful cohesive force in binding the nations of this planet together—not only to explore the far reaches of the universe but also to improve life on the earth itself.

Poem in Memory of President John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, Dr. Walter W. Stevens, of 5030 Northeast 184th, Seattle, Wash., recently wrote a poem in memory of our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this inspiring poem, entitled "A Man."

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MAN

(By Walter W. Stevens)

Legend of the sea,
Pulitzer Prize mind,
Glamor's riffle on his smile,
A granite slab beneath his feet,
The clank of iron in his words,
Mercy's cup extended to the aged,
Warrior for the mentally ill,
Minister to the poor,
The black man's brother,
He cast a stone that has not yet come down
to make its splash.

Loss of Spiritual Values Weakens United States Politically

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 31, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Felix Morley, one of the soundest writers in this country, has had published in the August 1964 issue of Nation's Business an outstanding article entitled "Loss of Spiritual Values Weakens United States Politically." I concur in Mr. Morley's comments and conclusions, and I am confident that the article will prove to be of intense interest to many Members of the Congress who likewise have been concerned with the decline of spiritual values in our country in recent years.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRENDS: THE STATE OF THE NATION—LOSS OF SPIRITUAL VALUES WEAKENS UNITED STATES POLITICALLY

(By Felix Morley)

Just 50 years ago, in the early August days of 1914, gray-clad German legions were sweeping through neutral Belgium, all Europe was feverishly mobilizing and a cataclysm from which the dust has not yet settled was under way. Many still living can vividly recall the anxieties of the time. But none could then even begin to visualize what would emerge from this Pandora's box.

The rise of communism, the disintegration of every European empire, the centralization of political power in the United State—these are only the most obvious outward results of the war of 1914–18 and of its sequel 20 years later. Less immediately apparent social and moral changes have been of greater import for mankind.

Today few can say with assurance just why humanity stumbled so badly half a century ago. The contemporary Allied explanation—that it was all the fault of German militarism—was long since discarded as too simple and self-serving. It is now agreed that deeply complex causes led all the then-great European powers to the edge of the abyss. How the ground crumbled under this collective exercise of brinkmanship is seen as an almost incidental matter.

After half a century emotion fades and men try dispassionately to identify the forces that give ebb and flow to the tide of human events. Thus the real origins of the first World War are now being sought in happenings with little or no relationship to the specific acts of statesmen or military leaders.

What receives more and more attention is the fact that this war was incubated in the heart of what used to be called Christendom, among peoples with the longest history of organized Christian faith. Yet unlike earlier conflicts on the same terrain it was in no sense a religious war, with adherents of one church seeking to dominate others deemed invidious or heretical.

On the contrary, the armies of 1914 were composed of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in roughly equal numbers on both sides. Equally acclaimed, or disregarded, on both sides were the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and of Christ Himself. Disdain of religious precepts, it is noted, became even more pronounced in the second war, with anti-Semitic Germany and atheistic Russia operating first as allies and then as enemies.

The result, as seen by historians with a world perspective, has been a pronounced weakening in the fiber of religious faith. Individuals may be immune to this deterioration but society as a whole is not. And this is a very serious matter for a civilization of which the customs and culture were alike molded by Judeo-Christian tradition.

There are, naturally, those who criticize this interpretation. Christianity, they maintain, became a political force almost accidentally. "My kingdom is not of this world." The "render unto Caesar" passage further suggests that the duties of citizenship have no religious implications.

It cannot be denied, however, that throughout the West Christianity has been a force of profound political significance. It is regarded as a primary factor in the final dissolution of the Roman Empire. Without its unifying force, in the Middle Ages, the entire Mediterranean basin would probably have succumbed to Mohammedanism. The conflict between Cross and Crescent was then clear-cut, which is more than can be said for Western opposition to the hammer and sickle today.

Christianity took political leadership under the aegis of the Church of Rome, and kept it until the Reformation strengthened nationalism at the expense of the Pope's territorial power. Nevertheless, religious influences continued to shape political organization.

This is seen most clearly in our own country, colonized after the Reformation and primarily by Protestants. Church and state had been completely separated when that brilliant French observer, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote "Democracy in America." But he concludes there that, for Americans, "religion is the first of their political institutions."

The reason for this, De Tocqueville explains, is not found in the Constitution nor in any secular laws. It comes from certain inbred convictions, all of Judeo-Christian origin, on which our political institutions are founded and by which they are maintained. Among these the most important is that emphasized by James Madison when he wrote that we "base all our political experiments on mankind's capacity for self-government."

No characteristic of our inherited faith is stronger than this belief that men, with few exceptions, can learn to control their unruly instincts and thereby reduce the need for police surveillance. And it is no mere coincidence that, as Christianity spread, this reasoned opposition to political dictation also grew stronger.

Faith in mankind's capacity for self-government is obviously weaker in the United States today than it was when the guns of

August spoke out in 1914. But it is less certain that the change is primarily attributable to the protracted blasting of spiritual values by those guns. Other factors have played a big role. Now there are many more people and they are more interdependent. The individual is increasingly subject to conditions which he can no longer even hope to control himself.

Increasing intervention by centralized government, however, is not so much regarded as a necessary evil, which cannot be avoided. On the contrary the extension of socialist principles is acclaimed by many Americans as a positive good.

During the emergency of war, local and private concerns must necessarily be subordinated to the decisions of centralized government, shortsighted and mistaken though these so often prove to be. Unfortunately, the net result of two World Wars has been to eliminate peace, establishing cold war as the seemingly permanent condition of modern civilization. It is customary to give all the blame for this to communism, just as 50 years ago it was customary to pin all the responsibility on Germany. But if this easy explanation suffices it is certainly curious that we so readily accept a steady proliferation of centralized controls at home. For this procedure, coupled with the elimination of religious influence and the deification of the state, is precisely what communism advocates and seeks to achieve.

Future historians, one fears, may find this development of State-worship, with its necessary relegation of oldtime religion to a secondary place, the dominant characteristic of our era, in what we like to call the free world, as well as under communism. Of course, the trend in this direction was setting in before 1914. Otherwise the essentially civil war in Christendom would scarcely have been possible. What we must now ask, half a century later, is whether a trend so strengthened in this period can be stopped.

Even though they have no answer, this is a question that may most properly be posed by those who can remember this country as it was before 1914, for they are the most conscious that something of great value has passed out of the American scene.

This is no mere nostalgia. Everyone would agree that life was then far less comfortable; pleasures much more restricted; work generally more physically exacting; and leisure more limited.

On the other hand, streets and roads were far safer. There were, in proportion, fewer broken homes, less juvenile delinquency and far less racial bitterness. Americans did not live nearly so well. But they lived more amicably, less fearfully and without a constant sense of strain. The loss of spiritual values cannot be measured statistically. But it is as apparent as the gain in wealth, conveniences and physical power. Standards, which are what made this country really important, have been jettisoned in favor of prestige symbols, which contribute only to self-importance.

It is most unlikely that the age of faith, in anything like its original simplicity, will ever be restored. Our scientific advance has been too rapid, our knowledge of the universe is now too extensive, to encourage the somewhat naive reverence of bygone days.

This does not mean, however, that there is no such thing as cosmic purpose, that there are no longer any absolute values, that prayer has no meaning and that right and wrong are mere social conventions which we may manipulate at will. That positivist path slopes swiftly downwards toward a moral deterioration far worse than anything as yet experienced.

The increasing reliance on government should not conceal the fact that it can do nothing to restore spiritual values. Even a war on poverty, which sounds like a holy war, must be promoted in purely material terms. An inner poverty, more pronounced in Washington than in Appalachia, is our most deadly enemy today. And that form of poverty no political platform can promise to eliminate.

Small Business Wholesalers Grant Award to Congressman Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, our esteemed colleague, Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California, once again has been honored and cited for his work in behalf of small business.

This time it was the National Association of Wholesalers that paid tribute to the Congressman for his "distinguished service to the wholesale distribution industry."

The National Association of Wholesalers includes in its membership approximately 18,000 small business wholesalers who operate in 40 different industries. The organization is headed by Mr. Paul Courtney and Mr. William C. McCamant, both of whom are well known to many Members of Congress.

Under unanimous consent, I ask permission to reprint in the Appendix to the RECORD, the remarks made by Mr. Schumacher in presenting the award to Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT.

PRESENTATION OF NAW CITATION TO HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

At this point in th program, it is my pleasure to present a mark of recognition to our distinguished speaker.

As you are well aware, the Beauty and Barber Supply Institute is a member of the National Association of Wholesalers, which is located in Washington, D.C. NAW is composed of 39 national commodity line wholesale associations which are comprised of over 17,500 wholesale firms.

In the Nation's Capital, NAW serves as the eyes, the ears, and the voice of the wholesale distribution industry, ever watchful of legislation or administrative and regulatory rulings which would affect wholesale distributors.

In the many problems which have arisen, no person in Washington has exhibited such a sustained and sincere interest in the growth and prosperity of wholesale distributors as has our guest today. As a longtime member of the House Small Business Committee and chairman of the Subcommittee on Distribution, he has been ever alert and receptive to the needs and requirements of wholesale distributors. In making the antitrust laws more effective and thus preserving competition in distribution, he has labored long and hard. In the area of Government procurement he has called on Government agencies to stop centralized purchasing of commercially available items and use the facilities of the wholesale distribution industry. The adoption of this proposal would save millions of dollars each year as well as reduce unnecessary investment in Government inventories.

In recognition of his endeavors for the wholesale distribution industry, the trustees and members of the National Association of Wholesalers, at the 1964 annual meeting last January at Bal Harbour, Fla., by acclamation directed that a certificate of appreciation be presented to the Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT, Member of Congress from California.

We are indeed happy, Mr. ROOSEVELT, that the Beauty and Barber Supply Institute has been selected as the forum for this presentation, and the Institute heartily participates in extending its sincere thanks. This citation reads as follows:

"The National Association of Wholesalers certificate of appreciation to Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT for distinguished service to the wholesale distribution industry in recognition of his sincere interest and endeavors in the promotion of the vitality and well-being of the wholesale industry."

Japanese Nationals Are Being Used in Alaska as Strikebreakers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the jobs of American citizens who historically have found employment in Alaska fish canneries are being jeopardized due to Alaska's Governor Egan having invited the Japanese fishing industry to intervene in a dispute over prices between American cannery operators and Alaskan fishermen.

I have protested to the Secretary of Labor the Japanese entering our waters and buying raw fish and the issuance of work permits to foreign nationals, because American labor is available to process fish.

Thus far, I am informed, the Department of Labor is studying the matter, but if no ruling against the Japanese is made, a dangerous precedent will have been set. No American fish processors can compete, pricewise, with the low-wage Japanese. And it is our Government's responsibility to protect our workers and their high standard of living.

The following editorial of the Seattle Times of July 27 points up this dangerous precedent:

EGAN'S RISKY PRECEDENT

Alaska Governor Egan's ill-advised action in inviting Japanese floating canneries to pack Prince Willian Sound salmon has led to the introduction into Congress of a bill to prohibit any further ventures of that character.

In introducing the bill, Representatives PELLY, TOLLEFSON, and STINSON expressed fears that Egan has established a precedent of inviting foreign workers into U.S. territorial waters which could result in the elimination of job opportunities for hundreds of American citizens.

Egan invited the Japanese to do the canning during a labor dispute, taking a side against salmon canning firms. The Japanese then came in the role of strikebreakers. Egan set a precedent by which, under other circumstances, the cannery firms could ask to invite Japanese canneries to give them a hand in an employer-union tieup. We would hardly expect this to happen. But the precedent set is doublebladed.

Perhaps the Alaska Governor has learned by now the consequences of dabbling personally in international relations. If not, Congress should enact the bill introduced by the three Puget Sound Congressmen.

President Johnson's Historic Message and Proclamation Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier today President Johnson issued an official proclamation designating August 1, 1964, as Warsaw Uprising Day.

The President invited the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities and urged them to mark this event as an exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom.

I am sure that the President's historic gesture will be recognized by history as the first official recognition and appreciation of the monumental sacrifice that hundreds of thousands of heroic Poles made 20 years ago today when they launched the inspiring Warsaw uprising of World War II.

While the inspiring words of President Johnson during the official signing of the proclamation in the rose garden of the White House stand as a magnificent source of pride to Americans, and in particular to those Americans of Polish descent, the most gratifying aspect of Mr. Johnson's proclamation is the impact it will have upon the 31 million people in Poland.

This official act by President Johnson in commending Polish heroism shall serve as a clear sign to those behind the Iron Curtain today that the United States through its President has not forgotten their monumental contribution to victory in World War II.

The large gathering of distinguished Americans of Polish descent which observed President Johnson's official signing of today's proclamation were stirred by his inspiring and historic message.

I should like to include in the RECORD today the text of President Johnson's message delivered at the White House at noon today.

Following the President's statement, I am including the text of the official Warsaw Uprising Day proclamation issued by the President.

Americans, particularly those of Polish descent, are grateful to the President for this public recognition of a gallant moment in Polish history.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT ON SIGNING A PROCLAMATION TO COMMEMORATE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

Friends, I want to say to each of you, and especially to the Members of Congress who have indulged me, that I regret very much that I have been delayed. I had about 50 newspapermen in my office and I couldn't evict them as quickly as I should have, perhaps, but I thank you for your understanding and for your tolerance and I hope you didn't get too hot.

There are some compensating advantages. Maybe the sunburn will make you look better.

In any event, this is a very special occasion for me and I want to genuinely extend to you a warm welcome as a participant in this historic occasion. I want to thank you for coming. I want to review with you some of my thoughts, very briefly.

Twenty years ago tomorrow, in the city of Warsaw, there occurred a demonstration of human courage that the world will never forget. The courageous people of a captive city challenged the chains of their captors. Three hours after the start of what is known as Operation Tempest, the flag of the Polish Republic was flying in the heart of Warsaw, for the first time in 5 years. For 63 days, proud Poles fought to liberate their beloved capital from the occupying army.

On October 2, 1944, a decision to cease the valiant fight was dictated and required by lack of food, a lack of water, a lack of ammunition, and a desire to save the remaining civilian population from systematic destruction. Eighty percent of Warsaw had been destroyed. Twenty thousand Polish soldiers had been killed, or seriously wounded. The toll among civilians was too high to even count.

But as the Polish forces marched past on that final day, the citizens in the streets sang to them: "Poland is not yet lost, while we still live." We, in America, know that spirit well. It attended us at the birth of our Nation. We have seen it shine from the Polish character time and time again. We see it, again, now in Warsaw rebuilt from the ashes and the rubble.

We see it in the steadfast faith of the Polish people. We see it gratefully in our fellow citizens of Polish ancestry and I visited only a few months ago in Chicago with hundreds of thousands of them. They live among us now as patriots of the cause of freedom for all mankind. The congressional district from which I come is inhabited by hundreds and thousands of people of Polish ancestry.

So, we know the Polish spirit well. We know the unswerving dedication of the Polish people to the goals of liberty and equality and independence. That is why our policy is designed to help the Polish people so they may increasingly help themselves. We have done much toward this goal in many fields.

Today, all Americans are proud to join with the Poles of Poland, the Poles abroad, and the Polish-Americans to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising. We repeat with them now the motto of the Polish struggle for independence: For your freedom and ours.

WARSAW UPRISING DAY—A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas August 1, 1964, marks the 20th aniversary of the historic uprising of Polish patriots to liberate their capital, the city of Warsaw from the Nazi ocupation; and

Whereas the bravery of the Polish people demonstrated their determination to achieve liberty and independence; and

Whereas the American people regard the action of the Polish patriots in the Warsaw uprising as a great manifestation of bravery and devotion to home and country; and

Whereas this historic effort should serve to inspire people everywhere to rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom and justice: Now, therefore,

I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate August 1, 1964, as Warsaw Uprising Day.

I invite the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to mark this event as an exceptional demonstration of man's courage and devotion in the long and continuing struggle for human freedom.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 31st day of July in the year of our Lord 1964, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 189th.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,

By the President:

DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State.

How Service Families Are Being Cheated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, about 6 weeks ago, there appeared in one of the Sunday supplement magazine sections, an article written by Jack Anderson entitled "How Service Families Are Being Cheated."

I requested the Department of Defense to comment on this article and received the following memorandum which I desire to include with these remarks:

FACT SHEET ON ARTICLE "HOW SERVICE FAMILIES ARE BEING CHEATED"

The Parade magazine article by Mr. Jack Anderson entitled "How Service Families Are Being Cheated" presents an unbalanced picture of the oversea dependents schools of the Department of Defense. To cite but several examples, while the article pictured a quonset hut at Lakenheath, it failed to mention the very fine high school built on the same base in 1960. Similarly, while the article is critical of the schools in the Munich area, it failed to mention that in January 1964 a visiting committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the association which accredits these schools, said of the Munich American High School: "The committee was favorably impressed by the strong administrative and instructional personnel, the guidance and library services, the morale of faculty and students, and the cooperation of civilian and military personnel in the accomplishment of their common objective."

The Department of Defense believes that it is providing an oversea education program equivalent to that being provided by the better systems in the United States. Such an educational program—not "a showpiece displaying to the world the high quality of American education"—is the mandate of the Congress and the objective of the Department of Defense. The problems of transporting to foreign countries and providing housing, medical care, logistic support and community services for thousands of dependents of military and civilian personnel are immense. These operations are also expensive. Every reasonable effort is being made to provide those kinds of support necessary to permit service families to live together in reasonable comfort without un-

due hardship. Both the flow of gold and the possible relocation of military units mitigate against costly permanent construction of school facilities for which there may be no long-term need. Viewed in this light, it is unrealistic to expect the establishment and operation of an oversea dependents school system which would be outstanding in terms of buildings and facilities. Nevertheless, many find modern school buildings have been provided, but it has also been necessary to use a number of makeshift classrooms. These latter are not fully satisfactory but they are generally adequate and they are being improved. Similar school facility problems have been experienced in public school systems in the United States in recent years.

Because of the sincere interest of Members of Congress, oversea commanders, parents, and dedicated school administrators and teachers much has been accomplished. Many students, parents, teachers, and administrators have high praise for the education which is being provided in the oversea dependents schools. Students experience no difficulty in being accepted into schools and colleges in the United States when they return from overseas. The article cites isolated supply and administrative difficulties atypical of the system as a whole and generally attributable to lack of vigorous supply and administrative action at local level. Isolated instances of supply deficiencies are bound to occur; remedial action has and will continue to be taken to correct such deficiencies. The article also cites an example of atypical living conditions for teachers. Naturally, living conditions overseas vary with the post of duty and some are better than others. Teacher recruitment procedures provide for advising teachers about living conditions likely to be encountered overseas and every effort is made to provide suitable accommodations. With few exceptions teachers, as well as other civilian employees who are overseas voluntarily, adapt to the circumstances.

Basic to the "unsatisfactory educational conditions" of which the National Education Association and the Overseas Education Association complain is dissatisfaction with teachers salaries as evidenced by the suit filed by them against the United States. The facts are that in 1959 the Congress enacted the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act (Public Law 86–91). Pursuant to the provisions of that act, the Department of Defense has established a procedure for relating the pay of its oversea teachers to the pay for comparable teaching positions in the United States. This procedure contemplates an annual review of the salaries of teachers in the United States and an appropriate adjustment of the oversea salary schedule in line with the data obtained as a result of this review. However, a problem has arisen in connection with the implementation of this procedure. The teacher salary schedule that actually can be established is dependent upon the per pupil limitation established in the annual appropriations process. Defense appropriations acts for the past few years have contained per pupil limitations which, except for school year 1963–64, have precluded teached salary increases. The per pupil limitation established for fiscal year 1964 enabled the Department of Defense to authorize a $100 across-the-board increase for the 1963–64 school year. The budget for fiscal year 1965 included a request for funds which, if granted, will permit a further teachers salary increase of not less than $200 for school year 1964–65.

The Department of Defense is fully conscious of its responsibilities to service families and is currently engaged in organizing an effective Department of Defense oversea dependents school system to replace the three separate and largely uncoordinated previously existing systems. The objective is a more efficient and effective operation. There has been established within the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) a professional staff to establish broad policies and delineate responsibility for the worldwide operation of the oversea dependents schooling program. Department of Defense Directive 1342.6, "Overseas Dependents Schools, Department of Defense", issued on January 3, 1964, provides for the operation of the oversea dependents schools system under the policy direction of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower).

In the interest of improved personnel management, a pupil-teacher ratio of 25 to 1 has been established for the dependents school system and a limitation placed on the employment of school administrators. For the 1964–65 school year a common teacher recruiting program has been placed in operation. This program provides for the use of a common information brochure for teachers instead of each military department issuing a separate publication. Additional actions contemplated involve centralized procurement, storage and distribution of school supplies and materials for all oversea dependents schools and the development of a study, "Curriculum Design of the Department of Defense Oversea Dependents Schools." This study will be used as the basis for the preparation of commen study guides for grades 1 to 12 to be used by all dependent schools. In addition, common report cards, pupil cumulative records and other necessary school forms and publications are being prepared. The Department is convinced that what is required in the interest of more effective management and improved operations, both educationally and administratively, is centralized educational direction combined with decentralized logistical support.

In summary, the problems which exist in the oversea dependents schools are similar to problems which confront administrators of schools in the United States. The Department believes that the majority of teachers overseas feel that the experience is enriching, rewarding and provides for professional growth. They also appreciate the free transportation to oversea areas, the housing provisions, and other privileges. The Department is not completely satisfied with the oversea dependents schools and is devoting a great deal of attention to their improvement.

EDWARD L. KATZENBACH, Jr.,
Deputy Assistant Secretary (Education).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

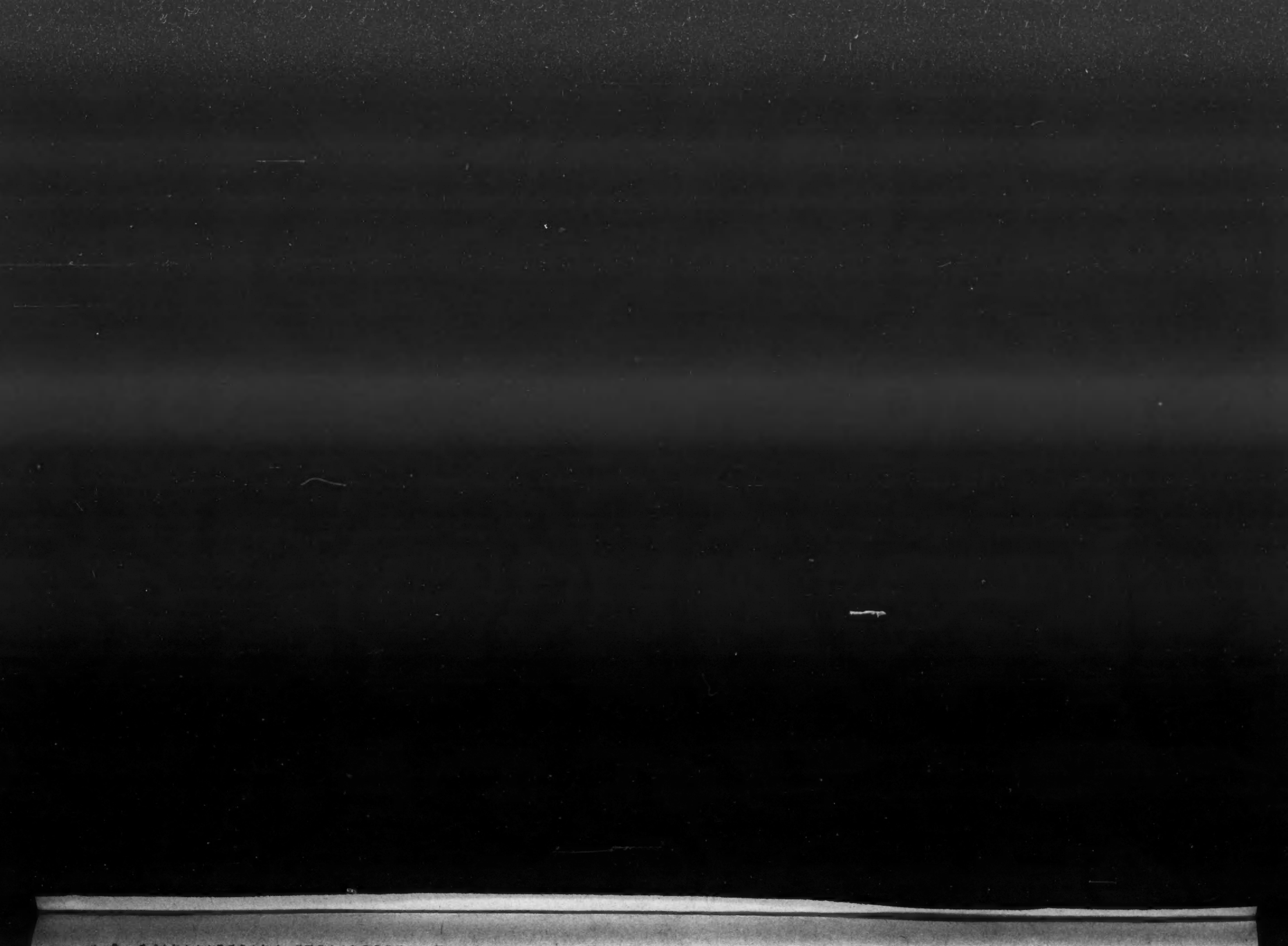

Appendix

Frauds on the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the Senate Special Committee on Aging, of which I am a member, has held hearings on the activities of unscrupulous persons who prey upon our elderly citizens. We have found that senior citizens have been bilked out of millions of dollars through health frauds and quackery.

The distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly. Recently, he was interviewed by Mr. Harry W. Flannery on the "As We See It" program, sponsored by the AFL–CIO.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a transcript of the program broadcast through American Broadcasting Co. stations on Sunday, July 26, 1964.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALESMAN OF SORROW

Mr. FLANNERY. As we see it, American retired persons have been the victims of all kinds of rackets. Unscrupulous persons in States like Arizona and Florida have tried to sell land in desert wastes and flooded swamps. Persons who suffer from arthritis, asthma, lumbago and other illnesses, to which the aged are prone, have been peddled worthless ray machines, ointments and pills. Sometimes the elderly have also bought words more glowing than the facts of the insurance they purchased.

Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly, tells what the committee has discovered for this radio station of the ABC network and the AFL–CIO. Your reporter, Harry W. Flannery, talked with Senator WILLIAMS in his office in the Senate Office Building here in Washington.

Senator WILLIAMS, what led you into investigating the charges that the elderly people of the Nation are being victimized by quacks and racketeers?

Senator WILLIAMS. At one of our first full committee hearings, we had testimony from people who knew about many of the frauds that were being perpetrated and we went on from there and, of course, we developed testimony that shows fraud not only in land sales but in many other areas too, with elderly people the principal victims.

Mr. FLANNERY. Which did you take up first?

Senator WILLIAMS. We have dealt at some length with both these land fraud propositions and also with what is even harsher, some of the worst misrepresentations and, in my judgment, frauds, that are being perpetrated on people with health problems, afflictions like arthritis, cancer, asthma, and many others. They promise the easy cure and they take their earnings that, of course, in retirement are dwindling and put them into these devices or whatever the so-called cure is and it is a tragedy—it is a multibillion dollar tragedy perpetrated on older people who can least afford wasting their meager savings.

Mr. FLANNERY. Did the testimony show how these older people were approached on these devices?

Senator WILLIAMS. Every media of approach is used. We have all seen, in the land sales, the extravagant claims for the retirement acres, or the investment acres in our newspapers. The radio is frequently used. Some of the worst racketeers spend unbelievable amounts of money on long-distance phone solicitation and matchboxes. Every media of communication we found used in perpetrating these misrepresentations.

Mr. FLANNERY. There are a lot of these old people—I think there are about 18 million who are retired today. What do they represent as a potential market for these grafters?

Senator WILLIAMS. Our best estimates show the purchasing power of the 18 million or so people over 65 in our country to be about $38 billion a year spent, which is, of course, a market that is very attractive to these plunderers.

Mr. FLANNERY. It is a large market in the aggregate, but to each one of these individuals it represents a rather large sum, generally, doesn't it?

Senator WILLIAMS. Well, it certainly does. We know that most people who are over 65 and living generally in retirement have incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

As we sit here, Harry, I have before me a long, long letter, from a woman of 59 who lives with her mother and father, and they are both late in their 70's. The total family income is $192 a month. She happens to be deaf and she has a hearing aid and this hearing aid cost her $300. The only trouble is that it wasn't a good one and she had had to replace it and replace that one, too. Here is another area where there is a lot of misrepresentation and gross overpricing of a device for health that so many people need.

Mr. FLANNERY. How can one of these elderly people find that they are getting a reliable hearing aid? Could they rely on their doctor?

Senator WILLIAMS. I would think so. In the health field the reputable physician is still the first line of defense against fraud. But, as we know there are so many afflictions where medicine has not found the answers. They have run the course with medicine and reliable physicians and have not had a cure and have had no promise of a cure and then come along the grafters who have the cure. In arthritis, it is unbelievable that devices that are sold that are extravagantly praised as the sure cure that costs in the hundreds of dollars that are just worthless boxes of wires and coils and lights with no healing effect on the disease.

Mr. FLANNERY. I have seen that some of these that have to do with asthsma. They are called "ozone machines" and so forth and they have elaborate establishments into which many of these people come. They are all of this particular type, I imagine.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes, and we, of course, have talked to people who are suffering from arthritis, for example. Even the executive secretary of the National Association for Arthritic People. I will never forget his testimony. He said, "you might think we are fools and we are dupes, but when you have this disease and none of your medical cures have worked, you will grasp at anything." He said, "Even today if I read an ad that offered some device that seemed to represent a cure, I would buy it. I would buy it quietly, I would go into the back room and try it so nobody would know, but I would reach for that straw too."

Mr. FLANNERY. And this also enters into the field of mail-order glasses, I understand.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes. I am a recent user of spectacles, but my doctor, my optometrist tells me that no two eyes are alike in terms of vision. If you need assistance through glasses, you must have glasses fitted, because if you are going to buy them through the mail, both lenses—well, might be alike or they might not be, but they are not the lenses fitted to your eyes, so these $10 or $15 mail order glasses just by definition cannot be the relief for people with failing eyesight.

Mr. FLANNERY. I understand that the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness has warned against these mail order glasses.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes, they certainly have. You know, I think our committee hearings have had a good effect in a lot of these areas. I am told, and follow it myself, that a lot of the advertising, particularly in the area of land frauds has been subdued since we have put a national spotlight on some of the worst of the misrepresentations. For example, formerly we used to see a lot of great claims for some of the Florida investment and retirement sites. We put the spotlight on and found out a lot of them are hopelesly lost in jungles and under water in the swampland.

Now they are sold as swampland; a lot of people are going to buy swampland. Probably they are wise or unwise, who knows? But at least they are describing it as swampland and not as a "meadowland," or "on a plateau."

Mr. FLANNERY. I think these were advertised (I remember seeing some of these ads myself) as being at the rate of $10 down and $10 a month and a lot of people thought they wouldn't lose very much.

Senator WILLIAMS. Well, we are speculators, of course. That has been part of our national history. We went West to find gold. People read these ads, "$10 down, $10 a month, buy your 2 acres in sunny Arizona." I can see how it happens. We are not saying people should be protected absolutely against mail order land sales or sales through interstate communication, newspapers, or radio or whatever. All we want is an adequate and proper and fair description of the property.

Mr. FLANNERY. However, some of these ads were so worded that they might have been correct in what they did say, but they were misleading in their effect. I don't suppose there is anything in particular you can do about that except to hope that people are not misled. I am thinking, for instance, of one of the Florida cases which didn't advertise retirement lots, as many of the others, but did say they are good investments. Of course, they may not be good investments.

Senator WILLIAMS. As long as if they put in just the rudiments of fair disclosure. They can make the conclusion "good invest-

ment" but what will make a good investment? They have to have some improvements, a susceptibility to power, you know. If it's an area where you know there will not be telephone communication or transportation for 100 years, then it's not a good investment for anybody. Maybe if it were held onto the 10th generation it might ultimately be.

Mr. FLANNERY. Well, these advertisements appeared in reputable newspapers and might, therefore, be considered reliable. Is there anything to be done about that?

Senator WILLIAMS. This has disturbed me and we know that many great papers carry these ads. I would just hope that the newspaper folks would exercise greater self-discipline and would find ways to check. The better business bureaus, by the way, are in the forefront of the fight against this misrepresentation and doing a good job. I would recommend anybody when they are buying at more than arm's length, at 2,000 or 3,000 miles, maybe it would be a good idea to stop down to the better business bureau.

Mr. FLANNERY. What about legislation?

Senator WILLIAMS. We are earnestly searching through the problems of the fair disclosure bill for real estate sales, perhaps modeled on our experience with the SEC and the disclosure principles of the sale of securities. In the health field, I think devices, if properly defined, could be included in the Food and Drug Administration's general area with their disclosure requirements prior to the new drug being submitted. We could also have something like this in devices.

Another area by the way, is this mail order health insurance. We found a lot of abuses here, notwithstanding a lot of good companies writing good policies there are a lot of bad ones who are, in the finest print or even beyond the printed page, making claims that just don't stand up when the problem comes. And the claim is in for the doctor bill or the hospital bill, whatever it is.

I think it has helped and I think more publicity will be additionally helpful to those who are being bilked by the plunderers. The salesmen of sorrow, someone said, and they are.

Mr. FLANNERY. Thank you, Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly. The interview was in the Senator's office in the Senate Office Building. This is Harry W. Flannery, your reporter, who invites you to be with us next week at this same time when "As We See It" again comes as a presentation of the AFL–CIO and ABC public affairs.

The program has been brought to you by the ABC network and the affiliated stations to which you are listening.

Credit Unions Support President's War-on-Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, when the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was considering the poverty program the latter part of June, Mr. J. Orrin Shipe, managing director of the Credit Union National Association, Inc., made a very interesting and informative statement. Since this statement is in support of the President's war on poverty program and explains the position of the credit unions on it, particularly as it relates to persons of low incomes, I am inserting it herewith for the RECORD.

It is as follows:

STATEMENT OF CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC., BY JORRIN SHIPE, MANAGING DIRECTOR, TO SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY, COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U.S. SENATE, JUNE 24, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the Credit Union National Association (CUNA) appreciates the opportunity extended to us to file with the Select Subcommittee on Poverty this statement on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It will be the purpose of this statement to (1) endorse the President's program; and (2) explain why the organization and development of credit unions should be an integral part of the war on poverty program.

Before discussing the bill, we believe it would be appropriate to briefly present a picture of the Credit Union National Association and the organizational structure of the credit union movement. CUNA is made up of member leagues, including 49 in the United States, 9 in Canada, and 13 in the rest of the world. We take pride in the fact that CUNA is an international organization admitting member leagues from other countries as soon as they are formed and qualify for membership. Individual credit unions belong to the various leagues. In the United States, there are approximately 21,500 active credit unions with over 14,500,000 members. Canadian leagues have about 4,600 credit unions with more than 3 million members. There are over 4,000 credit unions in the rest of the world, with about 750,000 members.

CUNA itself was organized in 1934 as the successor to the Credit Union National Extension Bureau, which was founded by Boston merchant and philanthropist Edward A. Filene. The first credit union in the United States was organized by Alphonse Desjardins, a parish credit union in New Hampshire. These pioneers of the credit union movement continue to serve as an inspiration to the present leadership.

Now, if I may, I should like to turn to consideration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, in the form reported by the House Education and Labor Committee. We are not prepared to comment, except in a general way on the bill other than title II. The measure as a whole has great significance, aside from its specific provisions, because it represents the first major attempt by the Federal Government to coordinate and direct programs to alleviate and eliminate poverty throughout our Nation. We are pleased that there is heavy emphasis in the act on education and assistance to the youth, for it seems to us that here lies the key for the eventual elimination of poverty. The urban and rural community action programs outlined in title II appear practical and workable. Much will depend on the initiative of local citizens, but this is as it should be. We are also pleased, however, that there is ample authority for the Director, in some instances, to work directly with local organizations if a community action plan is lacking. It seems to us that a judicious combination of these two methods can yield productive results. We would hope to see our member credit union leagues active in developing and participating in community action plans in various localities throughout the country. We are confident that they would thus be eligible for assistance under sections 204 and 205. We also feel there is an opportunity for CUNA itself to participate in programs under sections 206 and 207.

Section 206, as you know, enables the Director to authorize assistance in the training of specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer community action programs or services provided thereunder. Here is an ideal opportunity, it seems to us, for providing credit union organizational specialists for the use of communities which request them. In section 207, provision is made for the Director to make contracts which private nonprofit organizations for the conduct of research, training, and demonstration projects in various communities.

There is no express provision for credit union participation under title III—dealing with special programs to combat poverty in rural areas. However, it seems to us that the broad language in title II obviates the necessity for us to seek specific inclusion under title III.

Among the other provisions in the remaining titles, the proposal for volunteers in service to America is particularly noteworthy. The volunteer idea has become popular among the Nation's youth as a result of the work of the Peace Corps, and we are sure the same enthusiasm can be generated for a domestic volunteer project. We would hope that some of these volunteers would receive training in the organization and operation of credit unions so they would be prepared to assist in the formation of new credit unions whenever appropriate.

At this point, I think it should be made clear that the statements made in this paper are directed to a special problem: the state of the poor. Therefore, what we urge in this statement should not be construed as CUNA's total position on credit union organization and development, extending to all ranges of income levels. Rather, what we are proposing is that the pioneering and difficult work being carried out today by the credit union movement among the Nation's poor be accelerated and broadened as part of the overall poverty program. We are not suggesting that the Federal Government, or State or local governments, be asked to take a hand in the development of credit unions among people of more fortunate circumstance. This work has been done for years by CUNA and the leagues and we will continue to perform this important function. What we are suggesting in this paper is that the benefits of credit unions be brought as quickly as possible to the people who need their service—the aged, the sharecroppers, the slumdwellers in urban centers, and the migrant workers. Our comments here today should be viewed as relating solely to low-income groups in this country.

In many ways it is a mark of sophistication on the part of the credit union movement that in the past few years we have begun considering the problems of persons with low incomes as distinct from those served by the typical credit union. For a long time, this was not the case, although since its inception, the credit union movement has been dedicated to serving the "little man." In fact, the symbol of the movement, known the world over, is the figure of a "little man" being shielded from financial adversity by his umbrella—symbolizing his credit union. The "little man" 50 years ago was the average working man. Today's "little man" is the disadvantaged person whom prosperity has passed by. A major aim of the credit union movement has been the stamping out of usury. Eliminating high interest rates through credit unions has benefited everyone, except the loan shark. Obviously, however, its primary benefit has fallen to those who previously were unable to secure credit at reasonable rates. In the early part of this century, this would have included about everyone unable to take out a loan from a bank. When it is remembered that banks have only recently begun to court the consumer, it can be understood that there were precious few persons able to obtain personal loans when they needed money at rates that were fair and equitable.

The credit union movement has changed all this in the United States. Credit unions were the first to accept the signature and good faith of the borrower as the only collateral necessary in a loan transaction. Furthermore, they were the first to extend credit to the "little man" at reasonable rates. The Federal Credit Union Act, and many State credit union acts, stipulate a maximum interest rate of 1 percent per month, or a true annual interest rate of 12 percent per year, inclusive of all charges incident to the transaction. This maximum rate is often lowered by the use of interest refunds and other means. Furthermore, a credit union borrower often obtains, at no extra cost, loan protection insurance which will pay off his loan in case he should die. When the member saves in his credit union, in many cases, his savings are matched, dollar for dollar, to provide life insurance up to a maximum of $2,000. This type of life savings insurance was pioneered by the credit union movement. Additionally, a credit union member has available credit and family financial counseling services that are designed to help him utilize his money wisely. Loans are never made merely for the sake of granting a loan. Rather, it is the policy of the credit union movement to extend credit only for provident and productive purposes. Thus, the reason for being of credit unions is to serve the needs of its members rather than to turn a profit. They were the first to demonstrate that the little man will repay his debts. Other lenders are now entering the field as rapidly as possible, most notably the commercial banks.

The credit union movement welcomes the competition of these lenders, because the general effect, if the competition is accompanied by full disclosure, will be to reduce interest rates to the borrower. This is the ultimate good as far as the credit union movement is concerned.

For many years, the focus of attention within the movement was on the organization and development of credit unions wherever possible. No distinction was made between income groups. If a common bond existed, and if a credit union could be organized, it was organized. CUNA and the leagues spent the decade of the 1920's doing just that. They concentrated their efforts on easily identifiable groups working in post offices, packinghouses, railroad yards, and factories. Those early credit unions are the larger credit unions of today. The key to the credit union movement's success was its ability to locate groups with the most promising base for establishing a successful credit union.

The membership of a credit union is made up of people with a "common bond" of interest or occupation. These members pool their savings for the purpose of making low-cost loans to one another for provident and productive purposes. Each credit union is an independent, nonprofit corporation, chartered by either the State or Federal Government. It is run by its members on a democratic basis with ample room for participation by all. The common bond of interest or occupation can take many forms. For example, a credit union may be formed among people who work together, who belong to the same church or society, or who live within a well defined community area.

CUNA and its member leagues over the years developed a pattern of organization which worked well with groups of average income. This pattern was, and is, based on the educational and social level of the potential members, who ordinarily are able to understand the theory of mutual self-help, and can readily learn the techniques needed to run a successful credit union. Some years ago, it became apparent to the leaders of the credit union movement that a gap had developed in our organizational pattern. Credit unions were serving middle income groups, but the needs of the less-fortunate persons with below-average incomes were not being met. It was feared that the credit union movement traditionally oriented toward serving the "little man," might become a movement primarily of middle-income persons. Although it was recognized that middle-income people need the benefits of credit union membership as much as anyone else, it was felt that a special effort ought to be made to organize credit unions among the poor. Out of this concern there emerged the low-income project carried on by CUNA's Organization and Expansion Department. This program, begun 3 years ago, was set up on a pilot basis to develop information on the best means of serving persons of low incomes.

It is now possible for us to draw some conclusions from the information developed during the years our low-income project has been in operation. It has become most clear that the organization of a credit union exclusively among low-income persons requires much more careful preparation, planning, and effort than a credit union designed to serve people of moderate incomes. Our work in low-income areas is demonstrating that it is absolutely essential to meticulously lay the groundwork in advance of the formation of a credit union among the poor. Crucial among the preliminary tasks is the seeking out of persons competent to accept leadership positions as officers, directors, and committeemen in the credit union. One of the problems in finding leaders is that the people most eligible for these posts are already ccupied with numerous other community affairs.

Gaining acceptance of the credit union among the potential membership is also a major task. It is quite different from working among persons with richer cultural backgrounds. For one thing, if the people are unable to read, the function of a credit union must be explained orally, on a person-to-person basis. In other circumstances, an organizer might be able to do that same job by leaving an assortment of literature to be read by the potential members. Generation of enthusiasm for the credit union idea among persons with deprived backgrounds is no small task. They do not ordinarily respond to illustrations of other successful credit unions. They must be shown that this particular credit union will benefit them. These people are extremely reluctant to entrust what savings they do have to this new, and to most, foreign venture. A great deal of friendly persuasion must be brought to bear to encourage these people to take the first steps necessary toward self-sufficiency. Once the credit union gets underway, we have found it almost invariably essential that it be provided with continuing technical assistance for the first several years of its life. During this time, the membership of the credit union can be increased, enthusiasm generated, savings encouraged, books and records maintained properly, and, in general, the credit union can be made to run smoothly.

The Credit Union National Association, at its board of directors' meeting, in May, took steps to accelerate development of credit unions among low-income groups in New York, Chicago, and Washington. Under this program, full-time credit union specialists are being retained to organize and manage the operation of the demonstration credit unions in each city during the early stages. We believe this approach is a significant breakthrough in the organizational pattern for low-income credit unions. If it succeeds, the way to a sound and practical approach to the problem of providing thrift and credit facilities for the poor will have been established.

To launch such a program on a national scale, a substantial number of credit union specialists would have to be trained and placed in the field. These men would provide the technical assistance necessary to organize and maintain demonstration credit unions among the poor. The specialists would continue their relationships with the credit unions for the length of time required to make them self-sustaining. An integral part of this program would be the education and training of persons within the local community so that they could assume the responsibilities of managing the affairs of the credit union of the earliest possible time. For many, this work would represent their first grassroots experience in democracy and leadership.

If our confidence in our ability to aid the poor seems high, we feel there is ample justification for our optimism based on the accomplishments of credit union development overseas using similar techniques. Probably the most significant difference between the credit union movement here in the United States and that in the developing countries lies in the purposes for which credit is granted. Here at home, credit for the most part goes toward the purchase of automobiles, household furnishings, homes and home improvements, medical services, and recreation. Overseas, a larger portion of the loans granted are directed toward such things as purchase of farm implements, seed, fertilizer, and so on. Obviously, in countries with less advanced economies, the availability of production credit is more essential for the well-being of their citizens. However, the important point is that both domestically and overseas, the credit needs of the poor are being met through credit unions.

In testimony delivered to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, William C. Rogers, Deputy Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, noted that the tangible progress evident in the growth of credit unions in Latin America "is less important than the willingness of the people of Latin America to move." He said the United States is seeing a "gradual but important shift in attitude" as the people become more willing to enter into self-help efforts required for the success of the Alliance for Progress. It is clear, therefore, that a successful credit union can be a powerful psychological stimulant to the poor who take their first big step toward self-sufficiency by banding together to help each other.

CUNA has two contracts with AID, one signed October 5, 1962, the other January 2, 1963. The contracts were entered into following extensive oversea development work by the credit union movement. Since 1954, CUNA's world extension department has administered the expenditure of $1 million of credit union money and technical assistance, funded by CUNA's member leagues in the United States and Canada. Representatives of the credit union movement in the last 10 years visited the following locations and countries: Antigua, Australia, Barbados, British Honduras, Guiana, Formosa, Dominica, Fiji, Ghana, Granada, Haiti, Iran, Ireland, Jamaica, Kenya, Korea, Mexico, Montserrat, Netherlands Antilles, Nigeria, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, the Philippines, Tanganyika, Trinidad, Tunisia, and Uganda.

As is evident, the two contracts with AID, which are confined to 12 countries in Central and South America, represent only a part of the development work being undertaken by CUNA. Up to now, major work has been done in Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. At the completion of the two contracts, it is anticipated an additional 4,500 credit unions will have been organized in Central and South America. At the present time, there are national federations of credit unions/cooperatives in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, and Panama. The presence of these national federations gives an indication that the credit union movement in each of these

countries is maturing. Already, Peru's federation is entirely self-supporting. By October 1, the Venezuelan federation will be self-supporting. Colombia's federation currently underwrites the salaries of 14 of the 27 employees on its staff. The federation in Ecuador is scheduled to become self-supporting in 5 years.

Just recently, CUNA has entered into contracts with the Peace Corps for development work in Ecuador. This contract represents a full-scale assault by the U.S. Government on the credit problems in the Ecuadorian economy. The total thrust of this and all credit union development programs is toward the day when the various countries in which we are working will become self-supporting. What has been most gratifying to us in the 10 years in which we have been working overseas is the rapid rate at which countries can reach this goal. There is no question that people the world over, once given a demonstration of the theory and management of credit unions, respond to this unique form of self-help. It is only necessary to supply technical assistance for a reasonable amount of time before the nationals themselves are able to take over the total operation of the credit unions in their countries, from organizing and examining them to providing their own technical assistance.

We in the credit union movement feel that our programs of oversea development in conjunction with AID and the Peace Corps, and on our own initiative, instill in the new members of these credit unions the habit of thrift, the ability to manage money soundly, and, perhaps most significant, a respect for the democratic process. The credit union is organized in a democratic way, with the members each having one vote. The new credit union members thus are introduced to democracy at the grassroots, and they are shown it can work. As Mr. Rogers said in his statement, the people of Latin America are showing signs that they are willing to move. It is our hope—and belief—that the formation of credit unions is contributing to some extent in this progress toward a better life.

Armed with this experience overseas, we look upon the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as opening the door for a similar program of credit union development among the poor in the United States. Certainly if the people in the developing countries are provided credit union services, under a program designed to help them to help themselves, there seems to us no reason why a program along the same lines should not be made a part of Government policy here at home. Once again, I should like to emphasize that we are here talking about credit union development, on a cooperative basis between the Federal and State governments and the credit union movement, for the poor of this country—those who cannot be reached by ordinary means. In the Economic Report of the President sent to Congress in January, it is estimated that one-fifth of the Nation's families and one-fifth of the total population are poor. It is to these people that we wish to bring the thrift and credit services of credit unions.

We were pleased recently that the Secretary of Agriculture's Rural Areas Development Advisory Committee approved a statement endorsing credit union development to aid the rural poor. The statement noted that the AID technical assistance program provides aid to underdeveloped nations to establish credit unions, and suggested that similar programs for our own backward areas should be instituted. The provision of continuing technical assistance by professionally trained staff through private and Government agencies was recommended by the committee. "This assistance often means the difference between the presence or absence of credit and savings for low-income groups, offered to them in a way that is helpful for their own betterment," the statement said. "Often this is a first step in the development of a feeling of dignity and usefulness on the part of these individuals," it continues.

The statement by the Rural Areas Development Advisory Committee is especially significant because it was drawn up and approved by persons with many decades of experience in the rural areas, and particularly in less affluent locales. The committee recognized that special attention should be given to the organization of credit unions among low-income groups, and it is our thesis that this special attention is required if such programs are to be successful. Rural areas pose greater problems of organizing and developing credit unions due to the fact that membership must be sought over a wider geographical area, and, in the case of migrant workers, within a shifting population. There is need for studies of these matters to determine how credit unions can be tailored to fit the needs of these people. It is fundamental in our thinking that the provision of credit union facilities is absolutely essential if there are to be lasting results from the poverty program. People must gain confidence in their own ability to manage money.

In urban areas, credit union development has progressed to a higher level among the poor. There are credit unions in housing projects, settlement houses, and churches. We are hopeful that the previously mentioned action of the board of directors in appropriating $50,000 to expedite the development of credit unions among the urban poor will provide us with much helpful information. Much of the impetus for this urban program has been provided by Rev. Geno Baroni, assistant pastor of Sts. Paul and Augustine Church in Washington, who is a member of the President's Juvenile Delinquency Action Planning Board. The credit union at Father Baroni's church is an outstanding example of the service that can be provided residents in the center of the city.

In all credit union low-income programs, whether rural or urban, emphasis is placed on the education of youth in money management techniques. It is our belief that the greatest and most enduring work can be accomplished by giving special attention to teenagers and to young married couples. These people need not follow in the footsteps of their elders, who for years have been unable to obtain credit except at exorbitant rates of interest and who have never been offered the means of learning how to save and manage their money. In developing the center-city program, CUNA will, of course, devote its energies to serving the needs of all the people in the membership of the new credit unions. But it is our belief, until results show otherwise, that the most fertile field for preaching the gospel of financial independence through credit unions will be found among the young. We would even hope that older people will be led to a belief in credit unions through the example of the youth.

Returning now to the bill, we find ourselves in wholehearted agreement with the majority views contained in House Report 1458, which accompanied H.R. 11377. The majority states on page 1 that "what we need now is a commitment on the part of the people, the communities, private organizations, and all levels of government." The primary purpose of this legislation—and to our mind the most significant point is "to express this commitment, to state explicitly that the Congress and the Federal Government are committing this Nation to a war designed to eliminate poverty," the report says. We recognize, as Mr. Shriver has said on many occasions, that this bill is but a first step. Its significance lies not so much in the programs proposed as in the spirit in which they are presented. This is our Nation's first step toward a coordinated approach to the problems of poverty in this country. The House report states that the bill "would authorize programs to attack the causes of poverty—lack of education, poor health, absence of a marketable skill, and unstable family life." And it is to the cure of this particular blight that the credit union movement has dedicated itself worldwide.

When we speak of economic illiteracy we do not mean a lack of textbook education on economic matters. We mean rather the ability to discriminate between goods offered, between sources of credit, a sophistication in the manner of allocating income, of saving, of understanding and accepting the limits of spending. We mean further a belief in the effectiveness of the democratic process evidenced by participation in the life of the credit union, by attending meetings, serving on committees, and so forth. We believe that credit unions properly utilized can bring the poor back into the Nation's economic mainstream. Along with education, job training, health care, and so on, credit unions will lead these people to the high ground of self-sufficiency.

It is our understanding that credit union participation in the President's war on poverty will take place under the authority in title II, dealing witth urban and rural community action programs. Under this title, emphasis will be given to programs initiated by urban and rural communities to attack poverty. In light of this, we are now urging our member leagues to begin the necessary discussions with other organizations, public and private, in their States in order to develop broadly based action programs for their locales. It is our conviction that through these community programs a great deal can be done to eliminate poverty. However, we have felt some concern that the requirements of an ongoing program might be too sophisticated for at least some communities.

We, therefore, approve the action of the House in altering title II to the point where the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity is given authority in part A to contract directly with agencies and organizations in a given location. This additional flexibility will, we feel, be adequate to solve any problems that might have arisen under the original proposal. The report to the House says on this point that the committee "anticipates that the Office of Economic Opportunity will encourage the development of community action programs which would carry out a multifaceted coordinated attack on the interrelated causes of poverty." The report continues, "It is not, however, the intention of the committee that the development of such a comprehensive communitywide plan be a prerequisite to the extension of financial assistance to a public or private nonprofit agency for the development or execution of a program which gives promise of progress toward elimination of a cause or causes of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work." We are in wholehearted agreement with this statement.

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to join with other organizations dedicated to the public welfare in endorsing the President's war on poverty. We feel this program is going to make a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty in this country. But more important, it represents a recognition by the highest levels of Government that the causes of poverty can be eliminated by a determined effort to coordinate various programs. If, as the House report says, what is needed now is a commitment from private organizations, among others, CUNA gives that commitment. The credit union movement and its leaders are ready to give their fullest energies to this

task, which is of the utmost urgency if the United States is to become the "great society" the President foresees.

Penn Jones, Courageous Country Editor in Texas, Fights for Intellectual Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Houston Chronicle's Sunday magazine, Texas, has published an article on Texas' award-winning country editor, Penn Jones, of the Midlothian Mirror—circulation about 750. The article, captioned "Penn Jones, Texas' Toughest County Editor," tell of the difficulties of a courageous editor who honestly and vigorously voices his convictions. Mr. Jones and I have fought side by side in many hard campaigns for better government in Texas. I value his friendship and his aid.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as a tribute to a brave man, the article written by Van Hetherly, of the Houston Chronicle staff.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Texas Magazine, July 26, 1964]

PENN JONES, TEXAS' TOUGHEST COUNTRY EDITOR

(Text by Van Hetherly)

A fire siren's scream jolted Penn Jones awake. He bounded out of bed, fumbled for spectacles and clothes, then raced into the early morning gloom.

"Whose place is it?" Jones shouted to a shadowy figure a block away.

"Yours!" Nightwatchman J. T. Garvin yelled back.

Thus, on a May night in 1962, the chaotic career of Texas' toughest country editor reached a violent climax. Someone had hurled a homemade fire bomb (a can of cleaning fluid with a fuse) into the office of Jones' Midlothian Mirror, leaving it a charred shambles.

The crusty little man wasn't surprised. Neither was his wife. Her reaction: "That's strange. I always thought it would be our home they would try to get."

Already Jones had been in fistfights. Irate advertisers had squeezed him in an economic vise. His enemies snubbed his family. And he had even sent his youngest son to the more amiable climate of Waxahachie High School, 11 miles away.

Jones himself is no slouch with the insult. He has vigorously kept his vow, made 19 years ago when he bought the Mirror, "to insult those people who fail * * * to fulfill the obligations they have inherited along with their citizenship." Friends contend that the editorial barbs he sinks into public officials are justified. His opponents are mostly mum, but one declares: "Some mighty bad things have happened to Mr. Jones, and he has deserved every one of them."

One of the latest bad things was the bombing, which remains unsolved despite investigation by local police, sheriff, and Texas Rangers, plus a standing $2,000 reward offered by Jones. Damage totaled some $7,000, but the Mirror was not silenced. Three days later it cracked off the press just as it had every Thursday, as sassy and irreverent as ever.

Its appearance sparked mixed reactions among the 1,800 souls in Midlothian, most of whom commute to jobs in Dallas, a half hour away. Jones figures two-thirds of them applauded the unnamed bomber. He can chuckle now when he says, "One city councilman asked Garvin why the hell he didn't wait 15 minutes more to turn in the alarm."

Why this animosity toward Jones:

For one thing he is a liberal Democrat in a town where political tastes run to the far right.

Secondly, he's a sworn foe of locked-door doing by public officials.

Both are unpopular attitudes in Midlothian where the John Birch Society is big and where the school board informed Jones years ago: "We're closing these meetings in order to keep things from getting out."

The pugnacious publisher pulls no punches in his fight against what he calls the town's aristocracy, the larger landowners, and old families who influence public affairs. Jones freely claims voting irregularities, ineptness, and plain fraud. But legal action is futile, he says, because there are people in the courts "who hate my guts."

Jones grew only 5 feet 2 inches high in his 49 years, but the fearless World War II vet has twice defended his views with his fists. Both bouts grew out of a compulsory high school assembly to hear a Birch-tinged talk by rightwing lecturer Edgar W. Seay. The first erupted with the school principal when Jones went to his office to ask that he allow "some other speaker—I mentioned Judge Sarah T. Hughes—to address the students and give the other side of the story." The second swapping of blows was with Seay himself in the Mirror office. And if he didn't win the first fights, Jones' other battles have won him the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism, have made him a sought-after speaker and have been tough on his wife. Says he: "She's a brainy little girl and gutty, too. She's put up with me for 23 years, but she doesn't enjoy getting snubbed on the street or having people turn away when they see her."

This is one reason Jones may soon give up. "Twenty years is long enough to fight a community and not even elect a single school trustee. Looking back, I've tried to improve things and I guess I pushed too hard."

Should he leave Midlothian, you can bet he'll keep pushing for what he believes in. First choice: Jones wants to organize a John F. Kennedy Society "to answer the Birchers speech for speech."

If that doesn't jell, Jones seriously intends to join the Peace Corps, "if they'll have me." Says this tough Texan who never lost the ability to laugh despite dark days: "I could at least teach printing to Africans on the antique equipment they must have because that's the kind I've got."

Export of Logs From Washington and Oregon Ports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, my district depends to a considerable extent upon a healthy and viable lumber industry. Thousands of families exist on earnings gained from employment in some of the finest forests in the world. Thousands more earn their living from work in the most modern mills to be found anywhere.

The latest census figures show that in the 9 counties of southwestern Washington, which I represent, there were 99 mills employing 20 or more persons and that there were over 100 small mills employing less than 20. Estimates indicate that 15,000 to 20,000 jobs are filled by those working in the lumber and logging industry in the third district.

Thus, I am concerned, as are many other Members of Congress, over anything which would affect or threaten to affect adversely the timber industry. Many persons are concerned over the recent increases in exports of logs from the forests of the Pacific Northwest. They feel this increase in log exports will mean that not enough logs will be available to fill the requirements of the mills of the area and thus they feel employment could be expected to decrease and many persons will be jobless and without resources.

It was in 1961 that export of logs to Japan assumed serious proportions. In that year 328,116,000 board feet of lumber were exported from Pacific Northwest forests to Japan. There were 6,775,000 board feet exported to Canada and 129,000 board feet to South Korea. Thus, in 1961 a total of 335,675,000 board feet of logs were exported from the Pacific Northwest. In 1962, the total decreased to 311,223,000 board feet, most of which was sent to Japan.

But in 1963 log exports in terms of board feet more than doubled when 638,722,000 board feet were exported to Japan; 51,216,000 to Canada; and 17,582,000 to South Korea. Experts expect that during 1964 new records will be set in exports of logs from Washington and Oregon ports. During the first 3 months of this year, 228,883,000 board feet of logs were exported compared with only 110,210,000 in the same period of 1963.

If this trend continues, and there is every indication it will, log exports from our forests in the Pacific Northwest will exceed 1 billion board feet. Estimates indicate that this amount of logs, if processed in U.S. mills, would create between 5,000 and 10,000 new jobs.

When the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior and Related Agencies was hearing testimony earlier this year from Forest Service officials, I asked several questions about export of logs. I would like to quote those questions and the answers.

Mrs. HANSEN. How many logs from the U.S. Forest Service have been exported to Japan as logs?

Mr. CLIFF. We have no way of knowing, because once the timber is sold and removed from the national forest, it can be diverted to mills and markets in several different directions. It becomes private property and we do not keep track of what private parties do with the logs after they become private property. We know some timber from national forests has been exported.

Mrs. HANSEN. Is your policy different from Canada's in that respect?

Mr. CLIFF. I think it does differ; yes.

Mr. GREELEY. I think the policy of the Province of British Columbia sets a method of control by the Provincial government on the shipping out of the Province of logs in unmanufactured form.

Mrs. HANSEN. Is it not based upon first priority to needs of local mills wthin British Columbia, and any logs that are not needed or are in areas where mills do not exist can then be exported?

Mr. GREELEY. I have always understood it was quite difficult to secure an export permit from the Province of British Columbia.

Mrs. HANSEN. We have no policy that we must serve our own manufacturing areas first in this country?

Mr. GREELEY. That is correct.

Mrs. HANSEN. I believe exports to Japan have been 1 billion board feet very recently.

Mr. GREELEY. They have stepped up this year considerably over what they were.

Mrs. HANSEN. Is it not true that they will step up again in the very near future?

Mr. CLIFF. We do not know.

Mrs. HANSEN. The demand usually comes at the end of the winter season.

Mr. CLIFF. It is possible that they will increase some.

Rushville, Ind., Uses Civil Defense Corps Effectively

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, there has often been criticism of the civil defense corps as a rather superfluous appendage to the operation of our defense system. It is probable that at least a part of such criticism stems from the fact that civil defense is considered most of the time as a futile exercise in preparation for an event which many consider unlikely to occur, and which others consider useless because in an atomic catastrophe the civil defense people themselves will be as much affected as everyone else.

I do not know in how many other places the civil defense corps is operating as a servant of public need, not just in some future emergency, but in regular usefulness to the community. But in Rushville, Ind., civil defense workers are helping as special traffic police, volunteer firemen and nurses, and in other practical, constructive ways.

The story of civil defense usefulness in this city of some 7,500 population is worthy of attention. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an item from the Rushville Republican of July 3, 1964. It appeared there under the heading of "Miscellany," and was written by a staff writer who signs the item "By Jill."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rushville (Ind.) Republican, July 3, 1964]

MISCELLANY

(By Jill)

The civil defense corps in Rushville has been in operation for several years and deserves praise. On weekends, the traffic in downtown Rushville gets pretty snarled up and, at Main and Second for example, cars back up for blocks waiting for the stoplight to change. It is then that the civil defense traffic police are called on to speed up traffic and straighten things out.

Often on Friday or Saturday night, an emergency will arise and it will be necessary to call on the civil defense for help. These men change into uniforms at a few minutes' notice and are on the job. Each member is doing a community service. They do this gladly without pay and efficiently. Their hours of training and responsibility disciplines them to work efficiently in case of major disaster. They are under the leadership of Pat Todd but the chief of police, Jim Ravenscraft, promises to share with them some of the police training that he recently received in Washington, D.C.

Come the Fourth of July celebration or the county fair, and it will be civil defense police that will be on hand 100 percent to assist in handling traffic and see that all activities run smoothly with no disorder. They are indispensable at county and sectional tourney time.

The program of civil defense also includes voluntary firemen and nurses. The membership in the Nurses Air Corps is large and very active. Many members qualify academically by taking courses at the high school and then get training in practical experience in either the hospital or nursing homes. The girls are trained intelligently in nursing care and in case of disaster or a shortage of skilled nurses, are capable of handling and caring for either the ill or injured.

The present city administration is working closely with the members of the civil defense. It has been found that equipment for Rushville can be purchased economically through their program. It is hoped that many items will be purchased that will make it possible for the street department to operate more efficiently.

Mayor Stevens is considering ways to keep the streets free of snow during the winter months. (That is real foresight on this hot July day.) He hopes that it will be possible to purchase a second used jeep through army surplus and the civil defense program. The jeeps can then be used as snowplows to keep streets and sidewalks cleared of snow. By using jeeps instead of tractors many of the problems that came up last year in clearing the streets of snow will be avoided.

Another Biased Trade Survey?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on June 16 Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges announced plans for "A Survey of the Geographic Origins of U.S. Exports in 1963."

This new survey is to bring up to date a study made in 1960 in pursuit of the same elusive subject of export origins.

I find it hard at the moment to think of a more worthless project or a more deceptive manner of spending public funds.

The purpose of such surveys has been and is very simple: namely, to influence legislation.

Let me ask a simple question. When an automobile is exported from Detroit, where does it come from? Who is to trace the numerous parts and the raw products and minerals to their source? Here is room for duplication to run rampant. The iron may be mined in one State, the steel made in another and the parts made out of steel in yet another State. The same may be said for the glass, copper, lead, paint, and other materials that are only assembled in Detroit.

When a parts manufacturer from Toledo sells to General Motors or Ford, will he know which of those parts, if any, will be incorporated into vehicles that find their way into exports?

The same question could be asked about numerous other products that are assembled, as are automobiles, from numerous parts. About the only products that could be traced with a reasonable degree of satisfaction are unprocessed agricultural, mineral, or forest products, and then only if they were exported in the unprocessed form. Even then there would be some difficulty. A bushel of corn grown in Iowa, for example, would be difficult to trace. The first seller is usually not himself the exporter. He therefore does not know what part, if any, of his crop goes abroad. The actual exporter will often not know the precise origin of the wheat he ships abroad.

To overcome or rather to hide this uncertainty the Department of Commerce has resorted to some very strange guesses and geographical mixing formulas that would never stand the light of day and must be condemned by the standards of any fair statistical procedure. Some grotesque results have thus been obtained. If, for example, a half-billion bushels of wheat were exported in a given year, the population of the wheat-producing States would be set down. The amount of wheat exported by a particular State would then be calculated as that percentage of the total wheat exports that the State's population is of the total population of the wheat-producing States; or by applying the share of the State's wheat production of total wheat production and then assuming that wheat exports from each State were the same percentage of the total.

Such a method would imply that of each State's wheat production the same proportion would go into export, regardless of the State's location.

Sometimes the calculation does not stop there, and efforts are made to show how many millions of dollars of exports arise in each congressional district. This can be done by application of the population ratio of the district to the population of the whole State and then dividing the whole State's exports accordingly.

Of course, once we get to the point where each district has the same amount of population as every other district in the State, each district would be shown as having exactly the same amount of wheat exports as each of the other districts of the State. This would be about as accurate as casting a fishing net anywhere into the sea, hoping to catch as many fish as the professional fisherman who knows where to go, on the theory that the fish population is evenly distributed throughout the oceans.

Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that if this survey is carried out and the results published by the Department of Commerce, we will have another example of the debasement of governmental statistics. This will be a supreme example of forcing statistics to tell a preconceived story without regard to the legitimate use of statistical methods. The ethics of such practice I leave to anyone who relies on public statistics as a guide to his judgment in solving serious problems. When our governmental departments utilize statistical surveys in this manner, they cast a vitiating doubt on all public statistical presentations; and this is something to be deplored as well as condemned. Statistics should be enlightening as bearers of facts and not misleaders of those who use them in all innocence and trust.

If the Secretary of Commerce nevertheless insists on proceding with his survey, let him also pinpoint the incidence of the taxes that support a good part of our exports. Our foreign aid exports reach a level of more than a billion dollars and the goods filling these shipments are among those that will be surveyed. The public money paid for these goods comes from the taxpayer. Can Mr. Hodges trace the amount of these taxes to particular congressional districts? I daresay he would ridicule any such suggestion.

Beside foreign aid shipments we have Public Law 480 exports, and these are also paid for by the taxpayers. Can Secretary Hodges allocate these taxes by congressional districts? We subsidize the exportation of wheat, wheat flour, and raw cotton. Can the Secretary say how much of this subsidy of over one-half billion dollars each voter pays?

Or will Mr. Hodges in any case show only the benefits to the farmers?

If Mr. Hodges were to present the bitter with the sweet, we might have more confidence in his survey; but were he to do that, the purpose of the survey would be destroyed. This means of course that something is wrong with the purpose. It is clearly one sided and designed to emphasize the beneficial and to suppress the cost. It is designed to gain support for a policy; that is, the national foreign trade policy. If this policy were sound it would need no such shenanigans in order to recommend it. If it cannot be defended without statistical misfeasance, it evidently is hard up for justification.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that Secretary Hodges should call off this survey. It would help his standing and that of the Department of Commerce in the eyes of those who have a serious and honest interest in finding the truth about our foreign trade policy.

He should in any case not go ahead with it unless he also launched a survey to show the injurious effects of imports by congressional districts. Imports of beef, veal, and lamb, for example, have wrought a great deal of economic havoc in this country. Let Mr. Hodges ask the Census Bureau, which is the agency designated to make the export-origin survey, to run an equally intensive survey of the incidence of unemployment, business stagnation, faltering investment of capital and discouraging outlook attributable to rising imports. The results should then be carefully allotted to the congressional districts. The students of the double-barreled survey could then feel at least that an honest effort had been made to present both sides of the trade question.

If Iowa exports 50 million bushels of wheat, or some similar figure, there will be some benefits to farmers and farmworkers. There would be no harm in pointing to this benefit; but if we are considering the wisdom of a trade policy that permits imports of a large amount of beef; and if these imports break the price of cattle which in turn consume hundreds of millions of bushels of corn grown in Iowa; and if it costs 60 cents per bushel to the taxpayer to export the wheat, Mr. Hodges should show this debit side or be guilty of telling less than half the story.

I say he should either make this double survey, although I greatly doubt the feasibility of it, or eliminate the project entirely. If he goes ahead with the one-sided survey, he will be writing the obituary of the statistical integrity of the Department over which he presides.

The Impact of Computers on Social Sciences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, during the past decade, the electronic computer has had a profound impact on methods for acquiring and distributing information. In an address before the National Automation Conference of the American Bankers Association on July 16 at the New York World's Fair, Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the Radio Corp. of America, predicted that computers will touch off an explosion in the social sciences comparable to that which we witnessed during past half century in the physical sciences.

In his address, General Sarnoff considered the role of computers in five areas—man's working environment, leisure, education, health, and politics. He foresees wide and varied use for computers in the communication of ideas between individuals. But he also strikes some warnings about reliance on machines as a substitute for human judgment. He cited the possible temptation to "substitute quantity for quality of opinion in arriving at decisions of policy or action."

"There are basic human judgments beyond the competence of any mechanized register, moral imperatives beyond arithmetic," he stated. With this warning firmly implanted, General Sarnoff describes the far-reaching possibilities when computers are integrated into communication systems. The potential is indeed far reaching.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of General Sarnoff's speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF COMPUTERS

Twenty-five years ago, within a stone's throw of this podium, I had the pleasant and memorable privilege of introducing television to America. This was at the New York World's Fair of 1939. Approximately 1,000 people viewed our inaugural telecast on small-screen black-and-white receivers scattered within a 50-mile radius of the Empire State Building. They were monitoring history—the addition of electronic sight to electronic sound.

From the pioneering transmitting and receiving instruments of 1939, we have advanced to the large-screen color receivers, film chains and tape recording machines that many of you inspected at the RCA exhibit a few hours ago. From a handful of viewers, the television audience has grown to hundreds of millions in 89 countries throughout the world. This new service has been so closely woven into the fabric of everyday existence that it requires an effort of the imagination to recall what life was like without it.

Certainly the impact of television upon our society has been more profound than that of any other invention in this generation. And its development is far from finished. With the advent of communications satellites, for instance, television promises peoples on all continents something that seemed incredible only a few years ago: the prospect of sharing the same experience at the same moment.

At this World's Fair, no invention comparable to television has been unveiled. Yet developments no less significant are implicit in the sweeping advances made in the intervening quarter of a century. What we are demonstrating here are the vast potentials of technology in the electronic age.

At least one such potential stirs the imagination as it has not been stirred since the birth of television, and its consequences may be as far reaching. I refer, of course, to the invention that concerns this convocation of the American Bankers Association: the digital computer.

The progenitor of the electronic computer of today appeared in the flood of new technology that came out of the Second World War. A variety of computers are now employed in government and defense, in business, science, and technology. Already they have produced profound changes in our methods of processing paperwork, performing calculations, and reaching and implementing management decisions.

But precisely because the services flowing from such applications have been so immediate and so overwhelming, the potentials of the computer as a social force have thus far not been seriously evaluated. This is my purpose today—to examine the impact of the computer on what President Johnson has called the great society.

Just as television has extended human sight across the barriers of time and distance, so the computer extends the power of the human intellect across barriers no less formidable. It multiplies to a remarkable degree the capacity of the mind to deal with information in endless variation and almost limitless quantity.

The use of the computer provides a vast opportunity for finding answers to many of our most complex social problems—in education, conservation of natural resources, air and water pollution, urban planning and renewal, the retraining of persons displaced by automation, the reduction of poverty. Over the next 20 years, I am convinced, computers will touch off an explosion in the social sciences comparable to that which we wit-

nessed during the past half century in the physical sciences.

To grasp these possibilities of the future, we should first consider the trend of today's computer technology and the nature of the systems that will soon evolve.

By 1980, less than two decades hence, the number of computers in use throughout the world will multiply tremendously. These systems will be considerably smaller than today's and they will perform far more complex functions because of the greater sophistication of their circuitry. Their operating speeds will be measured in nanoseconds. As you know by now but your wives may not, a nanosecond is to a second as a second is to 30 years; a sliver of time so thin that it is beyond mental grasp.

These computers of tomorrow will respond to handwriting, to images, and to spoken commands. They will commune tirelessly with one another over any distance. They will recognize a voice, a face, or a symbol among tens of thousands. Employing processes analogous to logic, they will have the power to learn through experience—which is more than some human beings and nations can do. It is not inconceivable that the world's chess champion by the end of this century will be a computer.

A global linkup of computers will be accomplished through communications satellites, high-capacity transistorized cables, microwave conduits, as well as standard telephone and telegraph links. Data will move through broadband channels at speeds of up to 20 million bits per second, thousands of times faster than in today's systems. Ultimately, laser beams may transmit vast quantities of information instantaneously in the form of light through hoselike cables.

We can already foresee the progressive blending of computers and communications. This will lead to a combination of personal voice and video communications, dial or pushbutton systems of transmitting computer instructions, and attachments for receiving and storing computer data from one end of the world to the other.

The time will come when the individual in a technologically advanced nation will possess a personal number to serve as his private code for making or receiving local or global television calls, for credit information, and innumerable other purposes. The number would tend to become as important to him as his name.

Such advances will inevitably bring about basic transformations in fields far beyond those in which computers function today. Matching the technical prospects to the human environment, I see society making profound adjustments in many directions. The five main areas affected are likely to be: Work, leisure, education, health, and politics. Let me sketch briefly some foreseeable developments in each of these categories.

1. WORK

The original industrial revolution liberated man from the hand forge and the hoe. The assembly line translated the luxuries of the few into the necessities of the many, in terms of personal transport, mechanized domestic help, and a world of electronic information and entertainment in the home.

But the same revolution also pulled men into huge industrial funnels, often producing slums that recalled the worst aspects of medieval living. It brought into existence what Aldous Huxley once called the only major vice invented by modern man—the vice of speed, which generated tempos, and with it physical and psychological tensions, unknown in earlier periods.

To escape the environment created by their labors, families where possible fled to the suburbs. Transportation from home to places of work siphoned off much of the time saved by new production methods. Many executives today spend as much as a quarter or a third of their time traveling and preparing to travel to and from their homes and to distant meetings. Frequently the successful administrator is too exhausted by the sheer effort of creating progress to be able to enjoy it.

I believe that the computer and its allied communications will alter this pattern to a significant extent. With instruments of information and command within easy reach, it will be possible to conduct many managerial operations without physically going to an office every day and devoting additional hours or weeks to more distant travel.

Executives will be able to participate in high-level meetings without stirring from home. A special workroom will contain color television apparatus that will permit communication in sight and sound with other participants around the country and even around the world. Computers will flash pertinent information on the screen or in print through desk instruments, permitting an instant exchange of documents, graphic materials and views.

Eventually, by making physical presence less essential to the discharge of business, the computer and communications complex will eliminate much of the rush and stress of modern living. Thus, ironically, the utmost in speed will cancel out the worst consequences of the modern vice of speed.

2. LEISURE

The reduction of work will apply not only to executives but in varying degrees to all echelons of our economic structure. Science and technology and the progressive refinement of automation will, in the next 20 years, justify the reduction of the workday to 4 or 5 hours.

This will pose, even more forcefully, the problem—and the opportunities—of expanded leisure. It will demand new approaches to the planning and use of our time; new psychological attitudes toward so-called free time. We will be forced to revise the traditional view of leisure as a species of idleness and therefore a form of sin.

We will, of course, pursue the hobbies and interests that we have never before had sufficient time to undertake. For many people, this will provide new possibilities for cultural and mental growth, deepened esthetic appreciations and enlarged intellectual activities. Where the nature of the hobby or interest calls for it, the computer will facilitate these purposes.

Man's accumulated knowledge and cultural treasures will be made available to nearly everybody through computer centers, somewhat in the way that they are now available in the largest cities through libraries and museums. It will simply be a matter of pushing the correct buttons on computerized telephones, radios, and televisions. Any document—from an automatically translated literary work to the latest technical publication—can be made quickly available.

With the working day reduced almost by half, there will be a further redirection of energies now absorbed in busting activities. Because human nature remains stubbornly human, some of these salvaged hours will be idled away pointlessly, or otherwise misdirected. Yet the new approach will increasingly remove the ingrained notion that leisure means "time to kill." In its place will gradually come the custom, even the social compulsion, to spend the bonus of time for living on projects of personal and social benefit.

Some will invest time in teaching or taking part in community enterprises. Others will find it possible to arrange their schedules of leisure into time blocks lasting as long as several months. They may elect to work or study abroad, perhaps as volunteer technical, professional or business administrators in underdeveloped parts of the world.

Indeed, the whole concept of work as the opposite of leisure will begin to disappear. They will cease to be clear-cut opposites and will come to represent merely different varieties of useful, enjoyable, constructive effort.

3. EDUCATION

In the school of tomorrow, the computer will multiply the capabilities of the teacher. It will help speed and improve the learning processes from grade school through university. Elementary school children will be introduced earlier to many high school studies, and work in high school frequently will be at the college level.

In the classroom, the computerized teaching machine will handle the routine or informational aspects, drilling the student in his subjects and helping him correct his answers. It will proceed at the pace set by the learning capacity of the student. We may see, at last, youngsters progressing not necessarily by formal, standardized grades but by individual intelligence and ability.

This, however, need not "dehumanize" the teaching process, as some fear, or diminish the role of the teacher. On the contrary, with repetitive tasks delegated to the machine, the teacher will be freed from many of the routines which now absorb his energies—freed to devote himself to the personalized and inspirational functions of developing the student's special abilities and interests and stimulating his critical and creative faculties. Properly used, mechanized teaching can thus deepen and enrich the overall process.

Even at the present pioneering stage in this development, some university courses, through intelligent computer programing, have been reduced to as little as one-quarter of the time previously required. In addition, students aided by teaching machines have shown a higher average retention level 1 to 2 years after finishing their studies, than those taught by conventional methods only.

But the educational contribution of computers will not end with the classroom. Learning will become a continuing process. Scientists and engineers, for instance, will spend a substantial part of their time reeducating themselves to changes in their particular fields, as will doctors, lawyers, accountants, and teachers themselves. Technology is moving forward so swiftly that many youngsters starting school today will have to relearn every facet of their vocations at least three times during their careers.

In short, electronic devices, computerized techniques and systems will open to millions of people the roads to a lifetime of self-instruction. This alone will alter the quality of our lives both at work and at home.

4. HEALTH

The health of its population is a nation's greatest asset. The computer will emerge as a major tool of the medical fraternity as it strives to eradicate disease and extend the span of life beyond the biblical three score and ten. No less important, the years thus added will be active years of living, not merely existing.

In the electronic future it will be possible to maintain a complete medical profile of every person in the community and in the Nation. The record, begun at birth, will be constantly updated in a central community or regional computer for instant access to the physician or hospital as required. Because so many factors will have been tabulated in advance, examination and diagnosis will be easier, more comprehensive, and more revealing than by traditional methods.

Taken together, these individual reports will form the basis of a continuing, up-to-the-minute health profile of the entire country. Any trends that may affect the public health will be noted without delay and their meaning swiftly interpreted. This could include the recurrence of certain symptoms which are the warning prelude to an epidemic.

On a longer range basis, the correlation of vast quantities of data would facilitate definitive research not only on specific diseases but on possible relations between air pollution and cancer, or the relationship of nutrition to health and longevity, or an analysis of drug effects. Medical progress anywhere will become easily available everywhere.

By maintaining a current file on every known ailment, its symptoms, diagnosis, and treatment, the computer will also enable physicians to keep up with the flood of new medical information that overwhelms even the most dedicated among them today. It will be possible for a doctor to communicate the symptoms to the computer center and to receive at once a printed response indicating the diseases with which such symptoms are associated. Where the findings are not conclusive, the computer will request more definite information; if the symptoms are conflicting, it will suggest further tests.

Again, as in the case of the teacher, these automatic helps will not cancel out the importance of the gifted practitioner. Relieved of many routine and repetitive tasks, his time and energies will be conserved for the highly personalized functions engaging his unique skills and understanding.

5. POLITICS

The computer will make it possible to restore a direct dialog between the people and their political leaders, in the tradition of an Athenian assembly or a New England town meeting. Democracy is the highest form of government ever developed but the magnitude and complexities of our society have made us poor practitioners.

For example, no more than 64 percent of the qualified citizenry have voted in any presidential election since 1920. In the 1948 election, ballots invalidated by incorrect marking or defacement far outnumbered President Truman's margin of 2,100,000 votes over Thomas E. Dewey. We can assume, of course, that errors were made on votes cast for both candidates. But clearly, present-day voting procedures are cumbersome, time consuming, and not conducive to full expression of the democratic will.

In the future it will be technically feasible for voting to be done in the home, with maximum personal convenience. The balloting would be done through television, the computerized telephone, standard and high-speed phone circuits of regional and national computers. For the dwindling minority of citizens who might still lack these units in the home, special telephone polling places would be provided.

Balloting would take place within a specified time period, at the voter's convenience. The individual would set his television receiver to a special voting channel and view a demonstration of the procedure to be followed. He would then identify himself over the telephone by transmitting his personal code number to the regional computer. This would be verified in the computer memory, along with his eligibility, before a pushbutton vote could be cast, and there would be built-in safeguards against voting frauds.

Within minutes after closing time, the regional computers would forward the data to local, State, and National computers serving as central tabulators, and results would be announced less than an hour after the closing of the home polls. At the same time the computer would provide detailed analyses of the election for use on the airwaves and in the press. By these means, it could be possible to achieve an almost total expression of the popular will by those qualified to vote.

In a democratic society, other significant possibilities are inherent in such a system. For example, a computerized process similar to that used in home voting could obtain a prompt expression of public opinion on a wide range of issues. We could have national, regional, or local plebiscites on anything from a proposed municipal tax to a contemplated change in the latest model car.

The very ease with which public sentiment could be registered, however, involves dangers. The essence of democracy is the support by an enlightened people for the decisions and actions of its elected leaders. Our political structure rests therefore upon an intricate system of checks and balances, wisely designed to guard against impulsive acts, tides of passion, and decisions based upon nose-counting alone.

There are two perils against which we must provide safeguards in seeking to advance the concept of computerized polling. One is the possible misuse of such a system by demagoges in or out of government to stampede a nation into ill-considered action under the guise of "instant democracy." The other is the possible temptation it might create to substitute quantity for quality of opinion in arriving at decisions of policy or action. While I am a firm believer in the democratic process, I also believe, with Anatole France, that "if 50 million people say a foolish thing, it is still a foolish thing."

We must remain aware of the limitations of the computer as an aid to our leaders in the decision making process. There are basic human judgments beyond the competence of any mechanized register, moral imperatives beyond arithmetic. The machine cannot be permitted to usurp reasoned judgment or dilute the responsibility of those best equipped by experience to provide guidance. Had the computer existed at the time, it would certainly have counseled the Greeks to surrender to the Persians at Salamis. But the Greeks defied the overwhelming numerical superiority of their enemy and thereby scored a decisive victory.

In June, 1940, after weighing all known factors, the computer would doubtless have advised England to seek the best possible terms from Hitler. It would have been tragically wrong, because no computer could ever reckon with, or replace, the indomitable spirit of Winston Churchill.

In recognizing the dangers and limitations, we must recognize at the same time that they offer no justification for arresting the development of the computer or of narrowing its applications. Dangers are implicit in nearly all scientific advances, but this does not warrant a moratorium on technological progress, even if it were possible to impose one.

There are those today who wish to see the computer disconnected through fear that it will dehumanize our society. The fact is that we cannot pull the plug on the computer, or on the communications with which it will be integrated, any more than we can return to the covered wagon or the sailing ship.

Even in its present limited applications the computer has become a tool indispensable to our society. The volume of paperwork in Government, national defense, industry and business keeps increasing so rapidly that outmoded manual methods would before long overwhelm society and create chaos.

Since the computer is here to stay, we will be seriously remiss in our responsibilities to ourselves and our posterity if we fail to use it to help define and resolve great social questions, just as we already employ it to advance the physical sciences. In economics, sociology, political science and various aspects of applied psychology, the computer can be an instrument of incalculable importance.

One of the most brilliant exponents of computer science, the late Dr. Norbert Weiner, placed the challenge in focus when he wrote that "the machine's danger is not from the machine but from what man makes of it." The urgent need is to narrow the gaps between technology and social idealism, between the automatic and the rational elements in the human equation. We need, in truth, to concern ourselves less with "thinking machines" and more with thinking people.

Far from downgrading the political, social and spiritual leader, the rapid progress of the computer places a higher premium upon his abilities, understanding and courage. If anything, science and technology call for a new dedication to the eternal verities, a deeper loyalty to our heritage of social ideals and moral perceptions.

I have suggested certain possibilities and problems, but I do not have the complete answer—nor has any man. We can be sure only that the computer is destined to make profound changes in our social environment, and that we must begin thinking now how best to take advantage of it. If we are content to let change take place without intelligent guidance, we shall become merely sorcerer's apprentices, unable to control the forces we have set in motion.

In the final analysis, what comes out of the computer is determined by what goes into it. If we have the wisdom to introduce into this versatile instrument a program for social progress, the answers it provides can be of profound importance to the well-being of future generations.

Testimony Given by Mr. David Merrick Before the Ways and Means Committee Urging That the 10-Percent Federal Admissions Tax on Live Dramatic Performances Be Abolished

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee was privileged this morning to hear David Merrick, distinguished theatrical producer, lawyer, and New Yorker, with respect to H.R. 2518, the Lindsay bill, and similar bills to remove Federal admissions tax from live dramatic performances. Mr. Merrick has produced "Hello Dolly," "Carnival," "Stop the World, I Want To Get Off," "Oliver," and many others. His plays have played over 10,000 performances on Broadway. He is a member of the board of governors of the National Association of the Legitimate Theater, Inc.

I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Merrick's excellent testimony before the committee:

STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID MERRICK ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE LEGITIMATE THEATRE, INC., AND THE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK THEATRES, INC., SUPPORTING REPEAL OF SECTION 4231.1 OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS, AUGUST 3, 1964

My name is David Merrick. I have produced 40 plays on Broadway in the last 10 years.

The National Association of the Legitimate Theatre, Inc., is a national association comprised of the country's leading theater

producers and theater owners. The League of New York Theatres, Inc., is comprised of the leading theater producers and theater owners in New York.

It is a vital public concern to foster and stimulate cultural development throughout the Nation. Cultural development is essential because it gives breadth and richness to each of our lives. It is equally important to demonstrate to others the intellectual achievement possible in a free society. In the current struggle for the minds of men, keen observers have indicated that we will not win by material means alone. We must demonstrate that a free society can be a creative society as well.

A keystone in the cultural arch is the living theater. Indeed, it has been one of the areas of most significant cultural achievement in our country. It is a deep and important expression of our national life, of our aspirations, folkways, and values. The 50 States, there are more than 190 year-round our theatrical world. Spread across the country and in virtually every one of the 50 States, there are more than 190 year-round theaters, in which live dramas, comedies, and musicals are presented. In addition, there are an even larger number of summer stock theaters, which likewise are located throughout the Nation.

The 50 to 75 new plays produced each season by the core of our theater in New York spread out across the country through openings in other cities and through subsequent tours. They provide the source material for our widespread summer theater operation and for the more than 75,000 nonprofessional groups spread over the United States.

We must assure the continued vitality, creativity, and variety of our contemporary contribution to culture through theatrical productions. These productions provide an important outlet for the imagination which abounds in our Nation. In our society, as it has been in every great society throughout history, the health of the theater has been a measure of cultural quality. If it languishes, something is deeply wrong in the Nation's mind and spirit.

The theater in our country is the product of the free enterprise system and exists by that enterprise. It does not have, nor has it sought governmental assistance. In this sense, our theater is almost unique; this is a most important reason for assuring its continued vitality.

The theater industry in practically every other country of both the free world and the nonfree world is subsidized by government. Even England has resorted to a partial subsidization of its theater. The subsidized theaters are used by these countries as an important part of their international programs to spread their culture abroad. We have seen numerous instances of the export by the Iron Curtain countries of theatrical groups of such high quality as the Bolshoi and Brecht companies, to convince others that the Communists are people devoted to cultural endeavor, and therefore are freedom-loving people—a most dangerous error in logic.

We must meet these efforts with the best of our own. Our theater must continue to be one of our most effective and proudest displays of the cultural values which can be attained and maintained by a free enterprise system. It has been, and can continue to be, a most valuable conduit for the export of ideas.

The need for support of the theater has never been more critical than at present. The living theater has been on a continuous decline for the last 30 years. Over the last decade, the plight of the living theater has become extremely grave. The theater is caught in a serious cost-price squeeze which could prove fatal unless some relief is found. Radically increased costs and staggering financial losses have brought about a steady diminution of productions. Already certain forms of dramatic entertainment, highly estimable as cultural products, are no longer financially feasible. In the past several years, there has been increasing difficulty in raising the venture capital necessary to continuation of our free enterprise system in presenting theatrical production. Indeed, this season, several plays have gone up to the point of rehearsal without sufficient capital even to permit initial opening, no less than ultimate opening on Broadway. The cultural weathervane has given us warnings which we cannot ignore.

The theater has never sought, nor does it now seek, governmental support in terms of subsidy to alleviate the pressure and bring about the necessary revitalization. It merely seeks the cessation of governmental burdens, the most critical of which is the excise tax on theater admissions. Instead of supporting theatrical endeavors, the Government, through this unnecessary and discriminatory tax, has placed a back-breaking burden on an already declining and weakened industry.

No other form of cultural endeavor is subjected to this or any similar form of Federal excise tax. There is no such tax on literature. And, the tax normally does not even apply to the exhibition of motion pictures which, because of the nature of their production and exhibition, can be shown to audiences at a much lower admission price than the living theater and often below the $1 exemption from the Federal admission tax. Likewise, television does not suffer from this harsh and discriminatory tax.

An excise tax is always a burden. A booming industry, or even a healthy one, may be able to readily absorb the tax, but a financially declining industry cannot. The excise tax merely accentuates the decline and eventually may prove fatal. Moreover the imposition of an excise tax on a cultural and educational medium would appear contrary to public policy.

The plight of the theater is serious. The profit squeeze has reached the point that new investment may shortly become impossible to obtain, particularly since the investors come from a relatively small group and the size of the overall loss in the dollars invested is staggering. The price of tickets has risen so that the upper end of the demand curve has been reached. We do not ask for governmental support but we do say that the living theater will perish if it is not relieved of the present unfair tax burden. There must, therefore, either be some form of support or the living theater will perish.

The theater can be proud of the fact that, despite lack of help and encouragement from the Government, despite financial harassment, despite the imposition of discriminatory taxes, it has maintained, artistically, a vital dynamic theater. But vitality cannot survive financial disaster forever. The theater is on the brink of a cascade. However, it still does not seek subsidization nor special aid. It only asks that it be treated fairly and not be impeded by governmental control.

Elimination of the crippling admission tax would be a most effective immediate measure in moving toward the revitalization of the living theater. It would be a concrete demonstration of recognition of the importance which we place on cultural achievement. It is an essential step if the living theater is to be saved from its present distressingly rapid decline.

Old-Age Assistance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am just one of many Members on the floor today who personally went before the Ways and Means Committee during public hearings. I implored the committee in the interest of democratic government, to give the Members of the House an opportunity to vote on hospital insurance for the aged under social security. With such widespread public interest and concern with the question, failure to permit the House to express its will can only be construed as a breakdown of the democratic process. I, along with hundreds of other Members of the House, expect to have the right to have their votes counted in any legislative decision on a matter of such great national significance. No hospital insurance proposal is before us today although the Nation appeals for it.

For a number of years we have been trying to get this measure to the floor of the House for a vote. At each turn of the road we have been told that existing measures, the old-age assistance program, the Kerr-Mills program—MAA—are doing to job, that there is no need, and that private plans are taking care of the aged in this country.

For years I have countered by pointing to the vast need of our aged and retired, and to the humanitarian considerations so abundantly plain in the hospital problems of the aged.

I have demonstrated over the years that Kerr-Mills is more expensive and that it has higher administrative and investigative costs because of the degrading means test. I have shown that social security is the only workable device that can meet the needs of providing hospitalization insurance for our aged. It is also the cheapest and most fiscally responsible way of accomplishing this end. I have never seen these arguments rebutted.

I support not only the hospital insurance for the aged proposal as embodied in the King-Anderson bill but the Kerr-Mills Act as well. Kerr-Mills is needed as a vital backstop of last-ditch help for those older people for whom the benefits of the King-Anderson bill would prove insufficient. But, and I want to emphasize this, Kerr-Mills, by itself, is unworkable and inappropriate as the governmental answer to the health care financing problems of our older people. Public assistance—relief—as Kerr-Mills is—is by definition, incompatible with independence and dignity. Application for public assistance is acknowledgement of failure. Surely a great nation such as ours can offer more to our senior citizens than self-degradation as a means of se-

curing aid with the expenses of health care.

At every turn, the opponents of this legislation have indicated that the Kerr-Mills program deserved a trial. In the Biblical term, "It has been tried and found wanting." I now will proceed to document that point.

The Kerr-Mills program of medical assistance for the aged, no matter how laudable the intentions of its sponsors, has proved a spotty and ineffective legislative answer. In the main, according to the Special Committee on Aging of the U.S. Senate, the majority of people who received any care under the program have been individuals transferred from or eligible for help under other public assistance programs. Kerr-Mills MAA is not reaching the new group of people it has been intended to reach. For example:

First. New York receives some one-third of the Federal funds going into the MAA program. The department of social welfare in that State recently advised that:

> New York State's current MAA caseload of about 30,000 is made up largely of transfers from the OAA and aid-to-the-blind program plus a large number of persons who were formerly receiving hospital care at public expense as medical indigents.

Second. In May 1963 the State of Washington reported payments of $187,000 for MAA care provided to 1,176 recipients. In June 1963, $1,282,000 was paid in behalf of 9,623 people. This enormous jump in payments and recipients was not due to any magnificent new ability to reach those who needed help. It was due simply to the transfer of more than 7,000 nursing home patients from the old-age assistance program to MAA.

As you gentlemen are well aware, people are being transferred from other programs to Kerr-Mills MAA, by the States, in order to qualify for the more liberal Federal matching provisions under MAA. It makes for interesting physical and fiscal maneuvers—but very little in the way of helping that group of 10 million or more older Americans estimated by the Senate Finance Committee to be in need of the type of help theoretically available under Kerr-Mills. Kerr-Mills had proved not much more than a paper placebo prescribed by the medicrats of the AMA. And, it is a high-priced prescription. The facts about the Kerr-Mills MAA program do not make for a rosy glow superimposed halo.

As many of us know, the American Medical Association has had an assortment of medicinemen peddling its political snake oil around the country. One of the more artful dodges employed is propagandizing the Kerr-Mills program—in their frantic efforts to stave off that so sinful social security—is the "numbers racket." This little piece of deception involves hourly announcements concerning the number of States which have implemented the Kerr-Mills program. It includes throwing into the count the four jurisdictions which have programs in operation, and States with programs in operation. It also includes tossing in States which have passed enabling legislation of one sort or another but where Kerr-Mills is not functioning.

Georgia and New Mexico, for example, are all set to go except for one slight defect—no money. This lack of money to finance decent MAA programs is serious, not only in States which cannot even afford to establish token programs—even at the risk of displeasing their State medical societies—but also in those States which have programs. And, here is a real fly in the Kerr-Mills ointment. The States cannot raise the money necessary to finance comprehensive MAA programs with liberal eligibility requirements. Educational, housing, roadbuilding needs, and the other public welfare programs compete in a bitter struggle for available State revenues. Kerr-Mills MAA is low man on that totem pole. The financial strain is most acute in those States which need the most help—States with low per capita incomes. Paradoxically, these are the States where most help is needed. Some of them have tried to do a decent job with Kerr-Mills MAA. But the pressure was too great. They found it necessary to cut back even where benefits were inadequate in the first place.

One State, for example, paid for up to 30 days of hospital care per year for an MAA eligible. The State pays up to $105 per month for nursing home care. Visits to the home by a physician were excluded and office or clinic visits were limited to only two per month. Dental care was covered to extent of extractions, surgery, dentures, and X-rays. Prescribed drugs are not covered. Here is what the State was forced to do to its nominal program last fall: The number of hospital days covered per year was cut from 30 days down to 20; covered visits to a doctor's office or clinic was cut from two a month to one; and the protection for dental surgery and cost of dentures was eliminated from the program. I am sure that the Members of this House are as distressed as anyone over such a breakdown of the Kerr-Mills program in just one State. It goes to show that trying is not enough.

West Virginia, Arkansas, and Utah are States which have been forced to cut back their programs.

In many cases sensible advice to an MAA eligible might be that he secure his treatment early in his State's fiscal year because if the State uses up its appropriation, eligibles are out of luck.

I think there is another aspect to the method of financing Kerr-Mills MAA which has been overlooked; one which I regard as a serious defect.

Michigan has the problem as do other States of attracting and keeping industry. Obviously State and local taxes are important determinants in whether an industry comes or goes. Under the King-Anderson proposal, all employers and their employees would pay the same rate regardless of the State or locality in which they were situated. But, any State trying to finance a comprehensive MAA program with liberal eligibility requirements would have to spend many millions of dollars of its general tax revenues—a fact making for increased or high taxes. And, obviously, a fact working against the ability of that State to attract new industry or retain that which it has.

As far as MAA benefits are concerned, we have to face the fact that geography and not justice dictates whether an older person in need will be aided. Older Americans in absolutely the same circumstances are eligible for some help in one State but denied assistance in another. For example, an older couple with an annual income of $2,100 could receive some benefits in Kentucky but would be denied assistance in Arkansas. On the other hand, each partner of that couple would get only 10 days of hospital care in Kentucky. In Arkansas, had they qualified under the income requirement, each would have been eligible for 20 days of such care. And so it goes in attempting to analyze the several MAA programs. Each differs from the other without rhyme or reason. Older Americans are not even afforded equal deprivation of adequate help.

I do not propose to labor my heartfelt opposition to any program which employs the indignities and family pressures incorporated in means tests. This aspect alone flaws Kerr-Mills MAA fatally. It is inconceivable to me that anyone could possibly ask our older people to plead for help by detailing every aspect of their financial difficulties. It is un-American. Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, it is almost foolishly costly since in some States it runs administrative costs to a higher level than the level of the medical benefits paid out.

In conclusion, I again repeat my heartfelt belief that the Members of the House of Representatives must have an opportunity to vote on the issue of hospital insurance for the aged through social security. Anything short of that opportunity would be a great disservice to 18 million older Americans and their families.

What the Supreme Court Did to Your Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the Eighth Congressional District of Ohio is composed of seven counties, ranging in population from 20,000 to 60,000. Residents of these counties take a deep interest in government and show concern for the policies and programs of their local communities, the State of Ohio, and the Federal Government. These citizens are active in politics, too, endeavoring to nominate and elect able men and women to public office.

This is a responsible electorate, prudent Americans who take their obligations in our society seriously. Under the constitution of the State of Ohio each county is guaranteed at least one State representative, more if warranted by population. The State senate is apportioned strictly by population. This year

has seen an edict of the U.S. Supreme Court create an upheaval in the representation in State legislatures in this country. Ohio will be forced to reapportion its lower house, diluting local representation in the Eighth District which will likely take the form of requiring two or more counties to be served by one member of the general assembly.

This decision of the Supreme Court strikes at the fundamental theory of checks and balances which is the cornerstone of our Federal Constitution. The Congress of the United States consists not of two houses based on population but one on population and the other, the Senate, on geographic representation. It is only fair and logical that States should be entitled to the same type of representative government. Along with other Congressmen, including my longtime friend and colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, Hon. WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, I have introduced a resolution which would insure to each State the kind of legislature it wants, provided one House is elected on the basis of population.

These resolutions are receiving widespread support, an example of which is the following excellent article in the August issue of the Farm Journal entitled "What the Supreme Court Did to Your Vote," by Claude Gifford. This brief commentary on the impact of the Supreme Court's action clearly outlines my position and the thinking of many thousands of my fellow citizens of the Eighth District of Ohio.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT DID TO YOUR VOTE

(By Claude W. Gifford)

In one sweeping, historic gesture, the U.S. Supreme Court has voted (6 to 3) to:

Reach down into each State and remake the State legislatures across the land.

The Court has ordered that States must stir themselves to district both houses of their State legislatures on the basis of population—and the population in each district must be "substantially equal." This is likely to force 40 or more States to revamp their legislatures.

This will toss into the ashcan one of the basic, time-honored cornerstones of our system of American representative government.

Since colonial days, States and the Federal Government have selected one house on the basis of population, and the other house partially or entirely by area. It has been one of the vital parts of our check-and-balance governmental system.

The new Court decision shears farm people of a good share of the influence they've had in their State governments.

A State senate based largely on area permits representatives of farm sections to better serve widely scattered farm people and their economic and minority interests.

Also it has served as a brake against population centers running off with all the marbles, or imposing the "tyranny of the majority"—a point held dear by the Founding Fathers.

If this Court decision stands, it will bring one of the most sweeping overnight changes in American Government since the Revolution. Farmers and rural areas will feel it most. It will immediately give farmers less voice in their States over the use of road funds, water rights, school consolidation, allocation of State school aid, real estate taxes, extension programs, conservation, condemning land for recreation and open spaces, hunting laws, and other matters close to the interests of farmers and rural areas.

Cities and their suburbs, which will be handed more seats in one house—adding to what they already have in the other—will increasingly "run things" at the State capitol.

"If this Supreme Court decision is permitted to stand, the State of Illinois will be completely ruled from this day forward by Chicago," sums up Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Similar prospects face other States, where a few big cities have a majority, or close to a majority, of the State's citizens.

Organized labor was quick to sense the crippling blow to farmers. The Committee on Political Education of the AFL–CIO, in its COPE publication of June 29, appraised the decision: "Curtains for rural-dominated horse-and-buggy State governments unresponsive to the needs of an increasingly urban nation."

COPE told its labor-union readers to expect a "surge of responsible, progressive action within the States aimed at advancing the social and economic welfare of their citizens."

Sensing a jugular vein strike at farmers, COPE applauded: "The Court pitched the third strike against lopsided representation which has given the rural voter a powerful advantage over his city and suburban counterpart. And, as in baseball, three strikes means you're out."

Another view, long held by political scholars, is that farmers represent an independent spirit, stable social qualities, desirable moral values and unique economic interests. In a typical legislature, where one house gives greater weight to area representation, these qualities of farm people balance off city political action which is more impulsive, more reliant on central government, and is more inclined to organize into political machines that are run by "bosses."

"One house based on population and one based on area, assures minority and area interest of some representation and contributes to the check-and-balance system that has worked well for 188 years," says Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

What led the Supreme Court to invade this balance and upset State legislatures? The Court opened the door a crack in 1962 in a Tennessee case. The Court said, in effect, that if 30,000 people elect a representative in one district—and 300,000 people elect a representative in another district—the votes of the citizens in the bigger district don't count for as much as those in the smaller district. Their votes are "debased" and the people don't have "equal protection under the law" as guaranteed by the 14th amendment.

That decision was a little vague about what States should do, saying only that State apportionment should make sense.

Since then, State after State has agonized over reapportionment. Meantime, small groups of citizens in densely populated areas caught the scent of new power. Groups in nearly 30 States leaped into their courts to press for a clearer definition of what "made sense" to the Supreme Court.

A band of Alabama citizens sued, contending that the State constitution called for redistricting every 10 years—but it hadn't been done since 1901. They claimed that when 19.4 percent of the State's people live in districts which could elect a majority of the State's senators, that this surely didn't make sense. (In 13 States, 20 percent or less of the State's population can elect a majority of one house of the State legislature.)

This kind of admittedly laggard action by some States and extreme disparity between districts probably prodded the Court to go whole hog.

Judging cases in Alabama, Colorado, Delaware, Maryland, New York, and Virginia all on the same day, the Court ruled that unequal districts are unconstitutional. Further, in a majority opinion by Chief Justice Warren, the Court said that political equality can mean only one thing: "one person, one vote * * * to say that a vote is worth more in one district than in another would run counter to our fundamental ideas of democratic government."

"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres," said Warren. "Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests."

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union agrees that, "The decision is fully consistent with the principles and ideals of democratic government intended to insure everyone an equal voice in the affairs of government. This principle rightfully should apply, in my judgment, to government whether local, State, or national."

Three of the Supreme Court Justices disagreed with the majority Court opinion. "Sixth grade arithmetic," scoffed Justice Harlan.

Sure, trees, land or pasture don't vote, said Harlan, but it's more meaningful that "people are not ciphers and legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect the place where the electors live."

Harlan further pointed out that history shows clearly that when the States ratified the 14th amendment after the Civil War that they did not intend that it would upset their State legislatures. Two-thirds of them had constitutions permitting one house to be apportioned on a basis other than population alone. Differences in population between districts was "widespread and substantial" then, as now.

Harlan did an eloquent job from within the Court of summing up an opinion that many of today's citizens are coming to hold of the Supreme Court:

The decision puts the "basic aspects of State political systems under the pervasive overlordship of the Federal judiciary.

"Nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court.

"The Court's elaboration of its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

Several Congressmen agree. They followed the lead of Representative MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, in introducing joint resolutions in Congress to make it clear that States have a right to apportion in their State legislatures the way people in the States want to. If passed by Congress and then ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures, it would become a new constitutional amendment.

Representative TUCK, of Virginia, and others introduced bills to tell the Court flatly that it has no jurisdiction over State apportionment. They feel the Court would back down in a direct showdown with Congress.

These bills (about 60) will get a hearing before the House Judiciary Committee starting July 22.

The Senate-House Republican leadership has grasped the issue, saying that it will take the lead in preserving the rights of States to select one house geographically.

State governments have spoken up. The southern and western conferences of the Council of State Governments have met and asked for a constitutional amendment to undo the Court's decision.

What This Country Needs Is More Indians and Fewer Chiefs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I have had an opportunity to observe Parkinson's law in operation. This law is something to the effect that the higher offices in the armed services increase as the need for them declines.

In other words, the less you need the higher ranking officers, the more of them you have.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in the tabulation of officers presently in the armed services, as contrasted with the officers we had available in the armed services during World War I and and in World War II and when we are actually at war.

Today there are approximately three times as many officers for each enlisted man as there was in World War I.

At the end of World War I there was 1 officer to every 17.9 enlisted men in all branches of the service.

The same figure today stands at 1 officer for every 6.9 enlisted men.

This figure seems to demand some justification.

Exploration of this figure in the different branches of the armed services reveals that the Marines, generally credited with the highest morale and the best fighting record when the going gets tough, have the lowest percentage of officers as compared with the number of enlisted men.

These figures are as of February, March, and April of this year; enlisted men 173,256 and 17,244 officers above the rank of major, a figure of approximately 1 officer for every 10 enlisted men.

Comparable figures for the same time show the Navy with 1 officer for every 7.5 enlisted men and the Army with 1 officer above the rank of major for each 7.9 enlisted men.

The figure in the Air Corps is considerably higher for ranking officers since they must be flyers, we find that there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 5.4 enlisted men.

One brief word on the overall totals. There are today in the Armed Services more than 109,000 officers of the rank of major or lieutenant commander and above. Of this figure more than 1,000 or 1,292 to be exact who have the rank of general officer or an admiral. Colonels and Navy captains totaled 15,472 in the spring of this year.

Parkinson's law is a facetious bit of writing in which it was emphasized that the bureaucracy increased as the need for it diminished.

There is nothing facetious about the figures I have just given you.

With 65 percent of our annual budget devoted to the armed services it seems to me that we should take a long look at this phenomena which appears to be developing in this country.

As a veteran and a concerned citizen, I see the need for some deep thinking about the pattern of our armed services. We have in this Nation an excellent Military Establishment in the National Guard which utilizes the citizen as a soldier. It was citizen soldiers that came to our rescue in World War I; it was citizen soldiers that were drafted and sent to battle in World War II, and let us never forget it was a citizen army which defeated the British hired mercenaries in the War of Independence. It is my thought that we have given much too much weight in our military thinking to the professional soldier and the officer class which is growing away from civilian control as shown by the figures I have just submitted.

TABLE I.—*Field grade, general, and flag officers of the U.S. armed services*

	Army	Air Force	Marine Corps	Navy	Total, all services
Generals or admirals	506	431	60	295	1,292
Colonels or captains	5,148	5,492	607	4,225	15,472
Lieutenant colonel or commander	12,385	15,334	1,417	8,080	37,216
Major or lieutenant commander	17,111	23,740	2,496	11,964	55,311
Total	35,150	44,997	4,580	24,564	109,291

TABLE II—OFFICER TO ENLISTED MAN RATIO IN THE U.S. ARMED SERVICES

TOTAL ARMED SERVICES

Officers: 335,489.
Enlisted men: 2,348,238.
In the entire armed services there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 6.9 enlisted men.
Generals/admirals: 1 for every 1,817 enlisted men.
Colonels/captains: 1 for every 152 enlisted men.
Lieutenant colonels/commanders: 1 for every 63 enlisted men.
Majors/lieutenant commanders: 1 for every 43 enlisted men.

ARMY

Officers: 109,124.
Enlisted men: 858,099.
In the Army there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 7.9 enlisted men.
Generals: 1 for every 1,695 enlisted men.
Colonels: 1 for every 167 enlisted men.
Lieutenant colonels: 1 for every 69 enlisted men.
Majors: 1 for every 50 enlisted men.

AIR FORCE

Officers: 133,270.
Enlisted men: 732,116.
In the Air Force there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 5.4 enlisted men.
Generals: 1 for every 1,699 enlisted men.
Colonels: 1 for every 133 enlisted men.
Lieutenant colonels: 1 for every 47 enlisted men.
Majors: 1 for every 31 enlisted men.

MARINE CORPS

Officers: 17,244.
Enlisted men: 173,256.
In the Marine Corps there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 10 enlisted men.
Generals: 1 for every 2,888 enlisted men.
Colonels: 1 for every 285 enlisted men.
Lieutenant colonels: 1 for every 122 enlisted men.
Majors: 1 for every 69 enlisted men.

NAVY

Officers: 75,851.
Enlisted men: 584,767.
In the Navy there is an overall ratio of 1 officer for every 7.5 enlisted men.
Admirals: 1 for every 1,979 enlisted men.
Captains: 1 for every 138 enlisted men.
Commanders: 1 for every 72 enlisted men.
Lieutenant commanders: 1 for every 49 enlisted men.

TABLE III

At the end of World War I there was an overall ratio of 1 officer to every 17.9 enlisted men in the U.S. armed services.

At the end of World War II there was an overall ratio of 1 officer to every 9.3 enlisted men in the U.S. armed services.

At present there is an overall ratio of 1 officer to every 6.9 enlisted men in the U.S. armed services.

Testimony Presented for the National Association of Retail Druggists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Willard B. Simmons, executive director and general manager of the National Association of Retail Druggists, has furnished me with a copy of a statement that was made by Mr. Philip F. Jehle before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House recently in behalf of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

It is inserted herewith:

STATEMENT OF PHILIP JEHLE

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the Ways and Means Committee, my name is Philip Jehle, and I am the Washington representative and associate general counsel of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

As you know, the NARD is a small business organization having a nationwide membership of more than 36,000 independent drugstore owners. The NARD speaks for these family pharmacists on all legislative matters affecting their professional and economic interests.

Let me express right now the appreciation of the Nation's independent druggists for this committee's decision to conduct a thorough and objective study of the Federal excise tax structure. The valuable information to come out of these hearings will provide the solid legislative base upon which Congress can proceed, wisely and fairly and without delay, to eliminate the more burdensome of excise levies.

The Nation's independent druggists are strongly agreed that the retailers excise taxes on toiletries and cosmetics ought to be repealed—and soon. This mandate for excise tax relief has come to the NARD, as I am sure

it has to all member of this committee, from druggists in all parts of the country who have made known their views on the subject year after year through resolutions passed at national, State, and local pharmaceutical association conventions.

Druggists are primarily concerned with the excises on toiletries and cosmetics because such products constitute almost all of the excise taxable goods carried in the average drugstore. But, some drug retailers, it may be pointed out, would also like to see removed the excise levies on the inexpensive costume jewelry and leather goods which they must stock for their customers' convenience.

Mr. Chairman, the subject of retailers excise taxes has been before this committee in one form or another every year since 1941 when the levies were first imposed.

However, I believe that members of this committee might appreciate an outline of the reasons why the 36,000 independent drugstore owners represented by the NARD urge repeal of the retailers excise taxes on toiletries and cosmetics. To have these reasons set forth briefly and clearly may very well be helpful to everyone interested in the subject.

As viewed by independent druggists, the retailers excises on toiletries and cosmetics are:

1. Regressive in that they fall most heavily upon lower income families. This regressive feature, of course, is true of sales taxes generally.

2. Arbitrary and discriminatory. The application of the taxes to certain products but not to others of comparable nature is the rankest kind of economic discrimination and results in competitive injury to both the manufacturer of covered products and to all retailers handling them.

3. No longer serving the purposes for which they were introduced early in World War II. In fact, such purposes no longer make either economic or political sense. The Federal Government should not be trying at this time to discourage the production and consumption of toiletries and cosmetics.

Independent retail druggists find especially burdensome the—

1. Expensive and complicated recordkeeping requirements for collecting and turning over such taxes to the Government.

2. Extreme difficulty in distinguishing between taxable and nontaxable goods, with hundreds of new products coming on the market every year.

3. Frequent, time-consuming, and disruptive store audits conducted by IRS agents.

4. General customer dissatisfaction directed toward such taxes and those who must collect the levies.

Revenue losses from repeal of such taxes will be minimal and will be substantially offset by increased retail sales of products involved and corresponding higher corporate and personal income tax collections.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald, July 22, 1964]

ONE FOR THE GIRLS—GOP AIMS PLANK AT EXCISE TAXES

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Republican platform contains one plank which mixes sex with business in a double-barrelled drive to woo a sizable portion of the electorate.

It pledges removal of the 10-percent wartime Federal excise levies on pens, pencils, jewelry, cosmetics, luggage, handbags, wallets, and toiletries.

A Republican attempt to knock these taxes out of the excise system was crushed on the House floor just a few weeks ago. The GOP this week reaffirmed its conviction that these taxes are onerous and promised to work for their removal for the next 4 years.

Adopting this as part of the platform provided just about the firmest commitment the party can give.

Now, the Republicans are hoping the gals will sit up and take notice.

Republicans took one look at the list—jewelry, cosmetics, luggage, handbags, and toiletries—and decided this was discriminatory because most of these article are bought by the ladies.

This has been the pitch used when the GOP tried to get the taxes repealed on the floor of the House.

They will try to continue this emphasis in the months ahead in an effort to convince female voters that the party has their best interest at heart.

The GOP platform also put the blame for not repealing the tax where it belonged—on the Democrats. President Johnson helped scuttle the Republican drive to repeal these taxes.

He said the revenue was needed—at least for the present.

There are some indications that the Republicans have seized on a pretty good issue. These particular excises are among the ones that most irritate the average consumer.

The biggest portion of the $14 billion excise tax system contains so-called hidden taxes—levies paid at the manufacturing level. These are usually passed on to the customer, but he never knows it.

Independence of Niger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the fourth anniversary of the independence of Niger. On this memorable occasion, I wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Niger, Hamani Diori; and to His Excellency the Ambassador of Niger to the United States, Ary Tanimoune.

Just 4 years ago today the citizens of Niger celebrated their first independence day. This country, located in the heart of West Africa, is the largest of the eight territories that formerly comprised French West Africa and is about the size of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico combined. Its population is about 3.1 million people.

This great land has accomplished much in the past 4 years. It has maintained cordial relations with all its neighbors and with the peace-loving countries of the world. Niger's greatest economic problem is that it is landlocked and has no outlet to the sea. In an attempt to improve its economic situation vis-a-vis the rest of the world, it joined with the Republics of the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, and Dahomey to form the Council of the Entente. This union is partly responsible for the continued growth of all its members and recently it has supervised and coordinated the policies of the four countries in the fields of taxation, public administration, labor legislation, public works, transportation, and communications.

Niger's size is both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, Niger's future is very bright for its economic potential has not been even nearly realized. On the other hand, there are so many people scattered over so wide a territory that economic unity and an organized coherent economic policy is hard to implement. The people of Niger can be proud of their recent accomplishments which suggest that the future will be bright for all Niger's citizens.

The economy of this large African country is based on agricultural production and stock raising. The country's cash economy is centered around the production and export of peanuts, peanut products, and a small amount of cotton, livestock, and livestock products. Industry is limited essentially to companies processing agricultural products, mainly peanuts, and operating a cotton gin. Ninety-seven percent of the population is engaged in farming and stockraising.

Niger's progressive republican Government—both the President and the national assembly are elected by universal suffrage—is currently working toward a more diversified economy. It is hoping to develop its now limited fishing, mining, and manufacturing industries and increase the agricultural production of millet, sorghum, and cotton. In this way the economy will no longer be dependent on the production of peanuts and peanut products.

We are proud today to salute the Government and the people of Niger. They have shown courage and fortitude in facing the many problems which are currently before them. Their progress since their independence has been marked and should serve as an inspiration for the years ahead.

We are proud to pay tribute today to the leaders of Niger: President Diori and Foreign Minister Amadou Mayaki. We wish them all well in the years ahead. May their country prosper and may they continue the stable and enlightened leadership they have demonstrated in the past. All Americans extend their best wishes to the people of Niger on the fourth anniversary of their independence.

Federal Aid Handouts to the Bears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEL CLAWSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, recently a constituent of mine, Mr. Ralph Herbold of Lynwood, Calif., took his family on a trip through the State of Washington, visiting Mount Rainier National Park. He has written to me of his impressions and the parallel he has drawn between Federal aid programs and our national park inhabitants is worthy of consideration. Mr. Herbold's comments were as follows:

While visiting Mount Rainier, we were admonished by the park ranger to refrain from giving handouts to the deer because they lost their initiative and were unable to fend for themselves when no tourists were around; the bears, because they became insolent and demanded more hand-

outs, even using force if necessary to gain what they considered to be their just due; the chipmunks and squirrels, because they tended to all gather together at one place for their gratuities, thereby disturbing nature's balance.

Now, substitute people for animals, the Federal Government for tourists, and Federal aid for handouts, and contemplate upon the ultimate results.

William Jackman, President of the Investor's League, Inc., Testifies in Behalf of Minority Staffing Before Republican Platform Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, William Jackman, president of the Investors League, Inc., with headquarters at 234 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has taken the lead among private citizens in fighting for a more equitable allotment of professional committee staff for the minority party on congressional committees.

Mr. Jackman has long felt the problem of insufficient minority staff is a detriment to the two-party system. He has been working closely with me for many months. In fact, Mr. Jackman is so passionately involved that he asked for and received time before the platform committee of the Republican National Convention in San Francisco on July 7, 1964.

Listen to what Mr. Jackman said:

I have long felt that one of the principal sinews of the strength of our American two-party system of government in America lies in the mutual respect of our majority and minority Members of Congress for each other. Today's majority party may be the minority party of tomorrow. The tendency of today's "majority" to muzzle the "minority" is unfortunate. They should respect each other's views. Our proposed laws should be made only after those who agree and disagree are given a full and equal opportunity to open debate where their divergent views can be made known. No one can always be 100 percent right and the views of the millions of the minority voters must be respected and considered, and ultimately brought to fulfillment by compromising the differing views of people into the laws which are finally enacted.

This sacred bulwark of our two-party system today is being violated in both the House of Representatives and in the Senate.

1. CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE STAFFING

In organizing committees in the Senate, a sincere effort is made to apportion members in ratio to the members of the majority and minority members of the full Senate membership.

In the House, things are different. Most of their important committees are "stacked" by the majority. Their committee memberships far exceed the proportion of their party's total membership in the House. This, in itself, is politically unmoral, but it constitutes only the beginning of the inequity involved.

In a sense, it may well be said that our laws are really made "in committee," and not on the floor. It is almost axiomatic that the vote of the full Senate or House membership is in direct proportion to the vote by the committee members in reporting out the specific bill for vote by the full membership.

What is little understood, however, is the importance of the congressional committee staff members upon whose research and recommendations the committee members in turn make their recommendations. Perhaps it is these staff members who actually shape a good deal of our legislation. Their political power and importance cannot be overemphasized. And we must not overlook the fact that these "lawmakers without portfolio" are appointed and not elected.

The majority party has succeeded in grossly "stacking" these committee staffs with their own followers and completely neglect the rights of the minority. This is the two-party system at its worst. The evil is obvious, and must be corrected if we are to presereve representative government.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 intended to provide for completely nonpartisan staffing. The committee staffs were to be appointed "on a permanent basis without regard to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of office." In spite of this original intention, each committee is empowered to hire and fire its own professional staff by majority vote, with the implicit possibility of majority party authoritarianism. For the most part, the chairman of the committee has become the chief judge of the staffs of that particular committee.

The spirit of nonpartisanship of the Reorganization Act has been flagrantly violated. Only a few committee staffs in the House of Representatives are truly nonpartisan, not in terms of party affiliation but in terms of serving members of both parties equally. On the other committees, the principle of appointment and control of tenure by a majority of the committee has led to virtual tenure by a majority of the committee and virtual control of the staff by the majority chairman and almost exclusive control of its time by the majority party. Democrats outnumber Republicans in the House 3 to 2, yet, leaving "nonpartisan" committees aside, professional committee staff members responsible to the majority outnumber staff responsible to the minority by more than 8 to 1. In the Senate, majority staff members outnumber the minority 12 to 1.

Quite apart from this incredible abuse, it is becoming increasingly clear that the whole concept of nonpartisan staff is inadequate to meet the requirements of an effective Congress. The role of a legislature is unquestionably to discuss and to choose among alternatives. The role of a minority party is first to be an articulate, intelligent and vigorous opposition, and then, as the "loyal opposition," present clear, constructive alternatives to majority proposals in order to facilitate meaningful discussion and sound choices. The role of a congressional committee in our system is to research complex problems and to report back to the Congress. Nothing is gained; in fact much is lost, if committees blur the areas of disagreement or genuine partisanship. If no effective distinction between majority and minority positions is made in committee, meaningful floor debate and problem solving responsible to the public are impossible. Responsibility for a decision cannot be associated with a party position.

Minority staffing is not a partisan issue. Both parties will, from time to time, play the minority role. Therefore, it is unfortunate that in this Congress only Republicans have been working for this reform. Leaders of this reform have pledged that when they become the majority party they will continue to fight for adequate staff for the minority.

Gentlemen, we urge that the platform which you are about to adopt contain a provision that will recommend appropriate legislation be enacted to provide adequate proportional committee staffing to the majority and minority members of all congressional committees.

Mr. Jackman made an impression on the members of the platform committee, and due to his presentation, my own and those by one or two other interested persons, the 1964 Republican Party platform contains the following clause:

[We pledge] a wide-ranging reform of other congressional procedures, including the provision of adequate professional staff assistance for the minority membership on Congressional committees to insure that the power and prestige of Congress remain adequate to the needs of the times.

As I have said many times before, this is a needed reform. It is needed by Democrats. It is needed by Republicans. It is needed by independents. It is needed by all who cherish our two-party system of Government.

Geological Survey Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, seldom in the news, but continuously rendering services of basic an nationwide importance to the people of America, is the U.S. Geological Survey. For example, its work is currently very important in connection with Alaska's reconstruction program, necessitated by the March earthquake and resultant tidal waves and seismic tides. Feeling that this fine agency and the job it is doing for all of us should be more widely understood and appreciated, I take this opportunity to present the text of the speech of Dr. Thomas B. Nolan, Director of the Geological Survey, delivered before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress on June 5, 1964, the subject of which was "Programs of the Geological Survey" and which reads as follows:

ADDRESS OF DIRECTOR BEFORE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, JUNE 5, 1964, PROGRAMS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

It is a real pleasure to appear before the 51st National Convention of the Rivers and Harbors Congress. Although this is my first appearance before you, I feel quite at home for many of your officers and State representatives are men with whom the Geological Survey has had cordial and productive working relationships for many years.

It was suggested that I talk to you on "Programs of the Geological Survey." In doing so, I should like first to provide you with a summary account of our current work. And, second, I would also like to tell you something of the work that needs to be done if the country is to be adequately supplied with knowledge and understanding of the resources of minerals and water that are fundamental to the national economy. I'm

sure that no one in this audience has to be reminded that the growth of the country, as reflected by the gross national product, has been parallel to (and, in my opinion, is dependent on) our use of these natural resources.

In keeping with the conference theme of water resources conservation, I propose to give particular attention to our water resources activities. But I believe you will be interested, too, in brief reviews of progress in the topographic mapping of the country and of advances in the field of engineering geology. These are activities which figure prominently both in the programs of the Geological Survey and in rivers and harbors development.

The Geological Survey is charged with responsibility for the preparation of the topographic map of the United States. The basic objective of the mapping program is to provide adequate topographic maps for the entire United States.

The Survey has been making topographic maps since its organization in 1879. Because of the wide variety of uses to which topographic maps are now put, it is probable that more people are acquainted with the Geological Survey through our topographic maps than through any of the other material that we publish.

As our mapping program now stands, nearly 70 percent of the United States is covered by maps suitable for modern needs. Published maps are available for most of this area on scales of 2,000 feet to the inch (the 7½-minute series) or of approximately a mile to the inch (the 15-minute series). About a tenth of this area is covered by work in progress for which advance prints can be made available.

We have developed plans in consultation with representatives of map-using organizations to complete nationwide coverage in either the 7½- or 15-minute series by the end of 1976. These plans take on an element of urgency in light of the additional cost of planning and construction in places where adequate maps are not available. It is, of course, impossible to accurately determine the savings that will accrue on completion of the national mapping program, but I have seen one estimate that the additional annual cost to the Nation for not having adequate map coverage was $150 million. Regardless of the exact figure, however, I believe it is clear that accurate maps are as essential to land and resource development as charts are to navigation. "Flying blind" can be both costly and dangerous.

Work of the Survey in the field of geology provides the foundation for detailed work by private interests in the exploration and development of minerals and mineral fuels, and assists the construction planners and engineers in the job of applying geologic knowledge and understanding to problems of landslides, building materials, and the design and construction of tunnels and foundations. The Survey does not regard its mission to be the exploration for or development of individual mineral deposits nor the solution of specific problems of engineering geology involved in construction of a dam or tunnel. Rather we attempt to aid those who do, by the development of principles and by providing geologic maps and reports on the results of our investigations.

The main objectives of our program in engineering geology are to: (1) provide information on the properties and behavior of rock, as these affect engineering construction, (2) determine sources of construction materials, foundation conditions, and earth properties that may have some bearing on land utilization for engineering purposes in the vicinity of dams and other heavy construction projects, (3) provide geologic data useful in planning and constructing highways, and (4) undertake research on geologic phenomena such as earthquakes, mud flows, subsidence, and slope stability. The significanee of this work was recently emphasized by the Anchorage earthquake. A report on the conditions at Anchorage was published by the Survey about 5 years ago in which hazards were identified but I am not aware that the warnings received much attention. Awareness of the geologic conditions is now having a very real impact on reconstruction at Anchorage and other areas of damage in Alaska.

Much has been written in the newspapers and in the technical literature and there has been considerable discussion before congressional committees on the importance of water and on the growing water problems of the Nation. Your presence here and the theme of your conference are further evidence of this concern over water. The development of our water resources is one of the largest single activities in the United States. It already involves an annual expenditure of about $10 billion. As the magnitude and importance of this expenditure is of direct concern to this organization, I believe it will be appropriate for me to go into substantially more detail in discussing the water resources activities of the Survey.

The Geological Survey has no responsibility to develop water, or control it, or manage it. Our job is to gain both information on water as a natural resource and an understanding of its relationship to its environment. This is accomplished by: (1) collecting basic facts concerning the location, quantity, and quality of surface and ground water, (2) studying potential or existing water resource problems, and (3) conducting research on the fundamental principles of hydrology and related fields.

We have about 2,500 people in the Water Resources Division and about half of these are engineers, geologists, and chemists. A large proportion of the remainder are technicians who assist in the field and in the laboratory.

Another gage of our activities in water resources is money and its source. The Water Resources Division budget for this year is around $36 million, of which half is from direct Federal appropriation, more than $10 million from States and municipalities, and the remainder from a dozen or so other Federal agencies.

There are more than 300 State and municipal agencies with which the Survey cooperates in water resources investigations. As I indicated earlier, a number of you here are heads of agencies that have cooperative programs with the Survey and are aware of the importance of the Federal-State cooperative program in building and maintaining our water resources information.

The network of data collection sites which is the basic framework of these programs includes nearly 8,000 streamflow stations. Various aspects of water quality are sampled regularly at 1,300 places, many of them at the same location as those at which discharge measurements are made. Ground water levels are under observation at about 3,000 sites. Through the years, streamflow records have become available at more than 10,000 sites and a little more than 30 percent of the United States has been covered by ground water studies.

The intensification of water problems, their growing complexity, and the increasing number of active agencies in this field have caused us to take a new look at our responsibilities. First of all, we have had to find out if our overall water resources program was of sufficient breadth to meet the needs ahead. The nature of water problems and the large numbers of Federal, State, and local agencies seeking solutions to their problems meant, too, that communications would have to be improved if we are to keep abreast of the needs of others and of progress in their work as it relates to our job. More to the point, we realized that the collection of basic data must be accelerated and coordinated to satisfy the needs of the active Federal agencies and of the more than 300 State and local agencies which look to the Survey for most of the basic streamflow, ground water, and water quality information used for design, construction and management of water resources projects.

Last spring, we mailed copies of a preliminary draft of a long-range plan to several hundred individuals representing a cross section of the users of Survey products, and asked for their comments and suggestions as to how the proposed objectives and schedule to attain these objectives fitted in with their plans. We sought advice as to ways our programs could be modified to be of maximum benefit to them.

In this long-range plan for water resources investigation, we attempted to lay out a framework rather than a detailed set of plans. The framework provided first for an accelerated basic data collection program. Important though this work is, it is not generally sufficient in itself. The plan, therefore, proposed a parallel increase in analyzing and interpreting the data, including appraisals of the overall water supply situation, investigationg the impact of water development and use on quantity and quality of the supply, reporting on the regional aspects of low-flow and floodflow factors, and studying river systems in their entirety.

This aspect of the plan recognizes that water is an integral part of the natural environment: any changes in the regimen of streams, or in ground water aquifers that are brought about by regulation or management of water bring with them corollary changes in other parts of the water system. Oftentimes, the ultimate success of water projects will depend upon our ability to predict such changes and to provide for them in advance. Often too, their nature and extent may play an important role in deciding between alternative plans for development. The foresight that can come from understanding of the whole pattern of water's relationship to its environment will, I'm convinced, repay many times the investment in this portion of our plan.

The response to our long-range plan for accelerated basic data collection, analytic work, and research was excellent. Many constructive suggestions were made which have been included in a final draft of the plan.

On the accelerated basic data aspects of the plan, there still remained the problem of collecting and publishing data in a manner that would meet the requirements of the users most effectively. We invited representatives of the Federal agency users of these data to meet with us in January of this year, and give us their ideas on how well existing types of basic data met their needs and to hear their suggestions as to how the basic data program could best be modified to make it even more serviceable—whether certain data now on hand should be published, new kinds of data collected, etc. We were anxious to know, too, how the proposed accelerated program could be best put into effect to improve network coverage of gaging stations and the kinds of quality data collected.

This was a productive 2-day meeting. It is being followed up by meetings with individual Federal agencies to enable us to gain a better insight into water resources problems as they see them.

Although we have traditionally had close ties with State and local water agencies through the cooperative programs and have felt that we were abreast of their requirements, we have sought the advice and counsel of the State people through organizations representing the collective interests of the States. Again, the response is gratifying and we have the benefit of improved communication with groups such as the Association of Western State Engineers, Coun-

cil of State Governments, and the Association of American State Geologists, to name only a few.

Out of our long-range plan and discussions at all levels of government on the accelerated basic data collection program, there is emerging the concept of a national network to provide basic water data to serve Federal, State, local, and other needs. Such a network would not only centralize the collection of general purpose water data, but would establish the organizational means to coordinate both Federal and non-Federal needs, and to furnish data and information about availability of data. We believe this concept holds great promise for improving the economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of data collection.

I have attempted to give you a general outline of the work of the Geological Survey with particular emphasis on programs and hopes for the future in our water resources activities. Although I must confess to a certain amount of prejudice, I feel that our work is an important and essential prerequisite to the efficient and economical development of our natural resources, and that this in turn is fundamental to the growth of our national economy. If any of you have suggestions for improvement or would like to explore further anything I have said, I will be delighted to hear from you. Thank you for the opportunity to be with you today.

A Treacherous Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed refreshing to have a member of the clergy like Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, speak out so forcefully on the question of communism and the dangers inherent in the practice of coexistence which, from all appearances, is the only program recommended and followed by our State Department. His article "A Treacherous Truce" published in the Washington Star of July 26, 1964, follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT: A TREACHEROUS TRUCE
(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate)

In all directions the word now being broadcast is that there is to be a "letup" in tensions so far as the threat of communism is concerned. The cold war is to be made at least lukewarm. Let us stop irritating the Kremlin den of thieves by constantly talking about captive nations. This altered attitude seems to be based on alleged changes which are going on in the Soviet Union and on the quarrel which has erupted between Red China and Red Russia. Both these assumptions are loaded with dangerous boobytraps for the free world. The truth is that whatever changes are evolving in the U.S.S.R. are going on in a controlled police state and are allowed because they strengthen the regime and further the unalterable objective of world domination.

The bitter division in the world policy among the members of the Communist bloc has to do, not with the desires of one school of thought to be kinder to the West than the other, but because there is a radical difference as to the methods by which the flame of freedom is to be extinguished everywhere. Their idea of coexistence is just an ominous lull in the war they are confident of winning.

It is because of that war-to-the-death policy of the most blasphemous system humanity has ever known that across the sky of this free land is written the fiery warning that the one burning issue of these days of destiny is not peace as many assume: It is freedom. A passion for a spurious peace, when there is no just and righteous peace, finally degenerates into the coward's whine, "Better Red than dead."

The menace of the godless conspiracy of communism is so real and so near that it is a tragedy when pulpits become sounding boards for a so-called peace which is divorced from righteousness. It is tragically true that in America today there are religious leaders advocating the kind of peace which is the objective of Soviet propaganda. They foster a false calm which they call peace, ignoring the dire fact that, as Secretary of State Rusk puts it, "With the Soviet Union peace becomes a word to describe whatever condition will promote their world revolution."

What is being said in some religious quarters of this free land, and from some pulpits, utterly ignores the testimony of Dr. Arthur Voobus, who, in his native Estonia, saw the liquidation of everything for which the Christian Church stands. The methods employed brought no protest from the church in the land of the bandits. From his present theological chair in Chicago this man of God cries out to those who seek accommodation with these betrayers of the Great Head of the Church, "The Soviet rule extirpates every human value, obliterates the voice of conscience, violates the sense of morality, uproots human virtues, and erases freedom of thought." How can anyone in our free land who prizes liberty, and unrestrained opportunity to practice and proclaim one's faith, agree to soft-pedal heinous methods which betray and deny the things we hold most dear?

Unfortunately the chief social concern of many top denominational officials, largely out of intimate touch with the masses of church members, is to exhort that in most public questions the church take the first turn to the left. There is a plentiful supply of literature aimed at brainwashing the local churches, as its members are propagandized to pursue the paths they are directed to take. When any public question is aired, representatives of many churches, joined in common council, are always there to announce that they speak for so many millions of church members. They do nothing of the kind. The megaphones they put to their lips often broadcast only their individual opinions without reference to the thinking of the millions who make up the church membership of the nation. In the present titanic global battle for the bodies and souls of men, the voices of such church-labeled organizations are strangely muted. Espousing "coexistence," they warn the government to go slow in any action which tends to arouse the ire of dictator regimes. In such mistaken attitudes we cannot forget that the churches of England were told by their leaders to applaud when a Prime Minister took an umbrella to Munich—and no righteous sword—and a glorious little democracy in the midst of Europe was thrown to the wolves. That nation is in chains now because of a perfidy committed for "Peace in our time."

A world organization of churches has even embraced as Christian colleagues puppets of the subservient Russian church who, as echoes of their master's voice, acquiesced in vile and violent and untrue accusations against the United States when in Korea it flung its righteous might against the atheistic Communist juggernaut.

Whatever menace to the freedom of the world the Chinese dragon may present in the future, it is the Russian bear which is now the present global threat. For that ruthless beast, as with us, it is all or nothing. In this crisis may the God of all truth give us a new breed of Rudyard Kiplings to see clearly in this grim day what he discerned almost three quarters of a century ago concerning that same marauding bear. It was then that this prophet-poet warned:

"When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near,
When he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise,
When he veils the hate and cunning of his little, swinish eyes,
When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,
That is the time of peril, the time of the truce of the bear."

Report of Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks a copy of the report of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, as submitted to and approved by the 51st National Convention of this organization which met in Washington on June 5, 1964. I again had the honor of serving as chairman of this committee. The meeting of the committee was well attended, and the discussion of irrigation and reclamation problems was most interesting and helpful. I want to commend J. W. Grimes, vice chairman of the committee; Ival Goslin, secretary; and William E. Welsh, executive director of the National Reclamation Association, for their splendid work in preparing this report.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to also include a list of the members of this committee, as follows:

NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

Chairman, Congressman J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, of Colorado.

Vice Chairman, J. W. Grimes, Pierre, S. Dak., executive officer, State Water Resources Commission.

Secretary, Ival V. Goslin, Salt Lake City, Utah, executive director, Upper Colorado River Commission.

ATTENDANCE

Ralph Adkins, manager, Land & Water Department, Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp., Pueblo, Colo.

Lloyd Reed, Soil Conservation Service, Washington, D.C.

Dan S. Jones, director, Nebraska Department Water Resources, Lincoln, Nebr.

Homer Faseler, manager, Teniente Water District, Raymondville, Tex.

Mark Redford, manager, Hidalgo and Willacy County Water District No. 1, Edcouch, Tex.

A. M. Ward, Arizona Interstate Stream Commission, Casa Grande, Ariz.

Sam S. Studebaker, Agriculture Advisory Committee, Ohio Water Commission, Tipp City, Ohio.

Douglas R. Stanfield, Executive Vice President, Ohio Farm Bureau, Federal, Columbus, Ohio.

Otha F. Dent, Texas Water Commission, Austin, Tex.

Richard B. Hellstrom, Assistant to Secretary of State (Florida), Tallahassee, Fla.

Frank W. Reams, Roanoke River Basin Association, Warrenton, N.C.

W. B. Camp, president, W. B. Camp, Inc., Bakersfield, Calif.

Charles W. Blaney, Ellicott Machine Corp., Baltimore, Md.

Robert F. Ripley, city of Norfolk, Norfolk, Va.

Merwin Wagner, Orange County Water District, Placentia, Calif.

F. W. Bergner, State of Wyoming, Buffalo, Wyo.

Claude E. Hunter, city of Reno, Reno, Nev.

Morley E. Fox, Central Arizona Project Association, Phoenix, Ariz.

Thos. W. Jensen, Utah Water Users Association, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Clarence A. Davis, State of Montana, Washington, D.C.

Fred J. Fredrickson, North Dakota State Water Commission, Bismarck, N. Dak.

Marshall N. Dana, Public Docks Commission, Portland, Oreg.

William E. Welsh, National Reclamation Association, Washington, D.C.

Robert T. Lingle, Pecos River Commission, Carlsbad, N. Mex.

I. J. Coury, chairman, New Mexico Interstate Stream Commission, Farmington, N. Mex.

Robert T. Chuck, Division of Water and Land Development, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Warren Fairchild, Nebraska Soil and Water Conservation Committee, Lincoln, Nebr.

Mr. Speaker, the report of the committee follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

INTRODUCTION

(By Ival V. Goslin, secretary)

The Irrigation and Reclamation Committee was established in 1957 for the purpose of formulating and supporting general policies and programs for the continued orderly development of reclamation and irrigation as part of conservation and utilization of our Nation's water supplies. The committee was directed to recommend ways and means whereby the National Rivers and Harbors Congress may actively support reclamation and irrigation development and coordinate such interests with other phases of the national water resources program.

It is gratifying to note that membership on the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee includes nationwide representation in keeping with the spirit of a special recommendation of this committee in its 1963 report.

Irrigation and reclamation developments are seldom built as single purpose projects. Such developments are now planned and constructed as parts of basinwide, multiple-purpose concepts which include flood control, navigation, electric power, pollution control, municipal and industrial water supplies, recreation, fish and wildlife and other purposes. These combinations of purposes require continuing public understanding of the multitude of interrelating factors that constitute multiple-purpose basinwide planning. It is not sufficient to understand only the present water needs in specific localities. The future needs of the people in entire river basins or regions have become fundamental concepts for project evaluation. It is important to remember that these basin or regional components constitute national water resources development.

Our broadening concepts for development of the Nation's water resources can no longer be limited to fixed patterns of water use. Basin-wide, multiple-purpose projects must be adaptable to changes in land and water use.

These broad concepts are recognized by the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. The attitude and accomplishments of this organization constitute progress and reflect the value of united approach.

IRRIGATION PROJECTS ARE MULTIPLE PURPOSE

Under Federal and State laws, the term "irrigation project" has far-reaching meanings which are not reflected by the name. Under Federal reclamation laws, Federal investments in irrigation development are justified only if feasible irrigation opportunities exist and owners of irrigable land undertake contractual payments on the investment, assume responsibility for operation and maintenance, and obligate themselves in other particulars. Upon establishment of feasibility, Federal investments in project features are provided for municipal and industrial water, recreation opportunities, fish and wildlife enhancement, pollution abatement, and other purposes. Regulation of, and supplements to, low streamflow are inherent results of such irrigation projects. Water is made available in areas which otherwise are doomed to only a fraction of their optimum potential.

Congressman WAYNE N. ASPINALL, chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, told the House in a major policy speech on May 26, 1964:

"Modern multipurpose reclamation projects embrace the range of beneficial uses of water resource, and provide the optimum number of services consistent with present and anticipated future needs of the local areas, regions, and river basins. Among these services are the provision of needed water supplies to agricultural lands suitable for sustained irrigation; generation of low-cost hydroelectric power; conservation of water to fill domestic, municipal, and industrial needs; control of floods and prevention of flood damages; enhancement of recreation and fish and wildlife resources; prevention and abatement of water pollution; regulation of riverflow, and other services."

Other than repayment requirements, there is little difference in Federal policies as applied to multiple-purpose irrigation projects from those applied to other Federal water resources developments.

IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION ARE IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Irrigation projects create new, additional, renewable economic bases for the project area, the State, the region, and the Nation. They are stabilizing islands in vast areas of our country whose principal economic problem is a wide fluctuation of gross annual income. Not only the irrigators, but all people become beneficiaries. Here are the living quarters for the expanding population, new businesses, new jobs, opportunities for the young. This is not local economic development; this is the Nation's business.

The irrigated regions of the Nation include the most rapidly growing sectors of our economy. The continued sound economic growth of the country—West and East—depends to a large degree upon the successful development and wise use of our water resources. Their development requires and justifies large but profitable investments to render their wise use fully productive in the national economy. In the scheme of water utilization to increase the Nation's stature on all fronts, the reclamation program occupies a unique place.

Our rapidly increasing population dictates that we will need more irrigated lands in the near future. In its projections to the year 1980, the Department of Agriculture has said that we will need to irrigate 8.7 million acres of additional lands. This is approximately equal to the total Federal reclamation acreage developed in the past 62 years.

Fortunately irrigated lands have proved to be among our most valuable and efficient lands. Furthermore, irrigation provides the most effective alternative to the surplus crop problem by offering the farmer an opportunity to produce high-value crops for a competitive market. Irrigated lands have earned their reputation as highly efficient producers of a wide variety of food and fiber products to satisfy a large proportion of our needs. Irrigated lands are capable of producing more than 150 different crops under intensive and competitive resource utilization.

Pockets of poverty, against which the national administration is waging an unrelenting fight, do not exist in irrigable areas with adequate reclamation developments. Modern multipurpose reclamation projects create stable, powerful local and regional economies that more than pay their own way and, as a bonus, strengthen the economic and social posture of the United States in the family of nations.

Many irrigation projects are located in sections of our country that may be designated the last frontiers for natural outdoor recreation and fish and wildlife opportunities. Irrigation reservoirs and water distribution systems enhance these opportunities for recreation.

The Federal reclamation program should be made available throughout the Nation.

COORDINATION IS NEEDED

Basic problems associated with water resources development vary with climatic, geographical and social conditions in our Nation. In recent years many analyses, public and private, have advocated widespread coordination of effort by all interests in solving these problems. Fully coordinated action among Federal agencies, among State agencies and among Federal and State agencies is lacking. Public understanding of the various interrelated aspects of multiple-purpose water resources development is meager. Current needs and emergencies too often become the basis for piecemeal project construction.

Special interests advocate project authorization and construction without regard for, or understanding of, related purposes and needs. Irrigation projects, as well as projects proposed under other Federal authorizing laws, are influenced by such lack of coordinated effort. Enormous accomplishments in this field are possible.

Emphasis is being placed on comprehensive river basin and regional planning for water and related land resources development by Federal and State agencies. Comprehensive plans provide a guide for interrelated water resources development and management.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress recommends support for the following policies for multiple-purpose water resources development projects where irrigation is one of the purposes.

1. Basinwide or regional multiple-purpose, water conservation and water use development should be the primary objective.

2. All benefits, direct and indirect, should be evaluated in order that the full worth to the people in the river basin, region, and the Nation may be known. All increased revenues to the Federal Treasury should be recognized in support of Federal investments.

3. All worthwhile purposes, present and future, should be fully evaluated, coordinated and set forth in proposals for Federal water resources projects.

4. More realistic and uniform criteria for project evaluation consistent with modern

technology and our expanding economy are urgently needed.

5. The Congress of the United States should continue to establish the policies and criteria under which all Federal water resources projects will be authorized and built.

6. Procedures under which Federal water resources projects are investigated and reported should be simplified.

7. The use of revenues derived from electric power phases of river basin facilities to assist in the repayment of irrigation project costs has proven beneficial and should be continued.

8. The use of conservancy-type districts capable of taxing all project beneficiaries has proved to be of great value in sponsoring water projects and in enhancing their financial feasibility. The creation and use of these districts under State law should be encouraged.

9. Federal water resources projects should be developed in conformity with State water laws.

10. All costs of investigating Federal water resources developments, including those for reclamation and irrigation, should be nonreimbursable in recognition of the principle that the evaluation of such developments is in the national interest.

11. The conservation and development of the Nation's water and land resources should be accelerated in a continuous and efficient manner to assure present uses and to provide for anticipated future needs.

SUMMARY

The above principles and recommendations are hereby presented to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress with the request that full support be given to all aspects of multiple-purpose development and utilization of the Nation's water resources.

The committee on irrigation and reclamation recommends adoption of this report.

Uncle Sam, Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, those of us who believe in the development of free enterprise view with alarm the encroachment of the Federal Government in new areas, and especially where such important constitutional guarantees as a free press and free speech are involved.

The Department of Agriculture, whose interests have so frequently been suspect as between the farmer, the consumer, and the general public, now shows surprising concern in controlling the country's press through a creature of its own imagination called the Farm News Wire Service.

Just why $135,000, the requested additional appropriation for this questionable activity, is needed is far from obvious since this service can be had for the asking from regular and long-existing news channels.

Are we now to have a separate wire service at taxpayers' expense for each and every branch of this sprawling bureaucracy called the Federal Government with no other purpose than to control and slant the ordinary flow of governmental news to the public?

One of my farsighted editors, Maj. Albert S. Callan, publisher of the Chatham Courier, of Chatham, N.Y., has very promptly expressed some substantial views in an editorial, which I am pleased to submit herewith:

UNCLE SAM, EDITOR

The Deparament of Agriculture has set up its own wire service called the Farm News Wire Service, to be leased directly to newspapers bypassing the existing privately owned wire services.

We have frequently pointed out that each step taken by government into an area of private business is soon followed by swarms of bureaucrats laying down rules and regulations hampering the growth of free enterprise. Some call this creeping socialism.

Since the Agriculture Department now has its own wire service, what is to prevent other Government agencies from doing the same? Soon there will be a labor news service, a justice news service, a war news service, a commerce news service, a presidential news service, and finally a total nationalized news service with the Government writing, dictating, and censoring all news as it sees fit.

The potential danger to the free press as posed by this Farm News Wire Service cannot be shrugged off as harmless or nothing to get excited about. If the Government can bypass the free news services then the temptation to "color" news to make all Government activities appear favorable and necessary for the people cannot be avoided.

A free press unhampered by Government is the mightiest weapon the people have against tyranny.

Perhaps we have stretched this point—but it was needed to emphasize the inherent danger that this Government wire service poses.

The Farm News Wire Service should be shut down at once before the Government gets a firm foothold in an area that belongs exclusively to the free press.

Happy Birthday to a Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Herb Plambeck, one of the Nation's best farm reporters, recently devoted his weekly newspaper column to the Hahn farm in Scott County, Iowa, which has been in the same family for 100 years.

This is a significant milestone and worthy of note because the story of the Hahn farm is a story of agriculture in the Midwest from homesteading on the virgin prairie to the highly mechanized and diversified farming of today.

Agriculture in the United States has achieved its eminence as the most efficient and productive system in the world through the contributions of families like the Hahns who have dedicated themselves to the soil and its productivity.

I am sure my colleagues will find much of interest in this capsule history of a century of farming on the Hahn farm in Scott County, Iowa. Under leave to extend my remarks I insert Herb Plambeck's column, "Happy Birthday to a Farm," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO A FARM

A century-old farm is observing its 100th birthday anniversary in Scott County this weekend. Just 100 years ago Saturday, Wulff Hahn, who emigrated from Germany in 1847 and became a pioneer homesteader, bought a tract of land that has been in the Hahn family ever since.

Wulff Hahn, the great-grandfather of the present farm owner, Harry P. Hahn, had an exciting life. Wulff was himself the great-grandson of Graf Hahn von Moeklenberg, a German count and extensive landowner. However, Wulff and his bride, Gretje, a member of the Stoltenberg family, were not satisfied with the lack of opportunity in Germany, so they set sail from Hamburg on an old sailing vessel. Fifty-seven days later they were in New Orleans, and then by river boat to Scott County shores.

The new settlers, including members of the Klindt, Arp, Moeller, Ladehoff, Stoltenberg, and Lage families, as well as the Hahns, quickly set out to find land. Wulff and Gretje Hahn were able to get a 40-acre homestead from the Government at $1.25 per acre. The first thing they did was build a log cabin, doing every bit of the work themselves.

Indians and wolves were common sights in those days. Bands of red men, most of them friendly, frequently roamed by. Wolves prowled near the home, and howled menacingly through the night. Gretje never worked more than a few feet from her baby's crib. * * * Money was scarce. Wulff walked to work at a plow factory every day to earn for family needs and to acquire a few farm tools, a cow, and some horses.

Four children were born in the tiny log cabin, including Henry Thies Hahn, the oldest son, who later became owner and operator of the family farm. Wulff Hahn must have worked hard in clearing the land and making it productive. Eight years after buying the 40 acres for a total of $50, he sold the 40 for $2,000—a neat profit. He immediately reinvested in a larger farm, called the Rosenhof, near Probstei.

Trying experiences were common. Work was hard. Disease was prevalent. A 4-year-old son died of diphtheria. One evening, en route from her sister's home 8 miles away, Gretje became hopelessly lost in tall prairie grass. She managed to find refuge in a haystack, while wolves howled nearby.

Hard work paid off, though. By 1864, Wulff Hahn had scraped up enough to buy the present farm and yet retain the Rosenhof, where two more children were reared. More corn was grown, with harvesting often done in deep snow and continuing to Christmastime. One year the family finished the potato harvest in time for the Goose Ball. While dancing and other festivities went on inside, a cold wave struck outside, and all the potatoes froze.

A community tradition was started by the elder Hahn. Proud of the reputation he had as a good neighbor, he helped found Scott County's first fire insurance group, was a pioneer in mutual and cooperative efforts, was active in the German-American Pioneers Association, helped form the "Liedertofel," a singing society, and helped serve his adopted home community in every possible way.

Henry Hahn carried on the family farm tradition. He married Emma Lage and they started farming in 1881. Soon thereafter he, too, became active in community work, serving as president of the school board, township trustee, justice of the peace, and in the Grange and the KP lodge.

Farming was changing during Henry Hahn's tenure. Self-binders replaced the old reapers. Threshers made flails obsolete. Steampower was introduced. Rural free delivery mail was welcomed. Farmers started to organize through the Grange, etc.

An Indian feast was one of Henry T. Hahn's fondest recollections. He often told how the Indian tribe living nearby invited him to partake of stew. When it was Hahn's turn to take the ladle, the chief said, "Dig deep, puppy at bottom."

The family increased while Henry and Emma lived on the farm. Six children were born to them, including Grover W., who took over the Hahn homestead in 1911, right after he was married to Emma Meinert, of near Maysville. Bruno, another son, also farmed near the home place.

Grover Hahn, third-generation owner, was also a good steward and a community leader. He worked with farm equipment firms in testing new machines, cooperated with extension service projects, was one of the county's first hybrid seed corn producers, and was active in the Grange, Farm Bureau, school board, Kiwanis Clubs, etc. Always a good neighbor, Grover Hahn, Sr., encouraged 4–H and other farm youth activities.

Four more Hahns were welcome on the old homestead by Grover and his wife. Frances, the oldest, was a rural teacher before marrying a farm editor. Grover Jr., an Iowa State University graduate and athlete, served 5 years in World War II and then became Polk County agricultural extension director. He is now in Ethiopia on a State Department mission. Harry, the second son, carried on the farm tradition. Gertrude, youngest daughter, married an Indianapolis insurance executive.

The Iowa husking contest was held on the Hahn farm in 1935, with an estimated 15,000 spectators watching Elmer Carlson set a new shucking record in 90-bushel-per-acre corn. Carlson then went on to win the national crown. In 1940, an international plowing contest was held on the Hahn farm, with a Canadian farmer winning the title.

Harry Hahn, the present owner, purchased the 240-acre tract in 1951, and quickly achieved remarkable production of livestock and crops. As many as 100 tons of pork, 35 tons of beef, and 20,000 bushels of corn were produced annually until 1958, when the highway commission took 158 acres for interstate road purposes. Retained was 82 acres, which includes the 100-year-old farmstead with its remodeled, fully-modernized home, a new cattle barn, hog barn, cribs, etc. Since then the younger Hahn has purchased 279 acres in two nearby farms.

Four-H Club work has been highly emphasized on the Hahn farm. All four children of Emma and Grover Sr. were active. Frances, Harry, and Grover Jr. all won State and national honors. More recently, the daughters of Fern and Harry Hahn also won many 4–H honors, with their sons, Dick and Jim, the fifth generation to live on the farm, just starting club work. Harry's wife, Fern, herself a former club member, has served as a 4–H leader, and Iowa Master Homemaker.

"And Now He Rests"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem in tribute to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, written by Miss Marty Hale, of Steubenville, Ohio:

AND NOW HE RESTS

(Commemorating the passing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur)

And now he rests—his work on earth is done
His last command is given and obeyed;
His crushed hat and his many, many pipes
Now mark the hallowed spot where he is laid;
A soldier all his life the general wore
His five stars till he gently passed from sight
A soldier to the end he bravely wore
The peaceful smile of legendary knight;
A world paid homage to his memory;
I well remember that I heard him say
Old soldiers never die—so he will live in history
And never fade away.
His was a life of service freely given,
A service that the world could well applaud;
A man who never left his charted course
A soldier who surrendered but to God.

—MARTY HALE.

Testimony Given by Hal Prince Before the Ways and Means Committee Urging That the 10-Percent Federal Admissions Tax on Live Dramatic Performances Be Abolished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee has been holding hearings on excise taxes including proposed legislation such as my bill, H.R. 2518, to repeal the 10-percent admissions tax on live dramatic performances.

This morning the Ways and Means Committee heard testimony from a distinguished New Yorker, a constituent and old friend of mine, Hal Prince, president of the National Association of the Legitimate Theatre, Inc. Mr. Prince is also president of the League of New York Theatres, Inc. He is the theatrical producer of "The Pajama Game," "Damn Yankees," "New Girl in Town," "West Side Story," "Fiorello," "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum," "She Loves Me," and others.

Mr. Prince has also had some failures and knows the dangers and the difficulties of the business that he is in.

Hal Prince as a successful producer came up the hard way—typist, bit player, staff manager, and other chores in the theater before he became a successful producer on his own.

I am pleased to place in the RECORD the excellent testimony supplied by Hal Prince for the Ways and Means Committee:

STATEMENT OF HAROLD PRINCE, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE LEGITIMATE THEATER, INC., AND THE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK THEATERS, INC., SUPPORTING REPEAL OF SECTION 4233.1 OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS, AUGUST 3, 1964

My name is Harold Prince, and I have been a theatrical producer since 1954, when I copresented "The Pajama Game." Before that time I served backstage in every conceivable production capacity from "go-fer" (the fellow who goes-fer anything which requires going-fer) to typist, bit player, understudy, and assistant to and finally full stage manager.

Since "The Pajama Game," I have produced by myself or in conjunction with others "Damn Yankees," "New Girl in Town," "West Side Story," "Fiorello," "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum," "She Loves Me," and am currently producing "Fiddler on the Roof."

I omit three other productions simply because they would be unknown even to the most initiated theater-buff: 3 epic flops in 11 tries.

I believe I am qualified to illustrate in terms of my own experience the rapid increase in costs of production and operation and simultaneously the alarming decrease in profits.

Somewhat reluctantly, because I'm sure it's apparent to you gentlemen, I note that role the professional theater plays in the culture for our free community; the playwrights, the designers, the actors who are nurtured there, in a competitive unsubsidized, and consequently unshackled industry. These are people, many of whom might very comfortably find security in motion pictures, radio or television, but who instead choose the hazardous path of professional theater.

Unless we find some way (or ways) to counteract the present cost-price squeeze, they and their industry, professional theater in the United States, face eventual annihilation.

In 1954, "The Pajama Game" cost $169,000 to produce. At capacity, it grossed $52,000 weekly and at capacity made an average weekly profit of $14,000. Ultimately, it distributed to its investors their share in a profit of almost $2 million.

In 1964—10 years later—my new musical, "Fiddler on the Roof," will cost at least $375,000 to produce, will gross $75,000 weekly at capacity, and the average weekly profit at capacity will be $11,000.

If the show is a success, the projected profit distribution is well under that of "The Pajama Game," because of the decrease in numbers of people attending legitimate theater.

The cost of the best orchestra seat in 1954 was $6.90. Today that ticket is priced at $9.90. In other words, a 50-percent increase. Now wonder we have less theater goers.

Let me point out that the attractions I compare have about the same number of people on payroll, the same amount of scenery, the same number of costumes. Neither is an extravaganza.

So, in a 10 year period, the cost of producing the same musical has more than doubled. The weekly operating expense is up 30 percent. And the weekly profit is down almost 30 percent.

All of this in only ten years. Go back 20 years. In 1944, the average musical was capitalized at $100,000. "Oklahoma" cost $85,000 to produce, "Carousel," $95,000.

Today the average musical is capitalized at between $400,000 and $450,000.

My own experience is largely confined to musicals, but the spine of theater is in nonmusical plays; what of them? The figures here are more astonishing.

Twenty years ago, a drama cost from $15,000 to $20,000. Today the same play is capitalized at between $100,000 and $125,000.

How has this affected our output? The number of new productions in the season of 1943–44 totaled 97. In 1963–64, the total was 63. Thirty percent off.

If new plays and musicals have suffered, touring attractions, too, reflect the depression. The earliest available statistics show that in the season of 1948–49 there were 35 attractions playing during the biggest single week in the United States, exclusive of Broadway, of course. Last year there were 21. In 1948, 1,152 weeks of theater were played outside of New York. Last year, the total was 846.

Not only has our decreased audience affected business out of town, but the fewer the number of successes on Broadway, the

less likelihood of financing touring companies.

All of this has affected the number of legitimate theaters operating in our country. Up-to-date figures were not available to me at this time, but a well-informed guess is that we have lost 20 percent of our legitimate houses outside of New York in the past 10 years.

Added interesting, if depressing, statistics: Over 75 percent of the new productions fail to recover their original investments. And out of every $2 invested in the theater, only $1 is returned.

I believe these figures are many times more convincing than any personal exhortations I might press on you.

However, allowing myself a brief one, I should like to point out that in my opinion the admissions tax is a harsh, discriminatory, and quite unnecessary burden on an otherwise overburdened industry.

"Industry" never seems realistically applicable to our business of putting on plays. We are a cultural endeavor; big words, but surely more accurate. And no other form of cultural endeavor in this country—I speak of concerts and operas specifically—is subject to this or similar type taxation.

As president of the League of New York Theaters and the National Association of the Legitimate Theater, I address you not in behalf of subsidy (on the contrary), but to request that we be allowed to turn back to the theatergoer, the benefit of a 10-percent reduction in the price of theater tickets, which decrease might well bring back to us some portion of the audience we have lost these last few years, not only in New York but across the United States.

The Lindsay bill, H.R. 2518, which abolishes the 10-percent admissions tax, is worthy of support and should be enacted.

The Communist Goal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, using socialism in their usual smokescreen fashion Communists in Moscow in 1961 said:

The Socialist world is expanding; the capitalist world is shrinking. Socialism will inevitably succeed capitalism everywhere. Such is the objective law of social development. Communist Party Programme, Moscow, 1961.

Despite statements such as the above, there are many supposedly intelligent people in this Nation who refuse to believe that the Communists are in any way actively attempting to subvert our Government and our way of life. They insist that the Communists have changed and no longer want to take over the world; that they are now following a line of truly peaceful coexistence.

The truth is that Khrushchev boasts "We shall bury you" and the Party Line explains that "peaceful coexistence allows Communists in capitalist lands to lead the masses to their liberation." Lenin, in one of his most famous tracts, stated:

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie * * * to refuse to temporize and compromise * * * to utilize the conflict of interests among one's enemies * * * is * * * ridiculous in the extreme.

Yet complacent Americans, secure in the knowledge of our powerful military defense, refuse to listen to the voices that warn them that that war is not the only means by which the Communists can and work to conquer the world.

An article in the Fort Lauderdale News of July 28 illustrates most effectively that Americans have become so complacent and Communists so brazenly aware of this that we now see and hear avowed Communists on national television accusing our law enforcement agencies of terroristic tactics and literally inciting riot. How can we remain apathetic to such a blatant threat?

Under unanimous consent I include this fine editorial by Jack McGove at this point in the RECORD.

WHEN AVOWED COMMUNISTS VOICE THREATS ON TV IT'S TIME TO LISTEN

It has often been said that nothing educates a person quicker or more efficiently than being suddenly belted in the chops by a supposed weakling contemptuously disregarded as being too mild or too weak to punch his way out of a paper bag.

The inevitable reaction to such an event is first one of shock and then, perhaps, one of grim determination on the part of the person on the receiving end of the punch not to be fooled a second time.

In a manner of speaking this can be said to characterize the reaction of many people in this country who, up to now, at least, have been deriding the threat of Communists within our own Nation, and who have been deluded into believing this threat exists only in the distorted minds of crackpots or nuts inclined to see a Communist under every bed.

This has particularly applied to civil rights enthusiasts who have completely closed their minds to arguments that Communists have infiltrated this movement and have been partly responsible for converting this entire civil rights issue from a more or less passive and peaceful cause to one of hate and violence.

All during the long months that the focal point of the civil rights issue was centered in the South there was literally no public acceptance of claims by aggrieved southerners that outside agitators with known Communist front connections were playing a leading role in stirring up trouble between the races.

But oh what a difference a few weeks make, and particularly when the focal point of racial trouble has suddenly shifted out of the South and into the populous metropolitan areas of the North.

Now what was previously regarded as only the figment of some crackpot's wild imagination has suddenly become cold and ugly reality. It is difficult to disguise a menace when it appears on a nationwide television network, admits its identity, and openly threatens a city of some 8 million people with renewed violence of the worst sort.

Yet, that is exactly what has happened in the past week as people all across this country have seen with their own eyes admitted Communists appearing before the television cameras, accusing our law-enforcement agencies of terroristic tactics, and threatening a racial blood bath unless their ridiculous demands are met.

To say our people have been shocked by this display of contempt and complete disregard for law and order is the understatement of the year. Now it has become all too clear that what none other than J. Edgar Hoover, the respected head of the FBI, has termed, the "master of deceit," are not only actively associated with the civil rights movement but are doing all they can to stoke it with such bitter fires of hate and discord that it threatens the peace and safety of our entire Nation.

Can anybody who has seen and heard these admitted Communists spewing forth their messages of violence and hate conclude they pose no danger to our country? Can any decent and clear-thinking citizen believe they and their nasty works are just a mirage existing only in the tortured minds of right-wing extremist groups? And can any citizen, with any kind of a desire to keep our Nation strong and God fearing, truly believe that our national policy of accommodating the Communists not only here at home but all around the world isn't backfiring right back in our face?

We have accepted too long the theory expounded by our Supreme Court that so long as members of the Communist Party in this country don't teach and advocate the overthrow of our Government by force of arms or violence, they are immune from arrest and prosecution.

We have also accepted far too long the idea preached by our State Department that we must accommodate Communist nations and refrain from "rocking the boat" lest they get mad at us and shatter our utopian dreams of creating a peaceful world by compromising with the forces of evil that have always been dedicated to destroying us and all we stand for.

It is time we woke from our complacent sleep here in America and began to accept the fact that the longstanding goal of the Communists to infiltrate our institutions and to divide and conquer us through our own timidity and apathy has been all too successful.

Moderation may be a virtue when it comes to drinking whisky but it adds up to something far less than a virtue when it applies to combating enemies who have pledged to bury us and who aren't averse to starting a racial war in this country to make their gravedigging job that much easier.

This business of glossing over, deriding and underestimating the Communist threat within our own country has gone on too long already, and it's high time our people stopped listening to weak-kneed politicians who can't see the forest for the trees and started heeding the words of warning voiced by J. Edgar Hoover, and others like him, who don't go around wearing rose-colored glasses for fear they will see something unpleasant to spoil their day.

Goldwater and the New GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I am constantly impressed with the fine quality of editorial material that appears in the small county newspapers in the Sixth District of Indiana. One of the newest papers being published in that district is the Brownsburg Guide. Already they have established an excellent editorial policy under the leadership of Don J. Richer and Earl Neese. On July 22, 1964, following the Republican National Convention, an editorial appeared in that paper entitled "Goldwater and the New GOP." I think it will be of interest to all and under unanimous consent I submit this article for printing in the RECORD:

GOLDWATER AND THE NEW GOP

The Republican convention, that grand old spectacle of the Grand Old Party, orated itself to a discordant close Thursday night. From the clashing notes of that political symphony played by two groups of delegates badly out of tune with each other, there has emerged a shaken (but maybe not weakened) party with a new leader.

Neither the new leader, BARRY GOLDWATER, nor his chief contestant, William Scranton, brought harmony back to the ranks. Scranton tried and failed. His plea for unity brought no unity. GOLDWATER hardly tried at all. He welcomed support but said, "Those who do not care for our cause we do not expect to enter our ranks in any case."

And thus the convention closed at the Cow Palace with the wounded minority sounding like bawling calves in a hailstorm and with the overwhelming majority whooping it up in glee.

From these birth pangs of discord a new party has been born with a new leader. The Republican philosophy exemplified by eastern moderates is at least temporarily dead. In its place is a new kind of conservatism that causes great joy in the right wing of the party and horrible shudders in the left. It is yet a long time until November but for now left is left and right is right and little is in between.

The cause of this great Republican gap is best summarized in the 30 words that shook the world. Toward the close of Goldwater's acceptance speech, he said, "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Those 30 words have caused concern in Europe. In the United States former President Eisenhower, and other Republicans, have asked for a clarification. What do those 30 words mean?

The answer to that question will make the great Republican gap either greater or smaller. To some the meaning is crystal clear. To others, baffling. To still others, frightening. "Why," said one, "it's like reading the Bible. You can read anything into it you want to."

There is truth in that. Perhaps it goes further in explaining the man and his philosophy than all the words that have been written about him. Perhaps GOLDWATER, who rode out of the West gathering the multitudes as he went, can be compared to a mystic the likes of which heretofore could be found in neither party. For is it not true that his disciples believe in him with something like religious fervor and back his cause with something like missionary zeal?

Is it not also true that the man is forthright—refusing to back down from his principles? Certainly he is not underhanded. He announced 4 years ago in Chicago that he was out to gain control of the Republican Party. Then he proceeded to do it. He crisscrossed the country in open sight and plain purpose yet many who saw refused to believe and many who believed could not understand. Only in this light can the impact of the stunning defeat of the moderates and the complete Goldwater victory be fully comprehended.

And yet there are those respected and solid Republicans who cannot find it in their hearts to vote for him. Said one, "We have already tried the things he wants to do and they have failed. I am not proud of it but for the first time in my life I'm going to vote Democratic." Conversely, one Democrat said he was going to vote for GOLDWATER because he liked what GOLDWATER said at the convention. And then there are GOLDWATER'S enthusiastic young backers who will be busy with person-to-person campaigning. They will produce votes. You can't buy that kind of support.

But will it be enough? Can GOLDWATER win? Yes, but he heads a minority party shaken to the very core of its being. Compounding the picture is Governor Wallace's withdrawal from the presidential race and the effects of the civil rights law which is, no matter what anyone says, a burning issue.

Out of this confusing picture only a couple of things are clear: The voters are really going to have a choice this fall, and the Republican Party, whether for better or worse, is going to be different.

National Wilderness Preservation System

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9070) to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, and for other purposes.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, during the 64 years since the turn of the century, much of the scenic wealth of the wilderness in the United States has been wiped out, but parts of it do remain. However, without protection, only a small fraction of what does remain would have a possibility of surviving for others to know in future years. Through enactment of H.R. 9070, the National Wilderness Preservation System bill, approximately 2 percent of the more than 2 billion acres of our national land area will be preserved for posterity.

Wilderness is a valuable resource which increases in value as it shrinks in size both on maps and with respect to the number of people it must serve. This is so demonstrably true that wilderness legislation, which some thought would lose its impact shortly after it was introduced, is more alive today than ever.

True wilderness is not a renewable resource. Once cut over or otherwise exploited, it is no longer an undisturbed natural area. Although quasi-wilderness areas for recreational use can be redeveloped over a century in once-exploited regions, the chain of natural forces responsible for the existence of soil, microscopic biological life, for plants and wildlife will have been interrupted and ended, and an entirely new ecological cycle—the result of man's influence—will have resulted.

Unless the existing areas of true wilderness are reserved now, the inuence of man is inevitably going to consume all that we have. There will be roads and commercial operations, campsites, and facilities which will not only mar scenic beauty but destroy natural values found only in undisturbed areas.

Ultimately the U.S. Government is going to have to provide areas affording its citizens an opportunity to "get back to nature," and to escape the pressures of modern life.

We can do it now, without expense to the National Treasury and with little or no disturbance to established private rights and community economies, or we can wait and spend tens of millions of dollars later trying to recapture a few tracts to rebuild into secondhand, quasi-wilderness.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the purpose of the wilderness bill. It is simply an effort to achieve a highly desirable national objective—the preservation of significant wilderness tracts still owned by the U.S. Government—with as little adverse effect as possible on individuals, on private institutions, and on the economy of communities, regions, and the Nation.

Vigorous opposition to the wilderness bill has come from groups with a real and legitimate concern over the restriction of the use of portions of federally owned lands. The opponents have said that the commodity resource value on all unexploited lands are greater than the wilderness values, and make wilderness preservation a luxury the Nation cannot afford. But the measure before us today does not envisage the dedication of all unexploited lands. Commercial timberlands in dedicated wilderness areas comprise just a small percentage of the total acreage, and are small indeed when compared with the vast acreage outside wilderness which, once cut, still needs to be restocked. There exists no need for known or unknown mineral values in dedicated wilderness and, if present, such minerals should be our bequest to the future in case of dire need.

Opponents also say that wilderness legislation will "lock up" needed commodity resources forever. This, I believe, simply is not true. No law, no matter how strong, can withstand the pressures of a real need. By passing this badly-needed wilderness legislation at this time, both wilderness and other resources can be delivered to the future in one package. Then, if our technology fails to give us new materials which will be needed in the future, the entire wilderness concept can be reviewed in the light of the needs then existing.

Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of H.R. 9070.

Vietnam Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, Charles L. Sefrit was for many years, until his retirement in 1960, the general manager of the daily Bellingham Herald in my district. Even in retirement, however, he has continued an active interest in world, national and local affairs.

Recently, he completed a trip around the world, during which he got a first-hand look at the American involvement in South Vietnam. What he saw caused him to form some strong opinions about the situation in southeast Asia, and he

presented these opinions in a column published in the Herald on his return.

Because his views are based on personal observation and the close questioning of officials in southeast Asia, I think they will be particularly interesting to Members of Congress. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following column by Charles L. Sefrit to be inserted in the RECORD:

VIETNAM VIEWS

(By Charles L. Sefrit)

One cannot understand, from the available facts, why the United States is in Vietnam, even when you go there. That the State Department has not been fair with the American people in its news releases is quickly understood.

We have been told that our giving over $1 million of taxpayers' money a day and sending some 20,000 U.S. troops there is to save Vietnam from going Communist.

The tragedy to taxpayers is that in my opinion the State Department and President know it's already lost and has been for some time.

China all but had enough Chinese in Vietnam to take over the Government by infiltration before we stepped in.

We were told by a reliable source over 40 percent of the total population are Chinese. Thirty percent are Vietnamese, twenty percent India and Hindu and mixed natives and ten percent all others, including European, mixed white race, and Japanese.

HARD TO DISTINGUISH

We were told you cannot tell a loyal Chinese from a Communist and living together either in the cities or throughout the country, they come and go at will and are well protected when they need to be. They look, dress, and work together and hide away as guerrillas.

All able-bodied men, by South Vietnam Government decree, are subject to draft as native soldiers. No one knows who is a loyal citizen of the recognized government or which soldier is loyal.

The United States is all alone. With no other nation's support, with its pitiful forces spread thin among the millions of Vietnamese, it is virtually useless to defend themselves from the millions of Chinese guerrillas hiding everywhere.

These guerrillas can organize overnight and attack most everywhere, and carry out their taking-over process by wiping out one native village after another and then filling it with Chinese by infiltration. But these are city Chinese, getting foodstuffs from the million dollars a day we U.S. taxpayers unload on the wharves in Saigon and elsewhere and pour out for relief.

ARMS NOT SEEN

All of the cargo we could see unloaded from the many ships pouring in supplies was mostly foodstuff. There were no signs of war materials going from the ships in a dock area of over a half mile.

They unloaded directly to waiting trucks and handled cargo only once—something unheard of on any U.S. dock. Then the stevedore crew climbed aboard and off they went. A new crew was loafing nearby to take over.

We examined the huge warehouses along the docks and found them empty except for a few miscellaneous items. The dock area is fenced in and U.S. Marines and military policemen guard the area, a large part of the shipping waterfront of Saigon, a city of estimated 1,800,000 population.

Where the supplies went, no guard, Army or Marine, could tell us. They confessed they were not told.

How smart are the Chinese behind the scenes? Well, they have outsmarted our State Department brain trusters and President's advisers so thoroughly they don't know what to do.

If the United States tries an all-out military buildup to win, what could we win? More Chinese would move down the coast to the lower delta country and hit from the rear and more from the north and for every U.S. soldier, they can afford to lose a thousand, though unfortunately they don't. They know how to live on little, and jungle and swamps are no hazard. They have lived that life since childhood.

We have fallen into a very cunning trap by the Chinese war lords.

An all-out offensive means an exchange of American casualties for Chinese, and they have drawn the United States into a new world war—what the Formosa nationalists wants, as well as the Russians.

CAN'T EXPECT HELP

We will have no support from France or England. It's our war and they all want the United States to be reduced in power.

Russia would only come in when they saw an advantage. We would have to rearm Japan to keep a balance of military power to come to our aid. Communist-controlled European countries would revolt. The atom fury could bring a change in all the world. That's the risk of our all-out offensive.

It seems to me we should pull our forces out of the lost cause of Vietnam and be big enough to admit our mistake and let China try to carry out our job of feeding and giving away taxpayers' money to south Asia. The risk we are now taking for stopping a little country from going Communist is not a drop in the bucket to the total risk of all-out war with China. In that part of Asia we have little chance for local support and it is an area of terrific military disadvantages.

The waste of good taxpayers' money should be stopped immediately from going into a country already lost to communism.

Testimony Given by Jack Golodner, Before the Ways and Means Committee, Urging That the 10-Percent Federal Admissions Tax on Live Dramatic Performances Be Abolished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee held hearings on the repeal of the 10-percent admissions tax for live dramatic performances. Among others who testified on H.R. 2518, the Lindsay bill to repeal the 10-percent tax, and other bills of like purpose, was the representative of Actors Equity Association, Jack Golodner.

I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point Mr. Golodner's excellent testimony asking for the repeal of the tax:

STATEMENT OF JACK GOLODNER, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, ACTORS EQUITY ASSOCIATION, AT HEARINGS ON EXCISE TAXES CONDUCTED BY THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, AUGUST 3, 1964

My name is Jack Golodner. I am legislative representative of the Actors Equity Association, and I am appearing in behalf of the association, the oldest continuing organization devoted to the welfare of the American stage performer and the development of the legitimate theater.

The professional actors, actresses, and stage managers that comprise Equity's membership are well aware of the considerate attention which this committee gave their pleas for income averaging last year. The reform which you initiated, hopefully, will do much to relieve the American performer of an inequity he has borne for many years. But the distressing economic condition of the American actor which was described to you last year by Equity's now-retired president, Mr. Ralph Bellamy, obviously will not be corrected by this action—important as it may be.

The legitimate theater in America is an economically stagnant industry typified by high unemployment, substandard wages, diminishing returns on capital investment and decreasing opportunities for employees and investors. The U.S. census reports there were 13,488 professional actors in the country in 1960, a decline of 26 percent since the 1950 census. And the greater part of this 13,500 are finding it increasingly difficult to practice their art. According to a recent Occupational Outlook Handbook published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The great majority are struggling for a toehold in their profession, glad to pick up small parts whenever and wherever they can. Most actors have employment in their profession for only a small part of the year. Because of the frequent periods of unemployment characteristic of this profession, annual earnings are low for all but a very few of the best known performers."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics advises young Americans against seeking careers in the performing arts.

It is no exaggeration of the situation to say that in many areas of our country the professional theater is subsidized by the American performer working for poverty level wages and substandard economic benefits. It is little wonder that many among America's truly talented youth are following the Labor Department's advice and abandoning plans for careers in our theaters.

Faced with this situation, Actors Equity is convinced that the continued imposition of the present admissions tax can only hasten the demise of the American theater as we know it. We respectfully submit that continuation of this tax would be detrimental to the industry, to the artists who are employed by it and to the general public that directly and indirectly benefits from the products of the living theater.

The admissions tax on the legitimate theater returns little revenue to the Treasury and cannot constitute a worthwhile element of our tax structure. I believe it has been estimated that not more than $6 million is derived from the tax on admissions to the legitimate theater.

It is a highly regressive tax. Theater does not enjoy an inelastic demand. Except in the case of the very few smash hits which experience fantastic and often unexplainable demands, theatergoers are very sensitive to cost.

Certainly, at a time when unemployment in the industry is high and opportunities for serious creative work are diminishing, such a tax is most unfortunate.

It is an unfair, discriminatory tax. The legitimate theater has been forced to face stiff competition from movies and from television. It is unfair that Government imposes a tax burden on each live performance a person experiences while no similar tax is imposed on the viewing of a televised show. It is not fair for Congress to exempt the greater portion of movie admissions and offer no similar benefit to the live theater.

In this situation the admissions tax is setting the cultural benefits of live professional theater further beyond the means of our people and accentuating a shift to films and TV.

If, when we use the term "luxury" we are referring to items which only the rich can afford, then, indeed, this tax is helping to

make theater a luxury for the wealthy few. It is Equity's contention that the living theater is not and should not become such a luxury.

The living theater is and always has been an integral element in the culture of modern society. Rather than tax it as a plaything of the rich, we should be thinking of ways to make it more readily available to greater numbers of our people. If there is value in being taught the writing of Aeschylus, Moliere, and Ibsen; if there is advantage to reading Shakespeare, Checkhov, and O'Neil; if our Government today deems it wise to expend funds to help educate our children in the literature of the theater and to make drama available on the shelves of our libraries,, how can it tax the performance of those plays as a luxury? How can it shackle the industry that would develop new bodies of literature? There is an inconsistency here which should not be furthered.

I realize that the use of the term "luxury" applied to certain excises has led to unending argument—a situation which reflects the truth of a 17th century playwright's observation that "one man's poison is another's meat or drink." However, if selective taxes are to be a part of our tax system this committee must continue to make value judgments regarding products and services. To say that we levy "luxury" taxes where they fall upon the shoulders of those most able to pay provides no escape from such decisions.

There are many things today which are beyond the reach of those of modest means in education, in cultural areas, in goods and services. Where should Government lessen the gap, where increase it?

If quality theater has become a cultural experience which only the wealthy can afford, is this situation to be deplored and corrected or continued by the extension of a tax which makes legitimate theater even more expensive?

True, there is a practice of theatergoing that caters to whimsy and should only be indulged by the rich. I refer to the insistence on choice seats at choice plays at choice times. People who make such demands are willing to pay high prices, and if the revenue be required, the tax can fall on this practice. However, its imposition on other shoulders is only helping deter our people (especially our young people) from a cultural opportunity they deserve and want and discourages the employment of America's vast reservoir of creative talent.

Last year, August Heckscher, President Kennedy's Special Consultant on the Arts, completed a year long evaluation of the relationship between our national government and America's artists and art institutions. He found that "many Government policies ostensibly having nothing to do with the arts affect them in a substantial way—often adversely." One of these is the admissions tax. And in his report to the President, Mr. Heckscher had this to say regarding the excise:

"Other countries give positive support to their theaters; the United States by contrast 'penalizes' the theater by impostion of a 10-percent admissions tax. Such a tax has been considered a legitimate excise tax traditionally levied on 'luxuries.' It has been defended on the ground that its remission would not necessarily have the effect of lowering prices or benefiting the actor or playwright. But the theater is not a mere 'luxury.' And it is quite possible to insure that a tax saving will be used in ways to advance the true interests of the theater and of the acting profession. The repeal of the Federal admissions tax on the legitimate theater, especially if combined with other acts aimed at promoting the American stage, would give a vital stimulus to this basic and enduring art form."

Thus, while advocating removal of the admissions tax, Mr. Heckscher points out that the effect of such a move rests upon the use made of this tax saving by the industry. Actors Equity believes most strongly that the value of remission can be dissipated by the subsequent actions of the industry, and therefore we hope that you will examine the plans of the industry carefully. We are concerned, as Mr. Heckscher is, that remission of the tax would not lower prices and make the art of theater more accessible to more people, that an end to the tax would merely make the successful hit show producer richer and do little for the valuable artistic work of limited appeal.

Equity fully endorses the position expressed by Mr. Nathaniel Goldfinger of the AFL–CIO when he said in his earlier testimony before this committee that "Justification for the reduction or elimination of excises is based on the assumption that the equity of the tax structure will be increased and the restraint on consumption will be lifted. These ends can be achieved only if those who now bear the burden of these taxes are directly benefited by the reduction. If excises are cut, but if revenue lost by the Federal Government is simply pocketed by the enterprises whose goods and services are no longer taxed, the result will be unconscionable."

In behalf of the AFL–CIO, Mr. Goldfinger urged this committee "to seek evidence that the public will, in fact, be the beneficiary of excise cuts. Moreover," he said, "we urge the committee to make its intent clear that the benefits of the elimination or reduction of excises * * * be passed through to the consuming public."

Unfortunately, pledges to reduce the cost of theater tickets in the past have not been uniformly made or adhered to by the operators of our legitimate theaters. For various reasons, promises to pass on the 1954 reduction were not effective. Again, last winter, although the League of New York Theaters and the National Association of the Legitimate Theater told various Senators of an intention to keep ticket prices down, some producers expressed doubt that they would pass on the tax remission.

Mr. Chairman, the decision of Actors Equity to come before you and ask for repeal of the admissions excise on the legitimate theater was made in reliance upon recent pledges made by the producers organizations that the reduction will be passed through to the public. We earnestly hope that this committee will recognize the importance of such a step and insist that it be taken by the industry.

If a satisfactory commitment to pass on a tax repeal cannot be obtained then we say let the industry demonstrate its desire to use the returned revenue to promote the American stage in a constructive manner. Mr. Howard Taubman, drama critic for the New York Times has suggested one way which might be considered. He suggests that the industry establish a trust fund which would receive the moneys now siphoned away by the tax. "Such money," Mr. Taubman explains, "could be used in a variety of constructive ways. It could be spent on fellowships for promising writers. It could pay for performances for schoolchildren. It could send first-class theater on tour to areas that never see live professional actors." In addition, the fund could provide a source for low-interest capital to pay for much needed physical improvements in the commercial theater. If such a fund were to be established in advance of congressional action, there would be little doubt of the industry's intent to employ the money in a constructive manner.

Actors Equity believes with Mr. Heckscher that repeal of the admissions excise could provide a major stimulus to the American theater. But this will happen only if coupled with a price decrease or other acts designed to bring more theater to more people. We hope that this committee will insist that the industry come forward with an effective program to serve this goal.

Remarks of C. H. Kwock, Editor of Chinese World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. H. Kwock is the editor of the Chinese World, one of the Nation's largest bilingual daily newspapers. He is a scholar and man of wisdom whose dedication to the principles of justice and human dignity have repeatedly been attested to by his forthright and fearless editorial comment.

Mr. Kwock came to Washington, and in a simple but moving ceremony before the statue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Monument, read the following words.

These words are a personal credo, a personal rededication. They are words which all Americans should ponder well.

REMARKS OF C. H. KWOCK, EDITOR OF CHINESE WORLD

Moved by reverence and gratitude, I have come to stand here as a representative of my fellow Chinese-Americans—to this quiet place, sacred to the memory of the Great Emancipator.

It has been more than a century since President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Four generations have been born and grown to manhood since the end of that great and dreadful conflict which decided that these United States of America must be one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

The path to such unity, to such liberty and justice, has been steep and arduous.

Even now, at the end of a hundred years, these goals have not been completely won.

Only this summer, the civil rights bill, which so greatly implements the principles of equal democracy for all, has become law.

Yet, immigration legislation, which would extend the guarantees of democracy without discrimination to immigrants of every race and nation, is still in committee, awaiting the will of Congress.

Both these massive extensions of human rights and brotherhood were chiefly the work of another great President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was martyred last year by an assassin's bullet—just as Abraham Lincoln was martyred a century ago.

There are many minorities in this country. I belong to one, made up of Chinese-Americans.

When President Lincoln signed his Emancipation Proclamation, only a few of my people had arrived in this country. But they were already giving their toil and sweat to build this great Nation.

Yes, I belong to one minority group. But I know that all minorities, taken together, make up one great majority. In that majority, all the blood that flows through the veins of all men is red. That, at least they have in common. And when at length they lie in the grave, all their bones turn white.

A Chinese man of wisdom, Confucius, spoke of the possibilities of human brotherhood 25 centuries ago. The realization of that brotherhood is indeed slow in coming.

Now, in the name of the Chinese World, and of all Chinese-Americans of my city of San Francisco and of the United States of America, I humbly pledge to do all in my power to help it on its way.

Remarks of Harold B. Finger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, our space program has now reached a new success as the Ranger reported back clear and significant photographs on July 31, 1964. These photographs, we are told, will aid scientists in their plans for the first lunar landing by American astronauts, and are considered by many to be the greatest advance in lunar astronomy since Galileo. Similar advances are being made in other areas of our space program as well.

On May 29, 1964, Mr. Harold B. Finger addressed the 26th annual meeting and news conference of the Aviation/Space Writers Association in Miami. Mr. Finger is manager of the Space Nuclear Propulsion Office of AEC–NASA. His significant address indicates the results that have been achieved in recent tests in the nuclear rocket program, their importance in the overall space effort and the progress being made in other nuclear propulsion areas.

Under unanimous consent, I include this excellent speech in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PRESENTATION TO 26TH ANNUAL MEETING AND NEWS CONFERENCE OF THE AVIATION/SPACE WRITERS ASSOCIATION, MIAMI, FLA.

(By Harold B. Finger, Manager, Space Nuclear Propulsion Office, AEC–NASA, Director, Nuclear Systems and Space Power, NASA)

On May 25, only 3 years ago, President Kennedy proposed national space goals in his address to the Congress on urgent national needs. He said, "If we are to win the battle that is going on around the world between freedom and tyranny, if we are to win the battle for men's minds, the dramatic achievements in space which occurred in recent weeks should have made clear to us all, as did the sputnik in 1957, the impact of this adventure on the minds of men everywhere who are trying to make a determination of which road they should take. Now it is time to take longer strides—time for this Nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement which in many ways may hold the key to our future on earth."

Today, we are well along into the program that he recommended to the Congress and that was approved by the Congress and the American people. I think it is clear that the program proposed by the late President with the advice of then Vice President Johnson, has already fulfilled much that had been hoped for. Our international situation would certainly not be as strong as it is if we had withdrawn from this important area of space exploration and human achievement and watched the Soviet satellites and space probes without being able to equal and exceed those accomplishments and make at least equal contributions to our knowledge of the universe around us. This program has provided the kind of difficult challenge that is required of any great nation if it is to continue to advance in giant steps so that its people will live better, their morale and national pride will be high, their dedication to forward looking goals will be unswerving. It is the kind of a program that stimulates the imagination and the enthusiasm of our young people and motivates them to far greater accomplishments than would otherwise be the case.

Certainly no one who has taken an active role in carrying out any portion of the space program or in reporting on it can doubt that this is a new area of exploration that knows almost no bounds and that is now an established part of our way of life. Following the first Apollo lunar landings will probably come more detailed exploration requiring an increase in the time that men will have to explore the moon leading, possibly, to semipermanent and, then, permanent bases.

The early Gemini, Apollo, and the Air Force Gemini-Mol orbital laboratories will certainly provide a better understanding of the usefulness of such laboratories as a base for space research and for general research that can be done better in the space environment than on the ground. Such laboratories may be followed by larger laboratories that would provide a test base for space systems and their components, that would permit biological experiments materials research, and scientific observation of the earth and the stars.

We can also look forward to the landing of automated spacecraft on the planets, Mars and Venus, and eventually even beyond these planets to the more distant planets. A focal point for much of our activities in space beyond the moon may very well be manned exploration of the near planets, particularly Mars.

In considering the application of the space systems, we can look forward to the establishment of global communications, navigation and weather forecasting systems.

We are dedicated to successfully carrying out that part of the program that is approved; but simultaneously, it is important that we establish the know-how and technology that are required to permit the accomplishment of the potential advanced missions.

One of the most important areas of this advanced technology program and the one that has, in the past, determined our capability to perform space missions is propulsion. A major element of our propulsion development is devoted to nuclear energy systems in which the energy available from the fission of uranium in a nuclear reactor provides the source of propulsive power.

All of our mission studies indicate the important role that will be played by nuclear rockets in missions beyond Apollo. Because of their high performance capability, nuclear rockets will be required for the manned planetary explorations. In addition, nuclear rocket stages could increase the payload capability of Saturn V so as to greatly simplify the performance of long stay-time missions associated with lunar exploration and operational bases. The performance potential of these nuclear rocket systems is so high that we will undoubtedly apply them in our missions as soon as that performance capability can be fully demonstrated.

Aerospace history will record May 13, 1964, as the day on which a nuclear rocket reactor was first tested successfully at power and temperature to pave the way for the development and use in space flight of a new, advanced, efficient, high-performance propulsion system, the nuclear rocket.

During the test (Kiwi–B4D reactor) of May 13, the planned power and temperature of the reactor were exceeded. The test was shut down after slightly over a minute of operation at the maximum power due to a hydrogen leak that occurred outside of the reactor. The maximum temperature was maintained for over a minute and a half. The operation of the reactor certainly appeared successful. Nothing had left the reactor; the jet was fully expanded and appeared absolutely clean; there were no flashes in the jet as had been experienced in the Kiwi–B4A reactor test in November 1962; none of the vibrations that had caused damage to that reactor were detected in this test; and extensive data had been recorded on the reactor performance.

It is apparent that the reactor did operate as well as it appeared from the visual observation on May 13 and from the preliminary data taken at that time. We have found no cracked fuel elements; the structure behaved as it was designed. I think we can safely say that our structural problems have been overcome and nuclear rockets can be developed for the performance of future missions beyond Apollo.

This test was an important milestone in this country's program to develop nuclear rocket propulsion. It will serve as a firm base for the development work that is to follow. But one test does not a nuclear rocket make. Much work is still needed to make these systems operate at least for full mission durations and to design and develop them to higher powers. Following our reactor tests, we will demonstrate the operation of an engine system in which the reactor and all of the important nonreactor components are assembled into a closely coupled engine system. Such tests are necessary to assure that no unexpected problems will arise when all of the system components are put together.

The 1964 milestones achieved so far this year are:

February 1964: The Kiwi–B4D cold flow reactor was run by Los Alamos and indicated that their redesign successfully avoided the vibrations that had been encountered in the Kiwi–B4A reactor.

March–April 1964: The NRX–A cold flow reactor was run by Westinghouse and Aerojet and indicated that the Westinghouse design successfully avoided the vibrations.

May 13, 1964: A major milestone was achieved when the Kiwi–B4D reactor was tested by the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory at power and temperature conditions that exceeded the planned test conditions. The test was of sufficient duration to provide a significant proof test of the structure of the reactor, as well as many other reactor features. Examination of reactor parts and data analysis indicate successful operation of the reactor.

To summarize our work on nuclear rockets, a major forward step has been taken in the milestone established by the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in its design, development, operation, and analysis of the Kiwi–B4D nuclear rocket reactor experiment. This test provides good reason for confidence in the successful execution of the tests to be conducted this year and next and provides a good basis for confidence in the availability of nuclear rockets when they will be required for the performance of advanced space missions. The availability of these nuclear rocket propulsion systems will give this country a propulsion capability far advanced over any other rocket propulsion system available.

Another nuclear energy propulsion system receiving significant emphasis in our advanced research and technology program is nuclear electric propulsion. Although I have indicated that the major applications of nuclear rockets will be in high-energy manned space missions involving large payloans and large vehicles, electric propulsion will probably find earliest application as small, attitude control, and orbital position keeping engines. Beyond these first electric

thrust applications would come propulsion of unmanned spacecraft to the planets, into the sun, out of the plane of the planetary orbits and, generally, deep into space. Even further beyond the unmanned spacecraft propulsion, we can anticipate manned planetary exploration based on nuclear electric propulsion, or more probably, combinations of electric propulsion and nuclear rocket propulsion. But such electric propulsion systems, for unmanned and manned spacecraft propulsion, are not yet available; they require the development of nuclear electric power-generating systems that are not yet within our available state of technology. Electric systems are, therefore, at a much earlier stage of development than is the case with the nuclear rockets.

The thrust part of electric propulsion is now further developed than is the nuclear electric power generating system. However, the units that have been built and tested so far are small; the largest one, an ion engine, designed to operate at a power of 30 kilowatts, is now undergoing tests and will produce a thrust of about one-tenth of a pound. Many thrust systems have been operated at lower power levels; these are now undergoing endurance tests. Two of these smaller thrust systems will be flown during the middle of this summer in our SERT I (space electric rocket test) system launched on a Scout rocket from Wallops Island Va. This test does not provide us with an electric propulsion system, but it is designed to provide data that can be used to determine the validity of the ground tests that are conducted on these low-thrust ion engines to evaluate jet charge neutralization.

To provide propulsive thrust for unmanned and, eventually, manned spacecraft, thrust levels substantially higher than those that are now under test will be required. Concepts must be investigated to determine how to cluster small thrust systems and how to build larger thrust systems to operate in the range of several hundred to tens of thousands of kilowatts for operating times of a year and more.

Although much work remains to be done on the thrust system before nuclear electric propulsion will be available for the performanc of deep space missions, the availability of electric propulsion is determined primarily by the time that will be required to develop nuclear electric generating systems capable of generating hundreds to tens of thousands of kilowatts of electric energy. These electric generating systems must be very light in weight, they must operate at high temperatures, they must use high-temperature materials that are not well known, they require development of nuclear reactor fuel elements, they require increased knowledge on bearings, heat transfer characteristics, corrosion of containment materials by liquid metals, and space environmental effects.

During the past several years, we have accumulated a large body of data in this area. The program that we established when NASA first began its business in 1958 is now bearing fruit in heat transfer information, in the basic properties of the fluids used in these systems, in materials characteristics, in the operation of some of the critical components of such systems. This NASA work combined with the work being performed by the AEC and the Air Force should provide the information needed to fully evaluate the feasibility of achieving the performance required of these nuclear electric power supplies and should provide the basis for design and development of high-power systems required for electric propulsion.

One of the areas of major uncertainty in electric propulsion is the problem of developing a system capable of operating reliably for thousands of hours in space flight without maintenance. All of our chemical rocket systems require hundreds of tests to assure the high reliability demanded of space flight hardware. Although it is generally agreed that requiring a like number of full system, full power, full duration tests in the development of nuclear electric propulsion is out of the question, no obviously satisfactory alternate approaches have been proposed. This is an area of electric propulsion development that in itself constitutes a technology development effort. In addition to providing a system capable of generating 30 kilowatts of electric power for potential use in space laboratories, lunar bases, and direct communication transmission systems, the SNAP-8 nuclear electric system development should provide the technology of such developments.

Beyond nuclear rockets and nuclear electric propulsion are a host of even more advanced, theoretically promising, but as yet unproven and, in some cases, undefined nuclear propulsion systems. These include liquid core reactors, gaseous core reactors, nuclear pulse systems such as Orion, etc. Although many of these systems are interesting and preliminary analysis and some experimental work is being conducted on them and indicates promise, it is too early to fully evaluate their feasibility, their developability, their achievable performance potential, and their operational problems. They are longer term, higher risk research activities than the nuclear rocket and electric propulsion systems. This point should be recognized.

The timing of this meeting has turned out to be just right to permit me to present a somewhat better assessment of our nuclear rocket program than was available earlier. It should certainly serve to encourage all of us in the aerospace business that the effort devoted to this area of technology development now clearly offers this country such an advanced means of propulsion that the most ambitious missions we can now contemplate as reasonable follow-ons to the Apollo mission, extending to manned exploration of the near planets, could be accomplished. A strong and active space program will certainly make good use of this system and some of the more advanced nuclear systems being studied.

Lou Draisin Wins Award for Service and Service to His Community

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include two newspaper clippings concerning one of my good friends in Charleston—an executive in one of our largest furniture companies in South Carolina—Louis Draisin. Mr. Draisin won a citation for service to the furniture industry and his community. He received a plaque on July 7, 1964, at High Point, N.C., as one of the outstanding retailers in the South on the occasion of a breakfast meeting of the Southern Retail Furniture Association. This plaque was awarded by the executive editor of Furniture South magazine, the leading periodical for the industry in the South. Only two other recipients were honored on this occasion.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud that my city produced one of these leaders, and I am further proud, Mr. Speaker, that he happened to be one of my long-time friends over the years. In addition, Mr. Speaker, as the manager of the Morris Sokol Furniture Co., Mr. Draisin too has represented, for a span of over a quarter of a century, the highest ethics in the retailing of quality furniture.

The articles follow:

[From the High Point (N.C.) Enterprise, July 7, 1964]

THREE FURNITURE DEALERS GET AWARDS AT BREAKFAST

(By Jim Hawkins)

Presentation of Furniture South Awards to three retail furniture dealers from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina was among the highlights of a breakfast today for merchants attending the summer southern furniture market.

The awards were presented by Sheiba Cornelison, executive editor of Furniture South magazine.

Recipients were Raymond S. Bowen, of Bowen's Town and Country Furniture Co., Winston-Salem; Louis Draisin, of Morris Sokol Furniture Co., Charleston, S.C., and Douglas H. Pully, of the Holladay House, Inc., Richmond, Va.

In making the presentation at a breakfast sponsored by the Southern Retail Furniture Association and by the Southern Furniture Exposition Building, Mrs. Cornelison said winners were selected in cooperation with the Virginia-Carolinas Wholesale Furniture Salesmen's Association. She presented each of the winners a bronze plaque.

The winners were selected because of service to the furniture industry and to their communities.

The presentation of the awards was one of the major parts of a program which also included talks by two merchants and a report on "Values on the Market Today" by John Tobin and H. E. (Skin) Parker of High Point.

Tobin and Parker emphasized that most of the merchandise on display at the summer market was shown at the April 1964 market. They said the economy remains "at a high level" and that buyers are looking hard before they buy.

They said there are plenty of values to be seen at the market, but that these do not include "closeouts or distressed" goods. The goods shown won't automatically "sell itself," they said, but added that with hard work and promotions, it will sell. They advised buyers to make selections shaped to their needs and their areas.

The two described a number of items offered by factories showing at various points scattered about the building. The offerings covered a wide variety of prices, styles, designs, and finishes.

H. T. Williams, of Reidsville, president of the SRFA, presided at the breakfast. The buyers were welcomed by Leo Heer, managing director of the exposition building.

Heer reminded buyers they represent stores which helped start the High Point market. Back in the 1920's, he said, area merchants were the only ones attending markets here, whereas High Point is now the "most important furniture market in the world."

Warren Denton, of Harrisonburg, Va., spoke on "Promotions That Pulled." He said he gets ideas from publications and from other merchants and adapts them to this area. He said he uses numerous "contests" to draw customers, interest, and that and publications play a large part in his advertising.

Ed Riley of Columbia, S.C., described the "Birth of a Branch Store," saying business is following people to the suburbs.

He suggested furniture men thinking of starting branches study the direction of

movement in their towns, new homes and space for more, and locations, before making a move.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post, July 9, 1964]

FURNITURE MAN WINS CITATION

Louis Draisin, manager of the Morris Sokol Furniture Co., displays [not printed in the Record] the plaque awarded him this week by Furniture South magazine at the High Point, N.C., summer furniture market. Mr. Draisin is one of three furniture dealers from the Carolinas and Virginia to be cited for their service to the furniture industry, their communities, and their cooperation with wholesale furniture salesmen.

Testimony Given by John P. Wharton Before the Ways and Means Committee Urging That the 10-Percent Federal Admissions Tax on Live Dramatic Performances Be Abolished

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, today Mr. John P. Wharton submitted an excellent statement before the Ways and Means Committee on the subject of the 10-percent admissions tax on live dramatic performances. Mr. Wharton is an expert on the subject having written a good deal of material on the subject and having been in the theater business himself.

Mr. Wharton makes out an excellent case to the repeal of the 10-percent Federal admissions tax and I am pleased to insert it in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF JOHN F. WHARTON, ESQ., ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE LEGITIMATE THEATRE, INC., AND THE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK THEATRES, INC., SUPPORTING REPEAL OF SECTIONS 4231.1, 4231.4, AND 4231.5 OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS, AUGUST 3, 1964

My name is John F. Wharton. I am a lawyer. I have represented people in all branches of the theater for 40 years. In addition, for 20 years I was the business head of a play-producing company organized by five famous playwrights. I have also represented nonprofit organizations in the theatrical field.

Fours years ago, I was retained by the League of New York Theatres, Inc., to write a pamphlet setting out the plight of the free enterprise theater in New York. It was subsequently printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was entitled "Crisis in the Free World Theater"; I think "Crisis in the Free Enterprise Theater" might have been a better title, for today even free world governments are subsidizing their theaters. The points which I made in that memorandum are still sound, and the crisis is deepening. I should like to review some of them very briefly.

In the last 50 years, the New York theater, operating on a good American profit basis, became the most dynamic theater in the world. To be the most dynamic, it had to give the public two kinds of plays: Production designed purely to entertain, and productions which playgoers and critics the whole world over would recognize as plays of cultural importance. For example, the antiwar plays of Robert Sherwood and Maxwell Anderson, the plays of Clifford Odets, which antedated the present antipoverty drive by 30 years. Our New York theater is still continuing to produce plays of "cultural importance" on a free enterprise basis, without any subsidy, but we now are the only country where this is so. Even in England the Government is asked to provide huge sums to subsidize productions of "cultural importance." "Broadway" is still operating at a profit—Mr. Merrick produces "Hello Dolly" and "Becket"—but it is hanging on by its teeth. Powerful interests are seeking Government money for the production of culturally important plays. If the profit system collapses, you gentlemen will have a new group before you seeking, no, demanding, not tax relief, but appropriations. They will tell you that the theater "as an art" can't survive without Government subsidy. I tell you that it has flourished under the profit system and can do so again, if you'll just stop taxing and regulating us to death.

Why is the profit system in trouble? To understand why, you must know how the system works in the New York theater.

The production of a play, every play, is a new speculative venture. It may turn out to be an oil well or a disaster, and no one can tell, even when they see it, before it reaches New York. "Oklahoma," an eventual enormous moneymaker, needed $10,000 to complete its pre-Broadway tryout, and had a hard time raising it. When "My Fair Lady" was playing in New Haven, there were people who were certain it would fail because the music was so dull; some millions of records have been sold. On the other hand, I could name names about productions which were touted to the sky and fell with a dull sickening thud on the New York stage. The point of this is: if you want a dynamic theater under a free enterprise profit system, you must attract creative, venturesome businessmen who can, in turn, attract the most venturesome of venture capital, even more more than oil wildcatting. To attract either class of people you must have a situation where the possible profits are commensurate with the risk. I know there are a lot of people who "play the theater" as others "play the races," and I take that into account. I still say the facts show that we are fast approaching the point where the possible profits aren't commensurate with the risk; even for those people.

Let us first look at the basic economic facts of the theater. It is what the economists call a high labor cost industry; you have to pay a cast of actors every week in which they perform; you have to pay musicians and stagehands, and you want to pay them all a living wage—which constantly increases. You cannot do as the motion pictures do: make 500 prints of a picture and show those in 500 theaters without any cost except the cost of running the print through a projection machine. You gentlemen know that every high labor cost industry has been subjected to a profit squeeze. The theater is not only no exception, it is also in a particularly bad way because, unlike the movies, it cannot increase its sales outlets. If a motion picture is a great success, the producer can have as many prints made as he wants and show them in as many theaters as he wants and the bigger the theater, the better. But a play which opens in a 1,200-seat theater has to be played by that cast in that theater; if you try to move it to a 3,000-seat theater, you find, mysteriously, that you have destroyed the entertainment value.

When an industry has rising labor costs and limited outlets, it must raise its prices or go bankrupt. Every time the theater is forced to raise ticket prices, an extra 10 percent is tacked on by admissions tax. Booksellers can and do raise the prices of books from $2 to $6. The theater ticket must go up to $6 plus admissions tax. And that 10 percent is the straw that breaks the camel's back.

These are the basic economic reasons why the free enterprise theater has been a declining industry and is now struggling to hold its own. And this is in the face of a tremendous increase in interest in the theater which has spread all over the country.

The survey mentioned in the pamphlet I prepared showed that 77 percent of the plays produced in New York in the 1959–60 season were failures. Since then, I would estimate that the percentage has gone up to 85 percent, about 6 out of 7. If only one of seven plays succeeds, it ought to pay its backers at least seven to one; even a dice game gives the player that much of a break. Accurate figures are hard to get, but the industry did make a careful survey of the 1962–63 season. Of over 50 plays, only seven paid off; probably only two of these will pay off at seven to one for their backers. But then hear this. Of the seven "successes," five were importations from England. One American play of cultural importance succeeded; one pure entertainment play (out of over 20 tries) succeeded. One last item: the Morosco Theater is considered one of the most desirable theaters in New York, it managed to stay open just 6 weeks out of 52.

The current season looks a little better (not as much better as the optimists project) but there isn't any doubt that the free enterprise theater is in trouble, the kind of trouble that has led other industries, in the past, to come to Washington and seek indirect subsidies. We are not asking that. We are not asking to become a Government-supported art. We are asking to be let alone, to be freed from unfair taxes, to be allowed to work out our own destiny.

Let's take a look at the three taxes, yes there are three, which are before us today. First, the admissions tax, 10 percent of the amounts over the first dollar; the type of tax which was OK when the theater had big profit margins and no competition, absolutely unfair today.

The second tax is levied by subdivision 5 of section 4231 and provides for a tax of 50 percent of the amount for which the proprietor of the theater sells the ticket in excess of the established price. (Imagine a manufacturer in any other industry being told that if he sells his product at more than the factory price, he must pay a tax of 50 percent.)

The third tax is levied by subdivision 4 of section 4231 and provides that if a broker sells a ticket for more than the established price, he must pay 10 percent of the excess. This is peculiarly unfair to the theater, for by the laws of New York, we can obtain outlets of distribution only through the use of licensed brokers. Obviously, these people have to make a living; they have to be reimbursed for the cost of their offices, staffs, bookkeeping; and the only way they do this is out of the profit on the resale of the theater ticket. Why should they be taxed 10 percent of this profit? (Again, imagine what would happen if a law taxed automobile dealers 10 percent of the difference between what they paid the manufacturer and what they sold their cars for to the public.)

I have gone back into the legislative history of all three of these taxes. I find they were all levied 45 years ago, and the story of how they came about is worth hearing.

When the First World War broke out, Congress began searching everywhere for additional revenues. Some of you probably remember this as well as I do. At that time, the living theater was the one great medium of entertainment. It had no competition, from free television or free radio. Motion pictures were in their infancy. The theater was making good money. It therefore

seemed a proper industry on which to levy an excise tax, and the first admissions tax was proposed at that time. However, the industry sent a lawyer named Johnson down to Washington to lobby against the tax. He met with a Senator from a Western State, who was very important on the Senate Finance Committee. While they were discussing the admissions tax, this Senator suddenly raised another question. He said that he liked to go to the theater; he came to New York and stayed at the Vanderbilt Hotel; he ordered his tickets in the hotel lobby and—to his rage—he had to pay more than the box office price. One would have expected Mr. Johnson to reply something as follows: "Well, Senator, you didn't wish to take the trouble to go to the box office; you wanted a seat for the biggest hit in town at the last miriute; is it surprising that you had to pay more than the man who is willing to trudge to the box office, stand in line, and buy the ticket 6 weeks in advance?"

But Mr. Johnson did not say that. His great interest was to avoid the admissions tax; and so he fawned on the Senator and said, "My dear Senator, this is an outrage, but what can you do about it?"

Well, the Senator suggested taxing the theater proprietor 50 percent of the excess and taxing brokers 50 percent of the excess. By this method he hoped to legislate brokers out of existence. There was never any hope that subdivisions (4) and (5) would yield any revenue; they were pure reform measures passed in an era when the popular device was to punish the rascals and not face the realities of economic life. And what did Mr. Johnson get for agreeing to these outrageous taxes? Nothing. The admissions tax was levied, just the same, and although a war tax, it was never removed. It has hung on while the number of theaters in New York has dropped from 66 to 30, and the number of productions from over 200 to less than 60.

That's how all three taxes came into existence, and how they have stuck there through 45 years, the only change being that the amounts have been slightly reduced in some cases. And these three taxes have done more to hurt the industry than any other legislation. I won't go into the technicalities, but subdivisions (4) and (5) have made it absolutely impossible for the theater to have a modern flexible ticket policy and to try to meet the demands of all kinds of ticket buyers, from the richest to the poorest. These two subdivisions have hurt us as much, if not more, than the admissions tax. Don't slight them in your considerations, please.

And what does the Government get out of this? The admissions tax yields about .0007 percent of our total tax revenue. Subdivisions (4) and (5) together yield less than $750,000—a percentage so small you can hardly compute it. The elimination of these taxes would unquestionably produce an increase in income taxes which would much more than offset the Government loss. Leaders of the industry have been assured by the mayor of New York City that no attempt will be made by the city of New York to impose a similar tax if these taxes are repealed.

Cynical people are prone to say that New York is a rich city and can afford this. They don't seem to realize that it is the theatergoer who pays these taxes, and the theatergoers come from all over the country, go to the theater all over the country. There have been various estimates of the number of visitors to New York each week, but one thing is clear, they come from every State in the Union and they have to pay an admissions tax and usually a broker's tax. Furthermore, there has been a tremendous increase of theaters all over the country. Productions are going out on the road and playing all kinds of cities. (Alas, not too successfully, from the financial point of view.) Once again, it is the customer in these cities who pays the tax. This is not a matter that affects only Broadway; it affects every theatergoer in the whole United States.

In conclusion, I repeat that the theater is not seeking Government subsidy; it is only asking that it be let alone to work out its own problems. The free world and the Iron Curtain countries are still trying to appeal to the uncommitted nations, and are competing in culture as well as money. The totalitarians pour millions into their theater in order to show off their cultures. General de Gaulle does the same; the French theater budget runs into millions of francs. We are not asking for that; we are merely saying, let us alone, don't harass us; repeal these laws, all three, the admissions tax, subdivision (4) and subdivision (5).

World Cruise of First U.S. Navy Nuclear Task Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, last Friday was scientifically historic in more ways than one. First, the remarkable Ranger-7 moon shot achieved complete success, and thereby brought great credit to the American scientists whose talents perfected it. Also on that date, July 31, 1964, the first U.S. Navy nuclear task force began a world tour.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I am naturally deeply interested in all of our scientific achievements, but I am particularly concerned about the development of nuclear power and its military applications. Therefore, I believe that the historic milestone represented by this nuclear task force cruise merits special atttention at this time.

The powerful U.S. naval task force left Gibraltar to circumnavigate the world. There will not be a single refueling operation conducted during the entire cruise as the three ships cover 30,000 miles in their sea orbit, at an average speed of 20 knots.

This, the world's first nuclear-powered task force, is the seed core of tomorrow's nuclear Navy. Under the command of Rear Adm. Bernard M. Strean, it consists of the attack carrier *Enterprise*, commanded by Capt. Frederick H. Michaelis; the missile cruiser *Long Beach*, commanded by Capt. Frank H. Price, Jr., and the missile frigate *Bainbridge*, commanded by Capt. Raymond E. Peet.

The voyage, which is proceeding eastward from Gilbraltar around the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, will last approximately 2 months and will include a number of visits along the route. This significant circumnavigation of the globe is symbolic of America's nuclear leadership and progress for the purpose of preserving freedom and peace.

One cannot think of this adventure without recalling a similar American "first" of a half century ago—the round-the-world cruise of the great white fleet, which was dispatched from Norfolk, Va., in December of 1907 by President Theodore Roosevelt. It took our 16 battleships 14 months to complete their circuit of the globe, but when they steamed into Hampton Roads in February 1909 there was no question anywhere of America's greatness upon the seas—or of her intent to keep those seas free for the peaceful uses of all nations. So shall this 1964 voyage by the fantastic creations of a new age underscore our resolve and reaffirm the United States' historic purpose.

This undertaking highlights a decade of incredible achievement in the applications of nuclear power to ship propulsion. The next few months will see our Nation noting a series of 10th anniversary events along the path of nuclear power development. And atop the roll of honor associated with the birth and advancement of this era is Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, without whose perseverance and ingenuity it might not have been realized.

The 30th of September marks the 10th anniversary of the commissioning of the world's first nuclear-powered ship, the U.S.S. *Nautilus*, in 1954. A few months later, on January 17, 1955, the world heard the dramatic words from the submarine's skipper, "Underway on nuclear power"—and we knew that the venture was an unqualified success.

From that day to this, the story of our nuclear-powered Navy is one of steady and breathtaking progress—of hard work and sacrifice by thousands of dedicated officers and men, of dreams and hopes made reality by the tireless effort of mind and hand. And out of all of it has come the assurance to people everywhere that the United States will continue to be supreme as a maritime nation.

Reaction Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the foreign policy plank of the Republican Party platform is the strongest, most progressive statement ever produced by a national party. The widespread public acceptance of the platform and its foreign policy section is evident.

I am pleased to insert into the RECORD at this point an editorial that appeared in the Thursday, July 23, issue of the Hairenik Weekly, an outstanding publication of Boston, Mass.:

REACTION AGAIN

Almost immediately following release of the text of the official platform for 1964 adopted by the recent Republican convention, with plank eight of the foreign policy section calling for a "reaffirmation of long-standing commitment to a course leading to the eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations * * *", C. L. Sulzberger, the widely read columnist of the New York Times, wrote in that paper (July 15) that in his opinion that plank was a particularly good example of the "farrago of nonsense" comprehended by the party statement:

"In the farrago of nonsense his (GOLDWATER's) agents have inserted into a basically reasonable platform he would commit the United States to 'eventual liberation' of a perplexing list of peoples. Mixed together, one finds Yugoslavia and the Baltic States; the Ukraine and Armenia. The Ukraine has been ruled by Russia longer than Texas or GOLDWATER's own Arizona have been governed by Washington. And does the Senator, by wishing to 'liberate' the Armenians, propose to carve a piece of allied Turkey?"

Incredibly, this language takes the student of history back to the days of galloping isolation in the United States—the post-World War I period of cynical reaction in this country; and it is incredible that Mr. Sulzberger is thought to be a "liberal," as too his newspaper.

The columnist's careless indictment of the cases of Ukraine and Armenia simply proposes that we turn back the clock to the days of Lausanne, when Armenia was buried; or at least, return us to Potsdam.

Mr. Sulzberger quite obviously is so incensed at Mr. GOLDWATER that he is prepared to brand most everything associated with the Senator from Arizona as nonsense. Thus, since the GOP platform is acceptable to Mr. GOLDWATER, it is, ipso facto, a "farrago of nonsense"—even the eminently just plank summon that the Armenian case be not forgotten.

Whatever Mr. GOLDWATER's direct or indirect influence on the acceptance of plank 8 by the convention—the question is not who wrote it, or for whom it was tailored—we stand in defense of the Republican Party in its reaffirmation of America's traditional concept of universal freedom for all the peoples of the world especially since, at long last, after a patient wait of 40 years, we note that responsible people have found that Armenia fits once again into that context.

In quarreling with Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. Sulzberger ought not to quarrel with the righteous cause of the Armenian nation, which both the Senator and he ought to espouse. To make a football of the Armenian case is to deal injustice to a cause of compelling principle and overwhelming historical veracity.

A close reading of plank 8 makes it more than clear that those who drafted the statement simply proposed the eventual liberation of the captive nations of the U.S.S.R. There was not a word about Turkey. Mr. Sulzberger's generous introduction thus of the Turkish aspect was in this instance at best diversionary.

But since he brought it up, let us have our say.

If President Johnson, Senator GOLDWATER, or any other American, were to step forward and propose that a piece of "allied Turkey" ought to be carved out as a liberated Armenian state, we'd cheer so hard and long they'd hear us way up there in the Times tower, where sometimes the sounds of harsh reality are unwelcome.

What's wrong with America demanding its ally, Turkey, cede its Armenian territories so that a free Armenia can be re-created? Where is the nonsense in such a proposition?

It is disturbing that it was Mr. Sulzberger who said this thing.

For he has shown that he knows better.

In 1943, he was the first Western correspondent to dispatch news out of Turkey of the existence of the infamous Turkish minority sanctions tax, the "Varlik Verglisi," and it was through his insistent dispatches that the Turkish Government was pressured to lift this onerous measure of burden on Armenians, Greeks, and Jews.

Mr. Sulzberger on other occasions has demonstrated that he has an adequate knowledge of the Armenians and their travails; and he ought to know by now that their difficulties were compounded by the joint 1920 Turko-Soviet attack on the Independent Republic of Armenia, and the partition of that free state between the two aggressor nations.

Thus, if the Soviet holds a portion of Armenia unjustly, so too is Turkish control of the other sector unjust. What earthly difference does it make, therefore, as a matter of principle, that Turkey is today an "ally" of the United States?

When, therefore, a party platform proposes the liberation of Soviet Armenia, Mr. Sulzberger ought not to adduce the matter of Turkish Armenia as militating against such a step, for Turkish Armenia too is a candidate for eventual liberation.

It is hardly a hallmark of "liberalism" to scorn the cause of the 114 million of captive peoples today suffering Soviet serfdom especially through the adduction of the weary and discredited "Texas-state" argumentations of Mr. George Kennan. Armenians are Armenians, not Russians, but Texans are Americans; and since Ukrainians too are not Russians, but Ukrainians, what price the thought the Ukrainian case is any less valid because the Russians have "ruled" Ukraine for many years? If this is so, Russia has ruled Ukraine too long, and it is high time that rule were taken from Russia. How long, pray, did England rule Ireland that Ireland achieved its independence to the applause of the world?

We warmly commend the Republican Party for its action in favor of the captive nations of the U.S.S.R., and give notice that herein our personal yardstick of liberalism will be the degree, if any, to which parties, organizations, groups and individuals of this Nation subscribe to the liberation of Armenia, Ukraine, and other captive nations.

Those who use debate or subterfuge against such an endorsement cannot be liberals; for they have championed reaction in its ugliest and most discriminatory form.

Prep School Scholarships Available to Young Men Aiming for Naval Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Society of Sponsors of the U.S. Navy is a unique organization composed of women who have christened U.S. naval vessels. Its rolls include several first ladies of our land and many other women of prominence from both service and civilian life. In appreciation for the honor which has been bestowed upon them by the selection as sponsors of ships of the world's greatest Navy, these fine women seek to insure a steady flow of capable young men through the Naval Academy to man their ships.

For this purpose the society of sponsors awards scholarships to young men for preparatory schools to prime them for entrance to the U.S. Naval Academy. To receive such an award, an applicant must be acceptable to the scholarship committee of the society as to character, aptitude for the naval service, scholastic standing and physical fitness. Also, the financial situation of his parents or of the applicant himself, in case he is an orphan, must be such as to warrant the expenditure of funds of the society in making such an award.

In allocating these scholarships the following preferences are observed: First, sons of deceased and retired Navy and Marine Corps personnel; second, sons of active Navy and Marine Corps personnel; third, sons of personnel of the other military services; and, fourth, sons of civilians.

Inquiries relative to the award and application blanks may be obtained from Mrs. Roy S. Benson, Quarters "O," Navy Yard, Washington 25, D.C.

American Municipal Association Endorses Interama at Miami Beach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, following the same thought and sentiment expressed by the Congress of the United States previously expressed by the Congress by joint resolution and by the proclamation of President Truman, the American Muncipal Association meeting in Miami, Fla., on July 29 passed and adopted a resolution strongly commending the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center, in process of construction in the Greater Miami area for the contribution it would make to the U.S. economy and toward the objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

This resolution taken by representatives of 13,000 cities and towns of the United States is as follows:

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION
RESOLUTION 26

Whereas Interama will be the first permanent international exposition and will portray the American way of life—progress with freedom—and will show what the Americas and their local governments have achieved without the sacrifice of civil liberties and individual freedom—within the framework of democratic institutions; and

Whereas Interama's goals parallel and support those of the sister city program and the Alliance for Progress and will be beneficial to the people of the Americas; and

Whereas Interama has been endorsed by the U.S. Congress and by Presidential proclamation; and

Whereas the construction and operation of Interama will create more than 100,000 new permanent jobs and generate many benefits to the United States and the nations of Latin America; and

Whereas this construction will create employment for thousands of unemployed Cuban refugees and U.S. citizens; and

Whereas the State of Florida, the city of Miami and metropolitan Dade County through the Inter-American Center Authority has demonstrated the high national purpose of this project by making large investments of money and time and effort; and

Whereas Interama has requested assistance from the Community Facilities Administration for the planning and construction of buildings to house the exhibits of the United States and the Latin American nations, at no cost to the United States and the Latin American Governments; and

Whereas the participation of the U.S. Government to Interama would assure participation of foreign nations and major industries: Be it

Resolved, That the American Municipal Association approves the concept and objectives of Interama and recognizes its great potential to contribute to the national interest and the progress of Inter-American relations; and be it

Resolved, That the American Municipal Association urges the administration's support for financial assistance for Interama through the Community Facilities Administration.

Passed and adopted July 29, 1964.

The Miami Herald, an independent newspaper politically, published in Miami, took favorable note of this action endorsing Interama by the representatives of the American Municipal Association at its 40th anniversary congress in the following editorial:

[From the Miami Herald, July 30, 1964]

MAYORS URGE UNITED STATES TO BOOST INTERAMA

(By George Southworth)

The American Municipal Association ended its 40th anniversary congress here Wednesday by electing Milwaukee Mayor Henry W. Maier president and giving Interama a national boost.

Urging the Federal Government to give financial assistance to Interama, the representatives of some 13,000 U.S. communities gave approval "to the concepts and objectives" of the proposed first permanent international exposition.

Delegates unanimously approved a resolution presented by North Miami Beach Councilman Newton Greene and Ralph Marsicano of the Florida League of Municipalities that the AMA "recognizes Interama's great potential to contribute to the national interest and the progress of inter-American relations."

Florida's Democratic nominee for Governor, Haydon Burns, said approval of the Interama resolution by the AMA "is most encouraging."

"If the President of the United States or others in the administration have any idea that this undertaking was purely for the benefit of Dade County," he said, "this resolution should certainly dismiss any such illusions.

"I feel greatly encouraged that Interama can now count on the necessary support of the Federal Government in the form of establishment of a U.S. exhibit and pavilions for Latin American exhibits to be provided through the $18.5 million loan requested by Interama that now is awaiting final decision by the executive branch of the Government in Washington."

The Miami News, a paper long published by the distinguished former Governor of Ohio and former Democratic nominee for President of the United States, and now published by members of his family, also took favorable note of this action of endorsement by the American Municipal Association in the following editorial:

[From the Miami News, July 28, 1964]

MORE BELIEVERS IN INTERAMA

Two more fine boosts for Interama in recent days should do much to sustain the enthusiasm of those who are laboring quietly to make this old community dream a reality.

First, the resolutions committee of the American Municipal Association, convening on Miami Beach, voted to endorse the project, and this is surely the finest gift Miami's sister cities around the Nation could make to the convention's host area.

If the Congress approves the resolution as expected, Dade County will be supported in its contention to the Federal Government that the Inter-American Trade and Cultural Center is of national importance, and not purely local.

We were also encouraged by the interest shown in this project by gubernatorial candidate Haydon Burns. Mr. Burns will attempt to secure some valuable mechanical equipment now in use at the New York World's Fair for later transfer to Interama.

Interama has been moving ahead steadily over the past few years under the determined leadership of Dr. Irving Muskat, chairman. But Dr. Muskat and his authority cannot do it all. These latest evidences of future State and nationwide support are most welcome.

I know of no more representative group in the United States than those speaking for the 13,000 cities and towns in the United States through the distinguished American Municipal Association. All of us, including many of our colleagues who have given encouragement and assistance for the progress of the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center project would be pleased, I am sure, by this strong endorsement of support from the American Municipal Association.

A New Look at Money Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, on July 11 an editorial entitled "A New Look at Money Management" appeared in Business Week magazine and I believe that this editorial is of interest to my colleagues.

The article takes note of "corrective proposals to strengthen" the Federal Reserve System which have been made by a subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee headed by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.

While I am not a member of the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance which has been studying the Federal Reserve System, I do know that its members have worked long and hard to come up with these proposals to strengthen our central banking system.

I believe that the following editorial comment on this matter merits the attention of my colleagues.

A NEW LOOK AT MONEY MANAGEMENT

The past few years have been a period of exceptional creativity both for monetary theory and for the improvement of the techniques of monetary management. The "corrective proposals to strengthen" the Federal Reserve System, advanced last week by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN'S House Banking Committee, reflect some of this new thinking. Where they do, they deserve careful study.

One of the main objects of PATMAN'S proposals (Business Week, July 4, 1964, p. 68) is to promote the coordination of the Federal Reserve's monetary policies with the economic policies of the rest of the Government. The methods that he suggests for achieving this will have to be debated and evaluated on their own merits. But they should not be rejected out of hand on the grounds that they would impinge on the traditional independence of the Fed.

The fact is that no modern nation can afford to let its central bank operate without regard to the economic policies and commitments of the elected government. There must be coordination of monetary policy with the broad economic policies of the administration—or there will be chaos.

What actually has occurred in recent years has demonstrated that the Fed can coordinate its actions with those of other Government agencies without losing its effectiveness. Under Chairman William McC. Martin, there has been close cooperation between the Fed and the administration.

The question arises, however, whether the present arrangement would work so well if different personalities were involved. There is much to be said for defining the Federal Reserve's relation to the administration more explicitly.

PATMAN makes two proposals to this end. He would have the term of the Federal Reserve Chairman coincide with that of the President, so that the President always could name his own man to the job. He also would require that the economic report of the President include a statement about the goals of monetary policy for the year ahead.

There is merit in both ideas. And Congress may want to go further and provide for the coordination of policy by a National Economic Council made up of the Federal Reserve Chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and other officials.

Mechanical arrangements are no substitute for able men. But Congress may prevent some unhappy misunderstandings in the future if it takes the opportunity now to spell out the Fed's role in terms that cannot be mistaken.

Norwegian Contributions to American Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to address the Sons of Norway and the Daughters of Norway organizations of my district on the subject of Norwegian contributions to American life.

I ask permission to insert the address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of those Members who might be interested in the subject.

NORWEGIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN LIFE

One hundred and fifty years have passed since the Constitution of Norway was promulgated by the National Assembly at Eidsvold on May 17, 1814. That constitution was formulated by an assembly composed of 112 elected delegates—farmers, merchants, civil and military officials, and a few noblemen. Norway's long fight for freedom had at last been won.

Since 1814, Syttende Mai has been celebrated in Norway as we celebrate the Fourth of July in America. By the 1860's, Seventeenth of May celebrations were being held in some communities in America in which many Norwegians had settled.

The coming of pioneers from the fjords of Norway to the coasts, valleys, and plains of America is a story with more than one beginning. According to the sagas of the Vikings, Leif Erikson landed somewhere on our North Atlantic coast about the year 1003. In the years that followed, Thorfinn

Karlsefni established a colony, and it was there that the first white child was born on American soil, probably in the 1020's.

Unlike these earliest Norwegian settlers, those who landed with their Dutch friends from the *de Eendracht* at New Amsterdam in 1630 made permanent homes in America. It is not possible to determine the number of Norwegians who came to New Netherland during the period of Dutch rule. John O. Evjen has reconstructed the biographies of 57 who came during the period from 1630 to 1674. That there were more is possible. They intermarried with the Dutch and Germans in the colony, and many of the old Hudson River families can count Norwegians among their ancestors.

The modern story of Norwegian migration began with the arrival in 1825 of 53 immigrants, including a baby born at sea, from Stavanger in the sloop *Restaurationen*. They entered New York harbor on October 9 after a voyage of 14 weeks. The newcomers settled first in Orleans County, some 35 miles northwest of the city of Rochester, N.Y. There they bought 40-acre tracts of heavily forested land at $5 an acre.

The first year was a difficult one. Cold weather and illness overtook them before even a few inadequate huts were completed. Gradually, through hard work, they cleared enough land to support themselves; they put the heartbreak of those first grim years behind them; they won their personal war on poverty.

In 1834, a half dozen families left for the "place which is called Ellenaais," as one of the settlers wrote to a friend in Norway. Others from the New York settlement followed these pioneers and they were joined by newcomers from Norway. The banks of the Fox River in La Salle County, Ill., became the center of Norwegian life in America.

Only scattered individuals left Norway for America between 1825 and 1836. The 1836 group, almost 200 strong, was the first large contingent to go directly to the West. From this time on there was no break in the movement from the fjords to the prairies. More than a million Norwegians came to America between 1825 and 1925. Except for Ireland, Norway gave to America a larger percentage of her people than any other nation during the transatlantic migration of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Various reasons lay behind this movement to America: A desire to escape social and economic oppression at home; political dissatisfaction; a reaction against the barren formalism of the state church; a desire to escape high taxes and compulsory military service; and the quest for cheap land, economic security, and a richer life.

The first migration in 1825 was led by Norwegian Quakers who left their homeland in quest of religious, economic, and political freedom and settled on the shores of Lake Ontario. The last migration was led by Norwegian Mormons, seeking the same things, who marked the path to Utah and the Far West. The discovery of gold in California was as strong a force as the discovery of the rich, black soil of Illinois had been in earlier days.

Prodded by conditions at home and drawn by glowing letters from America, in succeeding waves the Norwegians made the hazardous Atlantic crossing and joined the westward movement. They came in succeeding decades to Illinois, to Wisconsin, to Iowa, to Minnesota, to the Red River Valley, and the Dakotas. From there they moved to Montana, and came at last, with courage and endurance, over desert and mountain, to the Pacific Ocean and Puget Sound.

In the Midwest the Americans from Norway generally engaged in farming. In smaller numbers they worked at skilled trades and helped to build railroads across the plains and mountains. In Montana they became miners and lumbermen, small farmers and businessmen. Shipping, fishing, and lumbering have been their main occupations on the west coast. In the higher brackets some own and operate packing companies, salmon salteries and canneries, codfish stations ashore, and large fishing vessels and steamers on the sea. They engage in the allied occupations of fish brokers, boatbuilders, marine architects, and inventors and manufacturers of fishing gear and canning machinery. Others of Norwegian descent have made significant contributions in the fields of government, science, education, and the arts.

The census of 1960 reported that there were in the United States a total of 774,754 people born in Norway or of Norwegian parentage in whole or in part. The 10 States that lead in the number of first and second generation Norwegians according to the 1960, census, are as follows:

Minnesota	156,788
California	76,499
Washington	74,925
Wisconsin	73,505
New York	62,116
North Dakota	53,213
Illinois	49,351
Iowa	28,765
South Dakota	26,330
Oregon	22,169

These figures present an inadequate picture of the number of persons of Norwegian ancestry because they do not take into account those whose parents were born in America. Some scholars estimate that there are in America perhaps a million more persons of Norwegian ancestry beyond the first and second generations.

Norwegians as a group and as individuals have made a significant contribution to our national life and culture. Even before they passed Bedloe Island they were imbued with a love of liberty and an appreciation of the worth of the individual, bred in them by their history and their life in the valley and on the fjords of their native land. One result of the Civil War was to identify the Norwegian immigrants closely with the ideals and fortunes of their adopted country. Several thousand Norsemen responded enthusiastically to President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Deeply opposed as they were to slavery, many hundreds of Scandinavians "gave their strength and their lives for the unity and safety of their adopted country no less bravely and no less cheerfully than did the native-born American."

If now we recall a few outstanding Norwegian-Americans by name it is not to disparage that great unnamed majority who also served.

In the realm of military activity, Col. Hans Christian Heg organized and commanded the famous 15th Wisconsin Regiment which fought for the Union in many battles and lost one-third of its men, including its commander who fell at Chickamauga. In World War II a Norse battalion was formed as part of the 9th Infantry Regiment stationed at Fort Snelling, and trained for winter warfare to help in liberating Norway. A Marine battalion known as Carlson's Raiders, led by Evans Carlson, won fame at Guadalcanal. Gen. Lauris Norstad helped plan the North African campaign. He served as Commander in Chief of the United States and Allied Air Forces in Central Europe in 1951, and as supreme allied commander, Europe, from 1956 to 1963. Now retired from the Air Force, he is president of Owens-Corning Fiberglass International.

As the frontier period passed, more technically trained Norwegians have made contributions to our American life. Olaf Hoff built tunnels under the Detroit and Harlem Rivers. Ole Singstad constructed the Holland, Lincoln, and Queens Midtown Tunnels in New York. Sverre Dahm played a leading role in the construction of the New York subway system. Gunvald Aus and Kort Berle built the Woolworth Building in New York, the Supreme Court Building in Washington, and many others.

In the field of science, Oswald Veblen, John A. Eiesland, and Ostein Ore have been among America's leading mathematicians. Ernest O. Lawrence won the 1939 Nobel award for his invention and development of the cyclotron. Merle Tuve is director of the department of terrestrial magnetism at the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Lawrence Hafstad, former Director of Reactor Development for the Atomic Energy Commission, is now director of research laboratories for General Motors Corp. Dr. Philip Abelson, inventor of the nuclear submarine, now with the Atomic Energy Commission and the Carnegie Institution, who was born in Tocoma.

In the field of medical science, Dr. Ludvig Hektoen has made contributions in cancer research, and Dr. Alfred Owre in dentistry.

Our educational leaders have included Bryn Hovde, former head of the New School for Social Research; Frederick Hovde, president of Purdue University; Peter Odegard, former president of Reed College at Portland, Oreg., and now professor of political science at the University of California; Charles Odegaard, president of the University of Washington; Agnes Mathilde Wergeland, former head of the Department of History at the University of Wyoming, the first Norwegian woman in the world to earn a Ph. D. degree; and Theodore C. Blegen, professor of history and former dean of the graduate school at the University of Minnesota.

In the domain of letters our people have made a major contribution. Prominent in the field were Rasmus B. Anderson, Waldemar Ager, Simon Johnson, and Johannes B. Wist. Martha Ostenso's novels have been widely read. But the outstanding man of letters among us was Ole Edbart Rolvaag, whose masterpiece, "Giants in the Earth," was first published in 1924.

Norwegians prominent in the field of journalism include Victor F. Lawson, former publisher of the Chicago Daily News and founder and first president of the Associated Press; William Evjue, editor of the Madison Capital Times; and Eric Sevareid, journalist and radio and television commentator.

In the arena of sports we can point with pride to Knute Rockne, Sonja Henie, Molla Bjurstedt Mallory, and Torger Tokle.

Last but not least our people have made their contribution to American Government. Almost two dozen men of Norweigian descent have occupied Governors' chairs—among them Floyd Olson, Elmer Benson, Edward J. Thye, and John Erickson, and Arthur B. Langlie and Mon Walgren of our own State. Since 1883, about three dozen have served in the House of Representatives, and about a dozen in the Senate. Knute Nelson represented Minnesota in Congress for 33 years, 6 in the House of Representatives and 27 in the Senate. On his 80th birthday he received messages of congratulations from the King of Norway, the President of the Norwegian Congress, and President Harding. Senators MAGNUSON and JACKSON represent our State today in the Senate.

Thus, the dream of our Norwegian ancestors has come true in generous measure. In cooperation with millions of our fellow citizens, we have advanced man's age-old struggle for freedom, and made our own America. As once again we celebrate the 17th of May, we can recall the struggle, and the achievement of our forebears. In their spirit we face the future with hope and confidence, and with a desire and will to make our America a place where our children will be as proud to be citizens as are we.

The Privilege of a College Degree: Then and Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, at the commencement exercises at Duke University in June 1964, Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, James B. Duke professor of economics, Duke University, delivered the commencement address. This is the first time in the history of the institution that a member of the faculty has been asked to perform this assignment.

The text of Dr. Hoover's address was printed in the Duke Alumni Register of June 1964. It is my opinion that this address is of such a nature that it should be brought to the attention of my colleagues.

Under unanimous consent, therefore, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today.

The address follows:

THE PRIVILEGE OF A COLLEGE DEGREE: THEN AND NOW

(By Calvin Bryce Hoover)

(With excellence as their goal, today's college graduates were told they ought to consider themselves future contributors to society rather than future leaders.)

In comparing the privileged status acquired by a college degree at two different moments of time, I would like to take the date of my own graduation as a starting point. There is no ambiguity about the now. Now means today. While then means the date of my own graduation, setting this date becomes a little complex. I should have graduated in June 1918. My graduation was delayed, however. In May of 1917, I took advantage of the unprecedented generosity of our Government which in that year offered a large number of what might euphemistically be called "scholarships" for a tour of France. I jumped at the chance, and so had a whole year in France with all expenses paid. What with one thing and another, I did not get around to graduating until June 1922. For statistical purposes, let us split the difference and take the census year of 1920 as representing then. This gives us a 44-year timespan.

The striking difference between the privilege of a college degree then and now is that there will be conferred this year roughly 900 percent more bachelor's degrees than were conferred in 1920. During this period, population has increased by about 8 percent. This means that almost six times as large a proportion of our people will receive a college degree this year compared with the time of my own graduation. This great increase in the proportion of our population who will receive college degrees reflects the extent to which our society has become both more affluent and more democratic.

Our society has not only become richer and more egalitarian through time, it reflects the joint effects of these two characteristics more than in any other country in the world today. The proportion of our population enrolled in institutions of higher learning is more than double that of the Soviet Union, about five times as high as in the United Kingdom, and some six or seven times as high as in France. These statistics are not strictly comparable, but they will serve our purpose.

This striking improvement in the proportion of higher degrees granted has been made possible by a rate of increase in real product per manhour of some 2½ percent per annum compounded. This rate of increase primarily reflects improvements in the efficiency of production in our economy. It has permitted total real gross output of our economy to more than triple between then and now. Total net real national income has increased at very nearly the same rate.

Of the increase in productivity due to improvement in technology which took place during this period of 44 years, labor received more than 90 percent. Thus our society has become both more productive and more democratic in the distribution of income. While there have been fluctuations in the degree of inequality in income distribution in the United States, over the period as a whole the rich have certainly not been growing relatively richer and the poor relatively poorer. Meanwhile, the whole level of income of the people of the United States has been rising.

This is not to deny that poverty still exists in the United States. However, poverty may be either a relative or an absolute concept. President Johnson has suggested that families having an income of less than $3,000 per year are living in poverty and that 20 percent of our population are in this category. I think this is a not unreasonable definition of current poverty. So long as we do not have perfect equality in the distribution of national income, however, there will always be a poorest 20 percent of our population regardless of how great the total increase in national income. Since 1947, for example, the percentage of our population living in poverty, by President Johnson's definition, has in fact declined from 32 to 20 percent. (This is after allowance for the change in price level during the period.) Ten years from now after the level of income has continued to rise substantially, someone might wish to redefine the poverty level of income as $4,000 per family and then to say that the percentage of families living in poverty had not changed for the better. It would indeed be desirable to have the level of real income of the poorest 20 percent of our population rise even above the $4,000 level, but it would be nonsense to say that an increase from $3,000 to $4,000 in real income as the level below which we designate incomes as being in the poverty zone did not mean a movement away from poverty.

Thus, we still do have the problem of poverty with us today just as we have the other related but not identical problem of the current high rate of unemployment. Both poverty and unemployment are undoubtedly related to deficiencies in education. Yet here, too, we must beware of the current cliches which glibly assume that more education is the panacea which would solve these problems. There is little evidence, for example, that the lower rate of unemployment in Europe compared with the United States is a function of more and better education there. I have pointed out that on the contrary the proportion of our population participating in higher education is much higher in the United States than in Europe.

We all have an obligation to contribute our best efforts to the solution of these problems. It is, however, our first duty as educated men and women to try to get facts and to analyze these facts before emotionally embracing proposed solutions to these problems which may not be solutions at all.

TODAY'S GRADUATES JOIN A GREATLY EXPANDED SOCIOECONOMIC GROUP

It has been the custom time out of mind to congratulate the graduating class on being the future leaders of their community, State, and Nation. I never liked this custom, and I am not going to follow it today. The custom arose at the time when only a very small proportion of the population could hope to have the special advantages of a college education. At this earlier time, it was logical enough to assume that the leadership of the Nation would be drawn from this potential elite. Leadership did not even in the earlier period, in fact, come exclusively from this group which had superior educational advantages. Men in many fields of endeavor managed to achieve distinction by overcoming their educational handicaps. Fortunately, this still happens, although it is constantly becoming more difficult.

I have pointed out that when you graduate today, you are joining the ranks of a greatly expanded socioeconomic group. It is still a privileged group, with the expectation of annual incomes substantially greater than the average. The average (median) income of college graduates at age 25 and over in 1961 was roughly $7,500 compared with $5,500 for high school graduates. During an average earning span of life, this difference would amount to some $80,000. There are offsetting costs so that this amount is by no means pure surplus. Not the least of these costs are the earnings forgone while in college, even though these earnings would be at a lower rate.

It would be incorrect to attribute all of this superiority in income to the higher degree. Persons of greater innate ability tend to go on for the higher degrees even though it is also true that the higher degree at least accentuates ability and usually improves it. In any event, those with the higher degree do, on the average, have a privilege which is financially measurable on the order of magnitude mentioned. I repeat that I reject the idea that every member of this expanded privileged group has a God-given right to be considered a future leader. I rejected the idea when the size of the group was relatively far smaller, and I reject the idea even more strongly now.

Some years ago, President Eisenhower remarked that he was getting fed up with the constant talk of American leadership, as though the rest of the world were humbly and earnestly beseeching us to assume world leadership. I agree with President Eisenhower. I wonder how much we would appreciate it if the Russians, the Chinese, the British, the French, or the Iranians were modestly to assert their responsibility to provide leadership for us.

If I think it inappropriate to address you as future leaders, it would be still more inadvisable for you to think of yourselves in that way. If you hint, however delicately, to anyone else that you are grooming yourself for leadership, you will be considered the insufferable prig which you would be.

I would not for a moment encourage you to be content with mediocrity or to withhold your utmost efforts at achievement. You owe it to society as well as to yourself to repay the very considerable cost entailed in your education by attaining the highest possible return on this investment through your productivity in industry, in the profession, in government, or in the arts. Out of your achievements, there may come leadership, but it will be leadership which is earned, not a leadership status which is accorded you because you have an academic degree.

The idea that an academic degree automatically entitles the holder to leadership status is likely to breed conceit and arrogance. Paradoxically enough, it is also likely to produce a sort of guilt consciousness. As a result, there may be overcompensation by trying to aline yourself with all movements and organizations which claim to speak for the masses. The Nazi and Soviet cases, like many others in history, demonstrate the dangers of uncritical alinement with mobs and the demagogues who lead them.

If I do not encourage you to consider yourselves as leaders, I certainly do not recommend that you should simply be followers. Those in our society who through achieve-

ment have earned the status of leadership do depend upon our loyal support in attaining socially desirable goals. This is quite a different matter from the blind acceptance of what Galbraith has called conventional wisdom. There is hardly any responsibility which is more important for the educated man than the constant reexamination of the validity of this conventional wisdom. Our responsibility is, nevertheless, even greater to examine before accepting the validity of the latest intellectual fad which may represent itself as the successor to conventional wisdom.

This might appear as an injunction to seek always the middle way. It is not so intended at all. It represents, on the contrary, the earnest hope that the great expansion in the proportion of our citizens who obtain the advantages of higher education will increase rather than diminish the diversity of individual ideas and points of view. The long experience I have had with the horrors of life under totalitarian state system convinces me that this individual independence of thought is one of the greatest bulwarks against the aspiring tyrant. If the tyrant attains power, he at once endeavors to destroy this individual independence of thought, be the tyrant a Stalin, a Hitler, or a Castro.

Ethics and decency do require that we have full respect for the personal dignity of all persons. In some ultimate sense we are all equal in the sight of God, all entitled to mutual respect, regardless of birth, of education, or of social status. I hope you will not fail to retain a deep sense of noblesse oblige throughout life. Noblesse oblige was, of course, originally an aristocratic concept, associated with privilege. It is particularly important that in our more affluent and democratic society, the greatly increased number of us who have the privilege of an academic degree should continue to recognize the reciprocal aspects of our privilege. Unlike the ignoble claim for unearned leadership status, noblesse oblige recognizes that the superior advantages you have had do obligate you to service on behalf of your fellow man. I exhort you, consequently, not to regard yourself as a future leader but as a future contributor. Excellence may not be attainable for all of us; but with excellence as our goal, we will make the greatest contribution to society. Striving for excellence is possible for us all, whether white collar or blue collar worker, whether in the professions, in business, or in government. May we, therefore, always strive toward excellence in our role as contributors to the social product. This is our privilege and our duty.

Extra-Long Staple Cotton Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1964, I addressed the House on the subject of selling American-grown extra-long staple cotton for export. At that time, I deplored the delay which was taking place and urged that our cotton be sold in foreign markets at competitive prices. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the U.S. Department of Agriculture on July 9, 1964, announced an export sales program for domestically grown extra-long staple cotton. However, for some reason the announcement stated that no more than 5,000 bales per month would be sold. If there is a need for this kind of cotton abroad, I do not understand why such a limitation should be imposed. I am certain that the Department will get the sales program underway quickly and that it will be administered in such a way as to insure results so satisfactory that the quantitative limitation can be eliminated.

I am sure that my colleagues from areas where this specialty type cotton is grown, as well as all economy-minded Members, join me in expressing great interest in the success of the program.

Eugene T. Kinnaly—Outstanding Congressional Aid

SPEECH
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 22, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am most pleased to have this opportunity to pay tribute to a valued friend, the invaluable aid of our great Speaker, Eugene T. Kinnaly. His long period of devoted and conscientious service is deserving of more than just passing mention and I am happy to associate myself with the many friends of this longtime Capitol employee in commending and complimenting him on his unique record of 46 years as a congressional assistant.

Always cheerful, friendly, helpful, and considerate, Gene Kinnaly has earned in word and deed the warm affection and high regard of the Members of this House and all who have come to know and admire him. A man of quiet modesty and great, unusual ability, he is at the very top of his profession as aid and confident to our great, distinguished and beloved Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

During his long association with the Speaker, he has made outstanding and invaluable contributions to the Congress and the Nation. All of us in the Congress who have come to know him are aware of the important tasks and duties he has performed down through years through all the vicissitudes and changing currents of national politics and world events.

Capable, loyal, completely devoted to his work, he has won during the many years of his service on Capitol Hill a legion of friends in and out of public life. He enjoys the respect and esteem of his associates and has the confidence and friendship of employees of the House of every rank and station.

I am glad to be one of the many friends of Gene Kinnaly to salute him. I take special pleasure in extending to him my heartiest congratulations on this happy occasion with my good wishes for many more happy anniversaries and choicest blessings in the years to come.

I rejoice with his many friends and join them in wishing for him all the blessings and graces of good health, success, happiness and further accomplishments that the good Lord may bestow.

The Credible Incentive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Capt. William A. Golden of the U.S. Navy has written an excellent article which should be read and heeded by all who are concerned with our defense. The importance of maintaining a superior officer's corps cannot be overemphasized. If we are to do this, we must, as Captain Golden says, provide adequate incentives sufficient to retain these officers. Although his article is written about the Navy it applies with equal importance to all the services.

Captain Golden's article follows herewith:

THE CREDIBLE INCENTIVE

(In the beginning, there are the ringing words, "trust and confidence." Then, as each naval officer pursues his own holy grail, the glistening trappings and lofty, noble words—"nicest sense of honor, loyalty, duty"—sustain him. But, though words may inspire and ornaments may beguile, there are those who would say, with the author, "Officers cannot be paid like busboys, worked like field hands, and released like, old, slow halfbacks.")

(By William A. Golden, captain, U.S. Navy)

No one has seriously questioned that our military forces must provide a credible deterrent. When it became apparent that a nuclear response to low-order provocations was inappropriate, steps were taken to develop a range of military responses which would be, in the estimate of an enemy, practical and inevitable against any form of aggression. The doors of our military strategies swing on the jeweled bearings of credibility.

The U.S. Navy has officer personnel problems. Midshipmen in unacceptable numbers, including some of the brightest, have preferred commissions in one of the other services. There has been a chronic shortage of unrestricted line lieutenants for over a decade. From among the scarce lieutenants, it has been necessary to draft, against their will, candidates for nuclear-power training, and by inference, for the submarine service. Captains have been compelled to serve, under various rules, from 2 to 5 years in grade before a request for retirement would be approved. A similar provision operates in the case of senior and master chief petty officers.

In short, it is hard to get unrestricted line officers as ensigns, hard to keep them as lieutenants, and hard to keep them as captains. Except for the pension prisoners staying in for 20 years, more universal expression of dissatisfaction can hardly be imagined. The fact that the most senior, capable, and experienced officers and men must be prevented from retiring is truly a significant one, for these men know the service best.

The factor which is such an important multiplier in the formula for deterrence—credibility—is at the heart of the officer retention program. Officers who do not choose to enter or remain in the Navy simply do not believe that the advantages of a naval career, whatever they are, outweigh the disadvantages, whatever they are. If the evidences of dissatisfaction were isolated or temporary, perhaps the present circumstance could be tolerated. In fact, they are pervasive and persistent, and deserve further examination.

The attractiveness of a naval career is the measure of the superiority of the incentives over the trials of Navy life. If the incentives exceed the trials, officers stay in the service, but no one can tell which man's trials are another man's incentives, and vice versa. Long deployments may be an attraction to the young bachelor and a trial to the new father. Low pay may be relatively unimportant until the college tuition bills arrive. In general, the trials of the service, such as low pay and long deployments, are concrete and exist in the present. Incentives, such as retirement benefits, prestige, and self-satisfaction, tend to be intangibles existing in the future. Trials and incentives may change values, that is, such benefits as retirement and medical care may be of little concern to the young officer but of major importance to him as he grows older. Conversely, features such as low pay and long, frequent deployments become trials as the officer with a growing family perceives the constantly growing scope of his personal responsibilities.

Whatever the variations, it is clear that the balance must be struck in the mind of the individual officer at the time he makes a decision. It is immaterial that Congress, the Department of Defense, and the Bureau of Naval Personnel maintain that the advantages outweigh the trials. The ballots are cast by thousands of officers whose perceptions of the values involved are the only authentic ones. The incentives offered have simply not met the test of the marketplace.

Nor can this be attributed to stupidity; it is in fact the reverse which is true. The Cordiner Commission reported that, "Retainability in the service is in inverse proportion to education."

If an officer contemplates making a career in the Navy, he should know the dimensions of that career. If he contemplates making his relationship a permanent one, he should know what set of attitudes exist between him and the service.

It is wholly fair to ask if there is such a thing as a naval career. The Cordiner Commission concluded:

"Even a full military career is a relatively brief one, and service personnel, often at the height of their productivity, family obligations, and financial commitments, are forced to alter their standard of living to the reduced economic level imposed by retirement."

At a time when a third of our officers seem preoccupied in writing up their résumés, and another third seem to be taking off-campus courses in preparation for a civilian job, we are compelled to ask whether or not the Navy is indeed a profession in which a man may make a career. We may theorize at some length, as has Prof. Samuel P. Huntington who says that officers are professionals in the "management of violence." It is true that a professional approach and a professional level of skill are requified in many aspects of naval operations. But, in the final analysis, no matter what hypotheses are advanced, successful lawyers, doctors, engineers, or architects do not turn to the sale of real estate, insurance, or securities in later life. It is this factor which precludes the Navy from being a career for the vast majority of unrestricted line officers—it is in no way a lifework. It is, in fact, a pseudoprofession in which only the most extraordinarily successful have earned a lifelong livelihood.

With respect to being called professionals in the "management of violence," we may fairly conclude that if there is no violence there can be no professional management of it. To say "professional custodians of the weapons of violence" may be nearer to the truth, but it is a fundamental mistake to describe the naval officer as professional. He is at most a professional at overcoming his ignorance as he proceeds from duty station to duty station.

We are not constrained to affect a charitable view of the naval career or profession, for it is precisely the charitable view which has resulted in our predicament. It is now necessary to recognize objectively that officers cannot be paid like busboys, worked like field hands, and released like old, slow halfbacks—not because it is not legal, but because it simply is not good business. We have already undergone 15 years of difficult officer recruiting, and we may take proper notice that quality as well as quantity is involved. We therefore, face the prospect of operating the supersonic, electronic, atomic Navy of 1973 with an officer corps developed from 25 years of poor recruiting. Professor Huntington provides us with the reason for taking a cold, hard look at our officer problems:

"The deterioration of the officer corps, the product of the entire Frederickian system of selection and organization, culminated in the disaster at Jena and the capitulation of the Prussian fortresses to Napoleon."

A young man, then, if he takes an objective view instead of a lyrical one, may honestly conclude that the Navy as a career falls somewhat short of what he might expect from a true profession.

If he resolves this situation satisfactorily in his own mind, he must still determine what set of attitudes will exist between him and the Navy. Senator JOHN C. STENNIS in an interchange with Adm. H. P. Smith, said, "I like your concept that it is a privilege to serve in the Navy." This concept may have worked when the Navy could not even commission all of its Naval Academy graduates, and it may be an altogether admirable philosophy, but it does not meet the competitive requirements of the day.

There exist in writing at least four documents which describe what the naval officer shall be to his Navy. They are his commission, John Paul Jones' Code of a Naval Officer, the Code of Conduct, and General Order 21 on leadership. There is no document describing what the Navy shall be to its officers. The Navy seems always to have had an unusually lucid concept of the obligation of the man to the organization; it does not have any discernible concept of the obligation of the organization to the main. A relationship exists, of course, and it was made clear by a legal opinion expressed during the 1959 "hump bill" hearings:

"In short, it is perfectly obvious that no regular officer of the armed services can be considered to have a contract with the Government, and the Congress can by statute establish the means by which that officer may be discharged or retired * * *. And the Congress can also change these statutes without exposing the Government to a charge of having violated a contract, or of having arbitrarily acted in bad faith."

A naval officer, therefore, is undertaking what is acknowledged to be a relatively brief career, in which he is privileged to serve. If he is not considered to be under a contractual arrangement, then he must be dependent upon the good faith of his employer who may not even be exposed "to a charge of having violated a contract or having arbitrarily acted in bad faith." The trust and confidence of our officers, not in our officers, is therefore one of the most precious and delicate assets we have.

Under this set of circumstances, we are wholly justified in inquiring more fully into the ways in which the Navy has supported its officers in the attainment of incentives which would override the trials of the service.

One example will suffice to illuminate the philosophical relationship between the Navy and its officers. When it was decided that the prestige of the naval officer should be raised, officers were again required to buy swords. On the surface this appears to be a routine matter for the Uniform Board; philosophically, it reveals a fundamental disregard for the officer and his family. Swords cost money, and at a time when inadequate pay was being devalued by inflation, officers were required to buy swords in order to raise their own prestige. This kind of decision (like all others) can be rationalized in terms of the "good of the service," but consider what the effect might have been had the decision been to present swords to all regular officers rather than to make them buy them.

A $50 sword is patently not a major issue—but a 50-cent philosophy is.

A philosophy of penury has pervaded the [entire] monetary relationship flowing from the Navy to its individual officers. If there is a way to prevent the expenditure of funds to individuals, the Navy will find it, even if the expenditure is within the law. If travel can be classed as group travel, it will be; if TAD can be described as "under instruction" it will be. If inadequate BOQ's can be classed as adequate, they will be. Finally, we may look at the Navy position on responsibility pay. Admiral Smith has stated that the Navy's position is that responsibility is what an officer works for as he advances through his career. Should cash be added as an incentive, he said, the Navy feels that the whole philosophy of command would suffer.

That is, in addition to the political, economic, and organizational obstacles to better pay, the Navy itself tends to diminish the financial incentives of a career.

We may contrast this attitude with that of the president of the Du Pont Corp., who said: "For most people, maximum effort is allied closely to inducements which they can identify as promoting personal interest," and with that of United States Steel, which has:

"* * * a patent award system, a wage incentive program for the great majority of production and maintenance workers, employee suggestion plan, a sales management incentive plan, a works management incentive plan, a general management incentive plan, a stock option incentive plan, and a savings plan for eligible salaried employees which features purchasing United States Steel stock."

The Navy operates not so much at an economic disadvantage as at a philosophic disadvantage, which has resulted in what might be called "Let them eat cake" benefits: the delay in raising military per diem rates after the civil service rates had been raised; the delay in effecting a raise in quarters allowance after having described the urgent need; and the delay until October 1, 1963, of a pay bill described as "priority legislation." It is justifiable to conclude that this is the pattern for the future as well.

The great defense controversies of our time have invariably concerned machinery or organization. The aircraft, the battleship, the carrier, the B–36, Skybolt, TFX, the B–70, unification, Nike-Zeus, and nuclear power have each had their energetic proponents. No one has ever resigned, been dismissed, or been courtmartialed because of people. Yet, man is invariably described as the indispensable element in modern warfare.

Such lipservice is merely a facade behind which our incentives have been shrinking and disappearing. We will fight to keep 15 aircraft carriers; we will reorganize to get Polaris, and we will fight to keep it under Navy control. Concerning people, we will retreat; we will delay; we will compromise. Each gain is counterbalanced by some loss—aviation cadet bonus, tombstone promotion benefits, 50 percent fight pay, Government insurance, foreign duty pay, retirement pay, commissary privileges, retired medical care. At the same time, deployment commitments have never been higher, and there is no sign of abatement. Very simply, the trend of the inducements to stay in the Navy is down; the trend of the trials is up. It is credible that the trials are real and increasing; it is credible that the incentives are vulnerable

and vanishing; it is not now credible that the trends will be reversed.

We are not constrained to take a charitable view of our circumstances; neither are we required to find a scapegoat. It is required that we describe accurately the deterioration of our incentives, for only then can we demonstrate that we have come to the end of the long road we have followed. We have done all we could with persuasion, with compromise, with retreat, with diplomacy, with sweet reasonableness. We have followed this course with the best of intentions, plainly free from avarice. Our efforts have been rewarded with a niggardly pay raise reluctantly enacted.

Pay, of course, is valuable as an incentive because of its versatility. It may be converted into any desirable end, as contrasted to medical care, for example, which may be used only for medical care. Pay can be converted into prestige or retirement, but neither prestige nor retirement can be converted to pay. In short, fringe benefits [do] enter [and cloud] the incentive picture, and we may be enlightened by Mr. Ralph Cordiner's description of the General Electric program:

"These are good positions, and they are improving. In 1939, the average General Electric employee earned $2,028 a year, including the value of benefit programs. Today, a General Electric position is worth $5,627 a year, on the average, and that includes a splendid package of pension, insurance, vacation, yearly holiday, and other benefits providing better economic security. As we introduce greater automation and the proportion of skilled workers increases, the average General Electric employee of 1965 may well be earning as high as $8,000 to $9,000 a year in pay and benefits.

"From reading the headlines these days, one might assume that the so-called fringe benefits are a recent innovation in the business world. On the contrary, this company and others pioneered many years ago in programs to provide for employment security. The GE pension plan was introduced in 1912 and has already paid out $150 million. Our insurance plans stated in 1920, and many other benefit programs had their beginnings in that era. The company is still pioneering. Last year there were 32 significant improvements in pay and benefits, including a medical insurance plan which is far ahead of any other medical insurance plan in industry, providing employees up to $15,000 insurance against the cost of a catastrophic illness."

Another incentive—oversea shore duty—provides a good example of where we stand. In spite of the fact that there are an estimated 700,000 U.S. civilian industrial employees living overseas on their higher rates of pay, when the gold flow problem becomes acute, it is only the servicemen's dependents—not the tourists or civilians—who are threatened with a long family separation. The best we may say is that the champions of man, the sine qua non, were thunderingly reticent.

Military retirement is assailed, in spite of the fact that the Government subsidizes virtually all retirement plans public and private. Corporate contributions to pension plans are deductible from gross income as a business expense. Since these contributions are on the order of $5 billion annually, and would be taxable as profit at the prevailing rate, we may calculate that the Government loses more in taxes from this source alone than the cost of military retirement—without considering the subsidy the Federal Government provides to the railroad retirement fund, social security, civil service retirement, and other plans.

Somebody has gotten the idea that talent does not have to be rewarded as long as it is in uniform. The profit incentive, the basis of the system of free enterprise which is said to have built our country, is apparently considered to be inoperative for servicemen. Regrettably, the officer deficiencies show that it is not.

Gen. William F. McKee, U.S. Air Force, has said:

"* * * Capabilities times will times belief equals deterrence. All the elements must be present to achieve the desired result. Just as in a mathematical formula, if any of the three elements is zero, then the result is zero. If any of the three values is more than zero, but still quite low, the resulting degree of deterrence is quite low."

General McKee goes on to say, "For ultimately, our deterrent posture depends on the people who man our weapons systems. * * * I'm sure you will agree that they must be properly compensated for their efforts, and provide a career which is attractive and assures the retention of their costly skills to the defense efforts."

Everybody does agree, of course, but the paychecks keep shrinking. We may be reassured, however, by a recent step which has just been taken—the establishment of another pay study group.

The incentives to stay in the service have simply got to be made credible. This is particularly true for naval officers of the unrestricted line, who undergo most of the hazards and most of the trials of the service, and for the technically trained officers who are most subjected to the temptations of industrial employment. The consequences of our present course are ominous. By 1973, we will have an officer corps generated from a quarter of a century of poor procurement and retention—poorly educated, dissatisfied, and ill equipped to man the high-velocity Navy equipment we expect to have.

Retention of officers swings on the jeweled bearings of credibility. The Navy must lead the way to a credible incentive—in pay, fringe benefits, and above all in the confidence of its officers. If the U.S. Navy does not attain a credible incentive for good men to stay in the service, we shall not have a credible deterrent. A national disaster could not be more simply described.

After 15 Years of Urban Renewal, Norfolk Continues as "Shining Example"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, in the May 1964 publication of the Norfolk Chamber of Commerce entitled "New Norfolk," there is what I consider to be an excellent article on the urban renewal program in Norfolk, Va. This article was written by my good friend and colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia's Second Congressional District, Mr. PORTER HARDY.

I am including this article in the RECORD, because I feel it merits the careful consideration by all Members:

AFTER 15 YEARS OF URBAN RENEWAL, NORFOLK CONTINUES AS "SHINING EXAMPLE"

(By PORTER HARDY, JR., Member U.S. House of Representatives from the Second Congressional District for 18 years)

The lack of decent housing for millions of Americans in slums, and the growing decay of our cities in the past, presented overwhelming problems. No individual, no private rganization, nor even any local government could successfully tackle them alone.

The urban renewal program was established by Congress in 1949 during the Truman administration. It grew out of a recognition that blight in urban areas and all its attendant evils constituted problems that had to be faced. The sound growth and development of our cities was recognized as an important goal of national policy and the accomplishment of this goal required Federal encouragement and assistance.

Urban renewal has been a bipartisan program from the start, sponsored and approved by Republicans and Democrats alike. Senator Robert A. Taft was one of its original three sponsors, together with Senator Ellender, of Louisiana, and Senator Wagner, of New York. During the Eisenhower administration in 1954, and again in 1956 and 1959, it was expanded and strengthened. Substantial improvements were made and additional funds were authorized by the Congress in 1961, the first year of the Kennedy administration.

Urban renewal has not been limited to any particular region of the United States, nor has it been limited to big cities. In 1963, nearly one-half of more than 700 localities actively participating in the program had populations of less than 25,000—many of them in the Southeast. Of 1,556 federally assisted urban renewal projects or activities in the Nation at the end of 1963, a total of 339 were in the Southeastern States, and 35 in Virginia. This has become truly an effective national program, serving well all sections of the country.

The Congress stipulated in its 1949 Declaration of National Housing Policy that "private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can" in order to attain "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities, and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

The primary emphasis on private enterprise has remained a basic principle of the American urban renewal program.

Through urban renewal, local governments help and support private industry to achieve what it cannot do alone. The Federal Government, pursuant to requests from the localities, provides necessary additional funds and technical know-how which local governments cannot supply from their own resources.

NEARLY $4 BILLION SPENT TO DATE

The total Federal expenditure authorized by the Congress for urban renewal to date is nearly $4 billion. That is a lot of money. But compared to some other Federal programs it is relatively small. Notwithstanding the few instances of mismanagement which have been identified, the results this $4 billion has achieved are tangible and truly phenomenal. Aside from helping to build the physical environment we want for ourselves and our children, it is proving to be a good investment financially.

Recent congressional hearings on urban renewal legislation have brought out the impressive fact that every dollar of Federal investment in urban renewal generates about $6 in private investment—in building construction and related activities that are of direct benefit to the growth of our national economy, and of permanent financial gain to cities and local governments.

With mushrooming increases in municipal costs and limited tax sources, local governments need money. Cities, through urban renewal, have been able to raise their revenues to realistic and responsible levels, to strengthen their economic sinews through real estate tax gains. They have increased commercial and industrial activity and achieved higher returns from land put to new and better uses and more receipts from

business privilege taxes. New jobs, new markets, and business expansion have resulted from better location, improved traffic, and adequate parking. There has been considerable attraction of new enterprises—particularly distributive and wholesale firms—that do not want to be trapped in undesirable sites. Thus cities, through urban renewal, once again can stand on their own feet.

NEW BUILDINGS STRENGTHEN TAX BASE

One building in a 35-acre section of one urban renewal area in Norfolk today pays two times the taxes formerly received from the entire section. One new downtown hotel, on 5 acres of former crime- and disease-infested slum, produces 18 times the real estate tax revenue of the structures it replaced.

It is well established that city governments cannot be strong without a sound real estate tax base. I know of no public program which can do more to strengthen and reestablish American local government to its rightful place than urban renewal.

No city wants to sit and rot. Now most of them are working out of this dilemma through our national housing legislation and are voluntarily initiating their own programs of urban renewal. There is no compulsion about it. Urban renewal is planned, initiated, and executed locally. The full responsibility for carrying out the program rests with the community.

All of us are proud that Norfolk has been a pioneer in urban renewal, and proud that it was cited in congressional hearings as an outstanding example among cities that are building and rebuilding with confidence for the future. Norfolk's pre-urban-renewal expenses for crime prevention, public health, police and fire protection, and other slum costs were tremendous. Its slum areas were a festering drain on the city's resources, a drain that could not be allowed to continue without ultimately destroying the community.

BEST IN COUNTRY

Today, after 15 years of urban renewal, Norfolk is a shining example of what urban renewal can help to achieve—a growing, thriving metropolis that is well on its way to clearing most of its slums, providing improved and more efficient locations for business and industry, and for new educational and cultural facilities. Norfolk has carried out its urban renewal and related community development activities, trade expansion projects, and transportation improvements, in fulfillment of the intent of Congress that urban renewal should be a program for the benefit of the cities and the people of the land.

The ranking minority member of the subcommittee on Housing in the U.S. House of Representatives, the Honorable WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey, was so impressed by Norfolk's achievements that he made the following statement on October 24, 1963, to Norfolk officials who had just finished their congressional testimony for this subcommittee headed by the Honorable ALBERT RAINS, Democrat, of Alabama:

"I certainly want to congratulate you on having what appears to be the best urban renewal program in the country.

"For some time many of us, who are interested in urban renewal, have understood that you have used all the tools that are necessary to make an urban renewal program work. We wish you good luck in the future.

"Keep up the good work, and I hope that you can still continue your good, sound program."

Norfolk has undergone a transformation which only those who have seen it can realize and appreciate. I am proud that my colleagues in the Congress on both sides of the aisle have been outspoken in recognition of the fact that the rest of the Nation looks to Norfolk, a bustling world seaport and naval base to maintain leadership in urban renewal.

Communists Behind Invasion of Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the present invasion of the sovereign State of Mississippi by beatniks, misguided malcontents, and agitators is one of the most shocking events in the history of this Nation. This invasion, though using some starry-eyed idealists, is a cold, ruthless, well-organized, well-trained, and deliberately planned invasion to create chaos, anarchy, and then, of course, Federal military occupation. The international Communist conspiracy will benefit from this planned violence and agitation in Mississippi.

Our distinguished and able colleague, JAMES B. UTT, from California, recently brought to the attention of the Nation some of the sordid characters planning and supporting this invasion of Mississippi. Every loyal patriotic American should be grateful to Mr. UTT for his unrelenting efforts to expose these sinister schemes of the Red Communists.

The following UPI story of Congressman UTT's revelation appeared on the front page of the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., Wednesday, July 29:

REPRESENTATIVE UTT SAYS CIVIL RIGHTS INVASION OF MISSISSIPPI PLANNED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

WASHINGTON.—Representative JAMES B. UTT, Republican, of California, charged that the invasion of Mississippi by civil rights workers had been planned by the international Communist conspiracy.

"I do not wish to impugn the patriotism, dedication, or sincerity of many of those engaged in this activity, but I do believe that they are doing the sinister work of forces alien to America," UTT said.

The California Republican made the charge in a statement released in answer to what he said were "many letters from anxious parents demanding protection fer their children who are engaged in civil rights activities in Mississippi."

UTT said further: "The invasion of Mississippi, by expeditionary forces from other States, was carefully planned by the Communist conspiracy, for the express purpose of creating civil disturbance beyond the ability of a single State to provide protection, which would result in a demand by the Communist leaders in America that the Federal Government occupy the State of Mississippi, establish martial law, which would suspend habeas corpus, trial by civilian courts, and in fact suspend the entire bill of rights."

UTT, an avowed conservative, said if this could be done in Mississippi, it could be done in other States.

"The cunning Communists have been able to entice fine Americans to do their work," he said, "but the guiding hand is still the Communist conspiracy."

UTT listed various persons he said were working in Mississippi in the civil rights movement. These included:

Frank S. Pestana, working as counsel for demonstrators in Drew, Miss., and identified by UTT as having gone to Cuba in violation of State Department orders and as having taken the fifth amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities when questioned about Communist affiliations.

Maynard Omerberg, said by UTT to be working with Pestana in Drew.

George Crockett, a Negro lawyer from Detroit, said by UTT to have been "sent into Mississippi by the National Lawyers Guild."

Benjamin Smith, identified by UTT as having registered under the foreign agents registration act "as an agent of Fidel Castro."

Martin Popper, counsel for the family of one of three missing civil rights workers and described by UTT as being "identified as a longtime Communist legal eagle."

Bob Mandel, identified by UTT as the son of William Mandel, who "was prominent in the San Francisco riots and is a leading Communist commentator in that area."

Steve Miller, son of Hugh B. Miller and Helen Miller, who—according to UTT—were "both identified Communists in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

Defense Education Act Extension

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I understand that the Senate is planning to take up, soon, the pending legislation to amend the National Defense Education Act and I very earnestly hope their plans will materialize into reality in the immediate future.

It is my further fervent prayer that, as soon as the Senate has acted, our joint leadership on this side, with the House Rules Committee's cooperation, will accelerate our own action in the matter.

The most important resource this Nation has for its continuing security, development, and progress is the disciplined talents of mind and spirit of our young men and women. These resources will continue to be substantially improved by extending the provisions of the Defense Education Act which has already demonstrated its value to our national welfare.

I understand that the provisions in the Senate bill, relative to Public Laws 815 and 874, recommend the extension of these laws through the next 2 years. I most earnestly urge my colleagues at the appropriate time, to approve this 2-year extension so that our school districts, in federally impacted areas, can plan their costs and obligations accordingly.

As evidence of the interest in and recommendation of these provisions from the ground level, as it were, I should like to include here telegrams I received from John F. Cavanaugh, administrative assistant, Framingham School Department, Framingham, Mass., and the chairman of the Sudbury School Committee, Sudbury, Mass.

The telegrams follow:

FRAMINGHAM, MASS.

Congressman HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Understand Education Subcommittee holding meetings Monday and Wednesday next. Framingham School Department strongly urges that you continue your efforts to secure the extension of Public Law 874 beyond June 1965 and before Congress adjourns. Also request that you place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the feelings of this department on the importance and necessity of securing this extension. Loss of these funds would have serious impact on school budget.

JOHN F. CAVANAUGH,
Administrative Assistant,
Framingham School Department.

SUDBURY, MASS.

Hon. HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

The Sudbury School Committee wishes to be placed on record as urging extension of Public Laws 874 and 815. Cessation of assistance after June 1965 in this federally impacted district would work great hardship on our suburban community, which lacks an industrial base, and is already heavily taxing itself to provide schools for a rapidly growing school population.

SUDBURY SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

Testimonial to Seniel Ostrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, a long-due and well-deserved tribute was recently paid to Mr. Seniel Ostrow of Los Angeles, president of Sealy Mattress Co. The address at the testimonial dinner for Mr. Ostrow was delivered by the Honorable William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, and because of the significance and relevancy of his remarks, I believe my colleagues will find it of great interest.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, U.S. SUPREME COURT, TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR SENIEL OSTROW, BEVERLY HILTON HOTEL, LOS ANGELES, JULY 25, 1964

I am very happy to take part in this testimonial to Seniel Ostrow. For he has lived in the tradition of the prophets and as a result has been a powerful moral influence in our lives. Mr. Ostrow, like Isaiah and Ezekiel, never stopped to take a poll to determine what the people should do. He spoke and acted as a leader who, knowing the requirements of the free society, was vigilant lest they not be lost sight of under the so-called practical pressures of the day. I remember the day when, in this city of Los Angeles, there was only one forum open to Robert M. Hutchins, Eleanor Roosevelt, and myself. Thanks to Mr. Ostrow and others of his courage, open forums have been maintained in one of America's darkest periods.

We have had recurring eras of arrogance in our history and we seem to be on the verge of another. One who sees America from abroad notices the arrogance more clearly than he who stays at home. The strident, scolding voice that reaches the shores of other nations is not the voice of the warmhearted America that we love. America seen from abroad is rich and arrogant. She is great in military prowess but often weak in principle. She seems weak in principle when her so-called bastions of strength are corrupt reactionary regimes such as Iran and Formosa. When a Shah dissolves a Parliament and proceeds to rule by decree, we seem to feel more secure. Our measure of the amount of foreign aid we give is not dependent on the extent to which the recipient nation is moving toward a free society but its anti-Communist attitude. (And anti-Communist does not necessarily mean pro-free society.) There are exceptions; but sensitive minds abroad know that the weight of American influence is on the extreme conservative side in world affairs.

The arrogance we feel at home reflects in part the uneasiness of the rich who are surrounded by slums and know not what to do but police them. The psychology of fear and apprehension produces the radical right. From that vantage point "revolution" is a subversive word; even those who want to help the people of the slums find within themselves the power to improve their lot are "dangerous." Yet the world needs "revolution" as never before, if the technological age is to have spiritual and humane, as well as materialistic, values.

This fear of the world, which the radical right radiates, results in a resolve to remake the world in the American image. The American image, when it comes to the Bill of Rights, equality before the law, and the dignity of man, is an ideal of mankind everywhere. I personally think that free enterprise is also a valued part of that ideal. For it scatters among tens of thousands of men the sources of power and of opportunity as well. Free enterprise provides outlets for inventive genius and creative abilities which no bureaucratic system could inspire.

Yet the fact that the American system is good for us does not mean that it contains the formula for the pursuit of happiness which mankind everywhere seeks. Israel, stoutly democratic, has Socialist patterns in some parts of her economy. Bolivia, 12 years after her basic revolution, strives hard to develop democratic institutions. Yet—like Israel and India—she maintains a large public sector in business. Our firmest friends include Belgium's Spaak, Italy's Saragat, West Germany's Brandt, and France's Mollet—all Socialists. Yugoslavia, a Communist nation, has some democratic institutions. Her new constitution gives her supreme court judicial review of the constitutionality of action of the executive and the legislative and puts the remedy within reach of any aggrieved person. There is ferment in Eastern Europe, notably Poland and Rumania. Russia, although still monolithic, has moved to the right of China and seeks a reconciliation which will permit competitive coexistence.

The problem of the age, as the President said, is to make the world safe for diversity. The world's diversity is indeed exciting. Are we really afraid to compete? Do we really want to drop the bomb in the name of freedom and produce a holocaust which will destroy all freedom?

At home do we really mean that a family made unemployable by technology loses its freedom because the Government extends financial help to it?

If, as we are told, the end justifies the means why were our forefathers so intent in protecting the individual (1) against unreasonable searches or seizures (fourth amendment), (2) against coercive police practices and kangaroo court trials (fifth and sixth amendments), and (3) against trials by judges rather than by juries (seventh amendment)?

We know that not all men are equal in talent. We know how exciting inequality is when men and women of genius, of different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds rise to eminence. But we also know that the law becomes a repressive force when it gives preference to one race, when it gives second-class citizenship to a person because of his color, his political or religious creed, his nationality, his economic status. If we are to design a system that prefers a few over the many, then each of us is in danger. Once any member or group can be set aside for discriminatory treatment, everyone is in jeopardy.

Congress, in its various civil rights acts, has been legislating out of existence some remaining relics of slavery; but the implications go much deeper. We protect the black man today so that the yellow man, the Protestant man, the Jewish man, the poor man, will not lose his equality before the law tomorrow.

In the planetary scene we the whites are a small minority. The browns, yellows, and blacks vastly outnumber us. Our present arsenal gives us temporary leverage; but in the long view our security lies in devising durable arrangements whereby military force will not subjugate anyone—whereby each nation, irrespective of ideology, will be given a place in the society of nations—whereby law rather than troops or bombs will settle disputes.

We, the people of the world, have a long way to go to that end. We need institutions like the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions to establish the intellecual nexus the world over if the institutions necessary for survival under the rule of law are to be established.

We need the Center to keep the dialog free and open at home so that all matters, no matter how sensitive, may be exposed and discussed.

We need to expand the Center so that we have a base in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

We need to bring leaders of all nations into the dialog so that we may know the measure of our problems, so that we may work with diverse schools of thought to the common end of survival—a world regime in which security for peoples of all colors, all degrees of development, all religious and political ideologies is secure.

Let us resolve on this occasion to create humility, tolerance, and understanding where there is arrogance. Let us resolve to make the Center permanent for its radiating effect throughout the world. Let us remember that ideas are the most potent weapons in the world, that the ideas of the free society will in time level all totalitarian barriers.

Change of Seasons—Change of Status

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to extend to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr., which pays tribute to two outstanding citizens, residents of my congressional district, Dr. William R. Myers of the North Shore Baptist Church and Mr. Carl J. Megel, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Dr. Myers received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from the Northern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr.

Megel has declined reelection as the president of the American Federation of Teachers and will retire from that office in August.

The article follows:

CHANGE OF SEASONS—CHANGE OF STATUS

(By Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

Rexford G. Tugwell recently said: "The fluidity of change in society has always been the despair of theorists." Mankind, however, still has difficulty in accepting change.

We like to think of the liberal philosophy as the positive avenue for change and progress. Recently U.S. Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, outlined the background of the liberal; hence, if the liberal avenue is to be the proper approach, the public must be aware of this philosophy. Senator CLARK suggested seven points:

1. The liberal believes in the dignity and freedom of the individual.
2. The American liberal is not a socialist.
3. The liberal is a pragmatist.
4. The liberal believes that we are masters, not slaves, of our economy.
5. The liberal believes in fiscal responsibility.
6. The liberal looks at his government not as an impersonal master but as the agent of our collective national wisdom.
7. The liberal is an active advocate of peace.

When on comments concerning philosophy, the statement of President John Spaulding of the Iowa Federation of Teachers is remembered. He said, concerning our book, "One Blood": "I have given your book on the racial problem and its Christian solutions a very good reading and I think that it is very good. I really think that it is a true Christian approach which any church could use. When I say 'any church,' I mean any church in the Judeo-Christian tradition."

EXAMPLES OF CHANGE

The first example of change may be noted in the change in rank. Rev. William Richard Myers of North Shore Baptist Church, Chicago, received recognition for distinguished service recently. The citation: "First, while studying at the University of Cincinnati and Southern Seminary, and holding student pastorates in both Ohio and Kentucky, serving the denomination through the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Illinois State Convention in establishing a New Frontiers Church in Danville, Ill., where in the short span of 4 years the congregation grew to nearly 300 members.

"Also for your outstanding leadership as pastor at the Irving Park Church in Chicago with a strong stewardship and missionary emphasis, then at North Shore Baptist Church, where you are now serving as pastor.

"You further expended yourself as president of the Chicago Baptist Minister's Council; as a member of the board of managers of the Illinois State Convention; as chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Illinois Council of Churches; as trustee of the Baptist Graduate House at the University of Chicago; as a member of the board of directors of the Chicago Baptist Association, serving as chairman of the Missions Committee; as trustee of Northern Seminary; and as a member of the Greater Chicago Billy Graham Executive Committee.

"It is therefore, my privilege as president of the seminary on behalf of the faculty and board of trustees to confer upon you the honorary degree of doctor of divinity with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto, in token of which you have in hand the diploma of the seninary, and you will now be invested with the hood carrying the colors of Northern Baptist Theological Seminary symbolic of that degree."

As a deacon of North Shore Baptist Church, the first writer took pride in the change in rank of Dr. Myers.

The second example of change may be noted in the change in life. Dr. Roscoe Pound, former dean of the Harvard Law School and the "grand old man of the law" to generations of lawyers, passed away recently in the Harvard Infirmary at the age of 93. In 1916 Dr. Pound became dean of the Harvard Law School and retired from that post in 1936, but his life continued in the greatest possible way until the time of his death. Yes, he is dead, but his scholarship lives.

The third example of change may be noted in the change of seasons. The second writer wrote the following letter on March 28 to Dr. John R. Rice:

"Although it is the day before Easter, snow is falling on the bare brown earth here in the Midwest, and we are promised a 2-inch accumulation. Thoughts wander, though, to the warm sun of Egypt, to a garden in Jerusalem where flowers bloom and birds sing, to a Sunday morning service beside the Garden Tomb where big, strong men were moved to tears—tears of joy and gratitude because this tomb is empty.

"My trip to the Holy Land with the Sword Tour is one of the great experiences of my life. To be associated for 3 weeks with a large group, all of whom know and love the Lord, was like a breath of fresh air in the smoke-filled room where I work. We were a happy group from 23 to 74 years in age, all looking with joy to the return of our Lord and all living proof that Christians need not have long faces.

"The services when you spoke were sweet and inspiring and even your brief remarks from the front of the bus made us want to be like Jesus. Dr. Bill's talks, with his human interest stories, kept us alert and interested and his message on Sunday night in Rome touched our hearts. Through these messages and private conversations I was privileged to have many questions of doctrine cleared up in my own mind and for this I am very grateful. The women of the 'staff' were a joy too—Mrs. Rice, Cathy, and Viola each finding a special place in my heart. Each day was a pleasure as it was spent and is, remarkably, just as enjoyable in remembering.

"This was my first trip to foreign countries and it is a source of amazement to me that we traveled in such comfort and convenience. It is true we had a few delays and inconveniences, but who has traveled here at home without occasional abrupt changes in schedule, poor accommodations, and the like. All our hotels were nice and some were much more elegant than I could afford except for the tour arrangement.

"The trip was long and tiring but I would not want to miss a single place we visited. When we left each city I longed to stay, to see more, to get to know its people; but when money and leave from work are limited one cannot linger. Feeling this way, I can offer no suggestion for changing the itinerary.

"God was good to let me have this rich experience. I am grateful to George for making it possible for me to go and for urging me to go without him when it was learned he could not go. I am also grateful to all of you who arranged the tour. My prayer is that I may use these blessing in better serving God in the years ahead."

The fourth example of change may be noted in the change of dates. The first writer sent the following wire on July 1 to Dr. Earl Harding:

"While addressing the Louisiana State University Economic Education Workshop here (Baton Rouge), I paused to remember that July 1 marks the end of a decade of outstanding service that you have given to Missouri Baptists and Christianity around the world. God gave Minnesota a W. B. Riley and a R. V. Clearwaters, Illinois a D. L. Moody and a R. A. Torrey, Texas a G. W. Truett and a J. R. Rice, and Tennessee a Lee Roberson.

"Now, the multitude is shouting 'and Missouri an Earl Harding.' Helen joins me on this occasion in saying 'congratulations and best wishes' to you and your charming wife, Alice, and your fine son, Jimmy."

The final example of change may be noted in the change of status. Twelve years ago Carl J. Megel became president of the American Federation of Teachers and in August he will retire from this position. It thus seems appropriate to review a few of his comments in the last several years:

Year 1953: "In this war-torn world, millions of hungry, starving and oppressed people look to America for signs of hope and courage. The teachers of America hold this destiny of the ultimate freedom for mankind.

"Unfortunately, America's teachers are themselves temporarily impotent. However, the teachers of America, rising in unison, have it within their own power to break the fetters that bind them. This is the mission of the American Federation of Teachers."

Year 1954: "All teachers dream of teaching happy, well-adjusted boys and girls in the relaxed atmosphere of pleasant, uncrowded, healthful surroundings, without interruptions.

"They dream of freedom from financial and tenure worries, of cooperation from administrators in the solution of difficult problems, but, most of all, they dream of freedom to teach the fundamental truths of our time in the spirit of our democracy without fear of intimidation.

"While these dreams have not yet been wholly converted into realities, by pressing on vigorously and emulating the unselfish work of those who founded our great organization, inevitable progress will ultimately bring fulfillment of our dream. We are the inheritors of the accomplishments of those who came before; let us bequeath them augmented to those who come after."

Year 1955: "The American Federation of Teachers has supported the United Nations. The American Federation of Teachers believes that education is the key to world understanding and in dedication to that struggle, we pledge our continued effort."

Year 1956: "The American Federation of Teachers has taken a very active interest in promoting the philosophy and ideals of UNECCO * * * The American Federation of Teachers promoted UNICEF and encouraged our locals throughout the country to purchase Christmas cards through this medium."

Year 1957: "The American Federation of Teachers has, in many ways, supported the program of the American Vocational Association in the formulation of its objectives, in the pursuance of its social purposes, and in sound educational theory."

Year 1958: "The American Federation of Teachers must constantly remain in the forefront in the protection of the individual rights of teachers. We consider this activity one of our most important functions."

Year 1959: "My major purpose in meeting and visiting our teachers in all areas of the Nation was to sell the idea: that education is our Nation's most important function, that teaching America's children is its most important job, and that the American Federation of Teachers is the greatest instrumentality for advancing these concepts."

Year 1960: "* * * It indicates that teachers everywhere are beginning to understand that the solution of the problems which face them * * * can be solved only through the vitality of a strong teachers union."

Year 1961: "It would be impossible to illustrate, in a more effective manner, the confidence of the membership in the American Federation of Teachers and its leadership than by the wholehearted and immediate member response to the sale of building certificates. Within less than 60 days, the membership had subscribed in sufficient amount to make the purchase of the building possible."

Year 1962: "Even though we have constantly labored with the handicap of an insufficient budget, this has not deterred any of us from providing on-the-spot service and all possible help to our locals whenever requested."

Year 1963: "Collective bargaining is more than an election and a contract: it is the commitment of hundreds of thousands of teachers to collective bargaining, that new and utterly sensible procedure for resolving differences between teachers and their employers."

Five examples have been cited relating to change. Once can thus realize that change of seasons—change of status is a common factor. The important factor is for mankind to pay tribute to the past and present and work to make the future even greater.

Winchendon Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased and proud to bring to the attention of the House the 200th anniversary of the founding of the beautiful and gracious town of Winchendon, Mass., in my congressional district. It is also a high privilege for me to introduce in recognition of this outstanding event a special resolution extending the greetings and felicitations of the U.S. House of Representatives to the wonderful Winchendon community on the occasion of this happy anniversary.

At the outset, I wish to extend my own personal congratulations to all the people of Winchendon upon this occasion and to wish for this lovely New England town a truly glorious future.

From earliest days, Winchendon has been literally steeped in religious and patriotic dedication. This wonderful town was founded by resolute, God-fearing people, hardy souls, who did not know the meaning of the words fear or doubt, determined pioneers, unalterably devoted to belief in divine providence and determined to live under conditions of freedom, liberty, and peace.

What extraordinary changes have taken place in the past two centuries in this town. In 1764 Massachusetts was merely 1 of 13 British colonies and Winchendon had only a handful of inhabitants, every one of whom was subject to King George III.

Our forefathers lived in a veritable wilderness constantly beset by wild beasts and hostile Indians, politically hemmed in by unfriendly forces on every side, except on the narrow strip along the coastline. They were governed from across the Atlantic Ocean by a mother country, intent upon imperial domination.

Economically, the early colonists and settlers here lived under primitive conditions, their rock-strewn farms were meager openings in the vast expanse of forest, their villages separated by intervening woods and wilderness. But from hilltop to hilltop majestically rose their meetinghouses, the center of their community lives, the habitat of their profound religious spirit and their fierce determination to establish places of worship, law and order, and free democratic government.

There was no manufacture, no industry except that wrought by willing female fingers on wheels and looms by the rustic, domestic firesides. The British Parliament would not permit the making of even one hobnail in the colonies. Our forefathers were in a state of total dependence under a royal dictatorship that had no intention of relaxing its stringent control over their affairs.

In these days, the town of Winchendon was, on the frontier, so to speak, the Dodge City of the 1760's, in the thinly drawn streamline of the bitter struggle between England and France to rule and exploit the colonies.

But these conditions were not destined to be long continued. The powerful spiritual strength, the incredible faith and courage, amazing resourcefulness and determination and sacrifices of the early pioneers, their persistency and never-say-die spirit, in time triumphed over the forces of repression.

The rest of the story is set in golden letters in the history books recording the growth of ordered civil liberty, economic strength, and the spiritual uplift of this great Nation.

Today our country is the giant of the North American Continent, the most powerful, richest, and most advanced Nation in all the world, rich almost beyond contemplation, powerful in ways that stagger the imagination, rich with accumulations of industry and the returns of commerce and the highest standards of living the world has ever known.

Gone are the wild beasts and savages, fleeing before a way of civilization that could not be stayed; gone is the military dictatorship, the imperialistic control, the harsh trappings of tyranny.

With materialistic progress has come unprecedented progress in the arts, the sciences, civilization, religion, spiritual development, scientific progress, and all of these have their proud temples in this beautiful town and the towns, villages, and cities spread from coast to coast, north, south, east, and west, all over this great Nation.

Truly, a miracle has taken place, and the astonishing transformation is everywhere to be seen. God has smiled on the wilderness and it has become a garden. In all this vast, creative work through the past 200 years, Winchendon has played a great, moving part for the benefit of her people, her American traditions, and the high purposes and ideals of the early settlers.

If time permitted, I could trace step by step the fabulous growth of this fine community, its steady march toward free government and independence and organized civil, social, and economic life, a life directed democratically according to the will of its loyal pepole in accordance with the principles of the American constitution.

I could record the Act of Incorporation in 1763 which granted this town all the high privileges of local self-government, honored by the names of men and true heroes like Simond Epes, Thomas Berry, and others. In fact, if some of the early settlers had their way, and if the courts had not intervened, this town might have been known as Epesberry and that would be something. I could go on and on reciting the litany of this glorious record of achievement for freedom, for law and order, for material and spiritual progress, for advancement in every field of human endeavor.

Yes, my friends, in war and peace, in struggle, joy and sorrow, in adversity and times of smooth sailing, the men and women in the community of Winchendon have always rallied with fortitude and fidelity to the call of country wherever that trail led them.

From Bunker Hill to Korea and Vietnam, Winchendon has shown its mettle and has demonstrated its allegiance to the proud standards of freedom and to the demands of progress in this changing world, this age of terrible destructive power, fabulous advancement and untold potential yet to be realized.

What an inspiring record this is. Yet, today, paradoxically enough, we face greater problems and difficulties than ever before, because in a very real sense the institutions which the settlers founded here with such valor, intelligence, resolution, and sacrifice are challenged as never before.

Today we must draw inspiration from this great and glorious past history, even as we recognize that we can never turn back the clock, that the Nation and the world must go forward, must go upward to broader and higher goals, must adapt to the revolutionary changes that are taking place all around us, necessitated by the demands and needs of the new age and the times in which we live.

Today we must be thankful, too, with hearts overflowing with everlasting gratitude for the blessings of the Creator and the marvelous work of those who have preceded us and whose blessed memory we honor.

Each generation must labor and, if necessary, fight, for human liberty and freedom and the right to enjoy democratic government, free enterprise, free religious and civil rights.

It is for us, inspired and activated as we are by the example of selfless devotion, creative accomplishment that has come down to us in every generation through the years, to make up our minds that we of this generation will leave nothing undone to uphold our gleaming heritage of liberty and faith, that we must and will overcome every obstacle that confronts us along the way with all the power and might of this great Nation, as well as with the qualities and endowments of understanding, brotherhood and compassion that come to us from the spiritual truths and moral precepts of our way of life, to guard, develop, perfect, and enrich our free institutions, so that we, and those who follow us, can enjoy the freedom of this great land, and that enduring peace in the world that will come to us, God willing, if we but strive to the best of our ability and strength to make this Nation and this world a better place in which to live for ourselves and for all people.

Out of a grateful heart for the encouragement and sustaining strength Winchendon has given me in this great crusade for freedom and humanity, I reverently express the hope and prayer that the next 200 years, and the time to come, will bring to Winchendon and all its loyal people that greatness in the spirit and the ways of independence, liberty, and peace which will insure prosperity and happiness, not only in the material sense, but in the spiritual graces that have always been so much a part of this splendid American community.

Let us rededicate ourselves and resolve:

Never to oversimplify or overcomplicate our problems, or to abandon the principles and values that made us a great, God-fearing nation, always to stand with courage, faith, and determination in the struggle to preserve and advance the cause of freedom, always to remain firm without fear or doubt, in the spirit of the founders and early settlers, to keep this Nation, what it was intended to be: A safe, free, secure dwelling place for the human spirit, a sanctuary for those dedicated to human freedom and unalterably pledged to human progress and peace.

Mr. Speaker, in observance of its 200th anniversary, Winchendon has planned many events and some of these have already taken place. Among these was a huge parade with nearly 6,000 marchers on June 13, which attracted thousands of visitors to the town. In addition, on Sunday, June 14, commemorative exercises were conducted and it was my great privilege to deliver the commemorative address.

At the request of Mr. Gerald C. Clapp, chairman of the bicentennial parade committee, I was privileged to extend invitations to the Winchendon celebration to the armed services and it was gratifying to obtain splendid cooperation from the various branches of the services.

Through the effective help of Rear Adm. W. B. Sieglaff, commandant of the 1st Naval District, Boston, the outstanding 30-piece U.S. Naval Base Boston Band participated in the parade. Maj. Gen. Charles H. Terhune, then commander, Electronics System Division, Air Force Systems Command, Hanscom Field, made available a four-man color guard.

Adm. E. J. Roland, Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard, authorized a boating safety exhibit. Maj. Gen. B. F. Evans, Jr., commanding general, Fort Devens, insured the participation of the excellent 18th U.S. Army Band.

Another outstanding band on hand was the 8th Air Force Band stationed at Westover Air Force Base.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my resolution extending greetings and felicitations to Winchendon on the occasion of its 200th anniversary.

May the good Lord save, guide, and protect our great country and the outstanding community of Winchendon.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the year 1964 marks the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Winchendon, Massachusetts; and

Whereas from the time of settlement the people of Winchendon have figured conspicuously in the founding and growth of this Nation; and

Whereas the observance of the two hundredth anniversary of Winchendon is being celebrated with impressive community ceremonies; and

Whereas Winchendon is a progressive community rich in historic interest, distinguished for its fervent civic spirit, and faithfully devoted to American institutions and ideals: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives extends its greetings and felicitations to the people of Winchendon, Massachusetts, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of this community and the House of Representatives further expresses its appreciation for the splendid services rendered to the Nation by the citizens of Winchendon during the past two hundred years.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Rule of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of attending the Texarkana Lions Club, July 13, 1964, and hearing a splendid address of the Honorable Ted Goldman, judge of the municipal court in the city of Texarkana.

It was one of the finest I have heard and a challenge not only to the community, but to the entire country. I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the Appendix of the RECORD in order that the Members and others throughout the country may also have the benefit of his very fine speech:

"RULE OF LAW"—ADDRESS DELIVERED BY JUDGE TED GOLDMAN, JULY 13, 1964, AT THE LIONS CLUB, TEXARKANA, ARK. AND TEX., ATTENDED BY THE HONORABLE OREN HARRIS, CONGRESSMAN FROM THE FOURTH DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS

If you ask me to measure and assess the moral fiber of our community, need I remind you that delinquency and crime scream for attention in every edition of the press, and from daily news announcements on radio and TV? Need I call your attention to the common alarm over violence and degradation denounced from the church pulpits everywhere?

During these times of tension and unrest, strife and enmity, when the black man is resorting to violent demonstrations for his civil rights, and the white man is fighting back by taking the law into his own hands, they both need to be reminded that the rights, liberty and freedom all of us cherish so dearly stand in serious danger and imminent peril separate and apart from the rule of law and the enforcement of the statutes that govern the affairs and the relations of men.

As I recite the following expression of human rights will you try to name the source from which it comes? "All men are created equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and inalienable rights, amongst which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness. * * * The equality of all persons before the law is recognized, and shall ever remain inviolate; nor shall any citizen ever be deprived of any right, privilege, or immunity, nor exempted from any burden or duty, on account of race, color or previous condition." This quote is not from the Declaration of Independence, nor is it from the Constitution of the United States, but from the Arkansas constitution of 1874 (art. 2, secs. 2 and 3). It is the liberty and freedom proclaimed in this expression that is imperiled when people question the rule of law by resorting to violence. May God grant us the vision and the courage to do what is right. We glow with pride as we consider the thought that the United States of America, guided and protected by divinity from above, has been chosen in the divine scheme of things to serve a noble purpose in the history of the world. We like to think that that holy purpose is to establish under God the human rights and the human dignity expressed in holy writ and in the minds of good men everywhere around the world. That purpose cannot be achieved by fighting one another and disregarding the rule of law.

When lawyers speak of the rule of law, they mean the system under which the rights of people are governed by established rules, where the freedom and the dignity of the individual are assured, and where disputes are decided by impartial tribunals.

Any development which assures more widespread adherence to the rule of law results in the spread of freedom and greater recognition of individual human dignity.

Important as the Bill of Rights and the concept of individual freedom are, the whole system ultimately rests upon the devotion of the people to a rule of law and their respect for the courts and the officers whose duty it is to enforce that law. Individual rights cannot be maintained if their protection depends only upon the police. There must be a burning devotion in the hearts of people to protect individual rights. A system of law depending for its enforcement only upon the police would require a hundred times more officers than we presently have. The rule of law depends primarily on the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people will obey the law, and only the small minority need be forced to conform.

The rule of law is indispensable to a free society. The men who founded this Nation knew that in a world largely hostile to the idea of freedom, a free society would have to prove that it is capable and worthy of survival. The requirement is unchanged today. Free societies must prove their ability to make good on their promises, and to keep alive their cherished values. They must prove their vigor, their capacity to practice the disciplined virtues, as well as to achieve excellence.

The survival of the idea for which this Nation stands is not inevitable. It may survive, if enough Americans care enough.

Free men may make the mistake of thinking that no effort is required of them to maintain the rule of law that supports our society. Nothing could be more dangerous to our future. Free men must be quick to understand the kinds of effort that are required to keep their society vital and strong.

The strengthening of a free society, the enrichment of the traditions on which freedom depends cannot be achieved by aimless or listless men. All our wisdom, all our talent and vitality, all our steadfastness will be needed, if we wish to attain these goals. A free society wants and needs the devotion of free, rational, responsible individuals.

The religious precept that you must lose yourself to find yourself is no less true at the secular level. No one who has observed the devoted scientist in his laboratory can doubt the spiritual rewards of such work. The same is true of anyone who is working toward goals that represent the highest values of his society.

We want meaning in our lives. When we raise our sights, strive for excellence and dedicate ourselves to the highest goals of our society, we are enrolling in an ancient and meaningful cause: the age-long struggle of man to realize the best that is in him. Man, reaching toward the most exalted goals he can conceive, man striving impatiently and restlessly for excellence has produced great religious insights, created great art, penetrated secrets of the universe, and set standards of conduct which give meaning to the phrase "the dignity of man."

On the other hand, man without standards, man with eyes on the ground, has proven over and over in every society, at every period in history, that human beings can be lower than the beasts, sunk in ignorance, morally blind, living a life devoid of meaning.

The task we face of keeping our ideals alive is partly a question of leadership. If our citizens are to recapture a sense of mission with respect to the purposes we care the most about, our leaders must have the capacity and the vision to ask for it. It is hard to expect an upsurge of devotion to the common good in response to leaders who lack the courage to evoke it, or the moral depth to understand such devotion, or the stature to merit the response which follows. One of the great tasks of leadership is to help a society achieve the best that is in it.

But it takes more than leadership to preserve the ideals of a free society. The values we cherish will not survive without the constant attention of the ordinary citizens. Unlike the pyramids, the monuments of the spirit will not stand untended. They must be nourished in each generation by the allegiance of believing men and women. The fact that millions have died violent deaths while defending individual freedom does not insure the survival of that principle, if we cease paying our tithes of devotion.

Every freeman in his work and in his family, in his public behavior, and in the secret places of his heart, should see himself as a builder and maintainer of the ideals of his society. Individuals contribute to the greatness and strength of a free society, or they help it to die.

Those who are most devoted to a democratic society must be precisely the ones who insist that freemen are capable of the highest standards of performance, that free society can be a great society in the richest sense of the word. The idea for which this Nation stands will not survive, if the highest goal freemen can set themselves is an amiable mediocrity.

If we believe in a free society, we must be worthy of a free society. Any society will fail without the support of the rule of law. Discipline and obedience is as necessary in the social state as in the family unit of society. No community can long succeed without respect for law and order. No government can long endure without enforcement of the laws that control the affairs of its subjects. An ordered society is absolutely essential. The rule of law must prevail in order to avoid terror and anarchy.

I appeal to you as leaders of our Texarkana community to accept these attitudes and apply them in your relationship with your families and your social contacts each and every day of your lives. I urge you to respect the rule of law, the rights, freedom and liberty of your neighbors, and the dignity of man. When you have done this you not only will have become a greater American citizens, but you will have carried out the holy mission from on high which is the reflection of

God's will and love in human affairs to the end that peace and order may be established around the world.

R. E. "Bob" Smith Sports Leadership, Big League Baseball, and the World's First Domed, Air-Conditioned, Enclosed Big League Baseball Playing Field to Houston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, no progress in many years in the field of sports has been more significant to the South and Southwest than the construction of the domed stadium in Houston, Harris County, Tex., moving that area to major league sports status. This is the first domed, air-conditioned, all-weather baseball stadium in the world.

An article entitled "Bob Smith Provided Big League Impetus," written by Bob Rule, and published on July 26, 1964, in the Houston Post, tells something of the contribution this Texas industrialist, philanthropist, and good citizen has made to his State. He has shared his success with the people, and has lent his genius to public service.

I ask unanimous consent that the article writeen by Bob Rule be printed in the RECORD, as an example of the benefits which all can receive from one man's dedication to physical fitness and to his community.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TITLED SPORTSMEN—BOB SMITH PROVIDED BIG LEAGUE IMPETUS

(By Bob Rule)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Houston's development as one of the Nation's great sports cities has not come suddenly, nor has it resulted from the efforts of a few individuals. This series of articles, which will continue each Sunday over a long period of time, is designed to pay tribute to the many persons who have contributed to this growth, through participation, leadership or pioneering.)

When the history of Houston's headlong plunge toward the pinnacle of sports greatness is finally written, the name of Robert Edward Smith will be near the top on the roll of honor.

Until "R. E. Bob" threw the weight of his financial empire behind it, the move toward major league status as a sports city was like a hurricane stalled at sea. The potential was there, but it lacked momentum.

There had been some false starts, and some major disappointments. But the day the silver-haired industrialist granted an audience to George Kirksey, pledged his support and told him to go see Roy Hofheinz, is the day Houston's dreams started moving toward realization.

It was the weight of Bob Smith's fabulous fortune that enabled Houston to become the No. 1 choice of both the American and National Leagues when baseball people finally decided to expand.

It has been this same fortune that has enabled Roy Hofheinz to plan and build the world's greatest sports stadium, and has enabled Paul Richards to set forth to build one of baseball's great franchises.

Approximately $10 million of Smith's money has been poured into the various phases of developing the stadium and the ball club, and it was the strength of his business empire that enabled Harris County to sign a 40-year lease with the Houston Sports Association for the retirement of the stadium bonds.

For 40 years, the HSA had pledged payment of $750,000 per year to retire these bonds. Only a business empire the size of Bob Smith's could even think of assuming such a back-breaking responsibility.

The fabulous domed stadium, now less than 25 percent away from completion, will stand as an eternal monument to this 70-year-old humanitarian who tells you simply:

"This city has been awfully good to me, and I want to see it have the best of everything."

Smith is convinced that the domed stadium is the second great milestone in Houston's history of growth. The first was the ship channel. He hasn't the slightest doubt that the dome will prove just as big a factor.

It becomes the permanent home of Smith's beloved Colt 45's, the team Roy Hofheinz and Paul Richards are building, and as the 45's grow in stature so will Bob Smith's pride in their accomplishments grow. He's already one of the most faithful boosters. Seldom does he miss a home game.

The impact of the domed stadium on other sports in Houston is incalculable.

The Houston Oilers, the University of Houston Cougars, the Fat Stock Show and Rodeo, professional boxing, and many other events that are certain to find a "home in the dome" can look forward to years of unexcelled prosperity.

Smith's plunge into bigtime sports has come within the last 5 years, but prior to that time his influence had been felt in various sports activities.

The Houston Golf Association was a small, struggling organization until "R. E. Bob" told the directors to go ahead and offer big purses. If you don't make it, he told them, I'll bail you out.

He never had to throw out the financial lifeline, however, for with the security of his support the HGA moved ahead confidently to become one of the Nation's finest winter tour events.

For several years, Bob Smith has had a standing offer to Houston's fight promoters for full financial support at any time they could bring a world's heavyweight championship bout to the city.

There'll be other monuments to Bob Smith standing in Houston and vicinity.

Nearing completion right now at Galveston is one of the world's finest yacht clubs and marinas, being built at a cost of approximately $4 million. It will accommodate in excess of 400 cruisers under covered stalls.

Eight rows of boat slips 1,000 feet long will make an imposing sight. If the boats to be housed were lined up side by side, they'd stretch out for a mile and a half.

The Petroleum Club, one of Houston's oldest and most respected private establishments, owes its existence to Mr. Smith's vision.

Bob Smith's net worth has been estimated at $100 million and more, but when the silver-haired industrialist is questioned on the subject he just smiles and says: "How could it be estimated? It would depend on the value of certain properties at the time they were sold."

As has so frequently been the case with Texas giants of industry and oil, Mr. Smith has achieved his fabulous success without benefit of college education.

He was born in Greenville, Tex., on August 28, 1894, and his formal education ended at the high school level.

He graduated from Humble High School, then started a course in immigration law but did not complete it, and never got around to going into immigration service.

His father was a cowboy, rancher, miner, railroadman, and oil producer, and R. E. Bob was an only child. His father has been dead for 30 years.

He played semipro baseball around Humble and Matagorda shortly after the turn of the century, pitched and played the outfield and was looked upon as a better than average hitter.

But for one brief period of about a year in Oklahoma, Smith has lived and built in and around the Houston area. But it was during that one brief stay in Oklahoma that he took the first real step toward the building of his financial empire.

Then 27 years old, he had a chance meeting with a man who owned two drilling rigs and wanted to sell out. With no money available, Mr. Smith barged into the only bank in the little Oklahoma town of Tonkawa.

"You have no money to put into the deal yourself," the banker said. "Why come to me?"

Smith replied: "You're the only man here with enough money to buy the rigs."

He got the $25,000, and from that start one of the West's great fortunes was built.

Today his holdings cover so wide a scope they could hardly be detailed. He holds interest in close to 1,000 oil wells, owns 10 ranches with more than 25,000 acres of land, and runs more than 10,000 head of registered cattle.

Like so many other men of wealth, Bob Smith is cruelly misunderstood in some quarters.

He has had the finger of commercialization pointed at him for his part in building the domed stadium, yet there is no way he can ever realize the return on his baseball investments that he could have made in a wide assortment of other fields.

He owned only 61 acres of land at the stadium site, land he had bought 9 years earlier at $7,500 per acre. He made it available to the county at a loss of $193,000 to himself.

When other property owners in the area balked at giving the rights of way needed for stadium roads, a seemingly unbreakable roadblock developed and threatened to prevent the stadium's construction.

Smith approached the trustees of the Hilton estate, agreed to buy all their land himself at $10,000 an acre. He in turn sold 193 acres to the county for the stadium park, and donated 35 acres of land for the rights-of-way. That represented a gift of $350,000.

The honors that have come to R. E. (Bob) Smith are many and varied.

Honorary degrees have been bestowed upon him by George Pepperdine College of Los Angeles, by Southwestern University of Georgetown, Tex., and by Centenary College of Shreveport.

He received the brotherhood award from from the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1954, and was awarded the Order of the Aztec Eagle, highest honor given by the Mexican Government, for his work as chairman of the good neighbor commission for 6 years.

He has served as chairman of the board of stewards of First Methodist Church of Houston, and currently is chairman of a drive to raise $32 million for five Methodist colleges in the area—Texas Wesleyan, Lon Morris, Southwestern, McMurray and SMU. A total of $20 million has already been raised.

He served as regional civil defense director without pay, was one of the organizers of the boys club, was one of the founders and for a number of years president of the Eliza Johnson Home for Aged Negroes.

There are many others, none of which Bob Smith cares to talk about. The number of people he has helped financially runs into the thousands.

At 70, "R. E. Bob" enjoys robust good health, and is a daily patron of the President's Health Club, where he takes the maximum workouts prescribed and then adds more of his own design.

If he could be granted another 70 years, Houston would benefit vastly.

Congressman Fred Schwengel Achieves Milestone With "Week in Washington" Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Iowa, the Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL, has a reputation in his own State, as well as in the Halls of Congress, for his efforts to translate the intricacies of government and politics into meaningful terms for today's college students upon whom the burden of leadership will fall in the future.

Congressman SCHWENGEL's "Week in Washington" program, which is now in its 10th year, has been responsible for bringing 100 students and 14 political science instructors to the Capital for a week of intensive exposure to the various facets of government at the Federal level and the people who are responsible for the functioning of the governmental machine.

After Congressman and Mrs. SCHWENGEL had achieved the milestone of being hosts to the 99th and 100th students to participate in the "Week in Washington" program, the Congressman's hometown paper, the Sunday Times-Democrat, of Davenport, Iowa, carried a wonderful story on the program under the headline "Capitol Cram Course."

This article merits the attention of all Members of Congress who share the responsibility with Congressman SCHWENGEL of bringing our Government closer to the people but who do not do as much about it as Congressman SCHWENGEL does.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I place the article on Congressman SCHWENGEL's "Capitol Cram Course," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CAPITOL CRAM COURSE

(By Julie Jensen)

Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL, of Davenport, has now "graduated" his 100th "Week in Washington" student, marking 10 years of bringing collegians to the Nation's Capital for a concentrated lab course in practical politics.

Jack Holveck, of William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, and Eugene Olson, of the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, have the distinction of bringing SCHWENGEL's elite alumni group to the hundred mark.

The Iowa Congressman launched the first "Week in Washington" in 1955. The active interest of the White House and Paul Butler, then Democratic National Committee chairman, gave impetus to the idea, and similar programs were devised by Congressman HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, Senator STUART SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri, Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and Congressman WILLIAM AVERY, Republican, of Kansas.

SCHWENGEL's "Week in Washington" grew out of a campaign promise. After his election to the House of Representatives, he was reminded of a remark he had made while stumping Iowa's First District: "If I'm elected, I'd like to have some students visit me in Washington. We spend thousands of dollars to turn out a doctor or a lawyer, but we forget to make citizens out of them."

Dr. Robert Ray of the Institute of Public Affairs at the State University of Iowa, agreed with SCHWENGEL that each political party must interest and educate tomorrow's voter for its own survival. Together they planned a program that Ray called "an attempt to bring representative student leaders and political leaders together so the students can find out how they can participate actively in politics now and after they are graduated."

SCHWENGEL offered to invite two students to his Arlington apartment for a week and provide them with breakfast and dinner. He planned to bring 10 students to Washington during each session of Congress.

The State central committees of the two major parties were asked to contribute to the expenses of the students, and the Citizenship Clearing House, operating on a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh, provided the rest of the money for travel and incidentals because the project was in line with the CCH goal, "better minds for better politics."

Application forms were sent to professors of political science in all of Iowa's 4-year colleges and universities, and teachers were asked to encourage students interested in government who demonstrated leadership and scholarship to apply. Fifty students from 14 schools mailed applications, demonstrating a shift in the collegiate tendency to regard politics as "a dirty business."

THE FIRST CHOSEN

Of the 10 chosen, Republican Martha Selz, of Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa, and Democrat Mary Rita Griffin, of Clark College, Dubuque, were the first political internes to arrive in Washington.

After a week of reading Congressman SCHWENGEL's mail, attending committee hearings, going behind the scenes on the Hill and visiting party headquarters, Martha said, "I want to go home and impress the person who doesn't vote, but who always complains if he doesn't like the voting record of his Congressman."

Mary Rita was disturbed by the existence of "too many let-George-do-it citizens," and left Washington with the intention of convincing the people at home "that government is their business."

The girls' visit at 4005 Nellie Custis Drive in Arlington was the beginning of a collegiate influx which should stand Mrs. Schwengel in good stead if she ever wishes to become a sorority or fraternity house mother. Ethel Schwengel maintains what one student called a peaceful bit of Iowa in the midst of bustling Washington.

A Republican and a Democrat were paired for each of the project's 5 weeks, and the Congressman was seen on the Hill and around town with two boys or two girls intent upon absorbing practical politics.

In the program's second year, a newspaper editorial said this about the political interns: "They gained a new respect for government, and at least one of them has decided to make politics his career."

The third years, Merwin Coad, Democratic congressman from Iowa's Sixth District, offered to be SCHWENGEL's cohost. This brought twice as many students to Washington each year. The bipartisan pairing was maintained, because, SCHWENGEL explained, "It teaches them to get along together." Congressman Leonard Wolf, Democrat, of Iowa, succeeded Coad as cohost.

While the Congressmen act as mentors to the students, their wives see to the interns' personal comfort. Ethel Schwengel, for instance, includes them in any activity the family plans, such as a picnic along the Potomac or a Marine Band concert.

One student said, "I hoped to lose weight with all the walking you have to do in Washington, but I couldn't. Mrs. Schwengel cooks too well."

CHAUFFEURED STUDENTS

In the program's early years, the SCHWENGEL's daughter, Dot, then a secretary to Vice President Nixon, chauffeured the students around Washington afterhours. Her boss's house was a big attraction.

During working hours, interns are assigned desks in the offices of their hosts. This is home base for their excursions to the Supreme Court, the Library of Congress, committee hearings, House and Senate sessions, and meetings with congressional leaders.

"Having our own desks made us feel an intrinsic part of the Congressman's office rather than a pair of casual onlookers," commented Intern David Standard, of the State College of Iowa.

Being on the "inside" gives rise to comments like that of Roger Brus, of Alta Vista, "I'm amazed at the enormous amount of work a Congressman does. I'm through complaining that Congress doesn't do enough."

Timothy Sullivan, of Cedar Rapids, says, "This is the kind of thing people who think politicians don't do anything but try to line their own pockets should see."

Larry Popofsky, who became a Rhodes scholar, expressed his intention to "pay for the visit" by interesting other students in government.

IMPRESSED BY PACE

"The astounding pace of politicians" impressed Janet Robertson, of Coe College, and Nat Baird, of the State University of Iowa, discovered "lobbyists aren't quite as bad as their name implies."

A Latvian-born intern, Inta Simson Sraders, now married to an Air Force officer, made a Voice of America broadcast about her experiences in a Communist concentration camp while she was in Washington. "Getting to know that the people in Washington are really people—warm human beings" was the outstanding feature of her week in the Capital.

All revelations were not pleasant. A Drake University coed kept a digusted count as a secretary-treasurer of a union local took the fifth amendment 84 times in less than 2 hours during the Senate's labor rackets investigation.

The vital and diverse interests of Government were clarified by visits to the subcommittee on radiation and biological and environmental effects of nuclear war of the Atomic Energy Commission and to the State Department for a briefing on Africa.

"The Washington dateline means something to me now," said one student, "I read the front page of the paper first, while I used to grab for the funnies or the sports page."

If an intern gleefully anticpates the chance to confound his political science instructors with on-the-spot knowledge of politics, he may be disappointed. Since 1957 teachers have been included in the "Week in Washington" project.

A CHANCE TO CHECK

Prof. Erma Plaehn of the State College of Iowa says, "The week provided an oppor-

tunity to check impressions from reading with actual contacts and experiences."

Prof. Donald B. Johnson, of the State University of Iowa, spent much of his week in the Capital tape recording interviews with congressional leaders for use in the classroom.

In addition to instruction, the interns receive privileges which few tourists can boast: everything from chats with high Government officials to inspecting the President's private swimming pool and gymnasium.

Questioned about the benefits of "Week in Washington," FRED SCHWENGEL says, "Besides the exposure to many facets of Government and politics, I think the students get a great deal of value from the interchange of ideas and political philosophies. They get a better understanding of and appreciation for the legislative and administrative processes. They are then able to translate this experience into their own activities so that they are not only better citizens, but they provide the leadership which brings about more activity on the part of others."

VARIED CAREERS

SCHWENGEL keeps in touch with his interns through a newsletter that tells of scholastic honors, marriages, new babies, and career plans. The "graduates" are referred to by the year they participated in the project and their political affiliation: (Mary Riat Griffin, D–55; William Burger, R–59).

The students who have made Washington their laboratory in the past 10 years have become doctors, lawyers, teachers, housewives, and businessmen with a contagious awareness of their responsibility in government. They can do much toward what one intern calls "the difficult job of convincing people that politics has an intimate relation to their own personal lives."

HIS FONDEST HOPE

SCHWENGEL's fondest hope for the project has not yet materialized, but it is a prime possibility. He says, "I look forward to the day when one of the 'Week in Washington' graduates is elected to Congress and starts his own program for students."

The Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas has recently returned from what may accurately be described as a triumphant tour of Europe. My colleagues will remember that this group won first place in 1962 in the Guido d'Arezzo international polyphonic competition in Arezzo, Italy; and they appeared in the Rose Garden at the White House, following their return to the United States.

As in 1962, this summer's tour was not financed by the Government, but was supported by private subscription. The very profound impression the group made upon audiences in France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Andorra is indicated by an article published in the French newspaper Le Provencal, of Marseilles.

All of Arkansas is proud of the young people who comprise the Schola Cantorum, and of its director, Prof. Richard D. Brothers.

I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I have referred, which has been translated, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Do you know the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas? If this name means nothing to you, so much the worse for you: it is one of the most beautiful mixed choirs that one could find in the entire world. And, as a mixed choir is among the best musicial groups, one can imagine how interesting is a concert presented by this Schola, especially if the program is well chosen, as was the case yesterday afternoon at St. Sauveur Cathedral.

I will note first the visual impression, which is a sign, and a good one: the perfect appearance of the singers, uniformly vested in white robes with wide collars spreading over deep red tunics having deep sleeves lined with blue.

The choir possesses a sonorous homogeniety quite surprising. One could hear but a single vocal color, a single timbre, so well were the voices blended in this very flexible instrument with an infinite range of nuances. The sound was often at the edge of silence, but could also attain a brilliant strength.

The tone quality of the Schola Cantorum naturally influences their style of interpretation which is faithful to the texts and at the same time very personal (one could sometimes conceive of a very different interpretation of the imitative vocal entries, which the singers from Arkansas had some tendency to attenuate).

At the head of this elite ensemble is a veritable master: Richard Brothers.

The program included two anonymous 15th century Italian lauds, works by Palestrina, Victoria, Morales, Mouton, Gibbons, Purcell; by composers little known in France, like Billings, Pooler; and finally the Four Motets for a Time of Penitence, of Francis Poulenc. The interpretation of the latter merits a special mention, for the choir revealed marvelously all of the expressive richness and all of the beauty of these wonderful pages.

Eulogy to GI Joe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gilbert Paugh, a constitutent of mine, has written the following "Eulogy to GI Joe." I think it is a fine, moving tribute to America's citizen-soldiers who have so valiantly served the Nation in times of grave peril. That the honorable and courageous contribtuion of the millions of Americans who have protected the Nation so many times be not forgotten, I commend to each Member of the House the reading of Mr. Paugh's "Eulogy to GI Joe."

The article follows:

EULOGY TO GI JOE

Who was GI Joe? Why, he was the kid from down the block who delivered your newspaper, the boy from across town who mowed your lawn to earn his vacation money, the lad who jerked sodas in the corner drugstore and gave his wages to his widowed mother, the redhead next door who drove you to distraction with his war whoops when he played at Indian, and broke your front window with a baseball; but repaid you tenfold a few years later when he yanked you wildly from your seat in the stadium by intercepting a pass and running 85 yards to a championship for your alma mater. Remember * * *?

Who was GI Joe? Bless him, he was the tot who kept you awake at night when he had colic, the tad over whom you solemnly watched and prayed when the angel of death was nigh. He was the stripling who pumped you dry with his questions on every conceivable subject. He was the budding young orator whom you proudly watched through misty eyes on his graduation day.

Who was GI Joe? He was the one person in all the world for whom you would willingly have laid down your life—for he was your son.

Who was GI Joe? He was the vigorous young American who responded to the silver-throated bugle's call to arms when thunder over the Pacific shattered the tranquil Sabbath dawn on December 7, 1941. He was the soldier on Corregidor who did not complain about a 12-hour life, yet some of us on the homefront complained about a 10-hour day in a war plant or an office. Yes, he was the boy who may have cried for his mom as he lay in a foxhole in some far-off sweltering jungle, or billowed in a watery solitude; but did not falter in the roar of conflict. He was the hero of the hour when every institution of liberty was threatened with total destruction by the hosts of despotism; defender of democracy, savior of humanity for whom we could build 8,000 airplanes a month and untold quantities of ships and tanks and guns and ammunition when the chips were down and we were frightened at the aggression of the mad dogs of Europe and Asia. He was the veteran for whom the Congress voted free education, but forgot to provide living quarters at the institutions of learning.

He was the man who had more courage, more clothes, more to eat, and more sense than any other fighting man who ever marched away to the grand, wild music of war.

Who is GI Joe today? He is the victor for whom the cheers have become perfunctory. He is the kid who was crippled and maimed and destroyed in the frozen hills of Korea, that this country should not become a vassal state ruled by a monster, but remain a nation—sovereign, great, and free.

GI Joe was and is all of these things, but he is more: for he is custodian of America's destiny. He will take over where you leave off. He will sit in your chair at the director's table after you are gone. He will operate the railroads and fly the planes. He will build the roads and construct the dams. He will till the soil and produce the food to feed the hungry mouths of humanity. He will mine the coal to produce the steam that will turn with tireless arm the countless wheels of industry, which he will operate and manage. GI Joe will occupy your seat in the U.S. Senate after you are gone, reside in the White House, and carry out the terms of any treaties you may make.

GI Joe is important and powerful because there are so many of him. And since he will eventually take over the control and management of the Nation and its vast resources, it is imperative that we reward him generously with opportunity he earned by breasting the iron storms of war on battlefronts around the world.—PAUGH.

The 100th Anniversary of the Idaho Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the Idaho Statesman, of Boise, Idaho, has just celebrated its 100th birthday. It has now become the first Idaho daily to pass the century mark. In commemoration of this anniversary, the Statesman published a superb centennial edition. All those who had a hand in the publication of this edition—including John A. Scott, Eugene C. Dorsey, Sandy Klein, and especially the centennial edition editor, Betty Penson—have great reason to be proud.

John A. Scott, the publisher of the Statesman, published in the centennial edition an eloquent pledge for the Statesman's second century. On the same day, the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune published a fine editorial commemorating the Statesman's 100th anniversary. This editorial contains information of interest and value to any student of Western history. I ask unanimous consent that these two editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Idaho Statesman]

PLEDGE FOR SECOND CENTURY

The newspaper that is part of life in Idaho today commences its second century of service to the community and the Commonwealth.

More people than ever before in history now read the Statesman. This fact alone imposes upon us who publish the newspaper a critical challenge to preserve a heritage of excellence.

We who presently enjoy the stewardship of the Statesman are mindful of the challenge. We know that a newspaper rarely is perfect. But never can a good newspaper abandon the pursuit of perfection.

A birthday is more than cake and candles. It is a time for self-appraisal and rededication. For us it is an opportunity to vow that we will continue to make this newspaper an instrument of progress in Idaho, supporting the finest aspirations of the communities and State we serve. We will keep our readers informed, challenged, and—hopefully—sometimes inspired. We will oppose the wrong, support the right. Within these simple dimensions, we will seek always truth, objectivity, fairness.

Moreover, at this moment in time, we are solemnly conscious that neither the Statesman nor any newspaper worth its ink can survive in a society that is not free. Not only for that reason, but because we love this indivisible land, we will help watch the ramparts. We will try to be worthy of our freedom.

JOHN A. SCOTT,
Publisher.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune, July 26, 1964]

ONE HUNDRED YEARS ROLL BY AT THE STATESMAN

"Politically it may as well be understood once and for all that we are opposed to this rebellion, and every phase of its causes or its results, and to everybody who is not opposed to it."

This was the resolute stand of the new newspaper at Boise City, Idaho Territory, in its first issue. The editor, a forthright newcomer from Maine, also was an unswerving abolitionist. He was for the Union, first and forever.

The paragraph quoted above was from the issue of July 26, 1864, No. 1, volume 1. The publication was called the Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman which, in 1888, became the Idaho Daily Statesman. The editor was James S. Reynolds, one of the many with the Statesman who have left indelible imprints on Idaho.

The Statesman's concession that its partiality might not be universally welcomed in Idaho Territory indicated a sharp perception. Idaho Territory in 1864 was predominantly sympathetic with the Confederacy and those the Statesman contemptuously called "rebels" controlled all county and city offices at Boise, as well as the legislature. Some idea of this may be found in what David W. Ballard, commissioned as Idaho's third territorial Governor, wrote when he arrived at Boise in June 1866:

"I at once made myself solid with the commandant at Fort Boise so that, in case of need, we would have the U.S. Regulars to aid us. All the officials of Ada County were rebels. The city officials of Boise were the same, so that in case of political trouble we could expect no aid from them. James S. Reynolds, and his paper, the Statesman, was our main standby. What a fearless man he is. He published at all times the most vigorous Republican paper right in the midst of the 'new Confederacy.'"

The Statesman was founded largely by happenstance. Three men named Reynolds (two were brothers from Missouri and not related to the editor) were hauling printing equipment, ink, and newsprint in two wagons from The Dalles to Idaho City (then called Bannock City) to establish a newspaper and printing office. They stopped at Boise to inquire as to the way and were soon persuaded to establish the enterprise there.

The Statesman was first housed in a two-room cabin built of cottonwood logs, "the rear room with a back entrance like the open end of a sawmill." It wasn't born full panoplied. It was, in fact, born largely in hope and confidence, nor was it robust during its infancy. The format was a four-column sheet of about the common handbill size, and the subscription price was $52 a year by carrier or $20 a year by mail. The paper had its share of publication troubles. A later editor wrote:

"In getting out the paper we worked nearly all night, and frequently the Boise Basin stage would pull out ahead of us and we would have to send Dick Reynolds to overtake it on a horse with the mail packages for the different mining camps. The Civil War news made a big demand for the Statesman and we ran off an edition of a thousand copies each issue. (The present circulation of the paper is 49,261.) When the details of a great battle came we would get out an extra, print several hundred, and send a man on a fleet horse with them to the Boise Basin, where they sold for from 50 cents to a dollar."

The Statesman, often a chip on its shoulder, had many editorial battles with contemporaries. One of these—the only Idaho newspaper now published which is older than the Statesman—was the weekly Idaho World of Idaho City, established in 1863. (The first Idaho newspaper, of course, was the Golden Age founded at Lewiston on Aug. 2, 1862, and which folded in 1865 after Boise had adroitly stolen the territorial capital.) The World was provoked to declare:

"The Statesman refers to us as 'the poor starveling, the Idaho World.' We will not be so discourteous as that luminary, but will address it as the great overfed, bloated, brainless burlesque on journalism, a Stone Jug organ, and inform it that we are not a 'starveling.' We have a right to be poor. We started poor, we have fought an expensive lawsuit and lost it, and paid the judgment, unjust as it was. We are not supported by Federal patronage. We are not the organ of any ring that feeds at the public crib. Yes, we are poor, but not hungry nor in need of whitewashing."

Many others have carped at the Statesman, yet the fact it is the first Idaho daily to attain its centennial attests to its solid foundations. Since the time of James S. Reynolds it has had many faithful and respected publishers and editors, such as Judge Milton Kelly, Calvin Cobb—still remembered for his precise, pithy editorials—his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Cobb Ailshie, and after her the prototypical James L. Brown, "wrapped in the solitude of his own originality." Brown sold the newspaper last fall to Federal Publications, Inc., which publishes four other newspapers in Indiana and Michigan and also owns television and radio properties. Idahoans trust the new publishers will prove worthy of their heritage. The national trend is toward group ownership of newspapers, a question of eocnomics rather than concentration of control. Of the 13 Idaho daily newspapers, only 5 are independently owned, those at Blackfoot, Idaho Falls, Kellogg, Moscow, and Lewiston.

It is almost a cliche to observe that the Statesman has long been an institution, part of the life of Idaho. Attainment of its 100th birthday must be a matter of great satisfaction because a newspaper does not live to such age except through public acceptance based on public confidence.

Thus has the Statesman grown into Idaho's oldest and largest daily newspaper. Many of its editorial opinions are not universally accepted, any more than were its jibes at the rebels of 100 years ago. But the Statesman has faithfully recognized its obligation to express opinions in its editorials and to be fair and impartial in its news columns. It has kept all Idaho as its field, even while serving its immediate community to the best of its abilities. Time, the fourth dimension, has added cubits to its stature.

If one were permitted idle conjecture, the contrast between that first Statesman log cabin printshop and the imposing modern plant of granite and bronze would stagger any contemporary of Editor Reynolds. He could hardly have imagined, for all of his boldness and foresight, the advances that would be made in the printing arts in a century. Oddly enough, the most important have come in recent years.

Virtually all of the gains, from power presses and typesetting machines to the marvelous electronic contraptions of today, were inconceivable in 1864. Now the entire industry is excited and concerned by further revolutionary changes at hand or just ahead. Such things as cold-type compositions, offset rotary presses, hot metal pasteup, sending stories and pictures both by wire and through space, type automotically set from perforated tape instead of by nimble fingers, this same tape transmitted and justified at unbelievable speed by computers, at rates of more than 1,000 words per minute. The wonderful world of electronics already has brought an entirely new stratum of language to the newspaper industry.

One is sure that Editor Reynolds would be stunned. Yet one thing, one vital ingredient of every good newspaper, has not changed—words. It is words—vibrant, articulate, sonorous, precise, and clear—which still tell the story. Automation or not, they remain the most important part of any publishing venture.

Stranded Air Flight Passengers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, there is currently occurring at the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York City a series of events that are shameful.

According to the latest available figures, there will be 400,000 people attempting to reach Europe this summer via charter flights that may not even exist. Many of these people have traveled great distances sacrificing much, and in certain instances using money borrowed for the occasion, only to discover, once they reach the airport, that no charter exists. Others arrive only to discover that the plane which was to provide them with transportation is, for one reason or another, unable to make the trip without undergoing extensive repairs. In the meantime the traveler must arrange his own accommodations in the city at his own expense, an expense that often puts the price of the charter flight above that of a regularly scheduled carrier for performing the same service.

This is not only an inconvenience to the prospective traveler, Mr. Speaker, but is a fraud on the traveling public. The unscrupulous perpetrators should be penalized.

Hopefully some type of legislation, such as that proposed by Attorney General Leftkowitz regarding the licensing of travel agents, will be enacted in the not too distant future.

Then, too, I think that efforts should be made to acquaint the staff of the Civil Aeronautics Board here in Washington to the existence of this problem, so that steps might better be taken at the Federal level to initiate legislation that will protect the traveling public from this sort of operation.

An excellent article, in my opinion, which was written by Mr. David Hoffman, appeared in the August 3 edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include this article in the RECORD:

CRIPPLED PLANES, STRANDED PASSENGERS: THE SORRY TALE OF CHARTER FLIGHTS—CAB REGULATIONS VIOLATED—STATE POWERLESS TO ACT

(By David Hoffman, aviation editor)

The same sorry tale of broken airplanes, rampant hucksterism, and stranded passengers is unfolding at John F. Kennedy Airport this summer as 400,000 travelers try to reach Europe via charter flights that may, or may not, exist.

Widespread, flagrant violations of the Civil Aeronautics Board rules governing air charters have been reported to Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz. But the attorney general, a New York State official, is powerless to enforce the rules of a Federal agency.

"Our concern is for the people who get stranded out there," Mr. Lefkowitz said recently. "Last year, there were 1,100 of them at least."

To insure that the marooned passengers get fed, housed, and treated less like cattle, the attorney general now sends a confidential investigator to Kennedy Airport where he observes certain suspicious departures.

For Donald R. Sloan, confidential investigator, one recent weekend really began Saturday morning when his phone rang. On the line was the boss, Barnett Levy, assistant attorney general in charge of the consumer fraud and protection bureau.

"We've got a complaint. Get down to the general aviation terminal at Kennedy and see what's happening," Mr. Levy said. "Bizarre and unbelievable" were the words Mr. Levy used later to describe the situation.

A group of 113 would-be passengers, including 3 nuns and 17 infants, had been kept waiting all night in the terminal. Their plane, operated by one of the so-called nonskeds, had been due to depart at 8 p.m. Friday.

But airline officials told Mr. Sloan that while the plane was approaching Kennedy two of its four engines failed. The airline summoned the stricken craft back to Wilmington, Del. There, it sprang an oil leak that delayed departure for 5 more hours, Mr. Sloan was informed.

The plane was launched toward Kennedy again. But it was forced down at an emergency field when still another engine failed in flight. The airline then dispatched the ailing craft to Nashville, Tenn., for major overhaul.

While Mr. Sloan was collecting this intelligence, he mingled with the angry passengers—all allegedly members of the Irish United Athletic & Social Association. Some had paid $283, some $250, and some $210 for the round-trip, transatlantic charter, he was told.

Next, Mr. Sloan put the pressure on the airline to house the group, something the airline had shown little inclination to do. He called for buses and warned the airline to pick up the bill. He was told a substitute plane would arrive at midnight Saturday.

The plane actually arrived. Once more, buses were summoned and the passengers climbed aboard their plane at 2:05 a.m. Now the captain refused to fly because no sextant had been stowed in his cockpit. Without such an instrument, with which navigators shoot the stars, he might not find his way across the ocean.

Frantic calls went out as airline officials tried to borrow a sextant at the airport, Mr. Sloan observed. These calls disclosed that another nonsked had delayed another charter for 18 hours and a longer delay was forecast. The first nonsked borrowed the second nonsked's sextant, then took off at 2:45 a.m., 30 hours behind schedule.

But Mr. Sloan, by now quite tired, had another stranded group of 102 to house and feed. Back came the buses. Arrangements were made with the same hotel. En route, however, the busdrivers refused to take the check written by the second nonsked. So the first nonsked gave the second $90.

At 3:30 a.m. Sunday, the second group of passengers reached the hotel. They were informed that a cylinder change would delay their flight until Sunday midnight, perhaps longer if the new cylinder failed to restore the engine's health. This flight got off at 1 a.m. Monday.

Behind the boom in air charters—trade sources report charter revenues will exceed $70 million this year—are a series of steps taken by the Civil Aeronautics Board. Anxious to bring air travel within financial reach of more and more Americans, the CAB in mid-April began allowing travel agents to "sell" charters to legitimate organizations.

Legitimate, in CAB's view, is an organization that keeps membership lists. No longer need its membership number fewer than 20,000, the pre-April rule. But members must have been on the rolls for at least 6 months before the charter flight to qualify for the discount rate.

CAB also authorized "split charters" in which a plane's seating capacity is sold to two legitimate groups instead of to one. Arrival of the jetliners, with seats for up to 187, was the reason given for this move.

The Nation's prosperity, lower fares, surplus airliners, and the steps taken by the CAB combined to create the charter boom. But the boom brought a backlash.

Across the country, promoters began scouring colleges and social clubs for people with $250 or so to invest in a charter flight. If they found the people but not the club, a club often was formed on the spot. In one case cited by Barnett Levy, a group of passengers en route to New York were handed membership forms and told to sign them or risk having their European trip cut short at Kennedy.

Posing as travel agents, the promoters collected thousands of dollars, pocketed fat commissions, then made more or less serious efforts to obtain airplanes for passengers who had already planned vacations, sometimes around borrowed money.

Take the case of Holiday Travel, Inc., of Manhattan.

Last spring, posters began appearing on the New York University campus advertising seven summer charters to Europe and Japan aboard Capitol, Caledonian, Iberia, and Japan Air Lines. Charters ranged in cost from $236 to $799 a person. The ads began: "You can be sure with."

New York's Bureau of Consumer Frauds and Protection wasn't so sure. It discovered that Holiday Travel had been informed by the airlines they had no intention of flying the advertised charters. It discovered that the owners of Holiday Travel had banked a goodly sum of money. It got a court order directing Holiday to return the money and to quit advertising bogus charters.

Or, take the case of Herbert Palace, also of Manhattan.

Mr. Palace collected at least $83,000 from 526 individuals (most were college students), and promised to arrange charters for them. A nonsked, Intercontinental, United States, Inc., agreed to fly the students to Europe this summer. But their vacation plans went down the drain when the CAB and the Federal Aviation Agency ousted Intercontinental from the business.

Attorney General Lefkowitz then got Mr. Palace to place the money he collected from the students in an escrow account. All of it was reimbursed this summer with each check bearing two signatures—Palace's and that of Louis Lefkowitz.

To cure the problem, Attorney General Lefkowitz said last week he will again push hard for State legislation licensing travel agents. Under it, they would be bonded and inspected periodically like barbers or beauticians. "Let business regulate itself if it's willing," Mr. Lefkowitz said last week. But the travel agents, he feels, are not.

Water Resource Development Needs, Problems, and Prospects for Future Outlined by Maj. Gen. Jackson Graham, Civil Works, U.S. Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, there have been times when this country

waited for drought, floods, or other disasters to awaken us to the gigantic tasks ahead of us in water conservation and flood control.

In a recent clear address to the annual meeting of the National Congress of Rivers and Harbors, in Washington, D.C., on June 5, 1964, Maj. Gen. Jackson Graham explained briefly and vividly why this must not happen again. Much information was compressed into a few pages by General Graham.

Major General Graham is Director of Civil Works, U.S. Army. He is a man who knows what he talks about. As a national vice president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, and as one whose State has experienced the ravages of both flood and drought, I am impressed by this address, and believe it worthy of study by those who are interested in conservation and the protection of our resources.

I call particular attention to Major General Graham's statement:

Regarding construction, the trend of the decade as we see it, is toward more general recognition of the absolute necessity to expand water-resource development construction at a rate geared to the expansion of the national population and the economy.

General Graham's report reflects credit on him and on the Government he serves.

I ask unanimous consent that his challenging address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY MAJ. GEN. JACKSON GRAHAM, DIRECTOR OF CIVIL WORKS, U.S. ARMY, ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF RIVERS AND HARBORS, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 5, 1964

This has been an interesting year for us in the Corps of Engineers. Those of you who have lived through drought-and-flood cycles in plains and river valleys probably have some sympathy for the financial drought-and-flood cycle the corps experienced in fiscal year 1964. The first half of the year we had no appropriation at all. The monetary rain cloud hung overhead, but week after week went by and nothing dropped. Finally, at Christmas, the cloud broke, the money came, and we had to cope with a full year's flood of work on new starts with only 6 months to do it in. By June 30 we will have put most of the 61 new starts under construction, although we cannot avoid the loss of some of our scheduled construction time.

Meanwhile, we had other diversions to occupy our attention—the exhaustion or near-exhaustion of monetary authorizations in a number of river basins; a downpour of the "pork barrel" and "boondoggle" type of criticism; and the soul searching must accompany a period of budgetary economy. Add to this some floods, an earthquake, low-water levels in some areas that broke century-old records, Passamaquoddy, Rampart, the Potomac Basin report, the upper Missouri report, continued problems at Allegheny Dam, and a number of other like events, and you will understand that one thing we weren't troubled with was boredom.

Of course, the year had its up as well as its downs. It was a year that saw the Cross-Florida Barge Canal begun, and the Sacramento Deep-Water Ship Channel go into operation; that saw a less-than-half finished flood-control system in the Ohio River Basin prevent nearly $300 million in damage; that saw the dedication or substantial completion of Greers Ferry, Hartwell, Table Rock, and Cougar Dams, the St. Anthony Falls project, the Mississippi Gulf Outlet, and the Old River Closure. Above all, it was a year in which the economy inspired budget included a $57 million increase in the requested appropriation for Corps of Engineers civil works—a fine endorsement of the value of our water resources programs in helping to advance national economic growth.

My account of the year would not be complete without some attempt to evaluate a number of trends that appear to be developing at this period of water resource history.

Water resource development work, whether on a single project or a whole program, may be divided into three parts; the planning of project work, its construction, and its operation. Significant departures appear to be taking place in all three of these fields.

In the planning field, the nationwide interagency effort to be carried out under the standards, policies, and procedures set forth in 1962 by the President's Water Resources Council in Senate Document 97, has now been blocked out as an $88 million task to be finished by the end of the decade. The Corps of Engineers' share is estimated at something over $42 million. Urgently needed projects will continue to be reported on individually without waiting for completion of basin studies, but insofar as possible will be planned to fit into prospective basin plans.

I think it is important to recognize the limitations of the role of Federal agencies like the Corps of Engineers in the total project-investment process. When the corps submits a plan or a project report, it recommends the activities it believes to constitute the most economical and effective way of meeting the problems embraced within the study. However, the ultimate decision on whether a program should be undertaken, or what it should contain, often may involve important factors not embraced within the scope of our own recommendations. These will include questions of public choice and preference regarding the use of land and water resources which turn on considerations other than the engineering and economic factors which fall within our purview. The ultimate decision must be made by higher authority—generally the Congress—which is prepared to consider a broader range of aspects than any single agency is competent to evaluate.

At the same time, we in the corps believe it is part of our responsibility to the American people not merely to carry out the studies assigned to us, but also to point out problems we foresee or any opportunities for economy and efficiency we may encounter in the course of our work. Insofar as we ourselves help determine the scope or content of planning activities, it is done in this spirit.

Regarding construction, the trend of the decade, as we see it, is toward more general recognition of the absolute necessity to expand water-resource development construction at a rate geared to the expansion of the national population and the economy.

I state this as a general proposition. Just what should be built in any given year is a complex problem that I do not propose to go into here. But I do think we must all always keep in mind the fact that we are a great producing nation, and a great consuming nation, and a very fast-growing nation. We must continually ask ourselves not only what our needs for water and other resources are today, but what they will be 10 and 20 and 50 years from now. And our questions about needs must always be coupled with the question of where the resources to meet those needs can be found, and how they can best be made available.

It is this question of resource availability that is the crucial one. It cannot be eliminated by a breakthrough, for example, on desalting seawater. The United States already has a sufficient quantity of fresh surface water to meet its needs many times over. The Great Lakes form the largest single body of fresh water on earth; the Mississippi River empties an average of 5 million gallons of unused fresh water into the sea every second. But what good does all that water do to people who can't get at it without building conveyance works that cost more than it would cost to develop their own sources nearer at hand? All of our great national water-resources development effort, present, and future, is devoted simply to improving the availability of existing supplies.

Most of us, I believe, are familiar by now with the water-resource construction goals set forth by the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources in 1960. I admit there is nothing sacred about the specific schedules set forth in those reports. But they do give us a general measure of the construction task that confronts us if we wish our Nation to keep on growing. I believe we must not lose the sense of concern for the future that is reflected in those goals and recommendations.

Meanwhile, new trends are also becoming manifest in the field of project operation and maintenance.

One of these trends concerns recreation. In 1963, recreational attendance at Corps of Engineers reservoirs reached almost 150 million visitor-days. The money we are spending to operate recreation facilities averages out at about 2 cents per visitor. States and localities provide perhaps twice as much, so that about 6 cents per visitor is spent to serve the recreation-seeking public at corps reservoirs. By contrast, the national average expenditure at State parks is about 25 cents per visitor, and at national parks, 38 to 42 cents. Recreation O. & M. obviously has become a growing and important part of our work which cannot be neglected in the light of public demand for it. However, recreation in turn is only part of the larger project operation and maintenance activity which has taken on new aspects in recent years.

When a project is finished, and when the construction cost ends, we only then begin to incur an operation and maintenance cost that continues year after year into perpetuity. And each new project that is completed adds a new increment to the total maintenance overhead charge for the system as a whole.

Of the approximately $12 billion that have been invested in Corps of Engineers civil works construction to date, about $8 billion have been invested since 1950. This means that the big increase in construction which began about 15 years ago is only now being reflected in a proportionate increase in our operation and maintenance burden.

A number of factors complicate the operation and maintenance picture. The upward pressure on O. & M. costs is very strong. The ENR construction cost index between 1957 and 1963 rose 20 perecnt. The need for recreation operation I have already mentioned. Maintenance deferred during two hot wars and various crises in the cold war left us with a backlog of needed maintenance work which has been reduced but is still considerable. The constant pressure for bigger and deeper harbors and channels threatens to bring us into new operation cost dimensions.

No matter how you break it down, we face the fact that our completed project plant is growing, and that operation and maintenance needs will continue to grow in proportion; and this fact must be taken into account in considering the future dimensions and progress of the civil works program.

All these trends, in planning, in construction, and in operation and maintenance, apply I believe, not only to the Corps of Engineers and its programs, but to the whole field of national water-resource development,

and concern all who are affected by that field. That is why I have ventured to bring them to the attention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. This body is one of the more important links between Government specialists and the general public. Through you, we may hope to obtain a greater public awareness and understanding of what is happening in this very vital and too-little appreciated field. Water resource development, more than many other forms of enterprise, is largely a public activity, carried out in the public sector by governmental agencies at various levels. Therefore, it is especially important that public opinion be alert and informed on this subject; and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress performs an invaluable function in this way as in many others.

I thank you.

Success of Civil Rights Law Will Depend on Voluntary Compliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT McCLORY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in addressing this House earlier, I emphasized that the success of the 1964 civil rights law will depend upon voluntary compliance with the letter and spirit of this significant legislation.

It is heartening to note a timely and persuasive editorial in support of this position in the July 30 issue of the Zion-Benton News whose publisher is Lee Fleming, of Zion. The editorial demonstrates the spirit of a community—a leading community in the 12th Congressional District of Illinois. I commend this editorial to my colleagues and to the citizens of the Nation, all of whom have a responsibility to help make ours a more law-abiding Nation.

The editorial follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT IN ZION-BENTON

The civil rights law was passed by the Congress of the United States. It is considered to be constitutional until and unless declared otherwise by the Supreme Court.

Respect for the law is a requisite of organized government. To do otherwise is anarchy. To obey only laws to one's liking or to revolt and run amuck in protest is the essence of anarchy—there aren't enough policemen to maintain order; and without a willingness to obey, the rights and protection of everyone in all matters comes to an end. Maintenance of orderly government is more important than our like or dislike for any law.

In the South, restaurant and motel owners have already been arrested for defying the civil rights law. In the North a barber is being prosecuted for refusing to cut a Negro's hair. There will be more of these. It is hoped that no Zion-Benton business man will have to face such a charge. It may be difficult for some to adjust their personal views, but it is the law; and if orderly government is to exist, all laws must be obeyed by all people.

North Carolina had a minimum of trouble with school integration. Luther Hodges, now Secretary of Commerce and then Governor of that State, when asked why North Carolina had so little trouble, answered, "We obeyed the law." If we in Zion-Benton obey the law, there will be no trouble. It's that simple.

If it's our business to feed people, cut their hair, nurse and attend them in illness, rent or sell houses, and we will proceed on the basis as required by law, there will be harmony. We will be law-abiding citizens by our own self-imposed will and not by court action. It's better this way.

Louisville Courier-Journal on the Wilderness Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Members of this body are aware of the great importance of the action taken at this session of Congress to pass, after 9 years of recurrent consideration, the wilderness bill. But not so many members of the general public are aware of the importance of this great conservation measure, and probably the vast majority are quite unaware.

Therefore, it is a service to the Nation when a great metropolitan newspaper, the Louisville Courier-Journal, enlightens its readers with editorial comment such as that which appeared in the August 2 issue of that newspaper. I request unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "President Adds Wilderness Bill to His List", be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT ADDS WILDERNESS BILL TO HIS LIST

After 9 years and a dozen disappointing setbacks, the wilderness bill has finally passed the House and appears likely to survive the Senate-House conference in substantially its present shape. The bill has its weak spots, but it is far stronger than substitute proposals offered by its opponents, and will put at least 9 million and possibly 14½ million acres of land into wilderness reserve.

In the end, conservationist forces in the House had to accept an amendment demanded by western cattle and mining interests stipulating that Congress approve each addition of land area to the wilderness system. This will make it harder to add wilderness acreage, for it means that each time officials of Agriculture or Interior want to add a site to the wilderness system they will have to fight the westerners on the floor of Congress, and the western forces have shown for 9 years that they are not going to surrender their right to use public land for private profit without a scrap.

The bill also permits mining to continue on wilderness land for 25 years after its annexation into the wilderness system. This again is a tough compromise to accept, and it is going to mean that the Federal Government will be given the task and cost of reclaiming a lot of land after it has been ruined by miners. In view of the reservation placed on new wilderness additions, it seems only fair that the Senate-House conference should apply the same reservation to mining permits on wilderness land; that is, that Congress or the Department of Interior be required to approve each permit to mine on wilderness land, just as Congress is required to approve each request to add land to the wilderness system.

However, the bill emerges, it is a step toward assuring tomorrow's Americans a little more open space where they can get away from the growing pressures of the urban environment in which more Americans live each year. Its passage, after so many defeats may or may not justify calling this session "the conservation Congress," as Representative MORRIS UDALL suggests. But it does serve to call attention again to President Johnson's amazing success in getting legislation passed.

Doodlers Don't Trust Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I guess that anyone that likes to doodle is a thinker. And anyone that takes the time to think cannot help but realize that BARRY GOLDWATER is a friend of the laboring man. "Doodler" Duffy in his column in the Northwest Industrial News of July 1964, published in Minneapolis, points this out and also indicates this country needs moral leadership which is presently lacking. On this point, there is an excellent editorial in the August 1964 issue of Nation's Business by Felix Morley, emphasizing the fact that we are losing our faith in our capacity for self-government. Under unanimous consent, I include the aforementioned articles at this point:

"DOODLER" DUFFY'S DIALOGS: OLD LOADING DOCK PHILOSOPHER DOODLES ON GOLDWATER

Dan the Driver: "Hi, Doodler. Haven't seen ya since the Republicans got their convention goin'. I'll bet you got your doodlin' pad filled up with some juicy doodlin'. How about that?"

Doodler Duffey: "Well, I'll admit I followed it pretty close. It sure was an interestin' show. Looks like one guy got out early and did a lot of work roundin' up people that would vote for him, then at the last minute another guy comes along and tries to take it all away from him. When he couldn't, he cried and bellyached and hollered foul like a Little Lord Fauntleroy that tried to swipe another kid's candy and the other kid held on to it."

Dan: "Well, I don't think it makes much difference to you and me; Johnson is gonna be elected, anyway. I don't want any part of this guy GOLDWATER—he's no friend of labor."

Doodler: "Well, now Dan, I wouldn't be too sure of that. It's a fact that GOLDWATER has campaigned in his own State of Arizona for a right-to-work law, but that ain't because he's against labor. As a matter of fact, his record shows that he's a very good friend of labor. He paid the highest wages in his store of any store in the whole Southwest; he introduced insurance and sickness benefits long before any of the labor unions thought of them."

Dan: "Then why did he work for a right-to-work law and why did he vote for the Landrum-Griffin bill?"

Doodler: "Oh, come now, Dan—you surely realize that the Landrum-Griffin bill protects labor more than it does the employer, that is if it is administered right.

"You know as well as I do that we workers had little to say in a lot of our unions about what was done, how the dues were spent or invested, until that law was passed. As for the right-to-work law—well, GOLDWATER, as I size him up, is that kind of a guy on everything. He is for liberty for the individual, whether it's for the right to work or the right to use his own property the way he wants to. He's just got the guts to vote and speak his honest convictions. It took a lot of that stuff for him to vote against that so-called civil rights bill right on the eve of the Republican Convention. Considering the pressure and propaganda and hullabaloo that was goin' for it over the country, he could have easily dealt himself right out of the presidential picture. I don't know how you feel but I'd rather take my chances on gettin' a square deal from a guy like that than I would from one that talks and votes one way when he's a Senator from Texas and another way when he's runnin' for President."

Dan: "You referrin' to President Johnson?"

Doodler: "You're a good guesser. Furthermore, I question the sincerity and honesty of a man who claims to be fightin' a war on poverty when he's got tenants on his own property livin' in indescribable squalor and poverty and he hain't ever done a thing to help 'em improve their lot. Furthermore, I don't trust a guy that sets an example of the way to get rid of poverty by usin' his office to get himself a radio and TV station monopoly and thereby run a few thousand dollars into 9 million in a few years. That's a battle against poverty that don't help us common folks. I think we oughta have a man in the White House whose character we've got confidence in."

Dan: "You sound like you think that man might be BARRY GOLDWATER."

Doodler: "Well, I think we sure oughta give him consideration."

Dan: "Well, I'm openminded. I've never voted Republican in my life, but I like to vote for a guy I can trust and I think this GOLDWATER is a square shooter. I'll admit I've got some serious doubts about Johnson. Well, I gotta be on my way—so long, Doodler. It's a long time to election day and we'll talk some more about this. Keep doodlin'—you're doin' OK."

LOSS OF SPIRITUAL VALUES WEAKENS UNITED STATES POLITICALLY

(By Felix Morley)

Just 50 years ago, in the early August days of 1914, gray-clad German legions were sweeping through neutral Belgium, all Europe was feverishly mobilizing and a cataclysm from which the dust has not yet settled was underway. Many still living can vividly recall the anxieties of the time. But none could then even begin to visualize what would emerge from this Pandora's box.

The rise of communism, the disintegration of every European empire, the centralization of political power in the United States—these are only the most obvious outward results of the war of 1914–18 and of its sequel 20 years later. Less immediately apparent social and moral changes have been of greater import for mankind.

Today few can say with assurance just why humanity stumbled so badly half a century ago. The contemporary Allied explanation—that it was all the fault of German militarism—was long since discarded as too simple and self-serving. It is now agreed that deeply complex causes led all the then-great European powers to the edge of the abyss. How the ground crumbled under this collective exercise of brinkmanship is seen as an almost incidental matter.

After half a century emotion fades and men try dispassionately to identify the forces that give ebb and flow to the tide of human events. Thus the real origins of the first World War are now being sought in happenings with little or no relationship to the specific acts of statemen or military leaders.

What receives more and more attention is the fact that this war was incubated in the heart of what used to be called Christendom, among people with the longest history of organized Christian faith. Yet unlike earlier conflicts on the same terrain it was in no sense a religious war, with adherents of one church seeking to dominate others deemed invidious or heretical.

On the contrary, the armies of 1914 were composed of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in roughly equal numbers on both sides. Equally acclaimed, or disregarded, on both sides were the teachings of the Hebrew prophets and of Christ himself. Disdain of religious precepts, it is noted, became even more pronounced in the second war, with anti-Semitic Germany and atheistic Russia operating first as allies and then as enemies.

The result, as seen by historians with a world perspective, has been a pronounced weakening in the fiber of religious faith. Individuals may be immune to this deterioration but society as a whole is not. And this is a very serious matter for a civilization of which the customs and culture were alike molded by Judeo-Christian tradition.

There are, naturally, those who criticize this interpretation. Christianity, they maintain, became a political force almost accidentally. "My kingdom is not of this world." The "render unto Caesar" passage further suggests that the duties of citizenship have no religious implications.

It cannot be denied, however, that throughout the West, Christianity has been a force of profound political significance. It is regarded as a primary factor in the final dissolution of the Roman Empire. Without its unifying force, in the Middle Ages, the entire Mediterranean Basin would probably have succumbed to Mohammedanism. The conflict between cross and crescent was then clearcut, which is more than can be said for Western opposition to the hammer and sickle today.

Christianity took political leadership under the aegis of the Church of Rome, and kept it until the Reformation strengthened nationalism at the expense of the Pope's territorial power. Nevertheless, religious influences continued to shape political organization.

This is seen most clearly in our own country, colonized after the Reformation and primarily by Protestants. Church and state had been completely separated when that brilliant French observer, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote "Democracy in America." But he concludes there that, for Americans, "religion is the first of their political institutions."

The reason for this, de Tocqueville explains, is not found in the Constitution nor in any secular laws. "It comes from certain inbred convictions, all of Judeo-Christian origin, on which our political institutions are founded and by which they are maintained. Among these the most important is that emphasized by James Madison when he wrote that we "base all our political experiments on mankind's capacity for self-government."

No characteristic of our inherited faith is stronger than this belief that men, with few exceptions, can learn to control their unruly instincts and thereby reduce the need for police surveillance. And it is no mere coincidence that, as Christianity spread, this reasoned opposition to political dictation also grew stronger.

Faith in mankind's capacity for self-government is obviously weaker in the United States today than it was when the guns of August spoke out in 1914. But it is less certain that the change is primarily attributable to the protracted blasting of spiritual values by those guns. Other factors have played a big role. Now there are many more people and they are more interdependent. The individual is increasingly subject to conditions which he can no longer even hope to control himself.

Increasing intervention by centralized government, however, is not so much regarded as a necessary evil, which cannot be avoided. On the contrary the extension of socialist principles is acclaimed by many Americans as a positive good.

During the emergency of war, local and private concerns must necessarily be subordinated to the decisions of centralized government, shortsighted and mistaken though these so often prove to be. Unfortunately, the net result of two World Wars has been to eliminate peace, establishing cold war as the seemingly permanent condition of modern civilization. It is customary to give all the blame for this to communism, just as 50 years ago it was customary to pin all the responsibility on Germany. But if this easy explanation suffices it is certainly curious that we so readily accept a steady proliferation of centralized controls at home. For this procedure, coupled with the elimination of religious influence and the deification of the state, is precisely what communism advocates and seeks to achieve.

Future historians, one fears, may find this development of state worship, with its necessary relegation of oldtime religion to a secondary place, the dominant characteristic of our era, in what we like to call the free world, as well as under communism. Of course, the trend in this direction was setting in before 1914. Otherwise the essentially civil war in Christendom would scarcely have been possible. What we must now ask, half a century later, is whether a trend so strengthened in this period can be stopped.

Even though they have no answer, this is a question that may most properly be posed by those who can remember this country as it was before 1914, for they are the most conscious that something of great value has passed out of the American scene.

This is no mere nostalgia. Everyone would agree that life was then far less comfortable; pleasures much more restricted; work generally more physically exacting; and leisure more limited.

On the other hand, streets and roads were far safer. There were, in proportion, fewer broken homes, less juvenile delinquency, and far less racial bitterness. Americans did not live nearly so well. But they lived more amicably, less fearfully, and without a constant sense of strain. The loss of spiritual values cannot be measured statistically. But it is as apparent as the gain in wealth, conveniences, and physical power. Standards, which are what made this country really important, have been jettisoned in favor of prestige symbols, which contribute only to self-importance.

It is most unlikely that the age of faith, in anything like its original simplicity, will ever be restored. Our scientific advance has been too rapid, our knowledge of the universe is now too extensive, to encourage the somewhat naive reverence of bygone days.

This does not mean, however, that there is no such thing as cosmic purpose, that there are no longer any absolute values, that prayer has no meaning, and that right and wrong are mere social conventions which we may manipulate at will. That positivist path slopes swiftly downwards toward a moral deterioration far worse than anything as yet experienced.

The increasing reliance on government should not conceal the fact that it can do nothing to restore spiritual values. Even a war on poverty, which sounds like a holy war, must be promoted in purely material terms. An inner poverty, more pronounced in Washington than in Appalachia, is our most deadly enemy today. And that form of poverty no political platform can promise to eliminate.

Cincinnati Enquirer Finds Expansion Soundly Based

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Cincinnati Enquirer is known as one of our great metropolitan newspapers. Its issue of August 2 contained an article written by its home editor, Ralph Weiskittel, commenting at some length on the current economic expansion, particularly in relation to the position of the home buyer and the homebuilder. Mr. Weiskittel finds that continuing economic expansion without a rise in the cost of borrowing is giving a sounder base to early predictions that the year would see peak operations in most areas.

I request unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, Aug. 2, 1964]

SOUND BASE TO CURRENT EXPANSION

(By Ralph Weiskittel)

Continued economic expansion—without the normally corresponding rise in cost of money—is giving a sounder base to early predictions that the year would see peak operations in most segments of industry.

And despite more than 3 years of economic expansion and a continued favorable outlook in the months ahead, both short- and long-term interest rates are remaining quite stable.

This in itself is good news for both home buyer and builder.

A midyear economic report for the U.S. Savings and Loan League shows current growth in nearly every major economic sector and predicts that the full effects of the tax cut are just beginning to be felt in a variety of consumer markets.

Although homebuilding is sustaining a healthy market its rate of expansion falls short in comparison to the overall economic growth picture.

Adequate funds have been available to meet credit needs, the survey of 150 top savings and loan executives reveals. In fact, there seems to have been an excess of funds in the home mortgage markets, and possibly in the consumer credit area as well.

The report attributes the continued availability of funds on relatively favorable terms to three basic factors:

Continued accumulation of new savings as a result of higher incomes, lower tax withholdings, and only modest increases in consumer spending;

Ability of business firms to finance much of their current plant expansion and modernization out of internally generated funds due to increased earnings and greater depreciation allowances;

A relatively smaller demand for funds in the Nation's mortgage markets—normally the largest single user of investment capital—because of the failure of homebuildings to expand in relation with the rest of the economy.

Pointing out that in absence of inflation the Federal Reserve Board has taken no action to tighten money conditions, the savings and loan survey predicts that prospects are good for continuation of current money market conditions for the remainder of this year.

Present housing and home financing markets do not fully reflect the general economic prosperity, according to the report, which employs a survey of its own nationwide membership as part of its study.

After posting a higher rate of starts during the first quarter of this year, the homebuilding industry has experienced a decline from 1963's levels in April, May, and June.

As a result of the current decline and an overall lag in housing activities, a climate of severe competition is building up in the housing and home mortgage markets.

In regard to home lenders, the report says mortgage markets will be highly active, but characterized by intense competition for good mortgages.

Although census reports still show no overall increase in nationwide vacancy ratios, the savings and loan survey finds some anticipation of increasing vacancies, particularly in the area of multifamily structures now being completed.

The savings and loan survey of its membership also finds declining prices and a lower volume of sales for low-priced housing and also among homes built more than 15 years ago.

Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the President's so-called poverty bill, which will be considered by the House this week, I received a letter from a constituent relating a conversation he had with a young man who is presently employed in my district at the rate of $115 a week.

The letter sets forth the following conversation:

A Mr. W. employed as a driller by a Columbus company was drilling a test hole on the Ohio State University campus for a new dormitory.

Mr. W. said, "Well, Mr. H., I guess I won't be seeing you after this week."

I said, "How is that?"

He said, "Oh, I've decided to go back to good ol' poverty country."

I said, "Where is that?"

He said, "Down below Athens; do you know where Carpenter is?"

I said, "Yes, I have driven through there; but why are you quitting a good job to go back there?"

He said, "Well after all, my family is there, and truthfully, I can live better there on $40 per week than I can up here for $115 per week."

I said, "You can?"

He said, "And you know, Mr. H., after all this newspaper publicity we're not doing so bad; they have cut my taxes from $45 to $30. Not bad, eh?"

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, the application of 1934 solutions to 1964 problems will really compound situations such as related above.

If programs such as this are adopted under the pump-priming theories of this administration, what in the world will happen when this Nation faces times other than of the highest prosperity?

What Price Television Debates?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, recently there has been a flurry of news items and editorial discussion concerning the question of television debate before the Nation between presidential candidates, after the pattern of the famous Kennedy-Nixon debates of 4 years ago. It has always been a source of pride to me that enabling legislation of the 86th Congress which made possible that remarkable confrontation, suspending the "equal time" provision, stemmed from a bill which I sponsored, S. 3171.

A recent lead editorial on the Sunday editorial page of the Louisville Courier-Journal for August 2 dealt with the pros and cons of such televised debate between this year's presidential candidates. The editorial pointed out, and supported, the position taken last February by Senator GOLDWATER, against such debate when it would involve an incumbent President—a position which President Johnson has also taken. I request unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal, Aug. 2, 1964]

COST OF TELEVISED DEBATES COULD EXCEED THEIR VALUE

Back in the preconvention days of last February, BARRY GOLDWATER saw no reason why a President should debate with an opponent and plenty of reasons why he should not. But since then the Goldwater status has changed, and with it the Goldwater opinion. Candidate GOLDWATER can see reasons that Senator GOLDWATER missed, and has challenged President Johnson to engage in televised debate this fall.

He was right the first time. There are arguments, some of them persuasive, for a President engaging in televised debate, but the arguments against it are more compelling as well as more numerous.

The debate challenge is one of the oldest gimmicks of American politics. According to hoary customs, the underdog declares that his opponent "is afraid to meet me in open debate." The incumbent, scorning his challenger as an unknown, replies loftily that he does not intend "to draw a crowd for him" by engaging him in debate. There is usually no danger in this as long as both men play by the rules. But as both Senator GOLDWATER and President Johnson know, there is always the chance that the challenge will be accepted, in which case someone is likely to get clobbered. There is always the reminder of Richard Nixon, who never recovered from his first TV debate with John F. Kennedy.

NEITHER WAS PRESIDENT

In the Nixon-Kennedy campaign, there was a strong case to be made for the debates. Neither man was burdened by the full secret knowledge that handicaps a President in open debate. And there is no form of presentation that gives the voting public a better idea of the comparable qualities of the two

candidates than a head-on meeting before the unforgiving eye of the TV camera.

As a means of presenting their views and philosophies, the value of the TV debate can easily be exaggerated; usually their views on any question apt to be asked are already known, and certainly their views can be stated more unmistakably in print than before the cameras, where they can ramble and doubletalk until time runs out. But for a glimpse of the man's mettle under fire, nothing surpasses the TV debate.

But for neither President Johnson nor the country as a whole is the insight gained worth the risk involved. As a practical and veteran politician, Mr. Johnson knows that he might be able to make Senator GOLDWATER look as ill informed and as reckless as in many cases he is. But he might also be put in the position of being forced to defend himself by a flat refusal to disclose sensitive subjects or other heads of state. There is also the lesser danger, which Senator GOLDWATER himself pointed out last February, that "a President might, in the heat of debate, disclose something that shouldn't be disclosed."

There is reason to doubt whether the televised debates, as most often suggested for this fall, would be worth the risks. They would not, actually, be debates, devoted to full discussion of selected topics, and no way has yet been found to offer both candidates opportunity for full explanation of views on so many subjects in such limited time. Further, if both candidates are to be given the privilege of editing the film before it is presented, the result would be something less than a completely honest and revealing presentation.

For most candidates and under most conditions, we would support the idea of the debates, as we have before. But under these special circumstances, where one of the candidates is in the White House, we must agree with the preconvention Senator GOLDWATER. The value to the watching public is not worth the possible damage to national security or presidential dignity.

Report of National Projects Committee to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the report of the national projects committee which was unanimously adopted by the recent 51st National Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington, June 2 to 5, 1964.

The permanent national projects committee of the congress consists of an outstanding expert on water resource problems from each of the major drainage basins of the United States. They serve without compensation of any kind whatsoever and bear all of their own expenses when coming to Washington and while serving here on this committee.

The committee's purpose is to assist the sponsors of projects in preparing and presenting their data, so that they may be placed in line for approval. The projects recommended by the committee and endorsed by the congress are vigorously pressed for inclusion in the Government's public works program and appropriations or allocation of funds sought therefor.

We are grateful to the members of this committee for their public-spirited service in an effort to assist the Congress of the United States and the governmental agencies charged with the responsibility for these public works, as well as the people in the areas to be served thereby.

The members of the committee who served at its recent session are as follows:

PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Representative ROBERT T. SECREST, of Senecaville, Ohio, chairman.

New England division; John J. Halloran, Boston Maritime Association, Boston, Mass.

North Atlantic division: Brig. Gen. James H. Stratton, U.S. Army, retired, 375 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

South Atlantic division: Col. George W. Gillette, U.S. Army, retired, 1236 South Live Oak Parkway, Wilmington, N.C.

Southwestern division: Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Lower Mississippi Valley division: Hu B Myers, 2539 Olive, Baton Rouge, La.

North Central division: A. Hansen, 109 City Hall, Minneapolis, Minn., vice chairman.

Missouri River division: John B. Quinn, 1201 Sky Park Manor Building, 1301 J Street, Lincoln, Nebr.

Ohio River division: John E. Mitchell, 606 State Office Building, 100 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

North Pacific division: Herbert G. West, Post Office Box 98, Walla Walla, Wash.

South Pacific division: Vice Adm. Murrey L. Royar, U.S. Navy, retired, Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

Pacific Ocean division: Dr. Fujio Matsuda, 869 Punchbowl Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Western Inter-Mountain Region: Harold H. Christry, Post Office Box 316, Pueblo, Colo.

REPORT OF THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE, TO THE 51ST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS

JUNE 5, 1964.

Mr. HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In pursuance of the call of the President, your projects committee met on June 3, 1964, to consider the projects submitted since the last session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Hearings were afforded all who made appearance.

The committee at this session has examined 59 proposals embracing all resource improvements with which this congress is concerned, including navigable waterways, harbors, flood control, hurricane protection, soil conservation, reclamation, and water conservation.

Of the proposals examined, this committee is convinced that 32 constitute projects sound in conception, needful, and sufficiently advanced in status to warrant endorsement, involving a total estimated cost of $2,705,920,000. Fourteen proposals appear to be without sufficiently advanced development to warrant project endorsement at this time, but are believed to be meritorious and entitled to further consideration by this committee, if and when additional information may be adequate to warrant an endorsed status. We find that on seven proposals, surveys have been authorized but the reports of said surveys have not been completed and we therefore recommend in these cases that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to permit completion of these surveys as soon as practicable in order that action may be taken toward classification by this congress. We find five proposals which on preliminary examination appear to be desirable and needful, and we accordingly recommend that engineering and economic investigations of survey scope be made in these cases with a view to developing projects for subsequent authorization.

Appendix A of this report sets forth in detail a list of all proposals and projects examined and the action taken thereon.

The water resources projects now in operations by the Corps of Engineers have reduced transportation costs and flood damages and provided electric energy, improved water supplies, public recreation, and benefits from the preservation and enhancement of fish and wildlife resources.

In calendar year 1962, the waterborne commerce of the United States amounted to 1,129 million tons, consisting of 534 million tons on coastal harbors and channels, 177 million tons on the Great Lakes, and 418 million tons on island and Intracoastal Waterways. Each of these three systems has, by savings in transportation costs, more than justified construction and operating costs. Coastal harbors and channels are being progressively improved to provide the greater depths required for ocean carries of today. Depths of 35 feet now generally prevail at major harbors on the Atlantic and gulf coasts, ranging up to 45 feet in New York Harbor. Depths of 30 to 40 feet are generally available along the Pacific coast. Harbors and channels of lesser depth also have been provided for commercial fishing, recreational boating, and harbors of refuge. Great Lakes harbors joined by the connecting channels, provide a low-cost transport artery that permits movement of materials and products in huge quantities to advantageously located industrial areas. Controlling depths in the connecting channels are now 27 feet in both upbound and downbound channels. There are some 60 harbors on the Great Lakes with authorized project depths of 18 to 27 feet. The Federal Government has improved in varying degree some 22,000 miles of inland waterways, of which about 19,000 miles are currently in commercial use. Commerce on the inland and Intracoastal Waterways increased about 6 percent during the past year, to establish a new record of 133 billion ton-miles.

The authorized flood control program, including the $1.8 million Mississippi River and tributaries project, is estimated to coast $6.9 billion. Since 1936, the Corps of Engineers has completed nearly 500 projects having a cost of about $1.6 billion. Projects having an estimated cost of $3 billion are under construction, and many of these have been advanced to the point where they are at least partially effective for flood control. The remainder of the active flood control programs, estimated to cost $2.3 billion, has not been started. Many multiple-purpose reservoir projects with power also provide important flood control benefits. A total of almost 800 Corps of Engineers projects of all categories are now fully or partially effective for flood control.

Corps of Engineers projects have been highly effective in reducing flood damages. During the limited period they have been in operation, they have prevented flood damages of almost $12 billion. More than $525 million of flood damage was prevented during fiscal year 1963. The Nation will remain vulnerable to severe flood damages from major floods until an adequate degree of protection is achieved. This goal may be reached through orderly prosecution of existing flood control plans, expanded to meet economic development taking place in flood plains. The results from operating flood-control projects prove that much of the flood damage now experienced can be economically prevented.

The position of hydroelectric power development in the program has grown with the increasing needs of the Nation for electric energy, and the expanding Federal in-

terest in its development and use. The construction of reservoirs has afforded wide possibilities for the development of waterpower. Hydroelectric power production at corps projects in operation during fiscal year 1963 amounted to 30 billion net kilowatt-hours of electric enegry. This represents about 21.5 percent of the hydroelectric power production, and about 4 percent of the total electric production, from all public and private electrical generating plants in the Nation.

The Corps of Engineers is presently operating about 1.6 million acre-feet of water supply storage space in 23 reservoirs, which supplements the water supplies for over 2 million people in 67 towns, cities, and rural areas. It is estimated that a dependable supply in excess of 1,200 million gallons per day is available from water supply storage space now in operation. There is presently about 4 million acre-feet of water supply storage space under construction in 24 reservoir projects.

Conservation releases and releases from hydropower generation improved the quantity and quality of downstream flows, benefiting water supplies, recreation, and fish and wildlife.

The civil works program contributes to the Nation's outdoor recreational opportunity through the development of water resource projects. The construction of reservoirs, harbors, and waterways, and the protection of coastal beach areas foster increasing recreational benefits. Public use visitation at reservoirs and certain waterway projects reported for calendar year 1962 increased to 127 million, a significant contrast to the 16 million annual attendance in 1950. Our expanding population with more leisure time, more purchasing power, and more mobility continues to seek more opportunities to enjoy the outdoors, and quickly takes advantage of the new artificial lakes created through the construction of reservoirs. This is evidenced by the peak-day attendance of 2,800,000 using the facilities and 170,500 watercraft in operation on these waters. Recreation has become so extensive a use of water resource projects that it can now be considered a factor in the economic justification for construction of multiple-purpose dams and reservoirs.

On December 30, 1963, the President signed a Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act, Public Law 88-253, 88th Congress, which provided increase in monetary authorization for 10 river basin plans at an estimated cost of $684 million. This act also authorized five new projects estimated to cost $117 million. Since enactment of the 1962 and 1963 Rivers and Harbors Acts, the corps has completed and submitted to Congress for its consideration about 25 reports many of which have been considered by your projects committee. There are many other reports in various stages of processing to Congress. To carry out the large planning program, the President's budget for fiscal year 1965 includes nearly $20 million for general investigations. These funds would provide for continuing 187 navigation, flood control and beach erosion control studies and the initiation of 20 others. A total of 86 of these studies will be completed with the funds made available in fiscal year 1965.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT T. SECREST,
Chairman.

NOTE A

A project which has been placed in class II, III, IV, or V by the committee may be reexamined from time to time upon due application and the submission of material supplementary information, with a view to advancing its classification; but no project will be reported upon by the committee more than once in each calendar year.

NOTE B

Attention is called to the fact that when a project is once put in class I—endorsed, such status continues and it is unnecessary to follow up at subsequent sessions with new applications. All projects "endorsed" by the Congress, upon the recommendation of the Committee, retain their status until finally constructed, unless such action is rescinded by the Congress, and the Congress stands pledged to do everything possible to assist in reaching that goal.

NOTE C

A motion was unanimously passed requesting the Army Engineers to make a survey and determine the location of an intake pipe in the Mississippi River above Dayton, Minn., or thereabouts, so as to provide water for the Twin Lakes in Crystal Village, the lake and city of Robbinsdale, and the eight lakes within the corporate limits of the city of Minneapolis whose present level is 3½ feet below standard gage.

APPLICATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECTS RECEIVED BY THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE

APPENDIX A

(Letter R following the project number indicates revision of a previous application.)

DIVISION I—ENDORSED

Endorsed: This means that it is the judgment of the committee that the project is sound, needful and sufficiently advanced in status; and that its construction is justified by the public interest it will serve.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
169-R	Sammamish flood control project	Washington	North Pacific.
467-R	Caesar Creek Reservoir	Ohio	Ohio River.
771-R2	Burns Waterway Harbor	Indiana	North Central.
875-R7	Brookville Reservoir on East Fork Whitewater River near Brookville	do	Ohio River.
1014-R	East Point	Louisiana	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1060-R	Knik Arm Causeway Dam	Alaska	North Pacific.
1157-R4	Waikiki Beach improvement	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1165-R2 SVR [1]	All-American Channel project	Michigan	North Central.
1168-R4	Haleiwa Beach erision project	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1169-R4	Honolulu Harbor	do	Do.
1213-R	Wilmington Harbor; Northeast (Cape Fear) River, above Hilton Bridge	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1225-R	Lafayette Reservoir on Wildcat Creek, Lafayette	Indiana	Ohio River.
1272-R	Waterloo local flood protection project	Iowa	North Central.
1287-R	Great Lakes Harbors study—Interim report on Saginaw River	Michigan	Do.
1288-R	Modification at Kawaihae Harbor	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1292-R	Cliff Walk, Newport	Rhode Island	New England.
1304	New Bern and vicinity (hurricane tide barrier; authorization and funding)	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1306	Ocracoke Island (combined hurricane and beach erosion control project—authorization and funding).	do	Do.
1309	Falls Dam and Reservoir—Authorization and funding. Initial project of comprehensive development of Neuse River.	do	Do.
1310	Lake Pontchartrain and vicinity hurricane protection	Louisiana	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1311	Grand Isle and vicinity hurricane protection	Louisiana	Do.
1313	Jones Bluff lock and dam	Alabama	South Atlantic.
1314	Claiborne lock and dam	do	Do.
1315	4 river basins	Florida	Do.
1316	Big Pine Reservoir	Indiana	Ohio River.
1318	Huron Harbor	Ohio	North Central.
1321	East St. Louis and vicinity	Illinois	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1322	Hillside drainage project	do	Do.
1323	Honokahau small boat harbor	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1324	Maalaea small boat harbor, Maui	do	Do.
1325	Hilo Tsunami protection	do	Do.
1328	Vermilion Harbor	Ohio	North Central.

[1] The SVR stands for strategic value rating.

DIVISION II—MERITORIOUS

Meritorious: This means that the committee believes that although the project is not sufficiently advanced in status to warrant its present endorsement, it is meritorious and that the committee is willing to consider in due course its advancement to division I upon presentation by its sponsors of additional evidence justifying such action.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
61-R	Elizabeth River flood control	New Jersey	North Atlantic.
552-R4	Thimble Shoal Channel, Norfolk Harbor, and channel to Newport News	Virginia	Do.
1126-R5	Norfolk Harbor and channel to Newport News	do	Do.
1163-R3	Palolo and Manoa Valleys, Oahu	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1170-R4	Harbors for light-draft vessels, coast of Hawaiian Islands	do	Do.
1175-R	Port Jefferson Harbor	New York	North Atlantic.
1219-R3	Kahoma Stream, Maui	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1256-R2	Norfolk & Western (formerly Virginian) Ry bridge across the Southern Branch of Elizabeth River (Norfolk Harbor) about 3 miles above the mouth.	Virginia	North Atlantic.
1273-R	Kuliouou Stream, Oahu	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1302	San Miguel project	Colorado	South Pacific.
1303	Dolores project	do	Do.
1312	Clifty Creek Reservoir	Indiana	Ohio River.
1317	Pakota Reservoir	do	Do.
1329	North East (Cape Fear) River, Hilton RR. bridge	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1330	Walla Walla project, Touchet Division	Washington	North Pacific.

DIVISION III

(Expeditious report on authorized survey requested.)

Expeditious report on authorized survey requested: This means that the committee believes that the National Rivers and Harbors Congress should request the engineering authority to expedite any report on any authorized investigation or survey of the project to the end that appropriate further action may be had thereon in regard to its classification.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
590-R	Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal	Pennsylvania and Ohio	Ohio River.
1158-R4	Iao Stream, Maui	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1162-R4	Kihiei District, Maui	do	Do.
1172-R4	Port Allen Harbor modification, Kauai	do	Do.
1174-R4	Explosive handling facilities within Hawaii harbors	do	Do.
1307	Expeditious authorization and funding of projects included in hurricane studies (Outer Banks of North Carolina) Hatteras Inlet to North Carolina-Virginia line, Bogue Inlet to Moore's Inlet, Cape Fear River to South Carolina line, Cape Lookout to Bogue Inlet.	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1308	Upper Cape Fear River Basin (expeditious completion, authorization, and funding of the projects included in comprehensive study consisting of the Deep River, with proposed dams at Randleman and at Howards Mill and also the Rocky River and the Haw River Basin).	do	Do.

DIVISION IV—PROJECTS RECOMMENDED FOR SURVEY

Recommended for survey: This means that the committee believes that sufficient showing on behalf of the project has been made to warrant further examination in the form of an adequate survey by an appropriate agency of the Federal Government.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
1305	Deepwater access to Neuse and Pamlico Rivers	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1319	Waipio River, Kohala-Hamakua coast, Island of Hawaii	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1320	Lava Barrier, Island of Hawaii	do	Do.
1326	Mann Creek project	Idaho	North Pacific.
1327	Lower Teton division, Teton Basin project	do	Do.

New Medical Interns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, June and July are the months during which our Nation's new physicians receive their M.D. degrees. They are also the months when our new physicians become interns, to continue to learn and develop to meet their responsibilities and the challenges of medical practice.

Surprisingly, little or no recognition is accorded by our society to the doctor when he is making perhaps his greatest sacrifices, both in time and in money—that is, in the dawn of his career.

This is the period when he is molded by the rigorous discipline of his medical education and on-the-job training into the skilled practitioner. This is the period when the newly graduated doctor submits to the iron discipline of clinical training in theory and practice. If successfully carried through, this training terminates in his being able to engage in the practice of medicine.

Thus, before the aspiring medico can hang out his shingle as a practicing physician, he must first endure the long and arduous preparatory years of being a medical student, then an intern, and finally, for those contemplating a specialty, a resident.

This preparation may go on for as long as 14 years, and seldom is less than 8. The average length is about 12 years. The young doctor-to-be must put in 4 years at an undergraduate college, 4 years at a medical school, and from 1 to 6 years in internship and residency training in a hospital.

The internship—and possible residency—is the supremely important phase in the education of a young physician, for it is during this period that the young medical school graduate is enabled, in the training school of a modern hospital, to put into practice the medical principles he has learned. In a word, he is getting the best kind of on-the-job training.

The difficult regimen to which the new intern submits includes duty "around-the-clock." He must be on all times, and must make himself accessible even during his off-duty hours. His hospital rounds include medical services for ward patients, outpatients, and emergency patients. And during this time, even if married and with a family to support, as many doctors are, the young intern exists on the meager salary of $233 a month—this, after 8 years of schooling.

I pay tribute to today's new interns, who will be our young doctors of tomorrow.

The mayors of many cities throughout the country proclaimed suitable days in July as New Interns Day, and a motion picture honoring them will soon be released.

Recently, news stories regarding the New Interns Day observances appeared in newspapers in Alabama, and across the country. I ask unanimous consent to have the text of them printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW INTERNS

This is the month that the Nation's new physicians receive their M.D. degrees—after 4 college years as "premedics" and 4 more grueling years as full-fledged medical college students—4 years in which the "arts" graduates and the engineers have been digging in on their careers, earning money, getting married, trying their wings.

But, even now, the new M.D.'s are not ready for the responsibilities, the challenges, the independence, or the rewards of medical practice. Far from it. This is the month they become the new internes, the month they are parcelled out to the hospitals of the Nation to assist the resident physicians. These are the young people who conduct routine examinations of new patients (pulse, respiration, blood pressure, and have you ever had measles), who ride the ambulances, man the emergency wards, live on call around the clock. And this is the month they begin 4 years of living like churchmice and working like beavers to add clinical experience to their years of theory.

Reminded of these unsung heroes and heroines by the human and entertaining film tribute to their lives of dedication, "The New Internes," mayors of many cities, both great and small, are proclaiming a suitable day in July as "New Internes' Day." Among other appropriate observances of the day, local hospitals and clinics plan the nearest thing to an "open house" that is feasible for such institutions—even though their own internes will doubtless be too busy to take any bows.

Of all our up-and-coming young men and women, it is the new internes of which we are least aware, and to whom we are most indebted, as the Columbia picture shows. Without them, our colossal and demanding health services could not function. Without them, there would be no capable, well-prepared young surgeons to pick up the scalpel, nor vigorous, experienced young physicians to take over the selfless and demanding role of general practitioner as their elders come to their utlimate reward.

So we salute the new internes—perennial hope of medical progress, and heirs to the sacred Oath of Hippocrates, for 2,400 years the ethical monitor of the profession of compassion.

Indiana's Barr: What He Thinks as Chief of FDIC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, attached herewith is an article from the Chicago Tribune for June 21, 1964, with reference to our former colleague, Joseph W. Barr, who is now Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. This article gives an excellent review on the approach which Mr. Barr has been making and his various responsibilities and accomplishments. The article is done in some considerable detail, and I am sure that the Members will be glad to know of Mr. Barr's success and activities as chief of FDIC.

INDIANA'S BARR: WHAT HE THINKS AS CHIEF OF FDIC—BLENDS TRADITIONAL AND NEW IDEAS IN APPROACH TO HIS JOB

(By Michael Pakenham)

WASHINGTON, June 20.—Standing, right arm commandingly outstretched, before a floor-to-ceiling window in his modern Washington office overlooking park land southwest of the White House, a 46-year-old Hoosier will tell the visitor, with unconcerned pride, that the future looks just fine.

"They can't block that view," he says, with a swing of his hand toward the intricate gray turrets of the picturesque old War-Navy-State Department Building, past the tops of stately lines of trees, to the Washington Monument.

"We're new and we're solid, and there's no way to put anything in front of us. What's more, there's nowhere for the value to go but up."

Joseph W. Barr, a native of Vincennes, Ind.; a decorated naval officer in World War II; a veteran of one fleeting 2-year term as a Representative in Congress; a former Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and now Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, will make it clear he is talking about real estate—the FDIC's office building.

But he well might be talking about himself.

Although a modesty bred more from good manners than self-effacement prevents his saying so. Barr thinks of himself as rootstock of a new breed. Like most hybrids in their early form, he openly incorporates old, solid strains with tentative, new ones, in a yet unproved but individual and hopeful line.

RESPECT FOR WAYS OF AN EARLIER ERA

He is charged with running a highly specialized and powerful Federal economic agency—best known to the average citizen by the little sign seen near the teller windows in small banks saying that each deposit in insured up to $10,000. But in a period which may see a minor revolution in American banking and finance, and in a job with vast opportunities for watching and often influencing national policy, Barr looks back with respect—but little nostalgia—to the 18th and 19th centuries, when politics and economics were inseparably related, practically as well as academically.

Adam Smith the mid-18th-century father of free trade doctrine, and his followers for some 150 years regarded fiscal and monetary matters as the heart and sinews of the task of government. In the last 70 years, economists and political scientists—as well as politicians—have become specialized apart. This Barr doesn't like.

He finds great virtue in the broadly oriented small college, strongly contrasted to the modern trend of huge, compartmentalized education factories.

A graduate of DePauw University in Greencastle, Ind., founded in 1837 when Indiana was still frontier, Barr describes his own small alma mater as a breeding ground for ambitious individualism, well fertilized with the residue of the Puritan ethic of service.

MANY IN CHURCH, SCHOLARSHIP, GOVERNMENT

"It has sent an amazing number of people into the church, scholarship, and government," he said in an interview. "They tend to be committed and hard working, and they spread out all over the country. At one time, many years ago, a handful of DePauw graduates almost dominated Wall Street."

But the traditional strain is only one constituent of the hybrid, and contrasts abound. To many, one of the most vivid might be that although Barr clings hard to generations old and much abused institutions, he has little or no patience with what he calls the myth of the evil of deficit spending. That he regards as a problem in understanding, and more technical and specialized training is demanded by modern problems, Barr contends. [He earned a graduate degree in theoretical economics from Harvard in 1941.]

"The U.S. Government is three-legged," he said. "One leg is military, one diplomatic, and one financial.

"Our military academies are well established to produce qualified experts. More diverse educational facilities turn out people capable of administering international programs. But Government finance has no counterpart."

URGES FINANCIAL RESERVE

In answer to this need, Barr has proposed that the FDIC be authorized by Congress to "devote a substantial sum annually to supporting the training of a corps of men and women who would comprise a national financial reserve."

No bureaucratic apprenticeship program, the Barr proposal would be designed to hone to a fine edge of financial and political expertise "an extraordinary group which, by virtue of its training and background, will be especially prepared to serve the Nation in areas of high national and international financial and economic policy."

They would be rotated through the FDIC, the Office of the Controller of the Currency, the Treasury, the Council of Economic Advisers, the Federal Reserve System, the Bureau of the Budget, the State Department, and number of economically oriented congressional committees for 4 years. Then they would be available to the President for a 4-year term of service sometime during their lifetime.

OVER SAME ROUTE

Not surprisingly, the proposal reflects much of its author. Barr himself has touched most of the bases on the training field he describes and a good many more.

After Harvard, he went into the Navy in May 1942, won a Bronze Star at the Anzio beachhead, and emerged late in 1945 as a lieutenant commander. He returned to work in his family's business enterprises in Indiana and Illinois.

Barr served as executive vice president of Merz Engineering Co., as secretary-treasurer of Barr Development Corp., and as treasurer of O. L. Barr Grain Co., all in Indiana.

MARRIED A HOOSIER

He married the former Beth Williston, also a native Hoosier, soon after he was graduated from DePauw in 1939 and before going on to Harvard. They have five children.

Meanwhile, he took part in Indiana civic affairs and in the Episcopal church in Indianapolis. A nonrunning Democrat, he was asked to work on his party's badly depleted finances in 1952, when the Eisenhower victory swept most Indiana Democrats out of office. He put black ink into the State Democratic ledger again by 1956 and resigned.

In 1958 he was approached by the State organization to run for Congress from Indianapolis, and accepted, "with no illusion that it would be a long stay—Indiana swings back and forth politically." He won.

Already Barr had made "a slight acquaintance" with John F. Kennedy, then a Senator from Massachusetts, through work in Indiana on the United Negro College fund, which Kennedy also supported. Once in the House of Representatives, Barr was appointed to the Banking and Currency Committee. He helped draft and press for passage bills creating the Inter-American Bank and the International Development Association.

In the course of the congressional term, he got to know Robert Anderson, then Secretary of the Treasury, and Douglas Dillon, who later graduated from Under Secretary of State to Anderson's job.

LEARNS ABOUT CONGRESS

Not unexpectedly, Barr lost his campaign for reelection to the House in 1960 to Republican DONALD C. BRUCE. But surprisingly to many traditionalists, the out-of-service freshman politician fashioned victory from defeat, gaining an appointment as assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury at the time of President Kennedy's inauguration in 1961.

He spent much of his time working on Treasury relations with Congress—and says

he learned more about Congress while in the executive branch than from inside. "But some time up there gives you sympathy for those poor devils up on the hill," he says.

The worst and most common sin committed by "downtown" experts in dealing with Congress is going to testify at committee hearings unprepared, says Barr, an almost disturbingly restless man who scribles notes on slips of paper and does grand-scale doodles while talking to visitors, and presumably while testifying.

THEY PROBE AND PROBE

"The committee members probe and probe until they find something you don't know. That's what they're there for. Then a lot of people get bitterly defensive and lose effectiveness."

Before testifying before committees, Barr helped draft administration overhauls of the Tax Code, including the recently passed tax cut bill. He worked with Dillon on the balance-of-payments problem when it became critical in 1961, and aided in the fight to keep the delicate financing of the national debt under control.

Barr thinks the most satisfying accomplishment in which he took part was helping to lengthen the average maturity term of the more than $300 billion national debt from 4 years and 6 months to its present 5 years and 2 months.

President Kennedy had asked Barr to stay in Washington at least until the tax cut could be passed, and offered him the chairmanship of the FDIC. After Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson held to the commitment. Barr's was Johnson's first major appointment.

Barr used the job just as he had expected to—as a vantage point from which he could pursue administration policy.

To a great extent, the FDIC's operation is self-sustaining. Created in 1933 to combat the depression's wholesale bank failures, its role is to maintain $10,000 of insurance on each deposit in commercial banks and to enforce controls designed to insure safe and honest operation.

DEFINES FDIC'S FUNCTION

Barr looks on it more philosophically. The FDIC's role, he says, is "to insure the viability of two-thirds of the money supply in the United States," by guaranteeing that credit demands will be met.

"We pay our bills with coins, currency, and check," he explains. "Of our $155 billion money supply, $120 billion is in demand deposits. If confidence in those deposits were lost—as it was in the 1930's—the banking system and the national economy could collapse, as it almost did."

In that kind of perspective, the FDIC and its chairmanship became far more than bit actors in the national economic drama.

HOW AGENCY RATES

"To begin with," Barr said, "the small banker of America looks on the FDIC as a bulwark, and that involves both influence and responsibilities.

"He has an important role. Unlike industry, the banking business is responsible for the money supply. Industry has the priceless heritage of the privilege to go broke. Not so the banker, who brings communities tumbling down around him if he does.

"Because of the FDIC's job, the small banker feels that the first place he can come in the Federal Government for some understanding is to us. Also, a lot of them have been quite interested since my appointment to see what sort of a beast they have here."

A POLITICAL ANIMAL

The kind of beast they find, if they look closely, is a political animal—the kind who gets his fundamental satisfaction from getting things done, and knows intimately the charm of power because it lets you get things done.

Thus Barr believes that neither power nor the intricate challenge of a task alone are enough to keep him—or any of his new breed—in government.

"Unless I can see I'm pretty useful," he said, "I think I should get out. I should go back to Indiana and get to work on business anyway."

Usefulness, he makes clear, is a combination of professional expertise and political push. Harking to his belief that the national debt, and its growth, is as much an asset as a liability, he points with great respect to Dillon as the first Secretary of the Treasury to emphasize the "value" of national indebtedness, and Kennedy and Johnson as the first Presidents to back tax cuts in deficit years.

"They understand the debt myth," he says. "But try to explain it to the average American."

WANTS MORE COMPETITION

At present he is bucking resistence by advocating an increase in competition in the American banking community, which critics say has been frozen since the FDIC and other depression programs were turned to the task of preventing competition. He is trying to raise the standards of Government regulation of savings and loan institutions, and has one or two other fights on his hands.

"I'm having a ball," he says.

But as he observed about the FDIC's office building, the view is virtually unlimited, there's no way to block it off, and there's nowhere for the value to go but up. Washington is an exciting place to be, he says, and political campaigning is great fun. All things considered, the future looks just fine.

U.S. Inflation Since 1933

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in the August 4, 1964, edition of Christian Economics, Lawrence Sullivan has an excellent article on "U.S. Inflation Since 1933." His article follows:

U.S. INFLATION SINCE 1933

(By Lawrence Sullivan)

The first manifestation of inflation is in steadily advancing commodity prices. The United States abandoned the gold standard for its domestic currency in March 1933, and our price index has been rising steadily ever since. With each advance in prices, the purchasing power of the dollar declines fractionally.

Over the first 30 years of our managed inflation, the dollar declined to 45.8 cents in current purchasing power. The table below traces the U.S. inflation cycle since 1939.

Year	Price index	Purchasing power of the dollar (cents)
1939	100.0	100.0
1949	171.4	58.3
1959	208.4	48.0
1964	226.2	45.8

Inflation is properly defined as an increase in the quantity of money or credit, or both. It is aggravated and augmented by deficits in public budgets. The wage spiral is another phase of it. Deficit spending is definitely inflationary as are wages that increase faster than the productivity of workers. Neither would be possible, however, apart from increasing the quantity of money or credit, or both.

The balancing of public budgets and the restricting of wage increases to productivity increases should be taken in coordination with a stabilization of the quantity of money and credit. It is probable that no one of the three could be done apart from the other two, and certainly all three phases of the problem should be dealt with simultaneously.

Unless such steps are taken soon, inflation will gain new momentum and, like all inflationary cycles before in the history of the world, will tend to gain in explosive force. Inflation is our first problem. Until it is solved, the solutions of progress in other areas will elude the Nation.

Socialist doctrine teaches that the public debt is an impersonal, distant burden, which the government carries and manages in its own way, with no charge upon the worker. "We owe it to ourselves," was President Roosevelt's glib dismissal of the public debt.

The theory of deficit spending was stated eloquently on January 3, 1936, by President Roosevelt in his third budget message:

"Our policy is succeeding. The figures prove it. Secure in the knowledge that steadily increasing deficits will turn in time into steadily increasing surpluses, and that it is the deficit of today which is making possible the surplus of tomorrow, let us pursue the course we have mapped."

In those days the Federal debt stood at $34 billion. The figure for January 1964 was $310 billion. "The deficits of today" did not, alas, make the "surpluses of tomorrow."

Inflation weakens gravely our international position in every direction. In 1932, a very difficult year under the fixed gold standard, our balance of payments was $131 million in our favor. By 1962 our balance of payments was $3 billion against us. During the last 5 years, we have lost more than $8 billion in gold to oversea account.

In 1932 the entire Federal establishment was operated with 563,000 civilian employees; in 1962 the daily average of full-time Federal civilian workers was 2,496,455.

In 1932 Federal aid to the States was $222 million; in 1962 it was $6,574 million, or roughly 30 times larger. Federal aid is the deceptive device of socialism which, as Will Rogers once observed, permits us "to spend money we haven't got for things we can't afford."

Our constitutional system was established in 1789 with total Federal debts in the range of $77 million and total Federal receipts in the range of $4 million a year. With a population of 4 million, Federal costs were roughly $1 a year per capita.

From these wobbly beginnings the United States was launched on what historically stands as a policy of pay as you go.

By 1834 the Federal establishment was out of debt, total obligations at the end of that year standing at only $38,000 in bills payable. During those first 46 years the new Government reported an operating cash surplus in 34 different years. Federal deficits occurred in only 12 years, 4 of them the war years, 1812–15.

The Civil War years developed a deficit of $2.7 billion for 1861–65 combined, and the end of 1866 recorded a Federal debt of $2.8 billion, or roughly $73 per capita, as against $19 per capita at the founding of the Republic in 1789.

But after the Civil War there was not another Federal budget deficit during the next 28 years. The war debt was retired in part every year. We entered 1894 with a Federal debt of $961 million, or fractionally less than $14 per capita.

The Nation at this point was 105 years old. It had experienced two wars, had expanded from 4 million population to a thriving, dynamic 68 million. The per capita Federal debt now stood $5 below 1789. Pay-as-you-go had prevailed as a fixed national

tradition for the first full century of our development. And this tradition was to hold for another 22 years.

At the end of 1916 the Federal debt stood at $1.2 billion, or $12 per capita, down $2 per capita from 1894, and down $7 per capita since 1789.

World War I left a Federal debt of $25.5 billion in 1919, which was reduced to $16.2 billion by the end of 1930. Here, the Federal debt stood at $130 per capita.

At this point began a wholly new epoch in the financial history of America and the world. The Federal budget surplus of $737,673,000 reported for the fiscal year 1930 was the last recorded in the United States until 1947. As of June 30, 1947, the Federal debt stood at $258 billion, or $1,800 per capita. Since that date the Federal debt has advanced steadily to $310 billion, of which $291 billion has been contracted since 1932, and $309 billion since the political era of Woodrow Wilson's new freedom began in 1913. For more than 50 years since 1913 our Federal deficits average out at approximately $6.2 billion a year, net; and this despite the fact that for 11 consecutive years, 1920–30, there was never a Federal budget deficit. During those 11 surplus years, the combined Federal surplus mounted to $8.5 billion.

An average deficit of more than $6 billion a year over a period of half a century clearly marks the road to the national catastrophe of runaway inflation. The former national will to a balanced budget now is palsied. Yet all history warns that only a balanced budget for 5 consecutive years could avert the gathering disaster. Who leads in that direction?

As of April 1, 1964, the Federal debt stood at $310.4 billion, or $1,622 per capita, as against $1,575 at June 30, 1961. Over these last 3 years the per capita Federal debt has increased by $47. For the average family of four, the Federal debt today represents an invisible mortgage of $6,488, or considerably more than a full year's income for the average principal breadwinner.

The late Congressman Clarence Cannon, of Missouri, for more than 20 years, chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations, knew every nook and cranny of the Federal Establishment, probably better than any other individual of his time.

Total spending authorizations recommended by the President for fiscal year 1964, Chairman Cannon reported, were $107.9 billion, "the second peacetime year in history the asking price has exceeded $100 billion."

The several departmental appropriations bills for 1964 added up to $92.4 billion, to which must be added $12 billion in permanent annual appropriations which need not be authorized anew each year, making total spending authorizations for the year $104.4 billion. This was the new spending total after Congress had cut the President's original budget by $6.5 billion, which still left an estimated 1964 deficit of $9 billion.

Chairman Cannon called Thomas Jefferson as his witness:

"Nothing is more certain than that the days of that government are numbered whose expenditures exceed its income. The servitude of debt, whether individual or national, is the quintessence of slavery; one is a calamity which affects but a few; but the other spreads its ruinous power not only over the whole community, but upon coming generations."

Interest on the Federal debt now takes approximately 10 cents out of every dollar in the budget, or $10.5 billion a year.

"It figures out to the incredible sum of $20,000 every minute the clock ticks, every day and night of the year," Chairman Cannon pressed.

Senator HARRY F. BYRD of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, likewise expresses grave concern that our international accounts show an accumulated deficit of $33 billion since 1948—all of which must be covered by gold shipments or favorable trade balances in future years.

"I doubt if any situation confronting this Nation today is more serious than this," Senator BYRD admonished.

As of mid-1964 our gold reserves were down to $15.5 billion. Roughly $12 billion of this bullion is required by law to be held in the Federal Reserve System to back our own currency. Senator BYRD's audit itemized foreign claims against us aggregating $18 billion in currency and credit balances payable in New York.

"In short, our gold not dedicated to backing the dollar could be dissipated overnight. In this frightening dilemma we would be faced with diluting the dollar's gold base or reneging on our policy of offering the gold-or-dollar option in foreign payments due. Either action would have catastrophic effects."

The 20th century's population explosion presents new challenges to the theoretical managers of world inflation. In primitive areas where the deceptions of inflation restrict, hamper, or misdirect productive energies and capacties, poverty and hunger will spread quickly to catastrophic proportions—as now clearly visible in China, India, Brazil, Egypt, and many parts of Equatorial Africa.

In the blinding razzle-dazzle of world inflation, the fact has all but escaped public attention that per capita food production for the entire world in 1964 was somewhat lower than in 1940. Yet in many countries of Asia and Latin America mounting tidal waves of printing press money have produced lulling illusions of glowing prosperity. This vital link between population pressures and inflation is presented brilliantly by Maj. L. L. B. Angas, one of the world's most respected authorities on money:

"Since there are of course few human discomforts on this earth which government aid would not in large measure relieve in the short run, humane people are always advocating more socialistic government spending. But since higher taxes cause dislocation, humanists like to avoid imposing higher taxes—which incidentally lead to their losing votes. They therefore resort to the printing press."

An easy measure of inflation is at hand. Our gross national product for 1962 is officially reported at $560 billion. In 1939 prices, this figure becomes $230 billion. The difference is $330 billion for 1962, and an even greater amount for 1963 and 1964. This means that when we boast our fabulous national growth since 1940 we are actually dealing with $330 billion of the purest wind and water—inflation.

In short, the American economy today is keeping books on roughly $330 billion a year which represents only zero in real economic benefits to the people, as measured in 1935–39 prices.

Throughout the entire economy everybody is contriving frantically every day for his just share of this $330 billion in spun sugar, and it is this hectic quest for a rightful portion of stupendous chimerical values which induces today's wave of adulteration, fraudulent packaging, gambling, blue-sky investments, and get-rich-quick quacks in every facet of our economic life. As money declines in value steadily from year to year, public morals decay.

The simple truth is that inflation once started seldom is ended short of a total national collapse. It was so in Napoleonic France, in postwar Germany, in 20th-century China, in the Brazil of 1960–64. Once the printing presses start, they run faster and faster—until they break down. In the words of Prof. E. W. Kemmerer of Princeton, a world authority: "Inflation, once well started, is both politically and economically exceedingly difficult to control."

The Directory in France took the inflation route in 1790–98, and at the end of the experiment one of the foremost inflationists lamented: "Commerce is dead; betting has taken its place."

Another chronicle of the French disaster concludes: "Within the year, new issues of assignats were coming from the presses every month. All public morality was submerged in a tidal wave of paper. All France was awash with the filthy rot of repudiation. When at last the printing presses failed, the guillotine took over, and all Europe was aflame for a generation. When honest money is abandoned, civilization goes down in a heap."

All monetary history appears to support the thesis that a fixed medium of exchange is a mark of cultural maturity in nations. As long ago as 1832, Daniel Webster warned in the U.S. Senate: "He who tampers with the currency robs labor of its bread. He panders indeed to greedy capital, which is keen-sighted and may shift for itself, but he beggars labor, which is unsuspecting and too busy with the present to calculate for the future. The prosperity of the work-people lives, moves, and has its being in established credit and a steady medium of payment."

More recently, in 1960, the distinguished American economist, Henry Hazlitt, offered an equally incisive observation in answer to those who would protect themselves against monetary degeneration:

"There is only one solution—only one sure hedge against inflation that can protect everybody: Don't have inflation. If you have it, halt it as soon as possible."

The Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, as an interested friend and student of Korea and her people, I was attracted to the news of the formation of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation.

Its president is the highly respected and widely experienced Adm. Arleigh Burke, former Chief of Naval Operations.

Its executive vice president is the well-liked and very capable Dr. You Chan Yang, who for 9 years was the Korean Ambassador to the United States. Here follows an article from the Washington Post of August 3, 1964:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 3, 1964]

TOWN TOPICS—THE ADMIRAL NEVER TOOK DOWN FLAG

(By Marie McNair)

It's a truism with many people that once they "retire" they're busier than ever. Adm. Arleigh Burke, former Chief of Naval Operations, could be one of those people.

The former CNO is general chairman of the Boy Scout-Capital Campaign to develop a camp reservation near Lexington, Va., and is a director for the Central Strategic Studies at Georgetown University, as well as being director in several financial organizations.

Now he has taken on the presidency of the newly founded Korean Cultural and Freedom

Foundation, of which former Korean Ambassador, Dr. You Chan Yang is executive vice president.

Says the Admiral: "The Korean people possess not only a national will for the maintenance of freedom but also the experience of combating Communist strategy and tactics gained in a bitter war. These assets should become known and appreciated throughout the free world."

Objective of the foundation is a furtherance of free world goals in containment of communism on the Asiatic Continent; this to be achieved by establishment and maintenance of a favorable climate for joint efforts of the peoples of Korea and the United States.

You Chan Yang, who stayed on in Washington when he was replaced as Ambassador after 9 years, is confident the foundation will demonstrate to the American people that their confidence in Korea is not misplaced.

"The American people freed Korea in 1945 and again, in the 1950's and enabled this embattled nation to survive. Today, Korea is the grateful recipient of American economic and military assistance."

Dr. Yang, who has several honorary degrees from American and other universities, is in great demand as a speaker in this country. Working with Admiral Burke and the Ambassador will be vice presidents of the organization, William A. Curtin, U.S. Army, retired; John G. Flowers, president of Southwest Texas State College; and William Horning, vice president of the New York Central Railroad. William E. Carey, Jr., a Washington attorney, is secretary, and Luis Corea, senior vice president of Riggs National Bank, is treasurer.

Invitation to Maniacs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the continuing interest of our aviation traveling public and concern over various threats to the safety of airline operations caused by mentally unstable people who purchase large amounts of trip insurance to resolve their personal financial problems, I submit for the record and benefit of my colleagues a recent article by Mr. Wayne W. Parrish, noted aviation writer, "Invitation to Maniacs."

I believe the article clearly states the reasons why legislative action by the Congress is necessary to remove this threat to an innocent air-traveling passenger. The 44 lives lost in the Pacific Air Lines crash recently is just one case in point:

INVITATION TO MANIACS
(By Wayne W. Parrish)

There have been 18 known or suspected airline bomb incidents worldwide in the past 30 years. Half of these were in the United States and of these nine, seven were fatal accidents. Insurance has been established as a possible factor in five. Only these are known; probably there have been more.

Bombing of airliners is not a pleasant subject and the less said of it in the consumer public prints the better, for emotionally disturbed people are prone to pick up suggestions from the wanton acts of others.

Unpleasant or not, the subject must receive continuing study by industry and Government. It won't vanish by itself and it can become worse.

The ease with which trip insurance can be obtained at airports is often cited as a factor in bomb incidents. Overdue right now is a complete examination of airport insurance sales, both by those impersonal vending machines and at counters.

Only recently Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, at the instigation of the Air Line Pilots Association, introduced a bill (H.R. 11578) to prohibit the sale of insurance covering a specific trip or round trip. The concern of the pilots is obvious in view of such horrendous acts as the recent shooting of a Pacific Air Lines crew by an insurance-laden demented suicide-bent joker.

Just lately FAA Administrator Najeeb Halaby appointed Clarence Pell, Jr., as a consultant to assist the FAA in its efforts to combat airline sabotage and to raise the level of general aviation safety. Belated as this appointment may be, it is welcome at least in principle.

Mr. Pell is unquestionably knowledgeable about aviation insurance. He is a director of Associated Aviation Underwriters and heads up the Aviation Division of Marine Office of America, an insurance firm. But some eyebrows may be raised that one so directly identified with aviation insurance is the proper person to give objective consultation to FAA. Perhaps this is doing an injustice to Mr. Pell, but the fact remains that the insurance companies are in the same ball of wax along with the carriers and the airports, and each is an interested party for one reason or another.

In any event, isn't it high time to remove those vending machines from airports? And isn't the selling of trip insurance by untrained girls selected for beauty, grooming, personality (in various order of employment availability) nothing short of pushing lottery tickets with a built-in hazard?

Certainly the public must have insurance available to it, but there are many sensible avenues open for this on a dignified basis and with proper investigation. Not the least evil of trip insurance at airports is the fact that the public is being gouged quite sharply. While safety is not involved, ethics certainly are, and to this extent the airport managements are tightly woven into the sharp practices.

There was a time when the ease of obtaining low-cost trip insurance was a great sales boon to the airlines. If such generous amounts of coverage could be had at such (then) low cost, the argument to the timid prospective passenger went, then airline travel must be very safe. And supporting statistics were ample.

Then came the headlong rush of municipalities to squeeze every last dime out of concessions and tenants to pay for overplush terminal monuments to local politicos or to civic pride. Before long the competition for concessions became intense and airport managements, not being exactly stupid, wrung their hands in glee as the bidding went higher and higher. (It is noteworthy that the additional concession revenues were not applied to lower landing fees, for these continued upward too.)

The public has been quite ignorant of the high tribute it pays to airports. What's left goes into direct selling cost—the premiums. It has been a lush business, very much like a big lottery that has heavy sales expenses but still has plenty left over for winners and the ultimate objective of the lottery.

While no one can dispute the convenience of vending machines and counters to the 20 percent of the air travelers who use them, the dangers inherent in this open lottery system should be obvious.

A New York investment broker, I. W. Burnham II, wrote to a New York newspaper in May in part, as follows:

"The frequency of accidents is not so great that ordinary insurance, sold through the usual channels, could not cover the legitimate needs of people who wish to protect themselves against the contingency of air travel accidents.

"Inadvertently, the ease of issuance of accident insurance has permitted emotionally disturbed people to waste enough lives already. The screening process of the average insurance policy is not perfect, but it offers at least some safeguards that do not exist with vending machine policies."

Well stated.

One corrective step could be the support of the ALPA-sponsored bill in Congress or some similar proposal, assuming such legislation to be constitutional, for there is today not one iota of Federal regulation or control over insurance. A second step should be an industry-Government plan to make easier the obtaining of travel (not trip) insurance for those who want the protection.

Preliminary to all this, however, is one step which insurance companies themselves could take if they could work up the proper attitude in the public interest. This would be to limit very sharply, right now, the amount of trip insurance that can be obtained at airports, and to advertise prominently this limitation. At most airports today there is virtually no limit; what an invitation to the mentally unbalanced. Only at the two FAA airports, Washington National and Dulles, is there a limitation and this was achieved in 1960 by the then FAA Administrator, Elwood "Pete" Quesada, who was appalled not only at the risk to the traveling public at having high coverage so easily available, but also at the gouge being made against the public by high concession costs from the airports.

There may be other solutions at hand. It is a subject that needs urgent study and action. Is there any airport with the courage to be the first to throw out vending machines and counters?

Hubert F. Lee Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business magazine, has received unique honor in his election as a charter member of the National Aviation Hall of Fame.

I offer the following article from the July 29, 1964, issue of the Decatur-DeKalb News:

Hubert F. Lee of DeKalb, for 35 years editor of Dixie Business magazine, has been elected a charter member of the National Aviation Hall of Fame.

The National Aviation Hall of Fame was chartered by Congress on April 6, 1964. Incorporators included Lockheed's chairman Courtland Gross, Donald W. Douglas, Sr., Igor I. Sikorsky, Milton A. Caniff, James S. McDonald, Jr., and Eugene W. Kettering.

Lee got out of the old Army Air Service in 1921, when he began his writing career as reporter for the Atlanta Constitution. He attended the old Army Balloon School at Lee Hall, Va., in 1919.

Supreme Court Sophistry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEL CLAWSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial as timely and worthy of consideration by all who are concerned over the present legislative trend of the Supreme Court. This editorial, originally appearing in a Merchants & Manufacturers Association news release, was reprinted in the Herald American newspapers, which has the third largest circulation in southern California. Mr. Cliff Smith, the publisher of the 13 Herald American newspapers, has written many noteworthy editorials. In this instance, he has selected "Supreme Court Sophistry" to speak for him.

SUPREME COURT SOPHISTRY

Louis XIV, who ruled France from 1643 to 1715, said, "I am the state."

This meant that his word was law. Many a king has believed that he was the state. Dictators of today have the same idea.

To avoid such catastrophe, when this Nation was formed powers were to be divided between National and State Governments and, on the national level, further dispersed among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

The President of the United States, the Congress, and the Supreme Court all receive their powers from the Constitution.

The Constitution is short. It can be printed on a dozen pages; yet it took the Convention 4 long, hot summer months to write it.

It was hard for the delegates to agree on a new form of Government. They thought and planned carefully.

The men who wrote the Constitution did not believe that any man is the state. They believed that the people are the state. The people have a right to make the laws, to explain the laws, and enforce them.

The fathers of the Constitution wanted to be free. They wanted to be sure that their children and their children's children would be free.

They did not believe that all the power should be in the hands of one person or a group of persons.

Yet, today all judgments of the U.S. Supreme Court are quite generally regarded as sacred—even when those judgments require radical, unpopular departures from our historic and accepted way of life.

The current impression that a Supreme Court decision proclaims the law of the land for the entire country is a popular delusion.

No single Supreme Court decision is or can become "the law of the land."

The basic law of the land is the Constitution itself.

Of all the judicial legislation that has proceeded from the Supreme Court in recent years, the most revolutionary is its decree which prescribes and commands new formulas and procedures for the apportionment of State legislatures.

The State's cherished right to constitutional self-government in the management of its own legislative household has been ignored.

The Court's reapportionment decision confirms the fact that this tribunal has all but abandoned its historic function of deciding cases, for the apparently more exciting role of conducting a new American revolution.

A sharp criticism came from the Court itself in the dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan, while stating the decision results in "a radical alteration in the relationship between the States and the Federal Government, particularly the Federal judiciary.

"This decision involves the Court amending the Constitution * * * this Court does not serve its high purpose when it exceeds its authority * * * for when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so, for the amending process."

Justice Harlan advised "the Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements.

"The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens."

Justice Potter Stewart had this to say:

"The Court's Draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 176-year political history of our Federal Union.

"What the Court has done was to convert a particular political philosophy into a constitutional rule binding upon all States and without regard for the many individualized and differentiated characteristics of each State, stemming from each State's distinct history, geography, distribution of population, and political heritage."

Which is to say, in substance, that we are approaching a government not by the Constitution but by nine men—appointed for life.

Hasn't the time come to question the gobbledygook of intellectual sophistry which ultimately will result in the obituary of our Republic?

Remember with concern that our Nation's Founding Fathers when writing the Constitution did not believe that all the power should be in the hands of one person or a group of persons.

Tyranny has many forms. It is an offense against all citizens. In resisting tyranny do not be deceived by those who cry that centralized power is in accord with "the spirit of the times."

Honorable Clair Engle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I avail myself of this opportunity to express my great sorrow on the passing of my good friend, Senator Clair Engle, of California. His picture adorns the wall of my office. It is autographed:

To my good friend, Dr. Fernós-Isern, a great representative of the people of Puerto Rico—Clair Engle, chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

I always found him a congenial and generous friend.

I had the honor of serving with Senator Engle on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee from the time that I began serving in Congress in 1947 and until he was elected to the Senate in 1958. He served as chairman of this committee during the 84th and 85th Congresses. It was while Clair Engle was serving on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee that three most important legislative measures were adopted relative to fundamental political questions of Puerto Rico. In 1947, an amendment to the Organic Act of Puerto Rico was adopted to make the office of Governor an elective office. In 1950 an act enabling the people of Puerto Rico to organize themselves politically under a constitution of their own adoption was passed. In 1952, there was passed the joint resolution whereby Congress gave its approval to the constitution which the people of Puerto Rico had adopted; thus was the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico born. Clair Engle gave his full support to the elective governor bill, which the late Michigan Congressman, Fred Crawford, had introduced. He gave full support to the enabling act of 1950 and to the approval of the constitution in 1952, two bills which I had introduced.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1950, in Puerto Rico, we traveled together to San Juan to participate in the ceremonies of the day; on the previous evening the President of the United States had signed the bill for which we both had fought so hard. Clair Engle and I were in Miami on the morning of that July 4th and received the news of the President's approval over the wire. He was as exultant as I was, for he always had a warm place in his heart for the people of Puerto Rico.

It was with great sadness that I first heard of his illness. It has been with great sadness that I have learned of his death. I am sure I am interpreting the feelings of the people of Puerto Rico when I speak on this occasion. The people of Puerto Rico, in turn, have always had a warm place in their hearts for Clair Engle, as they do for all our friends who have contributed to the political development of our people and to their attainment of the status of freedom, democracy, and dignity in which we now live.

I extend heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Engle and his daughter Yvonne.

The Policeman and His Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN KYL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune:

THE POLICEMAN AND HIS JOB

The policeman on the beat faces a tougher and more important job in most of our cities today than he ever faced before. Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, put the problem in graphic terms when he spoke at the

State convention of the American Legion here on Saturday.

At the opening of his 10-minute talk, he said: "Between the time my remarks begin and end, 40 major crimes will be committed, including one girl or woman forcibly raped, three aggravated assaults, two armed robberies, 20 burglaries, 10 automobiles stolen, and 10 other larcenies. Between this moment and 1 hour from now, someone in the United States will be murdered. And during the 3-day period required for this convention, a law officer will be killed as he goes about his hazardous work."

This is more than just the occasional and isolated criminal act which is nearly always with us. It is more than organized crime, often protected by corrupt politicians. It is what Senator GOLDWATER called a "growing menace to personal safety." It is disrespect for law and order which is approaching epidemic proportions.

It is encouraged by the examples of the Bobby Bakers and those in high office who protect them. It is facilitated by recent court decisions which make it more and more difficult for the police to obtain a conviction. It is excused by the sort of sympathizers who Mark Twain said go about dripping tears "from their permanently impaired and leaky waterworks." It is instigated openly by Communists and racial agitators and others eager to create the chaos on which they thrive, and it is camouflaged by a torrent of abuse against the police, consisting chiefly of charges of corruption and brutality.

The latter charges are unrelated to the fact that there are some lemons on almost every big police force. They would go on even if every policeman were a saint, because their purpose is to discredit those policemen who are trying to do a conscientious job of preserving order and restraining violence.

No wonder there is a feeling of frustration on the part of policemen who try to do their job honestly and efficiently. The attitudes which are so common today not only make it more difficult for them to cope with a tough job; they actually make the job tougher.

Most policemen, as Mr. Findley said, "deserve a pat on the back, not brickbats on the head. They deserve applause, not jeers. They deserve fairplay, not reckless—and I repeat reckless—charges of brutality."

And when a policeman dies in the line of duty, Mr. FINDLEY said, his family deserves financial help. To give this help, Mr. FINDLEY proposed that the American Legion establish a police heroes benefit fund supported by voluntary public contributions. This responsibility is a logical one, he said, for an organization dedicated to strengthening the American way of life in which law and order is fundamental.

When we encourage good police work, we are helping ourselves; because without them, as Mr. FINDLEY said, the country would become "a jungle of cringing fear, violence, and death."

Civil Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, "time is short. Action is necessary. Words are getting tiresome." This is what Negroes are saying today, Negroes who are justifiably impatient. Violence has broken out in the Negro ghettos of the country directed against the intolerable conditions in which they are forced to live. Thomas Paine said, "These are the times that try men's souls." These lines may never have been more true than they are today. We must meet the problems with constructive programs.

As Walter Lippmann points out in the New York Herald Tribune of July 30, 1964, there are two possible alternatives: First, police the disorders and keep the lid on; or second, police the disorders and meet the problems head on with programs that will begin to cure the ills. Unfortunately, as Mr. Lippmann observes, the Republicans have chosen as their presidential candidate a man who seems to be incapable of understanding the complexities of the present, and who thus has chosen the first method.

Mr. Lippmann asks us to face our problems and to choose the second alternative. President Johnson has made that choice, and I fully endorse his efforts in this direction. That is the American way to bring about equality with justice.

The article follows:

CIVIL PEACE

(By Walter Lippmann)

The raw edge of the Negro riots in Harlem and in other northern cities is that the recognized Negro leaders lost control of the mobs. For some time, close observers of the mounting Negro protest have been watching apprehensively for this development. They have feared the dread moment when young Negroes, unemployed or badly employed, uneducated and desperate, would break away from the preaching of nonviolence and go on a rampage of hatred and destruction.

This breaking loose from the recognized leaders is a critical and ominous event, and civil peace in this country depends on whether the breach between the young Negroes and the older veteran leaders can be healed.

It is essential to begin by realizing clearly the basic difference between the American Negro protest and almost all African movements abroad. It is that the American movement is in the true sense of the word conservative: the American Negroes are not agitating for a new social order but for admission to the social order which now exists. This could change. If the established Negro leadership is pushed aside and the desperate young crowds fear nothing because they have nothing to lose, the Negro movement could become the prey of guerrilla agitators.

With this in mind, we must choose between the two courses of action which are now open to us. One is to stamp out the disorders when they appear, using the local police and if necessary the National Guard and the Federal Army; the rest of the problem is to be left to the States. The other course is to stamp on the disorders wherever they break out and at the same time to try at all levels of government to redress the grievances which are the causes of the disorders.

The first course is that of the Republican Party since it was taken over in San Francisco. As a national party it is, like all the rest of us, opposed to Negro disorders and it is in favor of the use of police forces at all levels of government to stamp out these disorders. But as a national party it is no longer interested in the redress of the grievances at the national level, and—considering Governor Wallace—at any level.

Leaving out all considerations of liberty and justice as they apply to Negroes, the Goldwater policy opens up the prospect of endless disorder. For taking Senator GOLDWATER'S vote on the Civil Rights Act, the Republican platform, and the alliance with the southern racists, we have a case of pushing on the safety valve and tying it down. To stop the protests and to shut off real hope of redressing the grievances is a recipe for disorder. If the legitimate grievances of the Negroes cannot be dealt with by open and nonviolent demonstrations and propaganda, a condition will be created for clandestine and violent criminality.

The alternative course is to police the disorders and to redress the grievances. The rioting is intolerable and cannot be tolerated. But for an increasing number of Negroes their grievances are intolerable and will not be endured very much longer. The essential point is to prove to the large mass of peaceable Negroes that there is light at the end of the tunnel, that the same public authority which enforces law and order is also committed to reform.

This is the way to restore the broken communications between the recognized nonrevolutionary and nonviolent Negro leaders and the minorities of desperate young men. The Negro community must be enabled to believe that the public authorities are their hope and not their enemy. In this most concrete sense, civil peace in the United States depends on the cooperation of the Negro community.

Elmer Winter Leads Efforts for Private Youth Employment Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, providing jobs for the flood of youths entering the labor market is one of the biggest tasks facing the Nation.

A story in today's edition of the Washington Post describes the excellent work being done by Elmer L. Winter, president of Manpower, Inc., in Milwaukee to meet this problem. I believe the Members will find this article of interest:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AREA MAY BENEFIT FROM YOUTHPOWER, INC.—PILOT AGENCY SEEKS JOBS FOR YOUTH

(By Sue Cronk)

Washington's jobless youths may get their own employment agency next year if a pilot project inaugurated in Milwaukee this summer is successful.

Called Youthpower, Inc., it is a private, nonprofit operation staffed by high school and college volunteers. Since June 1, it has found jobs for about 1,000 persons aged 16 to 21.

Most of the positions are temporary summer employment, but some 50 permanent jobs have been found. Salaries range from 50 cents an hour for yard work to $120 a week for driving a dairy truck.

Youthpower is the brainchild of Elmer L. Winter, president of Manpower, Inc., which annually employs more than 160,000 people in temporary office and industrial jobs.

Winter gave Youthpower space in a building next to Manpower's headquarters in Milwaukee and donated office supplies.

In town to talk with Bill Devries, head of the local Manpower office, about establishing a Washington youthpower program next year, Winter predicted that his organization eventually will have youth employment agencies across the country.

"It shouldn't be left completely up to the Government to solve the problem" of teenage unemployment, he said.

Milwaukee Youthpower not only places youths in jobs but tries to create new jobs for them by advertising their services in wealthy residential areas.

Another program inaugurated this summer by Manpower is an extension of its principal business of placing women officeworkers in temporary jobs.

Now a woman can work her way as a tourist across five continents by getting part-time employment through Manpower's 48 offices abroad.

"Many girls can't swing a trip overseas without a job," Winter said, predicting that "it's going to be the wave of the future for girls who have office skills to see the world."

Manpower gets few applications from bilingual secretaries, "but many American firms with foreign offices are willing to take English-speaking secretaries. Why, there are more than 1,000 American firms in Switzerland alone," he said.

And Switzerland is the country with the most available jobs for traveling American women, Winter said. Belgium is second. The wages are the same as those paid to nationals of those countries.

Winter, finding that the majority of women seeking temporary jobs are in the 30 to 40 age bracket and have been out of the job market for several years, has instituted a training program to bring them up to date on new office machinery and techniques.

Author of "A Woman's Guide to Earning a Good Living" (Simon and Schuster, $4.95), he has noted that "the need to be needed" is becoming an increasing reason why women seek jobs.

Manpower equips each woman who finishes its training course with a pair of white gloves. The firm began the glove gimmick 2 years ago to attract prospective employers' attention and Winter sometimes wonders if Manpower didn't overdo it.

"We actually get calls from firms that are upset because their Manpower girl didn't wear her white gloves that day," he said. "In some cases, we've sent a pair of gloves to her by taxi."

A member of the community relations service that is working to bring about peaceful compliance with the civil rights law, Winter noted that Manpower has been integrated since he and another Milwaukee lawyer, Aaron Scheinfeld, founded it in 1948.

"We had a problem in our office of getting out a brief for the Supreme Court," he recalled. "Our regular girl was all tied up with other matters. We called a former secretary of ours and pleaded with her to help us out. She saved the day.

Shortly thereafter, he and Scheinfeld "conducted a very scientific survey of, say, eight or nine other professional and business people and found their reaction to an agency that would provide temporary help quite favorable."

By 1954, they were so busy with Manpower that they gave up their law practice. They now have 330 offices in 22 countries.

Owen W. Sherrill: Texas Realtor of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Owen W. Sherrill, of Georgetown, Tex., is one of the most outstanding citizens of the 10th Congressional District which I am privileged to represent. He has received numerous awards and honors throughout the years of service to his city as mayor, to his State, and to this country. Just recently, he was accorded the distinct honor of being selected as the Texas Realtor of the Year and the Austin Realtor of the Year, and I respectfully request permission to insert two articles from the Texas Landsman which set forth the outstanding record of service which Mr. Sherrill has rendered:

OWEN SHERRILL NAMED "REALTOR OF THE YEAR"

Owen W. Sherrill, of Georgetown, member of the Austin Real Estate Board, was named "Texas Realtor of the Year" at the 43d Annual Convention of the Texas Real Estate Association in El Paso.

A past president of TREA and lifetime member of its board of directors, Mr. Sherrill had just recently been named recipient of the Austin Realtor of the Year Award by the local board in which he maintains membership.

The traditional bronze plaque, recognizing him for outstanding service and contributions to the real estate profession, was awarded to Mr. Sherrill at the annual president's dinner. He also received the Charlie F. Gilchrist Memorial Award, a trophy presented annually to the Realtor of the Year recipient. The trophy was given by Mrs. Gilchrist, of Fort Worth, in memory of her late husband who was active in local, State, and national realtor activities, once serving the National Association of Real Estate Boards as vice president first-named.

The presentation was made by Ebby Halliday, of Dallas, winner of the Realtor of the Year Award for the preceding year.

Mr. Sherrill came to Georgetown in 1917 from his native Navarro County after receiving a bachelor of science degree from Texas A. & M. College. He was Williamson County's first county agent. From this he went into banking and real estate and, during the depression days, organized the Emergency Crop Production Loan Office at Dallas which handled loans for Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. He served the Government in Dallas, Houston, and Washington, D.C., before returning to Georgetown to open his real estate office.

Known nationwide, Mr. Sherrill has become prominent in the past several years in the field of trades and exchanges. He currently serves as a director of the International Traders Club.

In 1950–51, he served TREA as president and has been active on nearly every committee of this organization. For 18 years he served on the NAREB board of directors, during which time he has missed only one NAREB convention and has a 100 percent attendance record at TREA conventions. An accredited farm broker, he is a past president of the National Institute of Farm Brokers, and currently serves on the board of governors of the Farm and Land Brokers Institute. He is a member of Omega Tau Rho (old time realtors) fraternity. Among other duties, he was a member of the Realtors' Washington Committee for 4 years and was chairman of its public land and agricultural committee.

Mr. Sherrill has served as mayor of Georgetown, was recipient of the city's Most Worthy Citizen Award, represented two Texas Governors at annual Southern States conferences, served on the first American Arbitrators Association panel named by the U.S. President, is a past president and charter member of Georgetown Lions Club, has twice served as president of Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, and was the first out-of-town member of the Austin Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the advisory board and past president's club of the A. & M. College Former Students Association. He spent 15 years, 10 as chairman, working for the construction of dams above Georgetown on the San Gabriel River. A member of the First Baptist Church, he has been twice listed in "Who's Who in the Southwest" and its "The Makers of Texas" issue.

Assuredly, whatever endeavors Mr. Sherrill may be busily engaged in at the moment, they will always be in the interest of what he feels will be of benefit to Georgetown and Texas. He works and lives by his slogan as the "Creator of Ownership."

A GROWING CITY WITH INSPIRATION

Georgetown is "on the grow."

Only minutes away from the State's capital city of Austin, Georgetown surges ahead in attracting industry to its Williamson County locale, as well as realizing other civic additions and improvements.

Attesting to the stability of Georgetown is Southwestern University (the main building of which is pictured on the cover of this issue) which this month celebrates the 122d anniversary since its charter was granted by the Republic of Texas, making it the oldest coeducational university west of the Mississippi. The 4-year denominational school continues to grow in prominence, facilities, and educational opportunities. Currently guiding it as president is Dr. Durwood Fleming, son-in-law of Realtor and Mrs. Hugh January, of Houston.

With a sound footing, Georgetown refuses to rest on the laurels of past years, keeping an eye ever to the future. These qualities, among others, have been appealing to industry in deciding on location.

Each page of this feature section tells a portion of the Georgetown story, explaining why this town of 6,000 population is such a vibrant star on the Texas scene.

One of the main forces behind all this is Realtor Owen W. Sherrill, a past president of the Texas Real Estate Association. Mr. Sherrill would be the first to insist he hasn't done it alone—it has been the combined cooperation of many—but this one man's love for—his interest, work, and enthusiasm in—his hometown cannot be overlooked. A huge helping of credit for the continued progress, just as for this detailed section, properly goes to the untiring Owen W. Sherrill.

As Williamson County's first county agent, he came to Georgetown in 1917 from his native Navarro County after receiving a bachelor of science degree from Texas A. & M. College. From there he went into banking and real estate and, during the depression days, organized the Emergency Crop Production Loan Office at Dallas which handled loans for Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. He served the Government in Dallas, Houston, and Washington, D.C. before returning to Georgetown to open his real estate office.

Since that time, Mr. Sherrill's extracurricular duties and honors have been many, which he's always managed to work right into his daily schedule of forging ahead with his busy real estate business. Known nationwide, there is no transaction too large or too small to Mr. Sherrill's way of thinking, and his prominence in the field of trades has grown far and wide.

Space does not permit listing the numerous offices in which Mr. Sherrill has served in the various professional and civic groups with which he is affiliated. His realtor membership is through the Austin Real Estate Board, Texas Real Estate Association and National Association of Real Estate Boards. As a past president of TREA, he is a lifetime member of the board of directors, and has served on every major committee of that organization. He is a director of NAREB, is a past president of the National Institute of Farm Brokers, and is active in many of

the affiliated institutes of NAREB. Recently he was named chairman of the public lands committee of the realtors' Washington committee, making the fourth year he has served on RWC.

Mr. Sherrill has served as acting mayor of Georgetown, has been recipient of the city's Most Worthy Citizen Award, and has twice been listed in "Who's Who in the Southwest." He is a member of the A. & M. Former Students' Past President's Club and the association's advisory board, the Georgetown Lions Club, and the chamber of commerce.

One of Mr. Sherrill's dreams since his county agent days has been for a protected San Gabriel River Valley of superproduction, supporting greater economy to progressive cities along the Brazos tributaries, of which the three San Gabriel Rivers are strategic. For numerous years he has been chairman of Williamson County's San Gabriel Dam Committee. And prospects look bright that he may yet see that dream come to realization. Meeting with three Texas legislators in Washington, D.C., recently, he and the three Congressmen agreed to work for authorization of a dam on the North San Gabriel, a dam on the South San Gabriel, a dam on the San Gabriel at Laneport, and the implementation of the program of the San Gabriel Flood Prevention District (small upstream dams) on the San Gabriel and its tributaries.

Mr. Sherrill's endeavors are always in the interests of what he feels would be of benefit to Georgetown.

Wherever Owen Sherrill goes, he's Georgetown's "Ambassador of Good Will" and you can rest assured that he's encouraging some prospect to bring his industry to Georgetown.

F.D.R. Memorial Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, August 2, 1964, in support of the proposed Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial. The memorial was selected from over 500 designs by a distinguished jury composed of outstanding and recognized experts in the field of architecture and has the approval of the Fine Arts Commission.

F.D.R. MEMORIAL PRAISED; ART HISTORIAN DECLARES PLANES ARRANGED IN SPACE AN ANCIENT IDEA

To the EDITOR:

In the Times of June 26, Ada Louise Huxtable, in marked contrast to most of the press, showed insight and courage in evaluating the Hobermann team's Roosevelt Memorial on its own terms.

The memorial scheme has been criticized from the obsolete point of view of the conventional 19th-century monuments with their static points of reference. To ask that the Roosevelt Memorial resemble the traditional memorial is, however, tantamount to asking that a Renaissance church employ the same means of expression as a Gothic cathedral.

Contemporary art has struggled to evolve over the last half century a multisided space-time conception, expressed in the present case by the use of vertical planes on different levels which develop actively as the spectator passes through them.

The idea of planes arranged in space is age old and was never more subtly applied than in the pyramids of Egypt: the huge, immaculate plane surfaces acquire an existence of their own and establish spatial relationships with one another. This same principle is active in the Hobermann scheme.

PROTECTION FOR ARCHITECTS

The architect in the United States is in one respect more vulnerable than his fellow in other democracies. In Switzerland, for example, no scheme other than the prize-winning one may be built once the jury has pronounced its verdict. If another scheme is built, the winner, according to the statutes of the Association of Swiss Engineers & Architects, must be compensated for the entire value of the prize money.

It is therefore inconceivable that a family—or even a political body—would presume to interfere. It might be worthwhile if the American Institute of Architects took similar steps to safeguard the work of its members.

As to "we don't like it": may it be permitted to an art historian to point out that this statement is not reducible to a specific case? There is—as I have often stressed since—a split between highly developed modes of thinking and modes of feeling which lag generations behind. This is especially true of the "decisionmakers" of our time, the executives, politicians, etc. To provide these with a sound basis for artistic judgment is the aim of the newly erected Carpenter Arts Center at Harvard, an urgent and highly difficult undertaking.

The present scheme was selected from over 500 projects by a distinguished jury led by Roosevelt's friend and Attorney General, Francis Biddle, and composed of jurors of the stature of Lewis Mumford. F.D.R. belongs to history, his monument to the Nation. Such a memorial is not a birthday present for the family, to like or dislike. That private or political bodies seek to kill an officially elected scheme is beneath the dignity of a democratic society.

S. GIEDION.

ZURICH, *July 15, 1964.*

Wilderness Bill Supported as a Vital Conservation Measure

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9070) to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Chairman, the cause of conservation must be zealously defended by Congress. Passage of the House wilderness bill is an historic act for conservation which I heartily endorse and fully support. This action is particularly meaningful to me as an individual who has been interested in and worked for conservation for many years. The wilderness bill along with the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act which we passed recently offer hopeful promise that the United States will always possess adequate parklands in the years ahead and that free open spaces of mountains, valleys, forests, lakes, and streams will endure for generations yet unborn. I am gratified to see this progress made in preparing the United States for its future needs for recreation and conservation space. I commend the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee for their patient and careful deliberations. Their diligence and study is in happy contrast to the politically motivated rush that has unfortunately characterized some committees' work as they grind out hastily conceived proposals now being manhandled through legislative channels.

The wilderness bill will insure the preservation of more than 9 million acres of land in a wilderness state as our forefathers found it and makes provisions for the potential inclusion of additional acres of primitive, wildlife refuge, and national park areas within the next 10 years. In passing this legislation we meet a solemn obligation to future generations to see that areas of our country shall be permanently protected from commercial development so that future generations may have the opportunity of studying and enjoying the unspoiled beauty and splendor of our country's majestic land resources.

SPIRITUAL VALUE

The wilderness bill guarantees that these lands will be kept in their original untouched natural state. No future administrator will be able arbitrarily to remove the wilderness classification of these areas. Unless this vital legislation is enacted now, we are in danger of losing a priceless resource that can never be regained.

Setting aside a portion of our land as wilderness area means that despite our rapidly growing population and burgeoning commercial development, there will always be places in our country where wilderness beauty is unmarred and unscarred by civilization, where individuals may explore the wilds, and where biologists and naturalists may come to study wild plant and animal life in their untouched natural state. Above all there is a spiritual value to a wilderness area that in this materialistic age should not be overlooked. It is important that we preserve places where one can truly "lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help."

IMPROVEMENT OVER SENATE BILL

The bill is not perfect but legislation seldom is. The provision on 25-year mining is disturbing to many but should be accepted in the spirit of reasonable compromise. The feature included in the bill requiring Congressinal approval before new lands are added or removed from the system is a definite and meaningful improvement over the Senate-passed version. Instead of decisions on additions or deletions of land being made by administrative order, Congress, the voice of the people, is rightly given final say in H.R. 9070. This action by the House vindicates those in the Senate who objected there to passage of S. 4. I strongly opposed that bill and voiced my objections strenuously. Thanks to the carefully considered deliberations and improvements by the House Committee

on Interior and Insular Affairs, I can now gladly support this bill.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HAS WILDERNESS AREA

My State of New Hampshire has 5,400 acres to be included in the wilderness system—the only area in the northeast to be so included. This is a source of pride to New Hampshire's citizens. The Great Gulf Wild Area in my district is bordered by the magnificant Presidential Range in the heart of the White Mountains, already preserved in the White Mountain National Forest. This includes Mount Washington, with an elevation of 6,288 feet, highest peak in northeast America. It is an area of unique grandeur to which visitors have repaired over the years, for spiritual refreshment and strength.

IN TRADITION OF THE WEEKS LAW

Let us hope this legislation can be worked out in conference and put into final form for the President's signature. This law is significant because it indicates our Nation's awareness that conservation must start today, not tomorrow. Teddy Roosevelt would be proud of us for passing this bill. It is in the tradition, especially meaningful in New Hampshire, of the Weeks' law which in 1911 established a new national policy for the purchase by the Federal Government of forest lands east of the Great Plains thus making possible the White Mountain National Forest. Weeks was a U.S. Congressman and Senator from Massachusetts but was born in New Hampshire where his family still lives. His son, Sinclair Weeks, a constituent of mine, served with great distinction as Secretary of Commerce under President Eisenhower. The conservation legislation which Weeks sponsored is today responsible for our possession in the Eastern United States, including New Hampshire of invaluable national forests—forests that were threatened with destruction before Weeks saved them. The wilderness bill is another landmark in America's struggle to preserve and conserve its natural heritage.

Dropout Followup Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this summer the South Bend Community School Corp. is taking advantage of title V of the National Defense Education Act by conducting a dropout followup project in the city of South Bend, Ind., which I have the privilege of representing in Congress.

As we all know, the alarming and increasing number of high school dropouts each year is an increasingly serious problem and I believe the education and business community of South Bend are to be commended for the splendid leadership they have shown by making this project possible.

The project has not only provided a real service to the dropout student, who heretofore has been forgotten once he left school, but has also provided a great deal of information about the dropouts, their reasons for dropping out and their future plans. All this information will greatly aid the schools in identifying the potential dropout, who may now be kept in school by the increased efforts of the school to meet his needs.

Mr. Speaker, because I feel this project is a most worthwhile one and can serve as a valuable example of what other cities can do to fight the high school dropout problem, under unanimous consent I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a pamphlet which outlines and describes the South Bend dropout followup project together with a handbook on employment and educational assistance for out-of-school youth developed for the project:

SOUTH BEND COMMUNITY SCHOOL CORP.
DROPOUT FOLLOWUP PROJECT

The following project has been approved by the Indiana State Department of Public Instruction, Guidance Division, as a 1964 summer project in guidance. The project will be supported 100 percent by funds available through title V of the National Defense Education Act.

A STATEMENT OF THE PROJECT

Approximately 500 students have dropped out of the South Bend community schools this year. In the past, once a student left school no further contact was made by the school. The dropout project will provide an opportunity to follow up students who dropped out during the year and provide services for these students so they can become more productive and useful citizens in our community. It also will provide an excellent opportunity to delve deeper into the reasons for leaving school and to examine more closely the program of the school in relation to the needs of the students who leave before graduation.

The study will be facilitated by the availability of background information on each dropout compiled this year by the school counselors.

The project will consist of a counseling center to provide individual counseling services for dropouts. The center will be located in the Vocational Building of Central High School and will be open from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. daily. In addition to the individual counseling, group sessions will be held on various aspects of educational and vocational planning.

Four counselors will work as a team in conducting the project. All the counselors will have responsibilities for contacting and interviewing dropouts, counseling, and for specific areas of the group guidance. Each counselor will also have a specific responsibility. The four areas of responsibility will be:

Director: will provide general direction of the project, develop an occupational and educational information library in the center and develop printed materials and pamphlets for use in the project.

Business and industrial coordinator: will serve as a liaison person with business and industry, arrange for tours of business and industry, and work with in-service type programs.

Group guidance coordinator: will be responsible for bringing in resource people and conducting all group guidance activities.

Research analyst: will be responsible for the analysis of the information coming out of the project and for the assembly of such information into meaningful form.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

The objectives of the project are:

1. To gain additional information about dropouts, their reasons for dropping out, and their future plans.
2. To provide counseling services for students no longer in contact with the school.
3. To provide educational and occupational information for dropouts.
4. To identify areas where the school needs to expand its efforts in trying to meet the needs of dropouts.
5. To provide a liaison between the dropout, the school, and the community.
6. To encourage further education and provide a means for dropouts to continue their education through evening school, correspondence work, in-service education within business and industry, or through the regular school program where satisfactory programs can be worked out.
7. To gain information to help identify potential dropouts in school in order to increase our efforts to keep them in school.
8. The ultimate objective of the project is to better prepare each dropout and each potential dropout of the future for his place in society by helping him to utilize his potential to the fullest.

PLAN FOR CONDUCTING THE PROJECT

The following plan of action is anticipated for the project:

1. Analyze information gathered on the 500 students who dropped out of school during the year.
2. Locate possible subgroups within the total group for intensive study, i.e., low ability, high ability, high achievers, one-parent homes, etc.
3. Prepare booklet of information for dropouts containing:
   a. Education opportunities in the area and persons to contact regarding them.
   b. Vocational opportunities in the area and persons to contact regarding them.
   c. Various agencies which could offer help to dropouts.
   d. Helpful hints on how and where to look for a job. How to interview for a job, how to advance on a job, etc.
   e. Telephone number and address of Counseling Service Office.
4. Conduct personal interviews with dropouts.
5. Offer counseling services to dropouts with office hours from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.
6. Provide group sessions for dropouts in vocational and educational planning. Examples are:

VOCATIONAL

a. How to look for a job.
b. How to interview for a job.
c. How to complete a job application.
d. How to keep a job.
e. How to advance on a job.

EDUCATIONAL

a. Today's labor force and education.
b. How to continue your education while on the job.
c. How to prepare for the job you really want.
d. Types of educational programs that provide opportunities for dropouts.
e. How to study.

7. Bring in resource people from business and industry to discuss their labor needs today and in the future—to conduct trial interviews and discuss application procedures for industry.
8. Set up tours of business and industrial establishments for the dropouts.
9. Develop a library of occupational and educational materials for use by the dropouts.
10. Work cooperatively with the Employment Security Division Office in South Bend

for job information, aptitude testing, and job placement.

How To Open Doors—Knock, Knock

Have certain doors been closed for you because of lack of a skill, lack of experience, or lack of education?

Have you had trouble finding a job, keeping a job, or locating a better job?

If your answer to any of these questions is "Yes" or if you would like some other kind of assistance, this booklet may be just what you are looking for.

Read it.

React to what it says.

Follow up on the suggestions.

The following steps may contain the keys to open doors of opportunity for you:

STEP 1—THE JOB COUNSELING CENTER

Contact: A job counseling center has been established to provide assistance for you. These services have been made available in South Bend for out-of-school youth who have not completed their education through a grant provided by the Federal Government.

These are the services available at the job counseling center without charge:

1. Employment assistance in: (a) Locating jobs, (b) applying for a job, (c) determining qualifications for various jobs, (d) job improvement.

2. Educational assistance for improving abilities through: (a) Regular school programs, (b) work-study programs, (c) business and industry in-service programs, (d) trade and technical programs, (e) apprenticeship programs, (f) correspondence programs.

If you would like assistance from the Job Counseling Center, without charge, call or drop in Monday through Friday from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Don't wait—act today. Call the Job Counseling Center, phone 232-3733.

STEP II

In addition to the Job Counseling Center, several other agencies in the community offer assistance to out-of-school youth. Other agencies to contact are:

The Indiana State employment services

The State employment service office will give you leads for employment and assist you in determining your qualifications for a job. This office maintains a special youth employment department and the services are free. For additional information or help call or stop by the office weekdays from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.

The South Bend Urban League

The urban league maintains an employment department which provides employment assistance to Negro youth. In addition to the placement service, the urban league offers assistance of various other types to young people.

United Community Services

Various agencies of the United Community Services may be able to help you with some specific assistance, such as assistance for the handicapped. If you don't know what particular agency can help you, call the United Community Services office. They can direct you to the proper agency.

Company employment offices

Most people who are working did not get their job by applying at only one employment office one time. Many of them applied at a number of offices several times. Don't give up after one call. Persistence pays.

Your friends

Your friends may know of openings in companies where they work, or they may have heard of others to which they could give you a lead. Seek their help.

Your former school

Even though you may not be in school now, your school can still help you in many ways. Call the guidance department of any of the schools and ask for their assistance.

John Adams, 808 South Twyckenham Drive, phone 288-4655.

Central High, 317 West Washington Avenue, phone 234-2174.

Clay, 52690 Emmons Road, phone 272-3883.

Greene, 24702 Roosevelt Road, phone 289-5315.

North Liberty, North Liberty, phone 656-8211.

Riley, 405 East Ewing Avenue, phone 289-5573.

Washington, 4747 Washington Avenue, phone 288-8328.

STEP III

If you discover that the lack of education is the factor keeping you from getting the job you want, here are some ways of completing your high school education in South Bend.

Evening high school

Regular high school credit may be obtained in the evening high school program at Cline School, 1534 West Sample Street. Classes meet in the evening, usually 2 hours per night 2 nights per week. The fee is $5 per semester. For more information call 289-4096.

Correspondence courses

You may study at home for high school credit through correspondence courses offered by Indiana University Correspondence Study Division, Bloomington, Ind.

(Note.—These are the only high school credit correspondence courses other than the U.S. Armed Forces Institute courses listed below that are accepted toward a high school diploma in Indiana. For a person under 21 years of age a maximum of two units of credit in correspondence work is accepted toward graduation.)

High school general educational development tests

Former students of the South Bend Community School Corp., who are 21 years of age and older may qualify for a high school equivalence certificate by taking and successfully completing a battery of high school general educational development tests. Tests are given by the research department of the South Bend Community School Corp., 228 South St. Joseph Street, phone 232-6916.

Cooperative education program

If you are classified as a junior or senior and wish to return to school, consider one of the high school work experience programs. The public high schools of the South Bend Community School Corp. have a program for students who wish to attend school part time and work part time. You may earn credit both in school and on the job, and you may go on to obtain a high school diploma while you are earning and learning. For more information call 232-3733.

Regular high school

If you are seriously interested in continuing your schooling it is possible for you to return to a South Bend Community School Corp. high school to achieve a regular high school diploma. Many types of programs can be worked out to meet your particular need. Call 232-3733 or contact the guidance office of the school in your district.

U.S. Armed Forces Institute courses

If you enter the military service, consult the education officer where you are stationed for information on USAFI courses. Credits earned through completion of USAFI courses may be accepted for a high school diploma by the public schools upon evaluation and approval of the high school principal.

Caution

Beware of highly advertised correspondence and home study courses or high pressure salesmen representing various training programs. Many have high tuition rates and large downpayments and may not represent what you expect. If in doubt, or before signing a contract, call or visit your former school counselor.

STEP VI

There are other ways of obtaining employable skills.

These are:

Trade extension program

You may attend trade extension classes evenings at Central, Cline, Clay, Riley, and Washington High Schools if you are 16 years old and are not attending day school. You may select individual subjects or a series of subjects to train for a particular job. These courses do not give high school credit. Areas of training include auto mechanics, electricity, machine shop, television, welding, and wood courses. Ask for a current bulletin for more information about these courses. Fees are from $5 to $35. Registration is Tuesday and Wednesday following Labor Day in September and the 4th week in January.

Evening classes in technical subjects

Electronics, mechanical, industrial, and design courses are offered. All students entering the program must be high school graduates or the equivalent, have a strong algebra and math background with average or above ability. Classes are 1 night a week, 3 hours a night for 12 weeks. A certificate is issued to each student successfully completing a course. For more information call 289-4096.

Manpower development training

Youth 16 years old but not yet 22 and in need of occupational training and further schooling may qualify for job training under the federally approved Manpower Development and Training Act. The training is free to those who qualify. All applicants will be interviewed and evaluated by the Indiana State Employment Service, located at 216 North Michigan Street, phone 233-6175.

Apprenticeship training

Apprenticeship provides an organized plan for learning a skilled trade as you work in the trade. Most programs require a high school diploma. A formal application may be filled out and filed with the secretary or agent of the apprenticeship committee. To secure information, go to the union office of the trade in which you are interested, contact an employer who hires workers in this trade, or call the Adult Education Office, 1534 West Sample, phone 289-4096.

On-the-job training

Many large business concerns have training programs leading to advancement in their business. Young people showing particular promise are selected from among their own employees for these programs. Once you secure a job, be sure to investigate these opportunities.

Division of vocational rehabilitation

If you are disabled in some manner, you may be eligible for training through the Indiana Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, 2701 Mishawaka Avenue, phone 288-4769. Visit or call the office for additional information.

STEP V

For your information here are some other suggestions:

Helpful hints for jobseekers

When contacting an employer for a job:

Appear at your best; present a neat, well groomed appearance. You might be surprised at what this can do for you.

Go alone; do not take a friend or relative with you. You, not your uncle or your best buddy, are applying for the job.

Know why you are applying at a particular place.

Know your qualifications—be able to suggest the type of work you feel you can do.

Don't be timid—sell yourself but don't overdo it.

Take some verification of your birthdate, preferably your birth certificate.

Take your social security card (if you do not have a card, apply for one at the social security office, 335 North Lafayette Boulevard).

Have a list of references (be sure to get approval from the people you list as references).

Always be courteous. Even though you don't get the job, you may want to apply again.

Working permits

Youth under 18 years of age must have a working permit. The procedure to follow in securing one is as follows:

1. Obtain promise of a job from an employer.

2. Apply at the South Bend Community School Corp. Pupil Personnel Office, 121 North Lafayette Boulevard, phone 232-5805 for an "Intention To Employ," form 1A.

3. Have form 1A signed by the prospective employer, one parent, and yourself.

4. Return form 1A to the pupil personnel office.

5. When these requirements are met, an employment certificate will be filled out and you will take it to your employer.

Your military obligation

Every male citizen must register for selective service on his 18th birthday or within 5 days thereafter. You may do this at any Selective Service office, but you must give your home address. The St. Joseph County Selective Service Office is located at 156 Federal Building, 204 South Main Street, South Bend, Ind. There are six services through which your obligation may be completed: Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, Marines, Navy, and National Guard. Investigate the opportunities in each before you sign up.

There are different ways of completing your military obligation. Each service may differ. Information on any service may be obtained by contacting the recruiting office in the Federal Building, 204 South Main Street. The National Guard office is in the armory, 727 South Eddy Street. Each service has its phone number listed in the telephone book under Government offices—United States.

STEP VI

If you have read this booklet through and still do not see any open doors, repeat steps I through V. This time read it with more determination—you may find the key to your door.

As you can see many kinds of help are available. Now it's up to you as to how much of the help you want to take advantage of and how willing you are to follow through.

For further information contact the Job Counseling Center, 110 North William Street, phone 232-3733.

Another Look at U.S. Aid to Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, many times during the past few years Members of this body, including myself, have expressed grave concern regarding our country's policy of providing aid to Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, only to have him repay our friendship by aiding our sworn enemies.

Nasser showed his true colors when he seized all American property in Egypt. He has waged a subversive campaign against the United States and sided with the Communists. In return, Nasser has received arms and military supplies from Russia which he uses to harass his neighbors in the Near East while we are trying to restore peace in that area.

Last week, the Washington Post carried a very interesting and informative article by Drew Pearson entitled "United States Strangely Helpful to Nasser." I invite my colleagues to read this article and give careful consideration to the statements therein concerning the ultimate effect of giving U.S. aid to Egypt.

The article is as follows:

UNITED STATES STRANGELY HELPFUL TO NASSER

(By Drew Pearson)

While the pan-American foreign ministers were voting sanctions against Fidel Castro in Cuba, the United States was in the ironic position of supporting with millions of dollars in wheat another dictator who has been even more effective than Castro in opposing U.S. policies—namely Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt.

President Nasser has seized all American property in Egypt just as Castro did in Cuba. He has socialized industry just as Castro did. And he has waged a vicious, subversive campaign against American interests all around the Near East. It has been far more successful than Castro's campaign against Venezuela and other U.S. friends in the Caribbean.

Despite this, American aid to Nasser is more than the Russian contribution to building the Aswan Dam. It totals $418 million since 1955.

It was in 1956 that Russia decided to start building the Aswan Dam. Since that time the Soviet Union has loaned Egypt a little over $250 million, all of which is in the form of a credit and must be paid back.

The American contribution to Nasser is in the form of U.S. grain paid for in Egyptian currency, which is left in the country. It amounts to almost a gift. Sixty percent of all wheat used in Egypt comes from the United States. And this food helps pay for Nasser's propaganda campaign against the United States.

NASSER'S CAMPAIGN

Here is what he is doing:

While the Republican Party was meeting in San Francisco, nobody noticed that the Libyan Foreign Minister, Hussayn Maaziq, visited Cairo and promised Nasser to throw Americans out of the Wheelus Air Force Base at Tripoli. This is the biggest bomber base we have outside the United States, and our lease does not expire until 1967. However, the Libyan Government, as a result of Nasser's prodding, is urging us to get out earlier.

Nasser is also putting the heat on Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia to cancel the U.S. communications base at Kagnew on the Red Sea. This is the most important foreign communications base we have. It is essential for tracking satellites. So far Haile Selassie has refused to budge, but Nasser is now accusing him of being a colonialist.

Castro, incidentally, has tried to get our bases canceled in Panama and Guantanamo but has not succeeded.

Nasser has received arms from Russia just as Castro has—though considerably more. He is now sending surplus arms to Somalia in order to stir up guerrilla warfare against our good friend, Ethiopia. This is what Castro has tried to do, though he has not succeeded, by shipping arms to Venezuela and Brazil.

The United States has had to supply Ethiopia with arms to combat this warfare. Thus, we are supplying wheat to Egypt, which helps pay indirectly for arms to Somalia, and then we have to send arms to Ethiopia to combat Nasser's arms.

American wheat is also going to help pay for 40,000 Egyptian troops kept in Yemen. This is an attempt by Nasser to win control of Saudi Arabia and the American oil properties there, just as Castro tried to penetrate Venezuela in order to control U.S. oil properties in that country.

BITING THE HAND

The radio propaganda campaign against the United States in this Red Sea area is vicious—so much so that the Yemen Republic recently apologized to the American Embassy.

The attacks occurred at the same time the United States was helping Yemen construct new roads, build a water purification plant and supply other economic aid. Yemen officials made it clear that the Egyptians controlled the press and radio through their 40,000 troops and there was nothing Yemen could do about the anti-American tirades.

While President Nasser does not want war with Israel now, he is paying German technicians and scientists to develop modern rockets and, he hopes, nuclear weapons. American wheat indirectly is helping to pay for the cost of these former Nazis.

All this raises a serious question in the minds of our allies. They wonder why the United States continues to subsidize a dictator who follows exactly the same policies as Castro and is more effective in carrying them out.

When in Israel, I queried Israeli leaders as to whether they were worried over a Nasser attack. They are not—at least not until he develops the modern rockets on which the former Nazi scientists are working, which we are helping to pay for.

Political Poll—1776

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes the professional political pollsters in attempting to influence, rather than reflect, public opinion may be doing as much of a disservice to our country as is indicated by this 1776 political poll as written by that humorous, affable news columnist, Art Buchwald:

CAPITOL PUNISHMENT

(By Art Buchwald)

POLITICAL POLL, 1776

The political pollster has become such an important part of the American scene that it is hard to imagine how this country was ever able to function without him.

What would have happened, for example, if there had been political pollsters in the early days of this country?

This is how the results might have turned out.

When asked if they thought the British were doing a good job in administering the Colonies this is how a cross section of the people responded.

	Percent
British doing good job	63
Not doing good job	22
Don't know	15

The next question, "Do you think the dumping of tea in the Boston Harbor by militants helped or hurt the taxation laws in the New World?

	Percent
Hurt the cause of taxation	79
Helped the cause	12
Didn't think it would make any difference	9

"What do you think our image is in England after the Minutemen attacked the British at Lexington?"

	Percent
Minutemen hurt our image in England	83
Gave British new respect for colonies	10
Undecided	10

"Which of these two Georges can do more for the colonies—George III or George Washington?"

	Percent
George III	76
George Washington	14
Others	10

It is interesting to note that 80 percent of the people questioned had never heard of George Washington before.

The next question was, "Do you think the Declaration of Independence as it is written is a good document or a bad one?"

	Percent
Good document	12
Bad document	14
No opinion	84

A group of those polled felt that the Declaration of Independence had been written by a bunch of radicals and the publishing of it at this time would only bring harsher measures from the British.

When asked whether the best way to bring about reforms was through terrorism or redress to the Crown, an overwhelming proportion of colonists felt appeals should be made to the King.

	Percent
Reforms through petition	24
Reforms through acts of terrorism	8
Don't know	66

The pollsters then asked what the public thought was the most crucial issue of the time.

	Percent
Trade with foreign nations	65
War with Indians	20
The independence issue	15

The survey also went into the question of Patrick Henry. "Do you think Patrick Henry did the right thing in demanding liberty or death?"

	Percent
Did a foolhardy thing and was a troublemaker	53
Did a brave thing and made his point	23
Should have gone through the courts	6
Don't know	8

On the basis of the results of the poll, the militant Colonials decided they did not have enough popular support to foment a revolution and gave up the idea of creating a United States of America.

In Honor of Miss Clara Booksby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on August 28, 1964, the Canoga Park Chamber of Commerce will honor Miss Clara Booksby at a luncheon on the occasion of her 100th birthday. Miss Booksby will be presented with the distinguished service award of the chamber of commerce in recognition of her long service to the community.

Miss Booksby came to the community in 1914. She served on the faculty of the high school for 25 years until her retirement in 1939. Altogether she taught in the Los Angeles City school system for 52 years.

Miss Booksby has made a valuable contribution to the growth of the valley. I join with all those honoring her and commend her for her devoted service to the youth of the Los Angeles area.

Is There a Farm Bloc in Congress?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, I received a copy of a radio broadcast delivered today by Norman Kraeft, national agricultural editor of the American Broadcasting Co., that I feel will be of interest to Members of the House.

The point made by Mr. Kraeft that Congress seems responsive to the expressed wish of the farm people, as demonstrated recently by the Senate, refutes Mr. Freeman's argument that farmers have a small voice in Congress. I think farmers, like any other group, have a strong voice in Congress when their cause is just and deserving of attention. I only wish the beef import bill passed by such a large margin by the Senate could be brought to the House floor for a vote.

The text of Mr. Kraeft's broadcast follows:

Secretary Freeman, in a series of speeches around the country last fall, pointed a finger at Congress.

"We deal with an urban society," said Freeman in Syracuse, N.Y., last October 1, "and a Congress made up increasingly of city Congressmen. Today in the House of Representatives," continued Secretary Freeman, "there are about 300 Members without a major farm producing interest in their district—against perhaps 135 Members who come from farm or rural districts. Only 30 years ago it was just the reverse," said Freeman. He continued, "An urban Congress will not be unified by a divided agriculture, or an agriculture not attuned to the rest of the economy. We no longer," concluded Freeman, "can expect Congress to respond to what was once called the farm bloc."

On the other hand, others have argued that there never was a farm bloc in the sense of such a bloc ramming its will unimpeded through Congress. Farm legislation, they say, has for the past 30 years been passed with the help of legislators from nonfarm districts and States.

Mr. Freeman's words about the growing urbanization of Congress and the consequent diminishing response of Congress to farm interests sound rather hollow when 72 of our 100 U.S. Senators respond to the wishes of the Nation's livestock farmers for legislated quotas on meat imports. Seventy-two percent of the U.S. Senate responds to the wishes of less than 7 percent of the population. Even now the Democratic leadership is convinced that, should the meat-import bill reach the House floor, it will pass. That's a bill the farmers want, and both Houses of Congress are apparently prepared to respond to the farmers. (One has.)

What is Mr. Freeman's position? Again, yesterday, he pleaded with a group representing cattlemen not to press for legislated quotas. Is it Congress the farmers must worry about or the Secretary of Agriculture?

Stamping of Liquor Bottles by Retailers in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, who reads the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, has written concerning the remarks of my good colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, which appeared in the Appendix on July 28, on the question of the stamping of liquor bottles by retailers in the District of Columbia. Mr. SPRINGER has presented one side of the problem now under study. My constituent feels that, in justice, the other side must also be known.

Representative SPRINGER placed in the RECORD a letter, dated June 22, 1961, addressed to Senator BIBLE and signed by Police Chief Robert V. Murray. I, therefore, submit the reply to this in a letter dated July 18, 1961, also addressed to Senator BIBLE, and signed by Milford F. Schwartz of the Washington, D.C., Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association:

LAW OFFICES OF MILFORD F. SCHWARTZ,
Washington, D.C., July 10, 1961.

HON. ALAN BIBLE,
Chairman, Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BIBLE: The writer represents the Washington, D.C., Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. Ours is an organization of 11 wholesalers dealing in nationally advertised lines of wines, liquors, and beers.

This letter is being sent to you in answer to statements contained in a letter dated June 22, 1961, and addressed to you by Robert V. Murray, Chief of Police, District of Columbia, in opposition to S. 1427, consideration of which legislation is presently pending before your committee. This legislation would amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act by permitting the payment of District of Columbia excise tax by the reporting system, rather than by the present method by the affixation of beverage tax stamps.

In considering my attempt to answer the list of cases submitted by Chief Murray in opposition to the subject legislation, it should be borne in mind that none of the files in connection with the listed cases are available to the writer of this letter; some of the statements are vague and indefinite as to the part the number on the stamp plays, if any, in solving the particular case or convicting the defendant in question. I can only draw on my recollection of those cases, reports of which appeared in the public press (some many years ago) and such observations and conclusions the writer is able to reach as a result of his experience as a former prosecutor in the District of Columbia and a practicing attorney for many years.

CASE NO. 1

The facts in this case occurred 18 years ago. The Chief does not say that the number on the stamp was the fact that led to the solution of the crimes. Were there fingerprints on the bottle? Did the defendant have a previous police record as a consequence of which his fingerprints then on file were compared to the fingerprints found on the bottle in question? Did the police act on a tip in this case?

CASE NO. 2

Was the number on the bottle the fact that led to the arrest of the defendant? Did they not confess their part in this unfortunate incident, and did not the girl friends of one of the brothers implicate one or both of them? Is it not a fact that this case could have been, and was, solved without resort to the number on the bottle? Was not at least one of the defendants placed on the scene of the shooting by the owner of the store or other police officers?

CASE NO. 3

This case occurred 18 years ago. The Chief does not say that the cancellation of the stamp was the fact that led to the solution of the crime. Were there fingerprints on the bottle?

CASE NO. 4

How was the arrest of the defendant in this case brought about? Was it by a tip received by the Police Department? How much whisky did the defendant have in his possession? Where and how was it found by the police? Were Federal serial numbers on the cases of whisky recovered by which it could have been, and was, identified?

CASE NO. 5

This case was broken by a tip by an informer. Were not Federal serial numbers on the cases of whisky recovered by which it could have been traced and identified? Were any fingerprints of the defendants on the bottle? Did not the number of cases recovered correspond with the number of cases reported stolen by the liquor store operator?

CASE NO. 6

How was the arrest of the defendant brought about? What directed the attention of the police to him? Was the liquor found in the possession of the defendant the same whisky as to type, size, etc., as that reported stolen by the liquor store operator?

CASE NO. 7

This case was broken by a tag number on a car seen loading whisky. The owner of the car was identified by the tag number, and the automobile was located near his house. Whisky was seen in the car, and the car found to contain 199 bottles of whisky. Was it the same type and size of whisky reported by the owner as taken from the Occidental Restaurant? Is it not a fact that this case could have been made without the stamp number playing any part in either the arrest or the conviction of the defendant or defendants?

CASE NO. 8

This is a window-breaking case which was apparently broken by the police as a result of information received. The stamp number seems to have played no part in the case, but rather the case was made by a tip and the confession, and the recovery of certain property. Were the cigarettes and cigars identified by numbers?

CASE NO. 9

While the Chief's statement of this case does not so advise you, I believe that the defendants in this case were women, and that the whisky in question was Seagram's Seven Crown. How was police attention directed to the defendants? Were they found breaking into the store? Were they arrested as the result of a tip? Did the brand and size of the whisky taken from them or recovered by the police correspond with that reported stolen by the owner of the store?

CASE NO. 10

In this case, shortly after a break-in at a restaurant in the downtown section of Washington, a man was observed by police shortly after 5:30 in the morning, walking and carrying a large burlap bag, and the rattle of glass could be heard. Was not the liquor identified as having been taken from O'Donnell's Restaurant? Is it not a fact that the number of the stamp was neither needed for the arrest nor conviction of the defendant? Was not the confession and implication of another defendant also a vital cog in the disposition of this case?

CASE NO. 11

This case was made by the appearance of fingerprints on the bottle of whisky found in the alley in the rear of the premises held up. The arrest could have been made and a favorable disposition of the case had without the number on the stamp.

CASE NO. 12

This case was solved through a tag number found on a car seen in the vicinity of the robbed premises. The driver was the owner of the car and whisky similar in quantity and size to that reported stolen from the restaurant was found in the car. A reading of the chief's own account of the case convinces one that the case could have been disposed of in the same satisfactory manner had there been no stamp number on the bottle.

CASE NO. 13

This was a window-breaking case where cruising police officers, shortly after the breaking, found the defendant in a doorway a few blocks from the robbed premises. Was not the whisky found on the defendant's person the same make, type, and size as reported missing from the premises? Was the case not disposed of by the defendant having admitted the breaking and larceny?

CASE NO. 14

Was not the case made by a minor being found on the street by police officers at an unusually early hour of the morning? Could not the whisky have been identified by type and size as reported by the owner of the store? Did not the defendant admit the breaking and entering? What part did the number on the stamp actually play in the arrest and conviction of the defendant?

CASE NO. 15

What led the police to an arrest of these defendants? Was it a window breaking? Were they on the street at an unusual hour of the day or night? Did the police act on a tip? What actual part did the number on the stamp play in the arrest and/or conviction? Did one or more defendants implicate one or more?

CASE NO. 16

We are not told that there was a conviction in this case, nor are we advised as to how the arrest came about, or what part, if any, the number on the bottle played in solving the case. Had the defendant ever purchased whisky in the store in question?

CASE NO. 17

This was a window smashing to which the attention of the police was directed by a burglar alarm, and the defendant was found a block from the scene of the crime shortly after the alarm. The police discovered a youth of 18 years of age on the street at 3:30 in the morning, or shortly thereafter. The whisky was taken from a window display of which each retailer has an accurate record. The liquor could have been identified as coming from the window in question without the number on the stamp.

CASE NO. 18

This case involved a safe that had been stolen from a liquor dealer. Was the safe belonging to the liquor dealer, the theft of which had surely been reported by the dealer to the police, identified as the property of the liquor dealer by a stamp, or the number on it? Could the owner of the store identify his safe? Did he not also identify the whisky as being the kind, type, and size missing from his store?

CASE NO. 19

Was not this case solved by the police because they were looking for a truck reported stolen, and because arresting officers saw the truck being unloaded on the street at an unusual time of day, which unloading consisted of the moving of five or six cases of whisky from the truck to a waiting taxi? Is it not a fact that the defendant started to run when he saw the police? Did not the owner of the liquor store identify the whisky as his, not only by stamp number but by kind, type, and size of bottle missing from his store?

CASE NO. 20

This is a window-smashing case. Did somebody hear or see the window breaking? What directed the attention of the police to the defendant or defendants? How were they arrested? On the scene? Did the owner of the store identify the liquor by type and size missing from his establishment?

CASE NO. 21

How much liquor was stolen? Could it have been identified by serial numbers on the cases? Was the television set found in the apartment and identified by the owner thereof? Was the liquor identified by size and type by the owner of the store? Did the amount recovered correspond closely to the amount the owner reported missing? How was the television set identified by the owner? Actually, could not this case have been completely solved and conviction obtained without the stamp numbers on the bottles?

CASE NO. 22

Was this a break-in or a window smashing? What directed the attention of the police to the defendant? Was it a tip, or was defendant found near the premises? How was the whisky identified?

CASE NO. 23

This was a holdup where the defendant was positively identified by the owner of the premises. The case could have been made without the number appearing on the stamp.

CASE NO. 24

The Chief's own statement of the facts in this case does not indicate that the police were led to either of the defendants by the number on the stamp on the bottle recovered by the police. Were not both, or one, of these defendants identified by the person held up? How did the police happen to pick up these two defendants?

CASE NO. 25

This case was made, according to the Chief's own statement of the facts by the defendants being identified by the complainant, and the implication of one of the defendants by the other; also by the recovery of a gun. Hunter's whisky was missing from the premises, and the same type and size of whisky was recovered from 411 R Street NW., where it had been sold by these men. It is submitted that the number on the stamp in this case was a very minor piece of evidence.

CASE NO. 26

This case was solved through a tip. Five thousand dollars worth of whisky was taken and recovered. Did the whisky recovered correspond in name, brand, size, and quantity as that reported stolen by the owner of the store? Were Federal serial numbers on the cases found? Could not the case have been successfully concluded without the stamp number on the bottles?

CASE NO. 27

This case was broken by the tag number of a getaway car. The defendant was arrested in Muskegon, Mich. There is no mention made that the number on the bottle played any part in the solution of this case.

CASE NO. 28

This was a window smashing at 3:30 in the morning. The defendant was arrested with the whisky in his possession. Did the whisky recovered from the defendant correspond in size, type, and brand and quantity as that reported stolen by the owner of the store? How was the defendant apprehended? On the scene at an early hour of the morning? On a trip? What part did the stamp number play in disposing of this case, or the arrest of the defendant?

CASE NO. 29

These defendants were picked up on the street; one of them had a U.S. employment card, which was not in the name of either defendant. Was the alcoholic beverage control stamp in this case responsible for its successful conclusion? Could not the case have been made with the employment card alone? Could it not have been concluded by the evidence of the cashing of the civil service retirement check, and the subsequent identification of either or both defendants as having cashed the same?

CASE NO. 30

Were the bottles of whisky included in the 16 cases of liquor stolen from this place of business identified only by the number on the bottles or did not the merchant in question report the loss of 16 cases of liquor, and did not the police department recover exactly that number? Did Federal serial numbers appear on the cases recovered?

CASE NO. 31

How were the defendants apprehended? Tip? What part did the stamp number play in apprehending and/or convicting the defendants?

In conclusion, answering Chief Murray's statement with regard to certain untaxed liquors found at the Apex Liquor Store, 633 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., it should be noted that the whisky to which Chief Murray makes reference was a product purchased from out of town by the retailer (other than through a local wholesaler), and, if the subject law had been in effect such an incident could not occur, because the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board would require the importing dealer to pay the tax on the merchandise in question before he would be given a permit to import the same into the District of Columbia.

In not one case does the chief say that the number on the stamp alone was the sole cause for the arrest and/or conviction of the defendant in question. To acquiesce in the request of the police department would place a burden on this industry, which is not commensurate with the results obtained. It should be noted that under the present reporting system whereby the tax on beers and wines are paid by the reporting system, over 55 percent of all packages of alcoholic beverages sold in the District of Columbia need not carry stamps.

It should also be noted that included in the States using the reporting system (notably Massachusetts and New York) are some of the finest police departments in the world. There is no indication that any of these police departments regard this item important enough to request their authorities to require the placing of a retail cancellation number on their liquor bottles.

It would be a panacea for police work all over the country if products could be identified by number. Placing a number on a shirt or a suit, or on the thousands of other items bought daily by the American public would certainly place an outrageous burden on industry.

It is respectfully submitted that the testimony of representatives of the industry and records of the tax department indicate that in the 27 years of legal liquor, over 1 billion tax stamps have been hand canceled by the liquor industry in the District of Columbia. This is an onerous and expensive requirement to force upon a legal industry in the light of the list of cases submitted by Chief Murray.

Respectfully yours,

MILFORD F. SCHWARTZ.

My constituent reminds me that, in the act passed by the Congress, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia are given the discretion to make the determination regarding the numbering of liquor bottles; that the matter is, therefore, within the province of the Commissioners rather than the Congress.

The Advanced Study Program at St. Paul's School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, there was published in the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor of July 25, 1964, an article entitled "An Experiment at St. Paul's." I recommend a reading of the article to each of my colleagues who is interested in the success of new approaches to secondary education. The article describes the advanced study program, or the "ASP," which is in effect at St. Paul's School, in Concord, N.H.

The ASP is designed to introduce public-high-school students, in the summer between their junior year and their senior year, to the intellectual excitement and stimulation of a high-level, intensive exposure to academic life. Each student completes in 6 weeks the equivalent of a year's college work. All the students live at St. Paul's, so that, in addition to their classroom work, they enjoy the added experience of living and generally sharing the summer with a group of youngsters of well above average ability.

The ASP is now in its seventh summer. The effects on the students, all of whom are drawn from New Hampshire's public school system, have been remarkably good.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "An Experiment at St. Paul's," written by Scott Blakey, and published in the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor of July 25, 1964, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor of July 25, 1964]

ADVANCED STUDIES PROGRAM: AN EXPERIMENT AT ST. PAUL'S

(By Scott Blakey)

They all sat in the small high-ceilinged room, bunched around a long wooden table talking about the Treaty of Versailles upon which Hitler built his Reich.

Outside the leaded windows, some children were playing and two birds flitted through a dance of summer love.

The faces around the table were young, eager-talking faces of high school students. The table and the room belong to St. Paul's School. The students belong to the school's unique advanced study program.

THE SEVENTH YEAR

Now in its seventh summer, the ASP has cut its own niche in New Hampshire education. Its long-range effects have been felt in the classrooms of the top colleges in the Nation.

The purpose of the program has been well chronicled: a three-pronged design for the gifted student, potential teachers, and working teachers.

The program for these exceptional students is designed "to supplement and broaden high school curriculums and, under certain circumstances, to enable the student to obtain advanced standing in college," according to ASP Director R. Philip Hugny.

YEAR IN 6 WEEKS

Each student takes one course which meets 6 days a week for a minimum total of 21 periods a week. He completes the major substance of a year's work in 6 weeks. In addition, each student carries a required English course which meets three times a week.

The summer school day follows a pattern set by the regular winter school: classes in the morning, athletics and free time in the afternoon, study at night.

AT HIGH SPEED

Courses offered this year are advanced biology, advanced chemistry, advanced physics, calculus I and II, concepts of mathematics, German I and II, Greek I and II, Russian I and II, and modern European history.

These are tough courses on the college level. They are made more difficult by the speed at which they are taught. It is perhaps this aspect which eliminates any form of parochialism among the various students from different, sometimes rival, high schools. "Life here is so different. It bears little resemblance to anything the students have known before," Director Hugny said. "It eliminates this parochialism you speak of. There is a new climate for them.

"The metamorphosis takes place within a few days. So instead of being from Nashua High or Concord High, two students will be from Simpson House or in modern European history.

"For many, it is the first time away from home. It is the first time they have lived together with a group of people. The ramifications of this boarding school situation are not found in day school.

REQUIRED OF ALL

"Another integrating factor is the English classes here. All students, regardless of their course, must take English," Hugny said.

But there are other problems in speeding up bright students.

One criticism of the boarding educational plant, has been its ivory tower syndrome. It can happen in a college situation. It most certainly can occur in the St. Paul's setup.

The ivory tower outlook is education in a vacuum. Theory and problems are discussed in the safety of a classroom insulated from the outside world. Infected by a high school student, with another year of secondary school, and college ahead of him, the syndrome can be serious.

Hugny answered the question about "ivory towerism" in two ways.

PHENOMENAL WORK

"First," Hugny said, "these kids are doing a year's work in 6 weeks, a tremendous achievement. Their work is quite phenomenal. But they are capable of doing it.

"We've put 816 students through the program in 6 years. Only 36 have failed to meet the requirements. But the point is kids with that workload are pretty busy.

"In their courses, with the possible exception of the history classes, not a great deal of time is spent in the classrooms relating the study material to the immediate outside world.

"On the other hand, you have the inherent power of the boarding school," Hugny continued. "Students, teachers and college interns live and dine together. This is where the give and take takes place. And this is where, perhaps, it should take place.

"Those kids lap it up," Hugny said." Indeed, the atmosphere on the campus, the interplay between student and master, makes a sterile intellectualism highly unlikely if not downright impossible.

This atmosphere was well pegged by the school rector, Dr. Matthew M. Warren. He wrote it for the Atlantic Monthly magazine.

ENRICH, EXCITE

Dr. Warren said, "One objective, seldom stated but taken for granted, was to bring the students into a community life which would enrich, deepen, and excite them to accept larger social responsibility as well as academic intensity.

"In the ASP setting, there was to be no apology for being intellectually able, no apology for working hard at academic subjects, no apology for struggling to excel.

"It was hoped that living in such a community, even briefly, would enable students to reorganize their talent and ability, develop them fully, and at the same time help them to become human, approachable, and, above all, decently responsible," he added.

And that was that. But, after 6 weeks of intensive learning, life in a truly intellectual community, being able to work freely and participate with all the stops pulled, what happens when its all over?

WHAT NEXT?

What happens to the bright student when he is tossed back into the often cruel apathy and anti-intellectual atmosphere of his own school.

"Seven years ago, we didn't have an answer to that question," Phil Hugny admitted. "But we don't worry any more. The students here simply fling themselves back into their own schools.

"Several have started literary societies, and humanities groups. One boy went back and started a Russian language group for the adults in his community.

"Of course," Hugny said, "they come to the advanced program between their junior and senior years. They will be in their final year of high school when they return in the fall. Also, being a senior carries some weight.

"A number of former ASP students have said the pace and rigors of the summer, including the building of study habits, resulted in (1) more academic work done efficiently, and (2) a greater role in high school extracurricular activities, because of increased efficiency in planning their work," Hugny said.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

Equally important is the psychological impact of the crash program on the young students. According to Hugny, the 160 ASP students span all social, economic, and geographic levels. Basically, he says, they are a stable group.

For most, the pace and the pressures of the program is the toughest situation they have faced. "These kids have got their necks stuck way out," Hugny says.

What the ASP program does is condition the students for college. They have theoretically, already begun the adjustment other beginning college students face in their first weeks of college. This put them in better stead.

For others, the psychological impact comes when they realized that are no longer the smartest student in the class. They find themselves surrounded by those of their own age group who are as smart or smarter than they. This can be a bit of a blow, Hugny says.

But in the atmosphere of the ASP, under the rigors of getting the work done, the adjustment comes. The work itself, also acts as an equalizer.

MEASURE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

They learn that accomplishment is not necessarily measured by number grades. A 73, for example, does not always mean below average. Indeed, final grades in the ASP are not numbers, but only the words "superior," "satisfactory," or "unsatisfactory."

"After all," Hugny says, "these kids are doing college work. How can you grade them on the high school level?"

According to Rector Warren, several high school principals say before ASP existed, less than half of their students would have considered college as a possibility for themselves. Fewer still would have attempted to enter some great university because of mistaken notions of social prestige or ignorance, financial aid or lack of incentive.

Dr. Warren added that during the summer at St. Paul's, "many students develop academic humility in the ASP. They are confronted for the first time with the news that they, too, may be wrong."

POVERTY NO ISSUE

The ASP does not consider poverty just cause to deny intellectual curiosity. A student who qualifies on every count except money is given financial aid. The aid program draws from broad funds.

For science and math assistance comes through the National Science Foundation. For others, a variety of funds and endowments pay the tab.

Cost of the program runs about $100,000 a year. The per-pupil cost averages about $600. The program is an all-inclusive New Hampshire program. For example, only Granite State students may go to the ASP. The University of New Hampshire does the testing, Keene State College handles the headache of making sure students and instructors get credits due them.

Also, principals in all the State's public and parochial high schools have the chore of weeding out the best students and assisting them with their application blanks. The State board of education works closely with St. Paul's on curriculums.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

And what does it all mean?

On one level it means a better chance for students wanting to go on to college, or more cruelly, students whom we can ill-afford not to have in college.

Last year, for example, there were 32 students who applied to Harvard College. Only nine were admitted. Of this nine, seven are coming, eight have scholarships.

Eight of the nine spent at least one summer at St. Paul's.

Of the 800-odd students who attended previous ASP sessions, more than 99 percent have gone on to college. And more than 90 percent went to the first college of their choice.

On another level, the ASP is a goal in itself. Unrealistic? "Not at all," says Director Hugny. "This is not a false incentive to do better in high school.

"The student in a small high school may feel that St. Paul's is the foot in the door he needs to get into a good college. Again, college is still really remote to a junior high school student. But the ASP, taken in high school, is not that far away." This is hardly false incentive.

Hugny tells of a brilliant student who had decided on an obscure Vermont college. Then he happened on St. Paul's and the summer of challenge. The youth later graduated magna cum laude from Cornell and is now doing graduate work at Harvard.

AN END TO ASP?

There are those involved in the ASP who hope to see its end. Not because they dislike the program. But, rather, that the New Hampshire school system will one day offer the advanced courses St. Paul's does now and there will no longer be a need for the special limited program.

SUMMING UP

ASP has already made itself felt in the sometimes frigid world of education. Its team-teaching system, coupling a prospective student-teacher or grad student with a master has caught fire. These posts are highly sought. More than 50 applications for internships were received during the winter.

At St. Paul's now are 30 teacher and counselor-interns. They come from colleges such as Middlebury, Princeton, Yale and Harvard, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Regis and Oberlin, others are from the State university and State secondary schools.

What do those who began the program think of it? Dr. Warren summed it up best, perhaps:

"But the success of the program," he wrote, "has fortified our belief that the intellectual hunger of the gifted student is greater than many of us ever dared to imagine."

The Meaning of a National Jamboree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Eagle Scout Allan E. Kephart, of Glencoe, Minn., sent me a report he prepared on his experiences at the national jamboree this year, and I would like to share his insight with a my colleagues.

Young Kephart's report follows:

THE MEANING OF A NATIONAL JAMBOREE

(By Allan Kephart)

As I entered the grounds of our sixth national jamboree at Valley Forge, I could not help but feel that is was truly a showcase to America and the world.

On Friday, July 17, an army of over 50,000 Scouts was welcomed to Valley Forge by the spirits of Gen. George Washington's Continental Army of 1777.

On July 18, all of our campfires in Valley Forge blazed to life at the close of the American Heritage Day. At the same time, Scouts across the Nation, as well as all our Scouts back home, joined the thousands of heritage campfires to honor the ideals symbolized by Valley Forge.

The Boy Scouts of America and Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge devoted extensive time and energy to this understanding. Why? Because America's tradition is strong in their hearts; because they recognize the need to pass on to our Nation's youth the concepts of courage, patriotism, and reverence embodied in the deeds of General Washington and his troops.

I am, indeed, proud to have been a part of our sixth national jamboree which ended July 24th. I am sure this jamboree demonstrated that this was Scouting and democracy at its very best.

I am hoping that every citizen in our communities, as well as the Nation, feel that they had had a great part in helping provide the finances and know-how for our youth, the Boy Scouts of America. And, at the same time, our Scouts and leaders return to their homes with added riches, new friends, new skills, and a fresh sense of responsibility that this Nation deserves the best they can give in payment fof all that our Nation has given them.

Body Blow to Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent action taken against Communist Cuba by the Organization of America States ranks among the most significant steps yet instituted against Castro.

The real significance lies in the fact that the action was taken by the free nations of this hemisphere themselves, and put each of those countries squarely on record as against the Communist system in this hemisphere.

One of Florida's leading papers, the Palm Beach Post, has recognized the importance of the OAS sanctions and, in an articulate editorial, aptly termed the sanctions a "body blow" to Castroism.

I urge that the Palm Beach Post editorial be included in the RECORD at this point:

BODY BLOW TO CASTRO

Fidel Castro may rant till his beard smolders but all his invective will not change the fact that Latin America is beginning to recognize that he and the poisonous system he represents are inimical to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

Foreign ministers of the Organization of American States, meeting in Washington last week, served notice that communism is unwelcome in this part of the world and that the Americas will not tolerate the Castro brand of aggression.

The OAS voted sanctions against the Cuban Communist regime that could result in its downfall if fully implemented. Member states are bound by the agreement to sever diplomatic relations with Cuba and suspension of all trade except food and medicines.

The OAS also served notice on Castro that military force may be used if aggression against Latin American nations does not cease.

Big question, of course, is the extent to which these "mandatory" sanctions will be honored by the signatory nations. Four voted against the agreement—Mexico, Chile, Uruguay, and Bolivia—the American nations which still have diplomatic relations with Cuba.

All of them, to some degree, are under Communist influence. Mexico, particularly, has been reluctant to rile its Red elements by breaking with Castro. But Mexico inaugurates a new President in December and the picture could change then.

In the meantime, Castro will find his water cut off in most of the other nations of South and Central America, leaving him no alternative but to stew in his own juice.

Editorial Comments on the "Ranger 7" Historic Flight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, Americans are rightly proud of the achievements of *Ranger 7*. They have followed with intense interest the details of this shot and studied the historic photographs of the moon's surface.

I would like to include in the Appendix of the RECORD some representative editorial comments from the Nation's press on this great scientific and technical achievement:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 1, 1964]

WOW

Fie on those dullards who claim that the frequency and predictability of space shots has substituted routine for romance and taken the excitement out of man's explorations beyond the earth. The United States has just bundled up six television cameras into a capsule of numbing sophistication and fired the whole package through almost a quarter-million miles of uncharted vastness. This package, known as *Ranger 7*, had as its target a small body known commonly as the moon. Its mission was to turn on those cameras a thousand or so miles away, while going at about 10 times the speed of sound, and to transmit pictures of the moon's surface back to earth as it plummeted into the Sea of Clouds.

Well, sir, *Ranger 7* did it. Everything clicked in, snapped out, plugged on, kicked off, turned up, and locked down precisely the way the scientists and the computers had figured. This was like, well, like taking pictures of the moon. A few thousand frames from the television cameras came silently whirring back across a quarter-million miles of uncertainty, their homecoming surer than any pigeon's and their return as welcome as any prodigal son's. We're not the boasting sort, of course. We just think that an absolutely fantastic and flabbergasting job has been done, and we're thrilled.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Aug. 1, 1964]

RANGER, RAVEN TO THE MOON

Odin, according to the old Norse mythology, had two ravens, Hugen and Munin, who scouted the whole world for him every day, reporting on events that might interest the lord of Valhalla. These winged legmen have met their match; *Ranger 7* has crossed the seas of space to tell the world things hitherto only guessed about the surface of the moon.

Everyone who has fired off a Fourth of July rocket assembled a radio set, or taken snapshots with a box camera, has some appreciation of the elements that went into *Ranger 7*'s flight. Yet the vast power, the tremendous intricacy and sophistication, of an apparatus that can send itself to the moon, crashland there accurately, and supply a pictorial record of the unknown panoramas unfolding before it, can still, in an age of scientific miracles, evoke awe. It is as if the world had a detachable eye that could be sent roaming through space to observe its wonders.

Ranger 7's expedition is, of course, only a prelude to a greater, more daring, venture, when man himself shall cruise to the moon and, hopefully, bring back personal accounts of the great, white satellite. How many problems remain to be solved before some human Hugen or Munin can make this voyage may be suggested by the fact that *Ranger 7* was one success among a dozen American attempts at lunar observation by missile. And, after all, men cannot yet be sent back to the earth by TV; a spaceship that can encompass a trip back from the moon, without the benefit of the elaborate ground installations used for launchings from Cape Kennedy, will be something new under the sun—and moon.

Nevertheless, what has already been accomplished offers promise of what is yet to be. What the eye cannot see, the old adage has it, the heart does not desire. Now the eye is seeing the moon, in detail, and the heart can aspire to it.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 1, 1964]

LUNAR MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

In the few minutes that its cameras operated yesterday morning, *Ranger 7* obtained and transmitted to the earth more detailed information about the moon than man has ever had before. Before the equipment on this rocket performed its historic mission, this planet's knowledge of its lunar satellite had come primarily from telescopes. But even the most powerful such instrument can see far less clearly and precisely across the nearly quarter million miles that separate us from the moon than could the cameras on *Ranger 7* taking pictures from a few hundred or tens of miles away. During the last quarter hour of its flight *Ranger 7* was in effect a mobile astronomical observatory gathering and transmitting lunar data that scientists have hitherto been unable to obtain by any means at their disposal.

The immediate purpose of the Ranger voyage was to gain information needed to plan equipment for use in the effort to send men to the moon. Until now the character of the lunar surface has been a subject of heated dispute. There has been no prior way to know in detail how regular or irregular that surface is, nor whether the moon's upper layer consists of hard rock or of a more or less thick mantle of dust. Now a major beginning has been made toward obtaining the vital data on these points.

Ironically, however, the *Ranger 7* success must again raise the question of how urgent it is to send a man to the moon. Many scientists who are dubious about the vast sums being spent on Project Apollo have pointed out that enormous amounts of information about the earth's nearest heavenly neighbor can be obtained far more cheaply by unmanned rockets like *Ranger 7*. These can bring instruments to the neighborhood of the moon, and can also land them softly on the lunar surface to take samples of the environment there, analyze it and radio the findings back to this planet.

Ranger's pictures of the moon will properly be made available to all nations and thus will aid the scientists of the Soviet Union and other lands as well as American researchers. This is as it should be. It follows the sound precedent the Soviet Union set almost 5 years ago when it released the historic pictures of the dark side of the moon taken by *Lunik 3*. Proud as this country has reason to be of *Ranger 7*'s accomplishment, we can only conjecture how much more rapidly and cheaply its photographs could have been obtained had Soviet and American scientists been able to pool their efforts and resources years ago, rather than being required to pursue their efforts in competitive—and costly—isolation. The case for a unified international effort to reach the moon—as urged by Presidents Kennedy and

Johnson—is strengthened by every consideration of the needless waste and duplication that have marked humanity's space exploration to date.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Aug. 1, 1964]

BASIC STEP TO THE MOON

There is a subdued quality about elation of American space scientists over the thoroughgoing success of the 13th try by the United States to expand mankind's knowledge of the surface of the moon, which is understandable in the light of the disappointments that have resulted from all our previous efforts.

To be sure, Harris M. Schurmeier, Ranger project manager, is said to have looked ecstatic. And Dr. William H. Pickering, Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, much criticized for past failures, has proclaimed that "this was a textbook operation." But we like much better the reaction of Kenneth Gatland, vice president of the British Interplanetary Society, who called the U.S. moonshot "a stupendous achievement."

That is exactly what it was, and nothing that has gone before can take away from its present and future importance.

President Johnson's message of congratulations to all who helped with this project reflects the pride of the whole country. The pictures transmitted back to the earth may not provide all the answers we need to go ahead full speed with preparations for landing a piloted space vehicle on the moon's surface, but they leave no room for doubt that the necessary information can be obtained—and soon will be.

It isn't only the U.S. moon experiments that have run into trouble, as President Johnson pointed out. The Russians have been as secretive about their moon failures as about the actual space knowledge they are accumulating. Our American space scientists have no such secrets.

That may well be one reason why this basic step, as President Johnson calls it, was finally accomplished—before anything nearly so impressive could be announced from Moscow. We expect that from this point on the prowess of our space scientists will look better and better.

One perfect shot in a baker's dozen may not seem like so much to boast about, but it isn't half bad for beginners, and the United States is only beginning in space. The world hasn't seen anything yet. Wait until that next moonshot.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Aug. 1, 1964]

ALL SYSTEMS WERE "GO"

From every indication, *Ranger 7* was a brilliant success. Its close-up photographs promise to teach us more about the surface of the moon than we have learned from all of our previous shots combined. We can all be justly proud of the many scientists and technicians whose skill and care helped to make the shot a success.

The six cameras of *Ranger 7* made and transmitted perhaps 4,000 photographs which Harris M. Schurmeier, Ranger project manager, said were "extremely good."

"I think the public will be able to distinguish quite a few details," he said. "If the pictures are sharply contrasted—with light and shadow—we ought to be able to see something the size of a few meters—say, the size of a Volkswagen."

This is an amazing achievement. But *Ranger 7*'s success does not lie in any single achievement. It was not the first rocket to hit the moon; both Russian and American spacecraft have done that before. It was not the first shot to land with such precision on the planned target; *Ranger 6* did that last February. Nor was it the first to take photographs of the moon and transmit them back to earth; the Russians did that long ago.

But though *Ranger 6* hit right on target, its cameras didn't work. And while merely hitting the moon is an achievement which would have astonished our forefathers, there is no longer very much it can teach us that we don't already know. And although the Russian cameras worked, their rocket was 37,000 miles off course. While taking photographs from a spaceship a quarter of a million miles away and transmitting them back to earth is another achievement which would have seemed unbelievable a few years ago, the Russian photographs were taken from too great a distance to be of much use.

Thus the real achievement of *Ranger 7* was that all of its important instruments worked and that they all worked at once. This is the important thing in an endeavor where the tiniest flaw in any one instrument can spoil the flight and result in another $30 million fizzle.

When and if the time comes to send men to the moon, there will be all the more gadgets to go wrong and it will be all the more important that none of them do so. The odds that everything will work properly will be more remote than ever, and the costs will be greater than ever.

As President Johnson said, Ranger 7's success is "a basic step forward in our orderly progress" toward putting a man on the moon. But let's not forget that word "orderly," and let's also keep the moon in its proper perspective. Orderly progress means that when we study the photographs and other information gained from *Ranger 7*, we must not ask simply how we are to put a man on the moon; we must keep asking how much more can be learned by putting a man on the moon and whether it is as urgent and important as the last two administrations seem to think.

After all, there are a lot of ways to spend up to $40 billion right here at home, if it's going to be spent anyway, and many of them would be more constructive than reaching the moon.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 1, 1964]

TELEVISING THE MOON

Seldom has the speed of events in this 20th century age been so dramatized as by America's successful picture-snapping lunar robot.

Most of us can recall the day, not so very long ago, when it was impossible to transmit an image even across a room. Yet here we are televising the moon from its front yard—a quarter-million miles from the earth.

The success of the Ranger mission not only reflects the rapidity with which scientific and technical knowledge is being accumulated and exploited. It also represents a significant milestone on a historic road to manned exploration of the moon—the first extraterrestrial object earthlings are destined to set foot on.

The closeup pictures of the moon are needed to help design the ship which some day will ferry astronauts to the lunar surface. For nobody down here really knows how hard or soft or smooth or craggy it is up there.

Getting closeups of the moon has not been easy. The United States had to try five times, over a period of 2½ years, before it succeeded. Many more attempts, to obtain even more detailed data on the lunar surface, will follow. And some more failures are certainly in store.

Nor is this undertaking cheap. The Ranger project itself carries a price tag of about $260 million, and it is only part of the overall program to land men on the moon—a program which will cost at least $20 billion before decade's end.

Since the late President Kennedy set a manned lunar landing as the prime goal of our space program, a goal endorsed almost unanimously by Congress, there has been some disenchantment—and growing discontent.

But the United States is so committed to the moon program it would be difficult to switch signals now, despite the second thoughts many people may be having about such an undertaking.

Actually, the lunar excursion is no mere exercise in technical highjinks. It is a demonstration of man's ceaseless, boundless quest for knowledge—and one which, in the end, is likely to pay off as well as similar past voyages into the unknown.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Aug. 2, 1964]

JOURNEY TO THE MOON

It would be difficult to overstate the scientific importance of the flawless flight of *Ranger 7* our picture-taking mooncraft. No single event of the space age to date has unlocked so wide a door to the fuller understanding of the universe around us. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that close analysis of *Ranger*'s pictures by the scientific community may provide priceless clues to the nature of creation itself.

As a space spectacular (and these, too, have a certain importance) *Ranger 7*'s flight occupies a place in the front rank, alongside *Sputnik I*, the *Vostok I* flight of Yuri Gagarin, and the Venus fly-by exploit of *Mariner II*. It is interesting to note that two of these four space headliners are Russian and two American, which may be some measure of the status of the "space race" today.

But there are other aspects of the flight which are more worthy of mention than the ballyhoo phase. There is, for example, the matter of engineering management—the tying together of many advanced technologies into a supertechnology that can give the human race pictures, as from a low-flying plane, of the mysterious, lifeless, and remote surface of the moon. Just one facet of this technological achievement, *Ranger*'s television camera and transmission system, is almost too marvelous for the average person to comprehend.

To the capable and hardworking staff of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory of California Institute of Technology, which organized and carried off this miracle of space science, the Nation owes a profound debt of gratitude. JLP has taken its share of criticism (more than its share, some people think) for delays, failures, and cost overruns in the *Ranger* program. The work of the week just past vindicates the good judgment and good management of Dr. William H. Pickering and his JPL crew, which no insiders ever seriously questioned.

Within minutes after *Ranger*'s soul-satisfying crash on the sea of clouds Friday morning, President Johnson was on the phone to Dr. Pickering with a heartfelt "Well done." Every American might well echo the President's words. It will be a long time before anything as rewarding as *Ranger 7*'s journey happens in space again.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 2, 1964]

TRIUMPH FOR "RANGER 7"

Publication of the first sample of lunar pictures taken by *Ranger 7* confirms with extraordinary force that this rocket's flight has been one of the most successful and productive experiments in scientific history. The exquisite clarity of the closeups of the moon's surface transmitted to earth assure that this event will be recorded as the real beginning of serious human exploration of the moon from the neighborhood of that satellite.

The full exploitation and analysis of new information will take several years, but even the first preliminary study has cleared up major problems and dispelled previous ignorance on important matters. The principal conclusion, of course, is that much of the

lunar surface is smooth enough to be suitable for safe landing on it of manned vehicles. Areas of extreme roughness, with numerous medium-sized and small craters previously unknown, have also been found, alerting Project Apollo planners to the importance of avoiding such regions. The fears reputable scientists had expressed earlier about the possibility that the moon was covered with a thick layer of dust, in which vehicles or men landing there might be buried, have been shown to be baseless.

The conception behind *Ranger 7*'s flight has proved sound, and there is every reason for confidence that more such flights will greatly extend man's knowledge of lunar geography and topography. They should also help answer many questions about the forces that have shaped this satellite and its weird surface. Clearly, enormous amounts of information about the moon can be gathered by unmanned rockets, like *Ranger 7* carrying cameras and other instruments.

As President Johnson indicated yesterday, the day is not distant when it will be possible to land men on the moon. But it is now plainer than ever that there is no great scientific necessity for racing to achieve this goal and thus vastly increasing the price in money and human peril. The potentiality for obtaining so much more information relatively cheaply from unmanned, instrument-carrying rockets strengthens the case for abandoning the arbitrary 1970 deadline for Project Apollo and substituting a schedule permitting orderly progress toward a manned voyage to the moon without hazards or costs dictated only by the desire to achieve this objective under maximum draft.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Aug. 1, 1964]

HOME IS THE RANGER, HOME ON THE MOON

The news that *Ranger 7* had hit its moon target on the nose, and had apparently taken its 4,000 pictures as assigned, prompted a relieved feeling of "Well, it's about time." After 12 failures, including last year's heartbreaking one when *Ranger 6* worked with laboratory precision except that its cameras didn't go on, we surely ought to have one success. Why did we always have to be behind the Russians, who photographed the back side of the moon 6 years ago?

Then irritation changes to wonder. Man has often noted the contrast between his ability to perform scientific miracles and his inability to look after himself. Here on earth we haven't even yet achieved a decent education, according to ability, for every child born. Yet now, way up on a moon that through the ages has looked to man as remote as the stars themselves, our scientists can make a machine of infinite capacity do precisely what they want, and at the same time send back reports on how all its organs are functioning. If one were to read the details of such complex maneuvers in science fiction it would seem unbelievable. Yet now it is history.

Consider, in the first place, the sheer ability to hit a precise spot on the moon, via a curved course of 244,000 miles. Speak of taking a lead on a duck. Then there is the ability to maneuver a craft whizzing along at 2,000 miles an hour, to turn its instruments on and off, as readily as though one could get one's fingers on it. Finally, there are those six television cameras, warmed up at the precise moment, aimed to get just the desired information never before available to man, and then to have them take varying views of the lunar surface from 1,300 miles up until they could picture a rock the size of a card table. Not only that, but to send the pictures all the way back. Why, you begin to think they'll actually put a man on the moon after all—and bring him back.

[From the Santa Monica (Calif.) Evening Outlook, Aug. 1, 1964]

A LUCKY "7"; IT'S A "TAKE"

The magnificent success of Ranger 7 in hitting the moon and sending back thousands of closeup pictures of the lunar surface gave a great lift to the U.S. space program and to America's national pride. It more than made up for six previous Ranger failures.

The Nation's top space scientist, Dr. Wernher von Braun, put it in brilliant perspective when he said that the achievement "will likely be the most significant accomplishment in our lunar program short of man himself setting his foot on the moon."

Ranger 7's pictures, in effect, provide American spacemen with a scenic map of the moon's crater-pocked surface. The first closeup pictures ever taken of the moon, they enable America to vault ahead of the Soviet Union in space exploration.

The accomplishments of *Ranger 7* undoubtedly may cause man to revise previous theories about the composition of the moon and the feasibility and value of putting astronauts on it. The pictures indicate a very unfavorable landing surface on the closer side, and need for closeups of other areas. Fact now replaces guesswork—even highly educated guesswork—and a vast storehouse of information is stocked for future adventures.

The feat has electrified the world and charged the U.S. space program with new energy. *Ranger 7* has vindicated the faith placed in it by dedicated teams of scientists and technicians whose unflagging motto is: "The difficult we do immediately; the impossible takes a little time."

Metaphor of the Wall, Establishment Clause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of the furor over the proposed amendment to the Constitution concerning prayers in schools, there is one question that is perhaps most fundamental to the entire issue—a question that has been buried beneath the heap of political and emotional verbiage that we have been pummeled with for months now. That question is: do the people really understand the intention of the Founding Fathers when they created the separation of church and state as set forth in the first amendment?

The answer seems to be "No, they do not," for if they did have a clear understanding, they would realize the fallacies of the arguments presented against the interpretation of the Supreme Court.

In the article that follows Fredric Mitchell, an associate professor of education at Arizona State University, sets forth a clear and logical explanation of the intentions of men like Jefferson and Madison, founders of our great country. They believed in the complete separation of church and state.

Mr. Mitchell has eliminated the emotionalism that seems to blind many people to what is good for our Nation in the long run. He makes clear the intention of the writers of the Constitution, and the legalistic heritage that has been handed down to us for the preservation of our rights.

I commend the following article from the July–August 1964 edition of Liberty magazine to the attention of our colleagues as being one that is especially informative about the issues at stake.

The article follows:

UNDER ATTACK: METAPHOR OF THE WALL, ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE

(By Frederic Mitchell, associate professor of education, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz.)

The war to destroy the First Amendment barrier against Federal aid to parochial schools is being waged vigorously. Less publicized than the press releases, legislative proposals, and court decisions that mark the battlefront is a more subtle underground campaign to distort the intent of the writers of the Constitution. Particularly singled out for debunking is the metaphor of the wall of separation and the establishment of religion clause.

The "wall of separation," the argument goes, was never actually a wall, and of course the term does not appear in the Constitution at all. Jefferson said it, and it really cannot mean that religion should get no support from the State, for Jefferson arranged for religious education at the State-supported University of Virginia.

As for the establishment of religion clause, our forefathers meant only that the state could not favor one church over another, not that churches should get no help from Government.

Both assertions are fallacious and both are worth correcting, for if the principle of separation of church and state can be minimized in the minds of our citizens, the way will be opened not only for aid to institutions of the church but also for the abuses of church-state union that caused our forefathers to write the first amendment in the first place.

JEFFERSON: A SHELL GAME

What did Jefferson do about religious education at the University of Virginia?

As one of the commissioners appointed to fix the site of the university, Jefferson wrote possibly the first reference to religion in the university's history in the report of 1818 to the Virginia Legislature. What he said there was this: "In conformity with the principles of our constitution * * * we have proposed no professor of divinity * * * as the proofs for the being of God * * * will be within the province of the professor of ethics."[1] He went on to say, "It is supposed probable that a building of somewhat more size in the middle of the grounds may be called for in time, in which may be rooms for religious worship under such impartial regulations as the visitors (the university's governing board) shall prescribe."[2] This was evidently all that Jefferson intended, for he stated in the same report that having proceeded "thus far without offense to the Virginia constitution, we have thought it proper at this point, to leave every sect to provide, as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets."[3]

Before the university buildings could be erected there was severe attack from sectarians because this was to be a secular institution; that is, no provision had been made for teaching sectarian religion. Of these attacks Jefferson says in a letter of 1820 to William Short: "The * * * serious enemies * * * are the priests of the different sects,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

to whose spells on the human mind its improvement is ominous." [4]

Four years later he wrote in the same vein to Thomas Cooper that the Presbyterian "ambition and tyranny would tolerate no rival if they had power. Systematically in grasping ascendancy over all other sects, they aim, like the Jesuits, at engrossing the education of the country, are hostile to every institution which they do not direct, and jealous at seeing others begin to attend at all to that object." [5]

He summarized the opposition of the clergy in these words of 1822 to Thomas Cooper: "In our university you know there is no professor of divinity. A handle has been made of this, to disseminate an idea that this is an institution, not merely of no religion, but against all religion." [6] And he goes on to tell Cooper that "occasion was taken at the last meeting of the visitors to bring forward an idea that might silence this calumny, which weighed on the minds of some honest friends to the institution." [7]

The idea Jefferson brought forward was an invitation to the different sects to set up their own religious schools somewhere near the University of Virginia. Students of the university were not, however, to be allowed "released time" to attend the religious schools. An official regulation stated that they "will be free, and expected to attend religious worship at the establishment of their respective sects, in the morning and in time to meet their school in the university at its stated hour." [8]

Having made the offer to the various sects to build their own schools near the university—an offer that meant nothing in any case, since they had a right to do so irrespective of Jefferson's wishes in the matter—Jefferson immediately withdrew the earlier offer of the use of university rooms for religious purposes. In reply to the minister, A. S. Brockenbrough, who requested a room "to be used regularly for prayers and preachings on Sundays," Jefferson said "that the buildings of the university belong to the State, that they were erected for the purpose of a university and that the visitors, to whose care they are committed for those purposes, have no right to permit their application to any other." [9]

Did Jefferson recommend "procedures by which students at the University of Virginia, supported by the State and founded by Jefferson, might receive religious instruction," as Educator Robert M. Hutchins [10] asserted recently in the Saturday Evening Post? [11] Hardly. What Jefferson did was to play the shell game of now-you-see-it-now-you-don't with the sectarian enemies of the university—with Jefferson himself manipulating the shells. While he engaged their attention with the invitation to build their own schools near the university, he withdrew the earlier offer of the use of university rooms for religious purposes.

THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE

Misinterpretations of the establishment clause vary widely—there being evidence of a correlation between the degree of misinterpretation and what is to be gained from it. At the furthest extreme from the original meaning of the clause is the construction put upon it by the Catholic bishops in a 1948 statement in the New York Times.[12] According to the bishops, the establishment clause was intended to prevent Congress from making laws disestablishing religion in the States—"No interference by the Federal Government in the church-state relations of the individual States" were their words.

Here is an unheard-of extension of States' rights that would give constitutional protection to State support of religious schools, or even exclusive establishment of religion in any or all of the 50 States. It also is diametrically opposed to the Supreme Court interpretation, which says that "neither a State nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another." [13]

Tacit in the Post article by Hutchins is the idea that the "establishment of religion" clause means only that the Congress and State legislatures are prohibited from setting up single official churches for the States or for the Nation as a whole, with the corollary implication that the Congress and State legislatures can legally aid religion and church education if they do so equitably. This interpretation, as in the case of Jefferson's intent at the University of Virginia, is not supportable, as a brief review of the first amendment's history discloses.

Final wording of the first amendment was fixed in a committee made up of Madison, Sherman, and Vining from the House, and Ellsworth, Carroll, and Paterson from the Senate. Just as he dominated debate on the floor of the House, Madison doubtless left his impress on the final wording of the amendment in committee. Other members of the committee had little or nothing to say in the debate in their respective Chambers.

Turn then to Madison to see what the "establishment clause" meant when written. At one time or another he said the following are violations of the Constitution, and when President he vetoed bills from the Congress, which were never passed over his veto, because they contained one or more of the following violations:

Paying chaplains in Congress and the Armed Forces with tax money.[14]

Exempting churches from paying taxes.[15]

Incorporating churches in the District of Columbia.[16]

Permitting churches to accumulate and hold tax-exempt property.[17]

Government declarations of religious fasts, festivals, or holidays.[18]

Giving churches, through incorporation papers, the implied legal agency to operate schools and provide charity. Education and charity are, Madison said, "a public and civil duty." [19]

Giving tax funds for the use or support of religion.[20]

Providing public land for religious use or support.[21]

Madison's viewpoint on the establishment clause was further clarified when he vetoed a bill giving incorporation papers to an Episcopal church in the District of Columbia, "because the bill exceeds the rightful authority to which governments are limited by the essential distinction between civil and religious functions, and violates in particular the article of the Constitution of the United States which declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting a religious establishment.' " [22]

It was no accident that Madison used the above words instead of the official wording of the first amendment ("respecting an establishment of religion"), for he vetoed in the same words a second bill donating a piece of land to a Baptist church "because the bill in reserving a certain parcel of land of the United States for the use of said Baptist church comprises a principle and precedent for the appropriation of funds of the United States for the use and support of religious societies, contrary to the article of the Constitution which declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting a religious establishment.' " [23]

What the establishment clause meant to its author was that the Congress is prohibited from making laws which establish religion; that is, laws which give any sort of direct or indirect support, aid, or official status to any or all religions, religious institutions, or religious practices.

The U.S. Government has already gone to the mat with church officials over the issue of tax support of religious schools in a little-known and extremely bitter chapter in our history. In 1819 the Congress made a first annual appropriation of $10,000 to the War Department to use as a "civilizing" fund among the Indians. The War Department, and subsequently the Office of Indian Affairs, for 80 years thereafter distributed this money to church schools already existing on Indian reservations. This practice continued until 1900, by which time the annual appropriation to church schools had reached half a million dollars.

On realizing in the last decade of the 19th century that it had blundered into giving tax funds to support religious schools, the Congress began cutting off appropriations. Protestant churches approved, and refused further funds, but the Roman Catholic Church, which was receiving about three-fourths of the money, objected and precipitated a conflict that was terminated only when the Government, represented by the Indian Affairs Office, officially severed relations with the Catholic Church, represented by its Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Congress then cut off all funds whatsoever and asserted the following in the Appropriation Act of 1895: "And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school." [24] This official policy of the U.S. Government has never been revoked.

There can be no question that parents' religious liberty covers the right to provide sectarian training for their children at their own expense, a right affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1907. Nor can there be any question of the right of private and religious schools to function as businesses, for in 1925 the Supreme Court struck down an Oregon law that would have closed schools of the Catholic Church, and other private schools, on that church's plea that its schools cannot constitutionally be given tax money and that it supports its own schools cheerfully.

AN EMPHATIC NO

The meaning of the first amendment when applied directly to the question "Is tax support of parochial schools constitutional?" yields an emphatic "No." The intention of the first amendment was to separate church from state and state from church. And in so far as the state undertakes to support education, that education must be dissociated from religion; it must be religiously neutral. The Supreme Court stated this principle on one occasion: "Free public education, if faithful to the ideal of secular instruction and political neutrality, will not be partisan or enemy of any class, creed, party, or faction." [25]

It is difficult for many to understand that the religion from which they derive inspiration and faith must be a matter of legislative indifference to secular authority. The intent of the Founding Fathers, however, was to separate religion from civil power, and the metaphor "wall of separation" describes their intent. This doctrine was spelled out as long ago as 1907 by a Federal court in these words:

"The first amendment to the Constitution, by the clause 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof' has shackled the hands of legislation against aid or hindrance to creeds and faith; so be it that they live and flourish or die or wither they go untouched, unmoved, unstirred by law; against them it speaks not, nor in their favor; in their field each human creature stands unlawed—a sovereign supreme, to turn which way he will; not only the white and black, but the red man as well." [26]

So far as the Constitution is concerned, the answer to the question about tax support for parochial schools could be made

Footnotes at end of speech.

much stronger and still remain well within the meaning of the first amendment: Any religious institution has exactly the same claim (no better or worse) on tax funds to aid religious schools that the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism (or any other antireligious institution) has for the support of antireligious schools—which is to say, none whatsoever.

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[1] Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Fix the Site of the University of Virginia (Richmond, 1818), p. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.
[3] Ibid., p. 10.
[4] P. L. Ford, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson" (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899), vol. X, 243, Letter of Nov. 2, 1822.
[5] Ibid., p. 243.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Soul K. Padover, "The Complete Jefferson" (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1943), p. 1110.
[9] "Jefferson Papers," Library of Congress, Jefferson to A. S. Brockenbrough, Apr. 21, 1825, vol. 229, Folio 40962.
[10] "A Liberal Calls for Aid to Church Schools," Robert M. Hutchins, The Saturday Evening Post, June 8, 1963, p. 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1948.
[13] *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1.
[14] W. A. Blakely, comp., "American State Papers," 4th rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Religious Liberty Association, 1949), p. 188.
[15] Ibid., pp. 185, 186.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., p. 187.
[18] Ibid., pp. 190, 193.
[19] James D. Richardson, comp., "Messages and Papers of the Presidents" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), vol. 1, pp. 489, 490.
[20] Ibid., p. 490.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Blakely, op. cit., p. 184.
[23] Richardson, op. cit., p. 490.
[24] 210 U.S. 50 (1908), note 60. Appropriation Act of 1895, 188, 29 Stat., 345.
[25] *West Virginia* v. *Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1934), p. 637.
[26] 35 "Washington Law Reporter" 766 (1907), 770.

Committee for the Understanding and Development of the Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, of interest to all of us who are vitally concerned to further the Alliance for Progress and better understanding and closer relations between the people of the United States and Latin America is the work of a very interesting and commendable committee called the Committee for the Understanding and Development of the Hemisphere. I include here a statement of the objectives and purposes of this committee and the manner in which it has been operating which I believe will be of interest to all who want to see closer friendship between the United States and our neighbors in this hemisphere:

The Committee for the Understanding and Development of the Hemisphere was organized in the fall of 1961 by a group of prominent Peruvian citizens with the common goal to promote better understanding and closer relations between Peru and the United States.

The committee felt that their goal could be best accomplished through personal visits by delegations from U.S. cities consisting of the mayor and a representative group of citizens. With this aim in mind, the committee has generally invited communities with a population of more or less 300,000, as they felt such cities are perhaps not as much in contact with Latin America, its people and its problems.

Mayor Robert King High and a delegation from Miami were the first to be invited, followed by delegations from: Charlotte, N.C.; Greensboro, N.C.; Winston Salem, N.C.; Charleston, S.C.; Worcester, Mass.; Roanoke, Va.; Pomona, Calif.; Santa Rosa, Calif.; San Jose, Calif.; Lakewood, Calif.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Kansas City, Kans.; Springfield, Ill.; Santa Barbara, Calif.; Savannah, Ga.

Plans are being made for Sioux City, Iowa, Pensacola, Fla., and Nashville, Tenn., to go down to Peru in the very near future.

The delegations from the above cities ranged in number from 20 to 40 people; in general, these groups consisted of a cross-section of the community: doctors, lawyers, merchants, and businessmen as well as representatives of the local governments.

These groups are given an itinerary upon their arrival in Lima, where they are officially received by members of the committee and representatives of the Peruvian Government. Included in the itineraries are visits to the various municipalities of Lima and surrounding cities, receptions, interviews with Peruvian businessmen, journalists and educators; as well as sightseeing and various private invitations to visit Peruvian homes.

The duration of the visit is up to the mayor, but most groups have stayed from 10 days to 2 weeks in Peru, and have included a 2-day visit to Cuzco and Macchu Picchu, the "lost city" of the Incas.

From these visits there have resulted many new friendships, business ties, student exchange programs, and most rewarding to the committee, a new and better understanding between Peruvians and Americans.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

We Ought; Therefore, We Can

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, being present on an occasion in which a young man or woman performs in a manner clearly indicative of precocity, competence, and knowledge is a truly moving experience.

Such an experience came to me recently when I was privileged to give the commencement address before the graduating class of Worland High School in Worland, Wyo.

The valedictory address by Brad Lee Holian, whose central theme of independence and self-reliance struck a most responsive cord with everyone in attendance at this stirring ceremony, was a truly outstanding speech. I seriously recommended it to my colleagues, and I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TAKE OFF YOUR OLD COAT

Distinguished guests, faculty, classmates, and friends, there's a folk song that goes like this:

"Take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves;
Life is a hard road to travel, I believe.

"I look to the east, I look to the west,
A youth asking fate to be rewardin',
But Fortune is a blind god flying through the clouds,
And forgetting me on this side of Jordan.

"Take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves;
Life is a hard road to travel, I believe.

"Silver spoons to some mouths, golden spoons to others:
Dare a man to change the given order.
Though they smile and tell us all of us are brothers,
Never was it true this side of Jordan.

"Take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves;
Life is a hard road to travel, I believe."

"Like some ragged owlet with its wings expanded,
Nailed to some garden gate or boardin':
Thus will I by some men all my life be branded,
Never hurted none this side of Jordan.

"Take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves;
Life is a hard road to travel, I believe."

There's a great truth in this ballad for all of us here tonight, so let's take a closer look at it. The first verse tells of a young man who thinks that the world owes him a living. He asks Fate to be rewarding, but finds that things don't always work out just as he wants them to. Fortunte may be a blind god, but he isn't necessarily deaf or otherwise without sense or feeling. In other words, every man can make his own luck, good or bad (and, of course, he has a better chance of having good luck if he gives Fortune a helping hand). So take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves: forget your illusions of Utopia; wake up to reality; dig in and get to work—there's a lot to be done. For life is a hard road to travel, I believe.

From the second verse comes this half-hidden admonition: Dare to change the given order. From some author, whom I cannot now identify, comes this prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept things I cannot change, courage to change things I can, and wisdom to know the difference." Society is not so rigid that a man can't tear down its barriers to progress and freedom—if he wants to, and if he tries hard enough. The Negroes are doing it today (however wrong some of their tactics may be). They've worn an old coat of fear and complacency for a 100 years or more, and now they're rolling up their sleeves for the task that has to be done. Because they dare to try, someday all men will be brothers.

In the third verse, the young man complains of being exploited by others, of being branded as unworthy of his God-given rights and freedoms—perhaps because of his race, or his religion, or his color. But hardship is only a challenge to work harder and to prove one's worth. For life is a hard road to travel.

We've all heard a lot about war, but lately we've been hearing about a new kind of war. And it's true, friends; there may be a war in the next few years. I've heard that it's going to be a war on poverty, and it sounds as though there's going to be a great number of casualties—unless we stand up and be heard now. There are some men in our Nation's Capital who say they're going to end all poverty in the United States within the next 10 years. Well, I'll tell you right here and now that if they do manage to erase everybody's money problems, they will harvest as a result something worse than the worst hunger, something more terrible than lack of money, or housing, or clothes in the coldest winter—there will be poverty of spirit—yes, even more than there is now. Poverty of spirit, lack of industry or intelligence, and unequal opportunities in education and employment cannot be cured by handing out money from Washington.

The solution lies in each individual himself. Each one of us has within him the power to choose between poverty—or well-being, failure—or success, triumph—or defeat. Success comes in having tried with all your heart, and mind, and strength, and soul—not in your "won-and-lost record." But even when we fail, let us be defeated, let us not quit. Pity those poor, timid souls who have known neither victory nor defeat, who have fallen by the wayside in life, either because they did not have the strength to stick to their task, or because they never had the courage (or perhaps even the need) to try. Failure, therefore, is not in having missed our goals, but in having failed to try.

If, for you, success is measured in self-esteem, then refuse to be satisfied—never allow yourself to become one of those poor, timid souls. If, for you, success is measured in money, then remember this: success is not in how much money a man has, but in how much he has earned. If, for you, success is measured in accomplishments, then dare to try, care to try, and keep trying harder. And if there is any unfair obstacle such as prejudice, injustice, hate, ignorance, or deceit in your path to success, take no time out to complain about it—rather, conquer it.

Poverty in money is indeed a sad thing, but poverty of spirit is much, much more drastic. In spite of possible legislation to the contrary, it looks as though economic poverty is here to stay. That kind of poverty is an important incentive to improve oneself, to rise above one's circumstances. Hardship is a builder of civilization; it's the essence of life. For what is life but a series of hardships, barriers, trials, and troubles? We should rejoice in challenges; we should welcome problems and troubles with confidence in our ability to solve them. Victory comes in meeting these troubles, in welcoming the challenge of hardship. Happiness is the result of having overcome hardship, whether that hardship is defeated economically or spiritually or psychologically.

It seems to me, then, that the answer to the war on poverty—poverty of money and poverty of the soul and spirit—lies in that old folk song: life is a hard road to travel, so take off your old coat and roll up your sleeves.

Let this be our motto:

"We Ought; Therefore, We Can."

Dedication of the Androscoggin Pulp and Paper Mill at Jay, Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, on August 2, the International Paper Co., and Maine citizens joined in the dedication of the Androscoggin pulp and paper mill at Jay, Maine.

The wood products industry, of which paper is the main component, is the largest industrial element within the State of Maine.

Currently there is over $150 million committed to the modernization and expansion of papermaking facilities in Maine. The International Paper Co. is building a completely new mill at an investment of over $54 million. Maine is appreciative of the confidence expressed by the paper industry in the economy of the State of Maine. The investment of this industry is serving as a major stimulant to the economic development within the State.

I am submitting for the RECORD the address of Mr. Lamar M. Fearing, president of International Paper Co., given on the occasion of the dedication of this $54 million mill in Jay, Maine.

I am also including a press release issued by the International Paper Co. relative to this occasion:

REMARKS OF LAMAR M. FEARING, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here today to take official note of something that has certainly been no secret to anyone here—the construction of our $54 million Androscoggin pulp and paper mill. We are all delighted to be here in Jay in your wonderful State of Maine. International Paper has deep roots in Maine and in the Jay-Livermore Falls community and so this occasion is a homecoming for us.

Permit me a little personal nostalgic note. It was in the State of Maine that I got my start in the paper industry some 40 years ago. I came here 2 days—or "fresh"—after graduation from college. I spent the better part of 2 years here, working first at Rumford—then in our woodlands operations in the Rangeley Lakes area and then at our Livermore Falls Mill. This began in 1924. I have many fond memories of Maine. I had a lot of fun here and I saw quite a lot of the State.

This new mill that we are building here is a significant development for International Paper Co. and I feel it will be viewed as a significant development in the growth of your economy here in the State of Maine.

We are honored to have such an outstanding group of citizens and officials join us today to mark the progress of this great undertaking. In bringing this project to fulfillment, we owe an untold debt to the cooperation and understanding we have received at every turn—from Governor Reed and his staff; from your hard-working congressional delegation; from the officials of the various administrative offices in Augusta, many of whom are here today; and particularly from Commissioner Bachman and his staff in the department of economic development.

We are also indebted to the labor unions representing our employees here in this community for the fine spirit of understanding that has been manifest in all of our joint dealings. And, of course, we are indebted to our friends and neighbors in these communities and their elected and appointed officials. Again and again they have cooperated with our people to make it possible to set this gigantic program in motion with a minimum of disruption to your community life and to our continuing operations here.

In this connection, let me just underscore how essential this kind of cooperation is. We call it the business climate.

In our company, with operations and resources located in many areas of the United States, we approach a project such as this one on the basis of plans developed over many years. We are always conducting studies of potential new mill projects. These plans must take into account a number of complex factors. There are such matters as forest resources, water, transportation, particularly dependable railroad service, the availability of properly skilled men and women to staff the mill and the question of appropriate supporting community facilities. Every community offers its own, individual answer to the sum of all of these parts. But then there is one intangible, but highly important factor, that must be added to the equation—the climate of opinion within the community and the State. The desire of all of the citizens to see and to help a new enterprise come in.

Your State, with its rich timber resources, its plentiful water supply, its ready access to major railroad networks, offers many inducements to a company such as ours. As citizens since 1898 of this community, we have good reason to know that the traditions of papermaking run deep here.

But there are other communities and States that can match these assets, to one degree or another. So the question of business climate, the climate of public opinion, comes into the balance. And in the State of Maine there can be no question about this.

Under the leadership of your able Governor and his staff, Maine has pursued an active campaign to bring to the attention of our Nation's industries the many and important advantages of coming to Maine with substantial new investment porgrams. There was no question in our minds that the State of Maine offered a business climate that welcomes new ventures, new industrial undertakings. Governor Reed came personally to my office in New York to expound on this. Our decision to come here was heavily influenced by this program and by the confidence and mutual respect which we have enjoyed for so long.

I understand that under the aggressive program sponsored by the department of economic development, your growth has been at a higher rate than your neighboring States in northern New England. With total capital expenditures of more than $80 million forecast for 1964, an increase of some 40 percent over the preceding year, Maine has made a healthy start on its program of attracting new capital investment.

The paper industry is certainly giving you solid support. The list of these fine established companies is long—Oxford, Scott, Diamond National, Keyes Fibre, S. D. Warren, St. Regis, St. Croix, Great Northern, Hudson, Fraser, Penobscott, Standard Packaging, Pejepscott. These companies have made important contributions to your economy and there is much more to come.

During the past year several major paper expansions have been announced in addition to ours. We understand that, when all of the present programs are complete, a year or so from now, they will represent a total new investment here by the paper industry alone in excess of $175 million.

The message from Maine is coming through loud and clear—you welcome new industrial activity, you are prepared to create a climate in which industry can flourish and prosper, and the people of the State are standing squarely behind their elected and appointed leaders in this essential work. We're delighted to play a larger part in your dynamic economy and we aim to continue to operate in a manner that will merit your continued cooperation.

In this same connection let me say that businessmen are realizing more and more that they have a part to play in earning this "climate" by being good citizens in a community as well as by simply being good businessmen. It is a matter of settled company policy in International Paper Co. to be good citizens in every community where we have plants. The work of our foundation in providing seed money to improve secondary education in the school systems serving our mill communities is a case in point. Since 1957 this company has spent well over $2,500,000 in such efforts. We are doing our part.

Let me say a word or two about this new mill and about the forest resources that will support it. This will be the most modern, forward-looking mill in the country when it starts—we hope in the third quarter of 1965. This is going to be a two-machine mill, manufacturing lightweight, bleached papers, primarily lightweight bond, carbonizing, gift wrap, and other similar grades. The two paper machines will have a combined capacity of about 240 tons per day. There is one feature of this mill that will be new to you.

Instead of a whole series of individual pulp digesters, similar to the pressure cookers you may have at home, this mill will be built around a gigantic continuous digester. This is a very important development in the pulp and paper industry.

This continuous digester will look like a giant rocket standing on the launching pad. It will tower 210 feet in the air and will be able to manufacture 500 tons of high-quality bleached kraft pulp every day. The feature of this big unit is continuous operation—the wood chips and the chemicals go in at the top in a steady, carefully metered flow. As they progress down through different zones of the tower, they are brought up to cooking temperature and pressure is applied. Then the cooking chemicals are drawn off to be recycled, cooler wash water is introduced, and the cooked pulp flows from the bottom. We expect the quality of this pulp to be so outstanding that we plan to shut down the present sulphite pulp operations at our nearby Otis Mill and at our Hudson River Mill in Corinth, N.Y. The entire chemical pulp requirements for both mills, as well as for the two Androscoggin paper machines, will be supplied from this one continuous digester.

In addition, and this is of interest in your State, closing these old sulfite mills will result in an improvement in the water conditions in the river. The sulfate or kraft process, which is the process we will use here, differs from the sulfate process we are discontinuing, in that the chemicals used in cooking the pulp are substantially reclaimed for use over and over again. This is the heart of the efficiency of the kraft process and one reason why your program for improvement of stream conditions on the Androscoggin will benefit from this project.

Of course, the continuous digester is just one aspect of the new mill, but it will be the most readily apparent feature. Incidentally, while I am cooking pulp here, let me say how very pleased all of us are that our good friends at Allied Chemical Corp. have decided to locate their new chemical plant adjacent to our mill on this same property. The chlorine and caustic produced here will serve our mill and other papermills in Maine and adjoining States. Mr. Brumfield, president of their Solvay Process Division is here today.

There's one specific point I would like to make. This regards the unique position of the State of Maine in respect to the quality and quantity of its timber resources. While our company has been here since 1898—our predecessor companies were here even before that. During all this period, we have owned and managed extensive woodland properties in the northern part of the State.

The tradition of the forest is an old and honored one in Maine. As early as 1631 a water-driven sawmill was operating on the Salmon Falls River in South Berwick Township and the earliest permanent settlements along your shores and rivers were logging communities.

There is no need for me before this audience to attempt to trace the growth of the logging industry from the cut-out-and-get-out pattern of the early sawmill days, to the sustained-yield forest management policies first developed by the pulp and paper industry.

Our former chairman of the board, John Hinman, has said it for all of us. None of the developments of modern day forestry, he has said, came about simply because industry wanted to improve its forest practices or more fully utilize its forest resources. The rising value of wood dictated these changes in our practices. They were good changes because in a free enterprise system such as ours what is sound economics will benefit the entire community in the long run.

Today, the millions of acres of forest land in the State of Maine that are managed by industry are protected, harvested and managed for multiple use under farsighted, responsible policies. In the United States we need vast reservoirs of productive forest

lands, managed for multiple use. Our economy and our population will continue to grow and our standard of living will continue to climb. All of our resources, therefore, are going to feel the pressure of increasing public demand, our forest resources included.

Your forest lands can play a multiple role in this future growth. We see here today one evidence of that role. The timber harvests from the forests of northern Maine will be the raw material for this mill—as they are for your existing mills and will be for the new mills now building elsewhere in the State. This harvest provides jobs, payrolls, taxes, a vast bounty to your people. Almost 350 individual manufacturing enterprises in your State are forest based.

But these well-managed industrial forests serve other public purposes as well. They are vast watersheds, collecting and storing rain and melting snow, protecting the soil from erosion and holding untold quantities of water for release in the springs that feed your rivers and lakes or in underground streams that can be tapped by man. Water is a precious resource.

Another role of the managed forest is in providing shelter and food for wildlife. I hope the day never comes when we are too concerned with the material things of life to lose our wonder and concern for the marvelous variety of animals, birds, and water life that populate our forested areas. Many of these species find their most compatible habitat in forests managed for successive harvests of timber, where food and shelter are plentiful—forests protected from the great destroyer, fire.

Finally, and of increasing importance these days, are the recreational opportunities offered by the forests, the wooded mountains, the lakes and rivers of your State. Again, these opportunities are many and varied. Hunting and fishing are a big business for you. Hundreds of boys and girls are at this moment enjoying the matchless experience of camping in your woodlands and on the shores of your lakes. All of our company lands in your State are open to the public except, of course, when fire conditions or logging operations would present undue hazards.

In recent years, there has been pressure for the withdrawal from private ownership of very substantial areas in northern Maine along the Allagash Waterway. These lands would be federalized as some kind of national riverway. This proposal as stated would not only remove these acres from economic use but would effectively block off access to more than a million additional acres of productive forest land.

International Paper Co. has opposed this suggestion. A federalized Allagash would limit the growth of your forest-based industries. In this State, where the forest economy forms such an important segment, it would have a drastic effect on your future economic growth.

We feel that the people of Maine have approached this matter in a logical, reasonable fashion. The appointment of an Allagash River Authority by the 1963 State legislature, to study and report on what should be done with the scenic Allagash area, is a sound approach to this question. Late in June the authority issued a preliminary report. They agree that the preservation of the unique character of the area is of primary importance. The industrial and private owners in the area clearly adhere to this view. After more than 100 years of continuous timber production, the Allagash Waterway still provides one of the Nation's unique, unspoiled wilderness areas. This attests to the public-spirited policies under which these lands have been managed.

It is in our interest and yours that this waterway be maintained in the present wild, free-flowing state.

The authority is preparing its specific recommendations for your next legislature. Protective strips will likely be established along the waterway, either by purchase, gift, easement or zoning.

Governor Reed, on this occasion I want to assure you again that International Paper is prepared to cooperate fully with the Allagash River Authority in their objective of preserving this unique scenic and recreational area. We want people of your State and others to continue to enjoy the hunting and fishing to be found there. We want youngsters to enjoy the white-water canoeing in Chase Rapids, as they do every summer. Whatever method your authority recommends to implement its plans, we will continue, as we have for years, to leave protective borders of timber along the waterway. Our logging roads will be open for public travel. Through our policies of multiple use we will continue the partnership between outdoorsmen and timbermen that has characterized this State for years.

You have our pledge of cooperation, Governor Reed. We mean it.

Now, let me say again how very much we appreciate being able to greet so many of our friends and neighbors on this occasion. This is an auspicious start for the Androscoggin mill.

We are particularly pleased to be able to welcome Governor and Mrs. Reed, the members of Governor Reed's staff and so many of your leading State and local elected and appointed officials. You are going to be proud of what we are building here—and we are too.

And now it is my privilege to introduce our honored speaker today. Governor Reed is a man who has made his mark in your State ever since his graduation from the University of Maine in 1942. After returning from distinguished service with the U.S. Naval Reserve during the war, he joined Walter M. Reed & Sons of Fort Fairfield, one of the State's leading growers and shippers of potatoes. As the years went on he became increasingly active in public affairs, first in the legislature in 1955, then in the State senate from 1957 to 1959, with a term as president of the senate. In 1959 he succeeded to the high office of Governor—an office to which he was reelected in 1960 and again in 1962. His influence has been felt not only within Maine but throughout New England and increasingly at the national level, particularly in his work with the national Governors' conference.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor to present to you the Honorable John H. Reed, Governor of Maine.

STATEMENT MADE BY INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO.

JAY, MAINE, August 2, 1964.—International Paper Co. today pledged full cooperation to the Allagash River Authority in its objective of preserving the Allagash area of northern Maine.

The pledge was made by Lamar M. Fearing, president of International Paper to Gov. John H. Reed, as part of formal dedication ceremonies at the site of the company's new $54 million Androscoggin pulp and paper mill in Jay, Maine.

More than 3,500 attended the ceremonies including Representative CLIFFORD MCINTIRE and Representative STANLEY TUPPER. In addition to formal remarks by both Mr. Fearing and Governor Reed, the program included guided tours of the construction area and numerous exhibits about the industry.

Governor Reed hailed the new project, crediting it with starting, "an economic chain reaction, the importance of which will be felt in Maine for generations to come."

"This is truly a great day," the Governor said, "a day of tremendous importance to International Paper and its directors and also it is a great day in the economic life of a State which has, for many generations, properly regarded the pulp and paper industry as its most important single industrial enterprise."

In his remarks, Mr. Fearing noted that the new mill will be the most modern, forward-looking mill in the country when it starts in late 1965. He credited its location in Maine to the wonderful cooperation extended to the company.

"There was no question in our minds," Mr. Fearing said, "that the State of Maine offered a business climate that welcomes new ventures—new industrial undertakings. Our decision to come here was heavily influenced by this and the mutual respect which we have enjoyed for so long."

Mr. Fearing said that the new two-paper-machine mill will be built around a gigantic continuous digester—the newest development in the pulp and paper industry. Towering over 210 feet in the air, the digester will be able to manufacture 500 tons of high quality kraft pulp every day.

"We expect the quality of this pulp to be so outstanding," Mr. Fearing said, "that we plan to shut down the present sulphite pulp operations at our nearby Otis Mill and at our Hudson River Mill in Corinth, N.Y. The entire chemical pulp requirements for both mills, as well as for the two Androscoggin paper machines will be supplied from this one continuous digester."

The Androscoggin Mill will manufacture lightweight bleached paper, primarily lightweight bond, carbonizing, gift wrap, and other similar grades.

Referring to the discussions about the future status of the Allagash, Mr. Fearing said that International Paper opposes pressure for the withdrawal from private ownership of very substantial areas in northern Maine along the Allagash waterway.

"A federalized Allagash would limit the growth of your forest-based industries," he said.

"We feel that the people of Maine have approached this matter in a logical, reasonable fashion. The appointment of an Allagash River Authority by the 1963 legislature, to study and report on what should be done with the scenic Allagash area, is a sound approach to this question."

Addressing himself directly to Governor Reed, Mr. Fearing then said, "I want to assure you again that International Paper is prepared to cooperate fully with the Allagash River Authority in their objective of preserving this unique and scenic recreational area.

"Whatever method your authority recommends to implement its plans," he said, "we will continue as we have for years to leave protective borders of timber along the waterway. Our logging roads will be open for public travel. Through our policies of multiple use, we will continue the partnership between outdoorsmen and timbermen that has characterized this State for many years."

Concluding the formal program, Governor Reed and Mr. Fearing unveiled a large bronze plaque which will later be permanently set at the entrance to the mill.

Attending the ceremonies were many employees and interested people from neighboring towns as well as a large number of State officials, State legislators, town officials, and members of the clergy and professional world.

International Paper officials in addition to Mr. Fearing included: George H. Rand, John L. Tower and Ralph W. Kittle, vice presidents; R. C. Masterman, general manager of the company's northern manufacturing division, and Lawrence J. Kugelman, director of woodlands.

Photo of Maine Band Recalls Fourths of the Nineties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Washington Star of July 3, a very interesting article about a distinguished former resident of Maine, Mr. Harold Seiders, 90 years old, who is now living here in Washington.

I know others would like to read this refreshing story of this educator and musician.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, July 3, 1964]

NO PARADE NOW: PHOTO OF MAINE BAND RECALLS FOURTHS OF NINETIES

(By John Sherwood)

The photograph by the window is of a serious group of whiskered young men in gold-braided uniforms posing in front of a Victorian bandstand newly built by one Ulysses Wincapaw.

The time is just before an annual Independence Day celebration in the little town of Union, Maine. The Union Cornet Band paraded all that day, gave an afternoon concert of Sousa marches, and, after the fireworks display that evening on the village common, officially ended things with a quiet "Good Night, Ladies."

That big day in the life of a little town in the 1890's had almost been forgotten by one of the uniformed men who played tenor horn in the band. But the other day the mail brought that photograph from the only other survivor of the band and everything came back again except the music, just in time for the Fourth.

Harold Seiders, 90, will observe the Fourth of July sitting in a chair and looking out the third-floor front window of Mrs. Nelson's Nursing Home at 2021 Kalorama Road NW. There will be no parades within his sight, but the photograph is handy and there are copies of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald and Rockland (Maine) Courier Gazette within reach.

The Union Cornet Band was but a brief interlude in the old man's long life, but it reminds him of swimming and fishing in Seven Tree Pond, and all the other freshwater ponds of his youth—Crawford's Pond, White Oak Pond, Sennebec Pond, and "big Lake Sebago where the water is so clear you can almost drink it."

Mr. Seiders' father had a vegetable farm overlooking Seven Tree Pond, and the view from the bedroom window of the young cornet player was all green and blue at this time of the year. There was an electric excitement in the air when the Fourth approached, and there were many plans to be made and never enough time in which to make them.

ERA HAS PASSED

Now that the era has passed, a simple thing such as an old photograph is worth a great deal to a man in a day when his time is without value. From 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. every day of the week for the last 4 years, Mr. Seiders has known the outside world only through his third-floor window and his Maine newspapers.

What he sees from 2021 Kalorama road is "traffic on Connecticut Avenue. Police cars, fire engines, ambulances, and cars and more cars—one after another, always coming and going some place." And no Seven Tree Pond in sight.

Now pensioned after working with the Portland (Maine) school system for 30 years, Mr. Seiders came to Washington in 1951 to be near his children after his wife died.

A large clock knocks off the seconds with a loud, tiny sound in the bedroom he shares with another elderly man. His left elbow on the windowsill and his right foot propped on a pillow, the old bandsman smokes his pipe and rereads the letters from his few remaining friends in Maine.

MISSES SPRING WATER

He misses the fishing, he'll tell you, and playing with the Union Cornet Band on Independence Day was always the biggest event of the year. But more than anything, he misses "the drinking water up home. I used to fill up on that spring water first thing. It did taste good. Boy, I would love a little taste of that now."

The routes that Saturday's bands will take are fixed by now. But a look into a third-floor window where a kindly old man waits for a parade that will never come again makes one wonder why celebrations couldn't be just a little more flexible.

Government Employees Salary Reform Act of 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL].

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I might state to our colleagues who have just come into the Chamber that we are in the process of considering a conference report on something that might be of interest to them. It is called the Government Employees Salary Reform Act of 1964. If you will bear with me for just a very few minutes, I think we may be able to write the final chapter on this important legislation.

I have studied the conference report. I feel a little bit like the man who told about his mother-in-law driving his brandnew uninsured Cadillac off a cliff. They asked him how he felt, and he said he had mixed emotions.

I have mixed emotions about the conference report, but I am interested in legislation, not conversation. I urge the House to support the conference report and to see that this bill is enacted into law this week.

There are some changes in the bill that I think are especially good. The important and able members of our congressional and committee staffs are properly taken care of in this bill. I have been asked by many Members, "What is this going to do to the pay of my staff?" I suppose before the day is over many of you will be asked about that.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD at this point a table in which you can find the present pay of your staff people and go across the columns and find the pay they will receive after this bill is enacted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The table referred to is as follows:

LEGISLATIVE SALARY INCREASES

This is designed to provide percentage salary adjustments for legislative employees comparable to those provided for employees under the Classification Act. The increases are provided in an amount equal to 3½ percent of the employee's gross rate plus 1 percent of his gross rate for each whole multiple, or part of a multiple of $500 basic compensation; or an amount equal to 5 percent of such gross rate, whichever is greater.

Multiple	Base	Present gross	Conference substitute	
			Percent increase	New gross
0	$5	$991	5.0	$991
0.1	60	1,020	5.0	1,071
	500	2,057	5.0	2,160
1	505	2,069	5.5	2,183
2	1,000	3,157	5.5	3,330
2	1,005	3,166	6.5	3,372
2.4	1,200	3,534	6.5	3,764
3	1,500	4,052	6.5	4,316
3	1,505	4,061	7.5	4,366
3.6	1,800	4,655	7.5	5,004
4	2,000	5,085	7.5	5,470
4	2,005	5,099	8.5	5,533
4.8	2,400	5,955	8.5	6,461
5	2,500	6,172	8.5	6,697
5	2,505	6,183	9.5	6,770
6	3,000	7,255	9.5	7,945
6	3,005	7,266	10.5	8,029
7	3,500	8,339	10.5	9,215
7	3,505	8,350	11.5	9,310
7.2	3,600	8,556	11.5	9,540
8	4,000	9,422	11.5	10,506
8	4,005	9,433	12.5	10,613
9	4,500	10,506	12.5	11,819
9	4,505	10,517	13.5	11,937
9.6	4,800	11,136	13.5	12,640
10	5,000	11,550	13.5	13,109
10	5,005	11,560	14.5	13,237
11	5,500	12,528	14.5	14,345
11	5,505	12,538	15.5	14,481
12	6,000	13,469	15.5	15,556
12	6,005	13,478	16.5	15,702
13	6,500	14,409	16.5	16,786
13	6,505	14,418	17.5	16,942
14	7,000	15,349	17.5	18,035
14	7,005	15,359	18.5	18,200
14.4	7,200	15,725	18.5	18,635
15	7,500	16,289	18.5	19,303
15	7,505	16,299	19.5	19,477
16	8,000	17,239	19.5	20,590
16	8,005	17,239	20.5	20,773
17	8,500	18,170	20.5	21,895
17	8,505	18,179	21.5	22,088
17.7	8,880	18,884	21.5	22,948
18	9,000	19,110	21.5	23,219
18	9,005	19,120	22.5	23,422
18.9	9,475	20,000	22.5	24,500

Another improvement in the bill is the increased raises for middle grades of GS–9, GS–10, and GS–11, the people who were almost overlooked in the House bill.

I have heard since yesterday a number of rumors about this bill. I have heard some objections to the conference report. The rumors I have heard are unfounded. I think we ought to straighten these things out so the people understand what the bill does and does not do.

I have been told all Federal judges will receive larger raises than the Members of Congress and that the old relationship have been distorted.

Under the conference report, all the Federal judges get exactly what they get in the House bill except the Supreme Court Judges get $2,500 less than in the House bill. So that instead of the judges being raised by the conference report, one set of judges is lowered and the other Federal judges remain the same as in the House bill.

I was asked by someone if it were not true that sub-Cabinet people are being paid by the conference bill more than Members of Congress. This is also not true.

Cabinet members were raised $2,500 from the House bill.

The level II executives remain the same as in the House bill and the other three levels of executive pay were cut in conference rather than being increased.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CELLER. Naturally, being chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I am interested in the salary of the Judges. Do I understand the gentleman to say that Judges of the Supreme Court have their salaries reduced by $2,500? If that is the case, may we know the reason why there has been such a reduction?

Mr. UDALL. I will say to the chairman of the great Committee on the Judiciary that there is no reduction of the Supreme Court Judges' salaries. The Supreme Court Judges are actually getting an increase of $5,000. There is a $2,500 reduction from the figure in the House bill.

Mr. CELLER. In substance what will Supreme Court Judges get now after the bill is passed and what was their salary before the bill is passed?

Mr. UDALL. They are getting at the present time $35,000 with an additional amount for the Chief Justice. If this bill is passed, they will get $40,000. So they are getting a very substantial raise.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, the point is that the increase has been reduced?

Mr. UDALL. Precisely, I thank the gentleman.

Just a couple of more observations and then I shall conclude.

I think the Senate made a great mistake and I regret very much that the House saw fit to delete the amendment that we adopted which had such broad support from my good friends on the left and from my good friends on the right. We are almost back now in congressional, judicial and executive salaries to where the commission in President Eisenhower's term said that we should have been in 1954 and 1955. We cut and whittled the increases for the executive, for judges and for Members of Congress down and we had adopted in the House a far-reaching proposal which would have moved the salaries along in the future through the operation of automatic and fair machinery. The Senate did not pass this provision. It was deleted in conference. I think it is a very great mistake. I think it is machinery that is needed.

Just, for example, 10 years ago the Randall commission recommended that the salaries of Members of Congress and the executives in similar positions be about $27,000. In 1955 this was compromised badly, and now we have cut this down and down in compromises in this bill to where we end up today barely above the level we were told by the bipartisan commission we should have been 10 years ago.

I think it is a serious mistake but, as I say, I am interested in legislation. We are late in the session, and therefore I am going to urge the adoption of this conference report.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. Will the gentleman enlighten us as to whether the members of the parole board will have their salaries increased by the passage of this bill?

Mr. UDALL. I am advised by the staff that their salary is increased; yes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman mentioned the Randall report of some time ago. There was a pay bill passed in 1962. The Randall report said, or RANDALL himself said, that this pay bill or rather the increase in pay would be taken care of through greater productivity.

I have seen a lot of appropriation bills go through the mill since that time, and if any of this pay increase was taken care of through Mr. RANDALL's increased productivity on the part of employees I have failed to find it, because every appropriation bill has carried money for increases as a result of the 1962 act.

Mr. UDALL. I sharply disagree with the gentleman. Ten percent of the cost of this bill will be absorbed by the agencies, under a mandatory provision. We have heard dramatic testimony in our committee about efficiency and about savings in personnel. I do not attribute it all to a direct increase of, say, 5 percent in salary or anything of that kind, but there have been remarkable productivity increases in the Federal Government.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Of course, the statement by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] did not involve the absorption of cost through attrition.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Arizona has expired.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes additional to the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL].

Mr. JOHANSEN. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] said that the increased efficiency would be such that there would be no additional out-of-pocket expense to the taxpayers.

Mr. UDALL. Let me conclude with two observations.

I believe the House of Representatives can be proud. We did the work on this bill. We started it. The House had the courage to do this in an election year. It has never been done before, that I know of, in an election year.

We did this because it was a good bill and because it was good for efficiency of the Federal Government and because it had to be done.

This is the first time that Congress has taken the whole Federal salary system and, in one bill, attempted to make an orderly, rational, interrelated structure. If we pass this legislation this week we can be proud.

Let me call attention to one more thing. President Johnson, the leader for those of us over here, has fought for this bill. He helped us to resurrect it after it was defeated.

I should like to say something my friends on the other side of the aisle may not have noted. Recently your chosen leader, and presidential nominee, one of my friends from Arizona voted for this bill. We from Arizona try to vote the way we see things—and when this bill came before the Senate about 3 weeks ago he supported it. He is a man who has been in business and knows one cannot get top executives on shoe clerk salaries.

I say to my friends over here, "Follow your leader." We will follow our leader. We will both be going in the same direction.

Let us pass this bill.

The Supreme Court's Unwise Decisions on Apportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. McLOSKEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. McLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, the most recent decisions of the Supreme Court regarding apportionment of State legislative bodies have rocked this country. These decisions illustrate just how far the Court has strayed from any reasonable construction of its own rightful place among our political institutions. The recent and multiplying scourge of judgemade law which has set about to recklessly and antidemocratically reform a nation in the Court's image must be checked at once.

The improper decisions of the Court in the apportionment cases demand, for the sake of our whole system of government, reversal. To accomplish this purpose, I have introduced legislation which would start the machinery for a constitutional amendment. The amendment would have the effect of overruling the Court's unwise decisions on apportionment and reestablishing some of the battered States rights in this area.

At this time, under unanimous consent, I would like to include in the RECORD, a copy of the statement which I submitted to the House Judiciary Committee in support of House Joint Resolution 1087:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE McLOSKEY

Mr. Chairman, the foundations of liberty are once again under attack by the Supreme Court. In the most recent decisions by that branch it has been declared that State legislative bodies, representing the people of the States, are no longer able to determine their

own apportionment systems. In these decisions a giant stride away from the system of guarded liberties, which the Constitution established, has been made. House Joint Resolution 1087, which would restore some of those liberties the Court has threatened, is the subject of my presentation here today.

House Joint Resolution 1087 would call into operation the amending process of the Constitution in order to provide that a State legislature would have the constitutional prerogative of apportioning one house of its State assembly on some basis other than population. The amending process has not been referred to very frequently with success in the history of this country—a dozen times in the past century and a half. An amendment to the Constitution is a grave action to be relied upon only with the utmost care and after arduous consideration. It is after such care and consideration that I have introduced House Joint Resolution 1087.

The necessity of this proposal has been demanded by certain decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court which wantonly fly in the face of history and openly ignore the explicit statements of the U.S. Constitution. The Court, over the cogent and articulate warnings of Justices Harlan, Clark, and Stewart, has vindicated a special theory of political representation as the only one acceptable under the 14th amendment's equal protection clause. By newly established Court constructed precedents, by typically fuzzy Supreme Court logic, by completely ignoring the history of our country, and by openly ignoring the clear words of the Constitution, the Court has removed from the people the sovereign power to establish their own State representative assemblies on grounds which are not explicitly prohibited by the Federal Constitution. The recent rash of political decisions handed down by the Supreme Court are clearly based on the personal political prejudices of the Justices masquerading under such theories of judicial review as "activism" and "developing constitutionalism." The ways in which these pernicious theories of judicial review endanger our system of government are many.

First, the Court has done immediate wrong to the States affected by their decision. By robbing the States of their sovereign power to apportion their own legislatures by political process, the Supreme Court has taken one of the most fundamental of legislative prerogatives; and by so doing, has effectively reduced State government to a hollow facade. The Federal judiciary has taken to itself the power to pass on the acceptability of State apportionment, and could presumably dictate the political climate of a State by gerrymandering from the bench. In wronging the States by disallowing theories of representative government acceptable for centuries, the Court has also wronged the people of the affected States by denying them the right to decide their own criteria for legislative apportionment. And clearly, the Constitution does not deny the people these rights. As Justice Harlan pointed out in his dissent in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, the only section of the Constitution dealing directly with State legislative apportionment recognizes and accepts the possibility of imposed inequities in the right to vote. Paragraph 2 of the 14th amendment which the majority of the Court flatly ignored spells out the remedy—and it is an optional remedy—for a reduction by a State in the size of its qualified electorate. The 15th amendment prohibits a State from denying a citizen the right to vote merely because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The 19th amendment adds to the list of reasons why the right to vote may not be abridged, a person's sex. The 24th amendment would add to the list, the payment of a special tax. Nowhere in the Constitution is the right to vote guaranteed against abridgment or partial abridgment on the basis of place of residence. The Supreme Court of the United States has no legitimate right to declare that such a prohibition exists when, in fact, it clearly does not. If, when the 14th amendment and the constituent equal protection clause was ratified, geographic factors were supposed to have been eliminated from consideration in legislative apportionment, a statement to that effect surely would have been added to the prohibitions of the contemporary 15th amendment. And if, by oversight, the people of the United States omitted it there, surely they would have included it in the later 19th amendment which also altered suffrage or in the most recent 24th amendment which once again affected the franchise. The undeniable fact of the matter is that the American people have never overwhelmingly held to the "one-man, one-vote" theory of representative government; the fact that the Supreme Court thinks they should have, notwithstanding.

One wrong, then, that the apportionment decisions accomplish is a deprivation of State's rights. The Court, in the abused name of personal rights, has denied the rights of the States and vindicated, above all else, Court's rights—the rights of the courts to make any of their own private prejudices and moral convictions the law of the land. Yet, if in trampling States rights the Court has gone beyond the wildest dreams of judicial activists and beyond any reasoned understanding of the Constitution, the greatest wrong which the Court has inflicted is against the Constitution itself and the free government it established.

The flagrant exercise of what Justice Harlan has dubbed the "amending power" of the Supreme Court threatens, above all else, our separation of powers. Now, in the 20th century, when the need for the division of powers, both horizontal and vertical, is most urgent, the Court is breaking down the walls. Now, when power and authority are easily and rapidly pyramided, when the advances in the study of molding masses into conformity are progressing steadily, an effective system of power diffusion is paramount. We, who are aware of the truism that absolute power corrupts absolutely, cannot sit by and watch the Supreme Court destroy the checks for liberty which our Constitution clearly set down. We must remember, too, that the checks and balances in our system do not always execute themselves, especially when one branch develops a craving lust for control. The relationships of the branches to each other is constantly varying and in danger of reaching a state of imbalance. When such an imbalance is evident, action is the responsibility of the branch whose powers are being usurped. The Court, time and again in the past 10 years, has assumed legislative powers and has ignored State authority, and so the Congress and the States must act.

The Court's action presents a danger to the Constitution in still another way. The recent decisions which use the Constitution as a substitute for a legal code, and which are based on the theory that every supposed ill which befalls the American people has a solution in the Constitution, is a serious danger to the Constitution.

The Constitution does not go to great lengths to demand that Government achieve certain ends thought by judges to constitute justice. What a constitution in fact and in theory does is to establish a government, define its powers and limits, and allow it to determine its own ends and its own definitions of justice. Judicial notions of social and political justice cannot be allowed to stand as the law of the land. If they were, the dynamics of our free society, devoted to republican principles and government by representative elections would inevitably give way to general abdication of responsibility which is so characteristic of government by lawsuit or dictate.

I would also remind my fellow Representatives that capricious usurpation of power, whether in the name of the majority, the minority, the rich, the poor, justice or injustice, is tyranny. Our real liberties are protected by our unique system of checks and balances which sacrifices quick action and expediency for personal freedom. Our system is and must remain more important than isolated and controversial policy reforms, and the Supreme Court is threatening that system.

Last, but not least, among those whom the Court has wronged in the apportionment decisions is the Supreme Court itself. As Justice Frankfurter was always quick to point out, the Court cannot continue to gallop through the political thicket with reckless abandon and expect not to get its robes torn. Because the Court has no mandate from the people, because it has no power to lay or collect taxes, and because it has no armies, it is dependent for its legitimacy and efficacy upon the good will of the people. From newspapers and from my own experience with the public, I can attest that this good will is wearing quite thin. This present Court is in danger of wrecking itself as an effective political institution.

I recognize that an amendment to the U.S. Constitution must be something more than a means of scolding the Court. An amendment to the Constitution must be defensible on the grounds of what, in particular, it seeks to accomplish.

Above all else, the amendment envisioned in House Joint Resolution 1087 would seek merely to reestablish principles of representative government older than the Nation itself. It has long been the practice of Americans to take into account factors other than population in the process of legislative apportionment. As a matter of historical fact, if State legislatures had been apportioned strictly on the basis of population at the time of the ratification of the Constitution, the Constitution might never have been ratified at all. In the late 18th century there were also inequities in State legislative districts, but at the time, they favored the city populations and acted to the detriment of the western farmers in each of the States. The political complexion of what was then the West was antifederalists, if not anarchistic. Had the principle of "one man, one vote" been fully accepted under these circumstances, the Constitution might never have been ratified. A system of representation which produced the Constitution of the United States cannot be all bad.

The statements of Chief Justice Warren that: "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres (;) * * * [L]egislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests * * *" is alarming. If there seems to be one truism, above all others in American politics it is that interest groups are an integral part of the political system. From Madison's "Federalist No. 10" to Beard's studies of American history to the work of the Nye committee, the realistic assumption in America has been that interest groups do play an active part in politics. What the Court has done is to turn their backs on the true conditions and merely insure that the control of government shifts from some groups to different groups. And I do not believe it is coincidence that the groups destined to rule by Court fiat are generally more sympathetic to the same causes of reform the Court has been serving.

The function of geographical representation has never been to represent trees or pastures, but it has been to insure a fair system of checks and balances in State governments among very real and differing interests. It is in this respect that the Court has deprived many minority interests of their checks upon the actions of the numerical majority.

What my amendment really provides for is a return to the States and to the people the authority to set their own criteria for legislative apportionment in one house of their State legislature. Any opposition to such a suggestion would have to come from someone who had a political ax to grind. A stretching of the Federal Constitution and the 14th amendment to make it cover State legislative practices portends much ill if allowed to stand.

For the reasons outlined in this statement, I urge that this committee report House Joint Resolution 1087 favorably. I regret that the times and a reckless Court have required this action, but it would be a greater mistake for us to sit idly by and concede the Supreme Court's sovereign power by default, than it would be to move boldly for a constitutional amendment. I do not mean to minimize the gravity of my proposal, but we are left no sure alternatives.

Before closing, I would like to point out for the record what my amendment does not do. It would not require or encourage any particular kind of legislative apportionment. It would merely put the decision back into the hands of the people's elected representatives—back where it belongs.

As we consider this proposal, I would like to have you keep in mind that there are no assurances against who will be the targets of an unchecked Court. Our memories cannot be so short.

Summary of Study of Future of Montana's Forest Products Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Upper Midwest Research and Development Council, of Minneapolis, Minn., has made a number of substantial contributions to a better understanding of the economic problems which face the Northern Midwestern States of Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana.

The council's most recent work includes a study of the future of Montana's forest products industry—one of Montana's basic industries. The July 28, 1964, issue of the council's Economic Progress Bulletin summarizes this report, which was prepared by Montana State University.

I ask unanimous consent that the bulletin be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bulletin was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC PROGRESS BULLETIN

The future of Montana's forest products industry may hinge on ability to adjust to changing technology and market demands.

A report prepared for the upper Midwest economic study at Montana State University warns that unless the State's industry faces up to changing methods of production and shifts to new products, it may find itself unable to compete. Authors of the report are Arnold W. Bolle, dean of the school of forestry, Robert C. Haring, assistant professor of business administration, and William K. Gibson, instructor in forestry.

Sectors of the industry that can make the greatest use of automation will expand at the expense of others. Pulp, plywood, and particle board, therefore, have the advantage over lumber, although lumber products, such as dimension stock, which lend themselves to some degree of automation, appear to have a good future.

"The demand for high-quality lumber is not likely to be sufficient to offset the higher cost of production, since processed wood and other products can meet many of the needs at a lower price." Despite problems facing the industry, the authors conclude that "there appears to be a considerable promise in its strength and continued growth."

SINCE PEAK YEAR 1957 GROWTH HAS LEVELED OFF

Among Montana's larger industries, only forest products has shown a substantial increase in income and employment since World War II. Between 1950 and 1960, timber industry employment increased 45 percent, from 4,711 to 6,813, helping to offset declines in agriculture, mining, smelting, and transportation. Since the peak year of 1957 the growth trend has remained relatively stable; total production has continued to rise, although at a slower rate.

In 1962, the industry produced more than four times as much lumber as it did in 1939. In addition, during the past decade it has added a pulp and paper mill and six plywood mills. Growth came largely through the migration of new mills from the Pacific Coast region.

Based on available 1958 data, estimated Montana timber income was in excess of $104 million. A 1963 estimate, computed on the basis of activities connected with the forest products industry, fixes the State's income from timber at close to $150 million.

Montana's forests contain 55,770 million board feet of timber growing on approximately 22,300,000 acres. Species are almost exclusively coniferous softwoods. About 70 percent of the acreage is classified as commercial forest land.

GROWTH HAS PRESENTED PROBLEMS TO INDUSTRY

The industry is peculiarly susceptible to the cycles of the national economy since it produces mainly for the housing sector. Certain parts of the industry are seasonal and, consequently, create problems of seasonal unemployment.

Montana is a marginal timber area in terms of west coast competition. The State's timber is smaller, grows on steeper slopes, and the profit margin is less.

Historic freight rates for wood products shipped to the East give Montana only a slight advantage over the west coast, and west coast ocean transportation also provides freight rate competition for transcontinental hauling. The area of favorable freight rates for Montana timber is generally west of Chicago and to the Southeast.

Montana producers are generally insulated from their markets. Only a few of the largest mills have their own marketing organizations. Because of this insulation from the market, most Montana producers are production-oriented rather than market oriented. As a result, mills may have a large lumber inventory and still be unable to fill orders for materials they don't have.

From a national standpoint, Montana represents only 3 percent of total domestic production, but the Montana indutsry turns on far more than the local resources and people. Its market area is the Nation, particularly the Midwest and East; its main competition lies in the Southeast, the west coast, and the Provinces of western Canada.

The fact that much of the timber used by the industry is publicly owned means that availability of supply is conditioned by investment policies of Federal and State agencies.

BETTER MARKET ORIENTATION NEEDED FOR BETTER PROFITS

Montana mills are of three size classes. Large mills have a more efficient plant, more highly skilled labor, greater integration of the manufacturing processes, a stronger credit position, a more favored position for the purchase of timber supply, and a strong position in relation to the market. The small mills sell their products as rough green lumber locally or to the larger mills for finishing.

During recession the large mills continue operations while many of the small mills close down. Since the small mills are the main outlet for timber from the small private ownerships, the market for such logs is very uncertain.

As a result of distance between Montana producers and the final consumer of the product, most Montana timber is sold through regional brokers; only the large mills maintain their own marketing organizations.

Employment growth during the decade from 1946 to 1956 was largely from an increase in the number of medium-size mills. The increased production without growing employment has been due to expansion and modernization by the large mills.

Montana commercial forest land

Ownership	Acres	Percent of total
Private:		
Farm	2,360,000	15.0
Forest industry	1,086,000	6.9
Other	1,411,000	9.0
Total	4,857,000	30.9
Government:		
Federal	9,585,000	61.0
Indian	602,000	3.8
State	608,000	3.9
County	75,000	.4
Total	10,870,000	69.1

Mills in the small-log areas of the State have been in difficulty since 1956. It appears there may be further retrenchment in the industry. On the other hand, there have been several new plywood mills established since 1956 and there may be more.

It is estimated that there is sufficient mill waste from current operations for another new pulp plant; beyond that, pulpmills will have to use roundwood for supply. There is a vast supply of small timber suitable for pulp. Water is likely to become the resource in short supply rather than wood.

Establishment of particle-board plants in Montana is also under investigation. This material, which is considered in some quarters to be the main timber product of the future, can be made from material of almost any size or quality. The main problem appears to be that marketing requires a well-established, national program.

INDUSTRY HOLDING ITS OWN DESPITE SLUMP IN MARKET

Montana's industry had its greatest growth during a boom period but appears to be holding its own with other regions during a period of reduced demand and price.

The trend toward large mills can be expected to continue. Manufacture of new products and other innovations are likely to come mainly from greater integration in the large mills.

Medium-size mills, especially those that have developed a high level of efficiency in buying and delivering logs, production, and marketing, also will continue in a strong position.

The number of small mills is not expected to change a great deal.

Technological development of the small-log areas could make the utilization of large volumes of timber economically feasible. However, the same technology would make timber in the southern Rocky Mountain region profitable, and since mills in that area are closer to market the increase in production might well move in that direction rather

than to eastern Montana. Small timber is also a potential source of pulp, and the same relation between Montana and the southern Rocky Mountain States exists here. However, Montana is better supplied with water for industrial use. The Missouri River is an important consideration in the future of the pulp industry in the State.

Major additional employment in the State's timber industry can be expected to come mainly from new industries such as pulp and paper, plywood, and particle board, or other secondary manufacture.

While the supply of timber in much of Montana east of the Continental Divide would permit a considerable increase in industrial production, the annual cut in western Montana is at or beyond annual allowable cut. With more intensive management, throughout the entire State, allowable cut on public and some private landholdings will increase, but the supply of timber from much of the private lands is decreasing. The industry has shown little concern for the future production of these lands; private forests are still considered to be a migratory resource to be captured by anyone. Much of this land was once and can again become some of the most productive timber-producing land in the State, but unless provision is made for improved management, there is sure to be a reduction in the supply of timber for Montana's industry.

The timber industry can expect to face increasing competition for the use of Montana's forest lands from residents who consider them attributes in making the State a good place to live and also an attraction to a growing tourist industry. It can be expected that Montanans will require new industry to take all necessary precautions against contamination of water and air. It will be important for both the timber and recreational industries to work cooperatively toward the solution of future land-use problems.

The authors conclude that the forest products industry will very likely continue to be an important sector of the Montana economy with principal growth likely in pulp and paper.

"The Timber Economy of the Ninth District West," by Clarence W. Nelson, a study focused on the timber resources of Montana and the Black Hills, was recently published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.

The 64-page study describes the district's timber resources and appraises future prospects for their use by industry. In addition, it discusses the broad theoretical problems that resource allocation and conservation pose for the Nation's economy.

A limited number of copies are available at $1 each by writing Publications Section, Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

What's Wrong With the Council of California Growers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK MINOR MARTIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of California. Mr. Speaker, after the American people found out the truth about our program of bringing supplementary farm labor from Mexico last year, the Congress extended the urgently needed bracero program until December 31 of this year.

The Congress was quite properly informed that if our farmers did not have supplementary labor at harvesttime, much of our food and fiber would rot in the fields. The deleterious effects of this upon our exploding population, upon farmers and upon nonfarm businesses, upon union and nonunion workers and, indeed, upon our friend Mexico to the south were made eminently clear.

No one likes rising food costs. No one likes to lose a job or see his business decline. No one likes to plant crops he cannot harvest. And no one, I submit, really wants to end the most successful foreign aid program we have ever had—successful because it is based on contact between the people of two countries and not on contact between heads of state.

Yet with the record clear and regardless of an unchallenged report by the University of California to the effect that supplementary farm labor will be sorely needed in California at least through 1968, the Council of California Growers threw in the towel last February without consulting those who helped win an extension of the bracero program in 1963.

Now, when plantings are way down in California; when our gross agricultural productivity will most assuredly be down by millions of dollars in 1965; when we know and are concerned that for each dollar of that productivity which will be lost, $5 will be lost in the nonfarm business sector of our economy; when we know that, because of this loss, thousands of nonfarm workers, union and nonunion alike, will lose their jobs, and hundreds of businesses will suffer, the Council of California Growers has the audacity to level an attack upon an avid supporter of the bracero program.

Well, I did not agree with the council's misguided alliance with labor and the Governor of California last February, and I do not agree with its July 13 newsletter now. And let me predict that a new study by the University of California will show the foolishness of that alliance.

Arguments for the bracero program are just as valid now, if not more so, than when they were given to the Congress in 1963. The Council of Growers admits all of this but sits on its hands, criticizing the friends of agriculture instead of taking positive action now.

Instead of spewing venom against the friends of agriculture, the council might well support legislative action to keep the bracero program or put forth efforts to convince the President that Executive authority be exercised to extend the program or its equivalent. Finally, I would like to suggest that the council ought to have guts enough to help rather than hinder California agriculture.

"Lucky Americans" and Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, an editorial published recently in the Electrical Workers Journal of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers cited a dramatic picture of us as lucky Americans. If all the world were a town of 1,000 population, we would be only 60, as compared with the 940 who would represent the rest of the world. Yet we would receive half the income, consume 15 percent of the food supply, and possess 50 times the steel and 22 times the coal belonging to all the rest, combined.

This national labor publication, serving one of the Nation's great unions, ties these facts to our obligation to share our bounty with "the many who have so little." But beyond the humane reasons for support of foreign aid lies the practical reason: "If we do not share, then we have only ourselves to blame when the have-nots turn to communism."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LUCKY AMERICANS

A Minnesota newspaper recently carried an interesting story about a Missouri school superintendent who tried to present to a class a picture of the world in terms which his students could readily understand. He asked the students to imagine that the 2,750,000,000 persons in the world were compressed into a single town with 1,000 citizens. Here is how Americans would fit into the picture.

There would be 60 persons representing the United States and 940 would represent all other nations and races. The 60 Americans would receive one-half of all the income and the 940 would share the other half. The 60 Americans would have a life expectancy of 70 years or better. The life expectancy of all others would average less than 40. The 60 Americans would consume 15 percent of the town's food supply. They would have 12 times as much electricity; 22 times as much coal; 21 times as much oil; 50 times as much steel; and 50 times as much general equipment as all the remaining 940 members of the town put together.

We are lucky Americans. Much has been given to us in natural resources. We are free as few nations of the world save Canada and a few others are free. And yet every day we hear voices raised to say, "Why don't we stop sending our money to those foreign countries?" Any of us with a spark of justice in our souls will know and understand that the few who have so much must share with those many who have so little. There is a reason beyond the humane feeling that we should share. It is this—if we do not share, then we have only ourselves to blame when these have-nots turn to communism. Starving peoples will accept any ideology, any system that fills their bellies and gives them hope. Then some day what we did not choose to give, may be snatched from us forcibly, and we will find ourselves among the mythical 940 striving to exist.

We are lucky. Let's keep it that way by spreading a bit of our good fortune to others.

Boys' State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion, Department of New York,

is the sponsor of Boys' State which is a citizenship training program designed to meet the needs of our youth. Its purpose is to inculcate individual responsibility to community, State, and Nation and the learn-by-doing concept is employed on the theory that good citizenship is only in part a matter of knowledge, intellect, and understanding. It is a laboratory of practical political science.

This year, Boys State was held from June 21 to June 27, at Colgate University. Among the boys who attended was one of my young constituents, Peter De Rose, of 2460 Lorillard Place, in the Bronx, who is a junior at St. Nicholas of Tolentine High School, in the Bronx.

Upon his return home from Boys State, young De Rose addressed a letter to Mr. George A. Mead, director of rehabilitation, in which he describes the youth of today. To my mind, it is of such interest that I urge all Members of Congress to read it.

Text of letter follows:

DEAR MR. MEAD: When Andrew M. Greeley wrote of the new breed of American youth, he certainly must have had in mind the American Legion Boys' Stater, for like those of the new breed, "they are greatly concerned about things like honesty, integrity, and authenticity * * *. With this concern for integrity and honesty comes an inability to be devious of opportunist—or even diplomatic—all issues, minor or major, must be brought into the open and discussed. Truth must be spoken even if speaking it does no good and may even cause harm. To do less would be to debase one's honesty, to compromise one's authenticity." They are not, by any means, uninterested in politics; they are fascinated by the political game, may be active at the precinct level, and are tempted by governmental careers. But, like their heroes of the Irish mafia, they are pragmatic rather than ideological in their approach.

"They are a paradoxical bunch, supremely self confident, yet anxious and restless; they are organizationally efficient and yet often diplomatically tactless; they are eager to engage in dialog and yet frequently inarticulate in what they want to say; they are without ideology and yet insistent on freedom; they are generous with the poor and suffering and terribly harsh in their judgments of their elders and superiors; they are ecumenical to the core and yet astonishingly parochial in their tastes and fashions; they want desperately to love but are not sure that they know how to love. They want to scale the heights yet are mired in the foothills." I too am sure there is a resolution of these paradoxes, that these boys have some principle of inner consistency, and because I am one of them perhaps one day I will discover this principle.

It should be clear that I too am ambivalent about these boys. Like Fr. Greeley, I am fascinated by them and I admire their courage. Yet they frighten me also. In another quarter of a century, they will be taking over the American government. They will be the scholars, the politicians, the organizers, the editors, the leaders of our Nation. I don't know quite what their country will look like, but I trust there will be room in it for someone like me. These boys of the new breed have reason to be confident. "Everything is on their side—their youth, time, the wave of history, and, one suspects, the Holy Spirit."

Indeed it would be foolish to try to improve on, let alone quarrel with, Fr. Greeley's probing analysis of this new breed. As a matter of fact I find myself nodding assent to almost all his judgments. But allow me at this time to express my appreciation to you personally, to all the members of your executive staff, and to all dedicated counselors who have worked so diligently for having made it possible for me to share one week of my life with high school juniors across the State—to work in the same halls of caucus and convention, to recreate on the same court and campus, to pray in the same chapel with this new breed of American youth. May I add it was a pleasure to have known both you and them.

Sincerely yours,

PETER DE ROSE.

Resolution Adopted by American Municipal Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the American Municipal Association at its national convention held at Miami Beach, Fla., on July 29, 1964, commending the Inter-American Culture and Trade Center located in Miami, Fla., and known as Interama. The American Municipal Association, which is a national organization representing approximately 13,000 cities and towns, through tl is resolution, shows the great contribution that Interama can make in furthering our national and international interest and urges the Federal Government to support this worthy project through financial assistance by the Community Facilities Administration. We from Florida who have worked long and hard toward the realization of this project are particularly pleased with the national support and encouragement it is receiving from such organizations as the American Municipal Association.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION
RESOLUTION 26

Whereas Interama will be the first permanent international exposition and will portray the American way of life—progress with freedom—and will show what the Americas and their local governments have achieved without the sacrifice of civil liberties and individual freedom—within the framework of democratic institutions; and

Whereas Interama's goals parallel and support those of the Sister City program and the Alliance for Progress and will be beneficial to the people of the Americas; and

Whereas Interama has been endorsed by the U.S. Congress and by Presidential proclamation; and

Whereas the construction and operation of Interama will create more than 100,000 new permanent jobs and generate many benefits to the United States and the nations of Latin America; and

Whereas this construction will create employment for thousands of unemployed Cuban refugees and U.S. citizens; and

Whereas the State of Florida, the city of Miami, and metropolitan Dade County, through the Inter-American Center Authority has demonstrated the high national purpose of this project by making large investments of money and time and effort; and

Whereas Interama has requested assistance from the Community Facilities Administration for the planning and construction of buildings to house the exhibits of the United States and the Latin American nations, at no cost to the United States and the Latin American governments; and

Whereas the participation of the U.S. Government to Interama would assure participation of foreign nations and major industries; Be it

Resolved, That the American Municipal Association approves the concept and objectives of Interama and recognizes its great potential to contribute to the national interest and the progress of Inter-American relations; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Municipal Association urges the administration's support for financial assistance for Interama through the Community Facilities Administration.

Passed and adopted July 29, 1964.

A Ray of Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, these are critical times. One need only look at the newspaper, TV, or listen to the radio to realize the violence that has gripped New York City, Rochester, N.Y., Cleveland, Ohio, and other major cities. The problem of race riots is and will continue to cast a shadow on our great country. However, through this ominous shadow in Rochester, N.Y., a ray of light appeared during recent riots in that northern city. It is this ray of light I wish to bring to the attention of our people through a story which appeared in the Thursday, July 30, edition of the Evening Star in Washington, D.C. I believe the article, giving credit to a Negro woman, who may have saved the life of the Rochester police chief, will be of interest to Congress and the country.

NEGRO WOMAN WHO SAVED POLICE CHIEF JAILED 3 DAYS

ROCHESTER, N.Y., July 30.—A Negro woman, who may have saved the life of Rochester Police Chief William Lombard during rioting here last weekend, wound up spending 3 nights in jail.

The chief confirmed yesterday that Mrs. Juanita High, 32, helped free him from the center of an angry mob which he was attempting to calm Friday night.

Mrs. High was seized along with others early Saturday when she apparently wound up in the middle of the mushrooming mob violence and was included in a police roundup of a group of Negroes.

Mrs. High, a divorcee with an adopted daughter, 2, and who is foster mother to an 8-month-old boy, was released without bail Tuesday, informally paroled to an attorney under her own recognizance.

Chief Lombard learned of Mrs. High's plight when she telephoned to inquire about the injuries he suffered at the hands of the mob, which overturned his car and set it afire. He invited her to his office where he thanked her firsthand.

"If it hadn't been for her actions I might not be alive today," Chief Lombard said.

Mrs. High gave this account of the incident:

"I saw a crowd gathering around a car, and I could sense something was going to happen. There were four youths near the chief, and I saw that they had two knives and a dagger.

"They were saying something about 'Let's get him.'

"I knew the chief was in bad trouble and it was getting worse. So I went up and took him by the arm and said he must leave at once.

"The chief's car already was busted up and burning. He was hurt himself, and I knew he could be killed, so I just kept tugging along at him and pretty soon we were in the clear and running away."

Asked by a reporter whether she was bitter about the chain of events that landed her in jail, Mrs. High replied:

"Not bitter, just hurt. I can't say I blame the police. With all that stuff flying around and hitting them (the police), they kept trying to break it up and make arrests. I got caught in the middle."

Washington, D.C.: A Good Place To Visit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, those of us from the great and scenic State of New Hampshire will, at the drop of a tourist, recite a travel itinerary through the White Mountains. There is nothing we would rather do than explain to the unfortunate folks from the other 49 States what they are missing if they have never visited New Hampsire.

But even though we have many times been blessed by what we consider to be just about the most beautiful of all God's country, we are generous in our recognition of the Lord's bounty in other parts of the country. An excellent case in point is an article which was published on Saturday, August 1, 1964, in the Concord (N.H.) Daily Monitor.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Bored? Try Washington," which was written by Monitor staff writer, Harry Spiegel, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BORED? TRY WASHINGTON

(By Harry Spiegel)

If you still haven't decided on a place for your vacation, and you want to get a long way away from New Hampshire, consider Washington, D.C.

Next to Philadelphia, it is the most maligned city in the United States. You will hear that it's "too hot, too crowded, too expensive, too provincial, or too far."

To take the complaints in order, it is hot, but not too hot, because practically every Government building, or other place of interest, is air conditioned, and unless you plan to walk the streets endlessly you will seldom mind the heat.

Washington has crowds, but the city is quite big enough to handle them, and does so extremely efficiently, courteously, and helpfully. After numerous visits dating back to 1937, we can say quite truthfully we have never been seriously inconvenienced except when we tried to do something at the peak hours.

NOT TOO EXPENSIVE

Washington is not too expensive, and in fact not more expensive than any other metropolitan area. If you gravitate toward tourist traps, you'll get snared.

Normally, you will not be fleeced or exploited. If you are one of those people who thinks he has discovered a shop where they sell solid gold Patek-Philippe watches for $8.75, then you will get what you deserve.

Washington is not a provincial city. Far from it. It is as sophisticated, and as modern as most cities in the United States. It has theater, art, music, and practically everything major league except the Washington Senators.

It isn't too far. It is about twice the distance to New York City, but practically all the way via high-speed superhighways, which are excellent, if dull, high-toll roads.

LONG DAY'S RIDE

You can drive to Washington in a day, but if you haven't got a relief driver, it isn't a very good idea. If you have children along, it's an exceptionally bad idea. Kids get pretty edgy, not to say downright miserable, after a long day in a car. Adults are no bargain either, in late afternoon.

The trip, exclusive of rest and food stops, will take about 10 to 12 hours. You can leave the highway and take your meals in the nearby cities or towns, and eat more leisurely and probably less expensively than at the highway restaurants, but it will take much longer.

The highway restaurants will never challenge haute cuisine, but the food is fair, filling, and the prices won't break you.

Tollhouses seem to pop up about every 10 minutes, but it's foolish economy to take the toll-free roads. The extra time, the start-and-stop driving, and the extra fatigue are not worth it. The scenery isn't worth a hoot, and if you can nap while someone else drives, you don't miss much.

Depending on where you cross the Hudson River, you can see impressive structures like the George Washington or the Tappan Zee Bridges, the Lincoln or Holland Tunnels, the Delaware Bridge, the Baltimore Tunnel, etc., but don't be concerned if you sleep past them.

Make your room reservations before you leave home. Hotel rates, especially during the summer, run about $10 to $12 a day for a double room, at a good (but not the best) hotel or motel. Children under 14 who stay with their parents go free, and in any event most places have reduced rates for families.

You can get lists of accommodations from the Hotel Association of Washington, 1025 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., AAA, or almost any travel agent (free). Even major gasoline companies will be glad to furnish you with free maps and tourist information.

Have the hotel confirm your reservation in writing and let them know approximately when you'll arrive, so they will hold the accommodations for you. It is no fun to arrive late, tired, hungry, and start looking for a place to stay.

Don't be afraid to accept a reservation in the suburbs (Arlington, Alexandria, Falls Church). You'll really be better off. Practically all have moderate rates, swimming pools, air conditioning, TV, plenty of parking space, and nice rooms. The extra driving into the city is a minor matter.

It's easy so long as you don't try to during the rush hours about 8 to 9:15 a.m., and 4:30 to 5:45 p.m.

WRITE AHEAD

If you're planning to visit the Senate, the House, the White House, the FBI (and you should), write your Congressman ahead of time, and tell him when you will be in Washington and for how long. He can help a lot, if you give him some advance notice.

Incidentally, plan to visit his office either in the Senate or House Office Buildings. People from back home are always welcome. The experienced staff people can also save you many a bunion if you'll ask them about places to go, eat, etc.

Washington restaurants seem to number in the thousands. Other than the fact that all of them never heard of serving bacon crisp, many sell pretty good food at reasonable prices. Your bellboy, porter, friends, neighborhood policeman, Congressman's staff, or friend who has been here, will help you to good places.

In fact, even the newspaper advertisements are generally good guides, and the Washington competition is so keen that you will seldom get hurt even in the blind selection of an eating place.

What to see in Washington? The list is endless, but one "must" is the Capitol and Congress, (even if it isn't in session). A guided tour of the Capitol will make American history come alive as you could never imagine. It's fascinating and fun.

If you have time, visit a Senate or House committee meeting, eat at the visitors' cafeteria, stroll the corridors and see if you can recognize any of the famous lawmakers who work here.

THE LINCOLN

Then, of course, the Lincoln Memorial, perhaps the most impressive monument ever built to the memory of one man; the Jefferson and Washington memorials; the White House; the Library of Congress (perhaps the biggest library in the world); the National Gallery which has a staggering number of the world's art treasures; the National Archives where you can see the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights; the Smithsonian Institution, the U.S. Supreme Court.

OTHER ATTRACTIONS

The non-Government attractions are many and delightful, whether the new Explorers Hall of the National Geographic Society, the Washington Cathedral, the foreign embassies, the Folger Shakespeare Library, ad infinitum.

Maybe you'd like a trip down the Chesapeake-Ohio Canal via a mule-drawn barge, or a trip to Mount Vernon, or perhaps you'd like to sit on the steps of the Capitol at night and hear a concert by one of the military service bands? It's all there and much, much more. Only your own time and inclinations will limit you.

Of course there are also theaters, clubs, movies, jazz joints, even one of the few remaining burlesque theaters in the United States.

EASY CITY

It's easy to get around the city except during the rush hours, of course. There are many buses and taxis. Guides abound, if you want them. But it's more fun to do it yourself with a map in hand. (Maps are obtainable free in service stations, hotels, stores, etc.)

If you want still more detail, the best guidebook we ever saw for Washington is called simply, "The Washington Guidebook," and it is a mine of information. At 95 cents it is a bargain, and even if you don't go to Washington, it's a fascinating book written by John and Katherine Walker, Dell Publishing Co. Any book store will get it for you.

Earlington Is a City Planning To Have a Future Instead of a Past

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Earlington, Ky., which is located in Hopkins County, is a beautiful small community inhabited by public-spirited people who take an active part in their government and who have faith in the future. The citizens of Earlington believe that the antidote for pessimism is perspective. Surely the inhabitants of this small city have not been without perspective in any of their worthwhile endeavors. This fact is evidenced by nice churches, schools, and a fine community spirit.

Much of today's progress in Earlington can well be credited to her energetic and forward-looking mayor, my good friend, Gene Lloyd Davis. When visiting in this community one is impressed by the warmth and sincerity of its residents.

An article appeared in the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky., on July 31, entitled "Earlington Is Planning for Bright Future." It is a distinct honor for me, as the Congressman from the Second District, to represent a community such as Earlington, Ky., and at this time I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the article from the Messenger:

EARLINGTON IS PLANNING FOR BRIGHT FUTURE

(By David Sullivan)

Earlington is a city planning to have a future instead of a past. Mayor Gene Lloyd Davis says that "Earlington residents realized that they must have a definite plan incorporating all the basic needs of the community."

These needs were many. A lack of paved streets, adequate housing, water and sewer facilities hampered Earlington's development severely. But, beginning in 1961, the city undertook a 20-year workable program of planning and redevelopment in cooperation with the Federal Government and the Kentucky Department of Commerce.

Mayor Davis, now in the third year of his 4-year term, states that "the purpose of this plan was initially to make a study of the city which included housing conditions and needs. This entailed a population forecast, an economic forecast, and an existing land use analysis."

NEW SEWER SYSTEM

All this preparation is now clearing the way for a land use plan—designed to better use the existing land for development—a major thoroughfare plan and a community facilities plan. The first evidence of the progress Earlington expects is indicated by large signs around the community.

On the new red, white, and blue signs are the words "Accelerated Public Works Program, Project No. APW KY. 232G." The project referred to is a completely new sewer system, which Mayor Davis says was "one of the basic needs for a workable program."

The $750,000 system, financed on a 50–50 basis by Earlington and the Federal Government, plus a new waste treatment plant will remove Earlington from the list of cities directly involved in stream pollution and will make the city much more attractive.

"The next major step, public housing and spot improvements under the urban renewal program, should come about in 1965," the mayor reports. All of this program is slated to aid Earlington in providing greater opportunity.

"One of the glaring needs of Earlington is to execute this program not only for its development, but in hopes of a greater opportunity for young people who complete their formal education to return to their hometown for a decent and suitable life with a future," Mayor Davis states. He estimates that only about 5 percent of these youngsters with a formal education now return to the community as permanent residents.

In addition to this program much has been done to change the face of Earlington in the past few years. For the last 3 years the city has participated in the opportunity-for-progress program sponsored by the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce. In the second year of its efforts Earlington placed second in this congressional district and in 1963 placed third. Other improvements include a new bank, a new post office, a new medical clinic, and a long-dreamed-of new high school in southwest Earlington.

FOR GOOD OF COUNTY

This whole program is being carried out wtih a view toward the good of not only Earlington, but all of Hopkins County. Mayor Davis says that the people of Earlington want to "lend their support to Hopkins County's development effort as a whole, because the accomplishments of one will be a help to all."

As to the future of the town the mayor hopes for continued improvement in the commercial area, improved recreational facilities to better serve the people, a population rgowth of perhaps 20 to 30 percent in the next 10 to 15 years due to improved streets and housing, and the location of new, small industries in Earlington.

"Citizens realize that an all-out effort must be made," Mayor Davis asserts, "not only to execute but to complete this development program, because it is felt that this is in the greater interest of all the Hopkins County community."

Elena M. Sliepcevich, Recipient of Award by American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the emphasis which the Kennedy-Johnson administration has placed on physical fitness programs has been encouraging. Appropriately, "New Dimensions for Progress" was the theme for the 1964 Convention of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation.

A high point of the second general session on May 9 was the presentation of association awards. Elena M. Sliepcevich, of Anaconda, Mont., was the recipient of an Honor Fellow Award. In the words of the association's journal:

The persons chosen for this award must meet the qualifications set up by the AAHPER; they epitomize the highest professional accomplishments.

The career of Elena Sliepcevich certainly reflects the highest ideals of her profession. I ask that a summary of her achievements, taken from the AAHPER Journal, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HONOR FELLOW AWARD

(The honor fellows of the association are nominated by AAHPER members and selected by a standing committee. The persons chosen for this award must meet the qualifications set up by the AAHPER; they epitomize the highest professional accomplishments.)

Elena M. Sliepcevich: Born and raised in Anaconda, Mont. Elena Sliepcevich, at 17, became the youngest student in the State of Montana to earn an elementary teaching certificate. She completed a BS degree at the University of Idaho in 1939 and the MA degree from the University of Michigan in 1949. She pursued further graduate studies at Yale University and Springfield College and was the first woman awarded the doctor of physical education degree by Springfield College.

Her professional experience began when she returned to Anaconda High School as director of physical education for girls, 1940–46. She entered college teaching at Western Montana College of Education as director of physical education and health education and assistant dean of women, 1946–48. She served as assistant professor and associate professor of health education at Springfield College, 1949–55, and in 1955 was named professor and director of health education. She became professor and coordinator of health education at Ohio State University in 1956, a position which she held until 1961. In 1961, Dr. Sliepcevich, on leave from Ohio State Universiy, became director of the school health education study, sponsored by the Samuel Bronfman Foundation of New York City. In 1963, she resigned from Ohio State University to conduct the second phase of the school health education study, 1963–65. Dr. Sliepcevich also has been a visiting professor during summer sessions at the University of Florida, University of California, Los Angeles, University of Oregon, and Colorado State College.

Selected from her many honors are the following: William Harold Payne Scholar (highest award to master's degree candidate), University of Michigan, 1949–50; school of public health scholarship by Massachusetts Department of Public Health, 1950; Distinguished Service Award by American School Health Association, 1963; election to University of Idaho graduates Hall of Fame, 1963; and election to Phi Kappa Phi and Pi Lambda Theta.

Dr. Sliepcevich has contributed outstanding service in numerous professional activities. She has served as vice president of AAHPER and chairman of the health education division, 1960–61; chairman and secretary of several health education sections; chairman and member of numerous AAHPER committees; membership on the health education curriculum commission and the teacher education commission; delegate to American National Council for Health Education of the Public. She served also as vice president for health education for both eastern and northwest districts and at the State level was preisdent of both the Montana and the Massachusetts associations. She has been active, too, in related organizations as chairman, school health section, American Public Health Association, 1957–58; member, editorial board, Journal of School Health; and fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Sliepcevich has published professional articles in the AAHPER Journal, Journal of

School Health, American Journal of Public Health, NEA Journal, and others. In addition, she has been a contributing author to the joint committee on health problems in education, Health Education, 1961, as well as to AAHPER yearbooks. Her published report of the school health education study, now in progress, is expected to be one of the profession's most significant health educa- publications.

Dr. Sliepcevich has contributed vitally to the profession through her effective, creative teaching, competent organization and leadership, forceful writing, careful and scholarly research, and sincere dedication to her profession.

Rapid Transit: Key to Metropolitan Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the transportation of millions of people from the central city where they work to the suburbs where they live has become a constant and nagging problem for America's local governments. Recently the Congress was occupied with consideration of an urban mass transportation proposal to create a Federal program for local transit problems. The pros and cons of the solution to this complex problem were difficult to unravel. Certainly there is a compelling need for new approaches to the transportation problem in our large metropolitan areas. The big question, still undetermined in practice, is how to solve the problem in the best interest of all concerned.

The June issue of Realtor, official publication of the Montgomery County, Northern Virginia, Prince George's County, and Washington Boards of Realtors, carries an article titled "Rapid Transit: Key to Metropolitan Progress." Written by Worthington H. Talcott, vice president of Cafritz Mortgage Corp., and a native of Washington, D.C., it points out that proper transportation planning is fast becoming an issue of city survival, and developments in rapid transit are having extensive effect and impact on all aspects of urban growth and prosperity.

I believe this frank discussion of the transportation situation and examples of solutions to it in certain areas will be of particular interest to my colleagues.

RAPID TRANSIT: KEY TO METROPOLITAN PROGRESS

(By Worthington H. Talcott)

Behind this controversy in the fact that virtually every major U.S. community is being confronted with the painful truth that problems of urban transportation are inextricably interwoven with the whole urban fabric. By 1980, the number of metropolitan areas with one-half million or more inhabitants is expected to reach 65, compared to 55 at the present time, and virtually 8 of every 10 people will be living in urban areas. The automobile is propagating at an even faster rate than man—and the more it is appeased, the more demanding it becomes. Auto registrations in 1960 were 59 million. It is foreseeable that this will reach 120 million by 1980 and 244 million by the year 2000.

Here in the metropolitan Washington area the statistics are even more revealing and the situation potentially more critical. According to recent reports, the metropolitan area is the fastest growing of the Nation's 15 largest population centers. Our current population is about 2,300,000 and these people now drive an estimated 800,000 automobiles. Projections indicate that Metropolitan Washington will have a population of about 3½ million in 1980. If present trends continue, some experts predict there will be one vehicle for every two persons in the United States by 1980. On the basis of our predicted population this means Metropolitan Washington would have at least 1,725,000 motor vehicles in 1980. And this estimate could prove to be very conservative because our suburban counties now exceed the national rate of vehicular registrations and there is no reason to assume that this will not continue.

If our streets and highways in Metropolitan Washington are now overtaxed with about 750,000 vehicles, what will happen when they must handle over 1½ million? It requires little imagination to envision the chaos that would prevail. And, of course, these statistics do not include tourist traffic in Washington which continues to increase year after year and further adds to our traffic congestion.

No reasonable man can minimize how critical Washington's transportation problems are at this moment. It is absolutely imperative that the necessary steps be taken now to insure that the Nation's Capital will have an efficient, balanced transportation system.

A COORDINATED EFFORT

There are a number of groups within our community that have worked for some time to make mass transportation a reality. I have had the pleasure of serving on two such committees—the Joint Committee on Transportation for Metropolitan Washington and the Parking and Transportation Committee of the Washington Board of Realtors.

The joint committee was formed in 1963 by four impartial organizations concerned with the well-being of the Nation's Capital: the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, the Federal City Council, the Washington Board of Realtors, and the National Capital Downtown Committee (Downtown Progress). These four groups joined together to help achieve a balanced transportation system for the metropolitan area. I represent the Washington Board of Realtors on this committee.

The Parking and Transportation Committee was formed by the Board of Realtors in 1962 in recognition of the increasing importance of parking and transportation in the metropolitan area. This committee also supports the concept of a balanced transportation system.

The group officially responsible for planning a Washington area mass transit program is, of course, the National Capital Transportation Agency which was created by Congress in 1960 to accumulate and correlate research studies and information and devise a balanced rapid rail transit program. The NCTA revealed a plan in the fall of 1963 which was the result of nearly a decade of intensive and carefully coordinated planning. Studies of all aspects of urban transportation went beyond mere traffic engineering and travel forecasting to produce a balanced regional mass transportation system.

President Kennedy endorsed this balanced program for the Nation's Capital and urged Congress to act favorably upon it. With congressional approval and a start in construction scheduled for 1968, it was estimated that by 1973, high-speed, air-conditioned trains would be running to the major suburban communities in Maryland and Virginia. Originally a $793 million, 80-mile system was proposed. Later this was scaled down to a $401 million, 24-mile plan. Unfortunately, this bill did not pass and was voted for recommital to committee. It is encouraging, however, that recent negotiations indicate a more favorable atmosphere of receptivity for the legislation. It is hoped that the program will have the full support of the community when another bill is considered.

The joint committee has played an important part in putting rapid rail transit legislation in its proper perspective by mustering support for the concept of a balanced transportation system which includes freeways, buses, and rapid rail. Interests "beating the drums" for such plans as an all-bus transit system, etc., can only keep our city in a state of limbo and prevent any progress from being made. No one can deny that buses must play a vital part in the balanced concept of mass transportation. But any system, be it bus, rail, or auto, cannot alone serve the diverse needs of our community.

A PRIME EXAMPLE

The city planners and residents of the Cleveland and Toronto areas can certainly attest to the fact that a coordinated mass transit system serves their needs while greatly benefiting the entire community.

The Cleveland rapid transit system, inaugurated in 1955, pioneered modern coordinated transportation. Their entire system was designed to provide maximum convenience for rapid transit riders. Bus service is provided to connect the outlying areas with the transit stations. Some 6,000 parking spaces are conveniently located at the rail stations for those commuters who drive from home and require parking facilities. Bus and rapid transit schedules are coordinated for the fastest possible transfer of passengers. An exclusive auto pickup lane is provided for passengers who are dropped off in the morning and picked up at night, the so-called kiss-and-ride system.

The 60,000 passengers attracted daily (10,000 during the maximum rush hour) by these convenient auto, bus, and rapid transit facilities prove that coordinated transportation works and that, with the help of auto and bus, rapid transit can effectively serve the diversified needs of a large metropolitan community.

In addition to moving people efficiently, rapid transit has a beneficial and stabilizing effect on nearby land values. The permanence of rail rapid transit attracts both commercial and residential construction. Since the Cleveland transit system was inaugurated in 1955, over 30 commercial and apartment buildings have been constructed or are in the planning stage near the transit lines. These buildings are valued at $169 million. Similar development has been experienced along the Shaker Heights rapid transit line where approximately $30 million has been invested in commercial and apartment buildings, greatly increasing the area's tax revenues.

Also, in Toronto, which opened its first subway in 1954, property values within two blocks reached three to seven times presubway values. Within 3 years the increase in property taxes exceeded the fixed charges of the subway by one-third.

It is interesting to note that the original line in Toronto, which is only 4½ miles long, transports approximately 250,000 passengers every business day. Thirty-two thousand passengers are carried in peak hours and for 15-minute periods passengers have been carried at a rate of 39,000 per hour. A second route opened in Toronto in 1963 and a third is now under construction. The subway has greatly benefited the citizens of Toronto in many ways.

THE BENEFITS ABOUND

First, it eased surface traffic congestion in the downtown area and overnight increased the capacity for automotive traffic in the business and commercial area. Traffic experts agree that it would take a highway 20 lanes wide to transport in automobiles the number of passengers carried by this subway. To duplicate subway capacity on the surface,

the community would have had to build at least three major streets— and carving new streets through a large city can only be done at incredible cost and loss of valued real estate property.

Second, the subway attracted new customers. One of the most difficult jobs of a transit system is to convert automobile drivers into transit riders. Yet this is a major factor in the solution of traffic congestion. The only way drivers can be converted into riders is to make transit faster and more convenient than automobiles. A survey reported that 13 percent of the subway riders formerly drove their cars to work. From these figures it is estimated that subway is keeping 10,000 automobiles off the streets of Toronto every business day. Think of the relief this would give to Washington's harried commuters and to the downtown business section if 13 percent of the auto traffic were removed.

And third—and perhaps most important—the subway has encouraged redevelopment and new development along the entire route. Dozens of attractive commercial and office buildings have been built in the past 5 years, many of them replacing substandard housing that was a burden on the taxpayers. These new buildings have added millions of dollars to the assessment rolls. Assessed values in the 14 subdivisions through which the rapid transit system passes increased 37 percent in the first 5 years, while assessed values in the remainder of the city showed an increase of only 20 percent.

OTHERS TAKE NOTICE

Various other cities are facing up to the reality that coordinated metropolitan transportation is the only solution to critical transit problems. San Francisco is one of those cities. Recognizing its problems, the community has taken the initial steps to solve them.

In November 1962, the bay area residents voted for a $792 million bond issue to obtain the world's finest regional rapid transit system. They wanted to preserve their city's livability and cultural attractiveness while stimulating economic growth and employment. The people did not want to see transportation arteries uselessly jammed * * * did not want to lose homes, parks, and landmarks to these arteries * * * and were rudely awakened by the great loss of property tax resources which resulted when land was acquired, in increasing amounts, for new highways.

The bay area network will be 75 miles in length, with routes extending through the city of San Francisco, as well as through two east bay counties where several populous cities are located. It will serve, in all, nearly 30 cities and communities throughout the region.

The trains serving the system will have top speeds of 70 and 80 miles an hour. Average schedule speed, including station stops, will be 50 miles an hour—or approximately twice as fast as that of any transit system in the Nation. The trains will be completely automatic with a single operator assigned to take over in emergencies and to inform or assist passengers. Some 35,000 parking spaces will be available at the various stations for passengers who drive their cars from home.

An outstanding aspect of the system, which is also part of the Washington plan, is that it will take advantage of existing highway and railroad rights-of-way. Some 34 miles of the 75-mile network will be located adjacent to existing railroads in the area, thus utilizing present transportation rights-of-way and minimizing the condemnation of other commercial and residential property. Another 14 miles of the system will be built within or alongside automobile freeways. The first lines, totaling approximately 40 miles in length, will go into commercial operation in 1968, and the bulk of the system will be operating by 1969. The final segments will be completed in 1971.

Thus rapid transit will complement and multiply the effectiveness of the existing and planned highway network. The total system will allow the area to have both an economically powerful central area and a dispersed suburban complex of residential, industrial, and retail functions—all connected and working together to produce a healthier and more diverse regional economy.

The commercial and social benefits to be derived from the Bay Area system are worth noting by Washington area residents: (1) over 100,000 new jobs will be attracted to the area; (2) rush hour travel time will be reduced one-third to one-half; (3) there will be an estimated decrease of 300 accidents each year; (4) each commuter will have $33 per year on car insurance; and (5) an all-auto oriented system would have cost the community more than twice as much as the planned system.

In studying the transit systems of these communities, it is well to remember that cities compete with one another to attract industry, commerce, sporting events, conventions, fine arts—and talented people. By piercing the traffic jams with rapid transit, more people will move freely throughout metropolitan areas. This will permit greater freedom of choice where business, plants, and workers can locate. Major business and cultural concentration will flourish.

A city with rapid transit as part of a coordinated metropolitan transportation system will be in the best competitive position. Can we in the metropolitan Washington area afford to allow our community to be placed at a competitive disadvantage?

The question has been raised as to whether citizens would use a rapid rail transit system if it were available. The experiences of those cities which now have a rapid transit system indicate that the appeal of the system is great. In Toronto, public acceptance of the subway exceeded all expectations. It proved to be the anchor of the community. It has assured the permanence and stability of the downtown area, which is the foundation for growth and prosperity in any city. Statistics show that in those cities now using rapid rail transit, an average of 65 percent of the population does travel on the transit network, while the remaining 35 percent drive their own vehicles. In Chicago, the ratio is as large as 85 percent and in New York 83 percent use the transit networks.

On the other hand, in Washington only 35 percent of our citizens use existing facilities, such as they are, and 65 percent drive en mass downtown to work. And, even after fighting the snarling traffic jams to get into the city, they must find parking spaces which are becoming increasingly scarce.

The planners of our city must prepare for the transit problems that come with explosive growth and the ever-increasing private vehicle use and ownership. Growing cities without plans for a balanced system of rapid transit can only mark time in progress. Every class of business suffers, including real estate, when these plans are not formulated.

What is the solution for the Washington metropolitan area? In the final analysis the answer to our transportation problem rests, of course, with Congress. But it is the responsibility of the entire community to provide the impetus to insure congressional action on this vital matter. We must not forget that this project is a community project—a project which holds untold benefits for the entire community—a project which may well determine the economic future of our community.

The time for discussion, for studies and proposals is past. We have a workable blueprint for a rapid transit system. Let us now begin to make this blueprint a reality. You can—and should—support this call for action by imploring your Congressman and friends to act now to endorse the rapid rail transit system.

Let us urge, as President Johnson has urged, that "* * * this session of Congress be known as the session which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies."

Seven Hundred and Twelve Million Dollars Savings Add Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, with permission to extend my remarks I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any editorial which appeared in the Miami Herald of June 22, 1964, entitled "Seven Hundred and Twelve Million Dollars Savings Add Up."

The editorial pays tribute to my able friend and colleague, the Honorable PAUL G. ROGERS, of Florida, for his efforts in reducing the "giveaway features" of the Foreign Aid Program. As the editorial points out, as a result of Mr. ROGERS' amendment to the 1959 foreign aid bill the taxpayers of the United States have already realized a savings of $712 million.

The editorial follows:

SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWELVE MILLION DOLLAR SAVINGS ADD UP

The usual last-minute rush is under way in Congress this month to raise the temporary limit on the national debt for another year.

The ceiling now requested is $324 billion. This is $9 billion above the present limit, which expires June 30. Unless the Senate acts, the ceiling would drop automatically on July 1 to the permanent $285 billion, which is $28 billion below the present outstanding debt.

The House approved the $324 billion level Thursday by 203 Democratic votes to 182 noes. Not a single Republican favored the hike, and 28 Democrats sided with the GOP.

Actually, Congress is virtually obliged to grant the administration's request at this point. The time to make it unnecessary was months ago. For the only way to reduce the national debt is to cut Federal spending.

This simple truth is evident to a number of Senators and Congressmen. One who acted upon it several years ago is Representative PAUL G. ROGERS, Democrat, of Florida. He sponsored an amendment to the foreign aid bill in 1959 requiring annual studies and reports whereby gifts and grants could be progressively reduced and eventually terminated.

This standing mandate has had impressive results under the heading of supporting assistance, which Representative ROGERS explains consists of direct financial grants, sometimes amounting to underwriting the entire operations of a government.

Since 1959, the administration's request for supporting assistance money has been slashed from $1.047 billion to $405 million. And the number of countries getting this cash from U.S. taxpayers has declined from 41 to 14.

In other words, the Rogers amendment has saved Americans $642 million, and put 27 nations on their own feet.

More modest success has been achieved since 1962 in the kind of foreign subsidies labeled technical cooperation. The saving here is $70 million. The reduction in beneficiaries has been only 8—from 77 to 69.

But technical cooperation may well be the best kind of foreign aid. It exports know-how instead of bundles of cash.

To be sure, the $3.5 billion for foreign aid is but a fraction of next year's $100 billion budget. Yet the Rogers amendment already has saved $712 million in this item.

Similar built-in reducing orders for other budget items might eventually shrink the national debt.

Anyone who thinks that $712 million savings is a pittance should ponder how hard the average taxpayer works to earn $712, let alone $712 million.

Shock Wave From Apportionment Ruling Beginning To Roll In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, a hurried count shows that more than 125 House joint resolutions, House resolutions, Senate joint resolutions, and Senate resolutions have been introduced, either looking to a constitutional amendment nullifying the series of Supreme Court decisions on reapportionment of State legislatures handed down on June 15, 1964, or staying the effect of such decisions for periods varying from 1 to 7 years.

More and more thoughtful citizens, living both in metropolitan and rural areas, are concerned about the long-range effect of such Supreme Court decisions. Since such decisions have nullified or will nullify the constitutions of at least 40 States in the matter of apportionment of State legislatures, newspapers throughout the land have been alerting their readers to the possible harmful effects resulting therefrom.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio, a few days ago, carried a four-column news story with a four-column headline, the headline being as follows: "Shock Wave From Apportionment Ruling Beginning To Roll In." The story was written by that able correspondent, Dick Kirkpatrick, chief of the Washington bureau of the Enquirer. The news story follows, and I commend it to the reading not only of my colleagues, but to all persons who are interested in preventing what might well become a constitutional crisis in our history.

SHOCK WAVE FROM APPORTIONMENT RULING BEGINNING TO ROLL IN

(By Dick Kirkpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—Through a series of opinions written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the U.S. Supreme Court has waved its magic wand to create a utopia of "one man, one vote" that will force virtually all 50 States to get new legislatures.

In one of the most far-reaching decisions in its history, the High Court has declared that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned solely on population alone and without regard to other historic factors.

No advocate of democracy can quarrel with the Court's high ideal of "one man, one vote." But, in fact, this simple arithmetical theorem has never been adhered to strictly either in the Federal or State governments—for good cause as will be shown.

And the shock of the Court's decisions is just beginning to set in with the realization that new injustices and inequalities will result, and perhaps more than are corrected by the utopian decree.

Such legal scholars as Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Piqua, one of the most influential Members in Congress, have led the way of those concerned. He has introduced a proposal for a constitutional amendment to permit one of two houses of a State legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population alone, provided that the voters of a State approve such a plan. Hearings will start July 22.

Cincinnati's Justice Potter Stewart wrote a sharp dissent. "To put the matter plainly, there is nothing in all the history of this Court's decisions which support this constitutional rule," he said.

"The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union," Justice Stewart wrote.

"With all respect, I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured, not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory," he added.

Congressman MCCULLOCH, ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee, a former speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives, and one of the top drafters and leaders of the civil rights bill, had much the same to say about the Court's overstepping of its power.

"It has appeared to a rapidly increasing number of thoughtful citizens that the Supreme Court has begun in recent years to exceed its proper authority and usurp powers which long have been held to belong to the States or to other branches of the Federal Government," he said.

"With regrettable frequency in recent years, the court seems to be assuming the role of elected officials in taking up the mace of the lawmakers. By such unwarranted action the Supreme Court evokes increasing public distrust and rebuke," said the Congressman.

Congressman MCCULLOCH views the Court decision as a threat to the U.S. Senate, composed of 2 Senators in each of the 50 States. Justice Stewart noted that mathematically 17 percent of the Nation's population could control the Senate.

Yet, the Federal system of government—upon which some State legislatures are patterned in part—has been hailed as the best form of government ever devised by man.

The issue of States rights against the Court concept was clearly presented in the Colorado case. The Supreme Court has told Colorado voters that they are unable to determine what is best for Colorado.

The evil that the Colorado voters committed was to "dilute" their own vote by agreeing to an apportionment plan (by nearly 2-to-1 vote) that would permit the Senate to be divided, not only on population basis but on additional factors (such as geography, history, community interest, etc.), with the result that the Senate districts varied in population by 3.7 to 1. Two mountain districts together cover an area greater than half the State of Indiana.

Every county in Colorado gave majority approval to the plan in the November 1962 election. But to prove that the Colorado voter knew what he was doing, at the same election, by more than a 2 to 1 vote, another constitutional amendment was rejected that specifically would have required both the House and Senate to be apportioned strictly on population alone.

Colorado voters frequently have used the process of initiative. Thus a majority of voters have the right at any time to change their legislative structure in a statewide election in which one vote counts equally with all others.

Heretofore, apportionment of State legislatures has been left to the political process—which the Supreme Court now reduces to simple arithmetic. The political process has permitted the same leeway in considering human jury trials.

It is inevitable that some day some forgotten and neglected minority group in a legislative district is going to ask the Supreme Court for help.

Let us assume you are a voter in a neglected rural or mountainous area attached to an urban district. Your legislator ignores your demand for a share in roads and other improvements. You can shout yourself blue, for your legislator wins handily by the urban vote.

Does it make you happier to know that your vote "counts" as "one man, one vote"?

Justice Stewart has referred to "effective representation," where apportionment considers county boundaries, historic factors, community interests, accessibility, and the like.

Under the Court's concept, legislative districts may have to cross county lines to meet the demands of arithmetic. Today, State legislative districts invariably must follow county lines, because this is the basic unit of government and can vary widely.

So, if Colorado voters want a little Federal system in their legislature, they will have to adopt the McCulloch amendment or else devise an elective system such as proportional representation if they desire that minorities be heard.

On July 1, 1964, the Sidney Daily News had an excellent editorial on the subject. The editorial follows:

THE MINORITY VOICE

Fourth District Congressman WILLIAM MCCULLOCH has introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that would substantially negate the recent decision of the Supreme Court on apportionment of State legislatures.

In this move for joint action by both Houses of the Congress, he has been joined by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, with a similar resolution in the Senate.

It is quite doubtful that the full import of this decision has made its impression on a substantial majority of the American people.

Although, as has been pointed out in these columns previously, Ohio was not directly involved in the litigation before the Court, like most other States it cannot qualify under the strict interpretation spelled out in the opinion of the Court.

Let's bring the matter closer home. At the present time, Shelby County has one representative in the house of the general assembly at Columbus. Under the Hanna amendment, every county in the State is entitled to at least one member in the house regardless of population.

Under the Supreme Court ruling this would be changed, with representation in both houses based on population.

Depending upon the formula applied, Shelby County might be combined in one district with Auglaize County, or it might be

combined with Auglaize and Mercer, or Logan and Auglaize.

It is possible that Shelby and Miami Counties might be combined in one district to select one representative to the general assembly.

Under such an apportionment, there would be serious question as to minority representation. In overturning dual representation in State legislatures, the Court has brushed aside minority protection.

Certainly, the majority must have effective rule, but the minority, too, is entitled to effective representation lest important segments of our people be completely subject to the tyranny of a temporary majority.

Perhaps it is correct to say, as the Supreme Court did, that legislators represent people, not trees or acres, but the people are not mere numbers. They are people with dissimilar and sometimes conflicting needs, with conflicting hopes and aspirations.

The requirement that both houses be apportioned strictly on population alone would amount to a desertion of the rights of the minority and an abandonment of the unique needs of the individual citizens.

In that the proposed amendment would permit apportionment of one house of the legislature on factors other than population, the voice of the minority could be heard.

Humility in Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, on the Sunday following Memorial Day, the Reverend Thomas M. Johnston, minister of the Maxwell Street Presbyterian Church, in Lexington, Ky., delivered a most provocative sermon on the need for humility in the hour of victory. In his reference to passages in the Bible, Mr. Johnston illustrates how it has been the nature of man and nations to be susceptible to being lulled by the triumphant elation of victory. He points out how individuals and nations must remain vigilant and compassionate to universal human needs in victory, in order to remain eternally strong. In gentleness is there the greatest power. Unless one does remain alert, victory may well carry its own seeds of decay and eventual defeat.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to have this sermon placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where its message may alert all of us to the need to rededicate ourselves to those principles exemplified by the life of Christ.

"DEFEATED BY VICTORIES"—SERMON PREACHED BY THOMAS M. JOHNSTON, MAXWELL STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, LEXINGTON, KY., MAY 31, 1964

"Therefore let anyone who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall"—I Corinthians 10: 12.

When is a man ruined by success? When is a nation defeated by victories? These are the questions that get us underway this morning. They are questions which provide some kind of insight into what is God's word for us today. The sense of what Paul says surely would be that when a man is successful he is standing on dangerous ground * * * "Let anyone who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall." Success can be deceiving. Victories can really be defeats. Is that it? Well, it's a part of it. And it's a part that we often fail to recognize. Here in Lexington, anyhow, we are conditioned by an enormous emphasis upon success and victory, athletically speaking. A leader fails unless he produces, and it's made very clear that by producing one means attaining victories. We are told that victory and success are the things we ought to seek, and that if victory wasn't paramount there would be no point in keeping score. Much of this has real basis. A person who enjoys losing is a strange person indeed. Many times success is a measurement of how deeply we are really involved in what we are doing. But there is a danger in success, and that's what we are concerned with this morning. We hear on every side the risk and danger of developing a defeatist complex, but we don't hear much about the risk of winning.

Against the background of this sermon today stands Memorial Day. To remember the heroes of war and conflict, to think of the glories of a nation's struggle, is, of course, for us to think of a nation's victory, to remember her triumph. When we become absorbed in such recollections we are in a very vulnerable position, and we need to "take heed lest we fall." I believe we are on firm ground when we say that victory may be the spawning ground of ultimate defeat. We say sometimes that defeat is not necessarily the end, but neither is victory the final word. Victories can lead to further disciplines. England, after conflict, tightened its belt, so to speak, until her program for her people was more austere than that under which her former enemies lived. Many times in reaction to victory a kind of stupor and depression sets in; despair can follow acclaim; a wild spree in celebration of a victory can undo hard-won gains.

Why is it true that victory has risks and danger? Well, for one thing a successful man is often a lonely man, and a victorious nation does not always win friends in her hour of triumph. Someone says, "Success is an introduction to loneliness." If you want company beware how you become too successful. It is the American way to root for the underdog. Let a man find the going rough and his way a way of stumbling and uncertainty, and there will be many who see in him a sense of their own failure, and will befriend him. A strange thing has happened in American sports. The New York Yankees baseball team has become a proverbial symbol of success. The other major league team in New York, the Mets, is a doormat for the rest of the league. They are dead last. But the strange thing is that the team crowned with success, the team that is a byword for pennants and championships, stands relatively deserted by the fans, while the Mets, the team that is always last, can scarcely handle the mobs that want to see them play. The Yankees have been too successful. They stand alone. The crowd deserts them. The crowd will ultimately desert the winner, if success is repeated with too much regularity. A successful man becomes fair game for all the envy and spite and greed of little people. He stands where they want to stand. He represents the success they imagine for themselves. He becomes suspect. His motives are questioned. His well-intended word is misconstrued.

With this in mind it isn't such a startling thing, that in her strongest hour America is the least-loved nation in the world. Writers and commentators and politicians make much of this fact. We hear much of the image of America, and how we appear to others. Personally, I suspect it may be overdone. It would seem that there is much of genuine admiration and respect for America abroad. But doubtless also there is much bitterness and envy. But really such is to be expected. It is par for the course. Basically, you can never buy the favor of other people. We may buy their silence; we may persuade them to do thus and so, but we can never buy their deep-seated affection. A conquering nation had best be prepared to stand by itself.

But there is something here of deeper meaning for us than is illustrated in the sports scene or the national scene. We ought to take it to heart in a very personal way. The person who with genuine dedication walks the upward way, "looking unto Jesus," will have a hard time of it, when his heart cries out for company. So many times he will have to stand alone. Those who have walked with you will turn aside, and walk no more in your fellowship. Dedicated men always run this risk. I suppose there has never been a man more lonely in his greatness than was Jesus of Nazareth. Do you remember how he looked out upon the multitudes as they went away from him, as one after another just got up and walked away? He stood for a moment watching them, and then turned to his very closest friends, his disciples, and asked, "Will ye also go away?" He was prepared to see them leave also. He said to them that the time would come when they would desert him, all of them, and only the Father would remain—and in that bitterest of all hours, on the cross, he wondered that God himself had withdrawn His face.

There are times also when success makes us too confident, and therein we are defeated by our victories. We let our guard down. We put aside our diligence. We grow lax and careless. As long as the struggle continues we dig deeply into our resources, seeking that extra bit of effort which may turn the tide in our favor. When we have won and the victory is secured we forget that vigilance is as necessary to maintain liberty as it was to attain it. Many times the enemy is not destroyed; he has simply gone underground, waiting for a more favorable moment to strike. I suppose old Goliath felt that because there was a crack in his armor that day when he went out to challenge the army of King Saul, it did not really matter. He would not be forced to fight any more than on other days. But the stone from David's sling that day found the crack in his armor, and got through to the vital spot, and Goliath was dead. Samson got careless—even with all the strength he had. I suppose he felt that he was perfectly safe. But he was shorn of his strength, and many another man who has gotten himself into a stupor, has aroused himself too late to find his strength gone. Samson had his eyes put out, and was made sport of by his enemies, and was bound to the wheel of slaving tasks simply because he got careless and felt he was safe. He didn't have St. Paul standing over him to say, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

A nation, too, may well grow careless to her finest nationhood when she is crowned with glory and honor. I went back and read again a sermon that Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick preached during World War II. He called it "Worshipping the Gods of a Beaten Enemy." That preacher was concerned over the fact that we are tempted to assume the character of the enemies we destroy. In order to defeat evil we almost become evil. History would verify the fact that this happened again and again. Intolerance and bigotry are no less attractive when found in us. Racial prejudice and bias is no more tolerable when done up in American style. Amaziah, King of Judah, came back to Jerusalem after his conquest of the Edomites and we read, "He brought the gods of the children of Edom, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense before them." In the light of that word, do we need to add any other?

There is also the very real danger of the deterioration of personality that comes with victory and success. Maybe this isn't the

best way of saying what I want to say at this point, but haven't you ever known anyone who was attractive, winsome, as long as he kept up the struggle, but who became cocky, proud, almost vicious and most unattractive when he became successful? Haven't you ever known anyone like that? We say that success has gone to his head. What we mean I suppose is that his personality has undergone a change, and furthermore a change for the worse. Listen then, as we simply put three of the common traits of an attractive personality against this background: humility, generosity and kindness.

Think of how hard it is for a successful man to be truly humble. Sometimes a man who wins becomes a showoff. He brags. He thrusts his thumbs under his armpits and assumes a pose of almighty power. He becomes a self-made man. He forgets that no man is self-made—that there is always a mother willing to go down to the grave that he might have life. It is hard for a successful man to be really humble. It is a danger of success; it is why sometimes victories defeat us. But real greatness is always humble. It knows that the best treasures are always gifts—that they are never earned. It knows that in the mystery of God's providence success is denied to him who labors as hard and as faithfully—perhaps more so—than he whose effort is crowned with victory. It knows that the real meaning and glory of life is simply to be faithful to what God has given us to do, and to have a deep and holy sense of responsibility to use well every resource and ability He has put in our hands and hearts.

And then sometimes, too, a person refuses to be generous in success. I don't mean generous in the sense of bestowing gifts alone, but primarily generous in attitude and disposition. There is a story somewhere about a man who vowed vengeance upon his neighbor for some real or imagined slight. He finally ruined the man, and when he saw the moving van carting away the furniture and knew that the house had been sold out from under him, he cried in ecstacy, "My God, that's conquering." No, he was the beaten man. He was defeated by his refusal to be generous in spirit, by his obstinate pride. Abraham Lincoln was never greater than in those famous words he has left to stab our prideful minds, "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." It's hard to come by a spirit like that when you are riding high in triumph. It's even harder to do what Jesus Christ did when he prayed for his enemies. That wasn't weakness in the Savior; that wasn't a sentimental approach to pain; it was nothing but blazing strength which enabled him to pray, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." God keep us from hating. Keep us from a hard and bitter and unyielding spirit. Please, God, keep us from this.

Will you remember, too, that sometimes in victory we forget to be kind and gentle. How many wonderful people have limited their usefulness, and have actually driven people away from them in their triumph, by neglecting to be kind. Victory does not mean that you have to go on parade over the bodies of those you have overcome. Strength of life and character does not mean that you forget some people are weaker than you are. When you gain a victory you are not given some right to play as if you were God with right to pass judgment on your fellows. The world grows cold for want of gentle spirits. Sometimes it simply is a matter of taking time to notice how people need you. It was like this with Jesus many times. He stopped to notice; he delayed because he cared. This is one of the basic reasons why we will never be rid of Jesus. We cannot afford to lose His kind spirit. He was no man of war; there was nothing of that to draw a modern world to Him. He never offered a formula by which the mysteries of nature might be understood and used. But he was a gentle man. He knew the burdens that people carried, and He ministered to them. He sensed what they were anxious and troubled about, and spoke to them of a God who was kind. Firm? Yes, but kind. We simply can't do without this that we find in Jesus. The whole world needs it desperately. We miss this often in people who have attained success, and wonder if really it's worth it, and how they get along even with themselves. David, away back on the far side of the years knew that God was kind. In his "Song of Deliverance" he says about God, "Thy gentleness hath made me great."

The whole of personality can become so warped and twisted all out of proper shape by success. It isn't worth it. What one achieves in success can never compensate for the loss of a humble spirit, a generous disposition, and a kind and gentle heart.

And a nation, this Nation, as well as the individual has a personality. The nation can lose itself, can lose its very soul; can become a distorted, ugly personality, through the wrong response to the greatness she has achieved. It has happened before; it can happen again; it can happen to us—for we are the Nation, or a part of it anyhow. We have been on trial in the struggle; we are still on trial in the midst of all our strength. May God show unto us His way.

Salute to Upper Volta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today Upper Volta celebrates the fourth anniversary of her independence, and we are proud to extend warm felicitations on this occasion to His Excellency Maurice Yaméogo, President of Upper Volta; and His Excellency John Boureima Kabore, Upper Volta's Ambassador to the United States.

This nation has progressed under the farsighted and wise leadership of Mr. Yaméogo, who has been president since April 25, 1959. This former teacher, Minister of Agricultural Economy, Minister of the Interior, and President of the Government Council has guided this new country with great agility and care through the difficult days that preceded and followed independence. Under the direction of Mr. Yaméogo the domestic economy of the country has prospered and its foreign policy has been peaceful and stable.

Upper Volta, slightly larger than the State of Colorado, covers an area of 105,900 miles in the heart of West Africa and has a population of about 3,500,000 people. Its most serious problem is the fact that it is landlocked, located 500 miles from the Gulf of Guinea and more than 1,000 miles from the Atlantic Ocean at Dakar. Upper Volta has attempted to hurdle this natural barrier to trade by becoming a member of the Council of the Entente which is a trade association made up of the countries of Niger, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta. The Council has already set up a custom union as well as a Solidarity Fund for financial assistance to each of its member states. It has also provided for the coordination of the development plans of the four countries and of their policies in the fields of taxation, public administration, labor legislation, public works, transportation, and communications. This association is a fine example of the way in which cooperation among African nations can lead to economic benefits for all, as well as providing for cooperation among these nations in other areas.

The present democratic government, the Legislative Assembly, is elected by direct and universal suffrage and a commission is presently studying the possibility of having the President elected directly by the people—he is presently appointed by the Assembly—has made great progress in expanding transportation, improving agricultural pasturage and livestock methods, and instituting programs to expand cultivable land and to restore Upper Volta's primary forests. Attempts are being made to increase industrial and manufacturing output and to increase exports. All these efforts to improve the living conditions of the people and to promote the economic well-being of the country have been remarkably successful though there is much yet to be done. Nonetheless, all signs point to the fact that Upper Volta's future is a promising one indeed.

The early history of Upper Volta is not well known. In the 19th century the Mossi dominated the region and controlled its government. In 1896 the French established a protectorate and in 1919 the country was made a part of French West Africa. Just 4 years ago Upper Volta achieved the independence that its leaders desired for so long. They have used their freedom wisely and their democratic government with its forward-looking policies in all areas of governmental activity are an example to the continent of Africa and further proof of what a free people can accomplish. The citizens of Upper Volta are the first to admit that there is much to do before their country will reach a higher standard of living. But they can be proud of their accomplishments. The new hospital at Quagadougou is one of the most modern and completely equipped in all French-speaking Africa.

Other improvements in health and welfare attest to the accomplishments of this country. The people of the United States congratulate all the citizens of Upper Volta and, on their Independence Day, wish them well in the years to come. Past accomplishments augur well for the future of this growing democracy in the heart of Africa.

It is well for all of us to pause for a moment today and consider the words of President Yaméogo which he spoke on the first Independence Day of Upper Volta. They present the philosophy of this new country very well and are serving as guidelines for its development:

It is into a world long seen from the perspective of another dimension that the young African nations are making their entrance today as full partners; but if history makes them belated Wise Men, the gifts that they bring to the cradle of the New World are no less costly, for they are made of age-old wisdom and the will to construct. Their dynamism, long buried within, will be devoted to the reconciliation of the worlds in behalf of the only worthwhile cause—that of man himself.

Africa, land of age-old wisdom, must, on the contrary, bring to the world the new dimension which, up to now, has been lacking and has kept it from finding its equilibrium; the source of this contribution is in its traditions of brotherhood, of solidarity and, also, in the depths of its philosophy conceived on the scale of man. The age-old wisdom to which I refer will hold surprises in store; all that remains is to allow time to do its work.

Government and the Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the highly respected and veteran news columnist, Marquis Childs, in an article published by the Washington Post of August 5, discusses the emphasis being placed on culture by the Johnson administration, and particularly the activities of Mr. Roger Stevens, the President's principal cultural adviser.

The immediate goal is the passage of legislation creating a national arts council. The other body has passed this legislation. The bill, H.R. 9586, which would create such a council has been reported from the Committee on Education and Labor. As was the situation in the other body, there is strong bipartisan support for this bill. We are gratified to have the active support of the President's principal cultural adviser in behalf of the bill.

I include the column by Mr. Childs as a part of my remarks:

WASHINGTON CALLING

(By Marquis Childs)

PRESIDENT KEEPS SOCIETY IN MIND

The convention, the Vice Presidency, the campaign, the war in Vietnam—these are the preoccupations high on a list that keeps President Johnson in constant motion 12 to 14 hours a day. But he finds time, nevertheless, to consider details of his great society.

One of his earliest acts when he became President was to push the congressional appropriation of $15.5 million matching public contributions to build the John F. Kennedy Center of the Performing Arts. He put Roger Stevens, theatrical producer and real estate developer, in charge of the Center. This gives Stevens culture, in its relationship to Government, as his province.

Stevens is wading in bravely with the hope of expanding the cultural horizon. One aim is to use resources in the arts that have fallen into neglect. The immediate goal is to persuade Congress to authorize the creation of an Arts Council. The Council was to have been created by Executive order, but with congressional approval, as the President realized, it would have broader authority.

Stevens is batting up a series of ideas for Mr. Johnson's consideration. He has pointed out that on Government buildings built by the Government, 0.5 percent of the cost may, under law, be spent on the arts—sculpture, murals, fountains. If this were taken advantage of, the monotonous cubes currently being put up would look somewhat less like the beginning of an Orwellian city of 1984.

Similarly on Federal Housing Administration loans for apartments and other projects, the law says 1 percent can be spent on the arts. Stevens believes that with a little prodding by FHA, builders would use this provision.

One of his long-time concerns has been the slow death of the living theater. Except for New York and sporadically in a half-dozen other cities. the theater has all but disappeared.

As one way to try to bring back live theater, Stevens proposes FHA loans to build standardized playhouses in—as one possibility—shopping centers. Touring companies would use standardized sets. In this way, costs could be pared down so that the price of a ticket could be $2 or $2.50, which is in the range of current movie admissions. In suburban neighborhoods with free parking, the cost of a long trek to the center of the city would be eliminated.

Another Stevens idea is for the FHA to finance, on a small beginning scale, residences for artists combined with studios. While the pad in a cold-water flat may be preferable as a way of life to some artists, others might accept the label "square" for comfort and convenience.

Stevens gives high priority to enhancing the role of the artist in American life and enlarging his function at every level. Too often Government has simply ignored such considerations. U.S. postage stamps are an example. They continue on a dreary, uninspired level in contrast to countries with far fewer resources than ours. The Kennedy memorial stamp appalled philatelists, including Members of Congress who are collectors, by its bland and tasteless lack of distinction.

Work on the Kennedy Center will soon begin. Echoes of the flap over its location in Foggy Bottom near a big freeway construction are still heard. But, as the late President said in an effort to put an end to the dissension, once Congress had given a designated piece of land for the structure, it would probably be fatal to go back and try to get it changed.

Now what counts is the vitality of what will go on in the Center and the warmth and the responsiveness of the audiences it draws. In the fury of the campaign, the President's great society may be scoffed at as a campaign gimmick. But as a view of the future and the new horizons for growth and creativity, it is close to his heart.

Admiral Ricketts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding names in U.S. naval history is that of Adm. Claude V. Ricketts. His passing from this life a few days ago closed the log on his distinguished career in the U.S. Navy, but he will long be remembered by the men who served with him and the citizens who recognized his devotion to his country. The history of World War II records the courage and leadership ability of this naval hero displayed at Pearl Harbor, Tarawa, Eniwetok, Saipan, Tinian, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and in the occupation of Japan.

A letter to the editor of the Washington Post written by William C. Allen is a fitting tribute to the late Vice Chief of Naval Operations. I include the text of Mr. Allen's letter here and call it to the attention of my colleagues:

ADMIRAL RICKETTS

Our country has lost a great American. He was one of those fine, courageous men who live quietly, serve their country and fellow men quietly, and die quietly. Adm. Claude V. Ricketts' passing may leave no sense of great loss in the hearts of people across the country, those not too closely aware of the work of the servicemen in our Nation's Capital, and in the farflung units of a worldwide naval service.

Admiral Ricketts' naval career epitomized the lifelong dedication of a man who rose from an apprentice seaman to a four-star admiral. He lived and daily accomplished the great things so often promised by the blaring voices of our politically ambitious. His great qualities of courage and leadership so well exhibited at Pearl Harbor were carried into his last task: to create a NATO nuclear-powered fleet powerful enough to maintain our liberty.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

WASHINGTON.

Letters to the Editor—Deplores Tactics of Union Organizer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on July 30, I inserted into the RECORD an editorial reporting on an incident in my district which is repeated daily throughout the country as a result of the deliberate manner in which the NLRB flaunts the intent of Congress and the wishes of the public in the administration of the Landrum-Griffin bill.

I place into the RECORD at this point a letter to the editor of the Park Forest Reporter published in its Wednesday, July 30 issue, which explains the situation that has developed in parts of Cook County, Ill.

I previously directed to the attention of the Members of the House that the complete failure of the NLRB in administering the Landrum-Griffin law is the basis for these developments, and this editorial gives emphasis to the situation.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR—DEPLORES TACTICS OF UNION ORGANIZER

Monday, July 20, 1964, Park Forest was visited by a pair of union organizers in a black sedan about to perform a very simple job of what some call "racket picketing." On request, one of the boys handed me a card identifying himself as Sam A. Crovedi, business representative for the truck drivers, oil drivers and filling station employees union,

affiliated with International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local Union No. 705.

A little checking disclosed that these boys, or some of their affiliates, had done some calling at every filling station in Park Forest and some as far distant as Ridge Road and Halsted Street in Homewood. Without exception, to the best information available, none of the station operators or their employees wanted any part of this union. But Mr. Crovedi and associates have been, and I suppose in the future will be, in a process of friendly persuasion to change all this. It is really very simple and evidently outside the grasp of law authorities and it works something like this.

The service station operator is a hard-working soul that leases a station from one of the oil companies on fairly harsh contractual terms. He may have two to six employees on any one shift, and none of them with whom I have had contact is making a great deal of money. These employees are generally paid the union scale or more, are dedicated to their jobs, and generally hold a high respect for their employer. I have talked with many of these employees and have found not a single one of them that wanted any part of a union. But the organizer and his boys want a part of these employees and it amounts, I am told, to a mere $5 a month. For what? For the privilege of being affiliated with the Teamsters Union.

But the station operator and the employees do not want affiliation, so they say no to Mr. Organizer. The organizer is not caught with his pants down, but his picket signs up. A fuel supply truck then approaches the station, as Mr. Organizer knew it would, and the driver dutifully refuses to cross the picket line. The station storage tanks hold but a few days' supply of gasoline. The station operator and his employees start to sweat a little. Surely there is something that can be done. Why, just call the oil company. They'll surely get some gas through, somehow. The oil company not only turns a deaf ear, but tells the station operator to be nice to Mr. Organizer—and also reminds the station operator that his contract provides that only gas supplied by the oil company can be pumped at his station, so don't get any ideas about bringing in any outside supply of gas.

Well, there must be a law. The station operator calls on his lawyer. He finds that his lawyer, and in fact most lawyers, have never handled this type of case and are not very willing to commit themselves on their first try against a battery of well-trained lawyers specialized in labor law that stand behind the organizer. Also, if such a lawyer would be available, the cost would be prohibitive. Well, then, what about the Civil Liberties Union? Didn't they provide thousands of dollars worth of legal talent to defend the indigent confessed criminal, Danny Escobeda? What about helping an honest businessman and his employees in defending against downright extortion? But the station operator soon learns the Civil Liberties Union doesn't handle this type of case.

Of course, there is always the Government. Aren't they chasing Jimmy Hoffa all over the map right now? This would be right down their alley. A phone call is put into the National Labor Relations Board. The legal adviser regretfully tells the station operator that the NLRB only takes jurisdiction in cases where a $500,000 gross retail sales business in interstate commerce is involved. Nonetheless, the station operator goes down to the NLRB offices and insists on filing a petition. They will send an investigator and after 30 days may attempt an injunction. The next day there is no investigator. The tanks are low on gas and the next morning a delivery is due. Without gas there will be no sales of other items at the station held on consignment. A loss of credit appears certain. How can the operator ask his employees to stand by him without pay. That's hard to do with men who live from weekly paycheck to weekly paycheck.

If only there was a couple of thousand dollars in the bank on which to draw for a period of resistance, perhaps some help would be forthcoming. But most station operators who lease from the oil companies just do not have that kind of money.

A last desperate call is made to the oil company to check on any neglected possibility of getting in any gasoline that could be pumped. They respond to the effect that the next day's delivery will not be attempted if the union contract is not signed.

Dejectedly, the station operator signs the contract and his employees sympathetically understand and share his feelings of depression. They know that this contract could possibly be used as exhibit I toward inducing other station operators and their employees to sign similar contracts and they wonder if the American flag flying on a pole just outside the station shouldn't be lowered to half-mast. Their dejection is compounded by the thought of how far-reaching this type of operation may extend in extortion of money from other small businesses and their employees that are dependent on truck supply lines. Then there is the thought that the resultant accumulation of money from organization efforts such as this will continue to feed a growing cancer in our society that cannot be smashed by antitrust laws, for it evidently stands immune to such treatment.

The awesome spectacle is comparable to other phenomena of our day. Such as the slaughter of 6 million Jews in Germany, the building of a Berlin wall, the fall of Cuba to communism—and all of us stand guilty for great sins of omission, for we hardly even make a protest, let alone take affirmative action to preserve our country from this type of despotism.

Yes, folks, it happened in Park Forest, Ill. Tomorrow it may be Chicago Heights, the next day Homewood. This commentary may never be printed for fear that the presses may have to be closed down for want of a paper delivery.

RICHARD W. HALL, *Attorney.*
PARK FOREST, ILL.

Lake County, Ind., First in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Hammond, Ind., Times reveals the Indiana Calumet region as the No. 1 steel manufacturing center in the world:

CALUMET FIRST IN STEEL

There was a tendency, a decade and a half ago, for observers of economic trends to write of a coming revolutionary shift in sites of steel mills. They followed the hypothesis that the iron ranges around the Great Lakes were running out of high-grade ore after furnishing the raw material for two global wars.

Meanwhile, giant new ore discoveries were being made in such places as Venezuela and West Africa. In a relatively few years, these writers warned, Great Lakes-based steel centers such as the Calumet region would be on the skids. New mills along the seacoasts, built to receive cheap ore from Africa and South America, would dominate American steel production.

What a change in thinking has taken place in 15 years or so. The Illinois Institute of Technology has recently completed a survey which sees the Calumet region not only holding its own but becoming the biggest steelmaking area of the world by 1980.

It is well known that more than $1 billion is now committed to expansion and modernization of steel making and steel finishing facilities by the steel industry in the Calumet region. By 1980, says the IIT survey, several billions more investment will be made.

This huge investment will come because of the new industrial revolution in steel. We already see basic oxygen steelmaking furnaces being built to turn out big heats of steel in about one-tenth the time. New reduction processes to modify or even replace blast furnaces, continuous casting of steel, design of steels that can be shipped direct to a user without intermediate fabrication—all these play a part.

Meanwhile, steel companies have spent additional billions exploring and developing new sources of high-grade ore and efficient ways to utilize lower-grade sources. There will be plenty of ore around the Great Lakes. Coastal steel plants will keep operating, to be sure, but the Calumet region will be the kingpin of steel, as Pittsburgh was of yesteryear.

To the 88,000 people now employed in the Calumet region steelmaking industry—in the 14-mile strip from South Chicago to Portage—will be added 37,000 more steelmaking employees, most of a high degree of education and technical know-how.

It's comforting to know the prophets of gloom of 15 years ago were so far wrong.

The Opportunity in U.S. Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Drover's Journal of July 9 tells very plainly and cogently the brilliant opportunity lying ahead in U.S. agriculture and the importance of agriculture in the position of the United States in world affairs.

I commend it to the reading of all members:

CONSIDER THE OPPORTUNITY

The teachers and community leaders who influence the young people in our Nation have a tremendous responsibility, few will deny. But when it comes to those who instruct and guide our rural youths, the responsibility seems even greater here than for other sections of society. The reason for this is twofold—the changing pattern of opportunity in agriculture, and the importance of rural America to the Nation and the entire world.

Changes in traditional opoprtunities in agriculture are easy to see. In the first place, there is opportunity enough for only 7 percent of the Nation's population to live on farms and take part in farm family activities, which figure has been whittled down from around 25 percent of the population some 25 to 30 years ago.

But the chance to actually farm profitably as it concerns young people is far narrower than these figures indicate. It is estimated by USDA specialists that some quarter of a million young, farm-reared men reach the age to begin their life work each year, and

only about 1 in 10 has much of any chance of obtaining a farm with prospects of earning a gross income of $5,000 a year or more.

The problem then seems abundantly clear. How must we guide the 9 out of 10 young men who must seek an occupation off the farm? Do we put up "no vacancy" signs on agriculture, close out vocational agriculture in high schools, trim extension staffs, and leave the job of running agriculture from now on to specialists?

We had better not if we want to survive. It is just about that simple.

True enough, not everyone can farm today or raise livestock directly. But the man on the farm is not the only important man in the farm picture. He drives the tractor, but someone else built it. Someone else fuels it, puts tires on it, and fixes it when it goes wrong. The driver on the farm has in recent years turned over one job after another to town and city associates. They prepare the tools he uses and process the crops he raises, and without them, his operation would grind to a halt in a matter of days if not hours.

Four out of ten jobs in private employment are related to agriculture. And 16 million people—more than all the people who live on farms—work in processing and marketing farm products and in furnishing supplies and services to farmers. The service industry alone has an income from farmers of about $30 billion annually.

So the opportunity in agriculture is really bigger than it looks at first glance. We just have to consider the whole picture. We cannot have too many sharp young people coming along with good farm backgrounds to staff the feed mills, packing plants, farm service stores, and implement dealerships, to say nothing of banks, extension offices, and marketing agencies, etc.

But we still may ask why it is so important to the Nation and the world that we keep our agri-industry well staffed.

The answer is that the United States today and, to a much smaller extent, the British Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, produce the only significantly large exportable food surpluses in the world. In food grains, the greatest article of world food commerce, the United States exports well over 80 percent of the total shipped.

In other words, a very few million people on farms and in agri-industry in the English-speaking world—maybe 40 to 50 million if you include every single person you can think of—hold the world balance of food power. With a world population increasing in this century from 3.5 billion to somewhere around 6 to 6.5 billion, it isn't hard to make a case for American agriculture and the need to keep it primed with capable young people.

There is more opportunity in agriculture, broadly considered, than most of us realize. It is important that this opportunity be well understood by present and future generations.

Planned Utilization of the Nation's Soil and Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it was most pleasing to me to have word early this afternoon that the House Committee on Agriculture has ordered reported with clarifying amendments my soil and water resources development bill, H.R. 5406. I want to take this opportunity to commend and thank my good friends and colleagues on the committee for this prompt action on my bill.

I am particularly grateful for the warm and effective interest of the distinguished and able gentleman from Texas, my esteemed friend, the Honorable W. R. POAGE, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Conservation and Credit, who conducted hearings on July 27 on this bill. On that same day, the subcommittee ordered the bill reported to the full committee with amendments suggested by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman.

More than other Members of Congress, my good friends and colleagues, the distinguished and able members of this subcommittee are fully aware of the impact of the rapid urbanization of previously purely agricultural areas on the Soil Conservation Service and the ever-growing demand for the services of this agency.

Requests for technical assistance on soil and water conservation problems from landowners other than farmers have increased steadily every year and the members of this subcommittee recognized long before the average Member of Congress that the resources of our soil conservation districts are being pressed in meeting these demands.

All of us recognize that the urban population is steadily increasing, producing an urban sprawl where we find entire regions becoming mixed rural-urban areas. This urban expansion is creating new serious pressures on the land.

These pressures include such needs as sites for new homes, shopping centers, schools, industries, highways, sewage disposal areas, water supply reservoirs, wildlife refuges, recreational areas, and just plain ordinary open green space.

This urban diffusion creates new area-wide development problems also with solutions required not only for the farmer, but for the commuting suburbanite as well.

Many Members of Congress, familiar with the work of the Soil Conservation Service, are realizing that as more rural land becomes urbanized, the changing land use has brought about new local soil conservation district programs that more properly concern the communities within their boundaries, rather than the individual farmer.

The result has been that many of these local soil conservation districts are now devoting the greater proportion of their activities to proper land use, scientific land revision and to land protection, improvement, and management of the changing areas.

Expanding urbanization has made it necessary for the USSCS districts to go into programs far beyond their original conception because a growing number of cities and towns are now applying for the Soil Conservation Service specialized soil surveys and interpretations to assist them in their planning activities.

In recent years, the trend has become increasingly significant—soil surveys, once used mostly for agricultural purposes, now are being put to use by planning commissions all over the Nation to assist them in making land-planning decisions. In my own State, some 200 planning commissions have become aware of the importance of good soils information and there are nearly 50 cities and towns with requests pending for SCS soil surveys on a cost-sharing basis.

We recognize that all taxpayers contribute toward the cost of soil surveys and in many places there is an immediate direct share of the benefits of accurate and detailed soils information.

The further participation of our urban areas in these benefits would help reduce the cost of homes, roads and other man-made structures and also help them in their efforts toward development of their natural resources.

Problems of the land are shared by all taxpayers, whether they are city dwellers, suburbanites or farmers. No one questions that these problems increase with the rapid expansion of the many counties and metropolitan areas which have doubled their population in the past 10 years.

As more and more people leave the city for the suburbs or the rural fringe areas, fewer and fewer people live in truly rural areas. The farmer when he first came to the land had to know the potential and limitations of his soil. Now it is necessary for whole communities to know the kind of soils they have and where the various types of soil are located.

They have to know the extent of soils free from overflow, the soils that are dry most of the time, the soils that have high bearing strength and do not require extensive foundations, the permeable soils suitable as septic tank filter fields, the deep soils that do not present problems of excavation for basements, pipelines or highways.

All these facts, and many others, can be found in the SCS soil surveys. Today some of the biggest boosters of the SCS surveys and maps are engineers, planners, and local officials who are responsible for highway construction and suburban developments.

These local officials have learned that many of the basic principles that have made farming so efficient in this country can be applied equally as well to the selection and management of soils for housing, highways, recreation, and related uses. Basically, the soil classification and maps are the same in both rural and urban areas.

Local planning and conservation officials, concerned with providing new living space for city-based people, have great need for soil surveys especially in those areas changing from rural to urban use. In my own State, there are 351 cities and towns and at least half of them have need for soils information. In my own congressional district, there are only 132,000 acres soil surveyed out of about 800,000 and it will be 1985 before the SCS soils mapping job is completed.

The ever growing need for good soils information in my own State has led me to introduce H.R. 5406. This measure, drawn up for me by the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the House, would authorize the Soil Conservation Service to make soil surveys, furnish technical

assistance and obtain the cooperation of other Federal agencies in assisting urban areas in planning for the changing use of our soil and water resources.

In addition, by focusing attention on soils studies for urban planning, my bill would help to protect the land that should remain in agriculture because of its high productive capacity.

H.R. 5406 can be an effective tool for good urban planning—especially in the fringe areas where the interests of the farmer, the suburbanite, the businessman, the factory owner all meet—by making possible the expansion of the Soil Conservation Service in this vital field.

My bill adds no new authority to the Department of Agriculture for soil surveying. What it does do, however, is help clarify and emphasize the need for this scientific program, developed over the last 60 or more years, and permit funds on a cost-sharing basis to be used primarily to meet the critical needs of our nonfarm citizens.

The losses now being sustained by these citizens and by local governments from mistakes in soil selection probably run into hundreds of millions for the country as a whole. None of this sad waste is necessary because we have soils suitable for housing with the proper soil selection and designs. What is lacking in many places including my own State is up-to-date soil information which the Soil Conservation Service can provide.

As I have said, my bill adds no new authority to the Department of Agriculture, but it does provide a clear-cut congressional recognition of and emphasis on the need for soil surveys and interpretive services for areas requiring these aids.

The original purpose of soil surveys was primarily to serve rural areas. My bill now recognizes and seeks to fill the need for soils information by urban-fringe areas. The soil surveys for these areas are basically the same as those for farming areas, except that the mapping is somewhat more detailed and different interpretations are emphasized and highlighted.

The use of soil surveys by both public and private agencies and by individuals continues to increase. While the major use for soil surveys continues to be a basis for guiding land use adjustments and for the orderly planning and applications of soil and water conservation on farms, ranches, and watersheds, my bill seeks to assist such nonagricultural users as State, city, and town planning and conservation groups in their growing need for soils information applicable to urban and urban-fringe areas.

Since its introduction on April 2 last year, H.R. 5406 has aroused considerable interest and support in many sections of the country. Requests for the bill have become so numerous that I found it necessary to have reprinted remarks I made in the House when I introduced the bill.

It would seem that the objectives of H.R. 5406 are desirable and worthwhile because of the rapid growth of the country, the expansion of urban areas, and the need for planning and accurate data to help solve the many problems of the population explosion taking place in this country. To delay in this matter will only create even bigger problems not only with respect to urban expansion, but also for our agricultural areas and our people engaged in agriculture. I hope that the House will take early and favorable action on this bill.

"Heroes in the Age of Gold"—A Commentary on the Antipoverty Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently read a most interesting manuscript by L. S. Taylor, of Northampton, Mass., which is related to the antipoverty discussion that is taking place in the Congress of the United States this week.

Mrs. Taylor's thesis suggests that a war against poverty could be economically and effectively implemented by providing incentives to small business concerns which would, in turn, invest profits in training and job opportunities for the unemployed.

The paper makes many other interesting points, and I am pleased to make it available to my colleagues, and to a wider audience across the United States:

HEROES IN THE AGE OF GOLD

(By L. S. Taylor)

Many, many persons in the world believe in the dignity of man—even though plenty of them have not thought beyond their own dignity, and have not identified what dignity of man is. Peace, international or civic, presupposes the dignity of man. Personal dignity rests on the chance to use one's abilities within socially responsible living.

Most nations think that peace is the most pressing goal. Nevertheless, powerful nations vie with one another in a peace-balance of terror. Our advanced domestic life, too, reeks with turbulence and backward conditions: squalor, civic violence, and, especially among the affluent, lust of possessions.

Multitudes of our poor are not now being ground in the once-grueling mills, but, living emptyhanded in an appetizing environment, they have become more than prickly with distress and irritation, with futile pleas and petitions. Now masses threaten forcible entry into the nearby world of sustenance and hope.

Though the purpose of a democratic legislature is to resolve problems, in what we call a "free society" some problems must be handled by the free people themselves. From many sources do solutions come: Relief funds from the Government; comfort from compassionate hearts; vision from political leaders; counsel from economists. Only combined perspectives, however, can effect a comprehensive solution; only harmonized goals can focus the push for improvement.

Our American problem of poverty is not dramatic like a rush from jungle darkness which tears journalists and a populace loose from daily ease to action and AID. Our problem, like an old shoe, has long been a way of life. For us, too often the poor have been no-account people. For secure reform, both bursting new Africa and Poverty, U.S.A., call for more careful thought than the impatient allow.

EFFORTS

Students, social reformers, and writers, no matter how earnest, often do not see the total problem. Idealists emphasize the misery and injustice of privation, and the need for wise help. Idealists may fail to consider the point of view, no matter how biased, limited, or realistic, of persons living on the other side of the tracks from the poor. The idealists' appeal is thus too partial, with only one picture and passion. Partial emphasis can increase mutual indignation and fire hatreds. These emotions prevent compromise; and compromise can save face, a psychological force for an opponent who is all too human.

Pervading hope grows in a soil of self-control and diplomacy, diplomacy with vision to get together. Superstrategy uncovers benefits for both sides. Is an attitude of grace remote from reality?

And is a person only his own keeper? The competition of the have-nots with the haves raises issues of social justice. Within practical limits, both the jobless and established jobholders have individual rights to use their abilities and choose their work. In turn, each person has obligations to his job, his business contracts, and the community; obligations to the rights of others.

Within this past year, the evolving moral concern about poverty leads us to see that the basic task is one for engineers, social and industrial, to mobilize civic forces.

Continued pressure by the restless poor, by educators, and by innumerable, new-sprung commissions of good will, voluntary and governmental, will make obvious the grim need for Federal appropriations for public schools.

As a host of volunteers did warwork during the Great Wars, a growing army of volunteer tutors is now teaching ill-schooled children of all grades. And, as Mexico's literate adults tried brilliantly to sweep out adult illiteracy by volunteer tutoring before 1950, our own literate adults could enable many of our illiterate parents and citizens to be a quick, central force to improve our areas of poverty. General literacy is essential for general improvement.

JOBS

Another essential is jobs. Jobs would not only channel restlessness into occupation, but would give the poor a chance to prove their integrity, skill potential, and citizenship. Moreover, a job requires health, and jobs with even a minimum wage would improve health and sanitation enough to make homes and communities begin to shine. Persons and homes are made new first by hot water and soap—and persons and homes are then more tolerated by neighbors.

Social engineers perceive, in the have-nots, no jobs from illiteracy and lack of skill and chance employment; large families by tradition or ignorance; often little morality; and low morale.

Will the unskilled accept self-dependence by unskilled work for a minimum income instead of from relief? "Jobs-now" for millions of persons can only be in unskilled work outside of the skilled automation world; and this will be true for years to come, if automation requires at least a high-school education. Public Works are planned for hundreds of thousands of unskilled workers in temporary and roving employment. Permanent work for many times this number must have roots in specific localities. Grass-roots initiative in numerous small areas, rural or urban, might develop industrial villages no less satisfying than grew in early America.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIALISTS

As in the Great Wars, when the United States leaned empirically on the unequaled-

production experts of cool decision, our recourse for job creation is those who know how jobs are made, the industrialists. Because our crisis is social as well as economic, we need social industrialists, men who have as much concern for persons and the good society as for material production. Many industrialists now have much experience in social values. In this Spring of 1964, threats of fair-weather violence from the sinkholes of poverty cry for as great talent and experience as did the world wars.

HOPE

A pattern for organization is available. Project S. S. *Hope*, a private hospital ship with an office in Washington, works closely with the Peace Corps. It is supported mostly by donations in kind, and staffed mostly by volunteers. About 3,000 doctors, aged 32 to 72, volunteer every year. The ship makes calls of weeks or months, by invitation only, at ports of such countries as Indonesia, Equador, or a new African nation. To meet the invitations this work could be doubled. The emphasis is to teach local personnel, to leave a trained local staff at each port.

Social industrialists have comparable talents to offer in industrial education. To the capable unemployed, they could teach managerial know-how of nonautomation production: small-plant establishment, cost-accounting, production and distribution; all guidance unto economic and human profits and an atmosphere of hopeful civic harmony. This would be a land-based Project Hope. Such tutoring of economic development would be as far reaching as tutoring natives in medicine or the ill schooled at home.

In contrast to the risk of investing in lands with unstable governments, investments within the borders of the United States would be politically secure. Spurred by the small-business grants and loans from the new Office of Economic Opportunity, and by the tax reduction for reinvestment potential, a multitude of small industries that aim at a modest profit could be financed through ingenuity, will, and patriotism, if, with the same attention that citizens once bought war bonds, citizens now grasp this war on poverty as a cold war that is to be won. Those persons living with an alltime high surplus of wealth, used wholly for squander and taxes, should feel the greatest obligation to invest that surplus for the public cause. Noblesse oblige. Such investment would be a far smaller drain of energy than our willing population put into the war gardens and flattening cans for scrap in the 1940's.

Production well counseled by experienced social industrialists would yield quick job returns in worker health and world health. Occupation in jobs would enhance self-confidence, and would let the hot tides of hatred cool. Local inducements to establish industries in needy areas would include eager labor and new consumer hunger for more goods. Local relief costs could reduce to care for the incapable.

Personal confidence is supported by social congeniality, be it centered in a church, a synagogue, YMCA facilities, or a community center. A readymade, congenial population group is a help. Freedom from commuting and from mass shifts of residence is economical; and community pride, extended by intercommunity exchange in sports and the arts, makes for security.

COOPERATIVES

In the various good will organizations now taking up the cause of the poor, idealistic students are perhaps most active. These students range from agitators to tutors. One noble young man, Eric Weinberg, has started humble cooperative industries. He taught mainly illiterate persons handicrafts and how to run their own industries. In 1963 one such industry gave 75 jobless persons subsistence wages; and the plant is now self-going. Two more cooperatives plan for a few hundred workers in 1964. This student is a believer in the welfare principles of Ghandi: a heart and will to help the helpless gain through occupation.

EXTRAVAGANCE

Legion now are men of wealth. They breathe the air of an expanding world; they are electric with freedom and confidence; many are even intoxicated with their affluence. What are speed and flights, feasts, fun, and the sun for? The affluent want delight in the senses, luxury—but these goods get beyond the point of satiation. For such persons, wealth must shine and dazzle; conspicuous consumption and lavish waste are reputable in the name of culture or in the rush of obsolescing fashions. Such persons have no self-denials, and they abstain from useful labor. For them the self is king, the realm is lust of possessions.

Such empty extravagance is flaunted as it was in unthinking ancient Rome—before its fall. As long as affluent persons, no matter how unwittingly, consume goods and privileges beyond satiation, these indulgers and flaunters become, for the poor, bitter irritants and outright enemies.

The colossal industrialists, the producers of material superlatives, are closely linked with excess in possession and squander. Both getters and spenders of fortunes offer wonder-appeal rather than meet human wants. Dazzling sights, envy, or even tears may solace despair for the moment only. In contrast, any glimmer of hope is music in a painful pilgrimage.

Self-indulgence is not in itself malicious; but it keeps one from seeing a neighboring stricken population. Humanity civilizes slowly by raw nature alone, but by intelligence and will the human person can focus on more than the self. If wealthy prodigals shed empty consumption, surplus wealth can be converted into fruitful investment; hatreds and the resulting lawlessness of the have-nots can wane; and harmony in the body politic can grow.

HUMAN DIGNITY

The social industrialist finds it a challenge to help the lowest human mass lift itself, even a little. With his concern for sad hearts, and his transcendant courage for service, he can open the door to a submerged population, ease human want, and let in light for survival of spirit. He is the hero for this age of the great unrest.

Long unsung are the overloaded teachers and health workers, and others who help. The integrity and devotion of all citizens are required to develop domestic and international peace.

The chance for persons, high or low, to use their capacities establishes dignity in men.

Vietnam Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, we will be called on shortly to ratify, by resolution of Congress, the President's action in response to incidents in the Tonkin Gulf. We will give him our support, recognizing that the Chief Executive alone can conduct and coordinate our foreign policy in time of oversea crisis.

Yet, the haunting suspicion remains that Congress, acting on a slender volume of information, may endorse, as it did in 1898, a disproportionate response to a limited and ambiguous challenge.

At this time we know that a far reaching decision has been made and carried out. But we can scarcely judge its military necessity or political wisdom. To learn that it is warmly supported by the Republican presidential nominee is not a comforting reassurance to many of us. Nor does conspicuous mention of this support quiet fears that this decision is more responsive to the Republican nominee's previous policy recommendations than to the essential requirements of the military situation.

Many questions remained to be answered—eventually by the men who write history, or sooner by the men in whose hands it rests. Ultimately we will know why North Vietnam chose to engage the United States on the high seas where our supremacy is secure; at this hour we can only hope that the attacks were not designed to draw us into the kind of retaliation which could serve as provocation for intensified hostilities on land. Sooner or later we will know whether our attack on mainland facilities was an unnecessary escalation of the southeast Asian conflict; at present we can only speculate that our earlier policy of meeting specific aggressive acts at sea might have soon immobilized the North Vietnamese Navy.

But still more compelling than these unanswered questions is the near certainty that we have expressed our frustration with this ugly war in a way which diminishes and postpones our hopes of achieving a solution more enduring than military victory. The courage to relentlessly pursue such a solution is more demanding that the decisive use of undoubted power. The world may applaud our decisiveness; we must judge for ourselves whether we used our power courageously.

Johnson Lauds Ranger Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the significance of the successful *Ranger* 7 flight is well described by President Johnson in his remarks following this historical event. The Sunday Star of August 2, 1964, records an excellent summary of these comments which are important to all Americans:

LEADERSHIP GAIN CITED—JOHNSON LAUDS RANGER SCIENTISTS

I want to say that all Americans are very proud of you today. We are proud of this historic extension of man's knowledge. We are proud of our scientists, our engineers, and all the great time under the leadership of one of the greatest of all Americans, Jim Webb (Space Agency Administration), who are responsible for this success. We can be duly proud of our free and open society, our system of government.

We started behind in space. We were making many apologies just a few years ago. We had our failures, but we kept our faith in the ways of freedom, and we did not follow the easy or the inexpensive course.

We know this morning that the United States has achieved fully the leadership we have sought for freemen. But we do not claim this as an American triumph alone. In the brief period of time that I have occupied the Office of the Presidency, I have visited with the leaders of many countries. I have found a deep and exciting interest among all these leaders in cooperating with us and extending their hands to us to supplement the work that we are doing.

I thank them for their tracking stations. I thank them for their joint participation with us. We have considered this adventure a truly peace weapon, rather than a military might.

VICTORY FOR PEACE

I think we can say this morning that this is a victory for peaceful civilian international cooperation in this hour of frustration, when so many people are getting upset at some minor disappointments.

I think we can all take great pride in this development. More than 60 countries all around the world work for us and work for peaceful progress and work for peaceful uses of outer space.

It is good to learn from this event that we are on the right course. We know that if we can continue on that course, and if you great scientists, most of whom know no party and no political allegiance, who are concerned with freedom first and America second—if we continue to give you support without any tinge of partisanship, you will give us the leadership and ultimately the supremacy in an area that is essential to the prolongation of civilization itself.

If we could only supplant the fear and the hate, the bitterness and the division, the poison and the venom that our fellow man contains, with the hope and the optimism and the achievements represented by this venture here, how much better our world will be for ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren.

I want to say this in conclusion. In this century in which we live, all my life we have been either preparing for war or fighting a war or protecting ourselves from war. When I grew up as a kid, one of my first real memories was hearing the powder go off on an anvil on Armistice Day.

SEES GAINS THEREFROM

I remember the terror that flowed from the *Lusitania*. I remember seeing boys come marching home, and the welcome we gave them at our little schoolhouse. I remember leaving, the day after I voted, to go to the South Pacific, and later the Atlantic, and all the men who gave their lives in World War II.

I have seen the billions and billions of dollars we have spent in the 17 years since that war to protect Western civilization. I would remind you that we spent $30 billion more in the last 4 years on defense alone than was being spent 4 years ago. We were spending about $42 billion a year then, and we are spending $51 billion now.

But now, today, as the most powerful Nation in the world, why do we have satisfaction from that? Not just because it protects our scalps and allows us to sleep at night knowing that we are safe, but, No. 2, it gives us the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of this society and to develop this land, not just with parks and recreational areas, highways, and swimming pools, things of that kind, but all the blessings that are going to flow from these scientific discoveries and achievements.

These men don't wear a DSM (Distinguished Service Medal) this morning, and we are not presenting them any Congressional Medal of Honor. But they do have, and all of their associates from Mr. Webb down to the fellow who sweeps out the dust in the remote test laboratory, the gratitude and admiration of all faiths, of all parties, of all regions.

You are welcome to the White House. The people who live here are mighty proud of you.

Congressman Glad for CCC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Geofrey Gould in the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune reveals that Government aid to the unemployed in 1933 helped place Congressman EDWARD ROYBAL in the world's greatest legislative body in 1962.

A witness before the Rules Committee ridiculed the so-called poverty bill as another CCC program. Let us pass the bill and maybe we will help make other Congressmen in 1994.

The article follows:

RECALLS DAYS OF CCC—CONGRESSMAN GLAD HE SERVED

(By Geofrey Gould)

WASHINGTON.—One Congressman has a right arm more muscular than his left from swinging an ax a long time ago in something called the Civilian Conservation Corps, also known as the CCC.

The initials may be unfamiliar now, but the CCC loomed very large in the depression years in the 1930's. It was one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's main weapons against joblessness, set up especially for unemployed youths.

Representative EDWARD R. ROYBAL, Democrat, of California, remembers well. In 1934 he was just out of high school, oldest of eight children of a Mexican-American family, living in a tough Los Angeles neighborhood. There were no jobs. There was no money.

ROYBAL joined the Civilian Conservation Corps.

"The days I spent in the C's were the happiest days of my life," he said recently. "Had it not been for the CCC, I would not have gone on to an institution of higher learning."

President Johnson's war-on-poverty program includes a Job Corps that is patterned largely on Roosevelt's old CCC.

Asked what "The C's," as he calls it, had done for him, ROYBAL said that in Los Angeles tough Boyle Heights, "as a member of a minority I saw a great deal of discrimination. There was a lack of jobs and education. Going to the C's made me realize there was a chance, there was an opening."

"Once a guy gets started," he said, "then he has a thirst that has to be satisfied. The biggest obstacle we had was getting started."

ROYBAL went on to attend the University of California and Southwestern University in Los Angeles. After Army service he went into politics, got elected to the city council, and then to Congress.

He said the CCC treatment worked for him and many of his mates. He thinks it would work well today in combating juvenile delinquency and the high school dropout problem.

What did they do in the CCC?

ROYBAL was sent to Camp Buckeye in Sequoia National Park in northern California. The camp was run by the Army and the young men lived in semimilitary fashion.

Their main job was road building and clearing firebreaks in the forests. Small soil conservation dams were built and they were called upon to fight forest fires.

They lived in tents, 8 to a tent, with 256 men in his CCC unit. They were paid $30 a month of which they kept $5 and sent $25 home to their parents. ROYBAL stayed in 9 months.

There were sports—baseball, boxing, and track. They learned promptness, neatness, and self-respect, he said, and their right sides developed more than their left sides from constantly swinging an ax. "Even today, I still have that," the 48-year-old Congressman said.

After their rare excursions home or to the nearest town, ROYBAL said, it was a 25-mile hike back to camp.

"We took a great deal of pride in promptness in answering the rollcall at 6 a.m.," he said. "We sometimes went to work without sleep just to keep up the prestige of the group. There were very, very few AWOL's. The spirit of comradeship probably was equalled only among combat soldiers."

Such a program today, ROYBAL believes, would help the "young fellow who has no place to go, who is doing nothing on the street corner. It would give him an opportunity to start at the corps level and advance himself.

ROYBAL's own verdict:

I'm very proud that I was a member of the C's. It was the most terrific thing that ever happened to me."

Ralph McGill's Comments on the Antipoverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a thoughtful discussion by the distinguished columnist, Ralph McGill, of President Johnson's antipoverty bill.

The column, which appeared in the August 2, 1964, New York Herald Tribune, follows:

Senator GOLDWATER'S attack on the antipoverty bill as it passed the Senate by a substantial majority declared the bill politically inspired for an election year.

Perhaps so. It is an election year. It also is President Johnson's first year as President. But on the basis of the bill's fundamental content, it is the Goldwater Republicans who must bear the indictment of politics. The bill was voted on—and passed—at a time when slum riots in Manhattan and Brooklyn were in the headlines. Those in the riots were largely teenagers and young men in their twenties. They were perhaps totally unemployed. They represent those classified as "dropouts," "slow learners," the unskilled and the delinquent. Some were second-generation Americans who can't speak English well enough to hold any job save the most menial and temporary.

A major feature of the antipoverty bill is to establish work and educational camps for the unemployed. These projects will begin to take the teenagers and young men off the streets. The youth camps will be established only where the States request and consent.

A beginning must be made. Is the need present? Is it not, in fact, acutely present

and long neglected? Who, then, is playing politics? What, then, has inspired the plan? How is local government interfered with? To call this most critical need "politics" is to deceive and falsify.

Should we wait another year or so? We have watched the American slums change with dismaying swiftness since about 1945. We have done nothing. We have sat by as the slums grew and festered. We saw them become preserves of wretchedness and potential violence. Ten years ago social workers and sociologists began to predict violence. We read in our papers and saw on television the "gang rumbles."

What have we done in the 20 years when the slums changed with frightening speed and implications?

Yet Goldwater Republicans say, with slum explosions in their ears, that to initiate the first step is "politics"—only "politics for a political year."

Nor is this all.

A few days ago the United Mine Workers of America turned over the last five of its hospitals to Appalachian Regional Hospitals—a nonprofit corporation. The union formerly had 10 hospitals in 3 States.

The explanation is that union membership has been so reduced by automation that the hospitals cannot be maintained by the union.

Behind that is a human story. There is so much human misery, poverty, and daily wretchedness in the coalfields, that to see it is to become deeply depressed.

These are Americans. Is it "political" to produce plans to alleviate this misery?

The States cannot do it.

Goldwater Republicans apparently prefer that we should let things remain as they are lest States' rights and freedom be jeopardized by a central government.

Who is playing politics?

Tribute to Clair Engle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for many years it was my pleasure to serve on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee with the late Clair Engle before he went to the Senate. I shared the uniformly high regard for this fine and able man with which his colleagues regarded him. I also share the sadness of his passing. A particularly fine tribute to Senator Engle appeared recently in the editorial columns of the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram. It is as follows:

USEFUL ENGLE CAREER ENDS IN TRAGEDY, BITTER IRONY

It was bitter irony that Clair Engle, by nature cheerful, humorous, and colorfully articulate, spent his last months enveloped in deepening gloom and dead silence.

It was an evil trick of fate that Senator Engle, if he had to be cut down while still in the high office he honored, was not struck from the Senate roll in a moment of the intense legislative or political activity at which he was so effective. That was the life he enjoyed, and he deserved to enjoy it to the last moment.

For Clair Engle served his country and his State well. He began his congressional career more than two decades ago when, as a young attorney at Red Bluff, he won the post of U.S. Representative for the old Second District.

That was the huge mountain counties district, one of the largest congressional districts in the Nation. Engle was no big man in physical stature, but his tireless energy, his realistic philosophy, and his homespun phraseology made him perfectly suited for the sweeping district of cattle, timber, and mining country. The tough-minded voters of the high country, who knew a good man when they saw one, reelected him regularly until he moved up to the Senate in 1958.

To the Senate he brought the same dedication and energy that had won him respect in the House and solid confidence at home. He spoke forthrightly and effectively on issues that stirred him, and on occasion was chief spokesman for the Democratic administration on controversial questions. Though high in party councils, he was an independent thinker, and his basic philosophy was somewhat on the conservative side.

He voted for the Taft-Hartley Labor Relations Act while in the House, a fact that was not overlooked, though it did him no serious harm, when he sought endorsement for the Senate seat in 1958.

Typical of Engle's blunt forthrightness was his answer to a question at a press conference about what he thought of the Democratic administration official who had claimed the Government would be justified in manipulating news going to the public.

"He ought to be fired," said Engle.

This volatile, stimulating man became a tragic figure when he was struck down by a brain tumor last year. There followed a series of painful incidents as some California Democratic leaders probed for facts on his illness to find out if he would be able to run again. This cheerless chapter in California politics reached an emotional high when Engle's vain appeal for support came in a halting-voiced broadcast to the California Democratic Council convention here early this year. It ended with Engle, even after he had qualified for the ballot, withdrawing from the contest.

It was plain then that the Senator, whose spirit would never give up, was irretrievably broken in health. He tried bravely after that, once standing a speechless figure in the Senate unable to make a prepared statement. It was pathetic, but it was a fine show of the courage that was typical of Clair Engle and that warms the memory of the man from Red Bluff.

Private Guarantee of Student Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, until I saw the Saturday Evening Post editorial quoted below I was not aware of the remarkable service being performed by a private enterprise organization called United Students Aid Funds which guarantees low-cost loans to needy college students.

This is an example of private enterprise at work, and those Members who may assume that private enterprise is not able to meet the loan needs of students should read carefully this editorial:

WHERE FEDERAL ACTION IS NOT NEEDED

When should the Federal Government enter an area where the public interest is involved? When private enterprise, State and local governments are unable to do the job, we believe. All too often the question is argued in a vacuum, because no agency except the Federal Government is prepared to act. But the converse of this principle is that when private enterprise or State or local government is doing an effective job, the Federal Government should stay out.

Three years ago a private enterprise called United Students Aid Funds went into the business of guaranteeing low-cost loans to needy college students. A nonprofit tax-exempt corporation, United Students Aid Funds established a contributed fund to guarantee bank loans to students.

The program has worked like a charm. Over 600 colleges and universities and 4,200 banks are now participating. Loans to individual students are permitted up to a maximum total of $4,000—$1,000 per year in any undergraduate year (except the freshman year, and up to $2,000 per year for a graduate year. The average student loan is $530. In the past 26 months, $23,083,562 in loans have been endorsed.

Here is an example of private enterprise effectively supplying an important need. (There is a variety of other private, philanthropic, State and local programs to meet student credit needs in the United States.) The Senate Subcommittee on Education, however, is considering a bill (S. 2490) introduced by Senator VANCE HARTKE, of Indiana, that, among other things, would bring the Federal Government into the business of guaranteeing student loans. Under Senator HARTKE's bill, the Federal Government would underwrite loans of up to $2,000 a year with a maximum total of $10,000 a student. The Federal plan gives a student a year's grace after graduation, plus 10 years to repay the loan. The United Students Aid Funds plan require repayment within 4 years of graduation. Experience has shown that a long repayment period conflicts with other obligations, as the borrower gets married, has a family, and takes on additional responsibilities. There have been very few defaults on loans under the private plan.

If there were a demonstrable need for Federal activity in this area, we would favor it. But the experience of the United Students Aid Funds indicates that this need does not exist. No one argues that the United Students Aid Funds plan has not worked well. Proponents of the Harke plan say that the need is so acute that Federal action is necessary. Yet United Students Aid Funds has been in the business only 3 years. It is expanding rapidly and today has approximately $23 million in unused capacity to endorse loans.

If the Federal Government moves into this area, the United Students Aid Funds people believe they will not be able to compete with loans that are backed by the credit of the Government. Clearly, this is an area where private enterprise has shown its efficacy, and Federal action is unwarranted.

Revamping Kerr-Mills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the brains of the country are not necessarily concentrated here in Washington and the effective interpretation of current events at the grassroots level in the

country provides far more answers than the visionaries here in the New Frontier.

An especially effective demonstration of this is an editorial which appeared in the Wednesday, July 30, edition of the Lemonter, a community newspaper in my district, which discusses the merits of the Kerr-Mills bill, and I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point for the attention of the Members:

REVAMPING KERR-MILLS

A committee of the House has been considering ways and means by which the Kerr-Mills Act—which is the basis of the existing State-Federal health program for providing medical aid to the aged and needy—may be revamped to encourage the States to make wider use of it. In the words of an AP report, "This kind of legislation is given a much better chance of going to the House with committee backing than is President Johnson's proposal for social security tax financing of hospital and nursing home benefits."

The social security approach—commonly known as medicare—simply has failed to gain substantial public and congressional support. And there is every reason why that should be so. It takes no account of need or whether the individual wants or doesn't want the benefits. Almost every authority is convinced that the official cost estimates are ridiculously low. And, above all, it presents the very real danger of governmental, bureaucratic domination of the medical arts and institutions. After all, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

The Kerr-Mills approach is much sounder. It places administrative responsibility where it belongs—within the States, and State officials should certainly have a better idea of local problems than a faceless group in far-off Washington. It offers help where help is needed—not just because a person has reached a given age. And, in various instances, the benefits provided are greater than under medicare.

The changes that may be desirable in Kerr-Mills are a matter of argument. But the principle on which Kerr-Mills is based is the right and workable one.

To Check the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that before this Congress adjourns, we approve the submission of a constitutional amendment which would provide that the States could apportion at least one house of the legislature on the basis of factors other than population alone.

On July 30, 1964, I joined a number of other members of the Texas delegation in Congress in an appearance before the House Committee on Judiciary for the purpose of urging early action on House Joint Resolution 1101 by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], which would provide that the Sates could apportion the membership in one house on a basis other than mere population. The Patman resolution was introduced on behalf of a majority of Texas Members of the House. I am encouraged over the widespread interest in the legislation and I hope we may secure action at this session. I submit for the RECORD the attached editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch of July 25, 1964, which relates to the subject of redistricting.

TO CHECK THE COURT

There is perhaps an even chance of getting through Congress this year a constitutional amendment partially repealing recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions on State legislative apportionment. Great opposition has arisen in Congress, and in many parts of the country, to the "one man, one vote" doctrine which the Court suddenly espoused a short time ago.

The powerful Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, is the latest recruit to the drive to nullify this recent posture of the Court. He introduced an amendment almost identical with the one already sponsored in the House by Representative MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

It would permit consideration of factors other than population in apportioning one of the two houses of any State legislature—as in the case of the U.S. Senate, in contrast to the House. (Each State has two U.S. Senators, of course, no matter what its population, whereas each U.S. congressional district is supposed to be laid out on the basis of the total number of its inhabitants.) Under the amendment, apportionment of the legislative districts of a given State on any basis other than population would first have to be approved in a popular referendum.

So great is the concern throughout the country over the Supreme Court's recent ruling that population must be the sole criterion in the laying out of districts for every State legislature, that more than 60 amendments intended to nullify this ruling, in whole or in part, have been introduced in Congress.

If any of these amendments are to be approved by Congress and submitted to the States for ratification, this will apparently have to be done this year. If not, the many legislatures which meet in 1965 probably will have begun work on, or finished, reapportionment, in accordance with Supreme Court directives. It will then be practically impossible to unscramble the resultant legislative omelet.

So let's hope that one of the numerous pending amendments designed to permit criteria other than population in redistricting can be got through Congress before adjournment. The various sponsors should unite their forces behind a single proposal.

Certain areas of Virginia and many other States are undoubtedly entitled to greater representation in the State legislature. That, however, is no excuse for the action of the Supreme Court in moving unconstitutionally into an area where it has no legal right to be, and laying down the thoroughly unsound "one man, one vote" doctrine.

The Seas Must Remain Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the unwarranted attacks upon an American destroyer, the U.S.S. *Maddox* in international waters off Vietnam, serves to remind us once more that the seas will be free only so long as free peoples provide the strength to make them so. This act of state piracy by the Communist North Vietnamese Government was suitably dealt with by our naval forces, including carrier based aircraft. This is a lesson—a relatively inexpensive one—which I hope will be taken seriously by every American. It is this: we need strength at sea. The need is here and now. We need ships—more ships and better ships than we now have. We need planes—more planes, and better ones, to assure our supremacy in the air over the areas in which our naval forces operate. We need the latest weapons for our Marine Corps, that they may be ever ready for the multitude of indispensable tasks they may be called upon to do. What we have seen this weekend is just another tip of the iceberg. Beneath, a vast, unseen challenge to our right to use the seas is building. If we have any sense of responsibility to ourselves and to our children we must be about the task of making ourselves ready to meet this challenge when it emerges.

And while the attention of the most of us was occupied by the more spectacular happenings off Vietnam, an event of equal significance was taking place on the other side of the world. The world's first nuclear-powered task force is now on the third day of its epochal voyage around the globe. Starting at Gibraltar at 7 a.m. our time last Friday, three proud new ships—*Enterprise*, *Long Beach*, and *Bainbridge*—will steam 30,000 miles over the next 2 months without once refueling. Proceeding around Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn from Atlantic to Indian to Pacific to Atlantic, their speed overall will average 20 knots, and will prove as nothing else could, the seakeeping qualities of nuclear power for ships. What a landmark on the horizon of peaceful usage of atomic energy. What a tribute to the genius of all who made this feat a reality.

I pause here to again pay my deepest respects to one in particular who had more to do with giving our Nation a modern, global seapower than any other living man: our colleague the Honorable CARL VINSON, who is leaving our company after 50 years of service to the Congress and the Nation. It was CARL VINSON, who saw in the early thirties the need for a modern, two-ocean Navy; who authored the Vinson-Trammell Act which made it a reality; who has ever since urged on every development which might be used to build our strength on the sea. And of all these developments, none has moved, has advanced the Navy so far, or holds such promise for further advancement in the future, as the harnessing of the atom.

Did you know that the Navy's active participation in the development of atomic energy goes back a full quarter of a century, to 1939? Even before the controlled reaction of fissionable materials had been achieved, the Naval Research Laboratory was actively investigating the process as a source of ship propulsion. The war years which followed transferred interest to the explosive aspects of nuclear fission, but in 1946 the Navy resumed its investigations on nuclear propulsion for ships. The monumental contributions of Admiral Rickover's group and others since then are a matter of detailed public record

which needs no further repetition here. I did want to inject this comment to show that our U.S. Navy was among the very first agencies of our Government to see the enormous possibilities of the fissionable atom.

And now three powerful new ships of our nuclear Navy are proving a vital quality which has always been essential to a nation's defense forces: mobility—in a depth and meaning we have never known before. The incredible endurance of ships that can cruise several times around the world without refueling and at top speed, gives a new meaning to the old term. It means our ships can go anywhere on the high seas they are needed, stay as long as they are required, and then move swiftly to a new troubled area which may require their presence. They can rapidly come to the assistance of a beleaguered ally, or strengthen another of our forces which may require additional assistance. The greatest, most restricting logistic concern of any seagoing commander—the availability of ship's fuel—is no longer a consideration.

And this, to me, is the connection between the events of the past weekend which took place on opposite sides of the world. Somewhere in the world the Communists challenge us on the high seas. If further strength is needed at the point of the challenge, the nuclear-powered ships of a modern Navy from any point on the globe can be dispatched immediately at top speed to the area and arrive there full of fight and ready for extended operations. This is true mobility. It is the lesson to be derived from the shootings in the Gulf of Tonkin and the quiet passage of our three nuclear-powered ships down the West Coast of Africa. Only 3, alas, when the need is for 300. But it does represent the start of what must be one of the really essential undertakings of the American people of this decade: to bring the potential of nuclear power to full reality in the surface fleet as well as its undersea arm, so that our Navy can reap the enormous advantages available to it through true mobility of its ships. I pledge to you all, and to the people of our Nation, an unrelenting effort to complete the work in which we have only fairly begun: the rebuilding of a modern, nuclear-powered Navy which will give our Nation the true mobility on the sea which it needs and must have in the years ahead. This we must do, if we want to be remembered as a great nation which honored its obligation to keep the priceless asset of the seas on the side of freedom.

Molybdenum Disposal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Armed Services Committee of which I am chairman, has recently been considering and acting upon several measures authorizing the disposal of certain materials from the national stockpile, and many of these have passed the House and are being implemented by the General Services Administration.

One of these dealt with the disposal of molybdenum. Since certain statements have been made cirticizing the manner in which this particular disposal is being conducted at the present, I think I should furnish a brief explanatory statement outlining the situation for the benefit of the Members of the House and those concerned.

H.R. 11235 became law on July 14, 1964. During the hearings on this matter on June 17, 1964, before Subcommittee No. 2 of the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. Maurice J. Connell, Commissioner, Defense Materials Service, General Services Administration, testified that consultation by mail had been conducted with industry and that there was substantial agreement on the plan to make an initial offering of 2 million pounds on a competitive basis and that such disposal would be limited to domestic consumption. Thereafter, the subsequent offerings will be made periodically, depending upon the evaluation of previous sales and of existing market conditions, but that all sales would be limited to domestic consumption.

Following the plan outlined before this subcommittee, the General Services issued invitations for bids on July 16, 1964, to 255 invitees. Sealed bids were received from 38 parties. There were responses from five others that they did not intend to submit a bid.

In order to broaden the base so that small users could participate in the bidding, the 2 million pounds offered were broken into lots varying between 24,000 and 25,000 pounds. Any bidder could bid on all of the lots or any part thereof, but not on less than one lot.

The invitation for bids stated that the entire 2 million pounds would be restricted for domestic consumption and that the sales would be limited to: First those who would use or consume the molybdenum in the puurchaser's own domestic facility; or second those who would process the molybdenum or would have it processed, and would then sell it to domestic consumers. Each was notified in the invitation for bids that prior to award, the successful bidders would be required to furnish certification that they were in one or the other of the two above-mentioned categories. In addition, to speed the flow of molybdenum to domestic industry, a requirement was included requiring the processing and sale of the molybdenum within 90 days from the date of delivery. The terms for the sale are cash, free on board storage location.

The sealed bids were publicly opened on July 27, 1964. Bids ranged from a low of $158 for the entire 2 million pounds to a high of $3.44 per pound. This latter figure covers a bid for one lot only. No awards have been made as yet. At the present time, the General Services Administration is in the process of screening information which will verify the bidders' certification. Thus, prior to award, GSA will require the bidders to name their processors and to give the location of the plants where the molybdenum will be processed. Prior to being permitted to take delivery, the successful bidder wil be required to name the domestic consumer to whom he has made the sale.

While handling this initial offering, GSA met with industry on Friday, July 31, 1964, to make plans for the disposal of an additional 5 million pounds of molybdenum. Invitations for bids were sent out August 1, 1964. Again, all of the material is restricted for domestic consumption, and except for one lot of about 120,000 pounds, the molybdenum has been divided into lots of 24,000 to 25,000 pounds. While the terms for this second offering are substantially the same as in the first, a few new restrictions have been added to safeguard all segments of domestic industry. These new restrictions will limit anyone other than a processor from acquiring more than 250,000 pounds. A processor will be limited from acquiring more than 2 million pounds. All bidders, except those who will directly consume the material in the form sold by the Government, will be required to name the domestic processor at the time of submitting his bid.

In my opinion, Mr. Bernard Boutin, Administrator, General Services Administration, Commissioner Connell and his staff at GSA are to be commended for the dispatch with which they are proceeding and the safeguards they have imposed at the request of the committee in getting this 2 million pounds of molybdenum into domestic consumption.

Let me make it clear that our subcommittee is very conscious of the need for making available to domestic industry excess stockpile critical materials at the most favorable terms to the Government and in this process also making available through careful disposal procedures such quantities of these materials excess to Government requirements which may be disposed of to meet the urgent needs of certain industries that find these materials in short supply and urgently required for their operations.

Our committee has insisted in all the disposal measures that there must be orderly disposal that will not disrupt the markets, avoid any attempt to establish price fixing as a guiding policy of such disposals, and give all users a fair opportunity to bid and procure.

I should point out that while the committee deplores the short supply in industry of any of these materials, it is not our practice to recommend disposal of them until appropriate guarantees can be given by the Government agencies concerned regarding the strategic and security factors, and until we receive assurances that our orderly disposal policy will be complied with by the General Services Administration.

I hope it will be noted and understood by the Members and the industry and all concerned that it is not possible for the committee to recommend disposal from existing stockpiles solely to relieve short supply in industry of stockpile materials. The needs of the Government come first

and only excess materials can be channeled into domestic markets.

Moreover, it has been our committee policy to recommend the disposal of excess materials primarily for domestic consumption. Up to this time that policy has been accepted and followed by disposal agencies.

I regret that there should be any misunderstanding with reference to the policy, practice, and procedure followed with respect to the disposal program, and trust that this statement will clarify the facts.

Another Cambridge Honor—Patricia "Pat" Gannon, 16, Named Nation's No. 1 Catholic Daughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great personal pride that I have the privilege and pleasure today of inserting into the records of the Congress of the United States an article which appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle on July 23 regarding the lovely "Pat" Gannon of my home city.

Pat and her family are neighbors and friends. She is truly a delightful and devoted girl, a splendid young American, and a shining example to all. She has accomplished much in her few short years and the award is a richly deserved recognition of her tremendous talent. I commend the following to my colleagues here in the U.S. House of Representatives:

ANOTHER CAMBRIDGE HONOR—PATRICIA (PAT) GANNON, 16, NAMED NATION'S NO 1 CATHOLIC DAUGHTER

Cambridge, famed for poets, scholars, scientists, Harvard, MIT, Radcliffe, and the like, added another star to its crown Sunday night.

This one, prettier than the rest, is 16-year-old Patricia (Pat) Gannon, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John F. Gannon of 32 Rice Street.

Her title—Outstanding Junior Catholic Daughter of America.

Her opposition en route to the symbolic gold medal presented at the Hotel Diplomat in Hollywood, Fla., comprised a total of 9,657 other girls from 33 States.

An honor student at Arlington Catholic High, Patricia was the unanimous selection of the national board of judges. In addition to the medal, she gets an all-expense week at the Florida hotel.

Patricia, eldest of three Gannon girls, has been president for 2 years of LaRabida Junior Court here. She was selected as Massachusetts No. 1 Catholic Daughter this year from among 2,000 juniors for her leadership qualities, scholastic rating, and community and parish service.

The presentation of a gold bracelet of the sacred heart was made at the State rally day at Framingham State College early this summer by the Reverend Henry F. Barry of St. John's Church.

TRAINED A STUDENT

Among the feats that earned her national recognition was the training of a 21-year-old retarded student who wanted to make her first holly communion.

Patricia spent several hours each week teaching the essential catechism lessons and other particulars. The student made her first communion in December, and Patricia then spent some 4 more months in preparing the girl for the reception of the sacrament of confirmation. This came around Easter time.

Top awards, capped by this latest one, are nothing new to Patricia. She was one of three girls who represented the State at the New York convention of the Junior Catholic Daughters last fall. She was the first girl to win a Marian Medal for her local JCD Court. She was the winner in her school's science fair last year, and was runner-up in the Irish-American essay contest sponsored by the Irish-American Association of Middlesex County. She now is also vice president of St. John's Parish Girls' Sodality.

In her acceptance speech in Florida Sunday night, Patricia said her honor belonged "to every local Junior Catholic Daughter in these United States." Those who bestowed the honor on her, however, believe she best exemplifies the JCD theme—"To Love God, To Serve Others, and To Live Nobly."

Patricia's two sisters are Janice M., a 15-year-old sophomore at North Cambridge Catholic High, and Jacqueline (Jackie) a 5-year-old first-grader at St. John's.

No Time To Let Up on Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent OAS sanctions adopted against Communist Cuba rank as a diplomatic victory for the United States and the freedom-loving nations of this hemisphere.

And although the tide is turning against Fidel Castro, and the OAS action is but one example of proof of his decline, the United States must not relax its efforts to topple the Cuban Communist regime.

In a recent editorial appearing in the August 7 issue of Life magazine, reference was made to the significance of the OAS steps, and the problem of continuing allied trade with Cuba was perceptively treated as well.

I insert the excellent editorial from Life magazine in the RECORD at this point:

NO TIME TO LET UP ON CASTRO

For the moment at least, the State Department can feel pretty good about its diplomatic war with Fidel Castro. The Organization of American States has voted 15–4 to apply sanctions against him for trying to overthrow the democratic government of Venezuela. Even Mexico, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Chile, who voted against sanctions, are expected to suspend diplomatic relations with Cuba in due course. Castro is also warned that his subversive interventions in this hemisphere are "aggression" under the Rio Treaty and could justify military retaliation unless he calls them off.

Secretary Rusk and his deputy, Thomas Mann, deserve much credit for proving that the inter-American system can work. And so do the Venezuelans, Castro's prime target, who made a case against him that the OAS investigating committee just had to believe. The Venezuelans got the goods on Castro in the form of a 3-ton arms cache and then refused to let his terrorists scare them out of holding an honest election, thus frustrating his major political objective of 1963.

Still another blow to Castro came from an unexpected source: his sister Juanita. Just before the OAS meeting, she shocked Castro's remaining friends and foot-draggers with a broadcast from Mexico City. An early supporter of the revolution, Juanita Castro soon learned that "our ideals had been betrayed," but kept silence in Havana until this June. She described the terror, the hunger, the forced labor, the 75,000 political prisoners; and she testified "that Cuba is directing the Communist subversion in Latin America" through its Department of State Security. Her country, concluded Juanita Castro, has become "a giant prison surrounded by water. * * * It is my desire, and that of all Cubans, that [the OAS] take definite action against the dictatorial Government of Cuba."

As his troubles deepened, Castro last month turned like a marlin and ran toward the boat. In an impetuous 3 days of interviews, he admitted exporting his revolution (what he had previously denied) but offered to stop if the United States would let up on him (e.g., resume trade relations). Rusk was not buying that. He told the OAS foreign ministers that subversion "is not a subject for bargaining. It simply must stop.

It hasn't stopped. Castro's agents still wage guerrilla war in the hills of Venezuela, have been sighted in British Guiana, and picked up in the Argentine. His embassies still agitate in touchy situations like the Chilean election. A U.S. expatriate, Robert Williams, uses a Havana radio to incite U.S. Negroes to violence. Castro's answer to the OAS declaration, which he called "garbage," was to declare his policy of subversion "nonnegotiable."

So be it. As Rusk says, "Castro has no future in Cuba or in this hemisphere." But if we are serious about helping the Cuban people get rid of him, the OAS victory must be followed up. Castro is hurting; his economy, now 80 percent dependent on the Soviet bloc, is a stagnant mess. Since most of his remaining hemisphere trade is food, which is exempt, the new OAS trade sanctions won't hurt him much more. But the OAS declaration also summoned other Western States to reconsider their trade with Castro (e.g. British buses, French locomotives, Spanish boats). The State Department has a new argument against this trade: It's not just the United States that objects to it, it is now 15 American nations who do. Chairman FULBRIGHT of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the contrary, the ostracism of Castro has been effective, and the United States should now renew its pressure on other countries to make it more complete.

Struggle in the Sino-Soviet Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the increasing complexity of world affairs caused by changes in the Sino-Soviet bloc indicates that we may be in need of a cautious reassessment of our policy toward the international Communist movement.

There are signs that the Communist monolith may be crumbling. This is not to say that the Communists are no longer intent on burying us. They are

debating the means. The goal of increased Communist expansionism and eventual triumph remains unchanged.

At the same time, it may be in our national interest to reevaluate and reappraise our policies toward Russia and China. This is true particularly in Eastern Europe as the satellite countries look to the West for increased trade and other steps which would make them less dependent on the Soviet Union.

Some of the changes within the Sino-Soviet bloc are thoroughly discussed in an article written by Mark Hopkins which appeared in the Sunday, August 2, Milwaukee Journal. Because this article explores the realinemen* within the Communist countries, I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

STRUGGLE IN THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC

(By Mark W. Hopkins)

Despite Premier Khrushchev's intense efforts to create an air of unity within the Communist movement, the all too simple fact of the Chinese-Soviet split is that it keeps getting worse. Peiping's prompt rejection of Khrushchev's demand, revealed last week, for a meeting of major Communist Parties preliminary to a full-scale international parley was the latest evidence of how irreconcilable the two Communist powers have become.

As the split widens, it is contributing to a realinement of forces in the world. Khrushchev's desire to meet with West Germany's chancellor to discuss a range of problems, and his velvet treatment of Eastern European nations, are symptoms of the pressure this rupture is exerting on Soviet foreign policy.

Moreover, the split has a bearing on American actions in southeast Asia, as well as on Western attitudes toward the Communist community at large. And it will be important in the future development of South American and African countries, which have already become battlefields for Moscow and Peiping.

It is probably no exaggeration to assess this fierce struggle between the two giants of the Communist world as one of the most important episodes so far in the 20th century.

It is difficult to understand the Moscow-Peiping split without knowing that communism is a highly moralistic philosophy. Regardless of how it has been put into practice, the pure doctrine preaches an elevated vision of man, who is promised an earthbound utopia if he will observe certain laws of social progress.

The moralistic quality of communism accounts for the great importance that both the Soviet Union and China attach to proving the other side ideologically in error.

When China's Mao Tse-tung accuses the Soviet Union of revising Leninist principles, or conversely when Khrushchev assails China for adhering to the worst features of Stalinism, it is not just so much talk. It is the dialog of a struggle for moral superiority.

SPLIT AFFECTS DECISIONS

These bitter, sometimes viciously personal attacks reverberate through the highest levels of rule in both countries, and inevitably spill over into practical affairs of state. Minor differences of view become inflated in trying to show the other side doctrinally wrong.

It is on the level of day-to-day conduct of state affairs that the Sino-Soviet rupture involves most of the world. Unquestionably, every decision now made in the Kremlin on foreign policy is first weighed for its probable gain or loss in the fight with China.

Western diplomats in turn interpret alterations of Soviet policy within the framework of the Communist split and advise their governments accordingly.

In its policy toward China, the Soviet Union has until recently tried to maintain the posture of a wise, tolerant father toward a rebellious son. Khrushchev, openly and through emissaries, has invited China to discuss differences of opinion calmly, with the objective of reconciling them.

This has been a shrewd policy, because the Soviet Union consistently appeared the maligned innocent party turning the other cheek to seek peace.

But the policy also reflects a rather justified feeling of the Soviet Union that it is the rightful leader of the Communist world, or certainly first among equals. Was it not Russia that first proclaimed the world-wide socialist revolution?

Yet, when Khrushchev gave unsought advice on China's choice of a "road to socialism," Peiping curtly rejected it. This was one of many insulting rebuffs to the paternalistic Khrushchev from a nation considered only a child in building a socialist state.

The current chapter of the Sino-Soviet dispute began in April with the delayed publication of a 65-page Soviet indictment of China for nearly every conceivable violation of Marxist-Leninist principles. It ended with a renewed demand for a world conference of Communist parties to pass judgment on the renegade.

TIME ON CHINA'S SIDE

Since then, Moscow repeatedly has claimed support of an "absolute majority" of the 88 Communist or Communist oriented political parties in the world. In pressing so vigorously for an immediate conference, the Soviet Union underscores what is becoming obvious—that time is on the side of China.

For until Khrushchev obtains pledges of support in the Communist world, if he can, he is in the unenviable position of conducting two divergent foreign policies. To gain the confidence of Asian and at least some Latin American and African Communists, he must pose as the militant bearer of the cause, a man tough on capitalism and ready to wage battle for communism's advance.

This pose by no means coincides with Khrushchev's carefully developed policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the West and the relatively new doctrine that war is not essential for Communist victory.

No Communist Party in the West—save perhaps Albania's—will subscribe to Chinese militancy, and for Khrushchev to subscribe to it would be to alienate at least some of his valuable Eastern European allies.

Khrushchev's unwelcome need to conduct divergent foreign policies explains in good measure why, for instance, Moscow demands that "American imperialists" get out of southeast Asia, and then can turn around and invite greater American trade with the Soviet Union.

Essentially, the Soviet Union is committed to a detente with the West, whatever the size and scope. All evidence points to this, out of reasons of Soviet national self-interest and Khrushchev's own vision of how best to accomplish the victory of communism.

His attack on Republican Presidential Candidate BARRY GOLDWATER revealed, most of all, apprehension that the leading Western nation might summarily reject Soviet overtures. If American policy were to revert to "liberation" and "brinkmanship," Khrushchev would find it difficult to defend his own policy of peaceful coexistence. And China would be the first to declare it an obvious failure.

Many of Khrushchev's problems would be modified if he could win a public vote of confidence for his policies at an international Communist parley. This would accord him moral superiority over China, so vital in the conflict.

At this juncture, Khrushchev probably has no choice, as the Chinese preceptively emphasized, but to convene his proposed meeting of Communist parties and decide the content of an international conference. If he hesitates, he will appear to be backing down before Peiping.

In any case, the conference seems unlikely to bring "monolithic unity" to the Communist world, as Khrushchev would like. Rather, it portends rival Soviet and Chinese federations of Communist parties in international conflict, particularly in underdeveloped countries.

Desert Strike: An Outstanding Display of the Capability of the Air National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, there has recently come to my attention a most excellent article in the July 1964 issue of the Department of the Air Force publication, the Air Reservist, entitled "Desert Strike," which details the participation of the Air National Guard in that Active Force exercise.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, I have always sought and supported strong and capable Reserve Forces to back up our Active Armed Forces.

The article to which I have referred emphasizes the capabilities and illustrates the inherent potential of our Air National Guard. These constantly amaze the military professional.

All too often our Reserve Forces have been censured and unfairly criticized, and it is high time that their contributions to the defense of our country be recorded and given due recognition. I commend this article to both the military and civilian people of our great Nation as a dynamic example of the importance of Reserve Forces in our military posture.

The article follows:

DESERT STRIKE—AIR NATIONAL GUARD HAS GRADUATED OUT OF THE TRAINING STATUS CATEGORY

(By Maj. Bruce Jacobs)

Three composite Air National Guard tactical fighter squadrons, two tactical control groups, Military Air Transport Service mission ANG transports and runway-alert air defense units were among the participants in the U.S. Strike Command's recently completed joint exercise Desert Strike.

The more than 2,000 Air Guardsmen employed in desert strike demonstrated, among other things, the wide variety of ways ANG forces can be used to support Regular USAF activities and joint or combined military exercises.

Three specific aspects of ANG participation in the joint Army and Air Force exercise represent three markedly different applications of Reserve manpower utilization and underline what Maj. Gen. Winston P. Wilson, chief of the National Guard Bureau, describes as the "inherent ability of the Air Guard to react to any form of USAF requirement."

This is how ANG forces were utilized in desert strike:

Provisional tactical fighter squadrons were formed by obtaining individual volunteers, officers and airmen, to serve for the entire exercise period.

Tactical control groups, with their subordinate aircraft control and warning elements, were tapped in active duty status.

MATS-mission Air Guard transports were used by direct arrangement with various transport wings engaged in current operations, and much in the same manner, runway-alert Air Defense Command fighter-interceptor squadrons from California, Arizona and New Mexico took part.

The desert strike exercise scenario evolved around a dispute between the mythical nations of Calonia and Nezona over water rights in the Colorado River watershed. This dispute escalated into simulated warfare on May 17. The Calonian forces Joint Task Force Mojave launched a surprise helicopter attack on two dams in a "demilitarized zone" supposedly under control of the Organization of Western States.

The Nezonan's Joint Task Force Phoenix, struck back as air-supported ground forces poured across the Colorado River following a declaration of war by the Nezonan Prime Minister, Gen. Jacob L. Devers, retired, former chief of Army Field Forces. The Calonian Prime Minister was retired Air Force Gen. Nathan F. Twining, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Air Guard MATS mission C–97 and C–121 transport aircraft were used substantially during the deployment to and the return from desert strike. The MATS Air Guardsmen racked up a total of 114 sorties. They airlifted 4,666 troops and 410,000 pounds of cargo.

During the problem North American Air Defense Command (Norad) forces called on runway-alert Air Guard fighter-interceptor forces.

The utilization of runway-alert squadrons stationed fairly close to the exercise area is regarded by Norad and ADC officials as a classic example of how ANG forces can respond to air defense requirements.

The four squadrons involved were simply "on station and ready" when they were needed by one of the respective joint task forces. They were called on for desert strike service just as they would be called on in an actual crisis.

The units on the Joint Task Force Mojave side, controlled by the Los Angeles SAGE sector, where the 195th and 196th Fighter Interceptor Squadrons of the California Air Guard at Fresno and Ontario. The California squadrons flew F–86L "Sabrejets."

On the Joint Task Force Phoenix side, and controlled by the Phoenix SAGE sector, were one Arizona and one New Mexico ANG F–100 "Supersabre" outfits—the 152d and 188th Fighter Interceptor Squadrons of Tucson and Albuquerque. Although no sortie figures for the ANG squadrons were available at press time the Guard and Active USAF interceptor squadrons racked up a total of 580 air defense sorties during the Desert Strike action.

Both of the Air Guard's Tactical Control Groups—the 152d and 157th—participated in Desert Strike. Both were well fortified with experience gained in Swift Strike III in the Carolinas last summer, and as in Swift Strike, were once again on opposite sides.

The 152d Group headquarters deployed from home station at Roslyn, N.Y., to Norton AFB, Calif., from where it operated the tactical air control system for Air Force Forces Mojave. The 157th Group headquarters, operating a similar system for Phoenix Forces, deployed from St. Louis, Mo., to Luke AFB, Ariz. The 152d is commanded by Col. Bernard Saul; the 157th by Col. David W. Baugher.

While the group headquarters and one tactical control squadron in each task force operated out of Norton and Luke, other aircraft control and warning elements were deployed over a wide area. The Mojave support forces were scattered from Onyx Peak, Big Bear Area, to the Piute Range, while the Phoenix Forces were at Winterburg and Bouse, Ariz.

The Air Guard tactical control units in Desert Strike were responsible for radar surveillance and air traffic control operations. Using their mobile radar equipment, the guardsmen were kept busy tracking "hostile" aircraft, directing tactical fighter and tactical reconnaissance flights, assisting in the interception of enemy aircraft and working closely with Army elements—including two Army Guard combat brigades—in the direction of tactical air support.

In connection with this task each group was required to furnish the supported joint task force with a Combat Reporting Center (CRC), a Combat Reporting Post (CRP), a Tactical Air Control Center (TACC), and the appropriate FM radio links.

The Air Guardsmen in the TACC at Norton AFB became involved in one of the most bizarre incidents of Desert Strike when a forward air controller with the Joint Task Force Mojave forces was cut off and surrounded by Joint Task Force Phoenix troops. The FAC, Capt. Elmer G. Allred, in seeking help via radio put out a general CQ call which was promptly answered by Roy Meadows, a ham radio operator in Westwood, a Los Angeles suburb about 200 miles away. Meadows offered his help, made a phone patch which linked the FAC with the TACC whereupon immediate strikes were launched by two squadrons including the Air Guard 914th Tactical Fighter Squadron from China Lake NAS. The fighters were airborne within 5 minutes and succeeded in extricating Captain Allred and enabling him to rejoin his outfit.

The plan developed by U.S. Air Force Forces Strike Command (AFSTRIKE) called for the Air National Guard to furnish three tactical fighter squadrons for the exercise. A number of considerations led to the formation of three provisional organizations composed of personnel and equipment from various States.

All of the ANG squadrons under TAC control were already programed for summer training and many of them for Federal and operational readiness inspections. It did not appear prudent to substitute Desert Strike for annual field training since important training objectives would then have to be deferred, and exercise requirements would keep the designated squadrons in the maneuver area for more than the 15 days normally allotted to field training. General Wilson decided to go to the States for volunteers to man three provisional squadrons.

The squadrons were given exercise designations—the 914th, 915th, and 916th—and each was allocated a total of 62 spaces to include 20 officers and 42 airmen.

The 914th Tactical Fighter Squadron (provisional), equipped with F–86H aircraft, was assembled at China Lake NAS, Calif., under its commander, Maj. James F. Fisher, of the 101st Tactical Fighter Squadron from Boston, Mass. The 914th drew its personnel and aircraft from four States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Two Massachusetts units were represented, the 102d and 104th Tactical Fighter Groups; also, New York's 174th, Maryland's 175th, New Jersey's 108th, and Puerto Rico's 156th Tactical Fighter Groups.

The 915th Tactical Fighter Squadron was commanded by Lt. Col. Robert L. Smith, of the 131st Tactical Fighter Group, Missouri Air National Guard. Other pilots, airmen, and F–100C aircraft for Colonel Smith's command came from Ohio's 121st, New York's 107th, Iowa's 132d, Kansas' 184th, and Colorado's 140th Tactical Fighter Groups. The 915th made China Lake NAS, its Desert Strike home base.

The 916th Tactical Fighter Squadron (provisional) commanded by Maj. James M. Kennedy, of Ohio's 180th Tactical Fighter Group, helped write one of the first Desert Strike headlines in an unusual nonstop cross-country flight. The 10 ANG jets took off from 5 different fields in the Eastern United States, rendezvoused with Air Guard KC–97 aerial tankers over Nebraska, refueled in flight, and flew on to Edwards AFB, Calif., where they were located for the exercise. Aircraft and personnel for Major Kennedy's squadron came from three Ohio outfits, the 178th, 179th, and 180th; and from Virginia's 192d, Illinois' 182d and 183d, Indiana's 122d and 181st Tactical Fighter Groups. (Refueling was handled by the 126th Air Refueling Group, of Illinois, and the 128th Air Refueling Group, of Wisconsin.)

Each squadron was supported by a provisional wing headquarters which provided a combat support group (Regular USAF) to provide food and medical services, security, POL, surface transport, and ground freight services.

"Obviously it wasn't quite the same thing as having your normal squadron organization to back you up," one of the provisional squadron commanders conceded, "but we were all determined we would make it work and everyone pitched in to see to it that it did work."

According to Major Fisher of the 914th, "It took us just 1 day working together—and suddenly we were operating as a unit."

All three of the squadron commanders were pleased with the results and with the speed with which it was possible to start operations. They also had high praise for the support given by the Navy.

Colonel Smith of the 915th felt that much of the success, "must be attributed to TAC standardization of requirements for aircrews and maintenance personnel. Everyone was talking the same language."

Major Kennedy of the 916th gave a lion's share of the credit to the flight line airmen. "They really made it work," he declared. "Our line chief, SMSgt Gary Slavens from the Indiana Air Guard, ran as good a flight line as I have ever seen."

The flight line performance is reflected in an "in commission" rate of better than 97 percent for the three ANG squadrons during desert strike with an abort rate of only about 2 percent.

Early in the play of desert strike the three squadrons were released from exercise reserve to contrel of Maj. General Marvin L. McNickle, commander of Air Force forces Mojave under Joint Task Force Mojave which was, in turn, commanded by Lt. Gen. Charles B. Westover, USAF, General McNickle didn't waste any time in committing the three ANG squadrons once he had them in his official lineup.

The three Air Guard "provisionals" flew 693 sorties, racked up better than 1,300 flying hours, and helped provide the additional airpower which, in the second phase of desert strike, saw a shift in striking power with the Mojave forces gaining the upper hand over the Phoenix forces.

Major Fisher's F–86H Sabrejets made 192 sorties, were given counter air-to-air superiority missions as their main task, as well as close air support and interdiction missions. On the other hand, Colonel Smith's F–100C's racked up 132 close air support missions, 20 interdiction, 9 air defense, and 35 armed reconnaissance missions against targets of opportunity. Colonel Smith's squadron had the longest distance to cover to reach the tactical target areas. The F–100C's operated at a range of about 300 miles, which allowed them to spend about 30 minutes, at low level, in the target area. Major Kennedy's F–84's concentrated on close air support missions and racked up 305 sorties.

The missions flown by the three squadrons were two and four aircraft flights. The average mission was 1½ to 2 flying hours, and the distances which had to be covered ranged

from the 300 miles from LeMoore NAS, the desert strike home of the 915th, to approximately 190 miles both from Edwards AFB and China Lake. The distances involved and the open range areas heightened the aspect of realism for the ANG fighter pilots, although no live ordnance was used by any of the participants.

To the pilots of the three squadrons, this was "the kind of flying jet jockeys really like * * * a lot more rewarding than the somewhat restricted flying in routine flight operations during the year," according to Major Kennedy.

From the commanders' standpoint: "Everyone picked up some important experience in working with the ground forces and in gaining a better understanding of how effective tactical air support really is. Each individual pilot got a lot out of desert strike, and what's more, he'll be able to take this experience back to his own unit. This was without question the best peacetime training we could possibly get."

Air Guard elements in desert strike demonstrated again that ANG is well able to participate in Regular Air Force activities and help carry some of the burden of U.S. Air Force operational requirements.

"It has become obvious," said Brig. Gen. I. G. Brown, Assistant Chief, National Guard Bureau (Air), that the ANG has graduated out of the training status category."

In desert strike the ANG once again showed itself capable of playing on the U.S. Air Force "first team."

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of d bate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Reflections on Our Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of July 3, 1964, ceremonies were held in the Frederick, Md., shopping center in commemoration of our Nation's independence. On this eve of our Independence Day, the Honorable Louis L. Goldstein, comptroller of Maryland, delivered an inspirational, patriotic address to the citizens of Frederick County and the surrounding area assembled for the ceremonies. Particularly interesting was his reference to the role of the State of Maryland and some of her outstanding citizens of the Revolutionary era in the formation of our great Nation.

I include the text of Mr. Goldstein's remarks here and call them to the attention of my colleagues:

STATEMENT OF LOUIS L. GOLDSTEIN, COMPTROLLER OF MARYLAND

Tonight we are filled with patriotic pride in our State and our Nation.

Together we are demonstrating to the entire world that we shall never forget the courage and sacrifice of our forefathers during the Revolutionary War period.

We realize that without the strength and determination shown by our early colonial heroes that this Nation might never have been born.

But it was born. It was born because our people believed in freedom and liberty from the very beginning.

American citizens who lived and toiled on the very soil which we are standing on tonight were oppressed and downtrodden by Great Britain's King George III.

These forefathers of ours were a hard-working, free-thinking, and liberty-loving people.

They wanted a fair share of the good life that we so often take for granted in 1964.

But they were hindered in almost every area of commerce and foreign trade. They were heavily taxed, were denied the right to petition for redress of grievances and suffered the indignity of quartering British soldiers.

The citizens of Frederick and their neighbors from other sections of Maryland were subjected to extreme hardships which caused enough ill feeling to provoke a series of incidents that led eventually to the Revolution.

One burden which created much anxiety was the tea tax that had been imposed by England.

As you all know, Maryland was one of the first to rebel against this tax.

Marylanders from many communities including Frederick went to Annapolis in 1774 and helped to burn the brig *Peggy Stewart*.

Two tons of tea went to the bottom of the bay at Annapolis, but the ship's captain, Anthony Stewart, and his crew were spared by the gallant men of Frederick under the leadership of John Hanson, who became one of the outstanding heroes of the Revolution.

A few years later, history tells us, John Hanson, in 1781, was elected first President of the United States in Congrses assembled.

Many other great leaders came out of Frederick during those eventual Revolutionary War days, including Abraham Faw, Richard Potts, Thomas Sim Lee, and Thomas Johnson who nominated George Washington for Commander in Chief of the American military forces, and who later was elected first Governor of Maryland, in 1776, under our first constitution—the Revolutionary War Governor.

Frederick citizens along with those from Easton, Annapolis, and other communities were part of the vast military forces from Maryland which participated in this Nation's first major armed conflict.

As you all know, Maryland declared independence on July 3, 1776, 1 day ahead of the other Colonies, and sent four great patriots to sign the American Declaration of Independence.

They were: Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Samuel Chase, William Paca, and Thomas Stone.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago, on July 4, 1776, a young red-haired Virginian enjoyed the greatest moment of his life—56 patriots from the 13 American Colonies put their signatures to a Declaration of Independence, thereby severing the Colonies' allegiance to Great Britain and laying the foundations of American democracy. This young man, Thomas Jefferson, was one of the signers and the principal author of this great document. He met with others in Philadelphia and in the calm and peace of this great city they discussed and drafted this document. Jefferson labored over the document, weighing each word and phrase, inching his way to perfection; finally, Jefferson had penned a masterpiece of human dignity that forever would be an inspiration to the downtrodden, the oppressed peoples everywhere. The Declaration of Independence has withstood the tests of time and this greatest of all documents is as alive today as the day it was penned.

Frederick's illustrious patriot, Francis Scott Key, author of our "Star-Spangled Banner," also had the faith and vision in America that was characteristic of Thomas Jefferson. When Key penned the words of our national anthem he embodied in the one line, "O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave," all that was symbolic of our Nation's democracy. The American way of life, founded on a belief in the dignity of man, faith in God, free enterprise, and freedom, justice for all. These truths were the basic goal of our founders; and these truths Jefferson summed up in the Declaration of Independence. Carved in stone on the Jefferson Memorial are the words for Americans and freemen everywhere to read: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Freemen of every nation are familiar with the words contained in this priceless American document, the Declaration of Independence:

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of Nature's God entitle them, * * *.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The meaning of these words has not changed since 1776 when less than 3 million people lived in 13 Colonies on the east coast of our continent.

Today we have 192 million people, of all races, creeds, and colors, living in 50 States from coast to coast and beyond to the island of Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean and Alaska on the Russian border.

We still enjoy the rights that were fought for and won by our forefathers during the Revolution.

Among these basic freedoms we enjoy because of the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution are the following:

Right to worship God in one's own way.
Right to free speech and press.
Right to assemble.
Right to petition for grievances.
Right to privacy in our homes.
Right of habeas corpus—no excessive bail.
Right to trial by jury—innocent until proved guilty.
Right to move about freely at home and abroad.
Right to own private property.
Right to free elections and personal secret ballot.
Right to work in callings and localities of our choice.
Right to bargain with our employers and employees.
Right to go into business, compete, make a profit.
Right to bargain for goods and services in a free market.
Right to contract about our affairs.
Right to the service of Government as a protector and referee.
Right to freedom from arbitrary Government regulation and control.
A government of laws, and not men.

My friends, as we stand here tonight in commemoration of our Nation's independence, we must be ever mindful that we are standing at the opening of a new and promising era. We are the most powerful nation in all the world; we are a Nation recognized as blessed beyond measure with the most enlightened form of government in the world. Our gallant soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars and through World Wars I and II and the Korean war are even today fighting to defend the rights of freemen in Berlin, in Laos, in Vietnam, and in a score of other vital points on every continent around this globe so that we can retain our acknowledged position as the defenders of liberty, freedom, and justice. We are now moving through one of the greatest crisis periods in the history of this Nation and the world. The battle is joined for survival between two ways of life: One, free and under God, the other, slave; and I am convinced that the fate of civilization now lies in the hands of those who clearly recognize that faith, not fear, courage, not complacency, and patriotism, not patronage, must prevail.

What Engle Was for, He Was for 100 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PIERRE SALINGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. SALINGER. Mr. President, in the press and in other media there have been many tributes to the late Senator Clair Engle, for his great record in the Congress and for his quarter century of service to the people. One of the finest I have read is an editorial—published in the Sacramento Bee of July 31, 1964, entitled, "What Engle Was for, He Was for 100 Percent."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee, July 31, 1964]

WHAT ENGLE WAS FOR, HE WAS FOR 100 PERCENT

The death of U.S. Senator Clair Engle was far from unexpected. Still his passing in Washington yesterday cast a heavy pall over many segments of California's geography and people.

This was due to the fact the illness which led to his death cut down a bright and promising career. And most Californians can remember him only as one who lived and who believed with zest and zeal.

Engle lived every hour of each day in full measure and also he left no room for doubt as to where he stood on the issues of his time. What he believed in, he believed in with dedication and with devotion. Not only did he say what he meant, but he said it colorfully and emphatically.

In the memory of most Californians, the name of Clair Engle will be associated closely with the Central Valleys project, and rightfully so.

He barely was out of law school when the Central Valleys Project Act was passed; but after entering Congress in 1943, he was the author or coauthor of every statute enacted affecting the big water and power project.

He was the champion of every new phase of the undertaking, and it was symbolic that his last official communication was a letter to the Senate Appropriations Committee, urging approval of a Federal intertie linking the Bonneville project with the Central Valleys project. And it was fitting he lived to be told President Lyndon B. Johnson had recommended such a line to Congress.

The passing of Engle vindicates the judgment of those who urged the Senator to remove himself from this year's senatorial election when he was stricken down by the illness which ultimately led to his death.

For those who urged this it was one of the most difficult chores they ever performed, for they were his closest friends. But it now is painfully clear that had Engle won the nomination the Democratic Party would have been in a difficult position. The one regret is that it was necessary for him to withdraw.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown must decide whether to appoint a Senator to fill out the remaining 5 months of Engle's term and if so, whom to appoint. The most likely, of course, is PIERRE SALINGER, the Democratic nominee for the office.

But whoever it is, it will take a good man to match Engle's dedication to California and to the West, his willingness to fight to the finish for those things he believed to be right, his devotion to public duty, and the respect in which he was held by friend and foe alike.

Never did the slightest breath of official scandal touch Engle; and his motto was not what public office could do for him, but what he could do for the public office. There should be more like him.

Bitter Wheat Harvest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, the disastrous effects of the administration's wheat certificate program are now painfully apparent in the marketplace.

The great majority of wheat farmers in Michigan—and we produce 40 million bushels in my State—are receiving $1.30 or less for their crop this year as compared with almost $1.90 a year ago.

This year the miller buying wheat must also purchase a wheat certificate, costing 70 cents for domestic consumption and 25 cents for export. These added processing costs—in economic effect a processing tax—take from the producer a part of the price which would otherwise be his.

The wheat farmers of the United States turned down this program at the wheat referendum on May 21, 1963. In Michigan, four out of five wheat farmers voted against the program. Nationwide, 52.21 percent voted no.

In spite of this resounding rejection, the certificate plan, dressed up in voluntary terms, was made the law. The program is not economically voluntary, and the present disastrous experience of our farmers demonstrates that fact.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to point out that all 11 Republican Members from Michigan kept faith with the farmers of Michigan and with the wheat farmers of America when they voted against the wheat-cotton bill on April 8, 1964. The vote in the House was close—211 in favor of the bill and 203 opposed.

I cite these statistics to indicate that, while the editorial I append to these remarks correctly places the responsibility for this law on Congress, 49 percent of the House supported the farmers of America in this vote, including Congressmen MEADER, JOHANSEN, HUTCHINSON, FORD, CHAMBERLAIN, HARVEY, GRIFFIN, CEDERBERG, KNOX, BENNETT, and BROOMFIELD of Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, indicative of the attitude of wheat farmers of Michigan at this time, I include an editorial from the August 1, 1964, issue of the Michigan Farm News:

BITTER WHEAT HARVEST

It is wheat harvest time in Michigan.

It's the "payoff" time for grain farmers, and the crop looks good, but the price does not.

No one should be surprised, for along with the grain, Michigan farmers are reaping the "government wrecked" wheat prices forced upon them by Congress.

Government planners did the wrecking. First, with passage of the 1964 wheat law over farmers' loud objections; secondly, by a deliberate dumping of huge quantities of Government-owned wheat.

The Government sold nearly 7.5 million bushels of its surplus wheat the first week of July at a price reported to average $1.37 per bushel.

All over Michigan the bitter complaints are heard as the crop comes in and growers face up to $1.25 per bushel wheat prices and the low income it means.

Right now it appears that the loss will amount to $17 million in Michigan alone. Of this amount, more than half will have been transferred from farmers' pockets into the Government pocketbook.

Let's look at the facts.

Last year Michigan farmers produced 40,300,000 bushels of wheat, most of which sold in the $1.90 bracket. The approximate wheat income was $76 million.

This year a somewhat higher estimated yield of 40,700,000 bushels, selling at the depressed $1.30 figure, will bring Michigan farmers only $52,910,000 in the controlled "free" market. To this must be added the value of Government certificates and acreage diversion payments as computed under the new law.

These are estimated by USDA officials to $6,340,000 in Michigan.

Together these two sources of Michigan wheat income adds up to a total of $59,250,000—as compared to last year's more-than $76 million.

In short, instead of increasing wheat income to Michigan farmers as was freely promised, the new Government program has already neatly extracted some $17 million from their pockets.

Ironically, through a neat trick in the new law, more than half of this money will be turned over to the Federal Treasury.

The law states that millers must pay 70 cents per bushel to the Government for each bushel turned into flour. Another 25 cents per bushel must be paid to the Government by those who export wheat.

Since most Michigan wheat is used for milling and export purposes, the U.S. Treasury stands to gain some $10 million at the expense of Michigan farmers.

How is that for Government "help"?

Compare this with the official USDA report prepared for use by local Michigan ASC committeemen, and which tells in glowing terms of the "income boosting" certificates which wheat farmers received through taking part in the 1964 wheat program.

It is possible to get somewhere near $2 on the 45 percent of the wheat crop that received the domestic marketing certificates. But what about the price on the other 45 percent for export and the 10 percent left for the free market?

After the wheat harvest is all in, and the money counted, there should be no doubt in farmers' minds that the Federal Government has been the principal gainer.

The Government gains 70 cents per bushel for all wheat milled and 25 cents per bushel for all exported.

It repays farmers less in total than it collects.

One result: Michigan farmers are "out" $17 million in wheat income compared to last year.

To repeat something I've said before—how some of my good friends can figure this program out to give a return to growers of $2 per bushel for wheat is something I cannot understand.

We will never see $2 wheat as long as this law stands.—W.W.

Joe Yarbrough, of El Paso, Tex., Business and Civic Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, El Paso, Tex., bears the mark of Mr. Joe Yarbrough. A contractor since the middle 1940's in El Paso, Joe Yarbrough has helped shape that fine city by building hundreds of homes, commercial buildings, and apartment buildings. Beginning with the sale of his own small home, built when he moved to El Paso in 1943, Joe Yarbrough's enterprising business has grown, under has farsighted leadership, to become the success story it is today.

Joe Yarbrough is building for the future, not only with concrete and steel beams, but also with progressive community leadership and enthusiastic interest in good government.

Joe Yarbrough is a friend of mine. I have known him since 1938. Even when he was in his teens, he ran his own business. I have found his counsel to be wise, his leadership to be firm and beneficial, and his dedication to good government to be unshakable. He has become one of the outstanding leaders of West Texas. His energetic work in community activities and his broadminded direction as a business leader are bellwethers of good things to come—a higher level of prosperity for all Texans.

The activities of Joe Yarbrough, his firm, and its history are the subjects of an article published on June 9, 1964, in the El Paso Herald Post. The title of the article is "Small Job Leads to $1 Million Business." I ask that this success story of an outstanding business and community leader be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the El Paso (Tex.) Herald-Post June 9, 1964]

SMALL JOB LEADS TO $1 MILLION BUSINESS

(By Jane Pemberton)

When the building history of El Paso is written, the name of Joe Yarbrough, contractor, will loom large on the pages. Since the mid forties Mr. Yarbrough has built hundreds of residential homes and commercial buildings and apartments in this area.

He recently completed the new Tahitian Apartments in Montrose Court, and has 28 new apartment units under construction on Freeway East. Last year he finished some 80 apartments.

A portion of the Tahitian Apartments have already been re-leased to the El Paso Sun Kings on a year-round basis.

But probably Mr. Yarbrough's biggest and most successful construction job was building a two-bedroom house into a business worth more than $1 million.

"I started building myself a house on North Loop Drive. It was just a small, two-bedroom home," Mr. Yarbrough recalls, "Somebody came along and wanted to buy it at a profit, so I sold it and started another, and that started the ball rolling."

His first large building project was 60 houses in Pasodale addition built in 1948–49.

Perhaps the real Horatio Alger note in Mr. Yarbrough's story is the fact that he learned carpentry and had his only experience with it in a CCC camp from 1937 until 1939. His business acumen and ability carried him the rest of the way to the top of the construction field.

Mr. Yarbrough came to El Paso in 1943 from Tyler, Tex., where he formerly owned a cafe. On arrival here he was employed with the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Perhaps his best-known and largest housing development is in the Scotsdale-Stonehaven Park area, where some of the homes are in the $40,000 class. He also developed the plush Desert Hills section, where his own luxurious home is located at No. 9540.

The handsome four-bedroom, four-bath home is a big leap from the original two-bedroom which started Mr. Yarbrough in business. It has a raised living room, lower level den with huge fireplace, roomy kitchen with all imaginable built-ins, big patio and private swimming pool. The pool has its own dressing rooms and showers.

The house is built high on a hill in northeast El Paso, and has a magnificent view of lights spread out at night across the lower valley.

Mr. Yarbrough's commercial construction includes the Scotsdale and Ranchland Hills shopping centers, four 16-store drive-in markets, numerous filling stations and the new General Electric building on Montana Avenue near Ashley's food plant.

His office and supervisory staff is composed of 15 persons, with offices located at 1812 Hunter Road. This year the firm started 56 houses, with an overall average value of $20,000 each.

Mr. Yarbrough is married and has four attractive daughters, Linda Jo, 18, a freshman at Southern Methodist University; Diane, 16, a sophomore at Eastwood High where she is leader of the Trooperettes; Shirley, 13, and Claudette, 11, who attend Scotsdale Elementary School.

Both Mr. Yarbrough and his wife take an active interest in politics, and this year he served as Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH'S El Paso campaign manager. He is also a Democratic precinct chairman.

Community service is also high on the list of Mr. Yarbrough's activities. He is a member of the public service board, the hospital district board of managers, and a director of Bassett National Bank. He serves on the board of trustees of St. Luke's Methodist Church, and is a member of Home Builders Association, Elks Lodge, and the Ysleta Masonic Lodge.

Johnson Shoots From the Ship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I overheard two of my colleagues talking about President Johnson. The first Member asked, "How is the President doing?" The second replied, "Oh, he's doing extremely."

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson must be reading Senator GOLDWATER'S speeches and has finally decided to act. On this point, under unanimous consent, I include the following two editorials:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Aug. 5, 1964]

VIETNAM EVENTS BACK GOLDWATER

(By David Lawrence)

From the waters of the far Pacific has come a piece of news that, oddly enough, clarifies a lot of the debate surrounding the Johnson-Goldwater political campaign.

A U.S. Navy destroyer was attacked by armed vessels of the North Vietnamese and fought back immediately. The enemy ships were repulsed and one was put out of action. There was no telephone call to Washington to ask the civilian Commander in Chief in the White House what to do. The naval commander "in the field" had to use his own discretion, and he quickly ordered the firing of his ship's guns.

President Johnson not only confirmed at once the field commander's right to shoot back, but has since supplemented instructions to the naval forces with orders to destroy any enemy ships that attack them in international waters. (He has also ordered our fighter-bombers to seek out and destroy the enemy PT boats following a second attack by them.)

This is analogous to what Senator GOLDWATER, the Republican presidential nominee, has been saying about instructions that should be given to the commander of our forces in Europe. Yet he has been bitterly assailed by Secretary of Commerce Hodges and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman as trigger-happy, as "reckless," and as being ready to plunge America into a nuclear war.

All that the Arizona Senator has said is that the supreme commander of NATO should have direct command over the tactical nuclear weapons which are a part of the battlefield arsenal of NATO forces in Europe. These, of course, aren't the same thing as mammoth nuclear bombs, but are essentially artillery pieces of one kind or another wtih nuclear warheads of generally low-yield power. They are designed not to wipe out vast areas but to be effective in deterring the advance of enemy armies. Frequently only the commander on the scene would know when they should be used.

Senator GOLDWATER on July 13 said: "I have suggested that we never remove this responsibility from the President, but that the commander of NATO have a little more leeway in the election of weapons and the timeliness of the weapons."

All that Senator GOLDWATER has urged has now been confirmed in principle by Mr. Johnson in issuing a blanket instruction to the Navy "to attack any force which attacks them in international waters, and to attack with the objective not only of driving off the forces but of destroying it."

It is puzzling why Senator GOLDWATER should have been so vehemently criticized for recommending the same kind of discretion for the commander in the field as Mr. Johnson has authorized. The only explanation is that the criticism serves as a political gimmick to try to scare people and make them believe that the Arizona Senator would, if elected President, plunge the country into a nuclear war.

Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, who is being mentioned for the vice presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket, said only last Sunday on the CBS "Face the Nation" broadcast that the American people would rather not have a man as President "who is uncertain, has a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger, and may very well give an irrational response to an international crisis." He said that to avoid this the people should vote for Mr. Johnson. The Minnesota Senator's characterization of Senator GOLDWATER was most unfortunate, and it may be he had not read the correct version of what the Arizona Senator really has said.

Last Sunday, Representative MILLER, the Republican vice presidential nominee, was

talking about this very point on the ABC program, "Issues and Answers." He said:

"Senator GOLDWATER is not as misunderstood, in my judgment, as he is misreported. In other words, you can remember the statement he made in connection with the defoliation of the (supply) lines. And he said there are five or six things you could do, and one of them might be the use of low-yield atom bombs in the defoliation of the cover in the interdiction of the supply lines in Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam, into South Vietnam. He quickly said: 'We probably wouldn't do any of these things'—you remember that—but the headlines in the newspapers the next day were: 'Goldwater would use atom bombs.'"

Actually, one of the wire services had erroneously reported Senator GOLDWATER as having proposed the use of nuclear bombs to defoliate the enemy's protection cover. But even after this was denied and the actual stenographic text of what the Senator had said was published widely, two Cabinet officers repeated the charge just the same in subsequent speeches. So when the reporting errors have been corrected, the press can hardly be blamed for distortions made by the politicians on the stump, who either haven't read or have chosen to disregard the factual statements published.

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star, Aug. 4, 1964]

WHAT WE DON'T KNOW

We would give much to know what is really happening in, around, and off the coast of North Vietnam these days, but it is a bit too much to expect us to swallow the Government announcements whole.

Unfortunately it is hard to be sure that Washington leaders up to and including the President of the United States have suddenly conquered the habit of feeding us anything and everything but the truth about American policies and activities in that part of the world.

It is now crystal clear that the United States via its secret agents and its secret funds was behind the fouled up revolt in Indonesia a few years back which we blandly passed off as some strange and unknown incident in a far off part of the world.

We now know that while we were negotiating for a neutral Laos and making great peace talks in the United States, we were with the other secret hand shoving money at the rightist general as he refused to go along with the deal. (Then, when we lost our shirts on the Plain de Jarres, we stopped the cash, made the deal with the Russians, and did support a neutralization.)

We now know that we are still playing a heavy hand in South Vietnam and Laos * * * including the revolt and coup against Diem in Vietnam in which he was assassinated.

We remember the denials about the Cuban invasion, which was organized and financed and directed not by the exile committee but directly from Washington.

We remember the denials about the missile buildup in Cuba when we now know the Government actually had direct, eyewitness testimony from a trained U.S. CIA agent in addition to its early photos, plus an assessment that the known missile sites for AA could have no purpose or use except to defend larger installations.

We remember the denials of a loss of American lives in the Bay of Pigs which persisted even after we admitted responsibility for that effort, pursued even to the point of giving the bereaved widows and mothers of these men who died carrying out the instructions of this Government a merry, ruthless runaround from the CIA to the Pentagon to the White House and back.

In short, we have consistently used the public "face" and comments not to give the American people the truth about U.S. policies and adventures, but to cover up what we are actually doing.

So, we can only wonder what really happened there and what really is happening, and why the story that has been given out was given out.

Maybe because it did happen as reported, partly.

Is it all that happened if so?

And is there some other purpose in the story and pronouncement? Does it serve to cover up some other activity we are carrying on, even as we piously deny any intention of striking at North Vietnam, and describe such talk as "irresponsible" and "adventurous?"

On the basis of past experience, we can't help but wonder.

Dog Food Is Finding Human Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, recently we have been concerned about those with incomes below the arbitrary poverty line of $3,000 a year. Among them are a great many of our elderly. It has been estimated that 60 percent of the 1½ million persons over 72 who are not covered by social security benefits are on old age assistance programs.

In submitting to the Senate an amendment which I intend to offer to the social security bill now before the Finance Committee, I made reference today to a report that poverty-stricken elderly people are buying dog food for their own use, in order to stretch their food dollar. While I did not cite a source, except in a general way, I wish now to ask unanimous consent that an editorial dealing with this matter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is taken from the August 1 issue of Health Bulletin, published by the Rodale Press, of Emmaus, Pa.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOG FOOD IS FINDING HUMAN MARKET

Inez Robb, the plain-spoken columnist whose writings are syndicated in many newspapers, wrote last week that many older Americans living on small pensions are buying dog food for their own use. She claims that supermarket clerks are now accustomed to the sight of old people—including those known not to keep pets—loading their shopping carts with cans of dog food. Price is the main attraction of pet food for people living on the brink of poverty. They can buy nutritious and often tasty meat products in pet food form for less than 20 cents a pound for some brands.

Price is not the only appeal of pet foods, however. Nutritional value is given great emphasis in the processing, labeling, and advertising of pet foods, and, without a doubt, low-income consumers have become convinced that they can use them to secure better nourishment at lower cost. A quick look at the label of a dogfood can will show that in terms of vitamin and mineral values it has much more to offer than many varieties of foods packed specifically for humans. In addition to meat byproducts, the most common ingredient, dogfoods contain such nutritious ingredients as pork liver, soybeans, bonemeal, yeast, alfalfa meal, and vitamins A and E supplements. Accentuating their nutritional superiority over human foods is the fact that laws require animal foods to carry complete analyses of significant nutrients. Human foods have no such requirement. Most people are far more knowledgeable about what their dog is eating than about the food they put on their own tables.

Other facts on dogfood labels also add to their human appeal. Many carry legends saying that they are packed under the continuous supervision and inspection of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Apparently, many people assume that means that packing plants are kept clean and diseased animals are screened out—conditions which would make the finished product acceptable for human use. Even recipes now used for dogfoods are calculated to make taste buds snap to attention. One brand features meatballs in tomato gravy. The label shows a color illustration of the product that is attractive enough to grace the food section of a woman's magazine. Dogfood brands also offer such select human foods as lamb, chicken, and liver.

Perhaps there is a lesson here for packers of human food. It could be that a vast market exists among our aging and low-income population for canned foods that are packed with low-cost protein and vitamin and mineral supplements instead of the artificial tomfoolery that is characteristic of so many supermarket products.

Basic Step to the Moon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the importance of the *Ranger 7* spacecraft accomplishment in taking pictures of the moon cannot be underestimated. It represents a key step in our national space program in sending men to the moon in this decade. A recent article in the Philadelphia Inquirer aptly describes the significance of this accomplishment:

BASIC STEP TO THE MOON

There is a subdued quality about elation of American space scientists over the thoroughgoing success of the 13th try by the United States to expand mankind's knowledge of the surface of the moon, which is understandable in the light of the disappointments that have resulted from all our previous efforts.

To be sure, Harris M. Schurmeier, Ranger project manager, is said to have looked "ecstatic." And Dr. William H. Pickering, Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, much criticized for past failures, has proclaimed that "this was a text-book operation." But we like much better the reaction of Kenneth Gatland, vice president of the British Interplanetary Society, who called the U.S. moonshot "a stupendous achievement."

That is exactly what it was, and nothing that has gone before can take away from its present and future importance.

President Johnson's message of congratulations to all who helped with this project reflects the pride of the whole country. The pictures transmitted back to the earth may not provide all the answers we need to go ahead full speed with preparations for landing a piloted space vehicle on the moon's

surface, but they leave no room for doubt that the necessary information can be obtained—and soon will be.

It isn't only the U.S. moon experiments that have run into trouble, as President Johnson pointed out. The Russians have been as secretive about their moon failures as about the actual space knowledge they are accumulating. Our American space scientists have no such secrets.

That may well be one reason why this "basic step," as President Johnson calls it, was finally accomplished—before anything nearly so impressive could be announced from Moscow. We expect that from this point on the prowess of our space scientists will look better and better.

One perfect shot in a baker's dozen may not seem like so much to boast about, but it isn't half bad for beginners, and the U.S. is only beginning in space. The world hasn't seen anything yet. Wait until that next moonshot.

A Day To Honor the Late John Fitzgerald Kennedy—A Truly Great Leader of Modern Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, since that tragic day of November 22, 1963, when the citizens of all the United States gasped their unbelief before shedding unashamed tears over the grievous and untimely death of our late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy—when, indeed, the pulse of the entire world slowed to a feeble beat with the shock of that tragic event—since that moment, Mr. Speaker, many proposals have been made to commemorate the life and service to his country of one of our truly great leaders of modern times.

Some of those proposals have already taken form in the permanence of concrete and marble and other materials used in the building of hospitals and schools and streets. Others will have national influence and importance in the lives of all Americans—the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in the Nation's Capital. We have Cape Kennedy in Florida and the John F. Kennedy Airport in New York. The Kennedy postage stamp and the Kennedy half dollar will forever remind us of the great man who was our 35th President. Around the world, nations great and small have honored a beloved leader by naming streets and parks and schools and hospitals for John Fitzgerald Kennedy. In England a part of Runnymede Park, where a monument is planned for our late President, was given to the United States. John F. Kennedy does not lack for reminders of his life and service throughout the world.

Yet, in the course of time, those of us who daily pass the buildings and memorials and monuments which commemorate the life of a great man sometimes tend to forget the man the edifice honors. As days become years and years decades, we humanly and prosaically fail to recall the reason for the building of or the naming of the structure. That is why, it seems to me, the setting aside of a day each year—a special day which becomes a notable day—would be fitting and appropriate to honor the memory of the late President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. Unlike a building or an area or a coin, we would never get so used to it that it would become commonplace enough for us to forget its reason for being.

Earlier this year, Alderman Joseph P. Roddy of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen offered a resolution proposing that the fourth Sunday in the month of November of every year be declared John Fitzgerald Kennedy Day. That resolution was approved by the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, the governing body of the city of St. Louis. It seems to me that designation of that particular Sunday of each year would be a fitting day to "recognize and appropriately observe" our remembrance of an outstanding figure in our history whose death in the month of November left only grief in the hearts of Americans. Alderman Roddy's proposal, adopted as City of St. Louis Resolution 55, and signed by Donald Gunn, president; and Frank C. Boland, clerk; and which was the basis for the House joint resolution I have today introduced, is as follows:

CITY OF ST. LOUIS RESOLUTION 55

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the late President of the United States, gave his life by assassination, for his country; and

Whereas the same John Fitzgerald Kennedy has been acclaimed by able, clear-thinking men as the greatest leader of the free nations of the world of modern times; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a literal champion of freedom and justice for all and a figurative symbol of liberty for the whole world and in particular to those in his own country heretofore denied its blessings; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy lifted the hope of oppressed people in all parts of every continent; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy despite many personal afflictions during his brief life, met every crisis of the times with courage and honor, distinguishing himself in the armed services in World War II, as a Congressman, Senator, and finally as President of the United States; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy, among his many accomplishments as U.S. President, checked communism in Berlin, in Cuba, and in other threatening areas; negotiated the ban on atmospheric atom bomb tests; was solicitous for help to the aged; promoted the cause of tax relief for the needy, and time without number provided outstanding leadership in economic, military, and labor forums ever carrying a torch for full enjoyment by all of every civil right guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution; and

Whereas it has been traditional in the United States to commemorate the memory of our truly great leaders according them special days as evidenced by Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln Days; and

Whereas John Fitzgerald Kennedy's stature, ability, achievement, and martyred sacrifice entitles him to be so honored and commemorated and remembered: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Aldermen of the City of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, which State gave our mighty Nation the venerable Harry S. Truman, honorably requests that Missouri's capable delegation in the U.S. Congress including the Honorable STUART SYMINGTON and EDWARD V. LONG, Senators, together with St. Louis' Representatives FRANK KARSTEN and LEONOR SULLIVAN initiate all necessary steps and actions toward having the fourth Sunday in November of every year declared to be nationally noticed, recognized, and appropriately observed as John Fitzgerald Kennedy Day and that copies of this resolution, aside from being forwarded to the above named officials also be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the U.S. Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to his brave bereaved widow and family.

Offered by Alderman Joseph P. Roddy.

DONALD GUNN,
President.
FRANK C. BOLAND,
Clerk, St. Louis Board of Aldermen.

Federal Exhibit at the New York World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, Mr. BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL, for his fine speech in the House of Representatives a few weeks ago on the U.S. Pavilion at the New York World's Fair and the exhibits which it contains.

As a Representative from Brooklyn I am a close neighbor of the fair, and had the privilege of accompanying President Johnson to the ribbon-cutting ceremony at the U.S. Pavilion on the opening day of the fair: April 22 of this year.

I was struck by the architectural beauty of the building which our Government has constructed. I have returned on subsequent occasions and have been equally impressed with the concept and execution of the exhibits which are housed in this splendid structure.

In these times of social turmoil and political unrest throughout the world it is noteworthy that our country has produced an exhibit that represents the major issues of these challenging years. It is the mark of a democratic society that it constantly reevaluates its problems and its opportunities.

The Federal exhibit, which is created around the theme "Challenge to Greatness" will help Americans and our foreign visitors alike to better understand the responsibilities and challenges that each of us face today. In our continued efforts to expand the realities of freedom there is no better place for Americans to look than to the heritage of our glorious past and to find there inspiration for our unsettled future.

The Department of Commerce which has created this imaginative show on the New York World's Fair grounds deserves our praise and our congratulations.

Sing Them an Old Song

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the Tallahassee Democrat, of Tallahassee, Fla., published a most thought provoking editorial on Monday, August 3. This editorial articulated a belief which I believe is shared by the overwhelming opinion of Americans relative to the United Nations.

I am asking that it be reprinted here since the Secretary of the United Nations is in Washington today to talk with the President of the United States.

I believe we should forcefully carry out the charter. To do less is to make a mockery of the entire United Nations structure. Now is the time to see if the United Nations will have the Russians live by the rules, and if not, I say let them withdraw. I do not believe we can do less.

The following is the editorial:

SING THEM AN OLD SONG

All weekend, the words of an old song have been popping sketchily to mind. They say something like, "I can get along without you very well."

What recalled them is the report from United Nations headquarters that Premier Khrushchev is threatening to withdraw Russia if its vote is taken away for nonpayment of dues and bills. The charter provides for such action after 2 years of delinquency, and Russia is running behind.

The threat to withdraw doesn't frighten us. We pray it won't frighten the present administration in Washington out of carrying through its insistence on suspension of Russian voting rights at the U.N. The same action should be pressed against other defaulters: The Ukraine, White Russia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania (all Red satellites) and Argentina, Bolivia, Nationalist China, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Paraguay, Uruguay. If the Russian Communist satellites joined in withdrawing rather than pay or go without votes, it would remove eight key Communist votes from the General Assembly and a whole lot of dissension, subversion, and obstruction from the world forum.

If these Communist nations were sincerely interested in solving world problems by proper discussion and compromise, it might be desirable to keep them in the organization. It has been perfectly clear from the start, however, that they consider U.N. membership as nothing but a tool to be used for their own gains. Our Nation's folly has been that we have made the internationalism of the U.N. a cornerstone of our foreign policy while nearly all other nations see it as an instrument for their nationalist goals. Yet we, with only one vote, have been paying most of the bills, and playing generous host to manipulators who use their ballots as a bloc and won't pony up for the expenses.

So lets exert every influence we can to get other respectable nations to join us in forcing Russia and its satellites to pay up or shut up, even though it means their bloc resignation from the U.N. With them out of the way, the U.N. might lose some of its futility. It might become a genuine alliance of freedom-loving nations. With some changes in the charter, including a realistic reapportionment of representation, it might become such a force for good and such a force against evil in the world, that it would justify the pride and hope which some idealists among us retain for it.

Keeping Russia and its cohorts in the game merely to maintain contact with them is like a salesman playing poker with a bunch of deadbeat customers who use marked cards and cheat on the rules. It soon eats up the profits.

So let's force the issue. If they'd rather quit than play straight, let them go home with their dirty deck. We can get along without them very well. In fact, there is another old song coming to mind; "We'll be glad when you're gone, you rascal you."

The Unemployment Paradox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the August edition of Fortune magazine notes that in spite of a continuing high level of unemployment, signs of tightness in certain areas of the labor market have been multiplying. These indicators include a sharp increase in overtime hours, a low unemployment rate for married men and a large increase in voluntary part-time workers.

As for the unemployed themselves, Fortune points out that more than one-half of the jobless are women and younger people. Many of the rest have little skill or live in depressed areas.

Trends in employment suggest that the greatest potential for permanent expansion of employment may not always be jobs of the sort for which the current labor supply is suited. As Fortune points out, it is more likely that labor of certain kinds may well be in short supply at the same time that surpluses continue elsewhere in the labor market. Under these circumstances, a high level of total unemployment is likely to be with us for the foreseeable future.

To those in the current administration who would make national economic policies on the basis of a high unemployment rate, Fortune has a wise word of caution. The unemployment situation is such that the aggregate unemployment figures has lost much of its significance as a guide to business personnel planning as well as a guide for national economic policies.

Under unanimous consent, I wish to insert the article from Fortune magazine in the RECORD at this point:

UNEMPLOYMENT PARADOX

Unemployment has shown a decline from 5.8 percent of the labor force in the spring of 1963 to 5.3 percent in the spring of 1964, and should fall by at least another one-half of 1 percent by next spring. This would still leave it above the 4.2 percent average for the boom year of 1956, and above the 4-percent target often used for defining a condition of "full employment." While employment has been rising, so has the total labor force. Indeed, we may come to face the paradox of some stringencies of labor while the total unemployment figure remains above 4 percent.

SIGNS OF TIGHTNESS

Signs of tightness in areas of the labor market have been multiplying. Overtime hours in manufacturing now exceed those in the boom of 1956. The unemployment rate of married men has dropped further in the past 12 months to 2.8 percent. This is within reach of the 1956 level, and that for craftsmen has fallen to a similar point. Unemployment among unskilled laborers is still over 10 percent, but has been dipping significantly. Meanwhile the number of voluntary part-time workers has grown by 50 percent since 1956, and now comprises 7,600,000. Each on average works half as many hours as a full-time employee. On the other hand, a record number of nearly 4 million people held 2 jobs last year.

There are also signs of labor-market slack. Among the unemployed, the proportion who have had no previous experience in jobs will probably average in excess of 15 percent this year for the first time. The number of teenagers in the labor force has been increasing and now runs to about 6,600,000, or a quarter again as many as in 1956. One-sixth of these youngsters are out of work versus 10 percent then. The number of women in the labor force has also been growing faster of late. Unemployment among women is over 5 percent, though it has been easing. More than half of all the unemployed, in fact, are either women or younger people. Many of the rest have little skill or live in depressed areas. And there are still 530,000 who have been unemployed for half a year or more, versus 230,000 in 1956.

Whether the unemployment rate will fall faster than it has been doing will depend on much more than the state of the economy per se. It will also matter how fast economic rise opens up new jobs, where they are, and how many new workers come to seek them. The total labor force grows erratically: it was on its normal trend line in mid-1961, then fell behind until mid-1963, and picked up again. Some experts think it may go above its normal trend line as increased job opportunities lure more women, teenagers, and older men into the market, which would tend to keep the unemployment rate up. Meanwhile, however, productivity may diminish as the boom advances and this would tend to be favorable to employment, at least in the short term.

The rate of gain in nonfarm productivity between 1960 and 1963 exceeded its long-term average. This year it has shown some signs of slowing down, and this may continue as employers take on less-skilled workers and experience the usual sorts of difficulties in getting newly built plants on stream. Productivity may also suffer as the result of changes in overall output. The shift of demand from defense output, which has a high value per man-hour, to more consumer goods, which require more lower wage sales employees, tends to pull productivity down.

GROWTH SECTORS

Since 1956, as well as in the past year, the biggest employment gains have been scored in trade, finance, services, and in State and local government. Employment has changed far less in Federal Government and in industrial activities such as manufacturing. Within manufacturing, nonproduction workers (professional, technical, clerical, etc.) have been increasing as much as 6 percent a year, but that gain has now slowed down to about 1 percent. Jobs for production workers have been going up faster than before, and still more openings for them may appear as productivity gains slacken.

These trends suggest that the greatest potentials for the permanent expansion of employment may not always be jobs of the

sort for which the current labor supply is suited. It is more likely that labor of certain kinds may well get short at the same time that surpluses continue elsewhere in the labor market, thus keeping the total unemployment rate above 4 percent in the foreseeable future. In this sense, the "aggregate" figure has lost much of its significance as a guide to business' own personnel planning, and indeed, perhaps for national policies as well.

Potomac River Basin Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the Army Corps of Engineers study of the Potomac River is one of the most comprehensive surveys ever made of a river system. The report and the recommendations, however, have proved to be highly controversial. While I am in favor of many of the recommendations included in this survey report, I have publicly stated on several occasions my opposition to the proposal for a high dam on the Potomac at Seneca, Md.

On September 4, 1963, David V. Auld, Director of Sanitary Engineering for the District of Columbia made a report to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors on the survey indicating his doubts as to the efficacy of the pollution control features of the plan particularly in the case of the Seneca project. Just recently he reiterated these views in an informal discussion of the Engineers Potomac River report with the District Commissioners.

I believe Mr. Auld's views are sound and include them here for the attention and consideration of my colleagues:

STATEMENT OF DAVID V. AULD

These comments do not reflect the official view of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, but are entirely my own.

The plan under consideration provides for an adequate water supply both in quantity and quality, when needed, and at reasonable cost. Alternates involving distillation, desalinization, and the like are not now attractive either as to cost or feasibility and in my judgment would not provide a sound basis on which to predicate a plan for a future public water supply of metropolitan dimensions. Based on present knowledge and practice the water supply proposals are entirely reasonable.

The pollution control features of the plan for the Potomac at Washington are predicated on more limited experience than are those for water supply. I am, therefore, unable to evaluate them with equal certainty. The natural forces which come into play are so complex and the understanding of them is so meager that at the moment one must rely largely on conjecture as to the size and nature of the benefits which would accrue from the increased flows proposed. This is not to say that flow augmentation for water quality improvement is undesirable.

I believe the overall plan should be approved in principle. However, I do not believe the individual projects for pollution control of the lower Potomac should go into the construction stage until the river's behavior is more fully comprehended and other pollution control alternatives have been exhausted. Time will be required for such studies and investigations. Irreplaceable damsites could be lost during such an interval. For this reason I believe that some, and possibly all of the likely sites should be placed under some form of control so they may be preserved against the time of future need.

I urge that the plan be transmitted to the States and the District of Columbia for study and report. Only by this means will it be possible to secure the fully mature advice which will be necessary for the development of the final decisions. Also, only by this means will it be possible to secure the view of many others who, like me, are deeply interested in the Potomac but before whom the plan has not so far been placed officially.

Antipoverty Legislation a Blueprint for Confusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House will vote on the so-called antipoverty bill. Last Saturday's Chicago Daily News had a column by the distinguished writer A. T. Burch, who devoted his column to pointing out the confusion inherent in this legislation. I would certainly hope that the Members will ponder this article seriously despite the fact that their arms are twisted before they cast their ballots on this measure.

The article follows:

AS A. T. BURCH SEES IT: ANTIPOVERTY LEGISLATION A BLUEPRINT FOR CONFUSION

The U.S. Government has several agencies whose purpose is to protect the consumer.

One of them is the Federal Trade Commission, an independent agency. It is concerned, among other things, with preventing and punishing misrepresentation in packaging, labeling, and advertising.

If this commission had jurisdiction over Presidential programs and acts of Congress, I would expect it to take severe measures against the labeling, packaging, and advertising of the antipoverty bill.

This bill passed the Senate early this week and is awaiting action in the House.

In the view of Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, Republican, of New Jersey, some of the bill's contents are dangerous.

FRELINGHUYSEN believes that the director of the program, if it becomes law, has the power and intention to spend large sums in New York in a way that would undermine the authority of the mayor. His views were reported in Chicago's American last Monday by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott. They are contradicted by members of the staff of R. Sargent Shriver, who will direct the program if it is adopted.

FRELINGHUYSEN, according to Allen-Scott, believes that Shriver brought about the merger of two of the newer and more extremist civil rights groups in New York—Haryou and ACT.

Shriver was able to do this, according to these critics, by promising that HARYOU-ACT would have a large share of responsibility, if not control, of $100 million to be bestowed on the Harlem area of Manhattan Island if the antipoverty bill is enacted.

Both these organizations have, with others, insistently demanded the removal of New York's chief of police because of the brutality the force is alleged to have used in suppressing the bloody Harlem rioting and prolonged looting. FRELINGHUYSEN believes this would damage the authority of the local government, and he objects to rewarding those who propose it.

I was unable to reach Shriver personally, but I was assured by a member of his staff that FRELINGHUYSEN'S assumptions are untrue. He did not deny that these organizations might be given a share of responsibility in spending whatever money might be allocated to Harlem under the antipoverty bill. He did deny that Shriver was responsible for their merger, which, he said, had been contemplated long before the pending bill was introduced. Other sources express doubt that such a merger has been achieved.

LITTLE LIMITATION OF DIRECTOR

Even if Representative FRELINGHUYSEN'S views are exaggerated and inaccurate, the inquiries they prompted me to make did confirm the fact that the Director of the antipoverty program would have wide discretion to allocate public money to unofficial, private groups.

In the original antipoverty bill, there seem to be virtually no legal limits to the Director's discretion or caprice. However, an amendment adopted by the Senate shortly before the bill passed that Chamber does set up one new limitation. A proposal under this bill to allocate money to a private agency, I was told, may be vetoed by the Governor of a State where the money is to be spent, if he acts within 30 days.

This is no absolute guarantee against appropriating money to private groups in whatever way seems most likely to achieve a partisan political purpose. The Director of the program and the Governors of some States will be members of the same party, under any administration.

Shriver may be a man of such nonpolitical purpose, such integrity and pure ideals, that he would never entertain such a thought. Even so, he will not be Director of the program forever; but the program, once started, may go on for a very long time. We should not rely solely on his character to repair defects in the law.

Shriver's assistant told me that administrative difficulties are not likely to develop because the bill's sponsors have in mind broad types of community representation, whenever private groups are involved. The mayor and the superintendent of schools, he said, would certainly be members of any local group directing community activities.

I asked whether the mayor and the superintendent would have one vote each and half a dozen sociologists six votes, and half a dozen social workers six votes. This, he replied, would make no difference since mayors are influential men who know how to achieve harmony.

SIMILAR PATTERN IN CHICAGO

In fact, a similar pattern of organization under a different law has currently produced considerable confusion and some bitter argument in Chicago.

This week the Daily News editorially denounced Mayor Richard J. Daley and Schools Superintendent Benjamin Willis for stubbornness, inflexibility, lack of imagination and so on because, the editorial said, they were unduly interested in maintaining official control over Federal funds sought by Chicago under a Federal law intended to prevent juvenile delinquency. The national agency charged with disbursing these funds is the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

The city got less than it asked for, the Daily News said, because it had not delegated sufficient authority to citizen groups in an experimental area on the Near North Side.

Some of the assertions in the Daily News are disputed by Patrick Hoy, chairman of the city's joint youth development committee, and by the head of its staff, Charles Livermore.

There is no dispute between them and the Daily News that there has been prolonged controversy about the degree to which citizen participation (which all favor) implies citizen authority and citizen responsibility for basic decisions.

Hoy and Livermore ascribe some of the difficulty to the official committee's refusal of a demand from the citizen groups that they be given some $75,000 just to organize. The joint committee took the stand that a citizen's group is healthier, more meaningful and effective when it finances its own organization.

In the area of this experiment—north from the Chicago River to Fullerton, and west from the lake to the North Branch of the Chicago River—there is a great deal of wealth, as well as a great deal of poverty.

Actually, the $500,000 the city has been promised by the Federal authority for each of 2 years—$1 million in all—looks to me like a substantial amount to supplement existing services in an area of this size.

In any case, the dispute which the Daily News took note of looks like an exact blueprint of what may be expected to happen in many communities under the antipoverty bill if it is enacted.

The antidelinquency program would undoubtedly be taken over by the antipoverty organization at Washington with various other existing programs. Some of the people who drafted the existing bill helped to draft the proposed one.

SHRIVER EXPLAINS ORGANIZATION

In testifying before a congressional committee, Shriver explained how he thought community action programs should be organized:

"The most successful community action * * * usually includes the political, business, labor, and religious leaders, the school board, the employment service, the public welfare department, private social welfare agencies and neighborhood houses in a coordinated attack of local poverty. Above all it includes the poor people of the community whose first opportunity must be the opportunity to help themselves."

All this participation is excellent; but where is the difference between participation and final authority over disputed questions? It is not spelled out.

I do not believe that a public servant exercising authority legally entrusted to him is necessarily less competent in his field than a social worker or sociologist picked at random, or a poor man picked because he is extremely poor.

Granted that all these "unofficials" may have valuable advice to offer.

Nevertheless, I believe that in spending public money the lines of responsibility and the channels ought to be clear enough for an accountant, at some stage, to identify and follow them.

Prayer and Bible Reading in the Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the writer I am inserting herewith a letter addressed to me from Mr. J. Goodloe Jackson, president of the Board of Education of Allegany County in Maryland. I am also inserting herewith a statement made by Mr. Jackson at a board meeting of the Allegany County Board of Education, on January 16, 1964.

Mr. Jackson speaks for himself as one member of the board of education, and I think the remarks in his letter and in his statement are very significant in support of a constitutional amendment to permit prayer and Bible reading in our public schools.

The letter and statement follow:

JULY 28, 1964.

Hon. FRANK BECKER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BECKER: My wife and I saw and heard your able presentation of arguments favoring the enactment of the Becker amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

This on ABC telecast from Washington, D.C. To our way of thinking, your points were well taken, and far superior to the arguments of the Honorable James E. Corman, who followed you.

It was noted by me that you emphasized many points that I have been using, as I have spoken to many service clubs, and other organizations, urging support of your amendment. Am enclosing statement read at the January meeting of our county board of education, of which I have the honor to be president.

I am a Baptist, steeped in the history and traditions of that faith, as all of my people on every side were Baptists. My maternal grandfather was a Baptist minister of some note. It is a matter of grave concern that so many self-styled leaders of the Baptist conventions speak against the Becker amendment. From my contacts with Baptists of this area, I feel that you made a very pertinent point when you said that many of these leaders are "Generals without an army."

Am glad you will continue your fight to see to it that the right to read the Bible, and pray in our schools, will be restored to the young people who wish to do so. I, too, am continuing this fight. Even if we lose this time, I shall keep on fighting.

In today's mail, I received a communication from our Congressman at large, CARLTON R. SICKLES. He enclosed a copy of "Extension of Remarks of Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES, of Maryland, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, May 5, 1964." He didn't bother to send me any of the testimony favoring your amendment. Ho Hum.

Best wishes for success.

J. GOODLOE JACKSON.

STATEMENT ON BIBLE READING AND PRAYER IN SCHOOLS MADE BY J. GOODLOE JACKSON, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF EDUCATION OF ALLEGANY COUNTY AT BOARD MEETING, JANUARY 16, 1964

In view of the fact that attacks from many sources are being leveled at our ideals and traditions, and, if permitted to continue unchallenged, will result in the establishment of a government ruled by an atheistic and vociferous minority, the following statement is made.

It should be understood that these views are my own, and not necessarily the views of the other members of the Board of Education of Allegany County:

These are indeed trying times, and we should be concerned about certain trends in our national life. Each one of us, especially the youth of our country, needs a faith to which we can turn for comfort; an anchor that can hold us steady in the troubled seas we must travel. Such a faith, and such an anchor, is a belief in God. It is most important that all of us, young and old, maintain our right to take God with us wherever we go.

It is high time that God-fearing people, Christians and Jews, start resisting the forces that are attempting to rule out religious observances from the American way of life. To that end the following promise is made to the parents and young people of Allegany County:

Every means at my command will be used to help maintain the rights of our boys and girls to read the Bible, or Torah, in any public school building, and, when they wish to do so, pray in the name of the Christ of Peter, James, and John, or in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Every member of every board of education in Maryland is asked to make similar pledges.

It is a sad commentary on the thinking of men of my generation that, in this "Nation under God," it would be necessary to ask for a law permitting our children to conduct, in our public schools, services honoring Him.

As such a procedure has become necessary, all citizens everywhere are urged to ask their U.S. Senators and Congressmen to support the Becker amendment, and House bill 9100, recently introduced in Congress by our own Congressman, the Honorable CHARLES "MAC" MATHIAS.

Antipoverty Bill Falls Short of Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, as the House considers the so-called antipoverty bill, I would like to bring to the attention of the membership an editorial from the August 3, 1964, Los Angeles Times entitled "Antipoverty Bill Falls Short of Mark."

In discussing the shortcomings of the proposal, the Times states:

A truly effective war on poverty will not be adversely affected by taking time to think things through and develop programs likely to eliminate root causes of poverty. Hasty action to patch together a program designed to pay political dividends in November would be a tragic disservice to the actual poor who do need help.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

ANTIPOVERTY BILL FALLS SHORT OF MARK

President Johnson's "all-out war on poverty" program drew general approval in principle when first announced, but the Times reserved final judgment until the details were filled in.

Now that the i's have been dotted and the t's crossed in the legislation before the House, it is apparent that Mr. Johnson's performance falls short of his original purpose.

The President's assertion that the antipoverty bill is "must" legislation, which should be approved by Congress forthwith, must be challenged.

In its present form, the antipoverty legislation is compounded of political nostrums, wishful thinking, and sincere idealism—in about equal proportions. To suggest that this "Economic Opportunity Act" is the definitive answer to poverty in America, and that it should be translated into law without full and wide discussion, is so much nonsense.

To be specific, the antipoverty bill needs much clearer definitions of the role of State and local agencies in the program. The Senate amendments giving State Governors veto power over certain phases of the program were recognition of the fact that the administration bill concentrated too much power over attractive political handouts in Washington.

Before any money gets to the actual poor, vast sums would be absorbed by this new bureaucracy. It might be wiser to define their tasks more exactly before recruiting these new legions.

A truly effective war on poverty will not be adversely affected by taking time to think things through and develop programs likely to eliminate root causes of poverty. Hasty action to patch together a program designed to pay political dividends in November would be a tragic disservice to the actual poor who do need help.

The House would do well to heed the counsel of those who urge redrafting a more effective attack on poverty in a calmer, post-election atmosphere.

Social Security Amendments of 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11865) to increase benefits under the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to provide child's insurance benefits beyond age 18 while in school, to provide widow's benefits at age 60 on a reduced basis, to provide benefits for certain individuals not otherwise eligible at age 72, to improve the actuarial status of the trust funds, to extend coverage, and for other purposes.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, I have always supported legislation which would provide a better social security system for our senior citizens, the disabled, and our widows and minor children. It is a pleasure to support this legislation today. Although providing a small raise, it is still a step in the right direction. This bill will provide for an increase in social security payments to all drawing social security today. This increase is needed to meet the high cost of living. Our elderly citizens cannot met the rising cost of rent, food, and medicine. This increase is long overdue.

This social security bill will also provide payments for many wives, widows and aged workers when they reach age 72 who did not work long enough under social security to meet present requirements. This bill will help many children to continue in school by providing for the payment of a child's benefit beyond age 18 and up to age 22 if the child is in school or college. This bill will improve the protection for aging widows by lowering the age to 60 when they can first become eligible for benefits on a reduced basis.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that this committee and the House will yet consider the bill I introduced which would permit a person to draw social security after 30 years on the same job when that person becomes disabled to continue on that job.

Mr. Chairman, I have told this House and I say again that some textile workers in my district have worked in the textile mills for more than 30 years and still cannot draw social security though disabled to continue on that job. I have known textile employees, men and women, who worked 40 years and some even more, and still could not draw their social security because of that provision of the law which states that to be disabled, a person must be unable to engage in any other work at all.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that this provision of the law is unfair and should be changed. When a person works for 30 years in a textile mill and becomes disabled because of injury or ill health, then I say, Mr. Chairman, that person should start drawing social security. It is a hardship and it is wrong for such a person to have to go around knocking on doors seeking other employment. Mr. Chairman, you know and I know it is next to impossible for this person to get another job.

I am speaking today primarily of textile workers because I have such a great textile industry in my congressional district. More people are employed in the textile industry in my district than all other employment combined. Although I have mentioned my textile workers as an example, I think any worker in the United States in any industry should be able to draw social security after 30 years on the same job when disabled.

Reaching for the Moon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I feel that all Americans are justly proud of our recent success in photographing the hitherto unknown surface of the moon from close range. The flight of *Ranger 7* has been hailed as the greatest advance in astronomy since the discovery of the telescope by Galileo.

The Tallahassee Democrat, of Tallahassee, Fla., on August 2, 1964, printed an editorial dealing with this subject which I would like to have reprinted here, as it expresses so well my feeling about this important advance.

The editorial follows:

REACHING FOR THE MOON

Earthbound man has fired a missile from his spinning sphere at a spinning satellite 238,000 miles in space and landed it within 9 miles of the precise target after commanding it successfully to send back 4,000 closeup photographs of the moon as it approached collision.

The magnitude of the accomplishment must be awesome even to those scientists who brought it about. It overwhelms those of us who can't hit a dove in flight, or throw a ball across homeplate, or take a snapshot in focus.

This success with the Ranger shot after six failures cost $250 million, which is just a part of the expenditure already made and committed in our space exploration program. Some question whether the results are worth the cost. Most Americans, we believe, will not begrudge it. Most of them, their confidence now restored after the depressing shock of being beaten to the draw by the first Russian sputnik, must recognize that the question has not been whether we could afford to accept that challenge but whether we could afford not to compete.

From almost any angle, default would have been unthinkable to our citizen taxpayers.

In a little while, now, we'll put men on the moon. They probably won't send back tremendous material wealth; but we know their mission is a peaceful pursuit of knowledge and a defense against those who almost surely would use our moon as a platform for aggression and conquest. We simply must have our men there first, even if we have to stop some profligate handouts of our tax money at home and abroad which serve political purposes in the name of public philanthropy. This moon must be our base for observation and peaceful exploration of space. The cost is as justifiable as the price paid by European nations for the discovery and exploration of the Western Hemisphere, and probably no more expensive by our 20th century standards than those ventures were by standards of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Besides, mankind must reach for the moon. It has been his quest since the first dawn of human imagination. Reaching for the moon must have been one of our primeval impulses, challenging our ignorant forebears to inquire and to aspire. Of course, people could exist indefinitely on this earth without exploring the moon; but if no man aspired, all men would be merely animals competing ruthlessly for survival, hunting furtively because they also were hunted. For whatever purpose man was created or evolved, it is not served by shrinking from intellectual curiosity, and exploration of new vistas.

A Light To Live By

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunately common practice in Washington for many spokesmen to explain away the precepts of our Constitution and the political philosophy of our Founding Fathers as being archaic and not appropriate to present times.

I believe it is necessary, Mr. Speaker, for us to pause on occasion and quietly dwell on the virtues of our land. Just this type of thought is reflected in an editorial in the Pointer Publications, of Riverdale, Ill., July 20.

I place this inspiring editorial in the RECORD at this point.

A LIGHT TO LIVE BY

It is customarily to think of the United States as a young nation, and genealogically this is true. As a people, as Americans owing allegiance to none but ourselves, we are young. We declared our independence 188 years ago. We won it after 7 bitter years of war 181 years ago. But what we forget is that young as we are, we are nevertheless the oldest major republic on earth.

We have more experience at community government than any other nation save Switzerland. It has worked wonderfully well for us. Even our Civil War resulted in cementing us more firmly together, and in our 181 years we have grown from a small, barely independent nation into the lustiest, most powerful people of them all.

What our detractors cannot conceive is that we have no desire to rule. Autocratic governments must rule to live; they cannot govern because to govern is to carry out the wishes of the citizenry and few citizens of any nation want domination and political slavery.

The distractions which surround us must not obscure in our minds the means of preserving what our forefathers gained for us nearly 200 years ago. Those patriots lit a lamp that still burns brighter than any other and if we tend it well it will continue to shed its warm and kindly light long after the cold flame of despotism has burned itself out.

Why Worry About the Generation To Come?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Rock County Star-Herald, of Luverne, Minn., has recently commented on the business of "being liberal with your money."

I place the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Rock County Star-Herald, July 9, 1964]

WHY WORRY ABOUT THE GENERATION TO COME?

A usually infallible yardstick as to what is meant by "political liberal" is that it is someone who "is liberal with your money."

By that yardstick then the Senators MCCARTHY and HUMPHREY have now been elevated into the all-time liberal hall of fame. There they can join their Minnesota Democratic colleagues from the House.

All struck a mighty blow for freedom of their pocketbooks. Each one has joined up to beat down economy forces, who oppose rasing congressional salaries from $22,500 to $30,000 a year.

This band of immortals voted, too, against the amendment fought for by Senator PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, which would have reduced the cost of this salary pork barreling by $9,600,000.

Not only congressional salaries are to be raised by the raid on the taxpayer dollars but included, too, is a vast gaggle of other Federal employees, 1,700,000 of them in all. Civil service workers, judges, postal workers, members of congressional staffs, and other Federal employees.

Senator HUMPHREY and Senator MCCARTHY are completely out of tune with the thinking of the vast majority of their constituents who are struggling under crushing tax burdens.

But—these are the days when liberal thinking says there is no question about it—you can cut taxes, and increase spending and the national debt limit without a worry in the world.

Sounds like the old days of the French kings who operated on the "after me—the deluge" philosophy.

No Substance to Charges That Ocean Freight Rates Discriminate Against American Exporters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, there have been so many misleading and erroneous statements made to our House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and placed in the RECORD, that my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. MAILLIARD] and I presented a joint statement to our committee to call attention to the errors. I am inserting it in the RECORD for the same purpose.

NO SUBSTANCE TO CHARGES THAT OCEAN FREIGHT RATES DISCRIMINATE AGAINST AMERICAN EXPORTERS

Mr. Chairman, Mr. MAILLIARD has asked that the record show that he subscribes to the following statement and that it be considered a joint expression by both of us.

The purpose of the current Bonner committee hearings is very clear. It is to review the progress that the Federal Maritime Commission has made toward enforcing the dual-rate contract provisions for international steamship conferences which were legalized 3 years ago under Public Law 87-846.

In those 3 years, the Maritime Commission has been required under various congressional mandates and other pressures to try to accomplish this and a great many other things. If there have been delays in their programs, there no doubt are reasonable explanations. I know of nothing in the record that reflects adversely upon the present Commission's diligence, determination, and energy. But, unfortunately, in these hearings, we have been led along a road far away from the immediate and primary question concerning the implementation of dual-rate contracts.

Our attention has been preoccupied with serious charges against the steamship conference system itself—charges that have for some months diverted the Maritime Commission's resources and abilities away from its foremost responsibility—the effective administration of the Shipping Act of 1916, as amended, for the purpose of assisting exporters, importers, and the maritime industry to build up our foreign trade under an administration and ground rules satisfactoy and fair to all. I refer, of course, to the charges that disparities between export and import rates set by conferences threaten the export trade of the United States and adversely affect the balance of payments.

We submit that it is time to lay these charges to rest once and for all and get along with the more important business at hand.

Let me emphasize that there should be proper concern over anything that impedes the foreign trade of the United States, particularly exports which are vital to our balance-of-payments position. And it is entirely appropriate, as directed in section 212(e) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, that the Maritime Commission maintain surveillance of rate disparities between outbound and inbound rates. But section 212 (e) of the 1936 act specifically covers only those disparities that discriminate against American exporters. Only discriminatory disparities call for action by the Commission and recommendations to Congress. The Commission's witness, who recently, in testimony before this committee, made a report under section 212(e), certainly did not establish that any discriminatory disparities exist.

Let's try to put in perspective the question of ocean freight rate disparities. Many of us have been present at hearings conducted not only by this committee but by the Joint Economic Committee in which testimony has been presented by witnesses from export industries, from steamship lines, from conferences, and from Government agencies.

Gentlemen, the case has been presented clearly, pro and con. It is in the RECORD for all to see. Therefore, what I have to say is in no sense a prejudgment.

The only valid conclusion—on the basis of the record and what we have heard—is that there is no substance to the sweeping charges made, and that such rate disparities as do exist reflect the volume flow of a commodity "in and out." The record shows, generally speaking, that where export rates for commodities appear high U.S. factory prices are so high as to preclude exportation even if they were carried overseas by the steamship companies at no cost at all. Exporters of such products are also stymied by foreign duties, tariff walls, and any number of other factors on which the level of the freight rate can have little bearing.

The charge that exporters have suffered competitively because the freight rates have been higher on certain outbound cargo than the rates for identical cargoes heading inbound is disproved by the fact that the same item in foreign trade does not move both ways between the same countries. If trade exists, it is because one nation lacks an item another has and will pay the price to get it, or because one nation can get it cheaper from another nation than it can produce the item domestically, in spite of import duties, handling, transportation, and other costs. In any event, there is no possibility of any substantial inbound and outbound trade in exactly the same item between the same points. Ocean rate disparities, therefore, either involve items that are not in fact comparable or involve comparable items for which rates are provided but do not in fact move regularly.

Commonsense would seem to dictate we accept these broad facts and concentrate our energies on the equitable solution of problems of substance, such as the proper implementation of shippers' contracts.

The steamship conferences are not to be exonerated completely from responsibility for the misunderstandings about freight rates that exist. Some disparities undoubtedly exist that may jeopardize an American export, but the conferences have the machinery to eliminate these. And there is nothing in the record to indicate they do not do so when the disparity has been brought to their attention and ship operating costs will permit an adjustment.

Furthermore, conference tariffs have been shown to be far from current. A freight rate may be listed at the request of a shipper and lay dormant without cargo, or a freight rate may be put to work for a time and then linger for years without application. So it is not surprising that an able, well-intentioned government investigator seeking to establish facts concerning freight rate disparities comes across obsolete rates which may lead him to invalid comparisons. It is only after each individual comparison is scrutinized in the light of real transactions—of cargoes that move—that we learn the comparison is meaningless.

For example, we were privileged last week to hear the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois present to this committee specific examples, prepared by the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, wherein it appeared that freight rates on certain out-

bound cargoes were indeed higher than comparable rates on similar commodities moving inbound. The particular data was no doubt assembled in good faith with as much attention to detail and accuracy as could be expected of those without practical experience in the international trades involved.

Two days later we heard the testimony of the American Steamship Traffic Executives Committee, which wisely emphasized that the operators' aim was not to engage in debate or to question motives of those investigating ocean freight rates, but to present the facts. They then conclusively established that some of the data previously presented were erroneous because of faulty rate information or lack of proper traffic data as to the volume flow, and that other testimony distorted the significance of the cited differentials to our export potential. For example:

In the matter of steel pipe, it was reported that it costs $50 weight or measure to ship American-made pipe from New York to Venezuela whereas it costs but $27.90 to send German or Belgian pipe from Rotterdam to Venezuela.

A meticulous study of the tariff revealed no rate of $50. The tariff contract rate on up to 12 inches inside diameter pipe from New York was $29 for 2,240 pounds. If it was 12 inches to 16 inches, it was $30 per 2,240 pounds.

If it was over 16 inches, it was $29 weight or measurement, not $50.

The net rates from Rotterdam to Venezuela and again on iron and steel pipe, after 10 percent deferred rebate on pipe up to 8 inches, was $27.41 and on 8 to 12 inches, $28.83.

On 12 to 30 inches, $35.68, weight or measurement.

We, therefore, find that instead of the impression that was left with the Committee of a tremendous discrepancy of $27.90 versus $50, that despite our cost differences in meeting competition from competitive sources of supply, the rate on 12-inch pipe from Rotterdam and New York to Venezuela is, to all intents and purposes, equalized.

As another example from many available was the statement regarding the shipment of leaf tobacco to and from Japan. The record was made that on manufactured leaf tobacco the rate of $87.25 outward per 2,000 pounds is at a disadvantage with the $51.75 rate inbound. The inward rate is a measurement rate and when you put it on the same basis as the outbound rate it would be approximately $165 a ton, or $77.73 more than the outbound rate. Tobacco runs quite heavy to measurement in contrast to weight.

Any meaningful analysis of ocean freight rates must accordingly disregard obsolete rates and paper rates and concern itself with the rate on the cargo that moves. The working rates are developed by and cannot escape the laws of supply and demand. These facts seem to have been lost in the confusion.

International freight rates, gentlemen, are set essentially by supply and demand and cannot be regulated by a single sovereign nation in a free trade economy. Even if you could get all nations to agree—which you cannot—it would be impossible to regulate international freight rates, as was pointed out by the ASTEC witnesses, unless you could first limit either the amount of cargoes available or the number of ships to carry them. I trust no one entertains any such ambitions.

There are many productive areas of investigation, of administration, of regulation, and of adjudication to which the Maritime Commission can properly devote its attention. I submit that inbound and outbound rate disparities—when they are not discriminatory—are not one of them. Discriminatory disparities, of course, are a proper subject of continuing review, but the record of these and other recent hearings shows that they do not exist significantly in the real world of international freight transactions. They may exist on paper or in theory, but as we were advised by a most competent shipper witness last week, not 1 among the 1,600 members of the National Industrial Traffic League has complained that such rate disparities are discriminatory or harmful to our exports.

It is most unfortunate in the light of the evidence that we should continue to beat the dead horse of rate disparities between our inbound and outbound traffic. I say let us leave these to the experts—the exporters and the carriers whose ships they use.

This entire investigation of rate disparities has diverted time and resources from proper areas of Maritime Commission activity. It is time to get back on the track and move ahead with purposes encouraged by this committee and laid down in Public Law 87-346 3 years ago—to administer the dual rate contract provisions and bring about a more effective and stronger conference system. This is the road to encouraging our export trade.

THOR C. TOLLEFSON.

Mrs. McCree Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very unusual letter which has been forwarded to me by my valued friend, Mr. John J. Carver, prominent businessman in Boston, which came from his lovely daughter, Mrs. Peter R. McCree.

The touching words of Mrs. McCree describing a floral portrait of the late, great President Kennedy which she observed on the front lawn of a home in Holland is masterfully done.

Moreover, the letter exemplifies the great love, affection, and spirit of remembrance that exists in the minds of the Dutch people, particularly in the mind of a talented Dutchman, who used his artistry to create a beautiful likeness in the heroic mold of our late President from carefully grown purple and white violets.

I want to compliment and thank Mrs. McCree for her beautiful description which impressively captured the beauty and significance of this tribute, and I am sending it to appropriate officials of the new Kennedy Memorial in Cambridge, so that some appropriate record may be made of this incident of remembrance and Mrs. McCree's eloquent description:

As we drove out of Keukenhof, toward der Haag, we saw, quite by accident, a most touching display—a Hollander, who probably never saw President Kennedy had fashioned a portrait of J.F.K. on his front lawn out of violets of purple and white—it was 10 by 15 feet and remarkably well done. Every feature of the President was clear and alive—you felt his presence. Over this flew the stars and stripes and the Dutch flag and written in white on purple violets beneath the portrait was "Remembrance." We stopped and I stood looking and the Dutchman came out of his house—he spoke no English but we conveyed to him without words how beautiful his idea was and could we take a picture—he ran in and came out with a stepladder so Pete could take a downward shot. Other Americans stopped and Italians, English, French, and Africans, too. Everyone stood quietly then mounted the ladder to take a picture. All offered money to the old man for his help but he refused—I was so glad he refused—a lovely thought such as his would be ruined if he turned it into a commercial venture. So, in this vast world there is one dear, sweet Dutchman who loved President Kennedy.

Labor Costs Going Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, added inflationary pressures can be expected to arise this year from a quickening increase in overall labor costs in manufacturing. Average increases in wages and major fringes in manufacturing jobs are expected to be about 4 percent this year, compared with 3.6 percent in 1963, 3.5 percent in 1962, and 2.9 percent in 1961. At 4 percent the increase in labor costs would exceed the wage guidelines laid down by the Council of Economic Advisers.

In view of the fact that the administration is itself following inflationary fiscal and monetary policies, this development in the private sector is a cause for some concern.

Under unanimous consent I place an article from the August 3 edition of U.S. News & World Report, entitled "Where Pay Raises Are Heading in 1964," in the RECORD at this point:

WHERE PAY RAISES ARE HEADING IN 1964

A study of wage trends in the first 6 months shows this:

Factory workers are getting bigger increases than at any time in recent years. Along with these raises go improved fringe benefits.

For employers, this mean heavier outlays for labor costs.

The trend may get a further push if auto workers get a generous settlement later in the year.

The business boom, along with rising profits, is bringing this development for employers:

Wage rates and overall labor costs are rising at a faster pace than at any time in recent years. The trend could pick up further speed if workers in the automobile industry win substantial increases in wages and fringe benefits late this summer.

What is happening, as the chart on this page shows, is a reversal of a slowdown in the rate of increases in labor costs in the United States that started in 1957.

In manufacturing industries, hourly earnings are going up at a faster clip. The percentage increase is getting bigger, and the

"Economic" unit of U.S. News & World Report estimates that the trend will continue through 1964.

AVERAGE PAY, $103.48

The average worker in manufacturing, at mid-1964, was earning $103.48 a week, up more than $3 a week in a year.

The rate of increase in pay raises and major fringe benefits reached its low point of 2.9 percent in 1961. This was a decline from 6.2 percent in 1956.

The turnaround came in 1962, with a jump to 3.5 percent in wage-fringe increases. The "Economic" unit estimates the increase for 1964 at about 4 percent. This, as can be seen by a glance at the chart, would be the highest rate of increase since 1959.

Wages in some industries have been going up even faster than in manufacturing—especially in construction and trucking.

The average worker in contract construction was earning $132.65 a week in mid-1964, compared with $128.06 a year earlier.

The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., in a survey of new contracts negotiated in the first half of this year, found construction workers had fared better than any other group.

The typical settlement in construction, according to BNA, was about 15 cents an hour, not counting "fringes."

One of the biggest settlements was won by James R. Hoffa for members of his Teamsters Union. Mr. Hoffa not only won his first nationwide contract with the trucking industry, but also increases in wages and "fringes" that he estimated at 45 cents an hour over 3 years.

The Teamsters' contract covers an estimated 16,000 trucking firms employing some 450,000 workers.

In the soft-coal industry, the United Mine Workers won their first pay raise since 1959. Under the new contract, miners got a pay raise of $1 a day in April and are to get an additional $1 next January.

Before the raises, the miners' basic pay was $24.25 a day, with the average actual pay running about $30 a day.

RAISES FOR FUTURE

The BNA survey also found:

This year's deferred pay raises—negotiated in prior years—average 7.1 cents an hour, the lowest level since BNA began its tabulations in 1957.

Deferred increases are becoming more popular in new contracts signed in the first half of 1964. Pay raises are to come after this year under terms of 56 percent of the contracts surveyed by BNA.

Workers are showing an increasing interest, too, in fringe benefits of various kinds. New or revised pension plans, for example, showed up in 21 percent of this year's new contracts, and new or revised insurance plans in 44 percent. Both figures were higher than for the first half of last year.

Pay raises were highest on the west coast, followed closely by the Midwestern States. Generally, the lowest pay raises were found in Southeast United States and the New England States.

Biggest concentration of pay raises, involving 418 contracts, was in the range of 7 cents to about 10 cents an hour.

Next biggest concentration—391 contracts—was in the 4- to 7-cent-an-hour range. And 304 contracts provided raises of 10 cents to about 13 cents an hour; 78 provided increases of 19 cents an hour or more.

AUTOS IN SPOTLIGHT

In the last half of 1964, all eyes are on the auto industry. Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, is out to win the biggest settlement in history.

If Mr. Reuther succeeds, unions in other fields almost certainly will raise their sights when bargaining time comes.

Over the years: the trend in pay increases

Average increases in wages and major "fringes" in manufacturing jobs:

	Percent
1956	6.2
1957	6.1
1958	3.8
1959	4.1
1960	3.9
1961	2.9
1962	3.5
1963	3.6
1964	4.0

After a downward trend for several years, pay raises are increasing in size. This increase is expected to continue through the year 1964. One key to this year's increase lies in the outcome of negotiations in autos.

Source: 1956–63, Council of Economic Advisers.

Goldwater and Minorities: An Indian's View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor of the Phoenix Gazette was written by Mr. Hosteen Begay who comes from a very prominent Navajo Indian family. Since he is a member of a real minority group, I felt his opinion of Senator GOLDWATER was quite a valid one and so would be of interest to the Members of the House and Senate:

GOLDWATER AND MINORITIES: AN INDIAN'S VIEW

To the EDITOR OF THE GAZETTE:

I am an Indian, and maybe nothing I would have to say would make any difference, but my people know BARRY GOLDWATER, and know, too, that he does not deserve the terrible, personal attacks on his reputation and life. It is amazing that a civilized country like this one would allow those of the press and those with influence over others to spew out such vindictive tripe. But it does, and I am thinking that my home, primitive though it may be, is much more suited to the development of intelligent thinking than anything any other race has to offer.

It seems to me that people are letting themselves be led like sheep to the slaughter. They actually believe the things that have been said about Senator GOLDWATER on all subjects from extremism to civil rights—I mean, of course, the bad things. I don't have to make a list of these things, but I would like to come out strongly against those who are trying their best to tear this man down. I will tell you what I know about BARRY GOLDWATER, and perhaps this will cool down some of the cruel, destructive remarks that have been made by Negroes, whites, and others about him.

BARRY GOLDWATER has helped my own people in their worst time of need. He has made emergency flights with blood, food, clothes, and other supplies, without which my people would have died. One of these flights the Senator made saved my life, although he does not know it; the blood he brought in was given to me while I lay bleeding at death's door.

BARRY GOLDWATER has encouraged the Indian to fight for his rights—with words, and deeds of kindness and firmness, not with violence, criminal acts, or anything of that sort. The Senator has always said he feels strongly about the Indian, believing that Indian people have as much right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as any other race in this country.

BARRY GOLDWATER set up voting districts for the Indian people. If it were not for him, I would not be able to vote in my first presidential election—or any other election. He has encouraged Indian people in that respect, too, telling them that to be true citizens they must exercise their right to vote, and use it wisely.

BARRY GOLDWATER desegregated the National Guard, making it equal for all races—Negro, Indian, white. He also desegregated many public facilities such as airports, movie houses, and so on. He could not do it all himself, of course—but he did that much on his own.

BARRY GOLDWATER has encouraged all minority races to stand forth and campaign for what they feel is rightfully theirs, always stressing peaceful means to accomplish this.

But the Negroes and others still go on vilifying him, trying to make him look like he has done nothing. Apparently the Negro people have short memories. I know that after the Senator helped desegregate the National Guard, the NAACP took him in as a member for life. Then, because he voted against the civil rights bill, they turned on him, like coyotes, and cast him out. If that isn't shameful and unfair, then I do not know what is.

Indian people have good memories. Anyone who has ever done a harm to an Indian can tell you so. We remember who helps us and who hurts us. We know who is for us and who is against us. As the most mistreated minority in this country, we are willing to go with the man we feel is the best—and I personally feel that the best man in this election year is BARRY GOLDWATER, and hope that my people and other Indian people feel the same.

A few days ago I read somewhere that politicians do not think the Indian vote is important. There are so few of us, they claim, so why bother? Only 500,000 full-blooded Indians in America. The politicians have forgotten one important fact: There are five times that many "legal" Indians, those with Indian blood, from one-eighth to three-fourths, and they're Indian, although many of them do not use this fact to drain tax dollars. Also, there is an uncounted amount of people with one-sixteenth and less Indian blood who have strong Indian feelings, and care deeply about what happens to the Indian now—and in the future. So not only is there this small amount of full-blooded, reservation Indians who will be voting in the presidential election this year—but also those who are off reservation.

Since Senator GOLDWATER has done so much to help the Indian people progress politically and personally and because he has done so much to further Indian independence and hope, because he has given so much reassurance and respect to the Indian people, because he treats the Indian as a proud people instead of grubbing savages, he will undoubtedly win a large amount of this "pro-Indian" and Indian vote. Because he is the kind of man he is, a man that not only the Indian, but all minorities respect and admire, I believe that he will win in November, simply because he is what he is—an honest, respectful, decent, honorable man, who is not afraid to speak his mind, or state what he thinks is wrong in this country. I have no qualms about voting for him, and no Indian or part Indian should have. BARRY GOLDWATER is the only man fit to be the next President of the United States.

HOSTEEN BEGAY.

A Poignant Letter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the recent serious events involving direct military contact between our forces and those of Communist North Vietnam have served to focus public attention on the struggle in South Vietnam in which we are engaged in an advisory capacity. Such progress as has been made there in the long, dreary, and often discouraging effort to contain and eventually repel the Communist threat to the free people of the Republic of Vietnam can be attributed chiefly to the impressive training, dedicated resolve, and resilient spirit of the men of the Special Forces of the U.S. Army. Their highly developed multiple skills represent a story which would be most assuring to the Nation if more widely known, and our eventual victory in a faraway land is dependent in large measure on the degree to which they can infuse their skills, determination, and capacity for independent individual action in the Vietnamese soldiery.

In this connection, I have had an opportunity to see a letter written by the widow of a member of the Special Forces who gave his life in Vietnam, and I should like to share it with the other Members of the House.

Sgt. (E–5) Harry A. Walling, about whom this letter was written, was a member of the 5th Special Forces, Airborne. Sergeant Walling, who was killed in action on the 19th of June in Vietnam, left surviving his wife and three children: a son, age 3; a daughter, 1½; and another daughter, 4 months.

The letter, which was written June 24, 1964, and was addressed to other wives of the Special Forces now engaged in Vietnam, follows:

DEAR MISSION WIVES: I am Mrs. Henry A. Walling. My husband just died. I guess that is putting it bluntly, but how else can you explain death. I know you are all afraid for your husbands and love them as much as I loved my husband. He loved me just as your husbands do you, and he didn't want to leave me or his children and he didn't want to die. He had so much to live for. But he was a brave man and a fighting man. I'm not saying that he wasn't afraid because he was, and that is why he was so brave. It was something he had to do. All of our guys in the Green Beret are something special, and, because we are their wives, we have to be special too. The Green Beret was my husband's proudest possession, and now it is mine. He told me once that Special Forces wives were the best in the world and that just like our husband we have to be proud and brave and take anything God hands and not turn bitter. Or, as Harry used to say: "Take it on the chin, there is nothing you can't take if you try hard, and you can't put the blame where it doesn't belong." I can't hate the Army, not when my husband loved it so. I can't blame them for sending him to Vietnam. He wanted to go. All I can really say is—try not to be afraid for them while they are away. I know that is hard, but, if you are afraid, don't let them know. Their job is hard enough over there without worrying about it. Besides, if God is going to call your husband to Him, it won't matter where he is. When it's time, it is time, and there is no way to change it.

My husband died for what he believed in, and, if he had a choice of where and how he would die, he would choose the same place, fighting for a decent world for his children to grow up in. God now is the only one who knows why my husband is gone. God took him, and there is a good reason why. I don't know the reason, but maybe He was saving him from enduring something worse.

In hard times to come, please remember the Green Beret and what the man is who wears it, a proud hard-fighting man who has enough courage to fight for what he believes in and the ones he loves. And because the Green Beret is part of him, it is part of you too. So, don't let the world, the loneliness, the despair and the fear get you down. Stand as tall as that man of yours who wears the Beret, and thank God you got him. Because, all in all, the men who wear the Green Beret are the finest in the world.

My prayers are that all of your husbands come home to you safe and well.

Thank you.

(S) Mrs. H. A. WALLING.

At Midday, It Is Night

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Nancy Sañes, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Sañes, 8920 S. Yates Avenue, Chicago, is an humanities student at the southeast branch of the Chicago City Junior College, and the Southeast Sentinel published by the students of that school carried in its edition of February 5, 1964, a moving poem she had written in memory of President Kennedy and in which she used the words, "At midday, it is night" to express the shock and grief of the Nation. By unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include Mrs. Sañes' noteworthy contribution to the memorial poetry of that period of universal grief:

Oh mocking sun, your brilliant face
Today has viewed such vile disgrace
That in this aura, warm and bright
And in this smiling, happy place,
This point in time has left its trace.
At midday: it is night.
What matter youth and promise now
And future unfulfilled;
The man who points to greatness
His life and blood are spilled
And now his soul goes on.
So at his passing, bow your head
And keep your voices stilled.
Perhaps some sign, some guide
Upon the pathways he had willed.
His spirit has not gone.
And now in night the pain goes deep,
We bid you peace; we bid you sleep.
Your name now etched upon our years
The fruits of this we long will reap
We light our candles, vigils keep
Our Nation cries its tears.

Prayer and Bible Reading in School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, some might think the issue of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools is dying out, but I assure you this is far from the truth. As further evidence of my convictions, I am inserting herewith an article entitled "Prayer and Bible Reading in School," by the Reverend Claud L. Asbury, pastor of the First Baptist Church, McColl, S.C., and published in the McColl Messenger. Pastor Asbury has gone to considerable research and effort in preparing this article—it ought to help convince many of the Members to sign Discharge Petition No. 3, and thereby help to preserve the religious heritage of our Nation.

The article follows:

PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN SCHOOL
(By Rev. Claud L. Asbury)

In making the ruling regarding prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, I feel the Supreme Court has the intention of doing that which even Congress is not to do, and I cite the first amendment to the Constitution:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Now, let us note a definition, one of eight definitions as found on page 1024 of "The American College Dictionary." (Edited by Clarence L. Barnhart; Harper & Bros. Publishers): "6. a point or matter of consicence: to make a religion of doing something."

On page 481 of "The Universal Standard Encyclopedia," volume 2 (Joseph Laffan Morse, editor in chief; Standard Reference Works Publishing Co., Inc., New York) we find these words: "Atheism is not necessarily irreligious."

In his book, "The Religions of Mankind" (p. 18; Publishers: Abingdon-Cokesbury, N.Y.), Edmund Davison Soper says: "In our day a class of definitions is being presented with no necessary reference to higher powers or to God."

On page 169 of his book, "Psychology of Religion" (Abingdon-Cokesburg Press), Paul E. Johnson says: "* * * atheism is, by every test, as much a belief as theism, and it is evidently quite as incapable of escaping the waves of emotion that beat upon beliefs."

On page 819 of "The Winston Dictionary," this is to be found: "Religion 2, the outward acts or practices of life by which men indicate their recognition of such relations; 5. conscientious devotion to some principle."

On page 6866, volume 14 (QR), of "The World Book Encyclopedia," copyright 1959, these words are to be found: "Religion. Many scholars have been inclined to define religion as belief in gods or supernatural beings. But this by no means includes all the religions, because religion has often meant a way of living rather than a way of believing. And there have been many who have denied or been indifferent to any kind of God."

In ruling as it did regarding the Madalyn Murray case of 1963 the Supreme Court

violated that point, part of the first amendment of our U.S. Constitution, which reads as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion * * *."

This one, Mrs. Madalyn Murray, who is responsible for this particular controversy and action on the part of the Supreme Court has stated that she is an atheist, and this is, in my opinion, definitely a religion.

Let us bear in mind that the question (regarding prayer and Bible reading) was raised, in the first place, by the minority (the atheist—Mrs. Madalyn Murray) and has to do with this, that (prayer and Bible reading), which is followed, advocated by the majority. Let us note that the acknowledgment of God as the Supreme Being, as God of this, our Nation, and who was so acknowledged by the writers of the Constitution of the United States of America was and is advocated by the majority.

It is not only a question of whether or not our children are permitted or allowed to read the Holy Bible and to pray in school on a voluntary basis, though this, in itself is indeed a great and important question, and one, which I believe must be answered and will be answered in the affirmative by the American people, but there is also the important point of the Supreme Court ruling in favor of a group of people, a minority of people, who are known as atheists and thus by their own admittance, and which is a religious group.

Ruling as they did, the Supreme Court, in a very real sense, did cater to the religion of atheism, thus we can readily see the grave danger, which a group of men could lead us to experience if such power as they now seem to possess is not removed from their clutches. To allow such to continue will, in my opinion, lead to the setting up of atheism as a, or perhaps the religion of the land.

Although the Baptist Joint Committee and others have been and are opposing congressional passage of the Frank J. Becker amendment, and though the Southern Baptist Convention, the Nation's biggest Protestant denomination, went on record at their recent meeting (May 1964) in Atlantic City, N.J., as opposing such amendment to the Constitution, such action by no means represents all southern Baptists, who now number 10.4 million, for let us take note of the fact that the number present at this meeting in Atlantic City was in the thousands, therefore I contend that so few cannot possibly speak for so many, who perhaps have not been heard in this regard. It is true that those present met, spoke, perhaps debated, and voted as messengers from southern Baptist churches as the Southern Baptist Convention in one of its yearly sessions, but the voices, sentiments, convictions of all Southern Baptist churches, members were not included.

It is my prayerful concern that all necessary efforts be put forth in securing the congressional passage of the Frank J. Becker amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Please note that House Joint Resolution 693 (88th Cong.), which is the proposed prayer amendment to the Constitution "does not seek to change the first amendment, but only to clarify its meaning, and thereby prevent and defeat future attacks on the spiritual heritage of our Nation, as evidenced in current suits to remove "* * * under God * * *" from the Pledge of Allegiance and deny tax exemptions to churches. Chaplains in the Armed Forces, and the motto, "In God We Trust" on our coins and currency are also being threatened as "unconstitutional." (from "Fact Sheet on the Proposed Prayer Amendment to the Constitution; House Joint Resolution 693 (88th Cong.).")

Following is the amendment's text:

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering from, or listening to prayers or biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceedings, activity, ceremony, school institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord." Psalm 33: 12.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Proverbs 14: 34.

Rev. CLAUD L. ASBURY.

McCOLL, S.C.

FACT SHEET ON THE PROPOSED PRAYER AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION—HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 693 (88TH CONG.)

The amendment's authors

House Joint Resolution 693 was authored by a committee of six Congressmen (three Democrats and three Republicans) with the aid of constitutional lawyers and legislative counsel. This committee was appointed by more than 60 Members of the House who had introduced similar resolutions, and wished to arrive at one text acceptable to all. Congressman FRANK J. BECKER, the committee's chairman, introduced House Joint Resolution 693 on September 10, 1963.

The amendment's purpose

To restore the inherent American right to the "* * * free exercise * * *" of religion, as guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution. Decisions of the Supreme Court in 1962 and 1963 declared unconstitutional the practice of prayer and Bible reading in our public schools, and the amendment seeks to restore this right. The amendment would also prevent future attacks on the spiritual heritage of our Nation, as evidenced in current suits to remove "* * * under God * * *" from the pledge of allegiance and deny tax exemption to churches. Chaplains in the Armed Forces, and the motto, "In God We Trust" on our coins and currency are also being threatened as "unconstitutional." House Joint Resolution 693 does not seek to change the first amendment, but only to clarify its meaning, and thereby defeat attacks such as those outlined above.

The amendment's text

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

What you can do

Write to your Congressman, telling him of your support for the prayer amendment. Feel free to use any of the arguments cited in the enclosure and urge him to sign Discharge Petition No. 3, reminding him that this petition is the only means to insure for the Congress a chance to vote on the amendment before adjournment. He may reply that he has introduced an amendment himself. Write again, and remind him that Discharge Petition No. 3 only affects House Joint Resolution 693, and that he may offer his own amendment to that bill if it comes to the floor of the House. At the present time 166 Congressmen have signed the petition—of the 218 required to free the resolution from committee. Mine is the first signature on the petition.

KEEP THIS IN MIND

Congressman BECKER has said, "I cannot sit idly by and permit the advocates of a godless society to accomplish in the United States what the Communists have accomplished in Soviet Russia. I have provided the legislative instrument * * * but the real job must be done by the people themselves. They must let their Congressmen know how they feel if we are to succeed."

Truckers Will Be Hurt by Loss of Bracero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, workingmen in industries allied with California agriculture are now recognizing the crisis affecting the California farmer and its effect on others.

The trucking industry has taken stock. I include a recent editorial from the July 3, 1964, issue of Caltrux, the official publication of the California Trucking Association. I want Members to have every view available:

The California trucking industry might consider itself isolated from the effects of an impending crisis in agriculture which was precipitated by elimination of Public Law 78—or the bracero program—after December 31, 1964. However, if California farmers cannot find available to them 40,000 to 60,000 domestic families needed to replace the 70,000 Mexican national farmhands (braceros) normally hired at peak harvest seasons, then production will be seriously impaired and California agricultural products could be priced out of markets both here and abroad. Consequently, the trucking industry will face a major economic loss.

Agricultural production in this State is valued at $3.4 billion annually. To guarantee movement of this production from the fields to our tables, farmers rely heavily upon motor transport. In fact, agricultural products account for one-half of all truck transportation tonnage in California, not including the truckload volume of unrecorded intrastate movements. Without the bracero, this agricultural traffic could decrease drastically, resulting in large financial losses to the industry.

Despite the political forays and more emotional outbursts on the problem and its far-reaching impact upon dozens of industries, one practical solution is mechanization.

Mechanization of California's "stoop labor" crops—or those now harvested largely by braceros—will remove thousands of jobs from the market. Though this process might seem to distort beyond control an already formidable problem, the consequences would actually fulfill numerous agricultural needs of the State.

It will eliminate jobs heretofore filled by foreign workers while upgrading jobs for thousands of American workers by providing skilled jobs in the fields for the kind of work Americans don't find degrading. This is especially meaningful in light of comments made, by those most closely involved, that even if present farm wages were more than tripled it would not induce sufficient American workers to perform the labor required. Mechanization can evolve with technological advances into a highly practical operation wherein the grower realizes a capacity to pay increased wages to fewer skilled laborers operating the mechanized system. This is his assurance that both quality and quantity of product will be maintained at high levels.

Consider, too, the impact of mechanization upon allied industries. Mechanization of California's harvests will create jobs in the fields of metals, rubber, chemicals, and in the servicing and maintenance of machines. The American worker benefits greatly as established industries expand and new manufacturers enter the field. In the same manner trucking can reap added benefits not only from higher outbound tonnage but also from increased inbound shipments of fertilizer, petroleum, machinery parts, and containers.

The mechanization solution, though highly practical, lies athwart the element of time. A study of the most current, complete, and accurate data made available by Dr. George Alcorn, director of agricultural extension, University of California, reveals that for some crops (celery, lettuce) mechanized harvesting is nearly a reality, but for others (lemons, asparagus, strawberries) which require the most braceros, any mechanized system is several years away from operation. What are we to do in the meantime?

The same perplexing question might also be asked of other California businesses which today are enjoying a healthy economic relationship with agriculture. There are many observers who feel that California, and other States, can increase their determination to prevent expiration of the bracero program, or at least to obtain its extension until the trend toward mechanization can relieve some of the incumbent pressures. Job futures for thousands in trucking are precariously balanced in the offing, and there are few among us who can feel immune to the crisis after realizing this truth.

As the bracero issue approaches its zenith we might well remember a lesson learned in the past—that apathy is a forerunner of defeat.

"Goody" for Orville

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, It is apparent from a recent editorial in the Rock County Star-Herald, of Luverne, Minn., that the editor has his doubts about how true a friend of the farmer is the Secretary of Agriculture. I suggest the editorial be printed in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues.

"GOODY" FOR ORVILLE

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, "the farmer's friend," is at it again with another diagnosis. With friends like him who needs enemies?

Thank goodness Orville was a Hennepin Avenue Farmer instead of a family doctor. With the unvarying inaccuracy of each diagnosis a patient would never have survived if Freeman had gone into medicine.

It was only a few months ago that he soundly scolded farmers as cry baby complainers. He let them understand that they were out of their minds to blame the flood of foreign beef imports for the disastrous price situation in the livestock industry.

It was domestic overproduction, said Freeman who has had scant love for certain segments of agriculture who don't cotton to regimentation.

Livestock men should listen to what Freeman recently told the Senate Public Works Committee in his diagnosis of how to put the depressed Appalachian disaster area on its feet.

Encourage, said Orville, the farmers of Appalachia to produce more livestock, especially feeder cattle.

That will be great news for the midwestern livestock man. But Freeman brushes aside any fears that developing an Appalachian beef industry would be any threat to the existing industry. It would only hurt, says he, the Canadian and Mexican beef experts.

Anyway, he said, the United States will need 20 million more beef cattle by 1970.

He may not be the greatest prophet in the world but there is one thing you can say about Freeman—he is consistent. Consistently wrong.

The Value of a Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, last Monday I inserted in the Appendix for the benefit of my colleagues a very fine address by the Honorable Justice Douglas at a recent testimonial dinner honoring Mr. Seniel Ostrow, of Los Angeles. Frank K. Kelly, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, has written a most fitting and moving tribute to Mr. Ostrow. It is so beautifully worded and so well expresses the regard we all have for Mr. Ostrow, I would like to share it with my colleagues. It is as follows:

THE VALUE OF A MAN
(By Frank K. Kelly)

There was a testimonial dinner at the Beverly Hilton the other night for a man named Seniel Ostrow. Those who gathered to do him honor included a Supreme Court Justice, an educator whose name is know all over the world, and hundreds of talented people ranging from Shelley Berman to Dinah Shore.

A good man is hard to find but here's one who is really appreciated, I thought as I walked through the crowd and listened to the voices around me. "It's wonderful to see such a turnout for Seniel," a woman said. Beyond her, one man was saying to another: "I don't know much about this Center Seniel's interested in, but everybody loves the guy."

It was a happy crowd, full of smiling faces, people waving to one another. I'd been to many ceremonial dinners, but I'd never seen an affair so full of genuine joy. Seniel Ostrow wore a radiant look of affection, and his friends reciprocated.

"Extremism in praise of Seniel Ostrow is no vice," said Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the Center, presenting a citation for service to the cause of liberty. "Moderation on such as occasion would be no virtue."

Justice William Douglas, his rugged face gleaming, spoke out swiftly: "He has lived in the tradition of the Prophets and as a result has been a powerful moral influence in our lives. Mr. Ostrow—like Isaiah and Ezekiel—never stopped to take a poll to determine what the people should do. He spoke and acted as a leader."

What was the value of such a man? I wondered how those who talked of computers replacing human beings could ever understand such a banquet and such praise for a single person. Yet is seemed to me that the whole future of our society depended upon the development and the recognition of men with Mr. Ostrow's qualities. He had more than independence of mind and strength of character; he had the shine of goodness, the light of generosity that marked the true nobility of a human being.

What was it that linked together Mr. Ostrow and Justice Douglas and Dr. Hutchins? As they stood together in the huge banquet hall, they had a resemblance to one another. I thought I knew what it was—each of them had the open look of youth, the eagerness to welcome all sorts and conditions of men, the willingness to risk much to help others.

I could give a personal witness to the kind of man I had found Seniel Ostrow to be. A year ago, I had sent him a note, enclosing a suggestion from a Claremont professor, Fred Warner Neal, a proposal that the center sponsor an international convocation on Pope John XXIII's last message to the world—"Pacem in Terris," an encyclical calling upon all men of good will to work together for peace. Mr. Ostrow had picked up the message immediately.

Not a Catholic, not a churchgoer but definitely a man of good will, he had been one of the millions who had loved and admired the little Pope who had died such a painful death. He hurried to Santa Barbara, urged the other members of our board of directors to accept Professor Neal's suggestion—and the convocation is going to be held.

Looking at Seniel Ostrow the other night, I saw the spirit of Pope John—the spirit of reconciliation, hoping to bring all people together with understanding and love. That spirit shows the value of a true man.

Testimony of Hon. Richard L. Roudebush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, there is great concern in Congress about the recent Supreme Court decision affecting reapportionment of State legislatures.

The Supreme Court has taken upon itself to enter the legislative field of government by denying our individual States the right to govern themselves according to the wishes of their own people.

It has been my privilege during recent days to introduce a series of bills designed to overcome the great damage caused by the Supreme Court.

The full text of my views on the subject was presented recently before the House Judiciary Committee when I testified in behalf of my proposed legislation.

In order that the Congress be apprised of my grave concern and detailed thinking on this matter, under unanimous consent, I include my full testimony in the RECORD.

My testimony follows:

The beauty of our unique, American system has been a carefully constructed method of checks and balances.

Fortunately for generations of Americans, our Founding Fathers in a flash of genius unequaled since the dawn of civilization, wrought a constitutional system that has enabled the people of the United States to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

The prescribed function of the three branches of Government—legislative, executive, and judicial—is to act as a restraint on the others.

It is my belief, and millions of other Americans, that the Supreme Court has usurped the legislative function in its ruling of last June 15—a ruling that in effect prohibits the right of the States to use a basis other than population in apportioning membership of one house of their State legislatures.

As Justice Potter Stewart stated in his minority opinion, "The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union. The rule announced today is at odds with the long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create."

The effect of this ruling on the rural and small town areas of America will be most harmful. To still the voice and conscience of rural America will be a blow to our representative form of Government, and strikes at the heart of the Federal system.

The Supreme Court has gone to the extreme position of telling the individual States they no longer can govern themselves as they please, but must abide by the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C.

The role of the Supreme Court was envisioned by our Founding Fathers as that of interpreters of the Constitution, but the present Court has a minority which believes its duty is to make law, rather than interpret law.

To alleviate and correct the damage of this Supreme Court ruling, I have joined with other Members of Congress in introducing legislation designed to get the Supreme Court back into its proper role, and prohibit its trampling traditional States rights provided by our Constitution.

Legislation which I have introduced on this matter includes H.R. 12153, which provides that no Federal court shall have jurisdiction of any action to reapportion one house of a State legislature if the other house of such legislature is apportioned according to population, and House Joint Resolution 1136, which will amend the Constitution to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population.

To authorize both houses of a legislature to be apportioned on the basis of local need or selected interest or geography would, of course, be unfair and inimical to the general public interest.

But, by the same token, the requirement that both houses be apportioned strictly on population alone would amount to a desertion of the rights of the minority and to an abandonment of the unique needs of the individual citizen.

Some people may live in areas of high employment, others in depressed areas with high unemployment. Some may be farmers, miners, fishermen or lumbermen. Some may be of one religion or national origin peculiar in need or consideration from those of another religion or national origin.

Some may live in rural areas or small towns while others live in metropolitan areas or suburban expanses. Some may direct their needs toward secondary roads or superhighways while others are more concerned about rapid transit systems. Some may require priority consideration of irrigation projects while others demand consideration of water systems.

Between each group, conflicting interests of varying degree develop, with each conflict producing a majority and a minority. Certainly, the majority must have effective rule, but the minority, too, is entitled to effective representation lest important segments of our people be completely subject to the tyranny of a temporary majority. Abandonment of this concept will most certainly convert our system of government, the oldest continuous constitutional government in the world, to something alien thereto and potentially dangerous to individual liberty.

It is correct to say, as the Supreme Court did, that legislators represent people, not trees or acres. But, the people who reside in States are more than mere numbers. They are people with dissimilar and sometimes conflicting needs, with conflicting hopes and aspirations, with ever-changing problems that sometimes fail to yield to computer logic. Through the wisdom of the people themselves, as represented by the elected leaders of sovereign States, they may well decide that there is a need for representation of particular interests in one body of a legislature in contrast to the representation of general interests in the other body.

Mr. Justice Stewart put it perfectly when he said in his dissent:

"Throughout our history the apportionments of State leigslatures have reflected the strongly felt American tradition that the public interest is composed of many diverse interests, and that in the long run it can better be expressed by a medley of component voices than by the majority's monolithic command. What constitutes reasonable plan reasonably designed to achieve this objective will vary from State to State, since each State is unique, in terms to topography, geography, demography, history, heterogeneity and concentration of population, variety of social and economic interests, and in the operation and interrelation of its political institutions."

Making his point further, Mr. Justice Stewart continued:

"A system of legislative apportionment which might be best for South Dakota, might be unwise for Hawaii with its many islands, or Michigan with its northern peninsula * * * Montana with its vast distances is not Rhode Island with its heavy concentrations of people. I do know enough to be aware of the great variations among the several States in their historic manner of distributing legislative power of the Governor's council in New England, of the broad powers of initiative referendum retained in some States by the people, of the legislative power which some States give to their Governors, by the right of veto or otherwise, of the widely autonomous home rule which many States give to their cities."

The American farmer represents only 7 percent of the total population of this Nation. Yet the general interests and well-being of the American farmer is important to every American. The Supreme Court would reduce the voice of the American farmer and the small townsman to a whisper, a legislative slave to the big cities and urban centers.

Let us make no mistake about the political implications of the Supreme Court decision. Liberal and socialist leaders in this country are already claiming the Court decision as a victory and a blow to conservatism in general.

Elimination of farm and small town representation in State legislatures will shift absolute power to the urban centers where the large population centers are controlled by advocates of liberal spending programs and socialist welfare government.

I respectfully request favorable consideration of measures to retain control of State legislatures by the States. It is time for this Nation to determine if the Constitution as devised by the Founding Fathers is still the law of the land in America, or if this precious document has been discarded usurped by the Supreme Court.

Thank you.

Shasta Daisy: A National Flower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I revise and extend my remarks and include therein an excellent article from the Worcester Evening Gazette entitled "Shasta Daisy Urged as National Flower."

This article relates to the interest of residents, including school children, of the town of Lancaster, Mass., in my district, in having the Shasta Daisy named as the National Flower.

The case for the Shasta Daisy is a very strong powerful one, as I have previously demonstrated to the House.

First, it is urged, and rightly so, that this flower is one of surpassing beauty and grace.

Secondly, that it is one of the miraculous creations of the great genius, Luther Burbank, born in Lancaster, Mass., and intimately associated with that and other adjacent communities in the Third Congressional District.

As an accompanying part of this excellent article from the Gazette, there is a fine picture of the old four-chimney brick house and wooden ell which was the birthplace of the genius Luther Burbank, on March 7, 1849. This house was located on land taken over by the Government when Fort Devens was established and has since been razed because of military training needs at this installation.

The house has typical earmarks of colonial Massachusetts, simplicity of design, solid, substantial, well constructed, attractive, and functional. Though larger and somewhat more impressive, it reminds me very much of the birthplace of the house where the great orator and statesman, Daniel Webster, was born in Franklin, N.H., and it brought me the same thought of how one born in such humble circumstances in such a remote, out-of-the-way place, seemingly without any discoverable advantages or opportunities of living or training could have come forth from such a frugal environment, and by sheer force of personality, drive, great ability, and

genius rise to topmost position in the history of the Nation and the world.

Yet this was the experience of the great Burbank, famed horticulturist, as well as that of the illustrious Daniel Webster, for years a distinguished Senator of the United States.

The philosophers, the sociologists, the psychologists, the historians, and other men of letters might be able to cite the reasons which enabled these men, born in such humble circumstances, untutored and unsung, possessing little or nothing of material goods, not endowed with earthly possessions or any but meager opportunities for education and training could reach such exalted stature.

But so far as I am concerned, I am certain of two things: first, that there was an atmosphere created in their homes by their devoted parents, and in the surrounding communities that represented a rugged way of life—deep religious spirit, strong family ties, stern parental discipline, hard unceasing work, absolute devotion to principles and causes, and secondly, the spark of genius that the Saviour implanted and fired in these great men.

Who could say that one of these accompaniments without the other would have permitted these individuals to make the success, achieve the prominence and fame and make the great contributions they did.

I think that one of Burbank's greatest achievements was creating the Shasta daisy.

As I have stated before on the floor of the House, it is a most beautiful flower, typically American, grown in every part of the Nation, lending itself to decorative and ceremonial use.

It has the added advantage of being solely American, and, unlike some other flowers having the distinction of being mentioned as the national flower, it does not have the present handicap of being the national flower of any other nation.

The article abundantly sets forth the good points of the Shasta daisy and how Burbank discovered it and improved upon it and brought it to its present high stage of development and beauty.

Burbank himself describes the manner in which he conducted his experiments and the ends he sought in creating the Shasta daisy and finally accomplished through thousands of skillful, painstaking graftings and other remarkable techniques. Like our country, the Shasta is rugged, hardy, and can grow in any soil or climate we know of in the boundaries of our Nation. There is a brightness about the Shasta that springs right out of its magnificient core like a brilliant, suffusing light.

It is indeed the perfect work of the renowned perfectionist, Burbank, the result of sustained, expert breedings which finally were climaxed in the incorporation into this lovely flower of all of the spectacular, beautiful features which it portrays today—the hardiness of winter, the maturity of autumn, the beauty of summer, and the gracefulness of spring.

Like America, it is a healthy, thriving, vibrant plant with a large blossom and a tall, smooth stem. It began as a weed in the fields of New England, but it moved west with Burbank and was nurtured and mixed with strains from several countries of Orient and Occident until it finally bloomed forth in all its remarkable grace and charm.

There are many flowers in our country and the world, flowers of rare beauty and exotic appeal.

Many of them are already the official flowers of other nations.

The Shasta Daisy stands unique and eligible for selection as our national flower. More than all the others, it symbolizes the strength, fertility, beauty, and genius of our own great Nation.

On several occasions I have urged the committee now considering the matter to designate the Shasta Daisy as the National Flower, and I once again most respectfully urge that it be so designated. The world will soon come to love this lovely flower. And the American people will be proud of it because it will stand as a floral symbol of liberty, justice, equality—the harbinger of a peaceful world where amity and understanding will prevail and culture and beauty will reign.

The article follows:

SHASTA DAISY URGED AS NATIONAL FLOWER

(By Jay Smith)

LANCASTER.—The story of famous American horticulturist, Luther Burbank born in this town and the Shasta daisy, one of his proudest creations, reads much like that of this Nation itself.

A group of school children here and in California, where Burbank did most of his work, are especially fascinated with the story of this flower and have initated a full-fledged campaign to have it declared as the national flower.

At present the United States has no national flower and the problem of which one should be chosen has been discussed off and on for several years in Congress.

TAKES WEED ALONG

Burbank was born in a section of this town which is now part of Fort Devens military reservation in 1849. He was educated in the local schools and worked for a time at the former Ames Plow Co. in Worcester. He quickly exhibited marked inventive abilities which he soon began to develop on his own in market-gardening and seed raising. He developed the well-known Burgank potato in his own gardens here in 1873 at the age of 24.

When he moved to Santa Rosa, Calif., in 1875, where he remained the rest of his life, one of things he took West with him was the common roadside weed called the oxeye daisy. It became the subject of some of his earliest experimentations.

In his "Methods and Discoveries and Their Practical Application" Burbank explains: "This plant which grows in such profusion throughout the East as to be considered a pest by the farmer was not to be found in California until these experiments were begun. I brought the plant chiefly as a souvenir of boyhood days. But I soon conceived the idea of bettering it for it has certain qualities that seemed to suggest undeveloped possibilities."

IMPROVES COLOR, SIZE

Among the assets of the oxeye were its hardiness, persistent blooming, and ability to grow in almost any soil. But the petals or rays as they are correctly called were off-white in color and the largest of the plants rarely measured more than 3 inches across. Burbank set out to improve their color and size.

Thousands of matings and hybridizations were carried out with selected species from America and Europe for several seasons and each time the best examples of each of the desired qualities were selected out. Finally, a definitely improved plant was developed which bloomed earlier and had larger and more numerous flowers than any of its parent plants.

"But," Burbank noted, "all the flowers had a yellowish tinge unnoticed by the average observer but visible to the sharp eye on close inspection. And this dinginess in color was not at all to my liking."

Then he learned of an Asiatic daisy which though it was in almost every way inferior to the original oxeye had one redeeming feature—it was pure white. Through successive breedings of this plant with the other hybrids a nearly perfect daisy was produced.

With its heritage of four ancestral strains from three continents a plant came forth which Burbank said excelled his utmost expectations as to size, grace, and abundant blooming qualities. The new Shasta daisy had a blossom from 4 to 7 inches in diameter with a greatly increased number of pure white ray flowers and a tall, smooth stem.

GROWS IN ALL STATES

The Shasta, significantly improved since Burbank's first one, grows in every State and has a long season even in the coldest parts of the country. Having begun humbly as a weed in New England, it moved west, was nurtured and mixed with strains from several countries and evolved into a remarkably graceful flower.

The peculiarly American nature of this story captured the imagination of Mrs. Louise Lytken and her fourth grade class of the Baywood Elementary School in San Mateo, Calif. In 1959 the class was studying flowers, and it came to Mrs. Lytken's attention that there was a movement to establish a national flower. So, she and the class launched a campaign to promote the Shasta daisy. It was begun on March 7, Burbank's birthday, which is observed as Arbor Day in California.

Schoolchildren, parents, and town officials were organized, petitions were circulated, and letters were written to Congressmen. Word of the drive was received here, and Town Clerk Mrs. Esther B. MacDonald, Herbert H. Hosmer, fourth grade teacher, and several others began a similar campaign. U.S. Representative PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of Clinton, entered a resolution in the House asking for the adoption of Burbank's flower.

But nothing happened. The resolution apparently became lost in the labyrinth of government. One possible reason given was that there were a large number of lobbyists representing florist and greenhouse interests, each trying to promote their particular favorite.

COMMITTEE HEARS PETITIONS

Then, a few weeks ago, Mrs. MacDonald received a letter from the Baywood School saying that the drive had been started anew, and a special committee of 23 Members of the House of Representatives had been set up to study the problem.

She and HOSMER arranged with all the teachers at Memorial School to have their students write letters to the Congressmen of the committee. The students wrote the letters asking for their favorite flower to be chosen, and, in addition, a 210-word telegram was sent by them to Representative PHILBIN asking him to do what he could in their behalf.

PHILBIN pledged his support, but cautioned the children not to be too hopeful, as there are several other flowers under consideration.

A notable factor mentioned in many of the students' letters is that the daisy is not used as the emblem of any other state or country, and its adoption would not serve the interests of any special group.

Officials of Representative PHILBIN's office said the public hearings began Friday before the special committee. When all the petitions have been heard, the committee will present its decision to Congress.

One Reason Why Lowell Elks Lodge Flourishes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, a large part of the charitable work performed in our communities is undertaken by private social organizations, such as the Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks. And it is often the quiet, unassuming members of these organizations who carry out the good works that give their groups a place in the community. One such Elks member is Mr. Bernard J. Gilbo of Lowell, Mass., who is completing his 40th year as a member of the Elks Lodge.

Although he retired in 1956 from the Lowell Police Force, which he served for 33 years, Bernie has certainly not retired from his many other activities. Serving as a member of many social and charitable groups, Bernie is indeed a useful and valuable citizen. The residents of Lowell are grateful for his contributions of time and energy, and I am proud to count Bernie Gilbo among my friends.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the article from the Lowell Sun of August 1, 1964, saluting Mr. Gilbo's many years of public service:

THE SKETCHBOOK: ONE REASON WHY LOWELL ELKS LODGE FLOURISHES

(By Frank E. Makarewicz)

LOWELL.—Part of the reason that the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks continues to be a thriving organization is because of members like Bernard J. Gilbo who are not only loyal, but very active.

The community is also richer because there are such people in such an organization, for this particular fraternity ties its social associations to charitable works. Thus, when "Bernie" helps to raise thousands of dollars a year in the Elks programs it is work to benefit any number of people who will never know from whence it came.

Such is the public service that this man, who was an exalted ruler of the Lowell lodge in 1949, has been engaged in for almost 40 years. In February of next year, he will be celebrating that anniversary. Through those years, he has held every official post in the local lodge and has served on just about every committee. At present, he is serving as tiler, the official greeter of the lodge and a sort of security guard who checks membership cards and status. It's an elective post he has held for 9 years.

Bernie's contribution to Elkdom has been recognized by the State office on a number of occasions for his fund-raising success. His efforts have won him friendships all over the country. In the Lowell lodge he continues to enjoy being selected for committees, whether for special events like the 75th anniversary celebration held this year, or being chairman of the entertainment committee for the annual outing.

While in 1965 he will be celebrating his 45th year as an Elk, Bernie has already celebrated his 50th year as a member of the Holy Name Society at St. Peter's parish and recently received a plaque to commemorate that occasion. Lowell Post of the American Legion has known him for 45 years as a member.

His efforts and his interests extend to other areas as well. For instance, he holds membership in St. Monica's Guild, in the Fleur de Lis Club, in the missionary programs of St. James the Apostle, and in the youth activities of the Acre Youth Organization and the Lowell Boosters Club. In his own interest, he is a member of the Massachusetts retired police and firefighter associations.

Before his retirement in 1956, Bernie was the familiar Officer Gilbo who directed traffic downtown for 27 years after walking a beat on the late shift for 6 years.

He joined the department in 1923 after the railroads went out on strike the year before. He was a machinist foreman in the Billerica yards of the Boston & Maine Railroad by the time he was 27. Although Bernie was so young, he had at that time 17 years of service with the company, having started out as a messenger for the B. & M. when he was a student at St. Joseph's school in Keene, N.H. It was in 1910, at the age of 16, that he moved to Lowell to work as a machinist apprentice.

In 1916 he was a member of the National Guard, but the next year he joined the Navy. However, the Government was operating the railroads and ordered him to an inactive status in order to use him on the railroad, so most of his life has been spent as a Lowell resident. In 1939 he married a Lowell girl, the late Zella Masse.

Over the years, his membership in the Elks has taken him around the country a number of times and each year he still visits friends on the west coast, so retirement from the police department has never meant retirement from life—not by a long shot.

Reason for Missing Quorum Call

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention the fact that several colleagues and I missed a quorum call today because of the fact the bells had not rung in the corridor of the Old House Office Building and that the electrician had been notified of this matter and was checking into it.

World's Fastest Computer-Driven Phototypesetter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda announced recently the installation of the Nation's fastest computer-driven phototypesetter, Graphic Arts Composing Equipment—Grace—as part of the Medical Literature Analysis and Retrieval System.

Designed to handle scientific information for the publication of Index Medicus, a monthly listing of the world's medical literature, Grace was developed by the Photon Corp. of Wilmington, Mass. I am proud of this achievement of one of the outstanding industries in my district. It is another example of the high technical competence of the citizens and corporations of eastern Massachusetts and a laudable contribution to the scientific development of our Nation.

Under unanimous consent I place the press release of the National Library of Medicine in the RECORD:

The installation of the Nation's fastest computer-driven phototypesetter, as a part of the medical literature analysis and retrieval system (medlars), was announced today by Dr. Martin M. Cummings, Director, National Library of Medicine.

Called graphic arts composing equipment (grace), the computer-driven printer operates at the rate of 300 characters, or approximately 60 five-letter words, per second, or 3,600 words per minute. This is more than 50 times faster than previous phototypesetters.

"Speed is one of the real needs in the handling of scientific information today," Dr. Cummings said. "Grace represents a breakthrough in printing technology, and I know of no area more important for its use than in the production of materials for medical scientists, teachers, and practitioners."

Grace is employed by medlars to print Index Medicus, NLM's monthly listing of the world's medical literature, and recurring bibliographies in special biomedical fields. Unlike the standard computer printout grace uses three fonts of type in 6-point, 10-point, and 14-point sizes, in both uppercase and lowercase. The three fonts contain a total of 226 characters, including special characters such as diacritical marks for the vernacular titles of certain foreign language articles.

The first issue of Index Medicus has been produced by grace for August of this year. It is a 609-page document, containing 13,733 different citations from the biomedical literature and a total of approximately 69,000 subject-and-author descriptive entries. It contains more than 9 million characters or approximately 1,800,000 five-letter words. Grace processed this quantity of material in approximately 16 hours, including setup, running, and correction time.

"We feel that the August issue of Index Medicus is something of a historic document," Dr. Cummings said, "because of its great significance both to medicine and printing."

Medlars is a system for the storage and retrieval of bibliographic citations from the world's biomedical literature. Citations prepared by literature analysts are stored on magnetic tape in a Honeywell 800 computer and retrieved electronically for different information purposes. More than half of the citations contained in medlars are from the foreign biomedical literature.

In addition to Index Medicus and recurring bibliographies, medlars can handle individual questions, called demand searches, on the contents of the literature in particular areas in terms of different scientific fields, languages, or time periods.

For recording the results of demand searches, medlars uses the computer's high-speed printer which produces a block letter of 10-point size, uppercase only, at the rate of approximately 21,000 five-letter words per minute.

For composing copy to be published in greater quantity, medlars uses grace. Printing from the computer without interfering with the computer's own operations, grace contains three components: a magnetic tape transport; an electronic control unit; and an optical unit. The output is in the form of rolls of positive film prints in 9-inch widths, with the type in three columns. After the film rolls are developed, they are printed through an offset process on pages 9 inches wide by 11¾ inches deep.

Grace is housed in two pieces of equipment on the floor of the medlars computer room. One piece measures 56 by 54 by 36 inches, the other 54 by 72 by 37 inches.

Grace was developed for NLM by the Photon Corp., Wilmington, Mass., under subcontract to the General Electric Corp., which was the medlars contractor, and bears the manufacturer's name of Photon 900.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Ranger Completes Moon Flight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the successful flight of *Ranger 7* heralds the start of a new era in the space age. This successful flight is the beginning of the gathering of data of unmeasured value to mankind resulting from the diligent work of NASA since 1958. The Evening Star article of July 31, 1964, graphically describes the *Ranger 7*'s success in taking the first closeup pictures of the moon.

Mr. William Hines aptly describes this historic flight:

RANGER COMPLETES MOON FLIGHT—PICTURE SIGNALS SENT TO EARTH BEFORE IMPACT—CAMERAS OPERATE 7 MINUTES LONGER THAN SCHEDULED

(By William Hines)

PASADENA, CALIF., July 31.—An American spacecraft named *Ranger 7* almost certainly gave the world its first closeup look at the light side of the moon this morning and then, its mission accomplished, crashed on the moon's surface.

Official time of impact was 9:25:45 a.m., Washington time. The spacecraft gave pictures "right through to the end without interruption," a Jet Propulsion Laboratory spokesman announced.

It will be late tonight at the earliest before the quality of the pictures will be known. But officials at the Laboratory here were confident of good results, based on monitoring of the spacecraft's television channels as it plummeted toward the lunar surface.

"WE ARE RECEIVING"

"Preliminary data indicate that we are reeciving pictures," a spokesman said at 9:20 a.m.

"There are no problems in the mission at this point. We are receiving pictures."

Impact occurred in an area near the middle of the moon's earthward face, known as Mare Nubium, or the Sea of Clouds. This was the general area toward which the spacecraft had been aimed when it was launched at 12:50 p.m., Tuesday.

The purpose of the flight—the fifth moonshot in the quarter-billion-dollar Ranger program—was to make pictures of an area where astronauts may land as the culmination to Project Apollo about 1970. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has been trying to get such photos for more than 2 years.

PERFECT FLIGHT

The Ranger crash landing this morning, after a perfect flight climaxed by more picture-taking time than had been expected, is one of the great accomplishments of the space age.

The Russians sent their *Lunik III* around the moon in October 1959, and returned a few pictures of the side which is forever hidden from earth.

Without minimizing the importance of the feat, scientists here and abroad observed that the pictures were of poor quality and added little to man's knowledge of the moon.

Ranger's pictures today, by contrast, are expected to prove of exceptionally high quality when developed later today. The cameras used to make the photos have a higher resolution power than those employed in commercial systems.

Ranger project officials originally planned on 14 minutes of picture-taking time prior to the crash landing. This would have been a sufficient period to get nearly 5,000 photos from the 6 cameras aboard Ranger. A midcourse adjustment yesterday lengthened the 238,686-mile flight by about 7 minutes.

This meant that the TV cameras were turned on 7 minutes early. To look at it in another way, the cameras were turned on at the anticipated time from the flight's beginning and continued to operate for 7 minutes longer before being destroyed by the impact.

At JPO headquarters here, tension built to a crescendo about 9 a.m. as project scientists awaited the moment to turn on the cameras. The most recent previous Ranger flight went perfectly for two and a half days only to end in failure early last February 2 when the cameras failed to turn on.

All maneuvers were successful right up to 9:07 a.m. when the time came to turn on the television system. Because of the distance between *Ranger 7* and the earth station at Goldstone, Calif., it took an agonizing 1½ seconds for news to reach the earth.

STRONG SIGNALS

The warmup of the spacecraft's cameras began on schedule, and at 9:09 a.m. radio sets at Goldstone and here began to carry a signal indicating that full power was being fed to all six of the spacecraft's cameras.

At 9:10 a.m., an official here stated that the video signal from the spacecraft was being received "strong and clean" at Goldstone. A crowd in JPO's auditorium, inured to disappointment over 2 years, broke into applause.

The official cautioned against overoptimism by stating that this does not mean that pictures are being received, but engineers said it would be difficult to conceive a situation in which a strong clean signal at Goldstone would fail to yield usable pictures.

At 9:11 a.m., the laboratory affirmed that pictures are being received "but we cannot determine the quality of the pictures."

It will be 12 or possibly 15 hours before the quality of the moon pictures can be determined. But all early indications today were that the video signal from the doomed *Ranger* was strong and solid. And in all other respects the flight was perfect.

"There wasn't a glinch," said N. W. Cunningham of NASA's Washington headquarters. "Glinch" is space jargon for any bit of trouble, however slight, that might mar an operation.

Early stages of the 68½-hour flight, which began at 12:50 p.m., Washington time, Tuesday, went off so smoothly that no final correction was needed this morning to get the spacecraft into picture-taking attitude as it approached the moon.

SOME DATA SENT

But scientists in charge of the flight had to provide some course correction information for the complex but simple-minded computer on board the spacecraft. This computer controlled *Ranger*'s progress through space.

The reason was that the computer was expecting course correction information and would not ordinarily proceed to turn on the television cameras until it had accomplished what it regarded as an earlier task.

The scientists fooled the computer about 2 hours before impact by feeding it brief and essentially meaningless commands to change its position on the up-and-down and side-to-side axis of its motions. Then before the computer had time to act on these purely formal commands, the scientists sent it another command to ignore the earlier orders.

This left the computer free to start warming up the television cameras so they would be in shape to take pictures in the final minutes of the plunge toward the moon.

THIRTEENTH MOON PROBE

To the hoodoo-ridden scientists of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory here, "Lucky 7" was also "Lucky 13." It was the 13th probe to be launched moonward since America's space effort began in 1958—and the first to work as intended.

Over a third of a billion dollars and 6 years of effort—including $250 million and 4 years on Ranger alone—went into cracking the invisible barrier that seemed to lie around the moon.

Elaborate backup arrangements have been made to ensure against loss of Ranger 7's hard-won pictures, now that they have been received on earth. Electronic and photographic devices at Goldstone Dry Lake, 150 miles east of here, created both tape and film versions of what *Ranger 7* saw a quarter of a million miles away.

The images were being made by machines hooked to two 85-foot dish-shaped antennas. An official of NASA said the backup system was so foolproof that the services of either one of the big antennas could have been lost without endangering the safe receipt of images.

One set of tapes from the moon vehicle was run through one of the antennas again as soon as the flight phase of the mission was over, and a duplicate set of records was created in this manner.

Then the duplicate images were placed in a refrigerated vault and rushed by light airplane from Goldstone in the Mohave Desert to Los Angeles, where a private film processing company has been specially instructed on development and printing of pictures.

The public's first "eyeball" look at the moon pictures should come early tomorrow, according to NASA officials. Photo availability might be delayed, however, if it turns out that "noise" (radio interference) necessitates an electronic cleanup of the pictures. This operation is accomplished by complex digital computers.

Harold C. Woodward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Harold C. Woodward, member

of the Federal Power Commission and former Cook County superior court judge, shocked many of his friends and associates. He reflected the legal brilliance of his distinguished sire, the Honorable Charles E. Woodward, former Federal district judge, seventh district of Illinois. He was affable and kindly in his dealings with others. He was considerate of the unfortunates that sought his advise and help.

He knew the rules of the game and adhered to the principles of fair play learned at the University of Illinois as the half back on the varisity squad. He was graduated in law at Northwestern University.

He served as Riverside Township justice of the peace for 20 years and as master of chancery for 6 years. He also served as Illinois Commerce Commission hearing examiner. His political bid for Congress and clerk of the appellate court were denied him.

But in March of 1959 he was appointed by ex-Governor Stratton to fill the unexpired term of Judge Frank M. Padden of the superior court.

In January 1962 he was appointed to the Federal Power Commission by the late President John Kennedy and was reappointed for a 5-year term in June 1962. The wealth of experience and knowlege acquired by Mr. Woodward in his public service will be sorely missed by many officials in Government. His many friends mourn his passing.

We, the members of the Illinois delegation, extend our sincere and heartfelt condolences to his dear wife, Mabel and darling daughter, Mrs. Ann Kelly, of Washington. May God rest his soul with the blessings of peace and heavenly bliss.

Kennedy-Johnson Spending Record Tops Eisenhower by Wide Margin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson recently announced that the budget deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 had been reduced substantially below the earlier January estimate. As the U.S. News & World Report points out in its August 3 issue, this is only a part of the story.

Although spending was below estimates in fiscal 1964, it still reached $97.7 billion, or a rise of $5 billion over the preceding year. Moreover, the article shows that average annual Government outlays in the 4 Kennedy-Johnson years were $16.4 billion higher than the average in the last 4 Eisenhower years. Total spending under the current administration is about 21 percent higher than during the last 4 years of the Republican administration.

In answer to the administration's oft-repeated assertion that increases in spending were largely for defense, U.S. News notes that health, labor and welfare activities have increased 38 percent since the 1961 fiscal year, while national defense outlays increased 12 percent. Interest on the rising Federal debt rose 22 percent during the period.

Under unanimous consent I place this article from U.S. News & World Report in the RECORD at this point:

FINANCE WEEK: WHO ARE THE BIG SPENDERS?
WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

Now Government spending and budget deficits are making the big political headlines.

A new study take a look at Federal finances in two administrations over the past 8 years—and additional spending plans now in the works.

One of the hottest issues of the 1964 political campaign is boiling up over the finances of the Federal Government.

That issue is pointed up by new figures just disclosed by the White House. President Johnson announced that the cost-conscious Government he heads has spent less money in the fiscal year ended June 30 than had been officially estimated last January.

Republicans and a good many Democrats were quick to point out that this was only part of the story.

Spending, though below estimates, still reached $97.7 billion—a rise of $5 billion over the preceding year.

That was more than the Government ever spent before in peacetime, and actually was just a shade below the peak year of World War II.

The official estimates of outlays for this year, moreover, shows expected spending of $97.3 billion, a bit below the peacetime record of the past year.

The real issue, it was pointed out, boils down to this: How does the financial record of 4 years of the Kennedy-Johnson administration stack up against the record of the preceding 4 years under President Eisenhower?

The figures below give you that comparison. What they show is that average annual Government outlays in the 4 Kennedy-Johnson years are $16.4 billion higher than the average in the last 4 Eisenhower years. Total spending in that period is running almost 21 percent higher than in the preceding 4 years under a Republican administration:

FEDERAL SPENDING

Eisenhower administration

Government spent $309.8 billion.
Average per year: $77.5 billion.

Kennedy-Johnson administration

Government is spending $375.4 billion—up $65.6 billion.

Average per year: $93.9 billion—up $16.4 billion.

Government spending in the year just closed totaled $97.7 billion. That's just slightly less than the annual outlays of Government at the peak of World War II. In 4 years, the current administration is overspending its income by $26.7 billion.

(NOTE.—Figures compare budget spending by two administrations—the 4 years ended in mid-1961 for Eisenhower, and the 4 years ending in mid-1965 for Kennedy and Johnson. Figures for the current year, ending in mid-1965, are official budget estimates.)

Source: U.S. Budget Bureau.

WHERE THE MONEY WENT

Figures issued on July 21 by the Budget Bureau and the Treasury gave an official breakdown of the past year's financial operations of the Government.

Revenues came to $89.4 billion. Spending totaled $97.7 billion. Result: a deficit of $8.3 billion.

This was the fourth consecutive year of red-ink financing. Not since fiscal 1960, the last full year of the Eisenhower administration, has the budget been in the black.

Mr. Johnson noted that the deficit for last year was $1.7 billions lower than the red-ink figure that had been forecast some months earlier.

"We are tightening our belts in Government," Mr. Johnson said. "We are making every dollar stretch as far as it will go."

TARGETS OF REPUBLICANS

As the political campaign heats up, however, new spending programs that have been proposed by the Johnson administration are likely to come under heavy attack by Republican campaigners.

The antipoverty program, for example, calls for an initial appropriation of almost $1 billion in its first year. Wrapped up in this proposed package are a number of new projects, including a job corps for young people, adult education plans, aid to migrant workers and special rural and urban programs.

A pay raise for Federal employees, awaiting final action in Congress, is to add about half a billion dollars a year to Federal outlays. In the works is a pay boost for the military forces that will cost some $200 million annually.

Aid for cities in setting up programs for mass transportation, now before Congress, calls for new funds of $375 million over a 3-year period as a start.

A new program of medical care under social security has been proposed, at a cost of just over $1 billion annually. While this program would not show up in the regular budget, it promises to be a hotly debated spending issue.

Most of the new proposals would enlarge Government's role in the economy.

In the meantime, existing Government programs have been expanding, costing more and more each year.

A survey by the economic unit of U.S. News & World Report shows some of the directions in which the Federal budget has bulged in the past 4 years.

Here is a comparison of the estimated cost of major programs for the current fiscal year compared with the 1961 fiscal year—the last year with an Eisenhower budget:

Health, labor, and welfare activities are now budgeted at $5.8 billion, a rise of $1.6 billion or 38 percent.

Federally financed education programs, $1.6 billion, a rise of $700 million or 78 percent.

Natural resources and conservation programs, $2.6 billion, up $600 million or 30 percent.

Space programs, up from $700 million to $4.9 billion, up 600 percent.

National defense outlays, up from $47.5 to $53.2 billion, or 12 percent.

Interest on the rising Federal debt, up by $2 billion, or 22 percent.

The Republicans can be expected to attack many of these increases as unwarranted and inflationary.

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona, the Republican presidential candidate, already has attacked the "fiscal irresponsibility" of the Democratic administration.

Mr. GOLDWATER has made it clear that he thinks the Federal Government is growing too big. He favors cutbacks in some major spending programs.

President Johnson, on the other hand, has taken his stand for an expanding Federal Government. He believes that is necessary to guide and stimulate business, and to tackle social and economic problems.

The President has cited the current business expansion as evidence of the soundness of Democratic fiscal policies—including the $11.5 billion tax cut enacted early this year.

REPUBLICANS ON SPENDING

The Republican platform hits hard at the widening financial role of the Federal Gov-

ernment. It calls for a reduction of "not less than $5 billion a year" in the level of Federal spending, an end to deficit financing, and payments on the Federal debt, which now totals $311.7 billion.

What remains to be seen is whether either party, regardless of its campaign pledges, can stem the rise in Government spending and Federal deficits that seems now to have become a habit.

ARA Replies on Jobs Created Under the Accelerated Public Works Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, recently some attention has been attracted to a report by the General Accounting Office that the Area Redevelopment Administration overstated its estimate of the number of jobs that would be created under the accelerated public works program. Unfortunately, this report has given a false impression about the effectiveness of the highly successful and extremely well-administered accelerated public works program.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following reply of the Area Redevelopment Administration which explains the basis on which the ARA estimates were made and shows conclusively that the employment goals of the accelerated public works program will be met:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

(Comments on a report by the General Accounting Office entitled "Overstatement of Number of Jobs Created Under the Accelerated Public Works Program," July 1964)

The GAO report made two findings: It found (1) that Community Facilities Administration project data listed in ARA reports contained significant overstatements of the number of on-site jobs estimated to be created by these projects. It also found (2) that CFA data listed in ARA reports contained overstatements with respect to the number of actual on-site man-months of employment created on these projects.

ARA has found that the CFA labor estimates, obtained from the architects/engineers of the project applicants, were somewhat high but not nearly as high as the GAO report indicated. The architects/engineers estimates have been withdrawn by CFA and new estimates based upon Bureau of Labor Statistics studies are now being used.

ARA disagrees strongly with the procedures and methods used by GAO in arriving at their conclusions. For reasons developed below, ARA cannot accept the implicit GAO assumption that payrolls filed on accelerated public works projects under the Davis-Bacon Act requirements will by themselves give accurate labor yields. Exhaustive field investigation of contractor records must be done before Davis-Bacon data can be utilized. There is no indication that this was done by GAO.

If field investigation of contractors' records is not done, then there is no guarantee that all required contractor and subcontractor payrolls have been submitted or that the payrolls as submitted are complete. Furthermore, Davis-Bacon payrolls do not require that all types of on-site labor on APW projects be reported. For example; the salaries of on-site clerical and supervisory employees; the wages of self-employed craftsmen and their helpers; and the wages paid to operators of equipment rented under a contract which includes an operator's services, have not been reported.

These excepted categories of salaries and wages can cause serious errors in computing the labor generated by an accelerated public works project. For example, one project used in the GAO report showed 480 man-hours of on-site labor when its Davis-Bacon payrolls were tabulated. A field investigation just completed for ARA disclosed that a self-employed craftsman had worked an additional 300 man-hours himself which were not reported.

In the GAO report, a man-month was considered to be 176 man-hours or 2,112 man-hours per year. These figures are far above the 1962 average employment of a fully employed construction worker employed by contractors, which is 150 hours per month or 1,800 hours per year. The Bureau of Labor Statistics uses the 150-hour figure as being a man-month equivalent. The same 150-hour figure is used generally for labor requirement estimates by private industry and Government agencies. Use by the GAO of its 176-hour factor to convert to man-months would understate labor yields by 15 percent for this reason alone.

Since the beginning of the accelerated public works program, CFA has used the man-month estimates prepared by the architects/engineers of the applicants as the basis for its reports to ARA. For the entire CFA program—3,250 projects, $465 million in accelerated public works funds, $1 billion total project costs—the original architects-engineers estimates add up to approximately 750,000 man-months or 62,000 man-years. As early as October 1963, when the early projects were reaching completion and considerably before GAO started its audit of on-site man-months, ARA began to raise questions about the discrepancies which were beginning to show up between the architects/engineers estimates and actual man-months reported for completed projects. Beginning with the November issue of the ARA "Directory of Approved Accelerated Public Works Projects," estimated man-months figures for completed projects were revised downward. In order to avoid further publication of estimates which could not be properly validated, the January issue omitted cumulative actual man-months figures for projects completed or under construction, and substituted therefor current employment during the preceding month. The April issue omited both cumulative and estimated man-months figures and published only aggregate estimates for the total CFA program.

It is evident that the original architects/engineers estimates of on-site man-months were somewhat high but not nearly as high as the GAO report indicates. The reasons for this are varied. By and large, competitive bidding has resulted in the most efficient; i.e., the technically most advanced, contractors emerging as the lowest responsible bidders. The construction season of 1963, during which the first 150 CFA projects were completed, was unusually dry, permitting the use of more labor-saving machinery than had been anticipated, especially on water and sewer projects which make up almost half the accelecated public works program.

In the absence of project-by-project field audits of thousands of payrolls which could be obtained and analyzed only at high costs, CFA and ARA are now using a different method to arrive at realistic estimates of on-site man-months.

Studies of construction costs undertaken by the Division of Productivity and Technology Developments, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, furnish a reliable basis for estimating the number of on-site and off-site jobs created by the various types of public works projects which constitute the APW program. Studies of labor requirements for Federal Office Building Construction, Hospital Construction and Highway Construction were published by BLS in 1962. In addition, at the request of ARA, BLS recently undertook and completed a special preliminary study of labor requirements for sewage projects. Application of the findings of these studies to the CFA program has enabled CFA and ARA to resume publication of on-site labor estimates for each individual CFA project. The architects/engineers estimates have been withdrawn.

Based on these BLS studies, ARA estimates that the total CFA program of 3,250 projects will generate upward of 560,000 man-months (46,700 man-years) of on-site employment. This estimate is approximately 190,000 man-months (16,000 man-years) lower than the original architects/engineers estimates and approximately 230,000 man-months (19,200 man-years) higher than the comparable GAO estimate. From this it is seen that the architects/engineers estimates were about 34 percent too high and not 128 percent as the GAO report indicated.

GAO believes that ARA should not rely upon BLS studies but should develop its own experience factors from APW data. ARA feels that this would cause an unnecessary duplication with the functions of BLS for studying construction costs. However, because of the extensive interest by many persons in measuring labor yields of public works projects, ARA plans to work with BLS and other agencies to attempt to develop an inexpensive method of securing such data. Until this is done, ARA feels that the present method of measuring APW project employment by an employee count on one given day each month to be reasonably accurate.

The GAO report has created the impression that the accelerated public works program as a whole would fall short of the employment goals set at the time the program was enacted. Actually the employment goals will be met.

Since the inception of the program, ARA has estimated that the $900 million authorized by the Congress would generate 220,000 man-years of on-site and off-site employment. ARA originally estimated that the total would be made up of 110,000 on-site and 110,000 off-site man-years. This estimate was based on the assumption that between one-third and one-half of the funds would be allocated to direct Federal projects such as those of the Agriculture and Interior Departments, which utilize a very large portion of their funds for on-site labor. Actually less than 15 percent of the appropriated funds were allocated to direct Federal projects and over 80 percent of the funds went to such projects as water and sewer lines, waste treatment plants, hospitals, public buildings and street improvements which produce considerably more off-site than on-site employment. Applying the findings of the above-mentioned BLS studies to a distribution of the types and amounts of projects which make up the APW program, it was estimated in January that for the accelerated public works program as a whole, each man-year of on-site employment will be accompanied by 1.4 man-years of off-site employment.

Taking into account both the reduction in the CFA on-site estimates and the increase in the off-site estimates for the program as a whole, the total program will generate 88,000 on-site and 123,000 off-site man-years for a total of 211,000 man-years of employment. Since only $855 million of the $880 million in appropriations were obligated for project expenditures, the 211,000 man-year estimate is comparable with the original estimate that the $900 million would generate 220,000 man-years of employment.

Get It Straight, Fellows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, the overall effect of political columnists on the American electorate must be of considerable dimensions, and their efforts for or against a national candidate are not to be discounted. The following editorial from the Indianapolis Star amply illustrates once again that political analysis is far from being an exact science, and prudence demands caution on the part of the reader in evaluating current events:

GET IT STRAIGHT, FELLOWS

Two of America's better known liberal mythmakers got their wires crossed the other day.

James Reston, of the New York Times, was trying to defend that segment of the American press which unabashedly slants itself against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER. On the same day Joseph Alsop, whose column appears in the New York Times among other places, was laboring the theme that GOLDWATER doesn't talk off the cuff any more because every time he does, according to Alsop, he pulls a boner.

Reston was hewing to the line that the news is not reported in a biased fashion. But columnists, he opined, are giving their opinions and so are entitled to be one sided. Reston did confess, however, that on one occasion the news column did "misrepresent and hurt" GOLDWATER. This, he said, was when the Arizona Senator remarked in answer to a question on Howard Smith's television program that one way to score in Vietnam would be to use small nuclear weapons to defoliate a strip of jungle to deprive the Communists of hidden camps and communication lines. GOLDWATER prefaced the remark by saying it was not something he would do. A wire service reported the remark about nuclear defoliation but omitted the other statement, and thus was born the widely publicized but untrue report that GOLDWATER had proposed defoliating the Vietnam jungles with nuclear weapons.

Admitting the justice of protests against this, Reston wrote: "This, of course, is a legitimate complaint, for the Senator was misrepresented and hurt by this incident, but this is not what most of his letter writing supporters are complaining about. They are expressing violently their opinion, not only that columnists are wrong, but that they have no right to opinions opposed to theirs."

Alsop, that same day, was trying to establish his point that every time GOLDWATER opens his mouth without a script he says something wrong. Alsop wrote: "He broke the rule (of making only set speeches to large rallies) just once in a really big way, and that occasion revealed the practical reason for the rule. The occasion was the television interview in the course of which the Senator blithely suggested nuclear defoliation as one possible way to win the Vietnamese war."

Obviously, if we correctly interpret Reston, readers are supposed to allow for the fact that when Alsop reports what GOLDWATER said he really is only expressing his opinion as to what he said. Wonder if Reston is willing to accept that as a fair sample of the opinion of "liberal" columnists?

South Dakotans Pay More Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, each year the Internal Revenue Service publishes tax figures which show the amount of Federal taxes collected in each State per year. These collection figures, however, are not true measuring rods for determining the actual tax burden carried by the several States.

Recently, the statement was made that IRS collections in South Dakota in the last fiscal year totaled $147 million. At the same time, it was reported that Federal expenditures or Federal outlays in South Dakota were $507 million. The conclusion reached was that South Dakotans are actually receiving more than $3.40 in Federal grants for each $1 the Federal Government collects in the State.

This statement is an incomplete and bureaucratic statement obviously made for political reasons. The reported $147 million Federal revenue collection made last year is not representative of the true tax burden which is carried by the South Dakota taxpayers. The actual figure is nearer to $263 million, or nearly 80 percent more than the collection figures show.

It is easy to see how the IRS figures are an invalid criterion for measuring a State's tax burden. For example, a commodity such as cigarettes carries an 8-cent Federal excise tax which is collected in the State in which it is manufactured. Even though South Dakota residents pay this 8-cent-per-pack tax when they buy the cigarettes, it is not credited to South Dakota's revenue figures. The same thing is true on sales of gasoline, liquor, tires, cameras, many household appliances, automobiles, and many other articles.

Various independent tax foundations have studied the tax structure and have distributed the burden according to the actual consumption and purchase of these items. In other words, they have determined how many articles have been purchased in a State and have calculated the amount of tax paid in that State. In this manner, the burden can be distributed accurately.

A good example of this procedure of allocating the true tax to each State is the way that it is done on the automobile excise tax. The manufacturer in Michigan pays the excise tax directly to the Federal Government. In order to get his money back, he adds the amount of the tax to the price of the automobile which is then paid by the purchaser in another State. The tax paid, however, was credited to the State of Michigan in the collection figures. To get an accurate picture of the tax burden, it is necessary to determine how many automobiles were sold in the various other States and how much tax was paid on each one. Thus, the actual tax collected can be credited to the State in which the automobile was purchased.

In the case of South Dakota, such studies show that the actual revenue collections would be much higher than the reported $147 million. Indirect taxes and hidden taxes bolster this figure considerably. South Dakotans are not getting such a good deal from the Federal Government as the surface figures would have us believe.

Before the bureaucrats brag about the "favorable balance" from the pork barrel, they should realize the true proportions of our huge tax burden which takes a third of our salaries and adds substantially to the price of each article we purchase.

Heartening Show of Determination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and include extraneous material, I would like the record to show at this point an example of the thinking in my congressional district at this moment, as expressed by one of our leading newspapers, the Rockford Morning Star.

I think it very excellently typifies the patriotic alertness of the American spirit to join in a united effort in a moment of national emergency or peril, and to support a determined effort to protect American interests.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial I refer to follows:

HEARTENING SHOW OF DETERMINATION

Red Chinese and North Vietnamese Communists got more than they bargained for in the retaliation of our military forces after the unprovoked attack on a U.S. destroyer Sunday. The manner in which the destroyer and U.S. Navy jets responded to the attack heartened Americans who have been concerned over the worsening situation in South Vietnam. They recalled the slogan "Remember the *Maine*" which stirred the Nation after the sinking of an American battleship in Havana Harbor had led to the Spanish-American War.

The apparent crippling of all three Communist patrol torpedo boats which attacked the destroyer in international waters off the coast of North Vietnam should help to convince the Asian Reds that the United States is not going to be pushed around in that area. Two of the enemy torpedo boats limped away and the third was stopped dead in the water. The unprovoked and unsuccessful attack on the destroyer U.S.S. *Maddox* occurred in Tonkin Gulf near Hainan Island, which is held by the Red Chinese.

The incident is another sobering reminder to the American people that the United States is involved in war in Vietnam. Mounting lists of American soldiers killed and wounded in action on the mainland have underscored the seriousness of the war and our involvement.

Adm. Ulysses Grant Sharp, Jr., commander in chief of U.S. Pacific Forces, sounded an

ominous warning when he said the attack might reflect a change in Communist tactics.

Out of this incident have come renewed demands that President Johnson give the American people a fuller accounting of U.S. policy in Vietnam and southeast Asia than they have received. Congressional leaders are calling for a new hard look at the situation so that the American people will be fully informed and corrective action may be taken by a united Nation.

The administration is being made aware of the fact that if the United States is to engage in military hostilities, the American people want their country to be in the fight to win. That awareness has been evident in a stiffening of the U.S. posture in Asia in recent weeks.

The American people, alonge with Republicans and Democrats in Congress, applaud the prompt action of our Navy in beating off the attackers. It is good to see such a demonstration of determination and might on the part of our military forces in the Asian area. The Reds have been asking for it for a long time. The United States has given them something to think about as they lick their wounds.

South Bend (Ind.) Tribune Supports President Johnson in South Vietnam Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of an editorial from the August 5, 1964, issue of the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune in support of President Johnson's action in South Vietnam:

SHOOT TO KILL

There can be speculation on the motives of the Communist torpedo boat attacks on the U.S. naval ships 30 miles off the coast of North Vietnam. Perhaps it was to test the will of the United States to expand the war if need be to save South Vietnam—to explore the possibilities of stampeding Washington into accepting neutrality, a favorite Red steppingstone to conquest.

But there can be no speculation on whether President Johnson was right or wrong in making it clear to the Reds that the United States will not be intimidated and frightened off the high seas in areas where the Communists would prefer that we make ourselves scarce.

It was the only thing to do, in self-respect and defense of the precept of freedom of the seas.

The formal protest to North Vietnam by the State Department is in order—but only for the purpose of keeping the diplomatic record straight.

The President's shoot-to-kill order to the American naval forces and the air strikes at bases pack more punch. This the Communists will understand.

Risks of this nature are inherent in what this country is trying to do for the South Vietnamese in opposition to Red schemes for taking over. We must be prepared to take appropriate action. That it is our intention to do so is made clear by the President's order.

There is, it is important to remember, a profound difference in the Red and American roles in South Vietnam. We are there at the invitation of the establishment government. The Communists from the North are invaders. We are there to preserve the freedom of the people. The Reds are bent on wresting it from them. We are not there to conquer. The Communists are.

The overwhelming majority of Americans, we're sure, support the President in his crisp order to the American forces.

Poverty and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED FOREMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, we have heard so much about poverty in this country recently from the politicians who would propose to solve all our problems with new welfare doles, that it is apparent that a dangerous disservice is being done to our people, here and abroad. It is wrong to picture this country as a land of hunger and privation. To do so damages us throughout the world. There are some who are in need, of course, but the problems affecting them can be solved without discoloring the true picture which prevails in our land. Exaggerated statements about poverty—in election year conversations—only help to prove the lies that Russia and her satellites have been trying to spread about our great free country for the past 30 years.

No responsible American is for poverty. No responsible American disregards or ignores poverty wherever it may exist in this country. But the most responsible Americans understand that this, like any great historic evil, will never be solved by mere slogans, and still less, by all-but-open appeals to class and economic prejudice. It is sad enough that poverty exists at all. But it is tragic when the poor are turned into a political football.

The cruelest thing you can do to a man is to teach him to depend on charity and handouts as a way of life, for by so doing, you deprive him of his self-respect. Self-respect demands a producing job, a chance to make one's own way, a task to perform what the Nation's advancing economy requires. That is precisely the kind of job no government can ever provide, the kind of job created solely by personal enterprise.

Our new President declared in his Economic Report to Congress January 20, 1964, that 35 million Americans were in poverty today. His predecessor declared during the 1960 presidential campaign, just 3 years earlier, that 17 million Americans went to bed hungry every night on a substandard diet. Under this kind of administration, and at this rate, it should not be long before all Americans will be poverty stricken.

The administration is proposing the new "poverty package," H.R. 10440, at a total 1st year cost of $962.5 million and a projected cost in subsequent years that could easily run as high as $15 billion annually. Excluding social security benefits and other trust funds, 42 Federal programs now existing and aimed directly at eliminating the causes of poverty and its effects, will cost nearly $9 billion in fiscal 1965.

America's needy have not exactly been abandoned to the wolves for lo, these many years, although you could possibly lose sight of the facts amid the cries of "New and Better Deals." America, for most of its years, has waged a war on poverty. Whenever we have waged that war, in our factories, farms, shops, mines, oilfields, over the counters and under the free enterprise system, we have won that war. This war on poverty can only be won that way. When we work our way to wealth, we win that war. When government tries to spend its way to wealth, we lose that war.

It was American freedom, and that alone, which first made it possible for our country and the world to dream of a day when povety might be abolished. It is American freedom, and that alone, which is the only really new idea, the only genuine "bold new program" in all history for the production of wealth for all. Socialism is the latest form of an age-old fraud, that something can be created out of nothing, that we can get wealth by merely wishing for it or claiming it as a right, that government can plan a man's life for him better than he can. Socialism is a fraud because it creates poverty while constantly promising to abolish it, and so by a vicious circle maintains itself in power.

The answer to the problem of poverty lies not in emotional publicity but in reason, not in prejudice but in production, not in new Federal agencies but in less burdensome government which will permit a higher rate of growth.

The best deal for eliminating poverty is the creation of new jobs and employment opportunities through an expansion, encouragement, and unleashing of our free enterprise economy, not by catchy political slogans, shopworn programs or more welfare handouts.

Murder in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Evening Star of Thursday, August 6, 1964:

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI

The finding of the bodies confirms what almost everyone believed—that the three civil rights workers who disappeared in Mississippi last June were murdered. This puts a grim period to the pretense, inspired perhaps by wishful thinking, that their disappearance was some kind of civil rights hoax.

There are indications that a tip led the FBI to the earth dam in which the bodies had been buried. But tip or no tip, the

fact remains that it was the relentless work of the FBI which resulted in the discovery. Certainly, and this is disgraceful, there is no reason to think the bodies would ever have been found had the search been left in the hands of Mississippi authorities.

What has happened confirms that the atrocious crime was committed. What remains is to identify and apprehend those responsible for the murders. There have been hints that the FBI already knows who they are. We hope that this is so, and we also hope that the agents will be able to arrest the killers on the basis of evidence sufficiently strong to convict them—in the eyes of the civilized world if not in the courts of Mississippi.

L.B.J. Says "Ranger 7" Defends Apollo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our Apollo manned lunar landing program is rapidly progressing toward its goal of placing men on the moon within this decade. The successful flight of *Ranger 7* in photographing one of the potential landing areas has brought us a giant stride closer to the Apollo objective. The colloquy between Dr. William Pickering, Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and Dr. Homer Newell, NASA Associate Administrator for Space Sciences and Applications, with President Johnson exemplifies the importance of the Apollo program and the contribution made by the *Ranger 7* spacecraft.

Space Business Daily of Tuesday, August 4, 1964, reports this discussion:

L.B.J. SAYS "RANGER 7" DEFENDS APOLLO

In a colloquy with Dr. William Pickering, Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and Dr. Homer Newell, NASA Associate Administrator for Space Sciences and Applications, the President left no doubt of his support of the Apollo-oriented space program.

Excerpts of the briefing follow:

The President: "These (Ranger) pictures are very exciting. But are we correct in believing that the biggest scientific questions will have to await the manned landing (Apollo)?"

Newell: "Yes, I think they are." (Newell says a manned landing is necessary in order to acquire surface material for analysis.)

L.B.J.: "That is what you want?"

Newell: "We sure do."

L.B.J.: "But the payoff is the landing and bringing back what you find there?"

Newell: "That is correct."

L.B.J.: "Are we reasonably hopeful that we can stay on schedule (with Apollo)?"

Newell: "I am hopeful." (He said the photos support LEM design study.)

L.B.J.: "In your opinion, it is desirable to get there (to the moon) as soon as you can?"

Newell: "In my opinion, yes."

L.B.J.: "If you are going, you ought to go as quickly as possible?"

Newell: "You ought to go as quickly as possible, do it as effectively as possible."

L.B.J.: "There is very little doubt about really the desirability of going?"

Newell: "Not in my mind, not at all."

L.B.J.: (Mr. Johnson asked what would be the result of the U.S. Government backing down from the space race.)

Newell: "I would feel that we were backing down from the real challenge, the kind of challenge that we have never backed down from before in our history."

L.B.J.: "So what?"

Newell: "To me, that is not the sort of thing that the United States should do."

L.B.J.: "What do you lose by backing down?"

Newell: "You lose leadership, you lose the thing that has made America great."

L.B.J.: "Leadership in what?"

Newell: "Leadership in world science and technology, leadership in achievement and accomplishment."

L.B.J.: "Leadership in the world?"

Newell: "Leadership in the world."

NECESSITY FOR SPACE LEADERSHIP

L.B.J.: "Do you think that we can be first in the world and second in space?"

Newell: "I don't think so."

Pickering: "No, sir, I don't think so, either."

L.B.J.: "So if we sit with our hands in our pockets, and yield this leadership to other powers, we are in effect becoming their followers in the world in which we live."

Pickering: "Yes, sir."

L.B.J.: "I assume that you can't complement the type of mind that thinks in terms that this is only a stunt. This is really a battle for leadership and real existence in the world, isn't it?"

Pickering: "I believe so."

L.B.J.: "In effect, the British dominated the seas for centuries and led the world, didn't they?"

Pickering: "Yes, sir."

L.B.J.: "We have dominated the air with leadership, and I think unquestionably we have been the leaders of the free world since we established that dominance, haven't we?"

Pickering: "Yes, sir."

L.B.J.: "And the person that leads in space is going to have an equivalent position, isn't that true?"

Pickering: "It certainly appears to me that space is the next domain where this leadership must be exercised."

APOLLO U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE

L.B.J.: "The result that will follow this adventure and the subsequent landing will in our opinion retain for us leadership that is essential for our civilization?"

Pickering: "Yes, sir, I believe so."

L.B.J.: "If we were to conclude—if I were to conclude, if the Budget were to conclude, or if the American people should conclude that we want to effect a savings here of a few billion dollars, would it be your opinion, Doctor, that we would be penny wise and pound foolish?"

Pickering: "It would, indeed, sir, because I believe that this is truly an investment not only which is needed to demonstrate our leadership in the relatively near future, but it is a long-term investment for the future."

L.B.J.: (The President recalled the hearings he conducted in the Senate after the first Sputnik shot). Then said: "Twenty billion dollars in this project which is 40 percent of what we spend in 1 year on military preparations, and a good many people say to me that that is a lot of money. We know it is. We have been paying high taxes that we would like to avoid. Is it conceivable now to you that we could do that and still expect to occupy the position in the world that we cherish for America?"

Newell: (Newell answered that he could not.)

L.B.J.: "But if we are to preserve what we have and survive and provide the kind of leadership that our peopel demand, we are going to have to move on to the supersonic plane, into space, and into a manned landing on the moon and things of that kind so that we can really explore and develop our potentialities."

Newell: "I thoroughly believe that."

L.B.J.: (The President closed the session with a lengthy discourse on the value of space explorations.) A summary follows: The Nation is proud of the success of *Ranger 7* and proud of scientists and engineers who worked on the program. He said we started behind in space and had to make apologies but "we kept our faith in the ways of freedom, and we did not follow the easy or the inexpensive course." He said space conquest is not an American triumph alone.

Johnson told of the interest in space exhibited by the leaders of small nations that had visited him in the White House and said space was really a "peace weapon" rather than a "military might." He cited the international cooperation on space.

Into an Intellectual Vacuum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Review and Outlook column of the Wall Street Journal for Tuesday, August 4, is entitled, "Into an Intellectual Vacuum." I am not sure that the writer does not "protest too much," but I think it is time that we looked at both sides of the coin concerning the often referred to grassroots reaction of our people in the United States. It seems obvious to me that "liberalism" according to modern usage is an intellectual vacuum because it has adapted old, oft disproven and generally false notions, that man can be made perfect through collectivism, overuse of funds, and by law rather than moral teachings.

The editorial might well have stopped by analyzing the possible logic of liberalism and castigating it as benefiting only those who hold the instruments of power. Lord Macaulay predicted this in commenting on Randall's "History of Thomas Jefferson." Nevertheless, it is a timely and stimulating article, and I commend it to all readers:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 4, 1964]

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: INTO AN INTELLECTUAL VACUUM

The little explored corollary of the increasingly conservative stamp on American politics is the waning of liberalism. How did it come about and what may it mean?

Not that anyone is about to discount liberalism as a political force. It remains dominant in Democratic Party thinking; it retains a respectable following in the Republican Party. One of its chief manifestations—elephantine government—is very much with us, and some suspect that even a Goldwater Presidency would bring more of a brake to that growth than a reversal of it.

Yet it is a fact that today's political focus is on conversatism, in both parties and in the national mood. From the moment President Johnson assumed office he has endeavored to project a conservative fiscal image, and he has won many supposedly conservative friends. Since the Republican nomination of Senator GOLDWATER, Mr. Johnson has seemed even more inclined that way. It is for these reasons it seems fair to say that liberalism as a creed, whatever its political future, is losing ground at this time.

Before going further, we ought to acknowledge that many people have no use for the terms "liberal" and "conservative"; it is even contended they are so meaningless that they should be banned from the political lexicon.

Certainly the words can be confusingly employed, but as shorthand descriptions they are not meaningless. In contemporary usage, liberalism ordinarily suggests faith in solutions through the collective of society, with the Federal Government the principal administrater; conservatism usually connotes considerable reliance on individual and private efforts and insistence on limited Government lest it turn into tyranny.

One part of the explanation of liberalism's relative decline, it seems to us, is a growing public disenchantment with liberal nostrums.

It is true that under generally liberal policies the Nation has enjoyed high prosperity since World War II. But how much the big spending, deep deficits and easy money have contributed to the prosperity is a matter men can debate endlessly. Or to put the question more accurately, it can be argued there would be a stronger economy and sounder growth had other policies prevailed. In any event, it's pretty hard to evoke much enthusiasm any more for such longstanding liberal policies.

Similarly, most people by now accept social security, public works, Government regulation of business, and a number of other planks in the liberal platform. Again, though, there is little zeal to be found in the furtherance or expansion of these programs.

Some of the programs, moreover, have been appalling failures; the farm chaos, for example, and the grotesquely misnamed urban renewal effort which in so many cases and at such great cost has actually aggravated the slum problem. Many liberals are dissatisfied with the agricultural subsidies and angry about the public housing fiasco.

A deeper part of the trouble is reflected in the liberals' own feeling that they are somehow at a dead end. They can think up new ways for the Government to intrude on the citizen, but they have already put across the bulk of their program, and neither individuals nor society seems basically much better for it.

So great is their distress that many liberals are almost frantically casting about for something to revitalize their creed. One man suggests that a new energizing force can be found in having the Government spend about $50 billion a year to uplift the world's backward lands—as though such an expansion of foreign aid would be likely to work or to inspire the American masses.

Even more dangerous tendencies are discernible. At least some of the liberals seek salvation in proposing that the Government for all practical purposes take over, providing everyone with a guaranteed income regardless of work and (though they don't use the word) regimenting the whole society. It is ironic that with all the current liberal screaming about Goldwater "fascism," the truly totalitarian ideas are springing from liberal lips.

That the liberals should find themselves in this intellectual vacuum is not to us surprising. For present-day liberalism hardly deserves to be dignified with the label of a political philosophy; mostly it is merely an adaptation of the old, false, and romantic notion that man can be made perfect through the power and funds of the state.

If liberalism is logically to lead anywhere it can only be to disproportionate power in the hands of the central authority. If it is to benefit anyone, it must be principally those who hold the instruments of power.

For a long time liberalism could get by on the basis of seeming active; at times indeed the Government has seemed frantically busy in its spending and controlling. But as the vacuum became more and more apparent it was all but inevitable—so long as political freedom exists—that a positive philosophy stressing the importance of man's individual liberty would move into it. Hence the rise of conservatism.

It well may be that liberalism will ultimately triumph and bring us all to some conformist collectivism such as perceived by Huxley and Orwell. Meantime it is a healthy development that its appeal is fading and its premises are being sharply challenged.

The Nation is thus given a breather, an opportunity to ask, and try to answer the basic political questions that will so largely determine its destiny.

Long Beach World's Fair Progresses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal today carries the following encouraging review of the progress of the Long Beach World's Fair:

CALIFORNIA WORLD'S FAIR HOPES GIVEN BOOST BY LONG BEACH OFFER OF CONSTRUCTION AID

LOS ANGELES.—Hopes for the chronically beleaguered California World's Fair, slated for nearby Long Beach in 1967–68, were bolstered when Long Beach City Council conditionally offered to finance $24.8 million of the fair's construction needs.

The city's major conditions are these: That the fair come up with at least $20 million of its own initially needed for construction; that it solve some sticky parking and traffic problems connected with the fair to the city's satisfaction, and that it prove capable of attracting major exhibitors. Deadline: Next February.

So far, the nonprofit fair corporation—called International Exposition for Southern California, Inc.—claims assurances from one exhibitor, American Express Co., and is hopeful of announcing another, described as a "major communications concern," soon. It is negotiating with three engineering concerns for parking and traffic studies.

Fair officials calculate construction spending by the fair corporation at from $65 million to $80 million. They figure the city's financial backing will vastly improve their chances of obtaining the required funds.

Under the city plan, a nonprofit corporation would be formed and the city would sign a lease with this concern on the structures to be built. This lease would permit floating of city-backed bonds for construction. The fair, in turn, would sublease the buildings from the city and guarantee repayment of the $24.8 million. Further, the fair would turn over to the city at the exposition's closing "at least $60 million" worth of permanent structures, says Joseph Scholnick, fair vice president.

ATTENDANCE ESTIMATE 43 MILLION

During its 2-year run—6 months each in 1967 and 1968—fair officials estimate 43 million attendance. They figure income from admission tickets at $66 million; exhibitor space rental at $54 million; percentage of concession sales at about $18.5 million, and various service charges of $18 million.

Revenues are estimated at about $157 million, while outlays for construction, operating, and other expenses are calculated at $135 million, leaving a $22 million surplus.

These are lofty figures when contrasted to the fair's present financial condition. Although planned since 1960, only in the last year has the fair generated any sizable funds. Since then it has received advances totaling $2 million from 20 companies with whom it has signed concession contracts for providing things like pastries, beer, and parking services. It has spent $1.7 million of this, partly to repay loans. Del E. Webb Corp., for example, lent the fair $600,000 in its early stages and has been repaid $200,000. Webb, based in Phoenix, has a contract to supervise fair construction.

The city's financial pledge bodes favorably for the fair in yet another way. Without it, the fair probably would have to seek another site. Long Beach was selected in the first place because it already was planning to build a 2-mile peninsula for ocean trade which also seemed ideal as the fair's site.

PIER TO BE READY NEXT MARCH

The pier, costing $20 million and financed from the city's share of offshore oil royalties, is now taking shape. It will jut a mile into the Pacific Ocean and is being made of fill pumped from the ocean's floor and of rock hauled from Catalina Island, 22 miles away. The pier will be completed next March in ample time for construction of fair buildings. Many of these buildings will be designed to become permanent parts of the pier. The fair's planners also envision a "monument to freedom" on the site, which would become the west coast's counterpart to the Statue of Liberty.

Like most other World's Fairs, the one planned here in the Nation's largest State has had its share of thorny problems. A year ago it suffered a string of damaging blows when some of its directors were charged with conflicts of interest in the awarding of concession contracts. This instigated a widely publicized district attorney's investigation. Shortly afterward, Del E. Webb Corp. attached the fair's accounts, but subsequently lifted this. Meanwhile, Fred Hall, executive vice president and general manager of the fair and a former Kansas Governor, was fired from his $50,000-a-year job. Named to fill Mr. Hall's post last February was Glenn R. Watson, under whom most of the concession contract advances have come.

Other accomplishments by the fair in the last 6 months include winning the coveted endorsement of the 31-nation, Paris-based Bureau of International Expositions for the 1968 portion of the fair. The United States doesn't belong to the Bureau, but the endorsement paves the way for member nations to exhibit at the Long Beach fair.

OTHER FAIRS BEING PLANNED

There's still some question as to whether major exhibitors can be persuaded to jump into another world's fair so soon after the New York fair, which doesn't close until next year. Many of those sought by fair promoters here also were tapped for Brussels in 1958 and Seattle and New York. Besides this, Montreal is staging a Bureau-endorsed fair in 1967, Detroit is mulling another for 1972, and Tokyo has laid some plans for a fair somewhere in between.

"There have been too many world's fairs," grouses a spokesman for an exhibitor in New York and other recent fairs. But some big exhibitors already indicate an interest in participating in California's fair. "I don't see how any major company can stay out of a world's fair in this day and age," says a spokesman for Radio Corp. of America.

Legislative Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the extremist decision by hip-shooting U.S. Supreme Court on legislative reappertionment has caused great concern across this land. Last month I introduced legislation designed to remedy this decision.

In the August 5 issue of the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, an outstanding editorial clearly sets forth the problems arising from this ill-advised grasp of legislative power by the Court.

The editorial follows:

COURTS ACTING TOO HASTILY IN REAPPORTIONMENT CASES

It is now obvious that a race is on between the Federal courts, backed by the Johnson administration, and the Congress to enforce the U.S. Supreme Court's arbitrary and unpopular June 15 decision on legislative reapportionment before it can be countered by congressional action.

A special three-judge Federal court has been set up to handle reapportionment cases and it has been moving with unprecedented speed to enforce the Supreme Court edict of "one man, one vote" in numerous parts of the country.

And yesterday the Senate Judiciary Committee gave speedy approval, by a vote of 10 to 2, to a bipartisan bill introduced Monday by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, and Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Democrat, of Ohio, which would delay for 2 years all Federal court action to allow time for State legislatures to take action.

Senator DIRKSEN points out that not enough time remains at this session of Congress for action to be taken on the numerous proposed constitutional amendments (including one initiated by himself) which have been submitted both in the House and the Senate to reverse the Supreme Court's sweeping decision of last June which held that seats in both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned solely on a basis of population.

In Colorado, the voters, by referendum, endorsed a reapportionment plan but the Federal court refused to accept it. It then ordered Colorado to reapportion within 2 weeks, and when a special session of the legislature, hastily assembled and complied, the court threw out the second plan as unconstitutional.

In Connecticut, the Federal court is putting on another rush act, attempting to force reapportionment before the November election.

Ditto in New York State, where the Federal court is insisting that the State violate its own constitutional provisions stipulating the terms of general assembly members.

In Alabama, the State has been told that if the State does not redistrict before the 1966 election, it will step in and take over the job itself.

Senator DIRKSEN charges that this determined and multiple effort of the Federal judiciary to force reapportionment in compliance with a controverted ruling by a divided Supreme Court—and which seems almost certain, ultimately, to be upset by constitutional amendment—is creating "chaos * * * typical of the kind which results when the courts assume the role and function of the legislative branch of the Government." He is right.

It is clear also from the concerted Federal court action in Colorado, New York, Connecticut, Alabama, and a number of other States where similar pressure is being exerted, that it is not only the legislative function which is being usurped.

The Federal courts are acting as judge, prosecutor, and jury and then assuming the role of the executive department to enforce their unilateral orders.

Congress has no more important duty, in the waning days of the current session, than to block the bold attempts of a politically motivated Federal judiciary to cancel out two-thirds of our tripartite form of government.

The War Against Crime Must Be Waged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on August 4 the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram carried sage editorial advice relative to the very necessary war we must wage against crime in our country. The editorial follows:

CONCERN WITH CAUSES MUST NOT BLUNT ATTACK ON CRIME

The FBI's recent report on crime, showing it in alarming increase in this country, has resulted in intense national discussion. If discussion is preliminary to action, this is encouraging.

Attacks on the crime problem fall into two categories: (1) apprehension, conviction, and punishment; (2) prevention by attempt to eliminate conditions that are believed to lead to crime—poverty, broken homes, neglect of moral training among the young, and so on.

These are logical approaches and both deserve earnest consideration. But it is unfortunate that there is a tendency to confuse them. This is exemplified by those who exhibit an unwillingness to deal with crime as it exists and, whenever the subject comes up, go wandering off into the other field of sociological causes. This unrealistic approach has exerted a great influence in recent years on the courts and criminal procedures. Meanwhile, crime has flourished.

It's as if a farmer, seeing a stand of weeds jeopardizing his crop, lets them take over while he goes into a deep study as to how the weed seeds happened to get there. His studies might develop a method of keeping weeds out next year, but meanwhile, he has lost a crop he could have saved.

Of course, the crime problem must be attacked at its root causes, but it also must be attacked, right now, by massive and efficient enforcement measures. And these should not be blunted by philosophical meanderings in the other field or by sentimental searching for excuses for today's criminal.

We want to do what we can to prevent a new crop of criminals tomorrow. But we must deal realistically with today's crop for the dangerously growing menace that it is.

In 1963, a serious crime occurred in this country every 4 minutes. Murders occurred on the hour, forcible rape cases broke every 32 minutes. Serious offenses went up 10 percent over the previous year, crimes against property, 11 percent.

There is an expanding army of criminals in the field, abetted and encouraged by the confused logic which permits preoccupation with the causes of crime to weaken the methods of dealing with it.

Commissioner Tobriner Thanks National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, on June 5, 1964, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held their 51st national convention in Washington's Mayflower Hotel. In his address of welcome to the convention, the Honorable Walter N. Tobriner, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, paid tribute to this organization for the concern they have displayed for the water resources problems affecting the Potomac and the District of Columbia.

I believe his remarks will be of interest to the Members of Congress and include them here in the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF WALTER N. TOBRINER, PRESIDENT, BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

On behalf of the Board of Commissioners it gives me much pleasure to welcome the National Rivers and Harbors Congress as it once again meets in the Nation's Capital. It is customary—or perhaps I should say traditional—that you should be welcomed here by the Engineer Commissioner who is required by the act of Congress creating the city government, to be an officer of the Corps of Engineers. The Engineer Commissioner, Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke, unfortunately, is away from the city and so it is that I have the honor of meeting with you instead. He, of course, speaks your language as one who has spent much of his professional life in the engineering fields wherein lie your primary interest as you consider the use and development of the water resources of our great Nation. Even I as a layman in engineering matters, however, am keenly aware of the growing importance to all of us of the wise and timely use of our natural endowment whose abundance can no longer be taken for granted.

The Founding Fathers of our Federal City selected its site only after consideration of many other locations. The record indicates that their final choice was governed in large part by the availability of the Potomac River. The wisdom of their decision has become even more apparent with the passage of the intervening 174 years. The river has indeed proved to be the city's greatest natural asset. The Commissioners have been increasingly aware of its importance to the city and the surrounding metropolitan area and, in fact, on at least two occasions have sought the assistance of this Congress in focusing attention on their concern.

It was in April 1958 that we first presented to the projects committee of the Rivers and Harbors Congress our proposals for the construction of major pollution abatement works which would perform in large part a metropolitan service. Your endorsement was not only gratifying but may well have been influential in our subsequent success in being allowed to go ahead with the works themselves. We are already in the concluding phases of constructing treatment plant additions and trunk and relief sewers which in the aggregate will cost $105 million, all of which will materially reduce and control pollution of the Potomac River from the wastes not only of the District of Columbia but of substantial areas in the surrounding region. There has already been a marked

improvement in the Potomac's condition. No longer would it be justified for the chairman of the industrial and municipal water use and pollution abatement committee of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, the Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota, to say as he once did that the Potomac is "the best dressed cesspool in the country."

On another occasion the the Commissioners also sought your assistance in securing the funds necessary to support the study of the Potomac River Basin by the U.S. Corps of Engineers. Your clearance of the study and its subsequent funding by the Congress have now made it possible for this report to be completed. This constitutes the most extensive and detailed consideration of the present and future requirements of the inhabitants of the Potomac River Basin ever undertaken. It attempts to provide for the water supply needs, and to preserve water quality some 50 years hence. Additional benefits from the multipurpose structures proposed are also described and evaluated. This has only recently been received by us from the Chief of Engineers and is now under intense study within our interested city departments. I would hope that the Commissioners' views can be reported to him within the next few weeks.

So it is, while on the one hand I have come to greet you, I am also provided an opportunity to thank you for the concern you have already displayed for the water resources problems affecting the Potomac and the District of Columbia. I hope your labors here will not prevent you from the fullest possible enjoyment of both our city and its river.

Frank Darling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the death of Frank Darling, president of local 1031, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, removes from the ranks of labor one of its most conscientious and versatile leaders. He was a vibrant exponent of true Americanism and for years fought against the attempted inroads of Communists into union membership. He successfully prevented the infiltration of subversive elements in his industry—radio parts manufacturing.

He was a resourceful individual in the trades movement—somewhat of a grand promoter of the spectacular in connection with enormous gatherings of union members—his organizing ability of booking theatrical starts in his presentments at these affairs was for him the sobriquet, the Ziegfeld of the labor movement.

It is unfortunate that the Harvester of Souls called him to an early reward. But God's will be done. He leaves a great heritage to his family. We the members of the Illinois delegation, join his many friends and fellow unionists in extending our heartfelt condolences to his lovely wife, Mildred, and five daughters, Mrs. Patricia Kaelin, Mrs. Shirley Collins, Mrs. Teresa MacKay, Mrs. Diana Kroning, and Mrs. Karen Troescher. The city of Chicago, the State, and the Nation have lost a distinguished citizen and patriot; the union labor movement a dedicated and sincere leader. May God grant him the blessings of everlasting grace and peace.

Mississippi Bar Association Corrects the Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the stream of noxious and nauseating propaganda aimed at my home State of Mississippi in recent months has been nothing short of fantastic. Such a fact as that the FBI's crime report showed that Mississippi had the lowest crime rate in the Nation in 1963 is completely ignored in the propagandists' fury at their favorite whipping boy. One recent canard has been that our State courts and the members of our bar would deny a fair trial to those whose philosophy is not in accord with the traditional beliefs and customs of our State.

On July 15 the Mississippi State bar took notice of this slanderous propaganda. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit below a resolution adopted by the board of bar commissioners of the Mississippi State bar on that date correcting the record.

The resolution follows:

Whereas rapidly occurring, recent and, in many instances, regrettable events and incidents have taken place on many fronts—national as well as local—as to make our great State the focal point of unfavorable and unjust publicity and to create tension, divisions and prejudices among our peoples; and

Whereas, by the spoken and printed words and by acts, various groups outside our Commonwealth have unfairly and unjustly stated or intimated that the courts—the last refuge or bulwark of a free people—and particularly the Mississippi courts, State and Federal, and the Mississippi bar, as arms or officers of said courts, are recreant to their oaths and duties and cannot, and will not, accord to "strangers within their gates" or others whose philosophy or beliefs are contrary to the traditional beliefs or mores of our State, a fair and impartial trial in our State because of alleged inability to obtain competent and courageous counsel; and

Whereas, despite their beliefs as citizens, and the assertion of such beliefs, in the political or legislative domain, State or Federal, the lawyers of Mississippi have never shirked their duty or violated their oaths in the representation of persons charged with crimes or who sought legal redress of their grievances, for the Mississippi bar has at all times been ready to discharge their duties and comply with their oaths as attorneys in behalf of all persons, of low or high estate, rich or poor, resident or nonresident, popular or unpopular, and regardless of race, creed, color or of national origin, and the history of jurisprudence of our State attests such fact; and

Whereas one of the most basic of constitutional or human rights is that every person, in defending or prosecuting a civil cause (sec. 25) or in "all criminal prosecutions" (sec. 26) shall have a "right to be heard by himself or counsel, or both" (secs. 25 and 26 aforesaid, Mississippi constitution of 1890) and through the years all Mississippi courts have been "open" and have afforded a "remedy by due course of law" where "right and justice" has been "administered without sale, denial, or delay," as guaranteed by our Mississippi constitution (sec. 24); and all Mississippi courts and lawyers have at all times not only been cognizant of those fundamental rights, but have diligently sought to accord them to all citizens; that since 1817, the above constitutional guarantees have been the organic law of this State, and need no support from *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*, 372 U.S. 335 (1963) (which declared that under the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution the 6th amendment thereto (the latter of which vouchsafes "(I)n all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall * * * have the assistance of counsel") was made applicable and obligatory upon the States); and

Whereas despite the tensions and emotions which currently prevail and regardless of whether a person charged of crime, or who seeks legal redress of civil grievances, or the cause he or she is espousing, is popular or unpopular or respected or despised, the Mississippi State bar, acting through its governing authority (sec. 8687, Mississippi Code of 1942) or "executive agency" (bylaws, art. III, sec. 1), to wit, its board of bar commissioners, in its organizational, due, and regular session, properly convened, desires to reaffirm its stand and the time-honored traditions of the bar of our State and to provide a liaison committee from its members to be available for consultation with the courts, State and Federal, and for all persons who have any grievances as to representation of counsel: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of bar commissioners of the Mississippi State bar in its organizational, due, and regular meeting, properly called, That—

1. It is the sense of the Mississippi State bar that all the courts of Mississippi, State and Federal, and all of the members of the bar who practice in said courts have been, and will continue to be, faithful and true to their duties and oaths in according to every person, of high or low estate, resident or nonresident, rich or poor, popular or unpopular, respected or despised, and regardless of race, color, creed or of national origin, a fair and impartial trial, with assistance and protection, where sought, of competent counsel.

2. It is the sense of the Mississippi State bar that, true to finest traditions, the practicing attorneys of our State, members of our unified bar, should take, as it is the sense of this body that they have taken, the representation of a person charged with crime or who seeks legal redress of grievances, unless there be present a conflict of interest or other compelling ground or cause, or, where unable to pay a fee, when appointed by the court, in which his cause is, or where the same should be, lodged; *Provided, however*, That this shall not prohibit a lawyer from charging and collecting a reasonable fee where it is ascertained by him that the accused is able to pay such fee.

3. That the president of the Mississippi State bar is requested to appoint a special committee to act as liaison committee from the membership of our bar to be available for consultation with the courts, State, and Federal, of our State, and for or with all persons who might have any grievances as to, or lack of, representation of counsel, such

committee to be a large and representative one, with sections thereof—because of geographical proximity to courts, State and Federal, and persons within the area—being preferably appointed for each division of each of the northern and southern districts of Mississippi.

4. That said liaison committee be requested to work with the Conference of Local Bar Associations and with the different county or other geographical-area bar associations in the discharge of their duties, as well as all judges of all courts in the State.

5. That copies of this resolution be mailed by the executive director of the Mississippi State Bar to: (a) the president of the Conference of Local Bar Associations; and to (b) the president of each county, or other geographical-area bar associations; be it further

Resolved, That the attorney general of Mississippi be requested to notify all judges of courts of record in this State of the content of this resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That newspapers be furnished a copy of this resolution for publication, and that a copy of said instrument be furnished all members of the Mississippi State bar.

Murder Most Foul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the dreaded confirmation of the tragic murder of three long missing civil rights workers in Mississippi has been a profound shock and blow to law-abiding citizens in both North and South.

The hope of the murderers, undoubtedly, was to prevent or delay the efforts of a valiant group of civil rights workers to bring full citizenship, at long last, to our Negro fellow citizens in the South. But as the New York Times points out so correctly in its editorial of August 6:

Terrorism is sure to strengthen the resolve to implement and enforce the law; not spur resistance to it.

The Times has gone on pointedly to stress:

Mississippi cannot declare itself off limits to the rest of the Nation, nor can the rest of the Nation regard Mississippi as something separate and apart.

If it is not now prepared to perform its legal responsibility of law enforcement—to prevent violence and terror—the Federal Government will have no choice, as the Times argues, but to do the job.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this article to our colleagues' attention:

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI

The discovery of the bodies of the three civil rights workers confirms the awful fears that arose when they first disappeared in Mississippi 6 weeks ago. Triple murder, by foul and violent means, has been committed. It is the most futile of all responses to the fight for equal rights, as well as the most monstrous. For terrorism is sure to strengthen the resolve to implement and enforce the law, not spur resistance to it.

The triple murder is creating this reaction. Mississippi's Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., has pledged to "exert every effort to apprehend those who may have been responsible." Unfortunately, there is little in the State's record to warrant optimism that any massive response will come from its law-enforcement agencies. The champions of white supremacy and the defenders of State rights in Mississippi have shown much less resolve than northern officials in making clear that they do not condone resort to violence or terror by either side in the civil rights conflict. If they now fail to honor the Governor's pledge, the Federal Government will have no choice but to do the job.

Mississippi and other Southern States look upon civil rights workers as alien intruders, sowing strife and fomenting dissension. But the civil rights workers who are taking part in the Mississippi summer project, a campaign that started before the new law was enacted, are not engaged in any subversive or illegal activity. If there were no obstacles to Negro voting in that State, there would be no "invasion."

Mississippi cannot declare itself off-limits to the rest of the Nation, nor can the rest of the Nation regard Mississippi as something separate and apart. The murders of Michael Henry Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Earl Chaney are a horrendous example of an unthinking and inhuman reaction that might happen wherever mobs make themselves custodians or nullifiers of the law.

These murders will serve to remind decent and responsible people everywhere that lawlessness or mob rule cannot be tolerated. They can be responsible for a new determination to bring the murderers to justice and to affirm the need for law and order. The horror stirred by their murder must also bring a firmer resolution that the Nation's effort to end discrimination be accomplished without violence or bloodshed. This is no help for the victims and scant solace for their families, but they will gain a noble and deserved epitaph if their death helps to lead to a peaceful victory for the cause in which they enlisted so hopefully.

Senior Citizens Get No Help With Soaring Medical Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a very interesting article on medical care for the aged which appeared in the August issue of the International Teamster. The article follows:

SENIOR CITIZENS GET NO HELP WITH SOARING MEDICAL COSTS

Discouragement swept the land recently when one of the sponsors sought and obtained a postponement of any decision on legislation to provide medical care for the aged under social security.

Representative CECIL A. KING, Democrat, of California, cosponsor of the King-Anderson bill, said he got the delay in committee purposefully to avoid an adverse vote that would have killed H.R. 3920, the House version of the legislation.

Public spirits were disheartened by the move. Here was one of the Congressmen who had fought the medicare battle long and hard for 4 years—seemingly maneuvering in defeat.

The wave of dejection was especially emphatic in areas where recent Government surveys on medical care, health status, and family income have been publicized. The reports emphasized the need for medicare aid to the aged.

KING was forced to seek the postponement. He said he could count on only 12 votes in the 25-member House Ways and Means Committee where the medicare bill has been effectively bottled for months by Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas.

Even though three seats on the committee have changed ownership since 2 years ago when KING first began earnestly seeking a deciding 13th vote to catapult the medicare issue to the House floor, the measure has remained locked in the ice of conservatism.

While the faces have changed some, the political attitudes remain the same and there has been no real alternation in the committee lineup. Two Democrats (one a Dixiecrat) and a Republican have been replaced through the months by—two Democrats (one a Dixiecrat) and a Republican.

Chairman MILLS concluded public hearings on H.R. 3920 last January. Since then, there have been intermittent closed hearings resulting in no decision.

Besides deferring consideration of KING's measures, the committee also has postponed action on proposals to expand and liberalize the existing sketchy Kerr-Mills program of Federal-State aid to medically indigent persons over 65 years of age.

Proposals have been made to increase Federal grants for the States that provide medical and hospital services under Kerr-Mills. At the same time, it has been recommended that the so-called means test (are you poor?) of eligibility for assistance be relaxed or abandoned.

Even though no legislation has been enacted, there are signs that the opponents of King-Anderson are suffering from the heat of public glare.

Not only are they becoming sensitive about the Kerr-Mills requirement for senior citizens to prove themselves penniless before being eligible to receive aid, but they are beginning to cast off oaths of allegiance to the American Medical Association, which has fought King-Anderson more viciously than any other organization.

Perhaps it was for this reason as much as any other that Representative KING ceased fire in the House and turned his eyes toward the Senate.

It was in the Senate during the 2d session of the 87th Congress that the King-Anderson bill was tabled by a narrow margin on a 52-to-48 vote. Since that time, Senator Robert Kerr died, as did much of his antimedicare influence.

Capitol Hill observers believe that Representative KING hopes for the main action now to come from the Senate for clearly, the Wilbur Mills roadblock seems destined to remain forever in the House.

COSTS SPIRAL

Some 3 months remain before the general elections in November. Whether or not Congress passes the medicare measure, it's almost a sure bet there will be a lot of noise about it in the coming weeks. Passed or not, the King-Anderson bill can be an important issue in the presidential campaign.

Even as the need increases for a medicare program for the aged—better than that offered under the Kerr-Mills law—costs of medical care continue to spiral.

Consumer Price Index statistics for the past 10 years show the field of medical service to lead all others in terms of increase percentages:

Consumer Price Index

[Annual averages (U.S. Labor Department)]

Year	Basic index	Medicare service	Doctor fees	Hospital rates	Hospital insurance	Prescriptions and drugs
1953	93.2	83.0	84.5	74.8	72.7	90.7
1954	93.6	85.5	87.0	79.2	78.0	91.7
1955	93.3	88.0	90.0	83.0	80.1	92.7
1956	94.7	91.4	92.7	87.5	85.1	94.7
1957	98.0	96.3	96.7	94.5	90.1	97.2
1958	100.7	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.4	100.6
1959	101.5	104.8	103.4	105.5	110 5	102.2
1960	103.1	109.1	106.0	112.7	120.9	102.3
1961	104.2	113.1	108.7	121.3	130.0	101.1
1962	105.4	114.2	111.9	129.8	136.0	99.6
1963	106.7	117.0	114.4	138.0	140.7	98.7
Percent increase	14.5	40.9	35.4	84.5	93.5	8.8

Since 1953, the general Consumer Price Index has increased less than 15 percent yet medicare costs have zoomed more than 40 percent.

Hospital insurance and hospital room rates have nearly doubled since 1953, increasing 93.5 and 84.5 percent, respectively. Doctor fees have gone up more than 35 percent.

The high cost of illness has become such an alarming truism for elderly people that one Congressman last June, Representative PETER RODINO, Democrat, of New Jersey, said the chief insecurity facing men and women 65 years of age and older is the haunting fear that a heavy medical expense will make it necessary for them to ask for charity.

Despite this very real fear held by many of the Nation's 17 million senior citizens, nearly half the States still do not operate medicare programs under the Kerr-Mills law. Some States provide no aid at all for the elderly.

In fact, reported the Senate Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly recently, only about one in every four of the country's aged persons has reasonably adequate hospital insurance policies.

After carefully studying the subject, the Senate subcommittee emerged angry enough to accuse commercial health insurers of substituting "fancy for fact" by inflating hospital coverage figures.

In submitting his report to the Senate Special Committee on Aging, Senator PAT MCNAMARA, Democrat, of Michigan, chairman of the subcommittee, said the only solution to meeting the health care needs of most of the elderly is to pass the King-Anderson bill.

But until the legislation becomes law, millions of elderly Americans cannot afford to become ill.

The U.S. Public Health Service—on the basis of 42,000 household interviews in 1962–63—concluded that more than 10 million of 55 million Americans with family income $4,000 or less per year were senior citizens 65 years and older.

In its report, the Federal agency stated: "In times when medical care costs are increasing * * * unemployed persons and those on low and fixed incomes are unable to afford insurance protection."

Persons 65 and older had the lowest percentage of hospital and surgical insurance coverage of any age group according to the survey. About 9 million—or 54 percent—of the elderly had some form of hospital insurance; 45.7 percent had surgical insurance.

The bare fact of coverage, however, does not indicate the degree or value of coverage.

The Public Health Service survey learned, for example, that insurance paid three-fourths or more of the hospital bill for only 30 percent of the oldsters. Insurance paid less than three-fourths of the bill for 21 percent of the elderly patients. Finally, insurance had no part in payment of the bill for the remaining 49 percent of the patients 65 years and older.

Certainly proving the need for some kind of effective medicare program for senior citizens is the fact that their intervals of stay in hospitals, in terms of days, are much higher than for younger people.

Less than 30 percent of people of all ages spent longer than a week in a hospital bed within a year's time. But in the same period, 55 percent of the oldsters stayed in a hospital bed 8 days and longer.

More elderly persons are discharged from short-stay hospitals per year than any other age group.

Altogether, some 22.7 million people are discharged annually after short periods of hospitalization. The overall average is 124.4 per 1,000 population. For people 65 years and older, the rate is 169.8 per 1,000.

In a 1-year period beginning in July 1962, more than 2.8 million of the nearly 17 million elderly people were hospitalized at one time or another.

CHRONIC ILLNESS

Per capita expenses for all categories of health expenditures by age, sex, and family income increased with age for all income levels, according to the Public Health Service report.

The average annual expense for everyone in the Nation, the survey showed, was $129. For children under 15 years, the average was $59; for people 15 to 44 years, the average was $131; 45 to 64 years, $191, and for those 65 and over, $208 every year.

Of the total $208 which elderly people paid out in medical expense, some $53 went to a hospital, $62 to a doctor, $54 for medicine, and the remainder in dental and miscellaneous expenses such as ambulance service, etc.

Older people need medicare assurance as much as anything, because they are more subject to chronic illness and disability than are other age groups.

Percentages of the population with one or more chronic conditions are: under 15 years, 19.5 percent; 15 to 44 years, 46 percent; 45 to 64 years, 64.3 percent; and 65 and older, 81.2 percent.

Of the 17 million senior citizens, only 3.1 million live without suffering from some form of chronic illness. Another 5.5 million have one or more chronic conditions that fortunately do not limit their activity, but more than 8.2 million are limited in their activity by some never-ending illness.

Fully more than half of all Americans 65 and older—58.3 percent, to be exact—receive some type of care at home due to infirmities. Of those, more than a majority require constant care.

It should be emphasized that the survey conducted for the Public Health Service excluded costs of medical and dental care paid by workmen's compensation, charitable or welfare organizations, Federal, State, or local governmental programs, or other free care. Also excluded from interviews were military personnel and persons living in institutions.

Thus the study confined itself to a generally self-reliant civilian population which must decide for itself whether or not it wants to participate in private insurance programs and whether or not it will seek medical care when needed.

These are the people which opponents of the King-Anderson medicare proposal claim are well able to take care of themselves. Yet the Public Health Service report cited here shows contrary conditions—particularly in the case of people 65 years and up.

THE TAKE

Not so long ago the Social Security Administration estimated that about two-thirds of every dollar spent on medicare went to hospitals, physicians, and health insurance companies.

It must be remembered that health insurance companies are in the business of providing health insurance—not ammunition in the fight against disease and illness. Hospitals, too, are becoming more business-like as many of them require a $100 bill or more upon admittance. More and more doctors tend to excommunicate themselves from any close concern with their patients.

To be hospitalized or require medical attention today for most people means to be thrust into a strange world of antiseptic mysticism decorated with a hurried, almost deliberate unconcern often leading to inattention or horrible error. And the cost is high, high, high.

Fortunately there are Congressmen such as Representative KING and Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, and others who keep working for legislation that will benefit those who most need help in meeting the cost of medicare—Americans that have led useful lives but somehow failed to hit financial home runs while attaining old age.

Success of the King-Anderson measure depends, as it is, it has from the time of its introduction, upon enlightened, humane lawmakers.

Politicians Share Blame for Race Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Mr. Henry J. Taylor, the noted and distinguished news columnist, has written a very interesting column on one of the important reasons behind the current race riots in this country. The column is entitled "Politicians Share Blame for Race Riots"; and it was published in the State, of Columbia, S.C., on August 3, 1964. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICIANS SHARE BLAME FOR RACE RIOTS—PLAYED ON PASSIONS FOR NEGRO VOTE

(By Henry J. Taylor)

In the heartbreaking racial explosion the greedy game many politicians have been playing for the Negro vote has come home to roost on the American people.

While tragedy stalks the doorsteps of our Nation, and everything else is blamed, why should they get off scot free?

The only men whom time honors are those who are willing to help other men. And numerous selfless men, many holding public

office, have honestly striven for the better place for the Negro in American life. This vital complex cause has needed and deserved a great deal of defending. But the tragic issue also has been a gold mine for political profiteers. They haven't missed a trick all along the line.

Throughout the past several years thoughtful people, including many Negroes have stood aghast at the way officeseekers pandered to the Negro vote.

The evidence is mercilessly exact. Wherever there have been local agonies or official recalcitrance, it is hard to feel that they have applied the unchallengeable selflessness required. Instead, no dramatic gimmick has been too extreme. No gesture has been too fraudulent. And they have been very sure to apprise the Nation of their stance.

Again and again you could practically hear these political profiteers saying into the TV camera: "Wow. What a beautiful pitch I'm making for the Negro vote." They helped to open a pandora's box of troubles for the Nation and shouted, "Come and get it," like chuckwagon cooks calling cowboys on the plains.

Their inability to organize racial liberty comes from their selfishness in wanting to benefit from their organization of it. While toying with the most explosive features of racial questions, inciting pressure groups, and foundering in a pseudoliberalism that is both tricky and indecent, they cast their calculating eye on the ballot box and smile. The whole charade has been about as subtle and moral as Sadie Thompson. For whose good?

Here they have stood, counting the Negro population in Detroit (29 percent), Cleveland (28 percent), St. Louis (28 percent), Philadelphia (26 percent), Chicago (23 percent), Cincinnati (21 percent), Pittsburgh (17 percent)—cold and calculating as a soap firm tending to its market. Every political advantage is studied.

Foreign policy is affected repeatedly by this political purpose. For example, was former Michigan Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs because he knew Africa? He'd never even been to Africa. No, and admittedly this was a straight political pitch pampering to the domestic Negro vote. The factor is likewise evident in numerous United Nations votes, a fact famous in the chancelleries of the world.

What you might call the "big team"—Time, Newsweek, Life, and Look—also cannot escape responsibility for much of the present disaster. Their coverage of the Negro problem for years on end has been about as objective as Joe Louis in Johannesburg. Whenever Negro conflicts were involved they have consistently put the law-enforcement officers in a bad light by carefully chosen photographs and by pitching the texts with a swerve.

Yet, is it a public service for the "big team" to make the police look like enemies, no matter what the provocation? This impact on Negroes everywhere has been enormous, and numerous TV stations did the same thing.

Many of our political profiteers act today as if they did not know the gun was loaded. They wanted to devour the cake without the stomach ache and were willing to risk what we see today by coldly tampering with the most complex, agonizing, and dangerous potential that clouds mankind's troubled human story.

Equal rights is one thing. Anarchy is another. And no conscientious citizen of either race should forget that these self-seeking voteseekers have contributed mightily to the result. It's high time they took their own full share of the blame.

What many political profiteers have been giving us was a good theater but very bad government. And the one hope we can have is that it will turn out to be bad politics as well.

Supreme Court Makes Population Basis for All Apportionments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, the August issue of County Officer, the official publication of the National Association of Counties, contains an interesting article which is an analysis entitled "Supreme Court Makes Population Basis for All Apportionments." This is a problem that concerns all thoughtful Americans. For this reason, I wish to insert the article in the RECORD at this point:

SUPREME COURT MAKES POPULATION BASIS FOR ALL APPORTIONMENTS

(By C. D. Ward)

In one of the most far-reaching judicial flats in recent times, the Supreme Court has ruled "as a basic constitutional standard, the equal protection clause requires that the seats in both Houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

This judgment, rendered by Chief Justice Earl Warren, went on to say that "simply stated, an individual right to vote for State legislatures is unconstitutionally impaired when its weight is, in a substantial fashion, diluted when compared with the voters of citizens living in other parts of the State."

So stated the Chief Justice in the most recent reapportionment decision of a series started in 1962 when it was determined that Federal courts have authority over legislative apportionment. An interesting sidelight is the comparison of this decision with a declaration made by Justice Warren when he was Governor of California in 1948. At that time he stated, "the agricultural counties of California are far more important in the life of our State than the relationship their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason I have never been in favor of restricting their representation in our State senate to a strictly population basis. It is the same reason that the Founding Fathers of our country gave a balanced representation to the States of the Union, equal representation in one House and apportioned representation based upon population in the other."

This most recent decision was one of six handed down on June 15, all of which dealt with legal challenges to legislatures in six States. Although the cases were all highly complex and varied in detail, they generally involve the assertion by urban voters that they were underrepresented in their State legislatures while rural and small city voters were overrepresented. In each case, the Court's ruling sided with the urban dwellers. The Court stated that, "to the extent that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen. The fact that an individual lives here or there is not a legitimate reason for overweighing or diluting the efficacy of his vote. The citizen, as a qualified voter, is no more nor no less because he lives in the city or on the farm. The equal protection clause demands no less than substantially equal State legislative representation for all citizens, of all places as well as all races."

WHEN EFFECTIVE?

The decision does leave unanswered the question when the change in districting formulas must be put into effect. And it also left open for interpretation and meaning of reapportionment based substantially on population. The Supreme Court mandated the six cases to lower courts, thereby leaving them to decide the answer as to when the changes must be put into effect. However, it did offer some guidelines by stating that "it would be an unusual case in which a lower court would be justified in not taking steps to make sure no further elections are held under invalid apportionment." The decision did allow where a court might be justified in withholding immediate relief under certain circumstances, such as where an impending election is imminent and the State election machinery is already in progress.

The interpretation of "substantially equal" undoubtedly evolves to decisions of the lower courts. The Supreme Court determined that they did not deem it expedient to attempt to spell out any precise constitutional tests and felt that the lower courts would assuredly work out concrete and specific standards for evaluating State legislative apportionment schemes in the context of the actual litigation. It went on to state that what is marginally permissible in one State may be unsatisfactory in another, depending on the particular circumstances of the case. Furthermore, that the development of a body of doctrine on a case-by-case basis appears to be the most satisfactory means of arriving at detailed constitutional requirements in the area of State legislative apportionment. The Court conceded that it was a practical impossibility to arrange legislative districts so that each one has an identical number of residents or citizens or voters. "Mathematical exactness or precision is hardly a workable constitutional requirement."

LEGISLATURES REPRESENT PEOPLE

Justice Warren stated that the basic principle to be decided by the Court was whether any standard justified departure from the basic standard of equality among voters. The Court rejected the idea that apportionment based upon area or other concepts than population did not adversely affect individual voters and pronounced that "legislatures represent people, not trees or acres; legislatures are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests. All voters stand in the same relation to their government, no matter where they live, so equal protection requires they be treated equally. To the extent that a citizen's vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen."

The most common argument heard to justify State legislatures on a basis other than population has been the so-called Federal analogy. The Court concluded that no conceivable analogy could be drawn between the Federal scheme and the apportionment of seats in a State legislature. "The Federal system was conceived out of a compromise and concessions indispensable to the establishment of our Federal Republic. Arising from a unique historical circumstance based upon the consideration that in establishing our type of federalism, a group of formerly independent States bound themselves together under one National Government. Admittedly, the Original Thirteen States surrendered some of their sovereignty in agreeing to join together. In fact, this was the price given to the small States for giving up their sovereignty to join the Union." On the other hand, the Court said, "that political subdivisions of States—counties, cities, or whatever—never were and never have been considered as sovereign entities and have been traditionally regarded as subordinate instrumentalities created by the States to assist in the carrying out of State government functions."

RECOGNIZES POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS

The Court did hold out some hope that the political subdivisions of the State might still be used to some extent in establishing State legislative districts; however, this would only be constitutionally valid so long as the resulting apportionment was one based substantially on population and the equal population principle was not diluted in any significant way.

The Court stated, "there was some substance to justifying some deviation from population by insuring some voice to political subdvisions as political subdivisions. (This point should not be overlooked by counties having large boards composed in part by elected or appointed officials from political units within the county.) Several factors makes more than insubstantial claims that a State can rationally consider according political subdivisions some independent representation in at least one body of the State legislatures as long as the basic standard of quality of population among districts is maintained. Local governmental entities are frequently charged with various responsibilities incident to the operation of State government. In many States, much of the legislature's activities involve the enactment of so-called local legislation, directed only to the concern of particular political subdivisions. And a State may be legitimately desirous to construct districts along political subdivisions' lines to deter the possibility of gerrymandering." However, the Court warned "that deviation from population-based representation does not mean that each local governmental unit or political subdivision can be given separate representation, regardless of population."

Another favorite argument has been that bicameral systems of legislatures would be meaningless when the predominant basis of representation in both houses was required to be the same—population. The Court reasoned, "that the prime purpose for bicameralism, modernly considered, is to insure mature and deliberate consideration of, and to prevent precipitate action on proposed legislative measures. Simply because the controlling criteria for apportioning representation is required to be the same in both houses does not mean that there will be no difference in the composition and complexities of the two houses."

The Court suggested, "that constituents could be represented in the two houses. One body could be composed of single member districts, while the other could have at least some multimember districts. The length of terms of the legislatures in the separate houses could differ. Numerical size of the two bodies could be made to differ, even significantly, and the geographical size of districts from which legislatures are elected could also be made to differ. An apportionment in one house could be arranged so as to balance off minor inequities in the representation of certain areas in the other house."

It is this author's opinion that reapportionment will rapidly move to the local level and county goverments in particular will be faced with suits to apportion on a strict population basis. This is already the case in several States and in Wisconsin one of the leading newspapers has filed suit to reapportion 70 out of the 72 counties.

REASONS FOR VARIANCE

A recent California case, *Griffin* v. *Board of Supervisors of the County of Monterey*, admittedly decided before these recent decisions, does provide some very compelling reasoning to allow a variance in the population of districts in county governments.

The California statute provides that county supervisorial districts shall be as nearly equal as may be, except that consideration may be given factors of topography, geography, cohesiveness, contiguity, integrity, and compactness of territory, and community of interest.

The Monterey County ordinance redistricting the county did provide that a majority of the board was elected from districts having a majority of population as required by the State statute, however, there was a population ratio between the districts having the highest and lowest population, of slightly more than 2.2 to 1.

The California court held that such a variance was justified. In addition to the factors in the code permitting some deviations, the court pointed out that there are additional considerations applicable to county districting which can justify a departure from equality of population.

"County governments perform a number of important functions for unincorporated areas which are ordinarily performed entirely or in large part by city governments in incorporated areas. Among these functions are police and fire protection, park and recreation services, street construction and maintenance, and the adoption and enforcement of local police measures such as those concerning sanitation, zoning, and the licensing of businesses, all of which may justify favoring less populous primarily rural areas."

Another argument put forth to justify representation in at least one house of the legislature on a basis other than population is where a majority of the population has voted for such an arrangement. One of the six cases involved went specifically to that point where in Colorado, there had been a statewide referendum making the House districts roughly equal in population, but allowing 33 percent of the people to elect a Senate majority. Justice Warren found no significance legally in the referendum vote or in the fact that in Colorado the voters can put an initiative petition on the ballot to change their apportionment any time. He stated that the right at stake here was the individual voter's right to have his vote counted equally with others, and he said: "A citizen's constitutional right can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose to do so."

STRONG DISSENT

The most strongly worded dissenting opinion was written by Justice Harlan, when he concluded that, "the equal protection clause was never intended to inhibit the States in choosing any democratic method they pleased for the apportionment of their legislatures." He orally objected to what he called the Supreme Court as "the supervisory power of State political systems."

The ultimate results of this far-reaching decision are difficult to foresee, however, there is little doubt that there will be significant changes in the political makeup of many State legislatures and county governing bodies. Many people are predicting that these changes will result in a liberalization of State activities in fields such as education, welfare, transportation, and other programs that have been more and more falling to the Federal Government. One hesitates to make predictions in this area, when you consider that in one of the best known Federalist Papers, Alexander Hamilton said that the judiciary would be "beyond comparison, the weakest of the three departments in the new Federal Government. It would have no influence over either the sword of purse, no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society."

SIGNIFICANCE

Although it is too early to determine accurately the full significance of the Supreme Court's latest decision, it offers as a by-product an added incentive for counties to give further consideration to home rule (see editorial elsewhere in this issue).

Many guidelines are also missing. Some may ask "if both houses are apportioned on the same basis, why have a bicameral State legislature?"

These for the moment are merely academic. What is important is that the balance of political power, so long balanced between the big city concentrations and the rural counties, now may be shifting away from both into the suburbs, bringing with it long-range shifts in emphasis in American life.

The Ruins of a Vindictive Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, with the reappearance of Moise Tshombe and the Congo in current events, it might be profitable to avoid repeating tragic mistakes by reviewing those of the immediate past. One such mistake would have been avoided if the United States had listened to U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold who noted that Katanga's secession "is an internal political problem to which the United Nations as an organization obviously cannot be a party."

Congressional reaction to our treatment of Katanga was both bipartisan and emphatic. Senator DODD, of Connecticut, protested the U.N. action against Katanga "where the government and people are defending themselves against flagrant intervention and aggression by the U.N. forces."

Senator GOLDWATER, of Arizona, on the plight of Katanga was moved to say, "I have never seen such a sickening display in my life."

The following article by Arthur Krock of the New York Times is a graphic reminder of the part the United States played in this recent travesty on international justice:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 2, 1964]

IN THE NATION: THE RUINS OF A VINDICTIVE POLICY

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, July 1.—All the officials of the Central Government of the Congo were too occupied with other matters to attend the leavetaking of the "peacekeeping troops of the United Nations. Foremost among these other matters was preparation for the triumphant homecoming of Moise Tshombe, whom the U.N., with the indispensable military, financial, and economic aid of the administration in Washington, forcibly deposed as President of the separatist state of Katanga.

Today, the pro-Western fugitive, who was the victim of a vendetta jointly pursued by the State Department and U.N. Secretary General Thant, was asked by the President of the Congo to form a new government. Never did any political action more nearly match the events recorded in Psalms, cxviii: 22: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner." And seldom has a policy of the U.S. Government been more thoroughly discredited.

There is a full enough measure of irony in the proposal to Tshombe. But the crowning irony would be his decision to assume the conduct of foreign affairs instead of the office of Premier. In that case he would deal directly with Thant and Secretary of State Rusk, a situation prompting a great roar of cosmic laughter around a world where there is so little to laugh about nowadays.

A brief history of the U.N.-United States Congo policy, which now has collapsed, sufficiently explains why it has been so widely criticized from the outset:

KATANGA ALONE WAS READY

When Belgium, under pressure from this Government in association with the Afro-Asian members of the U.N. General Assembly, granted independence to the feuding tribes of the Congo, Katanga was the only region prepared for orderly self-government. Tshombe, therefore, promoted a meeting at Coquehatville of all the Congolese post-independence leaders except pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga. The conference agreed on a loose confederation in which all provinces would have a large measure of autonomy.

For Katanga this meant that the revenues from the processing of its rich concentration of raw materials would not be subject to confiscation by a wasteful, corrupt, and incompetent central regime at Leopoldville. For the other states it meant a fair share of Katanga's revenues, with which a viable local and national governing system could be established.

At a subsequent meeting, where Tshombe joined the other Coquehatville conferees for the purpose of incorporating their agreement in a national constitution, he was arrested by officers of the Central Government, without protest by Washington or the United Nations. And under this duress, he was forced to sign an agreement with his jailers that required him unreservedly to subscribe to a constitution he had not seen, for the excellent reason that it hadn't yet been written.

This he promptly repudiated when he returned to Katanga and proclaimed an independent nation. There followed the U.N. peacekeeping operation which developed into three separate military expeditions into Katanga—mounted, financed, and transported by the United States—a full-scale war against Tshombe terminable only on his unconditional surrender.

Throughout the operation, which culminated in the surrender and flight of the only strongly pro-Western leader in the Congo, whose state was alone in maintaining law and order and in the possession of a viable economy, the U.N. and the State Department emitted a deluge of propaganda in which factual distortions, downright untruths, denunciation of all critics however qualified, and the spirit of vendetta against Tshombe were dominant. In a speech at Philadelphia, December 1961, Assistant Secretary of State Carl Rowan employing the guilt-by-association technique, lumped all critics with "arch conservatives, people who oppose the income tax, avowed defenders of racial segregation, opponents of fluoridation, those who want to destroy the Supreme Court," etc.

Today, however, Tshombe got a wry welcome home from Secretary Rusk. In essence this suggested the reply of the tavern keeper when asked whether Casey was good for a drink: "Has he had it? Then he is."

Bonanza?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the poor taxpayer groans under a rising national debt and a great increase in Federal spending. It takes a dramatic presentation of a normally disregarded item to drive the point home.

The Chicago Daily News did just this in an editorial which appeared in its Monday, July 27, edition, which I insert into the RECORD at this point:

BONANZA?

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has put aside $13,175 for an on-the-job training program. It will be used to teach Indians how to make bows and arrows.

Hmmm. With a precedent like that, maybe Mayor Daley could apply for a few millions to teach Chicago payrollers how to make politics.

Wheat Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from a farmer complaining about the price per bushel which he received for his wheat when he sold it on the free market. I ask that the text of this letter be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks and that following it there be printed an analysis of the recently announced wheat program for 1965 under which the county loan rate would be reduced from $1.30 to $1.25 per bushel.

This analysis shows the basic features of both the 1964 and 1965 wheat programs, and it should be pointed out that it is rather startling that the 1965 program as announced by the Secretary of Agriculture on August 3 will actually result in still lower returns to wheatgrowers next year.

Again we see in the details of the 1965 wheat program an effort on the part of the Secretary of Agriculture to force wheat farmers into the program even at the cost of less returns to those cooperators who do sign up.

The material follows:

DELAVAN, MINN.,
July 30, 1964.

Hon. ANCHER NELSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ANCHER: I know that you have done your very best trying to get some sensible farm legislation passed during the last several years. I also know that you are not to blame for this wheat program that we are forced to live with but after selling my wheat 2 days ago I felt I had to protest somewhere. Maybe it will give you some encouragement to work even harder to reverse this administration's policy on Agriculture.

Last spring I planted a small acreage of wheat which I fertilized and seeded down. This was done before the new wheat law was passed and before the county ASC head could tell us what the details of the wheat program would be. Long after planting I got a card asking how much wheat I had and whether I wanted into the program. I figured I was 2 or 3 acres over what I could raise under the program and decided I would rather stay out of the program and take my chances on the open market than to tear up part of my already planted, fertilized, and seeded down crops. Later they called me to the Blue Earth office and tried to convince me that I should go into the program but because of the inconvenience involved and the pressure of other work I still didn't comply with the program, although it was more or less insinuated that I was stupid not to.

After getting my check for $1.45 per bushel for wheat the other day, I am beginning to think someone is stupid but I am not sure just who it is. Upon inquiring about the low price of wheat I find that the miller must pay the Government 65 or 70 cents a bushel on all of my wheat that they buy. Now maybe you or Secretary Freeman can explain to me why the Government is entitled to one-third of the market price of my wheat. Is this the fine or penalty for freedom of choice in this country? Are bankruptcy or socialism the only two alternatives the Democratic Party have to offer the farmers of this Nation? I still hear rabid denunciation of former Secretary Benson from some quarters but we never had this kind of a program under him and the Eisenhower administration.

As far as I can determine the only thing the present administration has done for agriculture is to increase the number of employees needed to administer a thoroughly undesirable program and try to convince the farmer and the public that they are doing them a service. I could write much more about what I think about the beef import program and the dumping of grain on the market to increase the amount of livestock being fed but realize I have taken too much valuable time from your busy schedule allready.

Just one final remark. I chose farming as a way of life because I love the freedom of farming. If the present trend continues, however, there will be no free farmers. We will all be dependent on the Government for our existence or we will not exist on the land. Do you suppose we will ever have a Secretary of Agriculture or an agricultural program that understands and meets the needs and desires of the farmer or will farmers become more and more the pawns of the political chess game of patronage?

Thank you for your efforts on behalf of the farmers of the Second District. We appreciate it and will, I am sure, show it at the polls in November.

Yours truly,

HAROLD SHIELDS.

P.S.—You have my permission to use any part or all of this letter in any way you may desire or may forward any part or all of it to Secretary Freeman, our Senators, or anyone else you care to.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF 1964 AND 1965 WHEAT PROGRAMS

The following are the basic facts:

(a) Returns to noncooperators: It is a basic fact that about two-thirds of the wheatwheat-growers will be noncooperators in 1965. In the 1964 program, about 65 percent of the farmers were noncooperators. Therefore, they will obtain only what the free market brings. In view of the fact that the loan rate has been cut from $1.30 to $1.25 per bushel, it is likely that the noncooperators' cash income will be reduced by approximately 5 cents a bushel. It should be noted that there are over a million farmers in this category.

(b) Cooperators: In the case of the cooperators, it is likely that the gross income per bushel will drop from about $1.76 to $1.69. The basic reasons for this are that

the export certificate, which was raised to 30 cents per bushel from 25 cents in 1964, will be applicable only to 35 percent of the normal production, as compared with 45 percent of the normal production in 1964.

In addition, whereas a payment of about $6.50 per acre was made on the mandatory 11.11-percent diversion to conserving crops in 1964, no payment will be made for this minimum diversion in 1965.

Example: Assume a farm with a 90-acre allotment—25-bushels normal yield—county loan rate $1.30 in 1964 and $1.25 in 1965; assume that the acreage planted was 90 acres and that production was 2,250 bushels.

Gross income

	1964	1965
Return from sales	$2,925.00	$2,812.50
Value of domestic certificate	708.75	759.37
Value of export certificate	253.12	236.25
Diversion payment	65.00	
Gross income	3,951.87	3,808.12

1964 versus 1965 wheat programs

Basic elements	1964	1965
Average allotment	49,500,000 acres	49,500,000 acres.
Loan rate	$1.30 per bushel	$1.25 per bushel.
Domestic certificate value	$0.70 per bushel on 45 percent of normal production from allotment.	$0.75 per bushel on 45 percent of normal production from allotment.
Export certificate value	$0.25 per bushel on 45 percent of normal production from allotment.	$0.30 per bushel on 35 percent of normal production from allotment.
Percent of normal production for which no certificate is issued.	10 percent	20 percent.
Basic diversion payment	20 percent of county loan rate times farm normal yield on the 11.11 percent minimum qualifying diversion.	None.
Additional diversion payment	Same as above up to 20 percent of the allotment.	Must divert at least 10 percent additional acreage below allotment—maximum diversion for payment can be 20 percent of allotment. Payment rate for this additional diversion 50 percent of county loan rate times farm normal yield.
Wheat and feed grain substitution.	Not permitted	Authorized.
Cooperators—Gross return per bushel assuming farmer plants full allotment and has normal yield.	$1.76	$1.69.
Noncooperstors—Return	$1.30	$1.25.
Effect of overplanting	Loss of wheat acreage history	No effect on future allotments.

NOTE.—It should be noted that the return on any excess production over normal yields will suffer the effect of the $1.25 loan rate.

Sinister Pattern Emerging From Probe of Negro Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the public press today, there is increasing recognition that there is much more to the race riots currently being fomented in this country than a fight for personal freedom by mere groups of individuals. I have been particularly impressed by an outstanding article on this subject in the highly respected Allen-Scott report which was published on August 5, 1964, in the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S.C.

Robert Allen and Paul Scott are particularly noted as news reporters who get the facts behind news developments in this country. During the past few years, they have been responsible for more news "scoops" on important developments than have any other reporters in this country.

I ask unanimous consent that this interesting article from the Allen-Scott report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SINISTER "PATTERN" EMERGING FROM PROBE OF NEGRO VIOLENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An ominously sinister "pattern" is emerging from a comprehensive Government investigation being made of the exceptionally violent and destructive Negro looting and pillaging in Rochester, N.Y.

Federal investigators are increasingly leaning to the view that Communist planning, instigation, and leadership played a major role in this savage rioting.

On the basis of what these authorities have uncovered so far, they are strongly inclined to the conclusion that this world-headlined racial outbreak has unmistakable manifestations of a basic and widely exploited Communist revolutionary tactic—"ethnological warfare."

Under this doctrine, the Communists deliberately incite dissension and conflict between nationalities—in the jarring Rochester instance, Negroes against Jews.

Highlighting the evidence underlying this explosive finding are the following:

Most of the small neighborhood stores robbed and wrecked are owned by Jews.

These shops apparently were carefully pinpointed and marked out in advance. For example: Jewish-owned stores located between non-Jewish establishments were attacked while the others were not. This was a distinct "pattern" in all affected sections, whether Negro or white.

After the first disorders Jewish merchants boarded up their shops—whereupon the next morning the boards were found smeared with painted anti-Semitic invectives and defamations, some obscene.

The government investigators also are encountering an unexpected reaction to these deeply disturbing findings.

They are reporting that there is sharp cleavage among Rochester Jewish leaders over making these facts known; that a number of them feel "the less said the better, and the matter should be swept under the carpet."

Others are vigorously against that. They cite the grisly history of what happened in Nazi Germany when Jewish leaders pursued a placatory course and millions of Jews were decimated in death camps. The dissenters also fully agree with the probers' belief that the Rochester mobs were largely Communist-motivated.

The Communists' tactic of "ethnological warfare" is worldwide.

This basic revolutionary doctrine is being aggressively employed wherever there is Red infiltration and turmoil. Castro is constantly mouthing and pursuing this inflammatory tenet in both Cuba and wherever he can get a foothold in Latin America; it is virulently rife in seething Africa; in strife-torn southeast Asia; in tinderbox Cyprus; in the war-threatened Middle East.

Some years ago a leading English Communist in a book titled "A Racial Program for the 20th Century," laid down this party precept:

"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party.

"In America we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions, in the world of sports and entertainment.

"With this prestige the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Last year Karl Prussion, a former counterspy for many years for the FBI, testified under oath that he had attended a number of Communist Party county meetings. These committee meetings consisted of one delegate from each Communist cell in the county.

"At each and every meeting," stated Prussion, "a Communist leader, who is presently county secretary of a certain national Negro organization, presented a directive from the district office of the Communist Party to the following effect:

"'All Communists working within the framework (of the national organization) are instructed to work for a change of the passive attitude (of that organization) toward a more militant, demonstrative, class struggle policy to be expressed by sit-ins, demonstrations, marches, and protests, for the purpose of transforming the organization into an organization for the achievement of Communist objectives.'"

Further striking evidence of the Communists' designs to instigate and exploit Negro disturbances for revolutionary ends is the following revealing pronouncement in a little-known Soviet publication:

"It should now be clear to every Communist that there is no intention of conducting a constitutional battle for Negro rights and justice. To Communists the Constitution is a scrap of paper to use when it serves their purpose, to disregard and violate when it suits them.

"Communists in their propaganda on the Negro question must try to impress the American people and Negros in particular that they are for justice for the Negro, for giving the Negro full democratic rights, for raising his status and giving him equal social standing with the whites.

"Communists, therefore, must champion the cause of the Negro in America not as part of a democratic movement, but as an important part of their drive to mobilize both colored and white for proletarian revolution and the overthrow of the American Government."

What Happened in San Francisco in July

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, our former Postmaster General, spoke in Flint, Mich., on July 30 to a Kiwanis and Rotary Club meeting on "What Happened at San Francisco in July." Mr. Summerfield, a thoughtful and knowledgeable man, is eminently qualified to speak with understanding of the events of the Republican National Convention. His background and experience enable him to see and present objectively not only these events, but the conditions and changes of our times which brought about the nomination of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER for President of the United States. I believe Mr. Summerfield's remarks will be of interest and value to all Members of the House and Senate, and it is my pleasure to have them included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHAT HAPPENED AT SAN FRANCISCO IN JULY

(By the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield)

There are a number of things I would like to say to you about the San Francisco convention. I could go into detail about the fight over the nomination, the battle over the rules, and the lengthy debate over the platform.

These things, of course, are routine at every convention of both political parties.

I could tell you which of our distinguished Republican leaders performed in outstanding fashion, which were mediocre, and which struck out completely.

Then, as a sort of a tonic, I could tell you about the food and accommodations, the weather, and the colorful crowds in that spectacular city.

My assignment, however, is one far broader than these mere details, most of which you saw on television or read about in your newspapers.

My friends, it is an amazing story. We have witnessed a new chapter in political history, a unique chapter.

I think it is vital that each of you—and certainly every American—more fully understand what happened and why it happened. So, let me begin at the beginning.

During our lifetime, the control of the Republican Party has rested principally in the northeastern part of the Nation. This was not without reason, not without some justification.

In the northeast resided the greatest concentration of population, education, productivity, and wealth. So, logically, it influenced—if not, controlled—the affairs of this Nation, and, indirectly, your destines and mine.

It was far greater than a political dominance—it was an economic, a cultural, a philosophical dominance.

However, in our lifetime, we have been firsthand witnesses to a slow, yet very powerful metamorphosis, that, like a glacier, has wrought vast changes in American life, at a pace so relentlessly gradual that many people—including a few of the pundits—were not even conscious of it.

With the population explosion of the last 25 years, the centers of concentration of people, education, productivity, and wealth have moved away from the East, spreading to the South, the Midwest, and Far West. In fact, the East has stood still, or lost ground, while the rest of the Nation experienced great leaps forward in community importance.

That is a statistical fact that you can find in your World Almanac.

Even the cultural dominance of the East—its origination of fashion, of art and music, of literature and plays—yes, even humor, all of which once took up to 2 years to reach the so-called hinterlands of this Nation—even that dominance has been greatly diminished. Culture today is a broad, nationwide phenomenon.

My friends, what you saw at San Francisco was a direct product of this metamorphosis. The hold of the East over the Republican Party was broken. Control moved westward.

It was not a revolution. It was an evolution. It was not a backroom deal, a political coup, or smoke-filled room maneuver.

It was plainly and simply an unmanipulated, unorganized, and unfinanced naked uprising from the grassroots of America.

This movement was a militant, virile, coincidental movement of men and women who—like you in this room—had a common conviction—that the cult of eastern adherence to bigger and more socialistic Federal Government must be corrected.

It was an exercise in total dedication to the belief that somehow, some way, the historic balance between free Americans and their Government must be restored, that the power of Government must be diminished, and that public conscience and public morality must be returned to the pattern of American life.

My friends, in these manifestations we have witnessed the only true grassroots uprising that has been seen in this century, and I am certain that none of us will ever live to see another to match it.

But, I have yet to mention the other striking aspect of the entire convention—at least, from my point of view.

I have been attending these party gatherings for 44 years, in periods of party famine and in periods of party plenty; in periods of seething controversy and in periods of relative tranquillity; in periods of national stress and in periods of confidence and complacency.

This convention, in one aspect, was strikingly different from any other I have attended. In every part of the proceedings there was intense preoccupation with great national issues.

There was a profound, sober quality about it all. There was a purposefulness and a personal commitment on the part of the large majority of the delegates that I have never before encountered in such a gathering.

I do not mention this in any partisan context whatsoever. I report it as a fact—an intriguing fact—and perhaps one that is deeply significant for our country.

From individual delegates, and from the convention as a body, there were emanations unmistakable in their meaning.

This body of Americans, assembled from all across the land, held clearcut, emphatic convictions about our Nation's relations with the malevolent, implacably hostile Communist imperialism beyond our shores.

The delegates were sick at heart over what they considered halfhearted, indecisive, equivocal and appeasing conduct of this land of liberty in the face of Red Chinese and Soviet bullying and insults.

They expressed shame over Cuba and the Berlin wall. They were in a roll, as the Nation was in 1952, over Korea, over the morass in Vietnam. They were disheartened by the prospects in Latin America.

They were distrustful of disarmament intrigue, troubled over the future of the U.N., and concerned over the future strength of our defenses on the ground that research and development seemed content with power parity rather than ever striving toward power supremacy.

They believed that such an economic and military posture is necessary to the maintenance of peace and security of our people.

There was an insistent demand for America to speak out—sharply—clearly—and unafraid, to stand up for principles, to end equivocation, to stop the backward shuffling, to face up hard to the present dangers, and to tell the world that the United States stands foursquare for victory, for freedom—not for unprincipled coexistence in a world half slave and half free.

In the large majority of State delegations, I heard, time and time again, the conviction ringingly stated that the road to peace is the road to firmness—not the road of fawning amiability.

Repeatedly, I heard commendations of the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of resolution and strength, a policy which gave us 8 years of peace, a policy characterized as our only hope for preserving peace in a world of force and terror.

This resurgence of citizen ardor for plain talk and decisive action in world affairs permeated San Francisco throughout the convention. Possibly, you sensed it in the plaudits of the delegates for the more emphatic passages in Senator GOLDWATER's acceptance address bearing on foreign affairs.

In any case, I can report this attitude as a stark reality. It must be dealt with by any public figure sensitive to public currents.

As in foreign affairs, so in domestic matters.

Never have I found a convention so clearly of one mind in indignant opposition to the continuing explosive expansion of the Federal Government—so determined upon reduction in public spending—so eager to restore the vitality and prestige of State and local government—so enthusiastic over bright prospects of a future in which freedom for the individual, freedom for competitive enterprise, and freedom from excessive government restraint would be reestablished as standards for us all.

There was a nearly unanimous feeling that America's moral fiber must be restored, a respect for law and order restored, community and individual self-reliance regained, and such virtues as honor, honesty, thrift, and diligence recaptured and made once again the hallmark of the American way.

Lip service to these concepts I have heard many times in political life but this time it came from the heart—this time there was a welling-up of emotion and of a firm resolve unlike anything I have seen before in a Republican convention.

Of course, these attitudes account in major measure for the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER; but, contrariwise, I suspect that his preachings throughout America these past several years have been responsible, in their way, for the development of these attitudes.

Whatever the reason, I carried away from San Francisco an abiding belief that—far more than many of us have been aware—the American public has grown weary of whimpering, evasive, and weak answers to the same old neverresolved and forever aggravating issues plaguing our country, whether at home or abroad.

I concluded that our countrymen have reached the point of demanding answers that ring true, answers that hold out some prospect for solution of troubles in our time—answers that not only sound sensible but also sound brave and forthright and are uncompromising where principle is involved.

I must report that, insofar as I could discern it, I saw an American people reverting to long established ideals and truths. The delegates were determined to be done with fuzziness, soft-headedness and weasel wordedness in any aspect of American policy.

Right or wrong, my friends, these are sentiments which flamed brilliantly at San

Francisco. They are worth pondering—for, as one who has lived politics for decades, I can say categorically that powerful new currents are coursing this land. They crested in a giant wave 2 weeks ago and dashed all resistance aside.

I foresee that the next wave will be massively larger. I tell you sincerely, after seeing an aroused public in San Francisco, that it will likely become a gigantic tidal wave in months immediately ahead.

Of course, my assessment of the convention would be grossly incomplete if I fail to convey to you the feelings of those who so ardently advanced the candidacy of Senator GOLDWATER at the convention.

Here I should give you a consensus of their attitudes as best as I can and you may have to indulge with me in some personal references because I have known the Senator many years personally and, additionally, I think you may be interested in having a firsthand assessment of this dramatic figure in American life.

Now, what did BARRY GOLDWATER have to do with it?

Why did the Republicans pick a candidate from a State so small that it only has four electoral votes?

Why did the Republicans pick a man who has been the butt of ridicule in the eastern press for 10 long years.

This is best expressed by former President Eisenhower when he stated in his address to the convention at San Francisco the following:

"Let us particularly scorn the divisive efforts of those outside our family, including sensation-seeking columnists and commentators who couldn't care less about the good of our party."

Why did the Republicans pick a man who every poll showed to be an underdog not only for the Republican nomination, but for election to the Presidency next November?

How could it happen?

Why did it happen?

Why?

Let me give you a summary of the views expressed to me by hundreds of delegates at the convention:

The story begins with a question. Just who is BARRY GOLDWATER?

I found that they all knew and in great detail. They reminded me that his grandfather was a Polish Jew who immigrated to this country 112 years ago, first earning his living as a peddler in the mining and lumber camps of the West, and eventually rising to the eminence of community leadership as a merchant and God-fearing citizen who loved this country for what it had done for him.

BARRY GOLDWATER'S father, I found the delegates also knew very well, was a Democrat who married a Nebraska graduate nurse, a gentile, and they, like the patriarch peddler, loved this country, a love they instilled in their children.

I was told that young BARRY never knew the hardships of his grandfather, but neither did he forget them, and he grew up as he is today, as Senator DIRKSEN stated, in his nominating speech in San Francisco, as not a "self-congratulating do-gooder, but a good-doer."

I kept hearing from the delegates that his was the conservative conviction warmed by the big heart—that years before "civil rights" became the plaything of demagogs, BARRY GOLDWATER had personnally desegregated his stores—had, as a member of the Phoenix City Council, voted for a public accommodations ordinance—as chief of staff, had desegregated the Arizona National Guard; and being a person with driving personal convictions in these areas, became a member of the NAACP and the Urban League.

All this was cited to me as evidence that BARRY GOLDWATER was functioning in the true spirit of his philosophy that the place to solve most problems is at the local level first, at the State level only if necessary, and at the Federal level only as the last resort. Apparently BARRY GOLDWATER was functioning in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party, so it is no mystery why he, of the Democrat father, became a Republican.

Incidentally, in 1952—just a short 100 years after his grandfather immigrated to this country—BARRY GOLDWATER was elected to the U.S. Senate. Think of it—from immigrant peddler to U.S. Senator in three generations. Isn't this truly a wonderful country?

But his followers in San Francisco were emphatic about this one point—his elevation to the ranks of the exalted did not change BARRY GOLDWATER—not at all. Though thrust into the maelstrom of liberals, pseudoliberals, moderates, neomoderates, and part-time conservatives in the U.S. Senate, BARRY GOLDWATER'S partisans insist he never gave an inch.

For, repeatedly, with a few colleagues in the Senate who believed as he did, he stood up to be counted, popular or unpopular, smart politically or unsmart. He didn't care.

He voted for two civil rights bills—in 1957 and again in 1960—because he thought they were right. He voted against a third civil rights bill—in this year of our Lord, 1964—because he thought, as he stated publicly, it was wrong in two of its most important sections—a presidential nomination at stake or not.

He cast vote after vote in a blaze of courage seldom seen the Halls of Congress in these days of bleat and retreat, and not once did he compromise conviction for political gain. So goes the convictions of the delegates at the convention.

But that is not all.

In 1955, he became chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, a job he had held twice. In that role he began touring the country preaching conservatism and trying to help Republican candidates be elected to office.

Then he commenced broadening his territory. He visited scores of college campuses and discovered a terrific response from the young people of America to his call of conservatism. Perhaps this explains why there were more than 5,000 young people parading the streets of San Francisco 2 weeks ago, screaming his name.

Everyone at the convention knew that BARRY GOLDWATER, in 10 years, traveled the length, breadth and depth of this land dozens of times, making literally thousands of speeches.

As a candidate for President? I frankly think that was the farthest thing from his mind. He saw himself as the messiah of conservatism and that was his sole interest at that time.

Then came the 1960 Republican Convention, when a handful of supporters nominated him against Vice President Nixon. In his historic speech of withdrawal, BARRY GOLDWATER made it clear then—his goal was a rededication of the Republican Party to its traditional conservative position.

In 1960, he campaigned wholeheartedly for Dick Nixon—126 speeches in all. In 1961–63, he continued his endless speechmaking for conservatism. I was reminded that his one constant worry was this: that his efforts for his cause might be mistaken for personal ambition: that if he were projected too far in front, the cause of conservatism might suffer.

Repeatedly, he cautioned his followers: Don't mistake my goal. I'm not running for President.

A Goldwater-for-President Committee was set up without his consent. He renounced it. He threatened to close it down. When President Kennedy was assassinated, the opinion was almost unanimous that, whether BARRY GOLDWATER wanted this nomination or not, he was finished. This about a man who, to my knowledge, had never told a single human being that he would run for the Presidential nomination.

Still the mass effort in his behalf, which we saw culminate in San Francisco, would not be discouraged. As his followers put it, by this time it was perfectly clear that it was out of the hands of the professional politicians and the Eastern press.

Why?

Because the delegates said that this mass effort was not to be denied—the grassroots of America had taken over.

BARRY GOLDWATER was literally being drafted.

The grassroots had the delegates; he had no choice. The upswell from the humblest precincts was triumphing.

My fellow citizens of Flint—I see no need to recall the presidential primaries of New Hampshire, Illinois, Indiana, Oregon, and California. You know what happened. You also know that, over the bitterest kind of opposition, BARRY GOLDWATER had 883 delegates—228 more than needed to win—on the very first ballot in San Francisco.

A modern political miracle, if I must say so.

We have seen history, far-reaching history made. We—you and I—should be proud to have witnessed it.

Now, the grassroots movement is still growing. You didn't invite me to tell you how great the growth will be between now and next November—but I feel very comfortable that the growth will spread, perhaps farther than many of you dream in the next 3 months.

All I wanted to say to you, in the first place, was that in the San Francisco Republican Convention you were looking through the front window of the future.

And through this window you are seeing the rebirth of a conservative movement in America.

You are seeing the dawn of a new day in American politics which will lead to a return to constitutional government and individual liberty for every American.

Thank you.

More Than a Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times in its July 27 edition ran an excellent editorial which can only be described as a preview of things to come if President Johnson's antipoverty bill is enacted into law.

While the Sun-Times does not mention the President's poverty bill in this particular edition, the editorial shows the tremendous savings that this bill can make to the taxpayers where people are trained for gainful employment.

Chicago is pioneering in helping the unfortunate unemployed become employable and Mayor Daley deserves the highest commendation of all Americans for paving the way in this field.

The Sun-Times editorial quite properly commends Raymond Hilliard for his intensive efforts to train the unemployed.

The program in Chicago clearly demonstrates the vast sums of money which can be saved in relief costs if the Presi-

dent's program is approved and such training of relief recipients becomes nationwide.

The Sun-Times editorial follows:

MORE THAN A JOB

Training relief recipients to perform useful jobs continues to pay off. A few days ago 35 men and women on public aid completed courses in food preparation and were snapped up by employers. Although unemployment remains high, there are areas in which jobs go begging because of the lack of skilled workers. The restaurant industry is one of these.

Raymond M. Hilliard, Cook County public aid director, has concentrated on training persons on relief for jobs in which there is a shortage of workers. The most recent graduates were taught to prepare salads, sandwiches, breakfast items, and luncheon dishes. They make capable assistants to chefs. Some may eventually learn to be chefs of which there also is a shortage.

Every report on employment and the changing needs of industry stresses the need for training and retraining workers. Hilliard starts with the raw material of persons with little or no training at all and produces wage earners. He is already doing at a local level what a portion of President Johnson's war on poverty program intends to accomplish in those areas where the people can't help themselves.

Hilliard's schools have turned out thousands of "graduates" who are proving that it is a fallacy to assume that reliefers would rather loaf on a dole than work for a wage. Last year he placed 14,300 persons in jobs. Not all needed training but those who did benefited greatly from his programs.

At present he has some 6,500 persons in literacy classes and 2,500 in high school and job vocational classes. He is teaching 100 to be cabdrivers, about 20 to be gasoline station attendants, 20 to be maintenance men. He has a program for training domestics. He has a large program teaching men and women simply how to go about the job of getting a job.

The money spent on these projects does more than reduce the relief rolls. It gives the people trained to support themselves something money can't buy; self respect. And that is an important ingredient in the lives of a city's people.

Murder in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, three young men who were dedicated to the highest ideals of our Nation have been murdered ruthlessly in Mississippi. James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner have an honored place in the history of our Nation. Their courage should serve as an inspiration to all who stand for freedom. On August 6, 1964, several of our leading newspapers editorialized on this tragic occurrence. I want to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorials of the New York Post, the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and the Evening Star of Washington:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Aug. 6, 1964]

"CIVILIZED" MISSISSIPPI

Discovery and identification of the bodies of the young civil rights workers is a somber, melancholy event.

Few people shared the obscene Mississippi view that their disappearance was a "hoax." Until the bodies were discovered, however, there was always the hope the young men might turn up alive, the victims perhaps of racist kidnaping.

Now the weeks of cruel uncertainty have been succeeded by the grim finality of three young people blasted and cut off in their prime only because they took seriously Biblical teachings about the infinite worth of every human being.

Their murder is a dreadful commentary on the state of civilization in Mississippi.

The only consolation their families can have is that they died a soldier's death—soldiers in the sacred cause of human freedom and dignity. They deserve a hero's burial.

The patience, persistence, and success of the FBI in locating the bodies of the slain civil rights workers is evidence of its capabilities. The Bureau has done a good job.

It is imperative now that the perpetrators of the foul triple lynching be apprehended and brought to justice.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 6, 1964]

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI

The discovery of the bodies of the three civil rights workers confirms the awful fears that arose when they first disappeared in Mississippi 6 weeks ago. Triple murder, by foul and violent means, has been committed. It is the most futile of all responses to the fight for equal rights, as well as the most monstrous. For terrorism is sure to strengthen the resolve to implement and enforce the law, not spur resistance to it.

The triple murder is creating this reaction. Mississippi's Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr., has pledged to "exert every effort to apprehend those who may have been responsible." Unfortunately, there is little in the State's record to warrant optimism that any massive response will come from its law-enforcement agencies. The champions of white supremacy and the defenders of State rights in Mississippi have shown much less resolve than northern officials in making clear that they do not condone resort to violence or terror by either side in the civil rights conflict. If they now fail to honor the Governor's pledge, the Federal Government will have no choice but to do the job.

Mississippi and other Southern States look upon civil rights workers as alien intruders, sowing strife and formenting dissension. But the civil rights workers who are taking part in the Mississippi summer project, a campaign that started before the new law was enacted, are not engaged in any subversive or illegal activity. If there were no obstacles to Negro voting in that State, there would be no "invasion."

Mississippi cannot declare itself off limits to the rest of the Nation, nor can the rest of the Nation regard Mississippi as something separate and apart. The murders of Michael Henry Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Earl Chaney are a horrendous example of an unthinking and inhuman reaction that might happen wherever mobs makes themselves custodians or nullifiers of the law.

These murders will serve to remind decent and responsible people everywhere that lawlessness or mob rule cannot be tolerated. They can be responsible for a new determination to bring the murderers to justice and to affirm the need for law and order. The horror stirred by their murder must also bring a firmer resolution that the Nation's effort to end discrimination be accomplished without violence or bloodshed. This is no help for the victims and scant solace for their families, but they will gain a noble and deserved epitaph if their death helps to lead to a peaceful victory for the cause in which they enlisted so hopefully.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Aug. 6, 1964]

MURDER ON MISSISSIPPI'S CONSCIENCE

It now is finally and fully established that there was foul murder in Mississippi.

The FBI, thorough as always, found three bodies, two of them quickly identified by dental examination as the young civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Henry Schwerner, missing since June 21. And no one can doubt that the third corpse is that of their colleague James Earl Chaney.

This disposes of the absurd contention by some Mississippi authorities that the disappearance was a hoax.

The next step is to uncover all the facts, produce arrests and indictments, and prosecute this hideous crime.

But the larger defendant is Mississippi itself. The controlling state of mind there made the lynchings possible.

We don't dispute that most of the people of Mississippi, like other Americans, believe in law and order. Yet the fact remains that people of crusading zeal, like the three dead youths, feel impelled to help the Negro. They have the faith of their convictions and go to the front line. And the shame of Mississippi is the climate of intolerance that produced the final monstrous cowardice of killing men for pursuing their humanitarian beliefs in what is right.

The three victims are martyrs. The murderers must be brought to justice. In this, of course, Mississippi can assist.

But every citizen of that State must also search his soul, in private and in public, on the responsibility for a vicious crime against all humanity. Let Mississippi ask itself how such a thing could happen. For this is a matter of Mississippi's conscience with which all its people are bound to live.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, Aug. 6, 1964]

THE HANDWRITING ON MISSISSIPPI'S WALL

The three dead civil rights workers were murdered for helping Mississippi Negroes make a reality of the right to vote—the basic political right on which democracy rests, and through which, ultimately, others can be secured.

The Southern Regional Council now reports that Negro voter registration in the 11 States of the Old Confederacy has passed the 2 million mark, up from 1.35 million as recently as the spring of 1962. This still leaves an estimated 3 million eligible Negroes unregistered, and the ratio ranges from 67 percent of those eligible registered in Tennessee down to 6.7 percent in Mississippi. But it represents progress which, a few years ago, would have seemed a distant hope.

And it also represents handwriting on the wall for the Mississippi bitter-enders whose response to the current registration drive has been hostility, harassment, church burnings, and murder. They can command the tides of history to halt. But the force of the tides is stronger than their command, however brutally given.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 6, 1964]

HEART OF DARKNESS

Only two weeks ago we were blandly assured by Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi that the disapearance of three civil rights workers in his state might well turn out to be a hoax. Now three bodies have been found, and the FBI has identified two of them as Mickey Schwerner and Andy Goodman. The third corpse is probably all that is mortal of James Chaney, the Negro companion of the two white youths. Some hoax.

It is true that the North has no right to affect superior airs in lecturing Mississippi on civil rights; bigotry is no respecter of the Mason-Dixon line. But the attitude to murder sets Mississippi apart. A year ago, Medgar Evers was shot in the back. Since then, at least 11 Negroes have been killed in mysterious circumstances in Mississippi, including two whose bodies were believed to have been found in the Mississippi River during the search for three civil rights workers.

Through this bloody business horrifies the rest of the country, the tendency in Mississippi is to shrug it off. In Philadelphia, Miss., a resident who declined to give his name to Associated Press was quoted as laconically remarking of the three boys, "if they had stayed home where they belonged nothing would have happened to them." Implicit in this attitude is the feeling that Mississippi is not "home" to an American but an alien place to be visited at one's own peril.

None of those who have died in Mississippi have died in vain. The corpses in the river, the three bodies in the levee, are all damning witnesses to a way of life that is indifferent to life. The killings in Mississippi have also made clear the extent to which local police tend to shield the lawless rather than enforce the law. It surpasses belief that Mississippi police are incapable of solving a single civil rights crime.

Although the FBI may uncover the identity of the murderers, the underlying horror cannot be removed by the Federal police. The redemption of Mississippi will have to come from within. The discovery of the three bodies ends a long ordeal for the boys' parents. The ordeal for Mississippi has just begun.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Aug. 6, 1964]

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI

The finding of the bodies confirms what almost everyone believed—that the three civil rights workers who disappeared in Mississippi last June were murdered. This puts a grim period to the pretense, inspired perhaps by wishful thinking, that their disappearance was some kind of civil rights hoax.

There are indications that a tip led the FBI to the earth dam in which the bodies had been buried. But tip or no tip, the fact remains that it was the relentless work of the FBI which resulted in the discovery. Certainly, and this is disgraceful, there is no reason to think the bodies would ever have been found had the search been left in the hands of Mississippi authorities.

What has happened confirms that the atrocious crime was committed. What remains is to identify and apprehend those responsible for the murders. There have been hints that the FBI already knows who they are. We hope that this is so, and we also hope that the agents will be able to arrest the killers on the basis of evidence sufficiently strong to convict them—in the eyes of the civilized world if not in the courts of Mississippi.

Mayor Richard J. Daley and People of Chicago Awarded Citation for Captive Nations Week Observance

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week it was my great privilege to represent Mayor Richard J. Daley and the people of Chicago at a dinner sponsored by the Assembly of Captive European Nations which was held here in the Nation's Capital to honor those who have performed outstanding service in observing Captive Nations Week.

Chicago was selected as a recipient of this highly coveted award because, under the direction of Mayor Richard J. Daley, Chicago has held an annual Captive Nations Week observance in Grant Park which draws several thousand people of more than 32 various ethnic groups.

This year's observance by the city of Chicago drew an unusually large gathering indicating the strong feeling that large masses of Americans continue to have for the captive nations.

I was indeed pleased to receive this year's award in behalf of Mayor Daley and the people of Chicago. The mayor requested me to represent him because of the press of duties in Chicago.

Following is the citation which was read by Mr. Stefan Korbonski, vice president of the Assembly of Captive European Nations and one of the most daring Polish underground leaders during World War II.

Following Mr. Korbonski's introduction, are my own remarks which I delivered at this banquet:

The recipient of our award are the people and city of Chicago, represented here, at the request of Mayor Richard J. Daley by the Honorable ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Member of the House of Representatives. In bestowing the award to the people of Chicago, to their government, congressional delegation, their press and civic organizations, we mean to give recognition to the fact that for many years they have been second to no other Amerian community in the scope and intensity of their backing for the cause we are trying to serve.

Our special recognition goes to the congressional delegation from Chicago. Democrats like BARRATT O'HARA, JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, ROLAND LIBONATI, WILLIAM T. MURPHY, ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, and DAN ROSTENKOWSKI; Republicans like EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, HAROLD L. COLLIER, and DONALD RUMSFELD—not to speak of the distinguished Senators of Illinois, Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS and EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN—have consistently raised their voice in support of the captive nations and their freedom aspirations. It goes equally to the press of the Windy City—the Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Tribune, Chicago's American, the Chicago Daily News, as well as to such outstanding national language papers as the Polish Dziennik Zwiaskowy; Dziennik Chicagoski; the Czechoslovak Hlasatel and the Lithuanian Draugas. We also want to honor the invaluable contribution of the Polish American Congress, the Czechoslovak National Council of America, and the American Lithuanian Council—all headquartered in Chicago—have brought to our common struggle.

In presenting the award to the people and city of Chicago we ask Congressman PUCINSKI to convey to Mayor Daley our respects and to the people of this great community our heartfelt appreciation.

The citation reads:

"To the city and people of Chicago always in forefront of Captive Nations Week observances in recognition of the great contribution they, their congressional delegation and press, have made to keeping the captive nations' cause a burning issue.

"WASHINGTON, D.C., *July 1964.*

"ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS."

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN ROMAN C. PUCINSKI BEFORE CAPTIVE NATIONS AWARDS DINNER, JULY 29, 1964

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen: Mayor Richard J. Daley has asked me to extend to you his most sincere apology for not being able to be with you this evening to personally receive this very great honor which you are bestowing upon the people of Chicago.

We in Chicago are deeply grateful to the Assembly of Captive European Nations for this distinction. And, while we are truly thankful for this recognition, I should like to stress that Chicago has been in the forefront in observing Captive Nations Week as a continuation of the dynamic ethnic spirit which has built our great city.

Mayor Daley himself grew up in a neighborhood to which, at the turn of the century, came immigrants from many of those nations which today, tragically, are held captive by the Communists.

Chicago is a polyglot metropolis where you will find people of more than 32 separate and distinct ethnic backgrounds all living in harmony and good will toward one another. The people of Chicago for decades have served as a thriving example that people of different national origins and religious beliefs can find a common ground of respect and understanding for one another's cultural values.

I deeply regret Mayor Daley is not able to be with you this evening for, in his presence, you would find the embodiment of understanding for the hopes and aspirations of the various ethnic groups which comprise the city of Chicago.

It should come as no surprise that Chicago should be so prominent in arranging annually the largest Captive Nations Week observances in this country since the Congress established this commemorative practice in 1958.

Mayor Daley has been the moving spirit in implementing the request of Congress by providing the leadership for these impressive observances. And while the ceremonies we hold in Grant Park every third week in July are imposing in themselves, I feel compelled to remind you, ladies, and gentlemen, that in Chicago we rekindle the spirit of hope for the unfortunate victims behind the Iron Curtain by our conduct every day of the year.

And this is as it should be.

The people of Chicago join all freedom-loving Americans in daily rededicating ourselves to the proposition that the conscience of the world cannot rest until the millions of people now held captive behind the Iron Curtain, the Bamboo Curtain, and, yes, the Castro Curtain in Cuba, can once again rejoin the world family of free nations.

Mayor Daley has asked me to thank you for the honor you have bestowed on the people of Chicago this evening. Recognition by such a distinguished organization as the Assembly of Captive European Nations gives us renewed strength and determination to carry on in Chicago a concerted effort to keep alive the spirit of hope for the oppressed victims of communism.

The task ahead of us is monumental.

There can be no doubt the world today is in a state of continuing revolution. Social orders are changing. Even the Communists are beginning to feel the backlash to their own tyrannical colonialism.

History will judge America by the degree to which it is able to understand this running world revolution and the leadership and dedication with which it pursues the goal of universal human freedom.

President Johnson has been explicit in laying down guidelines the United States intends to follow in providing the dynamic leadership to insure this universal personal freedom. Let there be no mistake—President Johnson is firm and resolute in his determination to do all possible to keep the spirit of liberty throughout the world. His determination proudly follows the guidelines enumerated by our beloved late President, John F. Kennedy.

America today is actively and courageously engaged in trying to pull the individual captive nations from their Moscow orbit—and this will be done.

There will be no ticker-tape parade down Wall Street to mark a sudden victory of freedom over communism. Instead, it will be a slow but decisive process of evolution rather than revolution.

The sturggle is gargantuan only because never before in the history of civilization has freedom been challenged by so formidable and extensive an adversary. Those who would raise false hopes of easy victory are guilty of the most brutal demagoguery.

Ultimate liberation of the captive nations will come when they are individually and then collectively pulled away from the complete domination of the Kremlin. This will be a long and painstaking process.

Today, though, we are encouraged to see not only the possibility, but the probability, that this will be done. Once these nations are free from Moscow rule and Soviet occupation, we know that their internal forces for freedom will work their will.

Our hopes may be based, in some instances, only on minute sparks indicating a more deep-seated resentment of the oppressive Communist philosophy. In other instances, these hopes are based on meaningful and significant developments behind the Iron Curtain.

We see in Poland today a persistent, steady, and determined effort being made by the Polish people to dilute their subservience to Moscow's Communist rule.

While it is true that the present regime in Poland continues virtual complete obedience to the Kremlin, the signs are clear that unrelenting pressures from the Polish people themselves foretell significant changes in the Moscow-Warsaw Axis.

We cannot ignore the fact that, despite all sorts of obstructions, more than 1 million people participate in religious observances in Czestochowa arranged by His Eminence Cardinal Wyszynski. Nor can we sweep under the rug the bold and heroic demands by 39 of Poland's outstanding literary figures for greater freedom in their writings and their travel.

It should be of profound significance to the free world that the Polish Communist Government had to capitulate to these demands.

This may be one of those sparks I referred to earlier, but a most significant one in that it demonstrates the rulers of Warsaw are today no longer complete masters of their own destiny.

It would be cruel to suggest that Poland by some magic will be liberated in the immediate future. The fact remains, however, that the unconquerable spirit of her people gives the Communists little comfort to look to the future with any security.

Nor can we ignore what has been happening in Czechoslovakia where, against tremendous odds, 3,000 bold students recently challenged their oppressors.

Nor can we look with impunity upon what is happening in Rumania. On the contrary, the U.S. Government has followed a very bold course in suggesting closer economic and cultural ties with the people of Rumania. The chaos which our discussions with the Rumanian Government have created in the Kremlin is a matter of public record.

There are strong indications that throughout the entire Communist cordon sanitaire behind the Iron Curtain, each of the captive nations is beginning to reflect in increasing degrees the unrest of the people against Communist subjugation.

Our greatest problem today is to be wary of those who would play Russian roulette with the future of millions of people behind the Iron Curtain.

Men of little faith in the ultimate triumph of freedom, and less understanding of the complex nature of the problem, would counsel us to overt, impetuous, military—yes, even nuclear—action to free the victims of communism behind the Iron Curtain.

History demonstrates the danger of this formula.

We need only look at the ill-fated Hungarian uprising to see the tragedy inherent in ill-timed and insufficiently armed rebellions.

To urge millions of unfortunate victims of communism behind the Iron Curtain toward overt acts at this time would be an act of cruelty unparalleled in history.

This is not the time for brinkmanship.

Indeed, we can see the day when these tragic victims of communism will again be free without laying waste their cities and leaving huge corridors of human devastation. We can see the day of their peaceful liberation by properly exploiting the present Sino-Soviet crises.

There are those who question the gravity of the philosophical and economic split between the Kremlin and Peiping. I respect their judgment, but all available evidence would indicate there is ample basis to treat the split as serious and meaningful.

The free world today must stand courageously on the side of freedom for those unhappy victims of Communist treachery. It would be my hope that the entire free world will join the United States in doing everything possible to pull the captive nations away from Moscow.

We have reason to believe that, with its hands full with Peping, Moscow has little alternative but to concede to such demands by the West.

Our own State Department should place renewed pressures on the Soviet Union during this period of Sino-Soviet crises for the removal of Soviet troops from the captive nations.

No time was ever more opportune for Western allies to forcefully press both Moscow and the Communist regimes within the captive nations for free and unfettered elections, guaranteed each of these nations in the wartime agreements negotiated between East and West.

It is my hope that the Western allies will also base their economic dealings with the captive nations, and the Soviet Union itself, on the basis of firm commitments for human dignity and freedom for their people.

The Western allies must also recognize the possibility of crushing the Communist cancer in Cuba from within by joining the United States in its economic embargo against this Caribbean republic. No one can deny that no captive nation has been more susceptible to liberating itself from the yoke of communism than Cuba is today, if only the free world will help tighten the final notch in this staggering example of Communist failures.

Finally, the United States should lead the way in encouraging among the people of the captive nations of Europe the creation of a third force which would ultimately serve as the balance wheel for lasting peace between East and West when freedom again returns to the entire world.

History dictates that indeed the people of those nations, which we today describe as the captive nations of Europe, have a common bond of friendship and cultural ties. During the past 20 years, they have suffered a common dignity at the hands of the Communists. It is my fervent belief that the people of these captive nations, once they regain their full freedom and are again free to choose their own governments, can be welded into one political-economic bloc which with its common interest, can serve as the third force of Europe separating East from West. It would be my hope that in this Captive Nations Assembly will be found men of wisdom and ability to work out the necessary details for such a concept.

The people of Western Europe need a catalyst; they need to know what the future holds for them once they have freed themselves from Communist oppression. It would appear to me that these captives of communism must be assured by the free world today against any further territorial changes; and they must be assured of full support from the Western allies in their economic development once they are free of their Communist yoke.

Your dinner here tonight serves again to emphasize the vital role that the captive nations of Europe play in the development of freedom throughout the world. The United States and the Western allies—particularly the nations of NATO—must understand that the resistance against communism by the people in these captive nations today indeed constitutes the free world's first line of defense.

There can be no doubt that Khrushchev's entire foreign policy would take on a more bold and arrogant nature if he and his Kremlin advisors believed for one second that they could count on these captive nations in the event of a confrontation with the West.

The spirit of these people remains high but the clock is running out.

A whole new generation has been brought up behind the Iron Curtain under severe Communist domination. We can find pride in the fact that the Communists have failed to corrupt the masses of youth behind the Iron Curtain with their despotic ideologies.

But this is no time for smugness.

In the captive nations of Europe today we see the seeds of new hope for the ultimate collapse of the Communist empire. God grant that the people of America, our Government, and the free people of the world, have the wisdom and the understanding to help these tragic victims of communism by helping establish an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation in their struggle for dignity and freedom.

The Truth Even Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the country is united behind the President in his action to defend the honor of the

United States. He could do nothing else. Nevertheless, we have not been given the honest facts about Vietnam. I hope the American people will now be told the truth.

Richard Starnes, in the July 30 edition of the New York World Telegram properly takes the Johnson administration to task for deceiving the American people in this regard:

HOUR OF REALITY

(By Richard Starnes)

All signs and portents from South Vietnam now point to one large, intractable, and politically supercharged fact:

The war for southeast Asia has grown to the point where it cannot grow any more and still masquerade under the comforting fiction that it isn't an American war at all, but actually is sort of a conflict by proxy.

At no time have the American people been told the whole dismal truth about the war, and prospects for candor are sure to diminish as November and the election draw near. But the reality is that the Communist North Vietnamese and the Chinese Reds have called all our raises in Vietnam (and Laos), and raised the ante in turn.

Mr. McNamara's slicked-down and parted-in-the-middle estimates of the pace and direction of the conflict are heard no longer in Washington. Americans were eager to believe them, but Ho Chi Minh's hardpan bitter-enders were not so easily taken in. Thus the promise of gradual American withdrawal has perished silently (as all such irredeemable pledges do in the Nation's Capital) and we now witness a buildup of our forces consigned to that sweltering hell.

American "advisers" are to be increased by 5,000, and our elite Special Forces are soon to be told their tour on the Mekong is to be doubled, from 6 months to 1 year. No man alive knows the present money cost of our adventure in white-man's-burdenship, but apparently the $1.5-million-a-day figure is still the one that is passed glibly from hand to hand on the Georgetown cocktail and clamdip circuit.

That, to be sure, is bound to add up to a sum that must be reckoned impressive even by the Babylonian standards of midcentury Washington. But money is not the central tragedy that has engulfed us in southeast Asia, and even the young lives that have been cast into the balance are not the real measure of the disaster.

The cruelest aspect of the Nation's dilemma is simply that by pursuing a bankrupt policy in Asia the United States is made to look like a nation that is itself morally and intellectually bankrupt. Americans do not believe this to be so but sophisticated Asians do, and so do a disheartening number of Europeans.

There is no surprise in the news that more North Vietnamese regulars are being identified among Communist Vietcong units, nor in word that the guerrillas are better equipped than ever. Since the United States first gingerly stepped into that murderous flypaper, the Communists have never shown any sign that their ultimate objective was anything less than total conquest.

All these unpalatable truths are known to the Government, and to the busy tacticians who are mapping Senator GOLDWATER'S campaign strategy. Vietnam is the biggest political time bomb in Washington, because the next step is the commitment of combat troops and every realist from the Mekong to the Potomac knows it.

What is not known is the nature of the reaction that would be forthcoming from the American people. Presumably it would hurt the administration, however, and for that reason we can expect to see Mr. Johnson perform prodigies of juggling in an attempt to forestall the reckoning until November is safely past.

The Republicans have already tipped their hand to a degree. In his keynote speech to the GOP Convention, Oregon's Gov. Mark Hatfield simultaneously scolded the Democrats for losing Laos and for fighting to prevent the loss of South Vietnam. This dichotomous din is bound to grow to deafening proportions as the war for southeast Asia is enlarged.

Prayer and Bible Reading in School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very much impressed by an article entitled "Prayer and Bible Reading in School." The article was written by the Reverend Claud L. Asbury, pastor of the First Baptist Church of McColl, S.C., and it was published in the McColl Messenger on July 30, 1964.

I am glad to be able to call the article to the attention of the Members of the Senate, not only because the Reverend Asbury makes a very convincing argument against the recent Supreme Court decisions which would bar prayers and Bible reading in our schools, but also to call attention to the fact that many, many Baptists do not concur in testimony in opposition to the Becker amendment, which recently was presented by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs before the House Judiciary Committee. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN SCHOOLS

(By Rev. Claud L. Asbury)

In making the ruling regarding prayer and Bible reading in the public schools, I feel the Supreme Court has the intention of doing that which even Congress is not to do, and I cite the first amendment to the Constitution:

'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Now, let us note a definition—one of eight definitions—as found on page 1024 of "The American College Dictionary" (edited by Clarence L. Barnhart; Harper & Bros. Publishers): "6. a point or matter of conscience: to make a religion of doing something."

On page 481 of "The Universal Standard Encyclopedia," volume 2 (Joseph Laffan Morse, editor in chief; Standard Reference Works Publishing Co., Inc., New York), we find these words: "Atheism is not necessarily irreligious."

In his book, "The Religions of Mankind" (p. 18; publishers: Abingdon-Cokesbury, New York), Edmund Davison Soper says: "In our day a class of definitions is being presented with no necessary reference to higher powers or to God."

On page 169 of his book, "Psychology of Religion" (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press), Paul E. Johnson says "* * * atheism is, by every test, as much a belief as theism, and it is evidently quite as incapable of escaping the waves of emotion that beat upon beliefs."

On page 819 of "The Winston Dictionary" this is to be found: "Religion 2, the outward acts or practices of life by which men indicate their recognition of such relations; 5. conscientious devotion to some principle."

On page 6866, volume 14 (QR), of "The World Book Encyclopedia," copyright 1959, these words are to be found: "Religion. Many scholars have been inclined to define religion as belief in gods or supernatural beings. But this by no means includes all the religions, because religion has often meant a way of living rather than a way of believing. And there have been many who have denied or been indifferent to any kind of God."

In ruling as it did regarding the Madalyn Murray case of 1963 the Supreme Court violated that point, part of the first amendment of our U.S. Constitution, which reads as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion * * *"

This one, Mrs. Madalyn Murray, who is responsible for this particular controversy and action on the part of the Supreme Court has stated that she is an atheist, and this is, in my opinion, definitely a religion.

Let us bear in mind that the question (regarding prayer and Bible reading) was raised, in the first place, by the minority (the athiest—Mrs. Madalyn Murray) and has to do with this, that (prayer and Bible reading), which is followed, advocated by the majority. Let us note that the acknowledgment of God as the Supreme Being, as God of this, our Nation, and who was so acknowledged by the writers of the Constitution of the United States of America was and is advocated by the majority.

It is not only a question of whether or not our children are permitted or allowed to read the Holy Bible and to pray in school on a voluntary basis, though this in itself is indeed a great and important question, and one, which I believe must be answered and will be answered in the affirmative by the American people, but there is also the important point of the Supreme Court ruling in favor of a group of people, a minority of people, who are known as atheists and thus by their own admittance, and which is a religious group.

Ruling as they did, the Supreme Court, in a very real sense, did cater to the religion of atheism: thus we can readily see the grave danger which a group of men could lead us to experience if such power as they now seem to possess is not removed from their clutches. To allow such to continue will, in my opinion, lead to the setting up of atheism as a, or perhaps the, religion of the land.

Although the Baptist Joint Committee and others have been and are opposing congressional passage of the Frank J. Becker amendment, and though the Southern Baptist Convention, the Nation's biggest Protestant denomination, went on record at their recent meeting (May 1964) in Atlantic City, N.J., as opposing such amendment to the Constitution, such action by no means represents all Southern Baptists, who now number 10.4 million, for let us take note of the fact that the number present at this meeting in Atlantic City was in the thousands; therefore, I contend that so few cannot possibly speak for so many, who perhaps have not been heard in this regard. It is true that those present met, spoke, perhaps debated, and voted as messengers from Southern Baptist churches and as the Southern Baptist Convention in one of its yearly sessions, but the voices, sentiments, convictions of all Southern Baptist churches, members were not included.

It is my prayerful concern that all necessary efforts be put forth in securing the congressional passage of "the Frank J. Becker amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

Please note that House Joint Resolution 693 (88th Cong.), which is the proposed prayer amendment to the Constitution "does

not seek to change the first amendment, but only to clarify its meaning, and thereby prevent and defeat future attacks on the spiritual heritage of our Nation, as evidenced in currnt suits to remove "* * * under God * * *" from the Pledge of Allegiance and deny tax exemptions to churches. Chaplains in the Armed Forces, and the motto, 'In God We Trust' on our coins and currency are also being threatened as 'unconstitutional.'" (From "Fact Sheet on the Proposed Prayer Amendment to the Constitution; House Joint Resolution 693 (88th Cong.).")

Following is the amendment's text:

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceedings, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord." Psalm 33: 12.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Proverbs 14: 34.

REV. CLAUD L. ASBURY.

McCOLL, S.C.

FACT SHEET ON THE PROPOSED PRAYER AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION (H.J. RES. 693, 88TH CONG.)

The amendment's authors

House Joint Resolution 693 was authored by a committee of six Congressmen (three Democrats and three Republicans) with the aid of constitutional lawyers and legislative counsel. This committee was appointed by more than 60 Members of the House who had introduced similar resolutions, and wished to arrive at one text acceptable to all. Congressman FRANK J. BECKER, the committee's chairman, introduced House Joint Resolution 693 on September 10, 1963.

The amendment's purpose

To restore the inherent American right to the "* * * free exercise * * *" of religion, as guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution. Decisions of the Supreme Court in 1962 and 1963 declared unconstitutional the practice of prayer and Bible reading in our public schools, and the amendment seeks to restore this right. The amendment would also prevent future attacks on the spiritual heritage of our Nation, as evidenced in current suits to remove "* * * under God * * *" from the Pledge of Allegiance and deny tax exemption to churches. Chaplains in the Armed Forces, and the motto, "In God We Trust" on our coins and currency are also being threatened as "unconstitutional." House Joint Resolution 693 does not seek to change the first amendment, but only to clarify its meaning, and thereby defeat attacks such as those outlined above.

The amendment's text

"SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from, or listening to prayers or Biblical Scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.

"SEC. 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making reference to belief in, reliance upon, or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being in any governmental or public document, proceeding, activity, ceremony, school, institution, or place, or upon any coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

What you can do

Write to your Congressman, telling him of your support for the prayer amendment: Feel free to use any of the arguments cited in the enclosure and urge him to sign discharge petition No. 3, reminding him that this petition is the only means to insure for the Congress a chance to vote on the amendment before adjournment. He may reply that he has introduced an amendment himself. Write again, and remind him that discharge petition No. 3 only affects House Joint Resolution 693, and that he may offer his own amendments to that bill if it comes to the floor of the House. At the present time 166 Congressmen have signed the petition—of the 218 required to free the resolution from committee. Mine is the first signature on the petition.

Keep this in mind

Congressman Becker has said, "I cannot sit idly by and permit the advocates of a Godless society to accomplish in the United States what the Communists have accomplished in Soviet Russia. I have provided the legislative instrument * * * but the real job must be done by the people themselves. They must let their Congressmen know how they feel if we are to succeed."

Fight Like a Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it took a lady to tell some to "fight like a man" in the coming campaign.

Liberal journalistic establishments generally pronounce pious platitudes about guilt by association, innuendos, and smear, but sometimes they use these very low type tactics against someone they do not like; to wit, Senator GOLDWATER.

Clare Boothe Luce, in a hard-hitting article in last Sunday's New York Herald Tribune, wipes away the phoniness and tells these same liberals to stop hiding behind words.

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

If anyone will take the trouble to look up the word extremism in the dictionary, he will find the only political definition given to it is "radicalism," and that the dictionary uses extremist as a synonym for a political radical. It defines a radical as "one who advocates radical and sweeping changes in the laws and methods of government with the least delay." Now Senator GOLDWATER is a conservative, and the dictionary definition of a conservative is one who is "disposed to maintain existing institutions or views; opposed to change; designating, pertaining to, or characteristic of a political party which favors conservation of existing institutions and forms of government."

If there is any meaning whatever in words (or any sense to the dictionary), Senator GOLDWATER and his supporters are the very opposite of political extremists.

In his acceptance speech, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER made a brave but unsuccessful attempt to stop the widespread, incorrect use of the word "extremism" by both Republicans and Democrats. Defining the task of Republicanism as "preserving and enlarging freedom at home and of safeguarding it from the forces of tyranny abroad," he said, "Let our Republicanism be * * * so dedicated (to this task as) not to be made fuzzy and futile by unthinking labels. I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

By this he clearly meant that it is no vice to defend liberty (to use the phrases more commonly heard) "at all costs," "by every means," "to the utmost, i.e., to the extreme limits of our capacities."

THE ENEMIES

Nowhere is the desperate desire of the Senator's political enemies to conceal what the man really meant—and really stands for—seen more clearly than in the uproar they have made about this effort to get rid of catchall phrases and imprecise labels, and to get on with the honest business of calling political spades spades. His failure must be measured by the even greater failure of his political enemies to give any definition of the words extremism or extremists on which all reasonable Americans—Democrats or Republicans—can agree.

The fact is, as currently used, the words are as empty of intellectual content as howls, snarls, boos, or hisses. They are visceral, not cerebral, sounds, full of fury signifying nothing but a bellyful of unpleasant and hateful emotions, or possibly a headful of words which the people who use them are either too cautious, or too cowardly, to utter.

I say, you politicians, editors, commentators, have you all turned into mice? Now if you think a man is a Nazi, a Fascist, a Communist, a Ku Kluxer, racist, anti-Catholic, or anti-Semite, then stop cringing behind the word extremist and stand up squarely and call him that. The worst that can happen to you is that he will retort either by calling you one of these names back—or if not that, a liar, a smearer, a character assassin. No: the worst is he'll sue you for slander. (In my view, Ike should have sued a slanderer like Robert Welch for his last F.D.R. dime, or anyway have got the satisfaction of seeing him certified as wacky. I'm hoping that BARRY is keeping a careful little list of those who have called him a Nazi. People like Gov. Pat Brown, of California, ought to be good for a couple of years' salary.)

THE BIRCHERS

Or take the John Birchers. Do you think they are traitors, or Nazis, or Brown Shirts? If you do, why horse around with a lily-livered coverup word like extremists? But if you don't think they are disloyal Americans, then find the right word for what you do think they are. The English language is full of juicy terms of opprobrium. You have a choice of kooks, nuts, dopes, bigots, cranks, fuzz brains, goons, frenetic flag wavers, patriotic hopheads, star-spangled bananas—or whatever you have in your typewriter today, gentlemen, that will put a little more strain on your brain than extremists. And why—in the name of justice—do you want to let off the Ku Kluxers with this fuzzy word, when lawbreakers, terrorists, torturers, arsonists, racists, murderers are so much more graphic?

It seems to me that smart politicians who hope to win elections would do well to take BARRY's hint and get off this "extremism"

kick. There are, after all, so many other things that, by tradition, so to speak, they are bound to call one another, such as demagog, dictator, warmonger, appeaser, faker, phony, chiseler, tool of labor, of Wall Street, of Madison Avenue, of the "interests," of the department store lobby, and of Bobby Baker.

Calling an opponent an extremist is like trying to knock him out with a slap on the wrist, instead of using all the good old verbal—and reasonably semantic—socks that the American political vocabulary is so rich in.

Also, it is counterproductive. For so far, the only definition everyone is agreed on is that an extremist is anybody who calls anybody else an extremist. By this commonsense definition, extremism is just what we, all of us, are practicing at this moment. Let's grow up and drop both the stance and the word itself. After all, extremism is extremely silly.

Salute to the Ivory Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the fourth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Ivory Coast. We take this opportunity to extend our warm greetings to His Excellency President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, and His Excellency the Ambassador of the Ivory Coast to the United States, Konan Bédié.

The Ivory Coast today is enjoying the benefits of its booming economy based on private enterprise. Its industrialization is proceeding at a regular and rapid pace with its economy growing more than 20 percent over the past 5 years. The working policies of President Houphouet-Boigny in the fields of housing, welfare, transportation, and agriculture provides dynamic proof to other African nations that the road to prosperity need not be difficult and violent.

The history of the Ivory Coast shows its close ties to France and Europe rather than to U.S.S.R. Although administered by France up until 1958, at which time it became an autonomous state in the French community, the Ivory Coast has strengthened rather than severed its ties with the former mother country. The favorable balance of trade is further enhanced by its associate membership in the European Common Market as well as having friendly relations with the United States.

The economic future of the Ivory Coast is bright. The capital, Abidjan, is today the fastest growing city in all Africa. With more diversified agricultural products, its position in the world market is more firmly secured. As leader of the Council of the Entente, the customs union which groups the Ivory Coast with Dahomey, Upper Volta, Niger, and a powerful voice in a larger Monrovia grouping of African states, Houphouet-Boigny has successfully moderated the continent's turbulent politics.

Measures are underway to increase the welfare of the people; their per capita income has significantly increased in the past 2 years alone with the peasants benefiting from a higher standard of living. Educational opportunities, both at the elementary and university levels, have increased manifold owing to the construction of the first Ivorian university at Abidjan, the capital. Public health is being made available to many. Under the guidance and leadership of Houphouet-Boigny, the Ivory Coast is offering an alternative—free enterprise—to the socialistically oriented African economies as a successful way to develop the continent's rich resources. On this day, we salute the second anniversary of the independence of the Ivory Coast.

Supreme Court Upheld

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, when all the emotionalism that has risen to fight the Supreme Court ruling on prayers in schools has died down, it will be realized that in the long run the judgment of the Court not only must be respected as a proper statement of the law of the land, but that it is actually the wisest possible decision that could have been made in our complex society.

However, in these days when most people do not have this long range perspective it is gratifying to hear from those who do. The following article from Vital Christianity, of July 19, 1964, reports on the findings of the Special Study Committee on Church-State Relationships of the Church of God. They believe, as do we who honestly and sincerely believe in religion, that it is the home and the place of worship, not the public school, that has the responsibility for the religious education of our children.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues this article, which expresses a healthy understanding of the real purpose of religion and of our great democracy:

CHURCH-STATE COMMITTEE PRESENTS REPORT ON ISSUES

The report of the special study committee on church-state relationships was issued to the General Ministerial Assembly accompanied by a motion from committee member W. E. Reed to expand the committee by three persons working in public education and government or legal positions. The report was distributed for study by the Assembly members and will be given consideration, perhaps in amended form, next year.

The 10-page report noted major trends and issues in the current American scene, and said, "As American citizens, committed to government by law, we support the U.S. Supreme Court and abide by its decisions. We rededicate ourselves to the essential principle of freedom and justice for all under law * * *."

The report continued, "While it is not the business of government to underwrite religion, or to use its coercive powers to sanction or compel acceptance of any religious creed or practice, neither should it sanction or promote secular creeds or ideologies * * *."

After brief comments and notes on the various issues, the report concluded, "We are grateful for the consideration given by the Government of the United States to the religious needs and problems of the people of this commonwealth. Recent trends may seem to indicate a lessening of these favorable conditions. There are many persons who are deeply disturbed because they interpret the Court decisions to be unfriendly to religion. Others are alarmed at the change taking place in the philosophy of the separation of church and state * * *.

"While the functions of the church and State are distinct, they often overlap. Both involve the same people. In many ways there will be interaction, and in others there will be separate directions. Christians have a responsibility to be involved in government. They should work for the continuation of a free church and a free state within a free society."

The Committee on Church and State, appointed at request of the Assembly in 1962, consists of: John Butts, W. E. Reed, Samuel C. Sharp, Robert Nicholson, Charles V. Weber, Louis Gough, James Wade, Elver F. Adcock, Leonard Snyder, and Steele C. Smith, chairman.

Vote Frauds the Republicans Would Rather Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday the Republican nominee for Vice President criticized alleged vote frauds in Chicago.

It has become somewhat popular with Republican officeseekers to drag Chicago through the mud in this manner. At the Republican convention in San Francisco, the Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois made similar charges against Chicago.

It should be of interest to my colleagues in the House that, while the Republicans would like to create an impression of widespread vote frauds in Chicago, and attribute them to the Democrats, they very conveniently ignore the extensive vote frauds that exist in Republican-dominated areas in Illinois.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention to a newspaper account which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of August 4, 1964, relating the fact that evidence of vote frauds has been found in Lake County, Ill.

For the uninformed, it should be noted that Lake County is run lock, stock, and barrel by the Republicans.

It should be of further interest to my colleagues that the Lake County grand jury reported that it had found "ample evidence" that there was illegal tampering of four precinct tally sheets in the April 14 primary which could have

changed the Republican nomination for county coroner.

I do not recall hearing any anguished outcries from our Republican colleagues about these vote frauds.

The interesting thing about the Lake County vote frauds is that the grand jury has been unable to determine which Republicans actually manipulated the outcome of this primary election.

But here again, there appears to be a deadly silence on the part of our virtuous Republican colleagues who would be raising a hue and cry that the culprits be brought before the bar of justice if these frauds occurred in Democratic territory.

Obviously, vote frauds in Republican-dominated Lake County—which lies just north of Chicago—are the kind of vote frauds that the Republicans would just as soon sweep under the rug and quietly forget.

It is also quite obvious that our Republican colleagues are interested only in voting irregularities which occur in predominantly Democratic areas.

The Chicago Tribune has performed a public service in calling the Lake County grand jury action to the attention of its readers.

The Tribune story follows:

FIND EVIDENCE OF VOTE FRAUD IN LAKE COUNTY—CHANGES IN FOUR TALLIES CONFIRMED BY JURY

The Lake County grand jury reported yesterday that it had found "ample evidence" that there was illegal tampering with four precinct tally sheets in the April 14 primary election which could have changed the Republican nomination for county coroner.

But the evidence "was insufficient to establish the identity of the person or persons responsible for the fraudulent acts," the grand jury said in a report concluding its investigation and service.

Orville (Pat) Clavey, Lake County deputy sheriff and juvenile officer, was declared the Republican coroner nominee over Robert (Mickey) Babcox, who has held the post for three terms.

TELL OFFICIAL VOTE

The official vote, as reported by Garfield R. Leaf, county clerk and one of three members of the county canvassing board, was 20,575 for Clavey and 19,861 for Babcox.

The grand jury said that Bruno W. Stanczak, Lake County State attorney, and Jack Hoogasian, his first assistant, presented evidence which supported a canvassing board discovery that the vote recorded on tally sheets in four precincts had been changed, although the sheets had been under 24-hour guard in the county courthouse in Waukegan.

These changes consisted of obvious and hurriedly performed alterations. The report said envelopes for the tally sheets showed strong evidence of having been opened and resealed in a manner leaving no doubt as to the fraudulence of the attempt.

CHANGES NOT ACCEPTED

The changes, which were not accepted by the election board, would have made Babcox the Republican nominee.

Although it was unable to determine who made the changes, the grand jury said, "They were performed by a person or persons familiar with county election procedures."

The jury recommended that more safeguards be set up.

Australian-United States Pact on Meat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a prominent rancher of my district has forwarded to me a newspaper article which appeared in the Australian press regarding the beef import situation. He obtained the article from a rancher friend of his in Australia. In transmitting the newspaper article, the Australian rancher put his finger on the crux of the problem. He said, "Freeman was working for us, not for the country he represents." I am afraid this is the case. We have reached the point when we must consider our own people first. Our Australian friends are practical enough to recognize this. An indication of their viewpoint may be had by reading the attached article.

CONFIDENT OVER AUSTRALIAN-UNITED STATES PACT ON MEAT

CANBERRA.—Government officials believe a serious challenge in the American Congress to the Australian-American meat agreement will be defeated.

They claim that, if it is defeated, the crisis point for the agreement will have been passed.

Last week, in a New York interview, the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, said "a very real danger exists" that the legislation challenging the agreement would be passed.

The legislation, now before the U.S. Senate Finance Committee has nothing to do with meat imports. But tacked on to the bill is an amendment moved by Senator MANSFIELD providing that import quotas be placed on meat.

The quotas would be equal to the average of meat imports into the United States in the 5-year period 1959–63. This would be greatly below the import quotas voluntarily agreed to by Australia in the meat agreement with the U.S. administration.

BITTERNESS

Senator MANSFIELD is a powerful figure in the U.S. Senate. He comes from the meat State of Montana and is majority leader in the Senate.

Mr. Freeman said the recent sharp drop in American cattle prices had created a grave problems for U.S. agriculture. This had resulted in deep bitterness among cattlemen toward imports.

This bitterness was reflected in the attitudes of Congressmen towards restrictive legislation on meat imports.

Mr. Freeman emphasized that the U.S. administration was opposed to the legislation and added: "Congress does not always do what the President wants."

He was asked if the Mansfield amendment would become effective immediately if it was passed, and he answered that the bill provided for the immediate lowering of imports.

VETO HINT

"However, the administration would urge 6 months' notice," he said. The meat agreement provides for 6 months' notice by either side wishing to terminate it.

In Canberra, it is believed Mr. Freeman's reference to the administration "urging" the 6 months' notice was a veiled hint that the President would use his veto on the bill if it was carried to insure that 6 months' notice was provided.

Mr. Freeman probably did not want to put it as bluntly as this in case it was interpreted by Congress as a provocative administration threat.

H.R. 11377: Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 offers us the welcome opportunity to remedy a persistent domestic problem. As a nation, we have succeeded to an unprecedented degree in establishing a broad-based prosperity. Our people are, on a whole, well housed, well clad, well fed. Yet, existing alongside this general well-being is a deep-rooted poverty—a condition that has not diminished or faded as the economy has grown. This poverty engulfs an estimated one-fifth of our population. As an indication of the contrast between our Nation's poor and their more fortunate neighbors, let me cite some figures: The per capita income of some 35 million men, women, and children in 1962 was only $590 for the year as opposed to a National per capita income of $1,900. This disparity must be examined; means must be found to remedy the conditions which produce this extreme need in an opulent society.

This paradox of poverty amidst plenty poses some serious questions and leads to some disturbing observations. It has been observed that certain characteristics predominate among the American poor. There are many nonwhites, many aged, many fatherless children, many poorly educated, many rural dwellers.

In other words, poverty appears to be the affliction of other conditions than personal inadequacies. We can attack poverty, then, by concentrating on these groups—their problems, their needs, their prospects.

The legislation now before the Congress was constructed with this purpose in view. For the youth—the children of the poor and the fatherless and the inadequately educated—there are programs of job training and work study. That these young people do not continue the pattern of poverty and because they are young and flexible enough not to have lost hope, we should be investing wisely if we invest in their future. By giving them the means through training and education to build productive futures for themselves we are also contributing to the future productivity of our Nation.

For the rural poor there are programs which extend loan and grant provision of existing legislation to those on the lower end of the income scale who have been too poor to qualify for such assistance until now. It is visualized that such assistance can raise their enterprises above subsistence level.

For the rehabilitation of poor areas, where poverty is the rule rather than the exception, there is a program to stimulate our communities to initiate local action programs in the fields of employment, health, housing, welfare and other important areas. There is also a program of assistance to very small businesses within these local areas in order to broaden the base for the rehabilitation of these areas.

It is also the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act to turn the public assistance programs, which are growing much too rapidly, into instruments for helping families lift themselves out of poverty instead of a means of alleviating only the worst pangs of poverty. Instead of using this welfare money only to sustain deprivation, it would help those able-bodied people on public assistance to develop new skills which will make them employable and remove them from the welfare rolls.

We have wealth and technical knowledge and productive capacity with room for expansion and room for new workers. We have also an untapped resource in approximately one-fifth of our population who are not at present contributing to our further progress. How much wiser it would be for us to invest in their futures so that they may give their talents and skills and also reap some of the benefits of a free society. We have been told that we have the economic capacity to wipe out poverty in the United States. We must ask ourselves if we also have the will. We have the obligation to eliminate deprivation from the national scene. We must also have the desire.

Living Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN REIFEL
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I should like to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the August 7, 1964, Washington Post concerning the dedication of the Felix S. Cohen Memorial Home for the Aged on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. This dedication is of special significance to all who knew and admired this great friend of the Indian people. In my own case, Mr. Cohen was a warm friend and close adviser dating back to the early 1930's. The editorial follows:

LIVING MEMORIAL

The good that men do may be oft interred with their bones; but sometimes it is remembered, and gratefully, at least by its beneficiaries. At any rate, it is heartening to find an instance of such remembrance—and a richly deserved one, too. At the Pine Ridge, S. Dak., Indian Reservation this afternoon, the Felix S. Cohen Memorial Home for the Elderly will be dedicated. A joint undertaking by the Oglala Sioux Tribe of South Dakota which contributed the land, the U.S. Public Housing Administration which financed the construction and the Pine Ridge Settlement House which will furnish and subsidize the home through public subscriptions, this is the first housing for elderly residents on an Indian reservation and the first to be built by all-Indian labor.

Much of Felix Cohen's life—he died in 1953—was a free and generous and loving gift to the Oglala Tribe—and, indeed to Indians generally. An attorney devoted to their interests in private practice and during his 15-year tenure in the Interior Department, he drafted the Indian Reorganization Act and worked with tribal councils on constitutions, bylaws and regulations that gave them self-government for the first time in American history. The naming of the memorial home in his honor is a tribute not alone to him personally but also in a way to all those unsung Government workers who labor selflessly for the minority rights which are indispensable to a true democracy.

Reopening of Midway Airport in Chicago Called a Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the end of the first month of commercial airline operations at Midway Airport in Chicago. Midway was reopened to scheduled carriers on July 5, 1964.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention to a very interesting report on this first month of operation at Midway which appeared in the Chicago Tribune and was written by that newspaper's highly respected Aviation editor, Mr. Wayne Thomas.

During the first month of operation, United Air Lines, which is the only scheduled carrier to go back to Midway since its reopening, flew 4,700 passengers between Chicago's Midway Airport and New York and Washington.

United flies the short-runway 727 jets between Midway and La Guardia Airport. Because of a ban on short-runway commercial jets at Washington National, United is forced to operate the Chicago-Washington flights with its turboprop Viscounts.

The first month of operation at Midway shows great promise for the restoration of service at the airport. But the reopening of Midway could be considerably accelerated if the FAA would permit short-runway jets like the 727 to operate into Washington National Airport.

The statistics for the first 30 days clearly indicate the much larger volume of traffic on the jets.

Mr. Speaker, it would be my hope that the FAA would soon abandon its completely unjustified determination that it will not permit jets into National until Dulles International Airport becomes economically self-sustaining.

Every study shows that it will be many years before Dulles can become financially self-sustaining. It is, in my judgment, literally cruel to deny thousands of passengers who want to come to Washington by jet the opportunity to land at nearby Washington National Airport.

The decision to bar jets into Washington National is a purely administrative decision.

We have a right to be seriously frightened by the omnipotent power which the FAA has taken upon itself to arbitrarily bar short-runway jets from National Airport and to compel jet passengers to spend almost a whole hour traveling to Dulles in order to fly jets.

There is just no logical reason for denying these new jets the right to use National.

The first 30 days of operation between Midway and National with turboprops and Midway and New York with jets by United Air Lines clearly demonstrates that the flying public wants to use jets. It would appear to me further denial of jets into National runs contrary to the public interest and convenience.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the will of thousands of people—many deeply involved in the affairs of industry and government—is being thwarted by a capricious decision by the FAA that it will not permit short-runway jets into National until some magic date when the bureaucrats are satisfied that the questionable purpose of Dulles International has been fulfilled.

This borders on oligarchy and in my judgment is repugnant to the basic concept of a representative, democratic government.

It would be my hope that Mr. Najeeb Halaby, who has proven himself to be a dedicated and conscientious administrator of the FAA, would reverse this tragic bar against the use of short-runway jets at National and let the will of the flying public be served, particularly since there is no element of safety involved in such a reversal.

Claims that traffic congestion at National does not permit jets are completely without foundation since more and more of the airlines are dropping propeller-driven aircraft and turning to jets.

It is a matter of record that by the end of this year, American Airlines will have no prop-driven aircraft into National. Its operation will be limited to turboprops and jets.

It is also an established fact that if United were permitted to bring short-runway jets into National, its volume of traffic would be considerably increased between Washington and Chicago.

I hope that Mr. Halaby will recognize the fact that Chicago is desperately trying to reactivate Midway so that this great midwest metropolis, center of commerce and industry for mid-America,

will have two airports to serve it growing needs.

Mr. Halaby can help this cause by permitting short-runway jets into National.

Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune article follows:

UNITED HAULS 4,700 RIDERS FROM MIDWAY—OPERATES AT 30 PERCENT IN FIRST 30 DAYS

(By Wayne Thomis)

United Air Lines flew 4,700 passengers between Chicago's Midway Airport and New York and Washington between July 5 and August 2, company spokesmen said yesterday. Midway became the city's secondary jet terminal airport on July 5 when service was resumed for the first time since 1962.

The load factor in the 30 days was almost exactly 30 percent, meaning that almost one-third of available seats were occupied during the first 30 days. United marketing surveys had indicated that this was the traffic potential for the period. United's predictions are that these loads will rapidly rise to about 51 percent.

COPTER SERVICE ALSO UP

At the moment United is the only carrier providing scheduled service on trunk air routes from Midway. Chicago Helicopter Airways, the crosstown copter taxi service, also is operating there on schedules timed to meet United's trips. The helicopter line also has reported a decided upswing in traffic during this period.

Chicago's aviation commissioner, William E. Downes, Jr., said yesterday he is "satisfied" with progress in traffic at Midway "as of now." He added that the city is negotiating with "other trunks" for more Midway service.

Downes said that his department has circulated a questionnaire among all the trunk airline operating at O'Hare Airport, asking what changes at Midway they would seek in order to transfer more flights to that airfield. This is expected to be returned to the city "within a few more days."

Herbert Howell, former Federal Aviation Agency expert now on Downes staff, has prepared a detailed study of "exactly what schedule transfers make sense for the individual trunklines," Downes said. This study is being printed and will be circulated to carriers.

OTHER LINES MAY MOVE

At city hall it was said that Eastern Air Lines and Northwest Orient Airlines "probably will be among the next major carriers to provide some Midway services." Rumor had it that Eastern was most interested for its summer services to Georgia, Florida, and Ohio cities. Both Eastern and Northwest could place Lockheed Electra turboprop flights into Midway on routes they formerly operated from there.

Ozark Airlines, the regional service carrier operating to the south and southwest in Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Arkansas, also is studying an early transfer of some flights from O'Hare to Midway.

United's marketing group reported that "the Midway traffic to date has been totally businessmen or women." This group habitually travels least in summer months and increases its travel in fall and winter.

The Public Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker—

Our grief, though personal, belongs to our Nation. This tragedy is not private. It is part of the public conscience of our country.

These were the words of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goodman less than 9 hours after they were informed by the White House that their son Andrew was murdered in Mississippi. The country owes a debt not only to the three courageous young men who died for their dedication to democracy but also to the Goodmans who in their grief called upon the Nation to fulfill the dream of equality held so dear by their son. The New York Post on August 6, 1964, published an article by Fern Marja Eckman which captures the eloquence, courage and dedication of two wonderful Americans—Carolyn and Robert Goodman.

The article follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Aug. 6, 1964]

EPITAPH FOR THREE—A FATHER'S VOW: WE'LL FIGHT ON

(By Fern Marja Eckman)

Not quite 9 hours after a telephone call from the White House had stripped them of their last shred of hope, Andrew Goodman's parents filed quietly through their living room, moving down the path made for them through the massed ranks of newspaper, TV, and radio men.

The occasion was a press conference. But it was more than that. It was, in a real sense, a memorial service for three boys dead on the Mississippi front.

Before a coffee table thickly festooned with wires, its marble surface almost concealed by a forest of microphones, Robert and Carolyn Goodman seated themselves on their sofa, side by side, and the hot, white lights beat down upon them.

Since June 21, when their son disappeared at the beginning of his civil rights mission, the Goodmans must have shed many tears, and undoubtedly would shed more. But now they were dry-eyed. For Andrew, 20 a Queens College junior who probably did not survive his first 24 hours on Mississippi's alien soil, the couple had managed to muster up a composure that was its own kind of monument.

His voice controlled, wavering a little from time to time, Robert Goodman, 50, a small man in a black suit, read aloud the one-page prepared statement.

"Hope, slim though it was, has passed away and a painful certainty has come," he said. "Our grief, though personal, belongs to our Nation. This tragedy is not private. It is part of the public conscience of our country."

His wife, a slight woman in black, her face pallid, her neatly coiffed head held high, stared straight ahead, her brown eyes wide and unseeing.

"Throughout our history," said Robert Goodman, "countless Americans have died in the continuing struggle for equality. We shall continue to work for this goal and we fervently hope that Americans so engaged will be aided and protected in this noble mission.

"For ourselves, we wish to express our pride in our son's commitment"—here he faltered and with his left hand reached down and clapsed his wife's, pressing it tight, so that her fingers whitened—"and that of his companions now dead, and that of his companions now alive, now in Mississippi, acting each hour to express those truths that are self-evident."

When he had finished, he bowed his head and drew a deep breath. There was a brief interval of solemn silence. Then, reluctantly, a reporter asked Mrs. Goodman if she had any message for other young people en route to Mississippi.

"They will go," she said clearly. "They have my heart—and much strength and bravery."

A few moments later, she voiced what amounted to a credo for herself, her husband and their two remaining sons, Jonathan, 23, and David, almost 18: "We will continue to live," she said, "as we have lived all these years, believing in the values Andy held dear * * * ."

Then the Goodmans rose to leave. But the men and the women who had come to hear them now advanced to shake hands and murmur condolences. "You've all been wonderful to us," said Robert Goodman.

Gradually, the tide of invaders retreated. In the apartment at 161 West 86th Street, filled with paintings, with books, with sculpture, with plants, with all the symbols of awareness and appreciation that had shaped Andy's life, Robert and Carolyn Goldman were left to mourn with friends the death of a son.

CSC Commissioner Andolsek Offers Advice to Federal Government Executives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, my dear personal friend, longtime associate, and former administrative assistant, L. J. Andolsek, now Commissioner and Vice Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, has published an article in the July-September 1964 issue of the Civil Service Journal offering sound advice to people in management positions in the Federal Government.

Commissioner Andolsek's 28 years of Government service in both the legislative and executive branches and his administrative experience in the military give him unexcelled qualification to speak on this important subject of lines of communication in the Federal service. Commissioner Andolsek's good advice to Federal Government management and employees is down to earth, straight forward, and eminently sensible. I commend Mr. Andolsek's article to the attention of all who seek a better understanding of our Federal Government and who strive to improve its effectiveness:

STOP, SPEAK, AND LISTEN

(By L. J. Andolsek, Commissioner, U.S. Civil Service Commission)

Communications failure sometimes seems a commonplace in the Federal service—a costly commonplace we cannot afford. Too frequently we fail to communicate effectively with our internal publics, with organizations representing our employees, and with important external publics. And the clogging of communications channels is costing us heavily in terms of efficiency and economy in Government operations.

This is an unsettling impression I have drawn from observations in Washington and various centers of Federal employment throughout the country during my first year as a Civil Service Commissioner.

I hope to convince you, by examples of incomplete communications I have seen, that these are problems everyone with management responsibilities should be on guard against. And I would offer some candid

comments on why we have them, some down-to-earth views on how they hurt us, and some commonsense suggestions on how we can solve them.

Let's look first at the kinds of communication collapse that cause me concern—

I have seen situations where personnel workers still do not clearly understand that their job is solely to help top management acquire, develop, and retain the best possible human resources to achieve management's mission. Somehow they haven't got the word that the personnel function should be mission oriented and mission supporting—not operated in a vacuum for its own sake.

I have talked to employees who were only vaguely aware of the Federal merit promotion program, now in its sixth year. They did not know, for example, how a vacancy in their office, shop, or laboratory would be filled under the present promotion system. A recent Commission study of the program showed that while a majority of employees contacted during Commission inspections had some knowledge of the promotion plan which applies to positions to which they might aspire, a significant number did not. As a result of our findings, we have begun a vigorous action program to see that agencies gain broad management-employee understanding and support of the program.

I have seen the puzzlement on the faces of employees who want to know something they have a right to know and should know—and simply cannot find out. So they ask me, and because of my connection with the Commission they are innocently confident that I can answer all their questions.

However, more often than not their questions concern such things as working conditions, hours of work, promotion procedures, and grievance systems. They are questions I cannot answer because they relate to work-site situations and subjects covered by agency or installation rules. They are questions which should be answered by their personnel officer or supervisors because they are their rules, and they are on the scene.

I have talked to many hard working employees who—two and a half years after Executive Order 10988—still do not understand the new ground rules about employee-management cooperation.

But, to be fair, I have also seen situations where management also seemed not to have gotten the word—to be cool toward employee organizations even in the face of a strongly worded headquarters policy statement to the contrary.

Then the representatives of employee groups—I have met with some who still don't distinguish between the rights of consultation and negotiation under the program, and others who persist in believing that they are entitled to negotiate in areas that the Executive order defines as not negotiable.

But this is only one area of many where faulty communications cause misunderstanding on the part of management itself, employees, and the public.

One of the most striking situations was that of a top administrator who, 2½ years after the Presidential policy on equal opportunity had been announced, found many of his field managers still standing on the dime and had to read them the riot act.

I remember the case of a Government research scientist who resigned because he did not wish to assume any administrative duties—he had been given the understanding that he could not advance higher on the salary ladder if his assignment called only for research work.

And there is the most recent illustration of President Johnson's call for prudence and economy in Government being translated into a "freeze" or hiring—a public misconception still playing havoc with our campus recruitment efforts.

Failures to communicate with the public at large are legion. For example, there is the outmoded "army of clerks" image the public continues to hold in an era when the civil service has become a corps of skilled specialists making their mark in areas ranging from astronomy to zoology. The public's lack of knowledge of this new civil service and its persistence in holding to damaging stereotypes hinder quality recruitment and add to its cost.

These few examples of situations I have seen should serve to explain my concern and why I think you should be concerned.

Now let's look at the three principal publics I identified earlier, discuss why effective communication with them is vital, and consider a few fundamental ways we can close the gaps in communication with them.

COMMUNICATION WITH EMPLOYEES

In setting out a short summary of why effective communication with employees must be a primary concern of everyone in the management line, I will put it in the simplest terms of what's in it for you.

Everything you seek to accomplish as a manager depends on people. Internal communications should be calculated to cement a bond of confidence and understanding between management and employees so that the organization's full potential and total effort is directed at getting the job done. A measure of free will of employees is involved. Giving their full cooperation is voluntary, so the degree of efficiency an organization attains depends in part on how willingly workers contribute their capabilities.

Therefore, you need to give employees a clear understanding of the what and why of organizational goals, how they relate to the worker, what the stakes for the work force are, and how employee performance and progress are measuring up to requirements. Their response will depend in large part on what you communicate and how. Communication is the vital factor in achieving high employee morale and motivation, lower absenteeism and turnover, and greater productivity. Effective communication can spell the difference between a tight ship and one drifting aimlessly on a sea of uncertainty. It can be the make-or-break factor in meeting the President's expectations of improved management and greater efficiency and economy in Federal operations.

We should also recognize the dual role of employees in our communications complex. They are not only our most important public, they are also a main channel of communications to our other vital publics.

Now I know that every manager recognizes the importance of and has set up systems for employee-management communication, but I wonder if enough attention has been given to what is understood. This is what really counts.

Top management has to set the tone and assure the means for facilitating a constant flow of information vertically and horizontally—top to bottom, bottom to top, and across organizational lines. It must impress upon subordinate management levels that the free flow of information—keeping channels of communication open—is an essential, everyday part of the management process. And it should insist that these principles are practiced.

But I am a good enough student of human nature to know that it takes more than a statement of aims, and more than a prescription for action, if those aims are to be met. It takes consistent followthrough action and attention by top management to make sure that everyone down the line gets the word.

The proper tone is established through proper attitudes that must be evident at all times.

The first attitude is that of oneness—an attitude that the organization is not solely or even primarily centered around the higher echelons, that is every single person on the rolls, and that everyone is important to teamwork and mission achievement.

The second is an attitude of caring—honestly caring about employees' problems, growth and development, achievement, recognition, and work satisfactions.

The third is an attitude of sharing. Management tends to keep too much information from employees, both intentionally and unintentionally. Unwillingness to share is best characterized by the tightlipped defensive attitude of "Who has a right to know?" I suppose that, in any given situation, very few people would have the right to know. On the other hand, perhaps everyone should know. When we are not sure we should communicate to the largest number.

If all organization communications were planned on this premise, I am sure a much higher level of understanding would exist throughout the structure. And I am also sure there would soon exist an esprit de corps that would give the Marines a run for their honors.

The companion of what you say is how you say it. Here again, attitude is important and I shall call this fourth attitude that of bonding. A transmission of meaning can help weld a proper bond between the speaker and the listener. The most effective communicators approach their audiences with an attitude like this:

"I will always try to speak to you as if I were on the listening end rather than the talking end. I will always make a conscious effort to word my communication in relation to your conditioning, your experience, your interests, your capabilities, and your needs. This will help you identify yourself with what I am saying. Further, I will speak in clear and simple terms, conscious of avoiding words, phrases, inflections—even gestures—that may suggest what I do not intend to suggest, and I will repeat what I am saying as necessary until you give me to understand that you understand."

The fifth attitude is that of truthfulness. What is communicated must have integrity and believability—or it would be better to communicate nothing at all. If few promotions are being made because of a critical shortage of funds, we should say so, rather than leave room for employees to think we have forgotten them or decided that few of them are qualified to assume greater responsibilities. Tell them the whole story—that it is, hopefully, a temporary situation, and that to the extent possible vacancies will be filled by promotion or reassignment rather than outside hiring. Tell them these things if they are true. And whatever you tell them, make sure that later actions don't give the lie to your best intentions.

Ways of communicating up, down, and sideways are abundant in any organization. Too often we rely too heavily on our agency house organ, bulletin boards, and management letters. Since we utilize these channels and feel they are operating smoothly, we tend to think we have fulfilled our communication responsibilities to employees. These are vitally important media of communication, but they are only three of many. Actually our array of communication channels ranges from our orientation program and policy statements to news releases and exit interviews—with such things as manuals, handbooks, supervisory relationships, and training programs sandwiched in between.

COMMUNICATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS

Executive Order No. 10988 makes it a matter of public policy that management must demonstrate an "affirmative willingness" to cooperate with recognized organizations of Federal employees. It is the duty of managers to put this policy into practice. The essential ingredient in employee-management cooperation is communications.

The Presidential order officially gave organizations of employees a means of securing a positive voice in the shaping of personnel policies and working conditions. Some 740,-

000 employees are now covered by exclusive recognition agreements giving employee organizations the right to enter collective negotiations with management in behalf of all employees in the bargaining unit—whether they are members of the employee organization or not.

Despite the impressive number of cases in which unions have won exclusive or formal recognition, it is surprising how little change in relationships there has been in some organizations. "Affirmative willingness" remains a phrase in many places. Many managers persist in protecting management "prerogatives," while some union representatives refuse to recognize that any remain under the new order.

It should be clear that neither position is defensible, for there can be no profit for management or unions in "doing business at the same old stand." And I am inclined to believe that management can be the biggest benefactor of a conscience effort to improve the climate and substance of employee-management cooperation.

Since these organizations represent employees, it is reasonable to assume that they reflect employee views. If they express dissatisfaction, it is likely they are only giving voice to grievances on the part of the work force. If their representations serve to bring a correctable condition to management's attention, it is in management's best interest to remedy the situation as equity and the public interest indicate.

If this cooperative process can remove one impediment to efficiency, clear up a communication collapse, make employees and their representatives feel they have made management see the light—everybody wins.

Without trying to prescribe a program for improved communication with employee organizations, I would pose a few questions just as thought starters suggestive of actions you might want to consider:

When did you last invite representatives of employee organizations in for a briefing, to discuss a problem, or just to learn what currently concerns your workers?

Do you provide a place of honor for leaders of employee groups at awards ceremonies, anniversary observances, or in connection with visits of VIP's?

Did your house organ report on the granting of exclusive recognition to an employee organization? Feature a picture of the signing of the agreement? Publicize principal points of the agreement?

Do you really consult employee groups on contemplated changes in working conditions—or call in employee leaders only after you have definitely decided what changes to make?

Objective answers to such questions, and decisions to demonstrate "affirmative willingness" to cooperate, could make a big difference in relationships—with big dividends for management and employees.

COMMUNICATION WITH EXTERNAL PUBLICS

While the problem of communication with internal publics often is a case of "everybody talking, nobody listening," the principal problem in communicating with external publics more often is caused by a failure to speak. Federal managers certainly are far more public relations conscious than was the case a few years ago, but many of us still have a way to travel toward fulfilling our responsibility for stewardship reporting to our stockholders—the American people.

We need to give more than lipservice to the truth that an informed citizenry is the strength of representative government, and to assure that our subordinates are ever mindful that effective operation of our programs depends on public understanding and support.

Since the great majority of Federal business is done in hundreds of localities throughout the country, where our installations may be mainstays of the local economy, we need to accept the fact that Government establishments—like their industrial cousins—have certain responsibilities of "corporate citizenship" in their communities.

It is a truism that the things we do worst become best known, the things we do best least known. But this situation could be reversed in time if we consciously sought to communicate the facts about our strong points to our publics. However, we need to remember, too, that propaganda won't do the trick. Rather, we need to work to eliminate what represents "our worst" so that these faults won't continue to plague us.

We need to keep always in mind that our actions sometimes communicate more clearly than our words—a discourteous clerk, pointless transfers of telephone calls, delays in answering our mail (and failure to answer questions in our correspondence), refusing to rid ourselves of senseless redtape and time-honored but outmoded ways of working and thinking. We need constantly to examine our operations where they touch the public and be always alert to irritants that can and should be eliminated. We need, in short, to live right—and tell our publics about it.

The benefits of consistent management attention to these important areas of communications can be the building of a bank of public good will and understanding—and public support when we need it.

If I have painted a picture of widespread confusion in our communication complex, I want to conclude by saying that the illustrations I have cited are exceptions, rather than the rule. I do not mean to suggest that Government is a modern Tower of Babel, for it is not. But our bigness and complexity do make communication more difficult and magnify even the few failures I have cited.

By and large, I believe Federal managers are sensitive to the importance of effective communications with their internal and external publics. And for the most part the systems they have established for good communications seem to be working well. If my emphasis on examples of communication collapse seems contradictory, it is because I believe that anything short of perfection in this vital area merits management attention. I am convinced that every manhour we devote to assuring effective communications with employees, employee groups, and our external publics will pay for itself many times over in increased efficiency, economy, productivity, and public cooperation.

Race Riot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Eva Adele Goldblatt, a most promising Chicago poet, has captured the mood and the futility of racial demonstrations in her stirring poem which I should like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today.

It is inspiring to see people like Mrs. Goldblatt keep alive the stately art of poetry.

Mrs. Goldblatt's poem "Race Riot" catches the mood in a manner that, I hope, will convey to those who would take the law into their own hands the despair and futility of their effort. This excellent poem by Mrs. Goldblatt surely demonstrates that violence is not the road to justice and equality.

Mrs. Goldblatt's penetrating poem follows:

RACE RIOT
(By Eva Adele Goldblatt)

Blood bursts forth—trickling down-out-and around.
The face twitching in a paroxysm of heat—the heat of blind rage.
The eyes dart in, out—around and around.
Sounds splash out from mouths—noises of the dark—
Hatred masters all.
Body against body; blood against blood.
Hot sticky pavement cradles death!
And then—the thick, thick silence—quiet—
The rage is spent,
That's all.
And nothing done, but hurt.
And then—another day.
And then?

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, more and more newspaper editors are expressing deep concern over the alarming conditions which may result from the series of Supreme Court decisions nullifying provisions of State constitutions which authorize apportionment of one house of the legislature on a basis or method other than population alone.

The Wapakoneta Daily News of August 6, 1964, carried an enlightening editorial on this most important question. It spells out by understandable examples just what will happen in Ohio if the decisions are left to stand.

The editorial follows:

[From the Wapakoneta (Ohio) Daily News, Aug. 6, 1964]

REAPPORTIONMENT

Here's how the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in reapportionment cases would effect Ohio's House of Representatives and, more to the point, Auglaize County.

Since 1903 the Hanna amendment to the Ohio constitution provided that each county be entitled to one seat in the Ohio House. The Supreme Court's decision has ruled that this amendment is unconstitutional. It deprives the State of the right to divide its legislatures into two houses of different composition. A legislature may have two houses of different size, but the districts must be drawn in the same manner, purely on the basis of equal numbers of people in each district.

In handing down its decision, the Supreme Court stated "Legislators represent people, not trees, or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests." The Indianapolis Star, in commenting on this portion of the decision, said "It is pure eyewash, absolute nonesense."

The Star goes on: "The Court deals with people as with a sack of marbles. They are to be rolled out on a table top and divided into equal piles."

AUGLAIZE, LOGAN, CHAMPAIGN COUNTIES

As it is now, under the Hanna amendment, Auglaize County has one State representative in the house. Under the reapportionment provision, Auglaize County would probably be lumped in with Logan and Champaign Counties with one elected official representing the three counties.

Other area counties to be affected are Paulding, Putnam, Van Wert, and Mercer which would be in one district and Darke, Shelby, and Preble. Allen County would not be affected.

John S. Knight, editor of the Knight group of newspapers, said in a column recently: "In theory the 'one person, one vote' principle sounds like an unchallengeable truism. But given effect, it means that the greatly increased representation from our large cities may dominate State legislatures to the detriment of the State as a whole."

The House Judiciary Committee last week began hearings on a constitutional amendment proposed by Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH. Its purpose is to restore to the States a right that had remained unchanged until last June 15—the right of the States to use a basis other than population in apportioning membership of one house of their State legislatures.

All that Representative MCCULLOCH's proposed amendment would do is to make it clear that "nothing in the constitution * * * shall prohibit a State * * * from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State shall have an opportunity to vote upon the apportionment."

WARM BODIES

The Richmond (Va.) News Leader stated editorially that "Constituencies are not formed of so many warm bodies; they are formed of ideas, of ambitions, of vital group concerns. Commonsense demands as well that certain facts of geography must be given some respect, and that every local interest must not be sacrificed before the urban throne of King Numbers."

The house now has 135 representatives, one for each county plus greater representation in the large cities. Cleveland has 17 and under the reapportionment proposal could have from 25 to 28. However, your small population counties would lose out and the total number of representatives in the house would fall from 135 to 101 to 105, with the strength lying in the population centers.

Bigness is not an unblessed virtue nor is smallness a fault. Centralization of authority, whether in Federal or State Governments, can lead to despotism.

The Supreme Court has told the people of Ohio that they must reapportion their districts in the house of representatives on a population basis.

Representative MCCULLOCH's proposed constitutional amendment would give all the States the right to apportion one or both houses of their legislatures on a basis other than on population alone.

We heartily endorse this amendment which gives the people of the State of Ohio self-determination in deciding this issue.

Hon. William H. Avery, Republican Candidate for Governor of Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and well-liked colleague, BILL AVERY, has won the Republican nomination for Governor of Kansas. He was selected by the Republican voters of his home State from a field of eight, to carry the Republican banner in Kansas in November.

BILL AVERY has been known throughout his decade of service here in the Congress as a courageous, responsible legislator and political leader. He has served with great distinction on a number of great committees: Veterans Affairs, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Select on Small Business, and of course on the powerful and prestigious Committee on Rules.

Always a strong partisan, he has gained primary recognition as an intelligent and responsible national legislator above all, and as a fighter—and an effective one—for the vital interests of Kansas and the midcontinent area of America.

Kansans are indeed fortunate to be able to look forward to having BILL AVERY for their chief executive. His colleagues here in the Congress join with me, I know, in wishing him well and in extending to him our most enthusiastic congratulations upon his nomination.

The Kansas City Times of Thursday, August 6, has an editorial on the Kansas gubernatorial nominees, which I include at this point:

KANSAS CANDIDATES ARE EXPERIENCED MEN

Kansas voters Tuesday selected two capable men with established records of public service to head their parties in the November campaign for the governorship. They did so despite the confusion and perplexity of having to choose from among 14 candidates. Whatever the outcome in November, the records indicate that State government will be in responsible hands.

Republicans nominated Representative WILLIAM H. AVERY, a farmer and stockman with a background of two terms in the State legislature and five terms in Congress. Democrats named Harry G. Wiles, a lawyer with a distinguished 7-year record as a member of the Kansas Corporation Commission.

The campaign, unfortunately, was one of the State's less inspiring ones. The major issues largely were ignored. This may have been due to the impossibility of defining issues clearly with 14 contestants in the field.

The standout State problem is public education and the rising tide of students at all levels, which has created the related problem of soaring property taxes in the local communities. Prior legislative inaction is the cause.

Kansas is fortunate that both candidates recognize the problem. Both have committed themselves to support a school foundation finance program to arrest the property tax spiral. We believe they will keep their commitments.

In choosing Wiles, Democrats favored the outstanding candidate on the party ticket. On the ratemaking commission, he has been a people's representative who has won the respect of the utilities. He is familiar with the intricacies of government.

Republicans had a more difficult choice. There were five of the eight candidates with many friends and statewide support. Four are elected State or National officials. One has been a State party officer. There will be disappointment, and primary wounds will need to be healed.

AVERY's victory was due in part to his ability to retain his strong following in his con-

gressional district. He also proved to be a tremendous personal campaigner. There was clear home district approval of his conservative voting record in Congress, which Democrats are certain to attack. He has earned party recognition as a member of the powerful House Rules Committee and is knowledgeable in legislative processes.

Two good candidates, either capable of serving as chief executive, have emerged from the primary. Now it comes down to which one can convince the voters he can do the better job.

Johnson and Goldwater Disagree on Role of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial from the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, Council Bluffs, Iowa, as follows:

JOHNSON AND GOLDWATER DISAGREE ON ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Probably the most basic issue between the two presidential candidates during the campaign this year will be the role of the Federal Government. President Johnson has indicated in everything he says and does that he considers the Federal Government's powers must be used more and more in order to secure for the American people economic and social gains.

Senator GOLDWATER, on the other hand, believes sincerely on a withdrawal of Federal Government power. He believes that to call on the Federal Government to provide the solution to basic individual economic and social problems is not the direction our Founding Fathers intended America to take when our Government was started.

The basic beliefs of both these men are, we believe, sincere. The difference between them undoubtedly comes from their personal experiences.

Lyndon Johnson got his start in politics by becoming the Texas administrator of the National Youth Administration during the 1930's. The NYA was an organization started during the depression days to try to provide worthwhile work for our young men and women.

While the expressed purpose of the NYA was somewhat admirable, the failure of this organization to make any long-term gains for our youth tends to strengthen the belief of the conservatives that the Government has failed miserably in all the make-work projects it has undertaken. From the NYA, Lyndon Johnson ran for Congress on a platform of complete support for the program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, including the much criticized effort to pack the Supreme Court.

From the first days of his congressional career, Lyndon Johnson embraced the objectives of the neosocialistic welfare state, the only variation being his votes against civil rights legislation. Johnson's record in Congress, as recorded by the ultraliberal ADA, shows complete support of all liberal philosophy except where civil rights is concerned.

At almost the opposite end of the political spectrum lie the beliefs of BARRY GOLDWATER. He has continued to oppose most legislation designed to encroach upon the liberties of the individual and his local government. In GOLDWATER's 12 years in the U.S. Senate, his record shows no support for socialistic programs but strong support of equal voting rights for all minorities.

Since these two men are very nearly the same age, how can this widespread difference in political beliefs occur?

During the years when Lyndon Johnson was running the NYA in Texas, BARRY GOLDWATER was running the family store in Phoenix. Both were fighting the ravages of the depression of the 1930's, Johnson in the pay of the Federal Government, and GOLDWATER in control of a free enterprise institution.

One of the complaints often heard from legislators at all levels and from both parties is that after a lengthy term of tax-supported service, an individual becomes more willing to advocate extension of Government activities. It is easy to see how Johnson, after his years of service in Government during the socialistic experimentation of the 1930's, lost all the conservatism ordinarily expected of a Texan and became a wholehearted supporter of the welfare state.

This basic difference in the future role of the Federal Government will become more noticeable as the campaign progresses. All voters should analyze this difference and carefully decide which man will lead the Federal Government as it was intended to be led when the Republic with checks and balances was founded.

The Beef Import Restriction Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am very hopeful that the friends of agriculture will have sufficient votes to prevent the beef import restriction bill from being buried in a Senate-House conference committee during the remainder of the session.

I was among 8 or 10 Members of the House who appeared before the Rules Committee Wednesday morning asking for a rule which would permit the House to accept the Senate version of the meat import restriction amendment.

By a vote of 8 to 7 the Rules Committee voted down the resolution authorizing the House to accept the Senate version of the bill and by the same vote passed a resolution authorizing the House to vote on whether or not to send it to conference.

If the House sends this measure to conference the odds are very strong that it will never see the light of day, since the administration and the State Department are very much opposed to its passage and I am fearful these forces will be able to tie the measure up in the conference committee.

I think we have the votes to keep it from being sent to conference and then the votes to pass it over the objection of the administration.

This is a most important bill. It is a matter of life or death for the farmers and beef producers of the Nation.

South Vietnam—House Joint Resolution 1145

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for House Joint Resolution 1145, a joint resolution "to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia." I do so, though, without any real hope that it will achieve the noble aims set forth in its title. However, it is difficult to vote against a resolution which supports the President in taking "all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States" and which sets its own expiration "when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations."

I am of the very firm conviction that the peace and freedom which this country is dedicated to achieve in South Vietnam will not be attained by the gradual escalation of this unfortunate war. As long as the Communist forces, seeking to gain control of South Vietnam, can continually replenish and strengthen their guerrilla units from the mass of unhappy peasants in this land and can arm these units with American weapons seized from the frequently cooperative government forces—there is no victory possible.

This the Vietcong can do and for one reason only. To the masses of peasants the Vietcong are the voices of freedom in that country, not the American advisers with their helicopters and napalm bombs. We are but a continuation, in their eyes, of 100 years of foreign oppression, an oppression which they successfully overcame after 10 hard-fought years—in the case of the French—and which they will similarly overcome in our case. The successions of military dictatorships which serve as a pretense for a popular government do not really convince the South Vietnamese people that they will provide peace, freedom, and prosperity for that country.

I know and you know that the Vietcong will not bring freedom to South Vietnam; it will bring only the oppression of a Communist dictatorship. But the people do not know this, and they will not learn this by having their children and parents, brothers and sisters killed in a continuously more devastating armed conflict.

The brutal fact is that, in this situation and most other similar situations elsewhere in the world, Communism is seeking to expand by armed force under the guise of a "war of national liberation," and the United States—despite its good intentions—is cast in the role of a foreign enemy of this "national liberation."

Is there an answer to this potentially world-destroying dilemma? I think

that there may be, but it does not lie in the direction of broadening the war—by however small or justified the steps. In my opinion, the answer lies in the direction of full-scale intervention by the United Nations—upon the request of both North and South Vietnam—and with maximum support from the major powers. This intervention should consist of sufficient armed forces properly equipped to patrol the borders of the country and to enforce the laying down of all arms by guerrilla units in the area. The regular army should, at the same time, be drastically reduced. The resources which the United States has been pouring into the country to support the war should be used, instead, to rebuild the land and to help support the United Nations police forces, jointly with the other major powers. Every possible effort should be made to develop programs of local education and self-government as rapidly as possible so that the people can enjoy freedom and democracy in a real and meaningful way.

This kind of program, executed under the banner of a world organization using a multinational force, predominately of Asiatics, and bringing material assistance directly to the people on a scale comparable to the material destruction which we have been supporting and encouraging, could have hope of winning the war for democracy in South Vietnam. Any other approach is mere sham and pretense, bearing within it, I fear, the seeds of death for millions of the world's population.

Doctor Loop's Mansion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call the attention of our colleagues to an outstanding example of philanthropy which is unique because of the nature of the gift and also because of its historic importance to Sanilac County in Michigan's Seventh Congressional District, which I am honored to represent.

I am referring to the gift of several acres of land, a house situated on the property, and the furnishings in the house to the Sanilac County Historical Society. The house is to be used as a museum.

The man responsible for this gift to the people of Sanilac County is Mr. Stanley Harrison, a retired sea captain. I did not want to let this occasion pass without expressing my personal congratulations to Mr. Harrison and to join other citizens of the State of Michigan in thanking him for his generosity. Although I am not a resident of Sanilac County, I am looking forward to visiting the museum.

I understand that Mr. Harrison's grandfather, Dr. Joseph M. Loop, acquired 40 acres of land in 1854 in what is now known as Port Sanilac. In about 1874, he built a three-story brick house on the property. To the people who lived in and around Port Sanilac, the house was known as Doctor Loop's Mansion.

Dr. Loop's grandson, Mr. Harrison, recognized the historic importance of the property he inherited and has deeded several acres, the house, and its furnishings to the Sanilac County Historical Society.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Sanilac County are grateful to Mr. Harrison for his generous gift. I am proud to be able to join him in publicly thanking him for his generosity.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

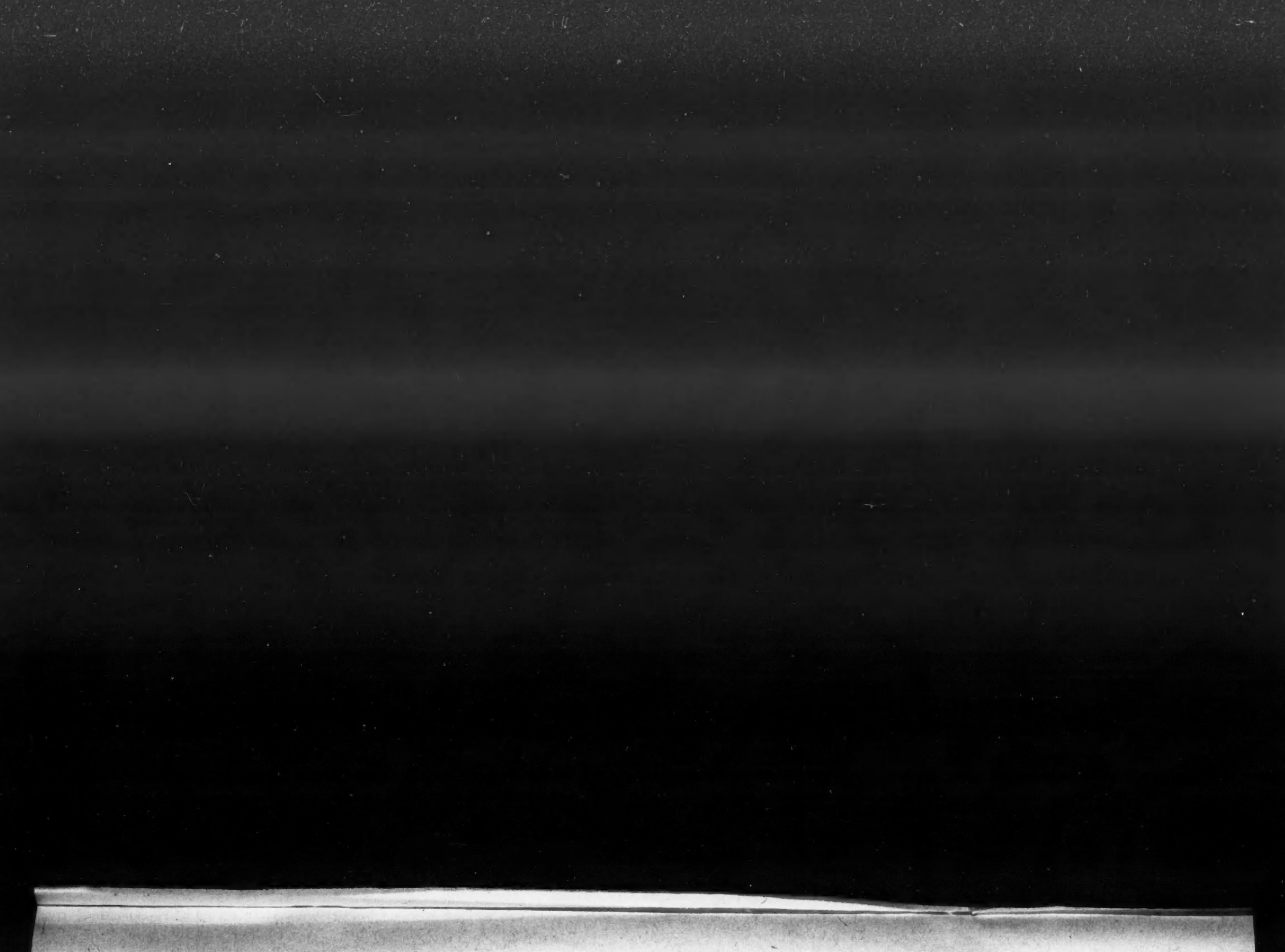

Appendix

Rivers and Harbors in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, on July 11, 1963, I had the distinct privilege of paying tribute to one of Florida's great citizens, the Honorable Henry H. Buckman, president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. At that time, my remarks concerned his reelection to a fifth consecutive term as president of this most effective organization. The proper planning for development and maximum use of the rivers and harbors of our country is a matter which deeply concerns the welfare of America. I am sure that all my colleagues will agree with me that the National Rivers and Harbors Congress is a most valuable organization toward achieving this end.

At this time I would like to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the annual report of the president, Mr. Buckman, to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

My original remarks, last year, concerned his report to the 50th annual national convention. These remarks concern the 51st annual national convention. I know the Congress will join with me in paying continuing tribute to the good works of this organization and the matters for which it petitions the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this annual report printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, IN CONVENTION, BY ITS PRESIDENT, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 5, 1964

Pursuant to the powers and duties vested in its president by the National Rivers and Harbors Congress this report is submitted to the 51st annual convention of your organization convened in Washington, D.C.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCE

Our membership continues to show a healthy growth. The slight increase in the required dues payable by individual and group members determined by your directors in 1963 as necessary to meet in some measure the rising cost of operation has been cheerfully accepted by substantially the entire body. Under the careful management of our executive vice president, Bill Webb, we were able to complete the calendar year 1963 with a modest balance in the operating account. However, it should be said that the cost of all operation is increasing at a rate faster than the rate of income. This can be met only by an increase in our membership, and the situation merits the attention of all.

POLICIES

At this time, it is fitting that we reaffirm the nonpartisan, nonsectional policies which this organization has pursued from the beginning and will continue to pursue. These include the providing of a strictly factual information service with respect to water to the public, to our membership, and to the State and Federal Governments; affording to the Federal Government an important screening service in the appraisal of proposed water resources public works of every kind which have been brought before your committee on projects for this purpose by their proponents; the continuing advocacy of those public works endorsed by this committee; the defense of all such, projected or accomplished, against encroachment inimical to the public interest; the insistence on the devotion to water resources study, construction, and maintenance, of an increasing proportion of the annual budget commensurate with the developing needs for such; the encouragement of research in the field of water; and a firm insistence on the coordination of our water resources use and development with the national defense.

WORK OF THE STANDING OPERATIVE COMMITTEES

The functioning of the standing operative committees has continued to lend guidance in the pursuit of our objectives. The work of the secretaries as well as of the chairmen and vice chairmen of these committees is a public service of high order. The members of these committees are entitled to commendations for the work they do. These standing operative committees include those on projects with Representative Bob Secrest as chairman and Al Hansen as vice chairman; on industrial water use and pollution abatement with Representative John Blatnik as chairman and Judge Sturrock as vice chairman; on irrigation and reclamation with Representative Edgar Chenoweth as chairman and Joe Grimes as vice chairman; on recreation and wildlife with Representative Ed Edmondson as chairman and Randolph Hodges as vice chairman; on inland navigation with Gleason Stambaugh as chairman and Dale Miller as vice chairman; and that common denominator of all these committees, the committee on resolutions with Representative W. R. Hull as chairman and Representative John Young as vice chairman.

THE MONTHLY REPORTER

The "Monthly Reporter" continues to increase in popularity. Under Jack Avery's supervision, it has become a periodical of proven reliability not only for our readers but for the executive and legislative branches of the Government.

THE BUREAU OF WATER RESOURCES

Our bureau of water resources is at present awaiting the authorization by Congress of the acceptance by the Federal Government of the proposed gift by the bureau of a water resources educational building to be located in the National Capital parks in Washington. The proposed building itself, with its great map and library, and headquarters space for each of the States, will not only be financed by the bureau, but the bureau will equip, operate, and maintain it on a nonprofit basis without cost to the Government. The institution would be wholly owned by the Government and operated under regulations approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It would represent no cost to or future obligation of the Government. The bureau would be a nonprofit operator of a Government facility dedicated to public education.

We may be proud of the fidelity and perseverence with which the trustees of the bureau, Lester Moody, Bill Camp, and Herbert West, under the chairmanship of the first-named, have pursued this objective before the Nation and before the Congress. We recognize and applaud the services of all these, rendered without compensation. That the enterprise has already received the formal endorsement of 47 of the 50 States is eloquent evidence of the duty they have performed.

We are grateful to our national vice president, Representative BOB SIKES, and to our good friend Representative WAYNE ASPINALL, for introducing and supporting the identical bills in the House which would bring into being this great public institution.

In the Senate, our thanks and recognition of their devotion to the public interest are due to Senators DOMINICK and ALLOTT of Colorado, HOLLAND, of Florida, CHURCH, of Idaho, DIRKSEN, of Illinois, HAYDEN, of Arizona, MAGNUSON, of Washington, JORDAN, of Idaho, KUCHEL, of California, BURDICK, of North Dakota, and Moss, of Utah. All of these have joined in the introduction of the identical bill in the Senate.

The record would not be complete unless we gave due recognition for services rendered to the bureau in this enterprise by our vice president for the District of Columbia, Frank Collins; and to our national directors, Judge Sturrock, Clarence Tull, Al Hansen, Francis Pitkin, Walter White, John Quinn, Walter Gahagan, Joe Martin, Jim Townsend, Bill Webb, Bill Bailey, and all the others who have rendered yeoman services in this effort.

Our thanks are due to the Members of the House and Senate and to other distinguished citizens who serve on our Advisory Committee or who have supported this legislation. We are indebted to the many noted educators who have stood forth to be counted for this enterprise. Our thanks are likewise due to Marshall Dana and all those other regional directors and State vice presidents who have contributed time and effort to this cause.

We await the action of Congress with a firm reliance on its wisdom, and a clear perception of the arduous nature of the legislative load borne by that body. I am advised by the chairman of the board of trustees that if the legislation necessary to create this great educational institution we seek to establish is not enacted at the present session, they will renew their offer in the next.

THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS

The Corps of Engineers of the Army has to its credit another year of major accomplishment in the field of water conservation, use and control. In this period, the scope and importance of their work is indicated by the great number of authorized projects examined, surveyed, planned, begun or completed by them. The list includes many projects of economic magnitude sufficient to favorably affect areas far exceeding their localities. Noteworthy among the projects of this group are the Cross-Florida Barge Canal, the en-

largement of the deep-draft channels of the Columbia and Williamette Rivers, the modernization of the transportation features of the Ohio River, the Saylorville Reservoirs in Iowa, the Kerr lock and dam in the Arkansas Basin, and the deepening of the Savannah River.

Among the many projects placed in useful operation by the corps during the period may be named the Sacramento deepwater ship channel, the Columbia lock and dam on the Chattahoochee, the Hartwell, Table Rock, Greens Ferry, and Hills Creek multiple-purpose reservoirs, and the Old River control works on the lower Mississippi.

Worthy of note is the promptness with which the corps mobilized its resources after the Alaskan earthquake to direct the restoration of essential defense and civilian installations.

THE BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

During the past year, the Bureau of Reclamation has continued its splendid progress in the field assigned to it by Congress. Much of the defined area of its operations is characterized in general by the necessity not only for the proper use and control of water, but for collecting and distributing adequate supplies of water. The Bureau has addressed itself to its assigned duty with exemplary vision and insight. Its accomplishments bear witness to this, particularly with regard to the fundamental necessity for adequate, continuing water supply. It has thus spearheaded the implementation of the basic concept which originally caused Congress to create the Department of the Interior; namely, the unification by population and development of our areas west of the Mississippi, once economically and physically separated by the great desert regions of the Continent.

In 1963, the Bureau substantially completed two of the great dams of the Colorado River project. The Glen Canyon Dam has been cited by the American Society of Civil Engineers as an outstanding civil engineering achievement. The Flaming Gorge Dam on the Green River in Utah is noteworthy because of the regional importance of its hydroelectric output.

Construction has been started on the Morrow Point Dam which will embody modern concepts and design features developed by the Bureau.

The reclamation highlight of the period was probably the begininng of major construction in California on the San Luis unit of the Central Valley project for large-scale water storage on the western side of the San Joaquin Valley.

THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

Again we salute the Bureau of the Budget for a job well done. This essential implement of Executive policy continues to efficiently perform the functions for which Congress created it.

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE

In a world of increasing threat to the security of our people and the survival of our institutions, we hold that the primary duty of all is an endeavor to relate their interests and activities to the defense of our country against attack from without and subversion from within. We of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress are dedicated to leadership in the development, use, conservation, and appropriate distribution of our total precipitation, with a view to the strengthening of certain essential elements of our defense. These include the production of food, the winning of materials, adequate economical transportation, and an ample reserve of hydroelectric generating capacity. All of these depend upon the availability of enough water, and it is the lesson of history that against an attack of magnitude and duration, inadequacy in developed resources in any of these fields can lead to disaster.

We may view with encouragement, but certainly not with complacence, the progress which has been made in the development of these basic elements of our defense. Probably the chief mission of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress is to create and foster among our people an awareness of the incompleteness of our preparedness in these fields, and of the reality of the potential necessity for such. If the water is adequately conserved and distributed, and efficiently used, enough water is probably precipitated upon, or can flow into, the United States to meet all foreseeable needs of a population much greater than now exists.

But much water will have flowed under our bridges, and much time and effort and many billions of dollars will have been expended before even our growing peacetime water needs will have been met. More still will be required to enable us to survive a future armed conflict of great magnitude and duration.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President.

Herbert Clark Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 90th anniversary of the birth in Iowa of one of the world's leading citizens, Herbert Clark Hoover, 31st President of the United States.

There will be other remarks about this great America non this floor today, but I doubt if any of my colleagues can relate their origins to Mr. Hoover quite as closely as it gives me pleasure to do.

We were born just a short distance apart in eastern Iowa. His father was a blacksmith and my father, a Danish immigrant, dug tile ditch with a spade. President Hoover's father, whose shop was in West Branch, often shod my father's horses.

Today, as the transcontinental traveler approaches the little village of West Branch on the magnificent Interstate Highway 80, he is advised by road signs that here is the tiny dwelling in which Herbert Hoover was born. Close by is the imposing new Hoover Library, repository of his many personal papers and documents of state, honors, awards, and so forth, which have been accumulated by this exemplary citizen in a long and useful career covering many occupations and pursuits.

Not until one has perused the collection of items in this marvelous showcase does the average American realize what a major contribution Herbert Clark Hoover has made to his country and to the world. His wisdom and energy are apparent everywhere.

I was a party worker for Mr. Hoover in his successful campaign of 1928, and again in his sad loss against a hopeless situation in 1932.

It is part of the genius of America that its transcendant spirit of fairplay asserts itself, sooner or later, no matter how distorted our national emotions may become at any given moment.

In the case of Hoover, it took longer than most, and considerably longer than it should have. I will not dwell on the factors that produced this unnecessary situation.

Suffice it to say that Herbert Hoover has now outlived by years all of his most vitriolic critics. And most of them lived long enough to appreciate that Hoover himself was undeserving of the calumny heaped upon him in the early 1930's.

It is consoling to know that this great and good man has lived to see a grateful Nation restore him to eminence. I only regret that circumstances beyond control of any of us caused the denial of his competence to us for the long period when he had no role in our national life; but his humane service to his country and the world will live in the hearts of man forever.

The Conservation Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Edward J. Meeman is conservation editor for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. He is also a personal friend.

On Monday, August 3, there was published in the Memphis Press-Scimitar, of which Ed Meeman is editor emeritus, and, I believe, in other Scripps-Howard newspapers, an editorial concerning the actions of Congress for the cause of conservation during this session. While speaking in particular of the wilderness bill and the land and water conservation fund bill, Mr. Meeman called attention to others, including the river basin planning bill, as needed for addition to the list of conservation accomplishments.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Meeman be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FEW MORE ACTS, AND 88TH WILL BE "THE CONSERVATION CONGRESS"

(By Edward J. Meeman)

"If this Congress keeps up the way it is going, I think it will be known as the Conservation Congress."

So said Representative MORRIS UDALL, Democrat, of Arizona, during the debate on the wilderness bill. A few minutes later the House adopted two amendments to strengthen the bill and then passed it by the overwhelming vote of 373 to 1.

If the 88th Congress keeps on going in that fashion, it will indeed go down in history as "the Conservation Congress."

To earn that title, Congress needs to do these things:

Work out prompt agreement of the two Houses to reconcile their differing versions of the wilderness bill. With Senator CLINTON ANDERSON and Representative WAYNE

ASPINALL in charge of the respective bills in conference there's no difficulty there.

Take quick action in the Senate on the House-passed land and water conservation fund bill. Sometimes late in a session one House accepts from the other a bill not wholly to its liking in order to get it through. The House has worked out a land and water bill which is an improvement over the original draft submitted by the administration; it substantially meets all objections. The Senate would make no mistake to pass the House version unamended.

BILLS CAREFULLY WORKED OUT

But Congress should not be content to pass only these two big bills. There are other bills well along toward passage which can and should be sent all the way; they have been carefully worked out.

There is the river basin planning bill. It will improve the coordination of the various Federal agencies involved in water projects. It will provide a new type of Federal-State agency to assist the State to become more active in planning the desperately needed conservation of their dwindling water resources.

STILL TIME TO ADD THESE

There is yet time to add these to the Nation's permanent outdoor treasures:

Ozark National Rivers, Fire Island National Seashore, Tocks Island National Recreation Area, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, Big Horn Canyon National Recreation Area, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Oregon Dunes National Seashore.

Have I left out one or more areas just as deserving and also well enough along toward passage that they can be put through? Possibly. All right, Mr. Congressman, add them to the list.

The way Congress is going, many big things can be accomplished in the time that remains so that this will be truly "the conservation Congress."

Herbert Hoover at 90—A Small Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, no former President has been more beloved by his countrymen than Herbert Hoover and no person has been more deserving of the respect and affection in which he is almost universally held.

Today, Herbert Hoover is 90 years old and can look back on almost a century of service and dedication that would fill any man with justifiable pride.

With all of his countrymen and with hundreds of thousands of well-wishers all over the world, I join in wishing Herbert Hoover a very happy birthday.

A fitting tribute has been paid Herbert Hoover by Ralph de Toledano of King Features Syndicate in a column entitled "Herbert Hoover at 90—A Small Tribute." Under unanimous consent, I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The column follows:

IN WASHINGTON: HERBERT HOOVER AT 90—A SMALL TRIBUTE

(By Ralph de Toledano)

It seems incredible that Herbert Hoover is 90 years old today. For in this gently witty, deeply religious, and enormously compassionate man, there is a quality of spirit that is detached from time. We think of time as breakneck or stiff gaited, but always as an impersonal force which seizes us as we are placed in this wonderful, tragic world, and never allows us to forget that at some point we shall be snatched away.

Time is cold, but Herbert Hoover—to those who have known and loved him—is a warm man, sharing that warmth with all who approach him. This, too, is a little incredible, for there is a shyness about him which a world given to extroversion once considered aloofness.

I cannot claim to any longstanding intimacy with Mr. Hoover. His circle of friends, all fiercely loyal, deserves not to have comelately interlopers holding themselves up for credit they do not deserve. But I have known Herbert Hoover and, like all of his friends and acquaintances, I am deeply in his debt. This is a personal matter and perhaps of no consequence. The debt that others owe him—men and women throughout the world who have never spoken to him and perhaps seen him only in newspaper photos, newsreels, or on the television tube—is far greater than what the direct recipients of his giving heart must acknowledge.

By this, I do not mean the people who owe their lives to his labors in feeding the starving after two great wars. I do not refer to the people at the receiving end of his secret charities. I go back to the root of that word, to caritas—and I say that in Herber Hoover this caritas has shown like a good deed in a naughty world.

But this, too, is only part of the story. You can read the details of that story in Eugene Lyons' biography, "Herbert Hoover," which Doubleday has just published. It is a book to read and to ponder, for Mr. Lyons has known the chief well and has caught him in motion with quick skill and perceptiveness. Mr. Hoover's life as a private and a public man, as a President who took the brunt of unmerciful attack with a calm that transcends stoicism, as a leader of men and a servant of his country—these are the stuff of this book and should be known by every American.

But I think of my debt to Herbert Hoover in terms which could have been enunciated had I never met him or joined however briefly in his conversations. I refer specifically to Herbert Hoover as an example in his life and his works, in his aspirations and his ideals. In our time, there have been men who have won the shouting adulation of the multitude—and it is sad to remember how many of these idols served evil and betrayed their idolaters.

The cheering stopped for Herbert Hoover in the dark days of a depression he could have ended had the country given him the opportunity. Like patience on a monument, he watched the fabric of American life being rewoven to a pattern he could not conscience. But in time, and in an accretion almost imperceptible, he found himself surrounded by affection, by love, by respect, and by gratitude. History will assess his role, but it does not require the verdict of ages to say that Herbert Hoover will be written in the books as this Nation's most loved President.

This love, this respect, this gratitude derives from an instinctive and infallible knowledge among his countrymen of Mr. Hoover's rich patriotism—extreme to some in its sweeping search for what is just and best for the United States, for the American soil, but moderate when it is measured against this country's needs.

It requires no campaign in public relations for Americans to sense this and to respond to it. They can match Herbert Hoover's patriotism against his devotion to honor—a trait which is individual and cannot be served in the mass. This is a little about what Herbert Hoover is, what his example has been and continues to be, and what this Nation's debt to him approximates.

We can look to Herbert Hoover, quietly celebrating his 90th birthday—a man full of years and full of wisdom. He has seen the world's sorrows, he has never flinched from the realization that life is pain. It is a world he has never turned away from, in fear or rejection. For his wisdom, born of courage, has smiled in joy or in pity at man's fate—but it has smiled. For this, too, I am grateful.

Happy birthday, Chief.

The International Executive Service Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, an achievement which has given me great personal satisfaction is the establishment of the International Executive Service Corps. I have previously noted in the Senate the occasion of its formal launching on June 15, when the board of the new private foreign assistance group was received by President Johnson.

Recently, Frank A. White, in his column "Hoosier Day," which is published by a number of Indiana newspapers, devoted some space to this development. I ask unanimous consent that this item, taken from the Shelbyville, Ind., News for July 31 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOSIER DAY

(By Frank A. White)

In 1962 Indiana's U.S. Senator VANCE HARTKE returned from Africa, one of his many trips abroad.

He told his aid, Mace Broide and others:

"The biggest need in underdeveloped countries today is not for handouts, not for sympathy.

"What they have told us they need most of all is a strong, vibrant economy built around the American private enterprise system. They want to know how we do it. They need to learn the methods and techniques which have brought to the United States the highest standard of living in all history."

HARTKE, described as a man in a hurry, matched with his conviction the fact there is a great pool of retired Americans who have been successful in business. These retirees are unhappy at idleness. They still have great capacities for work and service, but are victims of a calendar age of retirement.

Out of HARTKE's dream came the formal kickoff at a White House Rose Garden meeting of the new International Executive Service Corps. It will be a counterpart of the Peace Corps that has been an astounding success, despite prophets of doom who said it would not work.

The Senior Citizen Business Corps that HARTKE initiated will be sponsored by business. It has the aid and blessing of the Federal Agency for International Development. It gave the Executive Corps a boost of $100,000 to get the show on the road. Possibly 1,000 may be recruiters the first year.

The Executive Corps cochairmen are David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank, and Sol Linovitz, chairman of Xerox Corp. Frank Cruger, president of Indiana

Manufacturers Supply Co., Indianapolis, is a member of the 15-man executive committee.

One of the first two volunteers is Omer C. Lunsford, 58, of Anderson, retired from the American Oil Co. A roster of those over 55 who are retired from American business and who will devote a period of time teaching skills to businessmen abroad, will be compiled. They will give services free, and receive partial compensation or be kept on payrolls of private cooperating firms.

President Johnson hailed HARTKE's Executive Service Corps plan as "an inspiring example of sane, sensible, responsible, and constructive cooperation" between Government and private enterprise. It will make friends among peoples of other countries that will help Indiana trade indirectly. It is a people-to-people operation, independent of the Government.

Senator HARTKE is congratulated by many Hoosiers for getting the project rolling. Application forms may be had from International Executive Corps, Post Office Box 530, Grand Central Station, New York.

Results of Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES T. BROYHILL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, during the last 2 months, I have been conducting a public opinion poll of the 11 counties of the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina in an effort to determine the sentiment of the residents of the district on a number of national issues. When this poll was issued in June, all of the issues listed in it were pending before the Congress. Since that time, final action has been taken on a number of them while others still remain unresolved. The survey is now complete, and I wish to call to the attention of the Congress the expressions of opinion I have received.

This poll represents the tabulation of 6,201 responses from residents of my district which were received before July 20. The questionnaire was given a large distribution by direct mail and every effort was made to complete its circulation without regard to the political affiliation or the special interests of those receiving it. The results represent a large sample of the total population of the district, and it is my belief that it is a good gage of public sentiment at this time.

A large proportion of those participating in the poll commented in detail explaining why they feel as they do. These remarks cannot, of course, be reflected in the statistical tabulation. However, they have often raised points of view that I had not previously considered and have provided me with new insights into many of these issues.

The most persistent expression in the poll has been a deep concern over the expansion of Federal power which many of these issues involve and the increase in Federal spending and deficit financing. While such comments sometimes focused on the issue of civil rights, they were in most bases general in nature and included comments about the broad trends toward new Federal authority over the States and private citizens.

I had expected a greater divergence of opinion than was borne out by the poll. On 16 of the 26 questions in the questionnaire, the responses indicated support or opposition to the issues by more than two-thirds. Those issues to which there was decisive opposition were Red China's admission to the U.N., expanded trade with Communist countries, new Federal programs to cause further unbalanced budgets, the Federal pay raise, increasing the national debt limit, the civil rights bill, the President's poverty program, legislation requiring double time pay for overtime work, a Federal law requiring adoption of daylight savings time, higher farm price supports and farm production controls, Federal aid to local public transit systems, and the reactivation of the CCC program for young people.

Among those issues where more than two-thirds of the responses expressed support included a stronger policy toward Cuba, support of a constitutional amendment to leave authority for voluntary school prayer and Bible reading to State and local communities, and an income tax credit for parents with children in college.

On the civil rights issue, 65 percent favored guarantees of the right to vote in Federal elections. Other key sections of the civil rights legislation were opposed.

The most evenly divided expression of opinion occurred on the question of pensions for World War I veterans with less than 1 percent dividing those for and against the issue and more than 9 percent undecided. Considerable disagreement also existed about the question of carrying the war in South Vietnam to North Vietnam as 49 percent favored such action, 34 percent opposed it, and 17 percent expressed no opinion.

Alternative plans for medical care for the aged had strong advocates and opponents with widely divergent opinions expressed. Approximately 14 percent favored the King-Anderson plan for assistance through the social security system. Twenty-seven percent favored the Kerr-Mills program of Federal-State assistance to those in need. Another 14 percent preferred a program of private hospitalization insurance with Federal assistance in meeting the cost of the premium payments. Thirty-two percent, however, felt that private hospitalization insurance and no Federal participation was preferable and 13 percent expressed no opinion.

The complete tabulation of the poll's results is as follows:

Results of public opinion poll, 9th District of North Carolina

	Percentages		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you approve of the sale of United States wheat to the Soviet Union?	28.01	64.88	7.11
2. Do you favor admission of Communist China to the U.N?	8.48	84.46	7.06
3. Should the United States expand trade with Communist countries?	20.92	69.99	9.09
4. Do you believe the war in South Vietnam should be carried into Communist Vietnam?	48.99	33.62	17.39
5. Do you believe that the President's request of $3,500,000,000 for foreign aid for the next 12 months should be (check only one)—	Percent		
(a) Approved	13.58		
(b) Increased	.87		
(c) Reduced substantially	75.63		
(d) No opinion	9.92		
6. Do you believe that U.S. policy on Cuba should include greater effort toward convincing the free world to boycott trade with Castro?	77.18	14.26	8.56
7. Do you feel that new Federal programs should be started if their cost will result in unbalanced budgets and increased national debt?	6.34	84.50	9.16
8. Do you favor a pay raise for Federal officials, Members of Congress, and Federal employees?	19.34	69.16	11.50
9. Are you in favor of the Secretary of the Treasury's request for an increase in the legal national debt limit from the present $315,000,000,000 to $324,000,000,000?	9.34	81.89	8.77
10. Do you favor the civil rights bill now being debated in the Senate?	10.87	79.50	9.63
11. Do you favor the following provisions of the civil rights bill (please answer all)?			
(a) Federal regulations to guarantee right to vote in Federal elections	65.46	25.48	9.06
(b) Empower the U.S. Attorney General to bring court action to enforce school integration	11.85	80.00	8.15
(c) Federal regulations to prevent discrimination in employment	20.66	70.00	9.34
(d) Federal laws to guarantee equal access by all citizens to public accommodations	19.42	72.02	8.56
(e) Federal regulations to prevent discrimination in programs where Federal funds are involved	34.90	57.04	8.06
12. Which of the following plans for medical care for the aged do you approve (check only 1)?	Percent		
(a) King-Anderson bill: A compulsory program of hospitalization and nursing-home care for persons over 65, financed by increased social security taxes	13.82		
(b) Kerr-Mills Act: A Federal-State program of assistance based on need and financed from general revenues	27.50		
(c) Bow bill: A voluntary program of hospitalization insurance with costs shared by the Federal Government and individual beneficiaries	14.00		
(d) Private hospitalization insurance and no Federal participation	31.54		13.14
13. Do you approve of the President's program to combat poverty costing $1,000,000,000 in the 1st year?	21.05	69.50	9.45
14. Do you agree that the Johnson administration's proposal to require double-time pay for overtime work would decrease unemployment?	20.27	72.06	7.67

Results of public opinion poll, 9th District of North Carolina—Continued

	Percentages		
	Yes	No	No opinion
15. Should there be a Federal law to require national adoption of daylight savings time during summer months?	14.20	75.76	9.95
16. Do you support a proposed constitutional amendment to leave decisions relating to voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools to the State and local communities?	75.07	13.93	11.00
17. Do you believe that the farm problem can be solved through higher price supports guaranteed by the Government and greater Federal controls on farm production?	10.81	79.37	9.82
18. Are stronger Federal controls over the private ownership of firearms needed?	35.64	54.91	9.45
19. When a vacancy in the office of Vice President occurs, should the Constitution empower the President to select a new Vice President with the approval of the Congress?	60.73	27.63	11.64
20. Do you approve of the proposed program of special help for the Appalachia area to cost $227,000,000 in the 1st year?	22.46	64.94	12.60
21. Should the Federal Government undertake a program to assist mass transportation systems in and around large cities to cost $500,000,000 to start?	15.19	75.49	9.32
22. Would you favor reduction of the standard workweek from 40 to 35 hours?	26.58	65.26	8.19
23. Do you think a small charge should be made in national forests and parks for use of highly developed recreational facilities (camping grounds with sanitary facilities, fireplaces and picnic tables, boat launching sites, etc.) to maintain existing facilities and finance additional facilities of this kind?	62.27	28.46	9.27
24. Do you favor an income tax credit for parents with children in college to help them defray part of the cost of education?	70.68	21.51	7.81
25. Should unemployment among young pelple be combated with a Federal plan similar to the old CCC program wherein 50,000 young men and women would be enrolled at an annual cost of $4,700 per enrollee?	21.22	67.15	11.63
26. Do you believe all veterans of World War I should be provided a Federal pension of $100 per month if their annual income (excluding the 1st $1,200 of retirement income) does not exceed $2,400, if single, or $3,600 for veterans with dependents?	45.22	45.49	9.29

No Room for Hate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Madill (Okla.) Record, a prizewinning weekly newspaper published in my district by Herbert J. Pate and Jim Pate, carried an editorial in its July 30 issue which I feel has a message for all America. The editorial follows:

NO ROOM FOR HATE

It is neither possible nor desirable that all of us should agree on all things political. If there were no differences of opinion there would be no need for political parties or for elections.

And it is right and proper that all of us should express our varying opinions.

That does not mean that we should become mortal enemies of those with whom we disagree, nor that we should hate political leaders whom we oppose.

Unfortunately, there has been too much actual political hatred in this country in recent years.

There were those who actually held hatred in their hearts for the late President John F. Kennedy, and there were a few who expressed this ignoble emotion even after his assassination.

We cannot shrug off this hatred as something that existed only afar—for some of it was expressed here in Oklahoma. Certainly it was the sentiment of only an infinitesimal few, but it existed here in our own State.

Opposition to President Lyndon B. Johnson appears to be following much the same pattern as did opposition to Kennedy.

Certainly it is every citizen's privilege and duty to oppose any and all administration policies he feels are wrong. Certainly he has every right to voice his opposition, or agreement, and vote as he chooses.

When political differences are transformed into personal hatred, however, it's time for a bit of self-analysis.

Unfortunately there are some books being circulated now which seem to be written for the purpose of creating personal hatred.

These hate books should be read with discriminating care, if at all, and then tossed into the ashcan.

We Have Representation Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place an editorial by Dwight C. Wetherholt, editor of the Gallipolis Daily Tribune, in the RECORD. This editorial deals with the problems of representation and reapportionment being faced by many States today. This problem is one of growing and immediate interest to thoughtful citizens everywhere:

WE HAVE REPRESENTATION PROBLEMS

It is rather difficult for the average citizen to keep track of all of the things that concern him in changes taking place in our method of government. They keep piling up on every hand, and he hardly knows which way to turn. In a presidential election year it is difficult for the voter to concentrate on much but what is on the Federal scene. In reality the most important things are happening in the State and local levels, and at the same time it is extremely important that he keep a weather eye on the decisions of the Supreme Court. Ohio, along with several other States is faced with the problem of reapportionment. This means a lot to rural counties like Gallia, and it could easily lead to almost the elimination of some of our representation, or at least reduce the effectiveness of the rural viewpoint.

The decision recently handed down by the Supreme Court shakes our whole system of government in that it claims States like Ohio unconstitutionally adopted the Federal system of representation by people and area. It would appear that they did not take into consideration that our present form of democracy has worked pretty well under the system of checks and balances. There are many in our land who feel that the Court has so far removed itself from the pulse of the people that it takes a lofty position which is far from the will of the majority of people.

In our book regardless of the representation ratio in a State legislature between the urban and rural sections makes no difference. A State to be great should be equally interested in the progress and advancement of the State as a whole. If one segment of the State is neglected the whole State suffers. There are some in the big metropolitan areas who feel that they should not be taxed for the benefit of the whole State population, and we cannot agree with that selfish line of thought.

The shattering of our framework of government took place with the June 15 decision of the Court, which states that the equal protection clause of the Constitution requires both houses of the State legislatures to be apportioned on a strictly population basis. It is surprising that only a few years ago there was no question but that the State legislative reapportionment was a matter which the Supreme Court would not and should not concern itself.

The Court handed down an opinion in 1948 which said: "It would be strange indeed, and doctrinaire, for this Court, applying broad constitutional concepts as due process and equal protection of the laws, to deny a State the power to assure a proper diffusion of political initiative as between its thinly populated counties and those having concentrated masses, in view of the fact that the latter have practical opportunities for exerting their political weight at the polls not available to the former. The Constitution—a practical instrument of government makes no such demands on the States." Here in Ohio the constitution specifies how and when, every 10 years, the apportionment board shall apportion the legislature. The last was made in 1961, but that apparently does not satisfy the demands now made under the High Court's decision. The whole thing smacks of politics and you and I stand to be the losers.—D.C.W.

A Free American Press Guarantees Our Freedom—Newspapermen Are Fighters for the Truth—Honesty and Courage Are the Hallmarks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, in the past few months varied attacks upon the press of this Nation concerning both the integrity of the press and the veracity of

the news which it prints have appeared. These are serious charges, but not so grave as those that challenge the basic right that the press is entitled to under the Constitution. Freedom of the press—complete freedom—is one of our most valued privileges and one which we should protect at all costs. Certainly this is what separates us from Tass and Izvestia, and every American should be aware of the great responsibilities of our Nation's press as well as the vital service which it performs.

The Vallejo Times-Herald, one of the finest papers in California, recently stressed the importance of this issue in a timely and succinct editorial which I am sure will be of interest to those who wish to conserve our basic freedoms:

There is no need to wait until another National Newspaper Week to remind Americans that the greatest guarantee of their freedom rests within the framework of a free press.

After all, a reminder now and then can do no harm, and it just might do tremendous good to refresh the memory of those who may have forgotten it.

With possibly the exception of England, with certain qualifications, and West Germany, with even more qualifications, the only free press is right here in our own United States.

For a long time, there has been a tendency to take for granted this freedom of the press, with Americans knowing but failing to realize that it is, indeed, an unassailable bastion of our liberty.

Hollywood, when the knuckleheads were running the zoo down there before they all went broke, served neither a free American press nor the American people themselves by depicting newspaper reporters as charming but addlebrained characters with a heart of gold, a press pass in their hat, and a genius for being irresponsible.

Editors always wore eyeshades, dictating stories to a blond secretary—which isn't the way it works—while publishers were pale-faced and dreamy individuals who sat in a huge office with foot-deep rugs and read Byron by the hour.

The way Hollywood dished it out in movies about newspapers, the one thing the reporter, lady secretary, editor and publisher never had to worry about was truth.

It was about that time, too, that the Hildy Johnson of front page arrived to symbolize everybody's concept of what a newspaper reporter was like.

And there were a few Hildy Johnsons on the staffs of America's newspapers back in those days. But they never lasted very long. They got fired, because they could not meet the high standards of reporting demanded by the Nation's newspapers.

They were charming bums—but they were not newspapermen in the high tradition of this country's thousands of daily newspapers, big or small.

Nevertheless, a lot of Americans believed the Hollywood version—and thought less of American newspapers, as a result. The genius who invented the verb "brainwashed" had not yet arrived but that is what Hollywood, up to a certain point, helped to do to the American people in relation to newspapers. They decided that what you read in your newspaper was something to be taken with a grain of salt.

This was ridiculous, of course, if for no other reason than the very realistic fact that there are libel laws and another even more realistic fact—a poor product does not stay on the market very long.

And those newspapers whose publishers were so naive as to think they could deal now and then in something other than the truth and nothing but the truth discovered that they no longer were in business.

Nevertheless, thanks to the Hollywood of those days, the integrity of the American press was impugned—and a lot of it stuck. The Commies couldn't have done it any better.

The facts are, at the reporter level, that no profession in the world has higher standards of honesty and decency. Fact is gospel. College trained, aware they are part of a great American tradition, today's reporters are highly intelligent, dedicated men and women whose average annual salary is perhaps higher than the average lawyer, living by the truth and only the truth.

Like every other business, the newspaper business has its glamor boys and girls. These are the columnists, and with television coming of age, there has been an increasing trend—almost as a defensive mechanism—toward more columns, and certainly more interpretive writing, even in the news columns.

Columnists sometimes have an ax to grind, just as sometimes newspapers have an ax to grind. But the grinding manifests itself on the editorial page, where the readers can take an opinion—or leave it.

This is not to be confused with the facts—and only the facts—in the news columns of any newspaper in America.

The reporter who does not report facts does not keep his job. The editor who does not demand facts and only facts from his reporters does not last. And the publisher who does not demand this kind of a newspaper from his editor ceases to own a newspaper because he is out of business.

The result has been that America has a free press that can be trusted. Courage, like anything else, is a relative thing, and some newspapers have more courage than others. But the overall picture is one of a courageous, crusading American press aware of its trust and its responsibility to the American people and the high tradition of its own breed.

So American newspapers, through the decades, have been on the ramparts, guarding those ramparts and guarding the American people and American democracy.

Always the first objective of the tyrants in our own generation have been a Nation's newspapers. Hitler belittled them—before he took them over, causing them to become vehicles of Nazi propaganda.

Mussolini—there was a Mussolini, too, once upon a time—followed the same pattern in Italy.

He sent out his black-shirted cohorts to abuse the press, to preach that the newspapers could not be trusted, and when the Italian people had thus been brainwashed, Il Duce—you don't see that anymore—took over the newspapers and the Italian people along with the newspapers, because no longer did the Italian people have an army of the fourth estate, upon the frontlines of freedom, to defend them.

And Stalin knew what to do. Give them a Pravda to believe—or else, and a simple and basic rule: don't print the truth—distort the truth or hide the truth completely.

Americans know all this, of course, but also must realize it, too, and remember that an honest, trustworthy, courageous American free press is not to be compared in the same breath with Pravda. Those who would do this are painting themselves with their own brush—and let them be so identified.

This is a free America, and they have the right to do it, just as they have a right to boo a free American press.

But because this is, indeed, a free America, they aren't kidding anybody, including a free American press, and most of all a free American people, hundreds of thousands of whom learned their history not just from the history books, but in the Meuse-Argonne and at Ypres, or along the Tenaru or maybe Bastogne, or the rice paddies of Korea.

The American press is free, which is something even the boys on Pravda will admit when the boss isn't looking. It is still a fighting press—and it is to be trusted. And it intends to stay that way.

We thought we'd just remind everybody, on a pleasant Sunday morning.

Administration of Research and Development Grants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I have submitted to you this morning the second report of the Select Committee on Government Research. This report is the first substantive study to be completed by the committee and is entitled "Administration of Research and Development Grants." As the title would imply, the study presents, for the use of the House and the interested public, a comprehensive review of the current procedures by which some 85 offices in 30 Government departments and agencies support scientific research by the instrumentality of a grant, as distinguished from the contract instrument.

As was indicated in our first progress report, this study of research grants is but 1 of 10 studies now underway which have been designed to cover the full range of the Government's $15 billion research and development programs. Of that amount, approximately 10 percent or $15 billion are currently expended in pursuit of scientific knowledge; that is, basic research. About one-half of this amount, or roughly $720 million, are expended in slightly more than 20,000 grants. The remainder of the federally financed basic research is done either outside the Government under contracts or within Government laboratories.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, while the grant programs are a modest portion of our overall research and development expenditures, they are nonetheless a vital portion in that they are central to our support and conduct of basic research.

Because of the relatively modest nature of this program, this is not the report in which one would be likely to expect findings or recommendations looking toward spectacular savings of money. Programs involving the larger expenditures will be treated in some of our committee's forthcoming reports. As I will point out in a few moments, however, we have identified one area, relating to the use of the science information exchange, in which efficient use of this exchange as a coordinating device by the NIH has brought savings of upward of $5 million by eliminating potentially duplicating projects. These savings are of particular importance when we consider that the annual budget for the science information exchange is only

$1.5 million; hence, the savings in one Government agency grant program alone pay for the entire service several times over. We have made recommendations which, when implemented, will enlarge the effectiveness of this device, by making it apply to many agencies which do not now obtain or exploit the potential benefits. Such savings in time and money should improve the general efficiency of our grant programs and, I might add, would more than pay for the entire cost of operating our committee's 14-month investigation.

Before outlining briefly the findings and recommendations contained in our study, Mr. Speaker, let me say that this report is the product of devoted effort on the part of many people. We have received fine cooperation from many Government officials concerned with research and development programs; outstanding members of the scientific, university, and business communities have advised with us through several drafts of this report. In addition, I personally appreciate the fine, completely nonpartisan contributions and support which I have received from every member of the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the committee recognizes the unsurpassed quality of American research—and I can think of no more dramatic, current demonstration of this quality than our latest moon shot. We also recognize the enormous contribution which our great Government and private research institutions have made in undergirding such a spectacular developmental achievement, as well as achievements in medical, earth, physical, and social sciences generally.

The committee nonetheless has found need for improvement in the administration of our Federal grant programs, both general and specific. Evidence is still being received and analyzed, but on the basis of our findings so far, the committee has made, in this report, recommendations looking to such improvement.

For example, although the Congress has taken steps to insure its control of research grant policy, the methods by which it can do so need clearer definition. The committee has therefore recommended, in the present report, the following:

First. That requirements for departments and agencies to report research and development grants to the Congress should be consolidated in one statute, and made uniform for all departments and agencies.

Second. That to make such agency reports more readily useful, there should be in each House a central catalog, which should also be published, for wider circulation.

Third. That reports concerning grants should be sent not only to the congressional committees designated in the various existing statutes, but to all committees having legislative concern with those grants.

The committee has also found that within the executive branch, there is a lack of centralized information about grants—particularly grants which are currently in progress. A step toward correcting this lack has been taken by means of the science information exchange, operated within the Smithsonian Institution under the auspices of the National Science Foundation. But the committee has found that this exchange, which could be an invaluable tool both for researchers and research administrators, is, in effect, being undercut. Departments and agencies which should be supplying it information about their ongoing programs are, in fact, withholding it and, instead, setting up private, competing, miniature exchanges within themselves.

We have, therefore, made several recommendations in this report aimed at strengthening the science information exchange as a source of information about research in progress or under consideration, particularly by continued support and greater compliance by departments and agencies which administer grants.

Another issue to which our report addresses itself is that of communication between the grant-administering agencies and the scientific community. To prevent the impression that departments and agencies are more limited in their research interests than is actually the case, we have recommended open and widespread publicity of Government research interests. In addition, this recommendation would prevent leaving it to chance that a qualified researcher will somehow happen to learn where his ideas and talents might be profitably employed or supported.

The committee has also been disturbed by the suggestions voiced in some quarters that there is an actual or implied grant review establishment or advisory elite from which the Federal departments and agencies draw their external advisers to judge grant applications. Such an establishment, if it exists, might tend to concentrate research grants in a handful of outstanding universities. While this suggestion receives a small measure of support by a trend away from small grants, the evidence has not been conclusive, and the committee will continue to investigate. Meanwhile, we have recommended that small grants continue to be made so as to utilize the talents of scientists working in smaller institutions.

Before I leave the subject of publicity, I should note that we have recorded our dissatisfaction with the poor news showing of the Federal Government's part in scientific research. News about particular research and development efforts and achievements far outstrips news about the Government's financial responsibility for many of these efforts and achievements. Our report cites significant examples of this and we have therefore recommended that news releases issued by institutions which receive Federal grants be required to state continually that Government funds made the particular research possible. The taxpayers, the committee feels, are entitled to know what their tax dollars are accomplishing.

Many of the universities working on research under Federal grants have complained that the prevailing statutory limitations on indirect cost reimbursement which may be charged to research are causing them financial loss. As these limitations apply to grants, but not to contracts, many universities have stopped, or will soon stop, doing research for the Government under grants, and will work only under contract. The committee feels that there has grown up an unjustifiable double standard in this area, and we have, therefore, recommended that a single standard be adopted for determining allowable and nonallowable costs. The committee has also recommended that a university receiving a grant be permitted to choose one of two alternative ways of recovering indirect costs: First, a provisional rate for billing purposes, which would be adjusted after eventual audit; or second, a flat 15 percent of direct costs, in which case there would be no need for the university with few projects to itemize, or the Government to audit, the indirect charges.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the committee has found that not only because of these cost limitations, but also because of the morass of administrative detail with which it has become surrounded, the research grant has been losing its value as the valuable research instrument the Congress intended it to be.

The committee has, therefore, strongly recommended that the grant be rescued from this morass and be restored to its intended function as laid down by the Congress when it enacted Public Law 85–934—"to stimulate and support fundamental research"—and to honor "the concept of maximum freedom of action for the scientific investigator."

Mr. Speaker, these are the tentative recommendations of the select committee with respect to the administration of Federal grants for research and development. They have been made on the basis of the committee's findings to date. Final recommendations will await completion of the committee's investigations. As these progress, we will issue additional reports which will number, by present indications, nine, carrying the following titles: "Facilities for Research and Development"; "Fiscal and Contractual Policies and Procedures"; "Impact of Government Reserach"; "Student Assistance in Higher Education"; "Interagency Coordination of Research and Development Projects"; "Statistical Review of Government Research and Development"; "Documentation, Dissemination, and Use of Research and Development Results"; "Manpower for Research and Development"; and "National Goals and Policies."

There will then follow the committee's final report, which will contain the committee's final conclusions and recommendations.

I believe the material we have developed in this study, and will develop in our further reports, will be of invaluable assistance to the standing committees of the House concerned, as all of them are, with research and development.

Hub of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Meriden, Conn., has been engaged in a broad redevelopment program. This effort has simultaneously combined major highway construction with large-scale urban renewal.

Just a month ago, Meriden received a $1.7 million grant from the Housing and Home Finance Agency for its 44-acre Route 6–A connector project. Under the impetus of this and State assistance this centrally located city is becoming a transformed and revitalized community.

An editorial which recently appeared in the Morning Record, one of Meriden's fine newspapers, on August 5, 1964, reflects the civic pride of the Meriden-Wallingford area in the progress and new-found urban vitality which the redevelopment program is making possible. Likewise, it is encouraging to find a hearty response on the part of private industry and enterprise in bolstering the project with new business. I am gratified by this editorial enthusiasm from a community which is playing a major role in the growth and development of the State of Connecticut.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include the editorial herewith:

HUB OF CONNECTICUT

They used to call Boston the hub of the universe—that's where that Hub City tag came from. Now New York likes to claim the same distinction, and backs it up with tremendous centralization in industry, shipping, and business management.

But if you had to pick a spot as the key interchange between the two, geographically and businesswise, it would be right here in the middle of Connecticut. The Meriden—Wallingford area as it will be when the new highways are done is a hub with the great spokes of superroad thrusting north and south to the metropolitan centers.

And these are only two of the spokes. Soon Route 6–A will be connected and feeding into Route 6, itself in the process of rebuilding. To the west, Route 6–A will connect with Route I–84 and the great new Route 8 in Waterbury. And the big old roads, the parkway, and the Berlin Turnpike and Route 5, will take on new life and contribute new mobility when they are freed of their burden of through traffic.

The shape of all these things to come is just beginning to emerge, and Meriden and Wallingford are starting to plan to take advantage of them.

The research and industrial park is the prize opportunity for both communities to capitalize on their hub position, to tap the main current for a share of the energy. Some services must be provided before the city and the town can expect to benefit taxwise and jobwise from this strategically located industrial complex. But once the highways are built and access roads are arranged for, we can expect real returns.

Meriden is making a ground-breaking try to harness redevelopment with highway building for a new start downtown. Our triple renewal plan is one of the most comprehensive and imaginative, we'll bet, that has ever been developed to combine two kinds of progress.

And around these two major starters, all sorts of private initiative and enterprise are forwarding smaller developments.

This is the hub, all right. In a matter of months, now, the wheel will really start to turn.

Southern Indiana Loses a Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, for nearly 30 years, Rudolph H. Grabow, known to everyone as "Rudy," lived and worked in southern Indiana. He made his home in Bedford. From the time of his arrival there in 1937 until his retirement in 1956, he was supervisor of the Hoosier National Forest. Under his guidance, it grew from 34,500 acres, with 3,500 acres planted in trees, to 115,000 acres, with 16,000 acres of new plantations.

Rudy Grabow died on July 29. His passing was noted in a warm editorial tribute published on August 4 in the Bloomington, Ind., daily Herald-Telephone. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTHERN INDIANA LOSES A FRIEND

Rudolph H. Grabow, whose untimely death last Wednesday evening shocked his host of friends in Bloomington and the remainder of Indiana, was not a native of Bedford, but his roots grew deep there and his heart was in the community which he adopted as his home for more than a quarter of a century.

Rudy, as he was known by almost everybody, went to Bedford in 1937 to take over the supervision of the Hoosier National Forest which at the time was a fledgling operation. It had existed for only 2 years. But under his expert guidance, the Hoosier Forest grew and grew. When he went to Bedford, the forest had only 34,600 acres. Only 3,500 acres had been planted in trees. When he retired in 1956, the forest had grown to 115,000 acres and 16,000 acres were new plantations. He had also taken over direction of the Wayne National Forest in Ohio several years before his retirement.

The beautiful stands of white, red, and Virginia pines and other varieties of trees which he planted and which now are becoming stately trees which are contributing increasingly to the economy of southern Indiana stand as monuments to an outstanding forester. There was little doubt that Rudy Grabow was one of the best in his field. He loved his work and the results of his efforts showed it.

We recall during the big Dutch Ridge fire in 1952 that Rudy loaded every vehicle he could find with firefighting equipment and personally recruited every man he could to fight the fire. He was visibly shaken as the fire invaded young pine plantations. It was a night of bitter cold and extreme heat—depending on where you were in relation to the fire.

Mr. Grabow was not happy to leave the Forest Service which had been his life so many years. His interest in forests dated back to his elementary school days. He once recalled that a pal of his at a county school was always able to tell him what species various trees were. He determined to learn for himself.

Part of his early experience with wood was of a different variety though—carrying in wood for the wood stove every morning.

Rudy's curiosity in the forest was aroused in early life and never fully satisfied. In addition to directing the operation in many thousands of acres of Government-owned forest, he practiced what he preached and managed a 200-acre tree farm of his own.

He came out of the University of Minnesota College of Forestry in 1920 as a graduate forester. His college work, incidentally, had been interrupted by World War I.

He went to the Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wis., as his first forestry job. There he did research on forest utilization—everything dealing with wood, wood properties, and byproducts. He remained there until 1927 when he went to the Brunswick Balke Collendar Co. at Marquette, Mich., where he had charge of the kiln drying of bowling pins. That was a brief career, however, since 8 months later he started forestry work for the Los Angeles County Forestry Service of California.

Still on the move, in 1934 he returned to Nicolet National Forest, Rhinelander, Wis., where he remained for 2 years, after which he became assistant chief of the division of information and education in the Milwaukee office, serving nine Midwestern States.

Then came his final move—to Bedford as supervisor of the Hoosier National Forest. He had adopted an infant and brought it to full adulthood. He liked the hills of southern Indiana, and when he retired in 1956 he had no desire to leave this area. After several jobs, including executive secretary of the Bedford Chamber of Commerce, he took a job as industrial development manager of the Monon Railroad. In this capacity he could have resided almost anywhere in Indiana, but Bedford had become his home. His friends and interests were there, and he stayed.

Mr. Grabow worked tirelessly for the betterment of southern Indiana. He abounded in energy and the enthusiasm which he displayed is seldom found in a man his age. Retirement from the Forest Service meant only a change in career and new frontiers to conquer.

Rudy was a clean-living man who possessed a charming personality which won for him new friends wherever he went. His acquaintanceship in southern Indiana became surprisingly large.

He was a fine citizen—the kind that no community can afford to lose.

Management Principles of the National Park System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 3, our distinguished Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Stewart L. Udall, released a memorandum which he has written to the Director of the National Park Service, concerning the management of our national park system.

Secretary Udall, in his memorandum, has clearly spelled out the management

principles to be followed by the National Park Service in the management of the three categories of areas which have been placed in the national park system by the Congress during the almost 100 years since the beginning of the national park movement with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. In addition, the Secretary has set forth six long-range objectives to guide the management of the national park system.

The National Park Service was established by the Congress on August 25, 1916. In a letter of May 13, 1918, the then Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, outlined the management principles to guide the new Service in its management of the national parks and national monuments then included within the national park system. Every succeeding Secretary has reaffirmed three principles, and Secretary Udall, in his memorandum, has reaffirmed them in the management of the natural areas of the system. However, during the intervening years, the Congress has expanded the national park system to include areas of historical significance, as well as areas having national recreational significance. Secretary Udall's memorandum develops additional management principles for these new categories of areas.

Without doubt Secretary Udall's memorandum is the most significant pronouncement by any Secretary in recent times concerning the management of our national park system. I take great pleasure in commending him for the fine statement he has issued. It should go a long way in answering questions concerns the types of areas included within the national park system, as well as clarifying the management policies of the National Park Service with respect to these categories of areas.

I think this management memorandum demonstrates the confidence that the Secretary of the Interior has in the Director and his top assistants of the National Park Service. As chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks, I am proud to state to this body that I, too, have great confidence in the top management of our national park system headed by George B. Hartzog, Jr.

The text of the memorandum of Secretary Udall follows:

STATEMENT OF STEWART L. UDALL, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

As the golden anniversary of the National Park Service draws near, and we approach the final years of the Mission 66 program, it is appropriate to take stock of the events of the past and to plan for the future. The accomplishments of the past are not only a source of pride; they are also a source of guidance for the future.

The accelerating rate of change in our society today poses a major challenge to the National Park Service and its evolving responsibilities for the management of the national park system. The response to such changes calls for clarity of purpose, increasing knowledge, speedier action and adaptability to changing needs and demands upon our diverse resources.

In recognition of this need, a year ago I approved a comprehensive study of the long-range objectives, organization and management of the National Park Service. Moreover, I was pleased to have had the opportunity to participate in the conference of challenges at Yosemite National Park, at which this study was discussed by the personnel of the Service.

In looking back at the legislative enactments (summary attached) that have shaped the national park system, it is clear that the Congress has included within the growing system three different categories of areas—natural, historical, and recreational.

Natural areas are the oldest category, reaching back to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park almost a century ago. A little later historical areas began to be authorized, culminating in the broad charter for historical preservation set forth in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. In recent decades, with exploding population and diminishing open space, the urgent need for national recreation areas is receiving new emphasis and attention.

The long-range study has brought into sharp focus the fact that a single, broad-management concept encompassing these three categories of areas within the system is inadequate either for their proper preservation or for realization of their full potential for public use as embodied in the expressions of congressional policy. Each of these categories requires a separate management concept and a separate set of management principles coordinated to form one organic management plan for the entire system.

Following the act of August 25, 1916, establishing the National Park Service, the then Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, in a letter of May 13, 1918, to the first Director of the National Park Service, Stephen T. Mather, outlined the management principles which were to guide the Service in its management of the areas then included within the system. That letter, sometimes called the Magna Carta of the national parks, is quoted, in part, as follows:

"For the information of the public an outline of the administrative policy to which the new Service will adhere may now be announced. This policy is based on three broad principles: First, that the national parks must be maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations as well as those of our own times; second, that they are set apart for the use, observation, health, and pleasure of the people; and third, that the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks."

The principles enunciated in this letter have been fully supported over the years by my predecessors. They are still applicable for us today, and I reaffirm them.

Consistent with specific congressional enactments, the following principles are approved for your guidance in the management of the three categories of areas now included within the system. Utilizing the results of the new broad program of resource studies, you should proceed promptly to develop such detailed guidelines as may be needed for the operation of each of these categories of areas.

NATURAL AREAS

Resource management

The management and use of natural areas shall be guided by the 1918 directive of Secretary Lane. Additionally, management shall be directed toward maintaining, and where necessary reestablishing, indigenous plant and animal life, in keeping with the March 4, 1963, recommendations of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management.

In those areas having significant historical resources, management shall be patterned after that of the historical areas category to the extent compatible with the primary purpose for which the area was established.

Resource use

Provide for all appropriate use and enjoyment by the people, that can be accommodated without impairment of the natural values. Park management shall recognize and respect wilderness as a whole environment of living things whose use and enjoyment depend on their continuing interrelationship free of man's spoliation.

Physical developments

They shall be limited to those that are necessary and appropriate, and provided only under carefully controlled safeguards against unregulated and indiscriminate use, so that the least damage to park values will be caused. Location, design, and material, to the highest practicable degree, shall be consistent with the preservation and conservation of the grandeur of the natural environment.

HISTORICAL AREAS

Resource management

Management shall be directed toward maintaining and, where necessary, restoring the historical integrity of structures, sites, and objects significant to the commemoration of illustration of the historical story.

Resource use

Visitor uses shall be those which seek fulfillment in authentic presentations of historic structures, objects, and sites, and the memorialization of historic individuals or events. Visitor use of significant natural resources should be encouraged when such use can be accommodated without detriment to historical values.

Physical developments

Physical developments shall be those necessary for achieving the management and use objectives.

RECREATIONAL AREAS

Resource management

Outdoor recreation shall be recognized as the dominant or primary resource management objective. Natural resources within the area may be utilized and managed for additional purposes where such additional uses are compatible with fulfilling the recreation mission of the area. Scenic, historical, scientific, scarce, or disappearing resources within recreational areas shall be managed compatible with the primary recreation mission of the area.

Resource use

Primary emphasis shall be placed on active participation in outdoor recreation in a pleasing environment.

Physical developments

Physical developments shall promote the realization of the management and use objectives. The scope and type of developments, as well as their design, materials, and construction, should enhance and promote the use and enjoyment of the recreational resources of the area.

LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES

While the establishment of management principles to guide the operation of the three categories of areas within the system is vital, I believe it is of equal consequence that we now identify the long-range objectives of the National Park Service. The objectives developed by the Service have been recommended to me by my Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. I am approving these objectives, as follows:

1. To provide for the highest quality of use and enjoyment of the national park system by increased millions of visitors in years to come.

2. To conserve and manage for their highest purpose the natural, historical, and recreational resources of the national park system.

3. To develop the national park system through inclusion of additional areas of scenic, scientific, historical, and recreational value to the Nation.

4. To participate actively with organizations of this and other nations in conserving, improving, and renewing the total environment.

5. To communicate the cultural, inspirational, and recreational significance of the American heritage as represented in the national park system.

6. To increase the effectiveness of the National Park Service as a "people serving" organization dedicated to park conservation, historical preservation, and outdoor recreation.

You should develop such goals and procedures as may be necessary to implement these objectives.

In the development of these goals and procedures, I think, it is important to emphasize that effective management of the national park system will not be achieved by programs that look only within the parks without respect to the pressures, the influences, and the needs beyond park boundaries. The report of my Advisory Board on Wildlife Management emphasizes this observation.

The concern of the National Park Service is the wilderness, the wildlife, the history, the recreational opportunities, etc., within the areas of the system and the appropriate uses of these resources. The responsibilities of the Service, however, cannot be achieved solely within the boundaries of the areas it administers.

The Service has an equal obligation to stand as a vital, vigorous, effective force in the cause of preserving the total environment of our Nation. The concept of the total environment includes not only the land, but also the water and the air, the past as well as the present, the useful as well as the beautiful, the wonders of man as well as the wonders of nature, the urban environment as well as the natural landscape. I am pleased that among its contributions, the Service is identifying national historic and natural history landmarks throughout the country and is cooperating in the Historic American Buildings Survey.

It is obvious that the staggering demand for outdoor recreation projected for this country will eventually inundate public park areas unless public and private agencies and individuals join in common effort. National park administrators must seek methods to achieve close cooperation with all land-managing agencies, considering broad regional needs, if lands for public outdoor recreation sufficient to the future needs of the Nation are to be provided.

The national parklands have a major role in providing superlative opportunities for outdoor recreation, but they have other "people serving" values. They can provide an experience in conservation education for the young people of the country, they can enrich our literary and artistic consciousness, they can help create social values, contribute to our civic consciousness, remind us of our debt to the land of our fathers.

Preserving the scenic and scientific grandeur of the Nation, presenting its history, providing healthful outdoor recreation for the enjoyment of our people, working with others to provide the best possible relationships of human beings to their toal environment; this is the theme which binds together the management principles and objectives of the National Park Service—this, for the National Park Service, is the road to the future.

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE LANDMARKS AFFECTING THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

The act of March 1, 1872, establishing Yellowstone National Park, the first of its kind, in which the Congress laid down a new public land policy; namely, that portions of the public lands were to be "* * * reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy or sale under the laws of the United States and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. * * * That * * * the Secretary of the Interior * * * shall provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition."

The national park concept decreed in this and subsequent national park acts is concerned with the "retention in their natural condition" of natural features and scenic resources.

In the years after 1900, vandalism and indiscriminate looting of prehistoric Indian sites in the Southwest resulted in the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906. This act extended the earlier public land policy relating to natural parks to provide authority for the President, by proclamation, to set aside as national monuments "* * * historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States."

By the act of August 25, 1916, the Congress established the National Park Service and assigned to it for administration all of the national parks and most of the national monuments theretofore established. In the 1916 act the Congress also established a broad framework of policy for the administration of these areas; namely:

"The Service * * * shall promote and regulate the use of * * * national parks [and] monuments * * * by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks [and] monuments * * * which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

The act of February 21, 1925, provided for "securing of lands in the Southern Appalachian Mountains and Mammoth Cave Regions of Kentucky for perpetual preservation as national parks." This act led to the authorization by the Congress in 1926 of Great Smoky Mountains, Mammoth Cave and Shenandoah National Parks, supplementing Acadia, the first national park in the East. All of these parks involved the acquisition of lands in private ownership. The acquisition of such lands, however, was to be accomplished through donations. These actions were significant in that prior thereto the national parks and monuments had been set aside from the public lands.

The act of March 3, 1933, providing for reorganization within the executive branch of the Government, resulted in an Executive order that transferred to the Department of the Interior for administration by the National Park Service the national memorials and parks of the Nation's Capital, national monuments, historical and military parks administered by other Federal agencies.

The Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935, established: "* * * a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."

The act also directed the Secretary of the Interior to carry out wide-ranging programs in the field of history and placed with the Secretary responsibility for national leadership in the field of historic preservation. Another provision of the act, which has had strong influence upon the development of the national park system, was the establishment of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments.

The Park, Parkway and Recreation Area Study Act of June 23, 1936, authorized among other things, studies looking toward the development of the national park system including areas having primary recreational significance.

The act of June 30, 1936, provided for the administration and maintenance of the Blue Ridge Parkway by the Secretary of the Interior through the National Park Service, thus introducing the rural parkway concept into the system.

The act of August 17, 1937, establishing Cape Hatteras National Seashore, marked the first national seashore to be established.

The act of August 7, 1946, provides authority to the National Park Service for administration of recreation on areas under jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government. The significance of this authority is reflected in cooperative agreements with the Bureau of Reclamation and others for the administration of such areas as Lake Mead, Glen Canyon, and similar national recreation areas.

The authorization of Cape Cod National Seashore by act of August 7, 1961, marked a new concept in the development of the national park system; namely, the use of appropriated funds at the outset to purchase a large natural area in its entirety for public enjoyment as a park. Prior to this enactment, areas, for the most part, were established either by setting aside portions of the public lands or from lands donated to the Federal Government initially by public or private interests.

On January 31, 1962, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, established pursuant to an act of June 28, 1958, submitted its report to the President of the United States. The report contained far-reaching recommendations affecting the future of outdoor recreation.

Many of the recommendations of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission are now bearing fruit and their implementation has affected the national park system. For example, Policy Circular No. 1 of the President's Recreation Advisory Council not only defines national recreation areas but also establishes broad guidelines regarding their management. Other pronouncements of the Council may be expected to have a continuing impact upon the national recreation areas of the national park system.

On April 2, 1962, the Secretary of the Interior established the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and assigned to it the nationwide recreation planning and related functions of the Secretary then being performed by the National Park Service, under the authority of the Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Study Act of 1936.

The act of May 23, 1963, charged the Secretary with the responsibility "to promote the coordination and development of effective programs relating to outdoor recreation." The act states: "That the Congress finds and declares it to be desirable that all American people of present and future generations be assured adequate outdoor recreation resources, and that it is desirable for all levels of government and private interests to take prompt and coordinated action to the extent practicable without diminishing or affecting their respective powers and functions to conserve, develop, and utilize such resources for the benefit and enjoyment of the American people."

Vietnam Policy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the

following newsletter dated August 10, 1964:

CONGRESSMAN ROBERT L. LEGGETT REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

AN ELECTION ON ISSUES I

Shortly the Democratic Party will meet in Washington for purposes of drafting a national platform for foreign and domestic matters which will potentially round out and frame the issues for battle next November.

American foreign policy obviously will be rather substantially drawn into question both generally and with respect to particular foreign countries. The North Vietnamese, reasonably contained for 15 years, now have apparently undertaken aggressive naval action against the United States. As a result of bipartisan congressional support this force was met by the air arm of the U.S. Navy and was throttled.

BIPARTISANSHIP AT ITS BEST

I am sure most Americans are proud of their country when bipartisan international efforts evolve from bitter domestic political debate. It would be tragic were the bipartisan foreign policy effective since the onset of World War II terminated next November.

American efforts of containment of communism in Vietnam were commenced over 15 years ago in southeast Asia. Some have said the United States has no policy in this area. Far be this from truth. Walt Lippmann stated the position in a national publication last week: "Present American policy is to exist peaceably with the Communist states while we contain their expansion and work slowly and warily for accommodations which will ease the tension.

The present nominee of a national party as opposed to this policy does not favor coexistence and apparently if elected would take active steps to break up the Soviet Communist state alliance and the Soviet Union itself.

A POLICY FOR ALL AMERICANS?

He states in his "Conscience of a Conservative:"

"Our strategy must be primarily offensive in nature * * * we must always try to engage the enemy at times and places, and with weapons, of our own choosing * * * we should withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union. We must, ourselves, be prepared to undertake military operations against vulnerable Communist regimes."

Respecting Vietnam he recommends as follows:

"In Vietnam, there is no longer a guerrilla war but a battalion size conflict. The United States is faced with another South Korea.' Defeat would 'mean the loss of the whole of southeast Asia.—Speech, Clear Lake, Calif., March 18, 1964."

"Vietnam has been soaked with American blood while being sacrificed to this administration's indecision. And much of the blame can be placed squarely in the laps of those twin commanders of chaos: Lyndon B. Johnson and Robert S. McNamara.—Speech, Omaho, Nebr., May 11, 1964."

"The United States can and should end the fighting in Vietnam by taking strong, affirmative action.—National television address, May 13, 1964."

These comments raise the question of exactly how disastrous is our current course of conduct and morally should we stimulate another Korean conflict. I think it is interesting to campare American casualties in the blood soaked Vietnam encounter and other American wars.

American deaths, in battle and otherwise, as recorded by the Department of Defense are as follows:

War	Total deaths	Army	Navy	Marine	Air Force
Revolutionary War (1775-83)	4,435	4,044	342	49	----------
War of 1812 (1812-15)	2,260	1,950	265	45	----------
Mexican War (1846-48)	1,733	13,271	1	11	----------
Civil War (1861-65)	498,332	359,528	4,523	560	----------
Spanish-American War (1898)	2,446	2,430	10	6	----------
World War I (Apr. 6, 1917-Nov. 11, 1918)	116,516	106,378	7,287	2,851	----------
World War II (Dec. 7, 1941-Dec. 31, 1946)	405,399	318,274	62,614	24,511	----------
Korean war (June 25, 1950-July 27, 1953)	54,247	27,133	4,501	5,528	7,084

The effect simply stated of the Korean war was that the status quo was maintained with casualties 50 percent of World War I and 12 percent of World War II. To date American policy in Vietnam has cost us 175 lives in about as many months and again the status quo has been maintained. While certainly we can't be complacent in the face of Communist aggression, neither should we be panicked because of the current loss of blood. The point is that if another 54,000 American boys are to be sacrificed, our leaders should tell what the probable gains will be such that the trade might be weighed.

Perspective also should require that we keep in mind that in the same 15-year period in which we have been involved in the Vietnam encounter, we have lost domestically in the United States more than 1½ million Americans, due to accidental causes.

The A B C's of a Christian American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT THOMAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I offer the following poem written by my friend, Mrs. Gladys Naul, of Houston, Tex., to be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This poem expresses the thoughts and sentiments of thousands of people and Mrs. Naul is to be commended for writing it.

THE A B C'S OF A CHRISTIAN AMERICAN

A is for America, my country 'tis of thee;
B is for the brave ones, who died for you and me.
C is for our Constitution, the guardian of our rights;
D is for the deeds of brave men, which raised us to great heights.
E is for the evil ones, who seek to make us slaves;
F is for our Founding Fathers, now sleeping in their graves.
G is for Almighty God, Who watches from above;
H is for our heritage, which we so dearly love.
I is for our independence, won at a price so dear;
J is for the judgment all traitors come to fear.
K is for the King of Kings, Who guides us in His light;
L is for the love we feel for all things good and right.
M is for the Mighty One, who loves both great and small;
N is for our Nation, which stands so brave and tall.
O is for Old Glory, long may her banner wave;
P is for our many prayers for God our land to save.
Q is for the questions we all must ask today;
R is for our Republic—let's keep it that way.
S is for our sovereignty, which never must be lost;
T is for the precious truth—preserve it at all cost.
U is for the unity of men who would be free;
V is for the victory we all shall live to see.
W is for the Watchman, who stands on guard tonight;
X is for the unknown quantity we face in this great fight.
Y is for the young ones, who must protect our land;
Z is for the zero hour, if we fail to take a stand.

Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, former President Herbert Hoover, on the eve of this his 90th birthday, issued a magnificent statement. It is truly a great classic.

Mr. Hoover's statement, as carried by the Associated Press, follows:

Our American form of civilization has been deluged with rising criticism, from both home and abroad. Altogether, the critics say, we seem to be in a very, very bad way, and engaged in our decline and fall.

Criticism is no doubt good for the soul but we must beware that it does not upset our confidence in ourselves. So perhaps the time has come for Americans to take stock and to think something good about themselves.

We could point to our constantly improving physical health and lengthening of span of life.

In the Government field, we could suggest that our supposedly "decadent" people still rely upon the miracle of the ballot and the legislative hall to settle difference of view and not upon a secret police.

CULTURALLY, MORALLY

In the cultural field, we could point out that we have more young people in high schools and institutions of higher learning; more musical and literacy organizations, greater distribution of the printed and spoken word than any other country.

On the moral and spiritual side, we could suggest that we alone, of all nations, fought for free men in two world wars and asked no indemnities, no acquisitions of territory, no domination over other peoples. We could point to a spirit of Christian compassion such as the world has never seen, and prove it by the tons of food and clothing and billions of dollars we have provided as gifts in saving hundreds of millions of people overseas from famine, and many governments from collapse.

Deeply as I feel the lag in certain areas which denies equal chance to our Negro population, I cannot refrain from saying that our 19 million Negroes probably own more automobiles than all the 220 million Russians and the 200 million African Negroes put together.

We have an alarming amount of crime and youth delinquency. The fault, however, has been largely in the failure of our law enforcement after the police have made the arrest.

Hope lies in the continuing expansion of such organizations as the Boys' Clubs of America that take underprivileged boys off the streets during their formative years and help them to build sound minds and sound bodies and, most important of all, sound characters.

UNCOVERS KEY

We could point out that our American system has achieved the greatest productivity, the highest standard of living of any nation on earth. True, we have large natural resources—but other nations also have such resources. What, then, has brought us such abundance?

I have enjoyed a varied life and wide opportunities to discover the key. I have seen America in contrast with many nations and races. My profession took me into many foreign lands under many kinds of government. I have worked with their great spiritual leaders and their great statesmen. I have seen freedom die and slavery arise. I have worked in governments of free men, of tyrannies, of Socialists, and of Communists.

I have searched in these travels—and sought to learn from books and from the leaders of other nations—what it is that has given America this superabundance. What is the key to it?

The key, I am convinced, is that among us there is greater freedom for the individual man and woman than in any other great nation. In the Constitution and in the bill of rights are eumerated the specific freedoms. Then there are a dozen other freedoms which are not a matter of specific law—such as freedom to choose our own callings, freedom to quit a job and seek another, freedom to buy or not to buy, freedom for each man to venture and to protect his success, always subject to the rights of his neighbors. In short, we have freedom of choice. And the product of our freedom is the stimulation of our energies, initiative, ingenuity and creative faculties.

Freedom is the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit and of human dignity. With the preservation of these moral and spiritual qualities, and with God's grace, will come further greatness for our country.

New Hampshire Leads Nation in Voter Participation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, last spring, when New Hampshire had its "first in the Nation primary," some political commentators found occasion to scoff at New Hampshire voters and discounted the importance of our primary. What many of these commentators did not realize is that New Hampshire voters are not only perceptive, they are diligent. In the current issue of the U.S. News & World Report, I note with great pride that New Hampshire had the Nation's highest percentage of voters participating in the 1960 elections, 80.7 percent. This large percentage puts to shame the voters of many States in the Union whose Representatives I sometimes hear in this House pontificating about good government and the will of the people.

Mr. Speaker, now, as never before, this country needs to have all of its citizens participate in elections. The issues must be thoughtfully discussed and deliberated and, then, on election day, the greatest jury in the world, the American voters, must go to the polls and vote. When they do this next November, I hope that more States will follow the lead set by the diligent voters of the great State of New Hampshire, the Granite State, where thoughtful and concerned citizens take their civic duties seriously.

Mr. Speaker, it is with pride that I ask leave to place the voting statistics referred to in the article from the U.S. News & World Report in the RECORD, Let New Hampshire's percentage of voter participation, the highest in the Nation, lead the way.

State by State—The voters and nonvoters in 1960

	Of the voting-age population—		
	People voting	People not voting	Percent voting
SOUTH			
Alabama	570,000	1,255,000	31.2
Arkansas	429,000	600,000	41.7
Florida	1,544,000	1,555,000	49.8
Georgia	733,000	1,609,000	31.3
Louisiana	808,000	962,000	45.6
Mississippi	298,000	865,000	25.6
North Carolina	1,369,000	1,152,000	54.3
South Carolina	387,000	840,000	31.5
Tennessee	1,052,000	1,027,000	50.6
Texas	2,312,000	3,017,000	43.4
Virginia	771,000	1,473,000	34.4
EAST			
Connecticut	1,223,000	387,000	76.9
Delaware	197,000	67,000	74.6
Maine	422,000	152,000	73.5
Massachusetts	2,469,000	761,000	76.4
New Hampshire	296,000	71,000	80.7
New Jersey	2,773,000	1,054,000	72.5
New York	7,291,000	3,497,000	67.6
Pennsylvania	5,007,000	2,095,000	70.5
Rhode Island	406,000	127,000	76.2
Vermont	167,000	63,000	72.6
MOUNTAIN			
Arizona	398,000	282,000	58.5
Colorado	736,000	271,000	73.1
Idaho	300,000	72,000	80.6
Montana	278,000	109,000	71.8
Nevada	107,000	67,000	61.5
New Mexico	311,000	180,000	63.3
Utah	375,000	94,000	80.0
Wyoming	141,000	45,000	75.8
BORDER			
Kentucky	1,124,000	752,000	59.9
Maryland	1,055,000	764,000	58.0
Missouri	1,934,000	717,000	73.0
Oklahoma	903,000	496,000	64.5
West Virginia	838,000	247,000	77.2
MIDWEST			
Illinois	4,757,000	1,487,000	76.2
Indiana	2,135,000	649,000	76.7
Iowa	1,274,000	395,000	76.3
Kansas	929,000	386,000	70.6
Michigan	3,318,000	1,201,000	73.4
Minnesota	1,542,000	461,000	77.0
Nebraska	613,000	244,000	71.5
North Dakota	278,000	72,000	79.4
Ohio	4,162,000	1,671,000	71.4
South Dakota	306,000	82,000	78.9
Wisconsin	1,729,000	644,000	72.9
PACIFIC			
California	6,507,000	2,712,000	70.6
Oregon	776,000	313,000	71.3
Washington	1,242,000	461,000	72.9
Alaska	61,000	22,000	73.5
Hawaii	185,000	136,000	57.6

NOTE.—All figures are for the presidential election of 1960.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

MATS Wing Flies 500,000 Accident-Free Hours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I feel the following release from the Air Force News Service relates a noteworthy feat, which will be of interest to the Members of the House and the Senate. The flying of 500,000 hours without accident by the 1502d Air Transport Wing of the U.S. Air Force's Military Air Transport Service—MATS—Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii, is, as far as I know, without precedent anywhere in the aviation world. I am certain it is a "first" in our Air Force.

All members of the wing and their commander, Col. Herman Rumsey, are to be congratulated for this safety record which was achieved over an 8-year period.

The release follows:

MATS WING FLIES 500,000 ACCIDENT-FREE HOURS

HICKAM AFB, HAWAII.—The 1502d Air Transport Wing of the U.S. Air Force's Military Air Transport Service (MATS) made history here (July 23) when it logged its 500,000th hour of accident-free flying.

The safety record is unsurpassed in the annals of military aviation.

The wing, commanded by Col. Herman Rumsey, is equipped with Douglas C–118 Liftmaster and C–124 Globemaster aircraft. Five hundred thousand hours is equivalent to more than 57 years. At normal cruising speed, a C–124 would circle the globe 4,800 times in an equivalent period of flying time.

The wing's outstanding record helped MATS win the top Air Force safety award—the Daedalian Flying Safety Trophy—for the fourth time in 1963. MATS recorded only 0.83 accidents per 100,000 flying hours in 1963, its best record.

From Norton AFB, Calif., the Director of Aerospace Safety, Brig. Gen. Jay T. Robbins, congratulated the personnel of the 1502d on passing the 500,000-hour milestone.

"This accomplishment," he wrote, "stands as a challenge to all other units in the Air Force and underscores the conviction that accidents are preventable by skilled and dedicated airmen."

The 1502d Air Transport Wing flies about 1,200 hours a month into southeast Asia.

The last accident recorded by the wing occurred in June 1956.

The 1502d has a history of accomplishments. It won the top Air Force award for aircraft maintenance for 1963—the Daedalian Maintenance Trophy. In 1960 the wing was awarded the Air Force Outstanding Unit Award for exceptional service in providing passenger transportation, aeromedical evacuation, maintenance service and terminal facilities throughout the Pacific area.

Colonel Rumsey took over command of the wing earlier this year from Col. Louis G. Griffin, who served as commander from April 1962, and as vice commander 7 months previous to that.

Col. David E. Daniel, now commanding MATS' 1607th Air Transport Wing at Dover AFB, Del., preceded Colonel Griffin.

The 1502d's support units serve about 1,400 transient transport aircraft a month. The MATS terminal operated by the wing handles more than 450,000 passengers and about

96,000 tons of priority cargo and mail annually.

Support units of the wing are located at Guam, Wake, Johnston, Kwajalein, Eniwetok, and Midway Islands. Following reorganization of MATS units in the Pacific this year, the wing assumed responsibility for other units in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippine Islands, and southeast Asia.

New Bank Charters: Usina Predicts Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding banking statesmen of Florida and the country, a former member of the Federal Reserve Board of Jacksonville, Fla., is the Honorable Leonard Usina, of Miami.

In the issue of July 12, the Miami News had a feature article about Mr. Usina, which I believe would be of interest to all and an inspiration to many who will read it. The article follows:

NEW BANK CHARTERS: USINA PREDICTS PROSPERITY

(By Larry Birger, business editor of the Miami News)

Banking's elder statesman in Dade County doesn't believe the renewed onslaught of bank charters here will be harmful to the community or the industry.

But Leonard Usina, at 72 the chairman of 6 banks—twice as many as anyone else—is just as insistent that branch banking is necessary to straighten a chaotic situation that has seen 14 more banks chartered in 1964, pushing Dade's total to 62 in operation or about to open.

Usina, fresh from winning his sixth charter in recent days, Peoples National Bank of Bay Harbor Islands, told the Miami News in one of his rare interviews:

"The growth of this area is so potentially great that they all should prosper."

At the same time, however, Usina warned that this was predicated on managements of the new institutions holding to prudent lending policies.

"If they'll keep their noses clean, they won't get into trouble," he cautioned.

Looking his usual immaculate self in a white linen suit, which has come to be his trademark, Usina said a riskier-than-usual loan policy could result from the high rate of interest—4 percent—that many banks are paying on time (savings) deposits.

"To keep up their growth (in deposits), they're paying through the nose for excessive savings," Usina mused. "If you have to pay so much, you have to reach for loans * * * and that's unsound."

He pointed out that his group of banks has declined to pay more than 3½ percent, even though it has meant a slump in savings deposits.

"But our earnings have improved, and that's the important thing for our thousands of stockholders," he said.

Though perhaps reluctant to pay higher rates on savings, Usina has been far from conservative in his general banking outlook, which stretches back to 1909 in St. Augustine.

Even more paradoxical, his tutor was Edward Ball, crusty scion of the Du Pont fortune in Florida, whom very few could accuse of being a liberal in banking or anything else.

Usina, born in St. Augustine, came to Miami in 1930 as president of the Florida National Bank & Trust Co., one of Ball's largest banks, and stayed on until he founded the Ppoples First National in 1950.

Tully Dunlap, former president of the Florida Bankers Association and one of the area's best known bankers, says of Usina:

"He is one of the finest in Florida * * * aggressive, progressive, with the canny ability to see into the future because of his many years of experience as a topnotch banker."

And this knack as a "seer" tells Usina two things at the moment:

U.S. Comptroller James Saxon, much maligned in Florida banking circles, is correct when he espouses more and more services to bring banking closer to the public.

Florida's smalltown bankers are erring in not pushing for branching legislation to their liking rather than waiting for a reapportioned legislature to jam one down their throats.

In fact, said Usina, "They may already have missed the boat. I'm still working on them, but they are the most obstinate, contrary minded bunch you'd ever want to meet."

Of Saxon, a strong supporter of branching, Usina declared:

"I feel his approach is right. A bank is a quasipublic institution designed to give service. Saxon is the first man in 100 years to liberate banking, giving bankers the right to make loans they couldn't touch a few years ago."

Giving service to the people, including making money available to them at reasonable rates, has been a Usina trademark ever since he came to Florida National, even though his mentor's lending policies have always been on the conservative side.

Said Usina, "I think Mr. Ball secretly admired some of the things we did, even though he didn't seem to approve of them in public."

At any rate, Usina probably would still be with the Florida National group if the Jacksonville banker had followed his advice and sought a charter for the Shores bank.

"We were all set to apply when Mr. Ball suddenly called it off. He never told me why. I had great faith in the area so I went ahead and applied on my own."

Usina explained that when Ball found out, he was dismayed at his underling's action. Nevertheless, he urged him to stay on at Florida National, then bought up Usina's share in a real estate deal the two were in for $67,000 so he could purchase control of the new bank.

"I didn't have any money at the time," recalled Usina. "Mr. Ball couldn't have been nicer. He really helped me out and I consider him a real friend."

But Usina has never been sorry that he went out on his own. In the 14½ years since, the one bank was multiplied to six with deposits of $51.7 million and loans outstanding at the moment of almost $28.4 million.

"As neighborhood banks, I think we've done pretty well," he said with modesty.

With a 73d birthday coming up in November, the patriarch of Dade banking said he's content to rest on his laurels.

"People may not believe this, but I'm not actively seeking new banks," he insisted. "Groups come to me, seeking help. That's how we got the newest charter. We don't need them, but if we didn't apply, someone else would."

Then, Usina summed up his banking philosophy.

"I'm a firm believer in sound neighborhood banking. And we are geared to provide that kind of service. We think the public is just as entitled to it as the downtown tycoon."

Fidel as Supplicant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the recent attempts of the Castro regime to seek reconciliation with the United States was a clear attempt more to undercut the anti-Castro mood of the Organization of American States meeting in Washington. This effort by Castro was of course unsuccessful because the OAS adopted the strongest sanctions yet imposed by the inter-American body on Communist Cuba.

In an excellent editorial published by the Washington Star it was pointed out that Castro's reconciliation efforts were firm proof that U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba are hurting Castro. Under prior consent I place the editorial at this point in the RECORD in order to serve as further evidence that this Nation should not allow Castro to pretend a more amicable role in the Caribbean, but continue to effect his downfall:

FIDEL AS SUPPLICANT

Fidel Castro, in his recent interview with a New York Times reporter, played the role of a sweetly reasonable leader anxious to negotiate some kind of mutually satisfactory deal with the United States. And now he has had his brother Raul—Armed Forces Minister of Communist Cuba—speak out even more emphatically in favor of such negotiation.

Raul has put it this way: Havana's Red regime is ready to meet with our country's representatives "anywhere, anytime" to discuss whatever may be necessary to improve relations with Washington. To that end or so Raul has declared, Fidel is willing to forget about his prior demand that our country accept certain conditions as a prelude to peacemaking talks. These conditions would require, among other things, an end to U–2 surveillance flights and abandonment of our Guantanamo Naval Base.

Clearly, the Kremlin's man in Havana has become a supplicant of sorts. For the time being at least, he has stopped posturing behind his beard as an implacable foe of "Yankee imperialism." No longer (on the surface, that is) does he promote subversion and aggression in the Americas. Now he is respectable; now he wants to arrive at a live-and-let-live understanding with the United States.

Of course, a certain amount of skepticism is in order when one tries to evaluate Fidel's maneuvers. What he and Raul have said seems to have been timed to influence the deliberations of the current meeting of the Organization of American States, most of whose members have indicated a firm intention to vote for diplomatic, economic, and other sanctions against the Castro tyranny. In that context, it is easy to understand what Fidel may be up to.

Nevertheless there also is reason to believe that our country's political and economic pressures on Cuba are hurting very much and that Dictator Castro, despite all the help he receives from Moscow, is feeling the pinch. There should be no rush to relieve him of the feeling.

The Congressman and His World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 30, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit herewith for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "The Congressman and His World," which appeared in the July 28 issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

THE CONGRESSMAN AND HIS WORLD

(The American public has little understanding of the legislative process and of the responsibilities and difficulties of the Members of the House of Representatives * * * [Following are excerpts from] a Brookings Book—"The Congressman: His Work As He Sees It," by Charles L. Clapp—which seeks to provide greater perspective on how the House actually functions. It is based on the transcripts of a series of round-table sessions in which 36 Democratic and Republican Congressmen participated, on interviews with House members and on additional research by the author. (Copyright, 1963, by the Brookings Institution.))

When a new Congressman comes to Washington to take his seat in the House of Representatives he finds that he is expected to make his own way in the political and legislative world. The House provides the newcomer with little guidance on the most important problems that concern him: how to obtain choice committee assignments, how to recruit a superior office staff, and what he can anticipate congressional life to be like.

Early in his career, the Congressman also faces a difficult decision for which he is inadequately prepared. He finds he must choose between achieving a position of power and influence within the legislative body or seeking to affect public policy by issuing frequent pronouncements aimed at a larger, national audience. Few legislators can do both. Explained one legislator: "The very ingredients which make you a powerful House leader are the ones which keep you from being a public leader."

Most Congressmen find that their office staffs are entirely occupied with district work and are not available to help on legislative problems. Mail is a heavy burden though it may be a source or ideas or a guide to voter sentiment. No Congressman dares ignore it, and all mail—no matter how bizarre the request, how snide the criticims, how stereotyped the comment—must be answered.

A second aspect of the difficulty of fulfilling legislative responsibilities effectively is the increasing complexity of public issues. One legislator commented:

"I am appalled at how much Congressmen, are expected to do for the Nation. We have to know too much. We have to make too many decisions. No matter how hardworking and conscientious a Congressmen is, no matter how much homework he does, he just can't master these problems. We just don't have the time to keep informed properly."

The enormous range of national problems encourages legislative specialization and the tendency for Members to rely on each other for assistance or guidance on legislative topics. A Member who is an expert, whose intergrity is recognized, who is hardworking, reasonable and responsible comes to be influential. Other sources of information are available, of course, notably the Library of Congress, committee reports, expert witnesses from the executive departments and from outside the Government, travel, and occasionally from special groups of like-minded Members within the House.

In fulfilling his legislative role, the Congressman finds attendance at House sessions an important way to develop knowledge of House rules and parliamentary tactics, and to obtain background on some key issues that arise year after year. But as for the effectiveness of debate itself in determining final voters, the prevailing view is that few votes are swayed. "Most House Members will be more impressed by who is making a speech than by what is said on the subject."

Voting, the final act of the legislative role, is taken seriously, especially when a controversial issue is involved, but on many questions the vote itself does not always mean what it seems to mean. Measures may be passed by one body by large margins because of assurances that the other body will scuttle them; sometimes colleagues rally behind an associate who needs support in his district, secure in the knowledge that a House-Senate conference will eliminate the doubtful measure he is sponsoring. One Member summed it up:

You've got to realize that not only are we sitting there trying to analyze legislation, trying to do the best job we can, but that factors other than absolute reason are always entering the situation. We are not in an academic environment, secluded from pressures and other factors which may not be completely relevant to the situation at hand. We are operating in a political environment, surrounded by lobbyists, constituents, the leadership, and jangling telephones, and we virtually have no time alone to think and reflect upon the problems before us. The big miracle is that somehow all of this works.

The committee system is the crux of the legislative process; a person's congressional career may rest largely on the kind of committee post he is given. Freshmen are likely to find the assignment procedure far more complex than they had expected.

In both parties, there is criticism that committee appointments are made in effect by the party leadership as part of a political strategy of their own making; by weaving together strands of regional and State demands, administration interests, committee chairmen's preferences, personal likes and dislikes, and occasionally the "rights" of seniority.

As a result, the factors influencing committee assignments are far from constant; perhaps the only certainty is that a good assignment is worth striving for, because it is in the committee rooms that the real work of Congress is done.

Committees are virtually autonomous bodies, hiring their own staffs, establishing their own rules of procedure, proceeding at their own pace for the most part and resisting, on occasion, the urgings of the leadership or the administration.

They work best in closed rather than open sessions, since partisan stances can often be sublimated and an atmosphere conducive to thoughtful consideration of legislation is more likely to prevail. Consultation between leading majority and minority members of a committee is not uncommon.

Committee chairmen rank high among the most influential Members of Congress. Sometimes respected, sometimes feared, often criticized by their colleagues, the majority have learned well the traditional privileges of their station.

A chairman's power stems from his authority to call meetings (or not), to establish subcommittees (or not), to decide the order in which bills will be considered, to approve travel orders, to handle legislation on the floor and thus decide how the debate should be shaped and to be principal spokesman for the House in the event the measure goes to conference with the Senate. His power is cumulative; association with his colleagues over a period of years enables him to build a strong residue of personal good will and I O U's in the face of which open revolt is most difficult.

It is in the area of committee rules of procedure that many Members think corrective action might be taken. "Rules of committees are designed to take the sting out of seniority and clip the wings of an arbitrary, negativist chairman," commented one man.

Occasionally, a subcommittee will become so powerful that its influence will exceed that of the full committee. Subcommittee chairmanships are sought not only because of the prestige, publicity, and perquisites that go with them but also because of the opportunities they provide to affect the direction of legislation.

A sore point for many Congressmen is the dependence of committees in reaching decisions on information provided by the executive. Said one: "Congress is faced with a responsibility for legislating very basic policy but is without the ability to compel the production of information which gives us the facts as a basis for legislating." Said another: "You can't get facts now. The executive says you can't have them. Today the executive asserts a new type of privilege which holds him above the law."

The leadership in the House is diffused—divided among elected leaders, Members who have risen to power by means of seniority, and a few individuals who are influential because of their personality and expertise although they do not enjoy official standing in the House or party heirarchy. In recent years, the formal instruments of leadership, such as the party caucus and the policy committee, have not been central elements in its exercise, although the Republicans are now according the conference and policy committee important responsibilities. The absence of official party apparatus that could give direction to the elected leaders has strengthened the hand of the Speaker and the majority leader, increasing their authority and freedom of action.

Persuasion rather than coercion or threat constitutes the main instrument for leadership success. There may be tacit recognition that it is within the power of the leadership to inflict sanctions (or distribute largesse), but rarely is it invoked.

Congressmen find that the election process never ends. As one observed, "You should say 'perennial' election rather than 'biennial.' It's with us every day."

But although most of them believe that the 2-year term complicates their problems, there is relatively little serious agitation for quadrennial elections, partly because many Members also believe that voters should have an opportunity to express their views every 2 years and partly because the possibility of change seems remote.

Regarding the chances for reelection, Members agree that incumbency is a great advantage. They feel that, by and large, State and local political groups do not concern themselves with congressional elections and that the two national committees are relatively useless. The large majority of Members accept the view that the "image" the voter has of the contestants is more important than the issues in determining the outcome: The people back home don't know what's going on. Issues are not most important. * * * If voters feel the candidate is conscientious and is trying hard to serve them, then that man has a good chance of coming back.

In creating a favorable image, must a representative follow the preferences of his district in voting, or does he have unusual latitude in making up his own mind? Opinions vary. One argument runs:

"I think you can vote pretty nearly the way you want to vote on the issues. The people don't expect you to agree with them on every issue, and they respect you for arriving at your independent judgment. You

must demonstrate that you are conscientious, however, and that you are able to arrive at a reasonable and intelligent judgment."

The other argument runs: "You cannot buck district sentiment on certain issues." Or, "A politician's first duty is to get reelected and I think this sometimes requires casting votes you might prefer not to cast."

To which is countered: "You are not just down here getting yourself reelected; you are here standing for a party which is supposed to have a definite philosophy." Or: "What good is it to be reelected if you are not willing to stand up on issues which are important."

In sum, Congressmen and congressional wives who participated in the Brookings study make clear that the life of a House Member is not an easy one. He works long hours but never can meet the many demands on his time. No matter how effective he is and how much he accomplishes, he can never satisfy all of his friends and constituents. He can seldom fully anticipate his schedule, being constantly subject to the whims of others. His job will not make him rich and the position he holds is not accorded the respect and deference by the public to which he thinks it entitled. Tension, if not conflict, is a dominant element in his life.

But after all the complaints have been aired, important compensations remain: the challenge of the work, prestige, and the satisfactions that come from active participation in important decisions of government. Politics "gets in the blood," as one said. "There is an emotional excitement in being here," said another. "You are on the board of directors of a $100 billion a year corporation," said one. "Occasionally," said another, "perhaps just once or twice a session, you * * * are able to think of yourself as one tiny particle in the whole stream of history * * *. The hard work falls away, and the tension is relaxed, and you have a sense of purpose that I don't think you find in any other profession."

Hon. John B. Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness that we note the passing of one of our most distinguished colleauges, Hon. JOHN BENNETT, of Michigan.

For 13 years I served with JOHN BENNETT on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and during these years of association I came to know him as a warm personal friend. Not only does his passing remove from our committee one of its ablest and most valuable members, but I feel a great personal loss, also.

Mr. Speaker, JOHN BENNETT served his country and his constituency well. He was a man of courage and integrity who always placed the best interests of his country above selfish or partisan considerations. We shall miss him greatly.

Mr. Speaker, to JOHN BENNETT's family we offer our sincere and heartfelt sympathy, and the prayer that God will comfort and sustain them in their bereavement.

Speech Made by Congressman Claude Pepper, June 15, 1964, Before the Southeastern Regional Council, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials Annual Conference June 14–17, Jacksonville, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on June 15 it was my privilege to address the Southeastern Regional Conference of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials.

My remarks on that occasion follow:

SPEECH MADE BY CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER, JUNE 15, 1964, BEFORE THE SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS ANNUAL CONFERENCE JUNE 14–17, 1964, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

President Lyons, members of the council, my fellow southerners, and my fellow Americans; you have seen what an eloquent and gracious friend and member of your group George Lubke is by the graciousness and the kindness of his introduction. You can see how wisely the Florida council chose its president when you were informed that they'd made him their choice and I thank you very much, George, for the kindness and the generosity of your introduction.

It's a great pleasure for me to be here at this meeting because as we say here in the South, "you're my kind of folks." I'm always glad to be in the company of southerners who are looking forward and not backward—who are determined to build and not to tear down—who want to see the South grow and not retrogress and who also are determined that the South shall take its proper place in the leadership of the greatest country in the world. I feel, as I said, very much at home because my people in the early days of this Republic came here from England and Ireland and Scotland and, like so many southerners, particularly like so many in Florida, they've come along down the Atlantic seaboard. My mother and three grandparents were born in the great southern State of Georgia and my father and I in Alabama. I lived for part of my youth in Texas. I taught law at the University of Arkansas after I graduated from law school and I've had associations which I cherish with almost every one of the great States that make up our glorious South.

I'm particularly pleased that you've chosen for the subject of this conference, "Better Public Understanding"—better public understanding of what you, for the Government, and the Government through you, and all of our people through the Government, and you are trying to do to make things better for our people. Of course, there's also a need for better private understanding sometimes. I've heard of an unhappy episode which occurred in Miami a little bit ago. An elderly couple was down there celebrating their 50th wedding anniversary and they were having lunch on the roof of one of our hotels which allowed a beautiful view and scene looking over the bay toward Miami Beach. Well, as the husband beheld the loveliness and the beauty of this scene, sentiments of romance came to his heart and he thought he should tell his wonderful, lovely wife who for just over half a century had been his companion, his helpmeet, his ever youthful bride how much he thought of her. So, looking very intently into her eyes he said, "I'm proud of you." She'd grown a little hard of hearing in later years and evidently misunderstood exactly what he said. She looked him right back in the eye and said "I'm tired of you, too."

And then I heard a man at the State Department in Washington the other day make a speech, telling about the various customs in the various countries which were not always understood by people unaccustomed to the customs of a particular country he mentioned, the habit of some people when they're addressing you, to stand right in front of you and talk right into your face, so much so that it's practically a pursuing and a backing operation between the one speaking and the one listening. Then he said in one country, the most hospitable form of conservation is to put your hand upon the knee of the other person to whom you are talking, regardless of the sex of that person. He said that often causes misunderstanding, too, where that custom was unfamiliar to the lady so addressed. But what we strive to do is to bring about better understanding and more hearty support for this great program in which you are so splendidly engaged.

Now, let me just say a word or two about our South.

In 1930, as you know, we had a very low income not only in the whole country but, particularly, in the South. The per capita income in the South has increased six times as President Johnson pointed out recently in Atlanta, since 1930. Even as late as 1960 the majority of the population of the southern States was rural in character. By 1960 almost 60 percent of the population of our South had became urban. Of the 11 States in the country where rural population still predominates, 6 of those States only were in the South and 2 of those 6 were border States. So, today, when we talk about urban renewal we are speaking of a program which is very pertinent to our urbanized and rapidly increasingly urbanized Southland. As a matter of fact, a great many people still think of the urban renewal program as being designed only for the great cities. I have the figures that under the 1961 Housing Act, the great emphasis to housing given by President Kennedy, that over two-thirds of all the Federal grants which had been reserved were for cities of a population of less than 50,000. Now this Southland of ours, no longer rural in character, is moving rapidly ahead as an industrial part of our country, rapidly taking its place in the industrial and economic leadership of the Nation.

Now, I said that our per capita income had increased six times since 1930. That's far above the national increase which has occurred in that interval of time. What has contributed more than the Federal assistance which has then provided for the South, beginning with Franklin Roosevelt who, in the 1930's, characterized the South as the Nation's economic problem No. 1. Today, I think we of the South can proudly say that the South is the Nation's economic opportunity No. 1 and we are glad to see great enterprises moving into the South, finding a hospitable climate not only from the weather but from the taxing authorities, from government generally and from the people among whom they're settling and where they have cast their fortunes.

Unhappily, we still have certain obstacles which temporarily stand in the way. When we pass the civil rights bill as we shall, in the Congress, in the next few days, and when the people of the South accept it and understand it, and when they discover that while giving recognition to the constitutional rights of all of our people, it is far less violent than they anticipate going to unsettle and disturb our way of life, when we accept it in principle and in good faith and learn to live with it and all of us to work together, as children of God and citizens of America,

then there'll be fewer areas where industry will be reluctant to settle, there'll be greater opportunities for all of our people, the purchasing power of our mass citizenship will immeasurably increase and the South will be a far better and stronger part of the Nation and the world than it is even in this great today.

And yet, how many of us remember what bitter obstruction and resistance there was to so many of the Federal programs which have meant so much to us. I remember when we proposed the minimum wage law in 1938. It was the principal issue in my campaign for reelection at that time. There were many with good motives who castigated me as a traitor to the South because I was one of the few who dared to espouse that bill which provided a minimum wage for those subject to the law of 25 cents an hour. In many parts of Florida, in some of the big sawmills, employees were making as little as 9 cents an hour. They said I didn't understand the nature of the South by wanting to increase its purchasing power and to enlarge its markets—they said "don't you know that the South is intended to be the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Nation—the area to produce raw materials—not to be industrialized part of America? Don't you understand that?" I said, "Yes, I have reason to understand something about the South; but that's not my way of envisioning the role of the South in the future of our land." And, when the minimum wage law came, it gave impetus to a greater purchasing power which provided larger markets, attracted more industries because we had, here, people who could buy more of the things that others had to provide. And, after that came a whole great galaxy of particular improvements including one which reduced the disparity in our freight rate structure, gave our industry in the South greater opportunity to ship into the other areas of the country, into the great markets of the North and East. Gradually, we have had many of these burdensome discriminations removed from our shoulders. We have greater opportunity and better times in the South today from a fairer attitude on the part of our National Government than we've ever had before.

How well do I remember the bitter opposition to the public housing bill in the Senate, back in the 1930's and in the 1940's. How well do I member that even recently, in one of the great metropo!itan areas of Florida, some agitators got a great many of the mayors to sign a petition opposing urban renewal in the area. To those, I feel like using the words of the Master in His travail when He said, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." There are still those who think of your program and what you're doing as something socialistic in character—they use the word socialistic to give an obnoxious connotation to the public housing and the urban renewal program.

I remember in Miami, not so long ago, hearing a U.S. Senator and former Governor of a Southern State speaking to a distinguished audience of our citizenship, saying to that audience that the greatest danger facing the people of America was not communistic subversion, not poverty, nor disease, not the lack of a good educational opportunity for all of our boys and girls—no, the greatest danger facing the people of America, he said, is the concentration of power upon the banks of the Potomac River. In other words, the Government of the United States—the Government of the people was the greatest enemy, this gentleman said, that the people had. Do you know or do you recall that every 2 years, one-third of the U.S. Senate is elected? Every 2 years, every Member of the House of Representatives is up for election and every 4 years the President of the United States is elected. You may be assured that if all of the Members of the House were turned out and successors of a contrary point of view were chosen that that would change the policy of the Government of the United States, if it's obnoxious to the people. And in 4 years' time, in free elections all over America, the people of this country can change the whole House of Representatives twice, can change two-thirds of the U.S. Senate and elect a new President. Is that the way you make a government which dominates the people? Is that the way tyranny is foistered upon the people?

What we're trying to do is to take slums of either commercial or residential character and make them into better cities and better residential areas by the best way possible. I warmly commend this great city of Jacksonville and its distinguished mayor and the many civic leaders who had a part in this splendid program for what they've done outside of government, outside of our immediate program of urban renewal, in renovating the commercial character and beautifying the horizon of this great city of Jacksonville. Fittingly enough the people of Florida chose Jacksonville's distinguished mayor to be the new Governor of our State and I'm sure he'll leave upon our State, as he has upon this city, the imprint of his leadership, his vision, and his great courage. Moreover, you heard my friend representing the mayor here talk about the wonderful system of expressways, not built without the cooperation of the Federal Government and built at a time when Jacksonville had a Governor that came from Jacksonville, too, as Fuller Warren will remind you; so that government had a little part in this great program. But, wherever private enterprise can do the job, we are not trying to usurp that prerogative or deny that opportunity; but in most of the cities of the country you do not have the fortuitous combination of circumstances which can bring about such a renewal program as has been so splendidly accomplished here in the city of Jacksonville.

We are concerned about homes for the aged, those people over 65 years of age who have so little and who cannot pay an economic rent and who do not get enough for either old age or survivors insurance or old age assistance to pay an economic rent. If they don't have the money to pay an economic rent how are they going to live in a decent home unless somebody helps them to do it? What is better, what has experience proven to be better, than cooperation between the municipal authorities through their splendid housing authorities and the Federal Government in making better housing facilities available to these most worthy citizens?

A little while ago, in Miami, I attended a function out at one of these elderly housing projects. If anybody could see the joy in the faces of those people, the sweetness in the latter years of their lives that those apartments have made possible for them, surely they would be converts to the program providing low-cost housing to them, if they had not supported it before. And what about the poor who cannot, also, afford to pay an economic rent for a home or an apartment? We wish all could pay a reasonable rent.

President Roosevelt spoke of a third of the Nation ill clad, ill fed and ill housed and a lot of it in the South in those days. We have progressed to the point where our present great President can say that that third has been reduced to a fifth. But still a fifth of the people of America, as individuals, make less than a thousand dollars a year and, as families, have a total income of less than $3,000 a year. Oh, I know there are critics who say "Well, that's still pretty good, if you take the standard of foreign countries, yes—but this is America we're talking about. And then they say, "well, it's still pretty good because in 1929 50 percent of the people, not 20 percent, were in those low-income categories." Yes, that was 1929. This is 1964. And America is a country dedicated to making things better for its people.

Now, President Johnson has launched a war on poverty. He wants to keep the children from becoming juvenile delinquents, from being denied the training that would make it possible for them to get a job, not to be a part of the flotsam and jetsam of a drifting youth. Of course, the degree to which we succeed in that high endeavor will determine to a great degree the number of low-income people in the next generation or in the years ahead. The President is also trying to provide better health facilities for those people so that they may live longer and contribute more.

We have a program even to aid senior citizens who are on old-age assistance and give them an earning capacity which they've not heretofore known, giving them a greater satisfaction, personally, and at the same time, lessening the burden upon the Government of caring for them because they have no other adequate means of subsistence.

All of these programs strike at the cause of poverty for we have to deal with people; people who can't live in a decent home or apartment; children who cannot be reared in a wholesome environmental community; children who canont get a proper educational opportunity because they are reared in dilapidated commercial areas which are sores upon the body of a great, rich America. That's not the kind of America that our forefathers came here to establish. That's not the America of which we all dream. That's not the America that we are determined to be.

Just take college housing—I had a little bit to do with some of these programs in the years that I was in the Senate. Most of our colleges and universities don't have the money to provide the dormitories and the taxpayers supporting them or supporters are already burdened; but, by loans from the Federal Government these dormitories can be built and the loans can be paid off by tuition or by the payments made by the occupants of these dormitories or faculty homes. So, with Federal aid, we have educational institutions able to provide better facilities without, in the long run, laying a burden upon the taxpayers. We have found a way to make them self-liquidating. Thus all throughout its gamut the Federal program is designed to make things better for our people.

If we can raise the low-income group of our people into greater participation and more purchasing power we have helped everybody. President Johnson has said we can whip this enemy "poverty"; we can lick this foe. I did hear about a fellow the other day who was found wandering around and somebody said, "What are you looking for?" He said, "I'm looking for that war against poverty. I want to surrender." * * * Well, you may be sure that when President Johnson puts his determined experience and high purpose behind a program, it's going to succeed.

Well, my friends, I know and you know that there are still those who do not understand what we're trying to do. They feel not basically sympathetic toward it. But let us ask ourselves, "Has the program proven to be worthy? Has it proven to be good? Has it, economically as well as spiritually, benefited the people of all the areas of the country?" You and I know that the task is enlarging in many respects rather than diminishing. In 1970 we are expected to have a population in this country of about 208 million people, an increase in the decade from 1960 to 1970, of about 30 million people. It's estimated that we have about 10 million new families that will form in that decade. Provision must be made for them. Both FHA and many other parts of the Government program

do not apply only to the needy but to those who require assistance in enjoying the housing opportunities that they should have.

I remember one day I was sitting in the Senate restaurant talking to the gentleman who was head of the HOLC, the Home Owners Loan program in the New Deal days. I said, "By the way, Mr. So-and-So, how did the Government come out on that HOLC program?" He said, "We made about $100 million profit." "Really," I said, "isn't that wonderful?" All those farms saved from mortgage foreclosure, all those firesides and hearthstones preserved, all those tender memories retained on the farm and in the city, and yet the Government made $100 million profit on the enterprise. I said, "How are they doing on the FHA program?" And he told me how many millions of dollars had been gained as profit from that program, too.

A little bit ago, I heard some reference to the RFC, of which one of our great fellow southerners, Jesse Jones, was so much the genius, and that, too, when liquidated, yielded a profit in the hundreds of millions to the Government of the United States. These have not been programs of waste, even if you consider the money, let alone the human contribution that they have made. Let us, therefore, strive with every passing day to make the public understand more and better what we are doing, the reason for it, how it is done, what it accomplishes, the wisdom, the skill with which we try to carry it out, the ever-increasing challenge which the country affords to train people to administer these programs better as is provided in the 1964 Housing and Community Development Act. Let us tell the people of the many communities that still need help, the impoverished that still do not have a home, those of low income who still require assistance. Let us ever try to make them see the pattern of the new America that is still uppermost in our hearts and our minds.

There may be some who refer to you people who are running these great programs as having to do with a sort of a socialistic program. Let me tell you, my friends, take pride in what you are doing. Ask your critics how many smiles have they put upon the faces that were wrinkled with care and privation compared to you? How many steps have they lightened? Into how many hearts have they put a song? What happiness have they contributed to those who can be given so much happiness by relatively so little? Are they whom you help not a part of our people, are they, too, not America? Are they, too, not God's children? Cannot they arrive at a greater potential than they now represent with help? You tell them "I'm not just building some homes here." You remind them of the old, old story of the one who approached the workmen at a great edifice being built and said to one of them, "What are you doing?" "I'm laying brick," he replied. "What are you doing?" the visitor said to another. "I'm mixing mortar," replied this one. The visitor came to another sturdy fellow and said, "What are you doing?" He said, "I'm building a cathedral."

You are building a better America, a happier America, a healthier America, a better educated America, a stronger America, an America more secure against any kind of subversion, an America that has a greater stake in what we inherited and what we are determined to do, an America worthy to be followed by the people of the world who look longingly for an example that they can trust, an America that practices at home what it preaches abroad, about democracy. You tell them that you are doing what Maxwell Anderson, in the play, "Valley Forge" said George Washington did. In one of the crucial struggles of the Revolutionary War, when the prospects seemed so dark and so disappointing, a singularly tempting siren sought to deviate George Washington from his high course and his firm purpose by laying before him the folly of continuing the war; the foolishness of fighting on; the inevitability of failure, and said, "Why don't you quit now?" The intrepid George Washington turned his face against the temptress, kept up the fight and led his country to freedom and to the leadership of the free world. This noble course led Maxwell Anderson to say that some men so lift up the age they inhabit that all men walk on higher ground. You tell your critics you are proud to have an opportunity so to try to lift up the age you inhabit that all men shall walk on higher ground. Thank you very much.

Lincoln Park Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, on July 26, 1964, at the opening ceremonies commemorating the centennial of Chicago's famous Linclon Park, Erwin Weiner, general superintendent of the Chicago Park District, read a proclamation declaring the period from July 26 to August 1, 1964, be proclaimed Lincoln Park Centennial.

To give deserved recognition to this milestone, under leave to extend my remarks I am pleased to insert the following proclamation and commend it to the readership of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Whereas much of what is now Lincoln Park between Diversey Parkway and North Avenue has always been public property, having been purchased by the city in its early days from the State of Illinois for cemetery and other public purposes; and

Whereas, by 1860, after repeated cholera epidemics, this dreary area contained, in addition to three cemeteries, a morgue, a pesthouse, an axle grease factory, and was threaded by the stagnant, unsavory, disease-breeding 10-mile ditch; and

Whereas a group of public-spirited citizens of the North Side recognizing the need for drastic improvement of the area, prepared and published a study entitled "Public Parks: Their Effect Upon the Moral, Physical, and Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Large Cities With Special Reference to the City of Chicago," and repeatedly petitioned the city council to allocate all or a portion of these lands for park purposes; and

Whereas their efforts were successful when on October 21, 1864, the council passed ordinances dedicating approximately 60 acres of the tract as a public park to be known as Lake Park, and shortly thereafter appropriated money for improvements, and took action toward condemning and removing the adjacent cemeteries; and

Whereas the following year, after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the council deemed it fitting and proper that this park, the largest in the city, be renamed in honor of the martyred president; and

Whereas from these humble beginnings, Lincoln Park has now grown to almost 1,200 acres and contains facilities for practically every form of sports, games and public resort and recreation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of the Chicago Park District, That the period from July 26 to August 1, 1964, be proclaimed "Lincoln Park Centennial" to be observed with appropriate ceremonies, games and spectacles, and that all of the citizens of Chicago are most cordially invited to attend, participate in, and enjoy this 100th birthday celebration.

Copyright Law Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, there is little doubt that a revision of our present copyright laws is needed. Since these laws have remained unchanged for over 50 years there are many areas in which improvement could be made. In contemplating a revision of the present laws, however, we should keep in mind that copyright control on Government publications offers the possibility of censorship and suppression of information which could become a violation of the public interest.

With this in mind, I include here in the RECORD three editorials on this subject and call them to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

[From Editor & Publisher, Aug. 1, 1964]

GOVERNMENT COPYRIGHT

The U.S. Copyright Office has sent proposals to Congress for revision of the copyright laws. Since they haven't been revised for more than 50 years there are many areas in need of improvement.

The proposals in the area of copyright by Government agencies and officials leave much to be desired, however.

At the present time, section 8 of the law expressly states that "no copyright shall subsist in any publication of the U.S. Government, or any reprint, in whole or in part thereof." In recent years there has been a growing tendency to place copyright restrictions on the contents of Government publications and documents in spite of the law. Instead of enforcing the law, the Copyright Office has averted its eyes and is now trying to establish an "exception" which would legalize it.

The new proposal would continue, in general, to deny copyrights by Government but would sepll out excetpions where it might be desirable for wider dissemination of the material or other reasons. The head of the appropriate agency would have to pass on each case and the only qualification seems to be "public interest." That can cover almost anything. It is the same loose phrase used on occasion to withhold information.

In our opinion information from Government agencies or personnel is the public's business and should be in the public domain not subject to government copyright or any other restriction.

[From the Hartford Courant, July 30, 1964]

COPYRIGHT LAW CHANGES

The Copyright Office has introduced a bill to bring its system of protection up to date. The communications industry has been transformed by inventions in music reproduction and broadcasting since the present copyright law was passed in 1909. A general revision of the law is evidently needed. The proposals before Congress are based on 9 years of study by experts. Differences are bound to develop over some of the provisions. It should not be difficult to iron them out and enact a new law that will protect writers, artists, and musicians.

The law now gives an artist protection for 28 years plus another 28 if the copright is renewed. After that it becomes public property and can be used by anyone without payment. Under the proposed law copyright protection would be given for the lifetime of the holder plus 50 years. In most cases this would give the artist a longer period of exclusive control of his work.

Authorities do not always agree on what works should be protected by a copyright law. Novels, songs, and paintings can be proved to be the property of their creators. Others like jewelry, fabric designs, and borderland art works are more likely to be the subject of litigation. The proposed law would protect them, though decisions might have to be made by the courts in some fields.

The most questionable proposal is for a change in the present ban on copyrighting of a government publication. Work done by public employees with public mon y has always been considered to be in the public domain. The proposed law would allow exceptions. The dangers of this are obvious. It would be an invitation to department heads to copyright and control or suppress material that belongs to the public.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 1, 1964]

CREEPING COPYRIGHT

(By M. B. Schnapper, editor of Public Affairs Press)

Considering that the Copyright Office has for years sanctioned blatant violations of the Copyright Act by Government agencies and officials, it is hardly surprising that the Register of Copyrights now seeks to legalize such practices.

Section 8 of the present law expressly states that "No copyright shall subsist in any publication of the U.S. Government, or any reprint, in whole or in part thereof." The purpose of this section is, of course, to prevent the Government from placing restrictions on public access to official material.

It seems only yesterday that the Copyright Office was innocently insisting that it could not stop governmental copyrighting because the phrasing of the law was unclear. Much is now crystal clear. If the Register of Copyrights has his way governmental officials will in effect be free to do all the copyrighting they choose, providing only that they consider their acts "in the public interest."

No doubt Gen. C. G. Dodge, Chief of Army Information, had a special type of public interest in mind when he justified copyright restrictions on official military histories. "The works were copyrighted," he explained, "to prevent quoting of material out of context." And another Army officer also must have had some unique ideas about the public interest when he explained that copyrighting had been employed in order to prevent "sensationalizing."

It is ironic that each new restriction on the public's right to know is invarably justified on the ground of the "public interest."

Hon. John B. Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to associate myself with the remarks of those who have preceeded me in extolling the virtues of our esteemed and good friend, Congressman JOHN B. BENNETT.

It has been my pleasure to have known JOHN since he came to this House. Although I did not have the opportunity to serve on his committee with him, I did get to know him quite well, something that is hard to do in this House with its large membership and the many duties that we all have to perform.

JOHN BENNETT was a friendly man. He was a thoughtful man. He was a conscientious legislator and a hard working man.

It is said that a man is known by the deeds he performs. I have known of instances where JOHN BENNETT, without hope of reward and in a most unselfish manner, performed deeds of kindness and thoughtfulness to his fellow man.

Mr. Speaker, we will miss our departed colleague and friend. He has made his imprint, in his own quiet and modest manner, on those of us who served with him here in the Congress.

Mrs. Colmer joins me in extending our most sincere sympathy to Mrs. Bennett and the other members of the bereaved family.

Civil Rights and Sound Fiscal Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that I find myself in agreement with the views expressed on the editorial page of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, even when I am in agreement with the conclusions, primarily because the arguments resorted to all too often adopt the ad hominem fallacy. It is most unusual that I should find two editorials in one issue on two such diverse topics as civil rights and fiscal policy which I can wholeheartedly commend be widely read and in which conclusions I largely concur. Yet this is the case and it is with pleasure I put both of these editorials in the RECORD.

Regardless of concurrence these two editorials move the national debate, which should be occurring on these highly important and indeed emotional issues, forward in a responsible way. The editors deserve high praise. May there be more of this kind of public discussion of the serious and difficult issues which face our society:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Aug. 7, 1964]

BEYOND THE RIGHTS ACT

Carl T. Rowan's appeal for an end to racial violence should apply everywhere, and especially to the civil rights movement. That movement must be rational to be successful, even in the face of murders in Mississippi.

The director of the U.S. Information Agency urged the Urban League Convention in Louisville to consider that demonstrations, "with possible rare exceptions," have served their purpose "for the time being." Mr. Rowan does not rule out the demonstration technique. He only asks that it be judged anew for effectiveness against the possibilities of violence.

As a Negro, he said, he was concerned that his children should escape the degrading shackles of racism. But as an American and a father, he was "even more disturbed by what this senseless violence could do to warp the heart and soul of America." He called on the rights movement to rid itself "of street rioters, looters, and punks who terrorize subways."

We cannot equate outright murder in Mississippi with riots in Harlem, but both are indications of what Carl Rowan is talking about. And when street violence in the North is so obviously a disservice to the civil rights cause, many perplexed Americans are asking about the reasons for it. Is it the work of hoodlums, Muslims, and Communists? Why do Negroes riot when they have just been given the Civil Rights Act?

No doubt looters and Communists both were involved in the Harlem riots. But the riots would not have been possible were it not for a bitterness and frustration that the Rights Act more likely abrades than salves.

The Civil Rights Act, as its southern opponents well know, applies primarily to the South, not the North. Harlem Negroes, for example, already have broader rights to accommodations, employment, and housing under State law than the Federal law gives them. The latter inspired hope of a new day that it alone cannot produce.

What the northern Negroes need are education, jobs, and personal respect long denied them and even today withheld from the contemporary victims of a society that separated them by law. There is no quick or easy answer to the situation. Perhaps there is no full legal answer. There is a point beyond which laws cannot go, and that point is somewhere in the minds of men.

No citizen has a right to ask that Negroes give up their demands to be treated as equal citizens. Enforcement of the rights law is required and new laws will be helpful in some areas. Peaceful demonstrations remain a valid form of petition when other forms fail. But continued progress toward equal rights now requires most of all that Negro and white citizens of good will work together. Violence can only wreck progress.

History shows that experience with equal rights improves the climate for personal belief in fair treatment. The Nation needs time to develop more of that experience now.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Aug. 7, 1964]

MR. PATMAN AND THE FED

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, a champion of low interest rates and long-time critic of the policies of Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin, is seeking grassroots support for changing the U.S. central banking system. Up to now his legislation to curb the autonomy of the Federal Reserve Board and its Open Market Committee and place these functions under the Secretary of the Treasury has attracted little support.

Mr. PATMAN is concerned that actions of the Federal Reserve System could disrupt the economy by adopting monetary policies contrary to the fiscal and economic policies of the administration in power. The Congressman also believes the System exercises too much power free of the control or scrutiny of Congress. Experience in recent years has shown Mr. PATMAN'S fears are groundless. President Kennedy, who believed in active participation by the Government in the economy, reappointed Mr. Martin, a symbol of monetary orthodoxy, as Chairman. Mr. Martin has cooperated with Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon in implementing the Kennedy-Johnson administration's economic policies and has still maintained the independence of the Federal Reserve System.

It is to the great credit of the Fed that in recent years short-term interest rates have remained relatively high in order to stop the drain of gold and dollars to Europe. At the same time long-term rates have been kept low in an effort to increase domestic investment and decrease unemployment. These results were accomplished—a feat many bankers thought impossible—at a time when Government expenditures in defense and public works increased, depreciation allowances were liberalized, investment tax credits were granted, and an across-the-board tax cut enacted.

Mr. Martin opposes Mr. PATMAN's legislation on the grounds that the principal officer in charge of paying the Government's bills shouldn't also have the power to create money to pay them. Mr. Dillon, who is responsible for financing the Government by selling Government securities at the lowest interest rate, sees a conflict between this function and the broader objective of money and credit policies required for the good of the economy as a whole. The present system of an independent board working with the administration has worked well at a time when the economy has maintained record levels without serious inflationary pressures. We can see no need now for a change. The operation of the independent Federal Reserve System would be further hampered by subjecting it to political pressures through an extension of congressional controls.

Mr. PATMAN further charges undue influence on Congressmen by the banking lobby and cites as an example an offer, promptly rejected, of $14,000 worth of bank stock as a gift to another Texas Representative. If Mr. PATMAN can show improper activities by lobbyists he is entitled to a hearing.

Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Herbert Hoover is one of the greatest Americans in the history of this Republic and indeed one of the greatest men of the modern world.

I commend to the Congress and the Nation the following tribute by A. N. Spanel, founder and chairman of the International Latex Corp.:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO HERBERT HOOVER

(By A. N. Spanel)

On August 10, the 31st President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, reaches the venerable age of 90. He has lived longer than any American President except John Adams, who died at 91. That this great American has survived so long is a matter of profound satisfaction to millions of his countrymen and admirers throughout the world—because it has enabled him to witness his vindication after a brutal ordeal by abuse.

In that period, ugly myths about Hoover were spawned in ignorance and in political malice. Partisan passions have been stilled by time and Mr. Hoover is universally esteemed today. Yet shreds of those myths still linger, some of them enshrined in history books. All Americans of good will should therefore be delighted that a magnificent book on his life, setting the record straight, is being published on the 90th birthday: "Herbert Hoover: Biography," by Eugene Lyons.

The simple title covers a brilliant job of research and writing. We trust that it will get the widest possible circulation, as it deserves. It is, in the words of the noted literary critic, John Chamberlain, "an act of historic justice." Every thoughtful American patriot, we submit, owes it to himself to read the biography.

History, there is every reason to believe, will deal more generously with Herbert Hoover than many of his contemporaries have done. Already, to quote Mr. Lyons' concluding words, "Time has washed off the mud with which he was bespattered—fortunately while he was still alive and active. The granite of integrity underneath became obvious even to the less perceptive of his countrymen."

SERVANT OF HUMANITY

It is most gratifying that three Democratic Presidents, Mr. Truman, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Johnson, signally honored Mr. Hoover; with Mr. Truman utilizing Mr. Hoover's wise and profound report resulting from the Hoover Commission, and Mr. Johnson repeatedly paying warmest tribute to Mr. Hoover's lifelong contribution to humanity.

Mr. Hoover's 90 years have compassed many careers—as engineer, humanitarian, political leader, social philosopher—and in each of them he achieved the top rung. His unhappy 4 years in the White House are little more than an interlude in a long life of service to mankind.

Ironically, he was one of the very few who warned against the speculative frenzy of the prosperity years in the 1920's. Fate ruled that he should himself be President when his warnings came true. He was vilified for crimes he did not commit, ridiculed for words he did not utter—such as "prosperity around the corner."

The new biography cuts through the mythology manufactured during his ordeal and Mr. Hoover emerges as a towering moral figure. More than most men, living or dead, he has been the great instrument of America's conscience. Beginning with the Belgian relief in 1914, he has organized and administered dramatic humanitarian campaigns that saved the lives of literally scores of millions throughout the world.

PROFILE IN GREATNESS

Ultimately, Mr. Lyons believes, Hoover will not be judged as a President but as a great human being. Here are a few quotations from the book:

"He is a self-made man, who, from the humblest beginnings rose to transcendent heights—to the summit of his vocation, which was the mining of metals; to the pinnacle of his avocation, which was benevolence; to the highest office in the Republic. Then, with startling suddenness, his destiny took tragic turns.

"Rightly credited with genius in the administration of economic resources, he was fated to preside over a catastrophe of economic disintegration beyond the control of any mortal man. A Quaker whose name had become synonymous with compassion and help to the destitute, he found himself the victim of cruel accusations of callous unconcern for the sufferings of his own countrymen. From the luminous mountain peaks he was driven into the valley of shadows, there to wander for more than 15 years in unmerited ignominy, a man mocked and defamed, pilloried and stoned, for wholly imaginary sins.

"Happily the legend was dissipated in his own lifetime. The landscape of his 90 years has the sweep of great human drama, the counterpoint of brilliant light and melancholy shadows.

"A clear head under the control of a compassionate heart has kept Hoover from succumbing to the catch-phrases and shibboleths of the hour—proof that he was never cut out to be a conventional politician. While devoting his life to the weak and the destitute, he never tried to flatter the masses by glorifying weakness and destitution. He sought to stir them, rather, to new strength and self-reliance.

"Hoover has consistently renounced popularity for principle, for duty as he conceived it. As President, and then as ex-President, he never revised or reversed himself under the terror of organized abuse; he never yielded to the temptation of doing the politically profitable thing against his own logic and conscience.

"His life, I am convinced, will be measured less by what he did—colossal though it has been—than by what he was. Already, in fact, his countrymen instinctively appraise him in moral rather than conventional political terms. They think of him, if at all, not primarily as a President, however rated, but as a great American and a great human being—as a truly good man, whose compassion reached out to embrace all humankind."

These citations, we repeat, are from "Herbert Hoover: a Biography," by Eugene Lyons, published by Doubleday & Co. They provide a foretaste of the literary, historical and moral feast spread in its pages.

Address by the Honorable Claude Pepper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 10, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on June 29 it was my privilege to address in Miami Beach within my district, the national convention of the United Commercial Travelers of the United States. My remarks on that occasion follow:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE CLAUDE PEPPER

Mr. Chairman, the Honorable Supreme Counselor, officers, members of the auxiliary, members of the United Commercial Travelers, and my fellow Americans, you were most generous and kind, Mr. Chairman, in the gracious words of the introduction with which you have presented me.

I have heard, as you no doubt have, President Johnson often say, after being the recipient of such a gracious and a generous introduction like that, "I wish my father and mother could have heard it, my father would have been very proud and my mother would have believed it."

As the able chairman began to tell you about some of those episodes about me I suspect you thought that instead of World War I of which he was speaking that it was the Spanish-American or Civil War, perhaps, in which I took part.

I first, if I may do so, would like to have the pleasure to present Mrs. Pepper who is over here to the left. [Applause.] And a dear young lady who is accompanying us, Miss Kim Bartlett. [Applause].

If, Mr. Chairman, you find that you need a gavel to preside over this fine convention I would recommend to you your able Mr. Cobb Chase, of South Dakota, a distinguished Democrat who supplied the gavel at the last Democratic National Convention and performed a very noble service during that convention. I am glad to see him one of your distinguished leaders here, my good friend and fellow Democrat, Cobb Chase, from South Dakota. [Applause.]

It is a particular pleasure to me to be able to see out here in front an old boyhood friend, Burrus Watts, of Tennessee, and to have learned of the fine leadership which he

has contributed toward the progress of this splendid organization.

I am particularly proud that I can join you this evening in your opening session of this convention, which occurs, if I may say so—as I often say here at home—within the territory of the best congressional district in the United States, the third, which I have the honor to represent.

We are glad to have one of our eminent mayors here to present the welcome address to you. Our hearts greet you most warmly. We hope your stay here will be a happy one and that you will go back refreshed and come again soon to enjoy the land of flowers with us.

I also am very proud to have this identification with an organization which has for its objective the promotion of the trade and commerce of this country, mutual aid to its noble membership, and the furtherance of the splendid cause of assistance to retarded children. But when I say I am proud to have that identification with you I don't want to be misunderstood as a well intentioned husband was who with his wife was visiting here in Miami not so long ago. This couple was celebrating its 50th wedding anniversary. They were having lunch on the roof of one of our mainland hotels looking out over Biscayne Bay and observing what we delight to observe as a beautiful sight. When the husband saw the loveliness of the scene, sentiments of romance arose in his heart and soon to his lips, and then especially so when he looked at his lovely wife who for little more than a half century had been his marvelous companion along the way of life, and he wanted to say something to her to express his gratitude and appreciation. So, looking very intently into his wife's face he said to her, "I am proud of you."

She had grown a little hard of hearing in the later years and evidently did not quite understand him for she looked right back at him and said with equal intensity, "I am tired of you, too."

As your distinguished chairman said I am a fraternalist. I believe in the principle, as we all do, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It has delighted and warmed my heart to see with the passing years a greater awareness of our personal and public obligation to our fellow man. One cannot read the chapters of history without being impressed as to how the family of man has grown, not only in numbers but in organization, in reciprocal or mutual help, in a sense of common obligation, and an awareness of a common destiny. So, today it is not difficult to get the answer when you ask the question: Am I my brother's keeper? For today under the threat of a nuclear holocaust the whole human race could be destroyed in a matter of moments, the earth made uninhabitable for every living thing and all of the fine institutions of the past become but charred debris in a scarred and burnt out world.

So today even war, which has been the scourage of the past, is coming, we feel, to be less likely if not impossible because anyone who would provoke a nuclear contest is aware of the fact that the victor, too, would be vanquished, and as one has said, "The living would almost envy the dead."

It is tragic that a lesson in horror has to give us all a realization of our interdependence, for that is a lesson which should come from the moral teachings and the spiritual instruction which we have all inherited.

So your organization is dedicated to two of those high purposes, reciprocal, mutual aid for its membership—common cooperation for the advancement of the cause and the concern of all—and then this splendid assistance which is the principle part of your aid program to help the mentally retarded.

But whether we serve one another voluntarily, as you do in your insurance and your aid program, or whether we help one another through public need, it is all in furtherance of the same principles of the brotherhood of man.

As time has passed we recognize that the need to give assistance to our fellowman through public associations and instrumentalities is a growing challenge to us all. In later years government has recognized that it was the servant of the people to aid all the people. That is the reason that lately under the recommendation of our late lamented President—who knew the tragedy of the mentally retarded from the experience of his sister—that the Goverment of the United States joined you for the first time in recognizing the pitiful problem of the mentally retarded, and determined to give help to those pathetic members of our citizenship. So, we adopted in the 1st session of this 88th Congress, as you recall, two measures. The first was the 5-year $350 million program, a part of which was to provide funds for maternal care and doing what could be done to prevent mental retardation among newly born children. That was the preventative aspect of the subject. Next came the curative, and that was a 3-year $238 million Federal program to assist the States and the local communities and other participating organizations in setting up community facilities to attend those who were the victims of mental retardation, and to provide research institutions, to provide means and ways by which the illness could be cured and prevented. That is simply another aspect of your reciprocal or mutual help program.

We are also trying to help educate children so they will not be juvenile delinquents, they will not be a part of the flotsam and jetsam of our economy, and if they are displaced from employment by automation they will have another chance by being retrained. We are trying to provide financial assistance so that the doors of educational opportunity shall be open alike to all.

There are many of us here older than the youth of today who experienced the struggle in our personal lives to get an education. We know what it meant to us that we were fortunate enough to enjoy it. Today we know that across on the other part of the world there are boys and girls being driven on by the tyrants of communism to obtain the greatest possible educational benefits that they can derive in order that they may be the instruments of aggressive communism with its design to conquer the world. Our defense is not you and I who will have passed soon from the scene but the boys and girls of today who will be in the front lines of our defense tomorrow. If those boys and girls do not get an opportunity for the kind of education that will make them superior, exercising to the fullest their capacities which God gave them, our side is weakened and the enemy has an advantage.

So today, whether it be the field of health, or education, or social security, or housing, or whether it be in the larger sphere of international organizations, the purpose of which is to promote the backward peoples of the world to a better life and to a greater opportunity to make more secure the defense of freedom and to permit Democracy to survive in a climate which assures its perpetuity—all these things are simply a part of the expression of the principle of the brotherhood and of the interdependence of mankind.

We don't always see the reason for a lot of these things that we presently undertake. The President, only in today's paper, was saying that we might have to risk conflict in faraway southeast Asia to preserve the freedom of those people. But what he was proposing to defend was not just the freedom of South Vietnam or of Laos but the freedom of free men and women, boys and girls everywhere, for tyranny anywhere threatens the freedom of people everywhere, and liberty cannot be secure except it be enjoyed by all.

So, our country, under Republican and Democratic administrations has poured out its treasury as it has its heart to the suffering people of the world in war after war. As William Jennings Bryan said, "Sons of American mothers have sailed across the seas and marched under European battle flags and died upon European battlefields," and now they fly over every ocean and continent of the earth and often fall like broken-winged eagles out of the sky in the contest between tyranny and freedom. Yes, Americans in every part of the world stand today as the stalwart defender of free men and of a free way of life.

But these things, of course, exact a terrible cost. Over a hundred billion dollars since World War II have come out of the treasury of America to help out people of the world. We have asked not even gratitude, we have asked only that they help themselves to live better lives in their own lands and to make more secure the cause of freedom everywhere.

There was a time when to be a citizen of Rome was the pride of the people everywhere. Today to be a citizen of the United States is the greatest privilege that anyone can have anywhere on the face of the earth. This great moral, physical, and financial struggle has been maintained by warmhearted, strong, stalwart, and a God-fearing people because we want to be assured that you can have great conventions like yours, enjoy the fellowship which is yours to carry on your great work.

I concluded by reminding you that in Maxwell Anderson's play "Valley Forge," an episode is described of how in the darkest days of the Revolutionary War the heart of George Washington was troubled, disappointment crowded upon disappointment and defeat ignominiously followed defeat. Just at that moment when the fortunes of the cause of freedom seemed to be at the lowest ebb a siren temptress attempted to persuade the intrepid Washington that the cause was in vain and the struggle was lost and he should abandon the fight. George Washington listened and then made, of course, the decision characteristic of his noble character, turned his head upon the temptation and went gallantly and bravely ahead to win the freedom of a nation which has done more for freedom than any other nation in the history of man. Commenting on that gallant struggle and great victory by Washington, Maxwell Anderson has his character observe: "There are some men who so lift up the age they inhabit that all men walk on higher ground."

Besides progressing the commerce of our country and the cause of your members I know this splendid organization of nearly a quarter of a million members in 47 States and in 5 provinces of our sister nation Canada, is, too, dedicated to the high purpose that all men shall walk on higher ground. [Applause.]

Concluding this portion of the opening program announcement was made that all delegates and officers were invited to remain for the memorial service under the direction of C. J. Thibedeau, of Duluth, Minn., chairman, and Mrs. Mae Hestekind, past supreme counselor, Marshfield, Wis., cochairman, ladies' auxiliary, of the necrology committee.

Appendix

The Third Annual Concert in Tribute to Abraham Lincoln by the U.S. Marine Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on July 19, patrons of the Watergate concert of the U.S. Marine Band were treated to the annual program dedicated to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Again this year, I had the privilege of taking part in the program and it was my honor to introduce the guest speaker for the evening, Carl Haverlin, a Lincoln enthusiast and scholar from Northridge, Calif.

Because I know that my colleagues and all others who revere the Lincoln story will be interested in the remarks which were made at this concert, I wish to have the concert program, the narration of William Jones, and Mr. Haverlin's appropriate address appear in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Under leave to extend my remarks, it is printed herewith:

THE U.S. MARINE BAND—"THE PRESIDENT'S OWN"

CONCERT—IN TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Watergate: Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper, director, conducting, Sunday, July 19, 1964, at 8:30 p.m.

PROGRAM

1. March,[1] "Lincoln Centennial," Sanford.
2. Overture,[1] "American Overture for Band," Jenkins.
3. "Cowboy Rhapsody," [1] Gould.
4. Suite for Band,[1] "Prairie Legend," (I) Bullwhacker's Dance, (II) Harvest Evening, (III) County Fair; Siegmeister.
5. Selection, "Stephen Foster Melodies," Arr. Guzman.

INTERMISSION

Introduction of Speaker: Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa.

Speaker: Carl Haverlin, Northridge, Calif., Lincoln theme.

7. March,[1] "Washington Grays," Grafulla.
8. "Echoes of the 1860's," Hunsberger.
9. Baritone solo, "This Is My Country," William Jones, soloist, Jacobs.
10. Narration with band, "A Lincoln Portrait," William Jones, narrator, Copland.
11. "Battle Hymn of the Republic," Arr. Ringwald.

William Jones, concert moderator.

Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, special invited guests.

WILLIAM JONES, NARRATOR AND CONCERT MODERATOR

(Marine Band: Fanfare opener and national anthem.)

Narrator: Ladies and gentlemen, we are most privileged again this evening to continue a newly established tradition in our concert programing. Tonight, for the third consecutive year, we are presenting a concert of special significance and dedication—a tribute by the President's own, the U.S. Marine Band to the memory of the 16th President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln.

We are especially indebted to the Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL, Member of Congress from Iowa's First District, for his original suggestion and his continued inspiration and enthusiasm relating to our Lincoln dedicatory concerts—and to the National Park Service and to the Lincoln group of the District of Columbia, under whose auspices this concert is being presented. Later in the program we will hear from Congressman SCHWENGEL and from Mr. Carl Haverlin, one of our Nation's outstanding Lincoln authorities and the 1961 recipient of the National Abraham Lincoln Distinguished Service Award.

Our homage to Abraham Lincoln tonight is not related to any special event in his life. It has no particular commemorative aspects. But as Lincoln himself was the very image of America—our concern is all American * * * and in a sense all-patriotic; it is, for the most part, music inspired by the Lincoln period in our national history.

We open our concert now as Captain Harpham and the U.S. Marine Band play the "Lincoln Centennial March" by Lee Sanford.

(Marine Band: "Lincoln Centennial March.")

Narrator: Dennis Hanks, a cousin of Lincoln's mother, Nancy, is recorded to have said of Lincoln's childhood:

"It didn't seem no time till Abe was runnin' round in buckskin moccasins an' breeches, a tow-linen shirt an' coonskin cap—Abe never give Nancy no trouble after he could walk except to keep him in clothes. Most o' the time we went b'ar foot * * *. An' Abe was right out in the woods, about as soon's he was weaned, fishin' in the crick * * * goin' on coon-hunts with Tom and me an' the dogs * * * follorin' up bees to find bee trees and drappin' corn fur his Pappy. Mighty interestin' life fur a boy, but thar was good many chances he wouldn't live to grow up."

The life and time of Lincoln's youth was an era during which a vigorous young nation began to come into its own * * * strong, self-reliant; with a vibrant strength graphically illustrated in the contemporary composition by Joseph Wilcox Jenkins * * * the "American Overture for Band."

(Marine Band: "American Overture for Band.")

Narrator: Perhaps some mood for the music about to be played might be set with Robert Whitaker's "Lincoln."

"There is no name in all our country's story,
So loved as his today;
No name that unites the things of glory,
With life's plain common way."

With all his thirst for knowledge—his desire to feed the mind—Abraham Lincoln was, above all, a man in the epitome of strength and character. While in the pretise of law and even with the problems of national schism during his Presidency, he looked on with a quiet pride to our country's expanding frontiers. In his mind the new West provided still antoher promise of strength, freedom, and enterprise * * * though unity as we know it today was still just over the horizon. Captain Harpham and the band present a modern treatment of songs, which in their way, "united the things of glory with life's plain common way." The songs of the new West in Morton Gould's "Cowboy Rhapsody."

(Marine Band: "Cowboy Rhapsody.")

Narrator: Poet Edwin Markham in his poem "Lincoln Triumphant" wrote:

"Lincoln is not dead. He lives in all that
pities and forgives.
He has arisen, and sheds a fire that makes
America aspire.
Even now, as when in life he led, he leads
us onward from the dead;
Yes, over the whole wide world he bends to
make the world a world of friends."

Just as this little poem mirrors Lincoln, so our next number, "Prairie Legend," by Elie Siegmeister, gives us the mood, the life, the circumstances that tell the story of Lincoln's environment. It is the suite in which you will hear: "Bullwhackers' Dance," "Harvest Evening," and "County Fair."

(Marine Band: "Prairie Legend.")

Narrator:

"If Nancy Hanks came back as a ghost,
Seeking news of what she love most,
She'd ask first . . . Where's my son?
What's happened to Abe? What's he done?

"Poor Little Abe, left all alone
Except for Tom who's a rolling stone;
He was only nine the year I died
I remember still how hard he cried.

"Scraping along in a little shack
With hardly a shirt to cover his back,
And a prairie wind to blow h'm down,
Or pinching times if he went to town.

"You wouldn't know about my son?
Did he grow tall, did he have fun?
Did he learn to read? Did he get to town?
Do you know his name? Did he get on?"

We now hear, in an arrangement by Luis Guzman, a retired member of the Marine Band, the music that Lincoln often heard, asked for, and loved. Probably the nearest approach to a Lincoln quality in American music is the literature of song left us by Stephen Foster. Lincoln could never really decide just which of Foster's songs he really loved most—but his dearest favorites are included in this medley presented now by Captain Harpham and the band, "Stephen Foster Melodies."

(Marine Band: "Stephen Foster Melodies.")

INTERMISSION

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN FRED SCHWENGEL

Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL. The Lincoln Group is glad to join with Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper and Capt. Dale Harpham and these magnificent musicmakers as together we pay our third annual special tribute to our most American American, Abraham Lincoln.

Captain Harpham, thank you for this thrilling and inspiring evening.

Our speaker tonight was met by myself last night at the International Airport in Los Angeles at 10:45 p.m. I joined him in on flight 78 of the American Airlines and we arrived at Dulles at 6:25 this morning.

I brought him to my home and delivered him here a few minutes ago.

David Mearns of the Library of Congress, on the occasion of his receipt of the annual Lincoln Award pointed out these facts about the man who will relate the Lincoln story tonight:

[1] Original work for band.

"Carl Haverlin, resident of the town of Northridge, Calif.; citizen of the 20th century; inhabitant of his own world and the world of Abraham Lincoln; listener to the Lincoln lyric in prose, in poetry and in the strains of music; partaker and sharer of the Lincoln story; preserver and diffuser and interpreter of the Lincoln trace, the Lincoln touch, the Lincoln testament; anonymous benefactor of the Lincoln cause and those who serve it; patron of Lincoln learning; master of Lincoln knowledge; explorer of the Lincoln wilderness, discoverer of the Lincoln mysteries; who is (without contradiction or conflict of interest) at once the glowing amateur and the cautious academician, the enlightened student and the prudent authority, the collector and the dispenser, the advocate and the judge, the peer and the chieftain, the generous ally and the relentless force."

From him, this paradox, this disciplined disciple, comes now another tribute to our Lincoln. He is the past president of and the present consultant to Broadcast Music, Inc., and vice president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. It is with grateful appreciation and with eager anticipation that I yield to this rare and interesting person who is my friend, Carl Haverlin. He will address us tonight on "Lincoln by Littles."

"LINCOLN BY LITTLES," AN ADDRESS BY CARL HAVERLIN

Mr. HAVERLIN. It is not recorded that anything of great import ever happened to Abraham Lincoln on any 19th of July.

I am grateful that this is so for great events tend to obscure the essential humanity of even the greatest of men. Were we here to celebrate, say, the Emancipation Proclamation or the magical utterance at Gettysburg, the occasion and its meaning would rise between us and Mr. Lincoln.

On this day let us, instead, consider and be thankful for the uneventful years of his 56 and the many fallow days of his 20,517, when nothing meaningful seemed to happen though each contributed to the making of the man who so richly merits his vast and tranquil memorial. How did he achieve it?

Most of his days were but the small springs, the gentle confluences, the slow-flowing oxbows of the river of his life when the currents ran quietly onward toward the cruel cataracts of an unknown future and the final haven of a lasting sea.

In "Lincoln Day by Day," the exhaustive three-volume chronicle of his life, there are only 17 entries for this date. None is important though the first is touching.

In 1814, when he was five and a half years old, his father bought a secondhand child's wagon for 8½ cents. In the next, 20 years after, we find him in New Salem "a piece of floating driftwood" as he later referred to himself. In other entries we find him insisting on fairplay in a fight, attending a barbecue, making unremembered speeches, writing insignificant letters, dealing with inconsequential legal cases, and serving without great distinction in the Legislature and the Congress. Even the four entries for the presidential years lack color. All was quite on his Potomac on these days as upon thousands and thousands of others. We are kin to Lincoln in this prairie quietude rather than in the drama of his mountain grandeurs. His usual life was very like our own filled from rising to bedtime with the prosy, pedestrian minutiae of living. As we are most often, so was he—a minion to monotony—though it did not chafe him unduly.

A century of emphasis on his soaring accomplishments has tended to apostrophize him and obscure his human roots. This is a disservice to him and to us and no more ennobles him than it does some hero to assert that he was fearless. To the contrary both met and conquered their problems and perils in spite of uncertainties and fears; perhaps because of them; but certainly a result of what they both stored up on their fallow days. The many seeds of tiny experience and the eroded grains of the metal of character only awaited the hot sun of challenge to become utile.

Had the phonograph preceded Lincoln he might speak for himself on such matters. As some substitute I have made a brief extract from a sketch of his life he wrote for a campaign biography in June, 1860. I have put his text in the first person and added a very few words for smoother flow:

"My father removed to what is now Spencer County, Ind., in the autumn of 1816 I then being in my eighth year. He settled in an unbroken forest. The clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Though young, I was large for my age and had an axe put in my hands at once. From then until within my 23d year I was almost constantly handling that useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons.

"I went to ABC schools by littles. I think the aggregate of all my schooling did not amount to 1 year. After I was 23 I studied English grammar, imperfectly of course, but so as to speak and write as well as I now do. I nearly mastered the six books of Euclid after I was a Member of Congress. I regret my want of education and do what I can to supply the want.

"In March of 1830, my father and family left the old homestead in Indiana and come to Illinois in wagons drawn by ox-teams. I drove one of the wagons. We built a cabin and made sufficient rails to fence 10 acres and raised a sown crop of corn upon it the same year. That winter I hired myself to Denton Offutt to take a flat-boat to New Orleans. During this enterprise Offutt conceived a liking for me and believing he could turn me to account contracted with me to act as clerk in charge of a store and mill in New Salem. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing when the Black Hawk War of 1832 broke out. I joined a volunteer company and, to my own surprise, was elected captain. I have not since had any success in life which gave me such satisfaction.

"Returning from the campaign and encouraged by my great popularity with my immediate neighbors, I ran for the legislature and was beaten—my own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against me. This was the only time I was ever beaten by a direct vote of the people.

"I was now without means and out of business but was anxious to remain with friends who had treated me with so much generosity—especially as I had nothing elsewhere to do to. I studied what I should do—thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law. I rather thought I could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell me and William Berry, as poor as myself, an old stock of goods. We opened as merchants and I was the store. I was appointed postmaster of New Salem, the office being too insignificant to make my politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered me a job. I accepted, procured a compass and chain and studied the books a little and went at it. This procured bread and kept body and soul together.

"In 1834, I was elected to the legislature. After the election I borrowed books to study the law. I was still surveying to pay board and clothing bills. I was reelected in 1836–38–40. In 1836 I obtained a law license. In March of that year I briefly defined, with Dan Stone, my position on slavery—and so far as it goes it was then what it is now.

"I believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy * * * I believe that the Congress of the United States has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

"In November 1842, I was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Ky. We have three living sons. In 1846 I was elected to the lower House of Congress and served for one term only. Upon my return I went into the practice of law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1854 the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me as I had never been before. In the autumn I took the stump. My speeches attracted more attention than ever before. I did not abandon the law but in the presidential canvass of 1856 I made 50 speeches for Fremont."

This is as far as Mr. Lincoln went for the rest of the record was known. In these "short and simple annals of the poor" as he phrased it, rereveals a true humility but coupled with a rare pride in his early accomplishments and friendships. He does not complain. He evidences great good humor and intellectual honesty. He hints at his mastery of tools, kinship with the soil, love of family, hunger for knowledge, use of books, and devotion to his profession, persistence in principles of justice, and willingness to serve.

To better track him to his wellsprings I hope hereafter on this date, or any other not anniversary of a great event, others will help us imagine him as he was on his quiet days; perhaps as a reporter saw him on July 18, 1861:

"I saw the President crossing Pennsylvania Avenue, striding like a crane in a bulrush swamp * * * evidently in a hurry to get to the White House." That was a quiet day as was the next when he asked Secretary Seward to call "on a matter of no great moment." But the two following days were different for on them the Union forces attacked and were routed at the Battle of the First Bull Run. Then it was that the harsh iron gates of reality clanged open before the anguished President. He saw the Capitol threatened and the Union itself in mortal peril.

Now under the crimson challenge of the sun of war the assemblage of littles from all his forgotten days flowed together, coalescing in the heat of his need and, transmuted to a nobler metal, became the shining armor of his greatness.

From this point in time and in this city—itself a corridor in history and an echo chamber of the past—we have stretched the mystic chords of memory to trace his faint beginnings and approach his appalling end. The more we learn of his shadow life, the more we can appreciate the Nation's good fortune—not only in him but in all the devoted servants of our republic, wherever and whoever they may serve—who came here by the same road he came.

As there are no rules for becoming a hero, there were none for becoming a Lincoln. For him there was only living by littles and striving, day by day, in accordance with simple human precepts and a firm reliance on the Divine Providence he so often invoked.

As a nation let us be comforted that it still shapes men to serve the Republic. As individuals let's us be assured that among us now, even here tonight, are boys and girls, men and women, destined by their prairie preparation for tomorrow's decisions on the lonely, upthrust granite heights of great occasions—whether in the White House or in some lesser post which by the unrest of the occasion will be of equal importance.

As closing apostrophe to Mr. Lincoln, this paraphase from an ancient Chinese text:

"Being great you passed on.
Passing on you became remote.
Having become remote, you return."

(Marine Band: "Washington Grays.")

Narrator: Our Civil War was fought in a period of great devotion, remarkable enterprise, and high inventiveness. The tempering of the people in the fires of conflict did bring forth that new Nation of which Abraham Lincoln spoke with timeless eloquence.

Of equal value then and ever increasing currency today is the vast hoard of songs, marching tunes, and patriotic airs that were written during the war period or which were revived to serve a timely cause. They too, are a chapter in American history. These songs, the marches, quicksteps, and sentimental songs of the day comprised the repertoire of the typical regimental military band of the period. Bands of such as the 3d New Hampshire and the famous 7th Regiment Band of New York. Now is perhaps the best time to listen to these "Echoes of the 1860's."

(Marine Band: "Echoes of the 1860's.")

(Baritone solo: "This Is My Country," Williams Jones, soloist.)

Narrator: What comes now may be called the essence of this concert's tribute to Lincoln—an imposing work by Aaron Copland creating an elision between that composer's magnificently descriptive music and the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln himself. Music's monument, "The Lincoln Portrait."

(Marine Band: "The Lincoln Portrait.")

Opposition to Pornography and Immorality—Address by Cardinal Spellman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the New York Times, in its July 21 issue, noted that major crime rose 10 percent in the United States in 1963. It called attention to the sad fact that the number of arrests of youths under 18 years of age rose 11 percent over those in 1962, which marked the 15th consecutive annual increase.

It also reminded us that youths under 18 accounted for 50.4 percent of the arrests in suburban areas for serious crimes. Juveniles made up 63.4 percent of those arrested for auto theft, 51 percent of those arrested for burglary, and 50 percent of those arrested for larceny.

There are, of course, causes and reasons for this frightening increase in crime, particularly among the young people of our country; and we can find some of them in the homes, and some in the tendency of congressional investigating committees to brush the rubbish under the rug. We can find them in the constant attack on our police forces across the Nation by citizens who should know better, and in court decisions at all levels that have tended to make it easier to get along as a criminal than as a law-abiding citizen.

His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, speaking at the Grand Aerie Convention of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, in Denver, on August 6, hit strongly at another cause of juvenile delinquency when he pointed out:

> It is impossible to inculcate sound moral values and to produce good citizens among young people who are immersed in the cesspool of pornography and immorality.

I believe his message is one that should be read by all Members of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HIS EMINENCE, FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, AT THE GRAND AERIE CONVENTION BANQUET OF THE FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES, DENVER HILTON HOTEL, AUGUST 6, 1964

Twice previously, in Toronto and in Pittsburgh, you have given me the privilege of addressing your annual convention. A third invitation came as a surprise. Seldom enough does a third invitation come to any speaker—certainly not to this speaker—and frankly it was far too flattering to decline. I am delighted to be with you and I thank you for inviting me again.

I want to express my deep appreciation for your singular generosity to charitable causes close to my heart, and I assure you that you have also the appreciation of many grateful people who have benefited from your gifts.

Your order has always been concerned with worthy causes and you have been outstanding in your commitment to foster them.

I have come here tonight to ask you with all my heart to accept, on behalf of the children of our great, free, and wondrous Nation a serious challenge that will require the support and prayers of all of us.

As loyal, God-loving Americans, with a strong sense of personal responsibility to your country and your families, you are undoubtedly as deeply concerned as I am about the current savage attacks upon our sense of moral decency directed from many quarters, supported by numerous self-seeking individuals and organizations, and sustained by much false reasoning.

The unfortunate victims of this all-out assault of paganism with its accompanying effects of violence, crime, and immorality are the young boys and girls of our Nation whose innocent hearts, minds, and souls are being deliberately corrupted and disabolically diverted from the noble purposes for which they were created by God.

Unless we launch a vigorous counterattack, how will these little ones be able to withstand the brutal and devastating blows levelled at them by this powerhouse of perversion which, like a wolf in sheep's clothing appeals to their innocent emotions, enters into the household of their immature thoughts, and devours them from within?

Paganism of this sort is nothing new. Obscenity, pornography, salacious literature—whatever you may call it—is a two billion dollar a year racket in the United States. It is promoted and peopled by unscrupulous profit seekers. It is shocking when we realize that 75 to 90 percent of the materials peddled by these perverted profiters falls into the hands of unwary young people.

Pornography encourages brutality, violence, injustice, irreverence, disrespect for authority, illicit pleasure seeking, abnormality, degeneracy and other signs of mental maladjustment.

Specifically, I would like to call to your attention a tragedy which occurred in New Jersey last month. According to newspaper accounts, a 10-year-old girl was bludgeoned, strangled, and murdered by two young boys just a little older than herself. Instinctively, she tried to defend herself as these young boys attempted to make an attack upon her. They met her natural resistance with a savage attack of the fists, then wrapped a sash cord around her neck and choked her until she was dead.

The police say one of these young boys was a regular reader of a national weekly publication, circulated openly, which features gory and indecent stories with accompanying sordid graphic evidences of these same accounts.

It makes one shudder to think of it, but this is just one instance of hundreds of cases involving youth which could be described in detail. A panel of juvenile judges in that same State recently linked the availability of indecent publications with the rise in juvenile crime. They said the upswing in antisocial behavior is reflected in the number of youths involved in sex offenses.

The vast majority of Americans are hard working, God-fearing decent people who are conscientiously endeavoring to guide their young along the true pathways of responsible living. Daily they make tremendous sacrifices in order that their children may grow strong and straight. They encourage their children in the development of good habits and sound moral values.

Guiding youngsters is not an easy task—and, it is a sacred responsibility. Yet, there are those who would make it even more difficult by undermining the solid foundations of virtue which good parents have labored so diligently to build.

Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, teachers, and clergymen of all faiths are dismayed to find the young being exposed to a torrential flood of pornography with all its corrupting influences. They know that salacious literature corrupts both young and old. However, it is especially cruel to the young in destroying moral values and inducing perversion.

Experts on juvenile delinquency have told us it is impossible to inculcate sound moral values and to produce good citizens among young people who are immersed in the cesspool of pornography and immorality.

I know you will agree that we have on our hands a problem of serious proportions which demands our immediate attention and action. It is a problem which in America's past, civil authorities ordinarily would have dealt with swiftly and surely. However, today law enforcement agencies have been frustrated in their work by court decisions rendered by a few misguided high ranking judicial officials. It seems that in this age of drift, minds are driven by every wind of doctrine and theory, lacking all standards by which to judge and evaluate what is happening. There seem to be no fixed points. Some misguided individuals keep changing them and calling this progress. Once you say that men have no other standards than those taken from the quicksands in which they are dwelling, it becomes impossible to induce them to build their houses on solid foundations.

Two recent ominous decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, I think, deserve our attention because they reflect an acceptance of degeneracy and the beatnik mentality as the standard way of American life.

In approving the book "The Tropic of Cancer," five judges struck down the rulings of courts in several States including Illinois, Florida, and New York, all of which declared the book to be vile and obscene. Their judgment of morality has been imposed on the people of the United States. Such a shocking decision indicates a great indifference to the principles of decency and morality—the strong right arm of the framers of the Constitution of our United States.

The Supreme Court applied the same unfortunate test in approving a highly objectionable and morally offensive motion picture, "The Lovers," which the courts of Ohio have found to be obscene. The vote in this case was 6 to 3.

The regrettable but obvious conclusion is that the community standards prevailing among the Supreme Court judges who voted in such a way, are substantially below the standards of the communities over which they sit in judgment.

In my own State of New York, the court of appeals in an incredible 4-to-3 decision, reversed an injunction barring the sale of

"Fanny Hill" and declared that the novel was not obscene.

In another startling decision on that very day, the same court declared section 484H of the New York State penal law, a portion dealing with pornography, unconstitutional.

Section 484H clearly stated: "That a person who willfully or knowingly sells, lends, gives away * * * to any person under 18 years of age * * * any book, pocketbook, pamphlet or magazine, the cover or contents of which exploits, is devoted to, or is principally made up of description of illicit sex or sexual immorality, etc. * * *, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Despite the obvious clarity and definite delineation of this section, four judges of the State's highest court were swayed by the absurd argument of an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, asserting its unconstitutionality on the grounds that it abridges freedom of the press, violates the first amendment, and violates the 14th amendment by denying due process of law in that the language is too vague for a criminal statute.

In dissenting sharply, Judge Arian P. Burke wrote: "If there was ever a statute that set forth its objective in unmistakable language, 484H of the penal law is it * * * yet we this day unblushingly inform the legislature that we are not quite sure what it is talking about * * * after this display of self-induced puzzlement, there is hardly a statute that is proof against the resourcefulness of the judicial mind."

Judge John P. Scileppi, another dissenting justice, wrote: "Courts should not read into the Constitution their own theories of psychology and criminology via the due process clause in order to find a way to strike down an otherwise perfectly salutary and legally sound statute * * * It is regrettable that freedom of expression, one of our own most cherished liberties is used by those who profit from the salacious as a spurious rallying cry to defeat the high purpose contained in this legislation."

I am also heartened by the intelligent and sound observations of Judge Charles S. Desmond, who in a vigorous and well-reasoned dissent in the "Fanny Hill" case stated: "I refuse to believe that all this can continue to be the law. I predict that the wheel will turn and the pendulum swing back.

Sometime and somehow we will return to the historical meaning of freedom of the press. On that awaited day, the courts will find it possible in at least some extreme cases, not only to announce but to apply their oft-repeated holding that obscenity is an exception to the first amendment's protections.

Like the three dissenting judges, we cannot accept these court decisions quietly and without reservation, if this Nation is to survive. These decisions impose upon us the responsibility for immediate, continuous, and universal action.

And we may take hope from an action taken only last week by the House of Representatives in Washington which on July 21 approved a bill intended to keep morally offensive mail from being delivered to homes. The judges would be the heads of the households. A vote of 325 to 19 sent the measure to the Senate.

The bill's sponsors emphasized that it was aimed at a multimillion-dollar segment of the pornography industry that escapes prosecution under present law while flooding the mails with suggestive material, much of it it directed at young people.

In New York City, Mayor Wagner has acceded to our request for the formation of a citizens commission comprised of parents, educators, business leaders, labor leaders, members of business and political associations, lawyers, and members of religious bodies. This citizens commission is charged to assume the civic and moral responsibility for taking the necessary, appropriate, and legal means of protecting our youth and the family life of our city from the dehumanizing influences of salacious literature. It will, of course, be a long uphill battle, but we shall struggle unceasingly in this cause of decency until the victory has been won.

I love the freedoms of America as much as any man and I would risk my life to defend them. But, in my opinion, freedom of the press was never intended to afford protection to the shameless, profiteering degraded merchants of filth.

We must, therefore, Americans all, join together in a crusade encompassing every city, town, and village of this great Nation, a crusade that will deal a mortal blow to this powerhouse of pornography, reaffirm the ideals of the family and our young people, and preserve the strong traditions of a free America.

We must return to that righteous standard of thinking and personal conduct which our parents and forebears were careful to instill in their children as they prepared them for life in a grownup world. We must preserve a genuine respect for modesty and a profound reverence for the power which God has placed in every human being, making men and women collaborators with Him in the privileged task of bringing new life into the world.

In terms of direct action, I urge all to refuse to support dealers who traffic in pornography. This is not a welcome method these days, but this approach may be the only weapon the interpreters of the law have left to us and perhaps the only language some people understand. Once it becomes clear to the neighborhood shopkeeper, the corner newsdealer and the local drugstore owner, that we will use it, then the purveyors of filth will be dealt a stunning and maybe even fatal blow.

When we proceed in this way we are fulfilling our sacred obligation to our children and to our country, for our boys and girls of today are the fathers and mothers of America's tomorrow—and the hope and salvation of the whole world.

I would ask you to join with me in a plea to those judges who have weakened America's efforts to protect its youth to reconsider their responsibilities to Almighty God and to our country.

Let those also in responsible positions in the mass communications media of radio, television, motion pictures, newspapers and magazines think always of America and her children and place decency before sensationalism and profit.

We now renew our pledge of dedication to encouraging, guiding and helping America's youth to become honorable and useful members of their communities and loyal, God-loving citizens of their country.

We will strive continuously to direct and train boys and girls to recognize and follow the pathways of good living that will make them prayerful, grateful, outstanding Americans seeking to befriend and help a neighbor in need, ready and willing to live, and if need be to die, to defend our great, free and wondrous Nation.

Percy Renews Bid to Kerner for Remap Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the Congress have introduced resolutions for a constitutional amendment to allow any State to reapportion one house of the legislature on a basis of other than population.

Charles H. Percy, the Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois has come out in support of such legislation. In the August 9, 1964, issue of the Chicago Tribune Mr. Percy makes his statement and it is herewith appended:

PERCY RENEWS BID TO KERNER FOR REMAP AID

(By William Kling)

Governor Kerner can show his political independence of Mayor Daley by actively supporting a proposal which would permit States to apportion one legislative body on a geographical basis, Charles H. Percy, Republican nominee for Governor, said yesterday.

Repeating earlier charges that Kerner is politically dominated by Daley, Percy again challenged the Democratic incumbent to join in support of a proposed amendment to the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would offset a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that both houses of State legislatures must be districted by population.

NOTES DAILEY'S OBJECTION

Percy, speaking at the Kankakee County fair, noted that Daley testified against the measure at hearings before the House Judiciary Committee Thursday in Washington, D.C.

"Governor Kerner now has a unique opportunity to prove that he is truly independent of the influence and control of Mayor Daley," Percy said.

HAS INVITATION

"Ten days ago, I invited the Governor to join me in support of [the] amendment. I am not aware of the Governor's acceptance or rejection of my invitation. I encourage him to join me. The State of Illinois will surely benefit if both candidates for Governor support the amendment."

Percy pointed out that leaders of both political parties supported a 1954 amendment to the State constitution establishing the little Federal system for Illinois, apportioning the statehouse by population and districting the State senate by geography.

"MISTAKE," DALEY SAYS

Daley said that his support of the amendment, overturned by the Supreme Court, was a mistake.

Percy said that the little Federal system is workable and proper and has worked very well for the Nation as a whole.

"The Supreme Court's recent decision * * * denies the fact that, in addition to the fundamental principle of majority rule, there are other considerations which contribute to equitable representation of the people," he said.

Changes in Bank Management Which Jeopardize the Bank's Stability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill (H.R. 12307) to require the president or other chief executive officer of any bank whose deposits are insured by the Federal Government, to report to the appropriate Federal agency the facts surrounding changes which occur in the outstanding

voting stock of such bank which will result in a change in control of the institution.

This is legislation which has been recommended to the Committee on Banking and Currency by the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, our former colleague on the committee, the Honorable Joseph W. Barr. It would require notification, either to the FDIC or the Comptroller of the Currency, or the Federal Reserve Board, depending upon the type of bank involved.

A similar bill has been introduced by Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and hearings have been scheduled for Wednesday by the full committee on the chairman's bill, H.R. 12267. Because I believe very strongly in the idea proposed in this legislation, in view of circumstances surrounding some recent bank failures, including one in Missouri, I want to become a cosponsor with Chairman PATMAN of this proposal. The legislation has been drafted with the assistance of the Treasury Department, the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Reserve System, and the banking industry.

When the Government insures the deposits of a particular bank, to protect the depositors against loss, it is in effect endorsing the policies and practices of the bank's management. If the management suddenly changes hands, the Federal Government should be alerted instantly in case risky or improper loans are handed out in large amounts, jeopardizing the stability of the bank. It is my information that such a thing has followed changes in bank management in at least some of the cases of recent failures. By the time the insuring agency of the Federal Government learned about the change in stock control and management, and the new policies which were being followed, the particular banks involved were already insolvent or on their way to that condition.

KEEP AN EYE ON BANK RAIDING

Mr. Speaker, if the depositors in those banks had $10,000 or less on deposit, they suffered no loss. I am sorry we did not succeed in obtaining House approval of the bill recently recommended by our Committee to increase the coverage of bank deposit insurance from the present maximum of $10,000 to $20,000. In the absence of the higher insurance coverage we proposed in that earlier legislation—which the House defeated—the Patman-Sullivan bill will at least give the Federal insuring agencies a better opportunity to move in quickly and investigate any policies of a new bank management to be sure the bank's stability is not jeopardized.

And, of course, such legislation will certainly conserve the resources of the FDIC.

Indications are that acquisition of bank control is sometimes undertaken by "raiders" whose purpose is primarily to channel the bank's resources into their own businesses or ventures. The proposed Patman-Sullivan bill will require that changes in control of a bank be reported, in the case of a national bank, to the Comptroller of the Currency; in the case of a State bank which is a member of the Federal Reserve System to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve; and in the case of an insured State bank not a member of the Federal Reserve, to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Under the legislation, also, a report would be required in cases where a loan made by any insured bank is secured by 25 percent or more of the shares of the voting stock of any insured bank, if the owner of the stock has owned it for less than 1 year.

Max Taylor and the Army Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the July 1964 issue of Navy, The Magazine of Sea Power:

MAX TAYLOR AND THE ARMY MONOPOLY

The influence of Gen. Maxwell Davenport Taylor, U.S. Army, in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations has been a thing to behold. He has come a very long way since those bitter, losing battles with Adm. Arthur W. Radford in the Joint Chiefs of Staff "tank" room at the Pentagon in the mid-1950's. After his retirement, although he had said that there was nothing more dangerous than old military men hovering about, giving unwanted advice, he too wrote a book. Entitled "The Uncertain Trumpet," it set forth his ideas on what was wrong with our military and his recommendations for the future.

Subsequent developments demonstrated the remarkable success of the book. President Kennedy bought it, the contents and the author. General Taylor moved into the White House as military adviser to the President and then to the Pentagon as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There he worked to advance the recommendations of "The Uncertain Trumpet" and to strengthen the authority of his office—along the lines of a Single Chief of Staff, a concept rejected by Congress as not in the American tradition.

NO FRIEND OF THE CARRIER

General Taylor's return to active duty has not been a cause for unrestrained joy in the Navy (nor in the Air Force, either, we'd wager). Under his regime, the Navy has (1) lost its Command of the North East Atlantic and Mediterranean areas; (2) seen the new Army-led Strike Command take over responsibilities in the Middle East, Africa and Indian Ocean areas—from a Florida base—and cast covetous eyes on Navy forces without which it could hardly function in an actual operation and (3) seen only one attack carrier authorized and that an obsolescent oil burner whose construction was delayed for nearly 18 months.

Now General Taylor has taken on a new and critical assignment—U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam. His enormous influence on American policy in that country—so far no rousing success—is well known. Last month, as the latest example, one of his many proteges, Gen. William Westmoreland, U.S. Army, became commander of American can Forces in Vietnam. We wish both the Ambassador and General Westmoreland luck and success in the difficult days ahead in that far off place.

But though General Taylor is a long way from Washington his influence at the Pentagon may be as strong as ever for the next couple years. His successor as Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman is Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, former Army Chief of Staff and also a Taylor protege. (General Taylor is widely credited with having picked General Wheeler both as Army Chief and as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Wheeler is a distinguished officer. While he has had only 5 months combat duty throughout his career (according to the New York Times), his broad staff experience doubtless will serve him well in his new post.

While offering sincere congratulations to General Wheeler, we nevertheless feel constrained to say we believe that the appointment of another Army man—the third one in a row—is a mistake and one which is absolutely unnecessary. This action destroys the rotation principle which had been in effect for 17 years. We do not object simply because this was "the Navy's turn" and a group of Naval officers highly qualified to serve as Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman has been bypassed. Congress, while it did not write into the National Security Act a requirement that the No. 1 military post be rotated among the services, certainly appears to have supported the idea in its "legislative intent."

THE FEAR

Many Members of Congress feared that one service might dominate the other to the detriment of all if they did not take turns in the chairmanship. This is no idle fear; we share it. In fact, it is our opinion that the Nation and the Navy have suffered over the years because of a lack of appreciation of how important a modernized Navy is to the attainment of an absolutely vital national goal—control of the seas.

The Wheeler appointment means that the Army has monopolized the Joint Chiefs of Staff chairmanship, holding it for four out of six tours. The Navy and Air Force have each held it only once. General of the Army Omar N. Bradley was the first Chairman. He was succeeded by Admiral Radford, who in turn was followed by Air Force Gen. Nathan F. Twining. Then came Gens. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, who served only one 2-year term, Taylor and Wheeler.

THE SWINGING PENDULUM

In the 1950's the pendulum swung too far toward the strategy of massive retaliation and the Air Force. This required costly corrective action later to restore a necessary balance and should be warning enough against allowing the pendulum to swing too far back the other way—toward an overreliance on lopsided landpower strategic theories.

We hope that General Wheeler will consider these concerns carefully and do his utmost to provide a true balance of military forces. We need seapower and airpower as well as landpower.

Big Smear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the efforts to smear Senator BARRY GOLDWATER exceed anything that has ever happened in American politics in my lifetime. One syndicated columnist by the name of John Crosby in as libelous an article as I have ever seen carried in the American

press likened this distinguished U.S. Senator from Arizona to Hitler. These are largely the same people who raised such a furor at some of the personal attacks made by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The most recent assault upon Senator GOLDWATER's good name comes from a magazine entitled "Fact." Fact has circularized a letter to psychiatrists throughout the Nation in a rather shoddy and totally unethical attempt to solicit derogatory comments about the Senator. As a physician I cannot believe that any reputable psychiatrist will respond to this insulting invitation.

Furthermore, Fact has invited anonymous and unsigned replies to their questionnaire, evidently not caring whether a professional opinion is rendered by the psychiatrist or the chambermaid. Following is a transcript of the August 3 program of Fulton Lewis, Jr., carried over the Mutual Broadcasting Network. At a later date, I will insert a second broadcast indicating the type of people who are associated with Fact magazine.

Where now, are those who decry lack of differentiation between the President and his office?

A new twist has turned up over the weekend in the presidential political campaign, even though the vice presidential running mate for President Johnson has not yet been selected, but it is an unhappy omen of what kind of a campaign can be expected against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the Republican presidential nominee in the months to come.

It is a twist, because the liberals are the ones who, in all political activity over years past, have been raising the cry that their opponents resort to smear tactics and guilt by association and innuendo and dirty politics, and this is a 24-carat example of such tactics on a nationwide scale—by the Goldwater opposition.

It is an activity conducted by a publication which calls itself "Fact," with offices at 110 West 40th Street in New York City, and it consists of a letter, sent out by this publication to psychologists and psychiatrists all over the country (I have received copies from psychiatrists from California to New York to this city of Washington, D.C.) and I think the simplest thing to do is to read you the letter in full. It bears no date, but apparently was sent out about the middle of last week. It reads as follows:

"DEAR DOCTOR: Do you think that BARRY GOLDWATER is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States?

"The editors of Fact magazine are asking a group of respected psychologists and psychiatrists this question, because we believe that the mental stability of a presidential candidate is of legitimate concern to everyone, especially in this nuclear age.

"A recent survey by Medical Tribune showed that psychiatrists—in sharp contract to all other M.D.'s—hold GOLDWATER in low esteem. Among M.D.'s generally, approximately two thirds prefer GOLDWATER over Johnson, but among psychiatrists, the preference is for Johnson by 10 to 1.

"We would appreciate, first, your indicating whether you think GOLDWATER is stable enough to serve as President by checking the appropriate box on the enclosed sheet of paper. We would also appreciate any remarks you might care to make concerning GOLDWATER's general mental stability insofar as you are able to draw inferences concerning it, from his public utterances, his political viewpoints, and whatever knowledge you may have of his personality and his background. Does he seem prone to aggressive behavior and distructiveness? Does he seem callous to the downtrodden and the needy? Can you offer any explanation of his public temper tantrums and his occasional outburst of profanity? Finally, do you think that his having had two nervous breakdowns has any bearing on his fitness to govern this country?

"Note that the enclosed questionnaire has no special provisions for your name or your address. You may add them if you wish or remain anonymous.

"Enclosed is a reply envelope, for which no stamp is required. Your prompt reply will be appreciated. We believe the findings of this survey will receive much attention in the press and will weigh heavily in the choice made by the American electorate.

"With gratitude, cordially,

"WARREN BOROSSON,
Managing Editor."

Then below the signature, is a large trademark title of the magazine, Fact, with the address and there is an attached sheet which says at the top:

"Do you believe that BARRY GOLDWATER is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States, followed by two boxes, one marked 'No' and the other marked 'Yes.'"

Now, several of the copies of this circularization which I have received from psychiatrists who received them in the mail, contain photostatic copies of the replies which they sent back to Mr. Boroson, and one is from a neuropsychiatrist in Berkeley, Calif., in which the "yes" box has been checked and the following written under the heading "remarks," and signed by the doctor himself. This is what he wrote:

"My first reaction was to ignore this obvious propaganda effort to discredit Senator GOLDWATER. The unfairnes of the insinuations of mental instability impells one to answer.

"Suggestions of proneness to aggressive behavior and destructiveness, unsympathetic attitude toward the unfortunate, and loss of emotional control in public appearances are pure bias.

"To be fair, similar questions about President Lyndon B. Johnson could be asked of physicians such as fitness to serve after a severe heart attack, background personality traits of the professional politician, or honesty in denial of association in the Bobby Baker scandal.

"An honest, fair appraisal of issues, instead of personalities, would be revealed by answers to questions:

"1. Are you for or against a man who believes in less governmental control of your way of life?

"2. Are you for or against a man who believes in taking the offensive against international Communist conspiracy, instead of a defensive appeasing attitude?

"This attempt to use the pyschiatric profession to label the Republican candidate mentally unstable should be resented by all intelligent fairminded Americans. I am sure that patriotic Americans who put freedom of the individual first, will react to this smear technique by wholehearted support of Goldwater conservatism."

And it is signed by the doctor's name, which I'm sure he would not mind my making public, but I don't think it would be right to do so without his specific permission and I haven't had time to get that today.

And here's another one, with the "yes" box also checked. It is brief and says, in long hand:

"I wonder where you obtained the questionable facts given in your letter. It seems to me that you should document such statements with truth. Without proof, they seem essentially libelous. This smells of the worst sort of journalism."

I talked with an outstanding psychiatrist who practices in nearby Virginia last night, and she said she had received a copy of the questionnaire, read the letter, and had thrown the whole business in the wastepaper basket because she would not associate herself with anything of the kind. It was pointed out by another physician friend of mine—who noted, incidentally, that he was not for GOLDWATER—that the fact that these responses could be sent in anonymously meant that almost anybody could vote, the secretary in the outer office, or the maid or the charwoman or anybody who could get hold of the material. He also said that any doctor who would participate in such an obvious propaganda operation and allow himself to be used in such a political smear enterprise, doesn't deserve the right to use the letters M.D. after his name.

Now, the reference to Senator GOLDWATER's having had two nervous breakdowns, is based on an article published recently in a national woman's magazine—and interviewed by one of the magazine's writers with Mrs. Goldwater, telling of the Goldwater family life and history, and in the course of the story, Mrs. Goldwater was relating the terrific struggle through which the Senator went back in the thirties, when he was trying to expand and extend the Goldwater stores and the fact that he was working at that time, 20 and 22 hours a day, getting only an hour or so of sleep at night and staying with the job 7 days a week. After months of this, Mrs. Goldwater said, her husband reached such a state of physical exhaustion that "his nerves broke completely." This was a layman's expression, not a medical one, and the interviewer translated or interpreted this into the words "nervous breakdown." Qualified experts in and out of the field of psychiatry inform me unanimously that the term "nervous breakdown" is not an accepted medical diagnostic term but rather is a lay expression which is meaningless until it is given qualifying particulars.

The facts in this case are that the two occasions in question date back to 1937 and 1939 (25 and 27 years ago) and on each of them, the Senator went to Hawaii for a few weeks of rest and came back completely rejuvenated and on the job in the best of health and good spirit. He was never treated by nor did he ever call in or consult with a psychologist or a psychiatrist or any other form of mental practitioner, never spent any time in any institutions and his personal physician makes the unqualified statement that "Senator has never had a nervous breakdown of any kind."

So much for the premises which the circular letter signed by Mr. Warren Boroson sent out to the phychiatrists and psychologists over the country to get their answers to the question:

"Do you believe Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States?"

Inasmuch as this whole project was based on the recent survey by Medical Tribune, which showed that "psychiatrists—in sharp contrast to all other M.D.'s—hold GOLDWATER in low esteem. * * * Among M.D.'s generally, approximately two-thirds prefer GOLDWATER over Johnson, but among psychiatrists, the preference is for Johnson by 10 to 1 * * *." I called the Medical Tribune by long-distance telephone today and talked with the official in charge, Mr. Harley Knauer, the advertising manager. He explained that the magazine is published three times a week and is sent free of charge to every practicing physician in the American Medical Association. It is financed entirely by the advertising it carries and physicians confirm to me that they receive it, but never received any subscription billings. Its editorial advisory board contains some of the outstanding physicians of the Nation and Mr. Knauer confirmed to

me, quite frankly that they did conduct this poll recently and the results were as reported. He also reported to me, that the poll was taken of 5,000 doctors out of the total of 165,000 on the full mailing list, picked on the basis of geographical concentration of doctor population. Thus, if New York State has 18 percent of the doctors in the country, 18 percent of the 5,000 questionnaires go to New York doctors. If Utah has 1.7 percent, Utah doctors get 1.7 percent of the questionnaires. He said the return is usually about 25 to 30 percent on the 5,000 sent out and they have found by repeated tests that their sampling system is quite accurate. There are a total of 163,835 names of practicing doctors on their mailing list, of which the psychiatrists number 7,453. Thus, in this poll in question, somewhere in the neighborhood of 2,000 psychiatrists responded. But Mr. Knauer also told me something else.

The implication of this fact magazine questionnaire is that there is significance in the contrast between the opinions of the rank and file doctors, general practitioners and specialists, who are 2 to 1 for GOLDWATER, and the psychiatric specialists who are 10 to 1 against him. That, after all, is the whole basis of the poll.

The other thing Mr. Knauer told me was that 4 years ago, in the Nixon-Kennedy presidential fight, Medical Tribune took another poll on the identical basis of this one and it turned out just the way it turned out this time. The M.D.'s as whole 2 to 1 for Nixon. The psychiatrists, 10 to 1 against him. There was no question of Mr. Nixon ever having had a nervous breakdown. The only conclusion is that the controlling considerations in the minds of the psychiatrists are not mental stability, but something entirely apart, as yet unidentified.

Why didn't Fact magazine report this?

A Change in Attitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville, Ind., News of August 7, 1964:

A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE

Congress in recent years has been observed to rely somewhat more on the President to initiate important legislative programs, and confine its own action to haggling over details and price tags. The worm, if you will excuse the expression, certainly turned after the June 15 Supreme Court decision on the apportionment of State legislatures.

In that decision, the Court suddenly moved a power to Washington which had resided in the State capitals since the United States became a nation—the power to decide the forms of State government. It decreed that only population could be the standard for determining legislative districts in both houses of a legislature.

Congressmen who are not recorded as ever before having given favorable thought to States rights reacted as if they had been attacked personally, as, indeed, they had. For those State legislatures when they are reapportioned to upgrade the voices of small cities and downgrade the voices of small towns and rural areas, will sit down and carve our congressional districts.

It is no wonder that Congress then is willing to drop the administration's "must" bills and turn its hands to undoing the mischief of the Court's decision. At last count it was reported that around 80 bills had been filed in the House for the purpose, and widespread support has been indicated in the Senate. Party lines mean nothing in this matter, and neither do liberal or conservative leanings.

Many congressmen have a tenderly personal interest now in seeing that what they firmly believe is right is done, and that the Federal courts shall be prevented from dictating how States shall run their own internal affairs. In this instance, certainly, there's no conflict between these Congressmen's personal desires and the best interests of the Nation.

As pointed out the other day in an Indiana State Chamber of Commerce newsletter, the Court's sweeping majority decision as it now stands will have two direct effects in Indiana.

First, in order to meet the Court's terms, the State senate districts set up in a 1963 act under which senators are being elected this year will have to be revised to more nearly reflect population. And house districts might have to be changed also in some areas, although the largest counties were given full house representation in the 1963 act.

Second, the Court has outlawed the "Federal plan" type of legislative apportionment contained in a proposed amendment to the Indiana constitution approved by the 1963 session and subject to reapproval by the 1965 session. Under the normal course, if the 1965 legislature should reapprove, the people of Indiana would have the right to accept or reject the proposed method of redistricting in a statewide election.

The Court's decision, however, denies that the people of any State have such a right. Specifically, the decision written by Chief Justice Earl Warren outlawed a similar plan in Colorado which had been approved overwhelmingly by voters at the polls when a straight-population districting plan for both houses was the alternative offered.

The majority opinion held that States can comply with the U.S. Constitution only by applying the "one man, one vote" principle to the election of members of both houses of their legislatures without regard to economic, geographical, or other factors in the State. Warren said: "Legislators represent people, not trees of acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests."

One of the minority opinions, written by Justice Potter Stewart, who firmly opposed the majority decision, says: "The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union. * * * The rule announced today is at odds with the long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal-protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create."

It is interesting to note, as the chamber newsletter also points out, that in outlawing the so-called little Federal plan of State legislatures patterned after the representation in Congress, Justice Warren took a view quite different from that he expressed when he was an elected representative of the people and was serving as Governor of California. In a speech on October 29, 1948, he said:

"Many California counties are far more important in the life of the State than their population bears to the entire population of the State. It is for this reason that I have never been in favor of restricting the representation in the senate to a strictly population basis.

"It is for the same reason that the Founding Fathers of our country gave balanced representation to the States of the Union—equal representation in one House and proportionate representation based on population in the other.

"Moves have been made to upset the balanced representation in our State, even though it has served as well and is strictly in accord with American tradition and the pattern of our National Government.

"Our State has made almost unbelievable progress under our present system of representation. I believe we should keep it."

Here's what banning of the "Federal plan" means in our own State: Unless action is taken to counteract the results of the Supreme Court's majority decision, it will mean that Indiana's 10 largest counties can elect a majority of the representatives in both houses of the general assembly. Representatives of the other 82 counties (including Shelby) would constitute a minority in both houses.

A Fine Story of a Great Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress who reads the labor as well as the daily press, I am frequently made aware of the excellent reportorial ability of some labor paper reporters and columnists.

A piece written a week or so ago by Harry Conn, coeditor of Press Associates, Inc., the leading labor press news service, appears to me to be the finest summary that I have yet seen of an historic 9,000-word speech given by my distinguished colleague, Chairman PATMAN, of the Banking and Currency Committee, on August 3, entitled "The A B C's of America's Money System."

For the benefit of those who have not been privileged to read it, I am pleased to put Mr. Conn's story in the RECORD.

HOW BANKERS ARE MILKING U.S. TREASURY, HELPING TO INFLATE OUR NATIONAL DEBT

(By Harry Conn)

WASHINGTON.—Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, is a compact, soft-talking, direct-action Texan who has been around Congress since the New Deal days, devoting much of his time to combating powerful moneyed groups in this country.

Today he is chairman of the powerful House Banking and Currency Committee and head of a subcommittee which has been studying the Federal Reserve System. The subcommittee has come up with a series of recommendations for taking the control of money out of the hands of the bankers and placing it in the hands of the Government.

In a major speech on the floor of the House the other day, PATMAN unleashed some factual dynamite which is still reverberating in the marble halls of our banking institutions.

He pointed out, for example, that the American people will pay $75 billion in gross interest charges this year.

"These charges are so high," PATMAN said, "that if the trend continues the day may

well arrive when it will be true that America cannot afford to spend the money needed for its schools, for city and rural area renewal, for mass transit, for recreation or reclamation and for old age or veterans' pensions and medical assistance."

PATMAN put it bluntly: "The more we pay the money lenders the less we have to spend for our national well-being."

"The more we are taxed by the money lenders, the less chance to increase our economic growth rate. Unemployment will increase. Business—both manufacturing and retail—is handicapped by high interest charges which they must inevitably pass on to the general public."

PATMAN pointed out that a small group of bankers, working with the banker-controlled Federal Reserve "have upped interest charges on Government securities since the Roosevelt-Truman era and thus forced the American people to add $40 billion unnecessarily to the public debt. * * *"

The Texan pointed out that "if we had maintained the interest rates in effect prior to the Eisenhower regime, the carrying charges on our national debt would be $6 billion instead of $11 billion a year and the debt itself would be $270 billion rather than $310 billion."

Yet those who moan the loudest about the national debt—including BARRY GOLDWATER and his followers—never say a word about this great force at work upping this debt.

PATMAN noted that a one-quarter of 1-percent increase in the rate of interest on the national debt costs the taxpayers approximately $800 million a year.

On the question of home ownership, he recalled that "a national farm organization estimated that home mortgages during the period 1952–63 have cost homeowners $6 billion more than they would have had to pay if the rates had been held to the pre-Eisenhower regime interest rates.

"This $6 billion is enough to cover the capital costs of between half a million and a million new houses for middle and lower income families."

PATMAN said that the Federal Reserve holds in its New York vaults $34 billion in Government bonds and that the taxpayers are paying over $1 billion a year in interest on these securities.

"The Fed spends as much of this $1 billion as it wants to for any purpose whatsoever, including $90,000 worth of annual dues to the American Bankers Association."

Employees of the Fed, PATMAN charges, spend this $1 billion any way they want to. Some take special courses at the taxpayers' expense; parties are given, trips taken.

"You see," says PATMAN, "the Fed doesn't have to go to the Congress for an annual appropriation since it contends that it is independent. What it does not spend of the $1 billion it returns to the U.S. Treasury."

Another "gimmick" mentioned by the Congressman he calls the "tax and loan account bonus."

"Hardly known to the general public," he said, "is the fact that the U.S. Treasury is subsidizing banks every day of the year. Bankers—most of them are conservative and Republican—like Ed Neilan, former president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and head of the National Bank of Delaware in the Duchy of DuPont—generally oppose all Government subsidies except, of course, the ones they receive. The tax and loan account is one of the bankers' principal subsidies.

"When Federal income tax is deducted from your salary, the check is made out to the Internal Revenue. The check is returned to the boss's bank, but the money remains right there in a tax and loan account; it is not sent immediately to the Treasury Department although, eventually, it will be called for by the Government."

PATMAN said that last year $5.3 billion were held by banks in this account throughout the Nation. At 4.5 percent, this cost the taxpayers another $212 million annually.

The majority of the Patman subcommittee has proposed a whole series of reforms to reduce the power of the Federal Reserve and to place it back under the control of the Federal Government, rather than the bankers.

At the same time, PATMAN would stop the free and easy milking of the Federal Treasury by the bankers.

This would ease the danger of recessions or depressions, PATMAN feels, since he believes that tight money policies of the bankers and the Federal Reserve contributed to the last three depressions—all before the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

Hoover's 90th

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay my respects to Mr. Herbert Hoover, 31st President of the United States and one of the great men of our time whose talents and energies throughout his life have been devoted to public service and the needs of his fellow man. We are mindful of the many accomplishments of his fruitful and honored career and the esteem in which he is held throughout the world, and pay him the honor he so richly deserves.

Congratulations, Mr. Hoover, on your 90th birthday, and all good wishes.

An article from the Chicago Tribune follows:

HOOVER'S 90TH

On his 80th birthday, 10 years ago today, Herbert C. Hoover, 31st President of the United States, expressed "undimmed" confidence in his country. "This confidence is that with advancing knowledge, toil will grow less exacting," he said; "that fear, hatred, pain, and tears may subside; that the regenerating sun of creative ability and religious devotion will refresh each morning the strength and progress of my country."

At the Republican National Convention this year, the first for a long time that Mr. Hoover was unable to attend, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN read a message from Mr. Hoover which again expressed the high hopes and principles which the Nation's senior ex-President has ably advanced. Once more, Hoover called his countrymen to devotion to peace, supremacy of men over government, fiscal responsibility, a free enterprise economy, human values, and "binding together the forces of freemen." The man who sent that message has put a long and distinguished life behind his words.

Yesterday, in the "Just Browsing" column on this page, we reprinted a passage from the concluding volume of "An American Epic," Hoover's own account of this country's leadership (and his) in the prevention and relief of famine. He had his first experience in this kind of work as long ago as 1900, when he distributed relief supplies to Chinese refugees in the Boxer Rebellion. Today, we briefly review where the succeeding decades found him in his distinguished career.

In 1894, when he was 20, Hoover was a student at Leland Stanford University. By 1904 he was a conspicuously and successful engineer, with business interests that grew to such proportions that 175,000 persons were employed by companies of which he was executive engineer. In 1914, he was directing the American Relief Committee, assisting Americans stranded in Europe by war, and the next year he headed the Commission for Relief in Belgium. By 1924, the American Relief Administration which he had directed had aided 200 million people, for the most part in central and eastern Europe; and Mr. Hoover was in midcareer as a successful Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge.

In his fifties, Mr. Hoover suffered the accident of being the President on whom the great depression broke. By the time he was 60, he had borne with dignity and courage a heavy burden of unscrupulous political attack and undeserved unpopularity. The long Roosevelt era was then still young, an era in which Hoover's capacity for public service was pointedly ignored. Recalled to Government by President Truman, in his seventies, Hoover achieved greatly in both forestalling famine following World War II (as recounted on this page yesterday) and in accomplishing a partial rationalization of the Federal Government (as head of the Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government).

Hoover in his eighties had been productive in many ways. He had directed the affairs of such undertakings as the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at his alma mater. He wrote widely read books, and his counsel as an elder statesman was eargerly sought. Now he enters his nineties, enjoying the well-earned esteem and affection of his countrymen and of countless persons abroad, united in gratitude for his services to mankind and in best wishes for many happy returns of the day.

Congress Versus the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, a few newspapers, from metropolitan centers, have questioned the authority of Congress to delay the reapportionment of State legislatures, in accordance with the Supreme Court's several decisions, the last of which were handed down on June 15, 1964. A New York Times editorial of August 6, 1964, entitled "Congress vs. the Courts," charges that Senator DIRKSEN's bill to delay the reapportionment of State legislative districts "raises grave questions of the division of authority between the legislative and judicial branches." Moreover, the Times editorial charges the Congress with not giving proper deliberation to the proposal, and with attempting to railroad the bill through the Congress.

I am pleased to say that I joined Senator DIRKSEN in introducing such legislation, as did more than a score of my colleagues.

Answering the charges in the editorial, Morris D. Forkosch, chairman, Department of Public Law, Brooklyn Law School, wrote a letter to the editor of the Times on August 6, 1964. Professor Forkosch stresses the fact that Con-

gress does have the power, in accordance with the Constitution to limit certain action of the High Court, so granted to Congress by article III of the U.S. Constitution; and in accordance with historical precedent.

Professor Forkosch points out that the amendments proposed by Congress duly adopted, may overrule Supreme Court decisions, as was the case with the 11th and 16th amendments.

Replying to the charge that the apportionment legislation is not receiving proper deliberation, Professor Forkosch reminds even the Times that we need only recall the speed in the legislative process in which our 12th, 17th, 20th, and 21st amendments to the U.S. Constitution were adopted. Professor Forkosch's letter follows:

CONGRESS VERSUS THE COURTS: POSITION ON DIRKSEN BILL DELAYING REDISTRICTING UPHELD

To the EDITOR:

Your August 6 editorial on "Congress Versus the Courts" flays a legally dead horse, albeit the politicking aspect makes sense.

You write that Senator DIRKSEN's bill to delay the reapportionment of State legislative districts, pursuant to the Supreme Court's decision, raises "grave questions of the division of authority between the legislative and judicial branches," that the bill "ought not to be railroaded through" Congress, and that it amounts to "legislative blackmail, not deliberation."

Your final sentence mentions, however, that the reapportionment "timetables for change fixed by Federal judges in many States are so immediate" that hostile Congressmen feel they have no choice but "to act with [such] indecent speed before adjournment."

First, on the division of authority:

There are instances too numerous to list that Congress may not only overrule judicial decisions (and this is found especially in the area of interstate commerce), but that the Court invites Congress so to do.

CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY

Furthermore, the Constitution divides the Supreme Court's power into appellate and original jurisdiction and article III gives to Congress the ability to control the former. For example, in 1867 Congress broadened the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction; the following year McArdle's writ of habeas corpus came up on appeal under this broadened power and the Court assumed jurisdiction; in early March of 1869 the case was argued and taken under advisement; in late March Congress, notwithstanding the President's objections, repealed its 1867 legislation and the Supreme Court thereupon dismissed the appeal for lack of jurisdiction.

Additionally, Congress may control the High Court through the number of justices sitting thereon. For example, in 1870 the Legal Tender Acts were invalidated by a 4-to-3 decision; the same day President Grant sent two nominations to the Senate to fill vacancies on the bench; the two new justices combined with the minority to overrule, in 1871, the earlier decision and uphold the law (this description is simplified).

Finally, congressionally proposed amendments may overrule Supreme Court decisions, as witness the 11th and 16th amendments, and a Civil War may likewise overrule another decision, as with the Dred Scott case of 1857.

LEGISLATIVE SPEED

Second, on the railroading and blackmail aspects: There are many instances of speed in the legislative process, and the famous 100 days of 1933 are still fresh in our minds. So, too, have amendments to the Constitution been speedily proposed and adopted, e.g., the 12th (7 months), the 17th (12 months), the 19th (15 months), the 20th (11 months), the 21st (10 months).

In 1932 the Norris-La Guardia Act withdrew from the Federal judiciary all jurisdiction over injunctions in labor disputes save as these otherwise provided. Since then Congress has relaxed these barriers in certain instances, e.g., the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, but the early statute is still effective.

There are many instances where "riders" have been attached to legislation whereby congressional desires in particular instances have been thereby effectuated.

Regardless of the policy reasons (on which I express no personal view), Congress does not deserve to be castigated as you do.

MORRIS D. FORKOSCH,
Chairman, Department of Public Law
Brooklyn Law School.

BROOKLYN, *August 6, 1964.*

"GOP Platform Attacks FDA"—Analysis by Consumer Affairs Writer Sidney Margolius

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the 1962 drug control law was one of the most far reaching accomplishments of Congress in the field of consumer protection since the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed in 1938. The need for the 1962 law became increasingly urgent as new antibiotics were developed, as drugs once cleared as safe for general prescription use began to demonstrate unanticipated side effects, and as court decisions in contested cases drilled loopholes into the 1938 law's provisions on factory inspection.

After we enacted the Food Additives Act of 1958 and the Color Additives Act of 1960, I became convinced that the piecemeal process of amending the 1938 act to close loopholes and to strengthen outmoded provisions was too slow and unnecessarily fragmented. Hence, on the opening day of the 87th Congress, in 1961, I introduced the first omnibus bill since 1938 to tackle all of the problems involving the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act requiring legislative correction, and to do it in one single bill.

That bill was H.R. 1235. Out of it eventually came many of the provisions finally enacted as the Drug Control Act of 1962, particularly those dealing with the efficacy as well as safety of new drugs, use of common names on trademarked drugs, better factory inspection in prescription drug manufacturing, withdrawal from the market of drugs previously cleared as safe if later evidence raises doubt as to safety, certification of every batch of every antibiotic instead of just the five in existence when the 1938 act was passed, and so on. These provisions had never been put into legislative form until I introduced H.R. 1235 in January 1961. Subsequently, in his consumer message 15 months later, in March 1962, President Kennedy recommended passage of these and many other proposals I had introduced in H.R. 1235, including those dealing with safety of cosmetics, control of amphetamines and barbiturates, pretesting of therapeutic devices for safety and also efficacy, better labeling of foods, of drugs and of cosmetics, and other consumer protections.

THALIDOMIDE EPISODE GAVE IMPETUS FOR PASSAGE

Hearings were conducted by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in June 1962 on my bill and on several similar bills introduced following the Presidential consumer message that March. The late Senator Kefauver worked on this problem in the Senate. However, it was not until the revelations about Dr. Frances O. Kelsey's fight to keep thalidomide off the American prescription drug market that the real steam was generated to get a safe drugs bill enacted, and Senator Kefauver and Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, performed a truly brilliant legislative achievement in guiding the controversial bill to final passage. I was naturally delighted to support the Kefauver-Harris bill, which contained so many provisions originating in my own measure, H.R. 1235, on the safety of prescription drugs.

There are still many other provisions of H.R. 1235—as reintroduced in this Congress under the same number—which remain to be enacted into law. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson endorsed the major features of this legislation. I realize it is too late for action in this Congress on the cosmetics, "pep pill" and barbiturate, therapeutic devices, factory inspection, labeling and other provisions of H.R. 1235, but I intend to continue pressing for these vital reforms in our consumer laws until they, also, are enacted.

ATTACKS ON 1962 DRUG CONTROL ACT

In the meantime, Mr. Speaker, I am disturbed by the undercurrent of political and lobby activity intended to weaken the 1962 act on prescription drugs before it has had a chance fully to go into operation.

In that connection, Mr. Speaker, I have just read an excellent article in the weekly newspaper of the Machinists Union, by Sidney Margolius, nationally syndicated writer on consumer issues, discussing the Republican platform planks on issues important to consumers, particularly the 1962 Drug Control Act.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I submit for the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article by Mr. Margolius in the forthcoming August 13 issue of the Machinist, as follows:

GOP PLATFORM ATTACKS FDA

(By Sidney Margolius)

The 1964 Goldwater Republican platform contains a strong attack on recent advances in consumer protection. The Goldwater policy program specifically threatens the consumer-defense efforts of a number of Federal agencies and programs, but especially the Food and Drug Administration's new rules

governing labeling and advertising of drugs under the 1962 Kefauver-Harris Drug Act.

Whatever protection your family has gained from the new drug law, in the form of a modest reduction in prices, greater reliability and more informative advertising and labeling, would be wiped out by the Republican promise to put an end "to power grabbing regulatory actions, such as the reach of the Federal Trade Commission for injunctive powers and ceaseless pressing of the White House, the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission to dominate consumer decisions in the marketplace."

The Goldwater attack on consumer programs also threatens a new plan for consumer education for limited-income families new being developed by Mrs. Esther Peterson, President Johnson's consumer adviser, and a committee of Government, consumer, labor, co-op, and business representatives. The budding consumer-education program promises to be helpful to responsible businessmen as well as to low-income consumers, since a family that knows how to handle money and avoid the more flagrant gouges, is able to buy more.

The attack on the Food and Drug Administration is especially alarming, since its work involves the reliability and safety of the medicines you buy for your family. The Kefauver drug amendments got a special going-over in the Republican platform committee's closed-door discussions which preceded the election platform criticism of the FDA, Drug Trade News reports.

The new law has been described by FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick as "the most comprehensive modernization of the national drug laws in a generation." The late Senator Kefauver's exposure of the exaggerated price tags on many vital medicines, plus the harmful effects of such incompletely tested drugs as thalidomide and triparanol, had led to the new rules despite early congressional opposition.

The new regulations already have proved helpful, especially if you and your doctor understand how to use them.

They require that drug manufacturers must give more and clearer information on labels of both prescription medicines and household drugs sold over the counter. Most importantly, labels on prescription medicines must state the generic or common name of a drug as well as the brand name. As you know, the same drug sold under its generic name often costs only half the price as under brand names, and in some cases, as little as one-tenth.

The same sharp difference in price occurs in the purchase of household remedies. For example, a preparation for symptomatic relief of sinus congestion, hay fever, and colds, widely bought under the brand name of Coricidin "D" tablets, costs $1.53 for 24 tablets, or about 6½ cents apiece. Similar combinations of antihistamines, aspirin, and caffein, sold under their generic names, cost as little as $1.34 per 100 tablets, or 1½ cents apiece. The money saving technique for families is to read the list of ingredients on household medicines to see what they really contain.

At the same time, under the pressure of criticism of the prices they had been charging for medicines they control through patents, the leading drug manufacturers have been slowly reducing these charges. The reductions had been especially noticeable on such important drugs as tetracycline, a frequently-prescribed antibiotic. When the labor and co-op press 10 years ago first called public attention to the unwarranted high prices of these drugs, they generally cost 50 cents a pill or capsule. Now the retail price of the brand-name versions more usually is 30 to 40 cents although still costing about 25 percent more than tetracycline under its own name).

The Federal Trade Commission also has been helpful in trimming the cost of vital medicines. Recently the FTC directed Charles Pfizer & Co., one of the largest manufacturers, to stop fixing the price of tetracycline. The result was a 20 percent reduction in the wholesale cost. The FTC charged that Pfizer's patent control of tetracycline was based on misrepresentation, and the company was ordered to license any other drug company that wants to manufacture the drug and is willing to pay Pfizer royalties.

The regulations governing effectiveness of new drugs also have been improved. Prior to the Kefauver-Harris amendments, the FDA lacked authority to prevent the marketing of new drugs which may have been safe, solely on the ground that they had not been shown to be effective. Now, proof of effectiveness as well as safety must be supplied. In fact, another provision of the drug law which becomes effective in October, requires the FDA to review the effectiveness of even drugs which have been on the market for the past 25 years.

Despite the Goldwater platform attack on the FDA, the new regulations required by the drug law have demonstrated their benefits to American families and to doctors. This is shown by the number of letters drug manufacturers have sent to doctors in recent months advising them of previously-undisclosed contra-indications and side effects of some new drugs, plus the fact that some existing drugs recently have been withdrawn from the market, such as Parnate, Orabilex and others.

A Final Tribute to Harold C. Woodward, Outstanding American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT McCLORY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing on August 4 of Harold C. Woodward, a member of the Federal Power Commission, brought to a sudden and tragic end a most useful and productive life. Commissioner Woodward was a devoted husband and father as well as an outstanding member of the legal profession and a public official who served his community, his State, and his Nation with fidelity and intelligence.

Commissioner Woodward, or as he was familiarly know as "Chris" or "Woody," presented a life which can be an example to all Americans. Son of a distinguished member of the Federal court, Commissioner Woodward was graduated with the degree of bachelor of arts from the University of Illinois in 1924 and from the Northwestern University Law School in 1926. "Woody" was a member of the Fighting Illini football team and played fullback on the team which included the immortal Red Grange. During World War II, he served in the Army Air Corps, rising to the rank of major at the end of hostilities in 1945. Mr. Woodward as a lifelong Republican and brought strength to the party organization in promoting those principles in which he believed and for which he worked.

Mr. Woodward was a successful lawyer at the Chicago and Illinois bar, practicing in the State and Federal courts. He became a hearing examiner with the Illinois Commerce Commission in 1953 where he served with distinction until 1959, at which time he was appointed as a judge of the Superior Court of Cook County. He returned to the Illinois Commerce Commission in 1960 where he continued as a hearing examiner until January 5, 1962, when the late President Kennedy nominated Mr. Woodward as a Republican member of the Federal Power Commission to fill an unexpired term ending June 22, 1962. Thereafter, on June 19, 1962, President Kennedy reappointed him to a full 5-year term which would not have expired until June 22, 1967.

While some disagreed with the point of view which Commissioner Woodward brought to the Federal Power Commission, all respected his judgment and his decisions and recognized his faith in our constitutional system, the vitality of our private power companies and our great national resources in the form of public power.

Commissioner Woodward was an unassuming man whose reputation and high position did not affect his simple tastes and interest in his home, his family, and his friends.

Commissioner Woodward leaves his widow, the former Mabel Martin, of Riverside, Ill., and his daughter, Mrs. Ann Kelly, two grandchildren, and three sisters.

Mr. Speaker, I know that there are many others who have always felt a warm affection for Woody. In behalf of all of them, I wish to express the tender and heartfelt sympathy which swells our hearts and to express to his bereaved widow and daughter as well as other members of the Woodward family our condolences.

Impact of Foreign Aid on U.S. Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Lewis E. Lloyd, of Midland, Mich., head of business research for the Dow Chemical Co., has prepared a brief but powerful text on the impact of the foreign handout program on our economy.

It is clear—

Dr. Lloyd finds—

that we cannot afford to continue our massive foreign aid program. Our taxpayers already are burdened with a Government debt which is about $100 billion larger than that of all other countries of the free world together. If we continue our profligate giving, it would certainly disrupt the U.S. economy and result in the most severe setback our economy has seen since the 1930's.

To Dr. Lloyd, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] once said:

Dr. Lloyd, you are one of the foremost economists in America * * * I would give 1 full

year of my congressional salary if it were possible to take the Members of Congress * * * and lock the door and let them listen to you for 2 hours * * * I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for coming here.

Following is the statement of Dr. Lloyd, on behalf of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, before the Senate Committee on Appropriations on July 31, 1964:

STATEMENT OF DR. LEWIS E. LLOYD, ON BEHALF OF THE CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, JULY 31, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Lewis E. Lloyd of Midland, Mich. I am economist and head of business research for the Dow Chemical Co. I appear today not in my business capacity, but rather as a professional economist and a private citizen who is alarmed at the U.S. balance-of-payments situation and its implications with respect to foreign aid. Because I have given special attention to the study of monetary and fiscal problems, the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee has urged me to analyze these factors for this committee. It is to this aspect of foreign aid that I wish to direct my remarks.

The advocates of massive foreign aid are greatly impressed by the endless wants of man. They feel a compulsion to fill as many of the wants around the world as possible. In their zeal to do great good, they forget to examine all the consequences of their program. They fail to take account of the natural laws of economics and of human nature, which preclude success in meeting the announced objectives of this giveaway program.

There will not be time today to discuss the inadequacy and the weakness of the program from the standpoint of the recipient. How that government-to-government gifts advance Socialist enterprise around the world, and not free enterprise which made this country great. How that education and a high level of business ethics is a prerequisite to developing a viable, industrial society. How that the development of skills, transportation, communications, marketing, banking, and many other complex factors require a delicate balance in a growing industrial society. How that a proper balance between consumption, savings and investment, coupled with the urge for constructive risk taking, must exist before an economy can aspire to industrial status. How that the receiving of dole builds dependence, not self-reliance and independence.

Rather, let us direct our attention to some of the consequences for the United States and especially to the balance-of-payments problem and its implications. In October of 1960 the value of the dollar temporarily lost its standing in the world market when the price of gold on the London exchange went above the U.S. gold export point and a few days later reached $41 an ounce—more than a 17-percent discount. Since that time the balance-of-payments problem and the health of the dollar has been given much attention both by the press and others. In the past 2 years, periodic meetings of the heads of the important central banks of Europe and the United State indicate the importance which they attach to this problem.

Some have blamed the whole balance-of-payments problem on the foreign aid program. Others deny this and insist that foreign aid contributes to our export, and hence, stimulates our economy. Much of the discussion on this subject has been superficial—based on emotion rather than fact or logic. In order to discover what impact foreign aid has on the balance of payments and on the domestic economy, it is necessary to examine the fundamentals of the economic exchange process.

THE ECONOMIC EXCHANGE EQUATION

In a division-of-labor society, some workers produce a given goods or service and exchange this with other workers for the products of their labor. When a society becomes complex and industrialized, barter is inadequate to bring about the exchanges of goods and services, and so money is used as a tool to expedite exchange.

It is important to note that the economic exchange process is not complete with the first step of exchanging goods for money, but only after the second step of exchanging the money for another economic good. If one individual or group of individuals exchanges goods or services for money, and retains or hoards part of this money—failing to exchange it for other goods and services, then an imbalance results. It means that others have production for which there is no market. Conversely, if by any means an individual or a nation obtains money without having supplied some goods or services for it, then there are also predictable consequences from this type of imbalance.

In this basic equation of economic exchange we see the fundamentals of trade between nations. Basically, a nation exchanges goods and services for goods and services; and normally, money is used to expedite the exchange. If the export and import of goods and services does not balance, then money will flow into or out of the country and there are economic consequences from this, for both those that lose money and those that gain.

THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS THREAT

The balance of payments is the term which is used to indicate the balance or lack of balance between the flow of goods and services between nations. The balance of payments, of course, shows the sum of: the net of our foreign trade; the net of exchange of services (shipping, insurance, tourism, etc.); the net on capital flow; and the net on gifts and loans.

It is important to note that in the international marketplace there is no difference between dollars obtained from trade and dollars obtained from tourists and capital flow or from gifts. It is the total balance of payments that indicates our economic balance with the rest of the world. Our negative balance of payments merely means that more dollars are leaving this country than are returning.

I need not remind this committee of the size of our foreign grants and aid; how that it has actually increased in recent years instead of tapering off, and in total has now exceeded $100 billion. If all the foreign aid and loan dollars were spent in this country, there might still be serious problems, but they would not directly influence our balance of payments. This is a hypothetical question, however, because these dollars have not all been coming back to buy the products of our labor. The fact that foreign aid has and continues to add to our negative balance of payments is reason enough for drastic cuts in the AID program.

The seriousness of the problem becomes evident when we take note of our international balance sheet. Chart 1 [not shown in RECORD] shows the balance of payments for the postwar years. Since 1949 there has been a persistent and growing negative balance, except for the year 1957 when the Suez crisis forced Europe to buy oil from the dollar area. In recent years this problem has become so severe that the Treasury has employed various schemes to postpone and stall off a crisis. These transactions make the official balance-of-payments deficit look smaller than it really is.

In chart 1 the solid line shows the balance of payments as usually quoted; the dashed line shows the negative balance on current account. The difference is the amount of prepayment of debt by the Germans and French, prepayment by the Germans for purchase of military equipment, and the U.S. borrowing of foreign currencies. Data for the last half of 1963 and the first part of 1964 show improvement. The administration's request for a special tax on foreign investment had a marked, one-shot effect on private capital flow during this period, and crop shortages in Europe and the U.S.S.R. greatly improved agricultural exports. [Charts not included.]

This sustained and growing negative balance of payments has resulted in loss of part of our gold reserve and increased foreign claims against our gold. Chart 2 shows this data for the postwar years. The actual short-term dollar claims which foreigners hold now exceed $26 billion. The net figure is obtained by subtracting our claims against others and commitments to the Monetary Fund.

Chart 3 shows the amount of gold we would have left if we paid off all the foreign claims outstanding, and also shows the amount of gold which is needed to meet the 25-percent reserve requirements of our banking law. It is obvious that since 1960 we have not been able to meet our foreign commitments, even if we had disregarded any gold reserve to support our own bank credit. Clearly we are, in fact, bankrupt insofar as our commitments are concerned.

As a consequence of the large foreign claims against our gold supply, we find our economic destiny now in the hands of foreigners. The dollar even now retains its position as a world currency only because foreigners have not yet lost confidence in the dollar to the point of extensive demands for gold. As a result, we are not a free agent in many of our policies—for example, monetary policy. Interest rates in recent times have been rigged and legislation has been requested to place a special tax on foreign investments in an attempt to reduce the outflow of capital dollars and a call by foreigners for gold. We find our fiscal policy also restricted. Tax and budget considerations must be tempered by the possible reaction of foreigners.

When the exchange of goods and services between countries fails to balance, one country may be willing to hold I O U's against another country for a limited period of time. In the end, however, the money commodity, gold, is the only tangible way that the accounts can be balanced. Normally, foreigners with mounting dollar claims would present these for gold. So long as they trust the United States to be able and willing in the future to meet its obligations to supply gold upon request, they will be willing to hold the dollar claims in lieu of gold. They have some special incentives not to ask for gold. Much of the dollar claims are held in Treasury notes and bills which pay interest. When the claims are converted to gold, there is a loss of this interest plus a slight charge for safekeeping. Moreover, the industrial nations of Europe who hold the bulk of these dollar claims are well aware that were they to call for large amounts of gold, this would precipitate a liquidity crisis with dire consequences for the whole free world. Because the dollar is a reserve currency, any crisis would disrupt world trade and payments.

STOPGAP PALLIATIVES

In the past 3 years, many stopgap defensive actions have been taken to minimize the loss of gold.

Some of these actions are restrictions: the amount of goods which a tourist can bring back duty free, special taxation on foreign earnings and on foreign investments, renewed emphasis on "Buy American" policy, and direct and indirect export subsidies; we have urged foreigners, particularly the Germans and French, to prepay installments on

long-term debt; and finally, our Treasury has been borrowing foreign currencies in an effort to minimize the gold loss.

These stopgap actions have bought time, but we have not used the time to solve the fundamental problems which we still have to face. The consequences of continuing on the collision course which we have been pursuing will be disastrous. The major part of the $26 billion of short-term claims against our gold has been used by foreigners to support their monetary systems as though these dollar claims were, in fact, gold. After all, we have promised to redeem all dollars (foreign held) in gold whenever requested to do so. As a result of this, both we and the foreigners are extending credit against the same gold supply. When the day of reckoning comes, there will not be enough to go around. The $12 plus billion required for our 25-percent bank reserves and the $26 billion of foreign claims adds to $38 billion of commitments against our gold reserve which is now down to less than $15.5 billion. The overextension of credit is already topheavy and our large foreign aid is adding to it.

The negative balance of payments represents dollars which do not come back to the domestic economy to buy the products of our labor. Had these dollars come back, we would have had more jobs in this country. In fact, the balance of payments is the best measure of overall balance between the jobs gained through exports and the jobs lost through imports.

In the past 5 years there has been an average outflow of about $3.5 billion per year. Had these dollars come back, we would have had about a million and a half more jobs in this country. Recent studies show that many of these jobs are in the areas now having excessive unemployment and poverty.

Along with the growing unemployment, we find industrial stagnation. The industrial countries of the free world are growing faster than we are. This will continue until we correct the basic conditions that lead to the outflow of dollars.

The final consequences of our unsound international economic policies will be a repudiation of the dollar in world markets. When this happens, it will bring economic depression to the United States and will cost us the loss of our world leadership. The situation is serious. It is growing more serious day by day, and the stakes are so high that we dare no longer postpone attacking the fundamental problem.

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEM

There are two basic reasons for the balance-of-payments problem. The first is this massive giveaway program called "foreign aid." The result has been a continuing transfer of dollars out of the country. However sound the program of rehabilitation for Europe and Japan was at the end of the war, that job has long since been done and we can no longer afford this dollar drain even if the results were good, which they are not. The general impression is that most of our foreign aid dollars are now being spent in the United States. Unfortunately, this is not true. Official reports say that more than 80 percent of the foreign aid expenditures for commodities are spent in the United States. But, in fiscal 1963 only $855 million was spent on commodities out of a total foreign grants and loans of $5.17 billion. The rest was spent overseas for products, for foreign labor, and for 3,379 personnel stationed overseas to administer aid. Thus, in 1963 something more like 78 percent of grants and loans were spent outside the United States and represented a dollar drain.

Recently, new aid grants have required that the dollars be used to purchase U.S. commodities where possible. The point, of course, is that to the extent aid dollars are spent here, they do not contribute to the balance-of-payments deficit. It has been difficult, however, to get the dollars spent here. Some of them are used to buy foreign services and the rest have more purchasing power if spent overseas. The recipient countries resist a "Buy American" clause because they can buy desired equipment and goods cheaper in Europe and Japan. Countries tend to fulfill their commitment by buying with the aid dollars the products they needed from us anyway, and so there is little overall advantage to the balance of payments.

It is doubtful that we will be able to get more than half of the aid dollars spent here. The real reason is that we are noncompetitive in world markets. The combination of our overpriced dollar (which makes us noncompetitive) and our large give-away program is the fundamental reason for our balance-of-payments problem and will wreck the dollar if continued. The fact that we are noncompetitive is clearly evident to any careful student, as indicated in numerous ways:

1. While we have underutilization of both labor and plant in this country—unemployment and overcapacity—European and Japanese producers cannot build plants fast enough to meet their demands nor find enough workers for their plants. Growth rates in Europe have been twice that of ours, and in Japan three times.

2. The character of our trade has changed. As recently as 1950 we imported primarily raw materials, tropical products, and products, of low labor content, while we exported primarily finished manufactured goods of high labor content. By 1960 this had changed. We now export more agricultural products, raw materials, scrap iron, and products of low labor content, and import mostly finished products of high labor content—cameras, typewriters, radios, TV's, watches, automobiles, and scientific instruments, etc.

3. Even our trade balance indicates our lack of competitiveness. The Department of Commerce data on trade shows a favorable balance, with exports exceeding imports by $4 to $5 billion. Included in the export data, however, are products which we buy with our own dollars and ship overseas. This, of course, is that part of the foreign aid dollar which is spent in the United States. When we subtract out the shipments to military establishments, the agricultural products under Public Law 480, and agricultural products which are subsidized, we find that the export surplus vanishes.

Chart 5 (not included in RECORD) shows U.S. imports and our exports adjusted to remove those which are bought with our dollars or subsidized. Moreover, the Commerce Department estimates that about $2½ billion of the remaining exports are shipped from American companies to oversea subsidies. In many cases, of course, these are not competitive shipments either.

And finally, we count out imports on a foreign free on board value, whereas other countries count their foreign trade on a c.i.f. (cost, insurance and freight included) value. Since our imports arrive on foreign bottoms, we actually pay out dollars for the landed cost. Were we to count our imports on a c.i.f. basis, we would have to add about 25 percent to the value of our imports. Chart 6 (not included in RECORD) shows the imports adjusted upward by a modest 15 percent to adjust to a landed cost basis. It is clear, then, that even our trade balance adjusted to a competitive basis is unfavorable.

4. The final evidence of noncompetitiveness is, of course, the continuing and growing negative balance of payments. If we were fully competitive in world markets, the dollars which foreigners obtain by whatever means would be spent in this country for our products and our foreign accounts would show a balance.

We became noncompetitive because the exchange rate between the dollar and other currencies has not been adjusted to the changing competitive picture. After the war, Europe and Japan replaced their war-torn and bombed-out plants by modern, new automated ones. They did this largely with our foreign aid dollars and with a great deal of technical assistance from us. Consequently, they have made a great leap forward in productivity. Their unions did not demand that this productivity increase be matched by wage increases, and thus, the products of their factories became more competitive in world markets.

During World War II and in subsequent years, we have poured more than $90 billion of inflationary money into our economy. As a result of this inflation we have more than one worthless, "printing press" dollar for every good one. After the war when consumer goods became available, there were two dollars coming to the marketplace to buy a dollar's worth of goods. Since the market could not tell the good dollar from the bad dollar, the price of goods was bid up until a dollar's worth of goods was selling at $2—in fact a little more, because the dollar is now worth only about 45 cents.

The price of labor went up with, in fact a little faster than, the price of goods; and as a result, today American workers and American factories are no longer competitive in world markets.

When foreigners exchange goods and services to us for our dollars, normally they would exchange those dollars for other goods and services from us. Through the process of inflation the prices of our goods and services have essentially doubled, but there is one economic good which is still priced at $35 an ounce where it was fixed in 1934. Thus today, gold is the cheapest commodity we offer the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that foreigners who get dollars prefer to keep part of those dollars to exchange for gold. Of course as we have seen, they do not actually have to exchange them for gold as long as the world has confidence that we will honor our obligation to furnish gold upon demand. If we do not remove this distortion by an appropriate adjustment in the exchange rate, we will be forced eventually to devalue the dollar.

If the exchange rate were adjusted to be realistic, then our products would become competitive in world markets and we would earn back the dollars which foreigners obtain from us through trade, tourism, and capital flow.

BASIC SOLUTION TO BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS PROBLEM

We need to take three steps to attack the balance-of-payments problem at its base. First, we must drastically reduce our foreign aid program and the small part of it which might be continued should require that the dollars be spent in the United States. This would at least insure that there were no export of jobs through our foreign aid giveaway program.

The Director of AID is trying to increase the fraction of foreign aid dollars which are spent in this country. It is generally assumed that if all the aid dollars were spent here, then there would be no influence on the international standing of the dollar. This is a mistaken notion.

When AID dollars are spent here, the overall transaction consists essentially of the Government buying products from U.S. producers, paying for them from the Treasury, and shipping them overseas. If the Federal budget were balanced, such a transaction would consist of using taxes to furnish aid to other countries. It would reduce our standard of living by an equivalent amount, but it would not endanger our monetary system.

We do not and have not had a balanced budget. The AID dollars add to our deficit, and hence, contribute to monetary inflation. If we continue to erode the value of the dollar by monetizing debt, it is only a question of time before foreigners will lose confidence in the dollar and call for gold. When the fundamental economics is considered, it is clear that we cannot afford large grants of aid whether the dollars are spent here or not.

We need to put an end to Federal deficits in order to reassure the foreigners that we have put a stop to monetary inflation in the United States. This will give them confidence that we will be able to avoid devaluing the dollar and lessen their likelihood of calling for gold. It is an absolute certainty that if we continue monetary inflation in this country, sooner or later we shall have to devalue the dollar.

Finally, we need also to readjust the exchange rate of the dollar as between the currencies of the major industrial countries of the free world. Prior to World War I, exchange rates were set in an exchange market, much like a grain or stock market. The exchange rate between, for example, the United States dollar and the British pound, was determined on a day-to-day basis by the supply and demand in exchange of the one for the other. We no longer permit a free market to set the exchange rates. They are set by an international bureaucracy, the International Monetary Fund. The present exchange rates for the dollar were set soon after World War II, before anyone could foresee the large and rapid increase in productivity in Europe and Japan. Because of this and divergent monetary policies here and overseas, the present exchange rates are unrealistic and overvalue the dollar.

There are various indications of an overvalued dollar. The continuing large deficit in our balance of payments is one. Studies have been made which attempt to determine the extent of overvaluation. In studies prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, J. Vanek expressed the belief that "the equilibrium value of the dollar is somewhere near 15 percent below the actual value."[1] On this basis one would say that the dollar is overvalued by 18 percent. Houthakker reported studies which showed the dollar, as of March 1962, to be overvalued relative to the Reich-M. by 22.2 percent and about 25 percent relatively to the French franc and British pound.[2]

It is clear that we cannot afford to continue our massive foreign aid program. Our taxpayers already are burdened with a Government debt which is about $100 billion larger than that of all the other countries of the free world together. If we continue our profligate giving, we shall hasten if not actually precipitate a world liquidity crisis. This will have dire consequence both for us and the free world. First of all, it would certainly disrupt the U.S. economy and result in the most severe setback our economy has seen since the 1930's. This would shake the confidence of the rest of the free world in the free-enterprise system. Other peoples would be skeptical of an economic system plagued with such difficult problems.

In the postwar years the dollar has become an important reserve currency. In a sense, we have become the bankers of the world. In the face of this circumstance there will be serious consequences if respect for the dollar is lost. We will lose more than our position as world banker; we will forfeit our leadership, politically and ideologically as well.

[1] Jaroslav Vanek, "Overvaluation of the Dollar: Causes, Effects, and Remedies," factors affecting the U.S. balance of payments. Compilation of studies prepared for the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments (Government Printing Office, 1962).

[2] H. S. Houthakker, "Exchange Rate Adjustment," factors affecting the U.S. balance of payments. Compilation of studies prepared for the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments (Government Printing Office, 1962).

Perspective: What It Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Raymond Moley appeared in a recent number of Newsweek. The article is well titled "Perspective." This is an attribute that few politicians have.

Mr. Moley brings the recent Republican Convention at the Cow Palace in San Francisco into perspective by reminding us that mudslinging and vilification are, most unfortunately, among our American political mores. Nearly all of our heroes have been treated to both.

Mr. Moley brings out very clearly the fact that the average politican has to personalize everything and can never look at the broad outlines of history and philosophy that produce the individual. Maybe he should take more time to study. At least, let us remember, no matter who the candidate is, that people vote with much more enthusiasm against someone or something than for either.

The article follows:

PERSPECTIVE: WHAT IT MEANS

(By Raymond Moley)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Observers from overseas, as they have witnessed our noisy and seemingly disorderly national conventions, have wondered why, with this method of selecting candidates for the Presidency, we have had, with the exception of Britain, the most stable government on earth. More than 50 years ago a Russian, Moisei Ostrogorski, wrote a memorable description of a national convention. He said that when you leave the convention and inhale the clear air outside, "when you carry your thoughts back from the scene which you have just witnessed and review the line of Presidents you find that if they have not all been great men—far from it—they were all honorable men." And, he said, you cannot help repeating an old American saying that God takes care of little children and the United States. (Ostrogorski's long-neglected classic "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties" has been brought out this month in an Anchor Books paperback edition.)

At any convention, and especially in this one, there is a deep meaning beneath all the insincerities and diversions, for the destiny of a party and even the future of the Nation's course may lie with the beleaguered and badgered delegates. Here in San Francisco there was clearly registered a nationwide Republican conviction which has been in the making since Governor Dewey wrested the nomination from Senator Taft in 1948 and later, in 1952, when Dewey, Lodge, et al. once more blasted the Ohio Senator's ambitions.

LONG BEGINNING

A protest against this domination of the Republican Party by liberal Republicans of the East and Northeast has grown greater and greater during the Eisenhower years and since. As I made clear in this space two weeks ago, it has been most notable in those areas where there has been the most marked growth in population, in industrial development, and in real wealth—in the Southeast, the Mountain States, and on the Pacific Coast. It is no mere coincidence that it was the delegates from those areas who dominated the convention and preferred GOLDWATER as the candidate.

But this protest, which has grown into a veritable party revolution, had its beginnings well before GOLDWATER entered the Senate and years before he became a candidate for the presidential nomination. His part in this change has been in innumerable speeches over the country and in his articulation of the principles in which these dissidents believe.

Since it is always easier to attack a fallible individual than powerful natural changes, former caretakers of Republicanism have centered their attack upon GOLDWATER personally. I have not in my time witnessed such billingsgate, misrepresentations, and irrational fury except in the early 1930's when F.D.R. challenged the custodians of the Democratic Party.

TIME FOR REASSESSMENT

In 1932, as now, the supporters of the successful candidate were called, by supposedly responsible people, cranks, know-nothings, and extremists. The word "crackpot" came into currency then because of its use by a Roosevelt rival.

The wholesale vilification of GOLDWATER supporters is much more serious than the attacks upon the man himself. For GOLDWATER can afford to ignore personal attacks. But to charge that these delegates and the people back home who selected them are unfit to exercise their choice of a presidential candidate is an unforgivable affront.

There is time now for those people who have been shaping opinion to reassess the fundamental changes which brought GOLDWATER to the top. There is time, too, for thoughtful reconsideration by the major television and radio networks of the sort of thing which they have chosen to designate as news. They are privileged under the laws of the United States to reach a nationwide audience. Countless Americans already consider them to be spokesmen for a fractional and prejudiced sector of American opinion. Freedom of the press is to be used, not abused.

To those who have been engaged in the anti-Goldwater tirade, I commend what Emerson said to a woman reformer a century ago. She sighed: "I accept the universe." Emerson answered: "You'd better."

Rushville, Ind., Editorial on Censorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on July 21, the House of Representatives passed House bill 319, dealing with obscene matter in the mails. The bill is now being considered by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The Rushville, Ind., Daily Telegram for August 5 editorialized on the bill, and expressed the opinion that passage of this measure would be a dubious approach to the problem.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENSORSHIP AND MAIL

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed a bill that would make heads of households judge and jury of senders of mail alleged to be "morally offensive." The bill would allow any person receiving any mail he regards morally offensive to notify the postmaster general that he wants future unsolicited mailings stopped.

The postmaster general would notify the sender, and after 30 days the notice would take effect. If the mailings continued, the postmaster general would turn the matter over to the attorney general, who would seek a court order banning further mailings. If they still continued, the sender would be subject to contempt of court proceedings.

It already is a Federal offense to send pornographic material through the mail. And the recipient has another defense. He may simply refuse the mail.

The constitutionality of this proposed law already has been questioned by the Post Office and Justice Departments. Under the proposed law, by request of a householder, the courts can order the sender to stop and confront him with a contempt charge if he doesn't comply. All this without any trial, save the judgment and decision of the recipient.

The proposed law is a form of censorship that skirts constitutional protections.

Commonsense Apportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Harvey, Ind., Muncie Star of August 9, 1964:

COMMONSENSE APPORTIONMENT

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has introduced in the Senate a carefully worded bill which would give State legislatures 4 years of breathing time on the Supreme Court's mandate that both houses of all legislatures must be apportioned on a strict population basis.

One special merit of the Dirksen proposal is that it would accomplish the purpose of a delay without in any way undermining the argument that the Federal courts have no business telling State legislatures how to apportion themselves. The Dirksen bill does not include any language which suggests affirmation of Federal court jurisdiction. It simply provides an automatic stay of legislative apportionment suits when requested.

It is important to avoid acknowledgment of Federal jurisdiction in any congressional act aimed at relieving the situation, and especially in proposing a constitutional amendment to provide permanent relief. There is now no foundation in the Constitution or the laws for Federal court authority to rule on the legality of the composition of a State legislature. The only basis for court suits is the Supreme Court's own peculiar interpretation of the powers of the Federal judiciary.

The court's assumption of this jurisdiction is a usurpation of power which the Constitution does not give to any branch of the Federal Government. What is needed in answer is an action which spells out the specific point that control over the composition of their legislatures is a reserved power of the States. The most surely effective way to do this is by constitutional amendment.

It should not be an amendment which specifies any basis on which a legislature may be apportioned, or any method of approving or carrying out apportionment. It should be an amendment which simply says that there is no Federal jurisdiction over the composition or apportionment of State legislatures.

Delay of court actions in reapportionment suits is vital to allow time to deal with the situation through the relatively slow process of constitutional amendment. If an adequate amendment is proposed and submitted to the States, and if the necessary majority should fail to ratify it, so be it. The Federal courts could proceed with the business of laying down rules of legislative apportionment. But in that case the States themselves would have consented to this shift in the Federal-State balance of power. The argument that it is a usurpation of power would no longer be persuasive.

Meanwhile such a delay as provided in the Dirksen bill would prevent a chaotic realinement of legislatures.

The objection may be raised that this would allow rural domination of legislatures to continue until these same legislatures have a chance to vote ratification of the amendment and thus achieve self-perpetuation. This is a valid objection. But it can be met quite easily.

In proposing a constitutional amendment, Congress can specify that ratification be by referendum instead of by the legislatures. This was done in the repeal of the prohibition amendment. The question would then be directly in the hands of the people, and surely no one can argue the priority of that.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN THE CONGO

While most eyes are focused on the situation in southeast Asia, the risk of a similar involvement of U.S. forces is rapidly developing in the Congo.

Rebel forces, described in the news dispatches as "Communist backed," are throwing a serious challenge against the Central Government of the Congo. The Communist-backed forces are organized and armed, apparently as well as the Government troops, perhaps better. They are engaged in a systematic campaign to seize territory by overcoming and driving back the Government forces.

What involves the United States is the presence of a military mission in the capacity of adviser and trainer to the Congolese Army. That is precisely the capacity of the U.S. military mission in South Vietnam. By the last report we saw, the U.S. force in the Congo was very small, no more than 100 officers and men. But they are in U.S. military uniform: they are an official presence of the U.S. Government and the U.S. Armed Forces.

The Congolese Army is a poorly trained, uncertainly disciplined, motley aggregation. What morale it once possessed has been largely shattered by a long period of ineffectual native government and arbitrary domination by the United Nations "peacekeeping" mission.

With such an army, and a tiny group of U.S. advisers, Premier Moise Tshombe is attempting to establish order and governmental control in the Congo. In order to do it, he has to fight a war against enemies agitated and supported by the Communists.

It is most important that U.S. officials recognize at the outset that it is war with which they have to deal in the Congo. It is most important that every precaution be taken against underestimating the intentions and the capabilities of the enemy. The worst handicap in South Vietnam and Laos has been a refusal to face and come to grips with the size of the problem. Let's not repeat that mistake in the Congo.

IT'S NO FISH STORY

We would have missed it if Congressman ROUDEBUSH hadn't let us know about it, but the House did pass a "medicare" bill at this session.

This bill, which would cost us taxpayers $1,824,200 a year, hands out free medical care to fishing boat owners. The free-spending House majority claims that fishing is a "hazardous" occupation and therefore fishing boat owners ought to get their medical care at taxpayers' expense.

If Congress decides that everybody in a hazardous occupation ought to get medical care at taxpayers' expense we can foresee a lot of additional $1,824,200 bills coming up when the farm lobby, the miners' lobby, the lion tamers' lobby, and the war correspondent's lobby get busy.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH voted against the bill, of course. But we can all be sure that if this next election doesn't produce a lot of new Congressmen dedicated to stopping this sort of ridiculous spending, we are going to be in for a lot more of the same.

The Private Sector and the Public Sector: Which Is Which and Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Members of Congress and the public to two lectures by Dr. William H. Peterson, and for this reason, I ask unanimous consent to have an abstract of them published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Dr. Peterson is a professor of economics at New York University. His lectures were entitled "The Private Sector and the Public Sector: Which Is Which and Why."

The lectures were given before the American Whig-Cliosophic Society, of Princeton University, on April 23 and 25, 1963. They have been published by the Intercollegiate Society of Individuals, Inc., of Philadelphia, Pa.

There being no objection, the abstract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE PUBLIC SECTOR: WHICH IS WHICH AND WHY

(By William H. Peterson, professor of economics at New York University)

(Two lectures given to the American Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton University on April 23 and 25, 1963.)

Definitions are hazardous, warned Samuel Johnson, that classical lexicographer; but they clarify positions marvelously. Hence, ensues this pedantic essay on a couple of long-winded definitions with some elaborations and asides. Simply, I wish to define the private sector and the public sector, in that order.

But first let me preface this little discussion with a whodunit question. Now, I'm not a would-be Alfred Hitchcock or Ian

fleming among economists, but to understand the private sector of the American economy it is necessary to understand who really is in economic command. Who is—to use the late Bronx political boss Ed Flynn's phrase—the Boss? Is it, for all its regulatory control over business, for all its battles with big steel, the White House? Is it the industrial tycoon in his oak-paneled office managing men, money, and machines? Or, is it a labor chief shutting down an entire industry in an effort to improve the terms of a labor agreement?

To crystallize the problem, let me now pose the whodunit question: Who killed the iceman?

The answer, to give a clue, lies in the word "competition." Competition is at the heart of the private sector. It is the creative process, unique in a free society, by which consumer choices are transformed into productive action, i.e., into goods and services.

Competition is a rather good synonym for capitalism. And whatever else competition is, it is certainly not what the Communists and other extreme critics say it is. It is not, in other words, dog eat dog. It is not jungle law. It is not man's inhumanity to man. It is not, to use the phrase in the Communist manifesto, "naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation."

Indeed, here the Marxists themselves seem to be inadvertently describing their own system, for only communism fits their perverted definition of competition. And, by design, communism is the absence of competition, for as Lenin noted in his "State and Revolution," under communism the whole of society becomes "one office and one factory, with equal work and equal pay," the entire economy to be organized like the postal system. In other words, no competition.

Now, under capitalism if competition is so brutal, why is it that we have achieved the highest standard of living and the freest society the world has ever seen? And why is it that the Russian workers queue up for meat and butter, the Chinese flee to Hong Kong (when they can) to escape Communist famines, Castro's Cuba rations food and medicine, and the East German Government erects a wall between East and West Berlin?

Perhaps illustrative of the confusion over the problem of communism versus capitalism is a wartime meeting between General Eisenhower and Marshal Zhukov. Then the two military giants got to talking about, of all things, philosophy. As General Eisenhower related the incident to a Presidential press conference some dozen years afterward, Marshall Zhukov chided the general over the self-serving nature of capitalism. Zhukov told his American counterpart that communism called on men to serve the common welfare—the public interest—whereas, clearly, capitalism catered to man's lust for profits—to human greed. Zhukov summed up by saying that communism is based on pure idealism, capitalism on crass materialism.

The most remarkable fact about this brief encounter was Mr. Eisenhower's confession that he was hard put to refute Marshal Zhukov—that the Russian marshal certainly had a point. Now, if such a sincere and able leader as Mr. Eisenhower could not quite meet Zhukov on this intellectual battleground, little wonder that our times are genuinely confused—that the argument over the public sector versus the private sector is muddled, perhaps hopelessly so, even if the distinction between communism and capitalism is not the same as the distinction between the public sector and the private sector.

At any rate, I, as a Monday-morning quarterback, say Marshal Zhukov is quite incorrect in his position. The true jungle law lies not in capitalism but rather in communism. Communism is based on a status society, on force—coercion—while capitalism is based on a contractual society, on voluntarism, on freedom. Capitalism sees man as a person, an individual; communism sees man en masse, man in the collective. Man, under the hegemony and philosophy of communism, is but matter, a social building block, although, interestingly, not much building seems to get done.

The essence of capitalism is summed up, I believe, in the Declaration of Independence phrase of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Each individual is free to pursue his happiness as he views his personal happiness, providing only that he is responsible, that he does not resort to coercion or violence. Communism, on the other hand, denies freedom, denies private property and hence competition, permitting men to pursue their own happiness—provided their pursuit happens to coincide with the current Five-Year Plan. Mobility of factors and freedom of choice are out; immobility and coercion are in. Communism is perhaps best summed up the ocercion-loaded Marxist-Leninist phrase, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need," which would make, by the way, an excellent label on United States and Canadian emergency wheat shipments to the collective-rich, food-poor Communists.

Need, of course, is universal; it is no respecter of economic systems. The key question is, however, Who determines need? Or in Hayek's famous question on planning: "Who plans for whom?" In capitalism, man plans for himself; in communism, the State plans for him. If there is anything that communism and the welfare state have in common it is this: Need is determined by the state. But how can the state possibly define the needs of millions of individuals as individuals? Need is, after all, so personal, so individually and beautifully elastic, for many so ethereal, for many so unique that it is quite impossible, for example, for Washington to tell us at what age Johnny should have his teeth straightened, or where Aunt Jane should spend her summer vacation—in the mountains or at the seashore. Or how much plumbing or how many rooms we need, or what we should read, and so on.

It was Adam Smith who pointed out that private enterprises and private individuals are in effect public enterprises and public servants. If the father of modern economics is right, then we ought to cast out any twisted definition of profits as being equated to human greed. Smith reminded us that in the pursuit of profit—as we must assume businessmen are engaged in—the producer must advance the well-being—that is, the profit—of the consumer, the buyers, his customers, or he will see his sales dwindle, see his business and, more importantly, his own profits shrink. Profits must be mutual for both buyer and seller, producer and consumer, or else profits become losses. This is true social control, true self-government, private government. The producer must, in other words, cater to society or see his accountants switch from black ink to red. Smith called this competitive process of serving others the invisible hand and, however much derided by some economists and social commentators, the invisible hand works precisely as Smith said it would: Private enterprise means public welfare.

So why nationalize private enterprises a la Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and Fidel? Our corporations, under private ownership, are already in a sense nationalized far more effectively than under State ownership. Under private ownership they are under the democratic discipline of profit and loss, with all the enormous incentive to give more or less. Under state ownership, they are under the undemocratic discipline of the state, released from profit and loss, released from the rule of the sovereign consumer, released from the incentive to cut costs, eliminate waste, and upgrade quality. As Professor Parkinson has just enunciated in his third law given to the world: Nationalized industry tends toward bankruptcy.

To be sure, the market society is not without its hardships. Competition seems, at times, harsh, even cruel, and interventionists say we can ease the seeming cruelty with subsidies and other insulations from competition. So submarginal and marginal farmers are "saved" through a farm program; small businessmen are "protected" by the Small Business Administration; the glass and carpet industries are shored up against foreign competition with tariffs; and so on.

This saving of the competitive order from itself may look plausible. Witness the hardship of the Ma and Pa motels being done in at the hands of the Howard Johnsons and Holiday Inns. The long trip ends today at the landscaped motel, with its 28 delicious ice cream flavors, attracting motorists past the sleepy, rundown Ma and Pa motels. Similarly the evil supermarkets do in the small grocers through lower prices. Worse, competition must lead, must it not? to monopoly. And so, obviously, we need a Robinson-Patman law to curb the vicious chainstores from their predatory activities of giving the consumer more for less.

But who is really doing in the Ma and Pa motel and the corner grocer?

This returns to us the whodunit question of "Who killed the iceman?" I submit that Howard Johnson and the A. & P. are not the ones who are eliminating the less efficient. The eliminator is somebody else. He is someone mightier than Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cyrus McCormick, Henry Ford, and Jean Paul Getty put together. He is the same person who killed the iceman, who is wiping out the Ma and Pa motels. He is that capricious, fickle, all-powerful dictator—you, the consumer.

You hold, democratically, in concert with other consumers, the power of economic life and death over all firms, big and small. It was grandfather who, in effect, destroyed the buggy whip manufacturer when he bought a model T. It was the consumer who made General Motors big, who put the Stutz Bearcat and the Stanley Steamer out of business. It was grandmother or mother who shifted from an icebox to a mechanical refrigerator and thereby froze out—euphemistically, in an economic sense only, killed—the iceman. To paraphrase Eugene O'Neill, nowadays the iceman cometh not. This is economic democracy in action; this is the private sector at work.

The consumer even figures in the farm and unemployment problems. What happens when the consumer buys rayon instead of price-supported cotton? What happens when the consumer buys foreign residual fuel oil for power instead of domestic coal? A comparison may be drawn between surplus wheat and surplus labor. Why are people unemployed in the free labor market? Especially, if the free market is so "automatic" why should there be unemployment, i.e., surplus labor? The answer is, of course, that the labor market is not quite free. Wage rates are kept inflexibly high by labor laws and minimum wage laws—"sticky" is the economist's term—and we have a similar situation in the artificially high prices maintained for 18 or so subsidized and controlled farm crops showing surpluses. There are, by way of contrast, some 230 commercial farm commodities which are neither subsidized nor controlled and show no surpluses, no farm problem. The cure for unemployment, then, lies not so much in retraining workers, although this would likely increase their employability. The rear cure lies in more flexible wages.

Let's see how this works out. When a man goes on strike for higher pay, anyone who would be willing to take his job for the going wage would be ordinarily hired. But this is just not usually done, because union power, from the picket line to the union

shop clause, manifests characteristics of monopoly. Furthermore, with wage rates held above the market level of supply and demand, much like supported farm prices, the consumer may balk at the price of a pair of shoes or a ton of coal. The ultimate result becomes surplus inventories: quite a few pairs of shoes and a lot of coal remaining unsold, along with unsold, unused, overpriced, surplus labor, i.e., unemployment. If wage rates were flexible, at times lower, and they would only have to be slightly lower according to a 1934 book by the now Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, practically all surplus labor would be absorbed into the active labor force. To quote from the Douglas work, "The Theory of Wages": "If wages are pushed up above the point of marginal productivity, the decrease in employment would normally be from three to four times as great as the increase in hourly rates." Hence, another example of the self-correcting market, and from an expert.

Public sector versus private sector. Thus do many commentators debate this "issue." All too frequently such a debate is set along the lines of opposition, when in a free society the public sector should complement the private sector with friction between the two reduced to zero. This may be an ideal, but clearly a public sector—i.e., a government sector—is a most necessary part of a free society—for law and order, for the protection of life, liberty, property, for national defense, for standard weights and measures, and for other specific duties spelled out in the U.S. Constitution.

Yet, how large should the public sector be? It is not an easy question.

We know that Jefferson argued, "That government is best that governs least." And we know that Thoreau went Jefferson one better when he said, "That Government is best that governs not at all." The clear inference of Thoreau's statement is that anarchy is the best of all possible political worlds. Yet Thoreau, who at the time had been jailed for nonpayment of taxes (he did not wish to finance the Mexican War or the extradition of runaway slaves), overstated the case for limited government. For no government at all is anarchy; it is chaos, a power vacuum, a situation in which some power, from within or without, will seize control. Government—the public sector—is a necessity. And I for one do not subscribe to the notion that government is a necessary evil, for I cannot logically equate a necessity with an evil.

Granted, government can become evil. Government is power—practically always the most powerful force in society. And Lord Acton, the lay 19th-century Catholic philosopher, certainly had an accurate understanding of man when he wrote, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The problem of containing government power, of preventing it from getting out of hand, from corrupting itself, is therefore, a historic, universal and eternal one.

But how to control the power of the state? How can this necessary force be prevented from turning upon its creators? I would say this: Let us first understand the power of the state. The state, in its ultimate power, is the policeman's club and the soldier's rifle. It is a legal monopoly of force—the only legal repository of force in society. No other institution—whether the church, the university, the corporation, the fraternal organization—is so empowered.

The state, with its monopoly of force, is necessary because we are not gods but mortal and quite fallible men. The state is necessary because evil and good coexist in men. Yet, since power is a corrupting force, it follows that the state may well be able to punish the evil in men but be quite unable to cope with the evil and quite possible instability in the men who make up the state.

The dilemma of a woefully unstable public sector, British-style, was the one faced by our Founding Fathers. Their answer, first in the Articles of Confederation and then in the Constitution, was limited government, a government of expressed and clearly delimited powers, a government which shared sovereignty with the States, a government restricted by a written Constitution, a tripartite government of legislature, judiciary, and executive, a government of checks and balances, a government purposefully designed to contain the public sector and not expand political power—the power to usurp human liberty.

I stress liberty because those who advocate an ever larger and larger public sector seem innocent of the power they are unleashing. Listen to John Kenneth Galbraith, for example,, expounding in his "The Affluent Society":

"The community is affluent in privately produced goods. It is poor in public services. The obvious solution is to tax the former and provide the latter—by making private goods more expensive, public goods are made more abundant."

Yet in 1927 the tax and other governmental revenue take of the net national product by local, State, and Federal authorities came to but 13.8 percent, and in 1961 the take had risen to 34.4 percent, and today it is higher still.

The following table measures the growth of the public sector in terms of the tax and other governmental revenue take by Federal, State, and local authorities as a percent of net national product.

Governmental revenues 1902–61

Fiscal years	Total revenue (millions)	Percent of net national product
1902	$1,694	9.0
1913	2,980	8.9
1922	9,322	14.0
1927	12,191	13.8
1932	10,289	17.3
1936	13,588	19.3
1940	17,804	20.3
1944	64,778	34.0
1945	61,532	30.7
1950	66,680	27.1
1952	100,245	31.8
1956	119,651	31.8
1958	130,403	32.4
1960	153,102	33.9
1961	158,741	34.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Historical Summary of Governmental Finances in the United States," 1957; U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Governmental Finances in 1961," 1962; Survey of Current Business, November 1962.

But even the bare statistics of the heavy increase in the financial magnitude of the public sector, sometimes called the starved public sector, do not imply enough about the growing role of the state in our lives. For the public sector intervenes in a million and one otherwise private decisions.

Consider, for example, the pervasiveness of the Federal income tax, or should I say loophole, mentality in our day-to-day lives. Thus, coupled to the common modern dilemmas of how many calories, and where do I park, nowadays Americans, also, have to confront the problem: Is it deductible?

Still, taxation is but one part of state intervention. For under state power, rents will be controlled, coffee burned, cotton propped, foreign competition subsidized, the underdeveloped world aided in perpetuity, wages raised by fiat, tariffs erected, trade made fair, currency inflated, farmers paid not to farm, prices fixed, and mergers forbidden.

Or as political analyst Samuel Lubell wrote in his "The Future of American Politics":

"The expansion of government to its present scale has politicalized virtually all economic life. The wages being paid most workers today are political wages, reflecting political pressures rather than anything that might be considered the normal working of supply and demand. The prices farmers receive are political prices. The profits business is earning are political profits. The savings people hold have become political savings, since their real value is subject to abrupt depreciation by political decisions."

To sum up, the public sector is a necessary sector. And so, too, is the private sector. Each depends on the other, but as one expands at a faster rate of growth, the other necessarily shrinks in proportion. The American dilemma seems to be that the public sector is expanding rapidly without discipline, without plan, without the constraint necessary to preserve the private sector, the sector of individual liberty.

Neil C. Hurley, Jr., Comments on Executive Service Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Neil C. Hurley, Jr., writes a weekly column for the Department of Commerce magazine, "International Commerce." It is one of the magazine's most-read features, as is indicated by a cover story on Mr. Hurley in the current issue.

Mr. Hurley, who is chairman of the National Export Expansion Council, devoted his space in the magazine's issues of July 27 and August 3 to discussion of the International Executive Service Corps. This new venture through a private nonprofit corporation, a project with which I am proud to have been identified since its inception, gives great promise for the establishment of American methods and know-how in needy areas around the world.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hurley's readable articles on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the International Commerce, July 27, 1964]

EXECUTIVE CORPS WOULD SERVE WORLD INDUSTRIES

(By Neil C. Hurley, Jr., chairman, National Export Expansion Council)

The White House rose garden blooms colorfully with 91 varieties of flowers, but there is nary a rose bush. Recently, in these fragrant surroundings, a Rockefeller stood behind the lectern that carries the Presidential seal, and in zestful, imaginative language took command of the grounds, warmly applauded by President Johnson.

This Rockefeller was David, youngest brother of the Governor of New York and a dynamic young man. In moments when he is not planning twin buildings of a hundred stories each for World Trade Centers in New York or working out problems in the Virgin Islands, where he has extensive holdings, or sitting in his office as president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which is the Nation's second largest, he is dreaming of such projects as the newly formed International Executive Service Corps, popularly known in Congress as the "paunch corps."

It was in this latter capacity that he appeared on the manicured grounds of the White House. The day blistered with humidity, high enough to bring perspiration to the Lincoln statue. President Johnson suggested, after formalities, that the meeting take place in the Cabinet room.

The surprise, when one first meets David Rockefeller, is his youthful appearance. He was 49 that day, but he wears years easily and pleasantly, like new haberdashery.

Rockefeller is whipping international waters into a souffle. In the doing, he is tackling a handful of related problems. He is organizing a corps of able executives, frequently retired and lonesome for challenge, to supply companies (not countries) the world over with competent and capable managerial men, volunteers all, and attack the problem of making a successful enterprise. When he talks about it, his face lights up like a lantern.

Rockefeller is building his corps with many of the Nation's most competent men, although a permanent president and other officers are still to be named. Sol Linowitz, chairman of Xerox, is cochairman. Charles Jackson, senior vice president of Time and Life, who has taken so many leaves of absence to serve this country that Henry Luce believes he moonlights at the publishing office, is chairman of the board. They lead a panel of 30 board members.

It is an adult Peace Corps, except that while the Agency for International Development is supplying funds, the directors expect shortly to be a private, nonprofit organization. Requests for assistance have come from Costa Rica, Jamaica, Bolivia, Colombia, Vietnam (which has 100 factories), Turkey, and Pakistan. Plants requesting technical help have ranged from furniture manufacturers to food processors.

Now listen to David Rockefeller, his shirt collar wilting in the sauna-bath atmosphere: "We expect influence to be largely with medium and small plants. These are targets. We hope 1,000 men will be abroad for 3 months to 3 years, but do not ask the date. We would hope in 3 years."

Originally the idea came from Senator VANCE HARTKE, of Indiana. David Rockefeller, Sol Linowitz, and Charles Jackson are implementing it with the vigor and enthusiasm of teenagers the night before the game with Central High.

[From the International Commerce, Aug. 3, 1964]

EXECUTIVE SETS SIGHTS ON NOTHING-A-WEEK JOB

(By Neil C. Hurley, Jr., chairman, National Export Expansion Council)

He sat at a table in Washington's Madison Hotel the other noon and told one of the most dramatic stories of the year.

Omer Lunsford, 58, has worked 40 years with Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, and its marketing subsidiary, American Oil Co. In these years Lunsford, his wife, and 3 children moved 13 times to new homes.

"I was a troubleshooter," he said. "Whenever there were marketing difficulties, I took off like the fire department answering an alarm at the local department store."

Lunsford takes off now for Panama as the first of three representatives of the newly formed International Exceptive Service Corps.

"I could have stayed 7 more years with Standard Oil, but I took early retirement. I believe in this thing. When I heard about it, I wrote David Rockefeller and volunteered."

Panama has requested executive assistance. Lunsford, a salty man with the inquiring mind of an internal revenue agent and the followthrough of a ward committeeman, has been chosen.

"This new private enterprise program of assistance will make effective contribution to our country and a dramatic way to increase friendship," President Roberto Chiari, of Panama, cabled Rockefeller.

Thus one competent business executive brings about a hemstitching of relationships with one of a hundred countries to which the United States looks for two-way trade.

"We will not interfere with private management consultants," Lunsford says. "Our business is with small and medium-sized companies having difficulty helping themselves. By proving our worth, we establish confidence among larger concerns which may, on their own, wish to employ services of professionals."

In Panama Lunsford will work with 4 firms, including an aluminum extrusion plant and a brewery. Living expenses will be paid by the Corps, which will put the arm on the 4 businesses to recover as much as possible—and even more. Beyond expenses, these funds will not be paid to Lunsford, but will be used to finance other work in other countries.

The International Executive Service Corps people recognize they are dealing with grown men and women assustomed to reasonable U.S. comfort. Living expenses will be at American levels.

David Rockefeller; Sol Linowitz, chairman of the board of Xerox Corp.; C. D. Jackson, senior vice president of Time and Life, and a widely developed board of directors feel great public benefit will come to the United States by education in this country's business notions with growing firms of emerging nations.

"This is not a program to aid executive unemployment," said Charles Jackson. "The men we want are all working now."

President Johnson compared the work of the corps with service in the armed forces. The troops are Americans like 58-year-old Omer Lunsford. After 40 years of business life, he gives up a potential income of $150,000 to go, for nothing, to Panama, or wherever else he is sent.

The Rural Recreation Program Is Making Great Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been pleased to note that a new rural land use has been developing rapidly in the past 2 years as part of our national soil and water conservation program.

I refer to recreation for profit, a movement that seems to me to be in the right direction.

By developing income-producing recreation enterprises on farms and other rural lands, land owners and operators are accomplishing several things at one stroke.

They are increasing facilities that are in short supply—areas in which our growing population can enjoy outdoor recreation. They are adding to their income—and who can dispute that the income of farmers and other rural residents is far out of line with the rest of our population? Finally, in many cases, these new recreation developments are taking place on lands that have been contributing to our problem of surplus crops.

I understand that some 19,000 rural land owners and operators have in the past 2 years established 1 or more income-producing recreation enterprises, and they have done so with technical and financial assistance from the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, several fine examples of this relatively new and worthwhile development on our rural lands are included in the August 1964 Rural Areas Development Newsletter, issued by the Department of Agriculture. These examples are of genuine interest to members of the House, and under unanimous consent I insert them in the RECORD:

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT NEWSLETTER—RURAL OUTDOOR RECREATION ISSUE, AUGUST 1964

BOY SCOUTS DEVELOP RECREATION FEATURE IN KANSAS WATERSHED PROJECT

A 400-acre lake to be formed behind a new flood detention dam in the Kansas Twin Caney Watershed project will be the recreation focal point of the 2,000-acre Quivira Scout Ranch.

Five separate camps will be built around the lake and will serve 15,000 Scouts. The Quivira Council of Boy Scouts will contribute $107,000 toward the cost of the $487,600 flood retarding dam to enlarge it for recreation use.

In addition to helping groups such as the Quivira Council develop watersheds for private recreational use, the Small Watershed Act as amended in 1962 makes possible cost sharing for public recreation purposes.

As of July 1, 1964, local sponsors of 73 watershed projects in 31 States have requested Soil Conservation Service help with 80 recreational developments for public use in their projects. These developments will create thousands of acres of water and open up more than 35,000 acres of land for public recreation uses.

IOWA BARN NOW SPORTS SHOWER STALLS AND SNACK BAR

A 9-acre, clear water pond replaced hay and crops; a transplanted windmill was transformed into a platform diving tower; and, in a nearby barn, there's a snack bar where the grain bin used to be and shower stalls where cows were once stanchioned—all part of Frank Haberman's effort to convert 58 acres of his 190-acre farm near Waukee, Iowa, into an outdoor recreation area.

Word spread about Haberman's plans and before he could formally open his recreation area July 4, about 300 people showed up one hot June weekend to look the place over. Waukee is about 15 miles west of Des Moines.

With the help of USDA's pilot cropland conversion program, which is administered by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Haberman diverted 58 acres from crop production and built an earth dam which created the 9-acre farm pond. Before water backed up behind the new dam, Haberman imported 750 tons of sand to create a beach. He stocked the pond with 2,000 bass.

Seven other Iowa farmers have decided to shift cropland out of production and into recreation with the assistance of the cropland conversion program. Nationally, 123 farmers in 23 States signed 10-year agreements to convert 8,344 acres of cropland to outdoor recreation under this pilot program.

ILLINOIS LIVESTOCK FARMER "PLANTS" NEW CROP THIS SPRING—RECREATION

On their livestock farm near Effingham, Ill., Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Van Alst this year are looking forward to a bumper "crop"—recreation. This spring, they finished "planting" a new 42-acre recreation area

which includes tent camping sites, a 5-acre pond "equipped" with fish and a sandy beach for swimmers, a bathhouse, a trailer park and picnic grounds.

The Van Alsts received financial and technical help from USDA on their new recreation venture.

In the fall of 1962, Congress authorized the Department of Agriculture to make loans to farmers developing income-producing recreation enterprises on their farms.

Since then, 218 farmers in 44 States have borrowed about $1.7 million from USDA's Farmers Home Administration to finance recreation enterprises such as fishing for a fee, sports and camping areas, cabins and cottages, hunting preserves, travel trailer parks, and vacation farms. The loans, of course, must be repaid with interest.

VIRGINIA FARMER TURNS SPORT INTO PAYING VENTURE

J. Acree Devin, near Wylliesburg, Va., has turned a "hobby" into a business that grosses about $25,000 and provides jobs for 12 people during the hunting season.

Last season Devin had 350 hunters. Hunters pay $45 a day for meals, lodging, use of dogs, a guide and can bag up to eight quail. Devin also dresses, packs and freezes the birds. Hunters pay extra to bag additional quail, chukars, pheasants, or turkeys. Devin began raising and releasing game birds to provide better hunting for himself and a few friends.

Devin worked out a conservation plan for his 600-acre farm with the help of USDA's Soil Conservation Service so that the 20,000 game birds he releases annually will have good feed and cover. Each year Devin plants about 30 acres in small plots to provide the feed. He also has 200 acres of cover and four small ponds. Devin hatches and releases about 18,000 quail and 2,000 chukars, ducks, pheasants, and turkeys.

Devin figures he has invested about $75,000 in his hunting enterprise and that he nets $11,000 per year.

The idea of recreation-for-pay is catching on with farmers across the country. In 1963, USDA technicians helped 9,845 farmers convert 237,691 acres of cropland to recreation use.

NEW MEXICO COMMUNITY FINDS RECREATION HAS MANY BENEFITS

Folks in Dexter, N. Mex., knew their town had recreation potential. Nearby was a 40-acre lake and some vacant land next to a five-hole golf course.

Local people formed a nonprofit rural organization—the Lake Van Community Club—rolled up their sleeves and went to work. Local businessmen donated equipment and material and the Lake Van Community Club borrowed $70,000 from the Department of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration to build a recreation center complete with swimming pool, bathhouse, nine-hole golf course, caretaker's house, picnic tables, and fireplaces.

The influx of people coming to the center has increased business on Main Street. The clubhouse, which is part of the recreation center, is open to public use on a rental basis for community functions.

Since Congress authorized USDA to make loans to nonprofit rural associations to help finance community recreation projects late in 1962, 78 nonprofit rural associations in 26 States have borrowed about $7.7 million.

NATIONAL FORESTS EXPECT 135 MILLION RECREATION VISITS THIS YEAR

Recreation use of the national forests is climbing at about 10 percent per year—from 113 million visits in 1962 to 123 millions visits in 1963; and projected for 1964 are 135 million visits.

The 154 national forests administered by USDA's Forest Service in 39 States and Puerto Rico now have about 68,000 picnic and camping units capable of serving 255,000 people at one time. Visitors are served by about 700 businesses owned by private concessionaires with special use permits. The concessionaires have invested about $75 million and have an annual net sales of about $40 million. Some of the most successful concessions are operated in winter sports areas.

Tourists mean increased incomes to local businessmen in areas surrounding the national forests. They buy gasoline, food, and other supplies, rent boats and horses, hire guides, and need other services. The Department estimates that two dozen tourists a day for a year equals the spending power of an industrial plant with a $100,000 a year payroll.

The 10 most popular national forests for outdoor recreation in 1963 were: Black Hills National Forest in South Dakota and Wyoming; Lower Michigan National Forest in Michigan; Wasatch National Forest in Utah; San Bernardino, Inyo, Angeles, and Eldorado National Forests in California; White Mountain National Forest in New Hampshire; George Washington National Forest in Virginia; and, Ocala National Forest in Florida.

TEXAS COUNTY AIMS FOR $50,000 POTENTIAL INCOME FROM HUNTERS

S. J. Braselton, Jr., chairman of the RAD Planning Committee in Motley County, Tex., say: "I figure we're giving away $50,000 worth of hunting a year," and he thinks it is time to stop.

So farmers and ranchers in the country are making plans to protect and improve their wildlife recreational resource with cost-share help from USDA's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service and technical advice from the Soil Conservation Service to establish wildlife food plots with cover and travel ways and build dual-use ponds for stock and fish; and, at the same time add to their incomes by charging a hunting fee.

Sportsmen come from Lubbock and other plains-country cities to hunt deer, wild turkey, quail, doves, and some antelope in Motley County's rough canyon country.

Wild plum and grape thickets in the draws, partridge pea, croton weed and other native plants attract the game. The new food plots, in well-selected places, add to the fare millet, cowpeas, vetch, rye, and sorghums.

Outdoor recreation is big business in the Lone Star State. According to economists at the Texas A. & M. University, Texans more than doubled the amount of time they spent in hunting and fishing during the last 5 years of the fifties. They spent $383 million on these sports alone, as one out of every three Texans over 12 years old (2.4 million) took to field and stream with gun and rod.

The Department of Agriculture provides conservation cost-sharing and technical assistance in helping farmers establish wildlife habitat areas. Nationally in the past 2 years (1962, 1963) USDA's Agricultural Conservation Program has helped farmers provide for wildlife; cover on about 17,500 acres; about 2,000 acres of shallow water areas; and, about 2,000 ponds.

RAD COMMITTEES IN SEVERAL STATES LOOK INTO FARM VACATIONS

In Ohio, the Monroe County rural development committee helped the "Switzerland of Ohio Farm Vacations Association" get started in 1959. After studying their possibilities, a dozen farm families formed an association to cooperatively promote farm vacations. The county extension agent helped the association put together a brochure describing their facilities for vacationists.

Their idea worked. Within 2 years, three other counties organized associations. Ohio now has 12 local groups and a State organization promoting farm vacations. In a recent USDA study of farm vacations in East Central Ohio, families who had been in the business 2 years or more reported an annual net income from the farm vacation enterprise ranging from $150 to $1,500.

After a trip last fall to see how the Ohio associations worked, the tourist subcommittee of the North-Central Arkansas Area Development Council helped 14 families form the Arkansas Ozark Farm Vacation Association. The association, operating on a pilot basis this year, has published a farm vacation brochure.

In northeastern Pennsylvania this May, the Endless Mountains Area Development Association assisted about 50 vacation farm owners in a four-county area organize an association to update and improve their businesses.

LAKE CREATED BY WISCONSIN CO-OP DAM SET FOR RECREATION DEVELOPMENT

Nearly 5,000 people turned out for the opening of a recreation project on Wisconsin's Lake Flambeau, Sunday, June 21. The 2,000-acre lake was created 13 years ago when the Dairyland Power Cooperative built a $6 million dam on the Flambeau River.

Even though the lakebed was treeless, development of the privately owned shoreline was slow. Now, a private development corporation has started construction of a 450-home planned community that will include a golf course, marina, playground, riding stable, ball diamond, swimming pool, bathing beach, and tennis court. The lake was created to generate power for electric cooperatives in the area.

In addition to helping local people find sources of credit for rural development work, local electric cooperatives can, under certain conditions, borrow money from USDA's Rural Electrification Administration to help finance electrical machinery and equipment for rural outdoor recreation enterprises which are unable to find capital elsewhere.

We Are Gaining on the Russians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it is not so long since we were being sharply warned and considerably frightened by the claim that Russia's progress in science, in space, and in economic growth were all at a more rapid pace than our own. But regardless of whether this was the actual case at the time, the evidence seems to be that we are now forging ahead.

As a commentary on that change, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Chalk Up Several for Us," from the Indianapolis Times of Tuesday, August 4, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHALK UP SEVERAL FOR US

A few years ago the Soviet Russians threw a scare into lots of people by proposing to beat the United States at our own games.

Sputnik led the space race, the Russian economy grew much faster than ours, and trade seemed a weapon on their side.

But now the Russians are falling behind in the space race and meekly hailing the feat

of Ranger 7. The Soviet economy is sagging while ours is moving ahead. Russian agriculture is still in need of a good county agent. They have to import wheat, which they always exported.

The satellites aren't behaving the way they were taught, and the Russian people in all walks of life are clutching at subversive Western ideas.

The Kremlin is competing with mixed success for the allegiance of Communists who once could be taken for granted.

Things look black for us elsewhere. The situation in southeast Asia is deteriorating. Communist China looks stronger and stronger to her Asian neighbors.

Chilean voters may freely elect a Castro-type president. Communists are finding some subversive success in Africa, where formerly they failed.

The Western Alliance is in a bad way, partly because of Cyprus, partly because of De Gaulle and partly because the Soviet threat which summoned it into existence appears less ominous to an exuberant, revitalized Europe.

But while we worry about these things—and worry we should—let's not forget the gains we've made, the continual proof displayed to the world that our system works better than theirs by any civilized measurement.

We may not be winning them all, but we certainly aren't losing.

The Mounting Scandal of Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JOHN DOWDY, Democrat, of Texas, has been studying urban problems—including redevelopment—for 10 years. This past year, as chairman of Subcommittee No. 4 of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, he has been investigating Washington, D.C.'s, own urban renewal program. He has also conducted independent surveys of the program as it operates in other cities.

A very fine article prepared by Congressman DOWDY, entitled, "The Mounting Scandal of Urban Renewal," recently appeared in the Reader's Digest and since it discusses the difficulties involved with urban renewal I know our colleagues will find it of interest.

The article follows:

THE MOUNTING SCANDAL OF URBAN RENEWAL

(Before you vote to accept Federal aid to improve your city, consider the extravagance, favoritism, and misuse of power that have attended urban renewal elsewhere in the Nation.)

(By JOHN DOWDY, U.S. Representative, of Texas)

More than a decade ago Congress created our Federal urban redevelopment program, which pledges the U.S. Government to pay two-thirds of the net project cost of buying up and clearing slums and rundown business areas, then building anew. Under the program more than 1,300 renewal projects have been started in 679 cities.

Many big projects have been carried out competently, but in a shockingly large number costs have skyrocketed. Charges of graft, favoritism, waste, arbitrary and illegal use of power have risen to a roar. Two congressional committees are investigating. And there is plenty to investigate as the program continues to grow. The U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), having swallowed up $4 billion already, is asking Congress this year for authority to spend $3 billion more for urban renewal.

The handling of Erieview Project No. 1 in Cleveland touched off much of the furor and shows the proportions of the mess. When this 96-acre project was proposed, almost everybody in Cleveland found it appealing. The project would, it was argued, provide an immense number of jobs, eradicate slums, diminish crime, straighten out traffic, renew Cleveland's famous old Euclid Avenue business section, and add new buildings and enterprises to the tax rolls—mostly at the expense of the American taxpayer.

By law, the HHFA in Washington would pay planning costs. After the old buildings had been bought up and razed, after the land had been regraded and new services installed, Cleveland could sell or lease the cleared tract to a private redeveloper of its own choice. Such a sale would inevitably be at far less than the cost of buying and clearing the condemned area—but the HHFA would absorb the lion's share of the resulting loss. It would even pay for relocating displaced families. With an offer like that—a standing offer to any city under the urban-renewal law—how could Cleveland lose?

There was, however, one hitch. Urban-renewal regulations state that Federal aid in demolition jobs can be given only to areas containing structures not worth saving. Most of the 118 buildings in the Erieview area had been judged sound by Cleveland housing inspectors. Some were new. So how could the project be made eligible for $33 million in Federal aid? Cleveland officials hoped they had an answer. According to testimony before the House District of Columbia subcommittee of which I am chairman, they arbitrarily reclassified 84 of the 118 buildings as "substandard"—including 3 valued at $900,000, $840,000 and $660,000.

Then, in the autumn of 1960, a party of Government employees from the regional Urban Renewal Agency office in Chicago briefly toured the Erieview project site. According to a later report by Congress official watchdog, the General Accounting Office, they did not look inside any of the buildings, but when they left they had endorsed the city's reclassifications and thereby sealed the doom of 105 buildings worth $26 million.

Property owners were stunned. How could buildings previously certified as sound suddenly be branded hazardous? For example, as the GAO reports shows, Cleveland housing inspectors had found only minor violations of the city code in an eight-story masonry building valued at $660,000—principally, certain doors lacked self-closing devices and the cellar needed to be cleaned up. But at once, before the owner could act, the property was classified "substandard" and scheduled for acquisition and demolition. A sound, 12-year-old, one-story, brick-and-block building valued at $80,000 and having only a few minor violations (for example, in "the pointing of the chimney and the venting of the toilets") met the same fate. Many such rulings were made.

One of the property owners, Mrs. Teresa Grisanti, went to court. She said her doomed building was sound (a local housing inspector had said so just 2 months earlier); her lawyer stated that the claim that the "area was blighted, deteriorated or deteriorating is contrary to fact, arbitrary, capricious, and constitutes a gross abuse of discretion." He further asked in what way her building was detrimental to the public health, welfare or safety of the area. The city's lawyer objected to this question, and the objection was sustained by the judge, who ruled that since the city council had approved the Erieview plan there was nothing he could do. The Ohio Supreme Court found "no debatable constitutional question" and refused to hear the appeal.

It was as a result of the Cleveland uproar that Congress sent the General Accounting Office to check for waste in the $33 million of Federal grants and loans already poured into the city. The GAO report was devastating: "Our review shows that only 24 buildings in the project were substandard because of building deficiencies which could not be corrected through normal maintenance. The URA's criteria are so vague that a city may designate any of its buildings for demolition, even though far less costly methods may accomplish the objectives of urban renewal legislation."

The pattern was a familiar one to our subcommittee, which for nine months had been investigating the local urban-renewal program in Washington, D.C. This is the largest such program in the country—under it, 60 percent of the city is scheduled for long-range redevelopment. One slice of this vast venture is the $20 million Columbia Plaza project. Consider this story as it unfolded in our subcommittee's official findings:

By January 1959 the contracting firm of Antonelli & Gould had bought more than half of a valuable nine-acre tract of downtown Washington property near the State Department, intending to develop it with private funds. Old residential and business structures were demolished; plans were drawn for a diplomatic city, combining much-needed chancery offices with residential apartment dwellings. But, meanwhile, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) had other ideas. Working backstage with the National Capital Planning Commission, the RLA produced an agreement that the area should not be privately developed. All appeals were ignored.

Instead, the RLA had selected another group of redevelopers, the Columbia Plaza Corp. Faced with having its land condemned (by then it owned 90 percent of the area), Antonelli & Gould sold out. Then, the moment the Columbia Plaza Corp. took over in November 1961, the RLA applied for and received a $6 million Federal loan and grant—your tax dollars and mine—for the execution of what private industry had long been willing to do without Federal subsidy.

This deal brazenly ignored the law's requirements as to what kind of property can be taken over by urban renewal. When our subcommittee challenged the RLA to justify its actions, five men gave contradictory testimony. For example: the RLA appraiser had said the property contained 68 buildings. But a subcommittee investigator produced dated aerial photos showing that 15 percent of the buildings had already been razed on the day the RLA appraiser claimed to have examined them. Somebody obviously was not telling the truth, so we turned the case over to the Justice Department for prosecution.

Urban renewal abuses in Washington and Cleveland raise questions that touch on countless projects throughout the Nation.

1. The program is prodigal in its spending of Federal taxpayers' money. As in Cleveland, if a city council votes to go ahead with a renewal plan, URA puts up additional money to buy and clear the property, grade the land and install services. Then the city sells or leases the prepared tract to a private redeveloper, usually without competitive bids and almost always at a loss. The URA makes the city an outright grant of two-thirds of the loss (three-fourths, if the city is small).

The city is supposed to pay the other third, but rarely pays in cash. URA credits it with the cost of schools, streets, sewers, and

other work linked with the project. Often the link is remote. New York City, for example, was allowed a credit of $2,718,908 for a plaza at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. Perth Amboy, N.J., was given credit for a facility it planned to build later. The GAO reports are full of such cases.

2. The program operates like Robin Hood in reverse. It approves the taking of property by police power from ordinary citizens and selling it by advance arrangement to other, often wealthy, private citizens at prices frequently as low as 30 percent of acquisition cost. That 70-percent write-down constitutes a huge subsidy which robs taxpayers everywhere for the benefit of chosen redevelopers.

For example: In Washington, D.C., according to Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, the city's redevelopment agency paid the D.C. Transit System, of which O. Roy Chalk is president, $1,266,605 for some property, then later leased it back to his Chalk House West, Inc., for 99 years at a bargain rental of $43,221 a year.

Some of these deals extend subsidized housing to middle-income families and so widen the scope of the welfare state. When it was begun 15 years ago, Washington's slow-moving $100 million Southwest Urban Renewal Area B project was supposed to provide housing at $17 per room per month. Instead, as Representative JOHN KYL, Republican, of Iowa, says, "The area is full of super-duper glass apartments which rent for $175 per month and up, unfurnished."

3. It forces poor but independent homeowners into subsidized public housing. A well-known Washington judge, E. Barrett Prettyman, spoke eloquently of the people in a well-kept area doomed because it failed to meet modern standards. "What if its owners and occupants like it that way?" he asked. "Suppose they are old-fashioned and prefer single-family dwellings; suppose they like small flower gardens, believe that a plot of ground is the place to rear children? Or suppose these people can't afford to own more modern homes? The poor, the slow, the old, the small in ambition have no less right to property than the quick, the young, the aggressive. Are such questions to be decided by the Government?"

Urban renewal in practice seems to displace, most often, poor Negroes. Declared Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey, "The pattern in the District of Columbia in this regard follows the national pattern, so much so that urban renewal has come to mean 'Negro removal' in the minds of those it was intended to help."

Adds the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Catholic Archbishop of Washington: "We gain nothing by tearing down slum housing if we force the residents to create new slums elsewhere by overcrowding."

In Alexandria, Va., the Durant Civic Association is struggling desperately to prevent destruction of a neighborhood of neat, clean, older houses, owned and well kept by thrifty Negroes whose families have lived there for as long as 100 years. "Where can our people buy equal housing with the money they will get?" asks A. Melvin Miller, the attorney leading the fight.

4. Urban renewal ruins thousands of small business enterprises, many of which could survive and even flourish under programs to rehabilitate rather than raze their areas. Many concerns lease their premises; when urban renewal uproots them, the owners of the buildings receive fair market value for the property, but the renters get nothing for the worth of their going business (which includes goodwill, customers, etc).[1]

Moving to new neighborhoods where they are not known often means tragedy and heartbreak, especially for older merchants. A study by Brown University showed that 40 percent of the shops uprooted in the Providence, R.I., urban renewal program had to go out of business. By 1970, it has been estimated, more than 900,000 small businesses will have been closed by urban renewal—a catastrophe largely overlooked in rosy descriptions of these programs.

5. The person encourages landgrabbing and hasty starts on ill-conceived projects, often followed by long periods of stagnation. About 20 percent of all projects are abandoned. Seventy percent of all land seized so far has not yet been put to the use designated.

Boston, for instance, now has 19 urban renewal projects involving $227,960,000. When the books of the Boston Redevelopment Authority were examined by state auditor Thomas J. Buckley, he reported: "The principal result of BRA operations has been the creation of numerous parking lots on valuable lands, which have been rented to private operators at a fraction of their value. Land owned by BRA is not subject to real estate taxes, and therefore the delay in construction has cost the city thousands of dollars in tax revenues."

During the period of Buckley's audit (late 1957 to early 1963), approximately $1,675,000 was paid to various contractors for maintenance and major repairs to property scheduled for demolition. Buckley was unable to find a single case in which this work was done under contract resulting from competitive bidding.

6. Urban renewal programs often enrich slum owners. A slum landlord can split single apartments in two and then, because of crowding aggravated by demolitions elsewhere, charge huge rents. Finally he sells out to urban renewal, and since slums pay high returns per square foot of space, he receives a handsome price. He takes his bonanza, pays a 25-percent capital-gains tax, buys another slum, and waits for urban renewal to buy him out again—ad nauseam.

7. The HHFA in Washington—given remarkably broad discretionary powers—runs the urban renewal show. Once a city council applies for and receives Federal aid on a project, it must subordinate itself to Federal laws and regulations under the threat of forfeiture of Federal funds. Worse, communities with their own master plans for private building suddenly find the plans within the renewal area frozen for the life of the Federal project—sometimes for as long as 40 years.

Once a program is started, no one is free from condemnation on whim. If but one small structure in a block of five buildings can be declared substandard, all houses or businesses in that block can be condemned for urban renewal. Thus, local initiative to improve property is throttled, and blight is accelerated by the very law designed to cure it.

8. Community development programs may be used for the extension of political power by whichever party is in the saddle. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce cites two recent instances in which the administration asked 2,400 city mayors to use their influence for passage of legislation. One was a foreign aid bill, the other the plan to set up a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. "If this political alliance between the cities and the Federal Government were to become fully effective," the chamber warns, "the national two-party system would almost certainly be impaired, and the effectiveness of local voluntary organizations would deteriorate."

These are a few of the major complaints against federally subsidized urban renewal. Flaws in its operation have become so obvious that even the lure of "something for nothing" is losing its charm. In some cities, such as Los Angeles and Richmond, Va., city councils have rejected projects after vigorous civic protests. In others, such as Dallas and Lincoln, Nebr., voters have turned down Federal aid by 2-to-1 margins.

S. Howard Evans, principal architect of the highly effective community development program of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, says, "The responsibility for redeveloping and revitalizing a city belongs to the people of that city, and to nobody else. Redevelopment is essential, but it must be an orderly self-help program, not a gigantic blitzkrieg. Genuine new life for a city can only be generated from within. It cannot be granted from above, or imposed from the outside by drastic action which destroys the very civic values it must have to succeed. People in cities all over America are rediscovering the classic truth that 'free Federal money' costs far too much."

Congress must now take a full, hard look at the entire Federal urban renewal program, which, to date, has fallen far short of its goals. It must insure that adequate housing is made available to families displaced by urban renewal—one of the major points President Lyndon B. Johnson made clear in calling for a "revised" program. We must end the waste, favoritism, and arbitrary use of power that helps the greedy and hurts the needy. These are the minimum steps that must be taken before a new "crash" effort in urban renewal is allowed to send still more billions down the slippery political sluiceways.

[1] See "Bulldozers at Your Door," the Reader's Digest, September 1963.

Frank Daly, of Beverly, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, may I bring to the attention of the Members of Congress an article that appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe, written by Daniel J. O'Brien, well-known newspaper columnist, wherein he refers to Frank Daly, of Beverly, Mass. The article reads as follows:

ROUND ABOUT

(By Daniel J. O'Brien)

Frank Daly, of Beverly, a member of the public relations staff of the Democratic National Committee and former public relations man for the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee, is in Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, and I am certain would appreciate hearing from his many friends throughout the State. Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr., told me about Frank's plight, and then we talked of the skill Frank always has shown in obtaining favorable publicity for the many candidates he has aided.

"Tip's" favorite was about the young man seeking statewide office who invited Frank to go along on a series of stops in cities and towns in the southeastern section of the State.

The young man in his first talk said that at the age of 21 he had opposed a candidate who had held office for years and was noted as a skillful politician. "And I lost by only 1,000 votes," he concluded.

When the party started off for the next city Frank said to the young man, "You didn't lose by 1,000 votes. You only lost by 500 votes. Because if you had 500 more votes the margin of victory would have been only 500." At the next stop the young man brought the figure down to 500. The third time he cut it to 250. The fourth time he lost by only 125.

Then Frank asked, "How many more talks are you giving tonight?" "Three, why?" asked the candidate.

"Because," Frank said, "at the rate you are going you're going to win that contest by a good margin before the night is out."

Mr. Speaker, Frank Daly is well known to many Members of the U.S. Congress and has been doing public relations work for many, many years. He has represented some of the outstanding stars of the theater, television, and radio. Bert Lahr, Edward Everett Horton, and a host of other great stars. His public relations work in politics contains such outstanding Americans as the late beloved President John F. Kennedy, the late beloved Senator from Tennessee, Estes Kefauver, former Gov. Paul A. Dever of Massachusetts, our own Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill and many organizations such as our Democratic National Committee. Frank Daly can do more with a typewriter in 5 minutes than most of our Madison Avenue public relations firms can accomplish with a large and expensive staff. Frank Daly is an "idea man." His creative genius is recognized by all who know him. He has a splendid sense of humor. He also has a deep concern for the plight of his fellow man. Yes, Frank has had many rosy offers from those whom he differed with. However, Frank would never accept any offer that ran counter to the high principles that he lived by. Frank Daly is a nice fellow. We are all sorry to learn of his illness. I know I express the sentiments of the hundreds of friends he has in Congress, in the Press Gallery, at the White House when I say our prayers and wishes are for an early recovery. We miss Frank here in the Nation's Capital and are anxiously awaiting his return.

Catholic War Veterans Endorse U.S. Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, in similar letters to every national veterans organization, I requested that a resolution urging a national referendum on the question of a Federal lottery be presented to their respective national conventions so that we, in Congress, can have an expression of opinion from the membership of these national groups.

I am happy to inform this House that the Catholic War Veterans of the United States, Inc., assembled for their 29th annual convention in Cleveland, on August 7, endorsed the idea of a national lottery. The action was taken by a substantial voice vote and proposed that the revenue from such lottery be earmarked for the benefits and welfare programs of the Veterans' Administration.

I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that the other major veterans organizations which are scheduled to meet later on, will follow suit.

This endorsement of a Government-run lottery by the Catholic War Veterans is further evidence of the tremendous support that exists for this proposal as a means of raising additional revenue.

National Peanut Marketing Research Laboratory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. (TIC) FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d day of July, 1962, the Secretary of Agriculture wrote Hon. JAMIE WHITTEN, chairman, an exhaustive letter endorsing a national peanut quality laboratory at Dawson, Ga., and answering certain objections in a masterful way.

The laboratory is a must, and appropriations therefor have been inserted in H.R. 11202 by the Senate. This letter should be read in order to know the truth.

It reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., July 3, 1962.

Hon. JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WHITTEN: You will recall that the Congress appropriated fiscal year 1962 funds for the development of plans and specifications for a national peanut marketing research laboratory. The request for these funds was the outgrowth of several years of planning climaxed by the united support of 15 farm and trade organizations which unanimously approved a comprehensive statement submitted for the record at the time of the Agricultural Marketing Service's fiscal year 1962 Senate Agricultural Subappropriations Committee hearings in the spring of 1961.

The statement presented a well-thought-out marketing research program which in the opinion of industry groups was urgently needed. In addition the statement outlined in great detail building, laboratory, pilot plant and equipment needs, including costs; and presented personnel and operating fund requirements. When the Congress appropriates funds for the implementation of a project as specifically outlined as in this case, we feel that the executive department has limited discretion to effect substantive deviations. The Department involved proceeds on the basis of the authority and direction contained in the record, unless it is specifically directed by the Congress to proceed on some other basis.

Since the passage of the appropriations bill last year, concern has been expressed by representatives of various peanut groups that the Department has departed substantially from the original objectives set forth in the industry-approved statement submitted by the peanut group. I think it appropriate, therefore, that I provide you with certain assurances which may be helpful in the consideration of this item in the current budget which your committee now has under consideration. Such assurances are listed below.

1. The architectural plans and specifications which are now nearly completed do adhere to the building plans outlined in the industry-approved statement. The only deviation is the addition of space to house a small amount of peanut harvesting research which will be carried out by the Agricultural Research Service.

2. The AMS program of research which the Department plans to carry on in the laboratory will be identical to that outlined in the industry statement.

3. The research contemplated for the laboratory will be wholly confined to peanuts. Originally we had contemplated carrying on research on problems affecting other commodities important to the Southern States but this proposal has been abandoned.

4. No peanut harvesting research now being carried on by the Agricultural Research Service at Holland, Va., will be transferred to the laboratory nor will the research being carried on at Holland be closed out. Reference has been made to certain research being carried on at Lewiston, N.C., but since this research is a State responsibility it would not be our prerogative to move it elsewhere.

5. The type of utilization research conducted by the Southern Regional Utilization Research and Development Laboratory at New Orleans will not be disturbed in any manner. The research contemplated for the new laboatory at Dawson, Ga., will concern itself with the solution of marketing problems and will be separate and distinct from the type of utilization and development work being carried on at the New Orleans laboratory. Research in these two fields will be properly coordinated within the Department in order to avoid duplication.

6. Research work to be carried on at the Dawson laboratory will give appropriate consideration to marketing problems associated with all types of peanuts, regardless of their area of production. In this connection, we shall establish a research advisory committee to advise the research staff on problems faced by the industry and to assist in the development of a sound national peanut marketing research program. Such a committee will have appropriate representation from all the peanut-producing areas.

7. As in the past, we shall make every effort to coordinate the peanut marketing research with the appropriate State experiment stations and with the industry. Currently, all the peanut marketing research conducted by AMS is in cooperation with State experiment stations and industry groups, and this research will be continued.

In view of the importance of peanuts and their products to the Nation's agriculture, we strongly favor the establishment of a national peanut marketing research laboratory wherein a very comprehensive program can be carried on in order to provide the industry with answers to its marketing problems. Adequate research facilities, plus a well developed program of research, should be viewed as an excellent long-term investment which we think will pay handsome dividends to peanut producers, related industries, and the consuming public. It is for this reason that I want to give you my personal assurances as set forth above.

If we can provide you with further information we shall be most happy to be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

Hon. John B. Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Representative John B. Bennett was one of my best friends. He was honest, able,

and fearless. We all know he did an unusually fine job of work as a Member of Congress. To his wife, his children, and his friends, I express my sincere sympathy. Forever we shall miss John.

Tribute to Msgr. Francis Gilligan, of the Church of St. Mark, St. Paul, Minn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 14, I will participate with many people of all ranks in ceremonies honoring Msgr. Francis Gilligan, the pastor of the Church of St. Mark, in St. Paul, Minn., on the occasion of his 40th anniversary as a priest.

Monsignor Gilligan is known and beloved by thousands of people outside his parish because of his long and lonely crusade for the equality of man. He championed the rights of labor and of the minorities during the decades when it was extremely unpopular to do so. I consider it a privilege to call attention to the honors to be paid my good and dear friend, Monsignor Gilligan. At this point in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would include as part of my remarks the following article:

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Sunday Tribune, Aug. 9, 1964]

"YOU WORKED ALONE"—PRIEST SHOWED EARLY SOCIAL AWARENESS

(By Judy Vick)

A ruddy-faced Irish American priest who worked for the equality of men when "it was not the popular thing to do" will be honored next Saturday in St. Paul.

"You worked alone in those days," Msgr. Francis Gilligan said Saturday.

Monsignor Gilligan, who wrote a booklet, "The Morality of the Color Line," when he was a young seminary instructor in 1928, will be greeted by leaders from labor, government, and business at a reception following an 11 a.m. High Mass to be celebrated by Monsignor Gilligan. Archbishop Leo F. Binz, of the archdiocese of St. Paul, will be present.

"As a young priest I was worried that the same thing would happen here that had happened in Europe," Monsignor Gilligan said.

"I was afraid the church would grow away from the rank and file."

Through the years, the 66-year-old priest, now with thinning white hair and wearing gold-rimmed glasses, made it his mission to know and work with labor, not only within the Catholic Church but workers of all creeds—and some with none.

"They didn't do much in the way of public relations in those days," the gruff-voiced priest said.

"I'd come to give a speech at a meeting, and they'd tell me to wait outside until they were ready for me. There were years when I gave speeches twice each week at union meetings."

Monsignor Gilligan, educated at Holy Cross College, St. Mary's Seminary, the Sulpician Seminary, and the Catholic University of America, was an arbitrator in many labor disputes.

"Many times I was the only man suggested by labor who wasn't crossed off the list by management," Monsignor Gilligan said.

He received his doctorate in sacred theology in 1928 and taught at the St. Paul Seminary from 1928 to 1957. He has been pastor of the Church of St. Mark for the last 6 years.

Monsignor Gilligan calls the planned jubilee celebration an embarrassment.

"I don't do much any more except try to run a parish," the pastor of the 2,000-family congregation said. He has three assistants.

"When I was at the seminary I had the time," he explained.

Monsignor Gilligan was chairman of the Governor's first interracial commission under Gov. Edward J. Thye. Its first report, "The Negro Worker in Minnesota" was published in 1945.

"I never was a missionary to the Negroes," Monsignor Gilligan said. "But I believed that if a person professed to be a true Catholic he had to work for equality of the races."

The priest, who was elevated to the rank of prothonotary apostolic in February, said he believed people were better off spiritually today than they were 40 years ago.

"People today apply their religious beliefs to the rest of their lives and to social and economic conditions," he said.

"Even the hot weather the last few Sundays hasn't hurt attendance. There is growing interest in the retreat movement."

Monsignor Gilligan said there is more heroism today, although "it's harder to be good."

"Environment is more complex. The issues used to be clear cut."

A New Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 11, 1964]

A NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

The United States will not fully have mounted its war against discrimination until it revises its unfair immigration law.

Immigration quotas are now assigned to each country on the basis of the national origin of this country's population as of 1920. This system was designed quite deliberately to give preference to immigration from northern Europe. But immigration from this area is never large enough to fill the assigned quotas. Since the vacancies cannot be transferred, the real effect of the system is to cut down immigration far below the authorized total and to shut the doors to many people from less-favored lands.

As Attorney General Kennedy told Congress recently, this system is a source of global embarrassment to the United States. Other nations—especially those whose citizens are discriminated against—reject and resent the implication that they belong to lesser breeds. Our rules keep out many scientists and others with special skills, talents, and attainments this country needs. And they separate thousands of families of American citizens with close kin abroad.

This is, in short, a system that should be abolished, and President Johnson, like President Kennedy before him, is sponsoring a program to abolish it. There is no intention of raising the immigration total above the 165,000 a year now authorized—a small enough number for a nation approaching 200 million in population. And immigration from any one country would be limited to 10 percent of the authorized total. But the national origin quotas would be abrogated gradually over a 5-year period during which unfilled quota numbers would be redistributed to countries wanting and needing them. The Congress should say yes before adjournment.

People Can Overrule Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the San Diego, Calif., Union on August 3. This is an exceptionally fine editorial dealing with the recent Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of State legislatures.

The editorial follows:

TIME FOR ACTION: PEOPLE CAN OVERRULE COURT

A historic June 15 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court could reshape this country's basic philosophy of government, unless the public moves vigorously to block the proposed change.

The Court on that date decreed the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment requires the States to compose both houses of their legislatures solely on the basis of population. In its unusual interpretation, the Court ignored the fact that the 14th amendment was not intended to prevent a State from setting up the legislative structure it believes best suited to its needs. When the amendment was debated years ago in the House, it was stated the measure "takes from the State any right that ever pertained to it."

California, with is exceptional divergence of economy and geography, could be unusually hard hit by the decision. This State has a concentration of population along its coastline with vast geographical areas inland that are vitally important to the overall economy but thinly populated.

Similar conditions exist in some foreign countries where government representation is based on population alone. What has happened? Political power is concentrated along the coastlines. Tremendous inland resources go undeveloped. Highway and school programs and all major developments are concentrated in the population centers while other areas are ignored. The full potential of such a nation will never be realized until geographic considerations are recognized in government.

Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to amend the Constitution to further guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on "factors other than population."

It reads: "Nothing in the Constitution of the United States shall prohibit a State, having a bicameral legislature, from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State shall have the opportunity to vote upon the apportionment."

Such an amendment would eliminate any legal quibbling about a State's sovereign

authority to maintain its legislative framework on an equitable basis.

Representative McCULLOCH's resolution, however, appears doomed unless there is aggressive leadership and support throughout the Nation. In California, the people have repeatedly expressed their desire to maintain the present legislative structure. This is the logical State from which such leadership should emanate.

These leaders should include legislators, political figures, business and civic groups and other organizations which are acutely aware of the benefits of the check-and-balance system. Once organized in California, they should carry their campaign throughout the Nation.

Otherwise, California and other States will be confronted with a real disfranchised "minority"—the people who have not migrated to metropolitan centers.

This development could prove disastrous to this country's entire concept of free and equitable government and to its full economic development.

California, the most populous State in the Union, must move now to assume its responsibilities of leadership.

Ads Opposing Medicare Often Misleading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, during these days of statements and clarifications and reclarifications by critics of the social security approach to medicare for the elderly, I think the following article will prove enlightening:

SECURITY FOR YOU: ADS OPPOSING MEDICARE OFTEN MISLEADING

(By Martin E. Segal)

Trading Federal hospitalization for the aged for cash increases in social security benefits, supporters of Federal health care for the elderly made a tactical switch. (We reported the details of the new bill in the last column). The question is: Why couldn't the medicare bill get through the House Ways and Means Committee?

Well, one very important reason is the well-financed opposition of the American Medical Association to the bill to provide Federal health insurance for the aged. One facet of the AMA campaign was "Operation Hometown." "Hometown" sponsored ads in many States aimed at rousing heated local opposition to any legislation to provide social security-financed hospital insurance for the aged.

There can be no argument with the AMA or any group attempting to get public support through ads for its position on a public issue, so long as the ads do not misrepresent or misinform.

But, without now entering the argument pro or con on medicare, we have serious questions about what these ads say, or imply about social security.

A typical ad asks readers to write to their Congressman demanding defeat of the administration bill. It shows a physician, stethoscope around his neck, glasses in hand, saying:

"The medicare bill now before Congress would force all wage earners and their employers to pay substantially higher payroll taxes to provide hospitalization and other limited health services to millions of elderly who are financially able to take care of themselves. This is morally wrong."

Some ads give the payroll tax increase as 16 percent. Another series of ads used 24 percent. And one Montana ad used 46 percent.

These figures sound impressive, because most people think of payroll taxes as including all the money deducted for Federal income tax, State income tax, social security. What is the truth?

These ads are talking only about the social security tax, not the total payroll tax, although they do not make this clear. And the current social security rate is 3⅝ percent of payroll for both employee and employer, up to a maximum of $4,800 a year. That means that no matter how much you earn, you do not pay more than $174 a year social security tax. Your employer pays the same. Self-employed people pay a maximum of about $250 a year.

But these are maximum figures. Most employees, about two-thirds, pay less than the maximum of $174 a year in social security taxes.

The King-Anderson bill, the administration's medicare bill, would increase the social security tax rate by one-fourth of 1 percent; make it 3⅞ percent rather than 3⅝ percent. It would also increase the maximum amount of earnings on which these taxes are paid from $4,800 to $5,200 a year.

How much does this come to in real money?

Well, for the majority of workers who earn less than $4,800 a year, the increase will be less than $12 a year, less than $1 a month, less than 24 cents a week.

For those workers earning $5,200 a year or more, the maximum social security tax increase will be $27.50 a year, about $2.30 a month, about 53 cents a week.

But not all this increase would go to pay for the 90 days of hospitalization per year for every person in the country 65 years and over that the medicare bill would provide.

Of the maximum possible increase of $27.50 a year, $17.68 would go to pay for the hospitalization benefits for the elderly. The rest would go to finance an increase in maximum social security retirement benefits from $127 a month to $134 a month.

What then does the increase for hospitalization benefits really come to? Not 46 percent, not 23 percent, not even 16 percent. It comes to 10 percent of the maximum social security tax, $17.68 on top of $174. For most workers, the increase would be less than 34 cents a week.

If you see an ad that reads: "Can you afford a 16 percent increase in your payroll tax? That is the minimum payroll tax increase all workers earning $100 or more a week would be forced to pay if the medicare bill now before Congress becomes law," ask some questions.

For example: What payroll tax? What percentage? And for what benefits?

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the antipoverty bill which the House has just passed is one of the most humanitarian and at the same time most productive and constructive pieces of legislation ever enacted by the Congress.

It will give an education to many boys and girls who otherwise could get no education. It will rescue many boys and girls from the ranks of juvenile delinquency and make them become useful productive citizens. It will give skills to many now with no skills salable in the labor market. It will help the impoverished farmer to get on his feet. It will take many from the relief roles and make them employable and employed.

This is the most conservative bill that we could pass because it conserves the greatest asset we have, the human resources of our country and mobilizes them into citizens who instead of being a load on other people's backs, will become valuable workmen in the building of a richer and better America.

The Golden Years—Retired, His Wife Quizzes Company

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, something new has been added. Much has been written and discussed about the preparation of the employee for his must retirement, and the use of his newly acquired leisure time. It appears, however, that all of this preparation has not taken into consideration the position of the wife, as indicated by the attached letter from Mrs. Golden Years.

The letter follows:

THE GOLDEN YEARS—RETIRED, HIS WIFE QUIZZES COMPANY

(By Thomas Collins)

DEAR MR. BOSS: It was nice of you to send my 65-year-old husband home last month with his pension. That's what a wife is supposed to say, isn't it?

Anyway, I've got him now and you haven't. Or you're rid of him and I'm not. Whichever way you want to look at it. And the purpose of this letter is to give you some helpful hints in exchange for some helpful hints I need from you.

First, I want you to tell me how you kept my husband from taking a nap every day right after lunch. You didn't let him take a nap at the company, did you? Well, he is now taking a nap right after lunch and it is disorganizing my whole routine. Please tell me how you kept him awake without making him mad.

Now for a helpful hint for you. You know about the fancy golden years stuff your personnel department is feeding men like my husband before they retire. Well, it's a lot of pea shells. My husband, like most husbands, is not going off to a mountain top in retirement. He's coming home to stay, which means he's going to help me with the housework which means the dishes.

But you sent him home with no skill in this chore and with no conditioning to do it. Tell your personnel experts to start putting men at the sink in the company cafeteria about 3 months before they retire, so they can get used to the life that's in front of them.

The next thing I need to know from you is how you handled my husband's drinking.

This business of his keeping beer in the refrigerator and starting to drink it before lunch every day is shocking. And I'm surprised that you let employees get into this habit. How much beer did you serve employees on the job, and how did you keep my husband from drinking all afternoon?

I guess you don't have bedrooms down at the company, so it wouldn't be fair to suggest that you teach retiring employees how to make beds, sweep, and such, also in their future when you come home. You don't have any bedrooms down there, do you?

The best helpful hint I can give you, I think, is to stop retiring your employee's loyalty whenever you retire the employee. My husband came home riding a rah-rah bronco for the company and he would have punched anybody who said anything bad about it. Why didn't you train him to be a part-time commission salesman for the company's products after he retired? He could have sold on enthusiasm and devotion alone. You didn't follow through. You sent home with a party and a bang. Then what did you do? You sent him the house organ. You big fellows don't follow through. And do you know where all that company loyalty goes after a man retires? It goes to the social security office and to the insurance company that sends him his pension. Your company makes appliances. Why didn't you train him to repair them in his retirement if you couldn't make him a salesman? He would have made housewives in this neighborhood think those appliances are the greatest thing since flush toilets. Because he'd believe it. But you didn't follow through and now, just 1 month out, he's beginning to think social security and medicare have prettier legs than you do.

I need to know one more thing from you. What did you do to my husband to get him out of his pouts? He's a good pouter. He'll get mad at me for something and sit looking at daytime television all morning and not say a word to me. What did you do with him when he pouted at the company? Pet him? Kick him? What?

I think you owe me some serious consideration of these issues I have raised. I married my husband for 16 hours out of the 24, and for better or worse. Now you come along when he's not as much fun as he once was and give him to me for 24 hours out of the 24. And that is not necessarily for the better.

Please answer.

Sincerely,

MRS. GOLDEN YEARS.

How To Spend It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, on the lighter side, I think the following from the Evening News of Newburgh, in my district, is witty and very much to the point:

HOW TO SPEND IT

The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs has earmarked $13,175 for an on-the-job training program to teach Indians how to make bows and arrows.

This opens up a whole new concept of how the American taxpayer's money can be used.

In the unlikely event that the boys in Washington may overlook them, here are some suggestions for upgrading international culture and commerce with American dough:

Teach the residents of Holland how to make cheese.

Show the people of Brazil how to grow coffee.

Instruct the Japanese in how to produce cheaper merchandise than we can turn out in America.

Teach the Chinese how to make fireworks. (This is doubly cultural because it might take their minds off bombs.)

In return for all this, some friendly country may show America how to boondoggle.

"Judicial Revolution in the 'Warren Court' and the End of 'Stare Decisis'"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an address, entitled "Judicial Revolution in the 'Warren Court' and the End of 'Stare Decisis,'" given before the Independent Bar Association in New York City on August 6, 1964, by Warren Jefferson Davis, a member of the California bar.

Mr. Davis is author of the popular book, "Law of the Land," and other articles.

The address follows:

JUDICIAL REVOLUTION IN THE "WARREN COURT" AND THE END OF "STARE DECISIS"

"On June 15, 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States all but removed the cornerstone of American jurisprudence."

This was the opening statement on the "President's Page," of the Los Angeles bar Bulletin for July 1964. It was a reiteration of a prediction by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate, that through the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases (May 17, 1954), "the entire basis of American jurisprudence was swept away."

Mr. Paul R. Hutchinson, current president of the Los Angeles Bar Association, continued:

"History records that when tyrants take over government, the first thing they do is suspend the juridical processes, or worse, select judges to do their bidding without regard for established law.

"Reason is absent in the decisions of the Court in the cases on voting apportionment decided this day. Substantial agreement is lacking because the Court itself, was divided (6 to 3 in reaching one decision) and it took 14 separate opinions to express the reasoning of the Justices.

"There is no compelling reason for dividing votes by numbers and disregarding all other considerations.

"What I defend is the right of the people to make the changes, if any, by the legislative process. What I criticize is the act of some Justices of the Supreme Court (disregarding our system of law which they are sworn to defend), and projecting their own philosophy on 180 million American people to whom this right is reserved. This is legislation by judicial fiat. It takes the Court out of law and puts it into politics.

"Stare decisis, the cornerstone of our jurisprudence, is gone. Neither the temple of the law nor respect for it can long endure without it.

"Our duty to defend our judicial system is bigger than our duty to members of the Court whose decisions will, we think, destroy it."

"For more than 10 years," says Dean Clarence Manion, "the Supreme Court has been flagrantly and unconstitutionally misappropriating the legislative functions of Congress and of the State legislatures as well.

"The Court has usurped the constitutional function of Congress, and all but paralyzed the legislative power of the several States in areas that must be controlled by the State legislation if local law and order is to prevail, and if our Federal system, or constitutional government is to survive."

"The 14th amendment," in Dean Manion's opinion, "gives no power to the Supreme Court to correct any State's possible abridgement, dilution, or debasement of the citizen's vote. Such corrective power is conferred upon Congress, expressly and exclusively."

In 1962, and finally on June 15, 1964, in decisions affecting existing legislative apportionment, the Supreme Court has, contrary to constitutional mandate, enunciated the Court-created population rule of "one man, one vote" for members of the State senate and the lower House for each of the State legislatures.

Is the election of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives to be the next point of attack by a power-hungry Court, and the Constitution of the United States to be declared unconstitutional?

According to Dean Manion, "read in the context of the unprecedented record it has made during the past 10 years on subjects including, but not restricted to crimes, communism, colored people, and prayer in the schools, the Court's reapportionment decisions confirm the fact that this tribunal has all but abandoned its historic function of deciding cases, for the more exciting role of conducting a new American revolution.

"We are now approaching a government not by the Constitution and by ascertainable law—but by nine men—appointed for life" (or rather during good behavior).

"What does this portend?"

Mr. Justice Harlan answers, in his dissenting opinion: "This decision involves the Court amending the Constitution. If the time comes when this Court is looked upon by the Court itself as the repository of all reforms, I think the seeds of trouble are being sown for this institution."

There is an increasingly large number of people throughout the United States today, not merely Southerners opposed to forced integration, through the illegal use of Federal Armed Forces, coercion, and even intimidation, but in all walks of life, who believe with Dean Manion and other noted constitutional lawyers, that those seeds of trouble have already been sown, and that some of the seeds have already sprouted in northern States. This is evidenced by the rising tide of lawlessness and crimes of violence, including murders, mugging, rape, and other crimes which make our city streets unsafe.

Congressman JOHANSEN, of Michigan, on the floor of the House, very properly asks: "Are the American people being given a preview of the obituary of the Republic? Only the Congress can call a halt * * * but the method once chosen, must be pursued with speed and all-out effort."

"The proper method," says Dean Manion, "is for Congress to strip this arrogant, incompetent Supreme Court of its power * * * to hear cases appealed to it from lower courts. This the Congress has the expressed power to do (U.S. Constitution, art. III, sec. 2), and the present dangerous direction of the Supreme Court makes it the sworn duty of Congress to exercise that power now."

It is the obligation of every law-abiding American citizen to urge immediate enactment of appropriate legislation, and see that Members of the Congress support it.

Legislative action is vitally necessary to nullify the Court's erroneous decision, otherwise the Court will have illegally taken a long step forward in rewriting the Constitution of the United States.

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Senate minority leader, has introduced a proposal for a constitutional amendment, to give citizens of each State exclusive power to determine the composition of their legislatures, with at least one house to be apportioned on a population basis. Similar action has been taken, in support of a constitutional amendment, or to nullify the Court's decision.

Instead of submission by the Court to the control of Congress, the Court is claiming the power to nullify action by the Congress and by the State legislatures. We have reached the point where apathy on the part of citizens has allowed the creation of a "monster" that will ultimately destroy the Constitution itself, and with it our Republican form of constitutional government.

The dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan, in the reapportionment cases, contains the most damaging criticism of the Court:

"The local district court or the State court are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment of the State legislatures. It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States * * * in my judgment, today's decisions are refuted by the language of the amendment which they construe * * * they are unequivocally refuted by history and by consistent theory and practice from the time of the adoption of the 14th amendment until today. The Court's elaboration of its new constitutional doctrine indicates how far and how unwisely it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority."

And:

"I had not expected to witness the day when the Supreme Court * * * would render a decision which casts grave doubt on the constitutionality of the composition of the House of Representatives. It is not an exaggeration to say that such is the effect of today's decision. The Court's holding * * * places in jeopardy the seats of almost all the Members of the present House."

The balance of political power in the United States has been overturned by a majority of members of the Supreme Court, intent upon amending the Constitution, not by the constitutional process, but by judicial fiat, expressing their notions of what the proper balance should be.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is subject to the overriding power of the Congress, and the 11th amendment to the Constitution limits the judicial power of the Court in suits against a State. Notwithstanding this limitation, the amendment is being flagrantly violated and brazenly ignored by the Court against which it was directed.

In the hands of the Congress is the remedy for curbing the ideological fanaticism which is shown in the proclivities of certain members of the Court, to constitute the Court a "third legislative" chamber. It can, and should, put an immediate stop to further aggressions of the so-called Warren Court.

Without waiting for the passage of a constitutional amendment, there is hope that, men being only mortal, time may shortly bring a change in the Court, and the appointment of experienced Justices—perhaps by the incoming Republican administration—to replace those now serving and constituting a reforming majority of the present membership, and that the extra-constitutional decisions" of some of the members may thereby be overruled and set aside.

The Congress, by joint resolution, can nullify the reapportionment and other unconstitutional decisions.

Under article III, section 2, of the Constitution, the Court can be limited to such appellate jurisdiction as the Congress ordains. Congress has the power to restore the balance of power, illegally usurped by the Court.

The attacks on the so-called Warren court are directed both against Earl Warren personally, and upon his liberal associates, who make up the majority of the Court membership. The most devastating attack upon Earl Warren was that of the late Clarence Budington Kelland, former executive director of the Republican National Committee, with the statement:

"When history comes to assay the administration of General Eisenhower, it will accuse him of incredibly stupid appointments, chief of which was that of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States.

"He placed in this man's irresponsible, selfish, ignorant hands immeasurable power; Warren seized this power and used it to legislate instead of judicate. He debauched the Supreme Court of the United States, as even Franklin Roosevelt, in his enmity for that body, could not succeed in doing.

"The people of the United States saw what was being done to the great bulwark of their liberties, and resented it. General Eisenhower could have rehabilitated our highest Court. He chose rather, to debauch it further to a point where thinking men are in rebellion against its disregard for law, Constitution, and commonsense." (Human Events, Dec. 22, 1958.)

Never before, certainly not in our lifetime, has such invective been directed against a member of the Supreme Court. This personal appraisal, however, of a Presidential appointment was merely the forerunner of criticism of decisions to follow.

In quick succession, beginning with the illegal and unconstitutional opinion of Warren in the school segregation cases, came a series of so-called decisions (in no sense conforming to Justice Cardozo's test of "true" decisions—just enforcible decrees), barring religious exercises in the public schools, reading of the Lord's Prayer and passages from the Bible, and the "go signal and green light" given to obscenity. State and Federal action against Communists were nullified in the Nelson and Yates cases, all tending to make cases involving subversion virtually impossible to prosecute. Decisions in trespass cases in the Southern States were invalidated. With reapportionment of State legislatures ordered, the Constitution has been twisted out of its original meaning. Crimes of violence, murder, rape, and robbery go unpunished, and criminals are turned loose on society. The rule of law is in a state of shambles, and law and order in our larger cities, where Negro race riots—incited by the Democratic political machine's appealing for Negro votes—prevail, is on the way out.

The indictment against the liberal majority of the Warren Court rests upon substantial counts:

1. "The Supreme Court of the United States has all but removed the cornerstone of American jurisprudence"—State Decisis (Los Angeles Bar Bulleton, July 1964; statement of the association president).

2. "The entire basis of American jurisprudence was swept away through the decision of the Supreme Court in the segregation cases" (May 17, 1954). (Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.)

3. "The segregation decision is a most flagrant violation of the right of judicial review." (From a speech made by former Justice James F. Byrnes, before the Vermont Bar Association, September 22, 1956.)

4. The Supreme Court is charged with being "the black robed arm of judicial tyranny, and for 2 years has chipped steadily away at the reserved rights of the States, either ignoring or sweeping aside constitutional safeguards." (Senator HERMAN TALMADGE, of Georgia.)

5. It is charged that Earl Warren, influenced perhaps by his Swedish immigrant ancestory, has been unduly influenced by a book, written by a Swedish Socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, quoted by the Justice in the segregation decisions. The thesis of the book, charges Senator EASTLAND, "is that the Constitution of the United States is impractical and unsuited to modern conditions," and that its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." As a result, the charge was made by over 100 Members of the Congress that the decision attempted improperly and illegally to legislate the ideology of a foreign Socialist into the Constitution, based not upon law, but upon individual beliefs, and upon the pseudosociological views and predilections of notorious Socialists.

6. The Warren Court is charged with attempting to convert the Republic into a Socialist welfare state, through decisions not based upon the law of the Constitution.

7. "The trend of decisions in the last 10 years—and in most instances by the same judges—has been favorably to extreme left-wingers, Communists and subversives in general" (statement of former Judge James R. Duncan).

8. The latest reapportionment decision "casts grave doubt on the constitutionality of the composition of the House of Representatives" (dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan).

9. The Court is charged with converting "a particular political philosophy, into a constitutional rule, binding upon each of the States" (dissenting opinion of Justice Stewart).

10. The Court is charged with aspiring to become a superlegislature, and substituting its particular brand of political thought for the judgment of the States and the Congress, in the hope that an apathetic public will accept this judicial legislation.

11. It is charged that the Court has for its objective the building of a strong centralized, bureaucratic government, with State lines wiped out. That the Court ignores laws passed by the Congress, and the reasons for such legislation.

12. It is charged that the Court has usurped the undelegated and reserved rights of the people (ninth amendment), and the undelegated and reserved rights and powers of the States (10th amendment).

13. It is charged that the Court has failed to conform to constitutional procedure prescribed for constitutional amendments.

These are but a few of the many charges leveled against the "liberal majority" on the Court, not the least of which is the brazen attack upon the Congress, usurpation of legislative power, under the Constitution, being a "high crime." As a result, Congress, which has the power, will now be moved to curtail the appellate jurisdiction of the Court.

In brief, the issue is the charge of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate, the chief justices of the State supreme courts, and nationally known and recognized constitutional lawyers, that an irresponsible majority of current members of the Court, have usurped legislative power, nullified constitutional provisions, illegally amended the Constitution by judicial fiat, distorted the Federal-State relationship and destroyed the checks and balances in Government, given judicial approval to a Socialist welfare state of society, improperly exercised power residing solely in the States, culminating in an attack on the Congress, and questioning even the constitutionality

of the composition of the House of Representatives.

The Court has been on trial before its peers, the chief justices of the State supreme courts, and criticized severely, but in restrained and dignified language.

By placing in jeopardy the seats of a majority of Members of the present House of Representatives, the lines of battle are being drawn, and the closing act in the grab for power will no doubt result in the curbing by the Congress of essential activities of the Court.

Prof. Willmore Kendall (University of Dallas), in Modern Age (summer 1964 issue), bluntly asserts that "the Court hardly keeps up even the pretense that it is not legislating," and he makes the interesting suggestion that the "cancer" threatening the very survival of our American political system "is not judicial review," but:

"It is those clauses of the 14th amendment—equal protection of the laws and due process—that, as we see now, make of it an invitation to the Supreme Court to tamper, in the teeth of the 10th amendment, with our traditional division of powers between the Federal and State Governments. But for those clauses they were of course never intended for the purpose for which they are being used * * * the Court would not have catapulted itself into * * * the school desegregation decision. These clauses, I repeat, are the cancer * * * Repeal the 14th amendment as a whole, telling ourselves—as with good conscience we can—that the purposes for which it was enacted were long since accomplished (it lay dormant through the decades that divided the reconstruction crisis from the Gitlow case, which was the case in which the Supreme Court first took it into its head to extend the so-called Bill of Rights limitations on the Federal Government to the States. Or, short of repealing the amendment as a whole, amend it so as to get rid of the offending clauses. Neither of these things, I think, need be particularly to do if we set out to mobilize, behind repeal or amendment, the resentments, engendered by the desegregation, deorisonation, and apportionment decisions (making the most we can, of course, of the procedural irregularities that were involved in the adoption of the 14th amendment to begin with). Or, if repeal or amendment seems too big a job, let us then call upon Congress (where, unlike the Supreme Court, we are listened to), to clarify the 14th amendment (as the Supreme Court has itself, on occasion, invited it to do) clarify it of course, in the direction to which I have just been pointing. Or, finally, let us call upon Congress to remove the offending clauses from the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court."

"The present situation," says Professor Kendall, "is intolerable." Whether Congress centers its attention on the illegal adoption of the 14th amendment, or on the necessity of removing the "offending clauses" of the amendment from the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, definite action must be taken by the Congress, to curb further subversive action by the Court.

The Court is now on trial in the "court of last resort," the people of the United States. The case may properly be entitled *People* v. *Federal Officials Who Have Violated Their Oath of Office.*

"The people," said Mr. Lincoln, "are the rightful masters of both Congress and the courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert it."

Reviewing the decline of responsible, constitutional government, the late Chief Justice M. T. Phelps, of the Arizona Supreme Court, said:

"I honestly view the Supreme Court, with its present membership and predilections, a greater danger to our democratic form of government and the American way of life, than all forces alined against us outside our boundaries.

"It is the design and purpose of the Court to usurp the policymaking powers of the Nation."

Extremism in constitutional law began with the assertion by Earl Warren and leftist radicals that the Constitution is flexible, and that a simple majority of members of the Supreme Court can read new meanings into the document, or, in between the lines and change the law of the Constitution to meet changing needs, aspirations, and even the predilections of those currently members of the Court.

Such theories are subversive of the Constitution.

"Extremism," says Senator GOLDWATER, "in the defense of liberty is no vice, and moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Judicial extremism can, and must be, held in check by the Congress.

This is the age of return to fundamental principles.

The spirit of the West is sweeping across the United States. It is the principle of strict constitutionalism, which holds that the Constitution cannot be amended legally by judicial usurpation and judicial fiat. It can be amended only in the way provided in the document itself.

"We are witnessing," says Senator GOLDWATER, a "rebirth of the spirit that started the West, and built the West. The same spirit built the East, but easterners seem to have forgotten it." The time has come for rededication to the principles of Republican constitutional government.

This spirit, according to the Senator, "is a revulsion against the encroachments of the Federal Government, and a refusal to accept or bow down to communism."

It is a refusal to believe "that patriotism is wrong today, when it was great in the days when the country was great."

Young Americans are particularly cognizant of the demand for a change.

The demand is for conservatism.

Ours is a government based upon the written Constitution, with limited powers residing in the Federal Government.

There is a rising protest against assertion by a judicial majority of policies based on misinterpretations of the Constitution.

The national protest, now beginning to make itself felt, is against centralization of power in an autocratic bureaucracy, which makes for the destruction of individual rights.

Our people have been so brainwashed by Communist doctrine that they no longer protest, when the Supreme Court, as now constituted, operating under the spell of psychosociological fantasy, appears in the role of chief offender against the "Rule of Law".

A rededication of our entire people to the Constitution and Bill of Rights, is imperative if our republican constitutional form of government is to survive.

The Late Honorable Albert E. Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our former colleague in the House, Al Carter, came as a blow to many of us who knew him well and who held him in such high esteem. He served with great distinction in this body for 20 years. It was my privilege and pleasure to serve with him for 2 years before his retirement on January 3, 1945. A ranking member of the Appropriations Committee, he was a leader in the great struggle for fiscal responsibility and sound finance policies for our Government. In that respect his contribution was extraordinary.

Above everything, Al Carter was a great American, a dedicated citizen who maintained a vigilant and respected concern for the affairs of state.

On a personal basis, he was my friend. For years and up to only a few weeks before his death I visited with him frequently. Although stricken several years ago with ill health, which undoubtedly caused much suffering, he was never heard to complain. His interest always appeared to be in other people, their welfare and progress. He was my idea of the perfect gentleman. He respected the views of others, whether he agreed with them or not. His home in Oakland, which I have visited, was a household of warmth and sincere hospitality. A visit with Al and Mrs. Carter always left one proud of being counted among their host of friends and associates.

Many of us feel this loss very deeply. And the Nation has lost a truly great patriot and a valuable citizen. To Mrs. Carter I extend my deepest sympathy in her bereavement.

Thirty Billion Dollars and Nothing New

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under the present administration we have increased our expenditures considerably to maintain our defense posture. Even so, our lack of progress in developing new weapons presages a preparedness gap in the future, which is dealt with effectively by an editorial which appeared in the August 6 edition of the Phoenix Gazette.

The article follows:

THIRTY BILLION DOLLARS AND NOTHING NEW

Since the present administration moved into the White House, a total of something like $30 billion has been added to defense budgets to increase America's military might, particularly in the area of nonnuclear warfare. Judging from what has been made public—and the administration is uncommonly eager to boast about what it calls weapons—this added spending has produced nothing significant in the way of new armament.

In Vietnam, where Americans are dying in an increasingly hot war, woefully obsolete helicopters of pre-Korean-war vintage and bombers dating back 20 years are only now being replaced by slightly more modern equipment, most of it developed during the Eisenhower and Truman administrations. True, military manpower has been increased and so has the number of units designated as battle ready, but if equipment inadequacies evident in Vietnam exist elsewhere, as surely they must, then the Nation is not

so strong as the administration would have Americans believe.

In answer to mounting and not entirely partisan expressions of concern about defense posture, the administration of late has unveiled with great fanfare two new airplanes, neither of which adds much to defense power despite impressive performance characteristics.

The first airplane, the A–11, was described by the administration as a fighter-interceptor, but it later was disclosed that the fighter had no fight: it lacked armament and despite fantastic speeds would be no more effective against a modern bomber than a Spad. The second airplane, a reconnaissance jet, has yet to undergo operational testing, during which it presumably could prove unsatisfactory. Even if it lives up to administration boasts, however, the fact remains that reconnaissance alone is not a weapon. Once the enemy's activities are uncovered U.S. forces must have the means to destroy them.

It is in this vital facet of defense—the ability to deal the enemy decisive blows—that the administration has failed apparently to produce anything new. And the failure seems to take in the entire spectrum of weaponry from bayonets to bombers. Fortunately, the country remains invincible because of the armaments added to the arsenal by President Eisenhower. These cannot last forever, though, and unless new arms are produced soon, the United States may have to fight tomorrow's wars with yesterday's weapons.

The Yarmolinsky Sacrifice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States held a press conference. In it he was asked concerning one Adam Yarmolinsky. In direct reply to his questioner the President of the United States stated that Mr. Yarmolinsky had "never left the Defense Department and was still there." This morning a column appeared in the Washington Post and other metropolitan newspapers by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak entitled "Inside Report." In it they said that Mr. Yarmolinsky actually joined the Poverty Task Force months ago, and was scheduled to be Deputy Director of the program after the bill passed. The report further categorically states that Adam Yarmolinsky no longer has an office at the Pentagon. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] pointed out in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated August 7, 1964, on pages 17995 and 17996, that in a memorandum to Joseph A. Califano, Jr., dated June 13, 1964, and probably written on White House stationery, Yarmolinsky made it clear that after passage of "our bill," "we hope to open about 10 of the large training centers with 1,000 to 2,000 enrollees each. Here again, we would like to make a visible impact by opening perhaps half of these in the first 3 or 4 months after the bill passes."

No one in the House rose to challenge Mr. AYRES' assertion that Mr. Yarmolinsky was engaged in these lobbying activities in behalf of the antipoverty bill. I feel sure that had there been any misstatement of the facts in this regard that it would have been called to the attention of the House.

Later in the debate that afternoon the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] also called attention to the same memorandum of June 13, 1964, which indicates quite clearly that Mr. Yarmolinsky was as of that date and subsequent thereto actually working to promote the poverty program and from a position in the White House and not in the Defense Department.

Mr. Speaker, I find it completely shocking that the President of the United States should find himself trapped in an apparent, deliberate misrepresentation and misstatement with respect to the true facts regarding Mr. Yarmolinsky. It was my thought and belief that the press conferences conducted by the President were designed to provide hard news and not just serve as a forum for presidential propaganda. We cannot help but feel a certain loss of confidence in a Chief Executive who has not been frank in dealing with the facts.

Mr. Speaker, I include with these remarks the column by Mr. Evans and Mr. Novak:

THE YARMOLINSKY SACRIFICE

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

When the antipoverty bill sailed through the House last Saturday in President Johnson's greatest legislative triumph, a good many Democratic Congressmen did not join in the jubilation.

The truth is that they doubt that the bill, an expensive grabbag of new and old spending programs, will prove an effective battle plan against poverty. Many Democrats supported it only out of election-year loyalty to the President.

What really rankled the liberal Democrats in the House, however, was the price that Mr. Johnson thought necessary to pay for the bill. To get support from conservative southerners, he practiced human sacrifice.

The sacrificial victim was Adam Yarmolinsky, a dynamic administration troubleshooter who was chief midwife in the hurried birth of the poverty program. Contrary to the President's claim at his Saturday news conference that Yarmolinsky never left his duties as a Defense Department administrator, he actually joined the poverty task force months ago and was scheduled to be deputy director of the program after the bill passed. In fact, he no longer has an office at the Pentagon.

Yarmolinsky, who has the misfortune of looking like the anarchist bomb thrower in old political cartoons, is the subject of constant vilification by Gen. Edwin Walker, John Birch zealots and the fright peddlers. Charges of disloyalty are, of course, absurd. He has a public record of anticommunism and helped clear the Reds out of the American Veterans' Committee after the war.

The announcement that Yarmolinsky was being sacrificed came on the House floor. Representative PHIL M. LANDRUM, of Georgia, floor manager of the poverty bill, declared that Yarmolinsky would have no part in administering the poverty program.

No sooner had LANDRUM taken his seat than a liberal Representative, surprised and infuriated, rushed up to ask what authority he had for this pledge. LANDRUM's reply: the authority came from President Johnson himself.

That night, indignant liberals who were the bill's strongest supporters met in the office of Representative JAMES G. O'HARA of Michigan. They could do nothing to save Yarmolinsky at that stage. In their impotence, they sent an ultimatum to the White House warning that they would tolerate no more such concessions.

Though it all came as a surprise to the liberals, Southerners—particularly the North Carolina delegation—had been demanding Yarmolinsky's scalp as the price of voting for the bill. R. Sargent Shriver, the antipoverty chief, resisted to the end. He was overruled by President Johnson after top House leaders warned him: Yarmolinsky or the bill; take your choice.

Ironically, the sacrifice was not necessary. By adopting amendments satisfying the conservationist bloc headed by Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, Republican of Pennsylvania, the number of Republicans backing the bill climbed from 5 to 27. Moreover, Mr. Johnson used all his businessman friends, including such personages as the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, to put the heat on Republicans.

One liberal Republican Congressman, who regards the bill as a hopeless hodgepodge, was pressured by calls from Republican industrials and newspaper editors in his district. None of them had the slightest idea what was in the bill, but all urged his support. Deciding discretion was the better part of valor, he ended up voting for it.

But the Yarmolinsky sacrifice was a natural culmination of the frenzied manner in which the poverty bill had been pushed from the beginning. Mr. Johnson had an understandable desire to push through Congress one major bill that had his own, not John F. Kennedy's imprint. Above all the other bills, this was "must" legislation.

It was this desire that led to the hasty assembling of the poverty package last winter despite grave misgivings within the Cabinet. In turn, it had led to a crisis atmosphere at the White House last week that had nothing to do with Vietnam, the roughest White House lobbying since the Rules Committee fight of 1961, and—finally—the sacrifice of Adam Yarmolinsky.

Defense Reduction Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Richmond, Va., News Leader of July 17, 1964:

DEFENSE REDUCTION WEEK

Next week will be Defense Reduction Week. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara coyly prefers to call it Defense Cost Reduction Week, but the effect is the same. By emphasizing "savings," the administration hopes to buy the support of those who would never buy unilateral disarmament. The goal is to slash defense spending by 25 percent over the next 3 years.

And where has the Defense Department been wasting all this money? Judging by the record, an observer must conclude that the money has been wasted in developing new weapons to meet new challenges. The day before the announcement of Defense Cost Reduction Week, enterprising reporters dug out the fact that Mr. McNamara had quietly killed another new development

program on July 1—the low-flying, atomic-powered Pluto missile.

Some $200 million has been wasted on Pluto to date. No other word but wasted will do because the cancellation of Pluto just as it is about to begin flight tests means that 9 years of work is being thrown away. Scientists all agree that the Pluto missile is perfectly feasible, and has performed well in all its ground tests. It has an atomic-powered, ram-jet engine that could carry observation cameras or nuclear warheads around the world at 2,000 miles an hour, flying just above the treetops. Its unique, low-altitude advantage would dart under Soviet radar and frustrate antiballistic missile defenses. But Mr. McNamara let it be known through his subordinates that he could see "no firm military requirement" for this, the most powerful single weapon yet conceived.

In fact, Mr. McNamara has been unable to see the need of many significant defense weapons. The American Security Council report recently listed the programs "dropped, curtailed, or delayed" by the Secretary:

The X–20 Dynasoar, scrapped 6 months ago after $400 million had already been spent on development.

The B–70 manned bomber cut back to three experimental prototypes. Production of B–52's and B–58's has been halted. Since last month, we have had more missiles than bombers on the firing line.

AMPSS—the Air Force's "advanced manned precision strike system." This is a slower substitute for the B–70, but Mr. McNamara has told Congress that "we have no plan * * * to produce a successor to the B–52."

The B–47 medium-range bomber has had its oversea bases abandoned, while U.S. representatives at Geneva keep talking about making a bonfire of 480 B–47's.

The TFX medium-range fighter-bomber is running into weight problems and delays, because Mr. McNamara insists that it operate from carriers to replace the oversea bases.

The $5.4 billion Atlas missiles, 129 of them operational, are being junked as obsolete.

One hundred and fifteen intermediate range Thor and Jupiter missiles were removed last year from England, Italy, and Turkey.

The Skybolt air-to-surface system was canceled, despite commitments made to Britain.

The Bomarc-A missiles—all 195 of them—have been phased out.

The Nike-Zeus, our last hope in the search for an antimissile missile, has been delayed even though some intelligence reports say that the Soviets are now installing antimissile systems.

Typhon frigates and weapons systems for the Navy have been deleted from fiscal 1965 as "too large, complex, and expensive."

And what has Mr. McNamara developed to replace these modern weapons that are too expensive? He has not initiated any new programs at all. We are still coasting along with the strategic capital built up by his predecessors. Exactly as we saved money in Vietnam by sending our soldiers into battle in planes that the wings fell off, so one day we will face a worldwide adversary and our defense won't get off the ground. We will thank Mr. McNamara for having saved us money. Then it will be his job to save us.

Purpose of Antipoverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial entitled "Purpose of the Antipoverty Bill" which appeared in the Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News on Monday, August 10, 1964, clearly sets forth the aims of the legislation. This general statement by the writer of the editorial will assist many to understand the basic issues before the Congress when we considered the bill.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD for today:

PURPOSE OF THE ANTIPOVERTY BILL

Surely no one expects the so-called antipoverty bill, which Saturday passed the U.S. House of Representatives by a surprisingly wide margin and now goes to the Senate where prompt concurrence is anticipated, to abolish poverty.

It is unfortunate that such a name was given the catchall piece of legislation, for it carries a giveaway connotation and a permanent Government assumption of what, in itself, is an impossible task. The $947,500,000 appropriation which the legislative package entails is, however large it may seem on the surface, a mere drop in the bucket if it endeavors to do all that its critics have ascribed to its projects and programs.

Actually the measure, aimed largely at trying to keep children in school, training them in technical skills and stressing rehabilitation and reemployment and further education for both children and adults, seeks to give faith, hope, and opportunity to thousands and thousands of Americans who are not getting them. Most of the projects under the legislation are pilot studies or experimental undertakings; those which prove effective, which gets results and which justify continued support will be retained; others will not. And a large part of the program will be worked out through or in cooperation with the States. The overall aim is to give more Americans a chance to break the cycle of poverty through education, rehabilitation, and reemployment and to substitute self-respect and sustainment for relief. Certainly no one wishes to see relief become a way of life as one generation after another lives on it.

In summary the program, originated with the late President Kennedy and now pushed to the very brink of success by President Johnson, provides: Experimental State projects to give work training or experience to unemployed fathers or needy persons; a Job Corps to provide educational work experience and vocational training in conservation camps or residential centers for boys and girls of ages 16 to 21, in order to teach good work habits to idle youths; a work-training program enabling boys and girls to learn skills or go back to school; a work-study program for youths from low-income families, enabling them to go to college and work their way through; diverse antipoverty programs devised and administered at the community level; basic education and literacy training for adults; loans to low-income farm families for purchase of land or farm supplies.

The test of the program depends upon the manner in which it is administered, the results that it gets, the economic impact that it has and the measuring rod of actual achievement against what is hoped and proposed for it.

Against this background, it is regrettable that the measure's real significance and possibilities have been so largely lost sight of in a congressional argument that went far afield and became more and more enshrouded, perhaps inevitably in an election year, by partisan clash and political overtones.

A genuine realization of what the bill is designed to do and the great need for many of its provisions in North Carolina doubtlessly explain why 7 of the Tarheeler's 11 Congressmen gave their votes when the chips were down. We do have in North Carolina school dropouts, unemployment, the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy, a cycle of poverty which centers in broken homes, growing joblessness among the unskilled, and a sort of self-perpetuating relief. To what degree the antipoverty program will alleviate these conditions we do not know. But it is worth trying.

Poverty we shall always have with us, but we might have an appreciably smaller amount. If rehabilitation can reduce or replace relief, we're all for it.

The East Concord, N.H., Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the trend today in facing community problems is often to run to Washington and to expect either a handout or the passage of a new law. The Federal Government is mistakenly seen by many as the cure to all human needs.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, however, has shown by its community improvement program that cooperative citizen action on the local level rather than Federal aid can accomplish great deeds in making communities more desirable places in which to live. It is a matter of particular pride and pleasure to me that my friend, and until recently a constituent, Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, the president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was a leader of this program.

Ten communities and their local action programs were selected for 10 top national prizes for community improvement from 1962 to 1964 by the General Federation of Women's Clubs in cooperation with the Sears Roebuck Foundation. I am proud to say that the East Concord Women's Club, in New Hampshire's capital city and in my district, was one of the winners.

In telling about the 10 winners the General Federation of Women's Clubs states:

Some of the stories are reminiscent of pioneer days when people had to cooperate in order to survive. Today, problems of survival, though different, are nonetheless real. Community cooperation has proved to be the key, not alone to economic survival in many places, but to an awakening of citizens to the value of working together on common concerns.

Accomplishment of the "top 10" vary according to needs and resources. An economically depressed town in Appalachia differs vastly from a prosperous suburb or a small town in the far West. Yet in each of these places, clubwomen have provided leadership for analysis and action. Results—a better life for all.

The East Concord, N.H., story is as follows:

In the State of New Hampshire, members of the East Concord Woman's Club also worked for better recreational facilities. Though part of the capital city, the group of 1,300 citizens felt that the beauty and

recreational possibilities in their part of the city should be developed.

In 1961 when work began, 100 volunteers appeared to cut trails, clear brush, and construct a woodland pool in a 12-acre park site. As a result of their work, the club won fourth State prize in the 1962 community improvement program. Then apathy set in.

Realizing that their original improvement had not been broadly enough based, clubwomen set out to involve more organizations as well as the city government. A new director of parks and recreation encouraged the formation of a community council. To demonstrate what needed to be done, the council advertised an old-fashioned work bee and picnic. A crowd came. Young and old, male and female worked side by side clearing a choked stream, planting trees, and mowing a ski area. Meanwhile, the club secured the cooperation of another community organization, appropriately named the Lamplighters, to provide illumination for a coasting area and ski slope. Development of a nature trail is underway.

Long-range plans call for construction of shelters, a rustic bridge, and picnic tables, as well as for the development of a skating pond.

The community improvement council expects to persist until its park is completed according to plan.

A description of the GFWC community improvement program is given here:

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS AND THE SEARS-ROEBUCK FOUNDATION

History: The General Federation of Women's Clubs (an organization of over 15,000 clubs throughout the country with affiliates in 60 countires outside the continental United States) and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation (a nonprofit corporation organized and endowed by Sears, Roebuck & Co. for educational purposes) joined hands in 1955 to encourage people to improve their communities.

The first program, known as a community achievement contest, attracted the participation of 3,032 clubs. A second contest in 1956–58 involved 5,500 clubs. In the 1958–60 contest, 7,713 clubs joined in. The name was changed in the 1960–62 period to the community improvement program because the work had grown to be much more than a contest between clubs. It had become a program of continuing education and action. At the beginning of the 1960–62 program, the General Federation and the Seas-Roebuck Foundation cosponsored regional seminars at universities across the country where clubwomen met with professionals in the community development field and received training in techniques. In that administration, club participation reached 8,600.

In the 1962–64 program, seminars also were held. Not only did 9,976 clubs join the program, but the quality of community work continued to improve.

Purpose: The purpose of the community improvement program is to provide information, inspiration, and incentives for all federated women's clubs to join with cooperative forces in their communities to meet basic community needs by analyzing problems and organizing to solve them.

Eligibity: All dues-paying member clubs of the Federation in the United States and affiliated clubs throughout the world are eligible to enter the program. Any type of project representing a community need may be submitted.

Projects: Projects cover a wide range of volunteer effort and include such improvements as overall rehabilitation and development, conservation, various educational projects such as literacy programs, aids to schools, libraries, hospital aid, gerontology, recreation, safety, and many others.

Prizes: Incentive prizes totaling $70,000 are offered. The top single prize is $10,000. Other national prizes range from $1,000 to $5,000. Five prizes totaling $700 are awarded in each State. In addition, a special $1,000 prize is offered for the best joint entry urban project. Additional prizes of $500 are offered to States which achieve 100-percent participation. Other prizes go to States that have the highest number of clubs reporting and to winners of the 1962 program who have continued their community work.

Judging: At the close of the 2-year program period, clubs report their work in writing, usually in the form of an illustrated scrapbook. These reports are judged at the State level and the first-prize winners' reports are then forwarded to GFWC headquarters in Washington for national judging. Outstanding persons of professional skills are appointed as judges at both the State and National levels. When the 10 national finalists have been chosen, a panel of judges makes a personal inspection tour of the communities to decide in what order prizes shall be awarded.

Guidelines for Cold War Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the American Security Council, which has its headquarters in Chicago, has prepared an excellent study titled "Guidelines for Cold War Victory," which is being released to the Nation today.

I should like to recommend this excellent study to all dedicated Americans who are concerned with the problem of communism and want to take some positive action for America's ultimate victory.

I have been a long-time advocate of the American Security Council because this indeed, Mr. Speaker, is a not-for-profit organization of outstanding Americans who have advocated a most thoughtful method for dealing with the problem of communism.

The most significant thing about the American Security Council is that it has refused extremists methods and instead has charted a meaningful course of action that has in many instances given excellent results in alerting the American community against the evils of international communism.

The American Security Council is the kind of organization that, in my judgement, deserves the support of all dedicated Americans.

Its most recent study on the "Guidelines for Cold War Victory" took 2 years in preparation and was drafted in cooperation with 128 universities and colleges, 3,500 member companies and institutions who work with the Council, and 102 cooperating organizations representing millions of Americans.

Mr. Robert W. Galvin, Chairman of the American Security Council's National Strategy Committee, and president of Motorola, Inc., is one of Chicago's most distinguished citizens. I know from personal experience in dealing with Mr. Galvin that his influence has made the American Security Council's recommendations for fighting communism one that all thoughtful Americans can accept and follow without invading the rights of other Americans.

For the past 4 years it has been my privilege to recommend the American Security Council to well-meaning citizens from my congressional district who have asked how they can help in the cold war against communism.

The 128-page nonpartisan study entitled: "Guildlines for Cold War Victory," which is being released today by the American Security Council clearly justifies the great hope and confidence which many of us have placed in this fine American organization.

I should like to include with my remarks today the release issued by the American Security Council in connection with the publication of the book "Guidelines for Cold War Victory." It is my hope that this very fine book will receive widespread support from the American people.

The positive and decisive action taken by President Johnson in striking back at Communist bases in North Vietnam last week after the Communists attacked our destroyers, in my judgment, exemplifies the spirit of the American Security Council's "Guidelines for Cold War Victory." By this act, President Johnson has given American foreign policy a new and positive sense of direction which all Americans can applaud. It is heartening, Mr. Speaker, that the Gallup poll shows 85 percent of Americans support President Johnson in his decisive retaliation against the Communists in North Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, the American Security Council's release follows:

TOP-LEVEL CIVILIAN COMMITTEE URGES ADOPTION OF STRATEGY FOR VICTORY IN THE COLD WAR

CHICAGO.—The top-level civilian National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council today recommended the adoption of a victory strategy in the cold war.

The recommendation was made in a 128-page nonpartisan study "Guidelines for Cold War Victory," released today.

John M. Fisher, president of the American Security Council, described the study as "a synthesis of the best liberal, moderate, and conservative thinking on how we can win the cold war without nuclear war."

"Guidelines" was 2 years in preparation. It was drafted by the 28 national figures on the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council in cooperation with representative colleges, universities, and organizations. The chairman of the committee is Robert Galvin, chairman of the board of Motorola, Inc., and the cochairman is Lloyd Wright, former president of the American Bar Association who headed the Commission on Government Security established by Congress in 1955.

Mr. Fisher said the scope of participation in the study was "without precedent in American history." Never before have so many opinionmaking groups participated in the development of national strategy recommendations. In addition to the top executives of the ASC's 3,500 member companies and institutions whose advice was sought at the outset, the participants included 128 cooperating universities and colleges, 102 cooperating organizations representing millions of Americans, and the ASC's Cold War Advisory Committee comprised of prominent citizens and world figures.

Robert W. Galvin, Chairman of the ASC's National Strategy Committee, said that the central conclusion of the study was that,

"Unless the United States adopts an affirmative cold war policy, it will continue to lose the cold war in the same way a football team would lose if it were prohibited from crossing the 50-yard line."

Mr. Galvin said, "The total power of any nation is the product of its military strength times its economic strength times its moral fiber or will. If any one of the elements of this formula equals zero, the total power of a nation equals zero."

"Thus, if we don't have the will, our superior military and economic power will be valueless and the credibility of our positions seriously doubted."

"Guidelines" points out that the late President John F. Kennedy set forth a basic goal for America in 1962 when he said that the United States seeks "a peaceful world community of free and independent states—free to choose their own future and their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others."

The National Strategy Committee finds this national goal "utterly irreconcilable" with the Communist goal of total victory through the overthrow of all non-Communist societies and institutions.

"Against the Communist strategy of aggression," the study said, "there can and must be a strategy not merely to deter aggression but to transform aggressors into peaceful governments. In place of the present policies which encourage the Communists in their drive for world rule, the United States must develop a strategy of victory which will provide real inducements to the Communists to call off the cold war.

"We do not advocate a conquest by the United States of the peoples of the Communist bloc. Rather, we aim at a true reconciliation and peace between free peoples."

The study said that the present U.S. policies of containment and accommodation leading to "convergence" of the democratic and Communist systems "immeasurably increase the danger of precipitating nuclear war."

It said that these policies "totally ignore the empirical fact that every act of moderation or compromise, every retreat or concession on our part, has led not to reciprocity on the part of the Communists, but to new pressure; not to a relaxation of tension, but to a new crisis; not toward peace, but toward war."

"Guidelines for Cold War Victory" calls for a "viable U.S. foreign policy" aimed concurrently at: (1) halting further Communist expansion; (2) promoting the national independence or at least the neutrality of the Communist satellite states; (3) working toward the establishment of governments (new or transformed) in Russia and Red China which will confine their foreign policy to the legitimate, patriotic, national interests of their peoples, showing equal respect for the patriotic, national interests of all their neighbors.

"If these aims were to be accomplished," said Mr. Galvin, "we would interpret their realization as victory in the cold war."

To achieve these goals, "Guidelines" makes such recommendations as:

1. Affirmative action on Cuba: Our national power should be applied peacefully and effectively by utilizing the centuries-old principle of declaration of contraband. It is recommended that the President apply this principle by declaring the entire Western Hemisphere to be a peace zone, with all Communist war material, including fuel, declared to be contraband. A quarantine should be instituted to keep more contraband from being moved into or between the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Simultaneously, a free Cuban Government should be established to serve as the agent of control for the second stage in the liberation of Cuba—a massive, carefully planned, logistically supported (by the United States) guerrilla warfare campaign against Castro—a genuine "war of national liberation."

2. A new strategy for southeast Asia: It must be made clear to the Asian Communists that the United States will not allow them to limit so-called "wars of liberation" to our side of the line. We must be willing, and give concrete evidence of our willingness, to extend our own war of liberation into the enemy camp.

The cheapest and quickest way to win the war in South Vietnam is to begin with one or more of the privileged sanctuaries like North Vietnam and Communist-held parts of Laos. If these countries were cut off as a base of supply and sanctuary for the Vietcong, both the military situation and the all-important psychological atmosphere in South Vietnam would be transformed.

3. Mount a comprehensive psychological offensive against world communism: We have no offensive psychological action policy to match that of the Communists. They war against us continuously; we do not war against them. A psychological offensive offers us the best chance to win the cold war without nuclear conflict.

Those who live under the miseries of communism, who know it first hand, are the most fertile target for psychological warfare. A massive effort directed at these people is the best way to bring maximum internal pressure on the Communist regimes.

This effort should embody a full-scale ideological offensive to open the closed Soviet society, a program to place major stress on Soviet imperio-colonialism, and a special program to rally democratic forces in eastern Europe into an effective opposition against their Soviet rulers. The latter program should not, however, incite these people to outright revolt unless and until there is solid basis to believe that such revolts would succeed.

Other major recommendations appear in the enclosed summary of "Guidelines."

Mr. Galvin stressed that "the individuals, organizations and institutions who officially cooperated in this study do not necessarily agree with all specific recommendations." He emphasized that the recommendations were the sole responsibility of the National Strategy Committee. However, he said that "the central thrust of this study fairly represents the consensus viewpoint of these participants."

The 28-member National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council is made up of 18 present or former heads of ASC member companies and 10 men who have played important roles in the Nation's history. The latter 10 men include the chief U.S. strategist in World War II, a former commander in chief, Pacific, a former chief of staff to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the "father of the H-bomb," the Commander of the World War II Allied invasion of Italy, and a past president of the American Bar Association who served as chairman of the Commission on Government Security.

The National Strategy Committee members are:

Chairman Robert W. Galvin, chairman of the board, Motorola, Inc.

Cochairman Loyd Wright, past president, American Bar Association.

Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, U.S. Army (retired), former Chief of Staff to Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Bennett Archambault, chairman of the board, Stewart-Warner Corp.

Lloyd L. Austin, chairman of the board, Security First National Bank.

Gen. Mark W. Clark, president, The Citadel.

Charles S. Craigmile, chairman of the board, Belden Manufacturing Co.

Robert Donner, chairman, Donner Foundation.

Henry Duque, partner, Adams, Duque & Hazeltine.

Wade Fetzer, Jr., chairman, Alexander & Co.

Patrick J. Frawley, Jr., chairman of the board, Eversharp, Inc., and Technicolor, Inc.

Fred Gillies, retired, chairman of the board, Acme Steel Co.

Clifford Hood, former president, United States Steel Corp.

Wayne A. Johnston, president, Illinois Central Railroad.

William H. Kendall, president, Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co.

Ernest J. Loebbecke, president, Title Insurance & Trust Co.

Hughston M. McBain, retired, chairman of the board, Marshall Field & Co.

A. B. McKee, Jr., president, Forest Lumber Co., Imperial Valley Lumber Co.

Adm. Ben Moreell, former chairman of the board, Jones & Laughlin Steel Co.

Dr. Robert Morris, former president, University of Dallas.

Dr. Stefan Possony, director of international studies, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Adm. Felix B. Stump, U.S. Navy, (retired), former commander in chief, Pacific.

Dr. Edward Teller, nuclear scientist.

Rear. Adm. Chester C. Ward, U.S. Navy, (retired), former judge advocate general, U.S. Navy.

Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, U.S. Army, (retired), chief U.S. strategist, World War II.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of the board, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Maj. Gen. W. A. Worton, U.S. Marine Corps, (retired), retired president, American Library of Information.

Howard I. Young, president, American Zinc, Lead & Smelting Co.

The 128 representative universities and colleges cooperating in the study included Auburn University, the University of Notre Dame, Southern Methodist, Texas A. & M. Loyola of Chicago, Xavier of Cincinnati, De Paul University, and a number of State universities such as Arizona State. University of Kentucky, University of Maine, University of Massachusetts, New Mexico State, and the University of North Carolina.

The 102 cooperating organizations represent a wide range of interests. They include the American Legion, American Farm Bureau Federation, American Society for Industrial Security, International House, Association of American Physicians and Surgeons. Association of American Railroads, Association of Industrial Advertisers, International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, many other national organizations and a number of local and regional civic and business groups.

Among those serving on the ASC's Cold War Advisory Committee were Dr. Charles Malik, former president of the U.N. General Assembly; Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, former U.S. Ambassador to Italy; Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey. Henry Hazlitt, contributing editor of Newsweek; former U.S. Senator William F. Knowland of California; author Russell Kirk; Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Praesidium of the Communist International; Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, former director of the State Department's Office of Far Eastern Affairs; and Dr. Emilio Nuez Portuondo, former chairman of the U.N. Security Council.

The ASC's strategy staff also played an important role in the study. This staff headed by Mr. Fisher, includes Maj. Gen. G. B. Coverdale, former chief of the U.S. Army Intelligence Corps and now administrative director of the ASC; Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, author of the famed "Captive Nations Week" resolution; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Pulitzer Prize winning columnist; Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer of the University of Notre Dame's Political Science Department; and Stanley J. Tracy, former Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Fisher stated that the American Security Council is a nonprofit, nonpartisan association operated by 3,500 businesses and private institutions to meet their cold war responsibilities.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which has passed, promises hope—hope for a decent standard of living for millions of Americans who are now unable to earn a sufficient income to provide adequate housing, proper clothing, and enough food for their families. Whatever the causes, no American citizen should be deprived of the chance to earn a decent living in this bountiful land of ours.

No one will deny that poverty exists. There is a critical need to do something about it. I think this bill is a beginning in a full-scale assault on the problems that plague the poverty stricken—lack of education, lack of needed skills, poor health, and adverse family circumstances. These are the problems of millions who live in an era when our gross national product is at an alltime high, but who are unable to enjoy the fruits of this unparalleled prosperity. These people are without hope, without income, without work, and without prospects for a job. The vast majority of them have strived for the adequate necessities of life. They want to be not only useful citizens in our free society, but also self-respecting individuals.

The poor barefoot child who walks the streets of the city slums dreams of this. The poor child in a rural area, whose parents try to eke out a bare existence from a small farm, dreams of this. It has been said that today's child of poverty will become the parent of tomorrow. Why? Because he, too, will not have an opportunity to get the training he needs to earn a decent living.

This antipoverty bill is not designed as a program for "handouts" as some of its opponents have charged. It is a combination of programs to provide opportunities whereby these people can be equipped to command a decent living wage to maintain their families properly. There will always be those who will not take advantage of the opportunity. But the millions, who have not heretofore had the opportunity, will benefit.

In waging this all-out war on poverty, our country will be undertaking one of its greatest challenges. Admittedly, this bill before us cannot blot out all the causes of poverty so that every family will be able to enjoy an income in excess of $3,000 per year. But it is a stab at the heart of the problem. And the prospects of what it can do for the youth of America are most encouraging.

We do not hesitate to spend millions and millions of dollars to help the poorer nations of the world in raising their standard of living. Should we then hesitate to help our own indigent where certainly our country will reap greater benefits by helping the poor right here at home?

I urge the passage of H.R. 11377.

Extremism Considered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, "extremism" may well become one of the most misused and misunderstood words of the coming Presidential campaign, if not of this entire decade. Historians may well note the confusion which distortion of this one word has caused.

One man who is not confused, however, is Mr. George F. Hatch of Edmonds, a constituent of my district. Recently, he dealt with "extremism" in a letter to me that I consider to be one of the finest and most articulate I have ever had the privilege to receive.

Ironically, Mr. Hatch prefaced his remarks by telling me he realized my days were busy ones and that, for that reason, no reply was requested. He would, he said, "be satisfied" if I could just find the time to read his views.

I did find that time—not to read his letter once, but to study and to read it thoroughly on a number of occasions. All of us have experienced the joy of reading a letter that truly stands out from all the rest; that conveys such meaning and impact, that it cannot be forgotten. This is such a letter.

In his letter, and in his essay "Extreme Moderation," Mr. Hatch demonstrates complete understanding where "extremism" is concerned.

He notes clearly that "moderation, too, can become extreme," and he warns against a spirit of moderation that "equates courage with hysteria and a calculated risk with recklessness." He also speaks out against moderation that becomes "fearful of any spirit of aggressiveness as an alternative to retreat."

Most importantly, the writer makes the point that "when danger threatens, when action is needed, when raw courage and bold spirits are at a premium, this so-called moderation loses much of its validity."

Because I feel that other Members of Congress will share the enthusiasm which these words convey, under leave to extend my remarks, I place this letter, including its essay, "Extreme Moderation," in the RECORD.

LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN WESTLAND

This time I am writing you, not so much as a Congressman, but rather as a Republican who attended the convention that nominated Senator GOLDWATER for the Presidential race. No reply is requested. I know your days are extremely busy ones. I shall be satisfied if you find the time to read my extremely unofficial observations.

Right now President Johnson finds himself obliged, after long neglect, to do some of the things in Vietnam that Senator GOLDWATER suggested might be necessary. For presuming to venture into this "extreme view," the Senator was castigated from one end of this country to the other. Now that view has suddenly become official, proper, bold and heroic.

Believe it or not, this is the first letter I have ever written to any official concerning public policy, so I beg your forgiveness if I seem a bit overcharged.

I am not a congenital Republican. I once voted for Roosevelt, but I perceived the direction in which he was headed and deserted him. The Democratic Party in those early days of Franklin Roosevelt performed some valuable services that were overdue, and then, hearing the applause, decided to make the program a racket.

Now that reaction is definitely setting in, the Democrats have become shocked at the extremism of their opponents. They want everybody to be moderate. Of all the disguises that the Democratic stylists have modeled, the recently adopted mask of moderation is the most ill fitting.

The party of "tax, tax, tax and spend, spend, spend" has heard the rumble of discontent and ordered a new face.

The party that tried to pack the Supreme Court in order to administer its political nostrums, but failed to do so, has finally, by a long period of attrition, succeeded, and is ready now to piously prate of moderation.

The party of debt, deficit and donation—the party of no tomorrow, whose only remedy for debt is to redefine the terms of bankruptcy and raise the limit of financial brinkmanship, has suddenly become alarmed at Republican irresponsibility.

The party that depends upon a radical left to furnish its margin of superiority, has grown hysterical at the appearance of a handful of John Birchers.

The party that has used public money to subsidize every large voting group that could be rationalized into the assembly of the underprivileged now screams about extremism.

The analyst who once predicted that our form of Government would last only until some party discovered that it could perpetuate itself in power by the use of taxation, is dangerously near to having his prophecy fulfilled. This could be the year of decision.

I wondered if you might be interested in a few reflections on this new cry for moderation. Moderation, too, can become extreme, and for present purposes, I have taken the liberty to so name it.

EXTREME MODERATION

Extremism in defense of freedom is no vice.

What an uproar that sentence has raised. Many a great "lover of the people" saw an opportunity to climb on the moderation bandwagon. Had the Senator reached exactly the same conclusion by approaching it from the opposite direction, most of the criticism would never have occurred.

In times of hysteria and confusion, when the mob spirit is close to the surface, true moderation is indeed a virtue. But when danger threatens, when action is needed, when raw courage and bold spirits are at a premium, this so-called moderation loses much of its validity.

Senator GOLDWATER might well have said that moderation never championed a cause or won a battle. Unfortunately, he used the ugly (?) word "extremism," and the hackles started rising. He might safely and reasonably have said that there is an attitude of psuedo-moderation abroad that has little other function than to lend an aura of respectability to plain inanity.

There is, it seems, particularly around election time, a great rush for the "middle of the road." Here the timid, the lazy, the irresponsible, can make a virtue of apathy.

This kind of false moderation gives refuge to people who do not want "to get involved" in serious problems. It's popular, too. Everybody has confidence in a moderate. Moderation is often faceless. Too often it has nothing to say that a factfinding body would care to hear and nothing to offer that a constructive intellect would care to buy.

Moderation is an easy victim to stealthy, creeping ills that demand alertness. It is fearful of any spirit of aggressiveness, however well considered or however necessary, as an alternative to retreat.

It equates courage with hysteria and calculated risk with recklessness. Its battleline is an ill-defined area deep within its own territory. It stands upon the sidelines while thugs beat up its neighbors. It would subsidize every distinguishable sector of our society at the expense of every other, lest someone be offended.

This whole conservative upsurge is a protest against the erosion of independence and self-reliance. It is a kind of rebellion against weak surrender to expediency.

The so-called liberals might well open their eyes and see in the violence of the reaction, a rather reliable measure of the depth of their own folly. After all, the law of equal and opposite, in the world of politics and economics, as in the world of physics, ultimately makes its presence known.

Why is anyone apologizing for the statement about extremism and freedom? Let it stand as it is. This corrective movement needs a voice and a champion. Why not let it be BARRY GOLDWATER? He has the courage of his convictions.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE F. HATCH.

P.S.—By the way, I notice that a new moderate (?) has entered the political arena. Can't you just hear Bud Wilkinson standing on the sidelines in an attitude of proper humility and saying: "Now boys, I want you to tackle moderately today. Remember, the opposition wants to do some scoring, too."

Palmdale Stagecoach Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, last May 25 I had the distinct honor and pleasure to announce to my constituency that the Department of Interior, Riverside (Calif.) Bureau of Land Management, had issued a patent for 110 acres in Palmdale, Calif. Palmdale is located in the Antelope Valley, and the land became titled to the Palmdale Stagecoach Days, Inc. The purpose of the patent and the land is for the location of a recreation area. This area will include horse shows, space for rodeos, a country zoo, an Antelope Valley Museum, outdoor concerts and opera, sporting events, and many other entertaining and recreational facilities. While all the projects planned by Stagecoach Days are not yet completed, I would like to take this opportunity to invite all Members of Congress to visit this fine recreation area whenever they have the good fortune to be in the 27th Congressional District of California, which I have the high honor to represent in Congress.

The background of this unique recreation area is truely a worthy study of the beneficial effects of cooperative efforts by an interested citizenry and local, State, and Federal Government agencies and officials.

By 1961 Mr. Jack C. Manshel had been long, and acutely aware of the important part that tourism has played in the economic development and financial stability of the southern California area. Plans were rapidly being completed for an Antelope Valley Freeway. The completion of the freeway would open the northern half of Los Angeles County, north of the San Gabriel mountain range, to the overflow of a population explosion taking place in the southern portion of Los Angeles County. Other factors such as a diminishing workweek, an increasing earnings capacity of the regional populace, and the real and increasing lack of adequate recreational facilities compounded the picture and demanded that some realistic plan for a popular recreational area be developed.

In an effort to find relief for the increasing need for recreational facilities, in view of the above enlarging and threatening factors, Mr. Manshel developed and presented to the Palmdale Chamber of Commerce the original concept of Palmdale Stagecoach Days. This concept was based on the economic philosophy of offering to the public, and the region at large, that which you actually have; namely, a rich heritage and store of western historical background, a background that could be pleasingly presented in its proper setting and perspective. This concept was offered as opposed to an idea which might prove to be only a promise in the unforeseeable future. The Palmdale Chamber of Commerce enthusiastically endorsed the program and authorized, by proper resolution, Mr. Manshel to act on their behalf to negotiate for the leasing of Federal lands in the adjacent Angeles National Forest for the program.

In the subsequent search for land suitable for the presentation of Palmdale Stagecoach Days, there were discovered 110 acres of land on the boundaries of what had since become the incorporated city of Palmdale. The title of the land was vested in the U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management. Under resolution 62-34, which authorized, Mr. Manshel proceeded to file on said land on August 30, 1962. Title search revealed that the State of California had a prior vested interest in the land. Therefore, Mr. Manshel proceeded to prepare a letter to be submitted by the mayor of Palmdale to the Honorable Edmund G. Brown, Governor of the State of California, requesting that the State relinquish its rights to said lands in favor of the city of Palmdale. On December 13, 1962, the mayor of Palmdale received a letter from Governor Brown acceding to the city's request. Governor Brown at the same time notified the Bureau of Land Management at Riverside, Calif., of his action. At this time the the assistance of my congressional office was sought to keep the project moving. By all proper action on the part of my Washington staff and through the appropriate Federal agencies, successful effort was made to obtain for the city of Palmdale the 110 acres of land suitable for recreational, educational, and cultural activities embodied in the stagecoach days concept. The realization of this concept will ultimately make Palmdale, and the Antelope Valley an even more attractive place to live—though it is extremely pleasant now. This action will serve purposes not only of recreation and entertainment for the people of the Los Angeles County and surrounding areas, but will provide many employment opportunities for all age groups from throughout the area.

I am proud to have played a small part in bringing to life the concept of stagecoach days. It will certainly add to the beauty and pleasure of living in the Antelope Valley. It will make the valley more pleasurable for many, many more fine visitors over the years. This program has had the support of the majority of the local populace, the cooperation and endorsement of local as well as State governmental agencies and officials, as well as the understanding and substantial assistance of the Federal Government as evidenced by the land patent issued by the Riverside Bureau of Land Management. It is through this joint effort, as urged and diligently pursued by Mr. Manshel, that the Antelope Valley will now have a recreational area, an area which will include a desert rock and cactus garden, a desert herbarium, stagecoach trails and wonderful pictures of the early days of the Antelope Valley. Plans provide that, when completed, there will be a life size Plains Indian Village, a frontier town, mining camps and a ghost town. All of these attractions will help make the area into a modern and up-to-date attraction—an attraction that will be a tribute to the citizens of the valley, entertaining and pleasant for visitors, and a fine compliment to the efforts of Jack C. Manshel.

Extremism and Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, it is relatively easy to toss around high-sounding slogans about extremism in the defense of liberty without explaining exactly what one means. But only a little thought will remind us that this could mean almost anything. Lawless rioters in Harlem and terrorists in Mississippi alike claim to be acting in the defense of liberty.

Among Oklahoma's thoughtful editors is Ben Gerdes, editor and publisher of the Wellston News. His editorial in the July 30 edition is one of the fairest and

most stimulating on this subject that I have seen. It warns us that the beautiful word "liberty" must not become only an excuse and tool to be skillfully manipulated by hatemongers:

EXTREMISM AND LIBERTY

(By Ben Gerdes)

Regardless of what you personally think of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER'S remark, "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice," it certainly deserves spending a little time thinking about, especially with the events of recent days and weeks.

Extremism as extremism can neither be condoned nor condemned. However, some of the actions of extremists and some of the results of extremism can be extremely condemned. The viciousness of the Harlem Negro gang hoodlum swishing his switchblade knife through the darkness of a late night; the brutality of the crazed white supremist hidden in shame behind the grotesque mask of the Klu Klux Klan; the wild irrational delusions and totally false accusations of the "professional" Communist haters and their followers; violent death and human blood washing off the filth of city streets, beatings of innocent people, civil strife and race riots, bombings of churches and homes, children being killed at play, are all extremist actions which no words are strong enough to effectively condemn.

However, to be completely fair we must also realize that throughout the history of the world there would have probably been very few important actions taken if the extremists had not taken them. Those who are content with existing conditions are generally not extremists and have no reason to take action.

If it were not for extremists, it is very true, that there would not now be any United States. "Give me liberty or give me death" was to Patrick Henry great American patriotism, to the King of England it was only another wild statement of a fanatical extremist.

When this editorial writer heard the Republican nominee pronounce that what-will-become famous, or infamous, statement, depending upon how history assesses it, my thoughts strangely flew back to a past century and to an anguished cry coming from the French Revolution. "Liberty, oh liberty, what terrible crimes are committed in thy name."

A strange paradox has always existed regarding freedom and liberty; a paradox for centuries known to patriots and despots alike. Man possesses such a deep overpowering love of liberty that as long as the leaders in power, or those aspiring to power, keep the majority of men convinced that they are acting in defense of liberty almost any extreme action, or even tyranny, is acceptable.

Adolf Hitler was an avid student of this theory. The Nazi Party came into being in Germany because Hitler was able to convince the German people that he was liberating them from the power of the kaisers. Later he convinced them that he was giving them liberty from the Jews.

The Communists themselves came into power in Russia as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution and by convincing the Russian people that they were going to receive their liberty from being ruled by the czars.

Going further back into history, to almost the beginnings of civilized government, the early Romans believed in liberty for the early Romans. Of course, they also believed in extreminism, the extreminism of enslaving most of the then known world so that the Romans could enjoy liberty unmolested from their enemies.

A far greater Republican leader than GOLDWATER also once pondered the meaning of liberty. Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War wrote, "The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty' and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word, we do not mean the same thing. With some, the word, liberty, may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the products of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labors. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name—liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny." Many changes have naturally transpired since the Civil War and the time of Lincoln but man is still interpreting the word "liberty" pretty much as each individual wishes to interpret it.

A definition of "extremism" is not any more important than is a definition of "liberty." How far can one man's liberties go before they become entangled and infringe upon another man's path? How far can one man's extremism go before it becomes another man's oppressions?

Should any American citizen have the liberty to falsely and maliciously accuse another American, presumably even in defense of liberty, with any malicious and slanderous charge such as Communism? If so, what is to keep all Americans from being publicly attacked and wrongfully accused? And when extremism sinks to such a level, it is no longer defending liberty, it is destroying liberty. None of us will dare have an individual opinion nor the liberty to express that opinion for fear that some hate-filled extremist might accuse us of being a Communist. Then, it will not be necessary for Communist Russia to attack the United States for we will have been guilty of destroying our own liberty.

If the violence of extremism is to rule, if the hatemongers are to be not only permitted to vilify their fellow Americans but honored as some sort of super-patriot for stirring up civil strife, if death is to be dealt out on the streets of our cities because someone had the courage to disagree, there will be no limit to the amount of destruction which can be caused to this country and to the liberty of our citizens.

When extremism prevails, that beautiful word "liberty" will become only an excuse and tool to be skillfully manipulated by the hatemongers.

We might defend any American's liberty to be an extremist if he so desires, but the hate, distrust, and violence which some extremism induces upon this Nation's conscience is a vice to be abhorred.

What Patriotism Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, it is often refreshing to read students' essays on the American governmental process for they provide us with a new perspective on the work we are doing down here in Washington.

The Columbian Squires of the State of Massachusetts, an organization of Catholic teenagers sponsored by the Knights of Columbus, recently held an essay contest on "What Patriotism Means to Me." I am proud of Francis J. Sexton, a 14-year-old eighth grader from Lowell, Mass., who won second prize in this contest.

Francis is a charter member of the John F. Kennedy Circle No. 166 of the Columbian Squires which was organized in Lowell in February of this year. His understanding of patriotism is both historical and contemporary, both local and national. He suggests that both adults and young people have contributions to make to their country and he cites the Peace Corps as a current example.

Under unanimous consent, I include Francis J. Sexton's prize-winning essay in the RECORD:

WHAT PATRIOTISM MEANS TO ME

(By Francis J. Sexton, Jr., Age 14, Lowell, Mass.)

In the early days of our country's history men were subject under British rule. These American Colonists were freedom-loving men who came to America to escape the tyranny of the English Government and to have freedom of worship. These Colonists were tired of being subject to high British taxes and the cruelty of British Redcoats. So they decided to from a government of their own. They wanted to become a new but, most of all, an independent nation. The people living in the New England Colonies sent representatives to Europe to appeal to the King to lower the taxes and give the colonies the freedom which they desired. King George III refused their plea, and when the people heard this they knew that the only way that they were to get freedom was to fight for it. These colonists were not looking for any unnecessary bloodshed so they decided to draw up a document which would declare their freedom. This was then sent to Europe to the King. Again he ignored them, and at this time, the colonists realized that now was the time to take action against the British to protect the ideals which would give them independence and freedom of worship. The Boston Tea Party followed, and, after many months of bitter fighting, the colonists finally won their independence.

In this short story I have just given an example of patriotism. Patriotism to one's country means to be willing to support it in peace time and in war, even if it means death. But, if dying is the only way to preserve the nation that one owes his allegiance to, I believe it is worth it.

There are other types of patriotism. There is patriotism to your State and local government, to your church, and to your employer. But patriotism refers mainly to the nation itself. To have his deep patriotism, this strong feeling of loyalty and allegiance, you must have many qualities that should be found in a loyal citizen.

First, you must have a strong character and a sense of knowing and doing what is right. This is especially true of men who hold public office—from the President down to the mayor of your city or town.

Secondly, you must be willing to do your share to keep the community running smoothly. It is also your patriotic duty to vote for the man best suited for the job and not just for your friends. But some people think that it is right to vote for political friends with the notion that "My vote won't make that much difference." When a large number of people think and vote this way, what kind of men will govern America in the future?

Thirdly, patriotism toward your country in time of war is the strongest kind of patriotism, It may not be the greatest form of patriotism to your country, but, when someone is out defending his Nation with countless other Americans, it gives him a feeling of pride to be an American and to lay down

his life, if need be, for what he knows is right. Besides fighting for your country in time of war, there are many other small actions that civilian men and women of America can perform. One way to show patriotism toward your country, besides voting, is to take an active part in service projects, to attend town meetings and city council meetings, and, in other words, support your city or town in such a way as to make it a better place in which to live. You are thereby strengthening your local, State, and Federal governments. Up to now I have been discussing what adults can do to show patriotism toward their country.

What can we, the youth of America, do? First of all, older youths can take an active part in the Peace Corps, the program originated by the late President John F. Kennedy. In this organization young men and women over 18 years of age, who meet the requirements, take a 6-month training course. Afterwards, the Peace Corps members are given assignments in the underprivileged parts of this country and others go throughout the world.

There are many examples of men and women who have given up important, highly paid jobs to join the Peace Corps and aid the less fortunate peoples of the world. For example, the head of the Peace Corps, Mr. Sargent Shriver, resigned an executive position in Chicago to work for President Kennedy; he was then appointed head of the Peace Corps organization. Another example is Headmaster Phillip Saltonstall, of Phillips-Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, who resigned his position and moved to Africa with his family to lead the Peace Corps operation in that country.

The fulfillment of this task of being a patriotic citizen is not accomplished by wishful thinking or the temporary effort of a few weeks or months. To be a patriotic citizen requires a constant effort. It is impossible to be patriotic 3 days out of a week and unpatriotic the other 4 days. There is one additional way to be patriotic. The Government has recommended that citizens support their country and strengthen its defenses by investing in U.S. savings bonds. By doing this, a person not only supports his country, but, when he invests in savings bonds, he is making an investment in freedom as well. When patriotic citizens buy bonds, this money is used to strengthen our defense against the enemies of freedom. This money is also used for the space program, and to foster goodwill between the United States and foreign countries by giving aid and assistance in building roads and hospitals, in training doctors and nurses, or in other words, in helping to improve the living conditions of these countries and thereby foster goodwill among all nations.

In this paper I have tried to show various ways to be a patriotic citizen by showing loyalty in all projects started by his Government, and by supporting these projects to the best of his ability, whatever his station in life may be. And this is what I believe is patriotism in our great country.

The Congo Will Need Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the urgency of the situation in the Congo, where we financed 90 percent of the U.N. operation and drove Moise Tshombe out of Katanga and brought anarchy to that unhappy land, is plain.

It now appears that the U.N. might well rush in to bolster the Congo financially while the only hope for stable government lies in the administration of Mr. Tshombe.

The Chicago Sun-Times, in an editorial of Sunday, August 9, presents a timely and dramatic discussion of this subject, which I insert into the RECORD at this point:

THE CONGO WILL NEED HELP

The situation in the Congo grows steadily worse. Almost one-sixth of the entire Congo is now in the hands of rebel forces inspired and supplied by Chinese Communists headquartered in neighboring Burundi.

When Belgium pulled out of the Congo 4 years ago chaos moved in. The Congo Army mutinied and the country was terrorized by mass pillage and rapine. Tribal wars raged. Soviet Russia moved in and acquired a puppet, Patrice Lumumba, who was later assassinated by anti-Communists. The United Nations interceded to bring military peace and political stability to the Congo. It failed on both counts. In January 1963, the U.N. used force to oust Moise Tshombe, President of the Congo's wealthy and stable Katanga Province and turned Katanga over to the notoriously unstable and vacillating Central Government of the Congo.

When the United Nations pulled out of the Congo less than 6 weeks ago the wavering central government asked Tshombe to return as Premier to unify the country. The writer of a letter in the adjoining "Opinion of the People" column notes that our approval of Tshombe's return does not conform to our editorial stand of 2 or 3 years ago.

Within 2 or 3 weeks after the Belgian departure from the Congo this editorial page advised that Tshombe and his stable Katanga government offered the best foundation on which to build a strong and anti-Communist Congo. Tshombe was justified in rebelling against the efforts made to merge his rich and politically stable province with a chaotic pro-Communist government. We said as much.

In subsequent editorials over the past 4 years this page has criticized the United Nations for its actions in the Congo and the United States for going along with those actions. When the U.N. ousted Tshombe by force and put his province into the tottery central government we denounced that action as immoral and a folly.

Some of the richest copper and cobalt mines in the world are within Katanga Province in the Congo. More than 3 years ago we warned that the Communists were reaching for those riches. That threat still exists. Instead of Russia in the van it is now Red China.

The Congo is as large as all of Western Europe. It contains vast mineral wealth. If for no other reasons, this nation of more than 15 million persons must not be allowed to explode into blind anarchy and fall into Communist hands. The Congo has the right to be governed by the Congolese, and should be governed by them.

At this time the best hope for the Congo is that Tshombe can restore some sort of order. He obviously cannot do this without outside help. The Congo Army has fallen apart and cannot maintain order or stop the rebel advances.

Tshombe has not yet asked for help. There are indications that the United States is urging Tshombe to ask Belgian for aid. It is unlikely that help will come from that quarter. There are thousands of Belgian nationals in rebel-held Congo territory who would be endangered if Belgium helped Tshombe. The United States would be wise to aid Tshombe if he turns to this country as his last hope.

Another Letter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I thought, perhaps, the Members of the House of Representatives might be interested in the following newspaper articles printed after the writers returned from the Republican Convention just recently held in San Francisco, Calif. As the poet said, "The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse."

The articles follow:

COME ALONG WITH ME

(By Betty Marky)

ANOTHER LETTER TO—

DEAR BARRY: Considering the stir that other letter caused at the convention, anyone who corresponds with you should have his head examined. But you have been carrying on about the American people being given a choice, so I thought you might want to know which choice I have made. It hasn't been a difficult one. According to your own words: "Those who do not care for our cause we do not expect to enter our ranks in any case." Well, don't expect me. I don't care for your cause one tiny bit. You've made it abundantly clear (one of the few instances when there is no doubt about your meaning) that you do not want or need the support of us moderates. OK, Buster. This is a letter of resignation. I'm turning in my Alf Landon button—the felt petals on the sunflower are a bit shabby anyway; my little figurine of Dewey—maybe it's not Dewey but a figure from the top of a wedding cake; my "I Like Ike" signs—never could decide if I really did nor not; and my Richard Nixon handbook on humility and sincerity. Just in case you're greatly concerned as to where you failed in influencing this particular sensation seeking member of the press, I shall elucidate.

SHOCKING

I just didn't like the way your ardent and well trained claque treated Rocky. Really, the ill-bred, impolite manner in which they acted topped even the rowdiest of Democratic gatherings. It was a bit shocking to see such rudeness displayed by Republicans. One has come to expect such things from Democrats, but from Republicans—well. It was obvious from the start of the convention that you and your believers were to have things your way, so couldn't they at least have displayed polite, good manners, if not good will? But then, vigilantes were never known for their good manners, or good humor.

That is what you are trying to do, isn't it, BARRY? Set up some sort of huge national vigilante committee with you as its cussin', bourbon drinkin', missile totin' leader. You aim to preserve and watch over our freedom and morals by riding roughshod over anything and anyone who disagrees with you. Just like the western good guy of 70 years ago. Rocky is one of the bad guys in your script so, he, along with all us moderates, is to be purged. Rockefeller did his best to stop your strange brand of freedom and liberty from being shoved down our throats, and I admire him greatly for his views and his stand.

SINISTER

As for you, I have a sort of grudging admiration for the way you go after something when you want it. You really crunched your way to the top, and apparently, unlike so

many politicians, owe nothing to no one. But more than admiring you, I fear you. You are a sinister and potentially dangerous man. Watching you and listening to your acceptance speech, and all the well planned antics which led up to it, I saw a great similarity to the German Bund meetings of the mid-thirties. Perhaps the similarity is not so much to you and your ambiguous words, but to the frenzied people who look on you as some sort of a Messiah. You are going to make things right for them, give each and every one the recognition he longs for, or the vengeance he is seeking against an individual, government, or country. Through you, they are venting all their hostilities and frustrations created by a fast-moving period in history to which they cannot adjust or understand.

Technical advances have brought new economic and social problems, which have not been solved as rapidly as they have appeared. These problems do exist, and their solution would come with time and trial and error, but they can be solved only by looking ahead and not backward to a time when life was simple and good—but only for a few. Your followers cannot accept life as it is, and you have promised to bring back life as it was, or as you want it according to your standards. This is why you frighten me. Your zealous banner wavers apparently harbor all sorts of dark and evil hatreds waiting for an opportunity to come out into the open. It makes me wonder what so many pleasant, normal looking people really feel and think while mouthing expressions of goodwill to those who differ from their own race, religion and nationality origin. This was evidenced by the shocking ovations given to anyone who mentioned the news media in words of enmity and anger.

CONTRADICTORY

I don't understand you to well, BARRY. Your statements (you claim to many misquotes, but all the wire services and reporters can't all be wrong on the same occasion) are contradictory and fuzzy and wild, and I don't trust you. I am afraid you will unloose all of this boiling, seething hate you are stirring up, if given the opportunity. I wouldn't be afraid to bet that if, through some misfortune, you did become President one of the first freedoms you would try to remove would be that of the press. You obviously have an intense personal dislike of this traditional American watchdog, and past performances show that anything you personally don't like you obliterate.

Your phenomenal growth on the political scene indicates that a lot of people are dissatisfied and, as I said, full of frustrations. Not all of your followers are kooks, odd-balls, fascist-tinged, or malcontents. Probably most of them are decent people sincere in their beliefs, and are convinced that you and these beliefs will be good for the country. Your popularity points up a feeling of unrest among certain minority groups, but unfortunately too many of these people are unsophisticated to the ways of politics and government, and do not realize that it will be virtually impossible for you to do many of the things you say you will do without bringing about the very things they are fighting against—war, more government regimentation, more spending. These people and their dissatisfactions should not be ignored or swept under Sherman Adams' rug, but I do not believe that in the end you will mollify these dissidents anymore than anyone else. By making them believe you can and will, you are using them to your own advantage. Let's hope they don't use you to force upon us their own extreme ideologies.

UNKNOWN

As for that word "extreme," and your now-famous quote: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." No one is quite sure what you meant by that. As with so much you say, each person can interpret it to suit his own needs. So, in defense of liberty, which as I see it, is defended best by opposing you, I am making an extreme move. I will do my damndest to reelect Johnson in whatever small way I can. I'm not exactly thrilled with the way he tosses money around or pulls his dogs' ears, but I know what to expect from him. You—you're an unknown quantity, and I don't like the little I do know. I'm sure you are crushed to learn how this obscure yellow journalist here in the hills of western Pennsylvania feels. But, if you're elected chances are you'll figuratively drum Pennsylvania out of the Union for obvious reasons. So, I figured I had nothing to lose, and perhaps I could start a trend. You're not the only one in America with the courage and strength of his convictions—(A Republican for Johnson).

[From the Johnstown Observer, July 23, 1964]

CONVENTION IN RETROSPECT

(By Larry D. Martin, editor)

I have attended a number of Democratic and Republican conventions as a reporter but the one that just closed in San Francisco was the dullest of them all. With the exception of the well-oiled Goldwater machine, everything seemed to be in a mess. It appeared those in command wanted to get it over with in a hurry because they had the game won before the umpire started it.

There were a number of oldtimers among the Pennsylvania delegates who said they never saw anything like it. And they never had a chance.

Those in charge of arrangements seemed to have had it in for the Pennsylvania group. At past conventions—both Democratic and Republican—the delegates, alternates, newsmen and State headquarters were always housed in the same hotel. It made it easy to meet and keep in touch with each other. It made it easy for the delegates and newsmen to check the bulletin board in the State's headquarters at least once a day, to see what was going on and where. Sometimes meetings were arranged or changed from the printed schedule, and with the delegates, newsmen, and headquarters all in the same hotel, this was no probelm.

SCATTERED

In San Francisco (for some unknown reason) the State's headquarters were on the 11th floor in the same hotel as the Goldwater headquarters. Also the Scranton national headquarters. It was practically impossible to get to them unless you waited a half hour or more for an elevator. Delegates were spread out all over the city. I counted some in eight different hotels. Newsmen were also housed in various hotels. Only three of us were at the new Hilton. The other 25 or 30 Pennsylvania newsmen were scattered in 6 or 7 hotels. Taxis did a big business taking delegates and newsmen from one hotel to another.

Without a doubt Gov. William Scranton made a fine impression on the newsmen and TV commentators. I talked to 2 dozen from other States and they all thought very highly of him. Also his wife.

It was a shame his headquarters had so many amateurs working there, because a national convention is bigtime stuff. It's not like back home.

LEARNED SOMETHING

Whether the Pennsylvania delegates were oldtimers or those attending their first convention, they certainly learned something from the Goldwater pros. They all seemed to have had a nice time. Some drove by car to California. Others went by train, but the majority went by plane. There was an unusually large number of people from Pennsylvania who went along for the excitement and to "give a hand" to Governor Scranton's campaign. (People back home watching on TV often saw things the delegates missed.)

Many of them feel as most Pennsylvania newsmen feel: that no one at this time can defeat President Johnson and it might have been just as well that Governor Scranton used this as a sounding board for 4 years from now. They recall how the late President Kennedy lost in his bid for the vice-presidential nomination and came back 4 years later to land the top spot.

However, some newsmen feel that GOLDWATER could pull an upset. If that happens any plans other Republicans may have for 1968 will have to be forgotten. If, President Johnson wins the election in November, many political pros (and newsmen) think the GOP will pick either Scranton or Rockefeller in 1968—or the both of them: one for President and one for Vice President.

HATE PAMPHLETS

I never saw so much hate literature in my life as that passed out in San Francisco. It was slipped under your hotel door at night. It was handed to you as you left or entered a hotel. It was handed to you by the dozen as you entered the Cow Palace. And some was even handed to you as you left. Most people threw it way, but as a newspaperman it was up to me to keep a record of what was going on and I naturally glanced at the stuff. Much of it was so crude it would not be allowed to go through the mails. No one seems to know who paid for it all, but it certainly cost a lot of money. It was of all kinds. Some attacked GOLDWATER, some attacked Scranton or Rockefeller, some attacked the civil rights law, and a lot of it attacked President Johnson and Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

On Tuesday (the day before the delegates voted) there appeared an advertisement (full page) in the San Francisco papers supporting GOLDWATER. It was signed by 62 Members of Congress representing about 45 States. The next day a sheet was passed out attacking the ad and freedom of the press. One group was attacking Robert Kennedy because of his prosecution of Jimmy Hoffa. And so it went.

Without a doubt the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER marked the end of an era for the Republican Party. The party in the Far West is too socialistic for the eastern Republicans. In the Southwest and Midwest it's too extremist for the eastern supporters who in the past put up most of the money for the party.

ON THEIR OWN

And without a doubt most Pennsylvania Republicans running for election this year will be running "on their own" and won't attempt to ride on GOLDWATER'S coattails. I spoke to a number of deelgates from Midwestern States who said they were candidates for office back home and the Goldwater nomination meant they would be sure winners because they voted for him. They explained their sections were 100 percent for GOLDWATER and those who supported him. It's the opposite in the East.

While hotels and taxi companies made money during the convention, the restaurants and night clubs complained. They said the convention hours were so late that delegates didn't have time to visit night clubs or even the higher class restaurants, but grabbed a bite to eat and went to bed because they had to be up early the next day. The 3 hours difference in time made it tough for them. The convention was scheduled in such a way as to take full advantage of the prime evening hours in the East. That's why the session often started at 2 or 3 p.m. San Francisco time and lasted until almost midnight.

New Breed of Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, Jim Farley, one of the most dedicated and able political figures of our time, has authored an article on a subject on which he is an authority—politicians. The article, which is titled, "New Breed of Politician," appeared in the July 26, 1964, issue of the Albany Times-Union and, so that we may all have the benefit of his views, I have requested permission to insert it in the RECORD. The article follows:

NEW BREED OF POLITICIAN: HE'S FAR SUPERIOR SAYS JAMES A. FARLEY

(For decades, James A. Farley has loomed large on the American political scene. At 76, his counsel still is sought, and he speaks with the experience of a man who began political activity more than half a century ago as town clerk of Stony Point, N.Y., and rose to be Postmaster General of the United States. Mr. Farley, now board chairman of Coca-Cola Export Corp., here writes of the new politician molded by a changing world.)

(By James Farley)

For one thing the new breed of politician is far superior to its predecessors. The reason is patently simple. The country has improved immeasurably, has become far more complex, and hence requires far more able men to run it. The American people have made great advances in the past few decades, and the men they have placed in public office reflect that change.

The fact that the quality of public officers has improved reflects more than the improved standards which the American people seek and indeed demand. It reflects, also and obviously, the improved quality of party leadership. To make sure of the future strength and well-being of our country, we need more of this new breed in our political life.

There are very few representatives of either major party who are not aware of the great changes which have taken place and even more importantly, of the greater changes which are evolving.

The party which gives best expressions to this expanding life of the American people will be the party they select to implement their progress.

Since a political leader's first duty is to get his party elected, he—more than anyone in the community—should be aware of the changes. As an example of changes, in this 1 year one college graduated more students than the total of college graduates in our Nation in 1864. Once higher education was a privilege of wealth; now it is an absolute necessity for any aspiring youth. This new type in the electorate is perfectly aware that the business of shaping our public strength and welfare is now the largest business in the country. Moreover, educated people are highly cognizant of the fact that public business is the most important business in the country, and that the life of every citizen is intimately bound up with it.

Times have changed. The old-fashioned ward leaders who relied on the May waltz, the clambake, and the Thanksgiving turkey are as quietly moribund as the old harness shop. The modern district leader has to have the answers on new school financing, public health policies and proposed zoning changes. Once he was the political broker, the protecting hand for the illiterate immigrant in a strange land. That kind of immigrant has passed into history. The public school system, which is the real heat under the melting pot, has fused his children and his neighbor's children into a new breed of Americans.

Not only is the American public more openminded. The modern means of communication—newspapers, radio, magazines, and TV—have provided the average citizen with a continuing and instantaneous account of public matters; a coverage which allows the candidate to appeal directly to the people and which liberates him from the outmoded "bosses" of our political past.

There may or may not have been the legendary "few men in a smoke-filled room" who handpicked the top candidates. But if such still exist, you can bet they will not gain a victory merely by concentrating on their personal whims. Today's political leaders must use every bit of commonsense and "know-how" and intuition to pick a winner. They are much more interested in what the average citizen is likely to think than they are in what they personally like or dislike.

These concepts have given rise to what in my opinion is a great fallacy.

There are those who refer to the present crop of public servants as "glamor-age politicians." I do not hold with this at all. A man has to prove a great more than "glamor" to hold his own in politics these days. In that respect, TV has been called the greatest lie detector in history. I tend to agree. The deficiencies of a man who is unqualified are beyond the power of any makeup artist. I further cannot bring myself to believe that the most adept of cosmeticians can place upon the face of any candidate the leadership he lacks in his heart.

It may well be that the extreme good looks of our late President John F. Kennedy misled the unanalytical into believing that appearance was his principal asset. It was not. His enthusiasm, his idealism, and his leadership were ornamented by his good looks; but his appeal was built on his character.

In terms of our own history, I cannot conceive of much fundamental change, had the present means of communications been available to us since 1776. Indeed, for the true greats of our past, they might have made things easier.

The granite character of George Washington, which in my opinion is the cornerstone in our Republic's founding, would have been illuminating, not diminished by television. I cannot imagine klieg lights dimming the fire in Andrew Jackson's eye, nor the fiercest artificial lights obliterating the majestic composure of Abraham Lincoln's mighty spirit.

President Theodore Roosevelt's tremendous energy would have been more than a match for any electric machine, and Woodrow Wilson's austere purity would have been conveyed as stemming from the pulse of the deeply human heart beneath it.

I think the old-time stemwinding stump orators wouldn't last 5 minutes today. People today want facts and decisions in a terse half-hour, not a 4-hour exercise in metaphors and similies. In my own time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt changed all that with his radio fireside chats. The voice was great to be sure, but the public sensed that behind it was an even greater heart. And, as has been elsewhere said, what comes from the heart goes to the heart, whether by radio, TV, or newspaper.

I believe that our age is meeting this new challenge. As one who believes in the two party system, I am convinced that both parties have brought forth splendid and superior men in our times. The fact that I was not a particular admirer of the policies of the Republican Party when I was chairman of the Democratic National Committee did not blind me to the fact that it possessed, in such leaders as Senator Robert L. Taft, of Ohio, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, of Michigan, and Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, men of highest integrity and ability. Indeed, I found former President Herbert H. Hoover to be the noblest of opponents.

Contrary to a widely held opinion, the great leaders of both parties place the Nation over and above any party considerations. Senator Vandenberg, Republican, and the former Senate majority leader, Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat, gave full and lasting proof of this. Senator Vandenberg took his party from the backwoods of isolation to the clear ground of bipartisan unity. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, for his part, in the face of bitter criticism from elements within his own party, supported President Eisenhower on foreign policy to a degree unprecedented in American history.

The convulsions inside the Republican Party today validate the stand taken by Senator Arthur Vandenberg and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. The responsible leadership of the Republican Party has openly repudiated die-hard isolationism and reaction. This repudiation I do not count as intra-party politics, I count it as service to the Nation.

The atomic bomb and its use must not be an issue in this election. The American people, will crush overwhelmingly any suggestion that the life and death of hundreds of millions of people is a fit subject for loose campaign oratory. Like tens of thousands of Democrats, I informed President Eisenhower at the time of the Berlin crisis that I stood solidly behind any American President when the Nation was challenged. I speak, therefore, not as a Democrat, but as an American when I emphatically state that any American President deserves the support the country gave to President Eisenhower in his own hours of decision. And I am not ashamed to say as a Democrat that President Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat, has the same right to support that he gave to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican.

I am confident this will come about. I am equally confident that the so-called "glamor-age politician" is a misnomer. For example, I think Harry Byrd could defeat Cary Grant for the office of U.S. Senator in Virginia, and I think Republican Senator Everett Dirksen would be hands down to defeat Paul Newman in Illinois. But the Republican Party has many bright, able, and politically "good looking" men in its ranks: Governor Rockefeller and Lieutenant Governor Wilson, of New York, are examples.

On the Democratic side, any one of the men receiving national attention is attractive. Senators HUMPHREY and MCCARTHY are not likely to win the beauty prize for Minnesota, but their faces are the faces of character and would grace any national ticket.

Another in the Democratic column is 45-year-old Senator CLAIBORNE PELL, of Rhode Island, whose late father was Herbert C. Pell, one of my predecessors as Democratic State chairman in New York.

PELL'S manner is modest, at times almost painfully earnest, and he could not be classified as a "glamor politician." Yet he has an outstanding vote-getting record.

Modern politics has been greatly refined by the increasingly higher demands made upon it. Political leaders today keep a record—a record as accurate as that kept by Branch Rickey who built great baseball teams by maintaining a meticulous account of every ball pitched to every player, and the disposition of the pitch.

Time for Reds To Pay U.N. Bill or Lose Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the growing problems on the international scene is the collapse of the U.N. effectiveness, primarily caused by the Soviet veto and the Red bloc policy of nonpayment of assessments.

The New World, the Catholic Archdiocesan paper of Chicago in its issue of August 7, emphasizes the disservice that the Reds are doing to the U.N.

The editorial follows:

TIME FOR REDS TO PAY U.N. BILL OR LOSE VOTE
(By J. M. Kelly)

At this writing, Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev has threatened to take his "little red chair and go home." The latest eruption has been sparked by a rather prosaic—however tardy—insistence that he and his nation pay long overdue bills, or lose its vote in the United Nations General Assembly. The U.N. is about to go broke because of nonpayment of voting dues, and the chief delinquent is Soviet Russia.

The U.N. Charter states that any country 2 years behind in U.N. dues "shall have no vote" in the Assembly. The Soviet Union has refused to pay its assessments for Congo and Middle East peacekeeping costs and, if these are counted along with its regular budget assessments, it is 2 years behind. For a change the United States seems to be taking a firm stand. Let's hope we don't soften up and lend a lenient ear to Soviet threats or blandishments.

The United States has insisted that the Soviet Union lose its vote in the Assembly unless it pays some of its back dues before the Assembly convenes November 10. The assessments in question were ruled legitimate by the World Court in The Hague.

Incidentally, 16 other countries stand to lose their votes for failure to pay toward the Congo or Middle East forces or both. Most of these come under Nikita's direct domination or his powerful influence.

What has been the contribution of the Soviet Union to the proposed peace goals of the U.N. as it was founded? Outside of nonpayment of dues, it has registered more than 100 vetoes—mostly involving U.N. programs directed toward peace and independence for old or new nations that have whetted Nikita's voracious appetite for world domination under Communism.

What has been the Soviet Union's contribution to the world? It has been a constant, relentless program of obstruction, subversion, infiltration and, whenever feasible, outright violence, however deceitful.

It seems fruitless to re-list the nations that have been tortured by Russian-oriented oppression and enslavement. Anyone who has read the New World or any other publication should know the names. Who can possibly miss the steady program of Communism to encampass the world, to smother all opposition and so to isolate the United States of America.

The huge debt ($11.1 billion in lend-lease) Russia owes to the United States for our role in saving it in World War II has long been ignored or repudiated. Instead of insisting on payment, we have been pussy-footing with a program of coexistence that ignores the rights of our own people and swallows insult and injury. We have asked our people to pay more taxes to make up for the delinquency of Russia and other U.N. members.

Recent U.S. statements indicate that even our soft-spoken State Department may be getting sick and tired of the situation. So, if Mr. Khrushchev wants to take his little red chair and go home, let's hope he piles it high with his vetoes, his threats of "burying us," his lies, his broken treaties and promises, his record of slaughter and brutality, his upaid debts, and the shoe he uses to thump his U.N. desk.

For our own part, let's hope that our Nation's leaders will have courage enough to call his bluff.

ATTACKERS WILL FIND U.S. IS NOT A "PAPER TIGER"

In the communist North Vietnam PT torpedo attack on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox*, we find another brazen attempt to bluff us out of nearby international waters, or, perhaps, to provoke an international incident that could be turned against the U.S.—a typical communist form of "anti-imperialist" propaganda.

The *Maddox* was cruising in recognized "international waters" when it was attacked by three Communist PT boats firing torpedoes. They were driven away, and apparently crippled by return fire from the *Maddox* and from four fighter planes from the nearby carrier *Ticonderoga*. The *Maddox* suffered no damage or casualties.

President Johnson has committed the United States—and himself—very strongly. He has ordered another destroyer into the international waters to patrol the Gulf of Tonkin and has stated that there would be a "combat air patrol over the destroyers" with orders to shoot as needed. These were his direct orders:

"To attack any force which attacks them in international waters.

"To attack not only with the objective of driving off this force, but of destroying it."

These are the strongest words we have heard so far from our President. There has really been no stronger provocation. It is interesting to note the remarks of South Vietnam Premier Khanh. He said the United States should take firm steps against North Vietnam after the recent attack "so that North Vietnam knows it (the United States) is not a paper tiger."

The United States in the past has shown a reluctance to engage in warfare. It has not sought to extend its sovereignty over other nations. It has entered war only as a last resort. It will not panic into sudden terrible retaliation. But only the most foolhardy would consider it a "paper tiger."

Many Americans feel that we have been too patient. I share the belief that we have been too trusting, too lenient in dealing with our professed enemies, sometimes at an awful expense to our known allies. But let no would be tiger tamer put us to the test. He will find the teeth sharp and deadly.

The President's commitment is no bluff. We have all the means necessary to prove to the Communist world that we can defend ourselves and our friends. We would like to achieve peace peacefully. Let no one challenge us to the use of force.

Nice going, Mr. Johnson. Stick to your (and our) guns.

Rates Illinois Healthiest in Its Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune today carried an extremely interesting article which spells out most eloquently what a fine job Governor Kerner is doing as the chief executive of Illinois.

It is most pleasing to see the Chicago Tribune give space to this excellent report.

The Chicago Tribune article follows:

RATES ILLINOIS HEALTHIEST IN ITS ECONOMY—KERNER TELLS OUR SPACE AGE ROLE
(By Ronald Kotulak)

Governor Kerner said yesterday that the next 10 years will find Illinois' mass-market industries relying more heavily on space-age developments for their commercial products.

"The automation and instrumentation of such Illinois industry will spark further expansion and keep us competitive," Kerner said.

In a press conference in the State of Illinois building before the first meeting of the recently appointed science advisory council, Kerner said one of the council's purposes is to advise the State government on ways to attract more space and defense contracts.

STRESSES BALANCED ECONOMY

Although Kerner conceded that Illinois may never attract such big Government defense contracts as east and west coast area industries have, he said the State has something more important—a balanced economy that can withstand both temporary recessions and Government cuts in defense spending.

"Our end-product-oriented industry in 1964 is riding a crest of profits and expansion that has made the State of Illinois the most economically healthy State in our Nation," he said.

Kerner also said that the brain drain of scientists away from the Midwest after they have been educated here may have been reversed.

He cited figures showing that in 1962 only 36.9 percent of the engineering graduates of the University of Illinois got jobs in Illinois, while last June this number had increased to 45 percent.

EXPLAINS GROUP'S PURPOSE

The advisory council was established to advise the State on significant changes in scientific fields and the probable consequences of these changes, the Governor said.

The council is composed of 20 outstanding scientists and businessmen from throughout the State. The chairman is Dr. Frederick Seitz, dean of the graduate college and vice president for research at the University of Illinois.

The council will also advise the State on the use of Illinois' scientific resources and the application of science to education, industry, and the community.

To Promote the Maintenance of International Peace and Security in Southeast Asia

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the timely and forceful action of President Johnson in meeting communistic aggression in North Vietnam and the firm resolution of the Congress supporting the President, I believe, have not only earned respect for our country from all the people of the world, but have made

an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace. The only thing the Communists respect is force and when we show them that their aggressive force will be met and mastered; that we will not be intimidated and will not be deterred from the defense of our freedom and of the freedom of other freedom loving people, we will stop this communistic aggression and have peace.

Chicopee River Basin Flood Control Progresses With Ground Breaking for $2,680,000 Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir in Monson, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the residents of Monson, Mass., and the surrounding communities in the Chicopee River Basin witnessed with enthusiasm last Saturday, October 8, a most significant event in the ground-breaking ceremony for the $2,680,000 Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir.

As a member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, and the Congressman representing the area, who filed the legislation for the project, I had planned to participate in this historic event in the annals of Federal flood control project participation in the Connecticut River Valley. However, due to the debate and vote on the poverty bill on Saturday, I was unable to leave Washington in time to attend the ground breaking in Monson.

Mr. Speaker, the Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir will soon be a reality. It will be an integral unit in flood protection for the Chicopee River Basin's 721 square miles where 130,000 people live. I inspected this area following the devastating hurricane-flood of August 1955, and can attest to the $21,500,000 in property damage. Nearly $4 million in property damages occurred in the town of Monson, and had the Conant Brook Dam existed then, in 1955, it would have paid for itself nearly twice over.

Such floods are vicious and wasteful. No nation, and we least of all, can afford a cutrate program of protection of life and property. Our national interest in flood control begins in those works which are too large an undertaking for the local governments and interests. Conant Brook Dam is an example. It is an important unit in the comprehensive plan of flood control for the entire Connecticut River Basin.

The furious hurricane-flood of 1955, were it to occur today, would cause damage of over $5,500,000. In 1966 when the Conant Brook Dam is complete this threat will be negligible. The benefits to accrue to us over the years are estimated at $148,000 per year in the prevention of potential flood loss alone. There are, of course, other benefits we will enjoy at Conant Brook such as the greater attraction our flood safe valley will have for new industry, the new water system for Monson, better access roads and the splendid new recreation area around the reservoir.

In closing I would like to express my appreciation for, and my great confidence in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers which has been working in Massachusetts since 1826 when it preserved a point of land at Provincetown. As the agent of Congress in nationwide flood control, the Corps of Engineers has some of the world's finest engineering talent at work on projects such as this one at Conant Brook in Monson. The corps has completed the Barre Falls Dam and Reservoir which has already prevented nearly $1,500,000 of flood damage. The local flood protection projects at Three Rivers and at Chicopee Falls will also, in a flood of the 1955 proportion, prevent damages of $3,800,000 and $2,700,000, respectively.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include with my remarks a story on the Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir ground-breaking ceremony, which appeared in the Springfield, Mass., Daily News on Saturday, August 8:

FLOOD WORK IS OPENED IN MONSON—CONANT DAM AND RESERVOIR PROJECT TO AID A LARGE REGION

Ground-breaking ceremonies today in Monson signaled the beginning of a $2,680,000 flood control and road and water supply relocation project—the construction of Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir, on the ninth anniversary of Hurricane Diane which, in 1955, nearly inundated the town.

The board of selectmen, as a ground-breaking committee, joined other present and former town officials, civic leaders, and officers of New England Division, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for the vent at Sutcliff Meadows on Wales Road.

Selectman Chairman Chester Holda and his colleagues, Albert W. Lewing and Thomas W. Haley, Jr., hailed the ceremony as assuring residents a high degree of flood protection against a recurrence of the August 1955 floods.

More than half of the $7,780,000 industrial loss in the river basin was suffered by Palmer, Monson, and Chicopee.

The ground-breaking party of nearly 20 met in an area over which the dam will cast its shadow. Rev. Edward M. Kennedy, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Monson, gave the invocation. Rev. Carlos S. Straight, minister of the First Church of Monson, Congregational, said the benediction.

Invited to the ceremony were Brig. Gen. Peter C. Hyzer, and Col. Edward J. Ribbs, New England Division engineer and deputy division engineer, respectively, of the Corps of Engineers; Daniel H. Steinhoff, and James E. Leonard, engineer and resident engineer in the Monson area, respectively; Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Representative Edward P. Boland, and Gov. Endicott Peabody.

Prevented from attending the ceremony because of action on the poverty bill, Representative BOLAND sent the following telegram to the board of selectmen:

"Important congressional business prevents my presence. Conant Dam and Reservoir represent to the people of Monson and the Chicopee River Basin a real achievement in the protection of life and property from the ravages of flooding, such as in 1955.

"It is another step forward, further reducing the danger of flooding in the great Connecticut River Basin. As the Member of Congress who filed the bill making this project possible, and as a member of the House Appropriations Public Works Subcommittee that oversees flood control programs for the Nation, I am proud and happy to join with the town of Monson, its public officials and people, with the Massachusetts State officials, and the Army Engineers in this historic groundbreaking event."

Also attending the ceremony were: Monson water commissioners; Town Counsel William H. Anderson; Frederick J. Sullivan, Jr., and Earl E. Coleman, former Monson selectmen; Mrs. Eunice Wytas, widow of Francis W. Wytas, who lost his life in the 1955 flood and their children; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wytas, parents of the flood victim; Wells Gardner, president of C. F. Church Manufacturing Co.; R. R. Koepenick, of Zero Manufacturing Co.; Roger G. Pytko, president of Pytko Construction Co., contractors on the project; and Chairman Victor E. Roselund, of the Monson Finance Board.

In addition to curtailing flood peril for the town of Monson, Conant Brook Dam and Reservoir, together with Barre Falls Reservoir, will provide substantial flood protection on the Chicopee River.

The top of Conant Brook Dam will be 771 feet above mean sea level. While the top will be 20 feet wide and carry a 16-foot-wide gravel surface roadway, the base of the dam will be 480 feet wide.

Shenandoah Valley Music Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, a cultural event of significance is taking place in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and I am bringing it to the attention of the House at this time with the thought that Members, and constituents visiting Washington at this season, may be inclined to make the pleasant motor trip to the valley.

I refer to the Shenandoah Valley Music Festival at Orkney Springs, Va., where musicians of the highest professional standing will be heard in additional concerts August 14, 15, 16, and 21.

As evidence of the quality of musicianship being offered the public in a rural setting of great natural beauty, I include under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix a review of the initial concert in this series which appeared in the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star on Monday, August 10, as written by Music Critic Irving Lowens:

SHENANDOAH FESTIVAL OFFERS A REFRESHING CULTURAL TREAT

(By Irving Lowens)

Shenandoah Valley Music Festival, first concert. Festival Chamber Orchestra, Philip Spurgeon (Johnstown Symphony, Pennsylvania, conductor. Assisting artists: Gideon Grau (Vancouver Symphony, Canada), violin; Burton Dines (Ball State Teachers College Orchestra, Indiana), cello; Phillip Spurgeon (Johnstown Symphony, Pennsylvania), piano; Marjorie Swanson (San Antonio Symphony, Texas, flute; Luigi Capella (Savannah Symphony, Georgia, oboe; Walter Mays (Cincinnati College Conservatory Orchestra, Ohio), clarinet; Joseph Urbinato (Boston University Symphony, Massachusetts, bassoon; Dale Clevenger (Kansas City

Philharmonic, Missouri), French horn. Orkney Springs Hotel, Orkney Springs, Va. Program: Piano trio in D minor, opus 49, Mendelssohn; Keline Kammermusik for woodwind quintet, opus 24, No. 2, Hindemith; symphony No. 1 in C, opus 21, Beethoven.

You go west at Mount Jackson, Va. (which is, incidentally, almost flat as a billiard table), and you drive 12 miles to the end of route 263. Where the road stops, there is an enormous, antebellum hotel. It was at one time a fashionable Virginia resort. Now, for about 3 weeks each summer, Orkney Springs (population, 52) is taken over by about 100 musicians, coming from more than two dozen States and foreign countries.

The musicians first started coming to Orkney Springs in 1960 to participate in the American Symphony Orchestra League's summer workshop. Here, they work intensively under the guidance of more experienced men, and learn their craft and art in action.

Last year, something new was added. The musicians gave a few public concerts, and the idea caught on with the Shenandoah Valley folk. This year, a genuine festival is taking place. Yesterday, the first of five events was presented.

Setting, weather and music all both proved to be ideal. A small shed had been built behind which was a pond (and the original Bear Wallow). The lawn, shaded with tall trees, was boxed in by the enormous white buildings which are such an astonishment to find in such a spot.

And, as might be expected from excellent, hardworking musicians on a busman's holiday, the musicmaking too was first rate.

The first half of the program was devoted to chamber music—Mendelssohn and Hindemith. The latter, with the tart open-air sound of the winds, sounded especially neat and fresh as the mountain air.

BEETHOVEN FIRST

After the intermission came the Beethoven First Symphony, played by a 35-piece chamber orchestra.

Later in the festival, the full Symphony of the Valley takes over. The performance may not have been sheer perfection, but this was less interesting than the fact that such astonishingly good ensemble had been achieved in so short a time.

Conducting the Beethoven was Phillip Spurgeon (he also played the piano in the Mendelssohn trio), a gifted and skillful young man at present directing the musical destinies of the Johnston (Pa.) Symphony. Mr. Spurgeon's reading was net and tidy, if not especially warm, and details were deftly understood. Particularly fetching was the way in which he enabled the various winds to shine through the orchestral texture in their various solos.

The audience seemed to be made up mostly of Shenandoah Valley people. This is fine in its way, but it is too bad that more people from the Washington area did not find their way out to Orkney Springs.

MORE CONCERTS DUE

There will be more chances, however; the other concerts are scheduled for August 14, 15, 16, and 21.

I should let you in on a secret. If you go, try to stay long enough to see Dr. Richard Lert, the festival's artistic director, coaching the young conductors. If you hear one of the concerts he conducts, you will discover that this 79-year-old young man is a superb master of the baton. But if you can manage to watch him with his younger colleagues, you will discover something much less common—a great teacher.

If for no other reason than Dr. Lert's presence (and there are, of course, other good reasons), local music lovers should know that the trip to Orkney Springs is definitely worth making.

Details, tickets, and programs are available from the Shenandoah Valley Music Festival Committee, Post Office Box 12, Woodstock, Va.

"Watery Fingers Wave a Wand of Magic," by William A. Glenn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article styled "Watery Fingers Wave a Wand of Magic," by William A. Glenn, which appeared in the Sunday, July 5, 1964, magazine section of the Birmingham News. The article follows:

WAVE A WAND OF MAGIC

(By William A. Glenn)

Lewis Smith Lake in northwest Alabama, with its many inlets, appears as a giant hand with many fingers—magic fingers which have transformed backwoods hill country into the State's fastest growing recreation area. These fingers of water have waved a magic wand over three Alabama counties and brought new social and commercial life.

Rocky scrubland once thought to be worthless has become valuable shore sites where pictureque cabins are springing up almost overnight. Village crossroads have given way to sportsmen in search of a catch and vacationists in search of a place to get away from it all. Already there are over two dozen marinas on the lake offering everything from food for hungry fishermen to boats for eager water skiers.

This spectacular lake is the backwaters of Lewis Smith Dam, completed in 1962 by the Alabama Power Co. The unique dam structure is on the Sipsey Fork of the Black Warrior River near Jasper, Ala. Almost a quarter-mile wide at its base and 50 feet at its crest, the dam is built of earth and rock. Towering 300 feet above the riverbed, it is the first of its kind in the southeastern United States.

Consulting engineers agree the Smith Dam could withstand any force, even an earthquake, because it is now part of the geology of the area and equal in strength to the neighboring hills. It it as if Mother Nature had grafted a huge pyramid of earth and stone to become part of the earth itself.

Should the level of the lake it forms ever reach overflow capacity the water will be channeled through a giant spillway on the west shoreline of the dam and flow into a creek back into the Sipsey River below the dam. This unusual engineering feat is a tribute to local initiative and private enterprise, which have mad America the great industrial power it is today.

The turbines and generators of Smith Dam are the largest hydropowered machines in the Alabama power system. They have a total rated installed generating capacity of 157,000 kilowatts. This will be exceeded only by Jordan Dam No. 2 to be completed in 1967 with a capacity of 225,000 kilowatts.

Aside from its great electric power production the dam affords other benefits such as flood control, pollution abatement and improved navigation. The city of Birmingham has laid pipelines from Smith Dam to supplement the city's domestic and industrial water supply.

Smith Lake has a shoreline of 500 miles in Walker, Cullman, and Winston Counties. Dipping deeply into Bankhead National Forest, it has a reservoir area of 21,000 acres and a drainage area of 944 square miles. Its waters touch varied landscape from rolling plains to wooded cliffs and offers scenery second to none. The geographical evolution which Smith Dam and Lake have brought is rapidly placing this area in competition with other leading resort areas in Alabama.

The State conservation department has done its part to make it a fisherman's paradise by stocking the lake with threadfin shad, striped bass, and blue catfish. The State highway department is adding the finishing touch by developing the accessible roads.

Pressure Put on Bobby—Bundy Role Revealed in Kennedy Shelving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most diabolical projects of this year's campaign has been the dumping of Attorney General Robert Kennedy from the vice presidential scene of the Democrat Party.

It is especially tragic that key roles in this particular political maneuver are being played by leading stars of the New Frontier.

I submit for the RECORD an article by Columnist Edwin A. Lahey which appeared in the Chicago Daily News of August 7, which deals with this diabolical Democrat doublecross of one of its party's leading figures:

PRESSURE PUT ON BOBBY—BUNDY ROLE REVEALED IN KENNEDY SHELVING

(By Edwin A. Lahey)

WASHINGTON.—The emergence of McGeorge Bundy as a political hack is one of the more interesting events of the past week.

Bundy's role in the demolition of Bob Kennedy's life in the Johnson administration adds no luster either to the President to his special assistant, Mr. Bundy.

Mr. Johnson first had Kennedy over to the White House to give him the business. He asked Kennedy to take himself out of consideration for the nomination as Vice President. Kennedy declined to immolate himself on the White House steps on the reasonable grounds that he hadn't been campaigning for the nomination, anyway.

After this White House interview, where Kennedy made it fairly clear to President Johnson that Mr. Johnson would have to shove him off the scaffold himself, Bundy telephoned the Attorney General.

The substance of Bundy's message to Kennedy was that the Attorney General should "leak" a story to a columnist to the effect that Kennedy planned to run the election campaign for Johnson. This leak would not only take Kennedy out of the vice presidential picture gracefully, but swing behind Mr. Johnson all the political strength that Bob Kennedy commands in various parts of the country.

Just what Kennedy said to Bundy will have to be lost to historians. But the answer was in the negative. Kennedy has a low

boiling point, and he probably did not appreciate the fact that the elegant intellectual from Harvard was willing to give the appearance of self-debasement as the price of staying on the White House payroll.

Bundy is the most inaccessible payroller in Washington. The thought of him trying to sell Kennedy the idea of exploiting some columnist in a manner that would do Kennedy in and build Mr. Johnson up seems like a bit of midsummer madness.

One is also staggered by the fact that a man who couldn't carry a majority vote in the board of overseers at Harvard, and who was rescued from his frustrating environment up there by John F. Kennedy, should suddenly appear as a genius in political maneuvering intended to destroy the late President's brother.

But, as the man says, it takes all kinds.

Results of Public Opinion Polls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to here report to my colleagues and the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the percentage results of my last two polls of public opinion in the 18th District of Pennsylvania.

The 18th Congressional District is wholly in suburban Pittsburgh lying mostly to the north of the city. It had a population of 409,219 in 1960 and the permanently registered voters are almost equally divided between Republicans and Democrats. An exact number of questionnaires are sent to Democrats and Republicans, but no attempt is made to determine the political affiliation of those who respond.

The 18th District of Pennsylvania, containing as it does a large number of ethnic groups, labor groups, social groups, and residents of all economic levels, does present a good cross-section area. A sufficient number of replies is received to constitute a referendum of public opinion in the district.

The results follow:

Tabulated results for poll conducted June 1964

	Percent	
	Yes	No
1. In general do you favor the civil rights bill now pending in Congress?	51	49
2. Should the Constitution be amended to permit voluntary Bible reading and prayer in public schools?	72	25
3. Would you vote for Federal financial assistance for urban mass transit system?	45	55
4. Do you believe that the United States should continue to actively oppose the admission of Red China into the United Nations?	83	17
5. Recently we have witnessed numerous trade agreements with Russia and Communist-bloc nations. Do you favor this trend?	41	59
6. One of President Johnson's pieces of "must" legislation is a salary raise for all Federal employees designed to make their compensation comparable to that received by persons in private employment. Should this be done?	52	48
7. Do you believe we should withdraw our military personnel from active participation in South Vietnam?	38	62
8. Should we terminate our restrictions against Cuban exiles and permit them to conduct operations against the Castro regime?	62	38
9. Would you like to see the presidential candidates of both major parties engage in nationwide television debates during the fall campaign?	61	39
10. Do you feel that news networks should refrain from predicting on the basis of partial returns the outcome of elections while some of the polls are still open?	71	29
11. Do you support the administration's recent economy cutback in parcel post deliveries and other postal services?	53	47
12. There is much public pressure for a national floral emblem. Please underline which you would prefer: (a) the carnation (9 percent); (b) the rose (39 percent); (c) the corn flower (6 percent); (d) the mountain laurel (42 percent); (e) the Shasta daisy (4 percent).		

Tabulated results for poll conducted January 1964

	Percent	
	Yes	No
1. Should the Constitution be amended to permit voluntary Bible reading and prayer in the public schools?	87	13
2. Do you think that our crash program to land a man on the moon is worth the cost and effort?	22	78
3. Would you vote to expand our area redevelopment program?	56	44
4. Should we broaden the food stamp program?	41	59
5. The United States now permits sale of wheat and other grain to Russia by our exporters. Should the U.S. Government guarantee payment?	15	85
6. Would you vote to establish a domestic National Service Corps like the foreign Peace Corps?	51	49
7. Do you believe that the Alliance for Progress in Latin America has been worth the cost?	30	70
8. Do you favor hospital insurance for the eligible elderly financed by social security taxes?	57	43
9. Do you favor Federal financial assistance to public primary and secondary schools?	46	54
10. Should the civil rights bill contain a public accommodations feature (i.e., access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc., cannot be denied because of race)?	57	43
11. Do you favor cutting the Federal income tax by about $11,000,000,000?	72	28
12. Should the Congress continue to act as a brake on the President's programs?	88	12
13. Do you favor a continuation of the nuclear test ban treaty?	83	17
14. Do you agree with President Johnson that we can carry out his program and still reduce the budget?	45	55

Appendix

Should School Keep in Summer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in educational circles there has been some talk about the exhorbitant cost of part-time usage of our great and expensive network of public school facilities. Empty schools in summer, facilities unused while the students and the teachers are taking the long hot-weather holiday, have in some quarters been looked upon with increasing concern, because of the thought that we may not be getting a full dollar's worth from our school facilities.

But there are things to be said on the other side. The Lafayette Leader, of Lafayette, Ind., recently said some of them in an editorial headed "Not Wasted, Really." In it, the advantages of a break in the school year, rather than a continuous year-round program, are pointed out. I ask unanimous consent, that this editorial, from the July 23 issue of the Lafayette (Ind.) Leader, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOT WASTED, REALLY

Since the very beginning of our public school systems the school year, by custom, has allowed for a vacation period through the summer months. Many rural schools in Indiana operated a 7-month term until the early twenties. This was probably established for the benefit of farm families who entered a busy season in early April.

As time went by and conditions and working seasons were affected by machinery and more modern methods, the farm situation changed and so did the school complexion. Consolidations have virtually eliminated the strictly rural school in Indiana.

Most of our present-day school buildings are large and imposing structures. They represent a huge investment of public funds. A number of years ago the smaller school buildings, many of them the one- and two-room variety, drew small attention as they sat vacant through summer vacation months, but the modern school plant draws plenty of attention.

Quite a number of folks are beginning to worry about the vacant school buildings and their complaints are growing more frequent and louder each year. They favor continuous school operation—with only short breaks now and then—in order to get their money's worth from the "expensive facilities" now standing idle.

Those who believe the summer vacation period is entirely wasted on our younger generation are overlooking a number of advantages. Many of the young folks get jobs in the summer and are able to earn some of their own school expense money, and at the same time gain valuable experience and training for the future. Great numbers of school pupils attend summer church camps and Scout camps. Training and experience gained in these camps can hardly be classified as a waste of time.

In this day of rapid transportation, great numbers of the more fortunate students make long summer vacation trips with their parents to scenic and historic spots across the Nation, and even to foreign lands. Forty or fifty years ago schoolchildren could only read about such places in their history and geography books, with small hope of ever seeing them. Such travel experience is hardly a waste.

Add to these advantages, the change of tempo from classes and books to the carefree hours of vacation so vital to the days of childhood and we think it all adds up to a good case for a summer break.

Furthermore, year-round school would not especially create a big economy in use of our educational facilities. Three months additional teachers' salary, custodian salary, plus cost and operation of airconditioning in all structures would add tremendously to school operational costs.

Our children start school at the age of 5 or 6 and finish high school at 17 or 18. During those years they are crammed with enough education to enter college. If the school year is lengthened the result would probably be a younger college set, and we might have students earning their college degrees while they are still juveniles. Why the rush?

Education is becoming vastly more important year after year, and the facilities are becoming more costly with each structure erected. However, the quality of our high school and college graduates does not indicate that we are wasting our educational facilities by taking a summer vacation.

"Press Internationale"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for some time now Chicago has been the proud originator of a tremendously interesting and informative TV program, broadcast every Sunday afternoon over station WBWK–TV, an American Broadcasting Co. affiliate, called "Press Internationale."

This unique program was originated by Bob Lewandowski who received his initial training in the broadcasting field by announcing—under fire—for the Polish Underground Army in Warsaw during the Nazi occupation of that country during World War II.

"Press Internationale" is perhaps the most unique program in the United States. Mr. Lewandowski has succeeded in assembling a panel of outstanding American news reporters who fortunately speak various foreign languages. These veteran American newspapermen report to Chicago TV audiences the treatment that the foreign press in major countries gives to the fast pace of world-moving events.

It would be my hope that the American Broadcasting Co. would give serious consideration to televising "Press Internationale" on a national hookup. I believe this program would give countless Americans a better understanding of how difficult are the problems in a changing world.

Mr. Lewandowski has had a tremendous impact with his program on the entire Chicago land area which for many years was regarded as the heartland of American isolationism.

By projecting, in an expert and professional manner, the interpretations that the world press gives in its own respective foreign language to world events, Mr. Lewandowski and his panel have been able to bring to Midwest audiences a better understanding of how difficult are the problems which confront the world today.

"Press Internationale" is fortunate to have men like D. J. R. Bruckner, a reporter for the Chicago Sun-Times, who interprets reactions of the British press; Mr. Hal Bruno, a writer for Newsweek, who interprets the Indian press; Mr. Dan Tucker, of Chicago's American, who interprets the Latin American press; Mr. Mike Murphy of Life magazine who speaks Russian most fluently, and interprets for TV audiences the reaction of the Russian press. There are many other topnotch journalists who have the ability to speak foreign languages who bring together into this interesting panel every Sunday afternoon a panoramic view of how the world press treats news-breaking developments.

"Press Internationale" is synonomous with Bob Lewandowski. I should like to include in the RECORD today a series of recent articles about Mr. Lewandowski because they so expertly describe his background and provide an excellent clue to how and why he happened to originate this truly interesting and ingenious TV format.

The American Broadcasting Co., Mr. Speaker, is missing an excellent opportunity to fortify the Sunday afternoon cultural interlude on TV by failing to give the entire Nation the great pleasure that Chicago audiences have in viewing "Press Internationale."

Some of the clippings about "Press Internationale" and its founders follow:

[From the Chicago Daily Tribune, Aug. 1, 1961]

"PRESS INTERNATIONALE" A CLICK ON CHANNEL 7

(By Francis Coughlin)

The show started out as a take-a-chance project on channel 7. The idea didn't come from the station's program or public affairs departments, either. It came out of leftfield as a proposal by Bob Lewandowski, master

of ceremonies on ABC's "Polka-Go-Round." The idea, sounding a little fantastic a thousand miles from the sea coast, was to view and review foreign news through the eyes of foreign newsmen available in Chicago—some on assignment and some working with the local foreign language press. The title summarizes both content and concept: "Press Internationale."

In a good many ways, "Press Internationale" was a rash venture. Newsmen to be interviewed weren't the big byliners. Nobody was billed as a world expert or an international authority. Nobody was expected to voice a scoop whispered to a noted correspondent in the dark of a powder factory by a defecting cabinet minister.

Instead, news and comment were to be such as might be distilled from the foreign press by almost any competent reporter familiar with the language and in touch with what was going on.

It should be added that Bob Lewandowski professed no special knowledge in the news field. He suggested a newsman, Richard Applegate, a sometime foreign correspondent with experience in the Orient, and later a writer and reporter for radio and TV.

Teamed with Applegate and Lewandowski, and supported by Sterling (Red) Quinlan, WBKB's vice president and general manager, Dick Locke took over as producer-director.

"Press Internationale" went on the air during the summer slump. It was not, the station insists, a summer replacement. It was a freewheeling news program slotted for Sunday release and launched against strong competition to flourish or fail on its own merits. It flourishes.

It flourishes because it is a fresh approach, effectively mounted, well paced, and solidly informative. As moderator, Applegate is content to guide the discussion, to clarify an occasional passage, and—high praise for an m.c.—to let each participant tell his own story in his own way. Guest newsmen have turned out to be alert, for the most part young, and unpretentious. Here, of course, pacing and tone are set by the producer and moderator.

In any event, "Press Internationale" is an excellent news program of local origin in the brave traditions of the Chicago style. It's so good, in fact, that Red Quinlan confesses himself in something of a quandary about it. Come fall, with professional football scheduled for channel 7 Sundays, and with Jim Hagerty proposing to feed four half hours of major public information programs to the net each week, competition for news time is going to be tough on ABC.

* * * * *

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Apr. 3, 1961]

IT'S THE MOLLOY—NEW TV SERIES ON COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS

(By Paul Molloy)

Pravda and other Communist papers will be the "stars" of a new Chicago TV series that starts next month.

The series is "Press Internationale" which will be seen each Sunday at 4 p.m., on channel 7. It will be produced by Bob Lewandowski (who will also serve as host) and moderated by Dick Applegate, former NBC correspondent in the Far East.

This is how the series will work: Each week the current foreign-language newspapers of various countries will be dissected by Applegate and a panel of experts on world affairs. "The idea," says Lewandowski who conceived the project, "is to get at the heart of what people behind the Iron Curtain are reading every day."

ADVENTURE IN JOURNALISM

Newspapers used will not be foreign-language journals published in this country, but those published in Russia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, East (and West) Germany, Cuba, and so on.

News reports and editorial comment will be translated on camera, and then discussed by local newspapermen, scholars, and diplomats.

"We won't only discuss what the people over there are reading about us and the rest of the world," Lewandowski explains. "But we will also discuss what news does not appear in those papers, and why."

"Press Internationale," which makes its debut May 7, has already been sold for 13 weeks to a Chicago savings and loan association by Lewandowski, well-known here for his "Polka-Go-Round." Now a freelancer. Applegate made big news in 1953 when he was captured by the Chinese Reds while sailboating near Hong Kong and held captive 18 months.

As of now, "Press Internationale" sounds like a very fine format.

[From Newsweek, July 2, 1962]

THINK ALONG WITH BOB

The TV Sabbath—for the afternoon, at least—is a veritable warehouse full of couches and V-shaped desks, where earnest experts perch and ponder. One of the more interesting of these think alongs is a half hour local program on Chicago's ABC channel, WBKB–TV, on which experts drawn from the local press corps analyze the foreign newspaper coverage of such current events as the refugee exodus from Red China, the Communist infiltration of South America, or last Sunday, the European Common Market.

"Press Internationale," now starting its second year on the air, was the invention of Bob Lewandowski, a 42-year-old Polish-born music-hall performer who came to America in 1951, and who broke into television as a singing emcee of "Polka-Go-Round." The idea for "Press Internationale" occurred to him because, as he recalls: "It seemed to me that this country didn't know or understand much about what other countries think. The answer was to put on the air people who did read foreign newspapers and were qualified to report what they said."

EXPERT

Finding such qualified panelists has been easier than Lewandowski thought it would be. "It's amazing," he says, "that we could find so many outside of, say, New York. But they're here, and we keep looking for more all the time." Nick Shuman, financial editor of the Chicago Daily News, and for 20 years an avid student of Russian affairs, is a typical panelist. On last Sunday's show, he noted that the Russian press, after ignoring the Common Market until May of this year, has begun to attack it bitterly. "They apparently realize," said Shuman, "that they stand to lose tremendously, and are reacting in panic—which of course indicates the tremendous success of the Common Market."

When the show first went on the air, the panelists (drawn each week from a pool of 30 as the issues under discussion change) confined themselves mostly to reading what was in their foreign newspapers, without much elaboration or interpretation. "But then," says Lewandowski, "as the panelists came to be recognized by the audience as experts, we let them branch out." Now, instead of just reading, there is analysis and even forecasting. (Six months before India invaded Goa, viewers of "Press Internationale" learned that the attacks in the Indian press on the tiny Portuguese enclave indicated something was in the wind, and they heard that the actual invasion was imminent days before it occurred. Similarly, Middle Eastern expert Nizar Jwaideh warned that the cease-fire in Algeria would not end the blood bath there, and Spanish analyst Dan Tucker predicted the diplomatic troubles at Punta del Este.)

Lewandowski—on whose name moderator Dick Applegate still occasionally stumbles—thinks up the topics for the shows, trying, even though he has to work 10 days in advance, to gear them as closely as possible to current news. For a change of pace, he slips in such breathers as the spirit of Christmas in the Communist press, or a rundown of cartoons and comics, or even ads, that foreign papers carry. On the show, his role is to introduce the subject and, at the end, say a few words about what will happen the following week.

WHOSE MR. K.?

The panelists feel that often they cannot resolve a subject in a half-hour program, but they find it stimulating. Indeed they sometimes become so thoroughly involved that they make the same mistake that viewers have often made, confusing the opinion of the panelist with the opinion in the papers on which he is reporting. Shuman, the Russian man, takes the worst of this, and he recalls, "once, one of the other panelists threw a newspaper at me and said: 'There, what does your Mr. Khrushchev think of that?' I had to jump in and explain that he wasn't my Mr. Khrushchev, and that I was just reporting what Pravda and Izvestia said."

[From the TV-Radio Mirror, January 1964]

BROADCASTING—INTERNATIONAL STYLE

He was born in Warsaw on May 13, 1920, and the only problem young Bob Lewandowski once faced was which career to choose: Should he continue studying at the Academy of Political Science—or the Academy of Dramatic Arts? Then, under the Nazi occupation, he chose a dangerous new line: Broadcasting—under fire—for the Polish Underground Army. His life in Europe is quite a saga, but it was in America * * * starting in 1951 * * * that the tangled threads of experience and talent wove into a pattern combining both his early dreams. As entertainer, Bob has been seen nationwide emceeing and singing on "Polka-Go-Round" and he still uses his know-how selecting popular Polish music for his morning radio shows on WTAQ and WSBC. As a "political student," he's electrified the whole Chicago area, producing and hosting "Press Internationale" on WBKB–TV * * * the Sunday-noon program on which expert newsmen analyze world events—as reported in each country's own publications—and make amazingly accurate forecasts. This is the work most important to Bob * * * though there's a special spot in his heart for "A Walk Through the Curtain," the hour-long documentary he filmed in Warsaw—on his first peacetime visit. An American citizen now, he hopes to go again * * * not only there, but other key locales. International-minded Bob firmly believes "in more free exchange of ideas and thoughts throughout the world."

[From the Federation News]

HOW FOREIGN PRESS VIEWS WAR

(Poverty is a worldwide problem, so when the United States—through President Johnson—launched a war on poverty, the opening skirmishes got press attention everywhere. Press Internationale, the excellent television analysis of the world's newspapers presented on television station WBKB at 2:30 p.m. each Sunday, examined the reaction of newspapers in four major areas to President Johnson's war on poverty. The British press was checked by D. J. Bruckner, labor writer of the Chicago Sun-Times; the press of India was examined by Hal Bruno of Newsweek; the Latin American newspapers were read by Dan Tucker of Chicago's American and the Russian press was reported on by Mike Murphy of Life magazine. Here are excerpts from the program:)

BRITISH PRESS—ALL PARTIES AGREE WITH U.S. PROGRAM

Rarely has the British press been so unified on approaching any subject as it is in

analyzing the war on poverty—within the United States and throughout the world.

Obviously, they say, President Johnson's program inside this country is too small at the moment to achieve its immense aims. But just as obviously it is the beginning of right thinking and doing if democracy is to survive in the United States; it is morally right and economically sound and probably will work. Also, it is the most powerful election year message any candidate could come up with and furious Republicans know it.

The existence of poverty in the United States is at least as aggravating and as indecent as the existence of the enormous poverty of the world, say the papers, and in that respect the United States is the microcosm. Failure to solve the problem here is failure to solve it in the world.

The papers are more ready than any American publication to take the arguments about poverty to their natural conclusions. Within America, if poverty is to be overcome, income, distribution and forces of the market place will have to be controlled and some way will have to be found to overcome the injustice of concentrated wealth.

The fact is that in the present age of technological production and wealth, say the papers, the poor must run fiercely just to stay merely poor. Under present-age conditions, the poor countries of the world cannot hope to catch up with living standards of Western Europe within 200 years and with America—never.

If poverty is to be eradicated, they say, and socialist and conservative papers alike agree, it must be if common humanity is to survive, the rich must be willing to sacrifice, not necessarily their money, but their prerogatives, control, and accumulation. This goes for the world as for America. And, ultimately, the wiping out of international poverty through the economic methods known will require a complete revision of everything mankind has ever known as international monetary exchange, trade laws, and the basis of money itself.—D. J. R. BRUCKNER, Chicago Sun-Times.

INDIAN PRESS—POOR IN UNITED STATES? IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE

When it comes to poverty and all that goes with it—suffering, illiteracy, disease—Asia in general and India in particular take back seats to no one on earth. South Asia can claim the dubious distinction of being the most poverty-stricken region in the world. The whole purpose of the Government of India has been to wage war on poverty in order to make political freedom have some real meaning for the masses of the people.

India realizes better than any other nation that democracy is an unkept promise as long as there is human misery and an all-consuming poverty. Despite the near-miraculous advances of the past 15 years, India remains a country where poverty dominates the scene. Eighty percent of the Indian people live in the rural villages, and they would find it difficult to believe that poverty, as they know it, exists in the United States.

Their disbelief is quite correct for the degree and scale of poverty in America in no way compares with the poverty of India. American poverty exists in pockets in each city and State. The poverty of the underdeveloped countries of the world is nationwide and a part of the natural way of life.

As a result, President Johnson's war on poverty in America has attracted only passing interest in the Indian press. They applaud the effort, for everyone is against poverty wherever it exists, and there has been a mixture of curiosity and mild amusement. For some, it may even be a bit comforting to know that the richest nation in the world also has its bit of poverty. And, there also is the realistic view that the "war on poverty" is a handy political slogan in election year.

Finally, there is the sincere hope that President Johnson will be successful, for anything that strengthens democracy in the United States—eliminating poverty, social injustice, etc.—also strengthens democracy in India and the rest of the free world.—HAL BRUNO, Newsweek.

LATIN AMERICAN PRESS—NATIONS LOOK TO TRADE FOR HELP

The Latin press in general couldn't have cared less about President Johnson's war on poverty in this country, but it is devoting yards of news and editorial space to the economic conference in Geneva. And in that I think Latin American judgment is correct, because this really is a tremendous story—nothing less than an attempt to remake the whole world's economic structure.

The Latin American commentators regard this as possibly the most important international conference since the United Nations was founded; they point out that if it works—if any way can be found to stabilize prices of raw materials and regulate international trade—the world will have solved the problem that has given rise to most of humanity's other problems—wars, famines, poverty, practically anything you can name.

The conference is also bringing into focus the clevage between the have nations and the have nots, which are very much in the majority. The Latins point out that this may be the new world alinement of the future—Latin America, Africa, and Asia against the United States, Europe, and Russia—which may or may not be a very comforting thought—DAN TUCKER, Chicago's American.

RUSSIAN PRESS—SOVIET USES "POVERTY" TO ATTACK UNITED STATES

Soviet writers and reporters are having difficulty understanding why in the opulent United States nearly 50 million people go to bed hungry, while their contemporaries live in silken luxury. Admittedly, there is poverty in the Soviet Union, but there is not the glaring and frightening gap between rich and poor. The Soviets give credit where credit is due, pointing to Michael Harrington's book "The Other America: Poverty in the U.S.A." as the keystone of the current war on poverty.

American publications such as Life, Newsweek and Time contribute to the Soviet papers—admittedly unwilling—with articles and photographs prominently displayed. Komsomolskaya Pravda ran a large article titled "The Alphabet of Hopelessness." Under the letter "B," the words "unemployed" and "poverty," with this article citing 5 million out of work. Pravda ran a picture of a poverty-stricken New Yorker rummaging through a garbage can, Izvestia ran a picture from Life magazine showing an out-of-work miner who lost his fingers in a mining accident.

President Johnson's announcement of a war on poverty got inside space under the headline: "Millions of Americans Suffer From Need." The article honestly outlines the steps President Johnson will take in his war on poverty, being careful to cite precise American figures of unemployment and those considered to be poverty stricken. They conclude the article by stating that despite President Johnson's well-meaning intentions poverty will not be eradicated overnight, for its roots are deep and causes many.

All told, the Soviets use poverty to attack the United States and the capitalistic system in general. They find it difficult to understand how such a rich country as the United States can countenance such abject poverty in the midst of opulence.—MIKE MURPHY, Life magazine.

Is the Supreme Court Killing Free Enterprise?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the forward looking and progressive Republican national platform adopted at the 1964 San Francisco Convention contains some strong support and real encouragement for all who believe in human freedom, individual initiative, self-reliance, and the hallowed American opportunity system.

Excerpts from the 1964 Republican platform contain these paragraphs:

This administration has curtailed, through such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board, the simple, basic right of Americans voluntarily to go into or to go out of business.

The Republican Party's convention platform promises:

Complete reorganization of the National Labor Relations Board, to assure impartial protection of the rights of the public, employees, and employers, ending the defiance of Congress by the present board.

The redevelopment of an atmosphere of confidence throughout the Government and across the Nation, in which vigorous competition can flourish.

In a recent article in the Chicago Tribune, Walter Trohan, one of the Capitol's most respected and experienced observers, provides some interesting information on why the Republican position on free enterprise and the right of free choice is of such vast and current importance to many millions of Americans. I ask unanimous consent to have the Trohan article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: SUPREME COURT'S VERDICT COULD BE DEATH KNELL FOR FREE ENTERPRISE

(By Walter Trohan, chief of Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau)

WASHINGTON.—A case of paramount importance to the American way of life is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court in the vital weeks of the presidential campaign.

The issues go to the heart of the Nation's social, economic, and political structure. The decision, expected around election day, could destroy the foundation of the free enterprise system.

The problem transcends the parties in the case and involves the business community—every large business and many of the smaller ones. It is of vital interest to labor.

The problem is whether a business can be forced by a Government agency to continue to operate, even at heavy financial loss. The same could apply to any segment of a large business. If a business can be forced by the Government to continue for labor purposes, it may be forced to continue for any purpose, so that Government will have complete regulation over business with the free enterprise system doomed.

There also is the related problem of whether one corporation can be held responsible for the liabilities of another. Finally, it involves the question of whether an investor may be told whether he may or may not withdraw his capital for other uses or no uses at all.

In recent times the case would not have presented such far-reaching consequences because the Supreme Court exercised restraint under which it decided the specific issues before it, without reaching into sociological and political fields.

JUDGES "OLD MEN IN A HURRY"

Now, the Court is composed of old men in a hurry, who have pronounced its purpose is to play an "enlarged role as an instrument of social change."

It is entirely possible the Supreme Court will pick up this ball and race to the left, being unable to resist the temptation to reverse the field of free enterprise.

The facts in the case are simple enough. It involves the Darlington Manufacturing Co., a small South Carolina corporation which was founded in 1883 and ran into financial difficulties in 1937, when it went into bankruptcy and 41 percent of its stock was acquired by Deering, Millikin, Inc., and Associates. Deering-Millikin was and is a sales agent for various mills, including Darlington.

For a time the company survived but it found the going rough after 1952. In 1956 the Textile Workers Union of America held an organization drive and won an election by 256 to 248 on September 6, 1956. The union was certified by the National Labor Relations Board as bargaining agent, but the stockholders voted to liquidate on October 17, 1956, by a vote of 134,911 to 3,774. The entry of the union into the picture was the final straw that broke the back of the company in its financial problems.

The union appealed to the NLRB. A trial examiner ruled the closing of the Darlington mill was an unfair labor practice and that Darlington was responsible for wages up to the time of the closing of business. He also ruled that Deering-Millikin, which did not take over or absorb any of the Darlington business, did not constitute a "single employer" with Darlington and therefore were not responsible for Darlington's unfair labor practices and should not be required to put Darlington employees on a favored list. The trial examiner ruled also that there was ample justification for the decision of the stockholders to go out of business. The union appealed.

NLRB OVERRULES EXAMINER

The NLRB overruled its trial examiner and went beyond the scope of the Labor Act. The NLRB held that where there is any interrelationship of ownership and operation among corporations, the NLRB has the right to hold one responsible for the liabilities of the other.

Even though the plant's closing may have been justified for sound economic reasons, the board held that its closing was an unfair labor practice. The NLRB found it wasn't practical to order Darlington recreated, but ordered the payment of back wages until such time as the employees are offered employment or placed on preferential hiring lists.

The U.S. circuit court of appeals decided Darlington had an "absolute prerogative" to go out of business and that the NLRB had no authority either to prevent the plant from closing, or to assess damages for it. But the decision was a close one—3 to 2—so the U.S. Supreme Court could deliver a devastating blow to business by a reversal.

This would be a staggering blow to the business community because no corporation could be sure of its financial operations, because it could never know the holdings of all its stockholders.

Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, not all of the many fine tributes to Herbert Hoover on his 90th birthday can be preserved for posterity, but I would be remiss if I neglected to use the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to perpetuate the thought embodied in an editorial that appeared in yesterday's tribune-Democrat, published in my hometown of Johnstown, Pa.

"The Hoover Recipe: Individual Freedom" should receive the personal attention of every Member of Congress who will be the richer for it. America will be the beneficiary if we in this legislative body and those who succeed us adhere to the philosophy of this simple recipe. If through our limited capabilities we are able to persuade our neighbors elsewhere in the world to strive for this manner of life, then we can have an added satisfaction in knowing that we have made some contribution toward bringing back human dignity to areas where that God-given prerogative has been ruthlessly destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include this inspiring editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

THE HOOVER RECIPE: INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Distilling the experience of his 90 years of life, on the eve of his birthday yesterday, former President Herbert Hoover offered his fellow countrymen and the peoples of the world the essence of human happiness and progress. It was contained in just two words: Individual freedom.

Those words are desperately needed in today's world, in which the lessons of the past are so rapidly being obscured and forgotten. They were better understood in the days when this Nation was established by men who had studied the failures of earlier civilizations, and realized that the only true human wisdom lay in freeing mankind from all but the most essential coercions of government.

It was this freedom which, Mr. Hoover so concisely points out, brought the United States from its small beginnings to the greatest power and abundance ever achieved in the history of the world. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights established basic and specific freedoms, out of which grew many others: The freedom of each individual to choose his own calling, freedom to quit one job and seek another, freedom to buy or not to buy, freedom for each person to venture, and to protect his success—always subject to the rights of his neighbors.

"In short," said Mr. Hoover, "we have freedom of choice. And the product of our freedom is the stimulation of our energies, initiative, ingenuity, and creative faculties."

These freedoms were known to only a minute fraction of the peoples of the world when the United States was born; and, unfortunately, they are enjoyed by only a slightly larger fraction of the world's population today. The theory of not governing too much, on which this country's progress and prosperity were founded, is giving way in many places to the theory that people are not capable of governing themselves and must be coerced by government in most of the aspects of their lives.

Mr. Hoover, one of the most humanitarian and compassionate of men, was for many years maligned by political propaganda of the most vicious type. No doubt there are some who still believe that propaganda. He encountered a depression soon after he became President, and his name is still associated with it—though it persisted for 8 years under his successor, and did not end until war orders from Europe in 1940 revived American industry.

Time has largely dissipated the falsehoods, and enabled the people of this country to judge Mr. Hoover more fairly. And it may be that time has persuaded a growing proportion of the people of this Nation of the timeless truth of his belief that "freedom is the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit, of human dignity." If it has not, so much the worse for all of us.

The High Costs of Luring Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the competition of one section of the country with another, of one State with another, of one community with another, in the effort to attract new industry to locate its plants there, has gone to great extremes in some instances.

The Fort Wayne News-Sentinel recently pointed editorially to the dangers of such highly competitive practices. The editorial was entitled "Industry Wooing Costs Too Dear?" As the editorial pointed out, and detailed cases in evidence, the race sometimes "appears to have degenerated into who can come up with the biggest giveaway show."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRY WOOING COSTS TOO DEAR?

Intense competition among communities for more industry is projecting a new dimension which is giving some government and business leaders pause.

For, what many localities started as a bootstrap operation with modest inducements to attract industry, now appears to have degenerated into who can come up with the biggest giveaway show.

Recently, Fortune magazine came up with these examples of the trend:

In Missouri, an industrial village with only 15 voters has been set up to operate for the exclusive benefit of corporate residents. All town ordinances will be drawn to make the area attractive to industry, and tax-free municipal borrowing will provide the village's companies with capital. But current litigation, initiated by the State government, hopefully may quash the whole thing.

In New Mexico, a town that desperately wanted industry, recently went beyond mere inducement—it bought a company outright and moved it to town lock, stock, and barrel.

In Kentucky, a town with only 700 residents is financing a new aluminum plant with a $50 million municipal bond issue.

Sale of municipal bonds—some tax free—to finance industry have had a tremendous

boom in recent years. Today, 26 States permit the sale of tax-free municipal bonds to finance new industrial plants. In other States, communities often provide 100 percent financing by other devices.

Only three States permitted the issuance of tax-free municipals for industrial plants in 1950. Some $500 million of the bonds have been sold in the past 20 years—by far the great bulk of them in the past 4 years.

The time may well be nigh for the Federal Government to crack down on their overuse.

For we fail to see how either corporations or communities will benefit in the long run from such giveaways. Certainly, the trend forcing the competitive escalation of inducements has reached that critical point where it could cost the winning locality more than it gains.

And corporate managers cannot be too insensitive to that old aphorism—"He who pays the piper calls the tune."

Corporations accepting such giveaway largesse certainly should consider the possibility that they could lose managerial freedom and other advantages that accrue when they are calling their own tune as community citizens who are paying their fair share of the tax load.

They're Building a City in My District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, they are building a new city, an industrial park, and a new seaport in my district, to be the home of 180,000 people and to provide 25,000 new jobs.

Clear Lake City and Bayport are being planned and developed on land purchased many years ago by Humble Oil & Refining Co., and when completed, both will stand as a model of what progressive planning can accomplish. I am sure my colleagues will pardon the pride I take in speaking of this development, and in stating that such thinking is what has made the Metropolitan Houston area the most prosperous and progressive in our land.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to share the history and background of this development with my colleagues, and respectfully draw their attention to the following story from the summer issue of the Lamp. I believe after reading it, they will feel as I do that the officers and employees of Humble should be commended for the magnificent job in helping to build the economic strength of our Nation.

The story follows:

HUMBLE HELPS TO BUILD A CITY: PLANS FOR PEOPLE AND INDUSTRIES IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER TAKE SHAPE NEAR HOUSTON

Near Houston, Tex., and close to the shores of Galveston Bay, two related developments are growing from the ground up; a residential community called Clear Lake City, and Bayport, a self-sustaining industrial center with its own seaport. Both are being planned and developed on land purchased by Humble Oil & Refining Co. many years ago for the production of oil and gas. In both, Humble is deeply interested.

Within 20 years, planners predict, Clear Lake City may have a population of 180,000 persons. Many will work in Bayport industries, which are expected to create some 25,000 jobs. Others will be employed at the Nation's manned spacecraft center nearby.

But size alone does not tell the Clear Lake-Bayport story. Meticulous, long-range plans have been made to insure a healthful and attractive environment both for people and for industry. Wherever industry and growing communities are spilling over from city limits into woods and fields, these plans should be of interest.

Houston, a city that has been doubling its population each decade for the last 40 to 50 years, has a long history of growth, beginning with the independence of Texas.

In 1836 Sam Houston won Texas its freedom from Mexico in the Battle of San Jacinto, at the spot where Buffalo Bayou emptied into Galveston Bay. In that same year the village of Houston was founded some 22 miles inland on the bayou. Thus from its start Houston had a lifeline to deep water, shipping crops and cattle by barge across shallow Galveston Bay to the port of Galveston. The city has always been surrounded by great cattle country. Even today Harris County, of which it is the seat, holds more than 100,000 head of cattle, the largest number of any county in the United States. The county also found room for 1½ million people, some 500 oil wells, and one of the heaviest concentrations of industry in the country. Houston is now the largest city in the South and shows no sign of slackening its growth.

The rapid expansion which began early in the 20th century with the discovery of rich oil fields nearby was further stimulated in 1914 when Buffalo Bayou became the Houston ship channel. It had been deepened to accommodate oceangoing vessels, and the channel was extended across Galveston Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Suddenly Houston became a world port. Tankers could come in to load and unload, and at Baytown, across the channel from San Jacinto, Humble built the Nation's second largest oil refinery. Today Houston is the third seaport in the country.

Humble, named for a small Harris County town where oil was found, has made Houston its headquarters since 1917. Growing with the city, Humble has became the leading domestic oil company in production, transportation, and refining of crude oil and natural gas liquids, and sale of petroleum products. It is Jersey's major United States affiliate.

In 1938 Humble, looking for additional reserves to support its growing needs, decided to buy the J. M. West Ranch of some 30,000 acres, about 25 miles below Houston. The ranch was some miles distant from the Houston ship channel. It did not touch Galveston Bay, and it seemed far removed from the range of industrial or suburban growth. The Humble landmen who looked over the property recall that it was about as rural and peaceful as a place could be. Cattle grazed the pastures, as they still do. There were thick stands of oak along the water courses and of pines nearer the shore. Wildlife abounded—deer, turkey, quail, and prairie chicken, a highly esteemed type of partridge. The whole area, in fact, seemed suited to outdoor recreation as well as to oil and gas development. On the bay were fishing villages and summer homes; adjoining the property was a small chain of lakes, of which the largest was Clear Lake. Humble built on its land a large recreation center with a golf course to serve employees both from the Baytown refinery and its Houston headquarters.

The company was looking, of course, for oil and gas. The property includes two successful fields—Clear Creek oil and gas field and the Friendswood oil field, named for a small Quaker village nearby. They occupy a fairly modest part of the ranch area and will not be available for real estate purposes so long as they are producing.

It was the amazing growth of Houston after World War II that brought about unforeseen uses for the former ranch. Both industries and suburbs had now begun to spread far beyond the city limits. All along the gulf coast the war had stimulated the growth of a vast chemical industry, including petrochemicals. The coastal region abounds not only in oil and natural gas for fuel and raw materials but in sulfur, limestone, salt, oyster shells, timber, and silica sand. There is ample transportation, by air, land, and sea, including low-cost barge transportation along the Intracoastal Canal. And, especially in chemicals, industry attracts industry: the whole gulf coast chemical complex is known as the Spaghetti Bowl because it is linked by more than 1,000 miles of interlaced pipelines through which the plants can exchange chemical raw materials and products.

By far the thickest concentration of this new industry was around Galveston Bay. Along the Houston ship channel and in Texas City nearby are some 70 major industrial plants, including refineries and chemical, paper, and metals plants. By the mid-1950's the Houston ship channel, from the city to the point where it enters the bay, had become an impressive sight, lined with the towers of heavy industry. Except near its mouth, where the State had built a 570-foot shaft commemorating the Battle of San Jacinto, there was almost no open space left on the channel banks. Where could additional industry still find access to the sea?

During the 1950's the Houston Chamber of Commerce pointed out to Humble that some of its 30,000 acres might be needed before long for further development. Humble's property, however, did not directly adjoin salt water, and in 1960, with the possibility of a new industrial center in mind, the company bought a narrow strip of land connecting its acreage with Galveston Bay. Here a new ship channel could be developed, extending into the bay to join the existing Houston Ship Channel. The company consulted several engineering firms, which advised that part of the acreage would be suitable for residential development. Matters had gone so far before Houston became the "space city."

In 1961, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration began to show some interest in the Houston area as a site for its manned spacecraft center. As an encouragement, Rice University offered a 1,000-acre parcel of the former West Ranch—which it had received as a gift from Humble—to the space agency. (The agency later purchased additional acreage from Rice.) Construction of the space center is now near completion, and some 4,000 workers are expected before the end of 1964. The eventual launching of the first American expedition to the moon will be from another site, but the research, the construction, and the testing of equipment will be done near the shores of Clear Lake. The astronauts live close by.

An outbreak of space fever in Houston was inevitable. Signs like "Moonshot Cafe" are noticeable in the Clear Lake area. In the outlying Clear Lake district are realtors' signs advertising "Inner space homes." To some imaginative Texans, Houston's enormous, domed sports stadium, nearing completion, seems to suggest a flying saucer.

Clearly more housing would be needed. Humble, owner of by far the largest tract of land in the area suitable for homesites, called in the Del E. Webb Corp., which has built distinguished new towns. Humble and Del Webb activated the Friendswood Development Corp., which purchased slightly more

than half of Humble's total acreage—some 15,000 acres—as the site of Clear Lake City. So far, $16 million has been spent there. Building of the permanent community facilities has preceded large-scale construction and sale of homes. For example, in the first area being occupied, there are already a shopping center, a large recreation center, a country club, tennis courts, walks, roads, parks, picnic grounds, and playgrounds with rocket-shaped gym apparatus.

The houses themselves will have some novel features; one model offers, as an option, a master bedroom with a sliding roof. But it is not on gimmicks or gadgets that this burgeoning new city places its reliance. Its future has been planned for at least 20 years ahead. Adjoining it, for example, will be a park laid out for the use of research organizations attracted to the area by NASA.

Many of Clear Lake City's future working population, however, will probably be employed in new plants to be built at Bayport. This industrial center will occupy 7,250 acres—an area half the size of Manhattan Island. The connecting strip of land for a new ship channel that the company bought 4 years ago will be given to the Harris County Ship Channel Navigation District. This governmental authority, over stages during the next 20 years, will build and operate a channel with complete port facilities. This will be done without cost to taxpayers, for the new port will be financed by revenue bonds that Humble will purchase. Eventually, they will be redeemed from the earnings of the new port, which, in time, is expected to add some 3.5 million tons a year to the volume now handled by the Port of Houston.

The creators of both Bayport and Clear Lake City have avoided the careless "watch us grow" spirit that leads to problems in areas of rapid urban growth. Before announcing their plans, Humble people studied the bay shore area thoroughly to determine what effect new industrial development would have there. For example, when the company first thought of building a new ship channel, it had seemed logical to bring the channel directly into the upper reaches of Taylor Lake—which feeds into Clear Lake—and there arrange for docks and turning space for the ships. But local authorities pointed out that this would increase the salinity of Taylor Lake and spoil it as a spawning ground for shrimp, which abound there. With the future welfare of the shrimp fleet in mind, it was decided not to join the new ship channel to the lakes but to build instead an artificial turnaround basin with docks. Similarly, it had first been proposed that material dredged out for the new channel could be dumped close by in the bay, at Red Bluff Reef. But it seemed that the oysters and sailboat enthusiasts were already using Red Bluff Reef. So, at greater expense, dumping will be in a more distant part of the bay already used for this purpose. Care will be taken not to muddy the lakes—Clear Lake City must always live up to its name.

Pollution studies of the lake water are being made, at the company's expense, for the Texas Water Pollution Control Board, to make sure that recreational waters will be preserved as development proceeds. The findings, with recommendations for future methods of control, will be reported to the board this year. In the early 1950's State authorities made their own study of the waters of Galveston Bay. This will be repeated. Humble cannot, of course, control what other people empty into either the lakes or the bay, but the company intends that Bayport will set the best possible example.

It plans, for instance, to offer to collect the industrial waste material of each of the new industries, treat it in a central plant, and discharge it through a huge concrete pipeline into the deep Houston Ship Channel, several miles out in the bay at a point where it will do harm to nobody—not even the fish. There are several advantages to centralized handling. The wastes from different factories, brought together, will sometimes neutralize one another—as in the case of caustic and acid wastes. Other treatment can best be done in a central plant. And by setting standards before industries build, Humble makes it easier for them to control costs.

It has been demonstrated already in several places in the United States that an industrial park can be a desirable neighbor to housing developments. This will be true of Bayport. Those woods that the Humble landmen first noticed many years ago will now serve the useful purpose of screening the factories from Clear Lake City and from the existing bay shore communities. The plants will be landscaped, generously spaced, and set back from the property line at least 250 feet. There will be no advertising signs nearer than 200 feet to an arterial road—and even the fencing will be planned for its pleasing appearance as well as its security.

The first sale in Bayport has already been made: Lockheed Aircraft Corp., which does work for NASA, has purchased 500 acres. This company and others will be potential customers for the oil, gas, and chemical feedstocks that Humble can supply. Industries may be of many kinds—chemicals, machinery, primary metals, stone, clay and glass products, perhaps an automobile assembly plant. At their disposal will be services such as a pipeline right-of-way to the Spaghetti Bowl nearby; ample fuel of all kinds, including natural gas brought from south Texas; the main railroad line of the Southern Pacific Railway; new expressways—and, of course, Bayport itself with its new channel. Humble expects that its new neighbors will form an association for such tasks as operating the central waste disposal plant and monitoring the air.

Bayport should not only maintain but improve recreational values. For example, a small channel for pleasure boats will bypass the new ship channel and connect with the lakes. Communities that have been bothered by heavy rains will have improved drainage through culverts into the Bayport Channel. Swimming, sailing, and water skiing hereabouts should be as good as ever, and sportsmen say that some of the best fishing grounds are adjacent to barge and ship channels.

In presenting the advantages of Bayport to industrial executives, the land development division of Humble stresses the attractiveness of the entire Houston area. The city itself has a distinguished symphony orchestra, art galleries, museums, schools, universities, and a new center for the performing arts. Outdoor recreation is available in the whole Galveston Bay region. Local historians recall that Cabeza de Vaca, a Spanish explorer, was enthusiastic about its possibilities in 1528. "All over the land," he wrote, "are vast and handsome pastures, with good grass for cattle; and it strikes me the soil would be very fertile were the country inhabited and improved by reasonable people."

Many people in and around Houston believe that the reasonable people are there and that the improvements are well in hand.

The Human Side of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article that appeared in the Baltimore Sun recently. The article cites the impact our foreign aid is having on the recipient nations. We are achieving more than just adding to the nutrition of human beings for with this comes the desire for self-improvement and self-help. It is this aspect of foreign aid that is going to prove the effectiveness of these programs.

The article follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, June 14, 1964]

THE HUMAN SIDE OF FOREIGN AID

(By Helen Henry)

Frances Humphrey Howard, a former Baltimorean now serving with the State Department's Agency for International Development, has a job directly concerned with the human apparatus of U.S. foreign aid—the people who are helping people to help themselves.

In an assignment giving wide range and perspective to her experience as sociologist, lecturer, and student of international affairs (he was formerly executive director of the United Nations Association of Maryland), Mrs. Howard has been surveying at first hand people-to-people machinery in many parts of the world.

Representing AID—the Agency that administers foreign relief the world over—she serves as liaison officer with its technical assistance and research staff and its Voluntary Foreign Aid Service. The assignment, as she describes it, "charges me with seeking ways to bridge the efforts of the two important forces which are assisting needy people overseas: the American voluntary agencies with their programs of material aid and technical assistance and the U.S. Government, through its foreign aid program, particularly in the area of human resources. The goal," she adds, "is to achieve more effective cooperation between Government and private groups overseas in the total U.S. effort for economic and social development."

In this emissary role she has traveled widely during the past year, meeting and conferring with officials and leading citizens in countries receiving U.S. assistance. She has observed the work of U.S. aid-mission officers in cooperation with those of private agencies and indigenous volunteer groups. Speaking before many of the in-country volunteer groups, she has been rallying their own self-help efforts to alleviate social and economic distress.

For it is the volunteer spirit enforced by material assistance, that Mrs. Howard sees as the real impetus to self-help, which is the ultimate objective of the U.S. aid program.

This spirit was a tangible thing to her on her most recent oversea tour, a visit to five Latin American countries—Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico.

"I was impressed," Mrs. Howard says, "by the budding volunteerism in Latin America. There is everywhere an increasing official support of private activities, which in the past have been quite separate from their governments. And more women are personally involved in public assistance—a significant departure in these countries where cultural traditions have insulated them for centuries.

"And volunteers are being trained," she continued, "to work with the government in health programs, in the feeding of school children, in centers of rehabilitation, in the teaching of child care and nutrition. Native teachers are working with the Peace Corps to combat illiteracy. In all the countries where I conferred with the leaders of civic, youth and social voluntary organizations, the desire to develop their human resources is profound."

AMAZED AT TURNOUT

When Lima newspapers announced that she would meet with members of Peruvian volunteer groups, Mrs. Howard was amazed at the turnout. "I expected perhaps 25 or 30 persons," she said. "More than 150 appeared—all sorts of organizations concerned with the deaf, the blind, church and welfare missions—a broad gamut of concern.

"The object of all the meetings and conferences with Latin American women," she pointed out, "was to identify their welfare programs with the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

"These little groups are still weak," she reports, "they still lack confidence in their own ability—and they lack money and skills.

"They constantly expressed their admiration—and some amazement—for the multipurposed women in the United States. And everywhere I have met with their embryonic volunteer groups, the women in Latin America were eager to know about our organizational techniques—fundraising for charities, how to organize their time."

In Quito, Ecuadoran women's leaders consulted Mrs. Howard about their plans to develop a national directory of their organizations: their purpose is to establish contact with similar organizations in the United States—where, she points out, there are more than 1,500 volunteer groups over the country who are involved in one form or another with foreign assistance. They range from luncheon clubs, service and professional organizations, to 4–H groups, homemakers, and religious auxiliaries.

PROVIDES HOLDING ACTION

As the peoples overseas gather strength and experience in mobilizing their own resources, Mrs. Howard said, "AID is meanwhile providing a holding action important to their growth. And our voluntary agencies are the best part of this action while on the long-term side there is need for loans and grants. The volunteer groups are helping to sustain their communities through food for peace and food for work as they stimulate Latin Americans in self-help programs."

The foreign-aid partnership of the U.S. Government and volunteer groups is based on the long experience of many private agencies in helping people in underdeveloped areas. Their names are known over the world: Church World Service, Catholic Relief Service (CARITAS), Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Thomas A. Dooley Foundation (MEDICO), YMCA and YWCA—to mention only a few of the 56 agencies registered with the Agency for International Development (through the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, headed by Charles P. Taft, Dean Gordon Cairns, of the University of Maryland College of Agriculture, is another member).

The technical assistance and knowledge of these agencies has been vital to the U.S. program for providing welfare, education, housing, rural development, health, and agricultural services. For among them, indeed—especially the church-related missions—are the pioneers of foreign aid.

"The impact of CARITAS, the relief arm of the Catholic Church," Mrs. Howard reports, "is tremendous, particularly in Peru and Ecuador. It is doing a great and imaginative work in projects of housing and child welfare in poverty-stricken areas, in organizing rural cooperatives and credit unions. And it is doing an excellent job in monitoring the food for peace sent by the United States in support of these projects."

More than half of U.S. aid to Latin America is in food for peace, according to AID, and at least 10 million Latin American youngsters are now receiving food for peace supplemental feedings, mainly distributed through CARE, CARITAS, and the Peace Corps.

PROVIDES BALANCED DIET

Surplus U.S. commodities in foreign-aid shipments include bulgur wheat, feed grains, powdered milk and fats (lard, butter, cottonseed and soybean oils), which provide a reasonably balanced minimum diet for 5 to 7 cents a day for an individual.

Bulgur wheat, a midwestern grain processed to resist moisture and vermin—sometimes it is described as "Metrecal without fancy trimmings"—is a basic food in Latin America, said Mrs. Howard, especially for the mestizos, the Indians of the high Andes.

There are, she noted, 7,500,000 Indians in Latin America, "most of them rootless and neglected ever since their proud spirit was stamped out by the Conquistadores. They come down from the barren mountains by the thousands in 'invasions' to squat in the barriadas—the city slums—hungry and in abject misery."

While in Lima, Mrs. Howard was impressed by a community project and feeding program the Peruvian Girl Guides have developed for underprivileged children in one of the barriadas—the Pamplona project. She was the featured speaker there at an international training seminar for Girl Guides, attended by 65 representatives from various Latin American countries. Their leaders were inspired, she was told, by the programs of U.S. Girl Scouts presented in Miami, where they attended an international convention.

"The problem of the barriada," said Mrs. Howard, "has attracted the best of Peace Corps and AID missions, for this is a great threat in areas of violence."

DESKS AND BOOKS LACKING

Theer are 600 Peace Corps volunteers in Peru, she said, who are encouraging the development of native skills for self-help. They are teaching carpentry, to build communal schools (she attended the dedication of one of them). The ministry of education in Lima is supplying teachers to the barriadas—but, she observed, desks and books are lacking.

Among the many Latin American projects in which U.S. agencies are playing a part, Mrs. Howard was especially moved by the "minga"—an Indian collective, rooted in ancient Inca tradition. She visited one of these minga-communals: 400 Indian families who are creating their own community on a mountain above Quito, capital of their ancient empire. Whole families, including the children, pitch in the work of hacking out a mountain road and laying the foundations for new homes.

They receive food-for-peace rations once a week, which, Mrs. Howard says, they regard, in their tradition, as a reward for carrying out their responsibility, rather than as pay for work done.

Peace Corps husband-and-wife teams are teaching Indians how to build communal ovens in which to bake bread, in communes where CARITAS distributes food for peace, and how to make clothing out of the wheat sacks.

"Latin America is not mañana," Mrs. Howard declares, "it is today. They need survival for today. They are hungary. They lack normal basic needs. AID missions are making a pilot impact, setting the example for self-help—but they need, desperately, much more than money: they need human concern for the development of their human resources."

Mrs. Howard's visit to Latin America was given a wide press coverage, which played up the fact that she is the sister of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, who has warmly supported the Alliance for Progress.

"HUBERT's visit last year to Latin American countries was mentioned everywhere I went," said Frances Humphrey Howard, "and I am sure it had a bearing on the cordial welcome given me. In a little Venezuelan village I was met by a delegation of children who came to tell me that a bat he had given them last year with some baseball equipment had been broken, and would I please tell him to send them another one."

Trains 19 Spanish-Speaking Staffers in Ship Sanitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, most Members are well aware of the dedication of the doctors and nurses that serve aboard the hospital ship SS *Hope*, that great white ship that carries American medical know-how to the farflung nations of the world.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many Members are aware of the fine job being done aboard the ship by the lesser known but equally dedicated staff members who back up the medical personnel with their own valuable skills.

Such a person is William Vyn Meier, of Grand Haven, Mich., who, at 19 years of age, is the youngest member of the permanent staff of the *Hope*, currently anchored off Guayaquil, Ecuador.

As chief of sanitation, this young volunteer works long hours and long weeks at a negligible salary, supervising 19 Ecuadorans selected from various Guayaquil hospitals to work aboard the mercy ship and learn the young American's skills.

Working side by side with his Spanish-speaking counterparts, Meier demonstrates modern methods of maintaining sanitation in a hospital and imparts the same good will and perseverance as the physicians, dentists, nurses, and medical aides aboard the floating medical center.

Mr. Speaker, the following article, printed in the Grand Haven Tribune, documents the hard, worthwhile work performed by this fine young American emissary.

TRAINS 19 SPANISH-SPEAKING STAFFERS IN SHIP SANITATION

The SS *Hope*, which is now in Guayaquil at the peak of a very successful visit to Ecuador, boasts a number of outstanding activities, led, of course, by its teaching program in the medical and paramedical aspects, as well as in nursing training aboard the ship. The programs on the ship and ashore are such that in the public eye, the People-to-People Foundation's message to Ecuador is being felt and acknowledged by all the personnel that have come in contact with it. However, some of the departments that are seldom mentioned by the press are, at times, just as important in carrying on the training mission of the hospital ship.

As an example, we can cite the sanitation department, which is the main responsibility of William Vyn Meier, son of Mr. and Mrs. William A. Meier, 1809 Gladys. He is the youngest member of the permanent staff of the SS *Hope*. This 19-year-old young man left the United States to go with Project

Hope and help the people of Ecuador. When he first signed up for this project, he knew what his responsibilities were to be; nevertheless, he had little idea of the problems he would have to encounter.

The first surprise was, of course, the discovery that he had 19 Spanish-speaking persons assigned to him, who were to take care of the sanitation maintenance of the hospital area on the ship. These 19 persons were selected from the various hospitals in the area of Guayaquil, and it is Vyn's job to train them in the proper sanitation procedures that are carried out in a hospital. The language barrier created some disadvantages. Vyn had to learn, as fast as he could, how to translate the main terms that he would need to carry on his job. Problems arose when some of the personnel could not adapt themselves to strict schedules and to thorough cleaning procedures. In time, the personnel that did not live up to par were sent back to the institutions, and new substitutes who accepted the strict disciplinary measures instilled by Vyn, stayed aboard, and are carrying on a very good program.

Now Vyn has a very capable helper, a young man from the military hospital, who acts as his first assistant; and, when Vyn is not available, aids in the supervision of the sanitation of all the areas.

Besides the maintenance of the wards, the offices, and the clinics, Vyn's duties include regular screening of personnel records for tests for parasites, tuberculosis, and other health hazards. The laboratory, too, is involved in Vyn's activities. Because of hospital regulations, cultures have to be made two or three times a week in different areas to insure proper sanitation. The handling of linen, movement of patients, transportation of patients back to their homes or to other hospitals are other activities in which Vyn is asked to partake. Many times he has to leave the ship to drive medical personnel to the areas where the Hope program has clinics.

His day begins at 7:30 in the morning, when the workers arrive from the downtown area in a special bus chartered by the Hope National Committee for the transportation of medical and service personnel to the ship *Hope*, docked 8 miles south of Guayaquil. At this time, Vyn's duties are to make sure that all personnel arrive on time and to assign them to their specific tasks in the hospital. After that, he inspects the various areas, observing the performance of the personnel and making sure that they are following the procedures which are written in Spanish and posted in each area.

Oftentimes he finds that the easiest way of explaining correct cleaning methods is to demonstrate the way things are to be done, and working side by side with his men. Occasionally he provides additional training by showing films on hospital sanitation which illustrate the reasons why he expects his personnel to be thorough in their work. Despite his youth, all the workers very respectfully address him as "Mr. Meier," even though some of them are older than Vyn. Surprisingly enough, he has fewer problems with the older workers than with some of the young ones.

When the ship *Hope* first arrived in Guayaquil, on the staff were two other young men around Vyn's age; but they soon decided to go back home. Vyn stayed and continued his tasks assuming his responsibilities unflinchingly. Long hours and weeks without days off have not been important to him, since he knows his contribution to the project is instrumental in the organization of a complete program in a hospital.

The day Vyn returns to the United States, he will have in his possession an experience that very few men of his age can boast—the challenge of going to another country with little knowledge of the language, to do a job completely new to him; dealing with people of other environments, and learning to understand them, to help them and to work with them.

What the future has to offer Vyn is hard to say, but he will be successful at anything he wants to do, if he tackles it with the same perseverance, good will, and dedication that he has shown as chief of sanitation of the hospital ship *Hope*.

Federal Courts Usurp Power of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the historic ruling of the Supreme Court of June 15 ordering reapportionment of State Legislatures solely on the basis of population, completely ignores the fact that the 14th amendment was not intended to prevent States from establishing legislative systems best suited to their individual needs.

This decision is causing much consternation and fear among millions of our citizens who are commencing to wonder where next the High Court may strike a blow at individual freedom.

An editorial appearing in the August 10 issue of the Salina (Kans.) Journal reflects this growing concern and points up the urgency of legislative action being taken to offset the effects of this decision.

The editorial follows:

FEDERAL COURTS USURP POWER OF THE PEOPLE

It is understandable that metropolitan Wichita, with power to gain, should be enthusiastic for reapportionment of the Kansas Legislature on a basis of population.

In the last shift of district, this area boosted its representation to 18 seats and it is eager for another shuffle of the House to gain even more.

Even so, it is hard to see why the Wichita Eagle, chief spokesman for the grab, should oppose a constitutional amendment to prevent the Federal courts from usurping a power that belongs to the people.

The Federal courts as they now are operating can overthrow State constitutions ratified by both the people of the State and the Congress of the United States. They can nullify reapportionment plans approved by the voters of a State. And they can specify the areas of the local districts by metes and bounds. They have done so in Oklahoma which is now without a legislature unless a new election is held in accordance with Federal court specifications.

Manipulation of district boundaries can deprive people of effective votes, as any student of gerrymandering knows. Minority groups may be put with majority groups so that the former are overwhelmed and impotent. To give Federal judges, who are beyond popular control, this power to gerrymander is dangerous indeed.

By history, tradition, by right and until now by law, the creation of districts has been a legislative and not a judicial function. It was one of the duties of the people through their legislature under their Constitution.

But the Federal courts have overthrown the constitutions, the legislatures, and the people. Such an abuse certainly must be corrected.

No reasonable man can argue against the power of the Federal courts to insure that congressional districts are apportioned according to population, that is, to see that it is done, not specify how it should be done.

Nor is it unreasonable to argue that the Federal courts should protect individual liberty by insuring fair representation in State legislatures as provided by State constitutions.

But when the Federal courts overturn constitutional systems modeled after the Federal plan and designed for the protection of minorities, the Federal courts are wrong. When the Federal courts usurp the legislative function by establishing State districts, the Federal courts are not only wrong but approaching tyranny.

A corrective constitutional amendment cannot be ratified too quickly.

The Freedom-Loving People of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT McCLORY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in pursuing our Nation's campaign for freedom among all the peoples of the world, there is no worthier cause than that of the freedom-loving people of the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Many immigrants and offspring of immigrants from these Baltic nations now reside in the Waukegan-North Chicago area of my 12th Congressional District in Illinois. It is natural, therefore, that these American citizens should be working particularly for their relatives and friends overseas whose freedom was stamped out when the Soviets moved in, in the course of World War II.

Mr. Speaker, a select committee of this House determined—in 1954—that the involuntary incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the Soviet Union was contrary to establish principles of international law. Our nation has never recognized the Soviet regimes in these countries which the Soviet Union pretends to include in its orbit.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 351, urging the President to bring this subject to the United Nations in the hope that the General Assembly, in pursuance of its authority, could order the withdrawal of Soviet troops, secret police, and other Soviet personnel from the once free nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; and that the political prisoners of these three nations now exiled in Siberia or other parts of the U.S.S.R. might be returned to their families and rightful homes.

Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the magnitude of this problem, our Nation should continue in its efforts to assist these Baltic states in freeing themselves from Soviet domination in the hope that one day, in the not-too-distant future, the freedom-loving people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia may be liberated to aid in furthering the cause to which America is dedicated.

American Legion's Position on Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an article from the American Legion Firing Line.

The American Legion's article is self-explanatory and speaks for several million members and their families. The resolution in support of my amendment passed at the post level, then the district organization, county and State conventions, and finally passed by the national conventions. This starts from the "people" and not from some high level individual.

The article follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S POSITION ON PRAYER AND BIBLE READING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

One of the most thought-provoking subjects ever to be debated by Americans is the current situation regarding prayer and Bible reading in public schools. The American Legion's national, mandated policy on this subject is contained in Resolution No. 25, adopted by the 1963 national convention, and Resolution No. 43, adopted by the national executive committee at the spring 1964 meetings. On December 19, 1963, National Americanism Director Maurice T. Webb mailed a memorandum to members of the national Americanism commission department Americanism, chairmen, and members of the national Americanism council, containing information about discharge petition No. 3 in the Congress, introduced by Congressman FRANK BECKER, of New York.

The Becker petition was the result of inaction on the part of the House Judiciary Committee to hold hearings on this vital subject. The December letter pointed out that it was reported that 122 Members of Congress had already signed discharge petition No. 3.

On April 15, 1964, a memorandum from national Americanism chairman, Daniel J. O'Connor, was sent to department commanders, national executive committeemen, and department adjutants, advising that the Judiciary Committee chairman had decided to call hearings on this subject. Chairman O'Connor was to testify on May 6, however, due to delays, his testimony was actually given on May 21. Thousands of letters were forwarded to the American Legion's Washington, D.C., office from every section of the country. These letters were addressed to the Judiciary Committee and urged the committee to take positive action to report pending legislation out of the committee so that the full House of Representatives might have the opportunity to vote on a proposed, constitutional amendment allowing prayer and Bible reading in public schools, or some other approach which would accomplish the same goal. It is interesting to note that, on April 15, 111 Members of Congress had introduced bills or resolutions, calling for a constitutional amendment allowing prayer and/or Bible reading in public schools.

The hearings on this subject were concluded the early part of June and it appeared that the Judiciary Committee would not report a bill of any kind out of the committee on this subject. On June 15, 1964, Congressman BECKER again called for more signatures to the discharge petition in order to secure the additional 52 congressional signatures required for the discharge petition to be successful. On June 23, national Americanism chairman, Daniel J. O'Connor, sent a memorandum to members of the national Americanism commission, department of Americanism, chairmen and members of the national Americanism council, calling for additional efforts to secure the additional 52 signatures required.

Firing Line would like to point out that the discharge petition is only a vehicle which could be used to allow the Congress to consider this vital subject.

We believe that the readers of Firing Line would like to be made aware of just what has transpired in relation to this subject of prayer and Bible reading in public schools since the 1963 national convention. At the same time, we feel that many readers of "Firing Line" will want to take action by contacting their Congressman, requesting that he sign discharge petition No. 3.

Jurist Airs School Prayer View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the attitude of the judiciary with respect to the Supreme Court's decisions on prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. A recent letter to the editor of the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel by Judge Harold E. Achor of the Supreme Court of Indiana is illuminating upon this point, and I am pleased to include it herewith:

JURIST AIRS SCHOOL PRAYER VIEW

To the EDITOR:

Many people are concerned because several renowned clergymen, who purport to speak for the major churches of America are actively opposing a constitutional amendment which would again permit religious activities in our public schools. I concur in this concern. Personally, I find no reason, in logic or experience, which justifies their action.

After the New York prayer case, these clergymen have defended the decision, not because it espoused the doctrine of any particular religious establishment, or that it was bad for the children of New York to state in prayer that they acknowledge the existence of God and ask His blessing on their parents, teachers, and country; rather, the prayer was said to be objectionable because it was formalized. Its prohibition was "justified" on the ground that if this prayer could be recommended for use, the children could be asked to repeat other formalized prayers prescribed by the state or some dominant church, to the suppression or exclusion of all other churches. This could ultimately result in the establishment of a state church.

To me it was no more logical to prohibit the children of New York from repeating this reverent but simple prayer because it contained the seeds of a state church than it would be to argue that no man be permitted to start a business in his garage because of the possibility that he might monopolize the industry.

However, the fact that prayer was formalized was only an incident to the Supreme Court's decision. Subsequent decisions demonstrate that the Court's resolve is to prohibit all religious activity in the affairs of government, beginning in our public schools. Nevertheless, these clergymen continue to vocally support this revolutionary development.

Is this new concept good for America? What does history teach us? America was conceived, cradled, and nurtured in religion. This is evidenced, in part, by our Declaration of Independence, the first amendment to our Constitution, and the inscription on our currency. There are few expressions of religious devotion which exceed the last verse of "America." In our schools, prayer and the reading of the Bible were an approved, if not prescribed practice from the founding of our country. Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter exercises, all religious activities, were the most significant events in the school calendar. In the tradition of these religious declarations and practices, America has been blessed above all other nations. America has thus verified the Biblical exultation that "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord."

But now we are told by our courts and a few clergymen that these practices of 200 years are all wrong and can no longer be tolerated. We are told that the proper place for the teaching and practice of religion is in the home and in the church, and not in the public schools. But can we expect greater respect for religion, greater morality, fewer dropouts from school, or less delinquency and crime, by removing all religious teaching and practices from our schools? The evidence is otherwise.

Religion is neither taught nor practiced in most of the homes of America. Is the church equal to the need? A large percentage of our people are not affiliated with any church, and many who are church affiliates are no more than that. Furthermore, most children who attend church are under its influence no more than 1 hour a week. The church and the home need all the support and assistance possible in developing today's child "in the way he should go." The Bible commands: "In all thy ways acknowledge Him." To me this includes not only the home and the church, but also the schools.

HAROLD E. ACHOR,
Judge, Supreme Court of Indiana.

Speeding Interstate Highway Construction Can Save Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have long since favored accelerating the progress of construction of our Interstate Highway System. I have done so on the ground that it is needed as a measure to cut down on accidents, property damage, suffering, and death. I have introduced legislation for acceleration of the construction of interstate highways.

Comparisons of accident statistics on controlled-access highways with those for other roads not so controlled show, time after time, that proper construction for safety does eliminate accidents. Recent figures from Indiana confirm that truth.

Recently the Michigan City, Ind., News-Dispatch cited some figures from the record of the 270 miles of the Interstate System now completed in that State. I ask unanimous consent that the

first three paragraphs of that editorial, from the Wednesday, July 29, issue be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S MORE IMPORTANT?

Indiana's 270 miles of interstate highways open to traffic handled more than 85,000 vehicles daily during the first 4 months this year, yet contributed only 3 of the State's 312 traffic deaths during this period.

During the same 3 months, only 148 property-damage accidents occurred on the controlled-access highways. On other State roads and streets there were 38,154.

An accident analysis according to the Indiana Highways for Survival newsletter, shows another 50 persons could have lost their lives in Hoosier traffic mishaps had not the 270 miles of interstate highway been in use.

Happiness Is a Wheat Deal With Hungry Russians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Phil Acton, owner of the Elk Ridge Cafe, Blanding, Utah, sent to me a clever and satirical article on the wheat deal with Russia by the noted commentator, Paul Harvey. I thought my colleagues would enjoy reading it.

HAPPINESS IS A WHEAT DEAL WITH HUNGRY RUSSIANS

(By Paul Harvey)

Wheat is what if you don't have enough of you go hungry.
Wheat is what the Russians don't have enough of.
Hungry Russians are unhappy Russians.
What they need to make them happy is wheat.
Happiness is a wheat deal.
Gold is what if you don't have enough of you go broke.
Gold is a precious metal which Fort Knox has less and less of.
Broke Americans are unhappy Americans.
Gold is what the Russians offer us for wheat.
Happiness is a wheat deal.
But the Russians don't have any gold to spare right now.
So they offer money, which is the same thing.
Except that they don't have the money right now.
They need credit.
Credit is what if you have enough of you don't need money.
The Russians say if you will give them wheat—and credit,
It's a deal.
Hardheads are U.S. bankers who say "No."
They say the Russians have not yet paid their debts from World War II.
The Export-Import bankers are not hardheads.
They will loan the Russians money—
If you will cosign the note.
So the Russians get the wheat and charge it—
To you.
Russians, who were becoming unhappy with their unworkable isms are happy again.
American politicians, less embarrassed by stockpiled wheat in an election year, are happy.
Khrushchev is smiling. You are happy.
Happiness is a wheat deal.
Expensive is what American ships are to carry wheat.
Cheap is what foreign ships are.
Foreign ships are what carry U.S. wheat.
A discount is what a customer gets when he does business in cash.
A discount is what it takes to close the deal and make the Russians happy.
A discount is what the Russians get because they do business in cash.
Your cash.
Happiness is a wheat deal.
Cuba is where the Russians say the wheat won't go.
A foreign ship is what sailed from Canada with wheat.
Cuba is the first place it docked. And unloaded.
"I'll bury you," is what Khrushchev says.
A shovel is what you give him.
And anybody who objects—
Is an extremist.

Panama Canal 50th Anniversary: "Danger Over Panama"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on August 15, 1964, the Panama Canal organization will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formal opening of the great waterway to traffic. The Bobbs Merrill Co., of Indianapolis, Ind., has appropriately chosen this time as the publication date for a book by Jules Dubois on "Danger Over Panama."

A newsstory about the forthcoming publication follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, July 31, 1964]

DANGER OVER PANAMA

Jules Dubois, noted Latin American correspondent has chosen an unusual and potentially hazardous time and place to introduce his book, "Danger Over Panama," published by Bobbs Merrill Co.

The time: August 15, the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal. The place: Panama City, where Mr. Dubois will be on hand to cover the trouble or violence that may crop up on the anniversary.

Mr. Dubois is no stranger to personal danger in troubled Latin American countries. In the course of nearly 20 years as Chicago Tribune correspondent and 14 previous years of experience in these areas, he has been beaten, nearly strangled by Red "goon squads," threatened by machine guns, confronted Fidel Castro, ignored the Cuban dictator's efforts to strave him out of Havana, defied Communist attempts to lynch him, and has documented and exposed the threatened Red takeover, based on his firsthand investigations.

He asked his publishers to make available his new book, "Danger Over Panama," for the first time in a Panama City bookstore on the day the Reds may try again to stir up trouble. Panama Communists tried to strangle him in 1951.

Mr. Dubois believes that the violence in Panama is merely part of the pattern of subversion by which Moscow hopes to win continental beachheads among the 200 million people of Latin America.

Let's Stop Confusing Civil Rights With Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is a well established and known fact that an exceedingly small group of Negroes participated in the recent riots. It is not so well established that there is a distinct difference between civil rights and these "uncivil riots." As this editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of August 5, 1964, points out, civil rights and riots are not linked by a cause-and-effect relationship.

I commend the editorial to the attention of our colleagues as being an explicit statement clarifying the confusion on this point in the minds of some people:

STOP CONFUSING RIGHTS WITH RIOTS

After the riots of Harlem, Brooklyn, Rochester, Jersey City, and elsewhere, it is imperative that every sane citizen, white or black, settle on two guidelines for peace:

The civil rights cause is a good and a necessary one.

The anarchy of vicious lawlessness will not be tolerated.

Each of these outbreaks of violence has demonstrated that there is a pile of dynamite waiting to be exploded by some incident, followed by criminal disorder and the necessity that force be met with superior force in the restoration of order.

The lamentable part is that civil rights have gotten mixed up with riots in a cause-and-effect relationship, and that the vandalism and looting (done by a minority among the Negroes) come to be regarded as the evidence of unrest demanding correction by government and society.

This is a confusion of events. It puts the reckless mob in the same stream with the Negro quest for equality in jobs, education, housing, politics and every other legitimate right. And this is wrong. In a nation of law and order, we have surely not come to the point where social justice shall be commanded by hoodlums with bricks and gasoline bombs.

It is a fact, of course, that a great revolution is in progress. The Negro rightly demands unqualified citizenship and equal opportunity. The rest of us are challenged, in law and morality, to help. But the struggle for equality cannot be equated or packaged with riots. For this is a tragic denial of the civil rights principle itself.

Perhaps there will be other outbursts, sparked by some incident or bad leadership or lack of understanding and communication. The obligation on all is to be alert, and to work for lasting solutions. The dangers are plain to see; they must be avoided by care, intelligence and the willingness to invest in prevention.

But one great immediate necessity is to insist everywhere on the separation of racial justice, which is what the social revolution is all about, from the poison of lawlessness. Let's consider them as two parallel but distinct problems, both to be vigorously mas-

tered as required, and thereby make sense in reducing the dilemma.

In short, stop confusing civil rights and uncivil riots.

Commonsense on Apportioning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, there is concern among many Members of Congress about the results of the recent Supreme Court ruling on reapportionment of State legislatures.

Legislation to correct this action has been introduced and hearings have been held on bills introduced by Indiana's good neighbor and friend and my congressional colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH].

A very sensible and responsible solution has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN which would allow the States to work out their own problems without interference and meddling by the Supreme Court.

In support of the Dirksen legislation, which has been offered also in the House, the Indianapolis Star published on August 8 an editorial outlining the need for this bill.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial in its entirety in the RECORD in order that all Members of Congress can examine the merits of this bill. The editorial is as follows:

COMMONSENSE ON APPORTIONING

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, has introduced in the Senate a carefully worded bill which would give State legislatures 4 years of breathing time on the Supreme Court's mandate that both houses of all legislatures must be apportioned on a strict population basis.

One special merit of the Dirksen proposal is that it would accomplish the purpose of a delay without in any way undermining the argument that the Federal courts have no business telling State legislatures how to apportion themselves. The Dirksen bill does not include any language which suggests affirmation of Federal court jurisdiction. It simply provides an automatic stay of legislative apportionment suits when requested.

It is important to avoid acknowledgement of Federal jurisdiction in any congressional act aimed at relieving the situation, and especially in proposing a constitutional amendment to provide permanent relief. There is now no foundation in the Constitution or the laws for Federal court authority to rule on the legality of the composition of a State legislature. The only basis for court suits is the Supreme Court's own peculiar interpretation of the powers of the Federal judiciary.

The Court's assumption of this jurisdiction is a usurpation of power which the Constitution does not give to any branch of the Federal Government. What is needed in answer is an action which spells out the specific point that control over the composition of their legislatures is a reserved power of the States. The most surely effective way to do this is by constitutional amendment.

It should not be an amendment which specifices any basis on which a legislature may be apportioned, or any method of approving or carrying out apportionment. It should be an amendment which simply says that there is no Federal jurisdiction over the composition or apportionment of State legislatures.

Delay of court actions in reapportionment suits is vital to allow time to deal with the situation through the relatively slow process of constitutional amendment. If an adequate amendment is proposed and submitted to the States, and if the necessary majority should fail to ratify it, so be it. The Federal courts could proceed with the business of laying down rules of legislative apportionment. But in that case the States themselves would have consented to this shift in the Federal-State balance of power. The argument that it is a usurpation of power would no longer be persuasive.

Meanwhile such a delay as provided in the Dirksen bill would prevent a chaotic realinement of legislatures.

The objection may be raised that this would allow rural domination of legislatures to continue until these same legislatures have a chance to vote ratification of the amendment and thus achieve self-perpetuation. This is a valid objection. But it can be met quite easily.

In proposing a constitutional amendment, Congress can specify that ratification be by referendum instead of by the legislatures. This was done in the repeal of the prohibition amendment. The question would then be directly in the hands of the people, and surely no one can argue the propriety of that.

Award of a Smith Kline & French Foreign Fellowship for Medical Students to Lawrence Y. Kline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALPHONZO BELL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the recognition accorded a medical student from my constituency who has been awarded a Smith Kline & French foreign fellowship for medical students. Lawrence Y. Kline of Santa Monica, Calif., a junior in the University of California School of Medicine, Los Angeles, has been awarded a $1,422 fellowship which will enable him to broaden his medical training by assisting and observing at a neuropsychiatric center in Nigeria.

Son of Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Kline, 2606 Highland Avenue, Santa Monica, Calif., Lawrence Kline is one of 29 American medical students who have been awarded Smith Kline & French Laboratories' foreign fellowships by the Association of American Medical Colleges. The fellowships are supported by a grant from the Philadelphia prescription drug firm.

Kline left for Africa in June and is stationed with the Neuropsychiatric Center at Aro Hospital in Abeokuta, western Nigeria, for several months. He is considering a career in psychiatry, and at the Nigerian institution he is assisting with and observing pharmacotherapy, electroconvulsive therapy, individual psychotherapy, group psychotherapy, and occupational psychotherapy, all under the supervision of his sponsor, Dr. T. Asuni, medical superintendent.

In addition to serving as the provincial mental hospital, Aro is responsible for the general health of all the villages surrounding it. Consequently, Kline also will add to his medical experience in the busy outpatient clinic which deals with physical diseases.

Now entering its fifth year, the Smith Kline & French foreign fellowships program was established to provide an opportunity for American medical students to broaden their medical horizons in cultures far different from their own. In the past 4 years 123 fellows have served at hospitals and clinics in 40 countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Late Honorable Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of my good friend and colleague CLAIR ENGLE was more than simply a loss to those privileged to have known him. It was more than the loss to this Congress of a skillful legislator and dedicated public servant. It was a loss to the very spirit of America, to that indomitable trait of national character which raised our great society out of the wilderness. For above all, CLAIR ENGLE was a fighter. He fought for his country, for his State, and always for his principles.

During his long tenure in both the House and Senate, his seemingly inexhaustible supply of energy became proverbial. He worked tirelessly in the interests of his constituents in both Chambers. Much of what has made California the leading State in our Nation is directly traceable to him. It was CLAIR ENGLE who championed the mighty California Central Valley reclamation project. It was CLAIR ENGLE who time and time again secured the Federal assistance vital in the harnessing of the vast resources of our State. The Sacramento Valley Canals, the Folsom Dam and the Trinity River project are all lasting monuments to his memory. It was CLAIR ENGLE who, as chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, gave the crucial impetus to Federal aid to irrigation, flood controls, and water conversion projects, which now promise to transform the arid areas of our southwest into verdant and bountiful gardens.

But CLAIR ENGLE was more than merely a "one State" or "regional" Senator. His sense of duty to his State was always tempered by a higher regard for the interests of his country. As a Senator, CLAIR ENGLE devoted himself to the expansion of American trade, the problems of the aging, and the problems of small businessmen. A national statesman in the finest sense of the word, CLAIR ENGLE stood in the forefront of those devoted

to the help of our Nation's forgotten, poor and downtrodden.

Last year CLAIR began his last grim and lonely battle. Struck down at the height of his powers by a terrible disease, he refused to be counted out. Who does not remember his gallant determination to discharge the duties of his office in the face of overwhelming handicap and personal suffering? Who can forget that unconquerable will, which, roused by a devotion to principle and a deep historic sense, summoned CLAIR from his deathbed to participate in the resolution of the great contest over the Civil Rights Act.

Senator ENGLE's last struggle was his greatest and most difficult. It was the fight for human dignity in the face of the impossible. CLAIR ENGLE won his fight—he died with honor.

Temporary Tax To Go Someday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the public is showing increasing disenchantment with the wartime imposed excise taxes, and as I have so often urged the House, the time is long past due when they should have been abolished.

We recognize, however, the target date for us who would abolish these taxes is the 1965 session, and we will work to that end in the next session of Congress.

The Chicago Heights Star, a semiweekly publication in south suburban Cook County, in an editorial of Sunday, August 9, discusses a bit of the history, as well as the attitude of the Government toward excise taxes. I suggest this editorial commentary merits the attention of the Members and insert it into the RECORD at this point:

AS WE SEE IT: TEMPORARY TAX TO GO SOMEDAY

Some observers believe that prospects are good for repeal or reduction of the "temporary" Federal excise taxes imposed on so-called luxuries during World War II.

We would certainly hope so.

Perhaps it was considered a luxury during the war to buy such articles as cosmetics, luggage, and handbags. During peacetime, however, they are regarded by most people as standard equipment. The Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, for example, likens the function of a lady's handbag to that of the pockets in a man's trousers; yet only one is taxed as a luxury.

It is possible that excise taxes on some actual luxuries should be continued. But certainly the field should be carefully scrutinized, and taxes on articles which have become a commonplace part of the average American's life should be eliminated.

It is ironic that Senate-House conferees killed a Senate-approved attempt to abolish the wartime taxes this year. For this is the year of the great income tax cut to spur the economy. It is calculated to create more buying, more jobs, and in the long run more income and more income taxes collected.

Would not elimination of the excise taxes produce more buying, more jobs, and more revenue from income taxes?

But there is a political difference between income taxes and excise taxes. The former show up on the paycheck, and the workingman-voter has a periodic reminder that he has received a favor from Washington in the form of a reduction thereof. The excise tax is almost a hidden part of his purchases and is frequently regarded as a segment of the purchase price.

In the effect on the economy and business there is no such difference. Yet there is small wonder that little effort is being made to be consistent. Even as the income tax cut is advertised as an avenue to more spending money, social security taxes continue to pyramid, taking away a substantial amount of the added take-home pay and leaving the economy just about where it was when we came in.

Tire Manufacturers Moving Further Into Retail Distribution—Let's Stop It by Enacting H.R. 560

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in recent years we have seen a larger and larger encroachment upon the independent businessman by manufacturers owning or controlling the retail outlets for their products. A flagrant example of this is the rubber tire industry. This unfair competition with the small businessman is leading more and more to the time when there will be no independent tire dealers. The following ad which appeared in the July 27, 1964, edition of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch indicates the expansion of the Goodyear Co. into the retail field:

HELP WANTED—MEN, BOYS

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., now opening the largest service store in St. Louis. Needs experienced; service manager, ignition mechanics, brake and alinement mechanics, auto air-conditioning mechanics, engine and transmission mechanics, tuneup mechanics, tire servicemen, tire servicemen (earthmover). Outstanding incentive program with guaranteed base salary plus complete fringe benefits. All new latest model equipment. John Bean Visualiner, Ammco brake equipment, 14 automatic hoists, Sun tuneup department, latest convenience equipment. John Bean Visualiner, Ammco brake year Service Store, St. Louis, Mo.

What one tire manufacturer does the others will soon do; all of which reduces the number of independents in the tire sales and servicing field and all of which will eventually eliminate those independents.

In the 87th Congress I introduced a bill to prohibit manufacturers of motor vehicle tires from engaging in the retail distribution of their products. In this Congress that bill is H.R. 560 which has been referred to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

A further indication of the need for this legislation is the following article from the July 31, 1964, edition of the New York World Telegram announcing the expansion of United States Rubber Co. into the retail field of off-the-road industrial tires:

UNITED STATES RUBBER EXPANDS OFF-ROAD TIRE OUTPUT

United States Rubber Co. has embarked on a major expansion program for off-the-road tires with a capital investment of $13 million, it was disclosed today by George R. Vila, president and chief executive officer.

The company's expansion plans are based on the projected market growth of off-the-road tires. A large part of this growth is attributable to the booming construction industry's use of off-the-road tires on graders, earthmovers, and other large construction vehicles.

NEED INCREASES

The Nation's requirements for large vehicle tires have been increasing constantly each year. "Demand for U.S. Royal off-the-road tires is expected to increase by 10 percent between 1965 and 1966," Vila said.

The demand after 1966 is expected to increase on an average of 10 percent a year for the next 3 years, according to Vila.

Under the expansion program, three new off-the-road tire retreading plants will be built in the vicinity of Denver, Los Angeles, and Dallas. The plants will be the largest of their kind in their respective areas.

The new subsidiary of United States Rubber Co., Construction Tire Service, Inc., has been formed to handle the sales and service for the three plants.

NEW SALES UNIT

In connection with the $13 million expansion, the company has formed a new off-the-road tire sales department. Henry B. Hitchins has been appointed manager of the department.

He will coordinate field and sales planning, and merchandising of off-the-road tires. He was formerly product manager for commercial tires and has been with the company since 1947.

Modernization and expansion of giant tire production facilities at the company's Eau Claire, Wis., plant also falls within the expansion plans.

Senator Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator CLAIR ENGLE whose tragic death at the height of his years has saddened his colleagues in the House and Senate and his many friends in California and across the Nation.

CLAIR ENGLE was a fighting liberal Democrat whose concern for our country's forgotten and deprived citizens guided his outstanding legislative career even to the final tragic days of his life. His courageous appearance in the Senate to vote for the civil rights bill was the mark of a man for whom duty and dedication to principle were shining stars.

Mrs. Rhodes joins with me in extending deepest sympathy to Mrs. Engle and to the other members of his family.

Tribute to Morris Cafritz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Member of the other body, Hon. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, of West Virginia, a former Member of this House, has served on the board of the Metropolitan Police Boys' Club in the District of Columbia for nearly 20 years.

On Sunday, August 2, he delivered the principal address at the dedication of the Morris Cafritz Administration Building for the Boys' Club summer camp at Scotland, Md.

In this address, Senator RANDOLPH paid a richly merited tribute to the late Mr. Cafritz, an exceptionally fine, public-spirited citizen of Washington and a longtime supporter of the Metropolitan Police Boys' Club.

Under permission to extend my remarks, I include Senator RANDOLPH'S address:

Max Farrington, ladies and gentlemen, associates and members of the Metropolitan Police Boys' Club, and friends of our former coworker Morris Cafritz: It is a privilege for me to be with you this afternoon. We share in a memorial for a man who was close to the hearts of us all.

In the brief history of American democracy we have effectively demonstrated that the ultimate achievement or failure of our system will rest with the individual citizen. It is the shopkeeper, factory worker, farmer, housewife, and salesman who must, in the final analysis, bring strength, purpose, and direction.

As members of organizations or special interest groups, and in day-to-day living we exercise an influence on the thoughts and reactions of those we meet. Ours is the responsibility, therefore, to be informed. We must make every effort to be knowledgeable on the current issues and seek an understanding of our traditions and heritage. With this background we are prepared to make a more meaningful contribution to the molding of effective government and a wholesome society.

In addition to being informed and perhaps equally as important, is our responsibility to be active in the community process. It has been truly said that "faith without works is dead"—and all our wisdom and knowledge are of little value if we are apathetic. We are participants and not merely spectators. As American citizens we are the most important element in our Republic and not merely the fortunate recipients of its benefits. It is the dedication and integrity of each person that dictates what we are to accomplish. It is our challenge to overcome the temptation to sit silently and allow others to carry our burdens—to assume a passive part in the tasks of our democracy and to give only slight attention to its problems and programs. This is not the seed of success, or the environment from which have sprung the significant messages and movements of the past. Such indifference will spell failure in the age of space just as it would have in a bygone era.

The philosopher William James has said: "Be not afraid of life. Believe that life is worth living and your belief will help create the fact."

Morris Cafritz believed that life was worth living. He was a doer, a participant in the American process, a leader in community, church, and business. His life was glowing proof that enlightened participation must be the cornerstone of positive citizenship.

From a modest beginning Morris Cafritz scaled the heights of achievement. He also knew the disappointments and sorrows which come to all men of deep conviction and he withstood them. He emerged as a public spirited leader who shared his counsel, his wealth, his abilities, and his honest efforts in furthering the public interest. His was a respected voice in civic affairs. He was a cherished friend of many Members of the U.S. Congress. He has incredibly helpful in carrying forward countless philanthropic projects. He maintained a position of eminence in his chosen professional field. And, through it all, he was a devoted husband, a loving father, a faithful friend.

These qualities of Morris Cafritz may be best expressed by another reference to William James. In a letter to his sister on the occasion of the purchase of a summer home Mr. James exclaimed with joy that it had "14 doors and they all open outward." Such was the world of Morris Cafritz—an open world of many doors, all opening out.

The Metropolitan Police Boys' Club was of primary interest to Mr. Cafritz and has known the forward thrust of his enthusiastic assistance. From 1940 to 1942 he served as president of the club and for approximately 26 years he worked actively as a member of the committee responsible for the administration of this camp.

Morris Cafritz believed in young people and he believed in the city of Washington. He served the best interests of both by supporting the camp and giving generously of his time and effort. It is fitting, therefore, that we give recognition to the accomplishment of this selfless man by dedicating in his memory the Morris Cafritz Administration Building.

I am grateful that I was blessed with the friendship of Morris Cafritz. This relationship, however, was not unique, for his comradeship with his fellow man was a constantly enlarging and happy circle. Those who gather today share a common joy that this circle included them.

Morris was a gentle and a good man. By the enduring qualities of life he was a truly great man.

Congressman Burton on the Poverty Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I speak in support of President Johnson's war on poverty. This important legislation is a major step forward in the struggle to end poverty in America and to provide all our people with the means to achieve and enjoy a fuller life.

Of considerable interest to me is the formula by which funds under the various titles of the act will be allocated. In discussing this matter with the floor managers of the bill, including my distinguished colleague from California, Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, I have been assured that the data used for computing the number of public assistance recipients in the various States will be the latest available monthly figures.

The committee report made reference, as an illustration, to the number of public assistance recipients for January 1964. I was assured that later monthly figures than January 1964 would be used for the purpose of computing the number of monthly public assistance recipients and that January 1964 was merely the latest available month at the time that the committee report was compiled.

I have relied on this assurance that the latest monthly date will be used, because to do otherwise would most unfairly discriminate against California, whose program to extend aid to families with dependent children was not established until February 1964 and whose caseload in this connection has not yet stabilized.

Adopt a New Immigration Policy Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of my colleagues to an editorial in yesterday's New York Times urging revision of the immigration law before the end of this session. I have introduced H.R. 7740 which would do so. The editorial is completely correct in pointing out "The United States will not fully have mounted its war against discrimination until it revises its unfair immigration law." Our present immigration law based on the national origin of this country's population in 1920 is indeed discriminatory and violates our democratic principles. I urge all my colleagues to read the following editorial:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 11, 1964]

A NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

The United States will not fully have mounted its war against discrimination until it revises its unfair immigration law.

Immigration quotas are now assigned to each country on the basis of the national origin of this country's population as of 1920. This system was designed quite deliberately to give preference to immigration from northern Europe. But immigration from this area is never large enough to fill the assigned quotas. Since the vacancies cannot be transferred, the real effect of the system is to cut down immigration far below the authorized total and to shut the doors to many people from less favored lands.

As Attorney General Kennedy told Congress recently, this system is a source of global embarrassment to the United States. Other nations—especially those whose citizens are discriminated against—reject and resent the implication that they belong to "lesser breeds." Our rules keep out many scientists and others with special skills, talents and attainments this country needs. And they separate thousands of families of American citizens with close kin abroad.

This is, in short, a system that should be abolished, and President Johnson, like President Kennedy before him, is sponsoring a program to abolish it. There is no intention of raising the immigration total above the 165,000 a year now authorized—a small enough number for a nation approaching 200 million in population. And immigration from any one country would be limited to 10

percent of the authorized total. But the national origin quotas would be abrogated gradually over a 5-year period during which unfilled quota numbers would be redistributed to countries wanting and needing them. The Congress should say yes before adjournment.

A Youth's Tribute to J.F.K.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, after the assassination of our beloved late President John F. Kennedy there were many tributes written in his memory. One of the most touching is one which was written by a San Antonio, Tex., youth.

In a recent letter to me the youth, Jerry Boozikee, a sophomore high school student, said:

Last year on Thursday, November 21, Harlandale High students were dismissed early to have an opportunity to see President Kennedy as his motorcade came by on S. W. Military Drive. I was advertising manager and columnist for the Chief, newspaper of Harlandale High, so naturally I was on the scene. The next day the news of President Kennedy's assassination was unbelievable for myself and all Harlandale students who had seen him the day before.

The assassination of this great man moved me so much that I decided to write a memorial to President Kennedy. Not just a common memorial, but a memorial that must equal the great qualities that made him such a great President.

Jerry's tribute was first published in the Chief and the paper was later recognized by the Wall Street Journal Newspaper Fund as having one of the top 10 high school memorials to President Kennedy. It has also been reproduced in "The Smoke Signals" literary magazine and has, of course, received wide recognition by the San Antonio newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with you this memorial to John F. Kennedy which appears as follows:

[From the Chief, Harlandale High School, San Antonio, Tex., Dec. 20, 1963]

IN MEMORIAM

(By Jerry Boozikee)

Harlandale students were dismissed early November 21 for a rare occasion—to get a glimpse of President John F. Kennedy as he traveled on the last lap of his journey to Kelly Air Force Base. It is a rare occasion when a city so far away from the Capital can be host, even for a few hours, to both the President and the Vice President of the United States and the Governor of the State at the same time.

It would have been a particularly meaningful day, and it would have been long remembered as the day the President waved hello to us. Indeed, it was a memorable day, felt more intensely, perhaps, by us than by most, for we were among the last to receive that friendly greeting. The next day he was assassinated. Our children will some day beseech us for the tragic details of that death.

But it is not for these reasons alone that our school was especially touched. Governor Connally went to school here. Vice President Johnson is a personal friend of some of our faculty who attended college with him. In common with all Texans, we feel the shame that the tragedy happened in our State.

Though his tenure of office was only 3 years, Mr. Kennedy will leave an indelible image in the hearts of Americans. Improved conditions in the cold war, furtherance of the cause of world peace, and important work in the field of civil rights will be remembered as a few of his great contributions to the history of the Nation and of the world. His immortal inaugural address will live as a great historical document.

We shall remember him as the great martyr of the 20th century. He gave us, the youth of the Nation, a perfect example to follow. We admired him for his patriotism, his reverence and respect for his parents and family, his concern for his fellow men, and for his devotion to the pursuit of knowledge.

President Kennedy, perhaps more so because of his tragic death, will remain etched in our minds. It remains for us to follow his example and continue the quest for betterment of our country, the world, and of ourselves. Only then, President Kennedy will not have died in vain. Like the eternal flame on his tomb, his memory will linger on.

The All-Purpose Aircraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, Congress recognized an Air Force need and moved to close our air defense gap by authorizing a new improved manned interceptor—IMI—aircraft. About this time, President Johnson announced the A–11 to the world, and Secretary McNamara called it an interceptor. The $40 million authorization was dropped from the pending legislation.

Now the administration has wheeled out the A–11 in a different costume playing a new role. On July 24 the President announced the SR–71 as a strategic reconnaissance aircraft. The SR–71, once billed as an interceptor, is nothing more than the A–11 with a new designation.

Perhaps the administration is trying to create the illusion of vast improvements in our defense strategy by using the same airplane as the answer for every requirement. President Johnson should settle upon one story about the A–11. Is is an interceptor or is it for reconnaissance? It cannot be both.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a penetrating editorial on this subject written by Mr. Robert Hotz in the magazine Aviation Week & Space Technology, August 3, 1964.

The editorial follows:

THE ALL-PURPOSE AIRCRAFT

(By Robert Hotz)

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has been searching with limited success for an all-purpose aircraft during the three and a half years of his Pentagon stewardship. But it remained for President Lyndon B. Johnson to discover the perfect all-purpose aircraft that can meet technical and political requirements with equal ease. It is the Lockheed A–11, commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1959. The A–11 was designated during the last years of President Eisenhower's administration, began flight-testing in President Kennedy's administration and became a television star under President Johnson's tutelage.

President Johnson has appeared in nationally televised press conferences twice in the last 6 months to extoll the technical virtues of the A–11 and demonstrate its political flexibility, and all of its wonders have not yet been fully revealed. We predict that the A–11 will become a regular performer during the presidential campaign television season, although even some of its closest associates may have difficulty recognizing it in the costumes that may be devised for campaign purposes.

There is no argument among either technical or political experts on the fact that the A–11 is a cleverly bred aerial racehorse and a genuine engineering tour de force by designer Clarence (Kelly) Johnson and his Lockheed "Skonk Works" team. The area of argument, which seems certain to increase in acrimony and rise in decibels as the presidential campaign progresses, is in the various guises in which the basic A–11 has been presented to the American people by President Johnson and its unusual deployment in a political fire brigade.

At the time of President Johnson's first A–11 announcement, his administration and Defense Secretary McNamara were engaged in a bitter fight with Congress over whether some $40 million should be appropriated for initial development of a new long-range supersonic interceptor for the air defense system. In his initial announcement, President Johnson said A–11's were then at Edwards Air Force Base, "undergoing extensive tests to determine their capabilities as long range interceptors." This was substantially correct, since the first A-11 arrived at Edwards a few hours before President Johnson appeared on television, and eventually some tests were made with rocket armament installed internally and externally on an A–11 designated YF–12A for this purpose.

We predict that the results of these tests will remain forever buried under a security blanket. Young pilots of the Air Defense Command will grow old before an A–11, YF-12A or any similar beast of this design will grace their operational flight lines. However, Defense Secretary McNamara went even further than the President and told his press conference that the A–11 had been developed originally as an interceptor and implied that the $40 million was not for the start of a new aircraft design but simply for furthering of the A–11 program. Neither of these statements was accurate. This produced sufficient confusion among the legislators for Congress to drop the $40 million from the budget, thus killing development of any new generation of interceptor aircraft. Skillful piloting of the A–11 scored its first political victory.

At the same time, the U.S. supersonic transport program was in the doldrums. More than a dozen foreign airlines that had made cash deposits for places on a nonexistent production line were wondering whether they had bet on the wrong horse. President Johnson quickly dispelled their gloom by noting that, "the development of supersonic commercial transport aircraft will also be greatly assisted by lessons learned from this A–11 program, for example, one of the most important technological achievements in this project has been the mastery of metallurgy and fabrication of titanium metal * * *."

How the mastery of titanium had been achieved in Mach 3 A–11 aircraft already

flying, at the same time the perils of titanium were cited by Defense Secretary McNamara as a reason for rejecting the Boeing Mach 2 F–111 (TFX) design, has never been clearly explained. Nor is it likely to be. But the A–11 scored another political victory.

Now President Johnson finds himself facing a Republican opponent who holds an Air Force major general's reserve commission and is an active jet pilot with thousands of hours of flying time in his logbook. This candidate, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, has severely criticized the administration for its failure to continue development of manned aircraft with strategic capability to supplement ballistic missiles, and has indicated he will make defense policy a major issue.

On July 24, 9 days after Senator GOLDWATER won the Republican nomination, President Johnson "revealed" development of a new manned mach 3 strategic reconnaissance system called the SR–71. The only mention of the A–11 in this statement was the notation that the SR–71 used the same type J–58 engine as the A–11. Later, Pentagon spokesmen reluctantly admitted that Lockheed built the SR–71. The SR–71 was, of course, the A–11 with still another designation pasted on its titanium skin. But many Congressmen were fooled, and unthinking daily newspapermen and wire service reporters failed to catch the deception and spread the news across the Nation of the new billion-dollar aircraft program.

The inception of this program also was conveniently shifted from 1959 in the Eisenhower administration to 1963 in the Kennedy administration. Anybody familiar with aircraft development cycles knows that if this program were really started in 1963, it would be impossible to deliver operational aircraft to Strategic Air Command in 1965, as President Johnson stated.

But in the confusion that now reigns on what the SR–71 really is, much of the thrust of Senator GOLDWATER'S criticism has been blunted and the A–11, YF–12A, SR–71, and supersonic transport research aircraft has scored its third political victory. Only two more to go to become a genuine ace.

We suspect that the next chapter in the checkered career of the A–11 will be the "revelation" at the most opportune political moment that it can be a bomber, too, thus eliminating any further need for development of the B–70, AMSS, or any other type of advanced manned striking system.

For a new aircraft that is either 5 or 2 years old, depending on which television program you watched, the A–11 has had an amazingly versatile career. We wonder if Lockheed has the facilities to build as many of them as Defense Department obviously will request.

Not by Bread Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Moley, writing in Newsweek magazine, clearly points out Senator GOLDWATER'S deep concern for "the whole man" as the Senator's key theme in his acceptance speech at the Republican convention. Since the speech has been so extremely misconstrued by some, I am sure many of my colleagues would benefit from Mr. Moley's commentary and I include it in the RECORD.

The commentary follows:

[From Newsweek, Aug. 17, 1964]

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

(By Raymond Moley)

Two short sentences in Senator GOLDWATER'S acceptance address in San Francisco which mentioned "extremism" and "moderation" seem to have diverted most comment from the essential theme of the speech. The key to the speech's meaning and to GOLDWATER'S domestic philosophy is found in the repetition of the expression "the whole man."

The first sentence after the preliminaries was a dedication to "the ultimate and undeniable greatness of the whole man." A bit later he argued that government should be the "durable ally of the whole man." And still later he declared that "the whole man" was the reason for "instituting orderly government in the first place."

One of the very few among many commentators who perceived the real meaning in the speech, James Reston, said that the Republican candidate had "raised some basic questions which have troubled men since the days of Aristotle."

That mention of the ancient philosophy who has been the tutor of great statesmen for centuries was most appropriate. For in phrasing GOLDWATER'S ideological position in this campaign two or three of his assistants were as conscious of Aristotle's political and ethical views as was Jefferson when in the Declaration he substituted Aristotle's word "happiness" for "property" in his trilogy of unalienable rights.

THE COMPLETE LIFE

Aristotle's comments on statecraft, which are as pertinent today as they were when they were written, held ethics to be indivisible from politics. The real purpose of government is to help the citizen find the good for man. That good he calls happiness, a supreme value which is a composite of many lesser values in which material means is only one. Happiness is what makes the complete life.

The concept of liberty is implied because the individual is left free to establish his own priority among the various components of his happiness. That is why Jefferson added "in pursuit of." The "whole man," therefore, must be considered in shaping political policies.

There is nothing abstruse about this thesis. Any individual can understand it by a bit of self-examination. He may be well housed, well fed, and well clad but still feel incomplete. Material means is only one factor in the good life. "Man liveth not by bread alone."

Thus GOLDWATER has challenged a refrain which has been the obsession of liberal Democrats for 30 years. In the great depression it was essential to stress the material means for survival. But because political appeals based upon material benefits from government won successive elections and because politicians are the creatures of habit, their "dialog" centered on material benefits long after the depression had faded away. Finally, their speeches and platforms have become mere catalogs of government handouts—first bread, then bread and butter, then jam on the side, and finally cheese with the pie.

A CYNICAL APPRAISAL

These people have not realized how far they have drifted toward Marxian materialism. In 1952, when the Democratic slogan was "You never had it so good," I wrote that this meant "not the good life but the goods of life." President Johnson's campaign slogans will probably be a reiteration of what the Democrats have been saying for decades. He will be the prisoner of a ritual.

Instead of stressing the complete life for the whole man, this ritual inherited by the President will suggest a sterile, disciplined, vitamined life on a bleak plateau of uniformity over which ride the inspectors, regulators, and police of a mechanized bureaucracy. The individual's status is that of a statistic—a card in a computer.

These appeals limited to the issues of the stomach and purse reveal a cynical appraisal of man. They neglect his loyalty to and pride in his home ties, community relations, ancestry, traditions, religion, and patriotism. He lives for these, too, and for them on occasions invites privation, suffering, and even death.

GOLDWATER'S thesis is not that the material needs of the individual should be neglected. He is saying, rather, that the moral and spiritual values inherent in liberty also have their place in political discourse.

Results of Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, for the past several months, I have been polling my constituents to determine their views on a selected number of important national issues. The results of my poll have now been tabulated. In forwarding the results of my current questionnaire to my constituents, I have written to them as follows:

AUGUST 1964.

DEAR FRIEND: Congress has been in almost continuous session since I arrived here in January 1963, 20 months ago. Thus, my duties as your representative in Washington have prevented me from personally discussing issues and problems with many of you.

The questionnaires have been useful in bridging the gap between New Hampshire and Washington. Your views are valued guides for my thinking, although I must and do accept full and final responsibility for my votes on the floor of the House. Inside, you will find the tabulated results of my 1964 questionnaire.

It is interesting to note how quickly some issues change. For example, when my questionnaire was prepared last spring, no one could have guessed that the Supreme Court would hand down such a far-reaching decision as it did when it required that both bodies of a State legislature must be apportioned soley on a population basis. Because I disagree with that decision, I have introduced legislation proposing an amendment to the Constitution to allow States to apportion at least one house on a basis other than population, if they choose to do so, by a referendum vote.

Congress is now pressing for adjournment, which has created a tremendous rush of legislative business. This has made it impossible for me to reply personally to all of the comments and questions on the questionnaires returned, although I have read them carefuly. To those of you who did reply and comment, my sincere thanks.

Yours very truly,

JAMES C. CLEVELAND,
Member of Congress.

The results of my 1964 questionnaire and my comment thereon is as follows:

Results of 1964 questionnaire

	Yes	No	Not sure
In general, do you favor—			
1. Federal civil rights legislation	1,909	1,013	270
2. U.S. participation in the nuclear test ban treaty	2,282	705	306
3. The recently enacted Federal tax cut—			
A. Regardless of Government's deficit spending	445	719	78
B. Only with a substantial cut in spending	1,717	328	86
C. Only with a balanced budget	1,290	288	95
4. Wheat sales to the Soviet Union—			
A. On a straight cash payment basis	2,231	265	54
B. On credit underwritten in part by tax dollars	219	789	73
C. Not at all	553	689	74
5. Medical care for the aged—			
A. Under social security (King-Anderson) regardless of need	791	774	123
B. Under Federal-State (Kerr-Mills) limited by need	1,519	346	148
C. Keeping U.S. Government out	931	391	134
6. Federal aid to education (other than existing programs)—			
A. At the college or postgraduate levels	1,665	1,007	249
B. At the elementary or secondary levels	1,092	1,172	217
7. A constitutional amendment permitting voluntary nondenominational Bible reading and prayer in public schools	2,337	370	122
8. Major new Federal programs to reduce poverty	1,390	1,376	472
9. Gradual reduction of Government price supports for farm commodities	2,845	178	294
10. A tax deduction or credit for parents paying tuition for their children's education beyond high school	2,571	592	176
11. Continued U.S. support of the United Nations	2,634	419	151
A. If so, even if Red China is admitted	1,695	1,079	284

12. In general, do you think Congress did a good job or a bad job last year?

Good, 377; fair, 1,504; poor, 850; no opinion, 336.

13. What do you believe the United States should do in Vietnam?

(a) Pull out entirely, 605;

(b) continue our current advisory and support role, 984; and

(c) substantially increase U.S. commitment, 1,218.

14. Much of the success of our system of Government has been credited to the doctrine of separation of powers between the courts, the executive (including departments and agencies), and the legislative. Which branch of Government do you think is doing the best job of insuring the continued success of our system of Government?

Legislature, 1,034; courts, 548; executive, 327; FBI, 11; taxpayer, 2; Treasury, 2; military, 1; and Internal Revenue, 1.

COMMENT

It is interesting to compare this year's questionnaire replies with last year's. Approval of a balanced budget and reduction in the national debt were so overwhelming last year as to be almost unanimous. Thus, those questions were not repeated. Last year, the greatest amount of uncertainty resulted from the question "Do you favor the administration's conduct of foreign policy?" Seven hundred and twenty-seven answered "yes," 1,575 voted "no," and 918 "not sure." This year, the greatest amount of uncertainty resulted from the poverty program question.

Although the medicare questions differed slightly from last year to this, the Kerr-Mills plan is still the method of medical care for the aged apparently preferred by the majority. It is also interesting to note that last year a substantial majority favored a sharp reduction in foreign aid. This was evidently the national consensus, for, indeed, foreign aid was substantially reduced last year. Continued U.S. support of the United Nations (one of the strongest votes last year, 2,622 "yes," 502 "no," 261 "not sure") is even more pronounced this year and such support would apparently survive the admission of Red China.

Having served as an elected representative for 14 years, I am, of course, pleased that a substantial majority consider that the legislative branch of the Government is doing a better job of insuring the continued success of our system of Government than the courts or the executive and also rated Congress as doing a "good" or "fair" job.

Fact Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a radio transcript of the August 3 program of Fulton Lewis, Jr., carried over the Mutual Broadcasting Network. This subject dealt with an effort by Fact magazine to smear the Republican nominee for President by a survey designed to solicit comments from psychiatrists regarding his mental stability. Today I wish to call attention to a second broadcast by Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., on August 4 on the same network. In this broadcast Mr. Lewis points out the background of the publisher of Fact magazine. This background include his conviction on a charge of sending obscene material through the mails. The broadcast follows:

FACT MAGAZINE

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is Fulton Lewis, Jr., speaking from the Mutual studios in Washington, D.C. I'll have my news and views for you in just a moment.

Last night, ladies and gentlemen, I gave you a report on a project which has been undertaken by a new bimonthly magazine published in New York City under the title Fact, in circularizing—by their own statement—"a group of respected psychologists and psychiatrists" over the Nation with a questionnaire asking them the question:

"Do you think that BARRY GOLDWATER is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States?"

The circular makes note of the fact that a recent survey by the reputable medical magazine Medical Tribune showed that while MD's generally are 2 to 1 in favor of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER for President, psychiatrists are 10 to 1 against him. It asked certain loaded questions such as "Does he seem prone to aggressive behavior and destructiveness? Does he seem callous to the downtrodden and needy? Can you offer any explanation of his public temper-tantrums and his occasional outbursts of profanity? Finally, do you think that his having had two nervous breakdowns has any bearing on his fitness to govern this country?"

I reported that Senator GOLDWATER has never had a nervous breakdown and that the Medical Tribune had informed me that 4 years ago the magazine had conducted an identical poll to its recent one, that time as between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy, and that the results were that the MD's as a whole were 2 to 1 in favor of Nixon but the psychiatrists were 10 to 1 against him—the same proportions that came out of the present poll—and that inasmuch as there was never any question about the psychological fitness of Mr. Nixon 4 years ago, conclusion was that the political opinions of the psychiatrists must have been based on considerations other than psychological fitness.

Tonight, I want to go a little deeper into this picture and behind the scenes, somewhat and take a closer look at Fact magazine who is behind it.

On January 13 of this year, the United Press International carried an item under a New York City dateline, stating that a man named Ralph Ginzberg had announced the publication of a new bimonthly magazine, which would be sold for $1.25 per copy, and that he had ordered an original run of 100,000 copies for the first edition. And it quoted Mr. Ginzberg as stating that "in presenting the truth, we will not hesitate to offend big business, the church, the State, or even, if necessary, our readers."

Mr. Ginzberg is publisher of the magazine, and the owner and financial backer. The magazine accepts no advertising. They reported today that they have a net paid circulation of 200,000 at the present time.

Now, about Mr. Ginzberg's background.

He had three other publications in the past, one by the name Eros which was advertised as "A journal of erotica," another called Liason magazine and something called a Housewife's handbook of selective promiscuity.

The Post Office Department got on his trail on charges of sending obscene material through the mails and the case was presented to a Federal Grand Jury in Philadelphia which subsequently indicted him on the charges and he was brought to trial.

He waived a jury trial because, he says, he felt so confident of winning that he didn't want to go through the trouble and expense and time consumption of selecting a jury, and decided instead to stand trial before Judge Ralph C. Body.

Judge Body held the trial, considered the evidence and Ginzberg's defense, found him guilty and sentenced him to 5 years in Federal prison and $42,000 fine. He has since appealed the verdict, but as of the present time those two sentences stand against him.

Now one of the newspapers in New York City is the New York Post, probably the most extreme liberal newspaper in the United States, which has as its editorial-page editor and columnist the well-known James Weschler, who undertook to make some observations about Mr. Ginzberg's present questionnaire to the psychiatrists over the Nation, published last Thursday, and considering the source, I think you may be interested in hearing it. Mr. Weschler writes as follows:

"A new self-styled 'muckraking' magazine called Fact is privately circularizing psychiatrists and psychologists with this inquiry:

"Do you think that BARRY GOLDWATER is psychologically fit to serve as President of the United States?

"A series of loaded questions accomplished this inquiry. Those who respond are permitted to remain anonymous; their conclusion will presumably be heralded in an early issue.

"I yield to no one in my concern about the possibility of a Goldwater triumph. But it also seems to me inconceivable that any responsible psychiatrist or psychologist would participate in the shoddy exercise—with or without his name. Surely it is an elementary principle that psychiatric diagnosis requires private examination of a patient; I doubt that the editors of Fact (or any other publication) would want to be judged on the basis of such long-distance scrutiny.

"Abraham Lincoln exhibited what would be described in current terminology as many neurotic symptoms and no one ever accused Woodrow Wilson of being a simple peasant. It would be a vulgarity if this questionnaire received any serious attention. The case against GOLDWATER does not require this form of smear treatment and uninformed analysis. Indeed, the real danger in his candidacy may be simplemindedness, an ailment neither unique nor subject to easy psychiatric observation. Meanwhile, one hopes this questionnaire will be filed and forgotten by those who receive it."

Now, having heard the comment of an outstanding journalist on the far left, let's hear from the frankly conservative National Review, edited by William Buckley, which starts on its editorial page in the current issue with the following:

"Warren Boroson, managing editor of Fact, the newest rag in the guttersnipe press, has circulated a questionnaire to a group of respected psychiatrists and psychologists, asking them to say whether they think Senator GOLDWATER is mentally sound. Is he reckless (that is, driving 90 miles per hour while lapping up beer)? Is he callous (that is, jerking the puppy's ears to make him yelp)? Is he indifferent to misery (that is, allowing his tenants to live in tumbledown shacks with leaky roofs)? Is he immoral (that is, was Bobby Baker his protege)? Well, if Fact can find a way to affirm Mr. GOLDWATER's insanity, it owes it to its readers to carry through boldly to the end of logic, and propose that the Republican Party be housed in a mental institution. Crazy, no?

Now, I talked to Mr. Ginzberg over the telephone today—he made the call to ask for a copy of last night's script which I told him I would be happy to send him—indeed, I would be glad to send him a tape recording—we had quite a conversation.

Mr. Ginzburg said, for one thing, that the results of the poll would not have any political implications, at which I called his attention to the last sentence in the circular letter, which says:

"We believe the findings of this survey will receive much attention in the press and will weigh heavily in the choice made by the American electorate."

Mr. Ginzburg then altered his position by saying that he does not think the results will have a heavy influence on the election.

He informed me that he sent out 12,000 of the questionnaires and received the list from the American Medical Association, whereupon I reminded him that the American Medical Association list of practicing psychiatrists has only 7,500 names, and he said that he had obtained from the AMA an additional list of 4,500 psychiatrists who are on hospital staffs and engaged in research work of various kinds.

I asked about the psychologists to whom he had sent the circular, and his reply was that he had not sent it to any psychologists. I noted the line in the circular letter which said, "The editors of Fact magazine are asking a group of respected psychologists and psychiatrists this question because we believe that the mental stability of a presidential candidate is of legitimate concern to everyone, especially in this nuclear age."

He said that the inclusion of psychologists in that sentence was a mistake. He wanted to confine the questionnaire to M.D.'s and psychologists are not generally M.D.'s.

He said that what prompted him to send out the questionnaire was his fear and the fear of some of his staff editors that Senator GOLDWATER is unstable and that America's survival might be threatened by atomic annihilation, and he was concerned over Senator GOLDWATER having his finger on the nuclear trigger.

He said that thus far, from the mailing of 12,000 of the questionnaires, he has received 2,000 replies and that he is going to release the findings on September 30 at the University of California at Los Angeles—UCLA—where he is scheduled as part of the "distinguished speaker's program."

He said the complete results will be carried in the September–October issue of Fact magazine, shortly after his UCLA appearance. That would give the anti-Goldwater forces 5 weeks to make capital of the results, if they decided to stoop that low.

Mr. Ginzburg admitted quite frankly that he was taking this survey among psychiatrists because he thought their opinion on a question of mental stability would have more weight with the public than would the opinion of other medical men whereupon I pointed out to him that the Medical Tribune survey upon which he has based his own project found that psychiatrists were 10 to 1 against Nixon 4 years ago, while all doctors were 2 to 1 in favor of him—the same figures the Medical Tribune got out of its current survey, and suggested that this would seem to wipe out any possible conclusion that the psychiatrists are basing their opinions on mental stability or any other psychiatric considerations, because there were no such questions in the Nixon picture and he conceded that psychiatrists in general are more liberal than the average physician and that many of the replies he has received indicate that their opposition to GOLDWATER is not based on psychiatric considerations.

So concludes the report on Mr. Ralph Ginzburg, Fact, Eros, Liaison and the Housewife's Handbook on Selective Promiscuity, and I am happy to have contributed to the publicity of his survey, and perhaps, to have helped build up an audience for him at UCLA on the occasion of its distinguished speaker's program September 30. He is hoping that a decision will be forthcoming on his appeal on the 5-year prison sentence and the $42,000 fine for sending obscene material through the U.S. mails sometime this fall. UCLA, I guess, exercises considerable latitude in its rating of distinguished speakers. Maybe Senator GOLDWATER can manage to get a ticket and be present in the audience on such a notable occasion.

A Tribute to Senator Clair Engle

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator CLAIR ENGLE was a loss of an outstanding public servant, a fine human being, and a gentleman in the highest sense of that term.

Senator ENGLE was an esteemed colleague and a close personal friend. Mrs. Burton served as his women's chairman in San Francisco in 1958.

Senator ENGLE's struggle to overcome illness was an act of courage. His dedication to the high office he held and to the cause of human dignity prompted him to appear in the Senate, just weeks before his death, to vote for cloture to end the filibuster on the Civil Rights Act.

Senator ENGLE's record, as a Member of the House and chairman of its Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in the area of reclamation and the preservation of our natural resources is unsurpassed.

He contributed in great measure to the growth of our Nation from 48 to 50 States, for he was a champion of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

I am sure that the sympathy of my fellow Californians and indeed that of people across the Nation is extended to Mrs. Engle at this time of great personal loss.

Senator ENGLE served his State and his Nation well and honorably both as a citizen and as a representative of his fellow citizens in this great deliberative body. It is a better place for his having been here.

Federal Excise Tax on New Passenger Automobiles, Parts, and Accessories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I was especially gratified to note that the recent hearings on the Federal excise tax system held by the Committee on Ways and Means elicited a number of strong statements calling for reform of the 10-percent excise tax on automobiles.

As one who has advocated the reduction or repeal of this undeniably discriminatory, depressive tax on the Nation's key consumer industry for as long as I have been a Member of Congress, I am indeed encouraged by the interest and awareness expressed in the need to grant without further delay relief from the excessive blurden imposed upon the auto consumer, and to release the Government-imposed "emergency brake" on the auto economy.

When the purpose of such a tax was, during World War II and the Korean war, to curtail transportation and nonstrategic consumption, a tax which singled out the auto consumer was understandable. Today, however, when the only purpose is to collect revenue, it is eminently unfair and unjustified to discriminate against a single commodity. While in recent years excise tax relief has been granted other forms of transportation, the full wartime 10-percent rate still remains on the chief source of transportation, the automobile. And certainly at a time when there is so much concern for getting and keeping the economy moving, for achieving full em-

ployment, a regressive tax such as this is not only unfair and unjustified, but unsound economically as well.

A particularly interesting and informative statement, which emphasizes the tax burden shouldered by the automobile user, was presented to the Committee on Ways and Means by Russell E. Singer, executive vice president of the American Automobile Association. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the renewed hope that in the near future the Committee on Ways and Means will offer for the consideration of the whole House this long overdue remedial tax legislation.

STATEMENT BY RUSSELL E. SINGER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION, SUBMITTED TO HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE—RE FEDERAL EXCISE TAXES ON NEW PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES PARTS AND ACCESSORIES, AUGUST 3, 1964

On behalf of the 8,500,000 members of the American Automobile Association, and all American motorists who pay these taxes, we urge the elimination of the 10-percent Federal excise tax on private passenger cars and the 8-percent tax on parts and accessories.

Revenue from these taxes, amounting to about $1.8 billion yearly, go in the general funds of the U.S. Treasury and not for the support of the highway trust fund which finances the Federal-aid highway program. Thus, the motorist is singled out to bear an unjust proportion of the overall cost of government. He is being penalized solely because he is a car owner.

The tax is unjust because it is in no way related to ability to pay but, in terms of family income, bears most heavily on those families least able to afford it. To a great proportion of American families, the automobile is not a luxury but an absolute necessity. No less than 64 percent of employed persons use automobiles to get to work. Yet the motorist is taxed for the necessity of driving to work on the average of $225 for that is the average amount of Federal excise taxes that he pays when purchasing a new car.

This excise tax on automobiles was born of expediency and has been continued through expediency. To the best of our knowledge no one has ever attempted to justify this tax as fair or equitable.

It will be recalled that this tax first was imposed during World War I. It was repealed in 1928 but along with other automotive taxes was reimposed in 1932 to help balance a budget strained by extraordinary expenditures in the depression period.

It will thus be seen that none of the conditions that obtained at the time these taxes were levied exists today.

American motorists are the heaviest taxed group in our Nation. We are witnessing an unparalleled pyramiding of motorists' taxes as never before known in our peacetime economy. Total special taxes, fees and tolls paid by highway users are now over $12 billion annually.

PASSENGER CAR IS A "NECESSITY" NOT "LUXURY"

Years ago the passenger car was considered a luxury. This is no longer true. The Supreme Court of Arizona on March 27, 1963, in *Schecter* v. *Killingsworth* reversed a previous (1948) court decision in holding that the driving of an automobile upon the public highways was a "mere privilege" and not a "right." In reversing itself, the Arizona Supreme Court had this to say:

"In this day, when the motor vehicle is such an important part of our modern day living, when the use of the vehicle is so essential to both a livelihood and the enjoyment of life, this court recognizes that the use of the public highways is a right which all qualified citizens possess, subject, of course, to reasonable regulation under the police power of the sovereign. We consider applicable the following statement by the Rhode Island court in *Berberian* v. *Lussier*, supra:

" 'The use of the automobile as a necessary adjunct to the earning of a livelihood in modern life requires us in the interest of realism to conclude that the right to use an automobile on the public highways partakes of the nature of a liberty within the meaning of the constitutional guarantees of which the citizen may not be deprived without due process of law.' "

THE MOTORISTS' TAX BURDEN

To illustrate the tax burden which motorists now carry, let us examine a typical situation such as exists in the State of Maryland.

The following taxes are paid by a Maryland motorist purchasing and driving a new car in the Ford-Chevrolet-Plymouth class:

Maryland gasoline tax, 7 cents per gallon; registration fee, $15; Maryland State title or excise tax, 2 percent of purchase price; driver license fee, $2 for 2 years; title fee, $1; Federal gasoline tax, 4 cents per gallon; Federal oil tax, 6 cents per gallon; Federal tax on tires, 10 cents per pound; Federal manufacturers' excise tax, 10 percent; Federal tax on parts and accessories, 8 percent; Federal tax on tread rubber, 5 cents per pound; Federal tax on tubes, 10 cents per pound.

As a further illustration, the average Maryland motorist purchasing one of these cars pays the following taxes: [1]

Estimated taxes accrued on materials, parts and their transportation prior to receipt by automobile manufacturer	$177
Estimated income and other taxes paid by automobile manufacturer, exclusive of Federal excise tax	166
Federal excise taxes on car, including radio and heater, and Federal weight tax on rubber tires	193
Maryland State title or excise tax	50
License plates and title on car ($15 plus $1 fee)	16
Total	602

To operate a car in this price class driven 10,000 miles a year, Maryland motorists pay the following tax bill:

Gasoline tax (7 cents per gallon State, plus 4 cents Federal) (at 15 miles per gallon)	$73.33
Oil	.38
State registration fee	16.00
Maryland State or excise tax at 2 percent	60.00
Operator's license fee ($2 every 2 years)	1.00
Total	160.71

If the motorist buys a new tire and tube he will pay an average tax of $3.33. If maintenance includes purchase of parts or accessories he will pay a Federal tax of 8 percent on them. If he has two tires retreaded with snow caps he will pay an additional 95 cents in Federal taxes.

Direct or hidden taxes on the Maryland motorist takes approximately 26 cents out of every automobile dollar.

In Maryland, motor fuel taxes, registration, and driver license fees amount to about 22 percent of the total State tax revenue.

In some States the tax burden is even heavier than in Maryland. For example, in other States, the motorist is not only confronted with the payment of an annual State registration fee for his license tags, but he is also confronted with the payment of license fees to the county, city, or both, in which he resides.

Moreover, we have noted an ever-increasing tendency of municipalities to impose local gasoline taxes. In those communities which have imposed a local municipal gasoline tax, it must be remembered that such taxes are in addition to the State gas tax and the 4-cent Federal gasoline tax.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL TAXES ON MOTORISTS

States and municipalities throughout the country in recent years have looked to the motorist with increasing regularity as a source for much-needed revenue.

STATE GASOLINE TAXES

For example, three States last year increased their gasoline tax rates by 1 cent; namely, Arizona from 5 to 6 cents per gallon, California from 6 to 7 cents, and Minnesota from 5 to 6 cents. Maryland this year increased its motor fuel tax from 6 to 7 cents and a similar proposal to increase the Wisconsin gasoline tax from 6 to 7 cents was overwhelmingly defeated in a referendum by the voters.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL REGISTRATION FEES

Three States in 1963 increased registration fees (license plates). Colorado continued its special additional $1.50 registration fee on all vehicles for the years 1964, 1965, and 1966. Nebraska increased its registration fee by 50 cents in 1964. Tennessee increased its registration fee from $9.50 to $11.50 for vehicles 3,600 pounds or less and from $13 to $15 for vehicles over 3,600 pounds. Virginia this year increased its motor vehicle registration fee from $10 to $15 or $20, depending on vehicle weight. Many counties and municipalities throughout Virginia impose a comparable registration fee.

STATE DRIVER LICENSE FEES

Five States in 1963 increased their driver's or chauffeur's license fee. Alabama increased the driver license fee from $2.25 to $4.25; Nebraska increased their driver license fee from $2 to $3; Nevada increased its driver license fee from $2 to $3 and the chauffeur license fee from $4 to $5; North Carolina increased the renewal of a chauffeur's license from $2 to $4; Tennessee has increased the driver license fee from $2 to $4 and the chauffeur's license fee from $4 to $6.

In 1964, South Dakota increased the fee for a driver's license from $2 to $3 and Virginia increased theirs from $2 to $6.

STATE EXCISE, SALES AND/OR USE TAXES

Last year seven States increased excise, sales and/or use taxes on motor vehicles. These States are:

	Percent
Florida (sales)	1 to 2
Maine (sales and use)	3 to 4
Missouri (sales and use)	2 to 3
New Mexico (excise)	1 to 1½
North Dakota (sales and use)	2 to 2¼
Pennsylvania (sales and use)	4 to 5
Texas (transaction)	1½ to 2
Utah (sales and use)	2½ to 3

Utah, in addition to increasing the State sales and use tax from 2½ to 3 percent also increased county sales and use taxes from 2 to 3½ percent.

Also in 1963, Indiana enacted a 2-percent sales tax and Wisconsin enacted a 3-percent use tax.

Thirty-nine States now have excise, sales and/or use taxes. Some States also impose an annual personal property or ad valorem tax which is a tax on personal property including motor vehicles. In many States, counties and cities also impose sales and/or use taxes on motor vehicles.

OTHER LOCAL MOTORISTS' TAXES

In addition, Tennessee last year authorized the counties of Crockett, Chatham, Dyer, Fayette, and Sumner to levy a $5 motor ve-

[1] Source of data: Automobile Manufacturers Association.

hicle wheel or privilege tax. The proceeds of these taxes are to be used for educational purposes. Nebraska in 1963 authorized all cities and villages to tax motor vehicles owned or used therein. These proceeds are to be used for local street and road purposes.

California in 1963 passed a law which authorizes county boards of supervisors to levy an annual motor vehicle license fee of one-half to 1 percent of market value. The proceeds of such county taxes would be used to subsidize mass transit when levied. Such county taxes, incidentially, would be in addition to the annual State 2-percent ad valorem tax already levied on motor vehicles.

From the foregoing, one must conclude that States, counties, and municipalities are looking with ever-increasing frequency to the motorist in various ways to obtain additional revenue.

TOLL ROAD CHARGES—ADDITIONAL TAX ON MOTORISTS

The true picture of the tax burden now being borne by American motorists would not be complete without giving consideration to toll charges, especially those imposed on highways which are an integrate part of interstate travel.

Motorists take pride in the fact that the 41,000-mile Interstate System of Highways now being constructed pursuant to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, is being paid for entirely by highway users on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. And this is true of the entire Federal aid system comprising 867,000 miles.

Congress in 1956 envisioned that this great 41,000-mile interstate network of highways would be entirely free from toll charges. Unfortunately, this is not the way the interstate system is working out.

To illustrate this point we cite the additional tax burden over and above the Federal 4-cents tax per gallon and the usual 7-cents State tax per gallon a motorist pays traveling from the Nation's Capital to downtown New York City. The total mileage involved is 234 miles. Toll charges to the motorist total $4.55 as follows:

(1) Baltimore Harbor Tunnel	$0.50
(2) Maryland Toll Road	1.00
(3) Delaware Toll Road	.30
(4) Delaware River Memorial Bridge	.50
(5) New Jersey Toll Road	1.75
(6) Lincoln Tunnel	.50
Total	4.55

Assuming the motorist is driving a Ford, Chevrolet, or Plymouth, which average about 15 miles to the gallon, he would consume 15.6 gallons of gas for the one-way trip of 234 miles from Washington to New York City. Thus, the 11-cents total tax per gallon comes to $1.72 and when added to the $4.55 toll charges, amounts to $6.27.

This is but another illustration of the unfair discriminatory tax burden now being borne by the American motorist.

We submit that the trip from the Nation's Capital to New York City which involves the payment of tolls is not unique. If one were to travel north from New York City on the New York throughway or through Connecticut, he would be faced with the payment of additional tolls. Or if he were to travel south from Washington via Virginia he would likewise be forced to pay additional tolls in both Virginia and the State of Florida.

The $11 billion tax reduction bill enacted by the Congress earlier this year imposes an additional tax burden on American motorists to the tune of $110 million per year in new revenue by the disallowance of the deduction of the payment of State registration and license fees from Federal income taxes.

CONCLUSION

It is for these reasons that we urge the Congress to lighten the tax burden from the backs of all motorists by the elimination of the 10-percent Federal excise tax on private passenger cars and the Federal excise taxes on automobile accessories and parts.

Herbert Hoover—A Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, all the citizens of the United States wish Herbert Hoover, who just turned 90, the warmest of felicitations.

For one who was so maligned by the narrowminded, he has shown the world that, at the ripe old age of 90, he still has a sense of humor, is knowledgeable on governmental affairs, and is hopeful for the future.

I submit herewith for the RECORD two reports on him as they appeared in the New York Journal American on Monday, August 10:

HOOVER, TURNED 90, PAYS TRIBUTE TO U.S. GREATNESS

(By Bob Considine)

Herbert Hoover looked back today over 90 years of experience in and out of public life and declared that freedom—"the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit and of human dignity"—is the key to America's greatness.

In a birthday message released yesterday at his Waldorf suite while he napped in his bedroom-study, the 31st President urged his fellow Americans to forget their critics and to "take stock and think something good about themselves."

He listed U.S. gains in lengthening man's lifespan, "the miracle of the ballot," mass education, and he recalled that "we alone, of all nations, fought for free men in two World Wars and asked no indemnities, no acquisition of territory, no domination over other peoples."

NEGROES' STATUS

He decried the denial of equal rights to Negroes, but added:

"I cannot refrain from saying that our 19 million Negroes probably own more automobiles than all the 220 million Russians and the 200 million African Negroes put together."

Mr. Hoover lunches today with old friends Mr. and Mrs. Jeremiah Milbank and Adm. and Mrs. Lewis Strauss.

Mr. Milbank, prominent New York corporation executive, was described as the former President's "favorite canasta partner." Admiral Strauss, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was Mr. Hoover's secretary during his relief work during and immediately after World War I.

The birthday dinner guests will be Mr. Hoover's sons, former Undersecretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., of Pasadena, Calif., and Allan Hoover of Greenwich, Conn., and an unspecified number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the proud nonagenarian.

In between the two engagements, Mr. Hoover, who has undergone three major operations in the past year and a half, will continue under the care of Dr. Michael J. Lepore, a leader in the field of internal medicine, and a bevy of adoring nurses and secretaries.

"His general health, is good for a man of 90," Dr. Lepore said yesterday. "He's really an amazing man. The whole atmosphere here is one of love and affection for him. His consideration of everybody is something to see.

"The other day he noticed that Ivan Dmitri, who was taking the picture to be released on his birthday, was kneeling on the hardwood floor in the corner of the room, so as to get a better angle. Mr. Hoover called to a nurse and said 'Please get Mr. Dmitri a pillow to kneel on.'

"He wanted so much to be at the Yankee Stadium for the doubleheader against the Orioles. It had been designated as Hoover Day and he was to have thrown out the first ball.

"Instead, he watched on television as his place was taken by a fine little Puerto Rican lad, a member of the Boys Club, the organization Mr. Hoover has worked with for so long. It brought tears to his eyes.

"He is a man of great courage. He had to be, to overcome the illnesses he has had of late."

HE'LL BE BACK

Old friend Neil MacNeil, who met the press in Mr. Hoover's place, pointed to the neat little desk in the corner of the big, memento-filled drawing room of the suite and said, strongly:

"He'll be back at that desk one of these days."

Mr. MacNeil, who with retired newscaster H. V. Kaltenborn and former Hearst foreign correspondent Frank E. Mason forms Mr. Hoover's "literary committee," told reporters of the former President's strong desire to get back to work on a mammoth account of Soviet betrayal dating back to 1934.

President Johnson's birthday gift to his predecessor and friend will be the American flag that flies over the White House today.

"He served his country with devotion and distinction," L.B.J.'s birthday salute, tacked on a bulletin board in Mr. Hoover's foyer, read in part.

"I urge the youth of America to emulate the patriotism, integrity and high ideals that have marked his career."

"The gift of the flag," Mr. Johnson concluded, "was an expression of our love and respect for him."

HAILED BY BELGIUM

King Baudouin of Belgium, the land that was fed, housed, clothed, and cared for by the Hoover mission of World War I, wrote:

"My country remains very grateful to you and will never forget all that the friend of the Belgian people did during the First World War, with the help of your devoted staff, to relieve it, as much as possible, from the hardships imposed upon it by the long military occupation."

There were greetings also from former President Harry S. Truman, Governor Rockefeller of New York, and the Presidents of West Germany and Ireland.

Other messages came from J. C. Penney, of the department store chain, who is also 90; the trustees of Stanford University at Palo Alto, Calif., Mr. Hoover's alma mater; the students of a school named for Mr. Hoover at his birthplace, West Branch, Iowa; from Congressmen and from adults and children throughout the Nation.

One came from a 10-year-old girl who wondered whether he liked the same kind of cake she did.

And another 10-year-old girl who shares August 10 as a birthday said she wanted to greet him again when she was 11 and he 91—"so take care of yourself."

ONE EX-PRESIDENT SIZES UP ANOTHER EX-PRESIDENT

(By Ruth Nathan)

GETTYSBURG, PA.—On the eve of former President Herbert Clark Hoover's 90th birthday, another former President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, told me yesterday why he likes the old "Chief."

Our 34th President revealed he had met 31st President Hoover personally for the first time around 1950.

Shortly after he became President in 1953, General Eisenhower invited Mr. Hoover to fish with him in the high Rockies, Fraser, Colo. Mr. Hoover then was pushing 80.

Mr. Hoover fished just for the love of it, not caring really what prize he caught. He loved only to hook the fish and see them play. Then he'd set them free.

OFFERED ADVICE

It is history's irony to get the picture of the man who was once our most maligned President suggesting to the most popular President ever to sit in the White House how he might be guided in the highest office.

Mr. Eisenhower remembered particularly the first advice Mr. Hoover gave him shortly after he became the Nation's leader.

It was this: That Mr. Eisenhower would do well to accept the fact that, if he was going to live by his political philosophy and stand by it—that of moderate progressive thinking—he was going to disappoint the archconservatives and the ultraliberals both.

"Be prepared for this and remember we can't turn the clock backward. Don't let what seems like a thankless task get you down," Mr. Hoover warned the new President.

Ike pointed to Mr. Hoover's impoverished childhood and the fact that he was orphaned at 8 as helping to make Mr. Hoover the man he became.

In General Eisenhower's opinion, Mr. Hoover's tough beginning became an inspiration to him, because he had the kind of character that met the challenge.

Mr. Eisenhower said history will record properly Mr. Hoover's life as a great engineer, statesman, public servant, humanitarian, writer, and President. Mr. Eisenhower believes historians will not fail to recognize the depression was not Mr. Hoover's fault and will consider, in addition, that he sat in the Presidency with a hostile Congress.

General Eisenhower rates Mr. Hoover as a forward and dedicated President, highly informed, totally honest. He cited Mr. Hoover's introduction of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as one of the most forward and important pieces of legislation in any administration.

Trying to assess the fact that Mr. Hoover's public image has slowly but surely made the transition from presidential villian to a revered public servant. Mr. Eisenhower thought that the new public understanding of Mr. Hoover was here to stay.

Too often, Mr. Eisenhower thinks, people are quick to admire a shining symbol without making sure first that it is not tinkling brass. In General Eisenhower's book, Mr. Hoover is definitely a shining symbol.

Mr. Eisenhower has kept abreast of Mr. Hoover's well-being during the latter's recent years of mild to bedridden illness and arranges to visit him on trips to Manhattan. He finds the amazing Mr. Hoover brimming with up-to-date conversation, his manner direct and clear minded, and with a twinkle in his eye. He is astonishingly well informed.

In the opinion of Mr. Eisenhower, who will be 74 in October, 90-year-old President Hoover stays young and triumphs over severe illness because he keeps so busy and because he still thinks there are useful things to be done and because he wants to do them.

The Late Honorable Albert E. Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound regret and personal sorrow that I learned of the passing of Albert E. Carter, our former colleague from California. Al Carter was in the Congress when I arrived here, and there was not a friendlier hand extended to new Members than his. A man of great depth and character, Al Carter was a true gentleman. I served with him on both the Appropriations and the Rivers and Harbors Committees of the House, and he served them both with great vision and understanding.

For 20 years he served the people of the Oakland, Calif., area in such a distinguished manner that his endorsements for office were mainly by both political parties. His accomplishments for his district, and friendship for the small homeowner, small businessman, and the men and women who labor for a living and providing for the needs of his district stamped him as one of the outstanding Representatives in Congress.

Again, I want to say that Al Carter was indeed a scholar and a gentleman, and the world is much richer for his great and noble efforts.

Edmond Cahn: A Great Democrat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has suffered a great loss in the passing of Prof. Edmond Cahn of New York University. Professor Cahn's wisdom and his dedicated devotion to liberty will continue to inspire all those who believe in democracy. I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial in yesterday's Washington Post which comments upon this tragic loss.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 11, 1964]

EDMOND CAHN

The passing of Professor Edmond Cahn of the New York University Law School will be a sad note far beyond the confines of the university and of New York City. Dr. Cahn's books and lectures had won for him a much wider audience. Indeed, his passionate regard for liberty, justice and human values has given his legal and philosophic writings a very general appeal.

Probably Professor Cahn is best known for his profound study of American ethics as revealed through the courts, which led to his volume "The Moral Decision: Right and Wrong in the Light of American Law." Also well known is "The Predicament of Democratic Man," a sensitive analysis of the responsibilities of the individual and of groups in a free society. His exposition of the law as a tool in the hands of freemen for molding a better society has made a valuable contribution to the evolution of political thought.

Dr. Cahn was fond of quoting Madison's comment that in Europe "charters of liberty have been granted by power," while in America the practice has been "charters of power granted by liberty." He looked upon the great American experiment as an attempt to build "a new kind of society—fresh, equal, just, open, free, and forever respectful of conscience." The alert and thoughtful NYU professor who has succumed to a heart ailment at the early age of 58 will be remembered not only as a penetrating critic of the failings of this venture but also as a perceptive exponent of its finest ideals.

The Yarmolinsky Sacrifice—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I called the attention of the Members of the House to a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak entitled, "The Yarmolinsky Sacrifice." In today's Washington Post and other metropolitan newspapers there appears "The Yarmolinsky Sacrifice—II." Mr. Evans and Mr. Novak complete the story of how President Johnson cynically offered up Mr. Yarmolinsky as a sacrifice to certain erstwhile opponents of the antipoverty bill in order to obtain their votes. This column further makes it doubly clear that when the President said in his press conference last week that Mr. Yarmolinsky had never left the Pentagon, he was stating as fact something which is now being publicly disputed. In their latest column they say with respect to Mr. Yarmolinsky that "He had permanently left the Pentagon (although the Pentagon still was paying his salary)."

These revelations, in addition to exposing President Johnson's misstatement of the facts, also points out the cynical manner in which votes were obtained for the antipoverty bill. It is further corroboration of the belief that is gradually growing in the minds of many that in President Johnson's efforts to be all things to all people, he is not above sacrificing the ambitions and the careers of those who may stand in the way of the goal that he is seeking to attain.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat, that Presidential press conferences ought to be exemplary in their presentation of the true facts of any matter. I would hope that the American press will take note of this entire affair and will have some suitable questions to propound to President Johnson at the very next press conference that he calls.

Mr. Speaker, I include with these remarks the article referred to above:

THE YARMOLINSKY SACRIFICE—II

This is the full story of how Adam Yarmolinsky was blackballed from President Johnson's poverty program in a secret kangaroo-court meeting of House Democratic leaders last Thursday.

Yarmolinsky is the dynamic, pint-size special assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara who left the Pentagon several months ago to help Sargent Shriver draw up Mr. Johnson's poverty program. He was slated to be Deputy Director of the new antipoverty program. He had permanently left the Pentagon (although the Pentagon still was paying his salary).

The Thursday meeting of House Democratic leaders in Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK's office was convened at the insistence of several southern Congressmen who were after

Yarmolinsky's scalp. As a matter of routine, a dozen or so regional "whips," few of whom had ever heard Yarmolinsky's name, were present.

But also present were Representative HAROLD COOLEY, of North Carolina (who made the most vicious attacks on Yarmolinsky at the meeting), and Representattive MENDEL RIVERS, soon to be chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Speaking for the administration at the meeting (described by one Congressman as "the dirtiest hour in my career in the House") was Shriver.

The ostensible point of the meeting was for each regional whip to report on the number of propoverty votes by Congressmen in his area. It quickly became apparent that the real purpose was to threaten southern defections on the poverty vote the next day unless Shriver took a blood oath to exclude Yarmolinsky from the program.

Shriver refused to say whether Yarmolinsky would or would not be part of the top echelon poverty team once the bill becomes law. He insisted that Yarmolinsky's role was up to President Johnson. He kept repeating that even his own part in the program was uncertain, that only the President could name the top administrators.

At this COOLEY stage-whispered that Shriver was a dirty liar.

COOLEY then spoke louder. Shriver, he said, told three members of the North Carolina delegation at a breakfast meeting that Yarmolinsky would definitely be one of the five Presidential appointees.

"Whom do you believe," COOLEY asked with heavy sarcasm, "your colleagues in Congress or Shriver?"

Why the drive against Yarmolinsky?

Yarmolinsky's foes, who pronounced his name several different ways, talked much about his part in preparing the Gesell report (a year-old document calling for the end of racial discrimination in towns adjoining military bases).

Unmentioned at the meeting but the biggest source of irritation to RIVERS and other Armed Services Committee members was the way Yarmolinsky stepped on some military toes as one of McNamara's whiz kids.

Neither of these complaints have any visible link to the poverty program. Nor does a photostatic document from a right-wing group alleging that Yarmolinsky's parents favored the loyalist side in the Spanish civil war—a document that has been circulating among House Members. Its implication that the elder Yarmolinskys are somehow suspect is not only unproved but has no relation to the competence of their son.

Somehow overlooked was the fact that Yarmolinsky has had access to all Pentagon secrets for more than 3 years, without a murmur of protest from COOLEY, RIVERS, et al.

The kangaroo court in MCCORMACK'S office mercifully broke up on a House quorum call. Whereupon MCCORMACK informed the White House that, if Yarmolinsky were not publicly ruled out of the poverty program, the bill might be lost. President Johnson agreed.

Said one Congressman who suffered through the meeting: "It degraded each one of us—the Speaker because he stayed silent, the President because he gave in so quickly, the country because a decent American was hung, drawn, and quartered without a word in his own defense."

Forced by high-level political pressure to vote for the poverty program against their better judgment, southern Congressmen sought a way to protect their flank. They zeroed in on Yarmolinsky whose Russian name and liberal politics were an ideal target. They demanded a pound of flesh, and the Johnson administration gave it to them.

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Senator Keating Supports Majority Rule for Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING] recently spoke at the annual meeting of the Empire State chapter of the Order of Ahepa, the American-Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. In a realistic and hardhitting address, Senator KEATING pointed out that the only permanent solution for the Cyprus crisis must be self-determination and majority rule for the people of that troubled island. If course, minority rights must be fully protected, as Senator KEATING pointed out; but in a representative government there is no place for a minority veto, exercised by less than one-fifth of the population, over the decisions of the majority, in such key fields as taxation and foreign affairs.

Senator KEATING has rightly warned that only the Communists stand to gain by continuing conflict and tragedy on the Island of Cyprus. There is urgent need for the United States to support the basic principles of representative government which we in this Nation cherish, and to apply those principles to policy on the Cyprus issue.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of the fine address delivered by Senator KEATING in New York City on July 3.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY SENATOR KENNETH B. KEATING, TO THE ANNUAL DISTRICT MEETING OF THE EMPIRE STATE CHAPTER OF THE ORDER OF AHEPA (THE AMERICAN HELLENIC EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION), AMERICANA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 3, 1964

On the eve of our own Independence Day it is altogether fitting that we discuss the problem of Cyprus, for the issue is freedom and, to a great extent, it is an American problem. Cyprus involves three of our NATO allies: Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey. The current crisis has undermined the stability of Greece and Turkey and has benefited only the Soviet Union and the local Cyprus Communist-dominated party, AKEL. Despite the growing threat of communism in Cyprus, our Government still refuses to support majority rule guarantees for Cyprus.

The tragedy of Cyprus—and it is a tragedy—is that the dispute is a needless one among friends. In other parts of the world like Cuba, South Vietnam, and Laos, the enemy is communism. But the Cyprus issue involves a quarrel among our allies which benefits only the Communists.

Turkey has threatened invasion of Cyprus on several occasions, the last one on June 6. So far the Ankara Government has shown the wisdom not to carry out its threat. But the Government of Turkey has fanned the fires of xenophobia and has staked its stability on frustrating the right of the people of Cyprus to decide their political destiny. Restraint may not endure for long. One hasty decision can launch Greece and Turkey into a war that no one could afford. "A fool throws a stone into the sea," a Cypriot saying goes, "and a thousand wise men cannot pull it out."

U.S. laws authorize military assistance under certain specific conditions. They pointedly prohibit the use of military assistance for aggressive action and stipulate that such assistance be used only for defensive purposes. Turkey should fully understand that any invasion of Cyprus would be a violation of agreements with the United States and would require the immediate halting of all military and economic aid to Turkey.

Looming on the horizon is a great danger—the specter of Soviet communism taking over Cyprus.

Only the Russians benefit from the continuation of the crisis. The Communist Party in Cyprus has increased in numbers. Their organization is greatly strengthened. The Soviet Embassy is one of the largest, if not the largest, on the island. Communist agents are active throughout Cyprus. The best organized party is the Communist-dominated union, AKEL.

I am not asserting that the danger of a Communist takeover is immediate. I am saying that the Communists have gained strength from Western indecision over Cyprus. The longer this needless tragedy continues, the greater the threat of communism in Cyprus.

The Soviet Union has been directly and actively involved in this dispute, particularly in the United Nations. It has directed letters to the various governments involved, including our own. A commercial air arrangement has been signed between the Soviet Union and the Government of Cyprus, and one of Castro's representatives has been accredited to Cyprus.

What is the real issue in Cyprus? Is it so complicated that our three allies, Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey, together with the people of Cyprus, cannot arrive at a fair and just solution?

First and foremost, the issue in Cyprus is not a question of Turkish minority rights. They are and must be fully protected. The issue is the extraordinary veto rights of a 17-percent minority over critical areas of national policy, including taxation, foreign affairs, defense and security, which hamstrings the 82-percent Greek majority.

I yield to no one in my support and defense for the basic individual and civil rights of a minority. But at the same time, I cannot recognize, and I believe the Government of the United States must not recognize, that a permanent solution to any vital political problem can be found by giving a minority of 17 percent a final veto over critical government activities.

The people of Cyprus deserve an effective government, and with a minority veto, effective government is impossible. Yet, incredible as it seems, our own Government has failed to give open support to the principle which it endorses everywhere else in the world—the principle of majority rule.

The Government of the United States has not only refused to support the basic principle of majority rule, but it has also failed even to suggest any lasting solution on the merits for Cyprus. This U.S. hesitancy has, unfortunately, in my judgment, contributed to the present crisis. Over the months our Government has offered to send troops to Cyprus; we have offered to pay for other nations' troops; we have sent Under Secretary Ball and Senator FULBRIGHT to Europe; Prime Ministers Papandreou and Inonu have both visited the United States; we have suggested an American mediator. We have done just about everything except to analyze the problem seriously on its own merits. As a result, all of our efforts have left the core of discontent untouched.

In fact, during the visit of Prime Minister Inonu our Government joined in a communique affirming the validity of the 1959 agreements granting veto power to the 17-percent Turkish minority. The undemocratic 1959 agreements are a prime reason for the present crisis. Let us not repeat the same mistake now. The events of these months demonstrate that we must act purposefully on long-term solutions to prevent a civil war on Cyprus and war between Greece and Turkey.

Several proposals have been put forward by various parties concerned.

In my judgment, the proposal which is best for the foreign policy interests of the United States, as well as for Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey, is full self-determination, which I believe would result in union of Cyprus with Greece.

Why is this the best solution?

First of all, union with Greece would eliminate the Communist toehold on Cyprus. The large Russian Embassy would be removed. The Communist Party would be outlawed and the strength of the Communists under any other label would be seriously weakened.

Secondly, besides eliminating the Communist menace on Cyprus, union with Greece is what the overwhelming majority of Cypriots want. A referendum under United Nations auspices would undoubtedly establish this fact, and the Communists would have no basis at all for objection.

Third, Cyprus would become part of NATO. It is important to note that Cyprus currently is not part of NATO and has been talking a neutralist line.

Fourth, the British base on Cyprus would become a NATO base and would be more secure.

Fifth, for both Greece and Turkey, it would end a serious difference which now threatens to lead to war between these two allies.

Of course, a cardinal feature of any settlement must be a guarantee of minority rights for the 17-percent minority. When I say minority rights I mean those basic rights guaranteed by our Constitution—freedom of speech, religion, assembly, freedom from persection, equal protection of the laws, etc. These are not and have not been a problem for Turkish citizens in Greece or Cyprus nor would they be if Cyprus united with Greece.

Perhaps an international commission under NATO, the United Nations or the International Court could further protect the individual rights of Turkish Cypriots. Such a commission could have jurisdiction over complaints by Turkish citizens as to infringements of their basic human rights. This would be a significant concession on the part

of the Greek Cypriots and Greek Government as it involves a giving up of certain rights of sovereignty. Coupled with this solution could be an offer of voluntary repatriation with indemnification for those Turkish Cypriots who wanted to leave Cyprus for Turkey.

What about the Turkish Government's opposition—Is it reasonable?

If their concern is protection of minority rights, I say that procedures have been offered and can be offered for full and adequate protection. The fact is, that for the last few months, it is the Turkish Government which has been threatening minority rights. The Ecumenical Patriarch, for instance, as well as priests and members of the Greek Orthodox faith have faced mounting persecution in Turkey. The memory of the bitter, bloody riots of 1955, incited by the Turkish Government, has not faded among Greeks living in Turkey. The longer the present Cyprus crisis is unresolved, the greater the danger to minority groups throughout the area. As you know, there are more Greeks in Turkey than Turks in Cyprus. Such a settlement would guarantee mutual interests and protection of Greek minorities in Turkey and Turkish minorities in Cyprus.

Turkey has stated that Cyprus may become the Cuba of the Mediterranean. The answer to this is quite simple. Union with Greece would make Cyprus a part aof NATO and eliminate any possibilities of a Communist takeover of the island. Turkey should certainly favor this solution if security is her concern.

Is Turkey concerned about aggression from Greece? Whatever Greece could do from Cyprus, she can do far better from her mainland or from the island of Rhodes. I cannot take such a concern seriously.

Frankly, I find no merit in the Turkish position. Our country must not be deterred from speaking out in favor of free institutions on Cyprus simply to appease our Turkish ally. Our policy should be based on the rightness of our cause and the rightness of our position. In my judgment the desire of a majority of the people of Cyprus to join with Greece is a reasonable position. It is in our own best interest and that of our allies, including Turkey. It will seriously weaken if not eliminate Communist power and influence in Cyprus under terms which it would be difficult for the Soviets to oppose.

In the best interests of American foreign policy and of the free world, I therefore strongly urge that our Government openly state its support for majority rule on Cyprus, including self-determination for the people of Cyprus, and if they choose, union with Greece.

Chairman George Mahon, of House Committee on Appropriations, Gives Views on Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the August issue of Nation's Business publishes an interview with our distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas, Hon. GEORGE MAHON. In this interview, Chairman MAHON sets forth his philosophy and provides valuable insights into the complex problem of Federal financing. This interview is a wide-ranging exposition of great interest to all Members of the Congress and the country, and I ask unanimous consent that this report be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The report on Chairman MAHON'S interview follows:

GEORGE MAHON TALKS ON SPENDING: TEXAS DEMOCRAT WHO IS NEW CHAIRMAN OF APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE GIVES PREVIEW OF FUTURE OUTLAYS AND WAYS TO REDUCE THEM

Question. Mr. MAHON, what do you foresee as the direction for future Federal expenditures?

Answer. I think spending trends for quite a long time in the future will remain high. There may be some reduction in defense and space, but it is not going to be sharp. We are going to continue with a relatively high rate of spending overall.

There is much talk about disarmament. We all are in favor of greatly reduced tensions and reduced military spending if such is feasible. But such is not now feasible. We have to keep up our guard. The world is in ferment.

You look at Latin America, Asia, India, South Vietnam, the Congo, Cyprus. It would be very unrealistic to estimate that within 3 or 4 or 5 years these conditions are going to be drastically changed and we can make sharp reductions in defense spending. I just don't think we are going to be able to do it. To make sharp defense reductions would be misunderstood at home and abroad. We are having contests between the free world and totalitarianism in many areas. When we keep up our guard, and are sufficiently strong militarily, if there is a confrontation between the East and West on a big issue, the chances of an overall war are not so great. But if we let down our guard then some of these contests could much more likely escalate into an allout war between the Communists and the Western Allies.

Question. Hasn't the Government chosen tax relief over higher spending as the way to get more economic growth and prosperity?

Answer. Yes, I think this is the right direction.

We ought to rely more on the private sector to stimulate growth and development, and I believe the recent tax reduction will tend to prevent what might otherwise have been a rapid acceleration of spending. I hope it will start somewhat of a downward or leveling-off trend. But the greatest hope is that we can at least prevent spiraling Federal spending. The attitude of the President on spending has dramatized it. Turning off lights in the White House is insignificant except as it dramatizes the idea of economy. It has caught on with the country to a considerable extent, and I applaud this attitude on the part of the President.

Other parts of the Government have joined in trying to keep the administrative budget for fiscal year 1965, for example, under $100 billion. This is all very good, but it is going to be very difficult to hold down spending, especially in view of the apathy of the people generally.

Question. Why do you think there is apathy?

Answer. Well, the President in his budget message and in some of his pronouncements early in the year somewhat set the minds of the people at rest. They felt that they had some assurance that the President was going to undertake to follow an economy line, hold the administrative budget under $100 billion. We must agree that the people generally don't lie awake at night thinking about economy. They seldom do. They lie awake nights thinking about what they would like to acquire, increased opportunities, a rise in their standard of living, education for their children, and the like. I would say there is currently no strong expression or demand from the people for economy.

Now we did have a demand from the people to some extent last year, as you know. And several years ago there was a tremendous surge when President Eisenhower submitted his budget and Treasury Secretary Humphrey said if we didn't hold down spending we would have a depression that would curl your hair. Now this ignited the interest of the people and they thought about economy. They talked about economy. They became increasingly concerned with overspending, and there was an atmosphere generated that was very wholesome. I wish we could recapture that attitude and do more about it.

Along about that time Congress, in response to that atmosphere, made a sharp reduction in the budget.

Many have tried, but no one yet has been able to dramatize the issue of economy enough to create a sustained campaign for economy—I'm talking, about a broadly based ground swell of sentiment among the people.

Question. Do you think apathy is going to remove Federal spending as an election issue in 1964?

Answer. The people generally tend to favor economy in areas other than their own. Projects in their own area seem very logical and appropriate to them. This is just the fact.

Fiscal responsibility is a much-used phrase. These are important words. But they have been used so frequently they to some extent have lost their punch. This is unfortunate. But I can't believe that discussion of economy in the forthcoming campaign will excite the extent as their interest will be excited over the discussion of foreign affairs, for example.

The fiscal situation will be an issue, and it will be one of the telling issues, but it won't be the top issue.

I hope it is an important issue. The greater and more intense the discussion is in regard to fiscal matters the better off we are. If we never think of economy, if we never think of spending, if we always think about something else, we don't really devote our best energies to the problem.

Question. Do you believe that, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, you have some obligations to keep people thinking about economy?

Answer. I believe it is part of my job, and in past years as the No. 2 man on the committee I have given this matter considerable concern.

Now, with the frightful responsibility of working with the committee and the Congress on what to do about the question of Government spending, how to apportion the dollars to be appropriated, I think that the chairman and the members of the committee and, in fact, all Members of Congress have a great responsibility to lead the people and to stimulate interest and discussion.

I want to try to come up with ideas that will dramatize this problem and create a sustained interest in it.

We have considerable staff on the committee. We have investigators that go out and uncover examples of waste, inefficiency in Government.

We have the General Accounting Office, and it performs a service in dramatizing to some extent wasteful practices and that helps create interest in trying to come to grips with these matters.

Question. Would you plan then to step up the activities of the General Accounting Office and committee investigators?

Answer. These activities might be expanded usefully. They are, of course, already substantial and far ranging.

Of course, the best way to achieve economy, we must bear in mind, is to vote "no" on additional authorization of existing pro-

grams and on new spending programs. It is generally too late after the bills have been passed and the authorization created and the appropriations made to talk about reducing that spending or to talk about holding down the debt ceiling. You can't grind the mill with the water that has passed.

Question. As incomes rise and the Nation becomes more affluent, do you think there might be room for economies in welfare?

Answer. I wish we could achieve this. We would have a much happier and sturdier country if the necessity for welfare could be greatly reduced, and I am hoping that we will find a way to achieve this goal.

And as you know, the President and others have pointed out that the degree of affluence is much greater than it has ever been.

And while you can't eliminate poverty, we ought to do all we reasonably can do to enable the citizen to help himself and to be free from relief and subsidization by the Government.

Question. The Government is spending billions to help those who don't have these high incomes. Is this the proper role of the Government?

Answer. Well, before I answer that I should express my overall philosophy with respect to spending. I have a rather homespun view on this whole question of Government spending. I feel that except in time of war or truly deep emergency we ought to live within our income. We should live within our means, and should make a start in reducing the national debt.

At times of affluence such as the present we ought to prepare for more evil days in the field of spending, as I see it. That is my general philosophy.

Now, I am not opposed to spending all the money needed for defense and all other essential purposes, but we ought to live within our income insofar as possible.

As you know, we haven't had a balanced budget since 1960, and since 1930 we have had only seven. This is bad, in my judgment.

I look with considerable skepticism on some of these so-called poverty programs. I agree theoretically and as a practical matter if we can make taxpayers out of people who are not taxpayers, this would enrich the whole country. But there are, in my judgment, decided limits to what we ought to try to do.

Question. Do you have any particular plan in mind to have a better look at all the appropriations at once?

Answer. Well, the single package appropriation bill sounded good. But as a practical matter it was a failure.

We have, from time to time, had early in the congressional session meetings of the full Committee on Appropriations with the Director of the Budget and the Secretary of the Treasury. That has to some extent been productive.

Somehow or other we need to generate policies that will create a greater overall interest by all the 50 members of the committee. We tend to be too compartmentalized. Maybe one member works in the area of defense, another in agriculture, another in foreign aid, and another in some other field. It is important that all members of the committee have constantly before them the problem of overall Government programs and expenditures.

Question. Would it help prevent expenditures without the traditional review of your committee—so-called back-door spending?

Answer. Back-door spending has been a source of controversy for quite some time.

Had it not been for the determined stand of the House Appropriations Committee and other Members of Congress, especially certain ones who played key roles, backdoor spending would have blossomed forth to a greater extent than it has.

It seems to me that the people of the United States and the press should be able to sit at the door of the Appropriations Committee and know that any spending must first be approved here. We should keep a record of the appropriations and know what the Government is spending. I think that would simplify our problem. We can't always do that now.

But the matter is not wholly out of hand, and we shall continue to resist back-door spending.

Question. What is your opinion of biennial budgets to give a little longer range picture of spending plans?

Answer. I haven't had an opportunity to explore the pros and cons. It would be worth thinking about.

Question. Do you favor 5-year spending projection, such as these now being done by some Federal Departments?

Answer. I am highly in favor of the basic idea. Too often in the past, in many fields of government, we have launched a program, relatively modest the first year or so, and then it blossomed into a multimillion-dollar project far beyond what was at first generally thought or assumed. The argument is made: "Well, we are already into this project and we have to go ahead with it." Maybe we should. But I think it is highly desirable that we take a long-range view of spending programs in defense and otherwise before they are initiated.

This will promote better management and will enable the people in the executive branch and in the legislative to make better decisions.

This is being done in the area of defense to a very considerable extent under Secretary McNamara. We need to extend the idea to all the branches of government.

The truth is that when we start a temporary program we soon find that it is extended from time to time, and a Government agency once established is very difficult to exterminate.

Question. Should the President have power to veto single items within appropriations bills Congress has passed?

Answer. It would be unwise for the President to have the item veto. The President can dramatize his position and his views. He has the Nation's press and television more at his disposal than the 535 Members of Congress.

We more or less mount our horses and ride off in all directions, and we are, as a result of that, somewhat at a disadvantage.

The executive has increased its power. The legislative branch is fighting for its due place in the sun.

It is important to the people of our country that the Congress remain strong, and the item veto would be a step in the wrong direction.

It would be an abdication to some extent by Congress of its constitutional power.

Question. What are some other future methods that you might consider as ways for better congressional control over spending?

Answer. We all recognize that changes in procedure will not of themselves bring effective expenditure control. They would have to be accompanied by an overall desire and determination on the part of Congress to make the procedures work.

If there were an overriding interest in achieving the objective, the present system could be made to work much more effectively.

I am not at all saying that there is no possibility of better procedures and methods. There are possibilities and we ought to give them a lot of attention, and I hope to do so.

Question. Should there be any kind of a ceiling for restricting the amount of spending? Should it be a particular percentage of the gross national product or an index related to population, for example?

Answer. These are interesting ideas. The sound barrier in aviation was quite a turning point. The American people to some extent have latched onto a $100 billion annual administrative budget as a significant landmark.

The way to keep from crossing it is to pattern your bills, your authorization and appropriations bills, on a basis of reduced or sufficiently restrained spending. After you have passed these bills and provided for the programs and launched them with appropriations, a ceiling comes too late.

Federal spending during the 1930's was never any more than 10 percent or so of the gross national product. Over the last 15 years, with perhaps the exception of a couple of years during the Korean war, Federal spending has been about 15 or 16 percent of the gross national product. It has been fairly constant.

In other words, the gross national product and spending have been going up in about the same proportion. There is some hope to be taken from this fact. And the national debt, on a per capita basis, has from time to time edged downward.

The population angle is worthy of consideration. It certainly is a part of the explanation of why Government spending has gone up so much. With more people you have more responsibilities, more public services to provide for.

Question. Isn't a large part of spending not related to population?

Answer. Yes, much of spending is not related to population—defense, space, interest on the debt, and veterans, who are actually decreasing in number.

It is true, however, that much controversial expenditure is related to population such as in the depressed areas, the war on poverty, and so forth. A lot of the new programs are very specifically related to population. Federal aid to education, to name one offhand. Mass transit aid is another.

I am trying to create sentiment insofar as I can in opposition to all-out Federal aid to education. If we get too deeply into this area there is hardly any limit to where spending could go as the population increases and the demands on Government increase.

We have got somehow to encourage greater acceptance of responsibility on the part of the States and local communities.

Federal aid to education has been done by the nibbling process, a little here and a little there; and if we keep on adding a little here and a little there we will complete the picture of Federal aid to general education, and this is not good in my judgment.

Question. How do you feel about the proposed health care program under social security for the aged?

Answer. At this time we should not go into a program of Federal aid to the aged on any larger scale than we now have. This is a challenge which should be met, if at all possible, on a local basis and by the medical profession itself in the States and local communities.

We are moving more and more toward greater interference in the lives of the people by the Government. Maybe this is inevitable as we increase in population and the complexities of our society increase. But I would like for Congress to apply the brakes insofar as possible and prevent these precipitous turns because they may some day overturn the applecart.

Question. Do you feel that various grants in aid should be given the States in a block to let them decide what is the right thing to do with the money?

Answer. That would be an abdication of the power of the Congress. It might be good from the standpoint of the States, but I don't think it ought to be done.

Question. There has been a lot of talk about conversion of talent and capacity from military to civilian purposes. I gather that you feel this certainly is not an immediate problem.

Answer. There will be some readjustments. We have rather adequately financed our intercontinental ballistic missile program, for example. We have gone a long way toward meeting our Polaris submarine program.

So we can make some changes, and there are going to be some dislocations, but we are not going to have anything in any way resembling what we had after World War II when there was considerable readjustment required.

Now it is true that there are going to be some installations closed in various portions of the country and there will be some readjustments require; but this is not going to be a major national question, in my opinion, for quite a long time.

It would just be unrealistic to take too seriously these dreams and hopes and prayers for a world at peace with tensions eradicated. Communism doesn't thrive in that kind of world, and communism is by no means dead. Communism is mellowing to some extent. But it is just as vicious and dangerous to our security as it has ever been.

Question. What are some of the ripe areas for economies in future years? Is Government personnel a good target?

Answer. Considerable funds could be saved by a program which would eliminate unnecessary and unproductive Government personnel. This is easier to talk about than it is to deal with effectively.

I think our Government employees ought to be well paid, but we ought to concentrate on quality rather than numbers. Too often there has been concentration on numbers. This is not good. So this is one of the fields where some progress can be made.

Question. What other areas offer a good chance for cuts?

Answer. No area of the budget should be regarded as beyond the reach of the pruning knife. I am speaking here generally of the long pull. Every area of the budget probably affords some fruitful possibilities.

Question. You think perhaps in 5 years Congress might come up with some solutions for cutting down farm subsidies?

Answer. I believe there is room for hope that some reductions can be made in farm subsidies in that period of time without injury to the overall economy of the country and the welfare of the farmer.

Question. How do you feel about the Federal Government subsidizing the cities?

Answer. Well, those of us in Congress from rural or semirural areas are sometimes confronted with a complaint from our urban colleagues; and they, of course, are in the majority. They say, We undertake to help you on agricultural programs, to help stimulate prosperity in agriculture. By the same token, we believe that you ought to be sympathetic toward the demands of the cities.

I don't think we from the agricultural areas should just turn a deaf and unresponsive ear.

The problem as I see it is to decide just what is essential and proper without destroying State and local initiative and responsibility and without getting us beyond the bounds of fiscal prudence. Agriculture is truly a national industry and of national importance. Some of these urban problems are by their nature rather localized—mass transit aid for cities is an example. But I foresee that, regardless of opposition from certain quarters, there is going to be a greater interest shown by the Congress in legislation, and probably appropriation, in the welfare of urban areas.

Peter Fechter at the Wall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a release from the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation about a youth named Peter Fechter. In these days of riots and discussion of freedoms and rights, I feel that this poignant story should be published so that my colleagues and others will have an opportunity to reevaluate the meaning of freedom.

PETER FECHTER AT THE WALL

August 17, 1964. Dusk. A lonely pedestrian walking in the twilight can barely see the small bouquets of summer flowers resting here and there against The Wall. The flowers are for a boy named Peter Fechter. Today is his anniversary.

Two years ago Peter Fechter stood on the other side of The Wall. He was 18, tall and blond. He was a construction worker and lived in Comunist East Berlin.

According to its Red rulers, East Berlin is a paradise: "Marxism-Leninism * * * is become the force which guides the Germans in their life, making it deeper and richer." But to Peter Fechter, communism was an evil wall which separated him from the one thing a man of 18 needs most—freedom.

On August 17, 1962, at 2 p.m. Peter and a friend walked slowly through the streets of East Berlin. Approaching the wall, Peter and his companion could almost feel the people on the West side passing freely along the sidewalks, in and out the shops of West Berlin.

The Communists told Peter and his friend: "Communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from the horrors of war * * * proclaims peace, labor, freedom, equality, fraternity, and happiness for all peoples on earth." But Peter Fechter knew this Communist propaganda was designed for the consumption of the non-Communist world. Where was freedom under slavery? Where was freedom but across the wall?

Somewhere in West Berlin a church bell softly rang out the hour. The two youths walked a little faster, the friend with his eyes glued to the wall, Peter thinking about the girl he couldn't afford to marry because of "the superior way of life" the Communists had forced upon them.

Suddenly Peter's friend was running and Peter was following, his heart pounding in his throat. Freedom was all he could think of. The companion clawed his way up the wall and tore across the barbed wire entanglement. "Come on, Peter!" he cried.

Peter Fechter reached the top of the wall. He was steps from freedom. Then a burst of machinegun bullets ripped across his back and Peter Fechter fell backward into barbed wire and sand. He was still in East Berlin. Why? He was only one boy, why did they gun him down like an animal while they talked of freedom?

The Reds have an answer for Peter Fechter: "Khrushchev noted in his last speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," says K. Lavrov writing in the Communist magazine International Affairs, that "the German Democratic Republic has obtained what is essential for every sovereign state: the right to control its own frontiers and to take steps against anyone who attempts to undermine its socialistic system."

The Communists could claim the boy was undermining the socialistic system. Essentially that is what individual freedom does.

As Peter Fechter rolled in the dust, his Communist executioners watched him. "Come and get me, come and get me," he cried. But no one came. "The program of the Communist Party * * * follows the moral principles contained in the moral code of the builders of communism * * * humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade, and brother," says Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

But for "Comrade" Peter Fechter, dying there in the dust was the real fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

As he lie there crying, thousands of people began massing on the west side of the wall. A great roaring sound soon filled the air as the young and old beat the rough stone wall with their fists, shrieking at the Communist guards and calling out for someone to help Peter Fechter. Some tried to charge the barrier, but the guards threatened them back with machineguns. In despair many fell to their knees and prayed for the boy who was clawing the bloody pavement. Several hours later when he died, four Red guards pulled him free of the wire.

That day in Moscow, Communist leaders lined up to pay tribute to the Soviet Cosmonauts Nikolayev and Popovich. Standing at the head of the Red delegation was the boss of world communism, Nikita Khrushchev, who has said so many times: "Peaceful coexistence envisages * * * equal rights and considerations of others' interests."

But what of Peter Fechter's "equal rights" and "interests"? Those flowers placed near the Berlin wall tell the free world what freedom to the Communist really means: Freedom to live only as the Communists dictate—in slavery.

A young boy named Peter Fechter learned the truth 2 years ago. Today he sleeps in eternity. But free men know why he died, and brave men will always remember him.

Danville, Ind., Gazette Promotes Farm Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, over the past half century there have been revolutions in farming far greater than any farmer before World War I would have thought conceivable. The immense increase in productivity, the tremendous reduction in backbreaking toil, the breaking of barriers of isolation, and the development of home comforts once reserved for the city, are all the result of technological advance.

But as technology has brought to the farm new machines and new methods, it has also brought new dangers. The National Safety Council and a host of cooperating organizations work together to try to decrease the incidence of farm accidents, through National Farm Safety Week, which occurred last month.

In noting the occasion, and in helping to promote the cause of farm safety in

its own rural area, the Danville, Ind., Gazette, in its issue of July 23, published an editorial entitled "It's Farm Safety Week." I request unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT'S FARM SAFETY WEEK

"Safer American Families Everywhere," is the theme of National Farm Safety Week now being observed throughout the Nation.

There are many ways in which farms can be made safer, but the responsibility rests with the individual, and not with campaigns, slogans, or proclamations.

Most of the fatal accidents on the farm involve machinery. Second high in responsibility is the farm ponds. Unfortunately, accidents caused by drownings even exceeds those caused by machinery in the active age group.

Farm machinery and farm ponds are for man's use and benefit. Proper safety measures can eliminate the dangers from these things intended to be beneficial.

Safety on the farm, and everywhere, should be observed year round, and not just during a national week.

A Salute to Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Cyprus this coming Sunday, August 16, will celebrate its fourth year of independence. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus; and to His Excellency Zenon Rossides, Ambassador of Cyprus to the United States.

This island, situated 40 miles from the Turkish mainland, has always been of strategic importance to eastern Mediterranean politics, a pawn in the disputes between the Romans and Ptolemies, between the Crusaders and Arabs, between the Venetians and the Turks. The British, when they leased the island in 1878 from the Ottoman Government, used it as an outer defense for the Suez Canal, a military base to insure the protection and guarantee of British interests in the area. With the outbreak of World War I, the British seized Cyprus from the Turks and was duly granted formal suzerainty by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1924.

Following World War II, repercussions from the demand for independence by mandated and colonial lands in the Middle East and Africa were soon felt on the island. Because the population is predominantly of Greek origin, while the Turkish minority constitutes only 19 percent, a demand for enosis, union with the Greek motherland, was presented to the British authorities. The refusal by both the Turkish Cypriots and by their protector, the Turkish Government, forbade such a proposal from taking place. Instead the British Government attempted to maintain a status quo, maintaining the island as a military base. The results were disruptive—excessive bloodshed, strife, and guerrilla action by Greek Cypriot partisan groups.

This grim situation was to endure until independence was achieved in 1960. Although sovereign in title, the Cypriote Government was restricted from supreme authority by the negotiating powers which granted independence to the island. By a series of agreements, strongly resisted by the provisional leader of the Greek community, Archbishop Makarios, the Turkish minority was guaranteed governing rights for their own community, including the veto power over presidential decrees. The hostilities which the island is experiencing today stem from an attempt by the Cypriot President Makarios to abrogate these agreements and to change the constitution, whereby the Cypriot Government would be able to enjoy autonomy and, at the same time, authority over all Cypriot citizens.

Although the severe conditions which prevail have created adverse economic conditions, Cyprus has great potentialities for economic expansion and sovereignty. Predominantly agrarian, minerals and other resources found on the island would provide a dependable source of income for development purposes. The history of Cyprus has been recorded in numerous antiquities which dot the cities and countryside, a veritable tourist's paradise. Copper, from which the Republic's name is derived, is mined today as it was in Roman times. Although the current 5-year development plan has been suspended by the fighting, it provided for water conservation, improvement of agricultural production, expansion of electrification and of existing industries, and improvement of docks and harbors, all worthy projects to insure developmental progress and economic growth and stability.

It is my sincere hope that, as the people of Cyprus celebrate the fourth independence anniversary of their country, peace will be restored to the island and that a permanent and amicable solution will have been reached to enable the islanders to live in harmony once more.

A Will to Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, freedom must be won anew in each generation by one means or another. We continue to have hopes that the means of warfare is obsolete, giving precedence to the negotiating table. But recent events in Vietnam, in Cyprus, and in the Congo leave room for doubt.

Irving Leibowitz, in his column in the Indianapolis Times on August 10, expressed himself—and, in doing so, reflected the thought of many others—on the need to maintain our capacity of readiness. As he says, the fight for freedom is a continuing fight. And whether or not it is a fight by warfare, we must, as he says, maintain "the willingness to fight—and die, if necessary—for freedom."

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR AND PEACE—THE DRAFT AND YOU
(By Irving Leibowitz)

The Vietnam shooting made youngsters in Indiana and elsewhere in the United States aware that there still is a possibility they may have to serve their country in uniform.

An overwhelming number of young men today are not only unwilling to volunteer, they are positively anxious to avoid by any means the draft.

Understandably, young men are concerned with their education, getting a job, finding a suitable wife, and having fun, not necessarily in that order. And, also understandably, they don't like to have their lives interrupted.

In their hearts, and on their minds is a burning question, often expressed: "Will we ever be at peace and without the constant threat of war?"

The answer is: No. There is no utopia.

The fight for freedom (or liberty, or justice, or equality or whatever you want to call it) is a continuing fight.

You cannot win it today for your children tomorrow, any more than the doughboys of World War I made the world safe for democracy in 1918, or their GI sons did at Anzio and Iwo Jima in 1945, or their grandsons did at Korea in 1953.

It is a reality today that the willingness to fight—and die, if necessary—for freedom, will be with us forever. Or we abdicate our responsibilities and surrender our freedom.

Vanishing Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, in furtherance of my House Resolution 375 for establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations, which was introduced in the House on May 29, 1963, I have had called to my attention a very fine article on the "Vanishing Nations," by Pierre J. Huss, appearing in the New York Journal American of July 23, 1964.

It is quite informative and again brings to the mind of all of us who feel for the Captive Nations of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia the terrible yoke of slavery under which they exist.

The article is as follows:

VANISHING NATIONS
(By Pierre J. Huss)

Soviet strategy in diverting attention from the gun and tank slavery it maintains in East Europe has been to label Western powers as heartless "colonialists."

Behind this propaganda clamor is the increasing necessity of diverting free world attention from the nature of Russian colonialism.

The naked brutality of this colonialism is only evident in the East European captive lands which are sovereign countries occupied by the Soviet Union. Their complete absorption as conquered territories by the Kremlin empire is not possible, since such an attempt by Moscow would doubtless precipitate bloody revolts.

But, in Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia you have the shocking spectacle of Russian colonialism as it really is. There the foreign spotlight fails to penetrate, as Red colonialism callously cuts down the individuality of each nationality by a heartless program of denationalization and Russification.

In another decade, these Baltic lands will have lost their own imprint in history and the once proud native of Estonia, Latvia, or Lithuania will be a rarity amidst overbearing Russians planted there or the Russian generation growing up in these conquered lands.

There are now 1,350,000 Russians living in the three countries, and the percentage is increasing.

Before the annexation after World War II, Russians in Estonia constituted 8.5 percent of the population. In 1961, the percentage rose to 21.7 percent and is going up.

In Latvia there were 12 percent Russians, but in 1961 that jumped to 26.6 percent. Lithuania used to have 4 percent, but in 1961 climbed to 8.5 percent.

Russian colonialism isn't bothered by squeamish measures repulsive to the West. To hasten the reduction of Baltic nationalities, Soviet police moved in after the war and systematically deported whole areas to Siberia.

Soviet terror rule and killings, or deaths from maltreatment in prisons decimated the native population further. Russian teachers and officials then moved in and took control over the educating and raising of children, with the Russian language made compulsory in all schools and public offices.

Today, the Baltics are taking on every aspect of Soviet life, custom, and procedure, and a child under 10 has little knowledge of parental nationality. Russification is so complete in many areas that Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia has become vague names in youthful minds.

Closing the Stock Loophole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, for several months many of us in the Congress have been looking forward to the day when the District of Columbia would have a blue sky securities law for the protection of investors living in Washington. Such a bill passed the House several weeks ago. The Senate District Committee has at last brought this bill from the committee.

Mr. Speaker, this is none too early. This is the most important piece of legislation in 1964 that will be passed in the Congress for the benefit of people in the District of Columbia.

The District of Columbia is the only major political body in America without a blue sky law. During the last few years we have seen a series of investor scandals. This is all brought about by the fact that there is no blue sky law in the District of Columbia. I trust that the other body will bring this bill to the floor of the Senate as soon as possible, in order that it may be enacted into law without further delay.

Mr. Speaker, I append herewith an editorial from the Washington Evening Star of August 12 on this matter:

CLOSING THE STOCK LOOPHOLE

The Senate District Committee has at last cleared legislation to protect Washington investors in stocks and bonds from shady or shaky security dealers—and it is high time. Nearly 2 years have passed since the Star, in a series of articles, called Congress attention to the hardships and flagrant abuses which spring from the absence of a "blue sky law" in the District. Within the last few weeks alone there have been two more court cases involving stock operations which might never have got underway had the protective legislation been in effect.

The Senate bill sets up a licensing scheme for anyone doing business here as a broker, requiring, among other things, minimum capitalization and surety bonds. Equally important, it permits licensing authorities to separate the crooks and the incompetents from the sound operators before anyone gets hurt. A companion measure, differing in some details, already has passed the House. It is important that the Senate act quickly in order to resolve these differences in conference, and enact the bill into law before Congress adjourns.

A Great Friend of California Has Passed Away

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES H. WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues of the California delegation in mourning the passing of U.S. Senator CLAIR ENGLE.

The memory of his record; his vibrant personality; his courage; and his integrity will remain with us for a long time to come. Death can remove his physical presence, but the spirit of this man will linger long in the Halls of Congress.

From district attorney of Tehama County to U.S. Senator—CLAIR ENGLE'S career spanned 30 years of service to California and the Nation. His 15 years of service in this House alone was a career of which any man could be proud, and one which few of us can hope to match.

As chairman of the House Interior Committee, CLAIR ENGLE was a leading spokesman for the conservation and preservation of our natural resources, and his outstanding leadership in this field is permanently engraved in the statutes of public law.

It is a tragedy indeed that this man while still in the prime of life was not allowed to make his full mark in the U.S. Senate. We can be sure that in a very few more years that mark would have been made, and our Nation will have to carry the loss.

I supported Senator ENGLE in his bid for reelection this year, until by his own wish he withdrew from the campaign. I know his successor will be an able legislator, but we will sorely miss the experience and ability of the man from Red Bluff.

These past few months of terrible illness dramatized the great personal courage of Senator ENGLE. Few legislators have been so gravely afflicted, and few have so bravely tried to carry on with their duties and responsibilities.

My wife and family share my deep sorrow at this time, and we all extend our heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Engle and other members of the Senator's family. I am sure, however, that they will receive some comfort in the months to come as they read again the many letters and messages sent in tribute to one of California's greatest and most dedicated public servants. I hope, too, that the Senator's family will not hesitate to turn to us—the members of the California delegation—if there is any service that we can render.

Lyndon's Dream

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to request unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the following excellent editorial which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star on August 10:

LYNDON'S DREAM

"But then I decided to send a little note to Cabinet members in general, saying 'I'm sorry I took so many nice fellows over the side with me.'"

Thus Bobby Kennedy laughed off his rejection by President Johnson as a possible vice presidential candidate. But in the laugh was a trace of bitterness, and well there might be.

For Kennedy was jobbed, and he knew it.

Obviously Mr. Johnson had eliminated the entire Cabinet as potential candidates simply to get rid of one man—Robert F. Kennedy. Why did he feel this drastic step was necessary?

The President may have had visions that troubled him greatly—visons of a political convention getting out of hand.

His astute political mind may have imagined a scene at Atlantic City in which a snowball started rolling which was impossible to stop.

He may have foreseen the great Kennedy machine at work in convention hall, with dozens of the Kennedy clan buttonholing delegates and talking fast and furiously. He may well have pictured enthusiasm mounting and excitement swelling in the hall.

Demonstrations with shouting Kennedy fans carrying placards, with pictures of the former President, Bobby, and even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt may have haunted his imagination.

Even the bedridden Senator TED KENNEDY might have been carried into the hall, setting off wild hysteria.

Then at the climax, a beautiful widow, the world's most imitated woman, would step gracefully to the rostrum, lift her veil delicately, and in the best known woman's voice in the land, make a speech nominating her brother-in-law.

Could Lyndon refuse him the nomination for Vice President after a scene like that? Indeed, he'd be lucky if the delegates weren't so carried away that they nominated Bobby as presidential candidate.

It may have been that dream, or nightmare, which influenced the President to take such a drastic step in eliminating the Attorney General as a potential candidate. He saw a tiny snowball rolling and he poured water on it before it got so big it rolled right over him.

Hon. Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, our country has suffered a tragic loss in the death of Senator CLAIR ENGLE. The fact that we had been expecting it for many months does not dim our sorrow, or make our loss any less or easier to bear.

He served his Nation with great ability for 30 years as a district attorney, a State senator in California, a Member of this House and in the U.S. Senate.

His service was marked by tremendous courage, skill, honesty and an abundant good humor. He had an almost unique ability to laugh, endearing him to all.

Senator ENGLE was responsible for many magnificent water projects in California and other accomplishments which have aided in the growth and development of our great State.

He was one of the most skilled politicians in the noblest sense—a true legislative craftsman—who has ever been in this Congress.

While serving in the House, Senator ENGLE was the author of almost every important bill expanding the Central Valley project of California since its authorization in 1937.

His interests were also national and international in scope, as evidenced by his cosponsorship of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 while serving in the Senate.

We have all lost a friend. The people of California have lost an outstanding public servant whose life will remain forever an example of what a man can do for his country in the Halls of Congress. It will serve as a guide for those equally devoted to public service who will follow in his footsteps.

Nearly a year ago, just before Senator ENGLE went to the hospital, I chatted with him for the last time. I recall coming away again impressed by his remarkable grasp of the problems faced by our State and Nation, and their legislative solutions.

To his wife, Lu, his daughter and granddaughter of whom he was so proud, my wife joins me in extending our deepest sympathy.

Establishing an Administrative Conference in the United States

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1664) to provide for continuous improvement of the administrative procedure of Federal agencies by creating an Administrative Conference of the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Chairman, this bill, providing for the creation of a permanent Administrative Conference, will give us a most effective vehicle through which the personnel of our multitudes of administrative agencies, with the aid of nongovernmental advisers on administrative practices, will be able to formulate recommendations for the improvement of their own procedures.

Certainly, it is clear that the performance of regulatory functions, and its related responsibilities for the determination of private rights, privileges, and obligations by executive departments and administrative agencies, substantially affects large numbers of private individuals and many areas of economic nad business activity. These interests which, in the aggregate, affect the development of the national economy must be protected by Federal administrative procedures which insure maximum efficiency and fairness in the performance of the governmental functions.

Unfortunately, however, the steady expansion of the Federal administrative process during recent years has been accompanied by growing concern over the efficiency and adequacy of department and agency procedures. The record is replete with the countless problems that cry out for a solution. Who among us has not heard the futile wails of public exasperation over the multitude of obstacles encountered in our administrative procedures; the businessman fighting the seemingly endless procession of complicated and unnecessary paperwork that all too often duplicates or overlaps itself; the inconsistencies of agency procedure and regulation; the great delays in administrative action, and consequent delays in justice, which are always to be found; and on and on. Though the Administrative Conference will not be an automatic cure-all for these ills, these problems will be clearly within the focus of that body's jurisdiction and subject to solution through its recommendations to the President, the Congress and our agencies and departments.

Closely paralleling the Judicial Conference of the United States in its relationship to the Federal court system, the Administrative Conference will stand in a similar position with our administrative agencies. I would suggest that if this permanent conference is only partially as successful as the Judicial Conference has been in its field, it will be very worthwhile. As a matter of fact, the temporary conferences created by President Eisenhower and President Kennedy already made it clear that substantial progress in improving departmental and agency practices can result from the cooperative efforts of agency personnel working together with members of the practicing bar, scholars, and business and labor leaders.

It is with these views in mind, then, that I enthusiastically support the creation of a permanent Administrative Conference, for I am convinced that through its ability to ascertain ways to reduce the time and costs of administrative procedures, while preserving the necessary elements of fairness and due process of law, we will be taking a giant step forward in our quest for good government.

Usurpation of Powers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the time is overdue to clip the wings of the Supreme Court in its effort to remake America in keeping with its own theories and whims. This can be done by the passage and ratification of constitutional amendments that will nullify some of the more objectionable decisions of the Court.

A critical vote will be taken soon on the Dirksen amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill which seeks to allow States two legislative sessions to reapportion their legislatures. This proposal was made by the Illinois Senator so that adequate time may be given to various resolutions to amend the Constitution permitting the apportionment of one house of the legislature on the basis of factors without respect to population. On June 15, 1964, the Supreme Court, by a series of decisions written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, declared that six State legislatures were invalid and casting doubt upon the composition of all other State legislative bodies. In the words of the oCurt, "One man, one vote." That is to say that both houses of the State assemblies must be apportioned on the basis of population alone without consideration of other time-honored historic factors. That type of an ideal situation of "one man, one vote" is appealing. It is a catchy phrase without doubt. But such a plan applied to legislative bodies is not plausible. It has not been done at the State or Federal level before. There is good reason that it has not. Such considerations of history, geography, customs, patterns, and community interests have been the guidelines. Now the Court says population alone should be the criterion.

Mr. Justice Stewart in his dissenting opinion said, "To put the matter plainly, there is nothing in all the history of this Court's decisions which supports this constitutional rule." He said further:

The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legisla-

tures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union. With all respect I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward * * * when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves * * * that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured, not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory.

What Mr. Justice Stewart is saying is that these decisions amount to judge-made laws. This shocking Court rule could be a threat to the U.S. Senate which has 100 Members with 2 coming from each State. Justice Stewart noted that mathematically 17 percent of the Nation's population could control the Senate.

The reapportionment decisions in effect declare that representatives of the people in the State legislatures are no longer permitted to pass upon their own apportionment procedures.

The Court must depend upon public opinion to support its conclusions. It is getting into serious disrepute. The people of the country are losing respect for the Court as it sides with gangsters, criminals, and Communists as well as deprives the people themselves of prerogatives that justly belong to them.

Sixty Members of the House have banded together to fight the foreign aid conference report if it carries the Dirksen amendment, even though they have consistently favored foreign aid. Those of us who favor the Dirksen amendment to stay the decision of the Court are just as determined that action is imperative to curb the powers of the Court. The outcome of this fight in the last days of the current session will be significant. It will have a far-reaching effect upon the issue of whether our States are mere pawns of the Central Government.

The Congress should remain in session for whatever length of time that will be required to enact the Dirksen amendment which would allow adequate opportunity to rescind the Court decision on reapportionment.

Some Notes From a Mountaintop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON W. GLENN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, there are occasions when I read descriptive articles that are so well done that I have a desire to share with others the feeling which the article has portrayed to me.

On a recent visit to the West Coast the editor of the Vineland Times Journal of July 9, 1964, related to his readers his impressions of the Jackson Lake area of Wyoming and is entitled, "Some Notes From a Mountaintop."

To me who has spent a lifetime in the flatlands of south Jersey, it has created a desire to go and see this area, as so many thousands are doing every year.

The article is as follows:

KEEPING UP WITH THE TIMES—SOME NOTES FROM A MOUNTAINTOP

JACKSON LAKE, WYO.—Whenever a fellow starts thinking he's a big fish, even in a small pond, the best way to deflate his ego in a hurry is to send him across the United States in an automobile. Unless he has the hide of a walrus and a head of granite he's going to realize by his third tankload of gasoline that he's rather insignificant in the scheme of things.

In a dank cave in western Wisconsin, for example, he sees stalagmites which rise at the rate of 1 inch every 200 years as mineral-bearing water drips on them almost imperceptively. He comes to grips with the Oligocene age and with concepts of time measured in the tens of millions of years.

In some respects, perhaps, the only difference between a peak in the Teton Mountain Range and a Jersey beach along the Atlantic Ocean is 12,000 feet, for you can sit on one or the other and think about eternity if you're so moved. When a fellow looks at the contour of the earth caused by glaciers a long, long time ago, when he looks hard at a canyon cut by a river over the course of 100,000 years, he's not likely to be excited about the Times Journal's presses starting a half hour late in the afternoon—at least until he comes home.

The drive across the absolute wilderness of some areas of South Dakota, the awesome face of the earth in the "Badlands," the ascent of Mount Rushmore National Monument, the thrill of navigating a car across the Big Horn Mountains * * * all combine to give a man a better perspective of the size and beauty of this Nation.

It's a majestic land, beautiful and ugly, intoxicating and boring.

No wonder the Indians fought so valiantly and desperately defending it against the white man. How he must have loved it; how he must have hated the strangers who came to ravage it. Yet it was big enough for both the red man and the white man and it was tragic that both had to kill when they could have developed it peacefully.

Somehow or other, the perspective of time and distance seem to be as lacking today both in the people and their elected representatives as they were when the Indians and the white settlers shed each other's blood. There's more than enough room now, and for all time to come, for men of all colors and creeds in this land. On a mountaintop in Wyoming, overlooking snow-fed streams which will be flowing in the same direction 100,000 years from now, "States rights" seems to be a rather puny doctrine.

—BEN LEUCHTER.

Tribute to Clair Engle

SPEECH

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, tragedy is the difference between what has come to pass and what could have been. We who have known it so recently in one public servant—grand in accomplishment and in promises of things to come—face tragedy once again in another, with the passing of CLAIR ENGLE.

Senator ENGLE had that unique combination of integrity, compassion, and ability so admirable in a man, and so prized in a public servant. With blunt forthrightness and determination, he persevered in promoting what he thought right; and his unbounded energies, so generously given for such causes, earned him the nickname of "Congressman Fireball." He was an independent thinker whose devotion to the general interest was matched, perhaps, only by his skill in, and enjoyment of, the political process involved in realizing this public good. He was a naturally cheerful and colorfully articulate man, his speech reflecting his background and familiarity with the miners, lumbermen, and ranchers of northern California.

Son of a pioneering family, CLAIR ENGLE graduated from Hastings College of Law in San Francisco, and then devoted his whole adult life to public service, becoming the elected district attorney of Tehama County, special deputy attorney general of California, and State senator. In a special election the people made him Congressman from the huge mountain counties of California's old second district—one of the largest in the Nation—the office to which he was returned for eight successive terms. In the House he was highly regarded as the authority on power, water, and public land issues, and was responsible, more than any other man, for the most important reclamation measures in the West in the past 20 years. Californians will remember him especially for his ceaseless efforts to solve the State's water problem, and will hold the improved and expanded California Central Valley reclamation project as a living monument to his leadership and labor. In 1958 he ran successfully for the Senate, and there he fervently hoped to be for a second term—until brain tumor operations which left him partially paralyzed and impaired in speech forced him to withdraw his candidacy.

If we cannot know, we can at least appreciate the agonies he must have suffered during his final year, when, broken in health but not in spirit, he sought to continue his senatorial duties. In a moving and final testament to his conviction and dedication to the public weal, he twice insisted on being delivered to the Senate floor, where, from a wheelchair, he signaled his vote for cloture and then passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

I join CLAIR ENGLE's personal friends and colleagues who have expressed, in heartfelt words, their affection and respect for the late Senator, and their deep feeling of loss, to themselves and the Nation.

The E Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the President's E Award for excellence in exporting is being presented this afternoon to the Berlitz Schools of Languages of America, Inc., a farflung firm with headquarters in New York City. Mr. Robert Strumpen-Darrie, President of Berlitz,

is accepting the award from Secretary of Commerce Luther B. Hodges.

The E Award, given for outstanding contributions to increased world trade, was established by executive order in December 1961. Berlitz, the 547th recipient of this award, is the first school of languages to be so honored. The citation accompanying the E pennant states:

To meet the needs of American businessmen for language training of personnel engaged in export trade, the Berlitz Schools of Languages of America, Inc., has substantially increased its teaching activities.

Not only has the dollar volume of Berlitz services and teaching aids sold abroad more than tripled in recent years, new schools being established in other countries also add to this country's earnings overseas.

The success of the Berlitz Schools in providing the tools of languages to help facilitate the flow of world trade is contributing importantly to the export expansion program of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, more and more American businesses are engaged in foreign trade. It is estimated that U.S. companies now employ some 50,000 Americans overseas. Essential to this far-ranging commerce is communication. American trade is helped immeasurably when Americans can speak the language of the local marketplace. Corporations have learned that business goes most smoothly when employees sent to foreign posts can speak the native tongue when they arrive, and when their wives and families, as well, have had some language training. Such training helps trade; more important, it aids American understanding of the customs and cultures of other nations, and promotes goodwill.

The Berlitz Schools aim to keep Americans from being speechless overseas. Berlitz, an 86-year-old firm, has 34 schools in the United States and more than 270 throughout the world. While French, Spanish, Portugese, German, and Japanese are the languages most often needed by businessmen, Berlitz has textbooks for over 70 languages. Employees from some 300 of our largest industries are Berlitz graduates today.

I am happy to announce the presentation of an E Award to this outstanding company.

Washington "Kulaks"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have been granted unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the column of Edith Kermit Roosevelt, which I am certain will be found interesting to everyone.

The column follows:

BETWEEN THE LINES: WASHINGTON'S "KULAKS"

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When socialism was established in Soviet Russia one of the early steps by government planners was "the liquidation of the kulaks." These productive independent, small farmers were considered "backward elements" and so they were stripped of their property for the benefit of a political elite.

In this country, thrifty, self-reliant, individualistic persons—our equivalent of the kulaks—who belong to the middle class are also being liquidated. White and Negro alike they have become enemies of Washington's bureaucracy. In Washington's Southwest section, where this correspondent lives, I have witnessed at first hand people being treated like kulaks under a program which bears the misleading title of "urban renewal." This is a system that condemns people's properties and confiscates and destroys their homes under a legalism known as "eminent domain." Urban renewal all too frequently benefits millionaire real estate speculators and redevelopers who construct new buildings, and foster the existence of a rootless class dependent on government bureaucrats and self-seeking politicians.

From my window I can observe the effects of this kind of urban renewal—the ruins of small residences and the beginnings of soulless projects. I am deafened by the clamor of the bulldozers from dawn to dusk. Some call this progress but in reality it is only change. Small businesses have been uprooted; the city's historic old landmarks destroyed. My florist, who formerly operated Congressional Florists, opposite the Library of Congress for many years, died this January of a heart attack. He was only 43. He had been leading an unsuccessful effort by local merchants to retain the shops that had been razed to make way for more government construction on Independence Avenue.

Gone from the Capitol Hill area are almost all the charming old houses with their gardens and balconies. These had provided low-cost homey accommodations for artists and writers. In their place the get-rich-quick developers have erected, on Federal money, giant high-rental luxury apartments of brick and steel. Widows on pension, school teachers, and the lower paid Government employees have left this area. They cannot afford to live in the high-rent development ghettos nor could they qualify for Government housing projects which are breeding places for delinquency and crime.

When I attended Georgetown University we students used to stroll by the fishing wharves of a summer evening, watching the ships steam up the Potomac. Today no sensible person would dare walk about after dark. Bands of teenagers roam the streets stabbing, yoking, and bopping. Recently, a secretary to a Congressman was assaulted in broad daylight near the Capitol Building. Compulsory integration in the city's housing projects has not solved racial problems. It has only created additional tension in areas where they did not exist before. Pressure groups prevent proper law enforcement and the average person who lacks a lobby behind him is the one who suffers.

Some of the most shocking stories of human tragedies outside the Iron Curtain are in the files of a subcommittee on the District of Columbia, chaired by Representative JOHN DOWDY, Republican, of Texas. One case involves two elderly sisters who lived in a large, fine, old brick home in a middle-class neighborhood, where, after the death of their large family, they earned a living taking lodgers. The Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) told them it was taking their property and ordered their roomers to leave, thus depriving the sisters of their income. When RLA failed to relocate them in suitable housing, the sisters were permitted to stay on in their home and pay rent to the Federal Agency. Without income, they could not buy enough fuel for so large a house and the Agency refused to make repairs to the furnace even though it was now the landlord. The water pipes froze and flooded the premises. The older sister became ill, apparently from worry and shock. She died during a very cold spell, from the cold. The undertaker found ice on the sheet when he removed her body.

The other sister had no other way to earn a living since she was a cripple. She refused public housing and, as she had no income and was unwilling to part with the family cat, she was moved to an unsatisfactory wooden house which she says is overrun with vermin, rats, and mice and is noisy. Her only income now is board money from one elderly lodger and she must depend on public assistance when he dies. She still grieves over treasured furnishings and keepsakes left behind in her confusion at leaving the only home she had ever known. Her health has suffered from living in a cold house three winters without heat.

In another case, RLA compelled a colored family with 10 children to leave their property because it was wanted by the Government. According to a memorandum by the subcommittee counsel, the RLA told the family that "there would be housing available to them and that they would be relocated but they would be compelled to get rid of 2 of their 10 children before they could be admitted to any of the Government housing."

Other cases in the District concern persons who were self-sustaining and who now find themselves public charges. A quite typical case is that of a favorite neighborhood baker who failed in a new location and now works for others. Another sad group are those who now live in public housing where they cannot keep track of their children's associates. Or the elderly, who find public housing too noisy after living in quiet homes.

In testimony prepared for the District subcommittee, a retired social worker summed up the danger in repeating these tragedies on a larger scale throughout the Nation. Miss Mary M. Kavanaugh told the Congressmen:

"Urban renewal wipes out or weakens the middle class by destroying margins of savings represented by equity in a home or source of income * * *. It weakens or destroys the bulwark of private enterprise—the small family-run business."

If urban renewal in Washington is a pilot project for the rest of the Nation, it can only be viewed as an assault on the social order. The way this is being implemented, it becomes a Socialist device which creates a nation of impoverished persons on public assistance and in public housing while further enriching those big businessmen who profit by what are in effect payoffs silencing opposition from that quarter.

Private Shipyards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, in recent times, too much has been said about the naval shipyards and too little about the private shipyards of this country. I frequently have the feeling that we are more interested in perpetuating high-cost, tax-supported Government enterprise than we are in promoting lower cost, tax-producing private enterprise.

Defense Secretary McNamara has indicated that his cost reduction programs will lead the way to greater economies

in the defense budget. He has also expressed the view that there is an excess of capacity in the naval shipyard system. Concurrently, the private shipyard industry has revealed that its facilities were 58 percent idle in 1963.

On the central theme surrounding those last three sentences, I read a most interesting editorial in the Norwich (Conn.) Bulletin on July 27, 1964, and under leave to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD, I include this excellent editorial for the benefit of my colleagues:

MORE POWER FOR THE DOLLAR

Not too long ago Defense Secretary McNamara revealed a general tightening of procedures had saved some $2½ billion in his Department last year. He also indicated this cost saving was only the start of a program aimed at further reduction in the Nation's enormous defense budget.

Although McNamara's efforts to reduce Defense Department spending have been far reaching in scope, full advantage has not as yet been taken of the major cost-saving possibilities provided by the Nation's privately owned shipyards, such as the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics, the backbone of the economy of eastern Connecticut. This is made quite evident by a report which shows private yard facilities were 58 percent idle in 1963.

It has been fairly conclusively established that costs in private shipyards are considerably lower than they are in the naval yards for all types of naval shipwork. Two national accounting firms brought this fact out following studies of the situation and the report made on a capacity and utilization survey by a third accounting firm of national prominence indicates clearly the private yards are capable of handling much more Navy construction, repair, and maintenance work than they have been getting at a savings to the Government and the taxpayer.

A summary of the "Report on Capacity and Utilization of Private Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Facilities, 1963" sent to Secretary McNamara by Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, points out that present private yard facilities were more than twice the requirement to handle the 1963 business volume which yielded but 42 percent utilization. It also reveals the availability of more Government shipwork for private yards would undoubtedly lead to more stability and provide operating efficiencies that could reduce the cost of accomplishing shipwork below present levels which are already lower than those in naval yards.

These cost and capacity survey reports clearly indicate the Defense Department is missing the boat in its economy drive by not diverting considerably more Navy shipwork into the privately owned yards. If Secretary McNamara is genuinely interested in saving the taxpayers money, and we are inclined to believe he is, the most advantageous move is certainly quite obvious—toward the private yards which, according to Mr. Hood, are in a position to furnish "more naval power for the defense dollar."

Salute to Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, 16 years ago, on August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea emerged from a war-torn world as a sovereign, independent state. It is with great pleasure that we take this opportunity to extend heartfelt greetings to His Excellency Chung Hee Park, the President of Korea, and to the Korean Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Chung Yul Kim, as they and the Korean people celebrate the anniversary of their independence.

No nation strived harder, nor waited longer for independence than did Korea. Since the second century B.C., this strategically located peninsula has been constantly beseiged by devastating invasions from the Chinese, the Tartars, the Mongols, the Manchus, the Japanese, and the Russians. It is perhaps an everlasting tribute to the strength and character of the Korean people, that through all these vicissitudes, Koreans have preserved a distinctive, colorful culture expressed in literature, painting, architecture, handicrafts, and religious and social customs.

Mr. Speaker, just as no nation has strived so hard for independence, no nation, in turn, has fought so hard or sacrificed so much to preserve that independence as has the Republic of Korea. When on June 25, 1950, the North Koreans, urged on by their Russian and Chinese masters, perpetrated the invasion of the south, Korean patriots fought valiantly to preserve their hard-won freedom. During this war, the Republic of Korea suffered damages estimated at well over $3 billion, but the price of liberty, Mr. Speaker, is not, as Koreans well know, measured in terms of dollars and cents, but rather in terms of blood and tears, as over 1 million Koreans were killed and another million wounded or missing before the conflict was over.

Today the Republic of Korea, though hampered by the maintenance of a huge military force and an artificially divided country, looks to the future with confidence. In January 1962, the Korean Government adopted the first 5-year economic development plan, in which the principal target is a 40.8-percent growth of the GNP by 1966. Also the basis for continuous economic improvement has been laid with the stabilization of the currency, marked improvement in per capita income, firm establishment of a free enterprise system, elimination of farm landlord holdings, and development of an investment and loan banking system. Industrial, agricultural, and fisheries production are all steadily rising.

Mr. Speaker, we look with admiration at the progress made by the Republic of Korea in its quest for continued freedom and prosperity. The future of Korea is inseparable from the future of the global struggle between free democracy and Communist imperialism. All Korean history illustrates the unity and homogeneity of the Korean people. The evil of the Korean division is caused by foreign conquest and occupation and when the Communists may be forced or persuaded to permit free election in Korea, the reuniting of the country will be easily accomplished. Until that time, however, the citizens of the Republic of Korea take faith in an old Korean proverb which states: "Beware of a sword hidden behind a smile." The people of Korea fought Communist aggressors once to keep their nation free, and they would not hesitate to do so again.

The Supreme Court's Challenge to Congress—A Time To Restrain the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the issue of judicial usurpation which has been raised by recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States is cogently staged by the distinguished Washington political writer, Mr. William S. White. In his column published on August 12 in the Washington Evening Star, Mr. White observes that the Court is drawing deserved criticism upon itself by "its sustained determination to alter the whole American political structure to conform to the wishes of a Court majority."

This article by Mr. White expressing a need for restraint, I believe, expresses the views of a majority of the Congress and the country. Under unanimous consent I reprint this column in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article by Mr. White follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 12, 1964]

TIME TO RESTRAIN THE COURT

(By William S. White)

A profound contest is developing between Congress and the Supreme Court over the increasing interference by a majority of its Justices in the purely political affairs of this country.

It will be a collision between Congress' constitutional right to make the laws and the Court's continuous attempts to usurp the right to itself. It is a somber thing that two basic American institutions must thus become embroiled between themselves. They need never have done so had the Court been willing to practice even a minimum of self-restraint.

Specifically, the issue is the Court's ruling of June 15, over the violent objections of a distinguished minority of its Judges, that not simply seats in the lower houses of the State legislatures but also in the State senates must hereafter be apportioned substantially on population alone.

This extraordinary decision would be the beginning of the end of the ancient concept of check and balance in American society. It would cast away a practice of nearly two centuries by which the lower houses have been roughly based on a head count of the population but the State senates almost universally have been based mostly on other factors, such as geography and tradition. The vital point is that the State senates are the sole homes of the check in the check and balance system.

In a word, the Court proposes to destroy a qualified right of obstruction—of wait-and-see—in the upper houses over the sometimes hurried and hysterical actions of lower houses speaking sometimes for mere whipped-up and transitory and uniformed popular majorities. Carry the Court's decision to its logical conclusion and even the historic and deliberate population imbalance in the U.S. Senate—where the smallest State

in numbers now has equal voting power with the very largest—could not in any logic longer prevail.

What a powerful bipartisan group in Congress now proposes to do is to pass an act to suspend this amazing ruling for 2 years. Thus, time would be gained for the adoption of a Constitutional amendment forbidding the Court to enter an area which it had, until now, always conceded it had no right to enter anyhow.

At the head of this congressional movement to reclaim the proper powers of Congress and the States from a Supreme Court progressively draining them away—on the theory that only the Court knows what is really good for the country—is the Republican Senate leader, EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois. Many Democrats, however—and not rightwingers or ultraconservatives—are in his support.

The Court—nine men elected by nobody, serving for life and accountable at last only to their own consciences and sense of public taste—has been persistently unwilling to restrain itself from meddling in politics. Now, Congress is going to apply the rein which the Court has refused to apply itself. It is a sad moment. For the integrity of the Supreme Court is the first indispensable to order in this Nation. And no one gladly moves against it—even, as now, if only to halt seizures of power it was never granted and never should have sought.

Indeed, the present situation has no parallel in American history. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's attempt 26 years ago to pack the Court so that it would sustain some of his experiments was, in truth, an attack upon its just rights. But what now goes forward is a congressional check not upon the Court's just rights but rather upon its repeated attempts to seize for itself the just rights of the legislative bodies of this country.

Apologists for the Court already are seeking to present this deeply necessary challenge to an arrogant judiciary as some effort to curtail it in such fields as civil rights.

It is a wholly false argument. The Court is in no way being attacked for expanding civil rights. It is being counterattacked for its sustained determination to alter the whole American political structure to conform to the wishes of a Court majority which has gone all but power mad about what it believes to be liberal ideas but which are, in fact, the ideas not of democracy but of mobocracy.

Meat Import Mischief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DON L. SHORT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, the persistent effort of the press to confuse the meat consuming public in regard to the efforts of the livestock industry to establish reasonable limitations on beef imports at a time when domestic prices were depressed because of a domestic oversupply is most disturbing to those of us who have tried to be fair and objective about this matter. I am particularly disturbed about both the tone and the statements in an editorial appearing in the Washington Post this morning. The first paragraph of this editorial implies that the livestock industry is attempting to impose rigid quotas on imported meat. This positively is not the case. The livestock industry proposal has been to establish a quota based on the average of the last 5 year's imports which have been the highest in our Nation's history. In addition a growth factor of 4 percent per year has been added. This does not seem to me to be unfair to foreign countries because this in effect guarantees by law a high level of imports regardless of our domestic price situation.

Many articles appearing in the press, including an article on the Women's page of yesterday's Washington Post, infer that the action of the cattlemen will impose higher prices on the lower income beef consumers who are the purchasers of most of the imported beef. It should be borne in mind that low-income groups are not the only consumers of imported beef because the imported product is largely used for making hamburger. The hamburger sandwich is a popular item, particularly with children, regardless of the family income level. It should also be borne in mind that about one-third of the carcass weight of even the Choice and Prime cattle fed in the United States is used in processed meat. Further, retail prices of beef have not necessarily dropped with the lower price of cattle.

While we are considering low-income people and "those living in poverty," to quote from today's Post editorial, I believe it is appropriate to point out that the primary processing involved in 11 percent of our total beef supply which was the amount of imports in 1963, would provide a very considerable number of jobs in the packing industry in the United States. Wage levels in packing houses in Australia, as an example, are sharply lower than in the United States. Also it should be borne in mind that the meat imported into the United States is both boned and frozen and the amount of labor involved in utilizing this product in the United States is rather minimal. I think it is also appropriate to point out that the legislation proposed by the livestock industry would not affect the importation of live cattle which originate primarily with our neighbors, Canada and Mexico.

The argument that any action by the livestock industry in legislating on imports would have an adverse effect on our trade relations with foreign countries and our ability to export agriculture products to foreign countries is not founded on facts. Most of the countries around the world are much more protection-minded than the United States. The United States has the world's lowest level of import duties on dressed beef amounting to only 3 cents per pound dressed basis. Other countries in the world, and particularly the European Common Market countries, are sharp bargainers when it comes to protecting the interests of their own country. The European Common Market is probably the best example where we have had the experience of sharply-increased import duties on American poultry and pork products, when our exports to the European countries reached substantial volume. This happened long before the livestock industry was faced with its recent sharp decline in prices and the proposition of beef import control legislation was ever introduced in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the livestock industry is only seeking a fair deal and an even break in competing for the American beef market. I find nothing unreasonable in asking for restraint on excessive imports at a time when the market of this largest segment of our agricultural economy is severely depressed. The livestock industry has strenuously opposed Government regulations and Government price protection in the shape of price supports or subsidies. They do not feel that it is fair competition to have unlimited imports flooding our markets while the American producer cuts back his production in an effort to balance supply with real demand.

Under unanimous consent I place the article mentioned from this morning's Washington Post with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MEAT IMPORT MISCHIEF

The success of the Kennedy round of tariff cutting negotiations and, indeed, the position of the United States in world trade will be seriously jeopardized if the House follows the Senate in imposing rigid quotas on imported meat products.

A very sharp increase in the output of Choice beef has driven down domestic prices, enveloping the producers in a painful cost-price squeeze and causing many of them to incur losses. The economic distress of the cattlemen is real, but in ascribing their plight to imports and in demanding that Congress impose rigid quotas on virtually all imported meat products, they are the victims of a delusion that could undermine this country's international trade policies.

If this country were importing grain-fed, Choice grade beef, one might be able to make a case against imports as the cause of the distress. But virtually all of the imported beef is of the grass-fed "manufacturing grade," the low-priced type used for hamburger and luncheon meat products. These products, being in a much lower price class, do not compete directly with Choice grade domestic beef.

If the House goes along with the Senate and the quotas are imposed, the cattlemen will not obtain an ounce of relief in the shape of price increases. Relief will not come before beef production is reduced by culling out cows and bulls and slaughtering more calves for veal. But the undesirable side effects of imposing quotas would be instantly manifested. Consumers in the lowest income brackets, those living in poverty, would be deprived of inexpensive meat, a point made by the League of Women Voters and other consumer groups in opposing the quota bill. And there would be instant retaliation against U.S. exports, especially by Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Mexico, the four allies which are signatories to the recently established voluntary quotas on beef.

Total cash exports of U.S. agricultural products are now running at the rate of $4.6 billion a year and imports of meat products are running at the rate of $280 million. The question which the Members of the House of Representatives must coolly consider is whether it is worth jeopardizing $4.6 billion in agricultural exports in order to stop a $280 million trickle of meat imports. They have to decide whether it is worth offending our allies and violating the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in an effort to assist the cattlemen that is rated no chance of success by either logic or experience.

H.R. 1839, the meat quota, passed as a rider to a House bill, has been sent to a House-Senate conference committee where there is little chance of reaching a compromise that would not conflict with established trade policies of the United States. Hopefully this bill will be defeated on the floor of the House, and in the event that it passes, killed by a Presidential veto.

L.B.J. Bread Tax Has Forced Bread Prices Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, when Congress voted the wheat-cotton bill last spring several of us predicted that the "bread tax" provided in the wheat title would force prices up for flour and flour products.

This, we said, was a strange way to start a war on poverty. As family income goes down, the importance of flour in the diet goes up. Thus, the "bread tax" amounted to a tax on poor people.

The "bread tax," of course, is the 70-cent fee which the bill requires millers to pay for each bushel of wheat they mill.

Since the "bread tax" became law, flour prices have gone up and so have bread prices.

Here is the latest news as reported by the August 13 Wall Street Journal:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 13, 1964]

BREAD PRICE IS LIFTED 1 TO 2 CENTS A LOAF IN SOME CITIES; MOVE EXPECTED TO SPREAD

(By Harlan S. Byrne)

CHICAGO.—The price a housewife pays for bread is beginning to rise in some cities by 1 cent to 2 cents a loaf. The increases, so far highly selective, are expected to spread.

The boosts were triggered by last month's sharp rise in flour prices, which millers blame on higher wheat costs and which prompted bakers at the time to predict bread price increases. The flour price increase was assailed July 9 by Agriculture Secretary Freeman who claimed there was no justification for any "substantial" increase in flour or bread prices this year.

Cities where retailers report recent bread price increases include Chicago, Kansas City, Mo., St. Louis, Knoxville, Tenn., and Topeka, Kans. The increases have been initiated largely by chainstores that bake and sell their own brands of bread and by small independent retail and wholesale bakers. So far there's no indication the large commercial bakers operating widely throughout the country have boosted the price of well-known advertised brands.

MOVES IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, A. & P. raised the price of a popular 1¼-pound loaf of white bread to 21 cents from 19 cents and a 1½-pound loaf to 27 cents from 25 cents. A. & P.'s 19-cent loaf has been a price feature in the Chicago area for the past year, and other chains often have dropped the price of their 1¼-pound loaf to that level to meet the competition. A. & P. competitors maintain their regular price for this bread is 23 cents, even if not sustained for long periods.

One big chain, National Tea Co., it's understood, has decided to price the 1¼-pound loaf at 21 cents and eliminate sporadic discounting of the price to 19 cents. National doesn't make a 1½-pound loaf of its own. Jewel Tea Co., another leading chain in Chicago, is considering increasing the price of its own brand in light of the A. & P. price boosts. To date the widely advertised brands of the big commercial bakers haven't been increased in the Chicago area. But one baker insisted increases were inevitable. These breads traditionally sell several cents a loaf above the private brands of chainstores.

In the Kansas City area, at least three big store chains, A. & P., Safeway, and Kroger, have lifted the price of white bread by 1 cent for a 1 pound loaf and 2 cents on a 1½-pound loaf. One chain today is selling two 1-pound loaves for 37 cents, compared to 35 cents prior to the recent increases. A chainstore executive claimed prices haven't gone up in some sections of the city due to competitive conditions.

In Topeka, independent bakers raised the price of a 1 pound loaf by 1 cent, touching off a 2-cent-a-loaf retail increase, according to Don L. Walters, president of the Jayhawk Food Dealers Association, made up of independent retailers. The new retail price is 24 cents a loaf. Mr. Walters reports most chainstores have made similar increases on independent brands they sell, though they haven't yet increased the price of their own brands.

One large chain baker said wholesale bread prices in Knoxville generally were increased by ½ cent to 1½ cents a loaf, followed by retail increases of 1 to 2 cents.

DIFFICULTY IN PINPOINTING

Pinpointing bread price trends nationally isn't easy. For one thing, bread pricing is governed by local competitive conditions, as a rule. Also there are many types and sizes of bread. Some bakers note that bread has become a pricing football in recent years. Private brands of the chainstores not infrequently are discounted as loss leaders to build store traffic. Since the flour price advance, there's been less discounting of bread, bakers say.

Many bakers are reluctant to discuss price increases openly, fearing unfavorable publicity. One baker in Kansas City claimed he knew of no bread price increases in the area, though several competitors confided that increases had been made.

Based on present costs, the latest increases are expected to spread, bakers asserted. In Chicago, an official of the Associated Retail Bakers of Greater Chicago said a spot check among 400 independent retail members indicated increases of 1 to 2 cents a loaf are expected to become general in the next few weeks. Some independent retail bakers already have made increases, he added.

D. H. O'Connell, president of American Bakeries Co., based in Chicago, said, "I wouldn't be surprised to see more price increases." Last month officials of other national bakery chains warned bread prices probably would go up. At the time, they speculated the increases would come gradually in various market areas, as the present pattern seems to indicate.

Bakers point out that due to competitive conditions, bread and other baked goods prices haven't advanced generally for about 5 years despite steady increases in labor and other costs. "The shock of the flour price increase may be more than we can continue absorbing," Mr. O'Connell said.

The flour price increases were as much as 80 cents a hundredweight. Since then, flour prices have slipped about 20 cents a hundredweight. One widely used type of bakery flour is selling in Kansas City at a bulk price of about $5.55 a hundredweight, up from about $4.95 a year ago. One Kansas miller reports top milling grades of wheat are costing 25 to 30 cents a bushel more than a year ago. As it takes about 2.3 bushels of wheat to make a hundredweight of flour, the per hundred cost increases range from about 55 to 75 cents.

The flour and bread price increases are annoying to farm planners in Washington because in pushing legislation for a new wheat subsidy this past spring, they assured liberal Congressmen from populous Eastern States the program shouldn't result in flour or bread price increases.

Panama Canal Reprisal Against U.S. Citizens Raises Constitutional Issue: Freedom of Speech—Sequel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on August 11, 1964, I quoted a major news story by John Cramer dealing with the constitutional issue of freedom of speech in the Canal Zone. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 11, 1964, page 18365, temporary. This statement concerned the firing of Panama Canal employees for opposing the employment of Panamanian nationals as members of the Canal Zone Police force.

A sequel to the first story by Mr. Cramer published in the August 5 issue of the Washington Daily News follows:

FIRED PANAMA CANAL AIDS OFFERED HELP—HILL WILL PROBE DISMISSALS

(By John Cramer)

Here's the latest on the cases of those two Panama Canal Company Federal employees who were fired because they criticized the actions of their superiors.

The Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union has volunteered its assistance to the AFL–CIO American Federation of Government Employees which is conducting their defense.

And the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, headed by Senator SAM ERVIN, Democrat, of North Carolina, has announced a formal investigation of the firings.

THE MEN

The two employees are Arthur C. Payne, about 40, a $9,937.50 administrative services assistant for the Canal Company, and Richard D. Meehan, 31, a Washington native, $7,871 zone police officer, and president of the AFGE Canal Zone Police Union.

Their stories were told in this reporter's Federal employee column July 28.

Both were fired under circumstances which suggested violations of their first amendment guaranteed right of free speech.

An additional overtone in Mr. Meehan's case was apparent violation of the first amendment right to petition Congress.

The basic ground for Mr. Payne's firing was his authorship of a poem which Maj. Gen. Robert J. Fleming, Jr., President of the Canal Company and Governor of the Canal Zone, interpreted as a personal attack—even though it didn't mention General Fleming by name.

POEM

An additional charge was that he published the poem in the letters-to-the-editor column of the Panama-American, a newspaper with wide circulation in the zone, in

violation of written orders requiring advance clearance of "articles" for publication—and verbal orders telling him to quit writing letters to the editor.

Prior to the Payne firing, Canal Company employees had ignored the clearance order with complete impunity.

Mr. Meehan was fired because he circulated an open letter urging zonians to protest to Congress Governor Fleming's plan to inject up to 40 native Panamanians into the zone police force; because he also circulated the Payne poem; and because he violated fuzzy verbal orders not to comment to newspapers on the Governor's already widely known plan.

LETTER

Along with the poem and the open letter, Mr. Meehan circulated a statement in the House by Representative DANIEL FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, calling the Governor's plan "tantamount to treason."

This, however, was not mentioned in the charges.

Mr. Meehan contends that he acted as president of the Police Union within the framework of the Federal employee labor-management program which guarantees the right of union leaders to speak up on matters of interest to their organization.

He contends the firing violated his citizen's right to petition Congress. And both he and Mr. Payne argue violation of the right to free speech.

APPEAL

Their case currently is before the Appeal Examining Office of the Civil Service Commission. Should that group decide against them, they have further appeals to the Civil Service Commission Board of Appeals and Review—and, perhaps, to the three Civil Service Commissioners.

In announcing his subcommittee investigation, Senator ERVIN said:

"These firings seem to illustrate further the second-class citizenship which is imposed on thousands of Federal employees simply because they choose to work for the U.S. Government.

"It is high time Congress devoted some attention to the constitutional rights of Government employees throughout the United States and abroad."

He said he'll demand a full report from the Canal Company.

Meat Import Mischief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the act that legislation calling for rigid import quotas on meat products is currently pending before a House-Senate conference, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial which appeared in this morning's Washington Post, entitled "Meat Import Mischief."

This article spells out in some small detail the harmful effects which would result from any such imposition of meat quotas, and I insert it at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 13, 1964]

MEAT IMPORT MISCHIEF

The success of the Kennedy round of tariff cutting negotiations and, indeed, the position of the United States in world trade will be seriously jeopardized if the House follows the Senate in imposing rigid quotas on imported meat products.

A very sharp increase in the output of choice beef has driven down domestic prices, enveloping the producers in a painful cost-price squeeze and causing many of them to incur losses. The economic distress of the cattlemen is real, but in ascribing their plight to imports and in demanding that Congress impose rigid quotas on virtually all imported meat products, they are the victims of a delusion that could undermine this country's international trade policies.

If this country were importing grain-fed, choice grade beef, one might be able to make a case against imports as the cause of the distress. But virtually all of the imported beef is of the grass-fed "manufacturing grade," the low-priced type used for hamburger and luncheon meat products. These products, being in a much lower price class, do not compete directly with choice grade domestic beef.

If the House goes along with the Senate and the quotas are imposed, the cattlemen will not obtain an ounce of relief in the shape of price increases. Relief will not come before beef production is reduced by culling out cows and bulls and slaughtering more calves for veal. But the undesirable side effects of imposing quotas would be instantly manifested. Consumers in the lowest income brackets, those living in poverty, would be deprived of inexpensive meat, a point made by the League of Women Voters and other consumer groups in opposing the quota bill. And there would be instant retaliation against U.S. exports, especially by Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Mexico, the four allies which are signatories to the recently established voluntary quotas on beef.

Total cash exports of U.S. agricultural products are now running at the rate of $4.6 billion a year and imports of meat products are running at the rate of $280 million. The question which the Members of the House of Representatives must cooly consider is whether it is worth jeopardizing $4.6 billion in agricultural exports in order to stop a $280 million trickle of meat imports. They have to decide whether it is worth offending our allies and violating the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in an effort to assist the cattlemen that is rated no chance of success by either logic or experience.

H.R. 1839, the meat quota, passed as a rider to a House bill, has been sent to a House-Senate conference committee where there is little chance of reaching a compromise that would not conflict with established trade policies of the United States. Hopefully this bill will be defeated on the floor of the House, and in the event that it passes, killed by a Presidential veto.

Salute to the Congo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on this Saturday, August 15, the Congo will celebrate the fourth anniversary of its independence. On this occasion, we wish to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the President, Joseph Kasavubu; and to His Excellency the Prime Minister, Moise Tshombe.

Four years ago this Saturday, the Congo achieved the independence that it had desired for so many years. Unfortunately, peaceful independence lasted for only 1 week and the Congo was involved in a conflict that just recently has been terminated. The United Nations stationed troops in this new country in July 1960; their presence was controversial from the very beginning. But these problems are problems of the past, Mr. Speaker, and the future of this great African country should be a bright one.

The main problems facing the government of Moise Tshombe are economic ones. The Congo is equal in size to that part of the United States east of the Mississippi River and has a population of about 14,797,000 people. The political convulsions that have been the history of the past 3 years have brought the nation economic stagnation and threatened financial bankruptcy. They have also led to a breakdown in communication, lack of security, the erection of artificial trade barriers between the various provinces and a decline in imports. The present government can rectify these wrongs by bringing a peaceful, yet progressive, government which will provide economic stability and freedom of movement to this large country.

On the positive side, the Congo has much to look forward to. The Congo is very rich in natural resources; in fact it is one of the world's larger producers of primary metals and minerals. It possesses large amounts of cobolt, copper, uranium, and numerous other metals. In addition, it is the largest producer of industrial diamonds.

About 38 percent of the nation's exports in recent years have been agricultural commodities. The Congo is a very fertile area which has not yet begun to produce the amount of food that it might. In recent years, it has greatly expanded its production of palm products as well as the production of coffee, tea, cocoa, and cinchona. In 1958, for example, the value of the coffee crop alone was two-thirds greater than that of the total amount received for diamond production. The Government is now engaged in a massive program of farmer education in hope of realizing in the near future the vast potential of the Congo's soil.

Because of the agricultural and the mineral resources waiting to be developed, the Congo possesses great potential wealth. The Government is attempting to bring to the Congo political and economic stability so that the country may capitalize on her potential and emerge in the future as one of the leading nations of Africa and of the world. In this giant undertaking, the Congo is being assisted by the United States and the United Nations.

On this day of Congolese independence the people of the United States extend their very best wishes to the people of the Congo. The recent past has not been very bright. But the future promises great rewards. It is hoped that peace will now be an enduring reality and that the future will see the Congo, as a free and independent nation, emerge as a prosperous leader of the free world. If the Congo begins to realize the many economic advantages that nature has bestowed on her, the future is bright indeed.

The Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund—Results of a Practical Exercise in Grassroots Civil Rights in Beautiful Upstate New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot in recent weeks about civil rights and some of the problems connected with this field. But sometimes I think we forget that civil rights fundamentally is people—people living together with dignity and respect and mutual regard, irrespective of their race or creed or color.

The other day I ran across a story in the Fort Plain-Canajoharie Courier-Standard in my district which to me is a moving and impressive case history in practical civil rights. The story, which appeared on August 6, relates the experiences of two young Negro boys from New York City who were the guests for 2 weeks as Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund children of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hogan of Fort Plain, in the beautiful hills of Montgomery County in upstate New York. I commend this story to the attention of all my colleagues:

COUNTRY LIFE FASCINATES FRESH AIRS

Two boys, far from their city homes, love picnics, mountain climbing, and are fascinated by the antics and the appetite of Sparky, a dog.

They are Eric Paul Jones and Raymond LeRoy Boynton, New York Herald Tribune Fresh Air youngsters from the Borough of Queens, who have been most welcome guests at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hogan, Spring Street, Fort Plain, R.F.D. 3.

All smiles, the two boys, Raymond and Eric, in that order, are shown above flanked by their hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Hogan.

Their stay from the viewpoints of both the boys and the Hogans has been a most enjoyable one, but the wonderful vacation away from the sidewalks of New York will end today when the youngsters return to their respective city homes.

The two children have one thing in common in that both will eat almost anything placed in front of them with Eric particularly fond of peanut butter, chocolate milk, fish, and chicken. And, like most youngsters, they go for ice cream, hotdogs, hamburgers, and french fries in a big way.

In the city, they attend the same church and have told the Hogans about their revival meetings, the singing of spirituals, and their baptismal ritual.

The Hogans' dog has been a source of wonder to both of them, the youngsters marveling at the rapidity with which he eats and think that they should be feeding him all the time. And Sparky has been most cooperative in chomping away with relish anything they have given him.

Raymond has been the more active of the two boys with Eric quieter and more reserved. Both love picnics and rides in the family car.

Like most boys they never tire pretending their land of make believe including the folding celler door which to them is an elevator to go "up and down" on for hours at a time and the Hogan's son's toy trucks in which they place doll furniture to move it to Brooklyn.

Their tastes in breakfast cereals differ with Eric prefering rice krispies without milk and Raymond favoring any kind of cereal as long as it has milk and sugar on it.

They enjoy climbing the hills around the Hogan home. But to Eric and Raymond they are mountains and the boys never tire of getting their climbing sticks and starting out on an expedition. And, according to the Hogans, their seriousness makes them appear to be real mountain climbers.

Both are avid builders with Lincoln logs and plastic bricks and enjoy recorded music and the organ. Raymond, an excellent dishwasher, also knows how to dust and Mrs. Hogan has let him help with her household chores.

All the bugs and birds have resulted in their asking many questions and both have expressed a desire to return to New York City with a supply of live toads and grasshoppers.

Raymond told the Hogans that his father is a policeman. He also has a blind brother and several sisters, one of whom is married. He is the youngest child in his home. Eric lives with his mother, a married sister and a younger brother.

The Hogans have expressed the wish that the boys could stay all summer and the enchanted Eric and Raymond repeatedly have echoed these sentiments. One thing however, is certain. It has been a vacation that the two youngsters will long remember.

Extension of Public Laws 815 and 874

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a statement I recently submitted to the Select Subcommittee on Education, House Committee on Education and Labor, in connection with its hearings on extension of Public Laws 815 and 874 on assistance to schools in federally impacted areas.

The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, DEMOCRAT, OF CONNECTICUT, ON H.R. 10159, BEFORE THE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 30, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am grateful for the opportunity to testify in support of the extension of Public Laws 874 and 815.

My interest in these measures derives primarily from my experience in public life, both before and during my term in Congress. I was first elected to public office as a member of the board of education in my native town of Putnam, Conn. The first bill I introduced in Congress was H.R. 3113, an extension of the very laws I seek to renew today. My experience in public life has therefore been highlighted by efforts to improve the quality of the education offered to our children. Throughout these years, my belief in the importance of education—to our youth, our communities, and our Nation—has been strengthened and confirmed.

Public Laws 874 and 815 are irreplaceable components of the Nation's educational system. Providing assistance for the maintenance, operation, and construction of schools in federally impacted areas, these laws help to alleviate the principal adversities inflicted upon local educational programs by the extension of the activities of the Federal Government: the simultaneous increase in school enrollment and nontaxable property caused by the creation of Federal installations. The laws, enacted 14 years ago, now benefit every State in the Union; 12 million children in over 4,000 school districts receive assistance through these laws. All told, nearly one-third of all children attending public elementary and secondary schools are affected by the two measures.

My district is in particular need of assistance under Public Laws 874 and 815. Thirty-three of Connecticut's 47 school districts and 25 of nearly 40 towns benefiting from these laws are located in the 2d Congressional District. It has therefore received a large portion of the $20,683,460 for school maintenance and operation and the approximately $12 million for school construction furnished Connecticut by these laws during the 14 years of their existence. In 1964, for example, $1,591,696 of the $2,472,795 provided under Public Law 874 went to my district.

The two communities that would most suffer should these laws be suspended are Groton and New London. The former contains several major Government installations, including the submarine base, and the latter is the site of the Naval Underwater Sound Laboratory and the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. In a memorandum from the administrative office of the Groton Public Schools, dated July 23, 1964, Dr. William M. Farris, superintendent of schools, declared:

"Even with the children of employees of the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., out of the count, our annual entitlements under Public Law 874 amount to 25 percent of our school budget income, and will come by another year to at least $1 million on over 3,000 federally connected pupils. Eight mills on our tax rate are involved. The income from this source is indispensable for the operation of our schools."

Laurence H. Scanlon, superintendent of the New London Public Schools, stated in a letter of July 24, 1964:

"The public school district of New London * * * received a total of $156,803 as income for the 1963–64 fiscal year under the provisions of Public Law 874. This amount represented 6.3 percent of the total operating budget for the day school system, or 1.85 mills on the local tax rate."

Groton and New London are not the only towns affected. A sampling of other communities receiving revenue from these laws indicates, for example, that Ledyard received $90,000 per year under Public Law 874, a sum constituting 10 percent of the total school budget and 3 mills on the tax rate, Montville received $72,500 per year, an equivalent of 8 percent of its total school budget and 2 mills on its tax rate, and Waterford received $105,000 per year, representing 5 percent of its total educational budget and 2¼ mills on its tax rate. The evidence offered in these tabulations supports the conclusion reached by the chairman of the board of education of Waterford, Mr. Edward S. Dennison; writing on the economic state of Waterford's educational system in the spring of last year, Mr. Dennison stated:

"Federal funds have been of vital assistance over the 10 past years and are heavily relied on in our budgetary planning. * * * The effect of the loss of Federal aid on the town finances will be real hardship; but it is the opinion of this board that the effect on our educational program will be nothing short of tragic."

My district thus demonstrates the potential perils resulting from the suspension of Public Laws 874 and 815 and the absolute necessity of continued Federal assistance in maintaining the quality of the education offered in federally impacted areas. Because of the state of educational finances in Con-

necticut, I strongly support the extension of these measures. Equally as important, moreover, I urge rapid action in securing their renewal. Dr. Farris, of Groton, indicates the necessity of alacrity in this matter:

"It is vitally important to our town that provision for extension be made in the present session. At stake is the opportunity for town and school fiscal authorities to know preferably as early as February 1965, when work will start on the 1965–66 budget, and at the latest by May, in anticipation of setting the tax rate, what income may be expected under 874. We hope very much that experience in connection with the last extension will not be repeated."

Mr. Scanlon states, concerning New London:

"The school budget is prepared in the spring of each year, necessitating a firm establishment of contemplated income, as well as expenditures. Hence, it is strongly requested that the status of [these laws] be determined by Congress at an early date."

Mr. Butler, superintendent emeritus of the Groton Public Schools, states:

"To these towns and all others affected it is important to know at budget-making and tax-setting time whether income under [these laws] can safely be anticipated for the following year. It is crucially important, because provision for children whose parents are employed on Federal property is such a very large factor in their school budgets."

Because of the importance of securing the early enactment of this legislation, I am very pleased that the committee has begun work on this matter at so early a date. Because of the importance of the provisions of the measures themselves, I urge that the final action of the committee recommend renewal of Public Laws 874 and 815. That these laws be renewed, and at the earliest possible date, is tantamount to a necessity of high quality education is to be maintained in the federally impacted comunities of my State and the Nation as a whole.

The Fight Is On, Enlist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Dwight C. Wetherholt, editor of the Gallipolis Daily Tribune, has written an excellent editorial on the recent Supreme Court decision regarding apportionment. His views, as expressed in the following editorial dated August 10, 1964, represent the views of most of my constituents. It is with great pleasure that I insert this editorial in the RECORD for the perusal of my colleagues:

THE FIGHT IS ON, ENLIST

All eyes of Gallia Countians should be turned on Columbus today and in the weeks that lie ahead in the problem of reapportionment that is now being considered by a committee, with our own representative as a member. Mr. Taber is asking that individuals and groups send him resolutions and comments opposing the decision of the Supreme Court so that he can forward them to the Congress, which will be the last hope, according to him, of counties such as ours having any say in the State government. The decision coming as it does just before an election throws everything into a cocked hat, because if the decision stands as now constituted it will mean that members of the legislature cannot be voted upon to represent the house and senate on the same basis because of the lack of population.

As the legislature is now made up every county in the State has at least one vote in the lawmaking bodies. If the decision holds up it will mean that only about half of them will be represented and all the lawmaking machinery will be in the hands of the urban centers. This is not a problem that has just happened overnight. Years ago the large centers of population started to complain about us having a vote at all. There was a big shout that went up when our Gallia representative, Simeon Bing, then president of Rio Grande College, proposed the Bing law, which was passed, and marked the start of educational support from tax moneys for the so-called weak districts and raised the quitting age for public school students. Many of the people in the northern part of the State consider we people in the hill counties as not being in the great State of Ohio.

We believe that there might be room for some adjustments, but not as radical as proposed by the Supreme Court. For example, there are a considerable number of counties in that State that have less than 20,000 population. Over the years they were created by slicing off sections from other counties that adjoined them. We can easily recognize that most counties that are losing population and are not much larger than 20,000 could possibly be absorbed and reannexed to other neighboring counties with sizable population. A county of between 10,000 to 15,000 population has a hard time providing those services that are essential to modern days.

However, it is rather frightening when one realizes that the balance of power is going to be invested in the half dozen great urban centers. They presently have representation based on population, but apparently the Court feels that the check made possible by the small rural counties is unfair when they team up to get their fair share of benefits from the State government. The specter of the big city control of not only States, but even in the deciding of presidential elections and in the Halls of Congress, we have every reason to be concerned. Show your concern by expressing opposition to such action. As we have stated before we are all Ohioans, and what benefits our section of the State is for the benefit of the State as a whole. It is the rural areas that have helped to fill the cities with a fine group of citizens, and, yes, leaders, like our present Governor who came from Jackson County. In this fight you have the opportunity to help yourself and your fellow Gallia Countians to retain a place in the sun.—D.C.W.

Senator Clair Engle—A Legislator's Legislator

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I still find it difficult to realize that our beloved former colleague, the late Senator CLAIR ENGLE, of California, is no longer among us.

It was my great privilege to serve with CLAIR as a Member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, over which he presided as chairman with great ability, courage, and good humor, before moving on to the U.S. Senate.

CLAIR ENGLE was a legislator's legislator and a man's man—a rare combination of diplomat, fighter, statesman, and humanitarian.

He brought to these Halls many fine qualities and left behind him a host of friends.

My wife and I join in expressing our deep sorrow and sympathy to his lovely wife and his family, whose grief is shared by so many.

A Salute to the Central African Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today, August 13, marks the fourth anniversary of the independence of the Central African Republic. It is with great pleasure that we extend warm felicitations to the President of the Central African Republic, Mr. David Dacko; and to the Central African Republic's Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Jean-Pierre Kombet, on this their national holiday.

The Central African Republic, formerly Ubungi-Shari, is an inland nation of approximately 1,200,000 citizens who make their home on the vast rolling plateau of equatorial Africa. The Legislative Assembly of the Central African Republic voted on December 1, 1958, for membership in the new community of self-governing states. Independence was proclaimed on August 13, 1960, and the next day the legislative assembly chose Mr. David Dacko as President, a position in which he still serves his country.

The Central African Republic has been endowed with a Western heritage and it is with pride that we recall that thousands of Ubangi men rallied to the ranks of the Free French during World War II and fought side by side with American forces during the ensuing conflict. Since independence, the Central African Republic has continued in its Western traditions. This ideal is expressed by the Central African Republic's liberal Constitution and in the words of President Dacko when he says:

> We are called upon to build in the heart of Africa a nation in the image of France and we have been anxious to maintain, firmer than ever, the ties that our parents and we ourselves have already established with France.

Mr. Speaker, the Central African Republic is a new, dynamic country that faces with confidence many of the same problems met by our forefathers in founding a nation in a beautiful but rugged land. Under its national motto of "Unity, Dignity, Work," the Central African Republic has pushed ever onward in her quest for a better life for her

citizens, through education and far-sighted economic plans. The importance of education in the overall plan for the development of the Central African Republic was set forth in the Constitution and in the short space of time since independence, this country has made considerable achievements on all levels of education. Farsighted leaders of the Central African Republic are planning to capitalize on their country's position in the heart of Africa by turning it into a transportation center for that continent. Since the Central African Republic is primarily an agricultural country, the Government has initiated a far-reaching, overall economic and technical assistance plan, with the emphasis on increasing and improving agricultural production and the means of transporting produce to market. We in the United States hold in high esteem these continuous efforts of this young nation toward peace, progress, and prosperity, and are proud that it has rightfully taken its place among the sovereign nations of the world.

Cornerstone for Progress: Crash Program in Brazil Pays Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Alliance is a long-term program to execute a huge task. But while the road is long, significant progress has already been made.

A recent article by Richard Boyce in the Washington Daily News on U.S. assistance to Brazil's northeast brings home the type of critical problem the Alliance is facing and solving.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 6, 1964]

CORNERSTONE FOR PROGRESS: CRASH PROGRAM IN BRAZIL PAYS OFF

(By Richard H. Boyce)

A 2-year crash program designed to pour aid into Brazil's northeast to begin overcoming its dreadful poverty has ended successfully, U.S. officials said today.

They hastened to add that this does not mean that suffering and backwardness have been overcome in Brazil's drought-plagued nine-state "Appalachia."

"But the cornerstone for progress has been laid. U.S. aid, with Brazil's own self-help, has begun getting that stricken area started toward progress," said a State Department spokesman.

TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY-FOUR MILLION DOLLARS

The United States signed the 2-year deal in April 1962, with the since-deposed Joao Goulart government.

Brazil pledged cruzeiros worth $143 million. The United States put up $131 million in cash and counterpart funds.

The undertaking was an ambitious one. Brazil's northeast has a centuries-long history of drought which made farming almost impossible. As a result, thousands fled to cities, creating vast slums.

DISEASE

More than half the babies were dying before their first birthday from typhoid, dysentery, liver parasites, worms, or hunger. Jobs were few.

OBSTACLE

One of the biggest obstacles was Brazil's own aid agency, called Sudene.

Under the leftist Goulart administration, many Sudene officials held strong anti-American views.

Americans in the field charged Sudene was deliberately dragging its feet. One U.S. official said 4 months were required merely to get Sudene to approve agreements for building health centers.

But gradually American persistence won out. With the crash program now at an end, here is what Washington says has been accomplished:

Health centers have been built in 270 locations in the 9 States. Potable water has been provided in 70 cities and towns. Sanitation facilities and sewerage are going in.

Electric generators provide power in 73 cities and towns. New homes total 2,200 and thousands more will be built.

There are 24 teacher training centers; 2,900 classrooms have been built and 14,000 more are in the works. Five thousand teachers have been trained; another 13,000 will be.

For road construction, $18.4 million has been committed; another $20 million is obligated for maintenance equipment.

The roads will link remote areas with coastal city markets.

Studies have been launched to provide irrigation and modern farming methods for the river basins which promise fruitful farming despite the drought.

In Ceara State alone 11 new industries have been started. Similar programs will launch new locally financed and operated industries in three other states. More will follow.

Mrs. Jerre S. Williams, First Woman on Local Bench

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with President and Mrs. Johnson's emphasis on the recognition of the significant contributions which women can make in government, business, and education today, the City Council of the City of Austin, Tex., appointed Mrs. Jerre S. Williams to serve as judge of the corporation court during the vacation period. She will be the first woman ever to preside over a court in Travis County, Tex.

Mrs. Williams, a practicing attorney and the mother of three children, is the wife of a professor of law, University of Texas. She is one of the most outstanding citizens of the district which I am privileged to represent, and it is with great pride that I include an article about Mrs. Williams from the Austin American:

THE AUSTIN JUDGE: FORMER PORTIA TO BECOME FIRST WOMAN ON LOCAL BENCH

The city council Thursday appointed Mrs. Jerre Stockton Williams to serve as judge of the corporation court during a vacation period. She will be the first woman ever to preside over a court in Travis County.

She will sit on the bench in the city court from August 24 to September 4, when Judge Tom McFarling is on vacation.

Mrs. Williams, the former Mary Pearl Hall, of Austin, is a practicing attorney and the mother of three children. She is the daughter of Attorney and Mrs. Marvin Hall and the wife of University of Texas law professor, Dr. Jerre Stockton Williams.

Mrs. Williams was the first Portia of the University of Texas Law School in 1949. She received her law degree in August 1949.

She met her husband when she was a student in his classes.

Judge Williams graduated with honors from law school. She speaks Spanish fluently, a definite asset for her judicial duties in corporation court, where numerous defendants cannot speak English.

She is familiar with the courts from the standpoints both of attorneys and court officials. She served as an assistant attorney general.

She is a graduate of Austin High School and was queen of the school.

Judge Williams and her husband reside at 3503 Mount Barker Drive. They have three children, Jerre Stockton Williams, Jr., 11; Shelley Williams, 10; and Stephanie Williams, 8.

Professor and Mrs. Williams were on their way to New York City to attend the American Bar Convention when the city council announced her appointment to the bench.

Colgate Washington Study Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, Colgate University has recently announced plans which will result in a continued improvement of its Washington study program.

For 25 years the Colgate Washington Study Group has afforded 10 select college students the opportunity to participate directly in the Federal Government through a series of working internships.

The university has now announced that it is giving serious consideration to the possibility of establishing a permanent residential center in Washington for the students who come to the Capital to study. The development of such a center in Washington might be expected to result in improved library facilities, improved living conditions, and improved opportunities for members of the study group to socialize with Government officials and others in the Nation's Capital.

Twenty-five successful semesters in Washington have served to effectively demonstrate the value of this particular off-campus study group. It is my earnest hope that Colgate University can continue and improve its present program.

After having a Colgate student as an intern in my office this spring, I am convinced that this program provides great benefit to our country.

The Colgate Washington study program has brought into Government service able young men who will be tomorrow's leaders.

The improvements which Colgate envisions for its Washington program may expand even further the impact which these men will make on public life.

Mr. Speaker, the Colgate student who served a part of his Washington semes-

ter in my office is Donald Messinger, Jr., of Clyde, N.Y., which is located in the congressional district I represent. When he was about to conclude his tour of duty in my office, he consented to author one of my weekly columns. Because of its evident understanding of governmental process, I would like to share with my colleagues some excerpts from Don's commentary:

For the past four and a half weeks, I have worked as an intern in the office of my Congressman, FRANK HORTON. This experience has marked the final phase of my semester's study of Government as a participant in the Colgate University Washington Study Group.

This year is the 25th anniversary of this unique program which blends academic instruction with exposure to the everyday processes of Government operation.

The semester began for our 11 members with a month-long study of the State Department. We conducted a series of interviews with officials at all levels, and were generally impressed with the competence of the people we met. We were somewhat encouraged to find that these men and women were intelligently aware of the complex problems the United States faces in international affairs. And, while we may not always have agreed with the policies arrived at, we felt that our policymakers are competent and trying to do the best job possible.

The second major phase of our program was a 3½-week working internship in an executive agency or department. Each of us worked for a different organization, so we could later pool our information and learn from each other. Some of the agencies represented were the Peace Corps, the National Labor Relations Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Justice Department, and the antipoverty office.

We found the massive bureaucracy was not so cold and inefficient as usually pictured. However, it still has many limitations. Our biggest criticism, I think, would be its unwillingness to accept change. This is something which has frustrated each of the last three Presidents and which the bureaucrats appear aware of, but it is a deficiency which seems inherent in the system. One offsetting factor we found was the watchfulness of Congress in trying to keep the redtape from getting out of hand.

The highlight of the semester for each of us has been the internship spent in congressional offices. Six of us worked for Senators and five for Representatives.

I had many diverse and interesting jobs to do during my stay and it helped to acquaint me with the numerous interests represented in the 36th District and with the demanding job of a Congressman.

It was the evidence discovered of the deep commitment, of the time and energy devoted to governing our Nation that shall remain as my most memorable impression of a semester in Washington.

Commissaries and Dislocation Allowances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I extend my remarks by inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director, National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I hope every Member of the House will take the time to read General Hittle's comments concerning military commissaries. They reflect my own views and, I sincerely hope, the views of a substantial majority of both Houses of the Congress.

I also call attention to General Hittle's pertinent comments concerning a recent decision of the Internal Revenue Service with regard to dislocation allowances. General Hittle enjoys an outstanding reputation as an authority on military matters and his words are not to be treated lightly.

I commend him for his plain spoken article on subjects of vital importance to the members of our armed services and their families.

The article follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, director, National Security and Foreign Affairs)

Enemy action isn't the only hazard facing our servicemen these days.

For instance: Once again their food commissaries are in jeopardy. They mean a lot to the married man in uniform—about $40 a month in savings for a man with a wife and two children.

Some commercial interests still go on the theory that the fighting man's pay check is fair game and that it's always open season.

What's more, the Comptroller General of the United States believes that half of the commissaries in the United States could be closed.

All this effort to pick the fighting men's pockets has gone on without consulting the persons most concerned—the proposed victims.

What do they think about shutting commissaries? We have a clear answer to that question.

Recently the Air Force made a survey. This is what our Air Force members said: About 30 percent of the career junior officers and 55 percent of the career airmen would leave the service if commissaries were cut down.

Nearly half said that if they didn't have commissaries they would need off-duty employment. About 25 percent would be forced to go on relief, but most of these said they'd get out of the Air Force rather than go on relief.

And these are not just dramatic threats. Right now, according to the Air Force Times, about 71,000 officers and enlisted men in the Air Force are forced to "moonlight"—take off-duty jobs—to make financial ends meet.

Add to that a similar proportion in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. It's not a pretty picture of how the loyal, dedicated and indispensable man in uniform fares in the U.S. Armed Forces.

And this, the richest country in the world.

But it's not just commissaries and low pay. Even when the serviceman gets a small "break," he can't keep it. Example: In 1955 Congress passed a modest "dislocation allowance" to help cover out-of-the-pocket moving expenses.

Despite clear-cut congressional intent that it was to be tax free, the Internal Revenue Service has just ruled that such allowances are taxable.

It will be a sorry spectacle, indeed, when the Government presents to a widow the bill for such back taxes—taxes on what it cost the serviceman to move his family before leaving for Vietnam where a Communist bullet was waiting for him.

It's pretty hard to square such things—and these are only a few samples—with our gifts of many millions to Nasser and to Red-leaning Indonesia and Cambodia.

Since we could afford that kind of wastage abroad, we shouldn't try to scrimp at home by taking it out of the hides of our fighting men.

A Salute to India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, 17 years ago this Saturday, India achieved her independence. On this memorable occasion, we wish to send warm felicitations to His Excellency Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India; and to His Excellency B. K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador to the United States.

Since her independence, India has been involved in what has been called the greatest experiment in human history. It is the experiment of over 438 million people trying to obtain a tolerable standard of existence and decent political, economic, and social institutions in the face of tremendous obstacles from within and without. Moreover, and very important to us, India is attempting to achieve these goals in a democratic way.

To put it mildly, the problems before the Government of India are staggering. On the one hand, there is great poverty and unemployment; over 9 million people cannot find work at the present time. On the other, India's rapid population growth has a tendency to dilute or negate economic progress made at great expense and human effort. As a result of an increase of 10 million people a year, the nation's economy must grow very fast just to maintain the existing substandard conditions.

At the same time, there are other problems that face this great subcontinent. Fifteen different languages and 800 dialects are spoken in India. Problems over caste and religion may at any moment bring to the surface those tendencies toward disunity which are present in the huge and varied society which is India's.

Fortunately for India, however, the present Government has shown an originality and a tenacity which is equal to the problems that face this great country. She has adopted and is operating a constitutional republic using the parliamentary system with cabinet responsibility. Universal suffrage, despite the great illiteracy, has worked out surprisingly well. India is faced with many of the same problems as Communist China—yet she is attempting to solve them without resorting to authoritarian means.

In the economic sphere, India's three 5-year plans have been remarkably successful. The first, beginning in 1951, stressed the development of India's agricultural potential. The second, commencing in 1956, switched the em-

phasis to industrial development, especially in basic and heavy industry and transportation. The third 5-year plan, started in 1961, calls for an expenditure of $24 billion, two-thirds of which will be in the private sector.

At present, India's primary source of revenue is in agricultural products (72.4 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture) which include rice, wheat, barley, corn, oilseeds, tea, cotton, sugar, tobacco, cashew nuts, and pepper. Ten and six-tenths percent of the population work in the industrial sector of the economy in which India produces iron ore, manganese, mica, textiles, and chemicals.

India has the longest history of any nation in the world—its civilization has been in existence for 5,000 years. India's Government is engaged in a titanic struggle today to be worthy of its great heritage and lead India into the modern world where it can take its place as a leading free nation.

India's progress has been remarkable. On this Independence Day, the American people salute their Indian friends and wish them well in their fight for a better future. We share the feeling of India's resolute leaders that India can and will succeed in overcoming all obstacles to continuing economic growth and development. India has its problems—great ones indeed. But it has shown resolute and forceful leadership in its drive to solve these problems. The future is bright. On this important day in Indian history, we extend to all the people of India with a profound feeling of respect for all they have accomplished in the past decades, our very best wishes.

Who Needs Friends?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, when the transaction became a fact, it was my hope that my misgivings about the wheat deal with the Soviet Union, which I opposed, had been unfounded.

Subsequent events, unfortunately, have not provided reassurance that this arrangement with a determined economic adversary was in the long-term national interest of the United States.

In this connection, I include, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, an editorial which appeared in the Northern Virginia Daily, of Strasburg, Va., on yesterday, as follows:

WHO NEEDS FRIENDS?

In the case of last year's sale of surplus wheat to Soviet Russia by the United States, the United States was played for a sucker. We suspected as much at the time and opposed the sale on the general grounds that something was bound to happen to take the keen edge off what was then trumpeted as a gesture of friendship, and, in addition as a shrewd Yankee deal.

Something has happened. It will be recalled that when the deal was first promoted last year it was labeled as a cash transaction in order to make it more palatable to the American people. Before the sale was concluded, however, the wheat was delivered, at a substantial discount, in exchange for an elaborate system of credits which are nothing more than a Soviet promise to pay.

Now enters the thickening prelude to the sticky plot. Last summer, when the Soviets were feeling the pinch of their wheat shortage, they borrowed 400,000 metric tons from Rumania promising to repay it out of this year's crop. When the time came for the Soviets to repay Rumania the only wheat available was that which the United States sold them.

The original contract between the United States and Russia denied the Soviet the right to reexport any part of the U.S. wheat. The U.S. Department of Commerce later granted a waiver of this restriction and the Soviets were permitted to use American wheat to repay their obligation to Rumania.

All of this maneuvering appears more innocent than it really is. In fact, as a result, according to the National Review, three very important questions have been raised in official Washington, somewhat to the embarrassment of the administration.

The Review records them as follows:

1. "The contract, on which basis the deal was reluctantly swallowed, has been scrapped."

2. "If the rationale behind the deal was to alleviate the critical surplus situation, the Department of Commerce should have compelled Rumania to make all purchases direct from the United States."

3. "Commerce should, at a minimum, have ascertained the terms of the Soviet-Rumanian deal; it is highly possible that the Soviets sold American wheat at a profit."

Our guess is that the Soviets will make no effort to supply an acceptable explanation. Why should they? Here again they have scored well in a game in which they excel. Moscow uses American wheat, for which it has not paid, to repay an obligation to a satellite, and very probably made a profit in the bargain.

There is a saying going the rounds at the Kremlin these days and it goes something like this—who needs friends when we have enemies like naive old Uncle Sam? They may have something there.

Minshall Again Brings Traveling Office to District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, for the past 10 years it has been my privilege and honor to represent the citizens of the 23d Congressional District of Ohio in the United States House of Representatives. As the Representative of this outstanding district, I have made every effort not only to keep well informed on the opinions of the people through personal daily contact, but also to be of the greatest possible service to persons who have problems involving Federal agencies and departments. To help accomplish this, I maintain a year-round congressional office in room 525 of the Federal building in downtown Cleveland, where I can meet 23d District people personally during those trips home permitted by my official duties in Washington. While in the Nation's Capitol, a competent staff is in charge of the Cleveland office on a full-time basis.

A further contact with voters in the 23d District is my Washington Report, which, in newsletter form, periodically presents the major legislative activities of the Congress, background information on issues confronting the Nation, and Capitol Hill opinion.

During my service in the Congress, I have considered it of primary importance to be present at the Capitol whenever the Congress is in session in order to participate in committee work and to vote on important legislation. Because of the heavy legislative and committee schedule last year and this, with Congress in almost continuous, year-round session, I have not been able to return to Cleveland as frequently as I would like. My Appropriations Committee assignments have been particularly time-consuming. In addition to membership on the Department of Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I also serve on the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee which takes initial action on appropriations for military and economic aid to foreign nations. These two assignments involve more than one-half of the entire Federal budget, and of necessity require many hours of work both in locked-doors sessions on Capitol Hill and in the field.

Because so much time must be spent away from the district, I initiated a practice 10 years ago of bringing a traveling office to the various communities in the 23d District. This method of meeting with the public has been tremendously popular and gives me an excellent opportunity to discuss and learn at first-hand the opinions and individual needs of the people.

With the expectation that Congress will not be in session during October this year, I will again this fall, from October 19 through October 23, bring my traveling office to the people of the 23d District to make myself available to meet personally every resident who can conveniently arrange to visit me. I wish to emphasize that these are not group meetings but office conferences for individuals which will enable them to discuss their views and problems privately. No appointments are necessary and I not only welcome but urge, individuals to meet with me on the date and at the scheduled location most convenient to them.

Every resident of the 23d District is cordially invited to sit down and talk over problems of national concern, to discuss whatever problems they may have involving the Federal Government, or just to get better acquainted. The knowledge obtained will better enable me to represent the people of the 23d District of Ohio in the Congress.

I am most grateful for the fine cooperation of the many officials who will make meeting places available as an aid in rendering this public service.

Following is the traveling office schedule:

Community	Location	Date	Time (p.m.)
Lakewood	Lakewood City Hall, 12650 Detroit Ave	Monday, Oct. 19	2 to 4:30.
Westlake, Bay Village, North Olmstead	Westlake City Hall, Dover Center and Hilliard Blvd	do	6:30 to 9.
Berea, Olmsted Falls, Olmsted Township, Westview	Berea City Hall, 57 East Bridge St	Tuesday, Oct. 20	2 to 4:30.
Rocky River, Fairview Park, Parkview	Rocky River City Hall, 21012 Hilliard Blvd	do	6:30 to 9.
Parma Heights, Brookpark, Linndale, Middleburgh Heights, North Royalton, Strongsville.	Parma Heights City Hall, 6281 Pearl Rd	Wednesday, Oct. 21	2 to 4:30.
Independence, Brecksville, Broadview Heights, Brooklyn Heights, Cuyahoga Heights, Seven Hills.	Brecksville City Hall, 49 Public Sq	do	6:30 to 9.
Chagrin Falls, Bentleyville, Glenwillow, Moreland Hills, Solon	Chagrin Falls Village Hall, 21 West Washington St	Thursday, Oct. 22	2 to 4:30.
Warrensville Heights, North Randall, Orange, Warrensville Township, Woodmere.	Warrensville Heights City Hall, 4301 Warrensville Center Rd	do	6:30 to 9.
Shaker Heights, Beachwood, Hunting Valley, Pepper Pike, University Heights.	Shaker Heights City Hall, 3400 Lee Rd	Friday, Oct. 23	2 to 4:30.
Maple Heights, Bedford, Bedford Heights, Oakwood, Valley View, Walton Hills.	Maple Heights City Hall, 5353 Lee Rd	do	6:30 to 9.

Statement of Senator Anthony O. Calabrese, of Ohio, and the Assistant Supreme Venerable of the Order of the Sons of Italy in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, August 12, 1964, a distinguished Clevelander and member of the Ohio Senate, the Honorable Anthony O. Calabrese, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Senate bill 108 to make Columbus Day a national legal holiday.

Senator Calabrese is one of the most effective and dedicated members of the Ohio Senate. His son, Anthony O. Calabrese, Jr., ably serves in the Ohio House of Representatives. This effective father and son team vigorously strives in both houses of the Ohio Legislature to implement the vital Federal programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Our community applauds their efforts.

Following is the text of Senator Calabrese's remarks before the Senate Judiciary Committee:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ANTHONY O. CALABRESE, OF OHIO, AND THE ASSISTANT SUPREME VENERABLE OF THE ORDER OF THE SONS OF ITALY IN AMERICA

(Extensions of Remarks of the Honorable Senator Calabrese testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate.)

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, the proposal that I should like to make concerns bills before the Congress which would establish October 12 of each year as Columbus Day and declare it to be one of the legal holidays observed throughout this Nation. May I note that such a nationwide observance would be a patriotic holiday to be celebrated by all Americans. For that reason, Americans of Italian extraction enthusiastically support such a proposal. They do so not only because a native son of Italy discovered the land in which we are privileged to enjoy our American heritage, but because the discovery of Columbus was truly symbolic.

The discovery of Columbus was symbolic and has special significance for all of us because all Americans trace their origins to other explorers—those who have come to this great land over the last 5 centuries. It is to Columbus, the first immigrant, that Americans are indebted for the great influence that migration has asserted upon our Nation—an influence which brought about a new concept in modern civilization and made possible the America of today.

In addition to lighting a torch of hope for all the others who have come to our shore, the discovery of Columbus, like our American heritage which it has made possible, also represents the combined efforts of many peoples. We need only to be reminded of the fact that although Columbus was an Italian, his voyage and historic discovery were made possible by Spanish funds.

As the fruits of his discovery have been harvested by all Americans, of all races, color and creed, all Americans should welcome a national holiday commemorating that event. It will thus be a holiday with a distinctively American character.

Out of deference, therefore, not to Americans of Italian extraction, but for the significance of that discovery, we urge that support be given to the bills presently before Congress which would demonstrate in this positive and permanent way the significance of the discovery of the New World by establishing October 12, Columbus Day, as a national and legal holiday.

May I conclude these remarks by restating one of the fundamental truths on which our form of government is founded; namely, that in a democratic, representative form of government, the responsibilities of government are shared by all of the people. This, of course, is of particular importance in a pluralistic society such as ours.

In that connection, Americans of Italian descent are proud of their contributions toward the institution and growth of our cherished form of government. Those contributions commenced with men such as Philip Mazzei who, with Thomas Jefferson, was a true Founding Father of our Nation, and William Paca, a signer of our Declaration of Independence. They have continued throughout the period of this country's history and include the distinguished service rendered today by Americans of Italian heritage in our national and local governments as well. We are proud that so many of them have been appointed to high public office, and grateful for the continued opportunity to contribute toward the preservation of our American heritage.

The Kennedy-Johnson administrations have clearly evidenced a more extensive recognition of the privilege of all Americans to serve our Nation without regard to the race, color, creed, or national origin. We are naturally pleased for this policy which has resulted in a greater participation of Americans of Italian extraction in Government posts, and we urge its continuance. By this policy the Democratic Party will continue to offer concrete evidence that the ideal of "equality of opportunity" includes the privilege of serving one's country in positions of trust and confidence.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to this committee that I am honored and privileged at being given the opportunity to be before you this day, today.

On September 29, 1959, the Governor of my State of Ohio signed the bill which made Columbus Day a legal holiday in the State of Ohio; I was the author and sponsor of Senate bill 263. This added another State to the other 37 States in celebrating this great discoverer. So, therefore, I would like to recommend to this committee that this bill will be recommended for passage and I am very confident that the U.S. Senate will pass this bill out and that it will go to the House of Representatives for the final vote of concurrence, which should be the reality of all the citizens of this great country of ours.

Remarks of Hon. Gordon K. Cameron, Supervisor of the Town of Cornwall, N.Y., on Memorial Day, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a fine address delivered last Memorial Day by Supervisor Gordon K. Cameron of Cornwall, N.Y.

The address follows:

"MEMORIAL DAY, MAY 30, 1964"—REMARKS OF GORDON K. CAMERON, SUPERVISOR OF CORNWALL, N.Y.

On behalf of the town board of the town of Cornwall I welcome you to our community's annual observance of Memorial Day. I particularly want to express the town board's appreciation to Cornwall Post No. 353 of the American Legion for their work in organizing this impressive ceremony this morning. I want to also note the board's appreciation of the efforts of the Veterans of World War I and the auxiliaries of each veterans' unit. Your time and efforts lend a service beyond measure in instilling true meaning in this observance of Memorial Day 1964 in Cornwall for young and old alike.

Now many words have been delivered on the meaning of Memorial Day since the first observance of this day set aside to honor our war dead. Inspired words have been written in an effort to gratefully acknowledge our country's debt to those of our citizen body that have ever been willing to step forward and take the field of battle from Concord's ragged stand to the faraway jungles of Vietnam. And our country has been blessed—blessed with men who have never hesitated from accepting the burden of leadership, the mantle of sacrifice that has come in ways that would be hard to express in words. Unquestioning, following orders, leaving behind a proud and glorious and enviable record as fighting men—men dedicated to an idea—men dedicated to their country.

During this past year we have felt the numbing loss of two great men—men of

different generations—two men whose lifetimes covered the emergence of our country as a young nation in the stages of growing pains to a world power looked to for global leadership.

These two men literally lived lives of service to God and country. One was the "old soldier," whose unequalled military career began on the storied plains of West Point only scant miles from where we stand this morning. Gen. Douglas MacArthur's brilliant record spanned a military age that began with Mexican border action, found him in the trenches of World War I, in top command in the vast reaches of the Pacific in World War II, and finally involved in a new type of war, the contained or "brush war" in Korea. Probably never again will our land witness such a record of military service. General MacArthur died a quiet death far from the sword, far from the field of strife, yet will be long remembered for his life of service.

The second loss was the impossible—the terrible moment of violent death of a beloved young President that struck our country with the impact of a nightmare come true. President John F. Kennedy was cut down in the prime of life, in the prime of service to his country, by a demented assassin's bullets on that black (November) day in Dallas. From the time of leave-taking from the Harvard campus John F. Kennedy's life was one directed to service of his country. It took the form of night patrols in PT–109, to Chambers of the Senate, and finally to the highest office in the land, that of the Presidency. President Kennedy died a hero's death on his own particular field of strife, mingling with the Americans he knew and loved so well.

Both of these outstanding Americans contributions to America and human dignity will be struck on the pages of history. Now the torch of leadership has been passed to waiting hands, and may God grant that it shall ever be so in our beloved America.

I hold that there is a remarkable link in our country's history between the living and the dead, a continuity of purpose, a continuity of national service. I would respectfully suggest that our observance of this Memorial Day should include a solemn and meaningful acknowledgement of our collective obligation to those who have gone before. An obligation to the citizen soldiers, to the legislators, to the religious leaders, to the educators, in short, to all who have helped in the molding of this American way of life.

The real tragedy of Memorial Day would be the failure to acknowledge, to express our appreciation of this enormous debt of obligation to those who have sacrificed so much in so many ways out of love of country. I would like to leave you with the thoughts of the late President Kennedy on our collective national obligation and how we should willingly meet this national obligation, I quote: "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it, and the glow from that fire can truly light the world." Let us accept the challenge. Thank you.

Florida Boys State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a very impressive program to train our youth in governmental affairs. I am referring to the American Legion's Boys State program which is conducted each summer in every one of the 50 States.

This very worthwhile program was started in 1935 in the State of Illinois and was endorsed that year by the 17th National Legion Convention. By 1940 the Boys State program was functioning in 34 States and by 1949 all 48 States were conducting Boys State programs.

The objectives of Boys State are:

To avail young Americans a better chance to learn and understand the basic principles underlying representative government.

To provide a laboratory for a functional study of citizenship.

To arouse in young citizens a desire to maintain our form of government.

To teach boy leaders to make decisions in line with reason.

To instill in youth the knowledge that American citizenship is the priceless possession of every American.

To develop civic leadership and an interest in the study of government.

The 21st Florida Boys State program was held between July 5 and July 11 on the campus of Florida State University in Tallahassee, Fla. Five hundred and forty-four boys from each of Florida's 67 counties took part in this nonpolitical and nonmilitary program supported by the American Legion, department of Florida, which covered a 7-day period. Each of the boys was chosen for such outstanding qualifications as: Leadership, courage, honor, loyalty, and service. They were divided equally into federalist and nationalist parties and assigned to 1 of 17 cities and 1 of the 8 counties in the program.

During the week of the program each of the boys attended schools to prepare them for their roles in the various positions of their newly created State government. There was a school of law to train them to pass a bar examination in order to serve as county judges, attorney generals, or members of the State supreme court. There was a school of peace officers to train as FBI agents, State troopers, county sheriffs, and local police officers. There was a school of civil service and government careers to train boys to peform the duties and responsibilities of civil servants. There was also a school of legislative procedure to teach the elected legislators the functions and duties of State legislators.

I think that the American Legion, the department of Florida deserves hearty congratulations for their program in Florida. The Florida Boy's State program is making a significant contribution to the training of the future leaders of Florida and the Nation. This training will be vital in the development of outstanding leaders in civic affairs throughout Florida and the United States.

I would like to congratulate the boys who received the honor of being elected to the positions of Governor, the State cabinet, and the State supreme court. These boys have demonstrated to other participants in the 1964 Florida Boys State that they have strong leadership qualities by being elected to these positions of responsibility. The qualities which these boys have demonstrated during the week of July 5 through July 11 will lead them on to leadership roles of importance in their later years.

I would particularly like to congratulate George Lister, Jr., who was elected Governor by the 544 citizens of the 1964 session. Governor Lister is a 17-year-old Coral Gables Senior High School "A" student and a track star. He has always been active in school affairs and on the student council of the Coral Gables Senior High School. He has been in the honors program at Coral Gables for 3 years. He is also a charter member of the Rotary Club-sponsored "Interact." George is the son of Dr. and Mrs. George C. Lister, and he is interested in a medical career. I am sure that George will make an excellent doctor and that he will be a leader in the medical profession. I am equally sure that not only will George be a leader in the medical profession, but that he will be a civic leader in any community he lives in. George Lister is a wonderful example of the strong leadership the United States needs among its young men and women to keep this country strong.

Salute to Jamaica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, last week Jamaica celebrated the second anniversary of her independence, and it is with great pleasure that we take this opportunity to extend congratulations to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Jamaica, Sir Alexander Bustamonte, His Excellency the Jamaican Ambassador to the United States, Sir Neville Noel Ashenheim, and to the Jamaican people.

Since Jamaica's emergence as a sovereign state 2 short years ago, she has exhibited the highest degree of political and economic maturity, and through the combination of democracy, dynamic leadership, and hard working citizens, she has rightfully assumed her position among the independent nations of the world. This pearl of the Caribbean has made tremendous strides toward social, political, and economic development in the past 2 years and stands as a shining example to be held up to other emerging nations of the world. In recent years Jamaica's rate of economic growth has been surpassed by few countries on earth. With its mixed population descended from Europeans, Africans, and Asians, Jamaicans have demonstrated, for all the world, the ability of people of different races to live and prosper together in harmony. Today the almost 1,700,000 energetic inhabitants of this island can take pride in their rapidly growing manufacturing industries, which include cement, footwear, textiles, clothing, paints, glassware, cosmetics, plastics, aluminum ware, beer, and foodstuffs.

Jamaica has recently become by far the world's largest producer of bauxite and alumina, the basic ingredients of aluminum. Through hard work and sacrifice huge gains have been made in all phases of education, vocational training, public health, and housing.

Jamaica, we salute you. We look with admiration on the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by your Constitution, which include the right of life, liberty, security of the person, and protection from arbitrary arrest or restriction of movement, the enjoyment of property and the protection of the law, freedom of conscience, of expression, and of peaceful assembly and association, and respect for private and family life. We hold your example of freedom and progress up to the peoples of other less fortunate nations of the Caribbean area. You live in a troubled area of a troubled world, but you have emerged victorious in your quest for peace and prosperity. We in the United States are proud of our partnership with you in all our common areas of endeavor. We wish you continued peace and progress on this, the second anniversary of your independence.

Salute to Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the House may not be in session tomorrow, the anniversary of Pakistan's independence, and we therefore want to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Pakistan, Ayub Khan; and to His Excellency the Pakistani Ambassador to the United States, Ghulam Ahmed, on this 17th anniversary of the establishment of Pakistan as a sovereign, independent state.

The fact that Pakistan has been able to incorporate two geographically separate states under one cultural and religious flag is both important and exemplary. Perhaps other areas can take their cue from her.

Pakistan's raison d'être was very similar to that of the United States. Since muslims believe in human equality and brotherhood, they found the caste-ridden Indian society intolerable. Profiting from that experience, Pakistan is extremely tolerant to all religions and races.

Pakistan has a history of changing governmental forms. After August 14, 1947, she established herself as an independent, sovereign state with dominion status in the British Commonwealth. On March 23, 1956, she exchanged dominion status for her present title of Republic, maintaining commonwealth membership. Then, on October 7, 1958, a presidential form of government replaced the previously unsatisfactory parliamentary form, with Field Marshal Ayub Khan as President. He is backed up by a cabinet of Ministers, appointed by him, from among the members of the popularly elected National Assembly.

In 1958, President Ayub Khan had the immediate responsibility of drawing up a new Constitution. Just as our own Constitution sent delegates around the 13 States to ascertain public feeling, a Constitution Commission, founded by Ayub Khan, consulted practically every adult in the country, examining his views. It is a document truly indicative of the voice of the people.

In addition to a popularly determined Constitution, the President initiated a grassroots government with his "basic democracies." They place an emphasis on the individual villages as central pivots for government. Since the people are well informed on local problems and interests, they can choose their representatives wisely and well. These directly elected delegates then associate advantageously with the administration at all levels. Thus a sound foundation is being laid for the growth of democracy at the national level.

Furthermore, these representatives of the people review the working executive and judicial branches of the Government, successfully mingling with all officials.

By such direct association with all branches of the Government, the people will become increasingly more interested and informed on national public affairs. As the interest and responsibility filters down to them, their ideas and needs will percolate up to the top, rendering the Government progressively more democratic. For this plan, as well as the stable maintenance of republican, presidential form of government, the entire country and administration deserve our wholehearted approbation.

Pakistan's accomplishments in the fields of agriculture, industry, economic stability and general welfare have been considerable.

With successful utilization of foreign aid, Pakistan has managed to produce large amounts of varied grains, 75 percent of the world's jute supply, and the world's fifth largest amount of cotton.

The President has contributed greatly to increased agricultural prosperity with his land reform program, limiting large holdings whose production potential is not being realized and restricting fragmentation of holdings below a subsistence level.

Despite the fact that Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country and despite the fact that she inherited few established industries at partition, industrialization is increasing rapidly.

Consequently, and as a result of ambitious and well carried out 5-year plans, Pakistan's national income is rising greatly. In fact, most appealing investment opportunities are offered to both foreign and domestic capital.

Tremendous strides have been taken in resettling displaced persons, curbing inflation, improving health conditions, communications, transportation, irrigation and other public utilities. Improvements in education are reducing illiteracy with free, compulsory education at the primary stage.

Pakistan is a strong ally to the West and a good economic and political example to all emerging nations of successful self-determination and government, especially considering her proximity to the Soviet Union.

As a member of the U.N., the Baghdad Pact, SEATO, and with a mutual defense assistance agreement with the United States, she is a positive asset in the promotion of international amity and harmony. She serves as a vitally important bridge between the Middle East, southeast Asia, and the West.

For laudable accomplishments and worthy ideals, we salute Pakistan on the anniversary of her independence.

Northwest Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, when the people of my district write to me, they write often about jobs. They are concerned about mills that, being unable to guarantee deliveries on finished lumber, are also unable to offer jobs. And they are worried about log exports that find local jobs being exported, too. They wonder why Government remains silent while foreign vessels ply the waters of traditionally American fishing grounds. And they ask why beef and dairy imports continue to curtail economic opportunities.

All of these problems, Mr. Speaker, affect employment in the Pacific Northwest adversely. All demand attention.

Why then, I am asked, is so little being done?

In my current newsletter, entitled "Northwest Jobs," I have answered that question. I have focused attention where attention belongs—on an administration that seems determined to favor foreign over domestic producers, even at the cost of jobs. And I have suggested that an administration which needs $3 billion to fight poverty might better look elsewhere for an answer to employment problems.

I believe a great many Members here in Congress share my views, and I believe thay will find my newsletter to be of interest. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that my newsletter, and the section entitled "As I See It," be included in the RECORD:

NORTHWEST JOBS

Sometimes the gap between words and action is disturbing. The administration's stand on poverty is a case in point. The administration says it wants to wage war on poverty. It wants to save and to create jobs. And it wants $3 billion from the taxpayers and a whole new Federal agency to accomplish the task.

Happily, I don't think you people in the Second Congressional District are being misled. You aren't writing your Congressman asking for handouts. Many of you, in fact, seem justifiably skeptical of plans that would only add muscle to the already bulging arm of Federal control.

But you are writing and asking for an even break in the market for the sale of

job-producing commodities manufactured in the Pacific Northwest. And I don't blame you.

The truth is, of course, that this administration, which says it wants to fight poverty, has been directly responsible for policies that couldn't possibly have contributed more than they have to the loss of jobs in lumbering, dairying, and other Northwest industries. Our fishermen know this. They continue to pay the price for administration policies that refuse firm retaliation for piracy on our traditional fishing grounds by foreign powers who have boasted that they'll bury us while munching bread from our wheat bought on credit.

Northwest lumbermen have their problems, too. At the same time so-called public works and area redevelopment programs have been building new mills to compete with those already struggling for survival, the administration has refused to permit passage, or even total consideration, of legislation that would prevent the loss of lumbering employment to Canada. My bill, H.R. 7961, to amend the Jones Act to permit the shipment of American lumber in foreign vessels when U.S. flagships are unavailable, is one of these. The late President Kennedy, more than a year ago, endorsed such an amendment, but President Johnson has done nothing. Now a Port Angeles mill, unable to guarantee shipment on its finished lumber, stands to lose $50,000 in orders to the competition of Canadian mills located just across the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

H.R. 7961 is 1 of no less than 10 bills I have introduced during this Congress to help save jobs and business for the Pacific Northwest. The net result of such efforts, by myself and others in a bipartisan group, has been a veto by President Johnson of the one bill he permitted to come to his desk. This was the lumber marking bill, which would have required lumber to be marked so as to identify the country of origin. It was hoped that this bill would provide at least a little relief for our industry, but even this relief was denied.

The log export problem remains unsolved. While this administration does nothing, a Sedro Woolley mill faces bankruptcy, unable to obtain logs or to meet Canadian competition. And a Darrington mill is forced to cut its work force from 120 jobs to 40, a loss of jobs to 80 families. Recently, a Northwest group known as the "Save Our Logs Committee" brought some interesting facts to light. Members estimated that the 700 million board feet of logs to be exported this year from Washington State alone "could maintain 6,200 primary mill jobs if retained for use at home. This could mean 10,000 total jobs throughout the community."

Beef and dairy imports are also on the upswing, taking with them local jobs. In 1961, beef imports totaled nearly 1.3 billion pounds. The figure jumped to 1.75 billion in 1963. And between 1958 and 1964, dairy imports almost doubled. Yet the President, earlier this year, stated his position boldly when he told farmers they should "complain less to Congress." The farmers were, he said, wasting their time trying to get remedial legislation because even if it should pass Congress, he would veto it.

Remedial legislation is available. My bill to limit dairy imports, H.R. 10950, would grant relief. So would H.R. 11806, a bill I have joined other Republicans in sponsoring to add plywood, lumber, fishing and dairy products to the list of items the administration may no longer offer for further tariff reductions under the 1962 Trade Expansion Act. There are other bills, too, all of them stalled in committee by an administration that seems determined to favor foreign over domestic producers

None of these solutions is costly. None involves huge new programs of Federal spending. If this administration truly wants to create jobs, I suggest that it start right here.

Sincerely yours,
Congressman JACK WESTLAND.

AS I SEE IT

(By Helen Westland)

The last time we attended a funeral in Arlington National Cemetery, it was that of President Kennedy's. Recently, however, we attended another funeral there, this time for Congressman BRUCE ALGER'S 15-year-old son, who had lost his life in a useless car accident. Among the mourners at the graveside was the Republican vice-presidential candidate, WILLIAM E. MILLER. Somehow I got to thinking about that young boy, who also might have been President, or Vice President of the United States. Those signs, "Drive carefully," should be considered by every one of us every day of our lives.

On the lighter side, have you heard about my experience with "Peeping Myrtle," the elephant? When Jack and I were enroute to San Francisco for the Republican convention, we came into Topeka, Kans., on the train about midnight. I was lying in my berth, trying to sleep, but when I heard a band playing, I lifted the window shade to see what was going on. To my great surprise, there was "Myrtle," a 7,000-pound elephant, staring at me right through the window. Believe me, I put the shade down quickly, for it was a bit terrifying. Then I lifted it a little bit, to be sure I saw what I saw, and yes * * * there was an elephant wobbling away. I learned later that the elephant was named "Myrtle," and that she had been in Topeka with a circus. Someone just thought we ought to have an elephant greeting the special Republican convention train.

A Tribute to Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and untimely death of Senator CLAIR ENGLE has saddened the hearts of his friends all over the country. Throughout his career as a public servant he worked diligently in the interests of those whom he served with an honesty and devotion to principle that was inspiring and refreshing. He was an articulate and courageous spokesman and unyielding worker for progress in the solution of the problems of the small businessman, for Federal aid to the aged and the impoverished, for Federal aid to education, and for liberal and progressive programs to meet many other areas of national need.

Although Senator ENGLE was formerly a Congressman from northern California and as a Senator was usually identified with that part of our State, he was also unfailingly committed to the future of southern California and consistently used his talents and energies to help solve its dilemmas. Last year, for example, the Senator helped to arrange a meeting between the then Vice President, Lyndon Johnson, and the Mexican-American leaders of Los Angeles to discuss the problems of that community. Senator ENGLE also has for many years advised me on my duties and responsibilities as a public official and often helped me personally in my campaigns for elective office.

Senator ENGLE'S indomitable good health and spirits in recent years added to the shock of his sudden illness and subsequent death which has left us all in mourning.

The loss of CLAIR ENGLE will be felt not only in the Senate where he has left a void that will be hard to fill, but also in California where he has constantly championed the just causes of all its citizens.

We have all lost a true friend and a great leader. I feel a deep personal sorrow and a regret that our Nation, which CLAIR ENGLE served so well, has now lost him.

Congratulations to Mr. Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, it has been very heartening to see the outpouring of good wishes and expression of admiration from across the country to former President Herbert Hoover on his 90th birthday.

These greetings have come from a grateful people to a man who has served his Nation with great distinction and dedication.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the August 10, 1964, issue of the Los Angeles Times, which conveys the Times congratulations to Mr. Hoover:

CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. HOOVER

Herbert Clark Hoover is celebrating his 90th birthday today, and his countrymen in joining him can be reminded that this great old man has served the United States and the world in high and unprecedented public tasks longer than any other American.

For these works, which began with the feeding of Belgium during World War I, he never had a penny. His salary in Government jobs, even as President, was used for charities and other public services. As a young man he made a moderate fortune as a mining engineer of worldwide fame, but from the age of 40 he was the gratuitous servant of mankind. In this respect he deserves comparison with George Washington, who sacrificed much and gambled the rest on the cause of his country.

For the recent generation, which speaks and writes as if history began with the first atom bomb, Mr. Hoover is only the industrious and incredibly perceptive editor and publisher of the Hoover Commission reports and, until this year, in which he has been ailing, the regular conscience and monitor of the Republican Party.

The opposition has pictured him as a reactionary, but those with longer memory know him as a liberal before the term "liberal" became debased in this country.

Just after World War I, Franklin Roosevelt thought Mr. Hoover ought to run for President as the legatee of Wilson. He fought for labor reform and supported unions as a necessary countervailing force in industry; he took a dim view of financial, as opposed to productive, capitalism.

And Mr. Hoover wanted, even in the Coolidge administration, to lay a heavy hand on the Federal Reserve Board to slow down the speculation which resulted in the big bust.

Yet, after he became President, a well-financed campaign set out, even before the depression, to vilify him as no man had ever been vilified before.

The moral may be that virtue and accomplishment cannot be put down. Mr. Hoover not only outlived the smear; he transcended the smearers.

At 90 he is securely in position as the first American.

A Latin remark goes to the effect that if you want to see the man's monument, look around you. It holds for Mr. Hoover. Much that has remained sane and durably decent in this country owes to him.

Redistribute Immigration Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, revision of our basic immigration laws is a most desirable objective and I am hopeful that the Congress will soon have the opportunity to act on pending proposals to liberalize the quota restrictions.

I note that the administration's proposals in S. 1932 call for the reallocation of unused quotas and the creation of a quota reserve pool to help ease the current immigration restrictions.

In this respect, Mr. Speaker, back in 1953 I first introduced legislation to create a pool of unused immigration quotas to enable many Americans to bring close relatives to this country. My proposal differs from some pending proposals in one important respect in that beneficiary countries would repay quotas whenever immigration rates rise in those countries not using all of the quotas authorized by law.

This particular provision would protect nationals behind the Iron Curtain who are being refused exit permits by their governments once freedom is restored to these unhappy lands.

Just recently, I was pleased to present my views on my bill, H.R. 1106, to the Subcommittee on Immigration of the House Judiciary Committee.

This bill would amend section 201 of the Immigration and Nationality Act so as to provide that all quota numbers not used in any year shall be made available to immigrants in oversubscribed areas in the following year, and for other purposes.

I think it can be readily seen from the title of the bill that it would accomplish very worthwhile objectives without increasing immigration quotas, and that would seem to me to promote desirable reform of our immigration laws. I favor every reasonable proposal to increase quotas and liberalize the law.

As Members of the House so well know, there are some countries in northern Europe where the quotas are now undersubscribed, and some countries in southern Europe where the quotas are heavily oversubscribed in varying degrees.

This situation is all the more difficult because of the fact that some of these quotas are very small to begin with. This is due largely to the way the respective quotas are established under the nationality rule.

It has been suggested that the overall quotas should be raised, that broader exceptions should be written into the law, that all close relatives of American citizens, veterans and legally admitted aliens otherwise qualified, should be admitted. Many proposals have been made to this end and now are pending.

I am sure the Congress always has in mind the practical aspects of immigration legislation and our past experience and difficulties encountered in passing liberalizing legislation in this field. But admittedly, these problems should not deter us as Members of Congress from doing our duty as we see it, to infuse into our immigration laws a more humane spirit that would accommodate them to the needs of a great cosmopolitan country like our own which has welcomed so many immigrants from many lands to our shores, and opened up for them and their dear ones the wide vistas of opportunity that citizens and residents of this great free Nation enjoy.

I may state that I am strongly in favor of organic revision and improvement of the immigration laws by this Nation, although I fully appreciate the very difficult problems that are involved in accomplishing this task.

It would, therefore, seem to me that the proposal contained in my bill being moderate, fair, and reasonable and requiring no massive departure from the policy Congress has followed in the past presents a very attractive, reliable, current method of bringing about desirable reforms in our immigration laws. Such a measure in my opinion could pass the Congress.

I will not go into the various theories, or the philosophy, of immigration laws in general, but I should like to stress this one point, and that is the great, compelling desirability of establishing policies and laws here that would encourage and permit the reuniting of families, thus making it possible for our fellow citizens and residents of this country to bring their dear ones here to join them in larger numbers and more quickly than has been permitted in the past under existing law.

For these reasons, I think that my pending bill has special and very broad appeal. It has been endorsed in principle by President Truman, by President Eisenhower, by President Kennedy, and I understand that President Johnson may also be favorably disposed and sympathetic toward the proposal. It is a sane, practicable approach to a very thorny problem and it has wide support in the Nation.

It seems quite understandable that such a moderate, yet effective, measure to accomplish a result that most Americans want, would meet with strong favor on the part of the American people, and I hope and urge that the Congress will, at an early date, grapple boldly with the problem involved here, and approve my bill, or one like it, that will enable us to take a step forward from the maze of formalism and technicality and rather complacent attitude and method which the Nation has been pursuing, and enact a law that will in the real sense help many loyal Americans to be reunited with their families from overseas.

This measure would also emphasize our interest in perpetuating and enriching the spiritual doctrines we have embraced throughout our national life of affording a haven and refuge for the oppressed, the persecuted, and the lowly within the boundaries of our Nation.

Such a measure would be cordially received, not only at home, but abroad, where the people of many nations, nationalities, and races are observing us with a critical eye to ascertain whether we really mean what we say when we talk about America being the land of freedom, equality, and opportunity, and a place where people are treated equally under the law, and given the benefit of constitutional safeguards, equal privileges, and entitlements that have meant so much to our Nation and the world.

It is believed by a great many Americans that the national origin system is unfair, unworkable, and discriminatory in its operation. Notwithstanding that fact, if we accept it as many do, it remains that my bill leaves undisturbed the present overall immigration quota totals.

On the other hand, the bill seeks to redistribute some 60,000 or more, unused quota numbers, which are lost each year through lack of applicants in certain countries among countries where long quota waiting lists and heartbreaking delays exist, and where the quotas are generally heavily oversubscribed.

The bill has its proper safeguards in that it would permit the Government over a 5-year period to recapture from any of the affected countries, quota numbers which were redistributed to other nations and which would be lost forever if not used under present immigration laws.

I assert with ample justification, I believe, that my bill would correct certain inequities arising from the act, which provides such small quotas from such countries as Italy and Greece as well as several other countries.

For example, the idea of Italy and Greece, nations from which in a true sense we have drawn so much of our national heritage in terms of freedom, personal liberty, and culture, having less than 6,000 quota numbers is understandably unjustifiable, logically inconsistent, and disruptive of those cordial understandings and sympathetic bonds of approval, friendship, and trust which are necessary to enlightened international policy.

It can be said that not only Italy and Greece, but Lebanon, Turkey, Poland, Lithuania, Israel and some other countries too, have not been accorded proper quotas, considering the quality of loyalty, fidelity, and constructive contributions of the natives of those countries, who

have been outstanding citizens and residents of our own Nation.

We can well take notice of the fact that the operation of our immigration laws has been in many instances harsh, unfair, unsympathetic and arbitrary with regard to the applications of many splendid American citizens who have sought to promote reunion with their relatives in these countries.

Unquestionably the quotas have been discriminatory toward the countries of southern Europe, the Near East, and other nations. It should be noted that northern European countries quota numbers have been undersubscribed at an increasing rate and that the quotas of southern Europe and other parts of the world have been oversubscribed at a very heavy rate.

I should also like to make the point that this condition is bringing disillusionment and resentment to a great many American citizens who feel that their own Government is not treating them fairly in preventing their reunion with their own flesh and blood and close relatives abroad, and I do not believe that this is a healthy or wholesome situation.

My bill offers a ready remedy for the injustices and inequities that have resulted from our basic immigration laws, and since my bill would move in a very substantial way to rectify these conditions, I would be especially grateful to this House for extending the measure the most sympathetic and painstaking consideration, because I believe the measure is definitely in the public interest of our own nation as well as beneficial to our foreign policy, to the morale of our citizens and to a better understanding in the world.

Hon. Albert Carter

SPEECH
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with our many colleagues in mourning the passing of a former distinguished Member of the House, who I am proud to say was a resident of my congressional district, Albert Carter.

I am sure that none of us will ever forget the helping hands that Al Carter and his wonderful wife extended to so many new Members of Congress when they first arrived in Washington. This can be a most trying and difficult time but Mr. and Mrs. Carter did much to help many of us over the first rough moments of adjustment.

Albert Carter was a dedicated, conscientious Member who compiled a notable record of achievement during his 20 years in the House. I am personally appreciative of his friendship when I was first elected to this great body.

Mrs. Cohelan joins me in extending thanks to the Carters for their thoughtfulness and kindness and in expressing sincere condolences to Mrs. Carter.

Who Is Tampering With the First Amendment?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, I have said on this floor many times that some of our clergymen are "generals without armies," and I am inserting herewith an article by the Reverend Adolph Bedsole, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church in Panama City, Fla.

Pastor Bedsole and many other Baptist ministers have been supporting my efforts and trying their best to get the other Members of Congress to realize the very clergymen in the United States who have received so much publicity in supporting the Supreme Court decisions are but a handful in comparison to the many like Pastor Bedsole who is in favor of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools.

The Reverend Adolph Bedsole is writing a pamphlet on this subject, but in the meantime I am privileged to insert in the RECORD his article "Who Is Tampering With the First Amendment," published recently in the Florida Baptist Witness newspaper, for all to read:

WHO IS TAMPERING WITH THE FIRST AMENDMENT?

(By Adolph Bedsole, pastor, Immanuel Baptist Church, Panama City, Fla.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Despite the expressed opposition of most leaders in major Baptist groups, some Baptists still sincerely favor the Becker amendment. Although we disagree with many of its inclusions, this article is used to present a good composite view of their thinking on the issue.)

"Leave the first amendment alone." This appears to be the text and battle cry of many of our religious leaders in America—including Baptists. Frankly, this is a "lame duck" (not messengers but) message. The ardent opponents of the Becker amendment are now proclaiming what millions of American Christians have been proclaiming for several months; namely, "The first amendment to the Constitution had for 170 years provided us with the separation of church and state which assured the people complete freedom from religious coercion on the part of Government at any level." Why didn't they lift their voice in protest when the Supreme Court used 22 pages of interpretation to tear to shreds the first amendment which our forefathers provided in a few words?

Who first tampered with the first amendment? An atheist, Madalyn Murray and the Supreme Court.

Who is now being accused of trying to destroy the first amendment? Congressmen who have offered 140 proposals to provide Bible reading and prayer in the schools, and those who support them.

Those who are trying to restore and further fortify the first amendment against further inroads of atheists, freethinkers, and Communists are now branded as ill-informed enemies of the first amendment. It just isn't true. Many who advocate Bible reading and prayer in the schools have been diligent in their support of separation of church and state. They have championed religious liberty in our Nation. They have not proposed, or supported the idea that the Government become a teacher of religion. They are violently opposed to the Government forcing religion on anybody at any time or place. They insist that participation in Bible reading and prayer remain, as it has for so long, strictly on a voluntary basis.

It may be true that some who favor this amendment would force religion on people if they could. That few might even want to destroy the first amendment. But a vast majority of those favoring this amendment cherish the first amendment; they love religious liberty and they still fight for the separation of church and state. Supporters of the Becker amendment may have some strange bedfellows. The religious opponents of this bill also have some strange bedfellows in atheists, freethinkers, and Communists.

Present day religious opponents of this bill remained strangely silent for a generation of time before the court battles. They were not crusading with Mrs. Murray in her laborious fight to win the "legal" battle. With a resounding victory under her belt and with further plans already well underway to tax the churches, Mrs. Murray and her friends find themselves with some uninvited religious guests who have moved into the picture now to do their part in making her first victory secure. Why?

It is strange indeed to hear that those who are trying to repair the damage done to the first amendment by court tampering are now guilty of tampering.

Has the Supreme Court been misunderstood? Atheists are happy, they seem to understand. The Becker amendment is misunderstood. Its supporters are misunderstood.

The Court decision is not so misunderstood as some think. It is clearly understood that no teacher or other government official is to require, suggest, or promote (force they say) Bible reading (without comment) and prayer in the school as an act of devotion or recognition of God. It is just that simple and it doesn't take a 22-page document to say it. It is clearly understood that the Bible may be read and studied objectively, but not as an act of devotion to the God of the Bible. Thus the Bible has been relegated and depreciated to the level of human books.

But the Becker amendment has been more misunderstood by many. It is not a perfect or divine document. But does America have any document which precludes the possibility of additional problems presenting themselves and demanding a solution in the future? The proposed amendment is short and simple. A careful study of it will clearly reveal the following things:

WHY THIS AMENDMENT SHOULD PASS

1. It would retrieve from atheists, freethinkers and Communists the "legal" victories which they have secured by interpretation.

2. It would prevent further tampering by interpretation with the first amendment by men who were appointed for life and who are never accountable to the people.

3. It would add additional safeguards to religious freedom in America instead of seeking to free America from religion.

4. This amendment does not propose to make the Government a teacher of religion; it proposes to permit the reading of the Bible on a voluntary basis.

5. It does not force prayers on any person; it proposes to permit praying on a voluntary basis.

6. It proposes that America recognize God and ask for His blessings; it does not force God or prayer on any person.

7. Note please. The proposal does not prescribe laws and regulations that it must be done but it prohibits the making of laws, regulations, and interpretations that forbid it.

8. It fortifies, in advance, against other announced plans of atheists, freethinkers, and Communists in America.

9. This proposal does not tamper with the first amendment; it seeks to correct tampering that has already been done and prevent further such tampering in the future.

10. It seeks to perpetuate the spiritual heritage which this Nation has enjoyed at this point for so long.

11. It further fortifies us against favoritism of the Government toward any one denomination by stating that "nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion."

12. It does not endanger the cherished American principle of the separation of church and state; it seeks to perpetuate the cherished American ideal that we want to remain a Nation that recognizes God and seeks His blessings.

13. This amendment proposes that this Nation shall not yield to atheism at this point and others.

14. It proposes that the people shall not be deprived of the privilege of Bible reading and prayer in the schools for their children.

15. It proposes that there shall not be discrimination against the majority, while it does not force the minority to participate.

16. It does not seek by legislative process to make the Nation Christian but it seeks by legislative process to keep atheists from making the Nation pagan.

17. It proposes to keep us as a nation from turning our backs on God in many more areas than in Bible reading and praying in the classroom.

WHAT THE COURT DECISION DID

Whatever else may be said for or against the Court decision, it is crystal clear that their decision did the following things:

1. For millions of boys and girls in America, it eliminated the last and only contact with the Bible.

2. It ended all prayer experiences for boys and girls whose homes have no place for prayer and other religious exercises.

3. It discriminates against our God.

4. It discriminates against the Holy Bible.

5. It planted a cloud of suspicion and distrust against God and the Bible.

6. It discriminated against the majority of the people in favor of the minority.

7. It surrendered America, at this specific point, to the mad demands of anti-God forces.

8. It condemned all former American statesmen (including Supreme Court Judges), and churches who have promoted and defended these practices.

9. By this act and without Communists lifting a hand, the Court accomplished for the Communists one of their basic objectives in the Nation.

10. It marked the classroom "off limits" to the God of creation—except by a process of "bootlegging."

Powerful religious leaders have positionized themselves with anti-God forces regarding religious practices and observances in the schools, on a voluntary basis. Now they have launched a propaganda program designed to defend their position and to persuade the members of the churches to support their position in opposing the proposed amendment in Congress. However, there are strong indications that many of the church members in America have no desire to become bedfellows with atheists, freethinkers and Communists in the crucial test.

It is to be noted that the immediate past-president of the Southern Baptist Convention, Dr. K. Owen White, has grave misgivings about the future consequences of the Court decision in this matter.

"Some of us feel that the decision of the Supreme Court concerning regulated or compulsory prayer and Bible reading in the schools is so vague and ambiguous at points as to leave the door open for the complete abandonment of all prayer and Bible reading in the schools and the removal of various other recognitions of God from public life. How to find the best answer to this dilemma may not be easy."

President Johnson Appeals for an End to Demonstrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson made a very strong appeal Wednesday in his address to the American Bar Association Convention in New York City for an end to mass demonstrations whether they occur in Mississippi or in New York.

I believe this very responsible approach by the President deserves the widest attention, for the President quite properly pointed out:

No persons whatever his grievance can be allowed to attack the right of every American to be secure in his home, his shop and in his streets. We will not permit any part of America to become a jungle, where the weak are the prey of the strong and the many.

In a firm and decisive manner, the President stated:

Such acts must be stopped and punished, whether they occur in Mississippi or in the State of New York.

The President stated further:

Under our Constitution, the local authorities have the central responsibility for civil peace. There is no place in our Federal system for a national police force. But where help is needed, or Federal law is violated, we shall be there. We will work together to punish all such lawbreakers, wherever they may be, whether they are hooded night-riders on our highways. or whether they are hoodlums in the city streets or parks.

It is my hope that all discerning Americans will recognize the logic of Mr. Johnson's appeal and will join with the President in letting cooler reason prevail on this whole question of equal rights.

Mr. Speaker, the President's address to the ABA is indeed historic and I take this privilege of including it in its entirety in the RECORD today.

The President's address follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT THE WALDORF HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. President, Ambassador Stevenson, members of the American Bar Association, today I speak to you in the midst of a troubled week in a turbulent world.

Since the end of World War II, America has been found wherever freedom was under attack, or wherever world peace was threatened.

The stage has shifted many times.

The stakes have grown as man's capacity for destruction grew. But America's role has not changed. With constancy, we have pursued the defense of freedom and we have prevented nuclear destruction. We have patiently labored to construct a world order in which both peace and freedom could flourish.

We have lived so long with crisis and danger that we accept, almost without division, the premise of American concern for threats to order.

Yet this is a unique responsibility—unique for America, and unique in history.

We accepted this responsibility, first, because at one time no other nation could do it. For the last 20 years, only under the shadow of our strength could friends keep their freedom and build their nation. Now that our allies have been restored to strength, they must share our responsibility in the pursuit of common purpose.

We have done this because we have, at painful cost, learned that we can no longer wait for the tides of conflict to touch our shores. Aggression and upheaval, in any part of the world, carry the seeds of destruction to our own freedom and, perhaps, to civilization itself.

We have done this, lastly, for a reason that is often difficult for others to understand. We have done it because it is right that we should.

Friendly cynics and fierce enemies alike often underestimate or ignore the strong thread of moral purpose which runs through the fabric of American history.

Of course, our security and welfare shape our policies. But much of the energy of our efforts has come from moral purpose.

It is right that the strong should help the weak defend their freedom.

It is right that the wealthy should help the poor emerge from their hunger.

It is right that help and understanding should flow from friendship and loyalty.

It is right that nations should be free from the coercion of others.

That these truths may coincide with interest does not make them less true.

There is another value which guides America's course. It is the deep American belief in the peaceful process of orderly settlement.

I would like this afternoon to briefly discuss two very different places where we are working at this hour for this principle—Cyprus and Vietnam.

The conflict in Cyprus comes from causes that are deeply rooted in the history and the circumstances of that troubled little island.

We do not know the final result of that conflict. We do know that the United States should not stand idly by while two of its best friends are at the edge of kicking off a big war.

Both Greece and Turkey are fellow members of the NATO Alliance. They are both courageous and dedicated members of the free world community. They have both been closely associated with us for the 17 years since the Truman doctrine.

It is our duty to the alliance to help prevent its disruption. It is our duty to help settle any conflict which might erupt into a wider arena. It is our duty to help avoid large-scale loss of life among the peoples of Cyprus whose true interests really lie in peace. It is our duty to work toward the acceptance of the principle that disputes should be settled without force. For, if orderly process is not accepted among friends, it will not be possible between adversaries.

In the pursuit of these responsibilities, I have sent our Under Secretary of State to all of the capitals concerned.

We invited the heads of government of Greece and Turkey to come to see me at the White House for long and serious talks.

I have sent a distinguished former Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, to Geneva to work for peaceful agreement.

We have kept in close touch with Athens and Ankara and Nicosia by repeated personal messages from the President.

In this spirit, we have welcomed the efforts of the United Nations to arrange a cease fire.

In Vietnam, too, we work for world order.

For 10 years through the Eisenhower administration, the Kennedy administration, and this administration, we have had one consistent aim—observance of the 1954 agreements which guaranteed the independence of South Vietnam.

That independence has been the consistent target of aggression and terror.

For 10 years our response to these attacks has followed a consistent pattern.

First, that the South Vietnamese have the basic responsibility for the defense of their own freedom.

Second, we would engage our strength and our resources to whatever extent needed to help others repel aggression.

Now, there are those who would have us depart from these tested principles. They have a variety of viewpoints. All of them, I am sure, you have heard in your local community.

Some say that we should withdraw from South Vietnam; that we have lost almost 210 lives in the last 4 years and we should come home. But the United States cannot and must not and will not turn aside and allow the freedom of a brave people to be handed over to Communist tyranny.

This alternative is strategically unwise, we think, and it is morally unthinkable.

Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless action which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia and certainly threaten the peace of the entire world. Moreover, such action would offer no solution at all to the real problem of Vietnam. America can and America will meet any wider challenge from others, but our aim in Vietnam, as in the rest of the world, is to help restore the peace and to reestablish a decent order.

The course that we have chosen will require wisdom and endurance. But let no one doubt for a moment that we have the resources and the will to follow this course as long as it may take. No one should think for a moment that we will be worn down, nor will we be driven out, and we will not be provoked into rashness; but we will continue to meet aggression with firmness and unprovoked attack with measured reply.

That is the meaning of the prompt reaction of our destroyers to unprovoked attack. That is the meaning of the positive reply of our aircraft to a repetition of that attack. That is the meaning of the resolution passed by your Congress with 502 votes in favor and only 2 opposed.

That is the meaning of the national unity that we have shown to all the world last week.

There is another consideration. Wherever the forces of freedom are engaged, no one who commands the power of nuclear weapons can escape his responsibility for the life of our people and the life of your children.

It has never been the policy of any American to sympathetically or systematically place in hazard the life of this Nation by threatening nuclear war. No American President has ever pursued so irresponsible a course. Our firmness at moments of crisis has always been matched by restraint—our determination by care. It was so under President Truman at Berlin, under President Eisenhower in the Formosa Straits, under President Kennedy in the Cuba missile crisis—and I pledge you that it will be so long as I am your President.

In Vietnam, in Cyprus, and in every continent, in a hundred different ways, America's efforts are directed toward world order. Only when all nations are willing to accept peaceful procedures as alternative to forceful settlement will the peace of our world be secure.

While we work for peaceful process among nations, we must also maintain law and order among our own citizens.

No person, whatever his grievance, can be allowed to attack the right of every American to be secure in his home, his shop, and in his streets. We will not permit any part of America to become a jungle, where the weak are the prey of the strong and the many.

Such acts must be stopped and punished, whether they occur in Mississippi or in the State of New York.

Under our Constitution, the local authorities have the central responsibilities for civil peace. There is no place in our Federal system for a national police force. But where help is needed, or Federal law is violated, we shall be there. We will work together to punish all such lawbreakers, wherever they may be, whether they are hooded night riders on our highways, or whether they are hoodlums in the city streets or parks.

Fulfillment of rights and prevention of disorder goes hand in hand.

Resort to violence blocks the path toward racial justice.

The denial of rights invites increased disorder and violence.

Those who would hold back progress toward equality and, at the same time, promise racial peace are deluding themselves and deluding the people.

Orderly progress, exact enforcement of law, are the only path to an end of racial strife.

The Emancipation Proclamation was signed more than 100 years ago. But as we all know, emancipation was a proclamation and not a fact. After a century of wanting and waiting, a compassionate and comprehensive law came into being. It was passed by more than two-thirds of all the Members of both parties of the Congress under the leadership of both Republican and Democratic leader sponsorship. This is a government of laws and not men. The Congress has passed the law, the President has signed the law, and the President will enforce the law.

I believe that our citizens will and must observe it. Neither demonstrations in the streets nor violence in the night can or will restrain us from seeing to it that laws rightly passed will be justly observed. That is the path along which I intend to lead this Nation.

And I am convinced that the same dedication to legal order, which will keep the peace in this land, will bring us nearer to peace among all lands.

I have hopes, despite crisis and conflict, that that day may be coming nearer.

It was 19 years ago—19 years ago this month—that President Truman announced: "The force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed."

When he heard the news, Albert Einstein exclaimed: "The world is not yet ready."

But unprepared or not, the reality was there and we have struggled together to master it.

Today, as we meet in freedom here, freedom is much stronger. For despite the difficulty and the danger, no nation has—no single nation—fallen to communism since Cuba in 1959.

War has been prevented. Danger has been receding. If we can continue that course, the future will perhaps some day say of us: "They became the masters and not the victims of the age."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Activities of the School Press Conference Series Association, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I am pleased to bring to the attention of the Congress the activities of the School Press Conference Series Association, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization chartered by the State of Maryland and operating to the benefit of secondary schools in Washington, D.C., and the surrounding Maryland and Virginia counties.

The School Press Conference Series Association was founded by its executive director, Mr. Robert C. Diefenbach, of Bethesda, Md., in April of this year. Its honorary board of directors includes the head or assistant head of every public school system in this area, the head of the archdiocesan school system, representative heads of area private schools, and prominent persons including the distinguished dean of the diplomatic corps, His Excellency Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Secasa, the Ambassador of Nicaragua, and His Excellency, the Governor of Maryland.

This community-spirited organization is designed to provide a valuable adjunct to in-school training by producing news conferences wherein students of journalism and other subjects in our secondary schools may meet and openly question public figures and newsmakers under the conditions of professional press conferences. The Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, Dr. Luther L. Terry, and the renowned Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, have already served as guest interviewees for SPCSA sponsored conferences held before the closing of the schools for the current summer vacation. With the reopening of the schools in September the SPCSA, Inc., will produce news conferences to which students from every public, private, and archdiocesan secondary school in this area will be invited.

The SPCSA, Inc., conferences are held without cost to schools, students, or guest interviewees. The costs of the organization are underwritten by donations from private citizens, firms, and foundations.

In bringing this organization to the attention of the Members of the Congress, it is my hope to encourage the Members to favorably consider invitations to appear as guest-interviewees at future student news conferences sponsored by the SPCSA, Inc.

Do not, my friends, suppose that all of these students' questions will be easy to answer. This I can promise you; if you are interviewed by these young men and women, you will come away from the conference convinced that our young people do read, do think, and do stay abreast of the news. You will come away from your interview gratified in the fact that the majority of our young people, as represented by the students attending the SPCSA, Inc., conferences, are serious, intelligent morally responsible citizens fully worthy of accepting the responsibilities of leadership that will soon be theirs.

Expressing the belief that these open-questioning news conferences are exemplary of the free American society, the U.S. Information Agency's "Voice of America" has broadcast, and will continue to broadcast later this year, the SPCSA conferences throughout the world; pointing out with pride that, in a free and democratic society, the leaders of that society have no fear of answering the questions of the young and, in fact, encourage those questions.

The future plans of the School Press Conference Series Association, Inc., includes the establishment of chapters or branches of the association in other cities, thereby bringing the benefit of this worthy project to the young men and women of those cities. Following the establishment of these chapters or branches, the association will promote an annual convention of selected student journalists here in Washington, the news capital of the world.

It has been a pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to bring the School Press Conference Series Association, Inc., to the attention of the Members of Congress, and to ask that the Members add their encouragement and support to the association's educational work. In closing, I should like to congratulate Mr. Robert C. Diefenbach for his efforts in founding and operating the SPCSA, Inc., and similarly congratulate those educators and others who, by being listed as honorary directors of the association, have endorsed the project and added greatly to its success.

Religion in the Schools?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these days when there is so much discussion about the place of religion in the public schools, it is refreshing to find someone who has specific ideas and has done something about the matter. Such a person is Mr. James V. Panoch of Fort Wayne, Ind. He attempts to point out the place of religion in our schools in the following statement:

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS?

In the proper ways, yes. It cannot be otherwise. Religion, in its various aspects, has been the singularly most important influence on our way of life. The U.S. Supreme Court, in the Bible reading decision (*Abington* v. *Schempp*), put it this way:

"It is true that religion has been closely identified with our history and government. * * * The history of man is inseparable from the history of religion. * * * We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being. * * * The fact that the Founding Fathers believed devotedly that there was a God and that the unalienable rights of man were rooted in Him is clearly evidenced in their writings, from the Mayflower Compact to the Constitution itself."

The Founding Fathers, in the Declaration of Independence put it this way:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them. (Here they said our right as a nation comes from God.)

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. (Here they said our rights as individuals come from God.)"

The American Jewish Committee, in their publication, "Religion in Public Education," put it this way:

"The schools should also foster an appreciation of the impact of religion on our civilization. Indeed, this knowledge is intrinsic to a well-rounded education. Such events as the Crusades, the Reformation and the colonization of America would be hopelessly distorted if religious motivations were not given proper weight. It would be equally wrong to omit Bible from courses in literature or to ignore religious influence in the study of art."

Father James Keller, in "Christopher News Notes," put it this way:

"Numerous historical facts, from the Mayflower Compact to the most recent Presidential Thanksgiving Proclamation, give clear testimony to the spiritual in our national heritage. Every student, whatever his convictions, has a right to know these facts. Not to make them available to him is to shortchange him."

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. put it this way:

"The full treatment of some regular school subjects requires the use of the Bible as a source book. In such studies—including those related to character development—the use of the Bible has a valid educational purpose."

Our leaders know the importance religion has had, and is having, on our way of life—our young people need to know it, too. The

inclusion of religious aspects of our way of life is essential to good education. The U.S. Supreme Court said in the Bible reading cases (*Abington* v. *Schempp*):

"In addition, it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the first amendment."

The importance of the religious aspects of our heritage is obvious. Probably no event has influenced history more than the birth of Christ. Centuries later as people emerged from the Dark Ages they were possessed with freeing the Holy Land from the Arabs. Although the crusades were never really successful they did give the people of Central Europe a view of the world beyond their own community, prompting explorations of which Columbus' discovery of America was but one. Through these discoveries the people of Western Europe were forced to think of other cultures and other philosophies. This philosophical thinking produced the Reformation. As people began to think in the area of philosophy, so too did they begin to think in the area of science and so gave birth to the industrial revolution of which we are now a part. The founding of our country is steeped heavily with religious connotations. Religion, in one aspect or another, has been by far the most dominant motivating force in all of human history.

It is equally obvious, however, that young people today, for the most part, are lacking knowledge of the religious aspects of our heritage. One teacher, Mr. Thayer Warshaw, of Newton, Mass., reported on this lack of knowledge in a recent article in the "English Journal" (official publication of the National Council of Teachers of English). In part he said:

"The overpublicized Johnny may follow the adventures of Ulysses by reading the Odyssey in school; he may become acquainted with the noble Brutus by reading Julius Caesar in school; but he will not find out about King David or Joseph's coat or Paul of Tarsus by reading the Bible in school, simply because the Bible is rarely studied there. Nor will he learn about David, Joseph, and Paul anywhere else, according to the evidence.

"One piece of evidence is contained in answers to an unannounced test given to five classes of college-bound 11th- and 12th-graders in a community generally regarded as above average culturally. Several pupils thought that Sodom and Gomorrah were lovers; that the four horsemen appeared on the Acropolis; that Eve was created from an apple; that Jesus was baptized by Moses; that Jezebel was Ahab's donkey; and that the stories by which Jesus taught were called parodies.

"The test consisted of 112 rather simple questions selected to discover whether these pupils were familiar with at least the commonly known Biblical names, stories, and quotations. The results were, to say the least, disappointing. Seventy-nine percent could not supply the last word of the expression, 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' Eighty-four percent could not furnish the last word of the familiar 'The truth shall make you free.' Sixty-three percent did not know the last word in Isaiah's 'They shall beat their swords into plowshares.' Eighty-four percent unable to say that 'A soft answer turneth away wrath.' Eighty-eight percent did not know that 'Pride goeth before * * * a fall.' Seventy-four percent could not give any reasonable last word for the following statement: 'God tested Job by making ———.' And a full 93 percent could not complete the well-known 'The love of money is the root of all evil.'"

I have spoken to many young people who have never once in their life been inside of a church. I have spoken to boys and girls who have never once in their life read any of the Bible. I have even spoken to some who have never seen a Bible. A boy in response to the question, "Who is Jesus?" answered with a question of his own—"Is he on television?" Certainly the church has a responsibility that needs to be met in this area—but so does the school. The school has chosen to teach all that is important in life—cooking, dancing, sewing, music, printing, driving, etc. The school must now teach the importance of religious aspects of our culture if it is to maintain proper balance. I was speaking in a classroom the day that John Glenn was sent into space. In the middle of my presentation the loudspeaker called us all to the hall where we stood in hushed silence watching TV monitors as John Glenn was put into orbit. Scientific subjects have top priority in our schools today. Schools also teach of life. The other day a ninth grader described in detail the dissecting of a frog. He can name the organs and their function and the number of chromosomes, etc. The school also teaches many skills. Youngsters learn to type, to farm, and to drive a car. (Driving a car is a "big deal" to a teenager.) A school that teaches the needful skills of society, the wonderful facts of life, and the amazing facts of science must include the relevant facts of religion or by default it teaches against religion.

Once a week the preacher proclaims to his charges that a religious commitment is the most important thing in life. (And a preacher ought to say that or he ought not to be a preacher.) The young people in his group then go off to spend the whole week studying other important things in school. Now, if the school is forced to eliminate all the religious aspects of our history and culture, the student is being taught unconsciously that religion is not, and has not been, important when quite the opposite is true. Supreme Court Justice Stewart put it this way in his dissenting opinion in the Bible reading cases (*Abington* v. *Schempp*):

"For a compulsory State educational system so structures a child's life that if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and State-created disadvantage. Viewed in this light, permission of such exercises for those who want them is necessary if the schools are truly to be neutral in the matter of religion."

We are all much concerned about juvenile delinquency, lowering moral standards, communism, etc.—the best solution for these problems, as well as most other problems, is a personal spiritual commitment to human decency. Communism teaches the mass is all-important, whereas the Judeo-Christian tradition teaches the individual is all-important. The Bible holds high moral standards and fosters a concern of personal responsibility essential in combating juvenile delinquency.

I believe that the Bible and religious aspects need a place in the school curriculum because of their importance in the past as well as their potential in the present.

Once having decided that religious aspects deserve a place in the school curriculum, the next question is how to do it. It can be done in many ways:

1. Through the regular approved and successful Biblical literature course listed on pages 58 and 59 of the "Digest of Courses of Study for Indiana High Schools," Bulletin 232, Department of Public Education, Indianapolis, Ind. (Many other States have similar courses.) This course was taught successfully in but 12 Indiana high schools last year. It should be taught in many more. The Supreme Court, in its Bible reading decision (*Abington* v. *Schempp*), gave approval for a course of this type when they said, "It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities." The Indiana attorney general reviewed and approved this particular Bible course. As administrators become aware of the course and its potential, I am confident that more schools will offer it. Working in a limited way I have already been instrumental in causing several school districts to offer the courses for the first time next semester.

2. By including Bible passages in the regular literature courses when relevent. A few isolated school districts across the country have already taken steps in this direction. When studying poetry, they have included a poem from the Bible. When studying the short story they again include one from the Bible. And so on. Some of the best literature we have comes from the Bible. The Bible has influenced the English language more than any other book, if not more than any other source. These schools have done well to include Bible in the regular literature courses. By bringing these activities to the attention of responsible school people, this approach can be expanded and strengthened. Only recently I spoke to the English supervisor of a sizable school district who became interested in the ways in which Bible could properly be included in a literature program. The Bible was not on the approved reading list for his schools. Now it is. The English department supervisors of several other systems have taken similar steps. I have every reason to believe that Bible can and will be included in regular school subjects where it is relevant.

3. A religious scholarship. Each year the National Association of Secondary School Principals puts out an approved list of contests and activities for the high school students. The current list includes essays, examinations, contests, etc., in a variety of areas sponsored by such organizations as the American Legion, Fisher Body, Lincoln Arc Welder, Chrysler Motors, American Wool Council, Thom McAn Shoes, National Restaurant Foundation, National Red Cherry Institute, Daughters of the American Revolution, etc. Young people with a special interest in almost any subject but religion have an opportunity to earn scholarships. Responsible school authorities are willing, and in some cases anxious, to include a religious scholarship program in their scholarship offerings. Only the legwork needs to be done to make it a reality.

It would be wrong to suggest that school administrators are opposed to the use of the Bible and religion in the school—quite the opposite is often true. It was the school boards and school superintendents who defended the use of the Bible and prayer in their schools in both the Schempp and Murray Bible reading cases and the Engel prayer case. In my opinion, there are two reasons why school administrators have not given more consideration to Bible and religion in the curriculum. One is the press of necessary business and the other is the lack of workable programs. School administrators must be concerned with hiring teachers, teacher salaries, new schools, irate parents, concerned board members, textbooks, the sports program, special program, reorganization, school boycotts, etc.—the list is endless. Each day a school administrator is concerned with items that are necessary in order to conduct school plus items that come to his attention. Then the interpretation, and/or misinterpretation, of recent court decisions regarding the Bible in the schools have cast a shadow over any Bible use. School administrators are willing, and in some cases anxious, to include Bible and religion in the cur-

riculum, but they insist, and rightly so, that the programs be legal and workable.

We cannot maintain our democracy and the freedoms it has brought apart from the ideals and spiritual principles which inspired it. To attempt to do so is a denial of our heritage. My activities, and those of the organization Religious Instruction Association, are dedicated to the task of seeing that our young people have a proper understanding of our religious heritage.

Students Back Overthrow of U.S. Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call to the attention of my colleagues additional evidence which I hope will serve to impress upon State Department officials the importance of taking drastic and effective action against the group of American students who have been traveling in Communist Cuba in violation of our passport laws. This article printed in the Charlotte Observer of Charlotte, N.C., on August 5, 1964, shows the thinking of the leader of this group and his dedication and devotion to the cause of world communism. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article entitled, "Students Back Overthrow of U.S. Government," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STUDENTS BACK OVERTHROW OF U.S. GOVERNMENT

(By Lee Winfrey)

HAVANA.—A group of American students traveling in Cuba plans to return to the United States this week, full of enthusiasm for the socialist revolution.

They are led by Ed Lemanski, 24, of Monroe, N.C., a member of the Progressive Labor Movement that he described as a Communist organization.

Most of the 84 students have been journeying around the island since June 12. They plan to fly out today or Friday by way of Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Lemanski said he expects the U.S. Government to put him on trial and put him in jail. The group traveled to Cuba without State Department approval.

The group, which includes 11 Negroes, held a sort of farewell party Sunday at the Nacional Hotel, its local headquarters. Their conversation was sharply critical of U.S. policy, both domestic and foreign.

Lemanski, born in Brooklyn, organized the tour for travel to Cuba. He took time out from his activities in Monroe, where he has been working with Negroes for the past year as a representative of the Progressive Labor Movement.

"We believe in peace, if people are peaceful with us," he said. "We also believe in meeting violence with violence. That's all the Kluxers understand."

Lemanski said he believed in the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. He said several of the student group were Communists, but not all.

Beatnik types predominate among the students. Talk about the class struggle is widespread.

The students expressed the general opinion that not more than 10 percent of the Cuban people were opposed to Premier Fidel Castro. They were resentful when asked why Castro, if his support is so solid, does not permit elections.

"Everyone would vote for Fidel anyway," a couple of them said, "so why waste time with an election?"

Questions about the committees for the defense of the revolution, a Cuban Government network of neighborhood spies, also failed to faze the students.

"I have a list of 14 other things that the committees do," said a brunet girl with glasses. "They also distribute ration cards, and organize sports programs."

The students contended that elections in the United States meant nothing, that a choice between Lyndon Johnson and BARRY GOLDWATER represented no real choice at all.

Most candidates are much too rightwing for them.

There was a lot of talk about race relations in the United States. One of the Negroes shouted, "How come you talk to me about elections in Cuba, man? You think I could vote in Mississippi?"

Lemanski said that U.S. business interests repressed the proletariat by inciting white workers to be prejudiced against Negroes. Only when the entire working class unites, he said, can a genuine revolution come.

The students seem quite sure that a Marine sentry at Guantanamo Naval Base shot and killed a Cuban soldier last month, a charge which the Cuban Government press heavily emphasized. (Guantanamo officials have denied the charge.)

They spoke with warm admiration of the Cuban programs in education, health, and housing. "How could the people be against Fidel?" one bearded young man asked.

"He gives them everything without them even asking."

The Negroes seemed to be specially resentful of the United States. A strong disaffection for white people was evidenced in their comments.

A white minister, trying to be conciliatory, agreed with one of the Negroes that his race had a rough time in Mississippi. The Negro did not bat an eye.

Turning to a companion, he commented: "Hey, man, the great white father thinks I got a case."

The students' general opinion seems to be that Cuba is a dictatorship of the proletariat and that the rich and the middle class have no right to resist or to organize any political opposition.

For the benefit of a non-Marxist, two of the students made their opinions even more specific.

"You've got 20 years to decide which side you're on. That's about how long the revolution will take. Then, if you're still a bourgeois, then you're still against us, we have to put you away."

Reasonable Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the approach of Attorney General Arthur Sills, of New Jersey, to the problem of State legislative reapportionment is discussed in an editorial in Tuesday's Newark Evening News.

The attorney generals of the States know full well their duty to defend the laws of the land and the Supreme Court. The legislatures of the States have been recalcitrant in righting the many malapportioned wrongs prevalent on a State level.

The Supreme Court has taken a giant step forward in attempting to equalize the value of a vote of a man in a city to one cast in rural areas. This advancement must not be negated by the so-called Dirksen rider which would curtail judicial initiative in this area. The attorney general of New Jersey is to be congratulated for his work in this field and for bringing the attention of the State supreme court to one incontrovertible fact—one man one vote does not mean one county one vote.

The editorial follows:

REASONABLE APPROACH

Attorney General Sills tomorrow will file with the State supreme court a brief that will suggest U.S. Supreme Court rulings leave room for compromise in correcting unbalanced legislative representation.

The Sills brief will argue that present apportionment of the senate on a basis of one county one vote clearly violates the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote principle. However, the attorney general will suggest that if this is redressed, drastic change may not be required in the apportionment of seats in the general assembly.

The assembly's lineup favors some rural counties by granting even the smallest at least one seat. Mr. Sills' opinion that this may nevertheless be constitutional rests on the Supreme Court's Colorado decision, which countenances some deviation from a strict population standard in "one house" of a legislature. Applied to conditions in New Jersey, the Colorado decision apparently means that deviation in the assembly would have to be balanced by elimination of the present flagrant malapportionment in the senate.

Whatever the courts may think of Mr. Sills' argument, it is more reasonable than the proposal of Senate Minority Leader DIRKSEN, who wants to suspend and eventually to halt all judicial efforts to correct inequalities in representation.

The Dirksen bill expresses the disquiet inspired in many by the Supreme Court's "intrusion" in a "political" matter. But there would have been no need for judicial interference had the legislatures, on their own initiative, moved to correct manifest injustices. In the face of their refusal to act, underrepresented voters could turn only to the courts.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of the Honorable JOHN B. BENNETT, this body has lost one of its gentlest Members, one of the sweetest personalities I have known. He was a man of ability, of virile strength and dedication, and his accomplishments in

the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States were many. They were in the finest traditions of statesmanship, reflecting credit on his native State of Michigan, on the Nation he served so well and upon the University of Chicago, in the district I have the honor to represent, and the law school of which he attended.

But the gentleness of JOHN BENNETT, who never raised his voice in annoyance and never met a person he did not treat as a friend will forever be remembered by his colleagues. He was a fine man in every sense, and his passing has left a void that cannot be filled.

To his mother, his wife and children, and to his grandchild I extend my deepest sympathy.

Navy Meritorious Public Service Citation Awarded Herman H. Ridder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the highest award of the Navy bestowed upon civilians is the Navy Meritorious Public Service Citation. Today, at 1:45 p.m., the Secretary of the Navy bestowed this award upon Herman H. Ridder, publisher of the Long Beach Independent and Press-Telegram newspapers. The ceremony took place in the Secretary's office and was attended by Adm. David S. McDonald, Chief of Naval Operations, and a host of other notables of the Navy, Marine Corps, the Congress, and private life. Mr. Ridder's many contributions to the betterment of the Navy and the Marine Corps more than earned him this unique honor. Some of those contributions are listed in the citation accompanying the award. Many others, of a nature which for administrative reasons are inappropriate to detail, are not so listed. It is a great personal satisfaction for me to be able, in this forum, to add my "Well done, Mr. Ridder" to those of the Navy.

The citation presented to the Navy's honoree reads as follows:

HERMAN RIDDER

For his outstanding contributions to the U.S. Naval Establishment as a distinguished citizen and publisher. His many outstanding editorials and other writings supporting the Navy and its position in matters of public interest have engendered considerable public sympathy for the Navy's cause, thereby often resulting in Navy-favored action being taken. Mr. Ridder's support for instigation of subsidence controls and continuation of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard; his stand promoting construction of an Armed Forces YMCA and Navy Landing; and his long fight for a naval hospital in Long Beach were instrumental in obtaining approval of these projects considered of great importance to the Navy. In addition, the support extended by Mr. Ridder was one of the major factors which caused a favorable outcome in the Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro-Leisure World land controversy, thus assuring the continued effective operation of the air station. In deep appreciation for his constant devotion and loyalty to the Navy and Marine Corps; his outstanding successful efforts in supporting the Navy with editorials favorable of its position; and in recognition of his generous expenditure of time and effort in behalf of the Navy and Marine Corps, this award is approved this 5th day of August 1964.

Parade of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we are proud of the many types of progress that are being made in east Texas. I enclose an article in regard to some building which is to be done by East Texas Theatres, Inc. I commend this fine concern.

[From the Longview (Tex.) News, Aug. 9, 1964]

PARADE OF PROGRESS

Longview's parade of progress was given a substantial boost this week with the announcement of plans for immediate construction of a large new theater and shopping center in the west central part of the city.

East Texas Theatres, Inc., announced it will construct a modern 1,400-seat standard theater, nearly twice as large as the present Arlyne Theater in the downtown area, on a 23-acre site on the north side of West Marshall (U.S. Highway 80) Avenue west of Grace's Creek bridge.

Sam E. Tanner of Beaumont, general manager of theaters for the firm that has operated in Longview for 35 years, said a topographical survey of the property was begun Thursday and that plans and specifications for the "hard top" theater building are in final stages of completion.

Construction is planned to be underway in the immediate future, Mr. Tanner said, adding: "The shopping center will include the usual facilities—a drugstore, a supermarket, variety store, other stores, and plenty of parking space."

Taking part in the planning conference here with Mr. Tanner were Robert Lugenbuhl of Jacksonville, district manager of theaters, and D. L. Elliott, manager of theaters in Longview. Mr. Tanner made this significant statement:

"We have for many years viewed Longview as a key city in this area, and it was that belief and confidence in the future of Longview that motivated the purchase of the site (more than 10 years ago) which now is ideal for the shopping center and theater."

While plans have not reached a stage where a final estimate can be put on cost of the entire project as planned, Mr. Tanner left no doubt that the major new amusement and shopping center will represent a large investment and will be a development of which the entire Longview area can be proud.

This new project, one of several major developments already underway or announced for Longview this year, represents further evidence of the faith and judgment that experienced and successful business people have in the present growth and future prospects of Longview.

All indications point to a steady current growth in population. Numerous industrial expansion projects are underway and planned here. Employment is at an all-time record high, and payrolls of course stand at record figures. Business and commerical progress is noted on every hand, and we predict on the basis of known prospects that much more is to come.

"Do More in '64" is a challenging slogan. Longview is doing more, as the parade of industrial and commercial progress goes forward daily.—CARL L. ESTES.

Good Evening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, occasionally, one reads an unusually perceptive column dealing with a political situation and personality. Such a one was recently written by Mr. Clifford B. Ward for the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. Because of its timely nature and thought-provoking comment, I include it herewith:

GOOD EVENING

(By Clifford B. Ward)

As you may have heard by wireless, television, and the printed word, a large gathering of fellow citizens of the United States had the sheer effrontery to meet recently at San Francisco and nominate for President of this country some sort of monster by the name of BARRY MORRIS GOLDWATER, and a lesser monster for Vice President by the name of WILLIAM MILLER.

They did this without the blessings of President Johnson, former Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Gov. William Scranton, Walter Lippmann, Chet Huntley, David Brinkley, Walter Cronkite, the New York Times, and pretty much of the rest of the political establishment and the so-called communications media. Such arrogance on the part of the people has not been seen since a bunch of ruffians boarded a ship in Boston long ago and threw a lot of tea in the harbor instead of drinking it to allay their extremism.

Whatever the people at the convention were, some columnist or commentator had a description for them. According to one commentator, they were little old ladies in tennis shoes. Another had them pictured as "middle class, white Protestants," even if they did show the ecumenical spirit by honoring Bill Miller with the veep nomination and singing the Notre Dame Victory March in his honor.

RADICALS AND OLD PROS

The people who put GOLDWATER over were described in various fashion as reactionaries from the past, radicals, fomentors of hatred, old political pros, etc., etc. What seemed apparent, and this today is a questionable description, they were the sort who drive on the right side of the street, stop for red lights on the highway, work at jobs, pay their bills promptly and have the silly notion that there ought to be codes of good behavior.

This monstrous GOLDWATER, a peddler's offspring, is a real square from way out. He loves his wife, his children and his grandchildren. He even loves his 89-year-old mother.

When World War II broke out, instead of claiming flat feet, punctured ear drums or that his efforts were essential to the war effort behind the ribbon counter in his department store, he went to war, ferrying planes across the Atlantic, across the hump in

India and in general acting as if he owed something to this country.

This fellow GOLDWATER in the lexicon of some of today's liberals is a real nut. He has an intense faith in God and believing that he is in God's hands at all times, acts with that confidence. He has more than 8,000 hours in as a pilot, most of this time in jets. He has flown almost everything that flies.

A WAY-OUT MAN

At San Francisco, he got up one morning, drove out to an airport, rented a plane and flew over the city for 4 hours just to relax his nerves. He has the silly notion that if God wants him elsewhere, it could happen just as easily in bed as it would 30,000 feet up.

General GOLDWATER, for a general he is, is indeed a way-out fellow. He was a champion swimmer, a basketball player in high school, a football player, an Arizona golfer of distinction, and is now a ham radio addict, a musician of acceptable sorts, a top-notch photographer, and a lot of other things. Even those who are his enemies admit that he has charm running out his ears. Plus all this, he is a successful, practical businessman who can throw figures and statistics at you like Willie Mays can field a fly ball.

What none of the anti-Goldwater people wish to admit is that a revolt of the people has been taking place for a long time and that it resulted at San Francisco in GOLDWATER's nomination. Will he be elected? A conservative has to act like a conservative and say, "We'll see in November." It will certainly be a horserace. The 883 persons in the recent convention who cast their votes for GOLDWATER on behalf of a lot of Americans certainly did not believe that they were nominating a loser.

Sneakers and Levis and Birdies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Muncie (Ind.) Star of August 12:

SNEAKERS AND LEVIS AND BIRDIES

Marvin Smith, 1010 East Parkway Drive, passes along a clipping of a column written by Sports Editor Frank Gianelli of the Phoenix, Ariz., Republic.

Gianelli reports that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is a pretty solid golfer but one who is somewhat unorthodox in the matter of links attire. BARRY, he reports, usually shows up at the first tee smartly arrayed in T-shirt, levis, and tennis shoes.

The Phoenix writer reports that GOLDWATER once teamed with Sam Snead, one of the most fastidious of golf dressers, to win a pro-am that was a prelude to the Phoenix Open. Gianelli wrote:

"Snead is fastidious in golf and garb.

"There he stood, natty in sweater and slacks and two-toned shoes and the ever-present porkpie hat, cloaking his baldness. GOLDWATER just made it to the teetime—and Snead showed shock when he saw this cowboy-looking character stride up in jeans and sneakers.

"To make matters worse, GOLDWATER slipped off balance on his drive and the ball barely dribbled off the tee.

"Snead obviously was vexed. Pros play for money and Sam loves every cent of every dollar. He grumbled about being paired with a cowboy hacker.

"Fact is, Sam didn't say a word to his partner through the first seven holes.

"On No. 8 BARRY got a three, counting, with his stroke handicap, a scorecard two. On the four-par No. 9 hole he was on in two, down in four for a scorecard birdie. On the 10th he holed an approach shot for a birdie, which scored as an eagle.

"Sam's chagrin thawed during the flurry.

"At the eagle he broke into his widest grin, encircled an arm around BARRY's shoulder, and said, 'Okay, kid. I'll take over from here.'

"Sam's game, which up to them had reflected his pouting mood, began to sparkle. GOLDWATER continued to help. And they buddied in to win the tournament and cement a lasting friendship."

Quotas on Meat Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, the conference committee is now meeting on the great beef stampede of 1964. The stampede is taking place in the quise of H.R. 1839, a minor tariff bill which passed the House by unanimous consent and which was amended in the Senate by striking out all of the House language and adding rigid, unyielding, cast iron quotas on beef, mutton, lamb, and their products.

As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means who is irrevocably opposed to the imposition of such restrictions on the imports of meat, I want to remind all Members of the House of Representatives of what will happen if legislation imposing import quotas on meat products is enacted.

There are more than 125 bills, introduced by 89 Members, pending before the Committee on Ways and Means, which would impose import quotas in some form on products other than meat. These products range from fuel oil to zinc, from lumber to lead.

The effect of the Senate action is to select one item from this entire list, bypass the Committee on Ways and Means, and set a precedent which in my judgment will literally open a Pandora's box in the future, the result of which none of us can now foresee. Every Member of this body who is interested in some quota bill or who is interested in some tariff bill would by the passage of this beef import bill be placed in an impossible situation by being foreclosed from any consideration whatever, and I assure you that each of us will have to answer to our constituents on this matter.

The beef stampede bill will not aid the cattle growers one whit. Import levels have fallen off to such an extent that the bill would have no effect. However, the rigidity and the failure to provide for a growing population in the Senate bill would really put the American consumer in the corral, and particularly those consumers of low incomes who need the grade of meat coming in through imports.

Imports rose because American production of the lower grade meats has fallen for the past 5 years. The market was there and the imports filled it. But the imports have not competed with the American meats that have fallen in price. In fact, the highest prices the American cattlemen have received in a decade for their meat occurred in 1962 when imports were also near their highest.

Thus, the rigid import bill will not help the cattlemen, and at the same time it will adversely affect our farm and industrial exports. We have a balance in our foreign trade in our favor of $5 billion of which $3 billion is agricultural. If we legislate, other countries may retaliate. Retaliation might well take place on wheat and feed grains, tobacco, rice, soybeans, as well as industrial products.

How can one justify approving legislation of this character in the closing days of the Congress, particularly when the House of Representatives has been handed a "bill of goods" by the Senate which, under the parliamentary situation, could not be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means for the extensive public hearings which a subject of this importance and controversial nature deserves and requires?

In terms of precedent, in terms of parliamentary procedure, and in terms of the merits of the legislation itself, I respectfully submit to the Members of the House that this is bad legislation. When the farmers generally and the consumers of this Nation wake up to what is involved and when each of our constituents who have problems in other areas realize what has happened, questions will be asked and I urge the Members of this body to search their consciences on these matters and vote against beef quota legislation at this time.

Every important farming State in America has a significant stake in exports of U.S. agricultural products, which in fiscal year 1962–63 were valued at a record $5.1 billion and in fiscal year 1963–64 may total or exceed $6 billion. In recent years agriculture has accounted for over one-fourth of total U.S. exports and has done much to improve the balance-of-payments position of the United States.

The United States is the world's largest exporter of farm products, accounting for one-fifth of all agricultural commodities entering free world trade. In fiscal year 1962–63, the export market took the output of 63 million U.S. harvested acres—1 acre out of every 5 harvested. Exports provided an outlet for over half of the output of wheat, rise, dried edible peas, and hops; over two-fifths of the production of soybeans, nonfat dry milk, and tallow; over one-fourth of the output of prunes, raisens, cotton, and tobacco; over one-fourth of feed grain sales; and one-fifth of U.S. harvests of edible beans, lard, and cottonseed.

Exports of U.S. agricultural products for dollars also equaled a record in 1962–63. Exports for dollars, totaling $3.6 billion, accounted for 70 percent of total U.S. agricultural exports, while exports

under the food-for-peace program accounted for the remaining 30 percent. Exports for dollars have been increasing in recent years and are expected to reach a new record of $4.3 billion in fiscal year 1963–64.

The food-for-peace program has become an important instrument for moving the farm abundance of U.S. farmers into consumption abroad, thereby assisting developing nations to obtain food and fiber required for economic growth. Nations that benefit from economic growth gain new buying power and eventually become better cash customers for the products of U.S. farmers.

States with the largest share of agricultural product exports in 1962–63 were California—$497.5 million—and Texas—$453.2 million. Other important agricultural exporters were Illinois, $324.2 million; Iowa, $248.4 million; North Carolina, $214.1 million; and Kansas, $206.5 million. In addition, many other States also had a large share of the farm export market, especially for certain commodities.

The continuation of a high level of U.S. agricultural exports is essential to the agricultural economy of each State and of the Nation. Exports furnish a much-needed outlet for abundant U.S. production and provide additional income to farmers. Moreover, exports of farm products provide jobs for many associated U.S. industries engaged in marketing, transporting, financing, and storing farm products.

Agricultural exports of over $5 billion exceeded by nearly 1.5 times the $2.1 billion worth of competitive or semicompetitive agricultural products the United States imported in 1962–63. Total agricultural imports were worth $4 billion, but half of this total consisted of noncompetitive items such as bananas, coffee, tea, rubber, cocoa beans, spices, and carpet wool—commodities either not produced in the United States or not produced in large commercial volume.

Preliminary estimates of the equivalent values—the stake of the States in national foreign trade—of U.S. agricultural exports and imports, by States and regions for fiscal year 1962–63, follow:

Value of agricultural exports and competitive agricultural imports, by region and State, fiscal year 1962–63 [1]

[In millions of dollars]

Region and State	Principal exports	Agricultural export equivalents [2]	Competitive agricultural import equivalents [2]
New England		58.1	19.3
Maine	Potatoes and poultry products	26.1	7.1
New Hampshire	Dairy and poultry products	2.8	1.2
Vermont	Dairy products	5.3	2.5
Massachusetts	Apples, dairy and poultry products	10.4	4.3
Rhode Island	Dairy products	1.7	.5
Connecticut	Tobacco, dairy and poultry products	11.8	3.7
Middle Atlantic		143.3	64.0
New York	Apples, dairy and poultry products	63.1	27.8
New Jersey	Apples, poultry products, and vegetables	21.0	9.5
Pennsylvania	Wheat, tobacco, and dairy products	59.2	26.7
East north central		761.0	338.7
Ohio	Soybeans, wheat, corn, and livestock products.	119.9	52.7
Indiana	do	151.2	66.8
Illinois	Soybeans, corn, wheat, and livestock products.	324.2	140.7
Michigan	Wheat, corn, soybeans, and dairy products	98.0	39.4
Wisconsin	Corn, tobacco, and dairy products	67.7	39.1
West north central		1,115.0	580.8
Minnesota	Soybeans, corn, and livestock products	166.4	75.4
Iowa	Corn, soybeans, and livestock products	248.4	170.0
Missouri	Soybeans, wheat, cotton, and livestock products.	156.0	73.9
North Dakota	Wheat and livestock products	113.4	38.5
South Dakota	Wheat, corn, and livestock products	46.2	38.3
Nebraska	Wheat, corn, grain sorghums, and livestock products.	178.1	95.4
Kansas	Wheat, grain sorghums, soybeans, and livestock products.	206.5	89.3
South Atlantic		613.2	220.6
Delaware	Soybeans and poultry products	9.8	2.7
Maryland	Tobacco, soybeans, poultry, and dairy products.	27.6	10.1
Virginia	Tobacco, soybeans, and apples	64.8	25.5
West Virginia	Tobacco and livestock products	7.1	5.0
North Carolina	Tobacco, cotton, soybeans, and poultry products.	214.1	58.2
South Carolina	Tobacco, cotton, and soybeans	77.0	23.1
Georgia	Cotton, tobacco, and poultry products	104.1	34.3
Florida	Oranges, tobacco, and vegetables	108.7	61.7
East south central		409.2	137.5
Kentucky	Tobacco, wheat, and livestock products	103.0	38.6
Tennessee	Cotton, tobacco, soybeans, and livestock products.	94.6	33.5
Alabama	Cotton and poultry products	72.5	24.5
Mississippi	Cotton, soybeans, and livestock products	139.1	40.9
West South Central		815.0	285.4
Arkansas	Cotton, soybeans, and rice	173.9	47.6
Louisiana	Cotton and rice	83.4	25.8
Oklahoma	Wheat, cotton, and livestock products	104.5	45.0
Texas	Cotton, grain sorghums, wheat, rice, and livestock products.	453.2	167.0
Mountain		396.1	185.9
Montana	Wheat and livestock products	68.6	30.8
Idaho	do	96.8	34.5
Wyoming	do	16.2	12.9
Colorado	Wheat, grain sorghums, and livestock products.	82.6	45.3
New Mexico	Cotton, wheat, and livestock products	35.8	15.9
Arizona	Cotton, grain sorghums, and livestock products.	76.0	32.4
Utah	Wheat and livestock products	15.8	9.8
Nevada	Livestock products	4.3	4.3
Pacific		729.1	309.6
Washington	Wheat, fruits and livestock products	116.4	43.7
Oregon	Wheat, fruits, nuts and livestock products	70.0	30.4
California	Cotton, rice, fruits, nuts and livestock products.	497.5	222.8
Hawaii		44.9	12.6
Alaska		.3	.1
United States, total.		[3] 5,078.2	[3] 2,208.2

[1] Preliminary.

[2] The "equivalent" shares were derived from the States' contribution to national sales or output as determined from agricultural census data. They do not show actual exports or imports, though they reflect the common stake of the States in total U.S. trade based on Bureau of the Census trade data.

[3] Total U.S. agricultural exports based on Bureau of the Census data exceed the export totals for the States because of the exclusion of certain beverages and nursery and greenhouse stock in the State items.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, May 19, 1964.

V-J Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, August 14, 1945, is remembered as V–J Day. On this day Japan capitulated to the Allied Forces, and World War II was thereby concluded. The military might of the United States had never been so great, and there is no doubt that the awesome destructive capabilities demonstrated by our atomic weapons had hastened this war to its final end.

Nineteen years later the United States has increased its military strength to a point where no nation is willing to risk a third world war. The Department of Defense has cut its expenses by $2.5 billion during fiscal year 1964. At the same time it has increased our nuclear capabilities to deter any massive attack on the United States and has increased our conventional forces to meet limited aggressions such as those in the Gulf of Tonkin. On the one hand we have attained a 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads in the strategic alert force, while on the other hand we have raised the number of tacti-

cal fighter squadrons from 55 in fiscal year 1961 to 79 in July 1964, an incerase of 44 percent.

Great power in 1945 required great responsibility by the President of the United. Greater power in 1964 requires greater responsibility for the welfare of all mankind. Whenever an adversary has threatened the security of this Nation, whether it be Japan in 1945 or in Cuba or Vietnam today, we have responded with actions appropriate to the aggression. In 1945, we were strong enough to end a world war; in 1964, we are strong enough to prevent such a war from beginning.

Two Wrongs Not Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in a day of intensified race riots throughout the country, I think it is time that we clarify the problems we face and study carefully their solutions.

As I have mentioned in the RECORD before, the Negroes' problem is not primarily one of color, but one of economics. It is a problem of learning the skills demanded by an increasingly automated society in order to socially and economically adjust to that society. We have made great progress in this field from the time of World War II.

But violence and lawlessness are irrelevant to these problems. The advancement of the Negro's cause is long overdue—but riots are hindrances, not aids, to this advancement. The ends do not justify the means—two wrongs do not make civil rights.

It is time for reason to replace riots; it is time to study the reasons for our past successes rather than continue riots over our past failures.

Mr. Speaker, these issues are not unrelated to a general moral decline. Recently we have shown too much sadism and cynicism in America and too little accentuation of the positive that made America great. The following editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat expresses this viewpoint very well and under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 30, 1964]

NATION OF DISCONTENT

In perceptive diagnosis, the President told university educators in Washington this week America is suffering a summer of "deep discontent." His words derived from nothing so mystic as writing on the wall.

The writing is on the streets in blood, in the soaring crime records; in public distrust of foreign policy, the Supreme Court, and some other branches of Government. It promises to show up in a bitter fall campaign.

Mr. Johnson was making reference primarily to racial disorders, searing the Nation with increasing violence. Yet he was acutely right in warning this is not the discontent of a single segment, but "reaches through the whole of our society."

Here is an amazing paradox, for the United States is "the richest, best fed, best clothed, best educated," strongest country in the history of the world. Yet we seem losing confidence in our Nation, the foundations and laws on which it was based and which have withstood the vicissitudes of 185 years.

There isn't the slightest doubt about the symptoms of malady. Race riots kill and maim in North and South. The Federal Bureau of Investigation recently reported a 10-percent rise in major crime last year, and the trend of murders, rape, robbery, and assault keeps on rising.

During the last 5 years crime increased 40 percent; the population increased only 8 percent. Four serious crimes occur each minute of the year, on the average.

Juvenile delinquency is a public scandal. Sex crimes mount. Streets are unsafe at night. Mugging, beating, sadism proliferate. Police authorities, often handicapped by soft prosecution and High Court decisions, are unable adequately to cope.

There is a growing loss of confidence in areas of government, in officials—even in the system itself, which can prove the most critical sickness of all. Ugly lunatic-fringe groups have grown up; the Ku Klux Klan is reborn. A neurotic cynicism has taken the place of patriotism. Optimism in the future of America and trust in its institutions of liberty are in danger of atrophy.

Why? How can this happen, when we have more than any people ever had? President Johnson could have been more perceptive in suggesting remedy for the deep-seated unrest among our people. He advised, if solutions are to be found, they must be through education not "at the end of a billy club."

When rioting and murderous violence take the streets, more than billy clubs are needed. And education is not the cure-all, imperative as it obviously is.

Desperately necessary to wipe out the pervading discontent are a rededication to principle, a reestablishment of integrity, realism, and courage in government conduct at all levels.

Race riots and incitation to violence must be stamped out, judiciously but definitely. Reds and other race provocateurs, white and black, should be put away with dispatch. No advance for the Negro can come from unleashed lawlessness and looting such as we have witnessed the last few months.

Crime can never be curbed until we shed our maudlinism over "rights" of the criminals, ignoring overriding rights of law-abiding society—until prosecutors have the guts to prosecute vigorously and courts stop meting out powder-puff sentences.

Thinking citizens of the Republic are disillusioned by apostles of expediency in foreign issues; when they know instinctively we are floundering or drifting in the turbulent international sea; when they watch the maladroit coverup in a Bobby Baker case, the studied indecision of State Department accommodationists.

The people themselves doubtless have added to the smoldering discontent they feel. There is a weakness, sometimes breakdown in family discipline. Personal and public morals have sloughed. Witness the spates of sordid and lustful movies, the creeping taint of carnality in some TV offerings. Perhaps our society has too much physical softness, which tends to breed moral atrophy.

If we are to avoid another summer of "deep discontent" and recoup the stamina that created America, we had better take a clear, hard look at ourselves in public and in private.

We need a new purpose, a new idealism, which can never be bred of complacency, erosion of national morals, and certainly cannot tolerate the rising endemic violence.

H.R. 1927: Veterans' Pension Increase

SPEECH
OF
HON. RAY ROBERTS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to rise in support of H.R. 1927, which increases the rates of pension authorized by the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959 for non-service-connected diabilities or death of veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and dependents.

As a member of the Compensation and Pension Subcommittee of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I am pleased to have joined my subcommittee members in drawing up this legislation on which hearings have been conducted since the 1st session of the 87th Congress. Hearings on an increase in non-service-connected veterans' pensions were in process when I was first sworn in as a Member of this great body and hearings were held again in August and September of 1962 and over a 2-week period in May of 1964. This legislation is brought before this body only after thorough consideration and deliberation.

A thorough discussion of the provisions of this legislation has been given by our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], and other members of our committee. Therefore, I feel no need to expound further on the provisions of this very commendable legislation. However, I do wish to stress two points which have been made by our chairman and the gentleman from Arkansas, the very able chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. In working on this bill for 3 years, our committee has come up with a bill which has received the support of all the major veterans' organizations. The present national commanders of the veterans' organizations, National Commander Daniel F. Foley, of the American Legion; Commander Douglas H. McGarrity of the Disabled American Veterans; the Commander in Chief of Veterans of Foreign Wars, Joseph J. Lombardo; National Commander Edmund Gulewicz, of AMVETS; and National Commander William R. Kime, of Veterans of World War I, have all been most helpful in seeing this legislation being brought to fruition today.

Second, I wish to stress the importance of this legislation in protecting veterans against any loss of pensions presently being received as a result of the passage of benefit increases in the Social Security Amendments of 1964. Under prior law, a veteran receiving monthly social security benefits was required to have these benefits count as income in determining their eligibility for pension. Under this bill, a 10-percent limitation is substituted, which will permit thousands of deserving veterans who are receiving social security payments to have the increase approved by the House last

week without losing their non-service-connected pensions.

This legislation protects and promotes the rights and interests of all veterans. Our veterans of World War I who are in particular need as well as veterans of World War II and of the Korean conflict will receive well-deserved assistance. I am convinced that this bill which we are considering is fair and reasonable and is the best approach to the needs of our veterans.

Columbus Day, October 12, a National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the Senate yesterday conducted hearings in connection with S. 108, a bill that would make October 12, Columbus Day, a national holiday.

On July 13, 1963, I introduced a similar bill (H.R. 7513) to give appropriate recognition to the discoverer of this continent, and I will certainly support the measure now being considered by the Senate.

The history of Christopher Columbus, his trials and tribulations, are well known to students of American history. His voyages into uncharted seas will remain forever an inspiration to those who today face overwhelming odds, uncertainty and deprivation.

This discovery of this continent was the beginning of a new era from which emerged and developed this land of the free and home of the brave.

I trust the Senate will recommend approval of this resolution and that the House will concur in such action. Christopher Columbus has an image which we honor every year in the State of New York and it is time that the Federal Government recognize the virtue of this intrepid Italian navigator and the facts of his accomplishments.

During the hearings, our former distinguished colleague, Alfred E. Santangelo, testified before the Senate subcommittee in behalf of this legislation. Mr. John F. Nave, the State chairman on public relations of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York, Order Sons of Italy in America, also testified. It is with pleasure that I append the statements made by former Congressman Santangelo and Mr. Nave:

STATEMENT BEFORE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

(By Alfred E. Santangelo)

My name is Alfred E. Santangelo. I am assistant State chairman on public relations representing the Order of Sons of Italy which is a national organization with lodges in 33 States of the United States and in Canada. Our organization was founded in 1905 and still flourishes. From 1957 through 1962 I had the privilege of being a Congressman from the 18th Congressional District, New York. I am authorized to speak for the ESCA club and the Federation of Italian American organizations of the State of New York.

I appear in support of S. 108 which seeks to make October 12, Columbus Day a legal or public holiday in the United States. This measure will give appropriate recognition to the name and achievement of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this continent. The naming of this hemisphere after Amerigo Vespucci, another great Italian who sailed under the Portuguese flag, gives him perpetual honor, whereas the discoverer of this hemisphere does not share such an honor. Only the declaration of October 12 as a legal holiday in the United States will do appropriate honor to that intrepid Genoese navigator who voyaged across uncharted oceans to plant the Christian flag on shores which have become the haven of the world.

Two great feats have taken place within the last 500 years, the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus and the discovery of nuclear energy. These discoveries opened up a new world and the universe to mankind.

In 1492, a visionary with courage, skill, and faith opened a new land to the known world. Without such a discovery one cannot state with certainty how many years would have passed before religious victims, the homeless and Europes teeming population would have found their place of refuge.

The story of the trials, and tribulations of the Genoese sailor to gain support for the realization of his dreams is well known to students of history. His first voyage, however, when he left Palos, Spain, on August 3 with approximately 58 men and finally discovered San Salvatore on October 12, 1492, will forever remain an inspiration to those who are confronted with insuperable odds, uncertainty and treachery. A very effective and appropriate way for us in these days to demonstrate our appreciation and recognition for his faith and contributions, is to declare October 12 a legal holiday.

An objection frequently heard is that another legal holiday will create too many holidays.

In the United States today we celebrate eight legal public holidays: New Years' Day; Washington's Birthday, February 22; Decoration Day, May 30; Independence Day, July 4; Labor Day, in September; Veterans Day, November 11; Thanksgiving Day in November, and Christmas, December 25.

Not one of these holidays falls in October. Each of these days is made a holiday for a specific purpose. It recognized either an important milestone in our history, or an outstanding religious event. Some of the purposes for declaring those dates as legal holidays are not more important than the purpose for making October 12 a legal holiday. Making this date a holiday is justifiable because of the great lesson it teaches of faith and perseverance. Columbus belongs not to any one ethnic group, he belongs to the Anglo Saxon and Scandinavians as well as to the Italians and Spanish. He belongs not only to the United States but also to the Western Hemisphere, North, Central, and South America, whose alliance we seek for progress; he belongs not only to those who need faith but to all who love this land of opportunity.

Many of our States have declared Columbus Day a State holiday. Only 13 States and the District of Columbia have not joined the other 37 States and Puerto Rico in recognizing this important day in our history, and the discovery of the New World.

My State New York, and yes the great State of Illinois have recognized this date by calling October 12 a State holiday. The citizens of those great States which have not recognized Columbus Day such as Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii, North Carolina, Idaho, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wyoming have the same strength, fiber, and love of America as do the citizens of their sister States. I believe that these 23 million residents in those 13 States take as much pride in the discovery of this continent as do the other 167 million of United States but their State legislatures have not acted as yet for some unaccountable reason.

It has been stated that another legal holiday would be the cause of many deaths. Statistics belie such a viewpoint. Let us nail down this canard, this mistaken notion and publicity scare. A report from the Automobile Club of New York discloses that another legal holiday contributes no more fatalities than any comparable hazardous day when Americans are on the move. We can go only on averages and sometimes averages not only mislead but also confuse because we do not know the particular circumstances of the days being compared. Holiday travel is not per se more hazardous than travel on any other similar day.

Every parent whose child has brought home a report card knows the great variety of situations represented by the child's average. An 80 percent could be the result of the youngster being marked 80 in every subject, but this is a circumstance so unusual as to be practically nonexistent. The average is almost always made up of a substantial spread of marks achieved for the various subjects. A child who has the 80 average may have a 92 in mathematics and a 50 in French.

The experienced parent, therefore, is not misled, nor does he give too much attention to the average as he does to the particular circumstances of the marks for each subject.

This matter of averages—and how they are calculated—is an important point to keep in mind when evaluating scare publicity which usually precedes holiday periods. The impression conveyed is that holiday travel is unusually, and without exception, more hazardous than is travel during similar periods throughout the year; that is, the impression is given that it is without exception, more hazardous to travel over a New Year's Day weekend than over any other weekend (not involving a holiday) throughout the year. Unfortunately, national statistics are not kept on accident involvement on every day throughout the year, but we do know what the averages are.

During the New Year's holiday period from 6 p.m., Friday, December 28, 1962, at 11:59 p.m., Tuesday, January 1, 1963, a total of 338 traffic fatalities occurred.

How does this compare with the average weekend? Statistics taken from "the Casualty Count," Travelers Insurance Co. publication, shows that during the 52 similar time periods throughout the year, an average of 529 fatalities occurred. Keeping in mind the 529 figure is an average made up of figures lower and figures higher than this average, it seems apparent that there were a number of 4-day weekends through the year during which a substantially greater number of fatalities occurred than on this New Year's holiday.

On the Memorial Day holiday beginning at 6 p.m., Tuesday, May 29, 1962, extending to 11:59 p.m., Wednesday, May 30, 1962, a total of 109 fatalities occurred.

The average of all similar time periods during the year was 113. On the Fourth of July holiday period in 1962, the total number of fatalities occurring was 143—greater than the average of 113, but most likely substantially less than the total on the most hazardous similar periods during the year. It is obvious, therefore, that the argument that making Columbus Day a legal holiday would cause more deaths has very little merit. May I present John F. Nave, the chairman of the pub-

lic relations of the Order of the Sons of Italy in New York State who desires to submit a prepared statement.

I trust that this committee will recommend favorably that October 12 be declared a public holiday.

Thank you for this opportunity to present these views.

STATEMENT OF JOHN F. NAVE, STATE CHAIRMAN ON PUBLIC RELATIONS AND STATE CHAIRMAN ON LEGISLATION, CHARTER, AND RECOGNITION, GRAND LODGE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, ORDER SONS OF ITALY IN AMERICA

Re in favor of the enactment of S. 108, a bill making Columbus Day a legal Federal holiday.

Hon. EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN,
Chairman, U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: It would be deeply appreciated if you will make this statement a part of the record of the hearings to be held on Wednesday, August 12, 1964, in relation to S. 108, a bill making Columbus Day a legal Federal holiday.

The Grand Lodge of the State of New York, Order Sons of Italy in America, is wholeheartedly in favor of the enactment of S. 108, to make Columbus Day (October 12) a legal Federal holiday.

So much has been said and written on Columbus down through the centuries that any lengthy statement would appear to take on a repetitious and superfluous meaning.

This continent was discovered in 1492, 472 years ago, and of which the last 188 years we have been a nation.

As loyal and devoted American citizens we believe it is a matter of duty, honor, and country that we honor finally this great man and deed. Certainly enough time has elapsed to favor this action.

The Federal Government, by enacting S. 108, would be keeping in step with the same action already taken by most of the 50 States in declaring this day a legal holiday. Also, let us not forget that it would add to the good neighbor policy for Columbus Day is a great day with our Latin American neighbors.

It has been stated that the reason why previous legislative measures in both the Senate and House to make Columbus Day a legal Federal holiday have failed of favorable consideration and passage was because of two reasons; namely, (a) it would cost roughly $50 million a year to give each Federal employee an additional day off; and (b) several hundred people would get killed through accidents if such a day were made a legal Federal holiday each year.

We cannot concur in this type of reasoning or thinking. If we permit it to stand, then it would form a solid basis for action to repeal or look with doubt upon the other present legal Federal holidays, as follows: (a) first of January; (a) 22d of February; (c) 30th day of May; (d) Fourth of July; (e) first Monday of September; (f) 11th day of November; (g) fourth Thursday in November; and, (h) Christmas Day.

Moreover, we have not found any official or formal announcements or statements by any Federal body or agency that indulges in this type of reasoning or thinking to oppose the enactment of S. 108 or any similiar measure.

We inhabitants of the North and South American Continents are here because of one of the greatest deeds ever recorded in the history of mankind—the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and North American Continent by Christopher Columbus.

Let us finally recognize this great deed by making Columbus Day (October 12) a legal Federal holiday through the enactment of S. 108. A sense of justice demands it. We have waited long enough.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN F. NAVE,
State Chairman on Public Relations, and State Chairman on Legislation, Charter and Recognition, Grand Lodge of the State of New York, Order Sons of Italy in America.

Time To Restrain the Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, since we are all concerned at the present time with the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment it seems to me that the analysis by William S. White, contained in his column published by the Washington Evening Star on Wednesday, August 12, is of interest to all of us. His column follows:

TIME TO RESTRAIN THE COURT
(By William S. White)

A profound contest is developing between Congress and the Supreme Court over the increasing interference by a majority of its Justices in the purely political affairs of this country.

It will be a collision between Congress constitutional right to make the laws and the Court's continuous attempts to usurp that right to itself. It is a somber thing that two basic American institutions must thus become embroiled between themselves. They need never have done so had the Court been willing to practice even a minimum of self-restraint.

Specifically, the issue is the Court's ruling of June 15, over the violent objections of a distinguished minority of its Judges, that not simply seats in the lower houses of the State legislatures but also in the State senates must hereafter be apportioned substantially on population alone.

This extraordinary decision would be the beginning of the end of the ancient concept of check and balance in American society. It would cast away a practice of nearly two centuries by which the lower houses have been roughly based on a head count of the population but the State senates almost universally have been based mostly on other factors, such as geography and tradition. The vital point is that the State senates are the sole homes of the check in the check and balance system.

In a word, the Court proposes to destroy a qualified right of obstruction—of wait-and-see—in the upper houses over the sometimes hurried and hysterical actions of lower houses speaking sometimes for mere whipped-up and transitory and uninformed popular majorities. Carry the Court's decision to its logical conclusion and even the historic and deliberate population imbalance in the U.S. Senate—where the smallest State in numbers now has equal voting power with the very largest—could not in any logic longer prevail.

What a powerful bipartisan group in Congress now proposes to do is to pass an act to suspend this amazing ruling for 2 years. Thus, time would be gained for the adoption of a constitutional amendment forbidding the Court to enter an area which it had, until now, always conceded it had no right to enter anyhow.

At the head of this congressional movement to reclaim the proper powers of Congress and the States from a Supreme Court progressively draining them away—on the theory that only the Court knows what is really good for the country—is the Republican Senate leader, EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois. Many Democrats, however—and not "rightwingers" or "ultraconservatives"—are in his support.

The Court—nine men elected by nobody, serving for life and accountable at last only to their own consciences and sense of public taste—has been persistently unwilling to restrain itself from meddling in politics. Now, Congress is going to apply the rein which the court has refused to apply itself. It is a sad moment. For the integrity of the Supreme Court is the first indispensable to order in this Nation. And no one gladly moves against it—even, as now, if only to halt seizures of power it was never granted and never should have sought.

Indeed, the present situation has no parallel in American history. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's attempt 26 years ago to pack the Court so that it would sustain some of his experiments was, in truth, an attack upon its just rights. But what now goes forward is a congressional check not upon the Court's just rights but rather upon its repeated attempts to seize for itself the just rights of the legislative bodies of this country.

Apologists for the Court already are seeking to present this deeply necessary challenge to an arrogant judiciary as some effort to curtail it in such fields as civil rights.

It is a wholly false argument. The Court is in no way being attacked for expanding civil rights. It is being counterattacked for its sustained determination to alter the whole American political structure to conform to the wishes of a Court majority which has gone all but power mad about what it believes to be "liberal" ideas but which are, in fact, the ideas not of democracy but of mobocracy.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is very hard to express one's feelings about the death of a dear friend for whom you had great respect and admiration. Words are entirely inadequate and such is the case in trying to express one's feeling at the passing of that great American, JOHN B. BENNETT.

He was a man devoted to the best interests of our country and in his quiet and efficient way, worked hard to complete the great contribution that he made as a Member of the House of Representatives. He did not think of his own aggrandizement but his motives were always prompted by his great spirit of fair play, honest thinking, and unselfish ambition to do something constructive. I know of no one who made a greater impression on his colleagues, and by his quiet and sound reasoning, impressed everyone with his sincerity of purpose.

He will be greatly missed in the Congress but the example of his character and his unassuming demeanor will linger

a long while in the memory and hearts of those who knew him. He had a host of friends and the memory of his life of service will be treasured by them for the rest of time.

Mrs. Auchincloss joins me in expressing our sympathy to his widow and family, and we trust that they will find comfort in the knowledge that JOHN BENNETT was a great man honored and loved by all who knew him.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, for the 12th time in the life of the 88th Congress "death has shaken out the sands of our glass." And yet, while we mourn the passing of a comrade and coworker—

A voice within us speaks the startling word,
"Man, thou shalt never die."
—RICHARD HENRY DANA.

I knew JOHN BENNETT well. We sat around the same table through many long and tedious hours in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, where we attempted to resolve conflicting testimony on my intricate problems involving the public weal, and afterwards to find the right answer. In many respects our careers were curiously parallel. He knew well the struggle of youth against poverty and underprivilege. He followed the path of manual labor to the respect and esteem of his neighbors and friends. His integrity and faithfulness called him to local public service. Finally the great State of Michigan summoned him to a seat in this legislative body.

His district, too, bears marks of similarity to my own, though geographically they are far apart. Both are sparsely peopled with honest and industrious citizens who love the land, and hold fast to it through the generations. In each there are agricultural and mineral interests which insure a laborious but certain livelihood. It is only natural that we should be bound together by ties of mutual understanding and sympathy.

In this hour of sadness—

Ye, against whose familiar names not yet
The fatal asterisk of death is set.
—LONGFELLOW.

We may well ponder a thoughtful observation: "That life is long which answers life's great end." The great end of a Congressman is to serve the purposes of the people of his district with intelligence, fidelity, and righteousness. The testimony of his host of friends, especially of his colleagues from Michigan, and those of us who have worked with him on the House Committee, is that he was ever faithful to his trust.

On the evening before he was led away to execution, Sir Walter Raleigh sat down and wrote:

Even such is time, that takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.

This is the brave assurance which we all may carry with us in our speeding journey toward that supersenuous world which awaits us. And to his grieving family we may commend those oft-quoted lines of Whittier:

Life is ever lord of death,
And Love can never lose its own.

The Nation Needs Meader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, we of Michigan have experienced a shakeup of our congressional districts.

The Jackson Citizen Patroit through the following editorial paid deserving tribute to my colleague Congressman GEORGE MEADER for his valuable service. Jackson County is no longer a part of Mr. MEADER's district yet this newspaper has seen fit to call to the attention of its readers the valuable service he has rendered to Jackson County. I commend this editorial to my colleagues:

[From the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot]

THE NATION NEEDS MEADER

On this page Sunday, our man in Washington, Paul A. Miltich, gave a comprehensive rundown on the troubles facing Representative GEORGE MEADER who has been Jackson County's spokesman in the House for many years.

With congressional redistricting, he loses Jackson County. Perhaps the loss is more that of the people of this county than his own. He has done a good and conscientious job for this area.

According to Mr. Miltich's account, Mr. MEADER may be in trouble in his new district. The reasons are many, but prime among these is his vote against the civil rights bill.

Moreover, an effort is being made to class Mr. MEADER with the dinosaurs and the reactionaries. The hot-eyed liberals are beating the drums for his opponents in the primary, and particularly for C. Stanley Thayer, of Ann Arbor, the State senator who aspires to greater things.

In today's cloudy political atmosphere, a single vote, based on a man's honest convictions, but opposed to the prevalent hysteria very well may cancel out two decades of honest service. That's the way it is.

To keep the record straight, we must say that GEORGE MEADER has behind him many years of honorable service to the Nation, first, and to his party, second.

The Johnny-come-lately to politics who evaluate the actions of any politician in view of his dedication to the Kennedys and the Johnsons and the civil rights issue, don't seem to realize that GEORGE MEADER has carried a lot of water through the years:

You can go away back to the years of the big war. Mr. MEADER then was counsel to the Truman War Investigating Committee, a Senate group which was credited with saving the Nation millions and millions of dollars through its exposure of waste.

The chairman was Senator Harry S. Truman. His work on that committee helped to make him Vice President, and then President, of the United States. As counsel, GEORGE MEADER was the quarterback of the committee. He is due a great deal of the credit for its successes.

Elected to Congress, Mr. MEADER applied the knowledge he had picked up as attorney for the Truman committee.

It was only natural that Mr. MEADER should get an assignment to the Government Operations Committee. He now is No. 2 Republican on this group, which is more or less of a "watchdog" committee.

In this role he has made several trips around the world and has roamed the 50 States, checking on how your money is spent. Some of his writings on these subjects have been classics in the exposure of waste in Government. We have, from time to time, quoted from them at great length. We have learned through the years that if GEORGE MEADER puts his name on a statement you don't have to check any further. He has the facts before he writes.

The type of service that GEORGE MEADER has rendered his country may not be sensational. He tends to deal in facts and dollars instead of emotions.

We need pragmatic, unemotional people in Congress, the kind who couldn't set the world on fire and wouldn't know how to put it out if they did, but who mind the store every day and try to save you a few dollars wherever they can.

We need men with long and honorable records of service, of dedication, and who refuse to cash in on the hot issues of the day, so that they may be untainted as they consider the fate of the Republic through a century ahead.

Hon. Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have never understood the pattern of life. Why CLAIR ENGLE, at 52, brilliant, apparently in the physical condition of an athlete in his prime, a reasonably young man with a past of accomplishment as brilliant as could be painted and a future that might have led even to the White House, why at such an early age he, who was so gifted and so beloved, should be stricken passeth human understanding. It is ours only to accept and with the strengthening faith that in everything there is a purpose.

CLAIR ENGLE was one of my closest friends when he was a Member of the House, and our friendship continued after his election to the other body. Frequently he and his fine and devoted wife Lu would drop in at the Congressional at dinnertime and so we kept in touch and occasionally I would read to them excerpts from letters from former constituents of mine who having gone to California had become followers and supporters of Senator ENGLE. The letters

were lyrical in praise of him and his dedicated service.

When he was first stricken and even after the second operation, I had full confidence that he would recover and be restored to his old vigor of mind and body. The way in which his wife was standing by, never by word or deed contributing to a relaxation of his courage and determination, constituted in my appraisement an epic of devotion and of heroism.

Mr. Speaker, the world has lost a man of nobility, California has lost a Senator of stature, and the United States has lost one of her sons who judged by what he had accomplished in his brief span of life might have risen to the highest position in the land. And, Mr. Speaker, mine is the loss of a beloved friend.

The Last Laugh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have on numerous occasions pointed out the complete reversal of policy now taking place in the Congo, with men such as "Soapy" Williams, Carl Rowan, Dean Rusk, and other major participants in the exiling of Moise Tshombe 2 years ago, now facing the realization that they were completely wrong and had squandered millions of U.S. funds under an erroneously directed U.N. operation.

The extremists in the State Department never blundered as dramatically and as clearly as this and the extreme misdirection of U.S. foreign policy has never been more evident.

I submit for the RECORD an editorial that appeared in the Wednesday, August 12 edition of the Chicago Tribune which discusses this situation. In doing so, Mr. Speaker, I add the fervent wish that the political and diplomatic extremism of the State Department and of this administration be forsaken before further international complications beset us.

The editorial follows:

THE LAST LAUGH

We think that if we were ambitious to get on in the world we would invite the hostility of the State Department and the United Nations. With the Department's support and encouragement, the U.N. would send a peacekeeping force against us to dislodge us and drive us into exile. Then the U.N. would come home, the State Department would take a nap, and up we would bob again, bigger than ever.

That's the way it happened with Moise Tshombe, whose autonomous government of Katanga was liquidated by the U.N. army in three assaults spread out from 1961 to 1963. He was accused of having seceded from the Central Congo Government. After his defeat, Tshombe went over to Paris and took a rest, and the U.N., having run out of money, pulled its troops out of the Congo.

The Central Government by this time had proved it couldn't govern a swarm of tsetse flies. So Tshombe was summoned back to take charge, not of Katanga, but of the whole of the Congo. It was freely admitted that if the country stood the faintest prayer of becoming a going concern, he was the only man who could manage the job.

While the State Department and the U.N. were attending to the lynching of Tshombe, the Department also busied itself with a vindictive campaign against his information officer in New York, Michel Struelens, a young Belgian. State's propaganda had it that Struelens, operating from lavish Fifth Avenue offices [he had a hole-in-the-wall], was pouring out hundreds of thousands of dollars to corrupt the American press and public.

The rumor that Struelens had offered a South American diplomat $850,000 in return for his country's dipolomatic recognition of Katanga was floated by the Department though it was pure fabrication.

Along with these lies and inventions, the Department put a hatchet man on the job to smear all Americans who shared with Struelens the belief that forced integration of Katanga with the Congo by means of State Department subsidies of U.N. mercenaries with bombs and mortars was not an exercise of purest morality.

This propagandist, Carl T. Rowan, at that time was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He is now boss of the administration's worldwide propaganda arm, the U.S. Information Agency.

In a typical outburst, Rowan described supporters of Katangan independence as "a conglomeration of archconservatives: people who oppose the income tax; avowed defenders of racial segregation; opponents of fluoridation of water; those who want to destroy the Supreme Court, largely because of its ruling on school segregation, and so forth."

No extremist ever managed to bundle so many distortions together in one package to cover State Department critics ranging from Herbert Hoover to such Democratic Senators as THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, and RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia.

Not content with all these excesses, the Department tried to hound Struelens from the country by refusing to renew his visa. After Katanga was subdued by force, he left for Canada of his own accord.

Now Tshombe has commissioned him to return here in triumph as chief adviser to the Congloese Embassy in Washington and to the Congo mission to the United Nations. The new Premier may have even bigger things in mind for him, for the latest report is that he is considering appointing Struelens his top political adviser.

He who laughs last laughs best. The two outcasts the State Department set out to ruin are sitting pretty.

Appalachia and Roads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, it is not enough merely to cure the cancer of economic depression which is sapping the vitality of the Appalachian region unless effort is also made to assure that the cancer remains cured and the area is allowed to survive.

Throughout the hearings by the Ad Hoc Committee of Public Works, it has become increasingly clear that the primary reliance for improved economic conditions must be placed upon the construction of increased highways and roads.

It seems to me that since the area is admittedly one of the Nation's most seriously depressed, it is somewhat unrealistic to expect Pennsylvania and other States involved to supply 50 percent or even 20 percent of the funds necessary to carry out the road program.

Appalachia redevelopment is considered as an emergency measure to create long-term improvements and I think the ratio of Federal to State funds might be more nearly 90 percent Federal to 10 percent State. With the construction of these new roads, private enterprise in Appalachia will be better able to accomplish its necessary task of providing employment in the region.

Since I feel strongly that the Federal program of road building must be given higher priority through a higher matching grant, I wrote the following letter to the President on May 5, 1964:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1964.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Commerce carries out the responsibility of Federal-aid highway construction. Most of the work is performed on a 90-percent Federal, 10-percent State ratio.

The basic idea stressed in your Appalachia message is the need for roads and I agree with you wholeheartedly. Your Commission's Report suggests that the Federal Government should participate to a "much greater extent than its present 50 percent contribution under the ABC system."

Would your administration be receptive to a proposal that all highways in the Appalachia region be constructed on a 90 to 10, or even a 95 to 5 basis I would welcome your views in this regard.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

The Under Secretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., provided me with the following answer on May 27, 1964:

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1964.

Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SAYLOR: President Johnson has asked me to reply to your recent letter regarding the amount of Federal contributions to the construction of the highway system proposed in the Appalachian Development Act.

As the Federal officer who is charged with drafting the Appalachian program, I would personally welcome a temporary program in which all Federal highway construction in Appalachia would be on a 90–10 basis. However, I am sure you and I both agree that the political possibilities of such a formula are remote.

It is appropriate that we ask the Congress for a special effort, to be financed out of the general fund to bring the Appalachian roads to a state where they are on a par with the rest of the Nation, measured by the accessibility needed by industry and recreation.

But it would be impossible to ask that the Federal highway trust fund be revised to provide that roads other than interstate roads be built on a 90–10 basis. I am certain that the Congress would consider that suggestion to be an unwarranted and out-

right gift to a region which has not, in the slightest sense, asked for such munificence.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

The Appalachian project calls for the quick application of the most practical method—the provision of traffic arteries that will open up the entire area to industrial and recreational development. But that will not come about if the already overburdened Applachian States are compelled to bear the considerable part of the cost of constructing these new highways.

I, therefore, sent the following letter to Under Secretary Roosevelt on June 2, 1964:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 2, 1964.

Hon. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr.,
Under Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT: Reference is made to my letter of May 5 and your reply thereto of May 27. You will recall that I proposed "developmental" highways for "Appalachia" on a 90-percent Federal matching basis, similar to the Federal interstate highways network, instead of the 50–50 Federal-State matching plan.

You concluded that "it would be impossible to ask that the Federal highway trust fund be revised to provide that roads other than interstate roads be built on a 90–10 basis. I am certain that the Congress would consider that suggestion to be an unwarranted and outright gift to a region which has not, in the slightest sense, asked for such munificence."

The Federal program for Appalachia was devised in Washington to bring greater prosperity to this mountain chain which reaches from New York to Alabama. The greater part, by far, of the suggested appropriations for this purpose is to go for developmental highways, to provide the accessibility required for industrial and recreational expansion.

But as a practical matter, if the States are required to furnish half of the money for these highways they will be a long time in the building; for the highways funds of these States are already overburdened with the problem of meeting the swiftly changing transportation needs of their more populous regions.

The real test of the sincerity of the whole plan for Appalachia clearly depends upon providing quick highway accessibility to the region. It is the lack of this accessibility which has isolated parts of the region from the tide of industrialization that has been sweeping across the Nation, and unless that lack is remedied swiftly much of this region will continue to be bypassed by industry.

The program of the Appalachian Regional Commission has been represented as the outgrowth of national concern over poverty in this mountain region stretching through 10 States. It is, therefore, incongruous to talk of unwarranted and outright gifts and excessive munificence toward this area which has been pictured as a region of desolation requiring immediate Federal attention. The picture has been exaggerated, of course; but it is true enough that Appalachia needs major interstate highways; and without these the whole program might as well be discarded, since it will have only minor economic effect.

I will be interested in having your further comments in this regard.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Member of Congress.

The following letter from Mr. Roosevelt appears to intimate that the administration would not seriously oppose an amendment for roads to be built on a 90 percent Federal-10 percent State basis:

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., July 21, 1964.

Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SAYLOR: Thank you for your recent letter in which you again discuss the proposal for a 90-percent Federal matching formula for the proposed development highways in Appalachia.

There is no question in my mind that far more roads could be built on a 90–10 basis. However, I do not believe that such a formula would contain the elements of adequate local participation and sound Federal fiscal policy within it. For that reason, I would not be able to recommend such a formula myself.

However, this does not prevent an individual Member of Congress, particularly one so interested in the Appalachian problems as yourself, from introducing an amendment to the President's bill. I certainly agree with you that without the highway section of the bill, the rest of the program would be impaired. If it is your belief that only a 90–10 formula can bring about an effective road program, I would have to agree that such an amendment by you would be essential.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr.

Mr. Speaker, if the Appalachia bill does reach the floor for consideration, I will propose an amendment making the program on a 90–10 basis, rather than the 70–30 percent as proposed in the present measure.

Great American "Extremists"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in the July 30, 1964, edition of the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, a letter to the editor by K.J.C. points up what might be classified as great American extremists.

In these days when people feel they must label or classify everyone, it might be worth some second thoughts before calling names.

The item follows:

THE DISPATCH MAIL BAG: CLAIMS ALL THE GREAT OF HISTORY WERE "EXTREMISTS" AT SOME TIME

To the EDITOR:

"Extremism" in defense of liberty, law and order, in the execution of justice, in the preservation of our Nation, or in the support of a just cause or principle is not a vice, but it is a necessary attribute of a good executive.

There seems to be considerable misunderstanding relative to the meaning and application of the words "extremism" and "extremist."

Extremism means: "Beyond the ordinary or average."

An extremist is "one who goes beyond the ordinary or average," right or wrong.

It appears, to the casual observer, that some people try to convey to the general public a sinister meaning in the use of the word "extremist," to discredit Senator GOLDWATER.

The following examples illustrate the usual use and application of the word "extremist."

The members of the Boston Tea Party were extremists when they dumped the tea into the ocean as a protest to "taxation without representation."

Harry Truman was an extremist when he authorized the use of the atomic bomb.

Abraham Lincoln was an extremist when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

U. S. Grant was an extremist when he said, "We will fight along this line if it takes all summer."

Jesus Christ was an extremist when He sacrificed His life to save mankind.

The man who found a way to make porcelain was an extremist. He burned his furniture in a kiln in a last attempt to make porcelain, but he succeeded.

Patrick Henry was an extremist when he said, "Give me liberty or give me death."

The signers of the Declaration of Independence were extremists.

President Lyndon B. Johnson became an extremist when he used the prestige of his office to urge Congress to enact certain laws.

Joan of Arc was an extremist when she commanded and led an army.

George Washington was an extremist when he assumed command of the Revolutionary Army.

The writers of the U.S. Constitution were extremists. They went to extreme length to enact a just and protective law.

Theodore Roosevelt was an extremist when he said, "Let not a guilty man escape."

Members of Congress who voted for the declaration of war against Germany were extremists. Indirectly, they were authorizing the use of extreme means in support of a principle.

I believe Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower used extreme means at various times in order to win, or support a principle and, therefore, is an extremist.

The opinion of a large number of people is that the advocates and supporters of the present bill for equal rights are extremists.

All sit-ins, lay-ins, mass demonstrators, mass picketing, advocates of violence of any kind, are misdirected extremists.

In the opinion of many people, Governors Scranton, Rockefeller, and Romney are extremists because they apparently used every available means to prevent the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER for President.

In fact, all great men and women of recorded history were extremist at one time or another for a particular cause or purpose.

An extremist is a person who refuses to anesthetize his conscience of right and wrong for expediency or gain.—K.J.C.

COLUMBUS.

P.S.—Franklin D. Roosevelt was one of the greatest extremists of American history. He even tried to pack the U.S. Supreme Court, yet he received the majority of the votes in all but two States.—K.J.C.

Nobel Peace Prize Should Be Awarded Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, no person in the world has done more for the peace of the world than Herbert Hoover. His heroic efforts in this regard began over half a century ago. Yet year after year the Committee which controls the

award of the Nobel Prize for Peace has ignored Mr. Hoover. I think Members of this Congress, because of the worldwide prestige which the award carries, have a proper right to express concern that Mr. Hoover's magnificent contributions have gone for so long unrecognized and unrewarded. Fortunately there is a way for them to express their concern.

The award is distributed by the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Oslo, Norway, in conformity with the will of Dr. Alfred Nobel, of November 27, 1895. The document provides that members of the parliaments and governments of any nation may make nominations for the award. A simple letter to the Committee is sufficient to make the nomination. The Members of the Congress are respectfully urged in this manner to nominate Mr. Hoover for the 1965 award.

For the benefit of editors who may wish to comment editorially on this suggestion, it is desired to point out that another group of Americans also is qualified to make the nomination under the Nobel will. These are university full professors of political science, law, history, and philosophy. It is hoped that many of these at American universities might join in the nomination.

The following informative letter respecting this subject appeared in the Palo Alto, Calif., Times on August 10:

HOOVER URGED FOR PEACE PRIZE

EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

Former President Herbert Hoover's 90th birthday on August 10 is a good occasion to remind the American people of the great humanitarian work Hoover has performed in the service of mankind.

During and after two world wars Herbert Hoover has saved more than a billion people from starvation. This feat alone will endear his name not only to those saved by his action, but to the rest of mankind as well.

Occasionally smear attacks which maintained that Herbert Hoover was responsible for the world depression, beginning in 1929, could never deprive him of his deeply established reputation as one of the great humanitarians of the 20th century.

Those slanderous attacks have long since been proved as vicious fabrications, contrary to the hard facts of life. Not only was Hoover's administration not responsible for the world depression, it was President Hoover and nobody else who took the first steps to heal the economic wounds following the New York stock market's black Friday of 1929.

In the four volumes of his work "An American Epic" Herbert Hoover has recounted the facts of his relief work from 1914 to 1946. These four volumes are already a standard source of American history from which generations of future historians will benefit.

In the light of such achievements over a period of more than 40 years, it seems to be strange that Herbert Hoover's name has never been proposed to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Oslo. It is not too late to do this now. Since—according to the Nobel Prize statute—every American full professor of philosophy, history, and social science as well as every member of Congress and the Interparliamentary Union has the right to nominate a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize, a large and impressive list of American sponsors of Herbert Hoover's candidacy for the Peace Prize of 1965 should be easy to be collected. I cannot envisage a better way to celebrate Herbert Hoover's 90th birthday.

An "American Committee for the Promotion of Herbert Hoover as Candidate for the Peace Nobel Prize 1965" might be a useful vehicle to achieve this goal.

JULIUS EPSTEIN.

PALO ALTO.

The following additional details respecting the Nobel Peace Prize have been furnished to me by the Library of Congress:

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The Norwegian Nobel Committee is, in conformity with the will of Dr. Alfred Nobel, of November 27, 1895, entrusted with the distribution of one of the five prizes, the Nobel Peace Prize.

The other four prizes (physics, chemistry, medicine and literature) are awarded by Swedish institutions.

The task of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament is based on the following passage in Dr. Nobel's will: A committee of five persons to be elected by the Norwegian Storting (parliament) is to distribute annually one share of the income of the Fund "to the person who shall have most or best promoted the fraternity of nations and the abolishment or reduction of standing armies, and the formation and extension of peace congresses." He declared it further to be his express desire that, in the awarding of prizes, no consideration whatever should be paid to the nationality of the candidates.

Candidates for the peace prize—as for all Nobel Prizes—must be proposed in writing before February 1 of each year, by a duly qualified person. Any of the following persons are held to be duly qualified to present candidates for the peace prize:

1. Members and former members of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, as well as the advisers appointed by the Norwegian Nobel Institute.
2. Members of the parliaments and governments of any nation, as well as members of the Interparliamentary Union.
3. Members of the International Arbitration Court at The Hague.
4. Members of the Council of the Permanent International Peace Bureau at Geneva.
5. Members and associates of the Institut de Droit International.
6. University professors of political science and of law, of history and philosophy.
7. Persons who have received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Direct personal applications for the prize cannot be taken into consideration.

Every written work, to qualify for the prize, shall have appeared in print. The grounds upon which the proposal of any candidate's name is made must be stated in writing and handed in along with the necessary documents.

The prize may be awarded to institutions or associations. A prize may be divided equally between two candidates.

No work shall have a prize awarded to it unless it has been proved by the test of experience, or by the examination of experts, to possess the preeminent excellence that is manifestly signified by the terms in Dr. Nobel's will. If it is deemed that none of the works attains to the standard of excellence referred to, the prize shall be withheld until the following year. Should it be found impossible even then to confer the prize, the amount in question shall be added to the main fund, provided, however, that four members of the Committee may not propose that two-thirds of the prize sum shall instead be carried over to a special fund for the Committee.

The prize is distributed on the anniversary of the death of the founder, the 10th of December.

The first award of the Nobel Prize took place in 1901. The prizes for the years after 1929 have been awarded as follows:

Frank B. Kellogg, 1929.
Lars O. J. Söderblom, archbishop of Sweden, 1930.
Miss Jane Addams and Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler, 1931.
Sir Norman Angell, 1933.
Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, 1934.
Karl von Ossietzky, 1935.
Carlos Saavedra Lamas, 1936.
Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, 1937.
The Nansen Office, Geneva, 1938.
Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, Geneva, 1944.
Cordell Hull, 1945.
Emily Green Balch and John Mott, 1946.
American Friends Service Committee and Friends Service Council, 1947.
Lord John Boyd Orr of Brechin, 1949.
Ralph Bunche, 1950.
Léon Jouhaux, 1951.
Albert Schweitzer, 1952.
George C. Marshall, 1953.
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1954.
Lester B. Pearson, 1957.
Georges Pire, 1958.
Philip Noel-Baker, 1959.
Albert John Luthuli, 1960.
Dag Hammarskjold (posthumously), 1961.
Dr. Linus C. Pauling (deferred 1962 prize) and International, 1963.
Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies.

The Nobel Peace Prize cannot be awarded to a deceased person unless a qualified proposal has been received prior to his death. The relevant paragraph in the statutes of the Nobel Foundation runs as follows (in translation from Swedish) "Works by deceased persons cannot be considered for the prize; however, if the death (of the person) takes place after a proposal has been made according to the rules, a prize may be awarded."

Counting the Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, as election day approaches, it seems timely for me to call to the attention of my colleagues the achievement of a San Diego firm which has been devoting considerable attention to the problem of obtaining a rapid count of the standard paper ballot.

Cubic Corp., of San Diego, has developed an electronic tallier that will count ballots five times as fast as the manual counting system previously used. The talliers will be used for the first time in the November general election in San Diego and Riverside Counties in California, and I predict that they will be used on a nationwide basis in the near future.

The Cubic company's progress in this line carries an incidental benefit to San Diego. For it means that this forward-looking firm—once almost wholly dependent on work under Federal Government contracts—has successfully diversified its production in a manner that other companies might do well to emulate.

The Wall Street Journal for Monday, July 20, offers details on the tallying machines which should be of interest to

every voter and officeholder. I offer this article for inclusion in the RECORD:

NEW ELECTRONIC VOTING GEAR MAY BE CHEAPER THAN OLDER MACHINES—GEORGIA TO TEST CARD SYSTEM LINKED TO COMPUTER; TALLIER DEVICE READS WRITTEN BALLOT

(By Frederick C. Klein)

Georgia voters in suburban De Kalb County near Atlanta will cast their ballots in the State's September 9 primary by punching holes in computer cards inserted in a device the size of a brief case.

In San Diego County, Calif., voters will mark paper ballots by hand as usual in November but the votes will be counted by new electronic talliers that are expected to do the job five times as fast as the manual counting previously used and with less than a third as many election workers.

These devices are among a number of new electronic voting and tallying systems going into wide use for the first time this year. De Kalb County's punchcard machines sell for as little as $150 a unit. The cards are then fed into a conventional data processing machine at a central place to count the vote. San Diego's electronic tallier, an alternative system relying on electronic reading of ink-marked ballots, is also relatively cheap. Both kinds of systems pose a challenge to the closet-sized pull-lever machines in wide use since the end of World War II; they cost $1,500 or more a unit.

It's estimated that 65 percent of the more than 70 million votes likely to be cast nationally this November will be registered or counted by machines, up from about 50 percent of the 68.4 million votes cast in the 1960 general election. The great majority of this year's machine votes will be entered on the mechanical pull-lever devices made by Automatic Voting Machine Corp., Jamestown, N.Y., and Shoup Voting Machine Corp., New York, a subsidiary of General Battery & Ceramic Corp.

CLOSE ELECTIONS SPARK MACHINE SALES

Automatic Voting Machine, which accounts for about 60 percent of the devices now in use, says it expects to sell some 3,000 units this year, equaling its 1956 record and up slightly from 1960. Shoup forecasts 1964 sales of 2,800 units, the same as 1960 and up from 2,500 in 1956. Both say sales are being spurred by the growing populations of urban precincts which already use machines and by recent, close elections which have focused attention on the inaccuracies of hand counting.

St. Cloud, Minn., for example, bought machines this year "to avoid those rhubarbs over recounts we had here in 1962," according to John Streitz, city clerk. It took Minnesota 4½ months to elect a Governor that year.

Despite their sales forecasts this year, the two leading voting machine makers express concern over the new electronic devices being tested. "Electronics seems to be a magic word," concedes Morgan O. Doolittle, Automatic's sales manager. "We're having to work harder for our sales." Adds Frank P. Stone, president of Shoup, "Those new outfits are making competition this year tougher than ever."

FASTEST DEVICES

Automatic and Shoup produce machines that stand 6 feet high and 3 to 5 feet wide, weigh between 680 and 900 pounds and sell for $1,500 to $1,900 apiece. The voter enters the machine booth and votes by pulling levers beside candidates' names. Because the running tallies these machines keep are available immediately when polls close, they are the fastest devices on the market. And because the paper ballot is eliminated, they're considered least susceptible to vote tampering.

But the size, weight and initial cost of such machines have prompted some communities to seek alternatives. "Our population is growing by about 15,000 a year," says William Osborne, research director of Georgia's De Kalb County. "If we wanted to keep up with our growth we'd have to buy about 25 more of the big machines each year. Our warehouse is full of them now and we'd have to get another. We can store our new machines in a small room."

De Kalb County's new machines are 500 Votomatic units, sold by Harris Votomatic, Inc., Berkeley, Calif. The Votomatic measures only 16 inches long, 13 inches wide, and 2 inches deep. It was invented by Joseph Harris, a retired University of California political science professor. The voter inserts a blank computer card beneath a printed master ballot on the face of the unit and then punches out his choices with a pointed instrument. The cards are then transported to a central data processor which counts them at up to 800 a minute.

Georgia's Fulton County, which includes Atlanta, will test the Votomatic this year, along with a competitive device called the Vote Master, made by Cybernetics General Co., San Diego. The latter uses a ballot printed directly on a computer card which the voter attaches to a cylinder in the machine. He views the ballot through a window and votes by depressing a handle which punches a hole in the card. The Vote Master sells for $400.

A drawback of the computer card devices is that votes must be transported to a central computer for tallying, delaying the final count and requiring additional handling that could provide opportunities for tampering. Also cities and towns that don't have computers available for the tally would have to rent them. The cost of a computer count of the ballots would run between a half-cent and a cent per vote, makers estimate.

The winner of the competition between the two new devices "most likely" will get an order to supply all of Fulton County, says Leon Hay, chief registrar; the county has 210,000 voters. Also watching the results of the new devices' debut will be Los Angeles County. Its 3 million voters constitute the largest election unit in the Nation where votes still are cast and counted by hand. "We'll probably buy machines eventually, and when we do it won't be the big ones," says Benjamin Hite, county registrar. "It would cost us $36 million to buy them and three buildings the size of our Coliseum to store them."

The Harris company says it expects to sell a minimum of 3,000 units by November. Its device has been approved for use in California, Oregon, Virginia, and Georgia. Cybernetics General still is "getting the bugs out" of its Vote Master, according to Duncan Clark, executive vice president, who says all-out selling will begin next year.

The other new devices to be inaugurated this fall are the electronic tabulators that count hand-marked ballots. San Diego is testing the Votronics system, made by Cubic Corp. of San Diego. It consists of a desk-sized counter that sells for $26,900 and tallies up to 1,500 ballots an hour.

Charles Sexton, San Diego County registrar, says use of the counters will allow the county to trim the number of election workers in November to 4,800 from the 16,000 hired for the June primary, resulting in a $175,000 saving. In June, the county took 60 hours to hand count 320,000 ballots. Mr. Sexton says it should take about 12 hours to tally the 500,000 or so votes in November.

Cincinnati will count its votes this fall on the Coleman Vote Tally system, made by a subsidiary of Coleman Engineering Co., Los Angeles. It's the biggest of the new models, selling for $850,000 and occupying about 1,000 feet of floor space. But it counts paper ballots marked with a special ink at up to 600 a minute.

Hamilton County, Ohio, which includes Cincinnati, bought two Coleman units. It intends to get rid of 260 mechanical voting machines it bought in 1955. "We figured the initial outlay for the 3,000 standard machines we'd need would be too high," explains William Kreidler, a member of the county's board of elections. With the Coleman counters, the county will reduce its election crew to about 5,000 from the usual 15,000, saving about $250,000 in election-day wages.

Orange County, Calif., which includes Santa Ana, also bought two Coleman units to use beginning in November. And Riverside County, Calif., has purchased 24 of the Votronics tallying machines.

The electronic talliers have several advantages, makers claim. For one, because they use regular hand-marked paper ballots, they provide easily readable records for recounts and require no special voter education to use them. Makers argue that voting machines scare away some voters and often result in citizens ignoring special questions like bond issues and referendums that they wouldn't overlook if handed a separate paper ballot.

A 1960 study by the Greater Toledo (Ohio) Municipal League tends to support this claim. Voting on a special school tax issue was about 15 percent less in precincts with machines than in those that used paper ballots.

"The Federal Excise Tax on Automobiles"—Statement of Representative Charles E. Chamberlain, of Michigan, Before the General Hearings on the Federal Excise Tax Structure, Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the recent hearings on the Federal excise tax system held by the Committee on Ways and Means have aroused a good deal of interest and hope throughout the country in the prospect of long overdue tax reform in this area. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to call to the attention and consideration of my colleagues and the American people the reasons set forth in my statement to the committee revealing the compelling need to reduce or repeal the 10-percent excise tax on automobiles which in the opinion of many people establish it as one of the excises most deserving of remedial tax legislation.

The statement follows:

"THE FEDERAL EXCISE TAX ON AUTOMOBILES"—STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN, OF MICHIGAN, BEFORE THE GENERAL HEARINGS ON THE FEDERAL EXCISE TAX STRUCTURE, COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 27, 1964

Mr. Chairman, it will come as no great surprise to the members of this committee who have patiently and sympathetically listened to my pleadings and protests in past years against the archaic and inequitable excise tax system, that I come before you again today to argue especially for reform of the 10-percent excise tax on passenger automobiles.

This I do, not only in behalf of the welfare of automotive workers, stockholders, and management in particular, but also in behalf of the welfare of the entire economy, for it is surely one of the truisms of our economic life that the auto industry is the bellwether of the health of the Nation's economy. As I stated in my remarks on the floor of the House last month protesting the extension of the so-called temporary excise tax rates, I can offer no new or startling reasons for the reduction or repeal of the auto excise tax, but can only reiterate the arguments that have been made in years past, in times of recession and prosperity, for I am satisfied they are still valid today.

The case for the reduction or repeal of the 10-percent excise tax on automobiles like most of the other excises, is self-evident. The reasons for imposing such a penalty upon the Nation's key consumer industry having long ago expired, it is simply a question of the Government's discharging its responsibility to end such a tax inequity. Unfortunately, however, taxes, like fat, are easier to put on than to take off; and it is never enough merely to point out a tax inequity without setting forth additional reasons to show why it is in the best interests of the Government to adopt a fairer system of taxation.

An excise or commodity tax has as its necessary result the shifting of consumer demand away from certain goods and services. During World War II and the Korean war such taxes were sought to discourage especially the use of transportation facilities and vehicles. Since then, some relief in this area has been granted. In 1962, the 10-percent rate on rail and bus fares was eliminated and the 10-percent rate on air travel reduced 5 percent, and yet the full wartime 10-percent rate still remains on the chief source of transportation, the automobile. However desirable as this tax relief was, by refusing to include reform of the auto excise tax, the discrimination against the auto consumer was proportionately increased. The fact that today revenues collected from the auto excise tax account for some 40 percent of all revenue collected from all the excise taxes here under discussion amply testifies to the burden placed on the auto economy. When the purpose of such a tax was to curtail transportation and nonstrategic consumption, a tax which singled out the auto industry was understandable. Today, when the only purpose of such a tax is to collect revenue, it is eminently unfair and unjustified to discriminate against a single commodity. And, during a time when there is so much concern for getting the economy moving, such a tax is not only unfair and unjustified, but unsound economically.

In compliance with the committee's instructions, I shall try to make some general comments so far as I am able, not being a professional economist, upon how the auto excise tax measures up to certain of the criteria established by the committee to evaluate the performance of these excise taxes.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE AUTO EXCISE TAX AMONG CONSUMERS BY INCOME LEVELS

Prof. Otto Eckstein, in his statements to the committee has asserted that "The best working assumption is to assume that all income classes pay about the same fraction of their income in these excises, that taken as a whole, they are proportionate taxes."[1] Granting that this generalization may be substantially correct with respect to all the excises, there is sufficient evidence, I believe, to suggest that low and middle income persons bear a significant part of the burden of the auto excise tax. As of 1963, it is estimated that 80 percent of American families own one or more automobiles. Of that group, 56 percent of the families with an annual income of less than $4,000 own one or more automobiles, and 74 percent of families with an annual income of between $4,000 and $5,000 own one or more automobiles. Families with an income under $7,500 a year purchased over 30 percent of all the new cars sold in 1962. At this point in the record, I would include several charts taken from the 1964 edition of "Automobile Facts and Figures" which provide this information in greater detail.

Household income of new car buyers

	Percent
Under $3,000	1.9
$3,000 to $4,999	7.4
$5,000 to $7,499	20.8
$7,500 to $9,999	20.6
$10,000 to $14,999	25.1
$15,000 to $19,999	9.1
$20,000 to $24,999	4.3
$25,000 to $49,999	4.6
$50,000 and over	1.8
No reply	4.4
Total	100.0

Income	Percent of households owning cars within each group	Percent distribution of households
Under $4,000	56.6	20.2
$4,000 to $4,999	74.3	12.0
$5,000 to $6,999	83.0	29.9
$7,000 to $9,999	90.1	23.1
$10,000 or more	94.8	14.8
Total		100.0

THE EFFECT OF EXCISE TAX ON AUTOMOBILE SALES

Undoubtedly, many factors influence the auto market. While it is not possible to ascertain the exact impact of this tax upon sales, it is clear that it does have a depressing effect * * * otherwise, the tax would not have been levied in the first place. Any tax that increases the price of a commodity by hundreds of dollars cannot help but have an effect on the sales appeal of the product. And this is true both in good economic years and bad.

Prof. Douglas H. Eldridge pointed out to the committee that "A heavy excise tax on automobiles * * * would result in some contraction in output and less use of steel, rubber and other automobile components. With less demands for these products, specialized productive factors in the supporting industries will also tend to suffer declines in their incomes."[2] It is not difficult to quickly grasp the interrelatedness of the auto economy to the other major sectors of the economy. Automobile production utilizes 21 percent of all steel, 61 percent of all rubber, 32 percent of all zinc, 13 percent of all aluminum, 49 percent of all lead, and 58 percent of all upholstery leather sold in the United States.

One business in every six is automotive.

One of every five retail dollars is spent for automotive products.

One of every seven workers—11,600,000 people—are employed in highway transport industries.

Automobiles are owned by 80 percent of U.S. families.

This interrelatedness is clearly evident also in reports of the unemployment rates in labor market areas that are major automobile manufacturing centers employing 10,000 or more workers. At this point in the record I would like to insert a chart comparing the unemployment rates of March 1964 with those of March 1961. The impact of a good car year for the economy of these areas is unmistakable. It is essential to the continued health of the economy that all obstacles to its growth and stability be removed.

Insured unemployment rates in labor market areas that are major automobile manufacturing centers

[In percent]

Labor market area	Rate, March 1961	Rate, March 1964	Decrease
Los Angeles	7.5	6.0	1.5
Atlanta	5.5	2.8	2.7
Chicago	6.9	4.4	2.5
Fort Wayne	6.2	3.2	3.0
Indianapolis	6.3	3.8	2.5
Flint	23.2	2.2	21.0
Detroit	15.2	4.5	10.7
Lansing	14.8	3.1	11.7
Kansas City	8.3	5.4	2.9
St. Louis	8.9	4.7	4.2
Buffalo	11.8	6.8	5.0
New York City	6.1	5.6	.5
Cincinnati	6.8	4.5	2.3
Cleveland	9.6	4.2	5.4
Toledo	10.0	4.9	5.1
Kenosha, Wis	8.5	3.2	5.3
Milwaukee	6.4	3.9	2.5
South Bend	12.8	8.3	4.5

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Washington, D.C., June 12, 1964.

THE "BUSINESS COST" EFFECT OF THE AUTO EXCISE TAX

The auto excise tax directly adds to the business cost of any business that purchases a motor vehicle for its operation * * * and this, of course, includes Federal and State governments as well. Certainly the auto excise tax for many businesses represents as much an added business cost as does a tax on other office machines. In addition, it should also be remembered that the auto excise tax represents to some degree a "business cost" to every one of the 41 million persons who depend upon automobiles for transportation to work.

ADMINISTRATION OF AUTO EXCISE TAX

The auto excise tax has the virtue of being perhaps one of the least problematic to administer when compared with certain of the other excises. There is little difficulty in defining the commodity to be taxed nor at what point the tax is to be levied. However, should the committee decide to recommend the reduction or repeal of the auto excise tax it would be necessary, I believe, to insure that such action would not unintentionally have a disruptive influence on the economy. A serious drag on the auto economy might well develop if there was a long lapse of time between the announcement of the committee's proposed legislation and the President's signing the bill into law. Consequently, it is extremely important, I believe, that any changes in the excise tax rates be made effective retroactively to the date the committee announces its intention to consider legislation. I am aware that the Automobile Manufacturers Association is making a recommendation as to how this matter might best be worked out and I would strongly urge the committee to examine this aspect of excise tax reform before legislation is recommended.

A word might be added at this juncture with respect to the operation of any reduction in this tax. It has been often asked: Should this tax be reduced, would this reduction be passed on to the consumers? I have directed this question to the major automotive companies and they, in letters from Mr. Roy Abernethy, president of American Motors Corp.; Mr. F. W. Misch, vice president of Chrysler Corp.; Mr. Henry Ford II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co.; and Mr. John F. Gordon, president of General Motors Corp., have unanimously responded that it would be their recommendation to their dealers that the full amount of the

[1] Hearings before the House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means on the Federal excise tax structure (88th Cong., 2d sess., pt. II, p. 23).

[2] Ibid., p. 38.

tax reduction be deducted from the price of the automobile. The highly competitive nature of the auto market would undoubtedly serve to insure that this would be the case.

A "PROGRESSIVE" AUTO EXCISE TAX?

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make one or two additional comments. I noted with particular interest the chairman's question[3] during the panel discussion which the committee held with various tax scholars which seemed to explore the possibility that the excise tax on automobiles up to a certain price might be reduced or repealed, while maintained on vehicles with a higher price, thereby attempting to reintroduce the distinction between luxury and necessary commodities. Whether this approach would achieve the desired results or would only tend to blunt the stimulation to the economy generally of an across-the-board reduction, I am not prepared to judge at this time. The difficulty might well be in determining what was a luxury car and what was not, and this, of course, could raise difficulties in tax administration.

THE "MULTIPLIER EFFECT" OF EXCISE TAX REDUCTION

Correspondingly, I was interested also in the chairman's question[4] about the possible so-called "multiplier effect" of an excise tax reduction. I had earlier this year sought information on this point from the Department of the Treasury, since the existence of such a "multiplier effect" was constantly used as an argument in favor of the recent cut in income taxes. In that regard it was claimed by the chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, Senator DOUGLAS of Illinois, that,

"An $8 billion tax cut with a multiplier of three to four times would increase the gross national product by $24 to $32 billion. Taxes at (an estimated) 20 percent would bring in added revenues of from $4.8 to $6.4 billion. The net cost of an $8 billion cut would be only from $1.6 to $3.2 billion." (Washington Post, Feb. 24, 1963.)

Using this formula, I calculated last year that the actual loss of revenue following a return to the 7-percent World War II auto excise tax rate would be somewhere between $90 and $180 million and not the $430 million claimed by the Department of the Treasury. Consequently, this year I asked the Secretary of the Treasury to comment upon what the impact of this excise tax reduction would have, in terms of its probable "multiplier effect." In a letter dated May 23, 1964, I was informed by the Treasury Department,

"We do not have estimates of the 'multiplier effect' of excise changes * * *. At this point the Treasury is currently studying the economic effects of excises. We are, of course, expecting to obtain considerable information from the forthcoming Ways and Means Committee hearings * * *. From these and other findings of the committee, we will be able to refine our own research data regarding excise taxes."

While I was not a little surprised that the Treasury Department had no information on this aspect, I was gratified to note that Professor Eckstein acknowledged[5] that there would be additional revenues created as a result of a substantial reduction in an excise tax. I am informed by the Treasury this year that if the auto excise tax were to revert to the 7-percent World War II rate, this would mean a loss of $520 million in tax receipts. In other words, automobile consumers would save $520 million on their purchases and would be free to spend this amount on other goods and services which, in turn, would generate tax revenues from other sources. It is fair to assume, then, that because of this fact, because of the so-called "multiplier effect," the actual loss of tax revenues would be substantially less than the $520 million figure. It is apparently Professor Eckstein's view that the reduction or repeal of the auto excise tax would have such a significant effect on the economy that it should be reserved only for periods of recession as a countercyclical weapon. I have, of course, since first becoming a Member of Congress, argued for such tax relief both in times of recession and prosperity. But so far, nothing has been done. It reminds me of a "hole in the roof" situation: While the sun is shining, there is no need to fix it; and it cannot be patched while it is raining. When business and production are good, it is said there is no need to reduce taxes; and we cannot let go of the money when we need it so badly to finance the Federal Government. It does not seem to me to follow that we should only help the economy in times of recession, but, in fact, if we are to help avoid a new recession, we should be taking off all the drags on the economy that we can without further delay.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION AND FOREIGN AUTOMOBILES

I would make one further comment should the committee decide to reform the auto excise tax, and especially should the committee recommend that relief be granted to only low-priced cars. Should that happen, it would, of course, not only benefit the sales of low-priced American cars, but also of low-priced foreign-made cars. In the event of any reduction, therefore, I would suggest that the committee consider not reducing the tax on foreign-made automobiles. This I propose not out of adherence to a doctrinaire protectionist trade policy, but simply in recognition of the extremely heavy taxes placed upon American cars in foreign countries. By keeping the full excise tax on foreign cars sold in this country, we would have a lever, a bargaining tool, to try to reduce the tariffs on American cars in foreign countries. This could only have a salutary effect upon our balance-of-payments situation.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, in this Congress this committee approved an $11 billion reduction in personal and corporate income taxes. While a great deal was said about tax reform, this bill was preeminently a straight tax cut justified on the sole grounds of economic growth. It is now being said that to prevent economic stagnation in the future it will be necessary to have periodic tax reductions.

This committee has now before it an opportunity to effect long needed tax reform which at the same time can only have a beneficial effect on the health of the Nation's economy. Certainly during the time when the Federal Government finds it possible and desirable to reduce taxes it cannot in good faith ignore its past commitments to remove the added tax burdens imposed on those who assumed them during periods of national emergency.

I share the view of those who believe it would be well if the field of sales and excise taxation were reserved to State and local governments. If this were done it might well reduce the need and demand for massive Federal assistance requiring heavy Federal taxes. However, should the committee conclude that some type of Federal tax in this field is necessary, I would strongly suggest that it be a uniform tax on all manufactured goods rather than a selective tax discriminating against certain goods in favor of others. I am, of course, not unmindful of the difficulties of writing such a general excise tax law, but I can only conclude it would be preferable in terms of equity to the present system.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the committee for instituting these hearings and express my appreciation for the opportunity to appear today. I have long supported efforts aimed at reexamining and reforming the entire excise tax system because I believe such action could well result in one of the most deserving, beneficial, and sound accomplishments of any Congress in a number of years.

[3] Ibid., p. 90.
[4] Ibid., p. 92.
[5] Ibid.

Sargent Shriver Speaks at Georgetown Commencement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, on June 8, 1964, a memorable commencement address was delivered at Georgetown University by an outstanding American, Sargent Shriver.

Few men in America today have made a greater contribution to the improvement of our foreign policy, in action overseas, than Sargent Shriver.

The message which he delivered to Georgetown graduates in June is not only a statement of his personal philosophy, but also an inspiring call to young Americans to answer their country's needs for service today.

The full text of Mr. Shriver's address follows:

ADDRESS OF SARGENT SHRIVER AT THE 165TH ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, JUNE 8, 1964

It is embarrassing for me today to confess that I remember only one quotation from St. Ignatius. Fortunately it is only one word: "magis"—"more."

The watchword of the Jesuit order has always been: Ad majorem Dei gloriam. But Ignatius was a man of action. His personal watchword was magis: More. More work, more sacrifice, more men to serve the greater glory of God.

And that is my message now. We need more.

We need more men and women schooled in the tradition of Ignatius and Xavier. We need more like the 238 Peace Corps volunteers now serving overseas who came from Jesuit schools. And we need more like the 38 Peace Corps volunteers who studied at Georgetown, who are serving in towns and villages of 23 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. I have seen them work. I can testify to their spirit and dedication.

As a matter of fact these robes I am wearing here today are evidence of their dedication. These were given to me at Chulalongkorn University by the Foreign Minister of Thailand. He was awarding me an honorary degree to honor the Peace Corps and the 265 volunteers serving in Thailand. Three of those volunteers studied here at Georgetown. In his speech commending them, the Foreign Minister called the Peace Corps "the most powerful idea in recent times."

Let me tell you about 8 other volunteers—8 of the first 300 volunteers for Ethiopia who took their Peace Corps training here at Georgetown. I last saw them in the little provincial town of Debra Marcos, near the blue Nile, in October 1962. We sent men only to that post because it was considered the most difficult, most isolated one in Ethiopia. I will never forget the rocky ride from the strip of grass on which we landed to their school—the cobblestones on the main street were put in with the smooth side down and

the pointed, spike side up. I wondered how these eight men, thrown together like that, without any American women around, would get along.

Here is what one of them, Dick Lipez, wrote recently, "Through some unimaginable fluke we get along. We were not only friends, but we stimulated one another intellectually in a way that perhaps no eight people in the same house ever have. Last year, I did more reading and more talking about what I had read than during any 3 years of college. We talked politics endlessly, we talked about history, travel, sports, women, literature." The liberals, he said, became more conservative and the conservatives more liberal. "If anyone in Lock Haven, Pa.," Dick wrote, "discovered four or five men sitting around a Coleman lantern in the middle of the night reading and talking about poetry, the scandal would shake the town from the first island bridge to Crow's Diner."

Those eight men who went from this campus in 1962 to Debra Marcos, Ethiopia, are now coming home. One of them, a white boy from Alabama, has volunteered to teach in an all-Negro slum high school in Washington, D.C. Another will work for the Peace Corps. All of them are interested in the war on poverty. Why in this?

Dick Lipez in his letter tried to explain why they were coming home with a new sense of responsibility. "Peace Corps life tempers one by its sheer and irresistible intensity," he says. They look forward to coming home, but "missing," he says, will be "the adventure, the thrill that none of us will ever be able to live again with such intensity, such freedom. We had great responsibilities—to our students, to one another, to ourselves—and in meeting these responsibilities we found a kind of freedom greater than any we could have imagined."

Soon Dick Lipez will be home, and so will 3,000 of our first volunteers. You will see how much they have learned. They have learned about the world—not in an abstract way, not in books, but in service—in service of the poor: the poor in education, the poor in health, the poor in spirit. They have learned how to serve. They have learned responsibility. They are coming home feeling responsible for their own country. They now feel responsible for poverty in America.

My question today is: Why should they? Why should you? Why should I? President Johnson has made me responsible for doing something about poverty. But who is really responsible for poverty—who is responsible for the poor?

Is Georgetown University responsible for the poor? Is it responsible even for the poor of the Nation's Capital—the community in which the university was born and has grown to international eminence? Its primary responsibility is surely to its students and to the educational process. Our academic gowns remind us of the high educational purposes of the university. Is it fair to ask it to distract itself from these noble purposes?

Is this faculty responsible for the poor? Surely, the task of educating young men and women should consume practically all its time and energy. Are the students of this university responsible? What time do they have to spare when they should devote themselves fully to their studies—to the academic excellence this Nation needs and this school must require?

Are the alumni responsible? You are about to become alumni. I am told that 40 percent of you will go straight to graduate school, 28 percent of you will enter the Armed Forces, and 32 percent of you will take on jobs in business, in teaching, or in government. How responsible for the poor can you be while embarking on such commendable pursuits and professions? A lawyer's first responsibility is to his client, a doctor's is to his patient. These are high professional duties. Then what about the businessman? His duty is to make profits for his stockholders, his partners, his family. Even his duty to his alma mater, to a school like this, may strain his resources.

Who then is responsible for the poor? That leaves only the poor themselves. But they cannot all be responsible for their poverty. One-third of today's poor are children. Can anyone claim they came to be poor because they are lazy, shiftless, drunken, or profligate? They were born poor. And most of their parents were born into poverty. You will find millions of American children who represent the third or fourth generation of poverty in their families. We cannot hold these children responsible.

Many of the poor are Negroes. They are born with a legacy worse than mere poverty. They are born with the mark of slavery and discrimination—with skin that for five generations has shut doors to them. The old signs "Irish Not Wanted" are gone now, but the doors of many schools and many jobs and many neighborhoods are not yet open to someone whose skin is black. A Negro cannot be held responsible for the color that God gave him. Who, then, is responsible? Is anyone responsible? You can point to me and say President Johnson made you responsible. But to have you do that makes me feel like Lady Astor on the sinking ship *Titanic*. As the iceberg crashed through the ship's wall, she said, "I asked for ice, but this is ridiculous."

Poverty is like an iceberg. Although submerged, cold, and impersonal, it can crash into our lives. When a woman is attacked on a city street, when a gang holds up a subway car, when a bystander is killed in a riot, when little girls are bombed in a church, we suddenly feel one cutting edge of poverty.

Poverty is like an iceberg because if it chills us, it freezes our hearts, it makes us cold and impersonal. It is so frightening that we turn our eyes away from the human constituents of poverty, the people who are drowning in the sea of poverty—the men without jobs, the mothers without a man, or money, the children on the streets. These are the one who feel the sharpest edge of poverty.

The worst news story of the year was about the murder of a woman in New York who could have been saved by onlookers. But not 1 of the 38 witnesses came to her aid, not 1 raised a hand, not 1 even uttered a cry or called the police until it was all over. No one was ready to go out into the night. No one felt responsible.

When we reach this pit, this bottom, there can be no way but up. This kind of irresponsibility is the great pitfall of our complex modern civilization. The way up and out is not easy. But if any graduating class should know the answer, if any university should teach it, it should be here. For out of the books you read, among the words you ponder, are these ancient ones. "For what does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul?"

What will it profit you or me, if we make all the money in the world, if we reach the height of our professions, even if we earn honorary degrees, but we find ourselves indifferent and our lives narrow? What will it profit this university, if after all its good education, it graduates its students into irresponsibility?

I wonder what kind of education the Good Samaritan had? I suspect that those who passed by that miserable man who had been thrown among robbers probably had college degrees. Certainly they were busy with their professions—too busy to take responsibility for someone who was dirty, half naked, and half dead?

We all raise shields against the poor. Then we say that poverty is invisible. What President Johnson is asking us to do is very simple, but very hard. He is asking us to lower these shields. He is confident that once we see what needs to be done, we will do it.

The President's task force for the war on poverty is going to do its part. Are you going to do your part? Are you, who are graduating today going to graduate into responsibility? Are you who stay on to study and to teach in the years to come going to practice responsibility right here at Georgetown? Or are you going to turn your back on the hungry and the poor and the strangers on our streets here in Washington?

If you on the faculty tell your students that their only responsibility is to their academic studies, if you tell them to think of themselves solely as students, not as responsible citizens, then you are laying the pattern for a lifetime of irresponsibility. If today students are taught to use their books as shields, tomorrow they will find their professions or their family obligations just as effectively shields. That is what I mean by graduating as students into irresponsibility.

You might say that I am wrong here, that the student of today will join the Peace Corps tomorrow. I hope so—I have some applications handy. That is one way to put down your shields and serve your fellow man, full time, for a short period of your life. And when you come back home, I will try to recruit you for the war on poverty.

When we asked 230 of the first returned volunteers, 4 out of 5 said they were interested in the war on poverty. Over 30 percent said they were ready right away to volunteer for part-time, some even for full-time, service.

But do we need this period of service abroad to learn how to serve at home? If we do, then we are in serious trouble. Because the Peace Corps barely scratches the surface of our needs. Soon there will be 10,000 Peace Corps volunteers. But there are half a million college graduates this year alone. There are over 2 million college and university students in our land. If 10,000 are to learn responsibility in the Peace Corps, and 2 million are to practice the irresponsibility of their specialties, then we are in deep trouble. If we do not commit ourselves to waging the war on poverty, if you in our universities and student bodies and faculties do not commit yourselves to this, then the iceberg of poverty is going to bring real havoc to our cities, to our back doors, yes, even to this university campus.

You of Georegtown have already taken a significant step in the right direction. That is, 300 of your students and faculty members have started on the "road to responsibility." They volunteered to give some time each week—to serve in 24 social action projects in this city.

From an office under the staircase in Healy lobby, they go out to work in slum neighborhoods and schools. They go out to work with the children of the slums—those behind in school, and those out of school and out of work. They do special tutoring, organize sports programs, assist in community organizations, serve in understaffed hospitals and settlement houses. They work Saturdays, on week-day afternoons, and throughout the summer vacation.

They are learning the hard way, but the real way, who the poor are—and what poverty means. For them statistics take on faces. The 60,000 faceless, functional illiterates of Washington have become people to them—boys and girls they are teaching to read. Poverty for them has become something personal.

Is this all a distraction from their true work as students? I do not think so. Far from subverting the educational process, this

program, it seems to me, is helping to fulfill it. In accepting responsibility for poverty, and for the great social problems of our national life, these 300 Georgetown volunteers are pointing the way to a great new frontier in American education: The frontier of service. By serving in this way these men and women will not only be better Americans: They will be better doctors, better lawyers, better businessmen, better foreign service officers.

The very nature of a profession is service. But when do students learn this most essential part? Medical students are too busy with intensive studies in medical school. A course in professional, legal responsibility is usually offered in the law school curriculum, but not required. But what can be conveyed there about a lawyer's or a doctor's duty to the poor—compared with what these Georgetown volunteers are experiencing? These volunteers are learning the compassion without which no profession or person is complete—the compassion that keeps us from bypassing the poor.

Take Jules Clavadetcher, a Georgetown student who all this year worked 5 hours a week at All Soul's Unitarian Church with some hostile and potentially delinquent Negro children. So marked was the good effect upon the children that the Jewish women's organization of B'nai B'rith awarded this Catholic student its yearly citation for enlightened civic action for youth. Jules learned a lot about the problems of race and poverty. Perhaps he learned something about the ecumenical movement too.

The chairman of your own philosophy department, Dr. Jesse Mann, tells me, "I would much rather have students in my class learning about the philosophy of man by working with underprivileged Negro children of this city than merely by reading dusty volumes of Philosophy 104 in Riggs Library." Any student who is giving up a beer party or a dance or a lazy Saturday afternoon in favor of this work is not subverting Georgetown. This program of university service is rather the extension of education—the broadening of education—the deepening of education which we must have if we are to find our way through the web of modern technology. We must find our way through our technical specialties into our full responsibilities as human beings.

Fortunately, the needs of American education and the needs of our war on poverty meet at this point. For what you have begun here is what we must launch on a vast scale, if we are to win this war. And for this reason I call upon all of you, students and faculty alike, to follow in the footsteps of the 300 who have already gone beyond these walls to serve in that "other America" in our Nation's Capital. I call upon all the colleges and universities of America to join in this great effort. But this is a special call to all those colleges and universities, which like Georgetown, stand in the shadow of the Cross. For this war against poverty is America's "holy war." And if you who represent Catholic education in America fail to respond, you will deeply wrong yourselves, your country, and your faith.

In our great sacraments, we see the love of God for man. Because His word became flesh, we vow to try to make the word become flesh, in our own inadequate lives. There is another sacrament that can help us learn how to do this, a sacrament that can give us the strength to keep on trying to do it. It is the sacrament of service to man-in-need.

Christ considered this so important that He made our final judgment turn, not on the number of prayers we say, or the number of devotions we attend, but on whether or not we are too busy to help Him when He comes to us in the garments of the poor. "I was hungry, and you gave me to eat, I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in. As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me."

Now it is time, as it has always been time, for us to lower our shields, and to see the sacrament awaiting us beyond the altar rail, outside the campus gates. It is this mission to which we are sent, when we leave the chapel that stands at the heart of this campus. Ite missa est does not mean our trivial translation, "It is finished; you can go." And this commencement today does not mean: "I've done my share, I can go and look after my other business." It means instead: "Go and fulfill your mission."

A Growing Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, one of the byproducts in our effort to gain mastery in the realm of outer space has been the vast amount of knowledge obtained in space research which is applicable in other fields of endeavor. The problem which arose as these new scientific and technological discoveries came into being concerned the dissemination of this knowledge.

A pilot project aimed at a solution to this problem was initiated at Indiana University. It is now in its second year, the success of the first year of operation can be measured by the fact the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has established similar projects in three other areas of the country and is contemplating the establishment of another.

The value of the Indiana University Aerospace Research Application Center is described in the following editorial which appeared in the Indianapolis News on July 22:

A GROWING INSTITUTION

The union of scientific research and industry as found in the Indiana University Aerospace Research Application Center apparently is a happy one.

Now in its second year, the center has shown substantial increases in membership of new companies and in the activities which serve industry. ARAC was established to make available to industry results of research done by the National Aeronautics and Space Agency.

NASA is, of course, constantly engaged in research. Before the center was established there were no avenues through which the findings of its scientists coud be made available for private industry.

Industry apparently has been eager to take advantage of the opportunity, as reflected in the fact that member firms now number 36, including leading companies from coast to coast. A large number of important Indiana industries also are participating.

It is not a program which brings about flamboyant or well-publicized benefits. But it is inevitable that the wedding of pure research with practical application by industry will bring long-range results of untold economic benefits to Indiana and the entire Nation.

The increased activity of ARAC is strong evidence industry shares in this belief.

Supreme Court and Its Apportionment Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, as is undoubtedly the situation in most congressional districts, the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on State legislative reapportionment handed down on June 15 is a subject of great controversy among the people whom I represent. The majority of those who have expressed their concern are apparently shocked by the precedent established in this decision. There are a few, however, who apparently feel that it was a wise decision. The fact that I introduced legislation to correct the decision's intent places me in a position of being soundly in opposition to the latter.

For the purpose of the RECORD, I submit herewith a statement which I made in support of House Journal Resolution 1060, introduced just 10 days after the decision was rendered but not before a study and evaluation of the decision was completed. My statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER IN BEHALF OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 1060

I appreciate this opportunity to testify before the distinguished Committee on the Judiciary in support of House Joint Resolution 1060, which I introduced on June 25, 1964, and similar bills introduced by several of my colleagues, to rectify the ill-conceived decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on June 15, 1964. This resolution seeks to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population. In my opinion the decision of the Supreme Court in the cases of *B. A. Reynolds, etc., et al., Appellants,* v. *M. O. Sims et al; David J. Vann and Robert S. Vance, Appellants,* v. *Agnes Baggett, Secretary of State of Alabama, et al., John W. McConnell, Jr., et al., Appellant* v. *Agnes Baggett, Secretary of State of Alabama, et al.; WMCA, Inc., et al., Appellants,* v. *John P. Lomenzo, Secretary of State of the State of New York, et al.; The Maryland Committee for Fair Representation et al., Appellant,* v. *J. Millard Tawes, Governor, et al.; Levin Nock Davis, Secretary, State Board of Elections, et al., Appellants,* v. *Harrison Mann et al.; Mabel V. Roman, Clerk, etc., et al., Appellants,* v. *Richard Sincock et al.; Andres Lucas et al., etc., Appellants,* v. *The Forty-Fourth General Assembly of the State of Colorado et al.;* has destroyed one of the fundamental time-honored cornerstones of our American system of representative government.

Since the early days of our history both the several States and the Federal Government have selected one house on the basis of population while providing that the other be partially or entirely by geographical area. Certainly there was wisdom in this procedure and process as an essential in our governmental system of checks and balances.

The Court declared that the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment demands that the States compose both bodies of their legislatures so that every member of the House and the Senate would represent the same number of people. Under this ruling, as Justice Harlan stated in his dis-

senting views, we now have the effect of placing the basic aspects of State-political systems under the pervasive overlording of the Federal judiciary. Again the Supreme Court has exceeded its proper authority in usurping powers which have long been held to belong to the States or to other branches of Government. It is a flagrant destruction of one of the dwindling rights of the sovereign States. Furthermore, it certainly appears that the Court has chosen to prevent a State from choosing such legislative structure as it believes best suited to its needs and best suited to the general welfare of its people. The fact remains that at this juncture the damage has been done, and it seems to me that it is incumbent upon the Congress to repair this damage by enactment of the legislation which I am here supporting today or legislation of a similar nature which would provide correction or remedy. We, as legislators, must be responsible to the people and we will be remiss if we do not take this action or the alternative is to ignore history, tradition, and good sense in the apportionment policies and procedures in the selection of our State legislatures.

It is not denied that there has been extreme disparity between districts in some States, and the laggard action of some States has enabled a minority of the people to control some State legislatures. This cannot continue; the majority of the people must be given a greater weight and importance. But in order to accomplish this, is it necessary to strip the minority of effective representation and subject them to the tyranny of a temporary majority? I think not. In fact, prior to these apportionment decisions many of us witnessed the struggles which our own States experience in their voluntary efforts to reach a fair and effective form of representation.

I do not question Chief Justice Warren's statement that legislators represent people, not trees or acres. But it is equally obvious that within distinct areas similar interests prevail. Therefore, although the authority of the majority must be assured, it is not necessary that population be the only criteria for determining representation. People are only what their interest make them.

I am sure that other witnesses testifying in behalf of legislation to correct the far-reaching decision of the Supreme Court have and will point out to members of this distinguished committee that there are many factors which temper one's views; economic, social, geographical, and political, among others. These distinctions produce dissimilar and sometimes conflicting needs.

If a State chooses to allow effective representation for each of these needs, it must be permitted to do so.

If we fail to correct the situation created by the now notorious apportionment decision, a single county in my own State of Illinois will control 51 percent of the Illinois State Legislature leaving minority representation to the other 101 counties in our State. I am not convinced that what is necessarily good for Chicago or for Cook County is good for the entire State of Illinois.

In his opinion, Chief Justice Warren admitted that political subdivisions within States were necessary in order to assist States in carrying out State governmental functions and that it was necessary to insure them a voice within the State legislatures. These local governmental entities must perform many functions which only they are qualified to do. How better can we assure their effective representation than through recognition of factors such as area, as well as population in the apportionment of one house of a bicameral legislature. This would guarantee the effective rule of the majority by utilizing population in one house but would also be sufficiently flexible to produce legislative bodies reflecting the regional and local values which the State may deem appropriate.

We can ill afford to desert the interests of the minority merely because the majority has been treated unfairly in some States. As the cliche goes, two wrongs do not make a right.

I hope all of you will conclude with me that the severe blow delivered to States rights must be rectified. It is my sincere belief that the solution offered in House Joint Resolution 1060 will guarantee the future of the established bases of our society.

I thank you for your attention and consideration and urge this committee to act expeditiously in reporting corrective legislation which I am certain will be promptly ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the State legislatures.

Fridley Hears How To Get Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following is the full text of the newspaper article to which I referred earlier today during debate on S. 1006:

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Star, Aug. 13, 1964]

"ELECT A DEMOCRAT"—FRIDLEY HEARS HOW TO GET POST OFFICE

(By Robert Hentges)

Fridley civic leaders wasted little time Wednesday before trying to take advantage of the first known visit of a Cabinet-level official to Anoka County.

"I'd like to give you a letter we were about to mail to you," Walter Miller, Fridley Chamber of Commerce president, said to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski.

Gronouski had just entered Sandee's Restaurant, 6490 Central Avenue NE, Fridley, to talk about mail and politics to about 75 members of the chamber and the Fridley Rotary Club.

The Postmaster General took the letter from Miller and put it in his pocket.

"I think I know what's in it," said Gronouski, smiling.

William Nee, Fridley mayor, gave a short welcome speech for Gronouski in which he said:

"Welcome to our city—generally known as Zip Code 55421 (Columbia Heights) 55432 (Coon Rapids) and 55112 (New Brighton). We think just plain 55434 would be a beautiful name."

Gronouski, by this time probably sensing that the room was filled with supporters of a new post office in Fridley, began his remarks by pointing to State Senator Richard J. Parish, Golden Valley.

Parish, DFL'er seeking to unseat Representative Clark MacGregor in November, set up the Gronouski appearance in Fridley and introduced the Postmaster General.

"The way to get a post office here," Gronouski said in answer to the many requests, "is to send a Democratic Congressman to Washington this fall."

Miller said later that Fridley—11th city in the State in population with about 26,000 persons, 19th city in assessed valuation and 10th in municipal liquor sales—has begun formal application for a post office.

The effort to replace mail service from three post offices outside Fridley and to get a facility in the city will be completed in about 6 weeks, Miller said.

Grounouski, Postmaster General for 9 months, turned the remainder of his remarks toward his Department and the need for the election of his boss, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Senator Gaylord Nelson and the Wisconsin Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, "The Wisconsin Story" is a history of Wisconsin now in its fifth printing. It is a well documented work published by the Milwaukee Journal and accepted throughout many of the school systems of Wisconsin as an official history of our State. This current edition, edited by H. Russell Austin, includes from pages 370 through 378 a definitive history of the administrations of Gov. GAYLORD NELSON during the period 1959–62. Governor NELSON, now Senator NELSON, had a most distinguished career as Wisconsin's chief executive as is attested in "The Wisconsin Story." Under unanimous consent, I include these selections from this current edition of "The Wisconsin Story" in the RECORD:

THE WISCONSIN STORY—A HISTORY OF WISCONSIN PUBLISHED BY THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

(Quoted from Pp. 370–378)

(By H. Russell Austin)

In 1958, the Democrats were to score their most sweeping victory in the State since depression days, electing GAYLORD NELSON, of Madison, as Governor and winning all statewide offices execpt secretary of state.

NELSON, a Madison attorney who had been, like his father, an active LaFollette Progressive, had been elected State senator as a Democrat in 1948 and had served 10 years. He waged a hard-hitting campaign against Governor Thomson beginning 13 months before the 1958 election. He particularly attacked Thomson for having announced an $83 million State building program, when there was only about $100,000 in the building trust fund, and while boasting that Wisconsin believed in "pay as you go" government. He scored the Thomson administration's defaulting on annual payments into the depreciation reserve as a budget-balancing trick that would cost more in the end through increased building costs and high interest debt incurred by "bootleg" borrowing devices to get around the constitutional debt ban.

The voters responded in November, giving NELSON an 88,000 vote edge over Thomson in a 1.2 million ballot total. On January 5, 1959, GAYLORD NELSON, at 43 (born June 4, 1916, at Clear Lake, Wis.) was inaugurated as the first Democratic Governor of Wisconsin since 1934, when Albert G. Schmedeman ended his term. In 1960 he was to become the first reelected Democratic Governor since George W. Peck won a second term in 1893. He had something else in common with Peck—a lively talent as a humorist.

NELSON'S two-term administration produced historic advances in many fields of State government, although only a fraction of his sweeping proposals survived the stormy wrangles in the politically divided legislature, with its Republican-controlled Senate. Con-

sidering that in NELSON's second term the Republicans recaptured the assembly, the posts of lieutenant governor and treasurer, and retained the office of secretary of state, the record of accomplishment seems all the more remarkable.

An outstanding accomplishment was the first major reorganization of State government in 30 years, including the creation of a new department of administration combining five previously separate agencies to centralize the State's "housekeeping" functions, and a new department of resource development combining the economic study, promotional and growth aid activities previously scattered among 13 agencies.

The first management audit of State agencies in history was started, along with standardization of State purchasing procedures, with combined savings estimated in the hundreds of thousands of dollars in 2 years. The first statewide attempt at overall planning in the United States was instituted, with the help of a $500,000 Federal grant. Regional planning commissions were sponsored for southeastern Wisconsin, northwestern Wisconsin, and the Wolf River Basin.

Conservation legislation was highlighted by a 10-year, $50 million outdoor resources program financed by a 1-cent-a-package boost in the cigarette tax. Phases of the plan included acquisition of 145,000 additional acres for parks and forest recreation areas, 353,000 added acres of wildlife habitat, 103,000 acres of fish management lands, and three youth conservation camps, as well as $1.5 million for creation of new lakes in flood control projects in southwestern Wisconsin, another $1 million for purchase of open space around metropolitan areas and funds to buy scenic protection rights along 3,000 miles of State trunk highways.

With new State aids to help counties develop recreation areas in forest crop lands, to increase fish and game habitats and fish propagation, a new State program to classify lakes against destruction by overcrowding and pollution, a statewide program for public access to lakes and streams, a restoration of all hunting and fishing license revenues to the fish and game program, billboard controls along the interstate highway system, and legislation providing for long-range planning for preservation of outdoor resources, the program put Wisconsin in the vanguard of States in the field of conservation.

In education, the Nelson administration speeded up the building program at the University of Wisconsin and the State colleges, along with other State building programs, by a full 2 years. Some $58 million in State funds was authorized for higher education buildings in 3 years, compared to only $39 million in the previous 10 years. Faculty of the university and the State colleges were given a 24-percent salary increase, and minimum pay for grade and high school teachers was raised. The State's share of local grade and high school costs was raised from 20 to 25 percent, providing an additional $30 million a year to hold down local property taxes. A new $5 million student loan program was enacted, increasing maximum loans per student from $440 to $1,000 per year, and from $1,600 to $5,000 for an entire college or university career. Funds for vocational education were quadrupled, from $840,000 in 1959–61 to $3,570,000 in 1961–63.

The veterans' housing loan fund was increased and loan limits raised. A new law was obtained permitting Wisconsin farmers to establish self-help marketing agreements for coordinated sales and promotion of products. Labor legislation included a 25-percent boost in unemployment compensation rates, to the highest level in the Nation, increased workmen's compensation for disability, laws against hiring children under 12 for farm labor and providing aid for education of children of migrant workers, and giving public employees' unions full negotiating rights.

Other legislation created a State commission on aging, changed laws to improve standards of care for the aged, care and rehabilitation of the disabled, created the first State mental health committee, and provided for new mental health clinics, study and treatment centers, strengthened programs at existing institutions and provided $150,000 a year for research on mental retardation.

In civil rights, the Nelson administration obtained legislation to ban companies receiving State contracts from discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or color. It also won amendments to the fair employment law to bar discrimination because of age or sex.

Wisconsin became the first State in the Nation to require safety belts in the front seats of all new cars, under a 1961 law. Another law required uniform reporting of accidents. Governor NELSON pushed a 24-point program for highway safety, obtained increased aids for driver education in schools, and vetoed two bills on the grounds that they would have relaxed highway safety regulations at a time when highway fatalities were mounting.

A pioneering step in the modernization of county government was passage by the 1959 legislature of a law creating the office of county executive, in counties of more than 500,000 population (only Milwaukee, at the time). John L. Doyne, former chairman of the county board, took office May 2, 1960, as Milwaukee County's first executive. Veto power for the executive had been provided in the law, but ruled out by the Supreme Court. Constitutional amendments approved by the voters in November 1962 gave the executive veto power and made his a constitutional office. Creation of the new office was accompanied by other major improvements in county government, including installation of a new accounting system, central purchasing, improved budgeting procedures, and other measures, vigorously pushed by Doyne. Wisconsin gained national recognition as the foremost State in modernization of county government.

The future of urban renewal in Wisconsin was brightened greatly by a constitutional amendment passed by the legislature in 1959 and 1961 and approved by the voters in a referendum, giving cities and villages full land condemnation powers without a jury verdict of necessity, for the first time in history. Another 1961 law gave redevelopment authorities in Wisconsin the same condemnation powers as municipalities. The need for a jury verdict to condemn property for renewal had been a major stumbling block to the program in Wisconsin.

Although it was not the sort of progress which attracts wide popular attention, one historymaking development of the Nelson administration was the reorganization of the State's courts for the first time since statehood. The courts were integrated into a unified and uniform trilevel system—supreme, circuit, and county—under active management of the chief justice. Voted in principle by the 1959 legislature, implemented by the 1961 legislature, effective in 1962, the system gives each of the trial court levels uniform jurisdiction and procedure statewide, with flexibility in temporary assignment of judges where most needed for maximum efficiency of the system as a whole. The office of administrator of courts was created to assist and advise the chief justice. By supreme court appointment, retiring Chief Justice John E. Martin moved from the bench into the administrator's office as its first incumbent, serving under his successor, Chief Justice Grover Broadfoot. All of this amounted to the most far reaching evolution of Wisconsin courts in the history of the State.

All of these achievements, which made the Nelson administration the most impressive of any in roughly a half century of the State's history, were accomplished with little fanfare amidst the turmoil of partisan brawling which led to recordbreaking lengths of the legislative sessions. They were made also against the background of a mounting State financial problem, caused in large part by the growth in population, particularly in the younger and older age groups, which required more spending than they were able to contribute in taxes.

Governor NELSON stressed this theme early in his administration in calling for a thorough study and revision of the State's tax system. He appointed four members of the University of Wisconsin faculty, headed by Prof. Harold Groves, to study the impact of various tax proposals upon the State. He set up a 19-member, bipartisan citizens' tax committee popularly called the blue ribbon tax committee, to recommend a new tax system.

The citizens' committee recommended, in the main, a State withholding tax system, a general sales tax with a credit refund feature to offset the tax on necessities, and repeal of the personal property tax, levied mainly on merchants' and manufacturers' inventories and farmers' livestock.

Governor NELSON himself favored withholding, opposed a general sales tax—although his position was more flexible than that of the State Democratic Party, which had written into its platform opposition to any form of sales tax—favored a gradual reduction of the personal property tax, advocated new taxes on banks and beer and a boost in income tax rates. Most Republicans in the legislature favored the general sales tax, opposed an income tax boost, opposed the bank and beer taxes and were reluctant to adopt a withholding system.

The long battle over taxes, running through both of NELSON's terms as Governor is too complicated to be detailed here. After voting down NELSON's tax proposal, the legislature passed a 3-percent general sales tax bill, which the Governor vetoed. The deadlock ended in compromise in the 1961 session, with passage and signing of a bill for a selective 3-percent sales tax exempting food and other necessities, a withholding system and a 1-percent boost in income tax rates. This law satisfied no one fully, but it showed willingness of both the Governor and his Republican opponents to give ground rather than to subject the State to a really damaging fiscal crisis.

On the personal property tax, a constitutional amendment was sought and obtained to permit taxation of merchants' and manufacturers' inventories and farmers' livestock at a different rate than other property, such as real estate. Under this provision, relief totaling some $30 million was granted on personal property in the 1961–63 biennium. In addition, about $55 million in real property tax relief was granted.

The legislature responded to the Governor's appeals for budgets adequate to meet at least the "barebones" of the State's mushrooming needs for schools, welfare institutions and services, and the executive budget expenditures of $416.6 million in his first term and $512.6 million in his second represented approximately what Governor NELSON had asked. The State's revenues, while increased by the tax measures of 1961, did not keep pace with the burgeoning budget, with the result that a deficit of more than $20 million a biennium remained to keep alive the dispute over taxes well into the succeeding administration.

Financial problems and the many faceted legislative program pushed by Governor NELSON left the legislature with little time or inclination to wrestle with the tangled problem of legislative reapportionment, although actions of the United States and Wisconsin supreme courts in these years made it clear

that the legislature would not be able permanently to evade its constitutional mandate to reapportion after the decennial census. State Attorney General John W. Reynolds sought to force action on reapportionment during the Nelson administration, but the litigation had produced no acceptable legislation by the time Reynolds moved into the Governor's mansion.

Governor NELSON had called the legislature back into session in June 1962 to act on reapportionment after a panel of three Federal judges said they would reapportion the State if the legislature did not do so promptly. Bills for both legislative and congressional reapportionment were introduced and passed by the Republican majority, but the Governor vetoed both, charging that they were attempts to "gerrymander" the State for political advantage, that among other shortcomings, they left Milwaukee County underrepresented.

One change in the State's political map was accomplished, however, when the Menominee Indian reservation in northeastern Wisconsin, between Shawano and Oconto Counties, was released from Federal control April 30, 1961, and became the new Menominee County, 72d in the State. The tribe was the first in the United States to be freed from Federal administration. The problems of the 3,500 residents in governing the 234,000-acre county which had been a Federal reservation for 107 years were formidable, and many of the Menominee joined in petitioning the Government to resume control of the tribe and its properties, which included rich forest lands.

Wisconsin stepped into the national political spotlight briefly in 1960 for its part in helping to nominate John F. Kennedy for President. Kennedy attached great importance to the Wisconsin presidential primary as a testing ground for his presidential aspirations, campaigned intensively here and sent in members of his family and inner circle of associates to help line up the votes. His chief primary opponent, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, worked hard with a smaller retinue and more limited funds. Governor NELSON remained neutral in the race.

NELSON's popularity was confirmed in his 1962 victory over the veteran Alexander Wiley for the U.S. Senate, by a margin of 67,000 votes.

Hon. John Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my profound sorrow over the death of our distinguished colleague, JOHN BENNETT.

I pay tribute to him as a fine Congressman and as a fine man. As an investigator, he made the proud record of always seeking the truth whatever the cost.

I knew JOHN BENNETT not only as a Congressman but as the devoted son of Mrs. James G. Bennett, of Milwaukee. He was often in my home city visiting his mother and sister.

Years ago, he studied law at Marquette University in Milwaukee before embarking on his dedicated career of public service. Congress, to which he gave 20 years of public-spirited effort, will be poorer for his absence.

I offer my deep sympathy to his widow, his mother, and the rest of his family.

Austin, Tex., Law Tutor Featured in Time Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, in Austin, Tex., it is stated that 90 percent of the lawyers under the age of 40 have taken the cram course for the Texas State bar exam given by Attorney Arthur Mitchell. What started out to be a favor to fellow students at Baylor University developed into a "cram school." The word has traveled—and Mr. Mitchell and his school were the subject of a special article in a recent edition of Time magazine.

"The Garrulous Greek," as Mitchell has been dubbed, is the son of Greek immigrants who came to our State at the turn of the century. Both parents died when Mitchell was very young, and with the aid of an immigrant aunt he made his way, served with the Navy in the South Pacific during World War II, and then attended Baylor University. At Baylor he was an honor student and an honor graduate from the school of law. While there he tutored fellow students and by the time he was a senior, students were seeking him out for assistance in preparing for the State bar exam. After he passed the bar exam in 1950, he launched his course, which has become known far and wide.

Mr. Mitchell was also the special subject of an article in the Austin American, and because I believe my fellow colleagues would be interested in reading about the "dean" of Texas lawyers, I ask permission to include the article in my remarks.

The article is as follows:

AUSTIN LAW TUTOR FEATURED IN TIME
(By Al Williams)

A unique system of cramming future lawyers with information enabling them to pass the State bar exam has carried Austin Attorney Arthur Mitchell onto the pages of Time magazine this week.

In its new edition, Time takes a look at the cram, cram, cramming preceding the bar exam—termed a "legal torture" which is the "law's last vestige of ordeal by fire."

Every man who becomes a lawyer in Texas and the other States must pass the bar exam.

In Texas, it is a 16-hour examination, beset with legal pitfalls for the aspiring attorneys.

"It is a grind all lawyers have to go through," says Mitchell, a Taylor native.

To prepare themselves for it in Texas, the future barristers come to Mitchell, something they've been doing since he was a tutor in Baylor Law School as far back as 1948.

Since the bar exam is given three times a year—in March, June, and October—Mitchell schedules his classes to end just before the bar exams. What Mitchell throws at them, for a fee, is an 18-day series of lectures lasting some 4 hours each session and covering 20 sections of the exam. Mitchell personally lectures on 18 of the subjects.

Time quoted Mitchell, dubbed "The Garrulous Greek" in the article, as claiming to have crammed half the lawyers in Texas. Mitchell dramatizes the life in the law, says Time. Mitchell is quoted as saying, "I tell them the law is comical, the law is tragic, the law is real. The things that happen in law are things that happen to people."

Mitchell, who doesn't know which of his friends put "The Garrulous Greek" title on him, says about 90 percent of the lawyers in Austin under the age of 40 have taken his cram course.

Is it successful?

"I get a high percentage—96 to 97 percent—of passes on the bar exam," he says.

His last course was attended by more than 200 persons. Previous classes during the last year drew from 100 to 200 students.

The Arthur Mitchell bar course had its beginning when he tutored students as a Baylor law student. By the time he was a senior students were seeking him out to aid them in preparing for the exam since he had tutored all the courses covered on the bar exam. He passed it himself in October, 1950 and at that time launched his course.

Mitchell says he has the only exam school in the State, although he has a course given under his name by a man in Houston.

"It's gotten to be an institution," he offers. "I don't have to advertise, they come to me."

To help students with their studies, Mitchell has a set of books (weighing about 50 pounds), which go with the course. He spent about 6 years writing the study aids.

Secret of his success is concentrated review of each subject on the bar exam. "I have never spent any time going over past exams as some do in other States. I give the basic rules and go from there, providing a capsule review of the entire subject," he says.

He draws his students from throughout Texas, as well as out-of-state schools. "Some of our boys go off to places like Harvard and come back to Texas to practice. They take the course to enable them to pass the bar exam," says Mitchell.

Mitchell emphasizes that his cram school has no official standing. But because of the increasing numbers of men and women coming out of law school it fills a tremendous need. "It bridges the gap between law school and the exam," he says.

He could add that his "bridge" is a mighty sturdy one, one which is almost an assurance of success. It very well could lead to an unofficial title for Mitchell as the "dean" of Texas lawyers.

Tribute to Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the Honorable JOHN B. BENNETT, of Michigan.

To express in words the grief and sorrow one feels when one of our Members is suddenly taken from us is difficult, just as it is difficult to adequately describe the many qualities which JOHN possessed. He was a quiet man, but a

determined one who never gave up when he was fighting for something in which he believed.

Several years ago, when my office was near his, I learned to know him well, and I greatly valued our friendship during the years that followed. He was a capable and conscientious legislator, dedicated to serving his district with unselfish and faithful devotion.

To his widow and his family, I extend my heartfelt sympathy in their great loss.

New York Times Correspondent C. P. Trussell Reports Passage of Food Stamp Bill After Covering Bill's Long History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, no reporter has been more faithful in covering the long legislative process which preceded the passage of H.R. 10222 than Mr. C. P. Trussell of the New York Times. Over a period of 10 years, he attended numerous hearings of the House Committee on Agriculture on this legislation or its predecessor bills, and the debates in the House in 1957, 1958, 1959, and again this year, and did an excellent job of reporting on the issue. Mr. Trussell is one of the most highly respected members of the Washington press corps, and I have always been proud of and pleased with the importance he accorded the food stamp story at a time when most newspapers in the country outside of St. Louis, Detroit, and Pittsburgh were not much interested in this news. Naturally, I think his news judgment has been demonstrated by the increasing importance of the legislation as a political issue and as a major achievement of this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD the report by New York Times Correspondent C. P. Trussell on final passage by the Congress of H.R. 10222, a report by a writer who has followed this legislation closely during the 10 years since I first introduced my food stamp bill. The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 12, 1964]

CONGRESS CLEARS FOOD STAMP PLAN FOR THE NEEDY—NATIONWIDE PROGRAM WOULD PROVIDE ASSISTANCE FOR ANY AREA ASKING IT

(By C. P. Trussell)

WASHINGTON, August 11.—The House sent to the President today the permanent and countrywide program for improving the diets of needy families by the use of food stamps bought at a discount. The stamps may be spent like currency.

Congressional action on the legislation, a major administration item allied with President Johnson's antipoverty program, was completed as the House accepted without dissent amendments that the Senate had made to the original House bill.

The program is an expansion of a pilot project that has been under test in more than 40 communities in 22 States. It will now be available to all communities requesting it.

Congress authorized appropriations of $75 million for the year that started last July 1, $100 million for the second year and $200 million for the third. After that, the program is to be reviewed.

The principal sponsor was Representative LEONOR KRETZER SULLIVAN, Democrat, of Missouri, who pressed for its acceptance in the face of numerous committee and floor setbacks.

"Enactment of this bill," she said after the House acted this afternoon, "will go a long way toward outlawing hunger in the United States.

"It will assure adequate nutrition and appetizing diets for millions of Americans, including those now living almost entirely on powdered milk and eggs, dried beans, cornmeal, flour, and other surplus food items."

The measure was blocked in the House last month because of a Senate provision indicating that distribution of free items such as powdered and dried surplus goods would be halted in any community that adopted the food stamp plan. It was brought out later that the choice as to continuance would be left to local officials, who would be in full control of the stamp program. The protest was not renewed today.

The stamps could be used to buy almost any ordinary food. Products identified as being imported and alcoholic beverages and tobacco would be barred.

In the pilot areas, which began the test in 1961, there has been a notable increase in consumption of meats, vegetables, milk, and fruits, to the benefit of consumer and tradesmen alike.

Each State agency administering the federally assisted program is to submit a plan and standards for participation. The standards would limit eligibility to households whose income is too low to provide an adequate diet.

An eligible household would receive some food stamps at a cost equivalent to the household's normal expenditure for food. The stamps needed to cover the difference between the ability to pay and the cost of an adequate diet would be given to the household.

The stamps could be spent at retail stores. The retailers could redeem the stamps through wholesale food concerns or banks. The retailers and wholesalers would be subject to approval by the Department of Agriculture.

State welfare agencies would be responsible for certification of applicants.

Native of Town To Be Ordained at Rome Ceremony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I note with pleasure and some pride that a member of the family of the former staff director of the Committee on Select Education has completed his studies at the North American College in Rome.

Rev. Anthony D. Muntone, brother of Dr. John Muntone, former employee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, was ordained in Rome on July 12 of this year.

The notice of the ceremony follows:

NATIVE OF TOWN TO BE ORDAINED AT ROME CEREMONY

Rev. Anthony D. Muntone, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Muntone, Sr., of 603 West Coal Street, will be ordained July 12, at the North American College in Rome, by His Excellency Archbishop O'Connor, director of the American College.

Father Muntone was graduated from the J. W. Cooper High School, class of 1953. He furthered his education at Penn State University where he received his bachelor of science in mathematics and science. He then entered St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Philadelphia in 1957. Later he was assigned to continue his studies for the priesthood at the North American College in Rome by His Excellency Bishop McShea of the Allentown Diocese.

His first mass will be celebrated in the chapel of the American College in Rome. He will continue his administrative studies at the Gregoriana University for another year, after which he will return to the United States in June of 1965. His first mass in the States will be celebrated at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Father Muntone's boyhood parish.

Among the relatives who left for Rome via Alitalia Airlines are the following: Mrs. Anthony Muntone, Sr., Mrs. Dominick Ritzo, Mrs. Theresa Ritzo Unione, of Hawthorne, N.J., and the following friends: Mr. and Mr. Anthony Malocu and Mrs. Clara Grigas.

A Time Bomb Called Population

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, my colleague MO UDALL from Arizona has attained a distinctive reputation for his incisive newsletters dealing with timely topics. His latest missive, "A Time Bomb Called Population" is one more example of the mature thought, and indeed the daring manner, in which our fellow Congressman deals with serious matters which too often are ignored in public debate. I urge my colleagues to study the following newsletter for a thought-provoking discussion of the population explosion problem:

A TIME BOMB CALLED POPULATION

(By MORRIS K. UDALL, Second District of Arizona)

In this presidential election year heated debate will be waged on a multitude of current and pressing problems. But conspicuously absent from issues to be discussed is the one which may well be our most urgent problem—the time bomb called population.

As Mark Twain might have put it: "Population is something everybody does something about but nobody talks about." I intend to talk about it.

During a recent press conference, in discussing sharply increased school district and local taxes, I cited some startling statistics and commented that a great many of our local, national, and international problems originate in one way or another in the population explosion. When I finished, a reported asked, "Congressman UDALL, what

are you doing to help solve this problem?"

"Well," I replied, "as a father of six, I can't say that I've done very much."

But last week I did do something, little though it may be. I introduced in the House a concurrent resolution which, if passed, might be a step toward recognizing and moving to meet the problem of tremendously rapid population growth.

THE STARTLING FACTS

But, it might be asked, isn't population growth good? Doesn't it mean more people to buy our products, more jobs, more growth for our State? Don't we in Arizona take pride in our growth statistics?

In answer to such questions one might observe that a good steady rain is beneficial but a flood wreaks havoc. And we are talking about a floodtide of human beings:

It took earth millions of years to acquire, by the time of Christ, a population of one-quarter of a billion. It took until 1830 for the world's population to reach 1 billion. But in only 100 years we passed the 2 billion mark. It has taken less than 35 years for the population to have reached 3 billion. And, incredibly, the fourth billion will be here in but 15 more years.

If present rates are unchecked, it will take only a 35-year span to add the next 3 billion to our present 3 billion. And it will take less than 35 years after that for the 6 billion to double to 12 billion.

Bear in mind that just an increase of 1 billion (due by 1980) is equal to the total present population of all of North and South America plus all 55 nations in Europe.

Each year the United States adds more than 3 million to its population, enough to fill 6 brandnew cities the size of Phoenix. Providing the additional schools, streets, sewers, post offices and all the other facilities needed by modern society is a heavy and expensive burden.

By the year 2000 the United States will likely increase its population from 190 million to 340 million. Of these, 100 million will be children who need schools, playgrounds, library facilities, etc. And 30 million will be "senior citizens" with medical care and other problems which become most acute as years advance.

Population growth, like compound interest, is self-accelerating; that is, the more people there are the greater the population growth, even though the rate of growth remains the same. When you are talking about billions of people the results of doubling are staggering.

Just when men and women everywhere are awakening to the possibilities of a decent life and are thus demanding improvements in their standard of living, the population explosion is wiping out most of the benefits of economic growth (and our foreign aid program) in the underdeveloped world. A key democratic nation in Asia, for example, attempting to rise by its bootstraps, recently completed a successful 5-year program by increasing its economic output 12 percent. Are its people better off? No, because in this time its population increased 15 percent and net living standards are worse than before.

WHY NOW?

How does it happen that in this century population figures have gone crazy? The answer is found in two words: medical science. Human beings aren't suddenly more fertile; our reproduction potential hasn't changed. In any given year the increase or decrease in population is simply the number of births minus the number of deaths.

In North America and Wetsern Europe birth and death rates have declined more or less proportionately. But medical science has upset this pattern in the underdeveloped parts of the world. It has caused a precipitous decline in the death rates while birth rates have remained constant. The result is galloping population growth.

Never before in history has it been possible to introduce an extensive program of death control so quickly in any given areas of the world. Armed with miracle drugs, insecticides and extensive knowledge of sanitation and nutrition, scientists almost overnight can drastically curtail the rate of dying. Just since World War II, for example, death rates have been reduced more than one-third in such places as India and Malaya. In Ceylon the spraying of DDT reduced the death rate by 40 percent within a single year.

Birth rates are higher in the underdeveloped areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa—where two-thirds of all the world's people live. Where birth rates are high, there are high proportions of youth. As infant mortality has declined, family burdens have increased. And the children, when they become adults and parents, face the same prospect of endless toil just to acquire the barest of essentials.

A NONPARTISAN ISSUE

While the wonders of medical science have brought on this problem, the doctors are also concerned with its solution. We are now within sight of safe, reliable drugs and other medical means to make it possible for mankind, if it will, to regulate its growth. Whether these solutions will be used in a way to defuse the population bomb is a problem the doctors cannot solve. This is a matter for ordinary citizens, community leaders and people acting through their governments all over the world.

Fortunately, the population problem is not a partisan political issue in this country, as evidenced by the following:

Shortly before his death, President Kennedy said, "We should know more and do more about the whole reproductive cycle, and this information should be available to the world."

Former President Eisenhower recently commented that "the time has come when we must take into account the effect of the population explosion on our mutual assistance system. Unless we do, it may smother the economic progress of many nations."

Richard Nixon, after his Asian tour, said he had observed poverty "worse than I have ever dreamed existed" and recommended that the United States give assistance to nations requesting help on population matters.

This is, in short, one of those rare subjects upon which a great many leaders with widely differing political views wholeheartedly agree.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION

Central to any consideration of the population problem is the religious question, and particularly the position of the Roman Catholic Church on birth cotnrol. It should be emphasized, however, that the church does not condemn birth control; it raises barriers only on the methods used.

Within the church right now there is a tremendous dialog taking place regarding the population explosion, a discussion spurred by the recent Ecumenical Council and by prominent church leaders.

The oral contraceptive pill, simple and nearly 100 percent effective, has opened up opportunity for change within the church. As Newsweek magazine recently pointed out, Catholic theologians are beginning to accept the position of the distinguished Roman Catholic gynecologist, Dr. John Rock, who argues that the new pills can be considered morally acceptable.

Look magazine, in a recent comprehensive report on Latin American Catholics and birth control, noted the open declaration of Jesuit priests in Santiago, Chile. It holds that the pills, which inhibit ovulation but do not destroy any egg, are permissible.

A recent national survey found that at least 30 percent of Catholic couples use birth control methods condemned by the church. And a heavy majority of those polled hoped their church would change its attitude toward birth control. It should be remembered that of the 11 countries in the world with the lowest birth rates 5 are predominately Catholic: Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, and Luxembourg.

Further evidence of the church's concern with the population problem is the important work being done at Catholic research centers such as the one here in Washington at Georgetown University.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD DO FOR OTHER COUNTRIES

Eugene R. Black, then President of the World Bank, declared in 1961:

"Population growth threatens to nullify all our efforts to raise living standards in many of the poorer countries. We are coming to a situation in which the optimist will be the man who thinks that present living standards can be maintained."

That's a pretty bleak outlook when we realize that the average per capita income of the 2 billion people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is about $100 a year, compared to over $2,300 in the United States and $850 in western Europe.

Thus the prospect is one of seething unrest, impatience with the existing order and sympathy to the advocates of communism (who, ironically, generally assert that concern for population growth is merely a bourgeois excuse for the failure of capitalism.)

Congress, in passing the foreign aid bill last year, specifically authorized the spending of money "to conduct research into the problems of population growth." However, there was a $6 million ceiling on research of all kinds, and Senator GRUENING of Alaska calculated that only $130,000 would go toward helping population problems. Nevertheless, the specific authorization was a big step forward. And the late President Kennedy stated that the results of research in this area should be made available to the people of the world.

We certainly ought not to hesitate to give our research findings to nations which request them. Perhaps we should also offer technical assistance in implementing programs of population control when such help is sought. As President Johnson has said: "The only way that we can hope to deal with the population explosion is with the knowledge explosion."

Other nations are beginning to look to the United States for leadership. For example, Pakistan's President Ayub Khan asserted: "We look to you, a country like yours, to apply your mind and your resources to be able to combat this problem." He bluntly stated the alternative:

"If we continue to increase at the present rate it will ultimately lead to a standard of living little better than that of animals."

It has been pointed out that in all of its many programs the U.S. Government is spending $15 billion a year on research. But less than $10 million is being spent on the basic problem of population.

THE CLARK-GRUENING-UDALL RESOLUTION

Senators CLARK, of Pennsylvania, and GRUENING, of Alaska, have introduced a resolution relative to population control. I am the only House sponsor. The resolution would have Congress:

Urge the President to hasten implementation of the policies of the United States regarding population growth by inaugurating substantially increased programs of research within the National Institutes of Health and to make results freely available to countries requesting such assistance.

Request the President to create a Presidential Commission on Population with the duty to inform, after investigation, the government and the American people of the

nature of population problems at home and abroad, with respect to the implications for all aspects of American life.

THE FUSE IS BURNING

This presidential year we shall debate medicare, civil rights, big government, control of nuclear bombs, and all the rest. But looking ahead three or four presidential elections, I venture to predict that the population bomb may soon overshadow all other issues.

When 6 or 8 billion people are shoved into the already overcrowded cities and slums of this planet, breathing polluted air and fighting for an insufficient supply of land, water and resources, then wars, revolutions and global strife are inevitable. And even if through science we manage to provide enough basic essentials for everyone we would likely do so only by sacrificing improvement of society's institutions for the sake of providing bare minimums.

I believe the problem of overpopulation on this planet can be solved. But the time to begin was yesterday.

Schedule of Grassroots Conferences in Third District, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a privilege to represent the people of the third district of Ohio here in the Congress of the United States. I am deeply grateful for this opportunity to be of service, and it is my constant desire to serve my constituents in the best way possible. During my service here I have made it my regular policy to keep in close touch with the people of my district so that I may know how they feel about the many important issues facing us here in Congress.

In the face of the critical worldwide conditions presently before us these conferences become even more meaningful in reflecting the opinions of the folks in our district.

I have considered it my duty, as the representative of this great district, not only to be well informed of the opinions of my constituents but also to be of the greatest possible service to persons having problems dealing with agencies or departments of our Federal Government.

Thirteen years ago I initiated the idea of holding grassroots conferences throughout our district, and I have continued this practice each year during the time Congress is in adjournment. I also have a full-time congressional service office at the U.S. Post Office Building in Dayton, where I can meet with people personally at any time that my official duties permit me to return to the district.

During the time I am in Washington attending to legislative and official duties, a competent secretary is in charge of my district service office to assist callers and to help them with requests for aid in dealing with the Federal Government so that I can be of every proper assistance to them.

In these ways I have sincerely tried to keep well informed as to the personal opinions of my constituents, and I have also tried continuously and sincerely to be of every proper service to them.

Members of Congress are constantly called upon to give careful and earnest consideration to legislation dealing with many complex national and international problems. These day-to-day decisions often affect the lives and living of every citizen in our Nation. Consequently, these personal and private conferences help me to serve all of the people in my district in a much more effective manner.

For the past 2 years the extra-long sessions of Congress have prevented my holding conferences, but this year, during our official congressional recess, I am again taking time to hold these meetings throughout our district at convenient public buildings. I deeply appreciate the fine cooperation of the many officials who make these meeting places available to me as an aid in rendering this public service.

This is the schedule I have arranged:

Dayton Post Office, room 314, September 8 and 9, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Germantown City Building, September 10, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Miamisburg City Building, September 11, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Vandalia City Building, September 12, 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

Brookville City Building, September 12, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Hamilton Courthouse, September 14, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Oxford Municipal Building, September 15, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Middletown American Legion, September 16, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Fairfield City Building, September 18, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Kettering Municipal Building, September 19, 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.

I have been greatly encouraged by the increased attendance at these conferences each year. It is sometimes surprising to see how much can really be accomplished when a citizen and his Congressman can sit down face to face and talk over problems of mutual concern.

Special appointments are not necessary for these conferences, and I sincerely urge individuals or groups to meet with me on the date and at the place most convenient to them. The knowledge obtained throughout these grassroots conferences will help me to render better service, both legislative and personal, to all of the people of our important Third District as their Representative in the Congress of the United States.

Non-Service-Connected Pensions

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, I favor H.R. 1927, a bill to liberalize the pension restrictions of non-service-connected veterans. The bill is worthy of passage and I am personally gratified to see it before the House.

The six new exclusions from income used to determine pension eligibility which are provided for in section 1 of H.R. 1927 show that some of the problems faced by our veterans are receiving sympathetic consideration, but further study and consideration should continue. For example, in this bill the provisions for amounts paid by the veteran for the last illness and burial of his deceased spouse or child is a direct aid to many veterans who are burdened by the extravagant expenses of medical care and burial fees. Again, the provisions made for payments received by veterans such as jury duty fees, educational assistance programs and the 10-percent income from social security and other pension and retirement plans should, indeed, be discounted when pensions are determined.

Section 3, which removes the 10-percent disability as well as the unemployability requirements for veterans aged 65 to receive pensions is a valid liberalization. A doctor's report may not be able to tell the whole story at all times.

Sections 5 and 6 which will increase allowances for aid and attendance cases as well as for housebound cases deserve approval on a humanitarian level. We must recognize that rising costs have put heavier and heavier burdens on our veterans who must live within an established and unchanging income, making them least able to bear the rise in prices.

Section 9 which provides for the furnishing under certain circumstances of medicines and drugs prescribed by a physician must also stand approved on humanitarian grounds. I am most happy to see that this particular provision had been included.

There are, of course, many additional provisions of H.R. 1927 which are worthy and which deserve our wholehearted support. I can say with some measure of pride that while I am greatly concerned with the problems of fiscal responsibility in Government spending, I have always been firmly behind any bill which provides for the care of our veterans especially when it increases their fiscal independence and purchasing power. In this way, many times, they are saved from being wards of the State, receiving only enough dole to keep them from starving and are turned into responsible consumers with a sense of their own worth and dignity. I am proud to stand in favor of H.R. 1927.

The Shabby Compromise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, in the past few days both bodies have

witnessed unexpected salvos of parliamentary pyrotechnics on the reapportionment question. Dazzling as they have been, they should not obscure the hard fact that any legislation designed to forestall the jurisdiction of the Federal courts is legislation destined to suspend the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Two editorials, one appearing in the Milwaukee Journal of August 9 and the other in today's Washington Post, help keep these recent events in their proper perspective. I commend them to all Members, particularly to those who may feel that the Mansfield-Dirksen substitute represents a compromise only with the Rules Committee action, and not with the Constitution as well.

The editorials follow:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Aug. 9, 1964]

"ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" RULING PERILED BY DIRKSEN MOVE

Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, Senate Minority Leader, is trying to upset the Supreme Court's ruling requiring that legislative apportionment in the States be based on the theory of "one man, one vote."

DIRKSEN has introduced a measure which would forbid the courts to act on redistricting cases for a period of from 2 to 4 years—during which time an attempt would be made to amend the Constitution to allow apportionment of one house of a legislature to be based on other factors than population.

DIRKSEN wants his measure to be a rider on the foreign aid bill. As Robert B. McKay, associate dean of New York University Law School, told the chief justices of the 50 States meeting in New York, the rider is "irresponsible." It is particularly unconscionable, he said, to try to put the rider on a completely unrelated bill. McKay also feels that it is "doubtful" that the Congress can constitutionally "interfere * * * with the Supreme Court's function of assuring constitutional uniformity."

As Prof. Robert G. Dixon, Jr., of George Washington University Law School, says, the idea of removing Federal court jurisdiction in particular kinds of cases "would cut the heart out of their central and vital power of constiutional adjudication."

The courts wisely ruled for the "one man, one vote" concept. In no other way can our people be adequately represented in their legislatures. The system automatically gives proper representation to the various social, political and population segments of our country. For Congress to try to overthrow the ruling would not only be tampering with the balance of power in our Federal system but weakening the democratic processes.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 14, 1964]

SHABBY COMPROMISE

Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD and officials of the Department of Justice succeeded in softening the Dirksen bill a little, but it remains highly offensive in principle. Originally Senator DIRKSEN wanted to have Congress tell Federal judges that they must stay orders in State reapportionment cases for 2 to 4 years. The present compromise would put Congress in the position of telling the courts that they may not interfere with the election of unconstitutional legislatures before January 1, 1966, and that they must allow States "a reasonable opportunity" to reapportion their legislative seats in regular legislative sessions, except in "highly unusual circumstances."

In other words, Congress would be saying that the constitutional right of the citizen to equal representation in the legislature cannot be enforced in the months ahead unless there is some kind of emergency or extraordinary justification. If Congress is going to intervene at all, we think the formula should be reversed. Court orders requiring fair distribution of legislative seats should go into effect promptly, "in the absence of highly unusual circumstances." We can see no excuse for making temporary denial of equal rights the norm and granting them the exception.

The compromise has one advantage. It provides that if a State fails to bring about a proper distribution of its legislative seats within the time allotted, the courts themselves shall effect a reapportionment in accord with constitutional requirements. In effect, this seems to put Congress in the posture of sustaining the Supreme Court's "one person, one vote" formula and of recognizing the validity of judicial reapportionments if they become necessary. It is well to remember, however, that the basic purpose of the Dirksen bill is to allow Congress time to pass a constitutional amendment to reverse the Court's decision—an amendment that could be ratified by the grossly unrepresentative State legislatures.

One effect of the bill would be, for example, to reinstate the scandalously unrepresentative Legislature of Alabama. The last reapportionment in that State was based on the census of 1900. The Supreme Court found that the representation of each resident of one small county in the Alabama house was 16 times that of the residents of Alabama's largest county. In the Alabama senate the disparity was 41 to 1. Yet this mockery of representative government would be legitimatized for the purpose of passing on a constitutional amendment designed in part to perpetuate the abuses.

The House Rules Committee's attempt to sweep away the jurisdiction of all the Federal courts in regard to State reapportionment is still more outrageous. There is no need for either drastic remedy. In Chief Justice Warren's opinion in the Alabama case the Supreme Court recognized that flexibility is essential in the application of the rule it laid down. It said:

"In awarding or withholding immediate relief, a court is entitled to and should consider the proximity of a forthcoming election and the mechanics and complexities of State election laws, and should act and rely upon general equitable principles. With respect to the timing of relief, a court can reasonably endeavor to avoid a disruption of the election process which might result from requiring precipitate changes."

The mechanism for avoiding any crises or hardships resulting from the Court's ruling is already at hand. There is no necessity for Congress to add anything to it. Though less offensive than the original Dirksen bill, the Senate compromise is a most unfortunate device to perpetuate an indefensible situation in the State legislatures. And the Rules Committee bill is one of the worst assaults ever made upon the judicial system.

Jack K. Burness Memorial Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 1964

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been working with members of the newspaper profession on the problems of public access to information, and I have developed a knowledge of, and a great appreciation for, the profession itself. I note that the work done by one of the unrecognized heroes of newspaper operation will be given long overdue acknowledgement in the near future. A nonprofit organization has been established to encourage newspaper library employees to improve their professional skills and techniques and elevate the caliber of their service. By so doing they increase their contribution to full, fair, and intelligent news coverage. Without the institutional memory of its all-important reference center, a newspaper would be little more than a listing of daily events; with an effective library, a newspaper becomes a chronicle of history.

The organization will grant an annual award to the newspaper library employee who makes the greatest contribution to his profession during the year. The organization and the award have been established in the name of Jack K. Burness, chief librarian of the Washington Post until his death last September. He was a leader of his profession and a man who strove constantly to improve that profession.

The following Washington Post stories tell about the award plans and about the work of Jack Burness:

AWARD HONORS POST'S J. K. BURNESS

Establishment of an annual award for distinguished newspaper librarians was announced this week in St. Louis at the convention of the Special Libraries Association.

The $500 award, to be presented for the first time next June, was founded in memory of Jack K. Burness, former chief librarian for the Washington Post, by a board of directors that includes his widow, Anne Burness, and Alfred Friendly, the Washington Post's managing editor.

The Burness award will be presented each year to the newspaper librarian who, in the opinion of the award committee, has done most to extend the usefulness of a newspaper library "as a repository and distributor of information," introduce more efficient systems and techniques, and contribute to a better understanding in the newspaper profession of the library's role as "the institutional memory of the press."

Burness, who died last September, joined this newspaper in 1935 and had been chief librarian since 1936. He formerly was a reporter for the Daily News in his native St. Paul, Minn.

"The Answer Man" to a generation of reporters, he was widely hailed for his fabulous memory and accuracy as well as for the huge store of newspaper clippings, books, pamphlets, and other information sources he accumulated in his nearly 30 years at the Washington Post.

He had held nearly every administrative office in the newspaper division of the Special Libraries Association, including its chairmanship.

The Special Libraries Association includes some 6,000 representatives of newspaper, medical, scientific-technical, radio-TV, and other nonpublic libraries.

Board members in addition to Friendly and Mrs. Burness include Chester Sanger of the Christian Science Monitor, Rex Schaeffer of the Rochester Times-Union, Remson B. Ogilby, general counsel; Samuel J. Archibald, of the House information subcommittee and Marquis W. Childs of the St. Louis Post Dispatch Washington Bureau.

Other directors are John P. Cosgrove of Broadcasting Publications, Kenneth Crawford of Newsweek, Peter Drax of the Library of Congress, Edwin S. Greene of the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram, and Clement Vitek of the Baltimore Sun.

JACK BURNESS, 59; POST'S LIBRARIAN

Jack K. Burness, 59, chief librarian of the Washington Post since 1936, died yesterday in Holy Cross Hospital after an illness which became critical about 2 months ago.

Death was due to a brain cancer for which Mr. Burness had undergone surgery last month in George Washington University Hospital.

Mr. Burness—"The Answer Man" to a whole generation of reporters on this newspaper—was a native of St. Paul, Minn., where as a high school student he got his first taste of newspapering.

He went to work part time as a copy boy for the St. Paul Daily News and after graduation signed on as a cub reporter. Subsequently, he became an assistant chief in St. Paul's United Press bureau.

Later, he worked briefly as a teletype operator for the Associated Press in New York.

JOINED THE POST IN 1935

He arrived in Washington in the midst of the so-called great depression, joining the Washington Post as a library assistant in 1935. His aptitude for that facet of journalism became apparent quickly and the following year he was made chief librarian. To a grateful host of hard-pressed former and present-day members of the Washington Post news staff, Mr. Burness was "the library." A perceptive student of national and world affairs, Mr. Burness was blessed with a memory fabulously retentive and there were many who believed that he maintained in meticulous order his vast store of clippings and reference volumes as a sort of personal hobby—an impressive means of verifying the accuracy of the answers which were ever on the tip of his tongue.

It was a Burness maxim (come by personally the hard way) the most news stories are only as informative as the background against which they are presented.

STRESSED ACCURACY

But accuracy was his watchword and it was his constant lament that he never was able to assemble enough versions of the same historic event to enable him to determine for himself exactly what had happened when, where, and occasionally even to whom.

Not counting the cabinets full of microfilm, the informational domain over which Mr. Burness presided contained at his death nearly 2 million newspaper clippings and it was his boast that he or any member of his staff could produce any certain one of them almost in the time it took to ask for it. In a business which prizes time as of the essence, this bit of Burness legerdermain helped to earn for him a stature of national proportions in the special library field.

Through the years, he had held nearly every administrative post available in the Special Libraries Association's newspaper division, including its chairmanship.

He was also instrumental in a recent refurbishing of the library at the National Press Club, of which he was a member. He was a 32d degree Mason and a member of the Almas Temple Shrine.

He was married (since 1928) to the former Anne Grace, currently secretary to J. R. Wiggins, editor and executive vice president of The Washington Post, and they made their home at 5009 Allwood Drive, Mount Vernon Park, Va.

A son, Morton B. Burness, of 3317 Ferndale Street, Kensington, two grandsons, three brothers and three sisters also survive.

Services and interment will be in St. Paul, Minn.

The Fabulous Career of a Centex Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most colorful characters to ever reside in central Texas has been the Honorable Edmunds Travis. His reputation is outstanding and his participation in historical events in our State is legendary. Few men in Texas history have personally known so many of our public officials or have been more intimately acquainted with the year-to-year development of our great State. A former editor of an Austin newspaper, historian, and legislative representative, Edmunds Travis perhaps knows more of the political and practical developments connected with our State's growth than any other one individual.

He has been a close personal friend of mine for years. Like all Austin citizens, we hold him dear to our hearts and hope that somehow he will find the time to write a memoir of his recollections—it would be a best seller and would preserve valuable Texas history. Under permission previously granted, I include in my remarks a wonderful article from the Austin American, by Mr. Winston Bode, about this fabulous Texan.

The article follows:

THE FABULOUS CAREER OF A CENTEX EDITOR

(By Winston Bode)

Seventy-four-year-old Edmund Travis sat propped in his bed and stoked his pipe. Smoke boiled around the luscious young nude framed on his wall. It was a Friday and soon Travis would arise and dress and take what he called "one of my girl friends" to lunch, the girl friend being a lady of propriety and station in the statehouse who would call for him in her car.

If it were Thursday, Travis would already have put on his dark suit, his black derby, and, placing a flower in his lapel, have walked to the busline so that he might add his presence to the city council meeting.

On this day, as on most any day of the week, he would eventually glide into the capitol like an amiable haunt and go through the press release baskets and gently quiz his newsmen friends—"What's goin' on t'day?"—as he sifted for information that he might pass on to an oil corporation he represents.

Right now, though, he was doing the thing he likes to do best—outside of reading perhaps, or editing newspapers. He was talking.

("I started reading as a kid," he has said. "By the time I was 8 I had read all of Shakespeare. I finished 10 grades of schooling in 6 years and thought I knew it all."

(Travis learned to set type as a boy in one of the Tennessee weeklies owned by his father, Edward James Ludson Stephen Travis—"or, as the printers had it, Col. Alphabet Travis." The younger Travis was a cub reporter in Austin at 16, a publisher of a weekly at Manor at 17, managing editor of the San Antonio Light at 21, and editor in chief of the Austin Tribune at 22. In 1925, soon after he and two others had sold the Austin Statesman for well over $100,000, Travis retired for life—a worn-out 35.

("That was when you could get 8 percent on your money," he says. "But it didn't last. I had the prettiest house in town, the biggest automobile, the most expensive family, not to mention my own expensive personal habits"—he used to have a Negro barber who used no soap to come and shave him for $5 after a big night on the town. "So after 6 years it was time to go to work again.")

In the course of two conservations on the day of our visit, Travis, in his Tennessee-bred accent, discoursed on drink, presidents, newspaper monopolies, newspapermen, cliches, city government, the dangers of joining service clubs, the narrowness of businessmen, discrimination ordinances, slavery, and public relations.

He also gave a short brilliant discourse on Lyndon B. Johnson, but the reporter, thinking Travis to be just waking up good, missed the well-tooled words as they swam by at the deceptively rapid rate the speech of southern folk has in common with the southern stream.

TOLD WHAT TO DO

It is recalled Travis did remark: "The people really want a king. They want to be told what to do. When Franklin Roosevelt went through the mining country of Pennsylvania, the workers knelt at his feet. Lyndon is no scholar, but he has an instinctive way with people. Lyndon could be a king, and he could establish a dynasty—except for two things: he is limited to two terms by law, and he has no sons."

Travis also pondered L.B.J.'s unregal, shoulder-rubbing approach to the masses. "A leader should appear only when he has to perform some function worthy of his station," Travis said. "That's one thing I taught Coke Stevenson."

When he arose to continue the discussion in the living room, Travis, a widower, remarked, "See, I never turn back the covers on the bed. I sleep on top of them like a dog. It drives my Negro crazy. Every 2 or 3 days she comes in and changes the sheets anyway. But if I get cold I just turn up the fire."

Before he left his comfortable bedroom, Travis pulled a copy of a relative's will from a large desk, and read it aloud, noting that the will first off made disposition of a most paternal kind of three Negro slaves, among other things ordering that they be taken to a free State if they so desired.

"That's a most peculiar will," Travis remarked.

In his living room, surrounded by hundreds of books ranging from James Gould Cozzens' "By Love Possessed" to rare linen-paged, leather-bound copies of Washington Irving's five-volume work on George Washington, Travis fell to talking about big men he has known.

He expressed his admiration for William Franklin Buckley, Sr., the father of the editor of the National Review magazine. "What I liked about him was that he was not just a businessman, he was also a man of culture," said Travis. "He made quite a thing out of trying to be what he called a 'civilized man.'"

Travis met Buckley when Buckley passed through Austin in 1921, having been run out of Mexico as a "pernicious furriner tryin' to overthrow the government."

"He had oil interests in Mexico," Travis recalled. "That was when Obregon was president. Obregon didn't seize foreign oil properties, but then Cardenas did."

Buckley found that Travis had just the dope he wanted on relationships between Texas and Mexican officials, but, always on the move, Buckley had to catch a train. In a development which apparently was very typical of Travis' salad days, Buckley urged the young editor to follow him east to his Westchester County estate to continue their talk. He offered Travis $600 in expense money.

"I told him, 'No,' I had plenty of money, but he kept insisting and he gave me a check," said Travis. Travis went to New York only to find Buckley had been called to England on urgent business. Waiting for Buckley's return, Travis bunked up and down Manhattan Island, trying everything from a tenement to a room in the Village to the best hotels in midtown. "I lived it up," he said.

In time Buckley returned, picked Travis' brains, and introduced him to a group which Travis helped in plotting a small revolution.

NO HIRED HAND

Buckley felt his eastern stay had cost Travis some of his own money—and he was right—and after much haggling laid another $600 on Travis.

"I came back by way of Washington and picked up another thousand by getting some information in a lobby matter," said Travis.

Yet Travis complains: "I never had any money sense in my life."

In his earlier years, said Travis, "I drank like a fish."

"When I went to Buckley's place I had to take a case of whisky with me. Buckley told me I'd have to if I wanted anything to drink. 'I don't drink,' he said. I told him, 'You don't have to. You've got so many things going you're drunk all the time. You're drunk on starwine.'"

But in 1940, Travis turned his back on newspapering for good, and turned to public relations. "I did it for a very degrading reason. I wanted to make more money. I was getting offers to make 2 and 3 times as much money as I was getting and they finally broke me down."

Travis claims there was something else, too.

"The trouble with me was I climbed to the top and jumped off. After that it wasn't particularly interesting to come back and be one of the hired hands."

For a man without any money sense, Travis had remarkable shoestring luck in his newspaper career. He told of his first publishing venture, at 17:

"The editor at Manor had gone broke and the leading merchant took on the equipment of the paper for a debt. He offered to sell it to me for $200, but not having the $200 I leased the equipment for $10 a month, and charged the merchant $10.80 a week for his ad."

RETIRED IN 1925

Travis was soon back on the Austin Tribune where he had started as a cub, but now he was city editor. During his 2-year stint on the Tribune he became legislative correspondent for a string of papers that included the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, the Houston Record, and the San Antonio Light.

"I was making $12 a week as city editor of the Tribune in 1908 and 1909, and over $100 a week with my string. I was so prosperous I didn't know what to do with it all.

"But I gave it all up to go over to the Light as telegraph editor at $25 a week. I let those apes talk me into it because I'd never had desk experience on a large metropolitan daily and at that time San Antonio was the largest city in Texas."

It didn't take long for him to move up—1 year, in fact.

"I became managing editor of the Light on the eve of my 21st birthday," Travis said. "There were cubs on the paper older than I was."

A year later he returned to Austin to serve as editor in chief of the Tribune in one of its periodic states of resurrection. He was 22. Within 3 years, the Tribune was in eclipse again. The Austin Statesman had bought it out. The Statesman went from a morning to an afternoon paper, which is remains today, and Travis began the decade in which he made his biggest mark. He was editor of the Statesman from 1916 to 1925. For about the last 3 years of that period, Travis owned 45 percent of the paper. A partner in the publishing end of that venture was Austin Attorney Ireland Graves, grandson of Texas Gov. John Ireland, who still practices here, and whom Travis greatly admires.

"He's got the morals of Cato the Younger," Travis said. "We still get together now and then and weep over selling the Statesman to the American. We were damn fools."

Travis, the jaded boy wonder retired in 1925, then emerged from retirement to work on the Houston Post, then to run the Austin Dispatch, which soon turned into another manifestation of the Austin Tribune. But by 1940 he had heard the siren song of the new profession, public relations, and he was to succumb to it.

Does he regret leaving newspapering? "Oh, I have half-regrets. After I left, I did a lot of heavy thinking, planning political campaigns, and promotional campaigns for businesses. It was very interesting work for a while. I had my own informational service for businesses, which I still run. But I'd still rather edit a newspaper in Austin than anything. That was the most fun."

Travis has been up and down, flush and broke, a boy who bossed men who became a man bossed by boys. But he says he's always been sustained by his landed gentry background.

"I think it made a difference in this way. While I've been poor, I've never felt poor."

As he turned to the subject of pitfalls in the civic world field, Travis said that when he was a newspaperman, he was greatly relieved when young PR men began opening offices in Austin.

"One of the perils of the young newspaperman, and I suppose the young businessman, is the number of thank you jobs he has to perform for service organizations.

"In the old days there wasn't any public relations business in Austin, and I had to do bond drives and Red Cross drives, and all that, and I never made a dime out of it.

MADE 200 TALKS

"One year in Austin I made 200 speeches. They couldn't open a keg of nails without an address from me. One day there was an old syndicate salesman in my office. He couldn't get a word in edgewise for people popping in and calling me and asking if I could write this speech or attend that function. Finally he said, 'Son, you getting yourself covered with goat feathers.'

"I said, 'What's that?'

" 'They're thank you jobs. If you get enough of them, you get smothered.' The salesman said he'd once been an editor. He had participated in drives and made speeches and attended luncheons. Until he lost his paper. He lost it because he didn't have any time to work. That's been the ruin of a number of businessmen. They get prominent in chamber of commerce work, civic work, and church work. And if you're gonna raise money for the blind Eskimas in south Saskatchewan you got to contribute yourself, you know."

Travis asked:

"Do they teach public relations in the school of journalism?

"Yes."

"Maybe I ought to take a course. However, the art of public relations was once expressed in a single paragraph very well. The first step is to find out what your client is doing that the public don't like, and make 'em quit it, and the second step is to find out what the public will like and get 'em to do it. Then the third thing is to tell the world about it. That's about all there is to it.

As far back as 1909, Edmunds Travis was worrying about Austin's city government. In fact he and his father, an editorial writer here for awhile, were on opposite sides of the fence on the issue of adopting a commission form of government. At the time, Austin had an aldermanic system of government, with a mayor and 14 aldermen, 7 of whom were chosen at large, and 7 of whom were chosen by wards. (A section of East Austin is still called the 10th ward.)

Edmunds father, on the Statesman, twitted the Tribune for "having a tack-headed little reporter who wasn't old enough to vote doing all their thinking for them."

But with the aid of the Tribune and its tack-headed brain trust, Edmunds Travis, the fight to bring in a commission government was won.

"I'm still butting in at city hall and telling them how to run their business," Travis said.

"One of my pet theories about Austin is that we should have a larger council, we should have a paid council, and we should elect some councilmen regionally.

"There's no reason why we shouldn't have a Negro, or a Mexican on the council—or a university professor.

"The council (five man) is now too small. Geography will have its influence. No matter how broadminded a man may be, the views and needs of his neighbors are going to have an effect, perhaps subconsciously. With a bigger council, we could have all the advantages of a businesslike management of the city's business and also a more representative government.

Unlike some members of the Austin business community, Travis can discuss tourism without sounding as if he had beheld a miracle.

LOTS OF SCENERY

"Tourism is a sort of natural development," he said, calmly enough. "We've got lots of attractions here, such as the lakes. But as for spending city money on it (council has voted to do so), that's an involuntary thing and serving a special group. We don't tax people to build new hotels and motels. I may be narrow minded about it, but I can't see any particular justice in taxing a laboring man over here in East Austin when he doesn't realize a damn thing out of it directly. The benefits just have to dribble down to the populace at large if they reach it at all.

"I think it ought to be a voluntary thing and I think the chamber itself ought to be able to raise that money. Aside from that I'm against the Government doing anything that can be done without it."

As for the race problem, "it's not really much of a problem in Austin. They only reason in the world to have a penal ordinance is to whip into line the very few (businesses) who haven't integrated. There hasn't been a Negro lynched in Austin in over 100 years.

"Negroes were voting in the city elections before I was old enough to vote. They had a Negro policeman before I ever came to Austin.

"I think the Negro is becoming an increasing part of the market—in amusements, goods and services.

"If we don't have any ordinances regarding segregation, then people are free to discriminate or not discriminate, and in the natural course of things they are going to follow the policy which is most profitable."

No one, and certainly not Edmunds Travis, can talk long about Austin without referring to the late Tom Miller, Austin's longtime mayor.

Miller did things his own unique way, but Travis thinks his regimes were all to the good. "Tom was very sensitive," Travis said, "and so conscious of his civic patriotism he couldn't bear contradiction."

But he had an unending dream, which showed up in his speeches, in which he frequently relied on Shakespeare or Mirabeau Lamar to cloak his dreams in words.

"Old Tom would always tell what Lamar said about Austin," Travis said fondly:

" 'Here should be the seat of future empires.' "

Proclamation on Remember Berlin Day Issued by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the City of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York, Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofor granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I take this means of bringing to the attention of the membership a proclamation issued under yesterday's date by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, designating Thursday, August 13, 1964, as Remember Berlin Day in New York City:

PROCLAMATION: REMEMBER BERLIN DAY

Whereas August 13, 1964, will mark the third anniversary of the erection of the Berlin wall by Soviet and East German Communist forces, thus cutting into two the ancient city of Berlin; and

Whereas the maintenance of the Berlin wall is repugnant to the consciences of all freemen for whom a city behind a wall without an open gate means a people in chains; and

Whereas the Berlin wall is a violation of treaty obligations; serves to maintain and increase the tensions which threaten peace in the world; and disregards the right of all men to choose freedom,

Now, therefore, I, Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, do hereby proclaim Thursday, August 13, 1964, as "Remember Berlin Day," in New York City, and I do call the attention of all citizens to the fact that: the Berlin wall is a symbol of the enslavement of a once free people, and it stands as an affront to our cherished concepts of human dignity and human worth, as well as to long-established treaty rights. We must actively seek a solution that would eliminate this hateful barrier to freedom and by so doing contribute to the cause of world peace.

In witness whereof, I hereunto set my hand and the seal of the city of New York, this 13th day of August 1964.

ROBERT F. WAGNER,
Mayor, City of New York.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

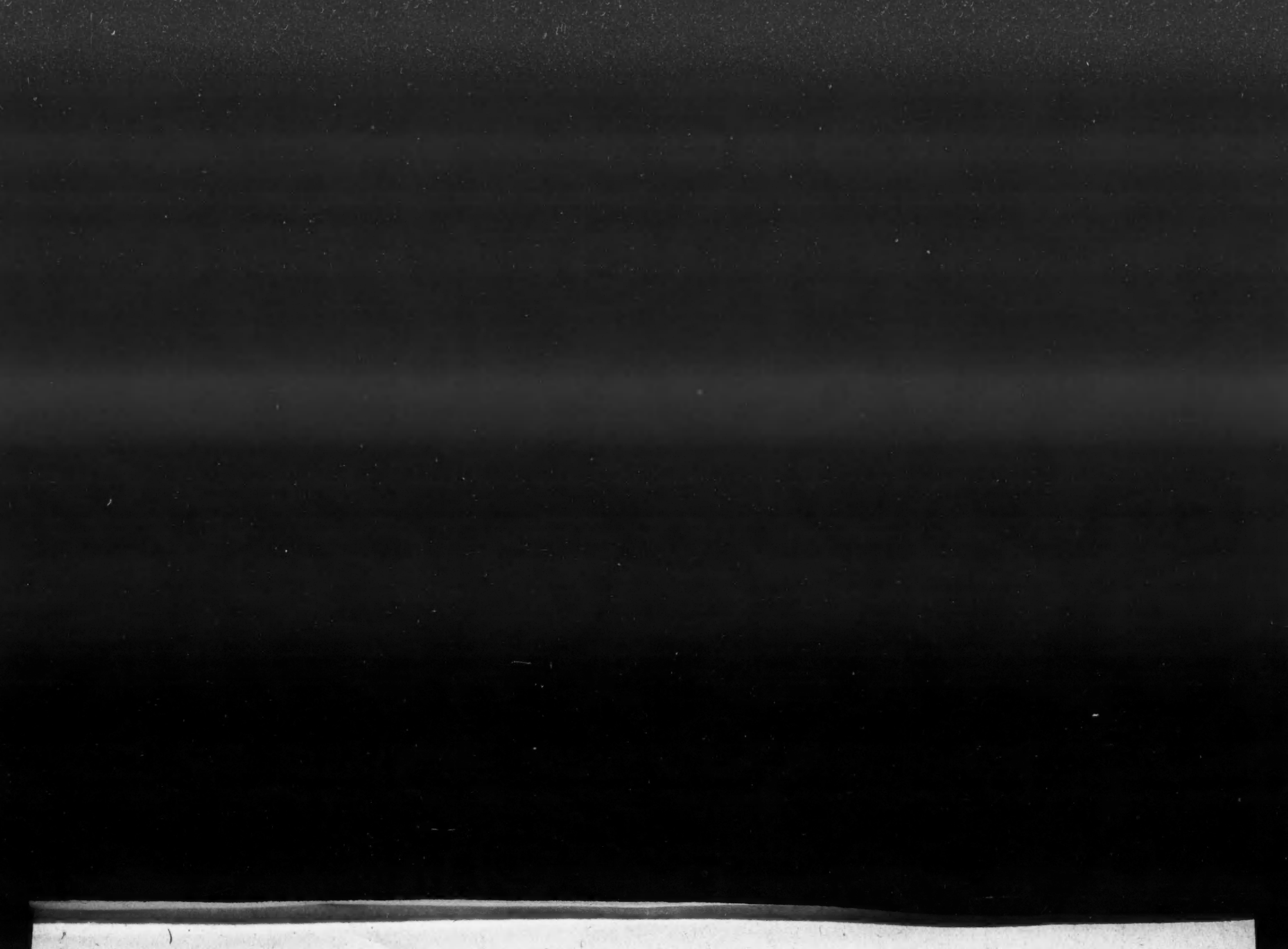

Appendix

Dr. Lowell Russell Ditzen, D.D., LL.D. Delivers Inspiring Sermon on Forgiving and Forgetting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, August 15, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in these decisive days of world tension and conflict it is heartening to be reminded that we are all human beings; that we share the same basic emotions; make the same mistakes and have the same opportunities in our day-to-day fellowship for kindness, compassion and understanding.

I believe that we should search out the worthwhile qualities in our associates rather than assume the role of detractor and faultfinder. This does not imply a surrender of one's values, nor deny the existence of injustice that must be redressed. The ability and capacity to forgive and forget is indeed an art which must be acquired through diligent effort. This challenge is affirmed, by the Rev. Lowell Russell Ditzen, D.D., executive secretary and director, the National Presbyterian Church and Center, in his April 4 sermon in the National Presbyterian Church. Dr. Ditzen's remarks are inspiring and helpful.

I ask unanimous consent that this sermon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INGREDIENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL PERSONALITY—THE ART OF FORGIVING AND FORGETTING

(By Lowell Russell Ditzen, D.D., LL.D.)

Text: "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Until seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee, until seven times; but, until seventy times seven." Matthew 18: 21–22.

The proposition for our sermon is this: The individual who has a growing skill in being a successful person will give some thought, and make some effort, toward forgetting and forgiving. A Japanese saying goes: "My skirt with tears is always wet, for I have forgotten to forget." That saying is a confession of one who isn't getting any A-plus in the business of being a successful person.

To engage in self-pity—to harbor resentment—to constantly be aware of the ills that others have done me—to bear grudges, or to carry a burden of guilt, or remorse about oneself—to go through life with one's skirts always wet because one has forgotten to forget—certainly clouds the springs of mental verve and spiritual vitality. It keeps one from being the successful personae we'd like to be. D-minus is the mark we're bound to get. I know such a person. He went to a church where he felt he wasn't recognized. A statement of the minister offended him. He left the congregation in a huff causing hurt in the church in his family. His failure to forgive and forget tiny errors have led to large confusions.

By contrast, I think most any student of mankind would agree with Shelly's lines from his great poem, "Prometheus Unbound":

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
Too forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To love and bear; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates:
This * * * is to be good, great and joyous; beautiful and free;
This is alone life, joy, empire, and victory."

Those are opulent words. It's difficult to convey their full meaning in just one repetition. Let me condense their substance which relates praticularly to our theme:

"To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
This is to be good, great and joyous
This is * * * life * * * and victory."

That spirit is desperately needed in both personal and social relationships. Though much else may be involved, there has to be a lot of forgiving and forgetting between this Nation and Russia and Red China if we are to create some solid foundations for a decent and orderly world.

Give your best thinking as to how the ugly tensions and hatred between the Arabs and Israelis can be solved. I dare you to propose a possible recipe without including the ingredients of forgiving and forgetting.

Well we can agree that the spirit of forgiveness is essential to individual and social health and harmony, but then you have to say in the next breath—it is not an easy matter. It is a lifelong task. It is tough going. I use the word "art" in the sermon subject to rightly indicate that it requires a growing skill and a constant effort. Your conscience may respond to the idea of a forgiving spirit. You cay say, "Yes, I ought to be a forgiving person and also get rid of clinging resentments and anger over past ills." But the recollection of an injury done to you is stamped in the consciousness like a silversmith presses his mark deep in the metal in which he is working.

It was awareness of this fact that led Jesus to vividly emphasize the matter. Once, Peter, aware that there was to be perhaps repeated effort on the matter of forgiving, said, "Master, if I forgive someone who sins against me seven times—that surely is enough, isn't it?" Jesus smiled, and with the humorous exaggeration which He often used to make His teaching stick like a barb in the mind, responded: "No, not just 7—but 70 times 7." In other words "keep at it always." The wound of hurt must have application after application of the ointment of forgiveness before there is final healing.

We pray each Sunday, "Forgive us our debts." That's a wonderful thing—to be free from indebtedness. One of the bankers in the church said, "I don't like that translation. We don't like to forgive debts. It ought to be 'trespasses.'" (In passing, you may know that the Calvinistic tradition uses the form of the Lord's prayer which comes from the King James translation, where the translation is "debt." Most other branches of Christendom that use the word, "trespasses"—folow the translation of the Book of Common Prayer, where the word appears as "trespasses.") We want that forgiveness of both our debts and trespasses.

It's a healthy thing to have our obligations written off, to be forgiven when we've hurt other people, transgressed into their emotional life, tread upon their egos, bruised their feelings. But the teaching of the Bible in: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive others their debts toward us" makes it more complicated. It's a two-way street, and we have to take the initiative. We must develop a forgiving spirit before our debts are canceled. And this is really hard—to forget and forgive those who may have transgressed the sensitive sanctity of our egos. They've hurt our pride. They've piqued our sense of our own importance. How difficult to forgive that trespass. How can we do it?

In the New Testament, behind the word translated "forgiveness," actually are several different Greek words with significant shadings of meaning. One of the meanings of "forgiveness" in Greek is this: "to keep away from one." Another emphasis in the use of the word "forgiveness" is the idea of being "gracious." Here is the counsel that teaches—rather than getting tight, letting one's hackles rise when one has been offended—rather than handling the situation with noise—handle it with grace, with poise. And the third shade of meaning is "to cast off."

These words are saying: First, don't let error, hurt feelings, grudges, or lack of forgiveness get attached to you. Keep them away. Carry a shield against the barbs of hurt.

Secondly, handle unpleasant acts and attitudes in a gracious spirit, without edginess. Try to keep harmony. Lincoln demonstrated that quality—"With malice toward none—charity toward all." Third, if resentment has attached itself onto your life, cast it off, like a seaman throws the line from the dock to his skiff and lets his boat move away on the endless sea.

Many illustrations come to mind. The parable of the noble Lord who forgave a large debt of one of his servants shows the gracious spirit. But that same spirit was lacking in the recipient of this mercy, because that servant demanded full payment from a fellow worker for a pittance owed him. He couldn't cast off the niggardly sense of "I'll surely get mine." And because he could not forgive, the original grace was withdrawn from him. He was cast into prison till he paid the last farthing.

Have you ever thought which of our Presidents suffered the most abuse? I'd nominate Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. What cruel things were said about them and to them. Vitrol and venom was a large part of their diet from a people they sought to serve. But observe that each thwarted the ruthless, stinging arrows from hitting or festering. They "kept them off." Go to Lincoln's Memorial. Read that second inaugural—"With malice toward none—with charity for all." Doesn't your heart fill with tears because you sense a divinely ennobling spirit that is created by a gracious forgiveness? And, Mr. Roosevelt while he felt the barbs—and at times responded, had the gift and discipline to cast off aspersions like a lion that walks indifferent to would-be attackers barking from the distance. Great-

ness marks such men and any man who practices the art of forgiving and forgetting.

But let's move on to ask more pointedly for practical help as to how we can make real progress on this matter?

We can learn from this thought: The way to really clean out harbored built or grudge is by putting in its constructive opposite—by good thoughts and good deeds that are the opposite of self-pity or remorse.

There's a stagnant pool or lowland. It becomes sour and bitter because the water is caught and held. It seems to be useless in terms of possible productivity or as a homesite. How do you handle it? Two ways: one cuts a channel to drain off the stagnant water: and the second way is to fill in the low area until it is built up to a point where the water can't stand or get in.

This principle, which one can see so clearly in the natural world, was applied in the spiritual area by that giant of a soul, Buddha, 500 years before Christ. In the Dhammapada, there is attributed to him this thought: "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me—in those who harbor such thoughts, hatred will never cease."

The next line reads, "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me—in those who do not harbor such thoughts, hatred will cease." The next line reads, "For never does hatred cease by hatred." (Fourth line) "Hatred ceases by love. This is an elemental law." One digs a channel to drain off hate—and fills it in with love.

One of the sure ways that the soul's wasteland can be made sweet and useful is by filling in, shoveiful by shoveful, day by day, hour by hour, attitudes that make for gentleness, that make for understanding of the wide and universal thoughts that lie in all mankind. Keep filling in with a spirit of a loving forgiveness and there is no place for festering memories.

Another point is to concentrate on this moment, right now. "Life in watertight compartments" was the seasoned counsel of the great physician, Sir William Osler. "When a thing is done—it's done" is crystallized wisdom of an ancient sage. The Bible asks us to remember Lot's wife, who turned to a pillar of salt when, looking back, she kept her life centered on the past, rather than taking the right steps in this moment and facing into the future.

Such a sensible point of view is reflected in the golfer who said to his companion after he had a miserable hole, "Remember my friend, that every hole can be a new game."

When you look at it clearly and honestly, this moment, this day is all we really do have. The past, whatever it contains—good or ill—is irretrievably lost. It can never be relived or recovered. And tomorrow, however we may anticipate or fear it, is not here. The only thing we have is this day. "Carpe diem," cried the old Latins, "Seize this day." Live it with such verve that there's no room for remorse, for regret, for antagonism.

This is it—what we have right now! Live this moment with grace! Keep resentments off, don't let them get near, into us, attached to us, and if they are there, cut them off. Loose them! Let them go—now.

Another point: We can grow in impersonating a more impersonal attitude toward ourselves. I wonder if we really look at ourselves honestly. So many of our resentments, our hurt feelings, our unforgiven or unforgotten antagonisms toward other people, haven't been a result alone of what other people have said or done, or not said or not done, but are a result of our own inner attitudes about ourselves. Perhaps we've had the radar antenna of our own pride and personal sensitiveness out so far that any touching causes quick and negative reactions.

Then too the capacity to forgive could be increased as we sense the wideness of mankind and the vast sweep of human history and realize what a tiny, tiny, tiny fragment in it all we individually are. Grow in understanding that the faults we see and lament in others are in ourselves. See that those flaws toward which we are most sensitive in others are those that perhaps pose the biggest problems for ourselves.

One of the many reasons (and I put it far down on the list) why I think so many of us in America have expressed coolness toward the seeming braggadocio of the Russians at their accomplishments. What a breach of good taste. But let's be honest and self-analytical. Could it possibly be that we may be particularly sensitive on this score because it's a fault of ourselves? How many European and Asiatic nations bore with patience (and sometimes not with patience) our chest-pounding at the turn of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as we loudly proclaimed our tallest skyscrapers, our longest railroads, our biggest number of automobiles, and our greatest prosperity.

"Ah! The fault I see in thee is in me!" That's a wholesome thing to see and say. It's good to add: "Perhaps I'm most aware of the flaws in others because I have so much acquaintance with them in myself." Do that, and we lessen the areas of egotistic sensitiveness that lessen our efficiency in building the good personality.

Someone may very well be thinking that the minister hasn't mentioned the most important thing of all—that this matter of forgiveness is divine. I hope you have felt the spirit of that thought all through the sermon.

Certainly, it's been implied that forgiveness is of the mind and spirit. It's the opposite of the law of the jungle—"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It is a revelation of God. And those who evidence it in their lives become partakers of the divine plan.

Perhaps we can be helped most of all in remembering that God forgives us. We see God's spirit in the father's outgoing compassion to the prodigal son. Surely, the knowledge that He who made us after His own image will turn His back on what have been our errors and point us to the better person we ought to be—will help us forgive any toward whom we hold antagonism. In spite of our sins, God still has hope and confidence in us. That gracious forgiveness from Him, received and appreciated, should keep us on the way of forgiving and forgetting, not just once, nor even 7 times, but patiently and persistenly, even 70 times 7.

Prayer:

Our Father at times through light of insight that comes in quietness, we sense a truth that is pure and perfect. Then we have the problem of trying to transmit it through our faulty personalities. In spite of the problem, may there be for someone here this day a closer more helpful relationship with Thy Spirit that longingly seeks to forgive. Take our hand and heart and keep guiding us, O Lord, in the art of forgiving ourselves and others, too, that seem to do us wrong, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Floating Factories With Foreign Labor Set Dangerous Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as the saying goes sometimes a knock is a boost. Anyway, that is the way I feel when the Governor of Alaska criticized me the other day for objecting to Japanese floating cannery vessels operating in our territorial waters and paying their Japanese processing workers only 33 cents an hour as against the American wage of $3 an hour.

Why not invite all kinds of foreign floating factories, manned by foreigners at substandard wages into our waters to take advantage of our raw materials, just like has been done with fish?

The following editorial from the August 10 Post-Intelligencer sums up the seriousness of this precedent:

EGAN'S FOLLY

A recent "Seattle's Business" column by Business Editor Dan Coughlin highlighted some of the adverse effects locally of Alaska Governor Egan's decision to sell some of his State's pink salmon to Japanese freezer ships.

Governor Egan took the unprecedented action when canneries and fishermen failed to reach an agreement on price for fish. The foreign freezer ships, having cracked their overhead "nut" in outer waters, and due to other production savings, can now afford to pay a price slightly higher than American canners.

Therein, we think, lies the seed for trouble ahead for the salmon industry. That is why the Post-Intelligencer recently criticized Governor Egan's action. When our editorial appeared, we received and published a telegram from the Cordova Aquatic Marketing Association, representing a group of fishermen, charging that we were supporting cannery owners and workers rather than the fishermen.

On the contrary, we are concerned for the entire Alaska salmon industry and are convinced that the trend set in motion by Governor Egan holds more potential danger for the fishermen than for the packers.

Mr. Coughlin's column quoted Fred A. Grosse, a fish exporter for 40 years, as saying that Governor Egan's action was "the most serious thing that has happened (in the industry) in years."

This newspaper feels equally strong on the matter, and not merely because of the actual and potential effect on Seattle economy.

It should be noted that the State Department, although asking Japan to consider the matter, is standing aloof in the debate, viewing the problem as concerned only with negotiations as to the American price for fish. This attitude is par for the course insofar as the State Department is concerned. For 30 years the State Department has failed to demonstrate consideration for Alaska and Northwest fisheries, and appears to regard these fisheries as a trading gambit in international diplomacy. However proper this view may be from the standpoint of international diplomacy, it has worked to the detriment of the fishermen, as the record well shows. It is working to their detriment now.

For the present the issue involves only pink salmon, only one area, one segment of canneries and fishermen, and some Japanese freezer vessels.

But next year the precedent set by Alaska's governor may open the way for other areas, other species, and even find foreign fishing vessels involved and not just freezer ships.

The Alaska salmon industry is already beset by nearly fatal troubles. Now Governor Egan has added another big one, as potentially dangerous to fishermen as to packers. In the coming winter months, well before the 1965 runs, fishing vessel owners and their crews—as well as cannery operators—would do well to examine this situation far more thoroughly.

Comprehensive Water Development for the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER H. DOMINICK

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, August 15, 1964

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, recently a very knowledgeable person from Colorado, Mr. Harold H. Christy, first vice president of the National Reclamation Association, appeared before the 51st annual meeting of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and delivered a very important speech concerning the need for further action on reclamation by Congress. He discussed certain problems that exist in the reclamation area.

Mr. Harold Christy is from Pueblo, Colo. He was very active in assisting Members of Congress with regard to the Fryingpan, Arkansas, project, which we were fortunate enough, and I would say also imaginative enough, to have passed during the last session of Congress.

He describes a number of potentials that can be derived from reclamation programs if we can continue to proceed with them. I have been asked—and I am happy to follow through on the request—by Mr. William Webb, executive vice president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, to have the address of Mr. Christy printed in the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent that the address by Harold H. Christy, delivered before the 51st annual meeting of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in June 1964 be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"COMPREHENSIVE WATER DEVELOPMENTS FOR THE WEST," BY HAROLD H. CHRIST, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE 51ST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 2–5, 1964

This is almost like a family reunion. The reclamation movement and the National Rivers and Harbors Congress are closely related—in fact, one might say they are brothers. They belong to the same generation and were born of the same intellectual parentage. Both date back to the beginnings of the conservation movement under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, when the comprehensive development of water resources was seen as the very foundation of that movement. And the National Reclamation Association says, "Thanks, brother, for your help in our common cause."

Both went through a period of doldrums as the original concept of water consideration was watered down, fragmented, and hardened into a set of separated and largely single-purpose molds, with one program being confined largely to irrigation and a closely related family of incidental purposes, another to flood control and navigation, another to soil conservation, and so forth; and all tending to drift further and further apart with increasingly important gaps between them left unprovided for.

Now your Congress and most other water resource groups and agencies are participating in the revival of the comprehensive basin-wide ideal. But it appears that the reclamation movement is not being allowed to share in this revival. While most of you are looking forward to expanding programs, we find ourselves faced with the most serious fight for survival since the days of the inception of the National Reclamation Association. And we cannot help but feel that this situation holds seeds of tragedy for the West and for the Nation.

The project potentialities exist. The backlog of investigated and approved project proposals is the greatest in reclamation history. But those projects are dying on paper; and with them, the benefits they might confer on the American people.

All of us connected with reclamation have given a great deal of anxious thought to this problem. In our minds and in discussions with one another we have gone over and over the obvious explorations. We are aware of course of the fact that some people profess to fear that irrigating more land will increase agricultural surplus production. But only a third of reclamation is devoted to irrigation, and only a third of that third is devoted to bringing new land into production; and the new production that is created by reclamation consists almost entirely of nonsurplus crops. In fact, reclamation converts land from surplus-crop to non-surplus-crop production.

Other Federal water resource programs have the incidental effect of increasing agricultural production and some of them increase production of crops that are in surplus. Those programs contribute immeasurably more to the surplus problem than does reclamation. Yet in the case of those other programs, people look mostly at the large and important benefits they derive, and properly count the incidental effect on imbalanced production as part of the necessary cost of obtaining those benefits. Why are not people equally willing to judge the reclamation program in the same way, by the same standards? Surely the benefits from reclamation are proportionately as great, and the cost to the national economy as small, as for any other program you can think of. Why then are we of the West singled out for harassment?

Each of us may have his own answer to that question. To get the full answer, I suspect we must look deeply into the minds and motivations of the American people in this troubled era.

I don't think there is a person in America who has not had the feeling that events were moving ahead too fast, and that he is finding it increasingly hard to keep up with the world's changes. "Slow down—give us a chance to catch our breath and find out where we are"—this is a feeling that is surely easy to understand.

At the same time, most Americans are fully aware of the implications of the vast growth and change, the furious building and consuming, that are going on all the time. They know that they are drawing upon the Nation's resource base at a rate never before dreamed of. And they cannot help feeling uneasy about all this using and consuming, and being concerned about how long our limited resource base can continue to support the economic pyramid that is being built upon it. They know in their hearts that there must be a sound, alert, vigorous national resource development program if our economy is to remain strong and stable.

They also know that no resource requires a greater effort than the water resource. They know it with all their senses. They taste this fact along with the chlorine in their drinking water. They smell it at the banks of the polluted streams. They see it in the crowds that jostle one another at lakes and reservoirs. They hear it in the fog horns of the barges on our traffic-laden rivers, and in the hum of the hydrogenerators at great dams. They eat it with their year-round supplies of healthgiving fresh fruits and vegetables which used to be available only "in season." They buy it whenever they cash a paycheck from some water-using industry, or contribute to the relief fund for some flood or drought-stricken area. Water-resource development has become a personal thing to almost every American.

So in spite of the fact that with one-half of their minds they want to go slow and hold back, they will support the programs that serve immediate water needs. But they make up for this by cracking down severely on programs that are not so immediate, or are more distant from major population centers—not so close to the day-to-day evidence of their five senses. Hence reclamation, which is primarily a long-range program for the future strength and well-being of the Nation, becomes the whipping boy for the rest of the water-resource movement.

I need not explain to this audience that this is not only unjust but unwise. It is unjust to the western half of the Nation that depends on reclamation for its future growth, and unwise in that by neglecting to provide for the West's water future we are laying up a store of problems for our children and grandchildren. People like you, of the Rivers and Harbors Congress, can appreciate that reclamation, like all water resource programs should be judged in terms of its meanings not for today but for one and two decades ahead. And I suggest that it is up to people like you, people in a position of leadership, who are also close enough to water problems to understand their long-range as well as their short-range implications, to come to the aid of your old partners in this time of our distress, and help us beat down some of the harmful imputations now being raised against the good name of our movement.

The consequences of discrimination against reclamation sometimes operate in ways that I suspect the American people don't always intend. Take the example of what's happened in the Missouri River Valley.

Out there the Army has built six major reservoirs on the main stream as parts of a 20-year-old plan for the development of the basin. Those reservoirs are providing flood protection, water for navigation, and power—largely for the benefit of the populous lower reaches of the valley. They are also inundating more than a half-million acres of bottomland which formerly contained hundreds of farms and ranches and were some of the best land in the States of North and South Dakota.

The loss of that land was always known and accepted as part of the price the Dakotas must pay for better balanced growth of the whole region. In at least partial return, however, it has also always been understood that some of the stored water would be used for irrigation and water supplies for Dakota farms and communities. This is the part of the plan that has lagged. None of the anticipated irrigation projects has been built. As a result, the Dakotas have not shared as they should have in the general economic upsurge of the past decade.

Statistics kept for 88 years in South Dakota show that 28 percent of the time there is either a total crop failure or such low yields that the farmers suffer want and deprivation. In many more years while the failure is not quite so disastrous, it still represents an enormous total loss. This means that the average dryland farmer in the Dakotas—and the same thing is true elsewhere in the Missouri Basin—can look forward to a crop failure once every 3 or 4 years unless his water supplies are made more reliable. You can imagine what this means to the economic stability and the chances for progress of this entire region.

The provision of this reliable water supply would not contribute to agricultural surpluses; instead, it would help relieve them. That is what makes the whole situation particularly frustrating and vexatious. It would free the Dakota farmer from bondage to one-crop dryfarming of wheat, and would enable him to go into a more diversified, more profitable, more nationally needed kind of agriculture. Moreover, it would give him a chance to share in the economic progress of our times. Economic policies, forecasts, and analyses don't mean a thing to the man who has risked his money and hopes in order to put in a crop, only to have to sit through the hot weeks of July and August, while he watches that crop shrivel up for want of a water supply during the few weeks when it is needed.

Our Government helps the farmer increase his production in many ways. It helps him eliminate pest. It helps him with weather forecasts, expert advice, research, seeds, soil sampling, power, extension services, demonstrations and tours, and free booklets. It helps him conserve and enhance the productivity of the soil through fertilizing and erosion control. Why, with all this, shouldn't it also help the man sitting on his dusty porch watching his crops dry up to get some water—help him get away from his unwanted wheat crop into something better for everyone? Why should water be the one form of help the Government holds back? Isn't this giving with one hand and taking away with the other? Does it make sense?

I am reminded of the story about an old-timer in one of our Western towns who was orating to the boys in the barbershop about the atomic bomb. He said, "If they ever drop those things, this town here'll be the first one that's bombed." "Oh, I don't know," said a listener. "We're 'way inland." "Sure it'll be bombed," said the prophet. "It's the county seat, ain't it?"

The man in the county seat may not have his eyes fixed on the big national program, he may think more of his own hometown—but I hope none of us ever forgets him. I particularly hope so because in this case the county seat viewpoint and the broad national viewpoint both coincide.

I was glad to read in the newspapers that President Johnson has given his full support to the Garrison Diversion irrigation project that would make use of some of the waters in the Missouri River reservoirs for the stabilization of the agricultural economy of the Dakota region. I hope, and the National Reclamation Association hopes, that this endorsement will be heeded and that Congress will approve the Garrison project at this session.

At the beginning of this talk I pointed out that the Rivers and Harbors Congress and the reclamation movement both arose out of the beginnings of the conservation movement. The basic idea of that movement is the forgoing of the immediate profit, or the highest short-range economic return, in order to obtain greater and more sustained long-range benefits.

Some people now claim that the highest short-range return from the West's scarce water may be for industries and other nonagricultural purposes. But when we take the long-range view, we know that the West, like every other region, must have its own regional agricultural base if its prosperity and growth are to have a stable, balanced foundation. Agriculture in the West means irrigation—often only supplemental irrigation. And this in turn requires not only manmade conservation and distribution facilities, but the reservation of sufficient water to serve them. Reclamation is the principal Federal program serving this vital purpose, and the West cannot be a growing, contributing part of this growing country without it.

To sign away the West's water for nonagricultural purposes on the basis of high immediate economic return, or, even worse, simply to cut off the West's reclamation development altogether, would in my opinion be a form of exploitive waste as destructive and shortsighted as the ripping off of timber or topsoil has been at other times in other regions.

The National Reclamation Association has always given its full and wholehearted endorsement to the principle of comprehensive, multiple-purpose development of water resources on a basinwide basis. Without trying to tell other parts of the country what forms of development they should undertake, it has always upheld the cause of water development as a basic principle of national growth and progress. Up to now, the West in turn has always been able to count on the support of water resource interests in other regions for its own vital water programs. I hope it still can.

Will the national interest be best served by helping to provide the water that will support the continued growth of this great region—great in its present contributions, and even greater in its potentialities—or will it be served by shutting off the water here, and here alone, because of fears that are unfounded, or ignorance or carelessness of consequences?

I think there can be only one answer. Reclamation is in the national interest, and should be vigorously supported and sustained.

Fishing Vessel Construction

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS P. GILL
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1006) to amend the act of June 12, 1960, for the correction of inequities in the construction of fishing vessels, and for other purposes.

Mr. GILL. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to add my voice to the many who support S. 1006, an act aimed at providing greater subsidies for the construction of fishing vessels. This bill would increase the construction subsidy from one-third to one-half, and encourage the development of fishing vessels of advanced design, to operate in expanded areas with newly developed gear.

This bill can help solve the current illness of the Hawaii fishing industry. In the decade from 1950 to 1960 the total number of commercial fishermen in Hawaii dropped from 2,478 to 941. Our skipjack tuna fleet dropped from 32 boats in 1948 to 20 boats in 1963. Our last new vessel was built in 1955 and seven of our boats are at least 30 years old.

There are many reasons for this decline, principal among them is the vigorous competition of the Japanese fishing industry. Japanese fishermen, operating within 1,500 miles of Hawaii and using the long-line method are catching more than five times our total take of all types of fish. When you compare long-line take alone within this 1,500-mile area, you find the Japanese taking over 30 times as much by this method as we do.

How can we compete? The most feasible answer, based on studies conducted by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, is to develop new and better boats and equipment. We need boats with longer ranges, refrigeration, and new types of gear. We have to lower the unit cost of catching tuna if we are to compete with the low labor costs and massive operations of the Japanese fishermen.

Our local industry cannot do this alone. Its economic condition is too precarious for their present limited operation, let alone an expanded one.

But it will not be enough to increase construction subsidies. We in Hawaii need to develop a new type of boat and equip it with appropriate gear. Private industry does not have the capital to experiment. It will probably be necessary for the State of Hawaii and the Federal Government to give a hand.

In due time we will suggest to the appropriate committees in Congress a modest, cooperative experimental project which could supply the protoype of a new fishing vessel especially adapted to conditions in the open Pacific. Such a boat can help put American fishermen back in the race with their foreign competitors in this area. After the prototype is developed and tested it can be used as a model by private fishermen who may then apply for the construction assistance provided by this act.

Mr. Chairman, the sea around us becomes more important to our Nation and people each year. It is one of our last unexplored frontiers. Our more crowded land, in subsequent generations, will draw more of its sustenance from it. This bill will help us now and in the future.

Maritime Trades Department AFL–CIO Disapproves of Japanese Fish Operators in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Maritime Trades Department, Puget Sound district, submitted a resolution to the Maritime Trades Department, AFL–CIO, meeting in Chicago, July 30 and 31, 1964. I am glad to say this resolution was approved because it confirms my own fear of the far-reaching damage to employment of American labor by the Governor of Alaska's action in inviting floating fish cannery operators into our waters.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 12071 to prevent a recurrence of the problem.

Hereinafter is the resolution which as I said carries the approval of the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Executive Board:

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY SEATTLE PUGET SOUND PORT MARITIME COUNCIL

Whereas negotiations between individual salmon packers and the Cordova Aquatic

Marketing Association regarding prices to be paid for raw salmon ended in a deadlock; and

Whereas because of failure of the respective parties to come to an agreement, the Governor of Alaska entered into negotiations with several fishing companies in Japan and as a result of those negotiations, an agreement was reached between the State of Alaska and Japanese nationals to buy raw salmon and process the product with Japanese labor; and

Whereas such action by the State of Alaska has caused the loss of jobs and employment to American labor normally employed, such as machinists, carpenters, cannery workers, tendermen, tallymen, beachmen, culinary workers, and others; and

Whereas additional jobs will be lost in the maritime industry to seafarers, longshoremen, and suppliers for the fishing industry; and

Whereas the action taken by the State of Alaska can have far-reaching effect upon future employment and also on U.S. efforts to safeguard the North Pacific salmon resource from the greedy appetite of Japanese exploiters; and

Whereas the American people need the North Pacific salmon resource as a valuable food supply, and the American workers need the employment afforded them in this industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Maritime Trades Department go on record to demand a full investigation into all aspects of this problem to ascertain whether any Federal laws have been violated and whether the rights of American workers to earn a livelihood can be arbitrarily taken away by importation of Japanese nationals; and be it further

Resolved, That we highly endorse and urge passage of S. 1135, the fishermen's bargaining bill; and be it finally

Resolved, That we call upon Congress to take any action necessary to prevent a recurrence of the present problem, including enacting Federal legislation, if so needed, so that the salmon resource will remain under the ownership and control of American citizens, for the benefit and use of the American people.

ED COESTER,
President, Maritime Trades Department, Puget Sound District.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Fishing Vessel Construction

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1006) to amend the act of June 12, 1960, for the correction of inequities in the construction of fishing vessels, and for other purposes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I was a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in 1960 when the 33⅓-percent subsidy was established by law. If I recall correctly, we were told that legislation would salvage the fishing industry of this country. Our worries would be over, and that subsidy would take care of them. I seem to recall that the distinguished Speaker of the House, then the majority leader, came before the committee in support of that subsidy. I believe he joined in the statement that this would take the New England fishing industry off the beach where it was then and where it is now.

Mr. Chairman, this House can pass this kind of legislation until it is literally black in the face, but it is not going to solve the problem that besets the New England fishing industry nor any other segment of the fishing industry of this country. The trouble is that it is being chewed up by foreign imports. Many Members vote on the one hand for the Trade Agreements Act that progressively lowers the tariffs imposed by this country and thereby destroy what little protection is left to agriculture, industry, and labor in this country. Then these same Members turn right around and vote for what the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives is pleased to call compensatory payments out of the U.S. Treasury, as in the case of this $50 million to subisdize the building of fishing vessels. You are not going to meet this challenge of the foreign imports, you are not going to take the New England fishing fleet off the beach by this kind of legislation. You will only take it off the beach by establishing tariffs that take into account the differential in the costs of operation of American fishing boat owners and the costs of fish as harvested by foreigners. That is the only way you are ever going to meet this problem. You can spend all of the millions of dollars you want to to reconstruct the New England fishing fleet. I predict it will be right back on the beach unless you impose meaningful tariffs on the fish and fish products that are imported in ever increasing quantities.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The Presidential Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent article, by Marquis Childs, which includes some significant comments about certain aspects of the coming election.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON CALLING: BOOK BY GOLDWATER LIEUTENANT

(By Marquis Childs)

A book attracting more attention than even its author may have hoped for is "How To Win an Election," by Stephen C. Shadegg. It contains ammunition, both pro and con, for the argument over whether the new Goldwater Republican Party has broken from American tradition and is in the pattern of Europe's ideological parties.

Shadegg was Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER'S manager in his two campaigns for the Senate in Arizona. Later, when Senator GOLDWATER took over the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, he became a consultant. The chapter in the Shadegg book on which attention has centered is "The Cell Group." He pays generous tribute to one source of inspiration as follows:

"Mao Tse-tung, the Communist revolutionary general, has written a valuable book on the tactics of infiltration. In it he says: 'Give me just two or three men in a village and I will take the village.' In the Goldwater campaigns of 1952 and 1958 and in all other campaigns where I have served as a consultant, I have followed the advice of Mao Tse-tung."

This may come as news to Mao, who is currently engaged in a fierce quarrel with Premier Khrushchev for control of the world Communist movement. Certanly it will be news to many Republicans who may not have been aware that one of their highly paid consultants was applying the tactics of China's revolutionary leader.

Shadegg refers to the individuals enrolled in the cell groups as "a secret weapon possessing strength, mobility, and real impact." In Senator GOLDWATER'S 1958 campaign there were 3,200 cell-group members in Arizona.

In a campaign he directed in Nebraska in 1960, Shadegg says, he enrolled 100,000 cell members. They were processed through IBM machines to show banking connections, church affiliations, and family relations throughout the State. One goal was to insure that each cell member "will actually come to consider the threat of defeat as menacing him personally."

In Arizona, cell members were working for most radio and television outlets. They supplied important advance information on the plans of the opposition so that those plans could be countered. The "security" of opposition campaign headquarters can be penetrated, Shadegg says, with very useful results.

Not all of the book is on such a practical level. The last chapter, "For Men of Good Conscience," sounds a note of sacrifice that the seeker after high office must pay. It closes, as though this might be prophetic for Senator GOLDWATER, with Abraham Lincoln's moving farewell remarks to the citizens of Springfield, Ill., as he set out for Washington following his election to the Presidency.

When Shadegg was consultant to the Republic senatorial campaign committee it was reported that one of his most important chores was a ghost writer for Senator GOLDWATER'S book, "The Conscience of a Conservative." This Shadegg denied. He was also said to have helped the Arizona Senator with the newspaper column he wrote for several years.

No one can challenge Shadegg's skill and versatility as a writer. He wrote scripts for B pictures in Hollywood at one point in his career. Some of the more hard-boiled Goldwaterites refer to him scornfully as a romantic. But his romanticism, if that is what it is, seems to have been in tune with that of his chief.

A report on Senate campaign expenditures in 1961 showed that $4,000 a month had been paid to the S & K Laboratories in Phoenix, Ariz. Inquiry revealed that Shadegg owned this company, which put out an asthma remedy called Adreno-Mist. At the time, Shadegg told Reporter Jack Anderson that the total of $40,000 paid through S & K Laboratories was for his services in the campaign, including travel and other expenses.

In the long and skillfully directed drive that led up to Senator GOLDWATER'S triumph at San Francisco, Shadegg was campaign organizer for the Western States. He sat out at least part of the futile primary campaign in Oregon and at one point confessed his bafflement in trying to combat the absent candidate, Henry Cabot Lodge. His advice may have led Senator GOLDWATER to give up Oregon for California, where he clinched the nomination. In Oregon, Senator GOLDWATER came in third after Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Lodge.

What part Shadegg will play in the coming presidential campaign is not yet settled. He is currently in Phoenix. If what he sets forth in "How to Win an Election" is any measure, he has surely proved his worth. There could, however, be some doubt as to how the cell-group system will work on a national scale.

Don't Hide That Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, many of us here pointed out the direct political implications of the administration's so-called antipoverty bill. Certainly proof was forthcoming when one of the two

principal administration leaders of the measure wrote a letter to the General Counsel of the Defense Department pointing out that rush action was necessary so that a "visible impact" be made in the next few months. This, of course, would bring us up to election day. I am speaking of the letter that was written by Mr. Shriver's chief aid, Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky. We now have assurance that Mr. Yarmolinsky will not have any connection with the antipoverty administration.

The political nature of this legislation has become evident to the press. I do herewith submit an editorial from one of our finest newspapers—the Akron Beacon Journal:

DON'T HIDE THAT LIGHT

Did anyone doubt that there were political implications in the administration's antipoverty bill, passed last week in Congress?

Consider the latest report from Washington about implementation of the bill:

"Visible impact," as quickly as possible, is is said to be the target of the staff led by Sargent Shriver.

Oh sure, let's help the poor people—but let it be known far and wide.

Visible impact, is the goal.

To get the show on the road and produce visible impact ahead of election day, machinery was put in motion even before the bill was passed.

Forty or fifty workers, on loan from other Government departments, were setting up the antipoverty operations even before the bill got through Congress. This must have been with White House authorization.

Many local officials, including Mayor Edward Erickson, of Akron, were called down to Washington for explanations of how they could get their share of the $924 million.

The sooner all 11 programs get started the better.

Maybe some poor people will be helped.

But the main thing is visible impact.

That may pay off in votes next November.

Fifth Anniversary of Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE
OF HAWAII
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, the fifth anniversary of Hawaiian statehood will be observed on the coming Friday, August 21. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which I believe portrays objectively the 50th State as it has developed since that most memorable day, 5 years ago. The article was written by William J. Lederer, and was published in the New York Times magazine on August 16.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 50TH STATE, AT 5, "GOES MAINLAND"—AFTER 5 YEARS OF STATEHOOD, BOOMING HAWAII IS ACQUIRING A CHARACTERISTIC U.S. FLAVOR WHILE PRESERVING SOME AMIABLE DIFFERENCES

(By William J. Lederer)

HONOLULU.—Since 1778 when Captain Cook anchored off Waimea Village, the Hawaiian Islands have stirred a continuous stream of ripe adjectives from visitors. Even Mark Twain wrote: "* * * no other land could so longingly and beseechingly haunt me."

The climate, the reports said, was incomparably gentle, the beaches unsurpassed, the precipitous mountains breathtaking, the flowers ever-blooming, the natives gracious and hospitable. Surprisingly, all the adjectives were accurate. However, some changes have been made over the years.

Starting in 1820 New England missionaries came, and during the 19th century thousands of workers and immigrants arrived from Europe. Likewise from Asia hundreds of thousands of contract laborers were imported by the sugar plantations. From all this has grown one of the social phenomena of the 20th century; an almost totally harmonious community of different races.

Today the eight main islands, whose total area is about that of Connecticut, are populated by more than 700,000 people of varied backgrounds; Japanese, Hawaiian, European, Filipino, Chinese, and Korean. Only about 31 percent are Caucasian, almost all of them are American citizens. Their skin colors, religions, emotional patterns, and ancestries are diverse. Yet Hawaii's polyglot citizens work together, swim at the same beaches, worship together, with a few exceptions belong to the same clubs, and live next to each other with greater social peace than is found in many single-raced communities.

When Luang Pibul Songgram, then Premier of Thailand, attended the Hawaii Legislature in September 1957, he tore up his prepared speech. "In my country we grew flowers when we are happy," he said spontaneously, wiping away a tear of joy. "Now I know why there are so many beautiful flowers in Hawaii. I see before me legislators of all races and creeds, many of whose parents were field workers. I see them laughing together and embracing. Any good man can become important and dignified in Hawaii. It is beautiful."

Five years ago, in 1959, the Territory of Hawaii became the 50th State. From Kapoho to Kekaha the church bells clanged. People hula danced in the streets and threw leis about each other. There was one exception; the rapidly vanishing Hawaiians, who were only 1½ percent of the population. For them it was a sad occasion. They felt that with statehood would come the final surge of sophisticated civilization, along with a government administrated mostly by citizens of Asian ancestry. But that was only one of the big changes.

Actually, statehood has had little to do with the change of face and change of pace in Hawaii. True, it focused attention on the islands, and it gave the people there the feeling that now they were a blood-and-bone part of the United States, thus making them bolder and more active. Their self-image of being country cousins on the end of the priority list was erased. Now they have greater interest in national and international affairs concerning the United States.

But the great metamorphosis began about 20 years before statehood. It had to come. Hawaii simply had too many riches, too strategic a position and too much talent to remain only a beautiful, relaxed agricultural barony commanded by a few elite. The natural juices of the 20th century were the catalysts which promoted the change.

For almost 100 years Hawaii had been a feudalistic farm run by the Big Five—five powerful companies, owned and directed by Caucasians, many of them descendants of missionaries. Skillful management, huge profits and status quo were their tenets. Contract laborers from Asia and low wages were their tools. While there was no segregation by race in the schools, the white elite and the Asian majority lived apart, and almost no Asians received positions of power in government or big business.

It was in the 1940's that several 20th-century phenomena exploded in Hawaii—labor unions, the advent of the fast airplane and World War II. Working together, they completely altered the social and economic structures of Hawaii.

Out of the war came the amazing combat record of troops from Hawaii, mostly Nisei volunteers. Their brave, superior performanance lifted the self-confidence of Hawaiian Orientals. They realized for the first time that they were first-class citizens, competent to participate in public affairs; to them, the fact that children of oriental laborers and clerks had been allowed to fight and die for the United States proved the point.

When the war heroes returned, many of them fulfilled an ambition which previously had been impossible. They obtained fine college educations through the GI bill of rights. Then they plunged into politics. They chose the Democratic Party, primarily because the Republicans had been "in" for 50 years and seemed to be the ones who tried to maintain Caucasian control.

The immediate political success of the Asian-Americans astounded everyone. Within a few years Republican domination was ended. Today, the majority of Hawaii's legislators are of Oriental ancestry, including two U.S. Senators and one Representative. The chief justice of Hawaii's Supreme Court is named Tsukiyama. Of late, the Republicans have been wooing the Asians with fervor.

Asians also have achieved leadership in all professions and in all branches of commerce. They are doctors, lawyers, bank directors; they are even on the boards of the Big Five. This astounding change has occurred in one generation; it has taken place without violence, and largely without resentment from Caucasians.

The second, and concurrent, explosion was the postwar growth of the labor unions. Under World War II martial law, the wages of local workers had been frozen at low, prewar levels. Yet thousands of imported mainland workers received several times as much pay for the same work. Local laborers previously had been subservient to a management that was largely paternalistic in its treatment of labor. Now the situation was ripe for plucking by the unions. Hawaiian labor needed the unions. In 1941, sugarworkers earned $2.15 a day, and there were only 5,000 union members in all Hawaii. Today, wages of sugarworkers averaged $21.68 a day, including fringe benefits, and there are 71,000 members among the different unions of Hawaii.

To achieve success, the unions had to disrupt the Big Five's complete economic control—and this the unions did, often with ruthlessness. A sugar strike in 1946 and a lengthy longshoremen's strike in 1949 won for the unions their first major victories, but the longshore strike caused considerable apprehension. Hawaii is insular. Almost all food and commercial supplies are brought in by ship. A group which could stop shipments simply by striking could endanger the community's well-being. People visualized themselves hungry every time longshoremen wanted a pay raise.

Also there was a history of Communist elements in the longshoremen's union (LLWU) which frightened sections of the population. Today, such fears have diminished. The unions now usually display mature judgment. Arbitration is beginning to take the place of strikes.

During the same period the fast, cheap-fare airplane began operating. In 1940, it cost $278 and 15 hours of noisy flight to fly from California to Honolulu. Steamers required 5 days. Today, the trip is a comfortable 4½ hours, costing $100 for the thrift class. As a result, tourism has increased twentyfold since 1945. In 1963, there were

429,000 visitors who spent $186 million. This influx caused a great building boom. Hotel space has doubled since 1959.

The fast plane also has made it possible for all industry to grow. Businessmen can now make quick trips. Air freight has promoted new export trades, such as fresh flowers and fruits.

Did anything specific result from statehood alone? Yes. Statehood gave Hawaii an aura of political and economic stability. The islands no longer appear foreign and distant (even though they are one-third the distance from San Francisco to Tokyo). Henry Kaiser's huge operations already have long since indicated that business in the mainland style can be done in Hawaii.

Money from mainland investors has poured in. Since statehood, insurance companies' investments have nearly doubled—from $253 to $480 million. Mainland organizations have bought local outfits or have started their own branches.

Foreign capitalists, sensing a boom, have moved in vigorously, also. Three of the largest hotels in Waikiki were purchased by Japanese interests on December 7, 1963, the 22d anniversary of Pearl Harbor. The timing seemed in bad taste to veterans of the Japanese attack. One remarked: "We defeated them militarily, so they're trying to win Hawaii with dollars." Other Japanese hotels are going up, too.

Hawaii is prosperous. Her per capita income is $2,476; the national average is $2,443. The State's rate of economic growth also is higher than the national average. The unemployment level is lower—helped by defense spending of $300 million a year.

Prosperity, climate, and natural beauty have caused some tourists who came for a week's vacation to stay for the rest of their lives. Since 1940, Hawaii's population has increased 70 percent. This year, for the first time, Caucasians are the largest single group. The breakdown of resident population by racial groups is:

Caucasion	209,000
Japanese	206,000
Chinese	40,000
Hawaiian (full)	9,900
Filipino	71,000
Part Hawaiian	99,500
Other	19,000
Total	654,400

At first glance a returning visitor is likely to feel that his gracious, slow-moving Hawaii had been turned upside down. The airport (fourth busiest in the United States) thunders and bustles. On the freeway ride into Waikiki he sees a clanking, ugly, industrial area and wonders if, by mistake, he hasn't landed in Los Angeles. At Waikiki, he sees that tall buildings have crowded out the sleepy, graceful palm trees, and he is stunned by the assembly-line techniques of some of the new chain hotels. Even the lusty hula, as previously danced by chunky, dark-skinned Hawaiians, has been replaced by a show-biz version performed by slender Oriental girls.

But when he has changed his clothes for shorts and an aloha shirt, has had a night's sleep and wanders away from Waikiki's glossy tourist attractions, he is bound to smile again. The wonderful climate and the courtesy of all inhabitants still are present. As the visitor drives to northern Oahu, he will again be excited by the beaches at Makapuu, Waimanola, Kahana Bay, Laie, Waimea and Haliewa. These places still have a virgin beauty which gives the swimmer and surfer the feeling of having discovered his personal South Seas refuge.

When he returns to Honolulu proper, he will be amazed at the shiny modernness of office buildings and huge shopping complexes. And he will see that Hawaii is no longer only old Polynesia; instead, it is a fascinating montage of Asia, New York, and the South Seas. There are first-class stage plays, a fine symphony orchestra, and superb museums. Honolulu's two metropolitan papers' foreign coverage exceeds that of most mainland dailies.

The international flavor of Hawaii shows up in the marketplaces. There are Chinese apothecary shops which could have existed 3,000 years ago in Peiping. On their shelves are such items as powdered rhinoceros horn (for virility) and dried bats' wings (for colds). In supermarkets, Portuguese shovesa, Korean kim chee, Japanese sashima, Filipino bugoong, Hawaiian poi, Jewish salami, and American apple pie are common merchandise. There is a similar variety of people on the streets.

Scholars from 25 Asian and Pacific countries walk about Hawaii's federally financed East-West Center, sometimes in native costume. They melt easily into the community. Often, schoolchildren studying about Nepal or Indonesia or Fiji, for example, will hear lectures given by a native scholar from one of those lands.

One change in Hawaii is of profound national importance. The State has become a bridge between Asia and the United States. Asian culture and insight have brushed off on almost everyone who lives in Hawaii.

The vanguard of international relations is commerce. Hawaii is a leader in dealings with Asia. From Manila around to Suez, there are Hawaiian construction companies, investment teams and consultants at work on multimillion-dollar projects. It is no wonder that mainland businessmen come to Hawaii for information on the Orient.

Politics in Hawaii is beginning to look like mainland politics. The good-natured, gentlemanly elections of the past are turning into thumb-in-the-eye donnybrooks.

There are four candidates campaigning for the Democratic nomination for Senator. The primary will be in October. Congressman THOMAS GILL is one of them and already he is slashing away at Senator HIRAM FONG, who is running for reelection. Hawaii is watching this contest with a Colosseum-like interest. FONG, a millionaire, is known for his skill in delivering the pork barrel. GILL has a reputation as a vocal young man who does his homework well and battles with belligerence against the big interests. Some people believe he is too belligerent.

Elections for the State legislature will be even rougher because there are several pressing and sensitive local issues at stake. The four chief ones are:

(1) The land problem: Something must be done to make the enormous landholdings of a few private corporations and individuals as well as of the government, available for industrial, home, and recreational use, and the feeling is that this must be done on other than the present leasehold basis.

(2) Interisland transport: Almost all interisland transport is by air, but fares are 60 percent higher than on the mainland. Cheap transportation is needed, and the argument over how this is to be accomplished is a political issue.

(3) Reapportionment: If the Supreme Court decision on representation in State legislatures is carried out, the outer islands will lose much of their political strength to densely populated Oahu. Both Democrats and Republicans of the outer islands are fighting to get the ruling delayed or changed. As a compromise, they want at least to have reapportionment made on the basis of registered voters—thus excluding aliens and the 60,000 temporary military personnel who are stationed mostly on Oahu.

(4) Taxation: Hawaii either must get more revenues or cut down on public spending (for such purposes as roads). This dilemma is up to the majority power. Therefore, Democrats are scurrying to find either new sources of revenue or a means of altering the tax structure. The problem is made somewhat more immediate by the possibility that missile systems may, within a decade, reduce the size of military expenditures in Hawaii.

What is the future for Hawaii?

Tourism probably will double every 4 years. The population will continue to increase. Industries will expand and multiply.

The University of Hawaii and the East-West Center probably will become the great training schools for Americans going to Asia, either on commercial or official business. Already the Peace Corps training centers on the island of Hawaii are an enormous success.

A major change will come in the land situation. Today, 85 percent of private land is owned by a small number of powerful organizations. The common practice is to lease land for both homes and business sites. Many legislators are trying strenuously to have the land put up for sale.

Labor unions will become stronger. As this is being written, union-management negotiations are underway in fields from iron works and macadamia-nue processing to golf courses and food stores. The intense apprehension over unions has diminished as both sides have settled down to work.

People gradually will move from heavily populated Oahu to the outer islands as cheap transportation is established.

The reapportionment of political districts will reshape the Hawaiian political scene. It will upset political alinements and disrupt pressure groups. No one can know what will result until after the law has been put into effect and elections have been held. But the results will be profound.

Honolulu soon will become the commercial middleman between Asia and the United States. There may evolve a duty-free international transshipping complex in the port of Honolulu. With the development of commerical air routes into the United States administered Pacific Trust Territory, Hawaii must become the gateway into this vast, commercially virgin area.

Full-blooded Hawaiians probably will disappear entirely within the next two generations. But their laughter, song and graciousness have soaked into the lava rock and never will leave the islands.

No matter what happens, the perfect climate and the warm blue ocean of Hawaii will stay as a jewel in the earth's crown and a joy to both visitors and residents. The social harmony which is the soul and music of Hawaii stands as an indestructible monument which all nations will continue to admire and respect.

Second District, Washington, Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the people of my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State, continue to feel that the need for an adequate national defense is the No. 1 problem facing this Nation today. They are also concerned over problems of foreign policy, and over problems involving Federal spending. By far the great majority of them feel that a balanced Federal budget is important.

These are some of the interesting results shown by the tabulation I have just

completed of my annual questionnaire to the people I represent.

As I have in the past, I again this year circulated a questionnaire to each household in my district, using both phone books and my permanent mailing list to obtain as thorough a coverage as possible. Some 85,000 questionnaires were mailed out, and I am happy to say that 14.3 percent were returned to me, many with additional comments and views.

At a time when so many difficult questions face this Nation, I found the participation and interest shown in this project to be gratifying. Mr. Speaker, the people of my district have again shown that they are aware of, and are giving thought to, the problems faced by their Federal Government.

Because my questionnaire survey is of real help to me in my job as a Representative in Congress, careful attention was paid to the handling of each questionnaire. Each was sorted into one of six groups or categories by occupation to insure accurate tabulation. These groups were: Business, farm, labor, professional, white collar, and miscellaneous. This last group included unsigned questionnaires, and questionnaires returned by housewives, retired persons, students, and others who could not readily be classified elsewhere.

Each questionnaire also was acknowledged, and I was particularly anxious to express my appreciation for the time and effort so many persons took to tell me of their opinions. For this purpose, personal letters were used and I, of course, let it be known that those who participated would be advised of the results once all tabulations were completed.

Mr. Speaker, those tabulations are now complete. Because I think all Members of Congress will share my interest in them, I ask, under leave to extend my remarks, that the following detailed report be included in the RECORD:

1. Constituents were first asked to number "In order of importance to you, the six most important issues today."

National Defense was clearly the leader in all categories, with the overall tabulation showing a first place position of 28.8 percent. This figure compared with 19 percent last year, an indication to me, Mr. Speaker, that the people of the Second Congressional District are increasingly aware that communism is still a very real danger, and that the Communists have not forgotten their promise to "bury" us. I believe that this concern with national defense is realistic. It reflects a realization that solutions to a host of vexing domestic problems, no matter how desirable, will mean nothing if we lack the strength to conquer and destroy Communist military might should it ever be unleashed against our shores.

Ranking second, with 15.6 percent, was concern over Federal spending. It seems obvious to me that the people of my district realize full well the price they pay through the pocketbook for irresponsible Federal monetary policies. Many persons, particularly those on limited incomes, told me of the problems they face because of inflation.

Rather than ask for more and more Federal spending, however, they indicated a desire for a return to sound fiscal policies that will restore the fast-diminishing purchasing power of the dollar. I believe this outlook, too, is a reasonable one.

Closely allied with the problem of national defense is American foreign policy. Not surprisingly, the people of my district also placed this high on their list, with an overall percentage of 15.4. This was the total reached when all questions involving foreign policy, including Cuba, Vietnam, and Panama, were considered together. The overall percentage of persons selecting foreign policy in general as their first choice was 10.5.

While the remaining choices speak for themselves, I should like to say something about the "Other" category, which gave constituents a chance to suggest some problem other than the 13 listed.

As a category, the "Other" group polled 3 percent for the overall tabulation, and ranged as high as 6.9 percent for farmers and 4.3 percent for those in the business classification. Concern over the Supreme Court decisions banning prayer and Bible reading from the public schools was mentioned most frequently. This was followed by concern over the possible enactment of so-called "antigun" legislation, which most said they opposed as being contrary to the right to "bear arms" guaranteed in the Bill of Rights by the second amendment to the Constitution.

Mentioned often, but less frequently, were such problems as: encroachment by foreign powers on traditionally American fishing grounds; beef and dairy imports; log exports; opposition to the sale of American wheat to Russia, and Communist infiltration.

A complete tabulation of question No. 1 follows:

[In percent]

	All	Business	Farm	Labor	Professional	White collar	Miscellaneous
National defense	28.8	21.1	28.5	33.5	22.3	27.0	30.7
Federal spending	15.6	22.4	22.0	12.1	10.1	18.5	16.0
Foreign policy (total [1])	15.4	12.0	9.2	11.1	19.0	20.5	13.2
Foreign policy	10.5	9.5	6.3	6.7	12.5	15.5	7.7
Employment	9.6	11.7	8.4	15.0	6.2	8.1	8.0
Civil rights	8.1	8.2	6.7	5.6	13.3	6.9	9.2
Federal encroachment	7.2	9.5	9.9	6.0	8.1	8.1	6.0
Education	5.4	3.9	3.2	5.0	11.7	3.7	5.3
Medicare	3.8	3.0	2.4	5.1	2.2	1.9	6.2
Tax cut	2.6	3.9	2.8	3.3	2.0	2.8	2.0
Cuba	2.5	1.7	1.1	2.3	2.3	2.6	3.2
Vietnam	1.5	.4	.9	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.5
Panama	.9	.4	.9	.7	2.4	.6	.8
Space exploration	.5	0.	0.	.3	2.9	.3	.1
Other	3.0	4.3	6.9	3.0	2.2	2.2	3.3

[1] Includes percentages for Cuba, Vietnam, and Panama.

2. Question No. 2 asked: "How important is a 'balanced' Federal budget to you?" Choices offered were: (A) "Very," (B) "So-so," and (C) "Not at all." Choice (A) "Very," led by large margins in all categories:

[In percent]

	A	B	C
All	70.9	23.4	5.7
Business	80.7	14.9	4.4
Farm	80.3	16.3	3.4
Labor	66.1	27.7	6.2
Professional	63.0	28.6	8.4
White collar	72.7	22.1	5.2
Miscellaneous	73.5	21.3	5.2

3. Question No. 3 asked: "How do you feel medical care for the elderly should be financed? Through: (A) An increase in social security taxes, (B) programs administered by the States but aided by Federal money, (C) voluntary, private medical plans." The following tabulations resulted, with the combined percentage of those selecting either (B) or (C) shown in separate column (D):

[In percent]

	A	B	C	D
All	35.2	27.9	36.9	64.8
Business	23.4	22.6	54.0	76.6
Farm	30.8	24.3	44.9	69.2
Labor	43.4	29.3	27.3	56.6
Professional	27.4	27.8	44.8	72.6
White collar	29.6	26.2	44.2	70.4
Miscellaneous	38.0	30.0	32.0	62.0

4. Question No. 4 noted that "power transmission lines may soon be built between Bonneville and California," and asked: "Who should build them? (A) Federal Government or (B) private industry?" A definite preference for (B) Construction by private industry was indicated in all categories:

[In percent]

	A	B
All	22.2	77.8
Business	11.9	88.1
Farm	21.1	78.9
Labor	26.1	73.9
Professional	22.3	77.7
White collar	17.8	82.8
Miscellaneous	24.1	75.9

5. Question No. 5 was a two-part question dealing with the "Bobby Baker investigation." Constituents were first asked whether they thought such an investigation was (A) "Good," or (B) "Bad." They were then asked to give their opinion as to whether the Baker investigation had been conducted in a (C) "Hushed," or (D) "Open" manner. (A) "Good" and (C) "Hushed" emerged as the most frequent choices:

[In percent]

	A	B	C	D
All	78.6	21.4	73.2	26.8
Business	81.1	18.9	76.1	23.9
Farm	79.3	20.7	83.6	16.4
Labor	80.2	19.8	71.7	28.3
Professional	83.4	16.6	66.4	33.6
White collar	78.1	21.9	70.3	29.7
Miscellaneous	74.9	25.1	78.5	21.5

6. Question No. 6 called for an evaluation of the administration's handling of the Cuban and Panamanian situations. Constituents were asked to indicate whether, in their opinion, handling had been (A) "Just right," (B) "Too strong," or (C) "Too weak." Most indicated they thought administration policy had been (C) "Too weak":

[In percent]

	A	B	C
All	19.7	1.3	79.0
Business	11.6	1.9	86.5
Farm	16.8	1.7	81.5
Labor	18.4	1.5	80.1
Professional	23.1	2.0	74.9
White collar	16.3	.5	83.2
Miscellaneous	24.1	1.4	74.5

7. Incidents of Communist harassment involving American personnel and installations abroad formed the basis for question No. 7. Specifically, my questionnaire asked: "In incidents provoked by the Russians, such as the January 1964 shooting down of three American fliers over East Germany, what should the United States do? Protest. Go to war. Sever diplomatic relations. Forget it. Go to war." So many persons added "Shoot back" or "Retaliate in kind" to this list, that I made this an additional category in my tabulation.

Because a number of persons checked more than one choice, indicating a preference for some combination of the alternatives, this question could not be calculated exactly. Nevertheless, percentages based on the total number of responses could be calculated and from them, it was possible to rank the selections in this order of preference: (1) "Protest" (2) "Cancel wheat sales" (3) "Sever diplomatic relations" (4) "Forget it" (5) "Shoot back" or "Retaliate in kind," and (6) "Go to war."

Percentages for this ranking follow:

[In percent]

	1	2	3	4	5	6
All	46.7	31.3	13.9	4.9	1.7	1.5
Business	49.5	29.0	13.3	4.4	1.5	2.3
Farm	44.8	30.8	13.9	6.7	1.9	1.9
Labor	43.8	30.2	17.0	5.1	2.0	1.9
Professional	50.3	28.4	11.8	5.0	3.1	1.4
White collar	49.2	30.9	12.6	4.3	1.5	1.5
Miscellaneous	42.7	36.1	13.6	5.3	1.0	1.3

8. Whether the United States should put (A) "More" or (B) "Less" money into Latin and South America was the issue posed in question No. 8. Here, a great many persons added their additional views, expressing the opinion that all American aid programs, no matter what their size, should be "more carefully administered." However, there was a substantial consensus of opinion that (B) "Less" aid money should be spent:

[In percent]

	A	B
All	29.3	70.7
Business	22.7	77.3
Farm	23.0	77.0
Labor	28.8	71.2
Professional	41.5	58.5
White collar	32.9	67.1
Miscellaneous	23.3	76.7

9. Question No. 9, the first in a series of "Yes" and "No" questions, also dealt with foreign aid by asking: "Should the United States continue foreign aid?" While a majority overall seemed to feel that American foreign aid should be continued, this was not true for all categories. And many persons again took the time to add their personal views, telling me that U.S. aid policies should be reexamined and revised in line with realities of the current world situation. "You can't buy friends," was an opinion frequently ventured, even by those who felt that U.S. aid, to some degree, should be continued. A tabulation of the question, "Should the United States continue foreign aid?" follows:

[In percent]

	Yes	No
All	55.9	44.1
Business	49.8	50.2
Farm	48.0	52.0
Labor	51.6	48.4
Professional	70.7	29.3
White collar	62.4	37.6
Miscellaneous	49.8	50.2

10. "France has recognized Red China. Should we continue our policy of nonrecognition?" was the question asked in No. 10. Second district residents showed they strongly favor "Yes" for a continuation of our current nonrecognition policy:

[In percent]

	Yes	No
All	81.4	18.6
Business	82.2	17.8
Farm	83.1	16.9
Labor	81.3	18.7
Professional	77.8	22.2
White collar	80.5	19.5
Miscellaneous	83.3	16.7

11. Question No. 11 read: "If Red China is admitted to the United Nations, should we withdraw?" While many people voted criticism of administration policies that remain silent in the face of refusals by Communist nations to pay their fair U.N. assessments, a majority said they favored continued American membership. Some, however, qualified their answer by noting that their "No" vote to withdrawal applied only "for the present" or "for the time being":

[In percent]

	Yes	No
All	30.4	69.6
Business	34.2	65.8
Farm	32.6	67.4
Labor	30.6	69.4
Professional	22.2	77.8
White collar	27.6	72.4
Miscellaneous	35.3	64.7

12. Question No. 12 returned to a local issue by asking: "Do you want another national park in the North Cascades?" Many added additional comments here, saying they preferred continued administration of the North Cascades area under the "multiple-use" concept. On the specific question of another national park, "No" carried for the overall tabulation and for all categories except one:

[In percent]

	Yes	No
All	47.7	52.3
Business	44.0	56.0
Farm	34.9	65.1
Labor	45.3	54.7
Professional	59.3	40.7
White collar	48.7	51.3
Miscellaneous	47.6	52.4

These, Mr. Speaker, are the results of my 1964 questionnaire.

Never in my 12 years in Congress have I found the entire weight of public opinion to be solidly on one side or the other when important matters were under consideration. So it is with the issues with which I dealt in my questionnaire; no one answer received 100 percent of the total vote.

Usually, however, the majority opinion has been discernible, as it is here. On each question, the majority position is clear. I believe that the majority views expressed in this year's survey closely parallel my own and, more importantly, that I have supported these views with my voting record.

I also believe that my annual questionnaire survey represents one of the best means by which I can continue to keep myself accurately informed on the thinking of persons back home.

The results of my questionnaire surveys have helped me in the past when important decisions had to be made. I expect to refer often to this latest survey as Congress is called upon in the future to decide crucial questions of the day.

Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Interns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, seven young interns of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation have been working the last half year to improve relations between racial groups. Washington has been fortunate to have the services of five of these interns, all of whom have been performing outstanding labors for various organizations in the District which are concerned with human rights.

An article written by Dorothy McCardle, and published in the Washington Post of August 14, interestingly describes this program, and calls attention especially to the accomplishments of Mr. Kenneth R. Rashid, who is working with the Howard University Neighborhood Council. Because of the significant contribution made by these fine young people toward betterment of intergroup relationships, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERN REPORTS: CONCERTS SOOTHE TENSION

(By Dorothy McCardle)

A young man with Arab ancestry and Roman Catholic faith is now battling for the rights of the Jews and Negroes.

Kenneth R. Rashid, who was formerly with the Peace Corps and is now here working with the Howard University Neighborhood Council, had a story to tell yesterday which is typical of the report of accomplishments made by his fellow Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Human Rights Interns.

Rashid was one of seven such interns to report on their work in intergroup relationships to Orin Lehman, executive director of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, who had come from New York.

The interns have completed the first half of the year's work in bettering relations between racial groups. Five have been in Washington, two in Philadelphia, and all are enthusiastic.

Rashid has been especially successful in helping to promote a series of Sunday night open air concerts at Meridian Hill. Some 17 concerts have been given this summer, drawing crowds of 3,000 to 5,000 people a night, he said. They represented many races and the whole economic spectrum.

Rashid and other interns agreed that the work in behalf of better interracial human relations fulfills a dream of retiring Peace Corps men.

"Many returning members of the Peace Corps are searching for meaningful tasks in this country," said Rashid. "Their experience in intergroup relations abroad can be of great value in the United States."

Other interns who reported were Mark L. Alter, who is interning with the District of Columbia Commissioner's Council on Human Relations; Martin E. Henner, who is with the American Jewish Committee in Philadelphia; Doris Jordna, with Neighbors, Inc.; Amy W. Paige, with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; Eugene Solon, with the Industrial Union Department of AFL–CIO; and Marv Zommick, of the Urban League of Philadelphia.

Congress Considers Districting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Adrian Daily Telegram of August 7, 1964:

CONGRESS CONSIDERS DISTRICTING

The Senate's Judiciary Committee has approved a measure to stall apportionment of legislatures for 2 years. The bill advanced by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, GOP leader in the Senate, would postpone Supreme Court ordered apportionment until State legislatures have two regular sessions to consider the problem. The committee vote was 10 to 2 with Michigan's Senator PHILIP HART one of the dissenters.

Senator HART says he does not know what the bill would do in Michigan and that is one reason why he opposed it. Probably nobody knows what it would do. The proposal would direct a Federal court to stay all proceedings upon application of a citizen or of a State where there is litigation on reapportionment. Upon the stay of proceedings, the State would revert to the apportionment plan in effect.

No litigation is currently pending in Michigan. On that basis it would appear that the measure would not apply to Michigan. But if it does, it would appear that the reversion would be to the Kerner-Kleiner plan which is currently in effect. That's the one which has jumbled previous legislative districts, Lenawee County, for instance, is now a part of four districts for the State house of representatives, where it formerly was a single district. And Lenawee County now has parts of two State senate districts, where it formerly shared a single district with Monroe County.

That situation has led to great confusion. Many voters do not know what districts they are in, much less who are the candidates in the forthcoming September primary. The Dirksen measure would not, as far as Lenawee County and the rest of Michigan is concerned, end the confusion. It would only increase it.

Senator HART is right in saying that he does not know what the effect of the Dirksen bill would be in Michigan. But it should also be added that as a Democrat he probably is not at all disturbed by the current legislative redistricting. It is a Democratic plan, offered by Democratic members of the legislative districting commission and approved by a majority of the State supreme court nominated by the Democratic Party. The plan hits especially hard and almost exclusively at nominally Republican legislative districts and at the Republican incumbents therein.

Senator DIRKSEN hopes to get his measure attached to some House approved bill pending in the Senate—to some bill which President Johnson would hesitate a long time before vetoing.

Meanwhile a subcommittee in the House is studying some 75 proposals to stop the U.S. Supreme Court's July decision that both branches of legislatures in the States must be apportioned strictly on a population basis. Some of the proposals call for constitutional amendments and some need only congressional action. Among these measures are one by Representative GEORGE MEADER of the Second Michigan District to withdraw from court jurisdiction matters of legislative apportionment.

The Dirksen measure faces a number of hurdles, the Meader measure still more. The U.S. Supreme Court created great confusion with its ruling about State legislatures. That confusion will not quickly subside.

"Fear or Courage"—The Question That Comes Before Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Marya Mannes has for many years been writing penetrating and perceptive observations about our people and our relations with other peoples of the world. In the current issue of Vogue magazine, Miss Mannes has an article entitled "Fear or Courage." I believe my colleagues will be interested in the article; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"FEAR OR COURAGE?"—THE QUESTION THAT COMES BEFORE POLITICS

(By Marya Mannes)

One hundred years ago, I am told, the English writer and poet, Matthew Arnold, wrote: "The great mass of the people will never have any ardent zeal for seeing things as they really are."

The coming elections will show us whether now, 100 years later, in this great democracy, this is still true. But we don't have to wait for November to wonder whether too many of us have refused to see things as they really are for quote a long time. And we don't have to go very far to find Americans—good, decent, patriotic citizens—who close their eyes to the realities of this world because they want to cling to the known past instead of move to the unknown future. On Long Island no less than the southwestern deserts of Arizona and Texas, and the mammoth California slurbs, frightened and frustrated people shriek for easy solutions, and for those who promise them, in a time that provides none. Send the Marines. Cut off aid. Abolish taxes. Defy the Supreme Court.

Do something they shout. Do anything. But don't think. Don't face the realities. This world is in revolution, but we're going to stay as we are. So say the Good Americans who think that by waving the flag, preserving school prayers, and damning communism, they are not only saving our way of life but preserving the Constitution. What they are really doing, in fact, is embalming it; echoing, in shared ignorance of the Constitution itself, the views of their favored political leaders. These are the nonthinkers and know-nothings of our day—the reducers and diminishers of the large truths.

What is more, they are afraid. These are the timid people who see in anything new and different, in any growth and change, a threat to their single lives, to that pursuit of happiness which has now come to mean, to far too many, the pursuit of the extra buck.

It is to such people that Senator FULBRIGHT addressed himself some months ago when he pled with us to adapt ourselves to reality, to shed old myths, and to dare think unthinkable things.

"When our perceptions fail to keep pace with events," he said, "when we refuse to believe something because it displeases or frightens us, or is simply startlingly unfamiliar, then the gap between fact and perception becomes a chasm and actions become irrelevant and irrational. * * *" "We must learn," he said later, "to explore all of the options and possibilities that confront us in a complex and rapidly changing world, we must learn to welcome rather than fear the voices of dissent."

The Senator was, of course, speaking about specific areas of our foreign policy, but what he says confirms what some of us have long felt: that Americans—the great revolutionaries, the bold explorers, the brilliant innovators—were becoming afraid of change and resisting change at their own * * * our own peril.

For these are not the true conservatives. The true conservatives want to preserve the revolutionary fire of the American spirit, the quest for a society constantly developing to meet each new demand and need as it arises, to renew itself for new conditions. They want to save this marvelous land from its exploiters and defacers. They insist on the rule of law and reason as against the rule of license and emotion. The true conservatives do not return to the past: they build on it for the future.

The frightened, angry people are not conservatives but reactionaries. They react against maturity as children react against adult responsibility. They are afraid of growing up.

Fear of change does strange things to people. It closes their eyes, it ties their hands, it stops them from thinking or questioning. Fear of change really is, in its largest aspect, fear of growth. We want to stay the way we are, and a great many—too many—of us stay adolescent, if not infantile. Maturity means responsibility and independence of mind—and we'd much rather stay swaddled in the comforters of safe and accepted values, because, baby, it's cold outside.

I can well see why rich and easy going people like ourselves don't particularly want to change. All we want is more of everything we've got—more cars, more houses, more cash, more leisure, more boats, and more fun. We also want more defense, more peace, and a man on the moon. And we think we can have all these things without changing the way we are. All we have to do is produce more and buy more.

I think the time has come not to buy more, but to be more—and that means sacrifice and it means discipline, and it means courage to face, and not fear, change. President Kennedy said this in his inaugural address, but could not live to tell us how. I

suspect he felt that people were not ready for change, or discipline, and he may have been right. If so, the fault lies with the leaders of our society—in Congress, in mass communications, in the pulpit, in the schools and colleges, in the labor unions, and the business community. (The last two, ironically, both see change as a threat instead of a challenge.)

Eighty percent of television and radio and a majority of the Nation's press is dedicated to trivial entertainment or to the selling of goods to keep us from thinking. While the citizens of totalitarian states are subjected to political brainwashing, we are exposed continually to commercial brainwashing, and though the latter is certainly to be preferred, it is far from harmless.

For it gives us false images of ourselves, of society, and of the world. In making youth the only desirable condition in man or woman, it has made us not only fear age but refuse to plan for it spiritually, socially, or medically on a wide national scale. Nothing in our mass culture gives age dignity, security, or worth.

In resisting the continuing revolution of the sexes—a change in the roles of men and women as the inevitable result of the emerging identity of women—we are filling the couches of psychiatrists instead of building a free strong community of men and women who live up to their full potentialities.

In a compulsive fear of communism, we are incapable of examining it coolly out of reason, if only to find out the sources of its power for our own defenses against it.

In an equally obsessive fear of socialism, we deny ourselves certain social techniques and advantages which the free nations of Europe have managed to combine with their capitalist economies for the public good.

So we spend our time worrying about all these different social and political and biological revolutions rather than about the deep sicknesses in our society which are really sapping it, and which are the product not of change, but of inertia and atrophy. Let's worry about these first. All of them arise from a distortion of the word, freedom, into the word, license.

On the one hand, an illiterate police chief or a band of superpatriots can ban a textbook they think subversive or take a classic out of a public library because it contains certain words. On the other hand, a deluge of pornography floods the Nation through the mails and we do nothing about it because any action is an abridgment of freedom. We cry "Censorship" because we fear to make a distinction between a salacious photograph and a Titian nude, between honest sex and commercial pornography. That adolescents are fed this filth is apparently less of a worry.

On the one hand, we proclaim our Christian morality as a society under God. On the other hand, corruption has spread to a prodigious degree in every sector of our life. It ranges from a $2 bet to a $20,000 bribe, from falsifiers of tax returns to dishonest city officials, from cheaters at examinations to misleading advertisers, from corrupt union leaders to price-fixing corporations. It would be comforting to say that these are the exceptions. The truth is that they have made the line between legal and illegal, moral and immoral so blurred that a majority of our people can no longer see it clearly any more. Anything goes, so long as you don't get caught.

If this is the status quo we are so bent on preserving in the name of freedom, or free enterprise, then any change is preferable if we are not to succumb to complete anarchy.

For it is in the end anarchy we have to fear most; and it takes its shape in two great explosions that deny man his life and his dignity. The first is the population explosion, the second the nuclear explosion. It may surprise you that I put the one before the other, but I feel as of now that it is the greater danger, and may well be the fuse that will ignite the second.

Both stem from the refusal of men to face reality by changing their way of living and thinking. Both inherently are a refusal to put the good of all ahead of the good of self. Privatism dictates that you bear all the children you want regardless of what their future may be in a world without space for them. Nationalism dictates that you maintain sovereignty regardless of human survival.

We became leaders in the first place because, in our revolution, we initiated a new concept of society—the concept of federation under freedom. We changed the face of modern society, and for nearly 200 years our power in the world has been as a symbol of change.

We are not that now. We are richer and mightier. We are the greatest consumers in the world. We hold out to all the impoverished and emerging peoples in the world the marvelous bounty, the material blessings, of a capitalist economy. But is that enough to capture the soul of man? Is talk of freedom enough? I don't think so. I think we have got to be bold again, to advance new ideas, to demand brave leadership, to produce new visions that prove we are not only unafraid of change but determined to be its innovators. And we have to start right here at home.

The first thing to do is to stop being afraid of the wrong things. Don't let yourself be stampeded or brainwashed by accepted social attitudes, or commercial pressures, or the counsel of politicians who say no to everything new because they are fearful of change.

Examine the new and the different and the difficult with a cool and open eye and not with the heat of prejudice.

Ask yourself, when you see our ugly cities, our monotonous suburbs, our shoddy transit systems, our crowded schools, our delinquent young, our unstable old, whether we have indeed produced the highest standard of living, or whether we have put private pleasures above public need.

Open your mind by reading those books and magazines which are not afraid of the truth, however unpalatable, and which are immune from partisan or commercial pressures which distort fact.

Don't allow demagogs to obscure reasons by inflaming emotion. The demagog succeeds only with frightened people.

Whatever you think, speak up. The great and wonderful difference between us and the totalitarian state is that it speaks with only one voice which we speak with many. In a democracy silence is abdication.

All this is a counsel of courage, and courage is not easy. The temptation to stand by and do nothing is great. But because too many people are doing just that, we are becoming a spiritually flabby and morally shabby society, uncertain of our direction and confused about our growth.

We read of ordinary citizens standing by, doing nothing while fellow beings are savagely attacked. When your own future is in mortal danger of being strangled by fear and apathy and cowardice, it is your moral obligation not only to speak out but to act.

The "Old Hickory" Cure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Muncie Star of July 3, 1964:

THE "OLD HICKORY" CURE

The proposal by 10th District Congressman RALPH HARVEY to amend the Constitution so that States may apportion one chamber of the legislatures on a basis other than population is sound, but it does not touch the real crisis in American government.

HARVEY's plan would deal with a symptom, without making progress toward curing the basic illness of the central government. The ailment, which could be fatal to the American system of representative government, is a Supreme Court which has seized the powers of both other arms of the body politic.

The Supreme Court, as it functions today, both legislates and administers. There is no longer any question that several Court rulings were in fact new pieces of legislation rather than interpretations of existing law. Following the last ruling on the Prince Edward County School case, the Court has moved to take over purely administrative functions.

HARVEY's plan might eventually be approved by the people of the United States. By that time, the Court could have overleaped any number of constitutional boundaries. In fact, the evidence points in exactly that direction. What, for instance, is to keep the present Court from saying that the 14th amendment supersedes the requirement that every State have two Senators? The logic that made possible the apportionment ruling can be applied with equal validity to the U.S. Senate.

Neither Congress nor the Chief Executive is powerless, yet both arms of Government appear to lack the will to take action. A sort of numbing paralysis appears to keep the other branches from asserting their constitutional equality in the face of the Court's assumption of power. The President and Congress appear to be bemused or bewildered.

One of the more vivid moments in American history came when a President felt that the Court had overstepped its power sphere. Andrew Jackson, who is hailed as a great Democrat and spokesman for the overage man, also invited the Supreme Court to enforce a ruling with which he disagreed.

Those who so fervently disclaim on the law of the land might remember Jackson's positive refusal to let the Court disrupt the system of checks and balances.

As a means to relieve one part of the problem, Representative HARVEY's amendment to the fundamental law is sound. As a more certain cure for the more critical trouble, Congress and the President must move to reestablish the true law of the land.

"Results of 1964 Legislative Survey"—By Representative Joe Pool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE R. POOL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year my 1964 legislative questionnaire was sent to postal patrons throughout Texas. My staff has completed tabulation of the first 20,000 answers received, with the following results:

1. United Nations: Should the United States stay in or get out of the United Nations?

	Percent
Stay in	59
Get out	36
No opinion	5

2. Red China: Do you favor or oppose admission of Red China to the United Nations?

	Percent
Favor	9.4
Oppose	85.0
No opinion	6.6

3. Foreign aid: Which of the following statements comes closets to expressing your opinion of foreign aid?

	Percent
You can't buy friends	36
OK for military allies	21
To be used by the President	43

4. Alliance for Progress: One part of our foreign aid program is the Alliance for Progress. In general, do you favor or oppose the Alliance for Progress?

	Percent
Favor	41
Oppose	37
No opinion	22

5. Medicare: "Medicare" is a bill which would, through social security deductions, help persons over 65 with hospital bills. Would you favor or oppose a plan of this kind?

	Percent
Favor	40
Oppose	54
No opinion	6

6. Aid to education: Do you favor or oppose Federal aid to education?

	Percent
Favor	36
Oppose	59
No opinion	5

7. Income taxes: If income tax rates are cut by Congress, should the main reductions go to:

	Percent
Individuals with low incomes	28
All individual taxpayers	36
Corporations and individuals	36

8. The economy: Generally speaking, do you think you and your family are better off, or worse off, financially than you were 5 years ago.

	Percent
Better	36
Worse	24
About the same	40

9. Civil rights: Which of the following statements is closest to your views on civil rights legislation?

	Percent
Favor	35
Oppose	54
No opinion	11

10. How would you rate the administration of President Lyndon Johnson?

	Percent
Good	54
Bad	21
No opinion	25

11. Party identification: Do you consider yourself a:

	Percent
Democrat	47
Republican	14
Independent	39

12. Questionnaires: Do you think questionnaires like this one are a good idea?

	Percent
Yes	99.0
No	.7
No opinion	.3

Interoceanic Canals: "No Canal at All?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, in the course of many discussions in this body since January 9, 1964, the day of the initial Red-led Panamanian mob assaults on the Canal Zone, the point has been made by distinguished Members of the Congress of the imperative necessity for standing firm at Panama for the treaty-based U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

The reason for this is obvious: If the United States cannot defend its interests in a territory over which it has sovereignty under specific grant of treaty and owns by purchase from all individual property holders in the zone, it cannot defend its control over a canal in another location, wherever it may be constructed. This point was emphasized in a recent editorial in the Arizona Republic and reprinted in the July 4, 1964, issue of Human Events.

In this connection, I would invite attention to four notable addresses in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 9 and 11, and May 5 and 21, 1964, by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], under the following titles, respectively: "Panama Canal: Focus of Power Politics"; "Panama Canal: Formula for Future Canal Policy"; "Under Two Flags: Blunders, Confusion, and Chaos at Panama"; and "Panama Canal and the Milton Eisenhower Paper."

The scholarly addresses set forth in admirable manner the juridical foundations of U.S. control over the Canal Zone territory and suggest means by which these rights, power, and authority may be clarified and reaffirmed.

The indicated editorial follows:

NO CANAL AT ALL?

A joint United States-Colombia study on the feasibility of an interocean canal through the northwest tip of the South American country has been launched in an atmosphere of great cordiality.

If the proposed canal is ever built, however, the friendliness on the part of Colombia may well disappear on the day it is completed, unless the United States forestalls such an unhappy turn of events by asserting its treaty rights over the Panama Canal.

This is not to say that Colombia is acting in bad faith at the moment. Indeed, the Colombians may be working for an equitable arrangement. Nevertheless, the temptation to grab a new canal eventually would prove irresistible if the United States allowed Panama to seize the present waterway. If a nationalization movement didn't start spontaneously, there would always be ambitious political factions and Communist subversives to ignite it.

Of course, the same thing applies to any Latin American country where a new canal might be built. It is an unpleasant but undeniable fact, proved by countless examples in history, that nations lacking the prosperity of a neighbor will try to take from the neighbor.

It is equally true that this sort of thing can be avoided only if the neighbor is powerful enough—and willing—to protect its rights.

Since the present canal may not be able to accommodate increasing maritime traffic and even now cannot handle some of the larger ships, including U.S. aircraft carriers, another canal may well be vital to U.S. security and the flow of commerce. Planning is in order.

If the United States isn't firm in Panama, however, it not only will lose the present vital canal, but also will trigger a chain reaction of nationalization that will mean the United States will never have a canal on a firm and secure basis, no matter how many it may build.

Canal Zone Spending in Panama Reaches New High: $91,849,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, in the insistent demands from Panama for ever-increasing benefits from the United States, Panama never takes into consideration the huge benefits now being received by that country in the form of income flowing from the Canal Zone. Nor do U.S. representatives in discussions with Panama ever appear to give consideration to this feature. Such income to Panama in 1963 reached a new high of $91,849,000.

In order that the people of the United States and the Congress may be accurately informed of the latest information in this regard, as released from the U.S. Embassy in Panama, I quote a special news dispatch from the isthmus:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 5, 1964]

CANAL ZONE SPENDING IN PANAMA ROSE TO RECORD FIGURE IN 1963

PANAMA.—Income flowing into the Republic of Panama from the Canal Zone in 1963 rose to a new high of $91,849,000, according to statistics released by the U.S. Embassy.

Panama received about $5.7 million more last year than in 1962, when cash benefits from the Canal Zone were estimated at $85,155,000.

The part of the revenue that came from the canal organization and other U.S. Government agencies in the Canal Zone was mostly in the form of wages paid to residents of Panama employed there. This sum rose to $38,838,000 in 1963 from $33,495,000 in 1962.

To this were added retirement and disability payments amounting to $3,324,000.

Expenditures in the Republic of Panama by residents of the Canal Zone amounted to $21,109,000. This figure cannot be derived precisely from records; it is estimated from sample surveys.

The estimates put residents' purchases at a figure $1.5 million above the 1962 total. This was the second largest source of income to Panama from the zone.

In third place were direct purchases of goods and services by U.S. Government agencies. These came to $12,189,000 against $11,781,000 in 1962.

Items bought for resale to consumers included meat, eggs, milk, furniture, photographic materials, machinery, auto parts, cigarettes, medicine, soft drinks, dairy products, air conditioners, sugar, chemicals, paint, fertilizer, fruit, vegetables, fish, poultry, and petroleum products.

CONTRACTORS EXPAND LESS

Purchases made by contractors performing work in the Canal Zone were estimated at $9,959,000, about $1 million less than in 1962. This was the only major item that declined.

Private clubs, churches and other community groups on the Canal Zone bought about $400,000 more products in 1963, the total reaching $4.8 million.

The Embassy noted that the gradual increase in the purchase of Panama products by the canal and other United States agencies in the zone has been a "notable contribution" to the republic's economic activity, "which closed the last calendar year on a high level."

U.S. State Department's International Coffee Scheme Increases Coffee Prices to American Housewives—Prices Increased 22 Cents Per Pound—Foreign Coffee Exporters Profiteer to the Extent of $660 Million Per Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD a copy of a letter and attached memorandum relating to the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, and the implementing legislation, H.R. 8864.

In my judgment, the sharp increases in retail coffee prices from 69 cents in 1962, to 91 cents at the present time, can be attributed solely to the coffee shortage artificially created by the quota agreements established pursuant to the provisions of the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

H.R. 8864 would perfect this international scheme to allow the foreign coffee exporters to profiteer at the expense of the American consumer public.

The letter and memorandum follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 15, 1964.

Re H.R. 8864, to implement the enforcement of the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: It is anticipated that the conference report on H.R. 8864 will be considered by the House on either Monday or Tuesday.

This bill proposes to require the United States to police and enforce the basic objective of the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, to reduce the available supply of coffee to the consumers of the United States.

The reduction of the supply of coffee, due to the agreed upon quota exports, has resulted in a drastic increase of coffee prices to the American families.

The following list contains the retail price of Maxwell House coffee in one of the supermarkets in Washington, D.C.:

In June 1962 (just before treaty was signed) 69 cents per pound.

In June 1963 (when quotas began to operate) 71 cents per pound.

In June 1964, 91 cents per pound.

In August 1964, 91 cents per pound.

This increase is typical of a comparable increase in coffee prices throughout the Nation.

The United States will import and consume more than 3 billion pounds of coffee in the year 1964. The increase of 22 cents per pound on this amount of coffee will result in an overcharge of $660 million to the American housewives upon their coffee purchases.

The International Coffee Agreement is a foreign cartel and monopoly over the world coffee supply. It is a scheme to rig prices by creating an artificial coffee scarcity. It violates American economic policies prohibiting monopoly and restraints of trade.

H.R. 8864 would require the enforcement of this foreign cartel's monopoly whose chief victim is the American coffee purchaser.

This conference report should be rejected.

Further objections to this report are contained in the enclosed memorandum.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. PILLION.

MEMORANDUM RELATING TO CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 8864, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT OF 1962

To: Members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

From: JOHN R. PILLION, Member, U.S. House of Representatives.

The conference report on H.R. 8864 will be presented in the next few days to the House for its consideration. This conference report is the final action needed to perfect the international cartel monopolizing coffee supply and coffee prices.

I list the following objections to and defects in this extortion scheme:

THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE TREATY

1. The International Coffee Agreement is now in force, and has artificially reduced the available coffee supply to the United States.

2. The demand for coffee in the United States is relatively stable.

3. The reduced supply and stable demand has increased coffee prices by 22 cents per pound in the United States. The total cost to the U.S. consumer for the year 1964 will be $660 million in coffee price overcharges.

4. The treaty's quota system constitutes a world monopoly over the coffee market.

5. The Coffee Treaty organization is an international cartel aimed to extort higher coffee prices out of the United States, which consumes more than 50 percent of the world coffee exports.

6. The Coffee Treaty is a violation of the antimonopoly policies contained in the Sherman Act and other legal prohibitions against the restraint of trade.

7. The machinery for establishing coffee quotas of coffee available for world consumption bear no relation to the cost of production and are designed to create artificial short supplies and increase prices to all the traffic will bear.

8. The exportable world coffee stock is 70 million bags—almost a year and one-half supply. There is no present or potential shortage.

9. The international coffee cartel is contrary to the principles contained in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements for freeing international economic exchange among nations.

H.R. 8864

10. H.R. 8864 would create the machinery by which the United States would require certificates of import for all coffee imports. It proposes to police and enforce the coffee quotas set by the International Coffee Agreement.

11. The defeat of H.R. 8864 would not vitiate the operation of the International Coffee Agreement's coffee quota system. The defeat of H.R. 8864 would only avoid the enforcement by the United States against possible additional nonquota coffee becoming available to the American consumer.

12. The Dirksen amendment was added to H.R. 8864 as a face-saving device to overcome distrust of the Senate for this bill. This amendment is a cumbersome theoretical procedure that cannot effectively protect American interests.

THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

13. The international coffee cartel and H.R. 8864 were conceived, and are sponsored by the U.S. State Department.

14. It is an economic weapon against the American public for the purpose of currying the favor of the coffee export nations. It is a crude, vicious attempt to bribe friendship.

15. The additional $660 million extracted annually from the American housewives is a subsidy to foreign governments, foreign speculators, and foreign land barons.

16. The $660 million annual overpricing of coffee to the American housewife is, in effect, foreign aid paid for creating a coffee shortage when, in fact, there is an existing world coffee surplus.

17. The State Department has willfully misrepresented to the U.S. Congress the facts, the political implications, and the economic principles underlying the International Coffee Agreement and H.R. 8864.

18. The State Department must be identified as the principal causative agency for the drastic coffee price increases to the American public.

CONCLUSION

H.R. 8864 would implement and perfect the scheme contained in the International Coffee Agreement cartel to artificially reduce the world coffee supply for the ultimate purpose of creating abnormal higher coffee prices.

It cannot be justified upon economic principle or political policy.

The conference report on H.R. 8864 should be defeated.

National Defense Education Act Amendments, 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11904) to amend and extend the National Defense Educational Act of 1958.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I hope when this bill comes again before the Committee on Education and Labor and the House of Representatives the word "defense" is stricken from the title. This should be named the National Education Act, or the Federal Aid to Education Act. The word "defense" does not belong in this bill. It has been so chipped away and eroded from the original purposes that it does not belong in the title.

I point out to you that the 1958 National Defense Education Act was sold to us as an act to develop those who were talented in mathematics, science, technology, and so forth. Today there

are studies under this act in folk lore, jazz, and I have no doubt in the strumming of guitars and what-have-you. This goes far beyond the original purposes of the National Defense Education Act. The word "defense" should be stricken for it is a misnomer. As a matter of fact, this bill, on the first page, eliminates the language in the law which gave it a defense flavor. The language proposed to be stricken today states "which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in science, mathematics, and modern foreign language, and trained in technology."

Let there be no mistake this is a Federal Aid to Education Act. Let us stop the pretense and eliminate the word "defense."

We Are Free To Choose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville, Ind., News by Brig. Gen. D. Wray DePrez:

WE ARE FREE TO CHOOSE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This guest editorial was written at the request of the News by Brig. Gen. D. Wray DePrez, retired, for Independence Day.)

(By Brig. Gen. D. Wray DePrez)

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago, the ringing of the Liberty Bell announced to mankind the birth of a Nation founded upon freedom and justice.

To our forefathers, freedom was a heritage so precious that without it life was not worth living. Now on July 4, 1964, is the time for every American to take a long and searching look at the rest of the world and to ask himself this question: "Is there any other country where I would be better off than here?" If the answer is "Yes," then he is free to go and live in that country. If the answer is "No," then he should take a more active and personal part in stopping the efforts of those who are trying to import some other country's way of life and impose it on us.

On Independence Day this year, let us consider the spiritual freedom, the personal liberties and the material possesions which we enjoy. Let us compare our American way of life and its system of competitive free enterprise, with that of people who live under other forms of government.

Let us turn our thoughts to those Founding Fathers, who risked their all to win for us the right to work, to worship, to speak and to live as we choose. And let us ask divine providence to instill in our hearts that dauntless spirit of 1776, so that we too will have the wisdom to preserve and to protect the priceless blessings of freedom for ourselves and for the generations to come.

In America is our freedom—freedom to choose our own way to worship God; freedom to choose those who govern us, and to choose to praise or criticize their actions; freedom to speak our minds as we choose; freedom to choose our occupations and professions; freedom to choose the goods we buy, the kinds of food we eat, the clothing we wear, the books we read, the moving pictures we see; freedom to wear the honorable service uniform of our country to protect our liberty from all enemies.

On July 4 let us display the revered flag of our country above our homes and businesses, and rededicate ourselves to God, to home, and our beloved United States of America.

Cooperation Where It Counts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of August 15, 1964, concerning the recent favorable annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

This organization, with the International Monetary Fund, deserves our support and appreciation. The creations of the Bretton Woods Conference have served the world community well in the 20 years since that conference took place.

The editorial follows:

COOPERATION WHERE IT COUNTS

On July 1, 1944, representatives of 44 nations gathered in Bretton Woods, N.H. The White Mountains were a long way from the fighting fronts, and it was difficult to arouse much public interest in discussions of international high finance while the Allies were trying to break out of the Normandy beachhead; the Russians were driving on Minsk, and Americans were locked in a deadly struggle to win Saipan. Yet the measures of cooperation adopted in Bretton Woods have survived and thrived during the ensuing 20 years, as few such projects have done.

One of the institutions created at Bretton Woods—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—has just issued a very cheerful annual report, showing income up 18 percent. The other creation of Bretton Woods, the International Monetary Fund, has made an intensive study of its operations and, while recommending increases in quotas for the various participating nations, finds the structure of the fund basically sound.

Some will quarrel with this conclusion, urging that more imaginative methods are necessary to cope with a world that is growing financially as well as politically more complex. The purpose of the IMF is to enable countries to ease strains on their balances of payments and thus minimize the possibility of import quotas and similar obstacles to the flow of international trade. If it has not always succeeded, it has certainly made a major contribution to the economic recovery of the world after the shattering disruptions of global war.

The IMF and the World Bank, which been making loans for reconstruction and development, could not have carried the burden alone. Such devices as the American aid programs, the Colombo Plan and the like have been essential. But the World Bank (and its "soft loan" affiliate, the International Development Association) are playing an increasingly important role in providing funds for underdeveloped nations, and the IMF has been an indispensable lubricant for foreign trade. In days of mounting nationalist tension, it is good to see these examples of international cooperation where it counts.

Insults From the Cabinet Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERNON W. THOMSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the character of the campaign conducted by the Cabinet member is criticized by the largest and one of the most highly respected newspapers in the district that I have the honor to represent. I am sure the Members of the House on both sides of the aisle will be interested in this public reaction, and I submit it for your study and that of those who are interested in the quality of this year's campaign:

[From the La Crosse (Wis.) Tribune, Aug. 14, 1964]

INSULTS FROM THE CABINET LEVEL

La Crosse was honored Thursday with the visit here of the Wisconsin Governor, a member of the President's Cabinet, and the return of a Crawford County native who has made a brilliant record in State and national politics.

This should have been a happy occasion. Pat Lucey, for whom the fund-raising dinner was given, is well known here. Mrs. John Reynolds is from La Crosse. The Postmaster General, a former university professor and State official, had an opportunity to see firsthand why La Crosse needs more consideration on a new post office than we are getting in Washington.

But La Crosse's pleasure—and the honor—evaporated quickly when Postmaster General John Gronouski got into the body of his speech.

It was as vile a piece of insult and invective as the Midwest has heard in years.

Mr. Gronouski laid it down as a fact that the radical right has taken over the Republican Party nationally. Then, switching from radical right to extremism he defined his terms:

The Republican Party and its national candidates, says Gronouski, "in the pursuit of liberty" will go for hate, prejudice, fear, assassination, economic deprivation, and nuclear holocaust. There were more, but this gives an idea.

What does Mr. Gronouski take us for that he will spew out such a doctrine of hate and expect to be either believed or respected?

Does he have evidence that Republicans who chose BARRY GOLDWATER last month have bombed churches or poured acid in swimming pools—or assassinated fellow Americans?

Is his mission in this campaign to pin the Ku Klux Klan label on the opposition—within days after the GOP candidate has again repudiated the Klan and all other lawless elements?

And is a vote against an election year war on poverty measure to be equated with being in favor of hunger?

Big league politics is a rough business. Both sides too frequently forget their manners (and underestimate the public intelligence) in their wilder campaign charges; what should be honest debate turns into slurs on the other team's motives.

But the Gronouski blast went far beyond the usual bounds. It cheapens his own high office, and that of the President who appointed him.

If this is a clue to the attack the Democrats plan to wage nationally, it is a sad day for the Nation.

American Dental Association Statement on Health Care for the Aged Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, the other body is presently considering ways and means for using H.R. 11865, as passed by the House, as a vehicle for carrying the long-stalled medicare proposals down to the White House.

One of the finest statements on this matter that I have seen is the following testimony presented by Dr. I. Lawrence Kerr, a constituent of mine from Endicott, N.Y., to the Committee on Finance of the other body on August 12, 1964.

His testimony, presented in behalf of the American Dental Association, under permission to extend and revise my remarks, was as follows:

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION ON MEDICAL CARE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 11865 BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE, U.S. SENATE, AUGUST 12, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Dr. I. Lawrence Kerr, of Endicott, N.Y. In addition to conducting a private practice, I am a member of the Council on Legislation of the American Dental Association. Accompanying me here today is Mr. Hal M. Christensen, director of the association's Washington office.

We appreciate the privilege of testifying before this committee, Mr. Chairman. We have asked to do so solely to discuss the various health care of the aged amendments to H.R. 11865. We have no position on H.R. 11865 as passed by the House. We are well aware of the extraordinary demands on your time and in accordance with the chairman's request, our presentation will be limited to 10 minutes.

Few domestic issues of recent years have been so politically controversial as the question of health care for the aged. Regrettably, much of the controversy has served to cloud rather than clarify the situation. It is the dental profession's belief that this has been the result of a mistaken tendency to discuss health care and the aged as an isolated problem rather than viewing it within the context of a total health program for the Nation.

The standard of health in the United States is as high as any in the world. This has occurred as a consequence of a system based firmly on private practice. The fact that this system has experienced such great success should give pause to those who would change and perhaps weaken it.

The fact that our system is based on private practice does not mean that Government has no proper place in it. On the contrary, all levels of government have a positive and creative role to play.

The Federal Government has traditionally assisted in such health activities as hospital construction, expansion of community health services and facilities, general health and specific disease research, and general public health programs. To these, the 88th Congress added one more: Assistance in providing educational facilities to train the health manpower needed by a growing and increasingly health conscious population. This new task is being accomplished through implementation of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act which received overwhelming bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress and which was unequivocally favored by the American Dental Association.

Within this framework, furthermore, there are additional actions which Federal and State governments should take. One example in dentistry is strengthening State level dental public health programs by enactment of a grant-in-aid program designed for this purpose. Similar grant-in-aid programs are already in effect for such other categories as cancer, heart disease, and maternal and child development.

We mention all this, Mr. Chairman, in order to make it perfectly clear that when the dental profession opposes placing health care for the aged under Federal social security—and it does oppose that—it is not out of any unreasoning bias against governmental action. We are concerned that if Federal resources are concentrated on a new and massive treatment program, this would inevitably deter Congress from continuing to support adequately these other essential activities.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I would like to make some brief comments specifically about health care of the aged.

In analyzing the various solutions to this problem that have been offered, the American Dental Association has held to three basic principles:

1. Any person in need of health care is entitled to receive it, irrespective of his ability to pay.

2. Whatever programs are enacted to provide health care to those unable to afford it should be so designed as to include a method of determining who is in need and who is not. Such a determination need not and should not be made in a way that demeans or humiliates anyone. But those who have the resources to be self-reliant should be expected to be self-reliant.

3. The principle of subsidiarity should be observed in enactment of any program. This principle merely means that there resides in the family, the community, the State and the Nation—in that order—the primary obligation for provision of care. Only in this way can the most accurate judgment be made as to the needs that exist. An extension of this principle is that the community and the State must have an active and meaningful role in any program so established.

The proposed amendments to H.R. 11865, which would in varying ways place health care of the aged under Federal social security, clearly violate these principles in two important ways:

1. They would extend care arbitrarily to an entire segment of the population without regard to individual need. Strictly from a standpoint of logic, if it is proper for the Government to provide health services for one segment without regard to need, then it would be proper to provide such services for any or all other segments. Certainly, there are persons in all age groups within our society who for one reason or another do not receive adequate health care.

For example, we know that there are children who do not receive adequate dental care because their parents cannot afford it. Such children are entitled to assistance. But it does not follow that a massive Federal health benefits program should be established which would also include the many millions whose families are self-sufficient.

2. They would, without real justification, place the prime responsibility on the Federal level, completely bypassing the community and the State. We believe it is the community and the State that can best judge the needs that exist in their localities and most efficiently tailor a program to fully meet those needs.

There are, of course, other objections to the social security approach. For example, such proposals have as a premise the conviction that the aged health care problem is a permanent one that will enlarge in years to come. In all probability the direct opposite is true.

When a man who is 65 this year began his working career, this was a very different country. There was no social security system; there were few pension, retirement plants, or private annuity programs; health insurance was unknown.

Today, obviously, all this has changed and the young and middle aged of today will enter their retirement years with considerable protection in terms of cash income and health insurance coverage. What is more, every indication is that this trend will intensify rather than diminish.

Proponents of the social security approach underestimate voluntary health coverage, which has increased remarkably in recent years. More than half of the people now over 65 have some form of coverage. And, it may be noted, we are for the first time witnessing a soundly established and growing system of prepaid dental insurance both on a nonprofit and commercial basis.

It is true that the private sector alone will, in the opinion of the American Dental Association, be unable to meet the full problem. Governmental assistance is necessary. Such assistance is presently available by means of the Kerr-Mills law, which the association strongly supports.

Admittedly, the Kerr-Mills program is not free from defects. Certainly, it needs fuller and more imaginative implementation by the States and perhaps perfecting amendments are needed. Even in its present form, however, it has demonstrated its ability to solve a substantial portion of this problem without embarking the Nation on an irreversible course that would distort the proper role of the Federal Government.

Since this Nation began, the private practice of medicine and dentistry has been the accepted method of providing health care to the citizenry. That it constantly needs to adapt itself to changing conditions is true. And it is doing just that at the present time. Such programs as Kerr-Mills assist and supplement this effort of the private sector to meet new problems. A compulsory program under social security, on the other hand, would completely transform our traditional health care system despite its long record of success and would do so at the very time when it is proving its ability to meet new challenges.

It is the hope of the American Dental Association, Mr. Chairman, that this committee will reject the various amendments to H.R. 11865 which would place health care of the aged under social security. On behalf of the association, may I thank you for your courtesy in hearing us.

Bipartisan Support on Apportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. SECREST
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Zanesville, Ohio, Times Recorder dated August 10, 1964:

BIPARTISAN SUPPORT ON APPORTIONMENT

Action to modify the recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions on reapportionment is gaining strong bipartisan support in Congress.

In all, more than 60 bills and resolutions have been introduced to offset the decisions that would force States to apportion both houses of State legislatures solely on a population basis.

If Congress moves favorably on the bills, as it now appears likely, bicameral State legislatures, such as Ohio, would be permitted to apportion at least one of its houses on factors other than population.

This seems the most sensible solution to a most difficult problem.

Dr. R. Stanfield, executive vice president of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, summed it up very well.

"If the decisions of the Court are valid in principle, then the present apportionment of U.S. Senate seats is questionable. But if the principle of representation provided for the U.S. Congress is sound and desirable, the same principle should logically be authorized for the sovereign State of Ohio," he said.

We concur.

Golden Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the problem in the Canal Zone are caused in part by the vacillation of the administration which is typical of its reaction to Communist pressure.

The Chicago Sun-Times, in an editorial of Sunday, August 15, emphasizes the importance of the canal to us and I insert the article into the RECORD at this point for the attention of the Members:

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

The dream of a deepwater ship passage through the center of the Western Hemisphere began almost as soon as navigators were able to put down on their charts the great north-to-south sweep of the two continents.

The practicality of such a passage was first realized in 1513 by Vasco Nunez de Balboa. Balboa, in disfavor with his monarch, Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, embarked on the enterprise of discovering a great sea of which he had heard from native chieftains to regain his king's favor. After 2 weeks of struggle through swamps, jungles, and over mountains he sighted the Pacific and enthusiastically reported to his king that he had found the route to Cathay.

Little more than 50 miles of rugged country separated the Atlantic and Balboa's Pacific Ocean across the isthmus. But that 50 miles defied men for centuries and made it necessary for a ship bound from one ocean to the other to traverse the long sea miles down the coast of South America, through the dread storms and dangerous passage of Cape Horn, and then up the other side.

Surveys of a canal across Central America were made as long ago as 1551 but the problem was never solved until the United States finally took on the job after two French companies had failed in an effort to build a canal across Panama.

Hailed as an engineering marvel when it was opened 50 years ago, the Panama Canal today has been an almost constant source of dispute between the host country and the United States. The treaty of 1903 that gave the United States the right to control the land through which the canal is built has twice been revised in favor of Panama to soothe intense nationalistic outbreaks against U.S. control of Panamanian land.

The current dispute which began early this year is still not resolved. President Johnson has handled it deftly in asking the Organization of American States to act as mediator and in keeping the quarrel in low key. Talks will be resumed shortly to discuss another revision of the 1903 treaty or, as Panama desires, a wholly new treaty.

President Johnson should continue to stand firm on the present treaty. Some concessions should be granted to Panama, as we have noted on this page before. The canal is vital to the security of the United States and must remain under U.S. control.

Putting On Brakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to an important point of view well-stated in the Journal, a distinguished daily newspaper published in Lorain, Ohio, on August 5, concerning the current controversy which has resulted from the U.S. Supreme Court decision which seems to force legislative reapportionment in some 40 States on the basis of one person equals one vote.

The Lorain Journal emphasizes the need for "a sensible bill" which may give the Congress and the Nation the necessary time for an opportunity to consider carefully how the demands of the Court may be wisely met, with particular emphasis on the sound tradition in our Nation's history that population and geography both are valid and necessary for standards for legislative apportionment.

Mr. Speaker, I call your attention particularly to this Journal editorial because it gives very valid recognition to two distinguished Ohioans, our own colleague, Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio's Fourth Congressional District, and to our senior U.S. Senator from Ohio, Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE.

The editorial to which I call your attention is as follows, and is aptly titled:

PUTTING ON BRAKES

A sensible bill concerning reapportionment of State legislatures was introduced Monday by Republican Senate Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN. The measure calls for postponement of reapportionment until a State legislature facing a change has met twice.

It is a point of interest that two Ohioans are playing prominent roles in the fight to slow down the reapportionment moves brought about by a U.S. Supreme Court decision stating that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a basis of population, rather than having one house based in part or in full on geographical lines.

Senator FRANK J. LAUSCHE, Ohio Democrat, joined Tuesday in sponsoring DIRKSEN'S bill, which was approved quickly by the Senate Judiciary Committee, 10 to 2. U.S. Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Piqua, is sponsoring a similar bill in the House.

The undue speed with which reapportionment backers have been attempting to push through a change was deplored in an editorial in these columns Monday. It is gratifying that attention is being given in Congress to the problem.

Senator LAUSCHE, applying his usual common sense to the matter, explained in a brief speech to the Senate that he believed framers of the national and State constitutions felt representatives in State legislatures would be chosen on the basis of population and geographical districts.

"I have never heard otherwise," he declared. "As a schoolboy, a student of law, and a judge that has always been my understanding."

Surely until recent years that had always been everybody's understanding, for that is the form of the Congress of the United States, which is made up of representatives elected on a population basis and senators elected on a geographical basis.

People Can Overrule Court; Now Is the Time for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the reapportionment issue is the most important thing this Congress should resolve.

I submit an excellent editorial from the Glendale, Calif., News-Press which publishes in one of the most populous areas of California. It presents a compelling argument for action now on the subject of reapportionment:

REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE: PEOPLE CAN OVERRULE COURT; NOW IS THE TIME FOR ACTION

A historic June 15 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court could reshape this country's basic philosophy of government, unless the public moves vigorously to block the proposed change.

The Court on that date decreed the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment requires the States to compose both houses of their legislatures solely on the basis of population. In its unusual interpretation, the Court ignored the fact that the 14th amendment was not intended to prevent a State from setting up the legislative structure it believes best suited to its needs. When the amendment was debated years ago in the House, it was stated the measure "takes from no State any right that ever pertained to it."

California, with its exceptional divergence of economy and geography, could be unusually hard hit by the decision. This State has a concentration of population along its coastline with vast geographical areas inland that are vitally important to the overall economy but thinly populated.

Similar conditions exist in some foreign countries where government representation is based on population alone. What has happened? Political power is concentrated along the coastlines. Tremendous inland resources go undeveloped. Highway and school programs and all major developments are concentrated in the population centers while other areas are ignored. The full potential of such a nation will never be realized until geographic considerations are recognized in government.

Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to amend the Constitution to further guarantee the right of any State to apportion one

house of its legislature on "factors other than population."

It reads: "Nothing in the Constitution of the United States shall prohibit a State, having a bicameral legislature, from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature on factors other than population, if the citizens of the State shall have the opportunity to vote upon the apportionment."

Such an amendment would eliminate any legal quibbling about a State's sovereign authority to maintain its legislative framework on an equitable basis.

Representative McCULLOCH'S resolution, however, appears doomed unless there is aggressive leadership and support throughout the Nation. In California, the people have repeatedly expressed their desire to maintain the present legislative structure. This is the logical State from which such leadership should emanate.

These leaders should include legislators, political figures, business and civic groups, and other organizations which are acutely aware of the benefits of the check and balance system. Once organized in California, they should carry their campaign throughout the Nation.

Otherwise, California and other States will be confronted with a real disfranchised "minority"—the people who have not migrated to metropolitan centers.

This development could prove disastrous to this country's entire concept of free and equitable government to its full economic development.

California, the most populous State in the Union, must move now to assume its responsibilities of leadership.

Do Something About Presidential Succession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Colorado, DON BROTZMAN, has introduced a constitutional amendment on presidential inability and sucession that merits consideration and attention. An editorial by Mr. James Corriell of the Boulder Daily Camera recently commented on the Brotzman amendment as follows:

[From the Boulder (Colo.) Daily Camera, Aug. 4, 1964]

DO SOMETHING ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

Sixteen times in the Nation's history the Office of Vice President has been vacant because of the death of the President and succession of the Vice President to the Presidency. At least three times a President has been disabled—permanently or temporarily. Garfield was ill several months before his death, his only official act the signing of one bill. Wilson was ill during his final months in office and generally conceded to be hampered from carrying out his duties. Eisenhower was disabled many weeks by a heart attack.

While the Constitution spells out a procedure for succession, many experts consider the provision inadequate. The provision, under article II, is: "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected."

In our modern age of possible pushbutton war or other speedy developments of crisis proportions, it would be wise to have presidential succession and provision in case of disability clearly mapped out.

Congressman DON BROTZMAN, of Boulder, and Colorado's Second District has proposed a constitutional amendment to take care of the problem. Its provisions are:

1. In the event of vice-presidential vacancy, the President will nominate a Vice President subject to approval by both Houses of Congress.

2. If the President declares his own disability, the Vice President becomes Acting President.

3. If the President is unable to declare his disability, the Vice President with concurrence of a majority of the Cabinet can determine that the President is disabled, in which event the Vice President becomes Acting President.

4. If there is a dispute between the President and the Vice President on the question of disability, then it is referred to the Congress and a two-thirds majority will be required to declare the President disabled.

The Brotzman amendment was not offered as the only solution or the perfect solution to the problem. But it does appear logical, workable, and deserving of prompt attention by Congress. If a better plan can be offered, let someone come forward with it. But let something be done soon. Recent events should have alerted us to the critical need.

Reapportionment Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, following is a resolution passed by the Franklin County, N.Y., board of supervisors regarding Senator DIRKSEN'S amendment. Of course, Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of Senator DIRKSEN'S amendment but I think Representative TUCK'S bill, H.R. 11926, is even more effective and I hope it comes up before the House Wednesday, August 19, so I can vote for it.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 110—REAPPORTIONMENT OF THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE

(Offered by Supervisor Mansion)

"Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States by a decision of that Court has ordered the reapportionment of the New York State Legislature based upon population; and

"Whereas such a reapportionment would mean a loss of representation for the county of Franklin; and

"Whereas Senator DIRKSEN has introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill for a constitutional amendment allowing the State to apportion one of the houses of the State legislature on the basis of other than population; and

"Whereas Senator EASTLAND and DIRKSEN have cosponsored a bill in the Congress of the United States to stay the Supreme Court's decision for a period of two regular sessions of the State legislatures: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Franklin County Board of Supervisors hereby go on record as favoring both the constitutional amendment and the bill above referred to as being in the best interests of the people of Franklin County; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our U.S. Senators and Members of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress."

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Franklin, ss.:

This is to certify that I, the undersigned clerk of the Franklin County Board of Supervisors, have compared the foregoing copy of resolution with the original on file in this office and which was adopted by the said board of supervisors on the 11th day of August 1964 and that the same is a correct and true transcript of the original resolution and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the official seal of the board of supervisors this 13th day of August 1964.

[SEAL] LAURA D. JONES.
Clerk of the Board of Supervisors.

The Consumers Interest in Beef Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the interest of the consumer for adequate and uninterupted supplies of high-quality, wholesome beef rests with a growing domestic beef cattle industry and not from overdependence on supply sources from across the seas. We need only look across the waters to the housewives in Europe to see the harmful results of over-dependence on foreign suppliers for food, particularly beef. Argentina, a major source of beef for much of Europe, is now suffering a significant reduction in the amount of beef exports to those countries. This reduction in exports of beef from Argentina has caused prices of beef in Europe to skyrocket, catching the European housewife in a price whiplash under which she has little influence or control. This undue dependence on oversea suppliers has not been in the housewife's interest in Europe, nor would it be in the best interest of U.S. housewives to find themselves in similar circumstances.

The producer of food products in the United States is keenly attuned to the needs of the consumer—his customers. He is able to adjust his production techniques, bringing to bear the latest scientific knowledge available, to meet his new and changing demands. Certainly this is true of the beef cattle producer and feeder. Changes the cattlemen have adopted make available, in cooperation with the agri-business members of the agricultural industry, a most desirable and wholesome product. Cattlemen and cattle feeders have devoted much of their time, energy and resources to developing and expanding this market. The work of the National and State Cow Belles in promoting beef is a good example of

these efforts to develop and expand this market. The National Livestock and Meat Board is also active in this area. Why this effort? Because the domestic producer and his organizations have a real concern and deep interest in their customers—almost 200 million strong—the consumers.

The producers and feeders do not say "shut off all trade in beef," but ask that the 5 highest years on record for beef exports be used as a yardstick to determine the share of future markets which imports will occupy. Thus, this is in recognition that trade is a two-way street and this industry is willing to go a long way in meeting its obligations.

Housewives have received no significant benefits from the heavy imports of the past as far as retail prices for hotdogs, hamburgers, and luncheon meats. Thus, there is no reason that if imports are only modestly reduced that a price rise will occur. Should such an unjustified rise happen, then a close look should be taken to determine the real cause of any undue increase.

In this brief review of the facts it is keenly obvious that the consumer and the producer have a mutual interest in maintaining an economically sound domestic food industry. Besides the many benefits in contributing to the Nation's economy by the beef industry and other food producers, the money they spend generates thousands of jobs in many walks of life, allowing this country to spend the smallest percent of each citizen's per capita income for food than any other country in the world.

Justice and Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Dean Erwin Griswold, of the Harvard Law School has spoken out on one of the most important problems of our time: the administration of justice and the freedom of the press. Where one interferes with the other—as we so sadly saw during those sad days in late November 1963—our legal system is in trouble.

The following editorial from the August 14, 1964, edition of the Wall Street Journal brings Dean Griswold's remarks into focus and suggests to us that we must face this problem and solve it within the framework of our constitutional safeguards.

The editorial follows:

STANDARDS FOR THE COURTS

Like some other national problems, the continuing conflict between newspapers and courts appears to involve a clash of fundamental rights and hence to be nearly impossible to resolve. We think Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard Law School has put the matter in one of the clearest perspectives we have seen in a long while.

The rights at issue are, on the one hand, the right to a fair trial and, on the other, the public's right to know. And of course the controversy embraces not only newspapers but all news organs; the rise of television has been a particularly complicating factor.

The clash of rights, however, may be more apparent than real, though the battling between news media and lawyers is real enough. Dean Griswold, addressing an American Bar Association meeting the other day, sought to defuse the sometimes highly charged issue of freedom of the press. That is not the heart of the problem, in his view; rather, it is the conduct and standards of lawyers and others engaged in court proceedings.

That conduct and those standards, he believes, often leave much to be desired. There is some times far too much talk before and during trial. For a notable example, Mr. Griswold thinks that by last November 24 Lee Harvey Oswald could not have obtained a fair trial anywhere in the United States. He attributes this to the nature of the TV coverage in the 2 days following the death of President Kennedy but also criticizes the lawyers and sheriffs and police officers who participated in and facilitated the radio and TV coverage.

The Harvard dean observes that "in England, from which our legal system and our legal profession sprang, the control of the court and the discipline of the legal profession are very strong * * *. In this country * * * district attorneys are generally elected, and defense attorneys are likely to have political ambitions. In most States, judges are elected, and find it difficult to enforce high standards of professional conduct on the lawyers who appear before them."

For lawyers, Mr. Griswold recommends a tight amendment to the Canons of Professional Ethics. It "should make it wholly clear that lawyers, both for the prosecution and the defense, must completely refrain from any sort of appearance or statement with respect to pending criminal cases from the moment of the arrest until the ultimate completion of the trial."

For sheriffs, constables, police officers, and the like, who are not usually members of the bar, he would make plain to them that they act improperly if they release any sort of information about a person charged with crime, other than his identity and the nature of the charge. And he would have the courts use their rulemaking and contempt powers to enforce the rule.

Now these strictures sound excessively severe, and perhaps they are, though Mr. Griswold makes an impressive case for his absolute rather than relative prohibitions. At any rate, we thing he is correct in asserting that tougher restrictions on statements by court officers cannot be construed as an infringement on freedom of the press.

Newsmen covering criminal cases are naturally going to try to find out everything they can, but their purpose it not to interfere; as someone has said, it is only to observe and report. They must be free to do that, and if the court officers are restricted in what they can say, the newsmen, in Dean Griswold's words, "will not be presented with problems of interfering with a fair trial. It is as simple as that. If the lawyers will simply put their own house in order, much of the problem can be eliminated."

What then of the public's right to know? We of all people are not about to advocate denying that right, of which freedom of the press is the corollary. But is should be understood that the public's right to know about court actions is intended to serve justice; that is, it is a barrier against star chamber or other unjust proceedings. When the public's right to know extends to opinions or observations that could be prejudicial to a fair trial, it is no longer a right but a wrong.

The problem, in any event, is getting worse. Whether you agree with the Griswold proposals or not, he has at least identified the crux of the matter. And it seems to us improvement must be sought along some such lines—not in emotionalism about the public's right to know but in worthier standards and conduct for all connected with the courts.

The Methodical Insurgents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, to understand the frustrating conflict in Vietnam, we need to know something of the well-developed techniques of modern insurgency. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an interesting account of these techniques written by an accomplished American student of the subject which appeared in the Australian Army Journal of January 1964:

POPULATION CONTROL TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNIST INSURGENTS—A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

(By Franklin Mark Osanka)

(Franklin Mark Osanka, special warfare consultant, Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, Calif., holds both a B.S. in Education, and M.A. in Sociology/Anthropology from Northern Illinois University. He has held several U.S. university positions. He served with the U.S. Marine Corps special force recon companies. For the last 10 years he has been actively engaged in both research and operational aspects of special warfare. His formal special warfare training includes completing the U.S. Army's Airborne and jump master, special force officers, and counterinsurgency officers courses, the U.S. Navy's scuba school, the U.S. Marine Corps' Communist guerrilla warfare and amphibious reconnaissance courses, the U.S. Information Agency's counterinsurgency orientation, and U.S. Air Force Air University counterinsurgency courses. He has served as a lecturer and/or consultant for most of these as well as many other civilian and military schools and agencies.

(His written works have appeared in both military and civilian publication. His book, Modern Guerrilla Warfare" (reviewed in Australian Army Journal, July 1962), is considered to be the international standard text and reference work on the subject. He is currently working on a manuscript entitled "Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare" which will be published in the new "International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences."

(This study is based on the author's analysis of unclassified documents and diaries captured during the Chinese Civil War, the French Indochina War, the current struggle in Vietnam, and discussions with veterans of these three conflicts.)

It is now generally recognized that guerrillas cannot operate nor exist for long without the active support of a small portion of the population and the passive indifference of a large portion of the population. It is also recognized that the guerrillas actually represent only a small segment of the insurgents. The larger segment consists of a covert underground apparatus within the civilian population. In brief, the guerrillas carry out overt actions on the basis of timely intelligence in formation from the population about the movements of government forces. The population further aids the guerrillas by

providing food, shelter, medical care, labor and recruits. Most importantly, the population under insurgent control denies information to the counterinsurgency forces concerning the hideouts of the guerrillas and the identities of underground apparatus personnel within the population.

The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the control measures employed at the village level by Communist insurgents to insure population loyalty during the preguerilla and early-guerilla stages of insurgency. This paper does not pretend to cover all the factors involved nor does it address itself to any specific past or current insurgency. However, it should be noted that it is the author's contention that Chinese-Communist-style insurgency is the archtype for most insurgencies in the underdeveloped areas of the world, and that insurgency is the principal export item of Red China.

INSURGENT'S OPERATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

It is dangerous to generalize about geographic areas, but it is now commonly recognized that most rural areas of the underdeveloped nations manifest certain environmental characteristics which insurgents can exploit in order to achieve their own ends. In many of these rural areas, living conditions are intolerable: illiteracy, disease, hunger, poverty, inadequate housing, a low crude birth rate, a high early death rate, definite levels of social stratification, and tribal animosities are the rule rather than the exception. The peasants are usually a simple people, primarily farmers, who do not own the land they (as have probably their fathers before them) have worked all their lives and who are frequently exploited by the land owners. They are often mistreated by the representatives of the government that they encounter (e.g., security forces and tax collectors) and as a result are extremely suspicious of all strangers. Probably their greatest desire is to own their own land.

They are politically unsophisticated and their opinions and attitudes are formed on the basis of what they see and hear in their own immediate area rather than being influenced by mass media.[1] Communications from the ruling class (which is traditionally located in the urban areas) is usually poor at best. The ruling powers seldom view the peasants as an important or powerful political threat. Insurgents, and particularly Communist insurgents, take the opposite view.

THE INSURGENT ORGANIZERS

Long before the first insurgency shot is heard, Communist insurgent organizers (hereafter mentioned as organizers), infiltrate the sparsely populated regions of the target country. These men are natives of the target country and very often were born in or near the area they have been assigned to control. They speak the local dialect, are of the same ethnic origin, and blend easily into the population.

The organizers have had at least 3 years of intensive revolutionary training in a Communist country with heavy emphasis on the political-military doctrine as expressed in "Selected Works" by Mao Tse-tung.[2] Although the organizers are dogmatic in purpose, they are extremely practical and flexible operationally. They realize that each target area has its own social dynamics and that they must adapt their methods according to the norms, folkways, and mores of the region. They are hard-cored Communists who sincerely believe that their creed is just.

They believe, as do their Chinese Communist mentors, that thought determines action. Therefore, if one can control the thoughts of people, one can dictate the actions of the people. Their mission is to establish an effective underground apparatus, and they are prepared to die rather than fail. Their method of area penetration will follow three phases: Identification, propagation, and organization.

IDENTIFICATION PHASE

A team of two organizers enters a village and requests an audience with the village leader. The organizers are very polite and humble men. They say, "We have come to tell you of the things that we have seen. But first, as we can see that it is harvest-time, we would like to help you gather in your life-sustaining crops. We shall have plenty of time to talk later." The organizers labor in the field and continually talk to the villagers. In the evening, the organizers entertain the villagers with folk songs and stories of the wonderful countries they have seen. Countries where "everyone" owns land; all farmers have a good mule and a fine house; where children wear fine clothes and go to fine schools and live a long life; where no one is ever hungry because the people work together for the benefit of all; and where the government's function is to serve the people.

The organizers never mention communism nor the pending insurgency. Political terminology is avoided; "plain talk" is the vogue. The organizers' songs, folk tales, and conversations are always designed to have some meaning to the immediate lives of the villagers. The objectives of the identification phase are to: Establish rapport by identifying with the lives of the villagers; determine the basic needs and aspirations of the villagers; discover the weaknesses of the social norms that dictate the accepted reaction to problems; and slowly plant the seeds of rebellion.

PROPAGATION PHASE

The propogation process is both destructive and constructive in nature. Destructively, the organizers must aggravate all the existing social ills and raise them to the surface, then transfer the cause of the ills to the existing government. Constructively, the organizers must convince the villagers that through cooperation, united action, and loyalty to each other, all social ills can be eliminated and individual aspirations can be realized. Sociologically, the process is one of inducing an awareness of definite in-group/out-group relationships, the in-group being the people and the outgroup being the government. The organizers know that stories of the corruptness of the ruling group in the capital city will have little impression on the villagers. In many cases the villagers do not realize there is a capital city, much less an established government. To establish credibility and meaning to their propaganda theme, that government is the source of all social ills, the organizers most often use the indirect approach.

The organizers propaganda as transmitted in folk tales, songs, and conversations all has the same general theme: "the rich get richer while the poor get poorer." For example, a conversation with a tenant farmer might sound like this: "You have been working this same plot of land for 20 years. Before you, your father worked it and before him, his father worked it. And what, my friend, do you have to show for an accumulated 70 years of sweat and labor? Of the seven children you have created, four died at birth, two never lived to enjoy their second birthday, and one has survived to do what you, your father, and his father have done—sweat and labor so that the landlord can live in comfort in his fine house and which his healthy children grow up to exploit your son. Is that right? Is that just? The answer, of course, is that it is not just. Did God create some men to live in comfort by the sweat of other men? The answer is "No." How then has it occurred that a small minority of men can legally exploit the larger majority of men? The answer is "Organization." Many years ago, a small group of men discovered that by working together and cooperating with each other, they could enjoy the fruits of the peoples' labor. Using various devious methods, they acquired all of the land. They knew that in order to rule they would need a permanent police force and an army, otherwise the people would take back the land. So you see, my friend your landlord is the grandson of one of these men who originally stole the land. He is able to exploit your labors because he has organized a police force and an army in order to suppress the peoples' ability to acquire what is justly theirs anyway.

"How then can the people attain what is legally and morally theirs? The answer, my friend, is organization. The minority can exploit the majority because they are organized. Does it not follow then that if the people who are the majority organize, they will be stronger than the minority landlords? All over this country, the people are beginning to organize. Men like yourself are preparing to acquire what is justly theirs. These men know that some will die but they say, 'Is it not better to die quickly and honorably for one's rights than to suffer a living slow death at the hands of the exploiters?' "

Perhaps Roucek best sums up the propagation phase when he writes, "At the core of their activities lies the argument that the * * * oppressor has no legal or moral right to exercise power * * * and that the members and leaders of the secret societies are the expression of the 'legal' will of the * * * people. The leaders must generate in their followers a readiness to die and a proclivity for united action."[3]

ORGANIZATION PHASE

Once three villagers have been won over, the organizers can establish the first cell of the underground organization within the village. As more recruits join the organizers, they are sent off to previously established training camps. Here their training is 75 percent ideological and 25 percent military. Most of these individuals return to their village and form the nucleus of the underground apparatus, and can serve as a reserve force for the guerrillas. Others receive further military training and later form into small bands which will establish camps in rugged areas near the village. A few receive further ideological training and serve as assistant organizers to penetrate other villages in the area. One or two will be sent to a Communist country for a year and undergo intensified ideological and military training.

The organizers encourage and direct the establishment of a village medical clinic as well as an elementary school. A variety of civic activities are preformed by the underground organization. The organizers' purpose here is to enhance village solidarity behind the insurgents. Tactically, the village medical clinic will prove useful once the guerrilla stage of the insurgency is underway. Psychologically, the school provides the organizers an additional opportunity to propagandize the young. If the government troops, in an effort to weaken the insurgents' organization, requisition the medicines of the clinic and outlaw the school, the insurgents have won a psychological victory. The organizers can attribute the government's action to a desire to suppress the people by keeping them ignorant and weak with diseases. The organizers' propaganda theme will be, "the government knows that an educated and healthy people cannot be exploited."

INSURGENCY POPULATION CONTROL

The successful completion of the identification, propagation and organization phases at the village level, results in four principal conditions of control. They are: in-group loyalty, insurgent terror tactics,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

personal commitment, and government terror tactics.

The in-group loyalty condition is the result of acceptance by the majority of the villagers, of the idea that the insurgent activities are just and that the government is unjust. Insurgent terror tactics are directly related to the in-group loyalty condition. Those who aid the enemy are traitors and harmful to the people and, therefore, must be eliminated. The penalty for traitors, while not often quick, is final. Here, the in-group loyalty condition is reinforced by the underground's spy system which keeps the organizers informed of everything that is happening in the village.

Personal commitment is probably the most effective condition of control. The organizers make every effort to involve in one way or another, a member of every family. Consequently, families are reluctant to betray the insurgency thereby directly or indirectly increasing the possibility of prison, and most likely death, for a member of their family. The personal commitment condition is also operating in those individuals who have made large contributions to the insurgency and expect to be rewarded when the insurgents win.

Being unable to locate and annihilate the guerrilla forces, many governments have resorted to terroristic methods in an attempt to secure the support of the population. Government terror tactics such as burning villages, slaughtering innocent people, and generally mistreating the population, are well documented in the annals of guerrilla warfare history. It is equally well documented that such tactics tend to reinforce the solidarity of the people behind the insurgents. The Communist insurgents are well aware of the population's reaction to such action and very often provoke the government into committing drastic actions. Indeed, one noted specialist maintains that, "the greatest contribution of guerrillas and saboteurs lies in catalyzing and intensifying counterterror which further alienates the government from the local population." [4]

CONCLUSION

What has been discussed occurs during the previolence stage and the early stage of guerrilla action in an insurgency. As the insurgency escalates into country-wide guerrila warfare, and later regular warfare, new population control conditions are born. These new conditions can be favorable to either the insurgents or counterinsurgents, depending primarily upon the actions and attitudes of the counterinsurgents. If the counterinsurgents react to the widespread guerrilla violence solely with traditional military and police repressive measures, they will simply reinforce the validity of the insurgent propaganda and insure continual population support to the insurgents. If, on the other hand, the counterinsurgents incorporate into their pacification program at the village level, the psychological action, civic action, and population security principles pioneered primarily by the U.S. Army's Civil Affairs and Special Warfare Schools, they will destroy the very foundation on which the insurgency rests. For it is only when the counterinsurgents demonstrate by attitude and action their desire and ability to eliminate the basic social ills and legitimate personal grievances, as well as to protect the people from the insurgents, will the population transfer its loyalty. As the insurgents lose the support of the population, they will be forced to depend solely upon increased terroristic methods of population control and then it is only a matter of time before the insurgents are either eliminated or rendered ineffectual.

When the immediate threat of the insurgency is eliminated, and a positive "nation-building" program is implemented, the country can be on its way to a state of sociopolitical stability which greatly reduces the possibility of the recurrence of insurgency.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] For an illuminating view of one peasant's outlook see: Pierre Marchant. "A Columbian Peon Tells His Moving Story," Realities, September 1962, pp. 65–68.

[2] The five volumes are published in the United States by International Publishers, New York, 1954.

[3] Joseph S. Roucek, "Sociology of Secret Societies." The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, vol. 19, No. 2, January 1960, p. 164.

[4] J. K. Zawodny. "Unconventional Warfare," the American Scholar, vol. 31, No. 3, summer 1962, p. 292.

Where the U.S. Flag Flies 24 Hours a Day—U.S. Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following material to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

In 1894 Congress made provision for the flying of the flag over the east and west porticoes of the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, and the flags were flown daily between sunrise and sunset until 1918. During the World War [I] requests were received from all parts of the country urging that the U.S. flag be flown continuously over all public buildings in Washington; so since that time it has been the custom to keep the flags on the east and west fronts of the Capitol Building flying 24 hours a day every day in the year.

(NOTE.—The Office of the Architect of the Capitol advised the Legislative Reference Service, June 4, 1941, that the flying of these two flags for 24 hours a day had been authorized by an order from that Office.)

The flags on the Senate and House wings indicate the status of Congress, namely, whether in adjournment or in session. If Congress is in adjournment, the flags are not flown. If Congress is merely in recess, the flags on the two wings are flown continuously, day and night, until they come back into session. When in session the flags are each day masted at the hour the respective House convenes and lowered when the same adjourns for the day. If one House convenes before the other, only its flag is raised, the flag on the other not being raised until it actually convenes. As a rule, both Houses of Congress go into session at noon daily, except Sundays and holidays.

(NOTE.—As the above account implies, when either House is in session through the night, the flag over that House is flown through the night.)

Source: Moss, James A., "The Flag of the United States." The U.S. Flag Association, Washington, D.C., 1941, pages 203–204:

PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

At the grave of Francis Scott Key in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Frederick, Md., flying the flag day and night was the custom as far back as 1898. However, because of criticism, the flag was later displayed only between sunrise and sunset. Subsequently the practice of flying the flag day and night was resumed. The belief by some that this practice is authorized by an act of Congress is erroneous. It was started either by authority of the Francis Scott Key Memorial Association or by the superintendent of Mount Olivet Cemetery on his own accord. It is contended by some that flying the flag over the grave of Francis Scott Key at night is in keeping with the sentiment in "The Star-Spangled Banner," giving "proof through the night that our flag is still there."

(Source: Moss, James A., op. cit, p. 204)

Walter L. Vanaman, director of the Municipal Veterans Bureau (Baltimore) said today he had received permission from the Department of the Interior to fly the flag at night at Fort McHenry. It will be illuminated by spotlights.

The night display was prompted by a letter from Herbert Beck, director of the Franklin and Marshall College Museum in Lancaster, Pa. Beck said it was disappointing to passengers on night boats passing the fort not to see that "the flag was still there."

(Source: Associated Press release, Feb. 1, 1947.)

A PROCLAMATION—DISPLAY OF THE FLAG AT FORT M'HENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND HISTORIC SHRINE, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the joint resolution of Congress of June 22, 1942, entitled "Joint resolution to codify and emphasize existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag of the United States of America." As amended by the joint resolution of December 22, 1942 (56 Stat. 1074) contains the following provisions:

"SEC. 2. (a) It is the universal custom to display the flag only from sunrise to sunset or buildings and on stationary flagstaffs in the open. However, the flag may be displayed at night upon special occasions when it is desired to produce a patriotic effect.

"SEC. 8. Any rule or custom pertaining to the display of the flag of the United States of America, set forth herein, may be altered, modified, or repealed, or additional rules with respect thereto may be prescribed, by the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, whenever he deems it to be appropriate or desirable; and any such alteration or additional rule shall be set forth in a proclamation."; and

Whereas Francis Scott Key, after having anxiously watched from afar the bombardment of Fort McHenry throughout the night of September 13, 1814, saw his country's flag still flying in the early morning of the following day; and

Whereas this stirring evidence of the failure of the prolonged attack inspired him to write the "Star-Spangled Banner," our national anthem:

Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, do hereby proclaim that, as a perpetual symbol of our patriotism, the flag of the United States shall hereafter be displayed at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine at all times during the day and night, except when the weather is inclement.

The rules and customs pertaining to the display of the flag as set forth in the said joint resolution are modified accordingly.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 2d day of July in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-second.

[SEAL] HARRY S. TRUMAN.

By the President:

G. C. MARSHALL,
Secretary of State.

Source: Proclamation No. 2795; July 2, 1948; United States Statutes at Large, 83d, 2d, 1954, vol. 68, pt. 1.

Six miles west of Taneytown is Keysville. Near Keysville is the birthplace of Francis Scott Key.

On the lawn in front of the house is a monument. On one side it reads: "Terra Rubra Farm, birthplace and early home of the author of the 'Star-Spangled Bannér' who died in Baltimore, January 11, 1843." On the opposite side is inscribed, "Birthplace of Francis Scott Key, August 9, 1780, erected by the Patriotic Order Sons of America and the pupils of the public schools of Carroll Co., June 12, 1915."

Not far from the monument is a flagstaff that was erected by the Kiwanis Club of Westminster, on May 30, 1949. This flag is one of the three [!] in the United States that fly 24 hours a day.

Source: Maryland Department of Education. Maryland Picture Portfolio Series, volume 6, Living in Carroll County, c1954. No. 603.

PUBLIC LAW 319

An Act to permit the flying of the flag of the United States for twenty-four hours of each day in Flag House Square, Baltimore, Maryland

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That not withstanding any rule or custom pertaining to the display of the flag of the United States of America as set forth in the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to codify and emphasize existing rules and customs pertaining to the display and use of the flag of the United States of America," approved June 22, 1942, as amended, authority is hereby conferred on the appropriate officer of the State of Maryland to permit the flying of the flag of the United States for twenty-four hours of each day in Flag House Square, Albemarle and Pratt Streets, Baltimore, Maryland.

SEC. 2. Subject to the provisions of section 3 of the joint resolution of June 22, 1942, as amended, authority is also conferred on the appropriate officer of the State of Maryland to permit the flying of a replica of the flag of the United States which was in use during the War of 1812 for twenty-four hours of each day in Flag House Square, Albemarle and Pratt Streets, Baltimore, Md.

Approved March 26, 1954.

(Source: Public Law 319, ch. 109; Mar. 26, 1954.)

WORLD WAR I MEMORIAL

The War Memorial at Worcester, Mass., was designed around the idea of a flag flying perpetually. It has been flying continuously since November 11, 1933, being illuminated at night by powerful spotlights.

(Source: Moss, James A., op. cit. p. 204.)

U.S. MARINE CORPS MEMORIAL IN ARLINGTON, VA.

(Iwo Jima Memorial)

Whereas the battle between the United States forces and the forces of the Japanese for possession of the island of Iwo Jima, in the North Pacific, was one of the most significant and most costly battles of World War II; and

Whereas victory in that battle was achieved by our forces after a heroic and prolonged struggle; and

Whereas the raising of the American flag during the battle over Mount Suribachi on February 23, 1945, symbolizes the courage and valor of the American fighting forces in World War II; and

Whereas the U.S. Marine Corps Memorial in Arlington, Va., portrays the actual raising of the American flag on Mount Suribachi: Now, therefore,

I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the flag of the United States of America shall hereafter be displayed at the U.S. Marine Corps Memorial in Arlington, Va., at all times during the day and night, except when the weather is inclement * * *.

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION,
June 12, 1961.

THE PLAZA, TAOS, N. MEX.

The Stars and Stripes apparently has flown longest, day and night, at Taos, N. Mex. It appears that Kit Carson, in 1861, assisted by Capt. Smith H. Simpson of the U.S. Army, nailed a Union flag to a pole in the plaza at Taos as a symbol that citizens of New Mexico were loyal to the Union. Vigilance was maintained during the Civil War years to see that the flag flew there day and night. The practice traditionally has been observed ever since.

("History of the U.S. flag, from the Revolution to the Present, Including a Guide to its Use and Display," by Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, p. 168.)

ADDITIONAL PLACES

Marine Monument, Quantico, Va.; Little Bighorn Battlefield, Montana; Mount Stover, Colton, Calif.; Pike's Peak, Colo.; and Mount Suribachi, on the island of Iwo Jima, in the Pacific.

(Taken from list on same page of book listed above.)

IN BATTLE

When a permanent fort or a ship is engaged in battle at night, the flag is flown.

(Source: Moss, James A., op. cit., p. 204.)

ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS

"* * * The flag may be displayed at night upon special occasions when it is desired to produce a patriotic effect."

Source: "The Flag Code," Public Law No. 829, reprinted by National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, September 1963, section 2(a).

(Kenton Kilmer History and General Research Division, Oct. 21, 1955, revised, Aug. 24, 1962).

Obstructing Equality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the most precious right a citizen has is the right to vote. But in many Statse millions of citizens are denied an effective vote by malapportioned State legislatures. The Supreme Court has held that the failure of State legislatures to apportion their districts so as to give each citizen an equal vote violates the 14th amendment of the Constitution.

Now Senator DIRKSEN and other have proposed legislation to thwart the Supreme Court ruling and perpetuate the disproportionate representation of rural areas in State legislatures. I oppose these measures because I believe they are contrary to the principle of majority rule on which this country was founded.

In a recent editorial the Los Angeles Herald Examiner excellently summarized the current efforts of those who seek to maintain minority rule and called on Congress to reject those proposals. I commend this editorial, which follows, to all my colleagues:

OBSTRUCTING EQUALITY

The struggles of an entrenched minority to thwart the will of the majority sometimes are rather amazing to behold.

In California, it has taken the turn of political maneuvers by legislative representatives of sparsely populated northern California counties.

By every trick in the political trade they are trying to prevent or at least obstruct the effectiveness of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling which declared that legislatures of the various States must be reapportioned so that the voters in urban population centers receive legislative representation equal to the voters in rural areas.

This, of course, is extremely distasteful to the so-called pine tree counties in the northern section of California whose Senators for years have been depriving southern California of its just political and legislative rights at Sacramento.

However, the maneuvers of the California State senators and assemblymen are nothing as compared to what U.S. minority leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN has just done in the Nation's Capital.

Mr. DIRKSEN has a bill in Congress to delay the effectiveness of the Supreme Court's reapportionment ruling for at least 2 and possibly as much as 4 years. If you cannot beat it, delay it.

But, worse than that, Senator DIRKSEN has announced he will tack his reapportionment bill onto the foreign aid authorization now pending before the U.S. Senate. In effect this means, if you Senators want this foreign aid authorization, you will have to take my reapportionment delay bill.

As Los Angeles County Supervisor Frank G. Bonelli puts it so aptly:

"Attaching the Dirksen amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill in an attempt to nullify the U.S. Supreme Court decision on reapportionment sets a dangerous precedent that could be far-reaching in scope by circumventing normal legislative process, particularly when it centers upon a U.S. Supreme Court decision."

We remain supremely confident, however, that in spite of all legislative twists and turns the Supreme Court decision eventually will prevail and that right and justice in legislative representation will be guaranteed for southern California and other heavily populated areas of this State.

A Century of Service to Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of Greater Pittsburgh, a magazine of business and industry, there was an article on the many services the Army Corps of Engineers have rendered to the city of Pittsburgh in the past 100 years.

The record is indeed remarkable and I would like to call it to the attention of the Members of the House:

U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS: A CENTURY OF SERVICE TO PITTSBURGH—1864–1964

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, this year, is marking its 100th year of service to the people and communities of the Pittsburgh district.

While the corps services in the fields of river transportation, flood control, and military defense installations have all contributed to the economic growth and development of Pittsburgh, flood control, in particular, reflects great credit to their many achievements. The system of flood control

reservoirs for impounding the floodwaters of the tririver complex removed one of the major hurdles blocking the rebirth of Pittsburgh.

Speaking at the dinner commemorating the anniversary, Walter F. Schulten, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh said, "When civic, business, industrial, and political leaders began mapping plans for Pittsburgh's unprecedented $2 billion redevelopment program, they found that every project hinged on two important preliminary steps—the elimination of the smoke that clouded the skies, and the almost annual floods which plagued the Point and other low-lying areas along the rivers."

Prior to the Corps of Engineers practical approach to flood control through reservoirs, many schemes for flood protection were proposed by interested laymen. One such scheme suggested that all available stern-wheelers be sent to the headwaters of the rivers when a flood seemed imminent. There the boats were to be turned around and anchored. At the proper time, their pilots would release the stern wheels under full steam while still at anchor, and the water wheel action would throw back the excess water.

Another solution consisted of suspending high tension electrical wires across the rivers at strategic locations just above the normal river stage. When the floodwaters started to rise, power would be turned on, heating the wires, so as to boil off the excess water, thus eliminating the threat of flood. A third suggestion recommended digging holes 10,000 feet deep so that the water might be diverted into the bowels of the earth.

While these approaches to flood control were impractical, they demonstrated Pittsburgh's desire to eliminate the annual ravages the floods inflicted upon the city.

In 1911 the Pittsburgh Flood Commission recommended a plan for reservoirs, at the same time sounding a warning that Pittsburgh would someday experience a flood stage of 43 feet. In March 1936, on a St. Patrick's Day few Pittsburghers of that day will forget, the rivers crested at a flood stage of 46 feet. While Pittsburgh's plea for flood control had gone unheeded for more than 100 years, Congress took only 2 months, following the flood, to pass the Omnibus Flood Control Act in June of that year.

With the passage of the act, the Corps of Engineers formulated a long range plan for a comprehensive flood control system consisting of 17 reservoirs and 51 other flood protection projects for the valleys of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and upper Ohio Rivers. The plan provided a high degree of protection for the heavily populated and highly industrialized communities in these valleys.

Had the present system of impounding the reservoirs been in existence in March of 1936, that disastrous flood would have been 10 feet lower and many millions of dollars in damage would have been prevented.

The cost of the present 10-dam flood control system was approximately $120 million. To date, these 10 dams have prevented flood damage in excess of $350 million. In fact, during a single weekend, in October 1954, the eight dams above Pittsburgh reduced Hurricane Hazel's flood crest at the point by 8.7 feet and prevented, in this single instance, $145 million in flood damages. This would seem to be an investment that already has paid substantial dividends.

Locks and dams built by the Corps of Engineers, in addition to enabling the city to launch its vast rebuilding programs and affording great savings in flood damage, have maintained an adequate river level during seasonal dry spells. As a result, Pittsburgh rivers are navigated year round.

The network of dams has provided not only for the continual use of the rivers as a mode of transportation, but it has also promoted the use of the rivers as a recreational facility for local boating enthusiasts.

Last year, some 1,500 pleasure boats were docked or harbored in the two pools surrounding Pittsburgh. It is estimated that weekend boating brings an additional 600 boats to the rivers.

The fact that the two pools surrounding the Golden Triangle are among the largest in the State has been responsible, in great measure, for the growing popularity of Pittsburgh rivers as a recreational facility. The pools, extending from Emsworth to lock No. 2 at Highland Park on the Allegheny and lock No. 2 at Braddock on the Monongahela, provide 22 miles of waterway without locks.

While the original concept of the lock and dam system was intended to impound the flood waters and maintain adequate year-round water levels, the additional benefits to boating facilities have been extensive, and with the development of sophisticated water-transportation vehicles such as the hydrofoil, the river's role in Pittsburgh promises to become increasingly important.

The rivers' prominent part in the making of Pittsburgh into a major segment of the Nation's industrial muscle can be traced directly to the services of the Corps of Engineers during the past century.

Our Unjust Immigration Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged recently to testify before the Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee in favor of the complete revision of our outmoded and discriminatory national origins system of immigration control. My bill, H.R. 7855, a companion to the administration's proposal, would help correct these glaring anachronisms of a free society.

My good friend Harry G. Liese recently wrote the following letter on this subject to the editor of the New York Times. It is in rebuttal to one appearing in that paper favoring the retention of the present law. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 10, 1964.

EDITOR, NEW YORK TIMES,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: In a letter (published August 10) William T. Turner asserts that our immigration quota restrictions are fair in his judgment, and that his judgment is unquestionable because he "helped to administer the immigration laws for 36 years," during which no "foreigner" ever said they were unfair.

Well, here is a descendant of a "foreigner" (none of my ancestors, so far as I know, were American Indians) who says that he finds the quota laws inhumanly unfair, having watched the way they have worked at all times since 1922, and particularly during the time of Hitler when thousands of people, trapped in Europe, were consigned to incinerators because the quota assigned to this or that country was exhausted. Even if the Europeans (like the Turners of England) who got here first have a moral right to keep out, or limit the number of, latecomers, I see nothing but tragedy in the fact that thousands of people would be alive today if the unused visas of the British quota of 65,000 per year and of Ireland of some 18,000 had been given to people who could have escaped from Hitler. And when Mr. Turner writes about justified exclusion of cultural aliens let us notice that the Germany of Hitler and the Germany which was untouched by the Rennaissance may send us 26,000 a year, while the Italy of Michelangelo, Verdi, Marconi, and Fermi is limited to 5,700 and the Spain of Goya, Velasquez and, ironically, Columbus may send us 250 people a year. Just think of France with a quota of 3,000 while thousands of Englishmen who could come here prefer the United Kingdom or other places in the Commonwealth, leaving their quota unfilled.

I hope that Mr. Turner of Atlanta, a city that is adapting itself with increasing rapidity to the modern acceptance of all people, will take another look at his statement that we have "enough racial problems without adding masses of immigrants who are culturally aliens and whose racial origins are widely different from ours." He should, I hope, on reflection, reject his own assumption of racial differences between the Turners of Scotland and England and the people from all over Europe and parts of Asia who did not completely overlook the British Isles in their depredations. For cultural identity, as a resident of the Bible belt where the teaching of Darwin is at times atheistic, he may recall that certain people of Asia Minor gave him his Old Testament as well as Christ. If he thinks of the Common Law as a debt of America to the English, I suggest he look at Roman law and the rules of Justinian for the debt that the British owe to a people who can send us only 5,666 immigrants a year. Plato, who wrote the Republic ages before the British Islanders created a parliament, and Demosthenes and Homer would have a time getting visas out of an allotment of 308.

I could take him to many more sources of our "culture" and to many more places where Caucasians like him and me originate, but enough is enough. All that we want is the end of insidious exclusion and a way to save people from the Hitlers of the future. The new ones will continue to contribute to this country's growth and welfare.

Sincerely,

HARRY G. LIESE.

A Salute to Gabon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the fourth anniversary of independence for the Republic of Gabon, and on this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Leon M'Ba, President of Gabon; and His Excellency Aristide Issembe, the Gabonese Ambassador to the United States.

Although Gabon is a small and relatively unknown country on the west coast of Africa, it has the highest per capita income of all the former French African territories. The economic outlook for the future of this palmy, mountainous, forested country which straddles the

Equator on the west coast of central Africa, holds more promise still. Currently, Gabon's most important natural resource is its forests; the lumber industry is the country's largest employer and main source of revenue. Perhaps more significant for the country's long-term development, however, are its rich mineral resources, which have only begun to be exploited in recent years.

Manganese production began in September 1962 with the opening of mines at Moanda, and by the end of that year, 100,000 tons worth $2.3 million had been exported. Surveys have estimated that about 200 million tons of high quality manganese ore are available in this deposit, one of the richest in the world. An American company, United States Steel, contributed 49 percent of the capital for development of these resources. In addition, another American company, together with a British and a French construction company, cooperated in the construction of a 170-mile railroad for transporting the manganese ore to the coast.

Gabon also has one of the world's richest iron ore deposits, in the Mekambo area in the northeast corner of the country. The three mountains of Batouala, Boka-Boka, and Belinga are in fact huge piles of high-grade iron ore. Geological teams have estimated that the three mountains and the surrounding area contain about 946 million tons of ore with a high iron content. Another U.S. firm, Bethlehem Steel, organized a consortium of companies from several different countries to develop the ore in the late 1950's, and Bethlehem Steel holds 50 percent of the capital.

Gold, uranium, and petroleum are other natural resources expected to bring in increasing amounts of foreign exchange in future years. Thus, in Gabon's rich minerals would seem to be the key to her development as a modern self-sufficient nation. Like all of the other new nations, however, Gabon badly needs foreign capital to build up her economy. But Gabon has been more successful in attracting foreign capital than some of the other new countries. Realizing that foreign private capital investment is necessary to the development of the country, the Government has made significant efforts to encourage the inflow of investment capital. Gabon's investment code provides liberal terms for private investors and makes no distinction between foreign or locally owned firms concerning privileges and guarantees. In April 1963, Gabon signed an Investment Guaranty Agreement with the United States.

Gabon is rightly proud of her development since independence. The country's burgeoning economy is an encouraging contrast to the economic problems of many of her neighboring states in Africa. In 1963, Gabon registered a favorable trade balance for the ninth year in a row, with noteworthy increases in exports.

On the fourth anniversary of your independence, we salute you, President M'Ba, and the people of Gabon. We predict the continued fruitful development of your resources in the years ahead.

Senator H. F. Byrd's "Byrd's-Eye Views"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, each year for 42 years, my distinguished fellow Virginian, Senator HARRY F. BYRD, has held a picnic for his friends and neighbors from all over our State and from other States in the orchards of his hospitable estate near Berryville. Last Saturday was the occasion for his latest gathering, attended by more than 4,000 persons.

In addition to the box lunch served in the shade of trees, the highlight on these occasions is an informal talk that the host delivers from the flatbed of a truck. His remarks at this time are listened to avidly, in view of his long service both in Virginia and in the U.S. Senate.

Senator BYRD is not just a great Virginian; he is a great American. I have had the honor and distinction of being associated with him in public life for more than 40 years. He is dedicated to the continuation of sound doctrine and fundamental principles. I have unbounded respect and admiration for him.

Some of the things he said Saturday, based on his wisdom and experience, will be of interest, I believe, to people all over this Nation. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent to insert his remarks in the RECORD.

They are as follows:

Today is a happy day for me. It is a real pleasure to have so many of our friends here. This is the 42d orchard picnic. The first one was in 1923. That was a long time ago. A lot of water has gone over the dam since then.

We come here to see our friends, to talk shop, and the size of the apple crop, and prices, and to exchange views on what's going on, and maybe we might even talk a little politics.

And if you talk politics at this time of an election year, you can hear anything. It reminds me of Senator Barkley's story about a Congressman checking his district back when prohibition was an issue.

He asked a farmer how his family stood. And the farmer said: "Well, I tell you—I'm a Democrat, my wife's a Republican, the baby is wet, and the cow is dry."

Well, I am a candidate for reelection to the U.S. Senate, and I hope all of you stand for me. So, let me remind you, that there are only 79 more vote-shopping days before the election on November 3.

But I am not making a stump speech today. I am greeting you, my friends, at a picnic, like I have been doing year in and year out. I am standing on the flatbed of an apple truck, it doesn't even look like a stump.

"Candidate" comes from the Latin word meaning shining or white. The old Roman candidates appeared in the forum in white togas, I have on a white suit, but that is because it is a hot day.

And this is the middle of August. It is not the season for long speeches. A good speech is a speech with a short beginning, and a short ending, close together.

You have already heard the beginning of this speech, and at the end I am going to say I hope you are having a good time, and that you have my very best wishes. Now let's see what comes in between.

Usually at the picnics, since I have been in the Senate, I have tried to give you a BYRD's-eye view of what goes on down at Washington—(Washington, that's a place where commonsense is not very common).

Sometimes it's hard to understand what goes on down there. That's because too many Washington officials try to talk like the brain trusters on the Federal Economic Advisory Council.

These "economic councilors" too often are people who seem to know the price of everything, but the value of nothing * * * and their advice usually winds up increasing the Federal debt and concentrating power in Washington.

Sometimes I think a brain trust is a group of people whose education does not include horsesense—(horsesense—that's just stable thinking). These people deal in theory until their theories are kicked out by facts.

You'll see this brain trust influence when I tell you what has been going on down in Washington. It will sound like they are trying to tie a lot of holes together with a piece of string. Listen:

Taxes were cut $11½ billion to increase the revenue.

At the same time expenditures were reduced to a figure which was $5 billion more than last year.

This was the first time in history that taxes were cut and expenditures were increased at the same time.

You know the result—

The Federal debt limit was increased $15 billion, to $324 billion, to take care of the so-called expenditure reduction and the tax cut. And the deficit was reduced to an increase of $2 billion more than the year before.

Deficits—you know—they are what you have when you've got less than nothing. And debt is what you have to pay with interest when you borrow money to pay the current bills. Interest on the Federal debt totals $11.1 billion.

The Federal policy now seems to be for the present generation to pay the debts of the past generation by issuing bonds for the next generations to pay—and it will be generations (plural) before this debt is paid off—if ever.

Somebody has figured it out that if, at the time of the birth of Christ, there had been a debt of $1 billion to be paid off at the rate of a dollar a minute * * * the debt would have been finally liquidated in 1903 (if they were not borrowing more money to pay the interest).

If that arithmetic is correct—paying at the rate of $1 a minute—it would be 600,000 years to pay off the Federal debt as it now stands at $313 billion. But we aren't paying off anything; we are adding more every day.

The Federal Government has been in the red 28 of the past 34 years. And we are still operating on planned deficits for the indefinite future to pay for the tax cut and to meet expenditures at the rate of nearly $100 billion a year.

The Secretary of the Treasury says a defict is planned for this year, and another one is planned for next year, and still another one may be expected the year after that—and that's as far as he cares to estimate at this time.

The danger in all of these deficits is the fact that fear of inflation forever lurks in a continuing deficit stiuation. And fear of inflation impairs confidence both at home and abroad * * * and there are facts to justify this fear. Here are two of these facts:

Since shortly after these deficits started, the purchasing power of the dollar at home has dropped from 100 cents to less than 45 cents * * * and it is still dropping. (Think

of that; it takes more than $2 to buy what $1 would buy before.) And

In recent years we have lost 75 percent of our free gold to countries abroad. Gold backs our money, and we can't afford to lose much more. Foreign governments draw our gold instead of taking dollars in payment for what we owe them, when they think the value of the dollar might shrink.

So, when we pile these Federal deficits one on top of the other, we are flirting with real danger which is beyond the imagination of everyone here. Everything we own and hope for is involved—our own well-being, and the well-being of our country are involved.

This is the answer we get when we ask ourselves, "What will happen if we continue to spend more than we collect, especially when there is no national emergency?" How do we stop it? Cut out spending for nonessentials. This is what we try to do in Virginia.

But let me get back to what's going on in Washington.

We are providing some more billions for foreign aid, some $6 billion in all—more than $3 billion in regular appropriations, and another $3 billion under other financing.

Legend makes a big thing out of George Washington throwing a coin across the Rappahannock River. But in foreign aid, since 1945, we have thrown $113 billion over the seven seas, and we have more unfriendly nations now than we had when we started.

We have been playing Santa Claus, banker and policeman for the free world too long. The time has come for those nations which are interested in maintaining enlightened liberty in the world to start doing their share.

I was a delegate to the Paris NATO conference in 1962, and I paid my own way. The situation as of this time is withheld for security reasons, but, at that time I asked how many NATO nations were meeting their quotas—and I was told:

Only the United States and Canada were meeting their assigned "goals" qualitatively and quantitatively with respect to furnishing troops.

We have sent foreign aid money to more than 100 countries around the globe * * * including 30-odd countries in Africa, and nearly $1 billion to Sukarno's Indonesia. And some $5 billion has gone to eight countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Getting back to Washington—

The Government economists say there is so much growth in the economy and such booming prosperity that something needs to be done about poverty.

So we are being asked to set up and step up some more Federal payment programs at home. Some of them are of the WPA type. Some are out-right payments. Some are so-called Federal-State cooperative types.

Some are to go into effect without coordination with local and State governments. And some go through the motion of requiring State and local cooperation. Make no mistake, States and localities will do the coing while the Federal operates on them.

And some of these programs are set up in the executive branch at Washington without even the benefit of authorizing legislation. The so-called Poverty Corps had been operating a year before the recent bill was passed.

When so-called Federal funds are involved—in all of these programs for Federal subsidies, grants, payments and otherwise—Federal control is sure to follow. Federal handouts have become a device for centralizing power in Washington.

And then in Washington—

A so-called civil rights bill was passed to outlaw discrimination but those who were for the bill refused to define discrimination.

Therefore, it will be defined—case by case—by bureaus in Washington and the Federal courts as people are hauled up, arrested, fined and jailed for what is alleged to be discrimination.

Here we have more concentration of power in Washington. We should have learned before now that massive Federal spending and centralization of power feed on each other.

This so-called civil rights bill was promoted by the administration, with the use of tremendous pressure. And finally it was passed by Congress. And the President signed the bill into law.

And, individual views notwithstanding, it is Federal law until it is repealed or declared unconstitutional by the courts—as it should be. Virginia has been under the Federal guns in so-called civil rights school cases for more than 10 years.

But I must add that noncompliance with this so-called civil rights law is no more illegal than sit-ins, lie-ins and the more violent practices that we are witnessing in violation of other laws.

We hear a lot of talk these days about "freedom"—and I am afraid there is more talk about it than there is thought. But we hear little about liberty. The Founding Fathers used the word liberty as distinguished from "freedom" in the basic document of the Nation.

They understood the word "freedom" to carry the connotation of unrestrained. They understood the word "liberty" to mean freedom restrained by the responsibilities of citizenship and orderly self-government, under law.

And Federal concentration of power continues at the expense of individual liberty—yours and mine. Mondays are always big days for Federal usurpation of power. The Supreme Court hands down decisions on Mondays.

The Warren Court has become notorious for usurping legislative authority to write its own so-called laws of the land, and for amending the Constitution by its own interpretations, both in violation of the Constitution.

This is the Court that told us that the Constitution prohibits children from praying in school—even with their parents' permission. I suppose when they get through with the Constitution, the Supreme Court will start on the Ten Commandments.

I could go on chronicling Washington phenomena, but most of the talk down there now is about liberals and conservatives and reactionaries and extremists.

All of these are kinds of labels. Everybody has a different idea as to what they mean—especially when applied to himself. But you may be interested in some definitions which have come to me recently—

An extremist is a fellow who—when he can't see through the window—smashes the pane instead of washing it.

A reactionary is a conservative exceeding the speed limit.

A conservative—some would say—is one who defends existing evils; and a liberal is one who wants to replace them with other evils.

As I said, these names are labels. They mean different things to different people. They remind me of the soldier who told the Army doctor he had a pain in his abdomen. The doctor said ,"Son, let's get your trouble straight. Only officers have pains in the abdomen. Sergeants have pains in the stomach. You are a buck private, so you have got just a plain bellyache."

I have been called a lot of things—including all kinds of a conservative. But if I am going to be dubbed a "conservative," I prefer Webster's definition. He says—

"A conservative favors conservation of existing institutions and forms of government * * *" and I add that that includes the Constitution unless it is constitutionally amended.

I think Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman had me pegged about right. He said I was a progressive based on fiscal conservatism. I think that means I am for sound progress. And sound progress underlies my philosophy of government.

I believe sound progress is the source of individual and national strength.

I believe sound progress should be a primary purpose of every person's life and the primary objective of every government.

I believe progress is not sound if it is based on unsound financing; this is another application of the checks and balances doctrine, which has served us so well.

I believe our form of representative democracy through dual governments is capable of providing the best government the world has ever known.

I believe the fundamentals on which our system is based must be preserved, not chipped away.

I believe that good government flows from separation of powers, and that concentration and consolidation of power breeds corrupt and despotic rule.

I believe in separate but equal and coordinate branches of government at all levels.

I believe, with Jefferson, that States should act in their own right generally with respect to matters purely domestic.

And I believe, with Jefferson, that States should act as one through the Federal Government as to everything connected with foreign relations.

I believe that our system of government is based on these fundamentals, and that they guarantee our liberty and nourish the competitive enterprise which makes sound progress possible.

I believe our strength has been sapped by Federal bureaucracy grown too big, and by the Federal Supreme Court grown too mighty.

I believe centralization of power in the Federal Government has undermined our system, changed our attitudes, and hobbled our liberties.

I believe, with our Virginia Declaration of Rights, that: no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

I believe that, with responsible citizenship, good government, and fiscal soundness, there could be no fear for the future.

And I believe, without these, there can be neither solid progress nor security with military preparedness.

I believe, as a representative of the people of Virginia in the U.S. Senate, I owe my allegiance to the people of our Commonwealth and to the Constitution of the United States, partisan political platform planks to the contrary and notwithstanding.

This, generally, is my philosophy of government. It has governed every vote I have cast in the nearly 50 years that people of Virginia have honored me with the privilege of serving them in the Virginia senate, as Governor, and as U.S. Senator.

These votes constitute my record. It is a record for all to see, and most of you know it as well as I do. It is on this record that on March 14 I announced that I would run for reelection to the Senate.

I repeat, if I am reelected in November, my allegiance—as in the past—will be to the people of Virginia and to the Constitution of the United States. I firmly believe that is in accord with the principles which Virginians hold dear.

And I repeat—

My platform is my record of nearly 50 years in public service. I cannot express adequately the depth of my appreciation for the honor the fine people of this State have paid me by allowing me to represent them in both State and National office.

I think I understand the will of the people of Virginia. I have tried in the past to adhere to their principles and I shall be proud to do so in the future—if they so decide on November 3.

I am talking too long. It is one thing to rise to an occasion. It is another thing to know when to sit down.

I shall end, as I told you, by saying I hope you are having a good time; you have my very best wishes.

Good luck. God speed. Come again next year.

Salute to Indonesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to His Excellency President Sukarno of Indonesia, and the Indonesia Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Dr. Zairin Zain, on the 19th anniversary of Indonesian Independence Day.

The Indonesian independence movement began in the early part of the 20th century, expanded rapidly after World War I, and continued during the Japanese occupation of the Second World War. On August 17, 1945, 4 days after the Japanese surrender, the independence of the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. Four years of warfare and negotiations ensued, after which Indonesia's sovereignty was recognized and she rightfully assumed her position among the independent nations of the world.

A country of 3,000 or so islands, Indonesia stretches in a southeasterly direction from the Asian mainland in the direction of Australia. Its land area of 576,000 square miles is almost the same as that of Alaska, but with many parts separated by large expanses of sea. Indonesia would, if placed on North America, extend from southern Alaska clear across the continent to the Atlantic Ocean. Over 92 million people make their living from the islands' fertile soil. Food crops include rice, corn, soybeans, and sweet potatoes. Among the export crops are sugarcane, tobacco, coffee, and rubber. Petroleum is the largest single source of revenue. Tin, iron ore, copper, and aluminum are also found. Indonesia's potential for economic development is almost unlimited. An 8-year plan for economic development was inaugurated in January 1961, as a blueprint for economic growth. Since independence, substantial improvements have taken place in the educational system. The preindependence literacy level of 7 percent has now been raised to about 60 percent.

President Sukarno is the embodiment of Indonesia's nationalist revolution. Born in Java, 63 years ago, President Sukarno has devoted more than half his lifetime, part in jail and exile, to leading Indonesia's revolution and formulating its ideology. Under the Republic's motto, "Unity in Diversity", President Sukarno has pushed forward toward the basic goals of his domestic policy, which are to establish internal security, to raise the standard of living and educational level of the people, to develop the country's resources, and to give the Indonesian people a greater share in the benefits of an expanding economy. We congratulate the Indonesian people on the tremendous progress they have made in their 19 years of independence, and wish them continued peace and prosperity in the future.

Small Businessmen Organize To Compete Dual Distribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues have taken note of the serious problems being encountered by independent small businessmen as a result of their own suppliers competing with them. This device, known as dual distribution, has caused problems within many sectors of our economy.

Recently, a group of trade associations and individuals who have been adversely affected by dual distribution have banded together to seek a solution to the problems posed by that practice. In the near future, it is their intention to expand to include all trade associations and individual small businessmen who desire to help find a way to prevent the misuse of dual distribution.

The organization, known as the Conference on Dual Distribution, is opening headquarters here in Washington. Recently they issued the following release concerning their activities. Because of its interest to the small business community, under unanimous consent I include it in the RECORD at this point:

CONFERENCE ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION

Spokesmen representing leading independent metal fabricators have formed a permanent organization designed to strengthen the fight against the dual distribution problem affecting many American industries.

Membership in the new organization, to be known as the Conference on Dual Distribution, will be open to all segments of our economy affected by the problem.

Lawrence Schacht, president of Schacht Steel Construction, Inc., of New York, said that some 40,000 U.S. firms, ranging across the board from the petroleum industry to men's clothing manufacturers, will be invited to join in the nationwide effort to relieve the price squeeze on independents resulting from current dual distribution practices.

Headquarters of the Conference on Dual Distribution will be set up in Washington, Schacht said. He and G. F. Beall, vice president of the Beall Pipe & Tank Corp., Portland, Oreg., are cochairmen of an organization committee to prepare operations, including a national membership drive to recruit both associations and individuals as members.

An ad hoc committee consisting of Edward E. Erickson, Max Rogel, and Morris Rosoff has been organized to handle organizational planning and programing.

The dual distribution problem arises in those situations where the supplier of the independent firm is also his competitor, producing the same products and competing for the same customers.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JOHN B. BENNETT late a Representative of Michigan, leaves the memory of a man of fearless integrity, unselfish dedication and tireless service to the Nation and to the people he represented. His death marks an indelible imprint on our hearts.

I am privileged to have known JOHN BENNETT, of Michigan, as a friend and colleague for 10 of the 20 years he so ably served his district and State in the House of Representatives.

Not only was I permitted to observe this man at work on the floor of the House of Representatives, but from 1954–62, I saw the strength of his convictions materialize into effective legislation when I served with him on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Advancing through the years, he became the ranking minority member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committeee in which capacity he was serving at the time of his death. In this capacity JOHN BENNETT made noteworthy contributions to such major fields of legislation as so vitally affect the welfare of our Nation's people.

From my close association with him on several subcommittees, including the Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, JOHN BENNETT won my admiration and deep respect.

Keenly sensitive to the trends of his constituency, Congressman BENNETT was a Representative in the true sense of the word. This quality, together with a keen insight into and expert ability in the intricacies of legislation endeared him to his constituents as well as made him an asset to the Nation and this Congress. Now we all must suffer his loss.

JOHN BENNETT'S background and training was such that when he came to Congress, he was well prepared and skilled for constructive legislative service. He was an able and constructive Representative and performed his duties courageously and conscientiously.

As a devoted and humble public servant, an able legislator and a warm friend to all who knew him, one could say that in JOHN B. BENNETT, there was a man.

Mrs. Flynt joins me in extending heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Bennett and to the members of his family.

Tribute to Senator Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the late and beloved Senator CLAIR ENGLE, my longtime colleague in the House of Representatives. Senator ENGLE was elected to the U.S. Congress on August 31, 1943, at a special election. He joined the California delegation here in the first year of my tenure. Before being elected U.S. Representative, Senator ENGLE had served the State of California as special deputy attorney general under Attorney General Earl Warren, and for a brief period as State senator.

CLAIR had an illustrious legislative record of accomplishments in the House of Representatives in the field of conservation of natural resources, rising to the chairmanship of the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs at the beginning of the 84th Congress. He was elected Senator from California on November 4, 1958, and continued his constructive and brilliant career in the Senate of the United States.

CLAIR was one of the most energetic and vigorous men I have ever known. It is ironic that, although he kept himself in good physical condition by workouts in the gymnasium, he was suddenly struck down by one of those unpredictable maladies to which man is prey. A brain tumor incapacitated him in the very prime of his life, at the age of 52. After months of suffering, he finally passed away on Thursday morning, July 30, 1964. Because of his serious illness, his many friends had feared for his life for some months. Nevertheless, it came as a shock to all of us that this young, vigorous man, in the prime of his legislative career of service to the Nation, should be taken from us by death.

I would be remiss if I did not, in addition to expressing sympathy, express my admiration at this time for the long, rigorous, and devoted vigil maintained by CLAIR's wife, Lucretia. She was at his beside night and day and fought with great courage and devotion to encourage CLAIR in his fight against the dread malady. Our deepest sympathy goes out to his wife and loved ones in their loss and in their grief.

Each of us feels we have lost a sincere personal friend and we know California has lost a great, able, and devoted public servant. We know also the Nation has lost a man of great courage, statesmanship, and devotion to the ideals and the preservation of the security of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate your appointment of me as one of the members of the official committee to attend the funeral of Senator ENGLE at Red Bluff, Calif. During my stay in Red Bluff, a small town of about 7,000 population in northern California, the hometown of Senator ENGLE whose interests stretched throughout the world, I observed the grief which permeated the whole community. CLAIR's friends from all over the State mingled with the townspeople in their personal tribute by first passing silently through the courthouse where the body lay in state and afterwards attending the interment services in the oak-covered cemetery of the community.

We stood with bowed heads and listened to the memorial funeral address given by Bishop Donald Harvey Tippett, the resident bishop of the California-Neveda Conference of the Methodist Church. Such funeral services and addresses are always sad, somber events. However, I was deeply impressed with this particular service, held in an old cemetery, dotted with oak trees and memorial tombstones of those who had passed on. I thought the address given by Bishop Tippett was a particularly fitting tribute to the life and activities of Senator CLAIR ENGLE. At the conclusion of the ceremony, I requested a copy of his address.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to have it appended I include it in my remarks today so all of our colleagues may have an opportunity to read it:

ADDRESS BY BISHOP DONALD HARVEY TIPPETT, RESIDENT BISHOP, CALIFORNIA-NEVADA CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR CLAIR ENGLE, AUGUST 3, 1964, OAK HILL CEMETERY, RED BLUFF, CALIF.

The bishop read portions of Ecclesiasticus 44 (in the Apocrypha) and took for his text the first verse of that chapter: "Let us now praise famous men." As relates to Senator CLAIR ENGLE this is both an easy and a difficult task. Easy, because there are so many praiseworthy things which can be said of him in perfect honesty and without exaggeration. Difficult, because, first, his accomplishments were so many and so significant that it would require far more time just to enumerate or catalog them than that allotted to us, and second, the newspress, and radio and television have already given such generous coverage that anything said here would be but a hurried repetition.

Confronted by this dilemma it has seemed fitting to me to do what I am in the habit of doing with each of my 500 ministers. I make a profile of each man which I revise annually, so that at a glance I can get a vignette which in capsule form tells me most of what I need to know about the man's performance: how well he relates to people, how intelligently the finances are handled, how well he administers the Sunday school, how well he gets along with the young people, etc.

To be of any significant use, a profile of this sort must start with certain basic vital statistics. Let us start our profile of the Senator with a brief résumé of his private and public accomplishments.

CLAIR ENGLE was born in Bakersfield on September 21, 1911, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Fred J. Engle, Sr., both of whom survive him. Also remaining to bear his loss are two brothers, Fred J., Jr., and Robert E., along with his wife, the former Lucretia Caldwell, of San Jose, and one daughter, Mrs. Yvonne Childs, and a granddaughter, Alicia Childs.

While CLAIR was very young, his family moved to Red Bluff where later he attended high school. He went on to Chico State College and subsequently was graduated from Hastings College of Law with an LL.B. degree.

For 10 years he practiced law in Tehama County and in 1934 was elected district attorney when he just barely was 23 years old. He was reelected in 1938.

In 1942 he was appointed special attorney general of California under Earl Warren, then attorney general. That year also saw the youthful ENGLE elected to the California State Senate. In 1943 in a special election to fill a vacancy he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives to which he was subsequently reelected for seven successive terms. In 1946 and in every following election to the House, he won, under California's former cross-filing system the nominations of both major parties.

In 1957 he became the first Congressman to fly at the speed of sound, riding as a passenger in an Air Force jet.

"Since the beginning of the Republic," ENGLE commented upon landing, "there have been more than 10,000 Congressmen elected, and all of them have battered at the sound barrier; I figured it was time one busted it."

CLAIR ENGLE came well by a title given him by some of his colleagues—"Congressman Fireball." He was a man of prodigious energy, described by a fellow westerner as "like a mountain quail, when he lights, he starts running."

The Senator was the owner of the most unique and picturesque vocabulary on Capitol Hill. His language liberally borrowed from the areas he knew best—the area of the aviator, the cowboy, rancher, miner, farmer. He admitted also a great debt to Shakespeare. Long before the plays of the Bard were required reading he had devoured most of the great dramas. He never quite fully escaped the magnetic pull of the great Elizabethan dramatist. On his extensive travels he nearly always carried a collection of the plays with him. Hamlet was his favorite.

"The great value I find in Shakespeare," he confided, "is how it helps you in phrasing."

When things were going the Senator's way he had a habit of saying: "I'm as happy as a fox with two tails."

Usually he went to a hearing thoroughly prepared with his material well marsheled, but one day he left the hearing room abruptly to assemble more data, saying as he went out the door: "When I come back in 10 minutes I'm sure goin' to throw a skunk into your henhouse."

Senator ENGLE was greatly concerned about California's future. He was the author of nearly every important bill expanding California's Central Valley project. Senator THOMAS KUCHEL referring to this aspect of Senator ENGLE's endeavor paid this high tribute:

"Many of California's gigantic projects—water, power, recreation, harbor improvements and others—are directly traceable to his leadership and his labor. The Senate had a fondness and respect for him which reflected the esteem in which fellow Californians held him."

Senator ENGLE's legislative skills were unique and outstanding. As chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee during the 84th and 85th Congresses he gained stature and influence. The 365 public laws that emanated out of his committee during the time he served as chairman are in themselves an enduring monument to his aggressive and inspired leadership.

Among the projects he had a hand in guiding through, as Congressmman and later as Senator were Folsom Dam, the Trinity River development, and the San Luis Dam and the Sacramento Valley cannals. Only a few hours before the Senator's death, President Johnson signed the intertie agreement which makes possible the transfer of surplus power over a network serving 11 Western States. Fifteen years ago Senator ENGLE proposed the network. His victory was long in coming, just barely arriving before death closed his eyes in sleep.

He was never more fully appreciated and applauded by friend and political foe alike

than during the last 11 months of his 30 years in public service. His concern for humanity and all human values which knew no bounds, his dedication to public duty at great personal cost and effort were epitomized in those trying days of his last year on earth, when under extremely desperate circumstances, and not without pain, he made his final appearances on the Senate floor. Let us briefly scan the record of those heroic appearances.

He had made plans to introduce a resolution which would delay the construction of an atomic powerplant at Bodega Bay. Aids made the necessary arrangements and on April 13, the Senator, assisted by two aids, rose to speak, but he was unable to utter a complete word. Senator PAT MCNAMARA, Democrat, of Michigan, offered to introduce the resolution for him and ENGLE nodded his assent.

Again on June 10, the Senator showed his courage, determination, and dedication to duty by his attempt to cast his vote on the civil rights bill. He had confided to close friends that he believed that his last official act would be to vote for debate-limiting cloture.

This was not to be his last Senate vote, however. On June 19 he returned and voted for the adoption of the civil rights bill. He was unable to say his "aye" but by significant gestures he made his vote known.

And now I come to my final summation.

Senator ENGLE's involvement with the problems that assail humanity reflects something of the primary and basic concern he had for people. It was this concern for persons that motivated him. His championship of equal rights for women, his deep concern for the welfare of veterans and of senior citizens, his deep feeling about problems arising from poverty and bad housing, his endeavor to help small business enterprises, his vigorous leadership in behalf of the distressed, the disinherited, the hungry, and the hopeless—all these conspired to prove that his compassion for humanity knew no boundaries. His anxiety about the human factor was best revealed, perhaps, in his composition of the bipartisan civil rights bill.

In this connection it is interesting to note that from the very beginning the Judeo-Christian movement implied immortality by emphasizing, as CLAIR ENGLE did, the worth of the individual human being.

The rabbis used to say, by way of illustration, that only one man was created at the beginning of the world. This indicated the importance and value of every individual human being.

In the Ten Commandments, the early Biblical tendency against slavery, concern for the weak, the poor, for widows, and the fatherless, Judaism showed its high estimate of human personality. Then in Christianity we see human worth lifted to a still higher evaluation. Paul writing to the Romans calls attention to the fact that "none of us lives to himself and none of us dies to himself." Dealing directly with our obvious interdependence, he points out that we are inextricably bound together with our fellow men because we are related to God. He goes on to contend that every person's worth is established by virtue of the esteem in which Christ must have held him. If Christ thought him worth dying for, surely he is worth our deepest concern. In the eyes of God, we are worth all that the cross costs. "God so loved the world, that He gave his son"—the best he had, that we might live abundantly and eternally.

As Christians we are assured that death is not the end; it is but a strange interlude separating life temporal from life eternal. There is no doubt in our minds that the influence of CLAIR ENGLE will live on to bless the America he loved so dearly. And there is no doubt in my mind either that his spirit continues to live. Death cannot stop a spirit like his. But his passing from our midst does leave us lonely. Walt Whitman's description of the passing of "Lincoln, the Man of the People" is apropos and with it I close:

"And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leave a lonesome place against the sky."

Firmness and Restraint—An Opportunity for Solution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the relative quiet which has descended on Tonkin Gulf is clear indication that President Johnson's policy of blending firmness and restraint is meeting with at least initial success.

But what more can this episode with all its inherent dangers mean? Is there a deeper lesson to be learned?

In its editorial of August 8, the New York Times has suggested that peace in Vietnam will not be restored without negotiation. But, as the Times goes on, what the United States wants is "something better for the future, once peace is restored, than the unworkable peacekeeping machinery the Geneva settlement established. The United Nations has something to offer on both counts—both as a forum and as a peacekeeping body."

The Washington Post, in its editorial of August 12, has enlarged on this theme by emphasizing President Johnson's pledge that "we seek no wider war." And as the Post has continued:

What the United States wants is a free South Vietnam secure against the assault of its neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, the conduct of this policy will require continued vigilance on our part—vigilance both to repel aggression and to search for avenues of peaceful settlement.

I commend the articles from the New York Times and the Washington Post to all who are concerned with this critical problem:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 9, 1964]

VIETNAM AND THE U.N.

The quiet on the Far Eastern front may prove to be the eye of a typhoon, but there is reason to hope that the Tonkin Gulf storm is over. Both Hanoi and Peiping undoubtedly realize now that their advantage in land warfare and subversion in southeast Asia cannot overcome the enormous sea and air superiorty of the United States. And with both North and South Vietnam invited to participate in a Security Council debate, the war in Vietnam now may be entering a United Nations phase that could open some perspectives toward peace.

Peace in Vietnam, as Washington knows but dislikes admitting, will not be restored without negotiation. But Washington plainly has no intention of being forced to accept the Communist and French proposals for a 14-nation Geneva conference—if that was the real motivation for Hanoi's spectacular but suicidal Tonkin Gulf attacks. The United States wants to return to the 1954 Geneva settlement, the same objective the Communists profess to have. But the Johnson administration is convinced a big, semi-public conference now would merely create a "talk and fight" situation calculated to help consolidate Communist gains and weaken morale in Saigon. And it wants something better for the future, once peace is restored, than the unworkable peacekeeping machinery the Geneva settlement established. The United Nations has something to offer on both counts—both as a forum and as a peacekeeping body.

The proposed Security Council debate—although it cannot be expected to end the Vietnamese war—will test whether North Vietnam is seeking a negotiation or simply a propaganda conference in Geneva. If Hanoi agrees to send a representative to New York, there should be an opportunity for informal contact between the North and South Vietnamese—with the Russians, but not the Communist Chinese, in the wings. If such contact were accompanied by a reduction in Vietcong attacks in South Vietnam, thus proving Hanoi's bona fides, it undoubtedly would bring Saigon's acceptance of continued conversations.

The United States would be unlikely to object to a Geneva conference to ratify any modus vivendi to which the Vietnamese themselves could agree. It has taken the same position in recent days on Laos. And if the contesting parties themselves can reach agreement, the United Nations then could play a useful role in helping to monitor the peace—as Secretary General Thant evidently suggested to President Johnson in their White House meeting last week.

All this is purely speculative at the moment. But, in his message to the Congress Wednesday, President Johnson spoke of a role for the United Nations and said the United States is ready "to explore any avenues of political solution" in Vietnam. It would be highly optimistic to believe that a political solution will be quickly achieved. No such turning point has yet been reached. Tonkin Gulf was not another Cuba, even if there were some similarities in the two crises. But the evidence it gave of American determination may begin to convince the Communists that military victory in Vietnam is as improbable for them as it is for the West.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 12, 1964]

VIETNAM SEQUEL

As the days go by without a conspicuous Communist reaction to the historic American air strikes, hopes arise that the Vietnam crisis was self-contained and that neither its beginning by Hanoi nor its ending by Washington has unleased a permanent or major escalation of the Indochina war. There can be no guarantees that North Vietnam will suffer its wounds in relative military silence. But Hanoi and Peiping can have no doubt, unless their reason has entirely deserted them, about the certainty and effectiveness of American response to provocation like that given in the Tonkin Gulf.

But if a major broadening of the war by North Vietnam or a direct joining of the war by China is not to take place, there are many other ways in which the Communists could react. They might hit on the ground or with guerrillas in Vietnam, Laos or elsewhere, and their targets might be not just local anti-Communists, and innocents, but Americans as well. There are all too many possible forms of Communist attack to justify the

belief that Saigon, or Washington, has safely weathered the storm.

An equally troublesome area of policy lies in the temptation which the Tonkin Gulf sequence has offered to the United States. Already there are voices arguing that this country has in effect been licensed to conduct unlimited warfare with its ships and planes against the Communists. Still desperate and understandably grasping at the ostensible opening. General Khanh seems to be egging the United States on. His chance comrade in rhetorical arms, Senator GOLDWATER, yesterday demanded that the United States now "prosecute the war in Vietnam with the object of ending it."

The total unleashing of American power in Vietnam is an alluring prospect but an illusory one. Wisely, the President has stressed that the United States, despite the torpedo boat attacks, still seeks no wider war and will not strike again unless it is forced to do so. The basic purpose of the United States has not been altered. This country has not embarked upon a military strategy involving the destruction of North Vietnam or the overthrow of China. What the United States wants is a free South Vietnam secure against the assaults of its neighbors. The affair in the Tonkin Gulf should demonstrate to those who undertake aggression against South Vietnam that they enjoy no permanent immunity to whatever military response the United States can make most effectively. At the same time, the way remains open to an honorable and peaceful settlement whenever South Vietnam's neighbors cease their attacks upon it and are willing to undertake to safeguard its future integrity.

Seymour Harris Comments on Nossiter's "The Mythmakers"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include the perceptive review by Prof. Seymour Harris, of "The Mythmakers: An Essay on Power and Wealth," by Bernard D. Nossiter, appearing in the August 1964 issue of the Progressive:

WEALTH AND POWER

(Reviewed by Seymour E. Harris)

"The Mythmakers: An Essay on Power and Wealth," by Bernard D. Nossiter, Houghton Mifflin; 244 pages.

McGeorge Bundy once said that without the Washington journalists the Government could not get its job done. Bernard Nossiter's splendid book is evidence of the wisdom of Mr. Bundy's remark. Nossiter is a happy composite of journalist and scholar. As journalist he writes about difficult problems so that it is easy for the intelligent man and woman to understand; as scholar, he reads widely and discusses with mature judgment and originality the diseases of our economy and their treatment. I recommend this book to both the amateur and the professional.

Scarcely a major problem escapes Nossiter. He deals with the economics of President John F. Kennedy; with the excessive power residing in the executives of the large corporations; with the vulnerability of the theory of countervailing power; with poverty problems; with the possible disruptions caused by disarmament; and, finally, with the reluctance of the American society, and especially the American businessman, to plan.

I like particularly Nossiter's analysis of the moral standards of corporation executives. In recent years, A. A. Berle, David E. Lilienthal, the Harvard Business School, Fortune, and others have pressed a new theory: that businessmen assume large social responsibilities and that maximization of profits is not their major or only objective. In past writings. the sponsors of this theory would point to General Electric as the corporation with a social conscience. However, a recent price-fixing scandal spoiled that image. On this occasion, Henry Ford severely criticized General Electric's management. But in the midst of the 1960 gold crisis Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson was unable to dissuade the Ford Corp. from worsening the balance of payments by $360 million by purchasing highly profitable equities of its company in Great Britain. Even Henry Ford, a businessman with a conscience, sought to maximize his profits at the expense of the balance of payments as almost all businessmen would.

At the time of writing his book, Nossiter did not have at his disposal another interesting case that raised some questions concerning the morality of corporation executives. For years bankers had preached the need of confidence in the American financial structure as a condition for preserving the external value of the dollar. But early in 1964, the major banks in Minneapolis and St. Paul were convicted and fined for fixing the price of money; and among those involved was a high official of the Eisenhower administration. Moreover, it is scarcely evidence of high moral purpose to conspire to keep money rates up in the midst of a period of heavy unemployment.

In every chapter, Nossiter is provocative. He effectively explodes the theory of countervailing power. He shows, for example, that neither labor nor government exercises much countervailing power against the corporation. In fact, labor and capital frequently cooperate, and government regulatory agencies increasingly take on the complexion of those they presumably regulate.

Nossiter is greatly concerned over the failure of the United States to plan its economy—plan without coercion—on the French or Norwegian models. Admittedly even these countries in their planning yield too much authority to big business. Growth is stimulated by adequate plans. In the author's view, the opposition of business is largely the explanation of the absence of planning in this country; for business considers planning as a weapon used to reduce the influence of the large corporation. To some extent Nossiter may well exaggerate the contributions of his "indicative" planning. For example, in France, these are still great difficulties in meshing the economic plans with educational programs. Yet we have much to learn from Western Europe.

Disarmament is a goal and also a problem. Nossiter shows clearly that when adequately handled—through tax cuts, welfare outlays, and special therapy for industries, occupations, and places especially injured—disarmament will yield large gains to the economy rather than the reverse. But Nossiter is also aware of the absence of some of the favoring aspects of post-World War II disarmament. He may overdo this point; the decline of $77 billion of defense outlays from 1945 to 1947, or about $111 billion in 1964 prices, with remarkably small effects on unemployment, should reassure him.

I now come to my only serious disagreements with Nossiter: his appraisal of President Kennedy's economics. Here he takes a position assumed by other liberal economists and political scientists. The position, simply put, is that Mr. Kennedy's economic policies were a duplication of Mr. Eisenhower's. This is a completely unjustifiable position. It is true that Mr. Kennedy at first was reluctant to apply modern fiscal theories. But by 1963 he had become the first and only President to accept deficit financing as a tool of economic policy and, even more, to seek deficits. It is not fair to compare Mr. Kennedy's rise of expenditures with Mr. Eisenhower's increase in his last 3 years. The fact is that the Eisenhower years expenditures rose but one-half as much per year as under President Kennedy, and Mr. Eisenhower's attitude toward spending and deficits was not further advanced than President Hoover's. Moreover, in monetary policy President Eisenhower supported and even led the Government in the direction of dear money; President Kennedy pressed, and with success, for easy money.

On relations with business, I am inclined to agree with Nossiter that President Kennedy treated businessmen well. Like the author, I am at a loss to understand the antagonism of business toward President Kennedy. I am even willing to agree that Mr. Kennedy's tax policies were friendly to business. Yet Nossiter does the administration less than justice when, for example, he writes that "the 200,000 wealthiest taxpayers would get an average cut of $4,600 and the lowest 20 million about $75 each." Did he expect those with average incomes of, say, $5,000 and taxes of $400 to get relief of $4,600?

I also find Nossiter's views on President Kennedy's wage policy difficult to swallow. Indeed businessmen want restraints on wage increases. But Mr. Kennedy was not merely serving business interests, as Nossiter seems to hold. He demanded sacrifices by both business and labor, and his epochal struggle was over prices, not wages. The President's interest in the wage guidelines stemmed from a fear of inflation resulting from large wage increases which would have to be treated through monetary restrictions, and hence increased unemployment, as under President Eisenhower. The alternative was acceptance of a costly inflation.

Fishing Vessel Construction

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1006) to amend the act of June 12, 1960, for the correction of inequities in the construction of fishing vessels, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, because of a law passed in 1792, every vessel documented for fishing under the U.S. flag must be built in the United States. This was done to protect the shipyards of this country from foreign competition. These shipyards still need this protection so that they will be available in times of national emergency. There is a distinct added expense to the American fishermen in having his vessel built in the American shipyard. According to testimony of the representative of the Maritime Administration before our Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, this has ranged between 40 and 50 percent of the total cost of the vessel. The American fishermen have paid the

differential for these many years without complaints but they have now come to a point where it is not economically possible for them to continue.

Our fishermen are competing with foreign fishermen, not only for fish, but also for markets. The price obtained by a shrimp fisherman in Florida is affected by shrimp caught in such diverse parts of the world as the Bering Sea, Indian Ocean, and Gulf of Aden. In 1953, imports into the United States amounted to the equivalent of 43 million pounds of heads-off shrimp. Ten years later, in 1963, these totaled 167 million pounds and more will be imported this year. Under these conditions our domestic fishermen can no longer afford to pay almost twice as much for his vessel as his competitor does. He must be able to purchase his vessel for the same price as his competition and then must get out and operate even more efficiently in order to show a profit.

The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries has located large stocks of royal red shrimp in deeper waters than are normally fished. These shrimp are of excellent quality and can find a ready market if brought into port on a regular basis. Modern, more powerful vessels with special rigging are needed for this fishery. If S. 1006 becomes a law, the fishermen will be able to have them built at a price that will enable them to compete with imports.

I use shrimp as an example because of the direct competiton from foreign imports and from direct competition on the fishing grounds with foreign vessels. It must be recognized, however, that the commercial fishing industry as a whole is hard pressed. My concern is for the entire industry. It is an industry which is of major importance to a great many people. Many of these people would find themselves unemployed and their families in want if the subsidy of the construction of fishing vessels were not to be available. Competition from overseas is constantly becoming keener and most of that competition is also subsidized. In other words, the same harsh factors of economic difficulty apply to fisheries throughout the country. If assistance of the type provided in S. 1006 is not forthcoming, our fishing fleet will continue to become more obsolete and our fishing industry may eventually consist of distributors for foreign products.

The Late Honorable John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I have never known a more honorable man than the late JOHN BENNETT. He was a very able man who worked hard in the discharge of his duties. With him the welfare of the country came first in all his considerations. In a manner of speaking, JOHN was a model Congressman. He commanded respect from all, was firm in his convictions, and effective in his work. He has left some big shoes to be filled.

To the widow and family I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

Lew Douglas and Barry Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Lewis W. Douglas has long served his country, first as a Congressman from Arizona, then as Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and finally as Ambassador to Great Britain. He is also a longtime friend of my fellow Arizonan, the Republican nominee for President.

Often in the past Mr. Douglas, though a Democrat, has backed the presidential nominees of the Republican Party. I recall, for example, that he supported Thomas Dewey in 1948, General Eisenhower in 1952, and again in 1956, and Richard Nixon in 1960. Now, in 1964, despite his warm friendship for the Senator from Arizona, Lewis Douglas has announced his opposition to the Republican nominee and his support for President Johnson.

Knowing that Mr. Douglas' decision will be of interest to my colleagues, under unanimous consent I include at this point in my remarks an editorial from the Arizona Daily Star of Wednesday, August 12, commenting on it:

LEW DOUGLAS AND BARRY GOLDWATER

When Lewis W. Douglas, former Budget Director, Ambassador to Great Britain, and Arizona Congressman, published a statement Monday morning opposing the election of BARRY GOLDWATER to the Presidency, he opposed a man whom he supported for election to the Senate. He opposed an old friend. Both were born and reared in Arizona.

Mr. Douglas gave as his basic reason for opposition one that is shared by possibly many thousands of BARRY'S friends, who would vote for him again for Senator, but not for President. The reason can be summed up in two words: Foreign policy.

BARRY'S foreign policy can be labeled fairly an Air Force foreign policy that fundamentally calls for the destruction of communism by destroying the Soviet Union. Prior to his nomination, BARRY made this reasonably apparent in a long, detailed statement, in which he outlined his policy. It called for the revitalization of NATO and the imposition of a worldwide economic boycott of the Soviet Union. It called for making demands on the Soviet Union to abdicate from the eastern satellites, thereby liberating them, under the penalty of suffering the blockade and ultimately war.

The Republican platform reflects this same policy. It calls for the unification of Germany and the liberation of the satellites. Of course, Republican apologists will explain that the platform means peaceful liberation, which is like saying churning sour milk will not make butter. Since when has there been a peaceful liberation?

This is a matter that the American people should take seriously, because it involves, as Mr. Douglas made plain, the fate of modern civilization itself. The Republican platform makes demands that can be won only by war. It sets up ideals for which we fought we fought two World Wars and a minor one in Korea, and now are fighting another minor one in Vietnam. The Republicans made these promises of liberation deliberately in the hope of winning the big Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and Baltic votes, located in cities like Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo.

Those Republicans who have BARRY'S ear, like former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and others, favor this dangerous policy. Mr. Nixon made that plain in an article by him in the Saturday Evening Post earlier in the year.

The complete absence of anyone in the Goldwater camp with the stature that would command respect as Secretary of State, adds to the danger.

Old friends have a right to differ when it comes to policies involving the very fate, not only of our Nation, but of civilization itself. Arizona should be proud of the accomplishments of BARRY GOLDWATER; but that should not mean that when he champions such a reckless foreign policy, they should vote for him for President.

Discretionary Authority To Fire Government Employees Threatens Merit System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the statement of John F. Griner, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs during its hearings on the bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

I have long been interested in the issues involved in the employment policies of the U.S. Government. Mr. Griner's testimony centers on a controversial action in this field: the grant to the Administrator of the AID of the power to dismiss employees without observing the procedures of redress contained in the Veterans' Preference Act and the Lloyd-La Follette Act.

Mr. Griner bases his protest on grounds of principle and sound policy. The provision violates the merit system of the career civil service while severely threatening the morale of all the employees of this Federal agency. Mr. Griner concludes by suggesting a means of achieving the desired reduction of forces which would prejudice neither the principles nor practice of the Government's system of employment.

It is to be noted that the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted 16 to 6 to delete from the bill the power to dismiss civil service employees, but that such authority is unfortunately contained in the Senate version. Because of the great

importance of the issues involved in this controversy, I insert Mr. Griner's statement into the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF JOHN F. GRINER, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ON H.R. 10502, A BILL TO AMEND THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

The proposal to grant the Administrator of the Agency for International Development discretionary power to dismiss employees at will is a shocking attempt to undermine the career civil service system.

Adoption of the proposed legislative authority to dismiss AID employees, with no redress but a pro forma appeal to that Agency, would be an inexcusable breach of faith endangering the employment status and ignoring the basic rights of the many competent and dedicated career civil service employees presently employed.

Determining who would be designated for such summary dismissal would be accomplished by applying a selection-out procedure, heretofore applied to certain employees overseas, to the nearly 3,000 employees at its Washington headquarters. It has, however, been applied to employees in the career Foreign Service in an entirely different manner and under markedly different employment requirements.

The summary firing authority to be granted the President, and through him, the Administrator of AID, as set forth in H.R. 10502, is in the opinion of the American Federation of Government Employees a proposal which would seriously endanger the integrity of the civil service system. The pending amendments in that bill to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 provide neither economy nor improvement to the administration of the foreign aid program.

We believe this proposal to fire employees in this manner is completely unwarranted and fundamentally dangerous to the efficient operation of the foreign assistance program.

That the proposal is not only dangerous, but obviously unwarranted, is evidenced by the apparent fact that AID employees with almost no exception meet the existing standards for efficient performance of their duties.

They are plainly meeting the requirement of the performance rating system or they could be fired for unsatisfactory work, and they are of course not failing so badly that they could be separated for cause. That leaves one other criterion—acceptable level of competence. Departmental employees of AID meet this criterion so nearly completely that it has been reported in the press that the Agency has within the last year denied a within-grade increase to only one of its 1,400 classified civil service employees at its Washington headquarters.

There is but one remaining method, to mark them for dismissal by some arbitrary method, with the Agency setting the standards, determining who does or does not meet them, and then acting as the appellate authority and rendering a decision with respect to its own action.

Those of us who have fought for the improvement and preservation of a career civil service system which has for its very foundation the right of the individual to be proved unworthy of a civil service job by facts and by nothing but facts, cannot accept the substitution of a drumhead proceedings, with all its opportunity for personal favoritism and political chicanery, for sound principles of a true merit system.

We of the AFGE are appalled at the attempt to broaden the arbitrary power vested in the Administrator of predecessor agencies to AID in 1953 and again in 1961. In neither instance did the circumvention of the long-established rights of Federal employees accomplish the promised improvement in the administration of the Agency. As so often happens in such a situation, the bungling individuals who were to administer this authority were protected in positions of management or as those who were favored by management.

The very wording of the proposed new subsection 625(j) of the Foreign Assistance Act reveals its obviously dangerous threat to the merit system. It would grant this summary authority to dismiss employees "notwithstanding any other provision of this or any other law." Those who are to be affected would be "any person employed or assigned to perform duties pursuant to this Act." There is the further stipulation that the authority would not apply to persons with general schedule appointments of GS–12 or below, Foreign Service Reserve appointments of class 5 or below, or Foreign Service Staff appointments of class 3 or below.

One wonders if this mention of limited application of the dismissal authority might one day be removed from the legislation if enacted, leaving it applicable to "any person employed or assigned to perform duties pursuant to this Act."

Neither the limitation as to type of appointment or grade, nor the further stipulation to separate no more than 200 employees within a 2-year period, at the rate of 100 a year, removes the demoralizing and completely unacceptable character of this proposal.

Similar authority in the past, to release from employment at will certain oversea employees, forecast the trend which repetition of such summary action will take, this time in relation to employees at the Washington headquarters of AID. Before, it resulted in capable employees leaving the Agency voluntarily, because they refused to work under such unsettling conditions. Others recruited for jobs in the Agency lost interest in its mission because they were unable to foresee a stable career in an organization having such an unenviable record for mistreating capable personnel. Others hesitate to take the initiative and make decisions for which they may risk dismissal because of an error of judgment.

The proposed amendment to the 1961 act would almost double the number of employees affected by the selection-out procedure. In 1961 it was made to apply to employees overseas who at present number about 4,400. Of this number, approximately half are career civil service employees serving in a deferred status as Foreign Service or Foreign Service Reserve employees. The amendment would extend coverage to nearly 3,000 departmental employees—serving at the Washington headquarters—who are mostly career civil service employees.

The ultimate objective is a net reduction of 1,200 employees, mostly overseas, according to the Administrator. Summary firing authority will provide the first cut of 200. Another 100 will be selected-out, 50 in each of 2 years, according to Mr. Bell. But the bill places no limit on the number who might be affected. Most of the remaining 900 will be oversea employees. An unknown number will be lopped off the 2,800 or so career civil service employees in Washington. The majority of these will be replaced, making a gross reduction greater than 1,200.

The selection-out procedure proposed for releasing from the Agency employees no longer desired is patently incompatible with a career civil service, despite the fact it has been characterized by the AID Administrator as "an orderly, systematic, and continuing method for separating marginal employees of AID." In the language of H.R. 10502, separations would be accomplished by authority "to prescribe by regulation standards or other criteria for maintaining adequate performance levels."

Those who failed, or were adjudged to have failed, to meet these nebulous standards would be separated "subject to an appropriate administrative appeal." An administrative appeal in such a situation is less than meaningless, for why would management by the wildest flight of imagination be expected to change a decision when such a change would be an admission of faulty judgment?

To quote the AID Administrator in his testimony before this committee on March 24:

"It is not the employee whose performance is so deficient that he can be separated for cause which hurts this program. Rather, it is the marginal employee, who in comparison to other employees engaged in similar work fails to maintain high standards of performance. * * * The selection-out authority we now have is used under procedures which insure affected employees of careful evaluations of their work and appropriate rights of appeal. And this would, of course, be true of the new authority we are requesting."

The very sense of this attempt to explain the selection-out authority evidences the injustice it would cause and its misapplication under circumstances which are ccmpletely alien from those under which it is applied to other groups of AID personnel. The individual who enters the service as a Foreign Service Reserve Officer or Foreign Service Officer enters with the knowledge and expectation of having to prove himself at stated intervals or be selected-out of the service.

This Foreign Service employee is fortified in this preselection process by regular periodic training which prepares him for ultimate selection as a career-service ambassador. The system parallels that of the military service. In the Army, the junior officer receives the benefit of training which envisions him as a potential general.

This type of progression from a lower to a higher rank is vastly different in its concept and objective from that of the regular civil service into which the selection-out process is being introduced by AID management. It represents an attempt to superimpose the procedure of one upon another to which it is totally unsuited. In the Foreign Service system, rank is attached to the person. The FSO–8 person may be performing responsible duties at a U.S. embassy abroad, or he may be performing glorified clerical duties. In either instance, he is an FSO–8.

The employee in GS–13 maintains that grade only so long as he performs duties which are measurably comparable to those which a classification standard recognizes as characteristic of that grade level. If duties of significant importance are removed from a position classified as a GS–13, the position must be reduced in grade. The individual is the incumbent of a new position classified in a lower grade. Under classification, rank attaches to the position, never to the incumbent.

The Administrator of AID indicated at the hearing on March 24 that this legislation was being requested "to separate a limited number of senior personnel in the next 2 years." He added that "it is imperative that we have some flexibility in determinations of key managerial and top technical personnel." Then he added the astonishing statement that "at these levels" (above GS–12, for example) "use of standard, existing authorities in making changes frequently result in elimination of the better employees."

The fact is that the senior employee is the older person who, despite his good record, is very likely to be selected-out because the evaluation panels are certain to lay heavy emphasis on the total potential of the person under scrutiny. Obviously the total potential of the individual who is 35 years old is greater than that of the person who is aged 55. But is his potential contribution to

the success here and now as great as that of the 55-year-old? That is the question which is neither considered nor answered.

If the true purpose of this proposed authorization is to reduce personnel in these upper grades by 100 each year for 2 years, it can be accomplished easily and without irreparable damage to employee morale by taking advantage of attrition. The current attrition rate for AID is 22 percent. AID employees who are members of the American Federation of Government Employees have asked management to use the attrition method to a greater extent in accomplishing the final goal of reducing personnel by a net reduction of 1,200 employees.

There are certain segments of AID personnel which may be reduced in number without additional authority and without even resorting to the so-called "existing authorities" which frequently result "in the elimination of the better employees," to use the Administrator's words.

First, there are more than 200 policymaking positions which are subject to summary firing authority. So far as responsibility for present ineptness and past mismanagement is concerned, some of these positions could be reviewed with enormous benefit to the future functioning of AID.

Then about one-half of all Foreign Service employees in AID have only limited appointments. Since 1958, the Agency has been in such a constant turmoil of reorganization and changing program objectives, that no Foreign Service probationary appointments have been converted from the required initial time-limited appointment to permanent appointment. Hundreds of competent and experienced oversea employees have been unjustly kept for years without any job rights so far as seniority or veterans' preference are concerned. These employees are currently being terminated without benefit of competitive rights.

Another group that may be, and is being, reduced without additional authority consists of Foreign Service and regular civil service employees with full career status, with and without veterans' preference. They can be reached by the standard reduction-in-force procedure. Inasmuch as changing program implementation involves the contracting of most of the work done by this group, hundreds of them will lose their jobs.

There is still another group the size of which may be reduced without added authority—the hundreds of oversea indigenous employees who can be separated with relatively little effort.

Lastly, any employee in the Foreign Service or regular civil service may be separated for cause. If managament is doing its job many of the so-called marginal employees could well fall within this category, for scarcely any employee who is failing to meet desirable standards is failing completely. The degree by which he is falling short may well support specific charges.

There are all these possible means of separating employees—only 100 employees in a single year—if AID management will only face up to its responsibilities and be willing to put down in black and white specific reasons—or charges, if you please—to indicate why certain individuals should be removed from the payroll. It is the studied reluctance to be specific which surrounds and characterizes this whole request for additional legislative authority that causes suspicion of the sincerity of purpose.

There is the implied, if not stated, insinuation that the inefficient employee cannot be fired. Last year more than 9,000 civil service employees were discharged. This included those who were dismissed for inefficiency, misconduct, delinquency or other serious cause. During the 10-year period ending with calendar year 1963, 129,865 civil service employees were discharged for cause, or an average of 12,987 a year. Thus, it is possible to fire a civil service employee under present law.

The critical danger to the existence of the civil service system implied in this proposal to authorize AID to fire employees in summary fashion is more than a remote possibility. It has been the history of this Agency to obtain and use in a highly inequitable manner authority to reduce its personnel without regard to established procedures. First, in the Reorganization Plan No. 7 of 1953 which established the Foreign Operations Administration, and later in the act of 1961 (Public Law 87-195), which provided for the establishment of AID, this authority to separate personnel at will was granted.

The requested authority requires no presentation of charges or of any facts whatsoever for each separation. The denial of rights to an appeal other than to the same management that instigates the separation offers another example of discriminatory procedure adopted in the mistaken intent to apply special procedures to an agency of Government claiming exemption to standard procedures because of its role in foreign policy and its involvement in national security. Such an exemption voids the laws protecting employees from arbitrary and capricious dismissal.

Federal employees have struggled long and diligently to achieve the protection they have been given by a succession of laws from just such irresponsible treatment. First, the Lloyd-La Follette Act of 1912 provided "That no person in the classified service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and for reasons given in writing." Additional procedural safeguards assured further protection.

In 1948 that law was amended to give the employee unjustifiably suspended or removed from the Federal payroll retroactive compensation for the period he was off the employment roll. The Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 provided that military preference as well as tenure of employment, length of service, and efficiency ratings must be given "due effect" in releasing employees from the civil service. This gave rise to the reduction-in-force procedure which has provided an orderly method for cutting down employment volume.

The Performance Rating Act and the requirement in the Salary Reform Act of 1962, that a classified employee must display an acceptable level of competence, provide further available procedures for evaluating the work record of an employee.

All of this protective procedural and evaluation machinery is swept into the discard for the employees who will be affected by this bill. That there are to be but 200 in upper grade levels over a 2-year period matters little. If that provision is intended to be reassurance that only "deadwood" among the personnel will be dismissed or that perhaps fewer than 200 will be fired, it is only a hollow and meaningless assurance. Only the gullible would believe that the attempt to seek exceptions from established equitable dismissal procedures will end with the passage of H.R. 10502.

H.R. 10502 is in my opinion but a further, redoubled and violent attack on the civil service merit system. When similar arbitrary authority was vested in the administrator of predecessor agencies to the Agency for International Development, great benefits and improvements in management were promised. Though summary firing of personnel took place, no noticeable improvement in the administration of the agency occurred. If anything, it only made matters worse.

The amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act contained in H.R. 10502 are, in the view of the American Federation of Government Employees, unwarranted and dangerous to the efficient operation of the foreign aid program. They provide neither economy nor improvement to its administration. The harm which will result in undermining employee morale is too costly at a time when possible elimination of waste and inefficiency are of paramount need.

My organization recommends the elimination of subsection 625(j) as well as the proposed rewording of subsection 625(e).

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for scheduling my appearance before this committee.

Self-Employed Retirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday, August 4, 1964. The contents of this article is proof that we need to give further consideration to this worthwhile piece of legislation.

The article follows:

RETIREMENT PLANS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED FAIL TO WIN FAVOR DESPITE TAX-SAVING ASPECT

(By Ralph E. Winter)

BOSTON.—Selling tax savings and security is more difficult than it sounds.

At least that's the result so far of the self-employed retirement program authorized nearly 2 years ago by Congress. The program, set up by the so-called Smathers-Keogh law, provides some tax concessions for people who work for themselves comparable to those long available for corporation employees.

The word from many banks, insurance companies, and mutual funds authorized to sell the self-employed pension trusts: They barely have got off the ground. The consensus is that sales won't pick up significantly until the law is changed to sweeten the program.

The new law provides that a self-employed person may put as much as 10 percent of his income, up to $2,500 a year, into an approved retirement trust and deduct half his contribution from taxable income; tax deductible contributions for corporation employees generally can be more generous. Earnings of the approved trusts themselves aren't subject to Federal income tax. Beneficiaries of such trusts—whether employees or self-employed—owe no tax until retirement benefits are received, usually in a lower tax bracket.

FEW THOUSAND SUBSCRIBE

Only a few thousand of an estimated 9 million self-employed—such as doctors, accountants, lawyers, sign painters, and shopkeepers—and their employees eligible for tax savings under the act have subscribed to the new plans, a Wall Street Journal survey indicates. Many people who are eligible don't think the law offers enough savings to make participation worthwhile or don't understand what benefits the relatively complicated program provides, officials of financial institutions say.

Many financial institutions don't think much of the program, either. Some haven't bothered to set up basic plans under the new law. Others set up the model plans but aren't making much of an effort to sell them. Only a few institutions are actively pushing the program with appreciable success.

Some of the apathy is due to the plans' newness. The legislation was passed in October 1962, but the Internal Revenue Service didn't issue its clarifying rulings until a year later. Many institutions didn't get their model plans approved until December of last year, giving them only a few weeks to promote them as a medium for 1963 tax savings.

AMA ESTABLISHES TRUST

Flagging initial interest also is reported by some professional organizations that set up their own retirement plans for members. In Chicago, a spokesman for the American Medical Association said a Keogh-type plan it established for member doctors last fall initially encountered limited interest by physicians. But since the AMA began distributing a 27-minute color film on the plan several weeks ago for use by State and local medical societies, interest has picked up, the spokesman said. About 4,100 doctors and their employees so far have signed up under the AMA trust, which currently has assets of about $9 million.

Retirement plan sponsors say few people want to think about current-year taxes, even tax savings, early in the year. They expect better response in November and December when self-employed people have a better estimate of their 1964 earnings and start worrying about taxes.

A few institutions, mainly mutual funds, that got their sales programs into gear before the end of 1963 reported good sales in November and December. "We sold 717 plans last year, with deposits totaling more than $1.4 million, and most of the sales were in December," says John D. Wilson, vice president, Vance, Sanders & Co., Boston mutual fund distributors. In the first half of this year, 146 plans were started, "but we don't expect a rush until November and December," he adds.

"The main reason the plans haven't grown faster is that many people don't understand them," Mr. Wilson says. "Now that we have a clear picture of the law we are able to explain it to our customers, and many of them are showing interest."

ANOTHER OPTIMISTIC CONCERN

Also optimistic is Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Minneapolis, the Nation's largest mutual fund distributor, which has sold about 490 plans, taking in $875,000 in contributions. "We expect them to grow immeasurably," a spokesman says.

Yet even the concerns that consider their self-employed retirement programs relatively successful take in only a minute portion of their total revenues from the plans. But some other institutions don't think the plans are worth setting up at all.

"We haven't had any indication from our dealers that there is any demand for a self-employed retirement program," says a spokesman for the $1.3 billion Fidelity group of mutual funds. "We feel that there are so many problems associated with the plans and we'd be talking about such small sums of money that we haven't felt an urge to start one."

A poll by the Institute of Life Insurance disclosed that as of the end of 1963, life insurance companies had sold only 1,500 plans and received $2.5 million in deposits. This has undoubtedly risen in the past 6 months and is likely to gain more as insurance plans become better known, industry sources say. New England Mutual Life Insurance Co., for instance had 166 plans in force June 30, up from 76 at year-end.

Prudential Insurance Co. of America, which has sold 376 Keogh-type plans so far, predicts a spurt in its sales since the Securities and Exchange Commission has approved its plan to sell variable annuity plans to groups of self-employed people. The funds will be invested in common stocks, and benefits will vary with investment results, unlike insurance programs that pay a fixed income. "Some national associations are waiting to start such programs," Prudential says.

BANKS MAKE LITTLE PROGRESS

Banks haven't made much progress with the plans to date either. "We have three or four self-employed retirement accounts at present. But the plans aren't terribly enticing," says a major New England Bank.

Some institutions set up retirement plans only because they think it will help them gain other types of business.

"Most banks say their plans seem rather a disappointment to date, and we don't think ours is going to be in great demand either," says National Shawmut Bank of Boston, which will begin offering Keogh-type plans this month. "But we are a full-service bank, and this is one of the services we think we ought to offer. Our major interest is getting a foot in the door for estate planning," says a trust officer. "When you're talking to doctors about a retirement trust, one thing leads to another and the first thing you know you're talking estate planning."

Plan sponsors almost unanimously report that physicians are their best customers. "Doctors far outnumber everyone else taking out the plans," says Keystone Custodian Funds, Inc., Boston. "Lawyers are second, but they are miles behind." Dentists and manufacturers' representatives usually follow in third and fourth places. Then come a broad scattering of the self-employed, ranging from marriage counselors to monument letterers.

The greatest handicap in selling the plans is the provision that only half the contribution to the pension plan is tax-deductible, finance men say. Representative KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, who sponsored the original bill, has introduced an amendment to make the total contribution deductible from taxable income. The House Ways and Means Committee, however, has completed its major tax legislation for this congressional session, so the amendment isn't considered likely to make any headway this year.

The rule requiring that any self-employed person wishing to take part in the program must set up plans for his employees has also discouraged some people from participating. Under the law, the employer must make a contribution for each employee who has worked for him 3 years or more proportionate to his own contribution. For example, a lawyer contributing 10 percent of his income must make a contribution equal to 10 percent of his secretary's salary if she has worked for him 3 years or more.

Turn Down the Sex Lever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, it was somewhat surprising and enormously encouraging to read in the Washington Post of August 14, 1964, that there appears to be a turning away from today's permissive attitude toward obscenity in publications to a period when some restraint will be imposed upon unlimited circulation of sex-oriented and sex-laden pornographic literature.

Mr. Arnold Gingrich, founder and publisher of Esquire magazine—than whom no one should be better informed on this subject—made this point in a discussion yesterday at the Georgetown University Writers' Conference.

Mr. Gingrich predicted a puritan revolution and I am sure that we would not want matters to come to such an extreme pass, but we would be satisfied to have a return to more responsible standards. Undoubtedly, the germs of dissolution lie in a continuation of our present tendency as has been demonstrated throughout history and other civilizations.

The article embodying Mr. Gingrich's talk follows:

SEX BOOK ERA SEEN SHIFTING TO PURITY

The saturation point has been reached in our present literary phase, and it will be followed by a puritan revolution in literature, the founder and publisher of Esquire magazine predicted yesterday.

"The past three decades have seen our taste in literature become so all-permissive that what was once obscene is now routine," Arnold Gingrich said.

"I believe there is a place for everything, in literature as in life. * * * But the liberty that was assured and safeguarded" for the artist's freedom of expression, "has degenerated into a license," he said.

"Under our freedom of expression, which is quite proper, we have overdone sex. It's become so common now in our books that it's lost its scarcity value. In a measurable length of time we'll find a revulsion by the reading public against all the endless clinical detail," he asserted.

LONELY PROPHET

Gingrich, speaking to about 50 aspiring authors at the Georgetown University Writers Conference, said he feels like a very lonely prophet on a subject "which I cheerfully admit I've become more than a little hipped on in these last few years."

Gingrich predicted a puritan revolution in literature, "and I mean literature in every sense of the word—hardbound, softbound, periodic and permanent—in other words, the written word when used to amuse, entertain, or enlighten—as opposed to its use either merely to inform or instruct."

"We're going to see a complete revulsion, followed by a complete reversal of taste in our literary fashions."

Gingrich said the revolution could take place anywhere from 30 months to 30 years.

TOO MUCH OF ANYTHING

"Too much of anything goes against nature," he said. "Maybe I'm too quick to conjure up a vision of summer from the sight of one swallow, but in this paradoxical age, I still wouldn't be too surprised to see the vogue of a Grace Metalious followed by that of a Louisa May Alcott—or even of a Francoise Sagan followed by a Jane Austen," he said.

In responding to Gingrich's remarks, Georgetown Professor Riley Hughes, director of the conference, said, "I too look forward * * * to a world in which Playboy (magazine) will become wholesome, and Jack and Jill a collector's item for sophisticates."

The Suwannee County Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, last week I had the privilege of attending one of

the sessions of the National Association of Counties held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel to hear a county official of one of the counties I have the honor to represent, speak on the progress which the people of his county have made, working together and developing natural resources.

The Suwannee County story is a great story, because it is an American story. In County Commissioner Lamar Hancock, the people of that county had chosen an able spokesman to deliver the message. I wish it were possible to have him repeat that speech on the floor of the House, for it is a good story. It is a story of people working together, of county pride and community spirit, it is an American story in the finest tradition.

I take pride in having it reprinted here for the information of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States.

County Commissioner Hancock's remarks follow:

THE SUWANNEE COUNTY STORY

It is indeed a pleasure and a privilege to be invited to appear before this group today. The people of Suwannee County, Fla., have asked me to convey their thanks and appreciation for the recognition you have afforded our county.

I was asked to present the Suwannee County Story to this group of dedicated elected county officials in the hope that something of a constructive nature might be learned by relating the results of a determined effort on the part of the people of Suwannee County to better themselves economically.

To begin this story, I must tell you where our small but progressive county of approximately 17,000 people is located. We are 1 half way between the thriving and booming city of Jacksonville on our east and the capital city of Tallahassee on our west. Our town of Live Oak on U.S. 90 is our county seat. Our county derived its name from the historic old Suwannee River which has been made famous by Stephen Foster's immortal song. We are bound on three sides by this beautiful, meandering stream with its numerous clear, cool springs, and its tree laden banks. Years before civilization came to our county the banks of this river were favorite camping grounds of the Indians. They hunted and fished up and down the length of this river. Today arrowheads of long ago spent arrows can still be found in abundance along these same shores. This river's natural beauty is not surpassed by any stream in this country of ours. A boat ride down this paradise is never forgotten. You can almost hear and see the Indians of bygone days among the hardwood trees that abound on each side. Remnants of boats sunk during the Civil War can still be clearly seen lying on the bottom of some of the crystal-clear springs.

From a wilderness beginning Suwannee County was born in 1858. Settlers moved in, and by the sweat of their brow they began to clear and till the soil that provided them with a living. Sawmills played an important part in the economy of Suwannee County, beginning around the first of this century. Until a few years ago our little county limped along like so many other small, rural counties throughout America. Farmers produced crops and the merchants sold them supplies. Then things began to happen in our county and this is when the Suwannee County story I came to tell you began.

No county can grow and prosper unless leaders of the community and elected officials provide the leadership necessary to stimulate each and every individual into actively participating in all worthwhile endeavors. Once elected county officials and community leaders show a willingness to assume the responsibility of providing the initiative and incentive necessary to carry any farsighted program to a successful conclusion there are no bounds to what can be accomplished. Too often elected officials are willing to fulfill only the duties and responsibilities of the office to which they were elected. This is not right. They should be willing to participate fully in all worthwhile programs for the betterment of their community and county. A county will reflect the type of political leadership existing within its boundaries. Show me a county that is standing still, and I will show you elected officials that are sitting down. Show me a county that is on the move, making progress economically, culturally, and spiritually, and I will point with pride to elected officials that are going beyond the duties and responsibilities of their office in providing effective and sensible leadership to their taxpaying citizens.

The greatest crime an elected county official can commit against his fellow politicians and his constituents is to sit around and complain about the unrewarding and aggravating requirements of his office. He should be proud to have the opportunity to justify the trust and confidence his fellow Americans placed in him. I know all of us get tired of hearing politics referred to as something unbecoming and below the dignity of some of our citizens. Well, I for one, am proud to be a politician, even though it is in a small position in a small north Florida county. I defend the word "politics" every time I have the opportunity, and I hope each of you here today do too. We owe it to our cities, our counties, our Nation, and above all, to our young people to defend the sincere and dedicated public servants without whom there would be no United States of America. We should do everything in our power to rid ourselves of officeholders that cause all of us to be sometimes referred to as dirty politicians. I believe that the people of Suwannee County, Fla., hold their elected officials in the highest regard, and I am proud to be one of them.

We, in Suwannee County, urge our young people to participate in and become involved in local politics. Without local politics there would be no Suwannee County story.

There is no reason every county in the United States can't have a story of progress and accomplishments to tell the world. Too often the small, rural counties look to their big brother counties for leadership. We can show the way to our big brother counties if we will only put forth the effort in the typical red-blooded American way.

The progress Suwannee County has made during the past several years is the result of unprecedented effort, cooperation, enthusiasm, determination, application, and hard work on the part of people sincerely interested in providing a better way of life for each and every citizen of our county.

Such programs as the livestock promotion project that was initiated in 1963 and scheduled to last for 5 years are designed to create countywide participation, initiative, incentive, and economic benefits. It is a program in which every man, woman, and child in Suwannee County can participate. It is a program of the people, by the people, and for the people of Suwannee County. Specifically, its purpose is to increase the income from livestock from $5 million per year to $10 million per year within 5 years. Briefly, it works this way. Merchants and other interested persons have by voluntary means made $5,000 available per year for a period of 5 years to be used as prizes for those farmers making the most improvement in their livestock. No cash awards are made. The money is used to purchase prize livestock that is given to the winners. We have the land, the grass, the grain, and the people necessary to carry this program to a successful conclusion. This program is sponsored by the chamber of commerce.

There are over 1,000 people in our county actively working on and through committees set up by the steering committee of the rural areas development council. Among these people are bankers, clergymen, businessmen, farmers, housewives, and interested elected county officials. They are all working in close harmony with a determination that can only result in better community relations, a thriving economy, and pride of accomplishment. People working together for the purpose of providing a better way of life can usually forget their petty differences, their resentments, and their frustrations when they see the rewards made available to their partners in success. The people of Suwannee County are such partners.

We have found that programs designed for the participation of great numbers of people usually result in the greatest success.

A few years ago farmers in our county were encouraged to grow additional acres of corn, using the latest recommended applications of fertilizer and techniques in tilling and harvesting. Prizes were awarded to those farmers having the highest per-acre yields. This has resulted in yields as high as 100 bushels per acre and has Suwannee County in second place in the State as to number of acres planted in corn. This increased grain production paved the way for us to rank second in swine production in the State, and it goes hand in hand with our livestock promotion project. It is estimated this increase in corn production has added some $4 million to our economy. Such projects as this have resulted in huge storage bins being erected and employment of additional people to man these bins. Both privately owned and cooperatively owned facilities have come into being as a result of such constructive and beneficial programs.

Although our income from tobacco has leveled off to a probably permanent figure we are still proud of the fact that we are the largest Flue-cured tobacco producing county in our State. Our annual income from tobacco averages approximately $5 million, and due to acreage allotments and various other factors we do not expect this figure to increase substantially. This fact was one of the primary reasons efforts were made to make our economy a more diversified one. It was felt that we should take better advantage of our great potential and capitalize on our virtues which include good land, good transportation facilities, and good people dedicated to the cause of bettering the lot in life of every citizen in our county.

Meetings were called, committees comprised of every segment of our population were formed, individuals who had exhibited the ability to get things done were appointed to serve as chairmen. Those citizens, and among them were elected county officials, gladly accepted the responsibility of confronting and solving any problem that would hinder the growth and development of our county. By working closely with the farmowners, the chamber of commerce, the cattleman's association, civic clubs, and the capable personnel of the extension service, the story of Suwannee County began to grow. Our people began to gain recognition for outstanding achievements in community affairs. In 1962 and 1963 Suwannee County farmers won Florida's outstanding young farmer awards. They went on to win high honors in the national contests. Our county agent was named as one of the five outstanding young men in the State of Florida in 1963. Our FFA chapters and our 4-H clubs have consistently won high honors in county, State, and National contests. Cattle and swine breeders have won and are winning top prizes in shows and fairs. An agricultural coliseum, livestock building, and show rings have been built, and an air-

port and diagnostic animal laboratory will soon be under construction on land purchased for these purposes by the board of county commissioners.

The common practice in Suwanee County today is to closely examine any and all projects, dropping those that are not worthwhile, and putting forth every effort to carry those that are worthwhile to a satisfactory conclusion. All available sources of information, funds, and manpower are utilized to the fullest extent possible. People are encouraged to take part in programs that involve originality, perseverance, initiative, and hard work. These have and will continue to be the necessary ingredients that must be found in every American that takes pride in his family, his community, and his Nation. Our forefathers had them in abundance, and their efforts will not have been made in vain if we will put forth the effort to cultivate these virtues in the present generation and plant them firmly in all future generations. No crop can produce a harvest as worthy as that of our young people if we will only take the time to instill in them, pride of accomplishment. We, in Suwannee County, Fla., are trying to do this.

Only the first chapter in the Suwannee County story has been written. Many more pages will materialize as we begin to capitalize on our potential for industrial development. We have all the requirements necessary to encourage and promote the location of industries in our county. Particularly are we interested in industry that is closely related to our agricultural economy. We now have located in our county such industries as electrical power dams, creosoting plants, meatpacking plants, fertilizer plants, feed mills, a telephone corporation, dolomite plants, hard and soft lime rock plants, and various others that are thriving in our ideal industrial climate.

We feel that an economy that moves from lush, green pastures for livestock to factories with efficient men and machines can move only in one direction and that is full steam ahead.

The Suwannee County story is only a repetition of the American story. Our Nation was founded by men of vision, with an abiding faith in God to see them through any endeavor in which they put forth effort, determination, will and zeal worthy of his praise. All we in Suwannee County have done is to try to revitalize and reactivate the same virtues that were so successful for our forefathers in the founding of the greatest nation on earth, America.

In closing, let me say that I am proud to be an American, proud to be a politician, and I am proud to be a part of the Suwannee County story.

There is a story in your county. Be a part of it. Thank you.

Message of Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a pleasure for me to join with countless other Americans in extending to Mr. Herbert Hoover my warmest personal felicitations upon the recent celebration of his 90th birthday. Mr. Hoover remains for us all a symbol of that dedicated service and humanitarianism to which public officials should always aspire.

Democrats, as well as Republicans, have oftentimes repaired to the resourcefulness and vitality of Mr. Hoover, and have benefited from his counsel and from his myriad administrative talents and leadership. Beginning with his war relief work under the Wilson administration and continuing with his service in the Cabinet during the Harding and Coolidge administrations, Herbert Hoover etched an administrative career of such brilliance that it led to his public acclamation and eventual election as President of the United States with the greatest electoral plurality recorded up to that time.

The Hoover administration itself was highlighted by the implementation of many measures designed to strengthen America in every way—measures such as the Hoover Dam, the Farm and Home Loan Banks, the Agriculture Credit Corporation, and the Reconstruction Finance Company. President Hoover's public service career was not concluded with the conclusion of his administration, however. Called out of retirement, he served as coordinator of the European food program during the Truman administration and climaxed his post-Presidency endeavors by serving as chairman of the two Hoover Commissions responsible for saving billions of dollars of waste in the administrative Federal programs. The Hoover Report remains a classic affirmation of Mr. Hoover's constant efforts to provide the most effective government possible for all Americans. His entire life is a study in wisdom and prudence and faith in the abilities of the freeman.

Typical of the numerous acclamatory articles written on the occasion of Mr. Hoover's 90th birthday is the following editorial from a newspaper in the district which I represent, the Mount Morris Index:

Those who fear the future, harp on the imperfections of the American system, and predict the decline and destriction of civilization would do well to read the message of Herbert Hoover on his 90th birthday.

He did not dwell on the glories of the past although he certainly has played an important role in events of the last six decades. Neither did he join in the chorus of pessimism that sings dirges about the iniquities of the present or the hopelessness of the future.

Drawing upon his vast experience and abundant knowledge Hoover looked ahead with hope and optimism. To those who are fearful, critical and cynical he had these words:

"Our American form of civilization has been deluged with rising criticism from both home and abroad. Altogether, the critics say, we seem to be in a very, very bad way and engaged in our decline and fall.

"Criticism is no doubt good for the soul but we must beware that it does not upset our confidence in ourselves. So perhaps the time has come for Americans to take stock and to think something good about themselves."

Among the good things Hoover lists our constantly improving physical health and lengthening life span, vast gains in education and increasing interest in cultural pursuits.

He also noted that "we alone of all nations fought for freemen in two world wars and asked no indemnities, no acquisition of territory, no domination over other peoples." And he added: "We could point to a spirit of Christian compassion such as the world has never seen, and prove it by the tons of food and clothing and billions of dollars we have provided as gifts in saving hundreds of millions of people overseas from famine and many governments from collapse."

To those at home who demand that all problems be solved now the former President counseled: "Deeply as I feel the lag in certain areas which denies equal chance to our Negro population I cannot refrain from saying that our 19 million Negroes probably own more automobiles than all the 220 million Russians and the 200 million African Negroes put together."

Hoover takes sharp issue with those who doubt that our democratic form of government can meet the test of a fast-changing world by pointing out:

"My profession took me into many foreign lands under many kinds of government. I have worked with their great spiritual leaders and their great statesmen. I have seen freedom die and slavery arise. I have worked in governments of free men, of tyrannies, of Socialists, and of Communists.

"I have searched in these travels and sought to learn from books and the leaders of other nations—what it is that has given America this super-abundance. What is the key to it?

"The key, I am convinced, is that among us there is a greater freedom for the individual man and woman than in any other great nation. In the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights are enumerated the specific freedoms. Then there are a dozen other freedoms which are not a matter of specific law—such as freedom to choose our own callings, freedom to quit a job and seek another, freedom to buy or not to buy, freedom for each man to venture and to protect his success, always subject to the rights of his neighbor.

"In short, we have freedom of choice. And the product of our freedom is the stimulation of our energies, initiative, ingenuity, and creative facilities.

"Freedom is the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit and of human dignity. With the preservation of these moral and spiritual qualities and with God's grace will come further greatness for our country."

The words of this 90-year-old statesman also pour through the open window like sunlight to dispell the gloom and pessimism that have been all to prevelant in recent years.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

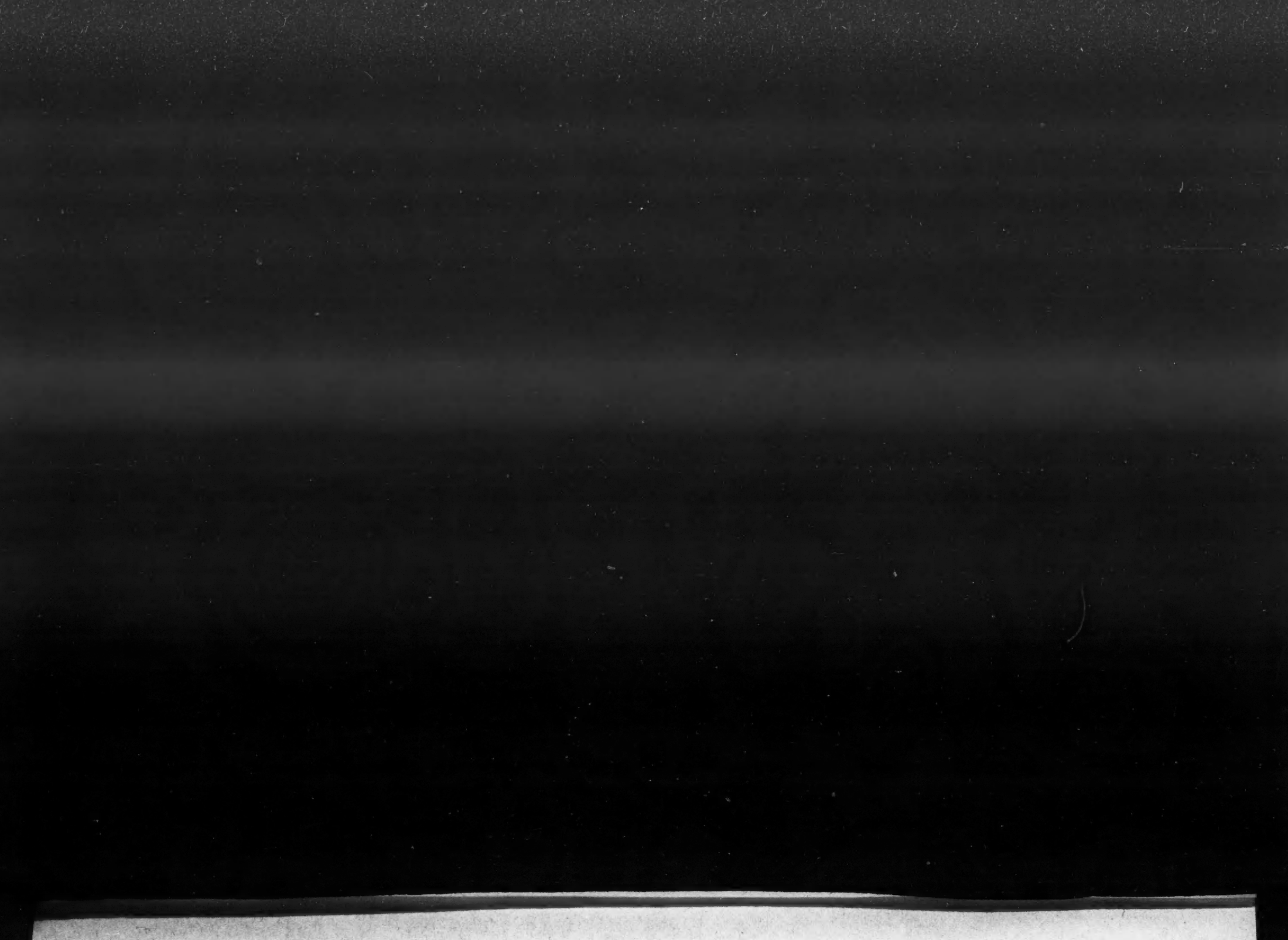

Appendix

Extremism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, in recent weeks a number of people have commented upon extremism and a number of articles have been written on the subject. One of the best which I have read was written by Father Joseph A. Hughes and published in the Duluth Register on Friday, August 14. The Duluth Register is the official newspaper of the Diocese of Duluth, Minn. I hope that all Members of the Senate will read this fine article by Father Hughes.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AS THINGS GO

WHAT ABOUT EXTREMISM?

The mail brought in some comments and questions on our observations regarding the debate on extremism. That was to be expected. And we are happy to clarify at least one phase of the debate.

A perceptive Register reader for example, wrote to us in this vein: "When we use the word 'extreme' is it necessary to put a bad meaning to it? Christ said: 'Love the Lord thy God with all your heart', etc. Again we read: 'Be ye perfect as * * *.' Is the extreme necessarily bad therefore?"

The above question may or may not be prompted by certain attempts at explaining in a favorable light the statement made by BARRY GOLDWATER that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." Associates of the Republican nominee were somewhat hard put to defend the Senator's endorsement of a questionable political mood. So they became involved in generalities which actually confused the issue further. One apologist explained, possibly with tongue in cheek, that it was something like his own saying that he hoped his wife loved him extremely.

Now in our opinion all of this attempted explanation is very much in the nature of a red herring. We must stick to the real meaning of the concept involved in this particular discussion.

The word "extremism" in this discussion must be taken not in its general meaning but in its specific meaning. It is here a technical phrase which must be judged in its historical and political context. To do anything else would be naive.

EXTREMISM AND FASCISM

Extremism in its current use is not a synonym for intensity. Its meaning cannot be captured by any one word. It is a mood and a movement. And the closest means of identifying it or elucidating at all, would be to describe the face and the heart of fascism, a totalitarian approach to spiritual, moral and political life.

Walter Dean Burnham, in a most revealing and ominous study of the Goldwater revolution, published in the August 7 issue of the Commonweal, pinpoints some of the ultimate meanings of the philosophy of extremism. This writer asks, as a starter: "Is GOLDWATER a Fascist or crypto-Fascist movement?"

To help answer the question Mr. Burnham explains that "fascism * * * is first and foremost a set of quasireligious beliefs and attitudes concerning man and his destiny, a set of beliefs which is molded into a totalist, exclusive model of the human world. In the spectrum of 20th century politics, it is to genuine conservatism what communism is to genuine liberalism."

For further short glimpses of the nature of current American political extremism we could borrow phrases from the Burnham article: "Fascism is * * * associated with the development of militia party structures which support the leader's rejection of the present and his directions regarding the flight from it * * * profoundly and necessarily anti-intellectual * * * philosophically a perversion of platonism, as spiritually it is a perversion of religion * * * in foreign affairs it tends to hate foreigners and to seek military solutions to international problems * * *. It is associated repeatedly with racism in one way or another."

Finally the Commonweal piece says the statement on extremism made in the acceptance speech at the Republican convention lays [GOLDWATER] "wide open to the charge that he gave carte blanche to the expansion of the John Birch Society and other groups into fighting arms of his campaign for election."

STAKES ARE HIGH

The above is a partial answer to the many queries that have been made and that will be made to our opening declaration of war against extremism. Our intense feelings on this subject has nothing to do with the genuine conservatism or traditional Republicanism. (Some of our best friends are Republicans).

The public statement on extremism was not an incidental or casual part of the Goldwater acceptance speech. It expressed a major part of the philosophy of many people in this country, in the Republican and Democratic Parties.

The mood of extremism will be at the heart of the coming national political campaign. The struggle will go beyond the traditional battlelines of national elections. The encounter will be largely on spiritual, moral, and philosophical grounds.

The coming election will possibly be unprecedented in American history. It will disrúpt both the Democratic and Republican Parties. There will be strange and new alinements. The final issue at the present is in doubt.

We do not equate GOLDWATER with Hitler. Personally he seems to be a decent and charming man. But the forces which have already captured the Republican Party and which will in large measure plan the Republican campaign will help to make this year in our Nation a time of deep decision similar to the time in recent German history when totalitarianism, militarism, racism were grasped as seeming solutions to the real and pressing problems of a great people.

The current debate on extremism is not just an idle and passing game of semantics. We are in a time of profound soul searching, of far-reaching philosophical choice, of breathtaking spiritual and moral determination. The definitions of the words used are not as important as the inner meaning of the movements engaged in a most decisive struggle.

If there was ever a time in this century that our people as a nation had to look honestly to the job of saving the American character and the American soul, this is it. God be with you always.

German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE R. POOL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I have recently introduced legislation authorizing proclamation of a national German-American Day to honor those citizens of German descent who have done so much in the development of America. In connection with this proposal, I would like to quote an editorial by William Ruggles, from the Dallas Morning News of July 22:

GERMAN DAY: NATIONAL DATE UP TO CONGRESS

(By William D. Ruggles)

North Texans of German extraction flocked to Dallas last year to help celebrate German Day, proclaimed for Texas by Gov. John Connally, locally by then Mayor Earle Cabell. Other Texas metropolitan centers held similar programs. Texas towns originally settled by pioneering Germans—Fredericksburg, Rosenberg, New Braunfels, Boerne, Industry, Sisterdale, Comfort, Muenster, and others—stressed the occasion.

In their cases an annual anniversary was revived from a practice kept up from early in the century until World War II. All of these cities are certain to commemorate German Day again in the neighborhood of Tuesday, October 6, the 281st anniversary of the founding in 1683 of the first German settlement in this country at what is now Germantown, Pa.

Several States—among them Pennsylvania and California—also celebrated German Day by gubernatorial proclamation last year. This year it is very likely that the occasion will be made national. Texas Congressman at Large, JOE POOL, of Dallas, introduced in the lower House July 2 this resolution, which has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary: *"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue annually a proclamation designating October 6 of each year as German-American Day in recognition of the faithful work and contribution of German-Americans in art, literature, science, education, and industry, and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities."

Governor Connally has personally asked members of the Texas delegation to join in the request. President Johnson, who as then Vice President, was prevented by circumstances from being an honor guest at the celebration here last year, will undoubtedly use his influence. His Johnson City home is in the center of one of the big areas of German heritage in Texas.

Actually there were Germans in America prior to the settlement at Germantown. There were a few in Virginia, others in New York and New England. But, of course, the heavy tide of immigration centered in the 19th century. However, the Nation owes a distinct debt to the Teutonic strain in Revolutionary days. A great figure who did more than any other man to train Washington's army was the Prussian, Baron von Steuben. In 1785 Pressia, under Frederick, was the first country to recognize officially the newly declared independence of the revolting Colonies. In the last 143 years, it is estimated that between 6 and 8 million Germans have emigrated to this country and that the blood strain is discernible in some 26 million today.

Many notable figures in the areas of government, business professions, the arts and culture have been first- or second-generation German-Americans as well as further along on descent. In spite of this country's having been engaged in two major wars with the Reich, German-Americans have given a notable demonstration of loyalty and service in arms to their adopted land.

As in the Nation, Germans made their imprint in Texas well before our independence. Baron de Bastrop, after whom the small town near Austin is named, landed with one group in New Orleans in 1821 and led many to Texas. A substantial settlement was made in what is now Austin County in 1831. And only 2 years after San Jacinto, Friedrich Ernst and Charles Fordtran founded Industry. In 1860, one-thirtieth of the Texas population was estimated as German.

Gershon Canaan, a Dallas citizen who represents the Federal German Republic as consul here, figures there are at least 15,000 German-American families in the Dallas area. Since taking over consular duties, he has made national celebration of German Day a special goal. He was the motivating figure in the 1963 celebration here and in Texas.

Incidentally, the Muchert Army Reserve Center, 10031 East Northwest Highway, was so designated in honor of Col. Jules Muchert, a first-generation immigrant to Dallas who devoted more than 40 years of his life to Texas National Guard service.

Which Party Is the "War Party"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting column written by Max Freedman, entitled "Which Party Is the 'War Party'?" which was published in the Washington Evening Star on August 17.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHICH PARTY IS THE "WAR PARTY"?
(By Max Freedman)

Senator GOLDWATER has said, "This Nation has gone to war only under one party, and that is not the party that I represent." This is not the same as accusing the Democrats of belonging to the war party, but it is perilously close to that despicable charge.

To remove all doubt, Senator GOLDWATER said the weakness and mistakes of Democratic administrations brought America into two World Wars, into the Korean war, and into the new phase of the war in Vietnam. Let us examine this charge in some detail.

Fifty years ago, at the start of the First World War, this country wanted to be isolated from Europe's agony. The United States had no power to prevent the outbreak of that struggle. At that time it counted for little in the war plans of the great powers. The country wanted to protect its rights at sea, avoid the bloodshed, and if possible, help to shorten the conflict by a process of mediation.

These aims were almost universal. They helped to reelect President Wilson in 1916. His Republican opponent, Charles Evans Hughes, shared Mr. Wilson's desire to stay out of the war. The voters, by a small margin, decided that Mr. Wilson rather than Mr. Hughes should be trusted with this task.

It should be remembered that only a small minority, at this stage, supported the demand of former President Theodore Roosevelt that America should join the war on the side of Britain and France. Most Americans, without regard to party, still preferred armed neutrality to participation in the war.

In April 1917 this country went to war because Germany's new policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, with its unlimited attacks on American shipping, seemed to offer the American people no choice.

Does Senator GOLDWATER now say that the Republican Party could have prevented Germany from applying that policy? Or does he argue that America should meekly have submitted to the submarine attacks and done nothing about them?

There has never been any evidence that Germany paid the slightest attention in shaping her own war plans to what Republican politicians were saying or doing. Moreover, it is a repulsive insult to Republicans to suggest that they would have been less eager than Democrats to protect American interests and American honor from German attack.

On analysis, the mysterious wisdom of the Republicans becomes as nonexistent as their cowardice. What is clear is that the Republicans in 1917, no less than the Democrats, could not have kept America out of the war without serious damage to its freedom and honor.

Senator GOLDWATER has chosen to rewrite history, and to convert a national tragedy into a partisan debate, to advance his personal political fortunes in an election campaign.

Before the Second World War, the outstanding Republican in Congress on all matters of foreign policy was Senator Borah. He denied that war was coming in Europe and insisted that he had better information than the State Department.

In 1940 President Roosevelt was able to win an extension of the draft in the House of Representatives by only one vote. Even those Americans who wanted to aid the Allies always insisted that they wanted all aid short of war.

Then came Pearl Harbor. Once again one must ask the question: Could the Republicans have prevented the attack or would they have done nothing about it? If this question answers itself, what right has Senator GOLDWATER, in logic or in honor, to cast slurs on the Democrats now?

When Mr. Acheson defined America's defensive perimeter in Asia in January 1950, he used exactly the terms used by Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Now the general was never a Democrat nor was he ever a favorite of the Democrats. Korea was excluded from General MacArthur's perimeter as from Mr. Acheson's.

A few weeks before the Communist attack, the House of Representatives, led by Republicans, slashed America's military commitment to South Korea—the real signal for the attack. Besides, Mr. Acheson had said that the United States would organize resistance through the United Nations against any aggression on a country outside America's own perimeter. This was the precise procedure followed in Korea.

There is a vast difference, however, before the two candidates on the war in Vietnam. Senator GOLDWATER has told us that he would call for victory in Vietnam and then would turn the war over to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to do whatever they wish to achieve that victory.

President Johnson will never give that responsibility to any Secretary of Defense or to any group of generals. Here is one issue where the voters have a choice, not an echo.

Farm Income and Political Demagogs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in this presidential election year, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of August 17, 1964, entitled "Farm Income and Political Demagogs," and ask that it be reprinted in its entirety in the RECORD:

FARM INCOME AND POLITICAL DEMAGOGS

The Department of Agriculture has disclosed that farmers this year will receive about $2.25 billion, or 17 percent of their net realized income, in direct Government payments. Both the amount of payment and the percentage are new records, and the payments may be as much as 25 percent above the $1.7 billion in payments farmers received in both 1963 and 1962.

Such payments are mostly for idling land to curtail surplus production, but they also include payments of so much per bushel to encourage participation in crop control programs, and payments for engaging in certain soil conservation practices. In 1960, the last year of the Eisenhower administration, direct Government payments totaled $693 million, or 5.9 percent of the $11.6 billion of net income that year.

It is interesting to note that the Johnson administration chooses to increase payments to farmers by 25 percent in a presidential election year. It is even more significant that 17 percent of net realized farm income now comes directly from the Government. This is in addition to the billions of dollars spent on other types of price-support activities, such as buying and storing crops to guarantee artificially high prices, distributing foods to schools and the needy, subsidizing exports, and shipping commodities abroad at cutrate prices or as outright gifts under the food for peace program.

Democratic campaigners no doubt will go into the rural areas hailing all this as an "achievement" and as an example of the administration's concern for the economic welfare of agriculture. Farmers, however, are not likely to be fooled. They know it is not healthy for such an important segment of the economy to be so dependent on the taxpayers' largess.

They are well aware, moreover, that what the Government can dispense this year it can

take away next year, or whenever a shift in the political winds dictates a change. Farmers already have lost considerable clout in Congress, and they are destined to lose more through reapportionment of congressional districts. As we have pointed out before, there are now about 300 Members of the House without a single major farm interest in their districts, compared with perhaps only 135 Members who can be classified as representing farm or rural interests.

The American farmer does not deserve to become a ward of the Government. Moreover, he does not want to be. And he is not likely to sell his vote to political demagogs who seek to make him one.

A Justifiable Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "A Justifiable Opposition" from the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item:

A JUSTIFIABLE OPPOSITION

If members of the Supreme Court believe they can ride roughshod over long-established procedures, they are overlooking the independent nature of some Congressmen.

The House bill, prepared by WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat, of Virginia, and hurled at unsuspecting supporters of the administration by Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, should give justices of the Supreme Court a good reason for pondering whether some of their recent decisions are not a usurpation of legislative authority.

The Supreme Court's recent ruling that State legislatures must be reapportioned on a so-called one-man, one-vote basis has not been accepted by all Members of the Congress as an edict that must be enforced.

Representative TUCK calls his bill "a simple measure." In fact, it is a simple bill because it contains only these two provisions:

1. The Supreme Court shall no longer have the right to consider State reapportionment cases that come before it from a Federal or State supreme court.

2. Federal district courts shall have no jurisdiction over any State reapportionment cases.

Truly, simple statements, but packing enough force to put the entire Congress in a dither and to create a highly uncertain state over all pending legislation.

Opposition to the one-man, one-vote ruling of the High Court is not confined to the House. Pending in the Senate is a proposal worked out by Republican Senate leader EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Senate Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, and the Justice Department.

It would permit States to hold off reapportionment until January 1966.

The Supreme Court's constitutional function, as established by the Founding Fathers, is the interpretation of laws. It should be made to understand that the drafting of legislation is the function of the Congress.

The thought will not register in the minds of the average American citizen that the Supreme Court is operating on a new plan. No longer is it solely performing its assigned function as the third branch of the Government. It should let the Congress make the laws and the executive branch enforce them.

Too much power has been taken from the people in recent years and lodged in the bureaucrats of the Federal Government. Representative TUCK's bill has been branded a "tough" one, but that is the type of reprimand which the people believe should be handed to the Supreme Court.

If the Supreme Court and the Federal courts are stripped of jurisdiction over State reapportionment cases, as the Tuck measure proposes, the High Court may be inclined hereafter to interpret rather than to make the laws of the land.

News Abroad but Not at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, an article comes to me that was published in the London Daily Express of Thursday, June 18, 1964.

The heading of this article is "Cabinet Split by Plan for a Deal With United States on Castro Trade 'Ban Buses' Shock." My reason for inserting this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is to give everyone an opportunity to read what is being published in the foreign press, but information that does not seem to be published in the press of the United States that is of great interest to the American people.

I think the article is very revealing—to say the least—and very informative.

The article follows:

CABINET SPLIT BY PLAN FOR A DEAL WITH UNITED STATES ON CASTRO TRADE "BAN BUSES" SHOCK

(By Chapman Pincher)

An agreement not to sell any more buses to Cuba, in return for American support for Britain's right to remain in Aden, is being considered by the Government.

The Cabinet has been told that President Johnson considers it vital he should be able to announce before the presidential election that Britain has joined the economic blockade against Castro.

Americans strongly resent Britain's position, and Mr. Johnson feels he needs a diplomatic victory to offset his Vietnam failure.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home—who only last month reaffirmed in the Commons that he "resisted" Washington pressure over Cuba—is now anxious to help the President following the unexpected success of Republican rightwing Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in the preliminaries to November's election.

PRESSURE

But with the British general election also coming up the Prime Minister by prohibiting the sale of buses from the Leyland Co.—nearly 1,000 worth £9 million are being negotiated with Castro—would face a serious political setback unless he could secure a more valuable concession in return.

The Americans—who now favor Nasser, believing him to be the best safeguard against communism in the Middle East—could exert economic pressure on him to tone down his anti-British campaign in Aden.

Such a deal between Britain and the United States would generate bitter opposition from industry.

For it would end the prospect of Cuban orders for electrical equipment diesel engines, locomotives and other machinery, as well as preventing the sale of more buses by Leyland—even though the firm has said the order represents only a small part of its production.

The deal would also the fiercely attacked by the Socialists.

DIVISION

Though political denials of such a sentitive proposal are inevitable, secret discussions have gone far enough to divide the Cabinet.

Sir Alec and Foreign Secretary Mr. R. A. Butler are in favor of placing President Johnson in support of the Anglo-American alliance.

Colonial Secretary Mr. Duncan Sandys and Defense Minister, Mr. Peter Thorneycroft agree with them, in the interests of holding the military base in Aden which they consider vital to British influence in the Middle East.

Chancellor Mr. Reginald Maudling and Trade Minister Mr. Edward Heath oppose the deal because of the importance of exports.

Lord Blakenham, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and a few others oppose because they consider it too dangerous to the Tories' election chances.

INDONESIA

Meanwhile the Goverment is confronted with the £1 million order won by Vauxhall Motors, of Luton, to supply 756 trucks and 250 bus chassis to Indonesia.

A company spokesman, commenting yesterday on the possibility of the deal being banned by the Government, said:

"Although the contract is a large and important one it is not vital to the country's prosperity. The factory is extremely busy even without this order and all indications are that it will remain so."

No formal application for Government credit to back the deal will be made until next week.

And Vauxhall said: "We will not even make the application if the Government indicates beforehand that it could not provide credit cover."

(FOOTNOTE.—A Board of Trade official said last night: "There is a list of strategic goods which must not be exported but buses are not on it at present." This list applies to Cuba as well as Indonesia.)

Tribute to Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the news of the passing of our esteemed colleague and friend, Hon. JOHN B. BENNETT, the gentleman from Michigan, has saddened the Members of this House. I desire to join with my colleagues and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to his memory.

Congressman BENNETT had a career of notable service as a Member of this body extending over more than 20 years. He was the dean of the Michigan congressional delegation and the ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He was a skilled and effective legislator, and a gentleman of integrity and char-

acter who served his district, his State, and the Nation honorably and well.

I knew JOHN BENNETT as a warm and considerate friend, and as a man of independent views and strong convictions. He always voted as his judgment and conscience dictated, and with a thorough understanding of the issues. Unyielding in his devotion to high principles, JOHN BENNETT fought consistently and vigorously to maintain standards of integrity in our Government.

He was a great American and he will be missed greatly.

I extend to Mrs. Bennett and to other members of his family an expression of my deepest sympathy in their loss and bereavement.

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, certainly the question of reapportionment of State senates in States such as California, which have a bicameral system and their legislatures patterned after the Federal system, is very timely in view of the discussions which are being held both here in the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate.

A short time ago I testified before the House Judiciary Committee in support of a constitutional amendment of which I am coauthor. At that time I submitted for the RECORD a fine statement by a former colleague in the California State Senate and a very good friend, Dr. Stephen P. Teale, who is a highly respected senator representing Calaveras, Mariposa, and Tuolumne Counties. I would like to have inserted at this point the statement of Dr. Teale, because I believe that this is indicative of the feeling of a great majority of the people of California on this important issue:

The recent Supreme Court declamation on legislative apportionment is viewed with alarm by nearly all of the members of both houses of the California Legislature. Throughout the past 100 years, this State has had several plans of legislative apportionment. Prior to 1927, both houses were apportioned roughly on a population basis.

Gross dissatisfaction by the general public at that time resulted in adoption of the present so-called Federal plan, which uses a different basis for apportionment of each house of our bicameral legislature; the senate representing area and the assembly representing population.

California has long recognized that it takes many factors to make a prosperous and smoothly operating unit of government. This applies particularly to a State of the size and diversity of California. Population per se is not sufficient to accomplish this. Rather, massive population centers come as a result of the presence of other factors such as climate, agricultural development, raw material resources such as water, minerals, timber, and range land, and their proper development and management. The inanimate factors may exist without population, but the reverse is not true. Population must have available to it, either within a State or immediately adjacent to it, these other resources.

California, early in its history, found that in order to assure proper legislative management and protection of both its human and inanimate resources, a bicameral type of legislature with each house representing a different interest was necessary. Such has been the situation since 1927.

The proof that such a system has been effective and continues to be desirable lies in the mere history of our development in the past 40 years. California has become a leading State, not only in population, but also in gross productivity. We have developed outstanding systems of transportation of both people and natural resources, particularly water; we have made outstanding progress in the problems of urbanization, smog control, in the fields of public health, welfare, rehabilitation of criminals, and management of our depletable natural resources.

Experience has shown that neither house of our legislature has been able to develop legislation singly which preserves the proper balance between the human needs and the management requirements of area use, but that compromise of opposing views has been successful.

Legislative activity of the type recently indulged in by the Supreme Court poses a threat not only to the orderly development of our individual States, but also the democratic prerogatives of the people themselves; and could subject consideration of the various values within a political entity to the absolute control of a vocal minority within the vast population centers.

In summary, I would make the following points:

(1) Human values are dependent upon proper development and management of material resources.

(2) In legislative determination, representation of both human values and inanimate resources by bicameral legislatures has proven effective and successful.

(3) Destruction of this type of legislature by judicial legislation will prove disastrous to State governments who must manage widely divergent interests.

(4) Ultimate application of these theories of the Supreme Court could apply to our national structure and could result in disastrous confusion at that level.

I urge this committee to expedite legislation which will curtail the Court's power in the field of legislative apportionment to the extent that States with bicameral legislatures may determine the makeup of at least one house of that legislature.

Senator Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. RICHARD T. HANNA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, CLAIR ENGLE, Senator from California and my friend, is gone. His passing has emphasized in my mind the firm conviction that the flavor a living person gives to life while he lives it continues in the mind and memory of those who knew him. The spice CLAIR gave to life had zest and rarity and was well worth long memory.

His wit was sharp, his manner gay, yet he had, too, the qualities of firmness and tenacity. It followed that his company elicited delight and his work commanded respect. His lively and vibrant participation in the action of politics obscured, for some, the often deep and penetrating considerations he gave for the necessity and purpose behind that action. He was pungent and pragmatic in doing the attainable; but he was also persistent and philosophical in pursuing the desirable. Senator ENGLE found pleasure in his duties and honor in his calling.

There was much of the good and a touch of the great in CLAIR ENGLE. Tragedy struck a second time for the Nation and the Democratic Party. Within a year we lost another great public servant who, by ordinary expectations still had long to live and much to give. Mr. Speaker, I shall miss CLAIR as a friend and mourn him as an effective legislator for the State he loved, California. I join with my colleagues in extending sympathy to his wife, son, and to others of his immediate family.

Industrial Fund Campaign in 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader, the Evening News of August 13, 1964:

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS AGAIN: INDUSTRIAL FUND CAMPAIGN IN 1965

The disclosure of the Industrial Development Committee of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce that a drive for funds to finance the construction of plants in the area is stimulating and challenging news. This is the first appeal since 1961 when the quota of $1,500,000 was exceeded in an unexcelled demonstration of community teamwork and solidarity.

As a result of the success of the 1961 campaign, 23 companies, providing 2,650 jobs directly and other employment in auxiliary services, were located here in the rehabilitation program that has given the city and its suburbs a new lease on life since the collapse of anthracite, eliminating hard coal as the foundation of the local economy. Mining is still a contributing factor, but it no longer dominates the scene.

Industrial development was inaugurated on a modest scale in the late 1930's as production and employment in the mines declined. The initial efforts were limited to a small number of businessmen and civic-minded individuals who saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to do something about it.

In 1949, the industrial fund corporations, affiliates of the chamber, were organized and the program entered a new phase. Between 1949 and 1958, a total of $2,088,000 was raised through outright gifts in appeals, limited to 1,400 prospects.

These far-sighted boosters succeeded in launching 30 companies with some 8,000 employes by providing sites and buildings. The initial investment of $2 million eventually had a value of $9,375,000. Until the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority came into existence, local banks carried the load. With the advent of the PIDA, it par-

ticipated to the extent of 30 percent, with the banks putting up 50 percent and the public 20 percent. Incidentally, no bonds ever were issued here.

In 1961, a new approach was made with the community itself fully participating for the first time. The response was overwhelming, the campaign going over the top with capital, labor, and the public marching side by side to victory.

This effort paved the way for the 1965 appeal and others that may follow, depending, of course, on developments. The public never has had a greater return on its money. Without the funds contributed in 1961 and in preceding appeals, the Greater Wilkes-Barre we know today would not be in existence. We owe everything we are to the rehabilitation program, sometimes known as Operation Jobs, under the leadership of the Greater Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce.

Next year, we have an opportunity to duplicate the success of 1961 and its predecessors and exceed them, if possible. With a second industrial park in the making on Route 115 near the Northeastern Turnpike interchange and other development in mind, the greater the amount of money made available the better the results will be. Let's go.

Cuban Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my distinguished colleagues a significant letter which was sent recently to Secretary of State Dean Rusk by a prominent U.S. industrialist. The positive, forward-looking principles stated by John H. Mathis, president of the Lone Star Cement Corp., in his letter congratulating the Secretary for his "prompt, vigorous, and forthright response to the Castro regime's overtures for talks without preconditions" expresses views with which I fully concur.

I believe that Mr. Mathis is absolutely correct in saying that "the American people have consistently supported the utmost firmness in our Cuban policy." I believe that he is absolutely correct also in his pointed references to international lawlessness with respect to "the flagrant and insolent 'dumping' of foreign goods in this country at illegal prices." As he so incisively summed up the situation:

> Only when there is a solid basis of law in international commerce can we make any important progress in the expansion of desirable foreign trade.

Four months ago I was the sponsor of a bill designed to provide additional statutory guidelines needed to clearly define "dumping" and "injury," to tighten existing loopholes and to assure fairer, more effective procedures in connection with the operation of the U.S. antidumping statute. It is from such a vantage point that I found Mr. Mathis' comments of particular interest.

In endorsing his sentiments, I am confident that I am reflecting the views shared by a number of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle—more than 50 of whom have introduced bills with identical provisions during this session of the Congress.

The surge of interest and concern about dumping has been evident over the past several years. For example, during the first session of this Congress, 50 Members of the House of Representatives introduced a predecessor bill. Moreover, the antidumping amendment now awaiting hearings by the Committee on Ways and Means has received not only extensive bipartisan congressional support; it has been endorsed by a broad cross section of American industry and labor.

It is now clear that the proposed legislation to provide constructive, responsible, and meaningful relief against injurious dumping cannot receive adequate consideration by the Committee on Ways and Means in the remaining days of this session. It is equally clear, in my judgment, that remedial action in this vital area of our foreign trade policy must be accorded a high priority among the unfinished business of this body. I shall press with earnestness and conviction for early hearings and enactment of sound and workable antidumping legislation in the 89th Congress.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the significant letter of Mr. John Mathis on the subjects of effectively combating international lawlessness and the compelling need to curb dumping. His observations underscore the importance of helping to insure the healthy expansion of legitimate foreign trade.

The letter follows:

LONE STAR CEMENT CORP.,
New York, N.Y., July 30, 1964.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I want you to know that I fully concur in and heartily congratulate you on your prompt, vigorous, and forthright response to the Castro regime's overtures for "talks without preconditions." I know I am far from alone in this, for the American people have consistently supported the utmost firmness in our Cuban policy. And speaking for our South American subsidiary companies, I wish you the utmost success in your delicate diplomatic efforts with the OAS.

As a matter of fact, and speaking now for our 25,000 shareholders and those of other corporations whose Cuban assets have been seized by the revolutionists, I feel strongly that our own preconditions are unjustly modest. As I understand it, we demand only that Soviet troops be withdrawn. It seems equally important, as a condition to any meaningful international discussion, that there be prompt and adequate compensation for private properties which the revolutionary government has seized. There is certainly no point in man-to-man discussions with unreconstructed thieves, murderers, and subversionists.

I might add that this view of international lawlessness is quite consistent with my expressed views on a related subject—the flagrant and insolent dumping of foreign goods in this country at illegal prices. This is clearly against our laws, against the intent of Congress, and against the interests of domestic capital and labor alike. It should not be a subject of discussion, negotiation, or administrative judgment. As you said of the Castro regime's attempts to export revolution, this activity is not a subject for bargaining. It must stop.

It seems to me that only when there is a solid basis of law in international commerce can we make any important progress in the expansion of desirable foreign trade.

I am taking the liberty of expressing these opinions also, through copies of this letter to the President, to his special trade representative, and to our congressional Representatives.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN H. MATHIS.

The Late Senator Clair Engle

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, a cherished friend and a distinguished former colleague has departed from our midst with the passing of Senator CLAIR ENGLE, of California.

He personified the best qualities of his great State of California.

He was an able legislator, and won the admiration of his colleagues and friends during his years of service in the House.

He inspired continuing pride and respect among his former colleagues in the House as we observed his achievements and his progress as a distinguished Member of the Senate.

I knew CLAIR ENGLE as an esteemed colleague, a delightful companion, a faithful and considerate friend, and a truly gallant gentleman.

We became friends in the 80th Congress when I was a freshman Congressman and CLAIR ENGLE was a veteran of 4 years service in this body. One of the outstanding younger Members of the House, he was chosen assistant Democratic whip in that Congress. He continued to serve in this responsible post through the 84th Congress.

CLAIR ENGLE'S exceptional gifts of character, mind, and ability brought him steadily increasing recognition. He was a progressive in the famous tradition of his expansive American West. As a key member and eventually chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, he was the right man in the right place. With his election to the Senate in 1958, he continued his vigorous and resourceful fight for reclamation and conservation and for other progressive and humanitarian causes.

His record of dedicated service to his district, his State, and the Nation assures that he will long be remembered as a great American who gave his best in the service of his country.

We are all saddened at his death, and we shall miss him greatly. My wife and I join in expressing our sorrow and deepest sympathy to his lovely wife and other members of his family in their loss and bereavement.

A Critical Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, a weekly newspaper, in the 17th Congressional District, known as Park East has received wide recognition for the intelligent and constructive nature of its editorials. The editor, Mr. Morton Lawrence, has received mail from all parts of the city of New York congratulating him on the fairness and astuteness of his editorial policy.

On July 23, Park East included an editorial on the subject of racial rioting in the streets of Manhattan. Many people commented favorably about this editorial. I think that it deserves wide attention and I am therefore placing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that my colleagues in the Congress will take note of it.

The editorial follows:

A CRITICAL TIME

Only a saintly optimist can have any doubts that the issue of civil rights and the minority groups' aspirations for equality of opportunity will not play a major part in the forthcoming political campaign; a few politicians we know of have been frank in stating their hope of being the beneficiary of a white "backlash."

Therefore, the unfortunate incident, involving the shooting of a Wagner Junior High School student last week, and the subsequent riots, assumes much greater significance.

In regard to what happened at the school, we are of two minds. We have, in the past, objected strongly to the indiscriminate charges of police brutality when the officer sought to defend himself or preserve the peace from knife- or gun-wielding delinquents. On the other hand, we wonder if some members of the police force are not too prone to shoot from the hip, when such drastic action is not absolutely necessary. The authority to take a human life is an awesome responsibility. We, therefore, await Commissioner Murphy's promised thorough investigation of the incident.

What is more disturbing is the growing chasm between the white and black peoples in our city. We are not surprised at the statements and actions of small numbers of extremists in both camps; there are neurotics and bigots in every segment of our pluralistic society. It is the growing bitterness on the part of the vast middle groups that causes dismay and alarm.

Throughout the history of this and other countries, the struggle of the haves and the have-nots has had its bitter moments. Right in the Park East community were the draft riots of 1863, when newly arrived Irish immigrants rioted because they felt they were being exploited by the white Protestant majority.

Now, 100 years later, another newly emerging minority also seems to be "moving too fast" for the established majority—and bloodshed and ill will mark this conflict.

Perhaps one must, of necessity, be a Negro to fully understand the emotional reaction to having persons of the same race killed and their houses of worship burned in the South, and being the object of derision and resentment in the North.

What would be the reaction, for example, of a mild-mannered person of German extraction were he to know that in many areas of this country persons were being denied their rights solely because they were German, and that German-Americans were being referred to by derogatory names even in this city.

For German, substitute Catholic, Jew, Irishman, Italian, Slav, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, or what will you, and try, if you can, to imagine your own reaction.

On the other hand, there are many white persons to whom fear of the black man has become a real matter for concern—fear of physical violence, fear of job competition, fear of the unknown, and occasionally the imaginary.

All of us who are white can consider the ravings of a Governor Wallace, and the violence of the Mississippi know-nothings as the action of a few extremists, whose words and deeds should not be held against the vast majority of the white people. However, we tend to condemn the extremist actions of a small minority of Negroes as bespeaking the thoughts and beliefs of the entire race.

As a result, resentment begets resentment, violence begets violence, and all of us, black and white, begin to look upon the other group as potential antagonists.

Unfortunately, so many of us in the white community regard the violence, the delinquency, and the crime on the part of the members of minority groups as a cultural or racial characteristic rather than as a result of ignorance, poverty, and all the other ills that are peculiar to those on the bottom of the ladder.

Again, a glance into the history of New York will show us that to those living on the lower East Side, the roving gangs of newly immigrated Italians with their feuds, crimes, and killings, were considered as natural actions of a "hot-blooded race," rather than that of a small minority of the descendants of Dante and Michelangelo. To those who lived near the West Side's "Hell's Kitchen," the Irish gangs of that era were thought of as symptomatic of their members' national origin and perhaps of their religion, rather than of the same ignorance and poverty that characterize every newly emerging minority.

All of us deplore the extremist tactics and words of many Negro leaders, but we should not let that emotional resentment obscure our rational thinking. We may privately and publicly denounce a World's Fair sitdown, but that should not in any way be a reason to deny the Negro his rights as an American citizen.

All religious and nationality groups have managed to live or work together in the Park East community with a minimum of friction. There is no reason why this should not extend to every race as well.

Park East is essentially a white community. Before we allow ourselves to give way to bigotry, let each of us say to himself, "There but for the grace of God go I."

The Middle Ground of a Midwest Republican

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, as one who has pleaded the cause of moderation in political thought and action for some time, I was especially pleased to read the position paper of CONGRESSMAN ROBERT TAFT, JR., "The Middle Ground of a Midwest Republican," which appears in the August 22 issue of the Saturday Review of Literature.

Congressman TAFT'S scholarly defense of the moderate approach in the "perpetuation and preservation of responsible individualism" provides guidelines for the role of government in meeting the complex problems of the day.

As a Midwest Republican who believes that the middle ground provides the proper climate for the calm wisdom which must prevail in this age when an unthinking decision can—literally—mean the end of all life on earth, I find this treatise by our distinguished colleague, CONGRESSMAN TAFT, all the more valuable in spelling out the proper course for now and the future.

In bringing these remarks to the attention of my colleagues, I am prompted to pay tribute to the able legislator from Ohio whose credentials are considerable as the son of "Mr. Republican," the late Robert Taft, who served in the U.S. Senate from 1939 to 1953, and as the grandson of William Howard Taft who was President of the United States from 1909 to 1913. In perpetuation of the Taft leadership in national politics, ROBERT TAFT, Jr., is presently Congressman at Large from Ohio and is a candidate for the U.S. Senate. His election in November will return the Taft influence to the U.S. Senate and give the body another moderate voice to consider issues of the day with the calm wisdom which is so necessary.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I place the article by Congressman ROBERT TAFT, of Ohio, "The Middle Ground of a Midwest Republican," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE MIDDLE GROUND OF A MIDWEST REPUBLICAN

(By ROBERT TAFT, JR.)

The stampede of American political thought toward the poles of "conservatism" on the one hand and "liberalism" on the other must be halted. Rigidity at both ends of the spectrum has become a refuge for lazy minds and volatile emotions. It bars new approaches and stifles new ideas; it ignores time-taught truths. As a result, it fails to answer the questions raised by dynamic changes in human relationships.

Both the liberal tradition of applying untried concepts and the conservative tradition of relying on established tenets are essential to the continued progress—and even survival—of Western civilization. Simply pitting one against the other is a futile endeavor. Instead, the real challenge comes in making our society, founded and built with the individual as its chief concern, better able to cope with the personal, political, and philosophical problems we all must face.

Throughout our history, we Americans have taken great pride in our individualism. Necessarily, this national characteristic was rugged in nature in the early days of the Republic. Pioneers struggling to develop a new land more often than not had only themselves to rely upon and be concerned about.

But as villages grew into cities and cities into metropolises, we built a society that changed the posture of our individualism.

American Government, as originally conceived, was dedicated to promoting the general welfare of all citizens at all times. It laid the foundation of equal opportunity upon which we all might build as individuals seeking success, satisfaction, and security. Thus did we acquire the national trait of responsible individualism, in which the freedom of each man is guaranteed through the freedom of all men.

As our Nation prospered, though, the importance of the individual seemed to wane. We became a "big" society, with "big" business, "big" labor, "big" government. Human values slowly but steadily were supplanted by material values. Property rather than person was placed on the pedestal of pride. As our society grew bigger and our values became more material, expressed and implied controls became an impediment to the exercise of individualism.

Today the world is divided over the proposition that a system based upon a minimum of external authority over each individual, consistent with the freedom of others from such authority, is indeed feasible and desirable. I believe deeply that it is both.

It is oversimplification to say that the United States, the Western World, and their institutions are wholly on one side or the other in this contest. Many political developments and policies in the so-called liberal sphere of American life today move toward authoritarianism and away from individualism. The same can be said for the announced objectives and methods of certain "conservative" groups.

If we are to make progress in restoring responsible individualism to its historic position in America, lipservice will not suffice. There must be a renaissance of applied ethical precepts that are its integral and essential parts. If they are to be reestablished and reinforced, each person must accept accountability for the freedom of all others. In this spirit, we can adopt a responsible approach to the problems that threaten the constituent parts of freedom.

These precepts must win ready and continued acceptance in the minds of most, if not all, of our citizens. They must become dominant once more, not only in the actions of our political leaders but in the affairs of our educational, business, professional, and religious leaders. And this must take place not only in our public life as a nation but in all segments of private society as well.

Most vital to an individualistic society is the precept of free expression, one that has been nurtured slowly in Anglo-American history. It is threatened today in several ways.

The mere size and power of our institutions pose serious danger. Perhaps this concentration of influence is made necessary by the economics of our times. But these institutions—business and industry, organized labor, modern agriculture, growing government—have burgeoned so as to cast a huge shadow over freedom of expression—and with the exercise of only a fraction of their power potential. Their economic impact upon the American way of life is so great that even their implied interest is sufficient to influence the course of public and private events. This influence is easily detected in positions taken by certain public opinion journals.

Government, acting diligently but with discretion, can prevent excessive concentration of influence. Reasonable enforcement of antitrust laws, for instance, keeps the size of individual economic units consistent with the size of the industry as a whole. In this way, a monopoly of power is avoided and the vital interplay of varied interests in our private enterprise system is preserved.

Technological advance has created a different kind of danger. It is implied in the need for licensing limitations on the number of radio and television stations. Hopefully, this governmental prerogative has not been misused. But the temptation and danger inherent in it are ever present. The need for and size of worldwide news services and national publications present a similar potential for control of information upon which public and private conduct is based. This danger is particularly acute in the case of the rewrite man, who can infringe on individual freedom even when the original reporting is responsible. Only a vigilant and vocal citizenry can provide adequate protection against the potential misuse of vast powers of influence possessed by public information media.

Equally important is a public demand for full disclosure of essential facts for public scrutiny. All too often, military and diplomatic excuses tend to cover up bungling or failure. The American public is entitled to decide its own fate, and essential to this process of freedom is open and candid presentation of the pertinent facts, within the bounds of national security. Frequently the complexity of issues causes citizens to accept pat answers willingly. Responsible individualism demands their rejection.

Preservation of free thought must be accompanied by a renewed tolerance of nonconformity. Historically, the use of instinctive imagination and initiative has enabled us to escape from established problem patterns and find adequate solutions. Hesitation enveloped in the fear of public rebuke inhibits the discovery of new ways and deprives all of us of the products of our native inguenity.

Formal and informal education, primarily, carry the responsibility for preserving thought and tolerance. And education can best be kept strong and stimulating by encouraging its decentralization through local direction, local financing, and local control. Special Federal programs and financing and the increasing growth of public colleges and universities, as compared to private institutions, point up the possible danger in our present course.

Our acceptance of the principle of equality of opportunity, so basic to responsible individualism, implies underlying governmental responsibility for primary and secondary education. From this belief came our public school system. But local control and support—plus the competition of private institutions—have promoted freedom of thought and variance of views.

The trend toward uniform standards and methods, urged by education associations and backed by Federal money, has been evidenced in passage of the National Defense Education Act and other Federal and State support programs. True, they can be justified when they are necessary to provide a proper minimum level or as pilot programs. But the shift of basic support—and with it, inevitably, the shift of control—from the local community to another level of Government creates a potential for conformity of thought that is foreign to our historic practices. It should be avoided.

Through modification of our tax systems, we should be inventive enough to enable local communities to care for all but emergency and extraordinary needs. We have moved in the opposite direction, unfortunately, and responsible individualism compels us to reverse the trend. Use of tax credits and deductions and a reversal of Federal preemption of local tax sources can restore the proper perspective.

At levels beyond or after the secondary education level, the risk of thought control decreases but does not disappear. The billions of Federal dollars spent on research programs could be so tempting as to encourage prejudicial channeling of these university-based activities. Adult education, vocational training, and manpower retraining programs contain less danger since basic control rests at the State level. Requirements for State—and, where appropriate, local—participation in the financing affords similar safeguards against external domination.

An essential tenet of individual freedom, fundamental to our way of life since prerevolutionary days, has been that the taxing power of Government is to be used only for areas of proper governmental concern. The drastic increase in extraordinary demands by the Federal Government for funds since 1932, as much as any other single factor, has interfered with the individual freedoms of Americans. It has deprived them, as individuals, of the right to determine the ultimate use of those resources taken from them in the form of taxes. Instead, the use of these funds has come to be bureaucratically directed. Where the uses are proper ones—national security or to insure basic safety or to provide a minimum of well-being for those unable to make their own way—few of us would gainsay them. But some aspects of Federal action today raise deep doubts as to their justification.

There is no reason to catalog them here. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is replete with specific citations. A recent and flagrant example was the payment of over $24 million in public money to many privately owned—and, in many cases, quite profitable—textile manufacturers under the new cotton purchase subsidy program. One large and affluent company received over $700,000 of taxpayers' money during a 2-month period. This money, paid to encourage the purchase and use of higher priced American-produced cotton, can be used nevertheless for any company purpose, including the payment of dividends.

Innumerable other examples, such as Federal subsidization of electric power generation and transmission facilities in competition with private efforts, can be cited. Regardless of the merits of the particular programs involved, their financing deprives taxpaying citizens generally of the benefits reaped through the outlay of public money. Much too frequently, these activities constitute an interference with individual and local choice.

The reluctance of the current administration to give prompt and serious attention to the medical care proposal submitted by Congressman FRANK BOW, of Ohio, serves as a vivid illustration of the regrettable tendency to rely on paternalistic government. The administration's measure would attach the medical care program to the social security system and thereby increase the possibility that the financing cracks now evident in the system might soon become irreparable fissures. The Bow bill, on the other hand, would extend tax credits to those who pay taxes to enable them to purchase private health insurance of their own choice and fitted to their own individual specifications. For nontaxpayers, Government funds would be used (within limits) to purchase adequate health care coverage through private sources.

Despite the fact that the Bow plan is more extensive and less costly than that offered by the administration, it has been virtually ignored by administration policymakers and members of the congressional majority. They apparently prefer to enlarge an already too large Federal Establishment in order to impose uninform coverage standards on each individual, no matter what his particular preference or need. In so doing, they strike at the very fiber of responsible individualism.

The principle of equal economic opportunity is inherent in the concept of responsible individualism. As much as anything else, this is what the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is all about. In recent years, unfortunately, resistance to the acceptance of this concept seems to have grown stronger rather than weaker. Denial of opportunity—by practice, local law, and even Federal regulation—necessitated Federal concern. At this point,

the denial of such equal opportunity to American Negroes is a denial of the validity of the concept involved and is wholly antipathetic to this essential element of responsible individualism.

The same principle applies to young men and women who aspire to a better life but lack the job skills necessary to achieve it, to older people who are frustrated by arbitrarily imposed retirement requirements, to experienced workers who are displaced by automated machinery, to impoverished families who are denied the essentials of living by the harsh economics of the day. In each instance, our historic responsible individualism makes it mandatory that we use the forces and funds of public and private interests to insure all those who harbor honorable ambitions an equal opportunity to fulfill them.

One of the most perplexing problems our country now faces is that of a decline in public respect for and support of observance of law and order. It is as great a threat to individual liberty as any that now exists. Related to the race relations problem, it is by no means limited to it.

There can be no freedom for any individual without some definition of the rights of each. Violations of those rights must be prohibited and prosecuted. One need only examine the increased crime rate, the increase in juvenile delinquency, and the increase in nonsupport cases to realize the major proportions of the problem. Its remedy cannot and must not come, chiefly through establishment of a national police system. It must come through better local understanding and impartial enforcement of law and order. Even more importantly, it must come through the cultivation of public attitudes that we seem to be losing.

At a time when the philosophical and practical conflict of human rights and property rights has provoked bitter protest, the need for fair but firm enforcement of law and order is crucial. The right to seek redress of wrongs through public petition is recognized and respected, but its distortion and abuse cannot be tolerated. Utter disregard for individual rights—whether human or property—only perpetuates bitterness and bigotry and makes the day of full human understanding and compatibility that much more remote.

As individuals, we are obliged to protect not only our own freedoms but those of others as well. This can be accomplished only through complete respect for and compliance with the laws of the land and the community. Disobedience, on either side, merely breeds disorder.

These precepts—freedom of expression, freedom of thought, freedom from excessive government, freedom of opportunity, and respect for law and order—are not offered as the only ethical principles necessary and vital to the continued enjoyment of an unfettered life.

But as familiar an invocation as they might be, they are our best guide toward the preservation and perpetuation of responsible individualism in American society.

Carl Elliott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, I join with others in tribute to our colleague, CARL ELLIOTT, of Alabama. I have known him intimately since he first came to the Congress. He is the kind of person who is the same every day as he is in his church—a dedicated soul who has done much for this constituency and for his country.

I regret deeply that the people of Alabama did not return him to the Congress. After he has left this earth, his name will be written in the history of his country in many ways, especially in the field of education.

He is a brave man and takes his defeat with his chin up and without bitterness. He is one of God's jewels.

The Line Is Drawn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following brochure which was prepared for distribution throughout the Army as a part of the command information program:

THE LINE IS DRAWN
(Extracts from the letters of Capt. J. P. Spruill, U.S. Army)

Capt. James Polk Spruill, U.S. Army, was killed when his vehicle struck a land mine in Vietnam on April 21, 1964.

Captain Spruill's ideals, his respect for his fellow man, and his deep and abiding patriotism are revealed in the excerpts from his letters to his wife which appear on the following pages. This eloquent young Army officer understood and appreciated his country's dedication to the cause of freedom all over the world. In the last analysis, he was a soldier doing his duty in keeping with the code of the soldier.

Captain Spruill had his moments of doubt and discouragement. But he was sustained by his belief in what he was doing and he did his job with faith and enthusiasm

Because of "his love and compassion for the young Republic of Vietnam and especially the people," his wife, Barbara Spruill, sent excerpts of these letters to the New York Herald Tribune "in the hope that all Americans would have the opportunity of reading them." She has been kind enough to authorize this publication in this form in the Army.

These letters are an inspiration to everyone who reads them.

STEPHEN AILES,
Secretary of the Army.

Vietnam—it is 10,000 miles from New York to Vietnam, but Captain Spruill's letters spanned the distance to relate this story to his wife in Suffern:

SAIGON, November 9, 1963: "The flight was long and tiring but otherwise uneventful. Then came Saigon and a hair-raising, steep-dive landing because of the danger of small-arms fire. Received none and landed safely. We were processed and then taken to the Majestic Hotel in the heart of Saigon where I am now staying and where I will be until Tuesday at noon. The time here in Saigon is being taken up with much processing and with receiving my assignment.

"By the way, my Vietnamese language works wonders here. So few Americans speak it. I have spoken little else and believe it thrills them. I can't get over how well I understand them."

A few days later he wrote from his first duty station:

VINH LONG, November 1963: "Today is Thursday and I am at my first duty station. I am at the end of the long 'pipeline.' I left Saigon on Tuesday at noon and flew from Tan Son Nhut airfield to Sadec, headquarters of the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) 9th Division. I received my assignment and was briefed there.

I am an adviser to the Cai Son Self-Defense Corps Training Center. I will live there with my two sergeants, who are the greatest. Cai Son is about 15 kilometers from here. The accommodations there are not as good as here in Vinh Long but I have it better than many poor battalion advisers do. I have a roof and walls and a cot. We have a sun baked mud parapet around the house—and it is a house, and a personal guard of nine men and one sergeant. The guard is Vietnamese, everything in Cai Son is Vietnamese. The sergeant in charge of the guard wanted to line his men up for me. He was so proud when I agreed. They stood tall and were visibly impressed when I addressed them off the cuff in their own language."

Captain Spruill developed great admiration for the Vietnamese:

VINH LONG, November 20, 1963: "I am in Vinh Long today in order to attend a farewell dinner for one of the officers here, and I will return to Cai Son tomorrow morning. I actually miss Cai Son at the moment because the work is interesting to me and the Viets are just great. They stay over at my house all the time and I am getting so used to Vietnamese that English is starting to sound strange. I have already become good friends with two key members of the training center and the Agroville.

"Last night Major M told me that he had written you a letter. That shows you what kind of man I'm working for. He is a professional and it is a rare privilege to work with him.

"It is also a privilege to work with the Vietnamese soldier. Frustrating at times * * * he is the most genuine and kind human I have met. Simple, humble, willing and warm—they are wonderful people. If the press judges them harshly at times, it would be well to remember that they have had their independence only 9 years * * *.

"It was brought to my attention last night that we were once inadequately equipped and poorly trained and that professional soldiers came from afar to aid the fledgling American Army in its fight for freedom and internal order. Two of these 'advisers' are well known—Von Steuben and Lafayette. It is heartwarming to think that we now continue the tradition of sacrifice fostered by those two men when they aided a nation in need."

He took a warm interest in village problems—and the Vietnamese people:

CAI SON, November 25, 1963: "Had to stop for a while to talk to the leader of Cai Son Agroville about possibility of having his people dig ponds so we can stock them with fish that Eusom says they can get me. Eusom tells me that in 1 year 1 pair of fish will breed into 10,000 fishes. The people here are poor, the land is poor, and the fish are poor. The Agroville chief was thrilled at the idea. The people could eat the fish, use them to enrich the land, and start a 'Nuoc mam' (fish sauce) industry * * *.

"You can't imagine the comradeship and gratitude of these men when an American stands with them through danger. It seems to bring heart to them. They cheer and wave and yell 'Dia-uy,' 'Dia-uy' which is their word for captain.

"Tonight I'm going to have one of my Viet friends for supper—a man called Wolf. His little boy is by my side now watching

me write this. Wolf is a Canton chief and is much renowned for his fighting skill and courage. He's a sight to see and just likes the hell out of me for some reason. His foot is all swollen now from a cobra bite he received on an ambush the other night. I gave him a pair of my boots but he wouldn't wear them.

He reacted to the news of President Kennedy's death like Americans everywhere:

VINH LONG, November 28, 1963: "President Kennedy's death was a profound shock to me and I am still not over it. As the poet said: 'Every man's death diminishes me.' May God bless him."

He continued to learn about Vietnam:

CAI SON, December 4, 1963: "What a day I had yesterday. Seemed as if I did more visiting than usual and as usual I had to eat some things you wouldn't believe. For instance, I had octopus and dried bananas. How's that for a real combination?

"Last night I taught the doctor, Lieutenant H, and Lieutenant H to play cards (casino)—and you have never seen anyone more thrilled. They love it with a passion. You should hear them talking about it. Sounds like a Chinese fire drill.

"The Viets here are really friendly to me—in fact when I ride along it's like being a visiting president. The mothers bring their children to the doors and they all wave and cheer. Whenever I even ride by the schoolhouse, the teachers interrupt their work and stand up by their desks. They are really courteous to the extreme.

"Things are nice and quiet here now. We have an ARVN battalion camped here and the VC (Vietcong) don't like to mess with them."

Reflection on the approaching Christmas season led to thoughts of friendship and sacrifice:

VINH LONG, December 15, 1963: "Took a roll of color film yesterday while on the way to Can Tho. Have to cross a ferry and got shots of that. Also got some of "Wolf" who went with me. Some man. He and I have a mutual admiration society going. Also his wife and family are extremely nice to me * * *.

"By the time another letter gets to you, Christmas will be there. God alone knows how hard Daddy will reach out for you all in his heart during that time. In a way it will be a sad Christmas. But only in a selfish way. In a better, more meaningful way, it will be one of our best Christmases, for our little family is giving of itself to the world. We are sacrificing, you and I, for the good of other people and that is truly Christ-like."

Captain Spruill developed his thinking about night operations:

VINH LONG, December 21, 1963: "At the moment I have a project I want to work on. It is a proposal I have to eliminate all SDC outposts in the Province thus liberating all SDC men. I would propose that I be allowed to train them in night combat and that they be employed as mobile strike forces at night. It is in the night that the myth of the invincible guerrilla must be destroyed * * *.

"I am convinced that when the night becomes more ours than their's that events will take a dramatic turn. Will work on this now and will close with another very Merry Christmas and may we both have a wonderful New Year."

On Christmas day he thought of his family:

VINH LONG, Christmas Day 1963: "Last night, on Christmas Eve, I went downtown to a Catholic service. There were children everywhere and there was a Santa Claus * * *. I saw a small child that reminded me of another child I know and it was all I could do to keep smiling. But you know, the mother read what was in my eyes and brought the child over to me. For one warm moment East and West were one in heart. It was a wonderful Christmas. I want you to understand that * * * my heart was so full of happiness and gratitude that it could not hold it all. I was sublimely happy because I have had the three of you.

"I have had the most wonderful Christmas of my life because you three have given me the greatest gift of all—love.

"With the knowledge that where Christmas and love are concerned there is no distance, I am well pleased to greet you this day and to say as father and husband, Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."

His thinking about night operations led to a plan:

CAI SON, January 7, 1964: "The plan of mine was enthusiastically received by * * * the Province Chief. My boss thinks it's the greatest. I think it is a good plan."

He expressed his conviction of a decisive victory:

VINH LONG, January 12, 1964: "I know that you read nowadays of defeat or of lack of progress. None of this bothers me because I am convinced that we can win it and win it decisively—on the ground and in the night."

And spoke of the imponderables of Vietnam:

CAI SON, January 19, 1964: "Thanks for the news clipping and the Newsweek article. We really get no news here. The article about the Hamlet was very descriptive and accurate. However, my place is a bit quieter. Last night, for example, we showed a movie in the market and that helps keep things quiet because the local VC like to see the movies too. Strange thing to sit there in the night, a pistol in your hand and laugh at animated cartoons with members of the VC."

Captain Spurill described death among the villagers:

VINH LONG, January 25, 1964: "Right now I don't even want to think of anything. I really shouldn't write you anything like this but do you remember that I mentioned a little girl that I said was so cute. Well, yesterday I helped the Cai Son medic keep her guts from falling completely out as we bandaged her punctured and severely burned little body and those of three other children (VC white phosphorus mine). Her little eyes were burned shut, her nose and lips off, and skin off her entire body and every time the embedded bits of phosphorus were exposed to the air the poor thing smoked and screamed—and when she screamed her guts came out more.

"I was the only one the people would turn to, indeed could turn to. My sergeants and I wrapped the children in our nylon blankets to keep the air off the phosphorus and took them to Vinh Long—a long dusty ride. The little girl amazed me because she was still alive when we got her there. She was put in a chopper and taken to Can Tho. I do not know how she is, but I can guess.

"When I got back in the late afternoon, I went to the area where the children lived. All at once people came from everywhere and surrounded me. I told them what I could about the children and suddenly all of them lay down in the dirt at my feet in the most heart-melting demonstration of thanks I have ever experienced. I shall never forget that and I shall never forget that sweet little girl, that poor tortured little female who had nothing but me—and I was so inadequate. She was two and a little doll. I felt as if I had died a little.

"Please forgive me for writing this. I must stop now and in a couple of days the sun will shine again for me."

He described the stoic Vietnamese and expressed his confidence in ultimate victory:

CAI SON, February 23, 1964: "When they get wounded, no matter how bad it may be, you never hear so much as a whimper. The only sound comes from the man's buddy who generally bawls like a baby if the wound is serious. Strange, but strangely logical for a people who have never been far removed from the raw facts of life and death—never deeply involved in one, never far separated from the other. I grow more attached to them every day now and even look forward with dread to the time when I must leave Cai Son and the many friends whose lives and fortunes I have been privileged to share.

"I feel that there is too much talk of despair. I warned you of that before I left. You may remember. Above all, this is a war of mind and spirit. And it is a war which can be won no matter what present circumstances are. For us to despair would be a great victory for the enemy. We must stand strong and unafraid and give heart to an embattled and confused people. This cannot be done if America loses heart. At the moment my heart is big enough to sustain those around me. Please don't let them back where you are sell me down the river with talk of despair and defeat. Talk instead of steadfastness, loyalty, and of victory—for we must and we can win here. There is no backing out of Vietnam, for it will follow us everywhere we go. We have drawn the line here and the America we all know and love best is not one to back away.

"I must admit that there are many moments of frustration in Vietnam * * *. But that is exactly why we are here. It is exactly in places and in circumstances such as this that communism gains its foothold. Communism is the scavenger of the upheaval that comes with the modernization process and the age of rising expectations.

"Sometimes we are ready to say the hell with it. But then there are other times. For instance the other day when I found out that Wolf had risked going into Vinh Long to find out if I were safe. He knew I was in Saigon when the theater was bombed. He never told me about that.

He describes a trip to Saigon:

VINH LONG, March 16, 1964: "I have just returned from Saigon and find many letters from you. At the moment I am well rested and very happy. I managed to find a nice little book of Vietnamese legends which I needed badly for my personal research, and I can't wait to read them.

"Well, what can I tell you about Saigon? I grow to like it more and more, I can tell you that. I am learning its character, its people, its sights, sounds, smells as I have never learned any city. It is sort of strange but I feel more at home in Saigon than in any city I have ever been associated with. While there I made mental plans to take many rolls of film for you. Perhaps you will capture some of the feeling I have for the city.

"Boy, I had some delicious steaks while in Saigon. And I went to a film you would love. The music, the clothes, the scenery, the story, and the photography were all magnificent. It was made in Japan and the dialogue was in Japanese. However, it had Viet and French subtitles so I could follow it well. I wish you could just hear the music. It is really heroic and on a grand scale. And the scenes of the human misery were like nothing you have ever seen on film before. I felt wonderfully at ease watching this Asian film and sitting among an all-Asian audience. I had the feeling that I was beginning to comprehend something without knowing really what it was."

A soldier studies and practices war:

VINH LONG, March 21, 1964: "You wouldn't guess what I am doing in my spare time. I'm taking a correspondence course from Fort Bragg on Counterinsurgency and Psychological Warfare. It's long and demanding, but really quite good. It's interesting to study the stuff while you're smack in the middle of it."

VINH LONG, March 30, 1964: "Yes, the language training is paying off just as you mentioned. I am able to get very close to the people. I have developed to the point that I go among the soldiers alone with no interpreter. I refer of course to operations. I have never experienced so much interest and devotion as I receive from them.

"A few nights ago I put in at a Self Defense Corps fort called Phuc Quoi. They had a 40-man ambush going out as a result of a large experiment we've been running on night saturation patrolling. On that night 1,000 separate ambushes were laid. As you know the SDC are close to my heart, so I finally got permission to go with them after proving that they would take care of me. By golly, they actually are quite good. I was amazed with their skill at night—well, at some of it anyway. I've been with this particular group on four consecutive night ambushes and developed quite a rapport with them. The only trouble I had with them was to get them to quiet down. They were all over me. I brought candy to them which they all smacked on like little children. They all brought their wives and children to me and I had to tickle them all and lift them in the air.

"The leader of the group was amazed that I would share my water with him. After the first night nothing was too good for the "Dai-uy." They even put straw on the ground where my position would be. Ambushes require much patience and one can get most uncomfortable after 11 hours of not moving. So the straw was quite welcome. The other night my position was smack in the middle of a pig pen. What a stench. And of course it got all over me. And the damn pig was there with me.

"As I walked out of my pig pen and followed the still indistinct figure in front of me, I realized that I was walking into an Easter morning sunrise."

VINH LONG, April 10, 1964: "Much sweat—and I am afraid much blood—remain to be shed. Progress will not be dramatic. It will in fact be painfully slow. One of our biggest enemies now will be impatience and despair in America itself."

His last letter:

CAI SON, April 19, 1964: "Chin up. See you later."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1964.

Hon. STEPHEN AILES,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It was my privilege to appoint James Polk Spruill to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1950. His mother, who ran a cafeteria in Plymouth, N.C., brought the young man to see me and requested the appointment. There was never any doubt in my mind from the first time I saw him that he would develop into a fine citizen and soldier.

James Spruill graduated from the Military Academy in June 1954. Until his promising career was brought to an end in the fighting in Vietnam on April 21, 1964, he served in the finest tradition of American military service.

Captain Spruill's example of selfless service is something in which all Americans can take pride. These letters to his wife tell us a great deal about the idealism, strength of purpose and dedication which filled his life. His words will be an inspiration to all Americans who carry on the never-ending task of defending freedom.

Sincerely,

HERBERT C. BONNER,
House of Representatives.

JAMES POLK SPRUILL, CAPTAIN, U.S. ARMY

Captain Spruill was commissioned in the infantry after his graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1954. He attended the Infantry Officers Basic Course and the Ranger School. He seryed as a platoon leader in the 10th Infantry Division at Fort Riley and in Germany and then joined the 2d Infantry Division at Fort Benning. He later was assigned to the infantry school as an instructor.

In preparation for his assignment to Vietnam, Captain Spruill attended the special warfare course at Fort Bragg and studied Vietnamese at the Army Language School at Monterey, Calif., for 12 weeks. He arrived in Vietnam in November 1963, and was assigned as an adviser to the Cai Son Defense Training Center in the Mekong River Delta.

Captain Spruill was born at Winston-Salem, N.C., on February 10, 1931.

Billion Dollar Democratic Campaign Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the Democrats have just enacted into law a billion dollar campaign fund in the guise of fighting poverty.

In the August 24 issue of Newsweek, Henry Hazlitt unmasks this phoney project for what it is—a scandalous, vote-buying scheme:

THE POVERTY PACKAGE
(By Henry Hazlitt)

The antipoverty law—or the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, to use its official title—is primarily a Democratic campaign document and a vote-buying device. It is designed to give the impression that for the first time in our history the Federal Government has become aware of the existence of poverty and is doing something about it. Actually we have been piling one "antipoverty" program on top of another since the New Deal began 30 years ago.

The excellent Republican minority report on the bill to the House listed 42 individual programs "designed to combat and overcome the causes of poverty" already in existence. These programs cost a total of $31.8 billion in the fiscal year 1964. According to the Social Security Bulletin for November 1963, a total of $66.5 billion was spent by all levels of government for "social welfare" purposes in 1962. During the same year, an additional $33.5 billion was spent by private organizations for the same purpose. Compared with this total of $100 billion, the new law's appropriation of just under $1 billion makes it a merely token (and in no sense new) "war on poverty."

DUPLICATION

The official title is calculated to give the impression that the new law is just a way of helping people to help themselves. The measure in detail, however, reads like the implementation of Mr. Johnson's statement in January: "We are going to try to take all of the money that we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have-nots' that need it so much."

The new law is hard to describe briefly because it is a conglomeration of unrelated programs. The House minority report calls it "a hastily assembled package of odd legislative retreads and rejects, interspersed with a sprinkling of old, unsuccessful experiments and a plagiarized assortment of existing programs."

Nearly all of the "new" programs duplicate or compete with existing Federal programs. The so-called Job Corps providing for work camps will cost $190 million in the first year for only 40,000 enrollees, or $4,700 per enrollee. The first-year cost of the "work-training" program is another $150 million. Both programs heavily overlap the 1963 Vocational Education Act and the expanded Manpower Act. The $72.5 million "work-study" program will give more assistance to the very same college students now being aided by the massive student-loan program under the National Defense Education Act. Direct loans to low-income farm families duplicate a huge existing Farmers Home Administration program. Loans under title IV would duplicate what the Small Business Administration is already doing. And so on.

WELFARE STATISM

The first year's price tag on this new measure—$947.5 million—is relatively small as current spending goes. But it will carry us a giant step deeper into a paternalistic welfare state. Its ultimate effect will be to create a good deal more poverty than it cures. We can be sure that its cost will increase each year. This cost, if paid for out of bigger taxes, will increase the burdens on private enterprise and the deterrents to production. If it is added to the deficit, it will increase inflation, an invisible but destructive tax with its cruelest impact on the poor.

As the House minority report pointed out, no society in the history of the world has so effectively overcome the cruel grasp of poverty as has the United States. In terms of a "war against poverty," the whole history of America has been a history of sustained and spectacular accomplishment. In 1929 (using 1962 dollars as a standard), more than 50 percent of American families had an annual income of less than $3,000. By 1947 this figure had fallen to 30 percent, and by 1962 to 21 percent. In this same period, American families having an annual income of $6,000 or more rose from 15 percent to 48 percent. Americans earn more, own more, consume more, and live better than any other people on earth.

And we have achieved this result, not by Government "antipoverty" programs, of which we have had proportionately less than most nations, but by our system of free, private, competitive enterprise, which provides maximum incentives to production.

Mr. Hoover at 90

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune recently published the following tribute to former President Herbert Hoover, written by Wilbur D. Matson of McConnelsville, Ohio, long known nationally for his editorial ability as publisher of the strongest county seat weekly newspaper of Ohio. For many years Mr. Hoover and Mr. Matson have been personal friends and correspondents:

MR. HOOVER AT 90

MCCONNELSVILLE, OHIO.—A highlight of the recent Republican convention was the beautiful tribute paid by Illinois Senator DIRKSEN to Herbert Hoover. His eulogy was worthy of the "Grand Old Person of the Grand Old Party," and met with general acclaim.

As President during a period of worldwide war bitterness, financial collapse, and general upheaval, Mr. Hoover afforded a shining target for malicious and self-seeking demagogs. However, he came through the barrage of lies and misrepresentation with character unsullied and his high repute unimpeached. Today, he enjoys the love and esteem of Americans everywhere as the outstanding statesman, political leader, and humanitarian of his time.

August 10 will be his 90th birthday. Let us all unite in paying tribute to one of the noblest products of our democracy—a self-made success who rose from the background of a humble Quaker home to become a world figure, one whose name stands high in the pantheon of American history.

WILBUR D. MATSON.

Leopold Mannes, Pianist, Dies; Inventor Headed Music School—Codeveloper of Kodachrome; Aided Young Musicians—Composer and U.S. Adviser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the country is saddened by the death of Leopold Mannes, a great musician, educator, scholar, and gentleman.

Leopold Mannes was a man of many accomplishments. He was a coinventor of the Kodachrome color process, a talented composer, an adviser to Presidents, and a much beloved gentle person.

The Mannes School of Music in New York City is in the 17th Congressional District and I have been proud to be its Representative in Congress. Under the leadership of Leopold Mannes, the school has made a very large contribution to the community and the country.

The sypathies of the people of the 17th Congressional District, the city of New York and of the country go to Mr. Mannes' family, to his many friends and to the faculty and students of the Mannes School.

Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on August 12 published an excellent story on Mr. Mannes' constructive and productive life and a moving editorial on August 13. I am taking the liberty of placing both in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 12, 1964]

LEOPOLD MANNES, PIANIST, DIES; INVENTOR HEADED MUSIC SCHOOL—CODEVELOPER OF KODACHROME; AIDED YOUNG MUSICIANS—COMPOSER AND U.S. ADVISER

VINEYARD HAVEN, MASS., August 11.—Leopold Mannes, pianist, president of the Mannes College of Music and coinventor of the Kodachrome color process, died of a cerebral hemorrhage this morning in Martha's Vineyard Hospital. He was 64 years old.

Mr. Mannes, who was spending the summer at his home in Menemsha, entered the hospital last night.

There will be no funeral services, and he will be buried in the Chilmark cemetery, in the family plot of his widow, the former Evelyn Sabin.

INFLUENTIAL IN U.S. MUSIC

Leopold Damrosch Mannes was the son and grandson of famous musicians, and besides being a performing artist, an inventor and an educator, he was also an influential figure in America's musical life. In 1961 he succeeded William Schuman as president of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation, and last year he became chairman of the music panel of the cultural presentations program of the State Department.

He succeeded his father, David Mannes, as director of the well-known school, which his father and mother, the former Clara Damrosch (daughter of Leopold Damrosch) established in 1916. Under the son's leadership the school became the Mannes College of Music in 1953 and expanded still further in 1960, when it was merged with the Chatham Square Music School.

Mr. Mannes was a tall, handsome man with dark hair and dark eyes. He was urbane and perhaps a little reticent with strangers, but among friends he was noted for his sense of humor. His dignity and sense of propriety were revealed in 1958 when Van Cliburn returned from the Soviet Union in triumph, after winning the International Tchaikovsky prize. At that time, a tickertape parade was proposed for the young pianist. Mr. Mannes disapproved.

"If it were an academic procession in cap and gown," he said, "that would be different. Everyone wishes Cliburn well and would gather in a hall, for instance, to pay him tribute, but not in a parade."

Nevertheless when the first Van Cliburn International Piano Competition was held in Fort Worth 2 years ago, Mr. Mannes was the chairman of the jury. It was characteristic of him, for he believed in fostering young talent and he served on many juries. Often he help pick the winners of the Edgar M. Leventritt young musicians award and the Naumburg Foundation, which he headed, is devoted to the cause of helping musicians in their careers.

ANOTHER FAMOUS FATHER

The coinventor of the Kodachrome process with Mr. Mannes was Leopold Godowsky, Jr., another son of a famous musician, the pianist Leopold Godowsky. Their process, which made it as easy to take pictures in color as in black and white, was announced in the spring of 1936. It brought them both wealth. But Mr. Mannes preferred to be known as a musician, and in April 1941, after 10 years spent mostly in the laboratory, he resumed his career as a pianist.

Chiefly, he was known as a performer of chamber music and in 1949, together with Vittorio Brero, violinist, and Luigi Silva, cellist, he formed the Mannes Trio. A year or so later, when Bronislav Gimpel became the violinist in the ensemble, it became known as the Mannes-Gimpel-Silva Trio. As late as 1955 they appeared together with the Little Orchestra Society, performing the Beethoven Triple Concerto.

Mr. Mannes was born in New York the day after Christmas, 1899. His father was already well-known as a violinist and his mother was too, as a pianist. The conductors Walter and Frank Damrosch were the brothers of his mother. Mr. Mannes was named after Leopold Damrosch, his grandfather, also a conductor.

Leopold began playing the piano at the age of 4. His teachers included Elizabeth Quaile, Guy Maier, and Alfred Cortot. He studied at his parents' school and later at the Institute of Musical Art (a forerunner of Juilliard), then as academy, which his uncle Frank founded in 1904.

When he was 15 he became interested in photography as a hobby, particularly the problems of color. Leopold Godowsky, Jr. was a schoolmate. When they found they had the same ideas about photography, they joined forces and created an experimental laboratory of their own.

Mr. Mannes was graduated from Harvard with a bachelor of arts degree in 1920. He began teaching at his parents' school, as well as well as playing the piano and composing. In 1926 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship although he also continued to work on color photography with Mr. Godowsky.

ENCOURAGED BY KODAK

In 1930 Dr. C. E. K. Mees, director of the Kodak Laboratory, became impressed with the work of the young men and he persuaded them to go to Rochester to work full time in an industrial laboratory. Six years later, their invention, Kodachrome, which used very thin film coated with five layers of color emulsion, was announced.

Mr. Mannes seldom talked about his scientific achievements, but he continued as a Kodak consultant after returning to music. In 1941, he patented a sound track of gold that improved the sound of colored motion pictures. Last spring he and Mr. Godowsky were awarded the Progress Award of the Royal Photographic Society of London.

The two men were planning to go to England to receive their award. Mr. Godowsky, who lives in Westport, Conn., said yesterday that he and Mr. Mannes had planned to start writing their joint memoirs in the fall. Mr. Godowsky is the husband of Frances Gershwin, sister of George Gershwin.

Mr. Mannes' compositions included a "Suite for Two Pianos," which he wrote in Paris in 1924, a "String Quartet," two madrigals for chorus and incidental music for Shakespeare's "The Tempest." This music was preented in 1933 when the Shakespearean play was given by students of the King-Colt School.

When his mother died in 1948, Mr. Mannes, who had been a codirector of the school with his parents, became president. His father continued active, with the title of founder. Mr. Mannes, Sr., died in 1959 at the age of 93.

The college plans to present a memorial concert for Mr. Mannes in the school in the fall. The school is closed at present because there is no summer session. It occupies four converted brownstone houses, beginning at 157 East 74th Street. It has an enrollment of 133 in the college level, 325 in the preparatory school and 125 in the extension division.

Mr. Mannes' first marriage to Edith Vernon Mann Simonds ended in divorce in 1933. In 1940 he married Miss Sabin. They had one daughter, Elena Mannes. A sister, Mrs. Marya Mannes Clakson, a writer, also survives.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 13, 1964]

LEOPOLD MANNES

The name of Leopold Mannes may not mean much to the American public, though some may remember him as coinventor of the color process in photography. But musicians here and abroad admired him as educator, pianist, philosopher, scientist and a strong force in raising standards of music. His death will not extinguish the inspiration he gave the many younger artists and composers who absorbed his knowledge and carried over into their own careers his love for music as a living force.

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, because of the tremendous concern over the Supreme Court ruling dealing with the reapportionment of the States I made a statement before panel No. 1 of the platform committee of the Democratic National Committee and with permission I enter that statement in the RECORD:

It seems to me altogether right and proper that the Democratic Party which is the party of the people, should in its national platform take a strong and forthright position in support of the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the right of the people to be represented on the principle of one man one vote in the legislative bodies of the States and in the Congress. Yet, today we see that reasonable and fair principle (and I don't see how any principle could be fairer than the principle of one man one vote) is under bitter, determined, and sinister assault from those who want to preserve and protect the vested interests of politicians and the holders of political power and privilege because they represent more space than they do people.

This landmark decision of the U.S. Supreme Court today is not only itself the subject of assault but it is the avenue through which the independence and the integrity of the judicial system of this country is under dangerous attack. For what is proposed is nothing less than that the Congress attempt to deny to the Federal courts of this country the protection of rights and privileges which the U.S. Supreme Court, the constitutional integrity of the Constitution, has held, that the citizens of this country are entitled to enjoy.

This is not the only attack upon an independent judiciary through the forum of the Congress but it is an attempt to induce Congress to usurp power to deny the judicial protection of the constitutional rights of our people, which power the Congress, under our Constitution, does not possess.

Under the Constitution, legislative power is vested in the Congress, not judicial or executive. The protection of the constitutional rights of our citizens is vested in the judicial system of our Government.

For example, recently the U.S. Supreme Court held that a defendant charged with a felony in a State court could not be legally convicted unless he had or was tended by the State qualified counsel. Does any member of this committee believe that if the Congress were to attempt to say that that right could not be enjoyed by a defendant charged with a felony in a State court and the denial of that right could not be properly protected in a proper U.S. court?

Further, the U.S. Supreme Court a bit ago held that children could not be denied access to public schools of this country because of race or color. Could the Congress of the United States set aside that decision of the U.S. Supreme Court and deny to the Federal courts the protection of these constitutional rights?

It may be assumed for the sake of argument that under the judiciary article of the Constitution Congress can abolish the U.S. district courts since it has the power to establish those courts. But so long as the courts exist can the Congress deny to the U.S. district courts the right and power, indeed the duty, when proper application is made to protect constitutional rights of our citizens.

I am sure that fair interpretation of the judiciary article will not so hold. My State of Florida is particularly interested in this subject and especially so is Dade County, a part of which I have the honor to represent in Congress. Prior to the Baker case, Dade County with one-fifth of the population of the State had one senator out of a senate of 38 and four representatives out of a house of 95 in the Florida Legislature. After the Baker case was decided and a three-judge Federal court held on our constitutional apportionment under the Constitution, the Legislature of Florida to avoid reapportionment by the Federal courts, finally reapportioned the State after a fashion. As a result of the new apportionment, Dade County with one-fifth of the population of the State got 2 senators out of a senate of 45 and 14 representatives out of a house of 105, in the legislature. The progress toward fair representation which our people have gained has been due to the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court holding that the courts of the country under the Federal Constitution have a right to hear the complaint of any citizen who is not fairly represented in his State legislature. Under the latest decision of the U.S. Supreme Court * * * Dade County will get a representation of substantially one-fifth of the State senate and one-fifth of the State house of representatives because we have one-fifth of the State population. But that will vastly increase Dade County representation in the State legislature and give us that equality of one man one vote which is the truly democratic principle upon which such apportionment should rest. Those who oppose these measures therefore attack our judicial system and its integrity and thereby endanger every constitutional right which every citizen of America enjoys today. Those who attack the one-man-one-vote decision of the Supreme Court are seeking to freeze modern day America with its urban problems into the pattern of a past America of rural pattern. They are trying to freeze political privilege and power into the hands of senators and representatives to represent space and trees and water and to deny such power to senators and representatives to represent people. They want to perpetuate privilege and power to benefit the few and to do so they are willing to deny the equitable rights of the many.

If we are to meet the problems of urban America today those problems must be in the hands of the people elected by our citizens whose lives are a part of the urban America to have the association, the knowledge, the point of view about urban problems which will enable them to understand them with their heads and solve them with their hearts.

Let the Democratic Party speak out in words that shall be heard round the world that we are more perfectly, with every passing day, making America in practice the democracy of which we preach to other people around the world. Let the Democratic Party, the party of the people, rebuke those who wish to deny representation on the basis of equity to the people.

As Thomas Jefferson said in the Declaration of Independence, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Let's not perpetuate a government based upon the denial of the right of the people to give their consent but let us perpetuate a government truly based upon the consent of the people. All America is listening for the Democratic platform to come out strongly and forthrightly for the constitutional system which has made us the greatest Nation in the world and for the protection of the rights of all the people of this country.

Clare Challenges Mr. Reston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, with the impending Democratic convention, the American people will wonder how the press will treat it.

A very penetrating article by Clare Booth Luce, in the August 25 issue of the National Review, goes straight to the point and we will all wait to see what Mr. Reston and others will do.

The article follows:

EXTREMISM IN DEFENSE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(By Clare Boothe Luce)

Will James Reston judge the Democrats in Atlantic City by the same yardstick he used for the GOP in San Francisco? Not a chance, says Mrs. Luce.

Mr. James Reston, the distinguished New York Times correspondent, writing from San Francisco, said, "The physical disorder of the (Republican) convention is over, but the moral disorder remains. * * *" Noting what he called its "jumble of high-sounding contradictions," the "encouragement and unleashing of extremism," and the "moral ambiguities," he said, "the fight over principles has just been raised."

Now Mr. Reston is one of America's most scholarly columnists. His writings give much evidence that he knows more of history and philosophy than many of his colleagues. One suspects that he reads such eminent contemporary theologians as Dr. Paul Tillich and Dr. Rienhold Niebuhr, men who have devoted much of their noble thought to the "moral ambiguities" that spring from man's very nature, and permeate all his historical causes, crusades, institutions, organizations—and political parties. Man, especially political man, be he politician, voter, or commentator, is never wholly consistent in his aims, perfectly pure in his motives, totally free of malice, prejudice, hypocrisy, greed or ambition.

Nevertheless, making every allowance for Reston's own political bias, prejudices and professional and existential necessities (he is one of the Democratic Times' highest paid columnists), one must admit that he is intellecutally much better qualified than the majority of commentators to set himself up as a judge of the morality of the Republican candidate and the principles of his party. The question is, will Mr. Reston show himself equally willing to pass moral judgment on President Johnson and the principles put forth at the Democratic convention?

I am obliged to say here that among my friends in the journalistic fraternity many believe he will not. They say the compliment the columnists always pay the Republican Party is that they expect it to be more coherent intellectually, more disciplined emotionally and more decent morally than the Democratic Party. And they predict that, come August 24, Reston—along with the rest—will gently ease himself down from the high pinnacle of political principle from which he chose to observe the doings in the Cow Palace, to the terra firma of "political pragmatism." They say that on the Jersey coast he will become his usual self: the brilliant, suave, witty, sophisticated, "cool" observer of the "political realities" confronting the country. They say he will view the doings in Atlantic City, not with the blazing

eye of a Daniel come to judgment he turned on the Republicans, but with the skeptical, amused eye of the contemporary historian. They say that mutatis mutandis, he will find that expediency not morality, know-how not honesty, compromise not consistency, shrewdness not sincerity, success not sacrifice, are (democracy being what it is) the best qualifications for a President—that is, for a Democratic President. They insist that Mr. Reston, along with his employers, the New York Times, will suddenly lose the burning concern they felt in San Francisco about "extremism," and the whole civil rights question, and discover that their "value judgments" on the Democratic Party and its candidates should be made in terms of the practical considerations of specific policies. Consequently, like myself, they do not expect the questions of Democratic "extremism" and of Mr. Johnson's own civil rights record to be reviewed by Mr. Reston in Atlantic City.

Bearing in mind the terrible contumely heaped on Senator GOLDWATER's head for his civil rights vote on June 19, let us pause to review Mr. Johnson's record from 1940 to 1960.

In Austin, Tex., on May 22, 1948, Congressman Johnson told a Democratic rally:

"This civil rights program about which you have heard so much is a farce and a sham—an effort to set up a police state in the guise of liberty. I am opposed to that program. I fought it in Congress. It is the province of the State to run its own elections.

"I am opposed to the antilynching bill because the Federal Government has no more business enacting a law against one kind of murder than another. I am against the FEPC because if a man can tell you whom you must hire, he can tell you whom you can employ. I have met this head on.

"[And] an enlightened public already has rendered * * * [an antilynching] law virtually unnecessary, even if it were not unwise in its scope."

The following years of ever-mounting demand among Negroes for a civil rights bill did not change Johnson. He wrote a constituent in 1957:

"The [civil rights] bill that has been introduced is one to which I am very opposed, as I do not believe it would advance any legitimate cause."

When this long-awaited bill (H.R. 6127) reached the Senate, it was nearly killed by Senator RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, who brought a point of order against it which would have referred it to the Senate Judiciary Committee, and buried it. Senator Johnson voted to uphold the Russell point of order; later, under tremendous pressure from President Eisenhower, he voted for the amended bill. But explaining his vote to an angry constituent, he wrote:

"I am naturally concerned that you think I have made 'concessions' with respect to the so-called civil rights issue. I assure you that I feel the way I have always felt. That is, that I am firmly opposed to forced integration and I firmly believe that the doctrine of States' rights should be maintained."

In 1960, another Eisenhower administration civil rights bill passed the House, and again Senator Johnson was instrumental in significantly limiting its scope in the Senate. Before S. 3001 was finally killed, Johnson had voted against expanding the injunction power to encompass the protection of any civil right. He also voted to kill part I of the bill, which would have strengthened Federal injunctions regarding school desegregation.

He told his Senate colleagues:

"I feel very deeply about the cloture question. * * * I am going to be very reluctant ever to vote for cloture."

He also told the Senate that a section of the bill, which would make it a Federal crime to interfere with court-ordered integration, was "a relatively nonessential matter." That year, in a Look magazine article he was quoted:

"The difference between me and some of my northern friends is that I believe you cannot force [civil rights] on the South overnight."

During the 1960 session of Congress, Johnson voted against a Republican civil rights bill (S. 3823), which would have established a permanent Equal Opportunities Commission and provided Federal assistance for areas which desegregated their schools.

Indeed, nowhere is the Johnson record so full of the "moral ambiguities" Reston deplores as during the election year of 1960, when he was his party's vice presidential nominee. He was also running at the same time for the Senate—itself an ambiguous political action. The Democrats' 1960 platform, written in July, stated that "to facilitate compliance [with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision], technical and financial assistance should be given to school districts facing special problems of transition."

On August 8, 1960, vice presidential candidate Johnson, although pledged to support his party's platform, voted against S. 3823, which would have provided just such assistance for that transition.

SOME AMBIGUITIES

It is clear from what Reston has written, that he thinks Senator GOLDWATER's civil rights position is dictated less by his devotion to constitutional considerations than by his desire to gain the "white backlash" vote; and that he views this as raw, and even despicable expediency. Thus, in view of Senator Johnson's all-but-unblemished 20-year record as a "racist," might not Reston also conclude that the President's position on civil rights is dictated by his need to hold the "switch-blade" vote? Is President Johnson's "Northern strategy" any less "morally ambiguous" than the "Southern strategy" of Senator GOLDWATER? And what about the "moral ambiguity" of the Democratic Party, torn all through the civil rights debate by the hope the bill would not pass so it could be blamed on the Republicans, and the practical need to pass it in order to take the credit?

Again, many journalists, and many Negroes, have suggested that Senator GOLDWATER's promise—if elected—to enforce the Civil Rights Act is worthless because his vote against the civil rights bill proved that his heart is not in the right place on the Negro question. Considering the many anti-civil-rights votes recorded by Senator Johnson, what possible reason does the press, or the Negro, have to trust the heart of President Johnson after November?

(And speaking of "high-sounding contradictions" and "moral ambiguities," what consistency in political principle and moral clarity led John F. Kennedy in 1960 to choose a Texan racist as his running mate? Did he, perchance, need to woo the votes of extremists and conservatives?)

Presumably, there will be no platform fight at Atlantic City; the President himself will, of course, write it. Will it denounce by name Democratic extremists of the right—the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council—who are spending great sums on printed material which sedulously, if not seditiously, destroys the Negro's image of Abraham Lincoln, and who are widely disseminating the literature of some scientists and anthropologists who proclaim the evolutionary biological inferiority of the Negro? Will it rip into the gun-hoarding Black Muslims and the Negro nationalists and racists? Will it point to the Communist organizations that have infiltrated the Negro civil rights movements? Will it condemn "police brutality" North and South, which is considered extremism by the Negro; or black hoodlumism which white policemen call extremism too? Will it finger the many other hate mongering and subversive and criminal extremist organizations (including the Mafia, Cosa Nostra, and the crime syndicates), all of which are on file—and close to President Johnson's hand—in the Attorney General's Office and in the FBI? To be sure, many of these extremist elements—especially all the Communists and many of the racists—black and white, have voted Democratic for many long years. But will a moral platform waver, waffle, weasel, and hide behind generalities on the extremism question, simply to keep votes?

Should I doubt that Reston, so concerned with morality, will look down on the Convention Hall at Atlantic City and examine the southern delegations with the same fierce, just eye he cast at the floor of the Cow Palace? With what anger he will write if he sees that any of the Johnson delegations from the South are lily white and do not reflect, in their color, the President's current determination to advance the dignity and freedom of southern Negroes.

Surely Reston will try to fathom the minds, probe the motives of these southern delegates. Will they be voting for Johnson, he will ask, because they are sincere in their devotion to the cause of civil rights and honestly believe the President is, too? Or will they vote for him because only a Democratic victory will keep racist southerners in their powerful congressional committee chairmanships, from which they can best bottle up further liberal and civil rights legislation?

Or will Reston feel that matters become too complicated and ugly when one gets into the business of examining the morals, hearts, consciences, motives of Democratic candidates and delegates?

WHAT IS EXPECTED?

Will Reston, a man who hates to his marrow, intellectual contradictions, speculate on the real reason why 18 of the 19 racist Senators who filibustered the 1964 civil rights bill for 83 days in the Senate still manage to get along so well in the same party with liberals like Senators HUMPHREY, MCCARTHY, and MORSE and vice versa? Will he question the common cause that will unite these men of such widely divergent and widely inconsistent political philosophies in Atlantic City, and perhaps suggest that the reason could, just possibly, be a common passion for holding office?

Pondering the intellectual principles that bind men of seemingly ambiguous motives together, will Reston expect them to be clarified by President Johnson's acceptance speech? Will he insist that that speech (if the platform fails) include as harsh words about the racists, extremists, and conservatives in the Democratic Party? Or will he suggest, if President Johnson deals tenderly with these elements in his own party, that the fault lies with GOLDWATER, who has forced Johnson to move to the right? Or will Reston perhaps say that extremism in defense of the Democratic Party is no vice?

It is, of course, too much for Reston—or anyone else—to hope that President Johnson will rise to a towering height of political honesty and use his acceptance speech as the occasion to thank the Republican Members of Congress for beating down the dissident members of his own party so that the civil rights bill could be passed. One can hardly expect him, on the eve of election, to admit that today as yesterday, the Democratic Party cannot put through a single piece of liberal legislation without the support of moderate and liberal Republicans, and that the dominant wing of the Democratic Party is, today as yesterday, conservative. This admission would be a great clarification of the political scene, but it would also reveal the profound moral confusions and ambiguities which beset a party whose candidate in recent years has been himself a liberal. But—

and this is the great question Reston surely, oh surely will ask: Is Johnson a liberal? If so, will he meet the Goldwater challenge, and, standing before the convention, explain his own political principles of government clearly and honestly—take them or leave them—but lay them on the line in such plain language that everyone in his own party—and the Nation—and above all, Reston, will know exactly where he stands?

WHAT WILL BE OFFERED?

Will President Johnson offer the American people a real choice between liberalism and conservatism? A few paragraphs would do it: he could say that the States rights concept is becoming less and less politically valid in modern collectivized society with its highly complicated economy; that only a strongly centralized government can hope to produce prosperity at home and peace abroad; that socialization is upon us and cannot be stopped, for it is the irreversible wave of the present and the future; that in view of all this, there really is no place in the Democratic Party for States righters or economic conservatives. And, he could make his own moral position crystal clear, by saying that he would rather be defeated in November than be elected with the support of Neanderthal southern conservatives, extremists, and racists. And, President Johnson could tell the convention that if State efforts to enforce civil rights legislation fail and disorder results, he intends to occupy the North, East, West, and South with Federal troops, who will remain in occupation until complete order is restored, the civil rights legislation obeyed, school integration accepted, and Negroes given a fair break in getting jobs.

(Come to think of it, Mr. Reston, Mr. Johnson is President; He has had the power to occupy Mississippi since he became President; he doesn't really have to wait until November, does he?)

To be sure—since southern extremists and arch conservatives have been the backbone of the Democratic Party since the Civil War and they sent Johnson to Congress for 22 years and fought for his nomination in 1960 thus putting him where he is, in the White House—such straight talk would be a great act of political courage. But, Mr. Reston, is political courage leading to political suicide something we should all expect and demand of a Republican candidate—but not of a Democratic candidate?

Oh, yes, we look to Mr. Reston to discourse further on moral ambiguities, high sounding contradictions—when he arrives in Atlantic City.

It seems to me I can already see the first line of his first column from Convention Hall: "As Hazlitt wrote, 'The only vice that cannot be forgiven is hypocricy.'"

July 31: But wait. There has just been laid on my desk Mr. Reston's column of this morning. What is this I read? "The voter [he writes] is naturally confused * * * GOLDWATER is talking about ideology and Johnson is talking policies; the President is concentrating on what he thinks is attainable, and GOLDWATER on what he thinks desirable * * * it might be useful if they got down to what they propose to do about the Negro demonstrations, * * * shortages of jobs, * * * the war in Vietnam, the disunity in the Alliance, and the constant probings of Communists * * * an election [should not be] merely a definition of ends, but a statement of the means to those ends. * * * The danger of all the current ideological talk is that it will divert the mind of the country from the practical to the theoretical. * * * [The debate so far] has dealt not with practicalities but with ideals, and 1 day fairly soon it will have to come down to reality."

Thus endeth, with the opening of the Democratic Convention, Mr. Reston's passionate interest in political morality.

Maryland's Conference on the National Oceanographic Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative from the State of Maryland, I am justifiably proud that my State was the first to initiate what will be an annual "Governor's conference on the national oceanographic program." This was held in our State capital, Annapolis, on August 13, to let industry hear directly from the Government, exactly what services are needed and what problems are to be investigated by the national oceanographic program in the year ahead.

As a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and very much interested in this subject, I was sorry that the program in the House on that day prevented my attending.

The very capable and qualified chief counsel of the Merchant Marine Committee, John M. Drewry, was one of the principal speakers at this conference and gave an excellent presentation on the oceanographic program and the part the Congress has taken in connection with it.

Because of its interest and concern to all Members of the Congress, I am inserting it in the Appendix for their perusal, and, incidentally, I hope it will stir the Senate to take early action on the House-approved legislation.

Mr. Drewry's speech follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN M. DREWRY, CHIEF COUNSEL, COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON THE NATIONAL OCEANOGRAPHIC PROGRAM, ANNAPOLIS, MD., AUG. 13, 1964

Dr. Pritchard, fellow panel members, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be here this afternoon to join with the other members of this panel on the future of industrial research in the national oceanographic program. I feel greatly honored to have been invited to participate in this first annual Governor's conference on this subject, which has been called by Governor Tawes at the suggestion of his science resource advisory board.

In the light of Maryland's long, sea-linked heritage and tradition—with her great world port of Baltimore—with the magnificent and unequaled Chesapeake Bay—and with her splendid Atlantic beaches—it is logical that the first program of this sort should be initiated here in Maryland. But, as we all know, the logical cannot always be depended upon to be done.

I have heard the question asked "How come the State of Maryland is setting up a meeting of this sort? What have they to do with the national oceanographic program?" The answer is simple. By its very designation as a national program it should be, and is intended to be, a comprehensive program, rather than a Federal program concerned solely with the research, development, and application requirements of the various Federal Government agencies. The State of Maryland, therefore, is to be highly complimented for its foresight and initiative in calling this conference to let the State, industry and public at large hear directly from the coordinating forces in the Federal Government as to the needs and problems involved in the national program—to the satisfaction and solution of which all may contribute.

While perhaps not the most interesting subject to listen to at the end of a long day of speeches, it is most appropriate that the program calls for a discussion of legislation in connection with the national oceanographic program. The record of this first annual meeting would not be complete without a background report on the statutory base for the program and the legislative problems involved. The successful maintenance of an effective long-range national program in oceanography is largely dependent upon the interest and understanding of the Congress, as expressed in its enactments and its appropriations. Congressional authorizations and appropriations provide the glue to hold the program together—if of good quality and liberally and evenly applied. Congressional failure to meet these standards can cause the structure to come apart at the seams.

I recall in early 1959 when the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Oceanography, after many months of work by its membership of distinguished scientists (nearly all from our leading universities and other nonprofit institutions concerned with research in the marine sciences), was ready to release the 1st chapter of its 12-chapter report entitled "Oceanography, 1960–1970." At that time the chairman of NASCO, Dr. Harrison Brown of California Institute of Technology, together with several of his colleagues, made a visit to Capitol Hill, during which they called upon my chairman, Congressman BONNER. I believe they also called upon chairmen and members of other commitees in the House and Senate, the names of which suggested an interest in one or more phases of the comprehensive studies they had conducted during the preceding period of almost 2 years. Their work had been initially sponsored by four Government agencies, the Atomic Energy Commission, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, National Science Foundation, and Office of Naval Research. Each of these agencies was under the cognizance of separate congressional committees. I do not believe I am very wrong when I guess that Dr. Brown and his colleagues approached Capitol Hill with justifiable pride in the 10-year plan for a coordinated national program in oceanography which they had created. I guess, too, that their emotions turned to bewilderment upon entering the marble Halls of the House and Senate as they sought a home for their brainchild. They already knew that oceanography touched—in various important ways—the activities of a large number of Government departments and agencies.

And their report outlined in considerable detail an ideal model of how oceanography should progress in the United States during the 6th decade of the 20th century. Hopefully, they thought, "Now that implementation is in large measure up to the Congress, someone will say, 'Have no concern; we will do our part.'"

But Capitol Hill was bewildered too. Oceanography was a new word, and the many disciplines embraced within any of its definitions raised more questions than answers.

Congressman BONNER was sympathetic to NASCO's problem, but how to help—what to advise in the face of this complex, new technology with a language of its own?

The answers came with the realization that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries had always been engaged in oceanography, but did not know that that was what it was called. The committee had jurisdiction over the Maritime Administration and the merchant marine; over the Coast Guard; the Coast and Geodetic Sur-

vey; Commercial and Sports Fisheries; the Panama Canal—each area of jurisdiction involving in one way or another basic or applied research in oceanography, or simply the exploitation of the oceanic environment.

There were others, of course: The Navy, far and away the biggest consumer of oceanographic information for its defensive and offensive needs; the Weather Bureau; the Atomic Energy Commission; the Geological Survey; and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. But the jurisdiction of our committee of Congress seemed a logical home for the study of oceanography and a point for attempting to arrive at legislative solutions to meet the problem of coordination of functions presently embodied in a galaxy of agencies.

That is how it happened in February 1959, that there was established a Subcommittee on Oceanography in our committee, with Hon. GEORGE P. MILLER, of California, as its first chairman.

The NASCO report was our springboard and our guideline. But the problems with which Congress must cope were not quickly reducible to instant appropriations which would send these splendid proposals on their way to immediate fruition. Congress, having control of the purse strings, likes to know where the money is going—on the record—so all can see.

What has been going on before? How is this different? Why is some sort of change necessary? Why this sort of change? How can you bring bits and pieces of the functions and jurisdictions of a number of agencies, with various values of scope, urgency and expense, together in a fashion so they can become a program moving forward as a coordinate whole?

These and many others were questions the Miller subcommittee wanted to explore before trying to work on answers. Though crossing legislative jurisdictional lines beyond that which had in the past been thoroughly our own, every agency involved in the oceanographic effort was fully cooperative—and there was little or no intercommittee tension.

After hearings running over many months, both in and out of Washington, on the status of existing oceanographic effort in the United States—plus several fruitful informal meetings of our subcommittee with the NASCO group, the outlines of our big problem and various important but lesser solutions became apparent.

Bills were introduced—and some of them passed—to (1) enlarge the geographical range of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; (2) enlarge the oceanographic responsibilities of the Coast Guard; (3) create an office of Oceanographer of the United States; (4) create a National Oceanographic Data Center—and an "Instrumentation and Calibration Center"; and (5) establish a high-level intragovernmental, oceanwide survey committee to work out a program for the most effective and immediate system of meeting the basic problem of three-dimensional charting of the oceans without waiting for the construction of the new ships everyone hoped would come along some day. And in 1961 legislation was introduced in the House to create a Cabinet-level Federal Council on Oceanography which would provide the horsepower—the muscle—needed to bring real executive and legislative coordination to the sound ideas generated in such a hard-working, but mostly nonpolicy, groups as the Interagency Committee on Oceanography.

Some of these proposals were enacted into law. Some were batted down as being unnecessary, and then put into effect administratively. Others, such as the Federal Council proposal of 1961, were firmly opposed by the executive.

The parameters of the problem were well expressed in the May 1960 issue of Science magazine when the editors said:

"When the organized effort to increase Federal support for oceanography began about 3 years ago the science faced two especially important obstacles. It was popularly regarded as a field about as far removed from practical affairs as astronomy, and it faced a peculiar organizational problem in that the various elements of oceanographic research were fragmented among a dozen or so different bureaus and agencies.

"It is tempting, in situations like this, to seek some organizational cure-all, and advocates of a Cabinet-level Department of Science sometimes point to an area like oceanography as an outstanding example of where such a department could function to establish priorities * * * and to organize support in a more straightforward and less time-consuming method than had to be used in this case.

"A considerable amount of effort, both in the Executive and in Congress, has been going into such organizational improvements. In fact, there is a good deal of evidence that suggests that more organization, by removing authority one degree further from operating responsibility, often succeeds only in further complicating the problem it was intended to cure. So the desire to seek organizational solutions is tempered by the recognition that there is a limit to the degree to which neat organization charts can really solve administrative problems."

For a time there were persistent proposals for the creation of a new Government department which would house all of the scientific disciplines—a Department of Science. Being a new agency, it would surely rate a brandnew building on Independence Avenue or the 10th Street Mall. You can picture the excitement of its lobby with its murals and frescoes, the plush, pushbuttonness of its executive offices.

An independent agency for oceanography was more than once suggested. Or a Bureau of Oceanography in, for example, the National Science Foundation.

Our own extensive hearings in 1959–60, however, seemed to indicate clearly that coordination, rather than a special autonomous organization, was the only feasible course. But effective coordination had to be accomplished through the highest possible level of policy guidance.

Such was the background of the bill introduced by Congressman MILLER in February of 1961 (H.R. 4276) to establish a National Oceanographic Council, composed of the Secretary or other head of each department and agency involved in any material way in oceanography. He wanted to give the oceanographic program stature, to compel the interest and attention of the gentlemen who could discuss policy with the President, himself, and yet not to disrupt the broader overall responsibilities and functions of the constituent departments and agencies.

There was much favorable reaction to the Oceanographic Council concept. The official position of the administration, however, was that no legislation was necessary. We were told that the expanded activities of the various Government agencies under the program recommended by President Kennedy earlier in the year could and would be adequately coordinated by the Interagency Committee on Oceanography—that that working level committee was "already performing most of the functions that would be exercised by the proposed National Oceanographic Council."

We continued to be troubled by the conviction that there could be no effectively coordinated oceanographic program under the existing system, whereby a multitude of agencies submitted programs in which their oceanographic activities were forced to compete with more important agency missions throughout the budgetary process. Strong testimonial support was given to the Oceanographic Council proposal by representatives of leading non-Federal institutions, including the geophysical industry. We continued to feel the need for the highest level of policymaking authority. The hearings, plus consultation with representatives of ICO, the Federal Council on Science and Technology and the principal departments concerned, ultimately resulted in general agreement as to the desirability of a statutory base for coordinating the oceanographic program in order to assure continuity of program and responsiveness to Congress.

But it was suggested that instead of creating an Oceanographic Council, why not vest the functions in the newly created Office of Science and Technology whose Director would not be barred by executive privilege from appearing before Congress? This we did in a new bill—preserving the substance of the earlier proposal. It was adopted by the committee and reported to the House with the statement that, "the bill provides a proper and workable solution to the problem of coordinating the activities in the marine sciences of a large number of Government agencies without destroying or impeding their autonomy. It permits the maximum use of all the technical resources, knowledge, and skills of the country, Government, private or commercial, in an endeavor of equal or greater importance than the exploration of space."

The House and Senate agreed in conference to language amending the Senate bill (S. 901) substantially in line with the provisions of the House bill.

The matter did not end there. For reasons not given at the time, the bill was the subject of a pocket veto on October 18, 1962.

On the first day of the first session of the current Congress, on January 9, 1963, Congressman BONNER reintroduced the bill as it had been agreed upon by the House and Senate. It bore the portentous number, H.R. 13.

Consultations and informal meetings with representatives of the Office of Science and Technology and the Bureau of the Budget revealed that the pocket veto was due to certain bugaboos of organizational philosophy which the Bureau of the Budget read into the language of the congressional act. Agreement was quickly reached between the committee and the Presidential advisers. A clean bill, meeting all objections, was introduced, reported by the committee, and finally passed in the House on August 5, 1963, as H.R. 6997.

H.R. 6997 is very simple, yet, I believe, fully adequate for its intended purpose. First, it contains a declaration of policy for the development and maintenance by the United States of a coordinated, comprehensive, and long-range national program in oceanography. The policy statement emphasizes an intent to implement the national program through balanced participation and cooperation of all qualified persons, organizations, etc., whether governmental, educational, nonprofit, or industrial so that all available knowledge, skills, and energies of the Nation may be called upon.

Second, the bill directs the President to (a) issue a statement of national goals; (b) to survey the oceanographic activities of the various agencies; (c) to develop a comprehensive program to be conducted or supported by the agency; (d) to designate and fix responsibility for the direction of oceanographic activities; and (e) to resolve differences between Government agencies engaged in oceanography.

Third, the bill would authorize the President to appoint an Advisory Committee to review the national program and make recommendations thereon.

Fourth—and this is most important—it would require the President to make a full report annually on the general status of oceanography; the status of oceanographic

research and development and related matters; the financial analysis of the total amounts proposed to be appropriated for the marine sciences; a breakdown in detail of the amounts to be appropriated for each agency, a statement of current and future plans with respect to oceanography; and finally, a statement of the need for legislation to carry out the purposes of the act.

Fifth, the bill contains a definition of the term "oceanography" so as to embrace all disciplines in or affecting the oceanographic environment.

It then went to the Senate, where it has reposed in committee ever since. No action has been taken, nor has there been any indication of the reasons for failure to act.

So much for the story of oceanographic legislation after 5 years of study by both Houses of Congress, by the Executive (at times reluctantly), and by the scientific community.

The failure to enact legislation by now is regrettable, of course. And it will still have to come, in my opinion, to provide the underpinning for a truly effective long-range program. Nevertheless, the past 5 years have been fruitful. Relationships between the Executive and the Congress are better on this subject than I have ever seen. The Office of Science and Technology and the ICO have become smooth running organizations. The needs of the national program are more clearly seen than ever. Interest of the public and industry have been aroused with offers to participate coming from all quarters. The public interest has stimulated many persons to learn what courses they must follow for a career in oceanography.

Failure of legislative enactment has not slowed down the program. On the contrary, as disclosed in recent hearings before our Committee, the Executive is voluntarily conforming to the requirements of the proposed legislation just as if it were on the statute books.

Our work for the future is cut out for us.

Our Wheat Sale to Russia Helped Castro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the echoes of our ill-advised Russian wheat sale keep rolling in. A report published August 17, by the Washington Daily News show how the United States sale of wheat to Russia helped Castro solve a bread problem in Cuba.

Here's the report:

REPORT ON CUBA: LESS ELECTRICITY, LOTS OF BREAD

Electric power production in Cuba has fallen off 50 percent since 1958, and is still diminishing, says the Citizens Committee for Free Cuba.

The Committee is a nonprofit organization supported by Americans and business and professional Cubans now in exile.

It points out that before the Castro Communist takeover, Cuba's electric production was the fourth highest in Latin America, and was expanding, from 1955 to 1958, at a rate of 12 percent per year.

The Communist regime took over the Cuban Electric Co. on August 4, 1960, and since 1963, electricity has been rationed to consumers, and only 40 percent of new consumers have been serviced.

Other reports indicate Castro has fallen badly behind his payments to British, French, and Canadian suppliers of farm machinery and that Cuba's adverse balance of payments by the end of this year may reach $2½ billion.

Despite Castro's promises of diversification, the outlook is he will have to depend on sugar for most of his foreign exchange and sugar production is down.

The committee also states that Cuba's shortage of bread has ended, and that there is a great amount of wheat in the country, delivered from Russia, coincident with the sale of United States wheat to Russia.

"For months earlier this year," the committee says, "it was almost impossible to purchase bread. The shortage of bread in Russia caused Khrushchev to sell gold bullion for wheat purchases in the United States and Canada. Cuba shared the shortage, since Soviet Russia is its principal food source. As Russian wheat was augmented by foreign purchases, shipments to Cuba also increased."

There are still other food shortages, but the dramatic increase in starchy foods has served to take, at least for the time being, the heat off Castro, the committee says.

A few weeks ago, the captain of a freight ship which had delivered wheat to Russia, said he saw U.S. wheat being transshipped for Cuba, which would be a violation of the trade agreement under which U.S. wheat was bought. The State Department said at the time that it had no such evidence.

The committee's report indicates at least that the sales to Russia by Canada and the United States made it possible for Russia to divert grain—sources not specified—to Cuba.

National Defense Education Act Amendments, 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11904) to amend and extend the National Defense Educational Act of 1958.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, as a supporter of the original National Defense Education Act proposal, I also support H.R. 11904, which amends the 1958 law.

While I believe the program could stand certain changes and improvements, I believe the Committee did a commendable job in reporting the 1964 bill which extends the program for 2 years. It also provides an expansion of the testing programs to all graduates of elementary education and to junior colleges and technical institutes. This expansion will require an increase from $17.5 to $25 million in the appropriations for fiscal 1965.

The one inadequacy in this bill lies in the area of junior colleges. With the tremendous increase in the cost of higher education and the difficulty in providing college housing and expanded enrollment for many students, the greatest need in this field today, in my opinion, is in the construction and expansion of junior colleges throughout the United States. An increase in the number of community-sponsored junior colleges which will require Federal funds is of prime importance. Not only will an expanded program of this type result in a savings of $4,000 to $5,000 per year in the cost of a 4-year college education, but would open the door to making higher education available to many students who are disqualified from the privately endowed colleges merely because they are not in the upper 50 percent of their high school graduating class.

We often speak of the serious "dropout" practice in high schools but comparatively little attention is given to the number of washouts in our colleges and universities.

Junior colleges would also provide the means of determining whether certain high school graduates are able or equipped to do college work. Certainly it is better that this be determined at a junior college level without the loss of investment on the part of the parent and avoiding, in most cases, the college housing problems associated with the enrollment of students on campus far distant from their homes.

It is my hope that in the years ahead much greater emphasis will be placed upon the junior college program.

What the American Flag Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mrs. Anne E. Cartwright, of Santa Rosa, Calif., a naturalized citizen with a unique background, has told her story of "What the American Flag Means to Me" before a group in my district. This story of Mrs. Cartwright is very interesting and thought provoking, indeed, and I am taking this means to bring it to the attention of the Members of the House for whatever historic, political, and educational value each of you may find in these words of the experiences and the beliefs of one of our fine naturalized American citizens. She is obviously willing to share her background with and for the benefit of all Americans, some of whom tend to take for granted all of the great privileges of our country—never having been subjected to rule under a totalitarian form of government.

Her story follows:

WHAT THE AMERICAN FLAG MEANS TO ME

I am a naturalized American citizen and a housewife by profession. To explain to all of you what the American flag means to me, I have to go back many years to the city of my birth and tell you of the several flags I have lived under.

I was born in Berlin in 1926, when the flag of the Weimar Republic flew over Germany. It was 8 years after the Armistice of World War I; 8 years after the revolution, which started with a mutiny by a handful of sailors, carried out by the Socialists, and

the Red flag was being hoisted in almost every German city. It was 7 years after the organization of the Weimar Republic, and also 3 years after the great inflation which was an extremely hard blow to small and middle income families—from which they did not recover for many years.

Germany, after World War I, was a hotspot of political intrigue and during the struggle for governmental power many Ministers were assassinated or had to leave the country. Already during those early days, Communist revolts took place in many parts of Germany after the Weimer Republic had been established. In 1923, a man called Adolf Hitler attempted to take over the Government in Munich by a sudden stroke. His intention was to establish himself in power in Bavaria and then to march to Berlin and carry out a complete revolution there. But his attempt ended in complete failure.

To say the least, Germany was a country torn by dissension. Disturbed conditions set a heavy cloud of uncertainty and an air of hopeslessness over its citizens, who never knew what the next day would bring them—with the agonies of a civil war still fresh in their minds.

The year before I was born, Field Marshal von Hindenburg was elected President to replace Frederic Ebert who had passed away. My first recollections are those of the years 1929 and 1930. My parents belonged to the so-called middle class—being the owners of a small, independent textile store. They were neither wealthy nor poor, but hard-working people, trying to make ends meet and to recover from the great inflation—looking forward for a sound and settled future. I remember playing with those colorful thousand and million mark bills which had not even the buying power of a half loaf of bread or a few buttons. But my most dramatic memories are as clear to me as though I experienced them yesterday. The years were 1930, 1931, and 1932. I used to wake up at night crying—listening in fright to the commotions on the street. Always there was the shouting, yelling and often shooting—and many times some stones hit our windows and broke them. The agitations kept on for years. Day and night there was excitement in the streets; demonstrations; mass meetings in parks and beer halls, with columns of men marching and singing songs of Adolf Hitler; wearing brown shirts and an armband with a swastika on it—or others, marching in protest against them, waving their fists and carrying placards with a hammer and sickle on them; singing songs of the "Red Flag" and the "International" shouting; "Down with the brown shirts." And the temper of men driven by fanaticism turned them into a violent mob.

With the years I had become accustomed to these daily riots, and running for my life seemed to be almost a daily occurrence. Of course, I was frightened, and could not understand why people fought each other and why neighbors looked upon each other as bitter enemies. My mind was filled with so many questions; prayers for a peaceful night and protection for the ones I loved. I was not much interested in playing with toys then but had the intense desire and was determined to know and to learn as much as I could of the changing times in which I was living. The questions grew numerous as the years went on. I always listened to the worried and sincere conversations of my parents with friends and other people who combined in their talks the years from the monarchy to present day—and words like socialism, Communists, politicians and war became familiar to me without knowing the true meaning of them—except that they meant trouble.

One day I asked my father to tell me why people were fighting each other and destroying other people's property—and what all the trouble was about. He explained to me that before the World War the German people used to be the subjects of their Emperor—because Germany was an autocracy. And what is an autocracy? It is and declares the divine rights of kings; its authority cannot be questioned. As the Emperor fled the country the people felt lost and looked for a kind of government with a strong and just constitution to help restore peace and prosperity to the country. This led to the establishment of the Weimar Republic. That's what we are now—a Republic, my father went on, but there are many power-hungry men who want to destroy this Republic of ours and their ultimate goal is the realization of a socialistic government with dictatorial powers. These groups of men belong to political parties. Right now, there are 34 of them in our country. The largest, most influential and ruthless party is the National Socialists with its leader Adolf Hitler, a strange and silly looking man, who says: the individual is nothing, but the masses are everything. His spokesman is a man called Joseph Goebbels, whose promises to the people are: Freedom and bread, work for everyone, benefits for the young and the old—no more poverty, only prosperity. Then there are the Communists who have similar propaganda promises and address everybody as comrades. Their aims are also for a Socialist revolution to conquer the world and to make everybody equal—a country of workers and factories. Their intentions are to destroy the capitalists, their great enemies; to abolish free enterprise and make the individual part of the masses. Then there are the Social Democrats who are also for a centralized government—and many more. What the future will bring us only God knows. So said my father.

I did not understand everything he said then but experienced for myself shortly afterward the weight of governmental power upon the individual.

In January 1933 President von Hindenburg made Hitler Chancellor of Germany. One month later the central part of the Reichstag Building—seat of the government—was destroyed by fire. The Nazis charged that the Communists had set that fire and seized control of the Reichstag. That was the beginning of the Nazi revolution. The beginning of the thousand-year Reich.

The Reichstag gave Hitler dictatorial powers and Hitler did not even bother to abolish the previous Weimar constitution. Germany became a one-party state—the state being controlled by the party and Hitler becoming the supreme head of both. Now I found myself under the Nazi flag.

It was my second school year and I always was used to saying "Good morning" to my teacher, but, alas. On that certain morning in 1933 I was startled and stunned. All schoolchildren were called to meet in the auditorium for a briefing. Large pictures of Hitler were everywhere, surrounded by Nazi flags and we were told to say "Heil Hitler" from then on instead of "Good morning" and stand at attention when we did so. My parents were shocked and bewildered and during the next 3 years the indoctrination of nazism became unbearable. When President Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler assumed the Presidency and became the absolute leader.

In school were were taught every detail and historical event of Hitler's life before and after the war. He was idolized as a god and our God was set aside. Our first amendment had to read: the party and the Fuehrer above everything else in the world. We were told to betray our parents if they had treasonable thoughts against our glorious leader and his party. Our second amendment read: to spy on our family, neighbors and friends and to report every suspicious person to the party. In every street in Berlin party functionaries were set up who knew everyone and everything and reported back to the party. All good patriots in Germany began to identify Hitler as the tyrant conqueror—the Mephistopheles who turned Germany into a land of a living nightmare.

Immediately after Hitler's takeover, the persecution of the Jewish people began. I was asked one day to bring my birth certificate to school. The next day my mother was called upon to give her ancestry. It seemed that my mother's maiden name sounded non-Aryan and as my mother looked more like a person of Latin blood, they wanted to make sure she wasn't Jewish. As my mother's ancestors were immigrants from Spain and their religion that of the Lutheran Church the interrogators were temporarily satisfied, but the doubt remained and my family was placed on the "black list" of the Nazi Party. From that time on my mother had to learn the hard way what the inside of the Gestapo Headquarters looked like. Our close friendship with Jewish business people was also well known to the party functionaries, and so was our nonparticipation in hoisting the Nazi flag on certain occasions.

I was very fortunate in having parents who were freedom loving people—who taught me to oppose that totalitarian system. I had to learn not to make any close friends at school or in our neighborhood; to be suspicious of strangers and neighbors who might ask too many questions about my family; to confine my friendship and love only to my immediate relatives.

In the beginning of the Nazi regime they still had a few elections—mostly for propaganda purposes—and ballots were marked at an open table with the Secret Police looking on.

The strong hand of the Government was felt as the individuals lost all their basic civil rights. German courts were instructed to judge and decide a case according to instructions from the Nazi Party, and most judges were Nazi functionaries. New laws were introduced with no rights for the people, but outlining their duties to the State. All important industries were nationalized. Police registrations for almost everything was a must—especially for firearms. Hitler once said: "The most foolish mistake we could possibly make would be to allow the subject races to possess arms. History shows that all conquerors who have allowed their subject races to carry arms have prepared their own downfall by so doing."

The Nazi propaganda machine pounded every day upon its citizens to maintain racial purity and that the Jewish race must be exterminated. One evening, the nightmare of my early childhood seemed to repeat itself. It was the now-famous "christal night," when Hitler's Youth Organization—boys and girls—with the storm troopers, party functionaires, and secret police, started to smash the windows of Jewish business firms; destroying and burning their property; beating the owners and their families; breaking into synagogues and even setting fire to some of them; taking the Jewish people with them—in those gray cars of "no return."

Some of our Jewish friends had relatives in America and the means to leave the country. Their praise and admiration for the United States gave me a hope, for the dark years lying ahead, that there existed a land of freedom where people could talk to their neighbors without being afraid and where children could laugh and have peaceful nights. They told me how the people in America were blessed with a Constitution which is the most unique document of freedom, liberty, and justice for everyone in the history of mankind. I listened to their stories with intense interest, and my dreams to see that magnificant, promised land filled my heart with courage.

And so it continued through all those long and dreadful years—till that dreary day in April 1938 when Hitler's dream of empire

electrified the world with his forcible seizure of Austria.

As the war years grew upon us Hitler became more ruthless. I was a teenager then, a heart full of dreams of stouthearted men who would liberate us from this tyranny we all suffered under. I've never known the contentment and ease our teenagers have nowadays as I was too much concerned with our survival.

The ration cards and an empty stomach; travel permits even for the streetcars; the ever-watching eye of the Gestapo; day and night bombardments, and twice the loss of our home, brushed all thoughts of teenage activities from my mind and made me mature beyond my years. The last 10 days of 1945, with the approaching Russian Army, saw my family and me deep beneath the city in a bombshelter—filled with 30,000 people; without any sanitary facilities, food, water, or light. For 1 week then I existed under the white flag of truce.

The first Russian and Mongol faces dashed the hope from us that we would see the American Army of occupation. And so the Red flag was hoisted over the city again, and the Communists were there to stay.

What happened to the citizens of Berlin under the Russian occupation is beyond belief. For 1 month the Asian hordes of a modern Genghis Khan plundered the city; raped and killed girls and women, and their screams were unforgettable. We passed from one regime of terror into another. Finally, in June, our joy was uncontrolled when the American troops advanced into our sector to occupy it; and we were all permitted to live a normal existence.

I found life under the American flag an unbelievable relief after all I had gone through since the day of my birth.

Three years after the occupation of Berlin my family passed from one storm into another. Their new home was located outside the city limits and they found themselves once again under the flag of tyranny as the Russians claimed all of what is now East Germany as another Red satellite.

In 1954, while I was working for the U.S. Government in West Germany, I met my husband-to-be who was then a U.S. Government employee. In 1955 we were married and we left Germany together for his home in Hawaii.

My dreams of seeing the great United States of America was finally realized, and for many months I lived in an atmosphere I'd never known before. The Stars and Stripes flew beautifully over my new home and I determined then that I would become a citizen of this great Nation. I began to study the Constitution and history of the United States and my heart was filled with pride when I read of the words and deeds of our Founding Fathers—great men and wise—who knew that human rights are bestowed by our Creator and not by government. The 17th of September 1959 was the most thrilling day of my life, for that afternoon I became a naturalized citizen of these United States.

The study of the American system of government which I started in order to become a citizen now became a hobby with me. I followed closely all news from Washington that I could read in the newspapers or hear on the radio or televison. It became apparent to me, as time went on, that there was something wrong with the picture I had envisioned of the operation of the Government. Vague memories of my past were brought to mind when I learned of the unconstitutional trend in high Government circles of: withholding taxes, firearms controls, the Tennessee Valley Authority, foreign aid, aid to education, Government farm programs and subsidies, socialized medicine, disarmament and many, many more. I was frightened. And those certain statements by prominent Americans in Washington that our Constitution is outdated and an 18th-century document which should be completely revised. Was this the growing image of a socialized state? Heaven help us, if it was. Why, I wondered, were Americans so complacent about this evil trend in governmental thinking? Why did they not raise a tremendous hue and cry so that our Federal Government would reverse this trend and proceed along constitutional principles as it should? Didn't our Founding Fathers also revolt against the exorbitant taxes demanded of them by King George's government? But King George's taxes were trifles in comparison with those that American people are forced to pay today.

If the people of this great country want to stay free, they have to work hard to preserve that freedom.

"The price of freedom is eternal vigilance," so, let us be eternally vigilant to preserve that freedom.

Our late President Kennedy's remarks on the Fourth of July 1962, of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, should have shocked the Nation and protest telegram and letters should have flooded the White House, as he stated: "But I will say here and now—on this day of independence—that the United States will be ready for a declaration of interdependence. Today, Americans must learn to think intercontinentally."

And—like that one morning in Germany, in 1933—I now found God was also banished from our American schools.

President Johnson's war on poverty is an echo of Propaganda Minister Goebbels speech to the citizens of Germany when he said: "freedom and bread for all, no more poverty, only prosperity."

Every President of the United States takes an oath of office on the Holy Bible which reads: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." This is a solemn promise. We should remind President Johnson of his oath to preserve and protect and defend our Constitution as he seems to have forgotten it.

I was shocked and disgusted with all these statements and I am determined that I will do all I can—as an individual and a housewife—to stop this cancerous spread of international socialism in America.

To my mind there is one man who can lead us away from the tyranny of government that a social state would foster and the tyrants know that too. That man is an avowed constitutionalist; a man of great courage who will build up our prestige throughout the world and make America respected again even by our Communist enemies. His name is BARRY GOLDWATER. I dread to think what will happen to America if anyone else is elected President other than the Senator from Arizona. Anyone else in the Presidential chair in Washington will see our great flag subjugated to that of the United Nations; will see it defiled and spit upon in every free country of the world as it is in Communist countries today.

My flag—and the Republic for which it stands—means more to me than this. I will fight for the election of BARRY GOLDWATER and I ask you all to join me in this fight—so that our children, and our children's children will live under the old American ideal of liberty—that that government is best which governs least.

Results of Public Opinion Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, each year since I have been in Congress, it has been my custom to send a public opinion questionnaire to my constituents, soliciting their opinions on various vital issues. I again followed this practice this year.

In April, I sent out more than 105,000 questionnaires. One went to every person or household listed as having a telephone in the First District of Minnesota.

The response was in excess of 18,000 questionnaires, which represents about 15 percent of those which could actually be delivered. In addition, each card had a column for the responses of two persons—usually a husband and wife. Taking into consideration the minority of returns which did not include two responses, the total number of individual responses was about 32,000.

This, I feel, should indicate an insight into the thinking of the people of the First District which could be considered as accurate as is humanly possible.

I would like to share the results of this survey with my colleagues. The questions and the responses, computed in percentages, follow:

Question No. 1: "Should Red China be admitted to the U.N?" Yes, 11.5 percent; no, 83.8 percent; no opinion, 3.8 percent; other, 0.9 percent.

Question No. 2: "Should the United States seek expanded trade with the Soviet bloc?" Yes, 28.4 percent; no, 63.2 percent; no opinion, 5.9 percent; other, 2.5 percent.

Question No. 3: "Should Congress take action to tighten import restrictions on red meats?" Yes, 80.3 percent; no, 13.9 percent; no opinion, 4.6 percent; other, 1.2 percent.

Question No. 4: "Should the Constitution be amended to permit voluntary Bible reading and prayer in public schools?" Yes, 68.7 percent; no, 26.4 percent; no opinion, 3.7 percent; other, 1.2 percent.

Question No. 5: "Do you favor direct subsidy payments to farmers to increase farm income?" Yes, 18.9 percent; no, 74.3 percent; no opinion, 5.1 percent; other, 1.7 percent. (On this question, total farmer response alone ran: Yes, 36.1 percent; no, 56.6 percent; no opinion, 5 percent; other, 2.3 percent.)

Question No. 6: "Do you favor a gradual withdrawal of Government from the farm economy?" Yes, 78.8 percent; no, 15.9 percent; no opinion, 4.1 percent; other, 1.2 percent. (On this question, total farmer response ran: Yes, 68.4 percent; no, 24.8 percent; no opinion, 4.4 percent; other, 2.4 percent.)

Question No. 7: "Do you favor proposals to alleviate unemployment by:

"Instituting a 35-hour workweek?" Yes, 30 percent; no, 57.7 percent; no opinion, 11.8 percent; other, 0.5 percent. (On this portion of the question, total nonfarm response ran: Yes, 31.2 percent; no, 56.8 percent; no opinion, 11.3 percent; other, 0.6 percent.)

"Paying double time for overtime work?" Yes, 20.6 percent; no, 61.8 percent; no opin-

ion, 17.2 percent; other, 0.4 percent. (On this second portion of the question, total nonfarm response ran: Yes, 22.6 percent; no, 60 percent; no opinion, 16.1 percent; other, 0.3 percent.)

Question No. 8: "Do you think the causes of poverty can be corrected by spending $970 million the first year to set up many Federal programs, including 'Job Corps,' 'work study,' 'work training,' 'community action program,' 'special rural poverty program,' 'employment and investment incentives,' 'volunteers in America,' etc.?" Yes, 25.1 percent; no, 62.4 percent; no opinion, 9.6 percent; other, 2.9 percent.

Question No. 9: "Should the administration's $3.4 billion foreign aid request: (a) be increased; (b) be cut; (c) be left at the same amount; or (d) should the foreign aid program be discontinued? (Choose one.)" (a) 1 percent; (b) 45.8 percent; (c) 23 percent; (d) 23.8 percent; no opinion, 4.9 percent; other, 1.5 percent.

Foreign Aid: A Careful Commentary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, U.S. programs of oversea economic assistance so often are the target of general criticisms that it is refreshing to read an editorial that presents some specific tributes. Such a commentary was offered my constituents yesterday by the Rochester (N.Y.) Democrat & Chronicle. Editorial Page Editor Clifford E. Carpenter has viewed personally many examples of our foreign aid program in action and is well qualified to discuss both its strengths and weaknesses, which he does with remarkable clarity in this editorial that I take pleasure in sharing with my colleagues:

AID'S NOT IN DANGER, IT'S JUST MATURING

Congressional disenchantment with that colossal catchall known as foreign aid gets a little stronger each year. It cuts across party lines ever more markedly. The Senate has just backhanded L.B.J. by voting to slice more than $200 million from the amount of foreign aid funds recommended.

This legislative skepticism is justified. The slicing will not be harmful.

For foreign aid, while evolving from early chaos to present functional forms, has spawned a bewildering number of programs, public and private, national and global. We don't know where we stand, it's as simple as that.

Yet even while we cannot grasp the total complicated foreign aid picture, we know that some parts of it are good. Interestingly enough, the sound and successful aid programs are not the most expensive. Some of the good ones:

The Peace Corps; an adventure in practical idealism.

The U.S. Information Agency, a massive teaching agency operating out of consulates and office buildings and even trucks, in scores of countries, always in cooperation with the recipient country.

The great private funnel known as CARE which annually dispenses millions of dollars worth of everything from powdered milk to farm tools.

The United Nations network of agencies for aid, such as the World Health Organization (WHO).

The World Bank, long the most successful of international institutions, now liberalizing its policies to make available still more long-term, low-interest loans to countries wanting to move forward.

Then American private enterprise, in itself, is a giant aid project, for wherever it goes on earth, to tap raw materials or to set up factories, it dispenses good jobs and promotes orderly living.

Besides the sample functional programs listed above, there is an undetermined number of programs small in size but great in impact. Take two local illustrations: The University of Rochester supplying medical faculty men to set up a hospital in Nigeria; Sol M. Linowitz, a leading citizen, helping to organize teams of management experts who will serve abroad helping other nations put their businesses in order.

So foreign aid is not in trouble, no matter what the weepers say.

It is growing up. It is moving away from giveaways, and toward helping those who show a wish to help themselves. More of this type of foreign aid is just what the doctor ordered for this troubled earth.

President Lyndon B. Johnson Visits Worcester, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, on June 10 last, President Lyndon B. Johnson visited the city of Worcester, Mass., where the College of the Holy Cross conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of civil law.

Going to and from the Worcester Airport to the college campus thousands upon thousands of men, women, and children from Worcester and the surrounding area lined the streets in honor of and in greeting to the President of the United States. President Johnson personally told me that the warmth of his reception in Worcester and the enthusiasm of the orderly crowds that saluted him made a very deep and lasting impression upon him.

Jack Tubert, a very able, alert, and imaginative journalist on the staff of the Worcester Telegram, who, incidentally, was the last person to shake the President's hand as he departed the city, captured the excitement of the President's visit in a splendid article that appeared in the June 11 issue of the Worcester Telegram, and which I would like to include at this point.

The article follows:

CITY THROBS IN WILD DELIGHT DURING JOHNSON VISIT

(By Jack Tubert)

For one brief moment yesterday Worcester was Camelot, the world's fair, the center of the universe.

The city spun madly, wildly, happily during the 2 hours and 18 seconds Lyndon Baines Johnson, 36th President of the United States, was in town.

In this city of 186,000, the excitement was generated by an estimated 175,000 persons lining a 7-mile calvacade route—from Worcester Airport to Holy Cross College—another 20,000 roared with delight at Johnson's commencement speech at gayly decorated Fitton Field.

Untold thousands watched on television or listened on radio—many with transistor radios lined the motorcade route.

From 9:39 a.m., when Johnson's huge aircraft touched down at Worcester Airport, until 12:39.18—when the wheels of the plane left the runway again—it was the circus day of old, the world's series, the night they invented champagne.

The afterglow lingered long after, as happy-eyed youngsters and blase adults showed the hand that shook the hand of L.B.J.

This was Worcester hospitality at its best.

This smiling man from Texas was in his 201st day in office since succeeding the lamented John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the Bay State's native son.

FIRST TRIP

It was his first trip to Massachusetts since Kennedy died in Johnson's native Texas, and Worcester wanted L.B.J. to know he was as welcomed as J.K.F.

The old city never shone brighter.

Johnson's Worcester visit was right out of a Cecile B. DeMille crowd-scene movie as thousands cheered and peered for one look at the President.

Disappointment, though, showed on many faces along the line. The tanned chief executive chose to ride in a closed limousine. In the rear, right hand seat.

SECRET SERVICE

An open touring car behind held only running-board-riders from the Secret Service.

Scarred by the haunting memory that John Kennedy did ride in an open car in Texas, those attending this eye-filling jumble of the mighty and the obscure still exploded into a holiday mood.

The scene has seldom, if ever, been equaled in the city's history since George Washington became the first of 12 Presidents to visit here 175 years ago; 7 of them while in office.

Everyone bubbled with excitement and happiness—except the hard-eyed pros, those Secret Service men dedicated to guarding the tall Texan's life. They wore pale green lapel pins that spoke louder than the guns holstered by State troopers.

GUARDED EXCITEMENT

They guarded their excitement, too.

Such as when a youngster almost caught President Johnson in the eye with the pointed gold tip of his miniature American flag.

Or—when someone tossed a bouquet of flowers toward the limousine near Park Avenue and Chandler.

If any of the special agents blinked, it was with one eye at a time.

If any of the Secret Service men smiled, it was lost in the dazzle of the day's sunshine and the ear-to-ear grins of those turning out for the city's first presidential visit in 12 years—since Harry Truman was here in 1952.

Still fresh in the agents' minds another flight, another motorcade, a dead President.

Spearheading the estimated 1,000 law enforcement agents recruited for the presidential visit, Johnson's personal bodyguards—about 2 dozen men—elbowed hard (and often) to keep his path open.

It was like splitting the Red Sea.

Luckiest were the throngs at Worcester Airport, and nearby Airport Rotary—a plot of green at 1330 Pleasant Street: A whistle-stop in the jet age of campaigning—and this was an old campaigner caught in the excitement generated by his visit to his predecessor's home State.

The Airport Rotary was his only unscheduled stop.

INTO THE CROWDS

President Johnson led his security agents right into the midst of untold thousands at these two spots. Using his left, as well as right hand, the ever-smiling Chief Executive shook every hand he could get his hand on.

It was a study in human nature.

The circus atmosphere at elbow-length range. The people knew the man from newspaper photos and television. They wanted a personal picture of the man in the tailormade dark blue suit, striped tie and long, likable face that is as open as the plains of Texas.

The President's face was tanned and lined with care. His deep set eyes were a smiling match for any in the crowd. His handclasp was firm and friendly. His voice had the warmth of the neighborhood marketman—not that of the multimillionaire he is.

Plainly, the expression most often observed on the sun-kissed faces in the crowd yesterday was one of curiosity.

HERO WORSHIP

But, once, Mr. Johnson shook their hands, there as another expression just as vividly recorded for all to see—the unmistakable glow of hero worship.

The homemaker dazzled by his charm; the husband delighted with the firmness of his clasp, the child warmed by his friendliness.

Some didn't know whether to laugh, cry—or go blind—as they stared uncomprehending, it seemed, at their hands. Hands clasped tightly—or barely brushed—moments before by the President of the United States.

Christine Jurigiel, 11, of 125 Malden Street, was one of those who screamed, "I shook his hand, I shook his hand."

FUNNY NOISES

Christine and her friends leaned against the broken fence in front of the bunting-bedecked airport administration building and made funny noises—the kind one heard youngsters make when the Beatles struck on TV.

"I'll never wash my hand again," cried one happy-faced youngster as Johnson moved off at a long-legged pace.

The boy told his secret to the world—but mostly Mayor Mullaney, marching close behind the Chief Executive with Governor Peabody.

L.B.J. spent 5 minutes walking along the airport railing before leaving for Fittor Field. It was like one huge children's party.

SURPRISED EVERYONE

Soon after the 12-car—and 3-bus—motorcade started to roll, Johnson surprised everyone by alighting at the end of Airport Drive to shake hands with one 3-year-old girl named Tracey and others massed around the Lithuanian Drum Corps.

Fifteen bands blared welcome along the way, and how the kids did play.

Within seconds of leaving 1,000 excited fans where he entered Pleasant Street, Johnson rode past the boyhood home of his aide, and President Kennedy's confident, Kenneth O'Donnell, at 1301 Pleasant Street.

Standing in front of the house, Cleo O'Donnell Jr., Kennedy's brother, the oldest son of the late Holy Cross College football coach whom President Johnson was to make reference to in his opening remarks at Fitton Field.

HOMEMADE SIGNS

At Fred Carey's West Tatnuck Market, and along the way, the crowds blossomed forth with homemade signs: "LBJ yeah," "We Love Lyndon," "Welcome Mr. President," and "Swing and Sway with L.B.J."

Returning, "Goodbye Mr. President," and "Come again" placards were on display. The best sign: "Lower the voting age to 11, and I'll vote for you." A little girl held the sign at Mill and Chandler Streets.

The crowds were deepest at Main and Chandler, Madison and Southbridge—plus Tatnuck Square and the entrance to Fitton Field.

SHUTTERBUGS GALORE

The weather was superb. A haze hung over the city, but the sun shone bright. Flags fluttered in a cooling breeze—one Rebel flag among them. There was a shutterbug every inch of the way.

The shirt-sleeve crowds had thinned considerably along the road back. It showed in the time it took to make the trip to and from this speaking engagement—50 minutes down; 17 minutes back.

In the days of King Arthur—and Camelot—the knights came riding out of the story page castles on white chargers.

The questing knight today rides an aluminum-shelled skybird as he seeks, not milady's scarf, but votes.

The big man from the land of the bluebonnets got them here yesterday.

Development of an All-American Product—Polaris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, Polaris is the most complex, yet most reliable weapons system developed in our history.

The story of its development under Vice Adm. William F. Raborn, director of special projects, is a fascinating and dramatic phase of our unrelenting struggle against the forces of aggression.

In the July issue of Navy, tribute is justly paid to Admiral Raborn, who earned the unofficial title of "Mr. Polaris," and the industries who joined together with the Navy in producing America's highly effective deterrent force.

Under leave to extend by remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I hereby insert this article so that it may be brought to the attention of all Members of the Congress.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ALL-AMERICAN PRODUCT

(By Stanley W. Burriss)

The time: November 1957. The place: a closed conference room in the Bureau of Naval Ordnance, Washington.

The subject: Could an already difficult task be accomplished in less than half the time originally allotted?

The task: Develop and produce a weapon system which would alter the aspect of seapower and stabilize an uneasy peace, shaken anew by the Russians' launching of Sputnik I.

Already underway for a year, the Polaris program at this time was little more than a running start at a list of formidable problems and projections: a propulsion system with which a submerged submarine could boost a warhead beyond the earth's atmosphere and deliver a payload on target more than 1,000 nautical miles away; a guidance system which unerringly could pinpoint a preselected target; a warhead light enough, small enough and yet powerful enough to do the job; and equally important, a navigation system which would enable a submarine skipper to know exactly where he was although he had been cruising submerged for weeks. Most were little more than conceptions, usually thought of as realities only of a somewhat distant future.

THE QUESTION

"Can it be done?" asked Rear Adm. William F. Raborn, Director of Special Projects, as he concluded his outline of the goals to be attained in 1960, rather than in 1963.

A silence fell over the room. Chairs creaked as some of the participants squirmed uneasily in their seats.

A moment passed. Then a tall figure arose, walked to the front of the room, and wrote two words on the blackboard: "Yes, Lockheed." He was L. Eugene Root, vice president and general manager of the corporation's missile systems division in Sunnyvale, Calif.

Others followed to write words on the board. Words like: Aerojet, Westinghouse, General Electric, Sperry, and more—the Polaris contractor team.

As the meeting had opened, Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates told the group they would be asked their full cooperation in a matter of paramount importance in national defense. Now, "Red" Raborn had asked, would they assume a staggering responsibility and fully dedicate the talents and resources of their companies to the task?

CORDINER REPLIES

Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of the board of General Electric, spoke for Dan Kimball of Aerojet, Robert Gross of Lockheed, and the others of this first team when he said if resources were made available, and the way cleared, "We'll do the job."

The Navy did just that. It was agreed there would be no major changes in the Polaris system, that redtape would be cut and funding would be adequate and without undue delays. One exception was made: To meet the greatly accelerated deadline of yearend 1960, it was agreed that the first generation Polaris would have a range of 1,200 nautical miles, instead of the originally planned 1,500 miles. The Navy agreed, DOD bought it, and the President approved.

Neither the Navy nor industry minimized the problems. And these problems were not restricted to the technological breakthroughs which would be required. Special Projects agreed it would do everything possible, but at the same time pointed out that industry itself had some problems. With much of its effort geared to consumer production and projects without the urgency they now must consider, many things had to be changed, not the least of which was administrative processes.

There was an exchange of conditions and adjustments. The result: a climate of mutual understanding, respect, and cooperation among industry, the universities and government unequaled in American history.

SPEEDED THE SPEEDUP

The confidence of the men in themselves and their companies was not misplaced. Not only was the job done, but the schedule was shaved to midfall of 1960. And the U.S.S. *George Washington* put to sea with 16 Polaris A–1 missiles, on her first "peace patrol," on November 15 of that year.

The boldness of approach in committing customer and contractor, alike to a "submarine-missile envelope" before design was frozen was matched, however, by the simultaneous introduction of unprecedented techniques for management.

Interestingly enough, the linking of governmental, industrial, and academic specialists to technical and management goals of mutual concern was not new, per se, to

U.S. enterprise. This partnership has been employed before in other programs, for example, the "Manhattan project" of World War II, which produced the first atomic bomb.

However, the "Polaris management approach" was novel because of the program's unique organization and method of execution.

First, a singular agency within the Navy Department, the newly created Special Projects Office, was given unparalleled authority over all elements of a government-industry-academic "team" engaged in work carrying the highest possible priority.

THE WATCHWORD: TEAMWORK

Second, the expedience of genuine teamwork did not become an imposing yet perfunctory cliche. On the contrary, it was emphasized, exhorted and employed as the Project's watchword for ultimate success. From the highest echelons of management down through the subcontractor and supplier levels, the importance of teamwork permeated the fabric of the entire work force. Thus, an unusually large proportion of the team, at all levels and at widely divergent locations, recognized the worth of "personal" contribution—an esprit de corps not always easy to foster in a program so large and complex.

In early 1956, when the Navy was attempting to adapt the Army's liquid-fuel Jupiter IRBM for shipboard use, the concept of an integrated Fleet Ballistic Missile Weapon System, using relatively small, solid-propellant motors, was but a persistent gleam in Admiral Raborn's eye.

Lockheed Missile Systems Division, together with the Aerojet-General Corp., was trying to develop a missile for the Navy using a solid-propellant motor, but were encountering severe problems, practical but not technical, due to sheer size and gross weight. The same problems of too much size and weight were also inherent in available guidance packages and in the business-ends of missiles—the warheads. The difficulties of stowing and firing a "bird" more than 45 feet high and weighing 150,000 pounds, even with a super-sized submarine, were prohibitive.

However, by midsummer of that year a series of dramatic scientific breakthroughs occurred which set the stage for startling changes.

SMITH'S KEY ROLE

One of the more important factors which made it possible to utilize these fast-breaking technological advances was their coordination and integration by Capt.—now Rear Admiral—Levering Smith, SP's technical director. Captain Smith, fortunately for all concerned, had the unusual ability to grasp not only the importance of such developments, but also their effect on the divergent, yet interdependent, subsystems. His rapid evaluation of total system's problems provided the synthesizing ingredient for success.

Aerojet demonstrated the capability to produce a solid-propellant, high-energy, rocket motor of considerable reduced volume.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology proposed inertial guidance weights appreciably below those of existing systems, largely through the efforts of Dr. C. S. Draper.

The Atomic Energy Commission achieved a warhead having a yield in total weight extremely attractive for an IRBM.

Coupled with these discoveries was a recommendation from Dr. Edward Teller that the United States should come up with a submarine-missile envelope, consistent with the expected capabilities 10 years hence. A weapon system "for its time," as it were.

RABORN NAMED IT

The technological harvest of the summer was just what Admiral Raborn and his associates had been looking for. Rough estimates revealed that launch weight could be reduced as much as 80 percent, to approximately 30,000 pounds. Missile size could be decreased proportionally and, thus, submarine launching would be feasible. With such a windfall, the Admiral decided to move ahead toward the development of a smaller sized missile which he named "Polaris."

To confirm this new approach, he established a steering task group, composed of eminent military and civilian scientists, with a single but formidable charter:

"Recommend envelope parameters for a Polaris submarine FBM weapon system." Meanwhile, he presented the Polaris concept to Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, the Chief of Naval Operations.

Lockheed engineers were engaged in preliminary designs for a solid-propellant missile and in conducting feasibility studies of methods to launch it. They were convinced that bare missile, underwater, tube launch was the most efficient and practical, and could be developed with the timespan dictated. Dr. W. A. Fiedler of Lockheed adapted his previously invented thrust vector control system, using "jetevators," which deflect the line of thrust in much the same way as an outboard motor steers a boat.

Events began to occur in rapid fire order: The Secretary of Defense authorized the Navy to terminate work on Jupiter and proceed with the development of an optimum submarine IRBM capability, at highest priority. CNO followed with a revised operational requirement for the FBM weapon system.

LOCKHEED/AEROJET

Lockheed was selected to develop the Polaris missile, with Aerojet named as a subcontractor to Lockheed for propulsion development.

By the end of the 1956, Special Projects had been assigned overall responsibility as the Polaris FBM weapon system manager, a far greater task than before. This included the responsibility for missile, launching, fire control, navigation, communications, ship subsystems, and the auxiliary functions of support activities and training.

During the early months of 1957, the steering task group studied the program intensively and divided into several specialized committees for specific attention to major subsystem requirements.

Lockheed submitted a series of two-stage solid-propellant missile configurations. These finless, jetevator-controlled, vehicles were well adapted to a vertical, air-ejection, bare missile launching method.

As March came to a close, the recommendations of the steering task group were presented; one of the Lockheed missile configurations was selected and Special Projects "froze" the missile submarine envelope.

The design characteristic spelled out would require technical advancements in many areas. Thus, the Special Projects, "government-industry team" had a common and overriding goal: to provide in actual hardware what had already been committed on paper.

HERE'S INDUSTRY LINEUP

Lockheed would be concerned with missile and support equipment development, reentry body development, and weapon system integration. Aerojet's responsibility would be to provide high-impulse, solid-propellant, motors. Westinghouse was brought in to design and develop an underwater launch system for the submarine. General Electric was selected to build the fire control equipment and to produce the MIT-designed miniaturized guidance system. An efficient submarine navigation system would be Sperry's responsibility. And, the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics, under the cognizance of the Bureau of Ships, would build the first Polaris submarine.

The team was, in fact, All-American in composition. In addition to the firms listed above, more than 21,000 separate subcontractors, vendors and suppliers, from all over the United States have added their names to the roster.

Since *George Washington's* 1960 deployment with A–1 missiles, the Polaris program has rapidly moved forward to other achievements and "firsts." In February 1962, Rear Adm. I. J. (Pete) Galantin, a member of one of the original Steering Task Group committees, succeeded the now Vice Admiral Raborn as Director, Special Projects.

Later that year, the second-generation 1,500-mile Polaris A–2 went to sea in an advanced-design submarine, the U.S.S. *Ethan Allan*. The range of 1,500 miles brought the Polaris capability up to what had been planned at the inception of the program.

THE PERT PROGRAM

This year, Polaris submarines will be deployed with the third-generation A–3 missile, whose 2,500-mile range will more than double that of the original A–1.

One of the management tools introduced in the Polaris program, and widely used by Lockheed, was PERT (program evaluation and review technique). This involves a computerized analysis of problems which can or may have impact on delivery schedules of components. It is applied to every subsystem. By this means, Special Projects and its contractors can evaluate job requirements, in advance, to determine what problem situations are most likely to exist under the many varying conditions. It highlights critical problems and time spans and speeds up the flow of vitally needed decisions and material by eliminating such factors as unreliable guesswork and unrealistic estimates. This program, or variations of it, is now used on every major American missile program.

The meeting of schedules, the reduction of costs and delivery of a weapon system which provides availability of 15 of the 16 missiles on board 99.9 percent of the time, are evidences of the efficiency of the Navy-industry combination.

This accomplishment was aptly summed up by one of the men who uses the end product "on the line." Capt. Charles Young commanding officer of U.S.S. *Thomas Edison*, while undergoing prepatrol trials in the lower firth of the Clyde, Scotland, noted that his ship is the first Polaris submarine to carry the name of an inventor and added: "One of the most amazing things about this whole system is that American industry was able to get together with the Navy and develop this, the most complex, yet most reliable, weapon system in history."

It was and it is.

Eulogy of the Late Honorable John Bonifas Bennett

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow at the untimely passing of our esteemed colleague, the Honorable JOHN BONIFAS BENNETT.

It was a privilege to serve with him in the House of Representatives. JOHN BENNETT was not only from the neighboring State of Michigan, but also a fellow alumnus of Marquette University, in Milwaukee.

He demonstrated many sterling qualities. We will remember him best for his tireless, judicious service on the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight. He was stern and forthright in matters dealing with shortcomings in Government.

JOHN BENNETT'S kindness and courtesies won for him many friends. He served his district, his State, and our Nation with ability and distinction through his legislative and personal endeavors.

My wife joins me in expressing deep sympathy to his widow and family. May they derive some small consolation from the knowledge that his loss is shared by his many friends.

Low Cattle Prices and High Beef Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Montana cattleman has for many years been unable to understand why cattle prices can be as low as they are most of the time, and beef prices at the meat counter be as high as they consistently are.

Two articles from the summer 1964, issue of The Meat of It shed a little light on this otherwise twilight zone. I ask unanimous consent that these two articles, entitled "Prosperous Packers" and "Pockets of Plenty," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POCKETS OF PLENTY

Elsewhere we have pointed to the enormous profits by the Nation's meatpacking companies. Such a rosy profit picture indicates the favorable situation of American industry.

In such prosperous times, these huge earnings are handsomely divided by the top brass, as a look at the salary data reveals.

Commenting on this situation, Business Week magazine pointed out that: "In almost all areas of business, some companies turned in healthy 1963 profits and rewarded top managers with fat salary increases and fatter bonuses."

Let's take a peek in the pockets of chief executives of some of our Nation's largest food products firms:

Executive profit in 1963 [1]

A. D. Davis, president, Winn-Dixie Co	$1,167,900
Samuel Friedland, chairman, Food Fair Stores	578,417
William W. Prince, chairman Armour & Co	183,242
Executive profit in 1963 [1]—Continued	
Porter M. Jarvis, president, Swift & Co	$152,896
W. Murphy, president, Campbell Soup Co	262,426
H. J. Heinz II, chairman, H. J. Heinz Co	508,339
Charles G. Mortimer, chairman, General Foods	215,000
Lee S. Bickmore, president, National Biscuit Co	174,716

[1] Includes all salaries, bonuses, stock options, dividends, etc.

These are just a selected few. It is sobering to think that these same companies have employees earning $1.50 an hour, or less. That's an annual "take" of $3,180 a year. Quite a difference.

Furthermore, these companies are all engaged in the handling, processing or retailing of agricultural produce. But farm income statistics grimly prove that the family farmer is not invited to sup at the executive's table.

PROSPEROUS PACKERS

The 1963 fiscal year was a good one for nearly all meatpackers, but results for the first 6 months of fiscal 1964 reveal profit totals which must surely reach beyond their wildest dreams.

For the nine major packers, profits are up 47 percent over the same period in 1963, on the average.

RECORD LEVELS

Profit figures, now available for the first half of 1964 fiscal year, show record levels without exception. The figures in the adjoining table tell their own story.

Many reasons are offered to explain these huge gains, and there is no doubt that the packers made money out of the farmers' hides when livestock prices slumped to dramatic lows.

Rapidly increasing labor productivity, and declining employment and labor costs, are also important explanatory items.

Also, many observers feel that, as a result of the recent pressures urging an investigation of chainstore purchasing practices, these retail giants have released their pressure somewhat, thus enabling packers to bolster already handsome margins.

OUTLOOK IS ROSY

Whatever the reasons, the packer profit outlook for the rest of the year is very rosy indeed. Historically, profits in the second half of the year have always been better than in the first 6 months.

It is little wonder then, in the light of these extraordinary profit figures, that workers in the meatpacking industry find it difficult to believe the tales of poverty and woe that the packers hand them. Such statistics prove conclusively that the meat unions' 1964 contract proposals will certainly not drive the Nation's meatpacking giants into bankruptcy.

Meatpacker profits are zooming—6-month profit totals (after tax)

Company	1963	1964	Percent gain
Armour	$7,677,496	$10,021,508	31
Swift	8,511,079	10,545,928	24
Wilson	3,782,788	5,649,223	49
Cudahy	(723,646)	806,579	211
Hormel	968,547	1,672,266	73
Rath	352,932	602,791	71
Morrell	886,204	1,525,997	72
Hygrade	201,219	1,006,467	400
Total	21,656,619	31,830,759	47

NOTE.—Figures in parentheses denote deficits.

A Small Business Plank for the Democratic Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement by George J. Burger, vice president, legislation, of the National Federation of Independent Business, urging the Democratic platform committee to include in the platform for 1964 a strong plank in favor of maintaining the position of small business in our economic structure.

While I concur wholeheartedly with most of what my good friend George Burger has to say in this statement, there are some points of disagreement between us, more particularly about labor and social security and medical care for the aged.

Since frank discussion about honest differences of opinion are good for the soul of democracy, I set forth Mr. Burger's statement, in full, as follows:

STATEMENT OF GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, INC., BEFORE THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WASHINGTON, D.C., AUGUST 17, 1964—SUBJECT: SMALL BUSINESS PLANK FOR PLATFORM

I am George J. Burger, Sr., vice president, legislation, National Federation of Independent Business, Washington, D.C. Our head office is located at San Mateo, Calif. My testimony is based on the signed opinions of our more than 200,000 individual, directly supporting members in smaller business and the professions, indicating what must be done to keep open the doors of opportunity in our country.

This is a pleasure, since the record shows that many of the recommendations which our members made to your party in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960, and to which your party committed itself, have been acted on. We pay tribute to all who helped honor these pledges.

Small business should rate as one of your most important considerations. It is one concrete representation of the right to hold and use property in private. This right is basic to the dignity, thus freedom, of the individual. Moreover, small business now provides 30 million jobs for Americans—and granted broader opportunities will engage in expansions that can provide an additional 20 million jobs in the next 5 years. This is most significant. One of our gravest national problems today is that of providing job openings for a constantly growing population.

Broadening of small business opportunities yields to no single, simple solution, but involves many considerations. The following are some of the more critical recommendations which our members, based on their operating experience, have asked we make to you.

ANTITRUST

First and foremost, they urge impartial, vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws to keep open the doors of opportunity. They

urge maintenance of top-caliber personnel in policymaking positions in the antitrust agencies, and adequate appropriations for their operation. They urge strengthening of the antitrust laws to curb manufacturer unfair competition with retailers, to curb secret rebates and kickbacks, as well as monopolistic loss leader selling. They urge the antitrust agencies be equipped with power to secure temporary injunctions against unfair practices, and that large firms planning mergers be required to furnish advance notice of same.

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION

Second, recognizing that Government policies directly influence the opportunity climate of our country, our members urge that small business have a greater voice in such policymaking and policy implementation, through: (1) grant of full legislative authority to the Small Business Committees, (2) continuation and further strengthening of the Small Business Administration programs, and (3) continuation of the Cabinet-level Committees on Small Business at the White House.

TAXES

Much progress has been made in past years toward a more equitable tax structure for smaller business, but more improvements are needed. Our members urge: (1) enactment of measures which would permit smaller firms to plow back into their operations free of tax up to 20 percent of all earnings which they reinvest in expansions of plant, inventory, and accounts receivable, (2) revision of the corporate tax structure to make the surtax set in at the $50,000 instead of the $25,000 level, and (3) further liberalization of the so-called self-employed private retirement law.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMY

Realizing that fiscal soundness demands that tax reduction be accompanied by reductions in Government spending, our members urge: (1) Creation of a group like the Hoover Commission to conduct continuing review and analysis of Government programing and make recommendations for greater efficiency and economy, and (2) the limiting of Government spending to income, with orderly retirement of the debt.

LABOR

Even-handed enforcement of laws governing labor-management relations is a must if small business is to expand. Our members urge: (1) Impartial, vigorous enforcement of these laws, and (2) amendment of the laws to prohibit nationwide strikes and to confine picketing of a business to the employees of that business.

GOVERNMENT COMPETITION

Whenever Government competes unnecessarily with smaller business it undermines incentives to expand. A recent report by the Comptroller General strongly suggests, however, that the military have been doing just this in the food field for the past 8 years. This strongly suggests that similar activities may be underway in other areas. Our members strongly urge: (1) that positive programs be undertaken to reduce Government competition and that action be taken to insure compliance with recommendations in this area, and (2) that the extent to which Government employees engage in "moonlighting" to the detriment of private business be investigated.

PAPERWORK BURDENS

Filling out and keeping the reports, forms, and records required by governments cost smaller firms as much as $1,750 million a year. To the extent this burden can be lightened, more money will be freed for job-creating expansions. Our members urge reduction of these burdens commencing with elimination of Federal Form 941 (Quarterly Report on Withholdings). They urge close coordination between Federal and State Governments, to reduce discrepancies between reports of a similar nature.

COMPENSATION FOR RELOCATIONS

We find that firms and individuals forced to relocate by Government construction are not receiving adequate compensation. Some moves are painful, and others disastrous, to owners and employees. Our members urge that quick action be taken to provide adequate compensation for losses caused by relocations.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

We find that as many as 1½ of every 10 American smaller firms are affected by foreign trade. The great majority claim injury due to this competition with resultant curtailment in their employment. A majority of those interested in exporting claim unawareness of aids available through Federal agencies. Our members urge: (1) the tying of tariffs directly to wage differentials between industries in this country and in other lands for stronger protection against unfairnesses, (2) reduction in time allowed for decisions in dumping cases, and (3) a more vigorous informational effort on the part of agencies offering aid to prospective exporters.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Every dollar taken for social welfare programs is one not available for job-creating expansions. Our members strongly urge a balanced approach by Government in this area, mindful of the fact that without more and better jobs our Nation faces nothing other than a system of growing doles. Specifically they urge: (1) Improvement of the lot of retired people through lifting the earnings ceiling on social security, rather than increases in social security payments, (2) a sharing by employees with employers in the unemployment compensation program, (3) no further increase in Federal minimum wages via reduction in the workweek, (4) no further expansion in the unemployment compensation system, and (5) rejection of all efforts to the medical care for the aged into the social security system.

In conclusion, these are some of the things (for complete information, please see the written statement we have filed with your platform committee) which our members, a true cross section of American independent enterprise, have told us, on the basis of their operating experience, can and must be done by Government to assist in making possible realization of their expansion plans which are so vital to creation of additional job openings.

On behalf of our members, we urge that you incorporate their recommendations into your small business plank.

We thank you.

National Defense Education Act Amendments, 1964

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11904) to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, as one who was privileged to have participated in the enactment of the original National Defense Education Act of 1958, I am particularly pleased to rise in support of this measure, H.R. 11904, to amend and extend the original act.

Certainly there is no better investment for the lasting good of this country we can make than providing the fullest educational opportunities for our youth and encouraging them to take the utmost advantage of these opportunities.

Certainly the history of this legislation, which has enjoyed continuing bipartisan support, since 1958, clearly demonstrates it was wisely conceived, it has been soundly administered at all levels, and has made an increasingly vital contribution to the progress of this country.

Since this legislation was first enacted the testimony shows there have been over 680,000 loans made to needy students who very likely could not otherwise have obtained a college education. The record further shows that the rate of repayment by students borrowing under the program has been five times as fast as the law specifies. I think this fact alone should renew our faith in the youth of this Nation and the worth of this legislation. However, beyond this fact, growing school enrollments, rising tuition costs, a continuing manpower shortage in crucial fields and ever-increasing demands for quality instruction convincingly appeal for the proposed extension and expansion of this program as proposed in the bill before us now. Indeed, it is my hope that it may become possible for us to provide a 3-year extension of this Education Act to permit participating educational institutions to more wisely and practically plan the best educational programs and I most earnestly trust that Public Laws 815 and 874, familiarly called the Federally Impacted School District Acts, will be extended for at least 2 years so that local community officials and school administrators can plan and project their budgets accordingly.

Mr. Speaker, the fundamental purposes of this extension bill, to provide certain modifications in the current program that are imperative in meeting the changing needs of students, the colleges and universities in the Nation; to ease the administrative burden of institutions of higher education by providing for coordination of student loan programs; and to assist in creating trained and qualified manpower in fields of critical importance, are undoubtedly in the best interest of all the people of this country.

The past record of 6 years of operation clearly reveals this legislation has improved all levels of education from the elementary schools through the graduate schools. It shows that the programs have been fully controlled at the local levels, as they should be and as we want them to be, with a minimum of Federal intervention. It shows that the legislation has been economically prudent and the investment is wise. It shows that the whole program has been of immeasurable benefit to the country at the present time and promises even greater benefit for the future. I, therefore, urge my colleagues to unite, as we have in the past, in bipartisan support and prompt enactment of this bill for the good of all Americans.

Vitality of Savings Banks Shown by Dynamic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, despite the obvious fact that savings banks are now providing more essential services to their customers, and are continuously showing increasing vitality and usefulness, there are still those people who wish to do away with these institutions by letting them be swallowed up by commercial banks.

The following article by Mr. Gerald R. Dorman, which appeared in the August 1964, Savings Bank Depositor of New York, gives a clear and explicit explanation of this increasing vitality and its causes, and cites some very cogent reasons for the continued existence and extension of the savings banks system.

The article follows:

VITALITY OF SAVINGS BANKS SHOWN BY DYNAMIC GROWTH

(By Gerald R. Dorman)

The savings banks of New York State have been setting new records in 1964 in deposits, mortgage investments, assets and interest-dividends paid to depositors. Thus they are proving anew the vitality of their mutual form of operation and its valued service to the people and the economy of the State.

Perhaps the most notable evidence of this vitality is the record of the savings banks in mortgage lending.

The notable fact is that during the first 6 months of this year, despite increasing competition in the mortgage market coupled with a record half-year gain in deposits, the New York State savings banks showed the largest gain in mortgage holdings for any 6-month period in this history.

That increase amounted to $1,257 million, bettering by close to $50 million the previous 6-month record of $1,209 million set in the first half of 1963. It brought to over $23,224 million the total mortgage holdings of the 125 savings banks.

The benefits to New York State and its people from this large volume of mortgage investment are manifold.

Much of this money is at work in savings bank communities and throughout the State, primarily helping people own their own homes, but also helping in the construction or improvement of such necessary community facilities as hospitals, schools, business buildings, churches, and others.

A large volume of homebuilding in the State financed by savings banks helps create and maintain employment in the building and construction industries, and in hundreds of others that supply products used in new homes.

Earnings flow back into New York State, too, from funds not needed to meet mortgage requirements in the State and consequently invested by the savings banks in homes elsewhere in the Nation. These earnings benefit savings bank depositors and the New York economy. For this reason, it would be in the interests of the people, the building industry and the State if saving bank nationwide mortgage lending privileges, now restricted to FHA and VA loans, were extended by the New York State Legislature to include conventional mortgage loans.

The savings banks are able to set new mortgage records and provide widespread benefits because, under their mutual type of operation, they are set up and operated to handle the savings of individuals with maximum efficiency and with a good return to the saver.

That this fact is constantly gaining wider recognition is evidenced by continuing increases in savings bank deposits. During the first 6 months of this year, New York State savings banks gained $660,429,000 in new deposits, exclusive of interest-dividends credited.

Like the increase in mortgage investments, this was the largest net deposit gain in any half year since the first savings bank was opened in the State in 1819. It represented an 84-percent increase over the gain of $358,431,000 in the January–June period of 1963. Total due depositors was thus brought to a record high of $27,010 million.

This total was held in just under 11 million accounts. It comprised 58 percent of deposits held by all savings banks in the Nation—and the New York State savings banks also hold the leading position among all the country's savings banks in mortgage lending and total assets as well.

Their mortgage holdings, for example, are 62 percent of all savings bank mortgage holdings, and their total assets—which rose by $1,291 million in the first half to $30,234 million—represent 58 percent of the national savings bank total.

The New York State savings banks made a record high total of interest-dividend payments during the first half of 1964. The total sum credited to their depositors' accounts * * * was $547,036,000, and it points toward a total 1964 credit of well over a billion dollars.

The substantial growth of the savings banks so far this year reflects, of course, the continuing high level of economic activity in New York State and the Nation. These savings are a major factor acting as a brake on inflation as the economy continues to grow.

Savings bank growth is neither fortuitous nor accidental: the savings banks have been working hard to bring it about and insure its continuance. Wherever they have had the legal authority and the opportunity in keeping with public need and sound business practice, they have opened new offices and provided new services.

To date, for example, they have opened 50 branch offices under the limited extension of branching powers afforded them by the Omnibus Banking Law of 1961. These branches, conveniently located in areas not previously served by savings banks, posted aggregate deposit gains of $154,391,000 in the first half of 1964. The total due depositors by these "Omnibus Law branches" stood at $669,937,000 on June 30.

There can be little doubt that these savings bank offices help stimulate saving in the areas they serve, for there is no evidence that their gains have been made at the expense of other banks or bank offices in their areas. They have provided healthy competition by giving the people of those areas—in many instances for the first time—a choice between the benefits provided by mutual savings banks and those offered by stockholder-owned banks.

In the way of services * * * there has been increasing use of such savings bank loan services as passbook loans, student loans, and home improvement loans; and the sales of savings bank life insurance have continued to rise. * * * Total savings bank life insurance in force in the State has reached nearly $680 million.

Savings bank life insurance is an integral part of the savings bank system of New York State, a system made up of the 125 savings banks and a number of affiliated agencies providing vital services to the banks and helping to weld them into a true system, the benefits of which extend to every savings bank depositor.

The affiliated agencies are Institutional Investors Mutual Fund, Institutional Securities Corp., Savings Bank Life Insurance Council, Savings Banks Life Insurance Fund, Savings Banks Employees Group Insurance Fund, Savings Banks Trust Co., and the Savings Banks Retirement System. These affiliated instruments of the mutual savings banks of New York State have been a major factor in maintaining the vitality of the savings bank as specialized thrift institutions operating in the heart of the Nation's financial capital.

The accomplishments of the New York State savings banks and of their affiliated agencies, considerable as they have been, cannot and do not blind us, however, to the changes in the lives and needs of the State's people that clearly indicate what the goals of savings banking must be.

The need exists in New York State for a greater expansion of the savings bank system than is possible under present law, and for a wider range of savings bank services than can now be provided. These needs can be met once they are clearly recognized and acted upon by the State legislature.

On their part, the State's savings banks—which have specialized in providing personal financial services longer and more consistently than any other type of institution—are ready and able to move further ahead just as soon as the legislature recognizes and acts upon the people's needs.

So Long to a Real Pro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, "Cobby," of the Plain Dealer, retired this week after 41 years with the newspaper, 18 of them as its sports editor.

Gordon Cobbledick's friends and readers in the Cleveland, Ohio, area served by the Plain Dealer are numberless. His familiar byline will be sorely missed from the sports section.

Cobby's fame as a newspaperman extends far beyond northern Ohio; he is well-known and admired by news writers across the Nation. The esteem in which he is held is beautifully expressed in the following editorial from the Plain Dealer:

SO LONG TO A REAL PRO

All week long the editorial rooms of this newspaper have experienced a hush reminiscent of that enveloping a stadium throng when a veteran performer leaves the field for the last time.

Our own Gordon Cobbledick, veteran sports editor, was headed down the ramp to the clubhouse of newspaper retirement.

It is not easy to part daily company with an associate long regarded as an unchallenged champion in his field and whose devotion to craftsmanship has been an inspiration to generations of sportswriters.

It is even less easy when the associate is a man of wit, of enthusiasm, of wide knowledge outside of sports and of keen interest in the affairs of his fellowmen.

Cobbledick has the human touch that endears him to wealthy club owners and to

cafeteria employees, who know him as "Cobby." The touch was in evidence in the great piece he sent from the Pacific jungles on V–E Day which reminded celebrating Americans that the war was not over for young Yanks trying to dodge Japanese bombs and bullets.

His unfaltering romance with the Cleveland Indians and his unfading dislike for the Yankee ownership are topics with which he has entertained "Plain Dealing" readers since away back when.

His aversion for showboaters in any sport and for the phoniness of the wrestling profession certify a personal integrity that has made him the confidant of a host of admirers and friends.

On this newspaper, "Cobby" will be long remembered for a multiplicity of talents but mostly for his flawless prose, a commodity with which the profession of sports writing is not overly endowed.

A perfectionist, he likes to write about perfection. A pro, he speaks the language of pros. Of the great, he writes with the authority of being one of them.

Equitable Revision of Our Outmoded Immigration Policy Is Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the boasted basic standards by which we Americans claim to measure a man are his strength, his integrity of character, his conscientious industry, and his personal ambition. In theory his place of birth has nothing to do with the kind of person he may be.

However and unfortunately, our current immigration laws openly contradict this theory. Under present laws, it is, for instance, clearly intimated that the Italian people are about one-thirteenth as acceptable for prospective American citizenship as the English and that the Greek people are about 200 times less desirable for American admittance than the English. There is similar discrimination against many other nationalities under the present system.

Beyond the objective injustices projected under our current immigration regulations and restrictions I think it is very practical, in our own self-interest, to point out the adverse effect the antiquated national origins quota method has on the prestige of the United States abroad and the operation of successful foreign policy.

I earnestly feel that the great majority of our citizens desire to have our immigration laws brought more realistically into line with the traditional character and disposition of the American people in order to prove we truly mean the inspiring phrase we so often use—"All men are created equal."

Mr. Speaker, there is now pending before the Congress a bill, actually the first bill our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy sent to Congress, designed to remove the bias, the prejudice, the discrimination, and the injustices of our present immigration laws. This bill is known as H.R. 7700 and I myself have introduced a bill that is practically identical to it, H.R. 8883.

These bills, and many others of like nature, would, fundamentally, along with other revisions and reforms, eliminate the present inequitable discriminatory overall quota system and set up a new method, with no great increase, of quota allocations without regard to national origins; they would insure that an individual with special talents that could be used here would not be faced with inordinate delay in admittance because of his birthplace and they would halt the existing hardships on separated families from Italy or Greece or other countries who must now most often experience agonizing postponements of family unity while large quotas for England and Ireland remain unused.

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope this Congress will not adjourn without taking action on these pending revisions in our immigration laws that will demonstrate, both to ourselves and the world, that we are really serious in desiring to eradicate discrimination based on race and national origin.

At this point I would like to include the testimony I recently presented to the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration in support of H.R. 7700, and my own bill, H.R. 8883, and any other bills that would achieve the equitable objective we commonly seek.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, PRESENTED BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 8883, H.R. 7700, AND SIMILAR BILLS

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, may I express the very deepest appreciation, on behalf of untold thousands of naturalized Americans, prospective American citizens, a great number of my colleagues and myself, to you for the conduct of these hearings on proposed legislation to revise our current immigration laws, which is one of the most vitally important legislative subjects that today challenges our moral conscience and legislative prudence. It is my most earnest hope that very promptly upon the conclusion of these hearings committee initiative will be exercised to expedite congressional action, before any adjournment takes place, on this pending legislation.

As one who has consistently advocated and supported continuing improvements in and expansion of our immigration laws throughout my service in the House I wish to thank you for this opportunity to submit testimony in favor of H.R. 7700 and, of course, my own bill, H.R. 8883, which is practically identical to it. Let me emphasize right now that a particular measure or author is not the important thing in this matter. Our chief concern is to urge your approval of whatever bill or vehicle you deem best designed to remove and correct the obvious injustices that have been too long projected by the outmoded provisions of our present immigration laws and regulations.

Even cursory examination of our present laws reveals their obviously unfair and unpopular discrimination against the majority of the nations of the world. This persistent discrimination has increasingly weakened our position and our overtures of world leadership and has unwittingly delivered into skillful anti-American hands an effective instrument for Communist propaganda against the United States as the proclaimed hope and asylum of the poor and persecuted, the tired and the homeless.

As a glaring example of discrimination a very heavy priority is given to immigrant applicants of the countries of Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany, yet there were more than 41,000 unused numbers in the last British quota. On the other hand countries like Israel, India, China and many others are permitted only 100 immigrants into the United States per year.

A brief review of the situation in other countries in southern and eastern Europe demonstrates similar and even greater discrimination. For example, Italy's yearly quota of 5,666 must by some supposed miraculous process attempt to cover well over 250,000 applicants. Greece has been granted a quota of 308 to process a backlog of over 100,000 qualified applicants. Poland is permitted only 6,488 persons per year to somehow be allocated among more than 60,000 annual applicants.

I feel certain that you and the great majority of Americans would judge this situation to be intolerable and it is, indeed, a matter which has seriously hurt the prestige of the United States, both at home and abroad.

Along with other deficiencies this outdated, outmoded, unjust and discriminatory quota system is the substantive evil the legislation before you is designed to correct and whose adoption will, I believe, effect such correction.

Briefly reviewing the provisions of my bill and the other measures before you we observe that their enactment would not result in any great increase in the total number of immigrants traditionally admitted to the United States; rather, the proposed legislation would eliminate, mostly over a period of 5 years, by pooling and redistribution, our present discriminatory system of national quotas and thereby alleviate the backlogs of those countries having the highest number of applicants.

Under the new qouta system that would be achieved by this proposed legislation no country would be entitled to more than 10 percent of the entire annual allocation whereas under current law three nations are granted almost two-thirds of all quota numbers. Another provison would establish an immigration board to review naturalization policy and to recommend fair and just use of unallocated quota numbers.

Further than that, by the adoption of these legislative proposals before you, close relatives of American citizens and resident aliens who have been on waiting lists for a heartbreaking length of time and those who could contribute the most, because of special skills, to the progress of the United States, would be granted highest priority regardless of their place of birth. The adoption of this provision alone would save countless expenditures of Federal money, as well as the time and energy of Federal legislators and agencies in the processing of private bills for the relief of extreme and unusual hardship immigration cases that come before this committee by the thousands every year.

Mr. Chairman and committee members, none of us should forget that this great Nation was itself founded almost altogether by immigrants. Certainly in advancing our position of world leadership and inspiration in these perilous days we can speak more convincingly for freedom everywhere when we have done our legislative utmost to give real freedom, real sanctuary, real family unity, and real opportunity to qualified immigrants who wish to begin a new life in this country. Our national history reminds us that these are the kind of people in whose behalf the original American tradition of asylum was established and whose immigration to these shores has enriched our country from its earliest days right up to this very hour.

Mr. Chairman and committee members, in his immigration legislation recommendations to Congress our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy stated—"our investment in new citizens has always been a valuable source of our strength." With this sentiment and in his valiant spirit let us pursue this proven investment and I most earnestly hope that, in your wisdom and judgment, you will feel warranted in expediting your recommendation of congressional enactment of this legislation.

Why a Moratorium on Demonstrations?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following thoughtful article by Mr. Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 10, 1964.

Mr. Drummond rightfully argues that it is time for demonstrations on behalf of civil rights to stop, as the only purpose they now serve is to shield violence and crime. He applauds responsible Negro leaders like the Reverend Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and Philip Randolph, for their action to stop these demonstrations.

The article follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS: WHY A MORATORIUM ON DEMONSTRATIONS?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—After American Negro citizens have borne so much so long—lynchings, brutalities, massive indignity, and almost total denial of their rights of citizenship, it is not easy for the Negro leaders to say any to expect to be instantly heeded: "Be calm, be quiet, wait—and see."

After mass demonstrations have proved so useful in the past, it takes maturity and courage and wisdom on the part of the Negro leaders to sheathe the weapon and to ask their followers to do the same.

No wonder one dissident Negro activist shouts: "The only way we got this far is because of our demonstrations."

But this "stay-in-the-streets" plea is profoundly wrong and the principal Negro leaders are as prodoundly right in urging a moratorium on all "mass marches, mass picketing, and mass demonstrations" as when they called for mass demonstrations more than a year ago and utilized the famous "freedom march" in Washington so responsibly and so effectively.

They should stop because mass picketing and mass demonstrations are not helping the civil rights cause one whit and are hurting the civil rights cause periously.

They should stop these mass demonstrations—however understandable, however useful in the past—because they are begetting violence (as in Harlem, Rochester, and Jersey City) and are becoming the shield for crime which can do nothing but alienate support which the cause of the civil rights enforcement crucially needs.

They should stop because the over-riding need today is to nourish law observance, including the observance of the new Civil Rights Act, which can never be nourished by law violation.

They should stop because they are bound to poison and distort the Presidential campaign and, from the standpoint of the civil rights leaders, contribute to bringing about what they least want.

The view of the Negro dissident activist is that, because the demonstrations "got us this far," they should continue.

The view of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Philip Randolph, and the other Negro leaders, who have devoted their whole lives to the cause of their race, is that, since the mass demonstrations have accomplished the central objective of putting the rights of Negro citizens into law, they should be abandoned until and unless the law is tried and found wanting.

I believe that the Martin Luther Kings, the Wilkinses and the Randolphs are profoundly right, because equal rights for all citizens is today the law of the land and that on the day President Johnson signed the act of Congress the Government of the United States took the issue out of the streets and put it into the courts.

The central need now is to give the new law the fullest, the most faithful and the most patient opportunity to be applied.

Civil disobedience is a proper and powerful instrument of mass protest to correct a grave injustice. No one used disobedience more effectively than Mahatma Ghandi, but where would India be today if he had continued to use it against his own government after it had succeeded in gaining his nation's independence from the British?

A very distinguished American Negro, who has long been in the midst of the fight for equal rights, former Ambassador Carl T. Rowan, now director of the U.S. Information Agency, did not put it too candidly when he said recently:

"The hour has come when bold, uncompromising efforts must be made to free the civil rights movement from the taint of street rioters. * * * There is a crying, almost desperate, need for us to guard that movement jealously against inroads by those whose desire is to create chaos."

Equal rights, which is now imbedded in the law of the land, cannot be furthered—either in the North or in the South, either for Negro citizens or for white citizens—by civil wrongs.

The Attorney General and Our Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the antipoverty bill, this Congress has brought our society closer to to the goal of equality. As part of this all important effort, the immigration law should be revised now. I have introduced H.R. 7740, which would do so. Our present immigration laws based on the 1920 census and the quota system are grossly inequitable and inconsistent with our fundamental principles. The Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, has stated the case for the passage of the administration's immigration bill, which I have cosponsored, in a letter to the New York Times published on August 14, 1964. The Attorney General points out that the present immigration system "damages America in the eyes of the world * * * deprives us of able immigrants who contributions we need * * * inflicts needless personal cruelty on large numbers of American citizens and residents. And it does not work."

I strongly urge all my colleagues to read the following letter:

KENNEDY ASSAILS VISA BAN; ATTORNEY GENERAL ADVOCATES END TO NATIONAL ORIGINS SYSTEM

To the EDITOR: In a letter to the editor published August 10, William A. Turner deplores the pending administration bill to eliminate the national origins system from our immigration laws. Mr. Turner says he believes the present system is satisfactory and that in 36 years as a Foreign Service officer of the State Department he has never heard foreigners criticize the national origins provision of our immigration laws.

It is my firm conviction that this national origins system causes our Nation great harm both at home and abroad, and that it should be eradicated from our law.

This national origins system was conceived in a spirit of mistrust of certain racial groups, in southern and eastern Europe and elsewhere. Its original stated purpose was bald discrimination—to preserve what was believed to be the racial and ethnic composition of our population in 1924.

This system is a blot on our relations with other countries. It violates our basic national philosophy because it judges individuals not on their worth, but solely on their place of birth—or even where their ancestors happen to be born. I know from my own experiences abroad how deeply this system hurts us. I have been asked how a country which professes that all men are equal could permit a system which treated immigrants so unequally. It is a difficult criticism to answer.

UNFILLED NEEDS

This system fails to fulfill our own needs at home. An unskilled laborer from a northern European country can come here without delay or difficulty. But a particularly well-qualified scientist, or engineer—or chef—from one of a number of other countries experiences great difficulty and long delay. Thus there are no visas now available for a Korean radiation expert, a Japanese microbiologist, a Greek chemist, a skilled teacher of the deaf from the Philippines—and many others like them. Yet all want to come here, all are needed, and all are wanted. The time has come for us to insist that the quota system be replaced by the merit system.

This system inflicts cruel and unnecessary hardship on the families of many American citizens and resident aliens. Again and again they are deprived of the chance to bring brothers and sisters or other close relatives to this country because quotas in their native countries are oversubscribed. The national origins quota system makes it easier for a man to bring a maid to this country than to bring his mother; a system which can so distort human values must be revised.

Finally—and ironically—the national origins system does not even achieve its own purposes. It assigns an overwhelming number of quota visas to the countries of northern and western Europe—which do not use them all. For example, out of about 83,000 numbers assigned annually to the British Isles, only about 32,000 visas are used.

The 51,000 unused numbers cannot be reassigned; they are lost. Meanwhile, the quotas of many other countries are oversubscribed with the names of thousands of eligible immigrants eager to come to this country. Thus the ratio of immigration

sought by the national origins system is not maintained, nor can it be.

SPECIAL LAWS

Further, the pressures which result from this system have forced Congress to enact special laws from time to time in recent years authorizing visas for people waiting in oversubscribed countries. The result is a further departure from the ratio which the national origins system was designed to continue.

This system damages America in the eyes of the world. It deprives us of able immigrants whose contributions we need. It inflicts needless personal cruelty on large numbers of American citizens and residents. And it doesn't work. Certainly, no plainer or more compelling arguments could be made for changing this system.

The administration's pending immigration bill seeks to change that system and establish a system that works in the national interest. It would increase the amount of authorized immigration by only a fraction—from 157,000 to 165,000. But it would, at the same time, gradually eliminate the present system and provide us with the flexibility necessary to deal with problems of fairness and of foreign policy.

Both major parties and four successive Presidents have urged a revision of the immigration laws. President Kennedy recommended this legislation to Congress and President Johnson has firmly endorsed it. Every American should support the change.

ROBERT KENNEDY,
Attorney General.

WASHINGTON, *August 11, 1964.*

Housing Act of 1964

SPEECH
OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12175) to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities, and for other purposes.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, because the evidence and expert testimony clearly show that slum clearance, urban renewal, housing for the elderly, low-cost public housing and similar programs are still urgently needed in almost every section of this country, I consider it a legislative obligation to urge support and prompt enactment of this bill, H.R. 12175, designed to extend and amend the present laws relating to housing, urban renewal, community facilities and other purposes.

The distinguished chairman of the House subcommittee and his associate members have worked long and hard to bring a reasonable omnibus housing bill before this House and, with noticeable bipartisan effort, I think it is apparent their common patriotic objective has been achieved in this measure. Admittedly many of the provisions are complex but the distinguished subcommittee chairman has patiently and exhaustively attempted to explain them all to this body. There is probably no greater challenge to any of our committees than the subject of housing and we are fortunate indeed to have the benefit of such a knowledgeable and conscientious committee chairman with a most diligent committee membership.

As an example of their conscientiousness and diligence they have made an heroic effort in this measure to provide, against past criticism, that in no instance should peopled be uprooted by urban renewal or any other governmental program unless such action was approved at the local level and unless adequate provision was made for the rehousing of the affected people in good, sanitary and wholesome accommodations of either a public or private nature. One of the most practical provisions of this measure is that authorizing a program for some 3 years of graduate training of city planners. The record of past disappointments in what appeared to be promising housing or renewal programs emphasizes the need for advance planning based on realistic knowledge and awareness of the technical and human relations problems likely to be encountered.

Most of the funds recommended in this measure would provide for urban renewal grants and an addition of some 35,000 units of public housing.

Other noteworthy features include funds for direct housing loans for the elderly and appropriations to begin an imperatively needed program of low-rent housing for migrant workers.

A further and most wholesome provision is designed to initiate a program of low-interest loans for improving already renewed areas.

Another most important innovation in this measure is that which emphasizes the role of code enforcement in urban renewal objectives. This provision is designed to place more responsibility on local authorities so that after a period of 3 years they cannot qualify for any further urban renewal assistance unless they have an adequate code enforcement impact at the local level. It seems clear that had this idea been carried out over the past years we very likely would not have such widespread slum and blight areas presently and unfortunately existing in so many cities throughout this great country.

Also within the provisions of this measure a single low-income person would be made eligible for public housing and individual handicapped persons would be given eligibility for the purchase or rental of FHA housing for low or moderate income families.

Mr. Chairman, the record shows that in general, the program has been well administered and it has been exceptionally free from misuse of funds or authority.

Mr. Chairman, this housing bill is certainly a relatively modest one. It surely seems essential for the continuation of programs that are vital to our efforts and our obligations to encourage better housing in better surroundings for all of our people. Because it is clearly in accord with our national traditions, because it is designed to prudently meet a foundation national need and because it is obviously intended to promote the health, the safety, and the happiness of all our citizens, I urge that it be promptly enacted.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Twentieth Anniversary Celebration—American Airlines: San Antonio and the Golden West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 16, it was my great honor and privilege to have been present at a double ceremony on the occasion of the 20th anniversary celebration of American Airlines service in the San Antonio area and to Mexico.

The first event was the inaugural ceremony for flight 163—a Boeing jet on the first nonstop passenger flight from San Antonio, Tex., to San Francisco, Calif., of the Golden West. This was a most auspicious occasion for many reasons. For one, it is a fast direct link between two of the most unique cities in the United States—San Francisco and San Antonio. On board the flight were distinguished leaders of San Antonio's city government and business. Also present were distinguished visitors from Mexico, such as the great industrialist from Monterrey, Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, Mr. Pepe Muguerza and his lovely and charming wife, Mrs. Muguerza; Mr. Mario Garza Castillon, of Mexico City, a distinguished and successful businessman and one of the pioneers of aviation in Mexico; Mr. and Mrs. Miguel Guajardo, who are well known in the official government family in Washington as a long time and dear friend of President Lyndon Johnson, and who is active in a new effort to stimulate tourism and tourist traffic between Mexico and the United States.

Also present were Mr. M. D. Miller, retired American Airlines regional vice president; Mr. T. G. Rea, American Airlines manager for the Southwest; Mr. Garza Cantu, vice consul of Mexico in the city of San Antonio; Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Clark, local executive of the American Airlines; Mr. R. F. Lambert, regional vice president; Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Morris, American Airlines district sales manager; Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Stockdale, vice president and general manager of American Airlines in Mexico.

Also present to recount a most interesting and educational discussion on "What Flying to Mexico Was Like 20 Years Ago," was American Airlines pilot, Capt. Eddie Johnson.

The second event was a breakfast ceremony following the departure of the inaugural flight commemorating the 20th anniversary of American Airlines service into Mexico. This was indeed a foresighted and intrepid venture of an enterprising and successful airline company—American Airlines. For 20 years ago nobody, even in the wildest imagination, could have foreseen the tremendous developments that such great service companies as American Airlines have brought about in the passenger transportation service of our country.

There were many other distinguished guests present on this occasion and it is proper that I refer to them:

Mr. Starr Kealhoffer, administrative assistant, San Antonio Chamber of Commerce; Mr. and Mrs. John Gatti, mayor pro tempore; Mr. and Mrs. John Saunders, director of aviation; Mr. and Mrs. Carlos Freyman, HemisFair public relations director; Mrs. Pat Swearingen, cochairman of aviation committee; Mr. Jack Roth, manager, KONO radio; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moorachin, KONO radio; Mr. Vigil Cassle, U.S. Customs; Mr. Bob Jamison, assistant director of aviation; Mr. and Mrs. Bill Lydle, KENS–TV; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Draper, Express & News; Mr. and Mrs. Bob Roth, KONO–TV; Mr. and Mrs. Bob Dunn, director, chamber of commerce; Mr. and Mrs. Walt Warner, Texas Tourist Development Committee; Mr. and Mrs. Gene Crockett, WOAI; Mr. M. C. Gonzales, president, Mexican Chamber of Commerce; Mr. and Mrs. Martin Bussell, KITE; Mr. Jimi Ragsdale; Miss Eileen Hauge, and Miss June Brooks.

Following is a brief outline of the program:

Welcome and invocation.
Champagne brunch.
Introduction of guests.
What this event means to American Airlines.
What this event means to Mexico.
What this event means to San Antonio.
What flying to Mexico was like 20 years ago.
Presentation of "Alcalde" certificates.

Sunday, August 16, was indeed a historic occasion and was an occasion for reminiscence of historic accomplishments. Not only all San Antonians but all fellow Americans should acknowledge this contribution, performance and excellence of service in American Airlines and its indispensable partnership in the development and enhancement of communities such as San Antonio and San Francisco.

The Citizen's Vote and the Government's Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on July 30, the Logansport, Ind., Press recently published a thoughtful and thought-provoking editorial. Its content digs below the surface of political affairs, and considers the basic role of government itself, and particularly the perennial antithesis of Federal Government versus State government.

The words of President Johnson to the Boy Scouts, at Valley Forge, form a sort of text:

> It (the Government) must exist to serve the needs of the people. It is to be helped as long as it serves the country well, and changed when necessary.

The further reflections of the editor on the role of government today and on the role of citizens who are preparing to vote on the question of whether the establishment should be retained or changed, are worthy of note. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"It (the Government) must exist to serve the needs of the people. It is to be helped as long as it serves the country well and changed when it neglects its duty."

Thus did President Johnson talk to some 50,000 Boy Scouts at Valley Forge recently, on the site where the flame of American freedom flickered to its lowest 189 years ago.

These few words contain not only an essay on the democratic philosophy of government and the uses of responsible citizenship. They go to the heart of some fundamental questions confronting Americans in this election year:

Has the Government—the Federal Government in Washington—served the country well in the posture of power it has adopted over the past few decades? What are the real needs of the people, and might they be better served in other ways?

The corollaries are:

Have the other partners in our Government—the States—fulfilled their roles in this matter as they should?

What has been gained and what lost in the shift of leadership and initiative to Washington in so many areas?

There is no dispute over the Federal concept of Government itself, whereby the States surrendered certain sovereign powers, under the Constitution, to a central administration—"in order to form a more perfect Union."

The great debate is and always has been over matters far less definite and restricted. It revolves about such ringing phrases in the preamble to the Constitution as: "* * * establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity * * * promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

There is nothing new to this debate, but it has become intensified in our lifetime. We are swimming in the full flood of revolutions in population growth, industrial technology, urban living, economic and social patterns.

Each of these revolutions has resulted in greater and greater involvement by government—on all levels—in our daily lives and the seeming engulfment of the individual by laws, forms, reports, numbers, deductions.

Throughout it all, in the making of laws and the granting of powers, there is one

touchstone we strive to keep within reach—human liberty.

Yet even this is no certain guide, for one man's liberties rub up against another's. No man is truly free to do whatever he pleases.

The touchstone has another side—the greatest good for the greatest number. Yet even here, there is always the danger that the needs of minorities may be overridden by an inflexible devotion to majority rule.

There are no simple answers to our complex problems, no easy way to meet the myriad modern challenges to tranquillity and liberty.

Responsible citizenship in 1964 requires more than that we take the trouble to cast our votes for the representatives of our choice.

It demands that that choice be informed by careful study of the basic issues often obscured by slogans and shibboleths—that we register our decision not out of mere habit, or prejudice, or wishful thinking, but only after deliberate consideration as to what we believe best serves the needs of the people and the country.

The Challenge at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville, Ind., News:

THE CHALLENGE AT HOME

It appears quite certain that the presidential election campaign, just beginning to show signs of quickening of pace, will focus strongly on domestic concerns as well as foreign policy which Senator GOLDWATER apparently plans to employ as a major issue.

Indeed, at the time of last week's encounters in the Gulf of Tonkin, it was thought that foreign policy—or at any rate Vietnam—had been somewhat weakened as a political issue. The reasoning was that President Johnson had taken firm action against the Communists, action of the sort advocated by Mr. GOLDWATER, and that it would therefore be somewhat difficult to attack the administration on that ground. But the Senator is already charging that the action was only a response rather than a new winning strategy, and he is expected to stress the fundamentals of policy as well.

Regardless of the degree of emphasis on foreign policy, however, the nature of the campaign suggests that a major issue will be the central one of the relationship of citizen and Government, and particularly Government intervention in economic life. That might not be the cause if someone other than Mr. GOLDWATER were the Republican candidate, but the Senator strongly believes that Government is too much with us.

Many Americans are so inured to the governmental presence that it does not feel like an oppressive force, except perhaps at tax time or for businessmen struggling with innumerable and often unfathomable regulations and restrictions. For the rest, much of our daily comings and goings appear little affected by the existence and growth of the central authority.

But this lack of concern underestimates the scope of the revolution that has taken place in the past 50 years or so. For it has been a revolution, not in the streets but in political philosophy. In a recent speech, Economist Bradford Smith described the transformation succinctly: "Where government was formerly a mechanism for protecting individual rights and property, it has progressively become an instrument for the compulsory redistribution of income and wealth."

One part of the transformation is what Mr. Smith called infringement of equality before the law. Under the impetus of the depression of the 1930's, for example, the Government undertook to classify people legally to determine who were to receive Federal largess and who were to pay for it. The welfare state "must, by definition, substitute inequality for equality before the law; it must penalize the more productive minority in order to care for the less productive or unproductive majority of voters."

Other features of the transformation are steep progressive income taxation, unending resort to the modern equivalent of printing press money, and substitution of monopoly power for competition in determining farm prices and industrial wage costs—the Government, that is, applies monopoly techniques to farm prices and provides unions with monopoly power.

Along with all of that has come, not surprisingly, a proliferation of economic rules and regulations and controls and a startling burgeoning of the Federal bureaucracy. The rising dominance and intervention of Government in economic affairs, Mr. Smith observed, can be statistically shown as follows:

"Fifty years ago the total of Federal, State, and local government expenditures was equal to only about 10 percent of the earnings people received in wages, salaries, dividends, private interest, rents, and proprietorship incomes. By last year * * * the percentage had climbed to more than 40. It had quadrupled."

No one, including Senator GOLDWATER, is seeking to reverse the revolution or repeal the past 50 years; some of the changes have been beneficial. It is, rather, the totality of the trend toward Government domination that should be a cause for serious concern. If it cannot be checked, and a better balance between individual and Government restored, it may well be asked what the future holds.

Questions of foreign policy are vital—and legitimate political ones—for the obvious reason that war or peace may hinge on them. But it will be a good thing if the campaign also fully explores this transformation of Government which for so long has gone all but unchallenged.

Public Service Newspapers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE] has performed a service in calling attention to the high quality of American journalism. He recently cited the important role the press plays in our democratic society. The Senator's remarks received wide attention throughout the country. Reference was made to his comments in an editorial published in the Lewiston (Maine) Daily Sun on August 10.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lewiston Daily Sun, Aug. 10, 1964]

PUBLIC SERVICE NEWSPAPERS

The favorite whipping boy of the politicians, the press, came in for deserved recognition and even praise in the U.S. Senate last week. It is time for the record to be set straight.

We are indebted to Senator TOM MCINTYRE, of New Hampshire, for getting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for all to see, a factual evaluation of today's press by a qualified observer and critic, Prof. John Hohenburg of Columbia University, author, journalism professor, and secretary to the advisory board on Pulitzer Prizes.

Professor Hohenburg is no apologist for the press. In fact, his criteria may be even more severe than those which many segments of the press apply to themselves. In addition, the professor views the press both from the academic and from the practical, day by day sides. That makes his observations all the more valuable.

Senator MCINTYRE asked to have inserted into the RECORD the professor's evaluation that: "True, we have by no means seen the last of shoddy newspaper work, any more than we have been able as yet to achieve the millenium in politics, business and industry law, medicine, religion, or the arts.

"But the readers of a respectable proportion of the American newspapers' 60 million copies a day do have the assurance that their editors and publishers are not satisfied to print a little news, a lot of stale entertainment, and whatever advertising they can hustle in a wholly unnecessary effort to stay in business.

"That kind of newspaper is on the way out. The public service newspaper, so deeply conscious of its social responsibility, is on the rise. That is the brightest and most hopeful sign for our journalism."

We thank Professor Hohenburg for his informed opinion, even as we commend Senator MCINTYRE for giving it wider circulation. The working press deserves both.

The 45th Young Calvinist Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 22, 1964, over 1,500 dedicated Young Calvinists from throughout the United States and Canada will converge on North Haledon, N.J., to participate in a mammoth young people's convention.

The 45th annual Young Calvinist Convention will continue for 4 days at the Eastern Christian High School, an outstanding secondary school located in North Haledon. Rev. John G. Van Ryn, pastor of the Second Christian Reformed Church, Prospect Park, N.J., is chairman. The convention theme is "God Rules."

Following is an article on the annual meeting of this group:

The national Young Calvinist Federation is a youth movement of the Christian Reformed denomination, which includes 25 Christian Reformed Churches in this area. President of the eastern league of the Cal-

vinist movement is the Reverend Louis Dykstra, pastor of the Irving Park Christian Reformed Church, Midland Park, N.J.

The Young Calvinist movement includes 15 leagues with almost 50,000 members. Last year's convention was held in Pella, Iowa. The Reverend James Lont, a native of Fair Lawn, N.J., is executive director of the federation, which has national offices in Grand Rapids, Mich.

Delegates to the convention are expected to arrive all day Saturday. Two chartered jet planes will leave Chicago Saturday morning loaded with delegates. Over 15 chartered buses will arrive from the Midwest and Canada.

Lodging facilities for over 1,250 delegates will be provided by families in this area.

The State of New Jersey is cooperating with the convention in providing the New Jersey Historymobile at the convention site. Guides in the Historymobile will be Young Calvinists from the immediate area.

The convention mass meeting will be held Saturday night on the high school grounds. A huge circus tent, to seat over 2,000 persons, will be erected on the grounds. The tent is expected to be erected next Wednesday and will remain for 1 week.

Dr. Wesley Smedes, will be the speaker at the mass meeting.

Immediately after the meeting, the Borough of North Haledon will touch off an aerial fireworks display from the top of High Mountain, which will provide a further welcome to the conventioneers from the community.

On Sunday afternoon, devotional services will be held in the tent and on Sunday night, 9 o'clock, at the Haledon Recreation Field, Roe Street, the largest inspirational hymn sing ever conducted in the Paterson area, will take place.

An estimated 5,000 people are expected to attend.

WORLD'S FAIR, TOO

Monday, August 24, has officially been designated by the World's Fair as Young Calvinist Day. Thirty-five buses will leave for the World's Fair with 1,600 guests.

Tuesday, the convention banquet will be held at the Westmont Country Club, West Paterson. Officials at Westmont say it will be the biggest banquet ever served there.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to bring to the attention of the House of Representatives the annual meeting of this group of vital citizens, and I know the entire Congress joins me in saluting them.

Address by Miss Susan Heikkinen, Bellevue, Wash., in Oratorical Contest Sponsored by Knights of Pythias of the State of Washington

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the Supreme Lodge of the Knights of Pythias has been holding its 100th anniversary convention here in our Nation's Capital the past few days, and I am certain that many Members of the Senate join with the Senator from Washington in extending felicitations to this fine fraternal organization, and best wishes as they enter the second century of their work.

For me there is a more personal reason for calling the Senate's attention to this international convention now taking place in Washington. A young woman from the State of Washington has distinguished herself and brought great honor to our State.

Miss Susan Heikkinen of Bellevue, Wash.—A high school graduate who will enter Washington State University this fall—entered the local oratorical contest sponsored by the Knights of Pythias and won the right to represent the State of Washington in a regional runoff. Last Sunday evening, Miss Heikkinen competed with five other regional winners in the international competition held at the Mayflower Hotel, and became the 1964 champion.

In recognition of the 100th anniversary of the Knights of Pythias, the assigned topic for all competition was 1864–1964, and it was left to the individual young people to devise their own speech. As Senators will be able to note, Miss Heikkinen used not only a keen imagination, but also a perception of American history that is a credit to her personally, to her family, and to her teachers.

At a time when many Members of the Senate, including the senior Senator from Washington, are concerned about young people generally and the quality of our educational system, it is most reassuring to read a speech of this quality produced by a young woman who is a graduate of the public schools of the State of Washington.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech of Miss Heikkinen be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COMMON ENEMIES OF MAN

In 1964, the words of John F. Kennedy, "Now the trumpet summons us again, not as a call to battle, though embattled we are; not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation; a struggle against the common enemies of man—tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

Exactly one century earlier, another American spoke of a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

The remarks of two American patriots, two who personify the goals we seek, two who expressed in similar words the national purpose, separated only by time. But the century that comes between these two men is filled with irony, with strange paradoxes. In 100 years, enormous scientific, cultural, and technical advances have brought us from rural poverty to metropolitan slums; from death by personal illness to death by impersonal radiation; from isolated racial pickets to massive civil rights demonstrations. While mass communications link all men of the world together, man continues to hold himself aloof, uninvolved. While Telstar allows us to share television with Europe, the hot line between Russia and the United States keeps open that jittery avenue against war. While we fight for the rights of men to be free in two world wars and countless lesser battles, we continue to deny freedom and equality to Americans within our own borders.

Let us compare 1864 and 1964. Let us see what each brought, what came between. Most of all, let us see what the year 2064 may promise.

The year: 1864. The rope attached to the cumbersome school bell in the tower is laboriously tugged. Thirty barefoot boys salute a flag with 15 stripes, 24 stars. Wood is chopped, placed in a neat pile near the potbellied stove in the center of the room. The boys, all the way from 6 to 18 sit at their hand-hewn benches, do the usual lessons: poetry to memorize; geography, capital cities, products. The older boys have arithmetic; say their "tables." This class is aware of a war that has been fought over cotton, over States rights. Over a new idea that slaves ought not to be slaves, a new idea about freeing the Negroes. Something about "equality." Something new about reconstruction. They wonder about a rumor that Lincoln has been elected to a second term. They wouldn't know for sure until the newspaper arrived, and it comes once every 3 weeks. They are also aware that one of their classmates has died of a fatal disease; scarlet fever. They are aware of the deadly sore throat, the stomach pain that kills, the fever that burns a person up. They die of pneumonia, influenza, appendicitis.

Just one century later. That 1-room school has been transformed, now educates 1,500 people. At 8 a.m. the electric bell system signals the students to their classes—to which they were assigned by an IBM selector. The flag salute: 1,500 say the words with the loudspeaker. And the curriculum? In one classroom, educational television provides the day's lecture. In another, students puzzle over advanced calculus. Yet another deals with a film entitled "Disarmament, the Only Road to Continued Existence." The Gemini space program, supersonic transportation, radiation biology, extrasensory perception—times have changed.

And yet, in New York one day, in the midst of this enlightened 20th century, 37 people stood back and watched as a woman was slowly, agonizingly, needlessly, beaten to death. Safe inside, not one chose to pick up a telephone, a modern instrument of a modern age to call law enforcement agencies. From 1864 to 1964—a century of progress indeed. An era of growing ideas. A period of major development. In 1864 mankind was threatened by polio, by scarlet fever, by cholera, diabetes, smallpox, and diphtheria. Tonsilitis poisoned the body, appendicitis killed. And now have we progressed? No longer do we recognize these diseases as automatic death sentences. Now we recognize mass annihilation by nuclear weapons. Technology rid us of death in a small sense, but provided us death in a larger sense.

In 1864, communications were primitive. There was no radio, television, automobile, or telephone. There was every excuse for being uninformed. But today, barraged at every turn by mass communication media, many Americans, like the 37 in New York, remain woefully, pitifully disinterested. With every American but an arm's length from every other American, we continue to deny our fellow man when he cries out in need.

Let us look a moment. We have the research technicians to conquer cancer, but we do not allocate the money. We have the capacity to see that each American goes fed, but we deny it. We have the skills to stop air pollution and contamination, but we do not use them. We fought an internecine war a hundred years ago, and one of its purposes was to aid a race join the community of man. And still, the battle rages.

We see the mighty changes from one century to another. We see, too, the sorry similarities, the recurring issues, the new dangers. But what have we to look forward to? Where from here?

We are left a legacy of hope. Hope that the ironies of the past century can be settled. Hope for growth in the human spirit. And we are left to faith. Faith in the innate dignity of man. To the pledge of allegiance. To

"one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." We must also pledge allegiance to that fight against the common enemies of man; tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. Add to that list indifference, complacency, ignorance, hypocrisy, and we indeed have a pledge and an allegiance, worthy of the greatest hope, worthy of the greatest faith, for the future.

Negro Minister for Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a radio address delivered by Rev. C. Fain Kyle, founder and executive director of Dedicated Independent Society Committee Against Racial Demonstrations, Inc., over radio station KFAX, San Francisco, Calif., July 18, 1964. Reverend Kyle is a Negro minister in California, who is not befuddled and bedazzled by the phony propaganda of what the Johnson administration claims it is doing for the Negro.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration, aided and abetted by Bobby Kennedy, has built a wall of hate between the Negro and the white man and what we need now is a man like Senator GOLDWATER who can tear down this wall of hate and shame and restore confidence, dignity, and compassion between and among all races of people. Only in this way can all Americans enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Thousands of American Negroes feel and resent what has been done to them rather than for them during the last 4 years and it takes men of outstanding courage to publicly take the position which Reverend Kyle has taken, for the simple reason that they immediately become targets of the Communists and the extreme left, who are promoting civil strife to destroy law and order.

The address follows:

NEGRO MINISTER FOR GOLDWATER

Your Negro commentator on this program this morning, together with all the conservatives throughout the Nation, are giving praise and thanksgiving to our God, Who hath done great things for us whereof we are glad.

My friends, there are times when God needs a man. A man that will execute judgment, a man that seeketh the truth, and when such a man as herein described can be found, God can and will deal with His people through such a man, delivering His people from every false doctrine and ideology now being taught and promulgated by Satan, the anti-Christ, and all his cohorts who are possessed with the spirit of demons.

Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER is now on the highest pedestal in the land, and please don't forget that it was the prayers sent up to God, plus steady, hard work by the millions of conservatives and other sincere Christians and loyal Americans that brought about this elevation and signal honor. And please take this tip from your Negro commentator, "Since God has seen fit to honer the man, it is now high time that we the people, including all Americans, should honor him the more."

On last Monday afternoon from 2 until 5 at the Fairmont Hotel ballroom, Mrs. Kyle and I, by invitation, joined thousands of others at the reception honoring Senator and Mrs. Barry Goldwater. The good Senator remarked that I had lost some weight since he last saw me, and I replied that it was a wonder I hadn't lost everything the way some people had been lighting me about being one of his supporters.

Later during the evening, Mrs. Kyle and I were invited to the Youth for Goldwater rally at the Masonic Auditorium with some 3,500 or 4,000 persons in attendance. Your Negro conservative commentator was invited to sit on the speaker's platform, and was introduced to the audience by Ronald Reagan, one of Hollywood's honored and distinguished citizens, and a leader in the motion picture industry.

It is very grievous that some of our finest gatherings have to be marred by racial demonstrations. I have an apprehension. Yes, I have a fear. How tragic will it be if about the time the Negro receives his freedom, all Americans will have lost their freedom.

Debating the Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, more than 2 weeks ago, the Columbus, Ind., Evening Republican published an editorial on the question of televised debates between the presidential candidates. From this newspaper's name, it is obvious that it is not a Democratic publication; but the editorial writer found several reasons why the debates—which mainly have been urged by members of the other party—should not be held.

I have long supported the idea of debates of this kind, and I had a great deal to do with the legislation which made possible the Nixon-Kennedy debates, through waiver of the equal-time requirements, having introduced an early bill on the subject, substantially the same as the one finally passed. Consistent with that view, yesterday I voted against tabling the conference report, then before us. But although my position is now in the minority, and differs from the views set forth in the editorial, in view of the action taken I believe this comment will be of interest to other Members of the Senate. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial which was published on July 30, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEBATING THE DEBATE

A televised debate between President Lyndon Johnson and contender BARRY GOLDWATER would make a fine TV spectacular, but what would President Johnson have to gain?

At the same time Senator GOLDWATER's forces have nothing to lose in repeatedly suggesting that there be such a debate. The bare fact that President Johnson keeps answering "No" is of some political propaganda value to the Republicans, who can claim the President is afraid to lock horns face-to-face.

Wednesday the White House said the suggested debate "is not a matter Democrats would consider until the campaign begins." Technically, President Johnson is not yet the Democratic presidential nominee and will not be until after the convention nominations. Perhaps, if it does seem to be to his best interests, President Johnson may finally agree to a debate, but we have some misgivings about putting any President on such a spot.

Obviously the debate might get into very delicate areas from a standpoint of foreign relations and it might also force a President into compromising positions on domestic affairs. Being in office and technically responsible for the myriad of governmental activities is quite different than being on the outside of a job trying to get in. There is also considerable question whether the President of the United States because of the prestige of his office should engage in debate, but in this age of showmanship in all things maybe that is being old fashioned.

It is still possible that a very successful debate might be arranged with an established agenda and certain ground rules set out, but even then we would hate to see the American people wind up electing a U.S. President because he was a good debater. We've heard too many debaters who were so good they could win a debate no matter which side of the question they took.

Harold Ensley—The Sportsman's Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, we on the Fisheries and Wildlife Subcommittee of the House of Representatives are privileged to know many of America's finest and most outstanding conservationists, hunters, fishermen, and personalities who are the driving forces behind the development and expansion of outdoor recreational opportunities and facilities in this country.

Such a man is Mr. Harold Ensley—the sportsman's friend—KCMO, Kansas City, radio and television personality, a man who not only delights and relishes in the opportunities provided by the out of doors but who is privileged to report on them and bring an awareness of them to others.

In this day of expanding population and diminishing space it is imperative, Mr. Speaker, that Americans fully understand and appreciate the challenge we have in maintaining and improving our outdoor heritage and in developing and expanding outdoor recreational facilities and opportunities. In this day of deep tensions it is important for individuals to realize and utilize the great therapy and enjoyment the great outdoors can bring to them. Harold Ensley, by his concern, his example, and his reporting, brings that awareness to hundreds of thousands of midcontinent

Americans in an appealing, articulate, and effective way.

Harold Ensley has received national acclaim and recognition from sports and conservation organizations, associations, and publications for the great work that he is doing in his area of endeavor. He has won, literally, scores of awards for his personal prowess and ability as a fisherman, conservationist, outdoorsman, athlete.

It is refreshing, gratifying, and encouraging, Mr. Speaker, that we have people of the caliber and personal ability of Harold Ensley carrying the message of conservation, recreation, and the potential of life in the great out of doors to our people. It is vital to our Nation's welfare and happiness.

The Choice (Part I)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the September issue of the Farm Journal contains an editorial which I feel should be read by every American. In clear, concise terms, it outlines the fundamental issues which are at stake in this year's presidential election, and the seriousness of the choice which must be made on November 3.

The editorial is as follows:

THE CHOICE (PART I)

The election this November will be the most crucial of the century thus far, for as at no other time in recent decades it will determine the basic direction this country is now to take.

This will be true no matter who wins. If Mr. GOLDWATER wins, the people will have issued an unmistakable mandate for some fundamental changes. If he loses but comes somewhere near close it will be a clear signal to slow up sharply in the present drift toward the welfare state. If Mr. Johnson wins big, it will be just as clear an indication that people are content with the way things are going. We've come to a basic choice.

The thing to keep in mind through the heat of the election campaign is that the overriding issue is the choice between philosophies of government. True, we will be choosing between men, too. But more importantly, we will choose between what they champion. We may or may not like everything about the man we vote for. We may or may not agree with everything he says. But which man represents more nearly the way we want this country to go? That is the big question. Let's never lose sight of it.

Moreover, it's the first time in many years that the choice has been clearcut. Mr. GOLDWATER is not a "me-too" Republican. He doesn't just claim that he could carry out a version of the Democratic program, under another label, better than the Democrats could. He offers a fundamentally different program. And he has the courage to state it forthrightly without the kind of something-for-everybody-and-let's-offend-nobody political pap we are so used to. Agree with him or not, it's refreshing and it's a change. You know where he stands.

What are some of the choices in policy we have the chance to make? Well here are a few:

1. We have seen a steady drift toward a bigger, more powerful, more centralized, more authoritarian Big State. That can scarcely be denied. Anyone who wonders whether it is real can measure it concretely by our increasing number of bureaucrats, our ever-bigger budget, our continuous deficit spending, our proliferation of programs which try to solve every problem in the country (including those that can better be solved closer to home), our ever-more-numerous handouts to more and more people, the increasing reach of Government into the private lives of its citizens, the penchant for putting Government increasingly into business in competition with private enterprise. We all know this has been going on and at an increasing pace. Do we want it to go further or is it time to call a halt? We can do it without reverting to yesterday, which, incidentally, no one is proposing.

2. Do we want more—or less—Federal dabbling in local affairs? Who knows better what we want and how to get it—we ourselves, and our State and local governments, or an army of nonelected bureaucrats and "wise men" down in Washington?

3. Do we want a dollar that amounts to something or one continually cheapened by a government that has decided not to live within its income?

4. Do we want to continue indiscriminate and wasteful foreign aid that can't be cut further, or pare this back to a sensible program that probably would, in fact, achieve its objectives even better?

5. Do we want a farm policy which continues to aim at further Government control over agriculture, or one that begins to hand farming back to farmers, with markets rather than bureaucrats setting prices?

6. What kind of appointments do we want made to the Supreme Court? More like we've had?

These are a few of the questions that face us this November.

And as we said in the beginning, let's not get so absorbed with personalities that we forget what the real issues are.

That People May Choose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the August 1964 edition of the Savings Bank Depositor of New York.

In it, we are reminded of the value of freedom of choice, and of the benefits that accrue to every freeman from such choice.

I strongly believe that commercial and savings banks should remain separate entities.

The editorial follows:

THAT PEOPLE MAY CHOOSE

If you're one of the millions of people who use the services of savings banks and know they're a good thing, you may be startled to learn that some people would be content—maybe even happy—to see savings banks disappear from New York State.

It's a fact, though.

For 2 years now, there have been bills introduced into the State legislature that would have made possible an eventual swallowing up of savings banks into the commercial bank system by letting them merge with or convert into commercial banks.

Fortunately, the bills died in committee.

But "fortunately" isn't the word used by the president of the New York State Bankers Association, a commercial bank group, when he recently reported to his membership on the death of the most recent of these bills. What he said was "unfortunately."

The notion that savings banks might become commercial banks by the merger or conversion route comes from commercial bankers. Not from savings bankers, and not from the public.

It has the support of commercial bankers, and, apparently, of hardly anyone else. Certainly not the support of savings bankers, who are firmly against the proposal.

Savings banks are mutual institutions, and commercial banks are stock corporations.

This means that savings banks use all their earnings, after expenses, for the benefit of their depositors. Commercial banks pay a substantial part of their earnings as dividends to the stockholders who own them.

Nothing wrong with that, of course. The public is well served by both kinds of bank operation.

And as things now stand, people like you yourself have a choice as to the kind of institution in which you want to keep your savings account.

You have a choice, too, as to the kind of institution from which to get a mortgage loan, a student loan, a home improvement loan, a passbook loan.

Choice is a good thing. Choice involves competition, and competition is a basic element of our free enterprise economy.

Savings bankers are certain that the public interest—your interest—is served best when different types of institutions are available.

Quite naturally, they think their type is the better. They point to 145 years of growth and service to support that belief. They point to their record as specialists in personal financial services, as differentiated from banks whose basic function is to finance business.

They want the public to have the choice as to which type of institution to deal with.

It would be senseless and tragic to chart a path by which savings banks could conceivably disappear from New York State.

Should any proposal to do so be advanced again, the savings banks will oppose it with all the powers at their command.

Unthinkable Thoughts From Khrushchev

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I insert into the RECORD an editorial from the Tuesday, August 18, Chicago Tribune, which is the subject of an analysis of the tragic foreign policy of the administration often seen in the statements of the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. FULBRIGHT.

The editorial follows:

UNTHINKABLE THOUGHTS FROM KHRUSHCHEV

Nikita Khrushchev isn't talking the way Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT and his pals have been telling us Khrushchev ought to be talking. They practically had it figured out that Khrushchev was "our man" in Moscow. Senator FULBRIGHT's introduction of this thesis was an invitation to his countrymen to dispel the cobwebs of "myth" which afflict

their minds and start thinking some unthinkable thoughts.

Suggested unthinkable thought No. 1 was that the devil does not reside immutably in Moscow. Before you knew it, Senator FULBRIGHT had Khrushchev dressed up in a Kris Kringle suit, singing carols about peace on earth.

What Khrushchev now has to say about Cyprus and Vietnam is probably pretty unthinkable from FULBRIGHT'S viewpoint, for the Soviet boss refuses to correspond to the Fulbright myth. His tough talk is just as tough as ever.

The communal strife in Cyprus has developed because the Greek Cypriot President, Archbishop Makarios, has adopted force in an attempt to deprive the Turkish population of the protections of their minority status, guaranteed by an agreement signed in 1959 and embodied in a constitution the following year. When Makarios started butchering Turks, the Turk air force retaliated with attacks on Greek communities.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev professes to view this civil war as some kind of "imperialist plot" hatched in Washington and London. He tells the British to get their troops off the island, where Britain retained a few military enclaves when it granted Cyprus independence. He says Russia will not remain indifferent if Turkey continues to back up its Cypriot compatriots.

Turning to southeast Asia, Khrushchev had another simple analysis, conveniently converting black into white. The United States is giving military support to South Vietnam because the Communists of North Vietnam have launched a war to take over the country, in contravention of the Geneva agreement of 1954.

But Khrushchev finds that "the imperialist forces of the United States" have attacked North Vietnam and are also "waging an undeclared war against the people of South Vietnam," though these are the very people we are trying to defend.

These remarks hardly sustain FULBRIGHT'S thesis that the Soviet Union has "ceased to be totally and implacably hostile to the West" and is content to mind its business within its own borders.

Nor do they support various similar examples of administration wishful thinking. For example, Walt Whitman Rostow, the State Department policy planner, has it that Russia is mellowing and that we and the Communists would develop "overlapping interests." Formulas hinting at convergence and interdependence with the Soviet Union have been advanced by other New Frontier clairvoyants.

Khrushchev's harsh denunciation of the United States provides an irrefutable answer to these idiotic sentimentalities. Are our foreign policy architects hypocritical or are they simply stupid? Is Senator FULBRIGHT, as Senator Joseph R. McCarthy once stated, merely to be dismissed as "Senator Half-Bright"? Whatever the verdict, the Washington coexistence line is now so frayed that it is bound to snap.

Freeman Speaks Up for Rural America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party is the party of parity and prosperity in rural America.

The platform committee of this great party now is meeting in Washington, preliminary to the opening of the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City on Monday.

Hon. Orville L. Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, presented to that platform committee this morning a ringing statement of this party's unremitting dedication to the well-being of agriculture and of Main Street America—to all the vast countryside of this great land of ours. He left no doubt where this Democratic administration stands where the fortunes of rural America are concerned. The Democratic platform will show where this party stands, dedicated and determined to achieve again a parity of opportunity and prosperity for all of America's great countryside.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary Freeman's statement to the Democratic platform committee is of such quality and force that I feel the entire membership of this body should have the opportunity to read and study it; therefore, with the permission of the House, I am inserting his statement in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN BEFORE THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, AUGUST 19, 1964

Mr. Chairman, members of the platform committee, I am here today to ask that the Democratic Party dedicate itself to the goal of parity of opportunity for rural America.

By this I mean:

Parity of income for the farm family.

Job and income opportunities in rural America equally as attractive as those in the cities and their suburbs; young people who want to live in rural America should have that chance rather than be forced by economic pressures to go to the city.

Educational and technical training opportunities for young people in rural areas which are as good as those for young people in cities and suburbs.

Public services and facilities in rural America which are equal to those available elsewhere.

What I propose to say here is far different from the usual farm policy statement—but we live in a different age and a different time.

The family farm is the key element in the economic and social structure of rural America—this has been true in the past and it will be true in the future. But the majority of people in rural America, while they may be dependent directly or indirectly upon the land, do not make their living today on farms. Thus the progress of farm families and nonfarm families in rural America is inextricably entwined.

The concern of the Democratic Party, therefore, is with both. We are concerned, as we have always been, with the incomes of those who grow cotton, wheat, corn and other crops and livestock. We are equally concerned with the progress of nonfarm families in rural communities—with educational opportunities, with modern community facilities and services, and with jobs.

During the next decade, millions of young people will be coming of working age in rural America. Not more than one young man out of 35 will become the operator of an adequate-sized family farm. To provide employment for the other 34, as well as those in rural America who now are underemployed or unemployed, will require the creation of about 5 million new jobs over this decade. As many of these jobs as possible ought to be created in rural America so that the smaller towns and villages of our country can prosper, too. Then the young people who grow up there can find the economic opportunity that will enable them, if they choose, to live and raise their families in their home communities.

The Democratic farm program for the 1960's is devoted to helping bring new vitality to all of rural America. To this end, it emphasizes three broad areas:

Commodity programs, consumer programs, and community programs.

When the Democratic administration took office in 1961, commodity programs had been severely impaired by 8 years of unsympathetic and hostile administration.

Net farm income had fallen from $14.4 billion in 1952 to $11 billion by 1957, the lowest level of the postwar years, while unrestrained production had choked the Nation's warehouses with mounting surpluses. Since 1960 stocks of feed grains have been reduced by over 400 million bushels and stocks of wheat by over 500 million bushels. If our surpluses had remained at 1960 levels, storage and handling charges alone would have cost the taxpayers $226 million over the 4-year period.

Virtually every piece of legislation to strengthen commodity programs has been enacted over the bitter opposition of almost all of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives and an overwhelming majority of Republican Senators.

The success of Democratic policies is reflected in the rise of net farm income by $800 million a year over the 1960 levels, and the increase of net income per farm by 18 percent in 3 years to a record $3,500 per farm—$540 more than in 1960. Gross farm income—which is spending power on Main Street—is up by $2.8 billion a year over the 1960 levels.

These gains we have made are set forth in more detail in the following tables:

Year	Realized net income		Per capita personal income of farm population			
	Total	Per farm	Total	Percent of nonfarm	After taxes	Percent of nonfarm
	Millions					
1960	$11,692	$2,951	$1,254	54.3	$1,165	58.0
1961	12,573	3,299	1,362	57.9	1,264	61.8
1962	12,611	3,420	1,426	58.3	1,319	62.2
1963	12,518	3,504	1,488	59.0	1,376	63.1

In 3 years we have narrowed the difference in the income an individual earns on the farm and the income which other Americans enjoy. In 1960, the net income of the average farmer from all sources was 58 percent of what the average nonfarmer earned, while today this gap has closed to 63 percent. This is still woefully inadequate, but we are making progress. Steady improvement of our commodity programs—under the leadership of the Democratic Party that conceived them and has strengthened them over a generation of history—will help attain the goal of income parity for family farmers. And a healthy agriculture will be good for the food processors and distributors, for the consumers, and indeed for all America.

Let us move now to consumer programs, and to the efforts to make imaginative and effective use of our food abundance. We have fortified the battery of protective services and regulations, of research and education, and extension that have made it possible for us to be the best fed and clothed Nation in history, and at the lowest percentage of real income—19 percent—ever known.

President Kennedy's first Executive order of January 21, 1961, directed that the volume and diversity of food distributed to the needy be doubled. It was doubled, and then doubled again. Shortly thereafter a pilot food stamp program was launched. And that program, which proved vastly superior as a means of getting food to low-income families, will now become nationwide and permanent as the result of legislation just passed by the Congress. We have since 1960 increased the volume of food distributed to hungry people, and to schoolchildren in this country, from less than $400 million worth to over $700 million in the past fiscal year.

This effort has not been limited to the United States. We have given strong emphasis to trade and aid programs with great success.

Commercial exports for dollars have reached an alltime high—44 percent greater than in 1960—totaling almost $4.6 billion in fiscal 1964. Agriculture is by far this country's biggest earner of export dollars, and contributed most to our balance of payments.

Exports under food for peace are up 15 percent since 1960, reaching $1.5 billion in fiscal 1964.

U.S. food donations will provide school lunches for some 40 million children in friendly countries this September. Three years ago, about 24 million children abroad ate American food in school lunches.

Today, $1 out of every $6 earned by farmers comes from export markets—and 1 out of 4 acres harvested today goes into export.

And under the Democratic administration, food has become an important tool in international economic development. Food is working capital; it becomes education when school lunch programs provide a better meal than a child gets anywhere else; our food capacity can be and is an essential means of stimulating growth in the economy of the developing world.

Commodity programs and consumer programs both contribute to the vigor of the rural economy, and when they are combined with community development programs, the stage is set for building the great society throughout the American countryside and to contribute significantly to the great society everywhere in the land.

Community development programs involve Federal, State, and local governments, community organizations of all kinds and the efforts of countless individual citizens.

To give impetus to these programs, we held a series of land and people conferences throughout the country to discuss how local leadership could organize and carry out action programs which would make use of Federal assistance. These meetings culminated in the rural areas development effort which now involves over 100,000 local citizens in 2,100 rural counties. Each county has a technical action panel made up of department personnel working in those counties who provide technical assistance and advice.

And today, leaders in most rural counties of American have comprehensive development programs which they are actively putting into effect.

They have been aided through numerous programs enacted or expanded by the Democratic Congress—including the Area Redevelopment Act, the Accelerated Public Works Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, rural housing legislation, loans for electric, telephone, water systems and other community facilities, small watershed projects, loans and technical assistance for recreation development and other programs.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will now enable many rural communities to broaden and intensify their attacks on the causes of poverty.

The results of this effort have been substantial, especially considering the short time this comprehensive approach has been in effect.

Let me cite a few of them:

An estimated 212,000 new nonfarm jobs have been created in rural America as the direct result of the work of rural development committees. We estimate that 148,000 more jobs have been created as an indirect result of committee projects.

More than 20,000 farmers are developing outdoor recreation as another source of income for themselves and enjoyment for city people who hunger for the beauty of forests, fields, and lakes.

Some 254,000 rural Americans today have access to modern water systems in 460 rural communities because of water system loans made by the Farmers Home Administration over the past 3 years.

Construction of small reservoirs and related works has provided 5,000 man-years of employment and stimulated creation of another 5,000 new jobs.

Rural electric cooperatives, as a result of expanded loan programs since 1960, have improved services to customers, while lowering their power costs $7.5 million this year alone.

Over 49,000 rural families, including 2,700 elderly persons, have built new homes or remodeled their present dwellings through programs which have become available or have been expanded since 1960.

Occupational training projects begun with Federal aid in 1961 have enabled 14,135 persons in rural areas to gain new skills.

The national forests are producing a record harvest of 10 billion board feet a year, and a record harvest also of recreation—135 million visits a year.

These are some of the instances of progress in rural America with which I am most familiar. There are many others, and all of them together only begin to fill the need. But they do represent a new force for progress. Local leadership is responding to the challenges of rural communities that need to grow, and resources from Federal, State, and local sources are being made available in many ways for the first time.

Thus rural America is becoming better prepared day by day and year by year to participate in the new age of abundance that is the promise of our democracy. The people of rural America seek parity of opportunity. Their goal is, and should continue to be, our goal as well—the goal, and the pledge, of the Democratic Party, which is dedicated to advancing the cause of all who seek a better life.

Address by Jack Gleason, Administrator of Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the privilege of attending the ground-breaking ceremony in Miami of the Jewish War Veterans. Jack Gleason, the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, made a stirring address which I wish to commend to my colleagues and to those who will have the opportunity to observe the RECORD:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE J. S. GLEASON, JR., ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS, AT THE AUGUST 15, 1964, BANQUET OF THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS IN HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

Commander Dan, Congressman CLAUDE PEPPER, his honor the mayor, distinguished national commanders of the other veterans' organizations, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, ladies of the auxiliary, my fellow veterans, ladies and gentlemen, it is a profound pleasure for me to share this meeting of the leadership, past and present, of the Nation's oldest veterans' organization and an organization that, from its inception, has held continuously before its eyes the vision of why this Nation is great and why men have sacrificed in war to protect that greatness.

I would like to mention that in my travels, that wherever there is an American military cemetery, there is to be seen among the crosses row on row, a large number of Stars of David, silent, eloquent testimony of the great number of servicemen of Jewish faith who fought to keep America free, who fought to keep America a land where, though prejudice does exist, it is recognized for the evil that it is, the ultimate un-Americanism.

Some of the American cemeteries, in addition to the crosses and the stars, add a central monument, or perhaps many monuments, all trying to say something monumental and memorable about the deeds of those who rest beneath that sod; those who made that most monumental and memorable of sacrifices.

Today, I want to talk to you about other monuments to their sacrifice, the sacrifice that Jew and gentile, white and black, Protestant and Catholic, rich and poor, have made for freedom. I want to talk to you about the really significant monuments which, though unmarked, are really the greatest memorials to those who fell so that we might stand unbowed.

The United States as we know it today—the mightiest nation on earth—is a nation where "intolerance" is a dirty word to all except self-professed extremists—that United States would not exist.

The second monument is the fact that despite temporary fogs and cloudbanks, the sun of self-criticism has always broken through to illuminate our dark places, so that we could take the action needed to clean them out and remold their sad reality into a shape closer to the core of the American dream.

We have all been privileged to see first hand the process of creative self-criticism since that day in the summer of 1963 when President Kennedy asked Congress for action to assure that "race has no place in American life or law."

That action was slow in coming, but action that results from careful deliberation is not a threat to freedom, it is one of its basic guarantees. After millions of words and months of debate, we finally had the most far-reaching guarantee of human rights since Abraham Lincoln signed his name to the Emancipation Proclamation. Incidentally, the word "Negro" does not once appear in this historic law; its guarantees and protections are for all of us.

Thus the efforts of our fighting men bore fruit once again. We looked critically at the fair face of America and we saw an ugly blemish. Talking would not remove that blemish. No amount of hollow rhetoric about the fact that laws can do nothing, that we must wait for changes to take place in the hearts of men, would have removed that blemish.

If we sat on our hands and waited for changes in the hearts of men slavery would have gone on for at least another 50 years in this country if indeed it would not still exist.

The blemish could not be removed by expecting the slow and gradual processes of evolution to do the job. For far too many people gradualism means do nothing.

No, the blemish would be removed neither by talking it away or expecting it to disappear as the result of the passage of time.

Surgery was clearly necessary, and thinking men realized that it was made more necessary for social cancers spread just as bodily cancers do and there is no doubt that the effects of social cancer can be seen and heard in the land.

Thomas Jefferson once said that men are not born with saddles on their backs so that other men could ride them. If those who see all Negroes with such saddles on their backs are not reminded that this is America then who knows where the evil will spread.

If the Negro minority in our country which, you know, is four times larger than the Jewish minority, is unable to enjoy the full protection of our laws, how can we be sure that other minorities will not one day also suffer similar deprivations?

When it comes to civil rights it is certain that no man or no group of men is "an island"—for whatever diminishes one diminishes all.

But these are not revelations that I speak of now.

This is not some piece of arcane knowledge dredged up from the past.

No, not at all, this is common knowledge when we stop to think.

And the fact that it is common knowledge is a great monument to those men who fought for freedom in war.

This is why, only a few weeks ago, I wrote a letter to every American veterans organization in which I asked that they go on record in supporting the Civil Rights Act as the law of the land. I asked that veterans organizations assert themselves because in time of testing we need leadership. In time of testing if the responsible are silent the voices of the irresponsible cannot but sound loudly in the land.

One of those letters, of course, went to your outstanding National Commander Dan Heller. But in a way, this letter was not needed. For if any organization has spoken up—and spoken up long ago—it is this organization.

Just as there are so many stars of David among the crosses that mark the fallen, so too are the sons of David found in high proportion in the ranks of those who see clearly that the promise of America is freedom for all.

Your continuing efforts to widen the scope of American freedom deserves the highest commendation because, as President Johnson said of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, "We have come to the time of testing. We must not fail."

But we can fail if responsible organizations do not speak out, as you have spoken out. We can fail, if men propelled by unreasoning prejudice lash out and so destroy institutions that generations of our fighting men have done so much to protect on a thousand battlefields. We can fail if, as the Irish poet Yeats once said, "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

And we can fail and gravely injure ourselves if we permit the passionate intensity of the unreasonable to prevail over the quiet voice of reason.

As Lyndon B. Johnson has said, of his task as President: "I have to make sure that those who claim rights, and those who deny them, bend their passions to peaceful obedience to law."

As Dan Foley has so eloquently said "lawlessness in the pursuit of justice is anarchy and extremism in the defense of liberty can be the death of liberty."

Liberty and justice pursued by secret societies and extremists groups; liberty and justice sought through dynamiting children in churches; or by looting and destroying property and assaulting police is not liberty and justice as we know it but the kind of perverted and exclusive liberty and justice once sought by fanatics in brown shirts and black shirts who meted out their brand of justice in the streets and destroyed the liberties of others in favor of their own.

Let all Americans follow the law of the land supporting the Constitution, which is their shield. If their cause be just, and if they seek liberty, not license, they will prevail.

Let all good Americans, working together to build a great society, show the world that here a man's worth is not lessened by disabilities or artificial distinctions. Let us prove by the firmness in which we uphold the right, that this generation of Americans is filled with a passionate intensity for the best.

Finally, with the help of Almighty God, the Father of all men, may your vision and your devotion to justice be soon shared by your fellow Americans, so that, in the words of the prophet Isaiah, righteousness shall come upon our land "like the rushing of mighty waters."

A Lesson in Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 29, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the August 1964 issue of the Land O Lakes News. I think that the message of this article is of timely importance in view of the recent debate on the poverty bill. It clearly points out the fallacy of socialistic thought, but more significantly, it anticipates a society of mediocrity where personal creativeness and initiative are shelved in favor of welfarism. For the future of our country we cannot afford to take the easy way out, and I hope that my colleagues will give serious attention to the reality of this editorial:

A LESSON IN SOCIALISM

The following article was published in a recent edition of a publication of the Minnesota Education Association. It graphically illustrates a point and bears repeating:

"As a teacher in the public schools, I find that the Socialist-Communist idea of taking 'from each according to his ability and giving to each according to his need' is generally accepted by most of our pupils. In an effort to explain the fallacy in this theory, I sometimes try this approach with my pupils:

"When one of the brighter or harder-working pupils make a grade of 95 on a test, I suggest that I take away 20 points and give them to a student who has made only 55 points on his test. Thus each would contribute according to his ability and—since both would have a passing mark—each would receive according to his need. After I have juggled the grades of all the other pupils in this fashion, the result is usually a common ownership grade between 75 and 80—the minimum needed for passing, or for survival. Then I speculate with the pupils as to the probable results if I actually used the socialistic theory for grading papers.

"First, the highly productive pupils—and they are always a minority in school as well as in life—would soon lose all incentive for producing. Why strive to make a high grade if part of it is taken from you by authority and given to someone else?

"Second, the less productive pupils—a majority in school as elsewhere—would, for a time, be relieved of the necessity to study. At that point, in order for anyone to survive, the authority would have no alternative but to begin a system of compulsory labor and punishments against even the low producers. They, of course, would then complain bitterly, but without understanding.

"Finally I return the discussion to the ideas of freedom and enterprise—the market economy—where each person has freedom of choice, and is responsible for his own decisions and welfare.

"Gratifyingly enough, most of my pupils then understand what I mean when I explain that socialism—even in a democracy—will eventually result in a living-death for all except the authorities and few of their favorite lackeys."

Progress and Accomplishments of the Tennessee Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Aubrey J. Wagner, Chairman of the Board, Tennessee Valley Authority, made an excellent address in Chattanooga, Tenn., on Tuesday, May 19, 1964, before the electric league of that city. It is such an informative statement about the progress and accomplishments of the Tennessee Valley, so important to the economy and well-being of a large section of our Nation and as it relates to the country as a whole, that I am anxious for my colleagues and others to have an opportunity to read it in full in the RECORD.

With permission to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include it:

ADDRESS BY AUBREY J. WAGNER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, BEFORE THE ELECTRIC LEAGUE OF CHATTANOOGA

Occasionally there comes a time to set the record straight. This evening is such an occasion. We need to set the record straight about the TVA power system.

These are busy days for most of us. We tend to our knitting. We give of our time to our jobs, our communities, and our churches. We play when we can. We read when we can. We learn what we are able to learn about the greater issues of our time, in national and international affairs, in order to make the decisions which an informed citizen must make. But we can't learn about everything.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people are unaware that a massive, nationwide campaign is underway to distort the facts about TVA's electric power operations and about public power systems in general. I am not talking about an occasional speech by a utility executive. This is a highly organized, well financed effort to twist the truth using the professional techniques of Madison Avenue to the fullest.

Now, if the problem created by this massive propaganda effort were merely a matter of correcting a few facts, we need not be too concerned about it. People will seek the facts, and the objective individual will find out for himself the truth or falsity of a proposition. But the problem is deeper than that, for this campaign seeks to rewrite the economic history of the electric industry. Its distortions implant and nourish an unreal concept of the American enterprise system and threaten to undermine the basic values and judgments of the people who will be making decisions vital to our future.

This campaign is not new. It is a continuation of efforts underway for many years. It utilizes all the techniques for influencing public opinion. It includes ad-

vertising in magazines of opinion and wide circulation. It includes pamphlets, distributed from coast to coast. It includes expensive motion pictures, also circulated widely. One of these films is accompanied by an instruction booklet written especially for those who will show the picture. It goes into great detail to spell out the subtle tricks of opening the minds of the audience to the film's particular propaganda message. It even includes instructions on how to instigate cards and letters to Congressmen in a way that will make them look spontaneous rather than inspired by special interests.

One thing is made abundantly clear in this propaganda campaign: one of its principal objectives is the dismemberment and destruction of TVA and the withering of REA as an effective instrument in the consumer interest. The story I want to tell you this evening, therefore, is the factual story of the TVA electric power program in contrast with the persistent attacks which seek to undermine public understanding of its works and purposes.

I

The electric power program of TVA is rooted in principles important to all America. Its benefits are nationwide in scope. Many of them are measurable in dollars, lessening the drain on the pocketbooks of consumers and lightening the tax burden of all citizens. But the real benefit of the TVA power system is in the undergirding it provides for some of the fundamental tenets of American economic life.

First of all, TVA is a resource development agency. This must never be forgotten, even as we discuss electric power alone. TVA's concern extends not only to river development but to the use of the land. In the harnessing of the river it must provide for flood control and navigation as well as power. In the use of the land, it is concerned with improvement of chemical fertilizers and processes for making them, with their use on the farm, with forests and their better management and with minerals and their economic use.

TVA operates on the basic policy that all these resources are instruments for progress in the hands of the people. They may be the source of raw materials for the economy, such as the soils and the forests; or they may be fashioned into tools by which the economy can be made to operate more effectively, like low cost water transportation and electric power. And the corollary of this principle is that there is a strong relationship between these resources—between the raw material, for example, and the instrument for putting it to work—and economic improvement comes more rapidly when this relationship is recognized.

This principle, and the experience of TVA in adapting it to the Tennessee Valley region, is important to the public everywhere in the United States. Resource conservation, development and use will be a continuing national problem, growing in intensity as population climbs and the pressure on resources increases. It is a problem which transcends partisan politics and must be met by Presidents and Congresses, by Governors and legislatures, and by mayors and councils for many years to come. The point which must always be borne in mind is the role of electricity as the product of our resources, joined with other such products in strengthening our national economy. The problem we must eternally confront is the best use of electricity—and other resources as well—for the common good.

II

Obviously, if electricity is to be used by the people as a tool for economic development it must be priced so it can be widely purchased. This principle is the basis of TVA's electric rate policy. It defines the basic difference between TVA's policy and that which has generally guided the private power companies.

Private power seeks the maximum profit allowable under regulation.

TVA, on the other hand, is told by Congress to charge the lowest possible rates consistent with a financial policy which will make the power system self-supporting and self-liquidating.

In substance, Congress has made the consumer service motive, rather than the profit motive, the principal foundation of TVA rate policy.

Thus we have two prime economic interests operating side by side in the public interest. The profit motive provides the drive for much of the individual initiative which powers the enterprise of this Nation. Reasonably applied, it is one of the greatest forces for economic growth that man has yet discovered. We know from painful history, however, that the profit motive can be abused. Especially when conditions of monopoly prevail, as in the electric industry, we find excessive profits and even greedy profits. The history of the industry is full of instances of loose financial practices and disregard of the interests of consumers and the general public.

The service motive as represented by TVA in the electric industry not only provides an effective check on the profit motive as exercised by utilities which are privately owned, but also furnishes an economic dynamism of its own, fully as important to the national economic interest. I hope to spell out this position more fully in the course of these remarks.

When this policy based on service was first placed in operation in the TVA system some 30 years ago, it was an experiment. The theory was advanced that low rates would promote high use of electricity. With high use, the producer and the distributors of electricity would be able to employ the most modern and economical means of power production and distribution. Unit costs could be kept low, and revenues would be sufficient to cover all costs. No one could be certain that this theory would turn out to be financially practical.

Today we can be certain. TVA rate schedules are no longer experimental. Use has grown. Average residential use in 1933 was about the same as that in the United States as a whole—600 kilowatt-hours a year. Now the average residence using TVA electricity uses over 10,600 kilowatt-hours a year as against a national average of less than 4,500 kilowatt-hours. With high use, unit operating costs have been held down. Average residential rates have gone down. In 1933 they were more than 5 cents per kilowatt-hour. Now they are approaching nine-tenths of one cent a kilowatt-hour. Moreover, after its first years of getting started, the system has never failed to earn a net income over expenses, and the evidence is in published financial statements, fully audited, and reported according to Federal Power Commission standards. In 1963 net income was over $55 million.

This success with relation to consumers is duplicated with relation to the U.S. Treasury. Policy with respect to the U.S. Government's investment in the TVA power system has changed through the years as experience was gained. This evolution culminated in 1959 in an amendment to the TVA statute which requires not only yearly payments to the Treasury from power revenues reducing the Federal investment in power facilities, but also the payment of an annual return, or dividend, on the unpaid balance of the Treasury's investment.

Under the new amendment TVA's overall payments to the Treasury from power earnings amounted to nearly $40 million in the fiscal year 1963. Since 1959 the power system has derived virtually none of its capital from appropriations. Rather, TVA has borrowed money on the open market by selling bonds backed by the revenues of the power system. TVA's own earnings also are a source of capital funds. In fact, power earnings have been reinvested in the business to such an extent that they represent almost one-third of the power system's $2 billion of net capital assets. In other words, the Federal Government—the taxpayers of the Nation—own a sound, going concern worth almost twice as much as they have put into it and the appropriations invested in it are being paid back with what is, in substance, interest.

This is a financial success story. Power is widely used at low rates. The system is financially self-supporting and self-liquidating. The Treasury is being reimbursed and gets a fully compensatory return on its investment. There is no subsidy in TVA electric power rates.

Why, then, are private power rates higher than those of TVA? Generally, though not universally, they are higher because company managements believe they must be so to make maximum profits. Here we see a different set of incentives resulting in a different rate structure. Maximum service to consumers no longer is the primary goal. The financial results, therefore, also are different.

But because they are different does not mean that either is unsuccessful or wrong in principle. Both may be quite successful, according to the objectives and standards under which they operate. Both systems—service enterprise and profit enterprise—are compatible with the free economic pattern of America.

Indeed, they are compatible with each other and in many instances their objectives merge. We know of many private companies which have improved their profit position by improving service, through lower rates to consumers. Yet when utility rate specialists of Ebasco Services, Inc., recently suggested this formula, it was hailed in the press as a kind of new economic theory for electric utilities. Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the investment firm, is reported as recommending similar rate policies.

The great principle to be guarded here is that the American people are entitled to know and understand the basic ideas behind each type of enterprise, how they work, and the results they produce. Where a choice is available, they are entitled to make that choice. But the facts basic to a knowing decision should not be obscured by the kind of propaganda smokescreen which pervades the atmosphere today.

III

This smokescreen has been used frequently to obscure also the question of taxation. I want to set the record straight on this score as well.

First, let it be clear that in the TVA power system the wholesale and retail functions are in separate ownership. TVA in general is a wholesaler. The retail part of the business is conducted in most cities by municipally owned distribution systems; in the rural areas it is performed by cooperatives.

Both of these arms of the power system pay the equivalent of State and local taxes. TVA itself pays 5 percent of its gross power revenues (except those from sales to the U.S. Government) to the seven Tennessee Valley States. The municipal and cooperative retail distribution systems also pay such taxes according to their various State laws.

For years, anti-TVA propaganda has tried to minimize these payments by calling them token taxes. In fact, they are substantial. TVA's payments in lieu of taxes to the State of Tennessee, for example, exceed the tax payments to the State by any other enterprise. In most cities in the TVA power service area the tax payment by the local retail system is larger than the tax paid by any other enterprise in the community.

Whether these payments are on a scale comparable with the State and local tax payments of private utilities can be measured by determining the portion of the consumer's

dollar which goes for this purpose. TVA and the associated retail distributors in 1963 paid 7.4 percent of total revenues for State and local taxes, whereas the 12 private utilities adjacent to TVA made payments ranging from 4.7 percent to 11.8 percent. In the 25 years preceding 1963, the TVA system's payments increased 554 percent as against 444 percent for the private utilities of the country. In short, the TVA power system makes full and adequate contribution to the support of the State and local governments in which it operates.

The Federal tax question must be approached in a different way because of national policies which have deep implications for the national economy. Congress has never seen fit to apply the Federal income tax to the revenues of the TVA power system for reasons implicit in the nature and objectives of the system.

First, the Federal Government does not tax itself. Since TVA is an agency of the Federal Government, all its power revenues belong to the Government without taxation.

In addition, there is compelling justification for this position in the fundamentals of public policy. The basic consideration is that TVA power is a service enterprise, operated with minimum profit for the benefit of consumers.

Service enterprise in its true sense is a spur to the general economy, because it is directed to the interest of the consumer. It tends to encourage lower prices, which in turn stimulate buying. It increases overall economic activity, employment as well as sales. By selling electricity at low rates for minimum profit, TVA contributes to the profitability of many enterprises and to the economic vitality of the region and the Nation.

Let us put this position to the test of history. Let us find out whether this economic stimulus actually has occurred, whether the economy and the U.S. Treasury have been hurt or helped.

The first and the most obvious effect of low rates has been to stimulate the sale of electric appliances. The development of electric space heating has led to its extensive use in homes. Nine out of ten new residences in the TVA power area are heated with electricity. The all-electric home has led to the all-electric school, the all-electric apartment house, and all-electric business buildings. This appliance business has put $3 billion into the hands of manufacturers, dealers, and their employees since World War II. A new consumer benefit from electric heat has been the recent reduction in insurance rates on all-electric homes in Pennsylvania, based on the factor of increased safety. Similar reductions are under study in other States and permission has been granted to one company to offer such reduced insurance rates in Tennessee.

The adaptation of electricity to many home, farm, and business functions has stimulated a demand for TVA power, which has been increasing at the rate of about 10 percent a year. This compares with the growth of the national electric industry amounting to 7 percent a year. TVA's growing market requires heavy investment in new generating plants and transmission lines. In the past 10 years, this investment has averaged more than $125 million a year and provided employment for an average of almost 6,500 workmen a year, most of them in skilled, well-paying jobs. Thus the very factor of growth, aside from normal day-to-day operation and maintenance, is providing a dynamic employment and payroll force for the economy.

The Treasury's tax collections are directly affected. The appliance dealers pay taxes on their profits. The workmen pay taxes on their income. Moreover, a study of general economic trends demonstrates that TVA's spur to the economy is not limited to the effect on appliance dealers and payrolls. Per capita income in the 201 counties of the Tennessee Valley region has risen from 45 percent of the national average in 1933 to 67 percent today. This improvement means that personal income in the area is about $3.5 billion a year more than it would have been if the 45-percent level still prevailed.

Overall individual income tax collections in the TVA power service area have increased more rapidly than for the Nation as a whole. Taxpayers in the counties where TVA power is sold contributed eight-tenths of one percent of the country's individual income tax in 1933. In 1963 it was 1.6 percent. The proportion has doubled. This increase of tax payments over the life of TVA is $5 billion more than individuals in the area would have paid if the proportion had stayed as it was in 1933.

This Treasury benefit, of course, cannot all be attributed to TVA power rates. TVA's total resource development program was a big factor—the navigable waterway, assured water supplies, improved farming and forestry, water recreation and other aspects. The enterprise of the people and the speed with which they put the developed resources to work were exceedingly important. The impact of war, of national agricultural programs and other economic factors contributed.

Nevetheless, as Prof. Martin G. Glaeser of the University of Wisconsin said in his book, "Public Utilities in American Capitalism," TVA's power program was "the vital, dynamic spark" which set off many of the other development processes and made it possible for them to succeed. TVA experience does meet the test. The power system is a vigorous force for growth and stability in the region and the Nation.

IV

Finance and taxation, important as they are, are dwarfed by the larger, more basic issues inherent in this Nation's electric industry and TVA's place in it. These issues were summarized rather clearly by the 20th Century Fund in a searching inquiry into the electric utility industry published in 1943.

"Electricity," the Fund said, "is the chief activating force of the modern industrial world. Its importance, both in our economic and social life, is beyond all measurement. And, because its currents reach into the intimate corners of our homes as well as into our factories and farms, few of us indeed are free of their effects * * *.

"The degree to which electricity can serve the public interest in peace or war is largely dependent on the relation between the agencies which produce it and the Government. For the Government must, of necessity, be a leading character in the story—either as a regulator or producer. No natural monopolies which attain such gigantic size and strength could be left free of drastic social control."

The misinformation and partial information about the Nation's electric industry, now being widely distributed, seeks to camouflage this monopoly status and divert the attention of the public from its dangers. The truth is that the natural monopoly position of the electric utility business makes it an industry apart from the usual "free enterprise" business. Direct competition between electric systems is not economically practical and does not exist. The great expense involved in building duplicating systems would be too risky financially for the owners, and too costly to consumers. Thus it is possible in your hometown to shop from store to store for cloths, food, automobiles, electric appliances, or virtually anything you want to buy—but not electricity.

Consequently, this industry lives apart from the normal world of competitive enterprise. And because its monopoly position, if misused, can constitute an economic danger to a city, a State or a region, electric utilities are subject to regulation. Primarily, this regulation is carried out by State commissions, and usually carries with it certain privileges not enjoyed by other businesses. One such privilege is the right of eminent domain. But more notable is the right to charge rates which assure a fair return on the investment, almost always at least 6 percent and sometimes higher.

It is extremely important to realize that the monopoly position of the electric industry is not merely a theoretical matter. When the Twentieth Century Fund described electricity as "the chief actuating force of the modern industrial world" it was speaking of its virtually infinite utility and necessity. Electricity is energy—the capability of doing work. It is in truth an instrument of human betterment and those who produce it and sell it have immense influence on economic conditions in their regions. By price changes which seem to be infinitestimal—a small fraction of a cent per kilowatt-hour—they can stimulate commerce, make industry more efficient and spur employment.

These are the stakes of the American public in the country's electric industry. These are the dimensions of economic power which rest, in many parts of the country, in the hands of a private monopoly, curbed only by the negative force of State regulatory commissions. The bare statement of the problem raises important questions.

Is the negative curb of regulation sufficient to assure topnotch performance in an industry of such significance?

Can the Nation rely on it—secure as it is in its monopoly—for alert attention to costs, rates, and administration in the public interest?

Or is there a need for an element of competition—a positive factor—to give the stimulus of public price comparison of the kind which most enterprises accept as a matter of course?

Part of the answer to these questions can be derived from an examination of the history of regulation. It has some sordid chapters, particularly in the 1920's and early 1930's. One prominent history of this period concludes that "by and large (the private utilities) succeeded in carving out an area of independent sovereignty which left much of the State regulatory machinery an empty facade."

Federal legislation of the 1930's, by curbing financial abuses and giving the Federal Power Commission authority over interstate electric rates, closed some of the gaps in the regulation of electric utilities. Still, the FPC jurisdiction extends only to wholesale rates, has no authority over local retail rates, and many of its powers are simply supplementary to State regulation.

Serious students of the industry strongly indicate that State regulation still leaves much to be desired. One authority on the industry wrote that "while originally the companies were vigorously opposed to regulation, they have come not only to accept it but largely to convert it into an instrument of protection for themselves."

Still another scholar asserts that "most students are still notably restrained in their enthusiasm for the performance of the regulatory commissions."

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch not long ago began an editorial thus:

"When the Missouri General Assembly convenes next month, it will be interesting to learn whether its membership includes anybody who is willing:

"To defy the utilities lobby.

"To undertake a fight for sound utility rate regulation which will earn him the enmity of the utilities and benefit nobody but the unorganized consumers."

The Asheville (N.C.) Citizen recently commented as follows on a decision of the State utilities commission: "The decision was predictable and perhaps inevitable. In the long history of such cases the State commissioners

have usually sided with the power companies."

Last year the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association released a study of earnings of 38 leading electric utilities showing that their combined earnings over and above a 6-percent return amounted to more than $550 million in the 2 years 1959 and 1960. The Federal Power Commission reviewed the report, made a computation on a somewhat different accounting basis, and came out with excess earnings of $370 million for those 2 years.

These citations are not intended to disparage much valuable and constructive work by many regulatory commissions and their personnel. To many of them, much tribute is due. Nevertheless, the authorities are convincing that there are a multitude of weaknesses in the structure of commission regulation.

V

The coming of TVA brought something new to this picture. For the first time the element of competition had been injected, involving an enterprise comparable in scale with the privately owned utilities. Nor was this new element accidental. Congress was well aware of the past excesses of private electric utilities and made sure, with clear provisions in the TVA Act, that the public would have the facts about TVA operations, and their costs, with which to compare the operations and costs of the private sector of the industry. Not direct competition but competition by comparison for the first time became an integral part of the electric industry.

Some of the effects of TVA competition have been dramatic. For example, it has been surprisingly healthy for the companies neighboring TVA. Most of these nearby utilities, since the coming of TVA, have reduced their rates more, proportionately, than companies in other parts of the country. Since that time their common stock earnings have increased more than twice as fast as the national average. The index of earnings is up almost 1,200 percent over the 1937–39 average among the companies contiguous to TVA, compared with an increase of less than 500 percent among all class A and B utilities.

Obviously, stockholders as well as consumers have benefited from nearness to TVA.

Another dramatic example is in the contribution of TVA to the strength and flexibility of the Nation's defenses in two great wars. During the Korean war, when the world faced its first threat of widespread atomic destruction, the United States undertook a vast increase in its atomic defenses. The World War II atomic defense plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn., served by TVA was greatly enlarged and a new one of similar size was built near Paducah, Ky. The story of how the AEC obtained low-cost power from private sources for the Paducah plant is most interesting, but too long for this discussion. In effect, AEC said to the companies, "Isn't there any way that private industry can produce electricity for us as cheaply as TVA?" They found that they could, and power was furnished to AEC, almost as cheaply as from TVA, and well under customary industrial rates.

Here was the TVA yardstick in action. TVA power was at hand as a basis for comparison. And here is the result: Since 1954 AEC has bought an average of 22 billion kilowatt-hours a year from these private corporations, the equivalent of the annual consumption of the metropolitan area of New York City. Assuming that their rate was lower by a mill—a tenth of a cent—per kilowatt-hour than otherwise might have obtained, the savings amount to $22 million a year or $220 million over the 10-year span. Add to this the saving, similarly computed, on a somewhat larger amount of power furnished by TVA to AEC and you have a total saving of almost a half billion dollars—more than the power investment in all of TVA's dams.

VI

The attacks on TVA and its power operations have a significance, however, that goes deeper than mere operating facts, deeper than the economic implications. They limit and stultify our ideas of freedom and our traditions of individual enterprise.

Historically, American business enterprise has not been confined to corporate enterprise, or to investor-owned enterprise. One of the great strengths of the U.S. system has been the fact that the people have had the freedom to exercise ingenuity and initiative in devising methods of working together to provide goods and services in ways which better suit their wants and needs. Mutual insurance organizations are more than 200 years old and Benjamin Franklin helped found the first one. For over a century and a half American farmers have been forming cooperatives to process and market their products and to purchase their supplies. Grocers, druggists, and hardware dealers have formed retail-owned wholesale organizations.

Throughout this history our people have used their governmental institutions to achieve similar goals. Public highways have supplanted private toll roads and public bridges have taken the place of private ferries. Hundreds of cities operate their own water systems, collect their own garbage, and operate citywide transportation systems. Wisconsin and Massachusetts have State-owned life insurance. North Dakota has a State-owned mill and elevator. New York and New Jersey have established the huge New York Port Authority engaged in a vast program of public service projects.

In the electric industry, public ownership has also had a long and distinguished history. The entire State of Nebraska is served by public power systems. The Federal Government has produced and marketed electricity for over half a century—since the completion of Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River in Arizona in 1907. All of these electric power activities, whether conducted by cities, States, or the Federal Government, have been approved in specific and definite terms by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In short, public power enterprise is thoroughly imbedded in the traditions and law of this country. To characterize it as in any way alien or foreign to basic American traditions is a travesty of history and a disservice to the American people.

In our Nation, freedom of business enterprise includes service enterprise in the consumer interest as well as profit enterprise in the private interest. The TVA power system works and operates within the finest ideals of service to consumers compatible with sound financial practices. It is the fair competitor, the competitor with the open book, for all to examine, for all to compare, and from which all may learn. In the interest of the Nation and its economic and business freedom, TVA will continue to operate in this tradition, aware that it has the confidence and approval of the American people.

Bernard M. Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Bernard M. Baruch is one of the greatest South Carolinians and one of the greatest Americans of all time. Mr. Baruch, by his close association with every American President since Woodrow Wilson, and Members of Congress, has influenced the destiny of this Nation and indeed the free world.

Mr. Baruch, and we in South Carolina are proud of it, epitomizes more than anyone of our time the true southern gentleman—courteous and gracious in manner, erect, dignified and distinguished in physical appearance, keen in mind and truly a financial genius in both private and public finance.

South Carolina and the Nation pause to pay Mr. Baruch homage today on his 94th birthday. My people join me and my family in wishing him many more happy birthdays and always the best.

Mr. Speaker, I noticed in the Post this morning a word of wisdom beneath his picture:

We stand at a fork in the road of history; one path leads to destruction, the other to a bright, new future.

Politics of Change in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States finds itself enmeshed in the future of Latin America in a greater degree than at any other period of our history.

What happens in these Latin American countries must have its repercussions and influences here in the United States.

I believe we will better understand the significance of the change that is slowly but surely taking place in this area of common concern and interest, if we will take time to read the excellent book on the subject of Latin American politics and change edited by Joseph Maier and Richard W. Weatherhead.

At this time I will appreciate the attention of the House to these lines from the preface:

The result of this collective effort, we hope, will be to stimulate new thoughts and to encourage new perspectives on the difficult and complex universe that is Latin America.

Mr. Speaker I ask the indulgence of the House to present the introduction to "Politics of Change in Latin America."

INTRODUCTION: "POLITICS OF CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA"

Latin America is a society living under the stress of change. Everywhere the new is challenging the old. The 20th century has caused conflict within the traditional 19th century molds. The sweep of change is relentless, and change is the mark of the time in Latin America.

The response to this change will determine the character of the new society as it emerges today and tomorrow. We can no longer afford to view this change as a simple contest between democratic and totalitarian forms of life and government. Whether fortunately or unfortunately, we are the witnesses of a deep transformation in every single institution of traditional society.

The impact of change has permanently ended Latin America's isolation from the forces at work in the world today. The 19th century preserved and prolonged the colonial substance of Latin American society and merely gave it a democratic dressing and a republican facade. The old was continued in different garb. The modern state only appeared to exist; the reality was something else. The colonial legacy, the imperial, hierarchial, and aristocratic ways persisted, in spite of all the zealous attempts at reform and in spite of all the civil wars. Even the great shock of independence (1808–24) was not enough to uproot the old order and implant a new one. The revolutionary concepts of the late 18th century were new to Latin America, just as they were to the United States and France; but in the latter they germinated with the people and had foundations in popular assemblies, while in the old Spanish colonies they became the civil protestations of an educated, well-placed elite. The people's demands sometimes found articulation, but seldom were they truly fulfilled.

In the 19th century, Latin America's place in the world was one of isolation. Today, change has brought this area to the forefront of our worldwide preoccupation, and we can no longer speak of it as outside the mainstream of thought and change in the Western World. The last century was one of appearance; ours is one of reality. Our world is a difficult one to live in because it has grown terribly complex. And complexity is augmented, exacerbated, by the steady pressures brought forth by change.

Despite all the turmoil, bloodshed, pronunciamientos, golpes de estado, and a bewildering succession of idealistic constitutions in Latin American countries, no profound change was registered anywhere during the 19th century. After Simón Bolívar's death in 1830, Latin America returned to the traditional manner of life under the vigorous, individualistic rule of the caudillos, a brand of bastard kings—that is, rulers who had no patents of legitimacy and no sanctions in tradition. Their way was force and violence. But they kept society orderly and resistant to social change of any nature. The rule of the caudillo was no more than a political backwash of the colonial period. For Latin America, the 19th century was the twilight of the Middle Ages, the waning of feudal customs, the debilitation of the colonial legacy.

The industrial revolution, which began in Western Europe in the 18th century and spread rapidly across the Atlantic to the eastern seaboard of the United States, is only in our time significantly touching Latin American societies. Latin American economies have been characterized by a persistent mercantilism that lasted beyond the end of World War I, and in some places even beyond the great depression of the 1930's. Their economic growth depended upon the dynamism of foreign national economy. Capitalists came to Latin America to exploit. Their concern was not to develop or aid these countries—as it is ours today—but rather to use them for their own purposes and profits. Monopolistic tendencies, whether foreign or national, were logical consequences of the mercantile outlook. The landholding systems—the hacienda, the hato, the estancia, or the fazenda—were both feudal and exclusive in their effect. Agriculture was landlocked by what seemed to be a perpetual system of latifundia—large tracts of land or seigniories, where men played the part of medieval lords, and regarded their dependents as economic serfs or household chattels. The extractive-exportive arrangement of subsoil minerals tied the internal economies of Latin America to the vicissitudes of the world market.

The changes of this century have undone the apparent economic permanence of the last. The cries for social justice, the persistent demands of more vocal labor unions, the slow but sure development of responsible political parties, the dogma of class warfare, the whirlwind growth of cities where only villages had stood, the new communications that bring the tangible accomplishments of the middle class in other Western countries to the movie and television screens, and the unholy injustice of poverty and wealth in the shameless juxtaposition—all these are factors that have undermined the economic and social status quo of 1900. The economies have been challenged by change, just as the states have been upset by it.

By the "traditional order of things" we mean the persistence of the colonial legacy, however modified or disguised by the mere trappings of reform. We mean, specifically, the vestiges of feudalism. The system of landholding and its exploitation through peonage are the outgrowths of medieval practices in Spain and Portugal. The encomienda is the historical antecedent of the hacienda, just as the encomendero is of the hacendado. The large estate (the latifundium) does not participate in the monetary economy of the nation. It is sometimes autarchic, sometimes it provides no more than a subsistence economy, and it is generally inefficient; instead of allowing the development of national unity, it frustrates the growth of the state by spawning a patchwork of principalities.

Political life in Latin America is always handicapped by the personalist tradition, unquestioning loyalty to the person of the leader rather than to the law of the republic. The jefe politico, the local boss, is in the continuous line of the colonial figures, the cacique and the corregidor. The jefe máximo of this century and the caudillo of the last are throwbacks to the conquistador: All have seized authority without regard to scruple and have retained it by stealth and strength. The military caste is too often the final arbiter of constitutional processes, and a military career too surely leads to political power. Rivalries among military services and cliques within each service lead to incessant plotting, counterplotting, and periodic revolts, contributing yet another element of tension to the unstable political scene. It is the unsheathed sword of the soldier and not the secret ballot of the citizen that all too frequently decides the outcome of an election. And even when legality appears strong and the deputies are in the chamber debating the issues before the nation, one must always wonder if the soldiers are in their barracks or in the streets. To be sure, modern concepts of popular democracy have influenced—or frightened—the military everywhere, but have the soldiers accepted subordination to civilian authority, or are they still the truculent guardians of the traditional order and the interests of their own caste?

The long shadow of the church is still upon the land. The history of the 19th century in Latin America is, in effect, the history of the bitter contest between church and state for absolute supremacy in society. But, while the church is the great conserving institution, it is the institution most receptive to the forces of change. It has none of the brittleness of the latifundia or of the political and economic oligarchies. It has resisted change in order to insure its eminence: It has held great extensions of land in the form of entailed estates; it controls its faithful; it dominates much of the educational system; it has formed and still maintains alliances with the traditional elites; it has masked conditions of poverty by giving alms and by extending spiritual refuge to the weary in body; and the brilliance of its architectural splendor has palliated without ameliorating the misery of the people. Withal, the church is resilient and resourceful. It is adjusting to the forces of change more rapidly than are the traditional elites in Latin America. The Christian Democratic parties are an example of this adjustment. Their programs are committed to the 20th century, and they are not exclusively Catholic. They are mass parties and not a secular arm of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The oligarchs of the land and of politics have been recalcitrant in accepting the change of this century. The church, on the other hand, has recognized its legitimacy and its urgency, has absorbed it and, in large measure, become its advocate. The church, from the promulgation of the Rerum Novarum (1892) to the Mater et Magistra (1961) and Pacem in Terris (1963), has taken a firm and clear stand for reform leading to social justice.

The 19th century was a time of isolation and stagnation. As a historical experience of a people, it parallels the 17th century in the colonial period. Both were times of actual stasis and quietude, and both followed profound historical events. The 17th century succeeded the tremendous impetus of discovery, conquest, exploration, and peopling of virtually the entire American continent. Then, splendor in architecture, class and caste in social hierarchy, sophistry and scholasticism in letters and education, and bureaucracy—empleomania—in Government and empire became the overriding concerns of all. The 19th century, overlapping World War I, followed the great effort of political rupture with Spain and Portugal. Political ties had been severed with the mother country, but the colonial society of the metropolis remained. The king was gone, but not the tendency to monarchy.

Latin America's isolation can be illustrated by another example. The area is something like Japan before Perry's ironclad ships steamed into Tokyo Bay, bringing the impact of change, the stark confrontation of the old with the new, and thereby ending the 200-year rule of the Tokugawa. In the generation immediately following the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan feverishly incorporated as much of Western progress as she could into her own previously feudalistic and now suddenly anachronistic inheritance. In effect, Japan imposed Western models of progress upon her Oriental and medieval society and successfully transformed it into a powerful industrial state. Just as Japan did after the arrival of Perry and the outside world in 1853, so Latin America is now questioning and attacking the foundations of its traditional society. Yesterday's sacrosanct has become today's evil, tomorrow's purgatory.

In most cases, however, Latin America cannot make the wholesale transformation carried out so thoroughly by the Japanese. Nor is it possible to do now what was accomplished so quickly in the orient in the last century. Nor, perhaps, is it advisable. Yet, the predicament of resolving the acute problems of change is similar in both instances. The Japanese rulers early in the Meiji period realized that, if change is resisted, the consequence is often a holocaust for those currently in power. They faced change, the Western presence in their midst, by reaching a modus vivendi with it. Resistance to change may bring on a fatal collapse of the social order. Adaptation to it and transformation with it will most likely preserve the useful features and functions of traditional society.

The impact of change is seen in the city better than anywhere else. The city is the very focus of change. It is the catalyst between the old and the new in Latin America. It dramatizes the old injustices and precipitates the coming of the new. The city and the machine have brought irreversible change to the surface and the soul of Latin America. Poverty is cast into sharp relief because of their presence.

The city is the only place where there is light in Latin America—in a figurative as

well as a literal sense. The traveler appreciates this as his airplane approaches any of the great Latin American cities. Beyond them is darkness, the endless stretches of land still unilluminated by the progress and change of this century, still obscured by the traditional medieval order of things.

The city holds out the promise of the 20th century. It may be artificial, but it galvanizes men's hearts and draws them magnetically to its environs. The middle class is metropolitan and trained in a profession or a craft. The immigrants move from the feudal countryside to the contemporary city for the benefits it promises, but they are frustrated in participating in them because they are illiterate, unskilled, and uncouth. They are not yet of this century.

The city of the 20th century conflicts with the siesta. The large metropolis of means and misery is discipline, progress, and tension. It means punctuality and organization. The city is man's response to the idea of material progress. It means reliance upon functional rather than personal relationships. The city means the breakdown of the traditional, patriarchal family. Functionalism has replaced splendor in the city of our time. Feudal splendor has become both profligate and anachronistic.

The city has been the birthplace of democracy. The machine is the means to egalitarian justice. The factory breaks down the superstition and subservience basic to the paternalistic framework. The machine demands a discipline and rationality of those who operate it and direct its uses. The factory, to exist, must be efficient and productive. The latifundia can be wasteful and dependent upon the caprice and improvidence of the patrón. The city has its laws, the countryside its folkways. The capitalist in his metropolitan existence has been restricted by labor laws, mass agitation and demogogic controls, corporate structures, and egalitarian codes in general. The land baron, the hacendado, is the lord of his domain: There can be no incursion upon his authority, on his land his fiat is absolute, obedience to him is total and personal. Only in the cities do the politics of change have their proper habitat.

Adjustment to radically new situations is the essence of the politics of change. The new cannot be held off by a blind reference to the past. We have cited Japan's experience in the last century under the Meiji and the Catholic Church's recent stand on political and social reforms as examples of successful response to the imperatives of change. The measure of any viable institution, or of any worthy man for that matter, is the capacity to adjust quickly and sensibly to the challenges of change. This, basically, is the problem of our relations with Latin America and the problem of Latin Americans themselves in their own societies. The imperatives of change will become the winds of revolution unless we and they devise a workable set of policies and politics for our changing times.

In the United States, we will never understand the nature of change in Latin America until we come to see it in Latin American terms and experience. We must forgo our ready use of extreme alternatives when we speak of this area. We have simplified their world beyond recognition by our language of absolutes: communism or democracy, free enterprise or a state-controlled economy, progress or explosion, evolution or revolution. There is a kernel of truth in all these truisms—but no more than a kernel. Latin America, no matter what extravagant terms we use, will have its own peculiar development. We must learn to recognize the special characteristics of this development by the sympathetic act of understanding. Latin American societies are just now assuming their modern form, a form still unclear; they are moving forward with sometimes stunning velocity—or regressing with dismaying frequency. The final outcome of their course may not satisfy our cultural preferences or our political and economic strategy. But before we can influence any of them in any way, we must see them as entities different from our own society. In a world where difference is accepted, change is no longer a dismaying challenge, but a beckoning stimulus.

These will be hard ways for us to learn, because we are used to the frozen politics of the cold war. We may now for the first time be moving slowly out of its barren shadow. The Latin Americans, too, will face unexpected hardships and cruel frustrations in their adjustment to change. Recourse to the old will be useless or tragic. Resistance to change will be fatal. If we in this country must abandon our terminology of absolutes, they in Latin America must forswear their pantheons of demons. The new generation there will have to accept their heritage proudly, but dismiss much of its polemic and illogic. The tirades against the gringo, the extreme suspicion and cunning turned upon most foreigners, and the excessive xenophobia must be moderated by new knowledge, new experience, new insights. Latin Americans live in a world of international interdependence, social responsibility, and advancing technology. They face the ordeal of transforming their societies from top to bottom, but nationalism need not carry them into the excesses of a hate campaign against the United States or any other nation. Nationalism awakens a people by stirring its patriotic sentiments, by calling upon the past to aid the present, and it has a thousand wise uses. Nationalism can be a tiger, too, and devour those who ride it irresponsibly for their own purposes.

Change confronts the new generation in Latin America with an increasingly wide world stage, a society in which only responsible action will repair ancient evils, and where modern science is fast gnawing away the façade and foundation of traditional society. If their politics of change are flexible and responsible, as ours should be, too, the middle of the 20th century can be the threshold of a coming great age in Latin America. Otherwise, it will be the tragic climax of a system that outlived its justification and was overwhelmed by the changing heralds of a new age.

JOSEPH MAIER.
RICHARD W. WEATHERHEAD.

Fort Lauderdale News Article

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 23, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the article "Mr. President, Please Explain This World We Live In—My Son Has Some Questions That I Can't Answer" was first published in the Fort Lauderdale News of July 14. Because it received such an overwhelming response, it was reprinted on July 28, and a copy was sent to me. After reading this very thoughtful and well-written piece, I can well understand the reason for the response which it received. Since its questions are those which trouble many of us, I believe it will be of interest to all readers of the RECORD:

"MR. PRESIDENT, PLEASE EXPLAIN THIS WORLD WE LIVE IN—MY SON HAS SOME QUESTIONS THAT I CAN'T ANSWER"

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have a question, Mr. President, that takes more of a man than I to answer.

You see, Mr. President, I have a son, an avid reader of history and current events and in his pursuit to learn about this great country of ours he has become confused.

He has been brought up in the tradition of God first, country second, and family third; he has been taught the Stars and Stripes is a symbol of freedom; that the Fourth of July is to be celebrated, not tolerated; that just because goose bumps jump out all over his body when the national anthem is played is no indication he's a "square" or "some kind of a nut"; that we are a strong, free nation, a nation where the majority not a minority rules; that we are a republic of free enterprise where a man or woman, regardless of race, color, or creed, can rise as high as the heavens if he has the ambition and if he is willing to make the necessary sacrifices; he has been taught that freedom and equality are earned, not legislated or handed out on a silver platter.

He has been told of the thousands of young Americans who have given their lives on bloody battlefields across the globe so that he might enjoy his freedom and that someday, when it is needed, he, too, must be ready to answer the call of his country.

The heritage of Americanism runs deep in this body, Mr. President.

He takes pride in recalling the winter at Valley Forge; the courage of patriots at the Battle of New Orleans; the charge of Teddy Roosevelt up San Juan Hill; the storming of the trenches in France; the heroic defenders of Bastogne; the raising of the flag at Iwo Jima; and the gallant stand at Pusan in Korea.

By modern standards, I guess this son of mine and myself would be labeled extremists—he loves his country and his flag. And next to God, there's no man like Uncle Sam.

But now, Mr. President, the boy can no longer accept this fantasy called patriotism. The more he reads, researches and studies, the more confused he becomes.

The question that has him stymied, Mr. President, is "What does the United States of America stand for now and where is it headed?"

I cannot answer that question in all fairness to the boy, Mr. President.

Am I to tell him we have become a country, where miniority groups make the decisions at the expense of the majority?

Am I to tell him we have become a nation forced to accept the dictates of mob violence?

Am I to tell that chains have bound the enterprise system and that a man can no longer operate his property, his business as he thinks best without government intervention?

Am I to tell him "protector of our enemies" is rapidly replacing "land of the free, home of the brave," as our national slogan?

Recalling past administrations' deeds at the Republican National Conventon sent the boy scurrying to his books to attempt to find for himself questions and charges made for and against the past 25 years of Republican and Democrat administrations.

History shows, Mr. President, that the years of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower, this country won the wars but completely capitulated at the peace tables.

Then along came John F. Kennedy, a dynamic youpng man who was going to get this country moving again, make it strong, the last bastion of democracy. His words were strong, Mr. President, but he, like his predecessors, carried a weak stick.

Are you going to follow their examples Mr. President? I can't speak for you and my son wants to know.

We are a strong and mighty nation, our Representatives in Congress tell us. We are unmatched in weapons, our executive branch shouts. We are a God-fearing nation, honored by laws and traditions of our ancestors, the historians write.

Then, if this is true Mr. President, explain to my son why we gave away Eastern Europe to the Communists at the Yalta Conference under Mr. Roosevelt; explain to him why we fought a half-way war in Korea under Mr. Truman; why we coddled the Red Chinese, allowing them to violate all agreements while we stood helplessly claiming "foul" and yet did nothing while young American men were slaughtered, dying not knowing what they were fighting for or why they were fighting.

How can I explain Mr. Eisenhower turning a deaf ear on pleas for help from the freedom fighters of Hungry during the height of their revolt?

Eisenhower, my son has read, was a great leader of World War II and some historians even thought a great President.

But explain to my son, Mr. President, how it is that our sworn enemies, the Communists, made more headway and advances during the "golden era" of Eisenhower's 8 years than anytime since the Bolshevist revolution in their campaign for world domination.

Attempt to reason with this boy, Mr. President, how the State Department allowed Communists to gain high positions in the foreign diplomacy field. It's in the history books, Mr. President, but it doesn't explain why.

Tell this young American why, Mr. President, that after the FBI, the world's foremost law enforcing agency, had pinpointed men of high rank in our Government who were Communists or had Communist affiliations that nothing was done to remove these cancers imbedded in the working mechanism of a free country.

And explain to this boy that when these conspirators were arrested they were eventually freed by decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court.

This is another confusing issue, Mr. President, the Supreme Court.

Since this country was founded, the historians relate, the High Court has influenced the branches of the Government with decisions that aided, not hindered independence and respect for human rights and liberties.

But the sands of time have shifted. And with the shift the Constitution of this country has become merely a scrap of paper, used to twist and squeese from ink dried long ago, interpretations that are not to be found in those finely written words.

And since 1954 when Earl Warren was appointed Chief Justice of this hallowed Court, the record indicates a trend toward anti-God, pro-Communist favoritism as a result of the Court's decisions.

Mr. Warren, particularly, has supported the Communist cause in nearly all cases appealed to the majestic Court. Yet, this country has no recourse to correct what seemingly appears to be a deficiency in our form of representative government.

But things were going to be better when Mr. Kennedy became President, my son had read. But did they, Mr. President? We continued to help our sworn enemies who promised to bury us. We sold them wheat and strategic materials, built powerplants behind the Iron Curtain, sold them jet fighters.

Why, Mr. President, in the past 20 years, you couldn't tell a Democratic President from a Republican President.

And Mr. Kennedy, as likeable as he was, made enemies by making possible more freedom for the minorities and less freedom for the majority. He alienated business, the backbone of this free enterprise form of government.

And please explain to this boy, Mr. President, that at a time when our country needed more courage and less profile, we allowed the Berlin wall to be built; that we permitted 1,400 young Cuban patriots to go ashore at the Bay of Pigs, one eye on the enemy and one eye scanning the skies for promised air support that never came?

And tell this young patriot why our State Department financed the Castro revolution in Cuba when as early as 1948 U.S. officials knew he was a Communist when he led the Red-inspired revolt in Bogatá, Colombia.

These are things I can't explain to my son, Mr. President. I trust that you may have the answers.

History records the progress we have made in science, medicine, engineering, and the professional arts, but it seems that in government we have switched from the basic concepts this country was founded upon.

And frankly, Mr. President, I think that at this moment, the majority of 190 million Americans would rather "fight than switch" to communism.

My son wants to know what he can do for his country, Mr. President. There was a time when I could tell him but now I cannot.

The only advice I can give him is simple and to the point:

"Pray, my son. Pray that in some way, some manner, some miracle, our Nation can be restored to what it once was—a nation of strong, free, independent, self-sustaining people that cannot and will not perish from this earth."

Sincerely,

JACK HORD.

The Junior Statesmen of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of this House an outstanding organization of young men and women in my State. This is the Junior Statesmen of America, a nonpartisan youth government movement that has been developing strong new citizens since 1934. In this year, on the 30th anniversary of its founding, it continues to spread respect and understanding for the Constitution upon which the Nation itself is founded.

The Junior Statesmen is an organization of high school students that have formed their own government, their own Junior State, to learn for themselves how American democracy works. They have dedicated themselves to the proposition that politics is an honorable profession, not one to be scorned and ignored by American citizens. The Junior Statesmen organization is made up totally of students—they write their own constitution, elect their own officers, plan and hold their own conventions, take their own stands on every issue of the day, and determine their own programs.

The Junior Statesmen of America was founded in 1934 by Prof. Ernest Andrew Rodgers, in Santa Cruz, Calif. It was conceived as a movement of young people, dedicated to the values and purposes of American government. Its code established it as nonpartisan, nonsectarian, and nonsecret; open to all students who wished to develop their citizenship in the best possible way—by forming and taking responsibility for their own government. With full dedication to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights embodied in its charter, the organization spread rapidly to many California high schools. The new Junior Statesmen met in their first State convention at the San Francisco World's Fair in 1939. They drafted their own constitution, elected the first State officers, and embarked on their first State project. The movement was supported by many educators, government officials and businessmen, who established the Junior Statesmen Foundation to provide legal and financial backing for the emerging organization. Recently, my distinguished colleague the gentleman from California, the honorable WILLIAM MAILLIARD, of San Francisco, served as the president of the foundation. Though the foundation continues to maintain full legal responsibility for the organization, they have reiterated the original position that the government and determination of programs should be left to the student Junior Statesmen, a policy borne out by 30 years of conscientious effort and excellent results. Junior Statesmen leaders meet frequently with the foundation, which supervises fundraising, employs a full-time field director to aid high school chapters, and conducts the special Junior Statesmen summer school.

The Junior Statesmen is made up of over 70 high school chapters from all parts of California, from Los Angeles to San Francisco and from Lake Tahoe to Santa Barbara. There are two nearly established chapters in Washington State. In all, over 3,000 students participate in the activities of Junior Statesmen every year. Many are American field service exchange students who learn for themselves how democracy works and what it means.

The Junior Statesmen have organized themselves on three levels: the high school chapters, the greater area regions, and the State organization. Every unit has its own student-written and student-approved constitution. All administration at all levels is the job of elected student officers.

Each high school chapter is an independent unit affiliated with the State organization. Membership ranges from 9, in Allegheny High School, the State's smallest school with 10 students, to nearly 300 at Santa Maria High School. Each operates as a school club with open membership; each has a faculty adviser appointed by the school principal. Chapter activities are determined by the students; they range from school and community service projects to voter registration to guest speaker programs and panel discussions. They include debates, discussion, and the introduction of resolutions in a chapter legislative session on issues from the income tax to reform of county government to a new foreign policy to new ideas on civil rights and urban problems. They are all nonpartisan. All proceedings follow parliamentary procedure, and successful resolutions are often passed on to the higher levels of the organization. Chapters es-

tablish new clubs in nearby high schools and hold social events, hear candidates for office and promote their school. New ideas covering every conceivable activity related to government, citizenship, and service are put into practice every week all over California.

The regional level of the Junior Statesman is an organization of several chapters in a general geographical area. Regions are governed by assemblies made up of chapter members, who elect administrative officers from their membership. There are four regions: Southern California; Golden Gate, Greater San Francisco Bay area; Shasta, northern California; and Washington State.

Regions hold conventions at various high schools from three to four times a year. All planning is done by students—conventions programs include guest speakers, legislative sessions, panel discussions, debate contests, recreation, dinner and dancing and the presentation of awards for outstanding performances by individual chapters. Representatives of all parts of the political spectrum have spoken at Junior Statesmen regional conventions; members of the ACLU, county judges, university professors, Birch Society members, assemblymen and Congressmen, State officials and political party officers. I myself have addressed such a convention and found it a rewarding and inspiring experience. Often impromptu question periods follow speeches as the students ask their own challenging questions of the speakers. When the speeches involve political affairs, the program is balanced to maintain nonpartisanship.

Each region has its own mayor, speaker of the assembly, treasurer, and clerk, as well as many appointed officers. A regional newsletter is distributed to all members. Regions serve to spread ideas between chapters, and give students a chance to test their ideas before larger audiences. Many young Junior Statesmen have introduced their own resolutions, on every conceivable subject, backed by painstaking research, to regional legislatures. Opposing speakers come prepared as well, as legislation is distributed in advance so that the best debate is the result. Training in debate, clear thinking, the wrestling with complex problems, and parliamentary procedure are some of the benefits of a regional legislative session. In addition, many students introduce constitutional amendments to improve their own government—for these Junior Statesmen truly make up and govern their own junior state.

All chapters in California, and for the present, those from Washington as well, make up the State government of the Junior Statesmen. The State organization holds two State conventions each year; in the State capitol in the fall, meeting in the California Legislative chambers, and in the Los Angeles area in the spring, when State officers are elected. Last year over 1,200 students attended the two conventions. Here the best legislation from chapters and regions was presented to all delegates for debate. Students took such nonparty line stands as opposing the wheat sale to Russia and supported the establishment of a Domestic Peace Corps. Many California State officers have addressed State conventions, such as Governors Warren and Knight, Attorney General Mosk, and others. Last spring former President Eisenhower spoke to 500 young Junior Statesmen assembled to elect a new State government.

The State government also coordinates the activities of the greater organization, but does not control them; provides aid to chapters, distributes ideas for programs, and coordinates a State project. In the past, this project has ranged from political preference polls in most California high schools to a books-for-Africa drive. The government is headed by a student governor, presently Dennis Bass, of Mills High School in Milbrae, Calif. He heads a staff of officers that keeps in constant communication with all chapters, edits and publishes a newspaper sent monthly to all members, collects and disburses dues set by the vote of the Junior Statesmen themselves, and promotes the expansion of Junior Statesmen to other high schools. In addition, the students have set up their own supreme court to mediate any disputes that arise between the different levels of the organization. By fully participating in their own government, the students maintain complete responsibility for its actions and programs just as they have since 1934.

Each summer, the Junior Statesmen Foundation holds a special summer school for outstanding Junior Statesmen and other top students recommended by high schools that do not have chapters. This past summer over 110 students attended two month-long sessions at Stanford University. Students attended classes in American government and speech, and met nightly to form and exercise their own government. This workshop in self-government is an experience that is not matched anywhere else, as students experiment with a tricameral legislature, or a dual presidency, to find a workable solution, themselves, to the problems of government. This summer, 50 of the students attended the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. Many students not previously members of Junior Statesmen returned home to form new chapters. This was the 22d year of the summer school.

I hope I have given a good idea of the varied and excellent programs the Junior Statesmen, over 3,000 hardworking and creative young students, have to offer the youth of California, Washington, and indeed the Nation. The purpose of the Junior Statesmen is not to mold Congressmen, Governors, and Presidents, but rather to help develop sound, responsible, thinking new citizens, with a clear understanding of the duties and the freedoms in American life. As young Junior Statesmen from all parts of California meet and work, debating, listening, expanding their own movement, and putting their own ideas into practice, this purpose is fulfilled.

Overloaded Automobiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, this morning's newspapers carried a story stating that the administration has announced a shift in policy with respect to the Federal excise tax system, and next year will, if returned to office, seek to reduce or repeal many of these outmoded, discriminatory taxes. The administration is thereby bringing itself into agreement with the 1964 Republican Party platform. There has been, of course, ample opportunity over the last 4 years, as I have striven to point out time and again, to effect such long overdue tax reform. Certainly it is an issue which deserves bipartisan support, especially, I believe, with regard to the clear need to reform the burdensome, sales-depressing, price-inflating, 10-percent excise tax on automobiles, the Nation's chief source of transportation and the acknowledged bellwether for the entire economy. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an expression of support for the efforts made in behalf of auto excise tax relief during the recent hearings held by the Committee on Ways and Means, which appeared in the Jackson (Mich.) Citizen Patriot on August 15, 1964, entitled, "Overloaded Automobiles."

The editorial follows:

OVERLOADED AUTOMOBILES

If automobiles could do some horn tooting in their own behalf they might sound off on the excise tax imposed on them. This overworked conveyance puts in a hard day ferrying the average family on an endless circuit of hops here and there. Work, errands, recreation, school, library, and countless other pursuits are contingent on the family sedan. It hardly can be considered a luxury. We rely on it too heavily to regard our car as anything but a necessity.

Yet, the automobile, which takes one of the largest single shares of the consumer's income, is subject to a 10-percent excise tax. It comes out of a budget that could stand some relief.

Elimination of the tax has been suggested by a spokesman for the automobile industry to the House Ways and Means Committee. Richard E. Cross, board chairman of American Motors Corp. and a director of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, said that the automobile has the status of a necessity in today's living and that the 10-percent excise tax on new cars is an unfair burden on consumers.

He raises a good point. The sprawling nature of our modern communities that has coupled the leaping progress in building definitely puts the car in the category of a necessity. We're so spread out now that we'd be out of commission without a car. In many cases two cars are needed, since busy schedules mean double duty on transportation.

Another point can be added to Mr. Cross' stress on necessity. The automobile industry is deeply rooted in the economy of the Nation, and tax relief on cars would influence

more buying of this product, which would spur business. A vast segment of our Nation's output which is keyed to the gross national product, as in the case of car production, would significantly add to prosperity if given a stimulant that the consumer can call a saving.

The question of cutting taxes isn't just speculative. President Johnson has held out the possibility of another income tax cut "before too long." Addressing the National Association of Counties, he said, "If prices remain stable, as they have, and prosperity continues, as it is, we want to cut some of our excise taxes at least—and, before too long, to cut income taxes once more."

Civilization has moved on wheels since man found a way to round out stone and rig a cart. The automobile now plays a giant role in modern life, adding immensely to society's comfort and contributing significantly to progress and economic growth.

Without the penalty of an excise tax there are still greater contributions for the automobile to make in our society.

Standpoint—The Editorial Voice of WBBM–TV, Chicago—Endorses President's Antipoverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call my colleagues' attention today to an excellent editorial presented by WBBM–TV in Chicago in support of President Johnson's all-out drive against poverty in America.

WBBM–TV is an affiliate of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Mr. Clark B. George, general manager of WBBM–TV, and Mr. Carter Davidson, editorial director of this fine television station, have performed a most impressive public service by putting President Johnson's antipoverty program in its proper perspective before millions of people in the Midwest who hear and see these editorials.

This editorial typifies the profound contribution that television and radio are today making toward a better understanding among Americans of the problems confronting their Nation and the world.

The excellent editorial broadcast on August 12 and 13 over WBBM–TV in Chicago follows:

PRESIDENT'S ANTIPOVERTY BILL

One of every seven persons in Cook County is living in poverty, according to a yardstick established by President Johnson. The rule says that any family with an annual income of $3,000 or less, or any individual with an income of $2,000 or less each year is considered poor and thus in the frontline trenches of the President's war on poverty.

Congress recently enacted the Economic Opportunity Act as the legislation authorizing the war. The act establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity, with Chicagoan R. Sargent Shriver as its Director. Just under $1 billion was allocated as the initial war chest.

The Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago estimates that some 700,000 residents of Cook County fall below the so-called poverty line in their annual incomes, and 600,000 of them in the city of Chicago itself.

The war on poverty in Chicago will be waged through existing welfare agencies and will concentrate on training youths between 16 and 21 for jobs for which they are not now qualified.

Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., appointed by Mayor Daley as coordinator, or field general in the battle against poverty, estimates the city will share in about $20 million of Federal funds to be allocated to Illinois and that about 15,000 of the city's unemployed youths will be the first beneficiaries of on-the-job training.

The whole war on poverty concept has been controversial from the first time it was mentioned by President Johnson last March. Republicans have charged that it is a raw bid for votes in an election year.

Economists have said it is a mere first step and will be ineffective in raising the living standards of low-income groups.

It has been called a gigantic step toward the welfare state and it has been criticized for focusing the world's attention on shortcomings in the American free enterprise system. One Swiss newspaper, for instance, headlined its story of the President's war on poverty speech by asking whether it was "the end of the American dream."

Without dealing with the merits of any of the criticisms, since any major legislation is controversial in an election year, Standpoint believes the Economic Opportunity Act is a valuable step, although just a beginning one.

We firmly believe that the fact of economic deprivation in this country—existing in the midst of substantial prosperity—can best be dealt with privately. The federally financed war on poverty has been declared simply because it has not been dealt with privately. There is no denying that poverty does exist in the midst of plenty, but it is our hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity—the high command of the war on poverty—will be needed only as a triggering mechanism.

In our view, poverty is not a blight which, like a smallpox epidemic, can be cured by emergency medical measures and, once cured, be expected to stay cured. It has to do with massive migrations of people improperly assimilated into the economic life of the city. It has to do with school dropouts, creating a work force with inadequate education to hold jobs in these specialized times.

Incidentally, one of every three high school sophomores enrolling in Chicago public schools this fall can be expected to quit before he graduates. The national ratio is one out of four, which neatly exhibits the magnitude of the problem our own city faces.

In a sense, the Government's war on poverty is no war at all, merely a battle. The total war has to be fought by all of us, on all fronts.

Statement of Hon. Michael A. Feighan Before Democratic Platform Committee in Support of a New, Fair, and Sound Immigration Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 5, 1964

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, by leave previously granted, I insert in the RECORD my statement before the Democratic Platform Committee in support of a new, fair, and sound immigration bill:

STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL L. FEIGHAN

Mr. Chairman and members of the platform committee, I am Congresman MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN. I have been privileged to represent the people of the 20th District of Ohio in Congress for the past 22 years.

While I am chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, and chairman of the Joint Senate-House Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy, I appear today in my individual capacity as a citizen and lifetime member of the Democratic Party.

My remarks will be directed at two planks in our platform—immigration and foreign policy.

The population of our Nation as I speak to you (2:30 p.m.) is estimated by the Bureau of the Census to be 192,467,619. Four years ago this hour, the count was 181,141,000. Four years from this hour the count will be 203,446,000. We are a country well settled and well developed. In fact, we are by far the most advanced industrial-technical Nation in the history of the world. We are not a nation in need of immigration, by any test or current international standard. Nor are we a country of emigration. There is no need for our people, or any segment thereof, to seek admission to other less settled or developed lands where there might be greater opportunity for the individual. Our land abounds with opportunity for all who are ambitious and who are prepared to make the personal sacrifices which have been the price of success in every generation.

I include the opportunity to prepare for a useful life as well as the opportunity to use fully natural and cultivated talents, aptitudes and skills. This does not by any means suggest that we need or are ready for what is generally called a restrictive immigration policy. Quite the contrary is the case. What we need is an immigration policy tuned to our current domestic needs and our international commitments.

Permit me to share with you these basic considerations, upon which that policy must be established.

1. Despite the fact we are no longer a country of immigration, we are by far the most generous and liberal nation in the world so far as the number of immigrants we admit each year. The record shows that over the past 10 years we have taken in an annual average of 300,000 immigrants. Other nations, generally regarded as countries of immigration, both in this hemisphere and the Pacific areas of Australia and New Zealand, fall far below that number of immigrant admissions. For example, Australia averaged 102,000, and Canada averaged 90,000 annual admissions over the 5-year period, 1959–63.

2. Of the 300,000 immigrants we have been admitting each year only one-third have come in under the much disputed national origins quota system. Two-thirds have been admitted as nonquota immigrants, largely from the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

3. Despite our generous and liberal position on the number of annual immigrant admissions, it is now clear our present method of admissions causes more domestic problems than it is resolving. I refer specifically to the large number of families in our Nation, split and separated by war, tyranny and human upsets, with some members living abroad waiting for a quota number to join their loved ones in the United States. The waiting period in many instances is long and trying, difficult if not impossible to justify in light of the primary moral value our society attaches to the integrity of the family.

4. Our nonquota immigrant admissions from the Western Hemisphere have been on a constant rise during the past 10 years. In view of the increased mobility of populations in our hemisphere, because of the rapid and somewhat inexpensive means of transportation—not to mention the many attractions inherent in our national life—predict

a continuing rise in this number of nonquota immigrant admissions in the years ahead.

5. As a technological nation moving at breakneck speed into a fully automated society, we are experiencing socioeconomic problems, the solutions for which are yet to be found and proved out. I refer not only to the problems of unemployment and under employment, but to the stimulated mobility of our labor force, the training of workers to meet the technical-scientific demands of automation, replacement of the family farm by the science of industrial farming, the concentration of our population into urban centers, just to mention a few. All these problems and the solutions we find to them cannot be separated from our national policy of immigrant admissions. For immigrants are above all else, people who must find their way to happiness in the milieu of our society no less than our native-born citizens.

6. Few would disagree with the need for our Nation to maintain its traditions as a haven for some of the victims of political and religious persecution in many lands across the seas, and more lately those who have escaped from the Russian fortress in the Caribbean. Our record in this respect remains unchallenged. However, it hardly befits our rich traditions to admit our fair share of those victims under conditions which attach to their admission the stigma of parole, as we are doing at present. Refugees whom we admit should enter as all other immigrants do—with no finger of suspicion or trial pointed at them. They fled or escaped from communism because the hand of the Russian jailer was about to rest on their shoulders. When they come here they want to forget their nightmare of experience in the police state. We should exemplify only freedom, justice, and the dignity of the individual in the reception we accord them.

It is apparent, therefore, that a modern-day immigration policy involves finding answers to these questions:

1. How many immigrants shall we admit each year, based upon our ability to absorb them at this stage of our national development?

2. What shall be the criteria for selecting immigrants for admission, within the ceiling of absorbability?

3. Shall we continue the practice of nonquota immigration for the Western Hemisphere, or shall we subject that practice to the same critical analysis as has been given to the national origins quota system?

4. Have we reached a point in our national development which requires a worldwide quota system governed by a realistic assessment of our domestic needs with a reasonable flexibility to support our international commitments?

5. What are to be the respective roles of the executive branch of the Government and of Congress in any radically revised program of immigrant admissions, in light of the constitutional responsibilities fixed upon Congress for regulating immigration into the United States?

It should be equally apparent that the answers to these basic questions will not be found in leveling a spirited attack upon the national origins quota system which is but one element of the total problem. That would be an easy, cheap, and somewhat tarnished approach which escapes facing up to a national problem in its total reality.

Since Congress carries the responsibility of regulating immigration into the United States, it is the corresponding duty of Congress to establish policy and the supporting laws which give life to that policy. Congress has provided the legal mechanism to establish immigration policy through the Joint Congressional Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy. It is the responsibility of Congress to meet the issues which I have raised, to find solutions to the problems I have outlined and to legislate authority for carrying out an immigration policy that meets our national needs.

Let me quote President Johnson on this score, from his remarks at an immigration conference last January 11: "I would hope that we would do nothing hasty and makeshift, but I hope that we would apply the tests that I have outlined and the standards that I have suggested, doing unto others as you would have them do unto you, and asking them what contribution they could make to their country, and asking yourselves how you would feel if some of your very special members of your family were involved and were facing what now appears to be almost insurmountable obstacles."

To meet the immediate needs reflected in the quoted statement made by President Johnson, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 12305, which is now pending in Congress. Enactment of that legislation would relieve the problem of separated families, provide for skills needed to stimulate our economy which are now in short supply, and remove the stigma of parole from the refugees we admit, over a 2-year trial period. This would provide a remedy for our most pressing problems while Congress hammers out a modern, all-inclusive immigration policy.

I respectfully recommend that the immigration plank in our 1964 platform call upon the Congress to undertake forthwith a full scale review and analysis of all the factors which must be taken into account, including those which I have outlined, in establishing an immigration policy which befits our present needs and obligations and to enact legislation in support of that new policy. This course of action would reject both a hasty and makeshift response to an urgent national problem.

Finally, our immigration program should be stripped clean of all requirements or procedures which breed human misery or encourage exploitation of those who are caught in the heartless vise of inequity. Our new immigration law should be written in the spirit of simple justice, readily understandable to those who seek its benefits or protection and consistent with a sound policy for which Congress much accept full responsibility.

What I have proposed is directed at those precise objectives.

Wool Imports—Broken Promises and Another Closing

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the beef import bill on August 18, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, House, page 19494, I referred to the plight of the wool manufacturing industry. I pointed out that it seemed strange that beef interests were getting relief—whether real or imagined is not yet known—at the same time that solemn promises for relief made by the Democratic administration to the wool manufacturers remained broken.

The plight of the wool manufacturing industry is a particularly poignant one for the reason that it has repeatedly had solemn promises from the administration for help similar to that promised and given to cotton. That the plight of the wool manufacturing industry is not a figment of the imagination is proved once again, I regret to say, by the recent closing of the Farnsworth Mill at Lisbon Falls, Maine. A constituent of mine has called to my attention the interesting commentary appearing in the Enterprise of Lisbon Falls, Maine, which I insert at this point in the RECORD.

FARNSWORTH BACKGROUND—POLITICS PART OF SAD STORY

(By Preston Gurney)

The thing that couldn't happen, did. The Farnsworth Mill settled comfortably in the Sabattus Valley at Lisbon Center, had been weaving its beautiful fabrics ever since Deering Milliken began. The oldest mill to make up the combination that is ranked so high in American business, the Farnsworth was local, busy, and continuous.

Then, a bolt from the blue to complacent citizens of a secure industrial community, the news came.

Why?

The story was really told in the statement read by the mill manager, J. V. Roberts, lately come here to try to salvage the unprofitable plant. For 8 years in a row, Farnsworth had lost money. Not small money but some $2,700,000—at least twice its annual payroll to 300 local people.

Only those communities that have suffered such dismal news can appreciate how Lisbon felt. It was a stunning blow.

But the real story behind this somber news is not local. It is far more than local—it is State, national and international.

THE CRUX

There is one paragraph every person in Lisbon, and in the State, should read. It is in the statement of J. A. Meehan, company woolen manager, who gives the reasons why Farnsworth made this decision. He says:

"Throughout this period it had been hoped that the Government would take some effective action to correct the situation whereby woolen cloth manufactured out of waste and shoddy can be brought into the United States labeled new wool when U.S. labeling law requires that in this country only those fabrics made out of new wool may be labeled as such. This large and unfair raw material advantage which foreign competitors have, along with the growing volume of imports of fabrics made at very low labor rates in Italy and foreign countries, has caused the closing of many American woolen mills in the past few years, and the management of Farnsworth has reluctantly come to the conclusion that its operation must be liquidated to prevent further large losses."

SIMPLY

This means simply that the policy of our Government in Washington is such that woolen fabrics cannot be made at Lisbon Center, Maine.

Politically, this has tremendous meaning to us. The International Trade Agreements Act of 1962, pushed for vigorously by the Kennedy administration, may possibly be remembered during the time it had all its agitation. Nobody then realized, of course, that it would help put the Farnsworth Mill out of business—but almost every businessman in the United States knew it would. Gov. John H. Reed, of Maine, implored by businessmen and industrialists to take a firm stand on those portions of the bill that would harm Maine industry, finally submitted a mild report which, as far as effect went, did nothing to aid Maine.

Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE voted for the bill. In fact, he was currently busy with window-dressing tactics which tended to obscure the true meanings of the bill, and led many to believe that the warnings of industry were hysterical.

It is interesting to recall that Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, back in 1958, was the only New England Senator to vote for what they called the peril point amendment. This was an amendment to trade bills which provided that when an American industry reached the point of peril, the trade agreements could be relaxed to protect it. This amendment has never passed, although in one term it came within a few votes of passing—and Senator MUSKIE voted against it.

COULD HAVE

The peril point amendment might not have saved Farnsworth because of intervening legislation, but it certainly would have helped. One of the strongest supporters of the peril point theory was the late Senator Owen Brewster, who foretold in his time that failure to pass it would cost Maine a good part of its industry.

Subject to these whims and caprices of modern government, the Farnsworth bravely continued to operate 8 years without a profit—indeed, with a loss. But the strain of almost $3 million was too much. The point of peril came, and was overcoming.

The Farnsworth Mill, as Manager Meehan puts it, is the victim of U.S. incompetency in Washington, and until the Government relaxes its sweet talk to foreign competitors, and begins a tight control of unfair practices there is not likely to be any salvation for Maine and her industry.

The fact that Farnsworth has closed is one thing; the reason why it has closed is another. Will the voters of Maine be able to see through those candidates and officials who are bent on destroying us—or will they not?

Never was a potent message so eloquently spoken—the Farnsworth has closed.

FARNSWORTH MILL, LIBSON CENTER, MAINE

The directors of Deering Milliken, Inc., announce with regret that they have concluded they have no alternative but to discontinue operations at the Farnsworth Mill, Libson Center, Maine.

This has been a most difficult decision to make, because Farnsworth was the first plant in what is now Deering Milliken, Inc. The company tried, without success, to make a profit in this operation, but has been faced with losses for 8 years in a row, amounting to a total of $2,700,000.

Throughout this period it had been hoped that the Government would take some effective action to correct the situation whereby woolen cloth manufactured out of waste and shoddy can be brought into the United States labeled "new wool," when U.S. labeling law requires that in this country only those fabrics made out of new wool may be labeled as such.

This large and unfair raw material advantage which foreign competitors have, along with the growing volume of imports of fabrics made at very low labor rates in Italy and other foreign countries, has caused the closing of many American woolen mills in the past few years, and the management of Farnsworth has reluctantly come to the conclusion that its operation also must be liquidated to prevent further large losses.

This decision has been particularly difficult to make because of the longtime loyalty and cooperation of all those who have worked in the mill. It has been largely because of this loyalty and cooperation that the management has carried on so long in the face of adverse financial results, hoping against hope that the situation could be reversed.

Every attempt will be made to help those who are now employed to find work elsewhere.

J. A. MEEHAN,
General Manager,
Woolen Manufacturing Division, Deering Milliken, Inc.

We Need To Know Where We're Headed in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, despite the recent decisive response taken in the Battle of Tonkin Gulf, U.S. policy in southeast Asia remains unclear, without a tangible objective or a coherent overall strategy. It is evident that the pursuit of diametrically opposed policies in the same area of the world, one of neutralism in Laos and one of unyielding anticommunism in South Vietnam, does not contribute to the success of either policy. It is equally certain that "Troika-Neutralism," as a "solution" to escalating cold war tensions stands revealed as a device suited only to the spread of Communist infiltration and subversion.

The basic dilemmas of our policy in southeast Asia have not been faced. Instead as a refuge from these nagging realities, we are offered a series of tranquilizers, a succession of self-surviving reappraisals, each boasting the certainty of total victory, though we are assured that for the present we are doing extraordinarily well just to hold our own.

The increasingly aggressive actions of the Communists should be ample warning to anyone that the time for "muddling through" has all but run out.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to make available to my colleagues a particularly well written editorial appearing in the Flint (Mich.) Journal on August 12, 1964, entitled "We Need To Know Where We're Headed in Asia."

WE NEED TO KNOW WHERE WE'RE HEADED IN ASIA

British newspapers, according to the British Information Services, were almost unanimous in supporting the United States in its attack on North Vietnam's coastal military installations in retaliation for attacks on American ships on the high seas.

But an undercurrent of fear was easily detectable in the British press comments on the action.

The fear seemed to stem from the lack of an announced goal for Vietnam by the United States. Where are we headed, the British editors asked over and over.

It is a question many Americans also are asking.

From predictions of a "long, dirty war" in southeast Asia, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara not long ago forecast the stabilization of the Vietnam situation and an American withdrawal in 1965.

That forecast is clearly unreasonable now.

Our strategy and tactics in South Vietnam have been as inconsistent as our forecasts during the course of the struggle. We tried and abandoned a number of ideas, each hailed in its turn as the ultimate solution to the problem.

We cannot reasonably expect to succeed at anything unless we set a goal for ourselves at the outset. What do we want to accomplish in Vietnam? Do we want total victory over the Communists and reunification of North and South Vietnam under a democratic government? This, of course, would be the ideal eventuality, but we already have accepted the partition of Vietnam as we accepted the partition of Korea and to repudiate that international agreement is out of the question.

Or do we want simply to "contain" the Communists, to boot them out of South Vietnam and keep them in North Vietnam? This is a more logical military objective and a political objective clearly within the framework of existing international agreements.

This is no Korea. There is no battlefront. There is no isolation of opposing forces such as existed on the Korean peninsula. There are neighboring nations of varying degrees of friendliness toward us and there is a fluid and volatile situation in Vietnam's immediate neighbor to the east, Laos.

Even if we manage to whip the Communist rebels and stablize South Vietnam, how long will it be before they turn Laos into a caldron and rekindle the guerrilla warfare in both Laos and South Vietnam?

Or do we want to make military action in South Vietnam so expensive for the Communists that they will be willing to sit down at the bargaining table and negotiate a reasonable peace? What reasonable peace can we negotiate if this is the goal? We have gone about as far as we can go without giving up most of southeast Asia.

We agree to the "neutralization" of Laos, an agreement that may soon come apart at the seams. We agreed to the partition of Vietnam. We are merely tolerating an unstable regime in Cambodia, next door to South Vietnam, because it is about the best we can hope for without enduring the humiliation of another Communist victory.

Or are we simply holding on in South Vietnam just because we can't afford to give up anything more to the Communists in southeast Asia? Do we really have a clear, attainable objective in Vietnam or are we fighting just because we must?

Eventually, we must decide what we want in southeast Asia, and the sooner we make that decision the better off we'll be. It would be nice to think we could score a clear victory over the Communists in that area and end the constant outbreaks of new crises.

It would be nice if we could be sure that a negotiated settlement could be reached with the Communists and it would be even nicer if we believe we could then rest assured that the agreement would be honored.

There is a sneaking suspicion that the best we can hope for is a standoff similar to the one we reached in Korea. The Communists took a licking from us there, but it was expensive in terms of American lives and we gained what may be only a long but nonetheless temporary peace.

Whatever our objective, the time has come to bend to the task and get it done, then do whatever is necessary to maintain our position.

And perhaps most important of all, let's give the American people the truth about the situation. Is it good, bad or indifferent? Can we win? If so, what can we win? If we can't, what are we fighting for? How much of a victory is possible? What will it take to accomplish it? If defeat is inevitable, how much can we hope to salvage by giving up now and what can we gain by continuing the fight?

The American people—and the people of the world—need some plain talk, some real truth, from our leaders now. The people have demonstrated their willingness to do what needs to be done. They have united behind President Johnson almost without exception in his action against North Vietnam.

Now they need to be told where we're going and how we plan to get there.

Space Program and War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, on the subject of our multimillion-dollar space program, of which I have spoken earlier today, I point out that an editorial contrasting our domestic expenditures on poverty with our expenditures on the space program appeared in the East Oregonian for August 11, 1964. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A WAR ON POVERTY FIRST

Two important events of recent days were widely separated geographically but seem to us to have an unmistakable relationship which requires close examination.

After 12 failures since 1958 to take photographs of the moon, Ranger 7 made it and took 4,316 photographs which will keep scientists busy for 3 or 4 years. The Ranger 7 shot cost $28 million.

President Johnson said that the success of Ranger 7 encouraged him and others who want to put men on the moon to rededicate themselves to the program. Nobody has accurately estimated how much the program will cost but Mr. Johnson has spoken of the expenditure of billions.

Last Friday the House (the Senate had already acted) approved President Johnson's war on poverty program with a beginning appropriation of $947,500,000. The program commits the Federal Government to a broad course of action aimed at helping idle youths and low-income families earn their way off relief.

The successful flight of Ranger 7 was applauded throughout the world, even by Nikita Khrushchev, and rightly so. We felt the sense of pride that came to many Americans. But we continue to have serious doubts as to justification for spending billions to put a man on the moon.

Four years ago in Washington at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors we heard some of the Nation's most distinguished scientists dicuss many facets of the exploration of space. We heard some speak convincingly of what could be learned from a voyage to the moon. We heard others say that knowing how to get there was enough; that we could explore more profitably in other ways.

A year later we heard Mr. Johnson speak at an ASNE meeting in New Orleans of the great benefits that would accrue to the Nation from the space program and he emphasized, above all else, the importance of getting to the moon.

His enthusiasm has not dimmed and ours has failed to develop.

We are resigned to a space program that will be immensely expensive. It is necessary because there are areas of space exploration in which the United States must be competitive with the Communists. But we think dollars must be spent for solid knowledge and not to assuage national pride. The Kennedy-Khrushchev discussions of the possibility that the scientists of their two nations might share in several phases of space exploration should be reexamined.

Our reluctance to get into a space program for which there apparently is no ceiling on expenditures goes directly to the launching of the war on poverty. If that war is to be conducted effectively it will cost a great amount of money. That first appropriation will be only enough for a good start. There is so much to do. People must be taken out of environments that breed poverty so that the next generation will have a chance to become useful, and that will be only a beginning.

In recent weeks we have seen so clearly in the rioting in the Negro ghettos the results of years and years of deprivation. Many white people are living in conditions that offer no more promise to their children. Thousands of Negroes and whites who are not useful want to be. The Nation has a duty to them and to itself to give them a chance. They are costing the Nation untold millions every year, but the dollars spent on them are not improving anything. They are not even holding the line.

We are not sure that this Nation is so rich that it can do all that its President and Congress would like it to. The Nation has and must continue to spend enough to properly arm itself in this nuclear age. That must come first. But after that there must be very careful weighing of causes and effects, the consequences of doing or not doing.

It is our judgment that there are some tasks at home that absolutely must be accomplished because in the end it will cost more if we do not do them. The war on poverty is one of those tasks. And when that is done we can think of some other programs that come ahead of puting a man on the moon. But first let's win the war on poverty. By all odds that is first.

Texas and Peru: Partners for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB CASEY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, a group of distinguished Texans are now in Peru as the vanguard of our partners-for-progress program established under the Alliance for Progress.

This eight-member team is abroad to select projects to be carried out under the auspices of Texas cities, schools, churches, and clubs. This partnership is designed to help our friends in Peru to help themselves, and we in Texas are extremely proud of our part in this program. It is with pleasure that I call the attention of my colleagues in the House to an article describing our partnership program from the Houston Post of August 9, 1964.

I sincerely hope that every city, State, and civic-minded organization in our country can join in this program.

The article follows:

TEXANS, PERUVIANS ORGANIZE PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS TEAM

(By Grace Halsell)

WASHINGTON.—A group of Texans wants to put the Alliance for Progress on a more personal basis.

They have formed a Texas-Peru partners-for-progress team which will encourage people in Texas to learn more about Peru, and Peruvians to learn more about Texas.

The partnership largely has been designed to help Peruvians help themselves.

Special work projects are designed to be meaningful, but inexpensive.

One Texas project already selected is to help Peruvians in the Andean village of Navan build a 22-mile road to link Navan with the nearest other village.

The Texas AFL–CIO will provide 25 picks, 25 shovels, and 30 wheelbarrows.

"These won't cost much, but they will make a difference in Navan," says Jim Boren, formerly of Texas and now with the Alliance for Progress. Boren masterminded the Peru-Texas partnership idea.

The plan has the enthusiastic endorsement of Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry, a former student at the University of Texas.

The Peruvian Ambassador, Celso Pastor de la Torre, also likes it. He went to San Antonio last June for the organizational meeting of the Texas-Peru group, which elected Edward Marcus of Dallas as its chairman.

HOUSTON MEMBER

The executive committee includes S. M. McAshan, Jr., president of Anderson, Clayton & Co., Houston; Charles South of Dallas; Miss Polly Kayser of Wichita Falls; Harold Shipley of Lubbock; Harry Jersig and Mrs. Preston Dial, both of San Antonio, and Roy Evans, Antonio Scott and Jim Egan, all of Austin.

At the San Antonio meeting, Ambassador Pastor told the Texans that Peru has the most ancient civilization of any country in South America. The Incas had the finest organization of any pre-Columbian civilization in the New World. They built roads from the coast across the Andes to their capital of Cuzco, which was magnificent with parks, temples, and mighty fortresses.

In culture and achievement the early Peruvians might be compared with the Mayas and Aztecs.

Modern Peru, Ambassador Pastor said, has almost every known mineral, and its soil produces cotton on a par with Egypt and Texas and sugar on a par with Hawaii.

The currency is sound, "industry is coming to Peru because we can offer stability and confidence," he said.

Because Peru with its vast reserves of silver and gold so staggered the imagination of the early Spaniards, they coined a phrase in general use today—"vale un Peru"—meaning any great wealth beyond one's imagination.

Despite Peru's wealth in its soil and coastal waters, the country needs help.

The rich are too rich. They are not in the habit of paying taxes. And the poor are too poor. About 5 million Indians till the soil they do not own. They can't read or write. Some make as little as 5 cents a day.

President Belaunde, who knows the country better than any other president has ever known Peru, has instigated a program of agrarian reform.

He has told the rich property owners that if Peru does not have a "peaceful revolution" Peru will have a bloody revolution, meaning that the downtrodden Indians will rise in revolt.

Before Belaunde became President, Peruvian chief executives had been content to think of Peru as being only the coastal area stretching for 1,500 miles along the Pacific, from Ecuador down to Chile.

Lima, the beautiful "City of the Kings" and the capital of modern Peru, is located on the coast.

Peru's white-skinned people, of Spanish or European descent, and the Mestizos, of Spanish-Indian descent, live along the coast.

The "pure blooded" Indians live in the Andes.

Beyond the Andes in the Amazon jungle live other types of Indians.

An eight-member team will go to Peru this month to select projects for interested citizens in Texas to carry out.

Projects will be undertaken by various groups in Texas, by cities, schools, churches, and clubs.

The team going to Peru to select work projects includes Egan, Alton Ice, and Dr. David Wade, all of Austin; Dr. John Palmer, of San Antonio; Miss Kayser; Shipley; Jose Vazquez, of Laredo, and Fred Pool, of Longview.

Minutemen Plan To Aid Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, many of us watched the proceedings of the last Republican Convention, and became acutely aware of the new and alien force which was entering the politics of our Nation. The harassment of those in their party who held contrary views—the shouting down of opposition speakers displayed a total lack of basic respect for democratic procedures.

The following article by Donald Jackson, gives an enlightening and frightening glimpse of the mentality of this "new breed" of political animal. It is taken from the New York Times dated Sunday, August 2, 1964. Apparently those described in the article are working and cooperating closely with the Senator from Arizona, and are virtuously being extreme in defense of their own concept of liberty.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 2, 1964]

MINUTEMEN PLAN TO AID GOLDWATER—RIGHTIST GROUP MAPS ACTIVE BUT CLANDESTINE ROLE

(By Donald Jackson)

NORBONE, Mo., July 29.—The Minutemen intend to play an active though clandestine role in support of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER during the presidential campaign.

Robert B. de Pugh, national leader of the militant rightwing organization, said in an interview that members were already working for the Arizonan in a number of ways.

"As soon as President Johnson is nominated," he said, "Minutemen will seek to infiltrate his campaign headquarters around the country.

"Their tasks," he said, "will be to sabotage efforts on behalf of the President.

"For example," the soft-spoken young Missourian explained, "a secretary working in a campaign headquarters can fail to tell the boss about an important phone call, can be snotty on the phone to important campaign contributors, can foul up speaking engagements, can fail to find posters for party workers but can find them for people who say they want to help but who she recognizes as fellow saboteurs who will burn them."

CALLS TECHNIQUES TESTED

Mr. de Pugh said the Minutemen had successfully tested such techniques in primary and general election contests in 1962.

The 41-year-old drug manufacturer and nine friends organized the Minutemen to fight communism in 1961. "They have been pointing toward this year's election ever since," Mr. de Pugh said at the organization's headquarters here.

By working first at the precinct and county convention levels, Minutemen were able, according to Mr. de Pugh, to place 2 dozen members on State delegations to the Republican National Convention in San Francisco.

Mr. de Pugh said he did not mind alerting Johnson forces to the infiltration plans because knowledge of the plans would only make Democratic officials suspicious of loyal workers who made honest mistakes.

Groups of Minutemen are now operating secretly in every county in the United States, Mr. de Pugh said. Their primary emphasis, he continued, is on self-training for guerrilla warfare to restore constitutional government in case the Nation is overrun by Communists.

Membership in the Minutemen exceeds the estimate of 25,000 made by law enforcement agencies, Mr. de Pugh asserted. Each bank drills secretly at night in simulated combat conditions, and each member fires at least 100 rounds of ammunition annually at target practice, he said.

PRESIDENT ASSAILED

Mr. de Pugh said it was important to defeat President Johnson because he was a "political opportunist who would sell the United States out to the Communists or anyone else who would pay his price."

Senator GOLDWATER, he said, is a patriot who would try to stop "the drift toward a socialist police state that has been accelerating under the present administration."

Mr. de Pugh, leaning forward for emphasis, said a Goldwater election would also mean reduction of Federal spending and of foreign aid and the national debt, strengthened armed forces and improved surveillance of Communists.

As President, he said, Mr. GOLDWATER would support a government-in-exile, thereby giving the Cuban people renewed hope of overthrowing communism.

Mr. de Pugh advised Senator GOLDWATER to take a "stronger rightwing stand than he has."

The Senator should "bear down," he said, on curtailment of the United Nations and on the right of States to find their own solution to such problems as suffrage.

RACIAL CONFLICTS

All of today's racial conflicts have been fomented, Mr. de Pugh said, by Communists. He asserted that many Negroes in Mississippi were not yet capable of voting intelligently. If they would "bankrupt" the State by approving excessive funds for welfare programs and support of illegitimate children.

"This would provide a readymade opportunity for the Federal Government to take over," he said, adding that the next step would be a Communist takeover because in his view, the Federal Government is already heavily infiltrated by Communists.

The August issue of On Target, the Minutemen's monthly newsletter, said that if Mr. GOLDWATER loses the election, unilateral U.S. disarmament "will proceed rapidly" until the Soviet Union attains military superiority.

"Our national sovereignty will be so diluted by U.N. commitments as to exist in name only," the newsletter says.

In common with other far-right organizations, the Minutemen believe the United Nations is a principal instrument for Communist subversion of the United States.

Mr. de Pugh, a tall, dark man, is a university educated chemist. He is the father of six children.

He writes and edits On Target here in the book-lined office of his Biolab Corp. The warehouselike building is in the heart of this tiny farm town of 950 population. Although most of his time is devoted to the work of the Minutemen, Mr. de Pugh makes his living at manufacturing drugs for veterinarians.

"So far as the election is concerned," the On Target article advises Minutemen, "just remember that the strategy of underground warfare is ideally suited to political warfare."

Mr. de Pugh said he would put out a booklet soon to guide Minutemen on further techniques of practical politics that could be effective in the presidential campaign.

"I would much prefer to win this fight at the ballot box than on the battlefield," he said.

Mr. de Pugh said the Minuteman would soon conduct a national public opinion survey to determine where Mr. GOLDWATER's chances were so good that aid would be worthwhile.

One thousand members from all parts of the Nation will make the survey by telephone, he said.

TELLS OF TEXAS POLL

Such a Minuteman survey in Texas determined that former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker would lose so badly in his recent bid for the governorship, Mr. de Paugh said, that the organization decided to waste no time on that campaign. The ultraconservative Texan ran last in a field of six.

Although the Minuteman are "100 percent" behind Mr. GOLDWATER and will work hard for him, Mr. de Pugh said, the Senator's election would be "no panacea" for ending what the Minutemen view as a Communist threat to the Nation because "liberals" would seek to thwart the new President at every turn.

What is urgently needed, he says in a new recruiting booklet, is more armed Minutemen trained to keep a vigilant eye out for Communist infiltration in their neighborhoods.

"When murdering Communist bands come roaming through your community," the booklet says, "they must not find a lazy, disarmed people watching like lambs for the slaughter. They must find instead a vigorous and well-armed civilian population."

For Racial Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, in these times of disheartening racial demonstrations in various parts of the country, every appeal to reason and justice merits emphasis. Toward that end, the article I am here submitting for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was published on Sunday, August 16, 1964, in the Lynn Sunday Post, Lynn, Mass. I believe that its publication here adds to that emphasis, and I hope that its message will therefore be given widespread reading and consideration.

Mr. Anthony Cama, a teacher, author, poet, and director of the Italian School in Lynn, is a regular contributor to the Lynn Post. While the message by Richard Cardinal Cushing, who participated in the inauguration ceremony and then, last fall, officiated at the funeral of President Kennedy, was originally written for the members of the Catholic Church under his jurisdiction, Mr. Cama felt that it would benefit people of all faiths if fur-

ther disseminated. In this light, therefore, I present his article, as follows:

THE CRY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

(By Anthony Cama)

This writer is proud, and truly honored to present a special writing, which erupted from the pen of the very wise and loved Cardinal Cushing in the August 1, 1964, issue of the Pilot. In this most perilous time of racial violence, when millions of American Negroes of all faiths are crying out their anguish and their pain for the rights of citizenship, justice, and human dignity, a brilliant light is emanating from this distinguished prince of the church.

ECHOES

This is the unshakable friend of the late beloved and martyred President John F. Kennedy. Every time that the cardinal utters sentences pertaining to the inalienable rights of all people and the high dedication and consecration of men in trusted public office, one can close his eyes and hear the echoes of the brilliant speeches of our late President. A pious family man and a valiant crusader for racial justice Kennedy was the first Catholic Chief Executive of this mighty democratic Nation.

The Pilot is an excellent newspaper which reaches mostly Catholics, who get it at their churches and Holy Name Society meetings or through the mail. And the aggressive and active Sunday Post reaches thousands of readers of other faiths throughout many towns and communities. It is, therefore, the intent of this writer to extend the writing of the cardinal to our readers, because it is of the most vital importance in these tragic and tumultuous days of racial strife.

No true American can live in the presence of the Star-Spangled Banner and the all-embracing Statue of Liberty and deny the pleas and the urgent supplications of millions of American Negroes. No veteran of the last two wars and the sad stalemate in Korea can recite the Pledge of Allegiance in his veterans' assembly hall and not heed and feel the torture and torments of the black citizens, thousands of whom have served, fought, and died for their country.

No educator or teacher can enter the classroom and fulfill educational needs of young, innocent colored children if he or she has a twisted conscience and a prejudiced spirit. And no elected official, taking his oath of office, can serve conscientiously and honorably his constitutents unless he fights for their right to vote and their inalienable rights as American citizens.

HIGHEST TREASON

The ones who have done so, those who have dared to take upon themselves a mantle of nazism and fascism are guilty of the highest treason against the United States. They are guilty of treason against the Bill of Rights and the constitutional laws of this democratic Republic.

And those ministers of the Gospel of all faiths who have dared to support and encourage discrimination in their very churches and have denied entry into their sacred edifices to the American Negro—they above all are guilty of the greatest sin against the Divine Creator, Father of all Humanity.

Today there is no retreat. Today there is no equivocation. Today there is no respite and no repose for America, and there will be blood and strife upon our American streets, in our American homes, and within our American churches until the degradation and suffering of the American Negro is wiped off the Stars and Stripes.

Thus today we present a dynamic statement from Cardinal Cushing. It follows:

"The last few days have opened up to public view the violence and bitterness which festers beneath the surface of our Nation. Not now merely in the cities and towns of the Deep South, but in the core and the suburbs of the great northern urban centers, racial unrest has burst into fury with blood and death, plunder and lawlessness. No true citizen who cares for civil rights and a respect for the law can stand aloof; no true Christian who sees every man as his brother can turn away unmoved.

DAY OF ACCOUNTING

"Every thinking person knows that many wrongs have brought us to this day of accounting; the evils of many generations rise up to disturb our national peace and shake our personal complacency. It is time we were disturbed, it is time we were shaken. We have been content to do things the easy way, to console with soft words and promises, to temporize and be patient in the face of inexcusable social evils. The fact we must recognize, reluctantly or otherwise, is a simple one; we have sown in wickedness and we are shocked at the harvest.

"Once again I feel called upon to raise my voice in favor of those oppressed citizens of this land who have too long borne the cross of inequality and contempt, too long been the victims of a brother's exploitation, too long been left without hope for opportunity and progress. We have required a superhuman patience of the American Negro and, when this has proved too much for his tortured person, we have been dismayed because he has answered with an excess of agitation our longer excesses of neglect. The next move must be ours, not his, and it must be a move in favor of freedom, full freedom for his every right as a man and as a citizen.

"How else can he answer except in outrage the society that marks him as inferior to his fellowman, the society that denies him decent housing and a home for his children, the society that blocks his every opportunity for a better life, the society that strangles the hopes of his future even before they are born. We are the society and we have an ancient wrong in our hearts which shrieks to be righted, an ancient wound that can no longer go unhealed."

NO PART IMMUNE

"No part of America is immune from the racial virus in these days; our first concern, however, must be ourselves and the dispositions of our own hearts. If in any way, by word or deed, we have had a share in creating barriers between brothers, we must confess our guilt before the Lord, undo our wrongs, and pledge a better life. Even if we have stood idly by while evil grew among us, we must answer for our indolence before God calls us to His accounting. Not merely for what we have done, but for what we have left undone, we will all be judged.

"As one in spiritual authority, I summon before all others those who share with me the care of souls. I commend and encourage the clergy who have involved themselves in the toils of the Negro and have made witness of their Christian faith. To those who have held back, issue again a call to action. Let no pulpit be silent, no wrong left uncondemned; let every altar be a place before which we dedicate ourselves anew to that brotherhood of redemption in which we were all born in the blood of Christ. In this hour, if the men of God are silent, the very stones will cry out.

"Those in public life, who hold responsibility for the order of society have a special burden. The social evils on which antagonisms grow must be rooted out, not merely by law but by the harder course of social change; those institutions that cannot or will not be cleansed must be replaced by a new order that is faithful to the dignity of man. Those who must keep the public order, we remind them that understanding and forebearance toward the troubled, especially in a time of strife and testing, will serve to make more compelling the just demands of the law for the good of all.

A REMINDER

"To the fathers and mothers of the young, so easily moved to excess, we offer a reminder of their responsibility to those placed under their charge. The force of good example is the best teacher, but it should be accompanied by clear directives that the young find unmistakable. Immaturity is no excuse in a situation where the ultimate responsibility lies with the adult population. They are the ones who should be teaching the importance of good citizenship and the demands of the Christian commitment.

"We cannot be reminded too often that this is a moral question on which every person is required to make a decision. The ugly abyss which is now widening between man who happens to be black and man who happens to be white is an onthological abyss. That is to say it has to do with the theological fact of being. It is impossible to be Christian and consciously to violate the being of another person.

"There is nothing abstract about this * * * it is the most concrete fact of our Christian existence. The Christian cannot be a whole person in Christ and, at the same time, hold another human person in violent contempt.

"Violent hostility, whether booing and catcalling and threatening the rights of of persons to legal residence, or, even worse, taking part in the frightening insanity of riot * * * these are sins against God and humanity. The Christian cannot commit these transgressions and think he is getting away with it or only acting like the rest of the men.

ABSENCE OF GRACE

"The time for polite talking is done. The racist Christian is a contradiction. The violent Christian places himself in the most terrifying emptiness * * * the absence of grace. In fact, if he is not himself aware of this terror, he has already abandoned himself to an inner life without resource and an outer life without order.

"The obligations of charity are as real as getting up in the morning and eating your breakfast and going to work. They are not the abstract residue of long forgotten penny catechisms. They are universal and cannot be denied. I call upon all men of good will in the community to join hands and hearts against this monstrous evil of racism. It must be erased from our lives, our cities, and our Nation."

This writer cries out in the sacred memory of two immortal Presidents who died fighting for justice and equality—in hallowed memory of Abraham Lincoln and John Fitzgerald Kennedy, martyrs of the ideals of this splendid democratic Nation. Truly, no American shall ever breathe free until every fetid and putrid stigma of racism is removed from the bloodstream of our United States of America.

Hon. John B. Bennett

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK CHELF

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every man in this House of Representatives today shares with me a sense of distinct personal loss and sorrow over the passing away of our esteemed colleague, the Honorable JOHN B. BENNETT.

JOHN was a Member of the House when I was first elected to Congress and having been associated with him in our

daily work here for almost 20 years, I feel I am in a position to speak authoritatively of his many sterling qualities. He was a kind, sympathetic, tolerant, hardworking, honest and intelligent public servant who represented his district effectively here in the Congress and served his country faithfully by his loyalty, his prudence and his courage. He was a stalwart among men—one who stood forthrightly by his ideals and thus made a mammoth contribution to the American way of life.

To the family of this wonderful man, I extend my deeply felt condolences and pray that God will comfort each and every one of them.

Fairplay for Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, concern for the poor is universally admired, and, as the Bible assures us, "Blessed is he who considereth the poor." Conversely, indifference or callous disregard for the unfortunate elicits little popular appeal. A candidate for national office who can be labeled as "antipoor", even despite his private and public record to the contrary, is severely handicapped in winning the confidence and approval of the American people.

Consequently, the August 10 issue of Political Memo From COPE, the newsletter issued by the AFL–CIO's committee on political education, carried a short item of current added significance. Under the heading, "How GOLDWATER Views the Poor," this statement read:

> Republican presidential candidate Senator BARRY GOLDWATER has this to say about the unschooled and unskilled, the unemployed and the unlucky: "We are told * * * that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. * * * The fact is that most people who have no skills have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition."—Speech before Economic Club of New York, January 15, 1964.

Unlike many readers of the COPE memo, I had easy access to the text of the Senator's New York economic speech. Sure enough, the above quote distorted the Senator's position by using the now popular device of quoting out of context. No mention was made by COPE of an earlier qualifying statement in the speech:

> I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society.

Missing also was a later qualifying passage concerning inquiry or investigation into conditions surrounding the less fortunate that such inquiry "should not be to condemn anybody but to help and to help effectively."

If the above COPE treatment was an isolated incident, one could perhaps write it off as a case of poor editing. However, when this general downgrading-the-poor theme is attributed to Senator GOLDWATER in other political circles as well, one begins to wonder where mistakes end and malice begins.

This theme has appeared on TV, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the press. To illustrate, compare this quote by a political columnist appraising the Economic Club speech with excerpts from the speech appearing at the end of my remarks:

> Here was the richest audience per capita that the Senator could have located anywhere—outside a Rockefeller family reunion. And for the delectation of this audience, GOLDWATER chose to denounce the poor as a set of lazy fellows, who deserved to be wretched because they lacked the gumption needed to reach the well-upholstered heights inhabited by the members of the Economic Club.

Whether by inadvertence, erroneous judgment, or willful design, disseminating mistaken or dishonest charges is serious. If political confidence men are abroad in our land coveting citizens' votes, the public must be alerted.

The following pertinent excerpts from Senator GOLDWATER's New York Economic Club speech are offered so that: First, the truth may be known; and, second, that those responsible for these misrepresentations be judged as to their reliability and whether they merit our future confidence:

> I strongly believe that all people are entitled to an opportunity—let me stress that—to an opportunity to get an education and to earn a living in keeping with the value of their work.
>
> I also believe that those in trouble through no fault of their own must be helped by society. I believe that those in trouble through their own fault should always have an opportunity to work themselves out of it. But I do not believe that the mere fact of having little money entitles everybody, regardless of circumstance, to be permanently maintained by the taxpayers at an average or comfortable standard of living.
>
> We are told, however, that many people lack skills and cannot find jobs because they did not have an education. That's like saying that people have big feet because they wear big shoes. The fact is that most people who have no skill, have had no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition.
>
> We have talked of many details in this overall problem. But we are not talking about many principles. Only two, basically, are involved. Enterprise versus regimentation, a society fluid in its opportunity, or a society hardened into a government mold.
>
> Specifically, in a society where the vast majority of people live on a standard that is envied by all other nations, it must be appropriate to inquire whether the attitude or the action of the small group not participating in the general prosperity has anything to do with the situation. The aim of such an investigation should not be to condemn anybody but to help and to help effectively. To do that we must know what is wrong and not assume that big government knows the answer and has the answer.
>
> I would, to further this, call a conference with participation from all of the States to study this problem of poverty and jobs, to pin down the figures, to survey all the solutions and not seek to impose the Federal one.
>
> I would, also, seek to find for the Federal Government more of a role in removing restrictions than in imposing new ones—at every level of the economy.
>
> Making our industry more competitive with foreign industry should have a high priority in that study. I suggest that the Federal Government can find more ways to improve that competitive situation by getting out of industry's hair, than by getting into it. And in this I would include even the Federal role in raising tariffs. That solution is not a real one, it is just a temporary one.

When the above statement is read in total it reveals depth of thought, great compassion for human suffering, and positive determination to meet the problem within the framework of a free system.

Tonkin Action Raises Questions: Answers Needed From Military

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of August 13, 1964:

TONKIN ACTION RAISES QUESTIONS: ANSWERS NEEDED FROM MILITARY

The crisis in the Tonkin Gulf may be over for the time being, but the questions raised in this short but sharp action are pounding for answers.

Why did the Communists so brazenly risk an open attack on U.S. ships? Why were our loss and damages ratio so high? Why did we react with such original surprise and hesitancy? Why were we evidently surprised by accurate and extensive antiaircraft ground fire?

These facts do not necessarily reflect lapses in operations but in concept. They suggest we are not ready for what might come because we hope it won't.

What happened in the Tonkin Gulf itself was minor militarily. Our retaliatory bombing and strafing was a natural reaction, but we agree with Senator BARRY GOLDWATER when he said:

"I must point that it was just that, a response—an incident, not a program or a new policy; a tactical reaction, not a new winning strategy."

In other words, we are back where we started. We have no program for concluding the war in South Vietnam, or for that matter, for conducting it. We can be surprised again tomorrow—and will be.

Beyond that, what? Vietnam is not the big picture; neither can it be considered the main political issue for the coming presidential election campaign.

The issue on which the election must turn is our entire foreign policy in containing the advance of atheistic communism and effecting a means of eventually bringing about its retreat and elimination.

The attacks perhaps served one purpose, and that is in bringing home to more people the realization, as Senator GOLDWATER said, that the war in South Vietnam is being fought under policies that obscure American purposes, confuse its allies and encourage the enemy to prolong the fighting.

We are paying the price of a no-win policy in the cold war, no matter how vehemently administration spokesmen try to deny it. The no-win policy begins in Washington and runs all the way to the Tonkin Gulf.

In Washington, not a single new weapons system has been started in 4 years; bomber forces are being phased out; we are settling for second-best fighter planes, and carrier forces are deliberately being made obsolescent by the denial of nuclear power.

Militarily, flexibility is being sacrificed for a fixed response that demands the unacceptable ultimate, and morally, our purpose is being dissipated by the lure of peaceful coexistence offered by cagy and deceitful enemies.

In the Tonkin Gulf, everything suggests that our equipment was not the best possible; our intelligence was faulty; and combat instructions restrictive and costly in materiel and to military personnel.

World War II attack planes are being used in quantity, for example, in South Vietnam, not to get rid of them, but because they are the only ones available for that kind of a job. On the other hand, some of the most modern arms have gone to the South Vietnamese, before being allocated to our own forces, while the pleas of military men for more go unheeded.

But we did manage to reduce military expenses, remember?

The only voice that has been heard on our military performance in the gulf has been that of Secretary of Defense McNamara, a civilian. He made it clear he was the general in command.

Mr. McNamara also is the general in command of the defense policy that too soon is bound to reduce our military superiority over the Communists to one of parity. Americans, it is becoming more and more apparent, now want to hear directly from their military and naval leaders in the field.

We are tying our hands. The temptations to the enemy, to press and test, seem to be rising.

Panama Canal: 50th Anniversary Focuses National Attention on Interoceanic Canal Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, August 15, 1964, was the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal for traffic. Suitably commemorated in the Canal Zone, the occasion was widely reported in the major press organs of the Nation, among such newsstories being a special dispatch from Panama published in the August 16, 1964, issue of the New York Times. Thus, for the second time this year, national attention was focused on the Panama Canal, the first having been caused by Redled Panamanian assaults in January on the Canal Zone.

Many of the indicated articles, though partly historical, attempted to emphasize the necessity for early action toward bringing about increased trans-Isthmian capacity. Both of these aspects of the interoceanic canal problem have been brilliantly and forcefully presented by my able and scholarly colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] in an extraordinary series of addresses in the Congress over a period of 8 years. His addresses and statements on Panama Canal history, interoceanic canal problems, and Caribbean policy questions are an extensive reservoir of reliable information that should be consulted by all serious students of these subjects, especially the problems of increased capacity and proposals for their solution.

To assist those seeking more complete information on the subject than was supplied in necessarily brief newsstories, I shall list seven of Representative FLOOD's notable addresses as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They are:

"John F. Stevens: Basic Architect of the Panama Canal" (vol. 102, pt. 7 (May 29, 1956), p. 9285).

"Panama Canal Zone: Constitutional Domain of the United States" (vol. 104, pt. 4 (Mar. 26, 1958), pp. 5498–5505).

"Panama Canal: Focus of Power Politics" (vol. 110, No. 42 (Mar. 9, 1964), p. 4535 (temp.)).

"Panama Canal: Formula for Future Canal Policy" (vol. 110, No. 44 (Mar. 11, 1964), pp. 4772–4777 (temp.)).

"Under Two Flags: Blunders, Confusion and Chaos at Panama" (vol. 110, No. 89 (May 5, 1964), pp. 9718–9725 (temp.)).

"Panama Canal and the Milton Eisenhower Paper" (vol. 110, No. 102 (May 21, 1964), pp. 11308–11311).

"Caribbean Crisis: Continuing Storm Signs Demand Action Against Further Perils" (vol. 110, No. 157 (Aug. 12, 1964), pp. 18652–18656 (temp.)).

The crucial canal issues, as developed at length by Representative FLOOD and which must be met by our Government, are:

First. The paramount question of maintaining undiluted U.S. sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

Second. The major increase of capacity and operational efficiency of the existing Panama Canal through the modification of the suspended third locks project (53 Stat. 1409) to provide a summit level lake anchorage in the Pacific end of the canal to correspond with the summit lake anchorage at Gatun, on which construction some $75 million was expended before it was suspended in May 1942.

Third. The construction of a new canal at Panama, Nicaragua, or elsewhere, to replace or supplement the present canal.

To provide the independent, broadly based, and wholly American type of inquiry that the interoceanic canal policy problems indispensably require, my distinguished colleagues, Representatives HOSMER of California, THOMPSON of Texas, FLOOD, and myself, have introduced identical measures to create a predominantly civilian commission of 11 members to be composed of the best qualified men that our country can muster. Three members of this commission would be from the combatant branches of the armed services and eight from civil life, with one of the latter as chairman. Such body should be created and put to work on the gravely important policy questions involved.

As previously indicated, the extensive press coverage of the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Panama Canal has served a constructive purpose. It has aroused national interest in the canal question, served to renew the rightful pride of our people in one of our country's greatest achievements, and stated some of the issues involved. With the greater understanding provided by Representative FLOOD's monumental work of clarification, these newsstories can be appraised more realistically.

The indicated New York Times special dispatch from Panama, which presents little that is new, follows:

PANAMA CANAL, AT 50, STILL AWES ENGINEERS—EXCAVATION FULFILLED DREAM BUT BEGAN A CONTROVERSY

PANAMA.—The Panama Canal was one of the engineering wonders of the world when it was opened to international sea commerce 50 years ago today. It still is.

Through a series of locks leading up to Gatun Lake, vessels weighing tens of thousands of tons are lifted 85 feet, sail through the lake and then descend to sea level. It is the largest such operation in the world.

The Panama Canal took 10 years to build and cost $385 million. Today, estimates are that it would cost at least 10 times as much. The canal cuts through the Isthmus of Panama at one of the narrowest points, 50-miles long from deep water to deep water. Cristóbal is the port on the Caribbean side, Balboa, the port on the Pacific side in the Gulf of Panama.

In the fiscal year ended last June 30, a total of 12,138 vessels made the transit, paying $62.3 million in tolls.

A waterway across the isthmus has long been dreamed of. A crude canal was dug by hand in 1788 connecting the headwaters of two rivers in the Colombian hills not far from a possible sea-level route that has been studied recently. Piraguas, small dugout canoes, were used to transport cargo from ships ascending from the Caribbean side to those from the Pacific. It was called the Raspadura Cana.

CENTURIES OF CROSSINGS

Through the years from the Spaniards' 16th-century settlements, cargo was unloaded on one side of the isthmus, carried across on donkeyback and reloaded on the other side. Many of the California Forty-Niners made the transit between oceans by the isthmus route.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was the catalyst that led to the American decision to build a canal. The U.S. acquisition of the Philippines and Guam as a consequence of that war had made Americans conscious of the need for a stronger Navy.

Before 1898, the Navy had been divided between the two oceans. The dash of the battleship *Oregon* around Cape Horn that year to join the ships blockading the Spanish squadron in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba emphasized the need for a shorter route.

Before 1904 two starts had been made by an international group organized by the Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had headed the syndicate that dug the sea-level Suez Canal. The first, at the isthmus, organized in 1880, failed after 9 years effort and the second organized in 1894, failed 5 years later.

THE PANAMA REBELLION

The United States, meanwhile, had been considering a canal across Nicaragua and Costa Rica. When the French company gave up its efforts, the United States bought its equipment and goodwill for $40 million and abandoned the Nicaragua plan.

When the Government of Colombia, of which country the region of the Isthmus of Panama was then a province, failed to approve a treaty for the canal already adopted by the U.S. Senate, the residents of Panama, reported to have been financed and known to have been encouraged by the United States, revolted.

The people of the isthmus had made several previous attempts to win their freedom from Colombian rule. This time they are successful. The revolt was declared on November 3, 1903.

On November 6, the new Panama Government was recognized by Washington, which then sent the cruiser *Nashville* and a complement of marines to bar landings of Colombian troops. On November 18, for a payment of $10 million and a promise of $250,000 a year the new Republic of Panama granted the United States the use of land for the canal, surrendering sovereignty and all control over a strip 5 miles wide on either side of the axis of the projected canal. It includes 553 square miles of land and water and in 1960 had a population of 41,684.

ARMY TOOK JOB OVER

An American commission was formed to dig the canal. When it proved ineffective, President Theodore Roosevelt turned over the job to the Army Corps of Engineers.

The canal and the zone remain under their jurisdiction to this day.

Maj. Gen. George Washington Goethals was the American engineer in charge, and he became a national hero on successful completion of the canal in 1914. A bridge connecting Staten Island with the New Jersey shore near Elizabeth is named for him. He died in 1928.

The treaty with Panama has been revised twice since its adoption in 1904. The principal revision each time has concerned the payment to Panama. In a 1936 revision, this was raised to $450,000 a year and in 1955 to $1,930,000 yearly, which is the amount paid today. Also, in 1921 the United States paid Colombia $25 million for a waiver of all claims against the canal.

The yearly payment to Panama is only a small part of the income flowing into the Panamanian economy from canal sources each year. Estimates of the total benefits range from $80 million to $90 million. The canal tolls have remained substantially the same since the waterway was opened. It long has been a Panamanian argument that the tolls should be increased.

ISSUE HEATED IN PANAMA

There has been agitation in Panama for many years and considerable discussion in the United States in recent times on questions of sovereignty in the Canal Zone and international control of the canal itself. Panamanian frustration broke last January into open rioting that resulted in four U.S. soldiers and 21 Panamanians killed and 500 people injured.

The matter of a sea-level canal, either at some other site on the Isthmus or in Nicaragua, has been revived in recent debate. An argument is that the Panama Canal locks are vulnerable to sabotage and the locks are too narrow for the larger U.S. Navy ships, especially the new attack aircraft carriers, the capital ships of today. Size also bars today's giant 100,000-ton oil tankers.

France has expressed interest in promoting a new canal across the Isthmus and a group from the Panama Chamber of Commerce recently said private investors in Tokyo had also shown a considerable interest in such a venture.

While the present canal zone treaty remains in force, the canal will stand for Panamanians as a symbol of Yankee imperialism. No Panamanian politician dares see it otherwise.

Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal of Wednesday, August 19, has a detailed and well-written account of Radio Free Europe and other broadcasting stations in Europe, done by Journal staff reporter Ray Vicker. I have long been an enthusiastic supporter of Radio Free Europe and its outstanding work, and so am delighted to be able to bring the article to the attention of my colleagues here in the Congress.

The article follows:

RADIO TO THE REDS: GERMAN-BASED STATIONS WIN AN AVID AUDIENCE INSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC—RADIO LIBERTY, RIAS, RADIO FREE EUROPE ALSO COLLECT RED NEWS FOR FREE WORLD—"FRITZ FREEDOM" ON THE AIR.

(By Ray Vicker)

MUNICH.—A juicy government scandal has tongues wagging in Poland. Seems some high Communist bureaucrats connived with the Warsaw City Association of Food Products Enterprises to inject water into meat. This increased the weight of the meat—and the illegal profits of its sellers—by 20 percent.

Such conversational treats are rare for citizens of a Communist country. Red papers and radio stations rarely publicize the misdeeds of party functionaries—and they didn't this time. But the scandal was broken by Radio Free Europe, one of three German-based, nonprofit stations broadcasting to the Soviet bloc. Now, says Michael Gamarnikow, an RFE Polish specialist, the meat scandal has become "Poland's Bobby Baker case."

Such broadcasting to Red bloc citizens of news they can't get from their Red rulers is the main task of RFE and its sister stations. The latter are Radio Liberty, which like RFE is based in Munich, and RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) of West Berlin. RIAS is run by the U.S. Information Agency and concentrates on broadcasts to East Germany; Radio Liberty is affiliated with the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., a private organization, and concentrates on broadcasts to Russia. RFE, the biggest of the three, is supported by funds raised in the United States and elsewhere by Radio Free Europe broadcasts in local languages to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

BREAKING THROUGH JAMMING

Over the years, the stations have performed their task well enough to win the listening loyalty of millions of bloc residents—and the hearty hatred of their Red rulers. While RFE's current annual budget is only $12 million, the Reds have spent up to $185 million a year trying to jam its broadcasts, and those of its sister stations. Such jamming is now on the wane in some countries (Russia has switched its jamming emphasis from Western to Red Chinese broadcasts) but in others it's still intensive.

Still, the broadcasts get through. "Our transmitters are so powerful that Communists have never been able to crowd us out," says Robert L. Lochner, director of RIAS. In indirect confirmation, Klaus Warnke, a member of East Germany's Communist central committee, recently complained of the effects of RIAS's advice to shoppers on what consumer-goods shortages were developing: "When RIAS trumpets 'hoard coffee,' some people do it. When RIAS says 'buy salt' they hoard it by the hundredweight. If RIAS says that ink is going to get scarce, they'd like to buy ink by the barrel."

Indeed, the stations have been so successful that they've evolved into something more than communications media. To get material for broadcasts they analyze hundreds of obscure Communist publications, monitor Red broadcasts and interview refugees and travelers from behind the Iron Curtain—and do it so thoroughly that they've become major sources of information for the free world about what's going on in the Soviet bloc.

SOME STATION "FIRSTS"

On several occasions, in fact, the stations have broken major stories about Communist developments, not only to their listeners in the Red countries, but to the rest of the world as well. Radio Liberty claims a "first" in publicizing many details of Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 de-Stalinization program. RFE first spotlighted Rumania's rebellion against Russian attempts to slow its industrialization and keep it a farming and oil-producing country. RIAS once had details of an East German currency reform before the East German Reds announced it.

The stations at times also help make cold war news, as well as reporting it. The status of RIAS has been a sticking point in sporadic East-West talks about Berlin; Communists demand that the station be closed as part of any general Berlin settlement. Reds, and even some Westerners, also have blamed RFE for helping to incite the bloody and unsuccessful anti-Communist Hungarian revolt of 1956; RFE vehemently denies the charge and says it tries to promote liberalization of Communists regimes, not revolution against them.

There is no doubt the stations have been able to influence the course of events in the Red empire to some extent. When Robert Kennedy visted Poland last spring, the Communist Government deemphasized the trip, scarcely mentioning it in strictly controlled news media. Yet Mr. Kennedy was mobbed by friendly Poles wherever he went, to the government's great embarrassment.

The apparent reason: Four days before Mr. Kennedy's arrival, RFE started broadcasting details of his trip, and while it was on gave Poles a daily report on his itinerary, and on the enthusiastic reception he had received the day before. (In one broadcast it tossed in a joke circulated around Warsaw cafes that the Attorney General, "well known as an undauted hunter of crimes and criminals," had come to Poland "to get to the bottom of the notorious meat affair.")

More importantly, when RFE began broadcasting fuller details of Rumania's economic defiance of Moscow than the Rumanian Government had given, Rumania suddenly stopped jamming the broadcasts. Apparently the government wanted its citizens to know the full details of its independence, but also wanted to be able to tell Moscow with a straight face that it had done nothing itself to whip up anti-Russian feeling among its people.

However that may be, Rumanian nationalism has increased steadily, and is now giving Mr. Khrushchev one of his biggest headaches RFE has broadcast details of the growing split, not only to Rumania but to the rest of the bloc, in the hope that Rumania's example will lead to a similar loosening of Moscow control in the other countries.

"We have broken the monopoly which Communist regimes have tried to impose on their peoples," sums up C. Rodney Smith, RFE's director. "The scope and impact of our programs may help prevent Communists from obtaining complete control over the minds and actions of their captive citizens."

How do the stations produce this impact? Only Radio Liberty devotes its entire broadcast time to news and commentary; RIAS

and RFE give much air time to musical, cultural, sports, and religious programs. But on all stations, news programs carry the main punch.

NEWS AND ANALYSIS

The stations begin with objective reporting rare in Red lands. A recent sample from RFE: "Washington—U.S. Defense Minister McNamara said that American planes destroyed or damaged about 25 patrol boats of North Vietnam today and caused serious damage to their bases."

This factual reporting is supplemented by analytic programs, in which commentators piece together various bits of news, point out relationships between various events that Communists wish would go unnoticed, and—importantly—remind listeners of what Reds don't say as well as what they do.

Thus, the Red communique on recent Moscow talks between Rumanian leaders and Soviet officials spoke glowingly of "friendship." But RFE analysts pointed out that the communique "didn't say a word" about the policy issues between the two governments, and that after the talks Rumania took these actions: It stayed away from a bloc meeting in Warsaw. It kept silent in the Soviet-Chinese dispute. And it continued to bid for closer relations with the West.

"APPEASEMENT"—BUT NO CHANGE

The broadcast conclusion of one RFE analyst: The Moscow meeting "was able maybe to result in an appeasement between Russia and Rumania." But Rumania's subsequent acts "are showing well enough that its positions did not change at all after the talks in Moscow. And it is certain now that the Rumanian regime's delegates did discuss with the Soviets as equals to equals, and in a spirit of independence."

More featurish programs dramatize to Red bloc citizens some contrasts between Communist and Western society. An example: A 50-minute travel roundup by RFE reporters stationed at various European borders.

From the Brenner Pass between Germany and Italy, a reporter described how 1,000 cars an hour crossed the frontier: "Everybody stops for a second or two, shows their passports, and the official signals them to drive on. His only worry is to keep the cars moving as fast as possible." At the Norway-Sweden border, a reporter said the Norwegian border guard wasn't stopping cars at all; it was impossible, since they were crossing at the rate of 20 a minute.

But an RFE reporter on the road between Helsinki, Finland, and Leningrad, Russia, sighed: "I am sitting in my car in this enchantingly peaceful spot waiting for something to happen * * *. Ermines and stags travel the road, but no cars, buses, or trucks." And Reporter Gergely Vasvari broadcast from his car as he drove from an Austrian customhouse toward the Hungarian border: "Watchtowers—one, two, three, four—are the first things I notice * * *. On my right and left three rows of barbed-wire fence run everywhere.

An intensive behind-the-scene effort is required to prepare such programs. RFE, which went on the air July 4, 1950, now has 10 fulltime news bureaus in free Europe. But the heart of its operations is in Munich, where it has a staff of 1,100, and an information file containing 4,757,000 items; these range from the production capacity of the Kuznetsk Steel Combine in Siberia to the latest statistics on the birthrate in Bucharest, Rumania. The file is a focal point for Western students of communism, including many university professors who come here to consult it while preparing books or learned papers about Red doings.

The file is constantly growing, as RFE receives what it boasts is "the world's largest and most concentrated flow of Iron Curtain information." Its researchers regularly analyze 9 Communist news services and 700 Red publications ranging from Svet Techniky, a Czech magazine somewhat similar to the American Popular Mechanics, to Septemvri, a 200-page monthly issued by the Bulgarian Writers Union. They're among the new faithful readers of such publications as the Russian-language Novosti Mongolii (Mongolian News).

RFE also monitors up to 100 Red radio stations. The monitoring is carried out in a building at an abandoned Munich military airfield, where a battery of radios and tape recorders runs constantly. At one "listening post" Gene P. Mater, RFE's news director, presses one of 44 yellow buttons on a panel beneath a speaker; the strains of a Beethoven symphony broadcast by Radio Warsaw fill the air. He presses another button, and the symphony is replaced by a speech in Chinese emanating from Radio Peking.

NEWS FROM THE WEST

From the vast store of information thus gathered, RFE researchers prepare not only broadcasts to the Communist bloc but widely read reports to the free world. Iron Curtain News, an RFE publication, is distributed free to newspapers in 21 countries, and Press Wire, an RFE review of Communist-bloc press agency and radio news, is issued free to 192 journalists. Another 600 journalists, universities, institutes, and others subscribe to special situation reports prepared by RFE analysts.

As a result, a surprising amount of the Soviet-bloc news appearing in Western newspapers originates with RFE, though free world readers rarely realize it. On a single day recently, stories based on an RFE report appeared simultaneously in England's Manchester Guardian, France's Le Monde, and the New York Times. Most Red jokes and cartoons printed in Western papers also are culled from Communist media by RFE.

Information pieced together from the Communist press and radio is supplemented, not only by interviews with refugees and travelers, but by firsthand reports—in the form of mail arriving from behind the Iron Curtain. RIAS, indeed, puts on a regular weekly program to broadcast the contents of letters from East Germany. Most are signed with such fictitious names as "Fritz Freedom."

Many of these letters are sent to relatives in West Berlin or West Germany, who forward them to RIAS. Some, however, slip by censors and come in the regular mail, addressed openly to RIAS.

To prepare broadcasts, station analysts get together to piece all their bits of news into a broader picture. Often this is done in conferences, such as a recent one at RFE presided over by Richard V. Burks, station policy director, who had founded Wayne State University's graduate program in East European studies before coming to RFE.

At the conference, 17 editors and department heads debated the meaning of a new Yugoslav agricultural directive that seemed to represent a further turn toward free-market economics and away from Marxist dogma in that county. A Pole, a Czech, and a Hungarian discussed how the news probably would sound to citizens of those countries, and how it tied in with developments there. The conferees agreed the development was worth broadcasting to other Red countries, since it might stimulate desire for similar changes there.

Then the debate branched into a more general discussion of East European economics. Paul Collins, a research specialist, analyzed a recent Russian first-half economic report as indicating a continuing slowdown in Soviet growth. His assistant, James Brown, a knowledgeable Englishman, reported that Hungary had clamped censorship over reports on crop conditions, indicating crops there might be lower than expected.

Negro Paper Supports Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, an Associated Press story published in the August 13, Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, reveals that Alvin D. Smith's Butler County American, a Negro newspaper, has enthusiastically and unreservedly endorsed Republican presidential nominee, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

Mr. Smith's slogan "Hypocrisy in Democracy Must Be Defeated" is significant. He claims "Johnson uses the Negro for selfish political gain."

The article follows:

CURIOUS PHENOMENON: NEGRO PAPER ENTHUSIASTICALLY BACKS GOLDWATER

HAMILTON, OHIO.—A curious phenomenon shows up on the street corners and doorsteps of this Butler County seat each Saturday morning.

It is a newspaper—a Negro newspaper—which has come out enthusiastically and unreservedly in support of Republican presidential nominee, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, of Arizona.

The newspaper is the Butler County American, a four-page weekly, and its editor-publisher is Alvin D. Smith, who has been in the business for 25 years.

The American has been praising Senator GOLDWATER since 1962.

On July 11, only 2 weeks after he voted against the civil rights bill, it officially endorsed him as the man to pick in the presidential race, and it has been tooting the Goldwater horn ever since.

In his endorsement editorial Editor Smith said:

"The one major need in this country today is leadership in the White House that will act first to save America, knowing that then all else will continue to make progress, including human rights.

"That man who will meet the issue, we think, is GOLDWATER, who has done more for civil rights in his home State (according to what Negroes there say) than anyone else."

The editorial went on: "We have heard candidates for the presidency say much to get the Negroes' vote regarding civil rights.

"The late President Kennedy made no move for civil rights for over 2 years, yet he had made many promises during the campaign. * * * There is no hypocrisy in GOLDWATER. He believes in rule under law and order. And whatever law Congress puts on the books, including the civil rights law, GOLDWATER would enforce.

"Mr. GOLDWATER should be judged by his outspoken stand for freedom of all segments of the population, and not by words that others may speak."

The key to Smith's editorial stand is the slogan which is printed each week on the upper right-hand corner of the newspaper's front page: "Hypocrisy in Democracy Must Be Defeated."

On Senator GOLDWATER, Smith told a newsman, "This is the first time in years that we've had a sincere man running for the highest office in this land."

On GOLDWATER's civil rights stand, he said, "I think it's fine, because he's sincere. Senator GOLDWATER will do more to carry on the battle for full equality than anyone in a long, long time, excluding the late Senator Bob Taft, of course."

"Don't get me wrong," Editor Smith added. "We are wholeheartedly in support of civil

rights—but opposed to force and violence. We must have laws and Senator GOLDWATER has promised enforcement."

Smith is just as unreserved in his biting criticisms of President Johnson.

In his editorial columns, he has written: "Lyndon Johnson, as a Congressman and U.S. Senator from Texas, fought and voted consistently for 20 years against all civil rights measures, including the elimination of the poll tax on six separate occasions, until he emerged as a politician with national ambitions.

"In Texas * * * he worked and voted against all civil rights proposals in order to please anti-Negro forces in his State and the South. * * * This Johnson hypocrisy should be resisted by every Negro at the polls in November * * * Johnson uses the Negro for selfish political gain."

Smith, 65, has been publishing the little paper since 1940.

He is believed to be the only Negro in the United States who publishes a county seat newspaper carrying the legal advertisements of a local government, and is former publisher of a Negro graphic arts trade magazine. The thriving American now boasts a 3,800 circulation.

A graduate of Tuskegee Institute, Smith is also the author of a book published in 1954, "George Washington Carver: Man of God."

Deal With Patent Pirates?—Congress Was Shocked To Learn Defense Department Bought "Stolen Goods," Now There's a Bill To Stop It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I have indeed been impressed with the untiring efforts of my friend and colleague the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROUDEBUSH] in behalf of our patent and copyright laws.

I doubt if there has ever been a Member more outspoken on what this gentleman terms "the rape of our patent system." His repeated appearances before this body, as well as the now famous Roudebush amendment has served well to inform Congress of reprehensible practice by our Government of the purchase of manufactured items, fabricated in foreign countries by illegal use of American patents. This is so very true in the case of American patented drug and pharmaceutical formulas.

The August 17 issue of In Depth, published by the National Association of Manufacturers, carried a story by our colleague [Mr. ROUDEBUSH], and with permission I place it in the official RECORD of this Congress:

DEAL WITH PATENT PIRATES?—CONGRESS WAS SHOCKED TO LEARN DEFENSE DEPARTMENT BOUGHT "STOLEN GOODS," NOW THERE'S A BILL TO STOP IT

(By Representative RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH, Republican representing Indiana's Sixth District)

The American patent system is as old as the U.S. Constitution.

We find in article I, section 8, authority for Congress to enact legislation granting patents as stimuli to inventors.

In this section, the Constitution states: "that the Congress shall have the power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

In accordance with this constitutional provision, the first patent law was enacted by the First Congress and approved by President George Washington on April 10, 1790.

Since that time our patent system has been supported by outstanding Presidents of both political parties, including Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy.

Thomas Jefferson, our third President, served as one of three administrators of the Nation's first patent law. They were, by statute, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General. However, for all practical purposes, the major responsibility for patent administration fell to Thomas Jefferson.

It is recalled that Jefferson was a distinguished inventor in his own right and, therefore, was favorably disposed to new inventions and discoveries. Nevertheless, he was also an opponent of monopolies and vested rights and privileges for a few citizens at the expense of the general public.

Jefferson stated, "The issue of patents for new discoveries has given a spring to invention beyond my conception."

With this brief history of our patent system in mind, we might assume every agency and bureau of the Federal Government would be vigilant to protect and guard this basic tool of our free enterprise, capitalistic system.

It was with disbelief during the 87th Congress that we discovered such was not the case, and that a Federal agency was actually damaging the patent system by its purchasing practices.

The case involved the Department of Defense which was buying drugs and pharmaceuticals from foreign firms who had "pirated" formulas from an American firm, and selling the items below U.S. costs.

My immediate reaction was to question the Department of Defense about this purchase and the response was wholly unsatisfactory, being based on the enticement of a lower purchase price.

The problem was remedied temporarily when we were able to obtain an amendment (the Roudebush amendment) to the foreign aid bill which prohibited use of American tax dollars being spent on items manufactured with "pirated" American patents.

A long-range examination of the problem indicated the need for more comprehensive legislation to protect all American firms from countries who either do not recognize our patent laws, or have firms which have no qualms or business morals about obtaining formulas.

To this end, H.R. 1707 was drafted, and is now before the House Judiciary Committee.

H.R. 1707 prohibits "the use or manufacture by or for the United States of any invention described in and covered by a patent of the United States, which has not previously been held invalid by an unappealed or unappealable judgment or decree of a court of competent jurisdiction, without license of the owner thereof, unless the Secretary of Defense, or his delegate, shall determine in the case of each such invention that the national security of the United States requires such use or manufacture."

In effect, the bill will prohibit any agency of the U.S. Government from buying or using any item manufactured by a foreign firm with a "pirated" American patent.

At this very time, Italian firms are importing tetracyline into this country as an infringement on the patent rights of Pfizer.

It is impossible for Pfizer and other leading American drug firms, and businesses and manufacturers of any American product, to compete with these cut-throat competitors.

American firms must bear the costs of higher wages; must meet their responsibilities in the areas of local, State, and national taxation; must bear the tremendous costs of research, marketing, advertising; must make a profit to pay stockholders; must plow heavy capital back into expansion and growth projects and outdated equipment and buildings, and at the same time seek better products for lower costs for the American people.

What has happened to Pfizer at the hands of antibiotic pirates can happen to other American manufacturers unable to compete with foreign firms unhindered by research costs and able to employ cheap labor in substandard factories and plants.

It is a legitimate and obvious duty of Congress to protect our American firms from such unfair and harmful attacks, and we intend to continue to advocate and work for legislation to correct this serious situation.

Uneasy Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal, Thursday, August 20, 1964:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: UNEASY LIVING

The sharp worsening of America's balance-of-payments deficit in the second quarter should finally direct attention to its basic causes. Yet there remains this curious reluctance in official quarters even to discuss, let alone do anything about, the real sources of the difficulty.

It seems to us beyond question that one of the root causes of the deficit is the Government's policy of easy money. Indeed, some of the ablest observers, like John Exter, senior vice president of New York's First National City Bank, have long maintained that the payments problem is primarily a monetary problem. As Mr. Exter said in a speech last spring, a deficit arises "essentially because the supply of one's own money, whether in the form of bank notes or bank deposits, is too large relative to the supplies of all other currencies in the world."

Others describe the prime cause as a combination of fiscal and monetary policy. That is, running domestic budget deficits reflects fiscal policy, and the way the Government finances the deficit can add to the money-creating process. When that happens, you might say fiscal policy compounds errors of monetary policy.

But whatever the precise degree of easy money's culpability, we think the Exter analysis shows it must be considerable.

The United States has been incurring international-payments deficits almost continuously since 1949, but with especial severity in the past 6 years; the current deficit is at an annual rate of nearly $3 billion. In the bank official's words, the main reason is that "the Federal Reserve has been creating money during those years, principally by purchasing U.S. Government securities, $10 billion of them." While this process is more sophisticated than literal resort to the printing presses, it can have the same inflationary effect.

The new money quickly finds its way into the hands of foreigners through short- or long-term capital flows, imports, tourism, foreign aid or a combination of all these and other factors. In Mr. Exter's view, they are manifestations of the original trouble, which is the creation of excess money.

When the foreigners want gold for their dollar holdings, we must comply, and the upshot is that we have lost $7.5 billion of gold over the past 6 years. "In addition, our net position in the International Monetary Fund has deteriorated by almost $2 billion, which is tantamount to losing gold, for Fund transactions entail a gold guarantee."

The Nation has been able to sustain this heavy loss only because it is so very rich. Despite the drain, the American gold stock is still over $15 billion, larger than that of all Western Europe and almost 40 percent of the entire free world's. Less affluent countries must stop their money creation when faced with serious payments deficits, and that is exactly what a number of them have done in recent years.

The fact that the United States has a lot of good left is hardly an occasion for complacency, and of course Washington is not complacent. It has devised a number of expedients for dealing with the payments problem. Unfortunately, they deal mostly with the symptoms, and sometimes they are even self-defeating.

The chief explanation for the failure to grapple with basic causes appears to be a political fear that such a course would be injurious to the domestic economy, in particular that it would increase unemployment. Yet the ironic truth, as Mr. Exter remarks, is that the easy-money policy has actually stimulated other nations' economies more than our own. "A payments surplus is highly stimulating to an economy and a payments deficit depressing."

It is important to note that the right prescription does not call for a complete reversal involving a destruction of money in place of creating it, that could bring the deflationary ills the officials fear. What is required, rather, is a halt to the money-creating process—and, we would add, bringing Federal expenditures under control.

The problem certainly is not disappearing at the rate the Government is going. It is a pity those entrusted with the people's money persist in playing fast and loose with the Nation's solvency. After all those years and billions, they should realize that easy money may be financing a far from easy future.

Hon. John Bennett

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the death of our friend, JOHN BENNETT, is a grievous loss to the Michigan delegation, of which he was the senior member, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which he was ranking minority member, and to the Congress, in which he was a leader. In 20 years of congressional service, JOHN BENNETT established an enviable reputation for ability, courage, and integrity. He will be sorely missed.

Most of all, he will be missed by the people of his congressional district. He was known and loved by many thousands of his constituents. JOHN BENNETT, a Republican, was elected to Congress time after time by thumping majorities in a congressional district which almost always gives a majority to Democratic candidates for other offices. This is a remarkable achievement. It is a tribute which JOHN BENNETT earned by his genuine interest in the problems of the people he represented and his diligent attention to their needs. There is hardly a resident of the area who had not been, in some way or another, in contact with Congressman JOHN BENNETT.

The most striking feature of JOHN BENNETT's career, however, was the fidelity and perception which he assessed the interests and sentiments of his district and advanced them. I know of no man whom I have considered to represent more truly his constituency than did JOHN BENNETT. It is perhaps this more than any other factor, that accounted for his tremendous personal popularity.

Mr. Speaker, the Upper Peninsula in Michigan has lost a real friend; all the people of my State have lost a conscientious public servant whose integrity and sense of duty were unquestioned, and the people of the United States have lost a responsible and able legislator. JOHN BENNETT shall be missed by all of us.

A Mountain of Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to offer congratulations to a little boy named Terry O'Brien, who has the unique honor of having a huge mountain named after him.

Terrence Kearney O'Brien, of Albany, N.Y., is the 10-year-old grandson of our colleague, Representative LEO W. O'BRIEN, who was the House floor manager of the Alaska statehood bill 6 years ago.

The distinguished Governor of Alaska, the Honorable William A. Egan, came to Washington to notify young Terry that a towering 5,600-foot mountain in the Nation's largest State will hereafter be known as Mount Terrence.

It is pleasant to know that there is room in this great, often impersonal, business of government for such touching gestures as this. How typical of the great land which is Alaska that it should write its "thank you" in letters more than a mile high.

As a New Yorker, I am proud that two men from my State had leading roles in the firm anchorage of Alaska as a permanent part of the Union.

The first was William Seward who, as Secretary of State, engineered the purchase of Alaska from Russia for $7,500,000, perhaps the greatest "buy" in history. Alaska will celebrate the 100th anniversary of that purchase 3 years hence. A peninsula and a city in Alaska bear the name of Seward.

The second New Yorker whom Alaska will long remember is our colleague, Representative O'BRIEN. I am sure that they would have been willing to honor him as they did Seward, but he asked that the honor go instead to his beloved grandson, Terry. As the Congressman wisely said:

He will be around longer to enjoy it.

Ah, the Petunias

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the appendix, I am pleased to include an article by Mary McGrory that appeared in the Evening Star of August 19.

It is by way of a character study of our friend, the Senator from Illinois, the Honorable EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.

Miss McGrory entitles it: "Ever Romantic DIRKSEN Enjoys the Show." It is friendly and factual. I feel it should be shared by readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and by Mr. DIRKSEN's wide circle of friends and admirers.

The article follows:

AH, THE PETUNIAS—EVER ROMANTIC DIRKSEN ENJOYS THE SHOW

(By Mary McGrory)

Senate Minority Leader DIRKSEN in this summer of tension and frustration for almost everybody else, has glided from strength to strength.

First he dazzled the left by his wily piloting of the civil rights bill through Republican shoals in the Senate. Then he turned around and comforted the right by embracing Senator GOLDWATER at a crucial moment.

Now he is holding up the adjournment of Congress with a rider to the foreign aid bill. The rider would allow the States to delay the reapportionment of their legislatures as decreed by the Supreme Court.

For this, he won the praise from the most olympian of columnists, Walter Lippmann, who calls the amendment "Dirksen's breather."

Mr. DIRKSEN was charmed by this approval from an unexpected source which has proved so implacable to his new leader, Senator GOLDWATER. Senator DIRKSEN never has joined his GOP colleagues in denouncing the fourth estate, possibly because he enjoys the coziest press relationship on Capitol Hill.

His Tuesday conferences in the Senate Press Gallery summon a claque every week. He comes to them fresh from his weekly leadership luncheon.

Majority Leader MANSFIELD holds a similar briefing after his weekly White House leadership breakfasts, but his drab and melancholy accounts are not more like Senator DIRKSEN's romantic recapitulations than a treasurer's report is like the Book of Kells.

What sets Senator DIRKSEN apart from his fellow legislators on Capitol Hill is that he alone feels an obligation to amuse. No one enjoys the show more than he does.

He has created a character for himself. It is a character in which lawyer, actor, nature-lover, worldling, innocent, philosopher, self-parodist, and semanticist succeed each other with the rapidity of overwrought figures in a silent movie.

Everyone has to play his part. The press gallery aids are called upon to hold the money for small bets on the election. The reporters are expected to feed him certain sure-fire lines. They are called upon to laugh when he lightly burlesques Clare Boothe Luce "clutching the air" at the Republican Convention. They are expected to wonder with him about the passage of time, or rather, as he said yesterday, our passage through time. They are expected to assume an air of credulity when he says that the leadership luncheon did not discuss the big political news of the day—Senator KEATING's announcement that he will seek reelection in New York.

"We preserve all the delicate amenities," he said. And he refused to criticize Senator KEATING for refusing to endorse the GOP candidate for the Presidency.

"If I cannot speak well of a brother, I do not speak of a brother," he said, calling to his cratered countenance as expression of fraternal piety.

Any other man singlehandedly blocking the vacation and campaign plans of so many other politicians might be tempted to be stern, self-righteous, and adamant.

Was he, for instance, inconveniencing his party's nominee by his intransigeance?

"Senator GOLDWATER has expressed no distress of spirit," replied Mr. DIRKSEN in his wonderful antimacassar idiom.

Only he would have thought of putting the delayed adjournment as an esthetic advantage to the restless Members.

In mid-September, the Dirksen adjournment date, he said, "Washington is at its nicest. On 16th Street, you see the pin oaks and the sugar maples with their gorgeous leaves, their beautiful colors.

"In the countryside there is beauty to regale you. My dahlias will be at their best, hardy little customers."

"And the petunias," he breathed. The Senator has never yielded to any man in his appreciation of the petunia. "Even the Russian sunflowers are beautiful. I can inveigh against the Soviet Union, but not against Russian sunflowers. And the birds don't care."

Brenham, Tex., Little League Team Plays in World's Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the Senior Little League world's series is now in progress in Louisville, Ky., and I am happy to announce that the Brenham Senior All Stars of Brenham, Tex., have qualified for this tournament by winning their State and regional championships.

I, as well as the citizens of Brenham and all of Texas, am very proud of this fine group of youngsters for this outstanding achievement. I know of no organization, other than scouting, which offers so many cpportunities for the youth of our Nation. It is with a deep sense of pride that I speak of this fine group of boys, their very capable leaders, parents, and all persons connected with this wonderful program.

Brenham, Tex., is a city of some 10,000 people and is the county seat of Washington County, one of the first counties established in Texas. A few miles away is the site of "Washington-on-the Brazos," where the Declaration of Texas Independence was signed on March 2, 1836. Many of the settlers in Washington County came from Germany, Czechoslovakia, and England, and they carved out of that land a wonderful community which has been the center of many of Texas historic meetings and advancements.

Mayor Reese Lockett has served that community for some 25 years in a dedicated, unselfish manner. It is the home of former Congressman James Buchanan, who served his State so well for 20 years; and is the county represented in previous years by our illustrious President Lyndon B. Johnson and Judge Homer Thornberry.

The people there are descendants of some of the finest folks in our State—hardy, independent, progressive citizens—and these young men who have worked together as a team and won their way to the world series are the heirs of leaders who are proud of the perseverance and determination that has enabled these boys to go to the top.

I would like to pay my respects to the leaders, coaches and members of the team who are as follows: Herbert Faithauer, center field; Gordon Lewis, second base; James Plant, third base; Donnie Witte, first base; Fred Rau, pitcher; Willie Rosenbaum, catcher; Glenn Neutzler, left field; Alex Jordan, pitcher; Rodney Kelm, second base; Leonard Jasinski, right field; Jackie Heidemann, shortstop; Bobby Lehrmann, infield; Boby Neinast, outfield; John Haarmeyer, left field; Coleman Stanfield, manager; and Riley Plant, coach.

Severe Penalty for Rioters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the incidents of rioting and looting that we have witnessed in recent weeks in various parts of the country and defiance of law and order among irresponsible elements of the communities involved cannot be tolerated and must be dealt with under procedures established by law. As the following editorial of the Chicago Sun-Times, August 18, 1964, points out, it is the responsibility of the law enforcement agencies of local communities and States to take such action as the statutes provide to put an end to civil disorder. With the support of individual citizens of the communities involved, incidents of violence can soon be stopped.

The editorial follows:

SEVERE PENALTY FOR RIOTERS

What happened in Dixmoor Sunday night was civil insurrection and physical defiance of the law. Although racial in character it had no relationship to the various civil rights movements. Mobs have no concern for civil rights and the Negroes who went wild in Dixmoor acted as criminally as have whites in the South who have gone on rampages against the civil authorities on racial issues.

The Illinois statutes provide specifically what should be done in case of mob action. The law provides that peace officers may use what force is necessary to put down a riot. Those arrested in the Dixmoor insurrection could be sent to the penitentiary for up to 5 years.

The punishment for riots and mob action is severe because no community can allow any of its residents to take up arms against the police. Those who rioted in Dixmoor are lucky today that they were not fired on by the police and sheriff's men who, under Sheriff Richard B. Ogilvie, held themselves in admirable and courageous restraint.

Riots get out of hand because they are not nipped at their very start. Established police procedure and the State law calls for the dispersal of illegal assemblies even if they are as small as a gathering of two persons. Local police should call for reinforcements early. When it becomes necessary to bring in 200 police to restore order the situation already is well out of hand. The Governor of the State has authority to send in the militia, if necessary, to suppress violence, and there should be no hesitancy about doing this if the rowdies of Dixmoor do not come to their senses.

The county has a responsibility to maintain order and the Illinois statutes provide that any innocent person suffering damage to property or to his person in a mob action by six or more people may sue the county for damages. The county in turn may institute action to recover any such payments paid by it from persons who participated in the mob action. Thus those who damage property or who inflict injury during a riot not only may be sent to prison but may be made to pay for the damage.

It now becomes the responsibility and the duty of State Human Relations Commission and any others who can help to work in Dixmoor to prevent a repetition of Sunday night's outrages. The sensible people in the community must get through to the hoodlums what are the consequences of civil disorder.

Those who are quick to put up a picket line over a real or fancied grievance will do well to think over their responsibilities, too. The law can operate for the benefit of all only in a courtroom, not on the sidewalk.

When Archie House Was 16

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Archie House soon will complete a year of distinguished service as commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans. Archie and I were buddies in the same company of infantrymen in the same regiment at the seige of Santiago in 1898. I am extending my remarks to include the following Associated Press dispatch in the Chicago Tribune:

VETERAN RECALLS LANDING IN SPANISH-UNITED STATES WAR

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA., August 18.—Archie House, who was only 16 when he joined company I of the 33d Michigan Volunteers and sailed for Cuba to help fight the Spanish-American War, recentiy recalled his landing near Siboney.

"It was June 27," House said. "It was hot, maybe 90 degrees. We landed wearing long underwear, heavy blue woolen jackets and trousers, leggings that came up to your knees over the trousers. We had the Springfield 45–70—it carried a bullet so big they used to call it the light artillery, that rifle. It'd kick you over a 10-rail fence."

Each man, he said, carried a 50-pound pack and ammunition belts holding 40 to 50 rounds of the finger-sized bullets. House is national commander of the 18,000 surviving veterans of that war.

Reapportionment of State Legislatures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following extracts from the testimony on State reapportionment by Mr. August Scholle, president of the Michigan AFL–CIO. Mr. Scholle had made over the years a profound study of problems of representation and his views command the greatest respect. Had orderly procedures been followed in this matter, he would have presented his testimony to the Judiciary Committee of this House and I am sure we all would have benefited from it.

The extracts follow:

TESTIMONY OF AUGUST SCHOLLE, PRESIDENT, MICHIGAN STATE AFL–CIO

It is frequently argued that some other basis of representation than people should be provided for the protection of minorities, particularly in rural areas. Yet it is the people in these areas, not the interests, who will be given power to have a much stronger vote on the arbitrary assumption that the judgment of these people will somehow be better for the interests of the entire State than the judgment of people in the urban areas. Even if you accept the argument of representation of interests, people in the urban areas themselves probably represent a greater multiplicity of interests than rural areas possibly could.

If you do not have faith and confidence in abiding by the will of the majority of the people, if you do not believe that the majority will of the people should be reflected by our legislative bodies, if you do not believe that 50-percent-plus of the people should govern, then what percentage of the minority of the people do you believe should govern the majority? Should 49 percent govern the 51 percent, or, as has prevailed in Michigan, should 29.4 percent of the population be able to govern, through control of one house, the other 70.6 percent of the people? Or should we sovietize the State legislative bodies, having 7 percent of the people dominate the other 93 percent, as prevails in the Soviet Union?

Regardless of all of the fine academic, hypothetical, theroetical arguments that can be made, when a clear perspective is taken of this question it boils down again to this simple question, "What percentage of the minority of the people do you want to control the majority?"

Is the tyranny of majority rule over the minority ever likely to be more obnoxious than the tyranny of a minority over the majority? If minority control over people is to be approved, then a grave and serious question can be raised as to the morality of our spending billions of dollars a year of the people's money to defend ourselves from foreign ideologies.

I have always firmly believed that if the various States ever achieved truly representative government that the many frictions which prevail today in areas such as civil rights, the arguments about States' rights vs. the propaganda of concentration of power in Washington would, to a major extent, be resolved. If the legislature actually reflects the sentiment of the majority of the people, the legislatures of each State would be concerning themselves with cooperating and working in harmony with the Federal Government to meet the problems of the pockets of poverty, ill-housing, old age security, mental health, and the many other social problems which we face as a nation today.

I would like to conclude with an admonishment to the proponents of minority control of our legislatures. You will have to go back to the people and advise them that you do not believe in equality of citizenship at the ballot box. You will have to advocate to your constituents that they sacrifice their most cherished basic symbol of freedom—equality. If you are to be honest, you will have to say to the people, "We don't believe that a majority of the people should govern, but that a minority should govern." You will have to advocate an oligarchy, or some type of despotism, or some other tyrannical form of government to substitute for majority rule. You will have to tell them what percentage of the minority of the people should govern the majority. You will have to make a mockery of the words in Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address, "that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I most fervently hope that our Congress does not choose this course. I hope that we can keep faith with the noble and cherished aspirations of the founders of our great Nation to make it one of free men with self-respect, dignity, and equality accorded to all.

Remap Not an Insoluble Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Walter Lippmann has set forth the issues involved in the Supreme Court's ruling on apportionment of State legislatures and I commend his column of August 18 to my colleagues as a most interesting discussion of this question in support of the Dirksen amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I support the Dirksen amendment or similar so-called breather legislation which will permit time for more thoughtful consideration by the Congress of this very fundamental issue. The column follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 18, 1964]

REMAP NOT AN INSOLUBLE ISSUE

(By Walter Lippmann)

WASHINGTON.—Although it is a bit awkward and rather inconvenient to make Congress deal with apportionment at the tail end of the session, the importance of the subject is overriding. The real issue, as I see it, is whether reapportionment of the State legislatures, which is necessary but also a far-reaching change of habit and custom, should be propelled by something more than the Federal courts alone—whether, that is to say, this great change in the political balance of power should have also the approval of Congress and be subjected to the test of a constitutional amendment. Taking this to be the purpose of the proposal by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, it seems to me sound and in the end desirable.

The heart of the matter is that since about 1890 the United States, which was then composed two-thirds of people from farms and villages, has been transformed. Two-thirds of the Americans now live in cities or in the suburbs. But the apportionment of at least 44 of the State legislatures does not represent this change. In these 44 States, less than 40 percent of the people elect a controlling majority of the legislature. In 13 of these States, one-third or less of the people can elect a controlling majority of the legislature.

While the statistics of this misrepresentation cry out for reform, it is nevertheless true that the problem here, unlike that of the civil rights bill a few months ago, is not such a present danger that delay is intolerable. It is essential that the city and suburban people be properly represented in their State legislatures in order that they may be better able to deal with their pressing needs. But, there is no emergency which makes the delay proposed by DIRKSEN intolerable.

There are also positive advantages in the Dirksen breather. It involves Congress, not only the Supreme Court, in the problem of apportionment, and the pause provided by the Dirksen rider to the foreign aid bill may help to make the coming reapportionment seem less terrifying to those who will lose by it.

For many of us this will help to assuage a troubled conscience about the dilemma posed by the Supreme Court's decision in the Alabama case and Justice John M. Harlan's disenting opinion which argued powerfully against bringing the affairs of the State legislatures into the Federal courts.

The opinion was, in my view, unanswerable but for one enormous fact. That is that the unrepresentative State legislatures are unwilling to reform themselves. The underrepresented voters in the cities and suburbs have little or no power to compel reform. In this situation, when there is indubitable evil for which there is no known legal remedy, the intervention of the Supreme Court was the only way of breaking the deadlock.

But such a choice of the lesser of two evils is not attractive, and as one of those troubled by it, I welcome Senator DIRKSEN's action in taking the question to Congress and to the amending process.

The public discussion, which will ensue, will be clarified if we distinguish the two principal arguments which have been used to justify the overrepresentation of the rural voters. One reason, which is as old as the Nation, is that the excitable working people in the cities are not to be trusted as against the stable and virtuous farmers, and that the representative system should be constructed so as to prevent the urban masses from ruling the State. This is the principle of the New York State constitution which was framed before the turn of the century.

This reason could prevail when the city people were still a minority. It cannot prevail much longer now that they have become a preponderant majority.

But there is another reason, closely related in practice but separate in theory. It is, as Madison put it, that it is necessary to "refine the will of the people," and that one of the best ways of doing this is to have a legislature with two houses in which the upper house is more stable and more conservative.

The real question which will confront the States is how to construct senates in which,

though all voters are equal, the senators will check and balance the lower house.

It is not an insoluble problem. The States will have to deal with the problem by making the senatorial districts larger and the number of senators smaller. Each senator will therefore represent a much more varied constituency than a member of the lower house. The States can give the senators a longer term and higher pay. This will tend to give the senators a broader view, a less hurried view, more honor, a greater independence and sense of responsibility.

These are ways to refine the will of the people without obstructing it.

Jim Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have the opportunity of joining with my colleagues in recognizing the exceptionally valuable career of Jim Bennett. He will retire within a few days, after nearly a half century of distinguished Federal service, and he has earned the plaudits of all of us. His best known achievement, of course, is the fact that it was he who recommended the creation of the Federal Prison System about 35 years ago and it is he who has led that System for most of the time it has been in existence. The outstanding job that he has done is evident in the international esteem with which his organization is regarded.

Jim has been a particularly good friend of the Missouri delegation. I have known him ever since the days I served as congressional secretary to the late Representative John J. Cochran, and he has been the close friend of the late Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., and his successor, Senator Edward V. Long, of Missouri, both of whom were given the assignment of chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on National Penitentiaries. Jim has traveled to Missouri on innumerable occasions, to address the young people of our colleges, to make studies of Missouri's correctional system for the State administration, and to keep up his strong personal interest in the medical center for Federal prisoners at Springfield, Mo. We in Missouri are therefore long familiar with Jim Bennett and all that he has done for his fellow citizens.

The scope of his activities, however, has gone far beyond the American prison scene. He has taken an intense interest in the general improvement of our society and its culture. This interest has, of course, included many problems that eventually come to the Congress of the United States for consideration. He has often discussed these problems with me and I have valued his advice. Although Jim Bennett is a prison administrator—or perhaps because he is a prison administrator—he believes that the reduction of crime in the United States must be largely accomplished by preventive methods rather than by heavy dependence upon the criminal law. I think he is right.

Jim Bennett has had a great impact on the administration of justice and he ranks among the great Americans of our history. His list of accomplishments is long and a number of them have been touched upon by others here over the past few days. But I do wish to express my own thanks for all that he has done. His experience should not be lost to us, however, and I trust that for many years to come he will continue to be a familiar figure in the Halls of Congress—and in the halls of justice.

Capital Bulletin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the folowing article from the National Review:

CAPITAL BULLETIN

Observers here view the recent attacks on Senator BARRY GOLDWATER by the Columbia Broadcasting System as trial balloons. It has been obvious from the start that certain segments of the mass media intend to use press and TV as conscious weapons of political assassination. The CBS maneuver is seen as a test of public opinion. If there is no outcry over the three-way smear, the network's smear bund and its allies in the Washington press corps will move ahead with other and more vicious efforts.

The CBS thrusts, for those who came in late, consisted of broadcasts which stated as fact that Senator GOLDWATER planned to launch his presidential campaign in Berchtesgaden, where Hitler had presumably made his start; that he would speak to rightwing groups in Germany; and that he intended to devote some time to cementing relations with German extremist groups. The purpose of these fictions was, of course, to imply that Mr. GOLDWATER is a Fascist.

The significance of the play could be minimized except for the refusal of CBS to apologize—it can now take courage from a Supreme Court decision which sanctions any falsehood or slander, in print or by word of mouth, of a public figure. But of far more significance is the involvement of Daniel Schorr, a CBS foreign correspondent. Mr. Schorr is no wet-behind-the-ears newsman nor an ideological ignoramus. He is experienced and, in the social Democratic tradition, extremely savvy. That he was aware of what he was saying can be seen from his disclaimer. He "did not mean a conscious effort" on the part of Senator GOLDWATER, Mr. Schorr said. There was "no proof" of that. He simply meant that "a process of gravitation" would bring the German extremists—read Nazis—and Senator GOLDWATER together.

Mr. Schorr knows better than that—or he should take a refresher course in high school journalism. So, too, does CBS which excused its atrocious behavior by arguing that it had carried the Senator's denial. Since CBS is extremely glib in the use of the doctrine that denials never catch up with accusations, there is a slight ordor to that one.

Neither CBS nor the other networks need have any fear. Had they acted in similar manner against President Johnson or any one of the Democratic administration's fair-haired politicians, the FCC would have been on hand the following morning to discuss license renewals and other apposite matters. But the FCC has shown not the slightest interest in the abridgement of Republican or Conservative rights. In fact, it has, like Abou Ben Adhem, led all the rest in using its administrative powers to curb those who stand forth against the Democratic establishment.

As the campaign progresses, the FCC will grow increasingly deaf to complaints of abuses by the networks and by local stations. It can also be predicted that any countermeasures of the Goldwater forces will be denounced by the press as a violation of the first amendment. Those with long memories will recall how exercised the pundits became over such anti-Communist manifestations as "Red Channels"—a listing of the party-front records of entertainers—but how quiet they have been about the the campaign of Group Research, Inc., a Walter Reuther-JLC (Jewish Labor Committee) apparatus, to prevent conservatives from speaking or being published.

What lies ahead will not be the product of unmotivated, or idle, viciousness. The White House and the Democratic National Committee, however brashly they may comment, are deeply troubled by the nomination of BARRY GOLDWATER. Surveys taken over the past months indicate that Mr. GOLDWATER's strength in the South is of sufficient magnitude to sweep the area—even without massive Negro outbreaks in this very hot summer. The tarantara of the Gallup and Harris polls have ceased to impress anyone in the Nation's Capital—including Dr. Gallup and Mr. Harris.

Mr. Johnson, moreover, knows that he must leave his privileged sanctuary sooner or later and take to the hustings. He is a bad campaigner, as everyone here knows, except when he can operate quietly with statehouse gangs and cigar-chewing politicians. He is also terrified at the thought that he may have to debate Senator GOLDWATER—and the betting among his intimates is that he will refuse this confrontation no matter how timorous it makes him look.

In short, the Democratic Party's major strategists see as their major weapon the unrestrained smear. They must destroy Senator GOLDWATER in any way possible—right up to the ultimate weapon. They feel reasonably certain that they can spread enough tar over his reputation to succeed in stopping him. But they are also aware that the gubernatorial Messrs. Rockefeller and Scranton have taken the drama out of this type of attack. The voters will be bored with it in short order—and may turn away from it in revulsion as they did in California.

The CBS smear attack, however, did not supply the data that were sought. Senator GOLDWATER's followers were too elated by the results of San Francisco to take up arms against it. The Madison Avenue tacticians are therefore still in the dark: Is it open season on BARRY GOLDWATER?—QUINCY.

Retraining: An Air Force Experiment in Humanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I insert an editorial entitled "The Re-Railers," by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, which appeared in the Tulsa Tribune on Saturday, August 15, 1964.

I would like to call attention to the very successful experiment in human rehabilitation that is being conducted by the Air Force at the Amarillo, Tex., Air Force Base.

It is a program whereby the Air Force is succeeding in retraining men who, under other circumstances, would serve time in a military prison and then be released with bad conduct discharges.

I commend the Air Force for this program, and the Tulsa Tribune for their very fine editorial.

THE RE-RAILERS

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

AMARILLO, TEX.—Out here under the broad skies of the Texas Panhandle there is an experiment in saving men.

Every day two or three members of the U.S. Air Force, their uniforms bare of chevrons of insignia of rank, step off commercial planes at the Amarillo Airport. Mostly they are young—average age 22. Some have come a long distance—Okinawa, Turkey, Panama. All are men under sentence, and not one has a guard.

Just east of the airport is the great Amarillo Air Force Base containing 14,000 men. In a corner of the base are the barracks and classrooms of the 3320th Retraining Group with a normal complement of about 200. Here, over an average period of 6 months, the Air Force attempts to rerail men who in the usual course of things would have served time in a military prison and been released with bad-conduct discharges with lively prospects of ending up in a civilian penitentiary.

A military court martial is a sad affair. There is the kid, frightened or resentful or defiant, who often doesn't realize that he has reached a fork in the road. But the court knows. The court knows that a bad conduct discharge stays with a man like a brand upon the cheek.

A military organization is not like a civilian employer. It can't solve a problem of bad behavior by simply firing the culprit. For a soldier or sailor signs up for a period of years. Willful misconduct can't be made a convenient device for being sent home. There must be punishment.

If there is not punishment for violating regulations and ignoring orders then a battalion or a ship's company becomes a mob. All armies and naval crews have lived in the shadow of the lash.

But only in recent years have thoughtful American commanders begun to wonder if somewhere beyond the gloomy disciplinary barracks of Fort Leavenworth and the bleak naval prison at Portsmouth there isn't a better way—at least, for some.

Col. Leonard Shapiro's retraining facility at Amarillo gets what you might call the pick of the culls. The judge advocate general's office tries to decide which men should stay in the brig until they get the heave-ho out of service, and which are worth handing a ladder for the purpose of climbing back aboard.

Some don't want to climb, preferring the undemanding life of a prisoner to the perplexities of retraining. For, as the deputy commander, Lt. Col. R. E. Smythe, says, "This is tougher than the disciplinary barracks."

The man comes in. There are 10 days of indoctrination. There are 3 weeks of formal schooling. He is given a history of the Air Force to pump up some morale. He is instructed as to his rights as a citizen to overcome, if he suffers from it, the illusion that the world is after him. Then he is given a course in financial management. Larceny, the most common offense after AWOL, is often committed by those who are chronically broke. If liquor is his trouble he is made to understand the nature of the problem and the way out.

"We get both ends of the talent spectrum," says Colonel Smythe. "Some of these kids got into a jam because they weren't good at anything. They get specialized training. Some of them went haywire because they were underchallenged. These boys are shunted into jobs that keep them humping. The base is glad to have us here. We can supply any level of ability and our men work all over the place."

And what have been the results?

Capt. C. J. Figura, chief of clinical services, is a former clinical psychologist for the Red Wing (Minn.) State Training School for Boys. He says:

"Briefly, we think that 'two out of three have it.' That is, about 65 percent are returned to duty in the Air Force, their bad conduct discharges suspended. Of these, so far, 84 percent have completed their enlistments and left with honorable tickets.

"By the time a man has 2 years experience in the service the taxpayers have sunk from $7,000 to $11,000 in his training. If he gets kicked out we have to get another man and train him from the start. So you might say this school has a built-in profit.

"But in a larger sense, the honest citizen pays dividends to his community and the criminal lives out his years, not only as a danger, but as a deficit. The stakes we play for may amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars per man. Even the one-third who, we decide, can't be returned to duty are given an intensive course in citizenship before they are handed their red tickets and sent home. We try with everyone."

A more-than-casual observer of the retraining experiment is Paul Timmons, associate editor of the Amarillo Globe-News. He insisted on driving me out.

"We've got a thing going here—a human salvage yard," he told me. "But we don't just take men apart. We put most of them back together."

Excise Tax Reduction and Elimination Must Be Accomplished in the National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the problem of what to do about Federal wartime excise taxes continues to plague the Congress while it continues to penalize our people and our businesses. Surely it is time to deal with it forthrightly and realistically. Reductions made in a few areas have been too little and patchwork proposals, as recently made, have been and should be rejected because of discriminatory tendencies. The existing situation projects real hardships, contradicts the term "luxury" in this modern world, and it is economically unjustifiable. Piecemeal corrections should not be further tried; the cure should be overall and complete.

Who, in this atomic age, can really feel that cosmetics, furs, luggage, automobiles, television sets, long-distance telephone calls, washing machines, refrigerators, window air conditioners, and babies' things should be classed as luxuries and placed in the same category, for instance, as tobacco and alcohol for Federal tax purposes.

Mr. Speaker, this Congress could not close on a more fruitful or happier note than the complete revision and full repeal of the wartime Federal excise emergency taxes on so-called luxuries that by the current rule of economic reality are practically fundamental necessities.

The repeal of these excise taxes would, according to expert economic testimony, eliminate elements of drag and discrimination in our fiscal system and inject a further factor of significant influence into our economy which must be encouraged to expand, especially during this period of unemployment adjustment to the challenging impact of automation.

Mr. Speaker, I am advised the House Ways and Means Committee has practically completed their hearings on this subject and I most earnestly hope we will remain in session until that distinguished committee can prepare and present appropriate repeal recommendations to us for action. If this is not possible then I most strongly urge that, in particular consideration of the housewives and the workingwomen of this country, repeal of these Federal excise taxes be made the first order of business in the new Congress.

Results of a Legislative Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the results of my June 1964 legislative questionnaire have now been tabulated. The popular response gives a true indication of public opinion in the Third Congressional District of Minnesota on important public issues.

With the essential help of capable volunteers I prepared and mailed a copy of the questionnaire to each of approximately 125,000 homes. The returns were gratifying in that 22,500 persons—a response of 18 percent—gave me the benefit of their opinions. Many respondents, in addition to checking "yes" and "no" answers, added comments which have been of real value to me in providing representation to the residents of suburban and rural Hennepin and Anoka Counties.

The test of successful representative government is an informed, concerned, and alert citizenry. I am proud to say, Mr. Speaker, that this questionnaire project in 1964, as in past years, proves that the people in my area of Minnesota meet this test.

Following are the results of the questionnaire:

1964 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE, CLARK MACGREGOR, THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

1. Do you favor the Urban Mass Transportation Act providing for $500 million in Federal grants for mass transportation facilities and equipment?

Yes, 25 percent; no, 58 percent; undecided or no answer, 17 percent.

2. Should Congress vote now to raise the pay of Federal employees, including judges, cabinet officers, and Members of Congress?

Yes, 23 percent; no, 64 percent; undecided or no answer, 13 percent.

3. Do you approve that part of the pending civil rights bill which seeks to eliminate racial discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, gas stations, theaters, and sports arenas?

Yes, 53 percent; no, 41 percent; undecided or no answer, 6 percent.

4. Where a State has not acted, should the Federal Government be authorized to insure equality of job opportunities in businesses and labor unions regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin?

Yes, 58 percent; no, 40 percent; undecided or no answer, 2 percent.

5. Do you favor continued U.S. economic and military aid to other nations at about $3.5 billion annually?

Yes, 35 percent; no, 50 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

6. Should we use force, if necessary, to prevent Castro from shipping arms and communist agents into Latin America?

Yes, 71 percent; No, 14 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

7. Do you favor the proposal to authorize the Secretary of Labor to require that certain selected industries pay their employees double pay for overtime work?

Yes, 14 percent; No, 77 percent; undecided or no answer, 9 percent.

8. Does the "Bobby Baker" case indicate that legislation is needed to prevent conflict of interest activities by Senators, Congressmen, their employees, and White House staff members?

Yes, 74 percent; No, 16 percent; undecided or no answer, 10 percent.

9. Should the Federal Government borrow the $962 million necessary to finance the proposed "war on poverty"?

Yes, 23 percent; No, 60 percent; undecided or no answer, 17 percent.

10. As parts of the poverty program do you favor:

(a) Work camps for males ages 16 to 21 financed 100 percent by the Federal Government?

Yes, 29 percent; no, 51 percent; undecided or no answer, 20 percent.

(b) Community work training programs for unemployed youths of both sexes?

Yes, 67 percent; no, 20 percent; undecided or no answer, 13 percent.

(c) Grants of $1,500 and loans of $2,500 to low-income farm families coupled with loans to corporations for buying rural property, improving it, and selling it back to these farmers?

Yes, 16 percent; no, 65 percent; undecided or no answer, 19 percent.

(d) A domestic peace corps of volunteers to help with community action programs?

Yes, 53 percent; no, 32 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

11. How would you vote on the idea of financing medical care of the aged through the social security system?

Yes, 40 percent; no, 48 percent; undecided or no answer, 12 percent.

12. Do you believe the Constitution should be amended so as to permit voluntary participation in religious exercises in the public schools?

Yes, 41 percent; no, 43 percent; undecided or no answer, 16 percent.

When Are Fair Competitive Rates Unlawful?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, last spring my distinguished colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. HEALEY] called to the attention of this body an excellent article written by Mr. Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York Journal-American. That article concerned itself with the policy of the Civil Aeronautics Board in discriminating against long-established scheduled, nonsubsidized, carriers in favor of so-called charter operators.

As a result of Mr. HEALEY's insertion of that article by Mr. Gould in the RECORD, it is my understanding that he has received letters of appreciation from literally hundreds of airline pilots from all over the United States.

Once again, Mr. Gould has posed a question which in my opinion deserves a fair and speedy reply from the Board. That question is: What known rate theory, principle or policy permits the Board to find a rate to be fair and reasonable for one carrier but an identical and competitive rate unlawful for another?

Under unanimous consent I place this article by Mr. Leslie Gould at this point in the RECORD:

CAB POLICY—"FREE ENTERPRISE" IN REVERSE

The Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) is hellbent on "bailing out" supplemental and all-cargo airlines at the expense of the regularly scheduled combination carriers.

The latest move is to grant domestically to the all-cargo carriers the exclusive right to offer "blocked space" to airfreight forwarders, individual high volume shippers and to other airlines at wholesale rates.

"Blocked space" contracts provide guaranteed cargo capacity over an extended period at wholesale rates.

Unless the courts block it, the added business generated will be at the expense of the successful combination carriers like American, TWA, and United.

The regular carriers, which have developed the airfreight market, will be barred under the CAB order from meeting the competition, both in rates and in service.

The CAB vote was 3 to 2, with the minority branding the Board's action as illegal and "contrary to sound economics of air transportation."

The minority further asserted:

"There is no known rate theory, principle or policy that permits the Board to find a rate to be fair and reasonable for one carrier but an identical and competitive rate unlawful for another."

A TWO-WAY RULING

The immediate beneficiary of the order is Slick Corp., an all-cargo carrier, which the Board allowed to start offering "blocked space," while continuing CAB suspension of comparable rate schedules filed by American and TWA.

Slick and two other domestic all-cargo carriers—Flying Tiger Lines and Airlift International (formerly Riddle)—in earlier arguments before the Board warned that their financial plight was such that they might be forced out of business unless they were made exclusive bulk carriers and allowed to charge wholesale rates for cargo space.

The claim also was made that everyone was losing money on freight and that the combination carriers were subsidizing their losses with passenger business. American, which first introduced the all-cargo domestic aircraft in 1943, states that while its obsolete DC-7's did lose money, its present jet all-cargo craft are profitable, producing revenues which more than cover fully allocated costs.

The minority noted that the combination carriers have a $400 million investment in all-cargo aircraft and facilities and that in a recent 12-month period carried about five times as much freight as the all-cargo domestic lines.

CARGO-ONLY HAULING LESS

Domestic airfreight has more than doubled since 1956, increasing 320 million ton-miles, but the combination carriers point out that the cargo-only carriers carry less traffic today than they did in 1956, thus producing none of the increase in airfreight.

While the new ruling applies only to domestic all-cargo service, the same thinking is found in a recent international decision which allowed Seaboard World Airlines to sell blocked space to Lufthansa, BOAC, and Swissair. At the same time the CAB denied the request of TWA to sell such space to Air France and of Pan American World Airways to sell it to Japan Air Lines.

Still pending are two other CAB proposals to bail out the supplemental and all-cargo lines. The CAB is pressuring the Post Office and Defense Departments to award trans-Atlantic mail contracts on a preferential instead of service basis.

WOULD DIVIDE MAIL CONTRACTS

In order to give a larger share of the business to Seaboard, the CAB is asking that mail contracts be divided according to the number of all-cargo flights of Seaboard, Pan Am, and TWA, ignoring the more frequent combination cargo-passenger flights and the tonnage capacity of the different plane types. It also fails to differentiate between pure jets and turboprops.

The more scandalous proposal is to give the supplemental and all-cargo lines first refusal on off route freight and passenger charters of the certified combination carriers. At the same time the CAB proposes to allow the supplemental and all-cargo lines to fly charters on the routes of the certified carriers without any such clearance.

When the CAB opened the doors to the supplemental and all-cargo lines, it adopted a policy of barring them from subsidy. Now it proposes to give them a backdoor handout at the expense of the stockholders of scheduled regular air lines.

This is free enterprise in reverse.

Non-Service-Connected Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as we appears to be approaching the end of this session and this Congress I most earnestly hope we will not leave here without extending imperatively needed legislative consideration to our veterans and their families. This need has become even greater because of action on the social security amendments providing a 5-

percent increase. Unless we take prompt action to prevent it this social security increase will unintentionally but adversely affect a great number of our veterans, veterans' widows, and veterans' dependents presently receiving pensions payments.

The provisions contained in H.R. 1927 will insure among other features, that no veteran or dependent will lose pension payments because of any increase in social security allowances. The bill accomplishes this by providing that 10 percent of payments to an individual under any public or private retirement entitlement of any kind, including social security, will be excluded in determining income for pension purposes. This pending bill would improve the veterans pension system in many other respects. For instance, it raises the pension amounts for veterans and widows with low income. Such changes in these limitations will make it possible for more veterans and their dependents, who are being hard pressed to meet todays' basic living costs, to qualify for pensions and at the same time it will increase the monthly pensions of many now on the rolls by placing them in a different income limitation category. For example, a single veteran with a yearly income of $1,250 is now eligible for a pension of $40 per month. Under the terms of H.R. 1927 he would be placed into a different income bracket limitation and be eligible for a pension of $70 a month, which is little enough.

Of special interest to World War I veterans is a provision in the measure designed to eliminate the present requirement of a 10-percent disability with resulting unemployability for a veteran of 65 years of age or over to qualify for a pension. The particular provision I speak of would make all veterans eligible for a pension at age 65 if they meet the service and discharge requirements of the law and its income limitations as liberalized by the measure. As a result World War I veterans and other veterans attaining the age of 65 would not be required to prove disability or unemployability in order to qualify for a pension.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no doubt that a great many of our older veterans are having a most difficult time trying to decently live on a fixed income while the cost of living continues to increase from year to year, especially in the areas of medicines and drugs. By increasing the amount of income limitation while still retaining a veteran's pension entitlement we are encouraging him to help himself as much as he possibly can without being penalized for it.

Mr. Speaker, while H.R. 1927 does not go as far as many of us might like and while I personally feel more particular and realistic consideration should be extended to World War I veterans this measure does grant substantial and meaningful liberalization of our present veterans' pension system and it appears, at this hour, that it would be the best and only compromise legislation of this kind that can be attained.

On this score it is worthy of note that the national commander of the Veterans of World War I has evidenced his approval of the measure and I understand representatives of all the other national veterans' organizations have done likewise.

Mr. Speaker, on other occasions such as this I have expressed my very deep conviction that the best patriotic incentive and encouragement we can provide for those who may be called to future military service is the example of the equitable treatment we demonstrate of those loyal veterans and their dependents of our past wars.

The time is getting late, the economic needs of so many of our veterans and their dependents are urgent, the provisions of H.R. 1927 are equitable, the overall measure is reasonable and its purpose is in the best interest of this Nation. I urge and hope, therefore, that H.R. 1927, on behalf of all our veterans and their dependents will be brought before us and overwhelmingly approved in the immediate future.

McNamara's Myth as He Shoots From the Hip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I outlined in a speech on the floor of this House several of the errors in Secretary McNamara's statement before the Democratic platform committee. Today my colleague the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] on the Defense Appropriations Committee will point out still further errors. Tonight's Evening Star has an excellent editorial on the McNamara myth.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 20, 1964]

MCNAMARA'S MYTH

One of the irritating myths generated by the Kennedy-Johnson administrations and recited this week by Secretary of Defense McNamara should be laid to rest once and for all. This is the claim, as Mr. McNamara put it during the Democratic platform committee's TV show, that "the Defense Establishment we found in 1961 was based on a strategy of massive nuclear retaliation as the answer to all military aggression."

History shows that the Eisenhower administration did not in fact base its answers to all military and political aggression on any such policy. When faced with a military crisis it did just what the Democratic administrations have done: Resorted to a limited, nonnuclear response.

President Eisenhower did not answer with massive nuclear retaliation at the time of the Lebanon crisis or the Formosa Straits bombardment. He called on portions of the 14 combat divisions, 15 carrier task groups, 7 tactical fighter wings, and 16 air transport wings available to him and solved the problems without dropping a single A-bomb.

Mr. McNamara, however, has tried many times to promote the myth that none of these nonnuclear forces existed before he came along. He has said, for instance, that "it was also evident that our position throughout the world would be greatly strengthened if we were not forced to choose between doing nothing or deliberately initiating nuclear war."

Mr. McNamara has done much to add to our conventional forces and improve the "nonnuclear option." But that option, on a lesser scale, always has existed and always has been used.

The election year does not give Mr. McNamara a license to kid the public. Neither a Secretary of Defense nor a presidential candidate should shoot from the hip on these vital matters. There is entirely too much at stake.

Meat Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress an editorial that appeared in the Quincy Patriot Ledger with reference to the beef import bill that was acted on by the House and Senate this week. This editorial points up the concern on the part of responsible people as to the action taken by Congress.

The editorial reads as follows:

MEAT QUOTAS

In an effort to avoid a Presidential veto, Senate and House conferees Monday modified a measure, already approved by the Senate, that would put restrictive quotas on the import of several kinds of meat.

That measure has now been approved by both Senate and House, and is before President Johnson for his signature. Though it has been described as "almost vetoproof" we hope President Johnson will recognize the bill is a bad one and will withhold his approval.

Bowing to pressure from the meat-raising interests the Senate had approved on July 28 a measure that would have cut down import of meat from the 1.7 billion pounds in 1963 to some 1.2 billion pounds next year.

That Senate action was a threat to the American consumer's budget. If enacted it would be likely to bring about a general increase in meat prices and diminish the availability of lower-grade cuts.

And, as the State Department was quick to point out, such a measure would certainly have a bad effect on our foreign relations. Criticizing the Senate's action, the Department said the bill "would set us back greatly in our drive to liberalize world trade policies in agricultural products." And the adverse effects of the proposal on our foreign policy were clearly spelled out the other day by Australia's Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, who threatened economic retaliation if the measure were passed.

Australia's beef exports to the United States would be cut back by some 40 percent if the Senate-passed measure became law. And the Australian leader made it clear that his country would respond by cutting off imports of six kinds of American-made goods—imports which last year totalled $68 million.

The meat quota bill, protectionist in tone, would also have serious implications for the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations now being conducted in Geneva, Sir Robert pointed out. At a time when the free world

is trying to break down the trade barriers between nations, the U.S. Senate seeks, apparently, to build a forbidding tariff wall—just to fatten the wallets of the U.S. cattleman.

In bowing to the pressures of the farm lobby, the Senate quite ignored the facts of the situation. It is true that prices paid to cattlemen for their stock have been declining. But as a Tariff Commission study pointed out recently, the drop is not principally attributable to competition from foreign imports.

Rather, the decline is principally due to substantial overproduction of domestic meats, and to a number of related factors. The imported meats are generally of a lower grade than American-produced meat, and they are not competing for the same place on the American dinner table.

It is not only our meat producing allies who would suffer from such action; a substantial body of American consumers would lose out too.

As Congressman JAMES A. BURKE, of Milton, stated in a recent memorandum to fellow House Members, "the Senate bill would really put the American consumer in the corral, and particularly those consumers of low incomes who need the grade of meat coming in through imports."

And, as Congressman BURKE also pointed out, passage of a protectionist measure benefiting one special interest group would open the door to stepped-up pressures from those who want import quotas imposed on residual fuel oil, lead, and zinc, lumber, and a host of other products.

The compromise adopted the other day in joint conference set up a complex formula for determining future quotas on meat imports. It includes a sliding scale feature which would raise the quotas as domestic production increased.

Administration officials were reported to believe that under such a measure quotas would never, in fact, have to be imposed.

Though it avoids the immediate possibility of alienating our allies and harming the consumer, the proposed compromise remains a bad bill. The door would still be open to other protection minded lobbies. Enactment of the measure would say to the nations now engaged in trade talks at Geneva that this country is not ready to engage in unrestricted world trade.

In short, even the watered-down version of the original measure would if signed prove that in this election year the pressures of special interest groups is more important to Congress than the interests of either the American consumer or our foreign relations.

On the Broom Tariff Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the House of Representatives has concurred with the action of the House Committee on Ways and Means in approving H.R. 5986, a bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to the rate of duty on brooms made of broom corn, which I introduced during the 1st session of the 88th Congress.

I am grateful to those Members of the House who originally opposed the unanimous consent request and subsequently withdrew their opposition so that the full membership of the House was given an opportunity to act upon this bill. Because it is so late in the session, time was of the essence and their opposition could well have foreclosed House action for the rest of this session had these reservations not been withdrawn. At the same time, it is my opinion that those who opposed this legislation were probably under certain wrong impressions which I believe should be corrected for the record. The statements to the effect that enactment of this bill into law would quintuple the tariff on brooms is certainly not accurate. Referring in this regard to the reports the Ways and Means Committe received, one will note that the Department of State advised that the proposed rate would result in an increase of about 180 percent, whereas the Department of Commerce informed the Senate Finance Committee in a letter dated June 2, 1964, that "the bill would increase the average duty on household brooms, the principal category, to approximately 75 percent and the average duty on whiskbrooms about 100 percent."

These miscalculations are due, I believe, to the failure to take into consideration that broom imports do not segregate various categories. Imports from Mexico are chiefly household brooms while those coming from the satellite Communist country of Hungary are mainly whiskbrooms.

Using 1963 Bureau of the Census figures, the United States imported 114,536 dozen brooms valued at $460,278, from Mexico, or declared value of $4,02 per dozen. That means the average duty was $1.01 per dozen. The duty under H.R. 5986 would be $2.88, a long way from being "quintupled." On the other hand, imports from Hungary—practically all whiskbrooms—totaled 11,018 dozens, valued at $137,465, or $1.24 per dozen and average duty of 31 cents per dozen. The proposed duty is 96 cents per dozen.

Opponents' distortion of the facts is obvious. Average declared valuation of all so-called broom imports in 1963 was $2.84 per dozen which means the average duty paid under 25 percent ad valorem was 71 cents a dozen. However, that includes the lower-priced whisks and toy brooms. Segregating them the duty on household brooms becomes much higher—$1.01 a dozen in the case of Mexican imports as noted above. H.R. 5986 duty would be $2.88 per dozen on household brooms and 96 cents per dozen on whiskbrooms. Assuming 40 percent of the imports are whisks, which we believe to be a fair estimate, that means the average weighted duty on brooms under H.R. 5986 would be $2.11 per dozen. Apparently the opposition was not taking this into consideration.

Aside from the dollars and cents tariff factor, there are most certainly other considerations which are of vital importance. Brooms are produced in the United States in many small shops and factories as well as in institutions for the blind, in penal institutions, and in several larger broom companies. This is an industry which, because of the very nature of its production, is able to utilize many blind people in our country who are so limited in securing employment. We have enacted numerous Federal programs to assist the less fortunate people in our industrial society who are either limited by lack of skills or because of their physical conditions. Foreign competition in this industry has already resulted in the loss of jobs; and without this legislation this situation could only become progressively worse thus resulting in expanded unemployment in an industry which has a most commendable record for hiring blind and otherwise handicapped people.

This is good legislation based upon sound reasoning and sound economic principle, and I hope that the other body will move expeditiously in concurring with the House action so that the President will have the opportunity to sign this bill into law before the end of the 88th Congress.

National Defense Education Act Amendments, 1964

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 14, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11904) to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill now before the House to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act. I favor adding another 2 years to this worthwhile program of educational assistance and increasing funds for loans to college students, eliminating ceilings on loans to institutions and graduate students, and increasing the number of graduate fellowships.

The history of this program makes a convincing case for continuing it and enlarging its application in certain areas. The past 8 years of experience are evidence of fulfillment of the intentions Congress wrote into the National Defense Education Act. The teaching of mathematics, science, and foreign languages knows greater emphasis on the campuses of our Nation, and the teaching standards in these subjects have climbed steadily.

I think the dollars which support this program are among the best investments made by our Government. As much as the defense of this Nation rests with the mighty military machine we possess, it relies on the enlightenment of its citizens and the health of its economy. We are contributing to each of these essentials through the National Defense Education Act.

Beyond the provisions of this bill which expand the matching funds for loans to students, I also want to express my endorsement of the new fields of

study; namely, history, geography, and English, which are included as eligible courses for various sections of the help available under the National Defense Education Act. It seems that for the first time we are recognizing the integral importance of such subjects in the meeting of basic needs of this legislation.

There are inducement aspects of this bill that also win my approval. These pertain to the so-called forgiveness provisions or the partial cancellation of student loans. I strongly favor the inherent urging this kind of arrangement gives to students interested in pursuing a career in teaching or social work.

Finally, I want to record my continuing support of the National Defense Education Act and the amendments being proposed to it for the financial approach which is so much a part of this program. Making Federal Government grants through State educational agencies and on a matching basis can only serve to stimulate and generate non-Federal expenditures for educational purposes. This is "Washington money" at its best, doing a job that needs to be done, helping to solve national problems at the local level, and protecting the mechanics of education from any threat of undesirable control or regulation.

The Wrong Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Space magazine deserves the widest possible circulation and I recommend it.

THE WRONG ROAD

(By Ernest G. Swigert, chairman of the board of directors, Hyster Co.)

By the time this is in print the Republicans will have nominated their candidate for the Presidency. There seems to be no question about the Democratic nominee. I would not for a moment minimize the importance of the presidential election but for a long time now the course of our Government seems to be the same, regardless of which party occupies the White House.

The real problem that is facing us is a burgeoning bureaucracy, ever increasing Executive power at the expense of Congress, and increased Government expenditures. Every important piece of legislation in recent years has included these major ingredients—increased Government expenditures and increased Executive authority.

Some 20 years ago Chris Herter, then a freshman Congressman, wrote a very interesting article in Reader's Digest entitled "Our Most Dangerous Lobby." What he was talking about was the departments of Government which worked unceasingly for bigger budgets, more employees, and greater power. Of course none of this could be done without the acquiescence of Congress but before we blame our Congressmen let's take a hard look at how well we have played our part.

I don't know how many times I have had responsible businessmen say to me: "I'd love to go along with you Ernie, but in my business I can't afford it." A Congressman's job is to get elected and before we criticize him for yielding to popular pressure let's consider how far we would go in offending a good customer on a matter of principle.

It is true that only Congress can save us but it is the responsibility of businessmen to do two things: First, to accept leadership in public affairs to see that good men of both praties are elected to the State legislature, the training ground for Congress; and second, to seek that Congressmen are protected from the pork-barrel pressures of local groups. When the businessman supports unwarranted Government expenditures because it will benefit his community, or even worse because it will enrich him personally, he is doing more to destroy America than any starry-eyed professor or demogogic socialist.

We are on the wrong road no matter how prospersous we may be, and it will take all of our courage and devotion to fight our way back. This is the challenge of today—let's hope we can meet it.

The Passage of H.R. 1927, the Non-Service-Connected Pension Bill, a Tribute to the Leadership of W. R. Kime of Iowa, National Commander, Veterans of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the unanimous passage on August 11, of H.R. 1927, the non-service-connected pension bill for veterans, is a tribute to the leadership of W. R. Kime, of Iowa, the national commander of Veterans of World War I.

Commander Kime worked tirelessly and diligently with the chairman of the House Veteran Affairs Committee, Congressman OLIN TEAGUE, of Texas, in bringing forth a pension bill before the end of this session of Congress.

Although Commander Kime and the members of his veterans organization were hopeful that legislation on the order of H.R. 2332 could be reported out and approved, they concluded that H.R. 1927 was the most feasible legislation for veterans which could be enacted this session. It contains many beneficial provisions to provide immeasurably increased benefits for many thousands of World War I veterans.

The same wise leadership which Commander Kime gave in working out a bill which the House could accept will be present when the Senate considers the legislation, and I am sure the bill will be approved there and signed into law by the President before this session adjourns.

I feel it is fitting, therefore, for my colleagues to know more about the background of Commander Kime who has spent almost a half century in working for veterans organizations.

Following the general Paris caucus, March 15-17, briefings were given to the American troops at various locations in France as to the aims and objectives of a proposed new organization for veterans. Later on that year, May 8 to 10, the St. Louis caucus was held and this led to the formation of the American Legion.

In late 1919, Mr. Kime, together with others, helped organize an American Legion Post in the Department of Iowa. He became a charter member and served as post commander for the first 2 years of the post's existence. Later he held the position of service officer and served as chairman of the Boy Scout Committee.

During World War II Mr. Kime served another 2 years as post commander in the Department of Iowa.

For the past 35 years Mr. Kime has also held a membership in a post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Iowa.

His most recent activity in veterans organization work has been in helping organize the first barracks of the Veterans of World War I in the State of Iowa and then serving as its commander. He later helped organize the Department of Iowa of the Veterans of World War I and has served as the department's first commander.

His fellow veterans have called on him to serve as the national regional commander of region No. 7 which includes Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Other positions he has held in region No. 7 are: national junior commander, national senior vice commander, and national commander.

Wheat Program Isn't on Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, when the cotton-wheat bill was before Congress earlier this session, ample warning was given of the adverse effect this legislation would have on many segments of the economy. The New Orleans Cotton Mart, which had to close its dooors, was one of the early casualties. Evidence is now mounting up that the wheat portion of this legislation is having a much more disastrous and widespread effect.

Paradoxically, the hardship brought on by this legislation is falling on those who are least able to bear the burden. It is falling on those in whom the President professes such great interest. It is falling on Americans with low incomes and the small farmer. In this legislation we have found the administration's answer to poverty; a bread tax on the staples in the diets of the poor. In this legislation we have found the administration's answer to diminishing farm income; a program that benefits only the large wheatgrowers.

I include an article from the Wall Street Journal of Tuesday August 18,

1964. This article clearly demonstrates the complete failure of the administration's wheat program and ends with a most fitting conclusion which I quote so its message will not be missed:

If nothing else, the wheat program provides another lesson in the futility of Federal tinkering on the farm.

The article follows:

WHEAT PROGRAM ISN'T ON TARGET

(By Harlan S. Byrne)

CHICAGO.—The new three-price wheat program, the Johnson administration's first major piece of farm legislation, appears to be pleasing almost no one. And it's putting to a severe test the farm planners' insistence on rigid crop management as opposed to a freer market.

On a number of counts, the wheat program isn't working out the way it was designed.

For one thing, the program was aimed at cutting wheat output and thus helping shrink surplus supplies. Instead, farmers didn't reduce acreage as much as the administration had hoped for. Moreover, they poured on extra fertilizer and got a break from the weather. Consequently, output rose to 1,285,261,000 bushels, about 10 million more than in 1963.

Secondly, while the program was designed to bolster the income of wheat farmers, paradoxically it's principally benefiting the larger wheatgrowers, the major participants in the complex new system of subsidies and planting controls. At the same time, the program is cutting the profits of little growers who aren't going along with the program. The Johnson administration, of course, is dedicated to saving the small, family farm, but, in the case of wheat, at least, seems to be working toward the opposite objective. Farmers in many sections are openly expressing displeasure with the program. Some protest groups have been organized and one farm group in the State of Washington is threatening a court test of the program's constitutionality.

Thirdly, Agriculture Secretary Freeman, in arguing for the program, predicted it wouldn't result in higher food prices. Yet the price big bakers pay for flour for bread actually jumped about 15 percent last month and over the last few days bakers across the country have started lifting prices on bread about 1 to 2 cents a loaf.

HIGHLY COMPLEX PROGRAM

The complexity of the program is enough to cause consternation. It retains several basic features of past farm programs. One is the price-support loan designed to guarantee farmers fair prices in relation to costs. A farmer who gets a price-support loan, usually at artificially high prices, has the choice of redeeming the loan and presumably selling the grain at a price above the loan rate, or forfeiting the grain to the Government when the loan matures. It's through crop loan forfeitures that the Government has piled up its grain gluts. The present program also continues subsidies that cut the price of exported wheat to world levels.

This year's program also contains striking departures from its predecessors. The loan rate was slashed to a national average of $1.30 a bushel from $1.82 in 1963. For a farmer agreeing to cut planting, the support drop is largely offset by a subsidy in the form of negotiable certificates. So in addition to the $1.30 loan, a complying farmer is eligible for subsidy on 90 percent of normal yield on his allotted acreage. On half of this, he's entitled to certificates worth 70 cents a bushel, his so-called share of the U.S. wheat market for human consumption; on the other 45 percent, his share of the export market, the subsidy is 25 cents. One feature for complying farmers is that they can collect the subsidy even in cases of crop failures. Funds for the subsidy come from payments by wheat processors and exporters—70 cents a bushel for wheat going into domestic human consumption and 25 cents for exports.

So in effect, the new program creates a three-price system: One for wheat used for human consumption in the United States; a second and much lower price for wheat that goes for livestock feed here and a third for wheat sold outside the United States.

Understanding the administration's stake in the program requires a backward glance. For years wheat has been one of the costliest crops, the Government's losses in the past 30 years exceeding $11 billion or nearly one-third of the total cost of all farm price supports. Accordingly, wheat has been a prime target of the administration's drive to trim agricultural surpluses, pare Federal price-support expenses and bolster farm income.

THE 1963 LEGISLATION

Last year farm planners sought mandatory controls which for the first time would have limited the number of bushels of wheat a farmer could produce and sell. But in a referendum growers decisively rejected mandatory controls. Rebuffed, the administration washed its hands of any special price props for the 1964 crop, raising the prospect of a $600 million drop in wheat farm income this year from $2.8 billion in 1963. President Johnson, however, facing an early election, wanted to rush through legislation to cushion the slump in wheat income. What finally emerged was the program of voluntary controls calculated to reduce income $100 million or less. The legislation, coupled with a new cotton program, barely squeaked through Congress in April, under terrific pressure from the administration. Having pushed so hard for the plan, the administration obviously has a big stake in its success.

Farm planners and lawmakers can't say they weren't warned the program would have some confounding results. In congressional hearings, millers produced simple arithmetic to show that the program would boost wheat costs per hundredweight of flour by 40 cents or more.

Carl C. Farrington, a vice president of Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., Minneapolis, reminded lawmakers the burden of higher flour and wheat prices would hit hardest at the lower income groups. He cited statistics showing that the percentage of the family food budget spent for wheat products is nearly twice as great for the less than $2,000-a-year income families as for families with incomes over $10,000.

"This is a fantastic situation," declares another Minneapolis miller. "Here we have a program that penalizes not only the lower income consumers but the smaller farmers. This sounds like Robin Hood in reverse." Flour millers are miffed, too, that they were chiefly singled out for processing payments to the Government to finance the subsidy.

Perhaps it's too early to say the wheat program won't work or that it isn't an acceptable alternative to adjustment of the farm economy to freer markets. But the way it's working so far should raise questions on Capitol Hill next year when future farm legislation is considered. If nothing else, the wheat program provides another lesson in the futility of Federal tinkering on the farm.

Register and Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have long been concerned with the relative lack of widespread voter participation in national elections in this country.

Mr. Speaker, all elections in this great country are important—from the school board to the President, because they are the bedrock of our democratic form of government.

But in our presidential elections, there is even more at stake than usual. A President can make a decision that may well influence the future of the entire world. Yet, in 1960, less than 64 percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots for President of the United States, the most powerful office in the world, and this was the best election turnout in this century.

Therefore, it behooves us to encourage all Americans to have a hand in all crucial decisions by voting for the candidates of their choice.

In this connection, I would like to commend the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Arlington, Va., which I have the honor to represent in Congress, for undertaking a comprehensive program designed to get eligible persons registered, and to follow up by helping to see that they do, indeed, vote.

A letter from one of my constituents, Mr. James J. Maloney, chairman of the get-out-the-vote project of the Arlington Junior Chamber of Commerce, explains why Jaycees should participate in this drive. Because it may well encourage other civic-minded organizations throughout the Nation to adopt similar projects. Under unanimous consent, I place this letter in the RECORD:

ARLINGTON JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

Arlington, Va., August 18, 1964.

DEAR JAYCEE: In a little more than 2 months, we as Americans will be going to the polls in order to choose: the President and Vice President of the United States; a U.S. Senator; a Member of the House of Representatives; a local official; plus deciding issues pertinent to Arlington County. This is an enormous job, a very important job, not only for us but for all Americans.

In 1960 only 63.8 percent of the Americans who were eligible decided that our democratic way of life was worth supporting. This is the best voter turnout in this century. Yet, some countries that have gained the right to vote only in the last 15 years have averages up to 90 percent. Why don't we?

One of the main reasons for poor support on election days in this country is that the average person lacks information, and therefore interest, on registration and voting requirements, despite the pleadings of Federal, State, and local agencies. It is therefore necessary that comprehensive register-and-vote campaigns be utilized by civic organizations to encourage and inform all potential voters.

We as American citizens and as civic leaders in Arlington, have the opportunity to do something about this situation. September 12 is the kickoff date for an extensive program that will inform the voters of our county the necessity of using their franchise; urging them to register early; educating them on the use of the voting machines; and finally getting them to vote.

Let us fortify freedom and democracy with a powerful weapon—our vote. Let us go one step further by doing all we can to get others to exercise this privilege. I am sure that you as a real American and as a Jaycee, need no urging to take part in this essential civic project, because you have dedicated yourself to it by the last line of the Jaycee creed: "That service to humanity is the best work of life."

This project can be a very great service to humanity. It deserves your support.

Sincerely,

JAMES J. MALONEY,
Chairman, Get-Out-and-Vote Project.

Facts Set Straight on Warning Charge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, today's issue of the Washington Daily News carries a front page article by Richard Starnes which convincingly sets the record straight on the outrageous charge that President Johnson betrayed American airmen with his television announcement of the airstrike on North Vietnam.

The Starnes article makes public two facts which answer without question this highly partisan and baseless charge:

First, the fact that our electronic devices detected North Vietnamese radar tracking U.S. carrier aircraft "almost immediately" after they took off for their strike; and

Second, the fact that pilots lost in the attack were shot down 2½ hours after our first planes had hit North Vietnam, and more than 4 hours after enemy radar detected our aircraft on takeoff.

The Starnes article follows:

FUZZY, CALCULATED, CRUEL—BARRY'S ATTACK ON L.B.J. IS SHOT DOWN BY THE FACTS

(By Richard Starnes)

Secret Navy electronic devices detected North Vietnamese radar tracking U.S. carrier aircraft "almost immediately" after they took off for their strike against enemy PT boat pens on the Gulf of Tonkin 2 weeks ago today.

Both pilots lost in the attack were shot down two and a half hours after our first planes had brought the enemy under fire and more than 4 hours after enemy radar first detected launch of the first attack wave.

Both facts are of critical importance in the controversy over whether President Johnson betrayed early warning of the attack in his television address to the Nation before the aircraft reached their targets. The controversy has been rekindled by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER'S charge that premature disclosure of the raid may have contributed to the death of one Navy flyer and the capture of another.

On past performance, Senator GOLDWATER can be expected to soften, amend, or clarify the grave charge that the President's eagerness to reach a prime television audience cost the life of an American combat pilot. But the official Republican National Committee transcript of the Senator's speech to the Illinois State Fair yesterday admits to no other interpretation. After making dutiful obeisance to the high road by decrying the Nation's slack moral climate, Senator GOLDWATER took the low road with the following:

"I cannot imagine a Republican President, for instance, warning the Communists in advance of an action such as that recently taken in response to the attacks on our ships in the Gulf of Tonkin.

"The President gave the warning by going on national television, when a maximum audience was still available, but when our naval aircraft was [sic] still on the way to their targets.

"The administration says that the warning was given deliberately so that our people would learn of the attack before the enemy announced it and so that the enemy would not think we had embarked upon a broader action against them.

"Now in that time—which amounted to nearly 2 hours warning in advance of the arrival of our first planes over their targets—the enemy could have had time to prepare their defenses.

"Certainly the element of surprise was shattered by the advance warning. Certainly the safety of our airmen was not the primary concern of such an advance warning.

"The fact remains. We lost two planes in the action. One good American life was lost. Another airman was delivered into Communist captivity. The fact remains that we gave the enemy time in which they could have better prepared the defenses that shot down our planes."

The facts do not support Senator GOLDWATER'S fuzzy, but calculated and cruel, inferences.

Lt. (jg.) Everett Alvarez, Jr., who was shot down and captured, came to grief in an attack on Hongay that took place at 3:45 a.m., e.d.t. The pilot missing and presumed dead, Lt. (jg.) Richard C. Sather, was shot down in a simultaneous attack on Loc Chau. Both attacks came after the enemy already had been under fire for 2½ hours, and approximately 4 hours after their radar had given warnings of the impending attacks. Whatever else Lieutenants Alvarez and Sather might have expected, they knew the enemy was not going to be surprised.

Rear Adm. Robert B. Moore told newsmen aboard the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga* that President Johnson's early announcement had not prejudiced the mission.

The Communists, Rear Admiral Moore said, would have been unable to stop the attack "even if we wrote a letter 3 days before the strike."

Another element in the controversy was the fact that many more aircraft were scrambled from 7th Fleet carriers than struck at the PT boat bases. Some were on decoy missions and others were on combat air patrol to protect the flattops against possible retaliation. "The Red Chinese and the North Vietnamese," one Defense Department source observed, "could well have believed World War III was beginning when they saw all those aircraft on their radar screens. It was important to let them, and the Russians, know this was not our intention."

That, of course, is what President Johnson did. And in spite of the view from the low road, the facts show his action did not militate against the success of the attack or the safety of the pilots.

Jurisdiction of Federal Courts in Reapportionment Cases

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11926) defining the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court and all Federal courts inferior thereto, in certain instances, pursuant to House Resolution 845.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Chairman, I support H.R. 11926.

By adopting this measure the Congress would be acting in a constitutionally permissible manner, since Congress is vested with the power to set appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which is specifically stated in article III of the Constitution:

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The right of Congress to state the areas of appellate jurisdiction of the Court has been upheld in three major decisions. In 1868, in the McCardle case the Supreme Court affirmed that the Congress had the power to limit the appellate rights of the Court. In 1932 the Court upheld the Norris-La Guardia Act provisions that no Federal court could issue an injunction in a case involving a labor dispute and in so doing the Court reaffirmed Congress' right to limit appellate jurisdiction. And, in 1942, the Congress passed the OPA containing a provision to withhold from Federal district courts the authority to enjoin the enforcement of the act. The Court reviewed and upheld the constitutionality of the act.

In handing down the decisions of Baker against Carr, 1962, and Reynolds against Sims on June 15, 1964, which held that a constitutional right exists under the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment that one person's vote shall count as much as anothers in State elections, the Court departed from past precedent and injected itself into an area of controversy which hitherto it had chosen to consider not within its authority because apportionment of legislatures was a legislative matter. The effect of this judicial reversal of prior holdings was to undermine the validity of the internal composition of legislatures in all but five or six States. Left wholly to their own resources, Federal court judges unfortunately have not measured up to the occasion, for the Supreme Court has persistently refrained from offering assistance to the Federal courts in the form of comparable guides whereby they might be dissuaded from fashioning remedies impracticable in terms of immediate execution. In their endeavor to implement the Supreme Court rulings on apportionment, many Federal courts have acted, not in conformity with standards of moderation, but rashly and independently as to produce conditions so chaotic that the normal functioning of many State governments has been impaired, or is in danger of being impaired.

A number of Federal courts, demonstrating their lack of guidance and understanding of the problem of apportionment, have commanded legislatures to reassemble in special session and complete reapportionment within intervals as brief as 15 days, and if they default in the instructions issued by the Federal courts, to submit the drawing of legislative district lines by the judges, themselves. Such direct judicial intervention resulted, in many instances, in the disruption of State electoral processes. Most

apparent of these disruptions are the court commands for special elections of legislators on virtually an annual basis in utter disregard of State constitutional provisions fixing tenure of longer duration. For reasons not readily understandable, the Federal courts in a number of States have arbitrarily bypassed the wishes of the people in referendum and established reapportionment guidelines contrary to the referendums.

Federal courts having demonstrated lack of foresight and reluctance to be deterred by the consequences of such rash intervention, it remains for the Congress to step into the breach within its constitutional prerogative.

The effect of the Supreme Court decision of Reynolds against Sims in June of this year, is to give the Federal Courts the authority to write the laws of our States. Some do not realize the seriousness of this new court power. Legislating is not the business of the courts and amounts to judicial autocracy. Within our three branches of Government there was created an important set of checks and balances. The one check the Congress has upon the judiciary is the stated constitutional right to set the appellate jurisdiction of the courts. The fact is that the Supreme Court has overstepped itself by legislating and if Congress does not exercise its prerogative to check the court, what control, then, is there to be over the judiciary?

Furthermore, if the individual States are forced to follow the dictates of the Supreme Court decision that both legislatures represent the people by population, it will encourage arbitrary majority rule and weaken the complex balance of our Government which protects the rights and opinions of minorities.

Youth Development and Conservation Corps in the State of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, we have been discussing in the House of Representatives programs for youth development and conservation corps. This week I received a copy of the Journal of Forestry which included a splendid article entitled, "The Youth Development and Conservation Corps in the State of Washington," by John B. Pinkerton, which reviews this very outstanding program in our State.

Since the problem of a Youth Conservation Corps program is certainly not confined to the Northwest, I am delighted to present information to all Members of the House of Representatives recapitulating the work done in Washington as reviewed in the article in the Journal of Forestry:

THE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION CORPS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

(By John B. Pinkerton)

The Youth Development and Conservation Corps operating in the State of Washington is making a valuable contribution to the development of recreational areas of the State. It is performing an even more important function by providing vitally needed employment and vocational training for the young men in Washington.

The bill creating the YDCC was passed by the State legislature in June 1961, and a 2-year appropriation of $50,000 was granted. This new organization, administered by the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, was envisioned as a State CCC and was similar in many respects to the old Federal Civilian Conservation Corps which provided Washington with many impressive recreational facilities in past years.

The present need for a counterpart of the CCC is both economic and social. Employment for young men is becoming increasingly hard to find as the potential labor force expands. Those who have completed high school discover that employment is often not available for the untried or unskilled worker. In a worse situation the school dropout usually has to wait in the job line behind the unemployed high school graduate. The YDCC provides work and moderate wages for boys in both groups. In addition, useful training in outdoor skills is given and successful participation in the program provides the young men with valuable employment references to help in getting permanent jobs later.

The YDCC employs youth in the age group 16 through 21. The most obvious benefit is in relatively low-cost development of the State's recreational facilities. In addition a real dollar value is gained by an increase in tourism resulting from the addition of more and better recreation areas. However, the social value to the boys brought about by a stable, guided camp atmosphere and pride of accomplishment is considered the greatest benefit to the State of Washington.

THE PILOT PROGRAM

To provide participation for as many boys as possible the corps was designed to operate with a series of project sessions. In 1961 the first summer session of 6 weeks was started. Thirty-eight boys were hired from an application list of 400. They received $25 per week plus subsistence and medical care. A few boys with leadership qualities were designated as "foremen" and paid an extra $5 per week. They came from all over the State to Lake Easton, a 273 acre site high in the Cascade Mountains. Here they were housed in tents, obtained water from a nearby spring and ate meals cooked on a wood burning stove.

Work was almost entirely done by hand. Powersaws and other equipment were absent, except for 1 week's use of a small "borrowed" bulldozer. Vocational training was experimented with as an important part of the program. Classes included logging safety, tool handling, stone masonry, fire suppression, and phases of general forest management such as dendrology, timber cruising, and map and compass reading. The accomplishments (table 1) were very gratifying.

SECOND-YEAR EXPANSION

In 1962 over 750 applications were received and it was possible to hire 56 boys. They were selected at a public drawing after initial screening interviews.

Three summer projects were established. At Lake Cushman State Park 20 boys were employed. Another 12 boys were sent to Mount Pilchuck State Park, and 12 more went to Moran State Park. The 6-week sessions at each of these areas produced an impressive list of achievements.

An ambitious vocational program was initiated this second year. Professional men from various fields involving outdoor work were invited to come to the camps and conduct classes. Such instruction took 1 full day each week; in addition evening sessions were scheduled whenever possible. This portion of the program was successful due to the wholehearted cooperation given by the outside agencies and individuals participating.

The State of Washington Department of Labor and Industries provided first aid instructors. In the first week every boy qualified for his industrial first aid card. The State department of natural resources and the U.S. Forest Service gave instruction in fire suppression. Wilderness survival training was presented by the U.S. Air Force and representatives of private timber companies taught some basic forestry. Men from Simpson Timber Co., Scott Paper Co., and Weyerhaeuser Co., instructed classes in timber cruising, tree farming, and harvesting. The State game department indoctrinated the boys with basic game management techniques. Other training included lectures on the National Park Service, hunter safety, civil defense, county extension forestry, armed services recruiting, and job placement.

On October 1, 1962, the first winter session was attempted at Millersylvania State Park. Here 12 boys were scheduled to spend 8 weeks at a variety of tasks. However, an unexpected element, the value of their immediate availability as an organized crew, was ably demonstrated a week after the program began when Typhoon Frieda devastated the area, wind throwing approximately 3 million board feet of timber in the heavily developed 835-acre park. The boys' work in clearing the debris was invaluable. Two weeks later they again proved their worth in an emergency by participating in a search for a lost aircraft in the rugged Olympic Mountains.

During YDCC sessions the inspirational and recreational need of the boys was considered as an important facet of their lives. Arrangements were made with local churches for boys wishing to attend. Football, baseball, fishing, and hiking were encouraged. During the winter session local citizens and groups voluntarily provided bowling, gymnastics, movies, and lectures. These diversions were well appreciated by the boys.

THE PRESENT PROGRAM

In 1963 with the 2-year pilot stage of the program successfully completed a full-scale series of YDCC projects was embarked upon. An expanded budget supplemented by capital outlay funds (paid to the YDCC for work projects accomplished) allowed a steadily increasing size and utility of the corps. For the first time YDCC boys were made available for a variety of related projects outside of State parks. The total accomplishments of the corps to the date of this writing are shown in table 1. It is an impressive list.

THE ROLE OF THE FORESTER

The YDCC has since its inception been under the influence of foresters and forestry oriented persons. In 1961 the program was administered by the assistant director of State parks with the close cooperation and participation of the State parks forester. In 1962 the State parks forester planned and administered the program directly. From 1963 to the present time the program has been directed by a full-time YDCC chief. This position is being most ably filled by John M. Willits, a member of the SAF and former employee of the Weyerhaeuser Co. Mr. Willits is a graduate of Michigan State College and holds a master's degree in forestry from the University of Washington.

CONCLUSIONS

While this is still a relatively new field of endeavor a few basic facts have become evident. A great amount of detailed planning is the key to a successful project. All subsistence features as well as the engineering phases of proposed projects must be carefully worked out in advance. Competent supervisory personnel must be retained.

The most ideal size for individual projects involved 22 boys, 1 adult supervisor, and

1 adult cook. Man-and-wife combinations proved ideally suited to handle the management problems peculiar to this age group of boys. Supervisors should have a considerable amount of woods experience either in logging or related fields. Out of an average camp of 22 boys 4 should be selected as foremen on the basis of leadership potential. Rehiring of certain outstanding experienced boys as foremen for following sessions proved to offer only slight advantages.

Due to an increasing national awareness of employment problems and also of recreational land development needs a greatly expanded youth program appears in the offering. Professional foresters throughout the Nation should expect to be called upon to plan, administer, and operate similar programs or projects. While most professional foresters are not qualified as sociologists they do possess a background of analytical and scientific training with emphasis on carefully detailed facts. This is usually tempered by a few years of woods experience and often supervisory training.

By the very nature of a forester's work he commands respect and offers inspiration to the Nation's young men. He stands in a unique position to promote the aims and creeds of his profession and provide a direct humanitarian service to a vital segment of our population. Many of tomorrow's citizens may be in his hands if he is willing to accept the task.

The Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission will supply any interested person with more complete data on the operation of the YDCC with the hope that it may serve as a guide for future youth corps programs around the country. A movie film with sound and color is available in very limited supply for brief loan to responsible agencies engaged in developing their own YDCC program.

TABLE 1.—*Summary of YDCC programs from 1961 to 1964*

Year	Season	State park	Enrollees	Length (weeks)	Major work projects completed
1961	Summer	Lake Easton	38	6	90 campsites cleared; 1 footbridge built; 2½ miles of trail built and cleared; 3 miles of road cleared.
1962	do	Lake Cushman	20	6	125 campsites cleared; 1 footbridge built; 1½ miles of trails built and cleared; 10 acres brushed and cleaned.
1962	do	Mount Pilchuck	12	6	33 campsites cleared; 1 footbridge built; 1½ miles of trails built and cleared; 19 stoves constructed; 20 acres brushed out and cleared; 1 dam built; 9 miles of trails blazed.
1962	do	Moran	12	6	3 footbridges built; 3½ miles of trail built and cleared; 7 miles of road cleared.
1962	Winter	Millersylvania	12	8	20 acres of storm (Oct. 12) debris cut and cleared; 1 week of search for drowned Air Force pilot; ¾ mile ditch cleaned.
1963	Summer	Mount Spokane	22	6	5,000 snags felled; 55 cords of firewood cut and stacked; 7 miles road brushed; ½ mile permanent water line installed; 2 miles road cleared, 2 large tent sites cleared and graveled; cabin area improved.
1963	do	Riverside	8	8	Archaeological dig on site of Old Fort Spokane (cooperating with Washington State University).
1963	Fall	Millersylvania	13	6	Shake cutting; cedar pole cutting; roof shaking; slash clearing; debris cleanup; tree planting; construction of fireplace in dining hall.
	do	Beacon Rock	13	2	Trail work and bridge repair.
1963	Winter	Upper Skagit River.	2	27	Cooperating with State conservation department in snow survey project.
1964 [1]	Spring	Fort Flagler	12	12	Renovating historical buildings. Lumber salvage from surplus buildings.
1964 [1]	do	Mayfield Deception Pass.	22	9	Reforestation, 37,000 trees planted. Major water system replacement project. Nature trail construction.
1964 [1]	do	Blake Island	12	2	Campsite construction and slash cleanup.
1964 [1]	do	Sun Lakes	12	6	Drainage system construction.
1964 [1]	do	Pend Oreille	12	6	Fire trails, campground construction.
1964 [1]	Continuing from 1963.	Skagit River snow survey.	2	27	Snow survey.

[1] Projects not completed at the time of this writing.

One Man Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, a Washington newspaper, through the Seth Kantor column, points up a real solution to one of the serious problems of our time.

Tom Fox, minister-barber-humanitarian, is a living, working example that personal action, rather than lip service, brings results.

I commend the following article to the attention of interested Americans:

POTOMAC PATTER
(By Seth Kantor)

Some of the kindest cuts of all on Capitol Hill come from Tom Fox who works in the House of Representatives barbershop.

Besides being a full-time barber, Mr. Fox sometimes counsels Congressmen on spiritual matters. He is an unusual minister with the flattened nose of a prizefighter, which he used to be.

Mr. Fox is 40 and has been cutting hair 8 hours a day in the House Office Building for 6 years. For 5 years, he also has been in a training program of the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church) and is soon to be ordained.

At other times, he looks after poor children "in the back alleys" of the slums near the Capitol, outfitting them with shoes and sports equipment; giving free hairdos to ladies in an old folks' home, shaving and giving haircuts to elderly poor men who are cancer victims, speaking at rescue missions to drunks, and talking to Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups on practical religion.

Sundays, Mr. Fox takes up his volunteer duties as Sunday school teacher and head usher at the National City Christian Church—the one President Johnson often attends. He seats the President. He is a friend of dignitaries from the political and business worlds who sit near the President.

But "it is with my razor and my shears that I find the ministry," said Mr. FOX, a shy man, when asked about his activities. Old people confide their loneliness to him when they hold it back from their children.

"Ministry in the truest sense comes in the back alleys," said Mr. Fox. He discovered that 50 Negro girls in shabby streets near the Capitol were dropping out of school last year because they lacked fit clothes. He sought out schoolteachers and congressional secretaries who gave their own extra dresses to the girls so they could continue their classes.

Congressmen have turned to the Virginia country-boy barber with spiritual problems because he is a realist. With an understanding wife and two small sons, Mr. Fox has answered calls for help in the middle of the night.

"People who take the time to do things," he said, "have more time than others to get things done."

Remarks of President Johnson to White House Seminar Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson addressed 6,000 college students on the lawn of the White House yesterday. The President's reception for these students was the 10th meeting of young men and women who have come to Washington to work for the Federal Government during this summer. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the President's address:

The PRESIDENT. I hope that none of you will assume from the sign over there that Congress was going to come down here and be with us this morning. We know when Congress is coming. The big question is—when will they be leaving?

This is a nonpolitical occasion. I regret very much to say. It must be that way because you are bipartisan.

Out of the 5,000 here, one lady spent the summer working in the office of Senator GOLDWATER. I am told that she was a Democrat when she came and I trust she has not moderated her convictions.

Personally and as your President, I am proud of you. I am proud to see you. I am glad that you are members of both parties. I am happy that you are taking an active and constructive interest in your Government, which is served well by members of both parties.

I stand before you this morning as an example of what can happen to someone who is your age who comes to Wahsington to work for awhile and then carries it to an extreme.

This city is your city. Wherever you go, whatever you do, I hope Washington will mean to you what Paris meant to Ernest Hemingway, as he describes it in the book which many of you are reading. May the memories of your Capital be always for you a "Moveable Feast" of constant delight and continuing pride.

You will carry with you the memories of libraries and museums, concerts and coffee hours, folk festivals and, by all means, discotheques.

But my wish for you is that from this experience you will carry for the rest of your years a stronger and a surer faith in the role and the worth of the individual.

Your government is large. You are sons and daughters of a massive age, an age when

men and nations have been much concerned with massive force and massive struggles.

But I hope that your experiences and your observations have instilled into you a new and lasting faith in the fact that is paramount.

On this earth, there is no force so strong, none so powerful, none so finally decisive as the influence for good or evil of the committed man or the committed woman.

The course of this Nation, the contest of this world, will finally be decided not by the force of the atom, not by the strength of arms, not by the weight of industrial production.

The future will finally fall to those that are most committed to their cause.

I know there are those who say of your generation that you are apathetic, that you are indifferent, that you are cold, hard, unfeeling and uncaring security chasers seeking only a sports car, a split level and an annuity.

Well, this I do not believe.

I know there are those who consider it correct to play it cool—right to remain reserved—not good form to show great faith.

But for myself, I believe that this generation of young Americans is a committed generation, anxious and asking to be permitted to fulfill that commitment.

Where other generations of Americans have had a rendezvous with war, I believe that your generation, God willing, will keep a rendezvous with peace.

Whether at home or far away, I believe it will be your destiny to fight wars men have never fought before—wars against poverty, wars against disease, against illiteracy, against discrimination, against all those things which blight the lives and the hopes of our fellow man.

As you are committed, I want you to know that your President is committed, too—committed to the future and not to the past, because we live in an age when the times men know in their youth are old history before men themselves have grown old.

The times of my generation's youth are old history now.

I came here—I was schooled here—in exciting and memorable years of our national history. None who ever knew those times can ever really forget them.

Your generation has no memory as mine does of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. Your generation did not know—and I pray never will know—the great depressions and the experience of the great recovery.

With due respect but without regret, we leave behind 1934 and turn to work for the promise of 1964, for the answers of the Roosevelt years and the answers of the Coolidge years—the answers of the Wilson and McKinley years do not serve as replies to the questions of our age or the answers of our time or the replies to today.

No man of our times understood this so well as John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He understood as we must all understand that in these times the Government of the United States must be lean and trim and not large and soft. He understood that power must be principled—that when nations acquire the capacity to destroy human life they must assert the courage to redeem human life; that when nations are sure of their strength they must never be unsure of their search for peace.

This is the course that we follow in our land today.

No man can say that the road ahead will be easy, that our footing will always be sure, that there will be no obstacles, no perils.

Wherever the strong and the free may walk, danger will stalk their trail.

I believe that 30 years from now when you are nearing the age that I have attained you will look back upon these 1960's as the time of the great American breakthrough—toward the victory of peace over war—toward the victory of prosperity over poverty—toward the victory of human rights over human wrongs—toward the victory of enlightened minds over darkness.

Thomas Wolfe has written: "The true discovery of America is before us * * * the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty land is yet to come."

Come give us what youth alone can give us, and together let us make that discovery.

Thank you for coming here.

Renounce Hate Messages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a thought-provoking broadcast editorial on WCAU radio, in Philadelphia, on August 14, 1964:

RENOUNCE HATE MESSAGES

There's a vicious hate campaign going on in Philadelphia and across the Nation today. WCAU radio believes it has a duty to bring this revolting truth to its listeners.

As usual in such cases, the perpetrators of an attempt to rouse the basest instincts in man do so under the guise of patriotism. And as usual, under the cloak of secrecy.

They call themselves "Let Freedom Ring." The hatemongers circulate by word of mouth a telephone number on a Philadelphia exchange. Persons are asked, even tricked, into phoning the number. What they hear at the other end is a shocking appeal to racists * * * an attempt to whip the so-called white backlash into a frenzy.

They use suggestion, innuendo, half-truth mixed with a smattering of truth. The voice which answers the phone says "Let freedom ring," then proceeds to denounce free people.

It charges the National Council of Churches is arming Negroes in a conspiracy with communism * * * with bloody revolution as their goal. The anonymous voice also says, and we quote:

"We urge our listeners to purchase a rifle or pistol for home defense." The message continues: "We are not promoting insurrection as does the National Council of Churches."

Another message says, and we quote again: "It's likely that those three civil rights workers in Mississippi were kidnaped and murdered by their own kind to drum up sympathy for their cause." It talks of Communist errand boys in the White House.

For the benefit of those who might have just tuned in, those are quotes from messages being sent out anonymously over telephone lines * * * not the opinion of this station.

The telephone company will not disclose the name of the person who pays the bills for the daily hate message. The phone company says it is powerless to act unless a message is obscene.

The company treats the hate message in the same way it protects an unlisted telephone number. Employees who disclose the names of those behind "Let Freedom Ring" are subject to dismissal.

Thus, the anonymous person who contracts for the phone company service makes it a condition of contract that his identity remain secret.

It may be that the telephone company should reevaluate its policies in this connection, although we're quite sure the phone company is allowing this hate talk to go on in a manner prescribed by law.

But Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes held that freedom of speech does not give permission to cry a false fire alarm in a crowded theatre. WCAU believes that such hate messages, at a time when the Nation is trying to grapple constructively with the problem of human rights, are feeding the fires of race hatred and possible violence. And we call upon all decent people to renounce such tactics by the undercover racists and hatemongers.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Appendix

Popular Music Needs Revival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article in a recent edition of the New York Sunday News entitled, "Great Songs Can't Be Sold Today," setting forth the views of a very famous, creative artist, and composer of popular songs.

I am greatly distracted by the account Mr. Irving Caesar has given in this article concerning the present plight of creative popular songwriters in this country. His unfortunate experience poses the question for all Americans—Where are the songs of yesterday?

Even casual listening to radio and television programs today of renditions of popular music, whenever it is sung and played, gives persons interested in music unpleasant reactions and fears about the future of American popular music.

Time was when talented composers writing popular songs of merit and appeal could find a market for them, but this is quite evidently not true today, according to Mr. Caesar and many others who are close to the music business. If this is the way it continues, what will become of American music and what will happen to American culture?

Is the Nation to be doomed permanently to the rash of cheap, degrading drivel and doggerel that stems from our juke-boxes and air channels, permeates our society and is heard around the world?

When will the American public again be able to hear the songs of their choice, and when will gifted, American writers be able to provide their songs for a public eager to hear them?

Many people believe, and the evidence seems to be, that certain evils have sprung up in the music business of this country, and all its related components, that are causing gross deterioration in music standards and threatening our country with the suppression and ultimate of the kind of popular music the American people want and would like to have.

There can be little doubt that present methods and trends are bringing us deeper into the mire of something less than mediocrity in popular musical offerings presented to the public.

Irving Caesar is but one of our talented writers of every age, who is finding it impossible these days to break through the solid wall that has been artificially set up to bar them from presenting their songs and to keep the American people from hearing them. There is also the question of barring these talented writers from adequate compensation for songs they have written in the past and for which they are entitled to receive proper credit and compensation. Failure to give composers a share of the proceeds of juke boxes is indefensible.

It is a pity that the creative talents of so many gifted composers should be strangled and so ruthlessly suppressed. It is nothing short of a disgrace, as well as a major peril to our culture that the American people should be bombarded on all sides by every media with the incessant barrage of undistinguished and ofttimes shocking, irritating music that floods our homes and places of entertainment and recreation from sources through which pepole should have a right to expect and enjoy the kind of music they want.

I will not touch here upon the incalculable harm and injury that is being done to the young people and the cultural standards of this country, which comes from the dismal state of our national popular music. But one thing is certain that unless something is done to correct this situation, very serious results will ensue for our American society.

Congress has been endeavoring to promote deeper, broader interest in art and cultural activities by the American people, but admittedly, these efforts will be fruitless unless we take some prompt, effective action to apply remedial measures to restore the high standards of popular music for creative artists and for the general public which our Nation has known in the past.

I earnestly hope Congress will soon give its attention to these vital matters which cut so deeply into the well-being of our youth, our homes and our free society by formulating concrete plans to check current abuses, eliminate current evils and bring our great music industry and all its great creative talents once again into tune with American life.

The article follows:

GREAT SONGS CAN'T BE SOLD TODAY—IRVING CAESAR, THE WRITER OF "TEA FOR TWO" AND OTHER BIG HITS, PLAYS ROCK 'N' ROLL

(By Ben Gross)

Suppose you were a talented new or even a long-established songwriter, and had in your briefcase such great ditties as "Tea for Two," "Sometimes I'm Happy," or "Crazy Rhythm." Could you get them published or recorded today? "No you couldn't" Irving Caesar told me. "Not unless these numbers were in a Broadway musical or in a Hollywood movie."

Irving should know. For, he wrote the lyrics not only of these numbers but of such standards still played all over the globe as "Swanee," "I Want To Be Happy," "Is It True What They Say About Dixie?" and also both the words and music of the memorable ballad, "If I Forget You."

This towering figure in the world of popular music once collaborated with such celebrated composers as George Gershwin, Vincent Youmans, Victor Herbert, Sigmund Romberg, Rudolf Friml, and Ray Henderson. He has written some 1,000 songs and more than 10 million recordings of these have been sold. It's a rare day when you don't hear several of them on the radio and TV.

CATER TO TEENAGERS

"But all of this counts for nothing in 1964," said Irving as we were dining in Dinty Moore's restaurant. And he wasn't putting on a "poor mouth," for with all the royalties he has collected, he is one of the truly well-heeled fellows of the music world.

"You see," he explained, "today songs live or die by recordings. Oh, certainly, there are still many albums of standards sold and you hear these on many radio stations.

"But, for the most part, the music industry and the recording companies cater to the rock 'n' roll teenagers. They take the line of least resistance and refuse to take a chance on something better.

MUSICAL DELINQUENCY

"Good lyrics and tunes are no longer wanted, unless in a musical or Hollywood movie. We have a form of musical juvenile delinquency, abetted by adult delinquency.

"Someone once said: 'Tell me what a nation is singing and I'll tell you what it's thinking.' Well, judging by rock 'n' roll, today we're not thinking of anything.

"At one time, songs were capsules of their time. 'Come Josephine, In My Flying Machine' and 'Get Out and Get Under' reflected our new preoccupation with aviation and automobiles. 'I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier' and 'Brother, Can You Spare a Dime' were voices of their periods. As for 'Crazy Rhythm,' it told the entire story of the F. Scott Fitzgerald era.

DETERIORATION

"Today, most of our music, if it says anything, shows that we are in a period of deterioration. The same is true of art and literature.

"Of course, certain songs will live: Those of Rodgers and Hammerstein, Lerner and Loewe, and some others. But what a lot of terrible stuff we get on some of those juke boxes.

"Juke boxes, by the way, are the bane of my existence. It's outrageous that composers and writers receive no royalty for the numbers played on these machines. ASCAP has been trying to persuade Congress to remedy this, but so far without success.

"Will good songs ever return?" he asked.

NOT SO HOPELESS

"Certainly. Whenever some good-looking boy or girl who appeals to teenagers sings good songs on the radio, TV, or on recordings, that will start a trend other popular performers will do likewise," he said.

"As a matter of fact, things aren't quite as hopeless as they may seem. Thousands of teenagers today are studying serious music, and educational music for schools is selling better than ever before."

That is why Irving's "safety," "friendship" and "health" song series have been sung by more than 10 million children in the United States. Equally popular is his stirring musical setting of "The Pledge of Allegiance," for which Congress has honored him.

ON THE "PEACE SHIP"

Although Irving refuses to discuss his age, he is old enough to have been a stenographer and correspondent on Henry Ford's "peace ship" expedition in 1915, the object of which was "to get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." During the journey, the auto manufacturer became so fond of him, that he later gave Irving a job at his assembly plant on Long Island.

It was during this period that he began to collaborate with Gershwin. Educated at Townsend Harris Hall High School and the City College of New York, he now confesses, "I was a good songwriter but a terrible mechanic. As for Gershwin, he was a joy to work with, the greatest pianist of his type I've ever known, and he had a radiant personality.

"George and I met downtown one day, discussed a song we were going to write on the bus up to Riverside Drive, arrived at his home, and we completed it in 12 minutes. The number was 'Swanee' and Al Jolson made it a tremendous hit.

" 'Tea for Two' was also dashed off. Vincent Youmans and I were working on a musical. One day I was sleeping very late in my apartment at 32 West 54th Street and he came by to wake me up and take me to a party. As I was dressing, Vincent remarked, 'Something came to me this morning,' and he sat down at my piano to play it.

"Vincent asked me for a lyric, but I reminded him we were going to a party. But he insisted; so I told him I'd do a 'dummy,' a temporary lyric, right there and then, and write a 'good one' the next morning.

"FIVE-MINUTE JOB

"Well, in little more than 5 minutes, as he played the music over and over again, the words came to me. That lyric was never changed. It stayed. And that's the history of 'Tea for Two,' one of the most popular songs ever written."

"How did you ever get together with Victor Herbert?" I asked.

"Ah, there was a great, a really wonderful man. He had a true Irish charm. Although I was just a kid, he encouraged and took me along for the out-of-town tryouts of his shows. Whenever he couldn't get hold of his own lyricist, during an emergency, he had me do words to his music.

"Herbert was a hard worker. He'd sit up all night doing the orchestration for his songs. Also, he believed in living it up. There were kegs of rare whisky in his home and many boxes of fine cigars."

HE'S A BACHELOR

Irving, who is five feet five and a half, with brown eyes and greying hair, is a sturdy, highly magnetic man of 180 pounds. He lives in Manhattan and is still a bachelor. Why?

"My explanation is, to quote Oscar Wilde, 'Because I want to stay in love.' " * * * But actually, he's in love with song writing and talking about it on such shows as Long John Nebel's all-night sessions.

And, above all, he is obsessed by the idea of restoring American popular music to its former high estate. So it's not surprising that he has expressed his criticism of the current trend in the updated lyrics of a song, "Good Little Tune," which he wrote years ago with George Gershwin. Two of his lines read:

"You're not like rock 'n' roll.
You have a heart and soul."

Power and Prudence in Our National Defense Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, paradoxically—as Cuba in 1962 and Vietnam in 1964 have taught us—the best route toward peace is to have the military strength and the courage to respond—but also the prudence not to over respond—to challenges to peace.

On August 17, 1964, the very able Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, described the increased force which permitted President Kennedy to face down the Russians over the Cuban missile crisis—a confrontation which lead directly to the nuclear test-ban treaty and other reductions of tensions with the Russians and the diversified force which permitted President Johnson to respond with firmness but cool restraint to the North Vietnamese attack on the U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin.

I commend Secretary McNamara's statement to my colleagues and to the American people:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM COMMITTEE, AUGUST 17, 1964

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my purpose this afternoon is to review the defense policies of this administration, to report to you and the American people on the fulfillment of the pledges made by the Kennedy-Johnson administration in 1960, and to recommend our defense policies for the coming years.

The defense establishment we found in 1961 was based on a strategy of massive nuclear retaliation as the answer to all military and political aggression. We, however, were convinced that our enemies would never find credible a strategy which even the American people did not believe. We believed in a strategy of controlled flexible response, where the military force of the United States would become a finely tuned instrument of national policy, versatile enough to meet with appropriate force the full spectrum of possible threats to our national security from guerrilla subversion to all-out nuclear war.

The Defense Department we found in 1961 was one in which each military service made its own independent plans. We found the Army relying on airlift which the Air Force was unable to provide. We found the Army envisioning a long war, stockpiling supplies for as long as 2 years; while the Air Force, envisioning a short war, had supplies for only a few days. We found a weapons inventory completely lacking in certain major elements required for combat readiness, but which also contained 270 percent of the necessary 105 mm. towed howitzers, and 290 percent of the necessary 4.2-inch mortars. We believed in balanced, integrated, military forces equipped to respond with a level of power appropriate to the type of aggression mounted against us.

In 1961, we found military strategy to be the stepchild of a predetermined budget. A financial ceiling was placed on national security and funds were allocated not on the basis of military requirements, but according to the dictates of an arbitrary fiscal policy. While we believed that our defense forces should be procured and operated at the lowest possible cost, we were convinced that only the safety of the country should determine the forces to be assembled.

The strategic nuclear force we found in the Defense Department was vulnerable to surprise missile attack. The nonnuclear force we found was weak in combat-ready divisions, weak in airlift capability, weak in tactical air support. The counterinsurgency forces were, for all practical purposes, nonexistent. We believed that the United States must be supreme in all types of military force to meet all types of aggression across the entire spectrum of modern-day conflict.

That is why, in 1960, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson pledged—

To "recast our military capacity in order to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance, and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggression."

To create "deterrent military power such that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction."

To pursue "continuous modernization of our forces through intensified research and development, including essential programs slowed down, terminated, suspended, or neglected for lack of budgetary support."

When I became Secretary of Defense in January 1961, President Kennedy gave me two instructions which President Johnson has strongly reemphasized:

First, develop the military force structure necessary for a solid foundation for our foreign policy, and do this without regard to arbitrary or predetermined budget ceilings.

Second, having determined that force structure, procure and operate it at the lowest possible cost.

In his first state of the Union message to the Congress, President Kennedy said:

"I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to reappraise our entire defense strategy—our ability to fulfill our commitments—the effectiveness, vulnerability, and dispersal of our strategic bases, forces, and warning systems—the efficiency and economy of our operation and organization—the elimination of obsolete bases and installations—and the adequacy, modernization, and mobility of our present conventional and nuclear forces and weapons systems in the light of present and future dangers."

Under the direction of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, with the cooperation of the Congress, with the support of the leaders of both political parties, aided by dedicated and able assistants in and out of uniform, and with the backing of the American people, we have been able to keep these pledges.

We have vastly increased our strategic nuclear and our conventional strength. Since January 1961, we have attained:

A 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200-percent increase in total megatonnage in our Strategic Alert Forces.

A 60-percent increase in the Tactical Nuclear Force in Western Europe.

A 45-percent increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

A 44-percent increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.

A 75-percent increase in airlift capability.

A 100-percent increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.

An 800-percent increase in the special forces trained for counterinsurgency.

To appreciate the full extent of this force, we must contrast it to that of our principal adversary. By such a test, our strategic superiority is incontestable.

Our Strategic Alert Forces now have 1,100 bombers, including 550 on 15-minute alert, equipped with decoy missiles and other penetration aids to assure that they will reach their targets. The Soviet Union could, with difficulty, place over this country on two-way missions slightly more than 100 heavy bombers, plus 150 medium bombers capable of striking only Canada and the northwestern corner of the United States.

We now have more than 800 fully armed, dependable ICBM's deployed on launchers, almost all in hardened and dispersed silos. The Soviet Union has fewer than one-fourth this number, and fewer still in hardened silos.

Our Navy now has 256 Polaris missiles deployed in 16 submarines; 25 more Polaris submarines are under construction. The Soviet Union's submarine-launched ballistic missile fleet is, by comparison, small and ineffective.

Each of our Polaris missiles is carried in a nuclear powered submarine—but only a small percentage of Soviet ballistic missile submarines have nuclear power.

Each of our Polaris missiles can be launched from beneath the surface. The Soviet's have no such operational missile.

Each of our Polaris missiles has a range of 1,500 miles or more. The range of Soviet submarine-launched missiles is less than one-third as much.

The power of these forces will soon be further increased by the addition of the new Polaris A–3 missile and the new Minuteman II. The Minuteman II is as great an improvement over the Minuteman I as the B–52 was over the B–47. It will be more than eight times as effective against the best protected military targets as its predecessor.

These, and many other new weapons developments, are products of our continuing efforts to keep the pledge we made in 1960 and to make certain, in President Johnson's words, "that the United States is, and will remain, first in the use of science and technology for the protection of its people."

We have, in fact, increased by 50 percent, expenditures for military research and development over the level prevailing during the last 4 years of the previous administration. We have initiated 208 new weapons research projects, including 77 costing $10 million or more each.

I would like to mention just a few of the new projects and new weapons systems initiated or carried to completion during this administration:

The SR–71, a long-range, manned, supersonic strategic military reconnaissance aircraft, which employs the most advanced observation equipment in the world and flies at over 2,000 miles per hour and at an altitude of over 80,000 feet.

The new Nike X, which will give us the option to deploy—if the national security requires it—the most advanced antiballistic missile yet conceived by any nation.

The new A7A aircraft, which will give the Navy superior attack capability at more than double the range of the A4E that it will replace.

The EX–10, a heavy, new type of torpedo for use against deep diving, fast, nuclear submarines.

The new main battle tank, which will give our ground forces armor superiority throughout the 1970's.

The revolutionary variable sweep winged F–111 fighter-bomber, a supersonic aircraft which has double the range and several times the payload of any previous fighter-bomber.

Let me assure you that our strategic forces are and will remain in the 1960's and the 1970's, sufficient to insure the destruction of both the Soviet Union and Communist China, under the worst imaginable circumstances accompanying the outbreak of war. There should be no doubt of this in the mind of any American. There is none in the minds of our enemies.

But nuclear power alone is not enough. Such power was not usable against the Soviets when they blockaded our friends in West Berlin. Such power was not usable against Communist guerrillas in Greece in 1947. It was not usable in Malaya in 1948. It was not usable against Communist guerrillas in the Philippines in 1950. It was not usable to protect our destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964. And such power is not usable against the Vietcong guerrillas who have infiltrated South Vietnam.

The effectiveness of the strategic nuclear deterrent we have assembled against our enemies has driven them to acts of political and military aggression at the lower end of the spectrum of conflict. The Communists now seek to test our capacity, our patience, and our will to resist at the lower end of this spectrum by crawling under the nuclear defenses of the free world. The threat that Castro presents to Latin America and the challenge before us today in South Vietnam lies not in nuclear war, but in the twilight zone of guerrilla terrorism and subversion.

To deal with this form of political and military aggression and similar acts of violence which are less than all-out war, since 1961:

We have increased the regular strength of the Army by 100,000 men, and the number of combat-ready divisions from 11 to 16.

We have raised the number of tactical fighter squadrons from 55 to 79.

We have trained over 100,000 officers in counterinsurgency skills necessary to fight guerrilla and antiguerrilla warfare.

We have put into production the new C–141 Starlifter which will, by 1968, increase our airlift by 400 percent over what we had in 1961.

What I have just described is an aggregation of force without parallel in human history. As President Johnson has said, "We, as well as our adversaries, must stand in awe before the power our craft has created and our wisdom must labor to control."

To create and maintain such a force has required the investment of $30 billion more for the fiscal years 1962–65 than would have been spent had we continued at the level of the last defense budget of the previous administration.

To create and maintain such a force requires natural resources, scientific ingenuity, industrial complexes, and millions of Americans dedicated to the security of this country and the free world. To harness this wide array of human and material resources, and to form them into usable power requires an exceedingly precise degree of control. The engine of Defense must be so harnessed that its vast power may be unleashed to the precise degree required by whatever threat we face.

In January 1961, we introduced an integrated cycle of planning that anticipates, on a continuing 5-year basis, our total military requirements. Our national strategy, the military force structure, the war plans and the Defense budget are now all related one to another.

Today, our entire Defense effort is planned as a unified whole. This system eliminates wasteful duplication. It weeds out programs which have lost their original promise, freeing reources for more profitable application in other areas. Through it, we have been able to provide and maintain a balanced, flexible force capable of meeting any challenge, at the lowest possible cost.

The determination to maintain the necessary military force for our national security without regard to arbitrary budgets does not mean that we must discard either commonsense or prudent management. True economy is not really the product of arbitrary budget ceilings. It never has been. True economy in building the Nation's defenses consists in:

Buying only what we need.

Buying at the lowest sound price.

And reducing operating costs.

In the absence of these precepts, our reconstituted defense force would have cost many billions of dollars more than the $50 billion that we have been required to invest each year. By following these precepts, we have:

Saved $2.5 billion in fiscal year 1964 alone, $1 billion more than our original goal.

Set a goal of future savings of $4.8 billion each year, every year, beginning in fiscal year 1968.

Reduced annual operating costs by $568 million by terminating operations at obsolete and surplus military bases.

Turned back to the private sector of our economy 1,100 square miles of real estate which is now tax-producing instead of tax-consuming.

We could not have instituted the integrated system by which we have increased our efficiency and our strength without the wholehearted cooperation and support of our men and women in uniform. Neither this system—nor any system—will ever be a substitute for sound military judgment. Under this administration, as never before, professional military judgment from all four services has been a critical factor in the planning of our defense strategy. As General Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated in 1963:

"The voice of the American soldier is entitled to a serious hearing in our national councils—and I am happy to report that today he receives that hearing.

Mr. Chairman, as you and I know, it is only by combining the best military judgment in the world and the most advanced scientific and analytical techniques, that we have been able to create and control the balanced, flexible forces now at our disposal.

Development of the greatest military power in human history—with a capability to respond to every level of aggression across the entire spectrum of conflict—is beyond question the most significant achievement in the Defense Establishment during our years in office.

Having placed this vast power at the disposal of the President of the United States, we have also given him the means to control it. For, his is an awesome responsibility. A full-scale nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union, lasting less than 1 hour, would kill almost 100 million Americans—the equivalent of over 300 World War II's. There would be little comfort in knowing that over 100 million Russians would also be killed.

The awesome responsibility to unleash such force, I believe, can rest only on the highest elected official in this country—the President of the United States.

This is why we have devoted such talent and energy to bring nuclear weapons under the actual, as well as theoretical, control of the President. Our best scientists have created the most secure and the most dependable communications and command and control system conceived by man. Every

step from the first command to the final firing is participated in by two or more people following intricate and highly secret procedures. Each of these procedures is personally approved by the President himself.

We in Defense will spare no energy to make certain that the President of the United States—and he alone—has complete control over the dispatch of our nuclear weapons. I consider the provision of this control to the President my most solemn obligation as Secretary of Defense. I believe this has also been the view of every U.S. President, every Secretary of State, and every Secretary of Defense in the nuclear era. As President Johnson has said:

"I believe that the final responsibility for all decisions on nuclear weapons must rest with the civilian head of this Government, the President of the United States. And I * * * believe that is the way the American people want it."

And this is the first pledge that I would recommend we make to the American people in 1964.

Congress Must Exploit Its Recovery of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON. FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the Florida Times-Union of Saturday, August 15, 1964, carried an editorial which expresses the sentiments of many of us. We are concerned with the erosion of power of our representative bodies of the Congress and the continued lawmaking tendency on the part of the courts. I would like to have printed here this editorial from that Jacksonville newspaper for the information of the Membership of the House.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS MUST EXPLOIT ITS RECOVERY OF POWER

A bitter battle on the floors of both Houses of Congress may be expected before proposals to curtail the authority of the Supreme Court in State legislative rapportionment matters are either accepted or rejected.

In the preliminary maneuverings which brought curtailment proposals to the floor of both Houses, many interesting insights into the minds and philosophies of Congressmen have been provided.

If a southern congressional committee chairman had allowed a bill on a vital subject, such as reapportionment, to remain locked in his hearing group, he would have been loudly castigated by both press and politicians. Yet, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, New York Democrat, has been doing just that to reapportionment bills for many months.

In the Senate, liberal elements announced a plan to filibuster Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN'S reapportionment rider to the foreign aid bill, until they were frightened by the action of the Rules Committee in the House, which took Representative WILLIAM TUCK'S bill away from CELLER.

TUCK'S bill would bar the Supreme Court from ever moving into reapportionment matters, while DIRKSEN'S bill limits Court action only for a temporary period.

Liberal Congressmen, usually the ones who would gain personally from the Supreme Court rulings, are howling that the proposed bills are "unconstitutional." The charge seems slightly humorous considering their demand that they be able to interpret the Constitution to fit their needs on civil rights and other vote-getting measures.

The most encouraging and important fact in the whole confused dispute is that the bills aimed at restraining the rampaging Supreme Court ever got onto the floor of either House. The fact indicates that a majority of the Congress has been shaken from its lethargic acceptance of Court incursions into its domain. An early sign that such a move might be brewing was given in the attempt to limit the pay increase for the judicial branch of the Government.

It is important now that the Congress not sit back or ease up its pressure on the Court and any other agency which has sought to erode away the power of the representatives of the people. Like a military commander who has succeeded in penetrating enemy lines, the conservative Congressmen must now exploit their gain by pushing out against those agencies and groups who have attempted to allocate to themselves the powers, privileges, and duties of the Congress.

Nyle Werthmann, Davenport, Iowa, High School Student Makes Inspiring Speech on Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, Nyle Werthmann, 951 Cimarron Drive, Davenport, Iowa, a student at West High School in Davenport, won a speech contest sponsored by the Scott County Council of Republican Women. He went on to win the contest for the First District of Iowa and was a participant in the State finals.

Nyle's speech on what the Constitution means to him, and what he feels it should mean to others, is a very sound exposition for a high school youngster and I am proud to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

In doing so, I wish to commend the Iowa Council of Republican Women for sponsoring this speech contest for high school boys and girls in Iowa in order to encourage youthful interest in politics and to develop future leaders.

Nyle Werthmann's speech on the Constitution follows:

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION MEANS TO ME

(By Nyle Werthmann, Davenport, Iowa)

A few days ago I was reading an article in U.S. News & World Report which reviewed the current national problems, and as I read, one sentence leaped out from the page and hit me with a force that left me stunned. It went, "The entire American situation is getting very strange, giving an impression that U.S. policymakers have no clear idea of what they've doing." This sentence brought to brilliant clarity in a instant, a gnawing fear that had been growing in the back of my mind for some time—the fear, and I think you've sensed it too, that maybe we don't know where we're going; that maybe we are a nation without goals.

The happenings of recent times seem to indicate this very thing. For example: Currently, while we've spent over $2 billion to protect 10 million Vietnamese from communism, we've done nothing to protect 350 million in our own hemisphere from Castroite subversion and terrorism. I wonder, where is our freedom, when so closely endangered.

Another example: The Government proposes to give us eventual freedom from want with a tax cut, and yet at the same time promises our children want, by maintaining its astronomical expenditures.

And in another area, Washington calls for State initiative in civil rights, in education, in city planning and transportation, and yet in all these areas stifles that very initiative with high taxes, dogmatic dictation of action, and blanket Federal programs that often replace working State programs.

Most important, though, is that while our government was originally dedicated to individual rights, it now violates these rights by withholding at will vital information from the people, and taxing at will for reasons and ends entirely its own. An example of this is the New House Office Building, which for some undivulged reason is costing 10 times as much as the Empire State Building did.

These alarming trends indicate two things to me:

1. That the most vital principles, the only real principles our Nation can live by, are being abandoned in an aimlessly flailing bureaucracy.

2. That the dignity and value of the individual is slowly being stolen by a Federal system grown malignant.

Because of this, I would like to talk with you today very seriously about what I consider the only thing that can lead us toward sound goals again—a reawakening to the basic relationship between the American and his Constitution.

The Constitution, I don't know what those words mean to you, but to me they've always meant something very special. The first time I heard them I must still have been running around knee high to our rose bushes, in a pair of shoes that would fit on one palm today. When I was little, of course, I never really knew what Constitution meant, but I thought it had something to do with—loud bangs in the backyard, and sparklers glowing in the dark, and the night sky bursting with fireworks, and flags in front of houses up and down the street. I guess Dad used the word when he explained the Fourth of July to me, and that produced the association. When I was that age, Constitution meant something strange, and miraculous—a kind of adventure. Maybe I'm admitting immaturity, but it still does.

As I read that news article I mentioned, and wondered over our great problems, my thoughts somehow led me back to that miraculous Constitution, and the patriots who wrote it. And as I thought of our problems, I visualized how the great men who wrote our Constitution overcame theirs. It seemed to me that their courage in the search for sound laws is something, in a very immediate sense, that you and I must be prepared to emulate.

Witness it: Right now you're in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. All around you the Constitutional Convention is in session. That chair you sit in is oak, unpadded, and you've been sitting there 2 hours already, with another hour to go before noon recess. The heat of a late June morning is drifting in shimmering waves through the open windows, and outside the trees barely stir. To your right a speaker is reading in a stiff monotone from a lengthy statement denouncing the proposed Supreme Court. As you listen your frill collar begins to hurt your neck, and your thick formal clothes make you miserable in the heat. The session has been going over a month now, with no end in sight, and your mind drifts to the pressing problems at home caused by your prolonged absence. It grows hotter, and the speaker drones on. This afternoon many more hours of the same will continue.

In May, June, and July of 1787 our Constitution was painstakingly written under just such circumstances. It never ceases to amaze me what these men had to overcome—the actual physical problems in conducting

a meeting of that length, in that weather, and simply maintaining concentration. Yet these men did so much more than just that, that their words can still serve after 177 years as law of the land for the greatest country on earth.

These men had a quality that we must seek for ourselves, a kind of dogged spirit that can only be defined as Americanism in its truest form, as mutual respect and concern. Down through the years this spirit, rather than place of birth, or legal citizenship, has been the real thing that made men Americans, and brought our Nation to its present greatness.

This respect and concern for each person's freedom that produced our Constitution is the same thing that won the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812, and the same thing that placed American soldiers around the globe in World Wars I and II. Victory in these conflicts simply mirrors the determination of a free people to keep freedom. Americans have been fighters, not from personal greed, but from respect for each other's personal rights. If we can have the courage to continue that respect in a very real way (you and I) have transcended time, to become brothers with the writers of our Constitution, and all real Americans of all times.

One hundred and fifty-three years after that hot June morning another young American sat shivering in the cold of a German night waiting for dawn. The ground in the trench was damp and cold, and though he put his head on the M–1 across his knees he could not sleep. In the distance frequent thuds and booms pounded the air. It was the Battle of the Bulge. That young man might have been my father, or one of you, or one of your friends. The person and the place don't really matter. What does matter is that in all such places, Atlantic or Pacific, Americans stood together to defend each other. There were men there willing to attempt the impossible, and for what?—the same thing we revolted against England for—freedom.

And yet that freedom was not won for the final time by the revolution, or World War II, nor has it been yet. Our Constitution can never guarantee us that freedom. I think I first realized this when I considered a statement I read in my sociology text last summer: "Principles are only as good as the acts they produce." This seemed sound to me at first, but the more I thought about it the more convinced I became that the emphasis had been put in the wrong place. After all, a principle can't commit an act. Principles alone didn't write our Constitution or win our wars. These things were accomplished by the sweat and pain of men. Because of this, I think that statement should be altered to read: A people are as good as the principles they can uphold. Thus, our Constitution, more than a set of principles, and a body of laws, is a profound hope in the ability of the American people to uphold its ideals. We are a Nation of free people, and magnificent as that Constitution is, our fate as a Nation is not entrusted to it, but to each of us as individuals. We are faced with the responsibility of being good enough Americans to make our Constitution work.

From 1776 to 1941 to today the American people have had the resource to turn each adversity into a new manifestation of freedom. Each generation has met its own challenge: The Constitution was written, the wars were won, the Nation is stronger than ever. But we, as Americans, must carry on this tradition of awareness and preparedness; we must fulfill the hope of our forefathers. Our challenge today is to take up these principles of democracy anew and safeguard their success.

If I make no other point here, I must make this one: That even though our Government is currently unable to establish order in its policies, this situation exists only because we have allowed it to. Whether from ignorance, or neglect, the American people are responsible for our Nation's problems, but by the same token, we, as Americans, can eliminate them. Opportunity is at hand.

The next legislature we choose can hold the lawmakers who will once again declare a courageous foreign policy; who will free our children from the damnation of Federal debt; who will trust the States, and the people, to fill well their rightful responsibilities.

The next President we choose can be the man to give rights back to individuals, to uphold not government, but constitutional government; to give this great Union a set of goals once again.

Political campaigns are a great deal of fun, but this year, this year they are deadly serious. We face the responsibility of seeing that that right legislature, that right President, fill the offices that now ache for their presence. This year we must know, beyond doubts or questions, the issues and proposals facing us, and then in that knowledge, with the cause and conviction of patriots, we must fight, fight like banshees, for our future.

Address of Brig. Gen. Edmund L. Mueller, USA, Assistant Division Commander, 2d Infantry Division, Fort Benning, Ga., at Memorial Services Held in Honor of Col. David Marcus, Who Lost His Life in the War of Independence of the State of Israel

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as a warm friend of the State of Israel, it gives me great pleasure to include in the RECORD the thoughtful and moving address recently delivered by the assistant division commander of the 2d Infantry Division, General Mueller, at memorial services held to honor the late Col. David Marcus, who lost his life in the war of independence of Israel. This fine address was brought to my attention by the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., who conducted the services in question.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY BRIG. GEN. EDMUND L. MUELLER

It seems befitting, that as we conduct this memorial service for Col. Mickey Marcus, America continues to maintain a ready posture and is on the alert to carry on his work and the work of those like him who have put human freedom before personal considerations.

Colonel Marcus knew well that freedom earned but not defended would soon die. In defense of the freedom he held so dear, Mickey Marcus sacrificed his personal comfort, his domestic happiness, and his financial well-being to help a people with whom he had no political ties, to whom he really owed nothing. But Colonel Marcus was a patriot in the largest and finest sense of the word. He knew that the struggle for the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Israel was part of the same overall struggle that had led this country to revolution 170 years earlier.

Commemorating Mickey and his accomplishments is long overdue. But this token of recognition will have permanent substance only if we rededicate ourselves to his principles. By such application then, we shall be stronger, and free people everywhere will be more secure.

I believe that Mickey would have been proud to see his name associated with America's determination to be ready to continue the fight for freedom; not only here, but abroad; not only for her own sons and daughters, but in behalf of people of other lands who feel the same need to assert their right to human dignity.

Mickey Marcus was not a one-sided individual. No one could accuse him of having been stifled by a narrow outlook. Though he was an outstanding graduate of the U.S. Military Academy of West Point, and a patriotic citizen of the United States, his sphere of activity was the world. He was just as effective cleaning up the penal system of New York City as he was in training combat soldiers, leading an attack in Normandy, drafting surrender terms for the defeated enemy in history's greatest war, assisting in the conduct of war crimes trials, or helping a fledgling state overcome the mortal dangers of its birth and become a member of the world's family of nations.

Mickey Marcus knew the value of preparedness. He knew that patriotism can help fill the gap in material and equipment, and that troops with a genuine desire to fight and a real understanding of the objectives can overcome seemingly insurmountable odds. But he also knew that the best fighters in the world are relatively useless in modern warfare without adequate training and discipline. That is one of the reasons why I am certain that he would have approved of what our country is doing today to maintain its military strength. He would have hoped along with the rest of us that the young men whom we are training will never have to use their military knowledge and skill in anger against an enemy. But he would have known that that same knowledge and skill are as much a prerequisite as up-to-date weapons and equipment, when and if we are ever forced to defend our freedom on a battlefield—or to help others defend theirs. I know that Mickey would approve of our assistance to the people of Vietnam and to other newly emerging nations seeking self determination and freedom.

Mickey was one of those rare people who was genuinely unselfish, an idealist, and yet a realist who was never content until these idealistic hopes were converted into tangible achievements.

It is significant to remember that Mickey was able to see a great deal of good in everyone. An exception was generated by the sight of the terrible Dachau Concentration Camp which embittered him intensely. His concern for the inmates saddened him, but instead of moving him to take reprisal action against the Germans, it showed him his own inner need to help those who had suffered most under the Nazis. Otherwise, Mickey apparently was incapable of hate. The love of humanity, on the other hand, was a deep hunger within him which he could never entirely satisfy.

He gave his life for the love of humanity, and no one can do more than this. Mickey's death was a tragic accident at the end of a modern miracle that was brought about largely through his efforts. Certainly a man with as much love of life as he possessed did not want to die, but at the same time it seems absolutely clear that, had he known what lay at the end of his road in Israel, he would have undertaken his mission with the same zeal and dedication.

The Department of Defense and particularly the Department of the Army is proud to be a part of this memorial service which is honoring one of its most distinguished soldiers, Col. David Marcus—"a soldier for all humanity."

Jurisdiction of Federal Courts in Reapportionment Cases

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11926) to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 11926, in my judgment, seeks to amend the Constitution unconstitutionally. Stripped of the window-dressing, this bill and its echo, the Dirksen-Mansfield proposal in the Senate, are nothing less than part of a wrong-headed venture by which improperly constituted State legislatures will hoist themselve into legitimacy.

Mr. Chairman, by a split vote of the Rules Committee there was ordered to the floor this most objectionable bill. H.R. 11926 would flatly deny the Supreme Court or inferior Federal courts any jurisdiction over reapportionment of State legislatures. Certainly the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. CELLER, spoke for many of us when he objected:

Tammany Hall in its wildest moments would never have tried anything like this.

The bill itself is objectionable, but the manner in which it is before us is also subject to criticism because the bill has not had full consideration by the legislative committee, Judiciary, to which it was originally referred.

I have already made known my objections to the silly business of attaching an apportionment rider to the foreign aid bill. I have said I would vote against the foreign aid bill if it is brought before us with the apportionment rider attached.

I object, in company with scores of other House Members, to this and similar proposals because the legislative approach unwisely and indeed dangerously threatens the integrity of our judicial process. This objection is apart from the merits of recent decisions of the Supreme Court on apportionment, which I happen to approve.

It seems to me the question is really whether we believe in the rallying cry of popular sovereignty and the right of each American to be equally represented in the legislative branch of the State in which he resides. The apportionment of seats in many State legislatures is most inequitable, as many speakers have pointed out today. When 10, 15, and 20 percent of the aggregate vote can elect a majority in a State senate, for example, there surely must be legislative deformity. However tolerable these conditions have been in the past, they are intolerable today when two-thirds of the American people live in urban areas.

I wonder what the thoughtful writers of the Federalist Papers would say if they were watching us today. How far from their careful considerations, their detailed deliberations, their eloquence and methodical exposition is the content of the punitive bill before us. I say "punitive" because there can be no doubt that the bill is aimed less at the issue it purports to resolve than with the Supreme Court itself. It is a recurring nasty episode in the history of our National Legislature. John Marshall is remembered long after his petty detractors, as have been and will be other great figures of jurisprudence, who at one time or another have been members of the High Court.

The effort is a crude attempt to perpetuate the rule of the unresponsive minority. It is an effort to turn back the clock; to deprive a majority of the American people fair and equal voice in their State assemblies. In short, it is the antithesis and repudiation of the ultimate goal of all democratic government.

U.S. Latin American Student Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 7, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the United States of America and the United States of Brazil are the two largest nations of this hemisphere. They also are two of the oldest friends, dating from the times when both were striving for independence. This friendship and mutual respect has continued through two World Wars and innumerable international conferences. It has been accompanied by a constant increase in trade, as Brazil—despite the difficulties of rapid growth—has sought to realize its vast potential.

But in recent years, to some acute observers, this friendship has seemed to be undergoing some abnormal stress caused by a small group of Brazilians who were seeking to subtly poison the wells of understanding that exists between the United States and Brazil with false accusations and propaganda.

A group of U.S. citizens in São Paulo, sensing that a positive step was needed discussed the problem and took a most natural step toward counteracting the seeds of poison and carefully chose a group of Brazilian students to visit the United States and see for themselves its diversity, prove for themselves the good will of its citizens, hear directly from its leaders on problems of the day.

Out of the discussions came the formation of the Associação Universitaria Interamericana, with headquarters in São Paulo. This was later followed by a U.S. counterpart organization in New York, the Inter-American University Foundation.

Mrs. Henry M. Sage, a North American resident in São Paulo, heads the Associacão, with Mrs. Elizabeth Washburne, of Pelham Manor, N.Y., and a former São Paulo resident, directing the U.S. operations.

The AUI-IUF, with gifts from United States and Brazilian firms operating in Brazil, was enabled to finance a tour of 71 Brazilian students in the United States in 1962. The trip was an unqualified success, and, in 1963, 72 graduate students from 8 universities were brought up. This year the number increased to 100.

The students have visited New York City; spent a week with families in Gloucester and New Bedford, Mass.; spent 2 weeks attending a special seminar at Harvard; and passed a week in Washington, touring the museums, seeing the historic places here, and hearing U.S. leaders at the very top level.

An interesting note, too, is that this years a number of young Americans interested in Brazil were included in the group, so as to contribute to additional understanding.

The results of these tours and those which will come in the future are still to be seen. There is no ready means to judge their future impact on a young man or woman who, 10 to 15 years from now, will be a leader in Brazilian society.

But one immediate—and very noticeable result—has been a significant lessening of hostility, suspicion and defensiveness toward the United States and toward North Americans. Even when some aspects of U.S. policy or life draw the disapproval of individual students, there nevertheless is a real spirit of friendliness. Students from the first two tours, in fact, have figured prominently in the growth and impact of democratic institutions in their universities.

Such shifts have been most noticeable among the students who were most left-oriented. In some cases, their political opinions have changed profoundly. In almost all, the door for future understanding has been left open, and the foundation seeks to assure this through continuing contacts and reunions among the members of the groups.

I mention all of this in tribute to the individuals in the United States and Brazil who have had the farsightedness to support the Associação Universitaria Interamericana, in the sure knowledge that a better understanding between the United States and Brazil is vital to the future of the hemisphere, and to the values which both share.

I particularly would like to pay tribute to Mrs. Sage and Mrs. Washburne for their efforts, and ask that an article about their work, by Washington Post Reporter Sue Cronk be printed in the RECORD.

The article, dated August 14, 1964, follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 14, 1964]

AFTER MEETING THE REST OF THE FAMILY THEY LIKE UNCLE SAM MORE

(By Sue Cronk)

Two American women who met accidentally in Brazil a few years ago have established a student program that would, according to one participant, "singlehandedly stem the tide among students in Brazil."

The tide, at least among students with leftist political orientation, is anti-Uncle Sam.

"There's an anti-American opinion growing stronger all the time," Mrs. Henry M. Sage said yesterday. "A few years ago, everybody in the American community in São

Paulo was getting nervous. We were sitting around our tennis courts thinking, 'We've got to do something.'"

In 1961, Mildred Sage, an industrial psychologist, wife of an American businessman who has lived 10 years in Brazil, mother of four, founded the Inter-American University Association.

She asked another New Yorker, Elizabeth W. Washburn, who had lived in Brazil, to coordinate a student program.

To date, Mrs. Sage and Mrs. Washburn have brought 248 Brazilian college students to the United States the last 3 summers. The youths attend a 2-week seminar at Harvard University, spend a week living with Portugese-speaking families in Massachusetts and take a week-long tour of Washington and New York.

"When they arrive, they generally consider that the military-industrial complex in this country has a controlling influence on the Government," Mrs. Washburn said. "They get very upset when they see civil defense shelter signs and military recruitment posters.

"They're also tremendously interested in our racial problems."

After a month in this country, "they warm up. They seem to lose some of their grosser misconceptions about America and Americans," Mrs. Sage said. "A startling number report, 'I really saw that American families had a family life.' They had expected to find white telephones and divorces everywhere."

Mrs. Sage and Mrs. Washburn have had one bad moment since beginning their program. In July 1962, when the late President Kennedy received their students at the White House, 20-year-old Jose Kehele asked the President how he "could reconcile the fact that in spite of all the talk of peace, the youth of America is being prepared for war."

"The other students were furious with him," Mrs. Sage recalled. "We had to keep them from going to newspapers with petitions declaring they were ostracizing him."

Kehele later asked Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who entertained the students in his office, to deliver an apology for him to President Kennedy.

To raise the $1,500 per student that a month in the United States requires, Mrs. Sage solicits donations from American businessmen with branch offices in Brazil and has interested the State Department in helping financially. The youths who come are "chosen for their demonstrated social conscience. We pick the ones we consider future leaders of Brazil," Mrs. Sage said.

Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts in Reapportionment Cases

SPEECH
OF
HON. RICHARD T. HANNA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11926) to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Chairman, I rise as one who has expressed a favored position for the apportionment by the States of one of their houses of the legislature on a basis that includes factors and considerations in addition to population. I rise also to join those who look with disfavor upon the Tuck amendment.

The problem we face is one related to the apportionment of State legislative bodies. It is a critical problem at this juncture of history for two reasons; first, the failure of the political machinery of the several States to themselves adjust in some reasonable way to the changing complex of the lives and environment of their citizens and second, the quantitative mandate of the Supreme Court that all apportionment shall be accomplished on the single criterion of "one man, one vote." In a previous presentation to this House, Mr. Chairman, I put it as a problem created by State governments who had waited too long and a Supreme Court which may have gone too far.

It is my sober judgment that we must consider the problem as a complex one involving the sovereign powers of the several States and the constitutional rights of the individual citizens. I put this language with care, Mr. Chairman, for it is my contention that States have, and are entitled to, exercise "powers" but only citizens have and are entitled to have protected "rights." This distinction is emphasized in the language of the 10th amendment which reads as follows:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Mr. Chairman, it would seem that the power to establish a bicameral legislature as the legislative arm of the State would be a power obviously reserved to the respective States. We could so stipulate and to some this would resolve the problem. But, it does not. We must consider the rights of the individual citizen as well. The 14th amendment clearly sets forth and we quote:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside.

In this language the Constitution sets forth the duality of citizenship and with it the rights, privileges, immunities, burdens, duties, and obligations incident thereto. Likewise, to be meaningful the machinery of both levels of government should be empowered to enforce the burdens, duties, and obligations and to protect the rights, privileges, and immunities. Further, in the language of the 14th amendment, section 1, it is stated "nor to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Now, if a citizen under the claim of his Federal or U.S. citizenship should make a legal claim that he was being denied "equal protection of the laws" as set forth in the 14th amendment, why should he be precluded from going to the forum of the Federal courts. Under section 2 of article III of the Constitution the language reads:

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, rising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority.

The jurisdiction of the Federal court for the merits of the U.S. citizen's claim is therefore properly before the courts. The necessity for such jurisdiction is made clear by the second section of article VI which sets forth:

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made pursuant thereof; and all treaties made or to be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land.

Mr. Chairman, is it not self evident that there is a singularity implicit in the word supreme. There cannot be two supremes. More surely there cannot be 50 supremes. The Constitution is what the court interprets it to be but that interpretation must be singular to be supreme. It can come, therefore, from only a single court system and that system is the Federal courts, with the final voice being the decisions as uttered by the Supreme Court.

We must distinguish between the powers of the court to decide and our readiness to accept the decision. Our history is sprinkled with instances from John Marshall to the present day where either the executive or the legislative branch or both were at bitter odds with the judicial branch. Attacks upon the personalities and the powers of the Supreme Court are certainly not unique to our day and time. What is more important, they were not unknown to our English forebearers. The history of the common law is marked with clashes between the King and the chief magistrates and between Parliament and the courts. Some of the most significant advances made for the rule of law and the symmetry of order were made in those clashes from whence the judiciary emerged with increased independence as the haven for the protection of a citizen's fundamental rights.

The concern for this independence of the judiciary from executive or legislative personalized pressure is reflected in two specific places in the Constitution. One relates to their tenure of office which is recited in article III, section 1, as "during good behavior" and the second relates to their compensation which, in the same section, provides "shall receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

Both of these provisions arose out of experience in England where the Kings and Parliaments had made the judiciary subservient to their wishes by summarily dismissing judges for new and more amenable substitutes or by cutting off or substantially diminishing their pay. Thus the independence and integrity of the judiciary and its importance in our form of government has been sorely won from painful experiences from a past to which none would knowingly return. If we do not approve of the findings of the court, then, we do not attack the court system's integrity nor do we attack the judge. The framework within which we are safe requires that we change the law.

Our situation is clear. Under the language of the only body competent to speak the contest between the power of the state and the rights of the individual citizen as claimed under the 14th amendment has, in this instance, been resolved as the Constitution is now written in favor of the individual citizen's right.

To those of us who would make more clear the express power of the States in this matter and the limitation of the citizen's right in this case there is but one course. The Constitution must be amended in a manner which sets things straight with our desires. It makes no difference that such a course be difficult and time-consuming. We cannot have the great benefits of a written constitution without the great burdens incident to canging it. Neither can we have the great protection of the three independent arms of our Federal system without carrying the burdens of the armor which secures their independence. If this be lightly held, it shall be easily lost.

I cannot support the Tuck proposal because it seriously assaults the many sections of the Constitution I have cited. More disturbing, it treats lightly, and cavalierly a pillar of the structure of liberty history bought at a costly price—the independent judiciary. I am not ready for such sacrifices. I urge my colleagues not to make them.

Retirement of William L. Cary, Chairman of the SEC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, today a dedicated Government leader is retiring as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Mr. William L. Cary. During his tenure, Chairman Cary has made a great contribution to the securities industry, not the least of which is the recently passed securities law which will strengthen the industry and protect the investor. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Cary the SEC has reached new heights of accomplishment and public respect. We wish Mr. Cary well as he goes on to his new responsibilities at Columbia University.

A fitting tribute to the Chairman was paid by the New York Times in their editorial of August 10.

The editorial follows:

MR. CARY'S CONTRIBUTION

With the passage of the market "reform" bill, William L. Cary has formally announced his retirement as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Under his leadership the SEC has demonstrated new vigor in carrying out its responsibilities for regulating the securities industry. It helped to reorganize the American Stock Exchange; it emphasized the need for full disclosure, high ethical and financial standards, and effective self-regulation; it broke down the clublike atmosphere of the New York Stock Exchange by limiting the role of floor traders; it made a monumental special study of the marketplace that stimulated the reform proposals contained in the new legislation. All these represent real contributions to the protection of the investor and the health of the industry.

The new law extends the tested principle of full disclosure to companies whose shares are traded in the over-the-counter market. It also raises the financial requirements for firms operating in the market and gives the SEC power to establish minimum ethical standards for individuals. These provisions have the support of the majority of the professionals in Wall Street, who recognize that honest and open dealing is the key to public confidence. Indeed, Wall Street has been cleaning its own house with beneficial results without waiting for the new law to take effect.

The handling of a growing volume of other people's money demands continued vigilance against potential malpractices on the part of both the SEC and the industry. The enactment of the new law is no automatic guarantee that it will be fully implemented. Moreover, there are a number of areas, including mutual funds and stock market credit, that have been left untouched. Cooperation is needed in devising safeguards in these areas as well as in enforcing the new law. During Mr. Cary's tenure he made plain that if the industry failed to act responsibly in dealing with the public, the SEC would step in with reforms of its own. His retirement cannot be permitted to result in a neglect of reform.

Getting Rich Quick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson today listed the fast-built fortune of the Johnson family at some $3,400,000. This is at wide variance with the much higher figures that have been printed in some of the Nation's leading publications.

For example, on March 24, 1964, the Wall Street Journal dealt with the community antenna television interest of Texas Broadcasting Co., formerly the L.B.J. Co.

It is to be noted that the Johnson financial statement which was issued today makes mention of the Texas Broadcasting Co.'s option to buy 50 percent of the capital stock of Capital Cable Corp. at book value, but sets no value on this option which can be exercised up to January 28, 1966.

The Wall Street Journal stated:

In the brief time since Mr. Johnson became Chief Executive, and without hearing from him on the matter, the Federal Communications Commission has already made one ruling that protects the "monopoly" television station in Austin, Tex.—the Johnson-owned KTBC-TV—against the full force of an infant competitive challenge.

The Journal stated that a favorable decision in this case could be worth $10 million to Capital Cable Corp., or its smaller rival, TV Cable of Austin, Inc. Efforts to obtain a rehearing failed, and the full decision went to the Johnson-connected firm, Capital Cable, in late April.

After that date, on May 3, 1964, Philip Meyer, of the Chicago Daily News service, wrote that "The Texas TV interests of President Johnson's family stand to make more than $2 million as the result of a favorable decision made last week by the Federal Communications Commission."

The Washington Star on June 9, 1964, carried a story estimating the Johnson assets at more than $9 million. This story set the value of the Capital Cable Corp. at at least $5 million, which would set the option on 50 percent held by Texas Broadcasting at more than $2 million.

Life magazine in its most recent issue, page 66, August 21 issue, states that the 50-percent issue "could be sold for $1 million" and it is clear that this is a most conservative estimate after months of research.

Following is the second article in the most recent issue of Life magazine dealing with the sudden affluence of the Johnson family:

HOW L.B.J.'S FAMILY AMASSED ITS FORTUNE
(By Keith Wheeler and William Lambert)

The family of President Lyndon Baines Johnson has grown notably wealthy during his 27 years in high public office. This process of accumulation violated no tradition in a republic which is founded upon the principles of free enterprise and which has never demanded of its servants—whether at Federal, State or courthouse level—that they practice economic celibacy.

But every man who has amassed personal substance while simultaneously holding the public trust has had to tread a delicate, almost invisible line between his private interest and the public interest. The Johnson family story furnishes a fascinating study in how and where one man has handled that problem. In last week's Life the first of these two articles on Lyndon Johnson examined the roots from which the Texas country boy grew to political eminence. This week, in some detail, we examine the process by which Lyndon Johnson became a rich man.

Life's own estimate of the Johnson family's total accumulation of wealth, based on figures gathered over the last 6 months, is approximately $14 million, part of it now placed in funds and foundations in which the Johnsons have no direct beneficial interest. The $14 million figure—referred to be one presidential adviser as "crazy"—can be compared with an appraisal made especially for Life by A. W. Moursund, attorney, longtime friend and business associate of Lyndon Johnson and now the principal trustee of the President's financial interests. Moursund's accounting places the Johnsons' wealth at about $4 million.

There may be a number of reasons for the disparity in the figures. Basic to any financial appraisal is how the worth of the holdings is measured—by "book" value (the way it appears on the books for accounting purposes) or by "market" value (current resale value). For the purposes of this article, Life has applied the broader measure, to establish a businessman's evaluation of what the total Johnson accumulations are worth by a conservative calculation of present market values. Included in these totals—in addition to properties and interests held in the President's own name and those of his wife and two daughters—are the investments in two major funds set up by the Johnsons: the Johnson City Foundation and the L.B.J. Profit Sharing Trust for employees.

Also to be noted are interests totaling $1.7 million held by a somewhat mysterious entity called the Brazos-Tenth Street Co., of Austin. Brazos-Tenth was originated in 1955 as a real estate developer's housekeeping device for an old stone building on the corner of Brazos and 10th Streets in downtown Austin, a location now occupied by the sleek new offices of KTBC, the Johnson's broadcasting station. Since then, it has

grown into an energetic, diversified company whose activities are to a great degree interwoven with the Johnsons' interests. Because Brazos-Tenth is a private company, the names of its stockholders are not a matter of public record, but Attorney Moursund says that no member of the Johnson family has a direct interest in the company.

It has never been entirely clear to the general public who deserves what share of the credit for accumulating the Johnson holdings. The family has favored a legend that Lady Bird Johnson possesses the Midas touch and has run up most of the family wealth virtually singlehanded. People who have had financial dealings with the family credit Mrs. Johnson with an astute business head. But they say that invariably, when it came to the hard bargaining, they sat down with the head of the household.

The Johnsons' business domain has been in three principal areas: broadcasting, real estate, and Texas banks, and it was in these categories that Life concentrated its investigations.

1. BROADCASTING

The cornerstone of the Johnson holdings is KTBC, a spectacularly successful Austin radio-TV operation. KTBC was a small, 250-watt radio station—one of two in Austin—when Mrs. Johnson bought it as a bargain in January 1943. It added TV to its operation in 1952. As a corporate entity, it has additional interests, including shares in TV and radio in other cities and real estate. A total of 85 percent of the stock is now held in the names of Lady Bird Johnson and the Johnsons' two daughters. The rest is owned by favored employees who are enjoined to sell it back to the company if they wish to dispose of their holdings. Of course the only sure way of finding out what a broadcasting station is worth, as a going business, is to sell it. However, knowledgeable people in broadcasting say that KTBC, with its affiliates, would bring at least $9 million, which would make the Johnsons' interest worth $7.6 million.

Lyndon Johnson's talent for business dealing was impressively revealed when he first expressed interest in KTBC in late 1942. The station was then losing money and had been in trouble with the Federal Communications Commission for various violations of its regulations. A syndicate originally headed by J. M. West, a prominent Austin businessman and publisher, had held two successive options to buy the radio outlet—first at a price of $50,000; later, after the FCC trouble, for $20,000 and an agreement to assume $12,000 of the station's debts. For some reason the FCC steadfastly refused to approve the sale. Although West died, the syndicate continued its efforts to buy.

Just before Christmas in 1942, 34-year-old Congressman Lyndon Johnson invited a local businessman, E. G. Kingsbery, who was a member of the syndicate, to his Austin office. Kingsbery recalled that during the meeting Johnson reminded him that an appointment to Annapolis for Kingsbery's son, John, had been obtained through L.B.J.'s good offices. Then, according to Kingsbery, Johnson brought up KTBC and said: "Now, E. G., I'm not a lawyer or a newspaperman. I have no means of making a living. At one time I had a second-class teaching license but it has long since expired. I understand you've bought the radio station. I'd like to go in with you or to have the station myself."

Kingsbery first put Johnson in telephone contact with the attorney for the syndicate and then advised the congressman to "make his peace" with J. M. West's heirs. "Lyndon told me," said Kingsbery, "he was going up to the West ranch to talk business, and he did and he came away with KTBC."

The purchase was consummated when Mrs. Johnson handed over a certified check for $17,500. The transfer was quickly approved by the FCC. The entity Lady Bird Johnson thus created was formally named the Texas Broadcasting Corp. in 1947. Later its name was changed to the L.B.J. Co., and late last year, after Johnson became President of the United States, the name was changed back to Texas Broadcasting.

In coming away with this particular radio station in the mid-1940's, the Johnsons showed remarkable perspicacity. Television was then hull-down over the horizon, but to a man of vision its coming could be forecast—and so could its rich lading.

KTBC may have been in FCC trouble before the Johnsons bought it, but it has been completely free of trouble ever since (as of course have many other U.S. stations during the period). All of its requests have been acted upon favorably and with dispatch by the agency—beginning with an early application to increase its power and the length of its broadcasting day.

The choicest plum of all fell in 1952 when KTBC was granted the right to broadcast over channel 7, the only VHF (very high frequency) channel allocated to the Austin area by the FCC. This single outlet contracted to carry programs of all three major TV networks—CBS, ABC, and NBC—with whom affiliation is the open sesame to success. True, the FCC also assigned to Austin three prospective UHF (ultra high frequency) channels; but at that time almost no TV receivers existed to pick up a UHF signal. Many sets can receive UHF now, but no one has moved to build a UHF station in Austin. Since KTBC holds the network contracts, it retains, on one VHF channel, an effective telecasting monopoly in a city of 186,000 and its environs. There are 107 other single-channel communities in the United States, but since most are located in overlap areas where advertisers can reach the set owners via other nearby stations, few of them enjoy monopoly status.

One illustration of the advantages of monopoly shows up in advertising rates. KTBC, within viewing distance of 205,700 TV-owning homes, has a network base hourly rate of $575. By contrast, KROC in Rochester, Minn.—which has 204,600 TV homes in its viewing area even though it is a smaller city—has a rate of only $325. Rochester is a single-channel city, but KROC suffers the disadvantage of being overlapped by four stations in Minneapolis-St. Paul to the north and two more, Austin, Minn., and Mason City, Iowa, to the south.

From time to time there have been some plaintive gripes that KTBC applied peculiar pressures in selling time to advertisers. Last year there was sworn testimony to that effect during the Senate's investigation of the celebrated moonlighting activities of Bobby Baker, the onetime majority secretary of the Senate and Lyndon Johnson's protégé. A Washington insurance broker, one Don Reynolds, testified that in 1957 he was chosen by Baker to obtain two $50,000 insurance policies on Senator Johnson's life, and in 1961 an additional $100,000 policy, the premiums for which were to be paid by the L.B.J. Co. According to Reynolds, he thereupon showed his gratitude, at Baker's request, by sending the much-publicized stereo set gift to the Johnsons; and Reynolds said that another Johnson aid, Walter Jenkins, had thereafter induced him to buy $1,208 in TV time on KTBC way out in Austin.

Reynolds' testimony was never answered in kind because Baker, when called to the stand, took the fifth amendment. Jenkins, now special assistant to the President, denied Reynolds' story in a notarized interview he gave to a committee investigator; but he was never called to testify.

The FCC leans to a defensive attitude concerning its treatment of the Johnsons' radio-TV interests and insists that the President—either as Representative or Senator—has never tried to affect Agency rulings. There is no evidence that he did intervene by word or deed.

Musing on the subtle problems involved here, an FCC official recently observed, "I've never once had anybody pressure me on behalf of Lyndon Johnson. The pressure there is an obvious one, though. It simply stems from the position occupied, particularly when you have a company named the L.B.J. Co."

No one in recent years has had any dealings with KTBC without being aware that the driving force behind the operation was Lyndon Baines Johnson. There is every indication that Johnson, first as Congressman, then as Senator, was extremely active in the radio-TV enterprise while Lady Bird was nominally in full charge. A former KTBC employee recalls that during the 10 years he worked for the station, it was Lyndon himself who presided over meetings of department heads, and that he continued to do so even after becoming Vice President.

"I remember once Kellam's secretary (J. C. Kellam is president and general manager of the Johnsons' radio-TV operations) called and said Mrs. Johnson would like to meet with me and others that evening. The meeting was in the penthouse on top of the station—two bedrooms, living room, and a kitchen. Both the Johnson's were there. Mrs. Johnson asked a few questions and made observations. After about 30 minutes Mr. Johnson began talking. It was all business about the station. He's a powerful person. Whenever he came into the station, he set things buzzing. Frankly he scared hell out of a lot of people."

Another potentially rich television harvest now looms in Austin for the Texas Broadcasting Co. Paradoxically, it came up as a result of an effort by outsiders to dent the KTBC–TV monopoly.

Back in 1957, one company—Capital Cable, an Austin subsidiary of Midwest Video of Little Rock, Ark.—applied to the Austin City Council for a franchise to bring community-antenna TV to the city. The significance of this system, originally designed to bring TV to remote areas of the United States, now lies in the increased choice of reception to the set owner—e.g., an Austin subscriber to Capital Cable can (at $4.95 a month) tune in San Antonio, 79 miles away. In January 1963, the Austin City Council granted Capital Cable the franchise, but only after the Johnson station, KTBC, withdrew its competing application. Instead KTBC acquired an option to buy 50 percent of Capital Cable's stock any time up to 3 years after that company should begin operating, which it did in December, and Capital Cable agreed to rent antenna space on the Johnson tower.

In the midst of charges that KTBC's monopoly position had been strengthened by this decision, the city council issued yet another franchise to a competing company called TV Cable. Its wireless microwave transmission—unlike Capital Cable's landline system—brought it under FCC jurisdiction. Under the FCC's standard "blackout" regulation, TV Cable had to hold back 15 days before rebroadcasting any network show used by KTBC—which had the network contracts.

Last September TV Cable asked for a waiver of the blackout rule, which obviously gave its competitor an advantage. On November 19, 1963, 3 days before President Kennedy was killed, an FCC official suggested a week's further delay in the decision, on grounds that it might embarrass Vice President Johnson at the time of his intended visit to Austin with the President. TV Cable agreed. Then, on November 27, the official called again to suggest another week's delay to avoid awkwardness in acting so soon after Kennedy's assassination. Again there was agreement.

On December 11, the FCC made its decision, voting 6 to 1 against relief for TV Cable.

The company petitioned for a rehearing, which the FCC also voted down. The competitive impasse was resolved—secretly—only last month: for a price of more than $1.7 million TV Cable sold out to Capital Cable. It was agreed that the transaction was not to be announced until after the November election.

The Johnson interests still have more than 2 years in which to decide whether to exercise their 50-percent option on Capital Cable. It is estimated that the 50-percent option could be sold today for $1 million. More important is the role Capital Cable plays in the preservation of KTBC's Austin area monopoly, and in this context it is estimated that the Johnsons' option could be worth substantially more.

Will Lyndon Johnson choose to exercise the option on Capital Cable—or, now that he is President of the United States, is he even concerned with such matters? An executive of Capital's parent firm, Midwest Video, has reported that two officers of his firm were summoned from Little Rock to the L.B.J. Ranch last December. Here, said the executive, while German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard was an official guest, the President took the two Midwest men—C. Hamilton Moses and George Morrell—aside and, among other things, informed them that he intended to exercise the option, but that he might not get around to it "until 5 minutes before it runs out." Moses and Morrell have denied such a meeting took place.

The Austin-based Johnson broadcasting interests have managed, one way and another, to become profitably involved in TV operations elsewhere. In 1954 the city of Waco, 98 miles north of Austin, had one UHF station, KANG–TV, which was losing money at an unhappy rate because, in those days, there were almost no UHF sets to receive its signal. That year the FCC announced it would issue a Waco VHF license to a syndicate which proposed to set up a station called KWTX–TV. KWTX began negotiating with CBS and expected a network francise.

But on the same day that the FCC licensed KWTX, it also authorized the L.B.J. Co. of Austin to purchase the floundering Waco UHF station, KANG, for $25,000 and assumption of debts of $109,000. At first glance, KANG appeared to be a sorry buy, but it began to look better when CBS briskly decided that the Johnsons' new UHF acquisition—rather than KWTX—would get its network franchise. Shortly thereafter ABC did the same. And then, with FCC approval, the Johnsons' Austin station increased its power sufficiently to overlap the luckless KWTX's viewing perimeter and cut into its advertising market.

The KWTX group demanded Federal antitrust action against the Johnsons, but nothing came of it. In the end, KWTX stockholders agreed to give the L.B.J. Co. 29.05 percent of its stock in return for the profitless but suddenly valuable KANG.

Again the question is raised about what part, if any, Lyndon Johnson played in these business dealings. Was he a participant or just the husband of KTBC's majority stockholder?

A man who is a stockholder and director of KWTX says: "There is no questioning the fact that Johnson was in on the negotiations for the merger. And he was the only one in on them."

There is little doubt in Austin that Lyndon is deeply interested and involved in his business enterprises thereabouts—or that he is touchy as a new sunburn about mention of the fact.

After the daily Austin American Statesman had printed a series of detailed accounts of the KTBC operations, Dick Brown, the paper's managing editor, was summoned by Johnson to Washington, and there in the then Vice President's study royally chewed out for the newspaper's damaging of the L.B.J. image in Austin. Presidential Aid Walter Jenkins was present also with a full portfolio of American Statesman clippings. It was an angry session, ending when Brown told the Vice President he was not "your plowboy in Austin."

2. REAL ESTATE

In addition to broadcasting enterprises—and in large measure made possible by their golden yield—the acquisition of land has been a preoccupation of the Johnson interests in recent years. Ranch acreage in the central Texas hill country, resort land in the Highland Lakes region of the Colorado River basin (whose value has been enhanced by a series of dams which Johnson pushed in both Houses of Congress), residential property in Austin and in communities in four other counties are all part of the family's expanding property.

Several months ago, at a press conference, the President put his land holdings at "something over 2,000 acres." Just how much over 2,000 is impossible to ascertain because of a bewildering in-and-out, now-you-see-it-now-you-don't kaleidoscope of buyers, sellers, and taxpayers of record. It is possible, however, to trace at least 11,000 acres of ranch land in Llano, Gillespie, and Blanco Counties, in which the Johnsons have a substantial interest.

While the 11,000 acres do not seem extravagant by standards in Texas, where some ranch holdings extend to the horizon and beyond, the fulfillment of Lyndon Johnson's land hunger is a fairly new phenomenon. He did not begin to acquire sizable acreage until 1960, but he has since pursued an energetic program of purchase; today, hill country Texans suspect whenever a piece of land changes hands that either Johnson bought it or somebody bought it for him. "Him and Moursund, they're buying every ranch they can get hold of," Eddie Scharnhorst, a retired rancher who sold Johnson his first Texas-size holding, remarked recently.

It does not surprise fellow Texans that Lyndon Johnson yearns for acreage. "Lyndon was a poor boy," a compatriot recently observed. "He wants a chance to do what he couldn't do then. Lyndon has the same intense desire to get back to the land that many of us have down here. A country boy works hard to get out of the country, and then he works even harder to get back in."

Lyndon began to "get back to the land" in 1951 when he bought 243 acres on the Pedernales River from his aunt, Mrs. Clarence Martin. This was the nucleus of the Johnsons' homestead, the L.B.J. Ranch, which has now grown to some 414 acres. The L.B.J. Ranch is a relatively modest holding considering that much of it is occupied by a 6,300-foot tarred landing strip. But there was more to come.

Johnson's first large purchase was the Scharnhorst Ranch in Blanco County, in 1960. Scharnhorst, who was well into his seventies had borrowed $23,750 from Johnson's L.B.J. Co. Buying him out, Johnson got 1,802 acres for $30,250 cash and agreement to pay off Scharnhorst's debts to his own—Johnson's—company. It is estimated—and affirmed by the Moursund statement—that the value of this land has since more than doubled.

In fairly rapid succession thereafter, with A. W. Moursund apparently functioning as Johnson's purchasing agent, a number of land transactions took place. In April 1962 Moursund bought up 1,727 acres for $141,867 from a man named C. W. Voyles and, a day later, sold it to the L.B.J. Co. Shortly, Moursund bought 467 acres for $45,805.20 cash and the next day sold it to the L.B.J. Co. Moursund's biggest purchase, in the name of himself and the L.B.J. Co., was the 4,561 acres from Texas Christian University in Llano County near Packsaddle Mountain. This deal involved $200,000 cash and a $300,000 note. One day later the L.B.J. Co. sold its half-interest to Lyndon Baines Johnson himself.

The Johnsons, in their personal and corporate entities, have also been party to numerous purchases, sales, repurchases and resales of a great deal of urban and resort property which, on the average, runs to a much higher per-acre value than the rangeland. Search of the available records indicates transactions involving 71 building lots in Llano County, 13 in Burnet County, and 40 in Travis County, which includes Austin. Additionally there are in Austin itself more than 200 acres of prize, undeveloped residential properties, some selling at up to $30,000 an acre, and there is the old family home in Johnson City.

Following the trail of some of these transactions resembles the action in a Western movie, where the cowboys ride off in a cloud of dust to the south, the herd stampedes northeastward, the Indians start to westward but, once out of sight, circle toward the north, the rustlers drift eastward and the cavalry, coming to the rescue, gets lost entirely—all over stony ground leaving little trace.

One multifold deal began on February 1, 1962, when the L.B.J. Co. sold a number of subdivision properties in Llano and Travis Counties to the Brazos-Tenth Street Co. The deed was signed by J. C. Kellam, as president of the L.B.J. Co., and Donald Thomas, as the same company's secretary. Before the sun set that day, Brazos-Tenth sold the packet, minus one lot, to Johnson himself. Donald Thomas again signed the deed, this time as president of Brazos-Tenth. On July 24, 1962, Johnson sold part of the package back to the L.B.J. Co., which on April 6, 1963, resold it to Johnson's staff member and present White House aid, Jack Valenti, who shortly after Johnson became President, sold it back to L.B.J. Co.

"I admit I don't know what these complicated switches back and forth really mean," recently remarked an Austin lawyer long familiar with some of Lyndon Johnson's business dealings. "But I suspect there may be tax advantages somewhere."

The Johnsons' interests in real estate include substantial property held in the name of Texas Broadcasting Corp., which Life is valuing separately from that company's broadcast interests. This land embraces four ranches and a part of the LBJ home ranch property. In addition, the Johnsons own three ranches outright and one in partnership with A. W. Moursund. Life estimates the total family interest in all eight ranches at about $1,250,000 and the Johnsons' other real estate holdings to be valued as follows:

Resort and residential property, either held in whole by Johnson interests or in partnership with Moursund: about $2,250,800.

Underdeveloped Alabama land held by Lady Bird Johnson: about $100,000.

Total land holdings accumulated by the Johnsons: about $3.6 million.

And there are the Brazos-Tenth real estate holdings: $654,000—essentially the KTBC building, which is valued at $625,000.

3. BANKING

In Texas, bank stocks are a particularly appealing investment despite their generally modest yield. As elsewhere, banks represent the financial spine of a community; in addition, under Texas State law, every bank must be an independent: no two parts of the same bank can even function in separate buildings, even in the same city, unless a physical connection exists—such as, say, a tunnel. As one prominent Texas banker explained: "The small rural bank controls the lifeblood of the county. You give me control of a

little bank in a ranch county and I'll make myself a million dollars."

It has been asserted that Johnson, personally, has divested himself of all bank stocks, but entities closely associated with the family holdings—particularly Brazos-Tenth—recently have shown an aroused interest in banks. At last count, Brazos-Tenth had acquired at least $1 million worth of shares in nine Texas banks, and Texas bankers have become acutely conscious of this drive to acquire bank stock. One large bank in the State had a vice president, one of whose major standing assignments was to make sure that the Johnson interests did not, under whatever guise, acquire any stock in that bank.

Assuming that the goal of a normal bank's directorate is to retain control, there seems to be reason for their caution. A recent case involving Johnson interests specifically centers on the Moore State Bank of Llano, Tex.

Moore State, founded in 1922, is a substantial institution, the only bank in Llano County that survived the great depression. As of December 1963, Moore State reported undivided profits of $245,371.41, and for 35 years uninterruptedly it had paid the holders of its 2,000 shares a dividend of $5 a share every 6 months. But in August 1963 the local newspaper reported that A. W. Moursund had "purchased a portion of the stock at substantially more than book value."

It wasn't until the stock listing was filed for 1964 that the new ownership was unveiled to some degree. Moursund owned a mere 20 shares, as did Donald Thomas of Brazos-Tenth and Texas Broadcasting. But Moursund's mother, Mary Stribling Moursund, held 749 shares and Brazos-Tenth had another 749, which clearly constituted control. Moursund was retained as legal counsel at a fee of $1,000 a month.

Holders of the remaining 462 shares began to discover what this meant when they were told early this year that Moore State would quit paying the long-accustomed dividends. Under Texas law, bank dividends are payable at the discretion of the directors, and a stockholder has no recourse except in case of fraud.

One stockholder in Moore State who complained to Moursund was told. "Any stockholder who is unhappy, I'll be glad to buy his stock." Moursund's offer, however, was pegged at the book value of the stock, which was substantially less than he himself had paid for the control stock. Some people did sell out. Others, resentful and stubborn, are still clinging to their shares.

Looking back after the deal was made, a Moore State stockholder had this to say: "I knew at the time, when we sold the bank to Moursund—or at least it was in his name—that there were others involved. Lyndon Johnson was one and Donald Thomas another. Of course Mr. Johnson is involved in it. When I was approached by Donald Thomas, I was reluctantly told that he (Johnson) was in on it. His people and my people know each other.

"Later, after the transaction was closed, Mr. Johnson spoke of it to me at a party and thanked me for selling."

Another bank transaction involved a syndicate headed by one Ned McDaniel, who in 1959 sought a charter for a bank across the street from a new Austin shopping center called Capital Plaza. There were competitors, including directors of Capital National, a major Austin bank on whose board were several Johnson intimates.

The McDaniel group filed for a State charter and, failing to get it at once, flew agents to Dallas to seek a national charter from the Federal regional bank examiner. The Federal official urged the principals to finish processing their State application first. They agreed to the delay. The next day, in Washington, the group with the Capital National nucleus, represented by one Jake Jacobsen, lawyer, oil lobbyist and fundraiser for Lyndon Johnson in 1960, was granted a national charter for a bank in the new shopping center. The McDaniel group was out of luck.

The new bank began business as the Citizens National. When the holders of its 20,000 shares of charter stock were published they included J. C. Kellam, the Johnson's TV manager, 100 shares; the Lyndon Johnson Foundation, 400; the L.B.J. Profit Sharing Trust, 400; and Brazos-Tenth, 1,200. Altogether, the four shareholders held 10 percent of the bank—and a solid claim to a directorate.

Brazos-Tenth has clearly played an important part as a "conduit agency" in transactions involving Johnson interests, functioning by turns as owner of record, temporary receptable and conveyor. Here is an example:

When the 1961 rendering of stock ownership in a Johnson City bank—Citizens State—was published, Lyndon Johnson himself and the L.B.J. Co. were owners of record, along with several Johnson intimates. The listing showed Walter Jenkins, 10 shares; Lyndon Johnson, 108; J. C. Kellam, 30; A. W. Moursund, 40; the L.B.J. Co., 520. Two years later the 1963 rendering listed Brazos-Tenth as holder of 622 shares while Jenkins, Moursund and Kellam retained the same holdings. One minor stockholder had been added: Donald Thomas, then secretary of the L.B.J. Co. But the L.B.J. Co. was no longer a stockholder of record, and neither was Lyndon Johnson.

Again, after an L.B.J. Co. plane, a Convair, crashed in a storm en route from Austin to the L.B.J. Ranch on the night of February 19, 1961, killing the pilot and copilot, it developed that the aircraft was registered in the name of Brazos-Tenth. And another Johnson airplane, a Lockheed Lodestar, since traded in was registered both to Brazos-Tenth and the L.B.J. Co. at different times.

When the company was created by Austin real estate dealer "Commodore" E. H. Perry, there were 1,500 shares of stock in Brazos-Tenth—300 owned by Max Brooks, an architect protege of Perry, and most of the remainder by Perry himself.

In 1959 Perry sold the corporation and with it the corner property on which Brazos-Tenth had taken over the housekeeping. Brooks got $29,000 for his 300 shares and about $115,000 was paid for the rest. At the time, Perry told an associate that the buyer was Lyndon Johnson. The stockholders have never been on public record.

Donald Thomas became the new president of Brazos-Tenth, and after the sale a handsome new building was erected on the corner to house the Johnsons' KTBC. Lady Bird Johnson was frequently on the premises to supervise decoration of the new Brazos-Tenth structure.

When it was completed, KTBC settled into the Austin landscape, a solid and imposing fixture there, an enduring symbol of the Johnson family substance.

In summary, Life's estimate puts the Johnsons' total accumulation over the years at around $14 million. There are broadcasting interests valued at $8.6 million; real estate worth (conservatively) $3.6 million; assets held by specified funds and foundations, including bank stocks (as of the last public accounting), another $600,000; cash and municipal bonds, $500,000; plus miscellaneous personal property valued at upward of $400,000. If the assets of Brazos-Tenth are added—as many knowledgeable Texans think they should be—the total rounds off at more than $15 million.

Whatever the exact total on the Johnsons' wealth—and any millionaire's worth goes up and down, day by day and hour by hour—it is clear that Lyndon Johnson has become an impressively successful and affluent businessman during the years he has held public office. A case can be made that a man of Johnson's toughness and acumen might have been wealthy anyway, perhaps even wealthier than he is, had he not gone into politics at all. However, L.B.J. simultaneously went all the way on two different planes: he did become a millionaire; he did become President of the United States.

The planes are different, but are they unrelated? In the accumulation of this fortune, much of which is now in the hands of trustees, has there been any crossing, inadvertent or deliberate, of the invisible barrier of conflict between the public and the private interest?

The man who speaks officially for the President on business matters is A. W. Moursund, Johnson's friend and counsel. Mr. Moursund offers what must be the official definition of where the line runs as it concerns the accumulation of the Johnson fortune. "It has been an ordinary chain of events," he said recently, "that are strictly proper, legal, and ethical."

TRUSTEE'S STATEMENT OF THE JOHNSONS' HOLDINGS

To whom it may concern: This is to advise that the net operating profit of the Texas Broadcasting Corp., Austin, Tex., after income taxes on those profits for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1964 are as follows:

Year ended—	*Profit*
June 30, 1961	$145,262.18
June 30, 1962	145,102.52
June 30, 1963	160,889.51
June 30, 1964	136,710.69

The net operating profit for the year ended June 30, 1964, is as taken from the record and are without audit.

ALBERT W. CASTER & CO.,
Certified Public Accountants.

Financial position of Lyndon B. Johnson

Item:	*Value*
Municipal bonds (slightly over)	$200,000
Note receivable (slightly over)	20,000
Slightly under 2,500 acres of farm and ranch land in Texas[1] (slightly over)	220,000
Lakeside lots (slightly over)	10,000
Livestock (under)	14,000
Cash (under)	10,000
Total assets (under)	475,000
Less: Note owed	75,000
Total net worth, under	400,000

[1] This property included the following:

1. Granite Knob Ranch—purchased 900 acres in 1960 at $30 per acre. This is close to the Lewis place and could probably be sold today for somewhere in the same price range as the Lewis place cost.

2. Haywood Ranch—purchased 1,140 acres in 1961 at $110 per acre.

3. Lewis Ranch—purchased 415 acres in 1962 at $65 per acre.

4. LBJ Ranch—only 29 acres purchased in 1963. (The Haywood, Lewis, and LBJ Ranches are about market value today in our judgment.)

Income from these properties has averaged $2,600 per year for the last 4 years.

Financial position of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

Item:	*Value*
Municipal bonds (slightly over)	$200,000
Notes receivable (slightly over)	35,000
Slightly under 2,500 acres of farm and ranch land in Texas[1] (slightly over)	220,000
Lakeside lots (slightly over)	10,000
Livestock (under)	14,000
Cash (slightly over)	50,000

Financial position of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson—Continued

Item:	Value
Approximately 3,700 acres farm land in Alabama [3] (slightly over)	$29,000
Business property in Missouri (slightly over)	6,000
52 percent of Texas Broadcasting Corp. stock in KWTX and affiliated companies [5] (approximately)	330,000
52 percent of stock in Texas Broadcasting Corp. exclusive of KWTX and affiliated companies [4] (slightly over)	1,700,000
Total assets (slightly under)	2,600,000
Less: Note owed	75,000
Total net worth (slightly over)	2,500,000

[1] This property included the following:

1. Granite Knob Ranch—purchased 900 acres in 1960 at $30 per acre. This is close to the Lewis Place and could probably be sold today for somewhere in the same price range as the Lewis Place cost.

2. Haywood Ranch—purchased 1,140 acres in 1961 at $110 per acre.

3. Lewis Ranch—purchased 415 acres in 1962 at $65 per acre.

4. LBJ Ranch—only 29 acres purchased in 1963. (The Haywood, Lewis, and LBJ Ranches are about market value today in our judgment.)

Income from these properties has averaged $2,600 per year for the last 4 years.

[3] This land was inherited and purchased many years ago at the rate of $8 per acre. The most any of the best part of it has ever been sold for was $40 per acre.

[5] Value based on actual sale of similar stock last month.

[4] This is almost 24 times net earnings after taxes based on average for last 4 years. If all profits had been paid out in dividends last year, Mrs. Johnson would have received for her 52 percent a total of $21,000 after taxes.

Financial position of Luci Baines and Lynda Bird Johnson

Real estate (approximately)	$30,000
184 shares stock Texas Broadcasting Corp. (slightly over)	600,000
Total net worth	630,000

Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín: A Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, Governor Muñoz-Marín, of Puerto Rico, has declined to run for a fifth term. The Governor has served his island well and in doing so he has done great service to all Americans—north and south. Under Governor Muñoz-Marín, Puerto Rico has become a showcase of democracy, a shining example for all Latin America. On August 18, 1964, the New York Times published an editorial in praise of the splendid achievements of his administration. I urge all my colleagues to read the following editorial:

MUÑOZ-MARÍN STEPS DOWN

Gov. Muñoz-Marín of Puerto Rico is a somewhat uncommon specimen of a professional politician—he believes heart and soul in the democratic principles that he has always proclaimed. And now he is proving it once again by refusing to run for a fifth term as Governor.

His figure is such a familiar one in the United States and Latin America, as well as in Puerto Rico, that it has been impossible to think of the island without thinking of him. The Popular Democratic party he founded won power in 1940. Don Luis, as everyone calls him, became the first elected Governor of Puerto Rico in 1948, and he has been its only one, for he was reelected three times. Nothing could have prevented him from being elected again in November—except his own determination to step aside, which he does at the peak of his power and prestige.

The task he set himself many years ago has been well done. The remarkably successful economic and social program, known as Operation Bootstrap, was his idea and his accomplishment. The Commonwealth status, whereby Puerto Rico became "associated" under the American flag, with common citizenship and complete autonomy in internal affairs, was conceived and carried through by the Governor.

Although he will remain in the political picture as Senator and elder statesman, it would be unlike him to owershadow his successor, who will most likely be the present Secretary of State, Roberto Sanchez Vilella. Mr. Sanchez is not a popularly known figure, but he has been the Governor's closest associate for years and he is rated as an outstanding administrator.

Presuming that Mr. Sanchez is elected in November—which is a safe presumption—there will be no change in policies. Puerto Rico is older in history than the United States. Mr. Muñoz-Marín is the 123d Governor since Columbus claimed the island for Spain. But it is also a new island, with a hopeful future for which the retiring Governor deserves much credit.

Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts in Reapportionment Cases

SPEECH

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11926) to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, there has been much said about the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which have held that a State cannot apportion either house of its State legislature on any basis other than population. I believe that most of the controversy since the decisions of the Court has revolved around the question of whether or not the Court has properly interpreted the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

I do not believe the issue should be resolved entirely on the question of whether or not the decisions of the Supreme Court properly interpret the language of the 14th amendment. It seems to me that the basic and overriding question is whether or not the results of the decisions are desirable ones. If the language of the Constitution clearly requires the interpretation placed upon it by the Court, then the Court could only hold as it did and might at the same time regret the necessity for doing so. If a result imposed by the clear language of the Constitution or a result imposed by Court interpretation of the Constitution is undesirable, then the Constitution should be amended. Our Founding Fathers recognized that the future would probably bring with it the necessity to amend the Constitution and therefore very wisely provided for this in article V of this historic document.

It is my opinion that the decisions of the Court were undesirable and that within the framework of our Constitution the Congress has the right and the power to take action. I believe that reapportionment is needed in many States, but I do not believe that there is such an urgency connected thereto that it was necessary for the courts of this country to direct the States to effect such reapportionment within a specified time, or they, the courts, would do so. This infringes upon the rights of the States.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I shall support the resolution before us today which will limit the jurisdiction of Federal courts in the reapportionment and urge that enforcement of pending cases be stayed until such time as the question can be put to the States in the form of a constitutional amendment which would give them the right to reapportion one of their houses in a bicameral legislature on some basis other than population.

Iowa Observes the 90th Birthday of Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 10, patriotic citizens gathered at West Branch, Iowa, to celebrate the 90th birthday of one of the great Presidents of the United States—the Honorable Herbert Hoover, who was born in West Branch, August 10, 1874.

The executive committee of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation, under the leadership of Ralph Evans, of Davenport, Iowa, planned an appropriate program and communicated the felicitations of Iowa to Mr. Hoover.

So that the many friends of Mr. Hoover around the world will know what took place in West Branch at this birthday celebration, I wish to call attention to a guest editorial which Mr. Evans wrote for the Davenport, Iowa, Times-Democrat for the Saturday, August 8, edition. This editorial, "The Hoover Library," will be followed by a newspaper account of the day's activities which was written by Frank Nye and

which appeared in the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Gazette.

Mr. Nye's story will be followed by a condensation of the speech made on the occasion of Mr. Hoover's 90th birthday by Dr. F. G. Lassner, director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library at West Branch.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I place these items in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Davenport-Bettendorf (Iowa) Times-Democrat, Aug. 8, 1964]

THE HOOVER LIBRARY

(Our guest editorialist today is Ralph Evans, trustee and member of the executive committee of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation and member of the committee in charge of the celebration of the 90th birthplace of Herbert Hoover there Monday.)

On Monday, August 10, the West Branch Heritage Foundation and the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation, with the cooperation of our national General Services Administration will observe the 90th birthday of former President Herbert Hoover. The ceremonies will start at 2 p.m., central daylight time, in front of the library, and the public is invited to attend.

We should be thankful for this great shrine here in Iowa, and for the numerous other monuments, parks, and symbols that represent the heart, mind, and soul of America. The great Liberty Bell still peals its message to those who listen, and the torch of the Statute of Liberty still beckons to those with faith and courage.

This great land of ours did not just happen. Our forefathers who came from across the seas did so with a definite purpose. Most of them had the great faith and courage of all real pioneers. They possessed the dauntless spirit to dare, and do, and die for their convictions.

They blazed their own trails, and carved and shaped their own destinies, mainly with their own muscles, their own brains, and their own determination. They were ready and willing to till and toil, insist and persist, and strike with all their might for things they thought were right.

They were courageous men and women who humbly expressed their faith in God, and who believed that when people or nations lose or deny their faith and trust in God, they begin to disintegrate. They were never serenely happy, nor calmly contented, because they were imbued with that strange, mysterious, and adventurous spirit of the pioneer.

The settlers of West Branch, Iowa, were such pioneers. Most of them were Quakers who professed and believed in the freedom and dignity of man, and taught the virtues of self-reliance and service to their fellow man.

The Hoover family was among the first settlers of West Branch. Here, on August 10, 1874, Herbert Clark Hoover was born, the second of three children. In 1880 his father died at a comparatively early age, and 4 years later his mother died, leaving the three orphaned children to the care of relatives.

In 1885 young Herbert went to live with his uncle in Oregon, Dr. H. John Minthorn, who had recently founded a Quaker academy at Newberg, Oreg. A few years later they moved to Salem, Oreg.

In 1895 Herbert Hoover graduated from Leland Stanford University with a degree in engineering. Endowed with unusual capacity for hard work he rapidly acquired comprehensive and detailed knowledge of mining, and also impressed his employers and associates with his great ability for organization and administration. At 40 years of age he had achieved international distinction in mining circles and was also wealthy.

During the summer months of 1914, when the armies of Europe were leaving death, destruction, and destitution in their wake, Herbert Hoover was in London to promote and secure exhibits for the Panama-Pacific Exposition being planned for San Francisco.

His efforts in behalf of stranded Americans aroused the admiration of Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador in London, and Page so communicated to President Woodrow Wilson. Meanwhile, the people of Belgium and elsewhere were starving; the services of Hoover were enlisted and the Commission for Relief in Belgium was established. Thus began a new and dedicated career for one of the greatest humanitarians and public servants of recorded history.

The name of Herbert Hoover will endure in the annals of these United States of America. It will also endure throughout the world, because millions of men, women, and children are alive today because of the boy born on August 10, 1874, at West Branch, Iowa—Herbert Clark Hoover, 31st President of the United States.

And the shrine at West Branch, Iowa, will likewise endure. Down through the years, men, women, and children will visit there and participate in its heritage, and partake of the inspiration it offers.

They will view the exhibits in the library, stroll through the beautiful park, pause before the statute of Isis, the Egyptian goddess of motherhood and fertility, donated by the schoolchildren of Belgium, enter the small and humble cottage wherein Herbert Hoover was born, and wander thorugh the blacksmith shop and visualize Hoover's father working at the forge and anvil. All of their senses will be stimulated, and the fortunate ones will both hear and heed the shrine's real message:

"You, too, can serve; you, too, can build—if you will it so."

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Aug. 11, 1964]

SOME 500 IOWANS HONOR HOOVER'S 90TH BIRTHDAY

(By Frank Nye)

WEST BRANCH.—Former President Herbert Hoover embarked on his 91st year Tuesday with the best wishes of fellow Iowans and other friends for his health and happiness.

Some 500 of them gathered Monday afternoon to sing "Happy Birthday" to him on the sunny lawn in front of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, only a boy's stone throw away from the tiny cottage where he was born August 10, 1874.

He wasn't there to hear it but almost within the hour he learned of it by telephone.

Upon the suggestion of Walter Harnischfeger of Milwaukee, a vice president of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation, the crowd unanimously decided to send him a telegram to wish him well.

PHONE CALL

But instead of searching out a Western Union office, William B. Anderson of West Branch, president-emeritus of the foundation, placed a long distance phone call to Mr. Hoover in New York.

When the call was completed a few minutes later, Anderson handed the phone to Harnischfeger. Allan Hoover, a son, was on the line to speak for his father.

Harnischfeger wished him a happy birthday from West Branch and Allan relayed the message to his dad who, he reported, was quite delighted and who was spending a happy birthday with his family. Allan said his father was feeling fine.

Even though he couldn't come to West Branch, Mr. Hoover had sent a letter in which he recalled his first memories were of "the warm friendliness and great kindness" of Iowa people.

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHT

A program highlight was a scholarly address by Dr. Lassner. He developed a side of Mr. Hoover's life that drew little attention at his 74th, 80th, and 88th birthday parties, which he attended here personally in 1948, 1954, and 1962.

Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt customarily are referred to as Presidents who were historians, Dr. Lassner said, but Mr. Hoover has surpassed them both in this field.

"In this century Mr. Hoover has done more than his share in preserving and collecting records of the sources of history," Dr. Lassner said, "and in producing scholarly works of his own.

"He has provided us with ways of studying our age * * *.

"His impact on scholarship and historiography has been incalculable."

QUOTES HOOVER

Anderson, who has played a major role in development of plans leading to establishment of the library and the purchase of grounds, quoted briefly the concluding remarks Mr. Hoover made on his appearances at three previous birthday parties here.

With the assistance of Floyd Fawcett of West Branch, a Heritage trustee, Anderson conducted a ceremony at the cornerstone of the building, which was purposely left unsealed 2 years ago for this occasion.

Robert K. Goodwin of Des Moines, a foundation vice president, conveyed the deed to the library building and grounds, paid for by private contributions, to the General Services Administration of the Federal Government.

W. A. Holloway of St. Louis, regional GSA administrator, said, "On behalf of the Government I accept the deed and agree to maintain the building and ground in perpetuity."

WILHELM PRESIDES

Carl Wilhelm of West Branch, president of the West Branch Heritage Foundation, presided and West Branch Mayor LeMar P. Foster, Sr., welcomed those in the audience, some of whom sat on chairs in front of the library and others in the shade under nearby trees.

Before the program started, ladies of the Springdale Methodist church served 175 persons a fried chicken luncheon at Herbert Hoover School. It was sponsored by the West Branch Heritage Foundation, whose trustees were introduced along with those of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation.

Attending the luncheon was Mrs. George Hoover, whose husband was a first counsin of the former President. Mrs. Hoover, who was 93 on May 22, is the only member of the Hoover family still living in West Branch.

FORMER PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER'S ROLE AS AUTHOR, SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN—AS WELL AS ENGINEER, STATESMAN AND HUMANITARIAN

(By Dr. F. G. Lassner, director, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library)

An aspect of Mr. Herbert Hoover's achievements which is much less well known than his accomplishments as engineer, statesman or humanitarian is his wonderful sense of history, and his role both as a historian and as a scholar. Mr. Hoover's impact on 20th century scholarship, historiography, and intellectual life, both in Europe and in the United States, has been incalculable.

When we look back at the statesmen and peoples of, let us say, a thousand or more years ago, and the problems which they faced, we must remember that almost no body of historical precedent existed at that time. There was little knowledge of trends and tendencies, understanding of historical causes and effects, or awareness of those laws which recurrently influence the development of human events.

If the lessons of history had been known and recorded then as they are today, the need for vigilance in the maintenance of freedom and the preservation of the republican form of government in all likelihood would have been more evident.

DIFFERENT TODAY

Today, fortunately, we do have an accumulation of historical precedent. History has been recorded and analyzed. Its lessons can be useful to each of us personally and its laws are essential for us to understand as a nation.

In this century, Mr. Hoover has done more than his share in helping to preserve and collect the sources of contemporary history; in developing and expanding institutions of higher learning; in encouraging research about social, economic, and political developments; and in producing scholarly works of his own. In other words, he has provided us with the ways and means of studying our age.

As many of you know, Mr. Hoover received his A.B. in geology from Stanford University in 1895. His first of many careers was as a mining engineer. He worked initially in the western part of our country, and then for 2 years managed mining properties in Australia. Later the Chinese Government, seeking an expert for its newly created bureau of mines, hired him. Most of the years from 1899 to 1902 he spent in China.

While there, in his leisure time, he began collecting books which later were to form the nucleus for the Chinese collection in the Stanford University library.

In 1912, Mr. Hoover became a member of the Stanford board of trustees. * * * At that time also he began his activities as lecturer and author. Not long afterward he and Mrs. Hoover began the translation of Latin work on mining and metallurgy which had been written in 1550. It was 3 years before the translation was finished, and it was published in 1912. Since then, he has continued to study and to write, down to the present day.

WILSON AND TEDDY

He is the author of many works, including autobiography, biography, and the historical description of events as he lived and saw and caused them. In addition, he has authored a vast compilation of addresses, letters, and speeches. * * *

There is no doubt that Mr. Hoover's achievements as author and historian are at par with or surpass those of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, whose eminence in the field of historiography is mentioned so frequently. * * *

Mr. Hoover's vital interest in history, scholarship, and higher education was concurrent with his great humanitarian work. An example may be found in connection with the affairs of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. For 4 years this organization fed millions of people. At the conclusion of its tasks, the Belgian Government asked Mr. Hoover to use whatever funds remained to establish a memorial of the commission's work.

He assigned most of the money not for industrial or agricultural development, or for a general rebuilding program, but for the rehabilitation and expansion of Belgian educational institutions.

Over $3.5 million each were allocated to the University of Brussels, the University of Ghent, the University of Liege, and the University of Louvain. Additional moneys were made available for other schools. A fund was established for scholarships, scientific research, and the general promotion of education in Belgium. Intellectual exchanges between Belgium and the United States were arranged. The library of the University of Louvain was rebuilt.

Still another manifestation of Mr. Hoover's interest in history and scholarship, even during those troubled times, was the plan which he conceived for a great library at Stanford on sources of social, political, and economic developments of this century. About this event Mr. Hoover says:

"On one of my North Sea crossings during the Relief, I read in one of Andrew White's (then president of Cornell University) writings that most of the contemporary literature of the French Revolution had been lost to history and that without such material it had been very difficult or impossible to reconstruct the real scene. Therein lay the origins of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University.

"My original idea was to collect such fugitive documents and complete files of the major dailies and magazines in Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, to which countries I had continuous access, and to add to this any governmental or private documentation on economic and political matters. To do this efficiently, I engaged bookdealers and some university professors as collectors and agreed to pay them in dollars after the war on a fair appraisal of their collections. The members of our Relief staff also plunged into this project with zeal."

Mr. Hoover offered a substantial sum of money to an old friend, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, at that time president of Stanford University, to help finance this planned collection of data on the World War and its origins.

After the armistice, millions of historical items were collected. Even General Pershing was enthusiastic about the project and gave his wholehearted support to it. By 1921, a major historical collection on World War I and its background had taken shape, and it was named the Hoover War Library.

Over the years, this library outgrew its intended purpose of housing materials pertaining solely to World War I. Much additional documentation was acquired and gradually grew into one of the world's leading collections on social, political, and economic trends of the 20th century. Shortly after World War II, Mr. Hoover once again made available the funds necessary to continue accumulating historical materials for the Hoover Institution, as it is now called, whose acquisition program has continued ever since.

Mr. Hoover's role in sustaining and developing the Hoover Institution has been direct and personal. Together with many of his friends, he has supplied most of the money required for the building and its contents, for the operation of the library, and for its research and publications program. It is estimated that the historical materials housed in the Hoover Institution today would be worth at least $25 million dollars, although many of the items are, of course, priceless.

Finally, Mr. Hoover decided several years ago to establish a presidential library at West Branch. Such libraries essentially are new institutions. For the better part of two centuries there was no systematic scheme for the preservation of presidential papers and many were lost or destroyed. Certainly very few of them were available for research, yet all of us are aware that presidential papers are an important part of our national heritage.

LIBRARIES ACT

In 1955 Congress passed the Presidential Libraries Act, by which the Federal Government is authorized to accept the papers of any President or former President of the United States and the buildings, privately financed and constructed, in which to store them. The National Archives and Records Service has been designated as the agency to operate these libraries.

In 1960 President Hoover offered his public papers and related historical materials to the United States. At the same time the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation, which raised the funds for and supervised the construction of the library-museum here, offered the U.S. Government the buildings, the equipment, and the grounds. In March of 1962, Congress authorized the acceptance of this gift and today we are transferring the title.

Between the Hoover Institution, which has been for the most part a book library and this presidential library at West Branch, which is essentially an archive, Mr. Hoover has established two places for the collection of sources pertaining to the history of this century, which can be used by the public at large, by scholars, and by historians, for study, research, and writing.

Mr. Hoover sensed the historical, technological, political, and social importance of this century when it had barely begun. He knew it would be different from many other epochs—that it would be decisive with regard to the survival of our way of life. He recognized the significance of events at the time they were taking place, and he still does.

In addition, 50 years or so ago the whole field of historical research as we understand it today was almost totally different. Mr. Hoover, however, foresaw that the methods of historiography were to change. He anticipated this change and provided for it.

In previous times, historians confined themselves in large part to the treatment of external political events and discernible military and diplomatic maneuvers. Narration often was strictly chronological. There was a preoccupation with political affairs to the exclusion, in general, of economic and social backgrounds.

A basic change in research methodology and in the accessibility to sources occurred after the end of World War I. For the first time large numbers of doucments were published, archives were opened, and secret papers as well as other materials became available to the scholar and the historian. Research could be carried out more accurately and with greater hope of finding the truth.

The exploitation of all these materials, and the publication of countless works which resulted, continued all during the interwar period, and is still going on today.

A GREAT ROLE

Mr. Hoover has played a great role in this new type of 20th century historiography. Through the Hoover Institution he has seen to the collection of sources on international politics and sponsored a major research and publications program dedicated to clarifying the economic, political, and social movements of our times. Through this presidential library at West Branch he has established an archive and research center for his own and related books and papers, and for many other source documents on 20th century political developments within our country. The importance of all these materials cannot be overestimated, both in themselves and with regard to present-day methods of documentary research.

Of course, archives in themselves are not history, but today any historian who fails periodically to utilize those original sources that are available, soon ceases to be a historian. The records cannot speak for them-

selves, and the vast documentation now available must be analyzed, linked together in consistent order, and related to all underlying factors. These are some of the historian's responsibilities. But it is the sources which are fundamental.

Of the many careers which he has had, Herbert Hoover has created no more lasting monument than the one to be found in his achievements as author, scholar, and historian.

Barry: At the Brink or Overboard?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, definitions of controversial terms such as "extremism" and "the mainstream" have haunted political discussions in recent weeks. One we have been hearing more and more is the policy of "brinkmanship."

Clearly there is an issue to be drawn here between the presidential candidates of the two major parties. I noticed an editorial from the Arizona Daily Star of August 16 which I believe correctly defines "brinkmanship" and clearly draws the issue between the two combatants.

Lest this interesting piece pass unseen by my colleagues, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

THE QUESTION OF BRINKMANSHIP
(By William R. Mathews)

A reader of the Star properly asks us to explain the difference between the charge that Mr. Lewis W. Douglas recently made about fearing Barry's "brinkmanship," and the action that President Johnson has recently taken in connection with North Vietnam's attacks on American warships.

"Is it only when Mr. GOLDWATER expresses it that it becomes 'brinkmanship'? But when Mr. Johnson goes beyond words to action, it then becomes 'avoiding a holocaust,' and action toward, 'a more tranquil, if not completely peaceful existence,'" the reader goes on to ask.

There is an answer to this basic question. The simple answer is that President Johnson did risk an expanded war, when he ordered our ships to sink any ship or ships that attack American ships. This is a fundamental statement of policy that should apply at all times in the future, no matter who is President. The fact that BARRY GOLDWATER complimented the President on his action confirms that.

Another time, 2 years ago this October, President Kennedy properly took a most dangerous risk of a world war, when he sent his ultimatum to Premier Khrushchev on the matter of Soviet missiles in Cuba. He mobilized the Atlantic Fleet and the Air Force, and put all Armed Forces on a war alert. If he had not met that threat then, he would have had to meet it in much less advantageous circumstances later on. Those missiles were being aimed right at the United States from places a little more than 92 miles away from America's coast.

All Presidents must be ready to go to the brink, when any ship of ours is attacked in international waters, or when a hostile power makes open preparations to attack us. The country responded with united support for President Kennedy.

These instances make a notable contrast with what BARRY states as his foreign policy. He proposes to rejuvenate NATO and have our allies declare a blockade of the Soviet Union and its satellites. He thereby would make the United States the attacking power, because a blockade of the kind he favors constitutes an act of war.

If the Soviet Union would not submit to the demands that would accompany the blockade, as a nation we would have to launch a war against the Soviet Union or abandon the blockade. The Republican platform recites the demands. It calls upon the Soviet Union to liberate all of the eastern satellites, and even the Ukraine, which has been a part of Russia for 10 centuries.

Such a policy as this is called a "positive policy," which it surely is. It is brinkmanship carried out to the *n*th degree for what many reasonable people call unlimited and unattainable objectives. Just why, when we have a heavy burden of responsibilities throughout much of the world, should BARRY, and now his Republican colleagues, propose to indulge in brinkmanship, which would deliberately provoke a nuclear war?

BARRY's answer is that he believes the Soviets would give in. Russian and Soviet history proves the contrary, which both Hitler and Napoleon found out to their sorrow.

Our country should not make the same mistake.

But the American people must realize that there are degrees of brinkmanship to which every great power must go, and differentiate between being attacked, or threatened with attack, and doing the attacking ourselves.

The Tuck Bill To Curb Legislative Functions of the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the House voted 218 to 175 in favor of the Tuck bill to put a curb on the legislative functions of the Supreme Court, and I should like the record to be quite clear as to the reasons I voted for this legislation.

The Tuck bill seeks under authority of the Constitution to prevent the Supreme Court from intervening in State matters and in ways which were never intended.

Frankly, I have been alarmed over decisions of the Court which seem to go far beyond the limited powers granted by the Constitution.

One of the first Presidents to warn that the Supreme Court should invade the legislative function of Congress was Abraham Lincoln, who said:

If the policy of the Government upon vital questions * * * is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court * * * in ordinary litigation * * * the people will have ceased to be their own rulers.

The latest example of such encroachment on the legislative functions is the reapportionment decision. Here the Federal courts have invaded the province of Congress in actually writing legislation. They have said if the States do not pass laws, that the Court will write the laws for them.

In my very own State of Washington we had a three-judge court say that the State must redistrict—which of course the State should do; but the point is, the State legislature, not the Court, should do the redistricting. Instead, we have a crazy Federal court plan of "weighted voting."

I do not condone the failure of our Governor to call a special session of the legislature to reapportion the State in accordance with our State constitution. In fact, I strongly criticize it. But I object under the Federal Constitution to the Federal court prescribing a plan and in many States the Federal courts have deliberately overruled the actions of the people.

Here we have appointed public officials not even elected by the people overriding actions taken by a vote of the people.

The Constitution of the United States sets forth in all cases where a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, and mark this, then it adds that such jurisdiction is with such exception and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Tuck bill would provide such an exception. It would curtail the appellate jurisdiction as to reapportionment of State legislatures.

I oppose any delay in reapportionment of my State, or any State, but I cannot support the Federal court telling the people of my State or any State what system of reapportionment shall be used.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this explains my support of the Tuck bill.

That U.S. Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Barbara Blanchard is so right, in our opinion, when she writes of our $312 billion national debt: "it is so big that for most of us it is meaningless. We just can't think of that much money." Her editorial in a recent issue of the Fairmont Sentinel certainly goes a long way toward helping us understand just what the figure means, however, and I include it in the RECORD:

THAT U.S. DEBT
(By Barbara Blanchard)

Now that the Federal debt approaches $311.7 billion, it is so big that for most of us

it is meaningless. We just can't think of that much money.

But we can think about the interest on it because that's only $10.6 billion or $10,600 million each year.

There are 50 States, so let's divide that interest by 50 to see what each State's share would be if they all paid the interest equally.

That comes to $212 million every year for each State for interest on the national debt.

Of course, not all States pay the same, as some are big and some are small and some heavily populated and some less heavily populated.

But it is interesting to find that Minnesota is very nearly an average State, both in population and size, so the $212 million annual interest is not far from right.

There are 87 counties in Minnesota, so let's divide the $212 million by 87. That comes out to an average of $2,437,500 (nearing $2½ million) for each county—for 1 year's interest on the national debt.

The 1960 census of Martin County showed 26,986 people (men, women, and children).

Let's divide the county's share of the interest by all the people in it to see what the interest on the national debt is costing each one each year. That comes to $90.32.

Are there as many as four in your family? If so, your family share of one year's interest on the national debt is $361.28.

Do you pay it?

You do.

You pay for it in every bite you eat, every thread you wear, every drop of gas you burn, every cent you spend and every cent you save.

It will not be less until payments are made on the Federal debt and the debt is reduced.

Is it being reduced? No. It just grew by $9 billion.

And Congress raised its own salaries by 33 percent. They will receive $7,500 more each year.

As one Congressman points out, the "antipoverty" bill "would, if the funds were divided equally, give each of the 35 million persons claimed to be poverty stricken less than $28 per year." What a contrast to the Congressmen's raises.

That $28 wouldn't even be one-third of one person's share of the annual interest on the national debt.

One Congressman's raise would help more than 267 distressed people as much as the "antipoverty" bill would.

J. Bates Gerald, a Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Commander J. Bates Gerald played a significant role in H.R. 1927 passing the House by a vote of 388 to 0. Commander Gerald appeared before the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pensions of the Veterans' Affairs Committee on May 26, 1964, and made an eloquent appeal for his gallant fellow veterans of World War I. Commander Gerald took a reasonable approach and impressed the members of the subcommittee. He expressed a desire to cooperate with our distinguished chairman and the membership of the full committee. Commander Gerald's testimony was greatly appreciated and influenced the subcommittee.

Mr. Speaker, it is men like Commander Gerald and his friends in the Legion, the VFW, the AMVETS, and the DAV who united in the middle of the road to help the Veterans' Committee and the House pass this much needed legislation. I believe it will pass the Senate and will be signed by the President.

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include at this point in the RECORD Commander Gerald's superb testimony to the subcommittee:

STATEMENT OF J. BATES GERALD, REGIONAL COMMANDER NO. 4, VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE U.S.A., INC.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of this distinguished committee, we come before you on our own as perhaps we might say a buck private, not as a professional soldier; not as a lobbyist; not on a salary; not on per diem, nor at any expenses to anyone or organization, save ourselves. We are, in our humble way, trying to present the conditions of our buddies of World War I and respectfully ask your consideration.

There is among our organization many who live on the outer fringes of abject poverty. May I say further, Mr. Chairman, we feel that we have an Appalachia all our own. Those of us who have been barracks commanders and department commanders know how hard it is for many of our buddies to raise $4 or $5 a year dues, and with this in mind and in that spirit, we do respectfully and earnestly urge your careful consideration and appropriate action.

I appreciate very mch, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the opportunity and the honor of appearing before this committee on connection with pension legislation for veterans of World War I, especially the bill that is before you to which my national commander, Mr. Kime, and others have testified to, H.R. 2332.

The vast majority of us in this organization would like to go forward. Our average age is now perhaps 72 years. Of course, there are many among us who may be a little younger or a little older. There is, too, a rising feeling among our buddies that for at least 6 years now we have not been able to show much done for our needy members and World War I comrades.

The thought of many, save a few, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, is in our honest efforts to help our buddies, we would rather light one candle than to curse the darkness. Most of us, and especially the tens of thousands of our blue cap buddies, desire to cooperate with and not defame the Congress, the distinguished chairman, and the members of this committee. We regret that some few have done otherwise. We come pleading for help and consideration for all our comrades of World War I, and especially those who languish on beds of pain either at home or in some hospital.

Then too, gentlemen, there is a deep feeling among all veterans of our organization in the rank and file that, whereas we face the sunset of life and as the sands in our hourglass runs out, to us time is of the essence. Help we sorely need for our less fortunate comrades; help we must have before the grim reaper has taken his final toll among us and none will be left to ask for or to receive the aid a grateful government should give the old, weary, and worn fighting men of World War I and their widows who remain.

Let us not forget, Mr. Chairman, that back in the dark days of 1917–18, liberty, life, and honor were all at stake. Upon the courage and conduct of veterans of World War I rested the hopes of America and a bleeding world. The record stands until time shall be lost in eternity. We did not fail our beloved land.

The four and a half million young men called to arms in 1918 were then recognizing that service should be considered something special and should be rewarded appropriately. The word "pension" is used without qualification. For my part, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the distinguished committee, I speak for teeming thousands of my buddies who believe your most courageous chairman, Congressman OLIN E. TEAGUE, himself a decorated veteran of World War II, who was disabled on the field of battle, to be fair and honest and one who has the interest of all veterans at heart.

* * * Also you, Chairman KORNEGAY, and all members of your full committee, I feel will lend sympathetic ears to our earnest pleas. We want to restore prestige to the veterans of World War I. We frankly believe it to be, Mr. Chairman, the world's most exclusive club. While there are those among us, who, by right of heritage and otherwise, belong to societies and clubs, let it be for the record, that unless one served his country in World War I, he cannot join nor belong to our organization.

Figures made available by the VA indicate that there are 40,000 single veterans living on less than $600 a year. There are 27,000 more who have less than $1,200 a year. There are 90,000 married veterans who have less than $1,000 income and 117,000 who have less than $2,000 income. The situation with our widows, Mr. Chairman, is even more desperate. There are 11,000 widows who have less than $600 a year and are receiving $60 a month as a non-service-connected pension. Another 55,000 have less than $1,200 a year, and 600 widows with 1 child are living on less than $1,000 a year.

So it is, Mr. Chairman, we respectfully submit, and here we realize that there are more than 150 bills before you and also that each major veterans' organization has a different proposition that your committee must make a determination as to type of bill it should report, I believe, in my humble judgment, you should, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, carefully consider the following precepts: First pass a pension bill; our bill, H.R. 2332, if possible. Second, give consideration to our sick buddies, i.e., more beds for veterans of World War I, because at our age you gentlemen fully realize that each day takes its tolls among our members. We need more and better hospitalization. And while there are some among us who have never been in a veterans' hospital as a patient; there are thousands and thousands of our buddies who have nowhere else to go. We plead for these comrades, Mr. Chairman.

Third, make several technical corrections in Public Law 86–211.

(a) Eliminate counting the spouses' earned income,

(b) Eliminate the counting of profit on sale of a home,

(c) Eliminate from counting as income the cost of last illness and burial of a wife or child and certain medical expenses,

(d) Eliminate the 10-percent requirement in physical examination at age 65.

(e) Permit election and reelection by the old law cases to the new law.

I believe this would eliminate some of the apprehensions certain individuals feel about election to the new law. I think only a few cases would ever find it necessary to switch back once the election is made.

In the final analysis, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of this committee, you must make the decision as to how costly a bill you think can get through the Congress. You gentlemen are the representatives of the American people, and we are the people. We should not forget that you represent us; we have

no votes in the Congress; we come to you as individuals. We come to you as an organization we hope is worthy of your trust and confidence. We come to you with clean hands for the most part but with hearts and hands bleeding for help for those of our less fortunate comrades.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I am one veteran who desires above all else to help all of my comrades of World War I. To this end, we would earnestly request and prefer some reasonable action with a chance of ultimate success rather than big demands which so far have produced nothing for our buddies.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, for the honor of allowing me to appear before you.

Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, as Americans our citizenship has been one of our most prized possessions. It has been the common bond that has united us as a country from the original 13 Colonies to now the sisterhood of 50 States.

It has never been given to any people in our territories as they became embryonic States that it has not ripened into full participation in all our joys, benefits, and, of course, our responsibilities.

However, in Puerto Rico, American citizenship has never attained its full maturity. American citizens of Puerto Rico have never had the advantages or responsibilities of full citizenship.

This has never been more vividly portrayed than in an editorial in El Mundo—one of the outstanding Spanish newspapers in the world—wherein they comment on a recent speech by the present Governor of Puerto Rico, Muñoz-Marín.

The editorial is as follows:

ONCE AGAIN

For those of us who know how things are and also know what to expect and what not to expect, the Governor's Fourth of July speech was, no more and no less, just what we expected. It was another reaffirmation of his policy of procrastination and postponement of the final and definitive decision that our people must inevitably make.

The speech was, from beginning to end, a soporific dose intended to deaden the political feelings of Puerto Ricans on the eve of just another election. An election of no importance, whose only purpose is to determine who shall manage the budget.

The Governor underscored our status as an unincorporated territory to again bring up his old theory of the benefits to be derived by an accommodating policy that allows us to enjoy purely material advantages without shouldering the responsibilities of our common citizenship. His speech was a chant to the shabbily advantageous formula of the so-called Commonwealth which insures material privileges but at the same time deprives us of the full enjoyment of citizenship precisely because it avoids the responsibilities inherent to such citizenship.

Once again Mr. Muñoz-Marín refused to face up to the high responsibility, which should be undeniable, of a man who for a whole generation has held public power and has never come to grips with the supreme responsibility that involves the urgent necessity of definitely solving the problem of our political status.

On the contrary, he upgraded the shabbily advantageous and accommodating Commonwealth as the means to keep on enjoying material rewards to the detriment of our rights as citizens.

The Governor underscored our common citizenship but he systematically avoided the loopholes in that citizenship that convert it into a second-class one. It is a citizenship based on the political limbo in which we are and we are not. We are citizens enough to die in war; but we are not citizens enough to elect the men who determine, in the Congress of the United States, when our sons are to die on the battlefield.

We have, in the Congress of the United States, a puny chair without a vote and practically with no voice at all. We are, in effect, second-class citizens and it is predicated that we continue in that sorry condition in exchange for shabby material privileges.

Citizenship, to be really common, must be equal, absolutely equal, in the enjoyment of the rights that are conferred on citizens. Ours is a second-class citizenship and the United States is not to be blamed for that. It is a second-class citizenship and we are the only ones responsible, the shame of a people who do not find a way to solve the problem of its political destiny. It is the shame of a people who have been put asleep to the singsong of a shabby political formula.

The Congress has proven that it is not prone to brighten up his shabbily advantageous formula. The memory of the full repudiation of the Fernás-Murray bill is still fresh. This bill was intended to embellish the Commonwealth with the appearance of sovereignty. A poor and sorry Commonwealth whose enabling act describes it and so establishes it, in all crudity of language, as a possession of the United States.

Puerto Rico shall not know peace, true spirtual peace while no final and supreme decision is made as to our political destiny. While we remain in limbo wherein we are and at the same time we are not, such will be the situation. It will continue to be so during all the time we fail to find the determination and the strength to assume full responsibility.

Once again, on this Fourth of July of 1964, Governor Muñoz-Marín was derelict in his duty to point out to his people the true road to be tread by that common citizenship that he so often mentioned in his speech.

Platform Adopted by the 16th Biennial State Convention of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State, August 15, 1964, at the Hotel Piccadilly, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include herewith the platform adopted by the 16th biennial State convention of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State, on August 15, 1964, at the Hotel Piccadilly in New York City.

The platform follows:

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE 16TH BIENNIAL STATE CONVENTION OF THE AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK STATE, AUGUST 15, 1964, AT THE HOTEL PICCADILLY, NEW YORK CITY

For the 45th time in the history of the Republic, the American people are again embarked upon the solemn task of electing a Chief of State in whose hands the destiny of our country and of our children will be placed. For the fourth time we discharged that responsibility in the shadow of the violent and dread deed of an assassin.

On this occasion, the American people come to their responsibilities with calm assurance and conviction, and without doubt as to the outcome. They are strengthened by their knowledge that, as the assassin's bullet struck, the reins of State dropped into the hands of a leader equally dedicated to the principles and program of our dead President, and equipped with an unusual ability to bring to completion what had been well started.

In the 9 months since Lyndon B. Johnson has been our President, his devotion to the principles of the Democratic Party, as developed during the Presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy has been evident, and the overwhelming majority of our people are persuaded of his ability to bring to us unity, peace, and prosperity. Of the outcome of this election, and of his return to the Presidency with a unison of support not seen since the days of President Monroe, there can be no doubt.

The party in opposition offers neither principle nor faith, neither leadership nor an interest in unifying the American people in a common effort and harmony. Prompted only by self-interest and a desire for the badges of office, they would take us back into the 19th century.

We have always stated clearly and without equivocation, our views on the issues that press for decision, and so that there may be no doubt as to where we stand, we again briefly comment upon them:

1. Foreign affairs: The achievement of world peace, and of the milennium in which all men may live at peace and in harmony with each other, is the principal objective of all of us.

To that end we are firmly convinced that the United States and its representatives must stand up for those principles and those positions which are morally right and in which we believe. The time has long passed when the representatives of the United States can or should abstain from voting or taking a position on any question because of a concern that such a vote or public position may be offensive to another nation which is our friend.

Our friends will not respect us less because we stand up for what we think is right. Those who are not our friends, and those who waver undecided between East and West, will better understand our national purpose and unity, and be compelled to respect us when we tell the truth and shame the Devil when we stand for what we believe, and when we do not yield to expediency.

American foreign policy cannot be exploited to perpetuate in other countries' dictators or corrupt regimes. We should not lend our assistance to imposing upon a foreign people what we would not accept at home.

2. Foreign aid: We have long supported a program of assistance to Allied countries which need help in developing their own resources, and providing their people with

the needs of health, education and defense against an aggressor. We favor continuation of our foreign aid program to those who need its help, and will utilize our assistance for the benefit of their people.

At the same time we recognize that the administration and operation of our foreign aid programs in various countries has been marked by waste, corruption, and abuse. It is our considered belief that such situations arise from a system of giving dollars to countries included in such programs without proper controls and without a requirement that the public housing, schools, hospitals, and other facilities for whose construction and operation such funds are given, are in fact built and placed in operation.

We believe that the foreign aid program can be made to work, and its objectives realized, and corruption and waste eliminated if, instead of merely turning over American funds, each grant is placed on project program basis, so that, as one phase of a project is completed, the funds for the next phase are made available, and not until then. This will guarantee that the funds given by American taxpayers are utilized for the purposes given.

We strongly advocate the enactment by the Congress of the proposal of Congresswoman EDNA KELLY, which would require that each country receiving aid make full reports to the United States on the utilization of the funds granted, and assuring access by the Comptroller-General to the records relating to the expenditure and use of such funds. We were disappointed that, after the enactment of this proposal by the House, it was removed by the Senate. We are confident that a Senate with a Democratic Senator from New York will retain such provisions which insure the integrity of public funds.

3. The United Nations: We pledge continued support by the United States of the United Nations and the activities which it initiates. We urge, however, that no country be permitted to continue in the United Nations unless it ceases to be in arrears in payment of its dues and obligations.

4. Southeast Asia: We applaud the actions of the President in meeting with our full strength the problems created by the Communist world in Laos and Vietnam. We are convinced that the American public is determined that the Communist menace there be repelled, and we urge that whatever measures may be required be employed.

5. Cuba: We are equally resolved that the welfare of the Western World requires that the quarantine of Castroism be continued, and that the Castro regime not be permitted to continue its program of interference, sabotage, and anarchy in other American states. We support whatever assistance the Cuban people may require in removing from their backs the oppressors who have been foisted upon them by the Communist conspiracy, without the votes of Cubans. We support the embargo and the aerial reconnaissance program which are in force.

6. Trust Territory: We are proud of the commendation which the United States has received from the United Nations for its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific. We urge that Congress at an early date enact legislation for the self-government of the Trust Territory.

7. Guam, Virgin Islands, and Samoa: We urge the enactment of legislation permitting the people in each of these American possessions to elect their own Governors, and have a Delegate in Congress.

8. The space program: We support to the full, the national space program, and urge the appropriation of whatever funds may be necessary to achieve preeminence and first place for the United States in outer space.

9. Civil rights: We applaud the enactment by Congress of the civil rights law, and assure the administration of our full support in its maximum utilization to assure the integrity of the civil rights of all Americans.

10. The war on poverty: We applaud the efforts of the President and Congress in waging war upon poverty, both at home and abroad. We urge the continuation of the Peace Corps, and the appropriation of sufficient funds to insure its success.

11. Excise taxes: We support the reexamination of the excise taxes, and urge the repeal of those excise taxes which are a burden to the people, and were justified only as wartime revenue measures.

12. Electoral reform: We urge the abolition of the electoral college and the election of the President and Vice President by direct vote of the people. We urge the enactment of legislation to provide for the filling of the Vice Presidency in the event of a vacancy in that office, and for resolving the questions of the inability of the President.

13. Eighteen year vote: We again urge, as its original sponsor, the extension of the right to vote to those 18 years of age.

14. Social security: We favor allowing health and medical care of the aged, over 65.

We urge passage, with an additional provision of the King-Anderson medicare bill for the senior citizens by securing hospitalization and related costs insurance through social security.

We recommend a provision to this bill that a supplemented complimentary insurance standard policy be offered to all citizens 65 years and over, which would be within the financial means of most senior citizens and the cost of these policies should be no higher than $100 per year.

15. Conservation: We reiterate and restate our strong position for the protection and the preservation of our great natural resources—our forests, our soils, and our waters. Our great forest wilderness should be zealously guarded, protected, and preserved.

We favor a strong, well-defined program to effectuate and to supplement and improve the work now being done to save our soils.

We urge a forceful and continuing fight for clean air, a clean watercourse, and a clean shore.

Our national resources are invaluable and irreplaceable. They are priceless public possessions. We must not only inform ourselves but enlighten others as to the character, the uses, and the great values of these resources and the urging to preserve and protect them.

16. Public housing: We favor a more expanded public housing program. We urge liberalized programs for middle income and cooperative housing and a larger program for urban renewal.

17. Agriculture: We favor establishments of an international food agency to increase consumption of farm surpluses. We urge expansion of domestic consumption of farm products to assure an adequate diet for all. Finally, we hope for the free market to be restored as soon as feasible.

18. Labor: We urge the extension of Federal wages and hours laws, and the increase in the minimum wage. Broadening the coverage of the minimum wage program to include at least 10 million additional workers.

19. Education: We favor increasing the amount of Federal scholarships. We urge Federal assistance to States for school construction.

We favor greater autonomy for the Children's Bureau within the Department, and additional appropriations for the relief of children, widows, and the disabled.

We favor greater Federal contributions to combating the ravages of heart disease, cancer, venereal disease, and the other diseases that annually take their toll of life.

Finland's Contribution to American Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago it was my privilege to cite the splendid special section of the New York Times, entitled "Finland—Nation of Integrity." Today I should like to salute both the supplement which the Times published on March 15 of this year, under the title "Focus on Finland," and the memorable address, "Finland's Contribution to American Civilization," delivered on April 16 by Finnish Ambassador Richard R. Seppala at Suffolk University in Boston.

With regard to the special supplement in the New York Times, which contained a significant introductory statement by President Lyndon Johnson, included were a number of articles attesting to the industrial enterprise and cultural contributions of this democratic country.

Under unanimous consent I place President Johnson's noteworthy words about Finland in the RECORD. I also include therein the meaningful address of Ambassador Seppala, whose lecture was one in the Edward L. Bernays Foundation series sponsored by Suffolk University on "Europe's Contribution to American Civilization":

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S MESSAGE

The friendly, forward-looking, freedom-loving Finnish people well deserve the deep respect which we in the United States have for them and their heritage. The tenacity of purpose which they have exhibited, even in the face of the most adverse circumstances, and in their dedication to the basic principles of liberty are two traits of the Finnish people which have special appeal for me.

The warmth of the reception my family and I received on our visit to Finland last September is a memory I shall cherish always. During that trip, on September 7, 1963, I made an observation before Finnish Parliamentarians in Helsinki which I should like to underline again:

"From afar, we of America have watched with admiring respect the courage of the Finnish people in defending and preserving their rights to govern themselves. * * * We of America are proud to count your country and your people as old friends. We join with you in the prayer and hope that the friendship between Finland and America will always endure without compromise or interruption."

In many ways today our friendship and esteem for Finland is demonstrated. As one who welcomes and encourages expanded trade between our two countries, it is reassuring to know that a conscious effort is being made in both countries to increase the flow of two-way trade between Finland and the United States. The growth of travel between our people is another reassuring development, since it helps deepen the close bonds which exist between us and tends to remind us of the underlying concepts we share about human dignity and the rights of man.

Finland, with its vigorous free enterprise system and democratic government, has proved by her stirring example the values inherent in freedom—and the importance of its preservation at all costs.

FINLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

A granite monument in Chester, Pa., and a memorial plaque on the opposite shore of the Delaware River at Finn's Point, N.J., commemorate the arrival of the first Finnish pioneers on this continent more than 300 years ago.

As Finland was then a part of Sweden, the colony founded in 1638 was named New Sweden. From 1638 to 1654 the land along both shores of the Delaware was the colony's territory and a succession of ships brought additional settlers of which at least half were Finns. Many settlements developed along the river. One was on the present site of Philadelphia and was called "Sauna," a Finnish word meaning Finnish steam bath or bath house. From earliest times the Finnish settlers have always built saunas first, using them as temporary dwellings until a more spacious house was built. As the Finns were the first pioneers to settle where Philadelphia is now, it is not surprising that the place was once called Sauna.

Other Finnish settlements were called Finland and Upland and were at the site of what is now Chester, Pa. A sizable colony of Finns settled in present-day New Jersey around what is still known as Finn's Point. The Finns built their log cabins and saunas like their forefathers in Finland had done for more than a thousand years. The log cabins became the pride and symbol of pioneer life as the Finnish sauna baths are today, becoming more and more popular in this country.

We learn from a history of this colony, published in 1702, that in the settlement called Finland, the Finns lived without fortifications, at peace with the Indians. Together with the Swedes, they founded the first town, built the first schools and roads, established the first courts and constructed the first churches in the Delaware Valley, and in so doing, made an important and lasting contribution to American civilization.

Although 16 years after its founding, the colony of New Sweden passed under Dutch rule and 8 years later to the British, the settlers remained and were even increased by newcomers. They retained their identity—linguistic, religious, and cultural—but ultimately merged with the mainstream of American nationality. The historical fact remains, however, that the Finns were one of the nationalities that helped to settle the Original thirteen States of the Union, the others being the English, Dutch and Swedes. Even today, some old names in Pennsylvania and Delaware could be traced back to their Finnish origin. Only a few are found in history books, because history in those days was not so much written as it was made by the work and toil of these early settlers. Some of them, however, are still remembered like Long Finn or John Finn, who was maybe the first true rebel against the colonial rule. But he lived too early and suffered for it.

John Morton, the man who cast the deciding vote in favor of the Declaration of Independence, was luckier. It seems that his great-grandfather was Martti Marttinen, born in Rautalampi, Finland, in 1606. He came with his young son, Martti Marttinen, Jr., through Sweden to Delaware in 1641. Their name, Marttinen, was later changed many times in Swedish and British official records to Martenson, Marten, Martin, and finally Morton. What Morton, with the other Founding Fathers, accomplished was foreseen may years earlier by another well-known Finn, the naturalist, Peter Kalm. He was son of a Finnish pastor and professor in the University of Turku, then the capital of Finland, traveled widely in America from 1748 to 1751 as the first investigator of plant and animal life here. This famous scientist prophesized: "If the French can be driven from the American continent and the Indians defeated, then the American colonies will fight Great Britain and win their independence."

After the death of the main promoter in Sweden of the Delaware colony, a Finnish nobleman named Klaus Fleming, and the passing of the settlement to the Dutch rule and some years later, to the British, interest in emigration to America faded in Finland and Sweden for a long time. Occasionally, Finnish sailors arriving at the ports of the north, south, and west coasts, would be found searching for their fortunes in the New World during the following century.

As a consequence of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, Finland was separated from Sweden and passed under the rule of Russian czars in 1808. Then from 1830 to 1840, a considerable number of Finns immigrated to Alaska, which also belonged to Russia at the time. Alaska even had two Finnish Governnors: Admiral Etholen in 1840, and Captain Furuhjelm in 1859. A considerable amount of trade developed between Finland and Alaska and numerous Finnish ships transported goods and emigrants around Cape Horn to Alaska. Later, when Alaska was sold in 1867 to the United States, many Finns stayed on and settled, particularly around the Sitka. The descendants of these early Finns and those who came later, played an important part in the development of this territory, which now, a century later, has become the 50th State of the Union. The Finns in Alaska were not only early pioneers, hunters and fur traders, fishermen, and gold diggers, but also administrators, mayors, and officials who advanced law and order in this (at the time) faraway land.

The great flow of emigration from Finland over the Atlantic began, however, in the latter part of the last century. In 1865, a group of 35 Finns arrived in upper Michigan. From then on, more and more came to Michigan and Minnesota where they found work in mines and iron furnaces, lumber camps, and in agriculture. Some remained on the east coast in New York and in the New England States where there are today several Finnish communities, particularly in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine. Between 1871 and 1873 Finns were pushing their way to the furthermost western points of the country; to Astoria, Oreg. (where they have held an important place as fishermen), and to the State of Washington. The depressions which occurred in the United States in the years 1873 and 1893 temporarily slowed down emigration from Finland. It increased later and reached its peak at the turn of the last century and continued to be high until the outbreak of the First World War and soon thereafter.

Finnish immigration to the United States remained, however, rather modest in comparison to that of many other European nationalities. The number of Finns in the United States—immigrants and second generation (one of the parents being a Finn)—never exceeded 150,000 in any given year according to the official American statistics. Several unofficial estimates included all people of Finnish origin who still knew Finnish or Swedish or who otherwise could be counted as Finns. These estimates vary between 300,000 and 400,000 as maximum on any given year. This is understandable if we take into account the fact that the total population of Finland was, at the turn of the century when immigration was at its highest, only about 2½ million, and today, when immigration has slowed down, 4½ million.

During these past decades, the Finns settled mainly in the Middle East and northernmost States of the east and west coast as already indicated. In these areas, the immigrants toiled mainly in the mines, lumber camps and railway construction works, and later, as pioneers. It has been said that no nationality of comparable size dug more iron and other metals out of the earth of this country than the Finns.

As Finland is still today a country of forests, the Finnish immigrants were used to heavy forest work and carpentry of every kind. In this respect, Professor Van Cleef from Ohio University writes about the Finns: "In efficiency in the mines, the Finns rank close to the top. They make good timbermen in the underground mines for they are reputed clever and ingenious with the ax and the log."

The majority of the Finnish immigrants came originally from agricultural life. It is not surprising, therefore, that they found their steps leading back to farm life in America. It was the aim of most of those who began working in the mines and lumber camps to obtain homesteads or to buy farms as soon as they had the means to do so. They generally obtained 40 to 120 acres, often cutover land in Michigan, filed for a homestead in Minnesota, or bought a rundown farm in western New York, Connecticut or elsewhere. Then they settled down to work and often cleared the stumpy land, acre-after acre, making of these virgin or rundown lands flourishing farms. They were not only handy in tilling the soil, but they built their own homes, shoed their own horses, and showed skill in different kinds of manual work. In the Scientific Monthly, May 1923, Professor Van Cleef writes that "the Finn is thrifty and independent. Both of these qualities are the consequence of his life upon the farm in his native country where isolation and the struggle against the odds of nature challenge the strongest and bravest of men. He has consequently developed a penchant for work, a tenacity of purpose, and a skill in farm management which may well be the envy of the peer of America's best farmers."

Most of these emigrants came here with little means to search for a better life or to earn money to return home and buy a farm. Therefore, the first generation, except in a few cases, could not start industries or commercial enterprises. From early times, however, the Finnish emigrants have been pioneers in establishing cooperatives in such fields as agriculture, dairy farming, retail stores, and insurance. It has been said that if two Finns meet they are either on their way to their cooperative or their sauna bath. Both these, even today, are most important; one to the economic and the other to their physical well-being. Thanks in part to these institutions in their life, many Finns from later generations have reached the top even in private business and industry. There are many outstanding engineers of Finnish descent and Finland has given this country several outstanding architects of which the Saarinens—father and son—are the most famous. Our best living architect, Alvar Aalto, who last year received the Gold Medal of the Institute of American Architects, has been both lecturing and teaching in this country.

Finns are an artistic race also, having one of the richest traditions in folklore and popular music. Since 1880, nearly every Finnish temperance and church society has had a choir, orchestra, or amateur theater group. The American Journal of Folklore wrote in October 1934: "The Finns in Minnesota have maintained much of the folklore of their homeland and have greatly enriched the musical life of the State." Finnish folklore had a special influence on Longfellow when he wrote "Hiawatha." He had read with great interest the German translation of the Finnish national epic, "Kalevala." Nathan Haskell Dole wrote in his introduction to "Hiawatha" in February 1898: "But it is not extravagant to claim that just as Virgil imitated Homer, so Longfellow more or less consciously imitated the Suomi epic

(Kalevala), nor does it detract from the value or interest of the poem."

In other artistic fields, as well, there has been a rich exchange between our countries to this day. Both Finnish-American and American choruses, orchestras and conductors have visited Finland as have similar Finnish groups, conductors, singers, and actors visited this country. Our distinguished composer and conductor, Oskari Merikanto, visited this country in 1900 and many artists and conductors have followed since. In 1914 our famous composer, Jean Sibelius, made an extensive visit to this country, and not long afterwards, the conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, Mr. Oberhof, introduced the traditional presentations of Sibelius' music here.

In recent years, Finnish designers of furniture, glass, ceramics, and textiles have had an important influence on contemporary American design and living as part of the recent Scandinavian revival in this country.

Physical education, gymnastics, wrestling, and track and field sports were very popular in Finland at the time of the largest immigration to the United States. Therefore, it was only natural that young Finns in this country founded sports clubs which have given a valuable support even to American Olympic teams. Particularly, Finnish long distance runners, who visited America (some settling here) have been an inspiration to the youth of this country. The most famous of these sportsmen is "the Flying Finn," Paavo Nurmi, who during the 1920's and 1930's held most world records on distances over a mile. Recently, Nurmi visited this country again as a sports veteran and was received by the President of the United States and welcomed by all sportsmen, particularly by those who remembered him from his days of glory.

Today, as American citizens, descendents of Finnish immigrants are university professors, educators, lawyers and others, have achieved success and high positions in business and industry. Although most of them no longer speak our language, they have their roots in Finland and form a firm link between our two countries. This bond, which was established by early settlers from Finland, has widened and strengthened since Finland became an independent country in 1917. The best known and most popular American in Finland from this time on, is President Herbert Hoover. It was mainly thanks to his support and insistence at the Paris Peace Conference that the Allied Governments recognized our independence; and it was the relief action led by him after the First World War, that saved Finland from starvation in 1918. We are still paying the war debt which came out of this American action; but, as we are the only nation that paid our war debt from that time, the payments have been made available in the form of scholarships for students and young scholars from both countries. Some Americans have gone to Finland to study but most of the funds have benefited Finnish youth wishing to study here. Thanks to these and other funds, about 100 to 150 of our young scholars study in American universities or other institutions each year, strengthening the cultural relations between our countries.

Soon after the First World War, permanent trade relations between Finland and the United States were established which were interrupted only by the last war. We export mainly paper, pulp, plywood, furs, ceramics and glassware and buy from this country machinery, grain, tobacco, chemicals and fruits. Our mutual trade is well balanced—about $50 million annually each way. There is also an increasing tourist trade, which benefits both countries materially as well as culturally.

Political relations between Finland and the United States are traditionally friendly. Finland is a neutral country, like Sweden, maintaining good relations with both West and East. Finland's policy is to remain outside great power conflicts of today; this is understood and accepted in the East as well as in the Western world. This was confirmed by President Kennedy when our President visited the United States in 1962, and again by President Johnson, when he, as Vice President, with Mrs. Johnson, visited Finland last year. Both of these visits were highpoints in the long tradition of friendship between our countries, the development of which I have tried to describe. There is an inscription on one of the many Finnish monuments in this country: "A strong will takes a man through gray granite stone." It is this will that has helped build both our nations, our civilizations and our freedom, which we shall defend, if necessary, with the same strong resolve.

Hon. Carl Elliott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of no finer, more capable, more dedicated, effective public servant than our beloved friend and esteemed, admired colleague, the illustrious gentleman from Alabama, Congressman CARL ELLIOTT.

To my mind, this great American stands foremost and topmost in the ranks of contemporary statesmen noted for their stanch devotion to country and their fierce passion for liberty and justice. CARL ELLIOTT is a true, loyal son of a great State, a man of highest character, noblest ideals, and loftiest objectives—fearless champion of the ordinary people of America.

While in his brilliant service here, he has been particularly interested in advancing the cause of education, and has achieved truly extraordinary results in this vital field. Congressman ELLIOTT's many interests and high achievements in this House have ranged over virtually the whole spectrum of essential, commendable legislative effort.

Every good cause related to the well-being, opportunity, and betterment of the American people has commanded the energetic attention and able assistance of this great statesman.

Patriot of the first magnitude, firm in his allegiance to the Constitution and American institutions, resolute defender of the Nation against the attacks and challenges of our enemies, whether to the security and safety of its shores and its homes or by the subversive Communist conspiracy. Vigilant, alert, penetrating, and swift of comprehension, vigorous and forthright of action, honesty and undaunted of approach and decision, of heartfelt concern for the weak, disabled, the handicapped, the lowly, and the inarticulate, CARL ELLIOTT has served his district, State, and Nation with that zeal, sincerity, vision, and loftiness of purpose that is seldom witnessed in any legislative body or elsewhere.

He has the respect, admiration, and affection of every Member of this House and is rightly honored for his many outstanding contributions to our work and to the national interest.

CARL ELLIOTT will be greatly missed in this body where he did such magnificent work and has so very many dear friends. But he is not departing from public life. He will be heard from soon again and he will be privileged to serve the people and the Nation in higher posts, God willing, for many years to come.

Men so gifted, talented and dedicated as CARL ELLIOTT do not fade away. To the contrary, they are drafted by the people to serve them, because the people know that they are invaluable in the public life of the Nation to help guide the ship of state through storm and through calm into the havens of freedom, justice, prosperity, and peace.

CARL ELLIOTT will go forward and upward toward his great destiny of exalted public service. We shall not bid him goodby, but merely au revoir, because his greatest triumphs lie ahead of him.

The country and the people need men like CARL ELLIOTT and I wish for him and his dear ones choicest blessings and every measure of success, prosperity, and happiness in the time to come.

Hail and salute to one of our greatest Congressmen—CARL ELLIOTT, of Alabama.

Resolutions Adopted at the 59th Annual Convention of Brith Sholom, Held at the Hotel Concord, Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., July 12–15, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege the other day to be present at the 59th annual convention of the great national fraternity, Brith Sholom at Kiamesha Lake, N.Y. In the course of that convention this great fraternity adopted a number of very thoughtful and timely resolutions. Under leave to extend my remarks I am happy to include the text of these fine resolutions for the information of my colleagues.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION ON GROUP LIBEL LAW

Whereas there is an increasing and widespread distribution of false, malicious and defamatory written material directed against Jews and other ethnic, racial, and religious groups; and

Whereas the history of the Jewish people bears witness to the evils to which the propagation of hate literature has led in the past; and

Whereas the circulation of scurrilous and libelous matter, setting one group against another, is damaging to our Nation's security and stability; and

Whereas criminal libel is the law in every State of the Union; and

Whereas international consensus, through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration Against the Crime of Geno-

cide, and other resolutions adopted by the United Nations, condemns the publishing and dissemination of slanderous material advocating or inciting others to perpetrate crimes against the persons or property of racial, ethnic, and religious groups; and

Whereas it is the duty and obligation of community organizations not only to guard the members of their community from threats to their lives and property and to defend them from attacks upon their rights and liberties, but also to secure them, wherever possible, from calculated efforts to degrade them and humiliate them: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July, 1964, endorse legislation that would prohibit the writing, publication and distribution of any false and defamatory material directed against a racial, religious, or ethnic group or which advocates acts of violence against their persons or property, and that Brith Sholom independently or in conjunction with other responsible agencies and organizations engage in an active campaign to secure their enactment.

RESOLUTION ON EXTREMIST GROUPS

Whereas solutions to the complex problems that confront our Nation require continuing thorough-going study and democratic debate in which opposing views can be responsibly considered, without demagogic incitement and distortion; and

Whereas extremist groups have attempted to obfuscate the issues, by the authoritarian deceit that our problems are the result of a conspiratorial "stab in the back," seeking a scapegoat for the frustrated, the prejudiced and the cynical; and have planted, through fear and hysteria, suspicions of the loyalty of our most revered and respected public officials, and have recklessly carried on a campaign to besmirch any effort to promote international goodwill and understanding; and

Whereas they operate clandestinely as self-styled vigilante groups, immune from the law, and use the big lie and wanton smear techniques as part of their invidious democratic practices: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July 1964 condemn the extremist groups as a threat to our democratic traditions and institutions and seek by education to expose these groups as irresponsible panderers of chaos who, under the guise of super patriotism, would destroy our democratic system and establish authoritarian rule.

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Whereas the cultural and religious life of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union is threatened by extinction through a policy of Government restrictions and harassment; and

Whereas repeated incidents involving Jews bear an unmistakable anti-Semitic character reminiscent of similar acts of defamation, vilification and physical oppression experienced by Jews in the past, such as the large number of Jews given the death penalty for economic crimes, and the publication of propaganda tracts that caricature Jews in the worst stereotype of the Streicher-Goebels era; and

Whereas anti-Jewish propaganda is utilized in the cold war effort of the Soviet Union in Africa and Asia to incur the favor of the Arab nations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July 1964, deplores the destruction and denial of Jewish cultural institutions in the Soviet Union, the Government's campaign to isolate the Jewish community from its brethren abroad and the obliteration of their historic memories; and be it further

Resolved, That Brith Sholom calls upon the Soviet Government to grant to the Jewish people the same opportunities for development of their cultural, educational and religious institutions enjoyed by other ethnic and religious groups recognized by the Soviet Union, and to accord, to all who desire, the liberty to immigrate to Israel which welcomes all Jews who seek asylum on her shores.

RESOLUTION ON WORLD PEACE

Whereas the people of the United States share with peoples everywhere their fervent prayer for a world without war; and

Whereas nuclear peril makes it imperative that mankind find a peaceful alternative to replace war as the resolution of differences between nations; and

Whereas our Government has entered into a series of modest and significant arrangements with the Soviet Union for the purpose of establishing mutual trust and confidence; thereby making further substantive agreements possible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July 1964, hail our Government's quest for peace and urge upon the Government of the United States the following actions:

1. The establishment of a Department of Peace, headed by a Secretary of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, whose mission will be to strive for durable peace, in the context of our legitimate security requirements.

2. The increase of appropriations and the enlargement of staff of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and all other agencies engaged in peace related activities.

3. To formulate plans for the transition of an armament economy to a peace economy as a cooperative endeavor of government, labor, industry and the consumer and, in that regard, as a first step, to convene a conference of representatives of these segments of our economy to familiarize them with studies already made by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and other institutions expert in the field of economic conversion.

4. To examine the prospects for extending the ban on nuclear explosions to underground tests, giving priority to the development of seismographic and other scientific techniques insuring detection of unauthorized tests.

5. To negotiate the establishment of safeguards against surprise attacks.

6. To enter into agreement with all nuclear powers to prevent the sale or transfer of nuclear weapons or weapon information to nonnuclear states, in the recognition that the acquisition of nuclear armaments by additional nations would multiply the problems of control and greatly increase the dangers of nuclear warfare.

7. To investigate the creation of nuclear free zones.

8. To expand opportunities for exchange of visitations between the peoples of the nations of the world and to cooperate on a broad scale in joint scientific and cultural ventures beneficial to our Nation and humanity.

RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Whereas America's best interests are served by peace and amity among nations; and

Whereas turmoil and strife are fertile ground for the seeds of antidemocratic totalitarian forces; and

Whereas the Middle East is rent by the expansionist ambitions of Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic; and

Whereas one of the major planks of Nasser's pan-Arab program is the destruction of Israel; and

Whereas ultranew weapons of devastation, including surface-to-surface missiles, obtained from the Soviet Government and developed by scientists and technicians of West Germany, are being stockpiled on a massive scale in Arab military arsenals for this sinister purpose; and

Whereas the Arab nations have de facto carried on an unrelenting war against Israel since its creation, through blockade, blacklisting, and boycott, and through assaults on its settlements and its fishermen; and

Whereas Nasser has engaged in deliberate, planned subversion to gain ultimate control of his sovereign neighbor states through dissemination of untrue and inflammatory propaganda, assassination, military putsch, and outright armed aggression as in Yemen, reminiscent of Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia; and

Whereas the enormous financial assistance provided by the U.S. Government makes it possible for Nasser to squander Egypt's treasury, badly needed to relieve the impoverished citizens of the United Arab Republic, on rockets to annihilate Israel, and submarines to blockade its shores; and

Whereas these aggressive acts are inconsistent with the development of responsible nationalist aims to which all peoples legitimately aspire and are a flagrant breach of international law, constituting a threat to world peace: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July 1964, call upon our President and duly elected authorities to take the following actions:

1. Condemn Nasser's aggressive acts as violations of international canons and a breach of the United Nations Charter.

2. Seek from Nasser through our great political, economic, and moral power a commitment that he will abandon his belligerent policy and pursue peace; making further financial assistance to his government conditional upon Nasser's acceptance of these terms.

3. Support in concert with other nations seeking peace, in the United Nations or without, all efforts, including the authority of the United Nations, to persuade Nasser and his allies to negotiate directly with Israel a just and permanent peaceful settlement of their differences.

4. Request the West German Government to exercise their authority to prevent their citizens from continuing their assistance to the Egyptian Government in the development of lethal weapons.

5. Publicly caution Nasser that any change in the status of nearby neighbors provoked by his intervention, whether by military forces or political subversion, which would pose a threat to Israel's security, would likely provoke the risks of retaliation by Israel and that, in the event of this occurrence, Nasser may not count upon U.S. intervention on behalf of Egypt.

6. Immediately provide Israel with sufficient arms and assistance to repel the Nasser threat.

RESOLUTION ON GERMAN SCIENTISTS WORKING FOR THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Whereas German scientists and technicians are engaged by the United Arab Republic to design and produce the latest missiles and rockets and other weapons of mass destruction intended for use in the Egyptian dictator President Nasser's acknowledged program to destroy the State of Israel; and

Whereas the government of the Federal Republic of Germany and its citizens bear a moral responsibility as heirs of the Hitler regime to prevent the final liquidation of the remnants of Hitler's policy of genocide; and

Whereas the West German authorities risk the forfeiture of the good will they have earnestly strived for in overcoming the Nazi past if they should fail to take steps to halt the criminal activities of their nationals in Egypt; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July, 1964, demands of the West German government that it recall all citizens in the employ of the United Arab Republic's military arsenal and establish penalties and proper safeguards to assure compliance.

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Whereas the brotherhood of all mankind is the cornerstone of social justice; and

Whereas the equality and dignity of every American is affirmed in the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas racial, religious, and ethnic hatred and discriminatory practices are inconsistent with the American and Hebraic spirit; and are morally indefensible and socially harmful; and

Whereas the continued existence of discrimination, whether political, economic, or social, is a violation of human rights that generates hatred, divides the Nation, and impedes the general welfare: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Brith Sholom in convention assembled this 13th day of July 1964, condemns the practice of racial, religious, or ethnic discrimination, urges the strengthening and extension of civil rights in all areas of human relationships, and supports all lawful efforts to achieve full and equal opportunities in housing, public accommodations, education, employment, and political life for all citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That all men of good will, unite to launch a major campaign of reconciliation that will eliminate all racial and religious discrimination.

President General Supports Walter-McCarran Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished Mrs. Robert V. H. Duncan, president general of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, made an eloquent, timely, and patriotic appeal supporting the Walter-McCarran Act before the House Judiciary Committee, Monday, August 10.

Mrs. Duncan's magnificent statement was provided to the Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate conducting hearings on the Hart bill.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this superb classic by Mrs. Duncan to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the United States:

REMARKS OF MRS. ROBERT V. H. DUNCAN

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee: Thank you for your courtesy and indulgence in permitting me the opportunity to speak today. As president general, I officially represent the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, a nonpolitical organization dedicated to historic, educational, and patriotic objectives, whose membership runs approximately 185,000 in the 50 States, the District of Columbia and some oversea units, comprising nearly 3,000 local chapter groups. I speak in support of maintaining the existing provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, especially the national origins quota system, and against proposed liberalizing amendments thereto; particularly, the deletion of the aforesaid national quota system and/or the establishment of a 5-year staggered accumulative immigration pool reserve.

Since you have already heard considerable testimony, my remarks will be kept as brief as possible stressing only the most pertinent points on which DAR membership has concern. In so doing, I speak not as a specialist or authority in a particular field. Rather, the focus is that of attempting to present to you and ask your consideration of the conscientious convictions of an organization keenly, and, more importantly, actively interested in this subject almost since its own inception nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Such interest actually dates back prior to the time any immigration statutes were of record. To substantiate this statement, lest there be any misconception such as was remarked to me in ignorance a year ago, that "The DAR is against immigrants," with pride, I point out as follows:

It was in 1913 the first—and for a number of years only—naturalization school in this country, was founded, operated, and financed by the DAR here in Washington, D.C., and continued so until the school was later incorporated—and still operates—in the District of Columbia school system. Another tangible and definite example of this organization's interest in immigrants coming to America seeking citizenship has been the consistent and continuous printing over the years, since 1920 (oftentimes in many languages) of the "DAR Manual for Citizenship." Over 9 million copies of this volume have been donated free in an effort to aid and abet an adequate understanding and full appreciation of good citizenship among immigrants. Aside from the quantity supplied, many heartwarming letters attest the value and benefit of this endeavor. DAR chapters and individuals regularly, year in and year out, sponsor programs and/or participate in connection with naturalization courts. Further, there is an intangible factor having bearing on the matter at hand. It is the personal followthrough which has ever been a integral part of DAR interest in and service to worthy would-be Americans. Sometimes this means a dinner in the home, or a dentist or doctor referral for a sick family member. It can also culminate in a presentation ceremony where a prized DAR Americanism Award is given to a naturalized American in recognition of outstanding service to his new homeland (native-born citizens are ineligible for this honor). Over 40 years ago, the well-known and outstanding DAR constructive social service assistance program for guidance to aliens at Ellis and Angel Islands was initiated. Thereafter, upon Government change at these two ports of entry, the present DAR physical therapy scholarship program emerged which is continued today.

Gentlemen, the purpose in reciting the foregoing points was twofold: First, to establish the fact that the national society, Daughters of the American Revolution, has been and continues interested in this minority group of our population and that interest is based upon firsthand knowledge, personal and direct; further; and secondly, the effort is to assure you that in appearing here today against the proposed bill to drastically change Public Law 414 the DAR is not taking a stand against immigration, per se. Any inference in that direction is in error and completely false. DAR, as a national organization, is among the foremost to extend a helping hand to immigrants admitted on an intelligent, orderly, equitable basis such as is allowed under the current Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. If, from time to time, there be need for change or adjustment, it should be provided through logical, deliberate amendment still retaining the national origins quota system and other vitally basic, protective features of the law. These constitute a firstline of defense in perpetuating and maintaining our institutions of freedom and the American way of life. To discard them would endanger both.

From the point that immigration is definitely a matter of national welfare and security, it is imperative that a logical and rational method of governing and administering same be maintained. The Walter-McCarran Act has done and will continue equitably to accomplish just this. It denies no nation a quota, but it does provide a reasonable, orderly mathematical formula (based, of course, upon the 1920 census figures) which is devoid of the political pressures which could inevitably be expected to beset any commission authorized to reapportion unused quotas as proposed in the legislation before you.

BY WAY OF BACKGROUND

What prompted passage of the Immigration-Nationality Act of 1952? It will be recalled that this was the product of a tedious, comprehensive study of nearly 5 years' duration, covering some 200 laws on selective immigration, special orders and exclusions and spanned the period from passage of the first quota law by Congress in 1924. This law codified and coordinated all existing immigration nationality and deportation laws.

Despite repeated efforts to weaken, circumvent and bypass this protective legislation, its soundness has been demonstrated over the period it has been in operation.

It embodies the following important features—all in the best interest of our constitutional Republic:

(a) Recognizing the cultural identity and historic population basis of this Nation, it officially preserved the national origin quota system as the basis for immigration, wisely giving preference to those nations whose composite culture—Anglo-Saxon from northern and western European countries—has been responsible for and actually produced the American heritage as we know it today.

(b) It abolished certain discriminatory provisions in our immigration laws—those against sexes and persons of Asiatic origin.

(c) "Quality versus quantity" preference for skilled aliens was provided as well as broadened classifications for nonquota immigrants. No nation or race is listed ineligible for immigration and naturalization although the acknowledged purpose is to preserve this country's culture, free institutions, free enterprise economy and racial complex, yes, and likely, even language. Ready assimilability of the majority of immigrants is a prime factor.

(d) It provides the U.S. Immigration Department with needed authority to cope with subversive aliens by strengthening security provisions.

WHY DAR IS FOR RETENTION OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1952

Perhaps the sentiment and deep concern of the DAR relative to the matter of immigration and its appeal for retention of the present law is best expressed by excerpting salient points from recent resolutions on the subject:

1. For building unity and cohesiveness among American citizens, whose social, economic, and spiritual mind has been and is under increasing pressures and conflicts, wise and comprehensive steps must be taken.

2. For the protection and interest of all, citizens from foreign elements imbued with ideologies wholly at variance with our republican form of government should be excluded.

On basis of FBI analysis statistics and information available through investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, loopholes through which thousands of criminal aliens may enter this country con-

stitute a continuing threat for the safety of American institutions.

3. Since it is a recognized fact that free migration allowing unhampered movement of agents is necessary for triumph of either a world socialist state or international communism as a world conspiracy, this would explain the motivation on the part of enemies of this country for concentrated effort to undermine the existing immigration law.

4. Admittedly, major problems confronting the Nation and threatening its national economy are: Unemployment, housing, education security, population explosion, and other domestic problems such as juvenile delinquency, crime, and racial tensions. This is borne out by numerous statistics and the current Federal war on poverty effort. In view of this, revisions as per proposed new quotas to greatly increase the number of immigrants would be a threat to the security and well-being of this Nation, especially in face of the cold war inasmuch as it would be impossible to obtain adequate security checks on immigrants from satellite Communist-controlled countries.

In summation: A comparative study would indicate increased aggravation of existing problems and unfavorable repercussions on all facets of our economy such as employment, housing, education, welfare, health and national security, offering additional threat to the American heritage—cultural, social, and ethnic traditions.

DAR IS AGAINST H.R. 7700 AND SIMILAR WEAKENING BILLS

While DAR would be the first to admit the importance of immigrants to America, its membership ties linking directly with the first waves of immigrants to these shores, it would seem well, however, to point out a "then and now" difference factor currently exists attributable to time and circumstance—no uncomplimentary inference therein. A common desire shared by immigrants of all time to America has been the seeking of freedom or the escape from tyranny. But in the early days—say the first 150 years—it is noteworthy that those who came, shared common Anglo-Saxon bonds and arrived with the full knowledge and intent of founders or pioneers who knew there was a wilderness to conquer and a nation to build. Their coming indicated a willingness to make a contribution and assume such a role. In the intervening years, many fine, high-caliber immigrants have likewise come to America imbued with a constructive desire to produce and add to the glory of their new homeland. They, however, have come to a nation already established with cultural patterns set and traditions already rooted. Further, in recent years, en masse refugee movements though responding to the very same ideal which is America have been motivated primarily by escape. This has had a tendency possibly to dim individual purpose and dedication and possibly project beyond other considerations, the available benefits to be secured as an American citizen.

Abandonment of the national origins system would drastically alter the source of our immigration. Any change would not take into consideration that those whose background and heritage most closely resemble our own are most readily assimilable.

In recent testimony before you, this point was touched upon by a high official (reference CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 21, 1964, p. 16939) when he said, "To apply the new principle rigidly would result after a few years, in eliminating immigration from these countries almost entirely." Admittedly, such a situation would be undesirable. A strict first-come, first served basis of allocating visa quotas as proposed, would create certain problems in countries of northern and western Europe, and ultimately dry up influx from that area.

Going a step further, would not the abolishment of the National Origin Quota System work a hardship and possibly result in actual discrimination against the very nations who supplied the people who now comprise the majority of our historic population mixture? Further, such a change in our existing laws would appear to be an outright accommodation to the heaviest population explosions throughout the world—India, Asia and Africa. Certainly, these countries could naturally be expected to take full advantage of such an increased quota opportunity.

Is it, therefore, desirable or in the best interest to assign possible 10 percent quotas to say proliferating African nations to the end that our own internal problems become manifold? America, as all other nations, is concerned over rapid population growth of this era. Staggering statistics are readily available on every hand.

Attention is called to the fact that immigration is not a alien right; it is a privilege. With privilege comes its handmaiden, responsibility. Before tampering with the present immigration law, much less destroying its basic principles, due regard must also be given to our own unemployment situation. No less an authority than the late President John F. Kennedy (who, of course, was for the proposed bill) stated on March 3, 1963, that we had 5 million unemployed and 2 million people displaced each year by advancing technology and automation.

Irrespective of recent and reoccuring reports on unemployment showing temporary increases or decreases, the fact is, it remains a matter of economic concern. Latest figures available as of June 1964 indicate 4.7 million or 5.3 percent.

In view of this, it would seem highly incongruent if not outright incredible to find ourselves in a situation, on the one hand, waging war on poverty and unemployment at home, while on the other hand simultaneously and indiscriminately letting down immigration bars to those abroad. Not only employment alone but mental health and retardation problems could greatly increase. Another source of concern to the heavy-laden taxpayer to whom already the national debt figure is astronomical.

It is asserted that our economy will get three consumers for every worker admitted and that our economy generates jobs at a rate better than one for every three consumers. Why, then, are we presently plagued with unemployment? And how is it possible to guarantee that there new immigrants will "fill jobs that are going begging because there are not enough skilled workers in our economy who have the needed skills?" Are there enough such jobs going begging to justify destroying an immigration law which has been described as "our first line of defense?"

Rightly, it would seem U.S. citizens should have first claim on jobs and housing in this country. With manpower available and the recent emphasis on expanded educational facilities, why is not definite concentrated effort made to provide and accelerate vocational and special skill training for the many who either through disinclination, native ability or otherwise, are not qualified potentials for schooling in the field of science, medicine, law or other such professions?

UNUSED QUOTA ALLOCATION

Without the quota system, it is doubtful whether or not America could indefinitely maintain its traditional heritage: Economic, cultural, social, ethnic, or even language.

Free institutions as we have known them, would stand to undergo radical change if the proposal to permit reapportionment of unused quotas is also adopted. It is felt reassignment of unused quotas would be as damaging to the basic principles of the Immigration and Nationality Act as repeal of the national origins system itself. The proviso that the President reserve a portion of the "pool" for allocation to qualified immigrants further extends the power of the executive branch of the Government.

INFILTRATION—SECURITY CLEARANCE

No less important is the fact that it is almost impossible to adequately screen persons coming from satellite countries.

It may well be embarrassing to proponents of liberalizing amendments to find that some of the most active opposition against the Walter-McCarran Act is provided by the Communists. According to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Communist Party has created, and now controls in 15 key States, 180 front organizations dedicated exclusively to the purpose of creating grassroots pressure in the Congress to destroy the act—which is what most of the proposed amendments would do.

In this connection, I am reminded of the expressive words of the late beloved poet, Robert Frost, who, in "A Poet's Reflections on America and the World," put it this way: "Sizing up America: You ask me if America is still a great country. Well, it's easy to see that, if we don't know how great America is, Russia does."

IN SUMMARY

The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, which initially supported the Walter-McCarran bill when it was introduced and has continuously done so since, wishes again to officially reaffirm its support of the existing law, firmly believing that the present Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 not only safeguards our Constitutional Republic and perpetuates our American heritage, but by maintaining its established standards, that it actually protects the naturalized American on a par with the native born, and as well offers encouragement to desirable immigrants to become future American citizens. Any breakdown in this system would be an open invitation to Communist infiltration. Likewise, a poor law, newly enacted, and improperly administered could provide the same opportunity to the detriment, if not the actual downfall of our country.

The well-intentioned, humanitarian plea that America's unrestricted assumption of the overpopulous, troubled, ailing people of the world within our own borders is unrealistic, impractical, and if done in excess could spell economic bankruptcy for our people from point of both employment and overladen taxes to say nothing of a collapse of morale and spiritual values if nonassimilable aliens of dissimilar ethnic background and culture by wholesale and indiscriminate transporting en masse overturn the balance of our national character.

In connection with the liberalization proposals, it would seem timely to refer to the words of Senator McCarran, who, when he presented the bill, warned: "If the enemies of this legislation succeed in riddling it to pieces, or in amending it beyond recognition, they will have contributed more to promote this Nation's downfall than any other group since we achieved our independence as a Nation."

Somewhat the same sentiment was expressed by Abraham Lincoln, who admonished: "You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong; and you cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

Many inspiring words have been written of America, I would conclude with those of the late historian, James Truslow Adams, "America's greatest contribution to the world has been that of the American dream, the dream of a land where life shall be richer, fuller, and better, with opportunity for every person according to his ability and achievement."

The question is: Can it continue so if, through reckless abandon, the United States becomes mired, causing the country to lose its image as the land of opportunity, the home of the free? Ours is the responsibility to maintain and preserve it for the future.

Thank you.

Law and Order as It Relates to the Bible, History, and the Future of Our Great Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. EVERETT JORDAN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, on Wednesday, August 19, 1964, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. WALTERS] delivered a lesson to the Senate breakfast prayer group. It is a timely and good lesson. I want all of our colleagues to have the opportunity to read it. Senator WALTERS has made a great contribution to the Senate since he has been here. We all hate to see him retire at the end of this session.

I ask unanimous consent that the lesson delivered by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. WALTERS] on August 19, 1964, to the Senate breakfast prayer group be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the lesson was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRAYER BREAKFAST, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1964

Good morning, friends and colleagues. Today I would like to talk to you about law and order as it pertains to the Bible, as it pertains to history, as it pertains to the future of our great country.

From Romans, chapter 2, verses 12 and 13, I read:

"For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law. For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified."

These precepts of God have endured thousands of years of trial, yet they are just as vital and living today as they were at the time of their author, St. Paul the apostle.

Americans are a religious people. Our Nation was given its beginning by God-fearing men. Our laws are out of the Old Testament. On the coin of the Republic we proudly proclaim, "In God We Trust." America has achieved her greatness not primarily because of her great natural wealth, but because the foundation of our form of government, and way of life, are firmly imbedded in the rugged rock of our Christian spiritual heritage.

It is a heritage that had its beginning at the time of Moses, the lawgiver, when 3 years after he led his people from Egypt, God chose to reveal His law to him.

It was these revelations which Jesus later taught as the law of God, and it was this law that Jesus not only preached—but upheld. He, Himself, said in His Sermon on the Mount: "Think not that I am come to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, 'til heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law 'til all be fulfilled. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, so shall he be called least in the Kingdom of Heaven."

History is replete with examples of the gradual decay and eventual destruction of those nations devoid of law—of those nations who ignored the word of God.

The Roman Republic fell because the morality of the masses collapsed. At the beginning, the Romans, simple, agricultural people, had little wealth. They were later degraded by the proceeds of lush conquests which invited indulgence in luxury and idleness. Some landowners had lost their holdings because of enforced absence as soldiers in never-ending wars, and, since there was nothing in the artificially created Roman religion to promote a high standard of conduct, they lived without any semblance of law and order. Without any restraints, they trampled themselves in the furor of their own greed, gluttony, and vice.

Another classic example of what lawlessness can do to a country is vividly demonstrated by an examination of the French Revolution.

The country, in 1793, was aflame as revolts, enemy troops, economic suffering, and political hatreds threatened France with disaster. To win mass support, a constitution was hastily voted and, in a brilliantly conceived propagandist move, it was submitted to a popular referendum and then quietly put aside. Terror and virtue—the oil and water combination—was the motivating force of the government, and many thousands fell victim to a more or less legalistic terror.

It was to take many years and the efforts of many to restore domestic tranquility through just law and order.

Another example of national lawlessness, when God's word was set aside, began with the advent of the Nazi Party in 1921. After Hitler's book, "Mein Kampf," was published, it was called, blasphemously, the bible of the German people. During the intervening years, until Hitler took over as chancellor in 1933, it has been said that there were two governments in Germany—one visible and operating lawfully—the other silent and hidden—gradually strengthening its authority outside and above the law.

Once Germany became a Nazi state, all pretense toward law and order went out, and was supplanted by one of the cruelest and most despotic governments the world has ever known.

Many millions lost their lives in a lawless era of tyranny that saw the Nazi government add to its totalitarian control through merciless bloodbaths. The master race concept was to be accomplished through the extermination of the Jews.

The Nazis failed in their mad dreams of world conquest through a victory of a moral force that brought the totalitarian regimes of Germany and Italy crashing to earth.

Today, however, perhaps an even greater menace threatens our way of life through established law and order under God. We are living in a world which is rapidly being overrun by a system of government which denies freedom to all. The Communist concept, fathered by Karl Marx, now threatens the entire world.

The purpose of the Russian revolution of 1917 was to overthrow not only the czarist government, but all existing law as well.

This law contained basic elements of eastern Christianity and was adapted to Slavic life and customs. As such, we would understand it to embody concepts of justice that had been in the making for centuries. Within a month after the overthrow of the czarist government, all courts were abolished.

The Soviet legal system has since that time been characterized as a system of parental law in which people are treated, not as independent possessors of rights, but as immature dependent youths who must be trained and disciplined in their consciousness of rights and duties, and for whom rights are also gifts. Today the distinctive feature of Soviet law is that it is force law, since all of it is pointed to promote the policy of the Soviet state without regard to the individual.

The intangible force that makes our freedom and progress possible, is, of course, law which concerns itself with the individual. It is such a law that brings order into the affairs of men—that enables them to lift their sights above mere survival to accumulate possessions, to develop arts, to pursue knowledge, and to enjoy life among their fellows.

Law, as we know it, gives the individual security that he could obtain in no other way. It protects the family, and it permits the growth of great cities and the development of vast enterprises. In other words, it is the element that holds our free society together.

We are now faced with a very serious situation with regard to compliance or noncompliance with the law. I am speaking, of course, of the recently enacted civil rights law. It is important that we realize compliance is not optional.

We must join hands.

We must practice the principles of the golden rule which we were taught in childhood.

We must realize it is the duty of each of us to insist on total obedience to the law.

Each law enforcement officer, from those at the local level to those of the Federal agencies, should be instructed to act according to the law and not as convenience or self-disposition dictates.

We have no other prerogative. To willfully disobey is to follow the path to anarchy, and the American majority will never choose anarchy as its avenue of redress for grievance.

We eulogize our great men, we glory in our past achievements, and we regularly pledge allegiance to the divine principles upon which our Nation was created. Yet, we have never let the past be a stumbling block to orderly progress—rather, we have used the past as a stepping stone to greater accomplishments.

So let it be now. The freedoms and civil liberties we enjoy today are an important link to our past, but they are an even more important link to our future.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. In closing, I would like to quote a portion of a speech made by J. C. Penney:

They must obey the law. I do not refer to the civil law that protects one man against another. I refer to the spiritual law that protects a man against himself. For all men are tempted to slip down from their best standards. We have to watch and pray.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill; Conference Report

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a table on H.R. 11202, the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for 1965. Also I ask unanimous consent that it be made a part of yesterday's discussion on the conference report in the permanent RECORD.

The table follows:

H.R. 11202, Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriation bill, fiscal year 1965

Item	1964 appropriation	1965 Budget estimate	Passed House	Passed Senate	Conference action	Conference action compared with—			
						1964 appropriation	Budget estimate	House	Senate
Title I, general activities	$1,572,016,315	$1,473,590,600	$1,393,687,000	$1,573,157,525	$1,506,747,200	−$65,269,115	+$33,156,600	+$113,060,200	−$66,410,325
Title II, credit agencies	78,892,900	58,802,000	55,885,000	57,422,000	57,322,000	−21,570,900	−1,480,000	+1,437,000	−100,000
Title III, corporations	4,595,388,000	4,051,233,000	3,733,093,000	3,708,093,000	3,573,093,000	−1,022,295,000	−478,140,000	−160,000,000	−135,000,000
Title IV, Farm Credit Administration	(2,785,000)	(2,876,000)	(2,876,000)	(2,876,000)	(2,876,000)	(+91,000)			
Total	6,246,297,215	5,583,625,600	5,182,665,000	5,338,672,525	5,137,162,200	−1,109,135,015	−446,463,400	−45,502,800	−201,510,325
Loan authorization	(855,000,000)	(753,000,000)	(795,000,000)	(795,000,000)	(795,000,000)	(−60,000,000)	(+42,000,000)		

Top Management of Government—Good Pay for Good Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the National Civil Service League, a nonpartisan, nonprofit citizen's organization serving the public interest by working to improve the Federal service, has made an outstanding contribution to the studies made in connection with the Government Employees Pay Reform Act of 1964.

The league, recognizing the need for adequate pay levels in the Federal service, particularly in the upper echelons of Government, conducted an extensive survey intended to provide a sampling of significant opinion on the need for attracting men of high quality to positions of responsibility in Government. The findings of the survey were used extensively by the President's Advisory Panel on Federal Salary Systems. The league has also undertaken an extensive public information campaign to make known the results of its survey, and cooperated fully with the Congress in its deliberations on Federal pay. Their representatives appeared before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and were helpful in many ways.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This editorial, entitled "The Top Management of Government—Good Pay for Good Men," will appear in the September issue of Good Government, the official bulletin of the National Civil Service League.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TOP MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT—GOOD PAY FOR GOOD MEN

(By Jean J. Couturier, executive director, National Civil Service League)

"Inadequate salaries for legislators, executives, and judges represent the most critical deficiency in our entire Federal personnel policy. The National Civil Service League considers the matter of increased salary incentives at these policy and leadership levels of transcendent importance to the retention and attraction of the best capacities in our society."

BERNARD L. GLADIEUX,
Chairman of the Board, National Civil Service League.

This statement defined the nonpartisan, nonprofit National Civil Service League's position on the urgent need to reform Federal pay structures for the top management of Government. It further served as a philosophical underpinning for a massive research and public information-education-counseling program that has culminated in the President's signing a comprehensive salary adjustment bill on August 14, 1964. This new "Government Employees Salary Reform Act of 1964" provides the largest single pay raise ever granted Federal executives—$10,000 for Cabinet members, $7,500 for legislators, $4,500 for Supreme Court justices, and comparable raises for second- and third-echelon managers of government. The league's work on this crucial improvement, which it considers only a first-step success, elicited the following statement of thanks from President Lyndon B. Johnson to league board chairman Gladieux on June 12, 1964:

"I want to express appreciation to you and the board of directors of the league for the many distinguished contributions you have made to the cause of salary reform * * * in the past 3 years. These contributions have been an affirmative extension of the long-time policy of the league to seek * * * to improve the quality of the public service."

In its 83-year fight for efficiency and economy in the public service, the National Civil Service League has worked consistently to attract and retain top quality Government personnel. It has done this by championing an able, nonpartisan civil service—a struggle that has been largely won, except for pockets of patronage and spoils that persist in some States and localities; by promoting public recognition of outstanding career civil service to raise its prestige—a continuing program that has spawned many others and continues to be lauded for its effectiveness; and by diligently working for appropriate pay structures—an old and particularly tough problem articulated by President George Washington on December 7, 1796, when he told Congress:

"The compensation of the various officers of the United States in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appears to call for legislative revision."

This issue has become even more acute with the increasing responsibility and complexity of our Government today.

The loss of key talent because of inadequate pay has become a problem that threatens the stature and capacity of government. Congress faced this problem in 1962 when it sought and followed the advice of the National Civil Service League—by stating as national policy that Federal salaries should be comparable with those outside Government and by requesting President Kennedy to propose adequate salary levels for top Federal officials. He acted by appointing a special advisory panel on Federal salary systems made up of 12 distinguished citizens under the chairmanship of Clarence B. Randall.

The league recognized the need for an objective analysis of informed public opinion. It conducted and published a public service survey among leaders of business, education, and the professions to learn the views of these "influentials" on proper pay levels for members of the Cabinet and Congress. The survey, carefully and objectively structured to include a valid sampling of the Nation's decisionmakers whose respected opinions provide a barometer of public thinking, showed an overwhelming interest in substantially raising salary levels for Cabinet officers, Senators, and Representatives and also a deep concern with the urgency of attracting the ablest men to Government leadership. Over 50 percent of the 400 leaders who responded opted for $50,000 Cabinet salaries. Eighty-two percent spoke out for $40,000 or more, and the average recommended salary for those officials was $36,000, or $1,000 more than Congress finally provided. Nearly half of the respondents favored congressional salaries of $35,000 or more, and 86 percent said our legislators should be paid at least $30,000 annually.

The Randall panel took the league study seriously, used the survey materials extensively, and cited the league in its report to the President. In reporting on the Randall panel's work, the New York Times of August 14, 1963, said, "In a report to President Kennedy, the 12-man panel followed many recommendations made by the National Civil Service League last April."

The league, in responding to the Government's request for advice, was performing but part of its historic research-counseling, information-education role. A citizens' action organization also must inform and educate the citizens, whose interest is crucial to effective democratic government.

The league, then, embarked on a major program of further fact-finding, counseling, program of further factfinding, counseling, buted over 50,000 copies of 11 separate special studies, reports, articles, and statements of views to key people in American leadership. League board members (all private citizens) wrote over 2,000 personal letters to other Americans asking their views and informing them of our stand. Clarence B. Randall, in the league's behalf, asked for and received formal statements of views from leaders in American industry that could be published by the league. The league was asked to testify before Congress and it did so. In addition, its board members and staff made over a dozen trips to Washington to meet with Government officials and congressional leaders to advise, at their request, on the issue. And finally, the league made its research, statistics, studies, and opinions available to the public through the press, radio, and television. These were widely reported on the airwaves and in literally thousands of newspapers and magazines, thus informing and alerting the public to the urgency of the need for Federal salary reform.

The results of the league's efforts in this crucial issue are now history. We offer our profound thanks to the thousands of individuals, the leaders in our society who responded to Mr. Clarence Randall and his panel for their excellent work, to the leaders of Government who had the courage to act, and to our members and supporters, without whom the league could never have made such a public service contribution. The league believes the battle is only partly won. The need remains for truly competitive salaries to be paid to the top executive managers of Government. With the help of those who stand with us, we will continue to work.

The salary issue, however, is only part of the crisis facing Government today. The league in appropriate sequence, has fought for and won a merit system of civil service. It continues to advance the merit principle and it further helps raise the prestige of public service through its Career Service Awards program. Salary reform followed naturally in the league's program as part of its quest for excellence in the public service. The time has now come for a critical reexamination of the organization of Government as it applies to personnel and for citizens' action aimed at improvement and modernization.

The attraction and retention of quality people to staff Government, which today employs nearly 15 percent of the national work force, urges on the league the next step in the job to help Government answer its manpower input problem—how to get and keep able people. The need remains to look more intensely and critically at recruitment, promotion, tenure, discipline, mobility, management flexibility, and employee motivation. The league has worked long, hard, and well as a citizens' action organization to promote an efficient and economical public service; these issues constitute a challenge that remains before it.

The National Civil Service League needs all public-spirited citizens to join its effort.

The People Speak: White Man in the South Is Now a Slave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR WINSTEAD
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Mr. Edwin L. Sumrall, route 1, Meridian, Miss. This article appeared in the Meridian Star on August 10, 1964:

THE PEOPLE SPEAK: WHITE MAN IN THE SOUTH IS NOW A SLAVE

If slavery can be defined as involuntary servitude—and this seems a fair definition—then the position of the white man and the black man in the South has been reversed.

Not since Civil War days has the Negro been compelled to work for anyone against his will under penalty of being imprisoned if he refused. But now, under the provisions of the infamous public accommodations section of the new civil rights law, many Southern white men are compelled to serve those they don't want to serve, or face the penalty of imprisonment if they refuse.

Is this not a strange thing, that the grandsons of former slaves should be going over our land preaching that those who refuse to serve them should be imprisoned? It seems fair enough to say that any Negro—whether he has a reverend before his name or not—who would send a white man to prison for refusing to serve him, publicly declares himself in favor of slavery.

No amount of preaching of injustices suffered by the Negroes of the South in times past can cover up these simple facts:

1. The white people of the South have also suffered injustices—and still do—and no one is trying to make amends to them.

2. Any Negro who does anything to send a white man to prison for refusing to serve him becomes guilty of the very thing he professes to abhor, forced servitude.

It seems that Southern white people, aided by our sensible colored people, must continue to take the lead in informing people throughout the Nation in every way possible the evils of such a slave law.

E. L. SUMRALL.

Partners of the Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, there has been considerable interest, in my State, in the Partners of the Alliance program, a happy complement to the Alliance for Progress. Under this program, American businessmen and other private citizens are working with private groups and organizations in Latin America to help them complete small, impact-type projects. A vital sense of movement for the Alliance for Progress, especially in the rural areas of Latin nations, is thus given expression.

I am pleased that citizens in my State are seeking further information about how they can organize a South Dakota Partners of the Alliance Committee. An interesting article in regard to the effort of private groups and organizations to assist their counterparts in Latin America was published recently in the Washington Evening Star. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNOFFICIAL U.S. PARTNERS HELP LATIN AMERICAN AREAS

(By Jerry O'Leary, Jr.)

A new program is personalizing U.S. aid to Latin America by making various areas of the United States partners with towns, sections, and whole nations south of the border.

The program is called Partners of the Alliance by Americans and Companeros de la Alianza by the Latins.

But in the last analysis it is a people-to-people program between private groups in American cities and States and similar areas in Latin America.

For example, a group of Texans is leaving soon for a trip to Peru with whom the people of the Lone Star State have agreed to become partners. It is not a case of Texas adopting Peru or an old clothes charity program; the Texas Partners Committee will begin to work with a similar group in Peru.

The Texans will furnish some money and the Peruvians will furnish the work on a number of projects, small as aid programs go. The money comes from civic clubs, 4-H clubs business and professional groups, chambers of commerce, high schools, and other organizations who want to help others help themselves.

SELF-HELP REQUIRED

"If there's no self-help in it, we won't touch it," says 38-year-old James H. Boren, special assistant to the Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress.

The self-help projects the Texans will undertake in Peru are typical.

A Peruvian teacher has volunteered to establish a poultry program for a tribe of Indians in the Jivaro country and $607 is needed for baby chicks and rolls of wire. The Texas groups will furnish the money and the purchases will be made in Peru if possible. The Indians will do the work.

Another village needs 1 bull and 30 rolls of barbed wire at a cost of $600. Another needs a $168 hand-operated water pump and a fourth needs $78 for two kerosene lamps and a dozen books so the Indians can be taught to read.

The partnerships have been catching on fast. Utah has joined with Bolivia. Pensacola, Fla., has sent almost $30,000 to establish a medical center in Chimbote, Peru.

FAIRFAX SCHOOL HELPS

The students of Mount Vernon High School, in nearby Fairfax County, Va., raised $200 to help students at a vocational school in Hauara, Peru, buy tools and books.

Fifteen public school districts in the area around Eugene, Oreg., have been linked with Costa Rica so that 15 Costa Rican teachers will spend 2½ months in the Oregon school system for inservice training. The Latin teachers will live with Oregon families.

Alabama is planning an alliance with Guatemala, Arizona with El Salvador, Utah with Bolivia, Ohio with the state of Parana, in Brazil and Illinois with the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The civil defense director of Oakland County, Mich., John E. Madole, is going to Cali, Colombia, to start a partnership with the people of the Cauca Valley. A Colombian counterpart will come to Pontiac, Mich., to form the opposite end of the pipeline. Cali wants help in municipal planning and budgetary control, educational and industrial development.

AT LOWEST LEVEL

Operating at the lowest level of government, where nation-to-nation assistance rarely filters down, Mr. Madole is heading for Cali with the support of Oakland County leaders and its Congressman, Representative WILLIAM BROOMFIELD. He will have his work cut for him in an area that is unbelievably rich but has a desperately poor population.

The aim is to keep the system uncomplicated, according to Mr. Boren, who is the catalyst for the Partners program.

He believes the burgeoning program will do much to erase the image of the "Ugly American." He cites the case of Pelileo, a village of 2,300 people in the shadow of Mount Chimborazo, in the Ecuadoran Andes.

Pelileo was leveled by earthquakes in 1949. The survivors moved 2 miles and slowly began to rebuild their village. Over the years, they reestablished a school, a hospital, and their homes but now they need a water system.

SENDING WATER SYSTEM

The Idaho Partners, who had already furnished four pedal-operated sewing machines and a typewriter for an orphanage at nearby Conocoto, are going to help the people of Pelileo with a portable water system, equipment for a baking cooperative, and electric lights for the hospital which now has a gooseneck lamp in the operating room.

The people of Pelileo are so overwhelmed that when Mr. Boren went there on a visit recently he wound up at the head of a parade.

California has signed agreements with Chile in a larger scale operation, activated by the Late President Kennedy and Governor Brown for water resource development, agricultural extension services, and manpower planning.

But the Partners program is generally smaller and almost entirely unofficial. Most of the projects cost less than $500.

Negro Weekly Supports Goldwater With Gusto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article appearing in the Cincinnati Enquirer which comments upon the position of Alvin D. Smith, editor and publisher of the Butler County, Ohio, American.

Mr. Smith is one of the Negro publishers and editors which we have in America. Editor Smith is supporting Senator GOLDWATER wholeheartedly and explains his reasons for this support. If other Negro leaders in the country took this position, we would have less racial problems than we have today and the status of the Negro would be rapidly advanced.

The Negro race has much to be proud of and much to be ashamed of. The white race has much to be proud of and a great deal to be ashamed of. I believe that the election of Senator GOLDWATER will do much to upgrade that which each race may be proud of and will do much to eliminate what each race has to be ashamed of.

The article follows:

NEGRO WEEKLY SUPPORTS GOLDWATER—WITH GUSTO

(By Steve Lovelady)

A curious phenomenon shows up on the street corners and doorsteps of Hamilton, Ohio, each Saturday morning.

It is a newspaper—a Negro newspaper—which has come out enthusiastically and unreservedly in support of Republican presidential nominee Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

The newspaper is the Butler County American, a four-page weekly, and its editor-publisher is Alvin D. Smith, who has been in the business for 25 years.

The Negro paper has been praising Senator GOLDWATER since 1962. On July 11, only 2 weeks after he voted against the civil rights bill, it officially endorsed him as the man to pick in the presidential race, and it has been tooting the Goldwater horn ever since.

In his endorsement editorial, Mr. Smith said, "The one major need in the country today is leadership in the White House that will act to save America, knowing that then all else will continue to make progress, including human rights. That man who will meet the issue, we think, is GOLDWATER, who has done more for civil rights in his home State (according to what Negroes there say) than anyone else."

The editorial went on, "We have heard candidates for the Presidency say much to get the Negroes' vote regarding civil rights. The late President Kennedy made no move for civil rights for over 2 years, yet he made many promises during the campaign. * * * There is no hyprocrisy in GOLDWATER. He believes in rule under law and order. And whatever law Congress puts on the books, including the civil rights law, GOLDWATER would enforce. Mr. GOLDWATER should be judged by his outspoken stand for freedom of all segments of the population, and not by words that others may speak."

Mr. Smith says the key to his editorial stand is the slogan which is printed each week on the upper right-hand corner of the newspaper's front page: "Hypocrisy in Democracy Must Be Defeated."

On Senator GOLDWATER, Mr. Smith told the Enquirer, "This is the first time in years that we've had a sincere man running for the highest office in this land."

On Senator GOLDWATER's civil rights stand, he said, "I think it's fine because he's sincere. Senator GOLDWATER will do more to carry on the battle for full equality than anyone in a long, long time, excluding the late Senator Bob Taft, of course.

"Don't get me wrong," editor Smith added, "We are wholeheartedly in support of civil rights—but opposed to force and violence. We must have laws and Senator GOLDWATER has promised enforcement."

Mr. Smith claims his support of the Arizonan is logical.

"Senator GOLDWATER integrated the Air National Guard in Arizona before he entered the political arena; he desegregated the Goldwater department stores before this was a common practice; he assisted in the desegregation of restaurants and other facilities in Phoenix by local option; and he was an early supporter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League. That, and his honesty, is why he's my man."

Mr. Smith is just as unreserved in his biting criticisms of President Johnson.

In his editorial columns, he has written, "Lyndon Johnson, as a Congressman and U.S. Senator from Texas, fought and voted consistently for 20 years against all civil rights measures, including the elimination of the poll tax on six separate occasions, until he emerged as a politician with national ambitions. In Texas * * * he worked and voted against all civil rights proposals in order to please anti-Negro forces in his State and the South. * * * This Johnson hypocrisy should be resisted by every Negro at the polls in November * * * Johnson uses the Negro for selfish political gain."

Here are the Butler County American's positions on other civil rights issues:

On passage of the civil rights bill—"We have laws against murder, rape, kidnaping, etc., to which victims can turn for justice. With these, as with the civil rights law, some will break them, but we have a method by which to go without violence under law.

"As long as the Nation stands, we will have some within our midst who disobey the law against dope, the numbers racket, et cetera. None seeks to stage demonstrations because of it. They evidently know there is a law to take care of the situation. And so it should now be in civil rights. Demonstrations staged mean little because there is a national law to take care of injustices."

On civil disobedience: "Here in Butler County we have brought about integration of the teaching staff in public schools, of post office employees and of hospital staffs, all without fanfare, blood or thunder."

On recent race riots in New York: "Certainly, we believe if Governor Rockefeller and New York's Mayor Wagner had long ago worked to raise the lid on racial tensions in that area, Communists and Black Muslims would have been unable to light the fuse."

On the Mississippi project: "I don't think they should send those youngsters down where deep-rooted prejudice exists. This is the job of Government officials."

On the 1962 Negro march on Washington: "We supported that fully. That was within the bounds of law and order and quite commendable. Compare that march with the recent riots in Rochester and Harlem."

On national politics: "Since Roosevelt's time, we have been led down the road to serfdom. It is time for a change. The New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier have taught the Negro to expect something for nothing. I blame Government officials and Negro leaders."

Mr. Smith, 65, has been publishing the little paper since 1940. He is the only Negro in the United States who publishes a county-seat newspaper carrying the legal advertisements of a local government, and is former publisher of a Negro graphic arts trade magazine. The thriving American now boasts a 3,800 circulation.

A graduate of Tuskegee Institute, Mr. Smith is also the author of a book published in 1954, "George Washington Carver: Man of God."

Editor Smith says a saying first voiced by Booker T. Washington has influenced him a great deal—"No man can drag me down so low as to make me hate him."

Phil Kleas, Honored Citizen of Wharton County, Tex., Paid Tribute on 80th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Phil Kleas, for many years an honored citizen of Wharton County, Tex., and long a worker for good government, has been a leader in keeping me advised on the problems of older citizens in retirement. His cogent and interesting letters have long been a helpful source of information to me in understanding the many hard problems of our aged.

Mr. Kleas was honored on his 80th birthday, last year, in Wharton, Tex. An account of that occasion was printed in the Wharton Journal for July 18, 1963. In order that more of the life of this church and civic leader, worker in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and leader in the Democratic Party may be understood, I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Phil Kleas Feted on 80th Birthday Sunday," from the Wharton Journal, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wharton Journal, July 18, 1963]

PHIL KLEAS FETED ON 80TH BIRTHDAY SUNDAY

Phil Kleas, who celebrates his 80th birthday anniversary this month, was honored with a surprise party given by Mrs. Kleas in the shaded garden at their home on Alabama Street late Sunday afternoon.

The natural setting for the party made a pretty background for the refreshment table, which was highlighted with three square two-layer cakes, separated by a single white candle in crystal holders. The cakes were iced in white and beautifully decorated in a "this is your life" theme.

Mr. Kleas, a railroad engineer for 50 years, retired 10 years ago and took up making birdhouses as a hobby. During the 10 years he has designed and made several thousand houses in every size and shape. The houses were hung in the giant shade trees in the backyard and in smaller trees around the yard.

As each one was completed and hung, a new swarm of birds moved in and each year the martens return the same day that the swallows go back to Capistrano, and are soon followed by other types of birds.

The center cake, based with gold flowers was topped with standing numerals, 80, highlighted with brown and yellow streamers. Another cake, decorated with red carnations was inscribed in red with "Railroad Engineer 50 Years—Retired" and the third cake encircled with yellow blossoms was marked "Bird Haven" and decorated with tiny, colorful birds, perched on a fence.

The cakes were cut and served with ice cream, salted nuts, and party snacks.

The guest list numbering 80 was limited to close friends, which included his pastor, the Reverend Earl Clary and members of the Presbyterian session of deacons and elders. Mr. Kleas is clerk of the session and the members presented him with a cash gift to buy a present of his choice. He was remembered with an array of lovely and useful gifts which included two pairs of sox purchased by Mrs. A. P. Borden for him just prior to her recent death while visiting in St. Louis, Mo. Mrs. Borden's nurse-companion, Miss Theopolis O'Neal, delivered the sox to Mr. Kleas and a pearl brooch to Mrs. Kleas at the party.

Mrs. A. F. Schlick, Miss Mary Marcus Huebner, of Arlington, and Mrs. Phillip Morgan, who also share birthdays this month, were remembered with gifts from Mrs. Kleas.

Adding to the festivities were favors of colorful horns and balloons.

Mrs. Kleas was assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kleas and J. D. Noble, who planned a Sunday afternoon outing to include Mr. Kleas so that party preparations could be made and the party remain a surprise to the honor guest.

In addition to his church and civic activities, Mrs. Kleas has also been prominent in the work of the Democratic Party and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

To Banish Rancor From Our Words and Malice From Our Hearts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Wednesday, August 19, 1964, edition of the York Pa., Dispatch.

Comment would be superfluous wordage:

EXTRAVAGANT LANGUAGE

Democratic State Chairman Otis Morse's job is to preside over a political organization and do what he can to woo votes for its candidates.

That is quite understandable.

It is also understandable that Morse, if he is sincerely convinced of the inadequacy of BARRY GOLDWATER as a possible President, do what he can to help defeat GOLDWATER.

But this gives Morse no license for verbal mayhem.

MORSE said Gov. William W. Scranton "presumably has signed up as a crewmember of the Goldwater pirate ship which seeks to pillage liberty and enslave the Nation through extremism and hate."

MORSE's characterization of the Goldwater campaign in terms of piracy, pillaging, enslavement, extremism, and hate is, in our judgment, inexcusable for a man in a position of political leadership.

Last Thanksgiving, President Johnson said: "It is this work that I most want us, the American people, to do—to banish rancor from our words and malice from our hearts, to close down the poison springs of hatred and intolerance and fanaticism, to perfect our unity North and South, East and West."

The Morse outburst against GOLDWATER strikes us as an example of the very thing the President urged the country to squash.

It shouldn't be accepted and it can't be excused under the convenient phrase, "just politics."

So we urge Mr. MORSE, if he is impressed by the words of Mr. Johnson, to retire his "cutlass" and pitch in to help elevate politics to the science it's supposed to be.

Should Be Approved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, it is our considered opinion that one of the most important matters to come before this Congress is that relating to State reapportionment. This is a matter which goes to the very fundamentals of our system of government. It is imperative that the Congress take appropriate action on this before we adjourn.

A bill to deny the Federal courts jurisdiction in State legislature apportionment cases has passed the House. An amendment to the foreign aid bill to stay Federal court proceedings until the States can act is pending in the Senate.

To my distinguished friend and colleague, Congressman WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, and to my distinguished friend from my home State of Illinois, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, goes the thanks of people throughout the United States for the able leadership they have provided in a determined effort to get legislation, in one form or another, enacted at this session.

Both are able lawyers and able legislators, and we are indebted to Congressman MCCULLOCH and Senator DIRKSEN.

As a part of my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Sidney Daily News of August 17. It follows:

SHOULD BE APPROVED

Prospects for adjournment of Congress before the Democratic convention went glimmering this past weekend as a result of the battle shaping up in the Senate over the apportionment amendment attached as a rider to the foreign aid bill.

This amendment, introduced by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, would have the effect of staying until January 1, 1966—and longer in some cases—the effects of the Supreme Court decision of June 15, which held that both houses of the State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis.

Since this decision was handed down, more and more thoughtful citizens have evidenced concern about the long-range effects of this action by the High Court. This concern has been apparent in metropolitan areas as well as rural areas, although the former would appear to be the principal beneficiaries of the decision.

A recent count shows that more than 125 House joint resolutions, House resolutions, Senate joint resolutions, and Senate resolutions have been introduced, either looking to a constitutional amendment nullifying the Court decisions on reapportionment or staying the effect of such decisions for periods varying from 1 to 7 years.

Congressman WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH is the sponsor of one of these bills and introduced an amendment to the Constitution that would permit one of two houses of a State legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population alone, provided the voters of the State approved such a plan.

Although the Supreme Court did not spell out any definite dates for the implementation of its decision, it said the changes should be effected with all dispatch. The Court actions being taken in many States for immediate change, has prompted the Dirksen amendment to the foreign aid bill.

Since it is highly improbable that any of the proposed amendments or a specific bill staying the effects of the Supreme Court decision could be gotten through this session of the Congress, it is imperative that the Dirksen amendment be approved. It would provide a much-needed breathing period.

We have pointed out in these columns before that while the "one-man—one vote" approach by the Court sounds good, it does serve to raise some serious questions as to minority representation. In overturning dual representation in State legislatures, the Court has brushed aside minority protection.

While we will agree that the majority should have effective rule, we also feel the minority, too, is entitled to effective representation. Without it important segments of our people could be completely subject to the tyranny of a temporary majority.

Certainly the matter is of sufficient importance to all the American people to warrant more thorough examination than the Court decision permits. Approval of the Dirksen amendment would provide that opportunity.

Statement of Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal Before Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include herewith the statement I made before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on August 18, in support of my resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 352, calling for congressional disapproval of the agreement entitled "Agreement Between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty for Cooperation Regarding Atomic Information," submitted to Congress by the President on June 30, 1964.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL BEFORE THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY, AUGUST 18, 1964.

I am Congressman BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, of the Eighth District of New York.

I appear here this morning in support of my resolution and three other similar resolutions introduced yesterday.

I am also advised, Mr. Chairman, for the information of the committee that other Members of the House will introduce similar resolutions today.

I appear here this morning as just one of the many Members of Congress who know very little about the agreements sent to the Congress by the President on June 30, 1964.

I have come this morning because I am among the 535 Americans who have the responsibility, whether we like it or not, to give the solemn sanction of congressional approval or disapproval to our Nation's nuclear weapons policy. This is an awesome task for the ill-informed.

Yesterday, I and three other Members, realizing that our combined knowledge of this agreement was minute and a little and possibly dangerous thing, decided nevertheless that the greater danger lay in harboring in silence our doubts about the purposes of this agreement. Convinced that these doubts were substantial and deserved a reply we introduced these concurrent resolutions expressing congressional disapproval of the proposed agreement.

This procedure, Mr. Chairman, is not exactly my cup of tea, but we did this because we had no safe assurance otherwise that the questions that we were concerned with would be asked or answered either in the executive hearings, for which no transcripts are available to us, or in the committee's final report which, in the case of past agreement, has avoided the larger questions of our alliance nuclear policy.

The preambles of the resolution make our concern plain. We oppose the proliferation of nuclear weapons because we feel that any policy which assumes that increasing familiarity with these weapons will breed contempt for them must overcome volumes of human history to the contrary.

While we may tentatively accept the idea that multilateral control is in the end preferable to a profusion of independent nuclear forces, we favor all steps to avoid either one because nothing persuades us that joint control would permanently satisfy the quest for nuclear power.

The views I am expressing this mornng, Mr. Chairman, are somewhat conservative and they show, I think, unimaginative prejudice but they reflect the truth which virtually every American knows: that the world today is not organized to cope with its nuclear power.

The pressures for the dissemination of nuclear information are still competitive pressures, not cooperative ones, and buying cohesion among nations with the currency of nuclear information is still as dangerous as quenching thirst with salt water because the short-run formula for survival may become in fact the ultimate cause of death.

One fundamental question about this agreement is why is it needed, unless it is to usher in a major change in our NATO nuclear policy.

We are told that the United States is employing new IRBM's on the European continent as a NATO weapon system and that a new agreement is needed to do this. Yet, the 1955 NATO agreement coupled with the nine bilateral agreements made after the 1958 amendments to the law would seem to provide ample authority for this. Some or all of the bilaterals allow for the transfer of weapons parts which the proposed agreement does not.

I understand from the State Department, Mr. Chairman, that the bilaterals had never been used to the full extent of their scope. I can only wonder why they would not serve the purpose of integrating this new American weapons system in the NATO force of these countries.

I hope the committee will ask the appropriate administration representatives as they have done this morning just how much would be transmitted under this agreement. Specifically, I think we should know whether this agreement could be used as an incentive to get NATO countries to accept a multilateral force treaty by holding out the promise of additional nuclear information to those who join.

If I understand the bilaterals correctly, they may already allow such negotiations, but I would hope that this widely held belief about the pending agreement would be cleared up one way or the other.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, I think Congress should know whether this agreement would permit the transfer of information on which to base negotiations or implementation of the details of a multilateral force treaty such as specifications for ships and other nonnuclear parts of the seaborne weapons systems.

We have been assured that if and when it comes the MLF agreement will be subject to the affirmative approval of Congress; although that assurance extends literally only to the agreement to transfer nuclear warheads, some notice should be given of an agreement which is designed to provide for the nonnuclear parts.

Surely, it would strike many members as surprising if this agreement authorized transfer of the nonnuclear information needed for MLF and no mention was made of that fact in the committee's report.

Mr. Chairman, I think what has motivated some of us can best be illustrated by a brief history of events in this field. I would like to presume on the committee for just a few minutes more if I may, sir; in reviewing the history and the agreements in this area.

In 1955, we had the first international agreement with NATO on atomic information. This was presumed for military use, in these categories: one, the development of defense plants; two, training of personnel in defense against use of atomic weapons; and three, evaluation of enemy capabilities.

In 1957, NATO began stockpiling of American nuclear warheads. As I said earlier, in 1958, as you gentlemen well know, the Atomic Energy Act was amended to allow the United States to disseminate additional information so that the NATO countries could use warheads and receive information relating to nuclear weapon design; nonnuclear parts of weapons could be transferred; and for the first time information could be given directly to NATO countries.

Between 1959 and 1961, nine bilateral agreements were entered into with individual NATO countries and they provided for the inclusion of the 1958 amendments.

Now in 1964, under this new proposed agreement, for the first time we shall provide NATO with information for the development of delivery systems compatible with the atomic weapons which they carry.

In the copy of agreement put into the RECORD by Senator GORE, on page 16132 of the RECORD of July 23, it shows that under article 3 of the proposed agreement we add a new section that had never appeared before in the prior agreement. This section says that we will give to NATO new information concerning the development of delivery systems compatible with the atomic weapons which they carry.

It would appear from the testimony of the other witnesses this morning and what I said earlier, that the United States was already providing this information under the bilateral agreements and therefore that we should not object to the new agreement because on the face of it it is almost superfluous, redundant, and unnecessary.

However, it seems to me that under the proposed agreement where we give this new information, "the development of delivery systems compatible with atomic weapons which they carry," we are opening a backdoor approach to establishing MLF. Under the agreement, we could give them all of the inventory of atomic hardware.

We may be told by the administration that we can't give them the atomic warheads but maybe we can give them the information to build the ships, to build the launching pads, to build the missiles.

Subsequently, I suspect and anticipate with a great deal of apprehension, we will be told that these countries have everything but the bullet, itself. They don't have the warhead. As long as they have everything else, why not give them the rest of it?

We may find ourselves having established MLF without ever really intending to do so.

So, I raise the question to the committee this morning, Mr. Chairman, and hope and anticipate as I have seen the committee do this morning, that the committee will address itself to these two principal questions. If there is no legitimate reason for the agreement, if it is superfluous, if we have the bilaterals with the nine countries and we can give them all we want to give them under those agreements, why should we enact the agreement now?

It seems to me that the burden of proof is on the proponents of the agreement. They must first prove to the satisfaction of this committee and, secondly, and if it is not presumptuous, to the satisfaction of all members of Congress, that there is a necessity for the agreement. And I think more important and morally in response to an obligation we have to the American people they must prove that there is no intention for an undisclosed purpose to the agreement. If the agreement is not necessary, if it does not provide a new vehicle for transmitting additional information, if it brings nothing new to international negotiations, let us not have it.

If their answer to that, the administration's answer to that, is that there are valid reasons for the agreement, then let them meet the burden of proof that they have to show the necessity and the fact that there are no undisclosed reasons for the agreement.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity of appearing.

Speech by Capt. Vance Cox at 100th Anniversary of Farragut, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to tell this House today that my first appointee to an academy was Vance Cox of Farragut, Iowa, then as now an energetic little community of slightly under 500 people. In 1939, in my first term, I named Vance to the Naval Academy, and today he is a captain of the line, with immeasurable experience and training in modern naval methods packed into the two decades since he emerged from Annapolis.

I furnish this background of Vance Cox, the nuclear-age naval officer, be-

cause next Thursday in Vance's hometown, he will be a leading speaker at the centennial celebration of the founding of Farragut, Iowa, the only town in America named for the hero of the Battle of Mobile Bay.

Farragut is proud of Vance Cox, and Vance is proud of Farragut, which is why he is homeward bound bearing mementos of Admiral Farragut's brilliant career in the U.S. Navy, a career which reached a historic peak just a hundred years ago this month.

So that this House and the Nation at large may know more about this significant ceremony, the very essence of small-town creativity, I am including in my remarks the following speech prepared by Captain Cox for delivery next Thursday, August 27, at the Farragut Centennial Celebration.

The speech follows:

TEXT OF SPEECH TO BE MADE AT FARRAGUT, IOWA, 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY, AUGUST 27, 1964

(By Capt. D. V. Cox, USN)

Today I have the opportunity to speak to you about the U.S. Navy—in which I have served since leaving you—and about one of its most famous heroes—for whom this town was named. One of the earliest remembrances which I have of our main street, Hartford Avenue, is of a large signboard which adjoined the city hall. As I recall, it read:

"On August 5, 1864, Adm. David Glasgow Farragut, lashed to the rigging of his flagship, U.S.S. *Hartford*, won the Battle of Mobile Bay. Ten years later the hardy settlers of this community named it Farragut in his honor."

This tie with history was impressive and important to me when I was a child. It is even more important to me today—as we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Mobile Bay—for today I talk to you as a representative of the U.S. Navy, in which Admiral Farragut served so brilliantly.

Although I grew up far from the sea, here in Farragut, Iowa, I have always felt that I came from a town closely akin to the Navy. After all, the prairies and the sea do have much in common. Those early settlers knew this when they called their wagons prairie schooners. One of the great joys of a day at sea is the early morning look around the horizon—every sailor knows and treasures this moment. The early settlers knew it as they surveyed first light from the site of Farragut. I never fail being reminded of this valley when I am at sea, and of sea when I am here.

Iowa, and Farragut, Iowa, in particular, has always provided sailors for the U.S. Navy. Even in the days before World War II, the lure of the sea to the Iowan was such that this great State had more sailors in the Navy per capita of the population than any other State in the Union. In World War II, the first Farragut citizen to give his life in the service of his country was Seaman Amos Butts, who grew up close by the city park. I won't attempt to list all the old sailors, but I can tell you how much I have enjoyed swapping sea stories with Charley Duke and Earl Vest, among others. Recently I had the privilege of placing in commission and commanding a new guided missile destroyer, U.S.S. *Robison*. In my crew of 370, two were from this general neighborhood. These are enough references to illustrate my point that Farragut, far from any sea, is a Navy town in a Navy State. And I hope it will always remain so.

Admiral Farragut is long dead and belongs to the history of the past—and yet he was a man who thought and planned for the future. He would have been much at ease in the progressive Navy of the present. Trained in the Navy of sail he was one of the first to use the steamship in war. His campaign of a hundred years ago, which culminated in the victory of Mobile Bay, was a masterpiece of careful analysis, thorough planning, complete preparation, and daring action. And though his action was daring and heroic when he ordered "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead," it was never foolhardy. So well had he prepared for this action that in his mind he knew—not hoped—what would happen.

Today, our Navy is again preparing—following the dictates which Admiral Farragut taught us. It will always be preparing—as thoroughly as possible—for that moment of action which we pray will never come. But the Navy is also assisting in the preparation for a better world—one of peace. We know Admiral Farragut would have strongly endorsed this action. Whenever I have sailed in a ship of the U.S. Navy into a foreign port—in Europe, in South America, in the Far East—I have been struck with the importance of our mission. How else could a part of the United States under our glorious flag be brought to visit these people—for a man-of-war is a sovereign object—it is the United States. And the sailors who went ashore were ambassadors. This they knew and understood—and in this way they acted. Never, except in action in war, have I been more proud of the U.S. sailor than when he served as an ambassador of peace. Because of these fine young men—from towns like Farragut—from all over the United States—the world is gradually appreciating wherein our real strength lies—in our people.

The way this town is preparing for the future is most impressive and most commendable. Your fine school system will pay you dividends with every graduate, and you will share this harvest of newly educated citizens with the world. Some of them will stay here in Farragut—some will go on to other areas in civilian life—and some will—I'll wager—join the Navy. We will be mighty glad to have them—glad because this technically complex Navy of the future will need all of the input of such fine young people as we can get—and thankful to you for so well preparing them for the service—and for life.

The youth of today face many crises as they prepare to assume life's responsibilities. Opportunities for them are unlimited. There are so many more things for them to think about than there used to be, and, through the advent of television, they are so much better informed. Within the space of a very few years the horizons of exploration have extended to the universe. Speed and power are often given into the hands of youth. Faith and trust must also be given. Education is today not just important—it is vital. No product of any town—of any nation—is more important than its "next" generation.

Admiral Farragut entered the Navy as a mere boy of 9 and fought as a midshipman in the War of 1812. He learned the value of education well and was its firm disciple throughout his senior years in the Navy. He also knew at firsthand that manliness is not measured in careless escapades, but is instead the companion of morality—and this he taught to the young boys and men of his commands. Often the results of such human guidance are hard to measure, but victory at the Battle of Mobile Bay was his reward. An improved community and nation will, I am very sure, be your reward for the attention you citizens of Farragut, Iowa, are giving to the instruction and well-being of your young people.

To establish more firmly and more obviously the historical tie between this town of Farragut and the hero, Adm. David Glasgow Farragut, and to provide inspiration for the future from the glories of the past, the Navy Department has authorized the presentation of these mementos of Admiral Farragut and the Navy. They will, I have been assured, be displayed prominently in a permanent location in the school.

First, a section of the main boom of Admiral Farragut's flagship, U.S.S. *Hartford*—ready for display—and on permanent loan from the Navy. Two cutlasses of the old Navy to guard this memento are also included.

The commander of the cruiser destroyer force Atlantic has had this plaque prepared for you. It bears the seal of his powerful force, and it pays tribute to the four ships which have—throughout the years—borne the name of Farragut:

Torpedo boat No. 11, 1899–1919; destroyer No. 300, 1920–30; destroyer No. 348, 1934–47; and guided missile frigate No. 6, commissioned in 1960.

The commanding officer and the crew of the present U.S.S. *Farragut* have asked me to present to you this plaque of their ship. On the occasion of this ship's commissioning, you—through popular subscription—presented a plaque to them which they continue to honor.

It is my great pleasure to make these presentations—as it is to speak to you on this occasion. I sincerely hope that succeeding generations will derive inspiration from these mementos of Admiral Farragut who served his country well.

Day of Reckoning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the August 17, 1964 issue of the Peoria Journal Star:

DAY OF RECKONING MAY WELL SHOCK TAXPAYERS NOT SAVING EXTRA MONEY

(By William A. Doyle)

Question. I see that you have answered some questions from people who wonder what to do with the extra money they receive every payday, as a result of the "great big cut" in Federal income taxes, which went into effect a few months ago.

You have suggested such things as buying U.S. savings bonds through the payroll savings plan, making steady investments in mutual fund shares and even buying more life insurance.

Why don't you tell these people to put their money in the bank and wait for the day of reckoning—next April 15, when they have to pay their Federal income taxes. Most people are going to be surprised to learn that they will owe a lot of income taxes, because not enough is being withheld from their pay checks. These new withholding tables are a farce and a political gimmick.

Answer. I'll go along with your reasoning—if not your strong language.

But, in defense of the previous columns you mention, let's make this point. Each of those columns suggested that people do something solid with their money—put it where it will do something for them.

It shouldn't surprise you to learn that most families spend all their money as fast as it comes in—sometimes faster. The previous columns suggested that they start steady programs of putting their money away, so that they will have something substantial.

This column always urges that each family have a savings reserve. But, face it. Many, many families don't.

It's very true that a great many people are going to wind up facing bigger income tax bills than they expect next April 15.

The new Federal tax law, which went into effect earlier this year, actually reduces income taxes in 2 stages—part on this year's income and part on next year's income.

But the withholding rate was cut to 14 percent right away. As a result, wage earners are having less money taken out of their pay in taxes each payday.

And, in many, many cases the 14 percent is too low. For this year's income tax lots of people will find that not enough tax has been withheld from their paychecks and they will be faced with unusually large income tax bills on what you call the day of reckoning, next April 15.

Many people will be more than surprised. They'll be shocked. But the shock won't hit them, until long after the November elections. Politics?

Forewarned is forearmed. Anyone who wants to get an accurate idea of what his income tax will be for 1964 and 1965 can obtain a booklet explaining true tax rates and withholding rates at any Internal Revenue Service district office.

Salute to Trinidad-Tobago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on August 31, Trinidad-Tobago will celebrate their second year of independence. We take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to His Excellency the Premier, Dr. Eric Williams; and His Excellency the Ambassador of Trinidad-Tobago to the United States, Elias E. I. Clarke.

Only a short distance offshore from Venezuela, it enjoys the benefits of world trade, exporting petroleum and sugar. Its economy has been one of the fastest growing in the world, with the result that the per capita income ranks quite high in the Western Hemisphere. With its independence in 1962, the desire to become a responsible nation in world affairs was manifested by applying for membership in the United Nations. Shortly afterward, on September 18, 1962, Trinidad-Tobago was granted a seat in the United Nations. The record shows that the citizens themselves have shown their active interest in civil affairs; 88 percent voted in their last election.

The Premier of Trinidad-Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams, has served his country in many capacities—as Chief Minister in 1956 and Premier since 1958. Due to his efforts, Trinidad-Tobago are now independent nations in the Commonwealth. Here in Washington, D.C., we are proud to have known Dr. Eric Williams, the Premier, when he was teaching at Howard University.

Trinidad, discovered by Columbus in 1482, came under British control in 1802 with the signing of the Treaty of Amiens. Later, Tobago became an administered British colony in 1814. Until 1888, they were ruled separately at which time they amalgamated, sharing budget control and common administration. Trinidad-Tobago have had a long history of British rule and have incorporated much of the parliamentary procedure, democratic institutions, and heritage into their way of life. The population of the country is composed of many races, all living together in harmony and mutual cooperation which make for its truly heterogeneous and ethnically cosmopolitan society.

The motto on Trinidad and Tobago's coat of arms, "Together we aspire, together we serve" can equally apply to the country's international aspirations as well as its national ones. Initially an active supporter of the now-defunct West Indies Federation, Trinidad-Tobago takes an active part in Caribbean conferences and the Government hopes that eventually some sort of Caribbean common market can be established. The long-range benefits of such a plan would increase the economic prosperity of Trinidad-Tobago even further as well as stabilize the various Caribbean economies. Thus, on the second anniversary of their independence, the future is bright for the people of the island nation. The American people will continue to support and encourage the development of our Caribbean neighbor, Trinidad-Tobago.

Free China Forges Ahead—While Communist Rule Brings Deepening Misery to the Mainland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of Barron's, the business and financial weekly magazine, features an interesting and provocative editorial on the Far East.

The editorial is remarkable for the perception and forthrightness it displays in discussing both the general situation and the role of free China in the continuing struggle between freedom and tyranny in that part of the world.

The editorial points out that the recent crisis in Vietnam has made one thing clear even to those "who, in their disdain for what they call old myths and shibboleths, and in their eagerness to think unthinkable thoughts, all too willingly ignore the simple truth."

It has demonstrated to them, and to the world at large, that despite our generosity and helpfulness to the many, the United States can count on the full support of only a few when trouble erupts abroad: but that among these few, free China has always been our steadfast and unflinching ally in times of crisis.

The Barron's editorial, however, even goes beyond this. It recalls the doubts, the reservations, and the criticisms that have traditionally accompanied the discussions in our country of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his government on Formosa. And it points out that, contrary to the fears and doubts expressed on this subject, the Chiang Kai-shek government, with assistance from the United States—

Has given Formosa 15 years of respectable government;

Has kept inflation within bounds, encouraged domestic savings and foreign investment;

Has cultivated and developed the island's rich agricultural resources;

Has provided one of the best examples of progress from dependence to indeendence with a steady improvement of the conditions of the people of Fromosa in the process;

And has put together, trained and and maintained an army which represents, in Barron's words, "one of the most powerful forces in Asia"—a force which has demonstrated its will to fight for freedom, which has stood at our side at times of crisis, and which, in recent years, has carried the war to the Communist enemy on the mainland with mounting aggressiveness.

I may add at this point that apart from its military contribution to the cause of fredom and security of the Far East, free China is increasingly giving of its resources in helping neighbors to solve their problems of economic development.

Mr. Speaker, the Barron's editorial is heartening to all those who have had faith that the free people of China, and of other lands, are the best hope of peace, security and freedom in the world—and that Communists, wherever they are, are the enemies of these objectives.

In this group, the group that displayed both vision and steadfastness, a special place belongs to a former member of this House, and one of the former ranking members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Walter H. Judd. I know that the Barron's article must be gratifying to him.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the full text of the Barron's editorial:

NO PRIVILEGED SANCTUARY: THE ROAD TO PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA RUNS THROUGH PEIPING

While hard on the nerves, every great crisis in foreign affairs does serve at least one useful purpose: for an uncompromising moment of truth, like a flash of lightning, it illuminates the foggy diplomatic landscape, thereby permitting the Nation to readily distinguish friend from foe. The storm of unknown intensity that suddenly whipped up last week in the Gulf of Tonkin has led to the same result. Having just played the genial host to a leading American capitalist, the Russians supplied fresh proof that when the chips are down, to paraphrase Lenin, they are all Communists. Specifically, Tass, official Soviet news agency, denounced what it called U.S. aggressive actions, warning that further rash steps or provocations could trigger a broad armed conflict. Again, the chief of state in New Delhi, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, chose to hear, see, and speak no evil; both sides, so India urged with the dubious wisdom of the East, should seek to restore at least the uneasy peace that used to prevail. Only the

stanchest U.S. allies—notably Australia, Taiwan, and the United Kingdom—pledged their full support, come what may.

With minor variations—Algeria, which lined up with the Soviets during the confrontation over Cuba, discreetly held its peace last week—the pattern is always the same. When trouble erupts abroad, this country, despite its undiscriminating largesse to the many, can count on the help of relatively few. The latest demonstration of how things stand could scarcely be more timely. For it constitutes a stinging rebuke to a growing number of influential citizens who, in their disdain for what they call old myths and shibboleths, and in their eagerness to think unthinkable thoughts, all too willingly ignore the simple truth.

The crisis in southeast Asia also ought to remind Americans who their friends are in that increasingly perilous part of the world. In particular, it should draw attention to the Republic of China, which, from its stronghold on Formosa (Taiwan), poses a mounting threat to the Communist warlords in Peiping. With considerable U.S. financial aid, the government of Chiang Kai-shek has done a creditable job on Formosa. Economically speaking, the island, once considered an over-populated rural slum, has made a great leap forward. Its strategic importance has more than kept pace. With scant encouragement from anyone, the Generaalissimo for over 2 years has been staging hit-and-run guerrilla raids against the mainland, thereby harrassing sizable enemy cadres and keeping alive among the Chinese people the hope of liberation. Those who yearn for peace at any price have always sneered at unleashing Chiang. During the past few fateful days, however, this old U.S. ally has suddenly acquired new stature.

Whatever else the latest war scare may mean, in short, it calls for a total reappraisal of Western policy toward Taiwan. Since 1949, when Chiang was driven off the mainland, his former allies have done their best to ignore his existence. With an anxious eye on Hong Kong, Great Britain, under the Labor Party at the time, hastened to recognize Red China. Several months ago the government of Charles de Gaulle (which, by the way, pointedly withheld its support of the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam) also granted recognition to the Peiping regime. In recent years Canada has drummed up a thriving grain trade with the Chinese famine-mongers, a profitable traffic which has led to growing sentiment that this country follow suit. Some have even urged Washington to drop its longstanding hostility to Peiping's admission to the peace-loving parliament of man.

Put forward in the guise of facing facts, such proposals ignore the real state of affairs both in Communist China and on Taiwan. As to the former, it has fallen victim to the horrendous misrule of which only dedicated Marxists are capable. While apologists like Barbara Ward wrote glowingly of its economic progress, the country year by year was slipping closer to disaster. In early 1962, to judge by the hordes of refugees who suddenly appeared to plead for succor in Hong Kong and Macao, it plunged over the brink. Mass starvation—and, quite possibly, a peasant revolt—were averted only with the help of the West, which, in an unholy alliance of altruism and greed, time and again has furnished the masters of communism the wherewithal to perpetuate their rule.

The Chinese on Formosa have fared better. Despite the alleged corruption of the Kuomintang, which supposedly led to its overthrow on the mainland, it has somehow given Taiwan 15 years of respectable government. Taipei has kept inflation within bounds, encouraged domestic savings and foreign investment; and, in striking contrast to India, cultivated the island's rich agricultural resources. The result has been a steady increase in the standard of living. For the past decade, Taiwan's real per capita national income has risen by roughly 3.5 percent annually, an achievement which the State Department has acknowledged by announcing the suspension, effective in mid-1965, of all economic assistance (military aid will continue). During the same period, illiteracy has dropped from over 40 percent to less than 25 percent, while the lifespan of newborn Formosans, for perhaps the first time in Chinese history, has climbed within hailing distance of that of the West.

In contrast to the poverty and misery of the mainland, such steady economic progress is impressive. It takes on added luster in the light of the massive military effort which the Chiang government, from the very beginning, has mounted. While the exact strength is classified, Taiwan can field an army of several hundred thousand men, one of the most powerful forces in Asia. Its will to fight, while still untested in major combat, has been demonstrated time and again in small-scale actions, notably on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, where Nationalist garrisons, from late August to early October of 1958, stood firm under 40 days of uninterrupted shelling.

Since then, with mounting aggressiveness, Taiwan's forces have carried the war to the enemy. From camouflaged bases, highly trained guerrilla bands regularly stage forays against the mainland. Last fall, so Peiping's own news agency admitted, nine groups of raiders penetrated five Chinese Provinces. In June a band of Nationalist commandos struck at Communist coastal installations on the tip of the Shantung Peninsula, well over 700 miles north of Taiwan and only 200 miles from Korea. While relatively few and far between, such raids, as the Reds well know, are exceedingly effective. They harass and pin down thousands of regular troops who might be otherwise deployed. They terrorize the police and hearten the forces of resistance; in recent years, according to Peiping, "anti-Communist acts" have mounted from 76,000 to well over half a million. Above all, they sustain the burning hope that someday, somehow, China again will be free.

Here is a cause which commands the allegiance of all freemen. For whatever may happen next in southeast Asia, one thing is painfully clear: the enemy is Red China. As of last week the U.S. Navy, in no uncertain terms, served notice that North Vietnam is no longer off limits. It's high time Peiping got the word.

Plan for Progress Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious problems faced by many of my constituents in Los Angeles is the limited employment opportunity available to them. The people in my district share the desires and needs of many of their fellow Americans for productive and meaningful work, and I am personally and vitally interested in positive action programs to open more career doors to these citizens.

One such program has been operating for some months in my district. I am pleased to report on this effort in the hope that others among my colleagues may be able to share in similar activities.

The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. is one of the original participants in the President's plan for progress. They have an admirable record of nondiscriminatory employment practices based solely on individual merit. In cooperation with the people at Pacific Telephone we have created a continuing program to find and identify those in my district who can qualify for career opportunities with this company. Regular employment interviewers from Pacific Telephone visit my Los Angeles office each week to interview job applicants recruited by my staff. I regard this mutual effort as an excellent example of teamwork between a large employer and my people to accomplish the objectives of helping Pacific Telephone in finding qualified employees, plus providing an avenue of job opportunity for those whom I am privileged to represent.

I should further like to recognize Pacific Telephone for a long record of equal opportunity employment policies. A factual picture of their progress in this field is included in the June 1964 issue of their employee publication, Pacific Telephone magazine. This article reports progress not only in hiring, but also in advancement in management levels of various minority group employees.

Under unanimous consent I place this article dealing with "Plan for Progress Report," in the RECORD.

PLAN FOR PROGRESS REPORT

(Two years ago, Pacific Telephone joined the late President Kennedy's plan on equal employment opportunity. Here is where we stand today:)

On June 22, 1962, our vice president, E. D. Maloney, and the then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the plan for progress in Washington, D.C. We were among the first companies in the Nation to do this.

What was the plan for progress all about? Basically, it called for voluntary participation in a program directed at equal employment opportunity, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

There is little point in going back over history, and repeating the words and recounting the events that have echoed down the years since our country was started and following the Civil War. They did not match realities, at least not nearly often enough. So that, in 1962, 186 years after the Declaration of Independence, we as citizens still were asked to stand up and be counted on the basic rights of man.

However much we may regret the past, we cannot change it. We can only take a clear look at the present, and go on from there. And in today's world, the problem of racial discrimination and civil rights is serious and demands attention. It involves many races, but particularly the Negro. He cannot be ignored or brushed aside. It must be faced up to, sooner or later, by our Nation and by each one of us as individuals.

Pacific Telephone said when we voluntarily signed the plan for progress that for a long time our stated company policy had been one of nondiscrimination in employment. We also said that we must make further progress as time went on. In the words of Mr. F. R. Kappel, chairman of the Board of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., "There is good evidence, I think, that we can extend more opportunity, and do this with good spirit, if we will, as I am sure we must. So, I simply say here, let us get on with it. We have much more to do."

Pacific Telephone has been sincerely working toward the fullest expression of opportunity in our business for Negroes and other minority groups. We are looking for good people wherever they may be found. The abilities we need are not measured by racial origins or the color of a person's skin.

What has happened in the 2 years since we signed the plan for progress? Have we exercised every reasonable effort to see to it that we followed a policy of nondiscrimination in employment and the opportunity for advancement?

Here are some of the things we have been and are doing:

Discussing our objectives and job opportunities with Negro leaders, asking them to help us find more qualified Negroes to fill job openings when they occur.

Working with the California State employment service, and with high schools, colleges and universities, emphasizing that we are always looking for good job applicants regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Running employment advertising which stresses that we are an equal opportunity employer.

Encouraging vocational training programs.

Encouraging and supporting our many management people who are active in various State, county, and city committees and other organizations—such as NAACP and the Urban League—dealing with civil rights, employment, and educational planning.

What about employment opportunities?

Telephone service is a vital part of our everyday life and a key lifeline in our Nation's defense. The work is demanding. We must have people with ability, with the experience and potential to grow with the business and carry it along with them. This means that all the people we hire must have definite qualifications—skills, experience, or aptitude, health, and education. Our employment procedures are set up to determine these qualifications. And they apply to everyone we employ.

As President Johnson put it recently, "merit and ability" should be the only real tests. Thus, any Negro man or woman—or any individual from any minority group—who wishes to apply to us and who feels he or she has the qualifications that would fit one of the many jobs we need done, is welcome as an applicant.

As a result of our continuous and intensive efforts, there are today nearly 2,500 Negroes employed by Pacific Telephone.

In nonmanagement, they hold such positions as installers, splicers, telephone operators, and clerks. In management, Negroes hold such supervisory positions as group chief operators, employment interviewers, office supervisors, accounting supervisors, chief equipment men, building foremen, installation foremen, and service engineers.

We also have nearly 3,000 employees who are members of what are sometimes also referred to as minority groups. Here, again, the men hold a variety of nonmanagement and management positions, and the women hold various supervisory, operating, and clerical jobs.

What about opportunities for further promotion? Our stated policy is perfectly clear, and it applies to every single employee we have: "Telephone people work their way up in the business on their merit. Whoever is the best candidate for promotion will get the job, regardless of race, creed, or color."

Words and figures are interesting. But they have no real meaning in the real world unless they relate to human beings and real situations.

So behind the statistics lie many things. The work these thousands of people do. Their genuine contribution to our service job. Their never-questioned place as members of the telephone team. The respect they hold as friends, fellow workers, and fellow citizens. All this, we feel, reflects not an intention, not a declaration, but real progress.

We can do still more. We can make still further progress toward the fullest expression of opportunity. We recognize this and, in ways already outlined, are sincerely working toward even more opportunity for Negroes and other minority groups.

As a business, Pacific Telephone believes in the plan for progress and wants to do all it can to reasonably help bring about a solution to racial problems. Our objective can again be stated very simply: "We are looking for good telephone employees, wherever they may be found."

The Memory of Nikola Petkov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, September 23 will mark the 17th anniversary of the murder of the Bulgarian national hero, Nikola Petkov, who courageously opposed Communist tyranny and fought Soviet domination of his nation.

In commemoration of this anniversary, the Bulgarian National Committee, headed by Dr. George M. Dimitrov, has arranged a memorial meeting to be held on September 5 at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., to be followed by a requiem mass on September 6 in the Russian Orthodox Church of St. Nikola in this city.

I want to join with my colleagues in commending the Bulgarian National Committee for arranging this observance, and in paying tribute to the unflinching spirit and devotion to his nation and to the cause of freedom, of Nikola Petkov.

His courage, his dedication to the principles of democracy, his love of freedom, provide an inspiring example to the people of Bulgaria and to freemen everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, for 17 years—since the execution of Nikola Petkov by the agents of the Communist conspiracy—the people of Bulgaria have lived under a regime imposed upon them by their neighbor to the east.

The harshness of that regime, the ordeal of drabness and privation which it has visited upon Bulgaria, find no parallel in Eastern Europe, save perhaps in Albania.

This was shown in the course of a series of hearings held recently before the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The winds of change and the tendency toward liberalization found in recent years in some of the other countries of Eastern Europe, apparently have not touched Bulgaria.

Mr. Speaker, in commemorating the anniversary of Petkov's death, let us recall the words of President John F. Kennedy, delivered in Frankfurt on June 25, 1963.

In addressing himself to the people of free Europe, he said:

Together we must work to strengthen the spirit of those Europeans who are now not free, to reestablish their old ties to freedom and the West, so that their desire for liberty, and their sense of nationhood, and their sense of belonging to the Western community will survive for future expression.

He went on to say:

All of us in the West must be faithful to our conviction that peace in Europe can never be complete until everywhere in Europe * * * men can choose, in peace and freedom, how their countries shall be governed.

I preach no easy liberation and I make no empty promises, but my countrymen, since our country was founded, believe strongly in the proposition that all men shall be free and all free men shall have this right of choice.

Mr. Speaker, this is our position, and our national goal.

We are united in our determination to pursue it.

NASA and USAF—A Space Age Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a cornerstone of our national space program is and will continue to be the cooperative effort between the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and our armed services, particularly the U.S. Air Force. It is often overlooked that the technology of space is equally applicable both to our national security and to our peaceful expansion of knowledge in the world in which we live.

The August 1964 issue of the Airman contains an article by Mr. James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which clearly describes the importance of this relationship:

NASA AND USAF—A SPACE AGE PARTNERSHIP

("In response to the will of Congress—and the dictates of commonsense—NASA and the Air Force are cooperating effectively in many ways which will benefit both agencies and which serve the best interests of the Nation.")

(By James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

History will surely record that America's most significant answer to Sputnik was the prompt passage of the National Aeronautics and Space Act which President Eisenhower signed into law on July 29, 1958.

In this act, Congress declared that the "general welfare and security" of the United States required adequate provision for a national space program.

The act created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and gave this new civilian agency broad responsibility for meeting many of the space needs of the Nation, but also stated that the Defense Department should be responsible for, and direct, those space activities "peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapon systems, military operations, or the defense of the United States (including the research and development necessary to

make effective provision for the defense of the United States)."

The Air Force has since been designated by the DOD as the service to implement the major portion of the military space effort. Thus NASA and the Air Force have become the principal partners in carrying out the national space program as recommended by the President and authorized and funded by Congress.

From the beginning, Congress expected this to be a close and effective partnership. Congress wanted to assure maximum freedom for both the civilian and military agencies in carrying out their assigned parts of the national space effort. Also, Congress wanted the broad space capabilities of the Nation to be built up as rapidly as possible, without unnecessary duplication of effort or waste of national resources.

On this sixth anniversary of the passage of the Space Act and the creation of NASA, I am happy to report that during the past 6 years there has been a steady strengthening of understanding, coordination, and mutual support between the Air Force and NASA.

In response to the will of Congress—and the dictates of commonsense—NASA and the Air Force are cooperating effectively in many ways which benefit both agencies and which serve the best interests of the Nation.

I welcome this opportunity to dicuss with readers of the Airman the general areas in which this cooperation has been most fruitful and to express NASA's appreciation for all that the Air Force has done to help us during these 6 years.

I want to stress the very beneficial cooperation in implementing the national launch vehicle program; the many supporting services which the Air Force supplies to NASA; the growing cross-use of facilities; the valuable contribution made by Air Force officers assigned to NASA; the personal contacts and everyday working arrangements essential to an effective partnership between the two agencies; the excellent cooperation in the Gemini program; and the potential value of the Apollo program to national defense.

The rapid rate of progress in the NASA part of the national space program over the past 6 years would have been impossible without the launch vehicles and related technology derived from Air Force missile programs.

VERSATILE LAUNCH VEHICLES

NASA has relied heavily on the Thor, Atlas, Agena, and Titan II rockets developed by the Air Force and will continue to use them extensively throughout much of this decade.

I wish to emphasize also that with these rockets we got much more than hardware. We obtained the advantage of the experience and competence and good will of the Air Force personnel who helped us procure and use these rockets and who have worked with us closely in further perfecting them.

A well-known example of mutually beneficial NASA–Air Force cooperation in the past has been the use of the Atlas rocket to launch four successful flights of Mercury astronauts in earth orbit.

Now the more powerful and ever-ready Titan I rocket of the Air Force is being used to launch NASA's two-man Gemini spacecraft. This spacecraft, in turn, will be an important element of the Air Force Manned Orbiting Laboratory system to be launched in 1967 or 1968 by the Titan III.

The Atlas–Agena combination developed by the Air Force is being used by NASA to send unmanned Ranger spacecraft to the moon and unmanned Mariner spacecraft to the vicinity of Venus and Mars.

This same combination will also be used to launch the Agena upper stage—with much of its fuel unexpended—as a target satellite for the Gemini astronauts to rendezvous with.

The multiple restart capability of the Agena rocket and its highly accurate guidance mechanisms will make it an excellent target for rendesvous maneuvers.

The Atlas–Centaur combination in which the Air Force and NASA pioneered the first successful use of liquid hydrogen as a space rocket fuel, can send more than a ton of payload to the moon and 1,300 pounds to Mars or Venus. Its first major assignment will be to soft-land the unmanned Surveyor spacecraft on the moon to help locate the best landing sites for the Apollo astronauts.

The Air Force Thor and the NASA Delta upper stage have proved to be a most reliable and useful combination. Up to May 1 of this year, the Thor-Delta had orbited 22 NASA scientific, weather, and communication satellites, with only 2 launch vehicle failures (on the 1st and 24th launches).

Delta's achievements include Syncoms I and II, the first satellites ever placed in synchronous "hovering" orbit some 22,300 miles above the earth. NASA has many additional missions scheduled for Thor-Delta.

THE NATIONAL LAUNCH VEHICLE PROGRAM

NASA and the Department of Defense have gone far beyond the initial cooperation involving NASA use of launch vehicles derived from military programs. Now we are cooperating closely to assure that all the present and future launch vehicle needs of the United States are met as economically as possible.

To design, build, and test a space launch vehicle of a new type is extremely costly in terms of time, money, and technical manpower. Thus it is of great importance that all U.S. development programs for launch vehicles be carefully coordinated.

Furthermore, if we do not have too many different types of launch vehicles, we can concentrate on improving the reliability and performance of our best ones and on reducing their cost.

This is why a national launch vehicle program has been established by agreement of NASA and DOD to provide the rocket engines and launch vehicles for both civilian and military space activities.

Under this agreement, the Air Force is reponsible for the Thor and Atlas boosters; the Agena upper stage rocket; and the complete Titan II and Titan III space launch vehicles.

NASA is responsible for the small, solid-fueled Scout rocket (which is convenient and economical for orbital payloads up to 240 pounds); the Delta and Centaur upper stage rockets; and the complete Saturn I, Saturn 1–B, and Saturn V launch vehicles.

The launch vehicle agreement between NASA and DOD also provides that no new launch vehicle will be developed without the concurrence of both agencies. NASA's Saturn V and the Air Force Titan III have each received this joint concurrence.

OPERATIONS SUPPORT

NASA continues to look to the Air Force for many essential services in support of its operations. Here are some examples:

Most major NASA launchings take place over the Air Force Eastern Test Range. The Air Force, as executive agent for operating the range, provides range clearance and safety, electric interference monitoring, tracking to the point where the spacecraft enters orbit, and many other related services.

In some NASA programs, the Air Force has the responsibility for the actual launch. This was the case in the Mercury program, and will also be true in the Gemini program.

The 6555th Aerospace Test Wing located at Patrick Air Force Base, Fla., had responsibility for final installation, prelaunch checkouts, and actual launch of the Atlas rocket in the Mercury program. The complete success of the four Atlas launchings of manned orbital flights is eloquent testimony on the competence and devotion to duty of this unit.

The Air Force and the Navy have a most important role to play in helping to recover astronauts upon completion of their space flights, especially if something goes wrong and a landing is made in a remote or inaccessible area of the globe.

In the final Mercury flight, for example, 66 contingency recovery aircraft and pararescue personnel were located at 28 staging bases around the world and alerted to go into action if necessary. None of them were needed, thanks in large measure to the skill and cool-headed performance of Air Force Maj. L. Gordon Cooper, who brought his capsule in for a bull's-eye landing under manual control, after an electrical failure had eliminated his autopilot and the attitude indicators.

Recovery operations in earth orbital flights are relatively simple when the spacecraft fly along predetermined paths. Later in the decade, when spacecraft change their orbital plane in rendezvous maneuvers, or when they reenter the earth's atmosphere on trajectory from the moon, astronaut recovery may be more difficult. But I am certain the Air Force and Navy will be well prepared to assist in such missions.

Arrangements have also been made for the Air Force to retrieve in mid-air the capsules which will be ejected from NASA satellites carrying biological experiments. This is a technique developed by the Air Force with great success in the Discoverer series of satellites.

The Air Force and the Navy also perform valuable inspection and auditing services for NASA in aerospace contractor plants.

SPACE MEDICINE

Quite naturally, NASA has drawn heavily on the experience and knowledge of military specialist in space medicine and bioastronautics; and NASA and Air Force representatives are working closely together to solve the difficult problems connected with the long flights of our astronauts in the near future.

NASA has made valuable use of facilities and experienced personnel at research centers such as the Air Force School of Aerospace Medicine at Brooks AFB; Tex.; the Naval School of Aviation Medicine at Pensacola, Fla.; the Aviation Medical Acceleration Laboratory at Johnsville, Pa.; and the Army Quartermaster Institute at Chicago, Ill.

CROSS-USE OF FACILITIES

NASA and the DOD are constantly on the lookout for ways in which cross-use of facilities can avoid costly duplication. I have just cited one good example—in space medicine. Here are a few more:

NASA has constructed stands at Edwards AFB, Calif., for testing the giant F–1 rocket engine used in the Saturn V. Smaller NASA rocket engines are tested in Air Force vacuum facilities at the Arnold Engineering Development Center at Tullahoma, Tenn. Liquid hydrogen for the RL–10 engines used in the Centaur and the second stage of the Saturn—is produced at a plant in West Palm Beach, owned by the Air Force.

As time goes on, NASA will also have valuable and unique facilities of great use to the Air Force.

ASTRONAUTS

The NASA astronauts are an important link between the civilian space effort and military services.

Three of the seven original Mercury astronauts were Air Force officers. And, of the 29 astronauts now in training for Gemini and Apollo flights, 13 are active duty Air Force officers and 2 are former Air Force officers. These include the three who took part in the Mercury program.

Maj. Virgil I. Grisson, of the Air Force, and Lt. Comdr. John W. Young, of the Navy, have been chosen to make the first manned Gemini flight later this year.

It is essential for the success of the national space program that NASA be able to draw on the Air Force and other services for highly qualified astronaut candidates. It is equally important that the Air Force, in turn, gets full benefit of the space flight experience the astronauts gain during NASA missions.

MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL

The Air Force also gives valuable support to the civilian part of the national space program by supplying officers who can fill important technical and managerial positions on the NASA staff.

More than 100 Air Force officers and enlisted men on active duty are currently assigned to positions of responsibility with NASA. Ordinarily, they serve 2 to 4 years with NASA and then are reassigned within the Air Force.

This enables NASA to benefit from the operational experience gained by Air Force officers in the rapid build-up of American missile strength and related technology. It also gives Air Force officers the opportunity to participate directly in the management of the Nation's pioneer manned space flight programs and to obtain firsthand experience in manned space flight operations.

This direct participation of Air Force personnel in NASA programs does much to create a climate of mutual understanding. It facilitates the exchange of ideas and promotes sound long-range planning of the national space program.

In this connection, I would like to mention that Maj. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, formerly director of the Minuteman program for the Air Force, is now the deputy director of the Apollo program in NASA's Office of Manned Space Flight. In this position General Phillips has a key role in this Nation's most important manned space flight effort in the present decade.

Maj. Gen. Don R. Ostrander, now commander, Office of Aerospace Research, USAF, served for 2 years with NASA as director of the Office of Launch Vehicle Programs.

IMPROVED LIAISON

Day-to-day cooperation between NASA and the Air Force was greatly facilitated 2 years ago when an office of the Air Force Systems Command was set up in the Office of Manned Space Flight at NASA headquarters in Washington.

This Air Force office is headed by Maj. Gen. O. J. Ritland, Deputy Commander for Space of the Air Force Systems Command. General Ritland also has an office at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

Establishment of General Ritland's office under the same roof with the men responsible for NASA's manned space flight program has been one of the factors contributing to the increased understanding, coordination, and mutual support between NASA and the Air Force which I mentioned earlier.

NASA has also established the office of Deputy Associate Administrator for Defense Affairs, headed by Adm. W. Fred Boone. This office is the focal point in NASA for the handling of affairs with the DOD and the military services, and for matters pertaining to the NASA–DOD Boards.

Secretary McNamara and I have worked closely together on a personal basis and as members of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, which recommends major space policies to the President.

The Aeronautics and Astronautics Coordinating Board has been revitalized as the principal forum for regular contacts between the decisionmaking officials of NASA and DOD. The Board meets every 4 to 6 weeks, and its six panels meet more often.

GEMINI PROGRAM PLANNING BOARD

A second coordinating group that has been very successful is the Gemini Program Planning Board, which Secretary McNamara and I set up nearly 2 years ago. Its purpose is to assure that the Gemini program meets Air Force needs as well as NASA needs with as little duplication of effort as possible.

The GPPB has two cochairmen, Dr. Robert Seamans, the Associate Administrator of NASA, and Dr. Brockway McMillan, Under Secretary of the Air Force. Board members are Gen. Bernard A. Shriever, commander, Air Force Systems Command; Dr. Albert Hall, Deputy Director of Defense Research and Engineering for Space; Adm. W. Fred Boone, Deputy Associate Administrator of NASA for Defense Affairs; and Dr. George Mueller, NASA Associate Administrator for Manned Space Flight.

Through arrangements worked out by the GPPB, Air Force experiments will be carried out on Gemini flights and Air Force personnel will participate in Gemini preflight checkout, launch operations, and flight operations. An Air Force field office has been established at NASA's Manned Space Flight Center at Houston to manage Air Force participation in the Gemini program.

DOD experiments to be performed on early Gemini flights include visual observation of objects on earth and in space and autonomous navigation exercises conducted by the astronauts to see how well they can plot their position in space without help from ground stations.

NASA experiments on early Gemini flights will provide design information for later Gemini flights and also for Apollo and more advanced manned missions. Gemini astronauts will also practice leaving their spacecraft and moving about near them in space, thus becoming living earth satellites.

APOLLO'S POTENTIAL

Certainly a major reason for the growing cooperation between NASA and the Air Force in recent years has been the increased awareness that the NASA programs to develop broad national capabilities in manned space flight in this decade—the Gemini and Apollo programs—are of great value in determining the potential of space to national defense and development of the essential requirements for successful space utilization.

The near-earth orbital flights and rendezvous maneuvers currently planned for Gemini and Apollo will give the United States some 2,000 hours of spacecraft operation and 5,000 hours of space-flight experience for men before any flights to the moon are undertaken by our astronauts.

The Gemini program will provide the operating experience, the spacecraft, the tests of equipment, and the long duration stays in space that must precede the MOL program.

The Apollo program will provide the more advanced spacecraft and the much larger boosters essential for development of larger space stations in earth orbit should these be decided upon. The Saturn V, for example, can put 240,000 pounds into earth orbit. And we are studying the possibility of using a modified Apollo spacecraft for orbital missions lasting 120 days or as part of an orbital research laboratory.

At a time when possible military missions for manned spacecraft have not yet been clearly defined, the NASA Gemini and Apollo programs and the Air Force MOL program are developing American manned space flight technology and operating experience at a rapid rate.

We believe that the progress called for in the Gemini, Apollo, and MOL will enable us to demonstrate clear superiority over the Soviet Union in manned space flight capabilities during this decade.

Our accomplishments in these three programs will prepare us much better for whatever further steps may be necessary to meet our national defense needs in space.

The Gemini and Apollo programs have filled an important need. They have provided clear objectives and schedules and funding to maintain American progress in space technology at a high rate.

The fact that the Apollo program is geared to accomplishment of a lunar landing in this decade should not obscure the much more important truth that Apollo is a logical and orderly step forward in basic space technology. Selecting the moon as the target for manned space flight in this decade has not hindered, but has accelerated, our broad technological advance.

RESEARCH FOR THE FUTURE

Apollo is our most advanced program in manned space flight at the present time, but certainly no one considers it the end of the line.

Already NASA and the Department of Defense are deeply engaged in working together to determine what our next major programs in the field of manned space flight should be.

To support this study and planning, NASA and the Air Force have a number of experimental projects which are being carried out jointly or which are of great mutual interest even if only one agency is actually responsible.

Good examples are the Air Force ASSET project and NASA's M–2 project for testing reentry vehicles of various shapes and structures. And the joint work already done by the Air Force, Navy, and NASA on the X–15 project has produced some of the brightest pages in the history of aerospace research.

Other areas of keen mutual interest and study involve large solid rocket motors, large space stations, an upper-stage nuclear rocket, nuclear generators of electric power for use aboard spacecraft, reusable booster rockets, a true aerospace plane, and other projects ranging through the entire spectrum of technological pioneering required if space is to be free, peaceful, and of maximum benefit to the human race.

Hitler's Invasion of Poland—September 1, 1939—25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, September 1 of this year marks the 25th anniversary of Hitler's undeclared war and unheralded attack of Poland. It was a treacherous move, rare even in the violent history of modern times, which ushered in a tragic period in Poland's history, in the history of Europe, and of the whole world. The evil forces let loose on orders by a maniac, obsessed with the idea of Germanic race superiority and blindly following his purely personal instincts, were meant to create a new German empire under his personal leadership, and which were to shape the history of Europe and mankind for the next thousand years. The attainment of this madman's dream meant the conquest, the subjugation, and the enslavement of all peoples neighboring Germany.

Unhappily the valiant Poles, who had the courage not to be browbeaten and cowed by their cruel and more powerful foes, were the first victims of Nazi military aggression. Dauntless and defiant, and though outnumbered and outmaneuvered and finally overpowered by

the sheer weight of brute force, gallant Poles fought valiantly against their ruthless foes. Even when their homeland was overrun by the invaders and then partitioned between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, they continued their fight with all the means at their disposal throughout the war, never doubting the righteousness of their cause and its ultimate triumph.

Even before the outbreak of Hitler's undeclared war on Poland there was no doubt in the minds of the people of this great Republic, nor in the minds of those guiding the destinies of this country. We had shown our wholehearted sympathy for the Polish people and had more or less committed ourselves to help them, morally at least, in every way possible. Unfortunately, we were unable to do much for them during the war, but we did all in our power to secure for the Poles the best possible terms under which a new Poland was recreated after the war, and since then we have shown a deep concern with the fate of Poland. Though robbed of a part of their historic homeland by the Soviet Union, they were partly compensated for these losses in the West, and under the circumstances Poles have made the very best of an unfortunate territorial bargain. In this we had no voice and nothing to do; we simply were unable to help them. But since the end of the last war, especially during the last few years the Government of this country has given unstinted moral support to the Poles and has given immense material aid, both in kind and in cash.

On the observance of this 25th anniversary, I am happy to say that we are glad to be of help to these deserving Poles, as we are always prepared to do so.

I include as part of my remarks the text of a recent statement issued by the Council of the Polish Societies and Clubs in the State of Delaware, and the Delaware Division of the Polish American Congress.

The statement follows:

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF ATTACK ON POLAND

Twenty-five years ago, September 1, 1939, Hitler sent his Nazi legions storming into Poland, thereby precipitating the greatest holocaust in the history of mankind. Outnumbered, lacking modern equipment, stabbed in the back by Stalin, the Polish people fought with their traditional bravery until crushed by the weight of superior forces. Despite the surprise attack, Poland resisted 35 days. France, Belgium, and Holland assisted by the British expeditionary corps and with a 9-month mobilization, gave up the fight after 38 days.

While the Polish people fought valiantly against the Nazi aggressors, Soviet Russia on September 17, 1939, sent its troops to Poland under the guise of liberators. Poland, the "Knight among nations" fell victim. Both aggressors divided the country between them, hoping to erase Poland off the map of the world.

Hundreds of thousands of Poles fought for the United Nations cause, on land, at sea, and in the air. Polish troops distinguished themselves in campaigns in France, Italy, in Germany. They stormed the difficult heights of Monte Casino. The end of World War II brought freedom to the Allied Countries—but Poland, the first to fight the aggressor, the first to stop the German blitzkreig, fell victim to appeasement and was betrayed at Yalta by her friends and allies.

Ruled by the Moscow-sponsored Warsaw puppet regime—the people of Poland have not forgotten September of 1939—the 1st and the 17th day—and hope and pray that the fate which befell the Nazi aggressors will soon become the lot of the Communist aggressors, and Poland will once again be free and independent.

The TVA—An Address by the Honorable Paul Rand Dixon, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Mr. Paul Rand Dixon, recently delivered an eloquent and outstanding address before the members of the Tennessee Valley Chamber of Commerce at Murfreesboro. Tenn., in the district I have the honor to represent in the Congress.

Chairman Dixon gives an interesting description of events leading up to the formation of the TVA. He describes the battles that have been fought and the struggles that have been waged for control of the Tennessee River throughout history, and points to the achievements of the TVA through its unified system of major dams along the 650-mile link of the important, navigable Tennessee River—significantly indicating navigation, flood control, electric power production and other benefits to the people which this well-known Government agency has meant and means in the conservation of our natural resources in the public interest.

Under unanimous consent, I include Chairman Dixon's address in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

TVA AND THE SPIRIT OF THE VALLEY

We meet today here in what is affectionately known as "the Valley," on what Bruce Catton called "this hallowed ground," for here the Battle of Stones River occurred. And in case there is a stranger here, the Valley of the Tennessee includes practically all of Tennessee and parts of six other States. On December 31, 1862, Gen. Braxton Bragg, CSA, had occupied Murfreesboro with 38,000 Confederates. Astride the river, just northwest of Murfreesboro, was Gen. William S. Rosecrans, U.S. Army, with 44,000 Union soldiers who had pushed down from Nashville to attack Bragg and drive him from Murfreesboro. Bragg moved out of the city northwestward and took a strong position, also astride the river. The battle opened with a charge the morning of the 31st of December, by General Hardee of Georgia, commanding Bragg's left. General Hardee charged from the Widow Smith's house against the Union right flank. The fighting was so fierce that in the first few minutes one northern brigade suffered 500 casualties. Within an hour, Hardee turned Rosecrans' right flank in the first day's fighting. Rosecrans was pressed back in an almost L-shaped crescent around his headquarters, his right crumpled back on his center. Bragg thought he had won and wired New Year's Eve greetings to Richmond the night of the 31st.

However, instead of returning to Nashville, Rosecrans reformed and preparations continued January 1; and on January 2, Gen. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who had recently resigned as Vice President of the United States to become a major general in the Confederate Army, charged Rosecrans' left in a fierce attempt to carry the field. This was unsuccessful inasmuch as reinforcements had arrived from Nashville. The extent of General Breckinridges effort can be judged by the fact that he lost 1,800 men in this charge on the last day of battle. General Rosecrans was assisted by Gen. George Thomas, later to be known as the "Rock of Chickamauga," Gen. Arthur MacArthur, the father of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and Gen. Phil Sheridan, who was in command of a brigade on the turned right. Casualties of this 3-day battle were 13,000 Union troops and 12,000 Confederates. Nobody really won although Bragg, as usual overly cautious, withdrew 36 miles toward Chattanooga and Rosecrans moved into the city of Murfreesboro.

Strangely enough, both commanders had had the same plan of battle, to attack his opponent's right flank. The advantage was therefore with the first to attack. Bragg was never one to press his advantage and here at Stones River, as 8½ months later at Chickamauga, lost his chance to destroy Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland. This battle was of great importance, though, as it caused Bragg to retreat toward Chattanooga and was the beginning of the movement that cut the Confederacy in half.

One hundred and one and a half years after the Battle of Stones River before Murfreesboro, here in this historic part of Tennessee, we gather to celebrate the strength and glory of the modern Tennessee Valley. This includes all of Tennessee and parts of six other States: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. In so doing, we are mindful of the time Murfreesboro was the capital of Tennessee and in fancy's eye can see Andrew Jackson and Jimmy Polk and Judge Overton and General Coffee busy at their political maneuvers which gave Tennessee two of her three Presidents of the United States and a Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, not to mention numerous Cabinet members and other positions of prominence.

We can almost feel the presence of Gen. Braxton Bragg and the Army of the Tennessee and Arkansas' great Confederate hero, Gen. Pat Cleburne, who rode to his death barefooted at the Battle of Franklin, November 30, 1864, 2 years after the battle here, having given his boots to a subordinate just before leading his last charge. Episcopal Bishop Leonidas Polk rides these hills and crosses this river once more as a lieutenant general, CSA, accompanied by the great John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and the redoubtable Gen. William J. Hardee of Georgia, and Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky, and Gen. Joe Wheeler, of Alabama, at the head of his cavalry.

We think of the long and illustrious list of Tennessee Confederate generals who were present here December 31, 1862: General Cheatham, Gen. Alex Stewart, General McCown, General Maney, General Donelson, General Pillow, and General Rains, who was killed in the first day of battle leading the Second Brigade of McCown's division, General Strahl, who was to die later in the Battle of Franklin with the immortal son of Arkansas, Cleburne, and four other Confederate brigadiers. General Roger W. Hanson, of Kentucky, also gave his life here in the first day's charge.

We like to think of colorful Lt. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, of Memphis, riding in and out of Murfreesboro almost at will throughout the war with a gallant band who

devised and executed the modern pincer movement nearly a hundred years before the German Field Marshal Rommel and his vaunted Afrika Corps were clever enough to copy this most successful tactic of "Old Bedford" and his hard-riding, hard-fighting Tennesseans who liked to "get thar fustest with the mostest," and generally did.

I love Tennessee, my native State. This great State that sent so many men to the Mexican War when Polk was President that ever since it has been called the Volunteer State. I am intensely proud of her record and the lives and deeds of her great men. I am always moved deeply when I return here by the physical beauty of this terrain from the Great Smoky Mountains in east Tennessee to the rolling hills and blue grass of what John Trotwood Moore called "the dimple of the universe—the middle basin of Tennessee" across the Cumberland and the Tennessee into the flat cotton lands of west Tennessee and the shores of the wide Mississippi. Tennessee is truly what Senator Edward Ward Carmack called "a land of legend, a land of song and story, a land of hallowed and heroic memories." The Tennessee Valley threads through the three grand divisions, tying them all together.

I particularly love the valley. It stands for everything modern Tennessee and the modern South should be. The great acts of President Woodrow Wilson and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, plus the pioneer spirit of the valley have made the TVA the great project that it is and thereby rejuvenation of seven States representing the heart of the Old South has been made possible. Thank God for the spirit of the valley.

It is of more than casual significance that the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, Ala., was built by the Congress on recommendation of President Wilson, a native Virginian. Pursuant to section 124 of the National Defense Act of 1916, the original purpose was to operate a dam in the interest of national defense for the development of chemicals and fertilizers. Wilson Dam wasn't finished until 1926, long after World War I was over. But the dam and appurtenances stood idle until 1933.

In the heart of the great depression, on the recommendation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Congress of the United States passed a statute creating a corporation called the Tennessee Valley Authority, and directed said corporation to take over custody of the Wilson Dam, a 60,000-kilowatt steamplant at Hales Bar, and the nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, Ala. In addition, the 1933 act gave the corporation power to develop the Tennessee River for navigation, flood control, and production of electric power; to conduct chemical engineering research and improve fertilizers for agriculture; and to help conserve our natural resources, aid in regional development, and cooperate with State and local governments and other agencies for the general welfare. This act was about as broad as Congress could make it.

From many quarters throughout the United States arose cries of protest. First of all, those in opposition said this was socialism, for the act would place the Federal Government in competition with private power companies already in the area. Second, the operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority would not be subject to taxation, making it possible for them to sell electricity and other products below the market price set by the taxpaying competitors. Third, it would deprive local governments, municipalities, counties, and States of tax money. Fourth, it was unfair and unjust to make the taxpayers of the whole country furnish tax money to a localized area like the Tennessee Valley, which at best, affected only seven States. Fifth, as to private power companies already operating in the area, it was confiscatory.

These attacks and others culminated in 1936 in the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Ashwander* v. *The Tennessee Valley Authority*. This was not a unanimous opinion. Mr. Justice McReynolds of Tennessee filed a ringing and impassioned dissent. And, to tell the truth, the majority opinion was so narrow, confining itself to the Government's right to operate the dam and plants for the national defense and to improve the navigation of the river only, that the proponents of the Tennessee Valley Authority were apprehensive about carrying out the other broad purposes of the 1933 act. However, *Ashwander* v. *the Tennessee Valley Authority*, 297 U.S. 288 reh. den. 297 U.S. 728, as narrow a holding as it is, has been the only test of the validity of the TVA Act to reach the Supreme Court.

In 1938 *Tennessee Electric Power Co.* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority*, 306 U.S. 118, reached the Supreme Court. This was a bill in equity brought by some 14 private power companies, seeking to enjoin the TVA from generating and selling electric power created pursuant to the TVA Act and the Authority's plan of construction and operation. All of the constitutional questions involving the TVA Act were raised in this suit, but the Supreme Court held that the private power companies had no standing in court to raise the questions and, therefore, dismissed the bill without ruling on the questions. To quote 43 American Jurisprudence, section 237.19: "thus, while the constitutionality of the whole Tennessee Valley Authority Act and the Authority's physical plant and procedure for the creation and sale of electric energy has never been expressly upheld, it would appear that in view of the two cases mentioned above, it is at least very difficult to find grounds for further questioning the constitutionality."

Today, 31 years later, the record of achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority constitutes the best possible defense of the far-seeing action taken by President Roosevelt and the Congress of the United States in 1933.

The following statistics are taken from the Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1963, covering 30 years of operation:

"Today it is 650 miles of 9-foot navigable channel from Knoxville, Tenn., to Paducah, Ky., where the Tennessee River flows into the Ohio. This channel is plied by towboats and barges serving the commerce of 20 States and having 12 million acre-feet of storage available to reduce flood damage in the Tennessee, Lower Ohio, and Lower Mississippi Basins. In 1963 TVA placed in operation the 21st dam it has constructed—Melton Hill on the Clinch River. It provides an additional 40 miles of navigable channel, reaching Oak Ridge and Clinton, Tenn. The 21 dams built by TVA, coupled with previously existing dams, make up a unified system of 32 major dams which controls the streamflow of the Tennessee and its tributaries for promoting navigation, controlling floods in the Tennessee and Lower Mississippi Basins and, consistent with these purposes, generating the maximum amount of hydroelectric power. In addition to these major purposes, the system provides many other benefits, including recreation opportunities, fish and wildlife propagation and improved water supplies for cities and industry." The Tennessee waterway saves shippers about $25 million a year.

In 1933 governing low-water depths "range from 4 feet in the lower level to 1 foot in the upper reaches." It is estimated that by the end of the calendar year 1962 the TVA had saved shippers $260 million and cumulative flood damage averted reached an estimated $311 million. TVA is credited with increasing the property values in the Lower Mississippi Basin $150 million because of the freedom from the danger of flood damage.

More than 80 public parks "operated by States, municipalities, and counties have been established on the waterway, along with many private enterprise recreational developments."

Average annual home use of electricity in the TVA region exceeded 10,000 kilowatt-hours per customer in the fiscal year 1963, a dramatic contrast with 600 kilowatt-hours per customer in 1933. The average cost was less than 1 cent per kilowatt-hour, compared with 6 cents in 1933. The current national average is 2.4 cents per kilowatt-hour.

TVA's power is distributed to its 1,500,000 customers today by 157 locally owned and managed distribution systems buying power wholesale from TVA. In 1933 only 3 percent of the farms in the valley had electricity; today all have electricity.

"By 1933 erosion and soil exhaustion were particularly severe in the Tennessee Valley and the Southeast generally, where row cropping on hills and slopes as well as level land, had long been the rule." The TVA not only instructed farmers in better methods of planting, such as contour plowing, but developed new and cheaper fertilizers by research and waterpower until today the average yield per acre has increased more than 78 percent and encouraged stock farming has produced crops the value of which has increased 558 percent. And although the number of milk cows declined by 21 percent, production and sales were up 209 percent owing to better feed and better methods of dairying.

Thirty years ago the forests which cover half the valley were depleted by indiscriminate cutting, lack of protection against fire and poor management. Timber was actually being cut or destroyed faster than it grew. This, of course, had it continued, would have resulted not only in the lack of forests for timber but would have been a horrible flood hazard, let the topsoil wash away throughout the valley and depleted the water reservoirs. "Forests now cover 15.2 million acres, a million-acre increase since 1933. Fire protection has been extended to 97 percent of the forest lands and has improved in quality. Over 800,000 acres of eroded and idle land have been reforested. Through June 30, 1963, TVA had provided more than 570 million seedlings for reforestation. Today forest industries turn out products valued at more than $500 million annually. Over 1,000 industries depend on the valley forests for raw materials, employing 50,000 persons.

"TVA is the wholesale power supplier for the region. Distribution of electricity is in the hands of 157 local systems, all but 2 of them municipally or cooperatively owned. Distribution of electricity is by these local systems—104 municipalities, 51 cooperatives and 2 small privately owned companies."

As of March 1, 1963, TVA's power producing system had an installed capacity of 12,031,060 kilowatts. This includes 15 hydroelectric plants in the Tennessee Valley owned by the Aluminum Co. of America, having a total installed capacity of 425,960 kilowatts. TVA directs water releases from these Alcoa dams. It also includes power from three U.S. Corps of Engineer dams in the Cumberland Valley. TVA operates seven large steamplants, several smaller ones, and has two major plants under construction.

For many years most of the electricity was produced by hydroelectric plants in the TVA, but recently this has changed and in 1963 of the total, 8,724,000 kilowatts was produced by steam electric plants and only 3,987,215 kilowatts in hydroelectric plants. One of the reasons for this change and for building more steamplants has been the demands of the Atomic Energy Commission at Oak Ridge. They require steam generated electricity. Now the steamplants provide 73 percent of the total power supply.

The steam plants burned about 21.1 million tons of coal in 1963 at a cost of $4.40 per

ton. This makes the TVA the largest purchaser of coal in the world. What this means to the Appalachian region cannot be overestimated.

Contrary to what the opponents of TVA said—that TVA would be a drain on the rest of the taxpayers of the Nation—TVA has been paying its own way by paying interest on the funds it borrows for construction and expansion and operation. As of 1963, TVA has paid to the U.S. Treasury, $146.9 million as dividend payments on appropriated funds for operation and $396.9 million in retirement of bonds. Contrary to what was said by TVA opponents to the effect that TVA would pay no taxes, in 1963 TVA paid $13.1 million to States and municipalities in local tax equivalents. TVA pays regularly, as set by law, 5 percent of all power revenues except those from sales to the Federal Government, to the States and counties in lieu of taxes. The combined payments to the State and local governments amounted to $20.4 million—this was 7.5 percent of all revenues from the sale of TVA power except to Federal agencies. In proportion of revenues, the 7.5 percent was well within the range of State and local taxes paid by 12 adjacent utilities systems and higher than those of 5 of them.

Contrary to the charge made by opponents of the TVA in 1933 and since—since 1933 TVA has paid $125 million for the generating plants and transmission facilities of seven large private power companies and a number of smaller companies operating throughout the valley. These companies were private monopolies and were replaced by purchase of them without confiscation. These companies had no moral right to have a monopoly of the people's natural resources in the region. The TVA came into this area, paid these private monopolies for their equipment, and served the people of the region better and cheaper. It was not socialism for the people to throw off the bondage of private monopolies and serve themselves.

Woodrow Wilson said: "I do not want to live under a philanthropy. I do not want to be taken care of by the Government. We do not want a benevolent Government. We want a free and a just Government."

But when considering the breaking up of special privileges and monopolies, he said of the Jeffersonian theory of nonintervention in the economy by Government: "I feel confident that if Jefferson were living in our day he would see what we see. * * * Without the watchful interference, the resolute interference of the Government, there can be no fairplay." Wilson was against special privilege or as he put it, he was for, "a free field and no favor."

Our job at the Federal Trade Commission is very largely that of referee—to keep business fair and to protect small business from large business and to even protect large business from large business and from unfair combinations against it. We are deeply concerned with preservation of competition in American business. William Gibbs McAdoo, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, expressed the same feeling when he said: "For my part I believe all powers of the Nation should be exerted to preserve competitive conditions." And again, "Unregulated competition is better than regulated monopoly, but regulated competition is better than either."

The TVA has done more to revive competition and preserve competition throughout this region than any other single force I can think of on the American scene. TVA has created thousands of small businesses, has enabled thousands of others to flourish where they were just dragging along before TVA, and TVA has attracted large, heavy industry to the valley and the region through its ability to furnish large amounts of hydroelectric and steam power. Alcoa is one instance, Reynolds Metals plants in Sheffield, Ala., is another, and the Atomic Energy installation at Oak Ridge is a third.

On the 25th anniversary of the TVA, Congressman JOE L. EVINS, speaking on the floor of the House, May 19, 1958, quoted the world-renowned author of books on travel and the main continents of the world, John Gunther, as saying: "Quite possibly, the TVA is the greatest single American invention of the century, the biggest contribution the United States has yet made to society in the modern world."

From Ashwander to construction of a dam on Stones River which empties into the Cumberland, TVA has had many friends. Some are dead like Senator George Norris, and some still live, like Senator LISTER HILL, and work for TVA. I trust you will understand if I mention the late Estes Kefauver as a friend of TVA. He was a dear, close friend of mine. Senator Kefauver walked many a weary, up-hill mile for TVA. He never tired of talking for it and he never stopped working for its expansion. He loved this valley and he knew what its continued development meant to our people both here and throughout the Nation.

Likewise, Senator ALBERT GORE took up where Cordell Hull left off and has been an unfailing friend of TVA and the people of the valley. Congressman JOE EVINS, in whose district a great part of the valley is, has worked untiringly for more dams and more money, both on the powerful Appropriations Committee, of which he is a member, and on the floor of the House. TVA would be lost without its friends and the people of the valley must back them up and support them at all times.

But the TVA has enemies too—I heard the other day some fellow in Washington wants to sell it. This sounded so rash to me I didn't pay too much attention to it, but it may be true—I didn't hear who wanted to buy it or what price would be asked—maybe some latter-day Dixon-Yates syndicate has gotten together and would like to get a private monopoly of this whole region—I just don't know. One thing I do know is it would be over the dead bodies of President Johnson, JOE EVINS, and ALBERT GORE, and a lot of other good men in Washington—not to mention the people of this valley, the South, and the rest of the Nation who don't believe in private monopolies of the natural resources of the Nation.

The people of the valley hunt no more with the Decherd rifle; Nollichucky Jack lies in his grave on the lawn of the courthouse in Knoxville; Davy Crockett hovers in spirit over the Alamo that he defended so well to the last; Caspar Mansker and Russell Bean sleep with their fathers; Colonel Robertson and Colonel Donelson lie in reverent silence in Nashville; Andrew Jackson, Billy Carroll and James K. Polk rest in honored glory with Judge Overton, Major Lewis, General Coffee and Cordell Hull. The two great rivers, tributaries of the Ohio, the Cumberland and the Tennessee, that served as the highways that brought them here and served their day so well, are now harnessed to a greater use for their descendants. The rugged mountains still stand as majestic testimony of the Almighty Spirit that created this land and the indomitable spirit of its people. Without the rivers of Tennessee, these mountains would have remained impenetrable barriers instead of embodiments of beauty on the face of this great State. From the days of the Wautaugua Settlement, the state of Franklin and the old Mero district, the rivers of Tennessee have been the friends of the people of this valley. At times unruly and destructive, but nonetheless indispensable to their progress. Today they are tamed; unruly and destructive no longer. The Tennessee Valley Authority has accomplished this and much more. By comparison with the desolation and despair of 1933, TVA has made the Cumberland and the Tennessee like unto the Tigris and Euphrates watering the Garden of Eden of Bible times.

But according to a statement made by Congressman EVINS on the floor of the House in 1963 on the 30th anniversary of the TVA, the people, not only of this region but of the free world have been singly served by the TVA, and I quote:

"The availability of TVA's power was an important reason why the Army established its atomic bomb plant at Oak Ridge, and it is fair to say that without adequate TVA power it might well have been impossible to develop the atomic bomb. TVA thus contributed to shortening and winning the war."

When I was in Vanderbilt University, I was fortunate enough to have an English class with the late, great Dr. Edwin Mims. As some of you will recall, Dr. Mims was very fond of quoting Tennyson. As a matter of fact, Dr. Mims looked a great deal like Lord Tennyson. Many of us suspect that this fact was very pleasing to Dr. Mims personally. Be that as it may, I particularly remember his quoting a line from Tennyson's "Ulysses," "I am a part of all that I have met." Obviously, this is a way of saying a man's life is the sum total of all his experiences—the places he has been and the people he has met. Well, the corollary of this is true for States and regions; the valley of the Tennessee is the sum total of the lives of its people and the experiences of these people, especially the leaders of the people. Therefore, Tennessee's illustrious dead live on today in the continuity of this region. John Sevier and Andrew Jackson and all of their great company, the noble men who battled astride this old river and the noble 25,000 Blue and Gray who became casualties of war here, may be gone and forgotten by some, but what they did while here is somehow inextricably interfused with what this valley is today.

Our ever-glorious past must be recalled from time to time by those servants of the people who are intent on creative and forward-looking acts of service. The lives of these matchless heroes of old who walked like giants across the three grand divisions of this State must ever be a constant source of inspiration for modern Tennesseans and the people of the valley.

In the beautiful city of Washington, where I have spent the last 26 years of my life, there is carved upon one of the entablatures of the Archives Building on the Pennsylvania Avenue side, the words: "What is past is prologue." This inscription has great meaning for us on this occasion. However great the past, we cannot live in the past. It is over—it is done—it is gone. Even though we may regret it greatly, even though we long for its return, even though we pray earnestly for the return of men like Andrew Jackson, they will not be back. They have done their deeds and have joined the invisible company of the great whose dwelling place is not here. However, what they have done is prolog; the past is prolog. The 31-year record of the TVA is part of this prolog. The word "prolog" is a forward-looking word—an expression of anticipation. And that is the way that we must view our past—however great it is—as a prelude to something greater—a prolog. President John F. Kennedy must have had these thoughts in mind when, at Muscle Shoals, Ala., on the 30th anniversary of the TVA, he stated, "the work of TVA will never be over. There will always be new frontiers for it to conquer. For in the minds of men the world over, the initials TVA stands for progress * * *."

As pleased as we may be with the past, we must never be satisfied with it. We must always keep one eye on the past and the other eye on the future. There is nothing surer in all of man's experience than the fact of change. We cannot capture any one precious moment and hold it fast forever. Change is the one unalterable rule of life.

We must adapt to these changes or become fossilized and left behind. While we honor the past, our business is with the future. We must ever look forward to improvements and better ways of living. The TVA is no exception. While we are intensely proud of what it has been and what it is now, we must look forward to spreading this blessing and sharing it with all mankind.

Dr. Mims wrote a book called "The Advancing South." His thesis was that regardless of the terrible setback the South received as an aftermath of the War Between the States, the South was coming back stronger than ever. The way was forward—to advance.

We must advance. The TVA was and is part of the advancing South. We have found a new pattern for governmental service here in this valley. We have found a new way for the people to harness the resources of the commonwealth for the benefit of all without changing our traditional form of Government or altering the fundamental charter of our liberty. Here in the TVA there is to be found no unwelcomed meddling of bureaucrats, no socialistic tyranny of a supra government, but a common agreement on a common purpose for common resources in cooperation with the local city, county, and State governments. There is no dictation here, but common agreement for the good of all within the boundaries of the time-honored precepts of the law of the land.

May I conclude with a few lines from Tennyson lifted out of context from "Locksley Hall":

"Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.
Rift the hills and roll the waters, flash the lightnings, weigh the sun."

The spirit of the valley once more bids us all advance. Not just in the valley; not just in the South; but rather let this whole Nation together advance.

Platform Advice From a Great Democrat: Al Smith, the Barry Goldwater of the 1930's

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, with the Democratic Convention only 3 days away, I think it would be worthwhile in the interests of the Democratic Party and our great country if each delegate would read carefully these well chosen words of wisdom on government and Americanism, from one of my favorite Democrats, Alfred E. Smith, the BARRY GOLDWATER of the 1930's:

ALFRED E. SMITH'S TALK TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY 25, 1936

At the outset of my remarks let me make one thing perfectly clear. I am not a candidate for any nomination by any party at any time, and what is more I do not intend to even lift my right hand to secure any nomination from any party at any time.

Further than that I have no ax to grind. There is nothing personal in this whole performance so far as I am concerned. I have no feeling against any man, woman, or child in the United States.

I am in possession of supreme happiness and comfort. I represent no group, no man, and I speak for no man or no group, but I do speak for what I believe to be the best interests of the great rank and file of the American people in which class I belong.

I am here tonight, also, because I have a great love for the United States of America. I love it for what I know it has meant to mankind since the day of its institution.

WHY SMITH LOVES AMERICA

I love it because I feel it has grown to be the great stabilizing force in world civilization. I love it above everything else for the opportunity that it offers to every man and every woman that desires to take advantage of it. No man that I know of or that I have probably ever read of has any more reason to love it than I have. It kept the gateway open for me; it is a matter of common knowledge throughout the country, and I do not state it boastfully, because it is well known, that, deprived by poverty in my early years of an education, that gateway showed me how it was possible to go from a newsboy on the sidewalks of New York to the governorship of the greatest State in the Union.

Now listen: I have 5 children and I have 10 grandchildren and you take it from me, I want that gate left open not alone for mine, I am not selfish about it, not for a minute, but for every boy and girl in the country and in that respect I am not different from every father and mother in the United States.

Think it over for a minute. Figure it out for yourself. It is possible for your children's successes to be your successes. I remember distinctly my first inauguration as Governor of New York. I am not sure that the young folks understood it thoroughly, but there were three people at that inauguration that did understand it, and one was my mother, the other was my sister, and the third was my wife. They understood. They were with me in all the early struggles.

Now, I am here for another reason. I am here because I am a Democrat.

I was born in the Democratic Party and I expect to die in it. And I was attracted to it in my youth because I was led to believe that no man owned it. Further than that, that no group of men owned it, but on the other hand, that it belonged to all the plain people in the United States.

PUT PATRIOTISM ABOVE PARTISANSHIP

It is not easy for me to stand up here tonight and talk to the American people against the Democratic administration. This is not easy. It hurts me. But I can call upon innumerable witnesses to testify to the fact that during my whole public life I put patriotism above partisanship. And when I see danger, I say danger, that is the stop, look, and listen to the fundamental principles upon which this Government of ours was organized; it is difficult for me to refrain from speaking up.

What are these dangers that I see? The first is the arrangement of class against class. It has been freely predicted that if we were ever to have civil strife again in this country, it would come from the appeal to passion and prejudices that comes from the demagogs that would incite one class of our people against the other.

In my time I have met some good and bad industrialists; I have met some good and bad financiers, but I have also met some good and bad laborers, and this I know, that permanent prosperity is dependent upon both capital and labor alike.

And I also know that there can be no permanent prosperity in this country until industry is able to employ labor, and there certainly can be no permanent recovery upon any governmental theory of soak the rich or soak the poor.

Even the children in our high schools—and let it be said to the glory of our educational institutions—that even the children in our high schools know that you can't soak capital without soaking labor at the same time.

A GOVERNMENT BY BUREAUCRATS

The next thing that I view as being dangerous to our national well-being is government by bureaucracy instead of what we have been taught to look for, government by law.

Just let me quote something from the President's message to Congress:

"In 34 months we have built up new instruments of public power in the hands of the people's government. This power is wholesome and proper, but in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy, such power would provide shackles for the liberties of our people."

Now I interpret that to mean, if you are going to have an autocrat, take me; but be very careful about the other fellow.

There is a complete answer to that, and it rises in the minds of the great rank and file, and that answer is just this: We will never in this country tolerate any laws that provide shackles for our people.

We don't want any autocrats, either in or out of office. We wouldn't even take a good one.

The next danger that is apparent to me is the vast building up of new bureaus of Government, draining resources of our people in a common pool of redistributing them, not by any process of law, but by the whim of a bureaucratic autocracy.

THE 1932 PLATFORM

Well now, what am I here for? I am here not to find fault. Anybody can do that. I am here to make suggestions. What would I have my party do? I would have them reestablish and redeclare the principles that they put forth in that 1932 platform.

Even our Republican friends, and I know many of them—they talk to me freely, we have our little confidences among ourselves—they have all agreed that it is the most compact, the most direct, and the most intelligent political platform that was ever put forth by any political party in this country.

The Republican platform was 10 times as long. It was stuffy, it was unreadable, and in many points, not understandable. No administration in the history of the country came into power with a more simple, a more clear, or a more inescapable mandate than did the party that was inaugurated on the 4th of March in 1933.

And listen, no candidate in the history of the country ever pledged himself more unequivocally to his party platform than did the President who was inaugurated on that day.

Well, here we are.

Millions and millions of Democrats just like myself, all over the country, still believe in that platform. And what we want to know is why it wasn't carried out?

And listen. There is only one man in the United States of America that can answer that question. It won't do to pass it down to a Under Secretary. I won't even recognize him when I hear his name. I won't know where he came from. I will be sure that he never lived down in my district.

Now, let us wander for awhile and let's take a look at that platform, and let's see what happened to it. Here is how it started out:

"We believe that a party platform is a covenant with the people, to be faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of contract to which they are asked to subscribe.

"The Democratic Party solemnly promises by appropriate action to put into effect the principles, policies, and reforms herein advocated and to eradicate the political methods and practices herein condemned."

My friends, these are what we call fighting words. At the time that that platform went through the air and over the wire, the people of the United States were in the lowest possible depths of despair, and the Democratic platform looked to them like the star of hope; it looked like the rising sun in the east to the mariner on the bridge of a ship after a terrible night.

But what happened to it?

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

First plank: "We advocate immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating etxravagances to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 percent in the cost of the Federal Government."

Well, now, what is the fact? No offices were consolidated, no bureaus were eliminated, but on the other hand, the alphabet was exhausted. The creation of new departments—and this is sad news for the taxpayer—the cost, the ordinary cost, what we refer to as housekeeping cost, over and above all emergencies—that ordinary housekeeping cost of Government is greater today than it has ever been in any time in the history of the Republic.

THE UNBALANCED BUDGET

Another plank: "We favor maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced on the basis of accurate Federal estimate within revenue."

How can you balance a budget if you insist upon spending more money than you take in? Even the increased revenue won't go to balance the budget, because it is hocked before you receive it. What is worse than that?

We have borrowed. We owe something. We have borrowed so that we have reached a new high peak of Federal indebtedness for all time.

Well, that wouldn't annoy me so very much ordinarily. When I was Governor of New York they found a lot of fault with me because I borrowed a lot of money. That wouldn't worry me if it solved our problem and we were out of trouble; I would say "All right, let 'er go." But the sin of it is that we have the indebtedness and at the end of 3 years we are just where we started.

And the farmers and the farm problem we still have with us.

WHO WILL PAY THE DEBT?

Now here is something that I want to say to the rank and file. There are three classes of people in this country; there are the poor and the rich, and in between the two is what has often been referred to as the great backbone of America, that is the plain fellow.

That is the fellow that makes from $100 a month up to the man that draws down $5,000 or $6,000 a year.

Now, there is a great big army. Forget the rich; they can't pay this debt. If you took everything they have away from them, they couldn't pay it; they ain't got enough. There is no use talking about the poor; they will never pay it, because they have nothing.

This debt is going to be paid by that great big middle class that we refer to as the backbone and the rank and file, and the sin of it is they ain't going to know that they are paying it. It is going to come to them in the form of indirect and hidden taxation. It will come to them in the cost of living, in the cost of clothing, in the cost of every activity that they enter into, and because it is not a direct tax, they won't think they're paying it, but take it from me, they are going to pay for it.

WHAT ABOUT STATES RIGHTS?

Another plank: "We advocate the extension of Federal credit to the States to provide unemployment relief where the diminishing resources of the State make it impossible for them to provide for their needs."

That was pretty plain. That was a recognition in the national convention of the rights of the States. But how is it interpreted? The Federal Government took over most of the relief problems, some of them useful and most of them useless. They started out to prime the pump for industry in order to absorb the ranks of the unemployed, and at the end of 3 years their employment affirmative policy is absolutely nothing better than the negative policy of the administration that preceded it.

"We favor unemployment and old-age insurance under State laws."

Now let me make myself perfectly clear so that no demagog or no crackpot in the next week or so will be able to say anything about my attitude on this kind of legislation. I am in favor of it. And I take my hat off to no man in the United States on the question of legislation beneficial to the poor, the weak, the sick, or the afflicted, or women and children.

Because why? I started out a quarter of a century ago when I had very few followers in my State, and during that period I advocated, fought for, introduced as a legislator and finally as Governor for 8 long years, signed more progressive legislation in the interest of the men, women, and children than any man in the State of New York.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES, UNFULFILLED PLEDGES

And the sin of this whole thing, and the part of it that worries me and gives me concern is that this haphazard, hurry-up passage of legislation is never going to accomplish the purposes for which it was designed and—bear this in mind, follow the platform—under State laws.

Here is another one: "We promise the enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid the farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities, prices in excess of cost."

Well, what is the use of talking about that? "Promise every constitutional measure." The Supreme Court disposed of that within the last couple of weeks, and according to the papers the other day some brilliant individual has conceived the idea of how to get around the Constitution. We are going to have 48 AAA's, one for each State.

The day that the U.S. Supreme Court decided that case I left my office to attend a meeting of a board of trustees of a hospital downtown that I am interested in, and as I stepped into the taxicab the driver was reading the extra: "Supreme Court declares AAA unconstitutional."

We rode along for a few minutes, and, about three blocks from my office, we got caught by a red light, the taxi driver turned around and looked at me and he said:

"Governor, ain't there any lawyers in Congress any more?"

Just then the light changed and I was afraid to answer him for fear I might disconcert him. But I was all ready to say, "Yes, son, but they don't function."

We have now another plank: "We advocate strengthening and impartial enforcement of the antitrust laws."

What happened? Why, the NRA just put a gas bag on the antitrust laws and put them fast asleep and nobody said anything about it. I don't know whether they are good or whether they are bad, but I know they didn't work.

Another one: "We promise the removal of Government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and national resources in the common interest."

NRA: A vast octopus set up by Government, that wound its arms around all the business of the country, paralyzed big business, and choked little business to death.

Did you read in the papers a short time ago where somebody said that business was going to get a breathing spell?

What is the meaning of that? And where did that expression arise?

I'll tell you where it comes from. It comes from the prize ring. When the aggressor is punching the head off the other fellow he suddenty takes compassion on him and he gives him a breathing spell before he delivers the knockout wallop.

WASTEFUL EXTRAVAGANCE

Here is another one: "We condemn the open and covert resistance of administrative officials to every effort made by congressional committees to curtail the extravagant expenditures of Government and improvident subsidies granted to private interests."

Now, just between ourselves, do you know any administrative officer that has tried to stop Congress from appropriating money? Do you think there has been any desire on the part of Congress to curtail appropriations?

Why, not at all. The fact is that Congress threw them right and left—didn't even tell what they were for.

And the truth, further, is that every administrative officer sought to get all that he possibly could in order to expand the activities of his own office and throw the money of the people right and left. And as to subsidies, why, never at any time in the history of this or any other country were there so many subsidies granted to private groups, and on such a huge scale.

The fact of the matter is that most of the cases now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court revolve around the point whether or not it is proper for Congress to tax all the people to pay subsidies to a particular group.

Here is another one: "We condemn the extravagance of the Farm Board, its disastrous action which made the Government a speculator of farm products, and the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demand of domestic markets."

Listen, I'll let you in on something. This hasn't leaked out yet, so kind of keep it to yourself until you get the news.

On the first of February we are going to own 4,500,000 bales of cotton. It cost $270 million. And we have been such brilliant speculators that we are paying 13 cents a pound for it, when you add storage and carrying charges, and it can be bought at any 1 of the 10 cotton markets of the South today for 11.5 cents. Some speculators.

What about the restriction of our agricultural products and the demands of the market? Why, the fact about that is that we shut out entirely the farm market, and by plowing under corn and wheat and the destruction of foodstuffs, food from foreign countries has been pouring into our American markets—food that should have been purchased by us from our own farmers.

In other words, while some of the countries of the Old World were attempting to drive the wolf of hunger from the door mat, the United States flew in the face of God's bounty and destroyed its own foodstuffs. There can be no question about that.

Now I could go on indefinitely with some of the other planks. They are unimportant, and the radio time will not permit it. But just let me sum up this way. Regulation of the stock exchange and the repeal of the 18th amendment, plus one or two minor planks of the platform that in no way touch the daily life of our people, have been carried out, but the balance of the platform was thrown in the wastebasket. About that there can be no question.

Let's see how it was carried out. Make a test for yourselves. Just get the platform of the Democratic Party, and get the platform of the Socialist Party, and lay them

down on your dining room table, side by side, and get a heavy lead pencil, and scratch out the word "Democrat," and scratch out the word "Socialist," and let the two platforms lay there.

Then study the record of the present administration up to date. After you have done that, make up your mind up to pick up the platform that more nearly squares with the record, and you will put your hand on the Socialist platform. You don't dare touch the Democratic platform.

DEMOCRATIC OR SOCIALISTIC?

And incidentally, let me say, that it is not the first time in recorded history, that a group of men have stolen the livery of the church to do the work of the devil.

Now, after studying this whole situation, you will find that that is at the bottom of all our troubles. This country was organized on the principles of representative democracy, and you can't mix socialism or communism with that. They are like oil and water. They are just like oil and water; they refuse to mix.

And incidentally, let me say to you, that is the reason why the U.S. Supreme Court is working overtime throwing the alphabet out of the window—three letters at a time.

Now I am going to let you in on something else. How do you suppose all this happened? Here is the way it happened. The young brain trusters caught the Socialists in swimming and they ran away with their clothes.

Now, it is all right with me. It is all right with me if they want to disguise themselves as Norman Thomas or Karl Marx, or Lenin, or any of the rest of that bunch, but what I won't stand for is to let them march under the banner of Jefferson, Jackson, or Cleveland.

WE CAN TAKE A WALK

Now what is worrying me, where does that leave me as a Democrat? My mind is now fixed upon the convention in June, in Philadelphia. The committee on resolutions is about to report, and the preamble to the platform is:

"We, the representatives of the Democratic Party in convention assembled, heartily endorse the Democratic administration."

What happens to the disciples of Jefferson and Jackson and Cleveland when that resolution is read out? Why, for us it is a washout. There is only one of two things we can do. We can either take on the mantle of hypocrisy or we can take a walk, and we will probably do the latter.

Now leave the platform alone for a little while. What about this attack that has been made upon the fundamental institutions of this country? Who threatens them, and did we have any warning of this threat? Why, you don't have to study party platforms. You don't have to read books. You don't have to listen to professors of economics. You can find the whole thing incorporated in the greatest declaration of political principles that ever came from the hands of man, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS

Always have in your minds that the Constitution and the first 10 amendments to it were drafted by refugees and by sons of refugees, by men with bitter memories of European oppression and hardship, by men who brought to this country and handed down to their descendants an abiding fear of arbitrary centralized government and autocracy. And all the bitterness and all the hatred of the Old World was distilled in our Constitution into the purest democracy that the world has ever known.

There are just three principles, and in the interest of brevity I will read them. I can read them quicker than talk them.

"First, a federal government, strictly limited in its power, with all other powers except those expressly mentioned reserved to the States and to the people, so as to insure States rights, guarantee home rule, and preserve freedom of individual initiative and local control."

That is simple enough. The difference between the State constitutions and the Federal Constitution is that in the State you can do anything you want to do provided it is not prohibited by the Constitution. But in the Federal Government, according to that Government, you can do only that which that Constitution tells you that you can do.

What is the trouble? Congress has overstepped its bounds. It went beyond that constitutional limitation, and it has enacted laws that not only violate the home rule and the States right principle—and who says that? Do I say it? Not at all. That was said by the U.S. Supreme Court in the last 10 or 12 days.

CHORUS OF "YES MEN" IN CONGRESS

Second, the Government, with three independent branches, Congress to make the laws, the Executive to execute them, the Supreme Court, and so forth. You know that.

In the name of heaven, where is the independence of Congress? Why, they just laid right down. They are flatter on the congressional floor than the rug on the table here. They surrendered all of their powers to the Executive, and that is the reason why you read in the newspapers references to Congress as the rubberstamp Congress.

We all know that the most important bills were drafted by the brain trusters, and sent over to Congress and passed by Congress without consideration, without debate and, without meaning any offense at all to my Democratic brethren in Congress, I think I can safely say without 90 percent of them knowing what was in the bills.

That was the meaning of the list that came over, and besides certain bills were "must." What does that mean? Speaking for the rank and file of American people we don't want any Executive to tell Congress what it must do, and we don't want any Congress or the Executive jointly or severally to tell the U.S. Supreme Court what it must do.

And further than that, we don't want the U.S. Supreme Court to tell either of them what they must do.

What we want, and what we insist upon, and what we are going to have is the absolute preservation of this balance of power which is the keystone, the arch upon which the whole theory of democratic government has got to rest. When you rattle that you rattle the whole structure.

Of course, when our forefathers wrote the Constitution of the United States it couldn't be possible that they had it in their minds that it was going to be all right for all time to come. So they said, "Now, we will provide a manner and method of amending it."

That is set forth in the document itself, and during our national life we amended it many times.

We amended it once by mistake, and we corrected it. What did we do? We took the amendment out. Fine, that is the way we want to do it, by recourse to the people.

But we don't want an administration that takes a shot at it in the dark and that ducks away from it and dodges away from it and tries to put something over in contradiction of it upon any theory that there is going to be a great public howl in favor of that something; possibly the U.S. Supreme Court may be intimidated into a friendly opinion with respect to it.

What I have held all during my public life is that Almighty God is with this country, and He didn't give us that kind of Supreme Court.

Now this is pretty tough on me to have to go at my own party this way, but I submit that there is a limit to blind loyalty.

As a young man in the Democratic Party, I witnessed the rise and fall of Bryan and Bryanism, and I know exactly what Bryan did to our party. I knew how long it took to build it after he got finished with it. But let me say this to the everlasting credit of Bryan and the men that followed him: They had the nerve and the courage and honesty to put into the platform just what their leaders stood for. And they further put the American people into a position of making an intelligent choice when they went to the polls.

Why, the fact of this whole thing is—I speak now not only of the executive but of the legislature at the same time—that they promised one set of things; they repudiated that promise, and they launched off on a program of action totally different.

Well, in 25 years of experience I have known both parties to fail to carry out some of the planks in their platform. But this is the first time that I have known a party, upon such a huge scale, not only not to carry out the plank, but to do the directly opposite thing to what they promised.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES

Now suggestions, and I make these as a Democrat anxious for the success of my party, and I make them in good faith.

No. 1. I suggest to the members of my party on Capitol Hill here in Washington that they take their minds off the Tuesday that follows the first Monday in November. Just take their minds off it to the end that you may do the right thing and not the expedient thing.

Next, I suggest to them that they dig up the 1932 platform from the grave that they buried it in, read it over, and study it, breathe life into it, and follow it in legislative and executive action, to the end that they make good their promises to the American people when they put forth that platform and the candidate that stood upon it 100 percent. In short, make good.

Next, I would suggest that they stop compromising with the fundamental principles laid down by Jackson and Jefferson and Cleveland.

Fourth. Stop attempting to alter the form and structure of our Government without recourse to the people themselves as provided in their own Constitution. This country belongs to the people, and it doesn't belong to any administration.

Next, I suggest that they read their oath office to support the Constitution of the United States. And I ask them to remember that they took that oath with their hands on the Holy Bible, thereby calling upon God Almighty himself to witness their solemn promise. It is bad enough to disappoint us.

WASHINGTON OR MOSCOW

Sixth. I suggest that from this moment they resolve to make the Constitution the civil bible of the United States and pay it the same civil respect and reverence that they would religiously pay the Holy Scripture, and I ask them to read from the Holy Scripture the Parable of the Prodigal Son and to follow his example.

Stop—stop wasting your substance in a foreign land and come back to your father's house.

Now, in conclusion, let me give this solemn warning: There can be only one Capitol, Washington or Moscow.

There can be only one atmosphere of government, the clear, pure, fresh air of free America or the foul breath of communistic Russia.

There can be only one flag, the Stars and Stripes or the Red flag of the godless Union of the Soviet.

There can be only one national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner" or the "Internationale."

There can be only one victor. If the Constitution wins, we win. But if the Constitution—stop. Stop there. The Constitution can't lose. The fact is, it has already won, but the news has not reached certain ears.

Kaiser Health Plan Rated First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, a survey conducted by a panel of distinguished California medical experts have found, in a story reported in the June 15 San Francisco Chronicle, that of the major health plans utilized by members of the California State employees, retirement system, top rating has been given to the Kaiser Foundation group practice prepayment plan.

The survey which was conducted at the request of the State employees' retirement system revealed that in terms of consumer satisfaction and lowest cost to members, the Kaiser plan emerged on top.

Having the Oakland, Calif. headquarters of the great Kaiser Industries in my congressional district, I am proud to bring the article from the San Francisco Chronicle to our colleagues' attention.

The article follows:

BUYER'S VIEW OF CALIFORNIA HEALTH PLANS

(By David Perlman)

A panel of distinguished California medical experts has just reviewed the major health insurance plans in the State, and has compared their costs and services in detail for the first time.

The experts, including four noted physicians, conclude that the overwhelming majority of the members covered by the voluntary plans are highly satisfied with the health care coverage and service they get.

But of the major health plans, the Kaiser Foundation apparently emerges on top—in terms of consumer satisfaction and lowest cost to members.

FIRST

The survey, first of its kind in California, was requested by the State employees' retirement system, which has nearly 70,000 of its members enrolled in a variety of health insurance plans.

Directing the survey was a committee that included: Dr. Malcolm S. M. Watts, assistant dean of the University of California Medical School in San Francisco; Dr. Dave F. Dozier, Sacramento physician; Dr. Marcus A. Krupp, director of the Palo Alto Research Foundation; Dr. Sherman Mellinkoff, dean of the University of California at Los Angeles Medical School; and Clifford F. Schwarberg, Jr., administrator of Presbyterian Intercommunity Hospital in Whittier.

Dr. Watts, a leader in the California Medical Association, was chairman of the group. Statistics were gathered by specialists in the State health department.

CHAIRMAN

The survey considered all the many plans to which State employees belong. The largest are: a Blue Cross-Blue Shield service plan with 30,000 State employees; a commercial indemnity plan under California Western States-Occidental Insurance Co. with 24,000 signed up, and the Kaiser Foundation "group practice prepayment" plan with nearly 11,000 members from State ranks.

The survey showed that 85.5 percent of the Kaiser members were satisfied with the service they received, while about 13 percent were not entirely satisfied or actively dissatisfied.

RATINGS

The other major plans were almost equally satisfactory to their members:

The commercial indemnity plan's claims handling was fully satisfactory to 82.4 percent of its members, while 16.5 percent were not entirely satisfied or unhappy with it. Blue Cross-Blue Shield scored satisfactory in claims handling with 78 percent of the members; 20 percent were less than satisfied, or dissatisfied.

In general Kaiser members liked the absence of redtape—they could get complete service without forms or a wait for repayment. Blue Cross members were happiest with prompt and efficient claims service, and so were the commercial plan members.

COMPLAINTS

Among the dissatisfied plan members, 19 percent of those who offered specific complaints about Kaiser said their costs of illness weren't fully covered, or that payments were slow or inadequate.

But this complaint was far more prevalent among those dissatisfied with Blue Cross or the commercial plan.

Sixty-three percent of the Blue Cross-Blue Shield members who offered specific complaints cited inadequate or slow payments; the figure was 52 percent among the commercial plan members who voiced reasons for their complaints.

The medical experts also studied how the plan members used the health care services available to them. They found a startling fact: Kaiser members used hospitals only half to two-thirds as much as the members of Blue Cross-Blue Shield or the commercial plan.

CAUSE

The report gave no reason for this disparity, but as least one cause is well-known: since many medical insurance benefits are paid only if a patient is hospitalized under Blue Cross-Blue Shield or commercial plans, doctors tend to recommend hospitalization more frequently in these cases. But in the Kaiser plan patients receive service, not repayment; so there is no money incentive for excess hospitalization.

The survey studied in detail the costs of the various plans, including how much members had to pay in extra charges for hospitalization or services not fully covered. Kaiser, it turned out, had fewest extra charges, and most of these were for maternity cases.

The average annual cost of health care for a typical family using the Kaiser plan was about $373; it was the least expensive of the large plans. Blue Cross-Blue Shield cost an average of $485 a year for its families, although its members include many older employees whose costs run higher. The commercial plan cost families an average of $416 a year.

IMPROVEMENTS

The panel made many recommendations for improvements in all the plans—including better coverage for diagnostic services and "catastrophic" illness; more preventive medicine; and coverage for mental illness, alcoholism and drug addiction.

Plan members, said the experts, are willing to pay for these areas of protection if they can get them.

Chairman Aspinall Reviews Accomplishments in Natural Resource Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, during the American Bar Association's 87th annual meeting in New York City last week many of the country's leaders spoke on the issues of the day. Among those who presented outstanding papers was the chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the gentleman from Colorado, the Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, who has furnished the leadership during this Congress in the enactment of legislation that will have far-reaching significance in connection with the conservation and development of our natural resources.

In his address, which was presented on Monday, August 10, 1964, at the opening session of the Section of Mineral and Natural Resources Law, Chairman ASPINALL said that he expected the 88th Congress will write "one of the brightest pages in the history of conservation law." I would be remiss, Mr. Speaker, if I did not point out that this record is being accomplished because of the leadership of Congressman WAYNE ASPINALL.

As a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I have seen the tireless efforts of the chairman in sponsoring legislation for the establishment of a Public Land Law Review Commission and the interim legislation that will permit proper classification of public lands for their highest and best use and the disposal of some of these public lands so that they may be developed under non-Federal ownership and bring the maximum tax revenue to the counties in which they are situated. I am confident that we are on the threshold of a new chapter in conservation of our public lands under the traditional maxim of highest use of our resources for the good of the maximum number.

Some of the history of how this came about, together with significant features of the legislation that is about to become law, was set forth in Chairman ASPINALL's address to the Mineral and Natural Resources Law Section of the American Bar Association. The full text of the speech is therefore included with my remarks under permission previously granted and I urge all Members to read it:

LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING PUBLIC LANDS AND NATURAL RESOURCES—A YEAR OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

When the 88th Congress adjourns, it will have written one of the brightest pages in the history of conservation law. This will have been accomplished within the framework of our traditional philosophy, fulfilling the prophesy that I made in May of 1962 at the White House conference on conservation when, after tracing the historical landmarks of conservation law and defining my concept of conservation and the congressional interpretations of it, I concluded by saying:

"In summary, what I am saying is that Congress will continue to equate conservation with wise use; will not put out of reach resources that may be required for our national continuance; and that all the resources will be managed for the benefit of the many and not the few."

Before examining the outstanding recent developments in public land and natural resource law and assessing our current position, it is necessary that we review part of the immediate past. Wind, rain, flood, and drought combined with a great depression, a world war, and the Korean war compelled us to be satisfied with what I call holding actions in the conservation of our natural

resources. Nonetheless, even these holding actions were progressive for their times.

THE 1934–62 PERIOD

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 protected the public lands from further deterioration while, at the same time, it stabilized the livestock industry. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 declared a national policy of preserving for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance. Also in 1935, the Soil Conservation Service was set up as a separate unit following the initiation of a program in the Department of the Interior previously authorized under the National Industrial Recovery Act.

The Civilian Conservation Corps contributed considerably to the maintenance and rehabilitation of public land and park areas. Our concentration on two wars led to a neglect in appropriations for activities such as the national parks and certainly there was little inclination to seek their expansion. Looking forward to its 50th anniversary in 1966, the National Park Service in 1956 inaugurated a 10-year program to overcome past deficiencies, to increase maintenance, and to provide new facilities to meet the increased utilization of national park facilities.

It was about this time that we realized that we were witnessing one of the major changes in the patterns of American life. Tremendous population increases—induced by an accelerated birth rate at one end and a prolonged lifespan at the other end—coupled with a shortened workweek for most people and definite retirement plans for the elderly provided new leisure time for our people who were simultaneously moving from the cities and the rural areas to the semiurban development we have come to know as suburbia. To meet this particular challenge, the Congress, in 1958 enacted a bill that I sponsored for the establishment of an Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission to evaluate and determine the recreation needs of the United States and its people in the years ahead.

As was to be expected, the Congress waited for the report of the body that it had created before moving forward with legislation affecting matters being studied by the Commission. As a corollary there was no new definition given or guidelines prescribed for the executive agencies respecting the use of our public lands and the development of additional public recreational facilities. This contributed further to the failure to plan for the wise use of our natural resources generally.

When, therefore, the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission submitteed its report to the President at the end of January, 1962, many of us were ready to proceed with an orderly program for the use and development of all of our resources, giving due consideration to recreation. This comprehensive report with its supporting study papers not only provided the background against which we could start to evaluate the recreational needs of the Nation but placed in perspective the manner in which our other resources could be developed and utilized. And, though there were those who it seems would have—and might still, if uncontrolled—set aside all undeveloped lands in their natural state, in May 1962, I reaffirmed my adherence to the basic principles of conservation and, at the White House Conference on Conservation, reassured the Nation that we in Congress would act in accordance with the traditional principles of conservation.

I think it is safe to say that the approach to the use of our natural resources must always be in two parts with relation to (1) the eastern part of the country and (2) the western part, where uncommitted public lands of the United States are still plentiful and vast acreages of other public lands are reserved as national forests, national parks, and national monuments.

In the discussions that started with the White House conference and in the actions that have followed, I have endeavored to give attention to both of these parts. If it appears that at times I have stressed the public lands, and therefore western aspects, I ask your indulgence and point out that since the United States owns one-third of the land area of the Nation, of which public land forms the great bulk, actions taken with respect to the public lands will have a wide impact.

Another 1962 report was submitted to the President by the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council. It concluded that Federal support in the necessary fields of mineral resources is "inadequate to marginal, and should be substantially augmented in anticipation of projected requirements." A supporting task force report indicated that fundamental changes were required in both the laws and technological concepts governing mineral production. I think it is rather obvious that the Federal Government can be most effective in this field in connection with the development of the public lands for which the Federal Government has direct responsibility. Accordingly, the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council report served to underline the need to reexamine the laws governing mineral development on the public lands.

All in all, as we discussed the various phases of public land use and the administration of the public land laws, it became apparent that a comprehensive review was required. The initial period of reexamination, following the growth patterns of the 1950's, culminated, in a sense, when, at your sessions a year ago, I proposed the establishment of a Public Land Law Review Commission to examine the manifold problems of the public lands ranging from the question of mining to intensive use for residential or commercial development and to use for recreation.

It was not my purpose, however, to restrict our activities to the public lands and we have, in this year acted on a broad range of legislation affecting the conservation of our natural resources. But, much remains to be done; and we, as legislators, and you as lawyers, have a responsibility of keeping pace with social and economic growth, of being alert to scientific and technological advances, in order to make certain that the law keeps abreast of these developments and, as a living structure, provides modern adequate tools for the people of the United States. So, while we can take pride in that which we have accomplished, which I will discuss in greater detail later, we must recognize the incomplete work that remains and plan for its accomplishment.

OIL SHALE DEVELOPMENT

I was, therefore, pleased to see that the program of this section of mineral and natural resources law does not deal only with the past. I was particularly pleased to see that one of your discussions tomorrow will involve the future development of competitive fuels and I hope that someone on that panel will discuss the production of oil from the shale deposits to be found in the public lands.

The development of oil shale lands is an example of our need to keep abreast of current technology. Oil shale was removed from the purview of the mining law of 1872 by the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920; but, of course, any valid claims filed before 1920 could be prosecuted to patent.

Between 1920 and 1930 there were two minor oil shale leases granted by the Federal Government and then, in 1930, the President withdrew all oil shale and oil shale lands from prospecting and leasing.

The provisions of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 pertaining to oil shale, and the regulations implementing that act, have not been modified and, in addition, the withdrawal order remains in effect although it had been instituted as a temporary measure. Today we are on the threshold of an industry based on the production of oil from shale and we do not have the legal framework within which the industry can operate. Many of the pre-1920 claimants pursued their rights and obtained patents. The majority of those claimants did nothing and these pre-1920 claims must now be acted on before much of the land can be developed under either private ownership or Government lease.

As lawyers you can readily see the breadth and depth of the problems and the need for action. It is my own position that the time has come for the executive branch to rescind the withdrawal order, at least to the extent that unencumbered lands can be utilized by industry for on-site research, even if we are not yet ready to enter into large-scale leasing for developmental purposes.

The Secretary of the Interior has quite understandably been moving cautiously, before taking action and recommending any additional legislation. First, the Secretary requested all interested parties to submit their views concerning existing regulations and the need for modification of either the law or regulations. These have been received and analyzed indicating that industry is unanimously agreed that the time has come to discuss actual production and that, as a first step, the withdrawal order should be rescinded in whole or in part.

More recently Secretary Udall appointed a committee of outstanding people for the purpose of studying all phases of the matter and to advise him as to the best manner in which to proceed with oil shale development. The committee's report should be available before the beginning of the next Congress when I predict we will be ready to proceed with earnest consideration of legislation designed to launch a new industry that may well become a giant in the American economy.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS

Our most outstanding accomplishments this past year are the land and water conservation fund bill, a bill for the establishment of a wilderness preservation system, and the bill for the establishment of a Public Land Law Review Commission. Although none of these has yet become law, they have progressed to the point that I feel safe in predicting that all of them will be sent to the President within the 2 weeks that remain in this session and that the President will approve the three measures.

In addition, we have assured the enactment this year of legislation providing procedures for the classification of public lands during the period of the Land Law Review Commission study and for the sale, during the same period, of public lands needed for the growth and development of a community or because they are chiefly valuable for residential, commercial, industrial or public uses for development.

Significant action has also been taken by our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with respect to water resources development and matters related thereto.

In my opinion, before this Congress adjourns a significant water resources development program will be approved. Seven or eight reclamation projects, in as many Western States, stand a good chance of being approved. These projects not only provide for the expansion of irrigation, which contributes so greatly to the agricultural economy throughout the West and the Nation, but they help prevent the loss of life and property from frequent devastating floods, they help meet our ever-expanding needs for electric power energy, and they provide extensive water-based outdoor recreation and fish and wildlife opportunities which are so much in demand by the American people.

In recognition of the need for additional research, to assure the maximum and most efficient utilization of this Nation's water resources, the Congress has passed legislation which provides for Federal assistance for non-Federal water resources research activities. This legislation was approved by the President on July 17, 1964, providing a new research program primarily at the State level through grants to colleges and universities.

Although I have been disturbed, just as some of you have been, by the trend of departmental interpretations of the mining law, and particularly the establishment of a marketability rule which precludes mining claims on public lands when our needs for a particular mineral can be satisfied by imports, we have taken no action, and I anticipate that none will be taken, to make any basic change in the mining law before the report of the Public Land Law Review Commission can be studied. It is my view that it is a judicial function to determine whether a law is being administered and interpreted properly by an executive agency. Within the last 2 weeks a bill was introduced and referred to our committee that would reject the marketability rule, not only for future cases, but in all proceedings decided by the Secretary of the Interior in the last 6 years. Individual relief bills may sometimes be necessary to take care of a specific situation in which someone is injured by a harsh application of the law; however, general retroactive legislation would lead to chaos.

We must, of course, look to and legislate for the future. We cannot close our eyes. The difficulty is that if we try to take up any general modification of the mining laws without reference to other phases of the public land laws we will not be acting fairly and equitably toward any of those interested in the use of public lands.

The members of the Mineral and Natural Resources Law Section, as the representatives of the major users of our resources, including the public lands, are going to have a major role in determining the success or failure of the programs that we have started this year. It is for this reason that I will go into some detail concerning the major legislation that is about to become law. In doing so, I appeal to you individually and as a constituent body of the American Bar Association to lend your support to our programs by giving sympathetic understanding to this legislation.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

In the land and water conservation fund bill we are establishing a new basic national policy that the users of Federal recreational facilities shall contribute toward at least part of the cost of etsablishing new facilities of the same sort by payment of admission and user fees. We have also established the policy that the primary responsibility for the development of recreational facilities should be assumed by State and local governments with the assistance of the Federal Government in financing planning and land acquisition. These policies were strongly recommended by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission.

Enactment of this legislation, by providing overall planning, will permit the maximum use of resources that are or can be made available for recreational development. This act will be beneficial in all parts of the country and will enable the States—including the densely populated Eastern States—to obtain recreation areas where they are needed the most.

I know that some of you and some of the groups you represent have had qualms concerning some of the provisions of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. Let me reassure you that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs will be exercising its oversight responsibilities in the surveillance of the administration of this act by the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture and that, if the intent of the legislation is subverted, we will take such action as is necessary to have the intent of Congress carried out.

While speaking of recreation, I would also like to call your attention to the probable establishment of two additional major units of the national park system. Under legislation that I hope will pass this session we will establish the Fire Island National Seashore in New York and the Ozark National Scenic Riverways in Missouri.

WILDERNESS BILL

The most controversial of the major conservation bills is the Wilderness Act. The House and Senate have each passed bills for the establishment of a wilderness preservation system and we must now reconcile the differences between the two. I am confident that this will be accomplished before adjournment and that the basic principles of maximum wise use of our natural resources will prevail regardless of any modification in the details that may be agreed upon.

Under the Senate-passed bill all of the areas presently classified by the Forest Service as wilderness, wild, canoe, and primitive, totaling 14.6 million acres of land, would be placed in the wilderness system immediately, with the primitive areas subject to being removed in whole or in part after review during a 10-year period. The House-passed bill places in the wilderness system at the outset the 9.1 million acres of wilderness, wild, and canoe areas and defers consideration of the loosely defined primitive areas until after the review has been completed. Under an amendment adopted on the floor, however, each primitive area would be rigidly fixed as it is at the present time and, for all intents and purposes, managed as a wilderness area until Congress has acted to either declassify it or include it as part of the wilderness system. The treatment of the primitive areas is one of the main factors to be discussed in the conference committee that will resolve the differences between the Senate and the House on the wilderness legislation.

Another difference between the two bills revolves around the role of the Congress in the designation of wilderness areas other than those established by the bill itself. Under the Senate bill, the primitive areas would be reviewed and executive agency recommendations submitted to Congress; the executive recommendations would automatically take effect unless one House of Congress adopted a resolution in opposition. Similar procedures for Executive action and congressional veto would govern the review and possible designation as wilderness of areas from within units of the national park and wildlife refuge systems. The House bill requires Congress to assume its constitutional responsibility and affirmatively designate such areas for inclusion in the wilderness system, after the receipt of recommendations from the executive branch.

The bill that the House passed on July 30 provides that the mining and mineral leasing laws shall remain applicable to wilderness areas designated therein for a period of 25 years except that patent will be granted to the minerals only. In addition the Secretary of the Interior is required to develop and conduct a program for continuing surveys by the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines to determine the mineral values, if any, that may be present in these wilderness areas. I think these provisions concerning mineral exploration and development are fair and adequately fulfill the pledge I gave at the White House Conference on Conservation, and since then in other forums, to the effect that we would not arbitrarily cut off areas from mineral development and put out of reach resources that may be required in the future.

There are other differences between the two wilderness bills, but they are of lesser importance and I shall not go into them at this time.

PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW

The third major piece of legislation will, like the other two, be of lasting importance to the welfare of our country. It is, as I indicated earlier, the bill that will establish a Public Land Law Review Commission. My hopes for the success of this Commission have always been high, but they increased as I discussed the potential with interested people and listened to the testimony given to our committee.

During the last year we have drawn almost universal support for a public land law review along the lines I proposed. In the hearings before our committee there was no opposition to the concept but only to detail and I think we met those objections by the amendments that were made before the bill was passed by the House of Representatives.

For those of you who may not have followed this too closely, let me review the salient features. The Commission will be composed of 19 members: 6 from the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and 6 from the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs (the 12 congressional Members are to be evenly divided between the majority and minority parties), 6 members to be appointed by the President subject, however, to a provision that no member appointed by the President may be a Federal officer or may have been employed by the Federal Government within a year before his appointment, with the 19th member, the Chairman, to be a full-time official elected by the first 18. The bill also provides for a full-time staff director and such additional personnel as may be necessary to carry out the objectives of the legislation. The Chairman and staff director cannot have been identified in the past with any particular group and must be persons to whom all groups can look with trust for fair treatment.

Next in importance to the Commission itself will be the Advisory Council which will consist of liaison officers from the various interested Federal departments and agencies together with 25 members appointed by the Commission "representative of the various major citizens' groups interested in problems relating to the retention, management, and disposition of the public lands." Members of this Advisory Council must also be chosen with care to assure that they are truly representative of broad user groups.

Each of the Governors will be requested to designate a representative to work with the Commission and Advisory Council.

When we reviewed the scope of work to be accomplished, I concluded that the Commission would require at least 3 years within which to complete its study and that, thereafter, an additional 6 months would be required for the preparation and printing of the report, as outlined in my talk to this group last year. Accordingly, the bill I introduced required submission of the Commission report not later than December 31, 1967, in time for consideration by the new Congress. The Senate has apparently adopted a similar yardstick and, in recognition of the fact that we no longer have 3½ years until the end of 1967, has extended the time for the submission of the report to June 30, 1968.

Now that the establishment of the Commission is virtually assured, it is appropriate for us to turn our attention to the implementation of the act and start thinking affirmatively about the functioning of the Commission. First and foremost, the Commission must be kept out of partisan politics. The success of the review and the acceptance of the Commission's recommendations depend on a continuance of the bipartisan approach through which the bill has been brought to its present stage. We must, therefore, do everything in our power to re-

move from its path the temptations of politics.

In keeping with this basic principle, I think that it would be unwise to rush in and name the members of the Commission before the election that will be held on November 3 of this year. No time will be lost because, aside from anything else, Members of Congress who are to be appointed to the Commission will, in any event, be preoccupied with the election. In order to assure prompt organization in November, I urge the administration to include, in the supplemental appropriation request that it proposes to send to Congress before the end of this session, an amount that will be sufficient to carry the Commission through the approximately 8 months that will remain in this fiscal year.

User groups can be utilizing this time in planning cooperation with the Commission and, particularly, with the designation of representatives to sit on the Advisory Council. In some instances, selection of representatives will require careful consideration because, for example, there may be competing organizations of a particular class of users who will be entitled to only one representative on the Council.

If the start of the Commission's work is to be deferred until after the election, it may be well to extend further the date for completion of its study until December 31, 1968. In this connection we will give consideration to the fact that the original scope of work has been enlarged to embrace a review of rules and regulations as well as the public land laws themselves. Further, an extension to the end of 1968 will remove the report from the possibility of entanglement in the election campaign of that year.

Recognizing the need to provide some procedure whereby public lands can pass into non-Federal ownership for valid requirements that cannot wait for the outcome of the Commission study, we tackled the problem by considering temporary legislation to provide the Secretary of the Interior with tools with which to operate during the next few years. In doing so we came face to face at the outset with one of the basic problems that is responsible for many of the difficulties encountered by the Bureau of Land Management in the administration of the public lands in recent years.

ENTRY ON PUBLIC LANDS

Traditionally the public lands of the United States have been free and open to entry by our citizens. The Homestead Act of 1862 and the mining laws of 1866 and 1872 embodied this principle in the statute law. It was later carried forward in several other laws. In addition, the vacant unappropriated public lands were customarily utilized by homesteaders for the unrestricted grazing of their stock.

The fact, of course, is that the public lands no longer are "free and open to entry" and it is a long time since they were really "free and open to entry." You lawyers know that; but most of the average people do not because the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, while removing the lands from unrestricted entry, granted an absolute right for citizens to apply for entry with the applicant entitled to a preference right if the lands are opened to entry under the public land laws. Further, the mining law was specifically excepted from the restrictions of the Taylor Grazing Act and all the public lands pronounced as open to mineral entry.

Despite the right of application, the Secretary of the Interior in 1961 established a general moratorium on new applications for the use of public lands for any nonmineral purposes and only recently has closed all public lands in the State of Nevada to agricultural entry. Withdrawals of public lands from the operation of the mining laws have also continued, thereby further restricting lands actually open for mineral development.

These factors are cited to demonstrate how we have moved away from traditional concepts and, in some instances, the true spirit of the law. The law just has not kept pace with the realities when measured in terms of available land, the competing demands on such lands, and our increased population which results in a great number of people who might want a given piece of land for similar uses.

INTERIM CLASSIFICATION

A bill that I sponsored and that I expect will become law takes the Taylor Grazing Act procedure one step further and, for the first time, completely reverses the principle of free entry on the public lands with priority for the one who gets there first, by requiring that public lands must be classified for a particular use before they can be made available for nonmineral utilization. Another feature of this bill (H.R. 5159) is the establishment for the first time in the statutes that vacant unappropriated public lands need not be disposed of by the Federal Government and that those that are retained, even if only for the period of the Public Land Law Review Commission study, shall be managed under principles of multiple use and to produce a sustained yield of products and services.

The act requires that implementing regulations with criteria to determine which lands should be disposed of and which should be retained shall be issued by the Secretary of the Interior. In order to achieve a maximum understanding and agreement we require that a public hearing on the regulations be held after publication of the proposed regulations.

It is my hope and expectation that the Department of the Interior will, in its proposed regulations, be very specific both as to procedures and as to details for classification. Such detailed definition will permit specific comment and suggestions for specific change.

There has been a tendency for administrative agencies to seek broad discretionary powers. The greatest criticisms that flow into my office in connection with proposed legislation or proposed regulations result from broad and vague language. In H.R. 5159 we are fulfilling, in my opinion, our proper legislative role by establishing definite benchmarks to be followed by the Secretary of the Interior. It will now be his responsibility to fill in the specifics. I hope that, when they are published, each of you will review the proposed regulations and furnish your comments to the Secretary of the Interior so that when they become effective the regulations will be the best that can be obtained and be understandable by all. I certainly hope that in this way we will be able to achieve a set of regulations that will not be self-defeating through numerous delaying appeals that have, in some instances under other regulations, kept land tied up without beneficial use for years while conflicting claims were considered.

INTERIM LAND SALES

Lands that are classified for sale because they are required for the orderly growth and development of a community or because they are chiefly valuable for residential, commercial, industrial, or public uses or development would be offered for sale under the procedures established by H.R. 5498, another act I expect will become law this year.

The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has considered legislation for the sale of public lands during the last several Congresses. One of the impediments to agreement in the past has been the problem of reconciling the right of the United States to sell federally owned lands without control by State or local bodies while at the same time assuring that the land will be utilized in harmony with local development. In addition, experience under the Small Tract Act put us on notice that, if the proper controls are not exercised, we might contribute to the development of new slum areas.

Our committee in the past has refused to surrender Federal sovereignty by restricting the sale of public lands to areas that have been zoned by local governments as to the type or density or use. At the same time we were mindful of the fact that in some of the areas where the undeveloped public lands are located there is no local governmental agency having zoning authority.

The solution that we presented in H.R. 5498 provides for notification to the political subdivision having zoning jurisdiction or, if there is no such agency, the Governor would be notified before the lands are offered for sale. A 90-day waiting period would provide an opportunity for the adoption of zoning regulations. Although the Department would not be required to withhold the sale of lands on which zoning actions had not been completed, I am confident that, if a local agency initiated action within the 90-day period, the Secretary of the Interior would afford additional time for completion of such action.

H.R. 5498 as amended by the Senate Interior Committee would preclude the sale of any lands over which zoning action has not been completed.

The other major point of difference between the Senate and House bills concerns the right of the Secretary of the Interior to specify, in addition to a general mineral reservation, conditions, reservations, and reasonable restrictions in patents or other evidences of title. The House bill would give this authority to the Secretary of the Interior; but the Senate committee apparently was fearful of allowing any action that might result in placing a cloud on title. The House committee action was based on our past experience. In connection with individual sale bills it has frequently been necessary to protect the residual interests of the United States. In addition, we have seen the chaotic manner in which some of the areas disposed of under the Small Tract Act have been developed or, really, not developed.

We therefore thought it best to allow the Secretary to sell land subject to conditions, reservations, and restrictions that could be used to protect the Government's interest and also assure lands are used for the purpose for which they are acquired.

In view of the temporary nature of this bill, I feel confident that this matter, as well as other differences between the House and Senate on this legislation, will be resolved without too much difficulty. However, these differences focus attention on one of the major problems that must be studied by the Public Land Law Review Commission: the relationship between the Federal Government and State and local governments with respect to the use and development of the Federal public lands.

The House has passed another bill that would be effective during the period of the Commission study to require the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture to advise Congress in advance of signficant land actions concerning which notice will not have been furnished under the provisions of H.R. 5159. The Senate has not acted on this bill but I am still hopeful that action will be completed this session. While it is true that, by agreement with the Secretaries involved, we are presently being notified of such actions, it seems to me that it would be better to regularize and formalize this procedure so that it could not be upset by a change in personalities.

A review of the public lands statistics bears out the fact that there has been a steady decline in the disposition of the public lands under existing law. In addition, we have now completed a period in which we have assured the retention in Federal own-

ership of large areas of public lands for varied purposes. During the next few years, while the Public Land Law Review Commission is making its study, some additional disposals will be made; but I think it is safe to say that large-scale disposals will await the Commission report. Likewise, I think that in the interim period there will be no new reservations on a large scale for the permanent retention of public lands in Federal ownership and I urge the Secretary of the Interior in setting up regulations for the classification of lands to keep in mind that the legislation we are now enacting provides for retention only during the period of the Land Law Review Commission study.

Because of its importance to the entire country, I urge all of you to cooperate fully with the Public Land Law Review Commission and give to it the benefits of your experience so that the report will be the best product that we can obtain.

Reapportionment of State Legislatures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 15, 1964, the Charlotte, N.C., Observer carried two editorials under the captions of "Tuck Bill Aims Death Blow at Cities' Representation" and "Short Memory."

On August 17, 1964, I wrote a letter to the editor of the Charlotte Observer setting forth some of my views with reference to the reapportionment of State legislatures and the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court in this field. The editor of the Observer has advised my office that due to the length of my reply he did not feel that it was feasible for them to carry its full text. I can understand their problem but feel that their editorials and my reply should be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it might be made available to the people of my district.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the editorials and my letter of August 17, 1964, in the RECORD for today.

The material follows:

TUCK BILL AIMS DEATH BLOW AT CITIES REPRESENTATION

The lengths to which some rural legislators will go to maintain their stranglehold on the Nation's lawmaking processes has been amply demonstrated by the House Rules Committee.

Representative HOWARD W. SMITH and his committee jerked from the Judiciary Committee a bill which would gag the Federal courts on the reapportionment issue, assigned it a rule and hastened it to the floor for action.

The bill, drafted by Representative WILLIAM M. TUCK, of Virginia, is even more pernicious than the highhanded, though theoretically legal, procedure which speeded it to the floor without due study.

It would remove all power to decide legislative apportionment suits from the Federal district courts and would prohibit the Supreme Court from hearing these cases on appeal.

In effect, the bill would slam shut the only door of appeal and the only hope of redress for the urban citizens of the Nation in their efforts to get a fair shake in State legislative representation.

It would open the door for rural legislators to destroy the progress that has already been made toward this goal in at least 26 States and would end all hope for similar progress in others. For the bill would nullify not only the recent one-man-one-vote decisions of the Supreme Court, but *Baker* v. *Carr* as well. And popular referendums, such as North Carolina's smashing defeat of the "Little Federal" plan, could be readily swept aside by State legislators intent on undoing with impunity what they have been forced to do.

In short, the unavowed purpose of the bill is to strike a political blow against the cities and the towns which are growing into cities, a blow from which they are not intended to recover.

In a narrow and immediate sense, the bill appears to be constitutional. So is a Senate "rider," attached to the foreign aid bill, which would delay State compliance with the court decisions and allow time for the passage of a constitutional amendment to strip the courts of the same power.

As Senator SAM ERVIN notes, Congress is authorized by the Constitution to define the jurisdiction of inferior Federal courts and to define the appellate jurisdictions of the Supreme Court. But if the Supreme Court found that malapportioned legislatures robbed citizens of their rights under the 14th amendment, it seems possible that the court could also decide that the House bill, at least, was similarly unconstitutional.

Hopefully the House will consign the Tuck bill to the waste can where it belongs and that the Senate will do the same to the Mansfield-Dirksen "rider."

If the Congress is in a mood to deprive a majority of Americans of an effective vote in their State governments, then it has come to a sad pass.

SHORT MEMORY

Representative BASIL WHITENER's strong support of the Tuck bill, which is an effort to cripple the political power of urban voters, flies in the face of a majority of voters in his home county.

Last January Gaston County said "No" by 11,000 votes to 500 to the "Little Federal" plan, an attempt to stack the legislative deck permanently against North Carolina cities.

WHITENER's political logic is no more clear than his political motivation. In defending the Tuck bill, he said, "I'm not for unequal representation in State legislatures. But I want to preserve State government in this country."

Yet the refusal of rural-dominated assemblies to legislate on behalf of urban areas has been the single biggest factor in the massive growth of Federal powers and the weakening of State government.

Logic? Hardly the word for it.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 17, 1964.

EDITOR,
Charlotte Observer,
Charlotte, N.C.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial entitled "Short Memory," appearing in the Charlotte Observer on August 15, 1964, has been brought to my attention.

Many people apparently are not informed as to the true nature of the legislation regarding defining the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States and other Federal courts in the field of legislative apportionment and reapportionment. The conclusion in your editorial that I have "a short memory" and that my position in connection with this important matter is lacking in logic is completely unwarranted.

I note that the editorial fails to refer to the fact that in my testimony before the House Judiciary Subcommittee, as well as before the Rules Committee, I pointed out the experience of North Carolina on the "Little Federal plan" vote as an example of the wisdom of our Founding Fathers in leaving such decisions to the States and local communities. My desire to preserve that right to the people of North Carolina and every other State and local community prompted me to join with Representative TUCK of Virginia in sponsoring the legislation and in seeking to have it enacted into law.

The necessity for statutory definition of the jurisdiction of Federal courts in apportionment and reapportionment matters results from the decision of the Supreme Court in *Reynolds* v. *Sims,* (84 St. Ct. 1362 (1964)). In that case the Court asserted the right to supervise apportionment and reapportionment by State legislatures under the contention that the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment made such cases justiciable in the Federal courts. Their decision was a radical departure from time-honored constitutional principles and, in my judgment, constituted a usurpation of power and jurisdiction which the Constitution did not vest in these courts.

Because of this belief I introduced legislation specifically defining the jurisdiction in the Federal courts to provide that hereafter such courts would not have jurisdiction in the apportionment or reapportionment of the legislatures of the State or of any branch of a State. The lesser political subdivisions were referred to in my bill since it would appear that if the Federal courts have jurisdiction to decide apportionment matters involving States they could, by the same contention, exercise jurisdiction over apportionment in cities, towns, counties, and lesser political subdivisions where elections are held. This does not seem desirable to me.

Justice John M. Harlan of the U.S. Supreme Court is apparently burdened with the same lack of "political logic" and endowed with the same political motivation which you seem to apprehend is burdening me. In his dissenting opinion he expressed the thought "that judicial entry into this realm is profoundly ill advised and constitutionally impermissible." He further states that "the Court's elaboration of its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority. The consequence of today's decision is that in all but the handful of States which may already satisfy the new requirements the local district court, or, it may be, the State courts, are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment of the State legislatures. It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States."

There is no precedent for the action taken by the Supreme Court in *Reynolds* v. *Sims,* The decision constitutes an extension of jurisdiction of the Court without constitutional authority. It is my considered judgment that the Court wandered into a field not made available to it by the Constitution or by statute and that it should be removed from that arena at the earliest possible time. Its decision constitutes an amendment to the Constitution in a manner not provided in the Constitution itself. As Justice Harlan has said, the evil of this situation is apparent, "For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

The equal protection clause of the 14th amendment was never intended to inhibit the States in choosing any democratic method they please for the apportionment of their legislatures. A mere reading of the entire 14th amendment will clearly indicate the validity of this contention. When the 14th amendment was written shortly after the War Between the States the Members of the House and Senate clearly indicated that the elective process would remain in the hands of the States, notwithstanding the 14th amendment. In order to obviate any abuse by the States of the right to vote it was provided in section 2 of the 14th amendment that Representatives in the Congress would be apportioned among the several States according to population, "but whenever, in any State, the elective franchise shall be denied to any portion of its male citizens not less than 21 years of age, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation in such States shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens not less than 21 years of age."

This clear language shows that the authors of the 14th amendment did not contemplate thta the Federal courts or the Federal Legislature would ever have any authority in the elective processes of a sovereign State. The dilution of representation was the penalty to be assessed against States denying votes to male eligibles, and that was to be the only Federal sanction to be imposed against the States.

If the language of the 14th amendment left any doubt in the mind of any person, the debate in the House and Senate clearly supports the position which my bill seeks to serve. Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Representative Bingham, the author of the 14th amendment, in congressional debate clearly asserted that the exercise of the elective franchise would remain exclusively under the control of the States.

In the U.S. Senate the bill was handled by Senator Howard, who, in referring to the 14th amendment, said: "The second section leaves the right to regulate the elective franchise still with the States, and does not meddle with that right." Thus, it is clear that in both the House and Senate it was fully understood that neither section of the 14th amendment interferred with the right of the States to regulate the elective franchise or gave to the Federal Government any authority other than to require that a State had a republican form of government.

The logic of my position on this legislation is further supported by facts surrounding the ratification of the 14th amendment. It seems illogical to assume that the legislatures of the several States would have ratified an amendment which at the time of its ratification would have nullified their own State constitutions under the amended U.S. Constitution.

Of the 23 loyal or Union States which ratified the amendment, 5 had constitutional provisions for apportionment of at least 1 house of their respective legislatures which wholly disregarded population. Ten more had constitutional provisions which gave emphasis to population but applied other principles in determining apportionment. In the 10 States of the Confederacy, which States were required to ratify the Constitution before being readmitted to the Union, 6 of the 10 States contained provisions requiring substantially the method of apportionment which the U.S. Supreme Court now says is prohibited by the Constitution. For example, at that time North Carolina had 90 counties. Ninety of the 120 representatives were apportioned among the counties without regard to population, leaving 30 seats to be distributed by numbers. There were 7 counties with population under 5,000 and 26 counties with population over 15,000 at that time. Thus, the apportionment existing in North Carolina at the time of the ratification of the 14th amendment was not unlike the present-day situation except that we now have 100 counties each having one seat in the North Carolina House of Representatives.

I believe that the debates in the Congress, as well as the statistical data with reference to the ratifying States, regardless of their former position in the War Between the States, indicates clearly that it was not within the contemplation of the Congress or the ratifying States that the 14th amendment would ever be construed as the Supreme Court has done in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*.

There are many who have taken the position that because of their residence in urban centers or densely populated areas that the people of the Nation should acquiesce in a grievous assault upon basic constitutional principles. There are others of us who feel that the aim of equitable and fair apportionment of the legislative bodies is laudatory and should be promoted within the confines of the several States, as was done in North Carolina when the "little Federal plan" was before the people of our State. Those of us in the latter category do not believe that the aim for equality of apportionment justifies striking down the Constitution of the United States.

I do not believe that it is the function of the Federal court to usurp power not given to it by the Constitution or statutes because of social ills which the Court may think exist in our country. As Justice Harlan has well said, "The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmental authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens." Logic, and not political motivation, prompted me to take the position which I took in introducing the bill referred to in your editorial. The same logic and a dedication to constitutional principles prompts me to continue this battle.

I hope that you will see fit to carry the full text of this communication in an early edition of your paper.

Very truly yours,

BASIL L. WHITENER,
Member of Congress.

Methodist Youth Fellowship Conference Endorses President Johnson's Antipoverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the following resolution in support of H.R. 11377, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which President Johnson yesterday signed into law.

This resolution was recently adopted at the annual meeting of the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, composed of the youth presidents from all conferences of the Methodist Church in the United States.

The text of the resolution follows:

Whereas it is a paradox that in a nation of affluence, one-fifth of the population lives in poverty; and

Whereas many children and youth are deprived of equal educational opportunities; and

Whereas economic poverty often contributes to the loss of human dignity; and

Whereas poverty in a nation of immense resources cannot be morally justified;

Therefore, we as an act of Christian concern urge the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, H.R. 11377, by the Congress of the United States to aid in the struggle to combat poverty.

Project Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, an interview with an Oakland, Calif., doctor, that appeared in this Sunday's New York Times, illustrates the practical, immediate results of Project Hope.

In the August 9 article, Dr. Howard Porter, medical director of the hospital ship, *Hope*, explains how the floating medical center trains medical personnel in newly developing nations.

As Dr. Porter said:

Our major objective is medical education, from the doctor through the nurse and lab technician and down to the boy who scrubs the ward floors.

In Ecuador, for instance, Dr. Porter tells how *Hope's* influence changed a practice which allowed doctors to enter a hospital operating room with their street clothes. Now no one is permitted in the room without surgical uniforms.

And during the SS *Hope's* 10 months in Ecuador, three-fourths of the country's registered nurses have absorbed the advance medical knowledge of American nurses by working at their side.

Mr. Speaker, I include the New York Times article in the RECORD:

U.S. HOSPITAL SHIP HELPING ECUADOR: "HOPE'S" STAFF CONCENTRATES ON SHOWING TECHNIQUES

(By Richard Eder)

GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR.—When Dr. Howard Porter, medical director of the hospital ship *Hope*, visited the mountain capital of Cuenca early this year, he was met at the airport by the town's physicians.

They led the way proudly to the hospital and, to Dr. Porter's dismay, bustled him into the operating room where an operation was in progress. No one seemed to mind that Dr. Porter and his guides were in street clothes.

A few weeks ago, when Dr. Porter revisited Cuenca, there was a large sign outside the operating room. It read: "Absolutely nobody will be admitted except in surgical costume."

The *Hope*, loaded with 7,000 tons of medical supplies and furnished with three operating rooms and 120 beds, has treated almost 50,000 Ecuadorans since she docked here last December. More than 800 major operations have taken place aboard.

Dr. Porter and his 80-member staff take more satisfaction from the Cuenca incident than from these statistics.

EDUCATION MAIN GOAL

"Our major objective is medical education, from the doctor through the nurse and lab technician and down to the boy who scrubs the ward floors," Dr. Porter said.

"It may sound peculiar," the 38-year-old chest surgeon from Oakland, Calif., added, "but service to the patient has second priority."

There has been considerable emotional appeal in the arrival of a ship that gives medical care to thousands who otherwise might not have received it.

Emotional responses, however, make *Hope* staff members edgy. The ship will sail away in September and they do not want to be thought of as having simply conducted a temporary do-good operation.

The *Hope*, which previously visited Indonesia, Vietnam and Peru, is supported by cash donations and by gifts of medicines by U.S. drug companies. American physicians volunteer their services for 2 months at a time.

Dr. Porter said more than 200 Ecuadoran physicians had worked with the *Hope* staff.

"We have avoided the spectacular operations such as open-heart surgery," he continued. "We concentrate on more prosaic stuff, to demonstrate how the general level of treatment can be improved."

The staff has fought a tendency here to attribute deficiencies to the lack of complex equipment.

"We deliberately avoided a vulgar display of equipment," Dorothy Aeschliman, the head nurse, said. "We want to show Ecuadorians how they can improve their standards with what they have."

Miss Aeschliman, whose 38 nurses have worked with three-quarters of Eucador's registered nurses, mentioned a demonstration to rural nurses of how to set up a sterilization tray with a wooden board and soft-drink bottles.

Because of the training emphasis, preference is given to cases with demonstration value.

Hope doctors and nurses have set up training clinics in the major Guayaquil hospitals. Teams travel to other cities and towns. The biggest single effort was assistance given to the public health department for Ecuador's first mass inoculation program, during which half the country's children under 6 years old received shots. The serum, like all medicine and treatments, was provided free.

There was initial opposition to the *Hope's* visit by some physicians and much of this has been dispelled. Dr. Porter said the younger physicians were the most enthusiastic.

"Imagine how the medical groups in San Francisco would react if a boatload of doctors sailed in and announced they were going to improve medical practice in the area," he commented.

When the *Hope* leaves September 4 for Guinea she will leave several teams behind.

City of Madison Endorses Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 14, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, against the background of the action taken here last Wednesday on the Tuck amendment to limit the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in reapportionment cases and the Senate's pending action on the Dirksen-Mansfield rider to postpone the efficacy of the Supreme Court's reapportionment order, I believe that the following resolution adopted by the common council of the city of Madison, Wis., memorializing the Congress to uphold the Magna Carta secunda principle—one person, one vote—makes interesting reading.

I commend it to the attention of all of my colleagues:

RESOLUTION 7355

(By Aldermen McCormick and William Bradford Smith)

"Whereas the U.S. Supreme Court has recently held that both houses of each State legislature must be apportioned on the basis of approximately equal populations; and

"Whereas Senator DIRKSEN has introduced a constitutional amendment to permit reapportionment of one house in each State on bases other than population, and also a temporary amendment to delay implementation of said Court-ordered reapportionments; and

"Whereas the city of Madison, Wis., with over 60 percent of the population in Dane County, has under State law only about 25 percent of the membership on the Dane County Board: Now, therefore, be and it hereby is

"*Resolved*, That the common council of said city of Madison hereby expresses its enthusiastic endorsement of said Court decision and its strenuous opposition to said Dirksen amendments, as violating the traditional American concept that each person is created equal and therefore entitled to an equal voice in all aspects of government; further

"*Resolved*, That said council urges similar action by other cities, and that the city clerk mail copies of this resolution to each Wisconsin Senator and Congressman."

This is to certify that the foregoing resolution was adopted by the Common Council of the City of Madison, Wis., at a meeting held on the 13th day of August 1964.

ELDON L. HOEL,
City Clerk.

Trial Balloon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is a well-known technique to try the public temper through reports of suggested or intended actions. If the issuing of a full report of the Warren Commission is of minor consequence one might not become too disturbed over the news article that the findings of this Government committee be sold. The report on the President's assassination is not, however, of minor interest. Surely it should not be reduced to the status of some cheap murder story.

The people of the United States were shocked at what took place in Dallas on November 22, 1963. They demand and they have a right to know all the facts. While it is evident from past remarks of the Chairman of the Committee appointed to investigate the assassination, that the people today may not know the whole truth of the assassination of John F. Kennedy in their lifetime, we should expect to get some kind of report. Since the investigation was made by a duly presidentially appointed committee and staffing paid by tax funds, it is unthinkable and unconscionable to even suggest that the findings be sold to the public.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the reading of the following editorial from one of my district's leading papers:

[From the Janesville (Wis.) Daily Gazette, Aug. 13, 1964]

A PRICE ON KENNEDY TRAGEDY

So vital to the national interest and security was the assassination of President John F. Kennedy that a special commission, headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, was appointed to do the investigating. No corner, no personality, no motive could be hidden from this probe-in-depth, backed by all the vast facilities of the FBI or any other Federal agency as might be required.

Since last November the American people have waited patiently to learn what this Commission discovered as to the motives, personalities, details and all possible accomplices of the shooting. They should be the first to know, and the information uncovered should be offered the public like other news of their government, impartially. The public has the right to know, guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

The Warren report, however, has been held up, delayed, withheld from the public. As time passed citizens have begun to wonder what happened to it and why they are being kept in the dark—as one Janesville Gazette reader asked in a letter on this page Wednesday.

Finally, yesterday, a suggestion on what is happening behind the political curtain was leaked out. Like many other stories of major importance, this one was leaked to one newspaper. In a sort of a trial balloon, the New York Times states it learned from the Johnson administration that, of all things crass and un-American, the Warren report might be sold.

To thoughtful Americans this incredible news is beyond comprehension. The Warren Commission was assigned the duty of delving into the cause and execution of the crime last November 22, to learn every fact and facet of that inhuman act. Its findings are not the private property of politicians or of a President or of his administration. They are the property of the American public, except as national security might be affected, and this is hardly likely.

Yet the White House press secretary has the gall to tell the American people that the Government of the United States might actually contract to sell this priceless document to some agency, paperback book publishers, or others for money.

Why are the American people to be treated to such a fiasco? Did they not require and pay for this Commission's work? Is the Warren report to be considered so cheap that the U.S. Government needs to bargain for its sale on the marketplace?

The Johnson administration has invited the righteous wrath of the entire Nation for this tawdry, contemptible, ignoble deal. No self-respecting American in or out of Government can countenance that kind of chicanery, regardless of its purpose or its monetary return.

It is unthinkable that any national officer in the White House should even contemplate such a travesty. Loyal citizens can but hang their heads in shame that their Government should attempt to capitalize upon the tragic death of their President.

Mr. Speaker, why, oh why, should there be any faltering whatsoever, in distributing free the findings of the Warren Commission? Let us not deny the taxpayer the right to whatever light can

be shed on this tragic incident. Let us turn on the lights beginning at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and all along the line. Let us not keep the American people in the dark.

A Connecticut Editor Discusses the Race Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an editorial published in the Willimantic (Conn.) Daily Chronicle on August 19, 1964. The editorial, "You Can't Ignore It Away," is well-written, logical in its presentation, and thought provoking. While it deals with the race problem, the situation is discussed in realistic terms, in a friendly manner, and what is most important of all it discusses this very serious problem in the interests of the entire Nation. I am pleased to commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

YOU CAN'T IGNORE IT AWAY

The easy way, of course, is to write nothing controversial. Write graceful, mildly witty editorials about the weather, children, and animals. Have no opinions on anything, and let the news columns tell the brutal story of our blood-drenched world and Nation.

That way you make no enemies; you may even help preserve the tender illusions of those who live above the heat and bitterness of the battle, who imagine that we are living in a time when sweetness and light prevail, and that if you ignore unpleasantness it will go away.

We always have taken the opposite view, feeling it is more forthright to face problems and study them from all angles rather than to pretend they do not exist.

The nice nellies around these parts insist there is no such thing as a race problem in the Northern United States.

The sordid horror of the recent Harlem riots, along with those in Rochester, Paterson, Elizabeth, and now Dixmoor are shrugged aside as being mere outbreaks of righteous anger against intolerable living conditions.

There is no question about living conditions in the slums of Harlem and the other New York and New Jersey cities; but Dixmoor is a different story.

Dixmoor is not a slum. It is an integrated suburban neighborhood in which Negroes and whites, in approximately even numbers, live side by side. Dixmoor children of varying races and creeds attend the same schools and use the same community facilities.

Why, then, should Dixmoor Negroes—1,000 to 2,000 of them—rise in rebellion against the law and order which is their best shield against injustice?

The good citizens, black and white alike, talk about "outside agitators."

We've heard the phrase before, from other areas, and have discounted it because of the source. Can we discount the evidence of Dixmoor?

We know that the United States, as a nation, has one implacable enemy: international communism.

We know that for four decades the Communist Party has been bending every effort to engender a race war in the United States.

We know that honorable leaders of the honorable organizations trying to better the lot of the Negro in the United States have been fighting valiantly to minimize Communist influence.

We know that a host of organizations have sprung up purportedly to help the cause of civil rights, and that a number of these organizations have been infiltrated and taken over by Communists.

We know that responsible Negro leaders have begged and pleaded for legal and orderly approaches toward full citizenship for the Negro, and that their methods have met with continuing success.

We know they have been jeered, cursed and called "Uncle Toms," their lives of dedicated service sneered at, and their tempered advice howled down.

Realizing that if their people sow the wind they well could reap the whirlwind, they have urged a moratorium on demonstations until after the November 3 elections.

The response has been race rioting in one city after another, and all according to a peculiar and highly suspicious pattern.

After the events of the past few weeks it seems obvious that the riotings are not chance incidents, but are planned.

By whom?

There are three main possibilities: Southern whites, acting through paid agents provocateurs; Black Muslims, whose leaders wax fat on the contributions of the gullible; the Communists, carrying out their avowed purpose of making this country the scene of a full-fledged race war.

It is standard practice, when investigating crime, to ask the pointed question: Who gains?

Who gains from race riots? Not America's Negroes. The huge, law-abiding majority suffers from the crimes of the lawless minority.

Southern whites? Yes, to some extent. Unthinking northern whites come to feel repression is the answer to anarchy and mob violence.

Black Muslims? Again, yes, to some extent. Unthinking Negroes see them as courageous fighters against injustice, and pour cash into their campaign coffers.

The international Communist conspiracy? Yes; in every way. The fabric of American life is weakened. The Nation is divided and seared by hatred. The riots are magnified beyond even their terrible importance by skillful Communist propagandists, undermining our position in the colored nations of the world.

It never must be forgotten that the free world, led by the United States, and the slave world driven by two separate Communist masters, Russia and China, are engaged in a struggle to the death.

Anything the Communists can do to weaken us will be done. There are no rules of fairplay or decency where the Communists are concerned.

Race riots in this country are doing the United States and all its citizens, black or white, incalculable damage. They are doing the Communist cause incalculable good.

The case may not be proved beyond question, but the toothmarks and footprints of the rat plainly can be seen on the body of the evidence.

Shall we ignore facts, hide our heads under the bedclothes and write gay little pieces about the falling leaves when the world we know itself is falling? Or should we try to tell, in these columns, the desperately urgent straits in which our area, our State, and our Nation find themselves?

With all due respect to the more sensitive and delicate of our readers, we would rather fight what we believe to be wrong than stand by weeping and wringing our hands.

Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for the Appendix the testimony of Mr. C. E. Goldberg, of the Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, as presented to my Committee on Ways and Means during the hearings on the subject of excise taxes:

STATEMENT OF C. E. GOLDBERG, WASHINGTON, D.C., CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF BOWLING PROPRIETORS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DURING ITS EXCISE TAX HEARINGS, JULY 30, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity of appearing before you on behalf of the Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., of which I am chairman of the executive committee. Our association, which is more familiarly known as BPAA, includes in its membership the proprietors of 6,242 bowling establishments operating 116,632 bowling lanes located in every State of the United States. Our membership covers all aspects of bowling—tenpins, duckpins, rubberband duckpins, and candlepins.

The American Bowling Congress and the National Duckpin Bowling Congress have certified for the current year 11,336 bowling establishments with an aggregate of 164,300 bowling lanes in the United States, so that we represent more than half of the bowling establishments and almost three-fourths of the bowling lanes in the United States. I am sure, however, that every bowling proprietor in the country is in accord with the views which I shall express today.

The tax whose repeal I urge upon you today is embodied in section 4471 of the Internal Revenue Code, which provides: "There shall be imposed a special tax to be paid by every person who operates a bowling alley, billiard room, or poolroom at the rate of $20 a year for each bowling alley, billiard table, or pool table."

There are exempted from this tax such of the facilities as are located in a hospital, or are maintained exclusively for the use of the members of the Armed Forces, or are maintained by non-profit organizations or by an agency of the United States.

With a total of 164,300 bowling lanes in the United States, it produces revenues for the Government of only $3,286,000 a year. Yet to an industry which is economically distressed, with many suffering bankruptcies, going out of business, and generally facing financial chaos, this is a sum which means a great deal.

This tax was initially imposed during the First World War as a temporary wartime excise tax at the rate of $10 a year for each bowling lane. It continued on such a "temporary" basis until the Second World War. Then, as we entered the Second World War, and again as a "temporary wartime measure," it was increased to $20 a lane. For 20 years it has continued in effect at this rate, although the Congress has eliminated many of the temporary wartime tax increases imposed on other industries.

We have never previously come to Congress and asked for relief through the repeal or modification of this tax because we have not until the past 3 years experienced serious economic distress. We are essentially

an industry of small-business men, and so long as we have been able to do so, we have paid whatever taxes Congress has seen fit to levy upon us. Today over 80 percent of the bowling lanes in the United States are owned by individuals or companies operating three or less bowling establishments. Due to the fact that more and more of our bowling proprietors have been unable to meet their obligations, we are for the first time coming to you for relief.

Bowling is no luxury. Bowling is the poor man's golf, tennis, polo, and bridge all rolled into one. Bowling is the American sport which has more participants than any other sport or recreational activity. It is a sport in which whole families engage. Bowling is fundamentally a participation, and not an exhibition, sport. The American Bowling Congress and the Woman's International Bowling Congress have in membership in the United States more than 8 million men and women who bowl at least once a week at least 26 weeks a year. And those organizations alone sanction more than 17,000 bowling tournaments each year.

It is a paradox that, at a time when more people are bowling than in any previous year, and when the public is spending more money on bowling than ever before, we should be suffering from the severe economic distress with which we are now confronted. This is explainable by the fact that in 1961 the percentage increase of bowling lanes was for the first time greater than the percentage increase in organized bowlers. And since then, although the gross amount spent on bowling on an overall basis has never been so large, the revenue per bowling lane has dropped precipitously.

I am not here to point the finger or seek to place the blame for the enormous irresponsible expansion of bowling lanes that took place some years ago, or for the philosophy that assumed that placing a bowling facility at any crossroads, no matter how sparsely populated, would produce profits. I am here to ask your assistance for our industry in our efforts to climb out of the quicksand in which we now find ourselves.

I call your attention, however, to the fact that the reports of the Small Business Administration, an agency of the Federal Government, disclose that in recent years it has made loans for the purpose of construction of new bowling establishments and the refinancing of already established operators which in the peak years almost equalled the amount of revenues collected by the Government from bowling establishments under the alley bed tax. In some cases loans were made by the SBA after loan applications to private lending agencies had been turned down because of their awareness of the precariousness of the business. In many such cases the bowling establishments constructed with the proceeds of such loans have been unsuccessful and in some cases the proprietors have gone into bankruptcy.

BPAA recently retained Dun & Bradstreet to make an economic survey of the bowling business. I attach a copy of the report for 1963 entitled "Cost of Doing Business in the Bowling Industry."

In this report Dun & Bradstreet stated that the overall reports from 504 bowling establishments showed a net loss of 0.4 percent. It shows that half of the participants reported a profit, and half reported a loss. Those that showed a profit reported a profit before taxes of 5.3 percent on average gross receipts of $204,555. Those that showed a loss reported a loss of 7.4 percent on average gross receipts of $188,281.

The health of any industry is, of course, reflected in the financial condition of those companies who are its suppliers. The two principal suppliers of bowling equipment and accessories are American Machine & Foundry Co. and Brunswick Corp.

For years these companies had no problems with their bowling accounts. For almost 30 years no bowling establishment was involved in a bankruptcy proceeding. Since 1961, however, the situation has been quite different, and this undoubtedly stems from the fact that these two manufacturers engaged in a race to urge a reckless expansion and the building of more and more bowling establishments, without regard to prudent business standards, and caused the opening of many more bowling facilities than the 20 million bowlers, and the expected increase in bowlers, could possibly absorb.

In 1962 Brunswick had to repossess 580 bowling lanes, and in 1963 it had to repossess approximately 1,800 more. In 1963 AMF had to repossess 1,300 bowling lanes. In 1964 both companies have had to continue to do this.

AMF primarily rents its automatic pinspotters, although it sells its other bowling equipment. It collects rentals from its pinspotters at the rate of 10 cents for each game bowled on them. Between 1961 and 1963 its bowling rentals decreased about $11 million on an annual basis. In 1961 AMF's annual volume from sales of bowling equipment was $61,400,000; in 1963 it dropped to $35 million.

As of December 31, 1961, AMF's accounts receivable amounted to only $20,500,000; on March 31, 1964, they had increased to $74,400,000.

Brunswick has had a parallel financial experience.

Both companies have had to set up huge special reserves to meet expected defaults in their bowling accounts.

During the 5-year period immediately preceding 1963, primarily at the instigation of the equipment manufacturers and suppliers, many public and syndicated companies were formed that went to the public to obtain funds with which to go into the business of building and operating bowling establishments.

Unfortunately, because the SEC does not classify its registration statements by industry, we found it impossible to ascertain the total number and the aggregate amount of such public offerings. However, we were able to locate and examine the registration statements and subsequent annual reports of 30 bowling companies which had made public offerings during these 5 years, and found they had publicly offered their common stock and debentures in the aggregate amount of $33 million.

At the peak of the bowling fever which seized the financial markets, the securities of 20 of these issuing bowling companies that reported their market highs and lows, showed an aggregate high market value of $247,506,129, which has now declined to an aggregate low market value of $19,349,118. We feel that this tremendous drop in the market value of bowling securities is most significant and reflective of the present distress in the bowling industry.

Two of the bowling companies whose SEC registration statements and reports were examined have gone out of business. Three more have gone into bankruptcy, one under chapter X and two under chapter XI.

From information obtained from examining the SEC registration statements and subsequent annual reports of these 30 bowling companies, it appears that in 1959, 10 reported net profits, 3 showed net losses. In 1960, 14 reported net profits, 6 reported net losses. In 1961, 12 reported net profits, 9 reported net losses. In 1962, 10 reported net profits, 12 reported net losses. In 1963, 6 reported net profits, 13 reported net losses.

During this 5-year period, these bowling companies have fallen off sharply in their reflection of earnings per share and many have gone from a substantially plus earnings per share position to a deficit situation. The rise in earnings to a 1960 peak, and then the sharp downward swing through 1963, is apparent from the figures I have given you.

Financially, bowling is a sick industry, although paradoxically enough there are more people bowling and more money being spent on bowling than ever before. We are waging a strenuous fight to restore health to our industry. I have no doubt and every expectation that we will be successful, and that we will retain for our young people an exciting recreation which has remarkable character building effects.

If the Congress will repeal this "temporary wartime excise tax" you will be making a great contribution to our recovery. You will have given us the equivalent of an additional 7,500,000 games of bowling a year, and this will be a powerful shot in the arm. It will be substantial tax relief to some 10,000 small businessmen, and to many of us it may mean the difference between staying in and going out of business.

While the alley bed tax which I have just discussed is our primary concern, there are two additional excise taxes that have a serious impact upon bowling, to which I would like to refer briefly.

Many, if not most, bowlers bowl as members of bowling leagues. Those leagues customarily reserve the use of bowling lanes at a bowling establishment once a week for 26 to 33 weeks each year. More than 7,500,000 such league bowlers belong to the American Bowling Congress (ABC) and the Woman's International Bowling Congress (WIBC). They pay dues to the ABC and WIBC, and to the affiliated State and city bowling associations in their communities, and they also pay dues to their leagues which cover the costs of their league bowling. There are probably several million additional bowlers who also bowl as members of leagues outside of the ABC and WIBC. Duckpin bowlers, for example, bowl in leagues of the National Duckin Bowling Congress.

Section 4241 of the Internal Revenue Code applies an excise tax of 20 percent "of any amount paid as dues or membership fees to any social, athletic, or sporting club or organization, if the dues or fees of an active resident annual member are in excess of $10 a year." Section 4242(a) provides that dues as used therein include any assessment, irrespective of the purpose for which made, and any charges for social privileges or facilities, or for golf, tennis, polo, swimming, or other athletic or sporting privileges or facilities, for any period of more than 6 days.

Bowling leagues do not, of course, own or operate their own bowling facilities. They do not have clubhouses or their own facilities. It has never been thought that the club dues tax is applicable to them and to the bowling charges which they incur.

However, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has now taken the position that the club dues tax is applicable, and in the case of *J. R. Johnston* v. *Commissioner*, Federal Judge Charles Wyzanski of the United States District Court for Massachusetts has recently held that the amount paid by a taxpayer as a member of a bowling club for participation in bowling league competition at commercial bowling alleys is subject to the dues tax. The court found that the right of the bowler, as member of a bowling league, to use the commercial bowling lanes in a bowling establishment on 26 specific occasions constituted repeated and general use of a common club facility for an appreciable period of time and so was taxable.

In the many years that there has been a club dues tax, it has never been thought that it was applicable to the cost of bowling as a member of a bowling league. If the cost of bowling is to be increased by such an additional 20 percent, it can very well result in a further loss of bowling business to the detriment of both the bowler and the bowling proprietor. It is respectfully requested that the committee make it clear that it was not

the intent of Congress to make the club dues tax so applicable.

Finally, I call your attention to section 4161 of the Internal Revenue Code, which imposes a manufacturer's excise tax of 10 percent on bowling balls and pins, which in turn is passed on to the bowling proprietors. An average bowling establishment replaces 77 sets of pins each year, each set costing an average of $48. Multiply the 77 sets per establishment by the 6,000-plus establishments in our association, would show an annual use of 462,000 sets of pins, and multiplying this figure by the average price of $48 per set indicates that approximately $22 million annually is spent by our members for bowling pins.

It is etsimated that more than a half million bowling balls are sold annually at an aggregate price of $7,500,000. The annual sales of bowling pins and balls come to approximately $29,500,000. The amount collected by the Treasury under this 10 percent tax would total slightly less than $3 million annually.

The manufacturers of bowling balls and pins have indicated that, if this tax should be repealed, the tax saving would be passed on to the bowling proprietors. It goes without saying that if tax relief of this sort were given, it woudl be of tremendous assistance to our efforts to rehabilitate our very depressed bowling industry.

Alderman Despres Tells How Economic Opportunity Act Will Benefit Chicago Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker it will be recalled, I know with much satisfaction on this side, that the House passed the economic opportunity bill on August 8, 1964, by a vote of 226 to 184 and the vote of the gentleman from Illinois was numbered with the 226. I am sorry that I did not have at that time a copy of the Woodlawn Booster of August 5, 1964, with an illuminating article by Alderman Leon M. Despres of the 5th ward of the city of Chicago.

Alderman Despres sets forth the benefits the various provisions of the measure will bring to the people of the Woodlawn community, adjoining and directly south of the Hyde Park community. Had the newspaper reached me in time I would have brought Alderman Despres' article to the attention of my colleagues during the debate. As it is, I am extending my remarks at this time to include the entire text of the alderman's article as a contribution of distinct worth and validity to the discussion of this most vitally important legislation.

The article follows:

YOUR ALDERMAN REPORTS

(BY LEON M. DESPRES)

All of us will be watching Washington this week to see if the House of Representatives passes President Johnson's antipoverty bill. Undoubtedly Woodlawn's Congressman BARRATT O'HARA will vote for it. If it passes, Woodlawn residents will want to know what it will do specifically for Woodlawn.

Thanks to Douglas Anderson, administrative assistant to U.S. Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS (who lives in the Fifth Ward and voted for the antipoverty bill in the Senate), I was able to obtain a copy of the bill which passed the Senate and is now before the House.

Four parts of the bill would be of special interest to Woodlawn. These are the parts which create the work training program, the Job Corps, the work study program, and the community action program.

Since 25 percent of Woodlawn's residents, including a great many young children, have public assistance of some form, Woodlawn has a special interest in any measure to improve the condition of low-income families.

In its preamble, the antipoverty bill recites that the bill's purpose is "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity." Certainly these are the urgent goals of the Woodlawn community.

I estimate that at least 250 to 500 Woodlawn residents between 16 and 22 would probably be admitted to the work training program. The purpose of the program would be to increase their employability and continue their education.

They would receive work either on publicly owned facilities and projects or on local projects sponsored by private nonprofit organizations. The intention is to give them work experience and training in occupational skills or in jobs where there is a reasonable expectation of later employment.

They are to receive prevailing rates of pay scaled to their skill and proficiency. The basic purpose is to help them acquire work habits, work skills, and adequate schooling.

In addition, I estimate that from 50 to 100 Woodlawn people between 16 and 22 would be absorbed by the Job Corps. All of them would be nongraduates from high school for whom further school attendance is not practicable.

They would enroll for not more than 2 years and, at the end, could receive up to $50 a month for their time spent.

There would be a system of allotments under which $25 would be deducted from their monthly amounts and would be matched by the Government, so that $50 a month could be sent home.

They would work on public natural resources in the country or do similar work in city areas.

The purpose of the Job Corps would be to prepare the members for responsibilities of citizenship and increase their employability by giving them education, vocational training, and useful work experience while they work on the conservation of natural resources. The Job Corps would be very similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's.

There would be no limit placed on the number of Woodlawn students who might be helped by the work-study program. Under this program, useful work would be given to students from low-income families who attend universities.

The work would be part-time employment related to each student's educational aims. I believe that if the antipoverty program gets underway, any Woodlawn student from a low-income family who is attending a university which comes under the program will be able to take advantage of the work-study program. It would be invaluable in helping Woodlawn students continue and complete their university education.

The fourth area which interests Woodlawn is the provision for community action programs to combat poverty. These programs can be conducted by public agencies or private nonprofit agencies, and would deal with jobs, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and special educational help.

In giving grants, there would be preference for programs which promise a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance.

The special attractiveness of the antipoverty bill is the fact that all of it is hitched to a self-help approach, an approach which is of particular interest to our Woodlawn community.

Use U.S.-Flag Ships for Safety and Dependability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the newspaper accounts of the recent failure of a foreign steamship company to fulfill its contract obligations with passengers again points up the advisability of having our citizens use our U.S.-flag lines for transportation.

Had these passengers been booked on an American line, they would not have been left stranded on the pier, because our steamship companies have proved their reliability and dependability over the years.

Furthermore, our lines have far higher safety standards than most foreign-flag vessels and are under the strict supervision of the Government, thus assuring the passengers greater protection and safer journeys. Reliability and safety are the best selling points for any steamship line and ample reason for using U.S.-flag ships.

In this connection I would like to include an article from the Baltimore News-American of August 18 on this subject:

CURRAN URGES PORTS TO CRACK DOWN: CRUISE RACKET SCORED

Maryland Attorney General Thomas B. Finan and officials of five other port States today were urged to protect their citizens from fly-by-night cruise ship operators endangering both their savings and their lives.

An immediate investigation of all passenger cruise operations in Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Florida was called for in telegrams from Joseph Curran, National Maritime Union president.

The action follows Friday's withdrawal from service of the MS *Riviera Prima*, cruise ship chartered by Caribbean Cruises, Inc. of Washington, D.C., whose Italian owners reclaimed the vessel in New York and sailed for Italy, leaving 340 passengers for the West Indies stranded on the dock.

These passengers as well as others from previously canceled sailings and a variety of ship supply firms, including a number from the Baltimore area, are among the Washington company's many creditors.

The company more than a week ago filed a title XI bankruptcy proceeding in U.S. District Court and a hearing has been set for August 27. The filing permitted operation under court supervision.

A second ship operated by the company under charter from different owners, the MS

Yarmouth Castle, was withdrawn from service earlier when it failed to meet safety and health requirements. Caribbean Cruise Lines has placed a lien on the ship and filed suit for more than $800,000 against its owners.

"Recent events prove that the public urgently needs protection against fly-by-night vessel operators who offer cruises which jeopardize people's hard-earned vacation savings and their lives," Mr. Curran's telegrams said.

He called for immediate investigation "to determine to what extent the public can now be deceived and endangered by some cruise operators and what protection must be provided against such dangers and deceptions."

"Booming cruise business has attracted unscrupulous and incompetent operators who often buy or charter laid-up vessels out of foreign boneyards and give them a hasty reconditioning," Mr. Curran said.

He said such operators count on "high-powered promotion and bargain prices" to make up for flaws in the ships and service.

"There is a wide difference between the strict safety standards which are required on U.S.-flag ships and those required by international law," Mr. Curran said. "It can be a difference of life or death."

He said that even though the foreign-flag ships operate out of U.S. ports, the Coast Guard can require only the minimum standards of the international codes.

Mr. Curran praised New York Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz for his action in demanding a stringent Coast Guard inspection of the *Riviera Prima* last week. The ship's fitness certification was withdrawn until minor changes were made.

He also took another swipe at New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller for vetoing NMU-sponsored legislation requiring all passenger ship advertising to include the country of origin. Maryland, Massachusetts, and Illinois passed such laws.

John E. Smith, president of Caribbean Cruise Lines, who has operated cruises for 32 years and claims to be the Nation's largest cruise operator, blamed his firm's financial difficulties on the owners of the *Yarmouth Castle*, who refused to make necessary repairs and improvements on the ship.

No Quotas on Meat Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 6, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I very earnestly urge and very deeply hope this House will perseveringly reject recent Senate action, for whatever dubious reasons, placing drastic quotas on imports of beef, veal, and other meats.

This unwise gesture and projection will inevitably result, without necessity, in general increases in many meat prices, especially for our eastern families, arousing retaliatory resentment against us in Australia, New Zealand, and Latin American countries and it will seriously impair our efforts to preserve a European market for U.S. farm products.

Mr. Speaker, our agriculture experts offer clear and convincing evidence that these particular meat imports are not responsible for low cattle prices and the U.S. Tariff Commission reports sustain that evidence.

In summary the reasons advanced for imposing quotas are not tenable, meat prices will be unnecessarily increased, confidence in American efforts toward freer world trade will be undermined, resentment will be unhappily excited and our tariff negotiation procedures that are now going on will be seriously upset. In effect, Mr. Speaker, this is bad legislation that should be unyieldingly rejected, in the national interest, by this House and I trust that it will be at the proper time.

Escapees From Tito Communism Are Given Special Treatment: Imprisonment or Execution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, in the course of the hearings on pending immigration legislation, our subcommittee heard startling testimony concerning the treatment of refugees who escaped from Tito communism into Italy and Austria. That testimony was presented by Mr. Joseph V. Bosilievic, president of the American Society for Migration. Mr. Bosilievic appealed to the Congress of the United States for assistance in putting a stop to the procedures governing the reception of these refugees, procedures which make a sham of the vaunted claim of the free world that asylum is given those who escape the tyranny of communism.

In order that Members might be acquainted with this testimony and the particulars presented by Mr. Bosilievic, by unanimous consent previously granted, I include the testimony of Mr. Bosilievic:

There are today about 40 million people called refugees, expellees, or escapees. The world solemnly proclaimed the principles of human rights, freedom, independence, and self-determination for every nation, yet at the same time there are millions of people, sometimes whole nations, given to certain governments as a reward for participation in a war or a revolution. Unscrupulous ideologies incite new crises around the world and there is no end to this in sight.

The admission of political refugees into the United States was primarily motivated by humanitarian desire to help needy people; at the same time it was and will be in the future a mighty political weapon inside and outside of the United States in achieving some other aspects especially to fight the communism.

There are practically no refugees from the large Communist countries in Europe. On the other hand there have been in the last 6 or 7 years, more new refugees from Communist Yugoslavia than from all the rest of the European Communist countries combined. At this point, I would like to emphasize the astonishing fact that about 85 percent of all the new refugees escaping the multination state of Yugoslavia are Croats. For many years the Croatian refugees have been an absolute majority of all European refugees. They comprise today the main refugee problem in Europe, and this report will therefore handle primarily their problem.

Tens of thousands of new European refugees seek asylum in the neighboring small Western countries, like Austria and Italy, to be the guests at a poor table.

Those European countries with an unbearable refugee burden considered the following facts:

(a) Lack of interest of the free world about the fate of the refugees.

(b) Insufficient financial support by the free world for food and shelter for refugees on their territory.

(c) Their governments have been exposed to the pressure of neighboring Communist regimes and the Communists in their own country trying to suppress all measures helping the refugees.

(d) These governments started to listen more willingly to the friendly Communist offers to negotiate the refugee problem, and finally accepted Communist suggestions to make profitable mutual agreements.

In spite of beautifully declared resolutions concerning freedom and respect of human dignity, a shame of our century evolved gradually from this situation. The Austrian and Italian Governments started to forcibly extradite new refugees back into their Communist governments.

Years ago extradition constituted about 10 percent of all new refugees, but this percentage has been substantially increased every year. In the last 2 years, the Italian and Austrian Governments have extradited 75 to 85 percent of all new refugees seeking asylum on their territory.

The European governments, together with the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, have been keeping the extradition of refugees a well-kept secret from the free world. At the same time the Communist government of Yugoslavia has been giving those extraditions full publicity under the following typical caption: "You cannot expect anything from the West if you flee your own country. It is much better for you to stay and work with us Communists at home."

The practice of yearly extraditing thousands of refugees represents a serious shock for the prestige of the freedom-loving tradition of the West. These extraditions cannot be considered as an internal affair of a small European country because the number of people is too large: about 10,000 new refugees flee from Yugoslavia only to the West each year, and the majority is extradited at once.

I will describe the procedure of these extraditions in Italy. The refugees are not informed of the extradition. Then after a few weeks, receive an order to prepare for transfer to another refugee camp in Italy. Before arriving on Yugoslav border, and in order to prevent escape or rioting, the refugees are sometimes bound together with chains like criminals, and then handed over to the Communist authorities in Yugoslavia. There have been news in the European press and Croatian newspapers of suicides, riots, and death accidents occurring among the refugees at the extradition.

An entire system of deceits for the Western World was invented. First of all, a new status for refugees from Yugoslavia was created by creating the new terms of a "political" and "economic" refugee. The criterion for placing the refugees into such categories is evidently absurb. In final analysis the general poor economic standard prevailing in Communist countries is the product of Communist ideology and unsuccessful experiments by the Communist dictorial regimes. Everyone who joins the Communist Party stands to improve his status in all respects, and there is no need for him to flee the country. Who refuses to join the party and is either persecuted or denied the means for a respectable living, when he flees to the West he is then considered an economic refugee since there is no definition or exact distinction possible between the terms "po-

litical" and "economic" refugee. Almost all the complaints denounce the screening, the police officer, and interpreter.

The status of an "economic refugee" means a danger of extradition, no support is established refugee camps, and an absolute and unmistakable provision in our U.S. law preventing his admission into the United States.

I would like to emphasize that our Government has no authority whatsoever in deciding who will be officially declared a "political" refugee. The screening and decision-making was left entirely with the European governments. It is tragic that this decision actually belongs to a police official of a small European country. And his own opinion actually determines whether a refugee will or will not be admitted into the United States. Our Public Law 648 provides admission for "political refugees," excluding any other category. Evidently, we forgot to provide for our own participation in such decisions. The Communists are taking advantage of this as will be indicated later on.

The Yugoslav Communist Government tries to convince the free Western World that no help is necessary for the refugees simply because the political and economic circumstances in Yugoslavia are good; that they have already proclaimed a political amnesty, and that all their citizens can obtain a passport for travel in foreign countries. The West readily accepts all such statements in spite of proof to the contrary: the number of refugees hasn't gotten smaller, it even increased. Admittedly, there are now issued more passports in Yugoslavia but there is also known the fact that the bearers of those passports are mostly members of the Communist Party or their friends. Some other people have received passports also, especially women and old people. But as a matter of principle, the Communist government strictly rejects all applications for passport if the applicants are anti-Communist.

I want also to mention the inhuman practice that almost every married refugee fleeing from Yugoslavia without family is denied status of political asylum. In most cases, it means his forcible repatriation. There is no explaining how anybody fleeing his country to escape persecution is supposed to take along his wife and children, exposing them to all dangers, even death.

Sadly enough, it seems that the United States and some other oversea countries applied first this rule of excluding married people from immigation. The Austrian and Italian Governments, as a consequence, decided to deny political asylum to the married people if they were not accompanied by their families.

The sick, invalid or unemployable persons are not accepted by oversea countries. Consequently the European governments do not recognize them as political refugees and repatriate them forcibly back to the Communist regimes.

First official contact of a refugee fleeing a Communist country is a policeman, then a police officer and an interpreter. The refugee is threatened to be extradited immediately and convinced that in the case of his extradition all the minutes of his screening will be handed over to the Communists. He gratefully accepts the suggestion to omit, even deny any political motives, declaring that he came to the West for work, or to emigrate, or join the relatives overseas. Fear of extradition is the main reason why refugees do not talk about their anti-Communist activities.

Of late, unfortunately, not even a statement of a refugee about his anti-Communist activities and political persecution can save him from extradition. Some men who have served up to 10 or more years in Yugoslav Communist prisons, sentenced for political crimes, have been unable to secure a status as political refugee. The High Commissary for refugees at U.N. has received numerous complaints, but his intervention is often late—refugees are already extradited.

Here are few examples:

1. Mustafa Catovic, extradited although he was previously imprisoned in Yugoslavia for 14 years.

2. Ivan Fuckar, sentenced in Yugoslavia to death, his sentence commuted to 20 years imprisonment, was 13 years actually imprisoned.

3. Joso Maric, sentenced to 8 years in prison in Yugoslavia.

4. Stjepan Stokic, previously imprisoned in Yugoslavia for 3 years.

Yugoslav propaganda is also trying to convince the free world that there is no punishment for extradited refugees. Of course, this is propaganda and a lie, and it must not be forgotten that the very act of escape makes a man an enemy of the state. The refugees are beaten and subjected to mental and physical torture in order to divulge how and who helped them to escape. The purpose of this is also to make him afraid of trying it again once more, and to teach a lesson to all others not to follow his example.

Here are listed a few refugees and their sentences after extradition:

1. Josko Kusic, 4 years.
2. Nikola Colak, 3½ years.
3. Joso Barota, 3 years.
4. Ante Marovic, 2 years.
5. Marica Krajacic (woman), 10 months.
6. Dragica Zidek (woman), 9 months.
7. Marica Maras (woman), 9 months.

Some Communist regimes provide on the border of their countries barbed wire, high walls, military units, police dogs, and mines to prevent their citizens from fleeing the country. The Yugoslav Government has decided to abandon most of those measures and has introduced a new system—to buy refugees from the Western neighboring countries through mutual agreements in trade, through concessions, or through political questions. Such agreements are always secret, but because the Iron Curtain is not leakproof, some examples will be mentioned here for the first time.

1. In the Italian-Yugoslav agreement about fishing in the Adriatic (1958–59) was included a provision for Italian Governments—

(a) To prevent any political activity by the Yugoslav refugees in Italy.

(b) Determined was also the percentage of all new refugees to be extradited forcibly into Yugoslavia.

It was motivated by the necessity to discourage and minimize the influx of new refugees.

2. In a contract between Yugoslavia and Italian company ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi—the mightiest industrial concern with Italian federal funds) about drilling of oilwells, and about chemical installations, there were also additional provisions (never made public).

(a) Entire Italian press controlled by ENI (with leading Italian newspaper Il Giorno) will take a friendly attitude toward Yugoslavia and print articles about political and economic situation in Yugoslavia as normal in order to influence the Italian Government and the public to come to the conclusion that there is no necessity for anybody to flee Yugoslavia (moral boycott of refugees).

(b) To put a pressure on the Italian Government to prevent any political activity among the refugees in Italian camps (to dissolve all refugee organizations and to prevent any representatives of national organizations to enter the camps).

(c) To increase substantially the requirements for recognition of political refugee status and to enlarge the percentage of refugees to be forcibly repatriated.

Here we can include also the rumor that some officials in Europe handling the refugees on local, national, and international level receive money and gifts from the Yugoslav Communist Government. Sometimes the Communist officials talk about their success in getting almost all new refugees if they want them. The compensation for such favors is also timber and furniture exported by Yugoslavia.

Fleeing west, the new refugee is in an abnormal mental condition and in an entirely new environment: he is still scared by the dangers of illegal crossing of the border; doesn't speak the language of the country, and has no knowledge of the customs or the laws. Contrary to the expectations there are among the new refugees very few intellectuals, industrialists, or well-to-do men. It is irony that all newcomers are of the poor working class with a mixture of peasant youth, all fleeing the worker's paradise. Because they are poor, this is also the reason to declare them "economic refugees."

No representative of any charitable organization, no lawyer, no relative or friend, even no priest is permitted to talk to a new refugee when he arrives to the West. No one is allowed to witness the screening either.

There is always an official interpreter for the screening who is seldom neutral and very often a paid Communist agent. Such interpreter performs his duties to both of his employers: he complies with the order of his Western European government to help reduce the number of refugees, and on the other hand he lets the Communist government get back most of the refugees they may want.

The percentage of refugees granted political asylum is mysteriously determined in advance. It amounts today to only 5 to 15 percent of the refugees fleeing Yugoslavia. Even those few refugees from Yugoslavia who are granted political asylum are frequently put in a lower category than the refugees from other Communist countries, thus being treated as second-class refugees.

Strict secrecy characterizes all refugee matters in Europe. The secrecy was particularly tightened after care for the refugees and all decisions about their fate was handed over to the European governments. Those governments created also considerable difficulties for the international humanitarian organizations. They tried to prevent anybody from having knowledge of their "internal affairs" concerning refugees. Particularly they oppose to allow any national or charitable refugee organization to communicate with the refugees.

Since last year even refugee priests cannot enter the refugee camps in Italy in order to perform their ecclesiastical duties. The government gives permission only to those national priests who are in posession of a Yugoslav passport and to one or two other priests known as Communist collaborators. At this time Yugoslav Government is trying to persuade all governmental and church authorities to place the religious service in the refugee camps and the humanitarian activities for refugees exclusively into the hands of the priests to be sent by the regime from Yugoslavia. The Communists proposed to send the Franciscan monks from Bosnia, who collaborate with the Communists and are members of the Communist-dominated "Professional Union of Priests."

Prisoners of war are protected by the Geneva Convention; the inmates of a concentration camp are supposed to be supported by the Red Cross organization; even extradited criminals are protected by some international law. There is no international law nor convention protecting the extradited refugees.

For centuries the Croatian people have stood protecting Western culture and Christianity. For three decades and today the Croatians have been most ardent Communist fighters, and one-third of the Croatian adult male population was wiped out by the

Communists in Croatia since the end of the war.

Mass fleeing of Croats from Yugoslavia is not only an expression of dissatisfaction or opposition to the Communist regime. It is also a desperate step taken in order to avoid mental and physical torture. Where people have no other vote, they are forced to vote with their feet. They are persecuted and killed by the Communists, forgotten by the Christian world, neglected by the free world, and even used as small change for business deals between East and the West.

Facts reveal that national groups which cooperate the most with the Communists receive the greatest support from the East and the West, whereas the anti-Communists nationalities suffer ethnic and national degeneration. The example of Serbians, Czechs and Rumanians as against the pitiful condition of the Croatians, Hungarians, and the Baltic peoples.

There are already in America severe critics about the aid of 2, 3, billions of dollars to the Communist Yugoslav regime. Another form of aid to the Communists is never mentioned in America, but there are some reports in European press, even some discussions in the parliaments. It is the moral support the West gives to Yugoslavia—thousands of refugees forcibly extradited to the Yugoslav Government each year.

For generations the American people has been extending their helping hands to the needy or persecuted people in the whole world. We feel that now is the time for our Government to reconsider American moral support to the Yugoslav regime and to give to the refugees fleeing Communist Yugoslavia the same treatment the West gives to the refugees from other Communist countries. Political situation in Yugoslavia is now not the same as it was a few years ago. Yugoslavia is today linked again with the Soviet Union in its conspiracy to have communism dominate the world.

We hope our Government will investigate the situation and problems of refugees in European countries and provide the new legislation for help to resettle them in the United States. Continued neglect of refugees could be fatal for freedom and those who fight for it. I am appealing to the U.S. Government, the leader of the free world, to consider the fate of the refugees in order to keep the spirit of freedom alive.

Walter Besterman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, in the 79th Congress it was my great pleasure to serve on the predecessor committee to the current Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. During the course of this time Mr. Walter Besterman became a member of the staff as our counsel.

Over the years I have known Mr. Besterman I have greatly admired his wisdom, perseverance to his cause, his resourcefulness, and his many contributions to the immigration laws. His dedication to the liberalization of immigration policies by the United States gave real meaning to the words of Emma Lazarus' great poem quoted on the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

He will be a great loss to the House of Representatives. However, I know that he goes on to a position where he will offer many new services on behalf of the cause he has so faithfully served. For this reason I want to join my many colleagues in wishing Mr. Besterman well in his future work with the Committee for European Migration.

Eleventh Annual Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, once again I have received a most rewarding response to my annual questionnaire. More than 100,000 of my constituents in the Ninth New Jersey District received them in July and some 28,000 have already been returned. Supplementary comments and letters from about 3,500 of the recipients have also been received. It is most encouraging to observe this keen awareness and continuing interest in the vital issues of the day.

Residents of my district seem just about evenly divided on the overall record of the Johnson administration. Only 1 percent divides those in favor and those not—39 percent in favor, 40 percent not in favor, 21 percent undecided. Last year, the overall record of the Kennedy administration was favored by only 22 percent while 68 percent were opposed and 10 percent undecided about it.

There is an interesting comparison in the answers to the question on the admission of Red China to the United Nations. In 1962, 78 percent of those polled were opposed to admission and this year 79 percent feel the same way. This year 80 percent also oppose recognition of Red China by the United States. Last year our fight to keep South Vietnam out of Communist control was approved by 63 percent but this year our policy there has the support of only 14 percent. Nearly two-thirds of the 58 percent who oppose our present action there favor military action at the risk of war and 28 percent are undecided on the subject.

On the question of incresed U.S. trade with Communist nations, 65 percent oppose and 31 percent favor. Of those favoring greater Communist trade, 70 percent felt that such trade should be limited to nonstrategic goods only and 22 percent think we should extend credit to these nations. Foreign aid spending is not quite as unpopular this year as it was last year. For example, in 1963, 81 percent were then opposed to the level of foreign aid spending while this year only 64 percent are opposed to the program with 29 percent favoring it. Of those opposed to present foreign aid spending, 44 percent urged stopping all aid to pro-Communist nations, 46 percent favored less spending with only 1 percent wanting more to be spent.

There has been a significant change in the attitude of those in my district toward civil rights legislation. Last year, 59 percent favored the enactment of strong civil rights laws but this year 54 percent are opposed to the 1964 civil rights bill with 16 percent of those opposing it feeling it is too strong, 56 percent unconstitutional, and 20 percent unnecessary. Only 8 percent regard it as too weak. The use of Federal marshals and troops to protect those helping Negroes in the South obtain their rights drew a close response with 46 percent for and 44 percent against. The revamping of our present immigration laws has the support of 51 percent who feel the present national origin quota system should be changed. A third of those replying opposed any changes and 16 percent were undecided.

The establishment of a Domestic Peace Corps was favored 52 percent to 36 percent. Cigarette packages should carry a warning of cancer in the opinion of 59 percent. Almost two-thirds favor tax credits for college parents and students. Congressional pay increases are opposed 49 to 39 percent. The Supreme Court decision on State reapportionment is supported by a greater than 3-to-1 margin. There is an interesting comparison in replies this year to the question of school prayer and Bible readings. Last year, 76 percent favored and only 19 percent were opposed, with 5 percent undecided. This year, it is interesting to note, that the percentage in favor of amending the Constitution has dropped to 47 percent with 37 percent opposed and 16 percent undecided.

The increase in social security benefits won the approval of 70 percent. Government preservation of our wilderness areas was favored by 84 percent. Federal assistance for mass transit systems was approved by 81 percent. Television debates between the presidential candidates are favored by more than four to 1.

Of course, not everyone replying answered every question listed. The percentages shown for each question in the tables below are based on the tabulation of all the replies received to that particular question or part thereof.

Mr. Speaker, because the replies to my questionnaires have aroused much interest among Members, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the tabulated percentages of my 11th annual questionnaire.

[Percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided
Do you favor—			
1. The overall record of the Johnson administration?	39	40	21
2. (a) Recognition of Red China by the United States at this time?	11	80	9
(b) Admission of Red China to the United Nations at this time?	12	79	9
3. Our present policy in Vietnam and southeast Asia?	14	58	28
If no, do you favor—			
(a) U.S. military action at risk of war? 65			
(b) U.S. withdrawal from the area? 35			
4. Increased U.S. trade with Communist nations?	31	65	4
If yes, do you favor—			
(a) Maximum trade with no limitations? 8			
(b) Limiting trade to foodstuffs and nonstrategic goods only? 70			
(c) Extending credit to Communist nations? 22			
5. Foreign aid spending program at about present level?	29	64	7
If no, do you favor—			
(a) More spending? 1			
(b) Less? 46			
(c) None? 9			
(d) Stopping all aid to pro-Communist countries? 44			
6. The 1964 civil rights bill as passed by Congress?	39	54	7
If no, do you regard bill as—			
(a) Too weak? 8			
(b) Too strong? 16			
(c) Unconstitutional? 56			
(d) Unnecessary? 20			
Do you favor—			
7. Use of Federal marshals and troops to protect those helping Negroes in the South to obtain their rights?	46	44	10
8. Substituting a basis of skills, or relationship to U.S. citizens, for present national origin immigration quota system?	51	33	16
Do you favor admitting—			
(a) Same number as now admitted? 43			
(b) More? 16			
(c) Fewer? 41			
9. Establishing a Domestic Peace Corps (National Service Corps)?	52	36	12
10. Requiring cancer warning on cigarette packages?	59	34	7
11. Raising pay of Senators and Congressmen?	39	49	12
12. College education tax credits for parents and students?	65	30	5
13. Recent Supreme Court ruling requiring that both houses of State legislatures be apportioned according to population?	68	21	11
14. Amending Constitution to allow school prayer and Bible readings?	47	37	16
15. Increasing social security benefits by 5 percent with resulting tax rise?	70	26	4
16. Strong Federal action to preserve our remaining wilderness areas?	84	7	9
17. Federal assistance program to help build and improve mass transportation systems?	81	16	3
18. Television debates between principal presidential candidates?	77	19	4

Manpower Development and Training Act at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, because of my close connection with the Manpower Development and Training Act legislation earlier this year, I am greatly interested in the program in actual operation. From the article which I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today, we can readily see how beneficial this program can be to skill-hungrey men and women. By training these people we do far more than help solve the unemployment problem, we offer a useful and effective life to men and women who might otherwise be faced with nothing but frustration and misery.

The article follows:

SKILL HUNGRY MADE EMPLOYABLE—OHIO'S ROAD TO OPPORTUNITY

(By Gerald White)

For 400 skill-hungry men and women, the road to opportunity now leads to a small city in the hill country of southern Ohio.

The highway starts from their homes in 21 southern counties, which stretch from Clermont on the west to Belmont on the east.

And it ends at the Southern Ohio Manpower and Technical Training Center in Jackson, county seat of Jackson County.

There, in buildings once occupied by an iron company, 325 men and 75 women receive training in one of 14 technical or business skills needed in all parts of Ohio.

The center, believed unique in the United States, is financed by the Federal Manpower and Training Act fund and is the joint effort of the State board of education, the Jackson city board of education, and the Ohio State Employment Bureau.

The unique part of the center is the size and diversity of its curriculum. Many cities, including Cincinnati, now are sites for one or two federally financed programs. Cincinnati public school officials now train clerk-stenographers at the Stowe School.

The Jackson students average about 25 to 30 years old. They come from farms, small cities, and suburbs. They are usually unemployed when they arrive and they are definitely employable or employed when they leave.

The center was opened January 6, 1964, in a well-publicized ceremony, attended by Gov. James Rhodes and other top State and Federal officials. The dedication officials spoke of many who would benefit by the school.

First, the students: They would receive new skills to help them recover from the impact of automation or depressed area surroundings.

The area: Jackson needed help. The iron company, now housing the center, had pulled out. About 400 former employees needed new jobs or skills. Businessmen and merchants in the area needed fresh money.

And finally, the State: The new skills would be good talking points when the Governor competed with other States in recruiting new businesses. And the center could reduce some unemployment compensation and welfare costs while the students were trained.

The speakers have been right on all counts. The center now is turning out newly trained students who are taking their place in the industrial scene. Jackson is booming. The depressed area's residents are either moving into new jobs or away. And the taxpayers are getting a bargain.

"We think we're saving the taxpayers about $60,000 a month here," said Charles McClure, assistant to Clarence N. Gingrich, center director.

There is no coasting down the road to opportunity at the center. The men and women must want to go there. They must want to stay there. And they must work hard and study hard to complete the grueling courses.

"It's a tough course," said Mr. McClure. "We have to put a 4-year college course into 24 or 50 weeks. It doesn't leave much time for frills."

Staying there may be tough—but getting there is almost as difficult. Students are picked for the training by officials of the Ohio State Employment Bureau in their area. (The closest office to Cincinnati involved in the selection is in Batavia.)

OSES officials use several factors in deciding when to recommend a student. First, he must need training. He must either be unemployed or under employed—working a job where his talents are not fully used.

He can be a victim of automation or a high school dropout. He can be single or the head of a family, although economic need is important. And he must be trainable.

OSES officials test and counsel the prospective students to learn what they want to do and what they can do. State officials also must look ahead in selecting the possible student to determine if he will be able to get a job after he has completed the training.

Then, the chosen student must wait his turn. There's a waiting list, varying in length, in nearly all 11 OSES offices which feed students to the center.

Working with the waiting list and acting as a "traffic policeman" in deciding how many students can come and from which offices is Robert Chapman, OSES district director in Jackson.

"It's a big job but we try to be fair about it," Mr. Chapman said. "Most of our courses can only handle 40 students in 1 period. We have to have quotas and allot so many from each of the area on the basis of how many are on the list and how many jobs are waiting to be filled."

Deciding what courses to teach—and when to change existing courses—is the function of the OSES and Federal officials. Before the center was opened, officials conducted a survey to learn which skills were most needed.

Then State educators were called in and given the simply said task: "We need such and such skills. We'll give you so many students and these facilities. You teach them but don't take too long about it."

Mr. Gingerich, Logan, former State education official, Mr. McClure, former Portsmouth, Ohio, high school vocational education teacher, and others took up the challenge, set up the curriculum, and recruited the 18 staff members.

"We had pretty much a free hand in deciding how to do it," Mr. McClure said. "We had some help from other programs but we're running a pilot program here so we couldn't get too much from other people's programs."

An enthusiastic spirit is in the air as the teachers help students learn to be draftsmen, clerk-typists, bookkeepers, clerk-stenographers, route salesmen, welders, machine tool operators, auto mechanics, auto service station mechanics, auto body repairmen, cooks-combination, groundskeepers, farm equipment mechanics, or custodians.

"Why did I stay?" mused Charles Greger, 20, New Richmond, a young draftsman to be. "I guess because I realized I was getting a chance here I wouldn't set anywhere else. I just decided if I was ever going to be anything—I'd better start working at it."

Mr. Greger came to Jackson because he couldn't find a job and because a State employment officer believed he was trainable. His high school mechanical drawing courses had not equipped him for any suitable work. All will be changed when he has finished at Jackson. He's already had an offer to join the State highway department's drafting department but he isn't sure he'll take the job. He may go on to college and take up architecture.

Mr. Greger and the other students receive from $20 to $50 a week in training allowances. The younger students receive less, naturally, than heads of families. Unemployment compensation also can be applied as training allowances.

The students also receive $5 per day subsistence allowances while in Jackson and 4½-cents-per-mile mileage in traveling between their homes and Jackson.

If they live beyond daily commuting distance, students stay with Jackson residents who cooperate with a city housing committee in providing rooms from $10 per week. The householders also help enforce nightly curfews and watch over students. Some students become almost members of the family.

The center may be considered many things: A symptom of economic problems, partial answer to unemployment and an indictment of the American school system.

Mr. McClure believes the need of a center is proof that many schools have failed their young graduates and dropouts.

"The center would not be needed if the American high school had properly equipped students for jobs—not college," he charged.

Mr. McClure pointed out current Labor Department statistics that showed high schools were doing a good job in preparing students for colleges. But he said only about 13 percent of the 70 million jobs in America needed college training. And fewer than that number of high school graduates will go to college, he said.

"Where does that leave the rest of the students?" Mr. McClure said as he toured the center's facilities. "In plenty of trouble. They have a pretty high school diploma but with no training of any kind. Or, even if they have had some shop or business training, the teachers probably have not ever held a job and don't know what industry wants.

"We want out students to be employable. That's our big job here—to get employers to take our students. And they're doing it. We have about a 70-percent rate of employment among our graduates.

"It's a lot higher in some courses. A shop-owner wanted to take our whole class of machinists awhile back. We couldn't let him have them yet. They've still got quite a bit of studying to do."

Technically, the Ohio State Employment Service is responsible for the job placement of the graduates. They help the newly skilled persons find jobs but they cannot force acceptance.

Many State and county agencies recruit strongly at the center, realizing the federally financed program can provide a good farm system for their operations (and at less cost to the Ohio taxpayer).

The emphasis upon linking hiring and training has troubled many people who fear the school isn't as interested in working with the middle-aged and the older unemployed because they are harder to place after training.

"The older person isn't quite so ready to take the training here: he's afraid of failing," Mr. McClure said. "But our groundskeeping and general building maintenance classes are made up of older men—and the employment rate has been high among graduates."

The road to opportunity apparently doesn't end in Jackson. It stretches as far as the traveler wants to go.

Establishing a National Policy for Wilderness Preservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I understand that this body may be very soon granted an opportunity, by approval of H.R. 9070, to establish a national wilderness preservation system and I most earnestly urge and hope the opportunity will be overwhelmingly grasped. From those who speak with the highest authority on these matters and some hundreds of my own discerning constituents, I have heard this bill described as one of the most important and far-reaching conservation measures ever to be placed before the Congress. The measure is designed to set up a system by which existing Federal agencies will take full measures to preserve wilderness values in the particular areas already under their jurisdiction. The bill also provides orderly procedures for additions, deletions, or changes in the wilderness preservation system as such may be indicated in the future.

Among its commendatory features this legislation proposes to set aside approximately 8 million acres of the national forest wilderness, wild and canoe areas for the national wilderness preservation system. Also it is suggested that some 5½ acres of primitive areas of the national forests and wilderness lands of park and wildlife refuge areas will be added during a 10-year review period, which review, I am happy to say, will be conducted by the Congress itself, periodically.

We have, Mr. Speaker, a legislative responsibility to establish guidelines for wise management of federally owned lands in order to assure that future generations will have the opportunity of enjoying the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness.

When we recently and overwhelmingly adopted the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act this House evidenced its interest and recognized its duty to provide adequate recreational opportunities for our expanding population that will be looking for better and healthier outlets for the greater leisure time that is anticipated. Prompt enactment of H.R. 9070 will add to that action by protecting certain designated federally owned acreage from unwarranted commercial intrusion.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 9070 is designed to preserve, for current and future generations, Federal land in its original state for the healthy use and enjoyment of all Americans who are interested in outdoor life and conservation and I trust it will be unanimously adopted in the near future.

A New Interpretation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1964, the Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette contained an editorial entitled "A New Interpretation." This editorial relates to the reapportionment of State legislatures, a matter about which the House has been recently concerned.

It is my view that this editorial is worthy of wide circulation among the membership of the Congress. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that it be made a part of the appendix of the RECORD for today.

[From the Gastonia (N.C.) Gazette, Aug. 19, 1964]

A NEW INTERPRETATION

It does seem odd that people, including Supreme Court justices, have been reading the Constitution for 175 years without ever noticing that it said both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned according to the one-man, one-vote principle.

Now that the current Supreme Court has unearthed this heretofore hidden meaning, most of the legislatures in the country and many of the State constitutions will have to be shook up and knocked about in an awful hurry, unless Congress acts in the waning days of the session.

Senators EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, and Frank O. LAUSCHE, Republican, of Ohio, have improvised a bill which will give America a little time to catch its breath and its legislatures time to ratify an amendment that will allow them to tailor themselves a little more to the liking of the people of their States than the Supreme Court's decision would allow.

We wish them success. Some of the legislatures so beset by the Court were in existence before the Congress itself. Of course, this doesn't make wrong right. And, as we see it, it is wrong to allow the rural areas to have more than their share of representation.

The thing that gripes us, naturally, is that the Supreme Court had to jump into this State-oriented problem and say what shall be and what shan't. We agree with Congressman BASIL WHITENER and others to the degree that if the Supreme Court can tell the States how to run their business in this direction, then there is no telling where such a practice might lead.

Still, we believe that the Court decided right in the one-man, one-vote ruling. Certainly as long as it was left up to rurally dominated legislatures to change the proportion of representation, it would never be changed.

It is well that the people of North Carolina saw its problem and did something about it in the "Little Federal" election. It gave to the cities their proper share of representation.

We would raise a question here. If the Court is right—that it is illegal to elect legislatures as per our past system—then the legislatures of the past have been illegally constituted.

Consequently, aren't the laws they passed void? Weren't the Federal elections that were held under these illegal laws void, too? Then, weren't the Presidents unlawfully elected? And who appointed the Court's nine Justices? A series of unlawfully elected Presidents.

This gets confusing, but not amusing.

Hawaii Celebrates Its Fifth Statehood Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii—the Aloha State—today commemorates the fifth anniversary of its admission to the Union. In the 5 years of statehood Hawaii has enjoyed unprecedented growth and prosperity. In this period the State has risen from 22d place in per capita income to 17th place among the 50 States.

It is with a sense of deep gratitude and a feeling of great pride that I address this august body, as a Representative of the people of Hawaii, for it was this House which first approved a statehood bill for Hawaii as early as 1947, paving the way for the final approval by both bodies of the Congress 12 years later.

For more than half a century the people of Hawaii had knocked on the congressional door seeking admission. Twenty-two congressional investigations were held. The results exhaustively cover 57 subjects, ranging from agriculture to war record. More than 6,300 printed pages, available in the Library of Congress, record the hearings held and the committee reports made. These include the record of 128 days of hearings and the testimonies of more than 700 witnesses. Thirty-nine Members of Congress visited Hawaii as investigating committees. The last four of these congressional committees overwhelmingly recommended immediate statehood for Hawaii, and I am happy to be serving now with those who served on those committees.

On March 11, 1959, the Senate approved the Hawaii statehood bill by a vote of 76 to 15, and on March 12, 1959, at 3:04 p.m., this great body voted 323 to 89 to admit Hawaii into the Union of States.

History will record that Hawaii became a part of the United States in a unique way. It was not by war or military occupation or by economic conquest or colonial exploitation. Hawaii became identified with the United States by an assimilation of the political and social ideals of America.

The first contacts between Americans and Hawaiians in the first half of the 19th century gave rise in Hawaiians to a profound tendency to identify themselves with the ideals of individual rights and liberties and representative government. Indeed, it was only 20 years after the first Christian missionaries from New England came to our islands that the Hawaiian people adopted their first constitution, which was modeled after the Constitution of the United States. This was in 1840, and as early as 1854 the Hawaiian people expressed their overwhelming desire to be annexed to this country. Mr. Speaker, I think that these facts are especially remarkable considering that the people of Hawaii at that time were almost entirely of Polynesian origin. A fact worth noting is that the tie which binds the people of Hawaii to the United States is not that of race or history, nor that of force or economic exploitation, but that of ideals freely accepted.

As a State, Hawaii continues to be as Mark Twain described it, "the loveliest fleet of islands anchored in any ocean." Its eternal spring climate, its swaying palm trees and lovely hula maidens beckon to its shores peoples from all parts of the world. Statehood fortunately has not changed this.

What has changed is the stronger awareness with which the people of Hawaii have assumed their responsibilities as full-fledged American citizens. They fully realize that Hawaii today represents the westernmost outpost of the American frontier, that it must serve as a bridge between the East and West for international cooperation for world peace.

Much has been written about Hawaii by anthropologists and sociologists, poets, and romanticists. All agree that Hawaii is "the showcase of American democracy" for all the world to see. There out in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, peoples of diverse cultures, have proven beyond a doubt that they can live together and work together in harmony and in concert toward their own social, political, economic, and cultural betterment. They have proven by actual experimentation that the ideals of Americanism can and will work.

It is for us here in the Congress of the United States to appreciate this truth. The people of Hawaii have proven to be one of our greatest assets in our struggle to maintain our friendship with the Afro-Asian nations. We must exploit the offerings of this new State to the fullest. Its east-west center is proving as one of the best investments in peace we have made in a long time—we must continue its support. As a training ground for the Peace Corps it has proven itself beyond expectations.

On this the 5th anniversary of statehood, the citizens of Hawaii cannot find words sufficiently in the superlative to sing praises to President Johnson. As a key Member of Congress who was largely responsible for the admission of Hawaii into the Union, the President has shown continued keen interest in the 50th State. His announcement today that 285 acres of Federal land will be returned to the State of Hawaii in the immediate future is strong evidence of this. We in Hawaii are truly fortunate to have such a great friend in the White House—a man who fully recognizes the great role which Hawaii and its people can play in furthering the interests of our great Nation.

To the Members of Congress who shared in the creation of Hawaii as the 50th State, I say for my people, "Thank you for granting us the status of first class citizens. We will not fail you."

Congressman Harding, of Idaho, Praises Local Soil Conservation Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH R. HARDING
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, yesterday this House passed a Department of Agriculture Appropriations bill containing a large appropriation for soil and water conservation. I was delighted with this House action as I firmly believe that one of the real challenges facing not only rural America, but all of America, is the adequate conservation of our soil and water resources. It is vital that we preserve our soil from erosion, from becoming cropped out, and from bad soil management practices.

By the same token, with the obvious water shortages already present and the dire threat of even greater water shortages in the years ahead, we owe it to our selves and to future generations to make the utmost use of every drop of

It is as a result of my sincere feeling on conservation and my great respect for the work of the Soil Conservation Service and the dedicated volunteers of local soil conservation districts that I testified before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture on April 6 of this year and recommended increased appropriations for our soil and water conservation program.

Following is the testimony that I pesented before the important Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee chaired by our able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] at that time:

CONGRESSMAN RALPH HARDING, DEMOCRAT, OF IDAHO, SECOND DISTRICT, TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, AGRICULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, APRIL 6, 1964

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your courtesy in allowing me to discuss my concern about our support of the national soil and water conservation program. It is a pleasure to be here again today.

I want to commend you for your past support of the programs for protection and improvement of our resources. Certainly these programs have given impetus to the continued growth of our Nation's economy and particularly of our Nation's rural areas. All of us have benefited from this important work. My purpose is to urge your continued strong support of this work.

As you well know, the key to the success of soil and water conservation efforts is the soil conservation district. This locally organized group of dedicated landowners and operators has shown that it can handle effectively the resource conservation and development job on its lands if given adequate support. Much of this support comes from the Federal Government in the form of technical assistance by the Soil Conservation Service.

The National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts indicates that this support needs to be greatly strengthened—that an additional $10 million is needed for Soil Conservation Service assistance to districts. More than 1,500 additional man-years of SCS technical help is needed—just to meet the present workload, I am informed.

In my own State of Idaho, the number of cooperators in the 54 districts increased by 1,500 during the past year to a total of 19,500. The districts, with assistance by the SCS, have helped less than half of these cooperators develop soil and water conservation plans. These plans are basic to conservation work, and we desperately need to get more of them made.

More help also is needed in planning and carrying out individual measures called for in the plans.

I know that this picture is repeated across the Nation. And the amount of SCS help per district has gradually decreased during the past 20 years from an average of 5.6 man-years in 1944 to about 3.2 in 1964.

As I emphasized in my testimony last year, if adequate technicians are not available, it can only serve to stifle local initiative and progress. This is continually underscored in the letters I receive from my State of Idaho. Typical of the concern expressed is the following excerpt from a letter written my office on March 12, by Byron Wayment, chairman, board of supervisors, West Cassia County Soil Conservation District, Burley, Idaho.

Writes Mr. Wayment, "Our board of supervisors have reviewed the cut in man-hour help in our district and it looks very discouraging. We have a fine district with a lot of ground to cover and not nearly enough help to get the job done. Unless we can have more assistance instead of less, we may as well hang up our hats and call it quits.

"I can see little value of us putting in our time and money unless we can have this technical help to assist us.

"We have worked hard in West Cassia the past 5 years to make this district a good one and we are just beginning to see and realize some of our efforts materialize. We certainly don't want to see this fall apart.

"If there was ever a time for people to wake up to the fact, that soil and water conservation is vital it is now, and this can only be done through cooperation of our Government and the people who live here."

And the Central Bingham Soil Conservation District, Blackfoot, Idaho, chairmaned by Alma Merrill, advises me of their desperate need for additional personnel in their annual report submitted the middle of March.

"The Central Bingham SCS is very much in need of additional soil conservation personnel to handle the work in our district.

"The intensive farming of irrigated land in our district will require considerably more technical assistance to get a balanced soil and water conservation program on this larger number of farming units."

If time permitted, I could read at length from letters and reports Idahoans have spent me expressing concern over the level of personnel provided to assist with the conservation of our natural resources.

Certainly one factor that makes this problem of technical help even greater is that SCS has been given additional responsibilities, some of them not funded. And much of the new work has been done with the staff provided to assist districts. Thus, time has been pulled away from helping district cooperators.

I don't have to tell you, Mr. Chairman, the tremendous value of the small watershed projects under Public Law 566. Through them, rural and urban groups are working together to prevent flooding and to provide water for farm and ranch, industrial, municipal and recreational use. The projects are an effective complement to the downstream flood-control work through the Army Corps of Engineers. This program has started slowly in Idaho, but interest now is accelerating.

Assistance should be available at the time heightened interest in a watershed reaches the stage when planning assistance is requested. When assistance is not available, there is a danger that local initiative and progress will be stifled.

The National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts estimates that an additional $7 million is needed for SCS help in watershed planning and operations to cope with present demands for assistance. I urge your support of SCS activities in this field. We cannot afford to let this program be curtailed.

As I pointed out to your subcommittee last year, watershed planning is particularly vital in Idaho. In the past the areas most severely damaged by floodwaters which have covered sections of our State have been the small farming areas in need of the kind of structural and land treatment assistance which can be provided under Public Law 566.

Let me state again that I would much prefer to provide funds now for adequate watershed development than to expend our tax money on flood recovery after the precious water has been lost and it has taken a terrific toll of public and private property.

For all these reasons we in Idaho are extremely concerned over the $925,000 reduction in watershed planning called for in the budget estimate.

Let me divert here for a moment to read you the reaction of Glenn Nelson, president of the Idaho Association of Soil Conservation Districts, to this cut in watershed funds.

"This item is very discouraging to us here in Idaho. Interest in the Public Law 566 watershed program is high, and we have several very prospective applications waiting for the SCS watershed planning party to work on. The lack of adequate technicians, due to the small allotment received for this program, has hampered our progress in this State in the past. We were able to get the State legislature to make a small contribution to this program this last year. With a slight increase in SCS funds, we could make a little progress; and decrease in planning funds would almost stop our watershed planning activities. We have just started to get this program moving in our State, and we sure hate to see it slowed down any."

If the time of the subcommittee permitted, I could give many specific examples of watershed programs which will be drastically affected by the sizable cutback provided for in the present budget.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, the Soil Conservation Service has technical responsibility for designated conservation measures of the agricultural conservation program administered by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. Cooperative agreements are worked out in each county between the ASCS County Committee and the SCS whereby not to exceed five percent of the county allotment is transferred to SCS which partly reimburses them for the work done.

The 1965 budget carries a reduced authorization for the ACP. This is of utmost concern to me as this will necessitate that the SCS reduce its trained staff by approximately 555 positions.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly recommend that provision be made to provide funds for these positions and that the committee strongly urge the increase of personnel ceilings for the SCS to cover these 555 positions and the additional ceiling positions for sufficient staff to carry out the program in soil conservation districts and the watershed work I have discussed.

I would also recommend as I have done previously before your subcommittee that adequate financial support be given the Snake River Conservation Field Station at Kimberly, Idaho. It is essential that we at least have the $400,000 budgeted for this station if its work is to move forward as the Congress originally intended.

Idaho is fortunate to have one of the first 10 resource conservation and development projects in the Nation.

Our district supervisors and others consider these projects to be a sound approach to areawide resource problems and opportunities, and are working well together on planning the project. It is hoped that the plan can be completed by November and operations started shortly thereafter.

I deeply appreciate your providing funds to move ahead with this program.

Mr. Chairman, I know that you and your subcommittee are as concerned as I am about protecting and improving our resources for the welfare, enjoyment, and use of all our people. I hope that you will continue to give the Soil Conservation Service the strong support it needs to carry on this worthwhile effort.

Small Business Must Be Encouraged and Preserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly believe it is our very deep legislative obligation and the practically unanimous intention of the Congress to make every reasonable effort to preserve and encourage the life and activities of small business which is the foundation stone of our private enterprise system.

Because of my belief I advocated and supported the original legislation, in 1953, that led to the establishment of the Small Business Administration, the first comprehensive agency of the Federal Government devoted wholly to small business problems. Before and since that time I have supported every sound legislative proposal projected for the particular benefit of small business in this country.

While this Congress has perhaps not accomplished as much for the wider encouragement of small business as most of us would have liked, we have nevertheless recognized their needs on appropriate legislative occasions.

For instance, Congress has thus far approved legislation granting special consideration to small corporations, those with taxable incomes of $25,000 or less, by providing tax cuts of about 27 percent; broadening and liberalizing existing authority to extend disaster loans to small enterprises; establishing, under the Economic Opportunity Act, a new program of loans over a 15-year period under greatly reduced collateral requirements; offering, under the new Housing Act, special FHA loan procedures for small business, in urban renewal areas, to improve and rehabilitate their property; authorizing SBA, under certain conditions, to increase the amount they can loan to small business investment

companies, from $400,000 to $700,000; and, among others, expanding the set aside program to assure small business a fairer share of Government contracts. I supported all of these legislative proposals.

Mr. Speaker, in an age and a time when the tendencies are toward greater business combines it is our high duty and obligation to provide all legislative insurance we reasonably can that small business, the lifeblood of our private enterprise system, is not suffocated. I most earnestly hope that we will never relax our concentration upon this objective so obviously in the national interest and for the national good.

Reapportionment Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the Kings Mountain (N.C.) Herald of August 20, 1964, had an editorial entitled "Reapportionment Issue." This editorial by my good friend, Martin Harmon, editor of the Herald, sets forth thoughts which I believe should be called to the attention of our colleagues in the House. I, therefore, under unanimous consent, make it a part of the Appendix of the RECORD for today:

REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE

Numerous bill have been introduced in Congress, to get aside, one way or another, the recent ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court, by vote of 6 to 3, setting forth the principle that the States must carve their legislatures in order that one legislator represents the same number of voters.

This ruling has been hailed by the big and bigger cities (Charlotte, for instance) as a boon to urban areas. The cities charge they have long been shorted in the business of government by the undue proportion of legislators representing rural areas, the cities doing the major portion of the paying and the rural areas the receiving.

Analyzed, this contention hardly holds water. Just as Shelby, for instance, benefits from commerce with the rural areas of Cleveland County, so does Charlotte benefit and thereby pay more taxes because of commerce with a wide area of the Piedmont, including neighboring South Carolina.

More important in this decision of the Supreme Court many consider wrong, is the fact that the Supreme Court has held unconstitutional in the States the provisions of the U.S. Constitution of the Federal Congress.

The Constitution is a masterpiece of compromise which, over nearly two centuries, has worked well. The Senate is based on geography, with each State, no matter its size or population, given two Senators. The House of Representatives is based on population, with each State required to increase or decrease the size of its districts following each decennial census. The recent census, for instance, cost North Carolina one House Member, with Florida and California the major gainers.

Reason for this arrangement stemmed from fear of the small and less populated States that "big boys" would run over them roughshod. It's a patent safeguard acknowledged by any student of human nature. There's a great tendency of the man (or group) with the power to forget the needs, sensibilities, and feelings of the minority. In years peast, for instance, the University of Tennessee football team just couldn't stop, as it rolled over little Chattanooga. Was the game score 100 to 6?

The Congress will do well to delay effective date of this Supreme Court split decision, whether it adopts the bill of Representative BASIL WHITENER, of North Carolina, or Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, or some other.

The Great Bail Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the June 6, 1964, edition of the New Republic.

The shocking situation which has grown up over the years in this aspect of the administration of justice—the providing of bail for those charged with crime—cannot be allowed to continue. The Congress should examine this problem with the greatest care and see to it that legislation to correct the inequalities of the bail system as it relates to the Federal courts is enacted during the 89th Congress.

The article follows:

THE GREAT BAIL SCANDAL

(By Ronald Goldfarb)

Justice Robert Jackson once wrote that "* * * the spirit of the [bail] procedure is to enable [defendants] to stay out of jail until a trial has found them guilty." The National Bail Conference which was held in Washington over the last few days under the sponsorship of the Justice Department and the Vera Foundation, with a financial grant from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, proved that this spirit is neglected and perverted in the United States today. The conference was a direct result of the recommendations of Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Committee on Poverty and the Administration of Criminal Justice; the setting up of the committee was also an early reconnoiter for the current war against poverty.

The American judicial system always included a right to bail, and our early frontier days gave birth to professional bondsmen who, for a fee, assumed the responsibility of getting people to the court on time. All the States have constitutional or statutory provisions establishing some right to bail. A Federal statute also grants the right to bail, and the eighth amendment to the Constitution forbids excessive bail.

There is only one legitimate reason for bail—to assure the presence of an accused at trial. But an examination of the operations of the American bail system shows the bail system plays into the hands of the organized criminal while it discriminates against the poor one or the one who commits an isolated criminal act; it is a vehicle for discrimination; it can and does subvert the judicial process; and it is frequently applied improperly as a form of punishment. As the Yale Law Journal recently observed, the evolution of our bail practices "* * * seems to have occurred without any clear perception of the functions bail ought to serve, with the result that the institution of bail currently consists of an incoherent amalgam of old and new ideas serving more to defeat than to achieve the aims of the criminal process."

A number of studies have shown that the majority of defendants cannot make bail over $500. Since the premium for a $500 bond is only $50, this indicates that the amount of bail required of a defendant may be very low but at the same time may be excessive.

Some recent studies have compared the fate of defendants on bail with that of defendants in jail before trial. The results of these studies—in California, Philadelphia, and New York City—are alarming. Grand juries dismissed charges against defendants on bail more often than they did charges against defendants in jail. More jailed defendants were convicted at trial than were defendants on bail; of the defendants who were convicted, more of those who had been on bail received suspended sentences than did those who were in jail. More defendants who were in jail before trial went to jail after trial than did bailed defendants. In one study, 53 percent of those jailed before trial were acquitted; they were detained for no reason except their poverty. Pretrial detention ran for periods averaging over a month, often much longer. And the detention prisons were worse than the institutions where the convicted criminals were sent. Juveniles are thrown into these pretrial prisons with hardened criminals. The whole situation screams of inequality.

Pretrial incarceration is not only an ordeal for the individual in jail, but an unnecessary expense for society. The defendant is punished before he is tried, and whether or not the ultimate verdict is guilty or not guilty. The defendant is also handicapped in assisting his defense. His chance of obtaining acquittal is lessened. It could also be argued that a defendant who is in jail before trial is prejudiced in the psychological tactics and strategies of trial. Although you can never prove this, I think it is likely that a defendant who is brought in to court from the "bull pen" after spending a period of time in jail and who is escorted in and out of the courtroom by a marshal, bears a stigma before the court and jury which is not shared by the defendant who comes into court well-groomed, with his attorney.

Not only then are innocent men jailed before trial, some may be convicted at trial as a result of having been in jail before trial. And to compound the inequality, the defendant who proves his capacity for rehabilitation while he is out on bail stands a better chance to avoid a jail sentence if he is convicted.

The defendant who is incarcerated often loses his job or his earning capacity during the time he is in jail. Since most of these men are low income earners, their families suffer and may be forced on to relief. Not only must we pay all the costs of maintaining these men in jail, which runs into millions of dollars, but we also have to bear the brunt of higher welfare rolls when pretrial detention forces a family on to relief.

THE 12,955 JUVENILES

New York Supreme Court Justice Bernard Botein, a critic of the current bail system, pointed out that in New York City alone in 1962, 58,458 people were imprisoned to await trial. Of these, 12,955 were adolescents. The average period of time adults spent in jail before trial was 28 days; the adolescents averaged 32 days. The total number of days spent in jail by these individuals in 1 year was 1,755,788. When you consider that it costs between $5 and $10 a day to keep these people in jail by the minimum standards, you can appreciate the staggering cost to the community which this practice causes.

Although the only legitimate purpose of bail is to assure the presence of the accused at trial, a recent study of the Philadelphia magistrate's court indicated that other criteria were used. Judges often used bail to punish certain individuals and certain acts. From actual court records: "I'll make it $1,500—that will hold anybody"; "I feel that the man should be punished and I don't feel that $500 bail is sufficient"; "All right, I don't like hit-and-run drivers"; "He is a Puerto Rican: what a bum"; "Anyone who hits his father ought to be electrocuted"; "I am going to make an example of you"; "I'm tired of seeing you in front of me; I'll hold you on $2,500 bail for court"; "Maybe that will keep you in for a while."

The levity and lunacy which often characterizes bail proceedings are typified by an actual colloquy:

Defendant: "What do you mean, holding me without bail?"

Magistrate: That means you will be kept in jail for 2 or 3 weeks until this case can be decided by a higher court."

Defendant: "You mean I got to stay here all that time?"

Magistrate: "Are you kicking? Why, lots of guys jump ship just so they can stay here."

American society gave birth to the commercial bail bondsman. He is functionless and too often personally unsavory as well. In many cases bondsmen are convicted felons. In one case I tried, when I considered calling a bondsman as a witness to a particular conversation, my colleagues had to remind me that by calling him I would be vouching to the court for his veracity. That was that. Too many bail bondsmen overcharge the disadvantaged, fee-split with the venal of the bar, and cater to the racketeers. Grand jury after grand jury has condemned every aspect of the bonding business. The bondsman is a strange bedfellow of the judge, over whose bail decisions he has a power of veto.

The law requires the judge to set bail. It does not require the bondsman to provide bail. Even if a defendant is a good risk, the bondsman can withhold his assistance for any reason or for no reason. In 50 percent of the cases arising in metropolitan areas, bondsmen refuse to provide bail. In doing this, they intrude upon and pervert the judicial system. This arbitrary act can undo the whole bail system. As Judge Skelly Wright said in a recent opinion: "* * * the effect of such a system is that * * * professional bondsmen hold the keys to the jail in their pockets * * * the band risks, in the bondsmen's judgment, and the ones who are unable to pay the bondsmen's fees, remain in jail. The court and the commissioner are relegated to the relatively unimportant chore of fixing the amount of bail * * *."

While high bonds keep the poor in jail, they are mere idle gestures to the organized criminal. For the bigtime racketeer, bonds are often written as favors, with no collateral, without any care about the risk of flight, or as part of an overall business arrangement. In many cities the racketeers provide the bondsmen with constant business. A classic example is provided by the numbers business. When a "writer" or some other underling is arrested, an unknown and uncalled-for attorney and bondsman will often appear for him in court. The man is "sprung" and within hours may be back on the street writing numbers bets. It's getting so we even have "socialized" crime.

Bail can be used to discriminate against the unpopular. In the civil rights cases, some bondsmen who would have provided bail (their economic interests being stronger than their social ideas) did not because of conflicting business pressures. This situation has become acute recently. Many people have been charged with minor criminal offenses like disturbing the peace, disorderly conduct and trespass in the lower courts of metropolitan areas. Without access to bail these individuals can be forced to languish in sordid jails for long periods of pretrial detention. Judges are equally guilty when they use bail as a weapon against civil rights demonstrators.

BAIL JUMPING

The bondsman has a sinecure for no reason. A study showed that over $7 million worth of bail covering about 10,000 bonds was written in Philadelphia in 1950. Yet the highest percentage of bail jumping there occurred in cases where bail was covered by "professional" bondsmen. In New York when uncooperative district attorneys threatened to enforce forfeitures rigidly, bondsmen struck, causing needless incarceration and overcrowding of the city's detention facilities. In Tulsa, when the community became fed up with the practices of local bondsmen, a bar committee came up with a substitute plan which has worked better, driven several bondsmen out of town, and saved hundreds of thousands of dollars in a short time.

Again and again it has been shown that there are better ways to assure that defendants will show up for trial than relegating the responsibility to bondsmen. To think that forfeiture of the average premium (usually 10 percent of the amount of the bond) will deter flight is unrealistic. Moreover, there are adequate alternatives to deal with the defendant who flees. Bail-jumping statutes which treat this as a crime are sufficient to cover these few cases. Some courts treat fleeing as contempt and deal with it summarily. Modern means of detection are such that the law usually catches up with the wanted. And proof of flight can be offered against a defendant in a trial as evidence of his consciousness of guilt. Finally, natural deterrents like lack of money to hide indefinitely, or ties to home, people, and community all minimize the problem for which bail is now the main solution. The bondsman should be replaced.

Toward the end of 1960, Louis Schweitzer, an interested citizen, became troubled by the knowledge that many indigents spent long periods of time in jail awaiting trial because they did not have the money to make bail. Often young first offenders were thrown together with hardened criminals. Schweitzer set up the Vera (Schweitzer's mother's name) Foundation, "a non-profit charitable institution, whose principal purpose is to further equal protection of the laws for the indigent through research into neglected aspects of criminal law." In October 1961, the first Vera project began in the magistrate's felony court and the court of special sessions in New York City. The director of the Vera Foundation, Herbert Sturz, and a small staff of NYU Law School students interviewed defendants during the brief time between arrest and arraignment. They asked a series of set questions aimed at establishing the individual's ties to the community. The interviewer then made a decision, based on set criteria, whether there were grounds to make a favorable recommendation to the court. If there were and if the accused was one of a random number selected, a Vera representative recommended to the court that the individual be released without bail. A summary of the Vera data was given to the judge, the defense lawyer, and the prosecutor.

Between October 16, 1961, and April 8, 1964, the Manhattan bail project interviewed approximately 10,000 defendants in this fashion, and recommended almost 4,000 of these for release on their own recognizance. Of these, 2,600 defendants have been released on their own recognizance, and only 23, less than 1 percent, have "jumped."

During the same period of time, bailed defendants "jumped" three times as often as did Vera defendants, indicating that sound investigation of a defendant is a more reliable criterion for pretrial release than is his ability to make bail. The poor are punished and the rich are not deterred under the present bail system.

The work of the Vera Foundation has moved other cities to reexamine their bail systems and to adopt experimental projects modeled after the Manhattan project. The American Bar Association established a committee on bail which is now carrying on studies in 11 major cities. The Department of Justice is urging release of defendants on their own recognizance wherever possible in Federal cases. Several new bills have just been proposed in the Senate.

In 1927, Arthur Lawton Beeley wrote a book about the operation of the bail system in Chicago. He pointed out that many people incarcerated before trial were youngsters and that a large number of them were acquitted; that many of them were not transients but had solid ties in the community; that half of them had favorable references, and only one-quarter of them had ever been imprisoned before; and that one-sixth of them had pathological problems warranting hospitalization instead of penal incarceration. He also urged that a summons should be used as an alternative to arrest before trial; that pretrial detention lasted too long; that the amounts of bail were determined arbitrarily; that bondsmen were too often used, and that the role of the bondsman was inflated. The book was radical in its time. Sadly, its conclusions would hold true and its suggestions might be considered radical by some, today! The same injustices Beeley found in 1927 can be found in 1964. The whole area of bail needs change, if not total reform. For those who are interested, the minutes of the recent National Bail Conference could be a thesaurus.

Temporary Retention of "1964" on All Coins

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I trust this House will adopt, without delay, this bill, H.R. 11893, designed to meet the very critical shortage in coin supply that is increasingly developing.

Many businesses in my area are acutely distressed and harassed in their normal operations by the lack of coins and the evidence shows this condition to be prevalent throughout the country.

This measure, therefore, is projected as a wise and restrained method, of temporary nature, to relieve the hardships and inconveniences being visited upon businessmen and customers alike from the current shortage of coins.

Mr. Speaker, we just cannot afford the continuing diversion of vast amounts of new coins for speculative investment purposes at this time; these coins are urgently needed for normal commerce transactions. The Treasury and other authorities have recommended this legislation as a wise way to discourage the continued hoarding of 1964 dated coins by making such practice uneconomical.

Mr. Speaker, the need for this bill is obviously urgent; it is in the overwhelming national interest and I hope it will be expediently enacted without delay.

Our Tragic African Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, in the paper this morning the press carried an article about two Americans disappearing in the Congo.

Mr. Speaker, this just indicates and illustrates our inadequate African policy—for which tragedy—America cannot escape her measure of criticism. By our acts of omission and commission, we have been part and parcel to the program employed by the United Nations which has led to the current debacle in the Congo.

One has only to review the early days of the fight of Tshombe to save his country to find out what our State Department did to this man. He tried every way on earth to be our friend, yet his efforts were spurned and his dignity insulted by our Government.

He was even refused a visa to visit this country.

Our military transports were used in the move to drive him from his homeland. But now, he has returned and here we are. We find our State Department telling the American people how distressed our Government is over the plight of the Congo.

Mr. Speaker, the crime of the Congo has been the crime of the United Nations.

We belong to the United Nations and I am not a bit proud of it. In this connection, I am enclosing a speech and I prepared on our African policy many weeks ago. I believe it is now time to make its contents known.

The speech follows:

OUR TRAGIC AFRICAN POLICY

Our African policy needs a careful and thorough review for there are many indications it is a failure which will have serious and perhaps disastrous consequences.

Our policy for the Dark Continent seems to be a very simple one. We oppose colonialism and apparently our definition of colonialism is a situation in which Negroes oppose whites. The United States has been the primary factor in the so-called freedom wave which has swept both Africa and Asia. We have pressured France, Britain, Belgium, and Portugal to give up their territories. In Africa, numerous new states have been created since the end of World War II. There are only a few white enclaves left and these are concentrated south of the former Belgian Congo. The giant provinces of Angola and Mozambique still are Portuguese territory and South Africa is firmly in white hands. But, elsewhere in Africa the whites have relinquished power or are in the process of doing so.

Obviously, old style colonialism could not be maintained indefinitely in Africa. But just as obviously, independence for the former colonial areas was not the answer to every problem. Not every mistake or mishap in Africa is this country's fault. Yet, as I have stated, we did pressure our former allies to get out and get out fast.

As a result, the continent has gone backwards. The civilization which the former colonial powers built has eroded; dictators control many of the new countries; many of these leaders and their favorites live on a profligate scale; the condition of the masses is worse than it was when independence came. There is little prospect of improvement but there are plenty of indications that the situation will get worse.

Nevertheless, we seem to have learned nothing by experience. This country has taken the lead in attempting to force the Portuguese out of Angola and Mozambique. Once that event takes place, we probably will try to throw out the South Africans.

Let me point out to you that we backed the United Nations attack on Tshombe in the former Belgian Congo. To all intent and purpose, this was our fight and it was pursued for motives which still remain obscure. The African nations wanted Tshombe crushed, the latter being a friend of the whites in the Congo. Our own Negro leaders also wanted the defeat of Tshombe. Perhaps these factors were decisive in our decision to convert the U.N., established to keep world peace, into an instrument of war.

Our State Department has tried to represent the downfall of Tshombe and the so-called unification of the Belgian Congo as a great victory. Actually, the Belgian Congo is torn to pieces. The situation in the Congo is so chaotic that it will take years for that unhappy country to reach the degree of stability and order which it had prior to independence.

If our dislike of Tshombe is a mystery, our attitude towards Portugal is even more so. In March, 1961, a group of terrorists invaded Angola from the Belgian Congo. They killed and tortured without mercy, being finally defeated and driven out by the aroused settlers and Portuguese troops.

Coincidentally with the invasion of Angola, the United Nations Security Council considered a resolution calling for an inquiry into conditions in the Province. To the amazement and consternation of Portugal, a NATO member and longtime friend of the United States, this country voted for the resolution.

Shortly afterward, the United States voted in the U.N. General Assembly for an inquiry into the situation in Angola, the Security Council resolution having failed despite our vote for it. But before any inquiry could begin, we voted for a resolution before the Security Council which called upon the Portuguese to "desist forthwith from repressive measures in Africa." This resolution carried.

In reality, we voted at the Security Council to condemn the Portuguese for defending themselves against the terrorists, whose atrocities are beyond description. A most distinguished columnist, Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, pointed out somewhat wryly that our censure of the Portuguese prior to any investigation of the fighting in Angola amounted to "a form of lynch law."

The Belgian Congo furnishes an example of what happens to a colony which achieves freedom before it is ready for it. Not only will it take a long time to undo the damage already done, but our own poor taxpayers must pay a large part of the bill. The United States has put more than $200 million into the Congo, to say nothing of U.N. funds which we furnished indirectly. Our taxpayers will be shelling out for a long time to come.

I don't think there is a single new state in Africa which isn't worse off now than when it gained its independence. The trend was summarized in a series of articles this year by Arthur Veysey, London correspondent, of the Chicago Tribune. He wrote from Lagos, Nigeria:

"To travel through Africa 10 years ago was an exciting experience. Everywhere buildings, from proud city skyscrapers to neat one-room houses, were rising. New fields were being cleared and planted, pastures contoured to save water and soil, schools and hospitals opened.

"Each year fewer people were going to bed on the ground, hungry, cold, and sick. Fewer babies were dying. Everywhere people of all races were full of hope.

"Then came independence for most of the colonial countries.

"To travel through Africa today is a saddening, heartsearing ordeal. Building has stopped or slowed down, productive fields are going back to unproductive bush, idleness has increased, standards, both physical and moral, are slipping.

"People who so short a time ago saw an ever-brightening future, today ponder how bad things can get."

Even under the best of circumstances, many of the new countries cannot exist. They simply do not have the resources necessary for statehood. The well-known African geographer, George H. T. Kimble, has pointed out that only five or six of the new nations were viable. Among these he named Nigeria, Uganda, the Belgian Congo, the Sudan, Tanganyika and Ghana. He did not predict that these six had bright futures, or would remain as entities. He simply said they could get along if they were run right. But they aren't being run right. Without exception, I think most of them are in bad shape today. Under the policies being pursued at present, they will continue to go downhill.

The independence wave in Africa has been followed by a series of unpleasant developments. Increasingly, the Afro-Asian bloc at the U.N. has become racist. They violate the charter frequently and with impunity. Not too long ago, the bloc used the U.N. as a forum for assaults on Portugal and South Africa. They are using the world organization as a megaphone in their campaign to drive Portugal and South Africa out of Africa, itself. They cry colonialism, which has come to be a very bad word, indeed, but they have no interest whatever in the colonialism practiced by Russia and the Red Chinese.

During the U.N. debate, the world's greatest colonial power cheered the Afro-Asian bloc on and took an active part in the proceedings. Our representatives at the U.N. sat by straight faced and let Russia get away with cynical and blatant hyprocrisy. The U.N. has greatly damaged its prestige by its irresponsibility during the past few years. Regardless of the propaganda in its behalf, its destruction is likely unless it mends its ways.

Our own Negro leaders should be the first to criticize the U.N. for racism. Their goal in this country, or so they say, is complete integration. They do not want to be judged on the basis of skin color. Yet, curiously enough, they back racism in Africa. The Negro papers denounce not only South Africa, which practices apartheid, but the multiracial Portuguese. The latter, alone among the European colonizing nations, eschew discrimination based on skin color. Many Negroes have risen to high positions in the Portuguese African territories. But Dr. Martin Luther King, James Farmer, Roy Wilkins, and almost every prominent Negro leader denounces the Portuguese. They say they are not sincere and, in effect, argue for Negro rule in Angola and Mozambique because the Negroes are in the majority. If that argument is turned around, the whites should rule in this country. They are not only greatly in the majority but they settled North America and developed it. Sometimes I wonder whether our Negro leaders are as sincere as they profess to be. If they are sincere, they would be greatly exercised over the wrongs done the whites in Africa, or so it seems to me. Along with their denuncia-

tion of southern leaders in this country, they would be denouncing racists like Tubman in Liberia, Mboya in Kenya, and Nkrumah in Ghana.

I wonder sometimes also about the sincerity of our anticolonial policy. I cannot understand why our spokesmen at the U.N. and the State Department are so quiet, not to say supine, in the face of Russian colonialism. We seem also not to mind Red Chinese colonialism in the least. Tears for Tibet long since ceased to flow, and we actually are talking about closer relations with the Russian regime in Hungary. We were greatly upset at the brutal massacre of the Hungarian revolutionists, but now our anger has abated. Our ire seems to be directed toward Western leaders like De Gaulle and friendly countries like Portugal.

Moreover, I am astonished at our part in making Dutch New Guinea an Indonesian colony. The story is long and involved but the purport is clear. Dutch New Guinea is a primitive area lying between Australia and Indonesia. As the name indicates, it formerly belonged to Holland. As customary, we told the Dutch to get out. They agreed and suggested that New Guinea be turned over to the U.N. for an interim period. About that time, Sukarno, the cocky little Indonesian rules, decided he wanted New Guinea. Why, I do not know. This country is mostly jungle and is inhabited by a race called Papuans, a backward, tribal people. The former Dutch New Guinea had no economic political, or ethnic ties with Indonesia. That didn't matter. This country helped Sukarno and a deal was worked out. The net result: Sukarno took over the Papuans. Instead of being heartily ashamed of this breach of principle, our officials were very complacent about it. They seemed pleased that they had been able to do something for Sukarno, a dictator with close Communist ties.

I have tried very hard to understand our African policy. The best explanation, when its defects and consequences are pointed out, is that the whites cannot maintain a foothold in Africa. The Portuguese say that Angola and Mozambique are as much a part of their country as Hawaii and Alaska are part of the United States. Our Government pays no attention to such statements. Our officials simply shrug and say that the Portuguese cannot hold on. Nor does it help to point out that Angola and Mozambique are thriving and prosperous by comparison with the new states on the continent. Obviously, if the Portuguese are forced out we'll see a repetition of the Congo mess all over again. Once again, our taxpayers will be handed the bill.

Our Government says it wants the Portuguese to make concessions. We should know that no concession made by the Portuguese will suffice, short of complete surrender. The drive against the Portuguese seems to have little support in Angola and Mozambique, themselves. If it had such support, the new African nations wouldn't be threatening an invasion of the provinces. After the first attack on Angola in 1961, the terrorists have never been able to muster any strength. If they had any real following inside Angola, there would have been trouble all along. Also, in view of the demoralized situation inside almost every new African state, it would seem that the first order of business would be to try to set some things right at home. But no, they are united on one thing—they want to end all white authority in Africa and the consequences don't seem to worry them in the least.

The Arab countries, including Ben Bella, Algerian dictator and friend of Castro, also want to drive out the whites. As an aside, I might say to the new Negro nations that they have a lot more to fear from the Arabs than from the remnants of white rule in Africa. After all, the Arabs were the original African slave traders.

Our Government seems to feel that events in Africa constitute a triumph in the cold war. None of the new African nations are avowedly Communist, although several are very close to Russia. The real Communist threat in Africa is demoralization. If the trend continues, the Communists can pick up the pieces. The ruling politicians in Africa have made a lot of promises. They told their people that things would be great after the whites were gone. Instead things get worse and worse. Below the rulers are younger politicians, impatient with the way things are going. They are more radical than existing leaders and much closer to the Communists. If the State Department wants to know what is likely to happen in Africa, I suggest that somebody take a look at the recent revolution in the former French Congo. This is a most ominous portent. I suggest also that the Russians are all for driving the Portuguese out of Africa. They support, most enthusiastically, this part of our policy. They are not doing it out of concern for the African natives.

This doctrine that certain events are foreordained does not convince me. If colonialism is dead, does that include Communist colonialism? Is it written in the stars that we must pursue a course which tears Africa to pieces? Would it not be the part of wisdom and commonsense to try to work out an African program which would include sensible cooperation between the Negroes and the whites? The needs of Africa are almost limitless. If we are to back racism and irresponsibility, Africa cannot possibly hope to get the money and help from white technicians and administrators which it must have. Surely, there are Negro leaders in Africa who have some sense of reality. But they have no reason to show it so long as the United States, itself, pursues an irresponsible course.

The only logical explanation of our African policy is that our own Negro leaders want it. Otherwise, it makes no sense. If this is the case, our own Negro leaders must take a long, sober look at the situation. They have their hands full in this country. Eventually, their double standard on racism will become known. They cannot have it both ways, even though they are getting away with it now. When the American people realize that we have brought disaster on ourselves in Africa and disaster on Africa also, some of the blame will go to our Negro spokesmen. That blame will stand squarely in the way of the objectives which our Negroes profess to seek in the United States.

Some American Negroes, I am sorry to say, are talking race war on a world scale—the colored races against the whites. I suggest this idea be closely examined. The Red Chinese are singing that song, but the Red Chinese are racists, themselves. They think their race is vastly superior to all others and have thought so for a long time. The colored races do not get along too well. I think our Negroes should take time out to study events in British Guiana on the east coast of South America. That country is torn to pieces. Why? There is a veritable race war going on between the Indians, who are not native but immigrants from India, and the Negroes.

There are only about 200 million Negroes in the world. There are about 1 billion whites, 1 billion of the yellow race, and 1 billion of the brown-red race. If the whites should lose in a world race war, the Negroes would be the next to lose. For race war, once begun on a vast scale, would not end with the defeat of the whites. It would continue and the Negroes, being in the minority, would find their situation infinitely worse than it has ever been.

The Toll of Rising Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 27, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, another pamphlet has just been released by the Conference on Economic Progress, and the subject is of interest to all of us: "The Toll of Rising Interest Rates—The One Great Waste in the Federal Budget." Of course, I do not necessarily agree with all the policy conclusions in the conference report, but I most sincerely recommend its perusal as food for thought. The summary and theme of the report follows:

I. SUMMARY AND THEME: "WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?"

OUR UNMET NATIONWIDE NEEDS

Despite an economy yielding more than $600 billion in goods and services a year, and a Federal budget of $98 billion, every proposal to deal more vigorously with the unmet needs of our people and our Nation is met by the question: "Where's the money coming from?"

About 34 million Americans still live in poverty. With due allowance for private and State and local action, a war to the finish against poverty would entail additional Federal budget outlays of at least $5 billion a year for this specific purpose. But the Federal budget for fiscal 1965 contains only half a billion dollars net for the new antipoverty package.

We have hardly commenced to catch up with our unmet needs in education, health services and research, housing and urban renewal, mass transportation, and resource development. Yet, the fiscal 1965 Federal budget represents a downward trend in outlays for all domestic purposes, when measured validly against population and national production.

The root causes of rising racial tensions will not be removed until the States and localities spend much more to combat bad housing, bad schools, and high unemployment. But again, where is the money coming from? Comparing 1963 with 1952, while the Federal debt rose only somewhat more than 16 percent, State and local debts rose about 200 percent.

In their private lives, the 66 million Americans who live in poverty or deprivation (above stark poverty, but below a minimum adequacy standard) wonder where the money is coming from to increase their incomes, lift the handicaps fastened upon their children, and brighten their hopes.

HUGE WASTE IN THE FACE OF HUGE WANTS IS INTOLERABLE

If we use our productive resources more fully and expedite our rate of economic growth, this will generate more money for all purposes. But never can we afford to waste recklessly and remorselessly billions of dollars in money and wealth already available to us, nor to distribute inequitably the money which already courses through the arteries of our economic life.

The prime example of waste and inequity in public affairs is tight money and rising interest rates, the policy of the independent Federal Reserve System which commenced in earnest around 1952 and still persists. Whether we are spending inefficiently or too much for national defense or the farm pro-

gram—or some other programs—is a matter of judgment or degree; for none can question that we now need vast national defense, and programs to stabilize farm prices and protect farm income. But the Federal Reserve policy has imposed scores of billions of dollars of rising interest costs upon private and public borrowers for no useful purposes, thus rendering them less able to serve essential purposes. The policy has been fraught also with injustice, transferring these scores of billions in rising interest payments to those who should do without this unconscionable income supplementation.

This monetary extravaganza has not abated. From mid-1963 to mid-1964, the rate of expansion of the money supply was drastically tightened. Correspondingly, during the first 5 months of 1964, compared with the first 5 months of 1963, the rates of interest on new borrowings by the Federal Government rose 6.1 percent for long-term bonds; 16.5 percent for 3–5 year issues; 22.1 percent for 9–12 month issues; and 20.8 percent for 3 month bills. And this leads to higher interest payments by all.

MAGNITUDES OF THE INTEREST-PAYMENT EXTRAVAGANZA

For the 11-year period 1953 to 1963 inclusive, the rising interest rates in themselves imposed an excess interest cost of $15.7 billion upon the Federal budget, $2.3 billion upon States and localities, and $32.1 billion upon all private borrowers, for a grand total of $50.1 billion. Estimated for 1964 alone, the excess interest costs will be more than $3½ billion upon the Federal budget (about 40 percent of the Federal deficit for fiscal 1964), and more than $10 billion upon all public and private borrowers.

If the prevalent monetary policy continues, the excess interest costs, during the 7 years 1964–70 inclusive, are estimated as $27.3 billion upon the Federal budget, $6.6 billion upon States and localities, $54.8 billion upon private borrowers, for a grand total of $88.7 billion—an average of $12.7 billion a year, and $15.4 billion in 1970 alone.

WHY NOT HELP THE POOR INSTEAD?

The excess interest charges against the Federal budget, as estimated for calendar 1964 alone, are enough to increase by 46 percent the total outlays proposed in the fiscal 1965 budget for education, health services and research, housing and community development, public assistance, and labor, manpower, and other welfare services—these being programs most relevant to the war against poverty. The excess interest costs in the budget, as estimated for the calendar years 1964–70, would be enough to increase the total proposed fiscal 1965 outlays for all of these programs by 54 percent—for all fiscal years from 1965 through 1971.

Viewing next the nationwide costs of rising interest rates upon all public and private borrowers during the period 1953–63, alternative private and public economic policies, if they had turned this amount of income flow in a more wholesome direction, could in each year have lifted the average annual incomes of all American familes living in poverty (below $3,000 a year) from $1,778 to $2,295, or more than two-fifths of the way out of the poverty cellar. And the estimated nationwide excess interest payments, for the period 1964–70, involve an amount sufficient to lift above the poverty level in each year all families in the United States now living in poverty.

It is not suggested that the amounts involved in these excess-interest payments should have been, or henceforth should be, redirected exclusively to the war against poverty. But we have gone far astray, when we combine the monumental waste of rising interest payments with the plea that the money is not available to do what we can least afford to neglect.

THE LARGER DAMAGE WROUGHT BY THE PREVALENT MONETARY POLICY

The average annual expansion of the money supply by only 1.8 percent during the past 11 years has been probably less than half the rate of expansion required to float an adequate U.S. economic performance. In addition, the serious aggravation of income maldistribution by rising interest rates has contributed even more powerfully to our economic troubles, caused primarily by oversaving and overinvestment in the means of production, relative to expansion of private consumption and public demand for goods and services. Thus, the prevalent monetary policy bears large responsibility for the poor economic performance which has caused us to forfeit, since early 1953, about $530 billion of total national production (measured in 1963 dollars) through first quarter 1964, and about 32 million man-years of employment opportunity through second quarter 1964. And we risk forfeiting almost $700 billion of national production and about 40 million man-years of employment opportunity, during 1964 to 1970, inclusive, if the prevalent monetary policy (and some other national economic policies) persist.

As for the inflation at times since 1953, some prices and incomes have risen too fast, while other prices and incomes were rising too slowly or actually falling, and these distortions have hurt the whole economy. In this connection, the redistribution of income and the allocation of credit through the prevalent monetary policy have served only to feed the fat and starve the lean. Our balance of payments and gold difficulties have stemmed primarily from the poor performance of the American economy during the past 11 years, compared with excellent performance by some competitor economies in the free world. The prevalent monetary policy, by damaging us at home, has worsened our gold and balance-of-payments problem.

PROPOSED NEW POLICIES

1. Congress should require that the Federal Reserve assure an annual rate of expansion in the money supply roughly in accord with the goal for economic growth set forth annually in the President's Economic Report. This would keep interest rates within bounds.

2. Congress should concentrate authority to regulate the money supply in the Federal Reserve Board, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, instead of having this function share with five additional members of the Federal Open Market Committee, drawn from private banks. Vital public functions should be publicly exercised.

3. Congress should require that each Economic Report of the President deal in full with monetary problems and policies, to achieve integration of monetary policy with other basic national economic policies.

4. Toward further strengthening the President's hand, the 14-year terms of the members of the Federal Reserve Board should be reduced to 4 years; and the term of the Chairman should be made coextensive with that of the President, who should also have clear legislative authority to designate a new Chairman at any time from among Board members.

5. Because aggregate enlargement or contraction of the money supply tends to strengthen the strong and weaken the weak, both legislative and Presidential action should move the Federal Reserve toward more selective monetary controls.

6. Even prior to the needed legislation, the President and the Congress, as well as private economic leadership, should enlarge the understanding and interest of the American people, with respect to monetary policies which so greatly affect their opportunities and projects.

This study has been directed by Leon H. Keyserling, with the assistance of Philip M. Ritz and Antoinette Chautampe. Appreciation is due Lawrence A. Leonard for earlier spade work when on the staff of the conference.

Tribute to the East-West Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the ways in which Hawaii is contributing to the greatness of this Nation and to world peace is the effective maintenance of the East-West Center for Cultural Exchange. On this fifth anniversary of Hawaiian statehood, it would be appropriate to review the great success that the Center has proved itself to be.

Its growth may be analogous to the growth of Hawaii since it became a member of the Union of States. As a showcase of American democracy, Hawaii has offered itself as an ideal site for the East-West Center, the growth and success of which has been termed a modern educational miracle. It has developed itself into a melting pot within a melting pot, where peoples of the East and the West have learned to have a deeper understanding of each other's culture. It has been estimated that within the next 10 years the leaders of nearly every nation in the Asian and Pacific areas will have in some way been subjected to the influence of the East-West Center.

At a recent farewell awards-honoring ceremony at the East-West Center, Mr. Harold E. Howland, Special Assistant for East-West Center Affairs for the Department of State, delivered an address to those being graduated from the Center. His speech is one which merits the attention of the Congress and under unanimous consent I include it in the RECORD.

Mr. Howland's speech follows:

A CHALLENGE AND A FORECAST

(By Harold E. Howland)

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Hamilton, members of the East-West Center Grantees Association, friends and officers of the East-West Center, I am most grateful for your thoughtful invitation to join you tonight. It is a genuine pleasure for me to take part in your farewell awards-honoring ceremony.

As you know, for some months now I have been concerned with the affairs of this center for cultural and technical interchange between East and West. In studying your operations, problems, and plans I have come across some highly interesting pieces of information. One of these relates to the extraordinarily high grade point average attained by many of the students at this center. This high academic record of yours prompts me to tell you about the little dialog I had with my 12-year-old son the other day. I was dressing him down about his mediocre grades. After I belabored the point of his poor grades for what he must have thought was an excessively long time, he responded: "Dad, what do you think my trouble is—heredity or environment?"

All of us here tonight are engaged in an idealistic program of cultural exchange; a program dedicated to the hope that we may all learn something from each other and that

we may all come to know each other a little better; and through this shared knowledge and increased understanding we may all help to make this a better world to live in. In these times of need for understanding among nations, the cultural exchange program is a hope for progress and a positive plan for peace.

Over the past 15 years I have spoken before many groups of foreign students and have held long discussions with foreign students at seminars and conferences on campuses all over the United States. I have been gratified with the understanding of our country which these foreign students seemed to have garnered during their study here. In my view, the student exchange program has been an overwhelming success.

Most of the foreign students here have come to recognize that we have created our own variegated, dynamic culture; that our hallmark is freedom; that we have no cultural "party line" in our country imposed from the top. They see that we have some serious problems but they see, also, that we are at work on these.

However, I have found that some still lack a deep understanding of our people, our government, our history. Some fail to comprehend the policy necessities of America's worldwide responsibilities; some demand an American foreign policy fashioned exclusively in the light of their own country's needs.

Some are looking for a neatly packaged American ideology, unaware that we live by no dogma but by an unwritten series of humanistic ideals and values which have become part and parcel of our lives.

Now, if some foreign students living among us still hold basic misconceptions of our people, how little the outside world must know of us. This suggests to me the need for an improved and ever expanding cultural exchange program through growing endeavors such as we see developing here at the East-West Center.

Some critics and friends of the East-West Center have asked, "What are the Asian nations contributing to the East-West Center?" "What are they paying?" Perhaps this is a valid question, and when you return home, you may give some thought to the answer. What contributions can you and your country make to this Alma Mater of yours?

We Americans, however, must remind ourselves that Asia scholars and statesmen of the past have made great contributions to our Western cultural heritage. As all of you here know, the East has developed its own modes of art, thought, and culture, many with profound differences from the West. We have not rejected nor have we ignored that which is different; nor have we been imperceptive of what other cultures have had to offer. The East and West have complemented one another; we have learned from each other and we have shared our cultural achievements.

I know that with this audience of experts on Asian cultures I need not go on with a long recital of what Asia has contributed to our Western World or to this Center's heritage. Perhaps, a brief reference to a few widely disparate examples may suffice to make the point: the contributions to philosophy and religion of Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Hinduism; the educational techniques employed by the great Chinese educator, Dr. Hu Shih, in wiping out mass illiteracy; the courageous example of Ramon Magsaysay; the life and spirit of Mahatma Gandhi; the cultural heritage passed on through the stories metropolis of Vranji in India and the ancient city of Angor Wat in Cambodia; the classical dance and drama (Noh and Kabuki) from Japan, and the Balinese dance; Korean woodblock printing; King Chulalongkorn's inspired leadership in modernizing Thailand; great scientific discoveries of Nobel prize-winners in nuclear physics, Yang Chen-ning, among others; other scientific discoveries of note such as the magnetic needle (the compass) and the lock, earliest examples of which go back in Japanese history predating the Nineveh palaces of 4,000 years ago.

And, finally, let us not forget that we in America owe our very discovery by the outside world to the fact that Columbus was searching for a short route to Asia and stumbled upon our piece of land.

Thus, we see Asia has made its contributions to our Western World and to the heritage of this Center. But none of us in this room tonight can claim credit for this heritage from the past. No, we have our own marks to make in this imperfect world. But marks will be made in our generation just as they have been made in the past.

Let me tell you about an inscription on our Archives Building in Washington. This inscription reads "What is past is prologue." A tourist, visiting Washington, riding in a taxi past our Archives Building noted the inscription and asked the taxi driver, "What does that mean?" The taxi driver, being unschooled but well able to express himself in understandable terms, reflected for a moment and then explained: "'What is past is prologue'—that means man, you ain't seen nothing yet."

I see, therefore, in your individual futures outstanding achievements in the service of your countries and in the promotion of the objectives of this center. No one here tonight can predict what the mark of anyone of us may be—10, 15, 20 years from now. But marks there will be—some more significant than others, perhaps. The horizon is limitless. To quote Emerson: "It is the eye that makes the horizon." It is your eye, your hopes, your aspirations, your industry, your dedication of purpose which will help shape this world of ours. Some of you may go on to be political leaders—as other alumni of U.S. cultural exchange programs have done. Others of you may become influential leaders of your communities and societies as teachers, lawyers, judges, engineers. We can't all become prime ministers, but, let's say, you become an honorable and humble teacher. Reflect upon the impact of a single teacher in a training institution in your homeland who teaches 300 teachers, each of whom goes forth to teach 300 students per year for 20 years. How many young people do you think that single teacher has influenced? Figure it out. You will come up with an answer of 1,800,000 young boys and girls influenced in your homeland by that single teacher.

May I suggest that you graduating students ask yourselves: "What can I do with my life to promote the objectives of this East-West Center? What can I do to repay those who placed so much faith in me by selecting me for this wondrous opportunity to study here?"

Let me tell you about one lad who asked himself such a question back in 1949. This lad is neither a chief of state nor a political leader in his country. But you judge for yourself as to whether he may be gratified today with the answer he can supply to his own question of 15 years ago.

This lad is Paul Koutny. He is the founder and director of the Institute of European Studies. Back in 1949, when I was stationed in Vienna, I selected Paul Koutny, along with 46 other Austrian students, to visit the United States for a year of study at American universities and colleges. This was our first wave of Austrian students to America after World War II. I suggested to that group before they left Austria, as I have done tonight with you, to ask themselves: "What can I do to promote the objectives of cultural exchange? What can I do with my life to repay those who placed so much faith in me?" Paul Koutny took these questions seriously. A year later, when he returned to Austria he had with him 23 of some of the most wholesome American university students I have ever seen in my life. Paul had convinced these young Americans that he could arrange for them to cross the ocean and study at the University of Vienna, see Rome, Paris, London, Belgium—and all at a cost less than their expense of going to school away from home in the United States. (You could do this in those days immediately after the war.) Paul arranged for these 23 students to get economical boat passage; he chartered a bus in Amsterdam and took the students on a tour of Europe; he registered them at the University of Vienna in credit courses; he negotiated with a cafe to supply the students with a warm lunch every day for a most reasonable price; he had them put up in Austrian homes.

Now, today, cultural exchange is Paul Koutny's business. The Institute of European Studies now has four centers: one in Madrid, one in Vienna, one in Paris, and one in Freiburg. As of today, more than 2,000 American young men and women have had their horizons broadened, because Paul Koutny had his horizon broadened back in 1949. As of today, more than 2,000 American young men and women have had the advantage of study abroad because Paul Koutny, 15 years ago, asked himself: "What can I do to promote mutual understanding in this world; what can I do to make this a better world, at peace?"

On the other side of the world—in the Middle East—we have the American University of Beirut. This university has as its motto: "The realm in which we share is vastly greater than the realm in which we differ." Operating under that concept the American University has turned out—over the years—many of the outstanding political, educational, technical, and cultural leaders of the Middle East. Chiefs of state, cabinet ministers, news editors, outstanding architects and engineers, famous doctors, university presidents are to be found among the alumni of AUB. And you should hear, as I have, how these graduates of AUB boast of their alma mater and speak of their alma mater with deep affection.

A few years back, I was stationed in the Middle East and my daughter went to school in Beirut. I visted her frequently, and on one of those visits I found mass rioting in the streets of Beiruit. When I got to the university I found, marching side by side, troops of the government and troops of the rebels, patrolling the grounds of AUB. I asked Dr. Paul Leonard, then president of AUB and an old friend of mine, "What goes? Why soldiers patrolling the grounds? And why soldiers from both sides?" Paul Leonard said, "The leaders of both sides called me and asked if I had any objection to their sending soldiers to protect the university. I told them we would welcome their security measures." The reason, of course, for this show of security is that the leaders of both sides were products of AUB. This was their alma mater, and nobody—but nobody—was going to damage or destroy their alma mater. Such affection for an institution by its alumni, I predict, will be held by the alumni of the East-West Center in the days ahead as this Center makes its mark on the world scene.

I have given you a few examples of values in cultural exchanges. There are, of course, many others we could describe but our time is too limited. Fifteen years ago when I started in cultural exchanges there was not a single university or college in India teaching American literature or American history in organized courses of study. Today there are 29. Fifteen years ago we had very little in our school offerings about Asia and the Pacific. Today our schools are making great strides with subject matters in these areas. President Kennedy was a foreign student in another land. Our Sec-

retary of State, Dean Rusk, studied abroad. We could go on with many more examples of leaders who profited from cultural exchanges.

Ten years from now—as certain as we meet tonight—someone will stand here before an East-West Center graduating group and extol the achievements of the alumni of this Center. The image of the East-West Center will then be not that ascribed to it by critics of the day, but rather will be the image you have given it. One of you may return as a head of your State to address an East-West Center graduating class. Young people have a special importance today: some are already leading their nations. Others are in positions of significant political power. It has been said that the classroom today is only a few short years away from the presidential palace for some.

There is Kenneth Kaunda, for example. Kaunda is 39. He has headed the Northern Rhodesian nationalist movement since he was 33. Oskar Kambona, the Foreign Minister of Tanganyika is 32. Sekou Toure became President of independent Guinea at about the same age.

Tom Mboya, Minister for Justice in Kenya, has been in the front rank of his country's leadership for a number of years. He is still in his thirties.

The list could go on and on, and it is not limited to Africa. Rufino Heckonova, Minister of Finance of the Philippines is only 33. General Khanh of Vietnam is in his thirties.

Although these are examples of a current trend in world leadership, it is worth mentioning that several of our early leaders in the United States—in those days when we were an emerging nation—would qualify for this group on the basis of age. Thomas Jefferson was only 33 when he drafted the Declaration of Independence. Alexander Hamilton was but 30 when he wrote most of the Federalist Papers, and James Madison was 36 when he wrote the rest of them.

Current history suggests that the leaders of the developing nations throughout the world for the next few decades will come from young intellectuals and students like yourselves.

Now, if I may, I would like to give you just a few figures concerning the general magnitude of our educational exchange program with other countries.

There are over 70,000 foreign students from about 150 countries and territories studying in the United States in more than 1,800 universities and colleges today. There are same 20,000 American students abroad studying at about 500 institutions in some 60 countries. Over 20,000 foreign students went home last year. I would guess that we have about 85,000 alumni of the Fulbright program. Each year we spend over $50 million for cultural exchange. The American universities and service clubs, American communities and citizens spend many more millions. In New York City, alone, 97 organizations are devoted to helping the foreign student. And yet, we are only scratching the surface. Only 1.5 percent of students in American universities are foreign. But if we, in the United States, who are spending millions on cultural exchange are only scratching the surface, what about your countries? Can they do more, can they share in some of the cost and initiative for expanding cultural exchange programs?

You all have a distinctive role to play in organizing alumni groups, in interpreting the West; in helping American students who may visit you and your country.

You will have opportunities for expanding American studies; for helping your own people advance. You are their investment in their future.

Ask yourself "What can I do to promote the goals of this Center?"

And, to some of the American students who have expressed concern over what to do with their excess foreign currency upon leaving a country—I say, consider leaving it there to help support an alumni association or use it to finance a scholarship for a worthy student or pay the travel of a student to the East-West Center.

And we, who are concerned with cultural exchange in the United States, have our work cut out for us:

We must improve our selection procedures, orientation activities, curricular offerings, teaching of English, teaching of other languages, our hospitality arrangements. And, to students still studying here at the Center—much more can be done with language tutoring, cultural performances, participation in community life, in seminars, in writing articles, in orientation programs.

This Center has had its critics, most of whom have been friendly critics, who have asked us to hold a mirror up to ourselves to better ourselves. Those of you from foreign lands, now departing from the Center, have been here long enough to learn that this is the American way. We give the headlines to our shortcomings. We turn the spotlight on the warts and blemishes in our society. An injustice breaks out in one of our 50 States and bang—the TV cameras grind, the headlines are written, the movie cameras are there, and the spotlight is turned on. And why? So that we may improve ourselves.

But in turning that spotlight on our failings, we are not apologetic—for we confidently know that we have accomplished as much, if not more, than any group of people in the world in promoting social justice and that our goals in humanity's interests are sound and just.

Those of us in this room tonight may feel proud that we are a part of a program that attempts to build respect for our own Nation and seeks ways to help us understand each other and learn from each other.

I am grateful that my ancestors in America did not lack a compelling faith in education and educational exchanges; and that they had the foresight to send our scholars abroad and to bring experts and scholars to America. If we are a great nation today it is due, in part, to what we have learned from others. Funds we put into our cultural exchange program today are, in a way, a partial repayment of our debt to the world for what we have learned from the world.

I am grateful that we have leaders today that do not lack that faith our ancestors had in cultural exchanges. The foresight and imagination of Governor Burns, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Congressman John J. Rooney in the House of Representatives deserve special note at this time. As you know, if it had not been for President (then Senator) Johnson's and Congressman ROONEY's initiative and determination in the task of gaining enactment of the authorizing legislation for this Center we would not be here tonight taking part in this farewell ceremony of participants in an exciting program of interchange between East and West—a program that seeks to build a road to ultimate peace in this turbulent world through sharing knowledge.

This Center has already made a mark on the world scene. But like that inscription on our Archives Building:

"What is past is prolog"—man, you ain't seen nothing yet!

Marking of Steel Container

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I earnestly hope the Senate will, in their wisdom, expedite consideration and approval of the bill, H.R. 5673, we recently and resoundingly passed here which requires local manufacturers of steel shipping containers from foreign steel to indicate the country of origin of the steel on the container.

I think it should be emphasized and remembered that this measure intends no projection of restraint of trade. It is similar to the required description of ingredients on food and drug containers; its essential purpose is to provide information so that the general public will be alerted to the use of American-made steel products if they so desire. This measure leaves that choice entirely up to the private sector of the economy and, therefore, cannot be open to any criticism of discrimination.

I hope our legislators in the other body will recognize that the present level of production among American steel producers adds to the urgency of the current situation. Unemployed steel workers and hard-pressed manufacturers caught in the cost-price squeeze should be extended every reasonable aid toward the inspiration of an increasing demand for the home product.

Mr. Speaker, by the adoption of this legislation a concerned citizenry will be provided information upon which they may make a free decision in the open market. In my conviction this measure is timely; it would be beneficial to the steel industry, the steel workers, and the general public. For these reasons, I hope that the Senate will promptly pass H.R. 5673 and that it may soon become law.

Coordinated Planning, Now, for the Preservation and Development of Our Water and Land Resources Is Imperative for Future National Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, back on July 13, 1961, our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy recommended to Congress the original river basin planning bill whose fundamental objectives, to provide for development of comprehensive river basin plans, biennial assessments of regional water needs and supplies, aid to the States and encouragement of more efficient water development, management and use, are practically the same as S. 1111 that passed the Senate late last year and is now pending in the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. I very earnestly urge and hope the leadership of both sides and the distinguished chairman and members of this outstanding committee will cooperate in their efforts to present this vitally important measure to the House for action before this Congress concludes.

In my deepest conviction, sustained by the testimony of all authorities, this bill will have a more lasting effect upon the lives of all our citizens, their economics,

and their resources, than almost any other bill that could be presented to the Congress. The vital necessity of dealing with our water resource problems is increasingly urgent, as evidenced by expert testimony, that before the year 2000, if adequate steps are not begun now, every section of this Nation will be confronted with serious water supply difficulties.

Mr. Speaker, the prominent provisions of S. 1111, which carry out the basic purposes recommended by President Kennedy, are briefly these: it will establish a Water Resources Council with the responsibility to make plans now for the conservation of our water resources; it will set up a pattern of operation for the Federal-State River Basin Planning Commissions; it will provide a program of aid to States for water resources planning by authorizing an annual appropriation of money for 10 years for apportionment to the States on a matching basis to develop their independent, intrastate and interstate water resource planning by whatever agencies with which the States work.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere hope and appeal that this Congress will approve legislation, which this House passed in the last Congress, creating a New England water and related land resources compact which would consider the whole of New England as an interdependent geographical unit for the development and managing of our regional natural land and water resources. Already four of our New England States, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island have ratified such a compact by State legislative action.

Other sections of this measure set up very prudent and very practical provisions for the funding and cooperative operation of the different units and elements, in the Federal and State levels, to keep this program in effective operation.

Mr. Speaker, this country has been struggling for 55 years to set up an intelligent, comprehensive, practical plan to adequately deal, throughout the Nation, with the desperately urgent problems of water supply, distribution, pollution, variability and floods. Every recognized authority and conservation organization in the United States has recommended such action. The opportunity to take such action, in the national welfare, is contained in the excellent measure, S.1111, and I again urge that appropriate steps be taken to promptly bring the bill before us for passage, in the near future, before the Congress ends.

The Establishment of an Administrative Conference in the United States Is Urgently Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, legislation to establish an Administrative Conference in the United States is urgently needed and I hope the Senate will expediently follow-up the action we recently took here on this subject so that it may be congressionally approved for Presidential consideration and signing before adjournment.

As you are aware, the bill, S. 1664, with recommended amendments, was presented to the House with the unanimous approval of the pertinent subcommittee and of the whole House Judiciary Committee itself, and by unanimous vote of the Rules Committee. Seldom has there been more general membership agreement on a legislative proposal.

The reason for this agreement is our universal understanding that if there was ever a legislative proposal that would be helpful to taxpayers, to litigants, and to applicants appearing before various Federal agencies, this is the bill.

This proposal provides a way by which those of us who have had occasion to be critical of Government agencies in their agonizing delays and seemingly unendless technical requirements and duplications can bring fresh viewpoint of objective outside civilian experts to make corrections for the wholesome improvement and more expedient determinations in the operations of Government bureaus.

Unquestionably this legislation is designed to strengthen the administrative procedures of our Federal departments and humanize their impact upon the taxpayer who is supporting them. This bill will confer great benefits, wide comfort, and much joy upon the general public and I indeed, and again earnestly, appeal for its passage, in the national interest, before this Congress concludes.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

She Was a Lady for All Seasons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, one of the most moving and eloquent tributes that anyone delivered at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City was paid by our U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson.

Governor Stevenson was speaking in memorium, and quite properly, about the late Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who contributed greatly in helping to encourage the passage of legislation and the improvement of conditions of all manner of men, not only in the United States, but also in the world.

I ask unanimous consent, because of the eloquence of this beautiful tribute, that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 30, 1964]

SHE WAS A LADY FOR ALL SEASONS

(By Adlai Stevenson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations paid the following tribute to the late Eleanor Roosevelt at the Democratic National Convention Thursday night. It followed a preamble hailing the nomination of Lyndon B. Johnson and HUBERT HUMPHREY.)

She was a lady—a lady for all seasons. And, like her husband, our immortal leader, she left "a name to shine on the entablatures of truth—forever."

There is, I believe, a legend in the Talmud which tells us that in any period of man's history the heavens themselves are held in place by the virtue, love and shining integrity of 12 just men. They are completely unaware of this function. They go about their daily work, their humble chores—doctors, teachers, workers, farmers (never alas, lawyers so I understand), just ordinary devoted citizens—and meanwhile the rooftree of creation is supported by them alone.

And I think perhaps there are times when nations or movements or great political parties are similarly sustained in their purposes and being by the pervasive, unconscious influence of a few great men and women. Can we here, in the Democratic Party, doubt that Eleanor Roosevelt, throughout her selfless life, had in some measure the keeping of the party's conscience in her special care? That her standards and integrity steadied our own? That her judgment persuaded the doubters and "too-soon despairers"? That her will stiffened the waverers and encouraged the strong?

I do not suggest some unworldly saint dwelling in remote regions of unsullied idealism. On the contrary, as we all know, Eleanor Roosevelt was a bonny fighter, at her best down in the arena, face to face with opponents and ideas she disapproved. Like that other grand old veteran of so many Democratic wars—Herbert Lehman—in ripe old age she took on tasks that might have daunted people half their age. Whether it was Communist bosses in the United Nations or party bosses in the precincts, exploiters of the poor, traducers of the faith of freedom, she sailed in, tall, courteous, good-tempered, implacable, and thwacked them with the dispassionate energy of a good mother chastising a bad boy.

She did not carry our conscience by remote control. It was precisely her involvement that gave her such tremendous influence. Long before the civil rights issue moved to the forefront of the Nation's consciousness, she was there, earning obloquy for her quiet reminders of the inequalities practiced in our land.

Throughout the depression, her patient journeys brought to the President and dramatized for the Nation the misery and neglect of millions.

During the gray days of national peril she heartened the wounded and the weary.

And during the affluent fifties when misery ran for cover before the national complacency, she never ceased to remind us of the slums, disease, and deprivation which still make up the dark face of this shining American planet.

And again when we emerged from the war, blinking and surprised, to the role of world leadership, there she was at the center of the effort, reminding her countrymen of their duties as citizens in the greater society of man.

It was this gift for facing the facts and accepting the consequences which gave her place among the supporters of the rooftree of our world.

She thought of herself as an "ugly duckling," but she walked in beauty in the ghettos of the world, bringing with her the reminder of her beloved St. Francis, "* * * it is in the giving that we receive." And wherever she walked, beauty was forever there.

There are always in any society, as there are in ours at this moment, plenty of men and women who would like—despite Abraham Lincoln's warning—to "escape history," to evade the "fiery trial," to turn back the clock. Eleanor Roosevelt never would and never did. She trained herself from the beginning of her life to face the realities, however unwelcome they might be, and face them as she did, not only in the world around her but in her own family, in her own life. Few human beings are called upon to make decisions as difficult as some of hers. Fewer still—fewer women, in any case—have ever been subjected to personal abuse as malicious and persistent. But never did she hide, run, wince, or lower her head. Falsity withered in her presence. Hypocrisy left the room.

And never did she fail to act. If anything equaled the candor and courage of her confrontation with the facts, it was the courage and warmth of her response. She saw the state of our world as well as the most cynical, the most despairing, but she never indulged in cynicism, she never gave up. She believed in the human heart because she knew her own, and she proved by love what all the despair of a despairing time will never prove—that hope is more powerful than fear.

She left us—our counselor, our friend, our conscience. But there can be no doubt where she would be directing our great party today were she still in our midst.

She would bid us add to the civil liberties we guarantee, the extra dimension of opportunity without which even rights can seem so much emptiness.

She would tell us to look at our great cities and ask whether, in the midst of overwhelming affluence, we can afford such misery, such squalor, such hopelessness.

She would tell us to labor on in the vineyards of the world, to succor the needy and to underpin the rule of law, to check aggression and, with remorseless purpose, to seek peace.

She would ask us to engage ourselves profoundly in the war on poverty at home and abroad.

She would urge us to build the great society not only in terms of America, but of all God's children.

And she would bid us do all this not from party spirit or partisan prejudice or anger or bitterness or fear or contempt. She would ask only for the positive emotions: love of one's unfortunate neighbor, since "there but for the grace of God go I"; love of our party as a mighty engine of social betterment; love for a world community threatened by the same annihilation and, above all, love for America, which our Founding Fathers first dedicated to the great propositions of freedom, equality and happiness and which can never fulfill itself until these magnificent promises can be turned into even more magnificent facts.

This is the spirit in which she would have us go out to join the everlasting battle for something better.

This is her lasting legacy to humankind and the party she loved and worked for all her life.

National Bar Association Outlines Position of Negro Lawyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the report of the Committee on the Judiciary to the 39th Annual Convention of the National Bar Association, which speaks authoritatively for the Negro lawyers of the country. The convention was held in Baltimore and Edward B. Toles, distinguished Chicago lawyer, was chairman of the committee on the judiciary. The report follows:

THE NEGRO LAWYER IN CRISIS

Today, the Negro lawyer, bridging the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, witnessing the events after enactment of the civil rights bill, and now embarking on one of the most important presidential campaigns in history, stands on a critical threshold.

This is a time of crisis for Negro lawyers, so ably expressed in the words of Plutarch and our beloved Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, reminding us that we are a Nation of laws, and the law must prevail if we are to survive.

This is also a time for renewed steadfastness to live by the rule of law; wherever this rule has been violated it is up to us as lawyers to spare no effort to restore it.

We lawyers know that race rioting has no place in the American community but neither do the conditions that are at its root.

And so the crisis also requires on the part of our Federal, State, and municipal governments a renewed steadfastness to remedy now the underlying causes of this national unrest and discontent and to bring full equality of opportunity to the Negro lawyer as well as the Negro citizen.

Your committee is grateful to the late President Kennedy and President Johnson for the judicial and administrative appointments never before attained by Negro lawyers, but we submit that "further action is needed" in the following areas:

1. FEDERAL JUDGES

When President Kennedy took office on January 20, 1961, there were only three Negro lifetime Federal judges—one circuit court of appeals and two U.S. customs court judges; three Negro term judges—one U.S. district court judge for the Virgin Islands and two District of Columbia municipal court judges.

In his 1,000 days in office with the passage of the omnibus judgeship bill on May 19, 1961, creating 73 new lifetime judgeships, President Kennedy had named 126 lifetime judges and 19 term judges including 5 lifetime Negro judges—1 Negro circuit court of appeals judge and 4 Negro district court judges, the first Negro district judges in history in Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia; 3 Negro term judges—2 District of Columbia municipal court judges and the first Negro woman judge to the District of Columbia juvenile court.

When the Senate adjourned without confirming the last two Kennedy appointed Negro district court judges for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, President Lyndon B. Johnson, on January 7, 1964, gave recess appointments to the two judges in order that they might be sworn in office before the Senate reconvened.

Your committee cannot speak too highly of these appointments from the late President Kennedy and President Johnson but of the more than 471 Federal judges appointed by Presidents only 12 are Negro. It is, of course, disappointing that the vacancy on the U.S. customs court created by the death on May 5, 1962, of our first Negro lifetime Federal judge appointed in 1945 by President Truman, has not been filled with a Negro successor, particularly when there are two vacancies of the same political party on that court.

The Tax Court of the United States has 16 judges appointed by the President. Your committee on March 30, 1962, upon being advised by the Justice Department that recommendations for filling an existing vacancy on that court should be made to the Secretary of the Treasury, accordingly recommended to the Secretary of Treasury a Negro special assistant to the Regional Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, as a judge of the tax court. Much to our disappointment, the appointment went to another career nominee.

Some 25 Federal judicial vacancies have existed since your committee reported in the April and July 1964 issues of the NBA News Bulletin and to this list should be added recent vacancies in New York's Southern District with the death of Judge Archie O. Dawson and the pending retirement of Judge Frank L. Kloeb of the Northern District of Ohio in September.

Your committee recommends that one Negro judge be appointed to the next vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court; the present vacancy on the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals; district court judges in New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Texas; present vacancies of the two on both the customs court and the court of claims; the next vacancy on the U.S. Tax Court and two Negro judges to both of the present two vacancies on the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions.

2. U.S. ATTORNEYS

The late President Kennedy's assurances to your committee on August 31, 1960, that "there would be far better representation, on the basis of merit, of all racial groups, including particularly those who in the past have been excluded on the basis of prejudice," were fulfilled early in his administration when he appointed for the first time in history two Negro U.S. attorneys in San Francisco, Calif., and Cleveland, Ohio.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in his tremendous civil rights crusade began first in his own Department which had less than 10 Negro attorneys when he took office. "Recruit them, if necessary, but get them," he told his department heads. "We can't be pressing Congress for enactment of civil rights legislation and urging private industry to employ more Negroes when we aren't doing our share along that line. I want you to give immediate consideration to bringing more Negroes into the Department, not only here in Washington but throughout the country."

The Department of Justice in a May 5, 1964, letter to your chairman stated: "A number of Negroes have been appointed as U.S. attorneys and assistant U.S. attorneys and we always welcome recommendations from you of qualified lawyers for such positions. At the present time there are three Negro U.S. attorneys and 35 assistant U.S. attorneys. In addition there are 43 Negro attorneys in the litigating divisions of the Justice Department.

Your committee has observed a recent Justice Department congressional request for funds to provide 49 additional attorneys for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act and your committee recommends that qualified Negro attorneys immediately apply personally or through the committee as the number of Negro Justice Department attorneys should be greatly increased.

3. U.S. REGULATORY AGENCIES

Three Presidential appointments to Negro lawyers on major boards and agencies have been made by the administration in the last 4 years. They include for the first time appointments to the Federal Trade Commission and the National Labor Relations Board. However, a Negro lawyer appointed to succeed the first Negro Federal Trade Commissioner was passed over when the member was appointed to a Federal district court judgeship for the eastern district of Pennsylvania.

Most important Federal board appointment that Negro lawyers have ever received was to the NLRB which decides more cases each year than all of the U.S. courts of appeal combined. There are also several Negro lawyers employed by the NLRB; the present Negro member had been with the NLRB in a top-level position. More Negro lawyers should apply.

At least five Negro lawyers including two women lawyers have been appointed to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. President Johnson appointed recently an outstanding Negro woman lawyer to this Commission and two Negro lawyers have served as general counsels.

Your chairman, in November 1961, shortly after a White House regional conference in Chicago, when a vacancy occurred on the Interstate Commerce Commission, presented a memorandum to President Kennedy requesting appointment of a Negro lawyer as a member and attached a copy of a NBA resolution adopted at our 36th annual meeting in Los Angeles. We pointed out that there had never been a Negro member of the ICC which was created to regulate commerce by common carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers and property through and between the States.

Your committee particularly desired the appointment of a Negro lawyer to this important 11-member Commission appointed for 7-year terms; not more than 6 members can be appointed from the same political party.

In view of the U.S. Supreme Court mandate in *Boynton v. Virginia*, 364 U.S. 454 (1960), following prior settled rulings, new ICC regulations adopted at the request of Attorney General Kennedy on September 22, 1961, barring segregation in waiting rooms and other terminal facilities, and the recent Civil Rights Act, a Negro lawyer should be appointed to the next vacancy on this Commission.

The first woman to ever serve on the ICC was appointed by President Johnson and was sworn in to the $20,000-a-year post in May. We hope that the next vacancy will be filled by a Negro lawyer, as well as Negro lawyers to the Federal Power, Federal Communications, Federal Aviation, Civil Aeronautics, U.S. Civil Service and all other Federal boards and commissions.

4. U.S. REFEREES IN BANKRUPTCY AND U.S. COMMISSIONERS

In April 1964, your committee requested the assistance of the Justice Department in securing the appointment of Negro referees in bankruptcy and U.S. commissioners. Of more than 250 referees serving in U.S. district courts, there is only one Negro referee. Appointed more than 4 years ago in Detroit, Mich., the former law clerk to a Federal district court judge is one of four Michigan referees hearing cases where in Detroit the number of Negro voluntary bankruptcy cases are over 25 percent. Chicago, Ill., with six referees, has over 35 percent annual Negro bankruptcy cases with no Negro referees.

Of more than 100 U.S. commissioners serving in Federal district courts who hold preliminary hearings and set bail in criminal cases, there have been no Negroes appointed since a Trenton, N.J., Negro lawyer was named on September 29, 1952. He was the first Negro commissioner since reconstruction and won national prominence as defender of the famous "Trenton Six Case."

The Justice Department's reply to your chairman's request stated: "Appointments of referees and commissioners are the exclusive province of the Federal district courts, and the Justice Department plays no role in their selection."

Negro lawyers should apply through their U.S. Senators, local political organizations and judges of the Federal courts for consideration for appointment to these positions.

5. PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

In Chicago on May 22, 1964, President Johnson wrote a message to a Regional Conference of Community Leaders on Equal Employment Opportunity. Attended by 1,200 representatives of labor, business, employers, and your chairman representing NBA, the President inquired, "How can we best hammer out clear-vut programs that will lead to the elimination of bias and prejudice and provide for the expansion of free and equal opportunity for employment of all men and women, regardless of race or color or religion?" The answer for Negro lawyers in crisis is increased employment in the Federal Government as an example to private corporations and law firms in the integration of Negro lawyers in Government and private industry.

The Nation's 5,000 Negro lawyers need the assistance of the President's committee in obtaining more of the positions described in

this report and also the committee's aid in obtaining legal positions in corporations, banks, and in the Nation's large law firms which at present employ no Negro lawyers.

At the Association of American Law Schools Convention on December 29, 1963, in Los Angeles, the association's outgoing president, Columbia law professor, Walter Gellhorn, expressed concern about the profession's failure to encourage young Negroes to study law. "Many law schools are eagerly prepared to welcome Negro entrants, but applicants for admission are rare," he said. Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, who is also vice chairman of the President's committee, replied: "Your concern, from that report, about the fact that you cannot get enough good young lawyers to come to the law schools, I'll give you two answers to it. One is in the recent issue of the Harvard law record in which you listed the things that employer firms are interested in, positively and negatively. Negro has a minus 3.5 which is surpassed only by those who are in the lower one-half of the class, those who are female, and those who are badly groomed. And we made a study recently, or a survey, to find out how many integrated law firms there are in the country. We were able to find 35 in the whole country. Well you are kidding yourselves if you think you are going to get good Negro boys to come to law school when they are going to be ruled out because their race is next to their being badly groomed as far as employers are concerned and they cannot go into integrated law firms. And if you are saying I'm getting the cart before the horse, I'm not, because it was 3 years ago I tried to find employment for an outstanding graduate of our law school in Chicago and I could not find a single one because he wanted to work in an integrated law firm. This isn't in protest against this group. I think this group has done the most magnificant job of any group I know as far as breaking down the racial barriers are concerned, but I think the legal profession has got a lot to answer for on this particular score—that today it is the worst segregated group in the whole economy or society. And we had better stop taking our signals from those whom we are serving as far as some of these things are concerned."

If the young Negro lawyer in the future is to succeed there must be more positions obtainable in Government, private industry and in integrated law firms and the aid of the President's committee will greatly enhance his opportunity to attain these goals.

An excellent survey of "Discriminatory Effects in Law Firm Hiring Practices" in the March 1964 issue of the Yale Law Journal stated: "Interviews with hiring partners indicated that the erection of barriers by applicants themselves might be especially important among Negroes. Only a third of the hiring partners, most of whom had been interviewing applicants for many years, could remember ever having talked with a Negro applicant. And, although the New York firms have been hiring an ever-increasing number of students from law schools which could not have placed students in those firms in earlier years, none of the hiring partners could recall a Negro applicant from outside the circle of law schools traditionally supplying most of the New York corporate lawyers. On the other hand, the firms which recruit so vigorously within this 'magic circle' of schools, which in fact have very few Negro students, make virtually no effort to recruit from other good law schools which do have substantial numbers of them. Again, a 'tipping point' phenomenon may confidently be predicted. Although the general opinion of the partners was that a well-qualified Negro would have an excellent chance of getting a good job in New York at the present time, most also felt that there would not be sufficient opportunities for Negroes if a substantial number of them were to apply."

In conclusion, because of the Negro lawyer's limited employment opportunities, it is disheartening to learn that one of the less pleasant aspects of our profession is the dwindling number of Negro lawyers; that of the 22 million Negro population we are not producing the needed number of Negro lawyers—less than 90 Negro lawyers in the South and only 11 in the State of Mississippi. But it is also heartening to learn of our progress, in judicial and administrative positions in government; and recently a former New York Negro judge became the first Negro elected to the board of a major U.S. manufacturing company and a former administrative assistant to President Eisenhower became the first Negro to be made an assistant vice president of the world's largest privately owned bank. The Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, John W. Macy, Jr., and a member of the President's committee, reports that two Negro attorneys employed in the Justice Department and the NLRB are among attorneys admitted to compete for the position of hearing examiners.

Indeed, perseverance is more prevailing and many things which cannot be overcome when they are together yield themselves up when taken little by little.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD B. TOLES,
Chairman, National Bar Association Committee on Judiciary.

Address of Dr. Edward C. Welsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a thought-provoking speech delivered by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, at the dedication of the North American Aviation, Inc., Science Center, James Howard Kindelberger Memorial Laboratories, Thousand Oaks, Calif.

These remarks emphasize the need for basic research to maintain the advance of U.S. technology, and I know they will be of interest to my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY DR. EDWARD C. WELSH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE COUNCIL, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN AVIATION, INC., SCIENCE CENTER, JAMES HOWARD KINDELBERGER MEMORIAL LABORATORIES, THOUSAND OAKS, CALIF.

It is a privilege to be with you in such pleasant surroundings and to participate in the dedication of these outstanding facilities for the advance of science. I appreciate North American's invitation to speak on this occasion—first because of my close connection with aerospace developments, and second, because I cherish the memory of an acquaintance with Dutch Kindelberger. In this connection, I would like to commend Lee Atwood and his associates for their fine judgment in dedicating the laboratories to Dutch's memory. This science center typifies the spirit that was found in full measure within him—the willingness and even the eagerness to adapt the organization to meet new challenges.

CHARACTER OF THE CENTER

I would like to take a few minutes to mention some of the outstanding features of this new research organization, which have come to my attention.

It is very significant that the center does not work on any products, except as it may give specialized advisory help to other divisions of the company. Rather, it is concerned with the advance of knowledge in the broad fields of interest to the company. The application of this knowledge to specific products is the province of others.

Also, the science center management recognizes a fundamental necessity in basic research—that only the scientist with specialized knowledge in his field knows how to explore the various theoretical and experimental approaches that may lead to new knowledge. Therefore, the center has been staffed with highly qualified scientists in pertinent areas of interest, and gives them the most advanced facilities appropriate to their work. But, they are not told how to conduct their research.

In short, this organization is engaged in what is called "pure science"—the advance of knowledge for its own sake—in contrast to "applied science."

Partly because of this concept, the center has been able to attract creative scientists of the highest quality. The roster of its staff includes some of the most respected authorities in the disciplines represented here.

These scientists are engaged in pursuing new knowledge that will benefit both the company and the Nation. The knowledge which each of them gains in his specialized field is at the disposal of the company in helping to solve its most complex technical problems. I stress that this same knowledge is added to the Nation's scientific stockpile through the close liaison maintained with the rest of the scientific community.

MISSIONS

It is often desirable—sometimes even essential—that individuals and organizations have rather specific goals or missions. There is value in knowing what the requirements are—in having advance knowledge of what is expected of your efforts. But, I want to emphasize the importance of having some of our energies and some of our facilities and some of our funds devoted to activities from which we cannot predict the end results. This is investment in the production of new knowledge, new technology, new experiences—as such, it is an investment essential to progress.

It would indeed be a sad state of affairs if we arrived at a condition of contentment and satisfaction with the level of our understanding or the status of our technology. The man who looks backward instead of forward may have his uses, but leadership is not one of them.

In contrast, North American has, with its investment in this impressive Center, shown the type of individual leadership which will help a great nation grow greater in the future.

THE SPACE PROGRAM

President Johnson has said:

"Seldom in its lifetime is a country fortunate enough to be confronted with such a challenge as that of the national space program. It enables our people to devote their skills, their courage, their initiative, and their resources to a continuing series of projects which dwarf their imagination while enriching their country."

No area of endeavor provides a broader opportunity for basic research. If one wished to be generous in his judgments, he would call "blind" the individual who says we should abandon the Apollo program. One can be grateful, however, that the majority of our citizens have more confidence in the

Nation and more faith in the advantages of increased knowledge. Those of little faith would have us bury our talents rather than invest them in progress.

The whole complex activity of exploring space is important not only because the many private and governmental organizations contributing to space flight are continually uncovering new facts, new products, and new processes which bring immediate benefits to mankind. These benefits are only the beginning. Looking beyond them, we see vast unknown frontiers opening up, with unguessable discoveries yet to be made. Step by step we are conquering the hostile environment of space. We are accumulating new knowledge about the heavenly bodies, and disproving old beliefs about them.

I would emphasize several points about the space program:

First, it is here to stay;

Second, it promises a profitable return on investments in basic research;

Third, it will be an expanding activity, with no finite limits to its potential;

Fourth, it will enhance our national security, stimulate our accumulation of knowledge, improve our standard of living, and further the chances of world peace.

From time to time, one hears the suggestion that the exploration of space should be slowed down. This would, of course, lessen the benefits which flow so freely from the program. But, the slowdown proponents are willing to deprive the Nation of such benefits in the interest of hoarding money. After all, they say or seem to say that knowledge and accomplishment and international prestige and national security are less important than money. Obviously, I believe in investing money wisely rather than in refraining from using it. I believe these great facilities we are dedicating today are evidence that North American shares this belief.

What is equally disturbing about those who adhere to this slowdown philosophy is that they don't understand that they are actually recommending waste and higher costs. To slow down a carefully planned project such as Apollo would be to increase its cost and reduce its likelihood of timely success. Key to the waste involved is the breakup of highly competent teams of scientists, engineers, and managers. Key also to the waste is the resultant partial idleness of facilities rather than their full use and at the same time failure to make productive use of manpower and facilities on other new projects. Those who propose a stretchout or slowdown in the space program are, in effect, arguing for inefficiency and higher costs, as well as delayed accomplishments.

NEW EMPHASIS ON TECHNOLOGY

Beyond particular applications in national defense, or in space programs the rise of science as a powerful national tool has brought about a significant change in the complexion of American industry. It has done so because industry itself—certainly the aerospace industry—has responded vigorously to the challenge.

To measure this response, let us examine its history and see where such institutions as this science center fit into the pattern. Until the 1930's, a company's technical effort—as distinguished from manufacturing—was largely confined to engineering. There were spectacular innovations that transformed the Wright Brothers' invention into a potent military weapon and a practical commercial transport. But these were primarily imaginative applications of knowledge, rather than new additions to knowledge.

During the 1930's, and particularly toward the end of the decade with the approach of World War II, we entered a new phase. Industry and government launched conscious efforts in research—especially applied research. Among the revolutionary results were radar, jet propulsion, and nuclear fission.

By the middle of World War II the military services were calling for new types of weapon systems that could take maximum advantage of these scientific advances. This meant growing emphasis on research and development in contrast to straight production; much longer leadtime in developing new products; the rise of concurrent development and production; and vastly increased development costs.

The response was effective investment in expensive new facilities, hiring a larger proportion of engineers, diversifying into a much greater variety of activities, and generally upgrading the training and skills of both employees and management.

Still another result was that industry began working ahead of actual requirements for specific products. Larger and more advanced facilities were established to promote the state-of-the-art—irrespective of particular development or production contracts. In fact, technical progress made by both government and industry had the effect of generating new requirements. Such progress made available new possibilities that the Nation, for its own safety, could not afford to ignore. In general, during this period, industry was concentrating on applied research—the pursuit and use of knowledge for particular purposes.

BASIC RESEARCH

Now we are observing a third and most remarkable step in the aerospace industry's technical progress. That industry's conscious and organized activities now begin, not with engineering, nor even with invention, but at the very sources of knowledge.

From the industry's standpoint, a science center, such as this, accomplishes at least two main purposes. First, it accelerates a company's own capacity to identify and apply new knowledge, and thus strengthens its competitive position in the industry. At the same time, the center provides the company with a window on the world's scientific processes—a means of receiving, digesting, and disseminating the latest data appropriate for the company's activities. These functions should be appreciated by all who have an interest in our country, as well as those who have a direct interest in this company as stockholders or as employees.

For the Nation, the rise of basic science in the aerospace industry has deep significance. It means that more people of the highest technical training, experience, and motivation will be devoted to the quest for fundamental knowledge. These people and these facilities are really not competing with university research centers or other institutions already engaged in scientific investigation. On the contrary, they constitute new reinforcements in the assault on the unknown.

In all of these areas of continued investigation, the full-blown advent of basic science in industry represents a new era. The knowledge gained here becomes part of the entire body of knowledge vital to the Nation's overall progress. The advances made by these laboratories are swiftly shared with others throughout the country through scientific publications and the reading of papers at technical symposia. I understand that for 2 years in a row, this young organization—still modest in size—has been the Nation's second greatest contributor of papers before the American Physical Society. This is an asset not only of North America, but of the United States itself.

For all of these reasons, I attach profound significance to today's dedication. Industry's recognition of basic research, added to its long established work in production, development, and applied research, gives fresh and powerful impetus to the Nation's scientific progress. It sharpens still further an absolutely essential tool in pursuing our national purpose.

I am proud to have had the opportunity to participate in this important event. Thank you.

The Arizona Kid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, last week at Jacksonville's Saturday Morning Toastmasters Club there was no doubt that the presidential campaign was well under way. I heard there, four very stimulating speeches. The first was by one of the most personable men I have ever met, Sam Jennings. Now on active duty in the Navy, he appropriately refrained from partisanship, but ably urged his fellow club members to use fully the speaking talents which they had been developing in their club. He said:

Abilities are like tax deductions—we use them or we lose them.

In a more earthy vein he said:

Unless we apply our abilities we just saw sawdust.

The next speaker was a tall and lean "Florida cracker" whose captivating rural manliness projected an eloquent good humor. The speech of Gaston Dickens, once from rural west Florida and now making a great success for himself in metropolitan Jacksonville, was as follows:

THE ARIZONA KID

They're having an election for high sheriff in the town of Little Elephant Horn. Much to everyone's surprise the Arizona Kid announces he's going to run for the office. The Arizona Kid is noted for being quick on the draw and shooting first and asking questions afterwards. The respectable citizens in the town are horrified at the thought of his being high sheriff.

As our story opens, several of the Arizona Kid's henchmen are waiting at the railroad station for him to arrive on the noon train.

It's 10:45 a.m. on the station clock. A small group of responsible citizens go over to visit the old high sheriff, Ike, at his farm to persuade him to come out against the Arizona Kid.

The old sheriff shakes his head. "Boys, I'd like to help you, but I'm getting on in years, and I don't feel it's my place to interfere. I don't like the Arizona Kid any more than you do, but I'm not going to get messed up in town politics."

"But everyone respects you," the citizens plead. "If you say the Kid's irresponsible, a lot of folks are going to listen."

"Boys, you know I don't like to deal in personalities. I got my farm and my cattle and I've been through the war. I just want to settle down and be left alone."

The clock at the railroad station shows 11 o'clock and Arizona Kid's henchmen are whooping it up.

The citizens decide to ride over and see Pennsylvania Bill and ask him if he'll run against the Arizona Kid.

Pennsylvania Bill says, "If everyone in this town comes to me and says they want me to be sheriff, then I'll consider running for the office. But I'm not going out into the street and try to stop the Arizona Kid. I

may not agree with him, but I'm not going to mess with him."

"But the old sheriff wants you to run against the Kid," someone says. "You know the Arizona Kid will set Little Elephant Horn back 20 years."

"I know it," Pennsylvania Bill says, "and I'm available. But the only way I can be convinced is if all the townspeople carry me on their shoulders down Main Street."

"Would you consider being deputy high sheriff?"

"I'd have to find out where the Arizona Kid stood first, but I wouldn't rule it out."

It's 11:30 and the nervous citizens go over to see former Deputy High Sheriff Dick. They plead with him to do something about the Arizona Kid.

Dick says, "Men, I'll do anything anyone wants me to—but I ain't going to tangle with the Arizona Kid. If you can knock him off, I'd be very happy to run for sheriff. But I'm not about to get into a fight."

The clock at the railroad station reads 11:45. The citizens go to see Rock The Nelson. He tells them he can't stop the Arizona Kid alone. He almost got killed trying.

"I'm willing to go out into the street with a gang of guys and I can supply some guns and horses. But the Arizona Kid has me outnumbered and I can't do it by myself."

It's 5 of 12. The responsible citizens hear the train whistle and they all go to their houses, lock the doors, and pull down their window shades.

At high noon the Arizona Kid gets off the train as his henchmen cheer. He walks down the main street of Little Elephant Horn prepared to shoot it out with anyone who tries to stop him. But no one dares to come out into the hot noon sun.

As mentioned, rumor has it the Arizona Kid shot from the hip and asked questions later. The way they all talked, the Arizona Kid would wreck Little Elephant Horn and there would be nothing left of the town once he got through with it.

The leading citizens of Little Elephant Horn said he would cut off their water in the mainstream, sell the public school, and do away with taxes. Everyone from old Sheriff Ike to former Deputy Sheriff Dick indicated they had no use for the Arizona Kid and he should be stopped.

Finally, at the last minute Pennsylvania Bill decided to shoot it out with the Arizona Kid. His decision was made 5 minutes after noon and by that time the Kid was holed up in his hotel.

Pennsylvania Bill could only round up three or four guns by then, and when he went in the street to fight it out, the Kid's henchmen told him to get lost.

Pennsylvania Bill went into the street and shot his gun into the air, hoping the Kid would come out. But the gun misfired and no one paid any attention to him.

Finally, the next day the election took place and the Arizona Kid clobbered Pennsylvania Bill.

As soon as the results were in, the crowd started cheering and the same people who expressed fear of the Kid said he'd make "one helluva" sheriff.

The old Sheriff Ike said the Kid stood for the same things he did.

Deputy Sheriff Dick said the Arizona Kid was his kind of fighter and finally Pennsylvania Bill said "I'd always said I'd support the Arizona Kid if he got elected."

So Little Elephant Horn now has a new sheriff. And he won it without firing a shot.

The third speaker was Glenn Estess, vice president of W. H. Curtin & Co., and his speech challenged the audience to think deeply on the charges and countercharges of the campaign so far. He said:

VOICES OF CONFUSION

As I grew up I remember my father avidly took an active part in politics in my native State, the great sovereign State of Mississippi. Thus it was natural that the past week and the Democratic Convention held a great deal of interest for me, as did the Republican Convention in San Francisco.

The end of the convention, an institution of American history, sounds the beginning bell of the grassroots campaign for the Presidency of these United States.

President Johnson had this to say about the 1964 general election: "It will not be between liberals and conservatives; party and party; platform and platform." Instead, according to President Johnson, "it is between courage and timidity. It is between those who see what can be, and those who want to maintain status quo. It is between those who welcome the future and those who turn away from its promise."

President Johnson pledged to the convention his constant and patient effort to move the world toward peace.

In response to the Democratic Convention, the GOP presidential nominee, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER said Johnson's acceptance was "a clear withdrawal from leadership in international affairs. It was perhaps the most isolationist acceptance speech in modern American history.

"Not once did it mention directly the challenge of communism or the many brushfire conflicts that communism has ignited around the world. Not once did it go to the heart of the problems that are splitting our alliance apart, splitting the world apart, and putting this Nation every day on the brink of crisis.

"The eyes and ears of the entire world were turned to that acceptance speech, looking and listening for the vision and strength that would once again put America on the high road of leadership. Instead, the world witnessed a vision turned inward, isolated and sighted only toward domestic political advantage.

"America is not and must not become a second-rate power, standing on the sidelines of world affairs. It deserves more than promises devoid of recognition of world problems and global challenges." But this week in Atlantic City, it got nothing more from President Lyndon Johnson, Senator GOLDWATER said.

And then the time came for the acceptance speech of President Johnson's choice for Vice President, his running mate, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. "The American Presidency," he said, "is not the place for a man who is impetuous in one moment and indecisive in the next; who is violently for something one day, and violently opposed on the next; whose statements on matters of major policy are so confusing and contradictory that neither friend nor foe knows where he stands."

Senator HUMPHREY gave the crowd something to yell about. The ebullient Minnesota Senator flailed away at Senator GOLDWATER. His tack indicated that President Johnson, in selecting the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, made sure the Democrats have a punch slinging equivalent of New York's Representative BILL MILLER, the GOP vice-presidential nominee. In response to a question, MILLER said the GOP plans to make "corruption in Government" a major campaign issue. He did not elaborate, other than to say that it will include discussion of the Bobby Baker case, Billie Sol Estes, and the TFX case."

MILLER also accused the Democratic Party officials of condoning civil disruptions and said the GOP would be delighted to make civil rights a campaign issue if the opposition wished.

Representative MILLER specifically singled out U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson for special attack on the question of condoning civil disruption. He referred to Ambassador Stevenson's statement made at Colby College about 3 months ago that, "even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor, but a proud achievement."

These speeches and comments, with few other exceptions contributed to what otherwise were dull conventions. In both the Democratic and Republican Conventions, all decisions were made prior to the convention or behind closed doors in committee rooms, insofar as the lay public was concerned. There were no real issues for the delegates to decide by vote. In fact, there was nothing on which they could vote. Except perhaps the choice of seating, there were no differences between delegates and observers at these 1964 conventions. This in itself could be another topic for discussion.

The platforms of each party have been decided upon and are available. The candidates are now known. And you have already heard their statements that can be confusing. One thing is now certain, before November, and during this campaign there will be more claims and counterclaims; more charges and countercharges. Many American voters will never get enough factual information devoid of emotional charges to really know the true character and beliefs of either of the candidates, because they will not listen closely enough.

You, my friends, can be different. You can stop, look, and listen. Be sure you know where the candidates and their respective parties stand. Get to know more about both viewpoints, as your friend and guest, Neil Peterson, has done this summer in the office of Congressman BENNETT.

If you haven't done so already, start now toward devoting some time every day in getting prepared to vote in November for the man who will lead America and the free world to new heights. Your vote alone is not enough. Be informed, form your convictions based on fact, and vote those convictions.

In doing so, I'll personally guarantee you that you will feel better by having exercised your freedom of choice and you will be a better citizen of our great America for having done so.

The fourth speaker was George Salzar, a prominent insurance executive, whose speech was a strong attack on some personnel in the State Department in the Eisenhower administration and down to date. My inclusion of most of this speech, just as my inclusion of the others, does not imply that I agree or disagree with allegations made. Since I am in Congress, if I did not say this, the inclusion might be construed to imply that I know this material to be entirely accurate, and I do not wish that implication. I include the speech because it was eloquently delivered by a man whom I know to be dedicated to the strength and welfare of our beloved America. He said in part:

STATE DEPARTMENT OR TROJAN HORSE?

Do we have a State Department or do we have a Trojan Horse destined to destroy us from within?

A full-fledged probe of the State Department is long overdue if we are to survive the cold war. With the State Department's "no win" policy we are beaten before we start. Thousands of American boys are being sacrificed to present a phony "no win" front.

Herbert Hoover warned us years ago that the State Department must be overhauled. No one has heeded his words of wisdom.

Findings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its report on "State Department Security" dated October 2, 1962, reads "The Case of William Wieland Should Be Viewed as an Example": His record and conduct and the handling of his security case combine to provide a case history which in itself proves what is wrong with the State Department.

1. He was appointed to a position for which his qualifications were highly doubtful. His starting salary was $7,000; his salary in private employment at that time was $3,100.

2. He was appointed without a security check.

3. His appointment was actually made effective before he even filled out any form of application.

4. He falsified his job application by omission.

5. When he later filled out an expanded personal history he falsified that by misstatement.

6. Mr. Wieland played an important role in shaping our policy with respect to Cuba before and after Castro's takeover. The President and Secretary of State relied on his advice as being in the best interests of the United States of America.

7. He held a position as an expert on Latin American affairs.

8. He failed to divulge to his superiors that Castro was a Communist although as early as 1958 he did tell his friends that this was true, furthermore he received quantities of intelligence branding Castro as a known Communist.

9. Wieland eventually became the subject of a full-scale security investigation which found that he was cleared improperly (in the name of the Secretary of State of the United States of America) by an official who made no written record of the clearance or the reasons therefor. This official had neither read the security file on Wieland or even the summary and evaluation of that file. This investigation was made too late to help the cause of free nations.

It is now known that the FBI made available to the State Department in 1958, months before Castro took over in Cuba, a report which branded Castro and his leading henchmen as leading disciples of Lenin and Marx.

This FBI report was buried in the office headed by William Wieland, Director of Caribbean and Mexican Affairs. Neither Secretary of State Dulles, his successor, Christian Herter, nor President Eisenhower were made aware of the FBI report. We are all familiar with the brainwashing of the American people by the leftist press, radio, and television in order to assist Castro in his takeover. When these facts became known, what happened to Wieland? Note that to a notable degree he was responsible for the greatest danger to the security of the United States today which is the Soviet military buildup in Cuba sufficient to launch an all-out attack at any moment. Missiles in Cuba are still there. Apparently Wieland planned it that way, and in spite of this disservice to the United States he was promoted to a position higher in the same Department with a substantial increase in pay.

Are we going to remain silent while our defenses are being whittled away by sinister forces within the State Department fostering and abetting a "no win" policy. It is much later than we possibly realize. Infiltration of the State Department by such men as Wieland has apparently taken the control of foreign negotiations from the executive branch of the Government.

If an investigation of the State Department is not carried out, and a rigid reorganization to rid it of its Communist element, is not brought about by those responsible for this sad plight without further delay, the trusting citizens of our free country will awaken to learn that this Trojan horse will have already sealed our fate as slaves of the Communist world.

I hope and pray that such action will be taken in the very near future.

I respectfully urge that this investigation and reorganization of the State Department begin immediately in the best interests of free people everywhere.

Democrat Vote Buying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, Postmaster General Gronouski scraped the bottom of the political barrel recently when he blatantly told citizens of Fridley, Minn., that the way for them to get a new post office was to elect a Democrat Congressman this fall.

An editorial in the Waterloo, Iowa, Daily Courier on August 24 demands that President Johnson either ask for Gronouski's resignation or be branded as placing his stamp of approval on this political corruption.

This Member of Congress endorses completely the Courier's demand as set forth in the following editorial:

Fridley, Minn. is in a congressional district represented by a Republican, Representative CLARK MACGREGOR. He has been attempting to get a new post office for the city.

But Postmaster General John A. Gronouski delivered a speech to the Fridley Rotary Club recently. In one of the most vicious assertions of political corruption we have ever heard, he declared:

"The way to get a post office here is to send a Democratic Congressman to Washington this fall."

It is no secret that Southern States get most of the Nation's military installations because southern Democrats control committees in Congress which vote funds for the armed services.

It is no secret that Massachusetts and Texas received juicy defense and space research contracts after the Kennedy-Johnson pair were elected in 1960.

But we have never known a Postmaster General to seek openly to bribe taxpayers with their own money in the way Gronounski did in the Minnesota speech.

That speech is more than an infuriating incident to the people of Waterloo. We have been promised a new post office here for years, since all of the space in the existing Federal building is needed for other Federal agencies. Such a new post office would greatly improve the efficiency of the postal operation here.

But Waterloo, too, is in a congressional district represented by a Republican. Are we to understand that this city will get no consideration for a new post office, regardless of need, unless the district elects a Democrat?

We believe the voters of the Third District have enough old-fashioned American independence to repudiate this sordid kind of politics. Post offices are built not with Democratic money but with taxes paid by all citizens. We think the voters of the Third District would rather go without new post offices than submit to this kind of intimidation.

Gronounski's statement constitutes abuse of official responsibility. President Johnson must either ask for his resignation or he will be recorded as approving this kind of political corruption.

Elbie Jay Has a Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, while on a visit to the district during the recess, three columns attracted my attention. One by Arthur Hoppe was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on August 28, Lucius Beebe's column was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on August 17, and the one by George N. Crocker was published in the August 30 San Francisco Examiner.

The articles follow:

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Aug. 28, 1964]

ELBIE JAY HAS A PARTY

(By Arthur Hoppe)

ATLANTIC CITY.—Howdy there, folks. How y'all? It's time for another rib-ticklin' tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay family—starring ol' Elbie Jay, a fun-loving cowpoke who fills you with hope. If you hope to be Vice President.

As we join up with ol' Elbie today, he's a-setting in the big White House watching tee-vee with his two trusty sidekicks, Tex Valenti and Quickdraw Jenkins.

ELBIE (solmenly). This sure is a mighty ennobling, rewarding, and enriching tee-vee program. And I do hope every little tad is watching this cast of thousands enduring days of hardship to bring the country such an inspiring spiritual message.

TEX. But do you think they're getting the message across often enough, chief? My stopwatch shows they haven't had a spontaneous demonstration in your honor for the past 7 minutes and 10 seconds. Maybe I should call them again and prod a bit.

ELBIE. No, that wouldn't be humble. But you might tell them that little old picture of me they kindly put up has got a flyspeck on it. About 40 feet up just under my ear. The picture on the right, that is. The others look fine.

QUICKDRAW. We just got a message from them, chief. They say they don't want to appear pushy, but as long as the party down there's for you, they were wondering when you might plan to show up?

ELBIE. Well, we certainly don't want to keep them good folks in suspense. You know how I hate to keep folks in suspense. You tell 'em I'll be there smack at 6:22 p.m. tomorrow. Or maybe this evening. Or possibly first thing next week.

TEX. And they want you to bring a friend. You don't happen to have decided on which one yet?

ELBIE. Tex, that's an agonizing decision. And I plan to make it as agonizing for everybody as possible. But you know you're my No. 1 choice, Tex. And you, too, Quickdraw. Which reminds me, call up GENE, TOM, MIKE and the others and reassure each of them they still head my list. And advise Bobby I'm reconsidering. But tell HUBERT things look bad. And, oh, yes, tell that guard at the gate I'm giving serious thought to him. He's got a nice smile. My, parties sure are heaps of fun. Maybe we

ought to keep this one going all next week, it's so inspiring.

TEX. But it's beginning to drag a little, chief. They haven't had a demonstration for you in the past 17 minutes.

ELBIE. What? Guess I better mosey down there a day early and liven things up. Write me up a couple of extra speeches and make 'em humble. Tell 'em how much I'm humbly looking forward to the patriotic fireworks display of my portrait 500 feet high in rockets and roman candles. That sure sounds mighty patriotic.

QUICKDRAW. Bad news, chief. A few people are beginning to grumble about how you're running this party to suit yourself.

ELBIE (beaming contentedly). Well, now, as my grandpappy used to say: "If folks want to give you a party, take it. Because then you get to call the tune." And, boys, I want the country to know it sure is fun having a party. Right in my hip pocket.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Aug. 17, 1964]

THIS WILD WEST—HAPPY UNDERDOG IN A TUB OF BUTTER

(By Lucius Beebe)

Whatever else he may or may not be, it may with some confidence be remarked that Senator GOLDWATER is one of the luckiest candidates for high elective office in the record of American politics.

Whatever pratfalls he may take are far from fatal and 9 times out of 10 they land him in a tub of butter.

At the time of his nomination for the Presidency at the Cow Palace in San Francisco a time back he was endorsed and his candidacy strengthened by the almost unanimous disapproval of every important agency of communication in the United States. He was favored with the smears, sneers, and gratuitous blackguarding of publishers and columnists, editorial writers and political correspondents, television commenators, news broadcasters and the septic nightclub wits of the sick humor school. They ranged in dignity and authority from the guarded disapproval of Henry Luce in the inferential pages of Life to the backstairs servant's hall sneers of Drew Pearson who seldom enters any reputable premises through the front door. A discredited renegade Rockefeller who happened to be Governor of New York and a rubber-faced flunkey for the one-worlders and internationalists, was happily quoted in his every attitude of frustration at not getting so much as a hearing at the convention, so that what in all probability are his last public utterances were in the capacity of defaming a successful opponent in the columns of an equally hostile press.

The newspaper and magazine press of New York and the Atlantic seaboard which are the voice of London, Paris, and Moscow, but never the United States, gave him the short end of the stick.

So now, thanks to the monolithic efforts of the kept press of the land and its internationalist bosses, Senator GOLDWATER is Republican candidate for the Presidency, a potential which may well not be realized in this election, but which is certainly the gift of American communications in a united campaign of defamation without parallel in the political record.

Never underestimate the power of the press. Its disapproval can make you President.

The lucky Senator's next tub of butter was the practically unanimous disfavor of the consistently anti-American press of England, Europe, and the parts of Asia where movable type has penetrated. Excerpts from the chorus of denunciation that greeted his nomination in London, Paris, Helsinki, and Moscow were obligingly printed in extenso and for free by the anti-Goldwater press of the United States although the Republicans should have been happy to spread them in the record as political advertising.

If there is one agency that can ruin a candidate's political prospects anywhere west of Albany where the United States begins and Europe leaves off it is the approval of the mendicant nations of Europe and this the Senator was mercifully spared.

Among the Senator's blessings from abroad he can count the distrust of the Times of London, whose record is unblemished over the centuries for its distaste of all things American except when the going is tough for England in a major war.

Mr. GOLDWATER was greeted in the French press with a combination of uneducated dismay and educated malevolence which should be worth the combined votes of New York and Pennsylvania when the returns are in.

Officials of both leading English political parties have contributed immeasurably to the esteem in which Senator GOLDWATER is held at home with round denunciations of his recklessness, antediluvianism, and dedication to the holy war against communism.

The tidings from England alone may serve to put BARRY into the White House this year although a conservative estimate would suggest that perhaps another 4 years of foreign impertinence may be required to overcome the patent advantage of the present occupant.

But not in England alone is the Senator viewed with gratifying apprehension and dismay for translation on this side of the Atlantic into unqualified and enthusiastic approval by the American electorate.

He is also in bad odor in France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Upper Assam, Finland, East Germany, Russia, Lower Slobovia, and Switzerland where the negative sentiments of politicians and newspaper editors who are neither taxpayers nor registered voters in the United States are of inestimable value as campaign documents in the Repulican cause.

In the nicely balanced state of his political fortunes, the approval of any substantial portion of the foreign press might well have been fatal, but almost without exception every agency for exciting sympathy for the Senator in his own country has been activated to the full potential of its invaluable hostility. The frustrated yelp of the panhandlers of the world in chorus with the anguished bleating of the internationalists and give-away artists in Washington and New York is the pleasantest music the American taxpayers, who also have a stake in the election almost the equal of that of Moscow, Helsinki, and Paris, can well imagine.

As we have remarked, it may take another 4 years to do the trick, but the hostility of an envious and mendicant world combined with the Senator's incredible good fortune in his enemies at home will put him in the White House yet. They are almost invincible assets.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, Aug. 30, 1964]

IN TINTS OF ROSE

(By George N. Crocker)

As we follow the beatific text of "L.B.J.'s Adventures in Wonderland," otherwise known as the Democratic Party platform, and find ourselves slipping into a state of euphoria we would have thought only a drag of marijuana could induce, we rouse ourselves and ask, How is it done?

By mirrors? No. Lies? Well, no, we don't go that far; nor need we, recalling the old wisecrack about three ways to pervert the truth—by lies, damned lies, and statistics. Another way is to just drop some facts overboard.

Not for nothing does the Johnson administration have at its beck and call an army of statisticians, whose product the platform writers have used as a drunken man uses lamp posts—for support rather than illumination. No careful student of conditions in this country—the balance-of-payments deficit, the inflation being injected into the money system, etc.—will swallow without salt the rosy descriptions in the platform. Statisticians, it has been said, are persons who collect figures and draw confusions from them.

On foreign affairs the platform does the best it can to varnish over the steady deterioration of American prestige. Our alliances have crumbled. CENTO has fallen apart, and SEATO is moribund while American soldiers perish in South Vietnam. These two alliances were bulwarks built under President Eisenhower. We search the Democratic platform. What does it say about CENTO and SEATO? Nothing.

Little is said about NATO, for everybody knows that NATO is wracked by discord and a wave of anti-Americanism.

Just dropped overboard is the fighting today in the Congo and Malaysia; the Soviet penetration of the Mediterranean by the Cyprus imbroglio, and the Red Sea through Egyptians armed with Soviet weapons in Yemen and Somalia's alinement with the Soviet bloc; the bum's rush given the United States in Libya, Algiers, and Morocco, where Russians today build airstrips. As for Cuba, the Monroe Doctrine isn't even given a decent obituary.

We were curious to know how they would handle the Berlin Wall. No wall was built while Eisenhower was President. But the Democrats decided the least said about the wall the better. They chose silence.

Their final adventure in wonderland is the civil rights plank. It begins proudly, "In 1960, we pledged: We shall seek to create an affirmative new atmosphere in which to deal with racial divisions * * *." We are told the pledge was carried out.

Laws were passed; but laws are not necessarily "an affirmative new atmosphere." One can't measure prejudice or hatred like gallons in a tank, but there are reasons to believe there is more of both in America today than there was in 1960. Negro leaders have said mass demonstrations are temporarily in abeyance—until after the election. What are they all about?

We have a good clue from Dr. Carlton Goodlett, a powerful leader and publisher of the Sun-Reporter, a Negro newspaper in San Francisco. On July 27 he addressed a united freedom rally to protest court action against trespassers and disturbers of the peace. Here are his recorded words:

"Briefly I will tell you why they hate you so: Because there is developing around the Negro's freedom struggle in America a new technique. They are disturbed because 90 percent of the demonstrators are not Negroes. But this circumstance never, never disturbs me because I recognize that it is a truism—before white Americans can save themselves they must first save me.

"The Negro revolt is not an end within itself. It is a means to an end. And by peaceful techniques, the Negro and his allies are demonstrating in the streets and are obtaining incalculable results, and we are developing a technique by which the disadvantaged, the disinherited, the disenchanted all over America, representing the underemployed, the disemployed, the nonemployed, the aged citizens who need a roof over their head, the aged citizens who need medical care, and even the disenchanted middle class who want to preserve a world at peace—we are developing a technique that's going to win, and the people who control us, they don't like us because—they hate us because we've found the way."

Is this the "new atmosphere" the Democrats pledged in 1960? Is this what is to resume when the election is over?

Mr. Clyde W. Young, Honorary Chairman of the Board—60 Years of Service With Monarch Life Insurance Co. of Springfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Monarch Life Insurance Co. is one of the great insurance organizations in this country. It was organized in Springfield, Mass., 63 years ago and from its birth, it has continued its progress to become one of the leaders in health, accident, and life insurance.

Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 15, 1964, a splendid tribute was paid to Mr. Clyde W. Young, honorary chairman of the board. On that evening, Mr. Young was cited for the 60 years he served the company and the remarkable part he had in nursing Monarch from its birth to preeminence in the great insurance industry. Mayor Charles V. Ryan, Jr., of Springfield, noted the pride that his community holds for Monarch and expressed the gratitude of his city to Mr. Young for the time he has given and the role he has played in many civic activities. Mr. Frank S. Vanderbrouk, president of Monarch Life Insurance Co., delivered a special tribute. It was my privilege to bring the greetings of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the tribute of Mr. Vanderbrouk and my own remarks:

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO CLYDE WHEATON YOUNG

(By F. E. Vanderbrouk, president, chairman of testimonial dinner)

Tonight we are assembled to honor Clyde Wheaton Young, whose vision, integrity and singleness of purpose were highly instrumental in assuring a successful future for Monarch Life Insurnace Co.

When Mr. Young joined our company on August 15, 1904, it was a 3-year-old infant—with assets of $6,000, premium income of $7,000, and a home office staff of two people.

He began his career as an office boy and clerk, and there are probably very few positions he did not fill in the 60 intervening years. He became a director in 1908, treasurer in 1912, secretary and treasurer in 1921, and was elected to the office of president in 1925.

During the 26 years of his presidency, from 1925 to 1951, Monarch's growth was rapid and sound. Our field force grew to sizable proportions; our company became one of the Nation's foremost health and accident companies; a life insurance company was formed to provide complete lifelong financial security for our policyholders; and a large new home office was built at 365 State Street to accommodate Monarch's expanding operations.

In 1925 when Mr. Young became president, premium income was $1,372,000 and assets were $728,000. In 1951 when he relinquished the presidency to become chairman of the board, premium income was $15,572,000 and assets were $33,686,000. These were years of noteworthy achievement.

As chairman of the board from 1951 to 1960, Mr. Young continued to play a significant part in our growth and development. In 1960 he became honorary chairman of the board and retired from active participation in management.

Tonight we also pay special tribute to 62 members of our companys' field force—10 general agents and 52 field underwriters—who are here to honor Mr. Young. For 6 months, these men worked brilliantly and tirelessly to make this occasion a fitting testimonial.

These 62 men are our National Award winners and represent an elite segment of our company's sales representatives. They are carrying on the Monarch tradition of providing clients with the finest in lifelong financial security and their efforts merit our highest praise.

To Mr. Young and to our 62 National Award winers, we all say, "Congratulations and well done."

CONGRESSMAN EDWARD P. BOLAND'S TRIBUTE TO CLYDE W. YOUNG

Mr. Vanderbrouk, Your Honor Mayor Ryan, distinguished guests and officers and employees of the Monarch Life Insurance Co., when Mr. Vanderbrouk sent me the invitation to come here tonight, I readily accepted—and for a number of reasons. With this captive audience, it seemed to me to be an ideal atmosphere to give a paper on the King-Anderson medicare bill. However, I understand that the dinner committee was snowed under by requests for equal time—so that took care of that. Another reason for my quick acceptance was that the guest of the evening and I have some things in common. My staff and I usually guide General Counsel Jim Bulkley's church groups around the Nation's Capitol just as Mr. Young has guided Jim's children in this area. Mr. Young and I are both graduates of Classical High School—both of us are corporators of Springfield College and each of us have ties with Columbus, Ohio. It is Clyde Young's birthplace and a city in which I spent some time in 1960. For I arranged John F. Kennedy's preelection campaign visits to Columbus. The late, beloved President used to puzzingly say that, in Columbus, he got the largest crowds in his campaign and the fewest votes. It points up that today, as in Clyde Young's time of 1885, they are still voting Republican in Columbus.

But, I come here tonight to join with all of you in this meaningful and magnificent tribute to a remarkable man.

As I flew here this morning from Washington and touched down at fantastic Kennedy International Airport in New York and then on into Bradley Field, the brilliant weather framed some thrilling, constantly changing flight pictures of teeming recreation areas, magnificent highways and bridges—of towns, some old and some new and growing—crowded cities with miles of homes, towering buildings and acres of industrial plants.

These panoramic views gave me cause to reflect on the part that the great insurance industry had in building this Nation. It invested in the future of America—in its physical plant and in its people. It has played an incalculable role in creating the greatest standard of life anywhere on this globe.

Monarch has been a vital part of this scene. Clyde W. Young has sketched a real part of this picture. Monarch is, in a real sense, Clyde Young and Clyde Young is Monarch. His has been 60 years of struggle, hard work, achievement and success. Sixty glorious years. It has been well said that there is no one with endurance like the man who sells insurance. Few men in the insurance field have been as durable as Clyde Young.

I need not read the litany of accomplishments and progress Monarch experienced under Mr. Young. Its growth from a one-room office and assets of $6,516 to a beautiful multiroomed home office and assets of almost $34 million in 1951—and since that time, under Frank Vanderbrouk it has rocketed to almost a quarter of a billion dollars—this tells the real story. Institutions are but the lengthened shadows of men. Monarch, indeed, has been and is, the lengthened shadow of Clyde W. Young.

He is honored tonight for his incredible service to Monarch and his giant stature in the great insurance field. We, likewise, honor him as Mayor Ryan has so well said, for his civic service and the many community activities he has joined in. Our city is better because he passed this way. He has been a great and good citizen.

I convey my own personal congratulations to him on this wonderful occasion. I have the high honor and personal privileges of bringing the greetings of the President of the United States to Mr. Young and to express the gratitude of the United States of America.

Thank you.

HIGHLIGHTS IN MONARCH'S HISTORY

Monarch founded as an accident company (1901): From the beginning, Monarch was destined to become a leader in health and accident—and in later years, a leader in the life insurance field. Integrity and progress have been Monarch's twin objectives for over 60 years.

Great influenza epidemic of World War I (1918–19): Monarch established a record for claim service and stability that has never been surpassed.

Monarch develops new type health and accident noncancellable contract (1921): Monarch introduced the first health and accident noncancellable, nonaggregate contract with a specified indemnity period—a contract that has been widely copied throughout the industry ever since.

Monarch enters the life insurance field (1926): Monarch Life Insurance Co. was formed so that Monarch policyholders could have complete protection against the destruction of human life values caused by disability, death, and old age.

Monarch Life Insurance Co. and Monarch Accident Co. merge (1931): Both companies merged into one—Monarch Life Insurance Co.—in order to provide its policyholders with the benefits of greater economy and operating efficiency.

Monarch becomes a career company (1932): Monarch severed its connections with part-time agents and brokers, believing that Monarch's quality products should be sold only by full-time, professionally trained salesmen.

Monarch organizes first training school for new men (1936): This new training school was formed to supplement regional and in-agency training activities—and to give Monarch agents professional status at the very beginning of their new careers.

Monarch builds new home office plant (1938): Modern, new home office building completed, so that Monarch could accommodate its greatly expanding sales and service operations.

Monarch creates first industry college (1947): This was an innovation in the American business world because it was built as a separate unit with dormitories included. This was another giant step in improving the caliber of Monarch's agency operations.

Monarch scores a "first" in major medical protection (1954): In 1954 Monarch developed and offered to the public the first major medical plan to be guaranteed continuable to age 65—a major contribution in the field of medical expense coverage.

Monarch introduces nonparticipating life insurance (1961): In this year, Monarch introduced a new and complete portfolio of nonparticipating life insurance contracts, to add to its already complete and up-to-date line of participating plans. Very few companies are able to extend professional service of this caliber.

Monarch offers policyholders complete disability programing service (1962): Monarch developed and introduced a unique set of disability insurance contracts—and became the first and only company to adapt its entire product line to the concept of the total programing of health insurance needs.

New highs set in premium income, assets, and life insurance in force (1963): As of the end of 1963, Monarch's premium income had reached $49,781,000,—assets amounted to $149,880,000 and life insurance in force totaled $761,516,000.

Mr. Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the 34th national convention of the Democratic Party is now history. It was a great convention. But missing from this year's participants were some of the outstanding leaders of the past. I thought it was very appropriate that tributes were paid to some of them on Thursday evening, August 27, in the convention's final session.

As I listened to James Farley's tribute to the late beloved Speaker Sam Rayburn, I was reminded of a poem written by an Oklahoma poet shortly after the Speaker's death on November 16, 1961. The poet, Mr. Rudolph N. Hill of Wewoka, Okla., is a past president of the Poetry Society of Oklahoma, a member of the International Poets Laureate, a graduate of the university, a lawyer and municipal judge.

His poem follows:

MR. SAM

(Dedicated to the memory of Hon. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives)

(By Rudolph N. Hill)

(Author is a past president of the Poetry Society of Oklahoma, a member of the International Poets Laureate, graduated from the University of Oklahoma, 1925, is a lawyer and municipal judge)

Mr. Sam.
Great House Speaker, meant to be.
Mr. Sam. Mr. Sam.
Constant Democratic plea,
Mr. Sam.
Long to be recalled for mention
How you drawled, above the tension,
State's rollcall at each convention,
Mr. Sam.
Mr. Sam.
People loved the very name.
Mr. Sam. Mr. Sam.
Common touch your call to fame,
Mr. Sam.
Man of courage and decision,
Calm and cool, above derision,
Man of Texas long-range vision,
Mr. Sam.
Mr. Sam.
Sure, you heard them call you there.
Mr. Sam. Mr. Sam.
All along the golden stair,
Mr. Sam.
Looking up to Washington,
Standing past oblivion,
Hear your Master say: "Well done."
Mr. Sam.

Governor Wallace Fails To Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, Columnist Drew Pearson outlined a factual statement by the gentleman from Indiana, Congressman RAY J. MADDEN, in the questioning of Governor Wallace at the Democratic platform hearings in Atlantic City.

The article did not contain the statements on education made by Governor Wallace which led up to critical questioning by the gentleman from Indiana, Congressman MADDEN.

In Governor Wallace's written statement to the platform committee on page 7 he stated in reference to the inroads of our Government at the local school level:

It can and is controlling the entire local school systems of our States.

It can and has supervised and passed upon and prescribed the adoption of curricula for our school systems.

It can and has been a vehicle for the destruction of neighborhood schools.

The above verbatim quotations, as everybody knows, is completely misleading and a misrepresentation of the educational bills passed under the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the 88th Congress. These statements indicate a forerunner of the propaganda from the Goldwater-Wallace political axis in the coming campaign.

In the Drew Pearson article an omission was made wherein another delegate on the platform committee asked Governor Wallace if he intended to support and vote for President Lyndon Johnson in the November election. This question Governor Wallace also refused to answer but indulged in a repetition of some parts of his long political "gobble-de-gook" previous to Congressman MADDEN'S questioning.

He refused to answer the other questions propounded about his other criticisms, indulged in his further attacks on the Kennedy-Johnson administration. The gentleman from Oklahoma, Chairman CARL ALBERT, very properly rapped the gavel and terminated the Governor's entertaining diatribe.

Under my unanimous-consent request, I hereby submit the article from yesterday's Washington Post by Columnist Drew Pearson:

WALLACE CHALLENGED

(By Drew Pearson)

When Gov. George Wallace, of Alabama, appeared before the Democratic platform committee, Representative CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, committee chairman, passed word to committee members to let the Governor speak his piece, then excuse him without any fireworks.

However, Representative RAY MADDEN, of Indiana, who is the opposite of Wallace in religion, geography, and politics, challenged him on his criticism of the Federal Government and schools.

"In 50 years there has never been an administration that has done so much for education as the Kennedy-Johnson administration," said MADDEN. "It has passed measures to educate nurses, doctors, dropouts, veterans, and to help boys with no money to go to college.

"It has tried to remedy the terrible failure in our educational system which General Hershey reported to us regarding the draft that many boys were rejected because of insufficient education.

"In this respect, Governor, your State takes the brass hat. Montana takes the diamond hat. Thirty-three out of every 100 draftees from Alabama were rejected. Montana had the best record. Indiana had 2.4 percent rejected.

"So, Governor," concluded Representative MADDEN, "here is the question I want to put to you: In view of this, don't you think this convention should go on record as commending the Kennedy-Johnson administrations for the great strides taken in regard to education?"

Governor Wallace did not answer. But he did start declaiming again on some of the things he had told the platform committee before.

"Governor," interrupted MADDEN, "we've listened to that stuff for 40 minutes. My question calls for a yes or no answer: Should this convention go on record as praising the Kennedy-Johnson administration for their aid to education?"

Still Wallace didn't answer.

"If either Scranton or Rockefeller had been the Republican nominee, not GOLDWATER, would you have withdrawn from the Democratic Party?" pursued MADDEN.

Wallace didn't answer.

"The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired," said Chairman ALBERT, and that ended that.

Causes and Results of the Prayer Amendment Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the September issue of the magazine Together, a Methodist publication, Mr. W. Astor Kirk, director of the Department of Public Affairs of the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, analyzes the causes and results of the current controversy over the proposed Becker amendment. I commend his article, which follows, to all those who seek a better understanding of the many problems raised by this proposal:

BEHIND THE SCHOOL PRAYER DEBATE

Proposals to change drastically the Bill of Rights have attracted wide attention all summer. Most publicized and seriously considered has been the proposal of Congressman FRANK J. BECKER, a Roman Catholic, of New York.

The Becker amendment is one of at least 147 bills and resolutions, taking 34 different approaches, introduced in the House of Representatives during the 88th Congress to cancel the effect of three U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1962–63. These decisions declared devotional Bible-reading, devotional recitation of the Lord's Prayer, and other worship under the auspices of public schools—even when voluntary—to be in violation of the "establishment of religion" principle of the first amendment to the Constitution. The Becker proposal seeks to

nullify the Court decisions and to legalize devotional use of Bible reading and prayer in school programs.

Many are wondering why the far-reaching proposal to change our long-established understanding has gained such a vocal following, and why there has been such a vicious attack upon the Supreme Court's recent decisions. The reasons, as I see them, are these:

First, most people (perhaps including Members of Congress and denominational executives) have not carefully studied the Supreme Court's opinions. From misleading headlines in newspapers and oversimplified statements of news commentators, they have gotten the impression that the Supreme Court is against God, the Bible, and Christian region. This is not the case.

Second, many persons have not taken time to find out what actions the Supreme Court actually has prohibited. For example, the Bible of itself is not banned from public school courses. Schools are merely barred from using it for devotional purposes—that is, in a reverential or worship context.

Third, some are in the pro-Becker amendment camp simply because they do not understand the proper role of religious data in education. There are permissible, educationally sound methods of making use of religious data in public school courses, just as there are sound and appropriate methods of using data on politics and economics.

Fourth, many Americans, including some influential religious leaders, are notoriously deficient in understanding the realities of religious and cultural pluralism. They like to think of our Nation as "Christian," when it is not. We Christians are one group in a society of Jews, humanists, Moslems, Hindus, atheists, what have you, who together make up an existing pluralism. Many people are not prepared intellectually emotionally, and spiritually to accept such pluralism for our society and make creative use of it. They do not see how pluralism can, and does, enrich public institutions. Believing a "Christian society" exists, they are easy recruits for pro-Becker amendment groups.

Fifth, the Becker amendment movement has won strong support from some influential political, economic, and religious conservatives. They believe that, in barring even superficial religious worship in schools, the Supreme Court has weakened the foundation of our civil society.

Sixth, the Becker amendment supporters include people whose theological world view is not broad enough to encompass secular institutions that really serve mankind. They are horrified when the Supreme Court decrees that, under our constitutional system, public schools must be secular institutions. They do not conceive that God's love of mankind and His disclosure of himself are refracted through all of human society. Yet if we find the presence of God in the totality of human relationships, this must mean it is embodied in secular social institutions, too.

Finally, too many people, consciously or unconsciously, want public schools to perform functions which properly belong to church, synagogue, and home. People with this attitude become frustrated when the Supreme Court declares that, under the American constitutional system, inculcation of religious values, securing religious commitment, and fostering religious behavior are not functions of our public schools.

By introducing proposals to nullify the Supreme Court decision, pro-Becker amendment Congressmen have served a useful if unintended purpose. The extended hearings, held by a House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, have precipitated a healthy national debate on religious devotions in public schools. It has caused leaders both in public life and in the churches to consider the far-reaching implications of such a drastic change in the Bill of Rights.

As a result, the anti-Becker amendment forces in the Nation have been greatly strengthened. I do not now believe the amendment will pass. I certainly hope it will not. For it would raise far more problems, of greater magnitude, than it hopes to solve.

Funeral Sermon for Maj. Charles L. Kelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, I placed in the RECORD a newspaper article about a heroic American, Maj. Charles L. Kelly, from my hometown of Sylvania, Ga., who was shot and killed while on a rescue mission in Vietnam. It was my sad duty to attend the funeral of Major Kelly. During Major Kelly's funeral, Chaplain (Capt.) Eugene E. Allen preached a true and fitting sermon to the greatness of Major Kelly.

Under permission granted I insert this sermon in the RECORD both as a tribute to the greatness of Major Kelly and so that we who have been left behind to carry on Major Kelly's battle may find the needed inspiration:

FUNERAL SERMON FOR MAJ. CHARLES KELLY, PREACHED BY CHAPLAIN (CAPT.) EUGENE E. ALLEN, AT THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, SYLVANIA, GA., ON JULY 15, 1964

Without a worthy explanation and beyond my human understanding God within His high and holy wisdom saw fit to use mankind for the fulfillment of His kingdom's work. Those who love Him and thereby love His people become part of this work. The Potter fixes us to His direction and by various means He shapes us to be His own. However, mark this well, no one is ever a standard copy or type but always uniquely and sharply different.

Maj. Charles Kelly was such a unique and special vessel. One who rose above the normal and imitation to be for mankind a heroic vessel of service. In his life there was a clear shape of a consistent calculated courage; a form that lucidly displayed a dauntless sense of duty to the mission his country had given him. But the exquisiteness of this vessel was found in the compassionate concern he had for the welfare of his fellow man. A compassion that urged him to press toward the rescue of over 500 wounded comrades in arms in a distant deep jungle in the face of a withering fire.

I bear witness to you that the Potter is alive and we have seen the glory of His work in the life of this chosen vessel. We cannot stand in the face of such glory without pausing in this service and thanking our God for Maj. Charles Kelly.

For the Potter is continuing to mold and shape and cut—He has before and He will continue. He does such work through the beauty and serenity of nature, the freedom of His word, and the life of His Son Jesus Christ. However, another way God works is through the circumstances of life, the actions of living, and the blessings and tragedies that are thereby incurred. We hold this truth to be self-evident—that God is interacting in history and through such action we are molded. The tragedy of this moment would be compounded a thousand times if we did not let this circumstance make us more pliable to God's voice. Through the chosen vessel of Major Kelly there is a present message that God would share to us and all men who love freedom.

First of all note that this life of Major Kelly ushers unto each of us the great depiction of one who had a unique concern for the welfare, health, and happiness of other people. Perhaps the men under his command; or his fellow comrades wounded under the hail of enemy fire; or a person of another nation who was in similar position. Over and again this concern for others was seen in his life. Perhaps in a long ago cafe or grocery store where he worked as a boy; or in the endearing moments with his wife and three children.

Over 100 hours a week he flew to rescue others; over 500 men in the past few months were rescued by him. The symbol of his helicopter and his hands at the wheel stood for compassion by all of us who are his countrymen. In this act of dedicated service he gave his life, and even in these moments from a distant Galilean hill comes the echoing again, "Greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for another."

Behold the goodness of God's handiwork in Major Kelly and through him let God speak. For he found life in giving it unto others.

A second message of this life is dedication to duty. The willingness to hold on, keep going, in spite of the odds and regardless of the price. For example, in 1941 he entered the service and was wounded in the European theater. However, his willingness to go on continued for then he reentered high school, completed college and received a masters degree in education. In October 1951 he came back into the service as a second lieutenant and through constant dedicatory service assumed more and more responsibility.

In his recent assignment this dedication ran high. So many said that sooner or later he perhaps would slow down. But the hours and days only deepened and strengthened his bond to his mission and to his sense of duty.

A soldier in a trench fighting is oftentimes courageous. However, this courage is often born out of a willingness to also protect himself. Yet when one moves into a battlefield to rescue another, this person must have an impeccable call to duty and dedication to country.

The example of Major Kelly has prompted me to ask myself, How dedicated am I to my country?

Major Kelly was God's unique vessel at a unique time in God's history.

The third and final message is this: That if one so lives and gives himself to Christ Jesus and hereby his fellowman, that life is now secure and eternally shall be.

Herein lies the meaning of life. To find life in the true life of life even Christ Jesus and from this life one finds security. Here is one who accepted this life and was baptized as a member of this First Baptist Church. I cannot but believe that much of his courage, humility, and sincerity was born in his relationship with Christ. Knowing that Christ held him, knowing that in Him there was eternal security. Putting this ingredient together with the challenge of the moment God aided His children, promoted His kingdom and preserved our peace, your home, and the security of our future.

For each of you that know this vessel—Charles Kelly has a special message—his life for you has a special meaning—and so should it be—"O God we thank Thee for this life and his meaning to Thee and our country."

Happy Birthday, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 4, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include an editorial written by Abe E. Eisenstein, for the East Side News, on the occasion of our President's 56th birthday. Mr. Eisenstein has contributed many editorials to the East Side News which is published and widely distributed throughout the lower East Side of New York City. His article follows:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

Thursday, August 27, marks the 56th birthday of a distinguished American citizen, a dedicated public servant, a gallant soldier, a man of almost unceasing energy, a humanitarian, a champion of the oppressed, and a responsible leader—Lyndon B. Johnson.

He was once a shoeshine boy, handyman, laborer, janitor, secretary to a college president, schoolteacher, secretary to a Congressman, and an administrator. He later became a Congressman in 1937, Navy lieutenant commander, winning the Silver Star award, a U.S. Senator in 1948, a Senate minority leader in 1953, a Senate majority leader in 1955, and Vice President in 1961. When President John F. Kennedy's life was snuffed out by two bullets fired from a gun by a mad assassin on November 22, 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson, at 2:30 p.m. that day, became the 36th President of the United States.

Lyndon Baines Johnson, first of five children (Rebekah, Josepha, Sam, Lucia), was born in a five-room farmhouse near Stonewall, Tex., to the late Samuel Ealy and Rebekah (Baines) Johnson, Jr. In 1913 the Johnson family moved to Johnson City, the Texas town of which his grandfather was a founder. His stalwart pioneering father, Samuel, was a farmer, a dabbler in real estate, and a member of the Texas Legislature. He died in 1937, at the age of 60. His loving, able and devoted mother, Rebekah, whose great interest was education (she taught Lyndon the alphabet when he was three), was herself a graduate of Baylor College and former elocution teacher. She died in 1958, at the age of 77.

The President once said:

"My mother was a saintly woman, I owe everything to her. I look at my parents with equal respect and cherish them with identical love."

Mr. Johnson was educated at Blanco County, Tex., public schools; Johnson City High School (was president of the class and the school's champion debater); Southwest Texas Teachers College (majored in social sciences and history, starred in debate, and led the school's debating team to regional and State victories, edited the Star, campus newspaper); and attended Georgetown Law School.

Lyndon B. Johnson married Claudia Taylor (often referred as Lady Bird) on November 17, 1934. They are the proud parents of two daughters, Lynda Bird and Lucy Baines Johnson.

President Johnson is a big man, 6 feet, 3 inches, weighs over 185 pounds, and has a southern accent. His thinning hair is black, his eyes are dark and restless. He enjoys dancing, swimming, hunting, riding, fishing, and looking after his prize-winning Hereford cattle on his 400-acre LBJ Ranch. He has two pet Beagles. Has had conferred upon him many honors and awards. He has two dominant qualities—energy and focus. He swims everyday before lunch, takes an after-lunch nap, is then on the go for 15 to 17 hours a day. His favorite quotation is from Isaiah, "Come now, let us reason together."

A happy birthday salute to the 36th President of the United States—Lyndon B. Johnson—who is writing pages in the history of a great democracy.

Comdr. J. Bates Gerald Continues Fight for World War I Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, in the House we are all aware of Comdr. J. Bates Gerald's contribution to the passage of the Libonati pension bill in the House by a vote of 388 to 0. Commander Gerald is continuing his great efforts throughout the country and with his friends in the U.S. Senate.

The following telegram was sent by Commander Gerald to the Honorable HARRY FLOOD BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, which is handling the pension legislation in the Senate:

CHARLESTON, S.C.

Hon. HARRY FLOOD BYRD,
Chairman, Senate Finance Committee,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I plead for your honorable committee to consider several points of H.R. 1927 now before you to give some measure of relief to our needy comrades and their widows of World War I. I regret that in recent years we have lost prestige in our organization due to recrimination and accusations directed at Members of the Congress by some of our so-called leaders and salaried employees. There are many among us who are not in sympathy with demands; neither do we hold with irresponsible or inept leadership; we come with clean hands asking your committee to help our less fortunate comrades. You, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of this honorable committee, represent the American people and we are the people.

Thousands of my comrades join me in saying we would rather light one candle than to curse the darkness. We feel that among our organization we have an Appalachia all our own. Many among our ranks live on the outer edges of abject poverty in this world of plenty. Let us not forget Mr. Chairman, that in the dark days of 1917–18, life, liberty, and honor of America and a bleeding world rested upon the courage and conduct of the veterans of World War I. The record stands; we did not fail our beloved land. Please consider especially the sick first—more beds, more and better hospitals; eliminate counting spouse's earned income; eliminate 10 percent requirement in physical examinations at age 65; permit election and reelection by old law cases to the new law. In short gentlemen I urge you to follow the action by the House in its adoption of amendments to increase benefits and allowances in our World War I category.

We are for the most part, Mr. Chairman, reasonable men and women and we would prefer reasonable action and ultimate success rather than bluster and big demands by some among us which so far for 6 long years has produced nothing for our buddies, many of whom stand in dire need and the Grim Reaper takes his toll among our aged veterans and the sands in our hourglass runs low. Help us gentlemen the time is short; give us your aid especially to our comrades who languish on beds of pain either at home or in some hospital. Our case, our hopes are in your hands, we will be grateful for appropriate action.

J. BATES GERALD.

Senator Humphrey Is Qualified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune seems to reflect the almost unanimous reaction to the nomination by the Democratic Convention of Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY as our next Vice President.

This selection was, indeed, a fitting reward for the Senator's long record as a public official and his industry and ability in sponsoring so many programs and legislative bills which have had to do with the prosperity and general economy of our Nation.

The editorial follows:

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, Aug. 28, 1964]

JOHNSON PICKS WISELY

Several weeks ago, President Johnson listed some of the qualifications he believed a good candidate for the Vice Presidency should possess. In Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, he has picked a man who measures up to the specifications.

The choice is a good one from the national standpoint. But it also is a good one from Johnson's personal standpoint, and that of the Democratic Party. HUMPHREY has some strong qualifications in the strictly partisan sense.

Humphrey went to Washington as a too-talkative, flaming liberal. For several years he got rather brusque treatment from the Senate's inner circle, the power structure in the upper Chamber. But he mellowed well and in recent years he has become thoroughly accepted on Capitol Hill.

This is not to suggest that he has changed his views; he is still a liberal. But he has changed his ways and he is now persuasive rather than bumptious; he has become practical and he has gained in understanding. He led the fight for the civil rights bill in the Senate, yet without becoming a monster in the eyes of the southern Senators. Business leaders do not take alarm at mention of his name. He has had the Washington experience, and gained the knowledge about Government operations, that qualify him to be Vice President and first in line of succession to the Presidency.

From the political standpoint, HUMPHREY should be a good running mate for Johnson. For all that he has done or said in the White House, the President is generally regarded as leaning toward the conservative side of things. HUMPHREY adds the liberal spice that is important, yet the two men do not make an ill-matched team. HUMPHREY is from the North Central States, whereas Johnson is

southern or southwestern; there is some geographical balance, if that makes any great difference.

HUMPHREY also is a worker, a hard campaigner. He can carry much of the load for Johnson this fall. White House chores will restrict the President's campaigning, and that fits into Johnson's strategy; HUMPHREY will get to do a lot of the speaking around the country. (Though we won't be surprised if BARRY GOLDWATER's needling stirs Johnson to more bare-knuckles battling than he now proposes to do.)

HUMPHREY is not a member of the Catholic faith. There was no compelling reason why the vice-presidential nominee should be. John F. Kennedy's election destroyed the old belief that a Catholic could not be sent to the White House. For the future, a man's personal religious faith should not bar him from a nomination, not be the essential qualification for getting one.

The contest November 3 is over the Presidency, and the result is unlikely to be greatly influenced by the relative merits of the two vice-presidential nominees. The voters will decide primarily between Johnson and GOLDWATER. But for whatever difference the running mates do make, HUMPHREY should prove of more aid to the President than WILLIAM E. MILLER can give to the challenging Arizona Senator. And as a prospective successor to the Chief Executive, HUMPHREY certainly should get the choice.

Our Educational Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, this letter from Josephine Weaver, of Hammond, Ind., is one of several I have received from my district commenting favorably on the outstanding opportunities which the NDEA program has made possible for them.

No doubt thousands over the Nation have the same opinion regarding this progressive program for educational expansion:

HAMMOND, IND.,
August 17, 1964.

Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,
The House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MADDEN: I am writing to you to express my appreciation for the wonderful educational experience which this summer's NDEA Institute made available to me. I attended an Institute for Secondary Teachers of French this summer at Loyola University.

Although I have my degree in French from the University of Chicago, I feel that the institute has given me training which I received nowhere else. I not only received practical training in teaching methods and classroom instruction but also a wonderful opportunity to improve my oral fluency through speaking with the many French people whom I met at Loyola. They were on the campus this summer as professors, assistants and guests.

Again, I wish to express my appreciation for your support of the NDEA, which has made possible this program and which, I feel, is one of the most potent factors in the upgrading of our public education system.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPHINE WEAVER,
French Teacher.

Grant by National Science Foundation of $870,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, when I came to the Congress in 1949 from the district in Illinois in which is located the University of Chicago, I was deeply interested in the creation of a Federal agency to promote basic scientific research. It seemed to me vital to our position, in a modern world that our Nation, which had accomplished so much in the field of applied science, now should reach out for supremacy in the field of basic science. The challenge seemed all the more commanding since we no longer could fall back on the basic scientists of Germany, upon whom we had depended in large measure, as we went our way of progress and prosperity, in applied science.

I am happy that I was privileged not only to testify before the committee in the 81st Congress that had under consideration the bill creating the National Science Foundation but to arrange for the appearance of a number of distinguished authorities on the subject from the facility of the University of Chicago.

The National Science Foundation was established in 1950, in the 2d session of the 81st Congress, as an independent agency of the Federal Government, and its accomplishments have surpassed the large expectations of its early friends and advocates.

The Foundation recently gave a grant of $875,200 to the Chicago Natural History Museum.

EXPLORE MAN AND HIS WORLD

Founded in 1893, Chicago Natural History Museum is one of the world's great museums of natural science. It has reached this position as a result of its comprehensive educational programs and its contributions to knowledge through scientific research.

The purpose of all basic scientific research is to understand man and the incredibly complex world in which he lives. Man constantly seeks to manipulate his environment for his own ends, and to do this intelligently he must understand not only how nature operates today, but also how the world of nature came to be. For everything in the world, from a chromosome to a mountain range, is the product of forces that have been acting throughout the history of the universe. Research at Chicago Natural History Museum contributes to our understanding of these forces.

In this approach to nature, the museum scientist's first step is to gather representative samples of the living and physical universe so that they can be investigated in the laboratory. The universe is too unyielding to be studied in its entirety. The most important function of the museum, therefore, is to collect and store samples drawn from the vastness of nature. Next, these samples are analyzed in order to extract answers to some of the questions nature poses.

The first fruit of this approach is an inventory of nature itself—the orderly classification of minerals, rocks, fossils, living plants and animals, and the objects of human cultures. But museum research goes far beyond the mere cataloguing of nature. It inquires into the whole physical universe—the mystery of how our planet was born and the processes that led to the formation of continents and oceans, of mountain ranges and ice ages; the evolution of life and its distribution on earth; the proliferation of human culture; the development of civilizations.

Other scientists investigate nature in ways that do not require the broad samples that museum collections provide. But the world is so involved that it must be probed from every point of view if we are ever to understand it. No one can forecast which approach will give us the next important breakthrough.

The natural history museum's unique scientific resource consists in its huge collections. Without them, we could not investigate how man and nature have become what they are.

The building of great collections has been a sustained goal of Chicago Natural History Museum for more than 70 years. Through worldwide expeditions, exchange of specimens, purchase, and many notable gifts, the museum's collections have grown until they now number more than 10¼ million specimens. These scientific collections represent major stages in the history of the earth and of human societies.

In the department of geology, the systematic collections document the formation of our planet and the physical evolution of plants, animals, and man. The botanical collections are a comprehensive index to the vegetation of the world. Zoological and anthropological materials represent living animals and the primitive cultures and high civilizations of the past.

Many parts of these collections are world renowned, among them the meteorites, Pennsylvanian and Permian fossil vertebrates, Central American plant specimens, tropical and neotropical birds and mammals, the Oceanic and Tibetan ethnological artifacts, and the primitive art.

In each of the museum's four departments—anthropology, botany, geology, and zoology—the collections are systematized, cataloged, and often photographically documented. Scientists and scholars from every part of the globe come to the museum to study these materials. Specimens are also lent to specialists throughout the world. The museum publishes research based on study of the collections by its own scientists or those associated with other institutions.

Since World War II, the resources of the museum have been made increasingly available to universities responsible for the training of graduate students. Seminars, aided by study of specimens, are held in museum laboratories. Museum specialists—many of whom also hold academic appointments on the faculties of

local universities—lecture to graduate classes and supervise doctoral theses. Thus the collections and the museum professional staff play a vital role in the preparation of students who plan careers in the natural sciences.

To keep pace with new discoveries and trends in research, collections are constantly renewed and enlarged. The museum building, which was designed for great flexibility, encloses more than 17 acres, yet even this spacious structure cannot continue indefinitely to house new acquisitions. In the department of geology, an already critical space shortage became an outright emergency when the University of Chicago proposed the merger of the famous Walker collection of fossil invertebrates with the museum's geology collections.

The university realized that much of the Walker collection needed proper housing, sorting, cataloging, and maintenance if it were to realize its potential as a major resource for paleontological research and graduate education. In recent years, such curatorial care of collections has tended to become the province of museums rather than universities. Chicago Natural History Museum was the natural choice because of its long history of educational collaboration with the university. The museum accepted the transfer of the Walker collection in the confidence that funds would be found to construct the facilities needed to house it. This confidence has been justified by the National Science Foundation grant.

Speaking of the transfer, Dr. George W. Beadle, president of the University of Chicago, said:

> A most important result of the proposed change will be the increase of real cooperation and pooling of efforts of various midwest universities and colleges and the Chicago Natural History Museum. Not only the University of Chicago, but all other institutions interested in fields represented in the museum, will find increased opportunities for independent study and teaching.

According to Museum Director E. Leland Webber:

> The museum welcomes this opportunity for greater research contributions based on the Walker collection and continued close collaboration with nearby universities. The addition of the collection to the museum's geological holdings, together with the new construction within the museum building, will create an outstanding national center for research on fossil invertebrates.

The National Science Foundation grant provides funds to roof over a light well between two wings in the northwest quadrant of the museum building at the second- and third-floor levels. Within this space, two new bearing floors and a mezzanine are to be built.

This new area, together with remodeled space now occupied by the museum geologists, will house a diagnostic X-ray unit for radiographic study of rocks and fossils; a photographic laboratory; a new rock-sectioning laboratory; and a thin-sectioning laboratory, where rocks are ground to translucence. The Chalmers Mineralogical Laboratory will be enlarged.

A classroom and several study rooms for graduate students are planned, as well as office space for museum research associates and visiting scientists. The geology library will be enlarged and space allotted for a paleontology library. The entire second floor and mezzanine of the former light well is to be devoted to the housing of geological specimens, including the Walker collection. The third floor will be used for expansion of the museum library.

Altogether, filling in the light well will add about a half-acre, or 250,000 cubic feet, of new space to the museum building. The forces that have acted to shape the world and the history of life on earth are the primary concern of all the museum's scientists. Even the universe beyond our planet lies within the scope of the museum's geologists through the study of meteorites. Opportunities for broadening these extraterrestrial investigations should emerge as space probes continue.

In 1894 there were two professional staff members in the department of geology and an assistant who wrote labels in India ink on cardboard. Today, the department has 16 full-time members, among them scientists, research assistants, artists, specimen preparators, and exhibit experts. Research is concerned with such aspects of geology as mineralogy, petrology, and fossil plants, invertebrates, and vertebrates.

Typical of the work underway are these projects:

FOSSIL FISHES

Robert H. Denison, curator of fossil fishes, has long been investigating the earliest vertebrates from the Ordovician—when they first appear as fragments of armor—through the Devonian, when the major modern groups of fishes became established. Currently he is collecting in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming, where there is a Devonian fish fauna that includes not only peculiar jawless vertebrates, but also some of the earliest known fishes with true jaws. Most of these are extinct, but some, like the earliest known lungfishes, have survived as "living fossils" for nearly 400 million years to the present day. Through studies of the structure of these animals, Dr. Denison is attempting to determine how they evolved and lived. In addition, his work on ancient fishes is also yielding clues to the origin and early history of the hard tissues that make up the vertebrate skeleton.

MINERALS AND METEORITES

The study of minerals in meteorites is the research interest of Edward J. Olsen, curator of mineralogy. Dr. Olsen is now comparing assemblages of minerals found in meteorites—the only material known from outer space—with similar assemblages found in certain kinds of earth rocks. Only under specific conditions of temperature, pressure, and appropriate timing could these clusters of minerals, found in close physical contact with each other, have been formed in the unknown planetary body from which the meteorite specimens came. Through analysis of the mineral clusters, Olsen—in collaboration with Dr. Robert F. Mueller of the University of Chicago—hopes to find clues to the conditions under which the planets, including our earth, were born.

EXHIBITS

Because of the increased demand from teachers and students in local high schools for geological studies of this region, Harry Changnon, curator of exhibits, is gathering material for a handbook of the geology of the Chicago area. In addition, he is supervising the remodeling of the Hall of Economic Geology to emphasize exhibits of minerals used in the Nation's atomic energy and space programs.

FOSSIL MAMMALS

William D. Turnbull, associate curator of fossil mammals, is currently in southeast Australia, seeking early Tertiary and late Cretaceous rock deposits containing fossil vertebrates. He hopes to answer two unsolved questions: "When did marsupials first arrive in Australia?" and, "Can their patterns of adaptive radiation be traced to show when and how these early animals occupied the various ecological niches of that continent?" His explorations, if successful, will fill a major gap in our knowledge of the history of the characteristic marsupial mammals of Australia.

FOSSIL VERTEBRATES

One of the most significant finds in the history of paleontology has been made by the museum's chief curator of geology, Rainer Zangerl: the discovery of an extensive fossil fish graveyard in Parke County, Ind. Dr. Zangerl is now studying this treasury of Pennsylvanian—coal age—lower vertebrates—sharks ranging to 14 feet in length, palaeoniscoid fishes, acanthodians, and a form entirely new to science which he has tentatively assigned to the placoderms. In a reconstruction as fascinating as the unfolding of a detective story, Dr. Zangerl and his associate, Eugene S. Richardson, Jr., curator of fossil invertebrates, have re-created the detailed history of the struggles for survival of these ancient fishes on the flooded coastal plain of an extinct inland sea 285 million years ago. A landmark in paleoecology, the pioneering work of Zangerl and Richardson has recently been published by the museum.

SEDIMENTARY ROCKS

Knowledge of what the weather was like geologic ages ago is of tremendous import to the future of our civilization, according to John Clark, associate curator of sedimentary petrology. Through studies of sedimentary rocks and the distribution of ancient faunas and floras, Dr. Clark is investigating the climatic patterns that prevailed on the North American continent some 40 million years ago. At that time a warmer climate than ours began cooling to an ice age. Since ice ages have constituted only a very small fraction of the geologic past, Dr. Clark hypothesizes that we may now be returning once again to a period of general warmth. His research on ancient climates should aid, therefore, in predicting the climatic patterns of the future.

IGNEOUS AND METAMORPHIC ROCKS

Bertram G. Woodland, curator of petrology, has just published his investi-

gations of the unusual structures called "cone-in-cone" found in sedimentary rocks. While these formations have been discussed in geological literature for more than 100 years, Dr. Woodland has proposed a new and more comprehensive theory of their origin, which has broad implications for understanding the history and formation of certain sedimentary rocks. Since the completion of this work, Woodland has returned to his primary research on the deformations found in metamorphic ricks. Through microscopic and other detailed analyses of thin sections of rock, he is gaining insights into the complex mechanics of mountain formation.

FOSSIL INVERTEBRATES

For many years, Eugene S. Richardson, Jr., has been interested in the animal life of the Pennsylvanian era, basing his work on specimens from the famous Mazon Creek area in northern Illinois. Within the rocks exposed in the stream bed and adjacent coal mines of this region are fossils indicative of several different ancient environments, including open sea, land-locked lagoons, and coastal swamp. More kinds of invertebrates lived in this region during the coal age than in most areas of comparable extent today, and continual collecting by Dr. Richardson and his collaborators is revealing species previously unknown to science.

Dr. Richardson will be in charge of the Walker collection of fossil invertebrates.

The filling in of the former light well also provides space for the museum library's rapidly expanding collection of scientific literature. The new third floor section is designed to connect directly with the present library area, and will be used primarily for additional book stacks.

The Chicago Natural History Museum Library ranks among the eight largest natural science libraries in the world, and is one of the four largest in the United States. Currently it is the only museum library to be a U.S. Government Depository to receive scientific publications of Federal agencies under the depository library program.

An essential resource for all phases of museum research, education, and exhibition, the library serves not only the museum staff and their colleagues, but also other visiting specialists and students. Through the interlibrary loan system, books are circulated to college, university, public, and special libraries for the use of faculty members, students, and research workers in other institutions and industries.

More than 160,000 volumes on anthropology, botany, geology, and zoology are in the present library collection; these are progressively augmented by purchase, gift, and exchange of the museum's scientific publications for related material. The extensive exchange of publications program is conducted in cooperation with scientific institutions in more than 110 countries throughout the world.

In recent years a considerable portion of the library's holdings have been reclassified to the more widely used and greatly expanded Library of Congress system of classification. Included in the National Science Foundation grant are funds to complete the reclassification of the collection.

The third area of the museum with current, critical space needs is the division of insects. Its collections, containing nearly 2 million specimens from around the world, are most broadly representative of North America. Since World War II, specialists from all over the world have requested that more than a quarter of a million of these specimens be lent to them for study.

The curator of insects, Rupert L. Wenzel, is currently collaborating in a study of the fleas, mites, and ticks of Panama, that live as parasites on other animals, especially mammals. Since many of these insects are carriers of disease, Dr. Wenzel's research is of fundamental importance to tropical medicine and public health.

Associate Curator Henry S. Dybas is working on the periodical cicadas. Several very closely related species of these insects appear to live in the same area, emerging simultaneously from their underground burrows every 13 or 17 years to lay their eggs in twigs of shrubs and trees. Dybas' investigation of these emergences should throw light on the ecology and evolution of these species.

The new construction will provide storage within the division for about a half-million insect specimens that cannot presently be integrated into the collection. Additional room will also be available for the divisional library, for new work areas, and for future growth of the insect collections.

THE NEXT DECADE

The present construction, which benefits primarily the department of geology and the library, is but the first step in the museum's necessary physical development. Since the completion of the present building in 1921, research programs and collections have expanded into nearly every available space. Coordinated planning for modernization and enlargement of all the museum's scientific departments is being undertaken to anticipate and prepare for orderly future growth.

But the acquisition of new space for research will fulfill only one of the museum's commitments to the future. In this century of science, a better understanding of the impact of scientific discovery upon our civilization must become the concern of every thoughtful citizen. There is urgent need for more knowledge of man and his world. Chicago Natural History Museum accepts its obligation to serve this need.

The building and conservation of collections; the continued attraction of a strong professional staff with the capacity for excellence in original research; the training of future scientists; the presentation of exhibits that reflect the light of new knowledge, using effective graphic and interpretive techniques; the broadening of educational programs to serve unmet needs—these are the museum's guidelines to the future.

Mexico Dishonors Its Pledge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recently Mexico has defied the Organization of American States and announced its intention to maintain diplomatic relations with Communist Cuba. The blow which this struck to hemispheric units was felt by all proponents of strong sanctions against Castro's stronghold. I am sure that the nations of this hemisphere will take on a new resolve in their efforts to depose Castro and that such efforts will meet with success.

At this time I am inserting a recent editorial in the Miami Herald condemning Mexico for its breach of faith in the RECORD:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Aug. 5, 1964]

MEXICO DISHONORS ITS PLEDGE

Mexico's decision to turn its back on its sister republics of the hemisphere in favor of the sorry little dictatorship in Communist Cuba is a stunning blow to the Organization of American States.

What Mexico has said, in effect, is that OAS treaty obligations are binding only when a member country wants them to be.

Mexico has chosen to dishonor the OAS agreement to invoke sanctions against the Soviet Union's outpost in the Caribbean. It will continue diplomatic and other relations, serving as the channel between Fidel Castro and the hemisphere he has sworn to subvert.

Why Mexico takes this position may puzzle the diplomats.

Against it is Mexico's proud revolutionary heritage based on freedom of the individual. Ever since "El Grito de Dolores" more than a century ago the Mexican people have fought against the kind of restrictions communism seeks to impose.

There are also Mexico's close trade and tourism ties with the other OAS members—North American tourists alone pouring more than $100 million annually into the Mexican economy.

Above all is Mexico's pledge to take joint action with the other Americas when any OAS member is the victim of aggression, as was proven against Cuba on the indictment of Venezuela.

In support of Mexico's decision is its stand that even Communist Cuba is entitled to "self-determination," a sophistry shown to be false by the steady stream of exiles fleeing Cuba by any means at hand.

Despite Mexico's defection, hemispheric pressure will continue until the Communist strongpoint in Cuba is rooted out and the Cuban people are freed from their prison.

The chief casualty is inter-American solidarity.

The OAS was a hopeful vehicle for cooperation to bring about a better New World. It is clearly a less effective instrument now that it has become the Organization of American States—minus one.

You, Too, U Thant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the financial complications at the U.N., caused primarily by weak U.S. leadership and the refusal of the Soviet Union and its satellites to meet their assigned share of the costs, are creating quite a problem for that international body.

An editorial in this morning's Chicago Tribune very properly discusses the interesting similarity between the U.N. and the Democrat administration's financial policies.

I insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

YOU, TOO, U THANT

It isn't enough to know that our own Government spending has soared out of all proportion to prices, population, or any other reasonable criterion. The budget of the United Nations, of which we pay about one-third, has been going up even faster.

Secretary General U Thant says he needs $104,690,000 for his regular or administrative budget for 1965. This is more than $3 million above what was authorized for 1964 and $12 million above what was spent in 1963. And the regular budget doesn't include the enormously costly operations in the Congo and elsewhere, or the expenses of affiliated organizations like the world health organization and the children's fund.

Using the proposed budget figures, United Nations administrative spending will have risen by 176 percent since 1950, when expenses under the regular budget amounted to about $38 million. In the same period the spending of the U.S. Government will have risen 150 percent, which is bad enough. Spending in Britain is unlikely to show an increase or more than 100 percent in these 15 years.

We're afraid that the staff of the U.N. has caught the spending bug so prevalent in Washington. U Thant can hardly point to results which would justify nearly trebling his budget in 15 years. But justification and results play no part in the familiar rule advanced by Professor Parkinson. Spending in a government bureaucracy multiplies year after year without regard to its duties or achievements or, indeed, much of anything.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

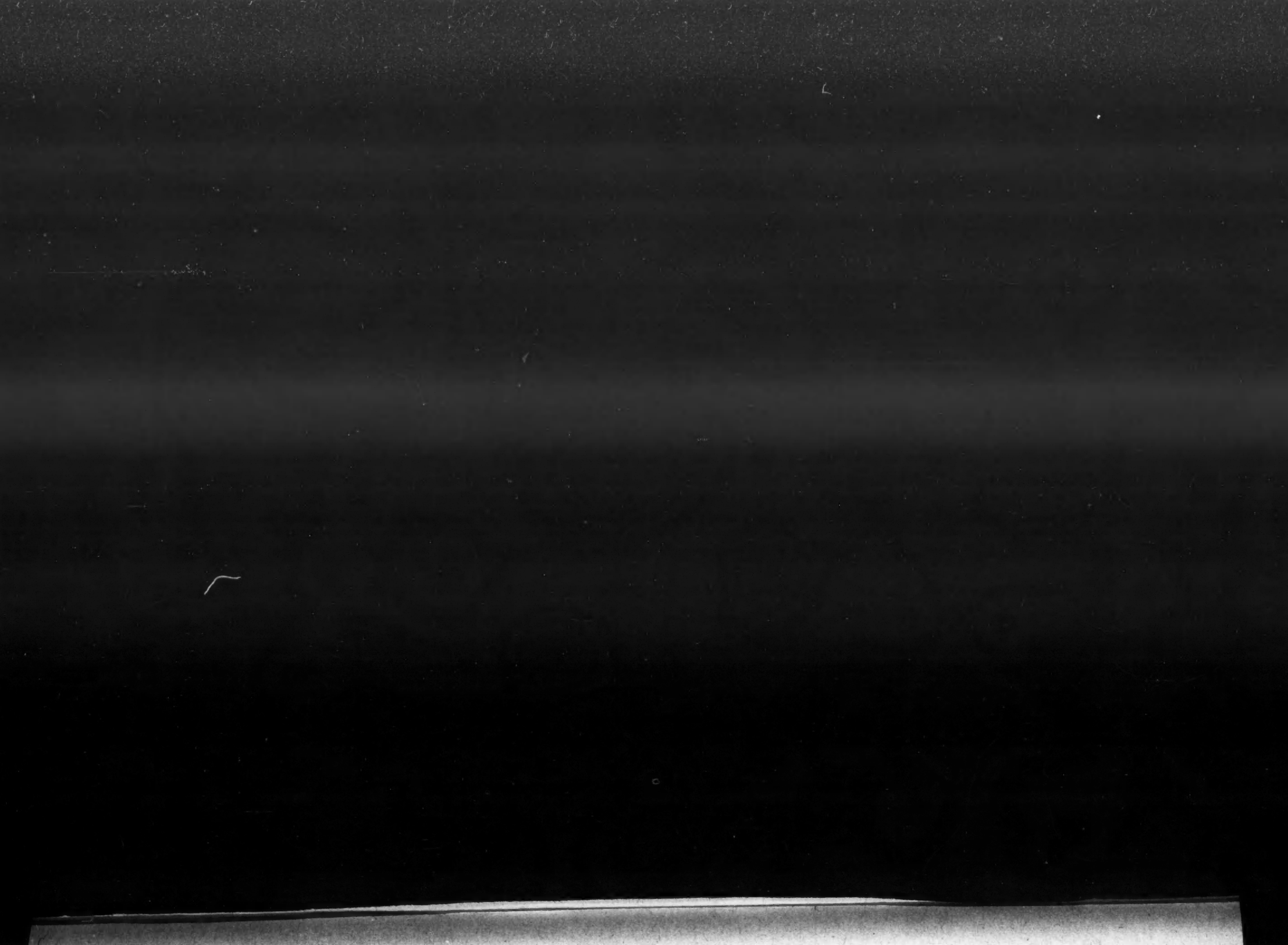

Appendix

U.S. Naval Academy Experiences Best Attended Open House Weekend for Parents and Relatives of New Midshipmen—One Family Delegation Includes Mother, Father, and Nine Brothers and Sisters of Plebe From New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is my belief that among our country's most vital investments are those in the service academies and the capable young men selected for education and officer training there. It is pleasing when I am afforded opportunities to become better acquainted with developments at the academies.

As a former college professor and university administrator and as a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, I appreciate the value of efforts to elicit the personal interest of parents and to better orient them on educational and related programs for their children. It is heartening to know that our service academies are performing with a high degree of expertness in the worthy field of engendering more intimate parental and public interest in and knowledge of their programs. In the process, the academies are enhancing not only their public relations posture and their capabilities but also are improving esprit de corps.

It is a privilege to make a special report on the most recent case in point. I begin with a quotation as follows:

> It is my hope that 4 years hence the then Superintendent will be able to express to you his pride in having seen your sons living up to my expectations.

Thus spoke Rear Adm. Charles S. Minter, Jr., U.S. Navy, incumbent Superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md., as he closed an informative and meaningful address to parents of Academy plebes last Saturday night, August 29, 1964.

The occasion was a parents' forum, one of the highlights of the 15th annual Open House Weekend at the Naval Academy, August 28, 29, and 30, 1964, for parents, guardians, and other relatives of this year's entering class of midshipmen—the fourth class—the class to graduate in 1968.

On the same program, Dr. A. Bernard Drought, D.S., Academic Dean of the Naval Academy, told the plebes' parents and guardians:

> We saw your young men this morning on the parade ground. If 4 years from now the class has the same pride and enthusiasm that we saw today, the U.S. Navy will be in good hands * * *

And from the Academy's Commandant of Midshipmen, Capt. Sheldon H. Kinney, U.S. Navy, the parents heard these significant comments:

> We strive constantly to imbue your son with the highest ideals of duty, honor, and loyalty * * * Emphasis is placed on self-reliance and self-confidence. This in turn leads to a deep sense of responsibility and dedication.
>
> The officers on duty at the Naval Academy see your son not just as a midshipman and student to whom on graduation day we shall say goodby, but as a future shipmate on whom we shall rely at sea in the years ahead.

Mr. President, I acknowledge the courtesy and cooperation of the capable and dedicated superintendent, Rear Admiral Minter, and the efficient and helpful academic aide to the superintendent, Capt. Robert W. McNitt, U.S. Navy. The latter, scheduled to be promoted to rear admiral and soon to leave the Naval Academy staff for other duties, received a deserved tribute from the superintendent and an appropriate affirmative response by the parents when he presided with distinction as moderator of the parents' forum.

At my request, they supplied pertinent information which is the basis of this presentation.

It is pleasing to report to my colleagues of the Congress that this year's Naval Academy parents' open house weekend was the best attended in the 15-year history of these significant annual events in Annapolis. Although the registered attendance probably was below the actual total attendance, formal registration records revealed the presence of at least 1,818 parents. The previous high was 1,722 in 1963. Total guests registered numbered 3,612. This compares with the 3,211 registered in 1963, or 401 more this year than last year's record total.

The Department of the Navy and the Superintendent of the Naval Academy and his staff merit commendation for these achievements and for having perpetuated and expanded this annual parent-plebe reunion and orientation event inaugurated in September 1950 by the Superintendent at that time, Vice Adm. Harry W. Hill, U.S. Navy.

Parents and guests visited the Naval Academy last weekend from as far away as Heidelberg, Germany, and Hawaii.

Academy officials report that probably the largest single family delegation came from Scarsdale, N.Y.—mother, father, and nine brothers and sisters of a plebe.

The father of another plebe said he was a Polish prisoner of war in Germany for 6 years prior to liberation by U.S. forces. He and his wife from the 41st Congressional District of New York were touchingly grateful to see their son at "this beautiful U.S. Naval Academy."

Reports I have received from parents who participated indicate that there was extensive praise and appreciation for the opportunities afforded parents to visit the Academy and to be with their sons, to observe the state of their well-being, and to marvel at the progress of the regiment of plebes in the short period they have been at the Academy. Most entered the first week of July.

Visitors from distant States and the closer ones alike expressed gratitude for the opportunities, facilities, and expert guidance and instruction provided by our Federal Government for the education, training, and character building of their sons.

My colleagues of the Congress will be hearing from grateful parents just as I have been privileged to receive expressions of appreciation from kin of midshipmen whom I was privileged to nominate. It is to be anticipated and hoped that the superintendent and his staff will be recipients of hundreds of deserved messages of commendation for their outstanding work with the plebes and for the excellent program.

Mr. President, highlights of the 3 days were: liberty for plebes with their parents; open house in academic departments; YP boat trips and sailing; tours of Bancroft Hall service facilities for the brigade of midshipmen; Saturday morning regimental parade—four battalions of plebes; athletic programs and exhibitions; Saturday evening meal for parents and plebes together in midshipmen's mess—largest in the world; band concerts; parents' forum in the fieldhouse; reception for parents and plebes, academic department heads, and battalion and company officers; formations for Catholic mass and for Protestant chapel services; open house in Bancroft Hall and parent visits with sons in their rooms. The weekend closed with the evening meal formation Sunday.

Today, with about 4,000 midshipmen—approximately 1,250 of them plebes—the Naval Academy occupies 292 acres and has 219 major buildings containing classrooms and laboratories. Its athletic fields and other facilities are among the finest in the country.

From the time of its founding, the Naval Academy has graduated over 33,000 officers.

The first basic indoctrination in the Navy way of life is now completed for the new class and, as members of the brigade of midshipmen, the plebes will be expected to become good shipmates as well as exemplary leaders and followers. The next 4 years of study and hard work will form the foundation for their careers of service to the U.S. Navy and the Nation. In later years, they will rely many times on the experience and mature judgment they gain during 4 years at the Naval Academy.

We extend to the midshipmen of all classes our best wishes as they now enter a new academic year.

Mr. President, I join the overwhelming majority of parents of the Naval Academy class of 1968 who expressed obvious and sincere approval at the parents' forum when Admiral Minter forthrightly enunciated his policies with respect to church service attendance and participation by all midshipmen. I am personally and officially in accord with the superintendent's belief that the midshipmen need spiritual guidance as well as physical, academic, and service training. He cogently points out that these future officers will have the duty and the responsibility to make provision for religious services for men of the Navy around the world and on the seas. They must not be spiritually deficient and without adequate knowledge of how properly to fulfill this mission.

Religious facilities and churches at the Naval Academy and in Annapolis are of high order. The chaplains on duty at the Academy are dedicated, active, and helpful in serving the brigade of midshipmen and the permanent party. I feel sure that most of the parents of the new midshipmen verified and observed these facts and feel comforted.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in the order listed, excerpts from remarks made at the parents' forum of the 1964 open house weekend at the U.S. Naval Academy, August 29, by Rear Adm. Charles S. Minter, Jr., U.S. Navy, Superintendent; by Dr. A. Bernard Drought, D.S., the academy dean; and by Capt. Sheldon H. Kinney, U.S. Navy, Commandant of Midshipmen.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, REAR ADM. CHARLES S. MINTER, JR., AT U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY PARENTS' FORUM, AUGUST 29, 1964

I am particularly pleased to greet the largest number of parents and relatives we have ever had at the Naval Academy during parents' weekend. (3,612 registered—400 more than last year.)

I hope that you are as pleased as we are with the spirit, enthusiasm and progress of the class of 1968. The parade this morning was indicative of the pride they have in themselves and in their class.

You might be interested in the profile of the class of 1968: 6,220 young men were nominated; 1,334 were admitted; 79 percent came directly from public schools; 70 percent stood in the first fifth of their high school class; 38 percent were national honor society members.

The past 9 weeks have been extremely busy ones, covering a wide range of activities, including: Infantry training, seamanship and navigation, academic lectures, validation examinations, physical training, rifle range, military indoctrination.

All have been crowded into an extremely busy summer which was specifically designed to prepare your sons for entrance into the brigade of midshipmen.

This class is entering at a particularly auspicious time. Your sons will have the advantage of a fine new curriculum which has been approved just this summer by our Secretary of the Navy, and which is being introduced for the first time with the class of 1968.

They will see the results of a strengthened faculty which our academic dean, Dr. Drought, will discuss later on.

The renovation of Bancroft Hall which will be finished next winter will make it possible in the future for the brigade to be housed in modern two-man rooms. The new mess hall which you perhaps have already seen is a great improvement, and the modernization of the academic facilities headed by the construction of a badly needed new science building, will make a great difference in our ability to advance and modernize our educational program.

All of these improvements combine to provide this class with the best of facilities and educational opportunities.

I would like to mention briefly a major difference between the Naval Academy and other institutions—a difference highlighted by the mission of the Naval Academy. The execution of our mission to develop midshipmen morally, mentally, and physically and to imbue them with the highest ideals of duty, honor, and loyalty, is the responsibility of everyone assigned to the Naval Academy—officer and civilian. Our officers working with your sons are from all branches of the Navy and the Marine Corps.

Assistance is available to your sons from a variety of sources: His first classman, his company officer, the commandant, the chaplains and medical officers, his professors and his athletic coaches. There is no reason why any man who has a problem cannot find help in solving it.

It all boils down to the fact that your son is now in—unquestionably—the finest institution of its kind in the world. We are all here to give him the best that we can, but we are going to require that he meet the standards which are not unreasonable. All that we ask from him in return is his best effort to assist us in the accomplishment of the Naval Academy mission.

It is my hope that 4 years hence the then Superintendent will be able to express to you his pride in having seen your sons living up to my expectations.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BEFORE U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY PARENTS' FORUM, BY THE ACADEMIC DEAN, DR. A. BERNARD DROUGHT, AUGUST 29, 1964

Your young men are embarking on a career that follows a long blue line which started before the Civil War when we were a young nation and hardly recognized as such by the great powers of Europe and Asia. The great esteem and respect we Americans enjoy throughout the world has been made possible only because of the sacrifice, the leadership, and the great respect that people the world over have recognized in the officers and the men of the U.S. Navy and the Marine Corps. Your sons are following in the foosteps of officers like Mahan, Dewey, Halsey, Nimitz, and King. At least 25 percent of you parents here tonight are the proud parents of a future naval officer who will command and have the full responsibility for a U.S. man-of-war. Many times during his lifetime he will lay his life and his commission on the line and stand for what he believes to be right. His home, his church, and his school have already done much to develop this courage, these ethical qualities that are so rare and unpopular today. Yes, tonight you have every reason to be proud, and all I can say is congratulations.

The heart of any educational institution is its faculty. The officers and civilian members of the academic departments, the physical education department, and the fine officers of the executive department have all been carefully selected, and each will make his own unique contribution to your son's education.

This fall we hired 33 new outstanding civilian faculty members; 13 hold the Ph. D. and all but 1 have a master's degree with additional work toward the doctorate; 101 new officer instructors reported aboard to replace an equal number who have gone on to other assignments in the Navy. These are all professional naval officers, but look—4 have the Ph. D., and 69 have their master's degree. We can and will give your young man more personal attention than any civilian college in the country.

We can't, however, guarantee him an education or a degree, for as I told your son's class last week—we really teach very little—a student learns. And the burden for learning is on the midshipman. We can and will guide him in every way possible, but in the final analysis, it is the learning process which is all important.

In describing the new curriculum which is available to your sons this year for the first time, I would like to highlight several features.

First, as in any professional preparation, the new curriculum provides professional naval science courses every term throughout the 4 years. These are courses which are unique to the naval service.

Second, a course in the social sciences and humanities is taught every term for 4 years, since naval officers must be educated gentlemen in every sense of the word.

Third, an improved preparation in the basic sciences and engineering is provided.

Fourth, every midshipman is offered an opportunity to choose a field of concentration within his basic curriculum, allowing him to take about six courses which are of interest to him and of value to the Navy.

In addition, the proven features of the Naval Academy educational program—validation of college level courses previously completed, and the opportunity to take additional elective courses will be continued.

We saw your young men this morning on the parade ground. If 4 years from now the class has the same pride and enthusiasm that we saw today, the U.S. Navy will be in good hands.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BEFORE U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY PARENTS' FORUM, BY THE COMMANDANT OF MIDSHIPMEN, CAPT. SHELDON H. KINNEY, USN, AUGUST 29, 1964

Parents and guardians of the Naval Academy class of 1968: As Commandant of Midshipmen, it is my privilege to command the brigade. I share with you at the dress parade today that tremendous surge of pride when your sons passed in review. The magnificent progress which they have made in the 9 short weeks since they took the oath of office as midshipmen in the U.S. Navy was evident in their military smartness. You have good reason to be proud of your sons.

Today in your tour of Bancroft Hall you had the opportunity to see the fine facilities which our Nation has provided for the midshipmen's logistic support. You witnessed the caliber of personnel as well as facilities for your son's medical care, dental care, religious needs, and physical exercise. Tomorrow you will have the opportunity to visit his fine room.

While I am sure that physical facilities are of interest to you, the real heart of your son's life at the Naval Academy is the process of his molding into the disciplined young officer. We strive constantly to imbue your son with the highest ideals of duty, honor, and loyalty. This is accomplished through precept and example by prescribing a way of life in keeping with the requirements, the customs, and the traditions of the naval service. Emphasis is placed on self-reliance and self-confidence. This in turn leads to a deep sense of responsibility and dedication.

When the midshipman takes his oath of office, it is impressed on him that he is entering a career of voluntary service to his country and that this service requires his complete allegiance. You have nurtured and developed your sons; our responsibility is to continue this development in mind, body,

character in order that they may become enthusiastic and competent career officers.

The officers who have the closest daily contact with your sons are their company and battalion officers. These officers of the Navy and Marine Corps have been selected especially for that duty. They are tremendously interested in each midshipman of their organization as an individual and monitor his progress in every field with vital concern. They will require the most strict standards of appearance and behavior; yet, while stern in their discipline, as good leaders, their role is to assist your son in every field, as well as to conduct military indoctrination.

The officers on duty at the Naval Academy see your son not just as midshipman and student to whom on graduation day we shall say goodby, but as a future shipmate on whom we shall rely at sea in the years ahead.

American Bar Association Study of the Communist Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the American Bar Association, through its standing Committee on Education Against Communism, has recently undertaken the task of analyzing over 500 Communist documents and statements as they relate to and shed light on the Communist meaning of "peaceful coexistence." The association has performed a fine service to the country in issuing this study and making it available to students of foreign affairs, teachers, libraries, Government agencies, and the public.

I should like to take this opportunity to commend Mr. Morris I. Leibman, chairman of the ABA Committee on Education Against Communism, for commissioning this study and Dr. Richard V. Allen of the Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., for undertaking the task of analyzing this new Communist technique for "waging a many-pronged offensive at and within the non-Communist world," as he states in his booklet, "Peaceful Coexistence—A Communist Blueprint for Victory."

At a recent press conference in New York City, Dr. Allen pointed out that "peaceful coexistence meant living peacefully as neighbors and not trespassing upon one another in a 'world safe for diversity.'" He went on to say that it was important for Americans to know and understand the different meaning that the Chinese and Russian Communists place upon the term. In his booklet, Dr. Allen wrote:

It is clear that when Communists employ the language of peace, they do so to mask their true strategic purposes: the isolation, encirclement, weakening and destruction of the free world and its way of life. The cold war has not concluded, but has entered a new and still more complex phase in which the spectrum of psychological, political, economic, and class warfare will be radically expanded.

Mr. Speaker, the goal of the Communists is total victory over all non-Communist institutions and societies. The Soviet Union continues to train Communist agents throughout the world in the tactics of subversion, infiltration, propaganda, sabotage, and other techniques for their offensive against the free world, whereas our country and other countries of the free world have failed to undertake intensive research and training to counter this offensive, and to awaken the people to the dangers of communism. The ABA study can be an effective weapon in the free world's continuing struggle against the forces of communism. I urge interested Members to acquaint themselves with this report.

Supreme Court Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a very eloquent and outstanding address which was delivered by the distinguished Representative from the Third District of South Carolina, the Honorable WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, in Atlanta on August 15, 1964. The address was delivered by Representative DORN to the Order of the Stars and Bars and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, at their annual convention in Atlanta.

Representative DORN was introduced by the commander in chief of the convention, State Representative John A. May, of Aiken, S.C. Representative May is a respected and able member of the State legislature. He represents my home county in the South Carolina House of Representatives.

Mr. President, I find myself in full agreement with the comments made in the address, entitled "Supreme Court Dictatorship." I commend the address to all my colleagues in Congress, and therefore ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so they will be available for all Members of Congress to read and study.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT DICTATORSHIP

(Excerpts from address by Representative WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN before Order of the Stars and Bars and Sons of Confederate Veterans in annual convention at Riviera Motor Hotel, Atlanta, Ga., Commander in Chief John A. May, Aiken, S.C., presiding)

It is good to visit the hospitals, progressive, and friendly city of Atlanta. It is a pleasure always to be a guest in the congressional district of my warm personal friend, the Honorable CHARLIE WELTNER, and to bring you greetings from your outstanding Georgia delegation to the Congress. I congratulate the people of the great State of Georgia for sharing with the Nation the leadership, wisdom, and integrity of RICHARD B. RUSSELL and HERMAN E. TALMADGE. I supported RICHARD B. RUSSELL with every ounce of energy when he was a candidate for the Presidency. There is no man in the United States today who would add more strength to the Democratic ticket as Vice President than Senator RUSSELL. I wholeheartedly endorse Senator RUSSELL for Vice President. I am proud and my people are proud that my voting record in the Congress is virtually identical to that of Senator RUSSELL.

NO. 1 POLITICAL ISSUE

The greatest single political issue before the American people this fall will be a rampaging unbridled power-mad Supreme Court. In this country today we no longer enjoy constitutional Government, as written by the Founding Fathers and amended in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. We do not have a government of checks and balances. The legislative powers of Congress have been usurped by the Supreme Court and even the executive branch shoved aside for a virtual Supreme Court dictatorship over the American people.

Yes, it will be a political issue and the degree of assurance given the American people this fall by the two parties could well determine the outcome of the national election this fall.

In the next 4 to 8 years, the President of the United States, whoever he may be, will very likely appoint a Chief Justice and a majority of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. The American people are now well aware of this fact. The American people are going to demand of the presidential candidates before the November election that better men be appointed to the Supreme Court. They are going to demand Justices with much experience in the field of legal jurisprudence; men who are dedicated to the private enterprise system; men who are devoted to the Constitution, as written; and who are steeped in the traditions of our great American heritage.

We must bear in mind that the Chief Justice and the Justices of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President of the United States for life. They are not elected by the people. They are not responsible to the people. The only assurance the American people have that these Justices will be loyal Americans, men of integrity and character is the assurance that can be given by their candidates for President.

REAPPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

The latest in a shocking series of unbelievable and incredible decisions of the Supreme Court is the reapportionment case of June 15. In this decision, the Supreme Court not only aimed a body blow at the Constitution, but at the very foundation stones of our form of government—the citizen, his local community, and the legislative body to whom they are closest, his State legislature. The Supreme Court, in that decision, ruled that the State senate in each State of this Union will henceforth have to be based solely upon population. This will destroy the legislatures of the several States as known under our Constitition for almost 200 years. The U.S. Government came into being as a result of the Constitutional Convention, duly assembled, representing the States and the people.

The Constitution of the United States provides for two Senators from each State—two from Rhode Island, two from Delaware, two from California, and two from New York, regardless of the population of the States, while the representation in the House of Representatives of the National Congress has been based upon population. The States

largely wrote their constitutions and patterned them after the National Constitution, providing for a House of Representatives based on population, and for a Senate based upon geography. This system has worked well. It has been democratic. It has been and is constitutional. It has protected the rights of the people, the minority as well as the majority. It has promoted good government.

This decision of the Supreme Court, if allowed to stand, will make a mockery of the rights of the States and the constitutional rights of the people. I know of nothing more detrimental to the future of our Nation than for the Supreme Court to take from the States the right to apportion their own legislatures. As surely as night follows the day, if this decision is allowed to stand, the Supreme Court will reapportion city councils, county commissioners, school trustees and create confusion and chaos in every segment, however small, of local as well as State government. If this Machiavellian decision of the Court is permitted to stand, it will not only be the city councils, the county commissoners, the State legislatures, but then it will be the Senate of the United States which will be reapportioned by a rampaging Supreme Court. Representation of the small States in the Union will be wiped out and our Constitution will be completely destroyed. The small States of this Republic must be protected. The rights of the small States, the rights of the unorganized minority in the remote areas of our Republic must be preserved and protected.

The most determined effort in modern times by the Congress to protect the American people from unwarranted unconstitutional abuses of the Supreme Court is now underway. The House Rules Committee, under the leadership of that great dedicated American and distinguished attorney, HOWARD W. SMITH of Virginia, reported out a bill which will forbid the Supreme Court or any district Federal court from usurping the right of the States to apportion their legislatures. An overwhelming majority of the U.S. Senate is moving in the direction of curbing the Supreme Court in the reapportionment case. The House and Senate are determined to preserve the integrity of the States they represent and their legislatures. Every effort will be made at this session of Congress to pass the legislation which will prevent the chaotic conditions now existing in Colorado, Georgia, and Virginia, and other States which have been created by the Supreme Court. The majority of this Congress is perfectly willing to remain in session for as long as necessary to restore our system of checks and balances and to preserve the constitutional right of our States to apportion their own State legislatures.

I view the Supreme Court as the greatest single threat to freedom in this Nation today. In decision after decision, too numerous to enumerate, the Supreme Court has made a mockery of the Constitution, usurped the power of the legislative branch of the Government, trampled on the Executive and run roughshod over the American people. The Supreme Court put Communists in the same class with Democrats and Republicans by its decision of June 22, 1964. An atheist Communist, sworn to lie, to cheat, steal and commit murder and overthrow by violence the Government of this country can enjoy the same rights as any patriotic Democrat or Republican, according to the Supreme Court. One Justice of the Supreme Court said, "Being a Communist certainly is not a crime."

On the other hand Justices Clark, Harlan and White, in their dissenting opinion, quoted from a statute passed by Congress in 1954 which stated that "The Communist Party of the United States * * * is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States." The minority opinion continued: "The right to travel is not absolute. Congress had ample evidence that use of passports by Americans belonging to the world Communist movement is a threat to our national security."

The Supreme Court in another recent decision has turned loose murderers and criminals convicted in open court by a jury of their peers. By strange rulings regarding search and seizure, the Court has in essence applauded the lawlessness of dope peddlers and drug addicts. The Court has protected the sinister criminal who would pervert the youth of our Nation by selling and mailing lewd, obscene pornographic literature. The Supreme Court has ruled that criminals, embezzlers, perjurers, and housebreakers in any local and State court can plead the fifth amendment.

In the New York and Maryland prayer cases, the Supreme Court, to all intents and purposes, outlawed prayer and Bible reading in the public schools of our Nation. They amended the Constitution of the United States contrary to article 9 which prescribes how the Constitution must be amended. In this decision the Supreme Court aimed a low blow at the very foundation and heart of this Republic—religious freedom as practiced for generations under the first amendment to the Constitution. Our people are fearful that unless the Court is curbed, chaplains will be eliminated from the Armed Forces; "In God We Trust" from our coins; and "Under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of the United States.

The Supreme Court has legalized mob violence and disrespect for law and order. In flagrant disregard for local and State laws, it has legalized the drafting of schoolchildren from the classroom by mob leaders. The Supreme Court has set the stage in these incredible decisions for anarchy, for lawlessness and for a complete change in our form of government. The Supreme Court would not permit the President some years ago to seize the steel mills, but they themselves seized the rights and powers of local governments, individual citizens, the States, and the Congress itself. The Supreme Court has been making its own rules and regulations and changing them at its own whim and fancy. Without the aid of any legislation under the sun, the Court has taken over the supervision of State court procedures and attendance in public schools.

The Supreme Court is legislating. It has issued executive decrees and has rewritten laws passed by the Congress. It has made new Federal regulations with the full force and intent of law. These sinister violations of our constitutional principles by the Court have been heralded the law of the land and enforced with the naked power of the Armed Forces of the Nation.

Of course it is important who will be elected President of the United States in the November elections. It is important who will be elected to the U.S. House and Senate. It is important who will be elected Governor in the sovereign States of the Union or who will represent the people in their legislatures, but the paramount question of major concern is who will be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States in the years to follow November 3.

The people are going to elect a President who will appoint more responsible learned and patriotic men to the Supreme Court. The people are going to elect a Congress which can and will set the qualifications of the Justices of the Supreme Court. The new Congress will not sit idly by and watch that great institution—the Congress—completely destroyed by nine unelected men subverted to the philosophy of national socialism. We in the Congress must assume some responsibility for this Hitlerian Court. It has been our indifference and complacency to these unconstitutional decisions which have permitted this outrage upon our individual liberty and our Constitution. With your help we will correct our mistakes.

The American people are now in the frame of mind to take whatever action they deem necessary to preserve their freedom from dictators and power-mad zealots, whether they be foreign or domestic.

George Washington, President of the Constitutional Convention and our immortal first President said:

"The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all * * *.

"If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

The Best and Boldest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Bennett County Booster, Martin, S. Dak., for August 13, 1964.

Wendell Long, the editor, is thoroughly familiar with the so-called Indian problem, and has made a very complete evaluation of the failure of the paternalistic program now in operation intended to deal with the situation. While costs have skyrocketed and more and more taxpayers' money is being spent to ease the problem, no real solutions have been found and the Indian has simply become more and more dependent on Government welfare rather than developing his intelligence, initiative, and natural resources.

I commend Mr. Long's excellent editorial to my colleagues for careful consideration. It is as follows:

THE BEST AND BOLDEST

Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall last month called for a 10-year plan "to raise the standard of living on Indian reservations above the poverty line."

Philleo Nash, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, previously had asserted:

"Chronic unemployment on the reservations runs 7 or 8 times the national average. The average income of the reservation Indian is between a third and a fourth the national average.

"Average age at death is 42 years, as compared with 62 years among the national population. Reservation housing for 9 out of 10 families is far below the minimum standards of comfort, safety and decency."

Secretary Udall set October 1, 1964, as the deadline for submission of reports by Bureau officials spelling out ways and means of instituting a 10-year plan, and outlining

needs of the 380,000 Indians the Bureau says it has under its care.

Calling for the "best, boldest and most imaginative thinking" on the part of Bureau officials, the Secretary listed various factors to be considered in preparation of reports on reservation needs.

The Booster wonders if any Bureau official will be so "bold" and so "imaginative" as to suggest the elimination of socialism and government control of the reservations as a method for raising the standard of living for the Indians.

In most addresses, statements and discussions by the BIA or other officials about the "Indian problems," as it is called, the base point is always "what the Government should do for the Indian."

The idea of promoting programs to encourage the Indian to apply his intelligence and energy to the development of the vast resources available to him is seldom considered.

The Booster wonders, also, how much more money it will take to "raise the standard of living on Indian reservations above the poverty line."

The BIA now has 15,383 employees in the United States—1,187 of them in South Dakota. (The number has been increasing from 11,994 in 1945.) Adding to this the 7,000 other Government workers spread among other departments, principally Health, Education, and Welfare, and Agriculture, the total makes one Government employee for every 17 Indians.

The various States also have employees dealing with Indian matters which brings the ratio still lower.

Since 1900 more than $3 billion has been spent servicing and regimenting these wards of the state. The annual amount of appropriations has been gradually increasing—from $29,101,000 in 1945 to $206,601,000 in 1964.

And in the present budget the amount will be between $277 million and $280 million—more than $730 per Indian man, woman, and child. That's nearly four times the national yearly average per capita income of the 380,000 Indians—which runs around $200 per Indian.

The 75-year result of all this bureaucratic domination and billions of dollars stands as eloquent testimony of the futility and debility incurred by the "state way."

By the Commissioner's and the Secretary's own admissions, the paternalism has maintained the Indians in a state of shocking poverty, ignorance, disease and complete dependence.

Such a picture would argue for a radical change in policy, but all the "best, boldest and most imaginative thinking" can hardly be expected to suggest relaxing of the regimentation, which for decades has cost the taxpayers millions and has kept the Indians dependent on Government bureaucracy while draining away even the hope of self-betterment.

Paul Quattlebaum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of South Carolina's most distinguished and respected citizens, former Senator Paul Quattlebaum, of Conway, passed away on August 9, 1964. Senator Quattlebaum made many important contributions to the betterment of our State and the county he served with such distinction in the South Carolina Senate.

Senator Quattlebaum will long be remembered in our State for his many good works in so many areas of public and private endeavor; and he will be especially remembered for the contributions he made to the recording of the history of his region in 10 books which he wrote on South Carolina and the Presbyterian Church, to which he was also loyally devoted.

I rise on the Senate floor today, Mr. President, to pay tribute to this great and good man, whom I had the pleasure of counting one of my best friends.

As further evidence of the high esteem in which Senator Quattlebaum was held by his fellow citizens in South Carolina, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the State, of Columbia, S.C., of August 12, 1964; an editorial from the News and Courier, of Charleston, S.C., of August 11, 1964; and a news article from the News and Courier of August 10, 1964.

There being no objection, the article and the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the State, Columbia, S.C., Aug. 12, 1964]

TO BE REMEMBERED

Paul Quattlebaum, of Horry, will be remembered for many things by many South Carolinians—but his memory will be most lasting and most appreciated for his contributions to the history of the Palmetto State.

His death Sunday at Conway ended a career which had involved active and effective participation in business, government, education, and civic development—on both State and local levels.

Those same characteristics went into his extracurricular work as an amateur historian of professional competence. He nurtured a consuming affection for his native State and applied his ability and intellect to both the study and recording of little-known facets of history.

His most celebrated work (and one not even yet fully appreciated) was "The Land Called Chicora," in which he told of early Spanish exploration and settlement in the Winyah Bay region—more than a century before the English landed at Charleston.

If for no other reason—and there are other reasons galore—South Carolinians have cause to be grateful to Paul Quattlebaum for that one work alone.

[From the News and Courier, of Charleston, S.C., Aug. 10, 1964]

QUATTLEBAUM, EX-HORRY SENATOR, DIES

CONWAY.—Paul Quattlebaum, author, retired State senator, and utilities executive, of Kingston Street, was pronounced dead upon arrival at a local hospital Sunday at 9 p.m.

Mr. Quattlebaum had just finished attending a session of the Kingston Presbyterian Church when he suffered a heart attack.

Funeral arrangements will be announced by Goldfinch Funeral Home.

Mr. Quattlebaum was educated in private schools in Conway and received his BS in electrical and mechanical engineering from Clemson.

He was founder and president of the Conway Light & Power Co., Quattlebaum Ice Co., and the Quattlebaum Light & Ice Co.

He and T. C. Williams cooperated in the promotion of the South Carolina Public Service Authority (Santee-Cooper). He is past chairman of the board of Quattlebaum Electric Co., in Charleston.

He was also active in civic and church activities. He was former chairman of the State executive committee of the South Carolina YMCA, former member of the executive committee of the South Carolina Sunday School Association and Adult Department Superintendent for South Carolina. He has been a ruling elder at Kingston Presbyterian Church in Conway since 1907 and has served in various other capacities in the church.

He was a member of the board of trustees at Queens College and president of Men of Pee Dee Presbytery from 1933–34.

A trustee of city schools for 2 years, Mr. Quattlebaum was also formerly president of the Conway Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis Club, and the Lions Club.

He was an ex-member of the executive committee of the South Carolina Board of Trade, first president of Ice Manufacturers Association, a member of the State senate from 1935–44, a member of the South Carolina Historical Society, member of the University of South Carolina Society, and life member of the Horry County Memorial Commission.

Active in Clemson College affairs, Mr. Quattlebaum aided countless students while they were attending college. He was presented an honorary degree in literature by Clemson in 1961 and in 1956 he received the Distinguished Citizens Award from the American Legion.

Mr. Quattlebaum authored 10 books on South Carolina and the Presbyterian Church besides contributing articles to the News and Courier and other publications.

He was born in Conway February 25, 1886, a son of the late Col. Cephus Perry Quattlebaum and the late Janette Taylor McQueen Quattlebaum. He was married to the former Miss Sue Martin, of Marion, in 1911.

Surviving are his widow, one son, Paul Quattlebaum, Jr., of Charleston; three daughters, Miss Laura Janette Quattlebaum, of Conway; Miss J. P. (Katherine) Brunson, Jr., of Darlington, and Mrs. D. L. (Sue) Grantham of Savannah; seven grandchildren; two great grandchildren; two brothers, Perry Quattlebaum, of Conway, and McQueen Quattlebaum, of Johnston, and one sister, Mrs. Marjorie Langston, of Conway.

[From the News & Courier, Charleston, S.C., Aug. 11, 1964]

PAUL QUATTLEBAUM

In business, politics, and civic affairs, Paul Quattlebaum of Conway spent many years and much hard work in service to the public. He was interested in people, and also in the history of his region, about which he had written with skill and perception. He served as State senator from Horry County.

A native of Conway, Mr. Quattlebaum was a fitting son of the "Independent Republic of Horry." He was a man with a mind of his own.

Mr. Quattlebaum graduated in engineering at Clemson, and founded the Conway Light & Power Co. and other enterprises. He was a leader in civic and church affairs, and received many honors, among them an honorary degree from Clemson. As a man of solid conviction and wide attainment, Mr. Quattlebaum had our respect. He was an outstanding citizen of South Carolina. We note with regret his death at 78. We shall remember him with friendship and admiration.

Remarks of Senator Bennett at Senate Prayer Breakfast Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the greatest benefits I have derived from being a Member of the U.S. Senate has come from my membership in the Senate Prayer Breakfast Group, which meets each Wednesday morning. I have had the opportunity to listen to many eloquent and inspiring statements which have been presented before this group by Members of the Senate and others who meet with us in these important gatherings. One of the most impressive talks ever presented to our group was made on August 5, 1964, by the distinguished senior Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT]. His remarks dealt with the gradual erosion of moral precepts and principles in our Nation and some of the reasons therefor.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this most inspiring and interesting talk printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, so it will be available to all other Members of Congress.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR WALLACE F. BENNETT, AT THE MEETING OF THE SENATE PRAYER BREAKFAST GROUP, AUGUST 5, 1964

The famous—or infamous—prayer decision of the Supreme Court has had at least one potential beneficial effect. It has focused national attention upon the proper relationship of the church and the state; and out of this concern, benefits may come to both of these important institutions. Naturally, up to date, the chief concern has been with possible interference by the state in matters properly within the province of the church. But in our system, the church, as the source of spiritual strength, has great responsibility for the preservation of our traditional system of government. And I should like to reverse the usual emphasis given to this problem and talk about the need for greater acceptance of responsibility by the church for the benefit of the state.

Religion and its organized expression, the church, have many unique and irreplaceable functions to perform in our lives. Only it can give them meaning and direction. Only through it can we know God and His plans for us. Only through it can we fit our mortal experiences into their eternal frame. And only through it can we acquire the scale of values by the use of which we can command the great powers of the spirit. And only when our citizens have an adequate scale of spiritual values can they be prepared to accept their responsibilities as citizens.

While these values are eternal and absolute, human acceptance of them is always changing; and history records the high tides and the low—the golden and the dark ages—the periods of progress and the tragic eras of decline.

Our system of government came into being at a time when men in what was then an obscure corner of the world held these spiritual values which their church had taught high in their hearts, and it is based upon them. In the years since, we have moved through cycles of weakness and recovery. Where are we today, and what can we do about it? What can the church do about it?

On the surface, we are in a golden age, and materially we are at the zenith of prosperity by every method of comparison. Militarily, we command the world's greatest power. Church membership is at an alltime high. And yet our basic system is in danger, and our society is sick. Why? Because our standard of values seems to be deteriorating. This means only one thing: the church is failing in its spiritual responsibility.

The most obvious evidence of lowered values is in the field of morals. Sin is justified as "sickness" and love is exploited as sex. No wonder family stability is undermined by divorce, which is increasing. Let's look at the record.

Since 1950, divorces in the United States have increased 2 percent, while in the same time span, the number of marriages has decreased by 8 percent. In 1950, there was 1 divorce per every 4.3 marriages; in 1960, the ratio climbed to 1 divorce per every 3.9 marriages. Utah reflected the Nation's increase in divorce rate on a lesser scale.

Our national crime statistics give us another means of measuring our spiritual deterioration. Crime is increasing both totally and among juveniles.

Police arrest data issued by the FBI and court statistics collected by the U.S. Children's Bureau indicate that close to a million young people in the 10-through-17 age group came in contact with law enforcement agencies during the past year. In 1963, over 1962, there was an 11-percent increase in arrests of persons under 18 years of age. Actually, 17.5 percent of the total number of arrests made in 1963 were juveniles under the age of 18.

These demonstrations of deterioration are easy to see because they can be measured statistically. Behind them are others that are visible only through their effects. Self-discipline is out; self-indulgence is in. Work, sacrifice, and responsibility are suspect; State-supported welfare, selfishness, and escape are becoming worthy goals. Ambition is considered an evil; getting by, without rocking the boat, until retirement is becoming the smart thing to do.

Philosophically, we tend to reject absolutes in value and prefer consensuses. We trade the long-range goal for today's benefit. We shun the clear challenge of simplicity by taking refuge in the obscure and the sophisticated—even in religion.

What are the effects of this shift in values upon our concept of government? To me, they are many—dangerous and sad. In total, and in the ultimate, they may some day add up to a reversal of the American revolution and a return to the tyranny of government imposed from above. The Founding Fathers, translating the great spiritual values of our Christian heritage into a political institution, reversed the ancient pattern and built on the assumption that divine power lodged with the people, not the king. In our present retreat from spiritual responsibility, we are returning to the old flesh pots of central power, and it frightens me.

At the risk of sounding sacrilegious, I often wonder if there are not some people in this country for whom the Federal Government is becoming a substitute for God. Increasingly, we are asked to accept the idea that the Government is our greatest repository of wisdom to the extent that its decisions are all-wise and should not be challenged and that it would be well to endow it with all power. To many people, the Federal Government is looked upon as the source of all blessings.

Of course, this is a materialistic concept, barren of spiritual values. But can't the same thing be said, more or less, of other false gods that have arisen in our time. Are we in danger of violating the first commandment, which says, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," as easily as we seem to have violated the seventh commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and the eighth comandment, "Thou shalt not steal"?

In the field of government, our sense of values seems to be slipping. Instead of simple interpretations of the Constitution, we have tortured rationalizations. Instead of patriotism, we talk of world opinion. Men seeking office seek power instead of opportunity for service and appeal for votes on the seductive promise of material benefit rather than devotion to basic American principles. In some cases—fortunately, few—but, unfortunately, effective, blatant atheism, godlessness, has been given frightening weight in judicial decisions.

Are the American people disturbed? Not too much, apparently, because any government which draws power from the people must be only a reflection of their own scale of values. And while we claim to be shocked by revelations of wrongdoing in high places in the present spiritual atmosphere, we tend to shrug them off.

How can we change this trend? Where can we find inspiration and leadership to regain our greater sense of spiritual values? Where else but in religion and the church? And where can we start but with our own churches—and ourselves.

The recent civil rights debate revealed, or exposed, a dangerous shift in direction in some churches. We have a Mormon saying that in the church we teach the people correct principles, and they govern themselves. Abandoning this vital function of indirect support to government, many ministers—in the name of the church—have attempted to influence the decision of Congress directly. And a few have openly advocated what they call "civil disobedience," forgetting God's statement, through Samuel to Saul, after he had destroyed the Amalekites and saved their cattle for sacrifice in violation of God's command. Said Samuel:

"Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams.

"For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as inquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king." (I Samuel 15: 22–23).

I hope we, as a government, will not be found wanting for our failure to live up to the values God has set for our guidance and be rejected, as was Saul. To protect us from that fate, the church must resume its proper role as guardian and prophet and be effective in the teaching of those principles.

Is this putting an impossible burden on churches and their members? Not in my book. To illustrate my faith in them, let me turn back to the question of divorce. A survey was made recently among 451 Mormon college students who revealed these interesting facts about their parents in terms of the relationship between church membership and participation and the incidence of divorce. The following statistics show the percentage of parents in all of these categories who have been divorced:

	Percent
Both nonchurch members	20.4
Mixed marriages	13.8
Both church members	5.2
Civil marriage	12.3
Temple marriage	2.2
Husbands who regularly went to church	1.9
Wives who regularly went to church	2.3
Husbands who never went to church	18.2
Wives who never went to church	25.0

In closing, may I quote again a few lines from the Book of Mormon, to which my mind

always returns when I worry about this problem.

"Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it shall be free from bondage, and from captivity, and from all other nations under Heaven, if they will but serve the God of the land, who is Jesus Christ." (Esther 2: 12.)

Fiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, there can be no better description of the 1964 Democrat Party platform than that offered in an editorial in the August 26 issue of the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier:

It is one of the most pleasant pieces of fiction we have read in a long time.

Following is the full text of the Courier editorial:

The Democratic Convention in Atlantic City has adopted a wonderful platform. Most Americans can agree wholeheartedly with most of it. All we hope is that some effort is made to carry it out.

For example, the party proposed a three-point farm program designed "To achieve the goals of higher incomes to the farm and ranch, particularly the family sized farm, lower prices for the consumer, and lower costs to the Government."

Only an extremist Republican could object to such a delightful program as this. Higher crop prices for farmers, lower food costs for the consumer, and less tax expenditure by the Government represents a goal that will win the votes of all unthinking citizens.

The platform also indorses "commodity programs to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity of income to every aspect of American agriculture."

Farmers are certainly entitled to full parity of income. Only a backward-looking reactionary would point out that the Democrats promised the same thing in 1960 and that since that time the parity ratio of farm prices has drastically declined.

The platform also takes a strong stand in support of honesty: "Each person who participates in the Government must be held to a standard of ethics which permits no compromise with the principles of absolute honesty and the maintenance of undivided loyalty to the public interest."

The party is to be commended on this sharp criticism of situations such as that which prevailed a few years ago when a Senate majority leader and later a Vice President by the name of Johnson permitted Bobby Baker to use his official Senate job to gain enormous wealth.

After thousands of words devoted to promises for new or expanded Federal programs, the platform goes on to say:

"The Federal Government exists not to grow larger, but to enlarge the individual potential and achievement of the people."

Everyone will be pleased to learn that the Democrats are not committed to big government for its own sake. And it is true that the Democratic majority has refrained from increasing the size of Congress. It has merely increased the salary of Representatives and Senators by $7,500 a year—an act which obviously enlarges their individual potential.

Thus we can find little to criticize in the Democratic platform. It is one of the most pleasant pieces of fiction we have read in a long time.

Conservation Tide Called Underrated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of August 20, 1964:

CONSERVATIVE TIDE CALLED UNDERRATED
(By Edward Niciejewski)

The political leaders of this country do not realize the strength of the conservative movement, Author J. Evetts Haley said here yesterday.

Haley is a cowman, rancher, Texas Democrat, and author of 12 books of history and biography. He is considered one of the most noted living historians of the Southwest.

His opinions on history and politics were given during an interview. Haley visited San Diego a few days this week to arrange for circulation of his latest book, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon."

BOOK DESCRIBED

The book is a detailed, scholarly, and footnoted study of the power and influence of President Johnson, not because it was intended to be but because it turned out that way, Haley says.

Haley began the book as a historical treatise at his Texas ranch in the early thirties, when neither he nor many other Americans knew of Lyndon B. Johnson.

The original purpose was to write about history and policies of the Federal Government. Stimulus came from the Federal Government's going off the gold standard. Haley objected to that action.

By 1948 the pieces had begun to fall into place, pointing to a clear and present danger, Haley said, and the theme of the book was established as a story of the Johnson climb to power.

AN INDICTMENT

"I have written an indictment of the most prominent man in the United States," Haley said yesterday. "I've put the facts in there to back it up."

Facts there are, the author said. The book is thoroughly documented by the numerous footnotes and attorneys have checked it extensively, Haley said.

The book, a paperback, begins with early Johnson political activities and continues through his rise to political power and family fortune. It ends with an analysis of the President's character, Haley said.

"This is a critical year to bring it out," Haley says of the book.

"All of us in Texas who know this man are afraid of him. He is using the Texas approach on the national scale. * * * The theme of this book is that the country is ruled by an illegitimate government."

Haley derives the term "illegitimate government" from Italian Author Ferrero's quotation:

"Authority comes from above * * * legitimacy from below."

When people fear the government, Haley said, it is illegitimate.

His evidence on strength of the national conservative movement is reflected in clamor for his book, Haley said.

The ink is hardly dry on the pages, but demand for "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" exceeds the supply by one-third. More than 1 million copies will have been printed and sold before this month ends, Haley said.

"The grassroots rebellion is evident," he said. "People are suspicious of this administration. They know something is haywire. The people I associate with are the cowboys, the truckdrivers, the little people. * * * They know something is wrong."

Tall and spare, Haley shows his pride in his grassroots origin by wearing cowboy boots, a western suit, a 10-gallon hat. His hands have rope burns and his legs are bowed from the saddle.

In addition to being a noted historian, Haley owns three southwestern cattle ranches. He is a graduate of West Texas University and the University of Texas. He lives at Canyon, Tex.

Suppression of Truth in Broadcasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Charleston Evening Post, of Charleston, S.C., published on August 13, 1964, an editorial which shows how the so-called "fairness doctrine" of the Federal Communications Commission is being used to suppress the truth in broadcasting. This editorial is entitled "The Quiet Suppression of Truth," and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post, Aug. 13, 1964]

THE QUIET SUPPRESSION OF TRUTH

Several months ago in these columns we came to the defense of a North Carolina television station, WRAL–TV, in Raleigh, and its conservative commentator, Jesse Helms. In what was a transparent attempt to silence Mr. Helms, the Federal Communications Commission was delaying a routine license renewal. This struck us as censorship. It was censorship.

Now, 8 months after the license should have come through, we have received word from Washington that Mr. Helms will, after all, be allowed to continue on the air a little longer, provided he is a good boy. WRAL's license has been renewed.

We do not wish to go over the same old ground again, but part of the Commission's report on WRAL, contained in a letter to the station's president, touches on a subject vitally affecting listeners and viewers far removed from WRAL's television signal: the subject of network bias, distortion, and misrepresentation.

In a brief filed with the FCC, the Raleigh station had contended that its conservative expressions were in the public interest partly because they served to counterbalance the half-truths and liberal cause-pleading of the national television networks. In its reply to this argument, the FCC complained that WRAL had gone beyond countering specific network misrepresentations and had presented editorials of a general conservative flavor. This, the FCC made clear, would not do. It wanted WRAL to point out which of

its specific editorial broadcasts had sought to correct specific network misrepresentations.

WRAL countered that it had not kept a log of each and every instance in which a Walter Cronkite or an Edward P. Morgan or a Howard K. Smith had smeared Senator GOLDWATER or the Republican Party or, in general, the South. But it had the impression that such smears had occurred over a long span and it did, in fact, recall several specific instances. As for a complete catalog, that was a physical impossibility. The FCC was unimpressed. It wanted a list of names and dates and a transcript, apparently, of each and every network sin. Otherwise, it would refuse to believe the networks capable of such acts.

Is it possible that the men who supervise the television industry are as blind as all that? Is it possible that they are unaware of what every adult in the country knows?

A recent example will serve to illustrate the sort of distortion WRAL probably had in mind. Shortly after the San Francisco convention, CBS Reporter Daniel Shorr reported from Europe that Senator GOLDWATER would launch his campaign from Berchtesgaden, where Hitler presumably made his start. While in Germany, Mr. Shorr implied, Mr. GOLDWATER would keep in close touch with leading Nazis.

This was, it hardly needs saying, a complete fabrication. It smacked, indeed, of a deliberate lie. But When Senator GOLDWATER demanded a retraction, CBS issued a statement saying only that Mr. Shorr had no proof that the Senator had made a conscious effort to enlist Nazi support.

And where, pray, was the noble FCC during all this? Unconcerned, completely unconcerned. And will CBS's television franchise be renewed year after year without the sort of harassment to which Mr. Helms was subjected? You may depend on it.

This, of course, is the real evil the FCC represents. As John Stuart Mill remarked, "Not the violent conflict between parts of the truth, but the quiet suppression of half of it is the formidable evil."

That quotation is from an essay entitled "On Liberty." We would suggest that the FCC look it up.

Men of Little Faith Define an Extremist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, despite Senator GOLDWATER'S full and sensible amplification of his convention remarks on extremism and moderation, we can expect the men of little faith on the far left to continue to twist and distort his views.

And how do these men of little faith define an "extremist?" The Annapolis (Md.) Evening Capital has come up with an excellent answer, and I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the August 24 issue of that newspaper:

TODAY IT'S AMERICAN PATRIOTS BRANDED AS THE EXTREMISTS

"Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."—BARRY GOLDWATER.

We shall hear these words again and again in the months ahead. We shall see them misrepresented, misinterpreted, their meaning twisted and distorted cleverly to suit the purposes of liberals across the country.

We shall see a massive campaign to smear Senator GOLDWATER as an "extremist" as far-left liberals and a predominantly liberal press pick up the torch of intolerance and wave it recklessly in the name of moderation.

The heart of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER'S call for freedom will be a red flag in the face of the twin bulls of welfare statism and Federal intervention.

They will paw the ground, lower their horns, chant in unison their hate-Goldwater slogans, and attempt to gore this honest man, this patriot who flung the truth into their teeth in a new declaration of independence from those who pussyfoot and tiptoe around the hardcore issue of freedom or dictatorship.

The compromisers, the appeasers, the tormented men who seek an "accommodation" with the Communists and with the street mobs, have so compromised their own consciences until they are no longer able to separate fact from fancy.

Their desires so color their comments as to make them full of sound and fury, signifying nothing but an utter contempt for the ability of the people to govern themselves without the "helping hand" of Federal intervention.

These liberals are the Hamiltonians of today. They seek to destroy the individual and replace a free society with a collectivist society in which the Federal Government is the master, rather than the servant, of the people.

They seek a government of men rather than laws. They chant "freedom songs" while militantly subverting private property rights which make freedom possible.

These men of little faith, drawn like moths into the flame of central government power, cannot believe in the free enterprise system because they cannot understand it.

What is their definition of an "extremist"?

To them an extremist is an American who:

Believes that the Russians should get out and stay out of the Western Hemisphere.

Believes that the Berlin wall is a wall of shame and should come down.

Believes that Laos never should have been "neutralized" into the Communist camp.

Believes that an aggressive Red China should be kept out of the United Nations.

Believes that when the Red Chinese hordes attacked American troops in Korea, they should have been punished.

Believes that once the United States is committed to a war, as in Vietnam, we should seek victory rather than compromise.

Believes that the peoples of Eastern Europe should have the right to choose their own form of government without Lenin tanks patroling the polls.

Believes that a Communist is a person who seeks to violently overthrow the Government of the United States.

Believes that what is right is right, what is wrong is wrong, what is just is just, what is unjust is unjust.

Believes that law and order should prevail in the streets of this land and that laws are made to be obeyed, rather than flouted and disobeyed.

Believes that honesty still is the best policy at home and abroad and that the American flag still stands for the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth.

Believes in dying as a free man, rather than coexisting as a slave.

Believes that the United States is a nation conceived in liberty, under God, which has sought and should seek liberty and justice for all.

Believes that George Washington was the Father of our County—and not Franklin Roosevelt.

Believes in the destiny made manifest in the history of the United States—a destiny of freedom under law.

Believes in the Constitution of the United States—and in freedom of speech.

Yes, Senator GOLDWATER, you have waved a flag that has liberal bulls snorting and pawing.

Watersheds: Ten Questions for the Next 10 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, during my first 10 years in Congress I have advocated a program to complete the watershed development program in this Nation as effectively and as quickly as possible to prevent further soil erosion and to clear our streams of the many tons of silt flowing down them daily. Over the past several years I have been developing a program known as Mission 76, which would complete all of the watershed programs in this Nation by 1976. My research team at State University of Iowa and a minority clerk with the House Committee on Public Works assigned to me for watershed activities have been working on this program extensively.

The National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts, an organization which has been an outstanding leader in pioneering conservation programs, recently featured an article in their August 1964 edition of the "Watershed Letter," entitled "Ten Questions for the Next 10 Years." This article accurately reveals the serious questions which must be answered during the next decade in regard to watershed development.

I commend this important article to the attention of all Members of this body:

TEN QUESTIONS FOR THE NEXT 10 YEARS

What will be the shape of watershed programs in the next decade? This depends on the answers to 10 challenging questions posed by a committee chaired by Dr. Irving K. Fox, vice president of Resources for the Future, Inc. Prepared for the National Watershed Congress held earlier this year, these fundamental questions deserve wider and more deliberate consideration.

No longer is a watershed project conceived as the simple extension of conservation land treatment to larger and more workable areas. The "small" watershed program has become a major, independent approach to the regional development of natural resources. Although largely confined to single purpose stream development in the early years, it has been transformed by citizen needs and by the logic of water management into a more truly comprehensive approach, encompassing land and water development for almost every purpose.

Because of its scale and scope, the watershed program merits the closest possible attention. The following questions raised by the Fox study group are important and require answers far in advance of the end of the next decade. Most importantly, they

need to be answered in a manner that will make the upstream watershed program a more effective instrument for democratic community action.

1. To what extent should watershed funds be used in developing projects to provide flood protection for urban and suburban areas? Some leaders feel the program should be largely confined to rural areas. Others say that towns and cities have problems too, and that stream-valley development is a sensible approach to coordinating conservation efforts.

2. What dividing line, if any, should be established for irrigation projects in the 17 Western States under Public Law 566 and the reclamation laws? Freedom of sponsors to seek both kinds of aid leads to competition and "bargain hunting."

3. Why should local organizations bear the full cost of municipal water supply in water resource projects? Federal assistance is available for irrigation, recreation, water quality control, and fish and wildlife development. Should community use by city dwellers be ineligible for such aid?

4. How can watershed programs be integrated in major river basin planning and development? There is no uniform method for administrative organization of basin planning, and under present legislation, no effective way exists to integrate small reservoirs in basin plans with any assurance that they will be sponsored and built.

5. Should Federal contracting be permitted under Public Law 566 or should the program continue with local contracting? Local participation, speed, and coordination are the issues here.

6. Should public access by required as a condition for Federal assistance for structures that impound water for significant periods of time? Growing recreation demands are resulting in increased pressures for public use of reservoir areas.

7. Should local organizations continue to acquire easements through donation or should all be purchased? Is it fair for some to be purchased and others donated?

8. Should State governments step up appropriations for watershed work? The desirable future role of the States in planning, land acquisition, and operations and maintenance has never been adequately explored.

9. What should be the role of flood plain zoning in flood control? Often discussed but seldom implemented, this technique usually requires action by a host of local governments which possess the necessary authority.

10. How can watershed associations be most effective in developing watershed programs? The best ways of organizing, financing, and supporting such groups and defining their relationships with governmental sponsors of watershed programs need to be found.

These are not the only questions the Fox committee asked. But they are among the most significant ones. They deserve the attention of soil and water conservation district supervisors and all others concerned with resource conservation and development.

Reapportionment of State Legislatures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial comment on the reapportionment of State legislatures which appeared in the Cecil Democrat, July 1, 1964, and the Star-Democrat on August 27, 1964.

The editorials follow:

[From the Cecil Democrat, July 1, 1964]

THANKS, CONGRESSMAN MORTON

Eastern Shore Congressman ROGERS C. B. MORTON has introduced an amendment to the Nation's Constitution which would correct the recent Supreme Court decision saying that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned according to population.

While it is very hard to have an amendment to the Constitution adopted, this is one which should get some attention. After all, no one knows politics like a politician, and only those people who take a sincere interest in politics realize the magnitude of the recent decision of the Court. The Court, in effect, threw almost 200 years of forming the American political system out the window.

Strangely, the Court has said that the States may not pattern their legislatures after the system used in the Federal Government. Many States have, indeed, patterned their State legislatures after the Federal arrangement. Maryland uses population as the criteria in the lower house, but geography in the upper house. The largest county and the smallest county in Maryland both have one State senator. (Baltimore City is given six senators, due to its size.)

The Court's ruling will eliminate the important check-and-balance system in State legislatures. While it can be pointed out that often needed legislation has been blocked because the small rural counties are against it, it also provides for a guarantee that the interests of the State will not be governed exclusively by the urban sections of the State. It may not be the best system; it may create inequities to a degree; but it has served this country well.

Congressman MORTON deserves credit for initiating this legislation to preserve American politics as we have grown to know them.

[From the Star-Democrat, Aug. 27, 1964]

PROUD OF OUR IDENTITY

It is not surprising that the metropolitan press has given such strong support to the reapportionment of the general assembly. This will mean more votes for the cities and suburban counties—and thus, presumably, more influence for their newspapers. There are, of course, less selfish reasons for this support: the idea of "one person, one vote" has a democratic ring that is appealing.

Let no one lose sight of the fact that the United States did not reach its present stature by legislatures (or a Congress, for that matter) which were dominated by big-city interests. Times change; and we are the first to be ready to change with them where sound reason dictates such a course of action. But change for the sake of change is foolish; and "new" does not always (as some people think) mean "good." In the case of legislative reapportionment, change will not simply mean the change of the number of representatives from a particular area. It will mean a change in basic ways of life.

The counties of Maryland, especially those on the Shore, are proud of their identity—proud of the diversity of thought and opinion that this has produced. The debate and amalgamation of 23 county personalities in the process of making law has possibly taken a bit longer. But, it has also had the added advantage of subjecting new ideas and programs to a breadth of experience which cannot possibly be duplicated in the simple urban-rural split which will result from reapportionment.

We salute Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, our own Congressman MORTON, and others who are leading the fight against this trend to conformity.

Address of Jens Otto Krag, Prime Minister of Denmark, to the 53d Interparliamentary Conference, at the Opening Ceremony in the Town Hall of Copenhagen, August 20, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, having just returned from the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Copenhagen, where I acted as president of the U.S. national group, I was greatly impressed, as were my colleagues, by the address given at the opening ceremonies by the Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Otto Krag.

Mr. Krag shows a rare grasp of the functions and aims of the IPU and this is something far too few of our own parliamentarians understand. This Conference was the largest ever held, with 75 countries represented and 1,100 present.

The cordiality and efficiency of the Danish Government and the Danish royal family helped make this the most impressive meeting to date.

I asked the Prime Minister's permission to place his speech in the RECORD, which he graciously gave me.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS OF JENS OTTO KRAG, PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK, TO THE 53D INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE, AT THE OPENING CEREMONY IN THE TOWN HALL OF COPENHAGEN, AUGUST 20, 1964

Your Majesty, fellow parliamentarians, ladies and gentlemen, I am used to facing fellow parliamentarians, but this is the first time that I have to face 500 or 600 at a time. That is rather frightening for a Prime Minister who normally has to deal with 179. But I know that today there will be no debates and no voting, and I feel that I am facing a model international parliament whose fine qualities are even improved by the fact that the parliamentarians have brought their wives. We should, perhaps, introduce that custom in all our national parliaments. Maybe the voting on many matters would turn out differently, if we all had our wives sitting next to us when final decisions have to be taken. I am sure that for instance the food prices would be lower if our wives had greater influence. An easy way of achieving that would be to liberalize imports of cheap food products—for instance from Denmark.

You have chosen Denmark for your meeting place this year, which we take as a great honor.

You have chosen a country which cannot boast of being among the very first to adopt a parliamentary system, but on the other hand a country which belongs to a group of nations, the Nordic countries, where the system became deeply rooted once it was finally adopted. And a thousand years or more ago the peoples of this part of the world used to gather at special places, thingsteads, to discuss on an equal footing, the problems of their local area. These local parliaments represented a fairly advanced system of democracy.

But, we are not trying to steal from our British friends the credit of having created the mother of parliaments. I am merely

pointing out that you are visiting a part of the world where there is a traditional and deeply rooted belief in the ideas that are of common interest to everyone present here.

Although we may have different ideas on what parliamentarianism exactly is, we are all parliamentarians in the sense that we are elected by groups of people and that we are representing these people and their interests. At this Conference many hundred millions are represented by you. That carries with it no small responsibility, and it calls for a wholehearted effort to obtain results on behalf of all those we represent, be it at this Conference or at any other meeting where parliamentarians get together in order to do a job.

But what is actually the role of the parliamentarian of today? Is our influence diminishing in a society where technology and science are getting more and more complicated and more and more indispensable every day. How are we going to cope with the increasingly specialized experts in fields where it is impossible for a layman—and the parliamentarian is normally a layman outside the political field—to obtain all the relevant scientific knowledge? What will be the full impact on man's life on earth of all the immense forces that are and will be released, even if for more peaceful purposes?

I think that these questions have important bearings on the future of the parliamentary democracies. To remain countries governed by the people and not technocracies dominated by the experts who command the vast potentialities of modern science, is really a major problem. I can suggest no panacea for the elimination of this problem, but I have found it reasonable to mention it. Maybe it could be taken up for deliberation by the Conference.

I am sure that you will all agree with me that the last few years have seen a considerable relaxation of tension between the great powers. And it seems to me fair enough to assume that the primary reason for this is that the leading statesmen of the big countries are keenly—and realistically—aware that an allout modern war with the terrifying presentday arsenal of nuclear weapons is simply out of the question.

Against this background it has been possible to get closer to one another. Today we are witnessing increased contacts, expanding trade and growing cultural relations between States. I hope and trust that these developments will mark the emergence of a new world picture in which awareness of national characteristics, recognition of the paths which the individual nations have chosen for their material and spiritual lives must lead to the understanding between peoples and the tolerance toward different ways of thinking that would form the basis of a world community enjoying a more fundamental security than that afforded today by the nuclear deterrent.

We must admit, however, that tension and armed conflict are still existing in various parts of the world. While we are gathered here, fellow beings are killed, peoples are driven from their homes, thousands are in distress, and economic values are lost.

There is a certain tendency to view these conflicts in the sole perspective of the old cold war between East and West. But it would, I think, be more correct to admit that they also have their origins in the spectacular development which, in the light of history, will undoubtedly be the overshadowing feature of our century the end of colonialism and the awakening of the new nations to a free, independent life. We all welcome this development which the members of the United Nations agree to promote in every possible way.

It is perhaps unavoidable, but highly deplorable, that this almost explosive revolution should lead to tensions which, from time to time, have released unfortunate aggressive acts. Today we find the points of tension in Vietnam, in Cyprus, and in the Congo, but they exist—in a latent state—in many other parts of the world.

The problems are many and difficult, and more problems are bound to arise when the community of nations is to fit into its new pattern. The responsibility for the solution of these problems rests with us all—with you who are our guests today. We must help the new nations, not only in laying the economic and material foundation of healthy and viable communities, but also in solving the political and international conflicts in the wake of decolonization.

The fact that the Interparliamentary Union has been able to exist for so many years and that parliamentarians from so many nations can meet here today goes to show that it is possible to get together and discuss problems in a peaceful and constructive way.

Therefore, in extending to you, on behalf of the Danish Government and the Danish people, a most cordial welcome, I express the hope that this Conference may contribute to better understanding and greater tolerance among nations and bring us further toward the solution of the many problems ahead of us in our strive to create a world of prosperity, liberty, and peace.

Reapportionment Issue Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union, August 20, 1964:

CONGRESS ACTION NEEDED—REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE VITAL

As the 2d session of the 88th Congress draws to a close, President Johnson has been granted about 23 percent of his 1964 legislative requests. Only one major item—the antipoverty bill—was initiated by him.

In the adjournment rush, administration pressure will be severe. The most important Johnson proposal still pending is the social security medical care bill.

Despite all pressures to keep the issue alive, it appears quite likely there will be no final approval of the measure. The Senate Finance Committee earlier this week turned down two administration medicare programs tied to social security.

The reasons are obvious: There never has been grassroots support for the plan in its present form; Congressmen are becoming increasingly aware that other, more realistic programs are necessary for medical care.

With medical care apparently relegated to another Congress, the most significant debate will be about various attempts to delay a Supreme Court order for reapportionment of State legislatures.

The Court ruling specifies that membership of each house of a State legislature must be based on population. Heavily populated areas, such as California's coast, thus would have absolute control over all legislation, at the expense of rural sectors, which are so important to the State's development, and which end up with not one voter, one vote—but many voters with no effective vote.

Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN has authored a rider on the foreign aid authorization bill that would postpone for at least one legislative session in each State, enforcement of the High Court's ruling to provide time for States to act on a proposed constitutional amendment overriding the Supreme Court. Such an amendment is asked in the Republican platform.

Various compromise measures have been introduced.

Representative WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat, of Virginia, has introduced a measure that would ban Federal court action in any State legislative redistricting. Still another proposal has been offered by Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, and Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, Democrat, of Minnesota. It would put Congress on record as declaring that States should have adequate time to reapportion "consistently with its electoral procedures."

The rash of proposals seeking to block the Court decision is evidence the Congress is deeply concerned in a matter that is creating governmental chaos, and electoral injustice, in nearly every State.

Unless the ruling is nullified by one means or another, the very nature of representative government as it is understood in this country will be changed.

The reapportionment subject is so important to every State in the Union that it cannot be ignored or shelved by the current session of Congress.

Measures to halt this further encroachment on States rights should be given priority over all other pending legislation. Other matters before the Congress pale as insignificant in comparison.

No Rush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in today's Wall Street Journal is of interest to many of us who have been receiving complaints of the slowing down of mail deliveries all over the country.

Apparently, in transporting mail overseas the Post Office Department is not to blame. No indeed, the courts, always the most helpful of the three branches of the Government, have decided to put a brake on and assist the propjet operators and transport mail overseas in a more leisurely manner.

NO RUSH

If your mail does not get to its destination as fast as you think it ought to, the fault is not always the Post Office Department's. Look at what happened to the Department's proposal to speed airmail across the Atlantic.

Some weeks ago postal officials announced plans to allocate most transatlantic airmail to airlines having all-jet flights. This understandably upset a couple of airlines carrying mail on their propjet aircraft, which of course are slower than pure jets; no one likes the prospect of revenue loss.

So the propjet operators took their case to Federal court, and have won an order forbidding the Post Office Department from making its planned switch to the fastest available means of transportation.

It probably wouldn't be quite fair to say that had the Post Office been under comparable restraints from the start, mail today might be still traveling overseas under sail.

and across the country via pony express. But it does seem the Department has enough slowdown capability of its own, without needing any such judicial help.

Year 1964: How Much Government?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Los Angeles Times, August 30, 1964:

YEAR 1964: HOW MUCH GOVERNMENT?

Trying to identify the differences between Democrats and Republicans has never been easy (some people even insist it's impossible because there isn't a real difference), and this year it looks tougher than usual, at least if you read the two platforms and recent speeches of the two presidential nominees.

BARRY GOLDWATER speaks of an Atlantic civilization toward which we must build. Lyndon Johnson talks about the great society. Despite a lot of quibbling, both parties have acknowledged the need for effective civil rights, enforcement of law and a strong foreign policy to counter whatever the Communist bloc may have in mind to harass or injure us.

In fact, in the areas of civil liberties and foreign affairs, the two major parties have been remarkably close over the past 20 years.

What then is the difference between Republicans and Democrats? The 1964 platforms and the candidates' speeches so far make it clear the difference is in domestic policy.

In 1964, as in virtually every campaign since World War I, the division between Democratic and Republican domestic policy pivots on the relation of Government to the individual. It centers on the role of Government in our economic, political and social life—how much, what kind, and to what end.

The Republican Party, today as in the recent past, adheres to the belief that the proper role of Government is to protect the free exercise of the individual's rights—to protect, not to determine or regulate, our rights to life, liberty and property, our rights to individual conscience, individual ideas, individual work, trade, talent, recreation.

In times of great national danger—particularly from abroad—the Government's function to protect has required an unnatural intervention through regulation, and we have willingly agreed to temporary abridgement of some of our rights.

But since World War II, the Republicans have sought to disengage the real function of Government—to protect—from the emergency measures that have seen more and more regulation of work, trade, ideas, even talent and recreation.

The Democrats, in 1964, as they have since the New Deal days, continue to emphasize Government as the regulator. They insist an emergency environment prevails not only in foreign affairs but in our everyday life at home.

That is the main difference to be disputed—and resolved—between now and November 3.

Loyalty Oaths for Lyndon but Not for the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Charles L. Dancey so astutely points out, it must have done wonders for Lyndon's ego to have Hubert Humphrey and Walter Reuther support loyalty oaths for Lyndon having previously opposed loyalty oaths for the United States.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial from the August 27, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star:

A FREE PRESS TELLS ALL

(By C. L. Dancey)

The present convention in Atlantic City provides an excellent example of the role of an inquiring press, and the press has done an excellent job—including the TV and radio media.

For they have found the biggest news, and virtually the only real news from this ritual meeting by covering, in effect, the convention that didn't happen.

Unlike the circumstances in San Francisco, where the debate and much of the battle was carried on from the platform or on the floor, and after each debate the issue settled by a rollcall vote of the delegates, in Atlantic City nothing has been permitted to reach the platform but eulogies.

Indeed, not only is the platform reserved for Democratic eulogies, but there has been a total suppression of floor debate. The platform was not only jammed through as written on a voice vote, but it was not permitted to be publicly challenged on the floor.

A supreme effort was made to confine all controversy to the privacy of caucuses and closed committee meetings.

Only newsmen going directly to the source have shown what is going on really in Atlantic City, for all the real political action there is being conducted behind the scenes.

Through the energetic action of newsmen, however, a true picture emerges of caucuses in which big State delegations were whipped into line.

We see Walter Reuther, that great liberal and exponent of civil rights, abandoning critical negotiations between his giant union and General Motors to take time to browbeat the Michigan delegation into accepting the compromise that several Southern States approved to avoid a floor fight over the Mississippi credentials. We see Negro delegates in that delegation weeping as their great "champion" sold them out—sold them out of even an expression of their opinions on the floor of the convention.

Newsmen got some expressions of that opposing opinion, but never as part of the regular or formal proceedings of the convention.

We see the Mississippi delegation, accused of practicing political discrimination and segregation, approved, but asked to take a loyalty oath to President Johnson. The people who came up with this solution, HUMPHREY and Reuther, have over the years violently opposed proposals that public officials take a loyalty oath for the United States versus communism, but they think a loyalty oath to the Democratic party and to Lyndon Johnson is an appropriate requirement of a delegate.

We see the southern delegations, except for Mississippi and to some extent Alabama, accept this compromise, inasmuch as in obvious trade there is introduced into the platform of the party the virtual pledge that the present civil rights bill is final and the end of legislation on this subject as far as the Democratic Party is concerned, plus another platform plank coming out flatly against any kind of "street demonstration" (such as has been the feature of the southern Negroes protest against disenfranchisement, terrorism, and illegal segregation).

Yet, we would have seen none of this struggle had it not been for the diligent work of newsmen of all media, for every effort and lots of political "muscle" was used to prevent it from reaching the floor of the convention in debate, the floor of the convention in actual rollcall vote, or the platform of the convention in any manner.

The casualness with which the convention offered to seat as "honored guests" anybody in conflict as a legitimate delegate has become easy to understand. There isn't any difference in Atlantic City between a spectator and a delegate. Their powers are equal.

The control of the proceedings is so absolute, the delegates don't count. They don't even bother to show up much of the time—about a third being on hand.

The comparison of the two conventions makes the GOP session, unique for the naked power displayed by the GOLDWATER forces, seem Democratic, if you'll excuse the expression, by comparison with the naked power displayed in Atlantic City, where the whole thing is being managed in such a dictatorial fashion that neither debate nor a meaningful voting procedure has even been permitted.

Instead of suppressing differing opinions by an overwhelming vote on rollcall, after debate, as repeatedly happened in San Francisco, the differing opinions and disputes at Atlantic City are being suppressed in the back rooms, throttled in the throats of the disputants, and censored from the actual proceedings of the convention itself.

And we wouldn't have a glimmer of their reality were it not for the essential honesty, inquisitiveness, and skill of newsmen.

Where would we be if the media all came under the same presidential hammer that ruled this convention?

We wouldn't even know what happened. We'd have a pollyanna version like they have in Mexico * * * or Russia, for that matter * * * full of nothing but the exalted praises of our leader and his policies.

The Shoe Import Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the shoe import problem is still very much with us. A recent report from the foreign trade committee for the shoe manufacturing industry shows imports in women's, misses, and children's footware 8-percent higher than the comparable 1963 figure, with significant increases in vinyl footwear imports from Japan.

Imports for June exceed June of a year ago by 26 percent.

Many of these shoes sell in the American market at prices substantially less

than American manufacturers can make the shoes without any profit at all. It is wrong to permit this foreign competition in our market on an unlimited import basis.

The President should give this industry quota relief and he should do this now. He has the power under the Trade Expansion Act without the need for any further act of Congress.

It is long past time that we should guarantee at least a portion of the American market to American industry, despite the howls of anguish from the State Department. Once again we call upon the President for this relief in behalf of this sorely beleaguered domestic industry.

Under unanimous consent I am including in the RECORD at this point a statement of the foreign trade committee for the shoe manufacturing industry together with a statistical report of the total imports of the over-the-foot footwear for January to June of 1964:

IMPORTS OF WOMEN'S AND MISSES' FOOTWEAR AND VINYL SHOES AT AN ALLTIME HIGH—FIRST 6 MONTHS' IMPORTS OF 53,914,026 PAIRS EQUAL TO 14 PERCENT OF A U.S. PRODUCTION OF 389,240,000 PAIRS

Women's, misses' and children's footwear imports totaled over 11,700,000 pairs, a figure 8 percent higher than the comparable 1963 figure. The f.o.b. average value per pair also increased 8 percent per pair, from $1.70 to $1.83. Nearly 90 percent of all the imports in this category were from Italy.

Another significant increase is in vinyl footwear imports. January–June 1964 imports totaled 17,579,046 pairs, which was 199 percent over the comparable 1963 figure. At present rate of importation the total annual figure would be 48,600,000 pairs. The vinyl shoes from Japan are selling at an f.o.b. wholesale price of 43 percent per pair which is 25 percent below the 57-percent average of 1963. The comparable U.S. price is usually 100 percent higher or more. Japan exported 98 percent of the 17.6 million pairs of supported vinyl upper shoes as well as 83 percent of the 16.5 million pairs of sneakers.

Imports of men's, youths' and boys' footwear dropped 3 percent from a year ago to 3,750,719 pairs but wholesale f.o.b. value per pair increased 4 percent to $3.95, thus indicating successful trading up by importers.

The vinyl upper footwear imports from Japan have for the first time, starting in January and for each month since, exceeded importations of rubber canvas varieties, both in pairs and dollar value. Also for the first time the vinyl imports have exceeded the volume of fabric upper footwear with non-rubber soles which have dropped 43 percent compared to a year ago.

Total imports for June 1964 increased to the level where they brought the running total, January through June, imports past the 1963 level by 3.4 percent. Before May, total imports lagged behind a year ago. Total imports for June itself exceeded June a year ago by 26 percent. Thus, the current trend indicates an upswing which if maintained will result in total 1964 imports that will exceed 1963 by a considerable margin.

Total imports of over-the-foot footwear, January–June 1964

Type of footwear	January–June 1964			January–June 1963			Percent change, 1964/1963	
	Pairs	Dollar value	Average dollar value per pair	Pairs	Dollar value	Average dollar value per pair	Pairs	Average dollar value per pair
Leather	16,130,235	$37,083,065	$2.30	19,820,131	$35,555,244	$1.79	−18.6	+28.5
Men's, youths', and boys'	3,750,719	14,822,958	3.95	3,879,750	14,762,244	3.80	−3.3	+3.9
Women's, misses', and children's	11,759,433	21,474,525	1.83	10,850,483	18,403,093	1.70	+8.4	+7.6
Slippers [1]	210,237	345,059	1.64	4,634,368	1,923,218	.41	−95.5	+300.0
Moccasins	350,060	332,204	.95	397,920	373,389	.94	−12.0	+1.1
Other leather	59,786	108,319	1.81	57,610	93,300	1.62	+3.8	+11.7
Shoes of wood	127,314	180,917	1.42					
Fabric uppers [1]	3,604,702	1,874,056	.52	6,310,763	3,358,896	.53	−42.9	−1.9
Supported vinyl uppers	17,579,046	7,643,124	.43	5,881,110	3,367,543	.57	+198.9	−24.6
Rubber-soled fabric uppers	16,472,729	10,067,771	.61	20,150,417	13,310,040	.66	−18.3	−7.6
Total, all kinds	53,914,026	56,848,933	1.05	52,162,421	55,591,723	1.07	+3.4	−1.9

[1] Year-to-year comparisons of data not valid due to change in definition.

NOTE.—Figures do not include imports of waterproof rubber footwear, zoris, and slipper socks.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce; records of the National Shoe Manufacturers Association.

A Constitutional Prayer Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. BECKER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BECKER. Mr. Speaker, on May 6, 1964, Charles Wesley Lowry, Ph. D. (Oxon.), D.D., president, Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order (FRASCO), offered the following testimony before the Judiciary Committee.

Dr. Lowry is one of the best-known theologians in the country, and no one man could speak on this issue with greater knowledge and understanding.

I hope that all Members will read this statement, and I am sure it must convince them to take the necessary action now to bring an amendment before the House, have it adopted and acted upon at once.

A CONSTITUTIONAL PRAYER AMENDMENT

(By Charles Wesley Lowry, Ph. D. (Oxon.), D.D.)

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the privilege of being before this distinguished committee. For a great many years I have been a close student of the American religious heritage and the realities as well as the problems of church and state. Last January I brought out a new book entitled "To Pray or Not To Pray: A Handbook on Recent Supreme Court Decisions and American Church-State Doctrine."

We are, Mr. Chairman, in the midst of a revolution. I am not sure that this is sufficiently appreciated, though unquestionably many are aware that something very radical and very sweeping is afoot. This is the reason for the murmurings and stirrings at the grassroots. All honor to the Congress, designed to represent the sovereign people of this Nation, that the voice of the great mass of our citizens is heard and that an opportunity for hearings such as these is given.

The years 1962 and 1963 will appear to posterity as years of revolution in the relations of church and state, religion and government in the United States.

The revolution was not one which proceeded from or was accomplished by the American people. It was a revolution from above. It was imposed on the people in two stages through judicial edicts handed down by the Supreme Court in deciding cases before it. The first stage was the decision which struck down the nonsectarian New York school prayer. As this prayer had been uniquely an interfaith effort, developed by and under Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders, its demolition created a furor. There was a tremendous outburst of indignation throughout the country. The great power elites of our society were aroused nearly as much as the plain people. For example, His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman denounced the decision in no uncertain terms. The eminent Protestant theologian, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, criticized it in the pages of the New Leader.

Bishop James A. Pike asserted that the Supreme Court had deconsecrated the Nation. Another bishop I am told remarked that the Court had enacted an 11th commandment: Thou shalt not pray in school. Not a few Jewish teachers were disturbed, among them Rabbi Bernard Zlotowitz and Prof. Will Herberg.

The atmosphere also in both Houses of Congress was very heated. The most outspoken alarm and anger were voiced. The Senate Committee on the Judiciary pro-

ceeded almost immediately to hold hearings, which were published in a voluminous and informative volume.

Then it was, Mr. Chairman, that something quite singular occurred. A combination educational and public relations campaign was initiated, aimed at explaining the Court, smoothing down the ruffled feathers of the Congress, quieting the fears of the people, developing support for an extreme liberal outlook on issues of religion in the public schools, and generally preparing Americans for a further and more decisive action by the Higher Court.

Members of the Supreme Court themselves got into action to explain their decision—in itself an unusual act. They were joined by various eminent Protestant clergymen, some as individual voices, others in concert. Many lawyers, civic leaders, publicists, and academicians as well as clergy of the major faiths, were drawn into the picture. By the early spring of 1963, when the Supreme Court heard new cases involving the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading in public schools it was evident that a far-ranging and concerted movement, involving influential elements of key power structures in the country, was in full swing and that its weight was being directed to prepare and condition the American people for a still more definitive and sweeping development.

The sequel we all know. In June 1963 the Highest Court again struck and struck hard. This time there was no technicality available about State officials having composed a prayer or usurping the role of a church. But this lack did not stay the reformatory broom of the Justices. They again invoked the no establishment clause and forbade as prohibited religious exercises saying the Lord's Prayer and reading from the Bible. Though the rule of confinement to this case alone undoubtedly applies technically, the Justices appeared to sweep with broad strokes and to say in no uncertain tones: "There is no place under the American constitutional system for prayer, reverent Bible reading, or devotional exercises of any kind in the public school. The business of the school is education not religion, the mind not the soul."

This, we repeat, is a very radical decision. It marks, if it sticks, a turning point in our history. It adds up to a major revolution. A tradition is dead that began at least as early as 1684 when the rules of the New Haven Hopkins Grammar School required "that the scholars being called together, the Mr. shall every morning begin the work with a short prayer for a blessing on his laboures and their learning."

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that many will feel I am using strong words. This is because of the gravity of the issue. I believe that I have spoken with precision and exactitude of what has happened and of the situation which presently confronts the American people. It is however incumbent on me to support my view by reference to history and the clear traits of the system which has been handed down to us as Americans.

THE GREAT AMERICAN MIDDLE WAY IN CHURCH AND STATE

There are voices among us, Mr. Chairman, which are wont to cry "extremist" and "reactionary" and "American primitivism" and "rightwing radical," whenever a stanch dissent to the judicial destruction of cherished practices and institutions is registered. I do indeed believe that there is a radicalism of the right, and I deplore it as definitely as I do radicalism of the left. But in the area of church and state, religion and the nation, it must be emphasized that the true radicalism is in the new position which the Supreme Court has carved out and erected into public policy at the behest of a tiny minority of atheists, free thinkers, and extreme secularists.

These people—do not mistake me—should have their rights under the Constitution: freedom to think, speak, and act. I will go as far as Voltaire here. But, Mr. Chairman, it is a calamity and it is not straight thinking to convert legitimate radical dissent into public policy and impose it on the overwhelming majority of the American people, at the same time trampling down ruthlessly ancient prerogatives of local self-government in school affairs. This is indeed a "tyranny of the few."

It is also a rejection of the great traditional American middle way in the sphere of church-state relationships. I regard the durable working synthesis that we had achieved in this delicate area in this country and that has served us so well, as one of the supreme achievements of history.

What is this middle way in church and state? It is holding the ship of state steady in between the pulls of various menacing extremes. One of these is theocracy or the rule of God mediated through priests, presbyters, or divines of some kind and extended to the secular as well as the ecclesiastical order. Another is political absolutism. This may take the form of erastianism or subjecting the church to the rule and domination of absolute rulers, as in the period of the divine right of kings following the Protestant Reformation and penetrating also into Catholic societies. It was a Catholic king, Louis XIV, who exclaimed: L'Etat, c'est Moi.

Or, the absolutism may take the form of totalitarianism, as in our terrible time, with dictatorship establishing itself as the guardian of an idolatrous secular faith and setting itself not only to rule men with a rod of iron but to redeem them from the evil past and the corruption of the private ownership of property and transform them into a new humanity—the new Soviet or Communist man. And this, of course, means the ruthless, utterly unconscionable persecution of all believers in God and in Christ.

When I hear so much talk now about religion being a private affair and a matter for the church and the home but not the school and not Government in any manner, I must own that I become somewhat frightened. I wonder whether our leaders and many of our most prominent and privileged people may not be moving like sleepwalkers toward a destination and a fate they do not and cannot see. At such moments I remember the Soviet decree of 1918 which read: "Religion is a private matter and the State can take no cognizance of the religion of its citizens."

In this connection, I have just come across a remarkable speech by Mr. Henry R. Luce on "The Age of Multiple Revolutions." It was given last December to a group of Time, Inc. executives. In it Mr. Luce said: "The revolution in religion means many things, but most notably, perhaps, the modern agreement that religion is a private affair—that religion has nothing to do with the res publicae—public affairs—or with the guidance of society. Are we taking this assumption for granted too quickly and too lightly?"

What positively is the American middle way? It is not a construct of extreme simplicity, but is a rich synthesis grounded on the Constitution and hammered out in the laboratory of life, experience, instinct, and tradition. It is a doctrine with three articles.

Article 1. A true nation, like a true individual, exists under God and owes the Creator and Supreme Being reverence, acknowledgment, and obedience, especially in relation to the universal moral and spiritual laws commonly summed up as the moral law.

A remarkable historical example of this conviction, which I believe underlies in a central manner the whole history of the United States, from colonial beginnings until now, is the action of our first President, George Washington, in response to a resolution of the first Congress assembled under our Federal Constitution. The day was September 25, 1789 and on that day the Congress first submitted the Bill of Rights or first 10 amendments to the States. It then passed, without debate, a resolution requesting the President to recommend to the people of the United States "a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peacefully to establish a Constitution of government for their safety and happiness."

Eight days later, on October 3, 1789, the President of the United States issued the first Thanksgiving Day proclamation under the new Constitution. Its second paragraph begins: "Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th day of November next to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be."

There are many other symbols and summaries of the American conviction that this is a nation under God. Our foremost papers of state abound in such expressions, nor are these by any means formalistic or stereotyped. They are solemn, thoughtful, sincere, and instinctive. We all are cognizant of the national motto "In God We Trust," the present word of the flag salute, and a much older and immensely impressive creation of religious symbolism, the reverse of the great seal of the United States.

I think, however, that we can hardly find a finer or more forceful presentation of the first article of American church-state doctrine than President Washington's serene, yet fervent and movingly reverent proclamation of a Thanksgiving Day in obedience to the request of the Bill of Rights Congress.

Article 2: It is for the safety and happiness of the people, and the preservation of the blessings of liberty, that church and state be separated.

That, in my own words, is the second article of the American creed in the all-important matter of the relations of church and state, religion and government. Another and more authoritative phrasing is that of the opening words of the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Much thought has been exerted, much ink expended, in the effort to exegete with precision those historic words. And yet how well they have served us as a nation and people from 1789 to 1962. What did the architects of America have in mind when they interdicted the Congress from tampering legislatively with an establishment of religion or with its free exercise?

May I respectfully suggest that our third President, Thomas Jefferson, may have been more inspired than he knew, or than many of his admirers across the decades have realized, when he was led to set forth his celebrated gloss on the first amendment in addressing a committee of Baptists from Danbury, Conn., on the first day of January 1802.

Jefferson said, as the learned members of this distinguished congressional committee of course know, that he contemplated "with solemn reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

There is something in this gloss which has escaped, as far as I know, historians and legal exegetes. It is a very simple point and one that should be obvious. Yet it is the simple things which we sometimes miss. Jefferson in this statement shifts gears ver-

bally, so to speak, and speaks of a wall of separation between church and state. He does not say between religion and the state. He does not say a religious activity, regardless of its nonsectarian quality. He could have stuck to language about religion which after all is the specific word employed in the phrase "an establishment of religion" and also, by clear antecedent reference, in the second phrase "the free exercise thereof."

Jefferson instead spoke of separation between church and state, thereby launching a crucial phrase on its historic career. Is not this exactly what he meant and is not this the clear meaning which the first amendment had for its authors and for their successors in the American tradition until very recent times?

The Founding Fathers saw the perils of intermingling the organization and management of ecclesiastical or sectarian affairs, on the one hand, and the direction of the affairs of state, on the other. They wished mutually to segregate church organization and political activity. They did not wish to have a situation in which a bishop or a president of the Baptists would be the Secretary of State. They did not want a condition like that of unhappy Cyprus today where an archbishop is also chief of state. But the general and benign influence of religion was quite another matter. The last thing they thought of, let alone deliberately purposed, was the segregation and separation of public life and public education from common prayer or the reading of the Bible.

Article 3: There shall be maximum freedom in the sphere of religion, both in thought and act, for individuals and for groups.

Such freedom cannot be absolute, as the story of Supreme Court decisions between the Great Wars in this century abundantly shows. For others have rights also. This introduces an unavoidable factor of relativity as the price of society, civilization, and the greatest good of the greatest number. But in our American system we desire, and the Constitution guarantees, maximum protection of the rights of all individual citizens, including religious liberty or the free exercise of religion.

But, it may be asked, is the issue today not precisely the rights of individual citizens, including minority religious groups and even individual atheists? The answer is No. Our forefathers were not unaware of the existence and problems of minorities. Though atheism was hardly conceivable to them, save as an extreme abstraction or exception, they certainly assigned no limits to freedom of opinion. Persecution on account of religious belief or disbelief was abhorrent to them, and they dared under the American system to outlaw such an outrage against human dignity.

But this must not be understood as meaning that the tail of protection of rights should be allowed to wag the dog—that is, the body politic as a whole. It is here, in my opinion, that we have become confused and in consequence have run into serious trouble.

Tolerance, toleration, protection of the freedom of all individuals, is one thing. Public policy is another thing. It is here that a serious fallacy has been embraced by the Supreme Court of the United States, with the result that a whole people is upset and thrown into confusion in an area of the utmost delicacy and sensitivity, namely, religion.

The Supreme Court in Schempp and Murray adopts as the keystone of the arch of constitutionality the concept of strict neutrality, "neither aiding nor opposing religion" and eliminating all religious exercises in any way required by the state or States. Mr. Justice Goldberg in a concurring opinion in which Mr. Justice Harlan joined, expresses some concern about the possible results of an untutored devotion to this concept of neutrality but does not question it fundamentally.

This is the crux of the constitutional issue and the practical issue. The Supreme Court, I believe, has forgotten the solid and unbroken history of the Nation's essential religiousness and commitment to the public acknowledgement of God. This has been and, in many respects, remains our public policy. Prayer and Bible reading in the public schools were simply one of many expressions of this policy. The traditional American position, I repeat, has been one of benevolence toward expressions of religious faith in civil life and public institutions so long as these did not approach establishmentarianism in the semantic and historical sense of preferring or favoring one church or denomination over another. In the words of the distinguished authority, T. M. Cooley, in his classic work "Principles of Constitutional Law": "It was never intended by the Constitution that the Government should be prohibited from recognizing religion—where it might be done without drawing any invidious distinctions between different religious beliefs, organizations, or sects" (pp. 224–225).

This issue is, of course, not new and the Supreme Court had dealt with it long before the post-World War II period with its preoccupation with school problems. Mr. Justice Story in *Vidal* v. *Girard's Executors* (1844) declared: "It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania." Mr. Justice Brewer in *Trinity Church* v. *United States* (1892) opined: "These, and many other matters which might be noted, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation." Mr. Justice Sutherland in *United States* v. *Macintosh* (1931) wrote: "We are a Christian people, according to one another the equal right of religious freedom, and acknowledging with reverence the duty of obedience to the will of God." Mr. Chief Justice Hughes in the same case in a dissenting opinion said: "One cannot speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God."

This issue of strict neutrality versus protection of constitutional rights combined with a benign and positive attitude toward religion, was implicit in Mr. Justice Douglas' opinion in a relatively recent case, *Zorach* v. *Clauson* (1952). It is very important to note in this landmark decision not only the oft-quoted aphorism: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," but these sentences which go to the heart of what has been the American middle way:

"The first amendment, however, does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state. Rather, it studiously defines the manner, the specific ways, in which there shall be no concert or union or dependency one on the other. This is the commonsense of the matter. * * * When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions."

This decision in Zorach followed McCollum—a decision that had set forth an interpretation of the first amendment substantially in line with those of Engel and Schempp-Murray. A distinguished Protestant theologian, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary, expressed last July the view that the significance of the Schempp-Murray decision lay at a far deeper level than the matter of the school exercises proscribed. This new significance was, on the one hand, retrospective: "In its radical recasting of the intent and meaning of the Constitution"; on the other hand, prospective: "In its possible anticipation of far more drastic and fundamental reversal of the historic and established practices of National, State, and local governments with respect to religion." (Letter to New York Times, July 7, 1963; quoted in "To Pray or Not To Pray," Lowry, p. 113.)

This weighty statement from an unusually competent and authoritative source is extremely useful in checking our course and charting the reasons why the current debate on a constitutional prayer amendment is so vital.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

So far I have dwelt on the larger background facts. Every student must master these. But the problem left by the stubborn fact that the Supreme Court is the last resort under our system and that it seems to have spoken in uncompromising tones, remains. What is to be done? What is the answer? Is there any remedy? If so, what is it? How satisfactory will it be?

One answer is: Trust the Supreme Court. Leave the interpretation of the Constitution and the settlement of all questions related to religion in public and national life to our highest judicial body.

This is the course advocated or acquiesced in by a large body of opinion. The difficulty with it is the complete uncertainty in which it leaves us with respect to the preservation of the American religious heritage in its fundamentals. This is an area, as we saw earlier, in which the spirit of radical change manifest in many areas of life is making itself felt.

It may be that this revolutionary spirt respecting religion is irresistble and will sweep all before it. On the other hand, it may be that this trend bodes ill for the Nation and that it should be resisted. The issue must be debated and decided on its merits. It is not one per se which the Supreme Court is especially qualified to decide, nor is this the province of the highest Court.

Another problem is that ours is a Government of divided powers. The Congress and the Chief Executive have responsibilities too. Traditionally they have acted in the religious field, as distinct from establishing a particular religion or acting to prohibit the free exercise of religion. It is wrong to think that the Supreme Court is the only branch of Government properly concerned with problems involving religion.

Above all, the people are concerned. It is their children who are the subjects of the educational process. It is their heritage and their children's heritage which is at stake.

A second possible answer is that the Supreme Court—which after all has never claimed infallibility—could take a second and more sober look at the whole landscape and make haste to spell out in a relevant fundamental decision its mind on the limits, if any, of the prohibitory and interdictive implications of the first amendment with respect to religion. How far does the Court recognize and feel responsibility toward the middle way of the past in the matter of religion and government? How far does the guarantee of free exercise of religion go in its applicability to actions of citizens in public schools and other public institutions? For example, is voluntary prayer and Bible reading, that is, where there is no specific law or rule—is such a voluntary religious activity in a public school constitutional?

This is by no means a speculative or merely theoretical question. The whole country is occupied with it in some form. A large number of evangelical clergymen, particularly it would appear in the great Southern Baptist Convention, are convinced that the real meaning of recent decisions by the Supreme Court is to make it clear that truly voluntary activity of a religious character in public schools or anywhere is constitutional.

Many teachers, school administrators, and professors either hold a similar view or are disposed to. A high school history teacher in Maryland called me up to say that he opened his classes each day with prayer and Bible reading and didn't I think, since this was purely voluntary on his part, that the Supreme Court would regard this as constitutional? A State superintendent of public instruction told me emphatically last month that in his State there were no rules about either prayer or reading the Bible, and there wouldn't be any, and consequently they would have no trouble, for there wasn't anything for the Supreme Court to rule on. He stated, in answer to my questions, that in that State teachers and principals were free to follow their own consciences in such matters. Last Sunday (April 26) a letter of unusual interest from a professor emeritus of the American University appeared in the Washington Post. In it Prof. Ralph B. Kennard opposes all current proposals to amend the Constitution in relation to religion on the ground that many people have misunderstood the recent decisions of the Supreme Court. "They believe that these decisions prohibit prayer and Bible reading in the public schools. In fact they do nothing of the kind. There was not a word against free, voluntary, unregimented prayer or Bible reading."

My personal judgment, for what it is worth, is that all these good people are dwelling in a cloudland. Reading carefully all opinions in both Engel and Schempp-Murray against a background of close study of Court thinking in the general field since 1940, I am persuaded, though I wish I were wrong, that the current Court is in a dogmatic frame of mind philosophically. Its intent, perhaps unconsciously, is reformatory with regard to widespread existing practices involving religious worship or devotional overtones in the public schools of the Nation. Unless a miracle intervenes, the "free exercise" clause will not be invoked to save voluntary religious activity.

Miracles, of course, do happen. And the attempt to eliminate all devotional expression among our children and young people in a school context is a bold and sweeping enterprise. I do not believe that it will succeed. It runs too squarely counter to the deep instincts of our people. Tyranny always generates a reaction, and this is certainly not less likely in the case of a "tyranny of the few," even though the tyranny be in the name of tolerance.

So we come back to the remedy of a constitutional amendment. I was originally reluctant to resort to it, because I am such a believer in the Constitution as we have known it and in the classical church-state synthesis under which the American Ship of State has so skillfully woven its way between the Scylla of theocracy and the Charybdis of political absolutism. I am, however, now persuaded that an amendment is the only sure, clear, and definite answer. Without such an antidote, the present confusion and cross-purposes among our people will increase. Ahead on this course lie treacherous morasses and beyond them an unfathomable abyss. In addition, I am persuaded that intolerance in our country is on the upgrade and I would like to see this quieted by the application of proper remedies rather than allowed to fester and become more inflamed.

There are, admittedly, difficulties in the amendment answer. The problem of a simple yet comprehensive wording is a severe one. It is absolutely essential, in my view, to draft an amendment in such a way as to avoid any implication that the current, preposterously broad construction of the first amendment is the American constitutional position.

Bishop James A. Pike of California, who happens to be a friend and former pupil of mine, has made an extremely ingenious suggestion. Indeed, it is a brilliant idea which probably only a trained jurist, such as Pike was and is, would have thought of.

Bishop Pike's proposal is that the first amendment be reaffirmed with an explicatory restatement of the present phrase "an establishment of religion" to read: "the recognition as an established church of any denomination, sect, or organized religious association." My guess is that this will seem to many too narrow a construction, just as the current Court interpretation is too wide. Probably the best hope is to concentrate on the most expert and carefully chosen wording which centers on the issue of prayer, Bible reading, and public reference to Deity.

These are the points which Congressman Becker, who has earned the gratitude of countless Americans for his unselfish labor in this field, has accented in his proposed "consensus" amendment. Using the same focus, here is an alternate wording which may or may not have value.

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be interpreted as prohibiting the voluntary offering of prayers or reading of the Bible, or the voluntary hearing of the same, in a public school or other public institution in the United States, nor shall reference to Deity in a public setting be understood as constituting an establishment of religion."

In any case, it is not an insuperable task to draw up a clear and sound amendment. Let this honorable and respected Committee or some other proper organ of this House put the best brains and skills we have at this task, and then let the Congress and the people decide. Perhaps they will have second thoughts. Perhaps the polls are misleading. Perhaps the debate and discussion that must and should come in the meantime, will change the minds of a large enough minority to prevent the enactment of such an amendment. But, Mr. Chairman, let us not be afraid of the people. The Constitution and our American system rest on the twofold truth that the power is in the people and that this is where it belongs.

I for one am not worried about the future of tolerance and understanding and brotherhood if we remain a free people and if we retain the faith of our fathers in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Muñoz Marín Steps Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues some editorial comment of the daily press concerning the retirement from the position of Governor of Puerto Rico of the Honorable Luis Muñoz Marín.

It is well known that Governor Muñoz Marín would have been renominated and certainly would have been elected for another term had he allowed himself to be persuaded further to carry the burden of the governorship of Puerto Rico. However, Governor Muñoz Marín having made the decision that he best serves his people with his retirement from the governorship, firmly held his position before the entreaties of a unanimous convention, which insisted on his renomination. It was his considered opinion that the time had come when a change should be made in the governorship, and so open the opportunity for transition and democratic transmission of governmental powers. For this decision Governor Muñoz Marín has been widely praised.

Some editorial comments are herein included:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Aug. 19, 1964]

STATESMAN OF THE CARIBBEAN

Luis Muñoz Marín will not seek in November the fifth 4-year term as Governor of Puerto Rico that is his for the asking. Perhaps because he himself is a poet, lines from the poet, Thomas Gray, come to mind. His lot was:

"To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land
"And to read his history in a nation's eyes."

Plenty is not too strong a word when one compares Puerto Rico today with the Puerto Rico of 1940, when the Popular Democratic Party he founded won power, or of 1948, when he became the island's first elected Governor. Under his leadership Puerto Rico changed from an eyesore into a showcase of American democracy—with the highest living standards in Latin America, an example to be studied by the leaders of other underdeveloped nations.

However, Don Luis (as he is called) did not exactly "scatter" plenty. He made his people work for it, and he taught them how—through his program "Operation Bootstrap." By retiring at the height of his powers and fame he is making his people continue to work—by learning how to get along with someone else at the helm.

Muñoz is avoiding the fatal mistake of many great leaders of democracies—making themselves "indispensable" and thereby inhibiting self-reliance. There is no dearth of able students of Muñoz to take over—notably the present secretary of state, Robert Sanchez, his most likely successor.

Puerto Rico will not be lacking in problems, but, happily, Don Luis is not disappearing. He will be around as a senator and elder statesman and a figure above the mounting tempest of politics in the Caribbean island.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 18, 1964]

(By Don Luis)

From Puerto Rico comes word of a small cloud of worry there lest Luis Muñoz Marín's decision not to run again for the governorship be interpreted on the mainland as a sign of political shakiness, and the selection of a virtual unknown to run in his stead create fears of a new spot of difficulty in the Caribbean. (Plaintively, they say in Puerto Rico that they wish all mainlanders realized that Havana is closer to St. Louis than it is to San Juan.) Any such readings and apprehensions would of course be wholly unwarranted.

Roberto Sanchez Vilella, chosen as candidate of the dominant Popular Democratic Party to run against Luis Ferré of the Statehood-Republicans, is in fact not widely known outside the island, but he has been secretary of state since 1952, when Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth, serving in effect as Muñoz's chief of staff and as Acting Governor in his absence. Sanchez is a quiet, highly competent man of great political acuity. If he becomes Governor, as is likely, his policies on relations between island and mainland will be the excellent policies of his predecessor.

In declining to run for another term of residence at La Fortaleza, Muñoz holds, against the fervent pleadings of the party, that the democratic process in Puerto Rico is in strong and vigorous shape and that the next step is for Puerto Ricans to demonstrate to themselves that their system and their fortunes do not depend on one man.

It is understandable that many Puerto Ricans might have come to think they did depend on one man. Almost a quarter of a century has passed since Muñoz, as president of the insular senate, took the first step toward a rehabilitation of the democratic process—the step of persuading every Puerto Rican of the value of his vote, and thus laying the political base for social and economic rehabilitation. "The people of Puerto Rico possess a great political potential," Muñoz once said, years ago, when to outsiders the total situation of the island looked utterly hopeless. They have justified the faith he had in them then—as he has justified their faith in him—and we can have no doubt that they will justify his faith in them now.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 18, 1964]

MUÑOZ MARÍN STEPS DOWN

Gov. Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico is a somewhat uncommon specimen of a professional politician—he believes heart and soul in the democratic principles that he has always proclaimed. And now he is proving it once again by refusing to run for a fifth term as Governor.

His figure is such a familiar one in the United States and Latin America, as well as in Puerto Rico, that it has been impossible to think of the island without thinking of him. The popular Democratic Party he founded won power in 1940. Don Luis, as everyone calls him, became the first elected Governor of Puerto Rico in 1948, and he has been its only one, for he was reelected three times. Nothing could have prevented him from being elected again in November—except his own determination to step aside, which he does at the peak of his power and prestige.

The task he set himself many years ago has been well done. The remarkably successful economic and social program, known as "Operation Bootstrap," was his idea and his accomplishment. The Commonwealth status, whereby Puerto Rico became "associated" under the American flag, with common citizenship and complete autonomy in internal affairs, was conceived and carried through by the Governor.

Although he will remain in the political picture as senator and elder statesman, it would be unlike him to overshadow his successor, who will most likely be the present Secretary of State, Roberto Sanchez Vilella. Mr. Sanchez is not a popularly known figure, but he has been the Governor's closest associate for years and he is rated as an outstanding administrator.

Presuming that Mr. Sanchez is elected in November—which is a safe presumption—there will be no change in policies. Puerto Rico is older in history than the United States. Mr. Muñoz Marín is the 123d Governor since Columbus claimed the island for Spain. But it is also a new island, with a hopeful future for which the retiring Governor deserves much credit.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 18, 1964]

MUÑOZ MARÍN STEPS DOWN

Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico has struck an almost unique blow for democracy by refusing to accept a fifth nomination for Governor. Despite an overwhelming demand from the Popular Democratic Party for his continued leadership, the Governor held firmly to his decision. Why? The people of Puerto Rico need to prove to themselves, he said, that they can follow the path of justice and progress without depending upon the leadership of any one man.

The precedent thus set is the more significant because Mr. Muñoz Marín is the only elected Governor Puerto Rico has ever had. Since 1940 he has held the highest elective office in the island, and since he was first elected Governor in 1948 his role as first citizen has not been effectively challenged. Not only has he given Puerto Rico an energetic and progressive administration, he has also laid secure foundations for popular government within the framework of the Commonwealth.

In some respects, however, the greatest act of his career was his decision to relinquish the far-reaching power that the people had placed in his hands. Continued election of one man to the governorship throughout his lifetime might have cast some unfortunate reflections upon the development of democratic government in the Commonwealth. In acting to avert such a danger Gov. Muñoz Marín has demonstrated a high degree of statesmanship.

It is a happy circumstance that he has consented to continue serving his people as a member of the senate and as a teacher traveling through the countryside to enhance the faith of the people in representative government. Fortunately, too, the gubernatorial nomination went to Secretary of State Roberto Sanchez Vilella, who has been the Governor's righthand man and chief of staff for 12 years. Presumably a transition of authority will be made under the most favorable circumstances, and the millions of friends of Gov. Muñoz Marín in this country as well as in Puerto Rico will wish him many happy years in his role as elder statesman.

L.B.J.'s Nomination Recalls His Rise to Power in Ballot Box Scandal

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Republican Congressional Newsletter:

THE MESS IN WASHINGTON, PART III—L.B.J.'S NOMINATION RECALLS HIS RISE TO POWER IN BALLOT BOX SCANDAL

("This race is not a matter of life or death for me. If I lost by one vote in an honest count, the heavens wouldn't fall in. But some half million good solid Texans voted for me as their Senator (against Lyndon Johnson) and they have been defrauded and robbed."—Coke R. Stevenson, former Governor of Texas, commenting on the U.S. Senate race he lost to L.B.J. by 87 votes in 1948.)

Few of the good solid Texans who recall the special election which sent Lyndon Baines Johnson to the U.S. Senate in 1948 amid vote fraud charges and to the Vice Presidency in 1960 amid similar charges would be surprised at the wheeler-dealer climate which has permeated Washington since.

For in a thoroughly documented study of Johnson, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" (Palo Duro Press), Texas Historian J. Evetts Haley states: "Throughout Texas * * * among those who have no political axes of their own to grind, and of every political point of view, there is deep suspicion and distrust of the man who is now President of the United States."

And again: "Federal bureaucratic pressure, State demagogues, the intellectually elite, labor, money, and criminal tactics combined to elevate [Johnson] to high office in Texas." And, Haley added, the same elements plus Johnson's "special talents as a wheeler-dealer and political fixer" put him in the Senate in 1948. In that bit of political fixing, Johnson also had the help of President Harry Truman, himself no stranger to scandal, and of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, the famous police court judge and former Klansman.

The story of how Lyndon Johnson became a U.S. Senator begins July 24, 1948, the date of the first Democratic primary. He was opposed by former Texas Governor, Coke R. Stevenson, a conservative who was hated by the New Deal crowd whom Lyndon served. In the primary, Stevenson got 477,077 votes to Johnson's 405,617, but because there were others running and Stevenson lacked a majority of total votes, a runoff between Stevenson and Johnson was necessary. It was held August 28 after a bitter 4-week campaign during which Johnson reportedly spent huge sums. Nevertheless Stevenson apparently won by 113 votes.

Johnson then went into action. He called on George B. Parr, wealthy political dictator of Duval County and a county judge who had been convicted of income tax fraud. Parr indicated he might pick up the needed votes in precinct 13 at Alice. The returns were "recanvassed" by Parr's men and the count was "corrected" to supply Lyndon with 202 more votes. Johnson thus "won" by 87 votes and earned the title "Landslide Lyndon."

"I was beaten by a stuffed ballot box," Stevenson charged. "And I can prove it."

Stevenson then began three lines of investigation—one conducted by his campaign managers, a second ordered by a Federal district court and a third ordered by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. Johnson, fighting desperately for his political life, got the help of President Truman who was then crossing Texas on a whistlestop campaign train. Wanting the more liberal L.B.J. in Congress, Truman repeatedly passed the word to the party faithful as he journeyed through Texas that it must be Johnson at any price.

Meanwhile, Stevenson's investigation turned up these facts: (1) the new names which the "recount" in precinct 13 had been written on the lists in blue ink, whereas black ink had been used on the main list; (2) the new names were in alphabetical order, though it would be a mathematical miracle if 202 voters showed up at the polls alphabetically; and (3) all were in the same handwriting, though the writing on the main list varied.

After the discovery, Carr ordered the lists locked up in his bank at Alice. Stevenson's men, however, enlisted the services of a respected Texas ranger captain and were finally allowed to see the records. Although they were not allowed to make notes or copy names, they did succeed in memorizing the names of about 15 persons. A checkout on the names turned up some who had been long dead, and at least two who testified they had not voted at all.

To this testimony, Johnson's attorneys offered no rebuttal. They had none. The U.S. district court at Fort Worth then ordered an investigation of the ballot box tampering in Parr's district, a move which panicked Johnson, who flew to New Orleans to petition the fifth court of appeals to dismiss the district court's order. When it seemed that the appeals court decision might come too late, Johnson bypassed the court, and took his case directly to Supreme Court Justice Black in

Washington. Black promptly overruled the district court, and Johnson was home safe.

Stevenson's last effort, an appeal to the Senate subcommittee, also failed. For when the Senate investigators arrived in Texas, the ballots in question had disappeared. Johnson went on to the Senate in the general election in November.

Thus began Johnson's career which carried him past the Senate to the Vice Presidency—and last November 22 to the Presidency. But L.B.J.'s swift footwork at the polls was noted again in the presidential election of 1960 when he was No. 2 on the Democratic ticket. A subsequent issue of the Newsletter will look into how more than 100,000 Texas voters were disfranchised by Democratic shenanigans in that election.

Trouble After the Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration's transparent attempt to create a public impression of unanimous professional support for its economic policies badly backfired last week. The exercise made crystal clear some of the hazards involved in trying to use honest professionals to advance partisan political ends.

The occasion for the row was an unprecedented meeting called by the present Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Dr. Walter W. Heller, with his four predecessors. After what was to have been a private conversation, the press was called in and—apparently at the request of President Johnson himself—Chairman Heller was asked to brief the newsmen on the results of the meeting. Dr. Heller reported, among other things, that a consensus existed among the economists on the state of the economy and its outlook and the direction which future Government policy should take.

Those who attended the meeting were not long in responding to Dr. Heller's remarks. As the New York Times reported on August 26, three of those who were present expressed their dissent with Dr. Heller's consensus through letters to the editor or other means. One participant, Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of President Eisenhower's Council, wrote the New York Times and announced that Dr. Heller's statements to the press were entirely his own.

As Dr. Burns said, the public interest is not served by giving the impression that there are no clouds on the horizon. Another former Eisenhower Council Chairman, Dr. Raymond Saulnier, expressed a similar opinion. He is reported to have said, "I don't think any of us are being served very well by continually being told that everything is hunky-dory and that we're all on the same bandwagon."

Mr. Speaker, the interests of America's working men and women are not going to be served by the administration's attempt to create a state of national euphoral over the economy and its prospects. We continue to have serious economic problems—unemployment, balance-of-payments deficits, mounting private and government debt, increasing price pressures—which we ignore only at our peril. Much can be forgiven during an election year, but partisanship must have its limits. In this affair, the administration regretfully exceeded those limits.

Under unanimous consent, I include the articles from the New York Times of August 20 and August 26, from Time Magazine of August 28, and Arthur Burns' letter to the Times of Aguust 25, all dealing with this incident, in the RECORD at this point.

ECONOMIC ADVISERS TO PRESIDENTS AT ODDS

(By Edwin L. Dale)

WASHINGTON.—A storm with political overtones has been brewing over an unusual economic meeting at the White House last week that began with the weather fair and the participants smiling.

The meeting, the first of its kind, brought together the five men who have served as chairmen of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, under Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

The storm has arisen following a briefing of the press on the meeting by Walter W. Heller, the present Chairman of the Council, at which he reported that "the general feeling of broad consensus was to me the dominant note of the meeting."

Through letters to the editor and other means, three of those present have publicly expressed their dissent with this conclusion of "consensus." They are Arthur F. Burns and Raymond J. Saulnier, chairmen under President Eisenhower, and Edwin G. Nourse, chairman under President Truman. Leon H. Keyserling, the other chairman under President Truman, stands fully by Mr. Heller's report.

There is even a dispute as to whether the Heller report should have been made at all. Mr. Burns is quoted as saying that "the reporting of this meeting violated every professional code."

As a result of personal conversations with four of those present—Mr. Burns could not be reached today—an account of what actually transpired at the meeting can now be put together.

The trouble started, it is now generally recognized, with a snap decision of President Johnson's.

As the 45-minute session concluded, the President called in the White House photographers. Using their ordinary instincts, the reporters followed, and no one stopped them.

The President saw the reporters and, after the picture taking was over, he suddenly turned to Mr. Heller and told him to fill in the press on what had occurred at the meeting. Mr. Heller was visibly surprised and somewhat shaken by this.

He turned to Mr. Burns and asked him to join in the briefing, but Mr. Burns declined. Mr. Heller then proceeded to the lobby of the White House's west wing and gave his now controversial report, with its emphasis on consensus. Much of it was in response to questions by reporters.

He said that "all the members expressed confidence in the present economic picture and outlook."

He said all agreed that the huge tax cut earlier this year had been "effective" in stimulating the economy.

He said they also had agreed that, "We would again in a year or two face the prospect of having another fiscal dividend to declare." But he made clear there was no agreement on what form this "dividend"—arising from the prospective rapid growth of Federal revenues if the economy goes on expanding—should take.

Some members, he said, felt there should be further tax cuts. Others favored an expansion of Federal Government programs or a possible distribution of more funds to the States.

But there was agreement, he said, that the revenue growth could be so large that a combination of all these things might be possible.

Finally, he said, there was agreement that "if there were strong pressure on the economy or a threat of inflation," the appropriate policy would be to use the growth of revenues to retire the national debt.

However, he added in response to a subsequent question, "no one expressed fears of overheating or excessive pressures at present, meaning through the end of this year."

At the meeting, it is now known, the first to speak after opening remarks by the President was Mr. Burns.

PRAISED TAX CUT

He applauded the tax cut and suggested that there could well be further tax cuts in the future. He said the Government was faced with a delicate problem in monetary, as distinct from fiscal, policy. While he did not see overheating of the economy or a threat of inflation at present, he thought such a threat was possible next year.

In addition, Mr. Burns had a suggestion for the President in his dealing with the problem of price increases by key industries, such as steel. He opposed public statements of opposition to price increases and advocated, instead, a more discreet, private approach.

Mr. Nourse came next. He registered his dissent with Mr. Burns on the idea of future tax cuts and indicated his disagreement with the tax cut that had already been enacted, though he conceded that it had had some stimulative effect. He told the President that if Mr. Johnson's goal of a "great society" were to be achieved, it could be done only through the expansion of public—meaning largely Federal spending programs.

CONCERN EXPRESSED

Mr. Saulnier, who came next, said he had been concerned that the tax cut would seriously overheat the economy unless Federal expenditures were restrained. He told the President that, in his opinion, the favorable situation of the economy was due in large part to the expenditure restraint that had been achieved. He advocated the idea of regular Federal tax cuts in the future if this expenditure curb could be maintained.

Mr. Keyserling then took a position similar to that of Mr. Nourse, stressing the need for expansion of public programs. He doubted that stimulus of the economy through tax reduction would solve the Nation's unemployment problem.

In the course of the exchange that followed there was discussion of how great the prospective Federal revenue growth would be, with some questioning Mr. Heller's estimate that it would be $6 to $7 billion a year.

However, all agreed today that there was consensus at the meeting on three points.

The immediate outlook for the economy is good.

There is no immediate problem of overheating or inflation.

If the expansion continues, the growth in revenues would produce a surplus in the budget at the present level of expenditures.

CONSENSUS ON ECONOMIC POLICY APPEARS TO BE LESS THAN SOLID

(By M. J. Rossant)

The consensus favoring the Johnson administration's economic policies is not as broad or as solid as it is cracked up to be.

Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has been discovering that many economists harbor strong reservations about the administration's prescription for maintaining economic expansion.

The dissidents are on both the left and the right of the administration's middle-of-the-road position. Leon H. Keyserling, for example, who served as head of the CEA under President Truman, favors increased Government spending to keep the recovery going strong. Raymond J. Saulnier, who occupied the same post during the Eisenhower administration, feels that increased restraint over spending and credit may be needed.

They are not the only economists who question Dr. Heller's idea that there is "heartening evidence of a growing consensus on economic policy," a consensus that supports the mix of generous tax reductions and mild spending restraints pursued by the administration. In fact, many economists think that open discussion and debate must be carried on to insure that there is no freezing of policy or complacency about the problems that may arise.

Dr. Heller, who had observed that extreme liberal or conservative views had been losing ground even before extremism became a political issue, is all for economists getting together to discuss policy. Last fall he held a meeting with four former CEA Chairmen, Democrat Edwin G. Nourse and Republican Arthur F. Burns as well as Mr. Keyserling and Mr. Saulnier, for a private airing of views in Washington's Cosmos Club.

The group met again just 10 days ago, this time in the White House with the President in attendance. When the meeting broke up, the press elicited from Dr. Heller the view that "the general feeling of broad consensus was to me the dominant note of the meeting."

But the confusion about who said what at that meeting indicates that the consensus was a limited one. They agreed that the short-term economic outlook, covering the next 6 to 9 months, was bright. They also agreed that inflation was not a present danger.

This is not surprising. Almost every economist, either in business or in academic circles thinks that the expansion will continue into 1965. With most indicators of activity rising, it would be a real surprise if substantial differences over short-term outlook did exist.

There is considerable disagreement, however, about the policies that should be put into effect to sustain long-term growth. The kind of policies likely to be adopted by the Johnson administration may well have the support of a majority of the economic fraternity, but they arouse so many objections that there is no real consensus.

What troubles many economists is that the administration may sit on its laurels for too long. They are afraid that nothing will be done until it is too late to make much difference.

INFLATION FEARED

In general, the more conservative economists are concerned about the threat of inflation. They would prefer the administration to take prompt and decisive steps to counter a new wage spiral that could conceivably be touched off by too generous a settlement in the auto negotiations.

Liberal economists are much more worried about the possibility of a recession. They would like to see spending increased in order to make sure that it can be avoided, and they belittle the notion that inflation is a threat.

The administration also draws the fire of conservative, free-enterprise economists who are supporting Senator GOLDWATER. But Dr. Heller never included them in his consensus.

Both Dr. Saulnier and Dr. Burns, who were identified with the more moderate policies of the Eisenhower administration, are unwilling to endorse the formula hit upon by President Johnson.

They both favor tax reductions and a hold-down on spending, which is the administration's policy. But they are unwilling to concede that the expansion can be kept alive with more of the same.

OTHERS UNHAPPY

Some liberal economists are just as unhappy if not more so. Mr. Keyserling, for instance, is definitely opposed to another round of tax reduction if it involves a "quid pro quo of holding down or reducing spending." He much prefers an increase in spending to achieve a sustained rate of economic growth that can eliminate excess unemployment.

Mr. Keyserling, a vocal and voluble supporter of Government intervention in the economy, is one liberal who is prepared to make public his disappointment with the trend of the administration's policies. Many others, who have been advocates of increased spending in the public sector, are far from enthusiastic about the definite hold-down on spending, although they are willing to admit that it has contributed to the good showing of the economy.

The fact that business activity has advanced for over 3½ years and is now moving ahead faster than ever, has persuaded some economists to go along with the administration's policies. Like most businessmen, economists favored tax reduction to stimulate growth.

Yet critics of the administration contend that tax cuts, desirable though they may be, will not do all that the administration has said they will. Economists note that they are not proving very effective in either reducing unemployment or eliminating the deficit in the Nation's balance of payments.

Thus a sizable number of economists doubt that a mere continuation of the administration's present policies will sustain the expansion once it begins to lose steam.

GROWTH OF MONEY

According to Mr. Saulnier, the expansion in economic activity has been accompanied by a very big growth of money and credit, which "may not be able to be continued if it produces inflationary pressures."

Mr. Saulnier says that inflation is not discernible at present. But he is joined by many other economists in thinking that it could become a problem if the administration is unwilling to exercise greater restraint, either on spending or on credit.

Certainly, there is little support among economists for the administration's wage-price guideposts as a means of maintaining price stability. The general feeling is one of skepticism due to previous experience in using the psychological weapon of "open mouth" policy to restrain the private sector.

Economists on the conservative side of the fence are dead set against Government intervention in the affairs of business or labor. Some liberal economists would prefer much more direct interference, even though they are against any wage or price control. But both groups are united in their doubts about the administration's guideposts approach.

Mr. Heller's hopes of getting economists together to elicit their views and arrive at a consensus has been made more difficult by the flap that developed after his last meeting. With Mr. Burns quoted as saying that Mr. Heller's report "violated every professional code," there is little prospect of an early reunion unless firm ground rules are spelled out beforehand.

CONSENSUS HELD UNLIKELY

Even if that was done, a consensus is still unlikely to develop. There is just too wide a gap between Mr. Keyserling's stand in favor of greater spending and lower interest rates and the tighter line favored by Mr. Saulnier and Mr. Burns.

Mr. Saulnier is not against further discussions. But though he says that he does not want to seek disagreement, he suggests that a dialog, conducted with decorum and mutual respect can be more productive than the consensus sought by Mr. Heller.

Liberals feel much the same way. They want a chance to air their disagreements and press for policies more in the line with their ideas of what is needed to maintain expansion.

Mr. Heller, of course, had no intention of shutting off debate. Evidently, he was convinced that the overwhelming majority of economists favored the flexible approach that has been practiced, so that discussion about future policies could center on differences in degree rather than kind.

But the uproar that took place after the meeting with the President suggests that support for the administration's past policies does not extend to the future. Economists are prepared to discuss what should be done, but they are as divided as ever over the policies they favor.

TROUBLE AFTER THE PARTY

It was nearly as risky as inviting Hedda Hopper, Sheilah Graham, Lolly Parsons, and Dorothy Kilgallen to tea together, but Chief Economic Adviser Walter Heller thought he could pull it off. For months he worked to arrange an unprecedented meeting of four past chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisers with President Johnson. Though economists are a notably proud and prickly lot, Heller felt that the meeting would indicate that the former chairmen generally support the major points of the administration's economic policy, and he hoped that acrimonious debate could be avoided. Last week President Johnson joined Heller and Economic Advisers John Lewis and Gardner Ackley in the Oval Room to welcome the four past chairmen: Republicans Arthur Burns and Raymond Saulnier, who were Dwight Eisenhower's men, and Democrats Leon Keyserling and Edwin Nourse, who worked under Harry Truman.

MORE DESIRABLE

Everything went smoothly at first. Sitting in his rocker, his feet on a footstool, Lyndon Johnson was at his best. He deftly mentioned that he had looked at a recent speech by Burns, prominently displayed a copy of Keyserling's latest economic tract on monetary policy, and at one point replied to an expression of optimism by Saulnier by saying: "Mr. Saulnier, you're making this nomination seem more desirable all the time." Basking in this euphoria, the visitors generally agreed that the economy's short-term prospects did indeed look good.

The meeting lasted 45 minutes, and the trouble began as it ended. To the surprise of Republican Burns, who had presumed that the session would be unpublicized, Johnson proposed that the press be briefed immediately. As if on signal, reporters and cameramen rushed in. Burns refused Heller's request to join him in the briefing, and Heller went on to say that the main note of the meeting had been "a general feeling of broad consensus." Since this seemed to imply a general consensus in support of the administration's economic policies, Burns and Saulnier felt that they had been used for electioneering purposes. Snapped Burns later: "Mr. Heller spoke of a consensus where none existed. The reporting of this meeting violated every professional code—and when that happens to me, I'm independent enough to get dam mad."

NOT ON THE BANDWAGON

In fact, although Burns had agreed that present fiscal policy is "sound," he warned the President that he was tampering with

the free market in ways that "could seriously injure the economy," also suggested some tightening of credit to head off inflation. "Steve" Saulnier believed that it was far too early to measure the final results of the tax cut—but Heller told the press that the visitors had agreed that the cut has been a success so far. Later, Saulnier said: "I don't think any of us are being served very well by continually being told that everything is hunky-dory and that we're all on the same bandwagon." The Johnson wagon may be moving smoothly, but not all the economists have hopped aboard.

ECONOMISTS HAIL BUSINESS PICTURE—ADVISERS TO FOUR PRESIDENTS PREDICT FISCAL DIVIDEND WITHIN A YEAR OR TWO

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—The five men who have been chief economic advisers to Democratic and Republican Presidents since 1946 reached a wide measure of agreement today on the state of the economy and its outlook, and on what the general direction of future Government policy should be.

The occasion was a meeting in President Johnson's office of the four former chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisers and the present chairman, Mr. Walter W. Heller. Mr. Heller summarized the 45-minute meeting later for reporters.

"The general feeling of broad consensus," he said, "was to me the dominant note of the meeting."

Those present were President Johnson; Edwin G. Nourse, Leon H. Keyserling, Arthur F. Burns, and Raymond J. Saulnier, all former chairmen; Mr. Heller; and Gardner Ackley and John P. Lewis, the other two members of the present council.

Mr. Nourse and Mr. Keyserling advised President Truman, and Mr. Burns, and Mr. Saulnier advised President Eisenhower, Mr. Heller has advised President Kennedy and President Johnson.

Mr. Heller listed for reporters a number of areas of agreement, and one of disagreement. All the economists, he said, "expressed confidence in the present economic picture and outlook" and agreed that the tax cut had been effective.

For the future, Mr. Heller said, the group agreed that because of the rapid growth of Federal revenues, "we would again in a year or two have the problem of another fiscal dividend to declare."

Some of the group, he said, thought this should take the form of another tax cut. Others favored either an increase in Federal spending or a larger distribution of funds to the States.

Though there was disagreement on this matter, Mr. Heller said, the group agreed that the growth in revenue would be so large that there might be a combination of tax cuts and expenditure increases.

Finally, the group agreed according to Mr. Heller, that if there were "strong upward pressure on the economy or a threat of inflation," part or all of the revenue growth should be used to retire some of the national debt. This would amount to a policy of surplus in the budget.

None of the group, Mr. Heller said, "expressed fears of overheating or excessive pressures" for the rest of this year.

The President opened the meeting with a brief statement in which he said he wanted to get advice from all sources. The discussion, according to Mr. Heller, was constructive and brisk.

Despite the agreement expressed at the White House, a strong note of dissent appeared largely by coincidence, as Mr. Keyserling released today a long study sharply criticizing the Government's monetary policy under both Republican and Democratic administrations for the last 11 years.

Mr. Keyserling's criticism was directed essentially at the Federal Reserve Board, which is quasi-independent of the Administration in power. The criticism concerned monetary, not fiscal policy.

He argued that, since 1953, rising interest rates have imposed "an excess interest cost of $15.8 billion upon the Federal budget, $2.3 billion upon States and localities and $32.1 billion upon all private borrowers, for a grand total of $50.1 billion."

Mr. Keyserling said the Federal Reserve policy had held back the economy and had produced an "inequitable" shift of income away from the poor toward the rich.

Mr. Keyserling's report was from the Conference on Economic Progress, which he heads. It is a nonprofit organization that includes labor leaders, industrialists, and heads of farm cooperatives.

HELLER DISPUTED ON OUTLOOK—EISENHOWER'S ADVISER DENIES HE SHARES VIEWS ON ECONOMY

To the EDITOR:

The New York Times of August 20 carried a report of the meeting that President Johnson had with the present Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and his predecessors in that office.

As one of the participants, I regret that this meeting, which was intended to be private, was followed by a press conference. This circumstance compels me to add that Dr. Walter W. Heller's statements to the press, on which the article in the Times was based, are entirely his own.

Our economy is prosperous and there are grounds for optimism. The public interest is not served, however, by conveying the impression, as Dr. Heller did, that the experts conferring with the President see no clouds on the horizon.

Of course there are some clouds and it would be foolish to ignore them. One is the rapid expansion of credit and the official reluctance to restrain this expansion. Another is the tendency of high Government officials to interfere in the pricemaking process of our market economy. Although these matters were discussed with the President, Dr. Heller apparently did not see fit to say a word about them.

On the other hand, Dr. Heller did announce, according to the Times, a consensus to the effect that "we would again in a year or two have the problem of another fiscal dividend to declare." No careful economist would ever make such a statement.

Whether or not such a problem or opportunity arises next year or the year after will depend, first, on whether the economy continues to expand during the next year or two; second, on the rapidity of the advance if any; third, on the behavior of prices and incomes during that period; fourth, and not least important, on what happens to Federal expenditures during that period. Economists are analysts, not prophets; and their hopes must not be mistaken for predictions.

ARTHUR F. BURNS.

ELY, VT., *August 22, 1964.*

Guidelines for the Future of the American Railroad Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include a brochure entitled "Guidelines for the Future of the American Railroad Industry," which impressed me very much. These are the recommendations of a conference of businessmen, bankers, educators, industrialists, railroad management, and government representatives, sponsored by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen:

GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN RAILROAD INDUSTRY

FOREWORD

(By Charles Luna, president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen)

Today is a period of constant change that affects every aspect of life—social, political, economic. No person or institution is immune—the railroad industry included.

But despite changing transportation patterns, the American railroad industry is, and will continue to be, vital to American welfare both in peace and in war. That being so, American leadership should plan now for the future, so that the American public may continue to enjoy the advantages of a healthy, growing, and financially stable railroad system in the days ahead.

To this end the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, interested as it is in the welfare of the country, the industry and its own members, recently planned and sponsored a conference of some 30 experts drawn from the fields of business, banking, industry, education, railroading, and Government to explore railroading's future and provide guidelines for its maintenance and development.

Herewith presented are the recommendations arrived at by these experts after joint discussion at the Harvard Faculty Club, Cambridge, Mass.

Since there has been no opportunity as yet to present these findings to the Brotherhood membership for such action as they may wish to take, they should not be considered as necessarily representing official Brotherhood policy and point of view. Nevertheless, they represent so thoughtful, challenging, and considered a concensus of varied leadership opinion that we are delighted to present them herewith for the information, interest, discussion, and possible action thereon of the American people and their Government.

PROCEEDINGS

Joseph O'Donnell, director of the Harvard trade union program, associated with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and Charles Luna, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, gave the opening talks.

Following the opening address conferees divided into three groups. Membership of each group was drawn from all the fields of interest represented at the conference.

Each group, aided by previously prepared background papers, discussed in depth the five major topics presented for overall conference consideration: (1) "Future of Railroad Technology," (2) "National Transportation Policy," (3) "Emergency National Transportation," (4) "Financing," (5) "Railroad Marketing and Services." After consideration of each topic a group opinion consensus was recorded.

Following group discussions the entire conference body was reconvened in final session. Thereat the findings of the several groups as to each major topic were considered by the conferees as a whole. Those to which any objections were raised were eliminated. The remaining points, being approved by all present, were adopted as the recommendation consensus of the conference. These are presented on the following pages.

In line with the policy established by the American Assembly at Arden House, New

York, to insure free and open discussions without reserve, members of the press were not invited to the sessions but were provided with release material thereon following conclusion of the conference.

CONFERENCE FINDING AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Future of railroad technology

1. The railroad industry needs an expanded, effective research facility with scope of interest vastly greater than at present, extending over the whole range of problems which confronts the field.

2. Federally supported research should supplement industry research by focusing on: (a) policy implications of Government action; (b) industry needs in the future; (c) the implications to the industry of new technology.

3. To improve the competitive position of the railroads, definite changes are needed that require intercompany and management-union cooperation. These include short, fast, frequent trains, shorter and quicker turnaround, less yard time, and more effective use of specialized equipment with better control and no storage utilization. Also there should be a review of intraindustry price arrangements such as per diem, payment for us of joint facilities, and the like.

4. Through the agency of the Association of American Railroads and other appropriate agencies, there should be greater cooperation to implement automatic controls, both mechanical and data handling, and to improve car control.

5. New passenger technology and greater coordination between railroad and highway movement of traffic should be developed.

6. Because the application of new technology creates substantial problems of human welfare in institution practices, new consultation facilities should be set up to promote continuing discussion of such problems between the railroads and the brotherhoods.

B. National transportation policy with regard to the future of the railroads

1. The new labor management consultation facilities recommended above should work for the establishment of a national transportation policy to cover rates, tariffs, employment, national emergency needs, and related matters.

2. Nondiscrimnatory tax policies affecting railroads should be applied on local, State, and Federal levels.

3. National transportation policy should provide for greater reliance on competition, less on regulation. Specifically the conferees endorsed the suggestions in President Kennedy's message of 1962 for few regulations in order to free the railroads to compete in the marketplace.

4. In reviewing mergers, governmental agencies must reach judgments based principally on criteria of social costs. Although increased size may lead to lower costs in some cases, other criteria of economic welfare must also be considered, such as the effect on communities, income, employment, and entry into industry.

5. It is of critical importance to the railroad industry and to the United States as a whole, that decisions on rate cases by regulatory agencies be rendered more promptly than has been the case in the past.

6. The national transportation census, now under a pilot study by the Bureau of the Census, should be expanded by adequate funds to a full and continuing program.

7. Railroad management and labor should cooperate through the instrumentalities heretofore recommended toward the development of a national transportation policy, directed toward the improvement and expansion of railroad services and employment opportunities, all geared to the national public interest.

C. Emergency national transportation

1. Responsible government agencies should research more fully the need for specialized equipment and the capacity of the railroads under emergency conditions, and should work out any remedial solutions needed, including financing.

2. Railroad management and labor union representatives should meet often to discuss emergency transportation needs.

D. Railroad industry financing

1. Because present railroad depreciation practices are delaying optimum use of technological capabilities, and so that railroads can modernize and improve their services, the industry should attempt to secure Government permission to depreciate property for tax purposes in a way that will reflect economic and technological obsolescence comparable to practices prevalent in other industries.

2. Railroads should be permitted to treat all improvements to physical plant and right-of-way as depreciable items in order to provide treatment comparable to the industrial economy.

3. Independent outside accountants should be retained by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Internal Revenue Service to study railroad accounting procedures as used for tax and regulatory purposes, together with their effect on reported railroad profits, in order to bring these procedures in line with accounting practices in other industries.

E. Railroad marketing and services

1. More railroads must establish effective, knowledgeable marketing programs closely coordinated with other railroad departments. Marketing has been the most neglected area of the railroad industry. Only in the last half dozen years have railroads become aware of the importance of marketing to their general welfare and their long-term viability.

2. Railroads are to be commended for the beginning of a new customer-oriented philosophy in providing specialized services for customer needs. This area of customer orientation should be recognized as the concern of everyone connected with the railroad industry. For effective implementation of this philosophy the railroads should adopt the most sophisticated forms of modern marketing organization and practices, such as sustained market research, product line marketing management, effective advertising, and public relations.

3. In addition to the individual efforts of management and labor to improve the public image of railroading as an industry, there should be coordinated effort between labor and management to the same end.

4. Care must be taken to assure that special purpose car acquisition programs are geared to the long-term requirements of the shippers, and that such programs generate sufficient profit over the long period to justify the investment.

Gov. Muñoz Marín's Tribute to the People of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter by Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín, of Puerto Rico, which appeared in the New York Times of August 27, 1964. Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín's letter is a great and well-deserved tribute to the people of Puerto Rico. The Governor points out, "the epic of Puerto Rico in the last 25 years is not that of one man, or of a few men, but of a whole people rising to a great challenge, deploying enormous energy and creativity to break out of the vicious circle of underdevelopment." I urge all my colleagues to read this eloquent letter:

The Governor's letter follows:

EPIC OF PUERTO RICO: GOVERNOR PAYS TRIBUTE TO ENERGY OF ISLANDERS, U.S. BACKING

To the EDITOR:

Your very generous editorial ("Muñoz Marín Steps Down," Aug. 18) is one which I will cherish. Allow me to point out that the epic of Puerto Rico in the last 25 years is not that of one man, or of a few men, but of a whole people rising to a great challenge, deploying enormous energy and creativity to break out of the vicious circle of underdevelopment.

And if there is one thing of which I am intensely proud, it is that the Puerto Rican people have done this without resorting to the constraints of regimentation or the trappings of dictatorship. They have dramatically raised their own living standards while actually reinforcing democratic processes and in complete respect of the fundamental dignity of people.

Their great accomplishments to date would have have impossible without the understanding and support of our fellow citizens in the United States, who have had the vision and confidence to invest in Puerto Rico in the largest sense of the word, not just economically but also spiritually. I believe they can be equally gratified and proud of the fruitful results already visible, which I am certain will be increasingly evident under the leadership of a most able and dedicated man, Roberto Sanchez.

CREATIVE ASSOCIATION

Contemplating the great challenges now facing the United States, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT recently stated: "We must strive, in the face of unprecedented need, toward unprecedented acts of political creativity * * * we must move toward broadening forms of association more nearly appropriate to the interdependence of the world than the sovereign Nation-State."

I submit that the experience of the people of the United States and those of Puerto Rico in just such a creative association may prove to be one of the most significant political events of our century. The Commonwealth relationship has certainly already shown that when two peoples share a common passion for democracy and the dignity of man, they cannot only differ in their cultural background, but also draw mutual strength and advantages from these differences.

I believe that this is an important lesson, not only for the United States and Puerto Rico, but for men everywhere who seek to adapt appropriate political institutions to a world which technology has shrunk to a point where all men are next door neighbors.

I also believe that in such political creativity lies the best hope for graduating from the straitjacket of 19th-century style nationalism, thereby establishing a new and far more propitious base for achieving the greatest of all needs: world peace.

LUIS MUÑOZ MARÍN.

SAN JUAN, P.R., *August 24, 1964.*

Non-Service-Connected Pension Programs For Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the recent enactment by the House of H.R. 1927 was an important step forward in equalizing veterans' benefits for those who served in all wars. One of the most foresighted men who are concerned about protecting the interests of those who fought for our country is Melvin D. Eddy, national senior vice commander of the Veterans of World War I. No one worked any harder to bring about new legislation in this field. This spring, for example, he testified before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs on this problem. In view of the passage of recent legislation and in view of Mr. Eddy's untiring efforts, I think it would be appropriate to include Mr. Eddy's statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT BY MELVIN D. EDDY

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to present a statement relative to proposed legislation concerning non-service-connected pension for veterans. I would like to say that this committee is to be commended in its concern for the problems of veterans, especially the veterans of World War I and/or widows and dependents.

Realizing that there are over 150 bills pertaining to veterans, widows, and dependents benefits, I as a veteran of World War I serving overseas, am naturally concerned with veterans problems and the bill H.R. 2332, sponsored by the Veterans of World War I organization and introduced by the Honorable Congressman WINFIELD K. DENTON.

This bill, as you know, is an attempt to provide a separate and distinct pension for veterans of World War I and/or widows; an increase over section 3 of the Economy Act, as well as increasing the payments under Public Law 86-211 to $100 a month for veterans and $75 a month to widows who qualify under the provision of $2,400 for a single veteran or widow, and $3,600 to be paid for a married veteran, widow with dependents, or a single veteran with dependents. This bill is only a vehicle and can be amended or added to by the members of the Veterans' Affairs Committee or by the Members of the full Congress when they are given the privilege to decide its merits.

After exploring all possible avenues of getting the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to make a report to the Congress of the United States, and after a statement by the chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee that no further hearings were needed on H.R. 2332 because the committee had all the information and facts it needed, it was finally reluctantly decided to file a discharge petition. In view of the advanced age of the veterans of World War I, and the fact that they are diminishing in greater numbers every year, we had hoped that Congress would provide something now, before it is too late.

Never can it be said that I, as a veteran of World War I, would hinder any benefits, hospitalization, nursing care for veterans, widows or dependents, or in fact parents or dependents of veterans who have given their lives for their country.

Regardless of any statements made trying to discredit the veterans of World War I in the newspapers as Treasury raiders, I wish to state that the veterans of World War I are a proud segment of this great country, having served our Nation in 1917-18, supplied our sons and daughters in World War II and Korea, and our grandchildren in the cold war in all parts of the globe.

Our desire to obtain a separate and distinct benefit program is not merely to set ourselves up as a special group, as has been stated so many times. It is based on the traditions and history of this Nation from George Washington's time, and up to the present.

No one can deny that it was the veterans of World War I who made it possible for the veterans in World War II to receive the GI bill of rights and later the Korean veterans. No one to my knowledge has ever questioned or suggested that these veterans were not put in a separate and distinct class. Suffice it to say we are proud that our sons did not have to sell apples to exist, nor have they had to march on Washington for recognition.

We were criticized because other veterans organizations did not support our program, with the implication there that it would have been better for us to remain with the old established organizations. Basically, the reason for forming the Veterans of World War I of the United States of America was to create a media through which the veterans of World War I could meet together to discuss and to resolve the problems immediately concerning themselves and peculiar to their situation as veterans of a war that is almost forgotten, an organization which would speak up and would try to formulate programs, both legislative and otherwise, which would be of immediate help to the veterans of World War I and their families. These activities were not practical in a group containing younger veterans, who, as you know, have no time for the older generation.

I earnestly trust that the subcommittee and the full committee will consider H.R. 2332.

Thank you again for this opportunity to present my views concerning non-service-connected pensions.

Free Enterprise Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the House an editorial from the pages of the Cape Cod Standard-Times, which will recall to them a commendable resolution filed by the distinguished Member, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHWENGEL], designed to give official recognition to the fifth of our great freedoms.

I refer, of course, to the American tradition of free enteprise, a system which has done more than anything else to make this the greatest Nation in man's history.

Representing the birthplace of American free enterprise, the historic Aptucxet Trading Post in Bourne, Mass., I wholeheartedly support this resolution calling for the designation of October 5, each year, as Free Enterprise Day. It would be a fitting tribute to the great concept most often attacked by our ideological enemies and the feature of our society that does the most to arm us—economically, militarily, and philosophically—in our fight against the forces of world communism.

FREE ENTERPRISE DAY

A joint resolution has been introduced in the House at Washington to designate October 5, annually, as Free Enterprise Day.

In introducing the resolution, Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL of Iowa reminded his colleagues that he had spoken to them last year of "a grassroots movement" in Falmouth toward observance of a Free Enterprise Day.

In the interim, he said, he had given much thought to the subject and had talked to a number of American businessmen on the topic.

"They agree with me," SCHWENGEL said "that free enterprise is an idea and an ideal that needs to be much better understood and appreciated in America."

Congressman SCHWENGEL described free enterprise—freedom of movement of goods and men—as an American fifth great freedom. The other great freedoms, of course, are freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The Congressman termed free enterprise as a "fundamental idea underlying our greatness as a nation."

Besides the Falmouth grassroots movement, the Cape has another major interest in free enterprise—the Aptucxet Trading Post in Bourne, regarded by many as the birthplace of free enterprise in America.

It would be fitting if, centuries later, the Cape were to be regarded as the region which gave impetus to a nationally proclaimed Free Enterprise Day.

Firm Vietnam Decision Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I believe the American people generally recognize the difficulties under which our Government, as the leading world power and main target of Communist hostility, must operate in the area of international relations. Our people have acceped their burden of heavy taxation, of disappointment and frustration over military reverses, and also tragic announcements of casualties with admirable fortitude. They ask only that their sacrifices serve a worthwhile purpose; point toward an attainable goal. But they do object to pouring tax dollars, and American lives, into a bottomless quicksand, in Asia, in Africa, or anywhere else. Evidence of dissatisfaction with a policy that accepts a long-drawn-out and costly stalemate is contained in an editorial published in the State Journal, of Lansing, Mich., August 25, 1964.

By unanimous consent and under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include this temperate, reasoned statement of what I believe is the present attitude of most Americans toward our operations and policies in Vietnam:

FIRM VIETNAM DECISION BY UNITED STATES IS LONG OVERDUE

A Central Intelligence Agency officer's "serious doubt that victory can be won" in

South Vietnam probably is shared by many other Americans in spite of the optimistic views expressed from time to time by various spokesmen for the Johnson administration.

The conclusion that no military end to the war against the Communist guerrillas in the southeast Asian country is in sight was voiced by Willard Matthias, a member of the CIA's Board of National Estimates, in a June 8 paper on "Trends in the World Situation."

Matthias said at that time that the Communist Vietcong had stepped up their offensive while the counterguerrilla effort "continues to flounder" under poor prosecution by the Saigon Government.

In other words, the trend in the part of the world situation in South Vietnam was unfavorable, in Matthias' view, as of last June. There are no indications it is any better now.

Stating that "the guerrilla war in South Vietnam is in its 5th year and no end appears in sight," Matthias continued:

"The political mistakes of the Diem regime inhibited the effective prosecution of the war, which is really more of a political contest than a military operation, and led to the regime's destruction.

"The counterguerrilla effort continues to flounder, partly because of the inherent difficulty of the problem, and partly because Diem's successors have not yet demonstrated the leadership and the inspiration necessary."

The CIA official said there is a chance that future development "could lead to some kind of negotiated settlement based upon neutralization," an idea that has been advanced by French President Charles de Gaulle but coolly received by the U.S. administration.

Matthias also said continued large-scale U.S. support of the antiguerrilla campaign and an end to "further political deterioration within South Vietnam" could at least achieve "a prolonged stalemate."

Neither alternative is palatable for the administration, some of whose spokesmen, following repeated but apparently futile visits to the strife-torn country, concede that the struggle will be long and hard but hold out hope for eventual victory.

The CIA officer's 50-page assessment of the situation was made available by administration sources when they learned it would be published in a Chicago newspaper.

This raises the question of whether it would ever have been made known to the American people upon the initiative of an administration which does not share, publicly at least, the pessimistic views expressed by Matthias.

One thing is clear. The unsatisfactory situation in South Vietnam confronts the administration with the responsibility of deciding without more delay upon a policy designed to bring the war to a successful conclusion or to accept a policy of neutralization, unattractive as the latter alternative may be.

As we see it, the administration should make a determined effort to avoid a prolonged stalemate in which Americans would continue to die and more millions of dollars in U.S. resources would be expended.

Nuclear Navy and Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, on August 3, I reported to the House that the first nuclear task force of the U.S. Navy had begun a world cruise on July 31. My remarks prompted the Boston Traveler on August 12, 1964, to publish an editorial on "Mobility at Sea" which I believe merits the attention of my colleagues; so I consider it a pleasure to insert it in the RECORD.

In addition, I am including another editorial which was published in the Boston Traveler 5 days later, on August 17. This one, entitled "Passing Us at Sea," is almost a sequel to the first—because, as the second editorial stresses, history has proved that our superiority in fighting ships must be supported by a strong merchant marine. Indeed, I am hopeful that we may soon have a program, long overdue, to assure that needed balance.

As the second editorial says—

Somehow the message must be put across in Washington, that the Russians are out to control the seas.

Yes, somehow this message must impress us all of the importance of strengthening our merchant marine as well as ever improving our nuclear and conventionally powered Navy.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I trust that those who read these Boston Traveler editorials will not overlook the concern expressed about the possible closing of our naval shipyards in the light of the needs of the other aspects of American seapower. The editorials follow:

MOBILITY AT SEA

(Editorial in the Boston Traveler, Aug. 12, 1964)

Early last week, Representative WILLIAM H. BATES, reminded his colleagues in Congress that the Navy has just dispatched the world's first nuclear-powered task force on a round-the-world cruise.

He linked this event with the fact of giving "assurance to people everywhere that the United States will continue to be supreme as a maritime nation."

The start of the cruise drew little public attention, for it took place on July 31 when virtually everybody's interest was pinned on the successful moon shot of Ranger 7. But while the rocket was getting the big play, the nuclear warships *Enterprise, Long Beach,* and *Bainbridge* departed from Gibralter. During the next 2 months, they will cover 30,000 miles and circle the earth without refueling.

The fact that our nuclear ships are engaged on such a voyage in one part of the world while conventional ships of ours are engaged in a shooting fracas half a world away, in Tonkin Gulf, should provide solid evidence to all nations of our maritime mobility and supremacy. We have the ability to go anywhere at any time with whatever sea power is needed to keep the peace.

Our task, though, is to maintain that supremacy and keep it revitalized.

That cannot be done if we go around off handedly wiping out naval shipyards. If we are to keep mobile at sea, we must retain the yards that make that mobility possible—the Boston yard, for example, which has put the guided missile cruiser *Boston* in shape for her present critical duties in the tense Mediterranean.

The demands for our seagoing influence come from all quarters of the world. Naval shipyards keep that influence at the ready.

PASSING US AT SEA

[From the Boston (Mass.) Traveler, Aug. 17, 1964]

There is a strange blindspot in our national attitude toward Soviet Russia that causes us to blink at her threatening growth as a great maritime power.

We seem to see imperative importance in defeating the Russians at everything from wheat production to the Olympic high hurdles but we look with indifference at the fact that they're about to pass us on the oceanic trade lines.

Today, with 1,075 ships, the Soviet merchant marine ranks fourth in the world. They plan to top us in merchant tonnage by 1966, and then to double that tonnage by 1971. Anyone who thinks that they won't do this is invited to chew on the fact that today they are building 350 new merchant ships while we are building 35.

Meanwhile our Navy remains the strongest in history, but the Soviet naval strength is climbing rapidly. This climb began in 1938, when Stalin announced plans to make Russia a great sea power. His answer to opposition from conservative Russian admirals was to have six of them lined up and shot.

But despite our superiority in fighting ships, we have learned from our history that a navy in time of war must have the support of a strong merchant marine. Today our merchant marine is sick and getting sicker.

This state of affairs is particularly alarming to us here in New England, where U.S. seapower was born, for we understand better than most Americans the importance of maritime leadership. We can foresee the economic shock that will result if that leadership passes to the Soviets, permitting them to control shipping rates and labor costs.

Somehow the message must be put across in Washington, that the Russians are out to control the seas.

Kenneth E. BeLieu, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, puts it this way: "The peaceful-looking Soviet-bloc merchant ship as an instrument of the decisive military, political, or economic importance now looms large and lethal. Our merchant marine is not prepared to meet the challenge and, worse, it gives little sign of improving."

Meanwhile we talk about shutting down shipyards.

Lost Youngsters Found by Salesman Volunteer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, so often in this day and time we read about tragedy and not often enough do we hear about the unselfishness of many of our citizens who make it possible for tragedies to be averted. In my home city of Gainesville, Fla., recently three little boys were lost in a dense scrub near their home. An army of police and volunteer workers turned out to search for the boys, but they were found by Tom Nobles, a salesman who had no official connection with the searching party. Hearing about the efforts to find the boys, Mr. Nobles volunteered because, in his words, "I felt a part of the Highland Court Manor community."

I am sure the little boys and their parents and friends will never forget the unselfishness of a fellow citizen who wanted to help neighbors in need. I enclose the complete article about this historic event

as it appeared in the Gainesville Daily Sun, Gainesville, Fla., July 7, 1964.

The editorial follows:

LOST YOUNGSTERS FOUND BY SALESMAN VOLUNTEER

(By Jim McGuirk)

Three little boys—lost in dense scrub near their Highland Court Manor home since early yesterday evening—were found safe and hungry just after 9 o'clock this morning.

The boys are Tim, Tom, and Dennis Weber, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Weber of 2817 Northeast 12th Street. Tim and Tom are 7-year-old twins; yesterday was Dennis' fifth birthday.

An army of police and volunteer workers—including two airplanes—turned out for the search, but the boys were actually found by Tom Nobles, a salesman who heard about the search on the radio this morning and volunteered "because I felt a part of the Highland Court Manor community."

Nobles, 31, of 2841 Northeast 10th Drive, a sales representative for Ring Power Corp., said he just moved here last week.

He had already started for work when he heard of the missing boys, Nobles said.

"I feel like it is my community now and I want to do my part," he said.

So he went back home, changed clothes, and joined Gainesville Police Officer Kenneth Brown in another search of extremely dense brush that had already been combed the night before by rescue workers.

Searchers had continuously found themselves unable to penetrate a mass of scrub palmetto and brush between the Highland Court Manor Pool near the Weber home and North Main Street.

"I sat down to rest," Nobles continued, when a police car with a public address system cruised by, calling out the names of the children.

"I heard some kids yell—it was faint—I thought maybe it was some other kids playing around," Nobles said.

Then the loudspeaker called the boys names again and once more Nobles heard a faint answer.

"I walked in that direction and just for the heck of it I called out.

"They weren't 20 feet from me."

Even though they had spent the night alone in the woods and were scratched, mosquito-bitten, and red-eyed from crying, the boys were cautious, demanding to know if Nobles was a police officer.

Nobles explained himself—apparently satisfactorily—to the boys, called for Officer Brown who was nearby, and together they brought the boys out.

The boys' father, Dennis, a 30-year-old graduate student of the University of Florida, said the boys were swimming at the Highland Court Manor Pool last night when another of the Nobles' six children told them to go home.

Instead, they went on what was apparently a "scouting expedition" of the woods they'd been warned to stay out of.

Nobles said he and his wife, Shirley, got worried by 7 and spent the next 2 hours cruising the northeast section of Gainesville hunting the boys.

Police help was called. Lt. Courtnay A. Roberts of the Gainesville Police Department said his entire 15-man afternoon shift of officers turned out voluntarily at midnight last night for the search.

This morning, they were joined by three to four carloads of men from the Alachua County sheriff's office, plus two search planes and a number of volunteer workers like Nobles.

The boys weren't found last night, although rescuers passed within feet of them, calling their names.

"They apparently were fast asleep from exhaustion," Roberts theorized.

This morning, their father said they were eating eggs and toast, red-eyed from crying, and subdued.

"I guess they've been punished enough," he said.

Chicago Leads World in Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is a source of pride to the people of the district I represent that urban renewal as we now know it started in the Hyde Park-Kenwood community in the heart of the great Second District. I take this opportunity of calling the attention of my colleagues to the national attention that currently is being given Chicago in this connection.

I am extending my remarks to include an Associated Press dispatch that starts on the first page of the Baltimore Sun of August 31, 1964, under the three-column headline "Chicago's Renewal Pays Way After 17 Years, $210 Million." The dispatch is continued on page 3, and illustrating the text is a four-column cut of Thomas P. Melone, of Chicago's general plans commission, pointing out the site of Chicago's civic center now being built in the downtown area as part of the dynamic plan of Mayor Richard Daley to lure suburbanites back into town and to make Chicago the model city of the universe. The article follows:

CHICAGO'S RENEWAL PAYS WAY AFTER 17 YEARS, $210 MILLION

CHICAGO, August 31.—After 17 years and $210 million urban renewal is paying its way in Chicago. As an added bonus, city officials say, it is bringing suburbanites back to the city at a better than expected pace.

By the late 1940's, Chicago's white citizens—like millions of others throughout the country—were streaming to the suburbs while slums spread in their wake. Assessed tax valuations of real estate and tax revenue were dropping.

The battle to reverse the tide began in 1947 with the Hyde Park-Kenwood conservation project, first of its kind in the United States. More than $36 million in city, State, and Federal funds was spent in the next 10 years to build new homes and apartment buildings, renovate old units and tear down dilapidated ones.

THIRTY PROJECTS LATER

Now, 30 projects later, city officials estimate that the developments, which extend into almost every part of the city, eventually will increase the valuation of the involved real estate by more than $48 million.

D. E. Mackelmann, deputy commissioner of urban renewal, yesterday estimated the increase in tax yield at 115 percent since the urban renewal programs were initiated. The city should be able to pay off the millions invested by 1975, he said.

"Don't forget," he said, "the increase includes not only the projects which are developed privately, but also many that do not increase the tax returns, such as parks and playgrounds. But nonprofit community works are part of the urban renewal program."

FROM PRIVATE FUNDS

Plus the public funds, an estimated half-billion dollars has been invested in the future Chicago from private funds and the University of Illinois, which hopes its $150 million 4-year Chicago campus will be ready for classroom use by next spring. The school will occupy a 105-acre site on the West Side that was cleared with urban renewal funds.

One recent urban renewal project considered a glowing success is Carl Sandburg Village, striking and ultramodern housing development in Old Town, a near North Side area known for its quaint shops, houses, nightclubs and entertainment.

The village, eventually to be a 2,000-unit development with six 27-story towers, was constructed by a real estate firm, Arthur Rubloff & Co., after the land was designated a slum and cleared with urban renewal funds.

TREMENDOUS MARKET

Rubloff & Co. bought the 16 acres of land in 1961 for a record $9.17 a square foot.

Stanley Goodfriend, a Rubloff vice president, said 12 percent of the tenants moved back from the suburbs to take advantage of "intown living" atmosphere of the village, with its landscaped plazas and long malls.

"We didn't realize the attraction was going to be as big as it turned out to be," he said. "There's a tremendous market if you can build the right thing."

Lewis Hill, assistant urban renewal commissioner, agrees. "It's working out better than expected," he said.

ONE OF THREE

"The village has given impetus to the whole North Side, in terms of reconstruction and remodeling," Hill added. "New high-rise buildings are going up east of it and prices, taxes and land values are all up."

The village, named for the poet Carl Sandburg, is one of three major building developments where land was cleared by city agencies and developed by private industry.

The others, Prairie Shores and Lake Meadows, both on the South Side, report up to 10 percent of their 3,800 living units are occupied by former suburban dwellers. And, Frank Livingston, manager of Prairie Shores, says, "the figure is on the increase."

Rents in the developments are high, ranging from $85 to $135 for a studio apartment to $210 to $435 for a three-or four-bedroom unit.

Guaranteed Annual Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith an editorial by Mr. Robert C. Ingalls, of the Corvallis Gazette Times, Corvallis, Oreg., entitled "Guaranteed Annual Income," which I believe will be of interest to Members of the House:

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

Social security benefits are going to be increased—and they should be. Military pay has been increased—and it should have been. Most Federal workers have received an increase—and many of them should have had one. Now, what is next? Well, it won't come this year and it may not come in the next five, but there is considerable talk among the extreme liberals for a guaranteed annual income.

And what is a guaranteed annual income? The figure now being discussed is $3,000 and

it goes to everyone—more than that for some—whether they work or not.

The idea is that computers and labor-saving machines are destroying jobs faster than the economy creates them. This promises, according to these dreamers, two disastrous results: (1) "catastrophic social tensions because of conflict between society's stress on work and the disappearance of jobs," and (2) "a big economic slump soon, partly caused by joblessness, partly by other imbalances."

The money to pay for the guaranteed annual income is to come from a drastically cut defense budget. This in turn is to be possible because of a far-reaching disarmament program. (Wonder if Russia will cooperate?) The cost of the program is estimated to be $11 billion a year—a large share of this would go to the poor, especially to Negroes.

The proponents of guaranteed annual income insist their main concern is for the individual and they claim there is only one way to save him: relieve him completely from dependence on the machine, pay him the guaranteed annual income to do the things he finds rewarding, "build human society outside machine society."

This whole idea sounds like a combination of Marx and Freud—a worse mixture we can't imagine. "To each according to his needs," is the old Marxist idea and now it is to be reoutfitted in modern dress and the cause is automation. Freud would contend that society is the cause of individual behavior and reaction and thus all of us are to blame because many will not be able to support themselves.

It has yet to be proven that automation will cause overwhelming unemployment, and most economists do not believe that any big slump is in the cards.

Get ready, though. The big government boys, the regimentationists, and the leftists insist we complete our drive to the welfare state. Hail the workless world. Hail to peaceful coexistence with communism—until they take us over.

Toward Uniform Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of my colleagues to an editorial from the Cape Cod Standard Times of August 22. There is certainly a great need for uniformity of time throughout the United States in the portion of the year when daylight saving time is in effect. The disadvantages of our present haphazard system are multitudinous and cause needless hardships to a great number of our citizens. It is important that attention be given by Congress to this problem before another summer rolls around.

TOWARD UNIFORM TIME

The Nation finally seems to be moving toward settlement of the vexatious daylight saving time problem. Committees in both Houses of Congress have approved bills that would bring some order out of the present chaos.

The need for such a law is made evident by even the most cursory glance at the situation today. Some States have daylight saving time in the summer; some don't. Some communities have it; some don't. Various places that do go on daylight saving time start and stop it at different times.

The bill just moved out by the House Commerce Committee is aimed at creating a uniform time system. It falls short of this because States and communities would not be forced to comply. But those that did agree to have daylight saving time would have it uniformly, from the last Sunday in April to the first Sunday in October. All Federal agencies and interstate transportation would be required to comply.

The permissive nature of the bill, so far as States and communities are concerned, is its one chief flaw. The chances are, however, that few areas would hold out very long against the obvious advantages of uniform summer time.

This legislation, or something very like it, should be passed. Enactment in the closing days of this session is unlikely, but there is a good chance that a new summer time law can be placed on the books before next spring.

The Poverty Index

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, August 8, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported that Knox County, one of 30 counties within the First Nebraska Congressional District I represent, was the poorest in the State.

The Department made this finding on the basis of a statistical chart or a poverty index rating that ticked off financial conditions in each county. The chart was compiled by the Nebraska State Education Department's school lunch office.

The following quartiles were used in compiling the poverty index;

Per capita index: $1,385 or less, 10 points; $1,386 to $1,573, 5 points; $1,574 to $1,780, 2 points; $1,781 and above, 0.

Percent of household under $2,500 per year: 41.4 percent and more, 10 points; 35.7 to 41.3, 5 points; 28.8 to 35.6, 2 points; 28.7 and less, 0.

The percentage of population receiving public assistance was added to the above factors to arrive at the poverty index.

After publication of the index many Nebraskans were suprised to find themselves suddenly poor. And although some of our agricultural counties are not rolling in wealth, they do not believe they are poverty stricken.

As a consequence, many of them have expressed sharp disagreement with the USDA findings and understandable resentment.

One of the more articulate mediums through which this resentment was voiced is the Norfolk (Nebr.) Daily News. It is edited by a former Washingtonian Mr. Emil Reutzel. Mr. Reutzel experienced in dealing with bureaucracies and conscious of the Democrat effort to measure human standards by slide rule and indexes, speaks out against this practice calling attention to the fallacy in this belief.

Therefore, under permission to extend and revise my remarks I would like to offer the following editorial from the Norfolk (Nebr.) Daily News, and do hereby recommend it to all my colleagues for thoughtful reading and contemplation. The editorial follows:

THE POVERTY INDEX

While the people in Nebraska's prime agricultural areas are not rolling in greenbacks, neither are they destitute. As a consequence, they are likely to be surprised at a Department of Agriculture listing which indicates them to be poverty stricken.

A special poverty index prepared by USDA shows Knox County to be the most destitute in Nebraska. It ranks highest on the scale of the poor. And while there is hardly a year when crops, or prices, in some areas of that vast county couldn't be improved upon, the area has enough well-maintained farmsteads and good-looking towns to make the poverty label ridiculous.

If America's poverty were of the category of Knox County's, the Nation would indeed be in an enviable position.

USDA's chart—prepared on the basis of financial conditions to determine eligibility of schools for the Federal hot lunch subsidy—also lists other Nebraska counties in this area on the poverty side of the scale. Among the counties so listed are Antelope, Boone, Cedar, Holt, Pierce, and Stanton.

It is likely that the poverty tag will be accepted more with resentment than with gratitude event though the listing is going to mean a slight increase in Federal hot lunch subsidies where this is applicable. Pride remains in this area and resentment about being described as poverty stricken is still a characteristic of residents of farming areas.

If the USDA index does nothing else, it should provide an example to Nebraskans of how meaningless and farfetched can be the Government's determinations of poverty.

Role of Air Force Reserve Forces in Maintaining Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 3, 1964

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, in the September 1964 edition of the Officer, a publication of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, an article appears by Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, with respect to the use of Air Force Reserve Forces in periods of crisis.

General LeMay is one of the greatest military men of our time. His distinguished record of service to the United States and the free world is unsurpassed. His article in the September edition of the Officer describes the vital role of the Air Force Reserve Forces in maintaining the peace. I feel the article will be of great interest to my colleagues:

THE USE OF RESERVES IN FUTURE CRISES

(By Gen. Curtis E. LeMay)

Since the turn of the midcentury, the United States has been involved in a series of crises, growing out of repeated challenges by international communism—the most serious of which have required military action. Each of these crises has been unique. Each has required a tailored response.

During the Korean conflict it was necessary for the Air Force to bring 187,000 reservists back on active duty. In the case of Berlin, we recalled 27,000 men, and sent 11 Air Guard jet fighter squadrons and 1 tactical control group to Europe. During the Cuba crisis we called up 8 Air Force Reserve troop carrier wings and 6 aerial port squadrons with a total of 14,000 men.

Today we face a new crisis. And tomorrow there will be others. These, too, could demand rapid reaction and possibly radical adjustments in organization, equipment, and tactics. The adjustments we have made to date during times of crisis, and those we may have to make in anticipation of future threats, have an especially severe effect on reservists. I would like, therefore, to discuss several Air Force policies regarding the Reserve Forces to help reservists better understand the actions taken by headquarters, USAF, and to help them to make the smoothest adjustments possible in disruptions that might lie ahead.

First, we fully expect to call on Reserve Forces units in future crises. Our experience over the past 12 to 15 years has proved beyond question the great value of strong Reserve Forces. By carrying out their duties with speed and effectiveness during the crises that occurred during that period they helped influence the Communists to accept adjustments favorable to the United States. It will be our policy, therefore, to call on our Reserve Forces again, whenever crisis circumstances warrant such action. At the same time, it will be our policy to recall reservists only when we absolutely need them and to return them to inactive status as soon as their capabilities are no longer vital in meeting Air Force obligations.

Second, we will be constantly striving to raise the level of readiness of Reserve Force units and individuals. The value of the Reserve Forces is in direct proportion to their readiness.

GOAL IS "READY—NOW"

Our goal is a "ready now" Reserve—nothing less. It will continue to be our practice to measure the readiness of Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve units, exactly as we measure the readiness of active duty units. I am fully aware that some units score somewhat low on our Operational Readiness Tests because of a lack of sufficient aircraft and personnel, and that there is little the unit can do about their supply of either. But the Reserve Forces may be assured that I have not forgotten that it was an Air Guard unit with a C–3 rating—because it did not have a full complement of F–102's—that took home to Pennsylvania in 1963 the top honors in the William Tell rocket competition.

Third, we will be attempting to find better ways of utilizing our Reserve Forces between crises, as well as during crises. It does not make sense to use the capabilities of the Reserve Forces during times of crises only, and to ignore them at other times. We took a major step toward the proper utilization of our Reserve Forces in July of 1960 when we assigned the responsibility for training and inspection to the major air commands. The commands responded by bringing realism into the training programs to insure that the Reserve Forces were ready to carry out their role in times of crises. Now, we must emphasize training programs that will insure that these units contribute their full capabilities toward the accomplishment of the standing missions of the major commands. The solution to this problem is to design programs which place responsibilities on the Reserve Forces units that are normally executed by units of the Regular Force.

I am constantly badgering our Air Force commanders about this point. My argument is twofold. These units possess capabilities that can help significantly in carrying out regular missions. And second, the work performed by Reservists represents money in the bank for the Air Force.

"LIVE SCHEME" TRAINING

Although we have made considerable progress since mid-1960 toward the full peacetime utilization of the Reserve Forces, we still have room for improvement along this line. An excellent example of what I want more of can be seen in the activities of the Air National Guard units attached to the Ground Electronics Engineering-Installation Agency (GEEIA). Their training program is referred to as "live scheme" training. This means that when the personnel of those units come on board for their 2 weeks of active duty training, they are sent to an Air Force base which needs certain communications equipment installed or repaired. And they do the job. Last year Air National Guard GEEIA personnel put in 125,666 man-hours, representing a saving to the Air Force of $766,709.

A similar example of Reserve Forces units helping the Air Force get its daily mission done—and at a large saving—can be found in the activities of our Reserve and Guard air transport units. Last year they satisfied 12.9 percent of the Air Force's overall exercise airlift requirement. In addition they carried 12 million pounds of MATS cargo overseas, and provided more than 50 percent of Air Force support for Army paratroop training.

An extremely valuable service performed by five of the Air Force Reserve squadrons—though its value cannot easily be measured in money—is that of air rescue. Our Reserve air rescue squadrons fly the trusty HU–16B (formerly the SA–16B) Albatross. During the Berlin crisis of 1961, two crews from each of the five squadrons volunteered for 60 days of active duty to patrol the Atlantic routes that were being flown by 200 combat aircraft of the Air Reserve Forces. These crews operated out of Prestwick, Scotland; Goose Bay, Labrador; and Eglin Air Force Base, Fla. On this occasion, as on many others, these Air Force Reserve rescue squadrons proved again their dedication to their country and to their mission, "That Others May Live."

THE INDIVIDUAL'S CONTRIBUTION

Individual Air Force Reservists, as well as those assigned to units, can—and in many cases do—contribute valuable service to their major air commands. R. & D. and information reservists, for example, who work in small flights are often assigned special projects of significant worth to their commands. Our Reserve lawyers offer legal assistance to some of our outlying Air Force units whose T.O. does not warrant a full-time JAG officer. And our Reserve engineers are frequently used as consultants on engineering projects that are either too large or too specialized for the local installation engineering office.

The performance of these units and individual Reservists—and the many others that could just as easily have been cited—has helped to build in our commanders a growing confidence in the Air Reserve Forces.

Only a few years ago, there were many military and civilian voices calling for the elimination of the Reserve Forces on the basis that they probably could not be counted on, particularly in a crises.

During the buildup of the Cuba crisis, for example, the argument was frequently heard throughout the Pentagon that we should call up the Reserve units immediately, so that they would have time to really get themselves ready. I expressed the opinion that the Air Reserve Forces were ready and that they should not be called until they were actually needed. There were skeptics around. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff did hold off the call. On the night of Saturday, October 27, 1962, the order went out from the Pentagon at 2100 hours to selected Air Force Reserve units. At 0900 hours the next morning, these units reported they were manned at 93 percent, with an optimum in-commission rate on aircraft of 75 percent. At the 30-hour mark the Secretary of Defense declared them "operational and deployable."

M'NAMARA: "FANTASTIC PERFORMANCE"

At a press conference in December, Secretary McNamara called it a fantastic performance. "This is the standard," he said, "that has been built into the Air Force's Reserve and Guard program."

I am pleased to note that the Reserve Forces are not resting on their laurels, but are continually raising the levels of their proficiency. Reports frequently reach my desk of new records of accomplishments by Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve units.

In the Berlin crisis of the fall of 1961, for example, the 117th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing of the Air National Guard deployed its RF–84's to Europe from their stateside bases in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama. The jets used the island-hopping technique to reach their base in France. Their deployment time was 5 days. This was hailed as a record performance.

Last summer, in Project Minuteman Alpha, this same wing sent its RF–84F's on a nonstop 3,500-mile flight to Alaska. Their flight time was 8 hours. The wing teamed with ANG refueling groups in Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin in setting this new standard for long-range deployment. The wing logged 300 hours of reconnaissance flying over Alaska in 5 days, and then returned to their bases. A very high in-commission rate was maintained while this unit was deployed. This proof of the constantly rising levels of professional airmanship reflects the highest credit on the Air Reserve Forces.

But records of readiness and technical capability do not tell the whole story. Military commanders are constantly looking for another characteristic in their units. It is that difficult-to-measure element called esprit. To me, the Air reservists gave wonderful proof of true spirit when, during the Berlin and Cuba crises, they appeared in one's and two's at their nearest Air Force installation, asking simply if there was anything they could do. These men were among those not required at the moment. But they felt, nevertheless, that they might be of some value, and they wanted to offer their services.

Nothing makes a Chief of Staff prouder than that kind of evidence of spirit in his Reserve units.

The Air Force needs Air Reserve Forces that are ready and able, with great pride of service and a strong sense of mission. That's what we have and what we intend to keep..

The Turning Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, so many articles from the foreign press unfavorable to Senator GOLDWATER have been reprinted in the United States that the impression has been given that our friends abroad unanimously look with fear at the prospects of a Goldwater administration. That this feeling is far from universal is borne out by an editorial called "The Turning Point,"

written by Mr. Daniel E. Woodward, president and publisher of Canada Week, Ltd., of Montreal.

The editorial follows:

THE TURNING POINT

(Source: Canada Month Magazine for August 1964. Published by Canada Week, Ltd., 2135 Bishop Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Daniel E. Woodward, president and publisher. He is also the author of this editorial.)

"Believe me, the tide is turning."

These were the words of Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN as he placed BARRY M. GOLDWATER in nomination for President of the United States. The tide now flows toward where "government must be the servant, not the master, of the people."

By a malicious and remarkably ignorant press, Canadians had been badly misinformed about the significance of Senator GOLDWATER's imminent triumph. Somehow, we had been led to believe, a sinister conspiracy had isolated the Republican convention delegates from public sentiment. Americans would never rally to this hero of monsters. These delegates, cunningly cornered, one by one, in dark places, had had some sort of voodoo spell worked on them, upon which they would themselves reflect in horror when the drunken orgy of the Cow Palace was over.

Truth is that in November millions of Americans, perhaps enough to elect him, will vote for BARRY GOLDWATER. We have heard that some Republicans will bolt their party. We have not been told of the legions of Democrats who see in GOLDWATER the instrument of a return to national self-respect.

It is not of much importance here that such men as James M. Minifie of the CBC and George V. Ferguson, editor of the Montreal Star, will soon seem, at best, silly. It will not be of great account to recall of many of our pundits, some months hence, that in their extremity, lies festooned their lips.

What is more than gratifying is that for the first time in most of our memories the immensely pervasive and evil ideas of two dead men are in retreat. Karl Marx (material solutions to all important human problems) and Sigmund Freud (man is helpless against the pressures of his environment) have held the field in America for a third of a century, with the help of most of our professional intellectuals and multitudes of amateurs parroting the slogans of Utopia.

Now the libertarian ideal is reemerging. In place of contempt for our fellow beings (helpless creatures tossed by sociological tempests, strained mercilessly on racks of exploitation) we may begin to view each other, each one, as a vessel of promise and hope. We can believe each man capable of courage, grace, and nobility. It will be in order to expect these things, in some measure, of every man.

The cocktail-party philosophers who have fed their egos on a phony and presumptuous concern for humanity will, dozen by dozen, fall silent. They will be forced to find something more substantial to justify their membership among us.

Brutally misled though we have been by our intellectual elite there is no cause to despair that the libertarian torch burns afresh only in another land. The ideal of indivdiual human worth is not the special property of Americans or of any political faction or party.

Canadians, old and new alike, have as much mettle, as much courage and will to throw off the web of fraud and contempt that has entangled us these many years.

We have begun already, in Saskatchewan.

In one or other of our great political parties (we can cast aside the useless splinters) there can, and there must, be a resurgence of true respect for every living man and woman, oblivious color, creed, and land of origin. We must be ready to honor the differences among people above their sameness.

The old guard, the Marxians, the authoritarians, the self-satisfied supermanagers of humanity, will bite and scratch and shrill as they go down. But go down they will. To be true to our deepest principles, when firm purpose has removed these men from power and influence, we must grant them peace in retirement.

But we will resolve never again to let their poison be carried on the north wind.

The trials of being alive will not be over, nor will they ever be. But we can face those trials, as individuals and as a proud nation, with renewed faith in ourselves and in our fellow men.—D.E.W.

More Progress Toward Eliminating School Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 12, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have often said that I am proud to be representing Chicago, one of America's most dynamic and progressive cities, in the Congress of the United States.

Chicago once again is in the forefront in providing new solutions to old problems—in this instance, the problem of school dropouts. The Chicago Board of Education has set up an experimental program this summer whereby youngsters of 3 and 4 years of age are being sent to school to prepare them for, and hopefully, to stimulate them to a new awareness of a formal education.

This decision was brought about by our increasing community interest in preventing school dropouts and in salvaging this terrible waste of our basic human resources. The problem of school dropouts is not indigenous to Chicago, but Chicago is leading the way in devising possible solutions to this problem.

Radio station WIND in Chicago broadcast an editorial summarizing the basic ideas behind this decision and predicting an optimistic future for the program if it is allowed to continue.

I congratulate station WIND for its contribution toward publicizing this program and wish to call my colleagues attention to the methods with which similar programs may be adopted in other cities throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

MORE PROGRESS TOWARD ELIMINATING SCHOOL DROPOUTS

The old saw about an ounce of prevention being better than a pound of cure holds true in the latest experimental program of the Chicago Board of Education. This summer normal 3- and 4-year-old children are going to nursery school. Previously only physically handicapped children could attend school before they were 5.

The new program seeks to overcome—or at least partially offset—the retarding influence of poor home environment for children from slums or public housing projects. Sociologists and educators believe that children who are culturally deprived in the very early years are the ones who later fail in school or drop out of classes. These difficulties experienced during school-age years, they say, are due to poor experiences in the home environment from infancy. It is claimed that one big-city child out of every three now is culturally deprived and that by 1970 the number will rise to one-half.

The new board of education program has one hundred and sixty 3- and 4-year-old children attending prekindergarten classes 5 days a week—and the mothers of these children are also being involved in the program in order to extend its benefits into the home situation.

Such training is very costly, but as we said at the beginning, the ounce of prevention is less likely to cost as much as a pound of cure—and probably will be much more effective. We're anxiously awaiting reports on results of this effort to prepare small children for school—paving the way for them with teaching in skills of communication and laying the ground work for teaching the three R's. Unfortunately, it may take some time before results can be measured—for the children's records can be measured only after they have been enrolled in regular classrooms in 2 to 3 years from now.

We commend the board for its foresight in such experimentation and we hope to see the program continued long enough to secure some substantive findings which may serve to guide us in future efforts to cut the toll of school dropouts.

Constitutional Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is presently faced with a grave constitutional crisis. This is not my opinion alone but the opinion of many of our greatest authorities on the Constitution. The question is one of usurpation of powers by the Supreme Court and there is deep and honest division on this matter even on the Court itself.

Although I fully subscribe to the need for and desirability of fair apportionment, particularly in the lower houses of our State legislatures, and would welcome our full share of representation in the Virginia General Assembly, after careful study of the constitutional principles involved I cannot countenance the achievement of this end by the means that have been employed, no matter how desirable and just that end might be.

Upon entering the House of Representatives of the United States at the beginning of the 83d Congress and at the beginning of each subsequent Congress to which I have been elected, I swore a solemn oath to defend the Constitution of the United States and that I would bear true faith and allegiance to that document. This oath, to me, is my highest duty in the execution of my office and all other duties and obligations are therefore subservient to this oath, no matter what the consequences may be of any decision I make predicated upon my understanding of this primary obligation. I cannot and will never prostitute my belief in this duty for reasons of expedi-

ency or to be on the popular side of an issue among some of those I may represent.

H.R. 11926, a bill introduced by Representative TUCK, of Virginia, to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases has passed the House of Representatives by a record vote of 218 to 175. I supported this measure that would in effect overturn recent Supreme Court rulings upholding lower Federal court decisions in which they assumed jurisdiction in reapportionment matters.

The confrontation thus resulting between the courts and the Congress has now raised this momentous constitutional question. This question is not whether northern Virginia and other areas will receive greater representation in the State legislature but whether the Supreme Court has improperly usurped powers reserved to the Congress and to the States.

It is my firm and honest belief if these decisions stand unchecked and unchallenged, the courts have then amended the Constitution by decree. The courts have assumed powers not given them by the Constitution nor intended for them to have in that document. The courts have usurped legislative power in declaring to the several States that they must either legislate or the courts would legislate for them. If this doctrine is allowed to stand, we pass from a constitutional Republic into a State of judicial autocracy.

Mr. Justice Frankfurter, one of three dissenting justices in the first of these historic cases, *Baker et al* v. *Carr et al*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962) stated:

> The Court today reverses a uniform course of decisions established by a dozen cases, including one by which the very claim now sustained was unanimously rejected only 5 years ago. The impressive body of rulings thus cast aside reflected the equally uniform course of our political history regarding the relationship between political and legislative representation—a wholly different matter from denial of the franchise to individuals because of race, color, religion, or sex. Such a massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial power demands a detailed analysis of the role of this Court in our constitutional scheme.

The Constitution, not the decisions of the courts, is the "supreme law of the land" and decisions conflicting with the Constitution, such as decisions seeking to exercise power never granted the courts by the people, are by definition null and void. For 175 years the Constitution, as upheld by the Supreme Court in at least 12 cases, has stood as a bulwark against the usurpation of powers in matters pertaining to the States, the people, and their legislatures. The Court possesses no power to change the meaning of the Constitution by "changing its mind" about its meaning, which is controlled by the original intent of the framers and adopters of each provision. Instead, the Supreme Court has been given power only to clarify (not make) law by interpreting the Constitution in keeping with the controlling intent of those who framed and adopted each provision.

In these words of a Supreme Justice, a framer of the Constitution, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, James Wilson admonished all Americans that:

> Nothing is more to be dreaded than maxims of law and reasons of State blended together by judicial authority. Among all the terrible instruments of arbitrary power, decisions of courts, whetted and guided and impelled by considerations of policy, cut with the keenest edge, and inflict the deepest and most deadly of wounds.

In Defense of Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I just returned to Washington after 10 days in the Fourth Congressional District of Ohio. I spent 5 of the 10 days, from 8 o'clock in the forenoon until about 6 o'clock in the afternoon.

Excepting only the problem of maintaining world peace, more people were concerned about the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court on apportioning of the legislature of the State of Ohio than about any other single problem or issue.

In view of such concern, I am pleased to recommend to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette of July 28, 1964.

The editorial follows:

IN DEFENSE OF HOME RULE

Maybe it cannot be done in time. The U.S. Supreme Court delayed its opinion in the matter until neither Congress nor State legislatures had enough untroubled hours left in the year to permit such extended consideration as great issues need.

Yet Arizonans would do well to take their minds off the outcry of the national and State election campaigns long enough to decide whether to support a move in Congress to nullify the Supreme Court's recent series of decisions requiring States to approach both houses of their legislatures strictly on a population basis.

Two proposals are pending in the House of Representatives right now to give back to States what had always been considered their constitutional prerogative until the Court said otherwise last month—the right to determine the makeup of their own legislatures. A House Judiciary Subcommittee is hearing testimony on a proposal—1 of about 60 similar measures—which would amend the Constitution specifically to safeguard the rights of States to apportion 1 house of their legislatures on other bases than population.

In addition, Ohio Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH has announced he will introduce a bill taking away from State and Federal courts for a period of 7 years any jurisdiction over apportionment of one house of a State legislature. This would give the people, through their representatives, time to consider the proposed constitutional amendment without meanwhile having to bow to the Supreme Court's arbitrary ruling.

The Supreme Court's order was capricious and without precedent, a patent attempt to rewrite the Constitution without going through the "cumbersome" channels of amendment as that document itself provides. We happen to believe also that the theories of democracy expounded by the Warren Court in its legislative opinions are full of holes, but that is beside the question whether the Court can actually change the meaning of the Constitution without anybody's by-your-leave. We believe that if it takes an amendment to the Constitution to protect the Constitution, then it should be amended.

If you agree, you might let Representative MCCULLOCH (House Office Building, Washington, D.C.) know how you feel. The time is short.

The Cotton-Wheat Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a news item from the Providence Journal, Providence, R.I., dated August 14, 1964, and one from the Evening Bulletin, Providence, R.I., dated August 19, 1964:

[From the Providence (R.I.) Evening Bulletin, Aug. 19, 1964]

FOGARTY SAYS LEGISLATION ON COTTON, WHEAT FAILED—DIDN'T REDUCE PRICES

WASHINGTON.—Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY today said his predictions that the cotton-wheat agriculture bill passed by Congress last spring would not reduce the price of cotton or flour have come true.

In a statement prepared for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the Rhode Island Democrat said the "solemn pledges" from advocates of the legislation have turned out to be bunkum.

Mr. FOGARTY voted against the bill last spring. The legislation was designed to eliminate the two-price system under which domestic mills paid more for domestic cotton fiber than foreign mills, and to stabilize wheat supply and prices.

Today, Mr. FOGARTY said, price of flour is up as much as 80 cents per 100 pounds, and bread is costing 1 or 2 cents more a loaf.

Further, he said cottonmills are Government subsidized at the rate of 6½ cents per pound of cotton used but are making a profit of nearly 1 cent more on every pound of cotton processed.

"Why isn't cotton down 6½ cents, or nearly that?" he asked.

He repeated charges made by a Textile Workers Union of America spokesman last week that the cotton bill was a $300 million windfall to the mills and that none of the subsidy has been passed along to the consumer or textile worker in any way.

Mr. FOGARTY, whose opposition to the bill earlier this year was only quietly expressed, said he wanted "to warn those who would seek next year to renew this legislation that I will fight much harder to defeat the efforts of those who would foist again this kind of bunkum onto the consumers of this Nation."

He said U.S. farmers want to and can produce food and fiber more efficiently than any farmers in the world but "they can do it—and the consumers can benefit—only if we stop tinkering with farm programs; only if we return to sanity."

The legislation was unneeded in the first place because the Secretary of Agriculture already had the authority to drop cotton price supports from 8½ cents to 4 or 5 cents, Mr. FOGARTY said.

"That would have been the easiest way to help solve the problem," Mr. FOGARTY said.

[From the Providence (R.I.) Journal, Aug. 14, 1964]

UNION ASSAILS MILL OWNERS

WASHINGTON.—The Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, which strongly supported the recently passed one-price cotton bill, accused textile employers yesterday of pocketing 75 percent of the savings they are getting under the bill.

And Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY, the only Rhode Island Congressman to oppose the one-price cotton legislation, said yesterday that his opposition had been based on the belief that such would happen.

The executive council of the union, meeting in Asbury Park, N.J., said the bill had been designed to reduce the cost of cotton and thus reduce textile prices, stimulate sales and increase jobs and worker pay.

The union said that unless management "immediately" improves wages, fringe benefits and bargaining conditions, the TWUA will withdraw its support of the one-price cotton legislation. The law comes up for extension in 1966.

Commenting on the union statement, Mr. FOGARTY said he had always felt the law would act as a subsidy to the industry and would not increase employment or reduce prices. But he said the administration could have, and still can cut the price support of cotton and thus lower costs to the mills and help the taxpayers, workers and consumers as a result.

Since the law became effective last April 11, cotton mills have paid 6½ cents a pound less for cotton which could have resulted in a 10 percent cut in prices, the union said.

Instead, Government figures show that the average wholesale price of cotton products has dropped only 2.4 percent since June, the union statement said.

Overkill and Undersize

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been much talk over the phenomena of "overkill." In the Washington Post on August 30, 1964, Art Buchwald, one of America's greatest humorists, suggests a solution to the overkill problem. I suggest that all my colleagues read the following article which should make us think about the absurdity the arms race has created:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 30, 1964]

BIGGER, BETTER KILLS—CITIES TOO SMALL TO TAKE MOST POWERFUL NUCLEAR BOMBS

(By Art Buchwald)

The problem of handling nuclear weapons will be one of the issues of the coming campaign. Everyone is arguing about how many megatons of bombs and missiles can be delivered against the enemy in the next 10 years.

The public is being asked to decide whether tactical nuclear weapons should be placed in the hands of generals in the field and whether we should give nuclear stockpiles to our allies.

We were very fortunate to interview Prof. Max Kilaton, who has been working on the problem of nuclear weapons for some time.

"The most important thing I discovered," he said, "was that while the Russian and American nuclear bombs are large enough, the targets for most of them are too small. We must build bigger targets to fit our bombs."

"I don't understand."

"Well, you see you have small bombs now that are 5 or 10 times more powerful than the ones dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and you have larger bombs and missiles 100 times more powerful. But you have no cities whose growth has been comparable to that of the bombs. Therefore, if you dropped a large bomb on a major city, there would be a great deal of waste. In order to compensate for this, I am advocating the immediate building of larger targets."

"You mean make the cities bigger?"

"Exactly," Professor Kilaton replied. "We must start an immediate building program to enlarge our cities so the radius of our most powerful nuclear weapons will fall within them."

"Would the Russians go along with this?"

"They would have to. They could not let our targets get bigger than theirs. It would be too much of a blow to their prestige."

"How could be make our targets worthy of the nuclear weapons which have been stockpiled?"

"We must build up urban centers between our large industrial cities and more or less connect them. The cities would have to be large enough to take a hit of the most powerful nuclear weapon that the Russians have. They in turn would have to enlarge their cities to accommodate our nuclear bombs."

"But what would this accomplish?"

"It would solve the major problem of nuclear weapons, which is overkill. If your targets are large enough for your bombs, you would eliminate the problem of overkill. That is, you would kill exactly the number of people the bomb was designed to kill. As it stands now, most of the larger nuclear weapons can destroy only one-twentieth of their potential. This is sheer waste and certainly works a hardship on the economies of the nuclear powers."

"What about tactical nuclear weapons?"

"You have no problem there. A good tactical nuclear weapon can destroy an average city with a bare minimum of overkill, perhaps 2.5 percent. Most targets are suitable as they stand now for tactical nuclear weapons."

"One more question, Professor. Do you think we should give nuclear weapons to our NATO allies?"

"I certainly do. If Greece and Turkey both had nuclear weapons at their disposal, I believe the problem of Cyprus would have been solved weeks ago."

"A Texan Looks at Lyndon"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a Texas author and historian, Mr. J. Evetts Haley, gave a press interview in Los Angeles today in which he discussed his most recent book entitled "A Texan Looks at Lyndon."

It is reported that some 2 million copies of Mr. Haley's book, dealing with the public life of President Johnson, have already been sold. It is a book that ought to be read by every American.

The statement issued by Mr. Haley at his press conference follows:

"A TEXAN LOOKS AT LYNDON"

(By J. Evetts Haley)

I have been asked to come to you to explain some of the background of the publication of my latest book, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon," which is a study in illegitimate power, and how it came to be written.

This book was conceived, researched, and published as a sound, historical study, not as a campaign document. No group, no organization, and no party has had anything whatever to do with its inception, financing, or circulation. I conceived it, I wrote it, and I alone financed it from the very first and I'm still financing its publication.

Briefly, in this book, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon," I have:

1. Set forth the illegitimate pressure and power by which, in a constitutional republic, Johnson was originally put into the U.S. Congress as a protege of extreme liberal forces of the original New Deal.

2. I have briefly set forth the fraudulent nature of his claim of a distinguished World War II record, and how he returned to his "plush-lined foxhole" in the House Congressional Building in Washington as a lieutenant commander in the Navy.

3. I have told with irrefutable and unchallengeable proof how he, and his political henchmen, and their confederates stole a closely contested U.S. senatorial election in Texas in 1948; a story with all the tragic aftermath of continued fraud and presumed assassinations.

4. In this book, which is a study in illegitimate power, I have proven the false, the shallow and shoddy nature of the claim that the origin of the Johnson family's multimillion-dollar fortune was founded on his wife's inheritance. It was, instead, laid with the acquisition of a radio and television monopoly in Austin, through the illegitimate use of power to ruin the owner of the station, which fell as an over-ripe plum into Lady Bird's lap, to put her husband and his family on their way to immense wealth.

5. I have detailed the methods, the men and the means by which Government contracts and political favors on one hand, and protection from tax problems and Federal harassment on the other, were used to enrich Johnson's big corporate backers in Texas, like Brown & Root of Houston, while on the other hand oppressing and even destroying those of humble origin and status who, with sufficient character and courage, have resisted his illegitimate power.

6. I have pointed out Johnson's intimate connections with such wheeler-dealers as Billie Sol Estes. One man after another, with intimate knowledge of the fantastic fraud, or with close connections with the principals involved, died sudden, mysterious, and violent deaths, while the profitable, tangible assets of the Estes empire were, without financial risk, handed virtually as a multimillion dollar gift to a friend and supporter of Johnson.

7. In this "Study in Illegitimate Power," I pointed out that a Pecos citizen, a locally prominent, successful doctor who discovered, and exposed this gigantic fraud by printing the story in a Texas county newspaper, was ruined financially and professionally, while Billie Sol Estes, with more than $18 million in Federal tax judgments against him and with two prison sentences for fraud imposed by Texas courts, is still free, living in a plush $50,000 home, driving a 1964 Cadillac, and living high off the hog of political influence.

8. I have again brought attention—with added detail—to Johnson's close connections with Bobby Baker. In this connection, I have presented evidence of his undoubted ability in Senator FULBRIGHT'S apt phrase—"to manage Congress"—and to suppress any

inquiry anywhere on Capitol Hill, from that of Billie Sol Estes to Bobby Baker.

9. I have factually detailed the ruthless, vindictive and dangerous nature of this power-mad man, elevated through malevolent fate into the most powerful office in the world at the most critical period of America's history. All I have done is to bring my years of knowledge of the Texas scene and my ability as an academic investigator and historian to dig deep into the intimate and reliable sources of information. Having done this, I stand unafraid of what may follow—even the most ingenious and most effective technique that illegitimate power has historically invoked—because I believe in the sancity of the printed word, well-knowing that when I commit the honest judgments of history to the printed page, they are for the author, whether fortunate or hapless, beyond recall.

Between the Lines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Indiana editors and political analysts have a knack of stripping away the irrelevant and insignificant and presenting just the facts, uncluttered by bias, self-interest, or intimidation.

Of all the interpretations of the recent political conventions and the present situation in the United States, few have come through with the clarity, insight, and courage in his beliefs as have two columns published in recent days by the Daily Clintonian, Clinton, Ind.

The author of these articles is Mr. George L. Carey, editor of the Clintonian, and one of Indiana's foremost newspaper figures.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the two columns in entirety.

The columns are as follows:

BETWEEN THE LINES
(By G.L.C.)

The two presidential nominating conventions have just about passed into history and they have left little to strengthen our faith in the survival of strong government by the people in these United States.

One might ask himself just what was the necessity for holding a Democratic convention. The delegates who attended had little or nothing to say about who was to be nominated. In essence, everything was settled by just one man—Lyndon B. Johnson—although he, of course, had some advice from a small and exclusive group of party leaders gathered in some of those famous smoke-filled rooms.

There was never the slightest doubt as to who would be the next Democratic candidate for President. Probably there has been no doubt about the identity of the vice-presidential candidate for weeks. To all but the most stupid it must have been evident that L.B.J. did not reveal that it was Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, until the last minute, merely for effect and to add a little spice to the convention.

As far as the individual delegates were concerned, they could have saved a lot of money by not going to Atlantic City. If they thought they were going to help select their party's nominees for President and Vice President, they could have had just as much effect on the decision by discussing the matter with the boys at the corner drugstore back in Apple Corners.

Actually, there wasn't so much difference at the Republican convention. Those in the know, knew well in advance that it would be BARRY GOLDWATER and it was BARRY GOLDWATER who selected his running mate for Vice President, but at least, the delegates were allowed to vote. The whole point is that, in either case, those present had the ones they selected, selected for them.

Some of the scenes at the Democratic convention were almost without precedent and made one wonder if mob rule is just around the corner for America as mob rule has come to be accepted in many South American and Asian countries. It is not pleasant to consider that, while speakers inside the hall assured the delegates that the Democratic Party had bathed the country in peace and prosperity, outside, chairs were being hurled, mobs ran here and there and injured persons were carted off to hospitals.

It was not pleasant, either, to see legally elected delegates denied their seats because they refused to pledge themselves to being rubberstamps. It added no confidence to see illegal delegates seated by leadership, compromise rather than lose the votes of a few radicals.

Regardless of what one may think about the racial situation in Mississippi, the delegates of the Freedom Democratic Party were entirely illegal and had no official status. They should have been firmly told so. Instead two were seated and the others made honored guests of the convention. It was a disgusting gesture of weakness.

Somehow the presidential nominating conventions of both political parties always leave me feeling a little sick. Nothing in this Nation is of more importance. They should be solemn, thoughtful conclaves, but they are the direct opposite. They are conducted in a carnival atmosphere complete with phony demonstrations, funny hats, noisemakers, booze by the barrel, and general hell raising.

In these days of worldwide television one wonders what the citizens of truly civilized countries like Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Denmark must think when they see all the buffoonery and listen to all the drivel that mark our political conventions. No wonder they think of us as an immature Nation that feels too big for its britches and is too juvenile to grow up.

BETWEEN THE LINES
(By G.L.C.)

It's interesting to see how a public image can change. Back when John F. Kennedy won his nomination for President of the United States, he was opposed by one Lyndon B. Johnson, whom his forces quickly swept aside.

They conceded that L.B.J. was a slick politician but he was painted as a rather unprincipled character, with little vision or intelligence. He would do for Vice President, though because that office didn't mean anything and he could handle Congress.

Then an assassin's bullet cut down President Kennedy and his mantle fell on the man from Texas. Almost within minutes, the huge Government publicity machine had worked a transformation. Johnson overnight was a changed man. He still retained his homely virtues as a son of the South or the West or the Southwest—whichever suited the purpose—and he still worried about saving the taxpayers money to such an extent that he went around the White House turning off unneeded electric lights, but he grew immeasurably in wisdom. He became the wise and fearless leader, whose vision was not to be questioned and whose honor was as rockbound and pure as the air of Texas.

But halos and wings have a way of slipping where politics is concerned and folks began asking questions. There was a fellow named Bobby Baker who made a shady million dollars or so as secretary of the Democratic majority in the Senate. Folks recalled that he had been a protege of Senator Lyndon Johnson. An effort was started under President Kennedy to investigate this Bobby Baker and it ran into a lot of snags. After J.F.K.'s murder, the whole thing was quickly hushed up.

Then it developed that President Johnson, who had been a man of very modest means when he went to the Senate, was now a very rich man indeed, just how rich it was hard to determine. Those who tried to find out discovered that much of his fortune was hidden in relatives' names and holding companies. It developed that much of it had come through his wife who was supposed to operate radio and television stations which had been very fortunate indeed in squeezing out competition, apparently through political pressures on the FCC.

So, what the Washington correspondents have known all along is slowing beginning to leak out: L.B.J. isn't such a saint after all. He's not averse to a fast buck nor to using his political power to enrich himself. He's even spending more of the taxpayers' dough than any President who has preceded him, including President Kennedy.

There have been some bitter comments, but the bitterest I have ever seen was contained in an editorial from the Emporia (Kans.) Gazette. It was written by W. L. White, son of the great William Allen White and is thought-provoking even if it may be a little more rough than necessary.

Fred Hays, who brought it in, thought you might be interested in reading it. Here it is:

"SO WHO CARES

"(By W. L. White)

"A public office, we used to say, is a public trust. Is it now accepted that it should be a place to line your pockets while you can?

"This week various publications are probing into the Lyndon Johnson family. Before Mr. Johnson ran for Congress, this family could be accounted poor in the goods of this world. But during his terms as a Congressman, as a Senator and as Vice President, a small sum inherited by his wife has been pariayed up to a fortune estimated at as low as $7 million by the Washington Star, and as high as $14 million according to Life magazine this week.

"Both publications report that little of this is openly in Lyndon Johnson's name. Most is held either by his wife or daughters, or through a network of holding companies whose purpose seems to be to conceal true ownership and to protect Lyndon Johnson from public criticism. The important thing, however, is that most if not all of this fortune seems to have been made not only while Lyndon Johnson was a public servant, but because he was a public servant. He seems to have been serving himself at least as generously as he served the public.

"But, these days, who cares?

"Well, there are still a few of us. The President of my boyhood was Theodore Roosevelt, who was poorer when he left public office than when he entered it. No one has ever accused either William Howard Taft or Woodrow Wilson of having made a thin dime out of the Presidency.

"Was Warren Harding corrupt? In a way: he did not care if his friends made money out of Government. But he made none for himself. When he died, the only important item in his estate was his stock in his newspaper, the Marion, Ohio, Star.

"No one ever accused Calvin Coolidge of making a cent out of public office. The same is true of Herbert Hoover, with the additional difference that he took not one cent

in salary while in Government. Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman also have spotless records.

"Dwight Eisenhower lived on his salary as general and President, and left office with nothing but his savings, plus the profits from his book which have gone into his Gettysburg farm.

"You can say that John Kennedy was too rich to need to steal, so we will never know. I can answer that, rich or poor, I hold this Irishman to have been money-honest.

"We come down now to Lyndon Johnson. If a man uses public office to get financial favors to himself, then by any definition, this is corruption. And on this definition he is the most corrupt man ever to have entered the White House in my time.

"And yet who cares?

"Attorney General Robert Kennedy, during the lifetime of his brother, started an investigation into the Bobby Baker case. Lyndon Johnson's connection with it was so clear that the Kennedys were about to dump Johnson as Vice President as a liability they could not afford to carry. But at this point the telescope rifle of Lee Oswald intervened, with the result that all investigation into Bobby Baker was dropped, and it was Robert Kennedy who got dumped by Lyndon Johnson.

"Will these facts, now being disclosed, help BARRY GOLDWATER? Maybe some, but probably not enough. Because there are, in our electorate, too high a percentage of people who don't mind ef ol' Lyndon's ben-agittin' his, effen he sees I keep on a-gittin' mah lil ol' govmint check.'

"What about the left-intellectuals, those ordinarily shrill watchdogs of our public morals? Well, they are too busy mincing and weaving about the place, squealing that BARRY GOLDWATER is a 'dangerous fayshist,' so a little matter like common honesty could not interest them less.

"Therefore, who cares?"

Democrat Propaganda Will Insult Voters' Intelligence, but They Will Not Debate Face to Face

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Charles L. Dancey, in the August 31, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star emphasizes the fact that the American people are entitled to hear the real issues. If Lyndon Johnson does not have guts enough to stand up and debate, Mr. Dancey points out that if he continues to stand in the corner and shout irresponsible and inflammatory statements, Senator GOLDWATER will look better all the time.

Under unanimous consent, I include the aforementioned editorial:

MISREPRESENTING GOLDWATER

(By C. L. Dancey)

It is devoutly to be hoped that the coming campaign will see at least some discussion of the issues between the contestants rather than the hokey baloney and misrepresentation that was featured in both conventions.

Thus far, the Democrats have been shouting and campaigning vigorously against a BARRY GOLDWATER they have invented and studiously ignored the actual charges the Senator has made.

They are energetically building an "image" of their own choosing for the challenger instead of facing the issues he has raised squarely.

All they want to do is holler that GOLDWATER wants to "get rid of social security" and that he is opposed to social security and opposed to benefits for old folks, for example.

What has GOLDWATER's position consistently been? It has been that citizens of retirement age are entitled to a program that assures them security, and that the social security program falls short and will fail worse as time goes by, at heavy cost, unless its "scatter-gun approach" is corrected.

He points out specifically that social security benefits are forced upon virtually everyone whether they need them or not. They are paid to retired millionaires, to retirees with substantial annuities, retirees with liberal private pension plans, retirees with large incomes from investments, etc.

The cost of the program is already prearranged to absorb "10 percent of the payroll of the United States" in direct payroll taxes, he says, and this price is too high for what people are getting under such a free-wheeling approach. It should do a better job for those who really need it, and be corrected accordingly.

That has been the social security issue GOLDWATER has raised.

Maybe the figures just don't fit his concept. Maybe he's haywire.

But the way to find out is to meet his argument head-on, not with propaganda designed to convince people that he wants to turn back the clock and abolish the system. Such baloney is patently dishonest, and gives credence to GOLDWATER's charge that the President's refusal to debate the issues, and the Democrats' insistence on just calling him names, is the coward's way out of facing the real issues.

The same thing applies to the convention oratory about control of nuclear weapons. The awesome power of hydrogen bombs as carried by aircraft and intercontinental missiles has been repeatedly described in horrific tones, and then the charge made that GOLDWATER wants to let many people throw these around carelessly.

This is another subject that isn't a matter of direct challenge, or even exaggeration. It is pure misrepresentation. GOLDWATER has never proposed anything of the sort, and the Democratic national leaders making such remarks know it very well.

GOLDWATER has proposed that the basic infantry weapons that use atomic power (weapons that do not even remotely compare in either explosive force or range with airborne H-bombs), that are now the chief hope of a defense by NATO forces in the event of a Red attack on Europe, should be usable, instantly, in the event of such an attack, on the prompt order of the NATO commanders, based on their military situation.

If the Reds knew NATO had this authority, he maintains, they would not attack Europe, and would not apply military pressure at Berlin, etc.

It is a position shared by a great many very able and loyal and responsible Americans, by many professionals who have been clubbed into silence by the politicians who rule them, and by many experts. There are excellent arguments that are to the point and deal with this specific problem, for and against.

But we haven't heard these arguments.

We have heard only a lot of emotional appeals based on a misrepresentation that GOLDWATER is talking about H-bombs on Moscow, and talking about him causing our babies in their cribs to be slaughtered.

The American people are entitled to hear the real issue, and the real problems on which it is based.

This violent and extremist talk about a proposal to take control of weapons of long range and massive destructive power away from the President to endanger the lives of our babies in their cribs is not only dishonest, but the kind of inflammatory irresponsibility that places the candidate for President in undeserved, shocking, personal danger at the hands of some poor misled and frightened crackpot.

Such, so far, is typical of this campaign, including GOLDWATER's position, reason and purposes, in regard to organized labor where he wants more voting under independent NLRB supervision, including strike votes, to insure the right of every union member to an honest count.

He finds it a little strange that our big, "democratic" unions, unlike any other form of truly democratic organization in the world, has such a strange habit of electing a president for life * * * not in just one instance, but in most instances.

The cold fact is that the international head of a major union in this country today, on the record, can apparently never be replaced except by death, incapacity and retirement, or imprisonment. And that is based on the actual record of our biggest unions.

GOLDWATER thinks this suggests that the rank and file do not always have the truly democratic means of making their wishes felt.

Does anybody want to debate that subject in detail with him?

No, they just smear him as antilabor. On the word, and sometimes the orders of these same lifetime bosses.

What are his real suggestions as to an effective United Nations?

What are his real proposals regarding foreign aid?

Nobody wants to debate them. They just want to throw bricks, label him as blankety "against," and charge that he wants to turn back the clock, which is silly gamesmanship.

As we wtached the GOP convention, we tend to think that Johnson looks pretty good. Then, as we watch the Democrats, GOLDWATER looks much better.

What this campaign really needs if it is to be a mandate for anybody, and have any meaning, and be any kind of sensible choice, is the very face to face, honest debate that the President has so artfully ducked.

Then, maybe we could all make sense out of it.

Representative Patman Has an Unusually Constructive Record of Accomplishments—Letters to Editor of the Star

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I think every Member of the House was amazed by an editorial in the Washington Star on August 17 which seized upon one paragraph of a 9,000-word speech, "The ABC's of America's Money System," delivered in the House on August 3 by the gentleman from Texas, Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the Committee on Banking and Currency, in order to try to prove that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] had been guilty of "unadulterated demagogy." The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] has strong

views on many subjects and expresses them vigorously, and I doubt if any member of the committee agrees with him 100 percent on all issues at all times. I know I do not. Along the same lines, I am sure he does not agree with every position I take, just as I am sure that no Member of the House agrees with any other Member on all issues. But the gentleman from Texas' [Mr. PATMAN] record for being right on complex issues is remarkable.

And, as John W. Edelman, chairman of the board of directors of the National Consumers League, pointed out in a letter to the editor of the Washington Star following publication of the editorial attacking the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], the dean of the Texas delegation in the House "has an unusually constructive record of accomplishments." Mr. Edelman has spent many years observing the operations of Congress at first hand as one of the most highly respected of legislative representatives for the labor movement, and before that was one of the architects of the housing legislation of the New Deal.

LETTERS FROM JOHN W. EDELMAN AND JAMES PATTON

Mr. Edelman's was one of two letters appearing in the Washington Star on August 26 expressing indignation over the Star's editorial condemning Mr. PATMAN. The other was by James G. Patton, president of the Farmers Union.

Mr. Speaker, I have always felt most privileged to serve on the Committee on Banking and Currency, since the start of my second term in the Congress, and I have felt particularly privileged to have served under the chairmanships of the gentleman from Kentucky, Brent Spence, and of the gentleman from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] works as hard as any Member I have ever known, and the record of legislation bearing his name attests to his great effectiveness. Moreover, he is a student of government whose booklet on the subject is one of the most popular documents ever issued by the Congress. He has just published a primer on money which I believe will also win widespread popularity as a reference work.

Mr. Speaker, any good newspaper—including the Washington Star, which is certainly an excellent newspaper—is entitled to an occasional error in judgment on its editorial page as long as it tries hard to present the news fairly and objectively, which the Star strives to do. The Star demonstrated its desire to be fair when it printed the rebuttals of Mr. Edelman and Mr. Patton, and I submit those letters for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

UNADULTERATED DEMAGOGY

SIR: Your August 17 editorial accusing Representative WRIGHT PATMAN of "unadulterated demagogy" was an unfair attack on a man whose inquiries and insight in our Nation's money system have produced creative proposals for improvement.

You said PATMAN "devotes much of his energy to an effort to undermine the Federal Reserve System." But Business Week, certainly no revolutionary or subversive publication, noted July 11 that "one of the main objects of PATMAN's proposals is to promote the coordination of the Federal Reserve's monetary policies with the economic policies of the rest of the Government." Of PATMAN's two proposals to accomplish this, said Business Week: "There is merit in both ideas."

As Business Week declared, "there must be coordination of monetary policy with the broad economic policies of the administration—or there will be chaos." Surely PATMAN's proposals to achieve such coordination deserve more thoughtful comment than your assertion that he seeks "to undermine the Federal Reserve System."

Your editorial also accused PATMAN of making "wild charges" against the "bankers' lobby" while offering no proof of its operations. You must have missed PATMAN's documentation. In the same speech in which you said "he ranted against the bankers' lobby," PATMAN described how the lobby worked just recently "to kill legislation that was very much sought by savings and loan associations and many bankers, particularly small town and small city bankers."

The bill would have raised the maximum insurance on individual bank accounts from the present $10,000 to $20,000.

Representative PATMAN has an unusually constructive record of accomplishments. Disagree with him on the merit of his proposals, by all means, if you believe his recommendations are faulty. But to label him a "demagog" is unfair.

JOHN W. EDELMAN,
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
National Consumers League.

SIR: Your editorial "Unadulterated Demogogy," August 17, completely misrepresents plain truths and simple facts. Your ill-conceived, biased attack on Texas Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN'S House speech of August 3 must not be permitted to stand without some attempt to correct the false record you have created.

A brief reading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 3, 1964, pages 17253 to 17262, will clearly reveal more than what you termed "wild charges against the ABA (American Bankers Association) and the bankers' lobby."

It shows for one, how the ABA killed legislation very much sought by savings and loan associations, particularly small town and small city banks, which would have increased insurance from $10,000 to $20,000 on individual accounts.

Further, and the main point of Congressman PATMAN'S speech, which your editorial completely ignores, it's time that our citizens who are interested in protecting the public interest in national monetary matters act get behind the kind of responsible leadership which Congressman PATMAN is giving.

The Nation Farmers Union, which I have headed since 1940, strongly endorses the efforts of Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN to revaluate our Nation's monetary policies which, among other things, are costing Americans $75 billion in gross interest charges this year alone.

What this Nation needs is more Congressmen like WRIGHT PATMAN and fewer editorials like yours of August 17.

JAMES G. PATTON,
President, Farmers Union.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board of independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

The Case for Lyndon B. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the people of my district can count among their blessings one of America's outstanding newspapers. The Kansas City Star, in the best traditions of journalism, has, since its first edition 84 years ago called the shots as it has seen them. As a consequence its voice is a respected one in my city, my State, and indeed in my country. I have not always agreed with the position it has taken on various issues and, as it points out from time to time, it has not always agreed with my stand on various legislation. However, I have enjoyed the valuable support of this outstanding newspaper for some years.

In its customary cogent fashion it has examined the issues confronting the American voter this fall and has drawn certain conclusions. I commend to my colleagues this careful analysis and its logical conclusions.

I offer for the RECORD the editorial which appeared in the Kansas City Star on August 30.

AS WE SEE IT: THE CASE FOR LYNDON B. JOHNSON

These are dangerous and still troubled times for all of us, times that demand the most careful and prudent leadership both in our affairs at home and in the world.

Abroad, the family of nations grows. New countries emerge in the ferment of freedom, often without the sense of responsibility that is essential to world stability.

On new battlegrounds and old, freedom continues its struggle against communism in that spasm of history that is called the cold war. The drama plays on, with the ominous threat of nuclear holocaust ever a part of the plot.

At home our great struggle is over what loosely is termed civil rights. But the term is an oversimplification. It is a problem of race. It touches upon traditions and a way of life. It borders on economics and the persistently high rate of unemployment that particularly affects Negroes. There has been no internal challenge of such proportions since the Civil War.

Abroad and at home, it is a time in which national decisions must be weighed carefully and made judiciously. We refer not only to the decisions that our elected leaders may make, but also to the millions of individual decisions to be made by the voters in November. As citizens, they have a meaningful duty to discharge.

Believing this in all conscience, the Star is making its decision, as each of its readers must do. The conventions are past, the platforms written. The issues are joined. Unhesitatingly, this newspaper supports the candidacy of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

We are convinced that the cause of world peace would be better served by Mr. Johnson and his foreign policy, with its roots deep in both Democratic and Republican administrations. It would be safer to keep his finger on the nuclear trigger than to place the awesome responsibility on Senator GOLDWATER. We frankly fear that the Goldwater philosophy, transformed into presidential policy, might plunge the world deeper into the uncertainty of greater international tensions.

Of course, no one can be wholly satisfied with the rate of progress toward peace and world understanding. All of us share the frustrations of this atomic era. But inch by inch there has been progress. In the Goldwater makeup, in the GOP platform, in the candidate's statements, we see every reason to fear an end of such progress and, in fact, a period of retrogression with increased tensions.

Let us put it another way, and bluntly: We believe that to entrust the peace to a Goldwater administration would be an unnecessary and undesirable gamble for the Nation to take.

On the domestic front, civil rights is the overriding issue. It is pointless to hope that it can be kept out of the campaign. It is dangerous to ignore the explosiveness of the issue. And it is unduly optimistic to see any lasting solutions for years to come.

Here, then, is a point of the utmost relevancy to the Goldwater candidacy: Should he win, he would unquestionably do so with the support of the extreme segregationist groups of the South and with the backing of those groups, North or South, that place the Negro inside their circle of hate.

We believe that BARRY GOLDWATER is as determined as any other man to solve this problem. But as President, could he? We are not at all certain, for his election itself could create division, not unity. Support from the extreme racists would inevitably transform itself into pressure on the President—pressure for actions that could destroy the uneasy bridges of understanding between the races.

By contrast, President Johnson has been a strong leader in the civil rights cause, despite his Texas background. Because of that background, he has a kinship to the whole South and is better equipped to understand its problem. Regardless of the convention outbursts from the South, the Star believes that, for the long pull, Mr. Johnson would be much more effective in solving the racial problem than would his opponent.

We recognize the American tradition of rallying around each new President. Undoubtedly there would be, in the terminology of politics, a "honeymoon" of sorts for BARRY GOLDWATER, should he be elected. Nevertheless, we foresee many difficulties for him. Above all else, he would face world and national leadership with the forces of hate from both extremes intensified rather than lessened.

Moreover, it seems to us that Lyndon B. Johnson deserves election on the record he has made in the months since an assassin's bullet tragically struck down John F. Kennedy. What a crisis Mr. Johnson faced at that time. He has, we believe, dealt with it masterfully.

This is not to say that we go along with everything Mr. Johnson has done or says that he will do. Most certainly we do not.

But we were impressed in the days of transition from the Kennedy to the Johnson administration and we have continued to be impressed. In the manner of an old pro, L.B.J. convinced the 88th Congress, which had been on a virtual sitdown strike in its first session, that certain actions were essential in the national interest. Mr. Johnson got the country moving again.

In the foreign field—and in this area we were admittedly uncertain of his leadership—the President has demonstrated his ability to serve effectively as the Nation's spokesman. All in all, his performance as a chief executive thrust suddenly onto the world stage has inspired confidence both in Lyndon Johnson and in the United States.

The latest test of the Johnson leadership came in Vietnam, when Communist PT boats attacked U.S. ships not once but twice. In the first instance, there was a Presidential warning; when that was ignored and the attack was repeated, the United States struck back with a pinpoint demonstration of military power which left no doubt that this country meant business. And even as the bombs were falling, the White House had started the diplomatic moves designed to keep local confrontation from becoming world conflagration.

It was firmness coupled with prudence. And that word, we suggest, belongs without qualification with another essential word of our times: preparedness.

It seems significant to us, too, that Mr. Johnson's critics have made such a point of assailing him as a man who tries to work both sides of every political fence, to be all things to all people. Particularly at this time, we believe his talent for compromise to be an asset. We cannot afford a divided country, and Mr. Johnson has displayed an ability to draw Americans together, to be the President of all the people.

Thus, the case for Lyndon Johnson. What of the case against BARRY GOLDWATER, as we see it?

Certainly we do not dislike the Senator. We cannot accept the line of those who say he is a phony or a demagog. Unquestionably, Senator GOLDWATER is totally sincere. He is entitled to his views. In our judgment he means what he says. And frankly, we think he has said too much.

We are bothered by that unbending insistence that he is, in all cases, absolutely right, that he has simple answers to all questions. We have seen nothing that indicates moderation on the part of BARRY GOLDWATER—and we do not except that unity meeting in Pennsylvania. Such inflexibility, as we see it, does not belong in the White House. He has shown no comprehension of the art of compromise which is essential to the functioning of Government. Consider, if you will, the Senator's record:

He stood with the very few lawmakers who voted against ratification of the test-ban treaty that was a first if feeble step toward the distant goal of real peace.

He voted against the tax bill even though a large majority of his own party favored the measure.

In the cloture vote and in the final action on civil rights, BARRY GOLDWATER was in the "No" column—again, one of but a very few in the GOP.

We cite merely a part of the record. But there is, here, evidence to prove that this is a very opinionated man who sticks by his opinions, whatever the cost. Now we have

heard a lot of quibbling over word meanings and the like since the Republican convention, and it probably hasn't meant much. But it is one thing, we suggest, to have convictions; it is another to be opinionated. The latter describes the man in whom there is conviction carried to a potentially dangerous extreme.

You may, of course, admire conviction when it is described as political guts. But you may also see in the record of consistent opposition a demonstrated inability to work with people to get things done—even with members of the Senator's own party. How, we wonder, could BARRY GOLDWATER work with other world leaders? Where would such a lone-wolf attitude take us?

We regard this election as the Nation's business, not Europe's. Nevertheless, the Star can see why the Western nations should get the chills at the mere nomination of BARRY GOLDWATER. Without falling back on the overused cliches—"shooting from the hip" and the like—we see, in the Goldwater philosophy and method of operation, a recklessness that gives us the chills too.

One instance in point. When Castro shut off the water to the Guantanamo base, the Goldwater reaction was to send in the Marines. In fact, Washington had prepared for such an emergency. Today the water has not been turned on. The base is self-sufficient. The United States has not retreated. Nor has it unnecessarily risked nuclear war.

We would not place undue stress on one incident. But there have been many others of like nature. And there is the Goldwater approach, reflected in the platform he virtually dictated at San Francisco. Should that platform become reality in the Goldwater spirit, we would foresee a setback in the search for peace. It seems to assume that it is impossible to work with the Communists in any way or to negotiate with them. It raises questions on cooperation even with our allies. It places the major stress on military might, not on firm but prudent diplomacy.

Similarly, that defense of—or apology for—extremism in the acceptance speech made us wonder precisely what road this Nation might be forced to travel with BARRY GOLDWATER as its leader. Here, we must note that on the surface, the Senator seemed conciliatory at Hershey, with his profession of faith in the Eisenhower way. But was it the real GOLDWATER? Or was the real GOLDWATER the man who left San Francisco flush with the victory of the rightwing takeover of the party? The man who made that amazing acceptance speech?

We need not debate whether the speech—and the defense of extremism was, of course, the real essence of it all—was a political blooper. But this we do know: The unity conference at Hershey was necessary because the words of the nominee at San Francisco were so open to adverse interpretation. We cannot buy a presidential candidate who so consistently uses language that he needs later to explain—or others need to explain for him. Clarity of mind, expression, and thought are essential for a President. We cannot afford a Chief Executive who, later, would have to explain precisely what he meant. In this world of cold war, that would be dangerous indeed.

Thus, the choice is proposed, and the Star has made its choice. In taking this position, we believe that we are in line with the traditional thinking of this newspaper, even though the Star has generally supported Republican candidates for the presidency.

The Star has never made any pretense at being a liberal newspaper. We have believed consistently that the country could be served best by a philosophy of moderate conservatism.

In the distant past, this newspaper opposed populism when it was on the move throughout our territory. It supported sound money principles and the gold standard through the years of William Jennings Bryan. In 1912, when business seemed to be gaining too much power, we did not hesitate to follow the Bull Moose of Theodore Roosevelt.

In the New Deal era we stood fast against extreme liberalism and left-wing extremists. Consistently, we have opposed Ku Kluxism, that frightening symbol of internal hatred, even as we have spoken out against John Birchism and the hate groups of today.

On civil rights, we have supported that movement in the name of justice and morality, while denouncing lawlessness on the part of any racial group, white or Negro. We will continue to speak forthrightly, whether in criticism of the reckless white segregationist of the South or the reckless Negro integrationist of the North.

Let it be known that in supporting President Johnson, we are not buying the Democratic Party as such, nor its platform. The Star will continue to make its decisions on State and local candidates as it sees each situation, irrespective of the national election.

We do not condone the Bobby Baker scandals, any more than we did similar scandals of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. We believe that Congress has been woefully neglectful in protecting itself against a repetition of such sordid affairs. We are not convinced that the Baker investigation has been as thorough as it ought to have been.

We will go even further: We wish the Johnson family were not in the television business. Not that there is anything wrong with that business. Undoubtedly, by placing his properties in trust when he became Chief Executive, the President in his own mind removed any possibility of a conflict of interest. Nevertheless, the Presidency is such a precious thing in our system that it should at all times be above reproach or even the slightest whisper of undue advantage.

Having said all this, and promising frank criticism of Mr. Johnson's campaign and administration when we feel it necessary, we restate the case: On the record and on his demonstrated capacity for leadership both at home and abroad, the Star believes that the President deserves 4 years more in the White House.

As a newspaper, we hope that the campaign will be conducted without a spewing of hatred by extremists on either side, without bitter divisiveness, without damage to the national morale that might take so many years to repair. We hope that the campaign somehow will leave a nation strong and united, not weakened and divided.

For obviously there are many things on which all of us can agree. We know that any sacrifice must and will be made in defense of freedom, and we know that our Nation must be strong militarily, economically, and spiritually. These are truths for this election and for any election.

And there is another truth to which we hold with firm conviction: Each candidate should be given a full and fair hearing. Let the campaign be hard hitting, as determined as each contender would make it. But we hope that it will at no time degenerate into brawls, disorderly demonstrations, picketing, and the like. This is a vital election to be held in the American way. The American way means fairplay for both men.

On our part, while we support President Johnson, we shall do everything possible to print the news of the campaign fairly and objectively. We will, in statements of editorial opinion, call the shots as we see them. That is our duty as a newspaper. And that, too, is a part of the American way in an American campaign.

Tribune to C. D. Ulrich

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, since the middle of July, practically every newspaper has published accounts of speeches in which the Federal Government has been attacked and derided. Under these circumstances, it is heartening to read in the August 24 issue of the Arkansas Gazette that Mr. C. D. Ulrich, a citizen of Bryant, Ark., and 92 years of age, has willed all his property to the U.S. Government, to express his gratitude for the opportunities he has had in this country. Those who are so ready to condemn their Government might learn a lesson from Mr. Ulrich, if they would only begin to think in positive terms, rather than in negative ones.

I commend Mr. Ulrich for his good citizenship and his sense of responsibility to his Government.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Arkansas Gazette be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

C. D. ULRICH, 92, REVERSES TREND—WILLS ALL HIS MONEY TO UNCLE SAM

(By George Bentley)

Christian Daniel Ulrich at 92 has no one in the world to care for but himself and he said Sunday, while observing his birthday, that because of this he had decided some time ago to will everything he owns to the U.S. Government.

In the past, he has confided to friends that his reason for willing his property to the Government went beyond this—that it was born of his gratitude for the opportunities his country had given him.

He also has mentioned that, since he has drawn a $100-a-month pension as a veteran of the Spanish-American War for a number of years, he thought he ought to return to the Government what he had left.

Because of his age, Ulrich is shy and reluctant to discuss openly the value of his estate and the arrangements he has made to leave it to the Government. His plan would be unusual any time but seems especially so in a day when it is more popular to condemn the Government and want to take from it rather than give to it.

Ulrich lives at Bryant, a quiet community of about 700 persons about 2 miles south of the Benton Highway, just south of the Pulaski-Saline County line. His modest frame cottage at the end of a dirt lane is grown up in weeds and isn't very tidy inside either, which would lead one to the mistaken conclusion that he just makes ends meet and is hardly in a position to provide for the Government.

But Ulrich, who practiced his trade as a carpenter for many years, has several thousands of dollars in bonds, some property at Vimy Ridge, a few miles to the east, plus his home and the income from some property he sold at Jacksonville about 3 years ago. He keeps the bonds and any cash in the bank.

Ulrich takes an interest in his Government. He reads the Gazette every morning and receives the American Legion magazine

(he is a member of the Legion) and follows the political news.

He was reading the Sunday paper when his lawyer, Clayton Freeman of Little Rock, a reporter, and a photographer called on him to wish him a happy birthday. Since he was reading about the starting of the Democratic National Convention, what did he think of the presidential race? "I'm for Johnson," Ulrich said simply. He added that he was a lifelong Democrat but supported Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican.

He said he "knew" Roosevelt during the Spanish-American War but never spoke to him. Ulrich, a native of Brookville, Ind., enlisted May 6, 1898, at Indianapolis and served in Company B, 23d Infantry Regiment. He was discharged August 14, 1899, at Jolo, in the Philippines.

His discharge shows that he was born August 23, 1872, which makes him 92, but he insisted that it was his 93d birthday. But during the interview he conceded two or three times that, "My memory is gone," when he couldn't reach back into the past for answers to some questions.

Ulrich came to Arkansas in 1910 and lived at other places in central Arkansas before retiring at Bryant 8 years ago. He never married. He said he came from a family of seven boys and two girls and he was the fourth oldest. He said he knew all the members of his family were dead with the possible exception of two brothers whom he lost touch with years ago. He was the only one to settle in Arkansas.

"I came here because I like to hunt and fish," he said. He keeps a pole in his living room and still likes to go out to a stream.

He seems to be in remarkably good health for his age. He has no ready answer for the usual question, "What is your secret for living to a ripe old age." He said he neither smoked nor used alcoholic beverages but he thinks that retiring and taking it easy in later life was the main reason.

He is small and fragile from age and he has some trouble hearing. His eyes are a pale blue and are weak and he has several pairs of spectacles around the house for reading.

VISITED CAPITAL

In September 1962, Ulrich made a pleasure trip to Washington and was struck by a car as he was crossing a street. He spent some time in a hospital there.

Freeman has known Ulrich about 25 years and has made his will several times. Due to his forgetfulness, Ulrich has mislaid or lost his wills several times. He always wills everything to the Government and he had made a will in February 1962 a few months prior to the Washington trip. Freeman persuaded Ulrich to leave this will with Freeman to be filed in probate court after his death. He named Freeman executor of the estate.

TRIPS TO LITTLE ROCK

Although he doesn't travel far from home very often, Ulrich makes unexpected visits to his lawyer's office in the Glover Building, across the street from the Pulaski County Courthouse. Sometimes he drops in at the Secret Service office in the Federal building for a friendly visit and to let the agents know that he is saving everything for the Government.

USE OF MONEY

What becomes of property that is willed to the Government? An official of the Internal Revenue Service said that a Federal law provided for gifts and donations to be accepted directly by the Secretary of the Treasury to be placed in a special account that eventually is used for general public purposes. Any real estate donated to the Government is placed with the General Services Administration to be sold or disposed of as deemed in the best interests of the Government. Property donated specifically for park purposes is turned over to the Department of Interior.

HE'LL VOTE FOR L.B.J.

Ulrich said he hadn't voted in a long time but he said he planned to go to his precinct November 3 just so he could cast his ballot for President Johnson.

Asked why he never had married, Ulrich chuckled and said, "I guess it's because I never had a regular job."

Ulrich said that he didn't get out very often "but I've got to walk down to the post office tomorrow for this month's pension check."

The walk is just a few blocks and shouldn't be much of a strain. Freeman said Ulrich left his office in Little Rock not long ago, telling him: "I've missed my bus but I'll just walk on home." That was about a 25-mile walk and he made it.

What Dun & Bradstreet Says About Dual Distribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, during recent years, more and more manufacturers have undertaken to engage in business—not just as manufacturers—but also as wholesalers and retailers. Since these manufacturers are operating in two or three different levels of distribution, they are said to be engaged in dual distribution; and since they compete against many of their small business wholesaler and retailer customers, serious competitive problems are brought into play which, in some cases, appear to threaten the ability of the wholesalers and dealers to remain in business.

During this Congress, the House Small Business Committee, through one of its subcommittees under the chairmanship of Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, has held extensive hearings regarding this matter.

Representatives of approximately 50 different industries sought and obtained permission to explain to the members of the subcommittee how dual distribution was crippling or eliminating small businesses from their particular industry. Their stories fill eight volumes of printed testimony.

The current issue of Dun's Review, published by Dun & Bradstreet, contains a most informative article by Thomas J. Murray which discusses various competitive problems stemming from dual distribution. Under unanimous consent, I place this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

DUAL DISTRIBUTION VERSUS THE SMALL RETAILER

Since he first set up shop in 1948, hard-working August G. Huchting has built up his Ontario, Calif., paint store into a tidy, profitable business. Year by year the customers of the small store on a pleasant, tree-lined street in this town of 30,000 grew in number, year by year the sales ledgers steadily grew fatter.

Then, suddenly, not so long ago Huchting's business suffered a setback; his major supplier, a top-ranking manufacturer, opened its own retail store outlet close by and began selling identical lines of paint. Worse, it sold them at a price with which Huchting could not possibly compete. "Out of this new store," says the soft-spoken Huchting bitterly, "They have been selling the larger paint contractors the same materials we handle, at our cost, thus making it impossible for us to compete for the contractors' business."

August Huchting's predicament is no isolated piece of bad luck; it is just one symptom of a fast-moving marketing method—called dual distribution—that has already hurt numerous independent businessmen and menaces thousands more. This dry, unevocative term is the marketing industry's label for any form of sales competition between an independent businessman and his own suppliers.

Right now, dual distribution is hurting the small marketer at every level; manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing. For instance, an independent fabricator of structural steel fights a severe price squeeze forced by his own major raw material suppliers, the metal mills, which are also selling the same products to the same customers; a candy wholesaler loses business when a big supplier begins to sell its chocolate bars directly to many of his largest retail customers.

But it is the independent retailer who is hardest hit. For in the past few years the number of big manufacturers who are setting up or expanding their own strings of company-owned retail outlets has reached alarming proportions. Not only that, small merchants point to the damaging volume of direct factory-to-customer selling: mail-order sales of books and records, bulk selling of office machines to corporations, big orders of appliances sold directly to builders of large-scale projects, and the like.

To make matters worse, the small merchant finds that competition from the manufacturer is frequently far more damaging than that from a rival independent. For the manufacturer can squeeze the small retailer badly by keeping the wholesale price of his goods inflexible while he himself sells through the company outlet at a retail price equal to, only fractionally above or sometimes even below the independent's cost price.

Dual distribution, of course, is nothing new in itself. For several decades now oil companies and tire manufacturers have owned substantial numbers of their outlets. And for many years paint manufacturers have retailed a large proportion of their own goods. What is new, however, is the recent surge in the growth of dual distribution and the spreading of the practice to completely new industries.

There is no single reason behind this surge. Rather, there are several underlying causes that together form a major threat to independent retailing:

Intensifying competition in many industries has spurred manufacturers to open their own stores in markets where no suitable outlet already exists.

Manufacturers are learning the value of running a number of their own retail stores for testing both products and new merchandising techniques. President Michael Daroff of Botany Industries, for instance, claims that the firm's 75 retail outlets serve as a retail laboratory and that they have aided the company immeasurably in learning about style trends, costs, and merchandising. "This information," he says, "makes us better manufacturers because it has put us in a position to know what retailers need and to act quickly on those needs."

The hardening of the Justice Department's attitude towards external expansion through merger has left many giant manufacturers with vertical integration—such as a move

into retailing—as the only major expansion route.

In recent years large companies have been piling up internally generated cash—frequently more than they know what to do with. Consequently, the financing of their own retail chains is no problem today.

The massive shift of retailing from city to suburb has dealt a blow at the would-be small retailer, who often cannot raise sufficient capital for a stake in the new shopping centers. Consequently, many big manufacturers are opening their own stores to provide an outlet for their goods.

Finally, and increasingly attractive as competition gets rougher, there is the old lure of extra profits that can be made through cutting out the middleman and selling directly to the final customer.

Under the spur of such incentives, then, it is not surprising that company outlets are increasing at a brisk pace and that several new industries are turning to dual distribution. A major new entry, for example, are the appliance makers, some of whom are bypassing their dealers with millions of dollars worth of refrigerators, washing machines, and cooking equipment sold directly to homebuilders. Too, plumbing fixtures are being sold for the first time through manufacturers' retail outlets; microfilm manufacturers are selling in volume directly to large corporations; and within the last 10 years dual distribution has spread to the marketing of numerous other goods, ranging from plywood to records and photographic equipment.

One of the areas where dual distribution is currently threatening to hurt badly is in the men's clothing field. To be sure, it is no newcomer there, but in the past few years it has spread rapidly. Only recently, for example, such leading makers of men's wear as Genesco, Louis Roth Co., and Hat Corp. of America have expanded their own retail chains, and all the signs point to further converts to dual distribution.

A typical victim of this trend is Proprietor J. Gerald Saul, whose Long Island store has become a profitable local market for several lines of quality clothes. Only recently, Saul declares, a leading supplier took over a store less than one block from his own and began to sell the same lines. "I can't accurately measure the injury we suffered," Saul laments, "but it sure didn't do us any good. And the real harm is still to come."

CHORUS OF COMPLAINTS

Indeed, the complaints of independent businessmen are heard on all sides. R. E. Eubanks of B. & E. Paint Co. in Shreveport, La., states flatly that competition from suppliers (including Sherwin-Williams Co., Glidden Co., and Pittsburgh Paint Supply), both through company outlets and direct sales from factory locations, forced him to sell out his business. Morris F. Hoffman, of Hoffman Glass Service in Joliet, Ill., asserts that after 22 years of operating at the same location, one of his major suppliers, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., opened a retail outlet in the same marketing area and approached longstanding customers of his with prices equal to his costs. Says Hoffman, "They make it impossible for me to compete."

Moreover, worse may be yet to come. J. Gerald Saul speaks for many when he declares that he and others like him face risks ranging from the retailer's supply line being chopped off to total manufacturer domination and even, perhaps, eventual extinction as independents. Says Benjamin L. Finn, executive director of Independent Shoemen, largest dealer organization in the shoe industry: "This trend has accelerated to the point where it has now become a move to dominate the industry and control distribution."

And Federal Trade Commission Chairman, Paul Rand Dixon, himself acknowledges that dual distribution has placed many smaller concerns at a distinct competitive disadvantage. As an independent, says Dixon, "you are subject at all times to being cut off by your supplier."

The small retailers' fears of dual distribution are scarcely allayed by the manufacturers themselves. "We envision a steady growth of both the number and sales volume of our retail leased departments in department stores," says Executive Vice President James C. Taylor of Brown Shoe's Wohl Division. And from other giants of this industry, International Shoe Co., Genesco, and Endicott Johnson Corp., comes similar reports of expansion in their own retail activities.

The story is the same in the tire, paint, and gasoline industries. And in the men's wear field. Hart Schaffner & Marx, Botany Industries, Hat Corp. of America, Louis Roth, and others have all been adding to their chains of retail outlets. Says Cluett, Peabody & Co. retail stores division president, Thomas Macleod: "This aspect of our operations will continue to grow at a normal rate. In the past couple of years our retail outlets have gone up from 30 to 44."

In brief, while there is no way of measuring dual-distribution sales in terms of dollars, the evidence is overwhelming that it is forcing significant changes in the structure of retailing. Many independent retailers are feeling its effects only marginally, but many others are being seriously damaged, and a number have actually been put out of business.

The independent businessman has few weapons to fight back with. Dual distribution is, of course, an entirely legal practice, and a manufacturer is at liberty to compete with the retailer to whom he also sells his goods—and at any price he wishes. Neither is it illegal for the manufacturer to refuse to sell to whomever he wishes. The Federal Trade Commission has no mandate to protect independents from such competition where "unfair methods" are not involved, and the Justice Department is not currently attacking dual distribution as a specific antitrust problem.

Be that as it may, the independent merchant has a number of important factors working for him. In the first place, a large proportion of small retailers are simply not threatened by dual distribution at all. "Manufacturer-owned stores," explains marketing expert Prof. Leonard W. Prestwich, "are feasible only for companies that produce full lines of related products or products that are of a relatively high unit value. Otherwise, adequate sales volume cannot be realized in a single retail store without buying products from other manufacturers to round out the line." Consequently, such retailers as the local tobacconist, newspaper vendor, florist, dry-goods store, and small variety shop would appear to be free of the potential threat of added competition from the opening of retail outlets by their own suppliers.

In addition, a number of leading manufacturers hold that dual distribution is purely and simply bad business. Good managers, they feel, are hard enough to come by without spreading them even more thinly through a venture into retailing. Even more compelling is the desire of such firms to retain the goodwill of the independent retailing force that is already working for them. Such a concern is the Maytag Co., which flatly condemns dual distribution. "I'm enough of a businessman," declares Maytag Marketing Vice President Claire G. Ely, "to know that my future is wrapped up in the sale of my products through normal distributive channels—by sales through dealers to the ultimate consumer. I know that I can't serve two causes at the same time. I can't forever work both sides of the street."

Occasionally, a manufacturer will even move in the opposite direction—away from dual distribution. "I know of one company," relates Prestwich, "that, after a study lasting several years, decided to distribute entirely through industrial distributors rather than directly to large customers and through industrial distributors to small customers as they had been doing. Management felt that the dual policy jeopardized their entire distributive system."

Moreover, dealers in the appliance industry have been making headway against one damaging form of dual distribution. Direct sales of appliances by General Electric, Westinghouse, and others to builders for installation in large housing projects and apartment buildings have been infuriating the independents for the past few years. In defense of the practice, Edward L. Stehle, general manager of GE's major appliance division's distribution sales operation, recently asserted: "It is simply a hard fact of economic life that many of these customers * * * buy little, if any, of their material requirements in the retail market."

Nevertheless, a number of manufacturers have been pressed into making some adjustments to their sales programs. Philco Corp., for instance, recently eliminated direct sales to builders from its distributors in three cities. Then, too, some of the companies have taken steps to correct an abuse whereby builders have been reselling these appliances at retail in direct competition with the independents.

HELP COMING?

Above all, however, small retailers have been looking to Washington for help—not, to be sure, against dual distribution per se, but at least against such practices as below-cost sales by manufacturers, or the ploy whereby manufacturers encourage an independent to go into business selling their goods and then, when the market is fully developed, cut off supplies, and launch a company outlet instead. And, stirred by mounting protests, Congress finally moved to investigate.

Last year hearings were held by a subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Small Business, chaired by Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, a longtime campaigner on behalf of small business. Into these sessions paraded representatives from over 35 industries to give testimony of abuses of dual distribution by suppliers. The subcommittee's report, which is expected to stress the pervasiveness of dual distribution, and its adverse effects on small business, should appear late this summer.

The report has excellent credentials. Last March highly placed staff members of the Small Business Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Justice Department's Antitrust Division met together. Their goal: to correlate the findings of the House hearings and a number of other investigations and to coordinate the approach to be used in the final report and recommendations of the subcommittee. To most retailer organizations, this concentration of governmental forces in their interests seems to bode well for the future.

Clearly, Congressman ROOSEVELT hopes that this report will improve the chances for passage of a bill proposing that firms practicing dual distribution disclose each outlet's operating data; and, even more significant, provide the impetus for an FTC drive against the abuses in dual distribution.

Meanwhile, a group of independent businessmen have started their own drive against dual distribution. Just last June President Lawrence Schacht of Schacht Steel Construction joined with some 150 independent businessmen to form the Conference on Dual Distribution, a body that has the blessing

of Congressman ROOSEVELT. Its immediate aim: to attract a membership of around 40,000 firms in a drive to help the bills now pending onto the floor for action, and, ultimately, to bring about some Government control over manufacturer-supplier competition.

Schacht, an independent fabricator of structural steel, is himself fighting a severe price squeeze caused by his own suppliers, the major metal mills. They generate this pressure, he explains, by keeping his raw-material costs high and simultaneously selling the same finished products at his prices or below them. "Dual distribution," he likes to say, "is nothing less than domestic dumping."

But in spite of all this activity, independent merchants are not optimistic about the future. To them it seems inevitable that dual distribution must spread. And the spread, they believe, will be explosive, because when big manufacturers turn to retailing they use no half measures. As Congressman ROOSEVELT puts it: "When a large manufacturer makes a decision to go into distribution, it is improbable that he will open one retail outlet. He is more apt to arrive on the scene with a great number of outlets or to rapidly build up a distribution network over a short period of time."

—THOMAS J. MURRAY.

The Problem of the Nonvoter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the American Legion magazine for August 1964, published an excellent article by the outstanding national commander of the Legion, Daniel F. Foley. The article is entitled "The Problem of the Nonvoter." Commander Foley emphasizes reasons why going to the polls and casting one's ballot is the first and most concrete answer to the question, "What can I do for my country?"

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROBLEM OF THE NONVOTER

(By National Commander Daniel F. Foley)

Beneath the noise and color and excitement of current political campaigning, consider this:

In the next 3 months more than 100 million Americans will be asked to decide with their ballots the future course and leadership of the Nation.

If the 1960 pattern is repeated, more than one-third of the electorate will take no part in the decision.

Recent national elections have produced voter turnouts of 90 percent in Italy, 85 percent in West Germany, and about 80 percent in Great Britain, France, Israel, and the Scandinavian countries. The U.S. score in 1960 was 64 percent, the highest in our history.

A comparable showing in 1964 won't be nearly good enough. To insure a sound base for responsible government at home and strong leadership abroad, we need an overwhelming turnout at the polls on November 3. I urge every American Legionnaire to join now in a sustained drive, through education and persuasion and personal example, to impress upon all our citizens the responsibility to vote.

As a first step, each of us should make certain that our own path to the polls is clear. Responsible exercise of the right to vote requires that we (1) qualify as voters by registering under the laws of our State, (2) size up the issues and candidates in the light of the best information we can get, and (3) vote on election day.

The right to vote, like our other fundamental rights, is not self-perpetuating. To keep it, we must use it—intelligently and faithfully. Either we vote and thereby support our free, representative system; or we fail to vote and thereby weaken the system.

Any American Legionnaire who might be inclined to forgo voting on November 3 ought to consider these facts:

Three-fourths of the world's adults today are denied the privilege of expressing their preference at the polls. They live under systems where freedom of choice is outlawed or where educational and economic levels are too low to sustain popular government.

Thousands of young Americans who fought at our sides to preserve the right of suffrage never got a chance to exercise it. They gave their lives before reaching voting age.

Does one vote count? Every vote counts, yours just as much as any other. To believe otehrwise is to disbelieve the doctrines which undergird our free society. Your vote counts whether you cast it or not; for when you don't vote, you double the influence of a voter who disagrees with your view of what is good and necessary for the country.

In the 1960 presidential election, a switch of less than 1 percent of the ballots in eight States would have changed the election's result. The 1962 gubernatorial election in Minnesota was decided by a margin of 91 votes out of a million and a quarter cast.

But it isn't just a question of voting your choice. Public indifference at the polls breeds Government indifference. He who shirks his vote is poorly equipped to protest if those elected shirk theirs thereafter.

A 64-percent sampling of American voters in 1964 doesn't meet America's needs in the sixties. Nations around the globe, many of them new and groping for a political philosophy, look to the United States for lessons in the functioning of a free society. Rightly or wrongly, they will question an elective process in which 4 people out of 10 do not vote, and only 1 in 10 involve themselves in political combat.

Simply increasing the number of voters will not necessarily improve the quality of our voting. We also need more voters who are informed, alert, and perceptive. We need more men and women who make it their business to discriminate between candidates and issues at the local and State levels as well as the national. For instance, nominees for the board of education rarely pack the promotional or emotional appeal of presidential candidates. But how and whom we choose to serve on that board may do more to determine future progress in a community than our choice of President.

According to students of American voting habits, people stay away from the polls chiefly for three reasons: they aren't interested, they can't make up their minds, or they don't want to get mixed up with politics. For the dedicated American Legionnaire, the first two are unacceptable and the third just doesn't make sense.

Politics and good government are not only compatible—they are inseparable. Political organizations and loyalties furnish the fuel that makes the Government go. If you want a better grade of political performance than you're getting, there's only one effective way to go at it—from the inside, as a working, contributing member of your party.

Plato stated the alternative a good many centuries ago: "The punishment of wise men who refuse to take part in the affairs of government is to live under the government of unwise men."

A major American Legion "get-out-the-vote" drive already has been mounted by our national organization and many departments and posts. Every working Legionaire has a stake and place in it. If your post hasn't taken action, stir up some. Stress the obligation of every citizen to "get involved" in Government. Add your name and prestige to community "get-out-the-vote" movements. Remind your neighbors and friends that voting is one concrete answer to the question, "What can I do for my country?" Look for new ways, beyond baby-sitting and transportation services, to make it easy for people to stop at the polling place.

In free America, that's where effective citizenship and good government start.

Why Does U.S. Embassy Make Americans Look Bad?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WHY DOES U.S. EMBASSY MAKE AMERICANS LOOK BAD?

An incredible attack on U.S. business in a document distributed recently by the American Embassy in London demands prompt explanation and disciplining of those responsible by the State Department.

Whoever made this blunder has no place in our Government.

Victor Riesel, whose column, Inside Labor, appears in the Evening Tribune, brought this incident to light.

Riesel reported that the document, bearing the official eagle insignia of the Embassy, goes beyond taking the side of Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers in the current prestrike talks between the union and the Big Three car manufacturers, and becomes an attack on American business generally.

Here are some excerpts from the Embassy document by an anonymous writer, as reported by Riesel:

"The increase in profits and depreciation allowances has meant a steady climb in the cashflow to corporations. During the past 3 years (this refers to the life of the auto industry's current labor contract) the retained corporate cashflow—after payment of taxes and dividends—has been greater than corporate investment in new plant and equipment. As a result, corporations are loaded with cash."

Who says so and on what basis?

This is a wholly unwarranted judgment in an area in which the American Embassy has no business.

Here is another example:

"Substantial wage increases also are possible because of the continuing high rate of productivity advance."

That's another gratuitous and unsupported opinion put out by an official agency which has no business making such judgments.

The Embassy document goes on to report that the rate of productivity advance in some industries has far outstripped the 3.2 percent a year increase which was set as the

wage guideline for the past few years. And then comes another snide aside:

"In most cases," the report says, "the fruits of these large increases in productivity have not been shared adequately with either workers or consumers."

This is the typical antibusiness line of every enemy of the American economic system.

Wittingly or not, the American Embassy in London has painted a false picture of U.S. business as gorging itself on swollen profit, denying workers their just wages, and paying out huge dividends to its shareholders and unwarranted bonuses to its officers.

The Embassy has prejudiced every businessman, every American, in the eyes of our friends.

Our Ambassador in London, David K. E. Bruce, owes the American business community an explanation and an apology.

Whoever is responsible for this slur ought to be fired immediately.

United States Should Couple Any Concessions to Soviets With Soviet Concessions on Captive Nations Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have long contended that any U.S. assistance or concessions to the Soviet Union should be coupled with Soviet concessions, particularly in behalf of the captive and subjugated people of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Charles Rozmarek, the distinguished president of the Polish-American Congress, and of the Polish National Alliance, recently delivered an excellent address on this most important subject at the golden jubilee of Group 1747 of the Polish Alliance, at Nazareth, Pa.

Mr. Rozmarek, a native of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., is highly knowledgeable on the problems of Eastern Europe; and I ask unanimous consent to have an excerpt from his speech, as published in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader and News, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOMENT OF TRUTH AND DECISION

(By Charles Rozmarek)

The moment of truth is fast approaching on the international scene.

It will also be a moment of historic decision for the American people. For it will exert powerful influence on the course of world events, and will shape our future.

The problem is simply this: The Soviet part of the Communist world is experiencing deep agricultural and industrial crises. They have nothing to do with the so-called Sino-Soviet ideological split which, for the time being at least, is of no special significance. It looks to me like a personal feud between Premier Nikita Khrushchev and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The economic structure of the Soviet bloc, however, presents an entirely different picture. It is a picture of chaos resulting from faulty planning, of broken down machinery with no spare parts, of unproductive agriculture saddled with forced collectivization.

These statements which I have gathered from writings and opinions of many American and European experts on Soviet bloc affairs were surprisingly substantiated by an unprecedented press conference of the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is not my intention to go into the details of the breakup of Communist economy in east-central Europe and in Russia.

I am pointing out these affairs of the Communist bloc, as the part of the moment of truth is approaching.

And the truth is simply this: Russia needs our economic and technical assistance. So do the European satellites. In addition, Russia needs long-term credits and will be asking for them in not too distant future. As a matter of fact, Moscow is already getting 12-year credits from England and 15-year credits from France which is contrary to the set policy of the West.

Perhaps, the pragmatic necessities of our allies will lead to more or less formal accommodation between Russia and the West.

And in this fact lies our greatest opportunity and greatest danger.

With determination and firmness, we may win considerable concession from Russia, for the benefit of enslaved nations. We may force Moscow to grant subjugated nations more freedom; we are in a position to force Russia to loosen her stranglehold on east-central Europe, thus allowing 100 million people to return to their rightful heritage within the western family of nations.

I do not think that such demand in return for our technical assistance and credits would be construed as a provocation of Russia. The world opinion would agree with us that we would be asking Russia to restore the historic balance in Europe.

If, on the other hand, we let this opportunity slip through our fingers, if we extend aid to Russia without extracting any concession from her in the behalf of subjugated nations, then we shall have forsaken millions of people who look toward us for deliverance.

(The foregoing is an excerpt from an address of Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress and of the Polish National Alliance, delivered at the golden jubilee of Group 1747 of the Polish Alliance at Nazareth, Pa. Mr. Rozmarek, a native of Wilkes-Barre and a former practicing attorney here, has been a resident of Chicago for a quarter century. He was a visitor in Wilkes-Barre this week.)

General Services Administration Boosts Purchases From Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, upon numerous occasions this year President Johnson has urged the various Government agencies to purchase a greater portion of their goods and services from small business concerns. Similarly, the Congress, in passing the Small Business Act of 1958, declared that a fair proportion of the Government's total purchases should be placed with small business enterprises.

In this connection, it is especially heartening and gratifying to learn that the General Services Administration, under the direction of the Honorable Bernard L. Boutin, during fiscal year 1964, increased by $120 million the amount of goods purchased from small business concerns.

Each year the purchases of goods and services by the Federal Government from privately owned business establishments total about $35 billion. The General Services Administration expends an important portion of this total sum, and it is noteworthy, as well as satisfying, to learn that this agency placed 53 percent of the dollar value of its purchases with small business firms.

Mr. Boutin, Administrator, General Services Administration, recently wrote me about this matter, and under unanimous consent I ask that this communication be reprinted at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., August 19, 1964.

Hon. JOE L. EVINS,
Chairman, Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Mindful of your keen interest in the degree of participation by small business firms in Government procurement, I am extremely pleased to report that in fiscal year 1964, GSA placed 53.2 percent of the dollar volume of its total prime contracts, or $451.4 million, with small business firms.

This was an increase of 12.7 percent, above the fiscal year 1963 figure of 40.5 percent, or $328.9 million, and is indicative of the intensified efforts made by GSA during the past year to implement more effectively the Administration's policy that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for property and services for the Government shall be placed with small business concerns.

Sincerely yours,

BERNARD L. BOUTIN,
Administrator.

Technical Assistance for Less-Developed Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, an article published recently in Science magazine describes a constructive and imaginative new program of technical assistance to less-developed countries provided by private American citizens. Through an organization called Volunteers for International Technical Assistance (VITA), public spirited scientists and engineers in several American communities are providing, on request, valuable technical information in fields ranging from agriculture to water purification, sanitation, and construction.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article on VITA, written by Mr. D. S.

Greeberg. It was published in Science magazine on June 12, 1964.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TECHNICAL AID: VOLUNTEER GROUP ENABLES SCIENTISTS, ENGINEERS TO HELP UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS

One of the differences between the rich and the poor nations is that the poor are often stymied by minor technical problems that were long ago solved by the rich. Several years ago it occurred to a group of scientists and engineers in the Schenectady, N.Y., area, that they might be able to do something about this, and out of their decision has grown a remarkable organization, Volunteers for International Technical Assistance. Stated briefly, VITA is a sort of stay-at-home technical peace corps, composed of about 1,000 scientists, engineers, and technical specialists who, without charge, serve as consultants on technical problems that have arisen in the underdeveloped countries.

For example, the Peace Corps, which has come to make good use of VITA, recently sent an inquiry from a volunteer in the Far East who was working on the early stages of a poultry project. What, he asked, would be the best feed mixture from available grain sources? The inquiry was forwarded to a department head at a major school of agriculture, who dispatched a sheet of simple instructions. In another case, an inquiry from a Caribbean island, asking about means of utilizing a good tomato crop, was forwarded to an executive of a food processing firm, who sent seven pages of handwritten step-by-step instruction on the preparation and bottling of tomato juice. Other inquiries have asked for advice on well-digging, construction of simple slide projectors, woodworking, pottery glazing, sewage disposal, water purification, and paper making.

One of the most refreshing things about VITA is its administrative simplicity. To become a member, an applicant simply fills out a form from VITA (1206 State Street, Schenectady, N.Y.), specifying the subject areas in which he feels qualified to serve as a consultant. When inquiries come in—they come from missionaries, government agencies, and a variety of other sources in addition to the Peace Corps—VITA headquarters forwards them to whomever seems to be the most suitable consultant. The consultant replies directly to the inquirer and sends a copy to the Schenectady office. And that's all.

In addition to counseling on specific problems, VITA, under a contract with the Agency for International Development, has prepared a Village Technology Handbook, a 169-page volume that contains a wealth of simple, how-to-do-it directions on turning odds and ends of pipes, steel drums, lumber, and, other cheap materials into useful devices for rural communities. One section, for example, provides plans for building a 30-gallon-per-minute hand-operated irrigation pump with simple tools, from galvanized iron, barrel metal, wire, and wood. Another tells how to convert a steel drum into a boiler for purifying water. There are plans for constructing latrines, seed and grain cleaners, bamboo poultry houses, and simple concrete structures.

VITA, which is now headed by Benjamin Coe, a chemical engineer at General Electric's Waterford, N.Y., plant, has chapters in Morgantown, W. Va.; Rochester, N.Y.; Santa Barbara, Calif.; and New Holland, Pa. It also has an extremely active affiliation with the Institute of Food Technologists, which handles virtually all inquiries involving agriculture and food processing, and with the Engineers Joint Council.—D.S.G.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today not to launch a quixotic flailing at a dead horse, for the civil rights bill is in truth an accomplished fact. Rather I seek the ears of my fellow citizens of the South.

Ours is a beloved and blessed land, one which evokes a greater sense of pride, a truer sense of self-respect. One hundred years ago when that land was ravaged almost beyond repair, its industry a smoking relic and its government a picture of chaos, the people of the South turned inward for their strength. This was her sole refuge, the true greatness of the people themselves, a people with pride, self-discipline, self-respect, a people with an innate love for their fellow man.

We began to grow anew. Virginia gave us stability and statesmanship, Georgia the vision of progress with her most dynamic city, South Carolina the mellowness and warmth of wisdom, Tennessee the pride of volunteers serving a reunited nation; and all the rest.

Yet in growth we maintained a loyalty for the system which nurtured us. Our leaders, liberal and conservative, Republican and Democrat, sought to preserve the system of checks and balances so dependent upon the preservation of States' responsibilities. They did so because they recognized the basic foundation of our society rests in each individual as a creature of his Maker. They realized our future lay in giving each individual the greatest possible personal freedom through self-government and the greatest possible economic opportunity through free enterprise so that he might earn his most priceless asset, self-respect.

Now it becomes incumbent upon us to practice what we have preached. Let us use this occasion as one in which to dignify and validate our principles and beliefs. Let us use the crucible of adversity to strengthen our sense of responsibility.

If we fear the intolerable burden of Federal domination and control, then let us join hands in reason and restraint to prove that ours is and shall remain a government of laws rather than of men.

If we fear the effect of adding uneducated or illiterate citizens to the voting roles then we must attack no longer the symptom of the disease, but the disease itself. We must lend every bone and sinew to the task of expanding ten and a hundredfold our educational opportunities.

If we fear the effect of adding low-income wage earners in industry then let us muster every resource, both human and material, to the task of expanding new industries and creating greater job opportunities.

In sum, if we fear for the future of States and individual rights, then let us in the South rise as one man to prove the value of these principles by exercising our responsibilities.

This is our task here and now. We as advocates of the new South must earn our rights and our self-respect through reason, responsibility, and understanding, the basic principles of our philosophy. If we succeed we shall continue to point the way to a meaningful freedom for all men. If we fail, all men are the poorer for it.

I say to those of you from the rest of this Nation, we need your help—not in the pretty baubles of an overindulgent uncle bent on buying love, but in the friendly hand of respect and understanding—offered by one who knows himself well enough to sincerely share in the problems of others.

Business Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the Niagara frontier area in New York State beats the Nation on business corps. The Buffalo, N.Y., area chamber of commerce performs many important functions and is doing an outstanding job in inviting business to come to the Niagara frontier.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article, expressing this view, which appeared in the August 16, 1964, edition of the Courier Express, one of our leading newspapers in Buffalo, N.Y.:

AREA BEATS NATION ON BUSINESS CORPS

(By Coe Crawford)

PIONEER

The Federal Government in the last few months has been getting a lot of publicity about its efforts to develop a volunteer corps of retired business executives who will advise operators of small businesses on their management problems.

The idea of setting up a counseling service for businessmen who can't afford the stiff cost of professional consultants is a good one. But in Buffalo it's old hat.

The Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce has been providing that service to its members for some time, and with considerable success. The Buffalo office of the Small Business Administration has cooperated closely with the chamber in connection with the service.

EXPERT POOL

Through its business advisory council, the chamber has on tap the talents of top men in almost every conceivable field of corporate endeavor.

The council is headed by Dexter P. Rumsey, former president of the Erie County Savings Bank, and the vice chairman is Philip S. Savage, former vice president of the Donner Hanna Coke Co. The secretary is Albert W. Dold, the chamber's manager of business and industrial services.

REASSURING

"One of the chief values of this council," Dold said, "is just the fact that it is there. There is a wealth of talent available and our members have a feeling of security in knowing that, if they do get into difficulty, they can call on men who have been in the very top echelons of business here to help them out.

"This council acts in the business community in the same way a fire department does in a city. People who never have to call upon it are still glad to know it is there."

NO COMPLAINTS

Dold added: "We have put out some fires, too. There have been a good many who turned to the council for advice. We've never turned anyone down and we've never had a complaint."

The council is composed of 27 retired executives who are members or former members of the chamber. They represent transportation, public relations, production, management, advertising, finance, personnel relations, accounting, marketing, and engineering services.

These men not only have freely provided assistance in their specialty but their local contacts have proved helpful in resolving more complicated small business problems involving more than a single phase of the business operation.

BACKUP FORCE

"Our resources aren't confined to the membership of the council," Dold said. "If some member calls me and tells me about a problem—and all contacts are made with me rather than with individual members of the council—I'll look over the list.

"Usually, there is someone on the council who can help. But if the problem or the business is so specialized that none of the council members seems just right, I will call on one of the active members in the same field and ask him to help."

NO MEDDLING

Dold said he has no way of knowing how many businesses actually have been rescued through the activities of the council because the chamber makes no effort to follow up on the work.

"After all," he said, "they came to us for advice. We gave it to them. There is no compulsion for them to accept it or act upon it. It's entirely up to them. We certainly aren't going to hound them for months afterward to see if they acted and pry into their affairs to find out what was done.

"The idea behind this is to help our members, not to compile a statistical record to show how much we've accomplished."

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to include a resolution on expansion of Soviet-United States trade which was previously adopted and reaffirmed on August 17, 1964, by the board of directors, Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce:

BUFFALO AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE STATEMENT ON EXPANSION OF SOVIET-UNITED STATES TRADE

Two-way trade between nations in principle is to the economic advantage of both. Expanded trade between the U.S.S.R. and the United States based soundly on comparative costs of production and taking advantage of geographical differences in resources on a reciprocal basis would be in accord with that principle and be mutually beneficial to the general welfare of the people of both nations.

Excluding strategic materials, armaments, or equipment for military production, an expanded program between these two countries best could consist of properly safeguarded trade in consumer goods and raw materials.

L.B.J. and the Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I take leave to include an editorial from the Denison, Iowa, Bulletin, of August 27, which I am sure expresses the feeling of a great majority of farmers in the breadbasket of the United States.

Far too few Americans are aware of the fact that our American farmers feed the American people for 19 percent of their income while the average in all other nations is over 60 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the irony of that fact is that, at the same time our farmers' dollar is only worth 75 cents in purchasing power, the lowest since 1939, Congress was pounded into swallowing a watered-down bill which permits the importation of 725 million pounds of beef and mutton which gives rise to straight-from-the-shoulder editorials, such as follows:

L.B.J. AND THE FARMER

We wonder again how any farmer can vote for the present Democratic administration in the light of recent activity by both the Department of State and the Department of Agriculture with regard to meat imports. We can understand why State Department officials would oppose meat import restrictions. Our diplomats have been sacrificing U.S. agriculture for several years now in an effort to bolster economies of foreign nations. It is not a surprise to read that the State Department actually wrote the watered-down version of the import bill that finally passed Congress and was signed into law last week by L.B.J.

But should we expect the Department of Agriculture to sell feeders and ranchers down the river? This is exactly what happened. Agriculture officials fought hammer and tong against any kind of import restrictions, using the excuse that American farm exports would be hurt if we cut imports of Australian beef.

The Tariff Commission had power before the meat import bill became law to restrict imports if it could be shown that domestic industry was being damaged by the foreign meat. Department of Agriculture officials responded to demands that the Tariff Commission be asked to impose limitations on meat imports by asking the petitioners to show that imports were hurting U.S. ranchers and feeders. The Department's attitude proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that these bureaucrats are not working to better the lot of U.S. farmers.

It was USDA's job to make a study and prove that imports were hurting the meat industry, not the feeder's job. With all the evidence of the effect of increased imports on cattle and hog prices, USDA still refused to take the farmer's case to the Tariff Commission. This is the kind of farm administration we can expect from L.B.J.'s do-gooders.

But we never expected the bold, outright action that came during the last 2 weeks. USDA worked like demons to scuttle a reasonable imports bill. Several Senators chastised USDA for what they called "undue interference" in the legislative process, in other words the lawmakers charge that USDA completely overstepped their bounds by attempting to influence legislation.

Contrast this, if you will, with BARRY GOLDWATER'S statement of last week on agricultural program. GOLDWATER promises to continue price supports and reduce Federal interference with farming. We like good doers, not the do-gooders who tell us they are for farmers and then chop off our necks like L.B.J.'s Department of Agriculture did last week.

Scientists and the Moon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a thoughtful editorial was carried in the August 17 edition of the Davenport (Iowa) Times-Democrat on what scientists themselves think about our race for the moon.

The results of the poll which prompted this editorial give Congress some facts upon which to ponder as we appraise these programs and appropriate money to advance them.

The editorial carries an admonition about more reasonable priorities and more realizable goals. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

SCIENTISTS AND THE MOON

In increasing numbers, scientists are speaking out against the pace and aims of the space program, especially the rush to meet the goal of putting a man on the moon by 1970.

The extent of such criticism reflecting the opinion of the scientific community generally is borne out by a poll conducted by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. This organization submitted questionnaires to 2,000 members selected at random.

Within 3 weeks, returns were received from 1,134—a high response to such a poll. Results are tabulated in Science, the association's weekly magazine.

Some 62 percent of the respondents said that the national interests of the United States did not require giving high priority to the moon landing by 1970; only 31 percent said they did. When asked a "reasonable" date to aim for a landing, 20 percent said by 1970; 23 percent by 1975; 19 percent by 1980; 9 percent by 1990, and 7 percent, never. Another 17 percent had no opinion.

Some 58 percent listed scientific achievement as the most important justification for manned exploration of the moon. But national prestige drew 13 percent and military objectives and the "spirit of adventure" drew 7 percent each.

Asked to rank scientific fields in order of their "potentiality for producing new knowledge," the scientists gave only 10 percent of their first place votes to manned lunar research. Biomedical research led with 51 percent, followed by physics research with 15 percent. Chemical research and oceanography also both rated ahead of lunar research.

These returns probably will be studied in Congress, where a more searching appraisal of space spending is being called for. It is not suggested by the scientists or others that exploration beyond this planet be halted.

It is strongly urged, however, that more reasonable priorities and more realizable goals be established so that both scientists and scientific dollars will be more effectively used.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Hon. James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, following the Goldwater gathering at Hershey, Pa.:

STATEMENT OF JAMES A. FARLEY

The Goldwater gathering at Hershey, Pa., is by way of being a farce. The objective is obvious. It is an attempt to give an honest and palatable Republican milk chocolate covering to the extremists deep inside the Goldwater movement. It is an effort to camouflage the gold shirts by hiding them behind the honorable Republican golden eagle.

The American people will not be fooled by any false labels, because they saw the dangerous ingredients of Birchism and intolerance mixed before their own eyes at San Francisco. In case they had any doubts about the mixtures, Republican Governor, Nelson Rockefeller, publicly identified them for his fellow Americans. While Governor Scranton disavows the scathing letter which emanated from his headquarters, it is safe to say it was not written by a Democrat. It was written, unquestionably, by an outraged Republican American. In any event, for the good of the country I hope that the responsible Republican leaders will continue to stand by the true Republicans who are standing by their consciences and the American way.

I repeat, this is no ordinary election. There is only one issue and that is Americanism versus extremism. It is my conviction that any gathering at any time which proclaims extremism as a virtue is not an American political conference, and in fact comes close to being an intellectual vacuum. It is for this reason that I caution my many Republican friends that they must not permit the Hershey gathering to be turned into the moral surrender of the Grand Old Party. A heavy burden rests upon them. History will judge whether they exemplified—or stultified—the ideals of the Republican Party.

America needs the Republican Party and for over a hundred years the Republican Party has spurned extremism. I am disgusted with the contemptible efforts to befog the meaning of extremism. Let no one fool himself that the American people do not know what an extremist is in its ordinary sense. It is an insult to their intelligence to say that General George Washington and the Founding Fathers were extremists. They were not. Neither was Abraham Lincoln.

I appeal to all of my fellow Americans—Republicans, Democrats and independents alike—to stand by Americanism against extremism. The Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey have honorably tugged it out for decades over the right to carry the American flag. But neither would tear it—nor the country to pieces. Neither the elephant nor the donkey need any gold shirted ringmasters who, once in power, would crack the whip over both of them.

The Christian College and a Free Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, Carroll College in Waukesha, Wis., was signally honored this year by having as its commencement speaker one of the truly great Americans of our time, the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota who in a superior manner served the people of the Fifth District of that State and all Americans as a Member of this body for 20 years, the Honorable Walter H. Judd, M.D.

I am especially gratified that so outstanding a citizen as Dr. Judd brought so timely and inspiring a message to the Carroll College graduates and others who were present to hear his address. Carroll College, one of our fine Midwest institutions of higher learning, is especially near and dear to Mrs. Schadeberg and me. It is our alma mater, and, I am happy to add, our daughter, Nancy, is now in her junior year at Carroll.

The address was entitled "The Christian College and a Free Society," and I consider it a privilege to share it here with Dr. Judd's former colleagues.

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE AND A FREE SOCIETY
(By Walter H. Judd)

President Steele, members of the graduating class, members of the faculty, alumni, students, distinguished guests, and friends of Carroll College, permit me to express my great personal pleasure at being privileged to speak at the commencement exercises of this college, which for so many years has been serving with great distinction the youth of this State and Nation.

You who are being graduated today will find, I am sure, that your alma mater has equipped you well with all that any college can give its students of general knowledge and intellectual disciplines. If there should be any reason for concern, it cannot be regarding the excellence of your training in the liberal arts, the sciences, or whatever has been your particular field of study; it is more likely to be with respect to the intelligence of your citizenship, and the depth and strength of your faith. For these must be of a higher order than my generation has demonstrated, or there may not long be a free society in which you will have the chance to use with success and satisfaction the knowledge and skills you have worked so long and hard to acquire here.

In a few moments, you will become bachelors of arts, or of science. Some of you will go on to become masters or doctors. But before any of these, you are citizens. You are, or will be, parents and taxpayers. You are trustees of a great and noble heritage of freedom—trustees of a political and economic order which permitted even those of you who came from humblest circumstances, as did I, to get the expensive education which we could scarcely have dreamed of obtaining in most countries of the world. That heritage of freedom is gravely threatened today—by a cold, determined assault from without, and by ignorance and apathy within.

Let us look first at the most immediate and obvious threat—that from the outside. The whole world at the middle of the 20th century is characterized by as great conflict and confusion as at any period in human history. I think it is accurate to say that this is the first time in man's existence on this planet when all continents and cultures, all countries and peoples have been in turmoil at the same time. The conflict and confusion are unceasingly inflamed everywhere by an organized worldwide conspiracy directed from the Kremlin, with a rival center in Peking, which by its own pronouncements is resolutely determined to divide, soften up, and then subjugate all peoples still free.

While we need to recognize more sharply than we have the existence and the magnitude of the Communist conspiracy, we must not let fear of it lead us to our destruction. Our first task is to understand it, and that requires giving it more emphasis in our education.

For the biggest reason for our being in mortal peril only 19 years after winning a war with total surrender of all our enemies, as most people identified them at that time, is just plain ignorance on our part—ignorance of other peoples and their histories and cultures; ignorance and wishful thinking regarding the strong forces relentlessly working to undermine our type of society; and ignorance of the true nature of our own heritage of freedom and the sources of strength within it.

In most of our past, our main effort in training our youth has been, first, to equip them to make a living—and that is good; no one is worth much to himself or to society who cannot make a good living at honest, useful work. Secondly, to help them become normal, healthy, well-rounded, and socially well-adjusted human beings in a society which most Americans have confidently assumed would always be, for us, relatively stable and constantly improving. But it must be plain now to all that the kind of secure, orderly world for which that sort of education was designed is ceasing to exist and another quite different world is already here. Most of us are intellectually and emotionally unprepared for this new world.

Because of our physical isolation until recent years, we could and understandably did devote most of our attention to domestic problems.

We studied the history of Southern and Western Europe to learn something about their past, seldom in terms of trying to understand those people and cultures so as to be able to deal with them more successfully in the present and in the future.

If we studied Western Europe only a little, we studied Eastern Europe still less. Asia and Africa and their peoples, we studied not at all. Because of our failure to understand Asia, 108,000 young Americans had to give their lives in World War II in conflict with a militaristic Japan which we ourselves in ignorance had armed. Thirty-three thousand more died in a war in Korea that we in ignorance had divided with the Communists. More are dying today in a southeast Asia which our ignorance allowed us for so long to regard as far away and unimportant to us. And now the Soviet Union, while talking about "peaceful coexistence" and relaxation of tensions, has leapfrogged the Atlantic Ocean and, as recently documented by the Organization of American States, carries on subversion in the Western Hemisphere from its base in Cuba which the U.S. Government said it would never tolerate—and is now protecting.

Our most urgent defense need in America is not for more missiles and money. Our

most serious deficiency has been and is (1) trained specialists in the strategies, tactics, and techniques of political and ideological struggle with the forces of Communist imperialism; and (2) a body of citizens as well educated to understand and intelligently support sound political, educational, and cultural measures as our people by and large do understand and will support economic and military measures.

This grievous deficiency in our resources is not the result of anybody's design; it is the result of everybody's neglect.

The deficiency cannot be corrected just by establishing a West Point for diplomats. We must begin down in the elementary schools and in the high schools, and especially in the colleges and universities, to give our youth a better understanding of this new world which, literally, surrounds us; a better understanding of the forces against us; and a better understanding of the conditions we must fulfill if we are to preserve and strengthen our free society.

Why have we been so slow as a people in making the readjustments in our thinking necessary for survival in this new world? The main reason, I think, is that we have not fully recognized the nature of this new type of conflict.

We have seen that it is a conflict of arms; who will win the weapons race? Whichever side wins could compel the other to surrender or perish. Because of our Christian heritage and its moral restraints, we would not use superior power for that purpose. We proved that at the end of World War II when we had overwhelming superiority in every field—including the atomic bomb. Because of their Communist heritage, the other side would impose its will if it could. Mr. Khrushchev tried to slip enough nuclear weapons into Cuba to accomplish precisely that less than 2 years ago. The Chinese Communists freely announce that military conquest is their fixed objective.

We have seen that it is a conflict of economic systems. Which will crack up first under the strain?

We have seen that it is a conflict of educational systems. Which will produce not only the smartest, but the toughest minds?

We are beginning belatedly to see that it is a conflict, not so much of wealth and weapons as of wills. Which side will work the harder? Which has the steadier nerves?

But many have not seen that the basic conflict is still deeper. It is a conflict between two totally different philosophies of life, and, therefore, of government.

It is a conflict between two totally different sets of values, two different concepts as to the nature of man; which means two different concepts as to the nature of the universe; which means two different concepts as to the nature of God—or whether God is. That is, most fundamentally of all, it is a conflict of faiths.

On the one hand, the Communists openly proclaim their belief that there is no God; that there is no moral order in the universe; that man is the smartest of the animals, but nothing more. Their conduct, which we denounce, flows logically and inevitably from their militant atheism. If there is no God, there is no ultimate accountability. Why should persons who believe man is just an animal be expected to have scruples about his life or his liberty—or about truth in any area of life?

In contrast, our country and our free society were founded on the belief that there is a God; that there is a moral order in the universe; that there are such things as right and wrong, good and evil, truth and falsehood; that there are moral laws which neither man nor nations can violate with impunity any more than they can the laws of gravity or electricity; and that while man is indeed the smartest of the animals, he is something more—he is a child of God, and, therefore, a part of God. He has something of God's nature in him—including the capacity to make moral judgments, and free will decisions based on those judgments.

It is this, the divine in man, which we believe to be the unique and precious thing about him. It is this which we at our best have always believed it is the first business of a good government and a good society to protect and nurture. In short, it is our Christian faith and Judeo-Christian standards that are responsible for the unique values of our civilization.

For the first time in centuries, that civilization is challenged by a passionately missionary competitor.

Many in our country still imagine that the conflict between the Communists and free peoples is like that between the two major political parties in the United States. Both want the same good ends. Their differences, while important and deep, are over means. Which are the best ways to gain the ends everybody approves—and keep them?

But this world conflict is not over means, it is over ends. It is not over different ways to achieve the same good objectives; it is a conflict over objectives. Our objective is peace by civilized settlement; theirs is peace by domination. We go to conferences to try to end the struggle; they go to try to win it.

This does not mean we should not negotiate; it means we should accept as bona fide negotiation what so often has been merely prolonged talk, designated to produce relaxation on our part and gain time—and victory—for themselves.

The reason it has not proved possible to get any real agreement with Communists all these years, whether at Yalta or the United Nations, at Panmunjon or Geneva, is because they are not pursuing the same objectives as we at our best are pursuing. And why are they not pursuing the same objectives as we? Because they do not believe the same things we believe—about man and about the universe—that is, about God.

It is absurd to expect them to recognize and respect the unalienable rights with which we believe man is endowed by his Creator, when they insist there is no Creator.

So, while the free world must learn to use diplomatic, political, economic, and, when necessary, military measures, more skillfully in its efforts to get as much agreement with the Communist world as is presently possible, the more fundamental task is to enlarge the area of the possible. To enlarge the area in which wider agreement can become possible requires changes in men's objectives; that requires changes in men's attitudes and prejudices; that requires changes in men's minds and hearts; that requires changes in men. To change men is the business of the Christian religion.

Let us have no further illusions. We will not get Christian values or Christian behavior, by men or by nations, without Christian education and training.

That in a unique sense is the responsibility of the Christian College. If it does not perform that function effectively, who will?

If our failure to understand the world conflict is so largely due to failure to understand the adversary, our failure to understand the adversary is to a considerable degree, I suspect, because we have grown fuzzy about our own American heritage. That has led to the threat to our free society from within.

There is incredible apathy and ignorance in America regarding the nature of government itself and the nature of the struggle being waged here in our own land as well as throughout the world between the only two main forms or philosophies of government there have ever been. One form is government-from-the-top-down, with final decision in the hands of the few; the other is government-from-the-bottom-up, with final decision in the hands of the many.

For seven centuries beginning with Magna Carta, our ancestors fought successfully to restrict the powers of government as the way to gain maximum freedom and dignity for every human being, and thus to achieve a better life and society for all. "Liberalism" in those centuries meant winning for man the right to try to solve his problems on his own.

Our forefathers came to this country not to get government to do things for them, but to get a chance to do things for themselves. Yet many today, in ignorance of history or the naive notion that history does not apply to us, believe that the way to expand liberty and improve man's life is, in dealing with almost any difficult problem, to increase the power of government over him.

The system of government from the top-down always looks so good at first—witness Hitler's Germany and Castro's Cuba. Such a government hands out so much in apparent benefits—until it has used up the reserves. The people are "better off"—until they have lost their freedom and then the benefits are soon gone too.

Some years ago when I was serving as one of our delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations, most of the countries wanted to set up a multi-billion-dollar program of economic development around the world. They wanted the United States to provide 50 percent of the capital, because, as they said, "You have 50 percent of the wealth."

I would ask, "Why do we have half of the wealth? There must be some reason for that. Don't you sometimes wonder why 6 percent of the people of the world with 7 percent of its territory and less than 10 percent of its resources have produced as much wealth and distributed it more widely than all the other 94 percent put together? Do you need just wealth, the commodities, the tools, the skills—all of which are results? Don't you want still more the reason for those results—the secret of our production—so that you too can produce the results you desire?"

What is the secret of our production? It is an economic system which provides opportunity and incentive for people to improve their lives in accordance with their own merit—their initiative and their effort.

From what did that economic system come? It came from a political philosophy—the right of the individual.

And from what did that political philosophy come? It came from a religious faith—the conviction that every human being is important because he is created by a Creator. He is a child of God.

That is the faith which we need to rediscover and strengthen here at home, and share with the world—not by coercion, but by contagion.

Thus we come again to the Christian religion as the foundation and the hope of a free society. If the Christian college does not lead in communicating that faith and building on it a free society, who will?

But how is religion to become once more the determining force in our society that it originally was? One requirement is that we have not only better training of men's minds, but also better training of their hearts.

The fact is that most people live by what they desire rather than by what they know. We need proper cultivation of the emotions, not just disciplining of them.

For power comes not from an idea, but from the generating of emotional dedication to an idea, to a cause. How completely do men believe it? How hard are they willing to work for it? That is the test of power.

As a preacher friend of mine puts it: liberty and loyalty were born twins. The democracies stress liberty—and loyalty tends to fade. The dictatorships stress loyalty—

and liberty dies. If our free society is to live, we must get the two together again.

In our proper reaction against the excesses of emotionalism systematically cultivated by the Nazis, the Communists, and by some religious sects, we have tended to go to the other extreme of seeking almost to suppress the emotions. To some in our colleges, the scholar most to be admired and emulated is the one who is always objective, who maintains a sort of sustained tentativeness. It is regarded as sophomoric, or at least unsophisticated, to believe in a cause—almost any cause—with all one's heart. Yet it is the one who believes with all his heart that moves the world. Gordon Cooper's space capsule was rightly named *Faith*.

Objectivity in examination is essential as a method of arriving at sound conclusions. But objectivity is not a virtue, it is a vice, if it becomes a substitute for decision and dedication, rather than a means to them.

In short, it is not enough to know the truth, or even to declare it in a Ph. D. thesis; we must commit ourselves to it. Until we come to care as well as to know, not much will happen. We will be like a wonderfully engineered and constructed automobile—without gas. It won't go.

What we need most is to recapture a faith in our faith comparable to the faith the Communists have in their faith. We can hold the line, for a time, with arms; but only with superior ideas, superior deeds, and superior dedication can we win in the end.

This world conflict is not an old-fashioned struggle for control of land; it is for control of man—the mind of man, the soul of man, the whole of man.

Never did we in America face such a fundamental challenge to the ultimate assumptions and values of life. Never did we have to think so deeply and work so hard as we shall have to in the years just ahead if we are to live in dignity and usefulness—or even to live at all.

Commencement is a day of judgment on yesterday—and the judgment is good, else you would not be here.

But commencement is also a day of decision for tomorrow. No generation can live by defending the past; it must win the future.

Nothing short of dedicated Christian leadership can be adequate for the tasks we face. It is the business of the Christian college to recruit, challenge, train, and inspire that leadership.

Never did the Christian college have greater responsibility and greater opportunity.

Never were you, its graduates, it faculty, and its friends called to higher duty, nobler living, harder work, greater usefulness, and more satisfying rewards.

Colorado Jaycees Are Active

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a copy of a resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Colorado Junior Chamber of Commerce at the summer conference held in Durango, Colo., August 15, 1964. The resolution signifies the support of the statewide Jaycees organization for the Colorado Partners of the Alliance program.

I am pleased to report, Mr. Speaker, that a distinguished Colorado team will be leaving at the end of this month for an intensive 2-week trip to Brazil to explore the means by which the Colorado Partners can cooperate with private groups and organizations in the State of Minas Gerais in helping to complete self-help projects throughout the rural areas. I am sure that the Colorado Partners will constitute a worthy addition to this new program, which is a private citizens' effort in the Alliance for Progress.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the resolution as passed by the Colorado Junior Chamber of Commerce in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A RESOLUTION

The Colorado Junior Chamber of Commerce, recognizing:

That the contemporary world demands international cooperation and understanding in constantly increasing degrees,

That the brotherhood of man can no longer be held abstract, but must be translated into action,

That this hemisphere, comprised of North, Central, and South America, as the geographical area that most impinges on our lives, needs greater social, economic, and political solidarity,

That no mechanism can replace human activity and therefore the people themselves are the best instruments to advance the lot of society: Therefore, it is hereby

Resolved, That the Colorado Junior Chamber of Commerce declares its support of the Colorado Partners of the Alliance which, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of State and the Alliance for Progress, is a program that incorporates these principles by its alliance of service organizations, civic clubs, and societies with similar groups in the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil, and to help the people of that State, similar in geography, climate, and industry to Colorado, in their attempt to raise themselves from poverty and despair and to admit themselves to a fuller participation in the amenities and responsibilities of the present world.

Mississippi Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, a young man, a resident of my congressional district, is spending his summer working in Mississippi as a voluteer in the Mississippi project. In a letter to his father, the young man described the nature of his work and expressed his sentiments and his firsthand experiences while working among Mississippi's Negroes.

Because of its timeliness and its message, I should like to insert the letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to afford it the wider audience which it rightly deserves:

DEAR DAD: Please excuse the carbon; I have not much time. I want to tell you about Mississippi and about the freedom movement here. It is not easy. My impressions are many and very strong. I have met the best and the worst people here; the greatest courage and the greatest terror—sometimes in the same person.

Mississippi is a beautiful land of red earth and a thousand greens, made ugly by the squalor and hate which dominate the races that live here. I work in voter registration. Three of us work together; one is a Negro. In as many cases as possible, the Negro is made the project director. Such is the case here, and the policy is a wise and effective one.

On a normal day we roll out of bed early in the morning. We may have slept in the Freedom House or in the home of some generous and brave farmer—two essential requirements for anyone to offer us hospitality. We study the map of the county, decide where we will work for the day, we scramble for breakfast and hit the road. The day is long and hot. We drive from farmhouse to farmhouse. I have averaged almost 200 miles a day in the car. And find the roads in a despicable condition. We know where the colored people are by those roads. Where the pavement stops, the Negro sections are likely to begin, and if there is not even gravel on the road, we can be reasonably sure that we are in a safe neighborhood. Such is not always the case, though, and more than once, we have been cursed and threatened by someone for knocking on a white man's door.

We walk up to a house. There are always children out front. They look up and see white men in the car, and fear and caution covers their expression. Those terrified eyes are never quite out of my mind. They drive me as little else could. Children, who have hardly learned to talk, are well taught in the art of avoiding whites. They learn "yassah" as almost their first words. If they did not, they could not survive. The children run to their parents, hide behind them. We walk up, smile, say howdy and hold out our hands. As we shake hands, we tell our names, and they tell their names, and I say, "Mr. so and so, how do you do?" It is likely the first time in the lives of this farmer or housewife that a white man has ever shaken hands with them or even called them with a handle to their names ("Mr."). This doesn't necessarily bode well for them. They are suspicious. Chances are they have heard about the freedom riders passing through. The news is usually greeted with mingled fear, excitement, enthusiasm, and gratitude. But, the confrontation is more serious, more threatening. They think if "Mr. Charley" knew and they are afraid. And they have good reason to be.

Much as teenagers in our northern cities cruise the streets and whistle at girls, white teenagers abuse Negros. They go night driving, five in a car, and woe to him caught alone on the road. They throw bottles at homes and people, they even shoot at the cars. There is not a law man in the State who would arrest them for such an activity. Young girls never go out alone at night. All this appears before them as we speak, and it is this they fear. Many, too, are sharecroppers who must turn over a third or even a half of the year's harvest. These may be evicted and have often been, for far less serious offenses. Nearly everyone black in Mississippi is at least a year in debt. The threat of suspended credit and foreclosure is a tremendous burden.

Our presence adds much to the load. The rate for a laborer is usually $2 to $3 a day for work from 6 to 6. There is no job security, no sick benefit (often if you get sick, you get fired), no old-age pension; very often Negroes know nothing about welfare or social security. They have no insurance against misfortune.

Yes, they listen when we speak. We tell them we are from the North. We tell them that the Nation has finally become interested in them and concerned over their plight. We talk about taxes and patent allotments, and

usury and schools, and hospitals and Federal agencies. We talk about dignity. People listen and they wonder, they're not sure, what does it mean when a white man tells them the truth when he asks them to help him to help themselves. Why is he here? What does he really want? What will come of it? We tell them about the Freedom Democratic Party, about the convention challenge in Atlantic City. We talk about a Negro sheriff and blacktop roads; and respect. They listen and they wonder, they think of their children, of the danger of the odds and more often than not they sign up for the Freedom Democratic Party. This new party in this State is going to be the salvation of the black man and of the white.

Twice, in the last 5 days, we have held precinct and county meetings in DeSoto and Tippah Counties. DeSoto is very poor and 62 percent Negro; Tippah is surprisingly wealthy and about 20 percent Negro. The meetings attracted about 110 people in DeSoto and about 40 in Tippah after only 3 days' work.

Our job is a 7-day, 15-hour job, except when there are mass meetings—at least twice a week—when it is longer. We have extensive reports to write up in quadruplicate. We need a reproducing machine badly. Staff meetings, strategy planning, it is the most stimulating, satisfying work I have ever done. Nothing is ever enough. There is no such thing as a job finished. There is only progress.

We are involved here in a process of uniting, joining, becoming a mutually interested community. The song says it well: "We shall overcome."

YOUR SON.

Prevent Injury to Fish From Use of Pesticides

SPEECH
OF
HON. DON FUQUA
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] for yielding this time to me and also to say I do not think anyone who opposes this bill in its present form is necessarily supporting the efforts to further poison fish or wildlife. We all hope that something can be done to accomplish some good in this field. I think it is being accomplished administratively. I hate to see this Congress today confuse this issue more by passing this statute when we are already doing this administratively.

On page 1 of the bill—and it is rather confusing to me—it says:

The Secretary of the Interior shall transmit information to the Secretary of Agriculture as to how, in the use of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, or other pesticides, injury to fish and wildlife can be prevented or minimized and the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Secretary of the Interior, shall require that such information or warning pertinent to any insecticide, herbicide, fungicide, or other pesticide shall appear on the label, etc.

It seems to me that is very confusing as to which one has the final authority in this. We have two Cabinet officials, both highly respected individuals, with large departments. One of these departments has been doing extensive research in this field, I am speaking of the Department of Agriculture. We are really confusing the issue, I think, by passing a statute making law something which is already being done and with more flexibility through administrative regulations.

I had a telegram this morning from the commissioner of agriculture of the State of Florida who felt that he has done tremendous work in the field of trying to make insecticides safe and to prevent the scare that we have had and the killing of fish and wildlife. He says that we should proceed with caution and not tie our hands by the fact that we will be doing something that we will regret later on.

More Fiscal Shenanigans?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

MORE FISCAL SHENANIGANS?

Governmental ideas which sound entirely ridiculous when they are first tossed up as trial balloons, and which are quickly pigeonholed in the public mind because they seem of such a crackpot nature, have a disturbing habit of reappearing in serious form.

Such a proposal which first came up many months ago and apparenty died a quick death, is now back in the news from Washington and from Atlantic City where Democrat platform committee hearings have been in progress in connection with the party convention.

While one side of the official Government mouth keeps talking about a balanced budget and tax cuts, there are those in positions of high responsibility in the Government who are convinced that a balanced budget would create a "fiscal drag" on economic growth and who insist that the taxpayers' money must keep pouring into Washington—even if they have to work out new schemes to give it away.

This newest scheme calls for an automatic distribution to the States of a fixed portion of the annual growth in Federal revenue, in addition to the funds already being given for specific programs.

The President's Council of Economic Advisors is seriously exploring methods of working out such a program and it's being pushed by Walter Heller, President Johnson's chief economic adviser.

Many States have archaic and inefficient methods of collecting taxes. This sometimes makes it difficult for them to obtain funds to meet the legitimate needs of their citizens, according to the arguments of these economic experts.

They argue too that if it were easier for the States to finance their legitimate needs, there might be less of a tendency to seek solutions through the Federal Government. Thus they are offering to provide a solution through the Federal Government even before the problem presents itself. But it is their contention that more problems might be solved on the State level, and the power of State government could increase in relation to the power of the Federal Government.

On the other hand, if the Federal Government controlled the use of the funds given to the States—which it certainly would—or controlled the allocation between the States, exactly the opposite results would be obtained. State governments would lose even more power to the Federal Government.

Opponents of this new spending plan have some good answers.

They point out there would be no clear way to apportion funds fairly among the States and that more pork barrel thinking would result.

They argue that if a surplus is available, it should be used to reduce the Federal debt which is of such astronomical proportions as to be completely beyond the comprehension of even the best fiscal minds and which continues to rise every year.

And they argue that if the Federal Government doesn't need the money, taxes should be cut rather than going on collecting from the overburdened taxpayer at the present near confiscatory rates.

The whole idea is bound to bring cries of anguish from Members of Congress who have a sense of fiscal responsibility—and who must answer directly to the voters back home. They probably will even throw the plan out the first time it comes before them.

But it would be wise to keep in mind that such ideas do seem to reappear with amazing regularity, and that they will continue to do so as long as there are those who subscribe to the Government philosophy of "tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect."

Many Voters Need a Chance To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the Iowa City (Iowa) Press-Citizen recently carried an excellent editorial on the need for changes in our residency requirements in order that people who move from one place to another prior to an election can be permitted to vote.

The facts pointed out in the Press-Citizen's editorial are the same ones which prompted me to introduce legislation this session calling for a constitutional amendment to permit voters to vote for the office of President, Vice President, U.S. Senator, and U.S. Representative in their last place of residence until they qualify in the place to which they have recently moved.

Because we are late in the session, there may not be time to act on this legislation before we adjourn, but the groundwork is being laid, and with the support of such papers as the Press-Citizen, we can build a groundswell for the disenfranchised so that the necessary changes will be made in the near future.

The editorial, "Many Voters Need a Chance to Vote," follows:

MANY VOTERS NEED A CHANCE TO VOTE

In 1960, in one of the closest presidential elections in U.S. history, only 68.9 percent of all Americans of voting age went to the polls. No less than 40 million potential voters stayed away.

This poor record is not likely to be significantly bettered in November. Undoubtedly, much of it can be blamed on an amazing apathy and lack of interest in policies exhibited by many people. This is the first, natural reaction to such statistics.

The startling fact, however, is that half of these nonvoters—an estimated 20 million people—were disfranchised by outmoded registration and election laws.

Included in this number were those who were traveling or on vacation or who wore the wrong color of skin. Five million persons were denied the right to vote because they were ill or hospitalized. Another 8 million were barred from the polls simply because they had moved some weeks or months prior to election day. They were in effect aliens, both in their old and new residences.

State and local election regulations are a hodgepodge of inconsistency. Of the 50 States, 37 require 1-year residence to qualify for voting; 12 require 6 months; 1 requires 2 years.

Also contributing to voters delinquency is the fact that most States restrict registration to one location in each county and to daytime hours. Some close registration as much as 9 months before an election.

Significantly, in those few States with progressive election laws, voter turnout is far above the national average. In Idaho, for example, rather than requiring voters to report to a central office to sign up registrars seek them out. Registration continues right up to 9 p.m. on the Saturday before a Tuesday election.

In 1960, Idaho registered 97.4 percent of its electorate and 80.7 percent of them actually voted.

One hundred years ago the Nation fought a bloody war to decide whether it was "the United States is" or "the United States are." In the matter of voting laws, the country is little changed from the days when separate colonies erected citizenship and tariff barriers against each other.

Certainly in the matter of the one single national office that transcends all State lines, that of President, any otherwise qualified American should be entitled to have his choice counted, no matter where he may be on election day.

Drum and Bugle Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the week of August 23 when Congress was in recess, Drum and Bugle Corps Week was observed nationally.

The very progressive community of Warren, in my congressional district, takes rightful pride in two wonderful organizations—the Sundowner Junior Drum and Bugle Corps and the Cornplanter Senior Drum and Bugle Corps.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolution of the mayor of the Borough of Warren, the Honorable Arthur L. Langdon, in which he pays tribute to these two fine groups:

A RESOLUTION

Whereas the week of August 23 through August 29 is observed nationally as Drum and Bugle Corps Week, and as Warren is exceptionally fortunate in having the Sundowner Junior Drum and Bugle Corps and the Cornplanter Senior Drum and Bugle Corps, and

Whereas both these drum and bugle corps offer the youth of the Warren area an opportunity for precision drill and musical training and through their travels carry the name of Warren, Pa. to many places, Therefore I, Arthur L. Langdon, mayor of the Borough of Warren, Pa., do hereby salute Warren's Drum and Bugle Corps and by the authority vested in me as mayor of the Borough of Warren, Pa., do hereby proclaim the week of August 23 through August 29 as Drum and Bugle Corps Week.

ARTHUR L. LANGDON,
Mayor, Borough of Warren, Pa.

Johnson Playing Kingly Role

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union, August 29, 1964:

"REX" COMPLEX CAN WRECK—JOHNSON PLAYING KINGLY ROLE

We can't recall a President more taken with his office than Lyndon B. Johnson. He is all things to all men and the White House the fountain from which all blessings flow.

Not all the people see the Presidency in the same light and not all men who have entered the White House have evolved as the natural inheritors of the wisdom of mankind.

Mr. Johnson is inclined to lose his temper when he reads or hears criticisms. Such things are the lot of lesser men and Mr. Johnson seems to believe that he has transcended ordinary experiences.

His fervor was reflected in a recent speech when he said that the country, under its Commander in Chief, was marching "toward vistas beyond the farthest visions of those who built your Union * * *. We will dream on together, you and I, and those dreams will point the way toward the destiny of our Nation."

That's pretty heady stuff.

The White House is not necessarily the repository of all the hopes of the people nor is the President necessarily the instrument of salvation.

These things must lie within a people. Freedom and security are not things given to them by a benevolent President. The personal concept of the Presidency and of a "creative federalism" to plan and guide people's lives are alien to the American experience.

Ever since the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt there has been an effort to elevate the Presidency beyond its constitutional definition, and radical-liberals have chafed under the restraints imposed by the Congress and by the States.

The Supreme Court is taking care of some of those problems for the radical-liberals, and apparently Mr. Johnson seems confident of handling the rest of them.

In recent speeches in one breath Mr. Johnson said "we are the citizens of the richest and most fortunate nation in the history of the world," and in another breath, he said that "the march of progress in America has left 30 million hungry, aimless, forgotten refugees in its wake * * *."

He spoke of "preserving the fading beauty of our countryside and making our cities decent places in which to live, and while yesterday we fought to create growth, tomorrow we will also have to control growth."

He came to the Democratic Convention and formally initiated his great society. Compared with this, the New Frontier was "small potatoes." While Attorney General Robert Kennedy watched with obvious emotion, Mr. Johnson abruptly brought the Kennedy dynasty to an end. It was no longer "let us continue" but "let us begin."

In his years in the Senate, Mr. Johnson was an earnest and capable cloakroom politician, and that is not written in disrespect. He was credited with getting things done. But no one in the world could have anticipated his "blastoff" into the higher realms.

It has puzzled many persons as much as it has delighted the radical liberals who were so unhappy at his own selection as Vice President in 1960. Maybe it's the "REX" complex. Things happen to people, once elevated on high. Kings can do no wrong.

The word "REX" has become more associated with carnivals, such as the Mardi Gras of New Orleans, where, in the tradition of the Old World of courts and royalty, masquers present allegorical dramatic performances.

We don't say Mr. Johnson is wearing a mask in his present role, but no one can deny that his dramatic performance has not been a good one.

But we say let's get the show off the road. The convention is over. Let's sit down and talk business.

The United States is sliding haphazardly toward vital decisions on the nature of our Republic and in the life and death struggle with atheistic communism, while we are being entertained with the dazzle of Mr. Johnson's vision of the great society. Kings can do no wrong.

An Old Tool of Tyrants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the following article which recently appeared in the Washington Post, dealing with the subject of reapportionment. Its authors, Dean Eugene Y. Rostow and Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, of the Yale Law School, should command our highest respect. They rightly see the proposed methods of Congress in attacking reapportionment as a blow at the Constitution itself and as imperiling the institution of judicial review.

AN OLD TOOL OF TYRANTS—METHOD OF CONGRESS IN ATTACKING REAPPORTIONMENT SEEN AS BLOW AT THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF

(By Eugene Y. Rostow and Thomas I. Emerson)

The attempt in Congress to turn back the tide of reapportionment is too serious to be enjoyed, and shrugged off, as a virtuoso performance in the great game of politics. It would be a catastrophe if Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN's bold tactic were allowed to succeed. In his last-ditch effort to save Old Sarum, he has mounted a fundamental attack on the independence of the courts.

If DIRKSEN's plan is accepted, it will imperil the institution of judicial review, the lynchpin of the Constitution. And it will

destroy the most basic of all the "privileges and immunities" of national citizenship, the assurance of equal suffrage. For the Homeric paradox of Senator DIRKSEN'S plan is that it would allow the courts to continue to protect some voting rights of Negroes but would forbid them to act in almost the only situation in which they are now asked to protect the voting rights of white citizens.

THE UNDERPRIVILEGED CITY

In reviewing the controversy over reapportionment now before Congress, it is desirable to recall briefly the problem as it was presented to the Supreme Court.

Our traditional voting structure, reasonable enough when 75 percent of our people lived in towns and villages, had become intolerable when 75 percent lived in metropolitan areas. In Connecticut, for example, 11.9 percent of the population can elect a majority in the lower house of the State legislature and 33.9 percent a majority in the senate.

The situation was comparable in most States and was rapidly getting worse as urbanization proceeded faster than reapportionment. No one attempted to justify the system on grounds of equity and principle.

The key fact was that political processes could not remedy the situation for the simplest and most human of reasons. A legislator asked to vote the probable end of his own political career is in a difficult position no matter how deeply he believes in equality.

Here, as in other realms, the Constitution depends upon the Supreme Court, as the umpire of the Federal system, to declare and enforce fair rules. The declaration it made in the reapportionment cases was quite simple: it ruled that both houses of State legislatures must be based solely on population.

It is true that voting rights had rarely been litigated until recent years and that there was some feeling that such matters were too "political" a problem for the courts. But the rapid development of our constitutional law of personal liberty made the protection of voting rights inevitable, sooner or later.

If the courts protect freedom of speech, of religion, of the press, and of assembly; if they go to great lengths to assure that the individual not be deprived of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law, how could the right to vote rationally be considered an exception?

CIVIL RIGHTS A FACTOR

Two changes in the factual situation ripened the issue of voting rights for decision. The rapid urbanization of society put increasing strain on the political structure. And the vindication of the voting rights of the Negro as a matter of law provided an unanswerable precedent: it is, after all, just as much a denial of equality before the law to give a citizen of New York one-tenth of a vote, as compared with an upstate or a downstate farmer, as to give him no vote at all.

The Supreme Court's recent decisions are fully justified as stages in the growth of constitutional law.

Decisions of the Supreme Court should, of course, be subjected to public scrutiny. They are never the last word in constitutional law; the people have that last word through their slow and deliberately complex power to amend the Constitution.

It is vital, however, that the criticism of the Court's work be indeed a "sober second look," as fully considered in the light of constitutional tradition as the opinions of the Supreme Court themselves. The Dirksen plan in the Senate does not meet such a test. There have been no committee hearings on it or on the bill proposed by Representative WILLIAM M. TUCK, Democrat, of Virginia, and passed by the House.

The House bill, and the Dirksen amendment to the foreign aid bill, raise grave constitutional doubts. As a matter of constitutional right, enforcible in the courts, all citizens are now entitled to have their votes counted on a basis of equality with those of other voters. That constitutional right, as declared by the Court, can be taken away or abridged only by the process of constitutional amendment.

But the Dirksen-Tuck proposals undertake to abrogate it altogether, or substantially to delay its realization, by simple legislative enactment. Beyond the legal subtleties, this is the heart of the matter.

TOO EASY NULLIFICATION

Both proposals attempt to accomplish this end by withdrawing jurisdiction from the courts. This device is one of the oldest tools of tyrants. If successful here, it would mean the end of the American constitutional system of judicial review and therefore of the American Constitution.

It would make it irresistibly easy for a transitory and inflamed majority of Congress to remove one category of cases after another from the reach of the courts. The history of the Constitution makes it only too obvious how often public opinion becomes aroused against the Supreme Court for a short time and how dangerous such an easy procedure of nullification would be.

The House bill provides that the Supreme Court "shall not have the right to review the action of a Federal court or a State court" in any matter relating to the apportionment of a State legislature and that the Federal district courts shall not have jurisdiction "to entertain" a complaint on apportionment. It thereby would make impossible, at any time, the enforcement in the Federal courts of the constitutional right to equal voting power.

If Congress has the authority to do this, it has the power to prevent the Federal courts from entertaining suits to enforce other constitutional rights, including the rights to freedom of religion, to equal protection of the law and to trial by jury. It would, in short, have the power for all practical purposes to wipe out the Bill of Rights and all other constitutional guarantees by simple statute.

The Dirksen proposal does not, on its face, go so far. It would require the Federal courts, except in "highly unusual circumstances," to stay all reapportionment proceedings until January 1, 1966. But the implications are the same.

The National Legislature has no more constitutional power to suspend the enforcement of constitutional rights than it does to prescribe legislative punishment. Clearly, it could not withdraw the constitutional right to counsel until after conviction, or suspend the right to freedom of speech and assembly until after a particularly close election.

Nor is there any analogy between the Dirksen proposal and the court decrees in school desegregation cases allowing school boards time to make adjustments. In such cases, the postponement of the constitutional right is to accommodate administrative necessity and is geared to the specific needs of each case.

The Dirksen proposal is a blanket suspension, not related to the needs of a particular case. Its objective is to gain time for the passage of a constitutional amendment. Its analogue would be a moratorium on all court proceedings to enforce the 14th amendment until an effort could be made to repeal it.

A PARAMOUNT POWER

The asserted justification for the Dirksen-Tuck proposals rests on article III of the Constitution. That article provides that the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction "with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make"; and it authorizes Congress to "establish" inferior courts.

These provisions raise a familiar problem in construction. Like other documents, the Constitution must be read in context, and as a whole, not abstractly or in fragments. It must be read, too, as a constitution, in the light of its abiding purposes and the changing circumstances of a nation's history.

The sentences on which both plans rely are subordinate to the basic affirmative grant of power in the first sentences of both sections I and II of the third article: that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts" as Congress may establish; and that this judicial power "shall extend to all cases, in law or equity, arising under this Constitution," under the laws and treaties of the United States and in certain other categories of cases of national interest.

It is hard to see why the provision about the powers of Congress to regulate the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court should be interpreted to swallow up the whole of the judicial power declared with such sweep in the third article read as an entirety. The apparent generality of the proviso about appellate jurisdiction is hardly absolute. The proviso must be carefully weighed in relation to other grants of power and to the purposes and provisions of the Constitution as a whole.

In that perspective, what emerges as central for present purposes is the provision that the judicial power extends to all cases arising under the Constitution. This sentence, and the whole thrust of our constitutional history, indicate that Congress cannot remove one disfavored category of constitutional claim from the reach of the courts; that one of the main reasons for having an independent Federal judiciary was to uphold the Constitution in all cases where its construction is necessary to the decision of a case. Without that rule, Congress would soon conquer the Supreme Court.

SOME POWERS CONCEDED

The extent to which the Federal judicial power can be limited through the exercise of Congress' authority to make exceptions to the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction, or its power to establish lower Federal courts, has never been clearly mapped.

Undoubtedly, such authority permits Congress, for example, to restrict jurisdiction over certain types of cases to particular courts. Or Congress could withdraw jurisdiction to enter orders on matters not involving constitutional rights. Or it could preclude the Federal courts from granting one remedy if another form of relief were available.

But the exception clause, and the power to establish lower Federal courts, cannot be used to abrogate all judicial power to protect any one basic constitutional right.

The case of Ex Parte McCardle, upon which great emphasis has been placed by proponents of the Dirksen proposal, does not support this radical departure from constitutional tradition. In that case, which arose during Reconstruction, McCardle was held for military trial by the Union general at Vicksburg, who objected to the critical views expressed by McCardle in his newspaper.

McCardle's application for habeas corpus in the circuit court was denied. He then appealed to the Supreme Court, but in 1868, while his appeal was pending, Congress passed an act withdrawing jurisdiction from the Supreme Court to hear appeals from circuit courts in habeas corpus cases. The Supreme Court upheld the law and dismissed McCardle's appeal.

The McCardle case has been widely misinterpreted as standing for the proposition that Congress has unlimited power to withdraw jurisdiction from the Federal courts in all cases involving constitutional rights. It does no such thing. Actually, McCardle's original right to appeal to the Supreme Court from the circuit court ruling was

based on a statute passed by Congress in the year before he filed his appeal; before that, no such right of appeal existed.

More significant, the 1868 law withdrawing appellate jurisdiction did not prohibit all habeas corpus proceedings; such suits could still be brought in the circuit courts. And, most important of all, the 1868 law did not prevent another method of reviewing decisions of the circuit courts in habeas corpus cases: such review could be obtained by filing a habeas corpus proceeding directly in the Supreme Court itself.

Thus the McCardle law withdrew jurisdiction only as to one particular mode of relief, leaving another effective method still available.

The language of the Court's opinion in the McCardle case is indeed broad, but the question decided was much narrower. The dictum of the Court is of little authority today. Rendered in the period of turmoil following the Civil War, the opinion hardly conforms to the main lines of constitutional development over the last century. It is significant that no similar effort to curb the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over constitutional issues has been made between that time and the present day.

We thus conclude that the Dirksen-Tuck proposals are wrong in principle, wrong as constitutional law and wrong as a procedure for considering changes in constitutional law. So grave a matter should not be pressed so hastily.

The House bill was unceremoniously wrenched from the Judiciary Committee. No opportunity for open discussion, or for proper expression of public opinion, has been afforded.

It is said that the Dirksen-Tuck measures are necessary in order to maintain the status quo until a constitutional amendment can be adopted. But this is scarcely a reason for abandoning constitutional principles or acting in panic. The issue will be much more fairly tested if normal procedures are allowed to develop public opinion on the basis of full debate. Nothing will be done by the courts now that cannot be undone later by constitutional amendment.

On the other hand, as Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Democrat of Connecticut, has observed, it is hardly just "to have the rotten boroughs decide whether they should continue to be rotten." And Old Sarum was the rottenest borough of them all.

Ultimately, then, the issue raised by the congressional fight over reapportionment is whether the institution of judicial review is to be cast aside. There may be some who would welcome that eventuality, but we are confident that that view is shared by only a small sect.

Public opinion has resisted, and overcome, many modern attacks on the authority of the courts, from President Roosevelt's court-packing plan to the Jenner proposals of a few years ago. Every segment of the Nation gets angry at the Supreme Court occasionally. But our people know that the Court has served them well and that without it the Constitution would vanish, leaving "not a rack behind."

Appalachian Aid Bill Is Soundly Conceived

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY A. TAYLOR
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the Asheville Citizen of August 13, 1964, contained an editorial entitled "Appalachian Aid Bill Is Soundly Conceived." This editorial makes a forceful presentation of the reasons why Congress should approve the Appalachian development program. I think that the editorial deserves wide attention; and I am, therefore, placing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the hope that my colleagues in Congress will take note of it. The editorial follows:

APPALACHIAN AID BILL IS SOUNDLY CONCEIVED

There are people who say that you can't fight poverty with public funds, and these are respected people.

They are also, mostly, rich.

We concede that a dole is no answer. Public welfare, though it has served a useful purpose in many cases, has also been a mattress for indolents. Welfare people realize this; they defend their role—and properly so—in the knowledge they've helped a lot of deserving people return to the human, productive society.

Properly administered (and here lies the key to the whole program) the administration's antipoverty bill can touch off an economic revolution.

It isn't, in itself, that good. It is indeed, as the critics charge, a "drop in the bucket" and politically motivated. But the bucket has been long dry and the vote-potential is likely more negative than positive. People who can't read rarely vote.

The same is true of another bill, still pending congressional approval—aid to the Appalachian area.

It's a good bill. It ought to be passed.

Much of the legislation designed to relieve poverty in this session of Congress has been aimed largely at Negro poverty. But the Appalachian area is a region where white poverty is a tragic reality.

The picture, of course, varies from State to State but the general description is the same: natural resources like timber and coal, which once provided many jobs, have been used up. Small farms have become uneconomic in an age of mechanized farming. The young and progressive families have often had to leave in order to make a decent living. Many of those who remain are unemployed or "underemployed," with all the discouragement and demoralization that this situation brings.

As passed by the House Public Works Committee, the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1964 authorizes a little more than $1 billion for the economic development of 355 Appalachian counties in 11 States.

The bulk of the money—$840 million—is for highway construction. These highways in general will embody a new principle. Rather than being based on existing traffic counts, they will be "development highways," designed to bring new tourists and industrial users into the Appalachian area. Western North Carolina will be entitled to some 142 miles of such development highways if this legislation is passed.

Various other programs for the Appalachian region will be included in the act:

The Federal share of school construction funds authorized in the Vocational Education Act will be increased by $16 million.

Increased Federal funds will be provided for the development of sewage treatment facilities.

Nearly $80 million will be authorized for the construction and operation of multicounty demonstration health facilities, that is, for hospitals and diagnostic and treatment centers. These are most needed in rural sections not financially able to build health facilities of their own.

Funds are also authorized for grants to landowners to improve pastureland; assistance to "timber development organizations" to improve woodland productivity; restoration of areas that have been rendered unusable by mining operations; and for preparation of a program for development of the water resources of the area, including lakes, recreation facilities, etc.

There may be justification criticism of some of the lesser provisions of the act, such as the timber development and pasture improvement programs, for which other Federal agencies are already providing assistance.

But in a region that has long lacked highways the possibility of a major new highway program looks good. Vocational training for a people who need skills for today's labor market, hospitals and health centers for areas that lack them, and increased Federal funds for other public projects will give a real and perhaps a permanent shot in the arm to a part of the Nation that has been too long overlooked.

Basically, the bill is sound. It ought to be adopted.

Statement by Walter Harnischfeger of Milwaukee on the Occasion of the 90th Birthday of Former President Hoover at West Branch, Iowa, August 10, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, when the 90th birthday of former President Hoover was observed at his birthplace in West Branch, Iowa, on August 10 this year, a high tribute was paid to this great humanitarian by Mr. Walter Harnischfeger, of Milwaukee, a vice president of the Herbert Hoover Birthplace Foundation. Included in Mr. Harnischfeger's remarks was the reading of a message from Mr. Hoover to his friends assembled at West Branch.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Mr. Harnischfeger's statement and the text of the warm letter which Mr. Hoover wrote:

STATEMENT BY WALTER HARNISCHFEGER

It is a signal honor to be chosen to stand on this rostrum, frequently occupied by our beloved chief, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, to celebrate his 90th birthday. These birthday celebrations are always a source of great inspiration. It was here among humble surroundings that the chief spent his early boyhood. Here he received his basic education; here he worked and played. The faith of his parents, the simplicity of his early life, the necessity to work, and his worship of God shaped his sterling character. Life here gave him energy and ambition, and above all, vision.

It was the strength drawn from this simple background which enabled him to become one of the world's outstanding engineers, and later President of the United States and one of the greatest statesmen and humanitarians the world has ever produced.

In 1896, the chief was graduated from Stanford University with an A.B. degree in engineering. For 18 years his engineering endeavor encompassed the world. He became one of the early empire builders of underdeveloped nations. And, I hasten to add, without taxpayer handouts. World War I interrupted his engineering career and channeled him into public service.

The secret of the chief's statesmanship is revealed in a quotation from his "Memoirs," volume 4, relating his return from Europe

following World War I: "Among our problems was the beginning of infections from European ideologies. They appeared not only as the long-agitated socialism, but as Communist fifth columns and a new mixture later known under the name of fascism.

"We had a large sprinkling of intellectuals who, stimulated by the fumes from the caldrons of Europe, were promulgating the idea that there was merit in a mixture of these new systems.

"I had come out of the European laboratory more convinced than ever that in the centuries of our separation from the Old World we had developed something which, for lack of a better term, I called the American system, which was alone the promise of human progress and the force which had led our Nation to greatness."

Thus, in 1919, Mr. Hoover outlined the precise problems of today. Possibly in the humanitarian field, the chief rose to his greatest stature. In his "An American Epic," volume 4, he writes:

"During these famines of both world wars, the American people furnished the margins of food and medicine which saved the lives of more than 1,800 million human beings, largely women and children."

This humanitarian effort is without parallel in history.

Time precludes even listing all of Mr. Hoover's contribution to society. The library before you containing records and documents of great historic value to which this community has made a great contribution in making this a reality; his "Library of War, Revolution, and Peace"; two Hoover Commissions; his 88th birthday suggestion on reorganization of the U.N.; his boys' clubs; his prolific and meaningful writings—all of these and more prodigious efforts constitute a contribution of incalculable value to human progress.

In this election year of crisis, let us dedicate ourselves to the resumption of the chief's "American system, which (is) alone the promise of human progress and the force which (has) led our Nation to greatness." And as time passes, this shrine will be a source of inspiration to future generations as they come here to honor President Hoover and all he represented.

May we stand for a moment in silent reverence to the chief—wish him a most happy birthday and much health and happiness to him and his family.

It now gives me great pleasure to read the message that the chief has asked me to convey to his friends gathered here.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

MY DEAR FRIENDS: I do deeply appreciate this tribute of your friendship on my 90th birthday.

Iowa was my childhood home, and my first memories are of the warm friendliness and great kindness of its people. At 90, I am still the recipient of that friendliness and kindness.

I am very grateful for all you have done toward beautifying and improving the area surrounding the Presidential Library. I want particularly to express my gratitude to the Birthplace Foundation and to the West Branch Heritage Foundation for their efforts in restoring and preserving buildings of historical interest while retaining the flavor of West Branch of pioneer days.

I am content that the close association of the Birthplace Foundation, the Heritage Foundation, and the Library will prove a valuable contribution to the community and to our country.

I wish it were possible to be in West Branch today in person to greet you and tell you of my affection for you, but I am with you in spirit. May God continue to bless you.

HERBERT HOOVER.

The Menace of One-Party Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wilmington (Del.) Morning News, August 26, 1964:

THE MENACE OF ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT

(By Henry Taylor)

ATLANTIC CITY.—The President of the United States is in charge here. He and his party rule our national roost. But when is enough enough?

"Cry in your swimming pool," movie mogul L. B. Mayer once told star Jean Harlow. "That'll improve your perspective." The Democratic Party wants more and more authority. But one party already has too much, a danger from either party—always.

Mr. Johnson is not only his group's undisputed leader. His party holds the chairmanship of every committee in the Senate and House. And it controls Congress itself by a topheavy majority seldom equalled in American history.

Party balances in both Houses were fairly even throughout World War II and in the first postwar decade. General Eisenhower won in 1952 and 1956 by large popular majorities, but this did not alter the congressional balance very much. Then in the 1958 off-year election the Democratic landslide hit. This changed the ratio drastically. In the two subsequent elections the Republicans recovered only slightly in the House and nothing in the Senate.

Meanwhile, Presidential authority over us has mounted steadily. Our challenge today is to the structure of our Government, its entire system of checks and balances, not just to one party or the other. The Presidency is becoming a party of itself, autonomous and often even anonymous in its self-sufficiency.

Any group in power anywhere seldom needs compliments. It supplies these for itself—dramatically, persuasively, endlessly. Instead, it needs competition. For nothing needs competition so much as political bodies and men in power. But politicians discourage competition and go to great pains and expense (taxpayers' money) to stifle it.

A President can command the headlines and TV attention at will, or use his appointees, with their imposing titles—Secretary of State, Treasury, Defense—to put the best possible face on everything. Government handouts can become party handouts. The present administration, for example, employs (taxpayers' money) about 3,000 press officers, which is roughly twice the number of journalists in the Washington working press.

As one result, the administration's managed news is a fan dance: A calculated progression of disclosures, each revealing different parts of a mysterious whole but not everything. We were not told the truth about Cuba, or Laos or Panama, either. We are not being told the whole truth about South Vietnam or our latest involvement in the Congo. The list is long and grows longer.

In principle, the student of good government must now be on the side of the opposition party. Our Government is very badly out of balance. In terms of good government, and no matter what happens to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in his presidential run, it is vital for the Republicans to conduct an enormously vigorous and competitive campaign. The nonpartisan American should be deeply concerned, and very hopeful, that this opposition party can achieve important advances in the House and Senate. In our checks and balances—admittedly required—at least this check needs betterment in November.

The party meeting here would howl at that contention, yet its desirableness for better government of the Nation as a whole is undeniable. Apathy, in turn, helps defeat this objective. The more the Democrats pound away at their theme of "peace and prosperity" and the more solidly this impresses the country, the more apathetic will be the public toward voting at all.

The tragedy will come if the opposition fails to get out the vote, a fact true in any free country. About 113 million will be eligible to vote in November. History indicates about 43 million will stay away from the polls. In most democratic countries abroad, the average voting turnout exceeds 80 percent. In the 1960 presidential election, ours was 63 percent. In the 1962 congressional elections, it dropped to about 44 percent. The percentage of nonvoters stays stubbornly close across the years.

The cheers here by Democrats for further Democratic gains are understandable. But if opposition gains can be made, the Democrats must then turn in a better performance for the good of all. We cannot indefinitely be threatened by one-party government—by either party—and the sooner the country sees that clearly, the safer the Nation will be.

"Recent Supreme Court Antitrust Decisions"—An Address by Attorney Rufus E. Wilson of the FTC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, at the annual convention of the National Congress of Petroleum Retailers, on August 18, 1964, Rufus E. Wilson, Chief, Division of General Trade Restraints of the Federal Trade Commission, delivered an illuminating and very informative address entitled "Another Year of Decision."

Mr. Wilson, an outstanding attorney with the Federal Trade Commission, in his address reviewed recent court and Commission decisions pertaining to the small business segment of the petroleum industry. He is to be commended for making such an excellent presentation and clarifying some of the intricacies of the antitrust laws and trade regulation statutes of special interest to small business generally and to gasoline service station operators particularly.

Because of the importance of this subject, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wilson's address be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of National Association of Petroleum Retailers, ladies and gentlemen, it is with a deep feeling of appreciation that I thank you for again inviting

me to attend your convention. It is also a privilege of which I am mindful to be again honored by being asked to be one of your speakers.

At the outset, I must remind you that my remarks here today are my own and are not to be construed in any manner as expressions of policy or views of the Commission.

Last year at your convention in Los Angeles, you will recall that I referred to 1963 as the "year of decision."

Your leaders at that time, Mr. Fountain, John Nerlinger, Cash Hawley, and others, had previously made this statement. Mine was but an echo. How right they were, we all know.

For at that time we had heard the Supreme Court speak out in Sun Oil. No right thinking person can deny the impact of that decision, a decision that freed small independent businessmen from the shackles of price discriminations with which they were bound. A decision which, in its rejection of the conduit theory, established the freedom and independence of the lessee-dealer as an independent businessman.

In my address to you last year, I gave full discussion to the Sun Oil decision and what it meant or would mean to you, as service station dealers and small independent businessmen. However, I find from various letters that have been written to us by service station dealers over the past year that a misunderstanding exists as to the extent of this decision and the law upon which it was based.

In view of this, I believe it important to again say to you that neither this decision nor the law as expressed in the Robinson-Patman Act requires that a supplier must charge the same price to all of its customers wherever it may be doing business.

The section of the Robinson-Patman Act with which we are here concerned reads as follows:

"SEC. 2(a) That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, either directly or indirectly, to discriminate in price between different purchasers of commodities of like grade and quality, where either or any of the purchases involved in such discrimination are in commerce, where such commodities are sold for use, consumption, or resale within the United States or any territory thereof or the District of Columbia or any insular possession or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, and where the effect of such discrimination may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce, or to injure, destroy, or prevent competition with any person who either grants or knowingly receives the benefit of such discrimination, or with customers of either of them; * * *"

Every price difference is not an unlawful price discrimination.

The Court gave its sanction to what, on occasions, have been referred to as "feathering." Thus a supplier in the event of a price war situation, is not required to give all of its dealers in the area affected the same amount of allowance, penny for penny. It may "realistically" determine "gradations" in its allowances extending from a higher to a lower allowance. The "realistic" gradation between the higher and lower allowances must be such as to make the lesser amount of allowance de minimis. In so doing it is not discriminatory within the meaning of the act as construed by the Supreme Court. For example, a dealer in the center of a price war may receive an allowance which may be some cents higher than that which a dealer receives who is some distance removed from the center of the price war. But in such instances the difference in the amount of the allowance must be "realistic" and not based on the whim or caprice of the supplier, or on the establishment of artificial boundaries surrounding so-called competitive but actually unrealistic pricing zones.

I stated last year and will repeat today that no supplier, earnestly desiring to help its dealers, should have any difficulty in establishing nondiscriminatory allowances within the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision. Application of the know-how set forth in this decision, if conscientiously followed should help to eliminate all price wars which are caused or allowed to spread by unrealistic allowances or allowances based on artificially drawn zones of so-called competitive behavior.

All of you here, I am sure, have heard in some way of the Commission's two cases in your industry involving consignment operations.

Complaint was issued by the Commission against Sun Oil Co. on November 8, 1957. Subsequently, on April 7, 1959, this complaint was amended. This case involved the use of consignment agreements as a device to fix and maintain the retail price of gasoline in the Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., area.

Under date of April 23, 1959, the Commission served its complaint against Atlantic Refining Co. wherein, among other things, the use by Atlantic of consignment contracts was challenged as a device to fix, maintain, and control prices at its dealers' gasoline stations.

The Commission in both of these cases found that the use of the consignment agreements were merely devices to fix, maintain, and control the resale prices of their lessee-dealers. These cases are now on appeal in the courts.

But these cases were just forerunners to another case that was initiated as a private suit by a service station dealer in California named Richard S. Simpson against Union Oil Co.

Richard Simpson operated a gasoline station in California under a lease from the Union Oil Co. I am quite sure that he considered himself to be an independent businessman because the record reflects that he acted like a man who considered himself to be independent. Although he was under a 1-year lease and a 1-year consignment contract which provided that "title" to the consigned gas "shall remain in consignor until sold by consignee," Mr. Simpson sold his gasoline for 27.9 cents in the face of demands by the company that he adhere to a price of 29.9 cents. As a result, Union Oil refused to renew his lease.

Simpson brought suit for damages under the antitrust laws. After pretrial hearings, Union moved for summary judgment and Simpson for partial summary judgment on the basis that the consignment lease program of Union, violated the Sherman Act. The district court held for Union and the court of appeals affirmed. Simpson petitioned the Supreme Court, which agreed to hear the case. On April 20, 1964, the Supreme Court held that the consignment agreement was used by Union as a device for resale price maintenance. Mr. Justice Douglas, writing for the majority, stated:

"Dealers, like Simpson, are independent businessmen: and they have all or most of the indicia of entrepreneurs, except for price fixing. The risk of loss of gasoline is on them, apart from acts of God. Their return is affected by the rise and fall in the market price, their commissions declining as retail prices drop. Practically the only power they have to be wholly independent businessmen, whose service depends on their own initiative and enterprise, is taken from them by the proviso that they must sell their gasoline at prices fixed by Union Oil."

The Supreme Court, while recognizing that consignment has historically served legitimate business purposes, struck down the consignment arrangement in this case because it was used to control the dealer's resale prices. The Supreme Court looked at the arrangement realistically—pierced the consignment arrangement—and in looking through the opening, saw the true character of the arrangement, a device by which the "independent" was to be kept subservient, a device by which his independence was to be destroyed, a device to fix and maintain the retail prices of an independent businessman.

The chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives, the Honorable JOE L. EVINS, of Tennessee, in an article appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 24, 1964, in referring to the importance of this case said:

"Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in an antitrust case which is recognized as being of greater importance and significance than any other antitrust case decided in this decade."

Mr. EVINS' appraisal of this case must be accorded significance. He is, as you know, one of the great champions of small business in this country and prior to his becoming a Member of Congress, was an outstanding attorney with the Federal Trade Commission.

Just 4 days after the Supreme Court's decision in Simpson, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, on April 24, 1964, handed down its decision in *Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.* v. *Federal Trade Commission* and *Atlantic Refining Co.* v. *Federal Trade Commission* affirming the Commission's previous decision in Federal Trade Commission Docket 6486.

In its decision the court had this to say about the independence of the dealer operating under a lease arrangement with a major oil company:

"Ostensibly, they are independent businessmen but behind the legalistic facade of independence, there exists a servitude caused by the coercive pressures which Atlantic exerts upon its dealers. The keystone of the actual relationship between Atlantic and its dealers is the lease and the equipment loan contract with their short term and cancellation provisions. Without repeating all the components of the relationship, it is evident that the service station dealer is more of an economic serf than a businessman free to purchase the TBA of his choice."

The Federal Trade Commission issued its complaint against the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and the Atlantic Refining Co. charging a violation of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act which declares unlawful unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce. The Commission's complaint challenged the legality of the distribution of tires, batteries, and automobile accessories, commonly called TBA, to service stations under a sales commission agreement between Goodyear and Atlantic. The Commission held against Goodyear and Atlantic and issued orders to cease and desist from this, Goodyear and Atlantic appealed.

In the challenged sales commission contract between Goodyear and Atlantic, Atlantic agreed to promote the sale of Goodyear TBA products to Atlantic's distributors and service station dealers located in New England, New York, and the Philadelphia-New Jersey area. A sales commission was paid to Atlantic by Goodyear on the products which were sold by Atlantic's distributors and service station dealers.

Atlantic, prior to 1951 bought Lee tires and Exide batteries and various accessories from other sources and sold them to its wholesale distributors and retail dealers in the area which was the subject of the commission's complaint. Having become dissatisfied with this method of operation, Atlantic surveyed its dealers to determine such things as preference of brands and sources of supply. The survey showed that only

11 percent of the dealers preferred Goodyear tires and in addition, a majority of the dealers preferred to purchase their tires, batteries and accessories from more than one source. In spite of the survey results, Atlatic entered into a sales commission contract covering TBA effective March 1, 1951, with Goodyear and a similar contract with Firestone, the two contracts covering its entire marketing area. Atlantic assigned a portion of its sales territory to Goodyear and another portion to Firestone. Firestone got the eastern Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania and southern regions.

Each Atlantic dealer was assigned to a specific supply point designated by Goodyear. These supply points were either Goodyear stores, Goodyear franchise dealers, or Atlantic service station dealers who were also Goodyear franchisees. Atlantic received a 10-percent override on all purchases of Goodyear TBA made by Atlantic dealers from the tire companies' supply points, and a 7½-percent override on purchases by dealers from Atlantic's wholesale distributors.

The service station dealers were told that the new plan was a change in company policy; that Atlantic wanted them to carry Goodyear or Firestone tires, batteries and accessories; and that the switch would be to the dealer's benefit.

Letters were sent to the dealers informing them of the availability of the plan and advised them to take advantage of it. Numerous meetings were held by Atlantic with its dealers to explain the new programs. Atlantic gave Goodyear and Firestone the names of the dealers in their respective territories so that their advertising could be installed in the service stations. Under Atlantic policy this meant that only Goodyear or Firestone identifications were to be displayed at Atlantic stations. Atlantic salesmen accompanied by either Goodyear or Firestone salesmen contacted the dealers concerning the new sponsored TBA. Reports were made to Atlantic by Goodyear and Firestone including the names of dealers who refused to permit the installation of Goodyear and Firestone signs.

Atlantic established TBA quotas; Atlantic policed the dealers; they promoted Goodyear TBA and wrote up TBA orders. Atlantic salesmen checked the books of dealers to see whether they were buying from other sources. Atlantic salesmen made trips with Goodyear salesmen to police the operation. This is called double teaming. Atlantic credit cards included the Goodyear TBA.

When Atlantic selected a new retail dealer, at least three seperate interviews were held with the applicant at which the sales commission program was explained. After selection but before receiving a lease, the applicant attended an Atlantic training school where extensive discussions and demonstrations of Goodyear TBA were conducted. He was told at the school that it was to his advantage to carry Goodyear or Firestone products. He was told what Goodyear inventory he should carry and that he should use approved Goodyear signs, decals and advertising boards.

The seventh circuit upheld the Commission stating that the sales commission system was, in effect, an illegal tying arrangement. The court stated:

"In its narrower aspects the system is a tying arrangement because it requires the buyer of one product, the service station dealer who purchases Atlantic gasoline, to buy another line of merchandise, Goodyear TBA. Surrender by the dealer of his freedom to choose between brands of TBA is per se illegal if a 'not insubstantial' amount of interstate commerce is affected."

Goodyear, by 1955, had signed TBA contracts with 2,183 of the 2,248 Atlantic service stations in the 8-State territory assigned; Firestone, by 1955, had signed virtually all the 4,698 Atlantic stations in its 10-State area; and total Goodyear and Firestone sales under the Atlantic contracts from June 1950 to June 1956 was more than $52 million; therefore the court had no difficulty in finding that the sales commission system was within the "substantiality of economic effect on commerce" test established in previous tying cases.

Before leaving this important case, I would like to read one more quote from the court's decision. This is in the area of coercion and illustrates vividly the court's determination to penetrate beyond the facade of the Atlantic-Goodyear arrangement and to recognize it for what it was, a coercive and oppressive method of taking away the dealers' independent judgment and substituting therefor the profit motivated judgment of Atlantic and Goodyear. The court stated:

"Atlantic says that its influence over its dealers to purchase sponsored TBA short of force, threat, or intimidation is lawful; that it may recommend high quality TBA to its dealers; and that such action serves a legitimate business purpose in the promotion of the sale of gasoline. This would be a persuasive argument except for the dealers' economic dependency upon the oil company. In that setting, recommendation is tantamount to command. Covert practices are as efficient as overt action. Sophisticated methods of pressuring the dealers into carrying sponsored TBA are as effectual as express covenants and open threats."

However, all is not well. We received a serious setback in our enforcement activities when we lost the American Oil Company case in the seventh circuit and the Supreme Court denied our petition for review, as well as our recent loss in the court of appeals, District of Columbia Circuit in *B. F. Goodrich Co., et al.*, FTC docket 6485. The remaining TBA case, *The Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., et al.*, FTC docket 6487, is still on appeal in the fifth circuit.

Although it must be expected that we will encounter reverses in our enforcement activities it cannot be said that the agency is not trying to enforce the laws it administers. And from these reversals will come knowledge to be applied in these and other areas.

The Federal Trade Commission, as of this year, reaches its 50th birthday. There will be no ringing of bells, no unfurling of flags nor the draping of bunting on the light posts to mark such an event. Likewise, there will be no parades nor blaring of bands in its honor. With the exception of perhaps a few speeches or references to it on occasions such as this, the birth date of this agency may go unnoticed.

The birthday—yes, it may possibly go unnoticed. But the honesty of endeavor has its own reward. Its 50 years of service stand as a monument to the wisdom of a Congress that listened to the words of President Woodrow Wilson echoing the voice of the small businessmen of this country to supplement the Sherman Act by legislation that would close up the loopholes in the law which permitted monopoly, as well as other unfair methods of competition to grow unchecked and unhindered.

In its 50 years of existence it has, like Horatio of ancient years, stood squarely in the path of those who would destroy the system of free and open competition under which this country, like no other, has grown and prospered.

Today, in this year, the Federal Trade Commission more nearly approaches the aims and goals that President Wilson had expressed in recommending its creation, than at any time in its past. On that occasion, January 20, 1914, President Wilson sent a message to Congress recommending the establishment of an Interstate Trade Commission.

President Wilson envisioned the Commission in a guidance role and staffed with a body of experts who would interpret and apply the broad meaning and purpose of the trade laws to the businessman's particular problem. The basic idea was to halt unfair or discriminatory practices when first they arose. That businessmen needed a clearer idea as to the law, and that such clarification would prevent entanglement in the law and resultant prosecution because of the inherent honesty of the great majority of businessmen and their desire to obey the law once they understood what was expected.

It was thus only a small step from this to the institution of the Commission's trade practice conference procedure in 1919. However, it was a greater step to our advisory opinions and trade regulation rules procedures adopted in the last few years under Chairman Dixon.

It is under this procedure that the Commission is today giving consideration to the petitions filed by your association and others to the establishment of a trade regulation rule in the gasoline marketing industry. Five years ago this type of procedure was impossible—today it is a reality.

The purpose of these rules is, among other things, to advise the business community that engaging in the proscribed conduct is a violation of law and an invitation to litigation. For those who wish to comply with the law this procedure will supply them with a clear and simple answer. For those who remain uninterested in complying with the law the mandate is clear. They are no longer acting in ignorance of the law but in defiance.

It must be said though that not all industries are adaptable to the trade regulation rules procedure. This may be true for a variety of reasons. Every industry, and the practices sought to be corrected, must be given thorough study in the light of our experienced in that industry.

However, you may be assured that full and complete study and consideration will be given to every petition for promulgation of trade regulation rules.

Again, I thank you for asking me to participate in your convention.

B. H. Shearer, Editor of the Columbus Gazette, of Columbus Junction, Iowa, "Though 82, Still Records History at the Grassroots"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have often spoken of the important role performed by the editors of our weekly newspapers in this country. One of those of whom special notice should be taken is Mr. B. H. Shearer, who recently observed his 82d birthday, but who continues to edit the Columbus Gazette in the community of Columbus Junction, Iowa, as he has done over the past 56 years.

It pleased me to note that the Des Moines, Iowa, Sunday Register recently carried a story on Mr. Shearer's journalistic achievements, and in further recognition of his years of service to his community, I wish to have this article

appear in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The story on Mr. Shearer follows:

COLUMBUS JUNCTION, IOWA.—From his familiar Main Street observation post here, B. H. Shearer, 82, will continue this week to record the passing scene of his town.

A country editor now in his 56th year in this town, Shearer sums up the editorial philosophy which has guided the Columbus Gazette since May 1, 1909:

"We're a hometown newspaper. We print the local news, and that's about all."

Circulation is a big 2,925 in a town of "slightly over 1,000" population.

If one stays put anyplace 56 years he'll see and hear a lot, and it was Shearer's duty to record this history.

WHAT HE RECORDED

He saw the beginnings of two World Wars, and their endings. A League of Nations was proposed and the United States shunned it. A United Nations was proposed and the United States offered it a home.

A man named William Howard Taft, President of the United States, came through Columbus Junction on a train 1 day and he made a speech.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt died 10 minutes after the Gazette press started, and Shearer said "stop the press," or words to that effect, and the Gazette made a page 1 bulletin insert, a coup in the life of any weekly newspaper.

"I was for the League of Nations, and I supported Woodrow Wilson," recalled Shearer. "No, I didn't get much criticism here. This community is not very radical on anything.

"We didn't say much about President Harding's troubles. We concentrated on local news.

"BACKED PROHIBITION

"I supported prohibition. I thought it was all right for the State to legalize liquor by the drink last year. People are going to drink, and they were doing it anyway illegally.

"Besides, prohibition wasn't very successful. I recall that they sold liquor around here in those days.

"I don't write many editorials anymore. Once in a while I write one on taxes. I'm against high taxes. I'm against the $310 billion national debt, too.

"Yes, I went through one depression, and I thought we might be due for another one. It doesn't look like it now. People are buying more cars than ever before.

"The small towns are losing out now, there's no doubt about that. But I think we'll do all right because the Rath Packing Co. has put a plant here."

Shearer was honored as an Iowa master editor-publisher in 1952.

U.S. "Dumping" of Beef Hit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the inept handling of our beef import problem and the generally confusing and conflicting policies which surround the present administration's foreign trade relations have seriously damaged our alliance with the South American countries.

Increased shipments of U.S. beef to Western European countries are ruining the South American markets in Europe and already Argentina and Uruguay are determining ways to "defend their common interests" by economic retaliation.

The Christian Science Monitor of August 27, 1964, contains a very interesting and enlightening article on this subject and demonstrates quite clearly how this latest State Department scheme has boomeranged.

The article follows:

U.S. "DUMPING" OF BEEF HIT

(By Norman A. Ingrey)

BUENOS AIRES.—Beef has again been thrown into the stew of River Plate relations with the United States, and the international flavor of the dish is momentarily somewhat off.

The Argentine and Uruguayan Foreign Ministers, meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay, have agreed on a joint defense policy against current U.S. efforts to "dump" its beef surpluses in South America's "traditional" markets in Europe.

Prior to this meeting the Argentine Senate put the stew on the fire by a formal resolution protesting the invocation of "law 480" to facilitate American overseas beef sales. It called for the "rectification" of this Washington policy and warned that, were this maintained, defense measure would be required which might weaken continental unity.

BIGGEST EXPORT

Beef is the biggest export-earner of the River Plate—or Rio de la Plata—Argentine-Uruguayan action surged from a background an annual cattle shows both sides of the river where ranchers have been communicating their concern to the two governments. But officials needed no goadings from the farmers—the state of their own exchange coffers forces action.

The Uruguayans, who normally deal more in sheep and wool than in steers and hides, are just as concerned—and indignant—as the Argentines. They have been spurring their neighbors into action. Nearly a month ago Foreign Minister Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martin announced his government would invite Australia and New Zealand as well as Argentina to a conference on "defense of their common interests."

In the wake of the Argentine legislative protest the U.S. Government announced it was sending a top-ranking trade expert this way to emphasize once again its interest in giving regional problems special consideration. This is Ambassador W. Michael Blumenthal, attached to the American trade office in Geneva. But other officials have recently been calling here from Washington and neither they nor resident ambassadors have convinced the Argentines or Uruguayans that their special interests will invariably be in foreign sales of this nature.

"BIG INTERESTS" HIT

Acting Chairman Eduardo J. Gamond, recently returned from the United States where he was a State Department guest, went so far as to allege that the "big interests" were again obtaining control in Washington and would "ruin American international prestige." Another allegation was that the "United States favors totalitarian governments in these countries."

Agricultural Minister Wilson Ferreyra in Uruguay told a large inaugural attendance at the annual cattle show in Monevideo that the United States had now "placed itself on the list of those competitors who do not follow the rules of the international trade game."

But the most disquieting development in this surge of River Plate suspicion of and opposition to American oversea sales of beef in "our traditional markets"—Britain and Europe especially—is the increasing executive and parliamentary trend to compare one United States regime with another.

ABSURDITY CHARGED

More than one public speaker has obliquely but unmistakably indicated that since the passing of former President Kennedy the "big interests" have been gaining control. A more subdued but common argument cites the absurdity of imposing sacrifices on the American taxpayer to support the Alliance for Progress and canceling the good effects of this through an erroneous trade policy.

Neither Buenos Aires nor Montevideo is disposed to accept repeated assurances of prior consultations before any beef sales are made in their "traditional markets" under the shelter of law 480.

The Argentines are sensitive and fearful because last year's drought and maybe some local export mistakes have caused shortages and high prices in Europe, with an inability on their part adequately to supply old clients. The Uruguayans are anxious for diametrically opposite reasons—they expect to set a new national export record in beef this year, 110,000 tons, with corresponding gains in volume and price.

Argentines, of course, have bigger foreign market interests at stake—well over half a million tons of fresh, frozen, and canned beef yearly—and half of this in the first-mentioned category where Americans, under law 480, are now considered to be developing as competitors.

DEBATE SURPRISING

The critical Senate debate and resolution, however, came as something of a surprise, as Foreign Minister Miguel A. Zavala Ortiz only a few days previously had announced receipt of Washington assurances that it would not subsidize beef exports and would consult with Argentina on sales in its markets.

The strong terms of the Senate resolution also reverberated here, and the unanimity of feelings expressed and votes registered. The president of the republic was directed to formulate the "most energetic protest" against law 480's dumping on and distortion of the international beef market.

Attention was also called to the "contradictions between the generous Kennedy postulation through the Alliance for Progress and procedural conduct that could destroy the bases of economic emancipation."

War Against Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Fernando (Calif.) Valley Times, Aug. 31, 1964]

(By Ed Delaney)

In order not to be regarded as a draft dodger, my application for enlistment in the war against poverty has been sent to R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., Antipoverty Corps, Washington, D.C. It reads:

Dear "General": When your Commander in Chief, Elbee-Jay, signed the bill for the $558 million Federal pay hike, he said it was "to attract and keep top-caliber talent." It has. This is my acceptance of his invitation. Knowing that you will need top-caliber talent in the higher pay echelons of your army in the war on poverty, please list me somewhere in the $20 thousand a year grade now, so I will be eligible for the increase of from $4,000 to $7,000, when the pay hikes

come, January 1, 1965. Nothing helps in the process of depauperization like a modest, assured income.

Another factor which impelled me to make the great personal sacrifice is that the Nation's tailors have named you as one of the 10 best-dressed men in America—ranking first among those in public service. That did it. It is doubtful if anything can inspire elan and esprit de corps among the thousands who will be recruited for the antipoverty war, as the knowledge that their commander is the very acme of sartorial splendor.

Moreover, those who have filled out the dozens of forms, and are eligible to be depauperized, will look upon the impeccably arrayed general as symbolizing the haut monde, the noblesse, the grandee of our rapidly developing oligarchy. Those people will be cooperative, secure in the knowledge that they, too, in time, will be so attired when we have conquered the cause of poverty.

This will be a long war, Sarg, I mean, General, perhaps equaling the Thirty Years' War which European history records. Because those among the "haves"—from whom we will take now, will be the "have-nots" in another decade. They will then be eligible for depauperization. The campaign can go on and on—ad infinitum. We must be very adroit, Sarg.

Since we are an educational arm of the administration, special attention should be given the schools. One suggestion would be to have a large framed picture of Elbee-Jay displayed in every classroom. There should be a semblance of a halo in the background, but not too obtrusive—in the first few million pictures. Some unprogressives in places like Arizona, might take exception. The children might be taught to recite a couplet, such as: "Every child should give thanks each day, for all that we receive from Elbee-Jay."

In a subtle manner, if you will pardon the use of that word, we build up a new American idol. A great leader who has the commendable conviction that poverty, like political opposition, can be overcome quickly if dollars are scattered judiciously. His personal history proves something. Starting as a country school teacher and even without the aid of a Bobby Baker, he and his family are now classed as millionaires several times over.

There are many antipoverty suggestions in my idea kit, General, which will be available for you. So please send at once not less than $1,000 to banish poverty at the local level and for travel expenses to Washington. That will include, of course, the cost of a new custom tailored (civilian) uniform in keeping with the example set by yourself. It would not be maintaining the apparel standards, for one of your top-caliber talents to arrive in a two-pants suit. Yours for the duration.—E.D.

Times Certainly Have Changed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the August 24 issue of the Neosho Daily News was printed before the most recent revelation of scandal in Washington involving a $25,000 "kickback" from the District of Columbia Stadium contract.

The editorial directly portrays the decline in morals and morality under the present administration. How can we encourage honesty and integrity in the young people of our Nation when such poor standards are being set by the very men who hold the reins of leadership.

The editorial follows:

TIMES CERTAINLY HAVE CHANGED

Time was that, if a man from the East had filed for the U.S. Senate in California, the people of the State and the Government of the United States would have roused up and told him in no uncertain terms that this was not legal and he would have to file for office in the State of his legal residence, or get out of the race.

Time was that, if a resident of Massachusetts and Virginia were to file as a candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, he would have been listed as a cheat and a fraud.

Today, a major political party of those States, and the Federal Government, have given such men their blessings.

Time was that, if a man of Bobby Baker's caliber, who parlayed a $19,600-a-year job into a more than $2 million fortune because of his high position in the Government, he would be slapped into the Federal penitentiary where he belongs.

Today, he is given a slap on the wrist and the entire Senate investigation of the matter is hushed over because people in high places, including the President of the United States, were his friends and someone might be embarrassed if the truth were to be told.

Time was that, if a man from Texas parlayed an average $20,000-a-year job into a fortune in excess of $4 million, at the most conservative estimates and $14 million as a more realistic figure, the Congress of the United States would impeach him.

We do not mean to say that it is illegal to become rich. We do mean to say that, whether you are President of the United States, or a retail merchant on the main street of Neosho, Mo., it is legally and morally wrong to use your high office and connections for personal gain.

We don't believe everything we read, but we have checked with responsible people in Texas and are told that the stories related in the book "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" are true.

We'd be interested in knowing all the facts of how the President bought a TV station in Texas for less than $20,000 when its known value to others was in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Or how he has kept that station in a city of 200,000 people as the only station there, while throughout the rest of the country, the FCC has granted multiple TV licenses to many, many cities of substantially less population. Or how he has forced other stations out because the FCC refused to listen to the complaints of their owners about unfair practices on the part of the Austin competition.

It is reported that all of this fortune was made on money inherited by his wife. But the records of the probate court of Harrison County, Tex., reveal that this inheritance was $21,000 (credit, not cash) and out of this, according to biographers, the President borrowed $10,000 to finance his first successful run for the U.S. Senate, a job which paid about $15,000 at that time.

Today, this same man, who was a personal friend of Bobby Baker, who has used the influence of his political offices for personal aggrandizement, will be selected by unanimous acclamation as President of a major political party.

Time was that the people of the entire Nation would look with askance at such goings-on of people in high office.

Today we take it as a matter of course.

Time was that the workingmen of the country would have roused up in protest if one of their leaders had used vast sums of their private pension moneys for his personal use and then dipped into the coffers again to get money to defend himself in court against Federal charges growing out of his questioned manipulations of money and people.

Today, even the courts of the United States seem unable to place such a man in jail. It is a safe prediction that the best chance of getting such a man out of office, and circulation, is to charge him on an income tax evasion count, where high office doesn't seem to mean so much to the prosecution, the defense, and the courts.

It is a sad commentary of our times that we, the people of the United States, accept such goings-on as a matter of routine and refuse to become disturbed by them.

Costs Savings Enable Textile Wage Hikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Government's new cotton price policy, which was prescribed in the Agricultural Act of 1964, is producing the results sought by those of us who worked for its enactment last April.

An accounting of the benefits of the new policy is contained in today's issue of the Journal of Commerce, a newspaper dedicated to objective reporting of business news.

We who supported this legislation to provide fair treatment to the textile industry can take pride in what is happening.

Textile manufacturers now are permitted to buy cotton at the same price it is sold on the world market. And the reduction in cotton costs has opened the way for increased wages for textile employees, increased investments in new plants and equipment, and increased cotton consumption.

Although this new policy has been in effect only a few months, and a longer period is necessary for maximum realization of benefits, we can cite it as a significant contribution to the national economy.

I commend to my colleagues the reading of the following article:

COTTON LAW CITED: COSTS SAVINGS ENABLE TEXTILE WAGE HIKES

(By Al Wyss)

Cost savings resulting from enactment of one-price cotton legislation and improving textile sales have touched off the second hourly wage boost in the southern textile industry in 10 months. A host of textile mills throughout the South already have announced pay hikes and practically all cotton, as well as synthetic fiber, textile mills are expected to follow suit. The hourly wage rates generally are going up an average of about 5 percent and will go into effect as of mid-September.

FIRMS NAMED

Among the textile mills which already have announced advances in hourly wages for their employees are Cannon Mills Co., Alice Manufacturing Co., Dan River Mills, Inc., including its Woodside Mills subsidiary; Inman Mills, Pacolet Industries of Spartanburg, S.C., Riegel Textile Corp., Greenwood Mills, Abney Mills, plants of Pepperell Manufacturing Co., Dundee Mills, West Point Manufacturing Co., Springs Cotton Mills, Judson Mills and Gayley Mills which are a division of Deering Milliken, Inc., and Harriet and Henderson Mills, leading yarn producers.

The last hourly wage increase, which went into effect last November, also averaged about 5 percent and since 1959 a total of five wage advances have taken place in the textile industry.

Enactment of one-price cotton legislation last April is one of the key factors which touched off the latest round of wage hikes, in that it afforded mills substantial cost savings in raw cotton. Mills, however, also reduced prices of cotton fabrics and yarns by about 3 to 4 cents a pound in May and June, passing along some of the low cotton costs to customers.

Textile company executives, in fact, emphasize that they have passed along a very substantial part of the cotton cost savings, and in some cases even more, despite recent strengthening of cotton fabric prices.

James A. Chapman, Jr., president and treasurer, Inman Mills, Inc., has released a letter to the company's employees in connection with the wage advance effective in mid-September, the company's second in 10 months, which cited detailed statistics on costs and prices.

In February of this year, "we shipped 2,633,726 pounds of cloth for which we received $1,824,402.12 which is an average of 69.27 cents per pound," Mr. Chapman said. "During the first 3 weeks of August, we had shipped 2,040,098 pounds of cloth for which we received $17,270,662.11, or an average of 62.28 cents per pound. The difference between 69.27 and 62.28 cents per pound is 6.99 cents per pound. You can see that we have passed on to our customers more than the cotton price has been reduced," Mr. Chapman added.

COSTS REDUCTIONS

"The new one-price cotton legislation provides for reduction in our cotton costs of 6.5 cents per pound. You can readily see that we have reduced our price by more than the offset fee that we might receive from the Government in order that our cotton costs will be the same as our foreign competitors. Some might ask you: What happened to your share of the one-price cotton benefit? We hope this gives you the answer."

Other factors, however, were involved in the current round of pay boosts besides the reduction in cotton costs, including a big upsurge in sales, anticipated pressure from textile unions and costs savings resulting from stepped-up mill modernization.

The big upsurge in cotton textile business results, it is believed, in large part from the revival of confidence following enactment of one-price cotton legislation. For a year or more, pending enactment of the legislation, buyers held back because they anticipated price reductions and feared inventory losses as a result of such reductions when the legislation was passed.

ANTICIPATE UNION'S MOVE

In announcing wage advances at this time, mills actually have jumped the gun since many in the industry did not expect wage increases to be put into effect until next November. Behind this quick move to boost hourly wage rates, may have been an effort on the part of mills to steal the thunder from anticipated union statements urging mills to pass along cost savings.

Most mills in the South are not unionized but a small number do have contracts with unions which are subject to reopening for negotiations on short notice. In addition, the Textile Workers Union of America (AFL-CIO) has contracts with northern textile mills which are subject to renegotiation on April 15, 1965.

Current hourly pay boosts were, in fact, announced by southern textile mills almost simultaneously with strongly worded statements by the Textile Workers Union which in effect demanded that all textile mills take prompt action to pass along cotton cost savings afforded by the new legislation.

A statement to this effect, for example, was issued by the executive council of the union at just about the same time that Harriet and Henderson Mills announced a wage boost of about 5 percent.

AIDED BY NEW EQUIPMENT

It was well known in the industry, however, that textile mills were planning for some time to advance wages late this year. In addition to the cotton savings, mills have achieved considerable cost savings from modernization. Big injections of new equipment in the industry are resulting in faster, lower cost production of yarns and fabrics. Based upon third quarter new plant and equipment expenditures, the seasonally adjusted rate of such expenditures for 1964 has reached $900 million compared to $640 million for all of 1963.

All these factors are moving the textile industry into a stronger position, as pointed out by H. W. Close, president, Springs Cotton Mills, who said that this has enabled the company to add more than $2.25 million to the paychecks of its employees.

Congressman Zablocki's Moving Address to Polish-American Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on August 30, 1964, the 25th anniversary of the Nazi attack on Poland, my able colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] made a memorable address to a meeting in Kosziusko Park in Milwaukee, sponsored by the Polish-American Congress and 25 cooperating veterans groups. Because of its arresting delineation of the fight of the people of Polish ancestry for human rights both at home and in this country, I commend Representative ZABLOCKI's remarks:

"THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAZI ATTACK ON POLAND"—REMARKS OF HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, OF WISCONSIN, TO THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS, MILWAUKEE, WIS., AUGUST 30, 1964

Toastmaster Thomas Rozga, Very Rev. Father Wiktor Krzywonos, Mr. Edmund Banasikowski Judge Robert W. Hansen, Senator Richard Zaborski, Col. J. A. Dries, distinguished guests, veterans organizations, veterans auxiliaries, Gold Star Mothers, fellow Americans, at the very outset, I want to express my own deep appreciation for your kind invitation to join you in this evening's commemoration. Secondly, to convey to you President Johnson's warmest greetings and best wishes.

Then, too, just the other day, Postmaster General John Gronouski asked me to extend his deep regrets that he was unable to be with us tonight. The Postmaster General asked that I tell you he sincerely appreciates your invitation and extends his kindest regards.

It is a sad occasion which brings us together today. We have assembled here to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the attack on Poland by the Nazi war machine—and the beginning of a conflict which brought devastation to three continents, caused the death of millions of men, women, and children, and visited untold suffering upon millions of others.

Twenty-five years ago—September 1, 1939—do you recollect how the shocking news was received? How you and others reacted? If you will permit me a personal note, I wish to state that I shall never forget that date—certainly not the spontaneous, sincere, prayerful supplication of the people gathered in the churches, responding to the intonation of the majestic hymn "Bose Cos Polskie":

"Oh God who has throughout the ages bestowed upon Poland power and glory—we implore Thy help and protection."

That day I could only join with you in the fervent prayers of hope. Today—thanks to your confidence in me I have been privileged to be in a position to be of some assistance to the beleaguered people of Poland, of other Communist-dominated nations, and to many of you directly.

I know that you too have vivid recollections of September 1, 1939. Many of you had friends or relatives who were victims of the attack. Some of you had been in the very midst, on the very scene of the rape of Poland.

All of us, therefore, are motivated today to rededicate ourselves to the effort to bring freedom and human dignity to all mankind—as we commemorate the 25th anniversary of the attack on Poland.

That date—September 1, 1939—marked the beginning of an especially tragic chapter in the history of the courageous Polish nation—a chapter, I may add, which continues to this very day.

Attacked by the Nazis from the west, and by the Soviet Union from the east, Poland succumbed to the overwhelming power of the aggressors' armies. But her people never stopped fighting. For almost 6 years, her home army, and the units which managed to escape to the north, to the west, and to the south, resisted the invaders and fought valiantly on the side of the Allies.

Narvik, Tobruk, the Battle of Britain, Monte Cassino, the Warsaw uprising—these are but a few names, few places, in which the Poles fought and died for the cause of freedom during the Second World War.

The tragedy of Poland was compounded when the war finally came to an end.

Her population decimated by the horrors of the occupation and the war—her cities and farms in ruin—Poland, almost alone in this condition, was not permitted to share in the fruits of the Allied victory.

Her lands were divided—an alien regime was imposed upon her people—an Iron Curtain dropped to separate her from the West—and her hopes for freedom and justice were dashed to the ground.

That tragic chapter in Poland's history continues today.

The Communist regime, and the system of oppression which it introduced in Poland, are still in existence. The ways of the regime may have changed somewhat during the last few years, but the effects of its rule remain the same: the people of Poland continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination and of other human rights.

It is fitting, therefore, that we commemorate this anniversary and reflect upon the plight of the Polish people, here, at the foot of the statue of Thaddeus Kosciusko. For he, more than anyone else I can think of, per-

sonifies the highest ideals of Poland's national tradition of respect for the rights of men—all men.

Kosciusko devoted his entire life to this cause.

He fought for the rights of the peasants in Poland.

He fought for the rights of the colonists in America.

He suffered wounds, discomfort, privation, and long imprisonment while waging a lifelong battle for the rights of other men. Nothing could diminish his devotion to this cause. And in the final act of a generous and humanitarian heart, he gave everything that he owned in the United States—all that this grateful Nation bestowed upon him—to be used for purchasing and freeing of American slaves and helping them become useful and respected members of our society.

What a noble example we find in the life of this man, what great inspiration for the job that still remains to be done. For in our age, as in Kosciusko's time, the struggle for the rights of man goes on.

It continues in Poland, where the suffering people of that tragic land daily fight the encroachments of totalitarian communism.

It continues in many other countries, where would-be dictators, or the privileged few, strive to move ahead by trampling upon the rights of the people.

It continues even in our own homeland. And the need for men and women who will stand up for the rights of others—who will not turn away when their neighbor is being killed, or oppressed, or abused—men and women who, by defending the rights of others, will ultimately secure their own right to live in freedom and democracy—the need for such men and women is as great today as it was 200 years ago.

Who, I ask you, is better equipped to meet this need, fight this battle, than the heirs of Kosciusko?

We share in the heritage which produced him.

We have the example of his life.

And over and above, we have one very special asset: the experience and the stamina gained by living as members of a minority group in the United States.

All of us—immigrants, children and grandchildren of immigrants—have been tested in the battle which every minority group has had to wage to secure social acceptance, economic advancement, and equal rights.

As members of a group with a distinct cultural background—and, at the start, with perhaps limited or too little education, too little skill, too little ability to use the English language—we had been exposed to humiliation, at times we were called greenhorns.

We have felt the sting of being rejected by those who considered themselves culturally and socially superior.

We have experienced discrimination in employment and political exploitation.

We have felt the burning shame of being denied the opportunity to be equal in the home of democracy, the land of the free.

It was a hard school—but the lesson it taught us is at times all too quickly forgotten.

Today, Americans of Polish ancestry need not take a back seat to any citizen of our Nation. Men with names like Gronouski, Cieplinski, Muskie, Kowalski, Gorski, Kluczynski, Grabowski, Brzezinski, and others, have won national recognition and national prominence. A legion of others, men and women of Polish ancestry and bearing Polish names, occupy positions of prestige and responsibility in industry, in labor, in the professional field as doctors, dentists, lawyers, in the academic, civic, and political life of our Nation—in almost every field of human endeavor. They are accepted, and respected, even though their names may be difficult to pronounce.

Yet the battle is not over—for us, or for anyone else. And we who have gone through the hard school of social, economic and political discrimination, should be the first to recognize this fact and to do something about it.

I say, then, let those among us who have not forgotten the bitter taste of second-class rights accorded to third-class citizens, look around and take note of the job that remains to be done.

Let us remember that so long as discrimination, oppression and third-class citizenship are allowed to exist, the cause for which Kosciuszko fought and died, the cause which the Polish nation championed during the thousand years of its existence, the cause which was the very reason and the inspiration for the founding of our own great nation—that cause will not be victorious.

Therefore, let us resolve to join in the battle for the rights of men, to the end that all men and women of good will, who assume and meet their responsibilities to one society, may be secure in the enjoyment and the protection of their rights.

Mr. Chairman, I want to conclude my remarks by paying tribute to an organization unique in the history of our Polonia, one that came into existence as a consequence of the events which we are commemorating today.

I refer, of course, to the Polish American Congress.

This organization was born out of the profound sympathy of Polonia for the tragic plight of Poland. It was designed to champion the rights of the Polish nation. In the past two and a half decades, the voice of the Polish American Congress has been the voice of mankind's conscience, calling for justice and freedom for Poland.

That voice must continue to be heard. And so, while paying tribute to the men and women who have founded this organization—those who have worked for it and through it for some 20 years—I want to urge: Do not let the Polish American Congress wither and die. For if it dies, a part of us, a part of our conscience, will die with it. It must survive. The Polish American Congress must live. To assist in the struggle that Poland shall not die—and Poland will not die—as long as there is life in us. Under the protection of and with the intercession of Our Lady, Queen of Poland—there is no doubt that divine providence will help our cause.

Thank you.

Buck Jenkins New VFW Commander in Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, Alabama is indeed proud that one of our fellow citizens was selected by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States as national commander in chief, during its convention in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 28, 1964. Mr. John A. "Buck" Jenkins, of Birmingham, was elevated to this high and coveted position, and I am delighted to have the privilege of inserting into the RECORD the remarks he made in acceptance of this post.

His remarks follow:

REMARKS OF JOHN A. "BUCK" JENKINS

Today you have accorded me a great honor by electing me commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. With deep humility and appreciation for the faith and confidence you have shown in me, I accept this high office.

Any words of thanks would be totally inadequate, but I pledge to you that I will express my appreciation through my actions as commander in chief. I shall give my every ounce of strength and ability to the great cause which we serve.

However, it is together we will get the job done. Our past record is proud testimony to the significant role that you, the leaders of our great organization, play. Our success or failure during the next 12 months will depend on how we as a team do our jobs. Together I am confident we will get the job done, not for individual glory, but for the cause we serve, for the United States of America and for those departed comrades whose blood and sacrifices mortar the stones of freedom.

Let us review some of the problems we face.

There are continuing attempts to dismember the Veterans' Administration; to transfer its programs to other agencies. We shall combat such destructive efforts and the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs stands at our side in this struggle.

We shall continue to pursue the elusive goal of a standing committee of Veterans' Affairs in the U.S. Senate. Under the leadership of Joe Lombardo, 46 Senators signed their names to Senate proposals, calling for such a committee. This effort must not wither on the vine.

The lagging compensation rates for our disabled veterans are distressing. For several years these deserving comrades have not received an increase while Congress has granted increases to military personnel, civil service employees, social security retirees and others. We shall fight with all our vigor for an equitable increase in compensation rates.

Pensions are in much the same condition. The so-called old or part III pension program has not been increased since 1954. There has been no increase in any pension rate since 1960. There are about 2 million veterans, widows, and children, of these 1½ million World War I veterans and their widows, receiving pensions for disabilities or death not connected with military service. Many of these are existing on less than $1,200 a year, so there is an urgent and immediate need for a substantial increase in pension payments and income limitations.

Increased pension payments and limitations are only a part of the need. The law regulating entitlement to a pension for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, needs improvement.

The requirement that earned income of a working wife be counted as a part of the veteran's income should be eliminated. The expense of a burial in the immediate family should be credited in determining net income. Medical expenses should be deducted from the annual income limitation thereby increasing the pension payment. We shall urge Congress to make these corrections.

We continue to be perturbed over the failure of Congress to grant recognition of the type and length of service as a factor in fixing veteran benefits. Our bills would provide for an additional 10 percent in the pension payments for any veteran who served overseas or in combat. These are improvements we will earnestly seek this year.

We have not and will not abandon our goal of a separate pension program for our World War I comrades. But, in the meantime, and in their present need, we are seeking the improvements already mentioned which will help so many of them.

Service to veterans and their dependents is our basic objective—it is an obligation inherent in our organization and stated in our congressional charter—an obligation which we shall never neglect.

Our rehabilitation program is unequaled by any other organization. Thousands of qualified and dedicated post service officers locally assist veterans and their dependents. Expert department service officers provide skilled representation at Veterans' Administration facilities in every State. Our national rehabilitation service staff of outstanding experts provide professional representation for all veterans and dependents whose problems require consideration in the Nation's Capital. During the year ending May 31, 1964, the Veterans of Foreign Wars successfully represented 150,000 claimants in securing annual benefits of $163 million. This is a splendid record. I commend all concerned for this achievement unequaled in the annals of fraternal or veterans organizations.

Several other trends demand continued close observation and action. Nearly all of the 10,000 separate VA contact offices have been abolished. This is shortsighted economy at the cost of necessary service.

The reduction in the size of the burial flag is irritating.

The slow activation of the 2,000 nursing care beds already authorized is keenly disappointing. The inclusion of these 2,000 nursing care beds in the total 125,000-bed limitation contrary to the original directive is indeed a disappointing development. The reduction of 2,000 domiciliary beds during recent years is alarming. More disturbing is the unofficial report that the number of domiciliary beds will be further reduced by the gradual elimination of approximately 50 percent of the remaining 16,000 beds. I promise you that as commander in chief, we shall fight such cutbacks.

We are also concerned that the U.S. Civil Service Commission has sanctioned or closed its eyes to many Federal agency policies and individual actions adversely affecting veterans and dependents.

These illustrate our opposition. As the memory of war fades, the attacks on veterans benefits increase in number and intensity. These attacks are usually pointed at condemnation of benefits, particularly pensions and hospitalization for non-service-connected veterans. They always repeat the foul canard that veterans do not deserve special consideration. This Nation received the special consideration of loyalty and sacrifice from its oversea veterans in its hour of national peril; and this great Nation has historically recognized this debt. The American people demand this recognition of patriotic service.

And now a few words about another basic interest—national security.

This is of vital concern to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Our Nation must remain strong, if we falter, everything America stands for goes down the drain. All of the blood and sacrifices have been in vain.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars have a very experienced understanding of what must be done to insure our national survival.

First and foremost, we recognize that communism is a worldwide conspiracy with the objective of worldwide domination. We know that to accomplish this, they must destroy the United States. They have so stated. Our logic convinces us this is their objective. This atheistic and cruel conspiracy must be defeated.

To accomplish this, our Nation must be strong. Communists understand only the language of power. Our military power must be second to none. We need a truly modernized and highly mobile army; an Air Force of long-range missiles, manned bombers and high performance interceptors; a naval building program including nuclear power that will provide us the seapower to beat back the four ocean challenge of Russia's tremendous and still growing naval strength; a Marine Corps of at least 200,000 with the latest amphibious equipment.

All of this costs money. We recognize the value of economy, but we oppose false economy that would put second-rate weapons in the hands of our first-rate fighting men.

If the history of warfare teaches anything, it is that cheap weapons are the most costly—most costly in human lives and most costly in terms of national survival.

Now, let's turn to Cuba. The Kremlin's success in Cuba is the high water mark of communism. A Communist Cuba poses a continuing threat to the United States. It is a base for the exportation of Castro-type revolutions into all of Latin America. It straddles the sea lanes between North and South America. It controls the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and the approaches to the Panama Canal.

There can be no relaxation while Cuba is communistic. The return of this former ally to the honor roll of free nations requires a resolute enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

While we are considering the Caribbean, let's look on our position in regard to the Panama Canal. We are in the Canal Zone under treaty as honorably arrived at as any in the history of international negotiation. If we are ever to have world peace—the rule of law—the efficacy of treaties must be rigidly observed. Aside from our self-interest, to renegotiate our treaty with Panama would seriously undermine the permanency of that as well as all other international treaties. The acceptance of the principle of renegotiation by unilateral demand destroys the sanctity of treaty and of international law.

Then, South Vietnam. If that faraway land falls under the Red yoke, all of southeast Asia will be open to Communist aggression. The great base of Singapore will be exposed; Malaysia will be outflanked; Thailand, Burma, and even the eastern flank of India will be the next Red targets. In Asia, the loss of South Vietnam would destroy our prestige. If South Vietnam falls, we lose the bottom anchor of our outer defense line in the Western Pacific; the Philippines, free China, and Okinawa would be endangered. So in the cause of freedom in Asia, and from the standpoint of self-interest, we support whatever action is necessary to win—I repeat and underscore the word win—to win in southeast Asia, freedom has no more room for retreat.

The true malevolence comes from Red China. We must anticipate the possibility of direct confrontation with this evil regime with its 600 million human slaves. If this confrontation should occur, and Heaven forbid, we must have the resolute courage to use every technological, scientific and mechanical superiority at our command. To successfully resolve such a conflict there must be no hesitation—no qualm—we must have a predetermined willingness to use our every superiority. There must be no repetition of the tragic frustration on the Yalu.

Then there is NATO. An alliance erected to resist Communist aggression against Western Europe. Here is comprehended the fairest part of the earth, the most civilized portion of mankind. Here freedom is guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valor. Here the nations which have subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind stand together in defense of their common freedom. If one doubts the value of NATO, let him listen to the angry roar of the bear who walks like a man. The destruction of NATO is the No. 1 objective of the Kremlin.

We know that Khrushchev's soft line, his phony handshake, and his false smile have a single objective, to lull us into a false security. It is with such hypocritical actions that the Kremlin tries to loosen the bonds that bind together NATO. They promise only to betray—they flatter only to ruin.

Some say trade with Communist countries is an extremely complex issue. We say that it is an extremely simple and wrong one. Can we trade with Russia and in good faith ask our allies not to trade with Cuba? We cannot. Can we prevent communism from destroying us by strengthening them? Of course not. Worse still is the nagging suspicion that we are in fact subsidizing the wheat sales to Russia and to that extent, giving rather than selling.

Let us not forget that Lenin prophesied that any shortcomings in transition to the Communist system could be remedied by purchases from the capitalist nations; that in our greed for profit, we would commit suicide.

With respect to trade with communism, we believe in principle over profit. Communism is out to destroy us—Khrushchev promised to bury us. Should we help him?

Our answer is "No."

And now we come to another matter of genuine seriousness concerning our national security. I refer to the plight of those who wear the uniform of our Armed Forces. While we must have the finest weapons, we know they are ineffective without thoroughly trained and experienced people to use them.

For too long, rewards for continued service—active, reserve—such as retirement benefits or benefits accruing to dependents—have not been attractive. Pay has not kept pace with industry or that of civilian Government employees. Hospitalization for dependents is under attack. Commissaries are in danger. Retirement benefits uncertain.

We of the VFW can take real satisfaction that we are fighting—and will continue to fight—for those things which the men in uniform so rightly deserve. We serve notice that we will vigorously oppose any efforts to pick the already lean pockets of our servicemen.

Up to this point I have dealt with those areas in which our national organization acts on behalf of the membership. This is one side of the coin. The other side reflects the things which you as individual members do for our organization and our Nation.

I speak of your wonderful accomplishments in the fields of community service, youth activities, Americanism, and Buddy Poppies.

These are the programs that are responsible for the continued growth and increased prestige of our organization. You have clearly established in the minds of your friends and neighbors the understanding that our interests go far beyond the narrow path of self interest. You have established through deeds, not words, your continuing interest in your community, your State, and your Nation.

It is my sincere hope that during the coming year you will increase your efforts in all of these endeavors. In so doing you will increase our prestige and hence the desirability of belonging to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

And now, let us talk about belonging to the VFW. Let us talk about membership.

Never can any of us ever forget that membership is the heart throb of our organization. It is our prestige, it is our strength, and it gets the job done. It is membership that limits the good we can accomplish.

As time passes, desire of recognition for having served our Nation overseas in time of conflict will increase. The prestige in having seen oversea service will grow. This has been true of all our past wars. The time will come when every eligible oversea veteran will want to be a member to wear his badge of honor—the Cross of Malta—emblem of oversea service in a theater of war in behalf of the United States of America.

Membership cannot be an overworked word. We must not take it lightly. All of us in the Veterans of Foreign Wars must feel an obligation to enlist every eligible veteran into our ranks, with the certain knowledge that by so doing, we will provide the Veterans of Foreign Wars with the numerical strength to accomplish its objectives.

When we adjourn here today, I hope that all of you will depart for your homes dedicated to the premise that we must continue our growth if we are to continue to serve. I know that you have the talent and ability, let us see that talent and ability reflected not only in September 1964 but also in the last 1965 membership report.

In closing, let me thank you again for giving me the privilege of serving you.

American-Hawaiian Steamship Co.

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the bill pending before the House extends for 1 other year the time within which certain construction reserve funds of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. may be committed to the construction of new vessels. We have extended this particular item I think two or three other times.

What is involved here is that the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., which lost its vessels during World War II, wanted to get back into the coastwise and intercoastal ship operations. During the time of their operations before they lost their vessels they placed into a construction reserve fund some $11 million for the construction of new vessels. The time within which the company must build or construct new ships is limited by law. Under the extensions we have heretofore provided, the present time limit is at the end of this year. The company has made application to the Maritime Administration for Government insured loans.

May I say at this point there is no subsidy involved here whatsoever, but it merely is a matter of receiving Government insured loans to be granted by private financial institutions. Applications made for loans have been timely, but the Maritime Administration asked the company to renew its application or to submit a revised application. The Department has not yet had sufficient time this year to act on it. They estimate they will act on the application sometime early next year, which will give the company time enough to ask for bids on its ships and have the money for the construction of them before the end of this following year. The Department favors the legislation and the Maritime Administration favors it. There is no opposition to this particular legislation and there never has been when we have had the bill before the House on previous occasions. This is a bill which we ought to pass to provide that the $11 million now on deposit may be committed to new ship construction.

The CIA at Bay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, ever since the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the CIA has been subject to widespread criticism in the Congress. Much of that criticism has come as a result of Members of Congress not being fully apprised of the growing and farflung operations of this supersecret Agency.

A paradox has arisen around the Nation's role in the cold war. We all realize the urgency for maintaining secrecy in today's world conditions, but we are all similarly concerned with the unchecked expansion of this Agency and its apparently free privileges to spend tax dollars with little accounting to the constitutionally vested guardian of those funds, the Congress itself.

Several days ago an incident occurred which even further points up the need for solving the misunderstanding which exists between Congress and the CIA. That incident involved Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN and his investigation into the tax-exempt statuts of certain charitable foundations linked to the CIA.

In an excellent editorial, the Washington Daily News has handled the matter with perception. I urge that it be included in the RECORD at this point.

THE CIA AT BAY

Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, in the course of his deep probe of tax-exempt foundations, is giving the Central Intelligence Agency some embarrassment.

The Congressman has turned up information, verified by the Internal Revenue Service, that the CIA was giving money to the J. M. Kaplan fund, a New York foundation. Or, as Mr. PATMAN put it, the Kaplan fund was used "as a conduit for channeling CIA funds."

We don't know the purpose of this indirect use of taxpayer money. And probably we don't want to know. We are not anxious to uncover the legitimately secret operations of the CIA which of necessity must be hush-hush.

But Mr. PATMAN asks why the CIA was spending tax money with a foundation which has been under intensive investigation by both his congressional subcommittee and by the IRS. When Mr. PATMAN went to CIA for an answer, he said he didn't get it.

"I feel like I've been trifled with," he said.

Two different directors of IRS have recommended that the Kaplan Foundation's tax-exempt status be revoked, and IRS is still probing.

It does not necessarily follow that whatever service the Kaplan fund provided the CIA was not worth whatever CIA paid it. But somebody (not us) ought to know.

Once again, we say Congress should set up a watchdog committee to keep tabs on CIA and all the other hush-hush agencies. The public doesn't ask what they are doing, and why. This type of system has worked very well with the Atomic Energy Commission, which is partly secret. It is even more important that there be a check on CIA and like agencies.

The more secret an agency, the more liberties it is likely to take—unless it is accountable to somebody who is accountable to the voters.

The 25th Anniversary of the Nazi Attack on Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago, on September 1, 1939, the military force of the Third Reich brutally attacked Poland. On that day, there began a tragic chapter in the history of that brave, freedom-loving nation—a chapter which has seen the people of Poland subjected to more hardship, privation, and tragedy than the people of any other nation.

Attacked from both sides by the forces of Nazi Germany from the west and by those of Communist Russia from the east—Poland was overcome and subjected to an occupation whose horrors even today—some 25 years later—revolt the sensibilities of every civilized person.

Throughout World War II, the courageous people of Poland fought on the side of the Allies—both in their homeland and on other fronts. Yet when the war ended, Poland, having lost 6 million of her people—some 22 percent of her entire population—was not permitted to share in the fruits of the Allied victory.

Almost one-half of her prewar territory was, in effect, handed over to the Soviet Union; an alien system of government was gradually imposed on her people; and an Iron Curtain rose to separate her from the free world.

In partial compensation for the loss of her eastern territories—and in recognition of the tremendous devastation visited upon her people—Poland was given administrative title to the territory located between her pre-World War II western boundary and the Oder-Neisse line. That area, together with some former German areas to the north which were also placed under Polish administration, includes some 40,000 square miles—or approximately one-third of what is known as today's Poland.

This happened almost 20 years ago.

Since that time, the character of those lands—known today as Poland's western territories—has changed completely.

The German nationals have long ago been resettled.

Polish citizens have moved in with their families and their possessions.

The destruction of the war period has been largely repaired.

Cities have been rebuilt—farms have been restored to operating condition—and Polish social, cultural, and ethnic institutions prevail.

By now, the second generation of Poles is living in those territories. They were born there. They know no other home. They belong there.

As of this day, however, their title to the lands they till, to the homes they live in, to the factories they have built and operate—in short, Poland's title to her western territories—has not been openly acknowledged by the United States.

Recalling the provisions of the Potsdam agreement—which, I may add, have been repeatedly and flagrantly violated by the Soviet Union—the Government of the United States adheres to the position that the final delimitation of the German-Polish border should await a peace settlement with Germany.

Our Government has maintained this position despite the fact that the agreement which emerged from the Crimea Conference of 1945 clearly and explicitly stated that because of the loss of her eastern lands to the Soviet Union, "Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west."

This position of the executive branch, which probably is sound from a legalistic standpoint, has little to commend itself from the standpoints of justice, of present-day realities, or of commonsense.

It has generated apprehension of a still further partition of Poland in the hearts of her people, and it has given birth to, and sustained, a certain distrust of our intentions amnog some people in Poland.

To my mind, this official policy has not contributed materially to the attainment of the goals the United States seeks: The establishment of conditions conducive to peace, security, freedom, and justice in central Europe.

There is no doubt in my mind that the United States neither seeks, nor would condone, the taking away of Poland's territories. But we ought to make this even more clear than we have done in the past. I believe that our Government should take a forthright and realistic, rather than a legalistic, position on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the bonds of friendship which have long existed between the people of the United States and the people of Poland, dictate this course.

These same bonds of friendship, as well as our national commitment to the rights of man, also require that we pledge ourselves anew to the task of aiding the people of Poland to secure justice and freedom. To this end, we must continue our best efforts.

Letter to Representative Beckworth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter I have received recently:

TEXAS AND SOUTHWESTERN CATTLE RAISERS ASSOCIATION,
Brady, Tex., August 28, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
Member of Congress,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR LINDLEY: Thank you for your vote on H.R. 1839, the legislation placing reasonable quotas on beef, veal, and mutton imports, and for the wonderful support you have given us throughout our fight.

I trust we shall be bothering you no more this session of Congress, but look forward to seeing you again next year.

Incidentally, I was over in east Texas a few days ago and was with Bill Clements who said be sure and tell you hello.

With best regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

FRED WULFF.

The Reapportionment Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD to include a fine editorial from today's Washington Daily News entitled "The Reapportionment Issue." This is a clear and direct approach to the problems to which we must give our best attention. This Congress must not adjourn until this all important issue is settled.

The editorial follows:

THE REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE

An argument that rings the bell with us in the heated debate over the Supreme Court's equal-population-basis decision for apportionment of State legislatures is:

Why should it be unconstitutional for a State legislature to be set up along lines regarded as strictly constitutional for the Federal Legislature? To wit, one house on a population basis and the other on a basis including geography.

The Supreme Court gave short shrift to this line of argument in its controversial 6-to-3 decision on June 15, holding that under the 14th amendment it is unconstitutional for either house of a State legislature to be apportioned on other than a population basis. The Court majority said the Federal-State situations were not analogous.

This decision now, of course, is the law of the land.

But there is great disagreement as shown by the strength of the Dirksen-Mansfield "breather" amendment in the Senate and by the 218-to-175 House vote last week for the Tuck bill to deprive the Supreme Court of jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures.

And just how important is the Court's decision was stated best by Justice Potter Stewart in his vigorous dissent:

"The Court's Draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union."

With the situation as chaotic as it is in many States and with the issue of such overriding importance, it seems mandatory for Congress upon its return after the Democratic Convention to pass something such as the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment. This would give Congress time at its next session to decide whether to submit to the States the proposed constitutional amendment to allow a State, if its voters approve, to set up a legislature along Federal lines—one house on a strict population basis and the other taking geography and other factors into account.

Such a constitutional amendment seems highly desirable. The States should be given some latitude on how they want to set up their legislatures.

Under the highly regarded Federal system, for example, New York with 16.5 million people has 2 U.S. Senators and Nevada with only 285,000 citizens also has 2 U.S. Senators. That's constitutional and—so far—hasn't ruined the country.

Why shouldn't it be made constitutional for the voters of California, for instance, if they so choose, to set up one house of its legislature on an other-than-population basis to keep Los Angeles County from dominating its legislature?

Congressman Abele Reports on the Poverty Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to place in the RECORD my latest report to the people of the 10th Congressional District of Ohio, which discusses the recent poverty bill that was before the House. I would hope that this will serve to present my thinking on this matter.

The report follows:

On August 8, 1964, the House of Representatives passed the administration's so-called war on poverty bill. This bill was officially known as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Since that time, much has been written as to what the act is and what it will or will not do. I feel that many, perhaps unknowingly, have made an unfair appraisal of the poverty bill. This program is not to be confused with the Appalachian program.

On this legislation, as on all legislation, I gave it thorough and undivided attention. The main reason I did not commit myself to a "yes" or "no" vote in advance of the bill is because any bill can be changed on the floor of the House as part of the amending process. As a matter of fact, on this very bill the Senate version of the bill was substituted for the House version, and finally another complete version was again substituted on the floor of the House. In my legislative experience, both here and in the Ohio Legislature, I have found it wise not to commit myself to a name or a number.

Let's examine the history of this particular bill and the bill itself. The poverty bill has been labeled as Johnson's only major contribution during his administration. The original bill was H.R. 10440, introduced by Representative LANDRUM, of Georgia, on March 16, 1964. The bill was then referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor, whose chairman is the Reverend ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. The committee held a tight schedule of hearings on this bill, hearing only those witnesses that were favorable to the bill. Republican members of the committee, including BOB TAFT and BILL AYRES, of Ohio, were unable to amend the bill or even offer constructive criticism. All opportunity for debate was cutoff. After the public hearings were finished, the Democrat members met behind closed doors to change the bill. There were so many changes that the Democrats finally had to introduce an entirely new bill.

This was Johnson's bill, and he put it at the top of his "must legislation." This was also an election year bill, more concerned with buying votes than actually providing a

solution to the problem. The bill, as passed, calls for a total expenditure of $947 million in its first year of operation alone. Nobody has any real idea what it will cost in future years. However, plans are already underway to increase the size of the so-called Job Corps from 40,000 to 100,000 persons. One hundred and ninety million dollars have been earmarked for this program during the first year of operation. This figures out to about $4,700 per person. More than the cost of attending college in any of our first-rate colleges or universities in the United States.

If you would listen to the administration, you would think that the United States has never done anything to combat poverty, and that our whole country is poverty stricken. The truth is, there are 42 Federal programs which spent $31.8 billion fighting poverty in fiscal year 1964. This, of course, does not include the many millions of dollars being spent by State, local, and private organizations in the war against poverty.

There is no doubt in my mind that the primary reason for this legislation is to gain votes for Johnson and the Democratic ticket in the November election. Now let us examine some of the provisions of the bill itself.

Title I of the bill authorizes youth programs, which are known as the Job Corps, work training programs, and work study programs. As I have already pointed out, the Job Corps would cost approximately $4,700 per person. This Corps will consist of young people between the ages of 16 and 22, who are school dropouts and who are not employable. These youths will be trained in conservation and home employment, which will not permit them to obtain a usable skill once they reenter the labor market. In the meantime, the Federal Government will be paying them for attending these schools. This may encourage rather than discourage school dropouts.

Title II of the act provides for urban and rural community action programs. This part of the bill is a catchall that provides something for everyone. The provisions of the bill are not clearly spelled out and give wide discretionary powers to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In addition, this program would overlap other Federal programs. This portion of the bill would authorize the use of Federal funds to finance any private nonprofit organization (religious or nonreligious) in activities of the community without the approval of any public agency.

Title III of the act authorizes special programs to combat poverty in rural areas. As originally written, this part of the bill would have allowed direct grants of up to $1,500 to rural families, to buy land, etc., at the discretion of the Director. It also provided for loans of $2,500 to the same family, for nonagriculture purposes. The major requirement for the programs would be that they couldn't get the money elsewhere. The final version of the bill was that only loans of $2,500 could be made to buy land, etc. However, the Director still retained the power to compromise any part or all of the loans should the person default. This amounts to a gigantic Government giveaway. Farm loan programs are already available under the Department of Agriculture, rural area development program, and various credit production associations. This amounts to a socialistic attempt to redistribute farm property by using your tax dollars. Of course, this title only authorized $50 million of your money to be given away.

Title IV of the act provides for employment and investment incentives. This program would duplicate efforts already being made to aid small business and create employment through the Small Business Administration. The chief criterion for these loans would be that the money is unavailable elsewhere. Yet the interest rates on these loans would be lower than existing interest rates. In other words, if you can't qualify for a commercial loan, the chances are the Government will take you on, even if you are a bad risk.

But the crowning achievement of the entire program is the creation of the Office of Director of Economic Opportunity. This job has been variously described as being that of a "Poverty Czar" or the "General of the Poor Corps." In this one man is lodged the responsibility of carrying on the many programs under this act. He would be a superbureaucrat who would have authority over many members of the Cabinet. Never, in peacetime, has any man, other than the President, been given so much authority and responsibility.

He will have wide discretionary powers that can only be checked by the Governor of each State before certain programs can be started in that State. The Governor may exercise this veto right without giving any reasons. Afterwards, the director remains virtually a law unto himself.

I want you, the people of the 10th Congressional District, to know that as long as I am your Congressman I will not be pressured into voting for or against any matter, which is against my principles and against the principles of good government.

Very sincerely yours,

HOMER E. ABELE.

Let Protest Be Heard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, interest increases and concern mounts concerning the series of Supreme Court decisions handed down on June 15, 1964, nullifying constitutional provisions on apportionment of several States of the Union, including Ohio.

It clearly appears that unless the Congress, or three-fourths of the legislatures of the 50 States, acts to stay or nullify such decisions of the Supreme Court, constitutional provisions of well over 40 of the States will be stricken down and completely nullified by such Supreme Court decisions.

I might add that the provisions of the Ohio constitution which were stricken down on that fateful day had been approved by popular vote of the people of Ohio by a vote of more than 29 to 1.

The Lorain, Ohio, Journal of June 27, 1964, in its lead editorial had much of interest to say about legislative apportionment. I commend it to people everywhere who are interested in the constitutional crisis which has resulted from such decisions.

The editorial follows:

LET PROTEST BE HEARD

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The basic concept on which the Government of the United States was founded is being altered, and the American people, bogged down in a morass of complacency, are doing little more about it than to raise a murmur of protest.

Destruction of one of the main foundation stones supporting our governmental structure will be the eventual—and inevitable—result of the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring that both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned only according to population. Only by the adoption of a constitutional amendment to nullify the decision can our system of representation based on population and geographical units be preserved.

If we seem to belabor the subject, it is because we hope by our editorial voice to help swell the protest against the decision from a murmur to a resounding shout reverberating in all parts of the Nation.

Much of the confusion over the merit of the apportionment decision springs from the seeming rightness and righteousness of a policy described by the catch phrase, "One man—one vote." The idea is that every citizen's vote should have equal value. Most Americans are quick to accept this as a logical argument against geographical apportionment, without stopping to think that this Nation and the States which comprise it have always had such apportionment.

The original purpose, which is as important today as at the beginning, was to preserve the value of each citizen's vote by a system of checks and balances.

After all, a vote is of scant actual value if the voter has no means of slowing down decisionmaking by the majority during a moment of crowd hysteria. In the long run, after the citizenry has heard sensible debates and has had time for sober second thoughts, the majority should rule—and it does.

Yet today many persons, enamored of the phrase "One man—one vote," are prepared to surrender the system under which this Nation has prospered and grown powerful.

We noted today the comment of a newspaper colleague in another community concerning the so-called minority control of the Ohio House of Representatives. He concluded his editorial by stating:

"Even so, it is a jolt to know that the controlling votes in the house could in theory represent only 28 percent of the State's population. A change is coming. It seems overdue."

This can be considered a shock only if one assumes that the people of the small counties of Ohio are the bitter foes of the people of the big counties. If such an assumption is valid—which it isn't—then it must also be accepted that the people of little States are the bitter foes of the big States.

This line of reasoning led us to this question: What percentage of the votes could in theory control that august and powerful body, the Senate of the United States? Getting the answer required delving into figures and mathematics, a miserable chore for most editorial writers, this one included. But the final result proved interesting.

Starting with the indisputable fact that the Senators of 26 States, if they all voted together, could control the Senate, we then began checking population figures. Using the 1960 census, we noted that 16 States are less than a million in population and that 6 are between 1 million and 2 million. To these we added 4 States topping 2 million.

These 26 States have a population of 29,624,902 out of a total population of 179,323,175. Since each State, regardless of size, has 2 Senators, the 26 States have a total of 52 and the other 24 States have only 48.

This means, as we compute it, that 16.52 percent of the Nation's population could in theory control the U.S. Senate.

Once the one-man, one-vote ideology is accepted at face value, no logical course remains open except to push for a change in apportionment of the U.S. Senate. Even the Supreme Court will feel the pressure to rid itself of its present fish-and-fowl decision.

The Court has its role as a final arbiter, and we are not advocating a change in that. But even when the final arbiter makes a mistake, there is a means of correction by the Court of Last Resort—the people of the United States.

By the will of the people exercised through our representative government, a constitutional amendment can be adopted to establish fair and acceptable apportionment guidelines which will preserve our traditional form of government.

Charlotte Sue Perry: My Solution to the School Dropout Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, recently during the World Teen Fair held at the Orange County, Calif., Fairgrounds as a feature of the Orange County Diamond Jubilee, a teenage essay contest was held on "How To Solve the Dropout Problem."

The contest was sponsored by station KRLA and World Teen Fair. The essays were judged by educators from the University of Southern California, the University of California at Los Angeles, and other top educational institutions.

I was very happy to learn that Charlotte Sue Perry, a student at John Marshall Junior High School, of Pomona, located in the 24th Congressional District which it is my privilege to represent, placed 4th in the contest.

Charlotte's essay is thoughtful and well written and is of especial interest because it presents the viewpoint of the age group most personally involved in this serious school problem. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit her essay for inclusion in the RECORD:

MY SOLUTION TO THE SCHOOL DROPOUT PROBLEM

School dropouts, in my opinion, are caused more by the problems and difficulties at home and lack of understanding at school than by any lack of intelligence. You almost have to go way back to preschool for the answers to the high school dropout problem. Psychologists pretty well agree that our first 5 years of life are very important in starting us on the right track.

Many kids are handicapped right from the start by the fact that their home life has been void of books, music, or any emphasis on exploring the five senses. There are other handicaps.

In my kindergarten class, there were some children who spoke no English—only Spanish. The teacher spoke only English, which, needless to say, created a problem for them. Naturally these children could not be expected to achieve at the same rate, yet often they were given no additional help. As we progressed through grade school, all different levels of learning ability became apparent. Some of these differences were due of course to natural ability, but many of the kids who seemingly couldn't learn the basic tools of reading, writing, and arithmetic were simply being shortchanged at home by parents who either didn't know how, didn't care enough, or were too emotionally disturbed to take the proper interest in their children's education. These kids needed extra help and encouragement at school to compensate for their environment.

When I was in the sixth grade, the teacher let me spend an hour a day giving help to a boy and girl who were poor readers. The girl is now doing very well in junior high, and the boy has shown improvement. If that sixth grade teacher hadn't realized that their problems at home entitled them to a little extra help, they very well may have been dropouts in a few years.

For there comes a point of no return where lack of reading skill has caused so much failure and frustration, that these kids give up even trying. They sit and mark time until their 16th birthday releases them.

What I have learned from all this is that students must learn to read well by the time they are through grade school or else they stand little chance of mastering more advanced work. You can't build without first laying a foundation. Reading is the key that opens the world of knowledge and achievement. Almost everyone possesses the intelligence to learn to read so the teachers must see to it that they do.

I'm certain that if the elementary schools made sure that every child capable of learning, did learn the basic tools despite the differences in abilities or home life—the high school dropouts would decrease drastically.

Statement in Support of H.R. 8290, To Authorize the Secretary of the Interior To Accept Certain Lands for Everglades National Park, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to state my support for H.R. 8290, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept certain lands as part of the Everglades National Park, Fla. This legislation, which has now passed the House, will not only enhance one of Florida's major assets, but will be of benefit to Floridians as well as the many Americans who visit Florida each year.

And it is a particular pleasure to me to be among the supporters of this bill because a companion bill to it, S. 2082, was introduced and passed in the Senate by our distinguished senior Senator from Florida, Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND.

Senator HOLLAND has long been concerned with the growth and development of the Everglades National Park, and it is among the many tangible attractions in Florida which bear his touch.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board of independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Los Angeles Bunker Hill Urban Renewal Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, an announcement has been made that the first building in the Bunker Hill urban renewal project in Los Angeles, located all within my district, will soon be started. This will be a 40-story, $30 million office building, to be built by the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.

I represented this area located in the heart of the city of Los Angeles, between the downtown district and the civic center for over 13 years. As a Los Angeles City councilman I played an important part in supporting the rights of property owners and residents in their negotiations, in favor of fair appraisals of their property and the orderly and proper relocation of the residents.

When the entire 136-acre parcel is redeveloped, it will represent over $500 million of new construction and will certainly be an example of the partnership between private industry and government from which a new complex of residential and business buildings, all of substantial economic and esthetic value to the city, will emerge.

On the occasion of the announcement of the Connecticut General firm's participation in the project, Mr. Frazar B. Wilde, chairman of the board of that company, made the following statement.

I would like to have the text of Mr. Wilde's statement inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because it sets out clearly how a part of the private sector of our economy views urban renewal, and it touches on some of the factors which lead to private enterprise participation in the federally aided urban renewel program.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT ON BUNKER HILL SQUARE BY FRAZAR B. WILDE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, CONNECTICUT GENERAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.

It is natural that an investor looking for unusual opportunities should turn to California. The record of population and economic growth, alone, for the entire State and for Los Angeles, is in many ways unparalled. For example, within the past year your estimates indicate that California has now become the most populous State in the Union, with 60 percent of the population living below the Los Angeles mountain range. This underscores your growth in numbers and in diversity of activity.

This rapid growth in population is due in large part to the influx daily of hundreds of new residents, many of them attracted by job opportunities and the favorable climate. While these immigrants include many retirees whose capital benefits the economy of this State, the majority of new residents are young, energetic, and competent—the types of people who have endowed your State with a unique character throughout its history.

Those of us from the East are especially impressed with the way Californians continuously seek out and embrace new ideas and opportunities. Your creativity is translated in a wide range of activities, from the most commercial to the highly intellectual. Particularly praiseworthy are the scientific and intellectual achievements of your schools and universities and of the private organizations which foster important research and study into diverse fields. From the investor's viewpoint, this kind of stimulating atmosphere, stemming from the initiative and competency of your people, inspires confidence.

One of the most unusual aspects of Los Angeles is the pattern of your physical growth. Los Angeles has spread out more than most major cities. Tall buildings are the exception even in the downtown region. Centers of business activity have proliferated from the core of Los Angeles and now cover a wide area.

The freeways which web your city together are dramatic evidence that Los Angeles relies on the automobile perhaps more than any other metropolitan region in the Nation. With nearly 25 percent more automobiles in Greater Los Angeles than we have people in the State of Connecticut, there is no question that mobility is a crucial factor in the economic and social life of this area. An efficient and flexible system of highways is only part of the answer, however. A comprehensive mass transportation system is an equally pressing consideration for a metropolitan region such as this.

The new Los Angeles Civic Center, which will be the largest planned concentration of public buildings outside of Washington, is a testimony to the belief of an influential body of civic and business people that downtown Los Angeles will continue to be the hub of activity. And the plan for Bunker Hill, adjacent to the civic center, is a key development in the resurgence of this downtown area.

Because of the nature of the business, an insurance company must be especially careful that its investment programs protect the interests of its policyholders and at the same time provide an attractive return. While we obviously emphasize soundness in our investment planning, we try to be alert to new and unusual investment approaches which will be both successful and profitable. We feel this investment accomplishes both objectives.

Specifically, we are talking about a $30 million investment in a segment of the Bunker Hill urban redevelopment program. To be known as Bunker Hill Square, this project will include the tallest building in southern California, a 40-story tower, situated on a landscaped plaza with reflecting pools and plantings. We are excited about the plans which are being developed. We think you will be, too, when they are described in more detail shortly.

These three prime factors, then-continued growth in people, ideas, and activity; the need for mobility; and a definite indication that downtown Los Angeles was the specific area for concentrated urban development—influenced our decision to make this investment. We were particularly anxious that any major investment involving new construction should result in a building which will fill an important need. Here, we felt that a building of unusual beauty and quality—a prestige building in a convenient location—would be a fitting complement to the current plans for the redevelopment of Los Angeles. With effective use of space and ready access to and from the freeways, a new development such as this should fast become an important activity center.

Our interest in this project was sparked not only by the attractive investment potential of this particular area, but also by the opportunity to join forces with the winning team of Galbreath-Ruffin. They and their associates—architects and builders—have lent their talents and their abilities to similar urban development projects in other cities throughout the country. Their past successes bode well for the future of this project.

The prime responsibility for the success of a redevelopment program of this scope and quality lies with the people of Los Angeles. We can demonstrate our confidence in the potential of an investment such as this by our willingness to underwrite a key segment of the program and to see that standards of exceptional quality are maintained. But whether this project or related ones which follow it, shall accomplish their main objective of adding strength and vitality to this city will depend on the support of many people.

Increasingly, our major metropolitan regions have recognized the need for an effective downtown area as the heart and core of their cities. Perhaps a decade ago there was less care devoted to the development of a strong downtown center and more emphasis on widespread development. Today, the two are considered essential to the strength and growth of a metropolitan area and its economy.

If Los Angeles is to have a unified and effective downtown center, considerable dedication to the program and some reorientation of business planning will be necessary. Experience in other areas of the country indicates that with the necessary planning and support the rehabilitation of a downtown area can be an orderly process. You have already demonstrated your interest in this direction by your support of the civic center.

The redevelopment of Bunker Hill presents a major opportunity to realize the potentials of an effective downtown for which the civic center has already set the foundations. These are indications that Los Angeles is on the threshold of an important step in its historical development. We are pleased to be a part of it.

Public Service by Retired Peace Corps Volunteers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, all of us have marveled at the fine work done

around the world by members of the Peace Corps. Hundreds of volunteers have now returned to the United States, to resume their careers. Many, however, are continuing to devote their lives to humanitarian public service. An outstanding example of this is work being done here in Washington by a retired volunteer who now is working as an Eleanor Roosevelt National Foundation Human Rights intern. I ask unanimous consent that an article from the August 14 Washington Post, describing the work of Mr. Ken Rashid as an Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation intern, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 14, 1964]

INTERN REPORTS: CONCERTS SOOTHE TENSION

(By Dorothy McCardle)

A young man with Arab ancestry and Roman Catholic faith is now battling for the rights of the Jews and Negroes.

Kenneth R. Rashid, who was formerly with the Peace Corps and is now here working with the Howard University Neighborhood Council, had a story to tell yesterday which is typical of the report of accomplishments made by his fellow Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Human Rights Interns.

Rashid was one of seven such interns to report on their work in inter-group relationships to Orin Lehman, executive director of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, who had come from New York.

The interns have completed the first half of the year's work in bettering relations between racial groups. Five have been in Washington, two in Philadelphia, and all are enthusiastic.

Rashid has been especially successful in helping to promote a series of Sunday night open air concerts at Meridian Hill. Some 17 concerts have been given this summer, drawing crowds of 3,000 to 5,000 people a night, he said. They represented many races and the whole economic spectrum.

Rashid and other interns agreed that the work in behalf of better inter-racial human relations fulfills a dream of retiring Peace Corpsmen.

"Many returning members of the Peace Corps are searching for meaningful tasks in this country," said Rashid. "Their experience in inter-group relations abroad can be of great value in the United States."

Other interns who reported were Mark L. Alter, who is interning with the D.C. Commissioner's Council on Human Relations, Martin E. Henner, who is with the American Jewish Committee in Philadelphia, Doris Jordan, with Neighbors, Inc., Amy W. Paige, with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Eugene Solon, with the Industrial Union Department of AFL–CIO, and Marv Zommick, of the Urban League of Philadelphia.

Book Entitled "2,121 Funny Stories and How To Tell Them," Written by Mr. Winston K. Pendleton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I know that many times we, as Members of Congress, are in need of wholesome anecdotes to use as we make our public appearances in our home districts and throughout the Nation. I have been intrigued with the shortage of books that are available to help us with this problem. Last year several of my constituents wrote me and asked if I could recommend to them certain books of anecdotes. The list was very inadequate and it was not until just this past week that I found a book that fits the bill. The title of the book is "2,121 Funny Stories and How To Tell Them." It was written and edited, I must say frankly, by a longtime friend of mine, a fellow Floridian and my favorite story teller, Mr. Winston K. Pendleton. Pendleton is one of this country's best known afterdinner humorists and he has been collecting and telling stories most of his life.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, it is proper and ethical for me to call attention to this book because it deals with an important aspect of our American heritage. It is a book of humor and, as such, commends itself as a most wholesome example of this facet of our national culture.

I appreciate a funny story, I believe, as much as any of my colleagues, whether I am telling it or listening to it, whenever the story fits the occasion. Win Pendleton's book is filled with good stories. They are listed by subject like a dictionary and are carefully cross-referenced. His section on "how to tell" a funny story gives some valuable pointers that will help anyone become a better storyteller. Anyone who is a public speaker, and I believe that each of my colleagues is a gifted one, can profit from the wealth of humor in this book.

The book "2,121 Funny Stories and How To Tell Them" is published by the Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo., and I am sure copies are available in most bookstores.

Mrs. Katharine Graham, Distinguished Guest of the President, First Lady of the Press, on Trip From Atlantic City to Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mrs. Katharine Meyer Graham, described in a recent Associated Press article as America's first lady of the press, was a guest on Friday, August 28, of President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, on a trip to Texas.

It was my privilege also to accompany the President and the Vice Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, on this flight of Air Force 1 from Atlantic City, N.J., to Austin, Tex.

Mrs. Graham was warmly received by the people of our State, and we in Texas were honored by her visit. An article published in the Dallas News of Thursday, August 13, 1964, illustrates the high regard in which she is held throughout the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that the article, by Arthur Edson, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News of Aug. 13, 1964]

KAY GRAHAM: HEADS PUBLISHING EMPIRE

(By Arthur Edson)

WASHINGTON.—In the office of almost any other metropolitan publisher it would be preposterous. But visitors waiting for the president of the Washington Post may employ their time by studying gay swatches of decorator fabrics placed there on a table.

With Katharine Meyer Graham, America's first lady of the press, this seems precisely right.

"I was never wild for a career," she says.

And along with comments on great men and great affairs, she sprinkles her conversation with such womanly concerns as explaining how she would like to be home each day to welcome the children from school.

Recently politicians appear to have rediscovered women, who now get Government jobs of increased responsibility. So it's fitting that Kay Graham should preside over a communications empire larger than any ever headed by a woman.

True, it's not in the same league with a Hearst or Beaverbrook group. But, in addition to the Post, the company owns Newsweek magazine, Art News magazine, one radio and two television stations, an interest in a Nova Scotia paper company and, with the Los Angeles Times, a news service to 62 clients here and abroad.

Highly diversified holdings, Mrs. Graham points out, present highly diversified problems. She commutes between the Nation's Capital and New York to wrest with them.

Mrs. Graham's responsibility came shockingly, sickeningly, with the death of her husband, Philip L. Graham, a year ago.

Housewife, mother of three sons and one daughter, volunteer worker for Washington's needy children, Mrs. Graham had to shore up her shattered personal world and take command of a complex business.

This would seem to call for courage, but Kay Graham says simply:

"I had no other choice."

Fortunately, she was not entirely unprepared.

Her father, Eugene Meyer, banker and Government executive, had bought the Post in 1933, her husband had been with the paper since 1946, and both discussed with her the joys and troubles of an expanding business.

Her mother, Agnes Ernst Meyer, has been a lecturer, writer, literary critic, authority on Chinese art and a vigilant defender and pepper-upper of a hundred causes.

Katherine Meyer was born June 16, 1917, in New York City, but her family moved here when she was 6 months old.

Kay went to Vassar, transferred to, and was graduated from, the University of Chicago, spent a short time as a $21-a-week reporter for the San Francisco News, and for 6 years worked in the Sunday circulation and editorials departments of the Post. She has known most of its key people for years.

Yet one gets the idea in talking with her that she still may be a bit awed by the editorial processes, although not so awed that she doesn't go about her job manfully while asking questions womanfully.

While she reads, she wonders.

"You may have a doubt about this," she says, "and you may ask: 'Haven't we gone overboard on something? And why?' "

Tall, vivacious and enthusiastic, Mrs. Graham has a manner and can be both refreshing and disconcerting. When asked a question, she ponders it, as if it really deserves an honest and fresh answer, most unusual in a city where answers tend to be stereotyped or evasive or both.

Mrs. Graham goes along gamely with an inside joke: When Managing Editor Alfred Friendly finds one of her suggestions particularly helpful, he gives her a "Brenda Starr Award," a reference to a whirlwind girl reporter in a comic strip appearing in the Post.

On Tuesdays and Wednesdays Mrs. Graham is in New York for Newsweek editorial conferences. On Mondays and Thursdays there are meetings here, including lunch with famous guests and the editorial staff.

"One week it may be all South American," she says. "Then we had Gen. Maxwell Taylor before he left. Vietnam week, obviously."

Friday, big bonus: No scheduled meetings.

All three Washington papers—the Evening Star, the Daily News, and the Post—face a unique situation. It's one thing to comment on national affairs from afar; it's something else to goad the animals while sitting inside the cage.

The Post is a morning newspaper, so a Congressman upset by an editorial or a cartoon or a column or a news story can be fighting mad by the time the House and Senate open.

Vituperation statistics aren't kept, but the guess is that no other newspaper is scolded so regularly and so heartily, even though it usually is high on any rating of the Nation's top newspapers.

She says she wants the news account to be fair.

"If we are not going to be fair," she asks, "what are we here for?"

Well, she's been on the new job for a year—how does she find it now?

Her answer was most ladylike:

"I'm amazed at how much I like it. I adore it. I love most of the things you spend your days doing."

A reporter said he had always supposed the management end of the news business would be dull.

"It isn't," Mrs. Graham said. "I promise you."

She confesses one disastrous failure.

"I'm not a great sports expert," she says, even though once when the local baseball franchise was endangered she owned one-tenth of the lowly Washington Senators.

"The children would come in with some comment like: 'Your team has really done it again. What a trade.' "

Publisher Graham laughed at the memory of Graham, baseball baroness.

"There are gaps in my learning," she said. "Here's a total gap."

St. Louis Radio Station KXLW and the School Dropout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, we often hear of the activities of the Federal agencies in attempting to cure some of the serious problems of our times. We only rarely hear of the efforts of private individuals and interests in combating some of these social ills. Recently, one such effort was brought to my attention, and I would like to call it to the consideration of my colleagues. Radio station KXLW in St. Louis, Mo., placed a brief announcement on the air stating that the president of the radio station, Mr. Richard J. Miller, would like to send a personal letter to each boy and girl who was contemplating dropping out of school. Since June 18, when the announcement was first made, Mr. Miller has received over 570 requests for the letter.

I think that this is an example of commendable public interest in trying to combat one of the most serious problems of our generation. Under unanimous consent I place in the RECORD at this point a copy of the letter sent by Mr. Miller to these potential school dropouts along with one radio announcement of solicitation:

RADIO STATION, KXLW,
St. Louis, Mo.

To: Everyone thinking of becoming a "drop-out."

Do you know the reasons many "dropouts" give when asked why they quit school? They say "They are tired of being treated as a child and they want to be grown up."

I recognize that a fierce desire to play an adult role comes earlier to American youth today than in the past. I'm not sure I know all the reasons for the change, but I think that you would agree that many young people of high school age resent being kept in the status of pupilhood because they equate it with childhood, dependence, and inhibition of freedom. There is abundant evidence that there is restlessness on the part of our adults-to-be during their pupil stage. They want to be adults and they want to be treated as adults.

Now, I'll take a deep breath and plunge boldly into my theme: the phrase "He quit school and went to look for work," just isn't the adult thing to do, it is the childish thing to do. From the point of view of the labor market alone we just can't "afford" to have more people looking for jobs. There are now three-quarters of a million unemployed between the ages of 16 and 21. Moreover the decrease in the number of available unskilled jobs suggests that insufficient education will not enable one to get and hold the job he or she wants. Furthermore education provides more than just vocational preparation, it provides development for the cultural growth of the young person and aids in the search for his identity. So don't be a fool, education is a tool, don't drop out of school.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD J. MILLER,
President.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS

This is Oznathylee Walker, your KXLW News and special features director with a very important announcement for any boy or girl who is thinking about becoming a dropout.

Mr. Richard Miller, president of KXLW, wants to send you a personal and confidential letter on this subject, and I urge you to receive and read Mr. Miller's letter before you make your decision on dropping out of school.

Remember, this personal letter to you could change the course of your life, so you owe it to yourself and your community to read Mr. Miller's letter. Mothers and fathers can send for a copy for their son or daughter. Anyone who knows someone who is thinking of dropping out of school should send for a copy of Richard Miller's dropout letter. For a copy write Dropout Letter, KXLW the big K–13, St. Louis, Mo., 63144.

The Oklahoma State University Ethiopian Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to be acquainted with Dr. Luther H. Brannon, who served for 7 years as extension director of the Oklahoma State University Ethiopian program. He now serves as the full director of this program undertaken by Oklahoma State University in conjunction with the Agency for International Development.

I recently received a letter from Dr. Brannon, who is now in Ethiopia, in which he expressed his gratitude to the Congress for its support of the program with which he is connected.

I am sure all Members will be interested in reading the following excerpt from his letter, as it records the impressions of an on-the-scene witness, over a period of years, of one of our AID programs:

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, July 16, 1964.

Hon. CARL ALBERT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ALBERT: The educational efforts of OSU in Ethiopia that began in 1952 as a result of Dr. Bennett's visits have produced results of inestimable value. It was my very great privilege to be a member of the original group that arrived here shortly after the signing of the agreement. Our first challenge was to select some 80 students for secondary school training from more than 500 nondescript applicants. Today, some 12 years later, I am seeing these timid, frightened youngsters as well-trained professional men—after secondary school training, 4 years at the Ethiopian College of Agriculture, and specialized training at the graduate level at U.S. universities. I visited an experiment station last week that is staffed by Ethiopians who received their basic training from OSU faculty members. The breadth and scope of work at this station will compare favorably with any I have seen.

It is really a great source of satisfaction to return and observe the changes that have been brought about through a planned program of agricultural education. There is no shortcut or crash program that can substitute for education in achieving economic development. The former students are now assuming positions of importance; they are friends of the United States in a very real sense and this will pay dividends in years to come. In my opinion, the infinitesimal percentage of foreign aid appropriations that has gone for technical assistance will bring returns far out of proportion to the money so spent. Oklahoma can truly be proud of the contribution it has made to the cause of world understanding and world peace.

It is certainly hoped that ere long your schedule will permit you to visit this operation to see, firsthand, the program that is underway. Since I have been away for so long and cannot claim personal credit for the accomplishments, I feel perfectly free to indulge in a little bragging. Meanwhile, may I extend best wishes and kindest personal regards to you, your family, and staff.

Sincerely,

LUTHER H. BRANNON,
Director, OSU Ethiopian Program.

General Motors Commended for Expansion of General Motors Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important and rewarding investments which individuals or corporations in the United States as well as our Government, States, and communities can make today is in education, for it is essential that America's youth be properly trained for the tasks ahead in a highly complex technological age. It is particularly encouraging to note that General Motors Corp., which has invested heavily to expand its manufacturing facilities, is also increasing its financial support of the General Motors Institute, a baccalaureate degree-granting college accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which General Motors has sponsored since 1926. Today about 2,500 students are enrolled at GMI, working for bachelor's degrees in mechanical, industrial, and electrical engineering. The General Motors' press release which follows was issued August 18, 1964, and gives additional relevant information:

FLINT, MICH.—Two major construction projects, the first stage in a new long-range campus development program at General Motors Institute, were announced today by Dr. Harold P. Rodes, president.

Construction will begin next spring on a four-floor student activities and conference building, and also a men's residence hall that will house approximately 400 first-year students. Construction bids will be requested early in 1965 and both buildings are scheduled for completion in time for the 1966 fall semester, Dr. Rodes said.

The extensive GMI campus expansion will take place on a 34-acre tract which General Motors purchased from the Hasselbring estate last year—south of Third Avenue and west of Chevrolet Avenue (across the street and directly south of the present campus).

"The new student center and the men's residence hall will incorporate many of the latest architectural principles and design ideas," the GMI president explained. "However, certain features—such as exposed red brick in patios and in the structures themselves—will relate them to our existing buildings, so that the total impression will be one of unity."

The four floors in the student activities and conference building will cover approximately 175,000 square feet. It will serve as a focal point for student activities and include recreational facilities not available in existing GMI buildings. Food service will be provided in a modern cafeteria and dining rooms, including an area for GMI faculty.

The upper floors in this building will consist of classrooms and living quarters for personnel attending GMI management training programs. A large multipurpose room is also to be provided which can be used for banquets and social events.

"Transfer of student relations offices and food services to the new building," Dr. Rodes pointed out, "will make space available in our existing buildings for additional laboratories, classrooms, and faculty offices."

The men's residence hall, to be located just southwest of the student center, will be the first dormitory constructed on the GMI campus. Previously, all students have lived in rooming houses or in fraternities.

"We believe the new residence hall for freshmen will strengthen our academic program by providing more uniform housing for first-year men," Dr. Rodes said. "They will also have GMI upper class student advisers available to them for counseling and tutorial assistance with their courses.

"The student activities center and the men's residence hall were the two most needed buildings at this time," he continued. "Their construction represents the first stage in a master plan for development of the GMI campus. Completion of this program will enable us to meet the continually increasing demand for engineering education, as well as for management development and specialized technical training, geared to the needs of General Motors."

Since the institute is in operation the year around, both of the new buildings will be fully air conditioned. Attractive landscaping is included in the construction project.

Tarapata-MacMahon Associates, Inc., Bloomfield Hills, Mich., are architects for the GMI master development plan and the first two buildings. The architects have been working with the Argonaut Realty Division of General Motors as well as the GMI Board of Regents and appropriate staff members, Dr. Rodes said.

(GMI was established as an evening school by an association of Flint factory employees in 1919. Since General Motors assumed sponsorship of the school in 1926, its programs and facilities have been steadily expanded and its enrollment has increased to approximately 2,500 engineering students. In addition, GMI has approximately 10,000 General Motors employees enrolled each year in resident programs covering management and specialized technical training.

(Over the years there have been eight major additions to the original structure that was built in 1927. These have provided a total of 300,000 square feet devoted to outstanding classroom and laboratory facilities for undergraduate engineering education. The institute has, for some years, been accredited as a baccalaureate degree-granting college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Those successfully completing the 5-year GMI cooperative course are awarded bachelor's degrees in mechanical, industrial, or electrical engineering.)

Old Places—New Faces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Mattye C. McCall of Fulton, Mo., has written a song dedicated to the election of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

Mrs. McCall is an outstanding Republican and I know the words she has written reflect the hopes of millions of Americans.

The song follows:

OLD PLACES—NEW FACES

(Played to tune: "I'll Be Seeing You," Liberace's theme song)

(Lyric by Mattye C. McCall)

We'll be seeing you
In all the old familiar places
After you have won tough races
And are through.
In the house off 16th Street
Lafayette Park across the way
On Capitol Hill new faces you'll meet
Or to Senate office you may stray.
We'll be seeing you
When fall covers lawns with heavy dew
In every function bright and gay
We'll always think of you that way.
We'll find you in the morning sun
And when the day is done
We'll be looking at you
But thanking God that you won.

Results of a Public Opinion Survey Taken in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the results of a public opinion survey I have taken this year in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District. I have been circulating questionnaires in my district for years but the returns this year far exceeded those of previous years, thus indicating an increasing interest among my constituents in taking advantage of the opportunity to inform their Congressman of their views on some of the issues of the day.

This year 14,938, or approximately 16 percent of the questionnaires mailed out, were returned. I am informed by colleagues who also circulate questionnaires that this percentage of return is quite high, and am highly gratified that so many of my constituents responded. I like to keep up with the thinking of the people down home and the use of a questionnaire is one of the best methods of doing so.

Tabulation of the answers was made by Data Management, Inc., of Washington, D.C., by use of data processing equipment. The results are quite interesting and I believe representative of the views of the voters of the district. The full tabulation will follow but I would like to call specific attention to some of the results.

For example, while 47 percent of those who answered the question indicated approval of the sale of wheat to Russia, only 4.4 percent said they would favor doing so on credit; 76.8 percent said they would approve a Federal income tax credit or deduction for all or part of college expenses; and 37.2 percent would extend the credit or deduction to any taxpayer who pays the expenses of a student—dependent or otherwise; 90.3 percent feel that the national debt is high enough already and oppose increased Government spending if it would require borrowing additional money—which is substantial opposition to further deficit financing, and was pleasing to me since I have long advocated curtailing the national debt during periods of prosperity. Incidentally, when the question-

naire was prepared earlier in the year the national debt was $310 billion, but by August 25 it had climbed to $314 billion.

To continue, 70.1 percent expressed opposition to increasing the pay of Members of Congress and other officials and employees of the Government. This vindicates my "no" vote on that bill. While some salary and pay adjustments are in order, I could not justify voting to increase the pay of Members of Congress by $7,500 at one time.

Only 13.9 percent expressed the feeling that our country's foreign policy is succeeding, while 77.3 percent answered in the negative and 8.8 percent did not respond to that question.

Following are the questions propounded and the answers by numbers and percentages:

1. (a) Do you approve this country selling wheat to Russia?

Yes (47.2 percent)	7,048
No (50.3 percent)	7,517
No answer (2.5 percent)	383

(b) If you have answered yes, would you favor extending credit to Russia to finance such purchases?

Yes (4.4 percent)	653
No (57 percent)	8,510
No answer (38.6 percent)	5,775

2. Would you approve a constitutional amendment making prayer and Bible reading permissible in the public schools when conducted on a voluntary basis?

Yes (91.2 percent)	13,627
No (7.2 percent)	1,079
No answer (1.6 percent)	232

3. Do you favor the Civil Rights Act under consideration by Congress?

Yes (16.1 percent)	2,400
No (76.7 percent)	11,450
No answer (7.2 percent)	1,088

4. Do you believe private and parochial schools should be included in any programs of Federal aid to education?

Yes (14.3 percent)	2,129
No (81 percent)	12,230
No answer (3.8 percent)	579

5. Would you approve a Federal income tax credit or deduction for all or part of college expenses?

Yes (76.8 percent)	11,472
No (20.1 percent)	2,996
No answer (3.1 percent)	470

6. (a) Would you favor a credit against the tax?

Yes (17.9 percent)	2,680
No (14.9 percent)	2,226
No answer (67 percent)	10,032

(b) Would you limit it to a deduction?

Yes (52.9 percent)	7,906
No (5.2 percent)	770
No answer (41.9 percent)	6,262

(c) Would you limit it (credit or deduction) to a taxpayer who pays college expenses of a dependent?

Yes (41.3 percent)	6,176
No (11.8 percent)	1,767
No answer (46.9 percent)	6,995

(d) Would you extend it (credit or deduction) to a taxpayer who pays college expenses of a student who is not a dependent?

Yes (37.2 percent)	5,561
No (18.1 percent)	2,698
No answer (44.7 percent)	6,679

7. The national debt of the United States is now approximately $310 billion. Under existing circumstances, do you favor increasing Federal spending above current levels even if it requires additional borrowing?

Yes (6.2 percent)	928
No (90.3 percent)	13,491
No answer (3.5 percent)	519

8. Do you favor a pay raise for Government employees—including Cabinet officers and executive officials, Federal judges, and Members of Congress?

Yes (21 percent)	3,130
No (70.1 percent)	10,466
No answer (8.9 percent)	1,342

9. Do you believe our Government should agree to renegotiate the Panama Canal treaty?

Yes (40.8 percent)	6,094
No (49.1 percent)	7,342
No answer (10.1 percent)	1,502

10. On the whole, do you think this country's foreign policy is succeeding?

Yes (13.9 percent)	2,072
No (77.3 percent)	11,553
No answer (8.8 percent)	1,313

CCC Keeping Lid on Wheat Prices—Kansas City Star, August 30, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, as predicted by those familiar with the policies of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, he is using every possible method of depressing the market price for wheat. It is difficult to understand Freeman's action, as it is harmful to the American wheat producer. An excellent article concerning the administration's effort to keep wheat prices down at the market, written by Roderick Turnbull, farm editor of the Kansas City Star, should be of interest to everyone:

Action by the Commodity Credit Corporation last week to make Government wheat available to mills against export flour and bulgar at prices the same as those offered grain exporters was taken at the Kansas City Board of Trade as another indication of the determination of the administration to keep wheat prices down at the market.

There would be at least two reasons for the administration to want to hold the line on market prices. First, when the wheat law was passed, a tacit promise was made that the price of bread would not be increased. The promise was made on the basis that the new market price on wheat plus the 70-cent mill certificate would be about the same as the market price previously. Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, has contended that bread price increases of recent days have not been justified.

Second, a high market price benefits the farmer who did not join in this year's acreage cut program just as much as the cooperator. Virtually all Government actions tend to reward the farmer who cooperates with the programs.

As the Government price support functions, the price support loan tends to put a floor under the market, while the CCC selling price—when the Government is selling freely—becomes the ceiling.

M. D. Hartnett, president of the board of trade, interprets the new CCC policy on sales to mills as a mechanism to lower the ceiling or at least a method of making it more difficult for the market to penetrate the ceiling.

The CCC selling price, as it is normally explained, is "105 percent of the price support loan plus carrying charges." This means that under the law the CCC can sell its surplus wheat at 105 percent of the loan plus the monthly carrying (storage) charges. The trade usually speaks of this as the statutory price.

The loan level varies as to location of the wheat. On the average, the price support loan this year is $1.30 a bushel at the farm. In Kansas City, the loan value is $1.53. Five percent of this is 8 cents. The CCC carrying charge for 1 month is 1½ cents a bushel. It costs three-quarters of a cent to get wheat loaded out of an elevator. Put all these together and you have $1.63¼ as the cost of CCC wheat delivered into your hands in Kansas City.

Applying the same formula at the gulf, Hartnett explains, you start with a loan value of $1.77. The "105 percent of the loan plus carrying charges" would add 9 cents for the 5 percent. Then must be added the 1½ cent carrying charge and three-quarters of a cent loadout charge. The total becomes $1.88¼.

Under normal interpretation of the rules this would be the statutory price at the gulf. But the CCC has been offering wheat for export at $1.71¾ cents at the gulf. Now it makes the same offer for wheat to be used in flour for export.

It does this, Hartnett explains, by using the statutory price in Kansas City plus freight to the gulf. The Kansas City statutory price, as mentioned, is $1.63¼.

Freight to the gulf on wheat, under new and lower rates established July 4, is 8½ cents a bushel. Add this to the Kansas City statutory price and you get $1.71¾, considerably less than the price reached when the loan value at the gulf is used.

Now both exporters and mills can buy wheat at the $1.71¾ price. The tendency will be, Hartnett said, for mills to buy from the CCC rather than farmers—in other words the statutory price will function as a ceiling on the cash market.

All these quotations are on No. 1 Hard Winter wheat.

Don Smith, director of the commodity office in Kansas City of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, explains that what the CCC is doing on its sales is to give the miller exporting flour essentially an even break with the exporter of the grain.

When the freight rate was cut in July reducing the rate to 8½ cents a bushel on wheat to the gulf, a similar cut was not made on flour. That flour rate remains 14½ cents a bushel (flour equivalent). Therefore, the new pricing system gives the flour exporter the advantage of a price which is about the same as if the flour exporter also got the freight rate reduction. The CCC requires that the wheat bought under the new method actually be exported as flour.

The CCC had disposed of 34½ million bushels of wheat in the Kansas City area, which includes the gulf and the west coast, from July 1 to August 25.

Incidentally, the trade continues to comment about the situation in which the Government, by its every action, indicates it is going to keep a lid on wheat prices, yet at the same time farmers are holding tightly to grain harvested this summer. More has been put under loan than a year ago.

Some grain letters comment that farmers apparently believe that before the election the administration will relent some-

what and prices will be allowed to rise. Others mention the possibility of lower freight rates in October and still others suggest farmers may want to put their wheat income over into 1965. It must be recognized, too, that not all free wheat is in farmers' hands. Others also may be holding wheat.

The Success of Ranger 7

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, The remarkable success of Ranger 7 has placed our Nation in the forefront in lunar exploration. The scientists, technicians, and other personnel who worked on this project deserve the thanks of the Nation for their efforts that resulted in this magnificent achievement.

The press in western Pennsylvania has praised the performance of Ranger 7. Following are some editorial comments:

[From the Titusville (Pa.) Herald, Aug. 5, 1964]

THE MOON AT CLOSE RANGE

Men have now seen their first closeups of the moon's surface—100 to 1,000 times more detailed than any previously taken through telescopes—thanks to Ranger 7. The taste of success is particularly sweet, for six previous Rangers and as many other U.S. space vehicles intended to place a useful payload on the moon or in orbit around it had failed in their missions.

The practical result of the Ranger 7's success at dispatching thousands of lunar closeups is that spacemen are now much closer to knowledge about the exact nature of the surface on which they hope to place an astronaut by 1970. The area chosen for the landing is known to be relatively smooth. The unanswered question has been: How smooth? A far better answer than other means had provided is available now. Landing gear to deal with the anticipated surface can now be designed with much more confidence than before.

The Ranger 7 flight is a fine feather in America's space cap. Its pictures of the moon are not the first to be sent back by a space vehicle; a Russian capsule dispatched some fuzzy views of the moon's dark side from 40,000 miles out in 1959. But the Ranger pictures are far superior to those. Taken from a range of 1,000 miles down to almost the point of impact, they provide the first close view of the moon. Getting those photographs was a remarkable feat that augurs well for the success of the first manned lunar flight a few years hence.

[From the Meadville (Pa.) Tribune]

RANGER 7 ON TARGET

The success of Ranger 7 in taking a series of closeup pictures of the moon places another feather in the cap of the American space program. No other space project has yet probed the moon's secrets so minutely.

An early Russian rocket missed its target but sent back long-distance photos of the moon's dark side and six previous Ranger missions were unsuccessful, although No. 6 scored a bullseye but its cameras failed to operate. But Ranger 7 has sent back about 4,000 pictures which will give scientists a closer look at the moon than they have ever had and disclose information requred before an astronaut can be landed on the moon.

The emphasis assigned the lunar project by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has been questioned by those who contend that priority should be given to military applications of space. But despite some well-founded doubts about the project, Ranger 7's success marks a magnificent step ahead in the Nation's space and missile technology.

Combating Poverty in the New Orleans Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased and proud of my home city of New Orleans, La., for many, many reasons, but I am particularly proud of the constructive and responsible communitywide effort now being made to implement in the best possible manner the opportunities provided by the enactment by the Congress of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It is more popularly termed the antipoverty bill, designed to help local communities throughout our Nation to utilize to the fullest extent their own resources, both human and material, with the aid of Federal assistance, to combat poverty by striking at the root causes of this malady.

A group of the New Orleans area's finest citizens, including governmental, business, and civic leaders, organized some 2 months before the passage of this landmark legislation the New Orleans Committee for Economic Opportunity Program, as the the communitywide vehicle through which they could tackle the manifold problems presented by poverty. This outstanding committee, whose activities are being directed by a full-time coordinator, Mr. Winston Lill of New Orleans, will formulate long-range plans on a communitywide basis to fight poverty in the New Orleans area. Mr. Lill is a man of exceptional experience and ability for this task, having served for many many years as executive assistant to the late deLesseps S. Morrison, long-time mayor of New Orleans and then U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

I am confident that this committee will do a splendid job to alleviate poverty in my area of the Nation. The antipoverty bill—a most significant piece of legislation enacted by the 88th Congress—provides $947.5 million in Federal funds to begin a nationwide assault on the root causes of poverty, and the Congress is to be commended for passing this legislation.

A fine description of the New Orleans committee's efforts to date, and its plans for the future in combating poverty in the New Orleans area, was recently presented to readers of the New Orleans Times-Picayune by one of that newspaper's reporters, Mr. Lee Stinnett, in a three-part series of stories. I am happy to commend to my colleagues in the Congress this fine series of stories by Mr. Stinnet which appeared in the Times-Picayune on Tuesday, August 25, Wednesday, August 26, and Thursday, August 27, 1964. His stories were bylined on page 1 of the Picayune each day, and Mr. Stinnett deserves a hearty salute for his outstanding reporting on a timely, vital subject of interest to all citizens of the United States.

The newspaper articles follow:

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Aug. 25, 1964]

WAR ON POVERTY—UNIT FORMED TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC PROJECTS FOR NEW ORLEANS—LOCAL GROUP WILL SEEK FUNDS FROM UNITED STATES—I

(By Lee Stinnett)

While most of the United States was still wondering whether Lyndon Johnson would get his antipoverty bill through Congress, a New Orleans committee had begun laying the groundwork for possible application of funds here.

Now over 2 months old, the committee has organized itself into subcommittees to consider specific projects for New Orleans.

President Johnson signed the $947.5 million Economic Opportunity Act into law Thursday.

Though the committee has no official status, New Orleans Mayor Victor H. Schiro said Monday he will act on the recommendations of the committee and "get whatever we can for the city."

The mayor announced he has appointed a liaison man to the committee. He said he has taken no other action on the act.

The local group, which will be called the New Orleans Committee for Economic Opportunity Program, will provide the organization for title II of the new act, under which public or nonprofit private organizations can apply for funds to "mobilize community resources to combat poverty through community action programs."

COORDINATOR HIRED

It has hired a full-time coordinator, Winston Lill, who was an executive assistant to deLesseps S. Morrison when he was mayor and U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Lill, who recently met with Washington officials, began work Monday.

The committee is composed of citizens representing "most of the major elements of New Orleans that will be affected under the act," according to a spokesman.

Presently the committee prefers to remain anonymous, believing a better idea of the projects that are most needed in New Orleans can be reached without the pressure of publicity.

FINANCIAL BACKING

It has received temporary financial backing from a local foundation.

The spokesman for the group said agreement on specific projects for New Orleans is still to be reached.

"We don't want to rush into any recommendations. We want to hit at the basic roots of poverty," he said.

The committee "may consider" the following projects for New Orleans, he said, as well as other programs:

Services and activities to develop new employment opportunities.

Strengthening the teaching of basic education skills, especially reading, writing, and mathematics.

GUIDANCE SERVICES

Providing comprehensive academic counseling and guidance services and school social work services.

Providing after-school study centers; after-school tutoring; and summer, weekend, and after-school academic classes.

Establishing programs for the benefit of preschool children.

Reducing adult illiteracy.

Developing and carrying out special education or other programs for migrant or transient families.

Improving the living conditions of the elderly.

Arranging for or providing health examinations and health education for school children.

AID FOR HANDICAPPED

Rehabilitation and retraining of physically or mentally handicapped persons.

Providing health, rehabilitation, employment, educational, and related services to young men not qualified for military service.

Providing community child care centers and youth activity centers.

Improving housing and living facilities and home management skills.

Providing services to enable families from rural areas to meet problems of urban living.

Providing recreation and physical fitness services and facilities.

OTHER CITIES

New Orleans is not the only city making plans to approach the Johnson administration with applications for projects.

Atlanta, for example, was ready on the day the President signed the bill into law to apply for $1 million for specific programs.

In Atlanta, a 13-man city-county "Economic Opportunity Authority" had the approval of the city council last week and needed only the expected recognition of the county commission.

Houston has a "Businessmen's Advisory Council of the Anti-Poverty Program" and Houston's Mayor Louie Welch is accepting recommendations on job-training programs.

The feeling among several New Orleans committee members was, however, that the committee here is making satisfactory progress that will assure the city getting the best possible program for New Orleans problems.

Washington predicts that community action projects will begin in some cities by mid-October. Federal funds will cover up to 90 percent of the costs.

[From the Times-Picayune, Aug. 26, 1964]

WAR ON POVERTY—COMMUNITYWIDE ATTACK ON PROBLEMS IS NEW AIM—UNITY OF ORLEANS CIVIC GROUPS PLANNED—II

(By Lee Stinnett)

The war on poverty could unite New Orleans civic forces for the first time into a truly communitywide attack on local economic problems.

If this happens, as is widely predicted among the city's professional welfare, civic, and cultural leaders concerned, the Economic Opportunity Act may have a more profound effect on New Orleans than any immediate economic gains.

It is believed by most of the people who have been concerned with poverty in the area that the establishment of a citywide community action group to implement the act will be the basis for a more united and extensive approach to problems in the immediate future.

The $947.5-million program, signed by President Johnson last week, calls for the participation of freely formed citizens' action groups and gives preference to programs which involve "maximum citizen participation."

NEW APPROACH

"Long after the act goes out of effect, there will still be the effect of the organization laid down to implement it," said Germinal Messina, district supervisor of the Louisiana Division of Employment Security.

New Orleans has had for many years civic, welfare, and service organizations that have been fighting—actively and imaginatively—the problems the Economic Opportunity Act is concerned with.

But Winston Lill, the newly appointed coordinator of the local committee, and others say there has never been a communitywide approach to the total situation. Each organization has necessarily had its own field and there has been a lack of coordination and perhaps some duplication.

The funds of the private organizations have been limited. School funds have not been available for the extensive adult education and vocational training that is needed. And city, State, and Federal Governments have been preoccupied with the necessary business of providing and administering public welfare and public health projects.

NO MIRACLES

Under the EOA, the community action groups will present applications for a local program. Since more applications are anticipated than there will be funds for, communities will probably compete with one another for the most imaginative program giving the best results. Thus community interest will be stimulated.

While a feeling of general optimism exists among the people concerned with the new act, most of them feel the Community should be warned not to expect miracles in minutes.

"It's not a magic wand," said one official.

While Lill believes that the city will get "in excess of" $1 million to "fight the roots of poverty," few would hope the ills of any urban area could be cured immediately with these funds.

Some communities—New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, to name a few—have had communitywide groups fighting their problems with local funds for 10 years or more. No one would say these cities have transformed their areas of poverty into utopias.

PROBLEMS COMPLEX

The problems of urban areas are complex and many are not even fully understood yet.

Some of the problems have been developing for generations.

They stem from automation, from country-to-city migration, from the dynamic growth and change of the Nation's economy itself, and from other factors that are beyond the control of the cities themselves and perhaps beyond the control of the Federal Government.

But the problems exist—even in New Orleans.

In the parish itself, according to the 1960 census, there are 51,383 families with annual incomes of less than $3,000—the "poverty line" set by the Johnson administration.

In 1964, $22 million in public welfare will be doled out in Orleans Parish, which is considerably more money than will be spent to eradicating the causes of the need for welfare.

The complexity of the problems was cited by A. P. Stoddard, president of the AFL–CIO of New Orleans, who cited the waterfront situation as an example.

Stoddard said there are from 6,000 to 6,500 jobs each day available for some 15,000 longshoremen seeking jobs.

HIRING SYSTEM

Presently, workers are selected on a day-to-day basis each morning by the dock foreman. And the surplus workers are turned away each day.

Though the minimum wage is $2.75 per hour, many of them can work only 500 hours a year, thus falling well below the poverty line.

A U.S. Department of Labor study has recommended that the system of hiring be stabilized and that men with longevity be preferred. The recommendation is a factor in the current negotiations between the International Longshoremen Association and the New Orleans Steamship Association.

If the stabilization occurs, Stoddard pointed out, there would be a great problem of training men thrown out of work.

And the ills of the longshoremen not only affect themselves and their families, but the whole community—as was evident in a recent strike that tied up the port for several months.

MEMBERS LISTED

Thomas P. Godchaux, temporary chairman of the New Orleans Committee on Economic Opportunity Act, announced the names of the members of the committee Tuesday.

They are:

Mayor Victor H. Schiro, city of New Orleans; Thomas F. Donelon, president of Jefferson Parish; Charles J. Eagan, Jr., president of the Jefferson Parish Council; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University; Dr. Homer L. Hitt, president of Louisiana State University in New Orelans; Herbert E. Longenecker, president of Tulane University; the Reverend Andrew C. Smith, president of Loyola University; Norman C. Francis, assistant to the president of Xavier University; State Senator Michael H. O'Keefe; State Representative Maurice E. Landrieu;

Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, superintendent of the Archdiocesan School Board; O. Perry Walker, superintendent of the Orleans Parish School Board; Nash C. Roberts, Jr., member, State board of education; Matthew R. Sutherland, member, Orleans Parish School Board; Daniel A. Ellis, member, Orleans Parish School Board; Stoddard; John F. Tims, president of the Times-Picayune Publishing Corp.

Mrs. Louis Abramson, Jr.; Dr. Leonard L. Burns; T. Sterling Dunn; Clifford F. Favrot; Darwin S. Fenner; Louis L. Freeman; Frank Friedler, Jr.; J. Mason Guillory; David Hunter; Philip E. James; Mrs. Harry B. Kelleher; Herman S. Kohlmeyer, Jr.; Stephen B. Lemann; Harry McCall, Jr.; Lawrence Merrigan; Mrs. Leo Mervis; Ashton Phelps; Roy M. Schwarz; Edgar B. Stern, Jr.; Mrs. Charles Stitch; Daniel C. Thompson; Laurence M. Williams; and Louis Johnson, who represents St. Bernard Parish.

ELLIS COMMENT

As Mayor Schiro's liaison representative, Ellis called the new act "well-intentioned and vastly humane."

"It will give every American community the opportunity to develop a comprehensive plan to fight its own poverty and help them to carry out their plans. This program asks men and women throughout the country to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities."

Lill will be retained by his business associates while he is serving as coordinator.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, Aug. 27, 1964]

WAR ON POVERTY—PROJECTS WILL EMPHASIZE SELF-IMPROVEMENT WORK—UPGRADING BASIC OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS EOA AIM—III

(By Lee Stinnett)

When the New Orleans "war on poverty" begins—

Grasscutters may find themselves being trained as scientific "landscape gardeners."

Clerks and saleswomen may be elevated to stenographers.

And people in depressed areas may start organizing themselves into community improvement associations.

The specific projects for New Orleans have not been determined by the New Orleans Committee on Economic Opportunity Act.

But these ideas, and many others, have been suggested by consultants to the committee.

In any case, the projects will emphasize self-improvement within the "poverty group" itself. Handouts or the imposed assistance by the so-called "do-gooders" will be avoided.

CONCEPT OF ACT SEEN

This is the concept of the Economic Opportunity Act, recently passed by Congress and signed by the President, as interpreted by the community's social welfare and service professionals.

The purpose of the EOA is to upgrade basic occupational and literacy skills to break the "cycle of poverty" that has been perpetuated among a "sizable number" of Americans for decades.

Winston Lill, coordinator of the New Orleans committee for the EOA program, explained the "cycle of poverty."

"There are pockets of poverty within every city which tend to exist generation after generation.

"The poverty is generally continued within each family. The children tend to repeat the father's pattern."

EXPERTS STRESS GOALS

According to the New Orleans experts and professionals who have been concerned with poverty, the EOA is designated to attack the cycle on the basis of advanced sociological knowledge.

Albert G. Rosenberg, associate director of the New Orleans Social Welfare Planning Council, said certain provisions of the new act are "very farsighted."

He mentioned the clause that gives preference to programs involving the "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups involved."

Rather than suggesting outside control of a community's problems, the act gives maximum control—and responsibility—to the communities themselves, Rosenberg said.

The Federal Government will only provide the funds, establish broad guidelines and insure that projects with the most promising results are encouraged.

"WILL BE TAILOR MADE"

"Thus the program will be tailor made by the local people. If Washington told us specifically what we would have to do, it probably wouldn't work," Rosenberg said.

He said that the establishment of neighborhood improvement associations within the poverty areas themselves could also be started with finances and leadership provided by the act.

"To do something for the poverty class is fine—as far as it goes. But do it with them—this is the vital part," Rosenberg said.

A key clause in the EOA states that preference will be given to projects that give promise of having a "permanent effect on the increase in capacity of groups and individuals to deal with problems without further assistance."

The plan is to train people of low-income groups in skills that are needed in the Nation's economy and thus permanently affect their self sufficiency.

AVAILABLE YEAR-ROUND

There are some types of skilled and semi-skilled jobs that are available year-round in the New Orleans area, according to Germinal Messina, district supervisor of the Louisiana Division of Employment Security.

"In some cases if we had trained people, we could fill jobs," he stated, mentioning a constant need for stenographers, engineers, draftsmen, welders and machinists.

"When people are trained in these skills, the act will have the effect of a general upgrading. Jobs on the bottom of the employment scale will be left vacant when people move up, and these can be filled by even lower-paid people and by the unemployed," Messina said.

J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, cited a recent refresher course for stenographers conducted in New Orleans by the league as an example of how job-skill training projects can work.

THE 85 GIRLS SELECTED

Eighty-five Negro girls, who were not fully qualified as stenographers, were selected from over 200 applicants for the 12-week course.

Most of them were doing work in small businesses, restaurants or at other odd jobs. They averaged about $25 to $30 a week.

At the completion of the course in July, every girl who passed the standard typing requirements of 50 words per minute was placed in a job.

And the low-paying jobs were left vacant for those who moved on will be available for more people.

Kerns said the league has another 200 applicants for a similar course to be conducted in the future.

SMALL BUSINESS LOAN

To further stimulate the job opportunity program, the EOA provides for low-interest loans up to $25,000 for small business concerns.

It is hoped that these loans will help businesses expand their operations and hire more employees.

J. D. Henderson, director of the southern division of the National Small Business Association, however, was not optimistic that these loans would have any large-scale effect in New Orleans.

He said, "From past experience from programs such as this, the small business person finds it quite difficult to get the loans that have been advertised."

He said he would counsel businessmen to "do business with the banks, because that is what banks are for."

He said banks are more conservative and give better advice to businessmen.

Henderson stated, however, that he wouldn't "blame anyone for taking advantage" of low-interest loans if they were made available and predicted that the government would be "flooded with applications."

What Next in Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES F. BATTIN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, Norman Kraeft, the national agriculture editor for the American Broadcasting Co., on August 13, 1964, had an interesting and informative program dealing with the 1965 wheat program. The problem has been compounded by the Secretary's failure to announce the feed grain program for 1965. Winter wheat farmers are asked to sign up for a program without knowing what all will be expected of them.

For the Members' information I insert the text of Mr. Kraeft's broadcast, the "American Farm Daily," in the RECORD following these remarks:

Perhaps an accurate description of Agriculture Secretary Freeman and his associates, whose actions on behalf of the farmer seem to say that the Government can manage the farmer's affairs better than the farmer can, would be "The Dead-End Kids." It would seem that Mr. Freeman is near some kind of a dead end when the organization that has supported him most consistently and vigorously, the National Farmers Union, recommends a reversal of a major Freeman action. Top officials of Farmers Union, including president James Patton, said yesterday, "We are deeply disturbed by the 1965 wheat program as announced last week by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. We recommend reversal of the Department's action on wheat."

Now, Farmers Union was in the forefront of those groups supporting Secretary Freeman in his strenuous last-minute efforts earlier this year to leapfrog his wheat certificate plan into law. The new wheat law has seen little but trouble ever since it went into effect. Now, the best that Mr. Freeman can muster for the 1965 version of his wheat program—always remembering that Mr. Freeman must operate in the weighty shadow of the Budget Bureau—has his best friends telling him what his enemies have been telling him about his wheat program for some time. Farmers Union criticism of the Freeman move on 1965-crop wheat pulls the curtains away from the fact that the Freeman wheat program is as unworkable as it is unpopular.

Under Secretary Freeman during the past 4 years, Government payments have represented a growing share of the farmers' income and the marketplace has contributed a diminishing share. Apparently, though, the Budget Bureau is blowing the whistle. Where does Mr. Freeman turn next to solve the farm problem?

Poverty in Appalachia—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the 1960's, the United States has reached a recordbreaking level of affluence, but many of our people do not even have the opportunity to work for a fair share of the wealth of this country. The endemic unemployment and problems of the Appalachia poverty belt, and other pockets of poverty throughout the United States, cannot be ended by feeble and piecemeal programs. It is only possible to alleviate their most egregious and obvious economic problems by thorough and comprehensive programs. The causes rather than the effects of the disease must be treated.

In a recent series of articles on Appalachia in the Miami Herald, Lee Winfrey, who was born and grew up in east Tennessee, graphically informed the people of Florida on the scope of the poverty problem. In the first of a five-part series on poverty, Winfrey describes the difficulties encountered by a resident of Appalachia who in 50 years never made so much money that he had to pay income tax. One cannot help but speculate on what might have happened to this individual if, a half century ago, President Johnson's plan for a job corps had been an ongoing program. Under the President's proposal, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will establish residential centers to provide

young men and women with education, vocational training, and useful work experience in order to increase their employability. The bill is not a panacea, but it will, at the very least, reduce the reliance of the unskilled on such chance events as Winfrey describes in this article.

The article follows:

ED'S LIFE: JUST SQUEAKED BY FOR 50 YEARS

(By Lee Winfrey)

CONCORD, TENN.—I have known Ed Wallace all my life. When I went to work in Washington, I found out he and I are now statistics.

I am a minor statistic: One of more than 2 million natives who left the land called Appalachia in the decade 1950–60.

Ed is a major statistic: the archetype of the Appalachian that President Lyndon Johnson wants to help.

Ed is 68. He has been working for more than 50 years. In not a single of of those years did he make so much money that he had to pay an income tax.

When I was growing up in Concord, a small east Tennessee town 15 miles from Knoxville, one of Ed's sons was my principal playmate. I could follow an uphill path, beneath tall trees past banks of honeysuckle, and get to their house in 5 minutes.

It was a two-room clapboard house in the center of a flat, bare field. In the back was a kitchen about 7 feet square and in the front was a larger room where Ed, his wife Willie, and their children lived and slept.

A kerosene lamp furnished light. There was neither rug nor radio. From a zinc bucket in which a dipper floated, they drank water carried several hundred yards from a spring. In the back there was a privy.

None of this was uncommon in east Tennessee 15 or 20 years ago. In much of Appalachia, it is not rare today.

Last week, I visited Ed for the first time in several years. Outwardly, his status seemed substantially improved.

He lives now in a green and yellow, prefabricated house that is neat as a pin. The yard is scrupulously clean, meticulously mowed, and the privy in back is odorless.

The house is misleading. Ed, as he was all his life, is living on the brink.

Michael Harrington, whose book "The Other America," inspired the war on poverty, contends that the poor have become invisible, that we no longer see them.

There is some truth in what he says. I have known Ed for more than 20 years, but until last week I never bothered to extract his life story. I found him to be a case example of a man who was born poor, lived poor, and remains poor, a beleaguered man who has spent his entire life running to catch up.

Ed was one of four children of a laborer who worked in a Concord stone quarry that has long since closed. When he was 14 or 15 years old and in the fourth grade, Ed quit school.

A kind man named Will Hackney put Ed to work in his mill grinding meal. "That was 1910 or 1912," said Ed. "I was a miller for almost 20 years."

The years in the mill were the best of Ed's life. He made little money—50 cents a day when he began, $1 a day when he became proficient—but there were other compensations. Years ago in the middle South, employers were paternal. Will Hackney took care of Ed.

When Ed married Willie in 1917, "Mr. Hackey went to town (Knoxville) and got my license." When Ed was about to be drafted in World War I, Will Hackney got him a deferment.

"I had to register," Ed recalls. "Sam Calloway came and filled my papers out for me. I was 21 and weighed 140 pounds. I had learnt the mill and could handle the wheat sacks. Sam said, 'what you want to join?' I said, 'put down the heavy artilleries. I want a horse and a gun and a bayonet, that's all I want.' "

But Will Hackney said he was sick and couldn't operate the mill without Ed. After Ed was deferred, he consoled his young millhand with tales of German submarine warfare:

"He'd get the paper and show me where they was sinkin' them boats and tell me, 'Ed, you'd have never got across.' "

In 1926, Will Hackney died, leaving no sons. Ed ran the mill for his widow for about a year, until a flood broke down the wooden dam that furnished the mill's water power. Then the mill closed and the only skill Ed knew was useless.

He scraped together a living as a farm fieldhand and an odd jobs man for a few years. Until the New Deal instituted the Work Progress Administration—the WPA.

The WPA paid Ed 30 cents an hour—$2.40 a day—and taught him a new skill: how to use a shovel. "That's where I learnt to slope banks (inclines)," Ed recalled.

Ed stayed with the WPA 5 years, until Queenie Hobbs, the local constable, hired him away for 50 cents an hour to mow and maintain Pleasant Forest Cemetery about an eighth of a mile from where my parents live.

There Ed's skill with the shovel proved valuable. Queenie let him keep the money he got from digging graves—a job that took about 7 hours and paid $10.

Ed stayed in the graveyard 6 years, enjoying a modicum of prosperity. For the first time in his life, he switched from roll-your-owns to "ready rolls" (machine-made cigarettes).

Aging finally, past 50, his six children all gone (five married, one dead), Ed changed jobs again. A man building a boat dock hired him to help. "That," said Ed, "is where I learnt to carpenter and mason."

Ed worked 6 years for Bob Burch at $20 a week. Then he reached 65, retirement age, and learned a bitter truth.

In all his life, Ed never worked for a payroll-type employer who deducted social security taxes for him. Ed never paid anything in, so he can't get anything out. He is ineligible for social security.

The day I saw him, he stood on the half-acre of ground he owns, in front of the $1,700 house has has paid every penny for, his wife in the hospital with shoulder trouble. He has never had a bank account and in his billfold was a single dollar bill, folded once, end to end.

He and Willie live on old age welfare checks—$87.90 comes to each of them monthly—and occasional dollars from odd jobs.

It seems like a shame. Ed is no John Henry, the legendary steel driver who worked himself to death in Appalachia, but he has always been busy at something.

Only once in his life, during the desperate depression, did he ever drink much, and he has never been a gambler.

All his life he has jumped about like a grasshopper, learning whatever was necessary to get by. Now he is at the lag end of his life with little but two skinny pension checks to brace him against the years ahead.

When I walked away from him, oddly, all I could think of was an inane signoff I had heard from a hillbilly music disc jocky over an Appalachian radio station a few days before.

"Keep smilin', neighbors" the cheer-'em-up deejay advised. "The sunshine is good for yore teeth."

Poverty in Appalachia—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the May 16 issue of the Miami Herald, Lee Winfrey's second article on poverty in Appalachia describes how it is possible, if one possesses a special skill, to break the grip of widespread unemployment and the psychological inertia created by interminable welfare checks. Unfortunately most people are not gifted with the special ability to play the guitar, as the protagonist in this story is. The people of Appalachia, and other underdeveloped segments of the country, must be taught new and diverse skills if they are to have the opportunity to be raised to an economic status consonant with the dignity of the human person. President Johnson's war on poverty provides that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity may transfer funds to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in order to assist States in carrying out experimental, pilot, and demonstration projects for unemployed men and women whose families are receiving assistance under the "aid to families with dependent children" program. The participants in the projects will receive vocational training and assistance in job placement. For fiscal year 1965, $150 million is authorized for this part of the President's program. With this proposal, we will at long last begin to focus attention on helping the recipients of welfare payments to end the monthly wait for the postman and actively participate in productive, rewarding work.

The article follows:

DOC WATSON MAKES IT USING NATURAL RESOURCE: MUSIC

(By Lee Winfrey)

DEEP GAP, N.C.—"Doc's not here," Rosa Lee Watson said. "He's on tour and won't be back for about 10 days."

The news disappointed me, for I am a sometime guitar player. I had driven over the mountain from Knoxville to hear Doc Watson, who is one of the three or four best guitar pickers in all of Appalachia.

A New York promoter named Ralph Rinzler, making field recordings in the Blue Ridge Mountains, discovered Doc in 1960 in this isolated valley near the North Carolina-Tennessee line. He put Doc on record and took him to New York City.

Doc needed little but exposure. He was already 37 years old, a fully matured musician at the top of his power. The so-called revival of folk music didn't revive anything for Doc: He had known all the songs since childhood.

"He left home most recently in March," his wife said. His schedule included stops at Purdue, UCLA, and the University of Chicago, and two of the most important coffeehouses on the folk music circuit—the Second Fret in Philadelphia and the Gaslight in New York.

"He's been gone so long that Eddy Merle has learned to play and he doesn't know a thing about it," Mrs. Watson said.

Eddy Merle Watson, 15, is the older of Doc's two children. He has Doc's gift for the guitar; after 7 weeks of practice, he already plays better than a teacher I once had in Miami.

None of this is unique, for Appalachia abounds in musicians skilled upon the guitar and the fiddle, the banjo and the mandolin. But there is one thing unusual about Doc Watson.

He has been blind since the day he was born.

There are no pockets of poverty in Watauga County, where Doc Watson lives. There is only one pocket of prosperity—the county seat of Boone, a summer resort with a growing vacation trade and an attractive State teachers college.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figure that an annual wage of less than $4,000 means poverty for a family of four. In Watauga County, 58 percent of the families are making less than $3,000.

Dave Mast, the county welfare director, figures that $400,000 a year is now being paid out in welfare grants in Watauga County. For several years, Doc Watson has been getting some of that help.

"The policy used to be," said Mrs. Ruth D. Baker, "that when someone went to work, you'd go out and cut the check off right away. That made the program self-defeating, because many were afraid to go to work. Now we gradually reduce the money, but continue much of the welfare program."

Mrs. Baker is a welfare caseworker specializing in dependent children. She believes that the Federal-State welfare program is greatly misunderstood.

"So many people have an idea that welfare is just the check. The check is only a fourth of it. The check just provides a measure of security while you go to work on the real problem."

The "real problems" are four, she believes: isolation, inbreeding, ignorance and inertia.

"Few people know how these mountains were ravaged during the Civil War," she said. "Both sides raided for food and horses. That was when the mountain people first became suspicious of the outsider—the 'furriner.'"

Isolated in their coves and glens, the mountain people married their friends and neighbors. Often, there was no one around to marry except relatives—a cousin or a niece.

The inbreeding produced congenital defects which run today through many mountain bloodlines. Blindness, for example, runs through the Watson family. Doc's sister is blind, too.

For decades in the mountains, there were no schools, and even today they are just catching up. Watauga County has some good schools now, but many of the children begin school ill-prepared, handicapped at the very start by their poor lives at home, and they fall behind quickly and soon drop out.

They find little work to be had in Watauga County. Boone has a total of three industrial plants, all relatively new and all relatively small. Since the country has a population of 27,000, they do almost nothing to fill the trenches of poverty in Deep Gap and Stony Fork.

What is left to do is called, by the bureaucrats, "subsistence farming." That means a farmer whose hillside plot yields just a few more pecks than is necessary to keep his family from starving.

We live now in a charitable country where it is difficult to starve. The welfare workers will bring you surplus food. But the dole is a solution for no one but the most debased human being, and that worries welfare worker Ruth Baker very much.

"We live in a society that makes no provision for the reject," she contends, "and yet our society is creating more rejects all the time."

Mrs. Baker is well aware that her clients lack marketable skills. But she says further: "I'm frankly worried about automation. It's producing more out-of-date people all the time. After a while, where are all these people on the sidelines going to get the money to buy what the machines produce?"

The State of North Carolina recently announced special plans for Watauga County and the neighboring counties of Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey, which are even poorer. Armed with $7 million from the Ford Foundation and $2.5 million from two North Carolina foundations, the State plans a sustained atack on the problems of the Blue Ridge.

Perched on a hillside above Wildcat Road in Deep Gap lives Levi Ira Watson, whose family needs some of that help.

Levi and Doc are doubly related. Levi married Doc's sister, who is also Levi's second cousin. So Levi and Doc are second cousins and brothers-in-law, too. Mountain genealogies are often like that.

Anyway, Levi was doing pretty good until 1961. A tall, thin mountaineer with a fourth grade education, he was averaging $65 to $70 a week cutting timber.

Despite the demands of 10 children, Levi was stretching his money. He owned his home, with a television set inside, and 32 acres around it.

Then one day his powersaw hit a knot, jumped back and hit him in the groin. He went to Watauga Hospital and had a hernia operation. While he was laid up idle, degenerative arthritis, which grows worse when a man is inactive, settled deep in his bones.

Now he is 50 years old, a semi-invalid for the last 3 years. He helps with the family garden, chops some of the firewood, and shoots an occasional squirrel to pad out the family's surplus food diet with a little fresh meat.

His wife makes pin money by such devices as "roping." Roping is a mountain term for making a certain kind of Christmas decoration.

White Pine and Ivy are wrapped on wire with string. The maker gets $1.75 for a decoration 25 yards long. It takes about an hour to rope that much. It may take all day to gather the raw material.

Only an incurable optimist would predict a more bountiful future for Levi's 10 children. The hardscrabble land isn't going to get any flatter or more fertile. The local timber industry is going down, not up. New industries are not rushing to relocate in the ridges.

The problems of Levi Watson's children are shared, to a large extent, by hundreds of other children in these hills.

Doc Wilson is beating the game, but he is a decided exception. Not one man in a million can play a guitar like him.

For most of his neighbors, Deep Gap is a valley getting deeper all the time.

Poverty in Appalachia—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the third article of his five-part series on poverty in Appalachia, Lee Winfrey talks with a Kentucky timber cutter who made $400 last year. The interesting thing about this particular inhabitant of our economic underworld is that he recently hosted President Johnson when the President visited Appalachia. Today, largely as a result of President Johnson's efforts and proposals in regard to poverty in America, our poor are no longer totally invisible members of society, but rather one of the most intensely studied groups in the country. It is now time to rationally and systematically apply these studies and our knowledge of the scope of poverty in meaningful and effective programs.

In Kentucky where the President visited, one-third of the labor force is unemployed. One provision of the President's plan would give loans to small businesses for training and employing long-term unemployed individuals or to promote management skills. This proposal will not solve the unemployment problem, but it is one aspect of the comprehensive campaign against all the various components of poverty which is needed now. Mr. Winfrey's article of May 17, from the Miami Herald, follows:

L.B.J. COMES, GOES, BUT POVERTY STAYS

(By Lee Winfrey)

INEZ, KY.—For Tom Fletcher, life is a series of accidents with him as the victim.

Sometimes the accidents are pleasant, like the visit of President Lyndon Johnson to his 3-room hillside house last month. Fletcher has no idea how he was chosen.

"Two fellers from Paintsville come here about 10:30 or 11 in the morning. Said he (the President) might get here. They come back about 2 and said for sure he was comin'. He got here about 5 o'clock.

Fletcher does not recall much of the conversation.

"It kinda shook a feller up. I tried to get him to take a chair, but he just set down on his hunker. He stayed about 30 minutes."

The Fletcher porch has no steps up to it, but it is very new. The newness of the roof beams glares at you, for they have not been painted. Fletcher is not exactly sure how the new porch got there.

"Some way it's through—through the President, some way. Through Kennedy."

"The housing program, I guess you'd call it," his wife explained.

In the wooden house overlooking Rockcastle Creek, President Johnson left hope, but little else. For the Fletchers, nothing basic has changed.

They still subsist on Government surplus food. "We've been gettin' them since they been given' 'em out," Mrs. Fletcher said.

Work is still hard to find. Fletcher, a 38-year-old timber cutter, made $400 last year. Since the President left, he has worked 4 more days and made 16 more dollars.

Martin County is a hard place to find work. It is desperately poor, the only county in Kentucky without a radio station or a newspaper, either daily or weekly. There is no hospital, either. A third of the labor force is unemployed.

From Fletcher's front porch, you can see seven other houses. In only one of them is there a man with a job. "If you get any work around here, you have to go off," said Fletcher's brother, Henry, 26.

Henry Fletcher, a carpenter, works in Ohio, sometimes. "I've been back from Columbus since December," he said. "I was back up there last week, but couldn't get any work."

President Johnson left the Fletchers with the admonition to "keep those kids in school." He meant five of the eight, since the two oldest quit before he came and another is too young to go.

The day I was there, all five were in Grassy Elementary School 2 miles up the road. The oldest, Harold, 15, is in the fourth grade, the high-water mark for each of his parents.

In return for keeping their promise to him, the Fletchers have a childlike faith that Johnson will do something for them and for Appalachia. "He seems like a good-hearted man," Mrs. Fletcher said.

They have few suggestions as to what wonders the President might work. "Some kind of a little factory, maybe," Mrs. Fletcher said.

Her husband thought for a moment or two. "Yeah," he said finally. "Yeah, that's good."

Farther south in Kentucky, in his law office in Whitesburg, Harry M. Caudill is less certain that effective help is on its way.

Caudill, 42, a former State representative, is the author of "Night Comes to the Cumberlands," a widely read history of eastern Kentucky. His book, published last year with an introduction by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall, is a bitter attack on the land companies, the timber companies and the coal operators, whom Caudill accuses of looting eastern Kentucky and leaving it impoverished.

"Timid" is the word that Caudill applies to the program drawn up by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. "It won't arouse much support from liberals and it shouldn't draw much opposition from conservatives," he said.

The program calls for spending $228 million in the first year, with $90 million of that for roads. "We've been promised roads before as the solution to our ills," said Caudill. "They never are."

The Commission's 93-page report, issued last month after a 1-year study, earmarked $3 million, for a study of the coal industry. At the insistence of Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton, another 10 million was added. Caudill's attitude toward the Commission's coal policy borders on contempt.

"After a year of study, it calls for another study. That is the course that weak men take when confronted with a demanding problem.

"The whole study proceeds on the basis that most people in Appalachia are farmers," he said. "In eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania, that is not true. The people here are unemployed coal miners. Industrial workers, not farmers."

President Johnson, in a recent speech, warned businessmen that they faced a possible revolution if they did not solve the problem of poverty. The comment drew much scoffing, but Caudill takes the possibility quite seriously.

"The coal industry is the first in this country to be completely dislocated by automation," he said. "Other industries are going to follow. If we don't solve the problem of obsolete workers in this industry, it is going to multiply our problems later.

"In 1962–63, we had near anarchy in eastern Kentucky. You've heard of the roving pickets. They were nothing more than big bands of men going about trying to compel the coal industry to employ them. It was a form of revolt, revolution in its incipient stage."

Appalachia is big, as large as California, with 15 million people in it. Along the spine of the mountains from Pennsylvania south to Alabama, one-third of the families live on less than $3,000 a year.

The novelist Thomas Wolfe, who came from Appalachia, wrote once about the region:

"It is the place of autumnal moons hung low and orange at the frosty edges of the pines; it is the place of frost and silence; of the clean dry shocks and the opulence of enormous pumpkins that yellow on hard clotted earth; it is the place of the stir and feathery stumble of the hens upon their roosts; the frosty, broken barking of the dogs, the great barn-shapes and solid shadows in the running sweep of the moon-whited countryside, the wailing whistle of the fast express.

From Ines south to Deep Gap, some are wondering if this is the year when the train of plenty starts stopping for them.

Poverty in Appalachia—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the miseries of poverty are manifest in many ways and what is a tragic personal event can also be a catastrophe for the community. Individual unemployment becomes compounded among the citizens of an area and ghost towns start to appear.

The fourth article by Lee Winfrey in the May 18 issue of the Miami Herald's series on poverty in Appalachia tells the story of a little mining town in Tennessee which is typical of all coal towns in the poverty belt. Once a prosperous company town, it is now at less than one-eighth of its peak population because the company closed down its operations.

President Johnson's program, which aims at changing the basic structure of poverty instead of dealing only with one or two isolated aspects of it, calls for community action programs to save towns like the one talked about in this article. Education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, and welfare would all be aided through Federal grants to States and communities to help them mobilize and utilize public and private resources in the war on poverty. Technical assistance in preparing and administering community action programs is also provided for in these proposals. Maximum possible participation by local residents is stressed to help the poor not only to raise their own individual standards of living, but also to substitute a totally human environment for the awful environment which now exists in so many places.

The President's program is a first deep breath in the resuscitation of our dying communities.

The article follows:

ONCE BOOMING COAL CENTER NOW GHOST TOWN

(By Lee Winfrey)

PRUDEN, TENN.—Charles Cross, 61, looked down at the valley where he spent half his life and said, "It's a ghost town."

Charles Cross, who is my uncle, worked 32 years in this mining camp set squarely on the border between east Tennessee and southeastern Kentucky. He left 10 years ago and since then almost everyone else has moved out, too.

The story of Pruden is the story of coal. It is, in many ways, a melancholy tale.

Uncle Charles was a sophomore studying agriculture at the University of Tennessee when his uncle, C. A. Griffith, invited him to come and work in Pruden. Griffith was the vice president and general manager of Prudent Coal & Coke Co., which built and owned the town.

The year was 1922. "I went to work loading coal, $5.94 for an 8-hour day," Uncle Charles recollected.

An underground coal mine begins at the driftmouth, which is the hole in the ground where the miners enter, and it ends at the coal face, where the highest-paid miners work at the most dangerous job.

There, miners with a mechanical cutter tear away the coal in a narrow band along the floor level. When they are through, the coal seam hangs in a great block, clinging to the ceiling with a trench cut out beneath it.

Holes are drilled in this coal face. Powder charges are stuffed in the holes. When they are ignited, in a process called "shooting the coal," the coal is blasted loose and tumbles down in a glittering heap.

Uncle Charles was one of the loaders who shoveled up this coal into little gondola cars which carried it to the driftmouth. For his wage of $5.94, he shoveled about 10 tons a day.

Then he went back to Lexington, passed an examination and became the foreman of the Back Creek mine. From there, he advanced to superintendent, the working executive in charge of all six mines in Pruden.

I remember those times, visiting in Pruden as a teenager and seeing Uncle Charles come home at night. It was hard to think of him as an executive. He wore a miner's helmet, with a little electric lamp in the front that always fascinated me, and his face was silted and dark with layers of coal dust, like a blackface minstrel with a not quite completed makeup job.

I did not know it then, but the Pruden mines were already going down. During the peak years of the late 1920's and the early 1940's, the Southern Railway carried an average of almost 2,000 tons a day away from the Pruden mines. Some 500 men worked "under the hill" mining the coal, and another 125 or so outside.

In the narrow valley between the high ridges, 2,500 people lived. They lived in houses rented from the company, and they shopped at commissaries the company owned. The company ran the town.

Then two things began to happen at once. The United Mine Workers began to push the wage scale up past $20 a day, and the coal seams began to grow narrower. Labor costs rose as the remaining coal deposits shrank.

By 1954, a year of Eisenhower prosperity for most of the rest of the country, Uncle Charles could see the handwriting on the coal face. "I decided," he said, "that I had better get out while I could."

Now he travels through east Tennessee, southeastern Kentucky, and north Georgia, selling dynamite to strip mine operators, roadbuilders, and construction men. Last week, he drove me back to Pruden for a visit to his old hometown.

Only about 30 miners work there now, less than 5 percent of the boomtime work force. Represented by the Southern Miners Union, whose wage scale is well below the UMW's, they toil for a small company which began local operations only 2 months ago.

Only 300 people live in the whole town now, less than one-eighth of the peak population. A few still mine coal, two or three try to farm the steep ridges, a handful enjoy UMW retirement checks, several draw social security.

Unlike many Kentucky companies, Pruden Coal & Coke bent considerable effort toward finding new jobs for its men when it closed down in 1957. "I wrote letters for weeks to Michigan and Ohio," said H. D. Gross, the company's oldtime bookkeeper, who lives now beside the abandoned main commissary. "That's where you'll find the Pruden young folks now."

Hardly one-fifth of the old coal camp houses are still standing. When the mines closed, the land company (which owns the top of the ground and leased the mineral

rights to the coal company) dismantled all the empty houses. Young trees grow now where houses stood.

In the best of times, there was never anything in the "business district" except one theater, one cafe, one babershop and one service station. They were all in one building. Last week all were closed and workmen were tearing down the building.

It is not hard to foresee the day when there will be nothing in the valley but trees and brush, and Pruden only a memory in the minds of a few Kentucky-born rubber workers in Akron or auto workers in Detroit.

At that, the valley is lucky. For in the ridges round about, the strip miners are at work.

Uncle Charles is a rather fatalistic man and the strip mining doesn't seem to bother him much. He seems to accept it as just another branch of the coal business.

It bothers me. Strip mining is ugly and I don't see how anything worse could happen to the land.

In strip mining, the operators don't tunnel into the mountains and bring the coal out. With bulldozers, they simply rip off the top or side of the mountain and lay the coal bare. It's cheaper.

Except that it ruins the land. Down the sides of the mountain tumble the hardpan clay, the slate and shale torn up by the 'dozers. Inert, it lies barren until rainwater washes it down to clog the mountain streams.

Throughout southeastern Kentucky, the pattern is much the same. The big operators are gone or going, moving out to west Kentucky where the coal seams are still thick. The UMW is not even a shadow of its old self, beaten by the nonunion operators taking advantage of surplus labor. Along the ridges, scars open up as the strip mines proliferate.

Pruden is lucky. One of the better companies came there and went, and now it is a ghost.

Poverty in Appalachia—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 18, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, historically the United States as a Nation has literally grown with its roots in the soil. Farm life has always been held as an ideal of the American way of life. But we are in a new age today, and hard toil in the fields will not produce a good living all the time.

Agriculture has been transformed since World War II ended. The mechanization of farming has sent many people to the cities, but it has also left behind a peculiar group—the property-owning poor. These people live on their small plots of land in a harsh and bitter poverty.

In the last of a series of five articles on Appalachia in the May 19 issue of the Miami Herald, Lee Winfrey points out one of the characteristics of the rural poor: It is hard for them to leave their homes in the country. Not only do they have no place to go or know how they would get there if they did, but their spirit is sapped by the simple struggle for survival.

President Johnson's war on poverty includes a program for the rural poor consisting of loans to individuals and corporations. The money could be used to acquire land and redevelop it into family farms and to operate and improve family-sized farms by provisions for fences, farm buildings, water development, and other facilities. Grants of up to $1,500 could be authorized to low-income rural families if the money was likely to produce a permanent increase in their income.

Although the program will not put an end to farm poverty, Congress and the country cannot expect to reap the harvest of a healthy America in the future unless they sow wisely today by planting the seeds embodied in the President's proposals.

The article follows:

HARLAN COUNTY EXISTS ON DOLE

(By Lee Winfrey)

HARLAN, KY.—In Harlan County, Christmas comes 12 times a year. It comes on the third day of each month and they call it "blue check day."

Uncle Sam is the Santa Claus and he sends his gifts in plain brown envelopes. His presents are welfare checks—aid to the old, aid to the blind and disabled, aid to dependent children.

On blue check day in May, in this mining town of 4,200 the Harlan National Bank cashed 1,794 welfare checks worth $84,957.07. There is another bank in town and numerous storekeepers who will take a Government check as quick as a dollar.

Harlan County is a county on the dole. Many people here are resentful and they would rather work, but there is nothing for them to do.

Harlan sits on top of some of the richest coal beds in the world. Since the first loaded railroad car was shipped out in 1911, more than 500 million tons have been dug out of the Harlan County hills. It is estimated that 2 billion tons are left.

The coal industry is sick. Harlan, its stepchild, is enfeebled, too.

Two sets of figures sum up the story.

In 1942, the county's peak year, 12,500 miners produced 14,740,796 tons. Last year, armed with new machines that threw hundreds of their fellows out of work, 3,171 miners dug out 5,820,200 tons—the smallest production in Harlan County since 1920.

The other set of figures relates to population. In 1950, there were 72,000 people in Harlan County. By 1960, there were only 52,000. The able bodied and the capable are leaving. Stranded behind are the old, the crippled, and the very young.

TVA AMONG THOSE BLAMED

Everyone blames everyone else. The coal operators blame the United Mine Workers for pushing the wage scale up to $125 a week. We are the only industry put under the thumb of a dictatorial union," say C. D. McDowell, president of the Harlan County Coal Operators Association.

The miners blame the big rail mines for closing down, and the smaller truck mines for refusing to pay the UMW scale. "I wouldn't swap the UMW for all of 'em," says Jess Kinder, 65, who idles now on the courthouse steps, shored up by $206 a month from social security and the UMW retirement fund.

The operators point to the Tennessee Valley Authority, beloved in Tennessee for making the ravaged hillsides green, now often cursed in southeastern Kentucky as the scourge of the coal industry.

"TVA, buying 20 million tons a year for its steamplants, is the biggest single coal purchaser in the country," said operator McDowell. "They've forced the price of coal down a dollar a ton cheaper than it was 10 years ago. If TVA had never existed, the coal operators would be at least a billion dollars richer."

In their box-like coal camp houses, the idle miners care less and less about the futile argument.

In 1959 and again in the bitter winter of 1962–63, violence erupted in the coal fields, beatings and shootings and dynamitings as roving pickets attempted to force the nonunion operators to pay the UMW scale and the 40-cents-a-ton royalty to the UMW retirement fund.

They failed. Now the UMW, pointing to a slump in welfare payments, is selling the last of the 10 fine hospitals it built in eastern Kentucky to care for its men. Abandoned by their last friend, many old miners feel no guilt as they take all they can get from the Government.

A FEW MINERS FIND WAY OUT

Commonly expressed in the coal region is the thought that many of these men will never work again. For the real villain in the coal industry is an innocent bystander: the American homeowner. He simply doesn't want to heat his home with coal any longer. He uses oil or gas.

Harlan is a one-industry town. There is nothing in these bleak hills but coal. Down at the county employment service office, 2,195 people signed up in March. The office found work for 59 of them—mostly on the unemployed parents program, a roadside make work project that pays $1 an hour.

Here and there, encouragingly, is a man finding a way to help himself. One is Howard Brewer, 49, of nearby Cawood, a miner for 26 years.

Brewer was once a local union officer for the UMW, once a roving picket, too. "I quit when they took my hospital card November a year ago," he said. "I was working in a truck mine where they weren't paying royalty."

In a sort of secondary boycott, the UMW would punish negligent truck mines by taking from the miners the cards which entitled them to care at the big UMW hospitals. Implicit was the assumption that the miners would then force their bosses to cough up.

Often, it didn't work that way. The operators simply hired other workers, leaving the strikers with neither job nor union.

After 7 or 8 months of idleness, Brewer found a way out down at the Harlan area vocational school. The Federal Government has financed this program for the past 2 years through the Manpower Defense Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Administration.

There Brewer is learning to be a mine machine repairman, learning how to fix the automatic loaders, the shuttle cars, and the cutting machines that make the mines go today. As human miners grow increasingly obsolete, men to fix the machines become more valuable.

Even so, Brewer says, "I figure I'll have to leave, where, I don't know. I've got hopes they'll help us some here. It's an evident fact men our age have got to have help. I've been in Indiana as long as 3 weeks hunting work, and always lost out on account of my age."

HARD TO LEAVE HARLAN COUNTY

For many, Harlan County is a hard place to leave. The hills seem very tall and the roads leading out are narrow. "The welfare" is like a drug, sapping the spirit and the energy of those who accept it. The backwardness and isolation of the region are often pathetic.

One evening I drove out through Clover Fork, east of Harlan toward Evarts. It is dark and bloody ground: At Evarts in 1931, company guards and miners fought the first

gunbattle in the UMW's violent, years-long drive to organize the Harlan coalfields.

Four people were going up the road in the gathering dusk: an old woman, an old man with a baby in his arms, and a teenage boy. They were going to Wednesday night prayer meeting, a Baptist tradition through most of Appalachia.

I stopped and gave them a ride and when they got in, I moved some things over into my lap to make room for them. Among the items was a common service station road map.

The boy pointed to the map. "That's what you use to tell where you're goin', ain't it?" he said.

I thought he was making some kind of a joke. I laughed and said yes.

Then he said, "That's the way my brother Jimmy does, too." And I realized he wasn't joking and I stopped laughing.

An ordinary road map, the easiest way to learn how to get out of Harlan County, was a magical mystery to him.

Sargent Shriver's New Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed fitting that President Johnson chose Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver to lead the fight against poverty in our Nation.

Mr. Shriver's career has been characterized by the ability to accept difficult challenges and to meet them triumphantly. The most obvious example is the success he has made of the Peace Corps during the 3 years in which he has been its Director and guiding spirit.

Many doubted the success of this program because its concept was new and untested, and the pitfalls were many. Mr. Shriver, recognizing the problems which might arise, worked diligently to build the Peace Corps into an organization which would represent the best in American life and traditions.

His success can be measured in worldwide acceptance of the Peace Corps and the efforts of other nations to emulate it. It can also be determined by the numbers of converted skeptics who today admit their previous error of judgment.

The President's antipoverty program likewise is untested. It faces pitfalls. It has its critics. Mr. Shriver is undaunted by these facts. He has thrown himself into the work of eradicating poverty in our Nation with the same verve and determination that has characterized his tenure with the Peace Corps.

If the past is an indication of the future, we may be confident that these new efforts of Mr. Shriver will be similarly crowned with success. Poverty, long a scourge of mankind, has a new and strong adversary.

Mr. Shriver's many accomplishments were the subject of an article in the Sunday editorial section of the Milwaukee Journal on August 30. Written by Paul E. Salsini of the Journal staff, the piece gives a concise and interesting glimpse into the life and work of this outstanding American. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

"GENERAL" SHRIVER'S HUMANE WAR

(By Paul E. Salsini)

In the 3 years that the Peace Corps has marched around the world, Sargent Shriver has achieved a public image as the man who slogs with his youthful volunteers through the mud of Borneo, Guatemala, Nigeria, and other farflung outposts.

For the next 3 years at least, the Nation may expect to see Shriver striding the streets of Harlem, visiting a shack in the Appalachians, or talking with a farmer in northern Wisconsin.

Shriver is still the Director of the Peace Corps, but he has turned his attention from the poor abroad to the poor at home. Having made a whooping success of the Corps, he has been promoted by President Johnson to "general" commanding the administration's forces in the new, 3-year, all-out war on poverty.

It will be, by far, the most difficult job the 48-year-old Shriver has had in his long career as a businessman and public servant. The Peace Corps was demanding enough, with its dramatic plan to send young people—and oldsters—abroad to help train the unskilled in underdeveloped countries.

JOB 30 TIMES AS BIG

The antipoverty program is a different matter. The $947.5 million which Congress authorized for the first year is 30 times the original budget of the Peace Corps. Moreover, it is designed to reach a great many more people, in a great many more ways.

It is a sweeping program for school dropouts to work in conservation camps or urban training centers, for local communities to start their own poverty wars, for farm families to get 15-year loans, for small businesses to hire the chronically unemployed, for heads of families on relief to get job and training opportunities and for volunteers to assist in mental health, migrant, Indian, and other Federal help programs.

Such a broad program will merely dent the hard core of poverty in the country. According to census figures, a fifth of the Nation's 47 million families are classified as poor—earning less than $3,000 a year. Wisconsin's percentage is only slightly less than average—17.4 percent—and Governor Reynolds' new task force on poverty will start the State program at its meeting Monday in Madison.

The sweep of the antipoverty provisions has come under sharp criticism. It has been called a hodgepodge and a duplication of existing agencies' work.

As head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Shriver will have one of the most powerful jobs in Washington. He will receive $22,500 a year, compared with his nonpaying Peace Corps job.

Shriver will coordinate all programs in the bill and administer key sections. He has broad authority to distribute funds, can forgive the repayment of farmers' loans and can contract with local public and private agencies without going through State channels.

But Shriver's job will also be a delicate one. Unlike the Peace Corps, his programs will be right under the noses of critical Congressmen. He will be dealing with people a great portion of the Nation would like to ignore—the unseen poor, reliefers, and Negroes.

Also, Shriver will be under the constant watchful eye of President Johnson, who has called him "one of the most brilliant, most able and most competent officials in the Government." The antipoverty bill was Johnson's first major personal legislative achievement and he has indicated that he attaches great importance to its success. Shriver will be a special assistant to the President to direct the program.

Observers agree that it will be up to Shriver to make the war on poverty a success. Already he has been working 12 hours a day to make it so. He was one of the few Democrats who stayed away from the party's convention last week to continue to work in Washington. He has continued as Peace Corps Director, he quips, because "a fellow with a growing family has to have two jobs."

Shriver has said that his goal is to achieve a "practical, manageable, understandable" way effectively to attack poverty. He adds: "I'm not at all interested in running a handout program or a leaf raking program or 'something for nothing' program. (The poverty war) will be a practical program."

Shriver is likely to control the antipoverty program as firmly as he dominated the Peace Corps. A sturdy, 6-foot, 175-pound figure, he demands a great deal from himself—and others. He is a perfectionist who expects the nearly impossible from his staff. A sign in his office reads: "Nice guys don't win ball games."

Success as the top general in the war on poverty could cap a highly successful career for Shriver. He has been a lawyer, magazine editor and working politician. He has helped run the Merchandise Mart in Chicago, been president of that city's school board and been an active Catholic layman, especially in the Catholic Interracial Council. (In recognition of his contributions to Catholic interests, he will receive the Cardinal Newman Award Saturday at the National Newman Congress, in Milwaukee's Pfister Hotel.)

Shriver's success as Peace Corps Director overshadowed the fact that he was appointed by his brother-in-law, the late President Kennedy. It gave him a public image of his own, rather than being merely one of the Kennedy clan. In some quarters, his do-gooder role earned him the title "Mr. Clean."

A NAVAL OFFICER

Shriver's wife is the former Eunice Kennedy, whom he met in 1945 when he was assistant to the editor of Newsweek magazine. A member of an old Maryland family, Shriver was graduated cum laude from Yale. He was a lieutenant commander in the Navy during World War II.

Joseph P. Kennedy, Eunice's father, was impressed with Shriver and took him into his business organization. Shriver was sent to Chicago to do a survey of the Merchandise Mart, the world's largest commercial building, which Kennedy then owned. Eventually, Shriver was named assistant general manager. He married the boss' daughter in 1953. They have four children.

Although he took an active role in his brother-in-law's 1960 campaign, Shriver never has run for a political office. He was mentioned this year as a possible running mate for President Johnson.

When asked about his possible future candidacy, he said, in what must be regarded as understatement: "I always maintain an interest in public service."

Communist Condemns Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, politics indeed makes strange bedfellows and one of these "fellows" happens to be a woman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a noted

Communist in the United States. She deplores BARRY GOLDWATER, as is reported in today's New York Times:

U.S. REDS ACCUSE HARLEM LEFTISTS—SAY PEIPING FACTION STIRRED TROUBLE DURING RIOTS

Moscow, September 1.—A leader of the Communist Party of the United States accused the pro-Chinese Communists today of acting as troublemakers in the recent race riots in Harlem.

Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, writing in Pravda, condemned the Chinese Communists and Senator BARRY GOLDWATER in equal terms and pledged the loyalty of the Communist Party of the United States to the Kremlin.

Her article was commemorating the 45th anniversary of the party. She is the party's national chairman.

The "irresponsible policies of the Chinese leaders resemble the positions (on nuclear war) taken by GOLDWATER and may lead to a world holocaust," she wrote in the Soviet party newspaper.

"Our party is mustering its forces and all people under its influence to defeat GOLDWATER," she said. She charged that Mr. GOLDWATER "was against trade unions, Negroes, Communists, social security, assistance to the aged, and unemployment insurance," but that he was "for nuclear war if necessary."

Mr. GOLDWATER's candidacy was approved by the Chinese Communists on the ground that what was worst for the United States was best for Peiping, Mrs. Flynn wrote.

She said that the Communist Party of the United States supported the Kremlin's "peaceful foreign policy aimed at disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism."

Like "all Communist parties in capitalist countries," she said, the American Communist Party has had to fight factionalism. Several years ago the party's extreme left advocated dissolution of party and was expelled for this, she wrote. The expelled faction then formed the Progressive Workers Movement, she said.

She charged that this movement, whose "views coincide with those of Chinese Communist leaders," committed "adventurist actions and provocations" during the recent events in Harlem.

A Birch Leader Speaks, Disgustingly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in Atlantic City last month we Democrats unanimously and enthusiastically included in our platform the following statement:

We condemn extremism, whether from the right or left, including the extreme tactics of such organizations as the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society.

This is in sharp contrast to the performance of the Republican elements now in control of that party. They successfully resisted all efforts to put a specific stamp of disapproval on the John Birch Society. And the Republican nominee for President has consistently told us what fine people are in the society and that he has only some disagreement with one leader, Robert Welch.

The congressional district I represent has just been visited by another Birch leader, Dr. Revilo Oliver, member of the society's national council. His remarks are disgusting and shocking. He calls the three civil rights leaders slain in Mississippi "cockroaches." He says the funeral of the late President Kennedy was "well rehearsed" and "up to the technical standards of Cleopatra and Ben Hur."

We can be proud that one of our Nation's two great political parties has condemned an organization headed by such people as Dr. Oliver. We have plainly said to the Birchers: "We don't want your votes."

The Tucson Daily Citizen, which normally supports Republicans, sharply rebuked Dr. Oliver and suggested he peers at the world "through paranoid spectacles." I think the Citizen has performed a fine public service in calling this man to account.

Following is the Citizen's report of Dr. Oliver's speech and the paper's editorial of condemnation:

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Citizen, Aug. 25, 1964]

SLAIN RIGHTS WORKERS CALLED "COCKROACHES"

(By Eric Cavaliero)

The three civil rights workers killed in the Deep South this summer were "cockroaches who crawled into the State of Mississippi to incite violence," Dr. Revilo P. Oliver said here last night.

The professor of classics at the University of Illinois and national council member of the John Birch Society told a Tucson Press Club forum:

"I'm truly astonished at the amount of excitement this has occasioned. I noticed in Washington a white woman was raped while praying in her home church, but I don't hear one peep of indignation from the liberals.

"I'm not sure who killed those people in Mississippi," he added. "I strongly suspect that the murder may have followed a common Communist pattern. They either do the work themselves or get someone else to do it for them.

"Those people are not entitled to one-tenth of the consideration or sympathy they have aroused."

He described the John Birch Society as "a patriotic organization whose principal function is to educate the American people * * * we are trying to distribute information that is not getting out in other channels.

"We are trying to call people's attention to significant events of which they have never heard," he added, "as well as those they have heard but forgotten."

Oliver quoted a newspaper report which suggested that Dallas police were ready to arrest Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby at the time that an assassination attempt was made on Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker.

"The story says they did not carry it out as they had been told by a high official in the Justice Department, they must not do so because it was a matter of national interest," he added. "The story describes this official in such a way that it could only be Bobby Sox Kennedy."

In a talk last night at Doolen Junior High School, Oliver suggested that if Communist plans had not gone astray, we would have had "a national Saturnalia of legalized violence under cover of which the international conspiracy could have gained control of the whole Nation."

He received a standing ovation from a near-capacity crowd as he added:

"You may owe your life or at least your liberty to the vigilance and sagacity of Officer J. D. Tippit, the policeman who stopped Lee Harvey Oswald on the street and was murdered by the conspiracy's well-trained but not infallible agent.

"It's easy to see what could have happened had everything gone smoothly in Dallas," he added. "There could have been a complete breakdown of law and order everywhere.

"The numerous vermin that have been living for years in ill-concealed anticipation of the glorious day when they will be able to hack Americans to pieces could have started looting, burning, and murdering."

Oliver said Oswald had been trained in Moscow and assigned to Dallas. He would have made his escape after the assassination, but for Tippit's sharp police work.

Debunking what he called the "adoration" for the late President, Oliver said: "Jack Kennedy was almost the equal of the actor who takes the role of Perry Mason in the television series. He was able to recite quite convincingly the lines written by Salinger, Schlesinger, and other word twisters whom the taxpayers hire to confuse them.

"At times he sounded American and made sense, and he seemed entirely credible until you realized how his achievements differed from his announced intentions."

He said Kennedy's "well-rehearsed" funeral was "up to the technical standards of Cleopatra and Ben Hur."

Oliver said a "Kennedy cult" has grown up since the assassination.

"I have received letters from people who wanted to know how it was possible for anyone to be so debased as to criticize the greatest man who ever lived," he said.

He quoted a letter from a man who called Oliver a "hatemonger" and then threatened to squash his eyes out. "That one is from a lovemonger," Oliver said.

"The adoration of a semidivine leader is an example of the Socialist mentality," he added.

"Liberal intellectuals stand on their heads and tell you that the world is upside down," he said. "Not one of them ever proposed or approved anything that would bring $1 of profit to the American people.

"They have always taken for granted that the taxpayers' money should go to people who are too stupid, too lazy, or too savage to work."

He cited the Central Intelligence Agency as "a body that has done the work of the Soviet secret police for years."

Oliver's appearance here was sponsored by the American Opinion Bookstore, 1695 North Magnolia Avenue.

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Citizen, Aug. 27, 1964]

TIME FOR THE BIRCHERS TO "PUT UP OR SHUT UP"

There's a crude saying a betting man will use to challenge his opponent in an argument. "Put up or shut up," the saying goes.

We think it's time to say "put up or shut up" to some of the leaders of the John Birch Society.

And here is what we mean: "Put up the proof to support your charges, or stop making those charges."

We direct this demand to one Revilo P. Oliver, who was in Tucson Monday and made two speeches that night. He appeared at a Tucson Press Club forum and at a public gathering at Doolen Junior High School.

Dr. Oliver is an educated man. He is, in fact, a professor of classics at the University of Illinois. He is also a national council member of the John Birch Society.

He made some pretty wild and irresponsible statements while he was here. He spoke of the late President Kennedy's "well-rehearsed" funeral. Speaking of three civil rights workers killed this summer, he re-

ferred to "cockroaches who crawled into the State of Mississippi to incite violence."

In an apparent reference to last November's tragedy in Dallas, Dr. Oliver suggested that if Communist plans had not gone astray, we would have had "a national Saturnalia of legalized violence under cover of which the international conspiracy could have gained control of the whole Nation."

The way the plans went astray, of course, is that police caught the Marxist who killed the President. Some leftwing liberals already had blamed Dallas-rightwingers for the assassination. If Lee Oswald had not been caught, the radical liberals undoubtedly would have broadened and intensified their attack in an effort to discredit and vilify many legitimate conservative organizations.

But to suggest that this would have become an orgy of legalized violence is to peer at the world through paranoid spectacles.

Dr. Oliver described the John Birch Society as "a patriotic organization whose principal function is to educate the American people" about the Communist conspiracy.

We're all for that, if they'll stick to it. There is a Communist conspiracy which threatens America and all the free world. The U.S. Government does not seem sufficiently alert to the problem or adept at coping with it.

But irresponsible and unprovable statements such as those made by Dr. Oliver are not effective weapons against communism. In the long run, Birchers who talk like that do more to hurt than help the anti-Communist cause.

Welfare and Pension Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, the recent conviction of labor leaders who misappropriated welfare and pension funds of their unions have prompted a number of my constituents to inquire as to the possibility of depleted welfare funds and Federal protection in this area.

These funds are established to provide death, disability, and retirement benefits for employees, and represent an incentive for increased production and continued employment. They are a part of the worker's compensation and he has a vested claim in them just as he does to his private savings account.

Regretfully, I find that existing Federal banking and labor statutes do not protect the worker against unscrupulous employers or trustees who may raid the fund. This is particularly true of small corporations which, in desperation and on the verge of bankruptcy, sometimes resort to "borrowing" from the employees retirement fund. When bankruptcy actually occurs in such a case, the welfare pension fund is lost and its purpose defeated along with what remains of the assets of the defunct business.

The U.S. Department of Labor informs me that while they are aware of these criminal acts they presently have no jurisdiction or legal means to prevent raids on pension funds. Unfortunately, their records disclose many cases of this nature.

Certainly this glaring deficiency must be corrected with appropriate penalties, including heavy fines and jail sentences.

These funds are trust funds and should be accorded the same careful protection as those of deceased persons held in trust for the benefit of widows and orphans. It can be accomplished by Government supervision, insurance, or investment standards to limit the range of trustee discretion.

I am well aware that it is too late in the present session to obtain constructive action on what is a highly-controversial matter. However, I am today submitting a proposed bill for record purposes and study, and I urge its careful consideration by interested Members who may feel disposed to join me in pressing this matter at the opening of the next session of Congress.

Marshall W. Amis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, on September 30 a distinguished public servant will retire from the public service. He is Marshall W. Amis, who has served admirably and effectively as regional director of the Public Housing Administration in Fort Worth, Tex., for many years.

Since his record of service is an inspiration to many, and since through his dedicated years of work in our Federal Government, he has assisted so many Americans to achieve a better and more comfortable life, I am including here a statement of his public service written by George Parker, the regional attorney for the Public Housing Administration in the Fort Worth regional office:

STATEMENT IN HONOR OF MARSHALL W. AMIS, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC SERVICE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

Marshall W. Amis has served with great distinction and success as regional director of the Public Housing Administration since the regional office was first established in Fort Worth on June 30, 1939, except for approximately 5 years (1948–53), while Mr. Amis acted as general counsel of the agency in Washington, D.C. Mr. Amis will complete nearly 33 years of devoted exemplary Federal service on September 30, 1964, when he reaches the age of compulsory retirement, and we believe that it is particularly fitting and timely that this outstanding public servant be recognized on the occasion of his retirement.

The best evidence of the exceptional ability and outstanding public service shown by Marshall Amis in his long, exemplary and fruitful career as a public servant is the record of his administration of the Public Housing Administration regional office for more than 20 years. It is a record (1) of great accomplishment, (2) of impeccable integrity and outstanding citizenship, and (3) a wise and prudent administration of Federal funds entrusted into his stewardship.

It is also timely to honor Marshall Amis in view of the national program to conduct an all-out war on poverty. Mr. Amis has been a dedicated warrior against poverty throughout his many years of public service and his accomplishments in providing better housing for the poverty-stricken families of the Southwestern States and in eliminating slums and substandard housing is an outstanding testimonial that in a great democracy such as ours there are no unimportant people and that we as a nation want for every child and family the opportunity of achieving their fullest potential as citizens.

Mr. Amis was born September 13, 1894, in Newton County, Miss. His father was a Meridian, Miss., attorney and also was judge of the equity court there. He was educated in public schools at Meridian and was valedictorian of his high school graduating class. In 1917 Amis was graduated from the University of Mississippi with two degrees, bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws. Both were earned magna cum laude.

1. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Public Housing Administration Fort Worth Regional Office administers the Federal program of financial assistance to local communities to provide low-rent decent, safe and sanitary housing for its lowest income families and the elimination of substandard housing in the eight Southwestern States, including Texas. The five low-rent housing projects of the housing authority of the city of Fort Worth that have eliminated much substandard housing and provided 1,074 decent, safe, and sanitary homes for low-income Fort Worth families is an example of Mr. Amis' leadership and administration of the program in this area. Since 1939 more than 65,000 low-rent housing units have been provided in the Southwestern States and more than 48,000 substandard shacks and slums have been eliminated as part of the program.

When it is considered that the local housing authorities are encouraged to utilize their low-rent housing units as stepping stones for self-improvement of low-income families, preparatory to advancement into homes of their own, Mr. Amis' efforts through the years have undoubtedly resulted in the rehabilitation and uplifting of hundreds of thousands of low-income families. Almost every day we receive reports of low-income families that have progressed up the economic scale through the temporary help received in obtaining a decent place to live at a rent sufficiently low to be met by their limited means. A doctor who is now serving on the board of one of our local housing authorities recently told a member of our office that without the temporary help of living in a low-rent housing project while in medical school he could not have completed his medical education and supported his wife and small children. Another heartwarming example of the success of Mr. Amis' dedicated war on poverty was the recent announcement that the valedictorian of a high school in this area was a product of a low-rent housing project whose family had formerly resided in substandard housing. Thousands of young people in the Southwestern area have escaped the bonds of poverty through the help of a decent, safe, and sanitary home made possible by Marshall Amis' leadership.

In addition to his accomplishments with respect to the low-rent housing program, Mr. Amis and his office rendered outstanding and efficient service to the Nation in providing most of the temporary housing for service personnel and warworkers in the Southwestern area during World War II. Thousands of units were provided in a fast, efficient, and economical manner, ranging from permanent housing to trailer villages put into operation almost overnight. In Texas alone over 32,000 units of war housing were developed under Mr. Amis' leadership. After the war was won and the veterans came home seeking a place to start life again, Mr.

Amis and his organization did a prodigious job of providing temporary housing for veterans through the reuse and conversion of temporary war housing and military barracks. Thousands of veterans in the Southwest owe a great debt to the efficiency and redtape cutting ability of Marshall Amis in getting temporary housing ready for them—certainly not fancy but decent and sanitary and happily accepted by the veterans until permanent housing of their own could be attained.

2. A RECORD OF INTEGRITY AND DEVOTION TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE

We can think of no finer example of an able, devoted public servant of the greatest integrity and good citizenship than Marshall W. Amis. In his nearly 33 years of public service he has set an outstanding example for his office subordinates and associates. In his more than 20 years as Director of the Fort Worth Public Housing Administration office, there has been no instance of laxity or loss to the taxpayers in the administration of millions of dollars of Federal funds, neither in his own office nor in the projects financed under his supervision. In every case where an irregularity arose it was dealt with swiftly and promptly without scandal or loss to the taxpayers. Mr. Amis has set a wonderful example for his employees as a fine Christian citizen. He is a devoted member of the First Methodist Church and takes a personal interest that every PHA employee pays his poll tax and exercises his responsibility as a citizen. There has never been a single year since the establishment of the Fort Worth Regional Office that the office has not substantially oversubscribed its quota to the United Fund, the Savings Bond Campaign and other charitable and patriotic activities. Mr. Amis is an active member of the Fort Worth Rotary Club and is past president of the Forth Worth Federal Business Association. He is a veteran of World War I and served as Captain, Battery A, 334th Field Artillery, 87th Division of the A.E.F.

3. THE TAXPAYERS FRIEND

Marshall Amis is widely known and honored as a Government official with an outstanding record of wise and frugal expenditure of the Federal funds entrusted to his stewardship. Not only are the low-rent housing projects developed in this area financed at lower costs than any other regional area in the United States, but Mr. Amis does it with fewer employees, lower administrative expense, but yet with greater tangible results. For example, there are less than half as many employees in the Fort Worth regional office per low-rent housing project administered, than the average of all the other PHA regional offices. The Fort Worth office achieves lower office overhead expense than other regional offices through the simple process of getting by with more than 25 percent less space per employee, despite the greater workload than other PHA offices. The results achieved in the low-rent housing program under Mr. Amis' administration are equally gratifying. The program administered by the Fort Worth regional office has achieved the lowest rents and is serving the lowest income families of any other PHA regional office, including the southeastern region. The median gross rent (including gas, electricity, and water) achieved in the Southwestern area projects was the very low figure of $34.39 for the year ending June 30, 1963. The national average median gross rent, including utilities, was $45.34. The median income of the low-income families housed in the Southwestern area was $1,976 per year, the lowest in the Nation. The national median income of families housed in PHA financed housing was the very respectable figure of $2,464, but nearly $500 higher than that achieved under Mr. Amis' administration.

Mr. Amis emphasizes in his dealings with communities the importance of providing better housing for low-income families with children. The average family housed in Southwestern low-rent housing projects, including many elderly families without children, is nearly four children per family. This is also the best record of any PHA office in helping larger families.

G. A. PARKER,
Regional Attorney, Fort Worth Regional Office, Public Housing Administration.

Extension and Amendment of Public Law 480

SPEECH
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 12298) to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to put in perspective some of the precedents in the use of this law. For that purpose, I should like to ask the gentleman from Texas or members of the committee precisely what aid we have given to the United Arab Republic under Public Law 480. I wonder if any of them could tell us in the first instance under how many titles of the law the United Arab Republic receives aid.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. The United Arab Republic receives aid under title I. We have sold to the United Arab Republic in the last 10 years under title I $1,129,700,000 worth of commodities. Then we have given the United Arab Republic certain aid under title II which is, of course, the program where we give the aid rather than sell it and that comes to a total in the last 10 years of $25,348,000.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is that $25 billion?

Mr. POAGE. No, it is $25,348,000.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Under title I is there any delineation as to the nature of the country we are giving aid to, as to whether it is a friendly country, a neutral country, or an unfriendly country, or any other status?

Mr. POAGE. The law says "to friendly countries."

Mr. ROSENTHAL. That is friendly countries? And all during this 10-year period we sold them over a billion dollars worth of commodities, they have qualified under this section as a friendly country?

Mr. POAGE. Yes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I wonder if the gentleman from New Jersey who is a member of the distinguished Committee on Foreign Affairs, and who has been a vigorous opponent of this amendment and a great proponent of foreign aid, will tell me how in any way, shape, or form the United Arab Republic can be defined as a "friendly" country?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I think the determination in the aid bill is one where the President must make the determination that they are involved in aggression. I believe one of the things the State Department is trying to do is to protect the status of Israel and one of the ways we can do that best is by having some leverage in the Near East and even though that is a worn out argument as the previous gentleman said, the fact of the matter is that warfare has not broken out between Israel and Egypt.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. The gentleman is going one step beyond the point I want to make. Are you prepared to state here and now that without the advocacy of the State Department and by your own definition of the word "friendly", you are prepared to define the United Arab Republic as a friendly country?

Mr. GALLAGHER. No, I do not think the United Arab Republic is a friendly country. I do not think Mr. Nasser is a very friendly person. I am interested, however, in the national interest of the United States and in our interest in the Near East and our interest in the State of Israel.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. We can come to that in a minute. But if I may continue, if you are prepared to say that the United Arab Republic is not a friendly country, then in no way can you justify aid to that country under the existing legislation.

Mr. GALLAGHER. If the gentleman will permit me, my definition of friendly and the definition of the State Department of the word "friendly" may be two different things. I am talking about some of the acts—some of the noise and some of the acts that Mr. Nasser has carried out against Israel and I am pointing out that they have not been very friendly. But I do not think we should at this point be in the position of casting Mr. Nasser and the rest of the Near East into the same role and say that they are all Communists.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. That is precisely the point I make. I am not willing to substitute the judgment of the Department of State for my own judgment. I am willing to stand with you in defining the word "friendly." Both of us agree that the United Arab Republic has not been a friendly country, notwithstanding any propaganda that the Department of State puts out.

Mr. GALLAGHER. But we are talking about our Nation.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. If you and I believe in our definition of the word "friendly," then we simply cannot continue giving ai dto the United Arab Republic, regardless of what the State Department tells us. They are going to tell us about stability and maintaining a flexible hand. These are told, tired, and worn out clichés. It seems to me on the face of it we are continuing to violate the law by giving aid to a country that is most unfriendly to the interests of the United States.

Mr. GALLAGHER. If the gentleman will let me clear up our definitions here—a friendly nation could be considered as one that is not unfriendly to the United States or even a nation that is not at war with the United States. So there is a broad area of definition involved here. The gentleman is accepting his definition in one category.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. No, I am accepting your definition.

Mr. GALLAGHER. No, I think what we are trying to do is to accept the definition that is going to best serve the interest of the United States. That is what we are talking about.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I think we are all reasonable men, and we know what the word "friendly" means, and we know what the word "neutral" means, and we know what the word "unfriendly" means. I think you join with me, regardless of what the Department of State says, that the United Arab Republic is not a friendly nation, and if they do not fit that definition, they cannot receive assistance under this law.

Mr. GALLAGHER. I must point out to the gentleman that he is speaking for himself on this point.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Supreme Court and the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, four full pages of Fortune magazine for August 1964 are devoted to a layman's dissent, by Mr. Felix Morley, to the recent Supreme Court decisions on reapportionment of State legislatures. It is an informative, logical, and persuasive dissent and I respectfully urge all my colleagues to read it. It is entitled "The Supreme Court and the Republic."

The "dissent" follows:

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE REPUBLIC

(By Felix Morley)

(This is a layman's, not a lawyer's, dissent from the recent Supreme Court decisions on reapportionment. Mr. Morley is a journalist and educator, onetime editor of the Washington Post, and subsequently president of Haverford College. He is also an authority on constitutional history and the author of "The Power in the People" and "Freedom and Federalism." His views, considered alongside the Court's, point up the profound difficulties of maintaining our system of republican government.)

In his final opinion as a Supreme Court Justice, delivered from that Bench on March 26, 1962, Felix Frankfurter quietly observed that: "What is actually asked of the Court in this case is to choose * * * among competing theories of political philosophy."

The case was *Baker* v. *Carr*, establishing jurisdiction for Federal courts over the system of representation in the general assembly of Tennessee, and, in effect, ordering that representation in the lower house be made proportionate to the geographic spread of population. Justice Frankfurter, in his monumental dissent, pointed out that arithmetical equality in voting "was not the system chosen by the Constitution" and "is not predominantly practised by the States today." The case, he concluded, "is of that class of political controversy which, by the nature of its subject, is unfit for Federal judicial action."

That, however, was not the majority opinion. And the theory of judicial control over legislative composition has now been carried much further by the Supreme Court's judgment of June 15, on six similar cases appealed from Alabama, Colorado, Delaware, Maryland, New York, and Virginia. In all of these Justice Harlan, associated with Frankfurter in the Tennessee dissent, again denies validity to the argument that the legislatures of these States "are apportioned in ways that violate the Federal Constitution."

The progression to the current cases from that of 1962 is noteworthy. In the Tennessee ruling the Court established its right to intervene, justifying this by the "invidious discriminstion" among electoral districts of the lower house with very unequal population. In the current cases the right of intervention is assumed. Local efforts to rectify imbalance without profound disturbance of traditional patterns are found inadequate. And not just one but both houses of the affected State legislatures are told that they must reapportion on the principle of "one person, one vote."

With this decision, which demands reorganization of legislative arrangements in almost every State, the import of Justice Frankfurter's prescient observation becomes more clear. What the Court is doing is to impose on the States a new conception of representative government, far more egalitarian than that established by the Founding Fathers. The effect is no less revolutionary because ordained by an agency—the Federal judiciary—not customarily associated with profound political upheavals.

Nor is it to be expected that the resultant tremors will be confined to State capitols and local political organizations. In *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, the Supreme Court decided, some months ago, that "our Constitution's plain objective" is to provide "equal representation for equal numbers of people." This goes for the Federal House of Representatives as clearly as for the State legislatures. And if the U.S. Senate is safeguarded by very special constitutional guarantees the current decisions nonetheless imply that its system of representation—two Senators alike from sparsely and heavily populated States—is somehow un-American and undesirable.

THE CHOICE

The "competing theories of political philosophy" to which Justice Frankfurter referred are that of a federal republic, on the one hand, and that of a unitary democracy on the other. "Totalitarian" would be a more descriptive adjective than unitary, except that it has acquired a strongly derogatory flavor. The point is that the opposite to the division of governmental power essential for a federal republic is the concentration of governmental power necessary to make a democracy operative.

Democracy, in its political sense of unqualified majority rule, upholds the principle of "winner takes all." Carried to a logical conclusion it means that minorities have no rights which "the will of the people" may not override. Vox populi, vox dei, as the old Romans said. The trouble there was that ambitious generals soon saw themselves as spokesmen of all the people and therefore as godlike rulers. Thus representative government, lacking careful institutional restraint, soon ceased to be democratic even as it claimed that objective. We see the same phenomenon operating in Communist countries today, called "democratic people's republics" by their dictators on the assumption that they are the only legitimate interpreters of the popular will.

The Greeks, for a brief but glorious period, were able to avoid this political degeneration, simply by stressing the excellence for which they were taught to strive in every aspect of life. Government should be representative, serving the interests of all, impartially. But those who conduct it should be, in every sense, an "elect" group, chosen by a very limited suffrage.

The authors of the Constitution, for the most part good classical scholars, paid close attention to the Greek and Roman precedents. While firm believers in representative government, they found democracy, in its political as contrasted with its social sense, abhorrent. The word is not mentioned in the Constitution and became especially mistrusted when the doctrine of absolute equality led to the reign of terror in France. This prompted the famous aphorism of John Adams, our second President: "There never was a democracy that did not commit suicide."

THE MEANING OF FEDERALISM

In fact, it was impossible for the Government of the United States, in origin, to be really democratic. It had to take Federal form to achieve the Union of the 13 originally independent States. The essence of federalism is the reservation to its component parts of certain defined powers, which of itself involves a limitation of the powers of the general government. No matter what their collective desires, the people of a federation are not entitled to decide matters reserved to the authority of the constituent States. In a federation, majority opinion is therefore sometimes ineffective, unless it coincides with the public opinion of autonomous localities.

That much is true of any federation, but in our own the curbing of democracy was originally carried further. Some of these curbs on popular control have been removed, but others of great significance remain. Congress, for instance, "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Here is a clear contraction of democracy but not of representative government, which serves to protect those very minorities that democracy is disposed to crush. Under our system an opinionated religious sect, like the Amish, is safeguarded not by sending representatives to Congress but simply because the conventional majority there is denied the democratic power to suppress.

While deeply interested in political personalities and detail, most contemporary Americans are far more ignorant of political theory than were their forefathers. This presumably explains why the present Supreme Court can effectively suggest that representative government is necessarily democratic, and that democracy is necessarily representative. Yet illustrations of the important difference between the two are all around us. As the electoral system has developed it will be the rule, not the exception, in November for a simple majority, or even a plurality, of the voters in each State to decide the entire electoral vote of that State. This accords with the democratic principle of "winner takes all." But it is difficult to find anything representative in the procedure.

There are many indications that the objective of some Americans today is to substitute pure democracy for our traditional system of representative government. One way to accomplish this is to take all intelligent content out of the technical political term "democracy," and to make it a "good" word surrounded with a mystique calculated to make people react with spontaneous favor to its utterance. Over the years this has been done. Today it is almost embarrassing to recall that James Madison considered po-

litical democracy "incompatible with personal security or the rights of property."

The second way to weaken representative government is to erode the Federal structure by a continuous and progressive centralization of governmental functions. This process, too, was underway long before the day of F.D.R., who probably deserves less credit, or discredit, than he generally receives for the concentration of power in Washington.

But the movement to eliminate the States as sovereign entities is greatly impeded by the fact that local self-government, though often inefficient and not infrequently corrupt, is still generally regarded as preferable to dictation by distant bureaucrats. At many points along the road to socialism the Congress has dug in its heels, showing strong skepticism toward the provision of "bread and circuses," as the old Romans characterized the various new and fair deals by which the unconquerable empire was undermined from within.

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

There is, however, an infrequently used device by which the executive may overcome the obstruction of a recalcitrant legislature. It can summon the third arm of Government, which is the judiciary, to its aid, and if the judges are compliant, giving fluid interpretation to the laws, representative government may in effect be frustrated. Such a policy is dangerous and a great deal depends on the manner in which it is undertaken. King Charles I of England called on the judiciary to support the divine right of kings, as did Louis XVI a century and a half later in France. In both cases the monarchs were decapitated for their pains.

It is a more subtle and promising tactic to have the judges find legislative obstruction "undemocratic" since the charisma of democracy protects the executive against any charge of arrogance, seems favorable to everybody, and accords with the general sense of justice, in which the judicial profession is assumed to be expert. And though the Supreme Court is, ironically, the most undemocratic of our institutions it is working assiduously in favor of more democratic representation.

"The right to vote freely for the candidate of one's choice is of the essence of a democratic society, and any restrictions on that right strike at the heart of representative government." So says Chief Justice Warren in his controlling opinion on the latest apportionment cases. But the right to vote freely is not at issue in any of these cases. The issue is merely whether there is improper discrimination when all votes are not equally weighted on a nose-count basis. And that question does not affect "the heart" of representative government. Its major concern is quality of representation while that of democratic government is quantity in election. New York was not underpresented at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 because it had only one delegate—Alexander Hamilton—to sign the Constitution, whereas Delaware had five, whose names would today be recognized by very few.

NOT TREES OR ACRES

Confusion of qualitative and quantitative values, in Chief Justice Warren's opinion of June 15, leads to a tortured reasoning not likely to become more impressive as it is subjected to the test of time. The opinion relies, in large part, on that clause of the 14th amendment which says that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Taking this clause out of context it is laboriously argued that equal protection is denied unless representatives speak for an arithmetically equal number of people. "Legislators," says the current judgment, "represent people, not trees or acres." That is the theory of pure democracy, which reduces individuals to so many faceless integers, to be electronically numbered and herded about like sheep. The theory of representative government is that those who make the laws should consider their constituents not merely in quantity but also in quality. Their interests, too, merit consideration and these include trees, acres, and countless other properties, tangible and intangible. To ignore these manifold interests is to debase human nature.

That is what happens when representative government concentrates wholly on democratic principles. But if it ignores these principles entirely it also ceases to be representative. By the latter mistake the States collectively have invited the further blow to their sovereignty that the Court has now delivered. In many of the local legislatures there has been no redistricting for decades, so that rural areas continue to dominate the State capitols in a manner palpably unfair to the swollen metropolitan ganglia. Chief Justice Warren points out that "the last apportionment of the Alabama Legislature was based on the 1900 Federal census, despite the requirement of the State constitution that the legislature be reapportioned decennially." Few would deny that the Supreme Court has both the authority and the duty to request a State to observe its own constitutional provisions.

Unfortunately, the decision in regard to Alabama and the five others goes far beyond any such timely admonition. It rules that both houses must be apportioned strictly on the basis of population, asserting that "the fundamental principle of representative government in this country is one of equal representation for equal number of people * * *" If the U.S. Senate seems to refute this dictum it is because that body is a case apart, constituted not on the basis of logic but of compromise at the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

MORE THAN A CONVENIENCE

Compromise between the large and small States certainly played a part in the decision to make representation in the Senate equal for all, while adjusting it to a population ratio in the lower House. But the suggestion that this arrangement was merely a matter of convenience is not sustainable. When the Constitution was drafted many of the State legislatures already had senates formed on a geographical basis, regardless of population. And it was this arrangement that made the eventual equivalence of two Senators from each State in the Union not merely plausible but also logical. As Madison wrote, in No. 62 of the Federalist, "* * * in a compound republic, partaking both of the national and federal character, the government ought to be founded on a mixture of the principles of proportional and equal representation."

Nor is it convincing for the Court to say that there is no analogy between the Federal and State Governments, and therefore a State senate based on geographic considerations "is impermissible." The Constitution does not concern itself with the organization of State government, except to guarantee that in each case the form shall be "republican." But the record shows that the counties were generally regarded as having the same relation to the States as these would have to the General Government, with senates in both sovereignties serving as "an anchor against popular fluctuations." This is particularly emphasized in No. 63 of the Federalist, where Madison closes six arguments for a distinctive second chamber by saying: "It adds no small weight to all these considerations to recollect that history informs us of no long-lived republic which had not a Senate."

UNHEEDED ADVICE

Madison is discussing all legislative bodies, not just the U.S. Congress, when he argues for an upper house "distinct" and "dissimilar in genius" from the more numerically representative legislative chamber. Then comes a passage that is poignant reading in connection with the Supreme Court's decision of June 15. "This [distinctive senate] is a precaution founded on such clear principles, and now so well understood in the United States, that it would be more than superfluous to enlarge on it."

Since the Founding Fathers are practically ignored, it is scarcely surprising that the Warren opinion pays no attention to the arguments of John Stuart Mill, in his classic essay on "Representative Government." In this, first published in 1861, the reasons for bicameral legislatures based on differing principles are set forth in universal terms. In a passage that might have been written for the Warren court, Mill says: "It is important that no set of persons should, in great affairs, be able even temporarily to make their sic volo (thus I wish) prevail without asking anyone else for his consent." He then argues that the most effective check on legislative blundering is provided when the second chamber is organized on a wholly different principle from that of its opposite number. "One being supposed democratic, the other will naturally be constituted with a view to its being some restraint upon the democracy."

That, of course, is the principle of check and balance underlying bicameralism in the State legislatures as well as in Congress. To strike at that principle in the case of the States is to injure it for the Nation as a whole. With tiresome statistical detail Chief Justice Warren emphasizes that in the Alabama State Senate "members representing 25.1 percent of the people of Alabama" can theoretically control that body. This the Court calls "invidious discrimination." But it is also true that Senators representing only 16.4 percent of the people of the United States form a majority of that body. What is invidious for 50 Capitoline geese can scarcely be admirable for the more august gander who cackles across the park from the Supreme Court's majestic home.

A final flaw in the reapportionment policy that has been ordered is that it can never be accurate. In its 1964 opinion the Court takes statistics from the 1960 census to show disparities. But population changes daily. The most meticulous reapportionment during the next few months would be outdated when made, and continuously more so until replaced after the 1970 census.

So the assumption that "dilution" of a vote is unconstitutional leads on to the unanswerable question: How much dilution? As population mounts it would appear that the condition of the country steadily deteriorates. In the first Congress no Member of the House represented more than 30,000 people. Currently, with many more Representatives, the average is one for approximately 425,000. The only way to stop this progressive "debasement" would be to cut off all immigration and then exactly equalize the numbers of births and deaths.

NOT A RIGHT BUT A PRIVILEGE

Reluctantly the Court concedes that "it may not be possible to draw congressional districts with mathematical precision." And this is fortunate, since if it were possible the most dangerous flaw in the argument might be concealed by feasibility. Representative Government, as Mill so cogently argued a century ago, is not a right but a privilege, successful only when voters are "willing and able to fulfill the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes on them." To emphasize his point Mill was intentionally provocative. He would exclude from the franchise not only the illiterate and incompetent but also all who receive any form of relief from public funds. He also advocated multiple voting by university graduates, on the dubious assumption that higher education would have improved their minds. "It is not useful, but hurtful, that the Constitu-

tion of the country should declare ignorance to be entitled to as much political power as knowledge."

A SUPERFLUOUS COURT?

Yet this, swinging to the opposite extreme, is precisely what the Supreme Court declares in its strongly egalitarian ruling. Equality means, literally, deficient in quality and to eliminate quality has never been a dominant American objective, in the choosing of legislative bodies or in any other function. Though "all men are created equal," in the sense of being entitled to equal social consideration and legal protection, they do not remain equal in their abilities and accomplishment. Equal opportunity has never implied that competition is undesirable. The customs and laws of the country have always encouraged individuals to "get ahead"—which means to become unequal.

Justice Harlan has the importance of excellence in mind when he warns that the reapportionment edicts have "portents for our society and the Court itself which should be recognized." We shall have a very different society if a dead level of mediocrity is successfully established as the national image. If the Federal structure is destroyed to gain this objective, there will no longer be any function for the Supreme Court. Its only constitutional purpose is to maintain the delicate balance between the National and State Governments. If the latter lose their autonomy the Court becomes superfluous.

There is no similar organ in the Soviet Union, where totalitarian democracy is triumphant, at the cost of representative government.

The Layman's View of Bankruptcy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Allyn M. Schiffer, one of my distinguished constituents, is active in credit and collection fields, and heads a large and successful commercial agency known as Allyn M. Schiffer, Inc., at 770 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Mr. Schiffer is considered an expert on the subject of credit. He has lectured before business groups and schools in this country and abroad, and is the coauthor of "Credit and Collection Know-How" and also the recently published book, "Profitable Use of Credit in Selling and Collecting," published by Fairchild Publications, Inc., of New York City.

Recently Mr. Schiffer wrote a most interesting article in the July 1964 issue of Commercial Law Journal, entitled "The Layman's View of Bankruptcy." I am taking the liberty of inserting Mr. Schiffer's excellent article in the RECORD for the edification of my colleagues in the Congress:

THE LAYMAN'S VIEW OF BANKRUPTCY

(By Allyn M. Schiffer)

"Bankruptcy." What a frightening word. Prior to the great depression of 1929, generally speaking, a man's entire business life came to an end with bankruptcy. When a business "took bankruptcy," the proprietor lived for the day when he could retrieve a lost reputation, sometimes by repaying his just debts to creditors, who had "staked" him in his enterprise. With the advent of the depression, a new approach was tried in the form of Government aid through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. In addition, after the 1929 crash, the Bankruptcy Act was expanded so that utilities and publicly held corporations could reorganise under sections 77 and 77B (now chapter X) respectively, instead of liquidating. This allowed the firm to continue in business as a going concern. Unlike actual bankruptcy, the new sections improved on the equity receivership to enable a debtor to submit a reorganization plan for the approval of its creditors. Later, chapter XI was added. Under this amendment to the bankruptcy laws, any business can propose an arrangement with its unsecured creditors. Chapter XI is available to individuals, partnerships, and corporations, whether owned by a few or many shareholders.

What effect has all this new legislation had upon business in general? Very few firms filing under chapter XI or X have been able to pay off dollar for dollar to creditors. Why? Is it because bankruptcy legislation perhaps appears to put the stamp of approval on business tactics that jeopardize a creditor's position? The Wall Street Journal (May 20, 1963), headlined "Big Jump Reported in Bankruptcy Frauds." It is not an easy matter to prove fraud. Proof of fraud generally requires the production of facts showing a "state of mind." Eliciting such facts from witnesses and documents involves substantial services on the part of attorneys, accountants, creditors, credit, and collection agents. The objective of a prosecution, if it is to be successful, must be the presentation of proof that a bankrupt, or debtor under chapter XI or X, has "hidden," "gambled," or "diverted" assets. However, a petitioner under the bankruptcy laws is not always fraudulent. Perhaps he has been a poor manager or frittered away his assets negligently. This, of course, is not comforting to creditors. In a recent chapter XI proceeding, the attorney for the petitioner stated that "there has not been a certified audit for 47 years." How appalling.

Can suppliers be blamed for the increasing number of petitions under the Bankruptcy Act? The urge for increased sales on the part of management may be a factor. Credit executives, to meet competition, may find themselves in a dilemma, unless they can convince their management of the extent to which the credit risk overbalances the advantage of higher sales. The National Association of Credit Men through its Fraud Prevention Department is bending ever effort to work with the U.S. Department of Justice "to uproot the parasitical growth." (November 1963 issue—Credit and Financial Management.) The small recovery realized by creditors on their claims is equally appalling. Some suppliers have turned to credit insurance to reduce their losses. However, credit insurance companies charge premiums, and a credit executive must evaluate the cost of his policy with the profit on sales and the cost of collection. Credit departments can obtain some protection by selling to purchasers on a guaranty or copurchasing basis. Such action serves as an additional "cushion" in the event of bankruptcy or chapters X or XI. Despite the precautions taken by creditors, the recovery in a proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act remains small. Frequently the Government receives the lion's share. Federal, State, and local taxes are entitled to priority over general creditors. Some effort is being made to place a limitation on the priority of tax claims in bankruptcy. (H.R. 3438.) Should this bill become law, unpaid tax claims over 3 or more years would be dischargeable and would not have priority under the Bankruptcy Act. This would be a small step forward toward helping creditors share in a greater portion of the assets.

Today, a bankruptcy petition may have a salutary purpose. By discharging his debts, it may give the petitioner a new lease on his business life. It may enable him to reappraise his talents and abilities and to use them to advantage in a new undertaking, and also to accept a new responsibility in the business community. Unfortunately a few will not accept the law as it was intended to operate. Some men go in and out of business like the proverbial revolving door. They find it not too difficult to reincorporate, buy up the assets of the bankrupt firm under a different corporate name, and even continue the same business at the same old address. They may sell their business under the bulk sales law. They may comply with all the provisions of the law, but still the creditors end up with a small settlement. Creditors can only resent such action, unless they choose protracted litigation to set aside the sale at an expense that would prove burdensome. It may be desirable to amend the bankruptcy law to declare a bulk sale an act of bankruptcy. This would permit creditors faced with a questionable bulk sale to invoke the provisions of the bankruptcy law.

In 1898, when the current Bankruptcy Act was enacted, very little attention was given to the salaried employee or wage earner. Now we are confronted with the rising tide of "consumer credit." During the depression only straight or ordinary bankruptcy was available to individuals or nonbusiness debtors to extricate themselves from their accumulated debts. So, in 1938, the Bankruptcy Act was amended by adding chapter XIII. This enables the wage earner to extend or settle his indebtedness and to make payments in the form of installments under the jurisdiction of the Bankruptcy Court, without the necessity of becoming a bankrupt. Chapter XIII should assist both creditors and debtors. Employers should also find it beneficial because it should lessen the number of garnishments. So far as the debtor is concerned, it removes the stigma of actual bankruptcy.

Much is being said by leaders in religion, education, and public affairs about the deterioration of the moral climate of American life. The business community is a prime target of such criticism. Whether our false set of business values is attributable to envy, greed, a driving ambition for power, or inadequate leadership, the provisions of our bankruptcy law appear to afford an avenue to a "way of life" for those who would abuse it. A layman considers this sufficient basis for a reappraisal of our Bankruptcy Act. An improved law, however, is not enough. If the risk in the extension of credit is to be lessened, it will be incumbent upon our lawyers, accountants, credit associations, government officials, and the collection industry to cooperate with businessmen in a grand venture devoted to the elevation of the moral and ethical standards under which our business affairs are conducted.

A Blundering Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the General Accounting Office, in its factual report, sets forth the shocking attitude taken by this administration in its handling of aid to Vietnam. The lives of our military men, which have been given for the cause of democracy and freedom,

are wasted when our foreign policy is permitted to take the course indicated by the GAO report.

John McMullin outlines some of the facts in his article which appears in the Long Island Press on August 26:

WASTE IN AID TO VIETNAM COMPILED IN 119-PAGE REPORT

(By John McMullan)

WASHINGTON.—The blunderings of U.S. aid policy in South Vietnam are detailed with embarrassing precision in a little-published report by the Government's General Accounting Office.

From expensive perfume and scotch whisky to cars and fertilizer, U.S. aid too often has eased the life of Saigon's rich instead of the country's poor, the GAO found.

GAO barks so often at waste and mismanagement in U.S. Government that its voice often is muffled into the nearest filing cabinet.

Its 119-page, two-booklet indictment of U.S. Vietnam policy met the usual fate despite these findings:

Kerosene, used almost entirely by low-income groups in rural areas for illumination, was taxed at the excessively high rate of 40 percent of the retail price by the Saigon Government.

"On the other hand, alcoholic beverages, traditionally considered a luxury, were relatively undertaxed." Imports of Scotch whiskey rose from 9,000 gallons in 1958 to 19,000 gallons in 1962.

Gasoline, used mostly by the wealthy residents in the capital of Saigon was kept at a retail price far below that in other southeast Asian countries because imports were financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

One thousand cars were imported into South Vietnam in 1960 and again in 1961, which "further accentuated the disparity between the low living standard in the countryside and the opulence in the cities.

While the Vietnamese Government's foreign exchange was being "used to finance the importation of passenger cars," the GAO auditors added, "AID was meeting the country's more essential transportation requirements by providing funds for the importation of buses, trucks, and repair parts."

Expensive perfume, affordable only by the rich, was taxed at 10 percent. But the cheap brands often were taxed as high as 35 percent.

Fertilizer was imported "during the demand season when prices are highest." GAO estimated that $240,000 could have been saved by bringing it in during the off-season and storing it.

Providing electricity in small cities and rural areas was recognized as important in winning the loyalty of the people for the South Vietnamese Government. Yet 3 years after one set of 50 diesel generators was imported in 1959, 6 of them were still in a Government warehouse.

Many cities had no drinkable water, so drilling 5,000 wells by 1965 became a top-priority project. "As of June 30, 1962, only 1,108 wells had been drilled," GAO noted.

Rat infestations were causing low morale among farmers in June 1961, and an emergency appeal was sent to AID headquarters in Washington. Thirteen months later the shipment came in by air, after the crops were ruined. (Extra cost of the air transportation was estimated by GAO at $20,000).

GAO's scrutiny of United States-Vietnam foulups cover 1958–62, through both Republican and Democratic administrations.

The report is a compilation, and at the same time an authentication, of piecemeal revelations of corruption and mismanagement within the South Vietnamese Government—and of weaknesses in U.S. policy and direction that permitted the abuses.

South Vietnam's tax structure and collection system were criticized by GAO, which found that "little action resulted" from recommendations made by U.S. advisers.

"The unsound and complicated system of a basic exchange rate, intertwined with a series of varying taxes, has continued as a burdensome drag on the country's progress toward economic development," the report stated.

At the time of GAO's review "one-quarter of the properties in the Saigon-Cholon area were not on the tax roll and only about 60 percent of the property taxes actually assessed were collected.

"The large Chinese business community in Cholon paid little or no taxes." Asked why, a top Vietnamese official explained that the tax collectors did not understand the records.

Only 15,000 individuals in a country of 13 million population paid income taxes.

GAO auditors complained that "certain policies and practices applied by aid in the administration of nonproject assistance and of local currency increased the cost of U.S. aid substantially."

As a result, South Vietnam's foreign exchange reserves grew considerably. "Higher levels of consumption were encouraged than were warranted by the state of Vietnam economy, and positive incentive for the Government of Vietnam to mobilize its own resources was weakened," the Government watchdogs said.

U.S. aid officials thought that it might help the poor Vietnamese to see what wonders had been wrought in the outside world. They agreeably went along with some of the imports that GAO critiicized in its report.

So GAO inspectors found Vietnamese who formerly had worn cotton socks, delighted with AID-financed nylons. GAO pointed out that nylon "cost nearly $3 a pound against a cost of only about 46 cents a pound for rayon and cotton yarn.

"It seems to us," GAO said, "so long as outside assistance on a large scale is required by Vietnam, the import beyond token amounts of commodities not required or of marginal necessity to that country's economic survival or development adds an unjustified burden on the United States."

Between fiscal years 1955 and 1962, AID obligated $1.5 billion for the economic and technical assistance program in Vietnam.

Some Vietnamese businessmen apparently knew when they had a good thing, GAO said, in effect.

This led to imported pharmaceuticals being priced higher than necessary "because of commissions and promotional allowances paid to Vietnamese importers by pharmaceutical suppliers."

Twenty-one drug suppliers have had claims amounting to $806,000 filed against them by AID, of which $414,000 has been collected.

Is the situation in South Vietnam better today under a new regime?

Government auditors concede that certain corrections were promised at the conclusion of their field work, but they are continuing to review the South Vietnam procedures.

"We are by no means convinced," the GAO report concluded, "that measures such as these reportedly taken will solve the deficiencies disclosed by our review, at least not without top agency management exercising close control and supervision."

Kennedy-Johnson Rivalry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the August 26, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star points up the growing friction between the Kennedy clan and the Johnson camp as both attempt to build their authority, based on illegitimate power.

Under unanimous consent, the editorial follows:

BOBBY'S CLAN

Bobby Kennedy's appearance at the Johnson convention, dragging a reluctant Mayor Wagner with him, has nothing to do with the work of the convention—boosting Lyndon Johnson's "image" and political stock. Bobby is there to boost Bobby.

He resigned as a delegate in favor of making an entrance as a candidate for Senator in the State of New York. Meanwhile, Jacqueline Kennedy declined to be a part of the Johnson convention because of "painful memories."

The Kennedys are in this convention, in their own way, and in there punching—but fighting their own fight, not Lyndon Johnson's.

While Bobby is a reject for Vice President, he has, in effect, overruled the President by running for the Senate from New York.

After all, President Johnson said that he wasn't considering Bobby for Vice President because Bobby was "so important" as Attorney General that he'd be needed on that job and wouldn't have time to campaign.

He might not have time to campaign for Vice President in Johnson's estimation, but he has made it clear he'll find time to campaign for Senator.

(Meanwhile, Johnson also finds plenty of time from his duties as President for campaigning.)

This election will decide a lot of things concerning the Kennedy future as well as Johnson's, whether the President likes it or not.

If PIERRE SALINGER wins in California, there's not much doubt who will take over the California organization, nor to whom that organization will be loyal. It is to be remembered that PIERRE SALINGER worked for Robert Kennedy before he was known to John F. Kennedy, and was recommended to the job of press secretary by his friend, Bobby.

If Bobby, himself, wins in New York, after riding straight over Mayor Wagner, already, who is going to emerge as the real power in the New York delegation, do you think?

TED KENNEDY, of course, is already the Senator from Massachusetts and a political power in the party in that State, after beating the McCormacks in an election that sees the party there firmly in hand.

New York and California combines the east and west coasts and the two biggest single political power centers in the United States.

The third largest in many ways, and the geographical balance certainly, is the State of Illinois.

And there is a string in the bow of the family for Illinois as well, for Sargent Shriver, personable head of the successful Peace Corps, the most famous Kennedy brother-in-law and another specific reject for Vice President, has his political roots in Illinois, is a bona fide resident of Illinois, and will doubtless be heard from one of these days in local politics.

What seems to be building behind the scenes of the Atlantic City convention, and in spite of the obvious disapproval of President Johnson, is one of the most unique political power structures in American history—if it succeeds.

And at its head, undoubtedly, is the man who was the real campaign manager for his famous brother in 1960, one of the canniest and hardest-driving political organizers this land has known—Robert Kennedy.

And look where he sits. If Johnson should be beaten (and Kerner beaten in Illinois), where do you think the party leadership would instantly go? And if Johnson wins,

and with him come Salinger and Bobby Kennedy to the Senate from California and New York, who wins the broadest political base in modern politics from which to work?

Bobby has a good chance of winning party power, either way.

Our Postal Service Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to recommend an article appearing in the "Federal Issue" of the George Washington University magazine, summer 1964, written by the distinguished Deputy Postmaster General, Mr. Frederick C. Belen.

Mr. Belen describes the causes of today's rapidly increasing demands upon the U.S. postal system. He also takes note of the many successful programs initiated by the Post Office Department in its efforts to cut costs while responding to these demands. He concludes by stressing that only through the cooperation an initiative of private citizens can the goals of the Department be met.

Because Mr. Belen's article contains a wealth of relevant information and emphasizes the Department's attempts to economize in its operations, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TODAY'S CHANGED POSTAL SYSTEM

Just as everyday life in our country has changed dramatically within our own lifetimes—so has the postal service.

Thirty or forty years ago, there was usually ample parking, highways weren't so crowded, or cities so congested—and we thought nothing of getting 15 or 20 minutes' undivided attention from the butcher, the salesgirl, and many others.

Today, public facilities and business facilities—though larger—must be shared with proportionately more people—tens of millions more. This is true of the postal service. It means we must increase our productivity if we are to maintain essential services at a high level.

Thirty years ago, we had 176 pieces of mail for each American. Today, we have nearly 370 pieces each for a substantially larger population.

Thirty years ago we had 308,000 employees—over half as many as today—to handle one-third our present volume of mail. Twenty years ago we had 389,000 employees—nearly two-thirds the present force to handle half as much mail. Even 10 years ago we had 507,000 employees—five-sixths of today's force to handle two-thirds the volume.

Over the years, the hand-in-hand march of manpower costs and mail volume has been reduced somewhat, but it was a slow process.

To give you an interesting illustration of what can happen without constant improvements in economy and efficiency—if we were still operating at 1935 productivity levels of 81,206 pieces processed per man-year—we would have a staff of 1 million in 1970 for a volume projected at 82 billion pieces and a payroll of about $6.37 billion—about $1.3 billion more than our total appropriation for the next fiscal year.

In addition to the need to control manpower costs, the other urgent need today is to meet vastly changed service conditions—such as the cut in 30 years in mail trains from 10,000 to 1,200—and today's vast service requirements. For example:

The Federal Government today mails 500 million checks annually and many millions more are in prospect.

Giant businesses—insurance, savings and loan, utilities, others—do upwards of 90 percent of their business by mail.

The direct mail industry conducts a $28 billion annual business by mail.

More than 30 million Americans move annually—and usually each move is a service matter.

We must add a million and a half new stops each year to city delivery services—largely to keep up with "suburban sprawl."

Many more similar instances could be cited—but the point is that mail service is as essential today to modern commerce and industry as water, light or heat.

Even our principal communications "competitor"—the telephone industry—depends on postal service for its existence, sending more than one-half billion pieces yearly—in bills, notices, etc.—not counting the tremendous mail volume it gets back.

And the trend is growing. Government checks in the mails will increase by tens of millions; Census Bureau use of the mails will involve additional millions of pieces as population soars.

One reason is that we have had a revolution in mailing habits of many individuals. Today, the housewife seldom goes all over town paying bills personally. Unike her mother a generation ago, she mails in checks.

We began activities in 1961 which are now achieving dramatic results.

To illustrate—in 1960—official projections by the Postmaster General placed anticipated employment at 632,000 for the end of the 1964 fiscal year—right now—but we're actually using 42,000 fewer employees.

Today, we are employing just about the same number of employees as we had 2 years ago—in spite of an increase of 4 billion pieces in mail volume and 3½ million more city delivery stops.

Annual increases in employment in the 5 years prior to 1962—required to handle similar increased workloads—ranged between 10,000 and 20,000 a year and averaged 14,772. On that basis we would now have some 30,000 more employees than we had 2 years ago. Instead we have about the same number.

But even that does not give the whole picture.

Planning for our 1965 budget also actually started in 1960—as part of the normal 5-year "look-ahead" process.

As seen then, our 1965 budget would be $5,015 million.

Our estimated budget for 1965 will be $391 million less, taking into account $389 million in pay increases since 1960.

Even more recently under this Administration—when we had substantial economies underway—our achievements have exceeded our own expectations.

In May, 1963, we had our 1965 "preview" budget developed.

That was for $125 million more than the amount we now seek. Let me explain this further:

Between the time of that preview for our budget in 1963 and the actual submission of the 1965 national budget in January, President Johnson called for economy and frugality in all Government operations.

Naturally, Postmaster General John A. Gronouski was determined that we would play our part in any such governmentwide program, and we have carried out our determination to do so. During the year, starting July 1, for example, we will be operating with a manpower economy involving 9,000 less positions than would be required normally to handle our mail volume of more than 72 billion pieces of mail.

After the national budget had been submitted to Congress in January, we planned a series of additional savings that were feasible—without hurting services or threatening any career employee's livelihood—which will make it possible to provide even better service at less cost.

One key to making constructive changes has been Postmaster General Gronouski's new concept of "flexibility," giving postmasters at local levels authority—actually responsiblity—to come up with programs, where necessary, for modifications in national directives to fit local conditions. This makes for sound, progressive administration throughout the postal system to meet realistic situations, and to iron out the one-in-a-hundred or one-in-a-thousand local situations that can cause problems and minimize the effectiveness of the best conceived national directives.

Another key to this achievement is in customer cooperation. About half our mail is of commercial origin.

Of this half, about 50 percent is sent by about 20,000 large mailers.

Under our nationwide improved mail service program (NIMS) we have organized these mailers into 293 individual mail user councils in major cities.

And, through cooperative efforts—presorting of bills, statements, etc.; early-in-the-day mail deposits made according to prearranged agreements, and similar cooperative efforts—we have removed much of the barrier to better mail service, such as the crushing, after-5 p.m. deposits that once descended on us, jamming our post offices and hampering our efforts to increase efficiency.

Today, as a result, we have before us a vista of economy—with—service in the postal system such as we have never known before.

I believe there is an unexplored potential for similar public-governmental teamwork in some other areas of Federal service.

Young persons just embarking on a Federal career—or planning on one—should be aware of the tremendous demands for services faced by our Government in the years ahead, and create new concepts of how we may meet these demands efficiently with less dependence on tax dollars and greater dependence on the cooperation of private sources and their resources—where they can be used with propriety and with mutal advantages.

Mentally Retarded in Harlan County, Ky.?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the August 27, 1964, issue of the Times-Argus of Central City, Ky., is worthy of the attention of this House. I commend it to all who read the RECORD:

We see in the daily press that California egghead, Dr. Stafford Warren, who is the special advisor to President Johnson on the mentally retarded, has gone into a trance at his California office and come up with a solution to all the problems of one part of the Appalachia region. This is a territory that is greatly worrying Washington this election year.

All the way from California, President Johnson's mentally retarded advisor, has decided that the majority of the 35,000 people of Harlan County, Ky., are mentally retarded. He has decided that he, with the

help of Washington bureaucrats, can solve all the problems of these poor backward hillbillies.

President Johnson's mentally retarded adviser has suggested that the Federal Government ship the whole caboodle of nitwits in Harlan County to California. All 35,000 of them. When they get there, he said, even they would be smart enough to replace 35,000 Mexican "wetbacks" doing farm labor in California. Presumably the 35,000 Mexicans would then be freed of their farm chores and could become California educators and additional mentally retarded advisers to the President.

We are amazed at the brilliance of this initial brainstorm by Dr. Warren, who is the mentally retarded adviser to President Johnson. But, we are likewise aghast at his failure to think big, and at his rank discrimination against other Kentuckians by making plans for only one Kentucky county.

So, we hereby declare ourselves as allies and cohorts of that noted California egghead, Dr. Stafford Warren, who is the mentally retarded adviser to President Johnson. Henceforth we are going to devote ourselves to helping him take care of the exodus of additional Kentucky counties.

We have suspected for some time that our old newspaper friends on the Harlan Daily Enterprise have been losing their marbles. And we suspect that Dr. Warren, the mentally retarded adviser to President Johnson, is right in his long-distance diagnosis of the remainder of the Harlan Countians. Probably every blessed one of the 35,000 residents of Harlan County are barely smart enough to replace Mexican farmhands in California if they were transported to the land of milk and honey and given a California college education.

But, much as we admire Dr. Warren, the mentally retarded adviser to the President, he does need help. He and the President just don't have enough time to personally take care of all the people of Kentucky.

So, we are going to suggest, even insist, that this mass migration plan also include other Kentucky counties. We will have to give top priority to Prestonburg and Floyd County. Now there's a good mountain county where folks can be just as retarded as Harlan County. Why, they even have Bert Combs who has made a name for himself lecturing to backward subjects at Harvard. Although they aren't necessarily considered capable by Dr. Warren, who is the mentally retarded adviser to the President, of being good farmhands, they could be happy playing cowboys and Indians all day long on the L.B.J. Ranch. In time, perhaps, evolution and life on the Lone Star Prairie would enable these mountaineers to grow both legs the same length.

There must be no discrimination against the West and we must give next priority to our next-door-neighbors in Christian County, whom we know to be just as backwards as the next place.

We are making plans with Dr. Warren, President Johnson's mentally retarded adviser, to have Ned Breathitt, who recently went off the deep end on physical fitness, lead his fellow countians afoot all the way to Alabama. There they can make their happy homes in the turpentine forest recreation center owned and operated by none other than Ladybird. Now that Ladybird has retired all her tenants to palatial homes there is a big opportunity and need for some good Christian countians in her Alabama fiefdom.

This is as far as we have gotten at press-time on the master plan for the mass exodus of the population of Kentucky. However, we are momentarily expecting a vision and a revelation on how to part the waters of Kentucky Lake. As soon as this comes through we will announce our plan for moving the people of Paducah and McCracken County. This will have to be a big move, however, as those characters have been way, way out ever since Alben Barkley first put them into orbit at Government expense.

All this is not to say that we do not have plans for all the other counties and people of Kentucky. As resident Kentucky agents for Dr. Stafford Warren, mentally retarded adviser to President Johnson, we will have something and somewhere for all Kentucky counties.

Except Muhlenberg, that is.

When we get everyone else moved, it is part of our master plan to declare the creation of the Republic of Muhlenberg. We will then apply for foreign aid from the United States, the U.N., Russia, China, Congo, Castro, and Moon Maid's father and live happily ever after.

The CIA at Bay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the investigation of tax-exempt foundations currently being conducted by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, has produced fruitful evidence of the need for expanded inquiries into the activities of these foundations, their eligibility for tax-exempt status, as well as the grant by the Central Intelligence Agency of hitherto unreported Federal funds into these foundations.

The work of Mr. PATMAN's committee is heartening news throughout the country.

The following editorial in the Cleveland Press of Tuesday, September 1, is indicative of editorial reaction:

THE CIA AT BAY

Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, in the course of his deep probe of tax-exempt foundations is giving the Central Intelligence Agency some embarrassment.

The Congressman has turned up information, verified by the Internal Revenue Service, that the CIA was giving money to the J. M. Kaplan Fund, a New York foundation, or, as PATMAN put it, the Kaplan Fund was used "as a conduit for channeling CIA funds."

The purpose of this indirect use of taxpayer money is not known, nor is anyone anxious to uncover the legitimately secret operations of the CIA which of necessity must be hush-hush.

But PATMAN asks why the CIA was spending tax money with a foundation which has been under intensive investigation by both his congressional subcommittee and by the IRS. When PATMAN went to CIA for an answer, he didn't get it, he said.

"I feel like I've been trifled with," he said.

Two different Directors of IRS have recommended that the Kaplan Foundation's tax-exempt status be revoked, and IRS is still probing.

It does not necessarily follow that whatever service the Kaplan Fund provided the CIA was not worth whatever CIA paid it. But somebody ought to know.

Congress should set up a watchdog committee to keep tabs on CIA and all the other hush-hush agencies. The public doesn't ask what they are doing, but the public has a right to believe that Congress knows what they are doing, and why. This type of system has worked very well with the Atomic Energy Commission, which is partly secret. It is even more important that there be a check on CIA and like agencies.

The more secret an agency, the more liberties it is likely to take—unless it is accountable to somebody who is accountable to the voters.

The Death of Representative Patrick Callaghan, of Pittsfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, my home city of Pittsfield, Mass., was saddened recently by the death of a fine and good man, State Representative Patrick Callaghan.

He was an effective legislator and outstanding public servant who will be greatly missed.

Mr. Speaker, Pat Callaghan was a leader in Pittsfield for many years. A native of London, England, he came to this country in 1913, and had lived an active life up until the recent illness that caused his death.

First elected to the city council in 1945, Pat Callaghan served as council president for 8 consecutive years and was serving his fourth term as councilman at large when he made his successful bid in 1960 for State representative.

He was reelected to that post in 1962, and in June announced his candidacy for a third term. His death came as a great surprise and shock to all who knew and loved him.

Mr. Speaker, Pat Callaghan had qualities of heart and mind that made him the warm and gracious human being that he was. These qualities, to which can be added personal conviction and direction, were the basis of his distinguished life.

In the human areas in which he moved, his influence was profound because of these qualities.

An engineer at General Electric Co. for many years before his retirement in 1960, Pat Callaghan had a sure grasp of the many issues facing his city. He faithfully executed his duties and brought to every task high standards.

He was an Army veteran of World War I, a member of the Pittsfield Post 68, American Legion, and the Pittsfield Barracks 398, Veterans of World War I. He was also a member of the Holy Name Society, Knights of Columbus, and had served as a trustee at the St. Luke's Hospital in his native city.

He was the kind of man who contributed so greatly to our way of life in Massachusetts. His service at statehouse was in the finest traditions of public service.

In all of my associations with him, I have found him to be a sterling human being.

In thinking about his wonderful live, and his many friends, I do think I could add to an outstanding tribute given to him by the Berkshire Eagle in Pittsfield.

The tribute appeared in the "In Brief" section on the editorial page, and describes how the Berkshires reacted to his death. I am pleased to place this tribute in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to accompany my own statement. I also want to extend my sincere and deep sympathies to his family.

The article follows:

IN BRIEF

The death of Representative Patrick E. Callaghan yesterday came as a shock to a large number of Berkshire residents who claimed him as a friend as well as to many others who knew him only as an eminently honest and earnest public servant with a long record of conscientious service to his community. As a city councilman from ward 1 he played a vital part in the municipal advances of the capeless years; as president of the city council he set a standard of fairness and impartiality that has rarely been matched in that office; and as a legislator he dedicated himself on a full-time basis to the best interests not only of his district but of the entire area. The legislature could use many more like him.

The Silver Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend to the attention of my colleagues the following address by Mr. John B. Stevens, vice president of the International Silver Co. and chairman of the Silver Users Association which was presented to the Retail Jewelers of America, in opposition to H.R. 10534, H.R. 10560, and H.R. 10561. These bills are pending before the Banking and Currency Committee here in the House and would raise the market price of silver.

The address follows:

THE SILVER SITUATION

I appreciate very much the opportunity to speak to you for a few minutes about silver. The Silver Users Association is following the situation very closely. You have probably heard of the activities of the association, which acquires, studies, and disseminates all available information about silver, and takes such action as is necessary to insure that silver is recognized as a commodity.

Silver is very much in the news—both as a commodity and as money. The present shortage of coins has turned the spotlight on silver in a dramatic way.

There are persistent rumors that the price is going to skyrocket. This is very disturbing news to those of us who deal in silver products. We are now paying $1.29 per ounce, which is a rise of over 40 percent in the last 2½ years. All of us are aware of the fact that when the price of silver goes up, the volume of unit sales goes down. This is particularly and painfully true of sterling silver holloware.

I should like to say at the outset that the price of silver is not going to rise above the present level of $1.293 per ounce as long as the Treasury carries out its obligation and pledge to redeem silver certificates with silver. Furthermore, even if silver certificates were retired, as long as the Treasury has silver, it would sell it at the present price in order to protect the existing coins in our monetary system. If the price should rise now, our existing coins would be hoarded or melted down. The Treasury obviously cannot permit this to happen. Subsidiary coins—that is, half dollars, quarters, and dimes must circulate, or business would come to a halt. These coins are not intended to have intrinsic value. They are merely a medium of exchange. So you see what I mean when I say that the price of silver will not—indeed cannot rise under the present circumstances.

There are now 1.4 billion ounces of silver in the Treasury as backing for silver certificates. Holders of these certificates are redeeming them at the current rate of about 5 million ounces per month. However, there are other demands on the Treasury stocks. According to mint estimates, by next July they will be using up silver for coinage at the rate of 275 million ounces a year. Obviously, the Treasury stocks will not last very long. This is the compelling reason why a shift to some other material for use in subsidiary coins is necessary. Free world production is only 210 million ounces annually, most of which is produced in the Western Hemisphere. With our coinage requirements of 275 million ounces, there will not be enough for this purpose alone and none for industry. As a matter of fact, at hearings held last week by the House Banking and Currency Committee, a resolution was considered which stated that "worldwide consumption of silver substantially exceeds worldwide production, and there is, therefore, no prospect of a replenishment of U.S. monetary silver supply." Fortunately, there are other materials which may be used in coinage. Our present 5-cent piece is made of cupro-nickel—75 percent copper and 25 percent nickel. This is a highly satisfactory metal for use in coins and is now used exclusively in coinage by Great Britain and other countries.

There are those who would change the present situation and who seek a higher market price for silver. Legislation to this effect, sponsored by the mining interests, has repeatedly been introduced in Congress. This accounts for the many rumors about price rises.

As recently as last week, on August 13, hearings were held by the House Banking and Currency Committee on the following bills:

H.R. 10534, which would permit the market price of silver to rise to $1.45 per ounce.

H.R. 10560, which would permit the price to rise to $2.58 per ounce.

H.R. 10561, which would require the Treasury to redeem silver certificates with silver dollars and not with bullion. This would mean that the Treasury would have to mint silver dollars at the taxpayers expense and then the holder of the certificate would have to pay the cost of melting them down for bullion.

This last bill would also prohibit the sale of excess silver to private purchasers—in other words, the silver users—all of us who must have silver to make the products which you sell. This bill would also prevent the Treasury from selling silver to keep the existing silver coins from being melted down.

These bills are being, and will continue to be, vigorously opposed. Just pause and think what doubling the present market price of silver would mean in terms of a sterling silver place setting or items in sterling holloware.

We shall keep you informed of the silver situation. Perhaps you will wish to let your Members of Congress know what you think about these schemes to do something more, for those who have already greatly benefited at your expense—and at the expense of your customers.

The State of Labor Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, Labor Day provides an excellent occasion for an annual public reappraisal of the state of American labor. We ask, where does labor stand today, and where is it headed?

As a nation we have certainly come a long way since our humble beginnings. Our output of goods and services averaged $585 billion in 1963.

Total employment averaged 68.8 million during 1963 and surpassed 70 million in several months for the first time in U.S. history. Also in 1963, weekly earnings for factory workers averaged $99.38, and personal income after taxes reached an annual average of $2,160 for each individual in the population.

However, our blessings are mixed and today we face many national contradictions. Our successes in space inspire our pride. Our failures in city slums, in industry-forsaken towns, and on small, inefficient farms inspire our compassion and demand our attention.

Last year the shocking conditions in which 36 million people, one-fifth of our population, live gained widespread attention. Recognition of the problem of poverty began with more or less independent notice of closely related problems facing the labor force, especially that of chronic high-level unemployment.

The problem of unemployment is the most general of the lot and is actually a composite of the others, which include such major challenges as labor force growth, automation and technological change, shifting employment patterns, and rising education and training requirements.

Several converging trends caused the labor force to expand by 1.1 million in 1963, and annual increases are expected to be still greater in the future. One recent trend contributing to the increase is that of younger persons entering the labor force in greater numbers than ever before as postwar babies reach working age: a million more youngsters will turn 18 next year than did this year. Also married women are entering the labor force in greater numbers to supplement family income and provide better opportunities for their offspring.

These contributions to labor force growth join with concomitant trends to create and aggravate our chronic unemployment problem. Largely because of increased productivity, agriculture, mining, rail transport, and some manufacturing industries continue to release workers who must seek work in other in-

dustries without marketable training or experience.

At the same time, the requirements of new industries and technology create the need for drastic upgrading of the education and training of our labor force. Manpower demand is growing most in professional and technical, clerical, and service occupations for which education and training requirements are relatively high to start and increasing steadily.

The importance of education to labor is most dramatically seen in the fact that two-thirds of our unemployed have less than a high school education.

Besides being undereducated and unskilled, such other characteristics as being young, aged, or nonwhite also single out those who are forced to pay the price in anguish and deprivation for the shifting patterns of supply and demand of the Nation's manpower.

Many of the programs designed to alleviate these problems have already been legislated and are bringing forth results. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 took cognizance that present and prospective manpower needs must be clearly identified and adequately met if our economic growth is to increase. Because employment has not been growing at an adequate rate, our monetary, fiscal, and other economic policies must stimulate greater job growth. Outstanding examples of these efforts are the income tax reduction and the area redevelopment programs.

The Equal Pay Act prohibits pay discrimination against women. A voluntary program developed by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity seeks to provide greater job openings to members of minority groups. A recent executive order prohibits Federal contractors and subcontractors from setting maximum age limits, and new apprenticeship regulations adopted by the Secretary of Labor promotes equal opportunity in apprenticeship programs.

To meet educational needs, Federal legislation has provided financial assistance for expanding and updating vocational education, construction of facilities for higher education, aid to medical and dental education, and student support programs in other vital areas.

Legislated programs for rehabilitation will help the mentally ill and retarded, persons on public assistance, actual or potential juvenile delinquents, and unemployables who need more than normal job training.

A tripartite Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy has undertaken to study the impact of automation and technological change on workers, unions, and firms, and the problems of adjustment arising from such developments.

The broadest proposed legislation is the Economic Opportunity Act which translates President Johnson's avowed war on poverty into five separate but related programs to help improverished Americans help themselves that they might share in the abundance enjoyed by the other four-fifths of their countrymen.

We have seen then that while American labor is setting new historical records for itself, it is also beset by a whole complex of worrisome problems. We can derive consolation in the many programs we have undertaken to solve these problems and draw strength from the faith I am sure we all have in the will, determination, and ability of our Nation's people and leadership to make and keep America strong, free, and great.

Lucio—To Be Confused With Horatio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker I recall that Lucio is a fantastic character in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure." Without being absolutely depraved or intentionally bad, he has become, through lack of thoughtful consideration, both vicious and dissolute. Talkative and dissipated, he is totally ungoverned by temperament.

On this point, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the August 31, 1964, issue of the Chicago Tribune:

NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH HERBERT HOOVER

The only resemblance between HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, and Herbert Hoover is in the capital letters. The thing to be noted about HUBERT is that he is a little to the right of Castro. But he has lately made a frantic effort to put on a William McKinley starched 3-inch collar and pass himself off as a "moderate."

This flight from firebrand "liberalism" has even propelled HUBERT into business circles which view him with unalloyed suspicion, there to ladle out blarney and pose as one of the fellows.

"I suggest," he told the American Management Association in New York on July 10, "that we drop once and for all the myth of hostility toward business by Government and get on with a fruitful business-Government partnership. * * * To make the promise of America a reality will take cooperation and respect between business and Government and above all intelligence and courage."

That's lovely, if the businessmen choose to forget that Senator HUMPHREY was a founding father of Americans for Democratic Action, has been its national chairman, and is now a member of its executive committee. As James Burnham has observed, "On every specific issue in every field, ADA supports Government control, planning, financing, or takeover." Any "partnership" of business with men in Government who have that outlook is not going to be comfortable.

Senator HUMPHREY is for easy money, deficit financing, unbalanced budgets, and, necessarily, inflation.

"Public debt figures, or a chart picturing them," he says airily, "provide no basis in themselves for concluding that a government is or is not wasteful." To him "there are worse things in life than an unbalanced budget." What the Federal Reserve Board should do is "ease credit."

While he is now trying to allay the fears of business, he said in the West Virginia Democratic presidential primary in 1960, "The Federal tax laws are rigged against the middle- and low-income families—and for the big corporations."

Senator HUMPHREY is a 100-percent welfare stater. He is for every proposal of that sort. There would be no limit to the size, scope, and intrusiveness of government if he had his way. As Senator GOLDWATER remarked, the presence of HUMPHREY on the ticket destroys the fiction that the Johnson party has the faintest attachment to conservatism.

Senator HUMPHREY has been a militant in the civil rights battles. At the 1948 national convention he inflamed the southern Democrats during a floor fight to put liberal amendments into the rights plank, stating, among other things, "The time has come to get out of the shadows of States rights." The ADA with which he is identified is for open occupancy laws.

The plaintive remarks of Senator SMATHERS, of Florida, after having been ordered by President Johnson to second the HUMPHREY nomination, express the universal feeling of the South that HUBERT will be as welcome a candidate in that sector as Typhoid Mary. "I know," SMATHERS said resignedly, "the difficulty of carrying that load in the South."

One other notation on HUBERT. He is a veritable wind machine, addicted to nonstop garrulity. When he went to Russia, he and Khrushchev talked for 8 hours and 25 minutes straight. Immediately after that gabfest, Khrushchev went before the Communist Party's central committee and harangued it for 6 hours. HUBERT must be catching.

The GI Bill Is 20 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the attention devoted to the GI bill on its 20th anniversary is well deserved. Helping to terminate an enormous American war effort while aiding in the creation of a long and fruitful peace, the GI bill is certainly one of the most successful acts of legislation in the history of this country.

Administrator John S. Gleason, the distinguished head of the Veterans' Administration, has written a thorough and illuminating analysis of the measure. Appearing in the Federal issue of the George Washington University magazine, summer, 1964, Mr. Gleason's article describes the bill's contents, operation, and impact. In order that this information may be better known, I wish to insert it into the RECORD:

THE GI BILL AT 20
(By John S. Gleason, Jr.)

Immediately after the guns stopped shooting, the bombs stopped raining down, and the lights went on again all over the world, the United States emerged from World War II to confront a serious domestic crisis.

The largest military force in U.S. history was encamped all over the world hoping for quick discharges and jobs, houses, and education on their return. Mindful of the upheaval, unemployment, and bonus marches that followed the relatively short and smaller First World War, there was widespread fear about the potentially explosive reaction of 15.3 million World War II veterans whose lives had been uprooted in a longer, more farflung and disruptive war.

One economist predicted a whopping 19 million unemployed if the postwar economy dropped back to its 1940 level of output. More conservative estimates placed the figure at a staggering 8 million. A sociologist, recalling that Hitler and Mussolini had recruited idle veterans, wrote gloomily: "Veterans have written many a bloody page of history and those pages have stood forever as a record of their days of anger."

That the United States won victory in this great peacetime battle is a tribute to an unique piece of legislation—the GI bill of rights.

Exactly 16 days after D-day, when U.S. Armed Forces made history with the sword, President Roosevelt made another kind of history with the stroke of his pen. He signed the GI bill of rights on June 22, 1944.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the birth of this historic example of long-range planning, which has been compared with the Morrill Act creating land-grant colleges, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Marshall plan.

What was the GI bill of rights, actually titled "The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944"? It provided for loans, education, readjustment allowances for veterans, and expanded veterans hospitals and employment service.

There were those who scoffed at the proposal for the GI bill. They called it an "all time gravy train," aiming particularly heavy fire at the readjustment allowances. Yet only 10 percent exhausted this benefit. Some opponents claimed that veterans returning to school under the GI bill would breed "educational hobo jungles" on college campuses. Instead, they raised the intellectual level of the entire country.

Gloomy prophets dourly predicted that GI homes would be a haven for "deadbeats," that veterans would move in when housing was scarce and then walk out from their obligations. On the contrary, veterans have proved to be excellent credit risks.

But the opposition faded away along with their dire predictions. "With the signing of this bill," said President Roosevelt at a White House ceremony, "a well-rounded program of special veterans' benefits is nearly completed. It gives emphatic notice to the men and women of our Armed Forces that the American people do not intend to let them down."

The feeling was mutual. Veterans certainly did not intend to let America down. "They would be a potent force for good or evil in the years to come," as one veterans' leader predicted at the time. "They could make or break our country. But given the opportunity provided by the GI bill of rights, there was only one alternative—veterans would be a tremendous force for good, and help build a better America, after they had destroyed Nazi, Fascist, and Nipponese totalitarianism."

The words could not have been more prophetic. Here's a rundown on their GI bill record after 20 years.

1. Under the education and training provisions of the bill, 7,800,000 veterans—nearly half of all who served during the war—received training. With well over 2 million in college and another 3,500,000 in other schools, veterans filled every nook and corner of the dormitories, laboratories, and classrooms. They attended classes at 19,000 trade and technical schools, and quonset huts dotted 2,600 campuses from the University of Maine to the University of Southern California.

About 1,400,000 veterans increased their skills in on-the-job training, and about 700,000 learned the newest agricultural techniques in on-the-farm training.

Today we are a far stronger Nation for the infusion of the skills manpower gained through the GI bill: 450,000 engineers, 180,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses, 360,000 schoolteachers, 150,000 scientists, 243,000 accountants, 107,000 lawyers, 36,000 clergymen, 17,000 writers, 711,000 mechanics, 383,000 construction workers, 288,000 metalworkers, 138,000 electricians, and the almost 700,000 who trained for business and executive careers.

Altogether, it was the largest program of mass adult education ever undertaken at bargain rates. The $14.5 billion cost has been more than recouped.

The GI bill continues to pay for itself at close to $1 billion a year. The return comes from additional income tax paid by better-educated, higher-earning GI bill veterans.

2. Equally beneficial has been the long range effects of the GI bill loan program. Structural evidence of it dots the countryside. One out of every five homes built since the end of World War II was financed with a GI loan. As someone said, the landscape architect of postwar America has been the VA loan guarantee officer.

More than 5,268,000 World War II veterans were granted Veterans' Administration home, farm, or business loans totaling more than $43 billion. The almost 5 million home loans in this total helped touch off a postwar housing boom that turned Americans into a nation of homeowners. This infusion of credit, of course, resulted in an enormous stimulus to our national economy. For purchases of new housing dilate the economic arteries. Purchases of new furniture, new appliances, new cars follow; and school construction and other public works are not far behind as new suburban communities mushroom. (These are communities with good credit ratings, it might be said, for more than a third of the GI loans are paid in full.)

3. Often under fire, the GI bill readjustment allowance program helped tide nearly 9 million veterans through the initial period while they looked for jobs. The average stay on the rolls was only 19 weeks, and some $3.8 billion was expended in this program, only 900,000 veterans, or about 1 out of 10, exhausted their full rights to unemployment benefits. Most veterans just were not content with $20 a week, when they could be bringing home $100 from a job, or improving their skills and education.

It was an underappreciated bulwark against adversity for unemployed veterans. In most instances, the payments were not strung together. They were spread over periods when veterans were changing jobs, trying to find themselves in a new world.

4. Millions of veterans skipped school; most of the older, married, and previously employed veterans, headed back to the old jobs, or better ones, if they could land them. One of the lessons that World War I demobilization drove home was that a strong, well-financed, public employment service is indispensable to a smooth readjustment process.

One Government official evaluated the GI bill by paraphrasing Winston Churchill. "Never before," he said, "has so much been done for so many for so little."

A leading industrialist, who knew a good investment when he saw one, agreed. Said Henry Ford II:

"Millions of veterans, who otherwise might not have had the opportunity, have been enabled to enter college or to complete specialized training.

"The Nation gains by having created a great new source from which to draw its leaders."

Leaders they are and leaders they will be, for years to come, according to Dr. Amos Yoder, who made a survey of the GI bill's impact on men listed in the 1960–61 Who's Who. He found approximately 1,000 who had benefited. All were under 46 years, which, he said, is a sizable number when it is realized that almost all of the men who make Who's Who are older.

Since the past is also prologue, the lessons of the GI bill have great value on the contemporary scene. In his message to Congress outlining plans for a war on poverty, President Johnson pointed out that if annual earnings of 10 million among the poor could be raised by only $1,000, it will add $14 billion a year to the national output; reduce the $4 billion in public assistance payments; and lower the costs of fighting crime, delinquency, disease, and hunger.

"Our history has proved," President Johnson said, "that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings and better income for all." The GI bill is an excellent example of the wisdom of his words.

Address by Hon. John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Arkansas Farmers Union, Little Rock, Ark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following address by John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, at the annual convention of the Arkansas Farmers Union, Marion Hotel, Little Rock, Ark., August 11, 1964:

It is a real privilege to attend again an annual convention of the Arkansas Farmers Union. Besides the satisfaction of renewing old friendships and making new ones, I get a special kind of lift from a meeting like this where farm people join forces to seek ways of making their communities, State, and country better.

Farmers Union stands as a champion of the family farm, one of America's greatest assets. Without your unfaltering support, this great rural institution would indeed face an uncertain future.

During the next few minutes, I invite you to explore with me some of the changes that have been taking place in our rural areas, the problems and the opportunities that stem from these changes, and how rural people can employ their own resources—with some assists from Government—to help make their communities better places in which to live.

Two problems stand out as requiring concerted action. First, despite recent gains, the farmer is still plagued by a cost-price squeeze. Second, many of our rural people, like many urban dwellers, are engulfed in poverty and unable to extricate themselves. The opportunities for education, jobs, and public services in rural areas lag behind those available to most cities.

In varying degrees the standards of living in rural areas throughout history have trailed those in the cities. But they need to no longer. With advanced technology in agriculture, coupled with rural electrification, telephones, all-weather roads, and a conviction that a lag by one segment of the economy is a drag on all, we have for the first time the raw materials for doing something about rural problems.

To view these rural problems in perspective, it is well to look back a few years to see what has been taking place in the rural areas. On the farm a technological revolution paralleling that in our urban centers has been going on. The use of improved crop varieties, more fertilizer, more labor-saving electric power and farm machinery,

together with improved farm management, has brought an unprecedented production explosion.

Substitution of power and mechanization for muscle power brought about an upsurge in the output per man. This fantastic abundance was undreamed of in the pre-World War II days. For the nonfarm population, it has meant more and better food in the market basket at relatively lower prices—less than 19 percent of take-home pay, lower than ever before in the history of mankind.

Some people appear to think that most farmers are in clover. But the fact is that over the years net farm income has not kept pace with farm production. In spite of the 18-percent increase in net income per farm since 1960, the per capita income of farm people still is only about 60 percent of that of nonfarm people.

Because the farmer is industry's best customer, the entire Nation has a stake in his welfare. We must help him help himself to attain better returns for the abundance of food and fiber he is producing.

A few people believe the way to solve the problems of agriculture is to do nothing—just get the Government out of the farm picture and let the ruthless law of supply and demand take over. If the farmer can't stand the pressure, they say, let him sell out and go to the city.

Recently we have seen some ugly advertising that uses such terms as "the myth of the family-sized farm." The inference seems to be, "Let the corporations do the job; it's more efficient that way."

You and I know that where members of a farm family work side by side, with their own money and their own future at stake, they are going to put more interest, more planning, and more energy into an enterprise than any absentee owner-producer. Family farming has proved not only an efficient means of production but a wholesome way of life. Our rural communities have turned out a quality of citizenship that has proved a great stabilizing force in this democracy.

At a time when the world is divided into two camps in a gigantic economic and ideological struggle, we cannot afford a sagging rural economy that forces rural people into the cities. We cannot afford a weakening of our social, political, and spiritual fiber that comes with the disappearance of our rural institutions.

Rather than to let the laws of the jungle operate in agriculture and the rural community, a wiser course is to take this miracle of abundance that the farmer has produced and use it to the benefit of all. We can build a better and stronger America without depopulating the countryside.

President Johnson describes the challenge of abundance as an opportunity to attain the great society. In an address to a University of Michigan graduating class, he said, "The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use our wealth to enrich and elevate our national life—and to advance the quality of American civilization."

The attainment of the great society will not come from any magic formula or Aladdin's lamp. It can only be built step-by-step, farm-by-farm, project-by-project, community-by-community throughout the country. It will require imaginative leadership. It will require financing and in some cases it will require Government assistance. Above all, it will require the commitment of the will, the energy and the resources of local people working together in their own communities.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and your national president, Jim Patton, have been inviting the attention of world leaders to the promising potentialities and perplexing problems of this new age of abundance.

The revolution of abundance for several years has been releasing hundreds of millions of man-hours of talent and energy no longer needed to do manual labor and routine chores. Our society cannot go forward on a base of idle hands and idle acres. A way must be found to employ both, not only in the war on frustration and privation, but also in the attainment of a new dimension in living standards. Truly we have the natural resources, the mechanisms and organization technique and the leadership to launch the great society—and with it to hasten the unfolding of the rural renaissance that is now underway.

As an individual, the ruralist—whether he is a farmer, laborer or owner of a small business—is unable to cope with some of the problems that surround him. Group action is necessary. That is one place where cooperatives can play a role.

The role of cooperatives in the past in such fields as electricity, telephones, purchasing, marketing, and processing is well known. There are, it seems to me, several jobs that cooperatives can do to give more help to the farmer. One of them is in the field of public relations.

The public knows little about how much time, cash, and sweat the farmer puts into the economy and how little he gets back in return. I don't think the problem is one of studied hostility. Rather it is a case of information lag. The men in the mines, the mills, the plants, and the refineries are oblivious to the fact that the farmer frequently is their best customer. This is a story that should be told and retold. Cooperatives, by telling the public the facts about the farmer's role, can build a solid foundation for economic health in the rural community. Without this indispensable underpinning, the family farm has no assurance that it will survive.

Many of you are members of cooperatives of various kinds. You know that they have given the farmer more muscle power. The rural electric cooperatives provide an excellent object lesson in the potentialities of working together. Before 1935, when the REA program was established, a farmer sometimes had to pay $1,000 or more to get a half-mile extension to his place. On top of this, he paid exorbitant rates for the electric energy he consumed. It ran as high as 15 cents a kilowatt-hour—or even higher. Last year members of rural electric systems financed by REA paid an average of 2.25 cents per kilowatt-hour for electricity.

This muscle power, effected through cooperation, also benefited farmers not served by rural electric cooperatives because construction charges were, for the most part, eliminated and rates went down. When the cooperatives could not purchase power at reasonable rates, they organized large power generation and transmission federations and, likewise, the wholesale rates went down.

REA-financed cooperatives have gone a long way toward giving rural people parity. While much remains to be done, their work demonstrates the effectiveness of cooperatives. REA borrowers generate only about 1 percent of the power produced in the United States and distribute only 4 percent of it. Yet they show that where there is good management, close cooperation and volume, coupled with Government technical assistance and credit, cooperatives can help the farmer meet problems he would be helpless to solve working individually.

I can assure you that the Department of Agriculture will work with farmers in building strong cooperatives. As you know, the Department was directed by the Cooperative Marketing Act to gather, interpret, and disseminate information that would promote the knowledge of cooperative principles and practices.

In May, Secretary Freeman directed the Department to implement recommendations of the National Advisory Committee on Cooperatives designed to encourage even greater teamwork between USDA and the Nation's farmer-owned cooperatives. A key recommendation of the committee was creation of a task force to explore the possibilities of "increasing the farmer's muscle in the marketplace."

We believe that helping cooperatives so that they in turn can help farmers maintain and improve their incomes will add strength to the entire Nation. Cooperatives are private businesses and if they are aggressive and well managed, they can contribute just as much as other free enterprises toward the general prosperity.

The family farm, the rural community and the small town scattered over the length and breadth of the land have served this Nation well. As a foundation for the personal liberties, the vigorous enterprise and the noble national conscience, they have helped make this country the showplace of the world. Surely as a Nation we cannot afford to permit this foundation to crumble.

There is an unprecedented challenge for all people, town and country, city and urban, to join hands to revitalize and strengthen the rural communities. As rural leaders you have your work cut out for you to enlist the cooperation of all and to encourage the despairing or faint of heart.

Rebuilding rural America is a people's program, conceived, initiated, and carried out by local people with the assistance of Federal and State Governments and of State educational institutions.

We in Washington have mobilized the technical and financial resources available in the Department to stimulate and encourage the nationwide effort to bolster the rural community. This effort is aimed at helping rural people utilize the products, manpower, land, and other resources made available by the revolution of abundance.

If we can direct the liberated energies and resources of our people into rebuilding of our decaying rural communities, the possibilities for achievement will be limitless.

I cannot begin to describe all the opportunities that are open for Rural Areas Development, which we call RAD. With assistance from REA's RAD staff, rural electric and telephone borrowers have helped launch 16,000 industrial and community development projects employing more than 100,000 people.

The assistance was mainly in the form of credit-finding and technical advice. Most of the financing came from private sources. A small part, not available through commercial channels, came from such agencies as the Area Redevelopment Administration, Small Business Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, and in some instances—where the purposes related to rural electrification—from REA.

These projects included food and fiber processing, marketing, general industry and business, forestry products, public facilities, hospitals, housing for the elderly, and outdoor recreation.

If anyone is inclined to look over his glasses when recreation is mentioned as a cash farm crop, we can point to numerous projects where idle acres and idle hands have been put to work, and profitably, in meeting the ever-growing recreational needs of city people.

We have just completed a survey of the use of private lands for recreation by various organizations. It shows that more than 51,800 organized groups with a total membership of 8.9 million already have leases or permits to use some 39 million acres of privately owned land for outdoor recreation.

Several Department agencies are helping farmers interested in recreational develop-

ment. The Soil Conservation Service can provide both technical and financial aid to local sponsors for the development of watershed projects for wildlife and recreation. It can also assist individuals and groups with technical help in developing recreational facilities.

Farmers Home Administration, in addition to its better-known tenant-purchase and rehabilitation loans, can also make loans to the farmer for income-producing facilities for recreation.

Recreation is just one of the many types of projects that offer means of converting idle manpower and land into uses that meet the needs of our people.

The Department's rural housing program last year provided 20,000 loans for a total of $186 million as a step toward erasing rural slums. The demand would easily have supported an insured loan program twice this size to help rural families build and repair homes.

Since this housing program began in 1949, some $680 million has been loaned, creating an estimated 163,000 man-years of employment and a market for a billion board feet of lumber and $340 million worth of materials and supplies. With losses running less than two one-hundredths of 1 percent, it can be readily seen that rural housing is a sound program.

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service also provides a means of meeting the immediate and longtime requirements of our people. In 1963 this agency made available to farmers $220 million. This, coupled with investments in materials and services by farmers, brought the sums channeled into ACP practices to nearly a half billion dollars.

Through the nationwide ACP program, some 2 million farmers and ranchers have applied vital soil, water, woodland and wildlife conservation measures to their land since 1960. With the encouragement and help of local farmer-committeemen, some 300,000 in the past 2 years have started systematic conservation practices for the first time.

ACP attacks poverty and strengthens the economic base by helping shift land to needed uses, by improving the productivity of land for present and future generations, by reducing flood and drought disasters, by providing an adequate supply of water for farm and industrial use and by developing a large market for conservation goods and services.

Combined with the work of the soil conservation districts through the small watershed program, ACP demonstrates that conservation is a creative process for building the strength of our Nation that we have only begun to employ. In this fiscal year we expect to help some 1,800 local organizations develop land and water resources on 36 million acres. This will involve 4.1 million persons in 606 projects. The benefits to the Nation are limitless.

In the past 3½ years we have moved from a recession into the longest and strongest peacetime expansion of the 20th century, and we have done it with a remarkable record of price stability.

We have had the largest tax cut in history, pumping some $10 billion into the economy.

Our unemployment is down to the lowest point in 7 years.

Employment is at a record 71.7 million.

Our gross national product has increased 22 percent in 3 years.

Industrial production is up 25 percent since 1960.

Disposable personal income is up 18 percent, corporate profits before taxes are up 45 percent, wages and salaries are up 19 percent.

Net income per farm was up 18 percent in 1963, or $543, over 1960. Farmers over the past 3 years have earned $8.4 billion more in gross income and over $2½ billion more in net income than if 1960 prices and income had prevailed.

This incidentally, has meant 200,000 new jobs in stores and factories throughout the land.

These striking gains have come from aggressive farm and business management backed and encouraged by realistic administration policies. We in the Department of Agriculture naturally take pride in having had a part in framing and carrying out some of these policies.

We are pleased but not satisfied. Good though our progress has been, it is only beginning to meet the needs of the American people. A great deal remains to be done.

In today's world there is no room in rural America for poverty, unemployment, underemployment, or unfulfilled needs.

You and the millions like you across this great land can bring new and fuller meaning to the old traditions of neighborliness. You can banish the scourge of racial discrimination. You can supplant despair with hope.

President Johnson, in contrasting depression days with the great opportunities of today, said, "Franklin Roosevelt fought fear—now we seek to realize promise."

You in the Arkansas Farmers Union are the kind of people who are seeking to realize promise—promise of a better tomorrow for rural Arkansas, for all Americans.

Thank you.

Pep Pills Bought by Carton Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, last night a nationwide television audience learned how easy it is for any unscrupulous drug peddler to obtain pep pills and goof balls under present drug regulations. the program "CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite," showed how a CBS producer, Jay McMullen, was able, with a simple letterhead and rented office, to obtain for cost of $600 an amount of barbiturates and amphetamines worth, on the black market, nearly one-half million dollars.

In presenting this program Mr. Cronkite pointed out that:

The traffic in barbiturate drugs and amphetamines (better known as pep pills and goof balls) is creating * * * a problem more widespread and serious than the traffic in heroin.

On March 12 of this year, I introduced a bill, H.R. 10409, which, if enacted, would prohibit such nonmedical purchases of dangerous drugs. My good friend from Connecticut, Senator DODD, a long-time crusader against the abuse of these drugs, introduced a companion bill, S. 2628, in the Senate. Through the efforts of Senator DODD and other good Senators who recognize this problem, such as Senator YARBOROUGH and Senator HILL, S. 2628 was passed by the Senate on August 13, 1964.

Senator DODD's bill, and my own, rests in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Our attack on this problem is simple. The legislation would set up a recordkeeping and control system which would limit traffic in dangerous drugs to those engaged in the legitimate drug business. It would impose recordkeeping requirements on all those engaged in the handling of these dangerous drugs and limit their sales to medical and pharmaceutical channels. It would require that records be made available at reasonable times to inspectors of the Food and Drug Administration for review and enforcement. In addition to setting up an orderly recordkeeping procedure for the legitimate drug business, we would also, with this legislation, impose stringent criminal penalties on those dregs of humanity who now make these drugs available to our sons and daughters.

It is my sincere hope that the interest engendered by Mr. Cronkite's program last night and that which will be further stimulated by his presentation this evening and Friday, will serve as a stimulus to move this much needed legislation from committee to the floor, so that every member of this body will be able to participate in the elimination of drug abuse in the United States.

The problem is great, and a solution is essential. Let us resolve it before this session ends.

Mr. Speaker, under consent previously granted, I insert at this point in the RECORD an article from today's New York Times describing the CBS presentation:

PEP PILLS BOUGHT BY CARTON IN TEST—DUMMY COMPANY WITHOUT LICENSE GETS SHIPMENTS FROM DRUG PRODUCERS

A television producer told a network audience last night that he had set up an unlicensed business that bought more than a million goofballs and pep pills from drug manufacturers in a 4-month experiment.

The producer, Jay McMullen, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, estimated that the shipments, which, he said, cost him only $600.28 were worth between $250,000 and $500,000 on the black market.

Mr. McMullen spoke on the program, "CBS Evening News With Walter Cronkite."

In introducing the producer, Mr. Cronkite said: "The traffic in barbiturate drugs and amphetamines (better known as pep pills and goofballs) is creating—according to authorities—a problem more widespread and serious than the traffic in heroin."

FACTFINDING STUDY

Mr. McMullen conducted the experiment as head of a network news "factfinding unit" established to chart "new areas in television journalism."

He told his audience that he had established a dummy concern, McMullen Services, in an office at 35 West 45th Street, and obtained 250 letterheads and envelopes.

Mr. McMullen's purpose, he said, was to find out the extent to which a would-be wholesaler, without registration or license number, could buy the drugs from legitimate manufacturers.

He said: "In many States, wholesalers of barbiturates, amphetamines or other prescription drugs are required to obtain a license and to keep records of purchases and sales.

"Those who repackage and sell in interstate commerce are generally required to register with the Food and Drug Administration and, according to the FDA, manufacturers should check on the legitimacy of a new wholesale buyer."

Another Victory for Nasser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, with our lowering prestige throughout the world, there is another report of our foreign policy going downhill in the following article by George Weller in the Long Island Press of August 24. He tells us about the loss of our Libyan base:

U.S. LOSS OF LIBYAN BASE IS A VICTORY FOR NASSER

(By George Weller)

WASHINGTON.—United Arab Republic President Gamal Abdel Nasser has scored heavily in his campaign against American and British bases in the Middle East by Libya's announcement that the United States has agreed to give up its costly 20-year-old base at Wheelus Field.

The United States has already been forced by Morocco and Saudi Arabia, two other recipients of American aid, to give up airbases.

But Allan Lightner, American Ambassador in Libya, has cheated Nasser of part of his victory by deferring a final American agreement to withdraw until next year. The base contract expires in 1971. The United States has cited the "complexity, cost, and difficulty of relocating."

Nasser, who receives $200 million a year in American food aid, attacked the American base at Tripoli in a speech February 22. Nasser also attacked the British bases at Benghazi in Libya, at Aden and on Cyprus. He also began making shipments of arms to the Makarios forces in Cyprus pledged to expel the British.

The Libyan Cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Mahmud Muntasser, on the day after Nasser's speech, asked for negotiations to arrange the departure of the Americans. The Egyptians were jubilant at the 24-hour victory.

Behind the scenes, however, Libya's 74-year-old King Idriss, proud but frail, became indignant at the unseemly alacrity with which Muntasser appeared to be obeying Nasser's suggestions. He left his palace in protest, appealed directly to his followers, and then carried their indignant reproaches to the Cabinet. The Cabinet cooled off.

At the May meetings of the Arab summit in Cairo, Nasser was denied the satisfaction of explaining how he had been able to force the Americans to accept the principle of withdrawal from Libya. But he will be able to offer his triumph when the Arab chiefs of state come to Alexandria September 5.

The former American Ambassador in Cairo, the Minister-Educator John S. Badeau, expressed mild regret to Nasser over the Egyptian President's intervention against the United States.

Almost immediately Nasser granted a so-called fishing base to the Soviet trawling fleet, which is under naval jurisdiction, at the port of Benas, on the Red Sea. Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and Nasser spent 2 days there after they opened the high dam as Aswan, directly west of Benas.

The Soviets already control Hodeida, the most important port of the Egyptian satellite, the Republic of Yemen. The Soviets are also building the Somalian port of Berbera, thus gaining three footholds on or near the strategic Red Sea.

Badeau's successor as Ambassador, Lucius Battle, 46, is awaiting approval by the Senate. He is a former Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs. He has never served in the Middle East. What Washington plans to do about Soviet gains in the Red Sea is not clear.

American officials appear little perturbed by Nasser's campaign and Libya's bending before it against the will of King Idriss.

A trend to reclaim Wheelus Field was already latent in Libya's Government after organization for African unity, meeting in Ethiopia in October, demanded that all foreign bases be relinquished, U.S. officials believe. The Libyan Cabinet was yielding more to a general African fashion rather than to Nasser's needling, they feel.

Despite Nasser's strong incitement, there has been no anti-American campaign in the Libyan press. The 55-member Parliament is not divided into parties, and hence there has been little partisan agitation. American officials consider the Libyan negotiation has been carried on with decorum and understanding on both sides, despite Nasser's efforts to pressure the Libyans.

Crown Prince Hassan, 35, has been designated since 1956 as the heir to the throne. The Egyptians are facing a dilemma somewhat similar to Yemen where Nasser first won and then lost both the old and young Imams.

Libya is growing rich rapidly from its huge oil deposits, which have enabled the formerly poor government to start building new capital at Beida in the cool hills of Cyrenaica.

With this prize in their grasp, they do not wish to invite an invasion like Nasser's into Yemen, to dethrone a monarch.

Improving Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, may I commend to the attention of my colleagues this important editorial from the Wall Street Journal of August 18, 1964, urging revision of our immigration laws. As a longtime proponent of the elimination of the national origins quota system, I find it very encouraging that this influential newspaper supports this position. I can only reiterate the necessity for foreign policy, domestic well-being, and international amity of quick affirmative action on the immigration bills now before the Congress.

The editorial is as follows:

IMPROVING IMMIGRATION POLICY

We're convinced most Americans believe it's wrong to discriminate against someone simply because he was born in the wrong place. For some reason, though, efforts to get our national immigration laws in line with that ideal have met persistent failure.

A House subcommittee recently held hearings on the latest of many proposals to eliminate the immigration law's national origins system, which determines a nation's immigration quota by the proportion of the U.S. population of that national extraction in 1924. The current law also contains specific provisions beyond the national quotas to limit immigration of Orientals.

The latest proposals for change would distribute the overall quota of 165,000 immigrants without regard to national origins. Instead, up to half the quota would go to persons with special skills needed here, and up to another half to relatives of U.S. residents not eligible for nonquota status. Within these preferences, which are similar to ones currently used within national quotas, immigration permits would be granted in order of application. The bill contains provisions for moderating the change to a new system, such as retaining partial national quotas for 5 years.

These suggestions seem eminently reasonable, though they received scant attention in the last two sessions of Congress. They would insure that someone with talents the United States can use would not face lengthy delay because of his birthplace. They would eliminate hardships on separated families from Italy or Greece, who now sometimes must postpone reunion while large quotas for England and Ireland go unused.

It may be well to note that no one is suggesting anything as radical as abolishing limits on total immigration. This is obviously impractical, simply because more people would like to enter than we can accommodate without strain. The problem is how to select which applicants to admit.

There may be a certain amount of sense in accepting more immigrants from countries with close ethnic and cultural ties to the majority of our citizens. But it seems even more reasonable and fair to put the emphasis on such other qualifications as skills and kinship. And it seems only fair not to turn down qualified applicants while places in the total allocation go unused.

The national origins system has proved too cumbersome and inflexible to meet these simple tests of equity. The proposed changes might help put our immigration laws on somewhere near a rational basis.

All Government Contracts Awarded McCloskey Should Be Investigated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I am today urging that the House Government Operations Committee investigate all Government construction contracts awarded Matthew McCloskey within recent years to discover whether there were kickbacks into the Democrats' campaign treasury.

I make this request in light of the Tuesday disclosure by Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, that Mr. McCloskey kicked back $25,000 from the District of Columbia stadium contract into the 1960 Johnson campaign fund.

It is perfectly obvious that if Mr. McCloskey can kick back from one Government contract, he can do it for another. The suspicion is especially acute because of his duties as a Democratic fund raiser.

Mr. McCloskey has been favored with many millions of dollars worth of Government construction, both in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. The U.S. Office of Education and National Aeronautical and Space Administration (NASA) Building, $11.9 million; the Bureau of Old Age Survivors Insurance Building in Baltimore, $23.9 million, the Naval Weapons Plant in Washington, cost considered classified military infor-

mation; the Rayburn Building, of which Mr. McCloskey was awarded $54 million of a total estimated cost of $86.4 million, and contracts for reconstruction of the east front of the Capitol Building totaling over $2 million are examples.

Senator WILLIAMS' investigation of the District of Columbia stadium contract indicates there is nothing in Mr. McCloskey's book of ethics to prevent him from siphoning off Government contract money into the Democratic treasury. What remains now for the Congress to discover is whether this practice extended to other Government contracts awarded this favored Democrat.

Who Will Win the Supersonic Race?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, Charles Leedham has written imaginatively and perceptively on many subjects. He is the author of numerous timely articles and his latest book, an explanation of the Constitution for children, is scheduled for publication by Dodd, Mead this fall. Last week he contributed an important article to the New York Times magazine that I wish to have printed in the RECORD.

In the article he warns that U.S. prestige as well as dollar profits are at stake in competition to produce a new breed of jetliners. The Soviet Union and a combination of European countries have nearly completed the development of their own supersonic airliners, while U.S. companies cooperating with the Government are still debating designs. Mr. Leedham argues that this is a national question deserving national attention. His article describes the basic difficulties in our program and indicates what is and isn't being done to iron them out. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this subject and merits attention.

The article follows:

WHO WILL WIN THE SUPERSONIC RACE?

(By Charles Leedham)

Well before the middle of the next decade—as early as 1971, according to some estimates—airline passengers will be streaking through the sky at speeds more than twice the speed of sound, in a fabulous new generation of jetliners capable of making the New York-London run in 2 hours or less. Unquestionably, it is an enticing prospect for some travelers, and they may care little who made the airplane that makes such travel possible. But to the deeply concerned American Government, it is a nagging and vital question. Will those airliners be built here or will our long-held dominance of civil aviation have slipped across the Atlantic to Europe? No one, at this point, has the remotest idea.

We are currently in the midst of an ultra-high-pressure race to build what is known as the SST, a supersonic transport for civil passenger service. The stakes are enormous, the risks are high, and it is a race this country can ill afford to stay out of. Yet at present we seem very likely to finish third, far behind Russia and a respectable distance behind a British-French cooperative effort—if we finish at all.

Our major present hope, in fact, is to finish last but with such a vastly superior SST that we will belatedly take the play away from the competition by virtue of sheer performance. This may yet happen, but our competitors are off and running hard while we are still trying to figure out whether the whole idea is economically feasible, haggling over who will pay for the necessary research and development, and searching for the best way to design and power such an aircraft.

Russia, which may already have a prototype SST undergoing flight tests—as with all things Russian, it is difficult to be sure—simply decided some years ago to have an SST quickly, and down the chain of command went The Word. Result: a transport reportedly capable of speeds up to 1,800 miles per hour, with a payload of up to 150 passengers, following quite closely the tested and proved design of the Soviet supersonic heavy bomber called Bounder.

If the Russian prototype is already being tested, the liner may possibly be used in limited passenger runs by Aeroflot, the Russian state airline, as early as 1965. The resulting propaganda loss for the United States can be imagined. The moment Premier Khrushchev steps out of a Russian SST onto a foreign airport, having flown there at 1,800 m.p.h. in an obviously civilian passenger plane and years ahead of any free-world SST, Russian prestige will soar and that of the West, particularly of America, will drop. It will be, in effect, another and smaller sputnik.

The British-French entry is also well along, at least in the design stages. The Concorde, the harmoniously named joint product of the British Aircraft Corporation and France's Sud Aviation, now has a settled design and specifications, and certain of the metal parts for a prototype have already been fabricated. The Concorde is to have a speed of 1,450 m.p.h., a passenger capacity of 118, and BAC-Sud hopes to have it in passenger service in 1971.

The status of the American SST is, at best, vague. Great gusts of publicity have appeared about a marvelous 2,000 miles per hour American airliner to be flying around 1970 but nobody yet knows whether it is actually possible, practical, or economic. The Federal Aviation Agency has held a design competition, and selected two airframe manufacturers (Boeing and Lockheed) and two engine manufacturers (General Electric and Pratt & Whitney) to do further research, but the administration has rejected the plans submitted as economically and technically impractical.

One of the basic problems is the risk involved in our present insistence on having ultimately the biggest, the best and the most expensive airliner aloft. The Russians have accelerated their program by using a modified heavy bomber as their basic plan. The Anglo-French combine has settled for a speed limitation of 1,450 miles per hour, the maximum attainable with souped-up current jet engines, and with the metals technology that is currently and most easily available to them.

In making its own late entry into the race, the United States is so far going for broke, banking on the future success of a "growth" airplane. The American SST is to be powered by engines as yet undeveloped but of massive thrust, and built of metals still very incompletely researched. The prize in this gamble, if it pays off, will be an airplane capable of speeds starting at 2,000 miles per hour, with rapid possible design improvement to speeds of 3,000 and even 4,000 miles per hour.

In these speed ranges "miles per hour" becomes obsolete terminology. Everything in the new realm of supersonics is described in terms of mach numbers (so named for the physicist Ernst Mach) as a relationship to the speed of sound. Mach 1 is the speed of sound (approximately 660 miles per hour at sea level), mach 2 is twice the speed of sound. The Concorde is spoken of as a mach 2.2 airplane, the future American entry as a mach 2.8 to mach 3 airplane.

The jump, however, to mach 3 is a very large one, when we have had no experience at all with passenger airplanes even above mach 1. It is as though, shortly after the development of the Ford trimotor, we had decided to skip all the intermediate steps in airplane improvement and start a crash program to develop a jetliner capable of flying at 600 miles per hour. We know that mach 3 is physically possible because we have at least one military airplane—the A–11 reconnaissance-interceptor—which has reached this speed, but we have no idea about sustained flight at mach 3.

This military success is one of the factors that pushed the American SST effort out on its mach 2 limb. When the FAA sent out its "Request for Proposals" to the manufacturers in August 1963, it specified only "a cruise speed capability of mach 2.2 or faster." In another section it noted: "Although it is technologically feasible to develop an aircraft having sustained cruising speed capability in the order of mach 3, the final test of a successful commercial transport will be safety and economic performance in airline service."

The Government has continued to emphasize "economic performance" and its opposition to subsidy, but these factors have until recently been shoved to the sidelines in the emphasis on speed.

The "Request for Proposals" put the airplane builders into competition with one another, and the unspoken pressures were on them to go for the "or faster" part of the specification. Mach 3, as witness the A–11, was patently a reachable speed. If one company had plodded along cautiously with a mach 2.2 program, it would have looked small and backward in the midst of publicity trumpetings about the aggressive mach 3 designs of its competitors.

And in the background there was the not so muted refrain, "We in America can certainly do better than the Europeans." The only way to do better in the supersonic field is to go faster, and the sights thus became set on the mach 3 SST.

One of the major technical problems is temperature. At mach 2.2, air friction raises the temperature of parts of an airplane's skin to 250 degrees Fahrenheit. This much the aluminum alloys we are familiar with in airplane construction can stand safety, but at higher temperatures they begin to soften and are useless. At mach 2.8 and mach 3, skin temperatures rise to 500–600 degrees, and in this range titanium and steels must be used.

The British-French combine willingly accepted the mach 2.2 limitation of aluminum in planning their Concorde, in return for the economies and speed of working with well-understood technology. We, on the other hand, are striking out into practically uncharted territory.

We do have engines capable of pushing an airplane to mach 3—on the A–11 and the yet-untested B–70—but these are military engines, with stupendously high fuel consumption, which cannot even be adapted to economically reasonable passenger service. We do have experience with titanium-steel construction, again with the A–11 and B–70, but such mach 3 flights as have been made have been only brief bursts at that speed.

For practical airliner use, the airplane frame must be able to stand tens of thousands of hours of continued, regular mach 3 temperatures, and we have as yet literally no idea what will happen to metals in that

kind of service. We cannot thus emulate the fast Russian approach, because we cannot accept ruinously high operations costs—as they will—or a limited prestige-only service by a bomber-derived airliner.

Another formidable problem is cosmic radiation. At the proposed cruising altitudes of the SST's—65,000 to 75,000 feet—there is little atmosphere above the airplane to protect crews and passengers from sudden bursts of intense cosmic radiation associated with flares on the surface of the sun. During these radiation periods, the SST's may have to fly at lower altitudes and at subsonic speeds, vastly increasing their operational costs and thus making them economically unattractive to the airlines.

The difficulty of sonic boom may turn out to be even worse. Contrary to popular belief, an airplane flying past the speed of sound does not generate a single thunderous boom, audible on the ground, just at the moment it "goes through the sound barrier." As it passes the speed of sound, it begins to create the boom and then, unfortunately, continues to produce it as long as the airplane stays above that speed.

Thus, an SST flying across the country would trail beneath and behind it a continual "carpet" of sonic boom, like the bow wave of a ship, sounding to every groundling beneath it, from coast to coast, like sudden explosions in the sky. No one knows—although the FAA has been trying to find out through controlled sonic boom experiments over Oklahoma City—whether the public will ever come to accept continued booms from SST's flying overhead on schedule.

One highly disturbing early result of the experiments is the discovery that sonic boom is sometimes magnified by certain combinations of atmospheric conditions. Given these conditions, an SST flying even as high as 75,000 feet could break windows and crack plaster on the ground. The Government now optimistically hopes that people will become accustomed to small, nondamaging booms when they are an everyday occurrence, but no amount of indoctrination or exposure could ever persuade the public to accept booms of plaster-cracking magnitude.

The problem could conceivably be severe enough to restrict SST flights to overwater routes only. Airline officials who are already worrying about high per-mile operating costs of the SST's shudder when they think of the added expenses of scheduling route and speed limitations imposed by unsolved technical problems.

Combined with these technical questions is the major and difficult problem of keeping the development and operation of the SST within the framework of the American private enterprise system. The Government has declared that building an SST is a matter of national importance, but at the same time it has insisted that it be developed privately by the aircraft companies, and that the aircraft be one that the airline companies can afford to purchase and operate without Federal subsidy.

Can such a massive project be undertaken by private industry when research and development costs alone are estimated at a minimum of $1 billion? No one yet has the answer.

The administration is more than willing to help, by advancing $750 million for development, but it currently expects to recapture that amount by charging a royalty of $200,000 to $500,000 on the eventual sale of each SST, plus a 1.5-percent royalty off the top of SST passenger revenues—to be levied on the airlines—until all is repaid. But the Government also expects the aircraft manufacturers to put in $250 million of their own money, with no guarantees against the loss of the entire sum if the Mach 3 SST turns out to be an impractical airplane.

This sort of risk the companies say they simply cannot take. They are backed by the special Presidential Advisory Committee, headed by Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank, which investigated the economics of the SST project and concluded:

"Should it come to pass that one or more of the negative eventualties we have discussed should occur, and should the program be closed out, losses could be so serious that these companies could disappear or be crippled. Except for one company, the other large frame and propulsion companies have a new worth in the quarter billion dollar area, hardly a safe position from which to take losses upward of $100 million each, even if some of these losses were to be passed on to subcontractors."

The administration is thus in a quandary. If the companies refuse to undertake the financial risk involved in the 75–25 percent split of development costs, the American SST program could end right there, with an incalculable loss of American prestige through dropping out of the SST race, compounded by financial and prestige penalties of future loss of civil aviation leadership to Europe.

If, on the other hand, the Government decides simply to absorb the development costs of the SST and treat it as a national project requiring national support, the Russians will be very quick to point out to all and sundry how the vaunted capitalist system was unable to handle a major project and had to be rescued by the Government. We are damned if we do, and damned if we don't.

Fortunately, a middle way is beginning to appear. Historically, the Government has kept itself largely out of the field of civilian aviation development, but the industry has depended heavily on the aviation technology of military aircraft developed entirely with Government funds. The SST project is the first in which the industry has been expected to go ahead on its own, pioneering into new fields of technology. The industry is, in fact, being heavily pressured by Washington to participate in the project.

Because the development of the SST's engines could be considered a contribution to future military aircraft, James Webb, NASA Administrator—and member of another Presidential SST advisory committee—has hinted that the Government may be willing to underwrite the $500 million cost of engine development. This would take half the anticipated private risk out of the picture, and would point toward further Government concessions in the airframe area which could also be considered contributory to military needs.

It is a quibble, for in the end the Government would still be subsidizing the development of the commercial SST but it is at least a solution with some face-saving properties.

The anticipated cost of these airplanes is immense. The Concorde is currently slated at between $10 and $12 million each, approximately twice the price of today's subsonic jet. When and if the American SST is in production, it may cost at least $25 million, and quite possibly as much as $40 million.

Airlines facing limited permissible usage of such aircraft (because of the sonic boom and radiation problems) might think long and hard before spending that kind of money for an airplane. They might limit their purchases to only a grudging few SST's to stay competitive on premium transoceanic runs, and once again the manufacturers would be in trouble—even if the Government had absorbed all the development expenses.

Worse, those few purchases might be Concordes, even with an American SST available. The difference in trans-Atlantic flight times between a mach 2.2 Concorde and a mach 2.8 SST is minimal, on the order of 20 minutes when climb and descent at subsonic speeds and ground maneuvering time are taken into account. Would it be worth paying at least twice as much for so small a saving?

Would it be worth the astronomical initial price and higher operating costs, the airlines are beginning to wonder publicly—particularly as in many cases SST flights will have little practical advantage over present subsonic schedules? On the New York-Paris route, for example, tourists now heavily prefer flights departing in the late evening, arriving in Paris early the next day. For early-morning Paris arrival, an SST would have to leave at approximately 4 a.m.

What the airlines find hard to believe is that the average passenger would prefer to wait around until 4 in the morning to pay a higher fare—SST flights will almost certainly carry a surcharge—when he could just as easily take an earlier subsonic jet and sleep away the trans-Atlantic hours at a lower cost.

And even if SST flight proves perfectly feasible and unlimited in routes, the emergence of a proven Concorde 2, 3 or even 5 years before the American product—which is quite possible—might still swing civil aviation leadership permanently to Europe. American airlines would be forced to invest heavily in Concordes to stay competitive with such foreign carriers as BOAC and Air France. By the time the American SST emerged, at $25 million each and with only marginally better performance, airline investment in the Concordes could be so heavy as to preclude more than token SST purchases.

Not only would American leadership and prestige be lost, but hundreds of millions of dollars would necessarily flow overseas for aircraft and parts, badly denting the balance-of-payments situation. Again, the Government might have to take another unhappy step back from the principles of private enterprise by directly subsidizing airline purchase of SST's, for their own sake and for the sake of the manufacturers.

Serious cracks are already beginning to appear in the Government's once-monolithic facade of confidence and determination that the mach 3 SST could and would be quickly developed, and entirely by private enterprise. Stories coming from Washington give a picture of much thrashing about behind the scenes, of Laocoon-like struggles with the rapidly growing problems and misgivings. There are "a variety of views about the pace of the program" within the Government, as Najeeb Halaby, Administrator of the FAA, recently acknowledged. Still, as of this moment, the administration publicly maintains that, somehow, all will be well in the end.

One possible solution, as yet relatively unexplored, would be for the United States to bite the bullet, and openly retreat from the mach 3 airplane to a relatively riskless mach 2.2 SST in direct competition with the Concorde. There is hardly any question but that, with the application of our existing technology, research and manufacturing capabilities—and without Federal subsidy—we could come out with a mach 2.2 airliner at least as soon as the Concorde, despite our late start, and possibly a little sooner.

We would then be in no worse than a standoff, slightly battered in prestige but at least still safely in the running. Work on the mach 3 and higher speed SST's could then be left to a more leisurely, far safer and surer program of concurrent development. It would be one way out of the present dilemma.

The answers and the decisions will probably not begin to emerge for another 5 months at least. The airplane companies have until then to submit new plans and designs, reworked closer to the ultimate desire of economic feasibility. In the meantime, the Commerce Department is studying the economics of airline and SST opera-

tion in the 1970's, while the National Academy of Sciences is working with the FAA on sonic-boom tests and evaluations. Special Presidential committees are also studying all aspects of the situation.

However the financing is handled, this is now a national project, and no longer really a matter for private enterprise. In the end, it will not be the aircraft companies or the airlines who will make the decisions but the President, acting on the advice and counsel of all his departments and committees.

Henry Ford and COPE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, this is going to be an interesting fall, with the AFL–CIO and Henry Ford both supporting the same candidate.

Ted Lewis, in today's New York Daily News, elaborates on the attitude of the party of the people:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Daily News, Sept. 2, 1964]

CAPITOL STUFF

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, September 1.—Organized labor's endorsement today of the Johnson-Humphrey ticket only formalizes a position that had long been obvious. Nevertheless, the pronouncement does spotlight one of the most confusing aspects of this presidential campaign.

It throws the support of leaders of the 13 million members of the AFL–CIO behind Lyndon Johnson, the same man they violently opposed as John F. Kennedy's running mate in 1960.

Moreover—and this has never happened before—it lines them up behind the same ticket which certain management big shots such as Henry Ford 2d are also supporting.

This odd-ball situation is even more intriguing, as well as disturbing, to managers of the Democratic campaign. The big uncertainty is the size of the "backlash" vote among labor's rank-and-file, particularly in those working class congressional districts where the Negro "right-to-work" drive worries union jobholders.

Another definite uncertainty concerns the extent to which COPE (labor's basic get-out-the-vote setup) will be able to generate enthusiastic response. How, for example, can the precinct level job be done effectively in behalf of a presidential candidate whose legislative record on labor legislation was definitely so-so? Especially one who, this year at least, is wooing Republican Party "capitalists" and labor at the same time.

What the White House is banking on, of course, is that union members will go for Lyndon, not so much because they are for him but because they are dead set against BARRY GOLDWATER. The Republican candidate is supposed to get his comeuppance primarily because of his stand on right-to-work laws.

BACKLASH FEELING IN RANK-AND-FILE

This expectation does not run over into party contests where House seats, rather than the Presidency, are at stake. It is in these races that the "backlash" issue is worrying most the Democratic high command. They fear the loss of seats of liberal Democrats who in the past have had strong labor support.

Secret polls—even among United Steel Workers—have indicated that in industrial centers like Pittsburgh there is strong backlash feeling among labor's rank-and-file. Some of this could be translated into votes for GOLDWATER in November. Most of it is more likely to end up with support of Republican congressional candidates, instead of Democratic incumbents who voted the strong civil rights line.

COPE specializes in helping liberal Democratic Congressmen in so-called swing districts—those where victory comes by less than a 5 percent margin. And COPE at this time, its administrators privately admit, is scared to death about the backlash in close working-class districts. Above all, those in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Philadelphia districts where the housing pattern has been changing and Negroes are scrambling for jobs.

It has seldom been possible to translate the official backing of organized labor into November support of the rank-and-file anyway. This year especially, Democratic Party leaders admit, it is hazardous to predict.

BUT THE WIVES VOTED FOR EISENHOWER

It is all very well for Walter Reuther and George Meany, along with the AFL–CIO's entire executive council, plus all union presidents, to extol Johnson and downgrade Goldwater, as was their function today.

They or their counterparts did the same thing in an equally unqualified way in backing Adlai Stevenson against Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. But they couldn't deliver labor's vote then, either. The segment they were able to deliver was counterbalanced by the number of wives of union members who voted for Ike while their husbands went for Adlai.

Back in 1948, Tom Dewey thought he would grab the significant votes of the United Mine Workers because John L. Lewis, their chief, was supporting him. But the rank-and-file miners refused to follow Lewis and went for Truman.

So the so-called labor vote is most volatile. It could be significantly so in November if for no other reason than hesitancy to accept the "new Johnson."

WANTED NO PART OF JOHNSON ON 1960 TICKET

It is not easy for some to forget how Reuther, for example, fought Johnson's selection tooth and nail at the Los Angeles Democratic Convention in 1960.

The AFL–CIO sent a deputation of labor leaders—Reuther, Arthur Goldberg and Alex Rose of New York, among others—to wait on Kennedy and voice their heated objections. They wanted no part of Johnson in the Vice Presidential spot.

He would alienate the significant Negro vote in the North. Moreover, look at his voting record on labor legislation. During L.B.J.'s last 12 years in Congress he was credited by COPE with voting "right" only 45.9 percent of the time on labor issues.

It may be hard for Reuther and Meany to sell Johnson this year as labor's "hero," but obviously there must be grudging acceptance of him. His voting record on labor legislation might have been lousy, but Barry's has been certainly far lousier. So a choice had to be made. All admit that it would have been easier if the President was not bidding for management's vote at the same time.

Especially for Reuther and his automobile workers. They must be chagrined to be supporting Henry Ford's choice, and clearly the choice of Don Gordon, president of General Motors, and E. C. Quinn, vice president of Chrysler—two auto world moguls who kicked in $1,000 each at a Democratic fundraising dinner in Detroit.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board of independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 193, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Business and Financial Leaders Form Independent Committee To Support President Johnson and Senator Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant developments in the presidential campaign is the widespread support which President Johnson and his administration have won from the business and financial community in our country.

It is, therefore, not surprising that yesterday a group of prominent business and financial leaders from all parts of the country met in Washington to organize a National Independent Committee for President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY. The purpose of the independent committee is to make possible a collective public endorsement of President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY by outstanding people throughout the country who are well known for their accomplishments in nonpartisan and nonpolitical activities.

The organization meeting was attended by 26 of these nationally known executives; 19 others have agreed to serve as initial sponsors of the committee, but could not be in Washington yesterday. At this organization meeting, the group selected as cochairmen John T. Connor, president of Merck & Co., Summit, N.J., and John L. Loeb, senior partner of Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York City. Chosen as vice chairmen were Carter L. Burgess, chairman, American Machine & Foundry Co., Pelham Manor, N.Y., Edgar F. Kaiser, chairman of Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Co., Oakland, Calif., and William A. Hewitt, president, Deere & Co., Moline, Ill.

The independent committee will attempt to acquaint the general public with the confidence that prominent national leaders in all walks of life have in President Johnson and will urge that he be given another 4 years of opportunity to serve all the people.

RESOLUTION

Mr. Speaker, a resolution relative to the purposes of the committee, approved at yesterday's meeting, reads as follows:

Resolved, That it is the basic purpose of this committee to express the collective confidence of its members in the national leadership of President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY and to support their election in the conviction that their election will serve the best interest of the Nation; and it is further

Resolved, That this committee will seek to achieve this objective by enlisting the active support of American business and financial leaders of independent conviction and diverse political affiliation; and it is further

Resolved, That this committee will take appropriate measures to present to the American people President Johnson's and Senator HUMPHREY's outstanding records of long experience and proven performance. In this connection we will point out that the prosperious state of the Nation's economy is due in large measure to the confidence that has been engendered by President Johnson's efforts to reduce the burden of taxes, to hold down and decrease Federal expenditures and to give the free private enterprise system an opportunity to do its job. We will also point out that in foreign affairs President Johnson's firm but temperate policies have given the free peoples of the world a full measure of confidence in American leadership; and it is further

Resolved, That this committee will emphasize to the people of the United States the basic truth that continuity of policy and leadership in these crucial times is vital for the realization of America's destiny. The election of President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY will provide a guarantee of this continuity. It is this committee's purpose to indicate that it is the conservative course in our national life to follow a man who is a leader and who is leading well.

SUPPORT FOR JOHNSON AND HUMPHREY BASED ON THEIR RECORDS

The committee will be concerned solely with the presidential and vice-presidential election, and will not take a position with regard to State or local candidates. It will be independent of other committees participating in the campaign, and will not endorse individual issues or planks in the party platforms. Thus, the committee's strong support for President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY is based on their records as a whole and on a conviction that they will best serve the Nation in the years ahead.

Headquarters for the Independent Committee will be located in New York City. Since the committee will engage only in national activities, no State or local committees will be formed.

Business and financial leaders throughout the country will be encouraged to join the National Independent Committee, regardless of their political affiliation. Indeed, a large majority of the initial sponsors have voted for Republican presidential candidates in the past, but are convinced that President Johnson's outstanding record of achievement and his vast experience merit his election this year.

LIST OF ORIGINATING SPONSORS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND SENATOR HUMPHREY

(NOTE.—The persons listed below serve in their personal and individual capacity; the corporate and business affiliations listed are purely descriptive, carrying no implication of authorization or participation by the organization noted.)

Robert B. Anderson, New York, N.Y.
Ford Bell, chairman, Red Owl Stores, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.
T. Roland Berner, chairman, Curtiss-Wright Corp., New York, N.Y.
William R. Biggs, chairman, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
Gordon Bilderback, Champaign, Ill.
Eugene R. Black, New York, N.Y.
Joseph L. Block, chairman, Inland Steel Co., Chicago, Ill.
Carter L. Burgess, chairman, American Machine & Foundry Co., New York, N.Y.
Paul C. Cabot, chairman, State Street Investment Corp., Boston, Mass.
Thomas D. Cabot, chairman, Cabot Corp., Boston, Mass.
Peter Colefax, chairman, American Potash & Chemical Corp., Los Angeles, Calif.
John T. Connor, president, Merck & Co., Rahway, N.J.
Donald C. Cook, president, American Electric Power Co., New York, N.Y.
Edgar M. Cullman, president, General Cigar Co., Inc., New York, N.Y.
Lewis W. Douglas, Sonoita, Ariz.
Marriner S. Eccles, chairman, Utah Construction & Mining Co., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Ray R. Eppert, president, Burroughs Corp., Detroit, Mich.
Samuel M. Fleming, president, Third National Bank of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn.
Marion B. Folsom, director, Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, N.Y.
Henry Ford II, chairman, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
William T. Gossett, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
Walter A. Haas, Jr., president, Levi Strauss & Co., San Francisco, Calif.
Ben W. Heineman, chairman, Chicago & Northwestern Ry. Co., Chicago, Ill.
Harry B. Henshel, president, Bulova Watch Co., New York, N.Y.
William A. Hewitt, president, Deere & Co., Moline, Ill.
Edgar F. Kaiser, chairman, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., Oakland, Calif.
George Killion, president, American President Lines, Ltd., San Francisco, Calif.
Thomas S. Lamont, New York, N.Y.
Mills B. Lane, Jr., president, Citizens & Southern National Bank, Atlanta, Ga.
Ralph Lazarus, president, Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brian P. Leeb, New York, N.Y.
Robert Lehman, senior partner, Lehman Bros., New York, N.Y.
John L. Loeb, senior partner, Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York, N.Y.
Augustus C. Long, chairman, Texaco, Inc., New York, N.Y.
John Mecom, Houston, Tex.
Andre Meyer, senior partner, Lazard Freres & Co., New York, N.Y.
Arjay R. Miller, president, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
Norton Simon, president, Hunt Foods & Industries, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.
William C. Stolk, chairman, American Can Co., New York, N.Y.
H. Gardiner Symonds, chairman, Tennessee Gas Transmission Co., Houston, Tex.
S. Mark Taper, chairman, First Charter Financial Corp., Beverly Hills, Calif.
Charles B. Thornton, chairman, Litton Industries, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.
Sidney J. Weinberg, senior partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co., New York, N.Y.
Charles A. Wellman, president, First Charter Financial Corp., Beverly Hills, Calif.
Frederic B. Whitman, president, Western Pacific Railroad Co., San Francisco, Calif.

The Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. Establishes Creative Teaching Library

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., of St. Paul, Minn., whose slogan is "Research Is the Key to Progress," has again embarked on a program which establishes a creative teaching library designed to serve as a resource and research center on the use of visual aids in the classroom. The details are highlighted in the following several paragraphs:

Source of the library material, the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. said, will be materials gathered in a massive program to stimulate creative effort among teachers throughout the country. Highlight of this 2-year program is a creative teaching contest this fall which is expected to bring upward of 200,000 entries from throughout the country.

B. Y. Auger, manager, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. visual products, said the new library will be open to all teachers, school administrators and education students. It will contain the definitive works of creative teachers and administrators on the subject of visual teaching techniques.

A nucleus of the library is being built now, Auger said on proposals which won awards for 500 schools across the country in the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.'s 1963–64 assistance grant to education program, plus the 500 semifinalists.

These award-winning proposals consist of illustrated suggestions and already inuse techniques for use of classroom visual aids.

Added to the library early in 1965 will be the winning entries in the company's current "Creative Teaching Competition—Aventura en Mexico."

Auger said the creation of the research library is the latest step in the company's continuing program to give recognition and aid to creative teaching.

"Perhaps the single most important factor in education is the individual teacher's resourcefulness in effectively imparting to her students the vast amount of knowledge which must be transmitted," he said.

"The source of the materials which comprise our library contain some of the finest thinking among educators and teachers in the country.

"In bringing together this body of knowledge of creative teaching through visual techniques and making it accessible to all educators, we hope to serve our Nation's schools effectively," he said.

For ease of use, the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. is permanently cataloging the reference material. The library will be open to educators by appointment with visual products, Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., 2501 Hudson Road, St. Paul.

Creation of the library marks the firm's third major effort to aid creative teaching within little more than a year.

Announcement of its $1.5 million assistance grant to education last year brought forth 15,000 proposals from schools vying for the individual grants of $3,000 worth of visual aids and equipment. The proposals represented the combined efforts of individual school faculties on the primary, secondary, and college levels, private, public, and parochial.

Currently underway is the company's "Creative Teaching Competition—Aventura in Mexico" which will award to teachers submitting the top 6 representations summer courses at the University of the Americas in Mexico City and to the runnerup 12 teachers all-expense paid 2-week educational tours of Mexico.

CTC, designed to stimulate creative teachers and promote creative teaching techniques, requires entrants to submit a series of visuals for overhead projectors which demonstrate a teaching idea or concept. These may be entire teaching units or a portion of a teaching unit. Entries will be accompanied by a brief description of how the visuals are used.

ZIP's Slip Showing—170-Mile Trip for 5-Mile Mail Delivery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, the days of 3-cent letters and penny postcards are gone forever and the post office of today is, in every sense of the word, caught up in the whirlwind of big government, which prefers to identify us by number only. Rate increases have become commonplace but, somehow or other, service has not kept pace. Although the present administration has pointed with pride to the great improvements it has made in getting mail to patrons in record time, postal patron complaints, to put it mildly, do not attest to this boast. The following article, which appeared in the Cobleskill (N.Y.) Times-Journal recently, offers ample proof that the ivory tower efficiency experts who devise such monstrosities might be well advised to remember the Department's famous bad-weather pledge before they make their next expensive change for change's sake.

The story is as follows:

ZIP CODE MEANS SOME DELAY IN AREA MAIL

Mail service, under the new ZIP code system, is undergoing some changes in this area, effective September 12.

Mail going from Cobleskill to Hyndsville, Dorloo and Seward, will, after that date, be sent to Schenectady, then to Utica, then to Canajoharie where Mr. McDuffy will bring it to Sharon Springs and over to these three towns.

This will mean that mail service will be somewhat slower, perhaps a day later than is now in effect, when mail is sent directly from Cobleskill to Hyndsville, Dorloo or Seward twice a day.

Mrs. Evelyn Wilcox who has had the contract for this route, will no longer be carrying the mail. Mr. McDuffy, who carries the mail from Canajoharie to Sharon Springs, will extend his route to cover as far as Hyndsville.

This change is brought about by order of U.S. Post Office officials under the new ZIP code system. Cobleskill is under the Schenectady ZIP code number and Hyndsville, Dorloo and Seward are under the Utica number.

Mail now will have to travel approximately 170 miles, to go from Cobleskill to Hyndsville, a distance of 5 miles.

To offset this expected delay of the mails to these areas, the Times-Journal staff will personally deliver all issues of the newspaper each Wednesday to each of the post offices in Hyndsville, Dorloo, and Seward, so that all our readers receive their paper at the same time as previously.

Farley Sees Landslide Victory for Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include therein an article from the Columbus Dispatch, concerning an interview the chief of their Washington bureau, Carl DeBloom, had with the Honorable James A. Farley, of New York, during the recent National Democratic Convention:

FARLEY SEES LANDSLIDE VICTORY FOR JOHNSON, BUT "MUST RUN SCARED"

(By Carl DeBloom)

ATLANTIC CITY.—The man whose reputation for predicting political races puts the pollsters to shame, James A. Farley, still believes President Johnson will have a landslide victory in November.

The former Postmaster General under the late President Roosevelt says he isn't kidding himself about the rough spots that exist for Democrats.

But he believes that Democrats will put an organization together that will solve these problems. And it will be under the "greatest political leader" this country has ever had—President Johnson.

Farley warns that Democrats cannot run on the theory that they will win but "must run scared."

Last February Farley predicted in an interview with the Dispatch in his Madison Avenue office in New York that Johnson would have the same kind of victory Roosevelt had in 1932. Roosevelt carried all but six States.

Here as a New York delegate at the Democratic nominating convention, Farley still believes this will hold true. Actually he now feels that Johnson may do even better and carry Pennsylvania which went in the GOP column in 1932.

Farley sees the possibility of Johnson even carrying the Republican strongholds of Maine and Vermont. He says the voters in those States "fear" Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

The former national Democratic chairman doesn't see the South going solidly for GOLDWATER. He points out that "deep down" the southern Democrats want to vote for a southerner for president and will support Johnson.

Such States as Alabama and Mississippi will "want to get on the bandwagon" when they realize that Johnson is a winning candidate, he reasons.

The civil rights issue—barring unforeseen developments—will not be as serious as many believe, Farley says. He feels it is at its peak now and will decline as an issue.

So far as the so-called white backlash, Farley believes that GOLDWATER will suffer from the reverse of this from Republicans who want strong civil rights laws.

Also hurting GOLDWATER, according to Farley, will be the fact that a number of Republican leaders such as General Eisenhower, and Governors Nelson Rockefeller

and William Scranton will not give wholehearted support.

GOLDWATER is in so much trouble in Farley's opinion that he questions whether the Senator can carry his own State of Arizona. When it comes to Farley's State of New York, Democrats will have a tremendous victory, Farley says.

The biggest thing going for Johnson, in Farley's estimation, is the economy. He thinks it is the greatest the country has ever experienced and is convinced that big business knows that Johnson is not to be feared.

Big business feels that Johnson is competent and the country rarely changes Presidents when the economy is good, he points out.

Johnson did a great deal to convince big business of his ability with the smooth way he handled the transition of administrations following the assassination, Farley says.

Johnson's firm stand in South Vietnam has aided him, according to Farley.

The party's elder statesman has been in close touch with Johnson and will aid in any way he can, but says he will not take on an assignment "that will tie me to a desk." Many credit Farley with electing Roosevelt President and he is still recognized at the age of 75 as one of the shrewdest political minds in the country.

Farley says Johnson will take a personal charge of his campaign and will be ready to move immediately after the convention here. Farley advises that some political heads will have to be knocked together to smooth out some rough spots and predicts this will be done.

A byproduct of the landslide victory he sees for Johnson will be an increase in the number of Democrats in Congress as candidates ride in on the President's coattails, Farley predicts.

Hon. Clair Engle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege and pleasure of serving in the House for a number of years with the late Senator Clair Engle and shall forever miss his friendship and leadership. I served on a number of conference and committees with the late Senator Engle while he was serving as a Member of the House of Representatives and he was a credit to the State of California and the United States. He could always readily see both sides of every problem confronting the Congress and the Nation. I do not know any Member of Congress that could not admire the late Senator Engle.

It is rather difficult to understand why he would be taken away from us at a time when he was ready to render wonderful service to his fellowman and to his Government. It is easier to understand why a person in their old age is taken away from us even though it seems impossible that his place in life could be filled by another person; however, when a young man such as the late Senator Engle is taken away from us in the prime of his life it makes us think.

Mrs. McMillan joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to the late Senator Engle's wonderful wife. Mrs. Engle has had a heavy load to carry for a number of years and our hearts go out to her during her hours of bereavement.

Congressman William S. Moorhead, of Pennsylvania, and the National Humanities Foundation: Two Editorials From the Goshen, Ind., News and the Criterion, of Indianapolis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the text of two editorials concerning the leadership which is being given by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, toward the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

The first editorial was published in the Goshen, Ind., News, a newspaper in my own congressional district, while the second was published in the August 21, 1964, issue of the Criterion, the publication of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Indianapolis.

The editorials follow:

[From the Goshen (Ind.) News]

HUMANITIES—WORLD'S BEST HOPE

In 1950 Congress created the National Science Foundation to spur the progress of science in this country by supporting research, offering fellowships, improving teaching and school facilities, and in general aiding scholars.

Largely because of the National Science Foundation, high school teaching of science has been revolutionized and U.S. scientific resources are at high strength.

Much has happened in that decade and a half. Always vital to the Nation's defense, with the appearance of Russia's Sputnik I in our skies in 1957, science became, to the popular mind, the magic means whereby the United States would regain the prestige so abruptly snatched from under our noses.

Most of the billions since then have gone to applied technology—rocketry—which may be science to the layman, but is not what the scientist means by the word.

But millions of dollars have gone to basic research, to modernize equipment and facilities, to strengthen the broad base of American science.

In the rush to support science, something called the humanities—the study of history, art, literature, philosophy—got swept aside. A few voices, among them those of scientists, protested aginst this.

In 1963, a Commission on the Humanities was formed by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Scholars in the United States, and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

Some weeks ago it issued a 222-page report urging the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation, to do for the humanities what the National Science Foundation has done for science with its infusion of money, ideas, and talent.

"Even the most gifted individual," stated the commission, "whether poet or physicist, will not realize his full potential or make his fullest contribution to his times unless his imagination has been kindled by the aspirations and accomplishments of those who have gone before him.

"All men require that a vision be held before them, an ideal toward which they may strive. This vision includes such enduring values as justice, freedom, virtue, beauty, and truth.

"Democracy demands wisdom of the average man * * *. To know the best that has been taught and said in former times can make us wiser than we otherwise might be, and in this respect the humanities are not merely ours, but the world's best hope."

A few days ago, a bill to create a National Humanities Foundation was dropped in the congressional hopper. It is unlikely that much action will be taken on it in these waning days of the 88th Congress. It is certainly not something that should be rushed through in the hectic last hours before adjournment.

The humanities bill is now a matter of record. It should be reintroduced early in the 89th Congress next year to allow it the full and complete hearing it deserves.

[From the Criterion, Aug. 24, 1964]

EGGHEAD BILL

In the liveliest political campaign of the century, a bill introduced this week by Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, of Pennsylvania, is unlikely to cause any hipshooting or 5-gallon-hat tossing.

It is a quiet, nonpartisan proposal with none of the visceral appeal that sets the bands to marching and the press agents to shaping new epithets.

Nonetheless, it is attuned to mankind's noblest visions, and ought to get passed into law.

It concerns itself, simply, with the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. Its aim is to promote a broad national policy in support of the humanities and the arts. We already have seen how a similar policy swiftly spurred lagging areas of science to fabulous triumphs.

"Well," says a genial practical politician, reading the Moorhead proposal. "Them eggheads what arose in 1952 didn't lose their yolks after all. But, pray tell, what are the humanities? What is this all about anyway?"

Well—as Congressman MOORHEAD sees it—the definition should be broad. It should cover study in depth of literature, languages, religion, philosophy, music, art, law, theories of science, the performing and lively arts.

In fact, the definition should not be tied down concisely in the manner of the specifications for a Ranger spacecraft.

MOORHEAD put it plainly enough when he said the subject is man himself—"that which is most human." Pick up any newspaper any day for confirmation of Arnold Toynbee's observation, quoted by MOORHEAD, that "man is astonishingly good at dealing with the physical world, but he is just as astonishingly bad at dealing with human nature."

To which we add that man tends to be distressingly derelict in his most vital study, God.

"Well," says the practical politician, "but where's the bread and butter in a bill like this?"

Well, there is no bread and butter, in precinct lexicon.

But, then, where is the bread and butter in a sunrise, or a baby's smile, or a bluebird on the wing, or the faith in Eternal Good?

The ultimate purpose of Congressman MOORHEAD's bill is to help create a climate

where men will want more than the very real bread-and-butter needs of life, will know how to fulfill them, and thus will be able to reject materialistic trivia in favor of the more rewarding riches waiting to be mined within their own brains and hearts.

An egghead bill. Yes, it is that, all right.

It stems from a report issued by a commission under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Schools, and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

You cannot get much more egghead than that, and MOORHEAD himself is an Andover-Yale-Harvard egghead ably representing an ethnic medley in the Pittsburgh area. Among the distinguished eggheads who drafted the report were Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame; Dr. Herman B. Wells, chancellor of Indiana University, and Thomas J. Watson, Jr., chairman of International Business Machines.

IBM, by the way, is strong in the field of automated technology. Chairman Watson, however, shares our concern that man remain the boss of his wonderful scientific advance, not become its slave.

Any that's what Congressman MOORHEAD's bill is all about. It is not going to cost taxpayers a bundle of money; in fact, it foresees support from private grants and endowments. That makes it all the less interesting to some "practical" politicians. No gravy.

But we have a hunch this modest bill may develop more political appeal than currently may be imagined in some quarters.

Mankind, though largely inarticulate, has a remarkably sure sense of balance. It seems right now that scientific progress desperately needs a counterweight of attention to spiritual and cultural pursuits.

And down deep inside almost everybody is the poet's grinding hunger for hyacinths to feed the soul. That, too, is what the Humanities Foundation bill is all about.

Poor Quality the Trademark of Communist Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, from time to time the American citizen—who is often unaware that he is sometimes purchasing imported Communist goods when he goes shopping—gets an insight into the actual situation in the so-called workers' paradise, the Soviet Union, and its puppet satellite states.

People in the free world have been led to believe—by Communist propaganda, and the echoing hurrahs of non-Communist dupes—that everything is going great in the noble Socialist system headed by Nikita Khrushchev. The Communist brush has painted a glowing canvas of progress to perfection in the promised land that is already here. Unfortunately, too many Americans have fallen for this line, including some hard-headed businessmen who want to trade with the Communist countries.

Some Communist-made products have been brought into the United States and in many cases have been bought by Americans who did not know they were purchasing items made under conditions approaching if not actually slave labor.

There has come to my attention a recent story in the Baltimore Sun of July 26, 1964, concerning the shoddy caliber of Communist production in the Soviet Union that provides one of those too rare looks at the true situation in the camp of communism. I urge that Americans take not of this situation, and I hope more of our businessmen who are or would like to do business with the Communists turn their attentions elsewhere in order that they might import items of true quality. Not only would our citizens be provided with opportunity to purchase fine products, but they also would be in less danger of unwittingly putting their hard-earned dollars at the disposal of the Communists who use them in their relentless efforts to destroy our freedoms. The item follows:

SHODDY GOODS ANGER SOVIET—BETTER WORK BY FACTORIES SOUGHT AT HIGH LEVELS

(By Adam Clymer)

MOSCOW, July 25.—Soviet economic authorities are worried about the poor quality of manufactured goods here and are seeking a way to force factories to do a better job of production.

The Government newspaper, Isvestia, reported tonight that the Budget Commissions of both houses of the Supreme Soviet met today and paid "great attention to elimination of deliveries of spoiled equipment and agricultural materials."

Similar concern was voiced for an increase in variety and quality of consumer goods.

QUALITY STRESSED

Pravada reported this morning on yesterday's meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of Premier Khrushchev and cited the "raising of the quality of industrial output" as a main task for the economic plan for 1966 to 1970.

Earlier this week, while boasting of an overfulfillment of the economic plan for the first 6 months, the Central Statistical Administration reported in Izvestia:

"The population requirements for certain commodities are met far from adequately. This refers in particular, to many items of knitwear, refrigerators, and washing machines.

"Many industrial enterprises and economic councils did not pay due attention to improving the quality and expanding the assortment of a number of consumer goods, clothes, footwear, and fabrics in particular.

"The grading organizations often do not use their right to turn down the unmarketable goods and, in a number of cases, take insufficient stock of the market demands in distributing the commodity resources with the result that certain goods remain unsold."

Premier Khrushchev recently laid the blame largely on the factories. In a speech to the Supreme Soviet, he said "a firm system has to be introduced under which the customer could make a claim against the bad quality of the purchased commodity."

Placing the stock of unsalable goods at 2,500 million rubles ($2,778 million) worth, Khrushchev said "the factory which produced the commodities, rather than the trading establishment, should be held responsible for the quality of the goods."

He called on Gosplan, the state planning committee, to work out some system to make the factories more responsive to the stores' needs.

ACCEPTANCE SYSTEM SCORED

One reason trade organizations take shoddy goods was outlined earlier this month by V. Tyukov, Gosplan's section chief for trade turnover.

Writing in Pravda, Tyukov called for stronger financial levers to control production.

He blamed the current acceptance system for poor quality, saying that trade organizations had only 3 days to reject or pay for goods supplied from factories. Moreover, the 3-day period begins from the time the bill gets to the bank, which may be well before the goods get to the trading group.

"It turns out that the trade organization is buying a cat in a bag," he said. "It is compelled to pay bills without knowing the quality and assortment of goods," since such details are not indicated on bills.

CHANGES SUGGESTED

"Such a system of payment, which protects only the interest of the supplier, paves the way for penetration into the stores by goods of bad quality or goods which are not in demand," he concluded.

Some tinkering with the acceptance system and a firmer basis of direct orders from trade organizations as the basis of factory production were suggested in the series of comments on quality and unsold goods.

Supreme Court Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, thoughtful citizens, from both rural and metropolitan sections, appear to be more and more concerned about the effect of the series of Supreme Court decisions, including the decision in the Ohio case, on apportionment of Senate legislatures, handed down on June 15, 1964.

Ohioans are particularly concerned since the Ohio constitutional provision was adopted in a popular election by a vote of more than 29 to 1.

Furthermore, Ohio's constitution has a built-in provision for the citizens' reconsideration of the constitution every 20 years.

Pursuant to the terms of Ohio's constitution, any citizen is authorized to initiate a proposed amendment to Ohio's constitution, and, upon securing the requisite number of signatures to the initiative petition, the proposal comes on for a vote at the next general election. Such provision is workable, too, as Ohio has voted on at least three amendments proposed in such manner within the last 20 years. Two constructive, forward-looking amendments, so proposed, were adopted by overwhelming vote, and one such proposed amendment was overwhelmingly defeated. Proof enough, indeed, that Ohio's constitution is good enough to meet the needs of our changing times and the desires of an intelligent and articulate people.

Finally, any member of the Ohio Senate or the Ohio House, at any time that the legislature is in regular session, may propose amendments to the constitution, and if agreed to by three-fifths of the members elected to each house, the proposed amendment or amendments will be submitted to the voters of Ohio for decision at the next general election. A

majority vote of those voting on the proposal or proposals, submitted to the electorate, either adopts or rejects them, as the case may be. How better can responsible representative government be had and maintained? I dissent from the opinion that a catchy slogan is an adequate substitute for the Ohio plan.

Buckeye Farm News, official magazine of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, in its August 1964 issue, carried a short, understandable editorial on the subject. I recommend its careful reading to both rural and urban residents in each of the 50 States.

The editorial follows:

SUPREME COURT WRONG

(By C. Maurice Wieting)

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted it wisely made provision for representation both on a basis of population and of geography. Most States, including Ohio, followed this precedent.

We believe that the Supreme Court was wrong in its recent ruling that population alone should be the future method of determining political representation. It is for this reason that we are urging Congress to adopt the McCulloch amendment which would allow each State to make its own decision.

There are 88 counties in Ohio and we contend that each of them should have at least one representative in the general assembly as provided under the Hanna amendment. Problems in each county differ from those in other areas, and it is wise that each have a voice in State government.

The Question Remains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is now evident that the social security amendments with the politically motivated socialized medicine package involved remain one of the major stumbling blocks facing this session of Congress.

The Lemonter, a community newspaper serving the village and township of Lemont, Ill., concisely raises a basic question concerning the social security tax structure in its issue of August 27. The editorial follows:

THE QUESTION REMAINS

The intimately related tax and spending problems grow more clouded.

A short time ago the powerful House Ways and Means Committee voted to increase social security payments and to increase social security taxes by 5 percent to meet the bill. There are excellent arguments in favor of this move in view of the slow but steady rises in living costs that have characterized the "creeping inflation" of recent years. But, the pros and cons of that aside, this increased tax will go a long way toward offsetting the reduction in income taxes that went into effect this year.

We are facing an ancient truism—you can't have your cake and eat it too. And the Government, despite the occasional lipservice that is paid to the cause of economy, continues to operate on a "spend more, owe more" basis. The disastrous end result of this kind of policy has been seen the world around in the post-World War I era. So, an old and increasingly important question remains to be answered: Will we learn from the tragic experience of others before our own economic sins catch up with us at home?

The spenders in Congress have just voted a heavy increase in their salaries although they have failed miserably to show any ability to balance national expense with national income.

Republican and Democratic Platforms Compared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Calif., August 28, 1964, contained a very interesting column by Richard S. Wheeler comparing the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1964. I commend this column to the Members of the House for serious consideration.

The column is as follows:

PLATFORM MARRED BY LACK OF FAITH

(By Richard S. Wheeler)

The two most striking characteristics of the Democratic Party's domestic platform are its vagueness and its pessimism.

Some of the language is so obscure that it looks as if the Democrats are deliberately obfuscating the meaning. They assert, for example, that "the matter of the length of work periods should be given continuing consideration."

To most of the American public, that assertion means exactly nothing. But to Walter Reuther and his coterie, who have been pushing for longer work breaks in order to create, in effect, a 7-hour day, the plank is loaded with significance. The vagueness of the language permits the Democrats to give Reuther what he wants without alarming the public, which has doubts about the economic virtue of decreasing the length of working days.

JUST WHAT STANDARDS?

The platform asserts that "the unemployment insurance program must be basically revised to meet the standards the Nation's experience dictates." That's all that is said on the subject, and we, the voters, must decide whether the party means to make it easier or tougher for people out of work to live on the public purse, and whether the dole is going to be raised or lowered, lengthened or shortened, through higher or lower taxes on employers.

Even more obscure is the party's assertion that it will "study new low-cost methods and techniques of food distribution for the benefit of our housewives to better feed their families." Is this a proposal to set up Government food distribution centers to eliminate the profit margins of private grocers? It is difficult to say.

Political platforms are necessarily vague, in order to please the most, and antagonize the fewest voters. But the 1964 Democratic platform is more vague than usual. In fact, it is almost impossible to see where the party intends to take the Nation the next 4 years, or how it intends to implement its proposals and still cut back on taxes and spending.

LACK OF FAITH

One thing the vagueness doesn't obscure, however, is the platform's generally pessimistic view of the capacities of the American people. It is one thing to promise governmental support only to those who need it, and quite another thing to proffer handouts, subsidies, and immunities to everybody in sight, regardless of their capacity to help themselves. To help only those in need is charitable, but to offer assistance to those who don't need it is a subtle corruption of the independence and initiative of the American people.

If there is one distinguishing characteristic of the Democratic platform, it is its failure to affirm that the overwhelming majority of Americans are strong and independent; capable of caring for themselves, making wise decisions in the marketplace, and governing their business ethics. One would think from perusing the platform that just the opposite is the case: that Americans are helpless, bumbling wretches who are incapable of survival or enjoyment of life without the crutches, props, and subsidies of a maternal government.

MOTHER-HEN GOVERNMENT

The Democratic platform is "momism" personified. Mother-hen government is going to subsidize artists; protect helpless little consumers from big, bad businessmen; educate everyone for free; provide a "balanced outdoor recreation program"; figure out ways for the Armed Forces to make use of unemployable young men, and generally protect everyone from this mean, old world.

There is nothing in this platform for men who ask only the freedom to stand on their own two feet and meet life squarely. There is nothing there for those who would prefer to pay low taxes and live independently instead of paying high taxes and depending on assorted "benefactions" in return.

The platform sounds like a document out of the great depression instead of a program for an affluent society. It is out of touch not only with the economic and social reality of America in the 1960's, but also the spirit and determination of the American people.

By contrast, the Republican platform affirms time and time again its faith in the capacity of individual Americans to work out their destiny without Federal crutches and controls. Instead of saying, in effect, "You are children and we shall take care of you," it says, "You are adults and we honor you." Thus, plank after plank promises to minimize control, subsidies, and taxes to the lowest possible level consistent with the necessities of compassion and the public weal. Some would say that's not good politics, but I would say that it's extremely good American philosophy.

Tribute to Mrs. Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the moving addresses at the Democratic National Convention was made by Hon. Adlai Stevenson in memory of Eleanor Roosevelt. His eloquence rose to the subject and he stirred all who heard him with his tribute to this, one of the greatest ladies and one of the greatest people of our times. I offer this magnificent address for the RECORD and comment it to my colleagues and to my fellow countrymen:

TRIBUTE TO MRS. ROOSEVELT

(Address by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, at the Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City, N.J., August 27, 1964)

Thank you, my dear friends, for your welcome—and for all your loyalty and comfort to me in years past when our party's fortunes were not as bright as they are tonight.

For what I have done and sought to do for our country and our party, I have been repaid a thousandfold by the kindness of my fellow citizens—and by none more than you, the leaders of the Democratic Party.

I have been proud to march with you in seven presidential campaigns, and to lead two of them. But I have never been prouder than I am tonight—to follow two such brilliant and bold leaders, and old and dear friends, as Lyndon Johnson and HUBERT HUMPHREY. They will, I predict, leave the future of our country and our world in their debt.

But it is of another noble American that I am commissioned to speak to you tonight. She has passed beyond these voices—but our memory and her meaning have not—Eleanor Roosevelt.

She was a lady—a lady for all seasons. And, like her husband, she left "a name to shine on the entablatures of truth—forever."

There is, I believe, a legend in the Talmud which tells us that in any period of man's history the heavens themselves are held in place by the virtue, love, and shining integrity of 12 just men. They are completely unaware of this function. They go about their daily work, their humble chores—doctors, teachers, workers, farmers (never, alas, lawyers, so I understand), just ordinary devoted citizens—and meanwhile the rooftree of creation is supported by them alone.

There are times when nations or movements or great political parties are similarly sustained in their purposes and being by the pervasive, unconscious influence of a few great men and women. Can we doubt that Eleanor Roosevelt had in some measure the keeping of the party's conscience in her special care? That her standards and integrity steadied our own? That her judgment persuaded the doubters and "too-soon despairers"? That her will stiffened the waverers and encouraged the strong?

I do not suggest some unworldly saint dwelling in remote regions of unsullied idealism. On the contrary, as we all know, Eleanor Roosevelt was a bonny fighter, at her best down in the arena, face to face with opponents and ideas she disapproved. Like that other grand old veteran of so many Democratic wars—Herbert Lehman—in ripe old age she took on tasks that might have daunted people half her age. Whether it was Communist bosses in the United Nations or shoddy politicians, whether it was exploiters of the poor or traducers of the faith of freedom—she sailed in, tall, courteous, good tempered, implacable, and thwacked them with the dispassionate energy of a good mother chastizing a bad boy.

She did not carry our conscience by remote control. It was precisely her involvement that gave her such tremendous influence. Long before the civil rights issue moved to the forefront of the Nation's consciousness, she was there, quietly reminding us of the inequalities practiced in our land.

Throughout the depression, her patient journeys brought to the President and dramatized for the Nation the misery and neglect of millions.

During the gray days of national peril she heartened the wounded and the weary.

And during the affluent fifties, when misery ran for cover before the national complacency, she never ceased to remind us of the slums, disease, and deprivation which still make up the dark face of this shining American planet.

And again when we emerged from the war, blinking and surprised, to the role of world leadership, there she was at the center of the effort, reminding her countrymen of their duties as citizens in the greater society of man.

She thought of herself as an "ugly duckling," but she walked in beauty in the ghettos of the world bringing with her the reminder of her beloved St. Francis, "It is in the giving that we receive." And wherever she walked beauty was forever there.

There are always in any society, as there are in ours at this moment, plenty of men and women who would like—despite Abraham Lincoln's warning to "escape history," to evade "the fiery trial," to turn back the clock. Eleanor Roosevelt never would and never did. She trained herself from the beginning of her life to face the realities, however unwelcome they might be, and face them she did, not only in the world around her but in her own family, in her own life. Few human beings are called upon to make decisions as difficult as some of hers. Fewer still—fewer women in any case—have ever been subjected to personal abuse as malicious and persistent. But never did she hide, run, or wince, or lower her head. Falsity withered in her presence. Hypocrisy left the room.

And never did she fail to act. If anything equaled the courage of her confrontation with the facts it was the candor and warmth of her response. She saw the state of our world as well as the most cynical, the most despairing, but she never despaired, she was never cynical, she never gave up. She believed in the human heart because she knew her own, and she proved by love what all the despair of a despairing time will never disprove—that hope is more powerful than fear.

She has left us—our counselor, our friend, our conscience. But there can be no doubt where she would be directing our great party today.

She would bid us add to the equality we guarantee, the extra dimension of opportunity without which even rights can seem so much emptiness.

She would tell us to look at our great cities and ask whether, in the midst of overwhelming affluence, we can afford such misery, such squalor, such hopelessness.

She would tell us to labor on in the vineyards of the world, to succor the needy, to underpin the rule of law, to check aggression, and, with remorseless purpose, to seek peace among the nations.

She would ask us to engage ourselves profoundly in the war on poverty at home and abroad.

She would urge us to build the great society not only for America, but for all God's children.

And she would bid us do all this not from party spirit or partisan prejudice or anger or bitterness or fear or contempt. She would ask only for the positive emotions—love of one's unfortunate neighbor since "there but for the grace of God go I"—love of our party as a mighty engine of social betterment, love for a world community threatened by the same annihilation—and, above all, love for America, which our Founding Fathers first dedicated to the great propositions of freedom, equality, and happiness, and which can never fulfill itself until these magnificent promises can be turned into even more magnificent facts.

This is the spirit in which she would have us go out to join the everlasting battle for something better.

This is her lasting legacy to humankind—and to the party she loved and worked for all her life.

Decision on Apportionment Belongs to the People, Not Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1964, there appeared in the Sidney Daily News, an article discussing the decision on apportionment. It is an informative and thoughtful discussion pinpointing many of the points that have been raised by the Honorable WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio, who has spearheaded the drive in the House of Representatives to prohibit the complete emasculation of the Constitution and States rights by the present U.S. Supreme Court.

I include this thoughtful discussion in my remarks and urge my colleagues to read it.

The article follows:

DECISION ON APPORTIONMENT BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE, NOT SUPREME COURT

(By William W. Milligan, Shelby County State representative)

The good citizens of our county, of the State of Ohio, and of the United States are face to face with a historic decision—we cannot avoid it. The subject is the basic structure of our State governments and the role of the States in this country.

It is futile to expect the Supreme Court to solve this problem for us by arcane incantations over the equal-protection clause.

The Supreme Court has almost forcibly brought the subject to our attention. For this we may be grateful since the matter demands examination and decision, but Justice Warren and his activist colleagues cannot have the final word. The question is too basic for that.

Constitutional interpreting is the duty of the Court. Constitution-making belongs to the whole people.

The Court may say that this is mere construal of 14th amendment language. Justice Harlan in his brilliant dissent recognized the decision for what it is—an attempt to amend the Constitution itself.

Perhaps the Constitution should be amended. Whether and to what extent it should be is the question now before us all.

We can thank the Congress for the present effort to secure a public examination of the question. The need is for time to consider and answer the ancient question—"Men and brethren what shall we do?" The necessity for a pause is concurred in by such diverse authorities as Ohio House Speaker Cloud, U.S. Representatives McCulloch, Taft, and Smith, Senators Dirksen and Lausche, Life magazine, and Walter Lippmann. The Republican platform endorses further consideration. The Democratic platform at President Johnson's request, does not oppose it.

In the great debate now shaping up, the liberals have the simple position. One man's vote should be equal to another's. How could anyone dispute so elementary and self-evident a principle as that?

The conservative side has a more complex, but perhaps not less compelling argument.

First, to concede the Supreme Court's power to dictate intimate details of State government structure would be a massive departure from the Federal principle toward a unitary system. Do we really want this?

or do we prefer a reasonable maintenance of local power and decision in the face of a growing centralization.

Secondly, within the States themselves, do we really want the majority, on a moment's notice, to be able to override important minority interests and wishes.

The Founding Fathers did not rely on pure majoritarianism. Checks, balances, and divisions of power—familiar to every school boy—were designed to refine the popular will—even though the franchise at that time was generally restricted to male, white landowners.

Assuming that we retain certain local authority in the matter—within the State of Ohio do we wish to abandon historic representation of counties in favor of strict per capita representation? Is the balancing of various interests a desirable governmental principle? And if balancing is good, is the present system the right way to accomplish this?

My personal view is that the Supreme Court was justified in going as far as it did in Baker against Carr—the Tennessee reapportionment case. It was suggested there that a State must provide an effective means whereby the people of the State may amend their State constitution if they wish to do so.

Which Loyalty Comes First?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's television audiences and newspaper readers were recently treated to the spectacle of a demand for loyalty to the Democratic Party's national ticket on the part of delegates to the proceedings in Atlantic City.

The delegates were told, in effect, that they must promise to support whomever was nominated or be ejected from the hall, regardless of the wishes of the voters who had sent them there. It appears that many of those supporting imposing loyalty oaths at the convention have been in the forefront in the hue and cry against loyalty oaths in connection with public service and in the field of education.

This inconsistency was the subject of a perceptive editorial in the August 28 issue of the Alhambra (Calif.) Post-Advocate, under the title of "It's Way You Look at It." Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

LOYALTY OATHS: IT'S WAY YOU LOOK AT IT

What is loyalty?

The Democratic Convention has projected the issue into the national spotlight. Is loyalty to a political party above conscience? Is it above constitutional provisions of political liberty?

Apparently it all depends on whose ideological ox is being gored. The naked politics of cynical men is not pretty to see.

At the convention, party leaders long identified with the radical Americans for Democratic Action demanded loyalty oaths of legally elected delegates and at the same time those who had tried to brand conservatives as extremists were themselves peddling fright to scare voters.

The majority of the members of two southern delegations were denied their seats because of their refusal to sign loyalty pledges required in a compromise worked out under the leadership of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Senator HUMPHREY is one of the stanchest members of the ADA, which has been in the forefront of the fight against loyalty oaths to the Constitution of the United States for public employees and professors and teachers in charge of forming the minds and characters of America's youth.

The oaths were derided as degrading and violations of constitutional rights.

At the Democrat Convention it was insisted that the delegates from Alabama and Mississippi swear on their honor to support the presidential and vice-presidential nominees even before they were nominated.

To Senator HUMPHREY and Walter Reuther, the labor leader who helped in trying to settle the struggle between the northern and southern wings of the Democrat Party, apparently there were nothing incongruous in the demand for loyalty oaths.

But then, history of radical-liberal ideological politics is to place loyalty to labor leaders and party above everything else.

To go back to the Republican Convention, the supporters of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER were by far in the majority.

What if they had demanded that unsympathetic delegates sign pledges on the scene to support the party nominees?

You could imagine the howl that would have gone up from the ADA if the Republican conservatives had tried to demand loyalty oaths of the liberal Senators and Congressmen who have said they could and would not support the national ticket.

We don't pretend to know all the obligations of delegates and the legal ramifications of their status at political conventions.

The only point which became a matter of public policy was the demand to sign up or get out.

What kind of a radical political group is it that can demand special pledges of loyalty, not to the Constitution, but to party and over and above the normal assurances that as delegates they are qualified members of the Democrat Party?

Who is deciding what kind of a Democrat is to be admitted to the party?

This is old world politics. The same attitudes ran through the organizations of the leftist labor leaders who introduced the violent sitdown strikes and that have encouraged civil disobedience.

The same persons who would deny the right of dissent also are warning the American people that our respected military leaders are not to be trusted and that loyalty must be placed with politicians who they contend alone have the capacity to control nuclear power.

Is power to be trusted to these leaders?

A Chat With Frank Wells

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly fine and moderate men of good will in my Third District of Arizona is Mr. Frank E. Wells, editor and publisher of the Wiliams (Ariz.) News. His featured "Editorial Chat" highlights each issue of that paper.

A face-to-face chat with Frank Wells might well benefit many Americans in this day when extreme positions on serious issues seem the rule rather than the exception. Since this is a manifest impossibility, Mr. Speaker, I commend to you and my colleagues the following "Editorial Chat," by Frank E. Wells, from the Williams News of August 27, 1964, and offer it herewith for insertion in the RECORD.

The item follows:

NOTHING TO BE ASHAMED OF?

One of the regular white delegates to the Democratic Convention from Mississippi said they had nothing to be ashamed of, in the treatment they have given the colored people. That, in the face of testimony presented to the convention by Freedom Democratic delegates. That statement would also cover the killing of three good people who went to Tennessee to investigate the burning of a Negro church, and to teach the colored people how to vote.

The methods used by the governing whites, to prevent the Negroes from voting, included arrests, beatings, firing from jobs, bombings, and killings.

And yet this white delegate said the State of Mississippi had nothing to be ashamed of.

I would say, not only has Mississippi much to be ashamed of, but also the whole Nation for permitting such conditions to exist within our borders.

DID NOT HELP THEIR CAUSE

When the freedom delegates forced their way into the seats vacated by the white delegates from Mississippi, they did not help their cause. Likewise with marches and riots, staged in many cities over the country.

The people of this country have been sympathetic with the Negroes and their asking for a chance to vote at regular elections. There has also been general sympathy with them in seeking a right to the best in schooling for their children, and the opportunity to secure jobs along with their white neighbors.

However, the colored man does not help his cause when he resorts to violence and force. That sort of behavior is proof that he is not fully prepared to have a place alongside the white man when it comes to government.

Orderly conduct on the part of the Negro will advance his cause much more rapidly than resort to force.

Hon. John B. Bennett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the passing of my good friend and colleague the Honorable John B. Bennett. I had the pleasure of knowing Congressman Bennett and working closely with him during the 20 years he had been a Member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Bennett was a conscientious and hard-working Congressman and he was certainly a credit to his State and the Nation.

We shall always miss him here on Capitol Hill. I do not know of any man that was held in higher esteem and commanded the respect of every Member of the House than John Bennett.

I could not permit this opportunity to get by without expressing my opinion of this statesman.

Democrat Drumfire: Publicists Seek To Tie Barry to Extremists, Show Cool, Busy L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents has called my attention to a splendid article by Jerry Landauer in the Wall Street Journal. Since it concerns campaign techniques in this most crucial election year, I believe this article should be reprinted in the RECORD for all Members of Congress to study.

The article follows:

DEMOCRAT DRUMFIRE: PUBLICISTS SEEK TO TIE BARRY TO EXTREMISTS, SHOW COOL, BUSY L.B.J.

(By Jerry Landauer)

ATLANTIC CITY.—On the television screen a telephone jangles. It rings again and again. In a while, a man's hand reaches across the screen. But before it can pluck receiver from cradle, the action suspends. An announcer cuts in, menacingly, to ask: "Who do you want answering the phone when Khrushchev calls?"

This TV scene, striking hard at BARRY GOLDWATER's alleged penchant for jerking the nuclear trigger, was conjured by admen at Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc., the New York agency hired by the Democratic National Committee to stick barbs into the GOP and grow bouquets for the Johnson administration.

The "call from Khrushchev" may—or may not—become a staple of paid network spots this fall. It and similar advertising assaults upon Republicans are among the costly devices Democrats are cranking up for potential use in the coming political campaign. Sometimes the preparations proceed slowly, in part because President Johnson likes to delve deep into details. And in the end only those salvos which he personally approves will be fired off.

LET US CONTINUE

Mr. Johnson is paying particular attention to the content of ads about him and his Republican challenger, partly because his present intent is to limit personal political appearances mostly to weekends until late in the campaign, and avoid debating encounters with his opponent like the plague. He wants his own image to appear cool and unconcerned, that of a President working calmly at his desk beyond partisan strife. A banner hoisted above the convention hall here suggested the bland theme: "Let Us Continue."

L.B.J. and his aids keep in close touch, too, with activities in an unmarked, four-story building on K Street in Washington, several blocks from national Democratic headquarters. There, party workers operate research and propaganda units.

Practically all publicity material prepared in this unobtrusive building, both for the Atlantic City conclave and the ensuing campaign, has been or will be screened by the President's men. Lyndon personally approved the portrait of a majestic Chief Executive which graces the slick official convention book on sale at $10 a copy; corporations paid up to $20,000 a page for the right to place ads in that book of tributes to the Democrats and their chief.

In contrast to the coolly complimentary role being readied for the President, the imagemakers engaged by the Democrats are out to depict BARRY GOLDWATER as a belligerent hothead. They seek, moreover, to insinuate into public consciousness that the Republican nominee is tied in with extremists and segregationists.

SAMPLE PROPOSALS

Here are three further samples of Doyle Dane Bernbach's creative proposals:

On television, an American voice breaks the somber silence overhanging an atomic test site with a slow countdown; the count ends in a mushroom cloud. Then a Russian voice starts to count; it, too, triggers a mighty blast. The American counts faster and faster yet; so does the Russian. Soon voices and blasts merge into pandemonium. When all's quiet, John F. Kennedy intrudes to discuss the Soviet-American nuclear test ban treaty which his administration negotiated and which Senator GOLDWATER opposed. Messages from Lyndon Johnson follow.

Another vignette, also meant for TV, is titled "Confessions of a Republican." A young, well-scrubbed fellow wearing glasses tells in a conversational tone how his family always has voted for the GOP; so has he. But he's troubled by BARRY. He twists edgily in a chair, weighing his worries. "What's with this guy, anyhow?" he wonders—presumably preparing a bolt to the Democrats.

A billboard poster depicts a huge head masked ominously by a white sheet, except for eye slits. Under the hooded head there's a quote from Robert Creel, Grand Dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan. "I like BARRY GOLDWATER," the klansman says. "I think the same way he thinks."

TWO GUARDED VOLUMES

These and other results of the ad agency's labors have been exposed as yet to hardly anyone outside an inner circle of White House aids and Democratic Party workers. "If we tipped our hand now we'd only give the Republicans a chance to counterattack," explains Lloyd Wright, the party's media coordinator. Suggestions for placing the TV spots and other propaganda material for maximum impact are contained in a two-volume, 328-page set of "media recommendations" which a Doyle Dane Bernbach representative says is "probably the most valuable thing we've got."

To allow their clients a variety of choices, the admen intend to prepare more material than will be used. Some party officials who have seen the ad agency's products think certain scenes, by striking savagely at Senator GOLDWATER, risk generating sympathy for him. The billboard linking BARRY to the Klan (whose endorsement he has repudiated) may be among those vulnerable to presidential veto. It's known that already the White House has rejected one TV script; this played on a 1959 comment by Mr. GOLDWATER to the effect that instead of aiming for the moon he'd rather lob a missile into the men's room at the Kremlin.

The lot of admen working with politicians of both parties has often proved uncomfortable, and this year is no exception. Two weeks ago GOP National Chairman Dean Burch announced the resignation of Leo Burnett Co., a Chicago agency, and its replacement by the New York firm of Erwin, Wasey, Ruthrauff & Ryan; the reason for the switch wasn't disclosed.

One GOP technological advance that could help neutralize the Democrats' attack is a portable TV unit dubbed the "creepy peepy." The nickname derives from the fact that the fellow to whom it's strapped can creep up on a human target and peep right at him. But BARRY GOLDWATER's aids intend to use the "creeper" in a more straightforward way.

They plan to take it aboard the jetplane from which he will campaign. While in flight the candidate can record on video tape excerpts from the speeches he'll make next.

These can be played back immediately to see if they come off well; if not, any fluffed oratory can be done over in improved style. When he lands, aids can hand out copies of the tapes, as if they were press releases, to local stations and the networks. If it works as planned, the "creepy peepy" may win extra—and free—exposure for the GOP.

TELEPHONE TAPE TALKS

The Democrats also have contrived a device to get free air time. In the building on K Street they've installed six machines, manufactured by Broadcast Electronics, Inc., of Silver Spring, Md., which unroll tape-recorded talk by Democratic "bigwigs" whenever a telephone call activates them. By dialing a certain Washington number, radio stations anywhere can thus obtain and broadcast excerpts from oratory at the Democratic National Convention or elsewhere.

Much of the national committee's literary output is directed at big city ethnic groups who, party strategists fear, may be jarred from Democratic moorings by apprehension about competition from Negroes for housing and jobs.

One campaign pamphlet contains 11 photos of Lyndon Johnson (many taken while he was Vice President) meeting, greeting, and conferring with all manner of minority group representatives; he's even shown approaching with outstretched hand a circle of citizens at a crossroad in Finland. Party propagandists are also whipping together publications which explain that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 wasn't intended only to proscribe discrimination against Negroes; the law, it's explained, is also an insurance policy for white minority groups.

Cultivation of the predominantly Democratic Negro vote requires special care, too. Four of one party pamphlet's 10 pages list "Federal posts held by Negro decisionmakers." To fill that much space, researchers dug deep into the bureaucracy. Besides such ranking officials as Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver and Director Carl Rowan, of the U.S. Information Agency, they came up with the names of a special assistant to the Assistant Postmaster General, a Justice Department trial attorney and a collector of customs.

ENLISTING BARBERS

To register Negro voters (the target is 6 million, up from 5 million in 1960) Deputy Democratic Chairman Louis E. Martin has concocted what he thinks will be a particularly effective approach. From national associations of beauticians and from State barber registration boards, volunteer workers compile lists of beauty and barber shop owners in Negro areas. To each goes a prepaid business reply card asking whether the owner will help get customers registered, distribute literature, and join a National Citizens Advisory Committee on Registration and Voting.

The "committee" exists only on paper, of course, but Mr. Martin intends to print and distribute leaflets listing its thousands of "members." He hopes the prestige accompanying membership in the official-sounding National Citizens Committee will help weld barbers and beauticians into a get-out-the-vote political organization. "This is the first national association the barbers have ever had," he says.

Though party leaders in such States as California, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey grumble that campaign plans haven't jelled sufficiently because nobody in Washington except Lyndon Johnson seems able to make

decisions, the Democrats seem well prepared on the technical level.

For the use of Democratic orators, the national committee's research division under former Assistant Secretary of State Frederick G. Dutton has compiled a 585-page book of provocative Goldwater quotes and a second volume, half as thick, containing key statements by WILLIAM O. MILLER, BARRY'S running mate. The Goldwater book gets updated every 2 weeks. The collected works of L.B.J. occupy three volumes.

COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

On one floor below in the K Street building, party workers under Wayne Phillips, a former aid to Housing Administrator Weaver, operate a TWX (teletypewriter exchange service) linking headquarters with political "coordinators" in 12 key States; by mid-September the communications net is expected to branch into most smaller States.

By 6:30 every morning a three-man night shift has prepared a digest of political news and intelligence monitored from network newscasts and from 20 newspapers in strategic cities; paid "correspondents" in those cities phone Washington as soon as morning editions of the newspapers become available. The intelligence summary is sent via TWX to the State coordinators. Among other things it indicates the "play" given political developments by news media. Thus guided, Democratic orators and strategists can tailor speeches and actions accordingly.

White House Aid Larry O'Brien is bolstering the Johnson cause by providing Democratic candidates for local office with an elaborately detailed manual on how to run their own campaigns. Some sample hints:

"A touring sound truck should never pass through a residential neighborhood after 7:30 p.m. It is a sure way to lose votes."

"Bumper stickers should be placed on the front and back of the car. If only one sticker is on a car, it should be on the front, because more people will see it there."

"The best method of raising money, bar none, is to ask people for it."

WASH THOSE WINDOWS

"Headquarters windows should be washed regularly. The headquarters should maintain a regular work schedule. Nothing is more deadening than a dull, dreary campaign headquarters, with doors locked and no one around."

"When candidates visit factories, escorts on such tours should be representatives of labor, or labor and management, never management alone."

"There is a point of no return at coffee hours * * * the candidate should shake hands, smile, make his remarks, answer a few questions—and get out while everyone is happy and before he is cornered by an argumentative individual."

"Democratic candidates sometimes have a tendency to ignore the potential support available to them from businessmen. President Johnson has demonstrated great appeal to the business community, and candidates' organizations should be able to develop committees of businessmen. Creation of a businessmen's committee is a newsworthy item and should be given maximum publicity."

"Landslide" Lyndon—Chapter II of "A Texan Looks at Lyndon"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, with all the news reports predicting that President Johnson will win in a landslide this fall, I was very interested to read the second chapter of a very excellent book, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon." The chapter is entitled " 'Landslide' Lyndon" and is estimated to make approximately 5¾ pages at a cost of $563.50.

Mr. Speaker, the author, J. Evetts Haley, a lifelong Democrat, cowman, and historian, is as adept at the fine art of working wild cattle as he is in writing history, which, as one professor remarked "reads like poetry." He is the author of 12 books of history and biography and the most noted living southwestern historian. Frazier Hunt praised his "Charles Goodnight: Cowman and Plainsman" as "the finest American frontier ever written." The late Dr. E. C. Barker, dean of history at the University of Texas, considered Evetts Haley perhaps his most exceptional student in a lifetime of teaching, and Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, the great California historian, once spoke of him as "America's finest historical writer."

When J. Evetts Haley ran for Governor of Texas in 1956, the Houston Post described him as "a man with a keen, incisive mind, a firm background in history and government and a lively understanding of the problems of his day." The Austin American-Statesman called him the "Salty Texas Rebel" from the Staked Plains:

The region's Thomas Paine, a brilliant historian and a provocative pamphleteer. He argues implacably that Americans stand to lose their individual liberties to big government, and he insists that they should rely on themselves instead of the Government for their welfare.

He is a graduate of West Texas University and the University of Texas, and a former member of the board of the Texas Technological College. With his son he is the active cowboy owner-operator of three southwestern cattle ranches.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the reading of Mr. Haley's entire book to my colleagues and the public. Notwithstanding the length of the manuscript with footnotes, under unanimous consent, I include the aforementioned chapter:

"LANDSLIDE" LYNDON—II

When Senator O'Daniel did not announce for reelection in 1948, Johnson was all set to run. His chief adversary for the Senate seat was a product of the hills of Texas, Gov. Coke R. Stevenson, who had advanced steadily in public life without fanfare in his buildup. He knew the meaning of hard work and had been a freighter, cowboy and country lawyer. From the office of county attorney he was elected to the legislature and became speaker of the Texas House; next Lieutenant Governor, and then succeeded Governor O'Daniel when he resigned to take Sheppard's unexpired term in the Senate.

Stevenson, an inveterate pipe-smoker and a deliberate man, was a close student of the Constitution. His conservatism was evident from the fact that he had never voted for a tax bill. He was a popular figure and knew Texas and politics, but had gathered the enemies and animosities that follow long tenure in office. He was anathema to the ultraliberal New Deal elements and the pseudointellectuals who had swarmed around the University of Texas president, Homer P. Rainey, in his ambitious political battle against the board of regents.

Throughout the war years, however, the influence of Lyndon Johnson "among the people who count"—that is, among the wealthy and influential of Texas—had grown. His ability to "get things done" for prominent people who needed things done had become legendary. His connections with Brown & Root, the Texas contractors who supported his campaigns so generously, and who in turn had prospered so fantastically on wartime Government contracts as to become world-wide operators, was more than a legend—it was a scandal.

But Johnson had stood firm in the face of pressure against the oil industry. He had sped the flow of drastically scarce, wartime newsprint to his favorite publishers. He had kept vast Federal funds flowing freely into Texas. He had mastered the political techniques of "the Hill" in Washington. He had maintained the support without the trust of the ultraliberal fringe, and had, untrammelled by any too rigid regard for honesty and ethics, kept his popular image bright with the voters.

In the mind of the Texas public, with Governor Stevenson and Congressman Johnson as adversaries, the issue between conservatism and liberalism was clearly drawn. Johnson, the restless wheeler-dealer, the plausible advocate of progressive change based on Federal power, the symbol of youthful glamour and ultraliberalism, took to the hustings in a helicopter equipped with loudspeaker and furnished, it was reported, by his extremely wealthy Houston oilman friend, Wesley W. West, in one of those ironic quirks of politics. For the late J. M. West, Sr., Wesley's father, with character and genuine dedication to conservatism, had hated and fought Roosevelt's New Deal, its false nostrums and its political prostitutes with deserving passion.

Again the Washington machine, aided and abetted by a bigger sector of the business community, wealth, and labor and Mexican and Negro blocs marched to the primary polls, July 24, 1948, to register their enthusiastic support of the close friend of "the late great and immortal Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt." [1]

The final count in the primary showed Stevenson with 477,077 to 405,617 votes for Johnson. Since Stevenson's lead of 71,460 votes did not constitute a majority over the entire field, the runoff was set for August 28. Stevenson, apparently overconfident and always deliberate, failed to step up his campaign in keeping with the furious tempo and grandstand tactics of the Johnson elements, diverse, and incongruous as to cohesive qualities, but ardently fused behind their candidate.

Johnson continued to cover the State by air, his force augmented by a 10-star company of "Hollywood entertainers." New Deal politicians everywhere in Texas were tireless, and Johnson gave close personal attention to the controlled Mexican vote section from San Antonio south.

Stevenson, too, had his supporters with political experience, such as fiery, former Congressman Thomas L. Blanton of Albany, Tex. On August 13, Blanton hit Johnson with a devastating open letter charging that he was a close friend of Henry Wallace, the man who had not only "fraternized with Communists," but was still "supported by Communists," and who insisted on giving "Russia our atomic bomb secret."

More than that, Blanton continued, in 1944 Johnson had done all in his power "to have Henry Wallace nominated for Vice President," and, had he succeeded, Wallace would then have been "the President of the United States."

He reviewed Johnson's part in boosting the pay and provision of pensions for Congressmen and Senators. He reminded Johnson of hearings through which "Congress was furnished evidence * * * that the National

Footnotes at end of speech.

Youth Administration, whose affairs you later handled in Texas, was under domination by Russia and was a disloyal, subversive organization." Most scathing of all was his attack on Johnson's war record in which he charged:

"Being a Congressman enabled you to procure a high commission in the U.S. Navy, but when President Roosevelt held that Congressmen could not hold two positions, you thought more of your $15,000 job in Washington than you did of war service to the Nation, and you took off your gold-braided uniform, and gave up your commission in the Navy.

"Have you any right to brag continually about being a veteran of World War II [he continued], when you fail to tell the GI's that at the time you got the Navy to issue you a high commission, you then thought that you could be a Congressman at the same time, and when early in the war you learned that you could not hold both positions, you became convinced that our brave GI's and Gobs could win the war without your help, and you quit the Service and hurried back to your marble-florred, plush-lined congressional foxhole there to sweat out the war while GI's and Gobs did the fighting?" [2]

Congressman Blanton's blast, put in the form of interrogatories, failed of answer. Johnson simply blazed on with his helicopter, his retinue of movie stars, and his emphasis on hoopla and sex appeal.

Shortly thereafter the Dallas News showered down on Johnson, charging that his platform was "all things to all men." The News editorially reminded Texans of the polyglot political backing of this "New Deal-ingest New Dealer" who was being supported by Drew Pearson, University of Texas radical professors, and a "variety of business tycoons, leftwing laborites, corporation lawyers, New Dealers, anti-New Dealers, et cetera." The News, which admitted it was deeply puzzled as to "what Mr. Johnson stands for," had "offered its editorial conference room, rent free" to this queer combination, "so they might discuss among themselves just why they are riding the same bandwagon."

It too reminded its readers that Johnson had "gone right down the line with the Henry Wallace wing of the party," and that in 1941 Wallace had sent his own "political mentor, Harold Young, to Texas to head Johnson rallies and pay for Johnson advertising." It marveled at Johnson's ability to reverse himself so quickly from his rabidly prolabor stance in the past, invariably carrying CIO boxes, to become a supporter of Taft-Hartley, now. Johnson was contending that Stevenson was prolabor and was soft on subversion while he, Johnson, was promising more in REA, roads, water, wages, pensions, and farm income from the Federal Treasury and at the same time "a more economical Federal Government." [3]

In ordinary times it would have been an incredible political phenomenon. But these were not ordinary times. They were times showing the effect of 16 years of steady erosion of American character through sordid appeal to the most selfish traits in human nature. They were times showing the results of 16 years of contrived ideological confusion, economic fraud and bribery, and dangerous appeal to class warfare and hatred. They were times in which our national unity was being destroyed, and our social structure shattered through the cynical undermining of pride and principle by the man whom Johnson still calls his "spiritual leader," Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Johnson support was understandable in the light of history. Like the terrible excesses of the French Revolution, it was a product of the lusts and passions of the times. The response to his synthetic glamor and glib demagoguery was the direct result of lack of moral leadership in high places. It was the seed of corrupt Federal policy designed for lifelong tenure of ambitious men in office, instead of the perpetuity of the Republic on the basis of high national policy and moral principle. It only seemed strange. It was natural, and it is still terrible.

Big money was thrown into south Texas by the Johnson forces, reportedly $35,000 into Bexar County (San Antonio) alone. Johnson personally guided the San Antonio setup under his politically potent leaders, Sheriff Owen Kilday and Street Commissioner Jimmy Knight, where they performed the political miracle of converting a 12,000 Steveson lead into a 2,000-vote favorable margin for Johnson in the runoff.

Initial returns on the 28th confirmed the "spot checks by trained political writers" that the controlled vote, particularly in the Latin-American sections of southwest Texas, was firmly in the hands of the New Deal machine and that Governor Stevenson was in trouble.

Johnson had moved in to take the George Parr, southwest Texas section,[4] which had formerly supported Stevenson, and where, with Kleberg's backing, the Governor, despite the concern of his supporters, had felt he need not worry. Herein was a fatal tactical error. For George Parr had been in trouble, and with the easy duplicity of his kind, and the flexible conscience and the undoubted power of the Johnson forces to deliver, Parr had decided that if he did not exactly love Lyndon, his personal interests now lay on Lyndon's side.

The switch that Parr engineered in his area of influence and control was absolutely fantastic. His immediate tricounty returns gave Johnson a 30-to-1 lead—10,547 to 368, with heavy majorities in many other counties adjacent to them and along the Rio Grande.

For days the outcome was in doubt. With 254 Texas counties, many with independent and leisurely ways, even the honest returns are often deliberate and slow. After 5 days with returns all in but unofficially tabulated, Stevenson was in the lead with 113 votes out of nearly a million counted. Despite this Johnson hit the air with a broadcast on Thursday, September 2, with a "victory speech," interlaced with the continual refrain that "we have won." As Clyde Wantland has written:

"This broadcast alerted and disturbed the Stevenson forces. Johnson's enthusiastic assurance was unreal in the face of all the known facts.

"Their fears were validated the following day, Friday, September 3, when a source friendly to Stevenson reported from Jim Wells County that precinct 13 had been recanvassed and a 'correction' made favoring Johnson with 202 more votes.

"Johnson's radio forecast on Thursday, thus became a reality on Saturday. Precinct No. 13 had been corrected from Johnson 765 to 60 to Johnson 967 to 61. This gave him a lead of 87 votes, with returns now complete and semiofficial."

Thereupon began the historic struggle to validate the steal which gained for Johnson the frivolous nickname of "Landslide Lyndon," and which established his illegitimate seat in the Senate, where his aptitude for compromise and chicanery put him into the crucial position from which a diabolical fate catapulted him into the Presidency. The nature of the men involved and the ways in which his "election" was sealed and delivered, are of more than passing significance.

The key figure in this drama, which may finally assume the proportions of a historic Greek tragedy, was an affable, blue-eyed, multimillionaire criminal by the name of George Parr. He was a native product of that unusual combination of corrupt political patronage and warm paternal concern; of ruthless power at the top and friendly protection at the bottom; and of confidence of the leader in the support of those willing to be led, that flourishes along the Texan-Mexican border as nowhere else. At the apex of this political phenomenon are the hard, tough, and practical political bosses. At its base is the preponderant Mexican or Latin American mass leavened with a few subservient Anglo-Saxons, while in between are the lesser lackeys, leaders, jefe politicos, and wardheelers of the hierarchy. The pattern of political control in the border area goes back almost to the beginnings of Texas.

In 1948 George Parr, Duke of Duval County and undoubted boss of his domain, was in his late forties and immensely rich by virtue of his own talents and the inherited political power of his father, the late Texas Senator Archie Parr. Archie had gone to the Texas Senate in 1914, and had stayed for 20 years. He so dominated Duval County that he rarely allowed the name of more than one candidate on the ticket for local office. During this time and after his son came to control, the Texas election bureau had grown used to near-unanimous returns on all offices of importance, sometimes "complete" before the closing of the polls. Why should Texas be concerned? After all there were plenty of decent counties, and Duval seemed of little moment.

But on the local level, Senator Parr had his enemies, among them one taxpayer who strangely but persistently believed, especially in view of Parr's prosperity, that the county's financial records should be subject to audit. Parr insisted that since they never had been, this was clearly unnecessary to Duval's progress. The local reactionary hired his own accountants and carried his contentions to the Duval courthouse. Understandably rebuffed, he appealed to the State Supreme Court and was sustained. Before the audit could be made, the courthouse caught fire and burned to the ground. Unfortunately, the records went with it.

When the friendly, light blue-eyed, Spanish-speaking George Parr, after service as a Senate page, and a round in university law, returned home, Archie saw to it that he was elected county judge. It was not hard. He was the only candidate on the ticket. George thus became the head of the local political hierarchy at 25.

While Texas officialdom merely winked at Parr's corruption, it turned out that the Federal attorney of the San Antonio district, William Robert Smith, with a high regard for his oath of office and his duty, did not. In 1932 he secured indictments against George Parr for criminal evasion of income taxes. But the proof of the ways in which Parr got his money was more significant than his evasion of taxes.

Smith proved that in 1928 George Parr had an income of more than $45,000, only $2,700 of which was "from a legitimate source." Some $17,000 had come in payoffs for protection of illegal liquor and gambling operations and houses of prostitution. And Parr's protection was ample. He was "the political dictator of Duval County," and "controlled the action of practically every other officeholder in the county."

The remaining $25,000 of his 1928 income—he was quite young and just getting started—came in the form of a kickback on a county road contract, a Duval operation that had been relatively easy. As county judge, Parr presided over the meetings of the commissioners court, which let substantial road-building contracts to W. L. Pierson & Co., of Houston. U.S. Attorney Bob Smith found that on May 14, 1928, the county of Duval, pursuant to one of these contracts, issued a warrant for $85,000 to Pierson Construction Co., signed by the county treasurer and by Parr as county judge.

Upon its receipt the company deposited the warrant in its Houston bank, drew $25,000 in

Footnotes at end of speech.

cash, "which was placed in a little black bag and was taken by A. A. Sangster," a company official, to San Diego, Tex., the county seat of Duval, and "on May 24, 1928, delivered said black bag" to the county judge, George Parr. Such a picayunish matter would never have caused a public ripple in tolerant Texas except that Parr failed to cut the Federal Government in for its share.

Federal Attorney Smith was a determined prosecutor. For defense Parr employed one-time Attorney General of Texas, Tom Pollard. At the last minute Parr threw in the legal sponge and pleaded guilty, rather than have his methods and means further explored and exposed. But Parr's influence already reached far beyond Duval. Federal Judge Robert J. McMillan was lenient. Pressed with the word of prominent people that Parr would recant and reform, the judge imposed a $5,000 fine and an 18-month probated sentence to the Federal Reformatory at El Reno, Okla.

Nothing derelict when it came to chicanery and crime, however, Parr went right on making the most of his golden opportunity and his less than sterling character. He levied on the county school fund to buy himself the famous Dobie ranch; he assaulted J. C. Canales, a Brownsville attorney, in the Duval courthouse for political speeches that Canales had made against his father; he financed a local wholesale liquor business before repeal of prohibition; he was a party to a $600 monthly payoff by a local gambling hall, and then had the operator raided and indicted when he became delinquent; and he really went to town in the oil business that was spreading over Duval.

As an extensive landowner through the generous use of county funds and other progressive educational procedures, Parr was prepared to hit it rich. On June 11, 1934, he leased some lands to J. T. Graham and the Texon Royalty Co. for a period of 1 year, with the usual provision that in case of production the lease should run for "as long thereafter" as oil or gas was produced in commercial quantities. The lessees drilled and were rewarded with production. At the end of the year, however, they were appalled upon being hailed into court by Parr for recovery of the wells due to the expiration of the lease. They rushed to the county courthouse and found that Parr had scratched out "as long thereafter" on "oil and gas"—ironically leaving them only the "sulfur," of which he had none—before the original lease had gone on record.

Thus their expensive wells in the flush of production belonged to Parr. All of which was highly improper in the trade, and even fraudulent under Texas law.

Armed with this fresh evidence of Parr's fraud and open violation of Texas law during his probationary period, Federal Attorney Bob Smith returned to Judge McMillan's court and in the light of the evidence petitioned the judge to vacate Parr's probation.

In a frank statement sadly delivered, Judge McMillan did so. While harboring his doubts as to the widsdom of a suspended sentence at the time of the trial, the judge admitted he had made a mistake, primarily because of the "strong representations" by people of prominance that Parr "was a man who might be rehabilitated." And Parr did have his points, now proving his outspoken honesty by blithely admitting he had changed the Texan deed, but "did not call the grantee's attention" to it.

Judge McMillan was unmoved by his frankness. As Parr waited transfer from jail in San Antonio, the judge was presented with a petition signed by practically every high officeholder at Austin—by Governor James V. Allred, the attorney general, every member of the Texas senate and all justices of the court of criminal appeals—praying for Parr's release. Parr was sent on for reformation at El Reno, from where he continued to run his district. Shortly he was back on his old stomping grounds at San Diego, still the Duke, still the unquestioned dictator of Duval.

As the years passed, with his ready aptitude for oil, racketeering, and even legitimate business—for which he really had no aversion when profitable, the vast wealth, power, and influence of George Parr flourished and grew. He moved with confidence, often flanked by a couple of Mexican pistoleros for a bodyguard. He owned the bank in San Diego and another in Alice, county seat of adjoining Jim Wells. He acquired land holdings of some 70,000 acres and built a mansion, where he lived and entertained, somewhat in feudal splendor, with a swimming pool, his own racetrack and a string of horses. But politics—which his friend Lyndon Johnson has so neatly termed "the art of the possible," was the basis of his money and power.

Through the bloc Mexican vote he took and held control of the 79th judicial district made up of Jim Wells, Brooks, Starr, and Duval Counties. His influence weighed heavily in Nueces (Corpus Christi), as well as in many other counties that lapped leisurely west and south to include the tier abutting on the Rio Grande.[5] He is reported to have fallen out with his powerful friend, Congressman Kleberg and retaliated by defeating him. Thus, when Johnson called on Parr for support in 1948 and got it, Kleberg was in Stevenson's corner.

At the time of the Johnson-Stevenson campaign, Parr was reported to have had a brother in trouble and in need of added influence. Johnson and his political ally from nearby Floresville, John Connally, had that highly negotiable commodity. When the count from the run-off election was in, Parr had delivered for Lyndon. But though he had dallied in sending his returns while Lyndon kept in close touch by telephone, it finally turned out that they had closed their own count prematurely. Stevenson was ahead by 113 votes.

Johnson made another frantic telephone call to Parr, who indicated that he might pick up what they needed in precinct 13 at Alice. Thereupon his henchmen "recanvassed the returns," reporting on September 3 the corrected total of 202 additional votes for Johnson and one for Stevenson. Thus, Lyndon went into the lead by 87 votes out of nearly a million actually cast.

By Texas procedure the next step was the meeting of the State Democratic executive committee, which was to convene at Fort Worth on September 13, in advance of the party convention, officially to canvas the returns and certify the nominees. In the meantime, however, its subcommittee met in Austin to tabulate the vote and immediately announced its acceptance of the corrected returns from box 13.

When he had challenged in vain acceptance of the report by the subcommittee, Governor Stevenson sent two of his best campaign workers, Kellis Dibrell and Jim Gardner, ex-FBI agents and young Texas lawyers, posthaste to Parr's county to investigate. They went by Laredo to pick up a guide who knew the land and its ropes, and were joined at San Diego on Monday by Governor Stevenson. But when they called on Parr at his office, they found that Johnson's campaign manager, John Connally, who is now Governor of Texas, had beat them to it. As Wantland wrote, "He had arrived the preceding day and was busily cementing the theft," though Parr publicly stated that the run-off in his district "was as clean an election as had ever been held." Possibly so, in his district.

Stevenson demanded that Parr show them the Duval poll lists and the returns of the election judges, which reported a vote of 4,622 to 38 in favor of Johnson. Parr feigned astonishment. Why should they ask him? He was not an election judge; he knew nothing about the returns.

From Parr's office the Governor and his party hurried into adjacent Jim Wells County, and at Alice found that "Harry Adams and H. L. Poole, newly elected chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Jim Wells County Democratic executive committee, were already trying to upset the 'correction' from precinct 13, that had been made and reported by the old committee officials."

These two, who had seen the corrected list on the previous Friday, and had sat in on the meeting of the committee for the recount, told Stevenson that the 202 new names had been added alphabetically in blue ink, whereas the original list was in black. The old secretary, Tom Donald, an employee in Parr's Texas State bank, carefully kept the list despite the protests of the new officials.

Donald locked the list in the vault of the bank and continued to refuse to turn it over for public scrutiny. Thereupon Governor Stevenson and his party made plans to get possession of this public record when the bank opened next morning.

South Texas, in keeping with its history, traditions, and the mercurial temper of its people, was still an explosive and dangerous country. When Dibrell and Gardner sent out "an urgent call for help to check the entire voting lists, and recruits began arriving hourly," wild rumor spread that the Governor's party were all well-armed FBI men. The newspapers reported that an emergency call for Texas Rangers had been relayed to Austin. Stevenson did call the noted ranger, Capt. Frank Hamer, to come down and keep the peace.

Next morning before the bank opened, Parr's forces commandeered the entrance with Winchesters. The Historian Clyde Wantland has told the story of what happened and told it well:

"Governor Stevenson wisely ordered his forces to appear in public in only their shirt sleeves [to prove they were unarmed].

"As the hour approached for the bank doors to open, armed men sauntered onto the scene and took positions with an ominous silence.

"Governor Stevenson and his coatless investigators arrived, escorted by Ranger Capt. Frank Hamer. Not a word was spoken as the ranger captain took position directly before the bank door. The veteran captain was well known to every man there. He was known as a stern, inflexible officer who exacted, one way or another, prompt and stern obedience to his orders.

"He waved the armed men to fall back from the bank door, and they did. Very promptly. The doors opened and Governor Stevenson and his men entered. Captain Hamer forbid any other to follow. None tried. Witnesses said later the captain never lifted his pistol, nor even touched it, but Johnson charged him with force, threats, and intimidation.[6]"

Inside the bank Tom Donald produced the list for the Stevenson party to see. Dibrell and Gardner concentrated upon the added names, having determined in advance to memorize as many as possible. Donald conferred with the county attorney who, after a few moments, gave the opinion that Stevenson should be allowed only to look at the record, not to copy or make notes therefrom. Donald repossessed the record and again locked it in the bank vault.[7]

Stevenson left to confer in private with Adams and Poole. Gardner and Dibrell, hurriedly scribbling down their remembered names, left on investigations of their own—the identity and whereabouts of the added "voters." They found grave difficulty in locating the addresses they had jotted down except three, "whose last known address was

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Footnotes at end of speech.

the cemetery," one of whom, according to the church records, had been there for 4 years. At least two of those they did locate swore they had not voted, while others shrugged off their questions with the frank admission that people in Parr's province who did not talk prospered better and lived longer than those who did.

On the local level the battle now revolved around the efforts of newly elected Democratic Chairman Adams and Secretary Poole to take over the Jim Wells poll lists and recertify the returns. In the light of the irregularities, they hoped to get the county committee to eliminate returns from box 13 completely, which would have thrown the election to Governor Stevenson. At a private meeting on the night of September 9, they decided they had the commitments necessary to do so. They issued a call for the full committee to meet at 11 on the following morning, Friday, the 10th, to sanction the proposal and to report their official action to the State committee, which was to convene 3 days later.

But John Connally had virtually assumed command of the Parr and Johnson forces, for which the prevailing county chairman and secretary, Clarence Martens and Tom Donald, were the local front. They relayed the news of the proposed meeting to Johnson and his lawyers, who sped into a friendly jurisdiction to stop it.

Shortly after 10 o'clock on Friday all members of the Jim Wells executive committee, Governor Stevenson, Frank Hamer, and Kellis Dibrell were served with notices of an injunction issued by Judge Roy Archer in Austin. It forbade the county committee to meet. It brought the Stevenson counterattack to a standstill.

Johnson's petition and Judge Archer's restraining order are exceptional documents even in Texas jurisprudence. Obviously Johnson was desperate. He contended that he had received a majority of the votes "in the recent election." He charged that Stevenson, Hamer, and the committee had "entered into a conspiracy" to have box 13 "thrown out on the grounds of fraud and irregularity" which would take from him enough votes to change the election.

He charged that Adams and Poole were "acting under threats and intimidation" of Captain Hamer. His petition argued that the county committee lacked authority to take any action in the premises. He admitted that it had met once for the purpose of correcting the returns, but that it had no legal right to meet again and reconsider, "to hear and pass judgment on charges of illegality or irregularity of any nature."

He pleaded that the "resident judge of Jim Wells County * * * cannot be reached in sufficient time," and that therefore "a restraining order without notice" to the defendants—that is, to Governor Stevenson and the county committee, should be granted. All this he contended, in effect, was urgent and necessary to keep his rightful "seat in the U.S. Senate" from being stolen from him. Judge Archer forthwith signed the order.

This obvious perversion of the law, distortion of the truth, brazen action and political perfidy, were characteristic of Johnson. But even for Texas it was a high point in low and dirty dealing. It set something of a record.

"For the first and only time in Texas history a Texas Ranger was forbidden to preserve the peace and maintain order and discharge his lawful duty," on the specious and wholly dishonest claim that Hamer had used "threats, force and intimidation" to further the alleged conspiracy. The historical record shows that "Captain Hamer had conducted himself with impartial restraint, and that he was on hand to prevent violence and bloodshed. This he had done. Nothing more."

The record further reveals that Judge L. Broeter, of Alice, was in his resident district on Friday morning and readily available had Johnson desired him. In view of the obvious chicanery, Mr. Wantland raises the pertinent question that has burned in the minds of Texans ever since.

"Just why Johnson and Connally presented the petition to Judge Roy Archer in Austin, 200 miles distant from Jim Wells County, raised a serious question, not alone of honesty and fair play, but also the more serious fact of swearing to a falsehood when Johnson knew it was a lie.

"Just why Judge Archer was beguiled into signing this order in chambers, without notice, thus perverting the vast powers of a district court to handcuff a victim while ruthless political hijackers mauled and stripped him clean, is a question still unanswered. Maybe it was the legendary Johnson charm and personality. Maybe the decision stemmed from the law of heteronomy rather than the law of Texas. Judge Archer alone has the answer." [8]

Time was of the essence. Had the action in Judge Archer's chambers been delayed more than an hour, it is highly likely that the Jim Wells Democratic committee would have met, thrown out box 13, and restored the electoral decision in Stevenson's favor. But with the State Democratic executive committee meeting in Fort Worth within 3 days to canvass the returns and certify the candidates to the secretary of state for printing of the ballots for the November election, the blow to the hopes of the Stevenson forces seemed fatal.

They girded for a forceful and factual presentation of the Governor's case, and left for the momentous meeting of the State committee, set to open at noon at the Blackstone Hotel in Fort Worth, on Monday, September 13. The decisive issue in the battle before the committee was to be the acceptance or rejection of the subcommittee's report. If rejected it would open the way for the submission of evidence of fraud by Governor Stevenson. If accepted it would automatically mean that Johnson was the party's nominee, certain of election in November since the Republican chances were nil.

Delegates, gathering for the convention, crowded the committee meeting, where tempers were high; the battle long and hot. The sophisticated lawyer, Charles I. Frances, of the most powerful political firm in Texas, eloquently and emotionally argued the Congressman's case as the New Deal idol sat smoking his cigarette with an affected air of ennui, while Stevenson puffed on his pipe in obvious concern. The battle raged throughout the afternoon; the Stevenson forces encouraged when the first test showed the committee split down the middle, 28 on either side. But this was broken by the dramatic appearance of C. C. Gibson, the Amarillo committeeman who flew in to break the tie in favor of the subcommittee report, and hence of Lyndon Johnson.

The chairman gaveled the session to a close and before night the jubilant Johnson attorneys had the official results on the way to the secretary of state at Austin for certification of Johnson's name as the nominee. The stunned Stevenson leaders were decimated by the action. A few faithful gathered in their Blackstone rooms that night in utter dejection. Among them were veteran conservative political leaders who would not quit as long as Stevenson refused to surrender. They pondered their course.[9]

"This race is not a matter of life or death for me," Stevenson said. "If I lost by one vote in an honest count the heavens wouldn't fall in. But some half million good solid Texans voted for me as their Senator and they have been defrauded and robbed. We can do no less than appeal to the Federal courts."

Thus again a precedent was set in Texas. During the next 2 days his attorneys worked on an appeal to the Federal court "raising for the first time in a major case the issue of civil rights." Their petition alleged that through fraud and corruption the Governor and those who had voted for him, had been denied the right of an honest count. They drafted a petition for a temporary order restraining the secretary of state from printing the name of Johnson on the ballot until their evidence could be heard and headed for Judge T. Whitfield Davidson's court to present their petition.

It turned out that Judge Davidson was not in Dallas but at his ancestral farm home in deep east Texas. Despite the late hour C. C. Renfro and Kellis Dibrell decided to drive to the judge's retreat and present the petition upon arrival. About 4 o'clock on the morning of September 15, Connie Renfro cajoled his way past the judge's truculent dog and roused the sharp and genial southern constitutionalist from his bed. The judge brewed a pot of coffee, read the petition and listened to their brief presentation. He then signed the sweeping order and set Federal court for a full hearing Tuesday, September 21.

His court convened in Fort Worth as scheduled, and in calling it to order Judge Davidson clearly stated that it was for the purpose of hearing an election contest. Lawyer-Gov. Coke Stevenson rose to say that he had not subpenaed witnesses, but that he had plenty of testimony and evidence at hand to support his contentions of irregularity and fraud. His leading counsel, the outstanding lawyer, ex-Gov. Dan Moody, was flanked by State Senator Clint Small, C. C. Renfro, and five others, all of whom had "volunteered their services," while "at least 100 lawyers" from over Texas and likewise volunteered theirs. Not a member of his array of counsel, Stevenson quietly observed, "had been hired," but had joined the case "because they were interested from the standpoint of the people of Texas." [10]

Standing by were Gardner and Dibrell with the evidence that they had been digging up, ready to testify as to their examination of the poll list for box 13, with its final 202 names of alleged voters mysteriously added alphabetically in blue ink, in the same hand, whereas the rest of the list was in black, and in a number of hands.

Besides these, a number of Mexicans on the list were present and ready to take the stand to say they had not voted. One was a girl named Enriqueta Acero, from the State of Yucatan, who was in Mexico at the time of voting, but who had been found and who willingly agreed to come out and testify. Stevenson was ready with affidavits from a number of others, together with the factual proof that only 600 ballots had been officially issued for Precinct 13, while the "corrected returns" claimed 1,025 votes had been cast. In addition the Stevenson forces had the deadwood on a number of other "voters" on the list who, at the time of the election, were resting easy in local cemeteries. All this had been adduced from only the relatively few names that Dibrell, Gardner, and Adams had been able to memorize hurriedly from fleeting examination of the list—a "public record" still secure from public scrutiny—still safely locked in Parr's bank in Alice.[11]

Their evidence was devastating; their contentions went unchallenged. Yet an air of superlative self-confidence if not of boredom permeated the Johnson camp as Lawyer John D. Cofer and Charles Frances, a prominent figure in Johnson's career, asked that the petition be denied, while they sneered at Governor Stevenson as a bad sport, "a poor loser."

They contended that he had lost in a party contest in which the party managers were the sole authority. These leaders, they argued, had declared him the loser and Judge Davidson's court was without jurisdiction. "As for his alleged civil rights—they couldn't have been violated because he had none. This is strictly a party matter." Which, ex-

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cept for the charges of fraud, Judge Davidson had recognized at the outset. They offered no evidence in rebuttal. The reason was obvious. They had none.

Judge Davidson, in his inimitable courtroom way, observed off the record that the citizens of Texas "were entitled to a Senator without any cloud of suspicion hanging over him," and suggested a compromise; adding, however, that its reception would have no bearing upon his decision. Why not, as a party matter, he asked, let the names of both go on the general ballot in November, leaving the choice to the court of public opinion?

Governor Moody responded that "Stevenson is ready to dispose of the entire controversy in the manner your Honor suggested."

John D. Cofer, for Johnson, rose to refuse, with what seems a strangely illogical statement: "Voluntarily to waive that right [did he mean Johnson's 'right' to the 'corrected' returns?] would stultify the right of the people."

Moody retorted that the plaintiff was ready to prove that box 13 "was stuffed," and prove as well the fraudulent shift of votes in four precincts in Zavalla County, from down on the Rio Grande. But the strategy of the Johnson attorneys simply seemed to be to make the best of the court as a forum and to continue to berate the Governor.[12] Thereupon Judge Davidson "Arose and angrily cut short the tirade in a manner seldom witnessed in a sedate Federal court.

"'There has not been one word of evidence submitted,' he blazed 'to disprove this plaintiff's claim that he has been robbed of a seat in the U.S. Senate.

"'If there was not a single law on the books, this man would be entitled to and would get a hearing in this court.

"'This hearing shall be held over until September 27; and this court will appoint a commissioner to go into Jim Wells County, procure evidence and report back to this court when the hearing opens again.'"

The court's blistering denunciation and decision to adduce the evidence itself "all but blew the Johnson ship out of the water." Judge Davidson[13] thereupon named Wm. Robert Smith, late Federal attorney and a man familiar with Parr's record and power, to go into the Parr district as master in chancery for the Federal court, to summon and swear witnesses, to adduce evidence, and to determine the truth about the doings in Duval. He likewise sent James McCollum Burnett as commissioner, since evidence was to be taken in Duval and Jim Wells simultaneously.

At once the Texas newspapers carried stories that apparently the fight would be resolved by a write-in campaign between Stevenson and Johnson, who was then triumphantly crossing the State as an honor guest on President Harry Truman's campaign train.

This sudden turn threw his camp into panic and completely dispelled the assumed air of ennui—all appearances of boredom. Johnson rushed back into the fray while Truman, well aware of the possibly disastrous effects on his own cause, especially with the southern rebellion of Fielding Wright and Strom Thurmond drawing off scores of Democratic Texas leaders and thousands of voters, repeatedly dropped word to the party faithful as he crossed Texas that it must be Johnson "at any price."

With the resolute Bob Smith, armed with the authority of the Federal court, moving to dig out the voting records and take the sworn testimony of those involved, Johnson was in serious trouble. He frantically called George Parr, who was at his office with Duval County Democratic Chairman T. C. King, pleading: "George don't burn those ballots. It'll be a reflection on me."

But Parr, who like Harry Truman, knew the psychology of his henchmen and the code of loyalty in their protection, shouted back:

"To hell with you. I'm going to protect my friends."

Commissioner Burnett opened his investigation in the Duval Courthouse, with the prominent and veteran Texas courtroom attorneys Joe Montague, Oliver Fannin, Jr., and C. C. Renfro, with plenty of local help from Jacob Floyd and others, examining the unwilling witnesses summoned into court. Most were election judges or otherwise officially connected with Duval County, carefully coached in advance by Judge George Parr. Hours of penetrating examination revealed little more than the appalling ignorance of the witnesses; proving the eternal apteness of the Spanish phrase in answer to embarrassing questions—"quien sabe?"—"who knows?"

But as a matter of official record the commissioners did establish certain historic facts about Duval County elections that everybody in south Texas, from Mexican sheepherders to State senators, already knew. They brought out the fact that despite the Texas election laws there had never been an official return by a precinct chairman to the county chairman, and that the keeping of actual poll lists was unknown. Attorney Montague eased County Tax Collector Clemente Garcia into admitting, in his broken English, that poll taxes had been bought in bales in Duval County, "yes, many several thousands." But when George Parr, who sat directly behind Montague, vigorously shook his head, Clemente forgot completely "who had paid for them." Commissioner Smith sent him to his office for his legal authorizations. Clemente returned sadly to report that he could not find them.[14]

What of the all-important lists kept at the polls at the time of the recent election? They too "showed up missing." It developed later that County Chairman T. C. King, a Parr enterprise employee, had grown nervous over the vast disparity between the election returns and the poll taxes issued—about 2 to 1—and had taken the lists home for safekeeping. There his wife, in her commendable zeal of housecleaning, had apparently consigned them to the fire. Thus the attempt to get at the actual voting in Duval ended in futility, in complete frustration.

Over in precinct 13 at Alice, in Jim Wells County, the investigations went little better. Commissioner Bob Smith issued a subpena for Tom Donald, the Parr bank employee who was Democratic county secretary at the time of the election, but he was in Mexico "on business." He issued another for Luis Salas, presiding judge in the election. He had been called to Mexico "on business."

The poll list, too, failed of subpena. Commissioner Smith impounded the county's ballot boxes and found them empty. "Why?" Obviously, it was suggested, the industrious Mexican janitor, ignorant in the premises, must have emptied the boxes and burned the ballots. Thus the same pattern of evasion and frustration prevailed as in Duval. "Nobody knew nothing."[15]

The interest over the State had grown to a fever pitch. Sam Rayburn had called a caucus of New and Fair Deal leaders at his Bonham home, determined to meet Truman's demand that it be Johnson "at any price." Johnson and his attorney had flown to New Orleans to petition the dismissal of Judge Davidson's order by the Fifth Court of Appeals, where Judge J. C. Hutcheson, Jr., held that their case must be heard by the entire court and set an early date.

With time so urgent, and aware, as no one else, that the ultimate power lay with friendly forces in Washington, Johnson bypassed the Court of Civil Appeals, while his attorneys made only a perfunctory defense at Judge Davidson's hearing, which reopened on September 28. Johnson flew his case directly to that ex-Klu Klux Klansman and noted police judge on the Supreme Bench, Mr. Justice Hugo Black.[16]

Justice Black belonged to the club. At once, on September 29, 1948, he issued a sweeping order on behalf of Johnson, staying Judge Davidson's temporary injunction and ending the Fort Worth hearing, where the iron curtain tactics of south Texas were about to be proved in Federal court.

In adjourning court, Judge Davidson observed that the Supreme Court was without jurisdiction; that this was not a dispute in a general election, but in a State primary over a party nominee, where even the Senate was without power to act; and that Stevenson's only "recourse was in my court." As a part of the Nation's responsible judiciary, he had no choice except to suspend the hearings and adjourn court in view of Black's ruling. But with characteristically outspoken courage he added:

"The U.S. Supreme Court has altered my opinion, but it hasn't changed my mind."[17] He was also heard to remark that Black's order was unduly hasty "and probably unlawful."

The Black order, hurriedly issued in chambers, evidently without clerical or stenographic help, since it was dated in his own hand, has been likened to that of a judicial bulldozer. It overrode one of America's foremost constitutionalists and judges, who had in the light of fraud, simply stayed the election contest long enough to give each side time to present its case in evidence. It overrode a distinguished circuit Federal judge who had held that the full court of appeals should hear Johnson's petition, and had set an immediate date to do so. It preemptorily denied justice to Governor Stevenson and nearly half a million Texans who had voted for him. It brazenly abridged the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, especially in their guarantees of States rights and the limitations on jurisdiction. But perhaps most terrible of all, it sanctioned corruption as public policy. There is nothing in American history like it.

Lyndon Johnson went on to the Senate and his truly meteoric rise to power. But the trouble in south Texas continued as local leaders rose to challenge the domination of the powerful and much-indicted George Parr, still the duke of Duval. His oil holdings grew with scores of new wells and he entertained his prominent friends, such as Tom Clark, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, on the Dobie Ranch.

The many charges against him never seemed to hinder his influence or operations, and somehow his rare convictions in court seemed certain of reversals, especially by the Federal bench, where Johnson's friends had become judges as often as vacancies occurred. Only recently the last of many true bills against him was dismissed on motion of the present Federal Attorney Ernest Morgan, who had publicly admitted that he got his appointment through the close friendship of Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

For years the veteran Jim Wells attorney, Jacob Floyd, fought to break the Parr control. He had some effective help. When a young courageous, crusading newcomer, W. H. Mason, joined the Alice station KBKI as a news commentator, he immediately discovered and began to expose, the local corruption, especially as it pertained to Parr's Jim Wells County Sheriff H. T. Sain and his deputies. Anonymous threats stirred Mason's ardor instead of deterring him.

Among his exposures was the ownership of what was deliciously known as "Rancho Alegre"—"The Ranch of Joy," a hall for drinking, dancing and prostitution stocked with quite young and pretty Mexican girls, located on the edge of the town of Alice and owned by the sheriff's deputy, a giant half-breed Mexican by the name of Sam Smithwick.

Bill Mason repeatedly exposed the operation and when threats did not stop him, two

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Footnotes at end of speech.

of Sain's deputies waylaid and beat him, two stripped him of his trousers and left him half naked in the street. Mason retrieved his pants and flew them from the radio station flagstaff as an indication that he had not surrendered. Shortly thereafter, July 29, 1949, Smithwick met him on the street, removed his great hat as in token of Latin grace, whipped out his .45 behind it and shot Mason to the ground.

After some delay the Smithwick trial was thrown on change of venue into central Texas, where a young and fearless prosecutor by the name of Jim Evetts had never failed, in a case originating in his native county of Bell, to get an indictment. Smithwick came to trial in January 1950, confident that the pervasive Parr influence would still prevail. But Jim Evetts rounded up an array of witnesses, among them a number of seductive figures from the late Rancho Alegre. He exposed the official corruption and connections of the Jim Wells-Duval machine, and in a sweeping and devasting attack had Smithwick apprehensively looking down the corridor to the electric chair. Something had to be done to cause a mistrial, and that something was the ultimate, age-old resort of illegitimacy in desperation—assassination.

When District Attorney Evetts drove home the night of January 23, 1950, and stepped out of his car, a man rose from hiding in a hedge beside the garage and opened up on him in the darkness with an automatic Colt's .45. But illegitimacy lives in fear and the gunman, obviously nervous, missed two shots and fled when his gun jammed. Evading apprehension, like his confederates in time of trouble, he too crossed the river, on business in Mexico.[18]

Jim Evetts failed of the death penalty but did send Smithwick to the penitentiary for life. His appeal was denied and at Huntsville he languished in solitude, with a growing resentment against the south Texas powers, that he had faithfully served, for not getting him out. He wrote a letter to former Governor Stevenson, urging Stevenson to come and see him, saying he was ready to tell the true story of what had happened in Jim Wells and Duval. Within a few days, before Stevenson could make the trip, the prison guard, while making his morning round on April 16, 1952, found Smithwick dead in his cell, an apparent suicide, though many in Texas still refuse to believe it.[19]

Shortly thereafter the long battle to recover that fair and fascinating land from Parr's control took an even more tragic turn for the embattled Alice attorney, "Jake" Floyd, who had proven so persistent and effective that the machine decided upon his assassination. But at the last minute, on the night of September 9, 1952, a Mexican by the name of Nego Alaniz, one of the co-conspirators, weakened and frantically phoned Floyd to call a taxi and come to the edge of town, as he had vitally important news for him. Floyd agreed to come. Again Alaniz warned: "Take a taxi. Don't go for your car. They are waiting there to kill you."

Floyd called for and left in a cab. Almost immediately his youthful son, Jacob, Jr., reached home, and upon hearing of his father's hurried departure, and apprehensive of his safety, rushed for the family car to follow him. In the darkness the assassin mistook him for the father and shot him down.

Sometime later "El Turco" Mario Sapet, the Mexican murderer, was quietly hustled from deep in Mexico by a Texas Ranger—without benefit of extradition, in the sometimes mysterious but effective ways of the Texas border, and delivered for trial in Brown County. He was sent to pentitentiary for life. Nego Alaniz, who had warned the father, was tried on change of venue in Waco Tex., as accessory to the murder of the Floyd boy. His defense attorney was the noted Houston criminal lawyer, Percy Foreman, at a "$25,000 fee" reportedly paid by Parr.

In the years since, violence and corruption have so spread to the national stage as to relegate Parr and Duval to a relatively minor role. In a last futile effort Stevenson did appeal the fraud to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. But the battle was over, the deal was done. Judge Davidson's views were confirmed. Stevenson's "contest complaint was not considered since it was not presented to the Senate" at the time. And for two very good reasons: "the Senate was not in session," and in a State primary, Washington had no jurisdiction.[20]

More than once in public addresses thereafter Governor Moody boldly charged, in the proper jurisdiction, that "if the district attorney here had done his duty, Lyndon Johnson would now be in the penitentiary instead of the U.S. Senate." And there was no action for a libel.[21]

The profound significance of this remark was, first, that the lawless underworld was in league with the highest echelons of the Federal Government, and second, that fraud and corruption had come to be tolerated if not admired by authority on the State level. In such a climate and environment, the adept Lyndon B. Johnson systematically and securely enhanced his power.

Unresolved, however, were the bitter and ineradicable effects of the steal—albeit validated by Black's nefarious order—upon the minds of Texans. Unsettled yet is the sense of betrayal, the smoldering resentment, and righteous indignation of moral people, which 16 years later still burns with passion in the hearts of thousands of Texans who think that the duty and province of the judiciary is to mete out justice, after full and impartial hearings, rather than, in star chamber proceedings, to serve as a mantle for criminality.

Given a healthy society, the perversion of character in individuals can be contained. But the perversion of justice, with its reaction upon all a country's institutions, has historically placed nations and even civilizations beyond recall.

Times change, but not the motivations of human nature; not the moral and spiritual principles upon which civilized society depends. The celestial spheres sail on in their sure and certain orbits, suggesting something eternal, while America sports and plays on, engrossed with "social progress," and the dirty Duval deal is "past history."

Coke Stevenson, a forgotten man, lives sadly in seclusion on his remote ranch in the hills of Texas. George Parr, citizenship restored by President Truman, flourishes and prospers—still a tremendous political power in south Texas, while the prominent figures who fought him hardest are gone, some having paid with fortune, blood, and life. Justice Black still sits on the Supreme Bench, a leading figure in its steady and unspeakable usurpation of power, while John Connally, Lyndon's righthand man in the Duval steal, is Governor of "the great State of Texas."

And Lyndon Baines Johnson, the master devotee of power and politics as "the art of the possible," is President of the United States at the most critical period in history.

In its incipiency, public sanction of immorality, assassination, and illegitimacy may seem a local if not a minor matter. But the malignancy spreads. What a strange coincidence that Lee Harvey Oswald, on his return from Mexico shortly before the Kennedy assassination, detoured from Laredo to stop and spend the night in "search of a job" at Alice, in Jim Wells County, Tex., before proceeding to Dallas and his worldshocking deed.

All thoughtful men who have read the record of mankind can but stop, ponder, and probably shudder. The judgments now will not be rendered by an impartial judiciary, which is apparently gone. They will be found in the distant verdicts of history, most likely written in red.

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[1] Dr. S. S. McKay, "Texas and the Fair Deal," 1945–52, give a step-by-step account of this campaign.

[2] Thomas L. Blanton to Lyndon Johnson, Aug. 13, 1948. Johnson declined to answer but since explains, in his authorized biographies, that the President "felt the country could not give all its men to the frontline," and "called all Members of Congress serving in the military to return to Washington." See Leslie Carpenter, "Profile of a President," 1964, p. 27.

[3] See Dallas News, Aug. 22, and the final week of the month, 1948.

[4] The veteran newspaperman and Texas historian, Clyde Wantland, has traced this phase of the campaign in sweeping and devastating detail. I am much indebted to him for his researches. For his fine account, see the Texas Argus, April 1962, San Antonio.

[5] Dr. McKay, "Texas and the Fair Deal," as cited, 240, speaks of Parr as "the ruling power of the 18-county 27th senatorial district.

[6] Wantland, as cited.

[7] James Gardner, Affidavit to the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the U.S. Senate, Nov. 12, 1948.

[8] Clyde Wantland, "The Story of George Parr's Ballot Box No. 13," as cited; Josh Groce, ms., 7 pages; Kellis Dibrell and Jas. Gardner to J.E.H., Jan. 6, 9, 1964; Gordon Schendel, "Something is Rotton in the State of Texas," pp. 13–14, Colliers, June 9, 1951.

[9] The author was a delegate to the Democratic Party Convention and a witness of the committee's proceedings. For further details see Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Sept. 14, 1948.

[10] Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Sept. 21, 28, 1948.

[11] Star-Telegram, as cited; *Coke R. Stevenson* v. *Tom L. Tyson*, case 1640, Federal Court records, Northern District of Texas; Wantland, as cited; Dibrell and Gardner to J.E.H., Jan. 9, 1964; C. C. Renfro to J.E.H., Jan. 18, 1964; Coke R. Stevenson to J.E.H., Jan. 5, 1964; McKay, as cited, pp. 238–242.

[12] Star-Telegram, Sept. 21, 1948.

[13] The sturdy and venerable Judge Davidson is still on the Federal bench at Dallas. This incident is taken from Wantland, as cited, and confirmed by others.

[14] William Robbert Smith to J.E.H., Jan. 10, 1964; Joseph Montague to J.E.H., Jan. 18, 1964.

[15] W. R. Smith to J.E.H., Jan. 9, 1964; Wantland, as cited.

[16] The high-placed New Deal attorneys, Abe Fortas and Thurman Arnold, along with Charles I. Frances, represented Johnson in Washington. Alvin J. Wirtz was designated his leading attorney in Texas, though John Cofer, who was to represent Johnson in all sorts of business from defending a friend charged with murder to the defense of another named Billy Sol Estes, took the lead in the hearings before Judge Davidson. See Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Sept. 16, 18, and 21, 1948.

[17] Fort Worth Star-Telegram, September 28 and 30, 1948.

[18] Juan Barrera Canate is suspected as the would-be assassin. Capt. Alfred Y. Allee to J.E.H., Feb. 2, 1964.

[19] Judge James K. Evetts to J.E.H., Jan. 14, 1964; Capt. Alfred Y. Alee to J.E.H., Jan. 8, 1964; district court records, Bell County, Sam Smithwick case; Dallas News, Jan. 24, 1950; Gordon Schendel, in Colliers, June 9, 1951, as cited; Coke R. Stevenson to J.E.H., Jan. 5, 1964, Kellis Dibrell, as cited.

[20] Recently, however, the Supreme Court, in its Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and related cases on congressional redistricting, has swept these constitutional guarantees completely away.

[21] Star-Telegram, Sept. 28, 1948, for the Stevenson remark. The author himself heard Moody repeat this statement.

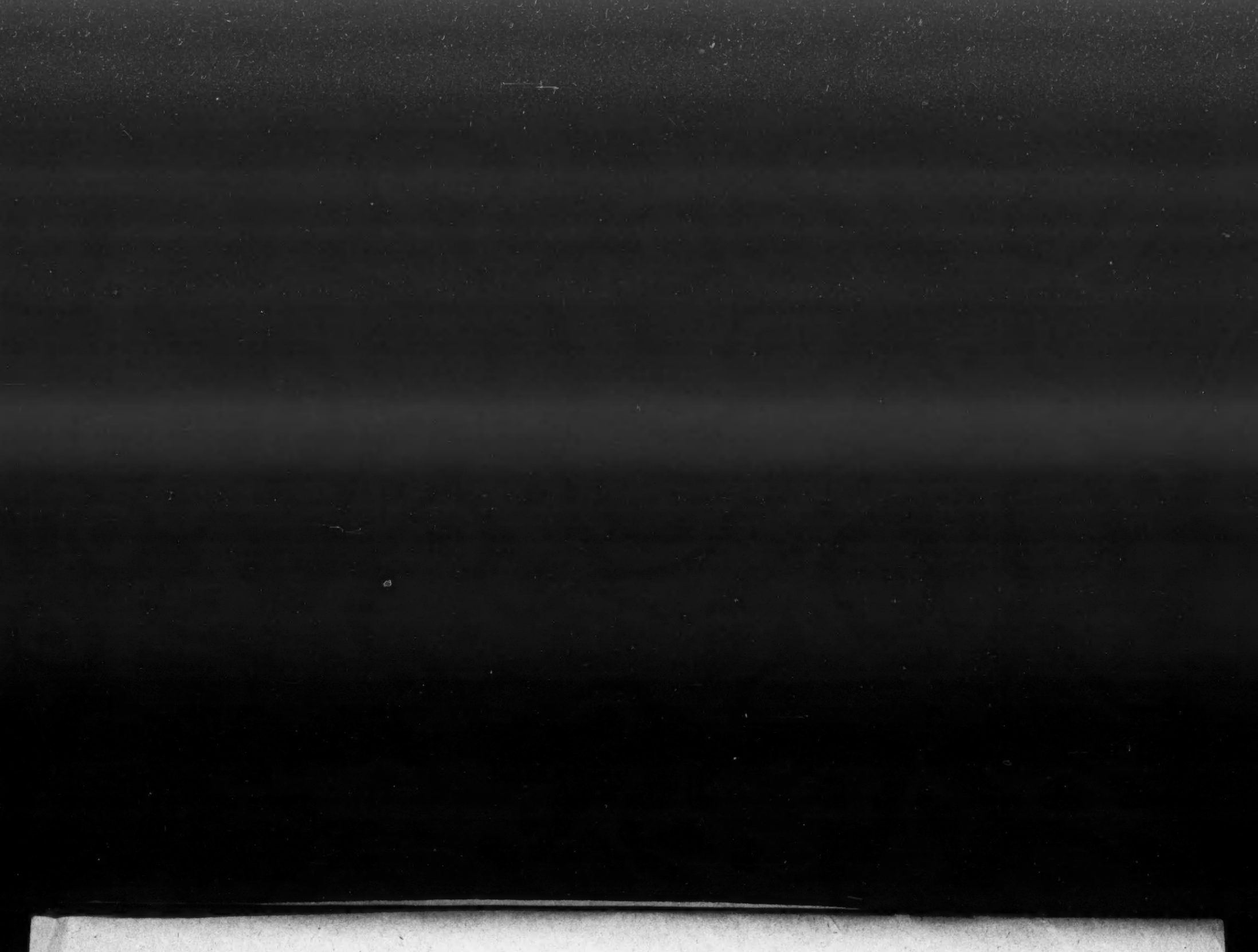

Appendix

Labor Day Speech by the President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on yesterday, Labor Day, the President of United States made an outstanding address in Cadillac Square, Detroit, Mich. I believe the address should be read in full and I ask unanimous consent that the literal transcript of the speech, as given, be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT, CADILLAC SQUARE, DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. Barber, Governor and Mrs. Romney, Mayor Cavanaugh, Senator Hart, Senator McNamara, Congressman Staebler, Walter Reuther, Governor Swainson, Secretary Williams, my good friends in the Michigan congressional delegation, my fellow countrymen, this is a great day in a historic place. Here, and today, we begin to move toward new years of achievement for America. Sixteen years ago an American President came here and he promised then that America would "enter a new period of hope." That President was Harry S. Truman.

You gave him support and he gave you that hope. Four years ago another great American stood where I stand today and he said, "Give my your hand * * * and this country can move again." That man was John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

You reached out your hand and America began to move. I have come here today to pledge that if all Americans will stand united we will keep moving. This country is not going to turn its back on the future. This country is not going to turn away from the upward course of prosperity or from the urgent hopes of peace. This country is not going to turn away from the needs of the jobless and the hungry, the poor and the oppressed. This country is not going to turn from unity to hostility, from understanding to hate.

So today I have come here in Cadillac Square to call for national unity. I plead for brotherhood among men and understanding among nations. This is not just a slogan. It is not based on empty hopes or upon remote dreams. It flows from the facts of life in 1964.

I have traveled to every section of this country, I have talked to people in every walk of life. And I have found that most of the American people are united. There are, of course, issues which stir passion and conflicting interests. But most Americans have the same hopes for themselves and their children. They have the same desires for themselves and their country. They know that, for the most part, we no longer struggle among ourselves for a larger share of limited abundance. We labor, instead, to increase the total abundance of us all. Responsible business knows that fair wages are essential to its prosperity. Responsible labor knows that fair profits are essential to rising employment. Farmers and city dwellers, bankers and laborers know that by strengthening each group we strengthen the Nation—by pursuing the growth of all, we advance the welfare of each.

And all of us know that we have a mortal stake in the peace of this world. And that the only real test, the only test that really counts, is what is good for America. And what is good for America is good for all of us.

I want to talk briefly today about three of the goals which are good for America, which reflect the common purpose of most Americans, which are the basis of unity in our country. These are the goal of prosperity, the goal of justice, and the goal of peace.

First, the goal of prosperity. This is the 43d month of the greatest peacetime prosperity in the history of all the United States. The last 4 years, in Michigan alone, unemployment dropped from 10.2 percent to 5.3 percent. The average weekly earnings for manufacturing workers went up 23 percent. A new tax cut will raise personal income by $1½ billion and create 90,000 new jobs. And what is true for Michigan is true for other parts of America. As long as I am President I will lead this country toward increased prosperity. We will continue until every man has a job, and until every family has a decent income. And this is what most Americans want.

The second part of our common purpose is justice. Justice is a country where every man has an equal chance to use his talents, to pursue his desires, and to provide for his family. We seek to give every American, of every race and color, and without regard to how he spells his name, his full constitutional rights under our Constitution and under the laws of the land. We seek to conquer the conditions which condemn millions to hopeless poverty.

We seek to find a job for every man who wants to work. We seek to care for the old through medical care under social security. The jobless with increased unemployment compensation; the oppressed with minimum wage protection. And this is what we think most Americans want.

Third among our common goals is peace. Peace is more than the absence of aggression. It is the creation of a world community in which every nation can follow its own course without fear of its neighbors. In that pursuit we have developed a threefold policy. First, we have built a military strength greater than the world has ever known before. Second, in Cuba and in the waters around Vietnam we proved that we would stand firm in the defense of freedom. And everywhere we have worked to extend the domain of liberty. Third, we patiently labored to open new avenues to peace. The result of these efforts since 1961 is our world of 1964. In this world in which we live today, no nation, new or old, has gone Communist since Cuba went in 1959. In this world the solid unity of communism has begun to crack. We have worked to help the nations of Eastern Europe move toward independence. This is their people's goal and this is our people's continuing resolve.

In this world the influence and the prestige of freedom is on the rise. Hands of friendship have replaced the clenched fists of angry mobs. In this world the strength of freedom is greater and the prospects for peace are brighter.

It is not enough, I think, just to want peace or to talk peace, or to hope for peace. We must constantly work for peace. And I want you to know that today your Government is working for peace. And that is why I, as a Congressman, worked to help pass the Marshall plan. That is why, as a Senator during the Eisenhower administration, I went to the United Nations, at President Eisenhower's request, to urge and to invite all nations of the world to join the United States in the peaceful exploration of outer space.

And that is why, as Vice President of the United States, I worked long and hard for the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere. We slowed down the deadly poisoning of the air we breathe, and the milk that our children drink. We do not want every mother to live in fear that her baby may be born crippled or deformed. And we, too, must remember that we organized the Peace Corps which started the spirit of America and carried it to remote villages on every continent of the world. And also that is why, as President, I ordered a cutback of unnecessary nuclear production. And that is why I will continue to support every realistic measure that will bring the world closer to peace without increasing the danger to freedom.

Yes, it is men that make peace. Modern weapons are not like any other. In the first nuclear exchange, 100 million Americans and more than 100,000 Russians would all be dead. And when it was over, our great cities would be in ashes, our fields would be barren, our industry would be destroyed, and our American dreams would have vanished.

As long as I am President I will bend every effort to make sure that that day never comes. I am not the first President to speak here in Cadillac Square, and I do not intend to be the last.

Make no mistake. There is no such thing as conventional nuclear weapons. For 19 peril filled years no nation has loosed the atom against another. To do so now is a political decision of the highest order. And it would lead us down an uncertain path of blows and counterblows whose outcome none may know. No President of the United States of America can divest himself of the responsibility for such a decision. Any man who shares control of such enormous power must remember that "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

These common purposes, prosperity, justice and peace, are the foundation of American unity. Our future is almost upon us. Man has never lived in a more exciting time. The world is changing before our eyes. Either we will move to meet these changes or they will overwhelm us. On the one hand is opportunity of shining promise; on the other is a power to destroy the world. Those nations or individuals who seek today to divide us, who preach strife and dissension, and hate and fear, and smear, strike at our hopes and strike at the hopes of all the people of the world.

When I was young, I often walked out after supper and looked up at the scattered Texas sky. As a boy, on those still nights, I wondered what those heavens had seen, what they would see, and what they might bring

to me. The world has turned many times since then, but still in the evening I sometimes walk out and look across the great Capital City where I live, and I dream the same dreams, and I ask the same questions. Just as you do, I sit and think of today's events and tomorrow's problems. I feel glad in my family and concern for my children.

It is then that I remember the men who captured my native soil from the wilderness. They endured much so that others might have much. Their dream was for the children; mine, too, is for the child, even now struggling toward birth.

What will the observing skies say of the world that we have built for him? I want all the ages of man to yield him their promise, the child will find all knowledge open to him; the growing boy will shape his spirit in a house of God and his ways in the house of his family. The young man will find reward for his work and feel pride in the product of his skills. The man will find leisure and occasion for the closeness of family, and an opportunity for the enrichment of life. The citizen will enrich the Nation, sharing its rule, walking its streets, adding his views to its counsel, secure always from the unjust and the arbitrary power of his fellows. The least among us will find contentment, and the best among us will find greatness, and all of us will respect the dignity of the one and admire the achievements of the other.

At the end of the journey, he will look back and say, "I have done all that a man could do, built all, shared all, experienced all." And then people shall say to people, group to group, man to man, "There on this earth as in the eyes of God walks my brother."

Well, this is my dream. It is not the grand vision of a powerful and feared nation. It concerns the simple wants of people. But this is what America is really all about. All the rest, the power and the wealth, the life of freedom and the hopes for peace, the treasured past and the uncertain future—all of this will stand or fall on this. Reality rarely matches dream, but only dreams give nobility to purpose.

This is the star that I hope to follow. This is the star which I know that most of you at some time have seen, and which I first glimpsed many, many years ago, one night out in the West.

United we stand; divided we fall. So today I say to these thousands assembled here, whose only concern is what is best for their country, let us bring the capitalist, the manager, the worker, and the Government to one table to share in the fruits of all of our dreams and all of our work, and let's leave for our children, as we enjoy for ourselves, the greatest country that any man has ever known.

Report of the Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Waters of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege earlier this year to be appointed chairman of the Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Waters of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and to preside at the organizational meeting of this new committee on June 3, 1964. With the water problems of this Nation becoming ever more serious and with more and more conflicts developing in the use of our limited supplies I believe that there is a need for this committee in connection with the activities of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. I hope that the committee can make a real contribution in carrying out the purposes and objectives of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

I am including as a part of the remarks the report on the organizational meeting of this new committee:

NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON USE AND TREATMENT OF SALINE WATERS

The Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Waters held its organizational meeting on June 3, 1964, at the Mayflower Hotel. Chairman WAYNE N. ASPINALL called the meeting to order at 2:10 p.m.

First order of business was the rollcall of members. Present at the meeting were the following members of the committee: Hon. WAYNE N. ASPINALL, chairman of the committee and chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, House of Representatives; Mr. W. B. Camp, vice chairman of the committee and president of the W. B. Camp, Inc., Bakersfield, Calif.; Mr. Frank C. DiLuzio, Denver, Colo.; Mr. H. S. Noble, New Caanan, Conn.; Mr. Robert T. Chuck, Honolulu, Hawaii; Mr. Robert M. Williams, Wilmington, N.C.; Mr. Joe D. Carter, Austin, Tex.; Mr. Sidney L. McFarland, Silver Spring, Md. In addition to the members, there were 23 visitors at the meeting from Alabama, California, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania Texas, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. Also, Mr. Pat O'Meara, from the Office of Saline Water, Department of the Interior, and Mr. Floyd Reed from the Department of Agriculture were present.

Chairman ASPINALL made an opening statement in which he related the need for this committee to the growing national salinity problem and to the Nation's dwindling water supplies as compared to our estimated future needs for an exploding population and expanding industry and agriculture. He presented a brief history of the saline water conversion program of the Federal Government and gave his ideas of the activities and studies which would be appropriate for the new Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Waters. He indicated that several subcommittees would be appointed at a later date to look into various aspects of the committee's jurisdiction.

Vice Chairman Camp presented a statement to the committee in which he expressed his view as to the importance to the Nation of finding economical means to treat and use saline water, stating that the Nation eventually would have to depend upon saline water conversion and treatment to meet its needs.

The election of a secretary was held and Mr. Sidney L. McFarland, of Silver Spring, Md., was elected secretary to the committee. Mr. McFarland is staff director of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and consultant to that committee on water matters.

The motion was made and adopted that the committee follow regular rules of procedure and order of business. The chairman stated that business during the year necessarily would have to be conducted, for the most part, by correspondence.

Members of the committee and visitors were recognized for any statements or comments they wished to present to the committee. Several members and visitors spoke on various aspects of the salinity problem and the committee's activities, and out of this discussion came several meritorious suggestions for this committee's consideration.

Mr. Pat O'Meara presented a brief statement on the activities of the Office of Saline Water.

Chairman ASPINALL appointed Vice Chairman Camp, Mr. McFarland, and Mr. Chuck, of Hawaii, to prepare the committee's report for presentation to the present convention and received committee approval of the report with the understanding that it would go only to the committee's organizational meeting and would include no committee recommendations at this time.

The committee adjourned at 3:45 p.m.

Dee Summers, National Junior Vice Commander In Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the people of Idaho were proud to learn that the recent convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars elected Mr. Dee Summers as national junior vice commander in chief.

Mr. Summers is a well-known wheat farmer and cattle rancher at Ririe, Idaho, and has long been active in veteran's and civic activities.

If the usual succession is followed, Mr. Summers will be national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in 1966. I ask unanimous consent that a biographical sketch of this outstanding citizen of Idaho be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the biographical sketch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.

DEE SUMMERS BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dee Summers was born in Ririe, Idaho, July 30, 1924. His wife is the former Rita Hunter. His three sons are Craig, age 15, Jeff, age 11, and Kirk, age 7.

He completed elementary schools in Ririe, attended Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho, and Utah State University with a business administration major.

He was a Marine Corp. NCO tank commander and gunner with the 22d Marine Regiment and 6th U.S. Marine Division with combat service throughout the South Pacific. He was awarded two Presidential Unit Citations, the Navy Unit Commendation, and two battle stars for his Asiatic Pacific campaigns. Combat wounds caused 6 months hospitalization and honorable discharge with a Purple Heart Award.

Dee Summers joined VFW Post 1004, Rigby, Idaho, in 1946 and began an illustrous career. His unprecedented enthusiasm for post programs made him a draft choice for post office, which placed him in all of the chair offices where he served full terms. He was elected district commander by acclamation and became the popular candidate for all chair offices in the department. He served with distinction as department commander in 1955–56 and was awarded the highly coveted "Mr. VFW" plague the following year. Summers has a conspicuous record of exceeding all previous membership records during his respective years in respective offices.

He was elected a national council member for District 16 (Washington, Montana,

Idaho) for 1950–60. Following his election to vice chairman of the western conference, he was appointed to the national legislative committee. He was subsequently elected chairman of the western conference. In 1962 he completed a term on the national loyalty day committee and immediately accepted an invitation to become national chief of staff to commander in chief, Byron B. Gentry. He was a member of the board of directors for the National VFW Convention Corp. for the 1963 convention in Seattle, Wash. He currently functions as vice chairman of the national security committee.

Summers is serving in his 8th year as a member of the exclusive 5-man State of Idaho, Veterans Affairs Commission, where he distinguished himself with his leadership in obtaining State legislation which provided funds for a new State veterans home.

In his community, he is a prominent civic figure, serving as an active member of the school board and an aggressive participant on the independent committee for better schools, as well as being a school trustee.

Summers has spent the greater part of his life as a salesman, which includes several years as a sales manager for a large retail chain store and as an insurance agent.

At home Dee is engaged in wheat farming and raising purebred cattle. His operation extends into two counties in southeastern Idaho. Other of his organization memberships include, the M.O.C., American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, parent teachers' association, Pacific Producers Co-op, Ririe Grain Growers, American Hereford Association, Farm Bureau, and a past presidency of Club 548 Toastmasters International.

Convention Arrangements Inefficient "Nightmare"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Betty Bealé, a Washington Star staff writer, wrote the following column, which was published in the Sunday Star of September 6, which is a very interesting analysis of the Democratic Convention.

CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS INEFFICIENT "NIGHTMARE"

(By Betty Beale)

Following the greatest reportage of soft news in the history of mankind—i.e., the coverage of the Democratic National Convention of 1964—most of the Washington press corps and the people they write about have virtually lain inert for the past week.

Those who could summon the strength after the ghastly experience of that hideous week in Atlantic City have called at a friend's house or sat by a pool in a motionless state of utter exhaustion. They have remained in that state, that is, until some blithe, unknowing friend sailed in and exclaimed, "Do tell me all, my dear. Was it fun at the convention?" Thereupon has burst forth the pent-up protests against the greatest outrages ever perpetrated on the politically active.

Politically, the convention was a masterpiece of masterminding by Lyndon Johnson that produced the greatest harmony of any Democratic Convention in a quarter of a century. Socially, it offered the most crowded calendar of diverse get-togethers listed at any political conclave. But, logistically, it was a mountain of inefficiency.

Unless Mr. Johnson can rid his organization of the inefficiency that made the convention an arrangements nightmare, he may well lose in November.

Who was it who hung the movie screen in the convention hall in a deeply recessed niche instead of flush with the wall so that ssome 50 percent of the people present, including occupants of the President's box, the Cabinet, and "honored guests" never saw a single film?

Who was it who told people to get their credentials Monday morning at a desk just inside the front entrance to the hall, then told New Jersey police not to let anyone through the front entrance who didn't have credentials?

Who was it who told New Jersey police to arbitrarily close the door to the convention hall ballroom on invited guests the night of the President's birthday ball, then stand inside the closed door so the guests had no one to appeal to? Two specially invited guests, Minnesota Gov. Karl Rolvaag, a close friend of the vice presidential nominee, and teenager David Betz, a boyfriend of Luci Johnson's, plus uniformed Ladies for Lyndon who were supposed to be working inside, were among the crowd crushed against the door banging on it in vain for 40 minutes. The Governor finally left in disgust and when the rest were eventually permitted in they found a mere handful of people left. There is no explainable reason why one or two experienced members of the National Committee couldn't have been posted at the door to at least identify VIP's.

Who ordered every entrance closed Wednesday evening so that neither delegates, nor press nor honored guests—all wearing their proper credentials—could get into the hall? Senator CLAIBORNE PELL, of Rhode Island, who was chairman of a committee caucusing at the moment, pleaded with the policemen in vain. Some of the press walked blocks that night trying every entrance in frustrated fatigue until someone on the National Committee finally came to the rescue.

We who complained at the GOP convention about the stupidity of building the typewriter tables in the press section too high for typewriters; about the failure of the public relations section to supply the latest information; about the rudeness of most of the assistant sergeant at arms or ushers; about the strong arm protection around Peggy Goldwater—little knew what was in store for us. The list of obstacles to convenience in Atlantic City goes on and on without even touching on the horror of some accommodations. The best true tale in this department concerns that ill-housed California delegate who called the hotel desk to complain about the plaster falling from the ceiling onto his bed, only to get the unsympathetic reply: "Why don't you move your bed?"

The one improvement of the Democratic over the Republican convention was maneuvered by Elizabeth Carpenter, Mrs. Johnson's press secretary. For the first time in this correspondent's experience, the 10 or so newswomen covering the No. 1 lady's every move were provided with seats adjacent to her box. And when her husband's name was placed in nomination and the hall broke into a demonstration, Mrs. Carpenter made it possible for all of them to enter Mrs. Johnson's box and get her reaction, without, as heretofore, having to push, or trample over bodies like feminine Tarzans.

It is perfectly obvious that John Kennedy had never been to Atlantic City when he chose it. The announced reason for going there was the city's offer of $625,00 to the party's coffers. The unannounced reason was that there was no danger of race trouble there because Negroes get treated the same way as whites. Whatever the deciding reason, it was too late to change the site when Lyndon Johnson became President.

To my way of thinking, the ideal convention city for political parties is Chicago. Even if it wouldn't offer a sum to entice them there, both parties ought to beg Chicago for the privilege. In addition to A–1 hotel accommodations, it has the marvelous new convention hall, McCormick Place, right on the lake front and boasting the last word in equipment for television, graceful dining, comfortable seating, etc. It is President Johnson's favorite convention place, so maybe the next Democratic Convention will once again be fun.

Lady Bird Johnson was more upset on her father's account than her own by the cover article in Time. The late Thomas J. Taylor II was represented as a scrooge in it, whereas Mrs. Johnson said he was a kind and generous man who lent money to down-and-out neighbors knowing they couldn't pay him back. Said Liz Carpenter, "I am constantly taking people of all races through the White House who tell me they were given their education by Mr. Taylor."

When HUBERT HUMPHREY was selected as the running mate for Lyndon Johnson, the Democrats were assured leadership by the best dancing pair in party history. The President's love of dancing is now legend, and Muriel Humphrey says that when she married HUBERT in 1936 he was the best dancer in town.

HUBERT, the liberal, is also less conservative on the ballroom floor than his chief, who is a quietier, smoother foxtrotter. The Minnesota Senator's effervescent spirits may even be expressed in the jitterbug if the rhythm calls for it.

Having danced with both gentlemen, this writer can truthfully say that rarely has she encountered two men who were so nimble both in the head and the feet.

Elliott Roosevelt's wife Patty recounted later midst chuckles the night at the Democratic Convention when a secret serviceman pulled a gun on her. She was standing in the VIP lounge when she suddenly saw Mrs. Johnson and the two girls whip by the door. The bubbling Patty was dashing forward as fast as a bullet with a big, "Hello, Mrs. Johnson," when suddenly she was looking at the nozzle of a pistol.

A new fad turned up in Atlantic City—an "inoculated orange." That's a whole orange liberally injected with hypodermics of vodka.

Economic Expansion: Arkansas' Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, there recently came to my attention an address delivered by Frank Whitbeck, the president of American Foundation Life Insurance Co. of Little Rock, Ark., entitled "Economic Expansion: Arkansas' Challenge."

Mr. Whitbeck, who is a member of the Arkansas Economic Expansion Study Commission, a leading businessman in my State, and an old friend of mine, has quite succinctly stated the challenges which face the people of my State in building our economy. In a larger sense it is a dissertation on the problems which confront all of the areas of America that are working to achieve balanced and sound economies. I commend it to my colleagues and I ask unanimous consent

that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC EXPANSION: ARKANSAS' CHALLENGE

(By Frank Whitbeck)

(NOTE.—These remarks constitute the personal observations and opinions of the author only, and as such do not directly or indirectly reflect or infer the opinions or possible final conclusions of the Arkansas Economic Expansion Study Commission.)

Much has been said about the dramatic industrial growth in Arkansas during the past decade—new industries, new jobs, new businesses, new farming and forestry techniques—but very little has been published which relates the overall economic advancement in our State to national growth.

While in retrospect we seem to have made tremendous gains in terms of pure economic growth, still we are falling behind national levels, and economists predict that unless we do something about it, we will continue to fall behind for some time to come.

As an example, consider our situation on the very yardstick we use to measure economic growth—changes in per capita incomes. Over the past 15 years our per capita incomes in Arkansas have increased faster than that of the Nation as a whole—about 5.3 percent for Arkansas, and 4.4 percent for the United States. This pleasant statistic loses its luster, however, when we look at what it means in cold, hard dollars. Each Arkansan had $845 less income last year than his national counterpart, and even with the favorable 5.3 percent rate of increase, the gap between per capita incomes in Arkansas and the Nation as a whole will grow larger until in 1992 there will be a $1,324 income difference per person—man, woman, and child. After that the difference will get smaller, and finally catch up in the year 2032—68 years hence.

If this outlook is too unpleasant, we can look at a shorter, though less reliable, period of time. We have done much better since 1960, comparatively, and if we could keep up this fierce pace, we will be able to catch up by 1980, 15 years from now.

We have billed our State as "The Land of Opportunity," yet, unfortunately, we have not been able to create a climate of opportunity for everyone. For example, it would appear that we have exported great segments of our future—our trained and energetic youth. About 50 percent of all our college graduates for the last 10 years migrated to other States. Even with some replacement by in-migrants we netted out losing over 40 percent of the total. And many of the most expensive ones left Arkansas—the engineers, the mathematicians, the graduate students.

Be that as it may, those of us who have established businesses know better than anyone else that we cannot build a solid future solely on the offspring of an affluent or propertied class, whose children stay at home by reason of prestige or inheritance. Civilization, as well as business, is advanced on the bellies of the hungry—by men who want to achieve bad enough. Call it desire, call it economic or social or political hunger, call it an ambitious, energetic middle class, call it what you will. Fortunately for society, some individuals seem to make their own opportunities and, in turn, create opportunities for the many others.

With the idea that more could be done to develop Arkansas, the last legislature set up an Economic Expansion Study Commission, and charged it with the responsibility to investigate all facets of our economic life, in all areas of the State, and to report its findings plus recommendations to the Governor and the legislature by October 1, 1964.

It has been my pleasure to serve on this 11-man commission with your fellow townsman, Mr. Lee Roy Beasley. Ours has been an exciting, interesting, informative assignment. We are grateful to many of you who have contributed your time and ideas to the work of the commission, but we would hope that every businessman, every laborer, every individual who loves his State would also have an opportunity to see Arkansas as we have seen it.

Our potential for economic growth in Arkansas is theoretically unlimited, but also we must recognize that we have been limited and are limited by the literal interpretations we give to many of our corporate needs.

Particularly, we find ourselves with many desires, many needs, but with few definite goals, and no time schedule to reach them. It can be very dangerous to measure progress only ex-post, because every little increase is positive. We strive for goals, and privately we measure ourselves by our approach toward them. I would submit that we need identifiable, attainable goals if we are to succeed in developing this State.

Consider some of the problems and challenges we share here in Arkansas:

Education: Time and again we have all said that Arkansas' most important resource is its people. We do have some of the finest people in America living in Arkansas and these fine people live in every section of every county of our State. It was interesting to note last spring that the roster of Phi Beta Kappa nominees at the University of Arkansas included scholars from hamlets so small that their counties had to be identified. Big city school systems have no monopoly on candidates for Phi Beta Kappa; talent is everywhere. So, obviously, the greatest challenge we face today is to tap that talent and use it for the development of our State.

It is admitted that education is both a cost and a burden to the public, but education is also an investment which pays handsome dividends to both the individual and to the State. How do we upgrade education in Arkansas and how do we hang on to the dropouts?

One thing we should consider is the reorganization of inferior school districts. There are 90 senior high schools in Arkansas operating in districts which enroll fewer than 150 pupils from grades 1 through 12. In these same schools there are only 3,500 pupils in grades 10, 11, and 12.

There is a school district adjoining El Dorado which, I daresay, could buy all its seniors individual new automobiles this year and send them to El Dorado High School cheaper than their present facility can be run. And yet, for some reason, we have instilled in our minds that the sacred symbol of democracy is the little red schoolhouse, still training our children in almost 19th century methods, but turning them out to face 20th century responsibilities.

Reasonable standards have been developed to determine the necessary changes needed for an adequate school system. We should get on with it—and set a target date for its completion. And we must coordinate, cooperate, and consolidate to save unnecessary waste—because good education is an expensive business. As of last year, at the State level alone, it would have taken another $19 million to have raised us to the national level of per capita expenditures for education.

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Why are we weak and what is the problem? One thing that is quite evident is that it is not because we are poor.

We may as well face it. Some of our communities just don't want to assess their property up to the 20-percent minimum program which was launched in 1955. We have land being offered for sale at $55,000 an acre that is assessed at comparatively peanuts. We have plantations that are quite valuable that are assessed at $25 an acre or less. Our urban areas have unplatted pieces of land that are being treated as county farm property which do not bear their true tax burden in comparison with other adjoining properties. While we are required by law to assess all stocks, bonds, cash, jewelry, and other valuable items, we collectively ignore this statute as not even being a part of the law.

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County and city government: Urbanization is on the move in Arkansas just as it is in every other State, but in Arkansas our cities are hamstrung for growth and are as poverty stricken as Appalachia. Little Rock is a prime example: largest city in the State; a city government that literally has to beg for enough revenue to provide minimum services; a city growing larger by the year, a county responsibility growing smaller, with turnback funds from the State that are smaller to the city, larger to the county. These inequities in civil administration must be looked at realistically if we are to expand our economy.

We must also look realistically at our county government and see what that unit of government can best do for the people. The county unit is a small state because it performs many of the functions of the State, affecting elections, roads, penal institutions, courts, and so on, all prescribed by the constitution. But the county has additional functions—administrative, libraries, public health, to name a few. It has been suggested that we need to consolidate counties. I don't know that that is the real answer, but it seems to me that there are certain functions among counties that can be consolidated.

Under our present system, we have 50,000 miles of local highways in this State, administered by 75 separate county highway departments, not including municipal units. Many of these departments do not have enough funds to function 12 months a year, but all of them have all sorts of expensive equipment they cannot put to full use. Can we envision one local highway maintenance region incorporating Union, Ouachita, and Columbia Counties, utilizing one central purchasing agency, utilizing one resi-

dent engineer, and only that equipment which is absolutely needed and can be used?

Can we envision that our county judge or our county president or county major (or whatever we call him) should be bonded just as you are bonded in your business? Today the county judge has taxing power, disbursing power, judicial power. Because of his judicial power he cannot be bonded. In our advanced system of business, no one man should be forced to handle all these functions. Thus, in the name of good administration, the functions need to be separated and separately administered.

The judicial function belongs in the constituted courts. The absurdity of bastardy proceedings before a county judge has probably reached its height of judicial mockery in my own county, where parentage is now determined by comparison of ears. And I think this exaggerated course of judgment has been deliberately taken to attempt to awaken the the public that this judicial function is not properly a function of our county executive. His is an administrative function, not judicial.

It is possible also that our cities can pool resources, that our counties can pool resources on roads, prison systems, police, libraries, public health, fire protection, water sewage, parks. This, of course, does not mean that cities and counties would lose their historical territorial jurisdiction. You have seen cities within cities, even counties within cities in many highly urbanized areas in which certain public services are pooled for better administration, less expensive operation.

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What we can do about land utilization in Arkansas is a challenge of the future. The challenge of what we're going to do with the farming family versus big farming, the types of crops that will be needed in the future and where they will be raised. Perhaps we've done more research in farming than any other branch of our economy, but more research is needed to be done, because farming in Arkansas today is in the midst of a mechanical revolution. Many large but efficient operators rent land and don't own a piece of it—only equipment—just as you and I rent space in an office building. These men are skilled operators, they know their business, and they're greatly in demand, as they would be in any other enterprise. A great source of farm wealth rests with these professional farm operators. The State is logically their research and development agency.

Also, we observe that the groundhog sawmill is gone, that the challenge today is to utilize all of the log, the slab lumber, the trimmings, the sawdust, for mechanization has moved in. Some shops are now operating on what used to be burned up, but one of the great challenges we face is that we are now producing more timber than we can consume. An even greater challenge is for us to keep the small lumber manufacturer from becoming, as one keen observer put it, "a sharecropper of the very large manufacturer and the labor unions."

In one county of our State there were 25,000 residents in 1950. It was then half delta and half hills. Today there are only 15,000 populating that county and 51 percent of the land is now in pine timber. A man comes to us and says, "I am a merchant and what is it that is happening to me?"

Is it a problem that big ownership of land is in the hands of a few people? Who controls our destiny?

The picture changes also in Union County. Once there were seven cotton gins, now only one. It used to take 20 to 25 men to run a sawmill, now it takes 3 to 6. We jumped in and bought up marginal land; we reforested it and we overproduced. At the World's Fair in New York you will see a home made almost entirely of plastic, no wood. Do we get caught with wood as we did with cotton and wool when the synthetic fibers took over?

Our challenge here is research and development as we have never had it before. Not how to plant more trees or grow more forests, but what to do with the wood once we have produced it. * * * as finding new uses for building materials and in areas of marketing where we are weak.

Capital formation: In all of the hearings before our Commission we have not found a shortage of investment capital at some price. The price varies. There's more competition today in Arkansas in first mortgage lending, for example, than ever before in my experience. Few communities have turned down the assistance granted under acts 404, 9, and amendment 49. The first Arkansas Development Corp., which was organized to help push business in risk areas, has had such good business it has had little or no loss; and the success of its loan portfolio would be flattering to most financial institutions.

But we have been accused here in Arkansas of helping competitors to tax-free plants, who in turn buy their own tax-exempt bonds, and that we have ignored the people who stay and pay, the plants, and businesses who pay taxes, who support the schools, who run the communities.

A plea is heard—"What are you doing to help local business to gain more stature?" This is a field that's very dear to my heart because I, too, organized a business in Arkansas and I assumed the risk, alone at one time, spread it to others later, but still had the responsibility of making the business click and to run fast enough to gain strength and profits, so that the personnel so desperately needed to give the business full life could be adequately compensated and retained. No subsidy, no tax-free building, no support from the community; yet the locus of that business is Arkansas, the headquarters is Arkansas, the first thoughts of that business is Arkansas.

I will walk the extra mile with you to get business and new industry from without this State; but I am reminded that what finally builds El Dorado are the businesses that are domiciled here, and not those who have their headquarters beyond our borders.

So the question comes up—"What can we do to assist the business that is already established, how can we help it to greater growth and profit?" I don't know the full answer to that question, but I do feel, in fairness, that home-grown industries are due every consideration, equal to if not more than our brethren from outside the State who want to move here and compete with us for the same markets.

When our Arkansas communities authorize millions of tax-free bonds for the building of a new industry, our school districts suffer. Under the tax-free status, it is questionable that there will be any return to the local school system. Those who have been interested in schools have questioned this method of economic and industrial expansion, because indirectly it is affecting our schools. This is obviously a big problem, for on the one hand we want the industry, and on the other hand we want to protect things that are dear to us that give us the continuous ability to expand economically.

Is there some way, somehow, that we could set up an insurance fund to underwrite the risky business? I doubt that any public institution is big enough to underwrite all failures. In our capitalistic free enterprise system, the weak in business perish. This has always been so. But if an industry that needed expansion capital were screened by some well-staffed superagency, an agency which impartially determined that the applicant industry had a chance for survival, then an insurance fund could be set up. We're doing the same thing today on mortgage loans through the FHA. And we're doing the same thing through our banks with the FDIC, and in our savings and loan associations. Yes, there is a basis on which this could be determined, and we hope one day to have it off the drawing boards and in your hands.

State debt: We have all been reared on the admonition that debt is an evil. We have survived in our personal lives because of this. We have made our businesses successful because of this. But we have also attempted to apply the same rule to elements of government and we have faced a dilemma. We have faced a dilemma because on the one hand we have a taxing power in government and we also have a spending power. In government we usually consider everything we gain from taxes and everything we spend to balance each other and dissolve into nothing, which means that we usually do not give ourselves credit for having produced additional wealth or new capital with our taxing and spending powers. We do not run our businesses this way, for we capitalize every asset in preparing our balance sheet.

What price have we put on our public roads, on our public institutions, on the public plants that we have built in which to perform services? What capitalization have we put on our taxing power? Have you ever considered the value of the total wealth in property alone that is owned by your State government—in roads, buildings, parks, etc.? I imagine that $2 billion would be a small estimate. An additional asset is the taxing power, the income power that we have generated, and an even greater asset is the population of our State, 2 million strong. These are our assets.

What are our liabilities? On paper, our only State liabilities are about $50 million of highway bonds. Do you know how much money we have in the bank? On May 22, Deputy Treasurer Robert L. Mack wrote me that there was over $52,612,541.16 on deposit. Now, naturally, we have running accounts and we have obligations that are coming up every day that need to be paid, but we also have income, and about $15 million more of that than was anticipated thus far in 1964.

Another interesting item in Mr. Mack's letter indicates that if we had gotten a reasonable return on the State's dormant bank accounts during the past 10 years, assuming the same level of deposit, we would have an additional $5 to $8 million in our State treasury today. Our challenge as businessmen is to face up to our needs and to look at our assets and liabilities realistically.

If we were completely debt free, would we be any better off? We might be worse off, because we would not be hungry any more. So your challenge may be to reach out for more public debt and with this debt to create capital improvements which generate wealth and jobs. This is our challenge to advance Arkansas a whole generation, for by reaching out we would accelerate tax income, thereby repaying principal and interest * * * thereafter, the turnover would multiply. The Federal Government used this same technique in the tax cut this year.

If we can overcome waste, each dollar saved means $1 less of State debt. But it is also obvious that we cannot do the full job in research and development, and at the same time create new jobs solely through increments in present State revenues. Therefore, we must reach out for additional capital which means additional public debt.

The question is, what do you want? What is your objective? What should be our State objective? How can we define it?

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What we can do about land utilization in Arkansas is a challenge of the future. The challenge of what we're going to do with the farming family versus big farming, the types of crops that will be needed in the future and where they will be raised. Perhaps we've done more research in farming than any other branch of our economy, but more research is needed to be done, because farming in Arkansas today is in the midst of a mechanical revolution. Many large but efficient operators rent land and don't own a piece of it—only equipment—just as you and I rent space in an office building. These men are skilled operators, they know their business, and they're greatly in demand, as they would be in any other enterprise. A great source of farm wealth rests with these professional farm operators. The State is logically their research and development agency.

Also, we observe that the groundhog sawmill is gone, that the challenge today is to utilize all of the log, the slab lumber, the trimmings, the sawdust, for mechanization has moved in. Some shops are now operating on what used to be burned up, but one of the great challenges we face is that we are now producing more timber than we can consume. An even greater challenge is for us to keep the small lumber manufacturer from becoming, as one keen observer put it, "a sharecropper of the very large manufacturer and the labor unions."

In one county of our State there were 25,000 residents in 1950. It was then half delta and half hills. Today there are only 15,000 populating that county and 51 percent of the land is now in pine timber. A man comes to us and says, "I am a merchant and what is it that is happening to me?"

Is it a problem that big ownership of land is in the hands of a few people? Who controls our destiny?

The picture changes also in Union County. Once there were seven cotton gins, now only one. It used to take 20 to 25 men to run a sawmill, now it takes 3 to 6. We jumped in and bought up marginal land; we reforested it and we overproduced. At the World's Fair in New York you will see a home made almost entirely of plastic, no wood. Do we get caught with wood as we did with cotton and wool when the synthetic fibers took over?

Our challenge here is research and development as we have never had it before. Not how to plant more trees or grow more forests, but what to do with the wood once we have produced it. * * * as finding new uses for building materials and in areas of marketing where we are weak.

Capital formation: In all of the hearings before our Commission we have not found a shortage of investment capital at some price. The price varies. There's more competition today in Arkansas in first mortgage lending, for example, than ever before in my experience. Few communities have turned down the assistance granted under acts 404, 9, and amendment 49. The first Arkansas Development Corp., which was organized to help push business in risk areas, has had such good business it has had little or no loss; and the success of its loan portfolio would be flattering to most financial institutions.

But we have been accused here in Arkansas of helping competitors to tax-free plants, who in turn buy their own tax-exempt bonds, and that we have ignored the people who stay and pay, the plants, and businesses who pay taxes, who support the schools, who run the communities.

A plea is heard—"What are you doing to help local business to gain more stature?" This is a field that's very dear to my heart because I, too, organized a business in Arkansas and I assumed the risk, alone at one time, spread it to others later, but still had the responsibility of making the business click and to run fast enough to gain strength and profits, so that the personnel so desperately needed to give the business full life could be adequately compensated and retained. No subsidy, no tax-free building, no support from the community; yet the locus of that business is Arkansas, the headquarters is Arkansas, the first thoughts of that business is Arkansas.

I will walk the extra mile with you to get business and new industry from without this State; but I am reminded that what finally builds El Dorado are the businesses that are domiciled here, and not those who have their headquarters beyond our borders.

So the question comes up—"What can we do to assist the business that is already established, how can we help it to greater growth and profit?" I don't know the full answer to that question, but I do feel, in fairness, that home-grown industries are due every consideration, equal to if not more than our brethren from outside the State who want to move here and compete with us for the same markets.

When our Arkansas communities authorize millions of tax-free bonds for the building of a new industry, our school districts suffer. Under the tax-free status, it is questionable that there will be any return to the local school system. Those who have been interested in schools have questioned this method of economic and industrial expansion, because indirectly it is affecting our schools. This is obviously a big problem, for on the one hand we want the industry, and on the other hand we want to protect things that are dear to us that give us the continuous ability to expand economically.

Is there some way, somehow, that we could set up an insurance fund to underwrite the risky business? I doubt that any public institution is big enough to underwrite all failures. In our capitalistic free enterprise system, the weak in business perish. This has always been so. But if an industry that needed expansion capital were screened by some well-staffed superagency, an agency which impartially determined that the applicant industry had a chance for survival, then an insurance fund could be set up. We're doing the same thing today on mortgage loans through the FHA. And we're doing the same thing through our banks with the FDIC, and in our savings and loan associations. Yes, there is a basis on which this could be determined, and we hope one day to have it off the drawing boards and in your hands.

State debt: We have all been reared on the admonition that debt is an evil. We have survived in our personal lives because of this. We have made our businesses successful because of this. But we have also attempted to apply the same rule to elements of government and we have faced a dilemma. We have faced a dilemma because on the one hand we have a taxing power in government and we also have a spending power. In government we usually consider everything we gain from taxes and everything we spend to balance each other and dissolve into nothing, which means that we usually do not give ourselves credit for having produced additional wealth or new capital with our taxing and spending powers. We do not run our businesses this way, for we capitalize every asset in preparing our balance sheet.

What price have we put on our public roads, on our public institutions, on the public plants that we have built in which to perform services? What capitalization have we put on our taxing power? Have you ever considered the value of the total wealth in property alone that is owned by your State government—in roads, buildings, parks, etc.? I imagine that $2 billion would be a small estimate. An additional asset is the taxing power, the income power that we have generated, and an even greater asset is the population of our State, 2 million strong. These are our assets.

What are our liabilities? On paper, our only State liabilities are about $50 million of highway bonds. Do you know how much money we have in the bank? On May 22, Deputy Treasurer Robert L. Mack wrote me that there was over $52,612,541.16 on deposit. Now, naturally, we have running accounts and we have obligations that are coming up every day that need to be paid, but we also have income, and about $15 million more of that than was anticipated thus far in 1964.

Another interesting item in Mr. Mack's letter indicates that if we had gotten a reasonable return on the State's dormant bank accounts during the past 10 years, assuming the same level of deposit, we would have an additional $5 to $8 million in our State treasury today. Our challenge as businessmen is to face up to our needs and to look at our assets and liabilities realistically.

If we were completely debt free, would we be any better off? We might be worse off, because we would not be hungry any more. So your challenge may be to reach out for more public debt and with this debt to create capital improvements which generate wealth and jobs. This is our challenge to advance Arkansas a whole generation, for by reaching out we would accelerate tax income, thereby repaying principal and interest * * * thereafter, the turnover would multiply. The Federal Government used this same technique in the tax cut this year.

If we can overcome waste, each dollar saved means $1 less of State debt. But it is also obvious that we cannot do the full job in research and development, and at the same time create new jobs solely through increments in present State revenues. Therefore, we must reach out for additional capital which means additional public debt.

The question is, what do you want? What is your objective? What should be our State objective? How can we define it?

Our challenge today is to define our goal, for if we can define a burning, longed-for goal, the means to attain that goal will be found. And, once defined, then a time schedule to reach it must be established.

Are we imaginative enough to think ahead a decade, a generation? If we are, Arkansas' future can be much brighter. If we are not, we must content ourselves to fall behind in the economic expansion race.

The final question is, Do we really have the luxury of a choice?

Peter Steenhusen Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I take leave to include a letter to me from the Honorable Peter Steenhusen, a former member of the Iowa House of Representatives, and a Democrat who puts country before party, and who shoots straight from the shoulder, that thousands may read and ponder.

The full text of his letter follows:

IRWIN, IOWA,
September 3, 1964.

Hon. BEN F. JENSEN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BEN: I thank you for the two books containing hearings conducted by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I also asked you in my first letter to give me the name and address of the man who is in charge of the committee in case I want to continue my correspondence on subsidizing these magazines. You failed to do this; please give me the information at your earliest convenience. Thanks.

I also want the names and addresses of those to whom I should write, in regards to the labor unions, who certainly have gotten clear out of hand, and have the people of the United States feeling that the unions are running our Government, and will wreck our economy if something isn't done at once to put them in their place. I have been a hardware dealer all my life, and during the past 10 or 15 years, there has been a price rise on practically everything I sell, usually once a year and on some items a price rise has happened twice a year. There is no legitimate reason for this unfair practice at all, and it is all because of the unions. The unions always use the old alibi, cost of living has gone up, so we need to strike and get more money for our workers. The people are not so dumb and would not believe such a thing. The reason and only reason if the cost of living had gone up would be because the unions have struck for higher wages and less hours. I am going to give you one example of the experience I have daily and have had for the past 10 years and it is very discouraging and makes one feel he wants to get out of business.

Example—Customer came in and wanted a pair of 12-inch hinges, the cost to customer is $4 a pair. Customer about hits the ceiling, does a lot of cussing and snorting, of which I hear nearly every day, because the prices are too high. All I can say to customer is that I agree with him and also tell him that as long as the big labor unions are in the driver's seat, prices rise on everything the farmer needs to buy and will continue to go up. Now the 12-inch hinge happens to be a slow turnover item, so I tell my customer that I have had these larger hinges in stock for probably 2 years or possibly 3, and he is getting them for at least $1 less than what today's price should be, well he finally takes the hinges. So I reorder the hinges for stock, and the hinges hadn't gone up $1 per pair, but $1.50 a pair, or an advance or 10 to 15 percent a year.

Another thing, big business is getting bigger, and the small getting smaller and finally extinct. This is bad for our country, and why isn't something being done about it?

Why does General Motors need to make the outrageous profits, why don't the Government make them pay more taxes and they would be satisfied with less profits and sell their cars for a lot less and in turn would help the people.

The G.M. surely are smart enough to realize that when they make these enormous profits, that this is the thing that causes the labor unions to continue their demands for higher wages, as they want some more of this easy money the General Motors are squeezing out of the general public. All big businesses are as guilty of this as General Motors. To me it looks like the United States is full of Communist inspired people who are working tooth and toe nail to soften us up to the extent where Communists can take over easily.

Yours truly,

PETER STEENHUSEN.

Conservation Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, when the 88th Congress adjourns, it will have established an amazing record of accomplishment in many fields; but we can take special pride in what has been accomplished by this Congress in the interests of the conservation of natural resources. Several new national parks have been established, the land and water conservation fund has been established, and a wilderness preservation system has been established. This record of accomplishment was noted by the Washington Post in an editorial of September 4, 1964, which stated:

The present session has earned the title of "Conservation Congress."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION CONGRESS

President Johnson's compliments to Congress as he signed the wilderness and land and water conservation bills yesterday were well merited. The present session has earned the title of "Conservation Congress." Both of the bills that the President signed yesterday mark important milestones in the struggle to save what is best in our natural environment. The wilderness bill will afford additional protection to 9.2 million acres of unspoiled wilds and open the door to extension of this system. The other bill is designed to create a $2 billion fund over a 10-year period for the acquisition and protection of lands that are needed for the anticipated great expansion of outdoor recreation.

In addition, the President noted, the 88th Congress has approved the Ozark Rivers National Riverway bill, the Fire Island National Seashore bill, and the Canyon Lands National Park bill. This is an impressive record. If every Congress would do as well, the country would have less cause for concern about its national heritage.

Conservation will inevitably become more essential with each passing decade. During the last two centuries nearly all of our energy has gone into the exploitation of a rich continent, with relatively little thought of the future. Now some precious resources have been exhausted and others gravely depleted. Some of the natural beauty of the land has been defaced or destroyed. With our population now building up toward the 200-million mark and with prospects of doubling by the turn of the century, conservation of what is left becomes a first imperative.

The continent itself cannot be expanded, but no end is in sight to the expanding demands upon it. Men cannot continue to poison and despoil their environment without repeating disaster. At some period soon the efforts that go into conservation should match those that are devoted to exploitation. The record of the present Congress should become not just another spurt of conscience but rather the beginning of a consistent and permanent policy of national stewardship.

Lyndon Johnson on Rights, Law and Order, and Beer Bottles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article from the February 11, 1959, issue of the Washington Post, by Aubrey Graves, where it describes the methods Lyndon Johnson would use, as the headline indicates, to defend certain "rights." Perhaps during the course of the campaign, President Johnson will give the Nation a lecture on law and order and the use of beer bottles in the manly art of self-defense.

The article follows:

DEFEND ELECTRIC RIGHTS, JOHNSON URGES FARMERS

(By Aubrey Graves)

Pledging full support to their cause, Senator Lyndon Johnson, Democrat, of Texas, urged members of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association yesterday to "fight with beer bottles," if necessary, to keep advantages they now enjoy under the law.

These advantages include the right to borrow Federal money on long-term loans at 2-percent interest—less than the Government has to pay for money it borrows.

An administration spokesman on Monday told 7,000 NRECA delegates in convention at the armory here that, after 24 years of Government aid, and with 95 percent of the Nation's farms electrified, the rural power movement should now stand on its own feet.

The President, scheduled to explain his views in person at the convention today, wants Congress to boost the interest rate to

more than 4 percent. He also believes the cooperatives should go to private sources for some of their money.

"This is a battle for your very existence," Johnson said yesterday. He predicted, however, that Congress would defeat the administration proposals.

"We are not going to raise the interest rate," Johnson declared. "We are not going to require you to go to Wall Street for your money, and we are going to pass a bill by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, that will give back to the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration the authority to pass on loans."

The Secretary of Agriculture now has veto power over loans.

Mr. Speaker, what are some of those "advantages" Lyndon Johnson talked about? Under unanimous consent, I include excerpts from recent speeches of Norman Clapp, Administrator of the REA, which clarify the meaning of Johnson's remarks.

The excerpts follow:

REMARKS OF NORMAN M. CLAPP, ADMINISTRATOR, REA, AT THE 14TH ANNUAL REA GENERATING CONFERENCE, HOT SPRINGS, ARK., MAY 20, 1963

In organizing their own rural service rural people recognized that they were facing tough problems and they found in the REA program special equalizers to offset these higher costs.

One of these equalizers is the authorization in the Rural Electrification Act under which REA can make loans for generation and transmission purposes. This authorization has proven its value from its earliest applications, both as a bargaining tool in negotiating realistic power rates from the commercial companies, and where necessary, to actually finance new generation and transmission facilities.

When we talk of 2-percent loans, let us not overlook the fact that another of these equalizers has been supplied by the rural people themselves in the non-profit operation of the cooperative systems they have built. By organizing into cooperatives they have voluntarily waived the normal claim to a return from their investment, except in terms of lower cost service. The capital they contribute to the growing financial equity in their systems does not draw interest at 6 percent, nor even at 2 percent; it pays zero percent.

REMARKS OF NORMAN M. CLAPP, ADMINISTRATOR, RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION, AT GROUND BREAKING CEREMONIES, BASIN ELECTRIC POWER COOPERATIVE, STANTON, N. DAK., JUNE 22, 1963

Under such conditions, rural electric cooperatives have to use such available "equalizers" as long-term, 2-percent REA loans if they are to provide any possible approach to parity of electric service in rural areas.

Two-percent loans are not the only "equalizers" necessary for rural electrification. One of the greatest equalizers arises from the willingness of co-op members to participate in enterprises which operate on a nonprofit basis. By forming themselves into cooperatives, member-owners have waived all rights to the normal claims to profits of ordinary electric corporations.

Another equalizer is found in the technical assistance provided by REA. Perhaps the most dramatic result from this assistance has been demonstrated by the standardization of design and construction, pioneered by REA, in the electric industry.

The final major equalizer designed to help overcome the high cost of rural electric service is the REA-financed generating and transmission program.

STATEMENT OF NORMAN M. CLAPP, ADMINISTRATOR, RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE THE DAIRYLAND POWER COOPERATIVE ANNUAL MEETING, LA CROSSE, WIS., JUNE 3, 1964

To help overcome these handicaps, a number of equalizers were written into the REA program, including long-term, low-cost loans; encouragement of nonprofit modes of operation; and technical assistance from REA.

Mr. Speaker, you can also add the special postal rates for statewide NRECA associations. I might mention a number of Members of the House and Senate on both sides of the aisle have introduced bills as "equalizers" to offset some of these "advantages"; so, I suppose, after reviewing the words of Lyndon Johnson, we can expect some NRECA member to come raging into our offices with a broken beer bottle to "defend" himself.

Creed Black Resignation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting and objective report by Ben H. Bagdikian in the summer 1964 issue of the Columbia Journalism Review details the experiences which led Creed Black to resign as vice president and executive editor of the Morning News and the Evening Journal in Wilmington, Del. The report is an excellent example of the problems faced by many highly principled working newsmen.

Following is the article:

CASE HISTORY: WILMINGTON'S "INDEPENDENT" NEWSPAPERS

(By Ben H. Bagdikian)

The Wilmington, Del., newspaper, the Morning News and the Evening Journal, are, according to a standing editorial masthead, "independent" newspapers. A formal resolution issued by their owners on April 13, 1936, and presumably still in force, instructs the editors that the policy of the paper is, among other things, to "avoid blind partisanship * * * never to misrepresent the facts either in their news or editorial columns; never to resort to suppression except for the public good * * * always to give all sides a fair hearing on all public questions."

In this the two papers are no different from hundreds of others across the United States that also call themselves "independent" and solemnly declare that their owners insist on editorial freedom and want no fiddling with the news. As in Wilmington, their owners don't really mean it, or else the words mean one thing to editors and something else to owners.

Creed Black is an intense Kentuckian, 39 years old, with reportorial and editorial experience on Stars and Stripes, the Chicago Sun, the Chicago Herald-American, the Nashville Tennessean, and the Savannah News-Press. He seldom turns his back on a controversy ("I don't mind a fight") and until June 1 of this year was vice president and executive editor of the two Wilmington papers.

Black's departure from Wilmington is not unusual in the tribulations of the trade—it was an enactment of a ritual that goes on through American newspaperdom with all the unhappy regularity of Aztec sacrifices; and if some way is not found to end this combat the free-enterprise press could go the way of the Aztecs. For what Creed Black did overtly goes on silently and secretly in editorial offices and board rooms all over the country, in election years more than ever.

The owner of the two Wilmington papers is the Du Pont Co., which is to Delaware what God is to Heaven. More precisely, the owner is the Christiana Securities Co., a holding company that is to Du Pont what the church is to God. Christiana was formed in pre-World War I days to buy out a faction of Du Ponts during one of the bitter family feuds. It now owns 27 percent of the Du Pont Co. and all the stock of the News-Journal Co., which, with the exception of a paper of 13,600 circulation in Dover, publishes the only dailies in Delaware.

The Du Pont Co. is run by an executive committee of nine men, called the ExComm. The Du Pont family interest in the company and other concerns is exercised through Christiana, whose ruling group has some seats in ExComm. There is a single room on the ninth floor of the Du Pont Building in Wilmington where the secretary of Christiana can cast one ballot to constitute a "stockholders' meeting" of the News-Journal Co.

The News-Journal Co. has a board of directors of 10 men. Four of them are working executives of the paper, including, until recently, Creed Black. They also include the papers' president and editor, Charles L. Reese, Jr., son of the Du Pont chemist who led the company's research to international stature in World War I. There are two "outside men," that is, non-Du Pont. They are Ralph K. Gottshall, president of Atlas Chemicals, once a Du Pont firm, spun off after antitrust action but still in friendly symbiosis with its parent. The other is J. J. B. Fulenwider, vice president of Hercules Powder, another former Du Pont firm separated by antitrust order, with 300,000 of its shares now owned by Christiana. A seventh member of the board is Robert H. Richards, Jr., counsel for the paper, a director of the Du Pont bank, the Wilmington Trust, until recently Republican national committeeman from Delaware, and son of the legal genius who created Delaware's friendly corporation laws and guided the formation of Christiana.

The three ownership directors are Henry Silliman, son-in-law of Irénée du Pont; Robert R. M. Carpenter, Jr., known as Bobby, nephew of the president of Christiana, himself on the board of Christiana and owner of the Philadelphia Phillies baseball team; and Henry B. du Pont, president and patriarch of Christiana and until recently vice president of ExComm. H. B. du Pont is the ruling man in the ownership, with Carpenter increasingly influential.

The Du Ponts and the press have had a long joint history. The family first appeared in the Delaware press on January 1, 1806, when one of the papers in town (Wilmington then had a population of 3,500 and two newspapers; it now has a population of 100,000 and two newspapers) carried a grocery store ad for smoked herring, Old Peach Brandy, and "Dupont & Co.'s gunpowder." Since that time their printed presence has been more dramatic. Like any normal family, they have no love for adverse publicity, but their wealth and power have given them more than their share of it. It is a huge family, with about 1,600 contemporary members, 250 of them important in the empire and a handful of them potent leaders. It is a large but close-knit group.

For the last 75 years the news has often been intolerable for the Du Ponts, since their prominence made their most embarrassing

private moments terribly public. These moments were plentiful, with family scandals and fights, suicides, bordello shootings, spectacular intrafamily marriages and divorces ("He Married a Barmaid," a Chicago Daily News headline said of a Du Pont on November 12, 1889) and senatorial investigations of the "munitions lobby" in the 1930's. All of this gave the family good reason to fear the press.

Alfred I. du Pont saved the company for the family, and helped plunge it into the newspaper business. After most of the clan had voted to sell out to their closest competitor, Alfred formed a troika of leadership in 1902 with his cousins, T. Coleman du Pont and Pierre S. du Pont (with the help of Pierre's ingenious assistant, John Jacob Raskob). The three cousins took over the $24 million enterprise with a total cash outlay of $2,100—the incorporation fees.

The newspaper appendix to the Du Pont anatomy was acquired after the family declared war on Alfred, not so much because of his spectacular divorce and remarriage to his divorced cousin but because when he did this he inserted a flamboyant announcement of it in the Wilmington Morning News. When he got back from his honeymoon, Coleman told him, "Al, now you've done it," and said he should get out of the company. Alfred refused and the fight was on, Alfred on one side with about one-fifth of the clan, and Coleman and Pierre on the other, with the bulk of the family. The feud involved politics; Coleman had ambitions to be a Senator or even President. Alfred started a new bank and deliberately made his building 2 stories higher than the 12-story Du Pont Building 1 block away.

Henry A. du Pont, on Coleman's side, bought the Wilmington Evening Journal. In response, Alfred bought the Wilmington Morning News and six downstate papers and there followed a journalistic firefight that shredded State politics, the company, and the family. When Coleman's political drive collapsed, Alfred ran a headline in his paper:

BANG! T. C. DU PONT'S BOOM BLOWS UP!

The explosive figure of speech was considered unforgiveable bad taste in a family that lived (and sometimes died) by gunpowder.

When Alfred got his second divorce in 1906, nothing appeared in any Wilmington paper, but there was a full account in the Philadelphia papers, an enduring pattern that continues to this day on sensitive Du Pont family or Du Pont Co. news.

World War I made the company what it is today, but the postwar depression caught Alfred personally $10 million in debt. He sold out his share of the company and the News to his family enemy, Pierre. The same faction of the family then took control of the company and of every daily paper in the State.

Over the years the family shaped itself by shrewd decision and careful selection of in-laws to govern the company in a more orderly fashion, ruthlessly weeding out incompetent members from company leadership in the most discriminating nepotism in the country. The Wilmington newspapers were only afterthoughts in this process and they settled down to conventionality and drab dignity.

In 1960, the executive editor, Fendall Yerxa, left to return to the New York Herald Tribune and a management consultant firm combed the country for an acceptable professional to take his place. They came across Black, who was ready to leave Savannah. The Morning News and Journal-Every Evening (as it was then called) were not very different from most papers: the owners insisted that within broad principles agreed upon beforehand, the editors were free to put out the best product they could.

Two other prominent American newspaper editors took a look and decided not to take a chance. One of them asked what would happen if he decided to endorse a Democrat. When he was told that this would be a decision for the board of directors he said good-by and went to the nearest hotel and "got stiff." On the other hand, previous editors had not found the job intolerable and Reese, the president and editor, is a respected man in the trade. Black took the job.

The technical history thereafter was comforting. Their names were simplified to News and Journal. The typography was reformed; one paper had looked like the prewar Herald Tribune and the other like the postwar Baltimore Sun. Some of the old content (sandwiches/on menu and masonic club/aid to speak) disappeared to make room for harder news from new bureaus. An inbred staff was leavened with younger talent selected from other papers and from universities. In 4 years the combined morning and evening circulation went from 106,000 to 125,000. The 1963 revenue and profit were up 25 percent to the highest level in the papers' history. What was more significant, the old picture of the Wilmington papers as Du Pont Co. house organs began to fade. Youngster editors even asked if the Du Ponts still owned the paper.

Despite professional appearances, inside troubles had begun in 1961. The starting point was "Operation Abolition," the House Un-American Activities Committee film that was used as a set propaganda piece for right-wing causes. The Delaware State police were showing the film under official auspices to school children, churches, and civic clubs. The paper editorialized against the official showings as dangerous precedent for political indoctrination by the police, using a factually dubious piece of work.

This stand brought severe pressures from the owners. An Un-American Activities Committee staff member and the narrator of the film, Fulton Lewis III, was a guest at the home of H. B. du Pont, where the papers were severely criticized by a group made up largely of right-wing Delawareans. The film later was shown at a program sponsored by Mrs. H. B. du Pont and Carpenter.

H. B. du Pont ordered the papers not to comment editorially on the film. Instead, for 2 months the news columns carried attacks against the paper by the State police chief. The letters columns carried attacks on the papers and on the patriotism of the staff. The editors themselves were ordered to remain silent. The owners' old resolutions—never to resort to suppression and always to give all sides a fair hearing—were invoked, in vain.

At about this time the papers provoked the disapproval of the president of the University of Delaware, an institution close to the Du Ponts, who served on its board of trustees. The dispute seemed to be over the reporting of campus controversies, which the university regarded as bias on the part of the dailies. H. B. du Pont ordered the papers to suppress a number of items involving the university.

It was at this point that Bobby Carpenter, nehpew of H. B. du Pont, was placed on the board of the papers. It was plain that the papers were being enlisted in a passionate political crusade. From this time on there was growing acrimony between the editors and the owners.

In 1962, the editors proposed that they interview major candidates for State office from both parties to help them editorialize during the campaign. This was approved. But when the editors decided to back the Democratic candidate for Congress as "the lesser of two evils," there was a special meeting of the board of Christiana Securities. Christiana is probably the richest investment trust in the world, with assets of more than $3 billion, but that day its attention was directed to the cosmic subject of an editorial that compared the demerits of two candidates for Congress and came up with a begrudging net in favor of the Democrat. Christiana had the editorial rewritten outside the newspaper office. It finally appeared, watered down from the original. The papers did endorse one Democrat openly—the candidate for State auditor.

Other clashes came quickly. When Shell Oil wanted to build a refinery in Delaware, the owners ordered the papers to stop comment on the issue. When Congress was considering legislation for relief of the Du Ponts in selling their General Motors stock under Court order, the papers were told not to criticize Senator BYRD, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. During the same period, the Du Pont Co. public relations department asked the paper not to run on page one a statement on the matter by HARRIS MCDOWELL, Democratic Member of Congress from Delaware, for fear it would anger a friendly Senator.

H. B. du Pont also told the paper to put the damper on stories of public charges of mismanagement at the Wilmington Airport, whose chief activity is handling the business of a private aviation corporation in which H. B. du Pont has an interest.

Some idea of the clash between owner ideologies and professional practices can be seen in the complaints of board members. The significance of these conflicts is not so much in the views of the owners (who, of course, have views, as do all interested citizens) as it is a revelation of what happens when an owner fails to understand the role of the monopoly newspaper and the discipline of news.

Henry Silliman and Robert Richards, both members of the paper's board, formally requested through Richards that the paper give a prominent play to a family wedding. "I do not know if this is in accordance with your policy or would require a deviation from your rules. If the latter is true, there should be exceptions to every rule."

At a time when Richards was on the paper's board and also Republican national comitteeman from Delaware, Richards complained bitterly to the editors that the paper's reporter had written a conventional news account of a Democratic rally when he should have turned it into a pro-Republican essay. Richards even wrote his own anti-Democratic story as an example of how the paper should have carried it, though presumably Richards was not at the rally himself. "This was a matter which, if properly handled, could, in my opinion, have been very useful to the Republican Party and their success at the polls in November," he wrote.

When Wilmington began having racial troubles, H. B. du Pont told his editors, "A continual overplaying of integration in our papers certainly plays right into the hands of the radical element of our population * * * many of the writers on your staff seem to have a degree of dedication to certain causes which would make them appear to be quite far to the left."

Most revealing is the collection of complaints issued by Carpenter to the executive editor:

On an editorial praising President Kennedy's Supreme Court appointments: "Why should we devote space to one who is an enemy of private enterprise and the capitalistic system?"

When editors asked him if his complaints about their comments on a bill by Representative MCDOWELL meant the paper should oppose everything MCDOWELL was for, the answer was, "I would say, 'Yes.'"

When an editorial criticized some Republican choices of candidates: "Are we endorsing the Democratic Party by criticizing the Republican Conventions? * * * Could we

not become a house organ for the conservative cause?"

When he objected to running a letter to the editor signed by 64 University of Delaware students favoring integration, the editors asked if they should close the column to all letters from students. His answer was "Yes."

On an editorial noting that French Socialists had outmaneuvered French Communists: "Should the News-Journal take the position of favoring actions of any Socialist Party? I believe it is a grave error for a subsidiary of Du Pont to follow the philosophy of the ultraliberal whose objectives are destruction of capitalistic systems."

It is apparent in retrospect that two conflicting developments had occurred. The Wilmington papers, as with most metropolitan dailies in this country, were in fact broadening their professional and social scope. This was in line with the growing sophistication of the overwhelmingly Democratic or moderate Republican urban audience. At the same time, the owners seemed increasingly rigid in their demands for ultraconservative orthodoxy and family convenience, both in the news columns and editorials.

With the 1964 election campaign approaching, and with Senator BARRY GOLDWATER involved, it was obvious to the editors that something had to be done to resolve these conflicts. The editors pressed the owners for a statement of what they expected of the papers, some mandate that could be followed. When the editors suggested that the papers be committed to the Republican cause with editorials to "focus on an objective appraisal of the chances of the various candidates," H. B. du Pont objected that this idea would "leave editorial writers free to snipe at candidates for the Republican nomination for President."

Black asked mostly for consistency. In a memo noting that he had received orders from four or five separate owners plus the public relations department of the Du Pont Co., he asked, "How many bosses are we expected to please and take orders from?" (He had, for example, run the names of large holders of General Motors stock, as released to the national press by the Du Pont Co. public relations office and had received bitter castigation from two members of the Du Pont family.)

On May 19, 1964, the owners of the Wilmington News-Journal gave their answer. They said that Charles M. Hackett, executive assistant in the public relations department of the Du Pont Co., would be the boss of news and editorial operations of the papers, with Black serving under him. Black quit. The day before, the announcement was made that the Wilmington papers had won 5 of 15 possible first prizes in a publishers' association judging of papers in Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The ending followed tradition. Black wanted to publish his letter of resignation, which said, in part: "I, for one, need no further evidence that the ownership wants the Morning News and the Evening Journal operated as house organs instead of as newspapers." H. B. du Pont vetoed the idea. After the first edition of May 19, carrying simply the news of his resignation, Black posted his letter on the newsroom bulletin board and the Philadelphia papers printed it before Wilmington did.

H. B. du Pont, at the time, denied Black's assertion and said the newspapers "have never been and never will be operated as a house organ for any organization. Christiana Securities Corp. reaffirms their determination that the News-Journal newspapers be operated independently with the objective of being a constructive influence in the community, in the State, and in the Nation."

Efforts to obtain further comment from the papers' management during the preparation of this article were unsuccessful. H. B. du Pont was unavailable for comment. Robert Carpenter, when asked about his role in requesting changes in the newspapers' content, said, "I wouldn't want to comment on the subject." Charles L. Reese, Jr., president and editor of the newspapers, also declined to discuss it.

The depressing quality of the Wilmington episode is that it is not unusual. Few families are so powerful, organized, or dominant in their State as are the Du Ponts, but newspaperdom is filled with owners whose assumptions of their responsibilities are based on their nonnewspaper businesses and whose journalistic enterprises are peripheral both to their personal experience and their daily attention. Unlike the McCormicks and the Ochses, such owners do not have to live with the day-to-day consequences of their decisions, nor face constituents whose information and opinions they oversee.

Decisionmaking in newspapers has a fundamental difference from that of most enterprises. Success in conventional business has a simple measure: survival and profitmaking. Both are essential to newspapers, but a paper that only survives and only shows a profit can be a failure as a newspaper. The newspaper is a community educational institution run for profit. The owner's relationship to the news he prints is something like a university trustee's relationship to reading material selected for archeology courses.

There are hundreds of dailies in which editorials on certain subjects are as predictable as a catechism, whose news departments are designed to overreact or underreact to certain kinds of news, notably financial and political, not because of incompetence or sensationalism but because of the impulse to create a picture closer to the dreams of the ownership. Nor is it unusual for owners to believe that their paper's staff is filled with radicals dangerous to the point of doubtful patriotism. Owners, typically, are conservative Republicans, and staffs—in journalism, as in most fields—tend to be Democrats.

If there were a tradition within newspapering to contain this distrust and tension between owners and staff, as there is in universities, it could result in a pluralism with the advantage of a checks-and-balances system. But there is no such tradition. Too many owners have been alienated too long from the social realities their staffs must perceive and report (and amid which the staff lives and owners generally do not). The Boston Transcript was perhaps the last metropolitan daily that lived within a closed elite. The power of both the Transcript and its elite were changed with the depression. Millions of words in thousands of editorials will not bring back the midtwenties.

There are continual legislative and vigilante attacks on freedom of the press. It will be an uncomfortable time when the owners of newspapers have to depend for preservation of this freedom on the understanding of constituents with whom the owners have been out of sympathy and, worse, out of touch, for 30 years.

When Creed Black resigned he got the unexpected sympathy of some prominent citizens of Delaware, partly because not many hired hands publicly dispute the Du Ponts. Some publishers wrote him that owners will never learn. Editors sympathized with him. And one bright university student who had planned a newspaper career wrote:

"I have always had a few doubts about the newspaper business * * * if this is at all typical of the behind-the-scenes actions in the fourth estate, I'll have no part of it."

Why We Endorse Mr. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in today's editions, the Chicago Sun-Times has editorially endorsed President Lyndon B. Johnson for reelection.

The Chicago Sun-Times endorsement is extremely significant since this newspaper, published by Marshall Field, today represents one of the most influential voices in the entire Midwest.

It should be particularly gratifying to President Johnson to receive the Chicago Sun-Times endorsement in view of the fact that both in 1952 and in 1956 the Chicago Sun-Times endorsed Dwight D. Eisenhower for President and in 1960, this powerful voice of the Midwest endorsed Richard M. Nixon for President.

Mr. Speaker, this excellent editorial follows:

WHY WE ENDORSE MR. JOHNSON

On June 10—a month before the Republican National Convention at San Francisco—The Sun-Times declared it would support President Johnson's candidacy if Senator BARRY GOLDWATER became the GOP presidential nominee.

That which has happened since has strengthened our conviction that the well-being of America and the peace of the world will be better served by keeping Mr. Johnson in the White House.

The Nation faces a choice between two opposing philosophies of government, a choice that will affect American lives for years to come. We cannot accept the Goldwater philosophy. Neither do we believe the Arizona Senator has the capacity to serve as the Chief Executive of this Nation.

The Sun-Times in 1952 and in 1956 endorsed Dwight D. Eisenhower for President. In 1960 our choice was Richard M. Nixon. This year we are for the Democratic candidates, Mr. Johnson and HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, not because our views have changed but because the Republican Party changed—temporarily, we hope—when it chose GOLDWATER. That change would not have occurred if the GOP had nominated Gov. William W. Scranton, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, or Gov. George Romney.

The election of President Johnson would mean a continuation of fundamental foreign policies that have guided the United States under both Democratic and Republican administrations since World War II.

GOLDWATER has a long record of opposition to those policies. His record and statements justify the fear that if he were elected, international tensions would increase. What he would do is uncertain since he has been erratic and inconsistent in his discussions of world affairs. He stresses the military rather than the diplomatic approach in solving international problems.

The bipartisan policies followed by Washington in the last few years have not brought total peace but they have avoided total war. Communist aggression has been held in check with force where necessary and with diplomacy where possible. Despite the loss of Cuba to the Communists the free world has been strengthened. Every President in this nuclear age—Mr. Truman, Mr. Eisen-

hower, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson—has been aware of his responsibility to act both with courage and restraint in situations that could bring war.

GOLDWATER alone of the leaders of either party in this country has shown a dangerous casualness toward the use of atomic weapons. He would delegate to military commanders in the field the authority to initiate the use of small tactical nuclear weapons. The authority to push the nuclear button by law belongs only to the President. Considering GOLDWATER's reckless and jingoistic attitude toward the use of nuclear weapons we could not vote for him even if his vague and sometimes conflicting domestic policies were susceptible to rationalization.

We have often disagreed with the Democrats on domestic matters and we expect to disagree from time to time with President Johnson. For example, we believe Mr. Johnson was wrong in pressing Congress to graft a hospitalization plan for the aged on the social security system. But we would rather have a President who is wrong about medicare than one who is wrong about nuclear warfare.

While we disagree and will continue to disagree with some Democratic domestic policies we concede and applaud the fact that Mr. Johnson has proposed a positive program. He has definite ideas about what he believes is necessary to make this country a better place in which to live.

GOLDWATER's program is a negative one. He stresses what he would undo in Government rather than what he would do. His aim, he says, is not to pass laws but to repeal them. Which laws would he abolish? The GOP platform is no help in guessing what Government might be like with GOLDWATER in the White House. The platform promises a continuation of some Federal efforts that GOLDWATER has said should be abolished; for example, in 1960, in "Conscience of a Conservative," GOLDWATER said there should be prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program. He has now accepted a platform that pledges to continue price supports. GOLDWATER last week said he realizes many changes in Government cannot be made overnight.

We must believe that GOLDWATER would follow his own bent in the White House rather than his party platform. Last January he said that "at best, political platforms are a packet of misinformation and lies." If he is true to his own earlier beliefs, he will make serious overtures to sell TVA and withdraw the Government from some social welfare programs, public power, housing and urban renewal.

President Johnson has shown appreciation of the need for prudence in spending. He has helped develop the climate of confidence in which the economy is booming and has attracted support from important elements in the business community. He has come to grips with the problem of poverty that still exists in this most affluent of all societies.

Personality, experience, ability, and knowledge are all factors to be considered in the election of a President.

President Johnson has shown an ability to get things done. He knows the art of politics and that of getting men and women to work with him to bring his programs to realization. He has proved himself to be a masterful leader.

GOLDWATER gives every evidence of the military approach in the handling of his fellow men. He is neither a compromiser nor a persuader. In his victory at San Francisco he permitted no deviation from his extremist line and it was not until the meeting at Hershey, weeks later, that he made a gesture toward party unity by consulting with the elements he had defeated.

GOLDWATER differed with the 1960 Republican platform and voted contrary to the majority of his Republican colleagues in the Senate on at least 23 occasions. At the San Francisco convention, the American public saw the difference between GOLDWATER and his own party clearly when speaker after speaker praised the Civil Rights Act and took credit for helping pass it. GOLDWATER, their candidate, had voted against it.

GOLDWATER has been the spokesman for an element in America that has been unhappy at the speed and complication of the 20th century; one that distrusts Federal Government even in areas where local government has failed. He attracts groups that resent Negro demands for equal rights.

In their hearts, most Americans, we believe, know that GOLDWATER's election would complicate the race problem, not ease it. Those who would vote for him because they resent Negro civil rights militancy, would neither end the militancy nor help bring about the understanding and harmony that will make it unnecessary. Mr. Johnson, we believe, is better fitted to try to bring about that understanding.

In BARRY GOLDWATER's world the United States is a fearful place in which to live, plagued by centralized planning, redtape, regimentation, and public officials who are leading the Nation into socialism.

He would turn back the clock to a halcyon day. He would return to a day that in reality never existed and cannot exist. Technology, science, our expanding population, the increased mobility of our people, the rising standards of living and education, the demands of Negroes for their constitutional rights, the shrinking of the world in time and space, the changes abroad that have matched the changes here—all have, indeed, made life today more complicated and swifter. We may not like it, but 20th century government must play a role in the lives of everyone.

Since this is so, we would feel more secure, more optimistic and confident of America's future with Mr. Johnson or HUMPHREY in the White House than GOLDWATER or his running mate, WILLIAM E. MILLER. Mr. Johnson is aware of the challenges and problems of our times. We cannot believe GOLDWATER truly understands them.

Humphrey for Giving U.S. A-Bomb to U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, a founder of the ultraliberal Americans for Democratic Action, has taken some of the most far-out positions of any American politician. But typical of the Democratic vice-presidential nominee's politically extreme positions is his suggestion in 1950 that the United States turn its stockpile of atomic weapons over to the United Nations. Writing in the Progressive magazine, HUMPHREY said:

The United States should stand ready to turn over its stockpile of destruction to the U.N. as part of an international agreement for a police force to maintain world peace.

Mr. Speaker, how would you like to have U Thant's finger on the atomic button?

Under unanimous consent, I include an article from the St. Louis Post Dispatch dated March 27, 1950, concerning the aforementioned:

HUMPHREY FOR GIVING U.S. A-BOMB TO U.N.—SENATOR PROPOSES MODIFYING BARUCH PLAN TO SHOW SINCERITY IN PEACE HUNT

WASHINGTON, March 27.—Senator HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota, has proposed that the United States turn its stockpile of atomic weapons over to the United Nations to build an international police force capable of maintaining world peace.

Writing in the Progressive magazine, he said the time has come for the United States "to rekindle the hope of peoples of the world by taking the leadership in the quest for honorable settlement (of the cold war) and universal disarmament."

To do this, he said, U.S. officials should demonstrate the sincerity of their peace intentions by modifying the Baruch plan for world atomic controls which Russia has rejected.

"The United States should stand ready to turn over its stockpile of destruction to the U.N. as part of an international agreement for a police force to maintain world peace," HUMPHREY said. "The U.N. must be transformed into an organization capable of enforcing peace under law."

HUMPHREY suggested also that the State Department invite Russia to join this Nation in urging the U.N. to call a world conference to outlaw war, all types of arms, and peacetime conscription.

The Establishment and Operation of a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress Is Imperative to the National Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 17, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope that legislation, H.R. 11611, which I vigorously supported and which passed in the House, will be promptly approved in the Senate and thereafter signed by the President into law.

A brief review of the purposes of this measure obviously reveal its paramount importance to our sustained economic progress and necessity to begin, now, to deal with the complex effects, including serious unemployment, of this otherwise blessed automatic age.

Briefly the bill proposes to identify and assess the past effects and the increasing pace of technological change, identify and describe the impact of technological and economic change on production and employment, including new job requirements and the major types of worker displacement, both technological and economic, which are likely to occur during the next 10 years, the specific industries, occupations, and geographic areas which are most likely to be involved, and the social and economic effects of these developments on the Nation's economy, manpower, communities, families, social structure, and human values; to define

those areas of unmet community and human needs toward which application of new technologies might most effectively be directed, including those resulting from the Federal Government's research and development programs; to assess the most effective means for channeling new technologies into promising directions; to recommend specific administrative and legislative steps which should be taken by the Federal, State, and local governments in meeting their responsibilities in this area; to develop and adopt measures which will facilitate occupational adjustment and geographic mobility; and to share the costs and help prevent and alleviate the adverse impact of change, of any type, on displaced workers.

Mr. Speaker, the problems of providing employment, encouraging retraining programs, making adjustments to the shift in the employment structure, including the displacement of workers through defense cutbacks and so many others arising out of the automatic age present one of the greatest challenges of our time. This challenge will require the fullest cooperation of all levels of government and demand the utmost concentration of all our intellectual resources to the planning of wise, constructive uses of the benefits of automation.

It is only too apparent the impact of automation and mechanization on our economy must inspire new economic thinking and the most comprehensive planning in protecting and projecting our general progress and continuing welfare. As an imperative step toward this patriotic objective I most earnestly hope that the provisions of H.R. 11611 will soon become the law of our land.

Hon. L. D. "Red" Webster and Hon. Hubert Gregg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most interesting article about two fine east Texas citizens. I have a high regard for both men.

A BAG FULL OF LOVE

During the many years we have been in the newspaper business, no news story has appealed to us more than the one in this publication Tuesday in which our good friend L. D. "Red" Webster bared his oversized heart in relating a vignette that dealt with himself and another beloved east Texan.

The article had to do with the speech Red, as he is affectionately known to his legion of friends, made in Longview before the East Texas Treatment Center in which he recounted the several crossings of his and Hubert Gregg's paths at widely separated times.

It was a heart-warming, soul-stirring occasion, as all who heard the Lone Star Steel Co. vice president would quickly and eagerly testify.

The eloquence of the speech was heightened by the sincerity of the man. It was a masterpiece of human feeling woven into a beautiful fabric of meaningful words.

It was a double mirror, in which the hearts of two men were reflected for all to see.

Entitled "The Story of a Little Brown Bag," the speech reviewed the long friendship of the speaker and Hubert Gregg, the blind musician and peanut vendor. As a 10-year-old boy in El Dorado, Ark., Red was given his first job in 1920 as Hubert's assistant in the operation of a soft drink stand. Later both men left El Dorado, Red moving to Dallas and Hubert to Longview, but they kept in touch with each other through the years. Their most recent meeting was a week ago in Hubert's home.

Here in Red's own words is what took place:

"Seated in the neat little breakfast nook, Gregg and I rehashed our friendship and finally he asked me what I was doing in Longview. I told him about the East Texas Oil Men's Golf Association barbecue, and mentioned that I would return to Longview to speak at the annual meeting of the East Texas Treatment Center.

"Without a word, my blind friend pushed his chair back from the table, walked over to the cupboard, and brought back a paper sack.

" 'Red,' he said, 'I make it a rule never to say anything about my gifts; I think too many people talk too much about their giving, and give too little. I know about the treatment center and the fine work it does for those who are afflicted. I want you to take this money and give it to the center.'

"My friend pushed toward me the little sack, worn and crumpled by the many handlings required to open and close it when pennies and nickels, dimes and quarters were dropped in during the day's work.

"I'm glad Gregg didn't see the tear in my eye as I picked up the sack, and bade him farewell. As I started out I saw his Bible. It didn't look like mine or yours. You see, it was in braille. It was in a dozen or more thick, oversized volumes, whose characters were raised letters which, to be read, had to be touched, each one, by a blind person's fingertips. As my glance lingered on those books, I knew at once that, somewhere on some page, Gregg's fingertips had spelled out a theme about it being more blessed to give than to receive.

"Suddenly there was an aura of greatness that filled the bright little room with sunshine that dried away the tear that I would have been ashamed for Gregg to see. In its place came a swelling, surging sense of appreciation for this blind man, his guardian-at-work (his seeing-eye dog) and for Mrs. Gregg, the homemaker.

"As I walked back to my car, the grass was a little greener, the air a little sweeter, and I was proud to be a friend of Hubert Gregg.

"When I got back to Dallas, I spilled the contents of the sack on the table and began counting. As the coins flicked into my palm, I couldn't help thinking about the untold thousands of steps taken by a man led by a seeing-eye dog as he traveled his routes. I had to think about the number of bags of peanuts that had to be sold before Gregg would have something left over for his own little piggy bank which lay crumpled before me on the table.

"I counted the money, and it came to $17.29, but to me it represented a great deal more than just a pile of coins.

"It was the heart of east Texas. It was a symbol of those who work hard and save, of those who have faith and are willing to sacrifice of those who ask no favors or special privileges, who want only to live their own lives and to be of service to mankind.

"In my book, this sack was a bag full of love."

While endeavoring to manifest his appreciation of Hubert Gregg, Red Webster also projected his own philosophy of life and revealed the brilliance of his mind and the depth of his understanding.

Tall, rugged, forceful, and typically Texan, he is well known and admired throughout the entire Southwest and midcontinent oil and gas regions as well as in newspaper and public relations circles.

Since 1950 when he became public relations director, we have watched with interest his work in behalf of Lone Star Steel Co., a great industrial concern owned and operated by Texas people as the result of the efforts many years ago of the publisher of this newspaper and W. W. Lynch, president of the Texas Power & Light Co. "Red" has done a marvelous job not only for his company but the entire northeast Texas area and Dallas, his home city. He is a member of American Iron & Steel Institute and its national public relations committee; American Petroleum Institute; Sigma Delta Chi; Public Relations Society of America; International Council of Industrial Editors; Dallas Athletic Club; Dallas Press Club; Nomads; Masonic lodge and Hella Temple Shrine; and the Methodist Church. He is in great demand as a speaker, and has written a book on Russia following a visit to that country in 1958.

A native of Texas, "Red" was born in Lubbock, June 10, 1910. He attended Dallas elementary and high schools and Southern Methodist University, and in 1933 began a career with the Dallas Dispatch as a cub reporter, later serving as sports editor, aviation editor, special events editor, promotions and public relations director. From 1941 to 1944 he was general manager of the U.S. Air Force contract flight school at Cuero, and was executive vice president of Red Arrow Freight Lines, of Houston, from 1944 to 1948. During the next 2 years he was in advertising and public relations work in the Bayou City, joining Lone Star Steel in 1950 as public relations director. Three years later he was named vice president, employee-public relations, and in 1955 was advanced to vice president in charge af public relations and advertising.

"Red" is a man's man and a very capable business executive and administrator. Firm in his convictions, resolute and positive in his approach to problems be they large or small, this compassionate and dynamic leader is a loyal and devoted friend of east Texas and an outstanding citizen of Texas.

We salute you, "Red," for being the grand person you are.

—S. A. PARKER.

Address of Samuel Rose at Encampment of United Spanish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the stirring address of Samuel Rose of the Veterans' Administration before the 66th National Encampment of the United Spanish War Veterans on August 31, 1964, at the Hotel Sheraton in Louisville, Ky.:

I have a special spot in my heart for the United Spanish War Veterans, and I am not

alone. Mr. John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator of Veterans Affairs, also has a particularly warm regard for all of you. He has asked me to extend his greetings to your fine commander in chief, Archie House, and your adjutant general, James H. McElroy, and also to express his regrets that he wasn't able to attend your national encampment. The entire Veterans' Administration has a certain special feeling for you. And I can tell you that this entire Nation holds you in great esteem.

And no wonder. You served well; you earned your place in the annals of American bravery.

You are what might be called the "elder statesmen" of America's veterans—but knowing of your activities and your vigor, I prefer to call you our younger elder statesmen.

With your own eyes you have seen some of the most breathtaking developments in all of American history. You have seen this world not only roll forward but jet forward.

Sometimes I suppose you get the feeling that all you can do is hold on to your hat and hang on—things move so fast.

More has happened within the span of your own lives than in all the previous days of American history. Think back for a minute.

When you were fighting the war at the turn of the century and before, there was no such thing as airpower. There was no such thing as the airplane. It hadn't been invented yet. Man was anchored to the ground. But now we fly into Louisville for this 66th national encampment at 600 miles an hour. And, as you know, they're now developing an airplane that will fly 2,000 miles an hour. It should be operational in the next couple of years. I figured out that because of the change in time between Washington and Louisville, with one of those supersonic planes I would be able to arrive here a full hour before I started out.

When you were fighting the Spanish-American War, the biggest weapons you had were some crude cannons * * * crude by modern standards of weaponry, of course. War was then almost a personalized thing. You could see the enemy. You could come to grips with him. And today? Today, we have weapons that could destroy the whole world. And today, electronic data processing is what puts us in touch with the enemy position, not our own scouts. War has always been hell. But today, war would be a particular kind of hell, so brutal that it could wipe us all off the face of the earth.

There have been tremendous changes in all aspects of life. Newspapers have changed. How about our highly organized radio and TV industry? Men and monkeys have orbited the earth since you went to war. Ours is a strangely changed world, compared with the world when you were in uniform, ready to shed your blood for your country. And yet, the more you think about it, the more convinced you are that these fantastic developments, these magical changes, are only surface deep. The outside of life has changed. I do not think the inside of life has changed.

However, the American Nation still shows the same warm consideration toward her former fighting men as she always did * * * ever since the beginning. Did you know that the first law passed by the First Congress of the United States, 'way back when our Nation was just formed, was a law pertaining to veterans and to their welfare? And did you know that even before the United States came into being, back in the days of the colonies, away back in the 1500's, the Massachusetts Colony passed a law pertaining to the welfare of veterans?

That same tradition has carried forth throughout history, from that time to this.

It's that long tradition of regard that makes working at the Veterans' Administration such a pleasure. When we help veterans, when we help care for their needs, certainly we are tending to our fellow human beings, but we are doing something more than that, too. We are carrying out one of the oldest traditions in America—the tradition of consideration for those who served.

That's why the Veterans' Administration makes such a great effort to maintain the individual touch to all it does. After all, we do deal in huge numbers—numbers that would make you dizzy: 22 million veterans; a $5½ billion budget; a compensation and pension program that serves 3 million disabled veterans and 2 million dependents of deceased veterans; the world's largest medical program—168 hospitals, 93 clinics, 5,100 doctors, 15,000 nurses. And yet despite these big numbers, we never do lose sight of the most important number of all. The No. 1, the individual. The veteran himself. Or his widow or his orphan.

The No. 1, the individual, is more important to us than all the dazzling big numbers in the world. By showing him human consideration, by considering his interests as an individual rather than as just one more face in a million, we are doing our best to carry out America's warmhearted tradition to her veterans. This is the way America wants it.

All of which comes down to this point. You United Spanish War veterans, your wives, your children, and your families, should consider the Veterans' Administration not just as an agency of the U.S. Government, but as a friend. The VA is your friend. The VA stands ready to help you when you need help. The VA is interested in you and in your welfare. Your nearest VA regional office is your point of contact with this agency with a heart. And don't ever forget; the VA does have a heart, and does handle its affairs with a heart. That's the way America wants it.

The next point I am going to make you have heard many times before. And I predict you are going to hear it many times again. It is the fact that one reason America loves and respects you is the vital part you played in the course of American history.

Your war was a sort of link between the past and the future. Your war marked the end of one era and the beginning of another era * * * the era we now live in. Let me give y ou a few examples.

Your war freed Cuba from Spanish rule. It's true that some people are wondering whether it was worth the effort, with a man like Castro at its head; but sure, it was worth the effort. Castro will go, someday. And democracy will return to our brave little neighbor in the Southeast. And Cuba will be free—as you intended it to be.

Your war removed Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands from Spanish rule. How much better off those lands are, with the independence to make their own destinies.

Your war brought Hawaii under the flag of the United States * * * our newest State, an important State.

Your war did all that, and a lot more. Your efforts made America see that she couldn't go forever with blinders on her eyes; that she couldn't be an isolationist country in a world growing smaller and smaller; that she had to be part of the world, not apart from it.

Your war made America wake up to the fact that she had to build her defenses in the Pacific * * * and it's fortunate she did, when you consider what happened in that part of the world in World War II.

Your war made America grow up in a hurry—and realize she had a leading part to play in the development of this globe. Your war unlocked the doors that led to America becoming the leading power on the fact of this earth.

There you have something of the true meaning of your noble service in the Spanish-American War of better than 3-score years ago. Now you can see why I say that you have played a much larger part in writing American history than you may realize.

No wonder the population of the United States of America salutes you. No wonder we love and esteem you. No wonder we honor you. No wonder we consider you very special veterans.

And what do we hope for you, our younger elder statesmen? We hope that your days will be filled with contentment; that your memories of the past will be happy; that your bodies retain their vigor and your minds their alertness. We hope that all the days of your lives will be full ones; that your activities will be useful. We hope that all the best will come to the best.

We hope you continue to show your neighbors and all the world that life is worth while; that life can be good at any age and as Robert Browning said:

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the
first was made."

Labor Day Reflections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include some thoughts with respect to Labor Day, 1964, which we should all contemplate:

Mr. Speaker, "To Labor Is To Pray." This, as you probably know, was the motto of Benedict, who, of course, was the founder of the Benedictine Order. It therefore was not surprising, when in reviewing previous Labor Day comments of world leaders, to find this philosophy carried through in the radio broadcast on September 1, 1944, of Pope Pius XII—just over 20 years ago this Labor Day.

The Pope stated:

Private property is a natural fruit of labor, a product of intense activity of man, acquired through his energetic determination to insure and develop with his own strength his own existence and that of his family, and to create for himself and his own an existence of just freedom, not only economic, but also political, cultural, and religious. If a worker is deprived of hope to acquire some personal property, what other natural stimulus can be offered him that will inspire him to hard work, labor, saving, and sobriety today, when so many nations and men have lost everything and all they have left is their capacity for work?

Mr. Speaker, there can be no doubt but what, in the latter instance, the Pope was referring to those nations whose workers have been enslaved in Marxist-Leninist chains. Joseph Stalin had previously admitted this in 1936 when he said:

In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is realized.

To prove his point he quoted article 12 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.

Scholars tell us that this article in the Soviet Constitution was taken from Karl Marx's critique of the Gotha program in 1875 when he summed it all up by saying:

From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want you to listen closely to just one more quote:

We are going to try to take all of the money that we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the "haves" and give it to the "have nots" that need it so much.

I am sure that statement has sent shivers down the spine of the laboring man for it denies an individual the right to private property and the fruits of his labor. This statement was not made in an Iron Curtain country, it was said by President Lyndon Baines Johnson in his White House speech of January 15, 1964. Now think about that for a while.

The Law and the Bombers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, television station WBBM–TV, a Columbia Broadcasting Co. affiliate in Chicago, has been conducting a very strong editorial campaign in recent weeks to strengthen our Federal antibombing law.

I should like to call the attention of the House to an excellent editorial which WBBM–TV voiced on September 2 and 3 on this subject. I am particularly gratified to see WMMB–TV support my efforts to strengthen the antibombing law.

The Justice Department has opposed this legislation on the theory it needs greater freedom and latitude to carry on its work. It is regrettable that the full forces of the FBI cannot be used in Illinois and other parts of the country where, it appears, there exists a gigantic plot to destroy legitimate, successful restaurants.

It is my hope the WBBM–TV editorial will jar the Justice Department into action.

The editorial follows:

STANDPOINT: THE LAW AND THE BOMBERS

The bombers are getting bolder. The outcry for a halt to their terror is getting louder. The task of putting an end to the outrageous depredations doesn't seem to be getting any easier.

Seventy-four times in 2½ years the bombers and burners have struck in the Chicago area. Thirty-nine of the acts of terror have been perpetrated against restaurants or cocktail lounges.

The most recent incident was directed against a restaurant owner who had three times before been the target of arson or bomb attacks. It was the first bombing in the grim, long list, that was ignited against a restaurant during business hours. Some 80 to 100 people fled the place when the bomb tore into the restaurant roof during the peak dinner hour.

Joseph Wilkos, the restaurant owner and four times a victim, now says he wants the Federal Bureau of Investigation to move into the picture. Standpoint has favored Federal intervention in bombing and arson cases through support of legislation already introduced in Congress by Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI and Senator PAUL DOUGLAS.

Their companion measures would make it mandatory for the FBI to enter a bombing or arson case which remained unsolved after 24 hours. Now such FBI action is discretionary with the Department of Justice, which orders FBI investigations only when it appears an existing Federal law has been broken.

We believe that any law which would throw the full power of the Federal Government into an investigation of the Chicago area's reign of terror would be a useful weapon.

Legislative wheels grind slowly, however, and at the moment, the bombing and arson outrages remain the concern of local law enforcement agencies. These agencies, together and separately, have looked into all 74 cases committed in the past 30 months. Not one arrest has been made. Not one case has been solved.

Now a special Cook County Grand Jury has been convened by State's Attorney Daniel Ward. Its first chore, apparently, will be to listen to a recital of explanations by half a dozen law enforcement agencies as to why the bombers and burners still are free, after two and a half years of terror.

After that, presumably, some of the victims like Joseph Wilkos will be called to testify. This probably will be the most fruitful testimony since it is fairly hard to stomach the notion that every one of the victims of 74 cases of bombing and arson would be totally ignorant of why anyone would want to terrorize him.

There is only a faint pattern to the outrages, but it appears to be sufficient to discount the theory that a crackpot "mad bomber" has been terrorizing the community for two and a half years just for kicks.

Whether the terror is the work of the crime syndicate, the result of labor disputes, or the adventures of predator racketeers, we believe some painstaking police work can bring it to an end.

It is high time that it be brought to an end.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Statement of C. E. Goldberg, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., Before the Committee on Ways and Means, During Its Excise Tax Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 13, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, few sports in the United States have achieved nationwide popularity as fast as has the sport of bowling. It is a great game, good for all ages and sexes. It can be a wonderful family outing and can also do much for office morale. It works well in both country and in the city. It is a healthy sport and can even be handled by persons who in some way or other are handicapped. It is a highly competitive sport and therefore good for American sense of competition.

Recently Mr. C. E. Goldberg, chairman of the executive committee of Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., and its affiliated organizations, the New York State Bowling Proprietors and the New York City Bowling Proprietors Conference, testified before the Ways and Means Committee at its excise tax hearings, urging repeal of the bowling excise tax.

I think Mr. Goldberg made an excellent statement, and because of my enthusiasm for this American sport I am including Mr. Goldberg's testimony in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF C. E. GOLDBERG, WASHINGTON, D.C., CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF BOWLING PROPRIETORS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DURING ITS EXCISE TAX HEARINGS, JULY 30, 1964

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity of appearing before you on behalf of the Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., of which I am chairman of the executive committee. Our association, which is more familiarly known as BPAA, includes in its membership the proprietors of 6,242 bowling establishments operating 116,632 bowling lanes located in every State of the United States. Our membership covers all aspects of bowling—tenpins, duckpins, rubberband duckpins, and candlepins.

The American Bowling Congress and the National Duckpin Bowling Congress have certified for the current year 11,336 bowling establishments with an aggregate of 164,300 bowling lanes in the United States, so that we represent more than half of the bowling establishments and almost three-fourths of the bowling lanes in the United States. I am sure, however, that every bowling proprietor in the country is in accord with the views which I shall express today.

The tax whose repeal I urge upon you today is embodied in section 4471 of the Internal Revenue Code, which provides:

"There shall be imposed a special tax to be paid by every person who operates a bowling alley, billiardroom, or poolroom at the rate of $20 a year for each bowling alley, billiard table, or pool table."

There are exempted from this tax such of the facilities as are located in a hospital, or are maintained exclusively for the use of members of the Armed Forces, or are maintained by nonprofit organizations or by an agency of the United States.

With a total of 164,300 bowling lanes in the United States, it produces revenues for the Government of only $3,286,000 a year. Yet to an industry which is economically distressed, with many suffering bankruptcies, going out of business, and generally facing financial chaos, this is a sum which means a great deal.

This tax was initially imposed during the First World War as a temporary wartime excise tax at the rate of $10 a year for each bowling lane. It continued on such a temporary basis until the Second World War. Then, as we entered the Second World War, and again as a temporary wartime measure, it was increased to $20 a lane. For 20 years it has continued in effect at this rate, although the Congress has eliminated many of the temporary wartime tax increases imposed on other industries.

We have never previously come to Congress and asked for relief through the repeal or modification of this tax because we have not until the past 3 years experienced serious economic distress. We are essentially an industry of small businessmen, and so long as we have been able to do so, we have paid whatever taxes Congress has seen fit to levy upon us. Today over 80 percent of the bowling lanes in the United States are owned by individuals or companies operating three or less bowling establishments. Due to the fact that more and more of our bowling proprietors have been unable to meet their obligations, we are for the first time coming to you for relief.

Bowling is no luxury. Bowling is the poor man's golf, tennis, polo, and bridge all rolled into one. Bowling is the American sport which has more participants than any other sport or recreational activity. It is a sport in which whole families engage. Bowling is fundamentally a participation, and not an exhibition, sport. The American Bowling Congress and the Women's International Bowling Congress have in membership in the United States more than 8 million men and women who bowl at least once a week at least 26 weeks a year. And those organizations alone sanction more than 17,000 bowling tournaments each year.

It is a paradox that, at a time when more people are bowling than in any previous year, and when the public is spending more money on bowling than ever before, we should be suffering from the severe economic distress with which we are now confronted. This is explainable by the fact that in 1961 the percentage increase of bowling lanes was for the first time greater than the percentage increase in organized bowlers. And since then, although the gross amount spent on bowling on an overall basis has never been so large, the revenue per bowling lane has dropped precipitously.

I am not here to point the finger or seek to place the blame for the enormous irresponsible expansion of bowling lanes that took place some years ago, or for the philosophy that assumed that placing a bowling facility at any crossroads, no matter how sparsely populated, would produce profits. I am here to ask your assistance for our industry in our efforts to climb out of the quicksand in which we now find ourselves.

I call your attention, however, to the fact that the reports of the Small Business Administration, an agency of the Federal Government, disclose that in recent years it has made loans for the purpose of construction of new bowling establishments and the refinancing of already established operators which in the peak years almost equaled the amount of revenues collected by the Government from bowling establishments under the alley bed tax. In some cases loans were made by the SBA after loan applications to private lending agencies had been turned down because of their awareness of the precariousness of the business. In many such cases the bowling establishments constructed with the proceeds of such loans have been unsuccessful and in some cases the proprietors have gone into bankruptcy.

BPAA recently retained Dun & Bradstreet to make an economic survey of the bowling business. I attach a copy of the report for 1963 entitled "Cost of Doing Business in the Bowling Industry."

In this report Dun & Bradstreet stated that the overall reports from 504 bowling establishments showed a net loss of 0.4 percent. It shows that half of the participants reported a profit, and half reported a loss. Those that showed a profit reported a profit before taxes of 5.3 percent on average gross receipts of $204,555. Those that showed a loss reported a loss of 7.4 percent on average gross receipts of $188,281.

The health of any industry is, of course, reflected in the financial condition of those companies who are its suppliers. The two principal suppliers of bowling equipment and accessories are American Machine & Foundry Co. and Brunswick Corp.

For years these companies had no problems with their bowling accounts. For almost 30 years no bowling establishment was involved in a bankruptcy proceeding. Since 1961, however, the situation has been quite different, and this undoubtedly stems from the fact that these two manufacturers engaged in a race to urge a reckless expansion and the building of more and more bowling establishments, without regard to prudent business standards, and caused the opening of many more bowling facilities than the 20 million bowlers, and the expected increase in bowlers, could possibly absorb.

In 1962 Brunswick had to repossess 580 bowling lanes, and in 1962 it had to repossess approximately 1,800 more. In 1963 AMF had to repossess 1,300 bowling lanes. In 1964 both companies have had to continue to do this.

AMF primarily rents its automatic pinspotters, although it sells its other bowling equipment. It collects rentals from its pinspotters at the rate of 10 cents for each game bowled on them. Between 1961 and 1963 its bowling rentals decreased about $11 million on an annual basis. In 1961 AMF's annual volume from sales of bowling equip-

ment was $61,400,000; in 1963 it dropped to $35 million.

As of December 31, 1961, AMF's accounts receivable amounted to only $20,500,000; on March 31, 1964 they had increased to $74,400,000.

Brunswick has had a parallel financial experience.

Both companies have had to set up huge special reserves to meet expected defaults in their bowling accounts.

During the 5-year period immediately preceding 1963, primarily at the instigation of the equipment manufacturers and suppliers, many public and syndicated companies were formed that went to the public to obtain funds with which to go into the business of building and operating bowling establishments.

Unfortunately, because the SEC does not classify its registration statements by industry, we found it impossible to ascertain the total number and the aggregate amount of such public offerings. However, we were able to locate and examine the registration statements and subsequent annual reports of 30 bowling companies which had made public offerings during these 5 years, and found they had publicly offered their common stock and debentures in the aggregate amount of $33 million.

At the peak of the bowling fever which seized the financial markets, the securities of 20 of these issuing bowling companies that reported, their market highs and lows, showed an aggregate high-market value of $247,506,129, which has now declined to an aggregate low-market value of $19,349,118. We feel that this tremendous drop in the market value of bowling securities is most significant and reflective of the present distress in the bowling industry.

Two of the bowling companies whose SEC registration statements and reports were examined have gone out of business. Three more have gone into bankruptcy, one under chapter X and two under chapter XI.

From information obtained from examining the SEC registration statements and subsequent annual reports of these 30 bowling companies, it appears that in 1959, 10 reported net profits, 3 showed net losses. In 1960, 14 reported net profits, 6 reported net losses. In 1961, 12 reported net profits, 9 reported net losses. In 1962, 10 reported net profits, 12 reported net losses. In 1963, 6 reported net profits, 13 reported net losses.

During this 5-year period, these bowling companies have fallen off sharply in their reflection of earnings per share and many have gone from a substantially plus earnings per share position to a deficit situation. The rise in earnings to a 1960 peak, and then the sharp downward swing through 1963, is apparent from the figures I have given you.

Financially, bowling is a sick industry, although paradoxically enough there are more people bowling and more money being spent on bowling than ever before. We are waging a strenuous fight to restore health to our industry. I have no doubt and every expectation that we will be successful, and that we will retain for our young people an exciting recreation which has remarkable character building effects.

If the Congress will repeal this "temporary war-time excise tax" you will be making a great contribution to our recovery. You will have given us the equivalent of an additional 7,500,000 games of bowling a year, and this will be a powerful shot in the arm. It will be substantial tax relief to some 10,000 small businessmen, and to many of us it may mean the difference between staying in and going out of business.

While the alley bed tax which I have just discussed is our primary concern, there are two additional excise taxes that have a serious impact upon bowling, to which I would like to refer briefly.

Many, if not most, bowlers bowl as members of bowling leagues. Those leagues customarily reserve the use of bowling lanes at a bowling establishment once a week for 26 to 33 weeks each year. More than 7,500,000 such league bowlers belong to the American Bowling Congress (ABC) and the Woman's International Bowling Congress (WIBC). They pay dues to the ABC and WIBC, and to the affiliated State and city bowling associations in their communities, and they also pay dues to their leagues which cover the costs of their league bowling. There are probably several million additional bowlers who also bowl as members of leagues outside of the ABC and WIBC. Duckpin bowlers, for example, bowl in leagues of the National Duckpin Bowling Congress.

Section 4241 of the Internal Revenue Code applies an excise tax of 20 percent "of any amount paid as dues or membership fees to any social, athletic, or sporting club or organization, if the dues or fees of an active resident annual member are in excess of $10 a year." Section 4242(a) provides that dues as used therein include any assessment, irrespective of the purpose for which made, and any charges for social privileges or facilities, or for golf, tennis, polo, swimming, or other athletic or sporting privileges or facilities, for any period of more than 6 days.

Bowling leagues do not, of course, own or operate their own bowling facilities. They do not have clubhouses or their own facilities. It has never been thought that the club dues tax is applicable to them and to the bowling charges which they incur.

However, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has now taken the position that the club dues tax is applicable, and in the case of *J. R. Johnston* v. *Commissioner*, Federal Judge Charles Wyzanski of the U.S. District Court for Massachusetts has recently held that the amount paid by a taxpayer as a member of a bowling club for participation in bowling league competition at commercial bowling alleys is subject to the dues tax. The court found that the right of the bowler, as member of a bowling league, to use the commercial bowling lanes in a bowling establishment on 26 specific occasions constituted repeated and general use of a common club facility for an appreciable period of time and so was taxable.

In the many years that there has been a club dues tax, it has never been thought that it was applicable to the cost of bowling as a member of a bowling league. If the cost of bowling is to be increased by such an additional 20 percent, it can very well result in a further loss of bowling business to the detriment of both the bowler and the bowling proprietor. It is respectfully requested that the committee make it clear that it was not the intent of Congress to make the club dues tax so applicable.

Finally, I call your attention to section 4161 of the Internal Revenue Code, which imposes a manufacturer's excise tax of 10 percent on bowling balls and pins, which in turn is passed on to the bowling proprietors. An average bowling establishment replaces 77 sets of pins each year, each set costing an average of $48. Multiplying the 77 sets per establishment by the 6,000-plus establishments in our association, would show an annual use of 462,000 sets of pins, and multiplying this figure by the average price of $48 per set indicates that approximately $22 million annually is spent by our members for bowling pins.

It is estimated that more than a half million bowling balls are sold annually at an aggregate price of $7,500,000. The annual sales of bowling pins and balls come to approximately $29,500,000. The amount collected by the Treasury under this 10-percent tax would total slightly less than $3 million annually.

The manufacturers of bowling balls and pins have indicated that, if this tax should be repealed, the tax saving would be passed on to the bowling proprietors. It goes without saying that if tax relief of this sort were given, it would be of tremendous assistance to our efforts to rehabilitate our very depressed bowling industry.

Galveston, Tex., Has Successful Project for School Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 9, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, high school dropouts pose a major problem for American education. In addition to the personal tragedy to the individuals themselves, dropouts are a problem for society. School dropouts of 1962 had an unemployment rate of 28.6 percent in October 1962.

This summer, the people of Galveston, Tex., endeavored to meet the school dropout issue headon, and did so with apparent success. In a special instruction project at Galveston's Central High School, 87 percent of the class completed the course of instruction and advanced an average of one grade level. Most of the students had IQ's well below 100.

The people of Galveston are to be commended for their progressive attitude. I hope more of our communities will follow Galveston's example in doing more than merely talk about an unfortunate situation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Special Project for Dropouts Called Success." The article was published in the Houston Chronicle on September 3, 1964.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Sept. 3, 1964]

SPECIAL PROJECT FOR DROPOUTS CALLED SUCCESS

GALVESTON.—A special instructional project for high school dropouts and potential dropouts conducted this summer was an apparent success, the Galveston school board was told Wednesday night.

Dr. Leon Morgan, principal of Central High School, and Frank Vollert, district curriculum director, reported progress during an 8-week period.

Dr. Morgan said Central's program began with 30 students, 26 of which stayed to the end. He said those students who remained advanced one grade level on the average and that attendance was 84.8 percent, well above the average.

He also said student attitude toward the program was very good.

The principal said special materials were used which allowed for more individualized instruction in numerical and reading skills. Psychiatric social workers, psychologists, and highly trained teachers conducted classes.

Most of the students had IQ's well below 100 Dr. Morgan said.

School superintendent, Dr. Morgan Evans said funds for a more extensive program are

not now available, but it is hoped that donations and grants will be made available to further the project.

He said he would like to start the program on the junior high level.

The program at Ball High School started out with a class of 15, but only finished with 5.

Dr. Evans said the administration will recommend the dropout program be continued during the regular term.

Seymour Siegel's Penchant for Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I am today inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article that appeared in the New York Herald Tribune magazine section of August 30. It is about Seymour Siegel, the indefatigable program director of radio station WNYC. Sy Siegel, as he is known by his friends, has been in charge of WNYC ever since Fiorello La Guardia put him there in 1934.

No testimonial to Sy Siegel and to the job that he has done in the public interest in his radio station could be better than this article by Ruth Biemiller. It is deserving of wide attention. Congratulations to the author, Ruth Biemiller, and to Sy Siegel of radio station WNYC.

The article follows:

SEYMOUR SIEGEL'S "PENCHANT FOR SURVIVAL"

(By Ruth Biemiller)

"Raise your right hand," said Fiorello Henry La Guardia.

Seymour N. Siegel raised his right hand. Seconds later he was, somewhat to his surprise, assistant program director of radio station WNYC. "And now, Sy," said the mayor, "your first assignment is to go across the street and close the joint down."

That was January 1934, 2 days after the Little Flower stepped into city hall to begin the first of three warm, turbulent, outrageously high-handed, benevolently paterfamiliastic and hotly reformist terms as mayor of the city of New York. One of his campaign promises had been that he would, if elected, save the people's money by scuttling the city's 12-year-old broadcasting station.

His chosen demolition deputy had not applied for the job. Siegel worked for La Guardia in the 1933 Fusion campaign and had known him since 1924, the year La Guardia, running on the Progressive ticket, had defeated his father, Justice Isaac Siegel of domestic relations court, then Republican candidate for Representative from the 20th Congressional District, an office Judge Siegel had held from 1914 until 1922. But in 1924 young Seymour Siegel (B.S., University of Pennsylvania, 1929; M.A., Columbia, 1932) was happily settled in a Wall Street brokerage firm, writing its daily market letter.

Today, 30 years later, the "joint" is still swinging, and Seymour Siegel with it.

Not only did he not liquidate WNYC. Backed by a La Guardia who was soon employing the station to the advantage of the mayor's office and to the delectation of the citizenry, he remained there, growing with the station as he found new ways to forge a communications link between various municipal departments (markets, health, education, parks, police, fire, etc.) and the people they were created to serve. That he also successfully pioneered in egghead programing—broadening the "good music" concept already identified with WNYC (recordings had been a staple since the station's early days) to include live music, folk music, hi-fi gospel and premieres of contemporary American and European music; experimenting with "talk" presentations of poetry, multilingual drama, books, discussions of issues of the day, comment on the United States from foreign periodicals, gavel-to-gavel U.N. proceedings, municipal budget hearings—speaks for the intelligence of the New Yorkers who are long-time devotees of WNYC, and for his prescience.

For the poets and professors and assorted long-hairs who were thoroughly noncommercial when Siegel first put them on air have since become relatively hot commercial properties. This creates a problem for Siegel—"they've come to like money, and I can't afford even token payment—not even carfare," he said recently. But he appeared undaunted. This is not the first, the worst, or the last problem of his municipal career, and it is obvious that he not only accepts but thrives on the crises presented by a zero budget for talent and the necessity to push onward and upward with both ears to the ground, one for the citizens of a great city, the other for their elected representatives.

As director of the Municipal Broadcasting System, to which post he was appointed in 1947, Siegel is now the boyish, crewcut dean of municipal appointees (Robert Moses having abandoned the city for greener meadows) and custodian of an octopine operation encompassing film production, an extensive public address system, two-way municipal radio communications, traffic coordination, the mayor's committee on living music, and a communications center known to the public as 999–1234, a telephone number which when called imparts up-to-the-minute information about traffic snarls and ferryboat contretemps as well as miscellaneous emergency bulletins occasioned by "weather" and other disasters. And, in addition to WNYC and WNYC–FM, there has been, since November 1962, WNYC–TV, an ultra-high-frequency television station, the only municipally operated television station in the country, and the most powerful television station in the world.

WNYC–TV is the most recent development in the electronic revolution which has overtaken the city under Siegel's direction. It is doubtful if the city fathers would ever have allocated funds for the facility, but Siegel, who long ago foresaw the usefulness to the city and its people of municipal television, not to mention its inevitability, effected a stunning deal with the Federal Communications Commission which made the installation financially feasible—that is to say, practically free. The city operated the station on an experimental basis for 1 year, enabling the FCC to test the effectiveness of UHF broadcasting in densely built-up areas. The FCC then turned over to the city $2 million worth of transmitting equipment, plus antenna, with the understanding that the city would pay off a $384,000 balance due RCA for leased equipment.

At formal dedication ceremonies of WNYC–TV, or channel 31, Mayor Wagner remarked on the man who has scaled countless creative and departmental Everests in the course of his career with the city. "You have a penchant for survival, Sy," said the mayor.

A penchant for survival, certainly: 30 years and four frequently-troubled administrations. But isn't there a passion for anonymity, as well? To the 350,000 to 400,000 New Yorkers who have listened regularly over the years to WNYC, the words "Seymour N. Siegel, director," are as familiar as the call letters of the station, yet few of them know more about the man than his name. Throughout this country and in Europe he is known and honored in his field. To many people in the world he is, in fact, Mr. Non-Commercial Broadcasting, but he has managed to function at top professional posts (presidency of National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the General Assembly of Prix Italia and chairman, International Broadcasting Council) and to receive distinguished honors (the French and Netherlands Governments have decorated him, and his awards and citations are literally too numerous to mention) with minimum fanfare and no personal exploitation whatsoever.

Could there be a relation between survival and anonymity? This question Siegel treated lightly—he is not in the least pompous—but added that personal publicity interests him very little, except where it increases public awareness of the constantly expanding services of the city. It is not often that a man who says he doesn't want publicity really means it, but Siegel was matter-of-fact and completely convincing on this point. If fame is eliminated as a motive, why does Siegel remain in public service, many aspects of which are sheer hell—budget limitations, pressures from politicians, pressures from citizens solo and in groups, some pro bono publico, some definitely self-seeking?

Money? Siegel started with the city at $3,000 and moved gradually and recently to $15,000. Any day he chooses to leave the city for commercial broadcasting, he could command a six-figure salary.

Not for money, obviously. Why, then?

"I know of no place where you could have as much fun," he said. "That and a wide range of experience. Take this morning. We had a session with the housing authority. It has become imperative that they have a police frequency if they are to protect their tenants. It happens that there is no frequency available. We're going to have to find one."

Until now, Siegel's manner had been friendly and easy—and precise and sure, the practiced sureness of a man accustomed to deal with the public who must therefore be a diplomat, accountable for what he says. Now, as he explored the possibility of finding a nonexistent frequency, the public servant syndrome vanished. Animated, absorbed in the problem, he launched into the story of a similar impasse. Not long ago it became obvious that ferryboats, in the interests of safety, must have a frequency. Marine frequencies in the New York area are densely occupied. On the technicality that ferryboats function as bridges, he was able to arrange a highway maintenance frequency. Months later, on the very day it was installed, Washington ruled that all ferryboats must have marine frequencies. After much legislative and legalistic causerie, a modus vivendi was achieved.

An even more complex problem has been finding a site for a new, powerful transmitter which will solve many technical problems that have plagued the municipal broadcasting system. "I've been in the real estate business," Siegel said, looking a trifle outraged, and there followed such a tale of crises involving several Federal and many local agencies and pressure groups and contract deadlines as to make the perils of Pauline pale. (It looks as though the transmitter will occupy 50 acres on Staten Island, part of a disused hospital site.)

The impact of the city's radio and television programs is in some ways difficult to assess. The city cannot afford commercial rating services, but Pulse and Nielsen frequently forward old reports made for commercial broadcasters from which it is possible to extrapolate information about the WNYC and WNYC–TV public. It is on this basis that the audience of 350,000 to 400,000 is established.

Siegel says, "One million words on public health go out each year. Are they effective? We really can't say. But suppose they did not go out?

"Again, 20,000 missing persons are reported yearly on our missing persons program. I know of only half a dozen who have been found directly because of our broadcasts. There may be hundreds more. I don't know. But I do know that there are other values. For families of missing persons, there is the knowledge that something is being done. That is a value."

Mail and telephone calls are obvious yardsticks. When the station drops everything, as it frequently does, for one of its festivals—a week or more of concentration on education, books, mental health, drama, music (from Lincoln's Birthday to Washington's Birthday for 25 years, the American Music Festival has flooded the airwaves with such a feast of American music as has never been heard or thought of elsewhere)—devotees of regularly scheduled programs scream with frustration, via letter, postcard, or telephone.

"If a United Nations program is canceled, the switchboards light up like Christmas trees," according to John De Prospo, Siegel's executive officer and himself a dedicated municipal employee. When WNYC carried direct live broadcasts of the recent FCC hearings on the decline and fall of original drama on commercial television, enthusiastic letters of appreciation poured in at the rate of close to 2,000 a day.

The instinct to eliminate the city's broadcasting system has not been limited to La Guardia. From the time WNYC was established in 1922 under the administration of Mayor John Hylan and under the special aegis of Grover Whelan, then commissioner of plants and structures, it has been a favorite target. As Siegel says, "With a $2 billion overall city budget, the only cut anybody can think of is the $500,000 for the communications system. It doesn't happen much any more, but when it does I make a point of going directly to the person and submitting the facts."

Actually, nobody seriously attempts these days to abolish WNYC, and it is largely Siegel's stewardship of the station which has removed it from annual and perennial danger of its life. Even the citizens' budget commission, which battled the station for 30 years as a waste of public money, admitted a year ago that the station was doing a good job for the people.

The facts submitted by Siegel are of course the long list of services the municipal broadcasting system renders other city departments and the money it saves them. The public address system alone covers 400 city functions a year, including park concerts, youth board dances (four a night during the summer). There is also crowd control: from Friday to Tuesday during the recent unpleasantness in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, the police requested and operated five public address trucks. The two-way communications system, in its reports from reservoirs alone, saves the city $15,000 a month in toll calls.

Another saving to the city stems from what has come to be called "scrambled yeggs," the morning lineup which begins WNYC–TV's broadcasting day. Suspects face cameras at Centre Street headquarters. To protect their civil rights, the picture is scrambled beyond recognition before it goes on air. With a decoder, detectives view the lineup at five uptown precincts, thus saving the cost of the daily trip downtown.

There have been those who would abolish WNYC, and there have been those who would like to see it go commercial. But the fact of the matter is that costs would rise sharply were the city's broadcasting system to go commercial, and it is doubtful whether or not it could compete on a commercial basis with other stations. Certainly many of the service and creative aspects of its programing would change.

The immediate future for Siegel will obviously be getting channel 31 off the ground. There is a strong probability that the same battles he has fought for technical excellence and programing integrity for radio will have to be fought all over again.

In Siegel's future, also, is the implementation of a poverty project program which he has submitted to the Federal Government. As he visualizes it, 300 youngsters will be involved initially and the city's broadcasting system will be the training ground in technical and creative skills and disciplines, with orchestral and choral groups a distinct possibility.

The poverty project program will be an extension of an internship plan which has existed for the past 15 years. Young people enrolled in it have not been paid, as they will be in the new venture, but every station in New York City and many elsewhere have WNYC alumni on staff.

Siegel has approached broadcasting mindful of its potential and has striven to push that potential to its limits, in terms of service on two levels: the working of the city and the cultural enrichment of the city. In the face of many odds, he has done a superb job. But he was lucky; nobody in the world has had quite his chance to function creatively on such a scale in this relatively new technological world. In other countries, noncommercial broadcasting is by and large propaganda ridden, locked up in political considerations. Commercial broadcasting has its own limitations.

One can, with feeling, wish a long life to WNYC, WNYC–TV, and Seymour Siegel.

Dr. Fred D. Maurer, of Texas A. & M. University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 9, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the people of Texas are, I believe, justly proud of the many fine accomplishments which have taken place over the years at Texas A. & M. University. The advances in agriculture and engineering which have been the fruits of painstaking research by Texas A. & M. scientists have helped raise the living standards of all Americans.

The hope that Texas A. & M. will continue its outstanding work has been swelled by the appointment of Dr. Fred D. Maurer as associate dean and professor of pathology. Dr. Maurer has recently been awarded the Nation's second highest peacetime award, the Legion of Merit, by the U.S. Army.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Army Awards A. & M. Dean Second Highest Honor."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARMY AWARDS A. & M. DEAN SECOND HIGHEST HONOR

COLLEGE STATION.—Dr. Fred D. Maurer, new associate dean and professor of pathology at Texas A. & M. University, College Station, has been awarded the Nation's second highest peacetime award, the Legion of Merit, by the U.S. Army.

A retired colonel, Dr. Maurer was presented the award by Maj. Gen. Joseph E. Bastion, Jr., commanding general of the Armor Center at Fort Knox, Ky.

The new A. & M. faculty member will assume duties here September 1 after 20 years' military service. He is known for his research with viruses and animal diseases.

A Cornell University graduate, Dr. Maurer earlier was cited by the Army for establishing laboratory practices that curbed animal diseases threatening the livestock of Canada.

His latest assignment was with the Army Medical Research Laboratory at Fort Knox, where he headed the department of pathology and division of medicine.

Dr. Maurer also is president of the American College of Veterinary Pathologists.

Certificates of Deposit and Bank Failures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert S. Messersmith, president of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, has recently made some interesting remarks on the improper and dangerous practices going on with respect to certificates of deposit. A certificate of deposit, Mr. Speaker, is a negotiable instrument created by a commercial bank and which represents a deposit liability of the bank. These instruments represent an increasingly popular means for banks to attract large deposits quickly. Recently it has come to my attention that this instrument has been the subject of grave abuses. Mr. Messersmith, on the president's page of the August 1964, issue of the National League Journal, has the following comment on the Federal banking agencies' failure to regulate the use of certificates of deposit:

CERTIFICATE OF DEPOSIT
(By Robert S. Messersmith)

The most extraordinary aspect of the fiasco over certificates of deposit is that the Federal banking authorities have yet to take one single regulatory action against the commercial banking industry to prevent issuance of worthless certificates of deposits.

So far as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is concerned, only two actions have been taken: (1) It has closed the allegedly insolvent banks which issued the certificates of deposit; and (2) It has refused to pay some depositors in the now defunct banks who probably thought that the certificates of deposit they bought from a broker at a premium were insured at least to $10,000. Whether the latter is good or bad, right or wrong, is beside the point and will, in any event, be decided by the courts.

The real issue is whether the Federal banking authorities are going to tighten their regulation to protect the public against commercial banks selling in the public marketplace certificates of deposit which may prove later to be of little or no value.

While the banking authorities ponder the problem, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board has stepped into the picture to provide new regulatory protections for the savings and loan business. But the fact remains that the problem is not fundamentally one for the Bank Board; it is a clear-cut problem for the FDIC and other bank regulators.

Moreover, the recent bank failures in Texas and Michigan disclose serious regulatory shortcomings which ought to be examined and remedied. Banks ought not to be immune from the kind of tighter regulations which the Bank Board has recently promulgated for the savings and loan industry.

Appendix

The Reapportionment Question Requires Deep Consideration by Every Citizen in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, although the House has already passed the Tuck bill, and I cast my vote for it, there is growing indication that the provisions of that bill will not be affirmed by the Senate.

However, a measure of some kind should be enacted to postpone for a reasonable period the effectiveness of the recent Supreme Court decision on this important matter.

There are numerous bills, mine among them, which would provide that for 7 years the Federal courts could have no jurisdiction over any action to reapportion one house of a State legislature if the other house of such legislature is apportioned according to population.

During the grace period the several States could consider and act upon a constitutional amendment which would permit the States to apportion one house of their legislatures on considerations other than population.

Constitutional amendments require approval by three-fourths of the States, or 38 States under the present makeup of the Union. Surely if that many States desire to operate under the so-called Federal system, the popularity of that system should be manifest. I am not impressed by the argument that the Federal system was a compromise effected when the smaller colonies held a gun to the head of the larger ones back in our formative days. The important thing is that the system has worked, no matter what kind of labor pains it has had.

The country is clearly divided on the issue, but all divisions do not necessarily follow the expected line; that is, small town or rural communities opposing the High Court, and urban concentrations supporting it.

Appearing on the same day, September 1, 1964, in newspapers 1,100 miles apart, were the following two editorials taking essentially the same theme. One was in the Washington Daily News, Nation's Capital flagship of the great Scripps-Howard chain, and the other in Fred Morain's Jefferson (Iowa) Bee, the weekly county seat newspaper of Greene County, Iowa. Both argue for giving the people, through their legislatures, a chance to ratify a restatement of the guidelines to be employed in constituting a State legislature.

The Supreme Court's view of the 14th amendment, through which they reached this tortured ruling, is a pronouncement so far reaching that the only possible time to remedy the potential damage is now, while a free and unpressured electorate can still assert itself.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point, I include herein the two editorials heretofore mentioned, one from the Washington Daily News and the other from the Jefferson Bee:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 1, 1964]

THE REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE

An argument that rings the bell with us in the heated debate over the Supreme Court's equal-population-basis decision for apportionment of State legislatures is:

Why should it be unconstitutional for a State legislature to be set up along lines regarded as strictly constitutional for the Federal Legislature? To wit, one house on a population basis and the other on a basis including geography.

The Supreme Court gave short shrift to this line of argument in its controversial 6-to-3 decision on June 15, holding that under the 14th amendment it is unconstitutional for either house of a State legislature to be apportioned on other than a population basis. The Court majority said the Federal-State situations were not analogous.

This decision now, of course, is the law of the land.

But there is great disagreement as shown by the strength of the Dirksen-Mansfield "breather" amendment in the Senate and by the 218-to-175 House vote last week for the Tuck bill to deprive the Supreme Court of jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures.

And just how important is the Court's decision was stated best by Justice Potter Stewart in his vigorous dissent:

"The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures, of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union."

With the situation as chaotic as it is in many States and with the issue of such overriding importance, it seems mandatory for Congress upon its return after the Democratic Convention to pass something such as the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment. This would give Congress time at its next session to decide whether to submit to the States the proposed constitutional amendment to allow a State, if its voters approve, to set up a legislature along Federal lines—one house on a strict population basis and the other taking geography and other factors into account.

Such a constitutional amendment seems highly desirable. The States should be given some latitude on how they want to set up their legislatures.

Under the highly regarded Federal system, for example, New York with 16.5 million people has 2 U.S. Senators and Nevada with only 285,000 citizens also has 2 U.S. Senators. That's constitutional and—so far—hasn't ruined the country.

Why shouldn't it be made constitutional for the voters of California, for instance, if they so choose, to set up one house of its legislature on an other-than-population basis to keep Los Angeles County from dominating its legislature?

[From the Jefferson (Iowa) Bee, Sept. 1, 1964]

REAPPORTIONMENT AND THE CONGRESS

The matter of legislative reapportionment continues to be a hot issue at both the State and National levels.

There is widespread feeling that the Federal Supreme Court decision which would seem to require that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned strictly on a population basis is just about as extreme as are legislatures which have neither house on a population basis. The feeling has led to a number of suggestions in the Congress which would take the matter away from court control.

Some of the congressional bills are foolish, some—it seems—are unconstitutional. However, one which is cosponsored by Iowa's Senator Jack Miller, with bipartisan support, would require that one house of a State legislature be apportioned strictly on population but would give to the people of a State the exclusive power to determine the makeup of the other house.

Miller, in his explanation of the bill, says: "There are many who believe that to have a check-and-balance legislative system, other factors than population should govern the composition of the second house. It isn't just a case of representing acres. Economic interests which are vital to a State and its people, such as agricultural land, mineral deposits, recreational areas, industrial section, are not necessarily accompanied by a large resident population. It would seem that the people of a State should have the right to take such factors into account, if they wished, in establishing a check-and-balance legislative system."

When the people of Iowa began their debate on reapportionment several years ago, there was no thought that both houses should be entirely on population. We are convinced that, if given an opportunity to vote on the matter at this time, such would not be approved. There is recognition that the "other factors" of which Senator Miller speaks—particularly that of agriculture—are entitled to legislative representation in Iowa on a different basis than a simple count of hands.

The Congress will probably not get around to passing the measure before it adjourns this fall but it should be high on the agenda when it reconvenes after the first of the year.

In the meantime it will be interesting to watch for the expression of opinion from those who asked for "fair treatment" when the shoe was on the other foot.

Mrs. Michael Kutzmonich's Homemade Delicacies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago while reading one of the distin-

guished weekly papers published in my district, the Mountain View, I came across a story where a well-known TV personality, Nick Adams—"The Rebel"—was visiting relatives in the area. Later on, as a guest on Jack Carson's program, he loudly praised the cooking and canning prowess of his cousin, Mrs. Michael Kutzmonich, of Mountain Top, Pa., my congressional district.

I noticed that the products which were put up and canned were peaches, pears, pickles, strawberry and plum preserves.

As you know, I make it a point from time to time to call attention to the Members of the House that I have other things than coal mines in my district. I have quite a substantial agricultural economy, and whether they are farmers' wives or miners' wives, I have always known there are no better cooks or home canners in the country than I have in my district.

I got in touch with the editor of the Mountain Top View, Mr. Andrew Yurkanin, asked him to get in touch with the lady in question, and if she had any extra jars of these wonderful preserves and fruits, I would be tickled to death to bring them down here, take them to the House dining room, and see that you, Mr. Speaker, had a sample.

Within a week Mrs. Kutzmonich appeared at my residence and left for me some of her peaches, pickles, pears, strawberry and plum preserves.

Well, as you know, Mr. Speaker, I put them on the table in the House dining room, and I never saw anything go so fast in my life. If I had not been there when they were opened, I would never get a taste of them myself. As it was, I got a taste of one pickle, one peach and some of the plum preserves out of the whole batch. I noticed, particularly, the "Big City" boys from New York and Philadelphia, really gobbled up these homemade delicacies—and I know you enjoyed your little taste as well.

United States Pushing Rural Defense To Protect Food Sources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, in its July 19, 1964 edition, carried a story by James E. Vance which outlined the effort being made in rural America by the Office of Civil Defense.

It tells of the progress being made in helping prepare our rural citizens for the possibility, however remote, of nuclear attack. It also tells of the frustrations faced by officials charged with this task in making people aware of the needs.

The Civil Defense Director for Region 5 at Denton, Tex., Bill Parker, provided Vance with the information on which this article is based. I commend this article to my colleagues:

UNITED STATES PUSHING RURAL DEFENSE TO PROTECT FOOD SOURCES

(By James E. Vance)

DENTON, July 18—Human nature being what it is, people often develop an "I could care less" attitude rather than show concern—except when danger appears.

The task of changing that attitude falls to a small army with a two-fold goal should the United States come under a nuclear attack.

"The first job would be to save lives," said Billy J. Cox. "The other would be production of food."

The latter would depend largely on protection of farmers and ranchers and their soil and livestock.

The complex plan for both jobs was unfolded at the Denton Federal Center. The big underground facility serves as the hub of Civil Defense in a five-State area.

Bill Parker, Civil Defense director, said the installation would become the nerve center of all Government activities in the area in the event of a disaster. It's the first of eight such installations.

Cox, education and training specialist, said much emphasis had been placed on shelters and survival of residents in cities.

New emphasis is being placed on rural areas.

"There's no question there would be a substantial number of people killed in a nuclear attack," Cox said. "However, with shelter against fallout, millions would be spared in urban areas.

"In the rural areas chances are that 9 out of 10 people wouldn't be affected by the blast or thermal effects, but it's protection against fallout they and their livestock need."

He said any way to get mass (earth, concrete, or other materials between the drifting menace and people and animals would enhance survival.

The Agriculture Department and its many agencies already are actively engaged in rural defense.

A survey shows 50 percent or more of the population within the five State area (Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana) is within the rural or under 10,000 concentration category.

"Each State and county has a defense board," Cox said. "These are headed by personnel of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. Each of the agencies has a specific assignment in case of disaster."

County agents and specialists of the extension service are training rural people to protect themselves and their livestock.

"A big percentage of rural people have some type of shelter against weather and for storage of food," Cox said. "With a slight modification, including extra dirt on top, a buffer wall at the entrance, and possibly additional ventilation, the existing shelters could be made fallout proof."

Dual-purpose shelters are encouraged offering protection plus space for daily use such as a spare bedroom or storage.

The nature of a nuclear disaster casts an even bigger responsibility on agricultural agencies, farmers, and ranchers to feed people.

"There are reserve stocks, but they are inadequate," Cox explained. "That's the reason we must educate people how they could get soil and livestock productive again when necessary."

He admitted that motivation of people is a difficult task, especially before danger or disaster occurs.

The Agricultural Research Service is engaged in tests with soils, crops, and livestock to determine lethal limits of radiation and action for recovery to reach their normal production.

Cox said the newest approach is a training program for county agricultural agents to qualify for evaluation of rural facilities.

"It just makes good sense for county agents to know how to tell a farmer or rancher how to beef up his facilities to be protected against fallout," Cox explained.

He said future plans call for a rural radiological monitoring network.

"It may sound farfetched from raising crops and livestock," he said, "but it's necessary. Although problems are basically alike, intensity of fallout varies from farm to farm."

The monitoring procedure would be learned from a few hours of instruction, and qualified farmers and ranchers would be issued monitoring instruments. Stockmen could avoid areas with lethal dosage.

By the nature of the civil defense program, Cox admitted people are lackadaisical toward major disasters happening in this country.

"When tension is brought on by such action as the Cuban and Berlin crises, interest in self-protection steps up to a pace equal to grocery grabs on supermarket shelves," Cox said. "It's hard to make people believe the time to get prepared for danger is before it happens."

Devoted Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Kansas recently lost one of its able and hard-working weekly newspaper editors. Chet Bowline, who had spent most of his life in the weekly newspaper field, passed away at the age of 67 in McPherson, Kans. At the time he was editor of the McPherson County News and the Inman, Kans., News. Mr. Bowline was a good friend of mine who loved his work and his fellow man. He was active in his church and he practiced the Golden Rule in his relationships with his friends and neighbors.

Kansas is indeed fortunate to be served by many outstanding weekly newspapers and men like Chet Bowline who are devoted to the enlightenment and progress of their communities. We will miss Chet Bowline but we are heartened by the fact that his wife and family will continue to publish the weekly newspapers in McPherson and Inman.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial of September 4, 1964, from the Topeka Daily Capital:

DEVOTED EDITOR

Chet Bowline, McPherson weekly newspaper editor who died unexpectedly this week, was typical of the large group of Kansas newsmen who have served their State and fellow citizens well.

While he had in recent years been in newspaper work at Lindsborg and then at McPherson, Mr. Bowline was best known for his long tenure as editor of the Hope Dispatch. For 31 years he published the Dispatch until fire wiped out his shop on Hope's main street.

Chet Bowline didn't want to leave the small Dickinson County town he knew so well because he had a love for it and its people. He knew every section of land in the

Hope community and the people who owned it and farmed it, and he liked to dig into the history of the area.

Mr. Bowline was a man who believed that advancing age was no excuse for mental inactivity. He once told a fellow editor that to keep his mind alert, he set out to memorize the names of counties in the various States, whenever he had a few minutes of leisure time. We have no doubt that he accomplished his memory task.

Active in Baptist Church work, Mr. Bowline was also devoted to civic and school endeavors while he was Hope's editor. He and men like him leave their mark on their communities—a mark for good and decent living.

When Law and Order Collapses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is to be hoped that we do not become so callous and indifferent that we condone lawlessness and a breakdown in law enforcement such as we witnessed in the city of Philadelphia a few days ago.

Much has been said in regard to extremism but I strongly doubt that anyone can find a more frightening example of extreme lawlessness than that which resulted in injury to so many people and the destruction of so much property. Here was extremism at its ugly worst, completely unprovoked, and in a city where racial discrimination is scarcely discernible.

As for moderation, those who excuse the Philadelphia police for standing idly by while a crowd of hoodlums ransacked stores, destroyed property, and threatened innocent people, are simply saying that our lives and property must continue in jeopardy if law enforcement means, even remotely, that the party in power might feel repercussions at the polls. For the fact will always remain that this was completely a matter of political expediency and the police were left impotent in the face of pillaging crowds simply because someone told them to keep hands off. And to suggest that an appeal might have gone out for the State police and the National Guard is unthinkable since such forces in Pennsylvania would move at the direction of a Republican Governor.

The final payoff is had in the bland statement that the Federal Government will be called upon to advance the money necessary to the rehabilitation of the devastated area—another example of bringing Washington into a situation that should have remained under local control from the start.

The Upper Main Line News is a reputable newspaper published in my district and circulating throughout the area adjacent to Philadelphia. Hear what the editor of that paper has to say on this subject in his September 3 issue, entitled "Did Law and Order Die?"

DID LAW AND ORDER DIE?

The recent riots in the streets of Philadelphia should be labeled as one of the darkest days in law enforcement history.

There are those who will argue quite to the contrary and point out that the Philadelphia police handled a wild riot without one single death on either side. This is true, and the darkness which settled over law enforcement in the city is brightened by the almost unbelievable restraint shown by those police officers who were forced to cringe behind automobiles while seeking permission to return fire against a man shooting at them from a rooftop. It is brightened by the very fact that many police officers feel very badly about the way the situation was handled.

But, it was a sad day for policemen everywhere when Philadelphia officers were ordered to remove their badges to prevent rioters from ripping them from their shirts and using them as weapons against them.

Throughout the history of modern law enforcement, the policeman's badge has been the symbol of law and order. It has been worn proudly by many men. It has gleamed from the breast of many a dead policeman who felt the emblem of law and order was worth dying for.

But now, the policeman's badge has become a weapon against him. Now, in the face of enemies of society, he is told to remove his badge for fear it will be ripped from his chest. He sadly tucked his badge into his pocket in Philadelphia, and though the politicians and leaders of the city say no one died in the riots, the policeman knows this is not so.

For when those policemen tucked their badges into their pockets a little bit of every good policeman in the city died. Indeed, there is a good chance that law and order itself died in Philadelphia.

And, if, as the city officials have stated, police were not under orders to restrain themselves from preventing looting, law and order did die.

But, we find it extremely difficult to believe policemen would allow such incidents to occur if their hands were not tied. We find it impossible to believe that any policeman would cringe behind an automobile while he was being shot at—and ask permission to shoot back—unless he was ordered to keep his gun in his holster. We find it impossible to believe groups of policemen would stand by and watch a long line of looters waiting to enter a devastated store—unless they were under orders not to move against them.

While the mayor is asking for investigations let him investigate his own administrative back yard and find out what happened to law and order. Let's find out if police were under such orders, and if so, who gave them. And, if no such orders were given, let's find out where the breakdown occurred in the chain of command.

But, most important of all, let's find out why the city wasn't prepared to meet the emergency when the officials are now saying it was a well-organized riot which they had information about some time ago. If the city wanted their policemen restrained for political reasons, the State police or the National Guard should have been called in to assure the peaceful residents of the community the full protection of the law.

The Washington Post on Tax-Exempt Foundations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, an editorial, "Tax-Exempt Foundations," which appeared in the September 7 issue of the Washington Post, deserves to be read by a lot of people. It points up poignantly the need for legislative action in matters pertaining to tax-exempt foundations, which have unfortunately taken too many billions of dollars off the legitimate tax rolls. They have been abused so outrageously that in my opinion the Congress of the United States has no more urgent matter before it.

Time and again my hard-working and earnest colleague, Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN has brought to light some incredible abuses of so-called educational and charitable foundations.

These abuses are to our tax structure veritable killer viruses. They weaken respect for the Government's legitimate tax claims upon its citizens. In effect they seem to point up the ability of people of great wealth to avoid taxes.

The Post editorial, while recognizing the difficulty of writing legislation that will correct horrendous abuses of the tax-free foundation concept, indicates in part what corrective measures might be taken.

Certainly something must be done, and the Nation is tremendously indebted to Chairman PATMAN for educating the public on the need for taking action.

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN'S investigation of the Life Line Foundation, an organization financed principally by the Texas oil magnate, H. L. Hunt, raises some very difficult questions about the propriety of exempting from taxation institutions that are engaged in the propagation of political ideas.

When an organization is exempted from Federal taxation, it in fact receives a subsidy from the taxpayers at large. Contributions to most tax-exempt foundations are deductible, and to the extent that they reduce the revenues of the Federal Government, an additional burden is imposed on all taxpayers. The same type of subsidy is awarded where the foundation receives operating income on which no taxes are paid.

There is nothing inherently objectionable about Federal subsidies, but there is something very wrong about compelling people to subsidize—however indirectly—the propagation of political ideas that they may abhor. Those who are repelled by the Life Line Foundation's concept of the good society should not be forced to underwrite it with their tax dollars. And by the same token, those who share Mr. Hunt's views should not be forced by the Government to subsidize the activities of the tax-exempt fund for the Republic.

Clearly the Federal Government should not be subsidizing the dissemination of particular political ideas, but assuring its neutrality is no mean feat. Under the present law, which rests upon precedents established in the Internal Revenue Act of 1894, the Internal Revenue Service is entrusted with the delicate task of determining whether organizations are eligible for tax exemption. An important criterion is that "no substantial part" of the activities of an educational organization be devoted to influencing legislation.

Difficulties arise when one attempts to frame a workable definition of substantiality. And other dilemmas arise. If a radio broadcaster, sponsored by a tax-exempt foundation, attacks the medicare proposals with copious references to the Scriptures, is he propagating religion or attempting to influence legislation?

One way of minimizing these difficulties and insulating the Internal Revenue Service against the insidious pressures to which it was subjected during the McCarthy period

of political hysteria would be to limit severely the scope of tax exemptions. If exemptions were limited to publicly chartered schools, colleges and universities and to those organizations engaged in providing health and welfare services, the degree to which the dissemination of particular political ideas is involuntarily subsidized would be substantially reduced. And the abuses of those foundations established only to avoid taxes or to provide vehicles for corporate mergers and acquisitions would also be eliminated.

There is no easy or obvious way out of the foundation dilemma. The policy suggested above could in practice prove deleterious or fraught with administrative difficulties. What is obvious is that Congress should review the statutes governing tax exemptions. Those creatures of the 19th century should be the object of a major investigation, the thoroughgoing sort that the House Ways and Means Committee is now making into excise taxes.

None Dare Call It Treason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, a nonpartisan organization actively led by some of the most articulate citizens of Cleveland has prepared a report on a book entitled "None Dare Call It Treason." The National Committee for Civic Responsibility is headed by Mr. Thomas C. Westropp, executive director of the Women's Federal Savings & Loan Association of this city. Mr. Westropp also serves as the first vice commander of the 13th District of Ohio American Legion. By its code of regulations, this organization is prohibited from taking a partisan position on any public issue except in instances where violence is advocated or practiced or where calumny—the malicious use of falsehood—is used to intimidate or discredit. The National Committee for Civic Responsibility has issued several reports and they have received extensive support and encouragement from the newspaper media in the Cleveland community.

Following is the official report of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility on "None Dare Call It Treason," which I recommend and bring to the attention of the distinguished Members of this body:

NONE DARE CALL IT TREASON

1. This seems to be the only publication of Liberty Bell Press. Florissant, Mo., listed as the address of Liberty Bell Press, is a suburb of St. Louis, Mo. There is no telephone listed to Liberty Bell Press in Florissant and none in the Greater St. Louis area.

2. The listed price of this book is 75 cents, but it is being distributed in Cleveland at prices ranging from $1 to free by such right-wing organizations and their representatives as the John Birch Society and the Organization To Fight Communism, Inc. Booksellers in Cleveland receive their copies from Klein News, a large distributing company. Klein News receives its supply from William Shepler, area coordinator of and public spokesman for the John Birch Society in Cleveland. Klein News pays 20 cents a copy with the unlimited right to return all unsold copies. Both the price and the arrangement are much more favorable than normal practice. From an article in the New York Times on July 23, 1964, it would seem that the distribution of this book is a John Birch Society project in other parts of the country as well.

3. Since this book contains 818 references supposedly substantiating the material contained therein, it gives the appearance of being the well-documented study which it claims to be. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Stormer relies heavily for his documentation on the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and upon testimony given before committees of the Congress but in most instances he fails to give the name of the person whose testimony he relies upon or the name of the person who inserted the material into the RECORD.

Since the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains material on every conceivable side of every issue along with much extraneous material, and since hearings before congressional committees contain testimony from many unreliable sources, including Communists, it is necessary to know just who is saying what if one is to properly make an evaluation. Stormer seldom provides this information in his documentation.

4. If the reader does not understand the nature of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and if he cannot differentiate between testimony before congressional committees and the findings of those committees and so is led to believe that such "documentation" is in any way official or necessarily factual, the fault is not entirely Stormer's.

5. But the reader has a right to expect that references set forth by Stormer as documentation will at least say what Stormer claims for it. In case after case, the author has subverted those references to give a totally erroneous impression and even to say precisely the opposite of what his own reference claims.

6. Some examples:

A. Stormer, pages 169 and 170: "This became sharply clear in an article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Assistant to President Kennedy, which set forth the plan for achieving socialism in America" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 6, 1962, p. A881). Schlesinger outlines no such plan; in fact, Schlesinger's remarks, inserted in the RECORD by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, February 6, 1962, pages A881–A884, said precisely the opposite:

Page A881: "The socialist state is thus worse than the capitalist state because it is more inclusive in its coverage and more unlimited in its power. Organization corrupts; total organization corrupts totally. The socialist state justifies itself on the ground that the concentration of power is necessary to do good; but it has never solved the problem of how you insure that power bestowed to do good will not be employed to do harm, especially when you remove all obstacles to its exercise."

Page A882: "The more varieties of ownership the better; liberty gets more fresh air and sunlight through the interstices of a diversified society than through the close-knit grip of collectivism. The recipe for retaining liberty is not nationalization but muddling through."

B. Stormer, page 29, paragraph 2: "In 1943, congressional investigations later revealed, before the United States had itself assembled the first atomic bomb, half of all American uranium and the technical information needed to construct a bomb were sent to Russia. Is it any wonder that the Communists became a nuclear power years ahead of expectations? (Hearings, Shipment of Atomic Material to U.S.S.R. HCUA, 81st Cong., p. 1156.) The testimony referred to was given by Maj. George Racey Jordan who wrote several books making sensational charges but whose accounts varied so much from time to time that his charges have been discredited (see Time magazine, Dec. 12, 1949; Newsweek, Dec. 19, 1949). Nowhere in this reference does Major Jordan or anyone else refer to "technical information needed to construct a bomb" being sent to Russia, nor is any mention even made about any atomic bomb information. Major Jordan does discuss shipment of radioactive material on pages 1156 and 1157 of the hearings. Quoted from page 1157 is the following response by Major Jordan to a question from Mr. Tavenner, counsel for the Committee on Un-American Activities:

"Mr. Tavenner, I was very embarrassed when I found you only located 45 pounds of uranium when the papers I had called for 500 pounds. So I listened to General Groves' testimony, and I understand that while they asked for 500 pounds they were only able to locate 45. So when I testified in perfectly good faith they got 500 pounds, I thought they did, but it turned out they only filled that particular order to the extent of 45 pounds. I took it from the papers.

"When I talked of heavy water (an alternative method of making nuclear devices), I saw 'heavy water' on the papers. I have since been told there was none in the United States, and that what I thought was heavy water was sulfuric acid. I was being perfectly honest."

It is on the basis of such testimony that Mr. Stormer would have the reader believe that congressional investigations revealed the shipment to Russia of one-half the U.S. stockpile of uranium and the technical assistance to construct an atomic bomb. The congressional investigation revealed nothing of the sort, nor was there even such testimony. What the investigation did reveal was that, at best, Jordan's testimony was unreliable and Stormer's attempt to pass this testimony off as committee findings puts his writing in the same category.

C. Stormer, page 29, paragraph 4: "In actual conduct of the war, military decisions were made, not according to the tactical needs of the day, but for the long range political advantage of the Communist conspiracy (Roosevelt and Hopkins, Sherwood, p. 590)."

Page 590 of Sherwood's book contains nothing whatever to support this charge, nor is any mention made of such a happening. Page 591 says the following:

"It has often been said that Churchill's advocacy of the 'soft underbelly' approach to Europe demonstrated his farsightedness—that he was motivated by the long range purpose of keeping the Red Army out of the Danube Valley and the Balkans. In the opinion of some of the American authorities who were involved in the strategic discussions, this claim gave Churchill credit for too much prescience. He may have had such thoughts in mind in 1944, but certainly not in 1942; and one may ask, in this connection: if Anglo-American strength had been concentrated in southern and southeastern Europe, what would have stopped the Russians from marching into the Ruhr and Saar and even into Normandy? The American Chiefs of Staff believed that Churchill's strategic concepts were much more easily explained: he had an incurable predilection for 'eccentric operations' which had guided him in the First as well as the Second World War; he preferred operations which depended on surprise, deception and speed in terrain (for example, the Balkan valleys) where there was not sufficient room for huge ground forces to be deployed."

Again Stormer's "documentation" does not support his assertion and seems in fact, to be saying quite the reverse of Stormer's allegation.

D. Stormer, page 126, paragraphs 2, 3: "Among his (Dr. Harry F. Ward) closest associates and most devoted pupils in the religious field were such conspirators as Rev. Jack McMichael, Rev. Chas. Webber, Rev. Alanson Smith, Dr. Willard Uphaus and Rev. Lee Ball. The controversial Methodist bishop, G. Bromley Oxnam, was Ward's pupil, secretary, and one-time apologist."

The references to and activities of the several named ministers are in the process of being checked with the proper authorities and will be added to this report immediately upon receipt of the necessary information. But Stormer's references to G. Bromley Oxnam is an excellent example of pulling a reference out of context in order to twist it to the opposite meaning. Stormer is, of course, implying that Oxnam is pro-Communist but the very reference which Stormer gives (hearings, HCUA, July 21, 1952, p. 3725; actually, the correct date is July 21, 1953) makes it quite clear that such a linking of Oxnam to Ward and so to communism is unjustified if not downright dishonest. The testimony cited is as follows:

Question: "Is he (Ward) a good friend of yours?"

Oxnam: "I will have to answer that by telling you when he was and what my relationship is with him now."

Question: "Well, please do that."

Oxnam: "Professor Ward came to the Boston School of Theology, I believe, in 1914. I was a student. He was a brilliant teacher. He was an inspirational personality. He made an extraordinary contribution to the students of that institution. I was very, very fond of him. I took dictation from him as a part-time secretary in the dictation of one of his books. I knew his family. Professor Ward was a leader in the social movement of the Methodist church and over a long period of time rendered, I believe, very valuable service.

"There came a time in my mind when I believed that Professor Ward had shifted his views concerning the whole Communist question. I found myself in fundamental disagreement with Professor Ward as early as 1928.

"In 1932 I had to propose I believe—no—it was 1928 that I proposed the message that was drafted by the Methodist church for the resolution on the social question. It was in opposition to Professor Ward's proposal, but what I proposed was carried by the Methodist church.

"In 1936, I drafted the resolution that put the Methodist Church on record as one of the earliest denominations in opposition to communism and fascism. We were, but nobody had ever said that before, and I wanted it in a clear resolution.

"From 1936—and I'm not sure I saw Professor Ward even then—I've seen Professor Ward once—I know since 1936—I think probably since 1932.

"Now then, he was an inspirational teacher, to whom I owe very, very much. He was a dear personal friend. When he shifted his views, as I believe, I had to break with Professor Ward. He understood it.

"I can bring for the committee, if it wishes, the letters that I wrote to him back at that time indicating a complete break in the matter of what he was standing for and what I believed we should stand for."

E. Stormer, page 58, paragraph 3: "Weapons and ammunition were supplied to the underground in Cuba by the CIA in such a way as to insure that they could never be used." His documentation for this charge is a column written by Edith Roosevelt in the Shreveport Journal, September 15, 1962. If Edith Roosevelt, a frankly partisan right-wing writer had made such a charge, it would not necessarily have been an accurate statement. But the fact is that she said no such thing. Edith Roosevelt writes that CIA dropped caches of weapons and ammunition at random freedom fighter depots in the expectation that the underground would be able to mount a coordinated attack in which ammunition and weapons would be properly distributed. She quarrels with this concept and points out that this resulted in some weaponry not having proper ammunition. At no time does she say or even imply that this was done to "insure that they could never be used."

F. Stormer, page 168, paragraph 1: "Despite exposure of the Communist control of the CIO by congressional investigations in 1938–39, the Communists remained in open control for at least 7 more years." (Ref. 7, ch. 10: CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 22, 1950, p. A6831.)

There is simply no mention whatever in the reference which Stormer cites as to how long the CIO remained under Communist influence subsequent to the congressional investigation, or whether it remained so at all. This is a spurious reference.

G. Stormer, page 32, paragraph 6: "Gen. James Van Fleet, another Korean commander told Congress: 'My own conviction is that there must have been information to the enemy from high diplomatic authorities that we would not attack his home bases across the Yalu'." (Ref. 30, ch. 3: Hearings interlocking subversion in Government departments, SISS, 1954, pp. 1653–1708; 1711–1733; 2019–2046.)

Stormer has lumped this reference in with several previous ones, making it rather difficult to find. But when General Van Fleet's pertinent testimony is discovered on page 2033, we find that Stormer has embroidered a bit although he is purporting to quote General Van Fleet directly. The actual quote, as it appears in the record is, "My own conviction is that there must have been information to the enemy that we would not attack his home bases." Under questioning, the general affirms that this is a supposition and that he has no evidence to support it.

The significance of this example is that Stormer added words to an item which he purported to be quoting.

H. Stormer, page 205, paragraph 4: "If U.S. proposals for arms control and disarmament are accepted, U.S. military forces will be transferred to the U.N. peace force, which is directed by the Under Secretary for Political and Security Council Affairs, who has always been a Communist." (No documentation.)

Stormer does not document this statement, although he certainly could have. Dozens of rightwing organizations have circulated this myth, and, by quoting each other, have compiled an extensive file of meaningless documentation. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 2, 1963, Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, Republican, of California, quotes the following paragraphs from the Long Beach, Calif., Independent, a metropolitan daily newspaper, of March 15, 1963, as follows: "The U.S. Government is trying to put all its Armed Forces under the command of a Russian general, John Rousselot told 600 persons in municipal auditorium Thursday night. Rousselot, John Birch Society district governor for six Western States and former Congressman from California's 25th District, spoke on 'Disarmament: Blueprint for Surrender.'"

"This office (referring to Under Secretary for Security Council and Political Affairs) is held by a Russian general," he said, "and if the United States turns over its Armed Forces to the U.N., the Russian general will command them."

After quoting those paragraphs, Senator KUCHEL went on to say, "Those fantastic charges, Mr. President, are false—completely false. But when one, who was honored to be a Member of the Congress for 2 years—or even one who writes for an undisguised hatesheet, utters such a cry, there are Americans who listen and believe." The Senator then said, "There is no Russian colonel, or general, or military or civilian individual who is 'Secretary of the United Nations' or 'Secretary of the U.N. Security Council.' Let the record be clear that there are 19 Under Secretaries of the Security Council, of which 13 are filled by Americans or representatives of our allies and of which 2 are Soviet bloc nations. None of them has anything to do with the command of any joint U.N. military operations. There is no world police force in the U.N. And, of course, no Soviet national ever gave Gen. Douglas MacArthur any orders." The Senator then said, "I sympathize with some of my constituents who are honestly bewildered and confused by the trash of the rightwing extremists. I even feel sympathetic with those who have been taken in as dupes. But I have nothing but seething contempt for the originators of the hoaxes and swindles, from the ludicrous leaders of the Birch Society to the equally ludicrous director of the Cinema Educational Guild, including any and all of the several hundred similar self-styled patriotic groups. They are anything but patriotic. Indeed, a good case can be made that they are unpatriotic, and downright un-American. For they are doing a devil's work far better than Communists themselves could do.

7. Documentation:

The front cover of "None Dare Call It Treason" presents the claim that it is "The carefully documented story of America's retreat from victory." The back cover of the book calls it "a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of congressional investigations and dozens of authoritative books."

The research committee of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility finds that it is neither carefully documented nor factual and that the word "authoritative" does not apply to many of Stormer's sources.

In support of these conclusions, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility research committee presents the following examples:

A. (1) In 32 instances, Stormer uses as his authority "Human Events." This publication is an admittedly biased rightwing publication which the Anti-Defamation League has referred to as "an extremely rightist Washington newsletter." (Cross-Currents, p. 145, Forster and Epstein.) The John Birch Society (p. 81, the Blue Book) says, "Human Events not only feels also that we complement each other well, but for this reason is willing to join us in offering bulk subscriptions to the two periodicals together at a reduced price."

(2) In 12 instances, Stormer cites as his authority books which comprise the John Birch Society packet "One Dozen Candles."

(3). In at least 35 other instances Stormer has used as his authority such documentation as the "Dan Smoot Report," the "National Education Program," the bulletin of the John Birch Society, "America's Future," and other biased rightwing publications.

Such publications can, in no sense, be considered "authoritative." They cannot do much more than attest to the fact that someone else in rightwing circles shares Stormer's views.

B. In 66 instances, Stormer gives as his authority "hearings" before congressional committees, and in most instances gives no indication as to who is testifying. This is no documentation at all since many persons testify with opposing viewpoints and, in fact, this is the purpose of hearings. To cite testimony given at hearings as being somehow "authoritative" or "official" is unjustified.

C. In 65 instances Stormer cites the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as his authority. As is the case with congressional hearings, Stormer often fails to identify the person inserting these things into the RECORD. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains all views and opinions of all Congressmen and much other

material as well. The only thing official about the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is that it is a record of everything that goes on in the Congress and whatever other material Congressmen choose to insert. Certainly no case can be made for using the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an "authority" upon which to document anything, for by doing this, one could "prove" his case on either side of any controversial issue or on both.

D. Stormer's sometimes vague, incomplete or otherwise faulty citations make research of his material difficult. Some examples:

(1) References 60 of chapter 3 refers simply to "Consul General for Yugoslavia versus Artukovic," without mention of where, when, or by whom such a hearing was conducted.

(2) Reference 32 of chapter 2 refers to "House Document 227, page 4." Without any information as to the date or session of Congress in which this document is issued, it is virtually impossible to find.

(3) Reference 13 of chapter 9 refers to "A Draft Act Covering Hospitalization of the Mentally Ill," and then says that a "majority of States" have mental health laws based on it. He does not identify the source of the "draft act" nor those States which supposedly based their laws upon it.

E. Perhaps the best single example of Stormer's combined use of distortion and faulty documentation to prove his point is contained on page 216. Stormer seeks to show that the United States is deliberately keeping Communist countries from collapsing. To answer the question of why this is allegedly taking place, Stormer says: "The answer was provided by another CFR member, Dr. Lincoln P. Bloomfield, in an official study entitled 'A World Effectively Controlled by the United Nations.' It was prepared on a contract with the State and Defense Departments in 1962. In it, Dr. Bloomfield discloses, perhaps unwittingly, why U.S. planners consistently aid world communism. He says, '* * * if the Communist dynamic was greatly abated, the West might lose whatever incentive it has for world government.' That is the answer. If American aid were stopped, the Communist empire would likely collapse.

Here Stormer first prepares the reader to believe that the views expressed in the report represents the thinking of our Government by terming the report "official" and pointing out that it was written under contract with the State and Defense Departments. The title page of this document, however, bears the following clear disclaimer:

"The judgments expressed in the study memorandum are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Defense Analysis or of any agency of the U.S. Government."

The same disclaimer is contained in the foreword by IDA Associate Director of Research James E. King, Jr.

This document is a highly theoretical 38-page study which attempts to envision how and under what conditions the U.N. might be transformed into a world government, and to postulate the type of military and other power such a government would need in order to operate effectively. The author expresses no views regarding the desirability of such a development.

The full statement from which Stormer quotes his sentence is as follows:

"On any count it is unsafe to assume that the ideological and power struggle between communism and the West will not continue indefinitely. This assumption of course throws into question any program requiring that both sides subordinate to a supernational authority themselves, their power and their ambitions. This is the central dilemma of world politics today, and it applies with ultimate force to the proposition of world government. The logical trap is completed with the familiar paradox: Given a continuation unabated of Communist dynamicism, the subordination of states to a true world government appears impossible; but if the Communist dynamic were greatly abated the West might well lose whatever incentive it has for world government." (P. 12.)

And so, Stormer wrenches a single sentence out of context from an unofficial report, intended to explore the possibility, not the desirability of world government and attempts to use it as documentation that communism would collapse without American aid. The full quotation from which the sentence is taken points out that world government is impossible so long as the Communist dynamic remains unabated while, paradoxically, if it were not to so continue, the West might lose its incentive for world government. The issue of American aid to Communist countries is, of course, not even mentioned in this report.

A more flagrant and dishonest misuse of quoted material would be hard to imagine.

8. Chapter 14, entitled "What Can You Do?" urges the reader to join such organizations as the John Birch Society, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.

The emphasis of all these organizations is upon the alleged control by Communists of America's political, religious, civic, educational, and judicial institutions as well as of our press, radio, and television. This chapter also urges the reader to subscribe to various rightwing publications, one of which he designates as a "Catholic publication" and another of which is designated as a "Protestant publication." The one designated as a Protestant publication is the "Christian Beacon" whose director is the Reverend Carl McIntyre, founder of the militantly anti-Catholic American Council of Christian Churches. In September 1945, the "Christian Beacon" said that Roman Catholicism is the "greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has to face today" and that "one would be much better off in a Communist society than in a Roman Catholic Fascist setup."

The items contained in this report by no means constitute an exhaustive study or research into the statements or documentation of Stormer's "None Dare Call It Treason." Since the National Committee for Civic Responsibility is prohibited from taking any position on issues and must restrict itself only to those areas which advocate violence or engage in calumny, only 43 items have been checked by this committee. The discrepancies outlined in this report reflect only those items which were uncovered in the process of checking those 43 documentary references.

9. In dishonestly seeking to undermine the confidence of the American public in our schools, churches, universities, newspapers, TV, and radio as well as in our Government agencies and top officials, Stormer seems to be doing the Devil's work as outlined earlier by Senator KUCHEL.

Stormer's pretensions to scholarship and documentation might easily deceive many high-minded and intelligent but largely inexperienced people and undermine their patriotism by creating doubts about our political, social and economic system.

To the average reader, his documentation seems impressive and few will take the time to discover for themselves that it cannot withstand even the most cursory examination.

The nature of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and testimony before congressional committees being what they are, surely research would have provided Stormer with accurate references which would tend to concur with whatever assertion he wishes to make. That Stormer did not even bother to do such research and so led any careful reader directly to material which refutes his allegations, would seem to presuppose that he did not write the book for the careful or well-informed reader. For the very nature of some of Stormer's charges would insure that such a reader would check the documentation and, once that is done, Stormer's game is up.

The many and obvious distortions of fact, historical and otherwise, are not within the province of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's concern, but since this is done to prove a pattern of treason within the United States, some examples would seem to be in order.

A. Stormer states on page 55 that Laotian Prince Boun Oum was the "legal head of the anti-Communist Government of Laos" in 1962 and that he "was ordered (by the United States) to give Communists key positions in his cabinet."

The truth is that Boun Oum was not the legal head of the Laotian Government; that, in fact he attempted to overthrow the legal head of that government—neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma—and failed. As a result of the attempted coup, Communist forces counterattacked and Phouma joined forces with them. The result was that Oum was badly defeated and the coalition government restored with Phouma at the head and neutralists predominating the cabinet which also included some of Boun Oum's representatives and Communist representatives.

Today, with the Communist seeking to take control, Phouma has joined forces with the rightist elements to preserve his government. Stormer, seeking to make his point, lumps neutralist and Communist cabinet members together when, since they are now fighting each other, they are obviously not on the same side.

B. Stormer, page 74: "In 9 months an estimated 8 million packages of Communist propaganda material from Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Red China were imported in the United States. Placed in the U.S. mail, American taxpayers paid the postage for delivering the Red propaganda to schools, churches, homes, and libraries all over the Nation." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 1, 1962, p. 2828.)

No such information is contained in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date. On page 3174, in a report entitled "Report of American Bar Association Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives" (pp. 3170–3176), inserted into the RECORD by Senator DIRKSEN, the statement is made that "Communists are spending 43 billion a year on propaganda which is reaching every city and hamlet in our Nation. In 1 day Communist propaganda coming through New York City alone fills three large warehouses. This propaganda comes not only from Russia, but also from Red China, from Iron Curtain countries, and from Western Europe. Much additional Red propaganda is published in the United States by Communist publishers."

On page 3108, second column, under title "Subsidizing Soviet Propaganda in the U.S. Mails," Representative CUNNINGHAM, of Nebraska, complains of three booklets sent out by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. He says it was sent at the special subsidized third-class bulk rate and went to Adams Public Library (Adams, Nebr.) for only 7 cents. Amendment to the postal bill would make it first-class mail and make Reds pay 51 cents to send it. He charged that at third-class rates, U.S. taxpayers subsidize it.

These are the only references to this topic in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date. Nothing is said about 8 million packages or about sending anything at the U.S. taxpayers' expense other than Representative CUNNINGHAM's charge concerning pamphlets that were sent at third- rather than first-class mail.

C. Reference 29 in chapter 8, in which Time magazine is accused of lying about the affiliations of Gustavo Duran in order to discredit Senator Joseph McCarthy, refers to

the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for November 14, 1951. Congress was not in session on November 14, 1951, consequently, there is no RECORD for that date.

In summary, the subject book is, at best, an incredibly poor job of research and documentation, and, at worst, a deliberate hoax and a fraud. This conclusion has been reached without giving any consideration whatsoever to those things which Stormer presents as a matter of his own opinion or that of others. Matters of that kind must properly be left to partisan debate.

For the National Committee for Civic Responsibility:

HAL STEIGMAN,
Executive Secretary.

Goldwater's Tax Cut Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include my newsletter, Report From Congress, dated September 14, 1964.

REPORT FROM CONGRESS

(By GRAHAM PURCELL, Representative, 13th District, Texas, September 14, 1964)

DEAR FRIENDS: I was surprised, to say the least, when Senator GOLDWATER made his proposal last week to reduce personal and corporate income taxes by a total of 25 percent. The surprise was partly the result of my recollection that the Senator was such a vocal opponent of the tax reduction and reform measure which was enacted this year.

However, when I studied the Senator's proposal more closely, my surprise turned to shock. For, if the Republican candidate for President is the strong advocate of balanced budgets and deficit reduction he claims to be, his proposal is surely not consistent with his previous statements.

Let's examine our Federal expenditures, and see what would be necessarily eliminated by the tax reduction of the magnitude contemplated by the Senator. A reduction of 25 percent in personal and corporate taxes would amount to $18.7 billion per year.

The Federal budget calls for spending $54 billion per year on national defense. Surely Mr. GOLDWATER would not want to reduce this figure. He is a strong advocate of complete preparedness, and has even criticized this administration for not maintaining our defense capabilities at a high enough level.

The budget includes $11.1 billion for interest payments which cannot be avoided. There is no way to reduce this figure significantly in the near future.

The budget includes $5.1 billion for veterans benefits and services. These programs have been promised to our veterans, and Senator GOLDWATER would surely not want the United States to go back on its word to those who fought to defend our freedom.

International affairs and finance, another necessary item, amounts to $2.2 billion. And general Government operations, the cost of operating Congress, the courts, and other necessary parts of the Government, amounts to $2.2 billion per year.

Senator GOLDWATER has had some criticism of our space program. So, for the purposes of this examination, let's assume that he would suggest a 10-percent reduction in this program. That would leave a total of $4.5 billion which is necessary for the space program.

These necessary expenditures come to a total of $79.1 billion. A reduction of 25 percent in taxes as suggested by the Senator would leave the Federal Government with almost exactly this amount for its operation. This obviously means there would be no funds at all left for any other governmental functions at the Federal level.

Let's look at what would be necessarily eliminated under the Senator's proposal. The complete operations of the Department of Agriculture, costing $7 billion, would be eliminated. This would mean discontinuing all farm commodity programs, which is consistent with the Senator's views. But it would also mean complete elimination of those valuable services to all Americans which consume the major portion of the Department of Agriculture budget, operation and maintenance of national park system, agricultural research programs, the Federal Extension Service, the Rural Electrification Administration, and many others.

Also eliminated necessarily would be all services and programs under the Department of Commerce, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and others. And elimination of the programs of such vital agencies as the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Small Business Administration, and many others. Funds would be eliminated for the Pure Food and Drug Administration, National Institutes of Health, the U.S. Weather Bureau, the Federal Aviation Agency, just to mention a very few. Also eliminated would be contingency funds for such emergency programs as the current fight against the encephalitis outbreak in Texas. I could go on and on, but I think you get the idea.

On the other side of the ledger, the Senator is on record as favoring an increase of $5 billion per year in defense expenditures over the next decade. He has advocated increases in veterans' benefits. He proposes central Arizona version of the TVA which would cost billions. And his platform, which he says he fully endorses, has recommended tax credits for elderly, medical and hospital care, education, and fishing vessels which would cost at least $2 billion annually in lost revenue, as well as excise tax cuts and tax transfers to the States.

It appears obvious to me that the Senator is making an irresponsible and desperate appeal for votes with a proposal he does not really feel is proper, or he has become the most fiscally irresponsible man in Government. He just doesn't make sense. His statements are becoming more and more inconsistent.

Conflict and Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. McFALL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, the campaign for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States has begun. Between now and November 3, the issues facing our country, as well as the character and personalities of the candidates for these highest offices, will be considered by the voters as they ponder the course the Nation should take during the next 4 years.

An incisive analysis of the formal opening of the campaign was presented in the editorial columns of the Washington Post on September 8. I believe the editorial, entitled "Conflict and Unity," should be read by all Americans. The editorial follows:

CONFLICT AND UNITY

The campaign opened, officially, on Saturday; and it seems plain that the country is going to be in for a boisterous and strident time until election day, come November. President Johnson took note of the opening by a news conference plea for national unity and understanding. But his plea had to be heard over the crackle and static of two rousing, tub-thumping, name-calling speeches by the rival vice-presidential candidates.

The elocutionary honors of the day went, we thought, to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the GOP presidential nominee, who indulged in nothing more than a brief introduction of his running mate, WILLIAM E. MILLER, at Lockport, N.Y. It would be too much, perhaps, to say that the Senator's speech was characterized by good humor; it did contain humor, however—barbed and enlivening. He gibed at Mr. Robert Kennedy, until a few days ago the Attorney General of the United States, now a New Yorker running for election to the Senate from that State. Mr. Kennedy must regard New York as a nice place to represent, the Senator observed, "but he wouldn't want to live here." And he added that Kennedy must be running on "a commuter ticket."

That was about all the human of any kind that the day brought forth. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, opening the Democratic drive at Minneapolis, hammered away at his party's theme that Senator GOLDWATER is "trigger happy" and "irresponsible," while lauding President Johnson as "a giant of a man."

Congressman MILLER confined himself almost entirely to denunciation. He has been widely characterized as a "gut fighter" and appears to regard this somewhat unattractive appellation as an accolade. He demonstrated beyond contradiction, at any rate, that he deserves it. He indulged in a personal attack on Senator HUMPHREY which, for sheer irrationality and imputation of evil has been unrivaled in American politics for many a decade.

The GOP seems to have decided to run against the ADA—that is, against Americans for Democratic Action, a small, energetic, liberal group which has contributed numerous constructive proposals to the country's political dialog. Senator HUMPHREY has long been a member and an officer of ADA. Mr. MILLER began by imputing to the organization ideas which it has never advocated, went on to impute these ideas to Mr. HUMPHREY, despite the Senator's long and brilliant record of opposition to them as a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and ended by imputing them to President Johnson. This is very different indeed from Senator HUMPHREY'S acceptance speech at Atlantic City—of which the Miller speech was an obvious imitation. Senator HUMPHREY assailed Senator GOLDWATER by citing a series of specific record votes in the Senate in which the GOP candidate himself voted in opposition to a majority of his fellow Republicans.

This is not so much gut fighting as it is gutter fighting. And the country will be the poorer if it is allowed to continue. Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD called this attack "one of the most vicious, false, and malicious documents in American political history." There is a recklessness and meanness in Mr. MILLER'S kind of politicking which pose a terrible danger to the country. Anyone who fights in this way for public office demonstrates that he does not deserve it.

There has always been a lot of roughness and extravagance in American politics. This country can take this kind of robustness when it falls within the traditional bounds of decency and good taste and when it recognizes the essential good faith and loyalty of political opponents. What Mr. MILLER did on Saturday, however, was to prove that President Johnson was quite right in his

assertion that "this Nation's most important concern, as far as we can see ahead, is and should be the unity of this country."

National unity is not a product of uniformity of opinion. It grows out of the resolution of conflict through the democratic process of debate and discussion. There are real differences of opinion and philosophy between the nominees of the two major parties. They ought to be aired vigorously. Debate does not require confrontation of candidates before television cameras. It requires confrontation of ideas.

Let the candidates say as vehemently as they please what they think about the control and use of nuclear weapons, about medicare and social security, about the ways in which to assure civil rights to American citizens, about how to maintain order in the streets of great American cities, about taxes and budgetary deficits and other economic issues, about the whole long range of difficult problems facing America.

But let us put a stop now to the fracturing of America—the inculcation of hatred and distrust and the pitting of race against race, of section against section. It is for a nation that the coming election is to choose a government. It is for the Presidency of the United States that the rivals are now seeking public confidence.

Congressman Donald Rumsfeld Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, during this 88th Congress, I have periodically mailed a newsletter commenting on the work of the Congress to interested individuals in the 13th Congressional District of Illinois. The following is my final newsletter of the 88th Congress, dated September 15, 1964:

CONGRESSMAN DONALD RUMSFELD REPORTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With Labor Day behind us, the conventions concluded, and fall election campaigns gaining momentum, Congress is still in session and seems headed for another record-breaking year, having already passed over 700 bills and resolutions. With reelection campaigns facing all (435) of us who serve in the House, as well as 35 Senators, Congress is attempting to complete its business, but there is every indication that we may still be on the job in Washington, D.C., in early October. Major legislation passed by the House since my last report included the following:

EDUCATION

Certainly this will be known as the education Congress. Bills in some way connected with education passed by this Congress with my support included an urgently needed and greatly improved vocational education program, an expansion of the Manpower Retraining Act (both aimed at alleviating unemployment), and mental health and retardation legislation including training grants. Bills for Federal aid to medical schools and aid to higher education also passed. I opposed these latter two bills because of the current $8.3 billion Federal deficit and the serious need to establish priorities in Federal spending, the already substantial efforts in these areas of private as well as public resources, the fact that antidiscrimination amendments to both bills were omitted, and because of my strong preference for the education bill I have introduced. My bill would provide individual income tax deductions for education expenses, thereby enabling such schools to charge the tuitions necessary to meet their needs. Regrettably, it has not had a hearing in the House.

Within the past month, two additional education bills passed the House, both with my support. First, the National Defense Education Act was expanded and extended, raising student loan authorizations annually to $200 million by fiscal year 1967, increasing the number of graduate fellowships to 6,500 by 1967, and providing matching grants to States for the purchase of equipment for use in teaching science, mathematics, and foreign languages. This bill extended the program for construction, operation, and maintenance of schools in districts "impacted" by Federal military and civilian activities, such as Glenview. The second was the Nurse Training Act, which authorizes $90 million in Federal funds over a 4-year period for construction or rehabilitation of nursing schools, a program of grants to the improvement and expansion of nurse training programs, and a new student loan program, to help alleviate the shortage of trained nurses.

"FOOD FOR PEACE"

The House passed, and I supported, an extension of Public Law 480, the law permitting the sale in local currencies and grants of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities to needy foreign countries. Under this program, needy peoples of over 100 nations have enjoyed the abundance of our Nation, and, I believe, the free world has in certain instances been strengthened, and communism weakened, by our participation in the program. Regrettably, this has not been the case with the United Arab Republic. In the past 10 years, Nasser's U.A.R. has received over $1.1 billion of U.S. agricultural commodities, and, recently, $200 million in annual grain shipments, enabling him to divert his resources for the purchase of modern arms from the Soviet Union through a cotton-for-arms barter agreement. By so doing, the United States of America has helped, and, in fact, encouraged, Nasser to continue his arms buildup, continue U.A.R. aggressions against Yemen (thousands are already dead in the Yemen war) and against Israel, and step up his frequent anti-American diatribes. An amendment was offered to discontinue further U.S. aid to the U.A.R. after the current agreement expires (a new 3-year agreement is apparently now being considered). I supported and spoke for this reasonable amendment. Unfortunately, it was defeated by a narrow margin only after President Johnson and the Democratic leaders of the House marshalled their forces after a forced 24-hour delay in the debate. Copies of the debate are available on request for those who may wish to attempt to better understand this unfortunate situation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

United Nations: 15 member countries of the U.N. are more than 2 years behind in paying their U.N. assessments. Under the U.N. Charter, these nations are subject to a loss of their vote in the General Assembly unless they reduce their debt before the Assembly meets in November. A resolution was passed by the House, with my support, clearly expressing the recommendation that the U.N. Charter be enforced on these nonpaying member nations. Note: The 18th Annual Report covering U.S. participation in the U.N. during 1963 is being printed as House Document 188 and will be available through my office on request.

Vietnam resolution: The House passed, and I supported, a resolution supporting U.S. action in the Bay of Tonkin, following the attack of North Vietnamese gunboats on U.S. destroyers off the coast of North Vietnam. The resolution restated U.S. intention to "take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Coffee agreement: A bill to implement the International Coffee Agreement by authorising the President to limit imports of coffee from countries which have not joined in the agreement was passed by the House last year, and amended by the Senate. The conference report was recently rejected by the House. I opposed this bill last year and also opposed the conference report. The fact that since 1962, the year the Coffee Agreement was accepted, the price of coffee has gone up over 20 cents per pound should be some indication of the inadvisability of this international cartel which the administration has sponsored.

MISCELLANEOUS BILLS PASSED

Veterans: Bills increasing and revising non-service-connected disability and death pensions for veterans of World War I, II, and the Korean conflict and their widows, and authorizing programs of nursing care for aged veterans, affecting some 8.3 million veterans, passed with my support. Securities and Exchange Act: The House passed a bill amending the Securities and Exchange Act providing standards and safeguards for investors dealing in over-the-counter securities. The Migrant Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act: Passed with my support, and requires registration of labor contractors and proof of financial responsibility and liability insurance on migrants' transportation vehicles, to minimize abuses of migrant farmworkers. I supported a bill providing for repayments to the Seneca Indians for land lost to them due to construction of a dam on the Allegheny River. Commission on Automation: The House, with my support, approved legislation to establish a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, to study past and current effects of technological change, innovations in production and employment which will likely occur in the next 10 years, and means for channeling new technology into existing industries. The Housing Act of 1964, funding housing and urban renewal programs, passed with my support and included plans for construction of low-cost rental housing for domestic migrant farmworkers and training grants for city planning. Nuclear materials ownership: I voted to amend the Atomic Energy Act to allow commercial ownership of special nuclear materials under certain prescribed circumstances.

ODDS AND ENDS

Pressure is building up to pass the proposed Becker constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court prayer decision, with more than 176 of the needed 218 signatures now on the discharge petition to bring the bill up for an immediate vote. Last month, I introduced a resolution expressing the concern of the U.S. Congress over the increasingly alarming reports of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, including the confiscation of synagogues, restrictions on cultural expression, and executions for so-called economic crimes. The Senate is currently holding hearings and might act on this matter before adjournment. Senator BYRD, Democratic chairman of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, reports President Johnson has added "7,948 new Federal employees in the first 6 months of this year" or at the rate of 325 per week. End of the session tempers are high in Congress, with one Member calling another Member the "No. 1 hoodlum of the United States," and a third Member calling the first "cowardly and not deserving of the name 'Congressman.'" Comment: How fortunate we are that duels are out of vogue. The Bobby Baker scandal

continues to smolder with the latest revelations of $25,000 kickbacks for political contributions—a Federal offense—bringing the FBI into the investigation.

PERSONAL NOTE

This will be the last "Rumsfeld Reports" newsletter of the 88th Congress (1963–64). With the anticipated adjournment of Congress in late September or early October, I will be returning to Illinois for the remainder of the year. If you have friends who would like to receive these periodic "Reports," or if there is an error in your address, please let me know. After the conclusion of Congress, I will, as last year, prepare and mail a "Legislative Report" summarizing the work of the 88th Congress.

I sincerely hope that these "Reports from Washington, D.C." have been of interest to you.

With my best wishes,

DON RUMSFELD.

It's Campaign Time—A Time To Adjourn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the Providence, R.I., Journal on Wednesday, September 9, 1964, which is entitled "It's Campaign Time—A Time To Adjourn":

IT'S CAMPAIGN TIME—A TIME TO ADJOURN

After a brief Labor Day holiday, Congress is attempting to buckle down to its tasks in an atmosphere that is hardly conducive to responsible legislative activity.

Election day is less than 2 months away. The Presidential campaign is in full swing. The air is filled with election oratory, and many a Congressman is torn between his duty at the Capitol and his desire to return to his home district and plunge into the political swirl.

In other Presidential election years, Congress has managed to clean up its work with more expedition. The 1960 session adjourned September 1; the 1956 session adjourned July 27. But this year the session has run beyond the convention period and beyond Labor Day and promises to drag on into October. This presents an awkward dilemma for those Congressmen who are running for reelection and who are eager to get back home for some fence mending.

Two principal snags have prevented an earlier adjournment this year. One is the medicare bill, which has been passed by the Senate and now rests before a reluctant House. The other is the congressional attempt to push through legislation which would delay application of the Supreme Court's ruling on State legislative reapportionment.

Both measures are highly controversial. Both seem likely to survive or fall by narrow margins if they are brought to final votes.

But they differ in one important respect. The medicare proposal has been around for years and has been thoroughly studied and debated, whereas the reapportionment delay proposal popped up abruptly at this session and is being pressed by its proponents chiefly as an expedient to meet an unexpected emergency.

These newspapers support the medicare program. It offers a logical extension of the social security system into an area that badly needs attention. These newspapers, however, have serious reservations about the proposal to delay application of reapportionment. There is a constitutional issue involved here which has grave implications—the issue of legislative infringement on the judiciary. Until that issue has been much more fully explored, it would be unwise for Congress to take any precipitous action.

However, these matters are disposed of at this time, it is important that Congress wind up this session as promptly as possible. The session has been extremely productive. A great deal of important legislation has been approved, including a notable Civil Rights Act, a substantial tax cut, and an important first step in an antipoverty campaign.

The plain fact is that the time has come to adjourn. The longer adjournment is put off, the greater the risk, because responsible legislative activity can hardly be expected in coming days when the average Congressman, quite understandably, is keeping an eye on the calendar, a hand on his satchel, and is chafing to get off to the hustings.

Scott County, Iowa, Soil Conservation District Teaches the Value of Conservation Through Annual Soil Conservation Workbook Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, grade school students in Scott County, Iowa, are learning about the value of soil conservation by participating in an annual contest to see who can compile the best workbook on soil conservation.

These contests, sponsored by the Scott County Soil Conservation District, bring a great number of entries from students in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades in Scott County.

This year's winning entry was compiled by Miss Mary Jo Myer, of Walcott, Iowa. It is full of valuable information but what impressed the judges as much as any feature in the workbook, was Mary Jo's statement on "What This Conservation Workbook Has Taught Me."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring Mary Jo Meyer's statement to the attention of my colleagues:

WHAT THIS CONSERVATION WORKBOOK HAS TAUGHT ME

(By Mary Jo Meyer)

We are living in the age of new discoveries, through modern science and technology. If we are willing to learn they will supply us with the answers. As one man has stated, "The farmer and gardener will be in a much better position to practice what science teaches if he is told not only how he should proceed, but if he understands at the same time why the various recommended measures are likely to lead to success."

At man's first glance at this country the soil was considered inexhaustible. Today, people all over the world, must wake up to the fact that the soil is exhaustible if not cared for properly. Therefore, we must guard our soils to insure the health and happiness of future generations.

You may ask, "How can we do this?" First, every man should have some goal which he would like to accomplish instead of coasting along doing little. Second, he should have a soil resource map compiled to show the various areas of his land, as well as a soil test taken to determine what plant nutrients may be lacking in his soils. Third, he should undertake the task of acquiring knowledge and then putting it to good use. If he should have questions that he is not sure of he may call on one of the many organizations or clubs in this area for assistance. They will then help him to answer his questions and suggest possible corrections.

If the farmer has taken the time to learn he will be quick to see the many benefits he will receive. There will be better crop yields of higher quality resulting in more feed and, of course, more money for less time and labor.

These are only a few of the ways man can maintain the soil for future generations. Do you have your goal set, or are you just coasting along?

Youth on Call

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, we appear to be living in a world of tension which is not only influencing the thinking of adults but teenagers as well.

Read or listen to news media on any given day and you will probably learn of a youth gang war where shooting and stabbing occur. Over the past weekend many were shocked to read "Hooligans Smash Beach Community—10,000 Teenagers Invaded the Area, Causing Damage Counted in the Thousands After 4 Hours of Rioting."

The Governor of the State probably placed the blame directly where it belongs. He said, "You can't blame police for lack of parental discipline."

Youth properly occupied avoid trouble. An organization in York, Pa., is to be commended for the work it is doing in this field. The following is a brief résumé of its activities. I commend it to communities everywhere:

YOUTH ON CALL

(By M. Richard Jacobs)

Youth on Call is an organization whose primary purpose is to promote summer part-time jobs for high school students.

It originated at York, Pa., in 1959 when representatives of the York Recreation Commission, the Pennsylvania State Employment Service, and the York City School District, recognizing the need for an organization that would facilitate job placements for teenagers, made plans for its formation.

Youth on Call is sponsored by the York Recreation Commission which is responsible for the administration as well as providing headquarters and miscellaneous supplies. The Pennsylvania State Employment Service makes the referrals for the jobs. The York Rotary Club and the Soroptimists Club of York both contribute financial aid to the program.

Although Youth on Call is supervised by an adult director, the youths themselves are responsible for most of its operation. This is carried on chiefly through a youth steering

committee composed of student leaders representing the high schools in the immediate York area. A major responsibility of the group is to initiate and carry out methods of informing the public of the availability of approximately 100 teenagers who are "on call" to perform any type fo job. Methods of publicizing the program to the community include the following: Making tapes for radio spot announcements, appearing on TV in skits and panels, talking before service and social clubs, passing out fliers, making posters, participating in parades, and publishing a newspaper.

An adult steering committee meets annually at which time it evaluates the program and makes suggestions for its improvement. It is composed of representatives of the Recreation Commission, Employment Bureau, Rotary Club, Soroptimist Club, Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and various civic organizations.

Youth on Call is completing its sixth summer of operation and to date has filled 1,992 jobs and the youths have earned in excess of $110,000. This amount does not include income received when employers had youth perform additional tasks or retained them throughout winter months. The rate of pay is determined by the employer and in 90 percent of the cases it is $1 per hour. Although yard work, babysitting, and housework are the most frequent types of jobs performed, the members have become ditchdiggers, wallpaper scrapers, buffet helpers, vacation companions, store clerks, baggers, painters, mothers' helpers, chauffeurs, theater ushers, inventory clerks, et cetera.

Several training sessions have been conducted on completing job applications and clinics were held for sales clerks, youth leaders, and babysitters. Specialists, parents, and youths participated on these programs.

Although the chief function of Youth on Call is to make possible more part-time job opportunities for teenagers, its members also render services on a voluntary basis on projects that benefit the community. Participation in these activities have added dignity to the program, helped in advertising Youth on Call, and the efforts have been appreciated by the community. These experiences have been invaluable to the members who have had opportunities to meet and discuss problems with leaders in government, business, industry, press, civic organizations, and other groups. These projects have included: reading to the blind guests at home for aged, participating in naturalization, court activities, collecting books, magazines, and jig-saw puzzles for the county jail, hospitals, children's home, and home for aged, lobbying before State senate committee for passage of a bill to restore local historical buildings, making posters for national "Employ the Handicapped Week," and performing various jobs for the historical society. The youths receive no pay for their services on community projects.

Beginning this fall the program will operate on a year-around basis. Many young people have indicated a need for part-time jobs after return to school. Also, a survey has shown that employers could use part-time help throughout the year.

The most rewarding phase of Youth on Call is the fine quality of work done by teenagers.

Not To Be Confused With Herbert Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues the editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, August 31, 1964, entitled, "Not To Be Confused With Herbert Hoover." The first sentence which reads, "The only resemblance between HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, and Herbert Hoover is in the capital letters," well summarizes what follows:

NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH HERBERT HOOVER

The only resemblance between HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, and Herbert Hoover is in the capital letters. The thing to be noted about HUBERT is that he is a little to the right of Castro. But he has lately made a frantic effort to put on a William McKinley starched 3-inch collar and pass himself off as a "moderate."

This flight from firebrand "liberalism" has even propelled HUBERT into business circles which view him with unalloyed suspicion, there to ladle out blarney and pose as one of the fellows.

"I suggest," he told the American Management Association in New York on July 10, "that we drop once and for all the myth of hostility toward business by Government and get on with a fruitful business-Government partnership. * * * To make the promise of America a reality will take cooperation and respect between business and Government and above all intelligence and courage."

That's lovely, if the businessmen choose to forget that Senator HUMPHREY was a founding father of Americans for Democratic Action, has been its national chairman, and is now a member of its executive committee. As James Burnham has observed, "On every specific issue in every field, ADA supports Government control, planning, financing, or takeover." Any "partnership" of business with men in Government who have that outlook is not going to be comfortable.

Senator HUMPHREY is for easy money, deficit financing, unbalanced budgets, and, necessarily, inflation.

"Public debt figures, or a chart picturing them," he says airily, "provide no basis in themselves for concluding that a government is or is not wasteful." To him "there are worse things in life than an unbalanced budget." What the Federal Reserve Board should do is "ease credit."

While he is now trying to allay the fears of business, he said in the West Virginia Democratic presidential primary of 1960, "The Federal tax laws are rigged against the middle- and low-income families—and for the big corporations."

Senator HUMPHREY is a 100 percent welfare stater. He is for every proposal of that sort. There would be no limit to the size, scope, and intrusiveness of government if he had his way. As Senator GOLDWATER remarked, the presence of HUMPHREY on the ticket destroys the fiction that the Johnson party has the faintest attachment to conservatism.

Senator HUMPHREY has been a militant in the civil rights battles. At the 1948 National Convention he inflamed the southern Democrats during a floor fight to put liberal amendments into the rights plank, stating, among other things, "The time has come to get out of the shadows of States' rights." The ADA with which he is identified is for open occupancy laws.

The plaintive remarks of Senator SMATHERS, of Florida, after having been ordered by President Johnson to second the HUMPHREY nomination, express the universal feeling of the South that HUBERT will be as welcome a candidate in that sector as Typhoid Mary. "I know," SMATHERS said resignedly, "the difficulty of carrying that load in the South."

One other notation on HUBERT. He is a veritable wind machine, addicted to nonstop garrulity. When he went to Russia, he and Khrushchev talked for 8 hours and 25 minutes straight. Immediately after that gabfest, Khrushchev went before the Communist Party's central committee and harangued it for 6 hours. HUBERT must be catching.

First Choice—President Lyndon Baines Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared August 28, 1964, in the Longview Daily News. Col. Carl Estes is the very outstanding publisher of the Longview Daily News Journal.

The editorial follows:

FIRST CHOICE

When Lyndon Baines Johnson—the man from Texas whose only label is "An American first, a Democrat second"—was nominated by acclamation as the Democratic Party candidate for the Presidency, it was a great day for both Texas and the Nation.

In these perilous times when our Nation and the free world walk a tightrope of hopeful peace over a seething cauldron of world unrest and uprising fanned by Communist revolutionary agents, it is vitally important to free people everywhere to have a man of broad experience, wise judgment, and a cool head as chief executive of the United States.

We believe that—come war with its perils from the outside, or continued peace with its pressures from inside—our Nation's hope at this crucial time must be placed in the capable hands of an experienced leader whose courage and faith are unquestioned, whose fairness and responsibility are well known in all quarters, and whose calm and deliberate action in emergency is respected or feared by all.

Our Governor—John Connally of Texas—backed up by seconding approval of eight other nationally prominent Democratic leaders—sounded the basic keynote that should govern public decisionmaking in this Presidential campaign when, in his nominating address for his longtime personal and political friend, he said of President Johnson:

"When he speaks, it is the voice of commonsense, the clear voice of reason, the calm voice of responsibility to this Nation.

"Mr. Johnson has never let America down, and he never will, because he is an American first, a Democrat second.

"We can thank God that Lyndon Johnson is, above all else, a man not of rashness, but of responsibility; a man not of uncertainty, but of decision; a man not of indifference, but of compassion; a man not of fear, but of hope; a man with the steady hand of leadership to guide America and the world to new fulfillment of mankind's ageless dreams."

While Mr. Johnson is a native Texan, he now occupies a place of responsibility that is broader in scope and greater in demand than as a Representative or Senator from our State. As the President, naturally he seeks to be the President of all the American people. In this role, as in some of his previous high positions as minority leader in the 83d Congress and Senate majority leader in the 84th, 85th, and 86th Congresses, he has not always pleased all Texans.

It has been our privilege to know Lyndon Johnson for some 30 years. We have not always agreed with him, have told him so and openly opposed some of his positions, especially some sections of the Civil Rights

Act. But we have had great respect for his ability, admired his courage and forthrightness, and have found him to be enormously warm and friendly and charming—characteristics of great usefulness and value in the Presidency.

Experienced observers of the Washington scene recently said of Mr. Johnson that he "thinks big, aims high, and usually gets what he wants." When we apply this to the announced Johnson goals of peace, preparedness, and prosperity, most Americans can agree the bigger he thinks and the higher he aims for our country, the safer we will be as a nation and the happier as a people. He most certainly has proved over the past 9 months that he has the sure hand of experience and calm judgment to hold our Nation on a steady course in a time of emergency.

President Johnson has made it clear that he is attempting to take a sane and reasonable position in the center, between extremes on the left and on the right. This is a position in which he confidently expects to find sufficient middle ground on which to unite the great majority of Americans in a purposeful forward program for peace and progress. This is a position in which he has drawn appreciation and respect and understanding from both business and labor, educators and churchmen, industrialists and workers, and the great body of us who call ourselves the common people.

As one of the most active and hardest working Vice Presidents the Nation has ever known and as President during a period of national tragedy, Mr. Johnson has proved that he is a man of the people who is in close touch with reality both at home and abroad. As fate took a hand in his rise to the Presidency, so circumstances appear to be moving him surely toward his own full term in the White House, a personal call to high duty that would bring out the very best in any man.

Just as Mr. Johnson became the first choice of his party—standing head and shoulders above any possible challenger, so that none dared to let his name be considered—we believe that during the give-and-take of a wide open campaign leading up to the general election in November, it will become increasingly clear to Americans in every walk of life that Lyndon Baines Johnson should be the Nation's first choice for President.

CARL L. ESTES.

Indian Ocean Bases: Discussions and Explorations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the geopolitical significance of the Indian Ocean has been recognized for centuries. Homer Lea, in his perceptive book, "The Day of the Saxon," first published in 1912, emphasized the importance of India in the control of this vast sea area and its littoral.

Westward of the Indian subcontinent, there are the Arabian Peninsula and the east coast of Africa to Capetown; southward, the entire Indian Ocean and its advantageously located islands; eastward, the Malay barrier, including Singapore; and southeastward, Australia.

It was, therefore, with the greatest interest that I read in the August 29, 1964, issue of the Washington Post an illuminating summary by Robert H. Estabrook of unpublished high-level current United States-British discussions and hydrographic surveys concerning the potentials of Indian Ocean islands to serve as naval air bases.

Because of its national defense and budgetary implications, I commend the indicated article for reading by all concerned with this matter, especially members of cognizant Appropriations and Armed Services Committees of the Congress:

UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN CONSIDER INDIAN OCEAN BASES

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

LONDON, August 28.—The United States and Britain are jointly exploring the possibility of a series of island bases in the Indian Ocean to reinforce security in south and southeast Asia.

Unpublicized high-level discussions have concerned possible construction of an American naval communications facility on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia in the Chagos Archipelago about 1,000 miles southwest of Ceylon.

Several other British administered islands in the sweep of ocean bounded by the African coast, the Arabian peninsula and the Indian subcontinent are under consideration for development as potential air and sea bases and as staging areas for the airlift of troops to trouble areas.

Among these are the Aldabra Islands off the east coast of Africa about 100 miles north of Madagascar. Additional islands in the Chagos Archipelago also are being explored.

Diego Garcia, however, is the most likely point for initial development. Funds are available for building a naval radio relay station there, although the island was not explicitly named in the bill.

A small group of American Navy officials aboard a British ship currently is conducting a survey of islands in the Indian Ocean.

Closely guarded negotiations have been going on here and in Washington between the State Department with Pentagon representation and the British Ministry of Defense and Colonial and Commonwealth relations offices.

So sensitive have been the arrangements that tight security precautions were taken. However, word has leaked out in London.

TOUCHY ISSUE IN U.N.

The issue of island bases has been regarded as especially touchy because of possible criticism by the United Nations Colonialism Subcommittee, which is heavily weighted with Asian and African members. Britain has encountered its sting over Southern Rhodesia and Aden.

Although the U.N. "Committee of 24," as it is called, is now in recess, it has taken a jaundiced view of military bases in general as vestiges of colonialism. It has recommended liquidation of the big British base at Aden.

Island bases long have been a planning objective of some U.S. Navy strategists because of the political turmoil affecting base rights in other countries. It is recognized frankly that the only reliable bases for the long run are those not subject to nationalist agitation.

The State Department also has strongly supported an American presence in the Indian Ocean as a political stabilizer. But such a presence often produces an initial outcry, and this has been a factor in the extreme secrecy.

For example, when a small contingent of warships from the 7th Fleet visited the Indian Ocean early this year in "Operation Concord," there were protests in India even though the single aircraft carrier, two escorts, and an oiler did not touch at an Indian port and called only at Aden and Mombasa, Kenya.

UNOCCUPIED ISLANDS IDEAL

Ideally, any bases built would be situated on uninhabited islands, with British or American nationals brought in to staff them. That procedure would involve fewer political liabilities than any other means of exerting power in the area.

Uninhabited islands are likely to lack harbors or fresh water, however, and the necessity of providing anchorages or installing distillation plants would greatly increase development costs.

The present survey mission has been conducting an on-the-spot exploration of the islands under consideration, most of which were selected from maps and theoretical knowledge, to determine their physical suitability. Previously Americans had rarely visited them.

The objective is to learn which islands could lend themselves to naval anchorages and which could accommodate air landing fields.

In addition to providing sea and air bases, the islands could be useful as staging points for troops dispatched to carry out Commonwealth responsibilities in Malaysia or SEATO responsibilities in assisting, say, Thailand. Present plans, however, do not call for regular troop garrisons.

ADEN BASE IMPORTANT

The island project is viewed as a complement rather than alternative to the British base at Aden, which the United States also regards as important for stability in the area.

Britain plans to hold on to Aden as long as this is politically feasible, but many observers think that retention may not be possible beyond 5 years because of demands that Britain withdraw.

Although the revised constitution of the Federation of South Arabia envisages continuation of the base, political opposition leaders in Aden have called for its eventual abandonment.

President Nasser of Egypt also has renewed his verbal attack on the Aden facility while conceding that use as a staging base would not be in the same category as use for a permanent garrison.

SHIPS HAD GOOD EFFECT

Additional facilities also would complement British air bases at Gan and Hulele in the quasi-independent Maldive Islands southwest of Ceylon. The British installations there have been the subject of some internal controversy in the Maldives.

The visit of American warships in Operation Concord early this year accidentally coincided with the unrest in east Africa after the Zanzibar revolt and is thought to have had a calming effect. Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta in particular is said to have appreciated their call at Mombasa.

Britain has been interested in base development for similar reasons. Not only has she sent sizable numbers of troops to bolster Malaysia against the challenge from Indonesia, she also responded to the request of three east African countries for military units to quell army mutinies after the Zanzibar revolt.

Although the area east of Suez has been regarded as primarily a British responsibility for peacekeeping purposes, British officials have welcomed the prospect of American participation.

It is possible that some of the long-range projects actually will be joint bases reflecting the closest sort of Anglo-American cooperation, although this has not been definitely decided.

MUTUAL USE RIGHTS

Alternatively, they might remain under British operation but with full American use rights. Britain and the United States now permit use of each other's bases by ships and aircraft, with monthly exchange of bills.

Diego Garcia, largest of the Oil Islands 7° south of the Equator, is legally a dependency of the self-governing colony of Mauritius, 1,200 miles southwest.

The 12½- by 6¼-mile island had a population in 1962 of 619, largely transient laborers from Mauritius. Most of these are understood to have left.

Islands in the Chagos Archipelago produce coconuts, copra, guano, and salted fish.

The Aldabra Islands near Madagascar, which also have been mentioned, are a dependency of the Seychelles, some 700 miles northeast.

Labor Day Statement of Robert Taft, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which was issued by me on this Nation's observance of Labor Day:

LABOR DAY STATEMENT

(By Congressman BOB TAFT, JR.)

Labor has made our country great and rich and powerful. It has built our cities, our roads, our dams. It has transformed arid desertlands into lush green fields. Our cars, our radios, our television sets are all the work of American labor.

This record of past achievement is excelled only by the prospects for future growth and progress. Benefits almost inconceivable only 50 years ago now stand within reach. One danger places this potential in peril, however:

If it is not alert and aware, labor could lose the progress it has attained through the freedoms of our system.

These freedoms, the bulwark of our American society, are threatened by:

Persistent interference by the Federal Government in the free collective bargaining process which is essential to our private enterprise system.

Suppression of an individual member's political preferences and priorities by some power-hungry union leaders.

Compulsory arbitration of grievances, enforced by the Federal Government, causes the free bargaining process to disintegrate. Rigid postures are assumed by labor and management when both know the Government will intervene as the final referee. Each holds back, in the belief that complete candor at the bargaining table will weaken the case to be made ultimately during arbitration.

I am most certainly in favor of equitable and impartial administration of our labor laws. But I am unalterably opposed to compulsory arbitration.

It serves no purpose other than to delay agreement which should be reached freely through the interchange of proposals by the participating parties, and this delay generally is costly to all concerned. It interjects the Government into an area where it does not rightly belong, and represents dictatorial domination by external authority. It puts labor in a position where it must try to dominate Government.

Collective bargaining agreements spring from a sensitive balancing of rights and privileges. The Government should not be allowed to upset this balance, no matter which way the scales dip.

Under the recent "case by case" review policy adopted by the National Labor Relations Board, for instance, neither labor nor management can be sure of their rights or their obligations. The principle of equal opportunity is firmly established as part of the American tradition. Both labor and management should be permitted to function in the knowledge that they are assured of equal opportunity to solve their own difficulties without external interference.

The Government can assume a proper role in this field, and there is no better example of this than recent enactment of changes in the Davis-Bacon Act covering wages paid to workers employed on federally aided projects. The act stipulates that fringe benefits must be included in computation of prevailing wage rates for the locality in which a project is located. The contractor must pay at least the prevailing rate.

I voted for this measure because I believe we in Congress have a responsibility to see that the principle of equal opportunity is protected, especially when the use of tax revenues collected from all Americans is involved.

Individual union members must not become partisan pawns in the hands of a few greedy men. They must not be forced to turn over political proxies to union leaders who will cast them as they see fit, regardless of the sentiments of the rank and file.

Such a trend, which is a danger today, ultimately will break down individual citizen responsibility. It will supplant individual representation with representation based only on economic and functional factors.

A man's politics relate directly to not only his job—but to his home, his community, his family, his children's education. He must be permitted to make a free choice when determining how he will exert his influence as a voter. Certainly, his employment and economic situation will guide him. But in individual instances, they might not be the determining factors. He should be allowed the opportunity gauaranteed by our Constitution to weigh each factor independently before making a final judgment.

In our society, no group has the right to act without due regard for the effects of their actions upon others. Many union leaders recognize that they assume this responsibility when they take office, and hopefully more of them will meet it in future political deliberations.

The rank and file of the labor movement are beginning to watch carefully the pattern of increasing Government influence. In a growing number of instances, they have focused a jaundiced eye upon the abuse of political influence by some union leaders.

Labor wants to reach its own decisions. It resents desk-made decision handed down from Washington. It knows how to fight and win its own battles. The independent spirit that is America is very much alive in our great labor population today. As we pause to celebrate Labor Day this year, we fervently pray it may ever be so.

Political Poverty Cure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I have long been proud of the brand of independent editorial opinion exhibited by the newspapers in my congressional district. I am particularly impressed with the high standards in this regard which are so consistently maintained by the Mount Morris Index. In a recent editorial they proffered the opinion that under this administration we have seen more accomplished to end political poverty than economic poverty. In this connection allusion is made to the decision of Democratic convention and voters in New York and California to import candidates for the U.S. Senate from outside State boundaries. Although the editorial to which I refer is written somewhat tongue in cheek it still carries a very incisive message; namely, that the modern thinkers of our present era assail as political destitution a Congressman who honestly tries to represent the viewpoint of the people who elected him to office rather than what this egocentric little group of self-styled modern thinkers have interpreted as the national or international interest. As the editorial points out, these people do not believe in government by the people. They believe in government for the people by a few elite persons gifted with superior intelligence and in many cases inherited wealth who stand at the top of the political pyramid and grandly dispense the favors of government to a benighted populace.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and pray that the American people will reject this kind of sophistry in the forthcoming election. Under leave to extend my remarks I include herewith the entire text of an editorial from the Mount Morris Index of September 3, 1964, entitled: "Political Poverty Cure."

POLITICAL POVERTY CURE

There has been no great breakthrough yet in the war on economic poverty but some major accomplishments have been reported in the war on political poverty.

The poor in Appalachia are still waiting for someone to turn the spigot and start the dollars flowing from Washington and people in the city slums and the rural depressed areas throughout the Nation are awaiting the arrival of newly recruited domestic peace corpsmen to cure them of poverty.

While these programs are just getting off the ground political poverty has been wiped out in brilliant fashion in the Nation's two most populous States—California and New York.

Washington sent Pierre Salinger to California which was so impoverished that it had no suitable senatorial candidate of its own and more recently Robert F. Kennedy volunteered to stamp out the same kind of political poverty in New York.

With this marvelous start there is no end to which the war against political poverty can be carried. Washington undoubtedly is full of dedicated people who would be willing to go into States and congressional districts too poor, backward and parochial to develop their own Senators and Representatives.

We are not sure how Washington will determine which areas are politically depressed but surely some kind of commission can be set up to establish standards and guidelines for making the evaluations.

The modern thinkers in fact have some standard tests that they apply to determine the quality of representation that a particular State or district is receiving.

They feel that political destitution is apparent when a congressman tries to repre-

resent the wishes of the people back home rather than vote for things which the group deems to be in the national or international interest.

This, according to the new-think group, is the great weakness of our present legislative system for it causes Congress to give people what they want instead of what the group thinks is good for them. The group puts the emphasis on government for the people and is appalled by the idea of government by the people who just aren't capable of knowing anything about the problems of these complex times.

Due to the bipartisan makeup of the new group they can furnish a State or district with right-thinking candidates on both tickets so and send a people-directed man to represent them.

The only members of the group who doubt that political poverty can be wiped out completely are the few who remember a little of the history they had in school. These have a hazy recollection that the people of America fought a war of independence because they got tired of rulers imported from England.

Congressman Fogarty Continues To Keep Rhode Island Nation's Better Health Pace Setter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, the closing days of the 88th Congress affords a propititious time for reviewing the actions taken by this Congress in securing the health and well-being of the American people and a time for surveying the effects—present and projected—of health legislation on my home State of Rhode Island and on all the States of this great Nation.

In the area of social and health legislation—an area with which I am particularly concerned—the 88th Congress made notable contributions toward meeting the health needs of the people, and will be remembered by posterity for its record of outstanding achievements. First, I would like to review briefly some of the health measures passed by this Congress, and then I would like to show how my home State of Rhode Island well illustrates the ways in which congressional health legislation may be used for the greatest benefit of all our citizens.

One of the most significant pieces of new legislation was signed into law by the late President Kennedy on September 24, 1963. This was, of course, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, which provides a total of $236,400,000 over a 3-year period for the construction and renovation of educational facilities to be used in training medical, dental, and other health workers. The bill also authorizes the establishment of a student loan program to help these students—so desperately needed—meet the continually rising costs of this vital training.

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations for Health, Education, and Welfare for over 15 years, I have had the critical and ever-increasing need for more health-trained workers repeatedly placed before me by doctors, scientists, educators, and many interested citizens. Time and again I myself have introduced legislation in previous Congresses in an effort to meet this need, but the time was not ripe. The passage of this act gives me such a sense of deep personal gratification that I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues and the many individuals and groups who have worked so dilligently for the enactment of this legislation.

My only disappointment in the passage of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act is the deletion of the forgiveness clause on student loans to physicians and dentists who practice in areas of the Nation which have the greatest need for their services. I have, as many of you know, introduced a bill—H.R. 9396—which would reinstate this clause and I am still hopeful that this Congress will extend the progress made in meeting the critical manpower shortage by the passage of this measure.

The clearing of the congressional mind as to the critical need for support of education of health workers has been again evidenced by the passage by both the House and Senate of the Nurse Training Act of 1964. Although nurses were included in the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the report of the Surgeon General's Consultant Group on Nursing clearly indicated that the provisions of that act would never come close to answering the problems faced by the nursing profession in training adequate numbers of new nurses.

The Nurse Training Act provides separate appropriations to establish a 4-year program of grants for construction and rehabilitation of our nursing schools, along with a program of project grants to aid these schools in meeting additional costs necessary to strengthen and improve their training programs. The bill will extend and expand the existing programs of traineeships to help professional nurses meet the growing costs of desperately needed advanced training, and will establish a student loan program for nurses modeled after the National Defense Education Act to encourage more of our Nation's youth to enter nursing.

Another monumental step was taken by this Congress to help alleviate a sadly neglected area of public health when it passed the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963. This act provides $329 million for the construction of research centers for mental retardation, for research into the causes and cures of mental retardation, for the construction of community mental health centers and a small amount for the training of teachers of the mentally retarded and otherwise handicapped children.

The original bill as passed by the House contained a clause authorizing $427 million over an 8-year period, to pay part of the cost for initial staffing of the community mental health centers. This clause was deleted by the Senate. With the favorable climate of opinion that exists today, I am confident that we shall see this provision reinstated.

In passing the Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963, this 88th Congress once again proved its readiness to accept responsibility for health measures and social legislation. This act doubles the authorization for Federal grants for maternal and child health services administered by the Children's Bureau and provides grant funds for health care of expectant mothers as well as research into maternal and child health problems.

In reviewing the legislation of the 88th Congress, I would be remiss if I did not also mention the passage of the vocational education bill, the youth training program, the monumental civil rights bill, the extension of the Hill-Burton program of hospital construction funds and the health research facilities program. I would like also to thank this Congress for its continued support of the recommendations of my committee favoring high level support for this Nation's medical research programs.

It has been my privilege to serve the people of Rhode Island as their Representative to Congress from the Second District for 24 years. In that time I have seen my home State emerge as a national leader in health care and medical progress. I have watched the people of Rhode Island take advantage of Federal programs for health care support and initiate new State and local programs for improving the health of the people of Rhode Island.

I now watch with pride as Rhode Islanders again apply the new congressional measures—measures for which I have urged support—and develop new programs to answer the needs in many areas of health care. One notable example of Rhode Island's taking the initiative can be seen in the field of mental health planning.

In anticipation of a national effort, Rhode Island adopted a law providing for the establishment of Community Mental Health Boards in 1962. Within the State department of social welfare, a coordinator for mental health planning was appointed, and a special council on mental health was established. The council, working under Federal grant-in-aid planning funds made available through the National Institute of Mental Health, is meeting regularly in task forces concerned with planning in specialized areas to meet the mental health needs of the State.

Rhode Island is ready to put to use the new Federal laws regarding the construction of mental retardation and mental illness facilities. In fact, Washington County, the southernmost county of the State, has already taken the initiative and has sponsored a community mental health center for children. This is a pioneering effort—Rhode Island is among the first of the States to direct its attention to the mental health of the young people in its communities. Following the Rhode Island tradition of effective community action, I know that other counties will soon follow the ex-

ample of Washington County. I hope that they will cut through administrative redtape—if need be—and establish similar and much-needed facilities.

In utilizing Federal funds provided under the Hill-Burton program, Rhode Island has not lagged. Since the initiation of the program in 1946, Rhode Island hospitals, nursing homes, and rehabilitation centers have applied for and received at least 50 grants-in-aid for the construction and renovation of hospital and medical care facilities. Some 1,500 new beds have been placed in Rhode Island hospitals and about $10 million in Federal funds have served to produce new medical care units at a total expense of over $55 million.

Three of Rhode Island's seven schools of nursing have already made use of the funds provided by Hill-Burton—Our Lady of Fatima Nursing School has a new nurses' home in use; the Roger Williams General Hospital School of Nursing has a nurses' residence and school under construction; and, last fall, it was my privilege to speak at the dedication of the new nurses' residence at the Rhode Island Hospital School of Nursing.

These facilities were much needed and much appreciated, yet Rhode Island nurses saw the continuing need for more and better facilities and training. Miss Mildred Schwier, director of nursing of the Rhode Island Hospital School of Nursing, presented effective testimony of the need for more help in this area to the Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety, during the hearings on the Nurse Training Act. Letters from the dean and assistant dean of the College of Nursing at the University of Rhode Island prompted me to speak out strongly in its behalf before the House and Senate acted favorably on the measure.

Because many institutions plan to construct both their educational and research facilities simultaneously, I am sure Rhode Island will take full advantage of the Nurse Training Act and of the new Health Professions Educational Assistance Act. Many applications under the latter act's provisions have already been made, and as soon as funds are appropriated by Congress and made available for use, Rhode Island will be ready to benefit from them.

Rhode Island has for the past 10 years been utilizing another congressional program—the health research facilities construction—to transform itself into the leader in medical and health-related research.

Through the merit and excellence of its institutions and personnel, it has been awarded $2,164,601 on a matching basis for the construction of health research facilities. As of December 31, 1963, six projects had been completed. Brown University has a new laboratory for psychology research in addition to a new building and a remodeled building for biology studies. Providence College has a new structure housing basic medical research laboratories. Rhode Island has at its disposal, a new research building and facilities devoted to cancer research. These completed projects represent only about half of the work being carried out with funds made available through the health research facilities program.

Rhode Island is today benefiting from and contributing significantly to medical research. In fiscal year 1963 some 67 individual research grants totaling well over $1,600,000 were awarded to researchers in Rhode Island to initiate or to continue support of research in many significant areas of disease and basic biology. One of these grants, to Dr. Glidden Brooks at Brown University, was awarded for the establishment of a center for aging research in Rhode Island, an area of research that has previously been neglected. This is, as many of you know, an area of particular interest to me, and in which I have stimulated research interest. Through such work as Dr. Brooks' we may learn to distinguish between the processes of aging and those of diseases with which they are so closely related.

Rhode Island is also a key State in the collaborative perinatal project coordinated by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. In this project over 50,000 expectant mothers will be examined throughout pregnancy and mothers and their children will be examined during the years of childhood to accumulate a mass of data in an effort to discover factors in perinatal development that lead to cerebral palsy, mental retardation, and many other congenital conditions. Brown University in Providence served as a model for the participation of 14 other institutions throughout the country.

In the past few weeks, the Nation has been given the heartening news that research in the area of virus causation of leukemia is nearing the "payoff stage" and that a vaccine against this dread killer of little children may be in the not too distant future. I share the hopes of the Rhode Island Hospital, that their new cancer research laboratories, built with the help of Federal funds, will play a role in the hopes for conquest of leukemia.

In the past 20-odd years, the years of my experience in Congress, I have seen many diseases as dreaded as leukemia, virtually wiped out as a result of progress in medical research. I have seen the pace of this research quickened under the stimulus of Federal support.

However, one of the greatest challenges remaining before us in health matters is the problem of assuring adequate facilities and educational resources to provide sufficient numbers of health-trained workers to carry our research results to all the people of the Nation. The 88th Congress can be proud of its record in taking several affirmative steps toward meeting this need.

I have seen the results of research successes clinically applied in a well-organized team effort by the people of my home State. With continued excellence in leadership, with continued public interest and support, Rhode Island will maintain its position of prominence as a leader in the inauguration of new programs to spread the wealth of medical know-how to all of its people.

The 89th Congress will continue the work of this Congress, and the individual States—utilizing such measures as we have applied in Rhode Island—will bring to the American people the finest health care in the world.

Free Surplus Weapons and Ammunition to Gun Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a thoughtful letter from a constituent in respect to the longstanding program of the Department of the Army that furnishes ammunition and surplus weapons to civilian gun clubs.

Aptly, the writer, Mr. Ross C. Miller, concludes his letter by stating, "It just doesn't make sense."

Well, Mr. Speaker, it does not make sense. Other House Members have questioned the wisdom of the program and the response from the Pentagon bureaucracy has been as unsympathetic as the responses I receive when I protest against invasion of employee privacy in post office washrooms and use of lie detectors by Government agencies.

In mid-August the Associated Press moved a story in which the Army itself estimated that since 1960 it has spent more than $7 million for ammunition distributed free to various civilian gun organizations.

Now, the program is open to criticism on at least two counts. First, rightwing organization leaders have announced their intention of infiltrating civilian gun groups, such as the National Rifle Association, in order to gain access to free ammunition. This brings about a danger that ammunition may go to such avowedly antidemocratic groups as the Minutemen.

In the age of nuclear weapons, it also seems quaint that the Army is so intent upon training skilled riflemen among the civilian population. I would wager that few of these skilled marksmen are qualified for military service, if this is the Army's rationale.

I am well aware of how stanchly the gun club members defend the programs. Not infrequently their letters to me on this score also contain various denunciations of Federal programs, terming them "handouts." While on the one hand they protest against bread for families of the unemployed, they see nothing incongruous in lining up themselves for Government handouts of bullets.

Mr. Speaker at this point in my remarks I include Mr. Miller's letter:

HON. EDITH GREEN,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. GREEN: In the August 20, 1964, issue of the Portland Reporter there is an Associated Press news item reporting that in the past 5 years the U.S. Army has spent

"at least $12 million for its program of supplying guns and ammunition to civilians." The article details to some extent the major areas of this expense and suggests that this does not cover the cost of other related programs of the Army, such as selling guns at cut rates to members of the National Rifle Association.

I can hardly believe that this article can be printed on page 28 of the newspaper with what one might interpret as the treatment warranted by a rather routine news release about a remote and not too interesting an aspect of Government spending. My reaction is disbelief and dismay. I am writing to you to implore you, please, as my representative, do whatever you can to stop this rediculous farce. I do not want my Government spending its money this way.

I am sure that there must be one or more groups lobbying in favor of such programs, and I assume that there may be some rationalizations why the Government should provide arms to its civilians (though I honestly can't imagine what they might be). However, I am convinced that most Portlanders, most Oregonians, most Americans, as individuals don't want this happening.

As I look over what I have written I have to stop and wonder just what it is about this particular instance which prompts me to write to you. Though I am college educated, conscientious, etc., I am also guilty of Mr. Average American's fault of almost never writing to my legislators or to my newspaper to express my concerns or approvals. I suppose the precipitating factor in this situation is the fantastic stupidity of this use of governmental funds. In this year of 1964, when we live in a country where education and knowledge and communication have reached levels never before dreamed of and within the grasp of everyone—and we're handing out guns to our population. If it were written as the script of a movie or a television drama it would sound unbelievable.

I am the director of the Parry Center for Children and have occasion to talk with many, many people about the cost of various community and governmental services and the feelings of individuals about financing programs and services. It is not infrequent that someone says to me, "Oh, the work you do at the Parry Center for disturbed children is just marvelous—and I'm not questioning whether it's worthwhile—but can we really afford it? You know there are so many things to support, and funds are so limited—there just aren't enough funds to go around." And we can spend $12 million to provide guns to our citizens? For what? To assassinate a President? To shoot at the police during a riot? To carelessly shoot into a bush and kill another hunter? It just doesn't make sense.

Sincerely,

ROSS C. MILLER.

Texas Politics Prove Costly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, for those who once thought ARA was good politics, I include an article from the Dallas Morning News by Fred Pass of the East Texas Bureau of the News dated September 3, 1964.

Many facets of this ARA fiasco are apparent even by a cursory reading. The reporter points out the pros and cons. ARA is not all bad; in fact the idea and purpose are good. It has been discredited by crude politics and degraded by incompetent men.

One candid Crockett citizen's reaction: "We knew that to get anything through Washington you have to play politics." What a shameful contribution of ARA. Another pungent comment: "We tried to keep politics out of it * * * but politics enters most everything." Many good, honest people in and around Crockett who wanted to trust their Federal Government were deceived. But not all. In 1962 Benton Musslewhite, a big ARA promoter and benefactor, ran for Congress and carried Houston County. In 1964, running on his ARA connections and with ARA help, Musslewhite lost. Of course, ARA was not the only factor—nevertheless citizen taxpayers do not always appreciate having their noses rubbed in the Federal pork barrel.

Many people of Crockett lost money—some directly. Every U.S. taxpayer lost money in Crockett. Every Federal agency and every Federal official lost respect by the nature and manner of another ARA fizzle.

The article follows:

POLITICS PROVE COSTLY: CROCKETT'S FEELINGS MIXED ON FIZZLE

(By Fred Pass)

CROCKETT, TEX.—In the aftermath of a proposed Government-financed industrial project that fizzled, these are some of the comments and charges you get in Crockett today:

Federal officials were derelict in failing to check sufficiently a Houston promoter and his Audio-Electronics Co. before getting this east Texas city involved in the project.

Crockett businessmen lost up to $10,000 in the deal.

County Democrats used Houston County Development Foundation funds of more than $3,000 to stage a political rally for Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH and congressional hopeful Benton Musslewhite, while businessmen who worked hard to raise $60,000 for the project went ignored.

Answers to questions vary, usually according to political alliances. But on the basis of interviews, there is no question that the task of trying to obtain an industry through the Federal Area Redevelopment Act (commonly known as ARA or the depressed areas program) falls deeply into the realm of politics.

Crockett businessmen show mixed reactions to an article in the September issue of Reader's Digest titled "When the Bubble Burst in Crockett, Tex." The article relates the effort of the county's development foundation to obtain an electronics plant by offering to chip in approximately $60,000, along with Federal ARA funds of some $382,000, to build a factory. The deal also called for Audio-Electronics to put up $147,000.

The article charged Senator YARBOROUGH with speaking by telephone over a loudspeaker to a group of Crockett businessmen and promoting the project. And later, at a groundbreaking ceremony and barbecue, the Senator along with State ARA Coordinator Ray Morrison and J. Paul Dawson, the president of Audio-Electronics, spoke glowingly of the plant.

But a plant never materialized. The Digest article stated that Dawson had a long record of legal difficulties and that while he was negotiating with ARA, there was pending against him in a U.S. district court in Montana a $21,000 suit for stock fraud under the Securities and Exchange Act.

Also, at the very time of the groundbreaking ceremonies, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission was conducting a stock-fraud investigation involving Visutronics Corp. of America and the arrangements whereby Audio-Electronics was to manufacture Visutronics inventions, the magazine reported.

Consequently, the deal fell through, with officials in Washington claiming patent troubles as the reason. The magazine said that "not only has Crockett's dream of a fine audio factory vanished, but a number of citizens have been hurt financially." It listed several people—a retired Air Force officer, a former Salvation Army captain and others—who lost considerably in the deal.

The development foundation has not yet issued an official answer to the article. The group meets September 10 and may do so then.

Among businessmen here, these are the most prevalent views:

1. ARA officials should have uncovered flaws early in the deal.

2. No barbecue ballyhoo should have been held before all was nailed down and it should not have been turned into such a political rally.

3. Crockett people lost very little, and the Houston County Development Association did not lose any of its $60,000 raised for the project. Most of those persons named as stockholders by Reader's Digest lived elsewhere and were not victims of promotion efforts in Crockett.

4. The magazine article was basically correct, the exposure of the situation was good and will do the city no harm.

H. B. Knox, Crockett furniture dealer who was president of the development organization during the negotiations and celebration last year, explained:

"We were to raise about $60,000 and we did. We spent half of it—$30,000—to buy 40 acres of land. That's all we spent of the money we raised, and we still own the land."

He said $12,000 of the money is deposited in a county bank and is drawing 4 percent interest. Approximately $13,000 was spent on building a railroad spur, grading, and other improvements for a furniture factory which located in Crockett since the ARA fiasco.

Knox also said that 65 persons who put up money were offered half of it back (the other half was tied up in the land) and only three or four persons took back the money, totaling about $1,000. The balance has been used to buy another small tract of land for industrial use.

"I'm not a politician," said Knox. "I never dreamed getting RALPH YARBOROUGH to speak here would cause all this uproar."

He wondered why ARA officials did not find out more about Dawson and his company, but Knox added:

"I want to make it clear that I think ARA is a wonderful thing. It fits a small community like this. Don't tell me the Government is easy. They're not. If anything, they spent too long on this. But we need something like ARA. We're not depressed, but we're underemployed. We want to survive, just as Houston and Dallas want to survive and grow."

Lanier Edmiston, a wholesale grocer and member of the Crockett council industrial committee, charged that the foundation-financed ground-breaking barbecue "was nothing but an integrated Democratic rally" (a large number of Negroes attended the event).

Edmiston pointed out that the county Democratic chairman, Roy Julian, was general chairman of the event, and that party leaders had control of it all the way.

"It cost the Houston County Development Foundation over $3,000 for the barbecue to

further the political ambitions of YARBOROUGH and Musslewhite, yet the businessmen who raised $60,000 were not mentioned," he said.

James Rector, president of the Crockett State Bank, admitted politics was being used to try to get the plant. But he said the barbecue was not held as a political rally.

"We were trying to get this thing rolled on through," said Rector. "We knew that to get anything through Washington you have to play politics, so we used the help of Senator YARBOROUGH and his office."

As for the barbecue, the banker said the development foundation, which substituted for a dissolved chamber of commerce, was new and had never held a membership meeting.

"Our organization is made up of a number of communities," he said. "We had been planning to have some kind of get-together. When this came up, we decided to tie it all together."

Rector said he is pleased that nearly all persons who had contributed to the fund left the money in. Both he and Edmiston pointed out that money on hand helped in acquiring the furniture plant.

Robert King, an automobile dealer in Crockett, was one citizen who invested in Audio-Electronics stock and lost. He estimates that about $10,000 worth of stock was sold to Crockett businessmen.

"I bought 2,000 shares at 50 cents a share," he said. "I paid a thousand dollars for it, and finally sold it for a dollar. I lost $999. I bought the stock because I believed the company would be a good thing for the city."

King said he believes Ray Morrison was a sincere man and interested in Crockett, but added he thought Morrison was "derelict in his duties in not making an investigation of Dawson and his patent rights."

King said he had been named cochairman of a special committee to raise the needed $60,000.

"Everybody thought this was a wild promotion," he said. "But we felt that if the U.S. Government was willing to spend and finance a $200,000 building in Crockett, it would be worth $60,000 to us to have it here."

Edmiston and Knox agreed with King that the general feeling was that, once built, the building would not be moved from Crockett even if the electronics firm failed. Thus, the city would come out ahead.

Glenn Cook, the development association's executive secretary, said he believes that if the groundbreaking celebration had not been held, the Government and Audio-Electronics might have worked out of the problems.

"I believe the mistake was made in having the affair prior to the establishment of the plant," he said. "We tried to keep politics out of it, because ours is a countywide organization with members having different political views and opinions. But politics enters into most everything."

The barbecue event, he said, cost between $3,000 and $4,000 which came from the organization's operating fund. He pointed out that some 3,500 persons attended, and that the event was used for presenting rural community awards and other countywide functions.

"All of the expense for it should not be charged to the groundbreaking ceremony," Cook said.

His organization did not promote the sale of stock, he declared, and as far as he knows, none was sold to anybody other than to businessmen interested in getting the plant for the city. He said he believes the Reader's Digest article was written for politics.

"All we have actually lost in the deal is the barbecue money," said Cook. "But we can lose a lot more now, if we let politics divide us."

Speeches by Senator Scott and Christopher Emmet at Polish Army Veterans Meeting

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on August 31, I had a statement read for me before an important meeting of the Polish Army Veterans, in Philadelphia. Appearing in my place was the distinguished Christopher Emmet, chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, who delivered an eloquent address.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD my own remarks and those of Mr. Emmet.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR HUGH SCOTT TO MEETING OF POLISH ARMY VETERANS, AT PHILADELPHIA, ON AUGUST 30, 1964, COMMEMORATION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORLD WAR II WARSAW UPRISING

Twenty years ago this month hundreds of thousands of Polish patriots rose up in revolt against their Nazi oppressors. Outmanned in everything but courage, they fought and bled and died, while their beautiful and historic capital of Warsaw literally crumbled into ruins around them.

Some 20,000 Polish soldiers were killed, and untold thousands of civilians slaughtered. But they could not know that their lives, given for their country and ancient heritage, also constituted the opening of Communist Russia's imperialistic onslaught against free men everywhere.

The mighty Red Army, ostensibly an ally in the war against Nazism, camped outside the gates of Warsaw while Poland's finest were being slaughtered and Warsaw destroyed. Then, and only then, did they move in and take over the ruined city, and eventually the entire country.

This aspect of the Warsaw uprising, the ruthless tactics employed by the Soviets to replace Nazi domination of Poland with their own, must not be allowed to be forgotten.

Yet, many in our country today seem to fear that somehow we might wound Soviet sensibilities by references to their brutal conquests and oppression of East European peoples. The administration's recent proclamation of August 1 as Warsaw Uprising Day did not even mention the calculated treachery of the Soviet Union and the part it played in the tragic outcome of that uprising.

I do not believe that the so-called detente which many say now exists between the United States and the Soviets justifies our ignoring the harsh history of Soviet imperialism.

SPEECH BY CHRISTOPHER EMMET AT MEETING OF POLISH ARMY VETERANS IN PHILADELPHIA COMMEMORATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF WARSAW, AND HONORING THE COMMANDER OF THE UNDERGROUND ARMY, GEN. BOR KOMOROSKI, WHO SPOKE AT THE MEETING

Mr. Chairman, Gen. Bor Komoroski, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honored to take part in this meeting, and I share your regret that Senator SCOTT, who has been such a good friend of Poland and the other captive nations could not be here. It is a very rare and a very thrilling experience to be able to celebrate one of the glorious deeds of history in the presence of a living hero of those events, as we are doing today in the presence of General Bor.

I know that Senator SCOTT would have been as moved as I am if he could have been with you. It seems to me very appropriate that you invited Senator SCOTT to address you, for you are commemorating one of the heroic episodes of Polish history. For centuries the Poles have been known among the nations for their bravery. And as for Senator SCOTT, whatever else his political opponents may say about him, no one could ever accuse him of lacking political courage, as he has proved once again in recent months.

THE OTHER BATTLE OF WARSAW

Before giving you some reflections on the meaning of the Battle of Warsaw for us today, I would like to recall two other dates in modern Polish history when Poland rendered a service to the whole free world—and suffered for it. In 1920 the Poles stopped the advance of communism into central Europe by the great victory of General Pilsudski before the gates of Warsaw. With the chaotic conditions existing in central Europe at that time, and the disunity of the Western Allies, there is no telling what the course of history might have been if that First Battle of Warsaw had not been won by the Poles.

It was not until 24 years later that Communist armies ventured into central Europe again in 1944. And as we shall see in a moment, if the Western Allies had learned the lessons of the Second Battle of Warsaw, Soviet Armies would not be where they are today.

The Poles rendered the same service in preventing a final Nazi conquest of Europe, which they rendered in protecting Western Europe from communism. In 1939, when the Poles refused to surrender to Hitler as Czechoslovakia had done, the Polish people knew that it was physically impossible for the British or the French to give them substantial military aid. The Poles fought although they did not have any mountain barriers or fortifications to defend their frontier against the Nazi armies. If Poland had not fought then, and thus forced the British and French to go to war to honor their pledges, Hitler would have taken all Europe without firing a shot. The British would have been isolated, and eventually the United States would have had to fight Hitler and Japan almost alone.

SECOND BATTLE OF WARSAW JULY 30–OCTOBER 2, 1944

And now turning to the second battle of Warsaw in 1944, you have already heard an outline of the facts from General Bor—how the Nazi armies were in demoralized retreat, how the Soviet armies crossed the Vistula and were within 10 miles of Warsaw, how the Soviet Air Force controlled the air over Warsaw, how the Moscow radio and the Soviet generals called on the Polish armies to rise against the Germans, because the Russians were at the gates to help them—and, finally, how the Polish underground army rose and within 24 hours captured most of the city, only to see the Soviet Air Force disappear from the skies over the city, to hear the Soviet guns go silent, and to wait in vain for the promised Russian aid. This was a betrayal on the most gigantic and diabolical scale that we know of in recorded history.

I need not add to the facts which General Bor has told you, but I would like to read you a few quotes from Winston Churchill,

because they confirm everything which the General has said. These quotes are taken from the sixth volume of Churchill's great history of the war, "Triumph and Tragedy." Here is part of a message Churchill sent to President Roosevelt on August 18:

"An episode of profound and far-reaching gravity is created by the Russian refusal to permit American aircraft to bring succor to the heroic insurgents in Warsaw, aggravated by their own complete neglect to provide supplies by air when only a few score of miles away."

In answer to this and similar messages from Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt, Stalin replied, on August 22:

"Sooner or later the truth about the group of criminals who had embarked on the Warsaw adventure will become known to everybody."

The criminals Stalin referred to were General Bor and the people of Warsaw, whom Stalin himself had urged to rise against the Germans.

Weeks later, after the Polish underground army and the people of Warsaw had been fighting the Germans for nearly 6 weeks, Stalin pretended to yield to the pressure of Roosevelt and Churchill. He then ordered the Soviet armies to advance into the suburbs of the city, as they could have done weeks before. This was a move to deceive the West and to pretend that the Russians were finally coming to the aid of the Poles. But it was just another ruse, for they stopped in the suburbs and gave no aid to the Poles, whom the Germans continued to decimate.

Describing this Soviet tactic Churchill says on page 144:

"The following day the Russians occupied the Praga suburb but went no farther. They wished to have the non-Communist Poles destroyed to the full, but also to keep alive the idea that they were going to their rescue.

THE LESSONS OF WARSAW AND THE YALTA AGREEMENT

By their incredibly prolonged resistance, the people of Warsaw and the Polish underground army had torn the mask from the Soviet Communists. The betrayal of Warsaw revealed that Stalin was stepping into Hitler's shoes as a menace to the free world, 6 months before the Yalta Conference. It was not the fault of the Polish people that this lesson was either ignored or quickly forgotten. Taking the facts as Churchill himself described them, the Soviet incitement and abandonment of Warsaw was an unforgettable act of treachery—yet, we made the Yalta Agreement 6 months later.

We are told now that there was nothing wrong with the Yalta agreement, except that Russia violated it. I cannot accept this because the agreement itself violated the key provisions of the Atlantic Charter, which was the only joint statement of Allied war aims, accepted by the Soviets on January 1, 1942. But leaving that aside, we must still ask why, after the battle of Warsaw, did Churchill and Roosevelt imagine that Stalin would not violate it? That will remain one of the mysteries of history.

Even earlier, ever since the tide was turned against Hitler in December 1942 by the Nazi defeats at Stalingrad and at El Alamein, Stalin had given evidence that he was already plotting for the control of Europe and the world even at the cost of postponing the victory against Hitler. He refused to grant bases in Russia for the bombing of the Rumanian oil wells, which would have shortened German resistance. He even refused to grant the United States fighter bases at Murmansk to protect the American ships which were delivering lend-lease oil to Russia, from the Nazi air force in Norway. As a result, hundreds of American sailors were drowned, many ships were lost, also many American planes and airmen were downed when we tried to bomb the Ploesti oilfields from distant bases. Think of the losses to the Russian people and the Russian armies by this refusal of Stalin which prolonged the Nazi war effort. Yet he preferred to have hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers die rather than let the Russian people know the extent to which they were being aided and saved by America's help.

That was why Stalin feared to have American airmen based on Soviet soil. That is why, when Stalin briefly agreed to an American air base at Poltava, the Americans were forced to destroy every scrap of American newspapers and magazines, lest Soviet military personnel should be granted a glimpse into the truth about the West. Stalin refused to let the Russian people know that the lend-lease supplies, on which the Russian armies moved, came from America, until Ambassador Admiral Stanley, acting on his own initiative, forced one grudging admission from Stalin by threatening to cut off the supplies.

Finally, Stalin revealed his postwar plans by the murder of 11,000 Polish officers who were trying to organize the Polish armies to fight with the Russians against the Germans. The Polish troops in Russia would have fought as bravely as the Polish troops under General Anders in Italy, but Stalin did not want there to be any Polish Army, so he had the officers murdered. When the Nazi Army on their invasion of Russia discovered the mass graves of thousands of these officers in the Katyn Forest, they called in neutral scientists from Switzerland and Sweden, who testified, from the state of the bodies and the uniforms that they wore, that they could not have been killed by the Germans and must have been killed earlier by the Russians.

It was perfectly natural that the Allied governments refused to admit the truth of this publicly in wartime, for the sake of the common war effort against the Nazis. But what excuse was there for the Allied leaders not to recognize the facts privately and draw the inevitable conclusions about Stalin's character and policy toward the West, as revealed in this monstrous crime?

In the Katyn murders Stalin killed thousands of Polish officers who had chosen to surrender to the Russians rather than to the Germans when Hitler attacked Poland and Stalin stabbed Poland in the back. In short, he was murdering men who were friendly to Russia and who hoped to fight on Russia's side against the Germans. He murdered the Polish officers because he wanted to destroy the possibility of a Polish Army which could defend an independent Poland. And he incited the Polish underground army to its revolt against the Germans for the same reason.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

Even if the eyes of Roosevelt and Churchill had only been opened by the similar Soviet crime in the battle of Warsaw, in the summer of 1944, there was still time after that for them to profit by the lesson. The Yalta Conference took place 6 months after the battle of Warsaw began. General Patton still could have occupied Prague and we still could have occupied Berlin, instead of letting the Russians get there first. And by telling the American people the truth our Government knew about our Communist allies, we could have prevented or at least reduced the hysterical, and partly Communist instigated, agitation to bring the American troops prematurely home from Europe in 1945, which enabled Stalin to take over Central Europe with impunity.

All this was the result of the tragic wishful thinking which caused even the greatest of Western leaders to deceive themselves about communism, until it was almost too late to save Western Europe from the Soviet armies. Even when Winston Churchill warned the West as late as March 1946 in Fulton, Mo., few American leaders or newspapers agreed with him.

Since President Roosevelt was a Democrat, and lest this appear to be a partisan attack in an election year, let me stress that General Eisenhower, as our Commander in Chief, shared some of the responsibility of what happened in Prague and Berlin. Let me also stress that nothing in this criticism of Roosevelt and Churchill detracts from the immeasurable previous services both those great men rendered to the whole free world.

WHAT WE SHOULD DO

But what are the lessons of the battle of Warsaw for us today? Once again I fear that we face the danger of wishful thinking. We are told that there was a new Soviet Russia after the death of Stalin. We are even told now that there is a new Khrushchev. But the record shows that Khrushchev has learned the lessons of treachery well from his master, Stalin.

We need only remember the reinvasion of Hungary after the pretended Soviet withdrawal, the arrest of the Hungarian Commanding General Maleter, who was negotiating under a flag of truce; and the kidnapping of Premier Nagy under a safe conduct granted by the Soviets. Above all, we need only remember the secret installation of the missiles in Cuba, behind the friendly assurances of Khrushchev in personal letters and messages to President Kennedy.

We have been giving aid to Poland since the Polish revolution in 1956, which won some freedom of religion and of speech, as well as freedom from farm collectivization for the Polish people. But while receiving generous American aid designed to maintain and encourage those new freedoms, the Gomulka government has been steadily whittling them away. The American Friends of the Captive Nations have just issued a pamphlet describing conditions in Poland today, by a distinguished Pole who is known to members of our committee but who writes under a nom de plume to protect his relations at home. Copies of this pamphlet are available if you will write to us. As the author says, we should make continued American aid conditional upon a change in these Gomulka policies, so that the generosity of the American people is not used to strengthen a Communist dictatorship.

The same thing applies to the proposed American credits and aid for the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe. We must aid the people to win back their freedom, not bolster the satellite governments which still deny them every basic liberty despite minor relaxations. These satellite governments desperately need American credits, chemical plants, and other factories. The Communists use trade and aid as a weapon of subversion. We must use America's economic power and the Communist economic crisis to defend and extend freedom.

The 88th Congress—Summary of Major Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the adjournment sine die of the 88th Congress, each of us will make an independent judgment as to the overall worth of our legislative accomplishments during the 2-year span of this

Congress. With the thought that it might be worth while to have before us a summary of major legislation, I include at this time a compilation for the 1st session of the 88th Congress, as prepared by the coordinator of information of the House of Representatives:

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

H.R. 2438. Extends for 4 years, to June 30, 1967, authority of President to draft 18½–26-year-olds into military service; also extends Doctor Draft and Dependents' Assistance Acts, and the suspension of personnel strength limitation on Armed Forces. Public Law 88–2.

H.R. 2440. Authorizes $15.3 billion for procurement, construction of planes, missiles, ships, in fiscal 1964; includes $363.7 million additional for RS–70 manned bombers. Public Law 88–28.

H.R. 6500. Authorizes $1.6 billion for construction projects at Armed Forces bases at home and abroad, including 10,000 family-housing units for members of Army, Navy, and Air Force. Public Law 88–174.

H.R. 7500. Authorizes $5.3 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1964, for research, development, construction of facilities, and administration. Public Law 88–113.

S. 1745. Authorizes $216.2 million for Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1964, including $172.5 million for new construction projects. Public Law 88–72.

S. 2267. Authorizes supplemental appropriation for Atomic Energy Commission to make possible resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests in event of violation of ban treaty. Public Law 88–189.

H.R. 2842. Permits prosecution in U.S. district courts of offenses against this country committed abroad. Public Law 88–27.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

H.R. 7885. Authorizes $3.59 billion for mutual security programs, continuing foreign assistance for 1964; includes $1 billion military aid, $925 million development loans, $225 million grants and technical aid, and $160 million contingency fund. Public Law 88–205.

H.J. Res. 778. Authorizes funds for U.S. participation in Hague Conference on private international law. Public Law 88–244.

H.R. 5207. Authorizes final payments of $43 million to Philippine war-damage claimants; establishes $30 million educational exchange fund; bars payment of any part of funds to any former member or employee of the U.S. Philippine War Damage Commission.[1] Public Law 88–94.

S. 777. Authorizes $20 million for operations and research of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 1964 and 1965. Public Law 88–186.

H.R. 3872. Extends Export-Import Bank 5 years to June 30, 1968; increases its lending authority from $7 to $9 billion and its authority for guarantees and insurance, under the export credit program, by $1 billion to a total of $2 billion. Public Law 88–101.

H.R. 7405. Authorize U.S. Governor on Board of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) to vote for proposed increase of $1 billion in its capital. Public Law 88–178.

H.R. 6791. Extends for 2 years the reduction from $500 to $100 the value of duty-free imports allowed returning American tourists. Public Law 88–53.

H.R. 9009. Increases authorization for U.S. Peace Corps to $102 million, number of volunteers to 11,300. Public Law 88–200.

H.R. 4374. Proclaims Winston Churchill an honorary American citizen. Public Law 88–6.

[1] Embodied as amendment in the Foreign Service Buildings Act.

TREATIES

Executive M. (88th, 1st). Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, signed at Moscow, August 5, 1963, by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Ratified September 24, 1963.

Executive H (87th, 2d). International Coffee Agreement, signed at New York, September 28, 1962, by 58 nations, to be effective for 5 years after ratification, to stabilize and regulate prices of coffee by a world system of export quotas established by an International Coffee Organization. Ratified May 21, 1963.

Executive N (88th, 1st). Convention with Mexico, signed August 29, 1963, for solution of problem of the Chamizal (parcel of land north of Rio Grande near El Paso). Ratified December 17, 1963.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

S.J. Res. 102. Authorizes binding arbitration on two issues of rail labor dispute: Use of firemen and makeup of yard and train crews; bars new work rules or strike for 180 days from August 28, 1963. Public Law 88–108.

H.R. 8720. Extends to June 30, 1967, the Manpower Development and Training Act; waives for 1965 requirement that States match Federal grants for training allowances for unemployed but requires one-third matching in 1966; increases authorization for 1965 from $161 to $422 million; broadens program to train uneducated and jobless youth. Public Law 88–214.

H.R. 7195. Apportions through 1971 funds for completion of Interstate and Defense Highway system; fixes January 1965 as cost estimate deadline; raises Federal payments for construction engineering; continues billboard control program for 2 years. Public Law 88–157.

H.R. 8969. Increases temporary limit on national debt from $309 to $315 billion through June 1964,[2] Public Law 88–187.

H.R. 6755. Extends for 1 year up to July 1, 1964, the 52-percent corporate income tax and the current schedule of excise taxes on liquor, cigarettes, automobiles and parts, telephones, and airline tickets. Public Law 88–52.

H.R. 5389. Withdraws silver backing of paper currency, averts shortage of silver for coinage by repealing tax on silver transfers and other obsolete sections of Silver Purchase Act of 1934. Public Law 88–36.

H.R. 4655. Reduces for 1963 temporary increase in unemployment compensation tax rate; fixes new formula for determining allotments to States for administrative expenses. Public Law 88–31.

H.R. 5795. Permits Postmaster General, for 3 years, to continue parcel post at present rates, pending congressional action on problem of deficits from fourth-class operations. Public Law 88–51.

H.R. 134. Requires that auto seat belts shipped in interstate commerce meet certain safety standards. Public Law 88–201.

S. 1035. Extends for 1 year, to April 4, 1964, period in which Maritime Commission may act on proposed rates in dual-rate shipping contracts. Public Law 88–5.

H.R. 1597. Provides for deduction from income taxes of redeemable ground rent. Public Law 88–9.

S. 1031. Repeals Inland Waterways Corporation Act and authorizes Secretary of Commerce to liquidate its affairs. Public Law 88–67.

[2] Earlier enactments: Public Law 88–30, raised temporary limit from $305 to $307 billion to July 1, 1963, and to $309 billion to September 1, 1963; Public Law 88–106 extended $309 billion limit to December 1, 1963.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

H.R. 9413. Authorizes the coinage of a 50-cent piece bearing the likeness of the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Public Law 88–256.

H.R. 9291. Provides office facilities and assistance for 1 year, Secret Service protection up to 2 years and lifetime free mailing privileges for Mrs. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy. Public Law 88–195.

S.J. Res. 137. Authorizes the Commission investigating assassination of President Kennedy to compel attendance of witnesses and production of evidence. Public Law 88–202.

S. 1652. Extends for 3 years to September 1, 1966, period for raising contributions for construction of National Cultural Center. Public Law 88–100.

H.R. 3369. Extends life of Civil Rights Commission for 1 year to September 30, 1964.[3] Public Law 88–152.

S. Res. 78. Grants former Presidents of the United States privilege of the floor of the Senate and right to address that body. (Adopted—House action not required.)

H. Res. 504. Creates a select committee to investigate expenditures for research programs conducted or sponsored by Federal departments or agencies. (Adopted—Senate action not required.)

H. Doc. 117. Reorganization Plan No. 1, 1963, transfers to General Services Administration complete authority for operation of Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N.Y., now run jointly with Department of the Interior. Because effective July 27, 1963.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

H.R. 12. Authorizes 3-year program of $175 million in matching grants to expand teaching and research facilities of medical, dental, and related-type colleges, and $30.7 million in student loans to increase health personnel. Public Law 88–129.

H.R. 6143. Authorizes 3-year, $1.1 billion program of loans and grants to aid colleges and universities in financing construction of academic and related facilities. Public Law 88–204.

H.R. 4955. Expands vocational education programs; authorizes annual increases through fiscal year 1967 in scale of grants to States, on matching basis beginning in fiscal year 1965; extends National Defense Education and Aid to Impacted Areas Acts to June 30, 1965. Public Law 88–210.

H.R. 6518. Strengthens air-pollution control program by: encouraging State and local prevention and enforcement activity, increasing fund authorizations for grants in aid through fiscal year 1967. Public Law 88–206.

H.R. 7544. Authorize 5 year, $350 million to increase aid to States for maternal and child health services and for crippled children's programs; provides grants for maternity care and research projects to prevent mental retardation. Public Law 88–156.

S. 1576. Authorizes 3 year, $238 million program to aid States in providing mental retardation research facilities, construction of community mental health centers and grants for training teachers of deaf. Public Law 88–164.

H.J. Res. 724. Authorizes increase of $50 million, from $225 to $275 million, for direct loans to nonprofit corporations and cooperatives for construction of housing for elderly. Public Law 88–158.

H.J. Res. 467. Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1965, authority of FHA to insure mortgages for sale and rental housing for low and moderate income groups. Public Law 88–54.

H.R. 2085. Grants deserted wives tax relief for child-care expenses. Public Law 88–4.

S. 1409. Requires equal pay for persons performing same work, regardless of sex, by

[3] Embodied as amendment in minor bill.

amending Fair Labor Standards Act. Public Law 88–38.

H.R. 8100. Increases contributions and benefits under the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Compensation Acts; strengthens fund's financial position. Public Law 88–133.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

H.R. 5555. Provides $1.2 billion increases, effective October 1, 1963, in basic pay and subsistence for all members of the Armed Forces and Reserve components, except personnel with less than 2 years' service, and for the Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service; and readjusts retirement pay. Public Law 88–132.

H.R. 6996. Permanently fixes 6 years of service, including 4 months of active duty, for enlistees in Reserve program to fulfill their military obligations. Public Law 88–110.

H.R. 211. Increases payments to parents and children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities. Public Law 88–21.

H.R. 5250. Increases payments to widows of veterans whose death was due to service-connected disabilities. Public Law 88–134.

H.R. 242. Permits Veterans' Administration to waive recovery on default on home loans in certain hardship cases. Public Law 88–151.

H.R. 199. Provides additional compensation for service-incurred loss of hearing in both ears. Public Law 88–20.

H.R. 214. Increases compensation for veterans suffering complete loss of speech. Public Law 88–22.

AGRICULTURE

H.R. 4997. Extends through 1964 and 1965 crop years the feed grains program in effect on 1962 and 1963 crops, providing price support for producers who make voluntary acreage reduction. Public Law 88–26.

H.R. 40. Authorizes Federal assistance to States, on a matching basis, to help finance additional research facilities for State agricultural experiment stations. Public Law 88–74.

S. 1703. Extends for 1 year, to December 31, 1964, the program for use of Mexican farm laborers. Public Law 88–203.

H.R. 5860. Permits livestock producers, packers, and related interests to join in voluntary program of promotion, research, and education for their industry. Public Law 88–61.

S. 581. Extends for 2 years permission to lease and transfer tobacco acreage allotments. Public Law 88–68.

H.R. 5067. Permits operators of cotton farms to transfer flooded-out acreage to another nearby farm operated by same farmer. Public Law 88–12.

S. 582. Extends for 2 years exemption of peanuts for boiling from marketing quotas. Public Law 88–76.

NATURAL RESOURCES

S. 20. Authorizes development and coordination of Federal and State outdoor recreation plans through studies, research, and education programs under guidance of Secretary of the Interior. Public Law 88–29.

H.R. 8667. Authorizes 2-year, $816.8 million program of improvements in 11 river basins and navigable streams, flood control, waterpower projects of Army Engineers, and 1-year authorization for Bureau of Reclamation projects. Public Law 88–253.

S.J. Res. 33. Extends for 4 years to September 1, 1967, the interstate oil and gas conservation compact. Public Law 88–115.

H.R. 131. Provides for renewal, subject to negotiation, of long-term contracts between Secretary of the Interior and municipal, industrial, and domestic users of water service under the Reclamation Project Act of 1959. Public Law 88–44.

H.R. 4062. Authorizes Secretary of the Interior to market electric energy generated at Amistad Dam on Rio Grande River. Public Law 88–237.

S. 1523. Abolishes Beach Erosion Control Board; transfers functions to Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors; and establishes a Coastal Engineering Research Center. Public Law 88–172.

Acceptance Address of the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, U.S. Senator From the State of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the great address made by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY in accepting the Democratic nomination for Vice President at the Democratic National Convention was a magnificent statement of the high principles of the Democratic Party and of President Johnson and the Democratic nominee HUBERT HUMPHREY. I am proud to be able to offer this magnificent address for the RECORD and I commend it to my colleagues and to my fellow countrymen:

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, my fellow Democrats, my fellow Americans, I proudly and humbly accept your nomination. Will we ever be able to forget this unbelievable, this moving, this beautiful, this wonderful evening? What a challenge to every person in this land to live up to the goals and the ideals of those who have gone before us, and have charted the course of our action.

I was deeply moved last night. I received a singular tribute from a friend and a great President, a tribute that I shall never forget, and I pray to Almighty God that I shall have the strength and the wisdom to measure up to the confidence and the trust that has been placed in me. And please let me say thank you, my fellow Democrats.

I believe that I know President Johnson as well as any man. So let me tell you about him. I have known for 16 years his courage, his wisdom, his tact, and his persuasion, his judgment, and his leadership.

But I shall never forget those hours and those days of tragedy and crisis last November that we once again relived tonight, when a dear and wonderful friend and a great President was taken from us. And another stepped forward without a falter, without a moment of hesitation or a moment of doubt.

I was among those that he called to his side. He asked us, we, the people, Republicans and Democrats alike—Americans all—for our help. And I say thank God that John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the patriot that he was, that he had the foresight that day in Los Angeles to provide for his country.

Thank God for this country and for the peace of the world—that President Kennedy had the wisdom to choose a Lyndon Johnson as his Vice President.

I am sure you remember these words: "Let us continue." Those simple and direct words of President Johnson reached the hearts of our people. Those words rallied them, lifted them, and unified them.

In this world, disaster is ever but a step away. There is no margin for error. The leader of the free world, the leader of the American democracy, holds in his hands the destinies not only of his people, but holds in his hands the destinies of all mankind.

Yes, the President of the United States must be a man of calm and deep assurance who knows his country and knows his people. Above all, he must be a man of clear mind and sound judgment, a man who can lead, a man who can decide, a man of purpose and conviction. And, Lyndon Johnson is that man.

He is a man with the instincts of a teacher, who would rather persuade than compel, who would rather unite than divide.

President Johnson is respectful of the traditions of the Presidency, and he understands the compelling need for restraint in the use of the greatest power ever assembled by man.

In President Johnson's hands, our people know that our power is for justice, and in his hands our people know that our power is for peace. In his hands, our people know that our power is for freedom.

President Johnson has helped to make the Democratic Party the only truly national party. And this very convention demonstrates our strong and our abiding unity and brotherhood.

And what a contrast—what a contrast with the shambles at the Cow Palace in San Francisco. What a contrast with that incredible spectacle of bitterness, of hostility, of personal attack.

The American people have seen the contrast. The American people do have a clear choice, and I predict their choice will be Lyndon Johnson in November.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once spoke of "The two parties which divide the state"—the party of hope and the party of memory, my fellow Democrats. They renew their rivalry, he said, from generation to generation.

This contest, between the party of hope and the party of memory lies at the very heart of this campaign.

During the last few weeks, shrill voices have tried to lay claim to the great spirit of the American past. But they long for a past that never was. In their recklessness and in their radicalism, they distort the American conservative tradition.

Yes, those who have kidnapped the Republican Party have made it this year not a party of memory and sentiment, but one of stridency, of unrestrained passion, of extreme and radical language.

And by contrast, which is clear to all, under the leadership of President Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic Party stands today as the champion of great causes, as the party of purpose and conviction, as the party of national unity, and as the party of hope for all mankind.

Now let me document my case. Above all, the contrast is between the Democratic leadership and that of the Goldwater party is sharp and decisive on the question of peace and security. For 25 years, my fellow Americans, both parties have held the conviction that politics should stop at the water's edge, that we must be united in the face of our enemies, and we must be united in support of our allies and our friends.

And I say here tonight, to every American, to every friend of freedom, woe to that party of that spokesman that turns its back upon bipartisan foreign policy. Woe to those who are willing to divide this Nation, and beware of those who cast false doubts upon our great strength.

What great problems there are to solve: Problems to control the awesome power of the nuclear age, to strengthen the grand alliance with Europe.

To continue the task of building a strong and prosperous and united hemisphere under the Alliance for Progress.

To assist our friends in Asia and Africa in preserving their freedom and promoting their progress.

And to defend and extend freedom throughout the world.

Now, my fellow Americans, these urgent problems demand reasoned solutions, not empty slogans. Childlike answers cannot solve man-sized problems.

These problems demand leadership that is prudent, restrained, responsible. They require a President who knows that Rome was not built in a day, but who also knows that the great edifice of Western civilization can be brought down in ruins in 1 hour.

The American Presidency is not a place for a man who is impetuous at one moment, and indecisive the next; nor is it a place for one who is violently for something one day and violently opposed to it on the next, nor is it an office where statements on matters of major policy are so confusing and so contradictory that neither friend nor foe knows where he stands.

And my fellow Americans, it is of the highest importance that both friend and foe know that the American President means what he says and says what he means.

The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party—yes, the temporary Republican spokesman is not only out of tune with the great majority of his countrymen; he is even out of step with his own party.

In the last 3½ years, most Democrats and Republicans have agreed on the great decisions our Nation has made. But not the Republican spokesman, not Senator GOLDWATER. He has been facing backward, against the mainstream of American history. Most Democrats and most Republicans in the U.S. Senate, for example, voted for the nuclear test ban treaty. But not the temporary Republican spokesman.

Most Democrats and Republicans in the Senate voted for an eleven and a half billion dollar tax cut for the American citizens and American business. But not Senator GOLDWATER.

Most Democrats and Republicans in the Senate, in fact four-fifths of the members of his own party, voted for the Civil Rights Act. But not Senator GOLDWATER.

Most Democrats and Republicans in the Senate voted for the establishment of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency that seeks to slow down the nuclear arms race among the nations. But not the temporary Republican spokesman.

Most Democrats and most Republicans in the Senate voted last year for an expanded medical education program. But not Senator GOLDWATER.

Most Democrats and most Republicans in the Senate voted for education legislation. But not Senator GOLDWATER.

And my fellow Americans, most Democrats and most Republicans in the Senate voted to help the United Nations in its peacekeeping functions when it was in financial difficulty. But not Senator GOLDWATER.

Yes, my fellow Americans, it is a fact that the temporary Republican spokesman is not in the mainstream of his party. In fact, he has not even touched the shore.

I believe in the two-party system, but there must be two responsible parties, and there must be men who are equipped to lead a great nation as the standard bearers of the two parties. It is imperative that the leadership of the great parties move within the mainstream of American thought and philosophy.

I pledge to this convention, I pledge to our great President, to all the American people, my complete devotion to this task: To prove once again that the Democratic Party deserves America's affections, and that we are indeed the party of hope for the American people.

So tonight let us here and now pledge that the campaign that we will wage will be worthy of our great President Johnson, and, my fellow Americans, let us hereby resolve and pledge tonight that that campaign will be worthy of the memory of the late and beloved President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

While others may appeal to passions and prejudices, and appeal to fear and bitterness, we of the Democratic Party call upon all Americans to join us in making our country a land of opportunity for our young; a home of security and dignity for our elderly; and a place of compassion and care for our afflicted.

I say to those responsible and forward-looking Republicans who put our country above their party—and there are thousands of them—we welcome you to the banner of Lyndon Baines Johnson. We welcome your support.

Yes, we extend the hand of fellowship. We ask you to join us tonight, for this President, my fellow Americans, is the President of all of the American people. He is the President in the great American tradition—for labor and for business; no class conflict—for the farm family that will receive the unending attention and care of this President and for the city worker; for North and for the South; for East and for the West. This is our President.

President Lyndon Johnson represents—in fact he is the embodiment of the spirit of national unity, the embodiment of national purpose, the man in whose hands we place our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

I am proud to be the friend of this great President. I am very proud that he has asked this convention to select me as his running mate.

And I ask you, my fellow Americans—I ask you—to walk with us, to work with us, to march forward with us—to help President Johnson build the great society for America of the future.

Yes, let us continue. Let us, fellow Democrats and fellow Americans, go forward. Let us take those giant steps forward to which the President has called us, to end the shame of poverty, to end the injustice of prejudice and the denial of opportunity; to build the great society and to secure the freedom of man and the peace of the world. We can do no less, and to this, tonight, let us resolve to pledge our every effort. Thank you.

Pennsylvania GOP Youth Training Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to a most interesting project recently conducted under the auspices of the Republican Party of Pennsylvania. I refer to the first annual GOP youth leadership training center, sponsored by the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania, and held at the Pennsylvania State University during the week of August 23–29.

One hundred and ten youngsters from thirty-six counties attended the week-long program. Classes in the history of American political parties, the importance of the two-party system, party organization and structure, and the legislative process were included, as well as workshops in parliamentary procedure and teenage Republican—TAR—organization. Prominent Republican speakers addressed the group during the week, and the teenagers organized and conducted a model Congress and a campaign and convention for State TAR officers.

Elected as first Teenage Republican State chairman was Roger Richards, of Franklin, in Venango County. He is a sophomore at the University of Pittsburgh. Vice chairman is Ann Benfield from Boyertown, in Berks County. Ann is entering George Washington University.

I think the organizers of this program deserve heartiest commendation for their work in promoting good citizenship and interest on the part of our youngsters in public affairs and public service. Naturally, I hope the Republican Party will benefit by projects such as these; but I think that American politics, regardless of party, also can benefit.

I take this opportunity to congratulate the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania, and particularly its chairman, Craig Truax, for their foresight and initiative in establishing what will be an annual event in political education for young people interested in public life.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the schedule of events of the first annual GOP youth leadership training center at the Pennsylvania State University:

There being no objection, the schedule was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA GOP YOUTH TRAINING CENTER SCHEDULE

SUNDAY, AUGUST 23

At 4 to 6: Registration, Grange Hall.

At 6: Dinner, HUB Terrace Room.

At 7:30: Opening assembly, 111 Boucke; Buz Lukens, chairman, Young Republican National Federation.

At 8:45: Mixer, HUB main lounge.

At 10:15: Dorm meeting with counselors.

At 11: Lights out.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24

At 7:45: Breakfast, HUB Lions Den.

At 8:45 to 9:45: Class, 111 Boucke, "The Two-Party System," Craig Truax, chairman, Republican State Committee.

At 9:50 to 11: Discussion period, 301, 303, 304, 306, 307 Boucke.

At 11:15: Lunch, HUB Terrace Room.

At 1 to 2: Class, 111 Boucke, "Party Structure and Organization," Craig Truax.

At 2 to 3: Discussion period, Boucke classrooms.

At 3: Explanation of party system, campaigning, and convention at training center, 111 Boucke; party organization meetings.

At 4:45: Dinner, HUB Terrace Room.

At 7:30: Assembly, 111 Boucke, Mrs. June Honaman, vice chairman, Republican State Committee, Women's Organization; Mr. B. Clair Jones, chairman, Lycoming County, county organization.

At 9: Entertainment, Grange Hall recreation room.

At 10:30: Be in dorm.

At 11: Lights out.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25

At 7:45: Breakfast, HUB Lions Den.

At 8:45 to 9:45: Class, 111 Boucke, "History of American Political Parties," Dr. Wallace Brewster, Penn State faculty.

At 9:50 to 10:30: Discussion period, Boucke classrooms.

At 10:30: Free time for party activities.

At 11:15: Lunch, HUB Terrace Room.

At 1 to 3: Class, "The Legislative Process," Frank O'Gorman, workship in parliamentary procedure, 111 Boucke.

At 3: Party meetings and preparation for model Congress.

At 4:30: Picnic, Hort Woods.

At 9:15: Dance, Grange Hall Recreation Room.

At 10:30: Be in dorm.

At 11: Lights out.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26

At 7:45: Breakfast, HUB Lions Den.

At 8:45 to 9:45: Class, 111 Boucke, "Appraisal of National Administration," Robert Kunzig, administrative assistant to Senator HUGH SCOTT.

At 9:45: Organization of model Congress, 111 Boucke, committee meetings; consideration of bills.

At 11:15: Lunch, HUB Terrace Room.

At 12: Rules committee meeting.

At 1:30: Model Congress.

At 4:45: Dinner, HUB Terrace Room.

At 7:30: Assembly, 101 Chambers, State Senator Jack McGregor, campaigning; secretary of the Commonwealth, George Bloom, convention campaigning.

At 9: Entertainment, Grange Hall Recreation Room.

At 10:30: Be in dorm.

At 11: Lights out.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27

At 7:45: Breakfast, HUB Lions Den.

At 8:45: Class, "Appraisal of the State Administration," Lt. Gov. Raymond P. Shafer.

At 10: Party meetings; election of candidates, preparation of platform; campaign and convention planning.

At 11:15: Lunch, HUB Terrace Room.

At 12:30 to 3: TAR workshop, 111 Boucke, directed by John Smither, State chairman, Teenage Republican activities.

At 3: Party activities.

At 4:45: Dinner, HUB Terrace Room.

At 7: Assembly, 111 Boucke, State Senator Richard Frame and Assemblyman Alvin C. Bush, "The State Legislature Organization and Procedure."

At 8:30: Reception, meet the candidates (for TAR offices), HUB main lounge.

At 10:30: Be in dorm.

At 11: Lights out.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28

At 7:45: Breakfast, HUB Lions Den.

At 8:45: Preparation for convention, decorations, signs, campaigning.

At 11:15: Lunch, HUB Terrace Room.

At 12:30: Decorate convention hall, Conference Center Auditorium.

At 2: Convention, Keynote Speech; presentation and adoption of platform; nominations for TAR chairman and vice chairman; demonstrations; seconding speeches.

At 5:30 to 6: Box suppers, conference center.

At 7: Elections, Convention Hall. Victory dance, Convention Hall.

At 12: Be in dorm.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29

At 9: Formal breakfast, HUB dining rooms A and B; presentation of certificates; speaker (to be announced).

Problems of Weather Modification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the issue of weather modification procedures has caused grave concern in various areas throughout the country. Many farmers feel that the use of aircraft and cloud seeding by orchardists has resulted in prolonged drought conditions. This view is hotly disputed by those who subscribe to his private weather modification service.

Because this subject is of general concern, not only to our country but to the entire world, I include here an article from the London Observer by John Davy which was reprinted in the Washington Post on September 5 under the title "Spectacular Cloud Explosions Caused by Silver Iodide Seeding" and call it to the attention of my colleagues. This is pertinent to the bill I introduced September 1, House Resolution 873.

The article follows:

SPECTACULAR CLOUD EXPLOSIONS CAUSED BY SILVER IODIDE SEEDING

(By John Davy)

LONDON.—Sir Graham Sutton, the head of Britain's Meteorological Office, told the British Association meeting in Southhampton that weather modification "must be approached with the greatest caution."

As he was speaking Nimbus I, the advanced American weather satellite, was making its first circuits of the earth. It can photograph global cloud cover every 24 hours—and it is out of the deeper understanding of the earth's weather that new ideas about weather control may emerge.

At any given time, there are 1,000 to 2,000 thunderstorms going on, Sutton said. They release energy equivalent to hundreds of hydrogen bombs, he said.

This gives some idea of the mighty forces weather controllers would have to grapple with. It also illustrates how difficult it will be to grapple with them. Weather modification, he suggested, will have to be a matter of cunning rather than brute force.

Extreme caution is needed because increasing rainfall in one spot could produce drought elsewhere. Clumsy manipulations might trigger appalling storms. Weather control could have ominous political and even military implications.

(Western Maryland farmers held a mass meeting August 24 in Boonsboro to protest cloud seeding elsewhere which they claim has resulted in dry spells in their area. Representative CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR., Republican, of Maryland, has introduced a resolution calling for an investigation.)

Luckily, perhaps, there is no immediate prospect of the new political-military powers falling into our hands. Nevertheless, the soberest scientists agree that it is not nearly so distant a prospect as might have appeared a few years ago.

There are two reasons: first, vast progress in our understanding of the global circulation of the atmosphere through weather satellites and space observations and second, growing understanding of the processes which go on inside clouds.

This is illustrated by a series of large-scale experiments by two American scientists, Joanne S. Malkus, of the University of California, and Robert S. Simpson, of the U.S. Weather Bureau, in which they have made tropical cumulus clouds explode in a spectacular way.

They called in the U.S. Navy, which supplied five aircraft based on Puerto Rico, and equipped with cameras, elaborate radar, and other equipment.

The scientists sat in one aircraft, spotting likely clouds. Then two aircraft flew through the cloud, making measurements, followed by a third aircraft which dropped bombs releasing quantities of silver iodide vapor inside the cloud.

The measuring aircraft then doubled back to repeat their observations inside the cloud while another plane photographed the results from above.

Eleven clouds were studied; 5 as "controls," while 6 were "seeded" with silver iodide. Two of the latter were seeded too soon or too late. But in four cases, the clouds "exploded." They grew tall towers 1.5 to 3 miles higher than their unseeded neighbors.

After about 15 minutes, the tower growth stopped, and the base of the cloud started to expand horizontally to twice the original diameter, putting up new towers at the same time.

This whole process, the scientists say, must have involved energy releases inside the clouds equivalent to one or two Hiroshima-sized atomic bombs—all as a result of dropping about 60 pounds of silver iodide into them.

This reveals the mighty forces at work in the weather. But the scientists' satisfaction with this experiment comes from the fact that it was carefully measured before and after, and could be accurately matched with theoretical "models" of clouds. The match was good enough to give confidence in the theories and suggest new experiments.

Pollution: Everybody's Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the September issue of American Forests contains a fine piece by John Clark Hunt, of Portland, Oreg. The article, entitled "Pollution—Everybody's Fight," describes the pollution problem in the Pacific Northwest and remedial action in this field that has been taken in other parts of the United States. Water, it is being realized, is a precious resource. Those of us in the West are particularly aware of this. Under unanimous consent, I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

POLLUTION: EVERYBODY'S FIGHT

(By John Clark Hunt)

One would think that the Pacific Northwest, a region blessed with shining streams, rivers, and lakes, would have clean, pure water for every purpose. True, the high country snowbanks are still clean and pure. Rain falls on millions of acres of national forests and trickles down to feed these streams and rivers. This water is clear and clean. But what happens to it after it leaves the high beauty of the Rockies and the Cascades and the shining green of the forest?

As an example let's trace the Snake River to see what man has done to it. The Snake, rich in history and the lore of Indians, mountain men, and the wild frontier, is born in one of the spectacularly beautiful spots of the Nation. It begins at Shoshone and Lewis Lakes in Yellowstone National Park between Yellowstone Lake and Jackson Hole. At first it is a wild, sparkling mountain stream. Then it enters Jackson Lake, emerges larger and stronger, and roars down a vicious canyon where Wilson Price Hunt and his American Fur Co. companions, known as the Astorians, almost died of starvation and exertion in 1811 when they tried to follow the canyon west to establish the trading post at Astoria, Oreg.

In its mad race the Snake soon reaches lower elevations and the valleys of Idaho. Here pollution begins.

A Public Health Service report shows that approximately 550,000 people live in the Upper Snake River Basin. In 1960, 59 towns and cities and 156 industries were discharging waste into the Snake and its tributaries. No doubt there are more by now. Only 18 percent of these had adequate sewage treatment facilities, and pollution was increasing every day. In fact, the pollution load pouring into the Snake was equal to the waste from a population of 2,400,000. Most of this was caused by 24 food processing plants.

Farther down the river in the Lewiston-Idaho area the situation is as bad or worse. At a water pollution meeting at Lewiston early this year it was reported that several towns were adding to the pollution load but these were of little consequence compared to the waste poured into the Snake and Clearwater Rivers by food processing plants and particularly by Potlatch Forests, Inc. This one wood products plant, according to a statement by the Public Health Service, is discharging industrial waste and sewage from its work force equivalent to the raw sewage from a population of 299,000 people.

Murray Stein, Chief of the Public Health Service Water Pollution Control Enforcement Branch in Washington, D.C., told the conference that a Federal study of the pollution showed it to be of an interstate nature and therefore subject to abatement under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. He said that the Public Health Service would work with Idaho and Washington in extending the study with a report to be completed and available by January 1, 1965. After that date a reasonable time—perhaps 2 years—would be allowed for the completion of water pollution abatement in the area.

The Snake River empties into the Columbia, the river of the West, which was the home of more than a score of Indian tribes and was the canoe and pirogue highway from the Pacific to the great inland country of the United States and Canada, the trail of Lewis and Clark, Wilson Price Hunt, and Captain Bonneville. The Columbia is a big river. Its current was fast and its waters were alive with salmon and steelhead, the big seagoing trout—until the white man began building dams to change it into a series of lakes and loaded its tributaries with many kinds of pollution.

The Yakima River Basin is another pollution problem. It is an important tributary of the Columbia, draining about 5,000 square miles east of the Cascades in Washington. Some 200,000 people live in the Yakima Basin. All of the communities have sewage treatment facilities and most of the industries not connected to municipal sewer systems have some type of water treatment of their own. But in spite of the facilities, which have all been built in recent years, pollution is serious and the low percentage of oxygen in the river below Yakima often becomes critical.

THE LOWER COLUMBIA IS A SEWER

On down the Columbia there is Camas, Wash., with its papermill; and then the cities of Vancouver and Longview and several small towns with woodworking plants. The Willamette River enters from the south carrying a load of pollution from Portland, Oregon City, Salem, and Eugene, Oreg.

The Columbia from the Camas-Vancouver area and the confluence of the Willamette downstream to the Pacific Ocean is a sewer. Commercial fishermen often find that the goop of pollution loads their nets until they can raise them only with extreme difficulty. That is how bad pollution has become in the lower Columbia. It is as bad, or worse, than it has ever been. This enormous mess will be cleaned up only when strong measures have been taken and agreements honored.

In 1959 the Willamette River at Portland was described in this way—"One swallow would contain enough germs to make a person deathly sick." There were 80 outfalls pouring untreated sewage and commercial waste into the river. The Public Health Service and the Oregon State Sanitary Authority got tough. They told Portland to live up to her responsibility or face a suit in which she knew she could not possibly defend herself. What has been the result? Many millions of dollars have been spent building sewage treatment plants. But to date not enough have been built for some untreated sewage and some industrial poison is still drained into the river. The condition of the water is still considerably below that of the Sanitary Authority's minimum standard.

WORST POLLUTION PROBLEM

What appears to be the worst pollution problem in the Northwest is that of Puget Sound. Many streams and rivers flow into this large estuary. They carry waste from numerous towns, cities, and industries. With the best of cooperation and dedicated effort the condition would be difficult to control, but with aggravated stalling it is serious.

A report published in 1962 by the Public Health Service and the State of Washington Pollution Control Commission states—"Seven pulp and paper mills in Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca area are contesting the Washington Pollution Control Commission's order requiring the mills to control the pollution created by them."

The report told of the efforts made by State officials since 1940 to bring about an abatement of pollution at these seven mills. But the commission is patient. It says a reasonable solution can be found and points to the record. Of the 532 industrial plants subject to permit regulations in the Puget Sound-Juan de Fuca area 493 are in compliance with effluent requirements established by the State—an average of 93 percent.

A last minute check with the Public Health Service indicates that prospects do appear better for solving the pollution problem on both the Snake River and on Puget Sound.

It has been reported that the State of Idaho will take action to enforce pollution control at the industrial plants along the Snake. It is expected that waste disposal facilities will be built within less than 2 years to prevent solids from reaching the river.

The Washington Pollution Control Commission has now issued operating permits to the seven mills which have been problems for more than 20 years. The State says that the mills have made some improvements and are developing plans for constructing waste disposal facilities. In the meantime the Public Health Service and the Washington Pollution Control Commission are continuing a study of Puget Sound pollution. The study has been underway for over 2 years and has cost the Federal agency $780,000 with another $300,000 to be spent in fiscal year 1965.

ACTION REQUIRES SCIENTIFIC PROOF

In a suit involving two State of Washington corporations, *Olympia Oyster Co., Inc.* v. *Rayonier, Inc.*, the U.S. district court judge said in dismissing the case last February, that he was convinced beyond a reasonable doubt that the evidence presented contained no issue of fact for the jury to determine. The Rayonier case involved dumping sulfite waste into Oakland Bay. Rayonier, however, like many companies, had a State permit to discharge a certain amount of waste per week into the water; the court said that the plaintiff failed to meet scientific standards of proof to show that Rayonier had exceeded its waste quota.

A word of caution should be added here. Often emotion-charged accusations or a tendency to go into court with a lack of proof or with unsubstantiated charges hurts the conservationists cause. Too often newspaper headlines indict, try, and convict the accused company in one terse headline; too often an emotionally aroused public assumes that if the company has been haled into court it must be guilty of a violation. No one contends, of course, that allowing a certain amount of pollution of our rivers and streams is good; but in the eyes of the court, laws which allow such "partial pollution" are valid, and if the violation is unproven, the court must uphold the law in favor of the defendant.

SEVEN MILLS CAUSE 58.3 PERCENT OF THE POLLUTION

The latest action to abate serious and longstanding pollution problems in the Northwest was taken in May 1964, this time by the Oregon State Sanitary Authority.

After careful study the authority released a 74-page report showing that 7 pulp and paper mills are causing 58.3 percent of the pollution in the Willamette River, the principal stream in western Oregon and the drainage of the Willamette Basin in which the bulk of Oregon's population lives.

The report predicts that if the mills continue to allow their loads of waste to reach the river after the cities and communities have completed their sewage disposal plants the mills will account for 82.6 percent of the pollution by December 1966. These were the mills listed as offenders:

Crown Zellerbach Corp. (a sulfite plant), West Linn; Publishers Paper Co. (sulfite), Oregon City; Spaulding Pulp & Paper Co. (sulfite), Newberg; Columbia River Paper Co. (Oregon Pulp & Paper), (sulfite), Salem; Crown Zellerbach Corp. (sulfite), Lebanon; Western Kraft Corp. (a kraft plant), Albany; Weyerhaeuser Co. (kraft), Springfield. The sulfite plants are listed separately because their pollution in the Willamette is reported to be much more serious than that of the kraft plants.

During August and September of 1963 a minimum daily dissolved oxygen content of only 2 parts per million was recorded in Portland's harbor. The minimum permitted by Oregon's strong pollution law is 5 parts per million. Slime growths were found to be excessive. So were fiber and other settleable solids contained in pulp and paper mill effluents which has created bottom sludge deposits. It is obvious that salmon and steelhead runs cannot be maintained nor water recreation continued in such filthy water. Concern is felt for the 70 million Chinook salmon planted in the Willamette during the spring of 1964 by the State fish commission and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. It is doubted that these fish can return and spawn successfully during 1966, 1967, and 1968 unless the water quality has been improved.

The Oregon State Sanitary Authority is holding a series of meetings with the pulp and paper companies to learn the steps each mill can take to reduce pollution to meet the required water purity standard. A date for compliance will be set after the meetings are concluded.

WATER NEEDS FOR THE FUTURE

The question is—what are we really doing to stop it?

Our population is growing rapidly. In 1900 there were 76 million Americans. In 1950 there were 150 million. In 1960 there were 180 million. By 1980 it is expected that our population will reach 260 million. Obviously the more people there are the more water we have to have and the more sewage there will be. In the past 100 years water consumption in the United States has risen from a few gallons a day per person to about 700 gallons daily per person. Today the Nation is using approximately 323 billion gallons of water daily. Of this amount, industry uses 160 billion gallons; irrigation, 141 billion; municipal, 22 billion. In 1980 it will jump to 597 billion gallons per day, with industry using 394 billion; irrigation, 166 billion; and municipal, 37 billion.

It takes an ocean of water to maintain our jobs—1,400 gallons to produce a dollar's worth of steel; nearly 200 gallons for a dollar's worth of paper; 500 gallons to manufacture a yard of wool and 320 gallons to make a ton of aluminum. Water quality and quantity requires careful planning and only clean water will do for most of our needs. So, the water supply must be protected to keep it clean or it must be treated each time it is used until it is clean.

WHAT TO DO?

Anyone who has taken the trouble to check knows that it will cost a fantastic amount of money to cope with the tide of pollution. But if we can spend billions to put a man on the moon we can afford clean water. First, the Nation will have to exert itself to wipe out the backlog of pollution and start even with the problem. Then, each year, it must build new facilities, expand and rebuild old ones to keep abreast of the increase in population and industrial expansion.

One thing that we must not tolerate is the building of new towns, subdivisions, or factories without adequate sewage facilities to guarantee that they will not add to the pollution burden. We know that the job can be done—the whole job—for old towns and cities and factories as well as the new ones. Since 1956 when the first Federal water pollution control legislation was passed, about 4,500 communities have built sewage treatment plants. Others are under construction. Federal grants of approximately $400 million have been approved. And for each Federal dollar granted, local communities have spent five dollars for waste disposal.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE COIN

The outstanding example of successful cooperative pollution control is the work of the Ohio River Authority. States, cities, towns, villages and industries have worked together to clean up the filthy Ohio river from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi. They had to do it if they were to continue to use the water and live beside the river. Now, they are proud of the job they have done.

In the Pacific Northwest another pollution headache shows some promise of finally being solved. In the very heart of the city of Seattle is beautiful Lake Washington. Like some other waters in the fast-growing region it became polluted and infested with algae. A metropolitan organization was formed a few years ago to clean up the lake. It is succeeding in spite of the fact that all towns and communities are said not to be cooperating. In 10 years Seattle expects its big, jewel-like lake to be clean. It will be an important victory.

The rest of the country must do a similar job. The pressure for clean water will never stop. It cannot. Conservation groups, including the American Forestry Association, report that pollution is the topic most on the minds of many of their members today. In days gone by, the AFA could meet in almost any part of the country and talk forestry and only forestry. But not any more. Today, more and more members are saying, "Fine, fine—but what are you doing about stream pollution?"

Is L.B.J. Sincere on Race Issue?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Peoria Journal Star:

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star, Sept. 2, 1964]

IS L.B.J. SINCERE ON RACE ISSUE?

President Johnson has done a lot of talking about putting an end to racial violence in this country, but we have seen very little evidence that his talking about it has done much good in the State of Mississippi.

Reports of bombings have become so routine that we don't run all of them, but there was one the night that Johnson was renominated which we want to mention.

This time the bombing victim was a white woman—Hazel Brannon Smith. Readers of this newspaper will recall that she it the Pulitzer Prize winning editor whom Associate Editor Tom Pugh interviewed 3 weeks ago.

A bomb was thrown into her newspaper office. She wasn't hurt because she was in Atlantic City listening to President Johnson making another promise to "use the full resources of the Federal Government" to put an end to the kind of disorder which plagues Mississippi.

His latest promise didn't do her much good.

Nor did it help a Negro man whose house was bombed the same night. Somehow the justice which exists in Mississippi found a way to stick the victim himself in jail "for operating a garage without a license."

We're beginning to wonder just how serious Johnson is about using the power he so often speaks of.

As things stand now, Mrs. Smith's pen is making a bigger contribution to our democracy in Mississippi than Johnson's words.

Ohio Air Executive Keeps Big Business Flying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, it gave me a great deal of pleasure recently to read an article in the Sunday, August 23, 1964, New York Times regarding an outstanding gentleman from Youngstown, Ohio, Mr. Forest Beckett. This is a highly successful businessman who climbed the ladder of success the hard way and symbolizes the truly American success story.

I include this article for the pleasure and benefit of my colleagues:

OHIO AIR EXECUTIVE KEEPS BIG BUSINESS FLYING—BECKETT'S PLANES SPECIALIZE IN TRAVEL FOR CORPORATION MEN—FLEET OF 50 CRAFT LOGS 33,000 HOURS OF FLYING TIME YEARLY

(By Evert Clark)

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO.—It could be said that Forest Beckett sideslipped into aviation. He began taking flying lessons 25 years ago to collect a debt. Now he heads the world's largest fleet of business aircraft.

Mr. Beckett also plans to go after a share of the lucrative sales market now developing for business jets.

The five small companies informally known as Beckett Aviation constitute a sort of aerial supermarket. Most of the customers are large midwestern corporations such as the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. and the H. J. Heinz Co.

FOR SALE OR LEASE

They can buy Mr. Beckett's planes outright or lease them, with or without the services of Beckett Aviation's 45 rigidly trained pilots.

The fleet of 50 planes that Mr. Beckett owns, or operates regularly for others, ranges from 6-place, twin-engine aircraft to remodeled 40- and 50-passenger airliners.

The next largest business fleets are those owned directly by companies and operated by their own pilots. The Socony Mobil Oil Co., for example, has 28 planes and the General Motors Corp. has 22.

Within a few weeks, Mr. Beckett will begin adding Aero Commander's Jet Commander to his fleet. He also will sell the plane as a distributor. It is one of a half-dozen new business jets on the market or becoming available.

Mr. Beckett estimated recently that sales of the 3 or 4 smallest jets alone would total 2,000 planes in the next 5 years at a total of more than $1 billion.

THE 40,000 BUSINESS AIRCRAFT

Most of the 40,000 business aircraft in the Nation are piston-engine, 200-mile-an-hour planes. The jets travel at about 500 miles an hour, putting the traveling executive into the same speed league as jet airliners and cutting former trip times in half.

Mr. Beckett is a short man of 53 years with crewcut, graying hair. In the late thirties, he ran a gasoline and tire shop here and had no great ambition to fly. But a customer ran up a $60 debt—an appreciable sum in the depression days.

"He was a pilot," Mr. Beckett recalled. "I decided to let him pay me with flying lessons. I had 8 or 10 hours of instruction, but every time we'd go up, he'd borrow another $8 or $10.

"I finally decided it would be cheaper to buy my own plane."

A hangar fire destroyed that plane 2 months after Mr. Beckett bought it. He bought another. A year later World War II began and Mr. Beckett began instructing military pilots.

FIRST VENTURE CROWDED

After the war, he formed Youngstown Airways to sell planes and gasoline, train private pilots, and service their planes. He found that many others had the same idea.

"I decided too many pilots were coming into the business who had too little knowledge about business and weren't even safe pilots," Mr. Beckett said.

"I thought if we could sell planes to customers and then provide good pilots for them, we would have continuing customers who would stay in the market and trade in their used planes for new ones."

At first his pilots flew customers' planes at no charge. But some companies hesitated to buy their own planes. Mr. Beckett decided he could expand the market by leasing planes and charging for his pilots' services. For financing and tax purposes, he created Lease Air, Inc.

Soon he found the leasing and operating activities outstripping direct sales. To serve companies in the fertile Pittsburgh market, he formed the Beckett Aviation Corp. there. Twenty-nine of the world's 500 largest corporations are based in Pittsburgh, and 14 of them now own or lease planes, Mr. Beckett said.

HOLDING COMPANY FORMED

About 5 years ago, Mr. Beckett said, he became concerned about what would happen to the employees who had been with him from the beginning "in case anything happened to me." He combined his enterprises under a holding company, Aviation Enterprises, Inc., and sold 10 percent of it to customers. He also has instituted what his chief pilot, Don Minner, called "a liberal debenture plan" for employees of long service.

This year Mr. Beckett opened an office in Cleveland and he hopes to put 1 in Chicago, where only 18 of 87 large corporations now have their own planes.

The only other company in the leasing and operating business operates a fleet of six planes, Mr. Beckett said.

"People have come from England, Japan, and Germany as well as this country to see how we do it," Mr. Beckett said. "There isn't a week that someone doesn't come in to learn the secret. Actually, there's no secret to it."

If there is one, it is efficiency. The company uses the same kind of communication equipment as the airlines, and turnover among its pilots is low. A visitor to the Youngstown and Pittsburgh operations can readily see that morale is high.

THE 33,000 AIR HOURS YEARLY

In 20 years of flying an average of 33,000 hours a year, the company has had only two fatal accidents. They took a total of six lives.

Last year, the Beckett-owned companies did a $4-million business. Their founder expects the business jets to increase this appreciably. He prefers discussing the future to concentrating on past success, but he conceded:

"For a fellow whose first plane burned and put him out of business, that's pretty good."

A Report to The People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as has been my custom, throughout my public life, I desire to include at this time a summary account of my activities and speeches during this 88th Congress.

A MORAL OBLIGATION

In my conscientious conviction, the Biblical mandate "to render an account of thy stewardship" imposes upon every responsible public officeholder a moral obligation. It is an obligation that I have consistently attempted to fulfill.

It is obviously impossible to completely cover the whole record, especially in view of space restriction regulations; however, I shall, herein, try to present and reveal my personal pronouncements and actions upon some of the more important and more widely publicized legislative issues that occurred in this 88th and recent Congresses.

AN EXPLANATORY WORD

Mr. Speaker, because I desire and intend to strictly observe the space limitations the outlines of the background and significance of particular bills I have included in the past will here necessarily and mostly be omitted. However, I will try to present, in these extracts of my remarks, paragraphs that will lead, I hope, to the fullest understanding of the subject involved.

This task is made somewhat easier because, of course, the great majority of our people are aware that most of our modern legislative actions are for the continuation of the amendment of laws that are already in effect and which are expanded or modified, by our determinations here, through the succeeding years.

TRUTH FROM THE RECORD

Mr. Speaker, there follows a review, under appropriate subject headings, of the speeches and remarks I have made in the House Chamber on particular occasions which reveal my convictions and actions on the prominent legislative issues that were determined:

THREE PARAMOUNT OBJECTIVES: MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, COMMUNIST CONTAINMENT, FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the manifest destiny of this Nation, in opposition to atheistic communism, is to safeguard our own freedoms and thereby preserve the light of liberty in a threatened and frightened world.

It is equally obvious that to accomplish this task we must ever strive to be war-deterrently equal, or even superior, to the Kremlin dictatorship in military might and space exploration; anything less than that could well provide a desperate temptation to reckless and ruthless individuals.

At the same time, it would be the height of folly and imprudence and an invitation to economic disaster for ourselves if we lessened our vigilance, or relaxed our supervision, in preventing waste and extravagance in our required military procurement and space research programs.

Our problem, then, is to provide for our full security against the Communist projection but to do it within a financial system and atmosphere of the most careful planning and the most frugal spending. This is the conviction with which I considered our military appropriations in this Congress, as well as in the past.

Mr. Speaker, indeed, there is no question about the imperative necessity, in the light of the belligerent attitude of the Kremlin, of our military forces being fully prepared to protect the security of the United States against any surprise move by the Soviets.

However, when the House returns to the consideration of this grave subject, in the near future, I most earnestly hope we will not be of a spirit to disregard the necessity for including every reasonable safeguard against and restriction upon wasteful and extravagant military spending that we can.

Adequate national defense is indeed vital but the people of this country are seriously disturbed by the continuing revelations of wasteful and extravagant spending by the military without regard to the fact that each and every penny spent comes out of the hard earned, and highly taxed, pay of the average American workingman and business. The duty of the Defense Department to guarantee our security does not carry with it any license to indulge in loose and careless financial practices.

THE REVENUE ACT OF 1963—TAX REDUCTIONS PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT, CREATE CONSUMER DEMAND, STIMULATE BUSINESS, AND SUSTAIN THE LONG-RANGE ECONOMY

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, this bill, H.R. 8363, we are now debating, and which I earnestly hope we will forthwith approve, is unquestionably the most important measure that has yet come before this 88th Congress; it could well prove to be the most significant legislative tax act of modern history.

The anticipated impact of this bill practically constitutes the core upon which further major Government purposes are founded; it represents a vital segment in this Nation's future economic expansion plans; it provides a keystone in the overall architectural design to keep this country moving ahead in the basic areas of economic development, domestic progress, and world leadership.

Briefly, the objectives of this tax reduction proposal, accompanied with pledged economies in and prudent control of future Federal expenditures, are to encourage the long-term economic growth of the Nation, restrain the tendencies of increasing unemployment, restrict the historically recurrent forces of recession, contribute to the balancing of our international payments, and eventually eliminate the distressing pattern of chronic budgetary deficits.

To determine our action on this vitally important legislation it seems to me we must each ask of, and answer for, ourselves this simple question—do the provisions of this bill hold forth a reasonable prospect of fulfilling its objectives, which are admittedly in the best national interest?

To get the right answer to this question, I think it wise to use our time-tested first principles of decision, which are the lessons of past experience, attention to the voice of authority, acceptance of the weight of the evidence, and the exercise of conscientious judgment.

A summary application of these principles reveals that, in the economic history of our own and other countries, most recently in England, tax reduction does undoubtedly tend to stimulate the economy, encourage capital investment, and relieve unemployment.

With regard to the voice of authority, I think all Members here would agree there is none in this country higher or more respected than the distinguished chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. He, with his dedicated associates on this great committee, have spent some 8 long and arduous months listening to witnesses, evaluating testimony, and formulating the bill they have now presented to us with recommendation for passage.

The President of the United States, in conformity with his sworn and solemn duty, to make recommendations to improve the state of the Nation, has testified before the country in explanation and favor of this legislation. Beyond these expert sources a majority of our leading economists; the Business Committee for Tax Reduction in 1963, composed of some 2,400 of our most respected industrial leaders; the officials of our great labor organizations; major insurance groups; the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the Republican Governors' Association have also recorded their voices and sentiments in support of this bill's objectives.

It would appear then that the lessons of history and multitudinous voices of authority provide us, in this instance, with an overwhelming weight of evidence for approval of this bill. There remains then only the exercise of our own individual conscientious judgment.

Let us then, today, demonstrate our faith in the authority and dedication of a distinguished chairman and members of a great committee of this Congress. Let us avoid furnishing any further inspiration and material to Communist propaganda by showing proper confidence in the pledge of a President of the United States. Let us recall that our American citizens, through the Congress, have been exceedingly generous over a great period of time toward the people and welfare of other nations in the world. This is our opportunity to prove our concern for our own too long and too greatly burdened taxpayers and businesses. For the future progress of our country let us give the American taxpayer and businesses the tax relief they so urgently need and let us do it right now.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now Public Law 272 of the 88th Congress.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1964—SOCIAL SECURITY—AMERICA'S ANSWER TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most sincerely hope that the Members of this House will, with unanimous voice, sanction the further improvements in the benefit and coverage provisions and the financing structure of our social security system, as recommended in this bill before us, H.R. 11865.

Although the improvements contained in this measure are not as liberal or expansive

as a great many of us had hoped they would be, the changes projected, nevertheless, will beneficially affect some 20 million of our American people. For the vast majority of these Americans social security benefits are their major source of support and for a great many they are the only source.

As has been already technically explained by the esteemed committee chairman the bill, among other things, will, in summary, provide a 5-percent across-the-board increase in old-age, survivors, and disability benefits; and eventual increase of family maximum benefit to $300 and the maximum individual benefit to $143.40; a continuation of a child's insurance benefit past the age of 18 and up to the age of 22 if the child remains in school; an election for widows to retire, with reduced benefit, at the age of 60; a special provision under which payment of benefits would be permitted, at age 72, to certain of our older people who did not work long enough under social security to meet the current work requirements for eligibility.

These proposed changes in the present system, with other coverage expansion provisions, are all in accord with past policies of the Congress and add improvements that are financially sound and economically imperative. The increases and improvements are adequately underwritten by the small addition to the contribution rates and insure that our system of social security continues in actuarial integrity.

There can be no question, Mr. Chairman, but what the overwhelming majority of the American taxpayers approve and urge the continuation and reasonable expansion of our social security system in accord with the economical trends of this nuclear age.

This measure offers us the opportunity to carry out the desires and instructions of our people to move forward toward further reasonable adjustment of this program in line with the economical standards under which we live.

May I say it offers us, also, Mr. Chairman, an opportunity to demonstrate to our American taxpayers and fellow citizens that, while we may have earnest interest in the rehabilitation of peoples in foreign lands our primary concern and obligation is and ought to be for our own people who are still making tremendous sacrifices for the promotion of peace and progress throughout a tense world.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1963—EQUAL JUSTICE AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as a matter of supreme legislative conscience and duty I most earnestly urge and hope this Senate-amended version of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, which we passed here last February 10, will be unanimously accepted and approved.

The work the Senate performed on this measure follows the general lines of the House bill we acted upon here and there is no substantial alteration of the principles of equality embodied in the original measure. An overwhelming majority of both Chambers, as representatives of the American people, have already, in substance, approved this measure. In patriotic unity let us all close ranks and approve this bill.

For our inspiration toward this action we may timely remind ourselves of the immortal words of our late President John F. Kennedy when he urged us, just about a year ago, on June 19, 1963, to pass a comprehensive civil rights law. On that occasion President Kennedy appealed to the Congress with these words:

"Justice requires us to insure the pleas of liberty for all Americans and their posterity—not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy, and domestic tranquility—but, above all, because it is right."

This measure will not, nor was it ever pretended that it could, resolve all of our racial problems. Such will not occur until each of us applies the lesson taught centuries ago, to do unto others as we would have others do unto us; only when we have universally adopted the practice of that divine law will discrimination, attitude, and oppression cease in this troubled world. History shows us the best intended legislation does not, overnight, change personal attitudes nor dissolve all animosities. Only human charity, love, respect, and consideration that come from the moral culture and religious heritage of a people can do that. On this score we, the American people, will certainly be on trial for a long time to come but at least we have begun this glorious journey with the proper legislative first step.

We have upon us now the promise of a new birth of freedom throughout every neighborhood in this Nation. To nourish this birth to maturity will require from all Americans everywhere great forbearance, great kindness, great understanding, great love for one another, and great patriotic dedication to America. This is the challenge of our time, this is the call of our destiny.

For God, for country, for our fellow Americans, and for men everywhere, let us meet the challenge, let us heed the call, let us fulfill our destiny.

Mr. Speaker, this historic act is now known as Public Law 352 of the 88th Congress.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963—EDUCATION IS THE FOUNDATION OF PROGRESS

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, in these days of continuing crisis, few, if any, legislative subjects will be presented to this body more vitally important to the national welfare than this bill, to authorize assistance to higher education institutions in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of their academic and related facilities.

In the light of the current and increasing Communist challenge, there is nothing more obvious, to meet and turn back this challenge, than our national need to perseveringly produce more and better trained scientists, engineers, doctors, teachers, and other educated personnel.

This measure before us is designed precisely to provide this Nation with the most urgent and essential services of these specially trained and disciplined people in the various sciences and arts.

The only possible source from which such personnel can come are institutions of higher education, and the authoritative testimony that has been revealed clearly shows they cannot do the job with their current resources; they need material help and encouragement to provide for the tidal wave of new enrollments that is just over the horizon.

To meet the pressing demands of today, and prepare for the enrollment crush of tomorrow, these higher educational institutions must rehabilitate and expand their academic facilities or else they will be forced to turn away thousands of qualified applicants and deprive the Nation of their trained talents during the most perilous hour of our history.

The prohibitions against any attempt or form of Federal control in the methods of instruction or administration of any educational institution involved are clearly defined and amply sufficient to prevent any Federal interference. That is certainly what practically all of us want to closely guard against, and the language of this measure surely accomplishes it.

The objectives of this bill, and the means defined to accomplish them, are firmly in accord with the foundation traditions of American policy and progress, and I earnestly hope the bill will be approved without crippling amendment or extended delay in the national interest of this day and forever after.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now recorded as Public Law 204.

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, as one who was privileged to have participated in the enactment of the original National Defense Education Act of 1958, I am particularly pleased to rise in support of this measure, H.R. 11904, to amend and extend the original act.

Certainly there is no better investment for the lasting good of this country we can make than providing the fullest educational opportunities for our youth and encouraging them to take the utmost advantage of these opportunities.

Certainly the history of this legislation, which has enjoyed continuing bipartisan support since 1958, clearly demonstrates it was wisely conceived, it has been soundly administered at all levels, and has made an increasingly vital contribution to the progress of this country.

Since this legislation was first enacted the testimony shows there have been over 660,000 loans made to needy students who very likely could not otherwise have obtained a college education. The record further shows that the rate of repayment by students borrowing under the program has been five times as fast as the law specifies. I think this fact alone should renew our faith in the youth of this Nation and the worth of this legislation. However, beyond this fact, growing school enrollments, rising tuition costs, a continuing manpower shortage in crucial fields and ever-increasing demands for quality instruction convincingly appeal for the proposed extension and expansion of this program as proposed in the bill before us now. Indeed, it is my hope that it may become possible for us to provide a 3-year extension of this education act to permit participating educational institutions to more wisely and practically plan the best educational programs and I most earnestly trust that Public Laws 815 and 874, familiarly called the Federally Impacted School Districts Acts will be extended for at least 2 years so that local community officials and school administrators can plan and project their budgets accordingly.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge my colleagues here to overwhelmingly approve this bill, H.R. 4955, before us and to reject all amendments, however well intentioned, that would tend to cripple the effective provisions of this measure.

Even a brief examination of the statistics related to vocational education will clearly reveal that the need for this program is obvious and imperative in the national welfare. These figures show that the number of workers in the lower skilled occupations is rapidly declining each year. Between 1957 and 1962 there was a drop of 772,000 workers in these classifications within the manufacturing area. On the other hand, jobs for professional and technical workers will rise about 40 percent in the 1970's, and jobs for salesworkers, managers, and proprietors will rise about 20 percent. In health occupations at all levels the demand far exceeds the supply, and this situation will continue for a long time.

Young people are seeking work in greater numbers—2.6 million of them a year, estimated for this decade alone. At the other end of the scale, the number of older workers continues to increase. Moreover, half the women between the ages of 35 and 54 are expected to be in the labor market by 1970, some for the first time, some after long absence. Most will need training or re-

training opportunities to obtain employment.

In our continuing appraisal of the need for expanding vocational education opportunities it is primarily important to bear in mind that perhaps 80 percent of our fifth grade students today will not graduate from any college and, if the present rate of dropouts goes on probably more than 30 percent of these will not even complete high school. It is particularly urgent upon us, in my opinion, to make provision, in the public and national interest, for these citizens of tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, this measure is now Public Law 210 of the 88th Congress.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ACT EXTENSION

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to most earnestly urge my colleagues to unanimously approve this bill before us, H.R. 9876, to amend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 by extending its provisions for 2 additional years and providing for a special project and study.

This bill is designed, with certain amendments, to continue and expand the program we adopted 3 years ago providing Federal grants to help local communities combat juvenile delinquency; the program initiated under that original legislation is just beginning to bear fruit and it would be obviously and extremely unwise to cut it off now.

Besides extending the act of 1961 for 2 additional years this bill additionally provides for a special study of school attendance and child labor laws and a national demonstation project on juvenile delinquency prevention and control in the Capital area.

This Capital City is now embarked on a broad and extremely promising program, in cooperation with the schools, which could very well develop new and more effective ways to work with underprivileged and delinquent children. Out of the lessons learned here there is every reason to believe there will emerge, for national application, a pattern of types of effective community action to combat delinquency throughout the country.

Mr. Chairman, basically and fundamentally this program is an investment in a substantial part of our youth and, therefore, it is an investment in the future welfare of this Nation. Many legislative proposals have come before us in this Congress with what we might call greater publicity but, I daresay, few, if any, of them will prove to be more important to national progress than this particular bill, H.R. 9876.

Mr. Speaker, this proposal is now known as Public Law 368 of the 88th Congress.

LEGISLATION FOR THE GOOD OF ALL AMERICANS

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, the vicious social and economic cycle that has been projected and threatens to be perpetuated by the combined problem of poverty and unemployment is very probably the most stirring challenge our generation faces and upon which this body has the awesome duty to legislate.

The chance for us to do something about this problem is before us now in the form of this measure, H.R. 11377, designed to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States.

The various provisions of this measure have already been carefully, technically, and exhaustively explained to this House by the managers of the bill.

Mr. Chairman, let us solemnly reflect upon the unquestioned fact that in this land of plenty we have some 35 million American citizens living in poverty.

To those who would question the costs of this program we must ask them to consider the cost of not adopting this program, in terms of direct public assistance payments alone, which amount to $4 billion per year. In addition to these direct payments, the indirect costs of poverty to this country which show up in juvenile delinquency, crime, health hazards, and higher police and fire protection costs, totals billions more.

To those who would fear the possibility of Federal intervention in local affairs let us unite in action against such a danger which no sensible person desires and accord the various governors the power of negating any local community program unless it were sponsored by local public authorities.

Let us vividly realize that a teenage jobless rate of 16 percent has explosive possibilities that are of potential fearful and frightful consequences.

It is not suggested here that a program of perpetual care is to be established. It is intended only that poverty-stricken people who need and will respond to help will be given such help so that they may help themselves and gradually the desperate need of such help will be reduced and the programs themselves will be accordingly restricted and eliminated.

Mr. Chairman, in the course of his historical and inspirational inaugural address, our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy spoke these memorable words:

"If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

With this sentiment and in his spirit let us enact this legislation because it is right and because it is good for all Americans.

May I say it offers us also, Mr. Chairman, an opportunity to demonstrate to our American taxpayers and fellow citizens that although we should have earnest interest in the rehabilitation of peoples in foreign lands our primary concern and obligation is and ought to be for our own people who are still making great sacrifices for the promotion of peace, progress, and prosperity throughout an uncertain world.

Mr. Speaker, this act is now Public Law 452 of the 88th Congress.

A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TECHNOLOGY, AUTOMATION, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope that legislation, H.R. 11611, which I vigorously supported and which passed in the House, will be promptly approved in the Senate and thereafter signed by the President into law.

A brief review of the purposes of this measure obviously reveals its paramount importance to our sustained economic progress and necessity to begin, now, to deal with the complex effects, including serious unemployment, of this otherwise blessed automatic age.

Mr. Speaker, the problems of providing employment, encouraging retraining programs, making adjustments to the shift in the employment structure, including the displacement of workers through defense cutbacks and so many others arising out of the automatic age present one of the greatest challenges of our time. This challenge will require the fullest cooperation of all levels of government and demand the utmost concentration of all our intellectual resources to the planning of wise, constructive uses of the benefits of automation.

It is only too apparent the impact of automation and mechanization on our economy must inspire new economic thinking and the most comprehensive planning in protecting and projecting our general progress and continuing welfare. As an imperative step toward this patriotic objective I most earnestly hope that the provisions of H.R. 11611 will soon become the law of our land.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now Public Law 444 of the 88th Congress.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING

Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly hope and urge that this bill, to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, will be overwhelmingly approved without extended debate and delay.

The history of this measure, in operation, clearly reveals that it has been an unqualified success since its origin. The authorities have presented substantiating evidence that the goal set by Congress, for the 3-year program of some 400,000 unemployed workers retrained and placed in productive work, will be attained.

Mr. Chairman, this bill offers us a chance to alleviate serious unemployment in the country. It also enables us to take a significant step toward meeting the problems generated by the ever-increasing technological revolution of American industry, especially as such revolution drastically threatens the economic security of our undereducated and unskilled youth. Without encouragement and opportunity this group of young Americans is practically doomed to a lifetime of joblessness and dependence upon public assistance. If they can be trained to become part of our productive force, at any reasonable cost, then the saving to society is incalculable.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now Public Law 214 of the 88th Congress.

PRESERVING DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES AND EMPLOYMENT

Mr. Chairman, I have never been, nor am I now, opposed to the basic principles underlying our trade-agreements program. However, there appear to be very serious grounds upon which this bill in its present form should be patriotically questioned.

Certainly it does not completely conform with the sentiment expressed in the President's own statement on trade policy contained in his state of the Union message February 2, 1953, when he declared:

"This objective must not ignore legitimate safeguarding of domestic industries, agriculture and labor standards." Nor does it conform with the statement contained in the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy that "American labor should not be subjected to unfair competition as a part of any program to expand our foreign trade."

Even the advocates of this bill admit it will inevitably visit great hardships upon great numbers of employees and many industries in certain sections of the country, such as New England, where textile manufacturing and innumerable other products will be hardest hit. Yet there are no provisions or proposals, nor are we permitted to offer any for adoption, in this measure to prevent the imposition of serious economic suffering upon such American workers and industries.

Therefore a great many of us here, trying to conscientiously represent our people, very deeply feel that the tariff cutting features of this bill should be wisely held in abeyance until, with Government assistance, new industries are encouraged and developed for areas that would be so disastrously affected and proper precautions are taken to safeguard the employment opportunities rightfully belonging to so many patriotic American working people. Toward that objective, labor, industry, and all levels of government should sincerely cooperate.

It is truly not a simple or easy problem to solve but it is just as truly our representative responsibility to work out a fair trade program that will be fair to Americans as well as our foreign friends. I earnestly hope the House will vote to recommit this bill for the sole purpose of writing in new provisions designed to prevent great hardships from falling upon many regional industries and

workers, not to mention other provisions to retain and preserve essential defense resources that we can ill afford to dissipate in the face of threatening Communist aggression.

SMALL BUSINESS MUST BE LEGISLATIVELY ENCOURAGED

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly believe it is our very deep legislative obligation and the practically unanimous intention of the Congress to make every reasonable effort to preserve and encourage the life and activities of small business which is the foundation stone of our private enterprise system.

Because of my belief I advocated and supported the original legislation, in 1953, that led to the establishment of the Small Business Administration, the first comprehensive agency of the Federal Government devoted wholly to small business problems. Before and since that time I have supported every sound legislative proposal projected for the particular benefit of small business in this country.

While this Congress has perhaps not accomplished as much for the wider encouragement of small business as most of us would have liked, we have nevertheless recognized their needs on appropriate legislative occasions.

For instance, Congress has thus far approved legislation granting special consideration to small corporations, those with taxable incomes of $25,000 or less, by providing tax cuts of about 27 percent; broadening and liberalizing existing authority to extend disaster loans to small enterprises; establishing under the Economic Opportunity Act, a new program of loans over a 15-year period under greatly reduced collateral requirements; offering, under the new Housing Act, special FHA loan procedures for small business, in urban renewal areas, to improve and rehabilitate their property; authorizing SBA, under certain conditions, to increase the amount they can loan to small business investment companies, from $400,000 to $700,000; and, among others, expanding the set-aside program to assure small business a fairer share of Government contracts. I supported all of these legislative proposals.

OUR MORAL OBLIGATION TO THE VETERAN AND HIS FAMILY

Mr. Speaker, as we appear to be approaching the end of this session and this Congress I most earnestly hope we will not leave here without extending imperatively needed legislative consideration to our veterans and their families. This need has become even greater because of action on the social security amendments providing a 5-percent increase. Unless we take prompt action to prevent it this social security increase will unintentionally but adversely affect a great number of our veterans, veterans' widows, and veterans' dependents presently receiving pension payments.

The provisions contained in H.R. 1927 will insure among other features, that no veteran or dependent will lose pension payments because of any increase in social security allowances. The bill accomplishes this by providing that 10 percent of payments to an individual under any public or private retirement entitlement of any kind, including social security, will be excluded in determining income for pension purposes. This pending bill would improve the veterans' pension system in many other respects. For instance, it raises the pension amounts for veterans and widows with low income. Such changes in these limitations will make it possible for more veterans and their dependents, who are being hard pressed to meet today's basic living costs, to qualify for pensions and at the same time it will increase the monthly pensions of many now on the rolls by placing them in a different income limitation category.

Of special interest to World War I veterans is a provision in the measure designed to eliminate the present requirement of a 10-percent disability with resulting unemployability for a veteran of 65 years of age or over to qualify for a pension.

Mr. Speaker, on other occasions such as this I have expressed my very deep conviction that the best patriotic incentive and encouragement we can provide for those who may be called to future military service is the example of the equitable treatment we demonstrate of those loyal veterans and their dependents of our past wars.

The time is getting late, the economic needs of so many of our veterans and their dependents are urgent, the provisions of H.R. 1927 are equitable, the overall measure is reasonable, and its purpose is in the best interest of this Nation. I urge and hope, therefore, that H.R. 1927, on behalf of all our veterans and their dependents, will be brought before us and overwhelmingly approved in the immediate future.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

Mr. Chairman, as our immediate inspiration to unanimously approve this legislation, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, we need only to look around us and observe the most competent, industrious, distinguished and gracious ladies whom we are privileged to call our colleagues.

For our background inspiration to promptly and favorably act on this bill, we need only to reflect that it is designed simply and solely to provide wage justice for workingwomen.

Under the legislative proposal before us now, we can accomplish this just objective without the creation of any new Government compliance unit and through procedures of the Fair Labor Standards Act, with which labor and industry have long been familiar.

We all realize that the origin of the wage rate differential for men and women performing comparable jobs is the false concept that a woman, because of her very nature, somehow or other should not be given as much money as a man for similar work.

This antiquated concept has been long and completely demonstrated to be false and it is indefensible from every standpoint.

Recognizing that the concept of wage payment discrimination against women is false; having before us the surprising but overwhelming evidence that such discrimination still continues to exist; and realizing that this measure represents the correction of basic injustice being visited upon women in many fields of endeavor, let us, I urge you, firmly reject any crippling amendments and proceed immediately and unanimously to the enactment of this bill extending simple wage justice to the increasing corps of America's workingwomen.

Mr. Speaker, this measure is now Public Law 38 of the 88th Congress.

LUXURY TAXES—A PLAGUE ON BUSINESS, BEAUTY, AND BABIES

Mr. Speaker, the problem of what to do about Federal wartime excise taxes continues to plague the Congress while it continues to penalize our people and our businesses. Surely it is time to deal with it forthrightly and realistically. Reductions made in a few areas have been too little and patchwork proposals, as recently made, have been and should be rejected because of discriminatory tendencies. The existing situation projects real hardships, contradicts the term "luxury" in this modern world, and it is economically unjustifiable. Piecemeal corrections should not be further tried; the cure should be overall and complete.

Who, in this atomic age, can really feel that cosmetics, furs, luggage, automobiles, television sets, long-distance telephone calls, washing machines, refrigerators, window air conditioners, and babies' things should be classed as luxuries and placed in the same category, for instance, as tobacco and alcohol for Federal tax purposes.

The repeal of these excise taxes would, according to expert economic testimony, eliminate elements of drag and discrimination in our fiscal system and inject a further factor of significant influence into our economy which must be encouraged to expand, especially during this period of unemployment adjustment to the challenging impact of automation.

IMMIGRATION WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION

Mr. Speaker, the boasted basic standards by which we Americans claim to measure a man are his integrity of character, his conscientious industry, and his personal ambition. In theory his place of birth has nothing to do with the kind of person he may be.

However and unfortunately, our current immigration laws openly contradict this theory. Under present laws, it is, for instance, clearly intimated that the Italian people are about one-thirteenth as acceptable for prospective American citizenship as the English and that the Greek people are about 200 times less desirable for American admittance than the English. There is similiar discrimination against many other nationalities under the present system.

Mr. Speaker, there is now pending before the Congress a bill, actually the first bill our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy sent to Congress, designed to remove the bias, the prejudice, the discrimination, and the injustices of our present immigration laws. This bill is known as H.R. 7700 and I myself have introduced a bill that is practically identical to it, H.R. 8383.

These bills, and many others of like nature, would, fundamentally, along with other revisions and reforms, eliminate the present inequitable discriminatory overall quota system and set up a new method, with no great increase, of quota allocations without regard to national origins; they would insure that an individual with special talents that could be used here would not be faced with inordinate delay in admittance because of his birthplace and they would halt the existing hardships on separated families from Italy or Greece or other countries who must now most often experience agonizing postponements of family unity while large quotas for England and Ireland remain unused.

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope this Congress will not adjourn without taking action on these pending revisions in our immigration laws that will demonstrate, both to ourselves and the world, that we are really serious in desiring to eradicate discrimination based on race and national origin.

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1964

Mr. Chairman, because the evidence and expert testimony clearly show that slum clearance, urban renewal, housing for the elderly, low-cost public housing and similar programs are still urgently needed in almost every section of this country, I consider it a legislative obligation to urge support and prompt enactment of this bill, H.R. 12175, designed to extend and amend the present laws relating to housing, urban renewal, community facilities and other purposes.

Mr. Chairman, the record shows that in general, the program has been well administered and it has been exceptionally free from misuse of funds or authority.

Mr. Chairman, this housing bill is certainly a relatively modest one. It surely seems essential for the continuation of programs that are vital to our efforts and our obligations to encourage better housing in better surroundings for all of our people. Because it is clearly in accord with our national traditions, because it is designed to prudently meet a foundation national need and because it is obviously intended to promote the health, the safety, and the happi-

ness of all our citizens, I urge that it be promptly enacted.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now Public Law 560 of the 88th Congress.

HONORABLE PEACE MUST BE PERSEVERINGLY PURSUED

Mr. Chairman, as one of the original sponsors of legislation that resulted in the creation, back in September of 1961, of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency within the executive department of our Government I earnestly urge my colleagues here to unanimously approve this measure authorizing an additional appropriation of $30 million for the Agency to continue its operations over the next 2 years.

Let me, please, remind you that the Congress is not, by this bill or through this Agency, relinquishing one whit of its constitutional, traditional, or legislative power over U.S. disarmament procedures or treaties. If it did I would not be in favor of it.

Let me further and respectfully observe than when few question an appropriation of some $50 billions for an arms race it is difficult to appreciate how anyone can hesitate over approving $30 million for the pursuit of honorable peace.

When we realize that the destructive power of one thermonuclear bomb surpasses that of all the bombs used in World War II it appears it would be just plain old-fashioned commonsense to encourage an agency of our Government to continue and expand its limited efforts of research and exploration to find ways and means to accomplish honorable peace through a guaranteed system of arms control and disarmament. Penny for penny it could well be the best investment the American taxpayer could make or that we can make for him and the civilized world. Let us then promptly approve this measure without further delay.

MUTUAL SECURITY—INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Speaker, I remain most deeply impressed with the foundation principle involved in our mutual security and foreign assistance programs. That principle is the prevention of the necessity for American fathers and sons to fight, and perhaps die, again, all over the world.

Mr. Speaker, over the past few years, when we have been debating this mutual security appropriations bill, I have emphasized my belief that the parts of the program which have proved of substantial worth by experience, such as technical assistance to underdeveloped countries and Development Loan Fund operations, should be adequately supported, and the most careful examination, in the interests of the American taxpayers, should be concentrated upon those phases of the program in which impressive evidence has been demonstrated in revelation of great waste and extravagance.

Let us strive to conscientiously enact a measure that will provide reasonable assistance to our allies, in the fields where such help is most needed, while we insure elimination of those parts of the program which have been proved wasteful and worthless.

THE COMMUNIST CAPTIVE NATIONS MUST NEVER BE ABANDONED

Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of this resolution, designed to influence the restoration of the fundamental freedoms and God-given rights of the subjugated peoples now existing in Communist captive nations, I most earnestly hope this House will promptly and unanimously approve it.

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION

Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge prompt approval of this urgently needed measure before us, H.R. 3881, the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963.

As you are aware this bill, already enacted by the Senate, proposes an expenditure of $500 million to provide a long-range program, of cooperation between the Federal Government and State and local units, to bring some order out of the increasingly chaotic condition of transportation facilities in so many urban and metropolitan centers throughout the Nation, including my own home State and area.

Mr. Chairman, any objective review of this transportation improvement challenge throughout the country proves the need for this legislation is imperative; the Federal participation proposed is reasonable; the projected program over a long-range period is prudent; that failure to act now could well precipitate a major crisis and the program proposed is beyond any doubt in accord with our traditions and legitimate concern for the national safety and welfare. Let us, therefore, approve this measure without extended delay.

Mr. Speaker, this measure is now Public Law 365 of the 88th Congress.

COORDINATING PLANNING, NOW, FOR THE PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR WATER AND LAND RESOURCES IS IMPERATIVE FOR FUTURE NATIONAL WELFARE

Mr. Speaker, back on July 13, 1961, our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy recommended to Congress the original river basin planning bill whose fundamental objectives, to provide for development of comprehensive river basin plans, biennial assessments of regional water needs and supplies, aid to the States and encouragement of more efficient water development, management and use, are practically the same as S. 1111 that passed the Senate late last year and is now pending in the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. I very earnestly urge and hope the leadership of both sides and the distinguished chairman and members of this outstanding committee will cooperate in their efforts to present this vitally important measure to the House for action before this Congress concludes.

Mr. Speaker, the prominent provisions of S. 1111, which carry out the basic purposes recommended by President Kennedy, are briefly these: it will establish a Water Resources Council with the responsibility to make plans now for the conservation of our water resources; it will set up a pattern of operation for the Federal-State River Basin Planning Commissions; it will provide a program of aid to States for water resources planning by authorizing an annual appropriation of money for 10 years for apportionment to the States on a matching basis to develop their independent, intrastate and interstate water resource planning by whatever agencies with which the States work.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere hope and appeal that this Congress will approve legislation, which this House passed in the last Congress, creating a New England water and related land resources compact which would consider the whole of New England as an interdependent geographical unit for the development and managing of our regional natural land and water resources. Already four of our New England States, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island have ratified such a compact by State legislative action.

Mr. Speaker, this country has been struggling for 55 years to set up an intelligent, comprehensive, practical plan to adequately deal, throughout the Nation, with the desperately urgent problems of water supply, distribution, pollution, variability, and floods. Every recognized authority and conservation organization in the United States has recommended such action. The opportunity to take such action, in the national welfare, is contained in the excellent measure, S. 1111, and I again urge that appropriate steps be taken to promptly bring the bill before us for passage, in the near future, before the Congress ends.

ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL POLICY FOR WILDERNESS PRESERVATION

Mr. Speaker, I understand that this body may be very soon granted an opportunity, by approval of H.R. 9070, to establish a national wilderness preservation system and I most earnestly urge and hope the opportunity will be overwhelmingly grasped.

We have, Mr. Speaker, a legislative responsibility to establish guidelines for wise management of federally owned lands in order to assure that future generations will have the opportunity of enjoying the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness.

When we recently and overwhelmingly adopted the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act this House evidenced its interest and recognized its duty to provide adequate recreational opportunities for our expanding population that will be looking for better and healthier outlets for the greater leisure time that is anticipated. Prompt enactment of H.R. 9070 will add to that action by protecting certain designated federally owned acreage from unwarranted commercial intrusion.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 9070 is designed to preserve, for current and future generations, Federal land in its original state for the healthy use and enjoyment of all Americans who are interested in outdoor life and conservation and I trust it will be unanimously adopted in the near future.

Mr. Speaker, the substance of this bill is now Public Law 577 of the 88th Congress.

CONGRESS SHOULD NOT BE ADJOURNED WHILE VITAL PROBLEMS REMAIN UNSOLVED

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, at this point I desire to express my opposition to any early sine die adjournment of the House of Representatives while vitally important legislation remains pending.

BILLS INTRODUCED IN 88TH CONGRESS

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, limited as this summary necessarily is, it would be even more inadequate if a partial list of some of the measures I introduced in this Congress were not included; they follow:

H.R. 3933, to provide public knowledge of progress and achievement in astronautics through the designation of a special day in honor of Dr. Robert Hutchings Goddard.

H.R. 3934, to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 to provide for more effective evaluation of the fiscal requirements of the executive agencies of the Government of the United States.

H.R. 5182, to establish a Commission on the Organization of the Congress.

H.R. 5184, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an income tax deduction for certain expenses of attending colleges and universities.

House Joint Resolution 373, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

House Resolution 347, establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

H.R. 8368, to amend section 401(d) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide for the issuance of certain certificates of public convenience and necessity.

H.R. 8883, to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

House Concurrent Resolution 239, to request the President of the United States to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

H.R. 9329, to provide for the greater protection of the President and the Vice President of the United States.

House Joint Resolution 826, to establish a commission to be known as the John F. Kennedy Memorial Commission.

H.R. 10942, to establish a National Economic Conversion Commission, and for other purposes.

H.R. 11135, to amend the Antidumping Act, 1921.

H.R. 12144, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that any unmarried person who maintains his or her own home shall be entitled to be taxed at the rate provided for the head of a household.

CONCLUSION—TIMELY COUNSEL FROM A GREAT AMERICAN

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the words of wise authority remain forever as comforting beacons of guidance in troubled, distressing hours. A counseling message to all Americans is contained in the following extract from a speech given at Harvard University graduation exercises on June 30, 1910, by the late great Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes:

"The most important agencies of democracy are, after all, not the organs of government, but the influences that shape public opinion. * * * Democracy must prize its public life. It has stripped it almost altogether of ceremonial and of meaningless and absurd forms. It has placed the public officer in a position of power, to be used for service. * * * Having surrounded him with none of the pomp which makes appeal to the thoughtless and ignorant, it must invest him with the higher honor which should be the reward of fidelity. Those who cultivate the true democratic spirit will be as earnest in their support of faithful officers as they are unsparing in their condemnation of the faithless."

Last Chance for Medicare?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an editorial with a most appropriate title appeared in the Sunday, September 6 edition of the Tribune publications, emphasizing the basic issues involved in the last-ditch, politically motivated kick for medicare.

The editorial entitled "Last Chance for Medicare" follows:

LAST CHANCE FOR MEDICARE?

Hospital care for the aged under social security has been approved by the U.S. Senate, but promises to fall by the wayside in the House. That is where it belongs.

The pretense that social security is a panacea for all man's ills is a dangerous one. Even without extending the tax to cover hospitalization, the tab is increasing periodically, taking a more substantial bite out of the workingman's pay check and the employer's resources. Yet the same administration that proposed an income tax reduction in order to spur the economy also supports an additional increase in social security taxes without acknowledging that this might return the economy to the point of beginning.

Even without the so-called medicare plan, advances in the social security tax rate appear to be needed as a means of increasing payments to keep pace with the high cost of living. Economically dubious and unfair to upcoming generations of workers as this might be, none of us wants the senior citizen to be penalized by inflation which is no fault of his.

But higher payments and increasing life expectancy in themselves are sufficient reason to wonder how soon the tax burden on payrolls will reach the breaking point.

Under the circumstances, extending hospital benefits to the aged, whether they need them or not, is a luxury we can scarcely afford. Worse yet, there can be no way of determining what the plan would cost, although you can safely bet that it would exceed estimates on which the initial tax increase is based.

Nor is there any assurance that hospitals could accommodate all who might be attracted by a free ride even though hospitalization was not essential.

This is not to say that we should begrudge medical and hospital care to those who need it and cannot afford it. There are programs to supply this; if necessary, they should be expanded. Help for the needy can be provided much more reasonably through programs applying only to them than by catch-all benefits to rich and poor alike.

Many observers believe this is the last chance for medicare—that it must be approved this year or never. Perhaps some of this reasoning stems from the fact that individuals in increasing numbers are making their own preparations through private insurance programs for future medical needs.

And unless the ballyhooed war on poverty has a built-in "no win" policy, the number of persons able to provide for their own needs should increase.

Address by Hon. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, to League of Women Voters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, a noteworthy address was delivered to the League of Women Voters National Convention in Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 24 of this year by the Honorable Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

Of particular interest in this address is the excellent data the Secretary gives as to how the purchasing power of this country could be increased if we could raise the income of a relatively small group of people at the bottom of the economic ladder to a decent income. I commend it to my colleagues and fellow citizens:

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR W. WILLARD WIRTZ TO THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS NATIONAL CONVENTION, PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 24, 1964

Thank you very much, Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Stuart. Ladies of the League of Women Voters, I come here ill prepared in some respects but well armed with advice. The advice was given me just a couple of days ago by a friend of mine and of yours in Washington who said to me very quickly as I talked to her in the hall, "I have a suggestion to make to you when you go to Pittsburgh, don't talk about 'women's rights.'"

I have no trouble accepting this advice at all. It seems to me perhaps the basic difference between men and women as citizens of this country is that men are too much preoccupied with "rights" and too little with "responsibilities," and that you ladies complement that interest by an emphasis on "responsibilities" and less concern with "rights."

I am reminded, though, by that advice of a statement of Mr. Dooley's about 60 years ago; some of you may not remember but may have seen Mr. Dooley's essay on "Women's Suffrage." That was back when that was a question, and I am not going to try the dialect, but you will perhaps remember that he said this:

"Women's rights? What does a woman want of rights when she has privileges? Rights is the last thing we get in this world. They are the next thing to wrongs. Rights are just wrongs turned inside out. All the rights I enjoy, I don't enjoy. I enjoy the right to get money, but I never have any money to spend. The Constitution guarantees me the right to life but I die. To liberty but if I try being too free, I am locked up, and 'to the pursuit of happiness' but happiness has the right to run when pursued, and I have never been able to tree her yet. Here I am at ever so many years of age, blown and exhausted by the chase, and happiness is still able to do her hundred yards in 10 seconds flat whenever I approach. I would give all the rights I read about for one privilege. If I could go to sleep the minute I go to bed, I wouldn't care who done me voting."

No, I am not going to talk with you about women's rights. I would like to say only this by way of subtle suggestion about my feelings toward the League of Women Voters. On the night of April 15, at about 11 o'clock I faced the question that comes to me every year as I go through my book of check stubs. I always put down when I am listing my deductions a contribution to the League of Women Voters. Now, I know that I am not going to be able to put it into the tax return, but it just seems to me that anybody or any organization whose interests are such as these ought to be someway tax deductible. I may add, at the risk of being misunderstood, that I am not quite clear yet why an interest in the past makes you tax deductible but an interest in the future does not.

I must say very frankly to you that I am unprepared today. This has been a very busy week. There was one night I didn't get to bed at all. There were other evenings and times during the day when I had to face squarely the issue of whether it would be more important to you to have a well-prepared speech this morning or to be able to take the train home tonight. It seemed to me that the latter was the controlling consideration, and in any event, I decided to shorten my speech so that you could take the train, which seemed to me to make you gainers on both counts.

I thought I would talk just a little about the railroad case, and take from it the principal lesson that I find in that experience and then, if you will, try to apply that lesson as it came up in that particular instance to this matter of your most recent agenda item, the development of human resources.

The railroad case is still too close to us to permit our assessing fully its significance, and yet I think it would be impossible to exaggerate the significance of that settlement, which was reached day before yesterday, as far as the railroad controversy was concerned.

Now the specific issues in the railroad case were of exceeding importance, particularly because they involved this problem of what is to happen when machines or new processes reduce the need for men. This agreement, as it was finally worked out by the parties, includes terms which reconcile the necessity of technological advance and the equal necessity of protecting the human interests and the rights of those whose jobs are made temporarily obsolete. But that was not the overriding issue in the railroad case.

The overriding issue in that case was whether collective bargaining was or was not to have any continuing influence in the railroad industry. Now, I know that collective

bargaining is not an overly popular phrase with the public at large. The phrase is equated with strikes, with waste, and with a history that includes some violence. Even the more understanding of people are inclined to view collective bargaining as one of the necessary evils, or at least, as one of the difficult or evil necessities along with such things as taxes, military service, policemen, housekeeping, and taking Latin in high school—that kind of thing. I sometimes wonder why it is that so many of the things that are good for us aren't very much fun. And yet, collective bargaining is the keystone in the arch of private industrial democracy. Collective bargaining is the difference between people making their own decisions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, having somebody else make those decisions for them. It's democracy with its shirtsleeves rolled up. It's democracy in a blue collar, and the significance of the settlement in the railroad case is that collective bargaining has been greatly strengthened as an instrument in the service of private democracy in this country.

Very briefly, this settlement followed 4 to 4½ years of futile attempts by a very great number of people to settle the case; those previous efforts had failed. I made a list which included 467 representatives of the public who, at one point or another, were interested in the settlement of the railroad case. They were not successful, but then 2 weeks ago last night an extraordinary thing happened. There was a meeting in the Cabinet room of the White House. These men met with the President of the United States, and in the course of 2 hours of discussion it was decided to go on and make a last try at settlement of this case.

That discussion was characterized by the President's reference to the Prophet Isaiah, "Come let us reason together." It was concluded with the President's statement to these people: "If this system isn't going to work, if you decide that it isn't going to work, before you make that decision, decide what system is better." And the same men who had worked for 4½ years without being able to reach an agreement went out and made an agreement in 13 days. By drawing upon the infinite human capacity which is within them and within us, these men settled the railroad dispute with no new laws being passed and with no new forces being brought to bear.

The assumption had been made for 4½ years that somebody else was going to have to assume responsibility for handling that matter, and that is the most dangerous assumption that can be made in a free society. Overnight that assumption was set aside, and within 2 weeks that case, which had defied settlement for so long, was settled.

I would now like to very briefly apply that same principle to the principle to the problem of "human resources." That problem, as you have very properly stated in your agenda item adopted yesterday, is not going to be settled by the Federal Government. It is going to be settled by enlisting that human capacity which was illustrated in the railroad case, and which can be brought to bear on this general problem too—that human capacity and desire which was reflected in the establishment of the Peace Corps; that human capacity and desire which was reflected in the Nation's response when a President said, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country"; that capacity which was reflected in people's reactions to what happened almost 3 years later in Dallas, and the country's attempt to find something other than brutal irrelevancy in the assassination of a President; and in its attempt today in its declaration of a war on poverty to find, in the good of people, the answers to the problems which we face.

There isn't time to talk about the precise nature of the poverty problem as it exists today in this country. You have in your agenda item identified the two top roots of that problem: the need for more education, and the need for more jobs. The problem of poverty is becoming concentrated in two areas: one geographical in nature, the other among those who lack education. The most important right in this country today, as far as the approach to the problem of poverty is concerned, is the right to be ready. We won last year, to a substantial extent, the battle against discrimination. Now we face the battle against disadvantage, the disadvantage which results from 100 years of discrimination. It is not just a racial problem. You very properly point out that the problem is much broader than that and affects a whole group who have been disadvantaged over the years, over the decades. We know now that poverty and unemployment and lack of education are inextricably intertwined. We know that they are inherited characteristics, not through the human genes, but through the social genes of slums, lack of adequate schools and so forth.

I would question, if there were more time, your exclusion of consideration of the general education program from your consideration of this particular problem. I can see the reasons for doing that as a practical matter, but really, there will not be ultimate answers found in this area until there is full and complete educational opportunity for everybody. I applaud your identification of this problem in terms of human resources instead of in terms of a phrase that means different things to different people. Let's get the phrases out of the way and let's get down to work on the problem. I hope you will agree with me that there is the necessity of supporting the Civil Rights Act; I hope you will bring your support to the economic opportunities legislation which is before the Nation now. I hope you will support the proposition that we must do more about meeting poverty which centers its evils upon the older people in this country. I hope that all of these programs will have your support, but I hope, too, that the program of the League of Women Voters, the human resources program, will recognize that this job is going to be done in the local communities; it is going to be done more privately than it is by the public.

I think of Oliver Goldsmith's pregnant couplet: "How small of all that human hearts endure, that part which laws or kings can cause or cure."

This program is going to be done in the local communities. It is going to be done, as it is being done today in New Haven, in New York, and in a number of other cities, by people who realize the resources that lie in the human individual, and who bring to bear all that we hope for as far as the capacity of ourselves as individuals.

There would be more of a programatic nature to discuss if the circumstances and time were different, and yet I should like to take the moments which remain to me to assert what seems to me the central element as far as the accomplishment of this purpose is concerned. I rather think that we have become so "intellectualized" that we are making cynics of ourselves—at least to some degree. We are overawed by the fact that our scientific knowledge is increasing exponentially while our understanding of our human problems seems to advance very, very slowly.

Mrs. Phillips, you said to this group the other day that the second of two dangers is the extent to which we have tended to leave all mention of morality out of public discussion, and Barbara Ward spoke to you day before yesterday in similar terms.

I think it will be essential to the meeting of this problem that if we assert, along with our belief in reason, our belief in faith—faith in the future.

I see the future more clearly in the soft lanternlight of faith than in the glaring headlight of reason. Eternity is already shrunk and we know it, in the illumination of logic, to a matter of minutes: just that little time that can run while we live a single spark away from ultimate destruction, our knowledge of our power daily outstripping our wisdom about its use, with more and more democracy's decisionmakers knowing less and less of what they are deciding. To care and to care deeply about the future, only as it will see the ascendancy of human over material values is to watch with a fascination that fights against fear, a generation of machines maturing as no generation of human beings ever has—so that any moment now one of these clanking, idiotic robots is going to pull itself erect and announce in Descartes' terms, "cognito, ergo sum."—"I think, therefore I am."

And yet the facts are that we're still children of unfathomable mystery, surrounded still by secrets that dwarf to insignificance all that we know. We have no basis at all—unless the premise be taken as itself the conclusion—for asserting that only what can be proved is true. I think of Emerson when he said, "We think our civilization near its meridian, but we are as yet only at the cock crowing and the morning star." The only dangers we face, except for cataclysmic accident, are that we will build our syllogisms too much on experience, and too little on vision, that we will forget the inevitable is only what we don't resist and that we will forget that the unattainable is only what we don't attempt. The danger is that we will stumble and we will fall on the sword of our own stupidity. Not the stupidity of the ignorant, that isn't what threatens us so much as the stupidity of the successful. Those who seek to protect their petty conceits behind maginot lines of race, or religion, or geography, content with the little innovations of their own dubious piety, fighting change because the status quo has been good to them individually. The divine right of the successful is as false a notion as the divine right of kings.

The future is still infinite if we will stretch our minds far enough and fast enough to keep our ideals abreast of ideas; if we will reassess, under technology's pressure, the revolutionary new relationship between war and peace anti between work and leisure; if we will seize the sense of the future that will let us stand on a clear night and look up at a heaven full of more stars that the number of all the men and women who ever lived, and realize that those stars are now very close to our reach and that they are part of our children's future.

If we are because we think, we will be because we believe—even if only in the grand mystery of it all and that's worth the eternal quest. We have got to push reason beyond reason to faith in a fuller future.

Barbara Ward said to you at the end of her remarks 2 days ago, "We must love each other or we must die." And I would add, we must believe and believe in each other. If we do, we will live, and we will prosper, and we will find our fullest meaning.

And now, the President will be here shortly and it is my part to speak to you just briefly on a kind of accordion basis until he does. I should warn you that the other day I was seized with this same situation at the White House. He was due at 4:58 on a very splitschedule basis. I was to start speaking at 4:55 and then speak until he came in. I was still speaking at 20 minutes of 6. That won't happen to you here.

I'd like to present, subject to momentary interruption, some of the fuller details of what I would have had in mind under other circumstances. I can apologize a little bit

in my own mind and to you for speaking of a program to fight poverty, to fight ignorance, and to achieve more jobs which is based on understanding and belief. I could apologize for that, and I would, if that is where it stopped. But there are so many things to be done by way of specific details in backing up this kind of belief. I spent a day about a month ago in New Haven. Some of you would know what's going on there. I saw in the course of that day people from that city, not government officials but volunteers, working with what turned out to be some 54 different programs in the community high schools that they are now building.

I saw a man sitting there working with 9 or 10 little children teaching them to paint. I saw a boy from Yale preparing another group of youngsters from the worst part of New Haven, the most disadvantaged part of the city, for the presentation of a play. It wasn't "peace, love and justice," or something like that. They had given the week before "The Mad Women of Chaillot" and they were working this week on "Antigone." That kind of thing is being done.

I've seen in Chicago students from the universities working with the dropouts. I've seen in New York the program which is being worked out there and in Philadelphia, in Syracuse. I recall what's happening in Flint, Mich., where 80,000 people are now involved in an adult education program. These things are going on all over the country. There is in the heart of America, to be applied to its own problems, all that was expressed in what was developed as the Peace Corps as far as the rest of the world is concerned. There are 750,000 dropouts in this country. I could find 750,000 college and university students who would be glad to take them one by one by the hand and bring them back to the area of opportunity. The country doesn't know the things that are being done in the communities in this country. I would urge upon you, as you continue your study of this problem, that you also make yourselves—this organization—a clearinghouse for all that's already being done. I'm tired of hearing about pilot programs in various parts of the country which are so much like the same programs in other parts of the country. We need a clearinghouse for information. Although there is a part of the proposed antipoverty bill which provides for community action, you can do it better than we can do it.

I would like to say a word, too, about the importance of this point which you have set to the side of this particular agenda item; I mean the point on education. I have spared you any statistics this morning, but let me give you one.

If you take the group who completed high school last year, graduated from high school in June of 1963, and lined them up on the basis not of their ability but on the income of their parents, you will find this: Among the upper 30 percent in terms of the income of their parents, 46 percent of those boys and girls are in college today, and if you take the bottom 30 percent in terms of the income of their parents, only 12 percent of them are in college today. That isn't fair. It isn't good sense, and it isn't good democracy. It means there is not a right to work, to be prepared to work—I almost said "opportunities" but in its broadest sense. There is not equality of the right to be ready. It was enough a hundred years ago to say, and importantly at that point, that all people are created equal. That was the point that had to be made first. It is equally imporant today to face the fact that all people are not created equal. Or at least, that when they are born into a family which is in the second generation of disadvantage, there must be special attention given to the problem of giving them the opportunity to be ready for work and for what lies ahead.

There is a great deal more to be done as far as the educational system is concerned. I wish the League of Women Voters would think through the question of whether—where a hundred years ago we decided that there ought to be 12 years of free education, that that is still the right answer. I am not at all sure it is. In fact, we were either wrong then or we are wrong now, because the world now demands a higher degree of education on the part of its boys and girls.

I believe in the essentiality of technology and automation to bring us the new quality of living to which we aspire. I know that, at the same time, the machines are driving out any need for untrained or uneducated people. The problem of poverty in this country is becoming more and more a concentrated problem on the part of a comparative few, but it is becoming a worse problem. The chasm between most of us and a few is becoming deeper and deeper every day. It is harder to move across the tracks today than it was some time ago.

I am concerned about those statistics which show that between 1935 and 1947 5 percent of those whom we would identify as being in poverty families moved across the line to prosperity every year. We were diminishing the number of people who we would identify as poverty stricken 5 percent a year from 1937 to 1947. From 1947 to 1953 that number dropped to an average of 3 percent, and since 1953 it has dropped to about 1 percent. Now that's partly because we have licked part of the problem so that the percentages are applied to a smaller base. It is partly because the machines now have a high school education or its equivalent, and the people who don't have a high school education aren't able to compete with the machines. And yet there will come into the work force in this country in the next 2½ years, 5½ million boys and girls who will not have high school diplomas, and employers simply aren't going to be hiring people without high school diplomas from here on.

I would wonder whether we can't find a way without diluting the quality of higher education to add at least 2 more years of education—of free education—for the boys and girls who now need more training than they did a hundred years ago. I would wonder whether there is any sense any longer in a law that provides that a boy or girl can drop out of school when he or she reaches the age of 16. If that was right when most States adopted it 50 years ago, it is wrong now. There are 6½ million teenagers in the work force today. Some of them employed, some of them unemployed, and even those who are employed are probably there without the training and education which they'll need to fill the jobs which will be present in the future.

I would wonder whether we shouldn't do something about reviewing the age for compulsory education. Now, don't misunderstand me, if anybody has the thought of sending the dropouts back into what they dropped out of, there is no point in that. None at all. The point is rather, and I speak with the license of 20 years of teaching school, that the school system is based on a standard of preparing for excellence. I was proud of that. I was proud as a high school teacher to be teaching Hamlet and the difficulties of the split infinitive to people who I knew were going into the local boiler works or into the glass factory. That was fine. They could have at least a vision of what excellence might be. We have got to face up to the fact that whereas it didn't do any good or didn't do any harm then, because they didn't need any special preparation, now they need special preparation and very badly.

You have on your Agenda Item emphasis upon the retraining program and I am glad you do because that's a program which we administer, and we need your help. You also have on it vocational education and I am very glad you do, although that falls in another department's responsibility, because there is a great deal to be done now about taking those people who will not go on to college and preparing them for a different kind of work which requires special preparation. There is a great deal to be done as far as a review of the educational situation is concerned.

Now, your Agenda Item, turning to its other aspect, is very vague on the question of what you are going to do about more jobs. You recognize, and very properly, that it will mean only frustration if we train and educate people—boys and girls—and then there are no jobs at the end of that preparation. This must not be permitted to happen. As long as we are at the point of statistics, let me give you one other, although I warn you about the danger of statistics. These percentages, these averages—they confuse us so. All the figures you see are in terms of averages, almost all of them. And yet I point out to you that the law of averages is only a law which establishes the fact that if a person is standing with one foot in the ice box and with the other foot on the stove, that person is "on the average" comfortable.

But let me give you another figure, that illustrates the problem as far as job opportunities are concerned. We must depend for the increased jobs on the private sector of the economy in this country. Between 1957 and 1963 the work force in this country increased by five million people. During that time the increase in the number of full-time jobs from the profit sector of the private economy was 200,000. It went up by only that number.

Now, employment went up very markedly in some other areas: government service, not Federal Government service—State and local government service, and most of those were school teachers which is all to the good, and it went up as far as nonprofit operations of one kind or another are concerned, and that's good. It went up as far as part-time work is concerned, and most women think that is good. I should make clear that the statistic I gave you before was in terms of full-time jobs. As far as the profit part of the operation of the economy during that 6-year period is concerned, the total of full-time jobs went up by only 200,000, while the work force was going up by 5 million. There has been a marked shift in that in the last year and there has been an increase of some 500,000 in that same statistic. That the figure, if I had given it to you a year ago, would have been a net loss instead of some increase. The situation is improving. That's why the tax reduction is so important. It ought to mean a difference of between a million and 2 million job opportunities.

But my point, in general, is that you are very right that the educational part of this program will have no sufficient significance unless there is the job opportunity for which these people are prepared. So I ask you to think as clearly as you can about that part of this job and to recognize again that the answers are not going to come from the Federal Government. The Federal Government, I think of, as a kind of catalytic for the work of the local governments, and the whole of the governmental program is only a kind of catalytic for the work of the private sector of the economy. It's got to be done privately; it is going to be done, I think, by a reassertion of the kind of faith and vision that we had before.

I think of Barbara Ward again, that most remarkable woman of whom I can say nothing to you that you did not know now firsthand, and I wish you would see her Williamsburg address of last year in which she pointed out the difference between 1776 and 1963. Her point was that in 1776 the people in this country had only one thing, that was

vision. They were completely without tools, but that didn't deter them. Today there is no shortage of tools. Our problem is an excess capacity of production. We have all the tools we could possibly use and nothing in the world lacking to achieve the kind of affluence of which she talked, but we are a little short on vision at the moment.

And so I say to you, that it seems to me that it is completely legitimate to emphasize this aspect in our thinking about the problem. It's a problem of ways and means it's also a problem of belief, a belief in the past, a belief in the future. I mentioned briefly in my more general remarks this problem of automation. Don't be scared of the machines. The machines are absolutely essential to the achievement of the standard of living which we want for ourselves in this country. Technology is the only possible way that we can maintain the standard of living above that of the other nations with which we compete more actively now every day. Technological development is absolutely essential, but it will be the worst kind of progress if we have to pay for it in human terms. We did in the industrial revolution.

I don't think anybody looks back with pride on the progress that we call the industrial revolution, because we had to pay too high a price for it in human terms. If you go back still further, you know how the pyramids were built and the story that the laying of every block cost the breaking of a human back. We did better than that in the industrial revolution. We are doing better than that in the technological revolution, but we have got to consider the fact that our understanding must be brought up even with our knowledge. I think it was Solomon who said, "Knowledge is a wonderful thing; therefore get knowledge but with all thy getting, get understanding." We must do that. We can't let the machines take away the human values from us.

I think of the most dangerous side of automation and technology in terms of the play of Karel Capek with which some of you may be familiar. Somebody should put it back on the boards. That was the story in 1923 or 1927, you remember, about universal robots, about the scientists who invent the machines, and how they improve them until finally one day the machines learn how to make other machines, and at that point the jig is up. You may remember the end of the third act. The curtains and the backdrop part, and these clanking robots come marching in and form in solid phalanxes on the stage. Then they start plodding stolidly toward the audience, and just as they reach the footlights, the lights go out and the play is over.

But it is act IV now, and our problem is to make use of technology and machines so that they will be the instruments not of man's destruction but rather of man's service, of the achievement of his purpose. I said "man's"—Esther Peterson has almost housebroken me but not quite. I am always impressed when I'm talking about technology that although machines may replace men, I know they will never replace women.

But there is so much to do as far as taking care of the human aspect of technology. A lot of it was done in the railroad case this week. What you will not read, because it is a part of the fine print of that settlement, is that there were great advances recognized as far as the use of new machines on the railroads is concerned. It was also provided in that settlement that if a person loses his job as a result of technological development, there will be provision made to take care of the human interests of that individual. He will be taken care of for a period of at least 3 or 4 years. The details of that have not yet been worked out. Technology will come faster if we recognize that we are not entitled to charge a price in human terms for the progress upon which we are so dependent.

And so I say to you that technology is not something about which to be concerned. It is rather a matter upon which we are wholly dependent, and there are ways and means of taking care of those human aspects of the problem.

I would like to return to the phrase with which I opened—the dichotomy between rights and responsibilities. I meant very sincerely the compliment that I think the political difference between men and women is that men are preoccupied with their rights, and women concerned about their responsibilities. I point out to you that this society has grown up and the law has developed around an emphasis on rights—the Declaration of Independence, the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. You can't find any comparable milestone documents in our literature, or in our legal history which talks about responsibility. And yet I suggest that at the present stage of the development of this complex society, it is going to be essential that we start doing our thinking in terms of responsibilities rather than rights.

Now that creates some dangers. Whenever you start talking about responsibilities, especially as they may be exercised not by but through the Government, people start getting concerned about planning. Well, it doesn't need the kind of planning that people get concerned about. I can testify to you bitterly on the basis of the last 2 weeks experience, that you don't have time for planning in Federal Government. You spend 99½ percent of your time completely on the defensive fighting the telephone, fighting the desk, and fighting the papers that have to be disposed of. Don't worry about the planning. There is too little of it, not too much. It is a dangerous situation when you can't think, or can't think enough about how we will make use of the possibilities of peace, because there will be concern on somebody's part about doing too much planning.

It leads people to wondering whether we could stand peace, economically in this country. Why of course, we can stand peace. Anybody who has any doubts about the capacity of this system to turn its productive powers from producing munitions to fighting poverty doesn't realize that democracy, like life itself, is an act of faith. There would be difficulties and dislocations but think of the things that there are left to do.

Think of what it would take to eliminate the slums in this country, to build the schools we need, to bring income up above the $3,000 level for almost everybody. To come through with the water resources which only the League has been aware of for the last 15 years. You started back before anybody else knew even what you were talking about.

You know, if we set out to eliminate the slums in the cities, to build the schools we need, to provide the water resources which we need so acutely now, and to bring the standard of living in the lowest fifth of the Nation up to $3,000, we would have the most terrible manpower shortage in this country that you can possibly imagine. And then somebody worries about whether we would have enough to do if peace came along? Well, it just isn't even an issue. I'd like you to believe and to know that there is the capacity, not only as a matter of economics but as a matter of political strength, in this country which would mean that we could make full use of the human and the economic capacity if peace should come to the world.

I welcome this opportunity to make another point. It is another aspect of an event that I mentioned very briefly before, and it has a bitter side to it. I think the country is still thinking very much in terms of the experience of 5 or 6 months ago. I don't believe this country is going to settle for letting the assassination of a President be a brutal irrelevancy. We started off by saying, you know, that this must be a reflection of an upsurge of hate and nonreason in the country. I don't believe that's right. You can't allow one or two maniacal minds to distort the reality of the great human mind of this country. We were wrong about that. We were going through a very difficult experience, and sometimes you don't realize at the moment how hard it is to have to live history. Let me simply say that I think there is still much to be done about realizing our capacity, but the one thing we have learned in the last 5 months is that there is, in the leadership of this country and in the capacity of our people, a power for continuity that has carried us through a period of crisis which would have destroyed almost every other nation in the world.

That is the contribution of all of us. It is the contribution of an unbelievably brave woman, and her family. It is the contribution of an individual of whom it is going to be our great privilege to meet in just a moment, but most of all, it seems to me to be the complete earnestness of the proposition that whatever it is that we have developed in the name of democracy, it is able to meet not just the problems of a railroad case, but the problems, too, of fighting ignorance, of fighting poverty, of fighting unemployment in this country, and then going on to the affirmative of finding that full meaning for which the human individual was certainly intended.

It is a heartwarming experience to have the feelings I have about the things that you and I believe in together, to have the opportunity I have to work for them as part of the Government, and also to come and talk with this organization about them.

The opportunity for this kind of communion, I suppose, would not be found in any other country in the world. I don't know anyplace else where you would have a situation in which a group of us could get together and talk this freely about things of this kind. That isn't maudlin. It is part of the strength that we honor; it is part of the strength that we have developed; it is part of the strength that we find in government; it's more a part of the strength that we find in ourselves. So I would just like to express what I know is also on your minds—the pride of being part of this country, the pride in having a past which is beyond parallel, and a pride in believing in a future which is going to be characterized by change, which is the order of things as a whole.

I hope you change your minds about a filibuster. Like so many things it can be an agent of good as well as of evil, which is not in defense of filibusters.

I'm terribly reminded at the moment, I think it was Josh Billings who said, "Silence is golden, but brevity is the child of silence, and a great credit to the old man."

Ladies of the League of Women Voters, the President of the United States.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Rabbi Karff's Sermon on Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have been reading with interest and spiritual stimulation a booklet of 36 pages containing four of the sermons of Rabbi Samuel E. Karff preached during the past year from the pulpit of Chicago Sinai Congregation in the district I have the honor to represent. By unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include one of the sermons from the booklet that I know will be appreciated by my colleagues:

THE ANATOMY OF COURAGE

If I should ask you to draw up a list of the virtues you admire, virtues you would wish your children or grandchildren to possess, I would expect many of you to include in your list that quality of mind and heart known simply as "courage." If I should follow this request by asking you to define the meaning of courage, it is quite likely that your answers would vary considerably. In this respect you would be keeping good company for numerous and diverse are man's attempts to define the essence of courage.

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary regards it as "that quality of mind which enables one to encounter danger and difficulties with firmness." Emerson opined that "the courageous man is no braver than any other ordinary man but he is braver 5 minutes longer." Somewhat facetiously, Channing Pollock offers this definition: "No man has more courage than the man who can stop after he has eaten one peanut." And the poet John Dunne suggests that a courageous man is one who performs a brave deed and does not tell anyone about it.

However we may choose to define it, courage is a virtue we greatly prize. It is a badge of honor we often wish we could claim for ourselves and always admire in others.

One way of understanding this precious quality is to exclude what it is not. Courage is not to be confused with a blustering bravado, an arrogant strutting upon the scene with stiffened back and open mouth. He who most vigorously proclaims his boldness is not to be mistaken for a man of courage. More often than not the mortal whose claims are most loudly pretentious is not the mortal most courageous. Remember the roaring lion in the Wizard of Oz?

Dorothy, the Tin Man, and his Scarecrow wend their way through the forest to see the Wizard. Suddenly they are confronted by a huge and terrifying lion. "Roar," say the lion. "Put 'em up, which one of you gonna fight? I'll fight you all. Oh, I'll fight you with one paw tied behind my back. Come on, who wants to fight? I'll fight you with my eyes closed."

Despite his bluster, the lion singles out for his attack the most vulnerable opponent of all—Dorothy's little dog, Toto. Quickly Dorothy strikes the lion on the nose. He cringes and falls. The hollowness of his roar is starkly revealed. A children's story with adult truth: courage is not to be confused with empty bluster.

Neither is it to be confused with fearlessness. Some of the bravest acts in history have been committed by men who experienced fear but refused to be overwhelmed by it. Fear uncontrolled spells terror; fear kept in check is fully compatible with courage. Most actors, speakers, prizefighters, admit to that controlled, creative fear we call "nervousness." Yet we cannot thereby call them cowards. Courage is not to be confused with fearlessness.

SHEER DARING

What then is courage? How is it manifest? What kind of courage is most devoutly to be cherished?

Sometime ago I read a story in the sports page of a daily newspaper which was particularly intriguing. It was the story of a 48-year-old forestry engineer who had just completed a very ambitious venture. He had just finished a sea voyage from Buenos Aires to Miami, a distance of 5,629 nautical miles. What is so unusual about that? Nothing—except that this voyage lasted 9 months and was taken, not on an ocean liner, but in an 18-foot folding boat. The hearty mariner reported that at one time during the voyage he paddled for 7 days and 7 nights and never touched shore. He had no radio and no compass; only a small battery light in order that (as he explained it) "some ship would not cut me in two." He reports having capsized more than 20 times and he was frequently attacked by tiger sharks.

Why did he submit himself to this harrowing adventure? He was, of course, asked this question. And this is the answer he gave. "I adore danger and love the unexpected. I like difficulties. I get no satisfaction on smooth roads. It is a challenge."

How shall we react to this saga of high adventure? We could simply decide: this man is a fool. As it is, life is so full of mortal danger, why go looking for more? Besides, what constructive purpose could such a venture possibly serve? On the other hand, this bold enterprise may engage our profound admiration. How can one help but be awed by a man willing to match wits with the majestic forces of nature? Here stands revealed a venturesome boldness; a readiness to face a grave challenge; a challenge fraught with great danger and the possibility of death.

This spirit of high adventure deserves the accolade of courage. It may be described as sheer daring and commands our respect. Such daring has many devotees. The novelist, Ernest Hemingway, found the very essence of courage in man's readiness to risk all against the raw and brutal forces of nature; the matador stalking the mad bull, the old man battling the giant marlin amid the raging torrents of the sea. This, says Hemingway, is true courage.

Such devotees of high adventure would claim that the moment of sheer daring is the moment of supreme fulfillment, yea, the moment of truth. Our Argentine sailor has expressed it thus. "I have the Bohemian soul that inspired me to touch this moment that gives contact with reality." Talk to the mountain climber, the auto racer, the deep sea diver, and you will find an almost mystical feelfng that life's deepest meaning is revealed in the moment of great physical danger.

Well, just how valuable is this form of courage? How crucial for the fulfillment of human life? I think we must answer that the spirit of sheer daring is attractive and engaging but it hardly holds the key to life's deepest meaning. Here surely is a form of courage but not its quintessence.

Most often such courage is morally neutral. It bears no relation to the spiritual goals of society. Morality is concerned with the relations between man and his neighbor, yet many exponents of high adventure seek on the mountain peaks or the high seas that lonely fulfillment which they have despaired of finding in the arena of social living. Interestingly enough, the spirit of sheer daring is not to be found in the Bible. To my knowledge there is no instance of a Biblical hero exhibiting this form of courage.

True, the young David confronts the giant, Goliath (armed with nothing more than a slingshot) but remember, he does so in order to liberate his people from the oppressive yoke of the Philistines. His physical courage is an embodiment of the moral strivings of man.

I would suggest that sheer daring is absent from the Bible because our ancestors did not regard it as a vital aspect of a meaningful life. Must we not concur in this Biblical verdict?

THE COURAGE OF CONVICTION

One form of courage is plainly mirrored in the pages of Scripture. Do you recall the dramatic encounter of King David and Nathan? David's eyes have feasted on the voluptuous Bathsheba. His lust is aroused; he is determined to possess her. And what if she belongs to another man? Shall the desires of the King be denied? Ruthlessly the King plots his strategy. He dispatches her husband, Uriah, to the most dangerous frontline on the battlefield, fully expecting (and hoping) that he will be killed.

Into this dramatic setting steps the prophet, Nathan. Men such as Nathan were employed by kings for two reasons. First, they were skilled advisers, the kind clients and organizations of our day are willing to pay handsome sums to acquire. Secondly, in return for certain favors, these prophets could be counted upon to harness their talents to the goals of their masters even if it meant telling them only what they wanted to hear.

Nathan was David's adviser. He had learned of David's intrigue and was appalled by it. What shall he do? The King expects a "yes man," not a critic. Shall he leave well enough alone and hold his peace or shall he reprove the King for an act of treachery? This was Nathan's choice and if we revere him as a Biblical hero, it is because he chose to speak out. He willingly risked the loss of the King's good favor when he pointed an accusing finger at David and shouted, "Thou art the man."

This is not the spirit of high adventure but it is a form of courage, the courage of conviction, that readiness to endanger one's social position, one's economic status, and in some cases, even one's life by speaking out and acting in behalf of moral truth. Of this courage Jewish tradition speaks volumes. There are the stories of Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, whose souls were never for sale to the highest bidder; the countless tales of Jewish martyrs who risked death rather than abandon the faith of their fathers solemnly bears this trademark of courage.

The human story does not change that much. We know what it means to display the courage of convictions. We know its dangers. We know its rarity. We know how easily it can be compromised. We all feel dependent upon the good will of others. We all want to be accepted and liked. The more we acquire in social or economic benefits, the more we have to conserve; the more we stand to lose.

We may read of those remarkable individuals who are willing to take risks in behalf of moral conviction. I remember reading of a Jewish Viennese doctor of worldwide fame, who treated some of the Nazis including Hitler. When the Nazis invaded Austria, they offered him the special privilege of being saved from the brutalities of the conquerors. He refused and was later seen with other Austrian Jews scrubbing the sidewalks of Vienna with a brush dipped in lye while storm troopers stood around him and jeered.

Or consider the courage displayed by the young poet in Soviet Russia. His name is Yevtushenko. Sometime ago he published a poem entitled, "Babiyar." Babiyar is a ravine near Kiev where the Nazis murdered 40,000 Jews in 1944. In his poem, Yevtushenko implies that his own nation, the Soviet Union, is not innocent of anti-Semitism. In his poetic indictment he challenges the powers that be to explain why no gravestones stand on Babiyar, why the martyrdom of helpless Jews has not been memorialized?

For his moral challenge to the Soviet regime, Yevtushenko has been severely criticized. Some admirers have paid tribute to his uncommon audacity. Replying to the public response to his poem, Yevtushenko wrote a new poem called, A Talk.

Listen:

"They say to me
'You are a brave man.'
Not true.
Courage has never been my sin,
I simply considered it unworthy that
I should lower myself
Down to the cowardice of my fellows
I have never tried to shove the world out of its orbit
I wrote
So what
I never informed
I laughed at what was overblown
Falseness I turned to ridicule
And
Loud enough I sought to state my thoughts
Sometime
Posterity will remember
* * * and will burn with shame
When they shall have done with shame and lies,
Those strange times
When
Common honesty was called courage."

But common honesty does require courage and not only in the Soviet Union. Such courage exists in the contemporary world, but it is remarkable because it is rare—as rare perhaps as the courage of the mountain climber and the Argentine mariner.

But which is more to be admired? Which more highly to be cherished? Somehow that Austrian doctor and the Russian poet evoke in me a much deeper admiration than that Argentine sailor. The world can do without men of sheer daring, but without men of conviction life would be merely "a tale of sound and fury signifying nothing."

You and I are not prophets nor the sons of prophets. We may not be "moral martyrs" but we, too, need some measure of conviction—a readiness to stand for something good, or else we lose our identity as persons and forfeit our claim to self-respect. The life of the perpetual "yes man" is a subhuman existence. Once our jobs require a total surrender of conviction, they rob us of our identity and inflict a spiritual death. Once we purchase social acceptance by mimicking the minds of our hosts and patrons, we are no longer persons but commodities—to be sold to the highest bidder on the auction block of public opinion.

You and I and our children may, if necessary, forgo the courage of high adventure but for the fulfillment of our lives as persons we must be able to point to moments when we were willing to take risks in order to be ourselves.

QUIET COURAGE

If we stopped now, our anatomy of courage would not be complete, for we have failed to mention a form of courage whose absence would make life completely unbearable. It is the least dramatic, the least spectacular and yet the most essential, and our lives exhibit this "quiet courage" far more than we often realize. How shall we describe it?

Our daily lives contain elements of uncertainty, fearfulness, disappointment. It takes a measure of courage just to play the game of life. Each day we are called upon to make decisions in business and in family life, decisions which may be of great consequence. Often the alternatives seem almost equal, the evidence inconclusive or the choice between the lesser of two evils.

The difficulty of decision is increased by the presence of responsibility. With responsibility comes a measure of uneasiness and if you will, a tinge of fear. But we must decide—we must accept responsibility and we must hope for the best. This takes courage.

Each day we are confronted by the uncontrollable elements of life, by the mystery of an unknown tomorrow, by the possibility of great economic setbacks, of accident or grave illness. The closer these afflictions strike home, the more aware we become of their reality. We want to safeguard and properly guide the lives of our children, but we cannot completely shield them against the hazards and uncertainties of the future. So much is out of our hands.

The consciousness of our finitude also inspires a measure of fear. We know not when nor where nor how but we know that death awaits us all. Death is at one time or another a fearful prospect for all the children of men. Moreover, life is not only beclouded by imaginings of an unknown future but as well by the reality of present disappointment and grievous loss which sooner or later confronts us all. At such times also life requires a measure of quiet courage—courage to see us through the valley of shadows.

The Bible beautifully illustrates the meaning of quiet courage in its portrait of our father, Abraham. Abraham is found wandering with his beloved Sarah in a strange land. Suddenly without warning, his dear one is taken from him. The chain of companionship is abruptly shattered. Abraham is alone. His heart subdued by grief, his eyes welling up with tears, Abraham understands that he must face up to the reality of death and seek a burial place for his beloved. Plaintively he approaches the inhabitants of this strange land. The Bible records the scene in these words: "I am a stranger and a sojourner with you. Give me a possession of a burying place with you that I may bury my dead out of sight."

With this act, Abraham has faced death; he must now confront life. Sarah is with him no more but there are tasks to be done, responsibilities to be accepted. He knows not when his end will come. He must help select a wife for his son, Isaac. Sarah would expect him to fulfill this task. So in the very next episode in the Bible Abraham summons his trusted servant, Eleazer, and seeks his assistance in finding a helpmate for his son. Abraham turns from his own grief to fulfill the requirements of life.

Friends, there is nothing highly dramatic about this incident. But here is an illustration of quiet courage; the courage which enables us to carry on in the face of life's difficulties and bereavements, to carry on with a measure of composure and hope even when we are exposed to the somber shadows of the human adventure.

This "courage to be" is not the monopoly of a few hearty souls; it is much less rare than we might suppose. Headlines feed on the exploits of high adventure but life is sustained by the gift of quiet courage. As a rabbi I am often confronted by the inspiring and deeply personal saga of brave souls who manifest this precious gift.

In a congregation I served several years ago, one of them once tried to describe it. He would not call it quiet courage. I could not call it anything else. I speak of a man who was suddenly afflicted with a perilous illness, an illness whose very nature could not help but exert a shattering impact upon his life. He once described that shocking impact in words like these:

"Suddenly as the fact hits you, you find yourself spinning in air around and around, no point of reference, nothing to hold on to; all effort seems useless, all directions meaningless—round and round you spin in perpetual motion. Then in time, somehow the spinning slows down. You begin to see shapes and forms—you begin to see tasks and responsibilities—you begin to feel some ground under your feet. Somehow the gyroscope is working again. You find yourself able to carry on, you find things to do, persons to care about and you continue the journey with fear and with hope."

This, friends, was an unintended testimonial to quiet courage. Its description conjures up in my mind the image of many men and women who have felt life's hardest blows, whether in the guise of illness, serious economic setback, family discord, or tragic loss; and yet have summoned the strength necessary to carry on with love, with determination, with a sense of purpose, and with a measure of confidence.

God is the giver of many gifts. Often these gifts are bestowed upon us whether or not we formally acknowledge His presence in our lives. An atheist may possess a brilliant mind. A nonbeliever may be blessed with courage from a God he does not profess to know. But God's gifts are infinitely enriched and most deeply experienced as the fruit of our active relation to Him. God is the giver of courage and its deepest experience is derived from our prayerful communion with Him.

What courage shall we seek to find in His presence? The sheer daring which girds us for high adventure? * * * perhaps, but this is a luxury. It is expendable. The courage of conviction? Yes, we need such courage in order to preserve our self-respect and our very identity as human beings. But above all, we need that "quiet courage" which belonged to the Psalmist when he declared, "I shall fear no evil for Thou art with me." Amen.

The Challenge of Trade Expansion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr, DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, throughout the legislative deliberations here, over the past several years, on the expansion of our Trade Agreements Act I have consistently stated I was not opposed to the basic principles under-

lying the long-range purposes of the overall program.

However, I have just as consistently maintained that the sentiment expressed by President Eisenhower in 1953 and the warning presented in the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy should be rigidly observed.

President Eisenhower, in a statement on trade policy contained in his first state of the Union message declared:

> This (trade expansion) objective must not ignore legitimate safeguarding of industries, agriculture, and labor standards.

The report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy contains this admonition:

> American labor should not be subjected to unfair competition as a part of any program to expand our foreign trade.

The original legislative proposal to greatly expand trade agreements contained pledges to guard against the disintegration of American industries from accelerated and excessive foreign competition which could not possibly and immediately be met by any reasonable and practicable means; avenues of appeal to presidential relief authority, under these circumstances, were established. Unfortunately, they have mostly proved to be little more than expensive but idle gestures contrary to the general understanding of the intent of the Congress.

Considering the course, thus far, of progress of the European Common Market, the very serious unemployment problem facing us, the rather unfortunate tendencies of some of our friends abroad to take the fullest trade advantages of us, the dubious wisdom of the apparent overzealousness of some of our own representatives to too generously tender these foreign competitors even more advantages before appropriate adjustments can be made at home, it is little wonder that more and more Members of Congress are introducing more and more separate pieces of legislation to relieve particular situations and more and more responsible business leaders are becoming increasingly concerned over this complex problem.

As I have said before it is truly not a simple or easy problem to solve but it is just as truly our representative responsibility to try to insure the projection of a fair trade program that will be fair to Americans as well as our foreign friends.

On this score, it is my earnest hope that the legislative wisdom of the Congress, the Presidential prudence, our effective tariff negotiators, the understanding cooperation of our friends abroad and the alert attitudes of business and labor will all combine to sensibly project our international trade agreements while patriotically preventing the visitation of extreme hardships upon many of our regional industries and workers and preserving essential defense resources that we can ill afford to dissipate in the face of ever-threatening Communist expansion.

For the benefit of my colleagues and as evidence and example of the extreme concern with this subject existing in the national business communities, I am pleased to include, at this point, the authoritative views and recommendations of one of the most respected and esteemed industrial leaders in the Nation, Mr. Ralph F. Gow, president of the Norton Co., of Worcester, Mass. An extract from his recent communication to me in the matter follows:

NORTON CO.,
Worcester, Mass.

Hon. HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DONOHUE: You are aware of the GATT negotiations for the general reduction of tariff barriers being conducted by the Honorable Christian A. Herter. This subject is of great importance to the continued health and vigorous growth of the machine tool industry of the United States.

U.S. machine tool industry trade associations have presented their views against reductions of the U.S. tariff before the Tariff Commission and the Office of Trade Information of the Department of Commerce, pointing out the essentiality of the American machine tool industry from the point of view of national defense and the importance of maintaining a vigorous machine tool industry in this country. We have presented figures showing the increase in imports of machine tools of foreign manufacture over the last few years and the importance of avoiding action which will accelerate this trend in the future.

The machine tool industry is not competitive with foreign manufacturers from the point of view of labor and material costs. The present tariff structure on imports of machine tools (approximately 12 percent ad valorem) serves in a small way to reduce the foreign cost advantages. This basic industry whose products have a very high labor content is vulnerable to competition from machines made in low-wage areas.

While world production of machine tools has grown rapidly since 1955, the U.S. share of world production has shrunk, and we are no longer the world leader in production volume. Unable to compete at U.S. prices in world markets, most important manufacturers (including Norton Co.) have established manufacturing sources overseas.

A further reduction in U.S. tariffs can only accelerate the trend to manufacture overseas with its consequent adverse effects on American labor and investment.

I know you are aware of the importance of the machine tool industry to New England and to Worcester in particular. The importance of the machine tool division of Norton Co. to the economic structure of the Worcester area is emphasized by the following facts:

In 1963 property taxes on Norton's machine tool division were paid to the city of Worcester in an amount of $165,480. Our tax bill for the machine tool plant for the year 1964 will be $181,494. This is a substantial contribution to the real estate tax income of the city of Worcester.

In 1963 we employed 850 employees of all categories, having a payroll of over $5,844,145. A major portion of this payroll was spent in the Worcester County area, contributing to the strength of the local economy. Loss of all or a part of the machine tool division payroll in Worcester obviously would have a depressing effect. Many machine tool parts and components are purchased from local manufacturers and suppliers, and the loss or reduction of this business locally would have an adverse effect on the local economy.

We feel that it is unfortunate the GATT negotiations for tariff reductions are being carried out in the face of many uncertainties as to foreign competition. We have not as yet experienced the full impact of the European Common Market on European machine tool production, but we can expect continued growth of European and Japanese manufacturing capacity, in which event we anticipate rapidly increasing imports of low-price machine tools into the United States, especially if the existing inadequate tariff is further reduced.

One positive step which can be taken is the removal of machine tools of all classifications from the bargaining list currently being negotiated by the Herter Committee. I ask that you take all possible action to achieve this end. The recommended action is believed to be fully justifiable as being in the national interest.

Sincerely yours,

R. F. GOW,
President.

The 50th Anniversary of SS. Peter and Paul Parish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the early summer and in response to a request from Alexander G. Kapocius, public relations director of SS. Peter and Paul Parish on the far South Side of Chicago, I penciled my message of congratulation, appreciation, and good wishes to the parish on the occasion of its 50th anniversary celebration.

The Reverend Stanley R. Petrauskas is the present and the seventh pastor to be assigned to serve the needs of SS. Peter and Paul Parish in West Pullman.

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

BIOGRAPHY OF PASTOR

He was appointed to the position on January 11, 1957, by His Eminence, the late Samuel Cardinal Stritch.

Reverend Petrauskas was born in Lithuania on November 25, 1906. He attended the St. Bartholomew elementary school in Waukegon, and following his graduation from elementary school, attended the Quigley preparatory seminary in Chicago.

He entered the St. Mary of the Lake seminary in Mundelein, Ill., and was ordained a priest by His Eminence, the late George Cardinal Mundelein in 1932.

His first appointment was to serve as an assistant at the St. George parish in Bridgeport for an 8-year period.

He then was transferred to the Nativity BVM parish in Marquette Park for another 8-year term.

His third appointment sent him to the St. Anthony parish in Cicero, Ill., where he stayed for 8½ years.

He came to SS. Peter and Paul from St. Anthony.

Reverend Petrauskas celebrated his 25th anniversary of his ordination shortly after arriving at SS. Peter and Paul, on May 21, 1957.

His 30th year anniversary was celebrated in 1962 with a party in his honor.

Father Petrauskas has done an outstanding job at SS. Peter and Paul and through his untiring efforts, the parish has become one of the most progressive in the Archdiocese.

ASSISTANT PASTORS

Rev. Bruno M. Grinis was assigned to the parish in July 1960 to take the place of the

Reverend Anthony Bendziunas, who was transferred to the Province of God parish.

Reverend Grinis was born on January 27, 1916, the son of Walter and Mary Grinis. He attended the Nativity BVM parish elementary school.

Following his successful completion of the philosophy and theology courses at the St. Mary of the Lake seminary, Reverend Grinis was ordained a priest on May 18, 1940.

Rev. Fabian Kireilis was invited to serve the parish by the pastor on July 26, 1958. Previous to this he was an assistant in Troy, N.Y., and from May 1951 through September 1957, he served as an assistant at Ilion, N.Y.

Reverend Kirelis was born in Lithuania on April 6, 1912.

On August 2, 1944, he took refuge into Germany along with the other Lithuanians to escape the threat of Communism.

In 1951, at the end of the immigration period, he came to the United States.

Rev. John Figlewski, s.P. was born in Scranton, Pa., on August 29, 1896. He attended the Sacred Heart parochial school and the St. Thomas high school and college in Scranton, Pa.

He received his philosophy and theology education at the St. Francis seminary at Loretto, Pa.

He was ordained on June 14, 1919, and celebrated his 45th year as a priest this past June.

Mr. Speaker, here is the message of sincere congratulation that I penciled in my office on a Sunday in early June, leaving it for typing and mailing on the following Monday:

To all the good men and women who have contributed of their means and effort to the 50 golden years of SS. Peter and Paul Church go my warmest thoughts.

For half a century SS. Peter and Paul Church has been a bulwark of moral strength and of good neighborliness as well as a mighty force in the religious life of our community, to which SS. Peter and Paul has aided in giving a spiritual enrichment.

My prayer is that God's blessing will continue to shine and to be reflected in the good works of SS. Peter and Paul in the half century ahead to complete its centennial.

But, Mr. Speaker, this message does not appear in the golden anniversary book just issued, and I am in the unhappy position, I am afraid, of being thought not interested in the work of service for half a century of the pastors and the flock in this fine parish. The reason is that the message I penciled that Sunday in early June was never typed. Apparently it had got misplaced and overlooked in the process of typing. I found it after a search when I learned that it never had been received by Mr. Kapocius. I am sending my penciled copy to the pastor of SS. Peter and Paul as a bit of proof of my good intentions, perhaps also a bit of proof, if such were necessary, that the human frailty against which our Constitution warns us do creep up on us even in a congressional office.

Nikola Petkov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at the end of the last war, the leaders of western democracies were in for some severe shocks and disappointments. As late as 1947 they still nursed the hope that the Communist leaders of the Kremlin would abide by certain basic international agreements and honor at least some of their contractual agreements. One of these was that the Communists were to allow free and unfettered elections in Communist-dominated countries, and that the non-Communist candidates to office were free to express their views. But these illusions and hopes were shattered, and the West learned that these Communist leaders were no better than the fanatical Fascists and Nazis. This was proved to them by the Communist treachery in Bulgaria.

There the Communists took steps to crush effectively all opposition groups and elements. Under the all-powerful steamroller policy of the Communist Party, all opposition was eliminated and their leaders liquidated. By 1947 there was left only the agrarian group led by its courageous leader Nikola Petkov. He with his group carried on the first against heavy odds, and while doing this he was arrested, condemned as an "enemy of the people," and executed on September 23, 1947. On the 17th anniversary of this heinous crime, this judicial murder of this upholder of democracy, we pay tribute to his blessed memory.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

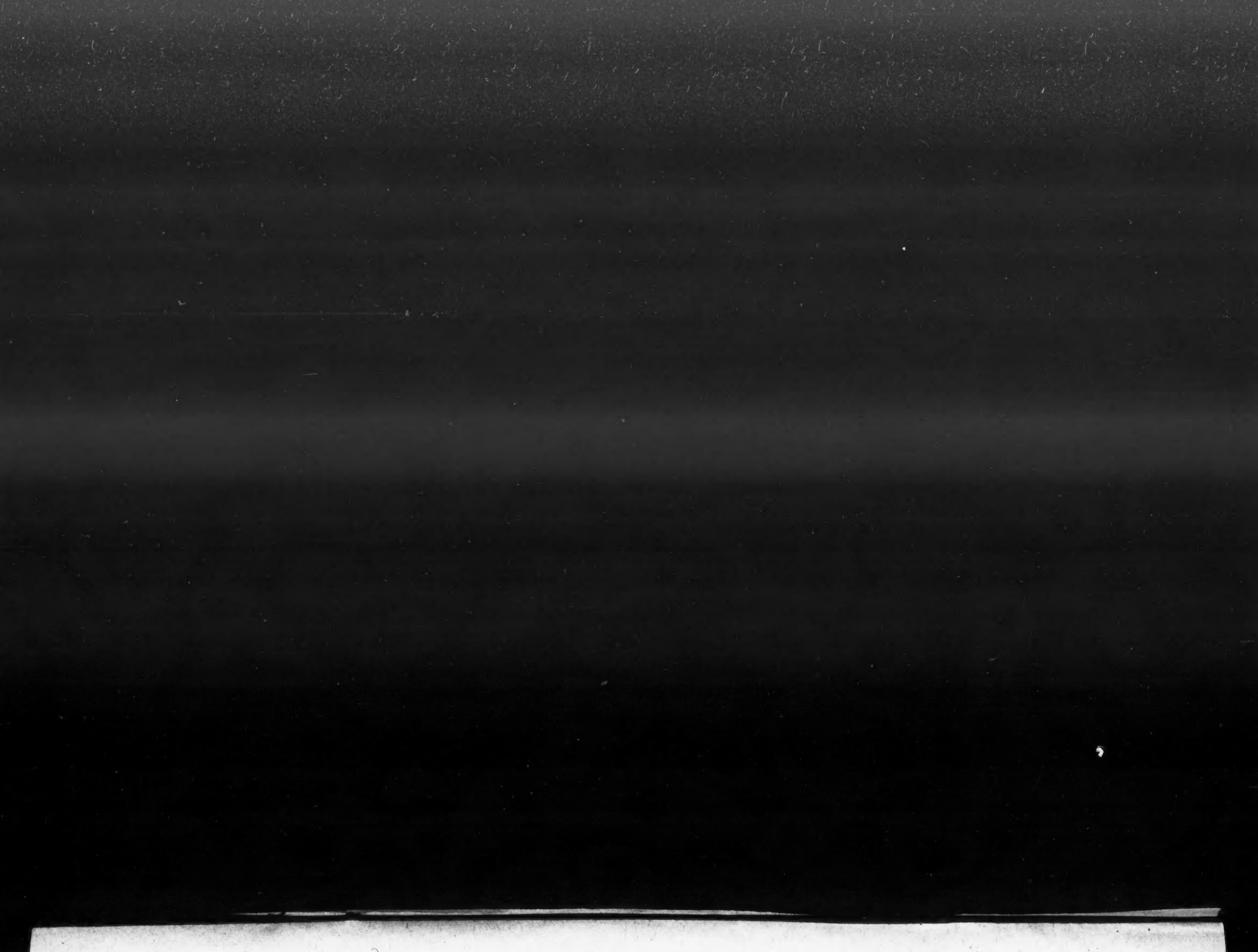

Appendix

Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN L. McCLELLAN

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 14, 1964

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, made an excellent address recently, August 27, to the annual meeting of the east central area of the Arkansas Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts at Stuttgart, Ark.

In his address, he reviewed the splendid progress being made in soil and water conservation, watershed protection, and river basin surveys, and he also made several recommendations for improvement in legislation pertaining to the watershed program administered by the Soil Conservation Service.

Because I am extremely proud that Arkansas leads all the States in several phases of soil and water conservation, and because I believe these recommendations for improvement merit serious consideration, I ask unanimous consent to have the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALK BY REPRESENTATIVE WILBUR D. MILLS, OF ARKANSAS, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST CENTRAL AREA OF THE ARKANSAS ASSOCIATION OF SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICTS, STUTTGART, ARK., AUGUST 27, 1964

Once again it is my great pleasure to join with my friends in the annual meeting of the east central area of the Arkansas Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts.

It's always good to come home. And it is especially stimulating to participate in your affairs. You are the leaders in work that is bringing lasting benefits to our State, to each of our communities, and to our Nation.

Soil and water resources are the basis of our strength as a people and as a Nation. If these resources are abundant and strong, then the people and the Nation will be strong. If they are not strong, America will not realize her destiny but will join countless other civilizations lost in antiquity through neglect of their natural resources.

You are doing a job of tremendous significance for all of us, and you deserve the respect and admiration of all citizens for the manner in which you are doing it. You have my respect and admiration. And you have my support. You shall continue to have it.

As you know, your east central area and my congressional district cover about the same territory. It is a source of pride to me that the soil and water conservation districts in this area stand out in the State for their accomplishments, and that Arkanshas itself stands out in the Southeast and in the Nation as well. That puts your activities right near the top in the national picture.

I've been digging into the records a bit, thanks to Bill Davey at Little Rock and to our old friend Hollis Williams in Washington. I'd like to highlight some of my findings.

First, let's look at how Arkansas soil and water conservation districts stood in the Southeast and in the Nation in fiscal year 1963.

In average acres of soil surveys per man-year, Arkansas ranked second in the Southeast and 14th in the Nation. In basic conservation plans and revisions, both in average plans per man-year and cost per plan, Arkansas ranked first in the Southeast and first in the Nation.

In landowners and operators assisted per man-year and the cost per operator assisted, Arkansas ranked first in the Southeast and first in the Nation.

In services provided per man-year, Arkansas ranked second in both the Southeast and the Nation and first in both the Southeast and the Nation in average cost per service in this category.

In percent of landowners and operators assisted in applying practice, Arkansas ranked first in the Southeast and third in the Nation.

In the dollar value of watershed project agreements, Arkansas was first in the Southeast and third in the Nation.

Arkansas indeed is in the front line of accomplishments in both the Southeast and the Nation.

Arkansas is a frontrunner among the States also in its contributions of funds and services to the soil conservation districts program. In fiscal year 1963, for example, Arkansas contributed a total of $1,437,320 in funds and services to the districts program. Sources of the funds and contributions were local government, State government, private individuals, commercial companies, and institutions and organizations.

While we're on the financial end of your conservation work, let me point out that the east central area was second only to the Northeast area in quorum court appropriations and contributions to soil and water conservation districts in 1964. The east central areas appropriation from the counties was $6,000 and the county contributions totaled $1,200. Throughout the State, the quorum court appropriations totaled $32,835, and the contributions were $10,040. The contributions were mainly in office space, storage space, and utilities.

You should be proud, too, of the fact that in the east-central area 11,600 landowners and operators—about 68 percent of the total number of farms in the area—are cooperators with your local soil and water conservation districts and are developing conservation plans on their farms. More than 9,600 basic conservation plans have been prepared with the assistance of the Soil Conservation Service on more than 2 million acres.

In Arkansas as a whole, as of March 1964, 83,357 landowners and operators were district cooperators. This is 70 percent of the farms in the State. Of these 73,324 had basic conservation plans for their farms covering more than 14.8 million acres.

The Soil Conservation Service informs me that new standard soil surveys have been completed on about 8.5 million acres in Arkansas and that soil conservation type surveys are available for conservation planning on about 15.6 million acres.

In the east central area, standard soil surveys have been made on about 1.6 million acres, and soil conservation type surveys are available on 2.5 million acres.

I'm pleased to note, too, that Arkansas and east central area farmers have become interested in recreation for profit as a new farm enterprise.

In the past fiscal year 73 landowners and operators, 16 of them in the east central area, have established one or more recreation enterprises, and 179, including 34 in the east central area, planned to do so.

Your districts in the east central area are moving forward with watershed protection and flood prevention projects, too.

I understand that you have filed 20 project applications and that plans have been completed and approved on three of these: Flat Creek, Upper Cultoches Bay, and Mud Creek. The plan on a fourth project, Cooper Creek, is almost complete, and planning authorization has ben requested on the 212,000-acre tricounty project in Independence, Lawrence, and Sharp Counties.

Since watershed projects are initiated and carried out by local people, they inevitably stand or fall on the ability of the local participants to work together for solutions to their common problems. Ewell Ray Coleman, supervisor of Moorefield Soil Conservation District, says that in organizing for the tricounty projects their association levied a voluntary assessment on all lands to be benefited by the project. The funds will be used for organization purposes, including the creation of a taxing district under State laws for paying local costs. The fact that almost 100 percent of the landowners have paid this voluntary assessment is a good indication that the project will move forward.

This spirit of cooperation is exemplified by accomplishments in the Flat Creek watershed in Lawrence County. Here a multitude of people have joined forces to install a project that will protect hill land from erosion and good bottomland from flooding, provide drainage for wet land, water for fish and wildlife development, and facilities for recreational use by the general public.

Substantial help has come from the Arkansas Game and Fish Commission, the Arkansas Highway Department, the Lawrence County government, the Craighead County Electrical Cooperative, the soil and water conservation district, and the benefited landowners themselves, represented by the Flat Creek watershed improvement district. The Federal Government has helped through assistance from the Soil Conservation Service, Forest Service, and the Farmers Home Administration.

Six dams have been completed in this project, including a 645-acre lake for flood protection, recreation, and fish and wildlife development. A contract has been awarded to complete the planned channel improvement, and work is in progress on the recreational facilities planned for the State park adjoining the lake. Of the 147 farmers in the watershed, 141 are district cooperators and have applied almost 80 percent of the planned land treatment measures.

I'm told that throughout the State, 89 watershed applications have been filed, and 35 of these have been authorized for planning. Plans have been completed and construction authorized on 22 projects. Plans for three additional projects are complete and subject to approval by House and Senate Agricultural Committees. Construction

has been completed in five of the watersheds, and contracts awarded that will complete four additional projects. Nationwide, I'm proud to say that Arkansas ranks fifth in the number of watershed project applications submitted and in number of operational projects.

During the past year, plans were completed on six projects. This is well above past production. The increase resulted from the action of the Arkansas General Assembly in increasing the State appropriation for watershed planning from $50,000 to $100,000, annually.

The success that has been attained in the State in soil and water conservation work is due in no small measure to the strong support of the State and county governments. In addition to the direct appropriation for watershed planning, the State legislature also voted over $2,000 annually for each of the 76 soil and water conservation districts in Arkansas. County quorum courts appropriate about $33,000, annually, as I have mentioned. These actions not only add to the district's resources—they also pay tribute to the services freely given by the district supervisors. And I might add that they also endorse congressional support for soil and water conservation appropriations.

The State has helped in other ways. State laws have been enacted that provide for the creation and operation of watershed improvement districts to cosponsor watershed projects, to enable water distribution districts to cooperate in Public Law 566 projects, and to provide for the formation of the Arkansas Soil and Water Conservation Commission to lend direct guidance and support to the supervisors of soil and water conservation districts.

There has been personal attention from Governor Faubus, who has supported and approved State appropriations and enabling legislation, encourage the cooperation of State agencies in the development of multiple-purpose watersheds, such as the Flat Creek project, counseled with sponsors and landowners in proposed watershed projects as to their willingness to assume local obligations, and participated in countless meetings of conservation groups.

I should like to comment also on another very important phase of resource conservation. I refer to comprehensive river basin surveys that are conducted cooperatively by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Corps of Engineers, and Health, Education, and Welfare at the Federal level, and by agencies of the State.

Two of these surveys are in progress in this area—those on the red and the white—and two others participated in by the Department of Agriculture and the Corps of Engineers are underway elsewhere in our State—on the Arkansas and the Poteau.

These basin surveys tie into our overall resource program in several ways. One of the most important, certainly in communities needing watershed help, is that the surveys identify and recognize potential Public Law 566 projects.

I believe you district supervisors should associate yourselves with these river basin surveys in every possible way. They are worthy of your time and effort in much the same way as are regular district operations and watershed projects.

At my last meeting with you in October 1960, I discussed several legislative proposals with you—proposals that pertained to the small watershed program—proposals that would strengthen operation of that program and make it more useful to all groups.

I'm pleased that two of these proposals are now in effect. I refer to definite and specified cost sharing for agricultural water management structures in place of the former complicated, indefinite, and unworkable formulas. The other measure adopted is authority to provide storage for future water supply at Federal expense on guarantee that the cost will be repaid when use of the stored water begins.

But still to come are other desirable proposals that we should continue to fight for.

We need authority for the Federal Government to administer watershed construction contracts if requested by the local sponsoring organization to do so. Many local organizations are not equipped to let contracts and are being forced into an untenable and dangerous position by present requirements.

We need authority at the State level to provide assistance to local organizations in obtaining land, easements, and rights-of-way for watershed projects.

Some forms of such aid might be: giving local organizations condemnation authority; providing some degree of reimbursement from State funds; providing State financed legal aid to local organizations; having rights-of-way and easements purchased in the name of the State with State funds. I don't think it is fair to expect all easements to be either donated by private citizens or all such costs to be borne by small local organizations. The State governments benefit greatly from watershed projects.

As another aid in obtaining land, easements and rights-of-way, we should amend Public Law 566, the Small Watershed Act. Presently, this law prohibits the use of funds appropriated under the act to acquire land rights. Perhaps this is all right, but there is no reason why the act should not be amended to make it possible to use other Federal funds, obtained for community improvements and other purposes, to acquire land rights for watershed projects.

We need to substantially increase Federal appropriations for watershed planning. This is a point that we must get across to the Bureau of the Budget nad the Senate in particular.

The House of Representatives, I'm pleased to report, acted favorably on an amendment to raise the limitation on the size of watershed dams from 5,000 to 12,500 acre-feet. This amendment should be passed. The limitation should be lifted. It is hampering the program in many areas. Let us all continue to work for this change.

This year, I was one who made my wishes known to the House Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations concerning the 20 percent cut in planning funds in the budget. The House committee restored this cut and the House adopted the report. Unfortunately, the Senate did not go along and the matter is in conference between the House and the Senate.

More funds are needed for planning because each year the number of watershed applications filed by local sponsoring organizations exceeds the number the Soil Conservation Service is able to service with planning funds provided by the State and Federal Governments. The net result is the accumulation of a growing number of unserviced requests for assistance.

An additional major need in the watershed program is to accelerate the installation of land treatment measures.

The best possible way to accomplish this, in my opinion, is through cost-share contracts based on complete farm conservation plans similar to the provisions of the Great Plains conservation program.

This would get the land treatment job done on a planned, scheduled basis, and the entire cost-sharing would be guaranteed at the time the plan is developed and the contract signed.

Land treatment in watershed projects is proceeding haphazardly, as you know. This situation is particularly critical in the drainage areas above reservoirs where local organizations are required by law to carry out needed treatment measures on not less than 50 percent of the land.

These are recommendations that I think would strengthen the watershed program. I shall do all that I can to help bring about these desirable changes.

Indeed, I pledge you my support in all your ventures. You are engaged in a great work—noble work—the benefits of which are not for the present alone but will multiply manifold and accrue in even greater measure to future generations.

You are building for the future. You are investing in the future. You are giving of your time and your energy, not for pay, not for glory, but to serve your fellow men. This is the supreme gift of mankind. I salute you, and wish you well.

History of SS. Peter and Paul Parish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the story of SS. Peter and Paul Parish in Chicago, formed 50 years ago by a small group of Lithuanian immigrants, is so well told in the golden anniversary book that I am extending my remarks to include excerpts that I know will be of keen interest to many of my colleagues. It is the kind of success story, with its chapters of dedicated toil and sacrifice, that is Americana in its finest expression.

The above-mentioned follows:

OUR PARISH HISTORY

From a very humble beginning our parish has grown to become one of the largest parishes on the far South Side of Chicago. Its prosperity was largely due to the early parishioners, who worked together to establish the parish and then continued to support it with their donations. Their donations of nickels, dimes, and quarters helped the parish erect its buildings and purchase all of the necessary furnishings. These dedicated parishioners also helped with voluntary acts of physical labor whenever required.

The parish was formed in 1913 by a small group of Lithuanian immigrants who settled in the West Pullman area. They came to the local area because there were a large number of industries located in there and many manufacturing plants were situated in the area to the east. Here they found work and were able to support their families.

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The Reverend Michael Krusas, pastor of Providence of God at the time and who eventually was to become a monsignor, aided the group in its formation and provided many helpful suggestions. He became involved through Kiupelis, his first cousin, who constantly sought his advice. On many different occasions the committee journeyed to the rectory at 18th and Union in order to work out the necessary arrangements associated with the formation of a parish.

After many more meetings of the entire group, a petition was circulated and signed by over 75 families. It was presented to the chancery office and permission was immediately granted to form the SS. Peter and Paul Parish. This was in the fall of 1913 and our parish became the 11th of 13 Lithuanian parishes established in the Chicago archdiocese.

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The Reverend Norbert Lukosius was appointed the first pastor of SS. Peter and Paul and came to work with the organizers in late 1913.

He made arrangements with the pastor of Assumption BVM parish, which was made up of Polish speaking people, to have SS. Peter and Paul hold its services there until the church was erected. The pastor consented.

As a result, the Lithuanians began worshipping as parishioners of SS. Peter and Paul on February 15, 1914. They were able to use the church after the Polish services on Sunday mornings and, except for a $5 weekly rent payment, the entire collection was theirs.

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The first financial account of the parish that appears in the ledgers is for the month of January 1914. It shows that the pastor received $74.35 form the treasurer of the organization committee and that a large number of donations were received when the pastor went from home to home soliciting contributions.

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In March 1914, the ground was broken for the church and school building. A procession from All Saints parish marched to West Pullman to participate in the festivities and cheered when the Reverend Lukosius turned the first shovel of dirt.

It was requested by the chancery office that the parishioners build a church to hold at least 300 persons and that a school be incorporated.

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The first parish picnic was staged in the West Pullman Grove, 123d and Union, which was to be the site of almost all of the parish picnics for the next 20 years, on Sunday, June 28, 1914.

A large crowd attended the picnic and the profits were used for the parish needs. Suits were raffled in order to raise money. The weather was inclement, but the spirits were brightened when the choir from Our Lady of Vilna parish made a surprise appearance and sang many selections throughout the afternoon.

Our final payment on the church lots amounted to $1,444.50 and it was paid on June 12. The deed was then issued to us.

At the cornerstone blessing on June 19, the collection amounted to $109.21.

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Biggest day of the parish came on October 28, 1914, when the late Archbishop James Edward Quigley arrived in West Pullman to dedicate and bless the church and school building and the parish grounds. All of the organizations were well represented and a number of societies from the All Saints and Assumption parishes attended. This marked the formal beginning of our parish.

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A small portion of the building expense was paid from the early revenues collected. However, a loan for $22,500 had to be obtained from Cremin and O'Connor at the usual 5-percent interest rate. It was held by the Catholic bishop of Chicago.

The initial interest payments of the loan were to be paid twice yearly and amounted to $562.50 each time.

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Reverend Lukosius was very much interested in the parish. He labored very hard to help the parish and on many occasions his monthly salary of $66.66 was donated to the parish. Some of the small improvements were also financed by him.

He continued to visit the homes for donations. He stressed the fact that the church has to be supported and the parishioners should do their utmost to aid the parish.

Two collections were always taken up at the Sunday masses. One was for the church and the second was for pew rent. A parishioner had to buy a yearly pew card at a cost of $6 which was later increased to $10 or else make an appropriate donation in the second collection.

From 1915 through 1917, a few school furnishings were purchased and installed, such as school desks, but there were no teachers available. Finally, in February 1917, Miss M. Andzuliute was appointed to serve as a teacher for the school. She learned quickly that the job could not be handled properly by one teacher and asked for more help. A second teacher, Miss Ag. Kusleikint, was located and hired by the pastor.

Both teachers held out until June when the term ended and then tendered their resignations. The school again was vacant and the children had to attend the West Pullman public school.

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The church bells were hung in October 1918 and a few weeks after that, the Reverend George Paskauskas was appointed as the second pastor of the parish. It marked the beginning of his 9-year residence in the parish.

Although over 75 families had signed the petition to have the church established, not all of these families became parishioners. Some had just signed so that the quota would be met. As a result, only some 60 families made up the parish roster in the very beginning. The same number of parishioners were still around when Father Paskauskas took over as pastor.

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In January 1920, the parish was able to pay $1,000 toward its principal of the mortgage and in addition spent over $1,000 in redecorating the church.

Realizing that the backbone of the parish is in its children, Reverend Paskauskas started a program to have the elementary school formed so that the children could get a proper Catholic education.

Based on the previous experiences, the Reverend Paskauskas tried a new approach. Instead of looking for lay teachers, the pastor went to the motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Casimir and outlined his plan to Mother Maria Kaupas. After their discussion, Mother Maria arranged to have three sisters come to West Pullman to teach the youngsters. They were to live in the convent at All Saints until our convent was built.

In September 1921, our elementary school was formally opened.

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In April 1922, three lots were purchased midway on the east side of Emerald Avenue between 122d and 123rd Streets for a total cost of $1,223. This land was to be used for the nuns' convent. By the end of the year, the bungalow structure was constructed on 1½ lots at a cost of $5,220.68.

In June 1823, an additional 1½ lots were purchased adjacent to the convent on the north side. This land was to be used for the hall, along with the 1½ lots that remained from the nuns' portion of the land.

In 1923 a sum of $1,028.11 was used to furnish the convent, which included an altar in its chapel.

The parishioners were very excited on March 24, 1924, when they learned that their archbishop, His Excellency George Mundelein was elevated to the sacred college of cardinals.

During both 1924 and 1925 two payments of $3,500 each were applied to our mortgage and our debt was reduced to a figure of $14,500.

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In 1927, Rev. John J. Statkus replaced Father Paskauskas, who was sent to serve as pastor at All Saints.

While Father Statkus was in charge of our parish, there were many unfortunate happenings. The parish rectory caught fire on two occasions and the parish began falling into debt. By 1930, which was the early part of the great depression, the parish mortgage notes had to be renewed.

In 1931, the parish debt stood at $22,786.66 or over $200 more than the original debt which was incurred when the church was built 17 years previous.

The parish progress was at a standstill at this point.

On September 1, 1931, the Reverend Anicetus Linkus was appointed the fourth pastor to serve us. Father Linkus was sent to us from the Holy Cross Parish where he was an outstanding assistant.

Father Linkus had many talents; these included a good business head, ability to get the most from each parishioner and was a public relations expert. He had served as an editor or a reporter for many of the Lithuanian periodicals and daily newspapers.

He got into the middle of things immediately and began working with one aim: to reduce the debt and attract more parishioners.

Saints Peter and Paul was still primarily a parish for Lithuanians and the sermons were preached in this language.

In 1932, Father Linkus was in the midst of trouble. His parishioners, for the most part, were out of work. The donations were smaller than ever. Because of this, the various bills continued to mount up.

Father Linkus then began staging many parish affairs and kept the parish hall filled with some kind of an activity each weekend. This proved to be worthwhile financially. These activities attracted many local area residents.

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In December 1932, Father Linkus managed to have the debt reduced to $20,880 despite the fact that the sacristy was built alongside of the church and the church was remodeled and repaired. The cost of the new sacristy was about $2,000.

Father Linkus, who always used new and revolutionary ideas, introduced the 12 noon mass on Sundays on April 23, 1933. Our parish was one of the first that attempted this move and after a slow start, it became the mass with the largest attendance.

In December 1933, Father Linkus trimmed the debt to $18,157.75. A further reduction was made in 1934 and in 1935 and the debt was chopped down to $15,000.

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On April 16, 1939, Father Linkus was honored with the Cross of Gediminas from the Republic of Lithuania. He was named a Knight of the Order by Dr. Petras Daudzvardis, Lithuanian Consul General in Chicago.

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When he made his trip to Lithuania in 1937, he was welcomed with open arms in the country in which he was born. When he returned to the United States he brought back a souvenir for each of our schoolchildren.

When the parish celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1939, only 167 families were registered on the roster.

In January 1940, a sum of $8,000 was paid on the principal of our mortgage and left a meager indebtedness of $4,000. This huge payment came as a result of the campaign that Father Linkus started for the silver jubilee celebration. He encouraged every parishioner to donate at least $25 toward the parish debt. The campaign, as you can note, was very successful.

In December 1940, Father Linkus turned in a sum of $2,000 to clear the debt at the

Catholic bishop's office, but a $2,000 debt still remained with McMahon and Hoban.

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Our first major building fund program was started in May 1955. An all-out effort was made to collect contributions for this program.

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The construction of the addition and enlargement of the school and convent was originally proposed at $140,000, but the final figure amounted to $188,000.

His Eminence Samuel Cardinal Stritch blessed and dedicated the new buildings in September 1956 when the school was officially opened for use.

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With the appointment of the Reverend Stanley R. Petrauskas as the seventh pastor of the parish in January 1957 the largest building program ever to be undertaken by the West Pullman parishioners had begun.

The rapid growth of the West Pullman, Colonial Village, and Calumet Park communities had increased the membership of the parish almost six times. Larger and more spacious quarters had to be erected to accommodate the parishioners.

The building boom of the single-family dwellings east of the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks to Michigan Avenue and from 124th to 127th Streets attracted many younger families of every nationality and descent. This area previously was nothing but farmland.

Although the Lithuanians were the majority group for the first 40 years, the picture began to change in the middle 1950's. At present, there really is no one single dominating group.

As a result, the sermons and Gospel were changed to English. Only the 8 a.m. and the 10 a.m. masses were reserved for the Lithuanian-speaking parishioners.

Currently, only the 8 a.m. mass is for the Lithuanians. The Gospel is read in both languages, but the sermon is in Lithuanian.

Additional masses were added on Sunday mornings to alleviate the crowded situation, but it did not help much. Eight masses were being said at the church and two more were said at the hall, which was converted into a chapel.

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On April 23, 1958, the parish received permission to build another church. The debt of the parish was $197,000 and we were able to get a loan for another $235,000 for the construction of the church. The parish rectory, which was estimated at $130,000, had to be deferred until later.

Ground was broken on June 22, 1958, by Bishop Raymond P. Hillinger, auxiliary of Chicago. The building program was started immediately and the cornerstone was blessed by Msgr. Edward M. Burke, chancellor of Chicago's archdiocese, on October 12, 1958.

SS. Peter and Paul was the last church to be sanctioned by His Eminence, Samuel Cardinal Stritch.

His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer dedicated the church, located at 125th and Halsted, on May 31, 1959. The parishioners celebrated the festive occasion with a dedication banquet the same evening at the Martinique nightclub.

Also in 1958, some 200 feet of land on Halsted Street, across from the church, was purchased at a cost of $20,000. It was paved in 1960 for $3,500. This is our church parking lot.

After the church was built, the old church was converted into classrooms at an expense of $20,000 in 1961 and the sprinkling (fire prevention) system was added at a cost of $18,000.

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During the period of 1959–64, the Reverend Petrauskas had paid a sum of $238,000 on the parish debt including the various land purchases.

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Our church is of modernized Gothic architecture and is made up of brick and lanon stone. The 60-foot tower to the left of the entrance is now considered to be one of West Pullman's landmarks.

The two lifelike statues of the Apostles Peter and Paul, patrons of the parish, welcome the parishioners each time that they arrive to worship. They are located on the church's facade.

The Kennedy-Johnson Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Charles Bartlett's column published on August 20 contained an excellent summary of the success of the economic policies of President Kennedy and President Johnson.

The article follows:

THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON PROSPERITY

Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon and Walter Heller, Chairman of the President's Committee of Economic Advisers, engaged in some justifiable crowing on the state of the economy as they appeared before the Democratic platform committee Tuesday.

"The story is so good," Mr. Heller said as he left the meeting, "that it is almost embarrassing to talk about it." Indeed, there is great irony in the fact that the economic area, in which the most informed people had the most reservations as John F. Kennedy took office, should prove 4 years later to be the strongest point in the record that Lyndon B. Johnson will take to the country.

The economy has run, as Messrs. Dillon and Heller pointed out, for 42 months of unchecked expansion, a record for peacetime. It has expanded more, in real dollar terms, in 4 years than it did in 8 years of the Eisenhower administration. It has largely escaped the wage-price instability of the Truman era.

The 1961 reservations on Mr. Kennedy's management of the economy had some merit. He had run on a platform and waged a campaign that implied a lively return to Keynesian policies. His background in economics was limited. When someone asked during one of his early days in the White House about a professor who once tutored him in the subject, Mr. Kennedy replied, "He has probably jumped off a cliff."

He wisely set out to surround himself with advisers who would reflect an intelligent spectrum of economic theory. He had met Mr. Heller on a campaign trip to Minneapolis and invited him to join the administration as a man who would distill liberal thinking. After a long search for a Secretary of the Treasury, he was attracted to Mr. Dillon as a moderate with banking experience and sound judgment.

Working with these two men and his chief staff aid, Theodore Sorensen, Mr. Kennedy picked his way among the alternatives. His advisers often differed, as he wanted them to, but their consensus enabled him to pay balanced respect to the conflicting problems posed by the outflow of gold and by economic stagnation.

After Mr. Kennedy had been at it for awhile, Arthur Burns, an economist who advised Dwight Eisenhower, warned that his fiddling with the economy would produce more inflation and another crisis in the balance of payments. Leon Keyserling, who had advised Mr. Truman, cautioned that Mr. Kennedy was doing too little to meet the problems and was courting another recession.

A second major irony is that in spite of the persistent hostility toward Mr. Kennedy by business, the statements to the Democratic platform committee suggest that industry has been better pleased than labor by the fruits of the past 4 years.

In fact the catalog of labor's economic complaints, in the AFL–CIO presentation to the platform committee, is far more extensive than that the National Association of Manufacturers. The latter declared in 1960 that "the time of testing for the United States is at hand." This week the NAM's statement to the Democratic platform committee began: "Our Nation has within its grasp the making of an abundant age."

However the AFL–CIO expressed concern at the signs that industry has benefited more than labor from the economy's upswing since 1961. "In the first quarter of 1964," the labor statement said, "corporate profits after taxes were running 42 percent above the year 1961. But the yearly rate of labor income was only 16 percent greater than the 1961 level."

This suspicion of imbalance has combined with an awareness of the need for more jobs to inspire demands for a $2 minimum wage, a 35-hour week, and double pay for overtime. Labor sought more than it received all through the Kennedy era and the denials will be more difficult with time and the accumulation of industry profits.

The prosperity has rolled with such force since Lyndon Johnson took office that he has not been required to make any critical economic decisions. If Messrs. Dillon and Heller leave Government, as they have indicated that they will after the election, and if Mr. Johnson is elected, he will be obliged to assemble his own team and develop his own approach to a political-economic consensus.

But the President will have the satisfaction, as he goes into the campaign, of being able to assert that the Democratic Party has lived up to most of the economic promises that it made in its 1960 platform.

The 88th Congress: Record of Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, before many more weeks have passed, it is to be hoped, we will have before us the complete appropriations record of the 2d session of the 88th Congress. It may be worth while, in this connection, to have at hand for reference a tabulation of the appropriations voted during the first session of this Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, therefore, I include such a tabulation prepared by the Coordinator of Information:

Departmental appropriations, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

[For regular activities]

Title	Budget estimates	Amount as passed (House)	Amount as passed (Senate)	Amount enacted	Public Law No.
Interior	$674,169,000	$597,880,200	$627,859,000	$612,081,750	88-79
Related agencies	354,340,000	330,765,500	357,833,500	346,394,750	
Treasury [1]	1,153,230,000	1,095,910,000	1,112,200,250	1,103,650,000	88-39
U.S. Tax Court	1,893,000	1,890,000	1,890,000	1,890,000	
Post office	4,976,964,000	4,885,000,000	4,940,750,000	4,925,500,000	
Executive Office of President	14,058,000	13,641,000	14,041,000	13,841,000	
Labor	427,226,000	384,844,000	384,844,000	350,075,000	88-136
Related agencies [2]	30,950,000	29,550,000	29,550,000	30,105,000	
Health, Education, Welfare	5,301,314,000	5,035,542,000	5,036,742,000	5,090,904,000	88-25
Supplemental, 1963	1,641,507,106	1,438,691,506	1,488,663,341	1,467,430,491	88-190
Supplemental, 1963 (CCC)	508,172,000	508,172,000	508,172,000	508,172,000	
Agriculture	1,582,417,000	1,530,934,000	1,564,207,340	1,548,973,315	88-250
Related agencies [3]	4,786,338,009	4,443,523,000	4,483,781,000	4,675,396,900	
Legislative [4]	182,218,450	140,038,919	168,273,069	168,273,069	88-248
State	359,721,000	305,051,000	325,033,000	322,696,000	88-245
USIA	208,286,000	163,470,000	170,620,000	166,220,000	
Justice	355,506,000	343,790,000	344,477,000	343,899,000	
Judiciary	59,084,900	58,127,900	58,127,000	58,127,000	
Commerce	996,572,000	833,818,000	798,300,100	804,500,000	
Related agencies [5]	172,716,000	130,204,000	116,995,000	116,850,000	
Defense	49,014,237,000	47,082,009,000	47,339,707,000	47,220,010,000	88-149
District of Columbia [6]	289,581,800	284,286,800	319,587,725	313,093,424	88-252
Independent offices [7]	14,658,588,000	13,102,718,700	13,309,214,650	13,224,518,000	88-215
Military construction	1,966,400,000	1,562,964,000	1,617,489,000	1,585,880,000	88-220
Public works [8]	4,561,747,000	4,276,116,400	4,500,963,200	4,406,272,700	88-257
Foreign aid [9]	4,525,325,000	2,801,700,000	3,273,203,000	3,000,000,000	88-258
Supplemental, 1964 [10]	41,886,000	41,886,000	258,090,000	289,688,000	88-268

[1] Does not include permanent and indefinite appropriations for debt service, tax refunds, trust funds payments, etc.
[2] Includes National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, and Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.
[3] Includes credit agencies and corporations (Rural Electrification Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Commodity Credit Corporation, etc.) and special programs and functions, including school lunch and foreign assistance.
[4] Figures include funds for Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, Architect of the Capitol, etc., in addition to House of Representatives and Senate.
[5] Includes Small Business Administration, Civil Rights Commission, Maritime Commission, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Tariff Commission, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
[6] Includes Federal contribution of $37,500,000; balance derived from District of Columbia revenues.
[7] Principal agencies provided for in this bill: Veterans' Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Federal Aviation Agency, Housing and Home Finance Administration, General Services Administration, FCC, FTC, ICC, SEC, and National Science Foundation.
[8] Includes funds for Atomic Energy Commission; Army Engineers' programs for navigation improvements and flood control; Tennessee Valley Authority; Bureau of Reclamation and power agencies of Department of Interior, etc.
[9] Above figures do not include unrelated items carried in this bill.
[10] Originally introduced to finance new programs to combat mental retardation, funds were later added for impacted school districts, National Defense Education Act scholarships, and for operation of Mexican farm labor program.

NOTE.—The Congress enacted Public Law 88-55, Public Law 88-100, Public Law 88-102, and Public Law 88-188, joint resolutions, continuing appropriations through Aug. 31, Oct. 31, and Nov. 30, 1963, and Jan. 31, 1964, respectively.

Foes of Poverty Should Not Allow ARA To Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 21, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Friday, September 11, issue of the New York Times carries a message for the Congress which I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time to make sure every one of us has an opportunity to read it.

It is entitled "Reviving Area Redevelopment," and it refers to legislation now pending in this House, legislation which would breathe new life into an agency of the Federal Government which is trying to provide new jobs in areas of the Nation where new jobs are most needed.

As the editorial says:

If Congress is sincere in its commitment to wage war on poverty, it makes no sense to let the area redevelopment program die now.

I say it makes no sense, either. If we are going to spend millions and millions to train and equip the underprivileged youth of this Nation so they will be ready to hold a job, I say we better make sure that jobs are available for them when they complete that training.

That is the primary assignment of the ARA—to create new and permanent jobs in the lagging economic areas of our country. It has been doing just that these past 3 years. It has approved projects which are expected to generate 116,000 new jobs thus far. When these business ventures get rolling, this is expected to add nearly a billion dollars a year to our gross national product. I do not see how anyone can object to such a worthy effort, and I want to insert this editorial in the RECORD to call our attention once more to an unfinished task still pending in this House—passage of the ARA bill (S. 1165).

The editorial follows:

REVIVING AREA REDEVELOPMENT

Area redevelopment is in danger of getting lost in the shuffle as Congress hurries toward adjournment. This would be an ironic fate for the program in a Democratic-controlled Congress, in view of the party's long struggle on its behalf. Twice vetoed by President Eisenhower, the area redevelopment bill became a lively issue in the 1960 campaign. It was the first major piece of legislation which President Kennedy signed into law.

Inevitably the program has encountered administrative difficulties and been the target of criticism. It is not easy to devise workable criteria for loans and grants to revive economically depressed communities, since, by definition, if such communities could meet normal banking standards they would not need special Government help.

Despite these inherent problems, the Area Redevelopment Administration over the past 3 years has retrained 35,000 workers and helped create 110,000 new jobs, mostly in rural areas and small towns. It has stimulated fresh economic activity in several long-stagnant localities across the country such as southern Illinois, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and the abandoned coal towns of Kentucky and West Virginia. For the first time, scores of communities have learned the techniques of identifying their economic problems and of working out solutions through local and regional planning.

For more than a year the Area Redevelopment Administration's various activities have been limping to a halt for lack of money. In June 1963 the House refused a new authorization of funds by a vote of 209 to 204, which reflected in large part an unthinking southern retaliation against the Kennedy administration, for proposing civil rights legislation. Now that tempers have cooled, the prospects for a second attempt in the House are improved, but time is running out. If Congress is sincere in its commitment to wage war on poverty, it makes no sense to let the area redevelopment program die now.

Pesticides and the Scare Campaigns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, not one of us in the Congress is unaware of the vast publicity being given pesticides. Several committees have conducted hearings on one phase or another and I can not help but wonder whether we are the unsuspecting victims of a scare campaign.

Recently a friend sent me an article which appeared in the July issue of the publication, Farm Chemicals. It is entitled "Pesticides and the Scare Campaigns." Written by Lea S. Hitchner, a consulting editor of the publication, he traces the various campaigns against pesticides dating back to 1900—he reminds us of the cranberry scare which has cost the Federal Government over $10 million. Now we have a similar situation confronting the dairy industry and again the American taxpayer is digging into his pockets to indemnify the dairy farmers who have been wronged by their Government.

I realize we are a wealthy nation. I also realize that our Nation has the largest debt any nation has ever known. Should we add to it by our own foolishness? By what manner of judgment do our various agencies reach the conclusion that just because they can find something in milk it therefore must be destroyed? All agencies concede that there is no health hazard. I cannot help but wonder of the nightmares a dairy farmer has, for even I who have witnessed many Government blunders cannot understand the present situation.

Perhaps the answer is in Mr. Hitchner's article when he points the finger at

"the interdepartmental rivalries of the Federal Government. Apparently Public Health desires the regulatory powers now in FDA. The Department of the Interior's wildlife group would like to supersede USDA." He continues by pointing out the winner "gets the public funds for buildings, much wasted research, larger staffs, more bureaucratic control."

I commend this article to my colleagues and hope they will find time in their busy schedules to read it:

PESTICIDES AND THE SCARE CAMPAIGNS

(By Lea S. Hitchner)

The scare campaign on pesticides continues. One scare after another, each expertly publicized and promoted by minority groups of faddists, authors, and publishers, segments of the tax supported publicity and promotion departments of the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare and Interior and some of the congressional committees.

During early May the press carried from coast to coast the scare story of the fish kill in the Mississippi River. National radio and television, including the Huntley-Brinkley Report, carried the story which was based on meager scientific data questioned by competent scientists.

Last year there was a massive fish kill in the Chesapeake. My own beach was strewn with dead fish. Unconfirmed reports of the cause included "pesticides." Careful scientific investigation by State officials found the cause to be a bacterial disease. The fish population this year appears normal, although a further kill may be anticipated due to the large population.

In many cases, on meager and questionable research, on opinion only, and without due process of law pesticides—of great value to our economy, necessary for the production of safe and adequate food supplies and the protection of the public health—have been questioned.

It should be remembered that pesticides—before sale and use—are evaluated by competent scientists in industry, at State colleges, and private research institutions, and when used as directed approved by equally competent scientists of FDA, USDA, and many State colleges.

The cranberry scare, promoted by FDA, proved to be a farce and to make good USDA paid to growers a fabulous amount—at the taxpayers' expense. The scare publicity given the poultry industry was costly both to the industry and the Federal Government. Doubt has been cast on the safety of such food crops as potatoes and cauliflower.

The promotion of fear also extends to other chemical products. Recently press and radio broadcasts created in our home a fear of a certain cosmetic. Fortunately page advertisements by the manufacturers in leading papers emphasizing safety minimized the adverse publicity.

The scare publicity by the extreme nature lover and food faddist, while serious, does not compare to the fear being created by the interdepartmental rivalries of the Federal Government. Apparently, Public Health desires the regulatory powers now in FDA. The Department of Interior's wildlife group would like to supersede USDA. The agencies now responsible for pesticide regulation must defend themselves.

While over a period of time interagency agreements are reported, the conflict of interest apparently continues.

The winner gets the public funds for buildings, much wasted research, larger staffs, more bureaucratic control.

The scare techniques have had, however, both a beneficial and an adverse effect, but in a reverse manner.

They have been profitable and beneficial to: (1) Publicity seeking legislators, (2) nature groups who have increased membership and income; (3) some public administrators, anxious for more funds, more unnecessary research—which by law in the case of pesticides is the responsibility of the manufacturer; (4) among others, authors and publishers who have made fortunes by publishing scare material.

Those who have been injured are:

1. The general public who must use pesticides on the farm, in the home, and in public health programs.

2. Segments of the chemical industry, responsible by law to prove safety to Government agencies before sale. (Already all small and medium manufacturers of basic products have been eliminated due to extreme technical requirements.)

3. Large companies consider seriously the investment of huge sums of money for research which after approval by Government can be destroyed by fear programs based on meager or no research findings.

4. Competent scientists in FDA, USDA, and the land-grant colleges have been injured or discredited as their judgments and decisions have been, without substantial scientific information, questioned.

5. Segments of the food industry have been forced at great expense to reassure the public both here and abroad of the safety of American food products.

INDUSTRY NOT CONSULTED

New regulations and interpretations, some under pressure of minority groups, have been the cause of undue fear. "No residue in milk" creates an impossible situation, known to anyone acquainted with modern analytical procedures.

The procedure of establishing tolerances on an analytical method instead of determining safety on toxicity and medical research also is a source of confusion.

For many years, beginning at the time of World War I until the development of the scare campaigns about 1960, the production and use of pesticides was a cooperative effort in the public interest.

In my opinion today industry is not being adequately consulted on anticipated Government actions, has little or no representation on or before the numerous committees of the Federal agencies investigating the pesticide problem (e.g., the Weisner Committee), although by law it is their responsibility to provide a pesticide safe for use as directed.

To develop a pesticide, millions must be spent on research. To destroy a product, a few statements with little or no research is all that is required.

The 150th Anniversary of "The Star-Spangled Banner"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, 150 years ago today Francis Scott Key penned the immortal words which have become our national anthem. His inspiration came as he watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Md., and were written in praise of the American flag flying over the fort.

As we commemorate the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" on this 150th anniversary, I think it fitting that all four stanzas of Francis Scott Key's original poem be included here in the RECORD:

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

(By Francis Scott Key)

O say can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bomb bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there,
O say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream,
'Tis the star-spangled banner—O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a Country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation!
Blest with vict'ry and peace may the heaven rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto "In God is our trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

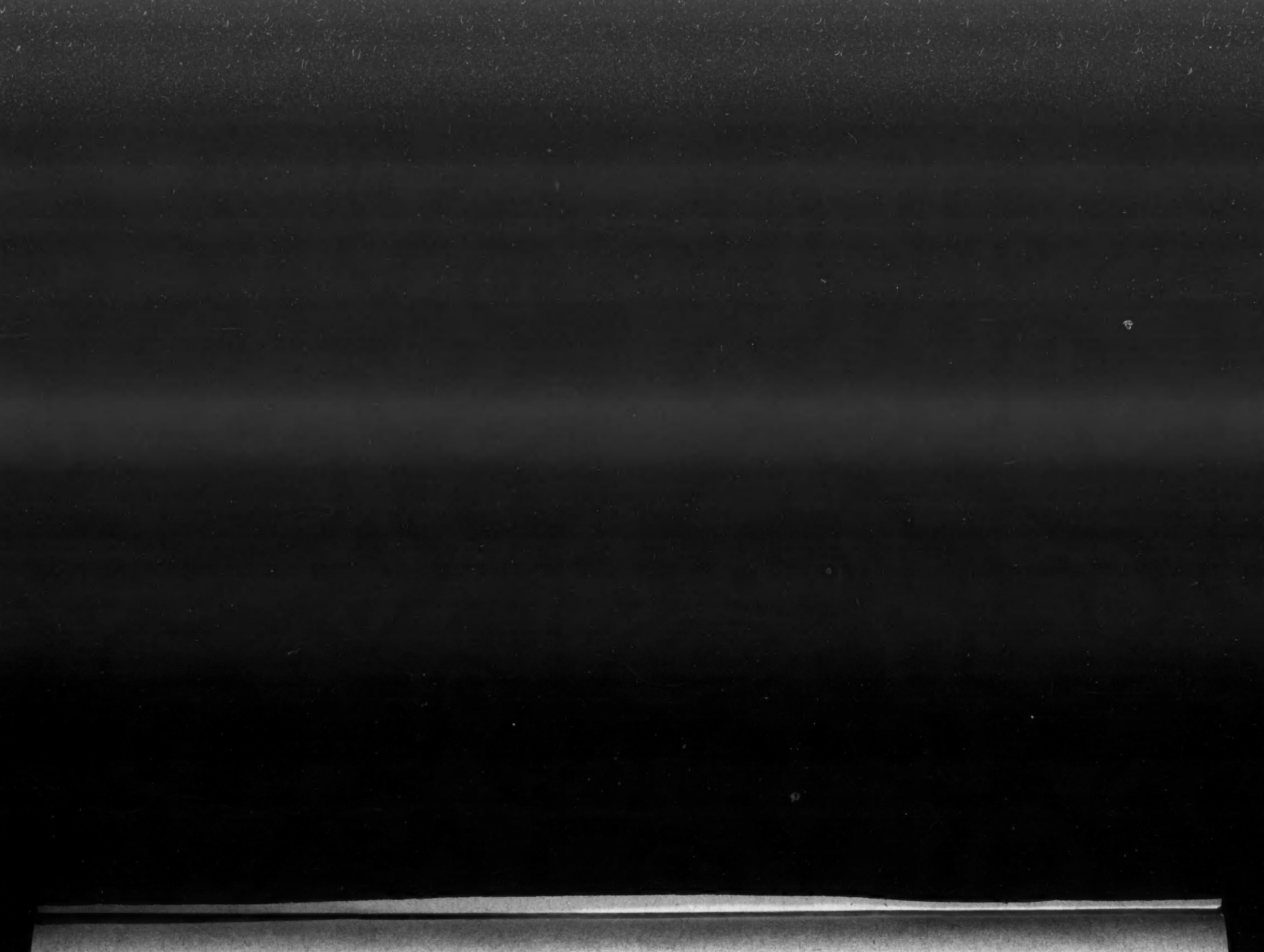

Appendix

Weymouth GI Saves Refugee at Berlin Wall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members the heroic action of Pfc. Hans Puhl, of Weymouth, Mass., which is in my congressional district. Hans' courage in assisting East German refugees across the Berlin wall is a fine example of the spirit of freedom and determination of our young people today.

I would also like to bring the entire story to the attention of the Members as it appeared in two of our fine Boston daily papers, the Boston Globe and the Boston Herald.

The articles follow:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Sept. 14, 1964]

WEYMOUTH GI SAVES BERLIN WALL REFUGEE—THROWS TEAR GAS AT REDS

BERLIN.—A young and handsome U.S. soldier Sunday saved the life of a refugee at the Berlin wall while West Berlin police and Communist East German border guards fought a dramatic 40-minute gun battle.

No one was killed, but the refugee was hit by five Red submachinegun bullets before the American pulled him across the wall to safety. A West Berlin woman and a man were hit by flying glass and splinters as the Communist bullets smashed into a West Berlin apartment house.

An East German guard also may have been wounded, but this could not be confirmed. Eyewitnesses said they saw an East German guard being carried off on a stretcher.

The hero of the fight, longest since the wall was built 3 years ago, was Sp4c. Hans Puhl, 22, an immigrant from Germany who last lived at 1530 Commercial Street in East Weymouth.

Puhl was on military police patrol, riding in a car with a West Berlin policeman.

At a news conference later Sunday, Puhl said he went to the second story window of an apartment house near the wall and saw the refugee on the ground.

"Two East German guards were pulling on him and I pointed my rifle at them and told them to let him go.

"When they did not let him go, I threw a tear gas grenade across the wall in the hope that they would stop bothering the refugee and they did," Puhl said. He spoke with a slight German accent and in a clipped manner as if he were giving a military report.

Puhl said he then ran back to the wall, about 10 feet from the apartment house, gave his rifle to a West Berlin policeman and pulled out his pistol.

"Two West Berliners boosted me up so that I could see across the wall and I called to the refugee not to move and that we were going to cut the wire."

The wall at that point is about 7 feet high, topped with a thick layer of barbed wire.

The Communist guards opened fire when Puhl looked over the wall.

At that point, West Berlin police opened fire with their automatic carbines from windows on each floor of the nearby four-story apartment house.

An eyewitness said two East Germans had reached the refugee, one pulling him and the other pointing a pistol at Puhl.

"The American pulled his own pistol from the holster, aimed at the East German and said in German: 'Drop him and get away from here.'"

However, Puhl himself gave a different version of this, saying he saw no weapons on the East Germans and that his own pistol was not actually pointed at them.

"The American was a real hero to sit up there on the wall under fire," a woman eyewitness said. "I even heard a West Berlin policeman say to the American: 'Hans get down, you also have only one life.'"

Puhl again denied this, saying he was not sitting atop the wall but "looking over." He said, however, bullets were smashing into the concrete near him "and showered me with debris."

Meanwhile, two West Berliners had gotten a stepladder and wirecutters. They stood on the ladder and cut the wire, which took about 10 minutes. Firing continued sporadically.

Firemen, who had also arrived at the scene, handed Puhl a rope. He made a loop and dropped it over the refugee who had dragged himself to the wall.

"We got the rope on him and pulled him across. He passed out when we got him over," the tall, blond soldier said.

The refugee was identified as Michael Meyer, 21, from the East German town of Fredersdorf near Berlin. He was hit twice in one thigh, once in the shoulder, and two bullets grazed one hand and a foot. He was described as recovering satisfactorily.

Helping to pull the refugee over the wall were two West Berliners and a U.S. Army sergeant, who by then had arrived with three other soldiers.

Asked what he was thinking when he was at the wall, Puhl replied:

"I don't think I thought much about anything other than to get the refugee across."

Puhl said he was adopted by an American soldier—S. Sgt. Vasio Makarevicz now stationed at Fort Knox, Ky.—and came to the United States in 1961. He entered the Army in 1961 and has been stationed in West Berlin for 3½ months.

PUHL RAISED IN WAR, NO STRANGER IN DANGER

WEYMOUTH.—Hans-Werner Puhl, 22, is no stranger to traits of discipline and self-preservation.

The German-born soldier who became a hero at the Berlin wall Sunday grew up in war-ravaged portions of Germany and France and has been in an Army family since.

His spontaneous outburst of courage in the face of gunfire came as no surprise to his aunt, Mrs. Nunzie Daniele of 577 Ralph Talbot Street, South Weymouth, who has watched the young man grow since he came to America in 1956.

Described by Mrs. Daniele as quiet, more mature acting than his American contemporaries, and aggressive, Sp4c. Puhl has kept his aunt informed of his moves with the Army and impressions of military life.

Born in Bremen, Germany, in 1942, Puhl enlisted in the Army as soon as he became 18, imitating his stepfather, Sgt. S. Valso Makarawic, who has been in 24 years. His divorced father is now a factory foreman in Austria. Puhl has visited him several times while on leave.

Puhl became a U.S. citizen after returning to Fort Dix, N.J., with his Army family following 6 years in France.

He finished high school while in the Army and reported to his South Weymouth relatives his pleasure at being named company interpreter during their tour in Germany. He also escaped kitchen duty in the process.

Puhl recently reenlisted for another tour with the Army, on condition that he be able to remain in Germany.

The tall blond soldier wrote Mrs. Daniele when he was transferred to Berlin. "I have read about the Berlin wall, but until you see it you can't imagine how much of a wall of shame it really is."

Puhl discovered disappointment while at Fort Dix when an unnamed benefactor died shortly before making final arrangements for the schooling and support of the young man.

But he also had survived the war years in Germany and the hunger-ridden postwar period following Germany's defeat.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald, Sept. 14, 1964]

WEYMOUTH GI HERO IN BERLIN—SAVES REFUGEE IN GUNFIGHT

(By John Koehler)

BERLIN.—A young and handsome U.S. soldier from South Weymouth, Mass., climbed the Berlin wall and saved the life of a refugee Sunday while West Berlin police and Communist East German border guards fought a dramatic 40-minute gun battle.

No one was killed but the refugee was hit by five Red submachinegun bullets before the American pulled him across the wall to safety. A West Berlin woman and a man were hit by flying glass and splinters as Communist bullets smashed into a West Berlin apartment house.

LONGEST BATTLE

An East German guard also may have been wounded but this could not be confirmed. Eyewitnesses said they saw an East German guard being carried off on a stretcher.

Hero of the fight, longest since the wall was built 3 years ago, was Sp4c. Hans Puhl, 22, an immigrant from Germany who lived at 577 Ralph Talbot Street, South Weymouth, with his aunt, Mrs. Nunzie Daniele.

POINTED RIFLE

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CLIMBED WALL

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A REAL HERO

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Puhl again denied this, saying he was not sitting atop the wall but "looking over." He said, however, bullets were smashing into the concrete near him "and showered me with debris."

Meanwhile, two West Berliners had gotten a stepladder and wirecutters. They stood on the ladder and cut the wire, which took about 10 minutes. Firing continued sporadically.

Firemen, who had also arrived at the scene, handed Puhl a rope. He made a loop and dropped it over the refugee who had dragged himself to the wall.

PULLED HIM ACROSS

"We got the rope on him and pulled him across. He passed out when we got him over," the tall, blond soldier said.

The refugee was identified as Michael Meyer, 21, from the East German town of Fredersdorf, near Berlin. He was hit twice in one thigh, once in the shoulder, and two bullets grazed one hand and foot. He was described as recovering satisfactorily.

Helping to pull the refugee over the wall were two West Berliners and a U.S. Army sergeant, who by then had arrived with three other soldiers.

Asked what he was thinking when he was at the wall, Puhl replied:

"I don't think I thought much about anything other than to get the refugee across."

"If it had not been for the Americans," an eyewitness said, "the refugee never would have reached the West."

Puhl said the rescue would not have been possible without the West Berlin police, the fire department, and two civilians.

An ambulance, which had arrived at the scene shortly after the first shots were fired, took Meyer to a nearby hospital.

WITNESS REPORTS

The woman witness told this story of the fire fight:

"I woke up when the shooting started and roused my 19-year-old son. I ran into the hall and up to the first-floor window.

"I saw a man lying in front of the barbed wire fence which is about 10 meters (30 feet) from the wall. I thought he was dead. Then he raised his head and the border guards fired again.

"The man then crawled slowly underneath the wire. He pulled himself up and again there were shots. I suddenly heard a funny noise near me and my son shouted bullets were hitting the house.

"Then, two guards ran to the man and pulled him toward the wall—I guess they did this so they would not be seen from the western side.

"It was a terrible scene. That man—no that boy—never uttered a sound. I could see when he was hit and he never screamed. It was eerie.

"I heard them dragging the man along the wall and at that moment the American got up to the wall."

The incident occurred in the Kreuzberg district of the U.S. sector, about 900 yards east of Checkpoint Charlie.

Before reaching the wall on the East side, there is a 300-foot "security zone" broken by two barbed wire barricades. East German police are posted in towers and bunkers in such a way that they have a clear field of vision of the entire area.

HERO WAS BORN IN GERMANY: STEPSON OF U.S. ARMY SERGEANT

Pfc. Hans Puhl, 22, who held East German border guards off at gunpoint and aided an escaping German refugee, is a South Weymouth resident who immigrated to this country from Germany with his parents in 1956.

The stepson of an Army sergeant, Puhl established his legal residence with an aunt, Mrs. Veronina Daniel, of 577 Ralph Talbot Street, South Weymouth. Yesterday, she said Puhl's action was something "it would be just exactly like him to do."

His mother, Wilma, who lives with her second husband, Sgt. Vaslo E. Makarewicz, a career Army man, in Fort Knox, Ky., asked "He isn't hurt, is he?" when told of her son's actions.

Speaking in broken English, Mrs. Makarewicz said "I'm proud of him. I feel very excited." She was assured that her son escaped unscathed from the gun battle and said, "I'm shocked, I'm surprised."

Puhl joined the Army 4 years ago.

MADE AN MP

After completing basic training at Fort Jackson, S.C., he was sent to Germany. Because of his knowledge of German he was transferred from the infantry to the military police where he served as an interpreter.

He attended school at Fort Dix where his stepfather was stationed. Mrs. Daniels, who lives at the South Weymouth address with her husband, Nunzie, said Puhl considered the Berlin wall a "shame."

"He told me in letters that the Russians should never have been allowed to build it," Mrs. Daniels said.

Puhl's parents were divorced several years ago. His father now lives in Austria.

For a time Puhl lived with his mother and stepfather at Fort Jackson, where his stepfather was stationed.

Ukrainian-American Resolution in Tribute to Senator Scott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the executive officers of the Ukrainian-American Republican Association of Philadelphia, Pa., have presented a resolution praising the efforts and service of our colleague, the Senator from Pennsylvania, HUGH SCOTT. I was most impressed with this fine resolution and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN AMERICAN REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA

(Presented by the executive officers of the organization on behalf of the Honorable HUGH SCOTT for his meritorious work on behalf of the Ukrainian community of Pennsylvania and the Ukrainian cause.)

Whereas Senator HUGH SCOTT has diligently supported the erection of the statue of Taras Shevchenko in Washington, D.C., the Ukrainian poet who believed and fought for liberty and freedom for all nations; and

Whereas Senator HUGH SCOTT had supported the Captive Nations Week resolution passed by the U.S. Congress in July 1959, Ukraine being one of the largest enslaved nations; and

Whereas Senator HUGH SCOTT has intervened on behalf of Ukrainians desiring to immigrate to the United States;

Whereas Senator HUGH SCOTT has in the past attended and supported many of the Ukrainian civic affairs throughout the State of Pennsylvania: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Ukrainian American Republican Association of Pennsylvania, That in order to vitalize the Senate in the fight against communism and Russian imperialism the enemy of Ukraine and the entire free world including the United States every American citizen of Ukrainian descent take cognizance of Senator HUGH SCOTT's strong stand against communism and his sympathetic understanding of the flight of the captive nations and support of the cause of their eventual liberation.

That all American citizens of Ukrainian descent regardless of party affiliation support Senator HUGH SCOTT in the November 1964 election; and

That all Ukrainian American organizations conduct a mail campaign supporting Senator HUGH SCOTT; and finally

That all American citizens of Ukrainian descent conduct a telephone campaign and remind their friends of the support given Ukrainians by Senator HUGH SCOTT.

Signed.

PAUL PANAMARENKO,
Chairman.
IGNATIUS M. BILLINSKY,
Executive Vice Chairman.
WILLIAM NEZOWY, Jr.
Executive Secretary.
MICHAEL SMYLIE,
Director.

States and Cities Withholding Taxes Not Actually Payable From Truckdrivers, Railroad Employees, and Airline Pilots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, one of the unfinished items of the business of this Congress is the enactment of my bill, H.R. 10743, which would relieve truckdrivers, railroad employees, and airline pilots of the burden of having

taxes withheld from their paychecks by cities and States where they actually do not owe taxes to those cities and States.

The problems of the cities and States withholding on employees who are engaged in interstate commerce, such as interstate truckdrivers, came to my attention because of the fact that I have a great many such drivers living in my district. The problem is that a number of cities and States are insisting on withholding on a pro rata basis the men's wages on what is in my opinion a tenuous basis.

For example, in the case of one State, the taxing authorities will withhold a pro rata share of the driver's wages if he just drives his truck through a corner of the State in the middle of the night.

The second point to be made is that all employee and employer associations and organizations are in agreement on the necessity for some kind of legislation in this field and the benefits that will come from it, and the inequities that will be corrected by the enactment of this bill.

And the third point to be made is that this legislation has no effect whatsoever on the States rights or powers to tax. That is a completely separate question. My bill goes only to their right to withhold taxes. It appears from the record that some cities and States are taking advantage of the withholding device to get taxes from truckdrivers and others when, really, they do not have a basic right to levy a tax.

Once again, I urge the Congress to give its immediate attention to this matter.

The Too-Skillful President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial entitled "The Too-Skillful President," which appeared in the Tulsa World, on September 6, 1964:

THE TOO-SKILLFUL PRESIDENT

The more we see of Lyndon B. Johnson in action around Washington, the more we are inclined to view him with apprehension. And the reason—ridiculous as it may seem—is that he simply is too efficient at what he sets out to do.

Are we saying, then, that he is a great President but we just don't care for him personally? Not at all. We see him as a man of surpassing skill in the political phase of his job. That particular talent can lead to dangers as well as to benefits.

The President is a masterful politician; there can be no doubt about that. He knows how to get things done in the political world—and he doesn't hesitate to get them done. Our quarrel comes over the kind of goals he sets.

Specifically, L.B.J. shines with floodlight brilliance at the business—or is it a game?—of pushing legislation through Congress. He has been at it so long, his skill is so great and his drive so persistent, that he has become an irresistible force. Apparently he can pass almost any bill he wants to sponsor.

The late President Kennedy was a tremendously popular man of high intellect—even though we disagreed with most of his philosophy. But he was never especially adept in the congressional batter's box. Quite a few proposals with his imprint foundered in Congress or had to ride out long delays. Neither in Congress nor as President was he a whiz at passing bills.

Although L.B.J. had to stand in the Kennedy shadow in the early New Frontier years, when he finally emerged as the boss he quickly demonstrated he was far superior to J.F.K. at getting Congress to act.

In the 10 months since moving into the White House his administration has brought a number of major Kennedy bills through Congress—including civil rights, the income tax cut, the urban transit bill, and the Federal pay raise. Pushing onward, he has steered through the Johnson antipoverty bill and has even managed to win Senate approval of the old Kennedy nemesis, medicare through social security.

No doubt these accomplishments mark him with greatness to those who share his philosophy. But to Americans who distrust the ever-growing Federal powerhouse and who do not believe it is possible to spend our country into riches, peace, or Utopia, this is a man to be feared.

There appears to be no legislation he cannot pass. He seems to mesmerize Congress—but not with magic. It is simply that he understands and uses power politics so well that he dominates both the executive and legislative branches.

In this phase of his work, paradoxically, he is much too experienced, much too gifted for the Nation's good. Our regret is that he does not have less talent for passing liberal legislation and a great deal more for handling problems like those in South Vietnam.

Dies Supports Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note in the September 3, 1964, issue of the Lufkin, Tex., News that former Congressman Martin Dies, Sr., Texas Democrat, has announced his support of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican candidate for President.

Martin Dies is one of the most able and distinguished men ever to serve in the House of Representatives. He was the chairman of what was originally known as the Dies committee, later to become the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Through the years Dies fought to stop the Communist infiltration of this Nation and its Government. Often he was compelled to fight members of his own party in order to continue the committee and the investigation of Communist activities. His book, "The Martin Dies Story," reveals in detail the efforts, often underhanded, of those who should have cooperated but instead tried in every way possible to scuttle his investigations.

This is one Texan of unquestioned integrity and courage, and the citizens of the United States owe him a far greater debt of gratitude than they will ever know.

Following is the article from the Lufkin, Tex., News:

Former Congressman Martin Dies, Sr., of Lufkin has announced his support of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the Republican nominee for President.

In announcing his decision to support GOLDWATER over President Lyndon B. Johnson, Congressman Dies declared, "I feel that if I vote my approval of the means by which Lyndon Johnson reached the White House, I would make a mockery of the great principles of honesty and sincerity which most Americans profess and which are the cornerstone of free governments."

He told the Lufkin News he not only referred specifically to the disputed 1948 election when Johnson first won a seat in the Senate over Coke Stevenson but "to other happenings since Johnson came to Washington penniless as a Congressman in 1937."

Johnson was elected over Stevenson by 87 votes in the 1948 Democratic primary. Returns from Jim Wells County, a part of the political empire of George Parr of Duval County, were challenged by Stevenson, who won a district court injunction pending a court of inquiry into charges of fraud.

Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black summarily dissolved the injunction, ended the district court's investigation, and paved the way for Johnson to get the Democratic nomination.

In referring to this and other events, Dies' prepared statement continued: "Those means are matters of public record so that no citizen can plead ignorance or deception. This election is a supreme test of this country's sincerity in its lofty professions. Therefore, it is my intention to support Senator BARRY GOLDWATER."

Congressman Dies first was elected to Congress from the old Second District in 1930 and served through 1944. He later served as Congressman at Large from Texas from 1953 through 1956.

During his first terms in office, he won international fame as chairman of the Dies Committee, now the Committee on Un-American Activities. He warned the Nation of dangers from communism that were proven correct in ensuing years, although at the time he and his committee were bitterly opposed by the Democratic administration.

Since retiring as Congressman at Large, Dies has maintained law offices in Lufkin.

Dr. Norman A. Welch: A Great Man of Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, last week it was my sad experience to attend the funeral of Dr. Norman A. Welch, an outstanding physician, teacher, and leader who, throughout his life, made many significant contributions both to his profession and to his country. It was my privilege to know Dr. Welch for a number of years, first in connection with his many activities in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and more recently through his leadership of the American Medical Association, which frequently brought him to testify in Washington be-

fore the Ways and Means and other committees. In all of these years Dr. Welch has always represented the highest standards of diligence and devotion to his profession and to the health of the American people. He was an excellent citizen and a fine person, and he will be greatly missed.

Dr. Welch's medical career was marked from the beginning with many honors and accomplishments. He served as president of his class at Tufts during all 4 years of medical school and graduated summa cum laude. For nearly 25 years he taught at both Tufts and Boston University School of Medicine while continuing to practice his specialty, internal medicine. In addition to these responsibilities Dr. Welch also assumed the duties of president and physician in chief of Carney Hospital in Boston and at the time of his death was a consultant physician to five Massachusetts hospitals. He also had held office in the Massachusetts Medical Society, had served as president of the Council of New England Medical Societies, and had been both a member and chairman of the Massachusetts Approving Authority for Nurses and Attendant Nurses Training Schools.

Impressive as it is, this is only the beginning of the list of Dr. Norman Welch's contributions to his profession. The Members of the House will be interested to know that Dr. Welch was one of the founding members of Blue Shield, the nonprofit prepayment insurance program which covers medical services. Dr. Welch had served as president of the Massachusetts Blue Shield plan since 1950 and from 1955 to 1958 was chairman of the National Blue Shield Commission.

Dr. Welch began his service to the American Medical Association in 1951 when he was elected to the house of delegates. After 8 years as a member of that body, he was elected speaker of the house of delegates and held that position for 4 years until his election as president-elect by acclamation in 1963. In June of this year Dr. Welch was formally installed as the 118th president of the American Medical Association at its convention in San Francisco. On that occasion he stated, "I am aware of the responsibilities of my new position, and I pledge all the dedication at my command in discharging these responsibilities." Unfortunately, Dr. Welch had only a few months in which to serve the American Medical Association as its president, but while he served, he served well and did indeed discharge his responsibilities "with all the dedication at his command."

In his inaugural address for which he chose the theme, "Unity in Medicine," Dr. Welch told his audience:

I need not remind you that the professional responsibilities of a physician encompass three major areas: the science, the art, and the socioeconomic and political aspects of medicine.

Proficiency in the science of medicine is not enough; medical knowledge must be skillfully and sympathetically applied to each patient. Moreover, every physician should be cognizant of, and interested in, the socioeconomic impact of illness upon his patient and the community in which he lives, as well as the potential effect of Government-sponsored programs on the practice of medicine.

This statement of professional ideals coming so close to the end of his life was really a summation of the code by which Dr. Norman Welch had conducted his own long and distinguished career. He was interested and active in all the facets of his profession; he carried enormous organizational responsibilities without forgetting his patients, and always his concern was for the health and well-being of all the American people. He was truly a great man of medicine.

An article from the Brockton, Mass., Daily Enterprise of September 4, 1964, follows:

DR. NORMAN WELCH, AMA HEAD, BROCKTON NATIVE, DIES AT 63—BROCKTON HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE IN CLASS OF 1920; WIDELY TRAVELED

A native Brocktonian, Dr. Norman A. Welch, 63, president of the American Medical Association, died Thursday night at Jackson, Wyo., after being stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage Wednesday night.

Dr. Welch died at 9:30 p.m. in St. John's Hospital after emergency surgery performed by Dr. Frank Soroosh, of Casper, Wyo. Dr. Soroosh, a brain surgeon, performed the 1½-hour operation assisted by a team of doctors led by Dr. Brendan P. Phibbs, of Casper.

Dr. Welch was stricken at Jackson Lake Lodge, where he was about to address the Wyoming Medical Association at their annual banquet. Dr. Welch was stricken in his room, shortly before he was to leave for the banquet.

The AMA leader had complained earlier in the evening of feeling ill, it was reported. Doctors believed at first that he had suffered a heart attack.

At the doctor's bedside when he died was his wife, Katherine, who had flown to Jackson Wednesday to attend the banquet with her husband.

Dr. Welch had served the cause of medicine faithfully for more than 30 years. He was a practicing physician, official of medical associations, including the Blue Cross and Blue Shield, and was elected president of the 200,000-member AMA in 1963. He was the eighth doctor from the Commonwealth to be elected AMA president.

He was chairman of the AMA's house of delegates, the association's policymaking body, from 1959 to 1963 before becoming AMA president.

During his term as president he sought to unite medicine by bringing the various specialty groups into closer contact through the association.

Dr. Welch, who graduated from Brockton High School in 1920, began his medical career at Tufts University where he was president of his class at the school of medicine, graduating summa cum laude in 1926.

He served his internship and residency at Carney Hospital. Later he was clinical professor of medicine at Tufts and from 1933–43, served as an instructor in medicine at Boston University School of Medicine.

At the time of his death he was consulting physician to six hospitals: Carney, Leominster, Metropolitan State, Community, Winthrop, and Marlboro Hospitals.

He served as president of the Carney Hospital staff and was president of the Council of New England Medical Societies.

The New England Journal of Medicine said Dr. Welch "guides with a quiet persuasiveness, backed by sound judgment and reason," in describing his administrative technique.

Besides his AMA duties he served as assistant treasurer of the Massachusetts Medical Society, 3 years as president of the National Association of Blue Shield plans and resigned as president of the Massachusetts Blue Shield when elected AMA president.

He traveled more than 100,000 miles during the past year fulfilling his functions as AMA president.

While engaging in private practice, Dr. Welch specialized in internal medicine.

He was married in 1928 to the former Katherine Hayes, of Brockton. They had four daughters, Katherine Jane, Mary, and Sarah, and a son, Norman A., Jr. The Welch family lives at 644 Weld Street, West Roxbury.

Dr. Welch was a communicant of St. Theresa's Church, West Roxbury, and was a member of Boston's famed Clover Club. He also served as former chief of Clan MacDonald, OSC, of Brockton.

Not Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, the following article speaks for itself. No further comment is necessary:

NOT GOLDWATER

Following is part of the text of a speech prepared for Democratic vice-presidential nominee HUBERT HUMPHREY by a ghostwriter in Indianapolis, but which Senator HUMPHREY for some reason did not deliver:

"This Democratic administration presided over the Bay of Pigs fiasco, pulling back crucial air cover and allowing Cuban freedom fighters to be slaughtered by Fidel Castro.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has cracked down still further on exile forces trying to combat Castro and allowed allied trade with the Cuban dictator to increase by hundreds of millions of dollars.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration by its own confession lied to the American people about the Cuban missile buildup in the summer and fall of 1962, bringing grave danger to our Nation.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has presided over the disarray and collapse of the NATO Alliance.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This administration stood by idly while the East German Communists built the Berlin Wall in violation of the postwar treaties and imprisoned freemen and murdered those who attempted to escape.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This administration violated its pledge to defend Laos against communism and helped topple the anti-Red government of Prince Boun Oum by withholding promised grants-in-aid.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration financed and supplied confessed acts of aggression and brutality against the anti-Red African state of Katanga, subjugating it to the anti-Western Central Government of the Congo.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This administration connived in the overthrow of the anti-Communist Diem government of South Vietnam which led to the murder of the ousted President.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has phased out American manned bombers and pulled back intermediate-range missile bases in order to 'ease Soviet anxieties.'

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This administration believes the Communists are mellowing and that they will stop bothering us if only we are nice to them and show them we are willing to make concessions.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has supplied a haven for con men and grafters like Billie Sol Estes and Bobby Baker, the last named being described by President Lyndon Johnson as 'my strong right arm.'

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has set new records for distortion and manipulation of news, openly announced its willingness to lie to the American people, censored and muzzled military officers, leaked confidential information to discredit private citizens, engaged in wiretapping and harassment of dissenters.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has bestowed a $50,000 award on Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, declared a security risk by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954, and has moved to dismantle the security apparatus of the American State Department.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This administration has publicly embraced the radical Americans for Democratic Action, symbolized by my own candidacy, which is the American counterpart of the Fabian Socialists in Great Britain, dedicated to collectivism at home and appeasement abroad.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration has racked up multibillioned deficits in the past 4 years, injecting immense inflationary pressure into the economy and bringing the cost of living to a new alltime high.

"But not Senator GOLDWATER.

"This Democratic administration in short, has plugged steadfastly toward calamity and chaos in the world struggle with communism. It has worked unremittingly toward the centralization of power and the destruction of American constitutional checks and balances.

"But not, needless to say, Senator GOLDWATER."

Legislative Research Team of Congressman Fred Schwengel, of Iowa, Compiles Impressive Record of Legislative Studies

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, few Members of Congress call upon the talent of the colleges in their districts with the same success as Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL, of the First District of Iowa, does.

Ever since he came to Congress in 1955, SCHWENGEL has looked to the campus for constructive ideas and significant research. His legislative research team at the State University of Iowa has compiled an impressive record of legislative studies and I feel it appropriate to present a summary of this activity as an example of a resource which is available to all Members if an effort is made to develop it.

The summary follows:

SUMMARY OF CONGRESSMAN FRED SCHWENGEL'S LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH TEAM AT STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Students have always been given top priority in the office of Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL. Besides entertaining over 100 college students and professors in his home under his "Week in Washington" program during his first 10 years in Congress, SCHWENGEL has also maintained a research team of college students at the State University of Iowa.

Dr. Russell Ross, of the political science department, supervised the program from the beginning and was later joined by Dr. Dell Wright, also of the political science department, as the activity grew. Fifteen college students have been members of SCHWENGEL's research team during the years it has been in operation.

Beginning in 1955 with just one team member, SCHWENGEL expanded the team to three members and now has three researchers on a regular basis. They are supplemented by two other researchers who are on Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER'S staff.

Projects developed and researched by the team have been varied and cover a wide range of materials.

From the beginning the team has worked on the problems of financing higher education. Surveys were made to determine who bears the major expense of a student's college education. Different plans were explored and legislation was considered, introduced, and later refined. Finally the Iowa plan for growth and progress in higher education evolved out of the years of work and study. Taking the tax credit approach to financing the costs of a college education, the Iowa plan consists of three phases. The first two are in bill form, H.R. 22 in the 88th Congress. The team is still working on phase III, hoping to get it into bill form soon.

Problems confronted by the small businessman have been another major concern of the research team. Interviews were conducted, questionnaires sent out, meetings held, in an attempt to pinpoint the problems of the main street businessman and to develop answers to them.

A number of bills to help small business were introduced by Congressman SCHWENGEL as a result of the work of the research team. One of them, a bill to allow independent oil jobbers to pay their Federal gasoline tax after they sold the gas instead of before they sold it, was included as an amendment to a more inclusive tax measure. The efforts of the team and Congressman SCHWENGEL were primarily responsible for its inclusion in the broader tax bill. This provision has solved to a great extent the problems of enough working capital for the small oil jobber.

Three other bills were introduced by Congressman SCHWENGEL on behalf of the small businessman. During the summer of 1958 three members of the Congressman's research team—William O'Connell, Arthur Kudart, and Lloyd Courter, along with team adviser Prof. Russell Ross—appeared before the House Select Committee on Small Business to present their findings and recommendations. While in Washington, the team members also consulted with the then Secretary of the Treasury, Robert Anderson, and one of the President's economic advisers, Gabriel Hauge.

The team was well received in Washington and got wide acclaim for their knowledgability of the problems of small business and the solutions they proposed.

But the team did not stop there. After the Small Business Administration was established, a survey was conducted to see what use small businessmen were making of SBA and how it could be improved. Questionnaires were used again on the reaction to quality-stabilization legislation and research was continued on the capital gains tax.

Through the years the team at different times has worked on and researched various other areas, including proposals to revise the electoral college, bill concerning Presidential disability and succession, revision of the food for peace law, Public Law 480, water pollution, minority staffing, and statistical sampling.

A more efficient method of collecting the Federal gasoline tax was also thoroughly researched by the team. Proposals to have the States collect that tax were carefully studied and evaluated.

One of the team's current projects is Mission 76, a proposal to complete all the major watersheds in this country by 1976. As a result, the entire field of soil conservation has been under study by the team. They have become intimately acquainted with the problem and the causes and effects of soil erosion and the procedures needed to combat it.

In the fall of 1962, Congressman SCHWENGEL along with his legislative assistant, Dave Ibsen, and various members of the team, held meetings with soil conservation leaders throughout the First District to get a better insight into the problems and to elicit suggestions as to possible solutions. Records were kept and every participant received a summary of all the meetings held during that fall.

Members of the team have also put on programs on soil conservation for various groups and organizations in the district.

This year the team prepared and distributed a soil conservation kit. It was sent to every newspaper, weekly and daily, in the First District to coincide with Iowa Soil and Water Conservation Week in June (14–20).

The contributions made by the research team and their advisers have been extremely helpful and valuable to Congressman SCHWENGEL. They have enabled him to better serve the people of the First Congressional District. These college students have made and continue to make a significant contribution and to perform a great public service.

RESEARCH TEAM ACTIVITIES

Years 1956–57

1. Survey of parents of State University of Iowa students on educational costs.

2. Oil jobbers interview-research problem on prepayment of independent oil jobbers of Federal tax on gasoline.

3. Problems of small business taxes:

a. Must work under same tax codes as big business.

b. Needed definition of small business.

4. Work and research on loan help to farms.

5. Tax credit research—first bill introduced.

Year 1958

1. Poll of oil jobbers.

2. Testimony before Select Committee on Small Business:

a. Increase in surtax exemption from $25,000 to $100,000.

b. Provide for rapid amortization for depreciable assets over 5 years.

c. Provide additional $30,000 deduction for depreciable assets over 5 years.

3. Held meetings with small businessmen.

Year 1959

1. Did research on which agency or group should administer small business grant.

2. Questionnaires to small business about services of SBA use of those services. Extensive research on feasibility of small business extension service.

3. Research on education cost and possible drafts for bills. Analyzed cost expenditure of education—who pays for the student's education.

4. Did research work on quality stabilization.
5. Did research on capital gains tax.

Year 1960

1. Conducted extensive item veto study.

Year 1961

1. Continuing work on tax credit bills.
2. Research on proposals to revise the electoral college.
3. Research on tax collection of Federal gas tax by States.
4. Started work on Mission 76.

Year 1962

1. More research on fair trade legislation.
2. Continued study of Federal gasoline tax.
3. Continued study of watersheds.
4. Study of problems of small business.
a. Fair trade questionnaire.
b. Polled druggists and hardware dealers.
5. Water pollution.

Year 1963

1. Continuing work on soil conservation Mission 76.
a. Work on farm unemployment.
2. Continuing work on State collection of Federal gas tax.
3. Extension work on soil conservation.
a. Explored avenues to fulfill Mission 76 under State and Federal Governments.
4. Supplemented research on minority staffing.
5. Presented soil conservation program to county committees.

MEMBERS OF SCHWENGEL'S RESEARCH TEAM

Members of Representative SCHWENGEL'S research team are: Carl Zimmerman, Waterloo; Beth Howard, Imogene; Martha Putney, Gladbrook; William J. O'Connell, Oelwein; Arthur Kudart, Cedar Rapids; Rodney Miller, Des Moines; James Hootman, Davenport; Lloyd Courter, Boone; D. T. Doan, Ainsworth; Bob Downer, Newton; Ivan Ackerman, Allison; Tom Scheuerman, Iowa City; William Burger, Fairfield; Lee Theisen, Sioux City; Richard Winga, Washington; Gene Krekel, Burlington; John Shors, Pocahontas; Charles O. Campbell, Clarion; and Janet Ackerman, Allison.

A Joint Resolution To Settle the Ryukyu Islands Pretreaty Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a joint resolution to authorize a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injury of persons, and for use or damage to private property, arising from acts and omissions of the U.S. Armed Forces, or members thereof, after August 15, 1945, and before April 28, 1952.

This is the same joint resolution—with a minor change in the recitals—that was recommended to the Congress by the Secretary of the Army, with the concurrence of the Department of State by letters dated August 26, 1964, and which was thereupon introduced in the Senate by Senator FULBRIGHT and others on September 8, 1964, as Senate Joint Resolution 199.

I am gratified that this proposal has finally been sent to the Congress by the administration, because I have been concerned about this subject since I came to the Congress and have refrained until now from introducing a bill pending receipt of the administration's official recommendation. The joint resolution serves the same objectives as the bills introduced by the then Representative from Hawaii, Senator INOUYE, and others in the 87th Congress, and that was introduced by Senator INOUYE in the present Congress as S. 270.

The purpose of this resolution is to rectify a serious omission in the U.S. administration of the Ryukyu Islands and to do justice to hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants whose relatives were killed, or who were injured, or who suffered deprivation of property through the acts of our Armed Forces during the period following the termination of hostilities and prior to the Treaty of Peace with Japan. The United States exercised direct and exclusive governmental authority at that time, and we had substantial forces in Okinawa in the strategic interest of the United States, not simply as a consequence of the war against Japan.

The claims of the people affected have been analyzed and reviewed by a joint committee established by our High Commissioner in the Ryukyus, in consequence of which they were scaled down from $43 million, as originally submitted, to approximately $22 million. This includes claims for personal injury and death, for land rentals for the years 1947–50, for restoration of lands released to their owners in damaged condition, for appropriation of water rights, and for damage to buildings and growing crops and trees. Land use claims are not included for the year 1946 because this was a period of postwar adjustment in which owners had generally not yet returned to their lands and produced crops. No interest is included, although the claims have gone uncompensated for 12 years and more.

As a matter of international law, it is unquestioned that the people of Okinawa are entitled to be compensated for these various acts on the part of the U.S. forces. In the main islands, this was done by the Japanese Government under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. In the Ryukyu Islands, there was no financially responsible local government that was able to do this, and the Japanese Government was cut off from all participation. The people of Okinawa have repeatedly presented their claims to the U.S. Government as the administering authority. Since the United States exercised direct and exclusive control during the entire period, there can be no doubt of U.S. responsibility to assure that compensation is effected.

Action on the part of the U.S. Government was delayed by a question with respect to U.S. responsibility in international law to pay the claims, in view of the fact that in the Japanese Peace Treaty, Japan waived all claims of Japanese nationals aginst the United States arising from the war and the occupation of Japanese territory. The executive branch has recommended that without accepting legal responsibility, compensation nevertheless be made by the United States in the recognition of the facts that the individual claimants were, through no fault of their own, left uncompensated during the 7 years of the occupation, contrary to the practice followed in other occupied areas; that the United States, as the administering authority for the Ryukyus is concerned with the well-being of the people; that such payment would promote the security interests of the United States; and that it would foster respect for the spirit of fairplay and equity of the U.S. Government.

In introducing this bill, I should like to stress just two facts: that these sums have been due to the individual claimants now for many years, and that payment by the United States is an act of simple justice in view of our complete responsibility for what occurred in the Ryukyu Islands since 1945.

I realize that it is too late in this Congress for action to be taken upon this bill, but I assume that the proposal will be made again soon afer the 89th Congress convenes, and that it will receive prompt and serious attention in that Congress.

GOP Chairman Files Official Protest About Democrats' Commercial With Fair Campaign Practices Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am submitting herewith the recent release incorporating the protest lodged by the chairman of the Republican National Committee with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee in regard to the low level of Democratic campaign commercials:

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 15.—Dean Burch, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has filed a formal complaint about the low level of Democratic campaign commercials, approved by President Johnson, with Charles P. Taft, chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

In a letter yesterday to Mr. Taft, Chairman Burch charged the Democrats' commercial showing a little girl picking daisies, then an atomic bomb explosion, and a voice persuading voters to support Lyndon Johnson "is designed to arouse basic emotions and has no place in this campaign."

The text of Mr. Burch's letter follows:

"Mr. CHARLES P. TAFT,
"Chairman, Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.,
"New York, N.Y.

"DEAR MR. TAFT: As I promised at the September 11 signing of the Fair Campaign Practices Code, I am entering a formal complaint in regard to the low level television campaign begun by the Democrats with the full approval of Lyndon Johnson.

"As a result of the political commercial shown on the National Broadcasting Co. network at 10 p.m., September 7, in the Wash-

ington, D.C., area and elsewhere, we have learned there have been thousands of complaints throughout the country.

"The vignette in question depicts a small girl pulling daisy petals, an atomic bomb explosion, and then a voice persuading voters to support President Johnson. This horror-type commercial is designed to arouse basic emotions and has no place in this campaign.

"In keeping with the spirit and pledge of high ethical standard adopted by your Committee and now endorsed by the Democratic National Chairman and myself, I demand that you call on the President to halt this smear attack on a United States Senator and the candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency.

"The following appeared in an August 8, 1964, article from the Wall Street Journal which refers to another television spot:

" 'The "call from Khrushchev" may—or may not become a staple of paid network spots this fall. It and similar advertising assaults upon Republicans are among the costly devices Democrats are cranking up for potential use in the coming political campaign. Sometimes the preparations proceed slowly, in part because President Johnson likes to delve deep into details. And in the end only those salvos which he personally approves will be fired off.'

"We feel sure that these tactics will do the President more damage than good, but Senator GOLDWATER has no desire to benefit from a public revulsion. The dignity of democracy must not be permitted to suffer unduly in the heat of a political campaign.

"The fear and scare technique is not new in politics. But its use in the extreme sense to avoid an honest discussion of the issues should not be tolerated.

"I understand that, reprehensible as this Democrat TV spot is, it is only one in a series intended to smear the Republican candidate. The campaign represents a new low in American politics and violates the American sense of fair play and good taste.

"I know of one case where a child watching this Johnson spot was so violently upset that she cried and had nausea all night I am asking the three networks to take this spot off the air as a matter of common decency.

"I am also asking the Advertising Council and the NARTB to look into this matter. This scurrilous road must be abandoned and I urgently request your intercession with Mr. Johnson.

"Sincerely,

"DEAN BURCH, *Chairman.*"

Has Word Come Down From on High To Again Bury Bobby Baker Mess?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, could it be true, as Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS has suggested, that word has come down from on high to again bury the Bobby Baker mess in the Rules Committee of the other body?

The answer to that question will have to be in the affirmative unless the committee acts promptly and all the facts are made known to the American people before November 3.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial on this scandalous business which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of September 13:

NO CONFIDENCE

There is little or no reason why anyone should have any confidence in the Senate's revived "investigation" of the Bobby Baker case. For despite the significant new evidence which has been produced, the Senate apparently is determined to spread a second coat of whitewash on this already-whitewashed political scandal. For our part, we think what the Senate has done is nothing short of disgraceful.

Some weeks ago the Senate Rules Committee hopefully "buried" the Baker case, scrubbed its hands and offered up a small prayer to the effect that all would be forgotten. But there was one man—Delaware's Senator WILLIAMS—who is not the forgetful type.

Had it not been for this Republican there might not have been any investigation of Bobby Baker. Senator WILLIAMS was the moving spirit behind the Democratic majority's hasty peek into the closet where the skeletons were hidden. And it was he who advised the Rules Committee to ascertain, before signing off, the exact amount of the check which Matthew H. McCloskey wrote for the premium on a bond required in connection with the construction of the District of Columbia Stadium. Instead, the committee, for reasons best known to the Democratic majority, accepted the version given in a transatlantic phone call by Mr. McCloskey, who was then Ambassador to Ireland. Mr. McCloskey said the fee was about $73,000. But Senator WILLIAMS has produced a check which indicates that it was approximately $109,000. And the accusation is that part of the difference was a "kickback" which, through Bobby Baker, found its way into Democratic campaign funds.

The Rules Committee had ample reason to call Mr. McCloskey and Don Reynolds, the insurance broker to whom the fee was paid, and to compel them to testify under oath and in public. But the committee, on a straight party-line vote, didn't do so. One of the majority members, Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania, offered this fascinating observation: "I think it is really looking for needles in a haystack to seriously suggest, in view of the very candid statement which Mr. McCloskey has made, that he should be called to testify before this committee."

Well, where do we stand today? The Senate on Thursday, again largely on party-line votes, decided to refer the new investigation, not to a tough investigating committee, but of all things to the Rules Committee. Perhaps the reasoning was that having once whitewashed this squalid business, the Rules Committee at least had the benefit of the experience.

Two things stand out. One is the unwillingness of Senator JORDAN, chairman of the Rules Committee, to give firm assurance that even Mr. McCloskey will be called as a witness in the new investigation. The other is the vote by the Democratic majority in the Senate to deny Republican members of the committee the right to call witnesses.

To us, this smells to high heaven. It has every hallmark of another coverup. Perhaps, as Senator WILLIAMS suggested, the word has come down from on high to bury this malodorous business in the Rules Committee—at least until after the election. At any rate, the Senate's performance last week tends to support the charge by Senator SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, that this revived investigation will be another "fraud on the public." If so, there can be but one proper public reaction—a loud, clear vote of "no confidence" in the Senate of the United States.

A Great Moral Issue: Bobby Baker and the Stero-Taker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am sure you have heard the nursery rhyme which is currently titillating the country—the rhyme about Bobby Baker and the stereo-taker. It really is more of a bedtime story because the explanation which comes from Bobby Baker and his friend, mentor, and close associate, Lyndon Johnson, is believable only to simple-minded people.

The result of the stereo farce is that the stereo set now has become the national symbol for the easy virtue and uneasy morals which seem to abound in Washington today. The most discouraging part of the matter is that the majority party expresses no interest in clearing up the mess. They defy their constitutents to do something about it.

The stereo case epitomizes the ugliest concept in our political life—the kickback. This obviously was standard operating procedure during the reign of Bobby Baker, the follower, disciple and close associate of Lyndon Johnson.

Several characteristics marked Mr. Baker's dealings. One was that he always seemed to make more money than anyone else from his deals; the second was that a kickback nearly always was involved, and the third was that he shared his windfalls with his friends and associates.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an expensive stereo set became the price which Silver Spring Insurance Agent Don Reynolds had to pay in order to write several large life insurance policies on Lyndon Johnson.

The fact of the kickback is indelibly imprinted on the record. At the suggestion of Mr. Baker, Mr. Reynolds purchased a $542.25 stereo set and paid another $42.50 to have the set installed in Mr. Johnson's home.

Mr. Johnson's explanation of the kickback stretches the imagination beyond bounds. He said he assumed it was a gift from Bobby Baker. We are asked to believe this explanation in the face of an invoice—introduced into the record—which shows the bill went to Don Reynolds. Mr. Johnson reads the polls well enough; it is difficult to believe that his eyes failed to record the origin of the kickback.

Over the years we have seen many cases of influence peddling and under-the-table deals. But they pale into insignificance alongside the manipulations of Bobby Baker, a $19,000 clerk who managed to accumulate a fortune valued at nearly $2 million while he was on the public payroll.

Granted that he was an astute young man, it is impossible to believe that Mr. Baker accumulated his fortune without

the knowledge of his close associates, such as Lyndon Johnson.

It is difficult to believe that many bosses would accept $542.25 stereo sets from a $19,000 employee without at least casually wondering what was behind it.

It is difficult to believe that there were not many other kickbacks.

It is difficult to believe that this was not an acceptable procedure as far as Lyndon Johnson and Mr. Baker's other close associates were concerned. If it was not acceptable, one wonders why they made no effort to stop it.

One wonders still further why Mr. Johnson to this day has not publicly deplored the activities of his friend, disciple, and close associate.

In the face of this sordid picture, it is unbelievable to me that the majority party cannot wish to clean up the doubts and the entire mess surrounding Mr. Baker's operations. What a cynical attitude toward Government—to believe that the voter has no right to know about stereo kickbacks and similar deals.

I think the picture presented by the stereo is a miniature of a much larger picture—a picture of the moral decay which has beset our Government. If we value our Government, we had better do something about ridding ourselves of this infestation; otherwise it will destroy us.

Negroes Object to Democrat Bossism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following article from the Washington Star, which is self-explanatory:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 14, 1964]

NEGRO BACKS GOLDWATER DESPITE PHONE THREATS

A 29-year-old Negro claims his life was threatened over the weekend because he supports BARRY GOLDWATER, for President.

Telephone calls began Saturday. Unidentified voices continued to warn Ben Brown Saturday night that he was a "traitor to the Negro people," the Republican precinct chairman said.

By Sunday morning, he was willing to give up local politics. He called newsmen to say he was withdrawing. When the word reached Republican Chairman Carl L. Shipley, Mr. Shipley phoned Mr. Brown.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Brown said he'd stay with the GOP, with Senator GOLDWATER, and with his precinct organization, regardless of threats.

WELCOMED AS HERO

Police escorted him to a strategy session of Republican precinct chairmen on upper northwest Georgia Avenue, where he was given a hero's welcome. His fellow Republicans stood to applaud him as he came in the door.

"My life has been threatened for supporting BARRY GOLDWATER," he said. "But I am standing firm. I am not a turncoat to any race nor to any minority group. I want to work for all the people."

Mr. Brown, still registered as a Democrat, was a deputy precinct chairman for the Democrats before the May primary election of district party officers. He said he was "100 percent" for Frank Reeves, former national committeeman defeated by the Reverend Franklin Jackson. Most of the Democratic incumbents withdrew their support of Mr. Reeves, and worked instead for Mr. Jackson.

DRIVEN OUT BY BOSSISM

The vote for Mr. Jackson was acceptance of "bossism," Mr. Brown, a mail and baggage clerk said. And "bossism" was the issue that drove him out of the Democratic Party.

"I am for equal, not special, treatment for the Negro," he said.

Mr. Brown explained that he believed a Negro could elevate himself by supporting Senator GOLDWATER. The Johnson administration tries to boss and "take care" of the Negro.

"I will not stand to be bossed," he said.

Mr. Brown, whose wife is a Democrat, is the father of four children between the ages of 2 and 12, and lives in southeast Washington. Police are investigating the reported threats to bomb his apartment and to harm his family.

A Bankrupt Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the current political campaign we are hearing a great deal about the status of States rights in the American political system. The theory of States rights advocated by Senator GOLDWATER is nothing more than a negative doctrine designed to cover the abdication of a State's responsibilities to its citizens.

The San Fernando Sun, a newspaper in my district, points this out very well in the following editorial from its issue of September 6:

STATES RIGHTS A BANKRUPT DOCTRINE

The core of the domestic side of Goldwaterism is the unflinching belief in the doctrine of States rights, wherein each individual State has sovereignty in all matters not purely national in scope such as defense of the country.

It is a nice theory and is guaranteed to receive a rousing reception at rallies of, say, the Young Republicans. But matching practice with theory is quite another matter.

In civil rights, for example, States like New York, Pennsylvania, and California assumed their responsibilities (or rights), without Federal prodding, to insure equal rights for all citizens. But these States and others in the North and West do not make a Nation. It is in States like Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia that the doctrine of States rights suffers a complete breakdown. There, as in many other States, the theory of States rights is distorted to mean that the State has the right to deny its citizens civil rights.

Taking Goldwaterism at its word, then, would mean that a State could literally get away with murder.

On another issue, medical care for the aged, the States rights doctrine is proved equally bankrupt. The Kerr-Mills bill, a law filled with many loopholes but above all embodying the States rights approach to medical care, is an abysmal failure.

Where does the citizen turn when the State declines to match sovereignty with responsibility? Nowhere, according to Goldwaterism.

Fortunately, the majority of the Nation's representatives have recognized the weakness of Goldwaterism and voted to fill the vacuum between States rights and State responsibility. The Civil Rights Act is now law, and medicare, passed by the Senate, now awaits the butcher in the House of Representatives.

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the oracle of Goldwaterism, had a noteworthy comment on his "no" vote on medicare. Said he, "They (senior citizens) want to make the decision as to how their own money shall be spent; they do not want it made for them by government."

Sounds vaguely familiar. Like making social security voluntary?

Tribute to Dr. Norman Welch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Norman Welch, president of the American Medical Association, died suddenly on September 3, 1964, in Wyoming. I would like to add my voice to the numerous well-deserved tributes this fine gentleman received, and to add my expression of wholehearted sorrow at learning of his passing.

In recent years I have had the occasion to meet Dr. Welch when he testified before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety and at various meetings across the country. To all of us in the House who knew him, and there are many, I know I express our united sentiment that the medical profession has lost an eminent and devoted practitioner and spokesman, and that we have lost a friend.

We can share to some extent in the deep grief of his widow and five children and offer them our heartfelt sympathy.

Dr. Welch was a man of quiet dignity. He was amiable and had the wit of his Irish ancestry. He was forceful in his opinions, but never clamorous. He was a devoted parent, a devoted physician, and a devoted exponent of the principles of the American Medical Association. Those who knew him liked and respected him. His deep, calm voice, rich with Boston accent, presided over many meetings of the AMA's house of delegates when he served as speaker of the house and became an expert parliamentarian whom nothing fazed. This is the memory of him that thousands of fellow physicians undoubtedly will carry.

But many others in the Boston area where he was raised and practiced knew Dr. Welch primarily in another role—that of one of the best-liked and capable physicians in New England.

He took his medical degree at Tufts in 1926 and later served as clinical professor of medicine at that college. He served as president of the Massachusetts Blue Shield, which he was instrumental in founding, and was chairman of the Na-

tional Blue Shield Commission from 1955 through 1958. At the time of his death, Dr. Welch was consultant physician to five Massachusetts hospitals—Carney, Leominster, Winthrop Community, Marlboro, and Metropolitan State. He was also a president of the Council of the New England Medical Society.

Dr. Welch was born in 1902 in Brockton, Mass., the son of parents of Irish descent who had emigrated to the United States from Canada. He considered himself to be a friend of labor, since his father, John J. Welch, was engaged in road construction and was president of a local of the bricklayers' and stonemasons' union. It was not a wealthy upbringing, but Dr. Welch and his family somehow saw him through medical school.

This New Englander was a vigorous advocate of his profession. Once he told a group of reporters that too often newspapers "give publicity to the things that, admittedly, catch the eye but are done by men who do not stand for what we stand for. The doctor who never sends a bill because he knows the patient is in difficulties, the man who works all night with no hope of reward—you don't hear about this."

Dr. Welch was describing the type of physician he was and that most physicians are.

Dr. Welch was a stout believer in the AMA's stands. He was a registered Democrat an da member of a physicians committee for John F. Kennedy when the late President ran for the Senate against Henry Cabot Lodge. He disagreed with the party's platform in 1960 on the issue of financing medical care for the aged, but stated later that in doing so "I still have tremendous respect for President Kennedy."

Dr. Welch was a courteous and gentle man. I mourn his death. But the true mark of this man's greatness is the sorrow and sense of loss of those thousands upon thousands of patients that he treated and who came to love him as a friend and a healer of the sick and injured. A physician could wish no better epitaph.

Tips and Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of Thursday, September 3, 1964:

TIPS AND SECURITY

The Internal Revenue Service has long held that tips received by waiters, taxi drivers, and other service workers must be reported as income. Yet under present law, they can receive social security credit only for their regular wages—and not for their income in tips.

This is unfair. It penalizes the honest worker who reports his tips and pays taxes on them but gets no credit from them toward support for his old age. It encourages employers to force their employees to rely more heavily on tips than on wages—since the employers save money that way.

Recently the House moved to correct this injustice. One provision of the social security revision it has approved calls for withholding of social security taxes on tips reported by the employee. The employer would have to match them, just as he matches social security taxes on other employee income. Result would be larger tax payments by both—but considerably fatter retirement checks for the employee.

The Senate should approve the change and give workers who depend on tips the same social security status as other employees.

Bulgaria as a Captive Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, all captive nations in Europe share one unenviable lot in common; they all suffer under the unrelenting Communist totalitarianism, devised and imposed upon them by the Soviet Union. The Bulgarians, as one of the captive nations, share that fate. Their case is somewhat different in that they were one of the first, even before the end of the war, to be brought under communism. During the war it was agreed among Western leaders and the Soviet authorities that Bulgaria was to become a Soviet sphere at the conclusion of the war. But the leaders of the West never thought that this would eventually mean the isolation of the country from the West, and the enslavement of its people by the Soviet system. Unfortunately, since the Bulgarians were not masters of their own fate at the time, Soviet authorities took full advantage of the situation and quickly established their hegemony over the country with the aid of the Red army and local Communists. And so it came to pass that, at the end of the war the governments of the West were faced with a sad and appalling situation in Bulgaria. They soon learned that the country was under the complete control of the Soviet Union, and they were in no position to alter this situation.

Since then, for nearly 20 years, these brave fighters of the Balkan Peninsula, who are also among the most industrious peasants of the whole region and who in the past had defied many a powerful foe, have now been enslaved and held down in their historic homeland by ruthless Communist totalitarianism. To be sure, they did not submit to their overlords without a struggle; to the end, until 1947, they fought hard to maintain at least a part of their internal political freedom. Before the Soviet-backed local Communist Party emerged as the only party in the country, numerous other parties had large followers—the peasant or the agrarian party alone was more powerful than all Communists and leftwingers combined. The agrarian leaders, headed by the inimitable Nikola Petkov, fought the Communists with all their might. But in the end their efforts were doomed. Though they could have coped with opposing Bulgarian elements, they were no match for the Soviet authorities in the country, supported by the mighty Red Army. And the Communists were determined to have it all their way; they wanted to bury the agrarian party and do away with its leader. This they did by mid-1947, when they arrested Nikola Petkov, put him on trial on charges of conspiring against the people, and then executed him on Sepetmber 23. With Petkov's death all opposition to Communist rule was crushed, but Petkov's memory lives on in the hearts and minds of his loyal followers who fervently cling to their ideals of freedom and independence.

Military in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting article, entitled "Military In Space," from the pen of Mr. James J. Haggerty, Jr., appeared in the September 12 issue of the Journal of the Armed Forces. It tells of the important work being done at Eglin Air Force Base, Fla., on the military space program.

Under permission granted, I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MILITARY IN SPACE
(By James J. Haggerty, Jr.)

EGLIN AIR FORCE BASE, FLA.—Sandwiched between an engine test stand and a gun testing range here at Eglin is an unprepossessing building which houses an Air Force space research laboratory. Shabby by comparison with the many modern multimillion-dollar space facilities that have cropped up all over the Nation, this lab is nonetheless doing an important, unduplicated and hitherto unrecorded job of work with minimal staff and budget.

It is the Terminal Ballistic Vacuum Range, a facility of Air Force Systems Command's Air Proving Ground Center, commanded by Maj. Gen. J. E. Roberts. Its job is to study the damaging effect of high-velocity projectiles impacting on materials of the type that will be used in spacecraft construction in an effort to devise methods of protecting spacecraft crews against the explosive decompression that could be caused by a hull puncture by such projectiles.

An example of a high-velocity projectile is a meteorite. Traveling at terrific velocities ranging from 40,000 feet per second up to more than 200,000 feet per second, a meteorite can zip right through the strongest metals used in current spacecraft fabrication. It could cripple a spacecraft by causing loss of pressure or by knocking out some element of the craft's internal equipment. The frequency of meteorites is such that it has not been a major problem in the initial series of manned spacecraft, because they are relatively small and their duration in space has been limited.

In future spacecraft, puncture damage will become more of a hazard as the probability of

a meteorite hit increases in, for instance, a large manned space station which will remain in orbit for a year or more. The damage potential is not confined to natural projectiles. Similar or far greater damage can be induced by man-made particles produced by antispace nonnuclear weapons. Weapons effect on both spacecraft and missile warheads is also part of the APGC study.

In order to provide protection against particle damage, the first assignment is to study the behavior of high-velocity projectiles in the space environment. APGC initiated this study last year by converting an old, out-of-use gun test facility into a projectile test chamber. The conversion cost less than $100,000, which qualifies the Terminal Ballistic Vacuum Range as one of the least expensive space research facilities in the Nation.

The heart of the range is the target chamber in which space-equivalent near-vacuum conditions of 245,000 feet altitude can be duplicated. The chamber currently in use is a cylinder 19 feet 5 inches long and just under 12 feet in diameter. The target—a sheet of aluminum, titanium, plastic or other aerospace material of varying thickness—is placed within the chamber and bombarded by projectiles. To impart high velocity to the projectiles, APGC researchers use a high-explosive shaped charge containing a metallic core. When the charge is electrically detonated, the core is shattered into small particles which hurtle into the target.

Researchers can fire projectiles with a mass of one-half gram—about the size of a "bee-bee" shot—at a velocity of 40,000 feet per second and larger particles (up to 4 grams) at 13,500 feet per second. These velocities, of course, do not duplicate the speeds of meteorites, but test results serve as a base point for "scaling up," mathematically computing the greater damage which would be caused by the higher velocity. In addition to assessing damage potential, APGC researchers are studying detonation physics by means of an ultra-high-speed Kercell framing camera which can shoot thousands of frames in a fraction of a second. This permits photographic observation of the pellets from the time of detonation until they strike the target.

For a complete study of high velocity particle phenomena, APGC needs improvements to its facility. First step, to come within a month, is enlargement of the chamber door to permit introduction of bigger targets, such as a full-scale reentry vehicle. Next step is to put into service a second chamber now on stand-by status. This chamber is rectangular in shape, 11 feet, 7 inches high, 11 feet, 3 inches wide, and slightly more than 19 feet long; the entire end section can be removed to allow installation of still larger targets. APGC is also contracting for new type explosive charges which will provide velocities of 50,000 to 100,000 feet per second.

The studies are not far enough along to have produced a clear developmental line toward providing protection against high-velocity particles, but they are checking out one possible solution offered by a number of theoreticians—the "bumper" approach. This would involve building a second, outer hull. A large particle striking the bumper would break up into a number of smaller particles capable of inflicting less damage; they might only dent, instead of penetrate, the inner hull.

Although the primary purpose of this research is to develop methods of protection, it would appear that there is a corollary benefit. One of the current military aims is to find a method of disabling a potentially hostile satellite. APGC researchers won't talk about it, but it would seem that complete data on particle behavior and detonation physics would be helpful in this area.

Defense Department Cost-Effectiveness Formulas Espoused by Johnson and McNamara Sweep to Another Smashing Victory Over Military Duplication and Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Armed Forces Management magazine for September patriotically reports to a grateful nation the current progress of Secretary McNamara and his brilliant team of civilian aids in forging our new look Defense Establishment. This enterprising magazine takes us directly into the fabulous Pentagon's exclusive E-ring offices manned by the Secretary's wizard-like young assistants. It reports, verbatim, an actual application of the magical cost/effectiveness formulas which are doing so much to alter our stocks of military hardware and to adjust to new levels the morale of our men in uniform. Particular attention is drawn to General Batt's concluding tribute to his interviewers. Here is the magazine's report, faithfully recorded by Writer Frank Walker:

WHO'S ON FIRST?

(NOTE.—A tongue-in-cheek tale relating the memorable day that a DOD cost/effectiveness study group invaded the baseball diamond.)

(By Frank Walker)

(Scene: An E-ring office of Disneyland East. Seated before a highly polished conference table General Batt is engaged in justifying in utilization of 23 servicemen on the servicewide championship baseball team. His audience of three intent, two-button youngsters (identified nominally as Messrs. "A," "B," and "C") are busily manipulating a slide rule, double matrix computer, and an ouija board, respectively.)

Mr. A. General, you say that there are nine men on a basebal team?

General BATT. Well technically speaking, only nine players play at any one time, sir. But because of the need for substitutes, base line coaches * * *.

Mr. A. I see, General. You are requesting authorization for built-in redundancy, and * * *.

General BATT. I didn't think I was asking for anything, sir. I thought I was called here to explain to you the manpower utilization of * * *.

Mr. B. Uh, General. We are really not concerned with manpower utilization for the purposes of this study. We are interested in a time-motion analysis of baseball, and in order for us to understand the transitional parameters, we are simply trying to ascertain the current state of the art.

General BATT. Well, in the equipment field, the state of the art provides bats, gloves, uniforms, underwear, spiked shoes, a cap, three canvas covered bases, a home plate, and a pitcher's rubber. There is some variation in the gloves, basically found in three categories called a catcher's mitt, a first baseman's mitt, and a fielder's glove.

Mr. A. Right there, General, why can't we standardize here and save a considerable amount of money? What parameters does a catcher's uh, did you say "mitt?" require as opposed to the other two equipments?

General BATT. Well, you see, sir, in baseball, one of the players is called the pitcher. He throws the ball very hard at the catcher, and the ball might be a fast ball, a slow ball, a curve ball, a slider, a sinker, or a knuckle ball.

Mr. B. Well, I think right here we can certainly cut down on the number of different kinds of balls. You not only seem to have a lot of different kinds of mitts, but balls, too.

General BATT. Sir, it's the same ball, just thrown differently.

Mr. B. That in itself would seem to indicate a redundancy in training the thrower. It would be obviously more efficient if the man were trained to throw only one kind of ball.

General BATT. Yes, sir. As I was saying, the pitcher throws the ball very hard at the catcher. Hence, we provide him with a very large mitt not only to protect his hands more, but to give him some leeway in case the different kinds of balls don't follow the desired and planned trajectory.

Mr. B. Doesn't somebody hit the ball before the catcher catches it?

General BATT. Well, of course, they try, but most of the time they either do not hit it, or the ball is a ball.

Mr. C. I thought it was always a ball.

Mr. B. It is. Isn't it, General?

General BATT. Yes and no. As I was saying, the catchers' mitts are even made larger in case of a knuckle ball * * *. Oh, excuse me, maybe we might strike that from the record. I believe that it is too minor for this level to consider.

Mr. C. The ouija board says "OK." We'll strike it. But what happens if the ball is hit?

General BATT. If the ball is hit, it assumes a trajectory in accordance with the mechanics of the swing used by the batter and the point of the bat which hits the ball.

Mr. A. Ah, I see. KE—½mv squared, huh?

General BATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. A. Then I think we've solved one problem already. Obviously, every player should have a catcher's mitt to protect his hands from the kinetic energy imparted to the ball through the combination of the strength of the pitcher and the impetus imparted by the batter. After all, General, we have a great responsibility to protect our wonderful fighting men, and must consider all of the facets of military operations. Hence, let the record show that for the sake of (1) economy of procurement and (2) safety of enlisted personnel that our cost/effectiveness decision No. 1 is that everyone playing service baseball shall wear only catchers' mitts. I would like to spend more time on this subject, General, because you don't look very happy but we still have interservice football, basketball, and chess to analyze for the Chief * * * and you know what deadlines he places on us. Let us now return to why you need 23 players.

General BATT. Well, sir, as I explained, there are nine active players on the field at any one time. Then the pitcher, because he works so hard, cannot play every day, so we need substitute pitchers. In addition, sometimes even a fresh pitcher is having a bad day, so we must be prepared to replace him. Now, the other players who aren't pitchers * * *.

Mr. C. Let's take this thing logically, now, General. Even though we have fine computers for this work, we still must place the logic within them in a logical manner. So let's stop at the pitcher. You say he works hard?

General BATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. B. Does he work any harder than the other eight players?

General BATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. A. Well, this is just another reason why you are so fortunate to have us in the Department of Defense. The solution to this one is painfully obvious to anyone educated in logic matrix theory. We will simply issue an order that the work will be shared by all players, plus or minus 5 percent, of course. We don't want to deprive you of your decisionmaking powers, you understand.

General BATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. B. I'm sorry, Mr. A, I feel that maybe we are approaching this wrong. General, how often does a pitcher pitch?

General BATT. About every fourth day is considered proper.

Mr. B. Ah, then, by sharing the burden as suggested by Mr. A, you could really rotate the other eight men, using a different one every day, and having one standing by. Isn't that correct?

General BATT. Well, sir, you see the skills of the individual * * * .

Mr. B. General, come now, haven't you read the directive on all-purpose personnel? Individuals no longer are allowed to have individual skills not possessed by all others. It is not American, democratic, nor efficient.

Mr. C. Besides, we have issued an order on this; DOD instruction 5500.-7B, third revision, dated January 17, 1964. I assume you have read this, General?

General BATT. I did, sir, but I thought it applied only to the General Purpose Forces under the general purpose program planning management study for the fiscal year 1965 budget.

Mr. C. You should read more carefully, General.

General BATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. B. I think we can do a lot of good here. First, since we have decided to rotate the 9 active players, we can now cut out the other 14, hence saving about 60 percent in manpower * * * .

Mr. A. My slide rule says 60.87 percent, so let the record reflect this.

General BATT. But, sir, suppose there is an injury?

Mr. A. General, we cannot even attempt to try to compute remote contingencies of this nature. We deal only in finite figures, and finite facts. The trouble with all you service people is that you always come up here and try to snow us with a lot of ands, ifs, buts, maybes, and perhapses. Frankly, General, we're getting a little fed up with this. What do you think we are, children?

General BATT. Oh, no sir. The thought never entered my head.

Mr. A. Fine; then, hereafter, all service baseball teams are limited to nine men. Be sure this is in the report; the chief will be proud to present this to Congress. Cost savings * * * ah.

General BATT. But, if you limit the teams like this, you'll kill off baseball.

Mr. B. Nonsense, General. You already have admitted that the pitcher works harder than anybody else, only works once every 4 days, and you still have eight other men. In fact, the thought has been going through my mind that if these other eight men aren't working as hard as they could during a game, perhaps we can cut a little more. Full manpower utilization is a definite factor in cost effectiveness, you know, General.

Mr. A. I think you have a point there, Mr. B. What does the ouija board say?

Mr. C. The ouija board says, "Yes."

Mr. B. Well then, I think we can take an initial arbitrary cut of * * * let's say four men right now, and we will restudy the matter next year. OK, General?

General BATT. Sir. * * *.

Mr. A. Fine, then the next point is the uniforms. You said that the players wear a cap, a uniform, and shoes. Are these all uniform?

General BATT. Yes, sir. The only differences are in the sizes and the numbers on the players' backs.

Mr. B. Numbers on the players' backs? What for?

General BATT. To identify the players, sir.

Mr. A. Well, with only five players, I don't see why anyone would have trouble remembering who was who. This is an easy decision, get rid of the numbers.

General BATT. But, sir * * *.

Mr. C. If the General objects, why don't we just insist that all the numbers be the same. We can then purchase them in quantities and save lots of money. Remind me to ask the Defense Supply Agency to present justifying figures on this. I'll bet the services have spent hundreds of dollars over the past 50 years on numbers. Tell the DSA only to go back 40 years. We don't want to impose unreasonable burdens on them.

Mr. B. I think I saw a picture of a baseball player once. Isn't his cap like a helmet and his shoulders all padded out * * *.

General BATT. No sir, that's a football uniform. Baseball uniforms are made of flannel, the cap of cloth. They fit loosely, and * * *.

Mr. A. Aha, if they fit loosely, General, how do you justify the fact that you have placed on the record that you need different sizes? Don't bother to answer. Your statement clarifies the waste on its face. We shall put out the order to standardize the size of baseball uniforms.

General BATT. Yes, sir. On behalf of the soldiers, I thank you.

Mr. C. That's fine, General. We like to see cooperation and cordial support. You know, we often feel as we do our duty to the country, that many armed services witnesses are determined not to be cooperative. It does make our tasks so much easier when they are like you.

General BATT. Thank you, sir. I think I can readily understand your concern for the game, and the services, and can save you some time with some other economies that have been going through my mind. I will immediately order all home plates replaced with standard bases. How's that?

Mr. C. Goody. Now we are getting somewhere.

General BATT. We have also been using far too many balls, and it is obvious that we have deluded ourselves by self-centered greed and empire building into providing too many bats. I will certainly take the initiative which your leadership and guidance have taught me to take, and order no more than one ball and one bat for each two teams. I see no reason why we need more.

Mr. B. Possibly we could save a little more here by scheduling what I think you call "two header," then, four teams could use the same bat and ball.

General BATT. Sir, you are a genius. I have to take my hat off to you. You also have inspired me to suggest that we could share uniforms because with only two teams playing at one time, we could switch between games.

Mr. C. Wouldn't it be better to play all four teams at the same time and save much on the motion expenditure, plus the time of the spectators?

General BATT. A capital idea.

Mr. A. General, we want to thank you for your assistance in this study. My slide rule shows that we have cut a lot of fat out of the baseball program and I am certain that the Chief and the Congress will be most pleased. We only wish the rest of the admirals and the generals were as loyal and devoted to the whole cause as you, and not so parochially involved in their own empires.

General BATT. Thank you, gentlemen. I am sure that your astute judgments today will place baseball on a par with the rest of the Department of Defense since you undertook your studies.

Yes, Lyndon, There Is a Davy Crockett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Washington Star:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 10, 1964]

FIELD GENERALS AND NUCLEAR ARMS

(By David Lawrence)

President Johnson says that "there is no such thing as a conventional nuclear weapon." But it is unfortunately true that, if a conventional war is started in Europe, it cannot be won by the West without the use of some of the smaller nuclear weapons.

The real issue in the debate is being avoided by the use of campaign hyperboles. It is supposed to be good politics to tell the American people that any man, when elected President, might have a nervous finger on the nuclear trigger. This assumes that military operations are going to be directed hereafter by a President in the White House and not by a supreme military commander of experience who faces the enemy directly on the battlefield.

The discussion concerning the kind of weapons to use in a conventional war—that is, a possible invasion across the Continent of Europe—has been going on for the last 3 years. It has led to a momentous decision by President de Gaulle of France that he can no longer depend upon the United States to protect his country against attack and that he must have a nuclear arsenal of his own. The French fully understand the reluctance of the United States to put its nuclear weapons at the disposal of other governments. But at the same time, France is willing to have the American military commander of NATO forces in Europe given such control.

Military men generally point out that, in the event of a land attack in Europe, it might take too much time to get proper instructions from the White House, and that a Soviet invasion would by then have reached such proportions that only a massive nuclear response would be able to prevent defeat. Once such a massive retaliation does occur, of course, a nuclear war of mammoth proportions will have been started. It is precisely to avoid such a nuclear holocaust that the military men have advocated the use of small tactical nuclear weapons, some of which have not much more firepower than conventional weapons of the past but a longer range. These could be used to frustrate the offensive operations of a land army.

What the military men fear most is that they may not be able to get a decision from the President of the United States promptly enough to rearrange their troops, and also that the frontline situation may be mistakenly assessed by the President and his advisers, far removed from the battle area.

One of the tactical nuclear weapons is similar in appearance to a large recoilless rifle. It carries a very low-yield nuclear warhead, designed to knock out a bridge, for instance, but not a city. This is known as the "Davy Crocket."

There are other nuclear weapons—among them two rockets known as the "Honest John" and the "Little John"—which are essentially artillery pieces for the aid of ground armies and are tailored to special battlefield

conditions. This is one reason why Senator GOLDWATER says these could really be called "conventional" weapons, as they take the place of artillery. They are confined to ground operations and not to longrange strategic attack such as is envisaged for the big nuclear bombs.

One of the most interesting phases of the problem was recently emphasized by General of the Army Ailleret, chief of staff of the armed forces of France, in a lecture delivered before the annual assembly of the NATO college in Europe. He said:

"If aggression occurred without any warning—that is, without very important measures of concentration on the part of the enemy—the ratio of forces would be about three to two in favor of the Soviets in big land units, and the imbalance would be even greater in the realm of supporting and pursuit planes. Moreover, the effect of surprise would come into full play because the Soviet attack force would find itself faced with a defense force only in process of being put in place."

General Ailleret declared that the expedient moment to use tactical nuclear weapons must be found as soon as possible after the enemy forces cross the Iron Curtain. He added:

"If it comes only after the Soviets have invaded half of Europe, the destruction from this will be added to the invasion, which would only mean for her double disasters, of different kinds but each one immense."

Senator GOLDWATER's suggestion that the NATO supreme commander be authorized to use certain kinds of tactical nuclear weapons of the smaller range of firepower in case of attack in Europe is in line with the thinking of many American as well as European military men of high rank.

Some day, when the campaign is over, it seems likely that, no matter who is elected President, some arrangement will have to be made which will give discretionary authority to the supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe—an American—so that he can take prompt action whenever the enemy starts an invasion. The mere fact that such instructions would be known to have been given in advance could prove to be a deterrent of far-reaching significance.

The Late Honorable William F. Green, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was truly mortified when the bound volume containing the memorial addresses on the passing of the late Honorable William F. Green, Jr., was issued to find that I was not included among those paying a tribute of respect to him. I regret this very much inasmuch as Bill Green was one of my dearest and closest friends here in the House of Representatives. I was a member of the congressional funeral committee and accompanied President Johnson to his funeral in Philadelphia.

At the time of his passing, Bill Green was one of our outstanding party leaders, serving with distinction since 1953 as chairman of the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee. He was a competent member of the Committee on Ways and Means and a respected Member of the House of Representatives. I have greatly missed him.

The GI Bill at 20

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 20th anniversary of a historic example of Federal aid to education—the GI bill. Many Members of both Houses of the Congress, including myself, completed our education on the GI bill after our World War II service. In a recent issue of the George Washington University magazine Mr. John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, wrote an article pointing out the long-range results of the GI bill.

I wish to bring this thoughful article to the attention of Members of the House:

TWENTY YEARS LATER

Immediately after the guns stopped shooting, the bombs stopped raining down, and the lights went on again all over the world, the United States emerged from World War II to confront a serious domestic crisis.

The largest military force in U.S. history was encamped all over the world hoping for quick discharges, and jobs, houses, and education on their return. Mindful of the upheaval, unemployment, and bonus marches that followed the relatively short and smaller First World War, there was widespread fear about the potentially explosive reaction of 15.3 million World War II veterans whose lives had been uprooted in a longer, more far-flung, and disruptive war.

One economist predicted a whopping 19 million unemployed if the postwar economy dropped back to its 1940 level of output. More conservative estimates placed the figure at a staggering 8 million. A sociologist, recalling that Hitler and Mussolini had recruited idle veterans, wrote gloomily: "Veterans have written many a bloody page of history and those pages have stood forever as a record of their days of anger."

That the United States won victory in this great peacetime battle is a tribute to a unique piece of legislation—the GI bill of rights.

Exactly 16 days after D-Day, when U.S. Armed Forces made history with the sword, President Roosevelt made another kind of history with the stroke of his pen. He signed the GI bill of rights on June 22, 1944.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the birth of this historic example of long-range planning, which has been compared with the Morrill Act creating land-grant colleges, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Marshall plan.

What was the GI bill of rights, actually titled "The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944"? It provided for loans, education, readjustment allowances for veterans, and expanded veterans hospitals and employment service.

There were those who scoffed at the proposal for the GI bill. They called it an "all time gravy train," aiming particularly heavy fire at the readjustment allowances. Yet only 10 percent exhausted this benefit. Some opponents claimed that veterans returning to school under the GI bill would breed "educational hobo jungles" on college campuses. Instead, they raised the intellectual level of the entire country.

Gloomy prophets dourly predicted that GI homes would be a haven for "dead beats," that veterans would move in when housing was scarce and then walk out from their obligations. On the contrary, veterans have proved to be excellent credit risks.

But the opposition faded away along with their dire predictions. "With the signing of this bill," said President Roosevelt at a White House ceremony, "a well-rounded program of special veterans' benefits is nearly completed. It gives emphatic notice to the men and women of our armed forces that the American people do not intend to let them down."

The feeling was mutual. Veterans certainly did not intend to let America down. "They would be a potent force for good or evil in the years to come," as one veterans' leader predicted at the time. "They could make or break our country. But given the opportunity provided by the GI bill of rights, there was only one alternative—veterans would be a tremendous force for good, and help build a better America, after they had destroyed Nazi, Fascist, and Nipponese totalitarianism."

The words could not have been more prophetic. There's a rundown on their GI bill record after 20 years:

1. Under the education and training provisions of the bill, 7,800,000 veterans—nearly half of all who served during the war—received training. With well over 2 million in college and another 3,500,000 in other schools, veterans filled every nook and corner of the dormitories, laboratories, and classrooms. They attended classes at 19,000 trade and technical schools, and Quonset huts dotted 2,600 campuses from the University of Maine to the University of Southern California.

About 1,400,000 veterans increased their skills in on-the-job training, and about 700,000 learned the newest agricultural techniques in on-the-farm training.

Today we are a far stronger Nation for the infusion of the skills manpower gained through the GI bill: 450,000 engineers, 180,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses, 360,000 schoolteachers, 150,000 scientists, 243,000 accountants, 107,000 lawyers, 36,000 clergymen, 17,000 writers, 711,000 mechanics, 383,000 construction workers, 288,000 metalworkers, 138,000 electricians, and the almost 700,000 who trained for business and executive careers.

Altogether, it was the largest program of mass adult education ever undertaken at bargain rates. The $14.5 billion cost has been more than recouped.

The GI bill continues to pay for itself at close to $1 billion a year. The return comes from additional income tax paid by better educated, higher earning GI bill veterans.

2. Equally beneficial has been the long-range effects of the GI bill loan program. Structural evidence of it dots the countryside. One out of every 5 homes built since the end of World War II was financed with a GI loan. As someone said, the landscape architect of postwar America has been the VA loan guaranty officer.

More than 5,268,000 World War II veterans were granted Veterans' Administration home, farm or business loans totaling more than $43 billion. The almost 5 million home loans in this total helped touch off a postwar housing boom that turned Americans into a Nation of homeowners. This infusion of credit, of course, resulted in an enormous stimulus to our national economy. For purchases of new housing dilate the economic arteries. Purchases of new furniture, new appliances, new cars follows; and school construction and other public works are not far behind as new suburban communities mushroom. (These are communities with good credit

ratings, it might be said, for more than a third of the GI loans are paid in full.)

3. Often under fire, the GI bill readjustment allowance program helped tide nearly 9 million veterans through the initial period while they looked for jobs. The average stay on the rolls was only 19 weeks, and some $3.8 billion was expended in this program, only 900,000 veterans, or about 1 out of 10, exhausted their full rights to unemployment benefits. Most veterans just weren't content with $20 a week, when they could be bringing home $100 from a job, or improving their skills and education.

It was an underappreciated bulwark against adversity for unemployed veterans. In most instances, the payments were not strung together. They were spread over periods when veterans were changing jobs, trying to find themselves in a new world.

4. Millions of veterans skipped school; most of the older, married and previously employed veterans, headed back to their old jobs, or better ones, if they could land them. One of the lessons that World War I demobilization drove home was that a strong, well-financed, public employment service is indispensable to a smooth readjustment process.

One Government official evaluated the GI bill by paraphrasing Winston Churchill. "Never before," he said, "has so much been done for so many for so little."

A leading industrialist, who knew a good investment when he saw one agreed. Said Henry Ford II: "Millions of veterans who otherwise might not have had the opportunity, have been enabled to enter college or to complete specialized training. The Nation gains by having created a great new source from which to draw its leaders."

Leaders they are and leaders they will be, for years to come according to Dr. Amos Yoder, who made a survey of the GI bill's impact on men listed in the 1960–61 "Who's Who." He found approximately 1,000 who had benefited. "All were under 46 years which," he said, "is a sizable number when it is realized that almost all of the men who make 'Who's Who' are older."

Since the past is also prologue, the lessons of the GI bill have great value on the contemporary scene. In his message to Congress outling plans for a war on poverty, President Johnson pointed out that if annual earnings of 10 million among the poor could be raised by only $1,000, it will add $14 billion a year to the national output; reduce the $4 billion in public assistance payments; and lower the costs of fighting crime, delinquency, disease, and hunger.

"Our history has proved," President Johnson said, "that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings and better income for all." The GI bill is an excellent example of the wisdom of his words.

A Kennedy Hegemony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. BROMWELL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, the sentiments expressed in an editorial article by Raymond Moley in Newsweek of September 7, have been less clearly expressed, hinted at, discussed, and considered in many quarters. These sentiments raise an issue. Because Mr. Moley's expression is particularly apt, I submit it for republication:

A KENNEDY HEGEMONY

(By Raymond Moley)

There is much to suggest the maneuvers of the young, preimperial Bonaparte to gain the mastery of France in the designs of Robert F. Kennedy to dominate the Democratic Party and, through that powerful agency, to elevate himself to you know where.

It must have been clear to this extraordinarily perceptive young man, even in December, that Lyndon B. Johnson, if he felt sufficiently strong in his own right, would reject any member of the Kennedy clan as a candidate for Vice President. For he had ample reason to distrust and dislike the Attorney General.

Kennedy was too young to contemplate retirement from politics; too ambitious, too imbued with the virus of power to remain a subordinate of the President; and too resourceful to fail to formulate another avenue for his ambitions.

His assets were—and are—large wealth, the Kennedy family including the in-laws, time to execute his plans (he is 17 years L.B.J.'s junior), close political ties with the big urban Democratic machines and with many minorities including labor, and scores of Federal officeholders including U.S. district attorneys who are his de facto appointees. He is also the heir to the love and devotion of millions to the memory of his martyred brother. Finally, as a hard, realistic politician he realizes that he can count upon the cynicism of political leaders, who would recognize a rising power in contrast with that of a President whose personal power would decline somewhat after a possible election and completely after a possible reelection.

POWER THROUGH THE SENATE

The Senate offers the most favorable means for Kennedy's purpose. Senators see Presidents come and go. In 1908 Woodrow Wilson commented that established Senators regard a President as "at most, an ephemeral phenomenon."

Senators have actual control of the Federal patronage in their States through the time tested custom of senatorial courtesy. And when one of the Senators is, as now, in California and Massachusetts, a member of the party out of power, that control is absolute. In the event of Mr. Johnson's election, a defeat of Senator KEATING in New York would make Democratic control of patronage absolute there.

But to build a Kennedy hegemony, more than one Senator is needed. And so a faithful associate, PIERRE SALINGER, sought and obtained the nomination in California and then an interim appointment by the obedient Governor. Massachusetts was already accounted for by brother EDWARD'S seat. If the elections prove favorable, there will be the nucleus of great power—the two largest States and Massachusetts—as beachheads. With the tradition of a Senator's citizenship in the State for which he is chosen broken, State lines can be crossed as opportunity offers in 1966 and later—by family members, retainers, and trusted lieutenants. Thus, a new and strange carpetbagger power can thrust itself into the traditional pattern of party affairs.

THE TRADITION

Although at the time when the American Republic was in gestation there were some fears of adventurers crossing State lines to seek office, the Constitution provided no bar except to require that a Senator "when elected" be an "inhabitant" of the State for which he is chosen. With constitutional precedents falling every Monday morning when the Supreme Court speaks, and with liberal philosophy claiming successfully that States must become mere varicolored spots on the map, it may be useless to argue that the pretensions of Kennedy and SALINGER violate tradition.

But the tradition is there, and it has firm principle to support it. The Senate as originally conceived was to be a council of ambassadors from semisovereign States. A Senator should have firm ties with his State. He carries with him the responsibility to protect the integrity of his State in the Federal system, especially to make sure that his State is not engulfed in a centralized authority.

Even brother EDWARD voiced that principle when he said he could do more for Massachusetts. Brother Robert, on the contrary, is saying in effect that New York can do more for him.

Anniversary of Our National Anthem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, this is the anniversary of a day in history, the birthday of our national anthem. I know of no better way to observe this occasion than by reading a letter that Joe Martin sent to the Chicago Tribune and which is printed in the "Voice of the People" column of that newspaper in its issue of September 14, 1964.

The Chicago Tribune, founded in 1847 and with an illustrious historical background, surely is a newspaper of editorial maturity. It speaks well for the quality of Joe Martin's contributions that the Chicago Tribune is according it almost a column of space, about the most space of any article on its editorial page, on this anniversary occasion.

Joe Martin was the public relations director of the recent national encampment of the Veterans of World War I U.S.A. He is past president of Illinois American Legion Historical Association, is the present executive secretary of the American Veterans Press Association, and is a regular contributor on veteran and patriotic affairs to the Southwest Messenger Press newspapers in metropolitan Chicago.

Here is the timely patriotic message of Joe Martin:

BIRTH OF OUR ANTHEM

The "Star-Spangled Banner" was composed in the month of September, 150 years ago. How many Americans know of the events which led to the creation of our national anthem?

Toward the end of the War of 1812 with England, British troops entered Washington, our Nation's Capital, and burned the President's residence and many Government buildings. Retreating they passed through the town of Upper Marlboro, became embroiled in an altercation with a local physician, Dr. William Bean, seized him and carried him off to their ship, which sailed down Chesapeake Bay toward Baltimore, 40 miles away.

There the inhabitants were hastily preparing defenses in Fort McHenry, which guarded the city against attack from the ocean. A large flag with 15 stars and 15 stripes—8 red and 7 white representing the 15 States of

the Union—was raised on a flagpole on the fort grounds.

On September 14, Francis Scott Key, a lawyer and poet from Georgetown, appointed by the President, boarded the British flagship *Tonnant* to negotiate for the release of Dr. Bean. The British agreed to free him after their attack on Fort McHenry the next morning. Through a telescope on the *Tonnant*, Key watched the shells and rockets pouring into American emplacements.

The battle went on "all through the night." At "the twilight's last gleaming," the "star-spangled banner" still floated "proudly o'er the ramparts" of Fort McHenry. When darkness set in, Key could see the flag still flying only when "the rockets' red glare" and the "bombs bursting in the air" lit up the scene.

Torn between agonizing uncertainty and pride in the splendid resistance of his countrymen, he wrote about his feelings as he waited for the "dawn's early light." At last "on the shore dimly seen thru the mists of the deep," he made out the fort and the flag hanging limply in the still air. Suddenly a gust of wind caught the folds and revealed those "broad stripes and bright stars" as the flag waved in the breeze. The battle was over; the Americans had won.

Within hours, Francis Scott Key and Dr. Bean were returned to Baltimore. Key fitted together notes he had written into a poem which he titled, "The Defense of Fort McHenry."

The poem was published by a local newspaper and received wide approval. Soon, everyone was reciting it wherever people gathered. It was discovered that a tune called "Anacreon in Heaven" could be fitted to the words. The song was published by a man named Carr in Baltimore, and retitled the "Star-Spangled Banner." In 1931, the Congress of the United States adopted the "Star-Spangled Banner" as our country's national anthem.

Old Glory should be flown on September 15 and on all patriotic occasions.—JOE MARTIN.

Letter to Representative Beckworth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter that was written to me recently. I will continue to try to help our cattle people:

AMERICAN NATIONAL
CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Denver, Colo., August 26, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BECKWORTH: The cattle industry represented by the American National Cattlemen's Association, wishes to express to you on behalf of their 38 State affiliates and thousands of individual members their deep appreciation and thanks for your affirmative vote on H.R. 1839.

This legislation will add much needed stability to the cattle industry. As enacted by the House and Senate, H.R. 1839 will more clearly define the future levels of imports which will come to this market. No longer will the consumer or any cattleman be faced with the erratic effects of dumping of the world's surpluses of beef, veal, and mutton on this market. This legislation provides reasonable access by exporting countries to the U.S. market, yet will insist upon restraint in the foreign country's export policies.

Knowing of your interest in this legislation, as expressed by your assistance during its evolution, as well as your affirmative vote on the floor of the House, we are enclosing for your review and files an analysis we have put together on the mechanics of the bill.

With every good wish, I am,
Sincerely yours,

BROOKS J. KEOGH.

Lyndon Johnson for President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the Port Arthur News, one of the most responsible papers in Texas, has joined a growing number of the Nation's leading newspapers in endorsing the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson for President.

The News' front-page editorial of September 6, 1964, endorsing the President includes some thoughtful and well-reasoned comments. I believe the endorsement and the comments it contains will be interest to all Americans.

LYNDON JOHNSON FOR PRESIDENT

Certainly not because he is a Texan, or even a Democrat, but solely because we believe he is more qualified for the high office than is his adversary, the News supports Lyndon B. Johnson for election as President of the United States.

Without undertaking to espouse all of the policies and practices of his long and distinguished career, we believe that overall he has better demonstrated—in native talent, stability of temperament, and maturity of judgment—a capacity to lead the American people during the ensuing 4 years.

As the most notable chapter of his national service thus far, we point to the statesmanlike maner in which he has guided the country during this critical period of administrative transition.

Few men in U.S. history have been abruptly summoned to the Presidency under as tragic and awesome circumstances as was Lyndon Johnson, on November 22, 1963. Within a few dreadful hours of the moment when he saw John F. Kennedy assassinated, Mr. Johnson manfully took hold of the offical reins of Government with a firm and confident grasp.

There was never a letdown, no fumbling or stumbling, no indecision on confusion, in the orderly management of affairs of state. The sturdy caliber of the man was tested and proved in this fiery crucible of destiny. Further proof of his staunchness marked the 9 months preceding his nomination as Mr. Kennedy's successor. It has all added up to overwhelming evidence of his unique qualification for the office of Chief Executive.

Depreciate it as coincidence as some do, American prosperity at home and American stature abroad has climbed to new heights under the adroit guidance of President Johnson.

No indeed, he has not solved all our ills at home or our troubles overseas, and he won't do so if he is kept in the White House until 1969. But he has made a valiant start and he is better prepared to devise further solutions than anybody else seeking the Presidency.

We think the Nation owes it to itself, not to him, to give him a chance to keep up the masterful job he is doing.

We have high personal respect for the Republican nominee, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, whose zeal and courage and integrity are beyond all question.

But those attributes—commendable as they are—don't alone assure that he would make a competent President.

In all candor, we must make the point that the Senator lacks the depth of perception and the consistence of evaluation that Mr. Johnson is equipped with.

It is no reflection on his motives to say that the Senator is inclined toward rashness—that he is prone to take an impetuous stand in the flush of ardor, and then when he cools off, to back away and spend much time "explaining" what his position really was—or is.

Even for a presidential candidate, this irresolution is disturbing, but it commits the Government to nothing and may be written off as politics.

There is no national involvement at stake.

But is there any guarantee that—put at the helm of our ship of state—Mr. GOLDWATER would handle the tiller with a less impulsive hand? As the Nation's pilot, especially in international waters, an unthoughted utterance or decision or order wouldn't be mere campaign oratory. It could well nail us all to a reckless course leading to unhappy—and unwanted—consequences.

We would feel far safer in relying on a skilled and seasoned skipper like Lyndon Johnson, who thinks first and then acts.

"Hold What You Have"—The Farley Law of Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James A. Farley is an old friend of mine and whom I consider to be one of the most sagacious and brilliant political strategists for over three decades. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to insert in today's RECORD a feature article by Mr. Thomas O'Neill, which appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on Monday, August 31, 1964, entitled, "The 'Farley Law' of Elections."

The aforementioned article follows:

"HOLD WHAT YOU HAVE"—THE FARLEY LAW OF ELECTIONS

(By Thomas O'Neill)

ATLANTIC CITY.—James A. Farley, political analyst without a peer, holds it to be a firm rule that the bulk of voters make their choice between presidential candidates as soon as the nominees are known, and thereafter are unlikely to be influenced in any significant measure by anything the candidates say and do short of the scandalous.

Quite clearly, the patriarch of the New York delegates to the Democratic National Convention has limited faith in such instant experts as Richard Nixon and their theories that the campaign is the thing, and can be so manipulated as to sweep up votes toward an election day peak.

It can hardly be disputed that Mr. Farley has the superior credentials. Unapproached in electoral forecasting is his precise pinpointing of the only two States, Maine and

Vermont, that would be lost to his candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"HOLDING" OPERATION

The application of Farley's law to the current contest is that from last week onward, with the Democratic ticket as well as the Republican unveiled, the aim of each side ought to be to hold the voters it begins with and do its best to attract the wavering minority.

It is Mr. Farley's conviction that his law holds good under the unusual conditions governing the 1964 election. His long experience has witnessed an unbroken string of elections in which the conditions seemed unusual to those involved.

Out of the ordinary in the current year, nevertheless, is the preponderance of the electorate that by the testimony of the pollsters took sides without waiting for the Democrats to name their ticket.

GALLUP FINDINGS

Soundings made between the two conventions by Dr. Gallop uncovered all but a minuscule 6 percent ready to vote without any further preliminaries.

A factor in this early judgment assuredly was the certainty that President Johnson would be named at Atlantic City to run in his own right, but the strong suggestion is conveyed that the voters interviewed were pronouncing judgments pro and con on Senator GOLDWATER.

The cons had it in imposing degree, 65 percent for President Johnson to 29 percent for the Republican nominee, the remaining few unsettled.

Although he has scant cause to admire polls, Mr. Farley's appraisal of the November election prospect runs in the same direction.

YEAR 1932 COMPARISON

Looking ahead before the Democrats filled out their national ticket with a nominee for Vice President, Mr. Farley thought it reasonable to believe President Johnson would run as strongly as did President Roosevelt in 1932 as a first-term candidate, when Mr. Farley was his campaign manager.

He carried all but six States in unseating a White House incumbent, Herbert Hoover. The six Hoover States, all in the East, were Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, a corner of the Nation now thought to be leaning heavily toward the Democrats.

Mr. Farley's license to disparage polls if so inclined was earned 4 years after that first Roosevelt election.

LITERARY DIGEST POLL

In the years before the rise of the professional polling organizations the national election previews were conducted by a magazine, the Literary Digest. It foresaw a victory by an avalanche for Mr. Roosevelt's Republican challenger, the hapless Alf Landon.

Campaign manager Farley dismissed this prediction and offered his own, which seemed laughable at the time, that Mr. Landon could carry only Maine and Vermont. When the votes were counted those were the only States that had gone Republican, and it was Mr. Farley's opportunity to laugh.

His insight into national elections is supported by a voluminous correspondence carried on—still in green ink—across the country with old friends in fraternal orders and from his years as party chairman and Postmaster General, all of them politically knowledgeable.

VICE PRESIDENT'S DRAWING POWER

With Farley's law in mind, attention to the early polls following the Democratic proceedings and the nomination of the complete ticket ought to bring illumination on a much disputed topic, whether the identity of a presidential running mate bolsters a ticket, puts a drag on it, or makes no difference.

The prevailing opinion, possibly cynical, is that the choice of the nominee for Vice President influences only those moved by dislike, wins no new votes for the ticket. A poll-backed estimate holds that President Johnson would run strongest running alone, which is impossible.

Admirers of persistence were rewarded at the nominating session when they brought home a long-struggling winner in Texas Gov. John Connally, who made his third trip to a convention rostrum to offer the name of Lyndon Johnson for President. The offer went untaken in 1956 and 1960, but was snapped up on this third try.

The Merits of Hospicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I have a letter from the vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Mr. Milton A. Ellis, which beautifully illustrates the economic fallacy behind what he so aptly and thoughtfully describes as the "Hospicare" bill, or amendment.

I congratulate Mr. Ellis for the soundness of his thinking, the benefit of which I will pass on to my colleagues by inserting his letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is refreshing from a pure economic point of view.

In so doing I cannot help but reflect that the insurance industry as a whole knows this reasoning to be sound and without rebuttal, as an effective force fighting to preserve the right of free enterprise and the very system which provides millions of jobs in the insurance industry they have been somewhat remiss for fear of "wounding their image."

I hope the thousands of insurance agents throughout the country will not worry so much about their image that they fail to recognize this is their fight also, and that socialized medicine, if it should ever be adopted, would wipe out not only their image but their livelihood. I commend Mr. Ellis' letter to the industry and the Nation as a whole:

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.,
New York, N.Y., September 10, 1964.

Hon. DURWARD G. HALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HALL: Regardless of the merits of "hospicare" and the questionable basis on which it was added by the Senate to the House-passed "Social Security Amendments of 1964," the tax impact seems to be the point that has been generally overlooked.

For a married man with two children earning $5,600 a year, the social security tax increase for 1965 amounting to $64 would more than wipe out the entire income tax cut provided for 1965 income, producing for him a total social security and income tax increase for 1965 rather than a tax cut.

Furthermore, the total social security tax increases through 1971, as provided in the Senate amendment, will just about cancel out the entire 1964 and 1965 income tax reductions for such a family man with average deductions, thus leaving him in 1971 about the same total for the two taxes as before the greatly publicized tax cuts.

We question whether the public thoroughly understands this mounting social security tax burden for the modest income family man. The social security tax is no longer a small tax and, under the proposed bill, it would really bite. In fact, by 1971 this man would be paying a social security tax of over $291 (almost as much as his average income tax in 1965 of $339), and his employer would be paying another $291 (a total of $582 or 10.4 percent of his gross salary).

Nor, indeed, is this by any means the entire story. Preliminary calculations indicate that the tax increases provided in the Senate bill would be insufficient to even cover the cost of the limited "hospicare" benefits added by the Senate amendment and, certainly, would be gravely deficient in providing for "hospicare" and the increased cash benefits added to your original House bill.

Apart from other questionable aspects of the "hospicare" provisions, it does not seem to be a right or a responsible course to add such provisions to the social security program until much more attention is given to the matter of their costs, of their impact on the social security program itself, and on the situation of individual taxpayers and the economy as a whole.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON A. ELLIS,
Vice President.

Act of Extremism in Defense of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, perhaps Senator GOLDWATER's standards are too high for some people, but here is a young man who knows what he stands for and is not afraid to show it. I am wondering whether President Johnson will condemn this man's actions or agree with Senator GOLDWATER that this is no vice.

Under unanimous consent, I include the following story:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 14, 1964]

GI SAVES REFUGEE IN BATTLE AT WALL

BERLIN, September 14.—A German immigrant now in the U.S. Army braved East German bullets yesterday to help a wounded refugee escape over the Berlin wall.

Sp4c. Hans Puhl, 22, was the hero of a 40-minute battle at dawn, during which West Berlin police and East German Communist guards fired dozens of shots at each other. No one was killed, but it was the longest fight since the wall was put up 3 years ago.

Lying in the middle of the fray, on the Communist side of the wall, was Michael Meyer, 21, from the East German town of Fredersdorf. Communist bullets brought him down as he tried to scramble over the wall to West Berlin.

Communist guards then tried to drag him away, but Specialist Puhl—covered by Western police—marched to the wall and ordered the East Germans back.

At a news conference, the soldier said he was riding along the Western side of the wall—in the Kreuzberg district—on a routine patrol with a West German policeman and arrived at the scene just after Mr. Meyer had been shot.

The American dashed to the second story of a nearby apartment house for a view of the other side of the wall.

He spotted the young man on the ground.

"Two East German guards were pulling on him," he said. "I pointed my rifle at them and told them to let him go.

"When they did not let him go, I threw a tear-gas grenade across the wall in the hope that they would stop bothering the refugee and they did."

Specialist Puhl then ran back to the wall, gave his rifle to a West Berlin policeman and pulled out his pistol.

"Two West Berliners boosted me up," he continued, "so that I could see across the wall and I called to the refugee not to move and that we were going to cut the wire on top of the wall."

When the soldier peered over the wall, the Communists opened fire, hitting the upper edge of the wall and showering him with concrete fragments. West Berlin police returned the fire from the windows of the apartment house. Two East Germans succeeded in reaching Mr. Meyer again. One began pulling the refugee, and the other pointed a pistol at Specialist Puhl.

"The American pulled his own pistol from the holster, aimed at the East German and said in German: 'Drop him and get away from here,'" a witness said.

Specialist Puhl denied he had pointed his pistol but admitted it was out of its holster.

The East Germans again retreated. As the soldier covered Mr. Meyer, two West Berliners got a stepladder and wire cutters. Firemen brought a rope and the soldier dropped it to the wounded man.

"We got the rope on him and pulled him across," Specialist Puhl said. "He passed out when we got him over."

Helping were two West Berliners and a U.S. Army sergeant.

Five bullets hit Mr. Meyer. He was reported recovering from wounds in the thigh and shoulder.

A German man and woman were hit by flying glass and splinters on the western side of the wall. It was believed that an East German guard also was injured.

Specialist Puhl, tall and blond, told his story in a clipped, precise manner. A native of Bremerhaven, he spoke with a slight German accent.

He was taken to the United States in 1956 and enlisted in the Army in 1961 after failing to finish high school. His mother, Wilma Makarewicz, is married to an Army sergeant stationed at Fort Knox, Ky.

Before joining the Army, Specialist Puhl worked for a time in a cotton mill at Statesville, N.C.

"The only thing he did mostly was go to church," said Mrs. Fleet Brown, who knew him in Statesville. "He'd go to revivals. Anytime he found out about one anywhere out in the country he'd go to it."

Maj. Gen. John F. Frankling, the U.S. commandant in Berlin, denounced the shooting of the refugee as an "inhuman dangerous action." He said police in West Berlin "will not remain passive in the face of unprovoked gunfire from the Soviet sector of Berlin."

The East German news agency called the incident a "serious provocation."

A Great Moral Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the American public has been waiting for many months for action to be taken in the Bobby Baker case. They are still waiting.

They are waiting for the Senate to have a real investigation. They are waiting for this body to face the issue of influence peddling in the House. They are waiting for the executive branch to start proceedings against Bobby Baker.

The Senate, having been prodded again by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], may start with a flurry of activity. Many feel the "second" investigation will end up in another whitewash.

In the House of Representatives, there may be hope that sharp questions raised as to the integrity of this body will quietly go away if ignored. They may be disposed of in this way, but what happens to the reputation of the House? What kind of Congress will the American people picture in Washington if both Houses sit on their hands and refuse to act quickly and decisively?

These are questions for all of us to ponder. They are questions on which the Democratic leadership must surely take a stand before we go to the people, if and when this session of Congress ends.

Either we will have a Congress which has ignored, covered up, and whitewashed flagrant cases of corruption and influence peddling right in its midst, or we will have a Congress which can proudly say to the people that its hands are clean and that the wrongdoers have been punished.

So far, our hands are not clean.

Turning to the executive branch, there are just as many unanswered questions. A few of them are:

Why has not Bobby Baker been prosecuted for filing a false statement with the Small Business Administration?

Why has not Bobby Baker been prosecuted for the forged signature on his income tax return?

Why has not Bobby Baker been prosecuted for his false affidavit to the Federal Housing Administration?

Why has not Bobby Baker been prosecuted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act for his dealings with and representation of foreign interests?

Why was not Bobby Baker prosecuted for his willful failure to file District of Columbia income tax returns until years late?

These are indictable offenses, yet no indictments have been sought, nor has any action been initiated. Consider the circumstances in these cases.

The first instance was the false information given to the Small Business Administration by Bobby Baker in regard to a loan application in behalf of the Carousel Motel. The fact he listed a $100,000 short-term loan as a capital asset is in violation of Federal law, the Federal false statement statute (18 U.S.C. 1001).

In this connection, included is a press release from the Small Business Administration issued early this year in which a defendant was charged under this same statute for a violation of a similar nature. Why does the law apply to one but not to Bobby Baker?

There was evidence presented to the Senate Rules Committee concerning the forged signature on Bobby Baker's income tax return. This is an indictable Federal offense. Everyone knows it, but why has action not been taken?

There is the apparent false and fraudulent affidavit which was submitted by Bobby Baker to the Federal Housing Administration in connection with his loan for a house in southwest Washington. The evidence shows this was not a house in which Baker ever lived or planned to live. He apparently falsely avowed to the FHA that the house was to be occupied by him or a close relative, as the FHA requires. But, in actuality, Miss Carol Tyler, his secretary, lived in the house.

These offenses have been public knowledge for months. The American people have been waiting for action to be taken. As I said earlier, they are still waiting.

There have been two outstanding success stroies of rags to riches—in Washington. They feature Bobby Baker and Lyndon Johnson. These two men were, and still are, I presume, as close as two peas in a pod. Baker's first allegiance was to Lyndon Johnson, his mentor and best friend. Yet publicly Lyndon Johnson now seems barely able to recall Bobby Baker, and the press has done very little digging to learn why.

There is througout America a strong suspicion that someone in a high office is shielding Boby Baker and others involved from proper Federal prosecution.

The American people will not wait forever—or will they?

The press release follows:

The Small Business Administration, announced today the return of a three-count indictment on January 23, 1964, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, charging Louis M. Ray of Monroe, La., president of First Louisiana Investment Corp., a federally licensed small business investment company, with violations of the Federal false statement statute (18 U.S.C., sec. 1001).

Small Business Administrator Eugene P. Foley said the indictment resulted from information referred to the Justice Department by the Small Business Administration.

The indictment charges that on three separate occasions during 1962 and 1963, the defendant, Ray, as president of the SBIC, executed and submitted to the Small Business Administration, a financial report in which he stated that United Construction Co., Plant City, Fla., was indebted to First Louisiana Investment Corp. in the sum of $47,500, by reason of a loan made to the Florida company.

The indictment alleges that the defendant knew, at the time the statements were made, that there was no such indebtedness. If convicted, Ray could be fined up to $10,000 or imprisoned up to 5 years, or both on each count of the indictment.

Senator Charles E. Daniel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report to the House the passing

of our beloved colleague, the Honorable Charles E. Daniel, who served briefly in the 83d Congress as the junior Senator from South Carolina. Senator Daniel slipped quietly away on Sunday morning, September 13.

Charlie Daniel was one of the greatest South Carolinians in the history of our State. He was a great southerner and a great American. Mr. Speaker, I believe Charles E. Daniel, without question, did more for South Carolina and the Southeast than any man of our time. Charlie Daniel believed that better education, higher wages, and industrial opportunity are the keys to the future prosperity and well-being of the South. He believed that private enterprise is the answer to poverty and depression. While demagogs ranted about the poor man and stirred up class against class, Charlie Daniel quietly did something for the workingman. He created tens of thousands of good paying jobs. In less than 25 years be became perhaps the world's greatest industrial contractor.

Charles Daniel often worked a hundred hours a week to create 40-hour-a-week jobs for others. Charlie Daniel was dynamic, progressive, and energetic. At a time when race relations captured the headlines, Charlie Daniel created good jobs for our Negro citizens and he advocated equal opportunity for all.

Mr. Speaker, we have lost one of our greatest Americans and I have lost a warm, faithful, and devoted friend.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the Congress and the Nation the following magnificent eulogy of Senator Daniel delivered at his final rites yesterday in Greenville, S.C., by Dr. L. D. Johnson, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Greenville:

(Scripture: Psalm 23; John 14: 1–6, 27; Romans 8: 31–39; I Corinthians 15: 42–44; I Corinthians 13.)

Sir Christopher Wren, England's fabled 17th cenutry builder, lies buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, whose construction was Wren's crowning achievement. On his tomb is this inscription: "If you would see his monument, look around."

Those words might appropriately be spoken of Charles E. Daniel anywhere in South Carolina, or for that matter, across the land. No tribute of ours could burnish the record of this fabulous man's career, or write his name in larger letters across the progress of this Nation than he has himself already written with his life.

Yet giant trees do not fall in the forest without the shudder of the earth, the trembling of lesser trees now more exposed to the elements, and without leaving an empty place against the sky. We cannot, then, sorrow at his falling without giving expression to the heart's sense of loss felt by all people of integrity and good will who knew him, and without some acknowledgment of how tall he stood among his contemporaries in our troubled time.

Think a man of vision, impatient with little plans and timid, backward looks, and the figure of Charles E. Daniel will loom large before your mind's eye.

Think of a man of immense pride in his country and in his region, whose most consuming ambition was the building of a better tomorrow for all people, and his name will come to your lips. How many times have we heard him say that the future of this country, and the answer to its problems, lay in better educational and economic opportunities for all its citizens. Once I heard him make a characteristically blunt comment that "there are some folks with so little sense that they can't see that better education and better jobs for the bottom third of our South Carolina people will help the other two-thirds, too."

When you think of courage and a will to see things through, and deep conviction about justice and injustice, think of Charlie Daniel. No mountain was too high if it needed to be climbed, no assignment too tough if it had to be done. In a day of featherbedders and quitters, in a time of cowards and calamity-howlers, it is good to have known a man of deeds, of action who would not indulge himself with excuses or muddle-headed laments about why "it can't be done."

When you look for an example of a man who came from humble beginnings and rose to walk as a peer among the great, think of this man whose career defies the cynical slur that America is no longer the land of opportunity for the humble and the poor with a will to be somebody.

When you look for a man whose creed was in his deed, whose word was his bond, impatient with shabbiness and sham, his character will stand as long as men acknowledge the validity of honor among men.

Josiah Gilbert Holland's prayer fits the occasion of our need, and the life of Charles E. Daniel is an appropriate reply:

"God give us men! A time like this demands
strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demogog
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps."

And without intrusion, and with gentleness, let it be noted that if you seek an example of a man who loved the companion at his side with a simple, old-fashioned fidelity, here is such a man.

His leaving was too soon, so far as we humans understand such things. But the State and the Nation are better because he lived and wrought.

Let this be our tribute to Charles E. Daniel:

"We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heartthrobs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.
And he whose heart beats quickest lives the longest.
Lives in one hour more than in years do some
Whose fat blood sleeps as it alips along their veins.
Life's but a means, not an end; that end,
Beginning, mean, and end to all things—God."

Medical Care for the Aged—In United States and Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, the subject of medical care for older people under the social security program has occupied the interest of a great many people in and out of Congress for the past several years. Today I hope we disposed of this issue so far as this session of Congress is concerned, when we sent the Social Security Amendments Act of 1964, H.R. 11865—which had been amended by the Senate to include medical care for the aged—to conference. I believe it is pretty well understood that the amendment will not be agreed to by the Senate-House conference committee.

In my judgment, medical care should not be added to the already overburdened social security program. The issue has been political or ideological, rather than one of how best to provide full medical and hospital care to older people who do not have the means to provide for themselves. The problem of how the cost of necessary hospitalization, doctor's care, dental care, and all medical needs for older people should be provided was answered positively when the Kerr-Mills bill was passed by Congress in 1960. Kerr-Mills takes care of all medical needs, whereas the medical care provision under Social Security would only cover hospitalization, nursing home services, and outpatient diagnostic service. There seems no logical need for this additional tax to be placed on a higher portion of the income of low-income people. If the Senate medicare amendment were to be adopted, the social security tax would be increased from the 7¼ percent of the first $4,800 of gross income in 1964 to the level indicated in the table below.

The total tax in dollars in 1964 is $348, half paid by the employee and half by the employer:

1965	8½ percent on $5,600, or $476.
1966–67	9 percent on $5,600, or $504.
1968–70	10 percent on $5,600, or $560.
1971 and after	10.4 percent on $5,600, or $582.40.

This table shows that by 1971 everyone earning a gross income of $5,600 per year would be paying $291.20 annual social security tax, to say nothing of other taxes.

Mr. Speaker, as these figures indicate, the social security tax will be increasing. Whether or not this scheduled increase is adequate is debatable, in view of the experience of other countries which have experimented with socialized medicine.

An interesting editorial on the experience of the Canadian Province of Saskatchewan was forwarded to me a few days ago. The article is from the Plentywood Herald of Plentywood, Mont., which is

published just over the line from northwestern North Dakota. I commend this editorial, entitled "Medicare Costly for Canadians," to the attention of the Members of the House:

MEDICARE COSTLY FOR CANADIANS

Medicare has proven to be a boomerang in Saskatchewan. The full-scale coverage by statewide medical care is costing much more than was anticipated or is practical.

Now in its second year the program for the 900,000 people of the Province may come to the unprecedented sum of $21 million. This, of course, does not include the cost of administration—and, on today's market, that item frequently assumes startling proportions.

Not only are the state officials biting their nails over the present unhappy financial situation, but also, they are admittedly fearful of the future. Medicare may skyrocket in cost as has the government hospital insurance plan. The hospital plan began with a $7½ million cost and now runs six times that original annual outlay.

Both medicare and the hospital insurance plan come in under the banner of the Socialist government, which now has toppled. But toppled or no, the legislation still stands, a drain on the budget and a worry to the present administration. Apparently more than "the good that men do lives after them."

To solve the Canadian dilemma, officials are considering an interesting solution. It has been suggested that the Government charge fees known as deterrent fees, for patients who need to avail themselves of the doctors' services. This, they say, would discourage the common indiscriminate use—and abuse—of free medicine.

The fee system to support the free system is a little like something from "Alice in Wonderland." It might, of course, be an arrangement that would be all things to all people. The citizen could be implementing both the socialist and the capitalist way of life, since he would be paying taxes to support the programs and paying out of his pocket for program services as well.

Let's beware of this sort of legislation ourselves. So-called free programs are costly, cumbersome, and subject to all manner of unexpected breakdowns. We can congratulate ourselves that the medicare program sponsored by the Kennedy administration did not make it under the wire last year.

Doctors and patients—and almost every citizen is in one or the other of these groups ultimately—will fare better without the helping hand of socialized medicine. Our Canadian neighbors can attest to this.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach Expected To Succeed Robert Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, during the long days last winter when the Committee on the Judiciary was struggling to write a civil rights bill, I had the pleasure of getting to know Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. Our conversations were limited for the most part to the critical issues then occupying all of our attention, and all during that long debate, Mr. Katzenbach was available and cooperative in working out with us the legal intricacies of the bill. But more than that, I came to know that his ability as a legal mind was only an aspect of a compassionate and courageous gentleman. I was deeply pleased when the Washington Evening Star printed the following profile sketch of Mr. Katzenbach with information of his outstanding career as a navigator of a B–25 and following the war, his rapid ascent as a scholar, author, and teacher of the law.

KATZENBACH HAD MAJOR RIGHTS ROLE

The man who is expected to fill Robert Kennedy's shoes as acting head of the Justice Department is a big, coolheaded lawyer who has played a major role in the civil rights field as Deputy Attorney General.

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, 42, personally directed the force of Federal marshals during the night of wild rioting that accompanied the admission of Negro James Meredith at Ole Miss in 1962.

In June 1963, he confronted Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa in the "schoolhouse door" showdown in which two Negro students registered without violence.

More recently, he served as an architect of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In all three instances—as in many others—he has been Attorney General Kennedy's hardworking No. 1 aid.

A 6-foot, 2-inch, 215-pound former law professor, Mr. Katzenbach is no newcomer to tight situations, having spent 2 years in a German prison camp.

B–25 NAVIGATOR

In February 1943 Mr. Katzenbach, who entered the Air Corps halfway through his junior year at Princeton, was navigator on one of three B–25's attacking a convoy in the Mediterranean.

The planes sank 14 Axis ships, but the three were shot down. Mr. Katzenbach, a captain, was rescued from a life raft by the Italians and taken prisoner.

While in an Italian prison camp, he escaped twice but was recaptured each time. Later, he was handed over to the Germans and remained in German prison camps until May 1945.

While a prisoner, he found food scarce, but books plentiful. "There wasn't much to eat, so I read," he recalls. The reading was steady and planned along the lines of his college courses.

Returned home upon his release with 60 days of sick leave, Mr. Katzenbach asked Princeton if he could obtain his degree without returning to the university. It turned out there was a way he could.

He had to write a thesis and take 14 examinations covering courses he had missed. On the basis of his prison reading, and considerable further effort, he earned his degree within 60 days.

Mr. Katzenbach went on to the Yale Law School, where he was graduated cum laude in 1947. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, England, from 1947 to 1949.

COUNSEL IN AIR FORCE

Thereafter, he was in private law practice in Trenton, N.J., served in the Air Force General Counsel's office, taught law at Yale University, and was a professor of law at the University of Chicago.

He has written two books—one with Prof. Leon Lipson, of Yale, entitled, "Legal Literature of Air Space" and the other with Morton Kaplan entitled "The Political Foundations of International Law."

While the 1960 presidential campaign was raging, Mr. Katzenbach was studying international law at the University of Geneva, Switzerland, on a Ford Foundation law fellowship.

He had never met the Kennedys, but he was impressed with the campaign and was interested in becoming a member of the new administration. The new administration was interested in having him.

He signed on as Assistant Attorney General, heading up the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel.

SUCCEEDED WHITE

In April 1962, Mr. Katzenbach was promoted to Deputy Attorney General by President Kennedy to succeed Byron White after his appointment to the Supreme Court.

Some observers have felt that calm-headed "Nick" Katzenbach served as a steadying influence on Attorney General Kennedy. A top staffer reportedly called Mr. Katzenbach "the balance wheel."

To Mr. Katzenbach also fell some of the key legal tasks of the departmental leadership. For example, he wrote the legal brief supporting U.S. plans for a naval blockade of Cuba.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS FAMILY

A man who takes a direct approach toward his objectives but does it in a quiet, almost casual way, Mr. Katzenbach may draw some of his grasp of public affairs from his family background.

His father, the late Edward L. Katzenbach, was attorney general of New Jersey. His mother, 79, is president of the New Jersey State Education Board. A brother has been serving as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Katzenbach, who was born in Philadelphia, was married in June 1946 while at Yale Law School to a Washington girl, Miss Lydia Phelps Stokes.

She is the niece of the late Anson Phelps Stokes, former canon of the Washington Cathedral. Mrs. Katzenbach's sister is married to Juvenile Court Judge Orman Ketcham.

The Katzenbachs live in a large, white Victorian house in the Cleveland Park section of Washington. Mr. Katzenbach keeps a 34-foot yawl at Annapolis, but he doesn't get to sail it very often.

French Social Security on Verge of Bankruptcy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues' attention a recent article in the Los Angeles Times describing the fact that France's social security system is facing bankruptcy because of the drain placed on it by health insurance:

FRENCH SOCIAL SECURITY ON VERGE OF BANKRUPTCY—HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM DRAINS FUNDS, PUTS SYSTEM NEARLY $36 MILLION IN RED

(By Don Shannon)

PARIS.—France's social security system, chronically in the red since its establishment in 1928, was described as facing bankruptcy in a report made public Tuesday.

Labor Minister Gilbert Grandval, responsible for the administration of the system, said in a report submitted to President Charles de Gaulle:

"The financial breaking point is near. The solution cannot be found in the framework of the present system."

This year's deficit for the whole program covering 30 million of 47 million citizens is

expected to be $36 million against $10.5 million in 1965.

Chief drain on French social security has been the health insurance program rather than retirement and other benefits, the minister said. Between 1957 and 1962 medical expenditures more than doubled while family benefits and pensions have also risen.

THIRD OF BUDGET

Total expenses of social security are expected to reach $7 billion this year, or more than a third of the national budget.

Contributions by workers and employers were raised last year to 6 percent and 18 percent respectively, so high that further increases would put French industry under severe strain. France already suffers from high costs in competition with other European industry and the Government also fears the effect on its campaign against inflation at home.

Although family allocations rose from $1.04 billion to $1.64 billion, Grandval defended the program as essential to maintaining the national birth rate.

"The birth rate is not only without comparison to that of African or Asian countries but is also very inferior to that of the United States," he said. "The effort in the matter of family allocations should not be slowed down."

COST CUTS

Under the program, families with three or more children receive reductions in public transport and in lower income groups even such items as free shoes. There was a 40-percent increase in the average amount paid per family in the 5-year period from $341 to $476 as the number of children covered increased from 6.8 million to 8 million.

While retirement benefits have gone up 54 percent, French pensions are still low and no government would take the political risk of cutting them.

The obvious target is the medical program, and particularly the 100-percent payment on any medicine prescribed by a doctor. The growth of the cooperative pharmacies was credited by the ministry with stimulating waste of medicine.

A patchwork system, the French health insurance program even includes such things as mineral bath and reducing treatments, if prescribed. Doctors' fees jumped from an average of 63 cents to $1.46 in the 1957–62 period and the average hospital claim from $3.11 to $5.72.

French doctors fear that De Gaulle may be preparing, as a dramatic gesture before next year's election, the establishment of a national health program on the British mode.

The Government now subsidizes a majority of the nation's doctors who agree to treat patients at fixed fees and the medical profession is suspicious of advancing state control. French doctors nearly struck last spring when Grandval published new regulations governing fees, but held off when he retreated.

Even if the Government could force down medical costs, however, subsidizing of the social security system from general revenues appears inevitable.

Civil Rights and the Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, supporters of the so-called civil rights legislation are being kept busy these days trying to convince themselves that there is no relationship between the Negro riots and the enactment of the law. There is, of course, no way of proving the point, one way or the other. Since direct proof is not available we must turn to circumstantial evidence. In that respect all the evidence is against the force bill that was approved.

It will be recalled that during the prolonged Senate debate on the bill Negro leaders warned that unless a strong bill was enacted the Negro community would revolt, and there were dire warnings of riots and catastrophe. That threat was echoed by the politicians. And a strong bill was enacted.

Now, less than 3 months later, what do we find? Almost before the ink was dry after the bill was signed, the Negroes staged demonstrations and riots unprecedented in American history. The law-abiding segment of the Negro community was helpless in the face of overwhelming outbursts of Congo-type violence and destruction throughout the land. One who refuses to recognize the relationship between the enactment of the law and the outburst of racial violence simply blinks his eyes to reality.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include my current newsletter in which I discuss this unfortunate development:

NEWSLETTER

The aftermath of the civil rights legislation is gradually being felt. It triggered outbursts of lawlessness throughout the land. Already, in the first half of 1964, according to the FBI, serious crimes were up 15 percent over the first half of last year. Negro riots have cost $10 million in property damage, with several killed, 952 injured, 2,484 arrested, and 1,080 shops looted or damaged. Most of this came after the civil rights legislation.

In Chicago, in three New Jersey cities, in Rochester, New York City, and in Philadelphia, the biggest riots were staged—following the civil rights legislation.

Some of this would probably have happened had the civil rights bill not been debated. But the yearlong period of agitation, freedom rides, sit-ins, sit-downs, demonstrations, and repeated assurances from the politicians that the Negroes were at last going to be given their "freedom," served to create psychological climate for the outbursts and reactions from Negroes after the bill was enacted into law.

The same thing happened after the civil rights legislation was enacted in 1957—a round of crime and racial clashes evidently inspired by the agitation employed by politicians in promoting the legislation.

Right here in Washington, the "showcase of democracy," Negro crime jumped sharply after the civil rights bill was enacted. Here, more than any place, the plaintive pleas of the politicians were brought to bear on the minds of the Negro populace during the past year. This served to encourage the criminal element who in a spirit of "new freedom"—which the politicians had promised them—flexed their freedom muscles and celebrated.

During the past year 2,634 major crimes were reported in the District of Columbia, only 206 of which were committed by whites.

One of the sad and unfortunate effects of all this is the image that America presents to the world a Congo-type image of wholesale crime and interracial strife throughout the country.

And the end is not in sight. It will take a long time for this Nation to return to a state of normalcy and overcome the setback in the progress that was being made in the field of race relations before appetite for the Negro vote got the better of the politicians.

Legislation Reviewed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, looking back over this session of the Congress, three bills stand out in my mind because of their particular importance to the Pacific Northwest and to my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State. These bills are the Northwest power preference bill, the wilderness bill, and the land and water conservation bill, all of which have recently been enacted into law.

Because of their importance, and because these bills were of special interest to me as a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I made them the subject of a newsletter report to my district. I believe other Members of Congress may be interested in my views on these matters and, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I insert my newsletter, "The Northwest and Congress," together with the section entitled "As I See It," in the RECORD:

THE NORTHWEST AND CONGRESS

Three bills of major importance to the Pacific Northwest have been passed by this session of the Congress. Because of my membership on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I was able to participate in the writing of this legislation.

The Northwest regional power preference bill is now law, guaranteeing Pacific Northwest users first call on electric power produced in the Northwest. Before this bill was passed, existing "preference" legislation gave any public or semipublic entity the first chance to purchase federally produced power. It was possible that the city of Los Angeles or the Sacramento Utility District, for example, could claim "preference" over private industry in the Pacific Northwest. This is no longer the case.

With plans for the construction of an intertie system linking the Bonneville Power Administration with California now well underway, the impact of the Northwest power preference bill is tremendous. The Federal Government has agreed to include private and public utilities in a combination effort to build a $700-million intertie network, with the Federal Government paying no more than 40 percent of the total cost. Congress has already authorized $45.5 million to initiate the Federal phase of construction, and the Bonneville Power Administration will soon be able to sell excess power to California and Arizona. The BPA, which has been operating at a deficit, is expected to increase its annual income by $20 to $30 million, and a rate increase, which seemed inevitable for all Northwest power users, will not be necessary. Should BPA's excess power ever be needed in the Pacific Northwest, however, the Federal Government has guaranteed that's where it will be used.

The wilderness bill was also passed this session, climaxing nearly 6 years of effort to write legislation suitable to all. This meant lumbering, mining, recreation and conservation interests had to be satisfied. After

many hearings, this has been done with legislation giving statutory protection to some 9 million acres designated as wilderness area. The wilderness system can be expanded, but the final bill retained the view of the House of Representatives that Congress should have the power to initiate legislation providing for any expansion. Had an earlier Senate version of the bill triumphed, Congress would have had only veto power over recommendations of the Executive, and an ill-conceived reversal of the constitutional separation of powers between the Executive and Congress would have resulted.

Still another bill of great importance to the Pacific Northwest and to Washington State is the land and water conservation bill, also approved by Congress this session. I opposed portions of this legislation because it provides funds for the acquisition of more land by the Federal Government when the Government already owns 34 percent of all land in the continental United States. These funds would be financed partly by admission fees, which are not the same as user fees, where facilities such as stoves or launching docks are actually utilized. The admission fee charges a fellow simply to get into a forest or park area, and I'm against this.

Another section of the bill, however, will provide Federal matching for State funds to both acquire and develop recreation areas. Normally, 60 percent of the appropriations will be for State and 40 percent will be for Federal purposes, but the ratio can be varied by annual appropriations acts. It also may be varied up to 15 points by the executive. I hope the Congress and administration will keep this in mind by designating a greater portion of the Federal money for State-matching purposes, including the development of recreation areas. I have never heard a complaint that the Federal Government owns too little land, but many of you have pointed to the need for greater development of recreational facilities. I would hope this law will be administered to meet this need.

AS I SEE IT

(By Helen Westland)

Have you ever seen that sign "Plan Ahead"? This is just about the predicament of all we congressional wives who are anxious to get out to our various districts, and truly be of some help to our husbands in their campaigns. I got the winter clothes out of storage, then the temperature in the District of Columbia went up into the nineties. I saw to it that the car was in shape for cross-country traveling, had the maps marked with new highways, and here I am, ready to go. Then JACK says, "No, we won't be going this week, but I'll be flying out there to vote in the primary. I'll be back, but you be ready to depart, just in case." Apparently, I'm what you call a slow starter, but believe me, one of these days Congress will adjourn, we will arrive, and we'll both be looking forward to seeing all of you again.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

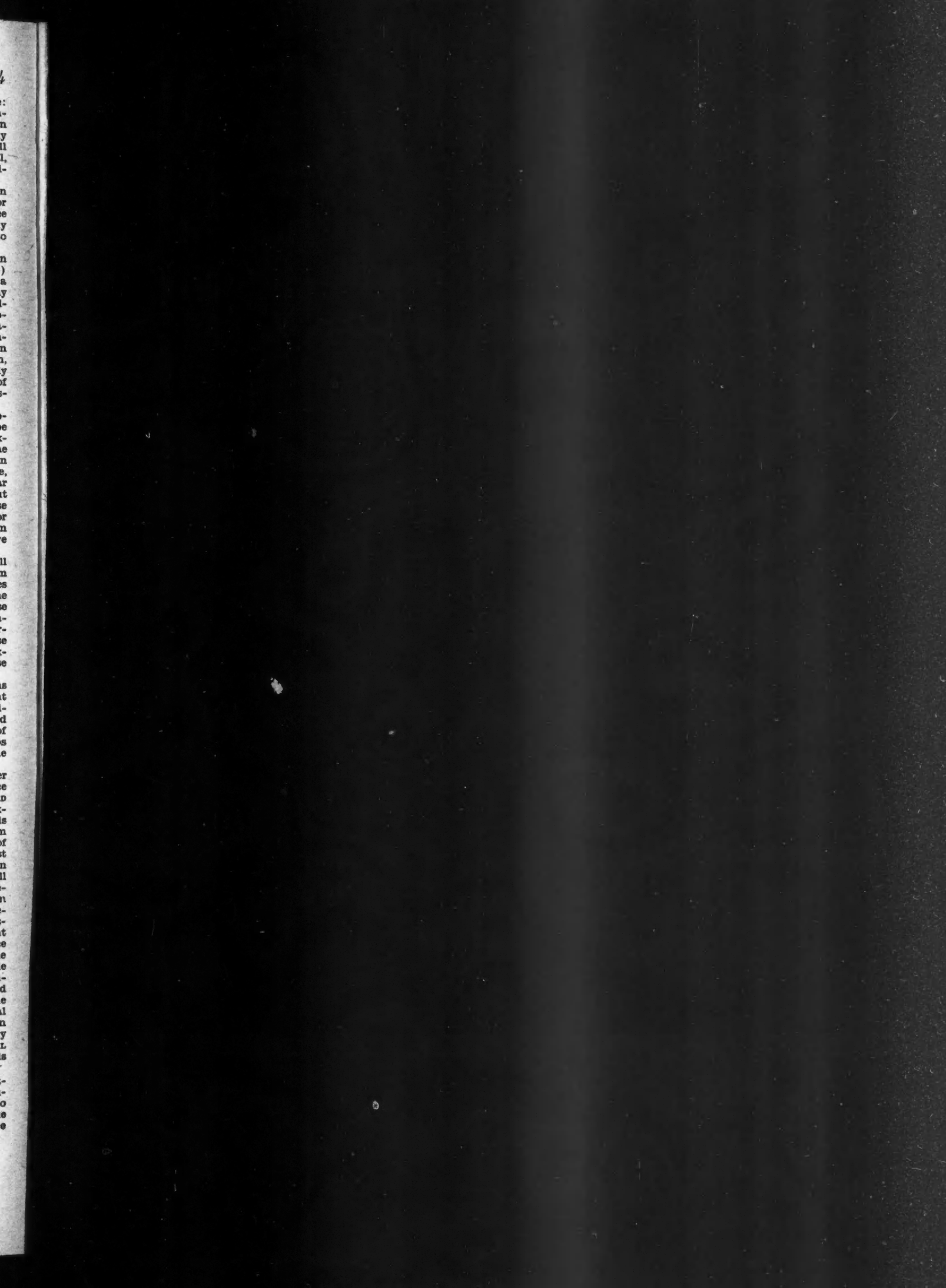

Appendix

Dorwin W. Suttle, First Judicial Appointee in Texas by President Johnson, Making Enviable Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the San Angelo Standard-Times, of San Angelo, Tex., published on September 13 an interesting article on U.S. District Judge Dorwin W. Suttle, of the Western Division of Texas, the first U.S. judge in Texas appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Judge Suttle's appointment was confirmed by the Senate on July 30, 1964; and since that time he has been most active in the performance of his duties.

Judge Suttle, a brilliant trial lawyer, had served as city attorney of Uvalde, county attorney and special judge in Uvalde County Court, was director of the Uvalde Chamber of Commerce, and is a member of the Border (Tex.), the Texas, and the American Bar Associations.

The article in the San Angelo Standard-Times, captioned "A Challenging, Rewarding Job," tells something of the energy and judicial temperament of Judge Suttle.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times, Sept. 13, 1964]

A "CHALLENGE REWARDING" JOB—AS U.S. JUDGE

(By Marj Carpenter)

PECOS.—For the third time in 2 years the Pecos division of the Western District of Texas has a new Federal judge.

Judge D. W. Suttle, formerly of Uvalde and now of El Paso, took the bench at Pecos for the first time on Tuesday morning to hear motions on the long civil docket of this term of court.

Judge Suttle has been presiding actively in the district since July 15 without a break, with most of these weeks spent in El Paso.

He was appointed to replace Judge Homer Thornberry who was transferred to the Austin district to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Ben H. Rice, Jr.

"Fortunately for me and the El Paso and Pecos divisions of the district I have been able to retain on my team Miss Grace Jones, secretary, and Hershel Foley, court crier, who served under Judge Rice and A. C. Valenzuela, court reporter, who served under Judge R. E. Thomason, recently retired," he said.

The new judge was sworn into office July 11.

On July 15 he was in Federal court in Del Rio, July 20 in El Paso and the week of July 27 in San Antonio.

Having practiced law in Uvalde 36 years, the judge has deep roots in that area "and would probably have never left there for anything except this office."

The judge assumed the office, he said, with a deep feeling of responsibility. He pointed out the differences in pressures on the trial attorney, which he has been for many years, and the duties of his new judgeship.

He also pointed out that being a judge is "very challenging and rewarding work and the responsibility makes a man humble.

"As a lawyer I was a partisan; as a judge I am compelled to a decision as to what is right," he said.

Asked how he thinks he will like west Texas, the new judge cited an incident that occurred in his family many years ago. He recalled that after the death of his first wife, when he and his children were "camping out," they were debating whether to go home that night.

His daughter (then 8 years old) said, "I don't understand, Daddy. I thought home is where we're together. Aren't we home now?"

And the judge added, "This is how I feel about west Texas. We will make El Paso and west Texas home."

Although the Uvalde attorney had been mentioned as a possible choice for a Federal judge appointment on at least one occasion prior to becoming the appointee for this district, he was still surprised and somewhat overawed when the event actually transpired.

Suttle and his former law partner, W. A. Kessler, with whom he has practiced 27 years, had just completed a new office building in Uvalde.

"We had also remodeled our home there," the judge stated, "and this is a hard thing for Mrs. Suttle to leave."

Kessler, who was Suttle's roommate in college, was an attorney in Austin during the years that Suttle served as city attorney. Ever since then the two have been partners and close friends.

Suttle's most famous client—for 30 years—has been former Vice President John Nance Garner. The new judge said that "he is a longtime client and a good friend. I visited with him just this past weekend when I was in Uvalde."

Asked about other friends, the judge remarked with a smile, "Well I suppose it is rather obvious to everyone that President Lyndon B. Johnson and senior Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH are my friends because otherwise I certainly would not be here."

D. W. Suttle is many things—a Texan, having spent his entire life in this State, born and reared in the New Braunfels and San Marcos areas and having spent his entire law career in Uvalde.

He has been an active civic leader—chairman of the Democratic executive committee in Uvalde many years, a past commander of American Legion there, a past president of the Uvalde Lions Club, school trustee, a director of the chamber of commerce there and active in the Episcopal Church.

As a businessman he was associated with several business and financial institutions in the Uvalde area.

His family includes his wife and four children. They are Stephen Suttle who attends Texas University Law School; Joanna Suttle, who is taking a business course in Austin; and two stepsons, Fred Whitecotton, who attends Southwestern University, and Frank Whitecotton, 11, of the home.

The judges eyes light up when he talks about his family.

And now the new Federal judge indicates he's deeply interested in filling out the responsibilities of his position and in making new friends.

On his desk during the interview were several briefs submitted on matters in which he was currently hearing motions.

As the interview was closed the judge turned back to these with his attention focused on the duties of the day—his new duties as a new Federal judge.

Alaska Earthquake Damage Being Overcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH J. RIVERS
OF ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, my immediate purpose is to give you and all my colleagues in this Congress an outline of accomplishments thus far attained in Alaska in overcoming the great earthquake disaster of last March.

I am particularly pleased to have this material at hand to present, as this Congress comes to a close, because it gives me a last chance this year to record my deep appreciation to the administration, from the President down through the executive branches, inclusive, and to all the Members of both Houses of this 88th Congress for timely and generous and indispensable monetary and other assistance to Alaskans during their hour of greatest need. I know that I speak for all the people of Alaska in expressing this appreciation.

I am also pleased to note that this report, which comes from a fine speech by Alaska's Governor, William A. Egan, to the convention of the Alaska Association of Realtors at Anchorage on September 10, is distinctly encouraging as well as embodying a thorough grasp of the situation.

The text of the Governor's speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, it was with great pleasure that I accepted your kind invitation to address you today, and I have looked forward to coming here.

The realtors of Alaska have an overall record of public-spirited fairness and human understanding in their dealings with citizens. Since that fateful evening last spring when devastation befell many of the south-central district's cities and villages, your organization has worked closely with public servants in government in providing an

answer to some of the technical questions arising with respect to land problems.

I welcome the opportunity to tell you of some of the things that have been accomplished since the great disaster of last March and to speculate a little as to what lies ahead for our State.

You are all aware, of course, of what is going on in this dynamic community. In the historical sense, it was only for a moment that progress here was halted.

In those first dark days after the Good Friday catastrophe, when most of our south-central Alaska communities lay in ruins. The true spirit and courage of Alaskans shone forth. There was no question that in time we would rebuild our State and make it a better place. We knew there could be no finer memorial to those who had perished.

Today, all about us, we can see that memorial being erected. The wreckage of that awful disaster—for the most part—has been cleared away. New buildings are going up, testifying to the steadfastness of Alaskans and their faith in the future of this State.

Your convention now in progress is positive indication of your belief that Alaska is but crossing the threshold of its development potential.

It is truly inspiring to walk about the streets of this city. The accomplishments of Anchorage since that not so long ago Good Friday evening bears witness of the unshakeable never-say-die spirit of Anchorageites and all Alaskans. The New J. C. Penny Co. store, the First National Bank addition, the Alaska Sales & Service Building, the First Federal Savings & Loan reconstruction—these are but a few of the evidences to any visitor that Anchorage is here to stay. Everywhere there are signs of this. The Cordova and Hill Buildings are once again occupied. Many other buildings damaged on March 27 have been restored. There are more accommodations for visitors in Anchorage now than there were before the disaster.

All but three Anchorage area schools are in use again. Completion of repairs on one of these—Denali School—is scheduled by November 30. Restoration of water and sewer lines is proceeding ahead of schedule. Employment is at a higher level than last year.

The Department of Labor reports that 86,300 persons were employed in the State in mid-August—900 more than in July and 2,000 more than in August of last year. The increased employment is attributed primarily to earthquake reconstruction activity. But there has also been an increase in industry which is in no way related to the great disaster. Oil, timber, and hard rock mineral development, are among those reflecting noticeable employment increase.

The number of construction workers filing unemployment claims in August was less than half that for the same month last year. While the July-to-August improvement in employment this year was most pronounced in construction, every other major industry showed some improvement.

At this point, I want to inform you that employment of resident cannery workers in Cordova was virtually unaffected by Japanese salmon buying in Prince William Sound. The explanation for this is that the two major American salmon canneries in the area customarily import most of their labor from Washington State. Therefore their 11th hour decision not to operate this year had the greatest impact on fishermen. Most Cordova cannery workers found employment in the several small American canneries which operated there this year—and fishermen, who had been faced with the prospect of spending the summer on the beach, were able to make a living.

In the devastated areas of south-central Alaska, reconstruction work is going ahead. Planning has been completed for urban renewal projects at Valdez, Seward, and Homer For Cordova and Seldovia certain work and planning is underway.

The Valdez project involves relocation of the entire community at Mineral Creek several miles away. The move is necessitated by geological findings that the present townsite is dangerously unstable.

Engineering for the access road to the new townsite and for a 600-foot dock is complete. The Army Corps of Engineers has awarded a contract for construction of harbor facilities. Most of the work in connection with the Valdez project will not begin until next spring, but it is hoped that sewer and water mains can be installed at the new townsite before this winter.

At Seward, a contract has been awarded for rehabilitation of utilities and sewers, and bids have been received for reconstruction of harbor facilities. The Seward urban renewal project involves relocation of the community's industrial area—which was destroyed by sea waves and fire on March 27—to the head of Resurrection Bay.

At Kodiak, the harbor breakwater has been restored, and replacement of boat floats and other inner harbor facilities is expected to be finished by November 15. The Kodiak urban renewal project involves reconstruction of the community's commercial center.

I want to emphasize that, while substantial progress has been made to date, the work of rebuilding our shattered communities is expected to continue for the next 3 years.

A 3-year highway reconstruction program will be 26 percent complete, and the Alaska railroad expects to have a usable facility at Seward and its track reopened to that port city by the end of the year.

The Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs—which has undertaken to build new homes for Old Harbor, Port Lions (formerly Afognak), and Chenega villagers—reports it anticipated having the buildings up by about November 1. Chenega, which was smashed by the sea waves on March 27, is to be relocated at Tatitlek, near Valdez.

The Indian Bureau is now forwarding supplies to the building sites from Whittier and recruiting carpenters. The work must be accomplished before winter sets in too deeply. Many of these villagers are still living in the temporary homes constructed in April and May.

Of special interest to you, I am sure, is the Federal-State program of mortgage relief for Alaskans whose homes were severely damaged or destroyed last March.

The program, while not as broad as I had hoped for, nevertheless will provide a measure of relief for nearly 400 Alaskans.

Eleven million dollars is to be made available by the State and Federal Government, on a 50–50 basis, for this mortgage relief program. The Alaska Legislature appropriated the State's share at its recent special session.

The State will administer the program, and a proposed plan for implementing it has been forwarded to President Johnson. The plan, based on recently approved amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act, must have the President's approval before it can be put into effect, and the Congress must yet appropriate the authorized Federal share of the funds.

Some persons have declared that because Congress has not yet appropriated the Federal Government's $5½ million share of the program, I should not have called the recent special session of the legislature. I want to emphasize here that I had been assured by high officials of the Federal administration that no appropriation would be likely from Congress for the mortgage program until the State of Alaska developed its plan and demonstrated it intended to follow through with the program. The special legislative session was a concrete demonstration of the intent of Alaskans to do everything possible to help ourselves.

The mortgage program, while not a cure-all, will enable many Alaskans who have suffered grievous losses to reestablish homes and rid themselves of crushing mortgage obligations.

Some have questioned why we are attempting to establish a program that will not benefit all Alaskans. I have answered that this program will help all Alaskans—by preventing bankruptcies and defaults which would tarnish our State's reputation in financial circles.

We are acting to maintain the financial integrity of Alaska. But the main point is that this program is the best we could get from Congress at this time. When we consider all of the other support Congress and Federal agencies have extended to us, I believe each of us can say, "well done."

As I have said, our plan for implementing the mortgage relief program is now being studied by the executive branch of the Federal Government and is subject to rejection or modification. For this reason, I will only describe it generally to you today.

The plan is intended to enable the State to relieve mortgagors by retiring or adjusting outstanding home mortgage obligations or other real property liens secured by one- to four-family homes damaged to the extent of 60 percent or more of their preearthquake value.

It is contemplated that the State commissioner of commerce will administer the plan, through an agency to be known as the Alaska Mortgage Redemption Agency.

Payments from the fund for retiring or adjusting mortgage obligations and other real property liens on a single property are not to exceed $30,000, and a mortgagor shall absorb the damage loss to the entire extent of his equity in the property. No payment will be made which would directly or indirectly compensate the owner for any portion of his equity interest.

I want to repeat here it was the intent of Congress in establishing this program to relieve the owners of badly damaged or destroyed homes of overwhelming mortgage burdens and nothing more.

A homeowner applying for mortgage relief will be required to pay $1,000 toward liquidation of his mortgage or lien obligations. Principal payments made subsequent to March 27, 1964, will be deducted from this required payment.

An applicant may choose to retain title to his property or relinquish it to the State. It is intended that if he chooses to give up title, the mortgage redemption agency will provide the full amount needed to retire his mortgage, except for $1,000.

I will not describe the plan more fully at this time because it is only a proposal now. If it is accepted, the State will act immediately to make it work for a substantial number of our fellow Alaskans in dire need of assistance.

I want to touch on one or two other subjects before closing my remarks here today.

I have mentioned that employment is at a high level. I want also to point out that, despite the loss of many fishing boats and damage to others, the 1964 Alaska salmon season—overall—is the best in 15 years, with the pack expected to total more than 3,600,000 cases.

Looking to the future, a high level of employment is anticipated for the next several years in the State partly because of the extensive reconstruction work scheduled.

And there is reason to believe 1965 will be our biggest tourist year. Everything that has made our State a prime tourist attraction in the past is intact. The magnificence of Alaska's scenery and the friendliness of her people are undiminished. It is not unlikely that many persons will want to visit the 49th State next year to view the progress that will have been made by then in the reconstruction effort.

There are those who would cast doubt as to the economic future of our State. These are the same people who predicted gloom in the first days of statehood. They are the people who never see the forest because of the trees. They are the well meaning folks who could not see that building an adequate transportation system on land—on water—and on the airways—was the basic ingredient needed to stimulate economic development. They are the ones who thought that building new schools, airports, boat harbors, public buildings, hospitals and strengthening the physical and academic plant at the University of Alaska would sound the death knell for Alaska.

These people are the ones who believe that the status quo should have been maintained as we moved from territorial status to statehood. Brakes should have been applied to our land development program, to our fisheries conservation and management program, to our visitor promotion program, to our job training programs, to our agricultural program, and to many other progressive activities.

They are the ones who speak of living out on the tundra under the stars—but who, themselves, live in fine homes, utilizing and enjoying all the modern conveniences helpful to a better way of life.

They are the ones who fail to see the countless new hotels, motels, homes, service stations, and other business establishments which have sprung up in Alaska since statehood. They will not admit that the volume of gross business has nearly doubled in Alaska over the past 5 years.

They close their eyes to the fact that timber utilization and production has increased noticeably and admirably over the past 5 years; that the same thing applies to our salmon, halibut, and shellfish development programs; that the oil and gas industry has come into its own in Alaska over the same period; that our coal mining and other hard rock mining has made strides; that our visitor travel industry is growing, on land, sea, and air; that agricultural production is progressing, and that many small industries have come into being in many of our communities. They fail to note the progress made in developing our human resources. For example—last year more than three times as many graduates of the University of Alaska qualified as teachers for Alaska's schools than was the case in 1959. I could go on and on.

But the point is that while, sure, we do have problems, as does any other State of our American Union, those who preach doom and gloom without interspersing facts in their remarks, do a great injustice to our great State of Alaska.

These same people continue to belittle the oil industry's great contribution to Alaska's past statehood progress. They point to bonus payments for competitive bid oil lease lands as being "windfalls." There is no "windfall" to it. Those of us responsible for administering your Government studied geological reports discussed likely values with knowledgeable men in this field. We had every faith based on—not dreams—but factual data—as did the leaders of the petroleum industry, that these lands were immensely valuable.

That faith is now paying off. The productive activity in Cook Inlet which is now fact, is about 2 years behind schedule with respect to notations I made in a little black book of mine back in 1961. But the ultimate result will be essentially as I noted for my personal reference 3 years back.

Oil production royalties from production of the Soldatna Creek and Soldatna River units on the Kenai Peninsula, bring the State approximately $3,500,000 annually. When production from the presently proven oil fields in Cook Inlet is in full swing, I venture to say that the additional annual production royalties to the State will reach a minimum of $20 million. Quality of the oil in the Cook Inlet discoveries appears to be of a higher quality and each well appears to average a greater flow rate than those which are in production on the peninsula. On each of these counts, State royalties will be higher annually per well. The area of each of the presently discovered inlet fields will permit, under State spacing regulations, many more wells in each field than is presently the case in the Soldatna-Swanson River units.

The above does not take into consideration the likelihood of other Cook Inlet discoveries, or discoveries elsewhere, such as on the Arctic north slope.

In referring to the Arctic north slope, let me say that there are many in the oil industry who feel that area will be one of the world's heaviest petroleum producers.

And so, my friends, the income we have received thus far from our oil resources—rather than a "windfall"—may have been far too little for the value which is being proven.

Rather than a "windfall" only time will tell whether the State, in its determination to foster economic development, will be later accused of not holding out for enough in money payments from its early years competitive bid oil lease land activities.

The oil industry is here to stay. The industry's future activities will grow and grow, and the economy of the State of Alaska will grow and grow with it. Income derived from this one industry's production will have the effect of placing the State of Alaska's treasury on a sounder and more stable basis than that of any State of this great Union of ours.

It is true that the next 2 years will be lean ones, State budgetwise. But we are out of the glimmer stage, State budgetwise, and developmentwise. Ahead of us the sun is shining through.

Oil and gas development, fisheries production growth, timber industry expansion, agricultural production, hard rock mining, visitor travel, job training programs, educational progress, service industries and a fine transportation system—all the things that make for a better Alaska—are moving along.

We can each of us be mighty proud, you and I, regardless of political affiliation, of the forward trek that has been made since January 3, 1959.

Your organization, the Alaska Association of Realtors, has made significant contribution over past years to the well-being of Alaska. Your membership is composed of men and women of vision, of progressive thinking. Alaska is on the march. I know that each of you will be in there working shoulder to shoulder with your public servants on the State and local government level to develop the inheritance with which destiny has endowed us.

Thank you.

Speech by Ambassador Juracy Magalhaes to American-Brazilian Association

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered by Ambassador Juracy Magalhães at a luncheon given in his honor by the American-Brazilian Association, at New York City, on September 14, 1964.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR JURACY MAGALHAES DURING A LUNCHEON GIVEN IN HIS HONOR BY THE AMERICAN-BRAZILIAN ASSOCIATION

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to find myself amongst so many friends, Americans and Brazilians, all joined as brothers by the spirit of solidarity which characterizes the relations between our two countries and is reflected in the high objectives of this admirable American-Brazilian association. I would like to thank the distinguished president of the association and his colleagues of the board of directors for their kind invitation to this very pleasant luncheon and to all those present I would like to express my appreciation for their kind company.

Brazil and the United States are fortunately linked by a perennial communion of interests, sentiment, traditions, honor, and earnestness. This is the lesson of our histories ever since Brazil joined the community of sovereign nations, and today, especially in the present company, I need not stress any further the high significance of the ties between our countries. I will permit myself, however, to quote the following words spoken by Thomas Jefferson in 1787:

"As a North American I firmly believe that my country not only wants but also needs an independent, strong, and friendly Brazil to carry out in the southern portion of the hemisphere the mission that is ours in the northern part. Our two nations, united by a sincere friendship, would not only maintain peace throughout the Western Hemisphere, but would form with the other countries of America a bloc capable of resisting any aggression from Europe."

With the passing of the years the international situation to which President Jefferson referred has changed, as have the objectives of the union of our countries; nevertheless, the pronouncement of that distinguished statesman remains steadfast in its substance, thus giving one more proof of his political foresight.

Relations between Brazil and the United States have had high points, such as happened during World War II when Brazil made possible the great American action in Africa and, shortly thereafter, when its troops joined American troops on European soil in the defense of the Western democratic system. I realize that, on the other hand, these relations have undergone difficult moments brought on by misunderstandings which were, fortunately, shortlived. Today they are on the plane desired by the peoples of both countries, which is that of frank and constructive collaboration, be it politically or economically or financially.

In his remarkable speech on July 31 in which he defined Brazil's foreign policy, our eminent President Castelo Branco left no doubts as to Brazil's basic option in favor of the Western democratic system as the conditioning factor in the country's international position. Within this framework, President Castelo Branco said with regard to the United States:

"We have the conviction that Brazil and the great North American nation look after their mutual economic and trade interests in tune with a high-level policy and with a reciprocal friendship. The characteristics of Brazil's present situation coincide with this continent's desire for peace and also with the fundamentals of the collective security which is so much the responsibility of the United States."

With both the prudence and determination required and with the conscious support of the Brazilian people, the present Government of Brazil has been carrying out the struggle against the devastating inflation

fostered by the previous administration and is in the process of defining and beginning to put into effect such plans as are indispensable to draw the national economy out of the stagnation in which it had almost foundered. Many of the steps taken and measures adopted have not met with popularity and have, therefore, brought on criticism which is not uncommon in regimes that advocate freedom of opinion and of assembly. The program outlined by the Government does not seek to serve groups but the nation itself and it shall be carried out with earnestness, steadfastness, and honesty of purpose.

The Brazilian people are convinced that the effort toward the development of the country has to be domestic and demands the sacrifice of all sectors of the nation. We are determined, in Brazil, to proceed at any cost along those lines, and this we shall do. We do not forgo, however, collaboration we may receive from friendly countries as a complement to our efforts in order that the pace of development may be accelerated without any setback to our internal needs. In past years foreign capital, whether public or private, had reasons for fear the Brazilian market, although many times it found favorable conditions for investment in that market. Today there is no longer any reason for fear: to public financing we present an earnest and competent government and to private investment we offer the security of fair legislation and an enormous variety of mutually advantageous applications.

In view of the nature and extent of the economic and trade relations between our two countries Brazilians trust that great part of this foreign financial cooperation will come from the United States, whether through its government or through its business community.

Our friends here present are well aware of the real situation and of the enormous potential of Brazil. In my thoughts at this moment were turned only to you, I would limit myself to thanking you again for the honor of your gracious company, but I speak to you, with my thoughts turned also to those Americans who, unfortunately, are not aware of what goes on in Brazil and what the Brazil of tomorrow will be like. We must proclaim to them that Brazil is that strong ally that the United States wanted and needed as early as in Jefferson's time. We must tell them that Brazil is a country completely reintegrated in its national dignity, earnestly desirous of promoting its development and honoring its share in the heritage and in the preservation of Western democratic civilization.

The transmittal of this message is an important part of my mission in this country and to fulfill this task I trust, ladies and gentlemen, that I can count on your cooperation.

Thank you.

Needs for 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, as the presidential election approaches and the campaign increases its pace, the voters of the United States will be seeking answers to the many issues that will be debated. There will be claims and counterclaims that must be resolved and decisions will have to be made in a calm and objective manner. There is a deep significance in the choice presented to the voters and more than ever before an intelligent awareness of the issues involved is needed.

In a recent column, Mr. Roscoe Drummond, an experienced reporter of public affairs, gives excellent advice to the voters who face a campaign which will undoubtedly be fraught with emotion. I urge that his words be given careful attention. The article follows:

NEEDS FOR 1964

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—"Faker," "liar," "extremist," "hipshooter," "irresponsible," "preposterous," "ridiculous * * *."

With invectives like these already floating around loose in the atmosphere, it is evident that partisan oratory in this year's presidential campaign is going to be very partisan and very oratorical.

There is no doubt that the United States is heading into a highly emotional and inflammatory campaign—for understandable reasons.

While the country is still in the period of relative political calm, I want to mention three needs of the 1964 election, not as they affect the politicians but as they affect the voters.

The first need is to realize that the United States is facing a more meaningful decision than in any presidential campaign since the end of the war. Neither Senator GOLDWATER nor President Johnson is an echo of the other; each represents a fundamental choice—a crossroads of history. There is no one around to make this decision but the voters. What formidable—and precious—responsibility.

The second need is to realize that the only way we can really know what is going on in this superheated campaign is to keep our heads even if, at times, all the politicians seem to be losing theirs. As individuals we can be alert to the excesses of partisan politics so we and the country will not be misled.

The third need is to make certain that others do not do our thinking for us, that we think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, and decide for ourselves. Since the political parties will rarely be presenting their views objectively, it is important for the voters to be doubly objective in examining their views.

I am not talking about what to think—but how to think. For any value they might be in negotiating the shoals of "campaign oratory," I offer the following guidelines which have been helpful to me in reporting and appraising public affairs many years:

1. Cherish and nourish the desire for full information. One is not fully qualified to assert an opinion until he is able to expound the case for the counter opinion.

2. Use of a variety of sources of information. Whenever possible, read the full texts of the speeches of the presidential nominees. Make an effort to tap sources of opinion and appraisal with which you are likely to disagree.

3. List the issues which you feel should be controlling and try to examine the answers each candidate makes to the other's claims.

4. To get the right answers, you must ask yourself the right questions. The best questions concern "why" and "how," not merely what.

5. Develop the art of listening. It is a rewarding state of mind. In respecting your own views, respect the views of others.

6. Realize that you can have as deep a conviction as you wish even when you recognize that the other side has a lot of truth in it. Frequently people hesitate to look faithfully at the other side for fear the strength of their convictions will be weakened by the fact that some of the arguments on the other side are valid. You can have a 100-percent conviction even if there be only a 10-percent difference between your views and those who conclude differently.

7. Periodically engage in some good intellectual housecleaning. At every good opportunity, look at your favorite opinions and prejudices; put them out on the table in front of you. Make them justify themselves before you put them back in your mind.

There is no special dispensation for the capacity to think logically, cogently, objectively, usefully.

We're going to need to do it in this campaign.

Distortion in the Washington Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on last Tuesday morning, September 8, I spoke in Dallas before the national convention of the American Federation of Government Employees. On Wednesday afternoon, September 9, the Washington Star printed an extraordinary article about my speech—extraordinary because of its distortion.

This story, this fable in the Washington Star, was printed at page A–2 in the September 9 issue. Its caption reads as follows: "U.S. Classified Workers Assailed by YARBOROUGH on Pay Activity."

This is a very misleading headline, to say the least. In fact, I praised the American Federation of Government Employees for the fairness and skill of the presentation by its officers of its case, before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, on which I serve. I recounted the history of the recent Federal pay raise act in Congress, narrated how the House bill raised the salaries of the employees in the low brackets and of those in the high brackets, but left those in the middle brackets—E–9 through E–12—without comparable salary raises. I properly credited the AFGE with having ably called this discrimination in pay increase to the attention of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, with a resulting correction of this gross inequity by our committee, by the Senate, by the conference between the two Houses, and ultimately by Congress itself.

The first paragraph of this Washington Star article reads as follows:

An extraordinary attack on Government classified employees as ingrates and snobs has been made here by Senator YARBOROUGH, Democrat, of Texas, at the American Federation of Government Employees biennial convention.

This is a complete distortion of what was actually said. Never at any time, at any place, either publicly or privately, have I called Government employees, classified or unclassified, either ingrates or snobs. Such a statement is patently ridiculous.

In my speech to the AFGE, I narrated that of the 592,500 U.S. postal employees,

approximately 400,000 belong to employee organizations; but that of the more than 1 million classified and wage board U.S. employees, less than 250,000 belong to any kind of employee organization. I urged the AFGE to recruit prospective members, so as to have the organized voice that postal employees have.

At Dallas, I did, indeed, make a partisan political speech for the Democratic Party. I stated to the delegates that they were under the Hatch Act, and could not campaign; but that I was an elective officer, not under the Hatch Act, and could, and would, campaign there. Such conduct was ethical and proper, but it seems to have irritated the Star reporter.

If the response of the delegates present was any criterion of their feelings—and I have had enough political and public-speaking experience to know that it was, my speech was approved by the delegates at Dallas. If I called those Federal employees any names, they did not seem to realize it when the time for applause came.

However, to be impartial and candid in my report to the Senate, I point out that later an officer of AFGE told me that a member said to him, "Well, he did not win me over, I am still a Republican." In the course of my remarks, I had invited any Republicans who were dissatisfied with their party to "come over and join us Democrats." But I do not believe that Americans resent being asked to join either of the two great American political parties now in existence in the United States.

In order to set this matter straight, I ask unanimous consent that my prepared text, as released to the press at the AFGE Convention, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WELFARE OF THE FEDERAL WORKER

(Excerpt of a speech delivered by Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH before the National Biennial Convention of the American Federation of Government Employees, at the Adolphus Hotel in Dallas, Tex., Tuesday, Sept. 8, 1964)

Fellow Americans, fellow Government workers, I am honored to be your guest at this national convention of the American Federation of Government Employees. As a ranking member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, legislation affecting your lives has been an important part of my responsibility.

I believe our committee, under the leadership of the great chairman, OLIN JOHNSTON, has worked as hard as any congressional group in American history to bring about legislation to improve the life of the Government employee.

This 88th Congress takes second place to no Congress in American history in the work it has done to bring the Federal employee to a more nearly equal standard with the worker in private industry.

What has been accomplished was done with the influential and effective work of the American Federation of Government Employees. It has been in many cases your informed membership, the respect held for your organization by Members of Congress, the executive branch and agencies of the Government that has made you a partner in the shaping of new laws. Yours is a dynamic organization, a part of a dynamic administration team. The AFGE gets things done.

Within your organization is the experience, the know-how, the day-to-day accomplishment that makes it possible for the American Government to undergo a change in the White House such as the one following the tragic assassination of John F. Kennedy—a change effected with the full confidence of the American people—an orderly transition impossible of achievement by any other government.

You are building for the future of the Federal employee by the high standards you have set in your relation to the public interest.

Your membership has increased by 25,000 or 30,000 in the past few years; it is now up to 136,000, and is still growing.

You have good cause to be proud of your role, as I am proud of mine as a Member of the Senate in helping to make the Federal Government attractive to the highest caliber of men and women.

A great step forward was accomplished when President Kennedy signed into law the Salary Reform Act of 1962, including the principle of comparability. And another step was achieved when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the pay bill last month. I worked with your federation on this bill; we were successful in increasing the raise for classified employees in the middle grades.

In the next Congress we shall continue to look at such matters as the "level of competence" provisions in the 1962 act which have caused you concern.

This 88th Congress has already improved the Health Benefits Act of 1959, and it is my hope that we can turn more attention now to needed reforms in the retirement system.

I might add while we are on this subject that I introduced two bills which I think would greatly improve the retirement plan.

I have been concerned for some time about all the sick leave that may be lost by an employee retiring after many years of dedicated service. One of my bills (S. 1661) provides that one-half of this accumulated sick leave at retirement shall either be compensated for in cash as severance pay or all the accumulated sick leave shall be used as added service time in computing the annuity.

Another of my bills (S. 1662) would correct the inequities in the survivor annuities plans.

Obviously their chance for enactment in this session is less than bright, but I assure you I will be back next year to reintroduce these and to work for their passage. We must not allow the Federal Service again to stand still while the rest of the world goes marching by.

These great strides have been made by a Democratic majority in Congress over the outspoken opposition of the current Republican Party leadership, which knows no greater pleasure than to denounce the Federal Government—a Republican Party that has as one of its greatest unspoken goals—unspoken but well understood—the curtailment of Federal Service and the death of the union movement.

It has been a Democratic Congress that has paved the way for first-class citizenship for you and others like you.

If we are to maintain these gains, if in fact, we are to prevent a loss of all that has been achieved, you owe it to yourselves and to your country to vote and above all, to encourage others to vote for a forward-looking Government.

For first of all you are American citizens with full rights of participation in your Government, and citizenship carries no greater responsibility than the selection of those who will represent you well in the years to come. I am a candidate for reelection to the U.S. Senate, running against a Republican opponent who sows seeds of distrust against the Federal Government, who endorses wholeheartedly the backward philosophy of the current National Republican leadership.

I am a straight-ticket Democrat, for this has always been the party of peace, prosperity, of hope, the party of vision, and the party of action. And with your vote, we shall continue the forward march in the spirit of Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and Humphrey.

Letters to Representative Beckworth and a Clipping About Independent Oil Operators

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include some letters which I have recently received and a copy of an article that appeared in the Longview Daily News, September 14, 1964. Some of our dairymen have real troubles. The same is true in connection with our independent oil operators:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., August 21, 1964.

Hon. LINDLEY BECKWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BECKWORTH: We have your letter of August 15, 1964, to Secretary Freeman and the enclosed letter from Mr. J. G. Anderson, general manager of the North Texas Producers Association, concerning a request for an emergency hearing on class I prices under the Texas Federal milk orders.

A public hearing has now been announced for August 26 at Dallas. At this time evidence will be received concerning the need for an emergency increase in the class I price in the north Texas, San Antonio, central west Texas, Austin-Waco, Corpus Christi, and Lubbock-Plainview Federal order markets.

If we may assist you in any other way, please call on us. Mr. Anderson's letter is returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,
CLARENCE H. GIRARD,
Deputy Administrator,
Regulatory Programs.

PITTSBURG, TEX.,
September 10, 1964.

DEAR LINDLEY: We have read Mr. Gerard's letter with interest, and do appreciate what you are doing in behalf of the struggling dairymen, and believe you can get them some relief.

One thing for sure—you are the man we have always been the one we can go to with our problems, and know if anything can be done you can and will.

LINDLEY, it is still hot and dry here, and that contributes much more to our troubles.

Sorry, have been so long in returning this letter—but so many things on our mind and so much to do—we have carelessly neglected it.

Thanks so very much for your efforts and we are still counting big on you and look forward to seeing you home.

So sorry to learn of your loss in illness.

We will be dropping you few lines again soon as time eases a bit.

Sincerely yours,
RUBY LEE and J. W. DUFFEY.

INDEPENDENT SAYS OIL MEN FACING TROUBLE

TYLER.—Texas' independent oil men are in deep trouble, the executive vice president of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association (TIPRO) asserted today.

"The average or typical independent is being rapidly squeezed into virtual inactivity if not altogether out of this business," said Earl Turner of TIPRO.

"There is a grave monopoly trend in the oil business which cannot, in the long run, benefit any segment of this industry, any producer State, any consumer, or the security of our Nation," Turner told the Rotary Club.

Discussing "causes of deterioration and solutions needed," Turner said TIPRO will decide at its annual meeting in Fort Worth Sunday what measures should be taken to aid the independent.

Turner named partially subsidized foreign oil as the foremost source of the independent's problems. Foreign oil, he said, "has been allowed to gobble up a seriously disproportionate share of U.S. market growth."

He said closely tied in with cheap oil from abroad is "cutthroat price competition at the marketing level—competition of a kind which certainly does not benefit the consumer in the long run and can be disastrous to the nonintegrated producers without access to cheap foreign oil."

A third source of difficulty, he said, is "failure of prorating States like Texas to get their fair share of production within the United States. This is primarily because of the disproportionate growth in Federal offshore production."

Sudden Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I seek unanimous consent to insert the following message from the Sunday School Times. It was relayed to me from one of my constituents. I commend it to my colleagues for sober consideration:

SUDDEN DESTRUCTION

Rapidly transpiring events in the Far East have again brought our Nation face to face with the possibility of war. We have found again that while it is easy to talk about war as a means of solving our international problems, it is never easy to contemplate the awful reality of war—especially in today's nuclear age.

War is hanging over us. The stock market is shocked. Families of servicemen are shocked. Our own Christian consciences should be shocked. The Vietnam crisis should serve as a call to national prayer and repentance.

War is never a blessing. It is always a judgment. No one wins. It is judgment on victor and vanquished alike. The finger of God, as it were, is writing on the wall for everyone to see. We see again the awful possibility of sudden destruction. When people say, "There is peace and security," then sudden destruction will come. That is the word of the Lord. (1 Thessalonians 5: 3.)

The United States is living in unparalleled luxury. This Nation has been blessed beyond all measure. Yet on us falls the responsibility for thwarting Communist aggression, for spending billions of dollars for armaments, for using the lives of thousands of men to preserve freedom.

Never before has a nation held such an awesome responsibility. And because we have been so blessed by God, we have a greater responsibility before Him.

With a surging crime rate, racial violence, alcoholism, and sex being exploited as the god of this age, we find little reason to believe that we shall be spared some kind of judgment. Perhaps we shall survive as a nation, but at what cost?

Too long have we looked askance at our national sins. Too long have we trusted in our material standard of living. Too long have we trusted in our scientific achievements. Too long have we been willing to settle for the cheap veneer of a weak religion without the cross of Christ as the center.

National prayer and repentance is not simply a means of saving our own skins. It is what we owe Almight God for the bounteous mercies He has bestowed on us. Repentance also means more than a few tears of sorrow. It means a determination to renounce sin and to follow the Lord Jesus Christ, regardless of cost.

Perhaps Vietnam will shake us out of our complacency. It is easy to think the danger is too far away to concern us. But we know that with the rising power of China, there is bound to be conflict. We need to examine our own hearts now before the living God to whom we shall one day give account.

Sudden destruction can overtake an individual as well as a nation. That is the lesson of the man who tore down his barns to build bigger ones. This is the picture of the United States today—building, building, and more building—but on the foundation of sinking sand instead of the foundation of rock, which is the eternal word of God.

This crisis is a call to return to the scriptural standards of personal and national living. And this kind of obedience to the word of God must begin with Christians. We must show the Nation the way of faith and obedience to the living Christ, who is before all things and in whom all things hold together. We have been delivered from the dominion of darkness and transferred to the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom we have the forgiveness of our sins.

No crisis is a call to panic, but rather a call to sober reflection. We must pray as never before for our Nation, not only that we shall be spared a war, but that we shall be a God-fearing and God-loving people. This alone is worth striving for. If we save our lives, but lose our souls, of what value is it?

May the possibility of sudden destruction shock us to our knees, in honest petition for the mercy of God and for the souls of men lost without Christ.—JAMES W. REAPSOME.

E. B. Taylor, Dickinson Businessman and Civic Leader, Preserver of Historical Documents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, E. B. Taylor, Texas rancher and businessman who has a devoted interest in the history of his State, is the subject of an interesting article published on August 2, 1964, in the Houston Post Sunday supplement, Now.

The article describes Mr. Taylor's office in Dickinson, Tex., and some of the documents it contains as a veritable history museum, with its historical documents on display for the public.

Mr. Taylor's interesting collection is focused in part on Texas life under Mexican rule.

Because of the historical significance of the article by John Rainey, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SURROUNDED BY TEXAS HISTORY

(By John Rainey)

The sign at 4310 Washington in Dickinson says "E. B. Taylor, real estate."

But it is not really a real estate office, not much anyhow.

It is a Texas history museum, loose pages of history come to life, an arsenal of Texana, a place where weapons and documents are stored.

Taylor does sell real estate; that's for business. He collects historical documents; that's for love.

It started in 1947, after Taylor moved to Galveston from Florida and married Caroline Adriance, granddaughter of John Adriance who fought in the Texas revolution.

Taylor worked in the Adriance real estate business until his wife's father died in 1953. The business was the oldest licensed real estate business in Texas.

As his father, Henry Adriance, had kept all the documents that had been involved in land transactions. Many went back to the time when Texas was part of Mexico.

Taylor got infected with the collecting virus then and has never recovered.

A WAY OF LIFE

To him the papers told the saga of life on the frontier.

"They tell of a way of life, the feelings of people, their hardships, their trials. Texas is a way of life, not a place," Taylor says.

Most of the documents of Henry Adriance were sold off with the business, but not all. Taylor is attempting to get that collection now, but that is another story.

Taylor got into the real estate business on his own, and began to fill the walls of his offices with guns and knives that were once the gear of Texans.

The more he acquired, the more he learned about the game of collecting. He has advanced to the point where he rarely will tell the source of his material.

A short walk around his office is a refresher course in history. There is an August 27, 1839, issue of the Galvestonian, of which three copies of volume 1 are known to exist today.

Up in the left-hand corner it says "single copies two bits." A single copy is worth at least $5,000 now.

He has the only known document listing the names of Mexican prisoners taken at San Jacinto.

Then there is the broadside printed by Marcos de Esparza, Governor of Zacatecas, which is said to have precipitated the war between Mexico and the United States.

It too is the only copy known to exist.

A letter from Issac Millsap to his wife and children is dated March 3, 1836. Millsap wrote it from behind the walls of the Alamo.

The only known copy of a reward poster issued during the days of the Republic is there.

Ask Taylor where he got a certain document and he gets to grunting. He'll say C. Dorman David, owner of the Bookman, if that is the case. He'll crow if he beat David on the deal. But otherwise, Taylor

prefers to say "an old man at Galveston," or "I can't tell that."

His particular interest is the period of Texas life under Mexican rule and up until it entered the Union. He also is putting special emphasis on Galveston County.

INSIDE THE ALAMO

The letter from Isaac Millsap to his wife and children follows, reprinting the spelling and punctuation as found in the letter:

"BEXAR, *March 3, 1863.*

"MY DEAR DEAR ONES: We are in the fortress of the Alamo a ruined church that has most fell down. The Mexicans are here in large numbers they have kept up a constant fire since we got here. All of our boys are well and Captain Martin is in good spirits. Early this morning I watched the Mexcans drilling just out of range they was marching up and down with such order. They have bright red and blue uniforms and many canons. Some here at this place believe that the main army has not come up yett. I think they is all here even Santana. Colonel Bowie is down sick and had to be to bed I saw him yesterday and he is still ready to fight. He did't know me from last spring but did remember Wash. He tells all that help will be here soon and it makes us feel good. We have beef and corn to eat but no coffee, bag I had fell off on the way here so it was all spilt. I have not see Travis but two times since he told us all this morning that Fanning was going to be here early with many men and there would be a good fight. He stays on the wall some but mostly to his room I hope help comes soon cause we cant fight them all. Some says he is going to talk some tonight and group us better for defense. If we fail here get to the river with the children all Texas will be before the enemy we get so little news here we know nothing. There is no discontent in our boys some are tired from loss of sleep and rest. The Mexcans are shooting every few minutes but most of the shots fall inside and do no harm. I dont know what else to say they is calling for all letters, kiss the dear children for me and believe as I do that all will be well and God protects us all.

"ISAAC.

"If any men come through there tell them to hurry with powder for it is short I hope you get this and know—I love you all."

Address Delivered to the American Mining Congress Convention, September 14, Portland, Oreg., by the Honorable John J. Rhodes, of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD the following transcript of an address I delivered to the American Mining Congress Convention in Portland, Oreg., on September 14 concerning our national policies as they affect the mineral industries.

The transcript follows:

It is well for the mining industry to consider carefully the positions of the two political parties which affect it. Literally, the Federal Government is in mining up to its ears. To begin at the beginning, Federal law governs the manner by which discoveries are claimed in most of our land area which is mineral bearing. Then, Federal law governs the use of the surface over mineral claims, and the extent of subsurface rights. In other words, it controls the environment in which most mining operations must be carried out. Under certain conditions, Federal loans are available for the discovery and development of mining ventures. The operation of the mines, while mainly regulated by State law, must also be cognizant of Federal laws having to do with fair labor standards, labor relations, taxes, depletion allowances, and many other matters. In addition, the tariff policy of the particular party in power can have great effect upon the market price to be received for minerals and metals, and therefore impinges directly upon the profitability and feasibility of mining operations.

The tariff policy is not the only way in which the Federal Government may affect mining markets. After World War II many minerals and metals were stockpiled, looking toward the day of another national emergency in which they might be needed. In the 1950's, the policy of trading surplus agricultural products for strategic minerals and metals began. This resulted in the creation of a second stockpile. The policy which the Government follows with reference to the retention or disposition of stockpiled minerals and metals is profoundly important to the marketing situation.

The position of the Government insofar as marketing is concerned is so predominant as to be able to cause rumblings at the marketplace, even with indirect action or by the collateral affects of Government activity. For instance, as you know many minerals and metals are stockpiled either as ore, or as low-grade material which needs smelting or beneficiation before use. In these days of peacetime, Government officials felt it wise to upgrade part of our national stockpile. The policy was evolved of paying the processor in kind—in other words, with part of the product which he had refined or up-graded. This system could not cause any great disruption in the market because the processor receiving the payment in kind was a person knowledgeable in the ways of the market, and therefore disposed of the material in such a manner as to leave the market relatively unaffected.

However, another Government official got the idea that he could get more people interested in processing stockpile materials if he paid the processor in some material other than that being processed. In other words, you might pay the beneficiator of manganese by releasing aluminum to him. This practice could be dangerous to the market because it could result in the release of stockpile material into the hands of persons who have no interest in maintaining the stability of the market of that material, or do not possess the necessary knowledge to do so. Thus far, the quantities so released and the time of release have not caused havoc in any metal markets, but this policy could be dangerous if it were not kept under strict surveillance by the industry and by Government.

The actions of the Government have certainly been devastating concerning the mining of our most precious metal—gold. There is neither the time nor the inclination to go into all of the reasons that gold has been pegged at the price of $35 an ounce. In my opinion, these reasons are good and sufficient ones, and at this time I have no quarrel with them.

However, I do disagree with the reluctance of the Federal Government to do anything to encourage the mining of gold. A task force of the International Monetary Fund, in a very searching analysis of the international monetary situation, recently came to the conclusion that the expanded velocity of trade in the free world will require a basic medium of exchange which exceeds the available gold supply, and also exceeds the level of dollar credits which we can afford to have in the hands of other countries. The alternatives seem to be: (1) Find a brand new medium of exchange; (2) curtail trade in the free world; (3) increase the supply of gold.

I think we can say without serious fear of contradiction that the first alternative is impracticable at the time being. We can also say that the second is unthinkable. This leaves only the third alternative—increasing the supply of gold—as the means of keeping free world trade expanding, and at the same time keeping the dollar credits in the hands of foreign nations from rising to imprudent levels.

I have for years advocated the payment of a subsidy for newly mined gold. This would be a one-time payment, would be made in legal tender, and would be charged as a general expense to the Government. The gold, after it has been purchased and put into the gold reserve, would assume the value of $35 per ounce. Gold sold out of the gold reserve would be sold at that price.

I have heard estimates as to the increase in the output of gold which would result from such a plan. If the estimates are correct, the increase in the domestic gold production would be spectacular. I can think of no better way to aid the mining industry, and also to help solve one of our knottier problems of domestic and international finance.

Government can also be helpful to the mining industry. It can be helpful in continued research aimed at more efficient methods of discovery and development of mineral resources. Research into mine safety and the physical risks involved in mining have been and will continue to be helpful both to the mine operator and the miner himself. By continuing a reasonable depletion allowance, as the Republican platform pledges to do, we can continue to help our mining industry to show a reasonable profit, and to spend the necessary money for exploration and development to insure an adequate supply of minerals and metals for future generations.

The technology of mining and processing of mineral products has advanced so rapidly in the last several years that ore bodies which were formerly hardly worth mentioning are now extremely valuable. Many of those bodies were claimed by companies or individuals some years ago, and the claims were patented under the prudent man theory. At the time of patent, those claims were not commercially feasible. However, the foresight and ingenuity of the mining industry led the persons who patented the claims to believe that some time in the future the time, trouble, and money expended in perfecting their patents would become a good investment.

There is every reason to believe that advances in mining technology will occur which will be at least comparable to those we have already made. Yet under the Department of the Interior's present criterion, many ore bodies which will be commercially valuable in the future could not now be patented. I recognize the reasons for the change in the policy of the Department, and some of them are valid. Certainly, our land policy should always guard against fake and frivolous mining claims. However, the record of the mining industry in taking nothing and turning it into something makes me feel that the Government owes to this industry the trust and confidence which is inherent in the prudent man test for patenting claims. In other words, your record is good enough that in my opinion government should say to you, "If you are willing to risk your time and money in perfecting a patent, we are willing to give you the same type of break which we have given you in the past." Along

these lines, you will note that the Republican platform of 1964 contains a pledge for "continuing review of public land laws and policies to secure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of the public lands; including the development of mineral resources."

The multiple-use concept of public lands has been evolved through the years as the best means of providing maximum utilization of one of our great public treasures for the best interests of all our people—in this generation and in future generations. It recognizes not only the needs of our citizens, but the versatility of our public lands, properly utilized, to provide the solution to these needs. Along these lines, the Republican platform pledges "full cooperation of all governmental levels and private enterprise in advancing the balanced use of the Nation's natural resources to provide for man's multiple needs." The enactment of the Wilderness Act, after many years of hearings and negotiation, occurred in this Congress. In its first forms, the wilderness bill was inimical to the multiple-use concept. Over the years, opponents and proponents of wilderness legislation were able to conduct full discussions, and with the help of the able staffs of the Interior and Insular Committees of the House and Senate, were able to evolve a bill and a program with which other users of the public lands can live. Had it not been for the strength of the multiple-use concept, and the devotion which many people feel toward it, this piece of legislation either would have been passed prematurely, or not passed at all. In my opinion, the Wilderness Act owes its very existence to the fact that it now is in a form which is not radically contradictory to the multiple-use concept.

I had previously mentioned the importance of the Government in the areas of price stability. It is certainly important to the mining industry to know the policy of either political party with regard to the maintenance and/or disposition of the national stockpile. A penchant to turn the stockpile into quick cash, could certainly be dangerous to the markets. On the other hand, absolute refusal to allow some flexibility in the level of the stockpile would be shortsighted. Flexibility should never become market management, as this would really put producers at the mercy of the Government, but some action taken in emergencies to level the more acute peaks and valleys of supply and demand should be beneficial.

In my opinion, the mining industry should always try to make sure that an administration is in power which realizes the inherent dangers in improper management of the stockpile, and is dedicated to the principle that the stockpile will never be used in such a manner as to hurt free enterprise or damage our free mining industry. It should recognize that the primary purpose of the stockpile—to provide for the national defense—carries with it a secondary responsibility. That responsibility is to use the stockpile in such a way as to provide for the maximum benefit to all our citizens and to the free enterprise system

I have also mentioned that the tariff policy of any administration is important to the mining industry. The U.S. Tariff Commission has recently held exhaustive hearings in an attempt to determine the probable effect on domestic industry of the inclusion of certain products in the list to be discussed in the Kennedy round of GATT talks. As yet, no recommendations have been made. In Geneva, no additions or deletions from the public list of commodities which might form the subject of the Kennedy round have been made. While I have no desire to be unduly political, it is widely opined in Washington that the main reason these decisions have not been made public concerns the proximity of the elections, both in Great Britain and in the United States.

Strong cases were made for flexible import quotas for lead and zinc, for retention of the present copper tariff, and for other applications of tariff and quota policies to other minerals and metals. The facts needed for making a decision are certainly in the hands of the U.S. Tariff Commission, and I for one do not feel that it is asking too much to request that it proceed post haste to let us know the recommendations it will make to the President.

There are many portions of the Republican platform dealing indirectly with mining, as they deal with all the segments of our free enterprise system. For instance, we pledge an overhaul of the entire tax structure. I think it is important to all industry that this be accomplished, and that the watchword in the new tax system be balanced budgets, industrial expansion, job creation, and a high velocity economy. Inherent in most of our platform is a basic reliance upon the free enterprise system to carry the major share of the load of our economic endeavors—either alone or in partnership with Government. Equally inherent in the platform is the idea of smaller government and bigger people. This platform returns to the concept that the Government should do only those things for the people which the people cannot do at all, or as well, for themselves. This is a hard-hitting platform, and one which in my opinion places the Republican Party in the mainstream of American thinking in this year of 1964. I commend it to you for your reading, and solicit your support for its principles.

Reapportionment: Muffle Farm Counties?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Wooster Daily Record, of my congressional district, is one of the fine newspapers of Ohio. I was particularly impressed with an editorial which appeared in that newspaper August 19 on the question of reapportionment:

REAPPORTIONMENT: MUFFLE FARM COUNTIES

Intelligent persons sometimes change their minds when presented with additional facts or when adjusting conclusions to be more in tune with the times.

But when an individual, particularly an attorney, completely reverses his line of logic, we question the motivation. Such is the case with "reapportionment of State legislatures," a very controversial issue spurred by a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Using the 14th amendment as a base, Chief Justice Earl Warren and five of his colleagues ruled that most State legislatures are selected unconstitutionally.

In his majority report in a 6-to-3 decision, Chief Justice Warren said in June: "the equal protection clause requires that seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

But, as Governor of California in 1948 he said that one house in the legislature should be elected on a geographical basis. We agree with Warren of 1948, not the Warren of 1964. However, unless Congress acts to sidestep or delay the Supreme Court decision, Ohio and about 40 other States must redistrict.

Governor Warren in 1948 was most convincing when he said: "The agricultural counties of California are far more important in the life of our State than the relationship their population bears to the entire population of the State.

"It is for this reason I have never been in favor of restricting their representation in our State senate to a strictly population basis. It is for the same reasoning that the Founding Fathers of our country gave a balanced representation to the States of the Union, equal representation in one house and apportioned representation based upon population in the other."

The Indianapolis Star says about last June's decision: "The Court deals with people as with a sack of marbles. They are to be rolled out on a tabletop and divided into equal piles."

In 1903, approximately 98 percent of Ohio voters ratified the Hanna amendment which stated that each county is entitled to one seat in the house. We think the amendment was a sensible one, since it assured each county at least one State representative.

Big city blocs have pushed reapportionment for some time. Knowing population density is in the urban areas, they see this as a way of controlling much of the State legislation.

The farmer in the predominently rural counties is in the minority as far as number. But as far as his place in the economics and livelihood of Ohio, the farmer plays a giant part. We would hate to see small rural counties lumped together just to muffle their voice in Columbus.

Wayne and Holmes County each has a State representative. Under reapportionment, the two counties could possibly have one representative between them. Other groupings would include a wider complex of rural counties: Auglaize, Logan, and Champaign could be joined as could Paulding, Putnam, Van Wert, and Mercer. The list is endless.

Ohio is considering the reapportionment ultimatum and trying to decide when and how the task should be accomplished.

In the meantime, Congress is considering a number of measures which could delay or nullify the Supreme Court ruling. Ohio Congressman WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH has proposed an amendment which merits serious consideration. We hope it becomes law. It simply would give States the right to apportion one or both houses of their legislatures on a basis other than on population alone.

L. A. Chitwood, Jr.: Housemover Extraordinary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to commend to the Congress a "housemover extraordinary" and a dedicated American.

Mr. Speaker, the Honorable L. A. Chitwood, Jr., of Charleston, S.C., is the type of industrious man whose initiative and ability developed this Nation and made America the greatest power on earth. He is a splendid example of our free enterprise system.

Recently the News and Courier—one of South Carolina's distinguished newspapers—carried an article relating some of the more humorous aspects of the housemoving profession. It is an excel-

lent article, and I would like to add my high regard for this quiet, unpretentious gentleman. Among his many, many friends in the Charleston area, he is respected and loved for his high integrity, his capable ability, his unswerving devotion to his fellowman, and his community and Nation:

BE SURE TO GET THE RIGHT HOUSE

(By Charlotte Walker)

Every profession has its error potential, but while a lawyer's mistakes go to jail, and the architects—in time—are covered with ivy, a housemover's loom as big as—as big as a house. And don't suppose a mover of houses doesn't have his off days, even as you or I.

The firm of L. A. Chitwood, Jr., has been occupied in housemoving for many years. Actually, this is only a small part of the firm's operation. Transport of heavy equipment for industry and the Government account for the greater part of the firm's revenue. Housemoving, though, captures the imagination.

Mr. Chitwood's experiences in this field—and they range from moving the 750-ton Flynn Hall at the University of South Carolina and Marshlands Plantation house, largest single unit ever to be put aboard a barge in this region, to small dwellings—leave one convinced that fact is infinitely funnier than fiction.

No small contributing factor to the listener's enjoyment of Mr. Chitwood's tales, is the personality of the man himself: a charming blend of audacity, philosophy, and commonsense coupled with a sense of security that is unusual in our time. He has never experienced business competition and—as one of his employees explained, "As long as people go on building things where they shouldn't have, there'll be plenty to keep us busy."

To illustrate this: Some years ago a rich, would-be client asked Mr. Chitwood to move her house from the corner of a large lot to the center. It wasn't much of a house and moving it would have been no problem. But Mr. Chitwood, after studying the project, declined the job.

"Look, ma'am, you don't like the house where it is. Can't say I blame you. Trouble is, you wouldn't like it wherever you put it."

So the client, instead of moving the house, tore it down and built a new one which she could well afford to do. Fortunately, Mr. Chitwood also could afford to be independent.

On another occasion two brothers, who had lived in adjoining houses all their adult lives, quarreled. One decided to have his house moved to another location some miles away. Naturally, they called Mr. Chitwood. Also naturally, Mr. Chitwood quickly sized up the situation.

"If you move there's a good chance you'll go on feuding for the rest of your lives," he told them. "Better you should stay right where you are until you both come to your senses."

The most important concern of the housemover in addition to moving the right house, that is—is the smoothness of the operation. A sudden movement sufficient to cause a vase to fall from the mantel might also cause a crack in the plaster.

This was demonstrated on the occasion when a house had to be moved to make room for a new highway.

The aged lady whose house it was, refused to budge from her home. Her daughter pleaded, but mama remained adamant. She'd come to that house as a bride, she said, and if the house collapsed, she'd just collapse with it.

While a distraught daughter pleaded with her strong-minded parent, Mr. Chitwood stepped outside. A short time later the daughter emerged in tears, apparently convinced that her mother was doomed. To her obvious amazement, she noticed that the great oak, which for generations had been on the right of the piazza, was located now on the left. When she rallied from this further jolt to her serenity, Mr. Chitwood explained that the moving had been going on all the time she'd been inside.

Although Mr. Chitwood has moved many a house since his first modest project to the Marshlands Plantation house—he is unable to recall the exact number—one house he never will forget.

It all happened years ago when Charleston's suburban development was in its infancy. Mr. Chitwood was retained to move a house bought by the client, to a newly landscaped lot in another area. So, full of enthusiasm one morning, Mr. Chitwood and his merry men sallied forth to pick up (literally) a house. This was accomplished without so much as fluttering the red and white striped dish cloth that hung in the kitchen window. In due course they deposited the house on the client's landscaped lot.

Just as the project was completed, the client drove up.

"What do you think of it?" Mr. Chitwood asked, pardonably proud of completing the project with such dispatch.

The client studied the house for a few minutes; walked around it and joined the still-beaming Mr. Chitwood. "I think it looks just fine," the client admitted, "but if you leave it there, just where do you expect to put my house?"

When Mr. Chitwood rallied from this materialization of a house-mover's nightmare, he did the only thing any right-thinking house mover would do. He had the pipes and wiring disconnected, replaced the house on the trailer, and sped away to return it to its rightful owner. Fortunately it hadn't been missed, and Mr. Chitwood and his crew and technicians restored the house to its foundations. When the job was completed, he wearily waved the crew away and waited, in his car, for the occupants to appear.

When the owners—a young working couple—returned home Mr. Chitwood explained what had happened during their absence, and apologized. Their amazement came as no surprise to Mr. Chitwood, and he waited while they, in turn, walked around the house and studied the situation.

Then the woman gave Mr. Chitwood one long, lingering look and went indoors. The husband returned to where Mr. Chitwood waited and asked, solicitously, how he felt.

Mr. Chitwood allowed he felt fine.

The other did not even attempt to conceal his skepticism.

"Look man, what's the sense in coming to me with a yarn like that?" he demanded in effect. "Any fool can see that this house hasn't been moved since the day it was built."

It was a delicate situation, but Mr. Chitwood eventually did convince the other that his house had been moved. In the meantime it was all very embarrassing.

It's one thing to explain that you've picked up another man's hat or umbrella by mistake, but walking off with another man's house—to say nothing of driving it all over the countryside—well, that's something else again.

Mr. Chitwood has never been in such a position since—except in dreams.

And when that happens, he wakes up screaming.

A Descent to Political Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call attention to the following significant editorial which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of September 14 concerning the proper role of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense in the political campaign:

A DESCENT TO POLITICAL LEVEL

(By Milburn P. Akers)

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and the Pentagon keep busy these days denying charges made by Senator Barry Goldwater.

It is regrettable that Rusk, custodian of what is left of a bipartisan foreign policy, concluded it necessary to follow the Democratic Party line in refuting a Goldwater accusation that the Kennedy administration took action in the Cuban missile crisis "at a time that would have maximum domestic impact" in the 1962 congressional elections.

The Goldwater accusation was of a type which probably can be neither proved nor disproved. The Secretary, party to the secret conferences and decisions incident to that crisis, certainly was well within his rights in defending his integrity and that of the late President John F. Kennedy by denying the charge. But to bring in the now overworked allegation of a "lack of basic understanding" on the part of GOLDWATER was to descend to the political level; a level from which a Secretary of State should remain aloof. Anti-intellectualism is a curse. But so is intellectual snobbery.

GOLDWATER may have contributed to wrecking the bipartisan foreign policy. But a Secretary of State who engages in political bickering presides at its interment.

Rusk's ironic assurances that "the Democratic National Committee has not made arrangements with Indonesia to drop parachutists into Malaysia, or made arrangements with the rebels to occupy Stanleyville in the Congo" are in the same pattern.

That he would be especially sensitive to criticism is understandable. During his secretaryship the North Atlantic Treaty alliance has fallen into disarray, U.S. policy in the Congo, implemented through the United Nations, has been disastrous, European allies, asked to boycott Fidel Castro's Cuba, have boycotted our Cuban policy instead, Laos has all but gone Communist as a consequence of our agreement to its supposed neutralization and America's prestige abroad has sunk so low that a government in Zanzibar drives our diplomatic representatives out at pistol point and mobs in Panama attack the Canal Zone. Meanwhile, we contributed vastly in money to Sukarno's buildup which now enables the Indonesian dictator "to drop parachutists into Malaysia" even as we contributed vastly in money to drive Moise Tshombe out of Ktanga. Now, Tshombe having returned as Prime Minister of all the Congo we become solicitous over his loss of Stanleyville to other rebels.

These things can be recounted without suggesting Rusk has been solely responsible for them.

Many factors have to be taken into consideration. Some of them were and still are beyond our control. Others were not and are not. But if there is any "lack of basic understanding" it is not wholly confined to Senator GOLDWATER.

The Secretary indicates an awareness of the Democratic National Committee. It might not be amiss for him to leave political bickering up to that agency. He has sufficient to do if he is to reestablish some semblance of purpose and effectiveness to our badly fractured foreign policy.

The same observation applies to the Pentagon. It is continually leaping into the political fray with denials of this or that Goldwater charge directed against it. If it had earlier responded to the Vietcong in South Vietnam with the same avidity as it now responds to Senator GOLDWATER (not the Pentagon's favorite major general in the Air Force Reserves) that unhappy dilemma might be resolved. The Pentagon is peculiarly sensitive to Goldwater barbs. It quickly issues denials, having noted, perhaps, the political effectivness of the missile gap charges (subsequently disproved) made by Kennedy when he was a presidential aspirant in 1960. Although the Pentagon is as quick in responding to GOLDWATER as GOLDWATER is said to be on the trigger, it should be conceded that it hasn't incorporated political insinuations in its denials.

State and Defense are two agencies which should remain wholly aloof from political campaigns.

If the President believes attacks directed against them are worthy of response, he, as the candidate and as the head of his party, should reply to them himself or have someone other than the State and Defense Departments do it for him.

Senator FULBRIGHT is eager to break into print. He has replied to GOLDWATER on foreign policy three times in recent weeks. He has the party line of intellectual snobbery for all with whom he disagrees down pat.

State and Defense don't belong in politics and shouldn't be compromised by engaging in anything resembling politics.

B. Brian Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Longview Daily News, September 9, 1964, in connection with the late Brian Murphy, of Hughes Springs. Brian was a great, good, and outstanding man and citizen:

B. BRIAN MURPHY

Hughes Springs and east Texas have lost a distinguished citizen in the untimely passing of B. Brian Murphy. A man in prime usefulness to his community and to his State and the Nation at age 50, he succumbed to a heart attack Saturday night and was buried Tuesday following services at the First Methodist Church and graveside rites conducted by the American Legion.

Mr. Murphy was a man of ability. But of perhaps more significance, he was a man of courage and dedication and determination and the will to stick to a task until he had accomplished it or made good at it. As a business and civic leader, as a veteran of the Armed Forces, as a churchman, and organization leader, he was prominent in his community and region.

In many ways and on numerous occasions, Brian Murphy brought public attention and honor to his city and area. He was State historian of the American Legion, and a former commander of the Hughes Springs post of the Legion. He was active in the Hughes Springs Lions Club and had served in several district posts with Lions International.

He was executive secretary of the Hughes Springs Chamber of Commerce, operator of the Hughes Springs Credit Bureau, judge of the Hughes Springs Corporation Court, Democratic chairman for Cass County, and was manager of a housing rental authority.

This writer had known Brian Murphy for many years. He was news correspondent for the Longview newspapers in Hughes Springs for a number of years and had served these newspapers in this capacity on more than one appointment. He was an energetic and trustworthy newsman who showed concern for his fellow man and a keen interest in all of the worthwhile affairs of his community and area. He was a friendly and helpful man.

Here was a man who chose to serve out his too brief life in the city and community he loved. He served in many capacities, came into contact with both ordinary citizens and leaders in many walks of life, but in it all was sincere and understanding and willing to be of service. He will be missed by many, this writer included.

All of us, family and friends alike, are conscious of the fact he made a continuing and worthwhile contribution to many areas of progress and to the economic well-being of east Texas. This is the accepted role of the good citizen, and Brian Murphy filled it with distinction and honor to himself and his community.—CARL L. ESTES.

NASDVA Man of the Year Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was a source of considerable pride and pleasure for me to learn that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and my good friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], had been selected for the Man of the Year Award by the National Association of State Directors of Veterans' Affairs.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the statement which was made at the time this well-merited award was given to the gentleman from Texas:

NASDVA MAN OF THE YEAR AWARD

Congressman OLIN E. TEAGUE will receive the first NASDVA Man of the Year Award.

The award will be presented at the NASDVA Convention in St. Petersburg. Congressman TEAGUE. will speak at the presentation.

"No man has achieved more in behalf of veterans than Congressman OLIN E. TEAGUE. His work spans more than a single year. It covers his entire public career," Pete Wheeler, Georgia, chairman of the selections committee said in announcing the award winner. Other members of the selection committee are Robert G. Hansen, Minnesota, and C. S. Collier, Jr., West Virginia.

The NASDVA man of the year is chairman of the U.S. House Veterans' Affairs Committee. He has held this chairmanship since the beginning of the 84th Congress. He is the author of more veterans legislation than any other man who has ever served in the Congress of the United States.

From College Station, Tex., Congressman TEAGUE arrived in Washington in 1946, a battle scarred and much decorated combat veteran. He had himself spent 2 years in an Army hospital recovering from severe injuries suffered while leading a battalion of infantrymen from Utah Beach to the Rhine River.

He introduced a bill as a freshman which became the War Orphans Act. He's still improving that act. Only this year, the War Orphans Act was extended to provide educational assistance to children of veterans totally and permanently disabled.

This first bill reflects his legislative philosophy of demanding first priority for the widows and orphans of comrades felled, or severely injured in combat. After caring for these, Congressman TEAGUE'S philosophy gives disabled veterans the next priority rating, followed by hospital benefits, and pensions.

The boyhood nickname, "Tiger" aptly stuck in the Halls of Congress, as Congressman TEAGUE fought the battle of veterans' benefits.

Some of his successful legislative fights:

All recent bills granting major increases in disability and death compensation, including special bills allocating increased benefits to the blinded and other seriously disabled, and measures extending the presumptive period for granting service connection for certain diseases.

Bills permitting widows of veterans of World War II and Korea to receive benefits on the same basis as widows of World War I veterans.

The codification of all veterans law, now title 38, United States Code.

The bill permitting the Veterans' Administration to make direct loans to veterans in small and rural towns where private mortgage money for homes was not available.

The long-range improvement of the VA hospital system.

He was chairman of the special committee which corrected the fly-by-night, get-rich-quick school operators who duped GI's. He directed another select committee which dealt the fatal blow to the dishonest building contractors who bilked veteran homebuyers of money.

On three occasions his firmness blocked attempts to curtail the VA medical budget.

The Korean GI bill was largely Congressman TEAGUE'S work, particularly those sections of the bill which corrected inadequacies of the World War II GI bill.

With this record, the "Tiger" has not grown fat and lazy. He is the author of H.R. 8009, a bill already passed by the House and awaiting Senate action. This bill, most significant new veterans' program in years, would provide nursing care for elderly veterans.

"This outstanding record makes Congressman OLIN E. TEAGUE man of the year for many years. It is most proper that he should be the first recipient of the NASDVA award," Mr. Wheeler said.

No Mention of Faith in God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I

include the following editorial from the Milwaukee Sentinel of Tuesday, September 8, 1964:

BREAD ALONE?

Before the 1964 national party platforms are buried under the avalanche of campaign oratory just getting underway, a comparison of their religiousness is in order.

The Republican platform takes note of God and the Nation's heritage of religious faith. The Democratic platform makes no reference to God or religion.

DEMOCRATS DON'T MENTION FAITH

About the only religious note to be found in the Democratic platform is in the sentence, "Peace should be the first concern of all governments as it is the prayer of all men." The Democratic platform does mention faith, but in relation to freedom, not in a religious sense. It talks of "unity of spirit" in a civil sense. It omits mention of religion in its plank on "ending discrimination based on race, age, sex or national origin * * *" although it does allude to it in pledging "equal opportunity and equal treatment for all Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

The Republican platform sounds a religious note in its first sentence: "Humanity is tormented once again by an age-old issue—is man to live in dignity and freedom under God or be enslaved—are men in Government to serve, or are they to master, their fellow men?"

Prophetic of the nonreligious character of the Democratic platform, the Republican document, drawn a month and a half ahead of the opposition's platform, has this to say:

"Much of today's moral decline and drift—much of the prevailing preoccupation with physical and material comforts of life—much of today's crass political appeals to the appetites of the citizenry—can be traced to a leadership grown demagogic and materialistic through indifference to national ideals founded in devoutly held religious faith. The Republican Party seeks not to renounce this heritage of faith and high purpose; rather, we are determined to reaffirm and reapply it."

GOP ENDORSES PRAYER IN SCHOOL

On the issue of separation of church and state, made controversial by Supreme Court school prayer rulings, the Democratic platform is silent. The Republican platform pledges "support of a constitutional amendment permitting those individuals and groups who choose to do so to exercise their religion freely in public places, provided religious exercises are not prepared or prescribed by the State or political subdivision thereof and no person's participation therein is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state."

The Republican platform closes on a religious note: "We Republicans, with the help of Almighty God, will keep those who would bury America aware that this Nation has the strength and also the will to defend its every interest."

Communism is branded as "atheistic" by the Republican platform, but not by the 1964 Democratic platform, which differs also from the 1960 Democratic platform in this respect.

In fact, the 1964 Democratic document is in marked contrast with the 1960 Democratic platform, which said: "But man does not live by bread alone. A new Democratic administration, like its predecessors, will once again look beyond material goals to the spiritual meaning of American society."

U.S. RELIGIOUS HERITAGE IGNORED

In its lengthy "accounting of stewardship," in which the 1964 platform itemizes how the Kennedy-Johnson administration has lived up to the 1960 pledges, no mention was made of how it measured up in fulfilling the "spiritual meaning" pledge. Whether the 1964 Democratic platform was drafted godless deliberately or inadvertently we wouldn't know. Either way, the omission is bad. It fails to recognize America's religious heritage. It neglects to acknowledge that God—not just Democratic leadership—helped get us through the last 4 years.

Worst of all, it suggests that we are to be led into the promised land of the great society without divine guidance. But as atheistic communism proves, it can't be done.

Without spiritual greatness, there can be no material greatness. It is disturbing that the Democratic platform, unlike the Republican platform, virtually ignores religion.

A Do-Something Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the Medford (Oreg.) Mail Tribune in its September 6, 1964, edition published an editorial entitled "A Do-Something Congress." The article rightly points out the accomplishments of this Congress. It is a fitting tribute to a Congress that has received more than its share of unjust attacks.

Under unanimous consent, the editorial follows:

A DO-SOMETHING CONGRESS

The 88th Congress, which started out pretending to be molasses in January, is winding up in a burst of activity which is phenomenal. Loyal Democrats declare it is the most productive Congress in generations, and they may be right.

Some of this, undoubtedly, reflects the adroit arm-twisting talents of that master politician and accommodationist, Lyndon B. Johnson.

But there is more to it than that. There is the element of the "getting this country moving again" theme proposed by the late John F. Kennedy, and, in our view, Congress has accurately reflected the consensus of the American people in passing as much landmark legislation as it has.

According to available economic analyses, the tax cut measure is proving more successful than its most ardent supporters dared hope, in stimulating the economy.

The test ban treaty was the first, and most significant, official easing of tension in the cold war, and has given rise to hopes that other steps can be taken.

Passage of the wilderness bill and the land and water conservation fund bill give assurance of more attention to, and assistance for, the outdoor needs of generations of Americans yet to come.

The war on poverty bill gives rise to hopes that a true and massive assault on the causes of much of the Nation's poverty can be isolated and, if not cured, at least ameliorated.

The civil rights bill ends a century of virtual inaction in putting into effect the mandate of the Constitution that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws.

The education bill, which extends and broadens the National Defense Education Act, and gives assistance to impacted areas, is a long step toward improving both the quality and the quantity of education available to our young people.

The foreign aid bill this year passed almost intact, and despite the objections raised by Senator Morse and others, gives rise to the renewed belief that sensibly administered foreign aid is one of our best defenses against the encroachments of communism, as well as offering decent help to nations not yet able to go it alone.

The Federal pay raise bill gives recognition to the fact that our civil service and military are workers worthy of their hire, and will make it easier to find, and equally important to keep, topflight people in responsible jobs in Government.

The mass transportation bill, while unpopular in many places, is a recognition that our cities are strangling to death in a flood of automobiles, and lack the resources to do the necessary job unassisted.

An increase in social security, so desperately needed by many older people, will be passed, possibly with some medical care provision, before Congress adjourns.

An omnibus housing bill has given further proof of the Government's concern for the housing and living standards of the people, no matter what their own resources.

These are the major accomplishments of Congress, and it adds up to an exceedingly impressive list.

Many things—important things—remain to be done. But the tenor of Congress this past year gives rise to hopes that they will be done in the foreseeable future.

Notable among these are a revamping of congressional procedures, themselves, which often frustrate the expressed desires of the majority, and a provision for Presidential succession when there is no Vice President. Action on the latter is, probably, much more likely than on the former, for many powerful Members have a vested interest in the present congressional power structure.

This session also has been notable for some of the things they have refused to do.

High on this list is the cooling off given the proposed Becker amendment, and many other similar ones, which would have put local school districts in the business of telling their students when and how to pray—something that is emphatically not the business of the government.

And a group of Senate diehards have thus far succeeded in fending off an ill-considered proposal to strip the Supreme Court of its authority to interpret the U.S. Constitution in matters pertaining to State legislative apportionment. Whether they can continue to do so remains problematical. Let us wish them all possible success.

All in all, Congress this year need make no apologies nor excuses.

Some of the measures fully merit the use of the word "landmark," for they will provide important benefits for the people of America for years to come. Others, while important, are more extensions of present trends and policies than they are breaking ground in new areas.

One can decry "big government," but the fact is, that it takes a big government to provide the services that 192 million people need and cannot provide for themselves.

The Congress has made giant strides in improving these services this year.—E. A.

Los Alamos, New Mexico's Latest Contribution to the Space Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. Speaker, on August 28 a power test of the nuclear rocket reactor Kiwi B–4A was conducted at the

Nuclear Rocket Development Station, Nev., by the University of California Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. The test, which was a successful one, is the culmination of seven previous tests—first begun in 1959. The Kiwi project has had as its basic objective the development of basic graphite nuclear rocket technology. With the completion of the Kiwi project, Los Alamos will be directing its future nuclear rocket efforts to development of advanced, higher power, graphite reactor technology under the project name, Phoebus.

The industrial team of Aerojet-General Corp. and the Westinghouse Astronuclear Laboratory are continuing development of the reactor series which is being adapted from the Kiwi reactor for application to the Nerva nuclear rocket engine.

The nuclear rocket program—designated Project Rover—is a joint Atomic Energy Commission-National Aeronautics and Space Administration program administered by the Space Nuclear Propulsion Office.

In a great sense the groundwork for nuclear space propulsion has been laid through the success of the Kiwi project. We are on the brink of witnessing a great event—the beginnings of the nuclear space age. We might even compare the success of the Kiwi project in the space age with the combustible engine and its profound effect on the motorcar industry.

It is altogether fitting that this revolutionary accomplishment in the space age took place in Los Alamos—the Kitty Hawk of the nuclear age. And the birthplace of the atomic bomb.

The early story of Los Alamos is one of the most remarkable of all time: the creation of a secret community, the assembling of the cream of this Nation's scientific manpower, and, less than 3 years after the first controlled nuclear chain reaction, the design, construction, and explosion of an atomic bomb, which hastened the end of World War II and heralded the dawn of a new era.

Yet, Los Alamos is more than a Kitty Hawk, more than a dramatic episode experienced directly by some of you here and to be experienced by future generations through the pages of history. Los Alamos is not only a creature of and a creator of the nuclear age, but also a pioneer in the continuing development of atomic energy to meet the ever more stringent demands of military security and the new requirements of the space age. True, Los Alamos is now only one of a number of Atomic Energy Commission installations, and the Government shares the responsibility for nuclear development with private firms and research institutions. Nevertheless, the contribution of Los Alamos has continued to be a unique and vital one.

It was decided after World War II that the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory should be kept as a permanent research center primarily concerned with the development of atomic weapons but also engaging in basic nuclear research. Although many of the original personnel left with the ending of the war, by 1947 the problem of scientific manpower had begun to be solved and the construction of more permanent facilities was in progress. Clementine was a familiar name in Los Alamos about this time. This fast, plutonium fuel reactor was succeeded in the mid 1950's by the Omega west reactor. Another research reactor, SUPO, the Los Alamos water boiler, had its startup in 1950, and during the late 1950's work was done on aqueous homogeneous reactors.

The atomic weapon activities of Los Alamos have been guarded by strict security. It is only through nuclear testing that the public has become aware of the advances being made in this area. On March 1, 1954, as part of Operation Castle, the first hydrogen bomb was exploded, and the United States became the possessor of a superweapon whose destructive power is beyond the scope of our human comprehension. The role of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in developing this fusion bomb was recognized on July 8, 1954, when President Eisenhower awarded a special citation to the laboratory.

Los Alamos' contribution to the development of atomic energy is probably best shown by a glance at several of its present activities. Together with Sandia Corp. and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Los Alamos continues to have responsibility for the development of nuclear weapons required for our national security. Thus, the 1964 completion of the new Phermex electron accelerator and supporting facilities is just one more step in the development of an advanced weapons arsenal. The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory is also participating with the Department of Defense in the Vela surface-based detectors program directed to detecting these explosions through instrumented satellites. Satellites instrumented by the Atomic Energy Commission have already been orbited by the Atlas Agena and have functioned successfully.

But Los Alamos' role in the space age is not limited to this military program as we have seen with the research and development involved with the Kiwi project.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD some rather pertinent remarks about the Kiwi project by the editor of Missiles and Rockets:

But last month's test marked more than a milestone in the program. It demonstrated what a determined and capable design team can accomplish in the face of setbacks in research and development.

The years beyond—when automated and manned spacecraft are landing on Mars, when man pushes further into space in the search for life outside this planet—will owe a debt to the determined group who carried out their own search in the western desert into the troubles of the Kiwi project—B-4A.

These are but a few of the programs at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. Just what is the contribution of this laboratory to New Mexico and the Nation? Its benefits are immeasurable. It has brought to New Mexico a community of more than 13,000 persons and the Atomic Energy Commission, partly because of Los Alamos, in fiscal year 1963 incurred more costs in this State than in any other. Yet the $93 million operating costs of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory and the $184 million invested in it are no measure of its contribution to our economy and daily living. The contribution of Los Alamos is one of technological strength, strength essential to our military security, our world leadership, and the preservation of the peace. And its promise is of continued security and leadership in a still newer era, the space age.

Medical Care for Those Over 65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most penetrating analyses that I have yet heard on the subject of medical care under social security was presented in an editorial over KGBX radio on September 11, 1964. With a decision on this issue fast approaching I commend this editorial to my colleagues' attention:

MEDICAL CARE FOR THOSE OVER 65

Of all the grand and glorious schemes to part us from our take-home pay, the administration's medicare plan is probably most cruel. Most everyone we have talked with, including a great number of people over 65, are wondering what medicare would do to our social security system. Now that the Senate has passed a medicare proposal, the House of Representatives will be considering it.

By 1970, we will have over 20 million people over 65 years of age. The vast majority of them will enter retirement after 20 to 25 years of regular employment at rising levels of pay. Thus, there is every reason to expect that the income positions of the people will progressively be higher—and likewise, their ability to afford health insurance will improve in the years ahead. In 1952, America had over 8½ million people that weren't covered with some type of health insurance. By 1962, that figure was down to 1.9 million—a drop in uninsured of almost 7 million people.

Under the medicare proposal the Government is saying to each of us, "You aren't smart enough to take care of your own health needs. You don't even have the ability to spend wisely the money we propose to collect for health care. Therefore, your all-wise Government will spend that money for you and provide you with medical care and services—but no cash."

Such a plan would help destroy the independence of those over 65, because the Government would be paying for services for them. Under our social security system, cash is paid out to each person covered and each person decides how and where and when he wants to spend the cash he receives.

Another extremely important point in comparing medicare and social security is this: If a person has substantial job earnings or self-employment income, he is considered capable of self-support and, it can be presumed, that he does not need social security benefits. The social security program contains a work test that measures an individual's eligibility for social security benefits against his earnings throughout the year. Every medicare proposal, however, discards the work test and declares that health care benefits should be paid "as a matter of right" even though the benefits may be paid out to a millionaire. Why should you and I help pay the medical expenses of any mil-

lionaire? That's socialism of the worst order.

Nobody knows how expensive medicare might be or how many times the Government would have to raise the amount they take out of your paycheck to keep such a medicare program going.

Please don't misunderstand us. The issue is not whether one is for or against health and medical care for the aged. There is no dispute over the goal that everyone, regardless of age, who needs and seeks medical care should receive it regardless of the ability to pay. But the basic issue is this: What is the best way to finance medical care cost without damaging our present voluntary system of health and medical care?

Congress faces a monumental decision. The financing of health care through compulsory social security taxes would become an irrevocable decision, for by the time the success or failure of such a program could be accurately evaluated, it would be so deeply embedded in the Nation's political system, economic structure and medical framework that reversal would be impossible. Fourteen million retired people, 4 million widows and children, and more than 62 million people presently working, and their families, look to social security for certain types of protection. Who can say that attaching medicare to social security might not destroy the entire system?

KGBX believes Missouri should join the 39 other States that have already implemented the Kerr-Mills plan that, since 1960, started providing a broad plan of medical assistance for elderly people who need help. Let those who can afford to pay for their own health care, pay it, and reject the socialistic medicare scheme, thus preserving our social security system; and our voluntary system of health care. That's the American way.

DON C. DAILEY,
General Manager, KGBX.

Hon. Carl Vinson, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished dean of the House of Representatives, my colleague, CARL VINSON, of Georgia, has received many honors in his day.

Of particular interest to thousands of his friends and admirers is the following story of August 19, by Frank Eleazer, an outstanding journalist and fellow Georgian.

Under leave I insert this story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

(By Frank Eleazer)

WASHINGTON, August 19.—For "Vinson College" this was the last homecoming, graduation, senior prom, and annual picnic, all rolled into one. Everybody made jokes and laughed extra loud. This was so nobody would cry.

Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, 80, dean of the House and for 30 years chairman, autocrat, and headmaster of its Armed Services and predecessor Naval Affairs Committees, is leaving Congress at the end of this session after a record half-century's service.

There may be another minor cleanup committee meeting or two but for practical purposes the entire student body knew that after today's session school was out, and this time for good.

Today's class was set for 11 a.m. in the big, ornate, red-carpeted hearing room where Uncle CARL through the years has gaveled his legislative lessons into the heads of scores of lesser lawmakers, one of whom, a bright pupil named Lyndon B. Johnson, went on to be President of the United States.

The stated agenda was a group photograph, and VINSON gaveled his noisy charges sternly to order. He pocketed his nose-riding spectacles and assumed a solemn aspect. Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, at his right, put on his glasses and smiled. While a dozen photos were taken other committee members traded gibes and said "cheese."

When all this was done, RIVERS reached across VINSON and picked up his gavel. He banged it experimentally a couple of times. If Democrats retain control of Congress this fall RIVERS will succeed VINSON as chairman next year.

"Since we are living in the days of coups," he told VINSON, "it's just as well for me to take this gavel now so I can get accustomed to it."

"Mr. Chairman, you are leaving us," RIVERS began, and members squirmed in their seats. "This brings about a certain nostalgia," he went on, and there was evident fear around the U-shaped committee dais he might inadvertently get mawkish about it.

"You have been accused of lots of things, rightly or wrongly," RIVERS went on, and the members relaxed, "and I think more rightly than wrongly."

He touched only lightly on these accusations, because everybody already knew what they were. VINSON has been fondly labeled a tyrant, an emperor, a jehu, a monarch, a caliph, and even a lifetime tobacco-chewer with ridiculously inadequate aim. Furthermore, he never has denied it was so.

"You have done one thing," RIVERS conceded. "You have sown in the hearts of the members of this committee seeds of love and affection that have grown and matured and will last as long as the sun and as life itself. We will never forget our association with you."

Then he pounded the gavel and ordered staffers to bring out a "small token" for VINSON. Laboriously they lugged in and placed on the witness table a box about the size of a desk. RIVERS directed VINSON to open it up.

With his pocket knife Uncle CARL slit the top. He pulled out the padding and discovered a smaller box. This too he opened. Another box was inside. This one was for real. In it was a shining gobboon and a note:

"This isn't it, but you can put it next to what it is."

What it really was was a color TV, to be delivered later to VINSON's farm at Milledgeville, Ga., along with the spittoon which by then will have been suitably engraved with names of all the current roster of members.

To keep the laughs coming Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER, Republican, of California, said he would insist his name go into the brass as "GRUBSER," as "in joke" referring to VINSON's faculty for calling unruly students (like GUBSER) by names not quite their own.

Already engraved, for later installation on the top of the television, was a brass plaque praising VINSON for his "50 years of outstanding leadership and dedication to the Nation."

VINSON said the TV was just what he would need down on the farm. "It will enable me in the days to come to tune in and see if you are carrying out your duties like I have taught you to do," he said, playing his role to the end.

As for the spittoon, he admitted that would be handy too. It will enable him finally to get rid of the galvanized water bucket he normally carries from room to room at his Milledgeville house.

That seemed to be about it. But RIVERS, who had secretly ordered a lunch of cold cuts and shrimp served in the committee room, directed the members to stay. VINSON commended RIVERS' vigorous style. He said MENDEL definitely seemed to be learning the job.

The First Anniversary of Malaysia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on September 16 the Federation of Malaysia celebrates the first anniversary of its independent existence, and we wish to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong; His Excellency, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman; and His Excellency, the Malaysian Ambassador to the United States, Dato Ong Yoke Lin.

The Federation of Malaysia, consisting of the former federation of Malaya and the British territories of Singapore, North Borneo, and Sarawak, was joyously proclaimed 1 year ago on September 16, 1963. The idea of a new state in southeast Asia, called Malaysia, was first proposed by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman in the month of May 1961. The proposal was well received by the British Government which gave it its full support and encouragement from the very start.

There was opposition to the creation of Malaysia by the Communist countries of the world. They attacked it as a sinister attempt of the West to perpetuate its special form of colonialism in southeast Asia. In Indonesia, President Sukarno also began to speak out against Malaysia calling it a dangerous threat to his country of almost 100 million people.

During the following year, a serious crisis developed between Indonesia and those who were planning the new state of Malaysia. Several attempts to settle the dispute by negotiation and compromise failed in their main purpose. President Sukarno's government announced that it was adopting a policy of "confrontation" toward Malaysia and that the ultimate aim of this policy was to crush the new state.

In spite of the intense opposition by Indonesia and the major Communist powers, the Soviet Union and China, the Federation of Malaysia was finally proclaimed on September 16, 1963. In this country the formation of the new state was hailed as an encouraging and significant event. The U.S. Government announced that it welcomed Malaysia and that it looked forward to "close and cordial relations between our two nations."

However, regional tension was greatly intensified immediately following the formal proclamation of Malaysia. In-

donesia did not extend diplomatic recognition to the new state and even went so far as to cut off its trade with Malaysia. The situation has steadily deteriorated during the last year. In Djakarta, President Sukarno still calls for a policy of confrontation against Malaysia and the Indonesian Government has been actively supporting the guerrilla movement in the Borneo territories of Malaysia.

The United States has not been as deeply involved in the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia as it has been in others. Attorney General Robert Kennedy did make a trip to southeast Asia in January of this year to try to mediate the dispute. And the U.S. Government has tried to check President Sukarno's aggressiveness by refusing to consider new foreign aid programs for Indonesia. But, for the most part, the United States has deferred to Great Britain as the principal Western power involved.

As the people of the new state of Malaysia celebrate their first anniversary on September 16, we in the United States also honor these democratic and freedom-loving people. Their courage in these days of tension, their progressive attitude and stanch stand against communism assure the continued close and amicable support of the American people. I am confident that there will be a long and friendly relationship between our two countries.

Arthur Hoppe's Columns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Arthur Hoppe has made some very pertinent observations, first on the convention and, secondly, on the Virginians who are running for Congress in California and New York.

These columns were published in the San Francisco Chronicle on August 30 and 31:

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Aug. 30, 1964]

STUFF THE DELEGATIONS—EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Now that the conventions are over, it is time to build for the future. And what I'm building for the future is an all-purpose stuffed delegate.

For, as anyone who's been in Atlantic City all week can tell you, the only official duties of an official delegate in these days of television are three: It must make noise, it must wave placards, and it must, above all, help fill the empty seats. The vision of a speaker addressing empty, unlistening seats is the nightmare of all convention managers. Which is really why we have delegates. Who don't listen either.

So delegates are desperately needed. But, obviously, a neat, cheaply constructed, all-purpose, stuffed delegate could perform these three functions far more efficiently and economically than fallible human delegates. The party will save millions; those in control of the convention will be assured an enthusiastically harmonious vote on all motions; and it's doubtful anyone but cab drivers and bartenders will note the difference.

Best of all, this will save untold wear and tear on the frail human delegates who now must devote 4 long days to performing these arduous mechanical chores. And who hate every minute of it.

It probably isn't generally known that human delegates despise conventions, but all you have to do is talk to them. Their reservations are fouled up, they can't see or hear from their seats, every party they crash is overcrowded, they can't get a cab, a table, or a girl, they despise whatever city they are convened in, and their hotel room is not only miles from anything, but it is a direct insult.

Indeed, at the recent festivities in Atlantic City, the California delegation was quartered at the Ambassador, which might be described as a stately old hotel. If it were more stately. And prizes were finally offered to the delegates with the most heartrendering tales of woe, most of which involved doorknobs falling off, thereby locking people in bathrooms. First prize was a week in Atlantic City. Second prize was 2 weeks in Atlantic City.

But you can't blame delegates for being grumpy. Here they've taken a week off from work and spent hundreds of dollars in some place they can't abide, being constantly pushed and shoved around, in order to perform three simple mechanical functions for the television cameras an all-purpose, stuffed delegate could handle much, much better.

Yes, there 's no doubt the human delegate is on his way out. At long last, thanks to our fast-advancing technology, man will soon be relieved of the dreary burden of suffering through boring, tawdry, artificially staged political conventions in the flesh.

Yet it's odd, but the few delegates I've approached with the idea have been strangely unenthusiastic about being saved. Frankly, I'm beginning to suspect they're already looking forward to attending the next boring, tawdry, artificially staged convention. And, come to think of it, so am I.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Chronicle, Aug. 31, 1964]

TODAY VIRGINIA—TOMORROW THE WORLD

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—The reason I stopped off in Washington was to visit historic Virginia, known far and wide as the Mother of Presidents. Only I think they now ought to change their slogan to "The Home of the Washington Senators."

For Virginia, as you know, is the home of Mr. PIERRE SALINGER, who was such an upstanding resident of Virginia that he was recently appointed U.S. Senator in Washington. From California.

This, of course, started a trend. "If good old Portly PIERRE can be a Senator," said his fellow Virginian, Mr. Bobby Kennedy, "I guess I can be a Senator, too."

But, unlike Mr. SALINGER, Mr. Kennedy was handicapped by not being a registered voter in Virginia. So he couldn't run for Senator in California. No, he's a registered voter in Massachusetts. So naturally he's running for Senator in New York, which is our second largest State.

While numerous Californians and New Yorkers have expressed their opinions of this trend, no one has thought to find out what Virginians think. And to remedy the oversight, I cornered an eminent Virginian, Col. Jefferson T. Stonewall, on the portico of his ante bellum mansion.

"It's appalling, son," cried the Colonel, shaking his cane angrily. "These carpetbaggers have no right running for Senator in such faraway places as California and New York."

Carpetbaggers? "That's right, son," he said. "They weren't even born here in Virginia. Yankee carpetbaggers, that's what they are. And it's a terrible thing, these Yankee carpetbaggers going around the country posing as true Virginians."

Terrible for whom? "For true Virginians. Why, it's getting so there's hardly a respectable State left for a bona fide Virginia gentleman to run for Senator."

Deplorable. "Yes. In order to put a stop to it, we had a meeting of true Virginia gentlemen at the Robert E. Lee Hunt Club. It was most successful. We drew lots for the 47 States which are left. However, I announced publicly afterward that I regretted I had no ambition to be U.S. Senator from Illinois."

Commendable modesty, I said. "Well, frankly, I prefer a smaller State. So I swapped Illinois to my neighbor, Colonel Beauregard. Yes, shake hands with the next Senator from Utah. And should you pass through the capital of Boise, do tell them that as a true Virginian I shall always have the interests of my loyal Utah constituents at heart. Or is it Amarillo?"

Well, I think Colonel Stonewall will make a fine Senator from Utah. He won't get embroiled in petty local issues (not being familiar with any), he won't be beholden to local political bosses (not knowing a soul), and he won't give long-winded speeches on the scenic beauties of glorious Utah (never having seen the place).

Now all that bothers me is why should California and New York have to settle for less?

Yom Kippur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it would be well for the world if every one of us would dwell on the purpose of the Jewish observance of Yom Kippur, taking stock, on this solemn occasion, of how far we have fallen short of our proper goals and of our solemn intentions—of how much we have done that we should not have done, and of how much that we should have done we have left undone. By the physical sacrifice of fasting, and of long prayers, the Jewish people on this occasion symbolize their repentance for past failures, and their intention to do better in the future. The spiritual meaning of the ceremonies and prayers of the day is concentrated in the passage from Isaiah, always read in the synagogue services on Yom Kippur:

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the fetters of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppress go free. * * * Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry and that thou bring the homeless to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him and that thou hide not thyself from thy fellow man. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning * * * and thy righteousness shall go before thee.

On this occasion of repentance, of mourning for the dead, and of preparation for the joys and achievements of the new year, my prayers are with my

Jewish friends, and I am happy to feel that I too may be remembered in their prayer and worship.

Needed Change in Self-Employed Retirement Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that appeared in the Journal of Commerce of Tuesday, June 30, 1964:

KEOGH ACT STUDIED BY ACTUARIES

PORTLAND, OREG., June 29.—Liberalization of the 50-percent rule of the Keogh Act would result in much wider use of Keogh-type pension plans, an actuarial panel reviewing the act was told here.

Any liberalization of the rule would give many more employees the protection of a funded retirement program, the panel, conducted by the Society of Actuaries, was informed by Angus L. Crawford, of San Francisco, a consulting actuary.

Mr. Crawford stated that the most important feature of the act (H.R. 10) and a major deterrent to those who wish to set up Keogh-type retirement plans is that only 50 percent of the contribution made by a self-employed person is deductible in the year it was made, in contrast to the fact that contributions made on behalf of employees, either under a self-employed plan or a corporate plan, are fully deductible.

"The self-employed seem to be very much aware of their responsibility of providing retirement benefits for their employees," he said, "and the fact that the law requires this before the self-employed individual may participate does not seem to be the major stumbling block that the 50-percent limit on deduction is."

The San Francisco actuary noted that the early experience of the California Medical Association plan showed that single doctors and two-doctor partnerships mainly enrolled in the 2 weeks available during 1963. In many cases, he said, there were up to three covered employees for one participating physician.

ORIENTATION NOTED

The panel, the last of three regional discussions on the subject conducted by the Society of Actuaries, was told by another speaker, Elmer R. Benedict, second vice president of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., that the H.R. 10 law and regulations seem oriented to the "money purchase formula."

With this in mind, he said, life companies have developed flexible contracts, riders or split funding procedures because the fixed benefit formula may not be suitable in all instances.

The Hancock executive noted that under the fixed benefit approach in the typical situation where the owner-employee is older than his common law employee or employees, a smaller proportion of the total contribution would be contributed on behalf of the common law employee than under the money purchase approach.

According to Mr. Benedict, at least three life companies have had fixed benefit formulas approved by the U.S. Treasury. But, he added, the Treasury may impose restrictions resulting in less difference between the fixed benefit and money purchase approaches.

TWO CATEGORIES

The moderator of the panel, Daniel F. McGinn, associate actuary, Occidental Life Insurance Co., said H.R. 10 business falls into two basic types. These he described as:

1. The large professional association programs, which will be handled either by group annuities on a split-funding basis; through a self-administered trust fund; or through a master trust using individual policies with a "side fund."

2. The small employer programs, which probably can be most effectively funded by individual policies.

A session on employee benefit plans heard Leslie A. Cannon, actuary of the Great-West Life Assurance Co., Winnipeg, reviewed government pension plans in Canada.

The Canadian actuary said that the Canadian Old Age Security Act fails to take into account differences in the cost of living in various parts of the country, and all major political parties have made preelection promises to add a "second deck" of pension benefits in the form of a contributory earnings—related pension plans.

Many important details have yet to be made public, he added.

Mr. Cannon also said that contributions to the plan will probably commence in January of 1966, but the starting date could conceivably be advanced to July 1, 1965.

The existing Old Age Security Act in Canada is expected to be amended to provide for payment of reduced amounts after age 65, without a retirement test, he said.

Why Lyndon Johnson Must Be Elected

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, one of the strongest editorials that has come to my attention in recent years is one which appeared in the September 19 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. So far as I have been able to determine this is the first time since its establishment in 1728 that this distinguished and influential magazine has ever endorsed a Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. The Post states unequivocally that its traditions and inclinations notwithstanding, it has cast its eyes over the qualifications and the record of the Republican Presidential candidate and found him dangerously wanting. The editorial speaks for itself in forceful terms—in disappointment in the choice of the Republican Party's Presidential candidate and in applauding the accomplishments of President Johnson. I commend the editorial to all American citizens concerned with giving America sound leadership:

WHY LYNDON JOHNSON MUST BE ELECTED

A healthy, vigorous two-party system is absolutely indispensable to the survival of American democracy. Its proper functioning requires each of the major parties to put forth a man who is unmistakably and unquestionably qualified to be trusted with the incalculably grave and terrible powers of the Presidency.

In the presidential election of 1964, the two-party system has been seriously endangered. One of the great parties, the Democratic, has fulfilled its duty by putting forth a man, Lyndon B. Johnson, who has many flaws and leaves much to be desired, but who is unquestionably as well qualified to be President as any tried and tested leader the Democratic Party now affords.

The other great party, the Republican, has shirked and betrayed its duty by putting forth a man, BARRY GOLDWATER, who is manifestly unqualified to be President and whose unsuitability for this awesome responsibility becomes clearer with every passing day and with every feckless word he utters.

The two-party system has thus been endangered because this misfeasance on the part of the Republican Party has left the enlightened, the rational, the prudent, the responsible American voter no acceptable other choice in this election. He is not even given the option of an echo. He is given only the option of a question mark, of a man who is seemingly congenitally unable to say what he means or even know what he says, to say anything clearly or to hold the same conviction 2 days in a row. BARRY GOLDWATER's tongue is like quicksilver; his mind is like quicksand.

The Post therefore urges the election of Lyndon B. Johnson as President.

It urges, even more strongly, the defeat of BARRY GOLDWATER.

We are confident that Johnson will make a good President because he already is a good President. In the 10 brief months he has held the highest office, he has shown an ability unmatched in this century to bring all the diverse and warring factions of Congress behind the enactment of positive, progressive, and needful legislature programs. In his greatest test as Commander in Chief—the attack on our Navy in the Gulf of Tonkin—he has acted with both the forcefulness and restraint which is required in the man who alone controls the ultimate weapon and bears all the fearful responsibility which that entails.

We are equally confident that GOLDWATER would not make a good President. He has not even made a good Senator. He has been in the Senate 11 years and not one piece of memorable legislation attaches to his name. He has been in its councils through the most momentous and revolutionary decade in the history of this Republic as we have strained every seam and fabric of our traditional habits and thinking to keep abreast of an age when all the supposed boundaries of man's environment are being broken, gravity defied, space penetrated, the moon reached, the riddle of the human cell being unraveled. Merely to understand, much less to master, this surge and change, heavy with unguessed new treasures of technology to increase man's wealth, has required and will require government entry into areas never before imagined. But BARRY GOLDWATER has managed to live through this whole tremendous epoch with his face turned squarely to the past, his eyes closed, and his mind preoccupied with one—and only one—idea: somehow to shrink the Government back into the familiar and comfortably small proportions of his Arizona youth. BARRY GOLDWATER has left no mark in the Senate because, as he has truthfully declared, he sought to erase marks rather than to make them: "I have little interest in streamlining government or in making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them. It is not to inauguarate new programs, but to cancel old ones." He is like the Cincinnati kettlemaker who, when first hearing of Kentucky ironmaker William Kelly's use of air to make steel, exclaimed, "I want my iron made in the old way or not at all."

His mind is surely not in phase with today's world.

GOLDWATER changes his "convictions" almost as often as his shirt. One day he is for abolishing social security, the next day for strengthening it, one day for giving field commanders control over nuclear weapons, the next day for restricting control to the NATO supreme commander. Many of his statements are inherently contradictory nonsense—e.g., to cut all Government expenditures, while expanding defense (which already takes more than half of every tax dollar spent)—like advertising a car that is bigger on the inside but smaller on the outside. Some of his statements, if they have any meaning at all, are rather frightening in the subconscious thoughts which seem to lie behind them, particularly those concerning his strange love affair with German prowess: "With all due respect to American military leaders, Germany would have won both World Wars if she had not been badly led." "I think it was the Germans who originated the modern concept of peace through strength." This last remark prompted Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of Foreign Affairs, to ask the New York Times to clarify whether it was Hitler's or the Kaiser's "peace through strength" that GOLDWATER had in mind. However, it is always possible that he really had nothing in mind, as when he told reporters who briefly boarded his cruising Sundance, "I've thought for some time that talks with the Red Chinese might be profitable." He later radioed ashore that what he really meant was that the United States should be ready to threaten the Chinese, telling them that "if they didn't stop, then you would blow up a bridge or show some other sort of force." He finally cleared everything up by adding, "I'm not really recommending this, but it might not be an impossible idea."

GOLDWATER is a grotesque burlesque of the conservative he pretends to be. He is a wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless political jujitsu artist like Joe McCarthy, whose last-ditch defender he remained even when three-fourths of the Senate had voted to condemn their Red-hunting colleague. He still defends McCarthy, well knowing that he imputed treason to General Marshall and to President Eisenhower. He will not condemn the John Birch Society, though knowing that its leader, Robert Welch, has called Eisenhower a Communist agent. Yet, in order to get Eisenhower's vacuous blessing, GOLDWATER was capable of a tongue-in-cheek erasure of his infamous "extremism" slogan, a statement that was not written in haste but with extreme care, and gone over time and again by GOLDWATER before he uttered it. These words can, and should, forever symbolize the total fraudulence of his claim to be a true conservative: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, and * * * moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." That statement deserves to be the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" of this election, and BARRY GOLDWATER deserves to be defeated for it alone, no matter how much he tries to clown it away. He knew what he meant by it, and so does every John Birch fanatic and Ku Klux vigilante.

For the good of the Republican Party, which his candidacy disgraces, we hope that GOLDWATER is crushingly defeated. It was clear, from poll after poll, that the rank and file of Republican voters overwhelmingly preferred other leaders to GOLDWATER. It was equally clear that the fanatical Goldwater bias of a majority of convention delegates revealed the capture of the Republican Party by a new breed of so-called leaders whose selection had been steamrolled by extremist, well-heeled types. The men who have most deserved to lead the Republican Party, by virtue of their long, distinguished, and responsible service in it, and to the country, have been made to feel unwelcome, hissed, and hated in it, as they were repudiated by it. A crushing defeat for GOLDWATER will drive the fanatic saboteurs of the Republican Party back into the woodwork whence they came. It will provide the opportunity for the party's true leaders to build anew from the wreckage that these heedless, reckless, ill-mannered, and arrogant men are sure to leave. Then the two-party system can be restored, and the voter will again have a choice, not a calamity.

My Talks With the Presidential Giants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, this week I forwarded to the newspapers in my congressional district an article written by me on the subject of my talks with the presidential giants—Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson. It has occurred to me that this article might be of general interest to some people outside my congressional district and accordingly I am now inserting it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The article is as follows:

The Washington skyline along the Potomac River is dominated by three memorials erected to presidential giants who led our Nation in other years. These memorials are for Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson.

But what a mockery that we cease to follow their counsel in these times. Memorials are for memories. Yet we remember only their names, not their precepts.

I go out to the long shadow of Washington's tapering spire that reaches 555 feet toward the clouds. "General," I say to his imagined presence, "You wrapped us in swaddling clothes and gave us a healthy start. Now look. We number over 180 million and our stars have grown from 13 to 50. Do you have any comment?"

"Why yes, Congressman, I do. You must recall that I once gave a farewell address in which I told the people to beware of entangling foreign alliances. But, among other entanglements, our country has been engaged in some kind of a Vietnam conflict for the past 10 years. This has already cost $3 billion and hundreds of American casualties. Vietnam is nearly 7,000 miles away. It is very foreign and we are very much entangled. We must be off our rocker to do such things." The General fades away with heavy sorrow and I move on over to the Lincoln Memorial hard by the Potomac.

Mr. Lincoln is lonely and brooding sitting there in his large chair. Knowing he came from Kentucky soil and the plain people of his time, I am not backward about accosting his spirit that seems to be neither earthbound nor tonguetied. "Well, Emancipator, it must be a great feeling to know that you preserved the Union and took your place among our country's immortals."

He replies, "You said a mouthful about preserving the Union, but have you forgotten about my statement calling on Americans not to violate the laws, to have full reverence always for law and order, never to redress any grievance by mob action? Yet riots this year in Harlem, Philadelphia, Rochester, and other places have cost 5 lives, nearly 1,000 injuries, and more than $6 million in property damages. And these terrible acts have been done by some of the very people for whom I gave my life." So spoke the Great Emancipator and I have never seen such sadness and disappointment in a human face. And now I cross the Tidal Basin to find out what is on the mind of Thomas Jefferson.

And right there stands Mr. Jefferson, a fine figure of a man, if I ever saw one. "Hello, Mr. Jefferson," I greet the founder of the Democratic Party, "it must be quite a satisfaction to you to realize you started the very political party that now controls the White House, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. Have you any misgivings about the whole business in this election year of 1964?"

"Well, Congressman SILER, you are a Republican from the mountains of Kentucky. But you and many others have often quoted me as saying that the Government that governs the least governs the best. I believe it then and still believe it now. Yet right here are the plain figures—more than 2 million people are working for the Federal Government; it has more bureaus than ever before; it is meddling in more things, clear out to the heads of the hollows, than ever in history; it has a Federal budget of $98 billion that is never in balance; it has a Federal debt of more than $300 billion that no one plans to reduce. Do you think I could sleep if I were still living at Monticello? Why, I would be taking 10 aspirins daily and 2 tranquilizers every night. Congressman, you are a Republican and I am a Democrat. But we see many things very much alike. If you were running this year, I think I would vote for you. And, if I were running, I think you would vote for me."

"Of course, Mr. Jefferson, you bet your boots I would. But not for bigger, bigger, bigger government."

Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, America's great trio. While we hail them, we do not heed them. And that is a very poor memorial indeed.

Challenge—Not Compromise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I was very much impressed with the article "Challenge—Not Compromise" by the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover which appeared in the September issue of the New Age. Because Mr. Hoover's words are so true, and because the solution to the problems he discusses lies within the ability of each one of us to reach, I feel that this article should be required reading for all who have an opportunity to see it:

CHALLENGE—NOT COMPROMISE

(By J. Edgar Hoover, 33°)

This is a generation of great challenge. Through no choice of our own we are in the world at a time when deadly forces challenge the right of every American to live in freedom under God.

Young people in postwar America have grown up with the disillusioning knowledge that the world is no longer safe for democracy.

We are at war with communism, in different ways on different fronts around the world. The Communist ideology is born in hate, but our philosophy of life is the practice of love and faith.

Just as freedom is our right, so challenge is our heritage—for freedom, once won, must constantly be defended.

AMERICA'S LIFELINE

Today, our country faces the most severe test ever to confront a free people. Here and abroad, mortal enemies of freedom and deniers of God Himself conspire to undermine the fundamental forces which are the lifeline of our country's vitality and greatness—our most formidable weapons, in peace and in war.

What are these forces? They are:

Faith: faith in a supreme being: God, the author of liberty.

Individualism: inherent dignity and worth of every sovereign individual with his personal rights and responsibilities.

Courage: the courage of a free people firmly dedicated to the noblest cause.

Integrity: that quality of trustworthiness which is essential in dealings between men and between countries.

Discipline: and self-discipline, which are vital in a nation governed by laws rather than by men.

Vision: such as led our Founding Fathers into the perilous dangers of a hostile wilderness that was to become the proud American Republic in which we live today.

These are America's great bulwarks. They are under savage attack today, just as they were so severely tested nearly 200 years ago at Bunker Hill and at Valley Forge.

Daniel Webster, that brilliant early American statesman, eloquently declared, "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it."

Daniel Webster knew the heavy price America had paid for her liberty. And he knew also the disintegrating effect of self-indulgence, neglect of duty and public lethargy in a nation of free men.

These lethal influences are at work, constantly undermining the sense of personal responsibility and self-disicpline so essential to our Nation's welfare. They form a common denominator with the aggressive enemies of our Republic in assaulting the cause of decency and justice across the length and breadth of the land.

WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES?

Who are these enemies of our Republic? They are the crime syndicates, the narcotics peddlers, the labor racketeers, the unscrupulous businessmen, the corrupt politicians and all others who blatantly defy the laws of the land.

They are the hatemongers and the false liberals who would subvert our Constitution and undermine our democratic processes in furtherance of their selfish ends.

They are the Communists and other subversive elements who wave false banners of legitimacy and patriotism while relentlessly plotting to destroy our heritage of freedom.

Today, the Communists are engaged in an intensive campaign to control the minds and win the allegiance of American youth. Toward this end, a National Youth Commission has been established within the Communist Party, USA; special publications have been issued; front groups have been organized, and an ambitious speech program has been directed against our colleges and universities.

During the past 2 years, Communist spokesmen have appeared on nearly 100 campuses from coast to coast. Their purpose: to create confusion, raise questions and spread doubt among our young people concerning the American way of life.

It is indeed ironic that Communist Party speakers—whose minds and thoughts and actions are in no manner free—should demand the opportunity to parot the Moscow line to young Americans under the guise of academic freedom.

FREEDOM IS NOT LICENSE

Academic freedom is not an instrument for the perpetuation of conspiratorial ideologies. Nor is it an agent of self-destruction—a freedom to destroy freedom. As a free flowing channel of truth and knowledge, academic freedom is not obligated to carry along the silted tributaries of lies and distortions of known Communists.

The Communists look upon students as potential sympathizers, supporters, and contributers to the party's cause. Nor are they unmindful of the rich opportunity for infiltration presented by unwary racial and nationality groups.

COMMUNISTS EXPLOIT CIVIL RIGHTS

This is especially true of the intense civil rights movement within the United States. America's 20 million Negroes and the countless other citizens who share their objectives in the current struggle are a priority target for Communist propaganda and exploitation. Every organization engaged in this struggle must constantly remain alert to this vital fact, for, once under Communist domination, all freedoms and rights are lost.

Make no mistake about the Communists in this country. Whether they are members of Soviet-bloc diplomatic establishments in New York and Washington, or whether they are fanatical adherents of the Communist Party, U.S.A., all represent the same ideology of treachery, deceit, and subversion.

From the immunity which they enjoy as foreign diplomats on American soil, Soviet and satellite officials continue to carry out espionage assignments against the United States. That some American citizens, including concealed adherents to the Communist Party, have knowingly and willingly assisted these Iron Curtain intelligence networks is a criminal disgrace and a blight not only upon our Nation, but upon the entire free world. And it is equally disgraceful that well-meaning but uninformed citizens have permitted themselves to be duped by sympathy campaigns on behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Morton Sobell, and other traitors.

WORLD CONQUEST IS GOAL

Nowhere is the hope for peace more sincere than in the hearts of all true Americans. But in our quest for peace we must never lose sight of the well-documented fact that every Red leader from Marx and Engels through Khrushchev, Mao, and the American Communist spokesman, Gus Hall, is dedicated to an ideology which upholds world conquest as its ultimate goal.

The Communists have never deviated from this objective. Despite the high-pressure campaign they have mounted behind Khrushchev's phrase of "peaceful coexistence," the Communists know that this is simply a propaganda slogan devised to further their own ends by stirring the hopes and emotions of those who seek an end to the turmoil, fear, and sorrow that world communism itself created.

Actions continue to speak louder than words, and certainly the Communists have shown no indication of a sincere quest for peace.

The takeover of Cuba and the effort to make it an island fortress against democracy; the ever-constant infiltration of Red Fascists into countries of Central and South America to create a Sovietized Latin America; the increase of espionage activities by Soviet and satellite agents in our country, particularly those who strive to penetrate our Government processes from the protection afforded them by diplomatic assignments in New York and Washington; the frantic efforts of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to subvert our youth; and the intense drive of the Communists operating from concealed positions to wrest control of the movement for Negro rights—does all this indicate a real and sincere desire to live in peaceful coexistence?

In recent years, the Communists have demonstrated an attitude of open defiance and contempt for our laws—an attitude which is fortified by their repeated ability to invoke loopholes, technicalities, and delays in the law to thwart justice. One former judge found cause to warn last summer not only of inexcusable delays in the court, but also of what he considered to be a "trend of decisions in the last 10 years * * * favorable to extreme leftwingers, Communists, and subversives in general."

Another student of court rulings in the internal security field was prompted to observe, "Unfortunately, subversive activities are well on the way to becoming a no man's land in the law."

In 1957, a Federal judge in the Nation's Capital assailed what he considered to be "an unfortunate trend of judicial decisions * * * which strain and stretch to give the guilty, not the same, but vastly more protection than the law-abiding citizen." There has been no reversal of this alarming trend—a trend which is felt in our steadily rising national crime problem.

CRIME UP 40 PERCENT

Since 1957, when the Federal judge issued his warning, crime has increased nearly 40 percent. Its victims continue to mount at a relentless rate. Four serious crimes are committed every minute; there is a crime of violence every 3 minutes; and property crimes—robberies, burglaries, larcenies, and automobile thefts—occur within seconds.

Americans, in growing numbers, are developing a dangerously indulgent attitude toward crime, filth, and corruption. No one can deny that motion pictures are deliberately and defiantly pursuing an increasingly bold courtship with obscenity. No one can deny the role of the television industry in bringing lurid portrayals of violence and sadism into the living rooms—and even the nurseries—of our homes. No one can deny that sensual trash is moving closer and closer to the children's books on the shelves of our newsstands and magazine stores.

Our youth do not need weakness, they need strength. They do not need indulgence, they need the guidance and the discipline which can best be provided by a decent home.

Despite the dedicated efforts of church and civic leaders and others who have a sincere interest in the proper development of our young people, the failures continue to mount. Each year, persons under 18 years of age are involved in nearly two-thirds of the arrests for automobile thefts, and approximately one-half of the burglary and larceny arrests. The newspapers of our major cities recount incidents of senseless murders, violent assaults, and brutal beatings inflicted upon innocent victims by arrogant gangs of teenagers and young adults.

Courts are influenced too much by the age—rather than the record—of the young hoodlum who stands before the bar of justice.

The bleeding hearts, some actually sworn to administer the law either as judges or social workers, are so concerned for young criminals and terrorists that they are indifferent to the rights of law-abiding members of society.

We have mollycoddled young criminals, lightly tapped hardened offenders on the wrists, and released some unreformed and unrepentant hoodlums to prey anew on society.

The time is long overdue for us to adopt a more realistic attitude toward this critical problem. We have tried the charitable approach toward young hoodlums and it has failed.

The crime problem costs the American people some $22 billion a year—nine times the amount contributed to our churches. For

every $1 spent on educating our children, $1.11 goes to crime.

TODAY'S NEEDS

Nowhere in recent months have our people faced a more explosive condition of shame and violence than among the hatemongers, the moral degenerates, the lunatic fringe, and the other irrational fanatics who preach a doctrine of hostility toward their fellow man. This rabble has sown the dragons' teeth of malice and intimidation; and from the ground has sprung a series of hate-driven riots, bombings, and desecrations.

The voices of temperance, logic, and decency must speak out more effectively and make their influence felt. No problem is so acute, no crisis so severe, that terrorism can be tolerated in a society of free men. Hate, terror, lawlessness are not the American way of accomplishing any objective that is truly worthwhile. In meeting the tense crises which confront the United States in this nuclear age, we must look to God for guidance and inspiration.

CHALLENGE, NOT COMPROMISE

This country has never run from its enemies. Challenge, not compromise—bravery, not cowardice—are integral parts of our heritage. Since that critical hour in 1777 when General Washington ordered his Revolutionary Army to "Put none but Americans on guard tonight," it has been the tradition of our proud Nation to rise to its greatest heights in the face of adversity.

There are important lessons to be learned in the pages of American history. From Faneuil Hall to Cape Kennedy, our greatest patriots have been men and women of deep religious conviction; men like Thomas Jefferson, the principal author of our Declaration of Independence, who told his fellow colonists, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time."

In the eyes of a latter-day hero, "Freedom, devotion to God and country are not things of the past. They will never become old fashioned." These words were spoken by Astronaut John H. Glenn.

America remains free because men of faith, men of individualism, men of courage, men of integrity, men of discipline, and men of vision have patrolled her most vital outposts for 188 years.

These strong qualities—faith, individualism, courage, integrity, discipline, and vision—are the keys to freedom. Let us protect and defend the real meaning of America. This is the debt we owe to the brave legions of the past who laid down their lives to safeguard the great truths which guide our destiny today.

Address of Justice Walter B. Hamlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, each year in New Orleans on September 14, the descendants of those gallant men who drove the carpetbaggers from Louisiana in 1874 gather to commemorate the memory of their illustrious predecessors.

The ceremony each year is held at what is known as Liberty Place on Canal Street within a stone's throw of the great Mississippi River and the historical Customhouse, which, according to legend, is built on cotton bales. On the monument are inscribed the names of those who fell in the battle, and each year they are read aloud to a hushed audience whose silent prayers are offered as a salute to these men who laid down their lives for the principle of self-government and self-determination within the sovereign State. A wreath is placed at the monument by patriotic organizations and representatives of the Liberty Place Monument Advisory Commission, which is composed of descendants of those who participated in the battle.

Following the public ceremony the commissioners attend a banquet which is addressed by an outstanding citizen of the community. This year the address was made by Justice Walter B. Hamlin of the Louisiana State Supreme Court, and recognized as one of the finest and most authoritative historians in Louisiana. The depth of Justice Hamlin's research is reflected in each address he makes. His address on September 14 this year presents some very interesting facts, which become very important and more interesting in the light of the times in which we live and the crisis which we face.

I commend to you Justice Hamlin's address:

ADDRESS OF JUSTICE WALTER B. HAMLIN, SEPTEMBER 14, 1964, AT BANQUET, ANTOINE'S, COMMEMORATING THE BATTLE OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1874

Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen, I desire to thank you again for the honor of addressing you. When Mr. Carriers telephoned requesting me to make this address, I checked my notes which were made by me back in 1952, and the impact of the newspaper articles which I am about to discuss with you, if great at that time, in my opinion is much greater today, as you will realize as we go along.

Back in 1952, through the kindness of Admiral De La Houssaye, I had the extreme pleasure, and I might add that it was coupled with excitement, of going through the history of events leading up to the conflict as compiled from articles in the newspapers of that day.

Time will not allow me to go into them thoroughly, but I would like to bring before you some of the events which sparked the actual shooting. And what struck me in 1952 was that there was a great deal of similarity between the tenor of the news articles of 1874 and those of 1952, and, as a matter of fact, those of today.

As an instance, the New Orleans Bulletin of Wednesday, September 9, 1874, carried a news article under the headlines "Seizure of Arms: Kellogg Confiscates Private Property."

It seems that about 4 p.m. of September 8, two officers arrested a furniture wagon and occupants. The wagon was said to be loaded with guns. The wagon and all parties then repaired to the central police station, where the guns were delivered to the property clerk.

Later in the day the property clerk was served with a writ of sequestration, under the authority of which the constable of the first justice of the peace of the city of New Orleans was to take possession of 24 muskets with bayonets, known as Prussian muskets, and 1,000 cartridges containing a charge of powder and a conical leaden ball, sworn to be the property of Armand Guyol, and in the illegal possession of Gen. A. S. Badger and A. Pecora.

This writ was signed by First Justice of the Peace W. T. Houston, who was later to become the first judge of division B of the civil district court when that court was created under the provisions of the Constitution of 1879. What is so interesting to me is that I was one of the successors in office to Judge Houston.

General Badger, who was served with the writ, refused to comply.

Meantime, there had been an unusual increase in the police force at headquarters, men having been withdrawn from their beats. Why these preparations were made was a mystery.

Quoting from the New Orleans Bulletin (Sept. 9, 1874):

"One of the most bold and cowardly outrages ever perpetrated on the American people by any set of hirelings, was effected yesterday afternoon on Canal Street. Under orders from those higher in authority, the police seized, under an order from a police magistrate, several cases of guns belonging to private parties, on the alleged ground that these weapons were to be used for riotous purposes.

"Without heeding even the common proprieties, the coward Kellogg insists on thus trampling the people of this city in the dust. The Constitution of the United States with its guarantees that her citizens shall always enjoy the right to bear arms, is laughed at, and the usurper, by a tinkle of his little bell, orders, as would Robespierre or Danton, the seizure of a citizen's property simply because his craven heart fears they will be used against him. Both guillotined in 1794.

"This outrage will have the effect exactly contrary to that expected. Mr. Kellogg need not think that the capture of a few private arms will serve to silence the opposition to his hated government. The time has arrived for our people to appreciate the fact that their honor, manhood and liberty is at stake. If we quietly submit to a slavery like that in store for us through the dastardly acts of those supporting the de facto, we sincerely trust the heel of oppression will bear harder upon us."

A rule for contempt was issued against General Badger and Mr. Pecora, but there were writs in their favor granted by a court known as the superior court (an especially created carpetbag court) and the property was, to all intents and purposes, confiscated.

On September 11th the store of Mr. Oliver was entered and robbed in broad daylight by 10 metropolitan police, on authority of a trumped up warrant for a charge of assault and battery. They carried off 3 cases containing guns, and about 12 kegs of ammunition, before they could be prevented by the crowd which rapidly assembled. And to quote again from the New Orleans Bulletin:

"Having secured their booty they marched off with the same to Kellogg's fence, the first precinct station."

Further:

"It is very evident that he desires to precipitate a conflict between the people and his hired Hessians, and that nothing would please him better than to see the streets of New Orleans run with blood."

Still further:

"At the time of the seizure Kellogg, accompanied by Judge Atocha, was coming out of the Custom House, when someone informed him of the fact. Kellogg said 'Did they take them before the whole crowd?' The answer was 'Yes, before the whole crowd.' Whereupon Mr. Kellogg, in a derisive manner, 'Ha, Ha'd' lustily."

There were further paragraphs which sounded warnings to the people to be on the alert, which led to the following call:

"Citizens of New Orleans:

"For nearly 2 years you have been the silent but indignant sufferers of outrage after outrage—heaped upon you by an usurping Government.

"One by one your dearest rights have been trampled upon, until, at last, in the supreme height of its insolence, this mockery of a Republican Government has dared even to deny you that right so solemnly guaranteed by the very Constitution of the United States, which, in article 2 of the amendments, de-

clares that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.'

"In that same sacred instrument, to whose inviolate perpetuity our fathers pledged 'their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor,' it is also declared that even Congress shall make no law abridging 'the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.' It now remains for us to ascertain whether this right no longer remains to us.

"We, therefore, call upon you on Monday morning, the 14th day of September, 1874, to close your places of business, without a single exception, and at 11 o'clock a.m., to assemble at the Clay Statue, on Canal Street, and in tones loud enough to be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, declare that you are of right, ought to be and mean to be, free."

This call bears the names of such illustrious men as Henry Renshaw, W. H. and Charles Chaffe, Schmidt & Ziegler, J. B. Camors & Co., J. B. Sinnott, John M. Parker.

At the same time a proclamation was issued by Lieutenant Governor Penn, calling upon the militia of the State, embracing all persons between the ages of 18 and 45 years (without regard to color or previous condition), to arm and assemble under their respective officers for the purpose of driving the usurpers from power. An order was also signed by Lieutenant Governor Penn, appointing Gen. Frederick N. Ogden as provisional general of the Louisiana State Militia.

Then the following proclamation was issued to the colored people of the State:

"In the great movement now on foot against the enormities of the rule of Kellogg's usurpation, rest assured that no harm is meant toward you, your property, or your rights.

"Pursue your usual avocations, and you will not be molested.

"We war against the thieves, plunderers, and spoilators of the State, who are involving your race and ours in common ruin.

"The rights of the colored as well as of the white race we are determined to uphold and defend." (Signed by Lieutenant Governor Penn.)

The climax of the actual hostilities came with the following headline on September 15:

"The Battle Yesterday: The Citizen Soldiery, Attacked by Kellogg's Hessians, Put Them in Flight—Three Cannons Captured by the Citizens and a Large Number of Small Arms—General Badger, Superintendent of Metropolitan Police, Dangerously Wounded and Captured—Kellogg's Troops Retreat Under Shelter of Customhouse and Are Cooped Up in the Statehouse and at Jackson Square—The City an Armed Camp."

This about sums up what happened, in a few words. However, the body of the article is very enlightening:

"For some moments the firing of musketry and artillery was very brisk, amounting to a very respectable flight. But the metropolitans were soon thrown into disorder, and Badger being shot from his horse, which was killed, they fled incontinently leaving their commander desperately wounded on the field.

"The flight was most disgraceful, the men throwing down their guns, pulling off their hats and coats, and some of them actually jumping into the river to avoid the deadly missiles which by that time were decidedly numerous. In the flight citizens captured two Napoleon guns and one Gatlingun, with ammunition, besides some 75 or 100 stand of Winchester rifles.

"General Longstreet was seen for a few moments, but judiciously made himself scarce, disappearing in a most unaccountable and ungallant manner, when he heard the well-known yell of his old troops, many of whom were in the citizen soldiery that had so unexpectedly to him shown up to confront the Hessian soldiery of which he had demeaned himself so far as to take command. It is to be regretted that he did not show up more prominently instead of sending his lieutenant, Badger, where the balls were thickest.

"The men who fought under him in Virginia from Bull Run to Gettysburg, would have been pleased to have seen more of him."

We know the rest. It took 5 years before the citizens were able to freely hold their constitutional convention of 1879, which was the foundation for the constitution of 1898, and that of 1921, under which our State government operates. The only changes between the constitutions of 1879 and 1921 are those which apply to changes in the times. But the backbone of the constitutions of 1879, 1898, and 1921 is the labor of a people determined to be free, as I know we are so determined today.

Naval Shipyards Should Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of interest and concern that I commend to public attention a discerning article by William O. Foss in the September 1964 issue of "Our Navy," entitled: "Naval Shipyards and National Security."

As Mr. Foss so vividly points out, the primary objective of naval shipyards is to keep the active fleet in a constant state of readiness. Naval shipyards are an important part of the Nation's defense team—a peacetime insurance against the demands of emergency. Service to the fleet, rather than profit, is the objective of naval shipyards, and even Congress, which year after year approves of Government funds, has agreed that this is in keeping with our national defense policies.

That these yards have been such an integral part of our first line of defense is high tribute to the thousands of skilled naval shipyard workers throughout the country. Future policy with respect to public yards, with their hard-working employees and their vital skills, should be stated now, not deferred until after the election in November. The Portsmouth Naval Shipyard and the public shipyards throughout the Nation should be reassured now that they are understood, appreciated, wanted and depended upon. The implications to the contrary from the Secretary of Defense are unfortunate and unnecessary.

The article follows:

NAVAL SHIPYARDS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

(By William O. Foss)

"Stand by for collision"

Within seconds from the outcry of that chilling warning the aircraft carrier *Wasp* sliced into the destroyer minesweeper *Hobson*, and a peaceful night in the mid-Atlantic became a night of terror.

The smaller *Hobson* was sliced in two by the 32,000-ton carrier during high-speed maneuvers on the night of April 26, 1952.

Lost were 176 men of the *Hobson* crew. Sixty-one survived one of the worst peacetime sea disasters in the history of the U.S. Navy.

The *Wasp* was lucky. No lives were lost, but she was badly crippled with a huge gaping hole in her bow.

The tragedy was a serious blow to the readiness of the U.S. Fleet, which was then busy fighting the war in Korea, and keeping a sharp watch for trouble brewing in the western Pacific, the eastern Atlantic, and the Mediterranean.

Down by the head, her bow gone, and her anchor chain trailing 1,000 feet, the big *Wasp* limped into New York at slow speed.

But 11 days after she entered the drydock of the New York Naval Shipyard's annex in Bayonne, N.J., the *Wasp* was ready for sea again.

This was one of the most amazing major repairs to a capital ship in the U.S. naval history.

Within hours after the tragic collision, experts at the New York Naval Shipyard began their important task of repairing the stricken carrier.

Initial estimates were that it would require 5 weeks to 3 months to repair the damage.

That would be too long. The carrier was needed immediately for duty. Absence of the ship for an extended time would hamper the operations of the fleet.

Shipyard planners wasted no time.

While the *Wasp* moved cautiously into port, sometimes in reverse in order to protect the remaining structure, hull experts from the New York Naval Shipyard clambered aboard to inspect the damage. They had been rushed by destroyer and helicopter to meet the carrier.

The hull experts found a 30- by 50-foot bit gouged out of the *Wasp's* bow, with most of the damage below the waterline. Their findings were radioed to New York.

Yard repairmen, armed with torches scaled the carrier *Hornet*, undergoing reconversion in the Brooklyn yard. Her bow would be cut away to fit the section torn away from the *Wasp*.

The damaged *Wasp* entered the Bayonne annex drydock on May 8. On May 19, 11 days after shipyard repairmen had worked around the clock, the job was completed. The carrier was fit and ready for sea. A few weeks later the *Wasp* was on station with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

This magnificent performance by the New York Naval Shipyard is but one example of many of the outstanding repair, overhaul, and shipbuilding jobs that are done by the Nation's 11 Government-operated naval shipyards. As an integral part of the Navy's Shore Establishment, these yards exist to provide optimum material and operational readiness support to the fleet. Or to put it plainly, as does the slogan of the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard: "We keep them fit to fight."

But the naval shipyards are in troubled waters.

Many Americans, especially those in the private shipbuilding industry, but also including Members of Congress, want to curtail if not eliminate altogether the 11 shipyards now operated by the U.S. Navy.

The major arguments advanced by those who propose that all or most of our naval shipbuilding and repair work be accomplished by private shipyards are (1) that naval shipyards should not compete with private shipyards, and (2) that private shipyards can do naval shipwork cheaper than naval shipyards.

The Navy feels that naval shipyards are unique in the shipbuilding business, inasmuch as they are being used for but one purpose: To keep the fleet in full readiness at all times, and therefore the naval shipyards are an inseparable part of the Navy's operating forces. To tamper with this important defense structure would be tantamount to reducing the fighting efficiency of our forces afloat. This would indeed be a serious threat to our national security.

Navy officials aren't saying much in public about the plight of the naval shipyards. Their lips have been sealed by orders from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, who has indicated that he is ready to close down several naval shipyards in the name of economy.

McNamara created an uproar last year when he let out the word that the naval shipyards in Boston, San Franicsco, and Philadelphia would be closed. The avalanche of protests over this proposal caused the Secretary to delay the deactivation move.

Instead he ordered Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze to head a 15-man board to undertake a comprehensive study of the Nation's shipyard capacity and requirements.

The study, which is now being completed, takes in such matters as:

An analysis of present capacity of shipyards, both public and private, for the construction, overhaul, conversion, and repair of all types of vessels.

An analysis of workloads on a 5-year projection of shipbuilding, repair, and conversion programs.

Impacts of strategic and mobilization considerations on locations of shipyards and major bases.

An analysis of tenant activities and facilities supported by existing shipyards.

An analysis of yard operating costs.

The Nitze board study is supposed to update a shipyard survey made in 1962 for the Defense Department by the Chicago accounting firm of Arthur Anderson & Co. at the cost of $197,000. Results of the survey were kept under wraps until the summer of 1963.

The Anderson study showed that it costs more to build, repair, overhaul, and convert warships in the Navy's own yards than it does in yards of private industry.

The conclusions of the Anderson report were used by the private shipyard owners and especially their spokesman, Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, as ample proof that more, if not all, work done by the Government-owned yards should be turned over to the private shipyards.

On the basis of its study of construction costs of 24 ships, the Anderson firm concluded that 5 private shipyards built 14 of these ships at less cost to the Government than the comparable 10 ships built by 6 naval shipyards.

The Anderson study showed that private shipyards could build nuclear attack submarines at 15.2 percent less than Government yards; Polaris missile submarines at 20.3 percent less; frigates at 18.7 percent less, and conventionally powered aircraft carriers at 31.4 percent less than U.S. naval shipyards.

Conversion work of missile cruisers favor private shipyards by 8.3 percent, according to the Anderson survey.

Repair work, which the Anderson study limited to underwater hull overhauls, favored private shipyards by 10 percent.

These are fine arguments in favor of the private shipyards, but statistics can be used to prove just about anything you want them to prove.

One of the biggest problems of figuring cost of private shipyards versus naval shipyards is the matter of profit versus national security. Which is more important?

Private shipyards are motivated essentially by profits. They are in business to make money. They must weigh profit against loss and select only that work which will yield the greatest gain. In nearly every instance, the margin of profit will determine when, where, and how quickly ships can be returned to a state of readiness.

The primary objective of naval shipyards is to keep the active fleet in constant state of readiness. Naval shipyards are an important part of the Nation's defense team—a peacetime insurance against the demands of emergency. Service to the fleet, rather than profit, is the objective of naval shipyards, and even Congress, which year after year approves of Government funds, has agreed that this is in keeping with our national defense policies.

Most naval officers who have studied the subject concede that private shipbuilding costs are lower than those at naval shipyards, but they hold that the quality of the finished product at naval shipyards is generally as good as, and in some cases markedly better than, that of private yards.

The Anderson report shows that ships in the repair category were completed 3 days faster in naval shipyards than in private yards. Furthermore, in a sample of 175 ships, it was found that ships overhauled by naval shipyards operated 21.3 months before being overhauled again while those overhauled by private shipyards operated only 20.1 months. The difference of 1.1 percent in operating time means that the U.S. Navy would have to have at least two more ships in order to have an equal number available to the forces afloat.

The Navy can also point to the much better safety record of naval shipyards. Not only do naval shipyards make safety appliances, such as prescription safety glasses, available to all generally exposed personnel, at no cost to these employees, but it also enforces rigid safety standards, which adds to the cost of running efficient shipyards.

Also added to the cost of operating naval shipyards are the fringe benefits given the civilian shipyard workers. The Anderson study showed that the Navy was penalized an extra burden of 45 cents per productive hour in the cost comparison with private industry for fringe benefits. Such benefits include annual leave, sick leave, holidays, jury duty and military leave. These fringe benefits and other personnel measures available to naval shipyard workers were, of course, provided by congressional action.

On the other side of the coin, naval shipyard workers cannot strike against their employer, as is the right of workers in privately operated shipyards.

In recent weeks there have been several suggestions that some of these fringe benefits be curtailed, especially the amount of annual and sick leave given to civilian naval shipyard workers. One proposal would require naval civilian administrators to charge all sick leave of less than 3 days to annual leave. This move is aimed at preventing abuse of sick leave.

Private shipyard workers do not have the same job security as do naval shipyard employees. Private shipyards, for example, lay off employees when work dwindles but such layoffs of regular civil service employees are rare in Government shipyards.

Despite a number of chronic problems and an inadequate work volume, the private shipyard industry continues to rank as one of the Nation's major industrial enterprises. The biggest problem of the industry is that there are too many yards for not enough work.

Only 42 percent of the facilities of the Nation's private shipyards were utilized during 1963. This figure, released by the Shipbuilders Council of America, included facilities engaged in commercial shipwork as well as those employed in naval shipwork.

In sharp contrast, naval shipyards operated at 82.6 percent capacity.

Meanwhile, Congress has in recent years stipulated that "at least" 35 percent of the funds appropriated for naval ship repair, alteration and conversion work be spent in private shipyards.

In a letter to Defense Secretary McNamara, the Council's president, Edwin M. Hood, suggested that the work-hungry private shipyards could save the taxpayers money if more work were diverted from the high cost Government-owned naval shipyards.

Mr. Hood put it this way: "The number of people the private shipyards are capable of employing if more shipwork were available is greater than the total employment of the naval shipyards. Private yards are estimated to be able to efficiently employ 100,000 more people than presently; naval shipyard employment is now about 90,000."

This statement caused somewhat of a consternation among naval shipyard workers. William H. Ryan, president of District 44 of the International Association of Machinists, voiced his fears before the Senate Appropriations Committee:

"In other words, the Shipbuilders Council of America would discharge 90,000 naval shipyard employees, and the affiliates of the Shipbuilders Council of America would hire 100,000 employees to do the work that is being performed by 90,000 naval shipyard employees."

"The private shipyards have never recommended the closing of any naval shipyards," said the council in a just-issued "special report." "Such determinations are considered to be the proper prerogative of the Defense Department."

"However," continued the council's statement, "the private yards contend that operation of Government-owned shipyards in direct competition with more efficient, privately owned shipyards, not only is a waste of Federal funds, but also is a basic contradiction of the free enterprise system on which this Nation was founded."

So where does this leave the naval shipyards?

Those in the know don't expect Secretary of Defense McNamara to make a decision until after the national election in November.

Both McNamara and Navy Secretary Nitze have made inspection tours to several of the naval shipyards. They have also visited some private yards.

In view of McNamara's past insistence on cutting out wasteful bases from the Defense Establishment, there is no doubt there will be reductions and deactivation of naval shipyards.

Some observers believe that a 30-percent curtailment of naval shipyard operations can be expected to take effect in early 1965. President Johnson, who admires the economy stand of McNamara, will back his Defense Secretary to the hilt. And if Senator BARRY GOLDWATER should win the election, then there is no doubt that the private shipyard owners will have a champion in the White House.

McNamara has publicly declared that, "I think it is quite clear that we have excess capacity in our naval shipyards system today. * * * I anticipate that at some time in the next 12 months it will be necessary and desirable in the public interest to reduce the operations of those yards."

How do the sailors, the men who man the fighting ships built and repaired by the naval shipyards, fit into this very complex picture?

Sailors may look upon shipyard overhaul periods as necessary evils. Their home away from home is invaded with military and civilian workers of every type and description, ripping, cutting, welding, chipping, wiring, and generally their warship is one big mess.

But on the other hand, an availability period in a naval shipyard means time for liberty and a time to enjoy a brief period of family life.

Visits to naval shipyards become important to the peacetime Navy, which is now a married man's navy. About 75 percent of its officers and 39 percent of its enlisted men are married.

Most naval families live in the area where their husband's ships have their home port or home yard.

The naval shipyards, in addition to being repair yards, have such facilities as barracks, mess halls, chapels, medical, dental, recreation, and training facilities for service per-

sonnel. Navy families, living in the area, are entitled to many facilities, especially the commissary, medical, and dental facilities.

If naval shipyards are deactivated, it means that these facilities and services must be duplicated elsewhere at additional cost to the taxpayer. If they are not made available near naval bases, then the Navy can expect to see a substantial drop in its reenlistment rates.

The private shipyard industry makes much of the fact that the naval shipyards have combined assets that exceed by many times the combined assets of the entire private shipyard industry of the United States. Unlike the private shipyards, which are only concerned with making profits, naval shipyards for reason of national security must be fully equipped with modern technological and military plants.

The Pentagon decisionmakers have a big problem to solve:

If they give more Navy shipwork to private industry, will they bring about the complete destruction of the naval shipyard system?

If they cut off the naval shipyards, will they destroy the effectiveness, the efficiency, and the strength of a well-balanced dynamic fighting organization?

Appendix

Finns See Trade With United States Outlook Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it was of special interest to note within the past several weeks that a U.S. Trade Development Mission under the sponsorship of the Department of Commerce returned from Finland and reported on many profitable export sales opportunities, after generating a large number of new trade and investment leads for U.S. firms. During the same period the managing director of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association, Mr. Lennart Henrikson, returned to Finland following his "one-man trade mission" to this country with a recommendation to Finnish businessmen that they should attempt to sell more to the United States.

These continuing steps to increase mutually beneficial trade between this country and the freedom-loving democratic Scandinavian nation merit our interest and support. Finland, with its courageous peoples and vigorous private enterprise system, well deserves the reservoir of good will which exists among all Americans who value the historic ties between these two countries.

In my judgment, therefore, the findings of both the U.S. Trade Mission to Finland and those of the head of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association should be given the widest possible circulation in order that the potentialities for increased commerce between the United States and Finland be maximized to the full.

The weekly news magazine of the Commerce Department's Bureau of International Commerce, entitled "International Commerce," included in its issue of July 20 a full report of the U.S. Trade Development Mission to Finland. A most informative summary of the profitable export sales opportunities available is outlined in a release of the Bureau of International Commerce.

Under unanimous consent, I include this account of the highlights in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, together with two articles and the United Press International wire story about the conclusions of Mr. Henrikson following his 6-week tour of the United States:

[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Aug. 3, 1964]

BOTH SIDES COULD DO MORE—FINNS SEE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES OUTLOOK GOOD

WASHINGTON, August 2.—U.S. businessmen could do much more—and so could the Finnish—in selling to each other's country.

That's the conclusion of Lennart Henrikson, managing director of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association, after a 6-week tour across the United States.

Mr. Henrikson told reporters that he is going back to Finland next week to try to persuade companies there from some misguided beliefs about doing business in the United States—and to help them with pointers on how to start selling here.

OVERWHELMING COMPETITION

Finns, according to Mr. Henrikson, usually don't think seriously about selling in this country because they feel America is self-sufficient, the competition is overwhelming.

The Finnish foreign trade promoter thinks it is not so. He sees opportunity here for Finnish sales of a variety of consumer items—ceramics, furniture, glassware, clothing, and lighting fixtures, among them.

United States-Finnish trade, he said, has a good chance of doubling during the next decade. Last year, U.S. exports to Finland totaled $56 million and Finnish shipments here came to $62 million.

Finland's exports to the United States and other foreign markets largely comprise forest products, such as newsprint and plywood. U.S. sales to Finland include machine tools, grains, cotton, coal, and various base metals.

Mr. Henrikson said he thought there was plenty of room to expand these exports to Finland, particularly in the machinery sector.

He suggested that American business has not been as aggressive in the Finnish market—which last took $1.2 billion in imports—as many Europeans. West German representatives, he said, never seem to leave the side of a Finnish purchasing agent when a decision is to be made.

FINNISH-SOVIET BLOC TRADE

U.S. exporters, Mr. Henrikson indicated, might be able to exploit what looks like a leveling off in Finnish trade with the Soviet bloc. East European offerings, he said, are limited, though about 20 percent of Finland's trade still is done with the Communist group.

Mr. Henrikson's visit marks the first ever undertaken on such a broad scale by a Finnish business representative in this country. He said that it was dictated in large part by Finland's obvious need to step up exports as Finnish import barriers are lowered. Finland is associated with the European Free Trade Association and is slated to give duty-free entry to industrial goods from European Free Trade Association member countries by 1967.

Finland is also going to participate in the Kennedy and tariff-cutting negotiations.

Mr. Henrikson's association represents about 900 Finnish firms doing export and import business.

[From the Washington News]

WASHINGTON BUSINESS: WE ARE ALL DEPENDENT ON EACH OTHER

(By Rice Odell)

A tall, handsome Finn is passing through Washington with some ideas for stepping up commerce between his country and the United States.

"You might say I'm an unofficial, one-man trade mission," said Lennart Henrikson, director of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association, which has a membership of almost 900 firms in Finland which import and export.

"You could sell a lot more to Finland," he advised, "but you have to be active. In our country there are many sellers going around from Germany, Sweden and so forth.

"A purchasing agent doesn't buy just because of a catalog. He wants to see the man himself."

QUALITY

Mr. Henrikson suggested that since the United States is always ahead in the development of new products and machinery, it should go right in and sell them before firms of other nations can start producing, perhaps at lower cost.

He said Finnish firms like to buy U.S. machinery even if it is more expensive, because it is good quality and might be cheaper in the long run.

Besides industrial machinery, Finland's main imports from the United States are such things as grain, fruits, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and petroleum products. The total last year was $56.6 million.

TREES

The other side of the coin is U.S. imports from Finland, which totaled $61.5 million last year. Because trade barriers are going down in the European Free Trade Association, Mr. Henrikson said imports will increase so there will have to be an offsetting increase in exports.

Right now the lion's share of Finnish exports to the United States consists of "everything that comes out of the forest." (Finland, which is larger than Virginia and the two Carolinas combined, is more than 70 percent covered by forests.)

Ships from Finland, for example, bring considerable newsprint to Alexandria for use by Washington newspapers. Mr. Henrikson said that Finland must also increase exports of new lines of machinery and consumer goods such as textiles, ceramics, glassware, furniture, and lamps.

UNNECESSARY

He said his country should also sell more sauna baths here. (Even in Washington, where the weather is sauna-like during much of the summer, more hotels, apartment houses and homes are being equipped with saunas.)

Mr. Henrikson said even the Swedes are selling Finnish saunas here. He added: "There's been a lot of exaggeration about sauna baths, about rolling in the snow afterward, and so forth. You can do if you like, but it's not necessary."

He said Finnish businessmen have traditionally been afraid of the American market, on the theory that the U.S. produces everything it needs. He said when he returns he will advise them otherwise.

TWENTY-ONE PERCENT

He said Finns also don't sell the right way here—they may go to New York, sign one deal and figure they've settled matters for the whole U.S. market. He said he will tell them to rely on research studies, and be ready with enough quantity when deals materialize.

On the sensitive subject of trade with the communist bloc countries, Mr. Henrikson said this accounts for 21 percent of Finland's total. He said he expects the dollar amount to remain at about its present level, but spoke favorably of the West's increased commerce with the East.

"No country can isolate itself economically from the rest. We are all dependent on each other."

COPY OF STORY BASED ON INTERVIEW WITH MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE FINNISH FOREIGN TRADE ASSOCIATION TRANSMITTED OVER UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL WIRES

(By Henry Keys)

WASHINGTON, July 31.—Lennart Henrikson, managing director of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association, said today that he was returning to Finland at the end of a one-man trade mission to the United States with a recommendation to Finnish businessmen that they should attempt to sell more to the United States.

Finnish exporters, he said, were somewhat afraid of the United States for Finnish products because they fear that the United States produced all its needs.

But, said Henrikson, he believes that the United States would buy Finnish quality products. Finland most certainly could not hope to compete in cheap mass produced goods but could with quality items.

He believes there is a U.S. market for Finnish exports in machinery, textile products, ceramics, glassware, household lighting equipment, and furniture. Henrikson said that he felt that many Finnish businessmen went about the business of exporting to the United States in the wrong way. Many simply visited New York and selected an agent and left feeling that they had done all that was necessary.

However, it was his opinion they should realize that New York was not the United States, that the United States was a huge continental market and that goods could only be sold by direct contact with buyers from the big department stores, through importers and through contacts established in the trade departments of the various chambers of commerce.

He said that on his return he would advise Finnish companies not to be afraid of the American market but to approach it in a more practical way by, in the first instance, conducting suitable market research to find out what goods would sell where.

Henrikson stressed that exports were essential to Finland's economic stability. He said that he would recommend to his organization, which consists of some 900 member companies, that it should make general market studies to assist companies by indicating to them the right way to sell goods in the United States and by helping them to find the right representatives and agents.

Henrikson said he believed American exporters should greatly increase the volume of their business with Finland by following a similar course and sending salesmen to Finland.

It was a joke in Finland, he said, that anytime a company or store buyer was ready to buy something he would find a German salesman sitting beside his desk. This was not without some foundation in fact, he said.

Henrikson said that at the moment Finland's exports largely consist of products made from its forests. It was doing as much as it could with these exports today and needed to open its avenues. Henrikson said that Finland's total imports were today valued at $1.2 billion compared with $1.15 billion for exports. About 80 percent of its trade was with Europe and 6 percent with the United States.

Henrikson, who will spend a week in New York on his way home, will sail from New York on August 7.

[From the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of International Commerce]

TRADE MISSION REPORTS GOOD EXPORT POTENTIALS IN FINLAND FOR U.S. PRODUCTS

Profitable export sales opportunities are available now in the quality-conscious Finnish market for a wide range of American-made consumer goods and industrial products, according to a recently returned U.S. Trade Mission, the U.S. Department of Commerce announced today.

The full report of the U.S. Trade Development Mission to Finland appears in the July 20 issue of International Commerce, the weekly news magazine of the Department's Bureau of International Commerce (BIC).

Mission members generated about 150 new trade and investment leads for U.S. firms in discussions with Finnish businessmen in Helsinki, Lahti, Oulu, Tampere, Turku, Heinola, Salo, and Hanko, May 2–30.

According to the missions' report, Finnish interests run high for such U.S. consumer goods as foodstuffs, small electric appliances and kitchen items, lightweight luggage, shoes, hi-fi and stereo records, fabrics for the many wearing-apparel manufacturers in the country and piece goods for the home sewing customers.

Opportunities also are available for U.S. firms to negotiate licensing agreements for the manufacture in Finland of men's and women's clothing, including rainwear and sportswear and men's shirts.

The chemical and plastics industry, according to the report, is a good market possibility for materials and equipment. Know-how and licenses are sought for the newer U.S. products and processes, especially in pharmaceutical chemicals, herbicides, and pesticides.

Finland's economy, characterized by a steep climb in consumer purchasing power in the last 5 years, has reached a point that commands the interest of U.S. automobile and auto parts manufacturers. Mission members believe there are good prospects for U.S. exports of equipment for servicing vehicles, such as hydraulic jacks and lifts, and for electrical testing, wheel alinement, and tire service equipment.

Modern computers and data processing equipment are just being introduced in Finland, and U.S. exporters will need to consider an aggressive sales program to promote exports in this area.

Finland also presents a good potential for the sale of U.S. packaging machinery, equipment, and service, particularly for food items, drugs, toiletries, and hardware.

Business members on the mission were: Bjorn Andersen, consultant, Maplewood, N.J., formerly president of Celanese Development Corp.; O. Richard Capen, president, Good Humor Co. of California, Los Angeles, Calif.; Carl S. Fuller, management and merchandising consultant, Cleveland, Ohio, formerly vice president, Cleveland Division, Kroger Co.; James L. McGovern, Jr., sales manager, replacement products, Raybestos Division of Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc., Bridgeport, Conn.; and Joseph F. Spilberg, senior partner of Lappen and Spilberg, accounting management consultants of Beverly Hill, Calif.

John A. Donley, of the Department's Business and Defense Services Administration, was mission director. Albert Caya, Jr., of BIC, was trade development officer.

Congressman Otis G. Pike Reports to His Constituents on 2d Session, 88th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago, in my first annual report to my constituents, I described the 1st session of the 87th Congress as hard working and productive. Three years ago I was obliged to describe the 2d session of that Congress as follows:

I could not, with a straight face, tell my constituents that this was the greatest session of Congress in the history of our Nation, nor label it great at all.

Last year it was again necessary to say to my constituents, "Despite the many long months of the session, Congress goes home with the bulk of its legislative business unfaced and undone."

This year, happily, we can say to the approximately 550,000 residents of the First Congressional District of the State of New York that this has been an outstanding session of Congress. It has passed some major legislation of great importance to the Nation; it has passed some other legislation which might not be considered of major importance to the Nation but is of major importance to the district which I have the honor to represent. It has been a real joy to work in such a Congress. The only thing which detracts from that joy is that we seem to have lost the magic formula for wrapping up the loose ends and going home.

The 1962 session of Congress was the longest peacetime session since 1949, and it lasted from January 10 to October 13.

The 1963 session of Congress made that one look like a holiady. It started on January 9 and ran all year, ending on December 30. This year's session started on January 7 and is still running, but not very hard. It is due to adjourn sometime next month, but this annual report is being made right now so no one can say that it was sent out just before election with some ulterior motive in mind.

When the 1st session of the 88th Congress adjourned last December 30, the popular image of Congress was that of a bumbling, ineffectual, weak branch of Government, unable to complete constructive legislation on any major front. There was substantial evidence to support this view.

This year's session has been a very different matter. When we met in January the tax reduction bill had passed the House, but was bottled up in the Senate.

In February it became the law of the land.

In January the civil rights bill had not been considered by either House of Congress, but by February it had passed the House and after a lengthy filibuster it passed the Senate in June and was signed by the President on July 2.

The mass transit program had passed the Senate in January but was bogged down in the House. It finally cleared the committee hurdle in the House in April, passed the House in June, and became law in July.

A new major wheat and cotton subsidy bill had passed the House last December, but was bogged down in the Senate.

The Senate passed a greatly amended version in March; in April the House accepted the Senate version; and it became the law of the land.

So it went throughout the year. Congress cranked out major legislation at a good pace. Bills which had been

bottled up in committees, or blocked by procedural technicalities, found themselves unbottled and unblocked. Bills which were believed to be dead were found to have new life, and many of them became law. I do not mean to indicate in any manner that I supported everything which came before Congress. Of the four bills already mentioned, for example, I did support the tax cut bill, civil rights bill, and mass transit bill, but was strongly opposed to the wheat and cotton subsidy bill. What was good to see was the legislative machinery cranking, instead of just creaking, bills actually being heard in committees and either approved or disapproved, being brought to the floor, and voted either up or down, instead of simply dying by the wayside for lack of attention. This is the way the system is supposed to work, and this was a year in which it worked very well.

One field in which this Congress accomplished a great deal is in the field of conservation of our Nation's natural resources. Two bills of major importance to the Nation became law, and one bill of major importance to Suffolk County became law. One of the bills of national signifiance was the wilderness bill, under which 9,100,000 acres of federally owned property were added to the wilderness system of our national parks, to be preserved as undeveloped and unspoiled areas for future generations of campers and nature lovers to enjoy. The other bill was one which will provide funds for the acquisition of both Federal and State parks and recreation land. Under this bill money will be raised from three sources: sale of surplus real estate, the existing Federal tax on motorboat fuel, and admission and user fees charged at Federal recreation areas.

The fund realized from these sources will be used 60 percent by the States—who must match the Federal contribution—to acquire State recreational areas, and 40 percent by the Federal Government to acquire Federal recreational areas. One of the Federal parks which should benefit from this legislation is our own Fire Island National Seashore, which I will discuss at greater length later.

In the field of education, as well as recreation, this session of Congress has done a good job. The National Defense Education Act extension, together with an extension of aid to impacted areas—where there are large amounts of tax exempt Federal lands or large numbers of Federal employees—has passed both Houses of Congress and should become law before adjournment. Because of the large numbers of Federal employees at our military bases and defense plants, this act is of particular importance to Suffolk County, and many of the district's school boards had contacted our office on behalf of this legislation.

Several programs for the care of our less fortunate citizens were enacted into law during this session of Congress. The most far-reaching and controversial was the so-called poverty bill, under which programs to train school dropouts and unemployed youth for useful work will be undertaken on a broad front. Also under this category of aid to the needy were a new food stamp program designed to encourage greater use of our farm surpluses for welfare recipients, which has become law, and somewhat increased benefits for the recipients of social security, which passed both Houses of Congress but is currently in trouble because the Senate added a hospital insurance amendment to the House bill, thereby unleashing all of the passions and prejudices attached to the word "medicare."

Congress this year extended the housing program under which the Federal Housing Administration has granted FHA loans for homebuilders across the Nation. Again, in an area like Suffolk County, which is growing as fast as any area in the Nation, this is of vital concern to our economy.

It has been a good session, but it has also had its problems. The great Senate filibuster by the conservatives on the Civil Rights bill has now been followed by another, and I hope, shorter, Senate filibuster by the liberals on the subject of reapportionment of State legislatures. We have had our problems in Suffolk County, too. Chief among them has been the impact on our economy of the layoffs at Republic Aviation caused by the end of production of the F–105 fighter-bomber, their only large construction project. Although since the Congressional reapportionment of 1961, the Republic plant in Farmingdale is no longer in the district I represent, many of its workers are, and I have continued to support it. In June, Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, visited the plant with me and was very impressed by what he saw there. Other defense workers from our area travel daily to the huge Brooklyn Navy Yard, and are concerned with the problems involved in keeping a sufficient workload in the yard to maintain its operating efficiency. Defense contracting has always tended to be a very cyclical operation, and some Long Island concerns, such as Grumman and Gyrodyne, have been doing very well. This cannot, however, relieve either the dislocations or the financial problems endured by the long-time worker at the plant which is in trouble.

On a more personal basis, our office has continued to be very busy. Four full-time secretaries in Washington and one full-time and two part-time representatives in Riverhead, Islip, and Southampton are kept hopping both on matters pertaining to legislation and on the varied personal problems of our rapidly growing district. The 1960 census showed our present district to contain 398,254 persons when that census was taken. On May 1 of this year, the Census Bureau certified that our district in less than 4 years had passed the 500,000 mark and was growing at an accelerated pace. New people mean new problems in regard to jobs, schools, transportation and recreation. Insofar as the Federal Government is involved in each of these fields, we have tried to help.

While it has been a busy year it has been a most rewarding year in our office. We have written and seen enacted into national law two pieces of legislation, and have cosponsored a third. In the entire 1st session of the 88th Congress some 14,168 bills and resolutions were introduced, but only 257 became public laws. I do not know what the output of the second session will be, but any Member who introduces seven public bills and sees three of them become law has had a good year.

The three bills included cosponsorship of the bill to extend Federal aid to impacted school districts, referred to above, authorship of a bill for the benefit of the owner-operators of small commercial fishing vessels, and the bill establishing a Fire Island National Seashore. Of these, the most important to Suffolk County will be the last.

Congress has authorized the establishment of a national seashore on Fire Island. It will be the first national park in the State of New York. Twenty-seven miles of the shoreline of that island, from the Robert Moses State Park on the west to the Moriches Inlet on the east, will be put in public ownership. Some 4,300 acres of land on Fire Island, and on several small islands in the Great South Bay, Moriches Bay, and Bellport Bay are included in the project.

The history of this project has been complicated and stormy, but the storms have helped. First introduced as a piece of legislation by my predecessor in Congress, Stuyvesant Wainwright, in 1960, the proposal was roundly denounced by leaders of his own political party at the time. The State of New York took the position that a State park would be more effective than a national park, but that existing State parks made both unnecessary.

In March 1962 the first storms came; winds and high tides lasted for 3 days, and 100 homes were lost on the south shore of Long Island. An immediate cry went up for erosion control, and a temporary State commission on protection and preservation of the Atlantic shorefront was appointed. Their report said that there was no need for additional State or Federal parks, but that erosion control was badly needed, and that the best way to proceed was by a massive barrier running the length of Fire Island and topped by an ocean boulevard. This proposal was approved by the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors on August 13, 1962.

This evoked another storm from those who did not want any road built on Fire Island, and two New York City Congressmen introduced new bills to establish a Fire Island National Seashore. On April 8, 1963 the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors reversed its earlier position and endorsed a seashore proposal, but without specifying what its boundaries should be.

On June 11, 1963, the Interior Department, which had stated that Fire Island itself did not contain enough land to justify a national seashore, made its own proposal, which obtained more land by extending the park east to Southampton Village. This proposal evoked the third storm—from the residents of Southampton who wanted no part of the park in their town. We prepared our

own bill, and it was introduced on June 18, 1963.

Hearings were held on the various bills at Oakdale, Long Island, on September 30, 1963, and in Washington in December 1963 and April 1964.

The storms were over, and all was sweetness, light and agreement—or at least almost all. The bill which we had prepared, with very minor amendments, was approved by the subcommittee and the full Interior Committee of the House, passed by the House, and accepted by the Senate. It was signed by the President on September 11, 1964.

The bill as written sets up a 15-member advisory committee of local residents to help the Interior Department in establishing the park, calls for erosion control on Fire Islands, and makes provision for a future new inlet across Fire Island into the Great South Bay.

It has been a good year. I had a perfect attendance record on rollcall votes from January until September 1, when I went to a Democratic State convention to make a nominating speech for a frien dwho did not get nominated—and missed two votes. As of this date we have had 107 rollcall votes, and I have been present and voting 105 times. Some of the votes are easy; some are tough; some are simple; and some are complex. My constituents will not agree with all of them—neither does my wife. Here are the important ones for the year—I will be happy to know their views on this record:

Voting record of Congressman Otis G. Pike, 2d sess., 88th Cong.

Date	Issue	Vote
Jan. 14, 1964	Authorize $75,000,000 per year for 3 years for Federal grants to be matched by local funds for airport construction. (Yea 298, nay 11.)	Yea.
Jan. 21, 1964	Authorize $45,000,000 for library services and construction of public libraries. (Yea 254, nay 107.)	Yea.
Jan. 28, 1964	Amend Davis-Bacon Act establishing prevailing wage rate on Federal construction work. (Yea, 357, nay 50.)	Yea.
Feb. 10, 1964	Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Yea 290, nay 130.)	Yea.
Feb 20, 1964	Authorized $16,900,000,000 appropriation for fiscal 1965 procurement of aircraft, missiles, and ships. (Yea 336, nay 0.)	Yea.
Feb. 25, 1964	Revenue Act of 1964, reducing personal and corporate income taxes by $11,500,000,000 over 2 years. (Yea 326, nay 83.)	Yea.
Feb. 26, 1964	Recommit (kill) bill providing $312 million for International Development Association. (Yea 208, nay 189.)	Nay.
Feb. 27, 1964	Prohibit Federal Communications Commission from setting standards on length and frequency of radio and television commercials. (Yea 317, nay 43.)	Nay.
Mar. 4, 1964	Recommit bill providing $115,000,000 for Peace Corps. (Yea 90, nay 309.)	Nay.
Mar. 5, 1964	Impose tax on purchase of foreign securities to stop gold flow. (Yea 238, nay 142.)	Yea.
Mar. 12, 1964	Raise the salaries of 1,700,000 Federal career employees and Federal executives, judges, and legislators. (Yea 184, nay 222.)	Yea.
Mar. 24, 1964	Increase Coast Guard appropriation for new ships and planes by $10,000,000. (Yea 160, nay 193.)	Yea.
Mar. 24, 1964	Appropriate $6,200,000,000 for Treasury and Post Office operations for fiscal 1965. (Yea 326, nay 20.)	Yea.
Mar. 25, 1964	Authorize $5,200,000,000 space exploration and research program. (Yea 283, nay 73.)	Yea.
Apr. 8, 1964	Motion to recommit food stamp bill and require States to match Federal grants under program. (Yea 195, nay 223.)	Yea.
Apr. 8, 1964	Final passage of food stamp program. (Yea 229, nay 189.)	Yea.
Apr. 8, 1964	Administration's wheat-cotton subsidy bill. (Yea 211, nay 203.)	Nay.
Apr. 10, 1964	Motion to recommit legislative appropriations bill of $174,000,000 with instructions to amend. (Yea 188, nay 131.)	Nay.
Apr. 14, 1964	Appropriation of $6,900,000,000 for Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies. (Yea 345, nay 21.)	Yea.
Apr. 15, 1964	Authorize $45,000,000 to implement a boundary line agreement with Mexico. (Yea 347, nay 5.)	Yea.
Apr. 22, 1964	Appropriate $46,800,000,000 for Defense Department in fiscal 1965. (Yea 365, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 6, 1964	Appropriate $1,700,000,000 for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary and related agencies. (Yea 313, nay 40.)	Yea.
May 7, 1964	Authorize $2,600,000,000 for Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1965. (Yea 340, nay 3.)	Yea.
May 13, 1964	Motion to recommit (kill) authorization of $312,000,000 for International Development Association. (Yea 132, nay 247.)	Nay.
May 20, 1964	Amendment to add $1,600,000 to agriculture appropriation to construct peanut research laboratory in Georgia. (Yea 181, nay 198.)	Nay.
May 20, 1964	Amendment to prohibit subsidies on agricultural products shipped to Communist nations. (Yea 186, nay 187.)	Yea.
May 20, 1964	Final passage of $5,200,000,000 Agriculture Department appropriation including farm subsidies. (Yea 311, nay 64.)	Nay.
May 26, 1964	Appropriate $1,600,000,000 for construction of military facilities and military housing. (Yea 340, nay 5.)	Yea.
May 27, 1964	Motion to recommit (kill) bill increasing insurance on deposits in banks and savings and loan institutions. (Yea 197, nay 142.)	Yea.
June 3, 1964	Authorize $1,200,000,000 Federal highway program in each of fiscal 1966 and 1967. (Yea 296, nay 0.)	Yea.
June 10, 1964	Authorize $2,000,000,000 foreign aid program for fiscal 1965. (Yea 230, nay 175.)	Yea.
June 11, 1964	Raise salaries of 1,700,000 Federal career employees and Federal executives, judiciary, and legislators. (Yea 243, nay 157.)	Yea.
June 16, 1964	Appropriate $4,300,000,000 for public works projects and AEC in fiscal 1965. (Yea 361, nay 11.)	Yea.
June 17, 1964	Motion to recommit a 1-year extension of so-called Korean war excise taxes. (Yea 185, nay 207.)	Nay.
June 18, 1964	Fix temporary national debt limit at $324,000,000,000 until June 30, 1965. (Yea 203, nay 182.)	Yea.
June 25, 1964	Mass transit bill authorizing $375,000,000 to be matched by States in developing and improving mass transit systems. (Yea 212, nay 189.)	Yea.
July 1, 1964	Appropriate $3,700,000,000 for foreign economic and military assistance and related programs. (Yea 231, nay 174.)	Yea.
July 2, 1964	Accept Senate amendments to Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Yea 289, nay 126.)	Yea.
July 2, 1964	Adopt House-Senate conference report authorizing Federal grants to colleges to encourage water resources research. (Yea 346, nay 0.)	Yea.
July 21, 1964	Permit recipient of "morally offensive" mail to instruct Postmaster to prevent sender from mailing additional unsolicited material to him or his children. (Yea 326, nay 19.)	Yea.
July 22, 1964	Establish land and water conservation fund. (Yea 337, nay 8.)	Yea.
July 28, 1964	Permit self-employed commercial fishermen to use facilities of Public Health Service. (Yea 202, nay 170.)	Yea.
July 29, 1964	5-percent increase in social security benefits, reduce age when widows qualify from 62 to 60. (Yea 388, nay 8.)	Yea.
July 30, 1964	Establish National Wilderness Preservation System. (Yea 371, nay 1.)	Yea.
Aug. 3, 1964	Establish Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in Wisconsin. (Yea 164, nay 154.)	Yea.
Aug. 3, 1964	Colorado River irrigation projects. (Yea 250, nay 67.)	Yea.
Aug. 4, 1964	Require at least 35 percent of funds for repair and conversion of naval vessels be spent in private shipyards. (Yea 186, nay 178.)	Nay.
Aug. 7, 1964	Support President's actions in retaliatory attacks against North Vietnam. (Yea 416, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 7, 1964	Motion to strike the enacting clause (kill) of Economic Opportunity Act (poverty bill). (Yea 197, nay 225.)	Yea.
Aug. 7, 1964	Amendment substituting Senate version of Economic Opportunity Act. (Yea 228, nay 190.)	Yea.
Aug. 8, 1964	Passage of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. (Yea 226, nay 185.)	Yea.
Aug. 11, 1964	Increase disability and death pensions for veterans of World Wars I and II and Korean war. (Yea 389, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 12, 1964	Authorize payment of U.S. share of cost of International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. (Yea 268, nay 89.)	Yea.
Aug. 13, 1964	Motion to cut funds of National Aeronautics and Space Administration by $200,000,000. (Yea 114, nay 270.)	Nay.
Aug. 13, 1964	Housing Act of 1964, authorizing $902,000,000 for FHA programs through June 30, 1965. (Yea 308, nay 68.)	Yea.
Aug. 14, 1964	Subsidy program aiding construction of U.S. fishing vessels in U.S. shipyards. (Yea 198, nay 124.)	Yea.
Aug. 17, 1964	Declare sense of Congress that members of United Nations delinquent in dues should lose their votes. (Yea 351, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 17, 1964	Require migrant farm labor crew leaders of 10 or more workers to register with Labor Department. (Yea 343, nay 7.)	Yea.
Aug. 17, 1964	Extend mandatory Federal inspection requirements to previously exempt small mines. (Yea 202, nay 151.)	Nay.
Aug. 18, 1964	Establish mandatory quotas on meat imports (House-Senate conference report). (Yea 232, nay 149.)	Nay.
Aug. 18, 1964	Conference report on International Coffee Agreement. (Yea 183, nay 194.)	Nay.
Aug. 19, 1964	Prohibit all Federal courts from considering cases involving reapportionment of State legislatures. (Yea 218, nay 175.)	Nay.
Aug. 20, 1964	Establish National Council on the Arts. (Yea 213, nay 135.)	Yea.
Sept. 1, 1964	Study feasibility and site for new Atlantic-Pacific canal to supplement Panama. (Yea 320, nay 23.)	(1).
Sept. 1, 1964	Coordinate Interior Department and Agriculture Department regulations on pesticides. (Yea 236, nay 110.)	(1).
Sept. 3, 1964	Recommit food-for-peace program to prohibit sales of surplus food to Poland and Yugoslavia. (Yea 183, nay 175.)	Nay.
Sept. 3, 1964	Extend food-for-peace program for 3 years. (Yea 349, nay 6.)	Yea.
Sept. 3, 1964	Allow 50 percent forgiveness of Federal student loans to doctors practicing in remote areas. (Yea 140, nay 161.)	Yea.

[1] Absent; recorded yea.

Letters to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, all of us would like to encourage our constituents to write to us, so that we can have the widest possible expression of opinion on the issues of the day.

A firm in the First Congressional District of Georgia, the Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp., has published in its employee magazine, the Digester, an article which I hope will make more people realize that we here in Washington want to hear from them.

The article is as follows:

TURN BLUE, SENATOR

When was the last time you expressed yourself to Washington? Out loud, that is.

It's easy. And, not so strangely, your Congressmen—Senators or Representatives—want to hear from you. Your letter can have a pronounced effect on the way your Congressman votes.

Some Congressmen have been heard to declare that their vote on a given issue was decided by the respective weights of their for and against files. The heaviest wins. This is hardly a good rule to follow and is likely used sparingly by Congressmen, if, in truth, at all. However, the average Congressman receives 200 letters a day—each representing a potential vote. Woe be unto him if he ignores them.

The late Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn of Texas once commented:

"It is through a Congressman's mail that he keeps informed on what his people are thinking and what they want him to do.

"The Representative is the voice of his people in national affairs. He can't be the voice unless he knows what they are thinking. If he doesn't think as they do, he won't be in Congress long.

"My district is rural and I make it a point to answer every letter that comes written in pencil and on ruled paper. It might be the only letter that person would ever write me."

There is an art to writing a Congressman, though it is always the contents that really count.

Here are the fundamentals:

Be brief and to the point. State your reasons for writing in the first paragraph.

In the second paragraph, if you are not a personal friend of the Congresman, identify yourself.

Use your own letterhead and envelope, or plain stationery (not the company's), and your own stamps. Make the letter entirely yours.

Letters are generally more effective than telegrams except when time makes a wire imperative. Congressmen like to see signatures on their correspondence.

If he does you a favor, don't hesitate to thank him. Congressmen are only human and receive far more criticism than praise.

Be reasonable; seek only possible things.

Don't apologize for writing and taking his time. That's his job.

Never threaten by saying, "I'll never vote for you if you don't do such and such." He will probably tell you that he doesn't want a vote of that kind.

Don't stop with one letter. Keep your Congressmen informed of your views on all important legislation.

HOW TO ADDRESS YOUR CONGRESSMAN

Name ————,
———— Street,
Savannah, Ga., Date ————.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL or
Hon. HERMAN E. TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Senator RUSSELL (TALMADGE):
(Here follows the body of the letter.)
Yours very truly,

Name ————,
———— Street,
Savannah, Ga., Date ————.

Hon. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Representative HAGAN:
(Here follows the body of the letter.)
Yours very truly,

Look, Mr. Freeman, Livestock Prices Drop When Democrats Are in Control of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, last week, Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, left his post of duty in Washington, D.C., and invaded Iowa, making political speeches, and otherwise, at which time he insulted the intelligence of the people of Iowa, especially the Iowa farmers. Mr. Freeman boasted about his farm program now in effect at a time when our farmer's dollar is worth only 75 cents in purchasing power, the lowest since 1939.

Sure, a majority of Iowa farmers signed up, as no doubt most of them needed the money to bolster up their 75-cent dollar, as has been the case most of the time during Mr. Freeman's reign in office, as well as some years before that time, and no doubt will continue so long as partisan politicians dictate our farm programs.

Mr. Speaker, our farmers are hoping for the day when we will have a Secretary of Agriculture who has recently plowed, planted, cultivated, reaped, and marketed food, feed, and fiber, and one who has fed livestock for milk and meat for market. Many farmers know and tell us it has been far too long since we have had such a Secretary of Agriculture.

It is noteworthy that in none of Mr. Freeman's Iowa speeches did he tell the people about his hard fight to keep Congress from passing a meat import reduction bill, nor did he tell anyone out loud that during his reign in office, he had added over 9,000 employees to his payroll, costing the taxpayers over $60 million, while the cattlemen were losing their shirts and farm income was on the toboggan.

We see no newspaper account of Mr. Freeman telling the Iowa people that according to the official, nonpartisan, Reference Service of the Library of Congress, the actual value of all the farms and all the buildings on all the farms in the entire United States is $143 billion, while our U.S. Federal debt today stands at just a little less than $317 billion, and monuting by leaps and bounds every hour of the day and night. Think of it, and then ask yourself how much longer can we expect our American dollar to be worth even half of what it is today, and just what the harvest will be at the end of this reckless, spending, Democratic joyride.

Did Mr. Freeman tell the people that they now work almost 4 months of each year, just to pay seen and unseen taxes? I am sure he did not. But one thing he did do, according to the newspapers, was to try his level best to scare the Iowa farmers by predicting that if the Republicans get in power in Congress, corn would go down to 80 cents per bushel, hogs to 12 cents, and cattle to 15 cents per hundredweight. Well, now, Mr. Freeman, please take a good, long, look at the following record, after which you should hasten to apologize to the people of Iowa who you so desperately tried to scare with a lot of loose talk.

Here are the facts and figures, straight from the pages of the Omaha livestock market, for all to read:

LIVESTOCK PRICES DROP WHEN DEMOCRATS ARE IN CONTROL OF CONGRESS

Prices on most every farm product were driven down when the Democrats arbitrarily rolled back cattle prices 10 percent in 1951. Remember? Farm prices have not recovered since that time, including prices on all livestock, except when Republicans have been in control of Congress.

Here, for example, are the hog prices at the Omaha livestock market from the year 1940 to date, September 17, 1964:

Year 1940: Low, $5.25; high, $7.30; Democrat-controlled Congress, peace.

Years 1941–47: High, $27.50; Democrat-controlled Congress, war.

Years 1947–48: High, $32.25; Republican-controlled Congress, peace.

Years 1949–52 (cattle rollback): High, $26.50; Democrat-controlled Congress, war.

Years 1953–54: High, $28.65; Republican-controlled Congress, peace.

Years 1955–58: High, $25.25; Democrat-controlled Congress, peace.

Years 1959–62: High, $20.35; Democrat-controlled Congress, peace.

Years 1962–64: High, $18.25; Democrat-controlled Congress, shaky peace.

Our farmer's dollar, nationwide, is worth only 75 cents in purchasing power today, the lowest since 1939. Hence, who dares to boast about the farm programs that have operated since the year 1935?

Look—the Democrats control the Agriculture Committees of Congress. Senate Agriculture Committee—Democrat chairman from a Southern State, 11 Democrats, 8 from Southern States, and 6 Republicans on the committee, 5 from Midwest and Northern States. House Agriculture Committee—Democrat chairman from a Southern State, 20 Democrats on the committee, 12 from

Southern States, all 14 Republicans on the committee from Midwestern and Northern States.

Farm products of the Southern States: mostly cotton, tobacco, rice and peanuts—prices not too good. Farm products of the Midwestern and Northern States: mostly corn, wheat, livestock, poultry and eggs—prices are bad.

Congressmen and Senators naturally look after their own people best. Records prove that when our farmers' dollar is worth 100 cents in purchasing power, they buy more than twice as many dollars' worth of manufactured goods than do the rest of us on an average, which means more dollars in the pockets of our wage earners, and higher employment.

Our farmers, merchants, and wage earners, north, south, east and west, need and deserve a Republican Congress.

Two wars, less than 6 years apart, high taxes, low farm prices, and high cost of all manufactured goods our farmers must buy, have them in a bad cost-price squeeze.

Farmers got fair prices during the wars, but neither they, their wives, nor their sons and daughters, want any more of that kind of business or profits, and neither does any other patriotic American worthy of that title.

Also remember, the Democratic Party was in complete control of the House of Representatives when farm prices went to pot in 1931–32.

These are the records, Mr. Speaker. Let us keep them straight.

Securities Act Amendments of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MILTON W. GLENN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the Securities Act Amendments of 1964, the 2-hour time allotment expired before discussion of some further possible ambiguities in the bill could be considered.

Further, during the lengthy hearings on these very involved pieces of legislation there seemed to be no end to the questions which would arise by reason of statements made by members of the industry or the Commission as would be entered in the record lastly.

Consequently, Mr. Arthur V. Toupin, general counsel of Insurance Securities, Inc., the sponsor of a large mutual fund registered with the Securities Exchange Commission under the Investment Company Act of 1940, has sent me a copy of a letter he prepared which I find interesting.

In order to give Members of Congress, the industry, and the public generally the benefit of his views, I am including them in the RECORD as a possible aid in further interpreting the scope of this new legislation.

Mr. Toupin writes me as follows:

Recently the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported favorably upon H.R. 6793 as amended. As shown in the committee report, it determined as a matter of policy that brokers and dealers should not be compelled to be members of a national securities association and deleted the compulsory membership provisions. However, so that nonmember brokers and dealers will be regulated in the same particulars as the bill provides for members, the committee amended the bill to give the SEC direct regulatory authority in these particulars over nonmembers.

We believe the committee intended that members and nonmembers be subjected to substantially comparable regulation in the areas covered, so there will be no regulatory advantage or disadvantage in joining or not joining an association. It seems clear enough that if regulation of nonmembers by the Commission were more restrictive or onerous than the regulation of association members, nonmembers, as a partical matter could be compelled by administrative decision to join an association in violation of the policy against compelling such membership.

Although the committee report contains statements from which it can be inferred that there shall be no regulatory discrimination between members and nonmembers of an association, we feel that this intention should be made clear as part of the legislative history of the bill. In addition, one of the new paragraphs of the bill could be construed to amend by inference certain provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940.

Since that act was not considered by the committee, we believe the legislative history of this bill should show that there is no intention to amend or change the provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940. To accomplish this, I am enclosing a statement which, if it becomes part of the legislative history of the bill, will clarify these points. We feel confident that the enclosure is consistent with the spirit and intention of the committee in adopting these amendments and hope that you will support its inclusion in the official record when this bill is considered by the full House.

The enclosure has been reviewed and approved by Investors Diversified Services and by Waddell & Reed, and they have authorized me to state that they approve its contents and urge its inclusion in the RECORD.

The following is the attached dissertation on the legislative history as referred to in the foregoing letter of Mr. Toupin:

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF PARAGRAPHS (8), (9), AND (10) OF SECTION 15(B)

As stated in the committee report, the committee determined as a matter of policy that brokers and dealers should not be compelled to be members of a national securities association and deleted the compulsory membership provisions from the bill. However, it was the feeling of the committee that brokers and dealers who do not voluntarily become association members should be subject to regulation by the Commission comparable to that imposed by associations on their members. To accomplish this, paragraphs (8), (9), and (10) of section 15(b) were added to the bill. In this regard, it is intended that there be no regulatory discrimination as between members and nonmembers and that there be a substantial comparability between the regulation of each. There should be no regulatory advantage or disadvantage to a broker or dealer in joining or not joining an association. If the regulation of nonmembers by the Commission under these paragraphs were more restrictive or onerous than the regulation by associations of members, nonmembers, as a practical matter, could be compelled by administrative decision to become association members in violation of the policy against compelling membership established by Congress.

Thus, the standards established by the Commission under paragraph (8) of section 15(b) and the standards established by associations should be substantially comparable. Similarly, it is intended that the fees and charges prescribed by the Commission under paragraphs (8) and (9) of section 15(b) shall not be significantly greater than those assessed by associations upon members, and that the fees and charges prescribed shall not be based upon the costs of any regulatory activity which the Commission had the authority to perform prior to the enactment of these amendments.

In establishing qualifications and making classifications pursuant to paragraph (8) of section 15(b), it is intended that the Commission may adopt appropriate grandfather clauses exempting brokers or dealers or persons associated with such brokers or dealers in whole or in part, either permanently or for a transition period, from some or all of such qualifications. As the committee report states, a national securities association has this same authority to adopt grandfather clauses.

Paragraph (10) of section 15(b) was added in order to give the Commission powers over nonmembers comparable to the powers given to an association under section 15A(b)(7) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. As is the case with paragraph (8) and (9) of section 15(b), it is contemplated that regulation by the Commission of nonmembers under paragraph (10) will be accomplished so as to avoid discrimination as between members and nonmembers. Among other things, paragraph (10) would authorize the Commission to prescribe rules and regulations designed "to provide safeguards against unreasonable profits or unreasonable rates of commissions or other charges." It is noted that under section 22(c) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 Congress gave to the Commission authority to make rules and regulations designed to safeguard against "an unconscionable or grossly excessive sales load" in the sale of the redeemable securities of any registered investment company, and provided the Commission with authority to make such rules and regulations applicable to both members and nonmembers of a national securities association. It is not intended that the enactment of paragraph (10) of section 15(b) shall change or alter the authority of the Commission in regard to the regulation of such sales loads, either by enlarging or diminishing that authority as it now exists under section 22(c) of the Investment Company Act of 1940. The purpose of the above-quoted portion of paragraph (10) is to give the Commission the same authority over nonmembers in their activities which are not subject to regulation under section 22(c) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 as an association now has under section 15A(b)(7) of the Exchange Act. Further, the enactment of paragraph (10) is not intended to empower the Commission to supersede by rule or regulation the provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940 relating to maximum sales loads or other charges, or to provide by rule or regulation for maximum sales loads or other charges which are different from those provided for in that act.

Section 15A(b)(7) of the Exchange Act forbids an association to "impose any schedule of prices, or to impose any schedule or fix minimum rates of commissions, allowances, discounts, or other charges." Paragraph (10) is not intended to authorize the Commission to engage in any such regulatory activities which are prohibited to an association. To do so would result in regulatory discrimination as between members and nonmembers.

Speech Reveals "Real Goldwater"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an editorial written by Rolla Clymer, editor of the El Dorado, Kans., Times, entitled "Speech Reveals 'Real Goldwater'."

Rolla Clymer is known as the "Sage of the Flint Hills" and he speaks for the grassroots of Kansas. I urge my colleagues to review his words:

What BARRY GOLDWATER is trying to do, as a candidate for President, is to effect conservative changes in the structure of our American Government—a government that has experienced little of conservative and business-like handling since the New Deal came into being 30 years ago.

He realizes that such a change cannot be established overnight, but that time and patience will be required to alter the sprawling bureaucracy which has been spread over this land in three decades, and through which the processes of government are ministered today.

In his acceptance speech at Prescott, Ariz., he made three major points; namely, (1) that the "cancerous growth of Federal Government" must and shall be stopped; (2) that Democratic appeasement in foreign affairs should be ruled out, and that (3) Johnson's is an administration of "mobs in the streets, restrained only by the plea that they wait until after election time to ignite violence once again."

It is these three phases of his indictment that the liberals of America are discussing, and attempting to defend themselves against.

But there were many other points in his address, which the critics have passed over entirely, and to which readers will never have their attention called by the headlines. For example, here are a few paragraphs which reveal his alertness to the practical aspects of his proposals, as well as compassion which animates his spirit:

"Of course, the mistakes of the past cannot be corrected overnight. Our economy needs stability and continuity in Government policy. We must proceed with care in our task of cutting the Government down to size.

"Honesty requires that we honor the commitments Government has made to all areas of the economy, whether explicit or implicit.

"Good faith requires that we not disappoint reasonable expectations based on those commitments.

"We, in a Republican administration, shall never abandon the needy and the aged—we shall never forsake the helpless. We understand their problems in our hearts.

"But we know that a true and lasting solution of those problems cannot be found in degrading, capricious, and politically motivated handouts from the White House. It must ultimately be found in a thriving and compassionate economy and in programs principally handled by the levels of government closest to the people.

"Prudence requires that we proceed slowly and steadily in withdrawing the Central Government interventions in our private economic lives."

These expressions indicate the kind of a man BARRY GOLDWATER is in his heart—and not the "trigger-happy," impatient, reckless man his opponents are trying so hard to paint.

The Anniversary of the Birth of Gen. Friedrich von Steuben

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, Thursday, September 17, 1964, is the 234th anniversary of the birth of Gen. Friedrich von Steuben, the Revolutionary War hero and trusted adviser of George Washington.

In remembering his birth we respect not only the genius of Von Steuben's military contributions to our Revolutionary War, we also respect the immeasurable contribution which Americans of German ancestry have made and are making to our cherished ideals of freedom.

One out of every five immigrants from 1820 to 1961 came from Germany. They and their descendants have occupied positions of responsibility and leadership in every phase of American life, including the highest office in the land, and have vastly enriched the lives of each of us.

Regrettably, however, the freedom of American life, to which those of German descent have contributed so much, is not shared by some in other lands. Divided Germany itself stands as the symbol of the division of the world into those who are free and those who seek freedom.

From Von Steuben's day until this, the history of mankind demonstrates that freedom is indivisible. Von Steuben came to the United States to serve freedom. Today Americans are in West Germany and in Berlin for that selfsame reason, nowhere better phrased than by President Kennedy when he said, "Ich bin ein Berliner."

Friedrich von Steuben arrived in the United States in 1777, bearing letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane. He had served with distinction in the Prussian Army and had been an aide-de-camp to Frederick the Great. He now offered his services to the Continental Congress.

The Congress, impressed by his ability, accepted his offer and dispatched him to Valley Forge where he gave military drill instruction to Washington's troops.

So immediate was his success that in April 1778, Washington promoted him to inspector general with the rank of major general.

So immediately useful was his training, that for the remainder of the war the Continental Army was, unit for unit, equal in discipline and skill to the best British Regulars.

Under trying field and language difficulties, Steuben wrote a manual for the Continental Army, which then had none. His "Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States" became the Army's military bible and was its official drill manual until 1812.

In 1789 Steuben preceded Lafayette as military commander in Virginia, and at Yorktown he commanded one of the three divisions which laid siege to that city, successfully putting to use many of the tactical skills he had learned in Europe.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, Steuben continued his duties as inspector general of the Army and trusted adviser to Washington. He assisted in planning for the demobilization of the Army and in outlining strategy for the future defense of the United States.

When Washington returned to private life in 1783 he deliberately made his last official act a commendation to Steuben. Washington wrote to Steuben:

I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify, in the strongest terms, my entire approbation of your conduct, and to express my sense of the obligations the public is under to you, for your faithful and meritorious services.

Steuben was discharged from the Army in 1784, and moved to New York where he died 10 years later. In recognition of his services, the State of New York granted him 16,000 acres of then wild land near Utica, and the Congress granted him a pension of $2,500 annually.

Steuben today is remembered for his influence in transforming the Continental Army into an effective and disciplined military force. But he is also remembered as a symbol of the many persons from many lands who founded this great land and who have contributed and are contributing to the strengthening of its ideals. We in Michigan in particular have cause to be grateful for this German migration and it gives me great pleasure to salute today a man who provided such a great example of the contributions those of German descent have made to American life.

Credit Unions Continue To Forge Ahead—844,475 Members in Texas in 1963 Who Received More Than $16 Million in Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been a supporter of the credit union movement in this country. By promoting the idea of mutual assistance, the credit unions have been a source of help to many, many people who would not otherwise have been eligible for loans, and at the same time they have promoted thrift and savings in the communities of our land.

The State of Texas has about 1,250 credit unions with 844,475 members and total assets of nearly a half billion dollars. The national picture shows over 20,000 credit unions with about 15 million members and assets of over $8 billion at the end of 1963.

It is a source of great pride to note in a letter from James M. Barry, managing director of the Texas Credit Union League, that there are 23 credit unions in my own congressional district, with 15,-

938 members. They had shares and deposits of close to $7.5 million and loans outstanding of approximately $7.2 million. They paid over $300,000 in dividends to their members in 1963. Their total assets were slightly over $8,700,000.

Mr. Speaker, it is with pride and pleasure that I submit for the RECORD Mr. Barry's letter of August 20 to me:

TEXAS CREDIT UNION LEAGUE,
Dallas, Tex., August 20, 1964.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: A copy of the International Credit Union Yearbook for 1964 is enclosed for your personal use and reference.

You will find the figures relating to Texas on pages 16, 24, 28, and 31. They show the steady growth of these unique self-help financial groups in our State.

As of the first of the year there were 1,247 active credit unions in Texas serving 844,475 members. These members had shares and deposits of $413,109,020 and loans outstanding of $378,873,361. Their credit unions had total assets of $471,230,266. They paid $16,350,631 in dividends to members in 1963. In addition many credit unions paid interest refunds totaling $1,410,786 to borrower members, bringing the cost of their loans still lower.

You may be interested to know that in your congressional district there were 23 credit unions with 15,938 members at the start of 1964. They had shares and deposits of $7,434,900, and loans outstanding of $7,193,400. Their reserves were $466,660, and they paid $306,500 in dividends to their members in 1963. Their total assets came to $8,763,600.

Credit union members save their money together in order to make low-cost loans to each other. They help themselves by helping each other. They do not expect help from the State or Federal Governments. They believe in standing on their own feet. The Bureau of Federal Credit Unions is one of, if not the only, Federal bureau which is completely self-supported from supervisory and examination fees. It does not draw any money from the tax rolls.

If you have any questions regarding credit unions or need any more information, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES M. BARRY,
Managing Director.

Against Poverty Since 1776

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, in this election year, the Congress has passed legislation the declaration of which is war against poverty. Much was written and much was said during the debate on this measure. But little thought was given to the beginning of this so-called war.

The Leon, Kans., News has recently published an article entitled "Against Poverty Since 1776." Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert this article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Although "what is past is prologue," I hope that articles like these will help to shed some light on future legislation of this type. Who knows, they may even cause some of the Members of this august body to stop, look, and listen:

AGAINST POVERTY SINCE 1776

The fight against poverty did not begin with the President's message to Congress in January—it was launched in 1776 by the signing of the Declaration of Independence. By proclaiming that the rights of man were inviolate because they were God-given, not a grant from the State, this Nation began the greatest and most successful battle against poverty in all history.

The key to our success is freedom—freedom to choose an occupation, freedom to own property, freedom to succeed or fail, freedom to select those who govern. These freedoms give everyone the opportunity to improve his position and, fired with this incentive, most people are waging their own individual campaign against poverty.

No, we have not completed eliminated poverty; but compared to any other nation, our success is outstanding. The Socialist Manifesto of Karl Marx was a declaration of war against poverty but the method of attack prescribed was the exact opposite of the formula followed in the United States. Many nations have tried to obtain "social justice" but following the Socialist pattern of a government-managed economy to equalize rewards—not opportunity. The Russian revolution of 1917 gave birth to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" but the slave state method of eliminating want has kept living standards low for all except the party elite. Swedish socialism is, at best, a comfortable peasantry which has stifled initiative and encouraged moral decay. Australia, France, West Germany, and the United Kingdom have all experimented with varying degrees of government management of the economy—all are turning away.

No one will deny that a powerful government can divide the earnings of business, agriculture, and labor so that all will have approximately equal shares. The power to levy taxes may be used to confiscate the earnings of those who produce the most so that those who are less energetic may have equal rewards. Most people support the limited use of this power to help the handicapped and unfortunate. The difficulty comes in knowing where to draw the line. Living "off the government" is a way of life for an alarmingly high number of American citizens.

The most alarming aspects of this new attack on poverty by legislation are the proposals to further inject government management into the economy. Medicare for the aged is a foot-in-the-door to socialize medicine. The ARA and RAD programs use chamber of commerce methods but are in fact another form of Federal Government intervention to influence the location of business and industrial expansion. Federal aid to education transfers much of the authority and responsibility for educating our children to the Central Government. The administration's support for government supply management in agriculture whittles away at the farmer's freedom to choose.

These and the many other huge spending programs now advocated by the Johnson administration are not an attack on poverty. Just the reverse, they attack the very things which have made our Nation relatively free of poverty—freedom to work or play, freedom to spend or save, freedom to own a TV set and a Cadillac but live in a shack in order to do so. We are already too far down the road that leads to socialism—a morally decrepit philosophy which destroys that incentive to do better.

If government should succeed in dividing everything equally according to need, might it not also succeed in eliminating the most important defense against want and misery—the fear of poverty.

Fuel Oil Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the restrictions on imports of residual oil into the United States continue to be a dollars-and-cents deficit to Maine and New England users of this fuel.

It is indeed unfortunate that efforts to eliminate the quota system on residual oil have come to naught, for there is absolutely no justification, in the existence of this restriction, either for security or economic purposes.

The time is long overdue for the casting off of this yoke which presses down upon the necks of industrialists in the New England sector—freedom from this restriction would prove a highly vital stimulant to the Maine and New England economies.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD some articles, pieces which treat of this matter and reinforce my views with respect to this subject. The pertinent articles follow:

[From the Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram, Sept. 6, 1964]

FUEL OIL RESTRICTIONS

Another point which Warren Daniell, of Great Northern, brought up at the Maine products show preview press conference was his firm's need to get Federal restrictions on foreign imports of residual fuel oil lessened. Back when Great Northern started making its own power, Daniell said, someone told the company that 40-cycle current was the thing to use for industry. It worked out that 60-cycle current eventually became the thing, but Great Northern had its 40-cycle power and was stuck with it, can't interchange now with 60-cycle current. Steam power plants, fairly recently added, provide 80,000 horsepower added to the 120,000 horsepower hydroelectric and hydromechanical system. Great Northern has six power dams.

Daniell said the restrictions on residual fuel oil puts his company at a cost disadvantage that can run to $500,000 a year over many foreign competitors who buy their oil in an open market. Residual fuel oil is the largest single cost item required for operation of Great Northern's mills outside of pulpwood. That cost can run from $3 to $5 million a year, depending on water conditions. It's easy to see why Great Northern and other paper companies—as well as this State's electric power utilities—want to get restrictions on residual fuel oil cut. Daniell said that the best way to lower power rates in Maine is to lower the cost of fuel.

[From the Dover-Foxcroft (Maine) Piscataquis Observer, Aug. 27, 1964]

HOW TO SAVE OVER $2,666,000

This newspaper recently commended Congressman CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE for his at-

tempt to have lifted governmental restrictions on imports of residual fuel oil which are costing New England so much. The New England council has published some facts emphasizing the need for such action.

For instance, the State of Maine is paying over $60,000 in premium prices this year to obtain sufficient heavy fuel oil to heat State institutions. According to J. R. Dyer, State purchasing agent, projected residual fuel oil requiremens for State institutions and departments, exclusive of the University of Maine, for the period 1964–65 will total 122,870 barrels at a cost of $397,735.

According to figures recently released by the U.S. Bureau of Mines, Maine consumers during 1963 used a total of 5,332,000 barrels of residual fuel oil. Elimination of import quotas could mean an immediate saving of over $2,666,000 for the people of Maine. The saving of such an amount would certainly be appreciated by the taxpayers of the State. Congressman MCINTIRE should be encouraged in his efforts.

[From the Lewiston-Auburn (Maine) Journal, Aug. 29, 1964]

THOSE FUEL OIL QUOTAS

Unhappy as we have been over the New England council's position on grain freight rates for Maine, we are happy to commend the council for a recent release relative to the Federal import restrictions on residual fuel oil. The Journal needs no encouragement to attack the continuation of these unrealistic restrictions.

The net result of the imposition of import quotas, which started back in 1959, has been to force New England users of residual oil to pay unrealistically high premiums in order to obtain the fuel. The New England council charges specifically that last year alone "higher fuel costs and higher utility charges resulting from the increased cost added close to $30 million to the heating and electricity bills in the New England area alone."

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that the Federal Government, through the Interior Department, has seen to it that the cost of residual fuel oil to Washington will be cut this year. This was accomplished through granting the General Services Agency an import quota covering two-thirds of its annual oil requirement of 1½ million barrels. Such relief for New England would be entirely in order and should be given if the Johnson administration is to act consistently on the matter.

Of course we do not believe there should be any import quotas maintained for this product. American oil producers are eager to manufacture as little of this oil as possible. As the council commentary notes, to the oil producer residual fuel oil is "like sawdust to a carpenter."

We trust the New England congressional delegation will work as a team in an attempt to get the Johnson administration to see the light. Residual fuel oil quotas must go.

[From the Dover-Foxcroft (Maine) Piscataquis Observer, Aug. 20, 1964]

CONGRESSMAN MCINTIRE AND OIL QUOTAS

Congressman CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE, of the Second District, again deserves commendation for his continuing battle for reduction or elimination of quotas of residual oil imports. "With the decline of approximately $460 million in prime military contracts between fiscal years 1962 and 1963 in the New England States," he said, "it behooves the administration to move quickly in the reduction or elimination of the restrictive residual oil import quotas.

"Maine and the other five New England States are in a daily battle to keep our industries expanding. One way to help this six-State region is to eliminate the residual oil quotas.

"The administration, with a stroke of the pen, can free some $25 million that New Englanders are forced to pay in extra costs for oil.

"The harsh, punitive residual oil quotas have been imposed too long, and must be removed if we are to keep pace in today's competitive industrial race."

Not only does the present oil quota situation have a bearing on the industrial well being of New England, but also on the economic welfare of thousands of citizens who heat their homes and places of business with oil which has become a necessity, albeit almost a luxury at its present price.

Congressman MCINTIRE certainly has thousands of people behind him in his battle.

Rev. Henry J. Callis, a Former Slave Who Gave the Lincoln Memorial Invocation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago, Mr. Leon Callis, an employee of the House of Representatives, told me about the accomplishments and life of his great and good father, Rev. Henry J. Callis, which impressed me so much that I asked his good son Leon, to furnish me a biographical sketch of his revered father who lived, labored, and preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He was born in the year 1852, and passed to his reward in 1962. Reverend Callis lived a fruitful life, going about the Nation doing good for his fellow man.

A short, biographical sketch of Reverend Callis follows, which was furnished me by the reverend's son, Leon:

Henry Jesse Callis was born a slave on the Smith Plantation in Mathews County, Va. On the death of Capt. John Smith, his owner, the young boy was sent to live with Louisa Williams, Captain Smith's daughter. It was there, during the peninsula campaign of 1862, that Union soldiers raided the area, taking the slaves with them as they left. Then began a strange odyssey for this child of 8 years, which lasted nearly to his death at 100.

On board the troopship that took him from his old home to Yorktown, he discovered a half-brother he had never known. This older brother took Henry under his protection and made a home for him in Slabtown in Yorktown. Perhaps a year later, the former slave boy was moved to an orphanage in Hampton, Va. A wounded soldier in a nearby hospital selected him to be taken to New York to the Jenkins family, who wanted to care for and educate one of these orphans. Not adjusting well in this family, he finally spent the years until manhood, in indentured service on farms on Long Island.

About 1875, he entered Hampton Institute, from which he was graduated in 1879. He taught 1 year in Mathews County and one in Norfolk County, Va.

Subsequently, he worked as a waiter and bank janitor in Rochester, N.Y.

Since his early years in Long Island, Henry Callis had been a faithful Christian and a stalwart worker in the church. After serving some time as a lay preacher, in 1892 he was ordained in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and began his ministry, which lasted until 1946. He held charges from Boston to Elizabeth City, N.C., and from Rochester, N.Y., to San Francisco.

One of the historic churches under which Reverend Callis pastored was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church at Second and D Streets SW., Washington, a landmark, the victim of urban renewal. It was in this church that the first school for Negro children in Washington was organized. During the period of Reverend Callis' ministry at this church, the Lincoln Memorial was dedicated and the former slave gave the invocation.

Henry Jesse Callis was a life-long pleader for Negro equality. Almost from the time of its inception, he was a member of the executive board of the Federal Council of Churches of America. He was a true believer in the teachings of Jesus Christ; a humanitarian in its broadest sense.

Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, it is timely that positions on the controversial medicare legislation be brought to the attention of the Congress. Hence, a recent editorial in the Catholic Star Herald having a large circulation in southern New Jersey is pertinent:

[From the Catholic Star Herald, Sept. 11, 1964]

MEDICARE NOW

We hope President Johnson's magic touch with Congress does not fail him now that a limited form of medicare is on the verge of becoming the law of the land. The tax cut was good, the antipoverty bill better, but now we must not forsake our old people. For too long health care has been an unfair burden they have had to bear. After a lifetime of contributing their talents and energies to the national well-being, senior citizens find themselves in a cruel dilemma as old age arrives. With old age comes a decline in earning power coupled often with a decline in health. Proudly our elders pay their hospital and doctor fees which now descend upon them like a merciless hurricane until one day they awaken bereft of their hard-earned savings. Only then are they entitled to community assistance—if they are fortunate enough to belong to a State that makes such provision.

True, there are younger kin who can come to their aid—if they have any such relatives who can afford to help them. But why should illness, difficult enough to bear at any time, become a double-edged sword to those over 65? There is no sane or humane or religious reason why such a state of affairs should continue.

What about private health insurance? Well, according to a 1962 report of the hospital research and educational trust, "Less than half the aged (65 and over) have any health insurance at all and one-third of all low-income persons have no coverage." Well, why don't they get coverage? Again the aged are trapped in a dilemma. Since they are more prone to illness the insurance rates are higher, while their age has placed them in an income bracket of less than $2,700 annually.

There remain the political reasons why medicare has been thwarted. There are the craven fears of some politicians who would not offend the powerful and affluent AMA

which steadfastly opposes any form of Federal medicare. Actually, the AMA opposition does not stem from a desire to destroy the legitimate hopes of old people but from the fear that this is the first step toward socialized medicine. Frankly, there is no guarantee it will not be. But why make our senior citizens the scapegoats of a battle to prevent the establishment of socialized medicine?

But the way of political medicine is to forestall anything that may evolve into a threat against a profession which in our day seems more anxious about wealth than health. So there is little likelihood the AMA will relent. Consequently it will be up to the people themselves to urge their Congressmen to accept the Senate's medicare amendment to the revised social security bill.

Our Beloved Friend, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to incorporate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a fine report by an illustrious television commentator who is well known and highly respected on Capitol Hill, Mr. Joseph McCaffrey. He speaks of a man who is a classic in American politics, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr. The comments of Mr. McCaffrey reflect the thoughts of all Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle who have a profound respect and deep affection for our beloved friend, Speaker MARTIN, and they read as follows:

A friend of mine is ill in Bethesda Naval Hospital and I thought I might just tell you a little about him tonight. He is, without doubt, one of the kindest, most thoughtful men in political life I have ever met.

He was born in 1884, the day before Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, was elected for the first time. His Democratic father wanted to name him Grover Cleveland, but his mother was a Republican and she said no.

Years later it might have been embarrassing for the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives to be named Grover Cleveland Martin. Especially when he would be the only Republican to sit as Speaker of the House in a span of more than 30 years. Instead, he was named JOSEPH WILLIAM after his father. The father never made more than $18 a week, but young Joe got through high school, working as a delivery boy for the North Attleboro Evening Chronicle. He also picked up some money by playing semipro ball. He was a shortstop and he must have been pretty good, because away back in those days he got $10 a game. And he saved money. He saved it so well that he was able to help a younger brother through college and, when the opportunity came, he was able to invest in the Evening Chronicle and become its editor.

In 1912 he went to the statehouse, then to the State senate and in 1924 he was elected to Congress. At one time, when no one else would take the job, JOSEPH MARTIN served as Republican national chairman, during the hey-day of the New Deal. In 1947 when the Republicans organized the House and in 1953 when they did it again, MARTIN was elected Speaker.

The best tribute that can be paid to Speaker MARTIN was voiced one day some years ago by his great friend, Speaker Sam Rayburn, who said, "JOE never hurt anyone in his life and I think if he had to he would quit this business."

That is the kind of a man Mr. MARTIN is; and everyone hopes he comes back soon.

Sustained Power at Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, Defenders Day, September 12, the anniversary of the successful defense of Baltimore against the British in 1814, is an important day for Baltimoreans. This year they marked the 150th anniversary of this defense. The Propellor Club, Port of Baltimore, regularly observes the occasion with a special dinner, held this year on September 10.

In view of the recent important engagements of the Navy, it was fitting that the president, Robert M. Calder, and the chairman, Ed Mester, should have chosen a Navy man as the speaker for the occasion. He was Cmdr. Joseph J. Meyer, Jr., U.S. Navy, a graduate of the Naval Submarine School at New London, a veteran of 21 years in the Navy and now serving as submarine warfare evaluator in the Office of Chief of Naval Operations in Washington.

With many prominent leaders in shipping and maritime circles in the Baltimore area, it was my privilege to attend the dinner. I was very much impressed by Commander Meyer's remarks on the vital importance of sustained power at sea, and therefore take the opportunity to insert them in the Appendix of the RECORD, for the benefit of all Members of the Congress:

SUSTAINED POWER AT SEA

(By Comdr. Joseph J. Meyer, U.S. Navy)

It is an honor and a privilege, as a representative of the Chief of Naval Operations, and for me personally, to join with you this evening in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the successful defense of this city against a foreign invader.

And while we are about it, it seems to me, that it would be well to consider why it was necessary to defend Baltimore in the first place.

The War of 1812 is a classic example of what can happen when a nation is indifferent to its stake in the sea.

This was a war that was fought because the United States had become a great maritime power among the nations of the world. But, the growth of American commerce and trade on the high seas, did not, unhappily, carry with it the naval power needed to protect our shipping, or our country, from the ravages, the intimidation, and coercion of the British Fleet.

Baltimore sat in the very center of this young Nation's maritime prosperity. Indeed, Baltimore's very wealth and growth as a city stemmed from the sea. Baltimore was a city deeply involved. For the American privateer and our struggling young Navy represented our only means of carrying the war to the enemy—and carry it they did—all the way to the English Channel.

It was the only offensive power we had.

Our victories at sea gave the Nation heart—they gave the Nation a sense of unity. Is it any wonder then, that the British labeled Baltimore a "Den of Pirates" and were anxious to extract their revenge.

Our naval power under Perry and McDonough on the Great Lakes, brought about the collapse of the British effort in that part of the country. These victories kept northern Ohio, Michigan, the western territories and the State of Maine from falling under the sovereignty of the British Crown.

But our naval power on the Chesapeake and on the Potomac River was so weak, that the Royal Navy roamed at will—and Baltimore, that hotbed of maritime activity, was a target of the English torch.

And out of the successful defense of this city was born our national anthem—150 years ago.

A bit of research shows that a surprising number of songs were in contention for this great honor. Some of the other contenders certainly had merit, but one is at a loss to explain what prompted the supporters of "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

But because of the efforts and energies of the Star-Spangled Banner Commission, a commission formed in this city just 50 years ago this month, Key's immortal work was adopted by Congress in 1931 as our national anthem.

It is fitting too, in this the 150th anniversary year, that Mr. Paul Nitze, the Secretary of the Navy, has designated the 40th nuclear-powered Polaris submarine to be built by this Nation, to bear the name of Francis Scott Key. The keel for the U.S.S. *Francis Scott Key* will be laid in exactly 30 days, on October 10, at Groton, Conn. And it is most appropriate indeed that a ship, whose sole purpose is to defend this Nation, whose sole purpose is to keep thermonuclear peace on this planet, should bear his name.

For Key, who wrote our national anthem in a moment of supreme inspiration, also wrote it in a moment of great national stress and peril. And he expressed, for all time, and for all men, the characteristic feelings that his Nation had toward war. He described a nation determined, not to provoke war, but a nation determined to defend its freedom and national honor, whenever and wherever it is threatened.

Since Key's day in history, the world has undergone great changes. We are witnesses ourselves to the greatest social, economic, and technological revolution in history.

Yet, in spite of all this change, human nature is still pretty much the same. In all the history of the world—before and after the Fort McHenry Star-Spangled Banner—man has been involved in various forms of conflict with his fellow men.

The same is true of nations. Nations seeking to protect or further their own interests inevitably find themselves cross-threaded with other nations.

The result is conflict, and recorded history, beginning with the morning newspaper, tells us that this world we live in has seen very little real peace over the centuries.

Treaties are made and broken with remarkable regularity when nations consider their ambitions are being stymied, or their security is in jeopardy.

Another unchanging fact in this changing world is that every neighborhood has a bully. We need not look beyond World War II, Korea, or the sacking of Tibet to realize that a bully canot be dealt with from a position of weakness. Whether it be weakness of the national will, or weakness of the military muscle, weakness only encourages aggression—it has never stopped it.

The Bible tells us, "When the strong man, fully armed, guards his courtyard, his property is undisturbed."

Human nature has not changed. This is why America maintains strong military power. It is not only vital to our security, but it is essential to the resolve and determination of the entire free world.

This brings me to seapower, the need for sustained power at sea, and the role it plays in our national life. To begin with, seapower is more than naval power. Years ago, Admiral Mahan, America's first great geopolitician, made the point that, "It is not only the military strength afloat that rules the sea." Instead, he spoke of production, of the exchange of goods, and of the means by which the exchange is carried on. He made the point that naval power is the natural, legitimate, healthy offspring of a nation that has a highly skilled industrial base, is strong economically, and has crucial commercial interests.

It is clear that a nation that is strong on the seas has the ability to do some rather remarkable things. It is equally clear that no nation in history has ever regained a position as a great world seapower, once having lost it. The seas bring us strength and prosperity—or they bring us war and disaster—man must shape this destiny. The seas are indifferent.

"Power for Peace" is the watchword of the Department of Defense. This enormous complex of forces, military talent, and hardware keeps the watch to preserve freedom and peace in the world. The closely knit defense forces—Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—continuously demonstrate the uses of power for peace.

Do you realize that over 12 times last year the Navy responded to trouble? Our fleets are well fitted to the job, for theirs is a sustained power. It is already there. The precise power needed can be applied where needed, when needed, and before the fact.

Just as a nation has purposes, American power on the seas has purpose, based on those of the nation that created it. American power on the oceans is molded as American policy and purpose demand.

Each of us here tonight is a symbol of the strength of America. Our task of leading the free world demands projections of our national power in all its forms, to all the far corners of the earth. National power—be it economic, political, cultural, or military—seapower plays a special role in the projection of each of these forms of power.

What, then, is our means for oversea projections of power? How do we do it? How does seapower support our global policies? What are the factors of seapower? How does this power shape our very lives, families, homes, and jobs?

Let us look now at the oceans themselves. They cover nearly three-quarters of the globe. This is some 35 times the size of the United States. These waters belong to no single nation or group of nations. They belong to all nations. This is the general theory of international sea law. But seapower backs the theory with reality.

To learn more about the seas, we are in a race with time; for those who ignore the sea, history has shown, are doomed to suffer at the hands of other nations who do not ignore it. What we don't know can hurt us badly. This greater home of ours on earth is far more than the ground on which we stand. Today I hope to train your sights to sea—to the opportunity that lies beyond our shores.

The modern reality of seapower's dimensions is awesome indeed. We are forced into new ways of thinking, of looking at the world in terms of new potentials of commerce as well as warfare.

The ocean domain is millions upon millions of square miles of water—but many more millions of cubic miles beneath the surface—and above it.

We are just beginning to look at the crust of the earth beneath the ocean bottoms. We are just beginning to make maps of the great continents beneath the waves, of undersea Everests and Grand Canyons, of troughs and plains, of life on the move—inside this jungle of liquid space.

We are just beginning to explore this ocean space of our planet. We are just beginning to delve into the infinite waters that harbor both opportunity and danger.

Total sea strength also includes exploitation of the sea's resources. Our oceanographic studies of the sea's domain—still uncharted, hardly touched for the wealth that may lie beneath the waves. The oceans are a treasurehouse of minerals, a farmland waiting to be harvested.

But, let us now take a look at these United States.

We're not as big as we sometimes think. Only 2 percent of the earth's surface. A mere postage stamp on this map of the world—housing only 6 percent of the earth's people.

But what a country. Her responsibilities extend around the entire earth. It would be too bad for us if all our power were limited to our own territory. We would be vulnerable to disaster if that were so. Why? Just listen.

In economic terms, we depend on the sea to trade. We need 77 strategic materials to keep our industry going. We are self-sufficient in fewer than a dozen of them. Few of the things we use each day are actually home grown, neither our telephone nor refrigerators. Among the other 66 are the indispensable rubber and tin, even such significant items as manganese, without which our entire steel industry would be closed. Without minerals from overseas, factories would close, businesses would shut down, jobs would be destroyed, our standard of living, our power as a Nation would be sharply reduced.

Cargo is cargo. In war or peace, the overwhelming bulk of what we transport must go in the hulls of ships. That's not a theory—it's a fact. Why? Let's take a ton of cargo and send it to England by ship—here's your bill: $40. We can well pay the high price of air transport from time to time. It is pure gold for precious express but it would be extravagant even beyond our means to make a habit of it. In a hurry, ship it by air, but here's your bill: $2,000. This is why the bulk of our international trade is carried in ships, and how much is that? The answer is overwhelming: 98.25 percent.

In this sense, maritime power means the ships to carry our products overseas and to carry the products we need to us. That is the economic side of seapower. It keeps us prosperous as a people, strong as a Nation.

In these terms, seapower is truly everybody's interest, everybody's concern, everybody's business.

And this is one of the big "whys" of naval power, the military side of seapower, because naval powr is the protector, the policeman on the beat of the oceans—guards the 70,000 miles of trade routes that are like arteries to our national bloodstream, guards the some 7,000 ships that ply these oceanic highways every day—fighting seapower guards the very health and life of the American economy, which would falter and wither if the ships were not free to come and go. No seapower, no America as we know it, prosperous, powerful, and secure.

Thus, the Navy's classic role: to protect this shipping and these sealanes, to control the seas.

Cut these arteries and you will stop the heart.

There are those who may give it a try. Soviet submarines, over 400 of them, constitute 8 times the undersea fleet that Hitler had at the beginning of World War II. And Soviet-built submarines have been supplied to the satellite countries, to Communist China and also to Indonesia and Egypt.

Since the last war, the Communist empire has engulfed more than five times the population and twice the area of the United States in its drive for world power. We can see all too readily that the challenge we face cannot be met by words alone, however reasonable, however logical unless these words are supported by power and the will to use that power to the necessary degree.

Congress itself warns the American people of the Soviet maritime threat. For the Soviets pose a tremendous challenge to us. No nation has built up its merchant marine and Navy faster since World War II.

The Soviets, outdistancing us in the growth of their merchant marine, have plans calling for even greater growth in the 1970's. They are due to double the tonnage of their own merchant fleet while our merchant tonnage is declining.

The trend is serious. On a parity with us now, the Soviet Union soon will leave us in their wake. They have recognized the essenliality of seapower to their economic and military strength. The Soviet Union has embarked on a building program that makes our own shipbuilding effort look anemic. And I should add that their fishing fleets are so modern, so advanced, that one wonders why the fish need so much complex electronic gear. Perhaps they didn't set it up for the halibut.

Their oceanographic ships are the most advanced on earth.

Off our own shores, these Red ships move in tireless patrols on international waters.

In surface ships they have outbuilt all the free world navies combined. Their modern cruisers and destroyers launch seabased missiles just as their submarines do. Yet they have no carriers. This is a critical lack.

Their airpower at sea must depend entirely on land bases.

One of the great dangers we face comes from the modern missile-firing submarine, the threat to our continent from the oceans is mounting rapidly. Already, they have a most dangerous capability to strike us.

Soviet submarines can launch missiles—nuclear missiles—from off our shores. That is why antisubmarine warfare is one of the Navy's top priority missions. The capability of enemy subs to loft the bomb onto our cities and continental bases is increasing rapidly—Chicago, Kansas City, and Denver are all coming into their sights. Soon no part of America will be beyond range.

For America ends, as do all other lands, despite different laws, only 3 miles from the shore, but America's responsibilities, and her dangers know no border.

Though our naval leaders provide naval advice at the highest levels, the decision to fight or not to fight is the ultimate responsibility of the elected Government of the United States—the executive branch, and the legislative branch, the Congress. The Navy translates the decision into action; it enforces the decision, it does not make that decision.

For naval power is the military side of seapower. It is fighting power upon the domain of the sea.

And the unique thing that distinguishes naval power is its sustained mobility. It does not stand still. It appears in force when and where needed. It can hover as a helicopter, it can be tailored to fit the need; it can apply a punishment to fit the crime. It moves constantly on the waters of the world poised for all eventualities. Whether in balanced forces projecting American might across the seas or in its presence alone, ready for anything, task force or fleet, separately or all at once. Moving power,

sustained power, immediate power to keep the world open to America is the job of the Navy. On this we all depend for our personal prosperity, our national security.

It demands constant vigilance; not an easy responsibility to bear. The long voyage out means a long way from home. For weeks and months, sometimes for years, sometimes a bit tedious. But, protecting America is high adventure, high responsibility. You never know when the job explodes out of the routine into the spectacular. Things come up suddenly—the Navy-Marine assault teams are a key instrument in keeping the peace—to contain the trouble spot—to put out the fire before it spreads.

Whatever the trouble, whatever the danger, the Navy's job is to go into harm's way immediately, ready to fight on the way, and on arrival, if fight they must or to stand in wait to fly the flag to move into position, whatever is called for. By ourselves—the American people who built the Navy in the first place and man it now. The Navy performs the will of our people, nothing more and nothing less.

Strategic seapower meets the spectrum of the situation with a spectrum of response. The spectrum of response begins with showing the flag and ends at total thermonuclear war—it requires many and varied combinations of weapons and men.

For seapower is the Navy, Marines, the Coast Guard, our fishing industry, our oceanographic effort, and the merchant marine. This total power includes our entire effort upon the oceans—foreign trade, cargo-carrying ships, sea routes, shipyards, and the businesses that support them, the factories that depend upon them, the people who work in them. It encompasses all of the natural and productive resources of the United States.

Seapower projects the might and the purposes of America beyond her small territory to the four corners of the earth where dangers lurks. But a danger that can be kept far from our shores, our people, our industry—because naval power stands between the danger and our land. This is the mission of our modern Navy, which functions with its mere presence, with a little bit of force, or with a lot of force.

We are committed to a watch upon the waters.

For example, our antisubmarine forces conduct long-range surveillance over and under the world's oceans. Hunter-killer forces in concert with our attack submarines are capable of seeking out and destroying enemy submarines. They must be combat ready at all times. If submarine action is taken against our country, there will be no time to build such a complex and specialized weapon system.

The striking power of the fleet is spearheaded by task forces comprised of aircraft carriers and their cruisers and destroyers. A powerful package of problem solvers. Their mere presence is often the best guide to the hostile inspiring prudence where it might otherwise be lacking.

With seabased forces there are no problems of national sovereignty. No worries about base concessions. No lowering of our flag because a nation, however friendly, decides we must go.

Consider our amphibious assault carriers, built to transport and launch Marine assault troops and equipment. Used in the vertical envelopment assault tactics developed by the Marine Corps, troops scramble from the flight deck by helicopter to reach and hold the precious high ground—to fan out from there to get the situation in hand. For this too, is part of the long inland reach of power from the sea.

To support such fleet actions we need to base and deploy supply ships, oilers, minelayers, minesweepers, tenders, transports, they and many more form the configuration of power at sea. For the dangers that lie in wait are met not only by naval force, in all its majesty, but by naval work in all its tedious routine. Power at sea stands between the threat and America itself—the fleet is there to bear the brunt.

But let us take a look at some of the fleet actions called for by our Government in recent years.

Korea: Where the carrier striking forces of the 7th Fleet guarded the waters along this vital neck of Asian land directly threatened by communism.

Lebanon: Where the battle-ready marines were ashore a short 7 hours after the call, showing the importance of tactical timing in limited situation.

Cuba: 1962—pretty close to home. We could not tolerate Russian missiles only 90 miles from Florida. To back up our Government's diplomatic pressures we used the special persuasive logic of military force. We immediately sailed the 2d Fleet for quarantine action, and possibly for something more. Seapower was present—as a matter of fact, several battalions of marines were embarked and ready to hit the beach. The eloquence of that power was convincing—silent, but effective beyond the power of words alone.

And the most recent case, in the Gulf of Tonkin in southeast Asia, where naval force responded with the precise amount of power in answer to a specific situation. Where it was demonstrated once again, that the United States could not sustain itself in force in Vietnam, or anywhere else for that matter, unless it maintains supremacy over the seas and the sea lines of communications.

Let us now look at our modern Navy. It has evolved from revolutionary scientific progress in this, the 20th century. It is a product of the Navy scientific-industrial team.

Our Polaris fleet is not only ready for war, it has tipped the strategic balance to our favor. We now have the strategic initiative. This ballistic missile can be fired from a submerged submarine to targets 2,900 statute miles away. Now no place on earth is beyond the reach of this power from the sea. Polaris is truly America's great deterrent to a potential enemy.

Nonetheless, our total national security, and the means to insure it, remains too complex for any single weapon system or any single strategy to be the complete answer to the problems that beset us.

The news release of the world cruise of our nuclear-powered surface ships, Nuclear Task Force 1—Operation Sea Orbit—has heightened public interest in our modern Navy. This force began its circumnavigation of the globe about 6 weeks ago. From Gibraltar, it sped down the West Coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope and into the Indian Ocean. After a goodwill visit to Karachi, these ships headed for Australia where more port visits were made. Now headed for the Horn, these ships will swing into the Atlantic and steam for the fabulous city of Rio de Janeiro. From there, these three ships will return to the United States, arriving in Norfolk, Va., during the first week of October.

These are the types of ships we must build for the future fleet, future opportunity, future security. The Navy must take advantage of the fruits of technology, and this includes the use of nuclear power in all of its major combatant ships.

The attack aircraft carrier in the Sea Orbit group is the *Enterprise*. Upon the waters of the world you will see nothing to surpass her. Our first and only nuclear-powered carrier, she is a permanent, moving airport for a hundred planes—bombers and fighters—for every naval task from reconnaissance to strafing, from missile firing to bombing, from incendiaries to the most devastating of weapons.

This mobile base for American power can stand well offshore and strike all types of targets well inland if need be—that can attack military forces of all kinds—factories, cities, or anything else.

The new Navy has tough cruisers. First among them is the *Long Beach*, a nuclear-propelled modern warship that contributes to the projection of power of the fleet. There are also 13 conventional cruisers whose turrets bristle with guided missiles. Computerized controls keep them zeroed on targets—these missiles are the Terrier, the Tartar, the Talos. They have different destructive powers, different purposes. These tactical examples of the spectrum of possibility, depending as always on what precisely we must do on a particular day at a particular place.

The virtuoso of naval power—the workhorse—neither too small nor too large; maneuverable, fast, deadly, this destructive fighting ship known as the destroyer. We have 231 of them, unfortunately many of World War II construction.

The feasibility of nuclear propulsion in modern destroyer types is demonstrated by the destroyer leader *Bainbridge*—and soon the *Truxton*.

The combination of nuclear power with advanced hull design has given us the fast attack submarine—a true submersible, capable of moving at speeds once thought impossible.

Not only to sink enemy shipping but to serve in the ASW role of detecting and attacking enemy submarines in the vast battlefield under the sea.

With resolute research, we must maintain the modernity and striking power of our fleet.

From nuclear propulsion to basic research into the exploration of space, from oceanographic expeditions to the quest for new types of ships and weapons, naval research has taxed, with frequent success, the best scientific minds the Nation has. Today we seek even greater scientific success. For the need is urgent, perhaps even more urgent than we think.

Based on research results the Navy will use space and space techniques when and where it will perform a mission better. Navy researchers pioneered much of the Nation's space effort. After 6 years, the Satellite Vanguard still is in near-perfect orbit. Satellites can give better worldwide fleet communications, better navigation, and provide better weather analysis for fleet commanders. By placing the right kind of eyes in them, the job of oceanspace surveillance may be made manageable.

Will the Navy measure up in times to come? It will depend upon people. Those who plan, study, design; who experiment, seek better ways—the Navy, in the name of the country, encourages leadership, inquiry, creativity—as well as courage. The source for all this is the American people themselves, who created their Navy by their will and by their work.

The worldwide strategy of American seapower depends upon the men and the ships and the weapons, for the plans are never greater than the flesh and blood that carry them out.

Navy men in ships, and planes, keep the watch upon the waters, beneath them, and above them, ready to take the action called for by our Nation's will. The Navy itself serves the national purpose in precise ways at precise times.

For the seas of the world, 35 times the size of America, are ours to use and to enjoy, along with men everywhere—if we are wise enough, if we are strong enough to command what is ours—if our actions are equal to our purposes.

America's might projected across the planet from the ocean bottom to the end of the atmosphere. Such is the mission.

A sound and flexible strategy for our times follows the fluid avenues of the seas. The magic of ocean mobility allows us to project discriminate power for peace instantly in the dimensions of the when, the where, and the how.

Seapower is a global function of the global concept of power for peace. It is worth the costs in sweat and tears. It is worth fighting for.

Seapower belongs to you. You own it. You pay for it. Yours are its dividends—in freedom.

The Easy Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, John McCormally, editor of the Hutchinson (Kans.) News, is a man who embraces the Keynesian theory of economics. But, recently, Mr. McCormally took an about face on the tax-cut bill. In my State of Kansas, this is real news; and Ray Call, a member of the editorial staff of the Emporia Gazette, seized the opportunity to expound on Mr. McCormally's thought.

For interesting reading, Mr. Speaker, the editorial follows:

THE EASY WAY

For a change, an editorial in the Hutchinson News makes sense. Whatever the reason, this bit of opinion is worth reprinting:

Government economists this spring were rattling their abacuses with one hand and scratching their heads with the other trying desperately to explain what Americans were doing with the income tax saving generous Uncle Sam had passed their way.

Now equally puzzled taxpayers are wondering if they really did get a tax cut or was it all just a dream.

Those Kansans who saved their few dollars-a-week bonanza for a "rainy" day discovered the rainy day had become a drencher.

On successive days Kansans were told: First, they will be paying more for their telephone service (if they are served by Southwestern Bell); second, automobile insurance rates are going up; third, the cost of home insurance coverage will increase.

All that on top of a cost-of-living hike in July, largest monthly rise in a year.

No wonder bewildered Kansans are turning pockets inside out trying to find some evidence of the tax windfall that had been jingling there earlier.

This can be carried another step. The obvious question to many people is this: How much further in debt will this Nation be because of the tax cut?

Those who have good recollection may remember that the high-powered economists predicted the tax cut would give a big boost to the economy. They reasoned next that the boom in business would bring in enough income tax to offset the tax cut, and the country soon would be in the black again.

The economy is booming, true. In fact, inflation has started again, as shown by the rise in the cost of living. No one doubted that it would. But the theory that the new business activity will bring in stacks and stacks of money for the Government appears to be as idiotic as it seemed when it was first proposed.

Many people have been fooled. They have been victims of another vote-buying gimmick. The administration seeks a tax cut to gain popularity. Men in Congress voted for the tax cut because it gave money to the folks back home who in turn will repay the kindness at the ballot box in November.

The tax cut brought a lot of votes. The public opinion polls show Johnson is running far ahead of his opposition in most States, Kansas included. The gimmick worked so well that there is talk of another tax cut this winter, and possibly a slash in excise taxes.

What the heck? Let's go all the way. Why not eliminate Federal taxes altogether? President Johnson could announce that he has unscrewed enough light bulbs to warrant an end to taxes; no income tax, no excise tax; no postage stamps; nothing. Think how nice it would be to have all that withholding put back into the pay envelope.

Next, let's give some Government money to all people. The poor folks can get paid under tte antipoverty bill; farmers will get more money for not raising crops; old folks can have help from the Treasury with their medical bills; kids who do not want to go on to college, or who prefer not to get a steady job, may find a home in the Peace Corps; Government employees can get a raise. There. That should take care of enough voters to get anyone elected.

In fact, voters would be ecstatic. Johnson would win unanimously.

Well, almost unanimously. Some crusty old diehard reactionaries (extremists) would stick to their silly old theory that a day of reckoning must come. They would vote against Johnson.

These narrow-minded fools would want to know where the money is to come from.

Little do they know that the national debt is unlimited. If the economy keeps moving ahead, the United States can go into debt more and more each year. Forget the future. We've been doing all right so far; why worry? If the theory of unending increase in the Federal debt is sound, then the United States should abandon taxes and dole out more money.

Now we ask you: what kind of fool would swallow all that bunk? Wait until November and see.—R.C.

The Old-Age Health Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, like nearly every Member of this House, my mail has been very heavy the last few days on the subject of the amendments to the Social Security Act, providing for hospitalization.

Several days ago in the Kansas City Star in the lead editorial of Friday, September 4, 1964, there appeared an appraisal of the old-age health issue which I thought provided some needed emphasis of some of the things that might be of interest to the membership. Even if that is not true, this insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that editorial sets forth as a matter of general information the current position of a great newspaper of the midlands, on this important issue.

The editors believe the entire matter should be put off until the new Congress in 1965, when the country is not involved in the heat of an emotional presidential campaign. I think they quite rightly submitted that the issue should be left for calmer deliberation in 1965.

It was interesting to note that the Kansas City Star agrees the plan is misnamed and that it is not "medicare" at all, but is a hospitalization and nursing plan. I thought it was particularly noteworthy that this paper states editorially that the plan is not "socialized" medicine that provides every kind of health care for everybody. It is hard to make a choice as to which one thought in this editorial is more important than the others. Yet it seems to me the analysis of the problem is the keenest when the Star says editorially that eventually an old-age health plan is going to be passed and will be paid for either through social security or through general revenues from a Federal source, or through some combination of Federal or State taxes. In other words, it is not a matter of whether there will ever be a hospitalization and nursing plan, but only what is the best and most effective plan that can be passed, and whether the present proposals may be improved upon to be made more workable. The editorial follows:

THE OLD-AGE HEALTH ISSUE IS HERE AGAIN

The medicare issue died lingering deaths in other sessions of Congress but it has been resurrected in these waning days of the 88th. It could just as well have waited for the new Congress of 1965.

The whole matter has become so overblown—with wild statements on both sides—that it has taken on a life of its own entirely apart from whatever merits or faults it might have. Statements by the opposition lead you to believe that it would spell the end of freedom. Proponents give the impression that without it, the structure of civilization will crumble. So now, here it comes, smack-dab in the middle of one of the most emotional presidential campaigns in years.

The fact is, the plan is misnamed. It provides nothing for doctor's bills. It is a hospitalization and nursing plan. And in case you've lost your way in the welter of proposals and counterproposals, this, essentially, is what the Senate amendments would do:

As of July 1, 1965, provide hospital care for 90 days with a deductible sum ranging from $20 to $90, or 45 days with nothing deducted. For 180 days the deduction (paid by the patient) would be correspondingly greater.

Effective January 1, 1966, provide nursing home services up to 60 days after a patient left a hospital.

Provide up to 240 home visits in a calendar year for nursing case, therapy, and the like for a person under the care of a physician.

About 18 million persons past 65 years of age would be eligible including 15½ million now on social security. Costs for others would be paid from general revenue.

This is not socialized medicine that provides every kind of health care for everybody. The doctors who oppose it generally state that it is a foot in the door.

Neither are the benefits the full answer to health security in old age. This leads to a sad aspect of the political dispute. The old people are led to expect more from medicare than is proposed. Their hopes rise when the measure is introduced, amended and debated—and fall when the bill fails to get through. For too many of the debaters, medicare has become a political symbol in itself with the actual aims of the program a forgotten matter.

The fear of sickness and helplessness in old age is one of the greatest fears of man. The

proposal in the Senate would go part way toward alleviating those fears. The chief reason for opposition is the danger of loading too much on the present social security system. Certainly it would be unfortunate if the proposed social security benefit increase now before Congress should be lost in the wrangle. But, eventually, an old age health plan is going to be paid for one way or another—through social security, through the taxes that come from general revenue on the Federal level or through a combination of State and Federal taxes.

Maybe the 88th Congress will take the step. We believe that such a complex and emotional issue could reasonably be left for calmer deliberation in 1965. Within the next year, certainly, the issue ought to be settled.

The on-again, off-again frenzy of the last few years has been hard on everyone concerned—the legislators, the medical profession and above all, the potential beneficiaries.

Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I had the great honor recently to become a member of the Hempstead, N.Y., Lodge No. 1485, BPOE. Although I had heard of the many fine works done for the community by this great organization, the very night of my induction I was informed of a most outstanding program, the Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship Fund. As an effort by a single lodge, it is an inspiration worthy to be brought to the attention of my colleagues in Congress:

HEMPSTEAD ELKS MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP

For the past several years, the idea of a Hempstead Elks Scholarship has been the "dream goal" of the majority of lodge brothers. Although many very good thoughts were presented for consideration, none seemed to to fit exactly into our plans. Finally, in August 1964, a discussion with members of the Hofstra University Alumni Association led to the establishment of an excellent scholarship program, to be known hereafter as "The Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship Fund."

This fund was established at an initial value of $37,500, of which $25,000 has been granted to Hofstra University by the Hempstead Elks. The remaining $12,500 comes from matching funds earned by this gift, from the Ford Foundation Challenge Grant. Under the terms of this grant, every $2 raised by Hofstra is matched by $1 from the Ford Foundation. In order to earn $1 million from the Ford Foundation, the university had to raise $2 million by August 31, 1964. This drive has just been successfully completed and the Hempstead Elks are very proud to have played an important role in this worthy effort.

The objective of the Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship is threefold: 1. To perpetuate the memories of those members of Hempstead Lodge No. 1485 and their immediate families who have given their lives in the service of the United States of America, and to give recognition to the singular dedication and achievements on behalf of the Hempstead community rendered by the lodge. 2. To serve the youth of our community in seeking to attain higher levels of academic achievement and professional education. 3. To reward annually on the basis of merit at least one deserving student who (a) is a resident of the Hempstead lodge jurisdiction, or (b) has been a high school student in the Hempstead area and has earned a noteworthy record in both academic and service areas.

Hempstead Elks Scholarship is a perpetual fund, which will last as long as Hofstra University exists. The scholarship is not necessarily based on academic standards alone. The lodge feels that the well-rounded high school student with a good background in extracurricular activities, plus the academic qualifications should be the recipient. In other words, a student that we feel has the potential to make a real contribution to society in the future.

At present values the scholarship has a value of approximately $1,500 per year, however, with various anticipated increases in fees, etc., will eventually be worth about $2,400 annually.

The first of these scholarships will be provided beginning in the 1965–66 academic year and will cover the cost of full tuition fees, and books. Additional awards may be made as the value of the endowment increases. Each individual scholarship will be continued until the student graduates, provided he or she remains eligible. The university scholarship committee together with the exalted ruler of the Hempstead lodge will review applications from eligible candidates and will select winners who best reflect the ideals of the memorial fund in both their academic and personal accomplishments.

Hempstead Lodge feels that it has not only established a very fine scholarship program, but in addition, has erected a living monument to Elkdom in the Hempstead community.

THE HEMPSTEAD ELKS MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND AT HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY

The board of trustees at Hofstra University hereby establishes an endowment scholarship to be known as the Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship Fund.

This fund is established at an initial value of $37,500, of which $25,000 is a founding gift to the university by the membership of the Hempstead Lodge No. 1485, Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks, Hempstead, N.Y., and $12,500 is the assignment of matching funds earned by this gift from the current Ford Foundation Challenge Grant to the university.

I. OBJECTIVES

(a) To perpetuate the memories of those members of the Hempstead Lodge No. 1485, B.P.O.E., and their loved ones from their immediate families who have given their lives in the service of the United States of America; to give recognition to the singular dedication and achievements on behalf of the Hempstead community rendered by the Hempstead Lodge No. 1485, B.P.O.E.

(b) To serve the youth of Hofstra's total community in seeking higher levels of academic achievement and professional education.

(c) To reward annually on the basis of merit at least one deserving student who is either a resident of the Hempstead community, or has been a student in the Hempstead High School, and, who has earned a noteworthy record in both academic and athletic areas.

II. ADMINISTRATION OF FUND

(a) The Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship Fund is established on this date at a value of $37,500 as indicated above. The fund will be increased as futher donations and earnings accrue beyond the founding value.

(b) The fund will be administered by the university.

(c) The university scholarship committee with the advice of the exalted ruler of the Hempstead Lodge No. 1485 (or his representative) will make annual selections of award winners and will submit to the university president appropriate recommendations pertaining to any aspect of the fund's administration and the process for selection.

III. THE SCHOLARSHIP

(a) Income from the Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship Fund will provide at least one award comprising full tuition, fees, and books annually, beginning in the 1965–66 academic year. Additional awards may be made in similar amounts as the value of the endowment increases. Each individual scholarship awarded will be continued each succeeding year until graduation, provided the student remains eligible.

(b) The university scholarship committee, with the advice of the exalted ruler of the Hempstead Lodge (or his representative) will review applications received from eligible candidates and select winners who in their combined judgment best reflect the ideals of the spirit of this memorial fund in their academic and personal accomplishments.

(c) To be eligible for recommendation to the university scholarship committee, applicants for the Hempstead Elks Memorial Scholarship must meet at least three general requirements:

1. Academic qualification for any full time undergraduate degree program at Hofstra University.

2. Demonstration through superior academic and athletic performance, the potential for outstanding achievement at Hofstra.

3. Evidence of those personal qualities leading to effective citizenship as indicated by productive participation in co-curricular and community activities.

(d) All award winners will be known as Hempstead Elks Scholars.

IV. OTHER ELEMENTS

(a) Appropriate public announcement will be made by the university of the availability of these merit scholarships and the selection and progress of the Hempstead Elks Scholars.

(b) The Hempstead Lodge No. 1485, B.P.O.E., will be listed in the University Roll of Honor and in appropriate announcements of this award.

Approved on August 15, 1964.

DANIEL L. MONROE,
Chairman, Board of Trustees, Hofstra University.

LAWRENCE J. FITZGERALD,
Exalted Ruler, Hempstead Lodge No. 1485, Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks, Sponsor.

The 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include herewith the material referred to in my remarks in the House earlier today:

THE 5TH SPECIAL FORCES (AIRBORNE)

The 5th Special Forces colors fly the streamers of 16 campaigns which were conducted during World War II and were accomplished in North Africa, Europe, and the Pacific Theater of Operations. The 5th Special Forces Group lineage derives from two units of World War II fame—the 1st Spe-

cial Service Forces and the 5th Ranger Infantry Battalion.

The 1st Special Service Force was activated at Fort William Henry Harrison, Mont., on July 9, 1942, where it trained until committed overseas. This unit was a joint American-Canadian force and first saw action in North Africa where they made the initial assault at Arzew, Algeria. From North Africa the unit participated in the Italian campaign and into France. At the end of the war, the unit was disbanded and the officers and men were reassigned or returned home by their respective governments.

The 5th Ranger Infantry Battalion was activated on September 1, 1943, at Camp Forrest, Tenn. After physical and combat training, the unit departed New York Harbor for England on January 8, 1944. Another phase of training was conducted in England and on June 1, 1944, the unit boarded H.M.S. *Prince Leopold* and H.M.S. *Prince Baudouin* where they remained until the assault landings on June 6, 1944, in France. The objective of the 5th Ranger Infantry Battalion on D-day was to join forces with elements of the 2d Ranger Infantry Battalion at Pointe du Hoe. The unit landed at H-hour on D-day and earned the Distinguished Unit Citation for their heroic and gallant action in securing their sector of the beachhead.

In addition to the Distinguished Unit Citation for their action on D-day the 5th Ranger Infantry Battalion earned three other Distinguished Unit Citations and the French Croix de Guerre with Silver-Gilt Star.

The 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne), 1st Special Forces, was activated at Fort Bragg, N.C., on September 21, 1961. The assigned primary mission of the unit was to train personnel for duty in southeast Asia in the Republic of Vietnam. To accomplish this mission the unit established a group area study section where study of the group's geographic area of operations and French language training was initiated in October 1961. Also, in October 1961 the unit participated in the post-wide demonstration for the President of the United States.

The year 1962 was the first full year of operation for the 5th Special Forces Group and during this year the group was increased to full T.O. & E. strength. In addition, Vietnamese and Thai language training was instituted. The goal of this program was limited fluency with primary concentration on speaking.

On September 9, 1962, one "C" detachment and four "A" detachments were deployed on 6 months' TDY to southeast Asia for duty in Vietnam and on September 24, 1962, additional personnel were committed.

On November 12, 1962, the group was required to organize and activate and staff a special forces operational base for ultimate deployment to southeast Asia. This unit departed this station for Vietnam on November 17, 1962.

On December 27, 1962, one "B" detachment and two "A" detachments were deployed for 6 months' TDY to southeast Asia for duty in Vietnam.

In addition to furnishing the above personnel, the unit participated in the following field exercises during the period indicated:

Operation Fanny, January 1962.

Operation Seheca Spear, April 1962.

Operation Guerrilla Road, April–May 1962.

Operation Iron Dragoon, May 1962.

Operation Swift-Strike II, July–August 1962.

Operation Devil Arrow, September 1962.

The year 1963 saw the continuance of mission training for deployment of personnel to southeast Asia. The training centered in and around 20 field exercises, demonstrations, and mobile training team missions. Premission training to all deployed units was conducted in the area study facility, language training, in both French and Vietnamese, and cross training of all deployed special forces personnel in various MOS's.

On July 27, 1963, the present commander, Col. Herbert F. Roye, succeeded Col. Lloyd E. Wills. The 5th Special Forces Group has had three commanders of which Colonel Roye is the third.

On September 21, 1963, the unit unveiled its memorial to those members of the unit who have lost their lives in the Republic of Vietnam. To date, there are 11 names engraved on the memorial stone. The fact that other special forces groups have deployed detachements to Vietnam and have borne the burden of sacrifice to the cause of freedom is not neglected.

Other special forces groups with personnel deployed to Vietnam include the 7th Special Forces Group, which is stationed at Fort Bragg, and the 1st Special Forces Group on Okinawa.

After the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, 13 enlisted men and 1 officer of the unit served in the ceremonies as honor guard, paying a last tribute to the Commander in Chief who authorized special forces its distinctive green beret.

The main exercise in which the group participated was Polar Siege which was conducted in Alaska during the period December 1963 to February 1964. The 5th Special Forces Group deployed personnel whose mission was to train the Alaskan Scouts in the principles of guerrilla warfare and the Alaskan Scouts trained the special forces personnel in arctic survival techniques.

In June 1964 the unit dispatched two "A" detachements to the World's Fair in New York City. Their mission was to display T.O. & E. equipment peculiar to special forces and demonstrations of techniques in rappelling.

Members of the 5th Special Forces Group have received or are pending award of the following decorations for service in Vietnam:

Award	Received	Pending
Silver Star	1	4
Legion of Merit		3
Soldier's Medal	5	6
Bronze Star	34	26
Air Medal	40	24
Commendation Medal	113	21
Purple Heart	71	9
Combat Infantry Badge	784	144

Uneasy Truce on Meat Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions over the past 2 years, I joined my colleagues from both sides of the aisle in efforts to curtail meat imports. These efforts have borne fruit and legislation has been enacted which provides the means to curtail these imports. I am sure that my colleagues share my feeling that this legislation does not embody all that we had been working for but its passage was still a significant accomplishment.

One of the Nation's outstanding livestock publications, the Stockman's Journal, Omaha, Nebr., had an excellent editorial on this legislation in its September 11 edition. So the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD can benefit from this learned evaluation of this legislation and its political ramifications, with unanimous consent to extend my remarks I include the following editorial:

UNEASY TRUCE ON MEAT IMPORTS

While most cattlemen feel a sense of relief at having gotten a meat import quota law on the books this year, in view of the dim outlook for any such action through most of the summer, it would be a mistake for anyone to assume that they are happy over the compromise measure which Congress passed and the President signed.

It is no secret that in order to get any kind of a quota measure enacted at all, the cattle interests had to give up plenty. They yielded in order to get a quota law, rather than go along with nothing more than a State Department agreeemnt. There are many who say they gave up too much—that the meat import measure which was passed is so emasculated that it will never see action.

Actually, the cattlemen were up against almost impossible odds. From President Johnson on down through the administration, everybody was against a meat import quota law. The President, who owns a ranch had a herd of cattle in Texas and was presumed to have some natural interest in and sympathy for the cattle industry, made no bones about where he stood. He said from the first that he would not rescind the voluntary import agreements negotiated earlier with Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland and that he would veto any import restriction bill as being against the best interests of American foreign policy. He is reported to have told key lawmakers he wasn't going to have his foreign policy ruined by a "bunch of cowpokes."

Consequently, say critics of the compromise bill which was passed finally, the only reason he could sign it in good conscience was that it in no way interfered with his quota agreements and would not offend any of the nations shipping meat to our shores.

Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, charged on the floor of the House during the debate on the bill that "this legislation is so constructed that he (Johnson) can let it become law and still do exactly as he wishes in regard to beef imports." FINDLEY said it was a "pure scheme to help the political position of Senators and Congressmen, particularly those on the Democratic side, who are embarassed and outraged at the way President Johnson has mishandled the beef situation."

State Department officials were quoted on August 18 by the Associated Press as saying they "do not expect quotas will ever be imposed under the new compromise legislation to curb beef imports." Thus there is some justification for agreeing with those who insist that its passage was a hoax which was permitted for political effect.

Obviously there were several good political reasons why Mr. Johnson accepted it as he did. First, he saw it as a way to get the cattlemen off his back without disturbing touchy Australia and New Zealand relationships. Australia already had warned him in no uncertain terms that if he permitted anything to interfere with its export meat business with the United States, it would retaliate dollar for dollar with restrictions against our exports on various items to Australia.

Second, it gave Mr. Johnson a chance to get Senator MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana, who was in the doghouse with Western ranchers over his stands on meat import quota measures, off the hook. Mr. MANSFIELD is the administration's majority leader in the Senate, and some of his constituents were saying publicly that his chances for reelection were almost nil because of his role in the meat import quotas wrangle.

And third, it deprived the Republicans of a good campaign issue, involving the charge that the Johnson administration had insisted on a ruinous free trade policy at the expense of a basic and important U.S. industry (livestock and meat).

These are harsh charges, to be sure, but there seems to be considerable justification for them, in view of the facts.

What we in the livestock and meat industry must not overlook is the fact that an import quota law now exists, however, and as has been pointed out by livestock association leaders in recent days, it stands as a watchdog against extreme increases in foreign meat imports. It is easy to argue that the President would never invoke the quotas, but obviously he could if pressure were strong enough on him and the facts on the conference table indicated that he had no choice but to do so.

So, despite the rather uneasy feeling which many have about this legislation, it seems to us to be better than no law at all. And who is to say that new legislation, more to the liking of the livestock and meat industry, will not be enacted later to tighten up the fence?

The Profession You Don't Want

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the profession of politics, demanding as we all know it is, can bring great satisfaction and personal pride. To serve one's country and one's fellow man, honorably and diligently, can be as rewarding as any other profession that beckons to the young men and women of today.

I was very much impressed with the following editorial that appeared in an eminent newspaper in my district, Skokie Life, issue of September 10, 1964. Because it is so discerning, I believe it merits wide attention and therefore commend it to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE PROFESSION YOU DON'T WANT

Beg pardon, young man, what are you going to be when you grow up? Doctor? Lawyer? Pays well. Scientist? Oh, yes; very important. Social worker? Nice idea, but really, you wouldn't like it. Teacher? That is for others.

Professional athlete? Good profession; lots of money and lots of opportunity. Stock broker, business magnate, accountant, industrial psychologist—there are a thousand fields of endeavor young man, and you want 999 of them, from career Army officer to famous surgeon.

It is that 1,000th field that you don't want. Or say you don't want. It pays poorly, it makes incredible demands upon time, money and conscience, it offers little security, and you really can't take very many courses in college to prepare for it. So you don't think of it. After all it is "dirty," and you have to know the "right people," and all that.

So you don't want to go into government. Well, maybe you want a desk job in Washington or a position at Los Alamos, or with the T-Men—but public office, elected by the ballots of your peers, holds no interest for you.

Too bad, young man. In the Golden Age of Greece, the service of one's fellow man in public office was the highest honor that could come to those proud to call themselves citizen. We've come a long way, mostly down. Today, you wouldn't be caught dead in the political arena, would you?

You avoid it; you avoid political issues; political speeches. You avoid political labor, political contributions. You avoid politics, and thus avoid the art of the science that is government.

You know, young man, that history will forget you. It has nearly forgotten Roentgen and the great John L., Lavoissier and Insull, Jane Addams, and the Duke of Wellington. It has nearly forgotten Raphael and Scarlatti, Thomas Mann, and David Hume.

But, young man, it remembers Pericles and Hammurabi, Medici, and Robespierre, Jefferson and Disraeli, Lincoln and Gladstone, FDR and Sir Winston. History remembers its government leaders, its politicians practical and theoretical. History remembers those who sacrificed personal expediency on the altar of public service.

A laborer earns what an alderman does, and doesn't have to give $10 or $100 to every civic or charitable group that contacts him. An accountant earns what a state legislator earns, and doesn't have to pay transportation to Springfield and make contributions to political campaigns. A top broker or businessman earns more than a Congressman does, and doesn't have to spend tens of thousands on travel and reelection campaigns.

And the so-called professions don't have to come back to the people every 2, 4, or 6 years and place their future in the hands of the democratic majority. So, for your personal welfare, forget the 1,000th profession.

But for your pride, your conscience, your nation and the cause of humanity, young man, make the ultimate sacrifice. The Lord did spare Isaac.—ROBERT LERNER.

Address by Harold E. Gray, President of Pan American World Airways, on the Occasion of the Silver Jubilee of North Atlantic Commercial Aviation, Shannon Free Airport, Ireland, September 5, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have just read with enjoyment an address recently delivered in Shannon, Ireland, by Harold E. Gray, president of Pan American World Airways. It was my pleasure to have visited Ireland early this summer in the company of our distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts, the Honorable EDWARD M. "TED" KENNEDY. We revisited many of the places in the Emerald Isle that our late beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy toured during his sentimental journey to Ireland in the spring of 1963. A good deal of our travel, by a happy coincidence, was accomplished by Pan American World Airways.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gray's remarks on the 25th anniversary of North Atlantic commercial aviation to Shannon Free Airport are both informative and witty. I commend them to my colleagues for perusal, and ask unanimous consent that the text be printed with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REMARKS BY HAROLD E. GRAY, PRESIDENT OF PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS, AT THE SILVER JUBILEE OF NORTH ATLANTIC COMMERCIAL AVIATION, SHANNON FREE AIRPORT, IRELAND

Standing here before you today brings to mind a little known story of our company's first association with Shannon Airport.

It happened in 1936 when Pan Am inaugurated its first service between California and Manila. Juan Trippe and his wife, Betty, were aboard this flight, which then continued to Macao and Hong Kong in anticipation of service to be inaugurated shortly thereafter.

From there they used China National Aviation, a subsidiary of Pan Am, and then Imperial Airways to fly to London.

Here they met up with Col. Charles Lindbergh and his wife, Anne, and accompanied by Woods-Humphrey of Imperial Airways, they flew to Dublin. Here they were joined by General Brennan, John Leydon, and others for a visit to western Ireland to look at potential sites for a transatlantic air base.

As I remember the story, there was a desire to get an airport as close to Newfoundland as possible so as to shorten the transaltlantic haul; but, also, it was recognized that the spot chosen should be as convenient to Dublin as possible. The fortunate and well considered choice was the spot on which we are standing today.

The rest of the story is that Mr. and Mrs. Trippe then boarded the Von Hindenburg in Germany and flew to Rio de Janeiro, then back to Miami on Pan Am, and by domestic carrier to New York, thus becoming, to the best of my knowledge, the first 100 percent by air round-the-world passengers, and the first of many to come through Shannon.

My first trip to your wonderful country came a year later on a survey flight. As we were flying east across the Atlantic, British Imperial Airways, now BOAC, was flying west to the United States under the command of Capt. Arthur S. Wilcockson.

This flight can best be described as routine—the application of navigational and efficient cruising techniques developed since 1935 in the Pacific. But I still remember the thrill of descending through the overcast when our star sights said we should, and suddenly breaking through to see beautifully green Ireland for the first time with the gleaming River Shannon wending its leisurely way below us, exactly where it was supposed to be. And I remember also the thrill of being greeted by your beloved President Eamon de Valera, your most capable Prime Minister Sean Lemass, and many others here today, with the words "Cead mile fáilte." And I will always remember President de Valera carefully teaching me later at lunch how to reply to this greeting with the words "Go raib mile mait agat."

Much has happened since then. I am referring, of course, to the widespread transformations that have been wrought by the solid accomplishments of transatlantic air travel.

Twenty-five years ago my main concern was centered in the technology of flight. As captain of the flying boat, the Yankee Clipper, I was charged with the responsibility of taking off from Port Washington, N.Y., and operating the first commercial airmail flight across the North Atlantic route via various intermediate points to Foynes on the River Shannon. In addition to the mail sacks, we had 20 special guests aboard. On that June day in 1939 my mind centered on the practical aspects of flying that air-

plane. In other words, my preoccupation—and occupation—was almost entirely operational. It is possible that I may have entertained some vague thoughts that a continuing transatlantic airline service would certainly grow and bring a few other changes here and there. But at that time, I did not dwell too long on such nonoperational matters. These are the things that Juan Trippe was thinking about and he was one of the few who foresaw the tremendous expansion to come.

Now, 25 years later, transatlantic air travel has become far more than another medium of transportation. It is an established way of life and has opened up new vistas never fully envisioned a quarter of a century ago. The consequences of international air travel are everywhere. The economies and social structures of countries have been enriched and, most importantly, the cause of international good will and peace has been strengthened.

What are some of the transformations that have occurred in commercial aviation and which, in turn, have caused beneficial ripples to reach ever-broadening dimensions?

Some 25 years ago, the Boeing 314 flying boat—the pride of the airways in its day—cruised at about 150 miles per hour. My flight eastbound from New York to Shannon took 23 hours and 28 minutes. Each of the 30 passengers generally carried on these flights was delighted to pay $337 as the one-way fare in a seating configuration designed solely for first-class service.

Today, a Douglas DC–8 cruises across the North Atlantic at almost 600 miles per hour and makes the same trip in 6 hours—about one-fourth that of the pioneer trailblazer—and it can carry as many as 161 passengers.

The lowest fare today is $191 compared to the $337 of 1939. However, after adjusting for the decline in the purchasing power of the pound, today's low fare is the equivalent of only $87 or 31 pounds, or about one-fourth of the 1939 fare.

By reducing travel time across the Atlantic from 5 days by sea to less than 7 hours by air, travel has been made possible for untold thousands of people. This compression of time from days to hours and the sharp reduction in fares has placed air transportation within the reach of the many and not only the privileged few.

We in Pan American are proud of our contributions in the pioneering and other developmental phases which are so much a part of the creative nature of air transportation.

Mind you, it took considerable imagination more than 25 years ago to start an air transportation service across the Atlantic. Looking back to that period, transatlantic sea travel totaled about 625,000 passengers annually. Of this total, the number of people who could be convinced to travel by air was minimal, and "why bother" was the attitude of many.

But this was a static view. It made no allowance for the needs, desires, and motivations of so many of the peoples of the world, nor of the tremendous advance in technical know-how that was sure to come.

The enthusiastic response to air service across the Atlantic is a familiar one to all of us. The North Atlantic is the blue-ribbon route of international travel—by air and by sea. While the air route was pioneered in 1939—the event we honor today—it was not fully opened up for commercial service until the end of hostilities in 1946. Then for about 5 years air traffic thrived under the momentum of pent up wartime demand and stimulation arising from the needs of European reconstruction.

Much of this momentum had spent itself by 1951. The airlines recognized that perhaps market limits had been reached for those who were willing or in a position to pay first-class fares which were necessary to maintain that type of operation, and great emphasis was placed on improved technology for reducing costs.

The tourist class of service, which had been successful between New York and Puerto Rico, was thus introduced on the Atlantic on May 1, 1952. Aircraft cabins were altered to accommodate more passengers per flight and many frills were eliminated. The initial tourist fare on the Shannon-New York flights was $241 one-way—a 30-percent reduction below the first-class fare.

The response to these lower fare services was most gratifying. Transatlantic air travel more than doubled from about 330,000 passengers in 1951 to 785,000 in 1956, 5 years later. In that year, too, for the first time—the airlines carried more passengers across the Atlantic than steamships, and have been doing it ever since.

As mentioned a moment ago, 625,000 passengers moved annually by sea in the 1938–39 period. Well, in 1963—25 years later—726,157 passengers were tabulated as moving by sea—only a 16-percent increase. And how many moved by air in 1963 across the Atlantic? More than 2,810,000 passengers—or almost a 4 times greater number than by sea. We would not be surprised to see the final 1964 tabulation reach 3,500,000 air passengers on the Atlantic.

Here you see a tangible illustration of the creativeness of international air travel—bringing to life new markets where none existed before. But in human terms, the implications are many and far-reaching.

Tourist and later economy fares have, in effect, opened "highways in the sky." International air travel has enriched the personal horizons and lives of so many people here and in the United States.

In economic terms, too, we can conclude that opening these "aerial highways" to and from Ireland has contributed to the magnificent growth of the Irish economy.

Air travel obviously is the underpinning for tourism. A recent U.S. Department of Commerce study revealed that U.S. residents spent just over $3.2 billion on foreign travel in 1963, an increase of 11 percent over 1962. All but just under $500 million of this total went to foreign countries, either as fare payment to foreign transocean carriers or as payment for travel expenses within foreign countries.

I hope all of you here have participated in this flow of gold. The figures from the same source, as a matter of fact, say that you have. Last year, for example, more than 80,000 U.S. travelers left nearly $16 million in your country. This comes to an average of over 2 pounds for each resident of Ireland. On a per capita basis this is much higher than for most European countries and is more than double the per capita tourist income of about 16 shillings for the citizens of Great Britain. Perhaps this is due to the obvious warmth of welcome and great friendliness that is always so apparent to Americans visiting Ireland.

The impact of tourism on your economy can be demonstrated in still another way.

I understand that the total export trade of Ireland in 1963 aggregated some 196 million pounds. Of this total, 56.8 million pounds, or more than one-third, was contributed by tourism. In 1939, your exports totaled but 26.9 million pounds, exclusive of tourism which was nominal in those days. So you can readily see that tourism bulks very large in your economy, and last year was more than twice that of your total exports in 1939.

It has been estimated that you expect to generate some 88.4 million pounds from tourism in 1970. I know that your economic forecasts have been very reliable and this one should be no exception.

There can be little doubt as to the greater breadth of understanding which exists throughout the world as the result of foreign travel by the citizens of the world. There has been engendered an increasing awareness on the part of Americans of the rest of the world and its problems, and of the peaceful aspirations of people everywhere. And visitors coming to the United States have, in turn, found exposure to our way of life and philosophies most enlightening, thus readily forming the basis for joining in common causes leading to international good will and peace.

When President John F. Kennedy made his heartwarming visit to Ireland last year he was honored by two of your great universities, a circumstance that he said would permit him at a football match to "cheer for Trinity and pray for National."

I want you to know that I am here today to cheer for Ireland and pray for America, to cheer for Irish Airlines and pray for Pan American, and to cheer for men of good will everywhere and pray for peace, for it is to all such men and to such a noble mission that both our nations, our peoples, and our lives and fortunes are dedicated. Thank you.

Fed Denies Tight Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's newspapers reported that the Federal Reserve Board has publicly taken the position that it is maintaining a policy of monetary "ease." Both the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times reported a speech by Mr. C. Canby Balderston, vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, in which he indicates that general inflationary pressures are absent from the domestic scene. It appears from Mr. Balderston's remarks that the Federal Reserve Board concurs with the administration in concluding that business growth will continue on an orderly basis and that there is no evidence of general inflationary movement in the economy.

Mr. Speaker, no one could be more pleased than I to hear this pronouncement from the Fed. On Monday of this week, I found it necessary to call attention publicly to the fact that the free reserves in the Nation's banking system had dropped to a minimal figure. In itself, this reflects a tightness of credit and I felt it my duty to express the hope that the reserve situation, which the Fed had allowed to develop, did not foreshadow a resumption of tight money policy which proved so disastrous in the 1950's. Moreover, interest rates are inching up, which is another sign of tightening money.

Both the Washington Star and the New York Times of September 14, among other newspapers, reported my warnings that the big banks and the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee are always looking for an excuse to tighten money and raise interest rates, and that tighter money at this juncture could cause a manmade recession. The Star article also indicated that some monetary experts believe, from available evidence, that the Federal Reserve may al-

ready have tightened money a little bit during the past few weeks.

Among these somewhat divergent signs, let us hope that Mr. Balderston's assurances about continuation of a policy of "ease" receives attention in the banking community and among his colleagues on the Open Market Committee. As I have said many times, we are at the mercy of a central bank which suffers from a proneness toward tightness in monetary policy. Right now, when we have enjoyed a continuing prosperity for 44 months, it would be a tragic mistake to let tight money and high interest rates choke off expansion of the economy.

Happy Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, for over 50 years the people of Pendleton, Oreg., have annually conducted one of the most colorful, exciting, and authentic Western pageants in the country. In mid-September, thousands of visitors from all over the world will thrill to a reenactment of some of the most dramatic pages from the history of the American West.

Mr. Virgil Rupp, writer for the Pendleton East Oregonian, the principal daily newspaper of the area, has written a brief article for the August issue of Air West. Because this article so accurately captures the full flavor of the spectacular Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon Pageant, I recommend it to all who want a brief glimpse of the Old West.

The article follows:

HAPPY CANYON

(By Virgil Rupp)

The American cowboy isn't dead.

He dresses better, forgoes the comfort of a six-gun and has toned down his vocabulary. But a visit to the Pendleton Round-up will show you the cowboy is bigger and tougher today than he was 50 years ago. He still thrives on dust, danger, and ornery critters.

Back in 1911, the roundup's 2d year, Buffalo Vernon bulldogged steers in an average time of 53.6 seconds. Today the average time is 8 seconds, and in 1961 burly Harry Charters set a record of 5 seconds flat.

Spend an hour around the back door of the bucking chutes and stock pens during roundup this September 16–19. The cowboys speak in gentle tones. But their muscles ripple beneath the tight shirts and levis and no man could wear cowboy boots and walk humbly. When they ride into the big roundup arena that gentle touch disappears and all that shows is courage, skill, and power.

Let 'er buck is the ringing cry that will reign for the 53d year over this eastern Oregon city of 15,000 in September. The population is trebled by roundup fans but there never seems to be a shortage of bunks. Modern hotels and motels both in Pendleton and neighboring cities, and hundreds of private homes, take care of everyone.

Too, part of the reason might be that sleep tends to be ignored in favor of the spirit of Happy Canyon, once the name of a frontier dance hall but now the title of an epic staged nightly during roundup.

Roundup is really never over; the festival simply climaxes a way of life during those 4 days.

The miles-long westward ho parade of ox carts, horsemen, Indians, squaw men, covered wagons, travois—every form of pioneer conveyance—is an important part of roundup. The parade will be staged September 18.

Schools close for miles around. It's an area celebration and the area gets bigger all the time. Businesses relax. The clink of shod hooves, the cries of horsemen, the ring of trumpets and thump of drums are always in the air. Main Street is roped off for dancing and merrymaking and calliope concerts.

The robust flavor of roundup must have been toned down in the 54 years since the first horse tossed the first rider on a sandbar in the Umatilla River. But you won't think so after you've taken part. Roundup was suspended for 2 years during World War II, which accounts for any strangeness you may notice in arithmetic.

Start the day with a cowboy breakfast dished up by the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Stillman Park. Pancakes, eggs, ham and coffee never taste as good as when served with a side dish of frosty fall air.

The roundup stadium, a first-class sports arena with a seating capacity of 14,000, is constructed on the site of that first roundup, along the Umatilla River. It's a civic endeavor, with the Roundup Association, Happy Canyon, the city's schools and government all lending a hand in keeping the stadium clean and growing.

The show hasn't changed a great deal since 1910. Time limits have been put on bronco riding, and women no longer take part in the rougher events. The pace is said to be faster, more professional now. Cowboys from all over North America compete for thousands of dollars in prize money and it takes smooth programing to work in all the competition during roundup's 4 days.

Events include bulldogging, calf roping, bull riding, bucking horses both saddled and bareback, relay races, a wild horse race, Indian dancing and the antics of clowns. The funny men do more than clown—they offer protection to the daredevil riders of the vicious Brahma bulls. When the rider's dumped the clowns keep the bull occupied until the dusty cowpoke limps to safety.

Indians—Umatilla, Cayuse, Walla Walla, and other tribes—have been part of the roundup since its second year. They come to take part in the fun and action from as far as the Blackfoot country of Montana.

One of the highlights of roundup is a visit to the Indian village behind the big arena. Hundreds of teepees, most of them white but some candy-striped and others decorated serve as home to the Indians during roundup. Visitors to the encampment are welcome. The Indians ride in the parades, take part in the arena competition and play major roles each night in Happy Canyon.

It's a copyrighted pageant with a story as flexible as time and as changeless as a river. Written in 1914 by Roy Raley, the pageant traces the history of the West from before the coming of the white man to the days of board-front frontier towns.

Each night during the show a freshly killed buck deer is brought on stage in one scene. An arrow protudes from its chest. No questions are asked. Life was harsh but ordered in the long-ago days, the pageant says. With the white man comes chaos, and change, but, in Happy aCnyon, moments of comedy, too.

Horses gallop across the open stage. Wagons rumble and creak. The reports of six-guns, muzzle loaders, and repeating rifles, and twang of bow strings echo from the roof of the Happy Canyon grandstand and from the spectacular stage scenery.

The show ends with the setting of a riotous frontier main street. Then the audience, thousands strong pour from the grandstand, through doors in the stage setting into a hall where foaming kegs flow and dance music coaxes the most tender feet to stomping.

Roundup will convince you the American cowboy isn't dead. And by jumpin' Jupiter, you'll find new spring in your own step.

Let 'er buck.

A Labor Day Message for 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, Labor Day 1964 has just passed, but the messages told have meaning for every day of the year. Anthony Cama, a teacher, poet, and author who is the director of the Italian School in Lynn, Mass., wrote such a message for the special Labor Day edition of the Lynn Sunday Post. I am pleased, therefore, to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a condensation of this thought-provoking article, as follows:

(By Anthony Cama)

Unionism and the right of the working masses to strike for better wages and better rights of the individual as is granted by the constitutional laws of this land, nurtured and implemented under the magnificent, young leadership of President Kennedy. It is therefore, this writer's solemn dedication to show as clearly as possible how necessary and inseparable is the right of laboring man and woman to join a union. America has come a long way from the Columbian era of a savage unknown continent; a vast wilderness of vegetation and water that made millions of the old world gasp in wonderment and amazement at the fact that it took thousands of years for humanity to find the agelong existing continents of the two Americas.

AMERICA HOPE OF LABOR MASSES

This precious, sacred earth has long since been soaked with the blood, sweat and sufferings of the laboring masses. America, trumpeting its youthful and valiant music of human liberty and labor's dignity for all mankind, because for an inhuman period of time, its very self, a cesspool of slavery and the putrefying receptacle of human degradation. And this un-Christian stigma showed the greed and barbarianism of the southern plantation owners who bought humans on the auction block like animals and worked them and treated most of them worse than animals. We see in all the ugly, murky whirlpools of suffering, deprivation and servitude, the white men of all other races and creeds, exploiting the black working man as an inferior human being. This, we have been in the framework of our land how the holiness of man labor's was desecrated and violated. In our growing surge to attain nationhood and world recognition, the era of that immortalized emancipator Abraham Lincoln became a relentless fire which enveloped the States in a titanic Civil War; brother against brother; State against State; Americans against Americans. The great humanitarian Lincoln struggled and pleaded until the day of his assassination, for peace and for compassion; for unity and for the inalienable rights of every man.

And so, today, on this Labor Day of September 1964, when man races for the in-

finite skyways; when our Government spends billions for the contest of space supremacy, the torrents of labor surge and smash with increasing force against the dams of the enemies of unionism. American organized labor has come a long way and it will continue to march onward and forward, invincible, with justice and right on its side until the toil of the masses achieves its goal of a living wage earned with honor and dignity.

Said Franklin D. Roosevelt, "If I were a worker in a factory, the first thing I would do would be to join a union."

Stated Harry S. Truman: "The right to join a union of one's choice is unquestioned today, and is sanctioned and protected by law."

Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote: "Only a handful of unreconstructed reactionaries harbor the ugly thought of breaking unions and of depriving workingmen or workingwomen of the right to join the union of their choice."

In his brilliant eulogy to labor, the late President Kennedy said, "The American labor movement has consistently demonstrated its devotion to the public interest. It is, and has been, good for all America."

Abraham Lincoln thundered forth: "If a man tells you he loves America, yet hates labor, he is a liar."

At a testimonial dinner in November 1963 honoring A. Philip Randolph, IUE President Carey urged organized labor and the Nation's interracial groups to hold joint meetings. He declared: "The American labor movement is already close to the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, and other interracial organizations."

Carey praised Randolph as a man who "has given a moral climate and ethical tone to our labor movement matched only by a few in American unionism like Philip Murray."

The IUE president credited Randolph with providing the inspiration behind the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. Describing the march, Carey said: "I will always be proud that I was there and that our international union was one of the most prominent participants."

Speaking with quiet dignity and passion, Randolph, who is an AFL–CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said, "To discuss the civil rights revolution is to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the 'haves' from the 'have-nots' in the working class. The labor movement traditionally has been the only help for the dispossessed, the despised, the downtrodden, the neglected and the poor. We must pledge ourselves to the social revolution which will bring all of them into labor's crusading fold—into the pale of dignity and economic well-being."

The AFL–CIO resolution of 1963 called on unions to eliminate "the last vestiges of racial discrimination" and to "cooperate with our neighbors in the general community to assure every American the full rights of citizenship."

LABOR AND UNIONS HOPE OF MASSES

In this presidential election year the AFL–CIO, with its 13.5 million members, stands at the very vanguard of tremendous power to help solve the problems of racial equality through its labor unions. Some local unions in the South have consistently and stubbornly resisted any compromise in the fair employment practices and most especially in the American Negro category. Many southern locals continue denial of rightful membership to Negro workers despite their proclaimed adherence to brotherhood and American philosophies of unionism. These are the very same brother members who salute the Star-Spangled Banner and recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the United States. This behavior and action is, in the opinion of this writer, not only un-Christian and prejudiced but also a stark act of denial against their own fatherland. These are truly the pseudo-Americans. These attitudes are truly the stigma and blotch upon our national and international image. They stand in arrogant confrontation with the civil rights laws especially title VII of the new act which specifically bars a union from excluding individuals on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, just as it enjoins employers from refusing to hire persons for the same reason.

The constant privation of the American Negro's right to vote and to take his rightful place in the ranks of labor and union membership has been like a growing cancer in the bloodstream of this Nation.

Let labor and its unions move forward inexorably, unequivocably this Labor Day of our presidential election cycle. Let labor be an overwhelming tide of Americanism and brotherhood for the thousands of American Negroes who valiantly served in our many wars and revolutions, who have died on foreign shores; who have come home broken in health and spirit from the struggles against the dictators and tyrants of Nazi and Fascist hordes. Let the ranks of labor be one indivisible front of decency and honor for the American Negro who has from his status of slave and second-class citizen, worked, suffered and wept upon this sacred democatic soil. Let labor bring to the millions of American Negroes who have worked at the most menial of tasks fulfilling millions of dirty, harsh, underpaid jobs, to earn, yes, earn, the right to equality in employment opportunities according to their abilities and capacities.

Von Steuben Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, today, by Presidential proclamation; is Von Steuben Day in the United States. Today is the 234th anniversary of the birth of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, a German by birth but an American by choice.

Von Steuben arrived in the United States in 1777 and became a real force in our fight for independence. He was the trusted adviser to Gen. George Washington and was our first inspector general.

It was my pleasure on October 18, 1963, to attend the ceremonies at Newport News, Va., when the Polaris Submarine *Von Steuben* was christened. It will be my pleasure to attend and speak at the ceremonies in Newport News on September 30, 1964, when this vessel will be commissioned. The naming of this submarine, a vital link in the defense of our Nation, for Von Steuben is a fitting tribute to the great contributions he made to our becoming a free and independent country.

On September 26, 1964, along New York City's Fifth Avenue, the Seventh Annual Steuben Day Parade will be held. This is a colorful and impressive parade and I invite my colleagues and their constituents who might be in the New York area on that date to come join us on this occasion.

Many Eligible Voters Not Registered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most precious freedoms that Americans enjoy is that of political freedom. Since the founding of our country many costly sacrifices have been made to preserve the right of American citizens to choose their officials in a free election and by a personal secret ballot. Yet throughout our great land there are today many Americans who fail to take advantage of this franchise.

A recent survey in Frederick County, Md., comparing the number of people of voting age to the number of registered voters, is a disturbing example of the number of citizens who shirk their responsibility to assist in preserving this basic freedom of self-government.

I include here the results of that survey as published in the Frederick News and call it to the attention of my colleagues:

MANY ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN COUNTY ARE NOT REGISTERED, SURVEY SHOWS

James Messersmith, the Republican Registrar in the Board of Election Supervisors, last night released a comparison of the population over 21 years of age as compared to the number of registered voters in every election district in Frederick County.

In Frederick City, there are 16,284 persons presumably eligible to register for the general election with 10,593 of them registered and 5,691 still not registered or able to vote in the election.

Messersmith warned the city and county district chairmen of both political parties that there was little time left to get out the remainder of the vote before registration ends on September 22.

Buckeystown district has 1,650 persons 21 years old or more with only 809 registered and more than half, 841, still unregistered, Messersmith said.

Middletown district has 1,604 persons eligible to vote with a majority, 972, registered but 632 still unregistered. Creagerstown district has 636 popualtion of voting age with 361 registered and almost half, 275, unregistered.

Emmitsburg district has 3,331 persons who could vote with almost an equal number, 1,653 to 1,673, registered and unregistered. Catoctin district has 778 potential voters with less registered, 342, than unregistered, 436.

Urbana district has 1,371 persons over 21 with a slight majority, 730, registered and 641 remaining unregistered. Liberty district has 770 potential voters, with 439 registered and less but a substantial number, 331, unregistered.

New Market district has 2,361 persons over 21 years of age with only a half-and-half registration record of 1,177 registered voters to 1,184 unregistered.

Hauvers district has only 1,237 eligible voters of which 593 are registered while more than that, 644, still remain unregistered. Woodsboro district has 1,315 potential voters over 21 with twice as many, 843, registered as the unregistered 467, who will lose their right to vote this November.

Petersville district has 1,099 possible voters with 727 registered and 372 remaining unregistered.

Mount Pleasant District has an even number of 700 residents over 21 about evenly split with 315 registered voters and more, 385, unregistered and unable to vote.

Jefferson District has 772 potential voters with a slight majority, 447, registered but with 325 still remaining unregistered to vote.

Thurmont District has 2,790 eligible voters with most of them, 1,577, registered but with a large number, 1,233, still unregistered.

Jackson District has only 931 persons over 21, but twice as many of them, 616, are registered to vote as the 315 remaining unregistered.

Johnsville District, with 791 eligible to vote, has less registered voters, 373, than those remaining unregistered, 418.

Woodville District, which has 965 persons over 21, has registered 604 with only half that number, 361, remaining unregistered. Linganore District, with 512 possible voters, has 325 registered and only 187 unregistered.

The Lewistown District, which has 1,043 persons over 21, has 625 registered voters and 418 still unregistered. The Tuscarora District has its 1,344 potential voters split into 826 registered voters and 506 still unregistered.

Burkittsville District remains almost evenly divided with 402 registered voters and 338 unregistered among its 740 total population of voting age. Ballenger District has 532 adult voters with a majority, 348, registered and 184 unregistered.

Braddock District, with 1,302 potential votes to cast in the election, will cast over two-thirds of them with 1,106 registered voters and only 696 unregistered.

Brunswick District, with 2,588 potential voters, has 1,506 registered and 1,082 persons still unable to vote. Walkersville District, with 1,216 potential adult voters, has 875 registered with 341 still unregistered.

Canoga Park, Calif., Citizens To Visit Sister City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 31, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 3, 25 of my west San Fernando Valley constituents from the community of Canoga Park will leave Los Angeles airport on an international good will visit to Taxco, Mexico.

Sixteen months ago the Canoga Park Chamber of Commerce elected to join the people-to-people sister city movement. Canoga Park, with a population the size of Harrisburg, Pa., and the space technology center of the United States was assigned Taxco, Mexico, a city of 20,000 people, located 100 miles west of Mexico City. Taxco is the silver capital of Mexico.

In June 1963, 20 Canoga Park residents traveled to Taxco and inaugurated the program. Gifts, pictures, and scrolls adorn the Canoga Park Chamber of Commerce office and Taxco City Hall. Canoga Park citizens have joined with the chamber of commerce in an organization known as the Friends of Taxco. Spanish classes, exchange of letters, library books, and participation in the Taxco school milk program are regular activities.

Last June Mayor and Mrs. Luis Tellez Bustamante came to Canoga Park as community guests of honor. The main program was a fiesta dinner attended by over 200 residents. At that time I presented a U.S. flag flown over our capitol to Mayor Bustamante. He told those attending that the flag would hold a place of honor in his community. The mayor also announced the naming of a John F. Kennedy Street in Taxco.

Chamber of Commerce President James Ross and his wife, Rosemary, will be joined by Honorary Mayor and Mrs. Francis Lederer, Messrs. and Mmes. Gallup, Benson, Charney, D'Agostino, Feddern, Harte, Lindeberg, Mazure, Patterson, Staley, and John Casey on the trip. The group will travel throughout Mexico visiting points of interest in Mexico City, Queretaro, Guanajuato, and many others. In Taxco they will be feted by the entire citizenry.

Mr. Speaker, such citizen groups are playing a significant role in greater international friendship. I know that the Congress joins me in congratulating Canoga Park and asking them to extend our very good wish to their sister city Taxco, Guerrero, Mexico.

Presidential Disability and Necessary Military Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months, a great deal of attention has been focused upon the problem of Presidential inability or disability. Hearings were held by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee and included testimony presented by former President Eisenhower. Ike pointed out:

A disability could be of different kinds, once caused by physical or mental illness, or another by an absence from the seat of government of such a character that would preclude Presidential decisions and action in time of emergency.

Mr. Speaker, any reasonable person knows that the President's schedule demands that certain responsibilities must be delegated by him to individuals who are qualified to perform during that period of inability.

Under unanimous consent, I include at this point two excellent editorials on this subject:

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star]

L.B.J.: POLITICS AS USUAL

President Johnson flew to Detroit the other day to again hammer away at the gimmick that "only the President" can "make the awesome decision" to release atomic weapons in the event of an attack, even, and that he and he alone must be the one standing with his finger on the button.

We spend millions of dollars a day to provide a system whereby warning of attack can be achieved in split seconds, and have spent billions to develop weapons that can be fired instantly. Millions were spent in research alone to compress our outer defensive capability into the 15 minutes that is all we would have to respond in the event of a missile attack.

Yet the President flew to Detroit to make this speech about his "awesome responsibility" without taking "the button" with him, apparently.

The whole system of national defense, and the billions spent on it, must, according to his stated policy so overemphasized publicly, await on him—and it has to act in less than 15 minutes in a real emergency—and yet he flew to Detroit without the code officer that always accompanies a President in modern times—his key to communicating with our national defense commanders.

Kennedy, like Eisenhower, always had such a communications capability at his side wherever he went, every minute.

Johnson shunted that key officer and his key codebooks off the plane to make room for his speechwriter and his family and his political cronies.

Either this is a shocking irresponsibility in the man who publicly charges himself with an "awesome responsibility," or else the whole issue on which he keyed the operations of a major advertising firm for this campaign on a claim that is malarkey in the first place.

Before election day the question may well be whether President Johnson's blooming ego and careless way is more dangerous than BARRY GOLDWATER'S clumsy tongue.

It isn't healthy to have let the Soviets know that there may be periods of time when they could incinerate us while our own ability to do the same to them was forfeit because of the inaccessibility of the President—and his insistence that nobody can do anything unless he gives the word.

And 15 minutes is, admittedly all they need.

This is an "awesome responsibility" indeed—maybe an impossible one. But some system is absolutely necessary, and carelessness or "politics, first" is a very dangerous answer.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 15, 1964]

MILITARY AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

(By David Lawrence)

The role of Pentagon high officials in the 1964 campaign is causing a good deal of wonderment. Did the administration authorize Adm. Harold Page Smith, Supreme Commander of NATO forces in the Atlantic, to issue a statement commenting on a subject that is a matter of widespread political controversy? If President Johnson did not do it, did someone in the Pentagon violate the longtime rule against participation by military men in politics?

Admiral Smith, according to a copyrighted article in the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star, declared that any decision to use nuclear weapons should remain with the elected civilian head of Government. The admiral was reminded by a member of his staff that the subject "is probably the hottest political issue in the country today."

"That may well be," commented the admiral in reply, "but this is a situation that exists."

Admiral Smith, who is also commander in chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, has currently under his command 17 nuclear-powered submarines, carrying a total of 272 Polaris missiles. This, of course, involves a situation entirely different from the problems faced by the ground armies under the Supreme Commander of the NATO forces in Europe.

Recent newspaper reports inspired by the Pentagon, moreover, have misrepresented the true situation. Thus, it has been reported in some of the newspapers that those tactical nuclear weapons which are advocated for use in Europe to offset a land invasion have five

times the power of the first atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in World War II. Some Pentagon officials, evidently for political purposes, have spoken of an average weapon as having a force equivalent of 100,000 tons of TNT. The use of the word "average" confuses the issue, as it lumps together all the nuclear weapons in Europe—the smallest up to the largest. The latter have the high explosive power.

Actually, what has been recommended for the defense of NATO ground forces is the use of small tactical weapons like the Davy Crockett, which has approximately 40 tons of firepower, as contrasted with the 20,000 tons of the atom bomb which was used over Hiroshima.

The tragedy of the whole debate is that there is really danger of a nuclear war arising, not necessarily from the use of small nuclear weapons such as Senator GOLDWATER advocates, but from the inability of NATO forces in Europe to respond successfully to a Soviet attack. The situation then could become so grave as to bring on the larger nuclear war which presumably neither side wants.

A most significant article appeared in the Washington Star on Sunday, written by Marguerite Higgins, who is familiar with such matters as a result of many years as a diplomatic and military correspondent, including coverage of combat operations in the Second World War and the Korean war. In the article, Miss Higgins wrote:

"Is there a gentleman's agreement between the White House and Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, supreme commander in Europe, that would permit this American general, or his successor, to authorize American troops at the front lines in Europe to retaliate against a local Soviet nuclear surprise attack employing Russian tactical nuclear weapons on the ground?

"Would General Lemnitzer be able to give such authorization without having to take ethe precious—and perhaps fatal—elapsed time of the hour minimum that appears necessary to refer the matter to Washington for instructions?

"The existence of such a gentleman's agreement has been persistently reported in recent weeks by high sources in NATO. And these sources claim to have been told of it, albeit somewhat obliquely, by high Defense Department officials.

"According to one of the highest ranking Europeans in the NATO structure: 'It does not seem realistic that any President of the United States would insist that American front-line troops must submit passively to nuclear Soviet attack on the ground, since these troops would almost certainly be obliterated before there had been time to check back with Washington and obtain the order to defend themselves and fire back.'

"This gentleman's agreement, according to NATO sources, applies only to instances where the Russians first employed tactical nuclear weapons in, for example, an attack on the city of Hamburg."

In a Washington dispatch in the New York Times on Sunday, Jack Raymond wrote:

"There is a widespread assumption in Washington that in certain types of contingencies, the orders to use nuclear weapons have in fact already been issued in advance. Thus, in circumstances that clearly fit an anticipated situation, the battlefield commanders would need no further instruction."

The Pentagon ought to tell the American people the truth, and it should certainly not allow its military officers or its civilian officials to become identified with the political campaign.

No Need for Medicare Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the September 15 issue of the Chicago Sun-Times and which presents cogent and irrefutable reasons why the medical care provisions passed by the Senate should be rejected by the House as unnecessary and, in fact, prohibitive in cost to the workers and their employers:

NO NEED FOR MEDICARE BILL

Earlier this year the House of Representatives approved a straight 5 percent increase in cash social security benefits. The cost was pegged at $1.5 billion to be financed by increasing the tax base from $4,800 to $5,400 and increasing the tax rate by steps from the 1965 rate of 3.8 percent for both employer and employee to 4.8 percent for both in 1971.

The Senate has changed the House bill by advocating a straight $7 a month increase in cash benefits rather than 5 percent and adding a medical care-for-the-aged provision to be financed by social security.

The Senate bill would cost about $3 billion a year and would be financed by raising the tax base to $5,600, jumping the tax rate to 4.2 percent in 1965 and, by steps, up to 5.2 percent for both employer and employee by 1971.

In round figures: The Senate bill would increase the present individual maximum social security of $174 a year to $238 next year. This would more than wipe out the annual income tax reduction for a working man with a wife and two children voted earlier this year.

By 1971, under the Senate version of social security and medical care for the aged, the social security tax would be $291.20, an increase of $117.20 over 1964.

The Senate's bill leaves much to be desired. It is, for all practical purposes, a duplicate of the King-Anderson bill that met previous defeat in the Congress. It contains so many shortcomings that pressures to expand coverage would be inevitable and enormously expensive.

We have noted on this page in the past that no proven need for a mandatory Federal program of hospital care for those over 65 has ever been demonstrated. More than 60 percent of those who are over 65 now have their own private health insurance plans. For those who cannot pay for medical or hospital care the Kerr-Mills program for providing that care is available and is being used at an increasing rate.

In Illinois, for example, in the first 6 months of 1964 the use of Kerr-Mills funds to extend hospital and medical care to those aged who could not provide for themselves was up 36 percent over all of 1962. An average of $343 per person was spent on each of the 487 aged who applied for Kerr-Mills assistance in 1962. An average of $410 per person was spent on each of the 1,348 persons who asked for help from the Kerr-Mills program in the first 6 months of 1964.

The effort being made by the Senate to tack mandatory Federal medical care for the aged to the social security structure should be rejected by the House. The Senate bill provides extremely limited care. There is no demonstrated need for the bill and there is no sense in dumping the Kerr-Mills program, which is working well, for a lesser, more expensive scheme.

Politics and People or Welcome Senator Strom Thurmond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED FOREMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, last evening, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, Mr. STROM THURMOND, announced his decision to change his political party affiliation from Democrat to Republican. I have always believed that adherence to principle and basic American philosophy is more important than partisan loyalty, but I also recognize the need to work within the framework of one of the two major political parties.

Most folks, I believe, are not so much partisan Democrats or Republicans, as they are concerned, responsible, independent-thinking American citizens who are deeply concerned about their country and their children's future. But, today, we find the Republican Party is growing by leaps and bounds across the country, not so much because folks are leaving the Democrat Party, but because the Democrat Party has deserted them and the sound, responsible principles for which it once stood. The power-seeking, big Government, welfare staters have shocked the American people into an abrupt political awakening, and they are turning to, and working for, the Republican Party in an almost desperate effort to try to preserve their freedom, free enterprise, and individual dignity and responsibility.

If Americans do not arise to this challenge confronting us, our Nation can go down. But if we ever do, it will not be because the world developed the hydrogen bomb, it would be because we have developed a philosophy that says the individual is no longer economically responsible for his own welfare, or morally responsible for his own conduct.

We need more men in America, and in Government today, Republicans and Democrats, alike, who have the courage of their convictions. We need men who are willing, able, and unashamed, to stand up for principles, regardless of political popularity. We need stout-hearted men who are not for sale, honest men who can tell the truth and look the world straight in the eye, men who are

not too lazy to work, not too proud to be poor, men who are willing to earn their living, and wear what they have paid for.

America, and the world, needs more men and women, of every race, color, religion, and creed, who will say "No" to socialism and Communist aggression, and who will say "Yes" to individual initiative, fiscal responsibility, and freedom. We need more men like BARRY GOLDWATER, BILL MILLER, and STROM THURMOND.

I want to see the Republican team win this year, not so much because I want a partisan victory, but because I want an American victory for a change. I want to restore to America pride at home and respect abroad. I want to preserve a Nation that is proud and positive, not apologetic and appeasing.

We welcome Senator STROM THURMOND as a member of the Republican team. We respect him for his uncompromising principles, for his political honesty, and for his personal courage and integrity. Senator THURMOND's forthright statement in announcing this decision is worthy of review by the Members of Congress, and under unanimous consent I include his statement at this point in the RECORD.

TELEVISION ADDRESS OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA ON THE 1964 PRESIDENTIAL RACE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1964

My fellow South Carolinians, it has been wisely said that "for evil to triumph, it is only necessary that good men do nothing." Particularly is this true in time of crisis. Seldom before in the history of our Nation have we faced so great a crisis.

The people of South Carolina have placed me in a position of trust in the National Government. From this position, I have observed at close hand the conduct and factors which have brought about this crisis. I would, therefore, be most derelict in my duty were I at this time to remain silent.

I have no choice but to speak openly, frankly, and fully to the people of South Carolina on the crisis that confronts us.

The Democratic Party has abandoned the people. It has turned its back on the spiritual values and political principles which have brought us the blessings of freedom under God and a bountiful prosperity. It has breached the trust reposed in it by the people. It has repudiated the Constitution of the United States. It is leading the evolution of our Nation to a socialistic dictatorship.

The Democratic Party has forsaken the people to become the party of minority groups, power-hungry union leaders, political bosses, and big businessmen looking for Government contracts and favors.

The Democratic Party has used the Government as a propaganda machine to distort the truth and deceive the public to the extent that a sub-Cabinet official can publicly defend the administration's "right to lie" and remain in office, unrebuked.

The Democratic Party has invaded the private lives of people by using the powers of Government for coercion and intimidation of individuals.

The Democratic Party has rammed through Congress unconstitutional, impractical, unworkable, and oppressive legislation which invades inalienable personal and property rights of the individual.

The Democratic Party has encouraged lawlessness, civil unrest, and mob actions.

The Democratic Party has violated its trust by using the power of government to suppress information on scandals and corruption of its leaders in government and party offices.

The Democratic Party has succored and assisted our Communist enemies through trade and aid at the expense of the American people.

The Democratic Party has established and pursued for our Government a no-win foreign policy of weakness, indecision, accommodation, and appeasement.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of government, faltered at the Bay of Pigs and in the Cuban crisis of 1962—at the very moment when victory was at hand—and thereby forfeited Cuba to Soviet domination, subjected our Nation to the peril of an armed enemy camp 90 miles from our shores, and opened the doors of the hemisphere to Communist subversion.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of government, has sent our youth into combat in Vietnam, refusing to call it war, and demanding of our youth the risk of their lives without providing either adequate equipment or a goal of victory.

The Democratic Party now worships at the throne of power and materialism.

The Democratic Party has demonstrated a callous disregard for sound fiscal policies and practices.

The Democratic Party, while hiding behind the deceitful gimmick of a darkened White House, has increased deficit spending and squandered, at home and abroad, billions of hard-earned dollars taken from the American people.

The Democratic Party has utterly disregarded the disastrous effects of the resulting inflation on people with fixed incomes, such as retirees, pensioners, social security beneficiaries, and those who have their savings invested in insurance.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of government, has adopted the practice of taking your money by taxation and then using that money to attempt to buy your votes.

The Democratic Party is attempting with alarming success to change the Congress from an independent body representing the people to an amen chorus for Presidential proposals.

The Democratic Party has endangered the security of the Nation by negative decisions on military preparedness, preoccupation with bilateral and unilateral steps toward disarmament, and by use of the military services domestically as instruments of social reform.

The Democratic Party has attempted to degrade and downgrade our men in uniform in order to discredit their warnings of the grave dangers to our security from the administration's weak and senseless defense policies.

The Democratic Party has nominated for Vice President a key leader of the Americans for Democratic Action, the most influential Socialist group in our Nation.

The Democratic Party has encouraged, supported, and protected the Supreme Court in a reign of judicial tyranny, and in the Court's effort to wipe out local self-government, effective law enforcement, internal security, the rights of the people and the States, and even the structure of the State governments.

The Democratic Party is converting our Constitutional Federated Republic into the same type of disciplined and submissive servant of an elite power group as it has made of the Democratic Party itself, as all who watched the Democratic Convention on television can bear witness.

The top leaders of the South Carolina Democratic Party have chosen to abandon the traditional independence of the State party, and to lead the people of South Carolina down the road to serfdom mapped by the National Democratic Party. The party of our fathers is dead. Those who took its name are engaged in another reconstruction, this time not only of the South, but of the entire Nation.

If the American people permit the Democratic Party to return to power, freedom as we have known it in this country, is doomed, and individuals will be destined to lives of regulation, control, coercion, intimidation, and subservience to a power elite who shall rule from Washington.

Fortunately, for those of us who cherish the traditional freedom entrusted to us by our forefathers, there is another choice this year. Although the party of our fathers is dead, the principles of our forefathers live now in the cause of a presidential nominee. The man who has gained the Republican nomination for President against all the odds and opinion polls, and who now has control of the Republican Party, is one who believes in and abides by our Constitution. He has demonstrated his fidelity to freedom, independence, and the Constitution by his actions and his votes in the U.S. Senate. I personally know him to be able and responsible. He is an honest man of courage and conviction, who trusts the American people to hold the reins of government and rule themselves.

I cannot foretell what success will reward Senator BARRY GOLDWATER's efforts to return the National Government to its constitutional role and our Nation to its rightful place of strength and respect in the world. Nor can I predict with certainty how long those ideas and ideals of Senator GOLDWATER which I share will prevail in the councils of the Republican Party which he now heads. I do know that we have a fighting chance under BARRY GOLDWATER's leadership and that we are welcomed to his banner.

I know also that the course for the Democratic Party has been set toward socialism and arbitrary rule. I know further that the Democratic Party's line of succession is HUBERT HUMPHREY and Robert Kennedy, with Walter Reuther and Joseph Rauh pulling strings behind the scenes.

I have worked within the framework of the Democratic Party, because experience proves it necessary to work within the framework of one of the two national parties to be effective. I have, nevertheless, maintained independence of judgment on issues and have conscientiously tried to represent the people of South Carolina, seeking to protect their rights and freedom. I shall always maintain my independent judgment and action and put the people of South Carolina first. To do this in the future I must work within the framework of the Goldwater Republican Party.

For me, there is no alternative. The future of freedom and constitutional government is at stake, and this requires that I do everything in my power to help BARRY GOLDWATER return our Nation to constitutional government through his election to the Presidency. This also requires that I join him in his fight, successful as of now, to make the Republican Party a party which supports freedom, justice, and constitutional government.

It will be a long and hard struggle, with many battles to be fought. At this time, one objective takes precedence over all others—electing BARRY GOLDWATER President. As we give the Presidential race our undivided effort, I hope all our people, and particularly our young people whose future hangs in the balance, will join this cause with enthusiasm.

To my friends who have conscientiously advised me against this step, because of a sincere belief that I could best serve the country by following a course designed to keep myself in office, I can only say that I fully realize the political risk involved in this step and that my chances for reelection might, because of this step, go down into oblivion. But in the final analysis, I can only follow the course which, in my heart

and conscience, I believe to be in the best interest of our State, our country, and the freedom of our people.

I have chosen this course because I cannot consider any risks in a cause which I am convinced is right.

Speaks Only to the Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, one of the leading museums in the world, has received the highest compliment, Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., has agreed to be its new president.

No person in the country would have been a finer choice. Arthur Houghton is a doer. He is practical and sensible man and he believes in accomplishment. But most importantly, his doing of things is always measured and tempered by sensitivity—a sense of history, tradition and taste—and an ever-present willingness to listen to others. He is a man who gets to the point and never moves without having all the facts at his command.

On Wednesday, September 16, the New York Times published the announcement of Mr. Houghton's appointment, on its front page, and completed this with a profile which I am pleased to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the edification of my colleagues:

ARTHUR AMORY HOUGHTON, JR.: SPEAKS ONLY TO THE POINT

Arthur Amory Houghton, Jr., is one of the most impressive joiners in town. The town president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a vice chairman of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and of the fund for the advancement of education. He is a vice president of the Corning Museum of Glass and the Pierpont Morgan Library. He is board chairman of Cooper Union, and his trusteeships compare with those of the United Nations. He is a trustee of the Metropolitan, the New York Public Library, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Institute of International Education. He is also a director of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York, whose board he once headed.

Mr. Houghton does not join for sociability, status, or solvency—after all, he is president of Steuben Glass, Inc., a director of its parent company, the Corning Glass Works, and also a director of the New York Life Insurance Co., the United States Steel Corp., and Diebold, Inc.

He joins because he believes things should be done and because he is interested. He is quiet at meetings, his colleagues say, but when everybody has said his say, he speaks up softly and cogently, with thoughts on the subject that often form the basis of action.

"He doesn't speak much except to the point," a friend said.

"He is more at ease with personal friends than when he is in public," said another associate. "The unusual thing is that when he has an idea, he will carry it through, sketching it out on paper and saying specifically how it can be done."

There is general agreement that he is hard driving once he is convinced of where to drive.

In the light of all this, it is unproductive to ask about his hobbies. He travels a lot, although lately he has rarely been away for more than 2 weeks at a time from his headquarters in the Corning offices at 717 Fifth Avenue, one of the early glass-packaged buildings here. When he and Mrs. Houghton travel, they go to places that have not yet been overrun by tourists, such as Greenland and the remoter parts of the Middle East or Africa.

OF THE CORNING HOUGHTONS

The glass company executive was born on December 12, 1906, at Corning, N.Y., home of the Corning organization owned by the Houghton family. While an undergraduate at Harvard—class of 1929—he conceived a passion for literature and rare books. He entered the family business when he finished college and started collecting.

Mr. Houghton's business and collection grew. He stocked original manuscripts and letters of Samuel Pepys, Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, James Boswell and Samuel Johnson, and he had one of the largest collections anywhere of the works of John Keats, Edmund Spenser and Lewis Carroll. Today, he still has the manuscript of John Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding" and a selection of Elizabethan sonnets in the original editions.

In 1933, he welded an interest in the arts to an interest in his business and became president of Corning's Steuben division. One Sunday, he and John M. Gates, an architect and the company's vice president, smashed some 20,000 bits of glassware with a value on the books of $1 million in the company's warehouses. Then they started from the bottom to build a quality-glass business that would incorporate imaginative design in technically superb crystal.

The smashing of the old inventory was productive. The new designs were exhibited, hailed, and sold. They depressed the market in garishly colored glassware as cheaper lines tried to fill the demand for good-looking clear glass.

By 1940, business was fine, and Mr. Houghton submitted to the blandishments of Archibald MacLeish, then Librarian of Congress. He went to Washington and became curator of rare boks, a job he thoroughly enjoyed for 2 years until the United States entered World War II. Mr. Houghton left the Library, although he still holds the titles of honorary curator and honorary consultant in English bibliography there, and joined the Air Force as a captain. By the time the last shot was fired, he was a lieutenant colonel.

Returning to civilian life, Mr. Houghton plunged into the many affairs that have claimed his time ever since.

He advanced on business fronts, cultural fronts and educational fronts. He has gathered honorary degrees from 11 colleges. He was in politics—in 1960 he was chairman of the United Republican Finance Committee. He devised a plan for corporation presidents and board chairmen to put into party coffers fees received for attending board meetings, anywhere from $50 to $500 for a meeting.

The Plain Dealer Endorses Johnson and Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 16, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, throughout the country today the candidacies of President Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States and Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY for Vice President of the United States are receiving enthusiastic support.

On last Sunday, September 13, 1964, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in a front-page editorial, announced the endorsement of these candidates. The Cleveland Plain Dealer is an independent Democratic newspaper under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Vail, editor and publisher.

This forthright position by the Cleveland Plain Dealer is indicative of the great national esteem of the Johnson administration.

The editorial is as follows:

THE PLAIN DEALER ENDORSES JOHNSON AND HUMPHREY

The Plain Dealer supports the election of President Lyndon B. Johnson for President of the United States and Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY for Vice President.

Our support of the Democratic candidates is based on one consideration alone, namely, what two men are best qualified to carry the awesome burdens of the greatest power on earth?

In keeping with the vigorously independent politics of this newspaper we have given no consideration to party affiliations.

Our decision is reached after the most thorough investigation, observation, and comparison with the Republican ticket represented by Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER for President and Congressman WILLIAM E. MILLER for Vice President.

Our publisher and editor, members of our Washington bureau, and many other experienced staff members of this newspaper have talked to and observed the candidates under various conditions.

All have given serious consideration to everything the candidates for President and Vice President have said and written.

In our view President Johnson has demonstrated since the tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963, that he understands the Presidency and that he can cope with its responsibilities.

In less than 11 months the President has established himself as a leader in his own right.

He has proved to be amazingly effective in dealing with the Congress.

We feel this is an important relationship for a strong Chief Executive.

President Johnson's generally moderate stand on economic issues has reflected, in our opinion, the mood of the country and represents a responsible attitude during a period of unprecedented prosperity.

In foreign affairs where the slightest misstep can now mean the destruction of mankind, President Johnson has shown profound respect for the high stakes involved.

In a long political career Lyndon B. Johnson has been an effective prominent figure in the legislative branch of the Government, most recently as Senate majority leader.

The President's selection for Vice President of Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, a nationally known personality and respected legislator himself, we feel adds strength and energy to the team.

In recent years Senator HUMPHREY has shown a capacity to grow and mature, indicating that greater responsibility outlined by President Johnson for the vice-presidency should further add to the growth of HUMPHREY'S capabilities if the Johnson-Humphrey ticket is elected November 3.

While every democracy thrives on a vigorous and competent opposition, we do not feel Senator GOLDWATER and Congressman MILLER are up to the highest standards of Republi-

can presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Senator GOLDWATER's record as a Senator does not impress us.

His statements during this campaign have been confusing and, more importantly, indicate lack of a thorough knowledge about the Government of the United States and the great issues of the day.

While most of Senator GOLDWATER's fellow Republican legislators worked for civil rights legislation and many other controversial but constructive measures, Senator GOLDWATER failed not only to go along with his fellow Republican legislative leaders, but also failed to offer constructive alternatives.

We do not think GOP vice-presidential candidate, Congressman MILLER, has established a record in the Government or a stature with the public high enough to recommend him for the great and increasing responsibilities of the vice presidency.

In keeping with the best traditions of American journalism we do not intend by our endorsement to support everything President Johnson and Senator HUMPHREY may do or say during the current campaign.

Nor will we discount completely everything Senator GOLDWATER and Congressman MILLER may do or say.

We will continue to give fair and complete news coverage to both tickets, regardless of our editorial opinion.

Based on what we think is best for the people of this country we believe the Government of the United States should be run by the two nominees most competent to do the job.

For this reason the Plain Dealer endorses Lyndon B. Johnson for President and HUBERT H. HUMPHREY for Vice President.

The Farm Planks—Take Your Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of misinformation is being spread throughout the Nation on the contents of the farm planks of the two parties. Many statements which have been made are nothing more than a blatant attempt to mislead the American farmer as to the Republican position. I have more faith in these great individualists and know that they will not succumb to a campaign based on innuendo. It is with this thought in mind that I commend the following editorial from the Stockman's Journal, of Omaha, Nebr., of September 11, to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

THE FARM PLANKS—TAKE YOUR CHOICE

Right after the Democratic convention, President Johnson and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, newly nominated candidates for President and Vice President on the Democratic ticket in November, hastened to the LBJ Ranch at Johnson City, Tex., for a little rest and a lot of talk and campaign strategy planning. As is his custom with visitors at the ranch, the President was showing Mr. HUMPHREY the layout and the cattle.

As usual, also, a corps of newsmen and cameramen was on hand, and at one point in the weekend proceedings, the President and the Senator chased some cows within range of the cameras for an "atmosphere shot."

Suddenly Mr. HUMPHREY was noted to be wiping his soiled shoe on the grass and was heard to exclaim, "Mr. President, I just stepped on the Republican platform." The President, reporters said, "roared with laughter."

With political platforms thus neatly categorized by Mr. HUMPHREY, we are tempted to forego further mention of them. But since we did discuss the GOP platform's farm plank in this column, obviously we can do no less for the Democrats.

Briefly, the Democratic platform writers agreed that the party must "continue to recognize the significant role of agriculture and rural life." They pledged that a "three-dimensional program" would be carried on "to achieve the goals of higher incomes to the farm and ranch, particularly the family-sized farm, lower prices for the consumer, and lower costs to the government."

The "three-dimension" program was described as follows:

(1) Commodity programs to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity of income in every aspect of American agriculture. We will continue to explore and develop new domestic and foreign markets for the products of our farms and ranches.

(2) Consumer programs, including expansion of the Food Stamp Program and the school lunch and other surplus food programs, and acceleration of research into new industrial uses of farm products, to assure maximum use of an abundance of wholesome foods at fair prices, here and abroad. We will also study new low-cost methods and techniques of food distribution for the benefit of our housewives to better feed their families.

(3) Community programs and agricultural cooperatives to assure rural America decent housing, economic security, and full partnership in the building of the great society. We pledge our continued support of the rural telephone program and the Rural Electrification Administration, one of the great contributions of the Democratic Party to the well-being and comfort of rural America.

In a companion plank, the party also pledged its continued efforts to conserve the Nation's natural resources—developing river basins, flood control, fish and wildlife enhancement and recreation, continue efforts to develop greater water supplies, continue TVA, etc.

This, then, is a general statement of official Democratic Party thinking with regard to farm matters. And despite Mr. HUMPHREY's joking reference and the general tendency of most folks to belittle political platforms, it is possible to size up the farm goals of both parties by studying the broad outlines of the farm planks.

In general, the Democrats under President Johnson would stick with the farm program now in effect. Federal price supports and controls are the backbone of it, with domestic and export disposal stepped up to equate supply and demand as well as possible.

The GOP, under GOLDWATER, offers an alternative choice for those who favor voluntary commodity programs and price supports held to minimum or disaster-avoidance levels. Mr. GOLDWATER favors letting natural market forces exert major influence, with the free play of open, competive marketing ruling prices and providing farmers the basis on which to make their plans, rather than move according to dictates from Washington. The GOP farm plank, it will be recalled, pledged "to provide our farmers who have contributed so much to the strength of our Nation, with the maximum opportunity to exercise their own management decisions of their own farms, while resisting all efforts to impose upon them further Federal controls." We believe Mr. GOLDWATER would do his utmost to achieve that.

Now comes the campaign. The lines are drawn and the opposing candidates will swing into action in an attempt to translate their stated views and policies into votes. We are sure farmers will want to watch the campaign closely. Truths which so far have been obscured may come out to add new basis for voting decisions. Already it is obvious that the farm voter will have a real choice in ths election, and he will want to be as well informed as possible in making that choice.

Humphrey Terms Johnson a Giant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent speech was given by Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY in my district on September 5. He spoke in Minneapolis where he had served as mayor and told the people of America that President Johnson is "intellectually and emotionally" equipped to lead America and the free world.

The New York Times, September 6 issue, gives a very good account of that speech.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 6, 1964]

HUMPHREY TERMS JOHNSON A GIANT—SEES LEADERSHIP AS MAJOR ISSUE—SAYS GOLDWATER LACKS RESPONSIBILITY

(By Earl Mazo)

MINNEAPOLIS, September 5.—Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY formally opened the Democratic national campaign today by declaring that there was "one major issue."

This, he said, is that President Johnson is "intellectually and emotionally" equipped to lead America and the free world and Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is not.

The Democratic candidate for Vice President singled out the key word in the campaign as "responsibility."

He depicted Mr. Johnson, his running mate, as "a giant of a man," who epitomizes "responsibility" in public office, and charged that Mr. GOLDWATER's "behavior" as Republican candidate for President was "the very repudiation of responsibility."

RALLY ON CAMPUS

At an enthusiastic rally on the University of Minnesota campus, where he studied and later taught political science, the Senator contrasted the presidential candidates in this way:

Mr. Johnson is "the man for America" by reason of his proven "strength, courage, responsibility, leadership, compassion and vision."

Mr. GOLDWATER "specializes in driving away those with whom he disagrees, scorns the path of moderation and accommodation, and sows the seeds of disunity and discord even within his own party," he said.

His campus address was the climax of a day of both partisan and nonpartisan welcome-home activities for the bouncy 53-year-old vice-presidential candidate.

WAS MAYOR AT 34

He started his political career as mayor of Minneapolis when he was 34, then moved on to the Senate 3 years later—in 1948.

The fact that Mr. Johnson assigned the kickoff address of the Democratic campaign to his running mate indicates that Mr. HUMPHREY will carry a major share of the party's electioneering load for the next 8 weeks.

The President, according to party tradition, will begin his formal campaign with a Labor Day address in Detroit.

Democratic officials who thronged to the HUMPHREY homecoming ebulliently forecast thta the Johnson-Humphrey ticket would sweep Minnesota and, in fact, most Midwestern States—by big majorities.

Minnesota's Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY, who is seeking reelection, noted that Mr. HUMPHREY had been reelected as Senator in 1960 with 60 percent of the popular vote and he predicted that Mr. HUMPHREY should help Mr. Johnson win the State's 10 electoral votes by an equally impressive margin.

Mr. HUMPHREY clearly shared the optimism of his fellow Democrats and flatly predicted an "overwhelming vote of confidence" for President Johnson on election day.

But the vice-presidential candidate cautioned against overconfidence with the statement:

"We face a difficult and challenging campaign in the weeks ahead. We must take nothing for granted. We must wage the most intensive campaign in American history."

Among other things, Mr. HUMPHREY's talks today indicated the Democratic campaigners for the next 2 months will be seeking to put trigger-happy, extremism and irresponsibility brands on Mr. GOLDWATER, while depicting Mr. Johnson as a "can do" statesman whose leadership in the White House is above political partisanship.

Mr. HUMPHREY also pressed two campaign themes he introduced in accepting the vice-presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention on August 27.

One was the contention that Mr. Johnson was truly the champion of moderate and liberal Republicans as well as all Democrats and independents, while Mr. GOLDWATER "temporarily" represented only a right-wing "Goldwaterite" faction of the Republican Party.

BUT NOT GOLDWATER

The other was a chant in which speaker and audience joined after each of a long list of issues on which Democrats and "most Republicans" agree—"but not GOLDWATER."

While politics was the keynote of the homecoming, there also was sentimental pride evidenced here by the crowds welcoming Mr. HUMPHREY as the first Minnesotan ever to be on a major party's national ticket.

The ceremonies began with a civic reception at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport, where the candidate's chartered plane from Washington landed at 2 p.m.

After that came other receptions, press conferences, handshaking jaunts, and the rally tonight at the University's huge Northrup Auditorium.

Tomorrow, Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey and their four children will visit neighbors and supporters in Waverly, 38 miles west of Minneapolis, where the Humphrey family has its home.

Westinghouse Tests Driverless "Skybus"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the August 27 issue of the Wall Street Journal contained an article about exciting tests that are being conducted by Westinghouse Air Brake Co. in the mass transit field. It may well be that out of these tests will come the vehicle that will be of great help to all cities in solving our transportation problems. I recommend this article to the Members of the House:

TRANSIT AGENCIES TEST NEW DEVICES TO MAKE RIDES PLEASANT, FASTER—DRIVERLESS "SKYBUS," "MINIBUS" FOR SHOPPERS, TWO-SPEED CONVEYOR BELT STIR INTEREST—FEDERAL AID A BIG STIMULUS

(By Albert R. Karr)

In a park outside Pittsburgh, Allegheny County authorities are building an elevated track to test an electrically operated "Skybus" that is supposed to whisk commuters along at low cost—and without a driver. In the city, Westinghouse Air Brake Co. is testing components for a "rail-bus" that would carry suburban commuters into the city on a track, then roll off onto the streets like any other bus to traverse the downtown area.

Whether these unusual "buses" really will do what is claimed for them may take years to determiine. But they nevertheless typify a new spirit stirring in the transit field. After many years during which rapid transit changed little—except for getting more crowded and more costly—local authorities and transportation equipment makers are getting together to test a host of new vehicles and devices designed to make the commuter's ride swift and pleasant, and to lure him off traffic-choked highways.

Federal money has galvanized much of this activity. A 1961 law extended Federal help to "demonstration" projects testing new transit equipment; the United States thus is paying $2,872,000 of the skybus project's $5 million cost. And under a 3-year, $375 million program just enacted by Congress, Uncle Sam will pay up to two-thirds of the cost of new transit equipment and facilities. To get this aid, localities must come up with comprehensive transit improvement programs; development of new equipment is being written into many.

EQUIPMENTMAKER'S ROLE

Equipmentmakers, scenting a giant new market, are spending their own money to give the tests a further push. Westinghouse Air Brake (Wabco) has "spent $2 million in the past 24 months on research and development in urban transit, and we will be spending more," pledges Gene R. Schaefer, director of its mass transit center. The center coordinates the company's sales of transit equipment.

"I think there'll be more improvement of transit hardware in the next 3 years than has been made in the last 40 years," sums up Donald Hyde, general manager of the Cleveland Transit System. And Mr. Schaefer figures transit operators may spend $10 billion to improve urban transit in the next 15 years against the $500 million he calculates they actually spent in the past 20 years.

Not all the new transit-improving ideas now flooding into Federal offices are likely to work out. Indeed, some seem imaginative to the point of fantasy. After the new aid program cleared Congress "everybody came out of the woodwork" with "dozens of proposals for new kinds of things," comments William Hurd, an official of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which administers the program.

A FOLDING TRAIN?

Among these offbeat proposals, one individual suggested a "nonstop endless folding train" that somehow would fold up like an accordion as it passed slowly through a station, with passengers boarding from a moving belt, then open up and speed off. A consulting group suggested that, rather than leaving cars at home or driving into town, suburban commuters should drive their autos onto rail flatcars, which would haul them en masse into the city.

But such other plans as the Skybus appear highly promising to transit operators. Westinghouse Electric Corp. developed it for cities like Pittsburgh and Atlanta, which don't need and can't afford the big rail systems of Chicago or New York.

The Skybus is a boxy-looking car with an aluminum and glass exterior. It runs on rubber tires along grooves in an elevated concrete track, and seats 28, against about 80 for a typical rail car. Westinghouse and a dozen-odd equipment suppliers are paying $1,042,000 for its tests, with the rest of the non-Federal test money coming from the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce and the Allegheny County Port Authority.

COST-CUTTING PROSPECTS

The small driverless cars require less power to run than conventional rail cars, and can be pulled off the system more easily in off-peak hours, Westinghouse says. Also, since the Skybus weighs only 17,000 pounds, against up to 80,000 pounds for conventional rail cars, its backers say it can run on a lighter structure. Port Authority officials, who are building a 1¾-mile test loop for it, estimate the capital cost at $1.5 million a mile, against $6 million or more to build an old-style elevated railway system. Trial Skybus runs will begin early next year; when they're finished the test loop will be used for an amusement ride.

Westinghouse Electric says transit officials in Baltimore, Chicago, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and some New York City suburbs also are interested in the Skybus. And in addition to its Pittsburgh tests, the Skybus is one of three systems being considered for use in a new terminal complex at the Tampa, Fla., International Airport. Wabco, with a system similar to the Skybus, and Stephens-Adamson Manufacturing Co., Aurora, Ill., with a two-speed conveyor belt device, also are competing for that job.

Another test series for a whole range of new transit equipment will start next March near San Francisco. The Bay Area Rapid Transit District, preliminary to building a high-speed 75-mile transit system for the area, will operate a 4.4-mile test track for 1 to 2 years, trying out everything from new track to automatic train control systems. The Federal Government will furnish about $6 million, the District and suppliers $3 million.

"We hope to advance by light years the whole state of rapid transit technology," says B. R. Stokes, general manager for the district. A national technical advisory committee for the project, made up of representatives of major transit agencies around the Nation, will be fed information on how the new equipment is working out.

In the tests, three driverless rail cars will be run sucessively by separate automatic control systems furnished by Wabco, Westinghouse Electric, General Electric Co., and General Railway Signal Co., a subsidiary of General Signal Corp., Rochester, N.Y. New propulsion systems specially made for automatically controlled runs and more powerful than those used today, also will be tested.

One propulsion system, furnished by Louis Allis Co., Milwaukee, will use alternating current (a.c.) instead of the direct current (d.c.) generally used now in transit operations. In the past, a.c. technology wasn't advanced sufficiently for use on a transit line. But transit officials say its use would lower sharply the capital and operating costs of transit propulsion systems, because expensive equipment now used to convert commercial a.c. power to d.c. wouldn't be needed, and the braking action of transit cars actually could generate electricity for the operation.

COMMUTER REACTION TEST

The District further will test lighter, smoother suspension systems to be supplied by General Steel Industries, Inc., of Granite City, Ill.; Budd Co. of Philadelphia; and

Wabco. It also will solicit the reaction of bay area residents to a new car body designed by Sundberg-Ferer, Inc., a Detroit industrial design firm, and built by the St. Louis Car Division of General Steel Industries. District officials next spring will load onto a flatbed truck a half-length, but otherwise full-sized, model of the car, haul it around the area, invite passersby to climb in, and note their thoughts on how the car looks and how comfortable it is to sit in.

Another test going beyond the technical details of transit equipment has been underway since April in Chicago. The Chicago Transit Authority then began a 2-year experimental shuttle run from the northern suburb of Skokie to its Howard Street station in the city. It is trying out new equipment, including car-suspension systems and higher powered motors, and also checking whether patronage on the run is heavy enough to justify unusually fast and frequent service.

Patronage so far has been so heavy that the CTA, which began by shuttling three cars along the 5-mile line every 10 minutes during peak hours, has stepped up rush-hour service to six cars running 4 minutes apart. It's been pleased with the equipment, too, and is buying 180 new rail cars from the Pullman-Standard Division of Pullman, Inc., to incorporate the best features of the equipment tested on the run.

More specialized devices are coming, too. In Washington, the D.C. Transit System, Inc., since last October has been running along F Street new, small buses designed especially for shoppers. This minibus, built by Passenger Truck Equipment Co., Huntington Park, Calif., has wide doors, a low floor and steps, and lots of window area for summer ventilation; it seats 18.

Syracuse, N.Y., also is considering a Minibus tryout, and Rome, N.Y., may use the small bus for general service. Passenger Truck says that Minibus also is being used for transportation in some California senior citizen communities, by some hotel and airport bus services, and for movie studio tours.

Things also are stirring in the conveyor belt segment of the transit equipment industry. Several new systems are being developed, primarily for use at airports and in downtown business districts, and they generally go beyond the simple moving sidewalk concept.

TWO BELTS, TWO SPEEDS

The system Stephens-Adamson is building for the Tampa Airport tests, with equipment supplied by Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., is an example. It will have passengers walk onto a moving platform going at 1.5 miles an hour, then step into cars on a second belt moving at the same speed; when they're all aboard, the second belt speeds up to 15 to 18 miles an hour. The idea, of course, is that any passenger attempting to step from a stationary platform onto a belt moving at that speed would probably break his neck.

Ambitious new transit equipment plans haven't always worked out, of course. The monorail was once highly ballyhooed, but San Francisco and Los Angeles have both turned down monorail proposals for serving their metropolitan areas (though the Los Angeles Department of Airports is still considering a monorail for a 20-mile run from downtown to the airport). Transit officials cite such monorail drawbacks as objections to the look of its supporting structure, switching problems, difficulty in adapting to subway use, and what they regard as high construction and operating costs.

Some transit officials concede too that union fears of the elimination of jobs might pose some problems in connection with the automatic-control devices now being considered, even if they test out successfully. There's a precedent in New York City, where the New York Transit Authority some time ago installed an automated subway train on the Grand Central-Times Square shuttle run. The Transport Workers Union forced the authority to put a motorman aboard the train, even though he wasn't needed to operate it.

AFTER THE BLAZE, WHAT?

There have been reports of technical problems, too. At any rate, the automated train was put out of action by a fire that shut down the shuttle last April, and the transit authority hasn't made up its mind whether to put the automated train back on the tracks when service resumes.

But whatever happens to the new devices, conventional modes of transit also are being improved. City agencies are starting to buy new cars, some air conditioned, that are made of stainless steel or aluminum instead of the traditional carbon steel, and use other new features to trim weight. Chicago is buying 180 such cars from Pullman-Standard, and New York is buying 600 from Budd.

The Institute for Rapid Transit, a Chicago-based trade group, says some new transit vehicles weigh 800 to 900 pounds a foot of car length, against a typical 1,000- to 1,200-pound range about 5 years ago. San Francisco transit officials are aiming for cars weighing under 800 pounds per foot.

Kansas City Star Supports Lyndon Johnson-Hubert Humphrey Ticket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, for the first time since 1892, the Kansas City Star is supporting the Democratic ticket in a presidential election.

Ralph McGill sets out the reasoning of the Star in an article in the New York Herald Tribune, September 6, 1964.

My colleagues will want to give thoughtful attention to these comments.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 6, 1964]

CANDIDATE AT SEA

(By Ralph McGill)

Senator GOLDWATER, speaking from a yacht at sea, complained that President Johnson has withdrawn from foreign affairs. The charge was echoed by vice presidential nominee MILLER. While these accusations were being made, the Kansas City Star, referred to by Republican conservatives as "maker of Presidents," was preparing an editorial.

For the first time since 1892, a span of 72 years, the venerable, conservative, and highly respected Star is supporting the Democratic ticket. If Senator GOLDWATER is still not all at sea, he may have read the Star's reasoning:

"We are convinced that the cause of world peace would be better served by Mr. Johnson and his foreign policy, with its roots deep in both Democratic and Republican administrations," said the Star. "It would be safer to keep Mr. Johnson's finger on the nuclear trigger than to place the awesome responsibility on Senator GOLDWATER. We frankly fear the GOLDWATER philosophy, transformed into Presidential policy, might plunge the world deeper into the uncertainty of greater international tensions. We believe that to entrust the peace to a GOLDWATER administration would be an unnecessary and undesirable gamble for the Nation to take."

The Star noted, too, the unbending insistence on Senator GOLDWATER's part that he is, in all cases, absolutely right; that he has simple answers to all questions. The fact is that Senator GOLDWATER continues to reveal himself as an appallingly uninformed and superficial man. He talks of the Johnson administration as withdrawing from foreign, or international, affairs.

Senator GOLDWATER's naive indictment comes at a time when the President is more deeply involved in the inherited problem of Vietnam than ever before. An American fleet is in and near the Bay of Tonkin with an awesome supply of weapons—including the nuclear. The at-sea Senator apparently does not know that we still have some 400,000 troops in Europe, committed there as a block to Communist aggression, and that they have been there for 20 years. We have nuclear warheads for missiles at various European bases manned by U.S. troops. Our troops have been in Korea for almost two decades. The Senator blandly charges withdrawal at a time when a second U.S. fleet stands off Cyprus and our diplomats, and the President himself are deeply engaged in trying to work out a solution of that crisis. It is a dilemma that both Greece and Turkey could have solved or quieted long ago but for the independent, Communist-influenced ambitions of President (and Archbishop) Makarios.

Yet Senator GOLDWATER sees withdrawal. His description of the air strike on the North Vietnam naval base, following a torpedo boat attack on a U.S. destroyer, was that it was an example of "extremism." The Senator continues to reveal his superficiality, radicalism and lack of moderation and information. A New York Republican leader, who reluctantly had agreed to support GOLDWATER, said privately at the time of the New York State Convention to nominate Senator KENNETH KEATING, "The greatest job the Republican National Committee is going to have is to find a way to put GOLDWATER in a straitjacket and keep him away from press conferences or questions. He simply can't be left to his own thoughts and words. If he is, we will move toward a real disaster."

The American people are interested in world peace. The thought of perhaps 200 million persons being destroyed in about 60 minutes of nuclear exchange is a matter of concern. A Birch-type rightwing extremist has been quoted as saying, seriously, "Peace will begin when 400 million (Americans and Russians) are dead."

The thought of Senator GOLDWATER, as President, distributing nuclear weapons supplies to field commanders to use at their discretion, his woeful lack of knowledge about international affairs and politics, his almost smart aleck assumption that he does, as the Star noted, have all the answers and that he is absolutely right, all add up to decisions such as the Kansas City Star has made. There is nothing of moderation in the man and no concept of the values of patience and compromise. Certainly he does not draw Americans together.

The conservative Star's conclusion that we cannot afford a divided country is undisputable.

Distinguished Circuit Judge Says Anti-Court Measures Invalid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, as the House witnesses a once-in-a-generation procedure being used for the second

time in a month, on this occasion to force a vote on a constitutional amendment which will never pass, I think it is fair to say that Olympian detachment regarding the reapportionment issue is becoming increasingly scarce just when it is most needed.

While he may not have chosen his moment with this in mind, we are very fortunate to have a brief and measured statement by former Judge Henry W. Edgerton, describing with great simplicity why any legislation suspending Federal court jurisdiction over State reapportionment cases is a constitutional nullity. Judge Edgerton served the Nation and the Nation's Capital as associate and later chief judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. His letter to the editors, appearing in yesterday's Washington Post, deserves the attention of all Members:

APPORTIONMENT TANGLE

I have retired from regular active service as a circuit judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and am interested in apportionment only as a citizen.

The Constitution says "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." And "The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States," etc. In cases "arising under" the clause of the Constitution that forbids a State to deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, the Supreme Court has decided that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis so that each person's vote shall have equal weight with every other person's.

The House of Representatives has passed a bill that would nullify these Supreme Court decisions by (1) forbidding the Supreme Court to review cases concerning apportionment of State legislatures and (2) forbidding U.S. district courts to decide such cases in the first place. If this bill were to become law and were observed, it would remove such cases from the "judicial power of the United States." Because these are cases "arising under this Constitution," Congress has no power to do so. For the same reason, Congress has no power to require delay in such cases, as a different bill now pending in the Senate proposes to do.

The Constitution says "The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." And Congress may "ordain and establish" inferior courts. But these constitutional provisions no more authorize Congress to prevent the judicial power of the United States from enforcing the right to equal protection of the laws than the same provisions authorize Congress to prevent the judicial power from enforcing the right to freedom of speech, or trial by jury, or any other constitutional right.

Congress cannot nullify constitutional rights by the simple device of forbidding U.S. courts to decide cases in which these rights are involved. Congress may redistribute among U.S. courts the judicial power to enforce constitutional rights, but Congress cannot eliminate or reduce that power. The Constitution, like other documents, must be read as a whole.

The constitutional grant to U.S. courts of the judicial power to decide all cases "arising under this Constitution" is not subject to any implicit proviso to the effect: provided Congress is willing. The constitutional grant to Congress of the legislative power to determine what questions may be decided by what courts is subject to an implicit proviso to the effect: provided, that the judicial power conferred by the Constitution upon U.S. courts may not be abridged."

HENRY W. EDGERTON.

WASHINGTON.

A Picket of Yachts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, recently several yachts picketed in protest on the Hudson River. Their protest was aimed against the Consolidated Edison Co.'s plan to locate a powerplant in the north front of Storm King Mountain in New York State which would impair the natural beauty of the mountain and the Hudson River. The New York Times on September 8 published an editorial calling upon the Federal Power Commission to consider the esthetic values involved and the need to preserve the scenic beauty of the area. I hope the FPC will follow this sound suggestion and that all my colleagues will read the following editorial:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 8, 1964]

PROTECTING THE HIGHLANDS

Should esthetic values be considered by the Federal Power Commission in determining whether to grant a license to the Consolidated Edison Co. for its projected $160 million hydroelectric power installation at Cornwall, N.Y.? Con Edison says no. It maintains that under the law the FPC has no right even to take such values into account in making its decision. The Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference, which has been leading the fight against the installation, contends that the FPC has not only the right but the duty to weigh them.

Con Edison's plans call for gouging a giant powerplant into the north front of Storm King Mountain, with a huge storage reservoir high above it in the Hudson highlands. Water would be pumped from the river into the reservoir at night and released through tunnels during the day to generate power as needed for peak periods of New York City's insatiable demands. The current would be transmitted across the Hudson by submarine cables; then mainly by overhead high-tension lines to New York.

An examiner for the FPC has found in favor of Con Edison and against the conservationists, mainly on economic grounds. He has upheld the company's contention that its plans would not seriously impair the scenic beauty of the area, but has not ruled specifically on its claim that the Federal Power Act does not permit the FPC even to consider esthetic values. Now Scenic Hudson has filed a brief asking the full Commission to rule on this highly important point.

Under its broad powers to protect the public interest, the FPC certainly should accept its responsibility to preserve a great national heritage—a region of unspoiled natural beauty and historic national traditions dating back to the beginning of the Republic. Unless it does so, Con Edison's plea can become the entering wedge for despoiling the entire area. The yachts that picketed the Hudson Sunday in protest against the project spoke for a great army of Americans.

Getting Into Politics: Why and How To Begin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, our country's greatest asset is its informed, energetic citizens. Millions of Americans take part in our political affairs, as voters, and as active workers in political organizations. Once they have gotten started, volunteers find their activities exciting and rewarding. Volunteering for the first time, though, often seems harder than it is, and many people who would like to get involved in politics just do not know how or where to start.

Since 1959 the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City has been offering encouragement and guidance to political novices through its public affairs program, a nonpartisan effort designed to promote more effective citizenship among members of the Chase Manhattan staff. The bank's most recent public affairs bulletin is titled "Getting Into Politics: Why and How To Begin." It offers excellent advice for would-be volunteers, emphasizing the importance of bread-and-butter local issues and directing citizens to the many clubs and candidates who "have an insatiable hunger for human skills and services." As the article states, "The password is, 'I want to help'."

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert this interesting and informative bulletin in the RECORD:

GETTING INTO POLITICS: WHY AND HOW TO BEGIN

"My most exciting experience of 1964." This is the reaction of one volunteer, a political novice 3 weeks ago, to the work he's now doing in an election campaign.

Along with his shirt-sleeved candidate, up from Washington for the day, he was mapping out the route for a motorcade. Other workers were ordering more campaign buttons, arranging for a fund-raising dinner, telephoning voters in the district, and planning for a door-to-door canvass.

During the next 2 months, 6 million other American will join these volunteers in doing some kind of active work for a political candidate or political party. These people will soon find out that participation in politics not only makes good sense, but is good fun as well.

PLENTY OF ROOM FOR EVERYBODY

Political work can be exciting and entertaining. In addition, the political volunteer makes new friends and personal contacts, and adds a new dimension to his life. Beside enjoying the competitive thrill of the two-party race, the political worker learns a great deal about human psychology and the art of government.

The political arena has plenty of room for everybody. From the local election district to the highest offices in Washington, political leaders and political parties are eagerly

looking for people to do something more than just vote—people who are able and willing to get out and work.

Many people have a hankering to get into politics, but do not know quite how to get started. Actually, it is simple. Almost any interested person can join a political organization just about as easily as he or she joins a civic group or social club. But the volunteer has to make the first move himself. If he shyly waits to be asked, he probably will never become active in politics. Though the political leaders want his services very much, the only way that they can discover his availability is if he tells them about it.

There are three ways of getting into the swing of a political campaign. The hopeful political worker can: (1) Join his local party organization, or (2) join a political club, or (3) volunteer his services directly to a candidate who is running for office.

As far as getting started with the neighborhood party organization is concerned, some succinct advice for the novice comes from U.S. Congressman NEIL STAEBLER, who was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee in Michigan from 1950 to 1961. Says he: "Go to the smallest political unit in the place where you live. Go to the political meetings. See the opposition, too. Get acquainted with the whole operation. Volunteer for a job, but not too soon. People get suspicious when you move too soon. But when the right job opens up, volunteer for it. Stick with it. Politics is a lot like olives. Many people don't like the first taste, or the job of getting the first one out of the bottle."

The logical man to seek out first is the leader of his local election district. If he wishes to take on bigger game, the novice can call upon the party chairman of his assembly district or city or county. But he would be wise to begin at the lowest level; that is, at the election district level. Here he has the best opportunity to sharpen his talents and learn quickly.

The password is, "I want to help." Most political bodies—no matter how seemingly distant or closed to outsiders—have an insatiable hunger for human skills and services. The organization needs people to conduct door-to-door canvassing of the neighborhood in search of votes, to write and distribute publicity broadsides, to prepare card indexes, to drive sound trucks, and to watch the polls or babysit on election day.

THE CLUB AND THE CANDIDATE

If a person does not want to commit himself fully to the regular party organization, he can join a so-called political club. There are some 20,000 such clubs in the United States, both Democratic and Republican. Generally, they are adjuncts of the local political party organizations. But they are somewhat more independent than the regular organizations and less subject to the control of the local political leaders.

Political clubs meet regularly and often have their own clubhouses. They sponsor such programs as debates, discussions and forums at which guest speakers are likely to be city councilmen and State legislators. Clubs also sponsor many social functions—dances, parties, tours of the United Nations.

During an election campaign, the club members combine with the local party organization and are selected for various campaign jobs. To find out the name, address, and telephone number of a local political club, a volunteer can contact his party's assembly district leader or county committeeman. A good first step is to check the telephone book listings under "Democratic" or "Republican."

There is still another route to active participation in politics. That is the road taken by people who find themselves attracted to a particular candidate, but not necessarily to the political club or the regular party organization. These people volunteer to help their favorite candidate during a specific campaign.

One of the political leaders who favors this course is Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, who was chairman of the platform committee at the recent Republican National Convention. When people ask him how to become active in politics, LAIRD replies: "Work for a candidate. Work for a candidate at any level—local, State, or National. The type of campaign is not important, at least not at the outset. The important thing is to get into the thick of it, observe how it's done, and take an active part in the political process."

If a person with useful talents approaches the candidate or his campaign manager, he stands a good chance of finding himself placed in a challenging and exciting job. The candidate and his manager are constantly searching for skills and services beyond those made available by the regular party organization. They do not want to become dependent upon the organization, and they often feel that the organization has not assigned nearly enough volunteer workers to their individual campaign.

THE NEED FOR VOLUNTEERS

To build their own team, the candidate and his manager search for volunteers from many professional backgrounds. The candidate can always make use of lawyers, door-to-door salesmen, accountants, clerks, fundraisers or people with experience in money matters. Says Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, of California: "If a young law student writes me that he has an interest in politics, and if I have a place for him in my office, I hire him for 3 months during the summer."

The volunteer is, of course, much better positioned if his candidate wins. But victory is not always essential. Senator FRANK MOSS, of Utah, suggests that a good way for a novice to gain experience is to pick out a solid candidate in whom he has confidence and go to work for him without worrying too much about how the election will turn out. Says Moss: "Your credentials turn largely on how well you did your job and what enthusiasm you showed rather than on the candidate for whom you campaigned or how a particular election resulted."

Considering how relatively easy it is to become active, why don't more people plunge into the political swim?

One reason is that many Americans mistakenly believe that political activity is beneath them—a shoddy affair which ladies and gentlemen should avoid. Even if this charge were accurate, which it fortunately is not, it should not be sufficient to prevent truly alert, concerned citizens from becoming politically active. In other, less fortunate countries, good people have learned the bitter lesson that the surest way to surrender the political arena to selfish men is to shun it themselves. In other words, to avoid political activity is to court disaster.

While some people believe that politics is below them, just as many erroneously believe that politics is above them. They have concluded that only people who have highly specialized talents or great wealth are really wanted inside the political inner circles. But the truth is that people from all walks of life can and do make meaningful political contributions—and enjoy themselves while they are doing it. Leaders in both political parties report that some of their most effective volunteer workers are housewives, office workers, students, business executives and farmers.

In the high-level world of politics, the most pressing issues are those that come closest to affecting the lives of every one of us. When the ordinary citizen stops to ponder the great political questions of our day, he usually thinks in terms of such sweeping problems as the cold war, the future of the Western Alliance, and international trade or monetary policy.

But beyond these broad issues are scores of equally basic local questions that determine the quality of our every-day lives. If anyone thinks that politics involves only such seemingly distant questions as NATO and the tariff laws, let him look around his own neighborhood and make a personal checklist of local conditions: Like roads, schools, police protection, and transportation.

These are just a few of the bread-and-butter issues that affect our daily lives. If people wish to have a voice in those issues—a voice beyond a simple vote—then they should become active in politics. And the leaders of both political parties agree that the best time to get started is right now.

Says Senaor CLAIBORNE PELL, of Rhode Island: "Don't just talk about getting into politics—get out there and do something. Get a list of names and go door-to-door. Stuff envelopes. Write letters. Raise money. But just get started and do something."

Ringing doorbells, stuffing envelopes, delivering publicity broadsides, even babysitting so that busy mothers can get to the polls—these may seem like less than romantic assignments for the beginner. Almost everybody would like to begin in some glamorous, policymaking position. But few do.

"Remember, volunteers don't start at the top," advises Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee. "Be willing to do the hard, routine work. You're really learning to help yourself, but right now you're helping someone else."

Whatever his position, an alert volunteer will quickly get a feel for the essentials of the whole campaign. He will learn how to wage a political battle—and that the tactics are much the same whether the race is for the school board or the Senate, the election district leadership, or the U.S. Presidency.

Equally important, the volunteer will become noticed himself. If the new political worker is bright and dedicated, he or she will soon catch the eye of the candidate, the campaign manager, and other political leaders. "In a matter of hours," says Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, "a really bright person will attract the attention of the politicians."

In political campaigns, the shortage of skilled workers is acute and the turnover of personnel is rapid. The rise from envelope-licker to master campaign strategist can be fast—provided the volunteer is energetic and wants to take on greater responsibility in the political arena.

The American system of competitive, democratic, two-party politics, is envied by peoples the world over. It is a basically sound and sturdy system, but it needs careful nourishing. Democracy, after all, is government "by the people" as well as of and for the people.

"A Communist," Nikita Khrushchev once remarked, "has no right to be a mere onlooker."

In our democratic society, it is up to the individual whether he becomes an onlooker or a participant. But in making this decision, he should realize that the success of a democracy depends, essentially and profoundly, on getting the best men and women into politics and government.

Labor Day—7th of September Brought Back Sad Memories

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, sometimes in the busy lives we lead,

we are prone to forget the difficulties under which our soldiers have suffered in all of our wars.

A friend of mine in Pembroke, Ga., who served in World War I and is now the editor of the Pembroke Journal, wrote in a recent issue of his paper about an experience which he had.

[From the Pembroke (Ga.) Journal, Sept. 10, 1964]

LABOR DAY—7TH OF SEPTEMBER BROUGHT BACK SAD MEMORIES

(By Frank O. Miller)

Today, September 7, is a day that ye editor will never forget, for 45 years ago today, ye editor was on the SS *Persie*, a soldier headed for the battlefields of France, and on our 13th day at sea, when it was thought our ship would land the next morning at Liverpool, England, we had been given orders to take a bath, that was to get naked and get on deck and let them turn the hose on you, as they wanted all the soldiers to present a good appearance when they went ashore.

But, lo and behold, while sitting atop of our bunk, naked in the bottom of the ship, a German submarine hit our ship with a torpedo and tore a big hole in it, and of course we all surged to the top. We had places to line up at, while an inspection was made; finally an order was given to abandon ship, every man for himself. After being in the water some time we were picked up by the British destroyer *Spitfire*, and remained on deck all night, on a steel deck, barefooted and naked, and believe you me, it gets cold out on the water at night even in the dead of summer. It was the longest and most miserable night I ever spent.

Finally we landed at Plymouth, England, about 10:30 on Sunday morning. There must have been 25,000 people to meet the boats when they went into port with the survivors off the torpedoed ship, and about four-fifths of them were women. There we were, one of about a thousand naked men, but these people did not let it worry them. They finally gave us English soldier clothes, and we finally made it on up to the front.

But September 7 will always be a day that we will never forget.

Why We Are for Johnson and Humphrey—Editorial From Chicago PNYX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the text of an editorial giving the reasons the Chicago PNYX, an independent newspaper interpreting our country's Hellenic thought, is supporting President Johnson and HUBERT HUMPHREY.

The editorial was published in the Chicago PNYX on September 1, 1964.

The editorial follows:

WHY WE ARE FOR JOHNSON AND HUMPHREY

The following excerpts are from an editorial in the Chicago PNYX of April 19, 1958, written by Peter N. Mantzoros.

"To the Hellenes of America the distinguished Senator from Minnesota is well known for his opposition to the McCarran-Walter law. * * * He always works closely with Democratic Leader Johnson and has been vociferous in his demands that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles should resign. His prominence in national Democratic circles has endeared him to many leaders who see in him the very best material for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. * * * The citizens of Hellenic extraction have watched HUMPHREY'S political ascendancy with admiration and see in him a great American political leader who is dedicated to erase the stigma of having second-class citizens among the foreign-born in America by working for the repeal of all laws which do not apply to all citizens alike."

A year later, in an article written for the Chicago PNYX, among other things, Senator HUMPHREY said: "In spite of terrible hardships, Greece provides one of the most spectacular examples of the value of foreign aid. Aid to Greece, a proven friend of the United States, has not only helped our own national interest, but it has greatly aided the cause of freedom generally."

In the opinion of the Chicago PNYX, the greatest statement ever made by the most outspoken Senator in the history of the United States, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, is:

"What the people of the world want today more than anything else is acceptance. They want to be respected. They want to be held in a spirit of equality. They want to be treated as equals. We have set ourselves up as some kind of superpatriots, so to speak, pointing the finger at people from all over the world who have helped make this Nation rich and powerful and saying to them, 'You are not clean.' I conclude by saying that any nation which closes its doors will close its mind and close its heart; or perhaps I should turn it around and say that when we begin to close our doors, the portals of this great Republic, then we have closed our hearts and closed our minds."

More recently, on August 3, the editor of the Chicago PNYX was among several newspaper publishers and editors who attended a meeting with President Johnson in the East Room of the White House.

In his faithful and tactful manner the President of the United States told us: "Your publications represent one of the most American of all American institutions. * * * You and your predecessors have done much to unify us, to bring us together—as one people and one nation. * * *

"This is a great hour in our national history. * * * America's leadership at every level is called now to work for America's unity—and to work against America's division. * * *

"This is the work we must always put first—if we are to keep faith with those who have come to these shores from across the seas. * * * A divided America cannot be a prosperous America—or a peaceful America—or a progressive America. A divided America cannot fulfill its promise at home—or accomplish its purposes abroad. * * *

"Our forefathers left the lands of their birth because cries for justice fell upon deaf ears—cries for peace fell upon closed and willful minds—cries for opportunity fell upon stony hearts. We do not want to turn back toward what we left behind. That is why we move with confidence, with courage, and with compassion to perfect our unity—to overcome our divisions—to fulfill the great promise of this hour in American history.

"And that is why I asked you here.

"The challenge of unifying America—of holding our land on a straight and sure course of success—cannot be met by the man in the White House alone.

"I need your help—and the help of every American. * * * Standing here—talking with you—I am very proud of America and what our unity has wrought for us * * *.

"This is a great moment for America—an hour of great opportunity. It is a moment to unite—and in that unity move ahead together to win the victory for freedom and justice throughout the world."

As in recent speeches to labor leaders, business leaders, and school officials, Mr. Johnson told us that: "As President of all the people, I intend to work to insure that every person enjoys the full constitutional rights and equal opportunity that are his birthright as an American citizen."

The President also reminded us that he began his public life from a congressional district whose people were from many lands. He alluded to his father's refusal, as a member of the Texas Legislature, to go along with moves to penalize Texans of German ancestry during World War I.

Finally, Mr. Johnson urged all of us to convey our respect for law and order and for human rights to all the Americans we serve through our newspapers.

As President, Mr. Johnson's most important contribution to humanity, so far, has been the passage of the Civil Rights Act which was instigated by his predecessor in office. He now stands as the embodiment and apostle of that principle.

It is not always easy to analyze the cause of a popular favorite's hold upon the masses. But to awaken the love and warmest admiration of a people, requires qualities which well nigh defy analysis. It has been Mr. Johnson's good fortune to be able to offer a very large class of his fellow citizens just what they seemed to need.

He has aroused and attracted their sympathies, and this tremendous logical fact is what will bring about an overwhelming ground swell which will sweep him into office in November.

Welfare "Rights" and International Politics Add Chaos to California Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 8, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, there are several minor developments which should be reported to the Members relating to the impending chaos in California agriculture upon the termination of the bracero program. Not one of the development is good—they are bad for agriculture, all related industries, and the U.S. taxpayer and consumer.

The September 14, 1964, issue of the Council of California Growers newsletter depicts these deplorable developments well:

WELFARE, POLITICS, LABOR, AND WELFARE—THE WHEEL COMES FULL CIRCLE AND THE CRISIS GROWS

With so much attention—political and otherwise—being focused on the unemployed, on the Nation's pockets of poverty, and on the need to match men with jobs, an incident that took place in Alameda County last week seemed a bit paradoxical.

It even bordered on the ironic. Particularly when it occurred at almost the same time that Governor Brown, citing the great unemployment problem, quoting the "unified feelings of organized labor," and the "position of the Mexican Government," stated that no extension of the bracero program would pass Congress this year.

And what made the Alameda incident even more amazing was the fact that as it

took place, California growers were being certified by the State and Federal Governments for the greatest number of temporary foreign workers, braceros, required so far this year. Not only as the big stoop labor peak in tomatoes approaches, but for work in peach harvesting in areas that haven't required braceros in years. For this year we had one of those little unforeseeable quirks that make agriculture a bit different than other industries. This one involved weather and rain. Weather which drove the domestics that historically pick peaches and other soft fruit elsewhere thus leaving tons of peaches on the trees unharvested.

What happened in Alameda? Just a little old sit-in, a commonplace incident these days, true. But this was a little different in that this particular group was protesting the Alameda County Welfare Department's agricultural employment program for able bodied, psychologically adjusted welfare recipients.

Led by a group known as the Welfare Rights Organization, and supported by CORE, the ad hoc committee (of San Francisco Auto Row and Sheraton Palace sit-in fame) plus a group called youths for jobs, the pickets, and later the sit-ins, complained that the department's agricultural employment program was degrading.

"Farm work is below our dignity" protested the sit-ins. "We're entitled to our welfare checks and no one's got the right to say that we got to take farm jobs to get those checks."

In spite of Welfare Director Harold B. Kehoe's explanation of the original and basic reasons for the welfare program plus his repeated announcements that even unskilled peach pickers were making an average of $2 per hour, the welfare righters were unmoved. So unmoved, in fact, that they staged an 84-hour protest sit-in.

Chanting, "we know our rights and we don't have to work to get them" interspersed with an occasional, "freedom now"—the sit-ins sat—the public officials looked harassed and embarrassed; growers around the State continued their search for workers and peaches fell to the ground.

Does this mean that the peach crop is lost? By no means. There will be plenty of peaches going through the canneries because, overall, the crop is being harvested. Oh, sure, some grower will be hurt. Others, including the owners of the orchards that we toured personally, will lose their shirts this year. But even that isn't the point.

What is the point? Well, really there are quite a few. One of which was rather succinctly analyzed by a newsman covering the Alameda sit-ins. A newsman, by the way, in good standing with his union and an old pro in covering the news beats of the bay area, and other metropolitan areas.

He put it this way—and we quote: "What a h— of a situation this is. The growers are breaking their necks to get workers, the politicians are talking about putting America back to work and these people—the very people the Government is saying need jobs, don't want jobs. And why? Because it's too easy to get something for nothing. Why get out in the fields and sweat, stoop, squat, or reach for d— good money, if you're willing to work, when you can sit back, do nothing, and get enough from uncle taxpayer to get along. Brother, now I've seen everything."

Well, as a matter of fact, he hasn't seen everything. In fact he hasn't seen anything yet. Wait until next year when there are no braceros to fill in as a temporary, supplemental work force. Wait until the thousands of workers in the allied industries who rely on these bracero harvested crops for their jobs are laid off those jobs. Wait until California's $12 billion per year agribusiness industry starts to fold in the middle. Then our newsman friend will have seen something.

And if you think this is an exaggeration, then you haven't been too close to the growing amount of correspondence between top officials in such closely allied industries as ice and refrigeration, banking, trucking, railroading, air and water transportation, canning, paper and carton manufacturing, printing and lithography * * * and more. Correspondence that indicates a growing concern over the farm labor situation. Correspondence that asks "after the braceros what?" Correspondence that indicates an increasing uneasiness over the pat answers from the Governor to the effect that "California growers will have adequate labor to harvest next year's crops." And * * * it would seem, there is reason for this uneasiness. Particularly since the ball has been thrown to labor * * * and they haven't provided the answer. And to the Governor * * * who, upon further questioning such as took place at his last news conference, admits that he doesn't know where the labor will come from.

Oh * * * to clarify the record. Organized labor is not "unified" in its opposition to some type of temporary, supplemental foreign labor. While top AFL–CIO officials publicly announce their opposition, others close to reality and their own people who work in the allied industries share the same concern * * * privately * * * as do the management people of these industries. And, of course, the Teamsters * * * very close to the problem and, it would seem, very realistic in their appraisal of the situation and the jobs of their members * * * have stated for months that they feel some kind of supplemental foreign labor will be required for at least 5 years.

Also * * * for the record * * * while the Governor said that "Mexico itself doesn't want an extension" and "probably wouldn't sign a new treaty," there's more to that story too. The Mexican Consul General in San Francisco, Senor Adolfo G. Dominguez, told newsmen questioning him on this matter that it was his understanding that his government felt that the bracero program was a mutually beneficial program for the two countries and that as long as the United States felt this way, then he was certain that his government would agree to continue the program. Dominguez concluded the interview with a statement to the effect that his country would certainly not initiate the termination of any such mutually beneficial program.

However, there is one other factor that comes into play. And * * * as one observer put it, maybe this is what the Governor was thinking about when he made his statement about the Mexican Government's alleged, or at least "reported," feelings on this matter. That thought is simply this:

While both countries benefit a good deal under a bracero-type program, Mexico would certainly benefit a great deal more if there were no supplemental labor for California farms. Why? Because then Mexico would really be the producer, processor, and supplier for the Nation's table foods. California surely wouldn't be. And the Eastern States can't possibly produce the volume of quality farm products we produce here. So it would have to go to Mexico. As indeed a great deal of our fruit and vegetable production and processing already has.

And what a kick in the teeth that would be to the economy of California * * * to the allied industries involved * * * to the investors in those industries and * * * to their labor force. Then we would have an unemployment problem. But then there's always welfare.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

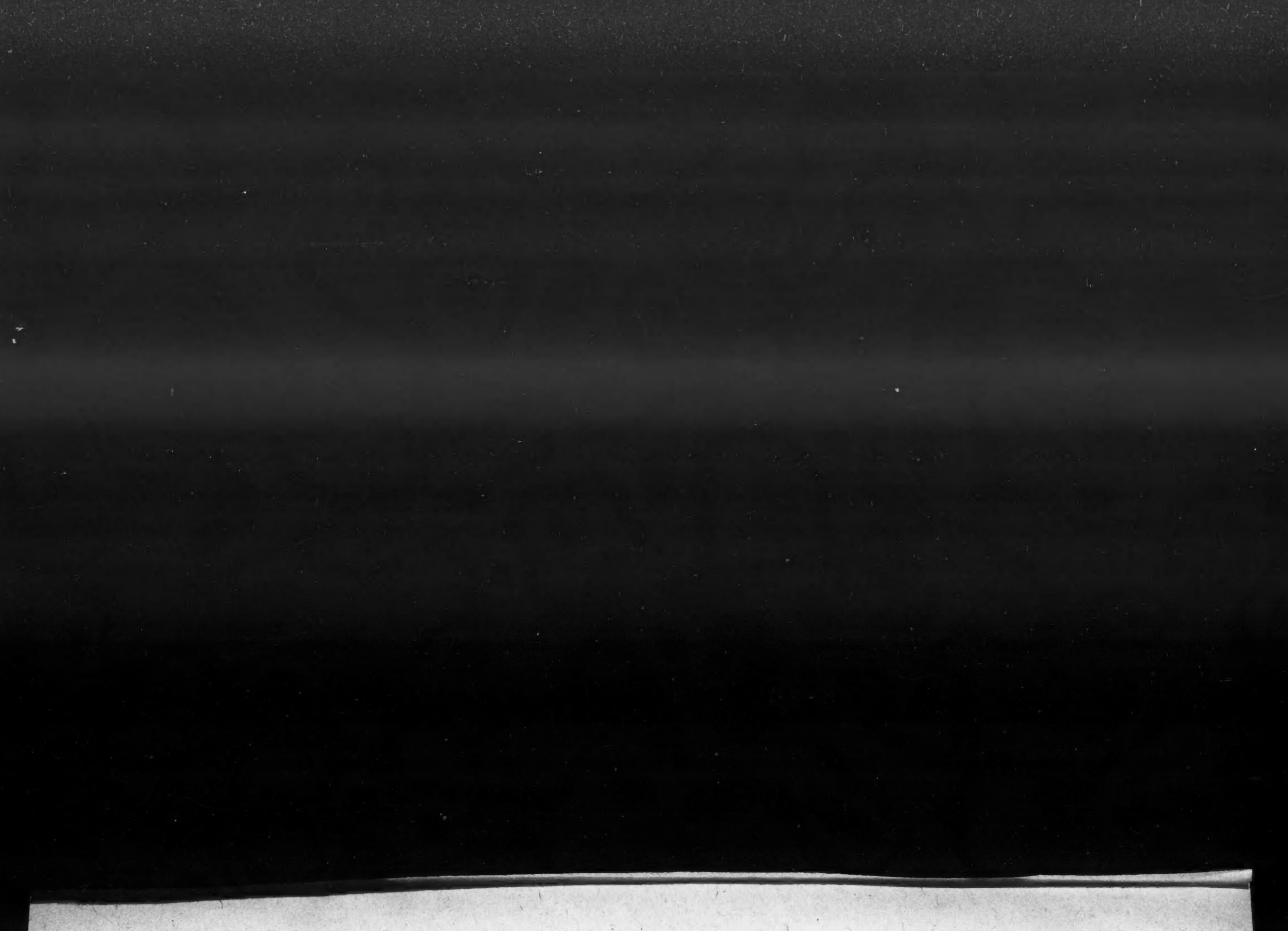

Appendix

West Virginia Strengthened by Fort Martin Power Generating Station—Ground-Breaking Ceremonies and Morgantown Luncheon Mark the Beginning of Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the Appalachian Regional Development Act is being weighed and considered by Members of both Houses of Congress, and will, I hope, be acted on favorably in the Senate before adjournment. This legislation is a vital element in our Nation's drive to develop programs to advance West Virginia and areas of surrounding States.

The Appalachian bill is in no sense a handout, but rather an investment in the future prosperity of all Americans. We cannot permit one large section of our country to lag economically; to endure conditions of unemployment which substantially exceed the national average; we must not ignore the plight of thousands of our fellow citizens who are without adequate educational and health facilities. It is obvious that from a humanitarian standpoint, and in our own enlightened self-interest, we must act to end these damaging conditions.

Mr. President, the people of Appalachia are far from content with the status quo. They are working with diligence and imagination to improve their way of life and to strengthen the region.

Evidence of this spirit of cooperative effort can be readily found in West Virginia. One such example is the activity being carried forward in conjunction with the construction of the Fort Martin power generating station, at Fort Martin, W. Va., near Morgantown.

The generating station will consist of two units, the first of which is now being built by Monongahela Power Co. and the Potomac Edison Co., both subsidiaries of the Allegheny Power System. The initial facility will have a capability of approximately 540,000 kilowatts and its estimated cost is $53,500,000. It will be the largest ever installed in the Allegheny System, and is expected to be in operation by 1967.

It was my privilege to participate in the ground-breaking ceremonies for the Fort Martin station on September 11, 1964. Presiding on this notable occasion was Don Kammert, the energetic president of the Monongahela Power Co. Following the invocation by the Reverend William Wolfe, pastor of the Fort Martin Methodist Church, Mr. Kammert introduced J. Lee Rice, Jr., the progressive president of the Allegheny Power System.

In brief remarks Mr. Rice made reference to the cooperation at National, State, and local levels which his organization has enjoyed during the planning of this important power complex. He also expressed the belief, to which I subscribe, that the Fort Martin project is indicative of the enthusiasm and civic interest which is evidenced in West Virginia and Appalachia.

At a given signal, a laser ray was activated, which in turn detonated fireworks officially breaking ground for the Fort Martin power generating station. Taking part in this portion of the program were: Hon. W. W. Barron, Governor of West Virginia; Hon. Harley Staggers, U.S. Representative from the Second District; Robert G. MacDonald, president of the Potomac Edison Co.; Mr. Kammert, Mr. Rice, and myself.

The proceedings were later adjourned to the Hotel Morgan, Morgantown, for a luncheon. Governor Barron addressed an appreciative audience, commenting on the degree of cooperative effort which has been evidenced between Government, industry, labor, and education. He pointed out that:

In West Virginia, these forces have learned—during the past three and a half years—the benefit of sitting down together to study problems. When we do this, we understand the problems and their interrelationship to all other segments of our society. Whenever we come to understand each other and the scope of economic, political, and industrial need, then we truly define "the common good" in modern, cooperative terms. From this basis we develop sound and positive action programs.

Mr. Rice then spoke of the implications of the construction of the Fort Martin station, and its impact on the Morgantown trading area. He correctly stated that this new transmission capability is but one among many steps toward progress and prosperity which have been encouraged by the citizens of Morgantown.

Especially informative were the remarks of Dennis L. McElroy, executive vice president of the Consolidation Coal Co. From the northern West Virginia mines of this firm will come the coal to heat the boilers which produce the steam to drive the turbines from which will come the vast electrical power of the Fort Martin station. Mr. McElroy indicated that the manpower requirements of this coal production would provide employment for 200 miners near range, and when the second unit is complete that figure will grow to almost 500.

Prior to these remarks it was my privilege to speak, in part, as follows:

Here in our beloved highlands we are heartened to see progress by the American society and private-investor economy. Our growth has its roots in the energy, intelligence and integrity of leadership exemplified by those business, industrial, and political leaders gathered here.

West Virginians are being increasingly recognized as people who are friendly, ambitious, and progressive. The impression is being rapidly dissipated that West Virginia has been sidetracked by automation and forced out of the mainstream of the national economy. The events of this day demonstrate that is not the case.

The beneficial effect of the Fort Martin power generating station has been cause for new optimism among private sectors of the economy. A lucidly written editorial in the September 11 issue of the Morgantown Post emphasizes the public awareness of the positive forces which will accrue.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix, together with proceedings at the ground-breaking ceremonies for the Fort Martin power generating station, and the luncheon which followed, September 11, 1964.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

[The Morgantown (W. Va.) Post,
Sept. 11, 1964]

LOOKING BIGGER ALL THE TIME

This community is beginning to get a little better notion of what that new Fort Martin power station down the river will look like after more than $50 million has been spent in the next 2 or 3 years to bring it into actual being.

But even the speeches at today's formal ground-breaking ceremonies can scarcely convey a general awareness of the total significance to this area of this power-generating project and the whole interconnected system of which it is to be a part.

Immediately upon going into operation, of course, the Fort Martin station will provide a large and assured market for Monongalia County coal and steady round-the-year employment for a substantial number of miners.

But while the economic soundness of putting so much money into a power station was found in the ability to transmit electricity over longer distances than ever before, it does not necessarily follow that the availability of Fort Martin's power will not serve to bring new industry closer to the powerplant as well as to take its power to distant customers.

No wild promises are being held out that Fort Martin will bring industry to Monongalia County and other parts of the upper Monongahela Valley. But it would be most unusual if that result did not occur, especially if the area can otherwise qualify as a good place for new industry to locate and operate.

Such a prospect rises far above the more limited satisfaction to be found in the increased tax revenue the county will receive from this large investment within its borders even though there is no need to ignore this substantial element in the project.

In the near future, as Fort Martin begins to take visible shape, its full significance will increasingly be recognized and appreciated.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONIES FOR ALLEGHENY POWER SYSTEM'S NEW 540,000-KILOWATT FORT MARTIN POWER STATION AT FORT MARTIN, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 11, 1964

Donald M. Kammert, president of Monongahela Power Co.: "This ceremony will begin with the pronouncement of the invocation by Rev. William Wolfe."

Rev. William Wolfe, pastor, Fort Martin Methodist Church: "Let us pray. Our Father and our eternal God, Thou who are most hallowed, most holy and all powerful, we pause in the midst of this day and in the midst of our labors to invoke Thy blessings upon this piece of earthly work. Be pleased our Father to bless these officials of these companies, the representatives of our government, and all interested parties who have come here today. We ask furthermore our Father that you would bless those who take an actual part in the construction of this great plant. Keep them from harm. And as we have come to depend upon the power from these companies and the light, may we also learn to depend upon Thee and Thy Son, Jesus Christ, for the inward light and the inward power. These blessings and these favors we ask in the name of Thy Son and our Savior, Jesus Christ. Amen."

Donald M. Kammert: "Thank you for joining with us on this momentous occasion. This is an event of importance to this community, to the companies comprising the Allegheny Power System, to the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, and to the area known as Appalachia.

"It is my privilege to introduce to you the man who will formalize this ground breaking. My friend, and a friend of this geographic area, the president of Allegheny Power System, Mr. J. Lee Rice, Jr."

REMARKS OF J. LEE RICE, JR., FORT MARTIN OVERLOOK SITE

On behalf of Allegheny Power System and its three operating companies, Monongahela, Potomac Edison, and West Penn Power, I wish to express our sincere appreciation for the participation in this event by these distinguished public servants here on the platform with me. Their presence is indicative of the cooperation we have received from them at the national and State levels. I think it further indicates their dedication to the economic development of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

It is also gratifying to us in the investor-owned electric business to see such a fine turnout of business, news media, and government leaders from local and regional levels. We are honored by your presence, which again underscores our long-held contention that there is a good and healthy climate for private industry investment and growth in our three-State area.

There are several things I may be able to point out that will give you a better on-site understanding of our construction program here at Fort Martin. As you see, quite a bit of dirt has already been shoved around. The huge hole that has been excavated (pointing) will house the base of the cooling tower and the balloons indicate the height of the tower. The main building housing the generating facilities is to be in the area now being graded. Expansion of the generating station to two units is planned for some time in the future.

The stacks that mark all steam generating powerplants and the cooling towers will reach high above the place where we are now standing. Again we have balloons to indicate the height of the stack.

Huge quantities of coal will be barged down river to the plant site from Consolidation Coal Co.'s Arkwright and Humphrey preparation plants above Morgantown.

I have already talked long enough. Let's get on with the job we came here to do.

In the event any of you have jumpy nerves, let me set them at rest. We are going to set off an explosion down on the plant site, but this is a fireworks—not a dynamite—explosion.

The fireworks we are almost to see will be set off by remote control—by a Laser ray. For those of you who are not familiar with the term Laser ray, let me explain that it is a means of concentrating energy into a light beam. This ray, aimed at a target on the moon, missed the bull's eye by less than 500 yards. It will drill a hole through a diamond or a steel plate and I'm told it has been used to weld a detached retina back in place in the human eye. We have here a battery of buttons, inasmuch as this new plant is symbolic of the push-button age. When all buttons have been pushed, a ray of light directed at a target on the plant site below will set off the fireworks and ground will be officially broken:

I will need some help, so have asked the following people to join me in this pleasant task. They are: Senator Jennings Randolph, Governor Barron, Don Kammert, president of Monongahela Power Co.; Bob MacDonald, president of Potomac Edison; and Hon. Harley Staggers, U.S. Representative.

Gentlemen, man your buttons.

Well, now we are all fatigued from our strenuous efforts. Let us adjourn to the Hotel Morgan for another type of exercise. The buses are ready for boarding.

REMARKS BY GOV. WILLIAM WALLACE BARRON, OF WEST VIRGINIA, SEPTEMBER 11, 1964

The beginning of the Fort Martin power station is another great step forward in West Virginia's recordbreaking economy. It's an example of the Monongahela Power Co.'s continuing interest in the progress of our State and its people. It's a real pleasure to be a part of such impressive activity.

The Monongahela Power Co. and the Potomac Edison Co., as well as the parent Allegheny Power System, have always been close partners with the State government. We work together in planning and achieving economic growth. Also, these companies have cooperated in every way possible to help Government help other industries—to improve the overall picture of progress for our people. We in the Government are grateful for this fine cooperation.

Today, West Virginia is experiencing an awakening unparalleled in all of its history. We are not satisfied that our State established alltime high economic records in 1962 and 1963, and is headed for still another record this year. We are setting new goals and new ideals for ourselves. It is not merely a matter of trying to speed up development as we have understood it in the past; we are, rather, providing new directions for development and expansion.

Our new motive force is toward more opportunity, more employment, and more security for more people. The direction is geared to many and varied types of cooperative endeavor. Cooperation is the key. Government, industry, labor, and education become involved in almost every new decision we must make.

In West Virginia, these forces have learned—during the past 3½ years—the benefit of sitting down together to study problems. When we do this, we understand the problems and their interrelationship to all segments of our society. Whenever we come to understand each other and the scope of economic, political, and industrial need, then we truly define "the common good" in modern, cooperative terms. From this basis, we develop sound and positive action programs.

We should not waste our time staring backward at our past. Today, in West Virginia, we are planning, building, and enjoying a greater prosperity than any generation of West Virginians before us experienced.

People grow and move ahead as they work together to solve their own problems and as they develop a sense of direction over their own progress. Today's program is proof that we are doing just that.

REMARKS OF J. LEE RICE, JR., GROUNDBREAKING LUNCHEON, MORGANTOWN, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 11. 1964

We are now within a very few minutes of the end of what has been a most enjoyable occasion for me. My trips to West Virginia and this area are always marked by the warm hospitality I encounter. This day has been no exception.

The readiness of our small city residents of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to open their hearts to visitors, has always impressed and delighted me. It is one of the many reasons Allegheny Power System has solid faith in the economic future of the region it serves. We know that other people—especially industrialists—who come into this region will find this built-in hospitality to be contagious. They will want to become a part of it.

And I think anyone visiting Morgantown today woud have to be impressed by the potential of this area. This city is literally humming wih activity.

Here are some of the things I have observed in my few hours in Morgantown:

Dramatic expansion of West Virginia University and its facilities—extensive grading for construction of a new four-lane highway into the city—development of the old Morgantown Ordnance Works into a valued and job-producing industrial park—and expanded and highly attractive airport—development of an outstanding recreation area around beautiful Lake Lynn—preparation for construction of a new national training school for boys—extensive building of new homes and apartments—beautification of the downtown area—and I could go on and on.

Gentlemen, my numerous business visits here and the reports I receive indicate that the Morgantown story is one being repeated in towns throughout the territory served by Allegheny Power System. And most of our territory is in that section of the Nation sometimes referred to as Appalachia.

It is my contention that any objective person visiting Morgantown—and other bustling communities in this region—must come away with a feeling of optimism. There is no air of defeatism here.

The officers and directors of Allegheny Power System, and its operating companies, have strong faith in your future—and consequently—our future.

We are expressing this faith in a concrete manner—in the investment of large sums of dollars. One of the more effective tools we have developed is the creation and operation of an area development department in each of our operating companies.

These departments are manned by a number of specialists. Their basic function is to undertake any and all activities which can contribute to the economic development of the area we serve. I think the purpose should be obvious. Only as the economy of our territory grows and prospers can we grow and prosper.

And the economy can only grow and prosper as new jobs, bigger payrolls and larger profits are created. Through our area development staffs we are working closely with our railroads, local, State, regional and Federal agencies; factory locating services; colleges and public school systems; chambers of commerce; industrial development organizations and all other interested agencies, organizations and persons.

This business of area development is highly competitive—particularly in the indus-

trial end. But I am pleased to announce that our companies report that they are engaged in one of the busiest periods in their histories. In fact, they are working on more active industrial projects this year than ever before.

Gentlemen, we are moving forward in our part of Appalachia. And the Allegheny Power System is proud to play an active role in the overall team effort that is bringing about these dramatic results.

Of course we are also demonstrating our confidence in Appalachia's future by the very groundbreaking we held today and the construction work that is to follow at Fort Martin in coming weeks and months.

Let me run through some figures I think will interest you:

In the years through 1970 Allegheny Power System will spend nearly $350 million on new construction in the coalfields of West Virginia and western Pennsylvania and in adjoining Maryland. That expenditure will be for the two-unit station at Fort Martin and the extra high voltage transmission line to carry power to major markets throughout the East, and also for regular transmission and distribution facilities.

By 1970 our powerplants, including Fort Martin, will be burning over 9 million tons of coal each year which even under modern mining methods will mean steady employment for some 2,500 miners.

Let me give you some more figures to round out the contribution to the economy of Appalachia for the same period through 1970 by all of the investor-owned electric companies, including Allegheny Power, which serve the region.

They will spend over $2 billion for plant and equipment to be located there.

Steam electric powerplants having a capacity of 7 million kilowatts are under construction or planned.

Those plants and other plants to be built outside the region will burn around 28 million tons of coal mined in Appalachia.

All of you are certainly aware that this huge additional consumption of coal will mean many more coal mining jobs as well as heavy construction payroll.

There can be no question that Allegheny Power System and its neighboring investor-owned electric utilities care about the future of Appalachia and its people. And we care enough to invest our dollars to make that future a bright and prosperous one.

It has been a sincere pleasure to have you with us on this occasion. As a memento of this groundbreaking day, to further demonstrate our appreciation, we have a specially inscribed gold shovel for each of you. You will receive them as you leave the room. Incidentally, they were made in West Virginia.

REMARKS OF DENNIS L. MCELROY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, CONSOLIDATION COAL CO., MORGANTOWN, W. VA., SEPTEMBER 11, 1964

Consol is happy to be a part of this Fort Martin industrial development, particularly with our old friends the Allegheny Power system. We are glad to be large users of their electrical energy and most happy to be a substantial supplier of their fuel needs.

The Fort Martin plant is the conclusion of the planning and aggressiveness of Allegheny Power.

To supply the fuel for this plant—northern West Virginia coal—will bring to this area 400 to 500 jobs. This is being done without the use of the ARA or any other Government handout. The economic push this plant and the attendant coal mining are giving this territory is 100 percent private financing, planning, and execution; and adding taxable income to local, State, and Federal Governments—in reverse of Government financial support.

The mine employment to produce the fuel for Fort Martin means about $3 million per year in wages and salaries plus roughly $750,000 per year in fringe benefits of one kind or another.

This coal production will require approximately $2,200,000 per year for materials, power, and supplies.

It has been my pleasure as well as many others in Consol to have not only business but personal friends in both West Penn and Monongahela Power. In days past, Joe Buchanan, Ord Lough, Clint Spurr, Phil Powers, and Don Potter did much to help me and educate me in the ways of the business world—just have the present officers of these companies.

The very best wishes of Consol go to Allegheny Power in this, which I am sure will be a successful venture. Also our congratulations to all the people of this area on getting this most important industrial development. Any area would be "tickled to death" to land such a plant.

We have been and certainly plan to continue to work as partners of Allegheny Power to get the maximum sound industrial growth of the whole western Pennsylvania area and the northern and central part of West Virginia which they serve. Thank you all very much.

Tribute to the Honorable Donald L. O'Toole

SPEECH
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sorrow that I learned of the passing of the Honorable Donald L. O'Toole, one of the truly great public servants to occupy a seat in this House.

Donald O'Toole was a close, personal friend of mine. He was my Representative in this body for 16 years. For the past four it had been a great distinction and privilege for me to serve as his Representative. In fact, election to the former 12th District of New York, which my constituents bestowed on me in 1960, was a goal Donald O'Toole sought for both of us.

It would be impossible at this time to enumerate the major legislative accomplishments of Donald O'Toole while a Member of Congress or measure the great influence he exerted among his colleagues, some of whom are present here today. He served with sincerity, devotion, and dedication the people of Brooklyn, the people of New York, and even more important, the people of America.

Donald O'Toole will long be remembered as a champion of the social legislation enacted during the turbulent and eventful years he served in this House. Although a progressive in the truest sense, he never hesitated to exercise an independence of judgment or oppose legislation, which though popular in the public's view, he regarded as undesirable or deemed detrimental to the well-being of the Nation as a whole.

A man of unusual foresight, Donald O'Toole was among the first to recognize and warn against the threat of Nazi Germany to the world; to introduce legislation restricting the exporting of strategic materials to the Axis powers; and to recommend a severance of diplomatic relations with the totalitarian countries.

The borough of Brooklyn, the State of New York, the country, and the world is a better place in which to live because Donald O'Toole was once among us.

To his father, "Cap," a man who has given his life to community service, to his wife, Mary, his sons Donald and Thomas, and his daughter Mary, I extend on behalf of our family our deepest sympathy on our common loss of an uncommon man.

These Wars Are Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, this body has repeatedly shown its concern for the repeal of the retail excise taxes which have persisted year after year beyond the wartime conditions which caused their imposition. My bill, S. 2644, which is still in committee, calls for a limited degree of excise tax reform. The question has been under study by the House Ways and Means Committee; and I gave testimony there, favoring repeal. I also testified on this question before the Democratic platform committee; and the platform, as adopted, includes an excise tax plank which I trust we shall see implemented in the next Congress.

A good editorial on this subject was recently published in the Pierceton (Ind.) Press, one of Indiana's leading weekly newspapers. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "These Wars Are Over," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THESE WARS ARE OVER

At long last it looks as if something constructive may be done within the foreseeable future about those Federal excise—or sales—taxes that are a hangover from World War II and the Korean war.

A House committee has been studying them with a view to ultimate revision. It is expected that reductions—if not total repeal—will come within 2 years or less.

If this turns out to be the case the Government will be just about 20 years late in getting around to this particular kind of tax reform. When the excise taxes were imposed, everyone expected that they would be ended with the wars that were responsible for them. But Congress took the easy road and kept them alive year after year.

The taxes are often called luxury levies. But that, to most minds, is a misnomer. The toilet articles used universally by women hardly fall into the luxury class in our kind of society. Nor do handbags, wallets or wedding rings, all of which are subject to the tax. Nor does a coat with a little fur trim which is another tax-soaked item.

This emphasizes an often overlook fact—that we need to pay close attention to taxes other than the income tax. And we need to pay special attention to taxes which are

imposed, supposedly, for the duration of a real emergency and then are continued long after that emergency has passed into history. This is the status of the Federal retail excise taxes.

The Space and Shipping Program in Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, when I first went to work with some of my colleagues and with a committee of distinguished citizens in New Orleans, headed by Mr. James J. Coleman, to bring the space age to south Louisiana, I knew of the vast potential of the program but the realities are now exceeding the expectations.

It was just a short 3 years ago when Mayor Schiro made the first announcement about the reactivation of the Michoud plant. At that time few of us realized that this program would constitute the single most important industry that has come to south Louisiana since we were admitted into the Union in 1812.

Its impact almost defies imagination as will be shown by some statistics which are included herewith.

However, let me first point out that all thoughtful students of history and political science know that government is best when it is closest to the people. That is why I have voted over the years to strengthen our city, parish and State governments and to support our basic concepts of city, parish and States rights. Some thoughtless critics, however, would have us believe that our U.S. Government has no role in our 20th century space era. This, of course, is untrue.

Common sense dictates otherwise. To give a few examples: we all know that it required the U.S. Government to perfect the nuclear defense system upon which all of us depend for the preservation of our freedom and liberty from our Communist enemies. We all know that it took years for us to convince the U.S. Congress of its responsibility in flood control, navigation, shipping, and shipbuilding. And we all know that an undertaking such as the space program, with its limitless promise for the future to our beloved Louisiana, requires the direction of a National Government. These are matters that all sensible Americans agree on.

Recently, Mr. James Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, met with Chairman Coleman and here is what he said as reported on that day, September 15, 1964, in the Times-Picayune. The article follows:

ON MOON BY 1969 WEBB FORECAST: SAYS MICHOUD PLAYS TOP ROLE IN GOAL

U.S. scientists' progress in the development of moonshot vehicles were described Monday as very good by the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

"If things work well, we'll be there by late 1969," said James Webb of Washington, D.C. "This would not be possible if it were not for Michoud."

Webb was in New Orleans to meet with former members of the NASA New Orleans Coordinating Committee, which was formed in 1961 by Mayor Victor H. Schiro to assist NASA in establishing the Michoud operations.

He predicted that the Michoud operation will remain a center of space activity for many years. "The South is the focal point of assembly and tests for our space exploration vehicles."

Michoud has been responsible for vast growth in the area, Webb added. He pointed out that 70 apartment buildings have been constructed in the New Orleans area, there are 36 new subdivisions with 1,346 new homes and 176 new businesses have resulted.

The Michoud operation and Mississippi test site are critical areas in rocket development, the NASA Administrator stated. Some $170 million in wages will be paid to the employees at Michoud during the 1965 fiscal year.

At present, he said, 11,505 persons are employed at Michoud and $927 million in contract work has been let at the plant since operations began.

Editorial comments were, of course, in order as a result of his statement. I quote below the Times-Picayune editorial, "High Expectation" of September 15, 1964, and another from the New Orleans States-Item, of the same date, entitled, "Gauge Michoud's Worth":

HIGH EXPECTATION

New Orleans and the national space program have come a long way together. And in the optimistic view of James Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, we will continue the mutually beneficial journey far into the future and the reaches of space.

Visiting here, Mr. Webb said: "The South is the focal point of assembly and tests for our space exploration vehicles."

In other words the world's most powerful rockets are being assembled here and soon will be undergoing static tests in Mississippi for the leap to the moon.

New Orleans and surrounding areas have accepted their roles in this effort, striving to welcome and accommodate the influx of specialists who have come here to plan and build the mammoth boosters. Local resources and manpower have been marshaled to the effort.

The return to the New Orleans area has been in equally generous measure. Mr. Webb noted that $927 million worth of contracts have been let at the Michoud plant; 11,505 persons have been employed there which will bring $170 million in wages into the area during the current fiscal year. This has meant an economic boom to New Orleans of considerable proportion, measurable in 176 new businesses, 1,346 new homes, and 70 new apartment buildings.

And there still is a long way to go, before the first astronaut sets foot on the moon about 1969. This will require continuing and expanded efforts on the part of the community, of which the Michoud operation has become an integral part.

But the rewards—both in terms of scientific accomplishment and economic reward—make it a journey to be anticipated with high expectation.

GAGE MICHOUD'S WORTH

Assessing the value to New Orleans of the Michoud Saturn moon rocket plant, James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, trots out facts and figures that are indeed impressive.

First, he articulates what has been apparent for several years now—that the rocket assembly facility will be a local fixture contributing enormously to the area's economic well-being for a long time to come.

Mr. Webb discloses that 11,505 persons are currently employed at Michoud and that they will earn some $170 million in wages during the current fiscal year.

At the same time he notes that $927 million in contract work has been let at the plant since operations got under way in 1961.

Including other than major contracts for production of boosters, however, NASA arrives at a figure in excess of $1 billion. And New Orleans firms have shared heavily (to the tune of 76 percent of total value) in contracts for modiying existing facilities and constructing new ones.

Mr. Webb, here to confer with local officials, touched on the current building and business boom, which he said stems largely from Michoud activities:

"Since the present operations have been underway, a tremendous growth has taken place in the New Orleans area. Seventy apartment buildings have been built. There are 36 new subdivisions, with 1,346 new homes, and 175 new businesses have resulted."

His observations complement a NASA news release issued last week on the occasion of Michoud's third anniversary. The agency described the space plant's impact on the community as "exceeding even the most liberal estimates of 3 years ago."

The report attributed 27,000 new jobs to the Michoud operation and said these workers are now providing an additional $4.5 million each year in city and State sales and income taxes.

It is noteworthy that the impact of Michoud has been more profound than previously imagined. And, as the United States moves more fully into the space age, guesses as to the plant's ultimate worth to the community will likely continue to be inadequate.

Prior to Administrator Webb's visit to our south Louisiana installation I was concerned about a letter which had been directed to the editor of the New Orleans States-Item derogating the value of the space program in our area, and I thereupon wrote a letter to the editor outlining what the program means to us. That letter follows in full:

AUGUST 14, 1964.

The EDITOR, NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM,
New Orleans, La.

DEAR SIR: A fortnight ago one of our citizens, in a letter to the editor, quoting a news magazine, purported to show that Louisiana is only obtaining $75 million as a result of the space program.

This misinformation was corrected in your lead editorial of July 25.

In order that our people may fully understand the tremendous impact of the space program, I have gathered from the most reliable public and private sources the following verified facts:

1. Total employees at the Michoud plant—August 13, 1964—11,155.

2. Estimated total number of jobs created in the New Orleans area, including both employment at the Michoud plant and the nearby telecomputing center at Slidell, La., and the added employment in the area firms doing subcontract work, 26,000.

3. Estimated total increase in personal income per year as a result of salaries and wages at the Michoud plant and at area firms doing subcontract work, $170 million.

4. Estimated total salaries and wages per year at the Michoud plant, $85 million.

5. Estimated total increase in effective buying income as a result of salaries and wages at the Michoud plant and at area firms doing subcontract work, $114.6 million.

6. Estimated total increase in effective buying income as a result of salaries and wages paid at the Michoud plant alone, $72.3 million.

7. Total number of subcontracts awarded to New Orleans area firms as an outgrowth of the prime contract space work being done at Michoud, 258 (as of July 1, 1964).

8. Total dollar value of the 258 subcontracts awarded to New Orleans area firms as an outgrowth of the prime contract space work being done at Michoud, $31,724,709 (as of July 1, 1964).

9. Grand total dollar value of subcontracts awarded to all firms as an outgrowth of prime contract space work being done at Michoud, $41,545,205 (as of July 1, 1964).

10. Grand total number of subcontracts awarded to all firms as an outgrowth of prime contract work being done at Michoud, 306.

11. Total percentage of subcontracts awarded to New Orleans area firms as an outgrowth of prime contract work being done at Michoud, 76.4 percent.

12. Estimated total revenues to the State of Louisiana per year by virtue of sales taxes from employees at the Michoud plant and their families, $2,336,000.

13. Estimated total revenues to the city of New Orleans per year by virtue of sales taxes from employees at the Michoud plant and their families, $1,168,000.

14. Estimated total revenues to the State of Louisiana per year from State income taxes from employees at Michoud and their families, $758,000.

15. The program has already accounted for 1,300 new homes, 36 new subdivisions, and 70 new apartments and many more will be required.

16. Total value of all contracts (both prime contracts and subcontracts to New Orleans area firms) awarded for space work at the Michoud plant and related work in conjunction with the prime contract work, almost $1 billion.

Thus it is shown that this program is one of the most important things that has happened to our State in its entire history, and I am proud that I played a leading role in making it possible for our people.

Sincerely,

HALE BOGGS,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not dwell on the many programs which this Congress has enacted such as the tax reduction bill—resulting in the greatest period of employment at the highest wages in history in my section of Louisiana, or the recently passed trade acts bringing record business to our port—but I must mention the Avondale Shipyard. That shipyard, located on the banks of the great Mississippi River in Jefferson Parish, La., is now the largest in the United States. Its productivity compares favorably with any shipyard in the world. It is building the most modern ships in our merchant fleet as well as some of the most complex vessels in our nuclear Navy.

This shipyard is providing about 5,000 jobs and an annual payroll of about $40 million. This program combined with the implementation of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, giving life and energy to such magnificent steamship lines as Lykes, Mississippi Shipping Co., and so forth, means at least $100 million a year in payrolls to our area.

These programs have greatly strengthened our free enterprise system so that today more of our people are gainfully employed in private enterprise, owning their own homes and enjoying the blessings of freedom than ever before.

These projects will return many billions over their cost to industry, to our business community, to our port and shipping, to professional and working people, to our homebuilders, contractors and real estate developers, to our farmers, fishermen, cattlemen, timbermen, and to our citizens generally of south Louisiana.

When one also considers the almost explosive growth of the petrochemical industry in the great parishes of St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, and St. James—fast becoming the Ruhr Valley of America—it is no wonder so many of my colleagues say to me, "How does Louisiana obtain so much?" I like to feel, Mr. Speaker, without being immodest, that the answer to that question lies, at least in part, in the hard work which I have been privileged to do for my district over the years, because of the sustaining confidence and friendship of the people that I represent.

South Dakota Young GOP Convention on August 27–29

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it was my privilege to attend and address the convention of the Young Republicans of the State of South Dakota. The convention was held on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, in the city of Aberdeen. It was the largest and most enthusiastic young GOP convention in the history of our State.

Under the able leadership of President Stan Adelstein, of Rapid City, S. Dak., the Young Republican League of our State has been steadily growing, both in size and in significance. Two of our present State candidates for the offices of secretary of state and attorney general are young Republicans, as is the executive secretary of the regular South Dakota State Central Committee of the Republican Party.

Instead of adopting a formal Republican Party platform for the Young Republican League, the convention endorsed and embraced the State and national platforms of the party, and then unanimously adopted a set of resolutions dealing with some of the subjects in which these Republicans, who are below age 36, are vitally interested.

SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolutions adopted at least week's State convention of the Young Republican League of South Dakota.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS, SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEAGUE, 1964, ABERDEEN, S. DAK., AUGUST 27, 28, 29

South Dakota Young Republicans proudly endorse the State and national Republican platforms. We wholeheartedly support the national ticket of BARRY GOLDWATER and WILLIAM MILLER, and the South Dakota congressional delegation of Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Representative BEN REIFEL and Representative E. Y. BERRY. We also enthusiastically support Nils Boe and Lem Overpeck for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State of South Dakota, and the outstanding slate of constitutional officers selected at the State convention.

We commend the Archie Gubbrud administration for its progressive administration over the past 4 years and commend it for its sound fiscal policy. We also commend it for its aid to State education, an increase from $5.2 million to $10 million per biennium, and for the establishment of a teacher's retirement program on the college level. We urge the further supplementation of South Dakota education opportunity.

AGRICULTURE

We deplore the lack of concern of the Democratic Party for the continual decline of farm prices to 74 percent of parity, the lowest level since 1938. We particularly resent the displacement of millions of acres of our productive lands through importation of cheap foreign beef and other red meats, and for surrendering to the State Department philosophies in forcing through Congress an ineffective beef import quota law as a substitute for the effective type of legislation which is so badly needed.

ASK REPLACEMENT FOR SECRETARY FREEMAN

We suggest that this administration replace Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman with Billie Sol Estes, who is apparently the only man who fully understands the farm program of this administration well enough to make it pay.

OPPOSE CARPETBAG CANDIDATES

We condemn the drive toward excessive power by the executive branch of our Federal Government and the manifestation of this attitude by the administration sending carpetbag candidates into strategic States to run for the office of U.S. Senator.

GOLDWATER BEST BET FOR PEACE

As young Americans we place our faith and confidence in the Republican Party with its policy of firmness supported by strength, which has always kept us out of war, rather than in a party whose policies of vacillation and indecision have repeatedly blundered America into foreign wars. We place our faith in the Republican Party and its leadership, which will regain the support and confidence of our friends and allies and restore the respect our enemies had for the determination and military might during the Republican years of Eisenhower and Dulles.

RECREATION

As young South Dakotans, interested in our unequaled recreational, fish and wildlife opportunities, we deplore and condemn the recent statements by the Democratic candidate for Governor, John Frank Lindley, revealing a desire to put the South Dakota Department of Game, Fish, and Parks back into partisan politics.

MORALITY IN GOVERNMENT

The YGOP feels that the people of the United States deserve the guarantee of morality, honesty, and integrity in government which the people of South Dakota have enjoyed with the Gubbrud administration and which will be continued by the Boe-Overpeck administration. All Americans can achieve this type of government only by election of the Goldwater-Miller ticket, "a team you can trust," which is in sharp and refreshing contrast to the scandalous, un-

ethical, and immoral "fast deal" of the national Democrat ticket.

The South Dakota Young Republican League expresses its appreciation and thanks to the citizens of South Dakota and to the senior Republicans for their acceptance, support, and encouragement of the many young people who have entered into political activities of South Dakota.

The convention further thanks the host city of Aberdeen and the Brown County Young Republican Club, Steve Smith, convention chairman, and also those persons and businesses who have helped to make this convention a success.

Salute to Luis Muñoz-Marín

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, the announced retirement from the governorship of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico by Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín has caused widespread comment in the Nation's press as an example of democracy in action. The great love and respect for the Governor by the people of Puerto Rico would insure his reelection for another term if he chose to be a candidate. The Governor felt, however, that it was in the best interest of democracy that no one man allow himself to be perpetuated in office. Thus, he declined to be a candidate for reelection, although his party urged him to reconsider his decision.

Because of the Governor's decision in the face of his tremendous popularity and great record, the press has devoted considerable editorial space in his praise. I desire to include six additional editorials which I consider representatve and which I am sure my colleagues will find of interest.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 19, 1964]

TRIBUTE

Luis Muñoz-Marín has quietly stepped down as Governor of Puerto Rico. The man who modestly led the greatest single success in the underdeveloped world of today simply declined renomination.

We refuse to be quiet about it. Twenty-one blasts from the biggest guns would be inadequate. This man led a country from deepest colonial poverty and humiliation and intolerable population pressure into democratic dignity and spreading affluence. He and a few colleagues proved to a fearful developing world that it could be done. They had the advantage of what Muñoz created as commonwealth status within the United States, but the miracle was still largely their own.

Largely his own, since leadership is so great an achievement must have its due. He will not leave the scene. He plans to serve in the Puerto Rican Senate and as active elder statesman. But now is the moment to ring the big bell. He is one of the few in today's world who have earned it.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Aug. 20, 1964]

MUÑOZ MARÍN: A RARE POLITICAL TYPE

All hail the most unsusual kind of politician of all. Or perhaps the word should be "statesman."

Anyway, Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico has declined to seek a fifth term although his reelection would be almost as sure a thing as there is in politics.

Instead he will run for the Commonwealth senate, and, as he put it, resume his role as teacher to the Puerto Rican people.

It was an emotional moment when Mr. Muñoz announced his decision to the Popular Democratic Party convention. There had been rumors he might decline a fifth nomination, but it was assumed that he would accept a draft.

News accounts say the 3,000 delegates made such an uproar when he announced his refusal that they fell silent again only after the Governor's wife rose to plead for respect of his wishes.

Mr. Muñoz' is a proud record. He was president of the island's senate from 1940 until 1948, when he became Puerto Rico's first elected Governor.

In 1940 per capita income in Puerto Rico was about $120, today it is more than $700, largely because of Muñoz' economic and social development programs. Life expectancy has risen from 46 to 68, and literacy is close to 90 percent.

The situation of Puerto Rico is not exactly comparable to that of the Latin American Republics, since the island is a Commonwealth of the United States, but its record of progress surely provides some inspiration south of the border.

Governor Muñoz has been elected again and again. In 1960 local bishops of the Roman Catholic Church attempted to forbid voting for him because his administration was tolerant of birth control measures and refused to allow religious instruction in public schools. Though the island is overwhelmingly Catholic the Governor won reelection with 58.34 percent of the total vote.

Why resign now? Well, he said he didn't want his people to become dependent on a man. Rather, he said, he wanted Puerto Ricans to look to themselves and to the democratic processes. In his role as "teacher" he plans to travel throughout the island speaking to the people on this subject.

Rarely cince George Washington has a man in American politics resigned at the height of his popularity. Mr. Muñoz is quite a man.

[From the New York World-Telegram, Aug. 19, 1964]

SALUTE

In their obstinate refusal to move over and give some of the younger fellows a chance, even college presidents, movie stars and opera singers don't hog spotlights as tenaciously as politicians.

Whether it be a Roosevelt, an Adenauer, a De Gaulle or a lesser politico with his hand on a smaller throttle, the elected official sees only one thing, when he looks in the mirror. He sees the indispensable man.

Today, therefore, we give an especial salute to Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico, who has just announced he won't run for a fifth term, even though everyone agrees he'd be a shoo-in.

Don Luis first took charge of the island in 1940, became its first elected Governor in 1948, engineered Puerto Rico's present Commonwealth status, and is the architect of Operation Bootstrap, the free-enterprise and cooperative self-help effort that succeeded so dramatically that the island has been the wonder of the poverty-ridden Caribbean, and indeed the Western Hemisphere.

And now, with grace and thoughtfulness, he steps down, saying that the continuing development of the democratic process demands he do so.

The nominee of the Popular Democratic Party in next November's election is Muñoz' hight-hand man, Roberto Sanchez Vilella, presently the Commonwealth's secretary of state.

Sinch Sanchez likely will win the Governorship, little or no change in basic economic or social policies is forecast, or any alteration in San Juan's policies toward Washington.

Doubtless Muñoz' decision will cause greater efforts on the part of the island's growing Statehood Party, but this increasingly vigorous debate about status is a healthy thing, too.

Don Luis is something more than a politician; indeed, a good deal more. He is a poet, a philosopher, a lawyer, a masterful writer in two languages, a brilliant, kind, reflective and modest man.

That's why, probably, something of selfless greatness rather than mere personal ambition always has tinged his public actions, including his most recent one.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Aug. 19, 1964]

ONE OF THE GREAT ONES RETIRES

An emotional people, it could have been expected that Puerto Ricans of his own party would protest vociferously and tearfully—as they did—when Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín announced that he was through as Governor of the island.

The reason was typical of the man. He had been Governor for four terms, since 1952. It was time, he said, for him to return to the senate, and to go out among the people "as a teacher." It was clear that he felt democracy was not compatible with one-man rule.

Yet those who tried to holler down his announcement—reluctant to believe that an era was ending—were quite correct in appraising this particular one man as being as close to indispensable as any political leader can be.

It was Muñoz-Marín, more than anyone, who led Puerto Rico to its unique Commonwealth status, and who has fought for it since against vigorous minorities who favor either statehood or independence. The proof that his was the right formula for a once poverty-stricken island lies in the statistics.

Since he and his Popular Democratic Party came to power, the life expectancy of Puerto Ricans has risen from 46 to 61 years, per capita income is up several hundred percent, the budget for education has quadrupled and then kept on going.

Puerto Ricans justifiably regret the retirement of so successful an executive. But Muñoz-Marín is probably right again. At 66, he can retain the role of adviser while passing on the reins to Roberto Sanchez Vilella, who has been his right-hand man. The latter's election, with the Muñoz-Marín backing, is almost a certainty. The Puerto Rican miracle, under the benign help of the United States, is likely to continue.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Sept. 7, 1964]

TEACHER OF DEMOCRACY

The cries from the convention floor would have been music to any politician's ears. But Puerto Rico's Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, 66 years old and four-time popularly elected chief of his island's fledgling democracy, knew it was time to step aside. He grabbed

the microphone and said, "No, no," in answer to the unanimous chant of "Four More, Four More," from delegates of Puerto Rico's Popular Democratic Party assembled last month to nominate a gubernatorial candidate.

The persistent party leaders went ahead and voted 2,734 to 90 to renominate the reluctant Mr. Muñoz. As the man wielding the convention speaker's gavel with all the guile and seeming hearing difficulty of a John McCormack or a Sam Rayburn, Governor Muñoz vetoed that note and instead accepted nomination as an at-large candidate for the island senate. "You must have confidence in yourselves. It is now time for the teacher to return to the class," a happy Governor Muñoz told his followers who knew "the class" meant the countryside from whose peasant peoples his political strength came.

Strange doings indeed in America's Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, a land free only 66 years from Spanish rule, once derisively termed the trash can of the Caribbean, and now the booming envy of the hemisphere with a per capita income of $740—second only to oil-rich Venezuela. All this accomplished during the 25 years since Senator Luis Muñoz founded his Popular Democratic Party.

It was in 1939 that the bearlike, chain-smoking young senator went campaigning in the hills and villages of his country. He carried one message to the largely illiterate, cane-cutting peasants: You have a vote ("a thousand times stronger than your sugar machete"). Use it. Don't sell it. Vote for me and the party I am making. If I fail you, vote us out and put someone else in. "Keep doing it until you get the right man running your government." This was the single campaign speech he delivered with gusto over and over again.

They elected him and his party then and overwhelmingly since. He proved to be their right man. Today his land is known as a workshop of democracy. No wonder the teacher wants to withdraw to the sidelines and observe how firm the roots.

Operation Bootstrap, the necessary economic program for his country's new life, began in 1949 after Mr. Muñoz was inaugurated as Puerto Rico's first popularly elected Governor. Previously the territorial Governors were appointed by the U.S. President. Governor Muñoz was both the chief architect and administrative dynamo of "Bootstrap's" three-pronged goals: education, industrialization, and agricultural diversification.

Today the literacy rate has risen to near 90 percent. Some 700,000 are in elementary schools and superior institutions of higher learning flourish. With the help of tax exemptions (up to 13 years for establishing in more remote sections), Puerto Rico now has some 700-odd booming factories making everything from Maidenform lingerie to Paper Mate ballpoint pens. The goal for 1975 is 2,500. The agricultural story is equally successful.

What a magnificent legacy this "teacher of democracy" leaves. All because, on his return in 1926 from youthful years spent in the United States, he was "sickened and disgusted" by the poverty he saw everywhere. He and his electorate can be justly proud of their showplace island which in all probability ultimately will be our 51st State.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, Aug. 30, 1964]

AMAZING LEADER

Men in power so seldom step aside of their own volition and at the zenith of prestige that the refusal of Luis Muñoz-Marin to stand for election to a fifth 4-year term as Governor of Puerto Rico is startling, so interwoven are those two names. Yet, he has done that very thing.

As one reflects on his withdrawal from his people's highest post, his action befits the man. For Mr. Muñoz is a dedicated advocate of democracy; to the point, no less, of relinquishing the authority his adherents fervently hoped he would continue to maintain indefinitely because he staunchly believes no one man should continue in that power in perpetuity in an elective democracy.

And Puerto Rico is exactly that. In commonwealth association with the United States, and holding citizenship in the United States, Puerto Ricans are autonomous in the conduct of their internal affairs.

Mr. Muñoz-Marin, author and director of Operation Bootstrap, has brought Puerto Rico from social and economic depths to improving living standards and to continuing industrial progress. Vast numbers of Puerto Ricans live in the States. Crowds from the States surge to Puerto Rico's vacation allurements.

It would be deplorable if Mr. Muñoz-Marin's withdrawal from gubernatorial authority were attended by retirement from public service. But he will return to the Puerto Rican Senate in which he attained legislative renown. He will not intrude upon his successor, but Puerto Rico will be comforted to know that withdrawal is not retirement. He will be an elder statesman.

The strong amity characterizing relations between Washington and San Juan undoubtedly will continue in full pace. The popular Democratic Party, which Mr. Muñoz-Marin founded, has nominated Secretary of State Roberto Sanchez Vilella for Governor. Though others seek the office, his election in November seems certain. This presumably would mean a continuity of policy.

For Mr. Sanchez and Governor Muñoz-Marin are of the same school of political thought. They have been collagues in statesmanship for many years and the candidacy of Mr. Sanchez, who has a strong record of high public service, has the blessing of Governor Muñoz-Marin.

The oracles predict that all will continue well with Puerto Rico.

Conservation for Long-Range Good of Agriculture and the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks by Horace D. Godfrey, Administrator, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, at a special field day in Fort Leavenworth, Kans., September 15, 1964, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It's good to be with you at the beginning of a tour that will let us see conservation at work * * * let us see how the farmers of Leavenworth County are keeping the soil in place and licking the problem of making water work with them instead of against them.

The tour will show how conservation works for the long-range good of agriculture and the Nation, and how its benefits can be used today for one of the pressing needs of our people—outdoor recreation.

Farmers in Leavenworth County have been concerned for years about the problems of water and soil conservation. What's more, they've been very active in trying to solve those problems. Through the agricultural conservation program, they have especially promoted practices which conserve water, such as detention dams, flood control; terraces, grass and legume seeding, and contour farming. Figures compiled to show agricultural conservation program activities in Kansas rank Leavenworth County at the top or near the top in all water conservation practices.

It's timely, then, that the people of this area have a chance to see what has been done, and how conservation can contribute toward recreational opportunities.

CONSERVATION IS POPULAR

It's hard to find anyone nowadays who is opposed to the conservation of natural resources. This positive attitude toward conservation is reflected in the work of the present Congress, which may go down in history as the "Conservation Congress" if editorial writers have their way.

For 28 years now, the Nation's farmers—with the Nation's help—have been saving water and soil for the future through the agricultural conservation program. The work they've done is phenomenal, but the work that still needs to be done is staggering.

WHAT'S BEEN DONE

With agricultural conservation program help, farmers have built enough miles of terracing to reach seven times to the moon.

They've constructed enough sod waterways to go around the world a dozen times.

They have planted a tree for every person living on the earth.

They've built 2 million farm ponds.

They have stripcropped an area almost equal to Michigan, Georgia, and Florida combined.

They have improved almost 275 million acres of rangeland—equal to the combined areas of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah.

And they have established or reestablished an acreage three times that size in grass and legume cover.

A LOOK AT KANSAS

I could go on indefinitely, recounting accomplishments of the Nation's farmers through the agricultural conservation program. But let's look closer to home.

A needs survey shows that, in order to do a proper job of conservation, Kansas needs 478,000 acres of permanent sod waterway, 66,500 farm ponds, 762,310 miles of terraces, and 130,500 erosion-control dams.

In the years from the birth of the agricultural conservation program through 1962, the last year for which figures are complete, Kansas farmers have built 125,656 acres of sod waterways, 51,526 farm ponds, 162,907 miles of terraces, and 19,103 erosion dams.

CAN MORE BE DONE?

From this list, you can see that Kansas farmers are serving the needs of the Nation and of future generations at a pretty good clip. But there's a lot to be done; and in conservation work, today's efforts are at least a day late.

Can we expect the farmer to do more and do it faster? I think not.

Generally speaking, the farmer hasn't had the financial means to carry out conservation programs on a larger scale.

THE REST OF THE NATION MUST HELP THE FARMER IN CONSERVATION

Most conservation will boost income in the long run and the farmer knows it. But, if there's not enough income for the short run, there's no use worrying about the long run—and the farmer knows that, too.

It's only after the farmer has fed his family, made arrangements to handle his farm-

ing activities for next year, and made payments on his loans that he can find money for his share of conservation work.

Any truly big-scale conservation must be done on our farms, for 90 percent of the land in the continental United States is used for agricultural purposes by private land owners.

But, if there's to be an increase in the rate of conserving natural resources, the people of the Nation must increase their participation. The farmer can't carry the load—even with the help of agricultural conservation program. Agricultural conservation program helps the farmer through cost sharing, but the farmer must always put up his share.

HOW THE NATION CAN HELP THE FARMER

The rest of our people can increase their participation by assuming a greater share of the cost—in effect, letting the farmer's money buy more conservation. That is being done to some extent through special agricultural conservation program projects.

Or the people can increase their participation by insuring that the farmer has an adequate income, that the jaws of the income-cost vise don't squeeze any closer.

The farmer's average net income per person is only 60 percent of the average per capita income in towns and cities. He's now investing 5 percent of his net income in conservation; and it's conceivable that if his income equaled that of the city family, the present level of private investment in farm conservation could be nearly doubled.

Efforts to improve farm income over a number of years have included support programs which help farmers keep supplies of major crops nearer demand, and so keep his income disadvantage from growing worse.

COMMODITY PROGRAMS IMPORTANT TO FARMERS

And, during the past 3 years, as a result primarily of commodity programs enacted since 1961, net farm income has averaged $900 million a year higher than the annual average of the 1957–60 period. Gross farm income has averaged $4 billion higher, and net income per farm has averaged $600 a year higher.

Without commodity programs for the major grain crops, farm income would take a devasting drop—net farm income, according to impartial studies, would drop by 40 percent.

Farm programs—and improved farm income—of course have a decided effect on local business, and the fact is that the rise in gross income since 1960 has poured an additional $8.5 billion into rural communities—above what would have been the case under a continuation of 1960-type programs.

A great deal of this rise was due to new and improved farm programs. These programs have been successful, and they have conformed to the standards laid down by President John F. Kennedy early in his administration when he said any new program must (1) strengthen farm income, (2) reduce surpluses, (3) place no undue burden on the taxpayer.

WHEAT PROGRAM WAS SUCCESSFUL IN 1964

I want to say a few words about the 1964 wheat program, which has been extremely successful, despite a great deal of misunderstanding and misinformation.

Some, it would seem, blame the market price on the certificates that are being used in the program.

Actually, the wheat price traditionally follows the loan level—it has for over 10 years. And with supplies as high as they have been in recent years, and with the new 1964 crop coming on and no effective production-marketing program in operation, there was no reason to believe that this year's price would do anything but follow the legally directed support price to a low level. There was every reason to believe that the price would drop near the support level.

At the same time, it was apparent following last year's referendum that the prices of bread and the other end products of wheat would not decline. Farmers would lose from the low price. Consumers would not benefit from the low price. So someone else would benefit from the cheap farm price for wheat.

It was for this reason that we sat down last winter to draft a new wheat program. With this program, wheat prices dropped near the loan level, as they would have in any case. But the difference is that—with the program—farmers are now getting the loan price plus the certificate value for wheat used domestically for domestic food and for export.

Without the program, the Nation's wheat farmers would have found themselves $450 million poorer today. In Kansas, the wheat program has meant the difference this year of $107 million more in farm income. In Nebraska, it has meant an additional $29 million; in South Dakota, $18 million; in North Dakota, $52 million.

Many have referred to the miller's price for wheat as including a "bread tax." This is what they tell consumers. And it is untrue because the cost of wheat to millers has not increased enough to justify in itself an increase in bread prices. A representative of the American Bakers Association, testifying before the Senate Committee on Agriculture early this year, pointed out that: "If the price of wheat were the only cost consideration in a loaf of bread, an increase per bushel of approximately 60 cents would be required to raise that value by another cent."

Some of the same people then turn around and tell farmers that if it were not for the certificates millers have to buy, they would be paying a higher price in the market place. They have even labeled the market price as the "Johnson-Freeman" price.

Secretary Freeman used a term which I think is much more appropriate. He pointed out that, if you left it to certain groups, there would be a market price of only $1.26—and no additional payments or certificates at all. Since one farm organization has been the chief advocate of this position, it seems appropriate to call it the "Farm Bureau" price.

As a result of the wheat programs since 1962—and with aggressive work to take advantage of export markets—we have been able to achieve a substantial drop in wheat stocks. The carryover was below 750 million bushels on August 28, compared with almost 1.2 billion bushels on July 1, 1963—and a record carryover of 1.4 billion bushels in 1961.

This reduces taxpayer costs, and puts the whole wheat situation on a sounder footing.

THE 1965 WHEAT PROGRAM IS A FREEDOM PROGRAM

The 1965 voluntary wheat program is the most flexible farm program ever. It offers the Nation's wheat farmers a wide freedom of choice.

A wheat farmer can: (1) grow wheat up to his allotment; (2) substitute wheat for feed grains or feed grains for wheat; (3) grow 50 percent more wheat than his allotment and store the excess production for later marketing; (4) divert additional acreage into an approved conserving use and receive additional income; (5) decide now what he wants to do, then change his mind next spring; (6) stay out of the program, grow all the wheat he wants, and take his chances on the open market.

THE 1965 WHEAT PROGRAM WILL BENEFIT FARMERS FINANCIALLY

Cooperators can expect a return advantage of almost 34 percent over noncooperators for each allotment acre. Gross returns to cooperators in 1965 are expected to be the same or little higher than in 1964.

One of the goals of the new wheat legislation is to reduce Government stocks. And so the program is designed to encourage farmers to participate to the maximum degree—in other words, to divert for payment 20 percent of the 1965 allotment.

Additional diversion is the key to the success of the 1965 program, and farmers will be paid at an increased rate for their diverted acres. But, regardless of the degree of participation cooperation farmers will enjoy a decided income advantage.

The cooperating farmer, of course, will get the free market price plus the value of the wheat certificates. The noncooperator will get the free market price.

FEED GRAIN DIVERSION REQUIREMENTS ANNOUNCED

To help farmers decide which provision of the 1965 wheat program is best for an individual farm, the Secretary has announced minimum and maximum diversion requirements for the 1965 feed grain program.

The maximum and the minimum are the same as for the 1964 program.

The maximum diversion is 50 percent of farm's feed grain base or 25 acres, whichever is larger.

The minimum diversion is 20 percent of farm's feed grain base.

Other details of the 1965 feed grain program can't be announced now because drought in many parts of the country may affect yields, and accurate forecasts of next year's needs can't be made at this time.

This is the fourth year of the voluntary feed grain programs, which reversed the surplus uptrend of the 1950's. When the feed grain program was put into effect in 1961, feed grain carryovers had risen for 9 straight years—to an alltime high of 85 million tons.

The feed grain program reversed that trend for 2 straight years. Record yields in 1963 prevented a further reduction in the carryover this year, but the October 1 carryover will still be 15 million tons below the high of 3 years earlier.

The reduction in feed grain stocks since the high point of 1961 is resulting in a saving of better than $200 million a year to the Government on storage handling and other costs. In addition, farmers are benefiting from the feed grain program—not only because of diversion payments, but also because the price of feed grains has gone up. Milo, for example, was $2 a hundredweight at markets in this area yesterday.

BEEF SITUATION IMPROVED

Now, a word about the livestock problem we've been worrying about recently, Department of Agriculture efforts to help the livestock industry are paying off. Due primarily to a change in supplies, fed cattle prices began going up in mid-June after a long slide.

Between March 2 and September 4, USDA purchased better than 203 million pounds of beef at a cost of $115 million for the school lunch program and for distribution to needy persons. That purchase program is continuing, and it has accounted for between 3 and 4 percent of commercial beef production.

Other supply changes came from an export development program, sales of beef to other countries under foreign assistance programs, and industry-government domestic beef promotion programs. And imports of beef and veal for the first 7 months of 1964 are down 112 million pounds from the same period last year.

FUTURE OF FARM PROGRAMS

And what about the future? Feed grain and wheat programs expire if they are not renewed in the next session of Congress.

No longer is there a "farm bloc" in the legislative halls. People on farms are down to les than 1 in 12. In the House of Representatives, only 51 districts had as much as 20 percent "rural farm" population in the

1960 census—less than 1 district out of every 8. One district in every three has a rural population of as much as 10 percent.

The future of farm legislation depends on unity among commodity groups, cooperation among farmers' organizations, realization of the importance of agriculture to the Nation's economy by "city" Congressmen, and an administration that sincerely believes in farm programs. Without all of these elements, farm legislation is impossible.

Further—and I want to emphasize this—no farm legislation could be passed without the support of the President. Certainly this was demonstrated in the enactment of the new wheat-cotton legislation in the Congress this past spring.

It is not my place or my purpose to discuss partisan matters or candidates. But as a public servant in the field of agriculture, I do not hesitate to say that choices of vast importance to the future of agriculture are being made in 1964.

This year, as in every year, ASC committeemen are being elected. The work they do is vital to every farming community and vital to the Nation's economy. It's important to get the very best men and women to serve.

And, in the other elections, the choices made by the Nation are of even greater importance. Some candidates frankly do not believe in farm programs. Some would terminate them.

I regret that the future of the farm programs is an issue in this election. I am sure that many of you regret it also. But regret does not keep it from being so. The choices must be made, and they will have far-reaching effects.

There are many issues in the 1964 elections. Some are real. But some are intended to divert attention from the real ones. You can be sure of this: The real issue in agriculture is not what kind of program we will have, but whether we will have a program at all.

This occasion is devoted to conservation. This is not a controversial subject. It is a matter of good land use. And good land use is largely a matter of economics. And the agricultural economy of the future is being determined now.

As I said a few moments ago, there are two ways to increase conservation activity by farmers themselves. One is cost sharing by a Government agency. The other is through an improvement in farmer income. One thing is sure: If we want to increase income, we must retain the programs we now have. We must add to them—not do away with them.

That's something to think about as we look at the land and water resources of this area, and as we continue to ponder the future of this great land of ours.

Self-Determination Only Solution for Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, in the belief that the principle of self-determination for all nations is in the best tradition of American democracy, I have followed the recent tragic events on the island of Cyprus with grave concern. Recently I was asked for a public statement of my views on this issue by Rhode Island members of the Order of Ahepa, which is a well-known national organization whose members are American citizens of Greek descent. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include that statement:

Almost four-fifths of the people of Cyprus are Orthodox Greeks. Today, as in the long centuries of their past history, they are Hellenistic in culture and ethnic character. Though Cyprus has been overrun by many foreign invaders—including the Moslem Arabs, the Franks, the Venetians, the Turks, and the British—her people have remained steadfast in their adherence to their religion and their ancient Greek heritage.

As a result of their determined struggle for freedom, they gained a guarantee of independence from Britain in 1959. Under the international agreements made in Zurich and London, however, the autonomy of Cyprus was nonetheless limited when Britain, Greece, and Turkey retained certain privileges of intervention. Consequently Cyprus has not yet attained its true independence.

This situation has been attributed to a desire to protect the interests of the Turkish minority which continues to live on the island as a residue of the colonization policies of the Ottoman Empire, which dominated the area from 1571 until Britain took control in 1878. Actually, the present arrangement, because it denies the will of the majority, has resulted in nothing but increasing hostility and violence.

It is now increasingly evident that no solution short of true self-determination can resolve the Cyprus situation, which remains not only as an unjust compromise that the Cypriot Greeks cannot accept but also as a threat to world peace. It may eventually prove necessary to arrange an exchange of the Turkish minority with Greeks living under Turkish rule. But I believe that this is a last resort which could be avoided if the Greek majority were given true independence with the establishment of constitutional guarantees of the rights of the minority.

The source of the present disorders is the frustration of the just aspirations of the Greek majority for true freedom. Americans, whose nation was born out of a hard fight for self-determination, cannot fail to appreciate the struggle of the Greek Cypriots, who are bound together by a common faith, a common desire for liberty, and a common devotion to the culture of ancient Greece where the ideal of democracy was first born.

Department of the Interior Study Reveals Possible Use of Coal as Water Purifier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the problems which have beset the coal industry have been a continuing concern in this country for several years. Since World War II, this product has lost a large portion of its traditional consumer market, due to the switch of railroads to diesel locomotives and the increased use of fuel oil in commercial enterprises and private homes. In addition, high transportation rates further aggravated the situation.

These challenges have taxed the capability and ingenuity of leadership in the unions, management, and government. But extensive progress has been effected. Mechanization of the mining process has decreased production costs, and other procedures to reduce movement expenses have been instituted. It is hoped that research and experimentation in the transmission of coal-generated electric power by means of extra-high-voltage lines, and shipment of coal by pipeline in slurry form or gaseous state will lead to improving the prospects for diversified markets. When fully developed, these measures will enable coal to continue to compete with other fuels.

As a Senator from West Virginia, where the mountains abound in this natural resource, I am always keenly interested in new ideas, techniques, and projects affecting its utilization. Early this month Mr. Glenn E. Johnson, a chemical research engineer in the Bureau of Mines, of the Department of the Interior, presented at the American Chemical Society meeting in Chicago, Ill., a report on a potential use of coal. Mr. Johnson had prepared this study in conjunction with Mr. L. M. Kunka and Mr. J. H. Field, both of the same organization. They pointed out that promising results have been obtained from the application of coal to the removal of impurities from water. It was stated that batch tests of coals and flyashes were made, to determine their effectiveness in eliminating organic contaminants from the final effluent of secondary-treated waste waters. The adsorptive capacity of flyashes coals of various ranks, and pretreated coals was ascertained, and was compared with that of activated carbon. The coals, though less active than carbon, are relatively inexpensive and can be burned as fuel after use in this treatment.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that excerpts from the presentation entitled "Use of Coal and Flyash as Adsorbents for Removing Organic Contaminants From Secondary Municipal Effluents" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the report were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM "USE OF COAL AND FLYASH AS ADSORBENTS FOR REMOVING ORGANIC CONTAMINANTS FROM SECONDARY MUNICIPAL EFFLUENTS"

(By G. E. Johnson, L. M. Kunka, J. H. Field)

The object of this study is to evaluate the various ranks of coal and flyashes as adsorbents for the refractory organic contaminants in effluents from secondary sewage treatment plants.

(During intensive tests with four type coals, activated carbon, flyash, and pretreated coal.) The pretreated coal was not appreciably better than the same coal untreated and not as efficient as other raw coals. The flyash was a fair adsorbent, removing greater amounts of contaminants with increased dosages. This pattern was not true of all the coals, in some cases with increased concentrations of coal, contaminant removals decreased. The more consistent results obtained with the flyashes are believed to have occurred because the flyashes were more homogeneous and of smaller particle size than the coals, and the samples selected for testing more uniform. The data obtained

eliminate coal rank as a factor in adsorption of waste water refractory contaminants. One coal of a certain rank can be a good adsorbent, while another of the same rank is ineffective. Nor could any rational correlation be made—with volatile matter, ash content, or carbon content of the coals. Both high and low contaminant removals were obtained with coals of high and low volatile matter, ash, and carbon contents.

A preliminary cost estimate was made for treating the final effluent of a 100-million-gallon-per-day secondary sewage treatment plant with coal. The overall investment cost for a 100-million-gallon-per-day plant amounted to $4 million. The cost of treating, including drying of coal for combustion, amounts to about 2 cents per 1,000 gallons, and with a 13-percent return on investment (20 percent capital charges) 3.5 cents per 1,000 gallons. No charge was made for coal as it is assumed that the spent coal will be consumed in a powerplant.

At least one coal of all the ranks found in this country has been tested for its adsorptive capacity to remove COD (Chemical Oxygen Demand—materials that consume oxygen) from secondary waste water. Many of the coals and flyashes possess some degree of adsorptive capacity for final waste contaminants. Because some coals contain constituents that contribute to the COD content during treatment, careful selection must be made in choosing a coal that will give satisfactory absorption. Attempts to identify the particular property of coal that influences its adsorptive capacity were unsuccessful.

Although the best coals tested were only one-quarter as efficient for COD adsorption as activated carbon, use of coal has inherent advantages over other adsorbents: (1) Coal costs about 0.25 cents per pound, while granular activated carbon sells for about 25 cents per pound; (2) the coal after use in waste water treatment can be burned along with the absorbed wastes with no loss in fuel value, thus also solving the problem of ultimate disposal of the removed wastes.

Batch tests have indicated that some of the more effective coals would have the adsorptive capacity of removing COD to about 4 percent of the weight of the coal. Further testing using continuous flow of waste water through fixed beds of coal is planned to establish the performance at more realistic conditions. Estimated cost of 2 to 3.5 cents per 1,000 gallons of water treated using coal compared favorably with the published estimated cost for treating with activated carbon. There is sufficient basis to indicate a place for coal as an adsorbent for final waste water, if not in competition with activated carbon, at least as an adjunct to it.

Jim Farley's Views of the Republican Convention and Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 20, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, there is no man on the current scene who commands greater respect for his political knowledge and acumen than the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General and Democratic national chairman.

Delegates and others in attendance at the recent Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, and the millions who followed the proceedings via television will not soon forget his stirring and inspiring memoral tribute to the late Speaker Sam Rayburn.

Following the extravaganza at the Cow Palace in San Francisco in July, Mr. Farley offered his cogent views on the proceedings and results of that affair. When he speaks on such matters, every American—Democrat or Republican—would do well to give careful and serious thought to his remarks.

Even though the campaign of 1964 is presently in its initial stages, many of Jim Farley's views have already been vindicated. In order that my colleagues in the Congress and the American people may have the benefit of this great man's insight, his remarks are printed below:

STATEMENT BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

It is time—while there is still time—to call a spade a spade. The country has not been watching a Republican Convention at San Francisco. An appalled world has witnessed an outrageous putsch.

The disgraceful proceedings at the Cow Palace do not represent the views of the vast majority of the Republican Party. On the contrary, the will of the rank-and-file Republicans was throttled in full public view. I am not elated as a Democrat, because I am far too concerned as an American.

I agree with the Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller, Republican Governor of New York. In 50 years of American politics, I have never witnessed a more frightening performance. When a so-called convention refuses to repudiate an organization which called Dwight David Eisenhower—a Republican nominee who was elected by 33 million Republicans and Democrats and is beloved by 195 million Americans—a conscious Communist agent, then I say that such action is not Republican, and comes close to being un-American. When a Republican Governor of the State of New York charges that his followers received death threats and that ruffians attacked his meetings, then I say that the Governor of New York is not making a Republican request for fairplay but is giving an earnest American warning to all of his fellow citizens that the Bill of Rights is under attack. When a Republican Governor of Pennsylvania charges that his followers were roughhoused and barred, and that the galleries were rigged, then it is obvious that there is something of most sinister intent and of dangerous proportion abroad in our country.

The country is now being subjected to the tragic farce of the extremist candidate attempting to hide behind the dictionary. The backing and filling in the defense of extremism clears up only one thing and that is that such statement is one of the most irresponsible and incendiary utterances in the history of this country. It is a mistake for the responsible Republicans now searching their consciences to believe that the fanatical followers among the Goldwater forces can be controlled. Indeed, it may well be the tragic illusion of Senator GOLDWATER himself that he can control them. In any event, it is far too late for BARRY GOLDWATER to attempt to explain away with his lips the hatred and bigotry some of his followers carry in their hearts. Can it be that he does not know that there are those among them who would change the American White House to their Brown House?

It is more painful than I can easily say to note that a responsible New Jersey Republican leader has voiced fear of civil war. I do not share such concern. I believe the American people will reject those who would convert the Goldwater candidacy into a gold shirt movement as they repelled the philosophy of the brown and black shirts of nazism and fascism. But I can understand his alarm because Hitler's beer putsch and Mussolini's march on Rome started with less momentum.

The problem which confronts the conscience of the responsible Republican leaders is one which most certainly should weigh heavily upon the consciousness of BARRY GOLDWATER. By this time, even he should realize that his extremist followers are not campaigning in the ordinary sense. The stark fact is that they are dangerously close to inciting insurrection and civil disorder.

Peace Corps Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as one who voted for the creation of the Peace Corps, and who, as a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, has consistently supported it, I read with a heavy heart a recent editorial in my hometown newspaper—the Madison, S. Dak., Daily Leader—recounting the experiences of a South Dakota farm youth who, according to the editorial, "gave all he had in effort and prayer to the Peace Corps, and is returning to Lake County disillusioned."

Of late, there have been other disturbing reports indicating that the Peace Corps, after a most creditable beginning, has been expanding too fast, and that its administrative controls have grown too lax and too inadequate.

I ask that this editorial, entitled "Peace Corps Tragedy," be printed in the Appendix of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the hope that Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver will cease trying to spread himself out so thin that size, rather than the type of achievements we all hoped would eventuate from this undertaking, becomes the symbol of success.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE CORPS TRAGEDY

The story of David Amert, Madison farm youth, who gave all he had in effort and prayer to the Peace Corps and is returning to Lake County disillusioned, is a dark commentary on the ill-planned Peace Corps venture which has cost the United States so much in the efforts of dedicated young men and women, and in money, and has returned us nothing but ill will.

Amert should have succeeded in doing big things for the downtrodden people of Guatemala. He had what it takes—youth, strength, a will to help others, practical and technical training in farming.

So he was assigned to Guatemala, where the big difficulty was, the farmers who had recently been granted land, taken from large estates, couldn't make a go of it. They couldn't raise enough food to feed their own families, much less have some for market, to buy the necessities of life.

This should have been just his dish, for he knew exactly how South Dakota farmers

were able to wrest a living from the soil. All he needed was to get them to use some farm equipment, raise more and better crops, build up herds of swine or cattle, flocks of chickens, etc.

But he was faced from the start with utter apathy and unwillingness to work. They didn't want the help of the United States, they hated the United States.

So David Amert has come back to Lake County, a disappointed young man, whose good intentions, earnest effort and ability have been wasted on an ill-advised, poorly organized effort which has cost the taxpayers of the United States millions of dollars.

Appalachia Program Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, there is a dire need for the passage of H.R. 11946, called the Appalachian Regional Development Act, and I most sincerely urge the leaders of this Congress to schedule this bill for debate on the floor of the House of Representatives, and respectfully submit to the Congress, as a whole, that this is a worthwhile, realistic approach to the needs of the people and communities in the Appalachian area.

This bill is a program for physical resource development of the area and not the usual approach of Federal handouts. Its purpose is to assist the region in meeting its special problems, to promote its economic development and to establish a framework for joint Federal, State, and local efforts toward providing the basic facilities essential to its growth.

This measure, in contrast to the war on poverty bill, retains the historic concept of Federal, State, and local participation.

I believe in and have always believed in fiscal responsibility, particularly on the part of Government, and I consider the provisions of this act to be consistent with these views. The additional funds which will be spent in Appalachia represent a positive investment in the region's economy. These funds will be used to build the types of facilities which can generate employment and economic growth. It is my hope and expectation that the kind of expenditures called for in H.R. 11946 will inevitably mean reductions in the enormous amounts of money the Federal Government now spends for public assistance in Appalachia.

Almost 6 percent of Appalachia's total population are receiving welfare payments as against 4 percent in the rest of the Nation, and the price tag for Appalachia has been running at almost $500 million per year. As the President's Appalachian Regional Commission has aptly pointed out, the cost of welfare relief is high in these areas where the roots of free enterprise have been undernourished.

This bill will make Appalachia more attractive to industry, to recreation seekers, and to its own people through such provisions as the construction of sewage-treatment plants, restoring strip-mined lands, and construction of adequate highways.

It has been said that this program creates highways looking for traffic rather than the usual approach of constructing highways to take care of existing traffic. I must agree in part with this, but this is one of the basic problems of the Appalachian area. It is inaccessible, in its present state, to industry and recreation seekers and it is because of this inaccessibility that many of the communities are not keeping abreast of the growth of the Nation.

In an effort to make it accessible to industry, recreation seekers, and others, this road construction program is greatly needed. Surveys by industry and highway users have indicated that economic growth and industrial growth usually generate around areas readily accessible by highway and adequate roads, and it is for this reason that the road program was placed in the Appalachia bill.

Being near a good highway and access to markets are factors of increasing importance in the location of today's industrial plants.

Highways assist in developing new and vacant land, improve production efficiency because of better access to markets and are shaping the locational patterns of today's industry much as rails and water did generations ago.

The highways and access roads provided for in this legislation should enhance the industrial development of the Appalachia region.

Among the most sensible and most essential sections of this act are those which will provide direct benefits to the communities of Appalachia in the form of flood control works, hospitals, vocational education schools, and other necessary public facilities. Economic development at the local level has been difficult in Appalachia—not because the people lack either the desire or the know-how, but because they do not have sufficient financial resources.

I respectfully urge this Congress to pass this needed, worthwhile legislation.

Improving Traffic Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the highway death toll is climbing again this year. There are ever more cars and drivers on the roads; and although safety belts have made a contribution, their use is only a small part of the answers that must be found.

Improved roads are one means of reducing accidents. There is no question that for every hundred miles of new four-lane interstate highway opened, the removal to it of cars which otherwise would be traveling on inferior roads is saving accidents and preserving lives. That is why I have not only supported the Interstate Highway System, but have urged its more rapid completion; and that is why I am urging expansion of the system by the addition of more mileage.

But this is only one aspect of highway safety. Another is the design of automobiles, which needs far more attention than it has so far received; and perhaps the addition of further compulsory safety design items, such as the safety belt requirement. Still another is the improvement of driver education.

Driver education is the subject of an editorial published a few weeks ago in the Putnam County Graphic, of Greencastle, Ind. The editorial describes the traffic simulator developed by an insurance company to present a more realistic "road test" for drivers, under traffic conditions, while measuring their reactions. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DRIVERS WRITE OWN TICKET

There are still those drivers, who, when a crash seems inevitable, let go of the wheel and close their eyes—in prayer, perhaps.

So we can pity, among others, the insurance company that is expected to make things right. And we can understand that the company has a vested interest in reducing claims, that the best way to reduce claims is to reduce accidents; and the best way to reduce accidents is to improve drivers.

Following this line of reasoning to an ingenious conclusion, Liberty Mutual—which last year insured over a million drivers—has developed a machine in which a subject in a simulated automobile "drives" a simulated highway (shifting real gears, turning a real steering wheel, pushing on real brakes and giving her the simulated gas) avoiding, or failing to avoid, simulated traffic hazards. And all the while, a tape is recording the driver's reactions—right or wrong—which are not simulated at all. They are the real thing.

Liberty's driver evaluator is not to be confused with earlier devices in which a student sat behind a wheel and "drove" a busy highway projected by a movie at a predetermined speed, and presenting stereotyped traffic situations that could be memorized in two or three "trips."

No, no. In the Liberty simulator, the speedometer needle climbs as the driver presses the accelerator, and the scenery approaches faster and faster. Hit the brakes, and the illusion of slowing and stopping lacks only the squeal of tires—and maybe they're working on that. Turn the wheel for the curve ahead, and around you go; or swing out to pass a truck. You are making the decisions—the major factor in traffic accidents and their avoidance. And the electronic tape is recording the speed and correctness of your reactions. And since the highway you seem to drive is laid out on a turntable whose speed is controlled by your accelerator, and the "traffic" consists of miniature cars and trucks and buses, the problem possibilities are infinite and can be changed in a moment.

In presenting this mechanized world with the first scientific instrument for measuring both driver competence and accident proneness, Liberty Mutual has opened the door—a crack at least—on the mystery of why drivers do like they do. And any progress in solving it should help to dry up the blood on the pavement—and reduce the cost of insurance.

Congressman Pillion Reports to Citizens of 39th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to report to the citizens of the 39th Congressional District of New York upon the actions of the 88th Congress—years 1963 and 1964—and upon the administration of the affairs of the Nation.

During this term of Congress, our Nation suffered a most tragic loss in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The House of Representatives set aside December 5, 1963, as a day for the payment of tribute to the memory of President Kennedy.

I quote from my eulogy:

President Kennedy was truly great. He had a grandeur of spirit, a nobility of mind, a generosity of heart and the courage of action. He sought to sublimate and to activate this Nation toward higher concepts. President Kennedy was, at all times, motivated by an urge to improve the lot of mankind.

On September 10, 1964, in a letter to the Chief Justice Earl Warren, Chairman of the President's Commission To Report Upon the Assassination of President Kennedy, I expressed the conviction that Lee Harvey Oswald's assassination of the President was wholly influenced and motivated by his Communist ideology, training, associations, and objectives.

I quote from my letter to the Warren Commission:

The circumstantial evidence is sufficient to exclude to a moral certainty, any other hypothesis, except that Lee Harvey Oswald assassinated President Kennedy to advance the world Communist plan designed to ultimately destroy the United States and the free world."

President Kennedy's last sacrifice will have been in vain if the true cause of his death is not identified, so that the American people and their government can be fully alerted to, and informed of the sinister, secret, complex, universality, and immedicacy of the dangers of the Communist world apparatus.

The 39th Congressional District contains almost a half-million persons. I am proud of the patriotic and knowledgeable interest these citizens have shown in the many current, important, often critical, domestic and international issues. The tens of thousands of letters and telegrams sent to me each year indicate a close and mutually beneficial communication for the betterment of this Nation and its people.

This review and evaluation of our Federal Government's operations is limited to those matters that most directly and deeply affect the citizens of the 39th Congressional District of New York.

FOREIGN IMPORTS—UNEMPLOYMENT—TARIFFS

Western New York industries employing more than 40,000 wage earners are suffering from foreign imports. The principal industries include steel, pig iron, cellophane, dyes, cement, electronics, copper, and brass.

The United States is now engaged in tariff reduction negotiations at the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs—GATT—Conference at Geneva. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 delegates to the President the power to reduce U.S. tariffs on foreign imports up to 50 percent.

The United States announced, last spring, its policy to negotiate sweeping 50 percent across-the-board tariff reductions. Both industry and labor immediately recognized that these arbitrary tariff reductions would cause further flooding of U.S. markets with cheap labor foreign imports.

Additional foreign imports would cause severe injury to employment and industry in western New York. New York State is considered to be a high production cost area for manufacturers. Due to the St. Lawrence Seaway, Buffalo is now a seaport, and is particularly vulnerable to foreign imports. A number of industries in Buffalo are operating on a marginal basis. Any sizable increase in foreign imports would close a number of plants, and reduce employment in other plants.

RECIPROCAL TRADE—BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

I favor international trade where economic benefits are mutual. But, the State Department's proposed sweeping tariff cuts are based upon political and diplomatic considerations rather than economic.

Due to cheaper labor costs, Japan and Europe would increase their exports to the United States far more than any increase in U.S. exports, if a 50-percent tariff reduction is agreed upon.

Tariff reductions should be carefully selected, based upon minimum job and industry dislocations and a maximum of mutual benefits.

The proposed U.S. tariff reductions would not only damage U.S. industry and eliminate jobs, but would also further increase the U.S. deficit in its international balance of payments. The United States has been running an annual deficit of more than $2.5 billion. The increasing drain upon our dollars and the increasing surplus of U.S. dollars held by foreign nations is a continuing threat to our gold reserves, to our international credit, and to the stability of the U.S. dollar in world commerce.

JOBS—FOREIGN STEEL AND IRON

The prospect of a flood of foreign imports has alarmed industry and labor across the Nation. At recent public hearings before the U.S. Tariff Commission and the State Department, more than 800 industries filed objections and briefs substantiating the injury to industry and labor that would result from further tariff reductions.

Steel and pig iron are large employers in western New York. These industries are seriously suffering from foreign imports.

Mr. David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, recently stated that the United States exported only 1 ton of steel to the European Common Market for every 10 tons they export to the United States.

The U.S. steel industry estimates that increased foreign steel imports would displace 70,000 American steelworkers' jobs over the next 3 years.

The U.S. tariff on foreign heavy structural steel is $2 per ton. European tariffs on the same steel from the United States varies from $13.84 per ton in the United Kingdom to $46.30 per ton in France. Canada's tariff on the same steel is $33.25 per ton.

MERCHANT IRON

Employment in the pig iron industry in western New York has been severely depressed. Foreign imports have almost doubled from the year 1960 to 1963. The U.S. tariff on foreign pig iron is 20 cents per ton, while most foreign nations impose a $7-per-ton tariff.

U.S. production costs for pig iron average about $70 per ton. Foreign pig iron is being sold at prices from $50 to $65 per ton.

Foreign pig iron from Communist East Germany is being imported and sold in the United States as low as $35 per ton.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS TO PROTECT U.S. JOBS AND INDUSTRY

In order to protect U.S. jobs and industry, I have taken the following actions in this Congress:

First. On July 1, 1963, I introduced legislation to strengthen the Buy-American Act by requiring the Federal Government to give preference to U.S. steel in governmental steel purchases.

Second. On July 1, 1963, I introduced a bill to require the U.S. Government to purchase U.S.-manufactured steel for its foreign construction needs.

Third. On July 1, 1963, I introduced legislation designed to strengthen the Antidumping Act, and to protect U.S. jobs and industry from foreign goods dumped into the United States at less than the foreign market price.

This bill would give labor a voice in antidumping hearings by requiring the U.S. Tariff Commission to consider injury to labor as a separate criteria from injury to industry.

Fourth. On April 14, 1964, I drafted and introduced legislation to further tighten the antidumping law. Instead of the present requirement that U.S. industry must prove injury, my bill would require the importer to show there is no injury, after a finding by the U.S. Treasury Department that foreign steel or other products were being imported at below world market prices.

Thirty-five other Congressmen joined me in introducing the same bill as a bipartisan measure.

Fifth. On April 28, 1964, 73 Congressmen, including myself, addressed a letter to President Johnson, urging him to reserve synthetic organic dyes from tariff reductions.

Sixth. On May 28, 1964, I wrote to President Johnson and to Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, Mr. Christian A. Herter, asking them to reserve steel products from tariff reduction negotiations.

Seventh. After a long series of conferences, I drafted and introduced H.R.

11797, designed to protect American jobs, industry and agriculture where a definite criteria of injury exists. This bill prescribes levels of damage to industry, agriculture, and labor, under which a substantial segment of labor would be protected from tariff reductions.

The following is a partial list of industries to be protected from tariff injury: steel, dairy products, beef, copper and brass, glassware, brick, electronic products, cement, dyes, chemicals, auto parts, cellophane, pig iron, rubber.

Following the introduction of my bill, H.R. 11797, 76 other Representatives, of both parties, introduced identical legislation in a bipartisan effort to protect American jobs and industry.

Eighth. On August 18, 1964, six other Congressmen, including myself, joined Congressman THADDEUS J. DULSKI in a letter to President Johnson, urging him to reserve cellophane from the pending tariff reduction proposals.

Since the introduction of these bills, the State Department has indicated some modification of its previously stated objective to negotiate for indiscriminate 50 percent across-the-board tariff reductions.

COINAGE—SILVER

Businessmen, banks, and citizens have been seriously inconvenienced by the acute shortage of coins. Many factors have contributed to this shortage. Although vending machines, toll roads, and so forth, are partially responsible, the principal and cause for the coin shortage is the uprecedented increase in collectors, hobbyists and citizens who are holding large numbers of coins as a hedge against inflation, anticipating an increase in the price of silver.

The normal average annual new coin requirement for the past 5 years has been about 3.5 billion coins. In the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, the two U.S. mints at Denver and Philadelphia have produced 4.3 billion coins.

The explosive increase in the demand for coins overtaxed the capacity of U.S. mints. Corrective action has been taken by reopening the San Francisco mint, and by substituting purchased metal strips and blanks in place of their manufacture by the mints.

Stepped up production in our present mints will produce 8 billion coins in fiscal year 1965, which began on July 1, 1964. This immense coin output is expected to completely satisfy all public demand. A completely new mint is in the process of design and construction at Philadelphia. This mint will begin production by 1967, with an annual capacity of 9 billion coins.

SILVER—PRICES—SUPPLY—DEMAND

The price, supply and demand of silver is closely related to this Nation's coinage problems.

The present price of silver is $1.29 per ounce. This ceiling price is maintained by the U.S. Treasury selling silver out of its reserves to manufacturers. The world annual supply of silver is about 150 million ounces short of the world demand. If silver prices were to be freed to follow normal supply and demand prices, it would probably increase in price to somewhere between $1.50 and $2 per ounce.

The normal silver requirement for U.S. coinage has been about 75 million ounces annually. The U.S. Treasury has on hand about 1,400 million ounces of silver. Under normal conditions, the present U.S. silver stocks would be sufficient to supply our coinage requirements indefinitely.

However, the planned production of 8 billion coins for fiscal year 1965 will consume 250 million ounces of silver. To maintain a ceiling price of $1.29 per ounce, the U.S. Treasury will sell to manufacturers about 60 million additional ounces of silver in the next year. At this rate, the U.S. silver supply will be exhausted in less than 5 years.

Today, the U.S. silver dollar has a silver content that is worth $1 at the present market price of $1.29 per ounce. The subsidiary silver coins, dimes, quarters and halves, contain silver having a market value of 92 cents per $1 face value of coins.

It is evident that the United States must very quickly take corrective action to avoid an exhaustion of its silver supply for coinage. The following possible combination of actions are under consideration by the Congress and the U.S. Treasury:

First. The elimination of silver, and the substitution of cheaper metals in our coins;

Second. The reduction of silver to 50 or 60 percent of the present silver content in our coins;

Third. The discontinuance of the sale of silver by the U.S. Treasury to manufacturers, the discontinuance of the $1.29 per ounce ceiling on silver, and freeing silver to seek its world supply and demand price.

HIGHER COFFEE PRICES—INTERNATIONAL COFFEE CARTEL

In September 1962, the United States entered into the International Coffee Agreement with 59 of the principal coffee producing and importing nations. Its purpose is to control the world coffee supply, and thus determine coffee prices.

This treaty created an international cartel with two sets of mechanics for attaining its objectives:

First. Exports of coffee and prices are regulated by annual world export quotas for each coffee year, beginning October 1.

Second. Imports of coffee and prices are to be regulated by import nations limiting coffee imports to only the quota amounts from the treaty-bound nations.

COFFEE EXPORT QUOTAS AND HIGHER PRICES

The first part of this international scheme is now in operation and does not require implementation by the subscribing nations.

The International Coffee Agreement nations immediately began fixing restricted quotas for coffee exports from the signing of the coffee treaty in 1962.

Due to a reduction in supply and a stable demand, the retail prices of coffee to the American housewife has risen from 69 cents per pound in 1962, to 91 cents per pound in August 1964.

AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE GOUGED OUT OF $600 MILLION ANNUALLY

The American housewife is the main victim of this coffee agreement. The United States imports 50 percent of the world coffee supply. It will consume 3 billion pounds of coffee this year. The retail price increase of 22 cents per pound overcharged the American consumer by $660 million in higher prices of coffee.

The wholesale prices of coffee have increased 15 cents per pound since 1962, when the quota system began its operations. This means that an additional $450 million is flowing out of the United States to increase our critical deficit of international balance of payments, and weaken the U.S. gold and dollar position.

COFFEE PRICES TO GO HIGHER

The United States and the other coffee agreement nations are evidently not satisfied with the present prices. They have agreed to create a greater scarcity of supply to reach their objective of even higher coffee prices.

For the present coffee year, 1964, the coffee export quota was 48.3 million bags. Last month, in August 1964, the International Coffee Council fixed the coffee export quota for the year 1965 at 48 million bags. This is numerically less than the 1964 supply. But, the coffee demand and increased population increase coffee consumption by 3 percent annually. Thus, there will be an artificially created shorter supply of coffee for 1965 over 1964 of about 1.7 million bags.

I anticipate that this shortage will drive coffee prices up to a range of $1 to $1.25 per pound in 1965.

The U.S. Department of State has attempted to justify this treaty on the grounds that it is a good will gesture. As a matter of fact, this scheme is a hidden "back-door" foreign subsidy program, without economic justification.

The exportable world coffee stock is 70 million bags—almost a year and one-half supply. There is neither a present nor potential shortage.

When the treaty was debated in the Senate, the State Department's justification was that its objective was to stabilize world coffee prices at the 1962 level. This has been proven to be entirely fallacious.

This cartel is contrary to our national laws prohibiting monopolies and price fixing.

COFFEE IMPORT CONTROL

Nations representing about 96 percent of the world coffee exports are parties to the International Coffee Agreement. The treaty binds the importing countries to enact laws to prohibit the import of nonquota coffee. This provision would reinforce the artificially short quota supply set by coffee export nations with laws by coffee import nations that would keep added supplies off the market from nonquota coffee-producing nations. This would perfect the scheme to extract high coffee prices by both a tight export quota and import exclusion to fix a short coffee supply in relation to demand.

Pursuant to the treaty agreement, the State Department sponsored H.R. 8864,

to authorize the United States to exclude nonquota coffee. This legislation passed both the House and the Senate in different bills. I voted against this bill on passage in the House.

The conference report, which harmonized the differences between the House and the Senate bills, was debated in the House on August 18, 1964. I took an active and leading part in opposition. The House rejected the coffee bill conference report by a vote of 183 to 194. Further conferences are expected between the House and the Senate.

On August 24, 1964, I addressed a letter to President Johnson, urging him to initiate a withdrawal from the International Coffee Agreement, upon 90 days notice, in conformity with the treaty provisions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

On July 29, 1964, the House approved a 5-percent increase in cash benefits under the old-age, disability, and survivors insurance of the Social Security Act, and higher payroll deductions to finance the additional benefits.

This increase in benefits would apply to some 20 million retired workers, widows, and disabled persons.

The House-passed amendment to the Social Security Act includes the following additional changes:

First. Provides limited benefits for about 600,000 elderly people currently ineligible;

Second. Self-employed physicians are brought under the program for the first time; and

Third. Permits widows to retire at age 60, instead of 62, and start drawing reduced benefits.

The 5-percent increase in benefits would take effect in the second month after the measure becomes law.

The House bill also provides for increases in both the social security tax and the wage base subject to deductions. The current tax on employer and employee of 3.625 percent will increase as follows: 2.8 percent on January 1, 1956; 4 percent on January 1, 1966; 4.5 percent on January 1, 1968; and 4.8 percent on January 1, 1971.

Starting in January 1965, the wage base subject to social security tax would increase from $4,800 to $5,400.

Under the House bill, a single retired worker receiving the minimum monthly payment would get an increase from $40 to $42; the average monthly payment would increase from $77 to $81; and the maximum monthly benefit from $127 to $133.40.

SENATE ACTION ON SOCIAL SECURITY BILL

On September 3, the Senate passed its version of the proposed amendment to the Social Security Act.

The Senate bill provides for a program of health benefits for the aged, to be paid out of the social security fund. This additional proposal would cost approximately $1.5 billion the first year. It would provide limited hospital, nursing home, outpatient, and home medical care for all eligible persons over age 65.

Other changes approved by the Senate include:

First. Raising social security monthly benefits by a flat $7, instead of the 5-percent increase approved by the House;

Second. Increasing the wage base on which social security tax is computed from $4,800 to $5,600; and

Third. Gradually increasing the total employer and employee tax rate from the present 7.25 percent to 10.4 percent by 1971.

The House and Senate versions of this bill have now been referred to a House-Senate conference committee. It is reported that a majority of the conferees are opposed to the addition of medicare to the social security liberalization bill.

It is expected that a House-Senate compromise bill will report an increase in and liberalization of social security benefits.

VETERANS' PENSION BILL

The House of Representatives unanimously passed H.R. 1927, to liberalize pension payments and eligibility in non-service-connected pensions for World War I, World War II, and Korean war veterans.

The pending bill would entitle all veterans over 65 years of age to pensions, regardless of disability, if their income is within the prescribed limits. Disability eligibility is also revised for veterans under age 65. The exclusion of various incomes, such as social security, is enlarged in determining income eligibility.

The bill also provides increases for veterans and widows in the low categories of income up to an increase of $35 per month.

This bill has the support of all veterans organizations.

The Senate Finance Committee reported the House bill, but added an amendment that would reopen the national service life insurance for a period of 1 year to all veterans who served between 1940 and 1956.

Although the Senate itself has not as yet acted upon this measure, it is quite certain that a compromise bill will be agreed upon.

CIVIL RIGHTS

On July 2, 1964, the President signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The major provisions of the new civil rights law relate to the following:

First. Supplementing existing Federal laws against denial of voting rights;

Second. Barring discrimination in places of public accommodation, such as restaurants, theaters, hotels, and so forth;

Third. Desegregation of public facilities;

Fourth. Desegregation of public education;

Fifth. Broadening the duties of the Civil Rights Commission;

Sixth. Nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs;

Seventh. Establishment of an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission;

Eighth. Requiring Census Bureau to gather registration and voting statistics based on race, color, and national origin;

Ninth. Making reviewable, in higher Federal courts, the action of Federal district courts in remanding a civil rights case to State courts; and

Tenth. Creation of a Community Relations Service to aid local communities in reviewing complaints relating to alleged discriminatory practices.

The new law provides for a maximum penalty of 6 months in prison and a $1,000 fine, for any criminal contempt case arising out of the act.

While the question of civil rights has created a great national upheaval, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will, in fact, have very little effect upon New York State. Actually, the existing civil rights laws in New York are more comprehensive than those recently enacted by Congress.

I have always maintained that the basic problem in the relations between the colored and white people is not strictly legalistic. The problem is more extensive, more complex, and deeper than one of legalism.

I do not believe that compulsory integration will provide a workable solution to moral, economic, and sociological problems. Neither do I believe that physical force, threats, violence, or riots by either side serve to solve the fundamental issues involved.

Full equality between the races will require a maximum of understanding, patience and good will by all of our citizenry.

With every civil right, there is a corresponding responsibility. The voluntary assumption of responsibility is a requisite to all our rights. We sometimes overemphasize rights without giving enough thought to the corollary responsibilities and duties of citizenship.

I condemn those leaders, both white and colored, who are misleading our Negro population into believing that their status as citizens can be improved through civil disobedience, riots, and violence. I equally condemn those white race leaders who encourage threats and violence against our Negro population.

The vast majority of our Negro citizens are respectable, law-abiding, loyal Americans. Our Negro people rightfully take pride in themselves, and in their race. I deplore the efforts of the Negro minority who are attempting to exploit the Negro movement.

I sincerely hope that citizens of both the black and white races will give proper balance and emphasis not only to the civil responsibilities that go hand-in-hand with civil rights, but also to the economic, sociological and moral problems that confront this Nation in harmonizing our relations and attaining a maximum of our human aspirations.

APPROPRIATIONS—SPENDING—TAXES—INFLATION

"Democracy in the United States will last until those in power learn that they can perpetuate themselves through taxation."

Higher taxation is the inevitable result of greater spending.

Reduced spending leads inevitably to reduced taxes.

DEBT AND SPENDING

In June 1964, Congress again increased the debt limit by passing a so-called temporary debt limit of $324 billion in place of the permanent debt limit of $285 billion. This is the eleventh time in 9 years that Congress has had to increase the debt limit. I have consistently voted against increasing our debt

limit because there continues to be vast unnecessary expenditures in our Federal budgets. This debt represents a Federal first mortgage of $6,800 upon the future earnings of each family.

The interest charge on this debt is $11 billion annually, representing $232 in Federal tax payments each year per family.

The Comptroller General of the United States issues hundreds of reports each year upon the misfeasance, malfeasance, illegalities and wastages that continue to exist in the executive branch of our government.

It is quite evident that billions of dollars per year are wasted upon unnecessary programs, unsuccessful programs, inefficiencies and outright wastages. The Comptroller General's reports are, in the main, ignored by our Federal Government.

DEFICITS

Continuing annual budget deficits are deliberately planned to create, for political purposes, an artificial prosperity bubble. Higher living costs and reduced purchasing power for the consumer are inevitable under this plan. There have been deficits in the last 25 out of 30 budgets. The current 1965 budget plans a $4.9 billion deficit.

REDUCED APPROPRIATIONS

The House of Representatives has made a creditable record in attempting to reduce the huge and unnecessary spending programs of the executive department.

In February 1963 I was assigned by the Republican members of the House Appropriations Committee as one of five members of a task force to recommend reductions in the President's budget. The appropriations for each department and agency were closely studied in both fiscal 1964 and 1965 Presidential budgets. The task force set targets for reductions of more than $10 billion for each budget. For the first time, the Republican members of each appropriations subcommittee were given specific appropriation reduction targets under an overall coordinated fiscal plan.

In cooperation with the Democratic majority, the Republican members substantially contributed to produce a $6.5 billion appropriation reduction below the 1964 budget, and a $6 billion appropriation reduction below the 1965 presidential budget.

REDUCTION IN TAXES

These reductions of $10.5 billion—many of them were annual savings—in the 1964 and 1965 budgets made the 1964 tax reduction bill fiscally possible.

In February 1964 the Congress finally passed the largest tax cut in the Nation's history. The total tax reduction to 190 million citizens amounted to about $9 billion annually. The tax reductions for corporations amounted to about $2.2 billion annually. In addition, corporate taxes were reduced by another $2 billion per year by liberalized depreciation allowance credits and the investment credit law.

My criticism of these tax cuts was directed not at tax reduction, but at the failure to coordinate tax reductions with spending reductions. To reduce taxes out of borrowed money is fiscal irresponsibility.

In this period of highest prosperity, the least we can do is to operate on a balanced budget, with a stabilized cost of living. I also believe that the tax bill did not give sufficient tax relief to citizens in the middle- and low-income category. Out of a total of nearly $14 billion in tax relief, only $5.5 billion was allocated to 85 percent of the families earning $10,000 per year or less.

INCREASED PERSONAL EXEMPTION

It is my conviction that the most equitable tax relief that Congress can give our citizens is that of increasing personal exemptions for taxpayers and their dependents. There are too many tax loopholes and special interest favoritisms in our tax laws.

During the hearings on the tax bill before the House Ways and Means Committee, I urged the committee members to report at least a $200 increase in personal income tax exemptions. Under the rules of the House, no such amendment could be offered to the bill during its consideration on the floor.

Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, in his address before the House Ways and Means Committee, favored increasing the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $800 for each dependent. This very same proposal is contained in a number of bills which I introduced.

SMALL BUSINESS

Over 450,000 of the Nation's 585,000 corporations are small businesses, owned with net corporate incomes of less than $25,000 per year. These small business-owned corporations receive only a small share of the corporate tax cut. The 40,000 largest corporations with net incomes of more than $1 million per year will receive more than 65 percent of the total tax reduction.

To encourage small business, the $25,500 income level at which the Federal surtax applies should be increased.

Manufacturers' competition with retailers should be curtailed and "kickbacks" prohibited to preferred large customers.

Greater allowances should be granted where funds are invested in expansion, giving additional employment.

Special consideration should be given to protecting small businessmen from compulsory unionism and union harassment.

ERIE COUNTY FLOOD CONTROL AND PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS

As a member of the House Appropriations Committee, I have had a close association with the initiation of appropriations for the various flood control and public works projects.

Both my Democratic and Republican colleagues have been most generous in granting my requests for these appropriations. Every project in Erie County received appropriations to the maximum capability of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

On August 14, 1964, Col. R. Wilson Neff, who recently became district engineer of the Buffalo district, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, kindly sent me, at my request, a progress report of the various projects in Erie County. Most of the following summary is extracted from this report.

SEAWAY DEPTH FOR BUFFALO HARBOR

The improvement of the Buffalo harbor has been the largest and most important public works project in Erie County. The total cost is $20,218,000, of which $18,579,000 has been appropriated—leaving only $1,639,000 to be required for completion. Completion of construction is expected in the fall of 1964, with final payment to be made from fiscal 1966 appropriations.

The completion of this project will make Buffalo harbor one of the safest harbors in the Great Lakes. Buffalo will be one of the first ports on the Great Lakes to have a 27-foot St. Lawrence Seaway depth harbor.

ALL-AMERICA CANAL SURVEY

This canal would connect Lake Erie and Lake Ontario to permit the bypassing of the Welland Canal.

The economic feasibility survey will cost $1,825,000. The President's budget eliminated funds for the continuation of this survey. At my request, $200,000 was appropriated to continue this survey without interruption.

BUFFALO RIVER—CAZENOVIA CREEK—CAYUGA CREEK FLOOD CONTROL

Appropriations to cover the full cost of this survey, $143,000, have been made. Starting out as a flood control study of Cazenovia Creek flooding, it has been expanded to include levees and a multiple purpose dam and reservoir.

This survey will be completed and the report forwarded to Washington in October 1964, for final approval. If there is an economic justification, congressional authorization must be approved before appropriations can be made for construction.

SMOKES CREEK, LACKAWANNA

This project is in the construction stage. Federal cost is estimated to be $2,200,000—local cost is $1,310,000.

Completion of construction is scheduled for November 1966.

TONAWANDA—ELLICOTT CREEKS—AMHERST, CLARENCE, TONAWANDA CREEK—BATAVIA AREA

There two flood control surveys have been combined. The full amount of $210,000 for the survey has been appropriated.

A multiple purpose dam and reservoir in the Batavia area to hold back flood waters is under study, together with local flood control remedial works in the towns of Amherst and Clarence.

The transmission of the final survey report to Washington is scheduled for July 1965.

SCAJAQUADA FLOOD CONTROL—CHEEKTOWAGA, LANCASTER

This survey was authorized and an initial $20,000 appropriated in the current 1965 budget for the survey. The total estimated survey cost is $105,000. I expect that additional appropriations will be made to the full capability of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

HAMBURG PARK SMALL CRAFT HARBOR—SMALL CRAFT HARBORS—LAKE ERIE

An overall study of small craft harbors on Lake Erie is underway. The total

cost is $520,000, of which $189,000 has been appropriated.

In Erie County, the sites to be included are, besides Cattaraugus Creek, which is a special project, Hamburg Park, Sturgeon Point, and Buffalo. Of these three, the Hamburg Park site is the only one under active study.

Field surveys for the Hamburg Park site have been completed and office studies are underway. Separate reports will be made of each survey as completed.

CATTARAUGUS CREEK—SMALL CRAFT HARBOR, FLOOD CONTROL

This survey combines flood control remedial works with the construction of a small craft harbor. The survey cost of $40,400 has been fully appropriated.

The Buffalo district of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, plans to submit its final report to the Chicago division headquarters in October 1964.

After that submission, local interests will be contacted for their views before final transmittal to the Washington Office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

After approval of the survey, congressional authorization will be required before construction appropriations can be made.

CATTARAUGUS CREEK FLOOD CONTROL—GOWANDA AREA

The flood control survey is estimated to cost $55,000. The 1965 appropriations contained an initiating $15,000. Appropriations to the full capability of the U.S. Army Engineers are expected to be continued until completion.

CONSERVATION—WATER RESOURCES—WATER POLLUTION

On July 23, 1964, I voted in favor of H.R. 3846, a bill to establish a land and water conservation fund to permit the States to plan, acquire, and develop outdoor recreational facilities.

On July 30, 1964, I voted for H.R. 9070, the wilderness bill. This legislation, enacted into law on September 3, sets aside 54 wilderness areas throughout the country that will be preserved in their primitive state. A total of 9 million acres of federally owned land is permanently placed in the wilderness system by the act.

WATER RESOURCES

On July 2, 1964, I voted for S. 2, the Water Resources Research Act of 1964. This measure establishes local water resource research centers, and provides facilities for a national program of water research. The water research centers will be concerned with municipal, regional and national water problems.

WATER POLLUTION

I have been greatly concerned with the problem of water pollution in the Great Lakes. I have been especially interested in the now critical pollution problems in our own Lake Erie. At present, the Great Lakes are in international waters.

In 1909, Canada and the United States formed an International Joint Commission for the purpose of studying the water pollution problems in the Great Lakes.

In an effort to provide a practical solution to the problem of water pollution, I have introduced the following legislation:

First. A bill to amend the definition of "interstate waters," in the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, to include the Great Lakes. This would bring Lake Erie within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, in addition to the jurisdiction of the State of New York.

Second. A bill to abate the pollution of the waters of Lake Erie, the Niagara River and their tributaries. This measure establishes regulations, enforcement procedures and penalties for the industrial pollution of these waters.

Third. A bill to encourage the prevention of water pollution by allowing the cost of treatment works for the abatement of stream pollution to be amortized at an accelerated rate for income tax purposes.

I have urged the U.S. Public Health Service, the House Subcommittee on Pollution and Water Resources, the International Joint Commission, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to expedite their present studies of the critical water pollution problems in Lake Erie.

Further legislative action must await the completion of the intensive studies now underway by the U.S. Public Health Service and other Federal and international agencies concerning the causes, the extent and the necessity for remedial measures relating to pollution in Lake Erie.

SCHOOL PRAYER

In two separate cases, one in 1962, and one in 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that prayer and Bible reading in public schools is unconstitutional.

The Court held that the recitation of prayers in the public schools violated the first amendment to the Constitution, which states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These decisions gave rise to a wave of controversy, both in Congress and throughout the Nation. Members of Congress have received tens of thousands of letters, telegrams and petitions expressing great concern over the action taken by the Supreme Court.

Representative FRANK J. BECKER, Republican, of New York, on January 9, 1963, introduced the first of many bills proposing a constitutional amendment which would permit voluntary prayer in the public schools.

After refusal by the House Judiciary Committee to hold hearings, Representative BECKER filed a discharge petition which, if signed by 218 Members, would bring the proposed constitutional amendment directly to the House floor. I was privileged to be among the first to sign the discharge petition. To date, 179 Republican and Democratic Members of the House have signed Representative BECKER's petition.

Representative BECKER contends that the recital of a nondenominational prayer in a public school is in no way an "establishment of religion." It has also been pointed out that the minimal recognition of God, on a voluntary basis, in our public schools, could not be considered inconsistent with the "freedom of religion" concept of our Founding Fathers.

In a dissenting opinion in the first "school prayer" case, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart said:

I cannot see how an official religion is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it.

As a result of steadily increasing pressure from both the American public and individual Members of Congress, hearings on the "school prayer" bills were held by the House Judiciary Committee from April 22 to June 3, 1964. As of this date, no further action has been scheduled by the committee.

It should be noted that, to amend the Constitution, a bill must pass both the House and the Senate by a two-thirds vote, and then be approved by three-fourths—38—of the States.

THE WHEAT-COTTON PROGRAM

The wheat-cotton bill is one of the most iniquitous programs to be enacted into law.

The 2-year program for wheat and cotton was passed in April 1964. It had the effect of lowering the price of wheat in 1964 from $2 to $1.72, when diversion payment is included. A further reduction to $1.67 per bushel is a certainty under the regulations promulgated by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman.

Farmers, this year, will receive $2.25 billion, or 17 percent of their net income from the Federal Government. This is an unhealthy and alarming trend. It is converting our farm population into a "captive class" in our society, dependent upon governmental subsidy and benevolence for their existence. The Federal Government's programs for increasing farm surplus through irrigation and reclamation have depressed farm prices on one hand, while on the other hand, it subsidizes farmers who cannot receive a fair market price for their labor and products.

This wheat-cotton bill has the effect of creating a "bread tax" for the consumer. Bread prices are already up 1 or 2 cents a loaf in some areas. Further increases are expected in the price of bread.

ANOTHER LAYER OF COTTON SUBSIDIES

Cotton farmers receive various forms of Federal subsidies. On top of these, the Federal Government subsidizes our export of cotton by 8½ cents per pound.

This cotton bill imposes another layer of cotton subsidy on top of all the others. It was enacted under political pressures from the administration and special interest groups.

This bill not only continues present cotton subsidy programs, but provides $360 million in cash credits to the cotton textile manufacturers. This huge sum is $100 million more than the industry's total profits of $260 million for the year 1962.

This legislation gives an economic competitive advantage over American synthetic fiber manufacturers. It retards technological progress and punishes both the taxpayer and the American consumer.

Life at Guantanamo Bay as Seen by Kansan Jessie Stearns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the first woman newspaper correspondent permitted to visit the Guantanamo Naval Base since Castro took over the island was Miss Jessie Stearns formerly of Fort Scott, Kans., and still a Kansan.

Miss Stearns has had many years of experience in the journalistic field and the articles she wrote regarding our situation in Cuba are not only informative, but also very helpful as we deal with Castro and our problems in Cuba.

I ask unanimous consent to have these two articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GARRISON ORDER ONLY CONCERN—KANSANS LIKE LIFE AT GUANTANAMO

(By Jessie Stearns)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Jessie Stearns, the Capital-Journal's Washington correspondent, last week visited the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in a group of newspaper writers invited by the Department of Defense to make the trip. Some of her observations are included in this column.)

WASHINGTON.—The dependents at U.S. naval base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, took the "missile crisis," "the water crisis," and the dismissal of Cuban maids in their stride.

Their No. 1 concern is the Presidential order changing the base into a garrison force. All women and children will be "phased out" by December 1965.

Many of the families living on the base now are enjoying their second tour of duty, because they have requested it.

Typical is Chief Photographer Bob Allen, of Sedgwick, Kans., and his family. They say, "We love Gitmo." Their oldest daughter, Lai Loni, 5, was born during the chief's 1958–59 tour of duty.

Mrs. Allen's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Perry Richard, live at Valley Center. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Roy Allen of Sedgwick.

Without a maid, Mrs. Allen does her own household work even though their youngest daughter, Bobbie, is only 3 months old. They go to the movies with the children, take them swimming to one of the 10 swimming pools on the base. When attending dances, some neighbor cares for the children.

Mrs. Allen, commenting on the water crisis caused by Cuban Communist Premier Fidel Castro cutting off the base water on February 6, said, "We conserved on water, the same as the others or the base. Adm. John Bulkeley, base commander, told us the facts and what was necessary to cooperate."

The water supply came in on water tankers until the salt water plant making fresh water was completed on July 30. Of the salt-fresh water she said, "I don't notice any difference in the taste of the water."

The Valley Center wife is looking forward to another tour of duty when the gates to Communist Cuba will be open and they can travel to the island, as in the past.

Comdr. and Mrs. J. H. Casseday, formerly of Paola and Olathe, are happy to be back at the base, following the evacuation of the dependents during the Cuban missile crisis. They hate to think of leaving the base late next year when only men will be serving a 1-year tour of duty.

Guantanamo is located at the eastern end of Cuba. In 1903 the United States signed an agreement leasing the 45 square miles—48,000 acres of land—from Cuba for 100 years.

Today, 17.4 miles of 8-foot steel fence with barbed wire at the top separate the U.S. Naval Base from Cuba. This area is guarded at 22 sentry posts by U.S. Marines, all located 50 to 150 yards from the fence, known as the "Cactus Curtain," because on the Cuban side there is 10 feet of cactus bordering the fence.

Not one of the 9,000 Navy and Marines and their dependents mentioned fear of being at the area where a mild cold war is being fought.

They enjoy living at the tropical base, including work-play-fun.

Recreation facilities include 3 baseball fields with 1 lighted for night games; 8 softball fields, 10 swimming pools, 8 basketball courts, 8 tennis courts, 20 bowling alleys, 8 volleyball courts, 1 27-hole golf course, 5 movie theaters, riding stables, boat and sailboat facilities, bicycles for rent, a roller skating rink and boxing ring, plus 2 beaches on the Caribbean Sea.

Rear Admiral Bulkeley, whose esprit de corps is high, stated, "Recreation at Guantanamo is big business and we are inclined to regard it as an important adjunct to providing a working base for the fleet."

U.S. GOLD FLOW TO CUBA CUT AS GUANTANAMO ECONOMIZES

(By Jessie Stearns)

GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE, CUBA, September 4.—(NANA)—Ever since Fidel Castro took over in 1959, Democratic and Republican Members of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate have talked about Cuba's strangulation through economic measures.

One person who is actually doing something about reduction of the flow of U.S. dollars to the Cuban Prime Minister is Rear Adm. John D. Bulkeley, commander, U.S. Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

Last February 12 Bulkeley discharged 700 Cuban employees at the base, pursuant to a Presidential order that Guantanamo be more self-sufficient and lessen the monetary assistance to the Cuban economy. This was 6 days after Castro announced that the water from his Cuba into the U.S. naval base would be cut off unless the 36 Cuban fishermen held by the United States were released immediately. The men had been seized while fishing in Florida waters. The water was cut off by Castro on February 6.

Today "Gitmo" provides the fresh water it needs by desalinization of salt water.

On February 18 to prove to the world that the naval base was not stealing water as the Cuban Government claimed, Bulkeley cut the pipe and removed one section so that no water could possibly flow into the base. Base water consumption was 1.2 million gallons per day.

Then 700 Cubans doing domestic work, the less desirable and subversives, were dismissed and escorted off the base through the one remaining gate connecting Communist Cuba with the naval base. This reduction left 759 Cuban workers who come through the gate daily plus the 800 exiles living at the base, and it cut the flow of American dollars to Castro by $1.5 million annually.

Another reduction in outflow of gold was the $13,000 paid monthly for water, or $156,000 annually.

Bulkeley says the daily Cuban workers that come and go still take $1.4 million from the base. He reports 80 percent of this amount is taken by the Cuban dictator as they return to their native land on payday.

In addition to the $1.4 million the only other U.S. payment to Castro is $4,000 annually for rental of the base, the cheapest naval area in operation, and $800 per year for a telephone line into Cuba for use by Cubans on the base to communicate with their families in Cuba in case of illness or death. Of course, the line is monitored.

Bulkeley proudly admits his part in the economic strangulation of more than half of the $3.1 million that flowed from the base into Cuba and helped Castro to operate his Communist land.

Raymond L. Suell, Judge of the Juvenile Court of Jefferson County, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article about the Honorable Raymond L. Suell, judge of the juvenile court of Jefferson County, Ky. The article was written by Connie Courteau, and was published on September 19, 1964, in the Louisville Times.

The article, which is a tribute to Judge Suell's understanding of a critical problem, deserves study by officials and citizens interested in the young people of our country.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUVENILE COURT JUDGE SUELL IS A MAN IN LOVE WITH HIS JOB

(By Connie Corteau)

Jefferson County's juvenile court judge is a self-driving young man with a background punctuated with diversity. He:

Worked at two jobs while going to law school and graduated at the top of his class.

Is an ex-bartender, union shop steward, paperhanger, and bedspring maker.

Is an active Catholic layman, a water skier, and a man who thinks the worst thing that can happen to a judge is to let his ego boost him into an ivory tower.

This is 33-year-old Raymond L. Suell, native of Louisville's Portland neighborhood, who went to work to support himself during his later years in high school (du Pont Manual), and went through a 6-year course of law and prelaw at the University of Louisville in 4 years.

That course included summer school, accompanied by a year-round full-time night job at the Southern Bell Telephone Co. where he was a dial-equipment maintenance man. He worked for the company 11 years, even after he started practicing as a struggling young lawyer.

While he was in law school and working for the telephone company, he was a union shop steward and "walked the bricks for 71 days" in the 1955 telephone strike. "There was not any animosity; we all went back to work."

While in school and working full time at Bell he also held some part-time jobs—"for an electrical contractor, and I tended bar at 41st and Bank. That is not a bad job. You learn a lot about people."

In his senior year, while still studying and still working for Bell full time, he was law

clerk for attorneys John McCrea and Richard Nash, with whom he still shares offices and practices law.

HE IS KEPT CUT DOWN

His office cohorts, including Nash, a former domestic relations court judge, "keep me cut down" to size, as do Suell's four sons.

Suell thinks this is good.

He also has a 9-month-old daughter, presented him by his wife, the former Mary Angela Senn whom he married "when she was 18 and I was 19."

The baby daughter does swell his head. "She's a queen," he grins.

How did a young lawyer only out of school since 1957 become a judge by 1961?

"Bill Colson (police court judge) stuck his neck out and appointed me judge of night court," said Suell. "I was the youngest judge they'd had * * * I was a young Republican lawyer and I was in the right place at the right time." It was November, 1961, when the Republicans, including Colson, swept Jefferson County on election day.

Suell was night police court judge for less than a year when another judge—this time former Juvenile Court Judge Daniel P. Marshall—stuck his neck out too.

"I wanted Ray for the (new) adult division of juvenile court, Marshall once recalled.

"He had the background for it; he grew up in an area with problems, he understood what he was dealing with," said Marshall, now a circuit court judge.

In the adult d'vision of juvenile court Suell had charge of cases involving adults accused of nonsupport of children and contributing to the delinquency of minors.

When he first became adult division judge in September of 1962 "I'd see fellows I'd gone to grade school with, and I'd think I better not handle that case. So I'd transfer it to Judge Marshall. It got so Judge Marshall was handling practically all the adults.

"So I started handling them whether they were old Portland acquaintances or not. When I'd sentence them for nonsupport and the bailiff was dragging them out they'd turn around and say:

" 'Ray, how can you do this to me?' "

HE'S HAPPY IN HIS JOB

Of the three judgeships, actually commissionerships, he has held, Suell likes his present job best.

Suell disagrees with some of his colleagues that the most crying need in Kentucky's work with delinquents is more institutions where they can get emotional help. Suell thinks the need instead is for more professional help for youngsters to be given in most cases in the situations from which the youngsters come.

"If you institutionalize them, and then put them back, they're right in the same situation they came out of. They need to get strength at home. We need to work with whole families," he said. "We need more staff to do it."

He said he found parents from "better economic areas" more stable and cooperative in working with their troubled children. In poorer areas "parents are less able to help because they're barely hanging on themselves."

A HUMAN LIE DETECTOR

He praised his staff of 36 probation and other juvenile court officers, and one of them commented in return:

"The judge has a unique way of telling when somebody's lying in court. It's uncanny."

Suell laughed at that. "It's all those jobs I held. For instance, if a fellow who's a paperhanger comes in and says he can't find work because it's the slack season I know if he's lying because I was a paperhanger and I know when the slack season is."

Suell, who lives at 315 Birchwood, has no slack season.

In addition to being juvenile court judge he practices law.

He is an active Catholic layman and a member of the Serra Club which tries to interest young people in religious vocations; he tries to make a 3-day retreat once a year "to get away from the hustle and bustle * * * and reevaluate your life."

HAS TIME FOR SPORTS, TOO

He is a member of the Turners, but "I'm no gymnast, although my sons take gym lessons."

He is coach of the sixth-grade basketball team one of his sons was on last year. "This year I've got one son on the seventh-and-eighth-grade team and another on the sixth, and I don't know what I'm going to do about that."

He is a water skier: "I only look good to people who don't water ski."

What would he do if he had his choice, and the opportunity? "Be a juvenile court judge the rest of my life. People don't realize what this court and the staff does. * * * It's so rewarding when you manage to work out one problem."

"I think the trouble today is that people don't have anything to hang onto. They flounder.

"When I was in night court you'd see the same drunks coming back time after time. Nobody could do anything for them because they had nothing to hang onto."

HE KNOWS THEM ALL

Then there was the time recently when Judge Suell was in St. Louis, riding in a taxi.

"I've got a friend in Louisville," the driver told him.

"Who?" said Suell, who seems to know everybody who's ever been in trouble in Louisville.

The driver told him, and added: "We went to reform school together."

"Sure enough," Suell said, "I knew the guy."

Foreign Food Laws Can Restrict Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, a major problem in gaining better access to foreign markets for our agricultural products is the failure of the food laws of some nations to keep pace with scientific progress.

In this connection, I include an interesting article by Mr. Raymond A. Ioanes, Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service, as follows:

FOREIGN FOOD LAWS CAN RESTRICT TRADE

(By Raymond A. Ioanes)

"Trade barrier" is a term we usually associate with import levies, seasonal quotas, gate prices, and the like. We often overlook food health laws and regulations or don't know that they also restrict agricultural trade. The current trend abroad is toward even more stringent food health controls.

Let me tell you about diphenyl. Foreign regulations issued in connection with its use on lemons have unquestionably hurt our exports of this fruit.

Diphenyl is a chemical which inhibits the growth of certain fungi on citrus fruit. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration has set the U.S. tolerance level of this fungistat at 110 parts per million. The United Kingdom has established the safe mark at 100 parts per million. West Germany and France feel that 70 parts per million is the proper tolerance. So far, so good.

West Germany, however, passed a food law in 1958 which prescribes that when citrus fruit is treated with diphenyl a sign must be displayed, which reads, "With diphenyl, peel unsuitable for consumption." I say, respectfully, that this wording is inaccurate and misleading. Citrus peel treated with diphenyl is perfectly safe for human ingestion when treated at the levels authorized by either West Germany or the United States. West German food chemists concur in this judgment. But the mandatory label with the damning word "unsuitable" remains. It has scared off consumers, of course. It has been a major factor in the decline of West Germany's imports of U.S. lemons from 1.7 million cartons in 1958 to less than 100,000 cartons in recent years.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Other U.S. farm products are affected by foreign health laws. Prominent on the list are fresh deciduous fruit, dried fruit, wheat flour, and poultry. Still more U.S. commodities will be affected if some foreign countries follow through on current proposals and set tolerances for pesticide residues drastically lower than those permitted by the United States.

All this brings me to the question: What can be done to ease the trade-hampering effects of foreign food laws?

The first thing the United States must do is arrive at a common meeting of the minds with "customer" countries as to which laws and regulations serve a proper function—and which are being misused.

Nobody can argue about general principles. All countries must safeguard their people with effective food health laws and regulations. But, in seeking what is "effective," governments differ widely in their judgments of what is "safe," or "necessary," or "desirable." These differences in viewpoint are what we need to understand—and, if we can, to reconcile.

Let's recognize at the outset that there are some fundamental philosophic differences between the United States and Europe with respect to the use of chemicals in food production or processing.

The United States holds to the doctrine that a chemical need not be classified as poisonous or deleterious per se. Sodium chloride—common table salt and one of the oldest food additives known to man—is a good example of what I mean. Salt is a chemical and taken in excess can be unsafe. But the mere fact that salt is a chemical should not prevent its use in safe amounts if such use can be shown to be beneficial in food processing.

We don't take the safety of agricultural chemicals for granted. Far from it. No new food additive may be used in or on food until the petitioner submits to the Food and Drug Administration evidence of its safety when tested on animals. If the material proves to be a safe component of food under proposed conditions of use, and will not promote consumer deception, the FDA issues regulations specifying how it may be used. These regulations are backed up by labeling of chemical agents and formulations containing them, by instructions in their proper use, by regular inspections, by sampling and analytical control. Violators are subject to legal action, which may include criminal prosecution.

EUROPE LIMITS APPROVAL

Most European countries feel that the list of approved chemicals should be kept small—that additions to restricted lists should be granted only when they are necessary as well as safe. Necessity is given as much weight in some countries as safety.

Some countries have been reluctant to expand their list of permitted food additives even in the face of a showing of necessity and safety. They want their foods to be "naturrein"—naturally pure, that is—a product of bright sun, sparkling rain, and organically fertilized soil. This may be a desirable objective. It might even be attained if each family produced and processed its own food. But in this modern world, where division of labor is essential, where food must pass through many hands and travel long distances on its way from producers to consumers, compromises with "naturrein" have been necessary. Most countries have accepted the inevitability of compromises. The United States feels that safe food additives are justified when they maintain the nutritional quality of a food, enhance its keeping quality, make it more acceptable, aid in its processing, or improve its nutritional value.

U.S. preoccupation with foreign food laws is nothing new. For many years our agricultural exporters encountered problems in this area. These were handled largely on a case-by-case basis by U.S. agricultural attachés. Our attachés still function in this field with respect to specific cases, and will continue to do so. But the overall scope of the food health problem, and its intensification in recent years, have called for additional measures.

Establishment of the European Economic Community in 1958 probably was the principal event bringing food health matters to a focus. The Treaty of Rome, which established the EEC, provides for a common agricultural policy—a merging of the farm economies of the six member countries. Part of this merging process is the harmonization of existing national food health regulations. Harmonization almost certainly will mean, in turn, continued tightening of the regulations, at least in the case of some of the countries of the European Economic Community.

Let's face it—Rachel Carson's book, "Silent Spring," also has been a factor. The book had a great impact in the United States, as you know, especially on nonfarm people. And this work, translated into foreign languages, has had a high popularity abroad. It undoubtedly has helped to create a climate favorable to rigid foreign food health laws and regulations.

Department of Agriculture specialists have kept abreast of the shift toward more stringent controls and their effects on agricultural trade. They have followed foreign trends in food health legislation, monitoring and enforcement activities, and the thinking of food scientists. Their reports have laid the foundation for programs aimed in large part at assuring greater understanding among scientists and regulatory bodies in this country and abroad.

SPECIALIST TEAM STUDY PROBLEMS

The exchange of technical information between teams of U.S. and foreign specialists is contributing greatly to this understanding. Work of the teams is financed in large part under authority of Public Law 480, with foreign currencies derived from oversea sales of U.S. farm products.

An American food science mission visited a number of Western European countries late in 1963. The group studied general provisions of food laws and regulations related to public health, the rational and scientific bases for them as viewed by foreign scientists and officials, and the nature and effectiveness of enforcement. Findings of these experts will be invaluable as we try to find solutions to the food health-trade barrier problems.

Typical of teams coming to the United States was the group of West German scientists who last spring surveyed the U.S. food health control system. In addition to talks with Washington officials, the group visited Florida, California, and Kansas, where they saw chemicals being applied to crops before and after harvest, and food regulation enforcement. They appreciate, I am sure, that the setting of tolerances or any other food health standards must be backed up by satisfactory programs for testing and control.

As part of the drive for improved understanding, the Department of Agriculture has stationed a food scientist in Western Europe on a full-time basis to represent the United States in the food law field. With headquarters at Brussels, he is analyzing European food laws and regulatory programs, maintaining contact with the officials and scientists developing them, and relaying information back to the United States. He is providing technical assistance to U.S. agricultural attachés and cooperating trade groups abroad. He is keeping in touch with international food and health organizations.

OTHER USDA EFFORTS

The Department also has assigned a Washington staff member to the job of liaison on foreign food laws. His responsibility is to coordinate food law matters among U.S. agencies, groups, and individuals. He assists foreign teams visiting this country. And he helps to maintain a two-way flow of information between U.S. agencies and American representatives in foreign countries.

Private industry is augmenting the Department's efforts. The California-Arizona Citrus League, the National Canners Association, and the Northwest Horticultural Council have stationed technicians in Europe to analyze food laws which restrict trade in agricultural products. Other trade groups which have been active in the food law area include the Institute of American Poultry Industries and the Millers' National Federation.

The United States is taking part in work of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization to simplify and harmonize international food standards in a consolidated food code, or, more technically, a Codex Alimentarius.

Preparatory work on draft standards already is underway. Among the projects being carried forward is the development of draft lists of acceptable food additives, and the survey and designation wherever possible of proposed maximum levels of use for these additives in individual foods. A worldwide Expert Committee on Pesticide Residues has the responsibility of surveying and proposing, where possible, tolerances for pesticides in individual foods.

The second major objective of the United States in the food health-trade barrier must be continued vigilance—backed up with research.

We have struck a reasonable balance in this country.

We know that chemicals are essential to food production and processing. We know that with proper controls and safeguards they are not dangerous.

But we know that these matters must never be considered as closed—that we must be alert and resolve any doubts on the side of safety.

WORK STILL TO BE DONE

Research is essential, of course. We can all be pleased that legislation recently carried an increase of almost $26 million in the Department of Agriculture's 1965 appropriation, the new funds to be used in carrying on a stepped-up program of pest control research and education.

Some work will be aimed at improved insect control through sterility methods. Illustrative of what can be done in this area is the eradication in the Southeast of the screw-worm, a fly pest of livestock. This was accomplished by raising millions of male screw-worms, sterilizing them with radioactive cobalt, and releasing them to mate with native female flies.

New biological studies will involve the use of parasites and predators against insects and weeds; diseases against insects and nematodes; and vaccines against animal parasites. Efforts will be made to breed plants with built-in resistance to diseases and insects. Also to be investigated are such fields of insect control as light, sound, and electromagnetic energy. Basic research will delve deep into the biology, physiology, pathology, and nutrition of insects, plants, and animals. Increased attention will be directed at more specific, less persistent conventional pesticides, improved methods of application and of detecting and determining pesticide residues, and effects of trace levels.

Our foreign friends can see from this program that the United States is sparing no expense or effort to keep our foods—what we consume here and what we export—wholesome and safe.

The United States is taking many steps to expand agricultural exports. We are working, through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to lower economic trade barriers. We carry on, with cooperating agricultural and trade groups, extensive market development activities. We operate a food-for-peace program, which is helping us—as we help less developed countries—to build permanent commercial markets for our farm products.

All this effort is reflected in increasingly large agricultural exports. In the fiscal year 1963–64, we set an all-time high record when we shipped overseas $6.1 billion worth of U.S. farm products.

The food health area definitely needs work and attention for the benefit of ourselves and other countries. Greater understanding among nations with respect to food laws can do in this area what trade negotiations can do in the economic field. We know what our problems are. We have made a start toward solving them. With good will, energy, and persistence, we will solve them.

National Civil Service League's Help in Connection With Recent Government Employees' Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the National Civil Service League, a nonpartisan, nonprofit citizen's organization serving the public interest by working to improve the Federal service, has made an outstanding contribution to the studies made in connection with the Government Employees Pay Reform Act of 1964.

The league, recognizing the need for adequate pay levels in the Federal service, particularly in the upper echelons of Government, conducted an extensive survey intended to provide a sampling of significant opinion on the need for attracting men of high quality to positions of responsibility in Government. The findings of the survey were used extensively by the President's Advisory Panel on Federal Salary Systems. The league has also undertaken an extensive public information campaign to make known the results of its survey, and cooperated fully with the Congress in its deliberations on Federal pay.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This editorial, entitled "The Top Management of Government—Good Pay for Good Man," was published in the September issue of Good Government, the official bulletin of the National Civil Service League.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TOP MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT—GOOD PAY FOR GOOD MEN

(By Jean J. Couturier, executive director, National Civil Service League)

"Inadequate salaries for legislators, executives, and judges represent the most critical deficiency in our entire Federal personnel policy. The National Civil Service League considers the matter of increased salary incentives at these policy and leadership levels of transcendent importance to the retention and attraction of the best capacities in our society.

"BERNARD L. GLADIEUX,
"Chairman of the Board, National Civil Service League."

This statement defined the nonpartisan, nonprofit National Civil Service League's position on the urgent need to reform Federal pay structures for the top management of Government. If further served as a philosophical underpinning for a massive research and public information-education-counseling program that culminated in the President's signing a comprehensive salary adjustment bill on August 14, 1964. This new "Government Employees Salary Reform Act of 1964" provides the largest single pay raise ever granted Federal executives—$10,000 for Cabinet members, $7,500 for legislators, $4,500 for Supreme Court Justices, and comparable raises for second and third echelon managers of Government. The league's work on this crucial improvement, which it considers only a first-step success, elicited the following statement of thanks from President Lyndon B. Johnson to League Board Chairman Gladieux on June 12, 1964:

"I want to express appreciation to you and the board of directors of the league for the many distinguished contributions you have made to the cause of salary reform * * * in the past 3 years. These contributions have been an affirmative extension of the long-time policy of the league to seek * * * to improve the quality of the public service."

In its 83-year fight for efficiency and economy in the public service, the National Civil Service League has worked consistently to attract and retain top quality government personnel. It has done this by championing an able, nonpartisan civil service—a struggle that has been largely won, except for pockets of patronage and spoils that persist in some States and localities; by promoting public recognition of outstanding career civil service to raise its prestige—a continuing program that has spawned many others and continues to be lauded for its effectiveness; and by diligently working for appropriate pay structures—an old and particularly tough problem articulated by President George Washington on December 7, 1796, when he told Congress:

"The compensation of the various officers of the United States in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appears to call for legislative revision."

This issue has become even more acute with the increasing responsibility and complexity of our Government today.

The loss of key talent because of inadequate pay has become a problem that threatens the stature and capacity of government. Congress faced this problem in 1962 when it sought and followed the advice of the National Civil Service League—by stating as national policy that Federal salaries should be comparable with those outside Government and by requesting President Kennedy to propose adequate salary levels for top Federal officials. He acted by appointing a special Advisory Panel on Federal Salary Systems made up of 12 distinguished citizens under the chairmanship of Clarence B. Randall.

The league recognized the need for an objective analysis of informed public opinion. It conducted and published a public service survey among leaders of business, education, and the professions to learn the views of these "influentials" on proper pay levels for members of the Cabinet and Congress. The survey, carefully and objectively structured to include a valid sampling of the Nation's "decisionmakers" whose respected opinions provide a barometer of public thinking, showed an overwhelming interest in substantially raising salary levels for Cabinet officers, Senators, and Representatives and also a deep concern with the urgency of attracting the ablest men to Government leadership. Over 50 percent of the 400 leaders who responded opted for $50,000 Cabinet salaries. Eighty-two percent spoke out for $40,000 or more, and the average recommended salary for those officials was $36,000, or $1,000 more than Congress finally provided. Nearly half of the respondents favored congressional salaries of $35,000 or more, and 86 percent said our legislators should be paid at least $30,000 annually.

The Randall panel took the league study seriously, used the survey materials extensively, and cited the league in its report to the President. In reporting on the Randall panel's work, the New York Times of August 14, 1963, said, "In a report to President Kennedy, the 12-man panel followed many recommendations made by the National Civil Service League last April."

The league, in responding to the Government's request for advice, was performing but part of its historic research-counseling-information-education role. A citizen's action organization also must inform and educate the citizens, whose interest is crucial to effective democratic government.

The league, then, embarked on a major program of further factfinding, counseling, and disseminating information. It distributed over 50,000 copies of 11 separate special studies, reports, articles, and statements of views to key people in American leadership. League board members (all private citizens) wrote over 2,000 personal letters to other Americans asking their views and informing them of our stand. Clarence B. Randall, in the league's behalf, asked for and received formal statements of views from leaders in American industry that could be published by the league. The league was asked to testify before Congress and it did so. In addition, its board members and staff made over a dozen trips to Washington to meet with Government officials and congressional leaders to advise, at their request, on the issue. And, finally, the league made its research, statistics, studies, and opinions available to the public through the press, radio, and television. These were widely reported on the airwaves and in literally thousands of newspapers and magazines, thus informing and alerting the public to the urgency of the need for Federal salary reform.

The results of the league's efforts in this crucial issue are now history. We offer our profound thanks to the thousands of individuals, the leaders in our society who responded, to Mr. Clarence Randall and his panel for their excellent work, to the leaders of Government who had the courage to act, and to our members and supporters, without whom the league could never have made such a public service contribution. The league believes the battle is only partly won. The need remains for truly competitive salaries to be paid to the top executive managers of government. With the help of those who stand with us, we will continue to work.

The salary issue, however, is only part of the crisis facing government today. The league in appropriate sequence, has fought for and won a merit system of civil service. It continues to advance the merit principle and it further helps raise the prestige of public service through its career service awards program. Salary reform followed naturally in the league's program as part of its quest for excellence in the public service. The time has now come for a critical reexamination of the organization of government as it applies to personnel and for citizens' action aimed at improvement and modernization.

The attraction and retention of quality people to staff government, which today employs nearly 15 percent of the national work force, urges on the league the next step in the job to help government answer its manpower input problem—how to get and keep able people. The need remains to look more intensely and critically at recruitment, promotion, tenure, discipline, mobility, management flexibility, and employee motivation. The league has worked long, hard, and well as a citizens' action organization to promote an efficient and economical public service; these issues constitute a challenge that remains before it.

The National Civil Service League needs all public-spirited citizens to join its effort.

The People Have a Right To Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, concern over the series of Supreme Court decisions on reapportionment, the last of which was handed down on June 15, 1964, and one of which, by a divided court, declared a part of Ohio's Constitution unconstitutional, althought ratified in a popular election by a vote of 575,505 to 26,497 is more and more widespread and the concern deepens.

A well written editorial from the Moscow, Idaho, Idahoian, issue of September 10, 1964, deserves the reading of every thoughtful American, regardless of his conclusion on one of the most important issues of our time.

The editorial follows:

THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO SAY

Congress is heading for a showdown vote on whether the States have the right to say that they shall be governed by two legislative branches, one representing the people and the other representing geographical areas and, perhaps, minorities.

This is the system of legislative government upon which the Federal Government itself is based. The issue is fundamental and crucial.

Those who would defeat a proposal being backed by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, first to postpone effectiveness of the Supreme Court's decree that both State legislative branches must be on a "one man, one vote" basis have injected strident politics into the issue.

The Illinois Republican Senator would postpone effectiveness of the ruling for 2 years. This would allow time for the Con-

gress, then the States, to act on a constitutional amendment specifically leaving to the States determination of how one house of a two-house legislature should be selected.

Opponents to this two-step program are attempting to tie this in with the 30-year-old effort of Franklin D. Roosevelt to pack the Supreme Court because its members did not follow his philosophy of broad socialistic programs and knocked down one by one several of his reform measures.

This is far fetched. This issue is not whether the Supreme Court should be hamstrung or its powers limited. It is an attempt to correct what the Court has found, rightly or wrongly, to be a defect in constitutional law. Or it might be said that the Court has taken a radical view of what is constitutional and what is not that does not have historic precedent and does not reflect a constant political philosophy in our Government.

There have been innumerable other situations in which the Congress has passed remedial legislation to constitutionalize what the Court has said was unconstitutional. But never, perhaps, one of such importance.

When the Federal Constitution was written there were 13 States which ratified it. Each of those States, in turn, set up their own forms of government and deliberately patterned them after the Federal structure.

Each set up two-house legislatures, one house representing the people, the other geographical areas. Each established its own supreme court to be the final arbiter of State legislation. Each set up a single executive (the Governor) whose duties closely followed those of the Federal President.

That was the will of the people and that has been the will of the people (except in Nebraska where a single-house legislature has been operating in recent years) since.

The Supreme Court has been wrong before. It has reversed itself many times as its members have changed over the years. The most notable instance was the Court's reversal, in 1954, of longstanding opinions which held that "separate but equal" accommodations were valid as the States continued racial separation in schools and other public and private facilities.

There are many who now believe the Court erred in its summer decisions saying that all State legislatures, for both houses, must be elected on a voter-proportional basis. It is entirely possible that a future Court made up of other judges might reverse this decision. And it wouldn't have to be "packed" as President Roosevelt sought to pack it in 1934.

The Supreme Court is the final arbiter of what is and what is not constitutional—until the people, within their right, decide otherwise. The fact that we have more than two score amendments tacked onto our original Constitution attests to the right of the people to change or modify or up-date our basic charter of liberty. The people still have that right; when they abrogate it they will have turned Government over to a dictatorial body of nine men.

If the Congress, representing the people, and then the States, again representing the people, adopt an amendment to legalize a two-house legislature patterned after the Federal Legislature in the makeup of its members, this would be a legal exercise of our liberty. At least the people should have the right to make this determination. It is not a question of taking away the powers of the Court; it is a question of correcting what the Court has found to be, in its judgment, wrong.

President Johnson's Pledge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to insert at this point an editorial which appeared in the New York Post of August 13, dealing with President Lyndon B. Johnson's address before the American Bar Association recently.

I call this article to the attention of my colleagues:

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PLEDGE

The address of President Johnson before the American Bar Association was the measured speech of a man who carries the responsibility and the burden, whose every word must be just.

"Sir, it is a solemn thing to be President of the United States," declared Grover Cleveland. That was in a much simpler time. How much more solemn is the responsibility today when, as Harry Truman observed, "there is no end to the chain of responsibility that binds" the President, and the heaviest link is that which ties him to command of our nuclear arsenal.

Speaking in the context of the Vietnamese episode, the President said: "And there is another consideration wherever the forces of freedom are engaged. No one who commands the power of nuclear weapons can escape his responsibility for the life of our people and their children. It has never been the policy of any American President to systematically place in hazard the life of his Nation by threatening nuclear war. No American President has ever pursued so irresponsible a course. Our firmness at moments of crisis has always been matched by restraint—our determination by care. It was so under President Truman at Berlin, under President Eisenhower in the Formosa Strait, under President Kennedy in the Cuba missile crisis.

"And I pledge you it will be so as long as I am President."

When the push of a button can mean the obliteration of the human race, the indispensable prerequisite in a President is a sober, prayerful—yes, humble—awareness of the dread power at his command.

Mr. Johnson spoke sternly on the subject of preserving civil peace.

"Grievances do not justify turning the streets into jungles," he said, or abusing the right of other Americans to security and safety." Violence must be stopped whether it occurs "in Mississippi or New York" and lawbreakers must be punished "whether they be murderers in the countryside, or hooded nightriders on the highways, or hoodlums in the city."

However, the President did not stop there. "Those who promise racial peace but are silent about the redress of grievances delude themselves," he commented. "Fulfillment of rights and prevention of disorder goes hand in hand."

The President did not say, but the country knows, that behind these words are deeds. He was instrumental in securing passage of civil rights and antipoverty legislation. He has asserted a restraining Federal presence in Mississippi.

He has established his moral right to be heard in the northern ghetto as well as in the southern countryside.

Interest on Church Bonds Should Be Tax Exempt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE R. POOL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which is long overdue. It proposes to amend the Internal Revenue Act of 1954 to exclude from gross income the interest on church bonds.

Nations which love and hold God in reverent awe always have denied their secular officials the right to control or to impose taxes on the churches of the people. Recognizing that "the power to tax is the power to destroy," our Nation wisely has sought to eliminate any tax on our churches. Church property is exempt in our Nation's cities, counties and States. The Securities Act of 1933 and all following amendments have exempted church bonds from registration, and this is true also in the various securities acts of the States. My proposal, then, follows the wish of our Founding Fathers; emphasizes the spirit of our Constitution; and clarifies the intent of the Congress and, the legislative bodies of the States that church property shall not be burdened directly or indirectly by taxation.

Reduction in Federal revenue, as a result of this legislation, would be infinitesimal. Religious bonds are a tiny business. At present, I am informed about $300 to $400 million in church bonds is outstanding. Compared with corporate bonds, of which some $100 billion is outstanding; or with municipals, of which about $47 billion is outstanding, the bonds affected by my proposal would amount to a minuscule part of the securities business. The greater part of these church bonds have been sold to members of the congregation. The maturing bonds and the accrued interest on these bonds are paid by the church from the tithes, contributions and offerings of members and friends of the church.

These church bonds mature serially as municipal bonds do. Unlike municipals, however, these church bonds are not tax exempt. In other words, Mr. Speaker, we provide tax exempt status for bonds to build an athletic stadium or a sewer system, but we impose Caeser's tax on the building of churches and sanctuaries. My bill would relieve this inequity, for the interest on these church bonds should not be taxable. Under the provisions of this measure, church bonds would be on a par with tax-exempt municipal and State bonds.

Our Nation's churches generally have had a difficult time with construction programs. The day is long past when the congregation could work together to cut the trees and plane into lumber the material to build their church. Over the years, conventional lending agencies—banks, insurance companies, and such—have found more attractive uses for their investment capital. They also have become somewhat reluctant to make church loans because they feel such loans could adversely affect their operations, as when a need might arise to press for payment. Therefore, within the past several years, more and more churches have been turning to bond issues to provide the capital needed for their programs.

Too, the cost of church construction now is greater than in the past. Today, the needs of the church call for more than a sanctuary. The church today is more than a place for Sunday services, for Tuesday choir practice and prayer meetings on Wednesday. Where the membership is concerned and alert to the requirements of modern society, the church has become a focal point in community leadership and development. There is a need for additional religious education space, for day nurseries, youth programs and community affairs. Robert South, the great English clergyman, once said:

If there were not a minister in every parish, you would quickly find cause to increase the number of constables; and if churches were not employed as places to hear God's laws, there would be a need for them to be prisons for lawbreakers.

The encouragement of church building the establishment of youth centers and day nurseries under the leadership of the church brings moral determination to the fight against poverty, delinquency, and despair.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard much about juvenile delinquency. We have recently passed legislation to attack pockets of poverty in this country. But I say to the Members of this House, a well-organized church program, including youth centers, day nurseries, educational training, will have a greater impact for good than all of our bureaucratic activities. It will permit local groups to solve many of their local problems. It will encourage local initiative and permit local citizens to operate.

The great growth of the suburbs of our Nation's cities has caused a tremendous growth in small-to-medium churches. In town, urban renewal programs provide funds and assistance for improvement of every part of the community except the churches—the motivating moral force in any community. Making church bonds more appealing to buyers is a sound way to help urban renewal area churches keep pace with the renewal program.

Many of the Negro churches of our Nation's cities are in the center of redeveloped, or to be redeveloped areas. The income of the people in these areas often does not permit them to be investors in any kind of securities. However, they are now contributing, and will continue to contribute, to their various churches through tithes and offerings. Making bonds more attractive to investors outside of the churches will let the Negro church acquire the money to build churches, adequate day nurseries, and properly equipped youth centers.

The bill I have introduced will aid in the encouragement of church building. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, while these institutional bonds generally carry an interest rate higher than medium corporate bonds or municipals, no default on any institutional issue has been recorded in the past 25 years and the market for such bonds—while not as active as in other securities—is steady, for the greater part of these maturing serial bonds are purchased in the local communities and by the members of the church itself. But, because the church is building to meet the more complex problems of our modern day, the amount of capital for building has increased. These church bond programs are essential if the churches are to meet the challenge of our society.

The field of institutional bonds must be expanded if our churches are to meet their obligations. I propose, through this bill, to aid this great work by making such church bonds exempt from taxation by the Federal Government.

The bill follows:

H.R. 12637

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exclude from gross income the interest on church bonds

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to items specifically excluded from gross income) is amended by inserting after section 103 (relating to interest on certain governmental obligations) the following new section:

"SEC. 103A. INTEREST ON CHURCH BONDS.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Gross income does not include interest on a church bond.

"(b) CHURCH BOND DEFINED.—For purposes of subsection (a), the term 'church bond' means a bond, debenture, note, or certificate, or other evidence of indebtedness, which is issued with interest coupons or in registered form, which is issued by a church or a convention or association of churches, and the issuance of which is exempted from the application of the Securities Act of 1933 by section 3(a)(4) of such Act."

(b) The table of sections for such part III is amended by inserting immediately below "Sec. 103. Interest on certain governmental obligations." the following:

"SEC. 103A. Interest on church bonds."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to church bonds (within the meaning of section 103A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954) issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

National 4–H Club Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, the week of September 26 to October 3 has been set aside as National 4–H Club Week. In previous years we have honored the National 4–H Club in the early spring. It is of small concern in what season this celebration occurs for it is always a pleasure for me to pay tribute to this fine organization and to all those who are responsible for the growth and success that it has enjoyed since it was founded around the turn of the century.

There are many who have played a strong and important part in this continuing growth and success. All of them deserve mention and a heartfelt well done from the entire Nation for the contribution they are making toward a stronger America. The Federal Extension Services of the Department of Agriculture conduct a dynamic program of education functioning through our State land-grant colleges and universities. In addition to this leadership at the national level the State extension services provide excellent direction as do the more than 307,500 local leaders, who as volunteers are unpaid for their unselfish efforts to reach and serve any and all of those who wish their advice and help. There are also about 114,960 older club members—boys and girls—who, as junior leaders give freely of their time and assistance. Working together with these groups for the betterment of the 4–H Club movement are two nongovernmental organizations, the National 4–H Club Foundation and the National 4–H Club Services Committee. Since 1914 when legislation was first passed for the purpose of assisting 4–H Club work nearly 23,830,400 different young people have participated in this "learn by doing program." This is more than ample proof of the effectiveness and wisdom of such Federal action.

The number of projects available to 4–H Club members ranges from approximately 25 in some States to 100 in others and comprise a well-diversified group of programs which are now and which will be for many years to come of immeasurable benefit.

Our 4–H Club members and their leaders have not hesitated to meet new challenges and to set forth workable programs to meet new needs and problems. There has been a widespread change in agricultural technology and this change is being faced squarely and realistically by these dedicated workers.

4–H Club members recognize the need for better understanding between the peoples of all nations and it is for this reason that the National 4–H Club Foundation was an early leader in an international people-to-people program through its farm youth exchange and its Peace Corps projects. Approximately 115 delegates from their ranks are sent abroad to contribute to the social and economic growth and expansion of some 65 countries. In return the same number of young people are brought to our country under this program which was designed to promote an exchange of ideas, aims, and purposes.

It has long been the dream of the United States to lead the free world to a lasting peace. To accomplish this, our youth must be fully prepared to meet the challenges that tomorrow holds. Youth organizations, such as the 4–H Clubs of America are vital to our Nation in this respect for they help to provide

the background for these young Americans of whom we are all so justly proud.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say again that it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to salute this outstanding organization which has earned respect and commendation from every corner of the globe for its achievements. I am sure that the 4-H Clubs of America have the gratitude of all of us for their past accomplishments and our sincere best wishes for success in the future.

Are One-third of American Young Men Unqualified for Military Service?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, a task force composed of the Secretaries of Labor, Defense, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Director of the Selective Service System early this year issued a report declaring that one-third of the 1,400,000 young men who reach the age of 18 in this year would be found unqualified for military service.

A rebuttal was prepared by the staff of the American Medical Association's Division of Environmental Medicine and Medical Services and published in the June 29, 1964, issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association.

Because the subject is of such general interest, I feel that the Members of the Congress will be interested in reading it.

The article follows:

ONE-THIRD OF A NATION?

On January 4, President Johnson directed the Department of Defense and Selective Service System to conduct physical and mental examinations of most youths as soon as possible after they reach 18 and register for the draft. The President also ordered the Secretaries of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare to set up "rehabilitation programs to correct the physical and mental defects found in the examinations." Both orders become effective July 1.

The President issued these directives with the release of a "manpower conservation" report, whose findings, he said, "are dramatic evidence that poverty is still exacting its price in spoiled lives and failed examinations * * * In a nation as rich and productive as ours this is an intolerable situation." Mr. Johnson promised to present a program "to attack the roots of poverty"—later presented to Congress as "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

The youth-screening program was ordered into effect the day the task force report on which it is based was released to the public, without public discussion by Congress or by experts outside the Government.

THE REPORT

The Task Force[1] document, "One-Third of a Nation, a Report on Young Men Found Unqualified for Military Service," is 36 pages and begins with 12 findings and a recommendation for a six-part "Manpower Conservation Program." Briefly, the task force's findings are:

1. One-third of the young men in the Nation would be found unqualified for military service if examined at 18—about half for medical reasons, half failing the mental tests.

2. Half the registrants called for preinduction examinations are now found unqualified.

3. The failure rate varies widely between States, areas.

4. Most failures appear to be "victims of inadequate education and insufficient health services."

5. A survey of recent mental test failures shows most to be identified with a continuous cycle of poverty.

6. Of the mental rejectees, 40 percent did not go beyond grammar school, 80 percent did not finish high school.

7. The unemployment rate of the mental rejectees (31 percent jobless) was four times that for their age group; of those working, most had the lowest paying jobs requiring minimum skill.

8. Unless their skills are upgraded, these young men "face a lifetime of recurrent unemployment." Interviewers believed 80 percent needed job counseling, or literacy or job training; most interviewees were willing to take such training.

9. The findings underscore the need for the Youth Employment Act and the National Service Corps (now before Congress).

10. Many failing the medical examination need medical attention but are not so advised; few are now receiving treatment.

11. If all the young men turning 18 in 1964 were examined, about 500,000 would be found unqualified; rejections would rise to 600,000 or more per year for the rest of the decade.

12. Further, some 1,750,000 in the 18 to 26 age group would be found disqualified if examined.[2]

Six of those twelve findings are restatements of President Kennedy's charge to the task force and two are projections from the percentages of youths rejected quoted in that charge, whereas the ninth finding is more properly a recommendation for legislation (which task force members were supporting before the task force was formed). Only the fifth, sixth, and seventh findings—on the family income, education of mental rejectees interviewed, and the proportion of rejectees who were jobless—are new data. But these findings (5, 6, 7) apply only to the 2,500 mental rejectees interviewed, not representing a valid sample of the 160,000 mental rejectees from whom they were selected. Furthermore, findings 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are not based on well-documented evidence.

THE PROGRAM

The task force proposes a six-part program—five parts Federal action, one part local.

First (already ordered for July 1, 1964): Examination of Selective Service registrants as soon as possible after age 18. Selective Service would be responsible for classification, using facilities of Federal agencies, States, and communities.[3] Both the rejectee and the community are to be informed of rejection; Selective Service is to refer rejectees to agencies "for remedial action."

Second: Establishment of a Public Health Service referral program for medical rejectees (voluntary) to local public or private facilities for comprehensive health services.

Third: Establishment of manpower conservation units in all 1,900 U.S. Employment Service offices, for referral of mental rejectees.

Fourth (the only non-Federal action): Expansion of local manpower development and training advisory committees to include members of selective service boards and educational and welfare groups, "to assume leadership in organizing community action to work with young men rejected for military service."

Fifth: A program of experimental and demonstration projects by the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare in new techniques of testing, education, counseling, and motivation of rejectees.

Sixth: Regular publication of rejection rates "to provide * * * an index of performance in manpower conservation."

Three recommendations (1, 3, 5) are restatements of President Kennedy's program, and the proposed Public Health Service referral program (step 2) is implied in the task force appointment of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The only new recommendations are the expansion of the local advisory committees and the establishment of military rejection rates as a criterion of State and community performance.[4] The task force report, presented as a study of the problem and the solution proposed by the four members of the task force, is only a justification and slight amplification of a program already decided in September 1963.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The finding that one-third of the 1,400,000 young men who reach age 18 in 1964 would be found unqualified for military service is based, according to the task force, on a Defense Department study of all categories of examinations for military service between August 1958, and June 1960, including enlistment applications, examinations of draftees and reserve and National Guard enlistees, and local board preliminary screenings. This was computed as an overall rejection rate of 31.7 percent, distributed as 3.9 percent administrative rejection, 14.8 percent medical rejection, 11.5 percent mental rejection, and 1.5 percent who failed both medical and mental examinations. It is estimated that the rate for 1963 was "about 35 or 36 percent."

This rate is based on all ages eligible for induction into military service—not just 18-year-olds, but those 18 to 26. Applying it to 18-year-olds is a misstatement of the statistical implications. (The report states most registrants are not referred for examination until age 22.)

The medical rejectee

The report provides only two items concerning draftees rejected for medical reasons: their number in 1962 (69,638 out of 306,073 examined), and the task force's opinion that "75 percent of all persons rejected for failure to meet the medical and physical standards would probably benefit from treatment." No explanation is given of how this conclusion was reached. (Interestingly, the 75 percent applies also to local selective service board rejectees—presumably including more seriously handicapped men whose restoration possibilities would be more restricted.)

A report graph, "Reasons for Medical Disqualifications: Medical Diagnosis and Frequency of Defect per 10,000 Medically Disqualified Youths," is based on "examinations made from August of 1953 through July of 1958,"[5] with no indication of whether these involved draftees only. Nor does the presentation of the chart make it immediately apparent that this deals with a sample 4 to 9 years prior to the examinations being reported on.

The report claims that 10 percent of medical rejectees have conditions entirely correctable by proper treatment and gives as examples tuberculosis and syphilis.[6]

Of these, tuberculosis is required to be reported to local health officials, whereas syphilis is not a cause for military rejection. One of five (20 percent) is reported as having a condition that "requires or would benefit" from treatment. One of four (25 percent) needs medical and other health services. This leaves, according to the Task Force, one

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Footnotes at end of speech.

out of four (25 percent) "for whom regular medical services are not the answer." It also leaves 20 percent unaccounted for.

Aside from the 1953–58 chart, nowhere does the report categorize which diseases (except tuberculosis and syphilis are considered wholly correctable. It gives examples for the three other groupings, also, but not complete listings—nor does it state who has decided which conditions are correctable, which would benefit from medical services, which need medical and other services, and which would not benefit.

The task force admits this analysis of national rejection rates rests on the validity of the diagnoses made at Armed Forces examining stations and that "independent diagnoses by local public health officials resulted in a diagnostic agreement of 95 percent—confirming the high degree of quality of the medical examination given for military screening." Information is not given supporting this "confirmation" as to number of cases, the diagnoses, how much the local health officials knew of the previous AFES examination before giving their own. The only other information given about the demonstration projects in New York and Philadelphia is that New York City has a higher percentage of psychiatric disqualifications and a lower percentage of diseases of bones and organs of locomotion than the rest of the country.

Physicians associated with the New York project indicate they have made no attempt to confirm or to validate the AFES diagnoses. It is clear that all males reaching the PHS project would be known to have failed the AFES medical standards, which in itself reduces the value of any confirming diagnosis. Armed Forces officials have expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of AFES examinations, with suboptimal quality attributed to lack of adequate facilities, difficulty in staffing and maintaining medical interest in a program consisting entirely of routine physical examinations.

The task force "finds" that "insufficient health services" are a cause of rejection and that many rejectees do not know they need medical services, that few are presently told they do, and that very few now receive medical treatment.[7] No evidence is presented for these statements; none is given that any study was made of the medical histories of the 1962 rejectees—aside from the reprinting of the 1953–58 survey.

It is significant that the task force fails to consider that some conditions are disqualifying on the word of the registrant (e.g., somnambulism), since they cannot be discovered in the physical examination (average physician's time: 16 to 17 minutes); and that many males medically disqualified for military service are not examples of "insufficient health services" but of excellent health services, individuals who, with poorer health services, would not even be alive to be examined.

The mental rejectee

The task force gives the appearance of having studied the mental rejectee; much of the new information presented, and 21 of the 23 appendix tables, deal with his work status, socioeconomic background, and desire for training. One-third of the findings are presumably based on a "nationwide survey * * * of persons who have recently failed the mental test." In fact, however, the survey is not nationwide; it is based on interviewees called in by some 200 local selective service boards in only 37 States. Thirteen States were excluded "because of low rates [of rejection] and small numbers of rejectees" (although some of the States included have lower rates or smaller numbers).

Aside from the 13 States excluded, there was little attempt to make sampling proportionate to the number of rejectees by State or area, or to urban and rural background, or to different classes of rejectees such as 4F's and 1Y's, etc. In fact, no information is given of the number of interviews in each State.

Further, the only men interviewed were those who volunteered to go to the selective service office. The 200 offices presumably involved were instructed to take the most recent rejectees who would consent to the interview, held in November 1963; to get the sample some offices communicated with men rejected almost 2 years before, indicating that very few of those who were reached volunteered to cooperate. The interviewees were told their responses would be used to develop a program to reduce unemployment and increase opportunities for young men.

Interviews were held during office hours, with no apparent attempt to have workers excused from employment. This situation would act to select those not working on the day of the interview and able to reach selective service office easily. There is no evidence of any effort to validate the information supplied. Although a supplementary report was supposed to have been made out for every interviewee who reported having used the U.S. Employment Service, no data whatsoever are given on the results. Interviewers were free to motivate interviewees to cooperate, were led to expect upgrading of their own jobs if the task force recommendations were implemented, and were given no special training and apparently no supervision. (No information is given of how many of the various types of U.S. Employment Service employees were involved.)

The percentage tabulations imply that all 2,500 interviewees answered all questions—yet there are obviously some questions to which some interviewees would have to answer "Don't know." For example, 24 percent of the rejectees report they are not living with their parents and another 23 percent report that their fathers are not present in the household; it seems unlikely that all 2,500 interviewees could state accurately their fathers' education, their family income, and whether they had received public assistance any time since 1958 (when some interviewees—12 percent—were under 15 years of age).

No analysis is made of the mental rejections to indicate the areas in which failure occurred. The Armed Forces qualification test has 100 questions, in cycles of increasing difficulty, covering four areas: vocabulary, arithmetic, spatial relations, and mechanical ability. The task force, charging "inadequate education" as a cause of rejection, assumes that failure applies to the first two areas. Spatial relations and mechanical ability are rather independent of schooling, yet the task force did not resort to a study of these to validate its assertion that poverty and lack of opportunity were responsible for the failure to qualify. The information on the 2,500 interviewees would seem to apply only to those 2,500, and there is evidence to doubt its accuracy or completeness even for them.

THE PROPOSALS

This program is presented as needing no new legislation, no new agencies, no significant delay; yet it proposes the establishment of 73 Public Health Service referral centers and 1,900 manpower conservation units, with much larger appropriations, but with no evidence that these would accomplish anything. (The report states that the Public Health Service projects in New York City and Philadelphia, cited as evidence for the value of that portion of the program, "have not yet progressed far enough for thorough statistical analysis.")

The report proposes tripling the workload of the Armed Forces examining stations—draftees failing the mental examination are not now given a physical examination, and, since most young men will still be called for induction at 22, all those found qualified at 18 will be reexamined later—yet it does not consider the necessary expansion of medical and paramedical staff, and facilities.

It claims that the selective service examinations present an adequate gauge of ability to succeed in civilian life, yet presents no comparison of those who passed and those who failed with regard to civilian success. Further, no one outside the agencies involved was consulted as to their effectiveness in measuring civilian potentialities. No cost estimates has been made, as regards either funds or professional and other personnel, although these are the areas where major expansion is contemplated. No question is raised as to the wisdom of a program to improve individual capabilities for employment which makes no provision for women, who comprise half the population and one-third the work force.

Finally, although the task force claims that this new program will make use of a large number of already established programs,[8] it does not explain why these programs have failed to meet the need or how the establishment of a new "sorting machine" will make them succeed.

Apparently the Selective Service System is chosen as a mechanism because it is handy. That it is as obvious distortion of the whole purpose of the Selective Service System has been completely ignored.

A program of this size, with its many implications, deserves the serious consideration of our lawmakers, of nongovernmental experts in medicine, education, vocational guidance, rehabilitation. It should not be allowed to come into being on the basis of a hasty, poorly substantiated political belief.

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[1] This task force comprised the Secretaries of Labor, Defense, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Director of the Selective Service System, with the Secretary of Labor as Chairman; it was set up by President Kennedy on Sept. 30, 1963, and ordered to report by Jan. 1, 1964.

[2] Elsewhere in the report it is stated that 3.5 million have already been rejected (p. 29).

[3] Preinduction examinations are now given at Armed Forces examining stations—the proposed use of other Federal agencies and State and community facilities is not explained.

[4] The task force failed to give inclusive military rejection rates, one which would take account of rejection by local selective service boards, enlistees, various catgories of exemptees, ROTC, and other groups.

Rejection rates given in table 2 of the report are full of internal contradictions. It is difficult to explain in terms of poverty and low level of expenditure for education and health a mental test rejection rate of 31.6 for New York State and 6.4 for Vermont; or to account for the large negative correlation between mental rejection rates with medical rejection rates for the different States; or the fact that for the country at large, if the medical rejection rate for the mentally qualified is considered one, the corresponding rate for mentally disqualified would be 0.35. But this national average of 1:0.35 varies tremendously from a high of 1:2.60 in Alaska to 1:0 in Vermont and Guam and 1:177 in Maine.

[5] In all probability it excludes medical defects among those rejected by local boards.

[6] In the New York pilot study the preliminary findings show that, as a result of the public program, at best only 6 percent of the medically disqualified could be rehabilitated. This is exclusive of the 25 percent who were already being cared for by their doctor.

[7] In the preliminary findings of the New York study, 25 percent of the rejectees were being cared for by their own physicians for the condition that was the cause of their rejection and for 15.6 percent no care was recommended.

Manpower Development and Training Act, Vocational Education Acts, National Defense Education Act, and programs of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, the Welfare Administration, the Office of Education.

Soil Conservation Pays Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, today I received the August report of the Sully County, S. Dak., Soil and Water Conservation District. The report outlines in detail the advantages of good conservation farming, and points up the increased yields resulting from such practices. I know the report will be of interest to many of my colleagues and their farm constituents; and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURNING MEANS WASTE

Stubble, straw, and roots are the only sources of organic matter in grain farming. While roots supply a limited amount of organic matter, the stubble and straw are most important. When stubble is burned, there is a loss of approximately $2 per acre in nitrogen alone—but the organic matter and surface cover lost is worth a great deal more.

If we lose 1 inch of topsoil from 1 acre, we lose plant food worth $200, if it were bought as commercial fertilizer.

The organic matter that is destroyed by burning will hold this topsoil. Organic matter contains most of the nitrogen in the soil, gives the soil good tilth, and allows it to take and hold moisture better.

DON'T BURN YOUR STUBBLE—STUBBLE MULCH

Definition: Managing plant residues on a year-round basis, to keep protective amounts of vegetative material on the surface of the soil until after seeding the next crop.

Left on the surface, the plant residues keep the wind from getting at the soil and the rain from compacting it. With residues there is less runoff because the soil takes in water more rapidly. Soils low in organic matter puddle when wet and bake hard when dry. Rainfall quickly seals the surface of such soils and water runs off. Soil without enough organic matter is cold, hard, difficult to work and subject to erosion.

HANDLING THE RESIDUE

Preparation for handling stubble and straw begins at harvestime. Straw must be spread evenly over the field, especially if a stubble crop is to be grown the next year. Long stubble should be left to hold snow on the fields and thus increase the moisture supply. The long stubble also makes cultivation easier than it would be through a heavy layer of straw.

"The fewer the better tillage operations as long as you control the weeds," is the rule. Sweep type implements are best-suited for this work; the sweep should be as wide as possible, but not less than 30 inches is a good rule for tillage equipment.

Cultivation should be no deeper than 3 or 4 inches most of the time. However, cultivation to 5 or 6 inches is necessary at least once a year to prevent a hard pan formation. Research indicates that the first tillage operations should be the deepest.

Rotary hoeing, just prior to seeding will tend to break down the residue.

RESIDUE MEASUREMENTS IN STUBBLE-MULCH FARMING

For every bushel of winter wheat produced, there is about 135 pounds of residue (20 bushel wheat—2,700 pounds of residue). For spring wheat, the ratio is 120 pounds of residue for each bushel of wheat.

Wide sweeps are most effective in stubble-mulch operations. Only about 10 percent of the stubble is lost with each tillage as compared with 50-percent loss with each tillage using a disk type implement.

If the stubble is left standing over winter, it will hold snow and help to increase the moisture supply. The greater the height of the stubble, the more snow will be held.

Control of runoff means control of erosion, one necessarily involves the other.

Wheat Dumping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, at the very time when thousands of American farmers are individually withholding this year's wheat crop hoping to boost the sagging price, it must be a bitter pill for them to swallow knowing the Government has been dumping 90 million bushels on the market since the 1st of July, thereby depressing prices even further.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the commodity letter appearing in the September 15 issue of the Wall Street Journal reporting this double dealing. The Journal notes that during the last week of August alone, the Commodity Credit Corporation—Orville Freeman's shop—dumped nearly 40 million bushels on the market. The Journal further notes that the 90 million bushels is up by some 52 million bushels over CCC sales last year, an increase of 136 percent.

I would remind you, Mr. Speaker, that the present price of wheat is $1.33 per bushel as compared to $1.77 per bushel last year at this time.

And while the Secretary of Agriculture allows this dumping to continue, insult is added to injury when it is reported that America has now replaced Great Britain as the world's leading importer of beef and veal.

Mr. Speaker, surely no one needs reminding importing these two meats, along with dumping policies resulting in domestic overproduction, are largely responsible for the catastrophic price slump livestock producers all over the country have had to face for the last 2 years.

The Journal report indicates the United States imported nearly 1.7 billion pounds of beef and veal last year as compared to Great Britain's 1.1 billion, making America the No. 1 importer. The British have led in past years.

No wonder, Mr. Speaker, the farmers in Minnesota expressed so much gloom about their financial future in a recent statewide poll. They realize their supposed friends in the Department of Agriculture are undercutting their markets.

No wonder, Mr. Speaker, more than 2 million farmers have had to give up their farms in the last 4 short years.

Civil Disobedience—A Threat to Our Law Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I read with great interest recently the text of an address by Mr. Morris I. Leibman, of Chicago, a distinguished attorney who is chairman of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association.

Because it is timely and thought provoking, I should like to share these remarks of Mr. Leibman with the House, as follows:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE A THREAT TO OUR LAW SOCIETY

On a number of occasions in other forums I have suggested that there is a standard against which we should regularly test basic issues of foreign policy. That standard is the historical and continuous struggle of human beings for freedom and dignity. This must be our basis in confronting Khrushchev. We are right because the history of man proves it. Only the law society—not communism—can discipline the cult of the personality. The law society—not brute force—is man's only hope.

Domestic issues, it seems to me, must also be measured against man's historic struggle for liberty. Here, too, the record establishes that the Communists will pervert with tactics of confusion, disruption, and violence the rights of our law system.

The history of the advance of world communism overwhelmingly provides the evidence that they will seize upon any situation approximating dissent for propaganda purposes, just as they will seize upon organized outbreaks to hasten their revolutionary objectives.

Woodrow Wilson once said: "A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, nor what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about."

In seeking to improve tomorrow, it is our duty to remember where we have been and reflect on where we are.

We live in that instant of time when it can be said that never before have 190 million people enjoyed so many material goods however imperfect their distribution. Never before have 190 million people had as much mechanical, electronic, and scientific equipment with which to subdue the natural obstacles of the universe. But the multiplication of consumer wealth is subordinate to our greatest accomplishment—the fashioning of the law society.

Never in the history of mankind have so many lived so freely, so rightfully, so humanely. This open democratic republic is man's highest achievement—not only for what it has already accomplished, but more importantly because it affords the greatest opportunity for orderly change and the reali-

zation of man's self-renewing aspirations. Our goals, as set forth in the declaration, have been buttressed by a constitution, a system of checks and balances, a mechanism judicial, legislative, and executive which permits the continuation of Western civilization's spirited dialog. This unhampered dialog makes possible the opportunity to continuously approximate, through our legislative and judicial system, our moral and spiritual goals.

The long history of man is one of pain and suffering, blood and tears to create these parameters for progress. This noble and unique experiment of ours, a hundred years ago, lived through the cruelty of a massive Civil War to test whether such a unique system could endure. It did. It has. It will. Let us always remember that the law society is the pinnacle of man's struggle to date—the foundation for his future hope.

There is an obligation to that law society. It was stated more than 100 years ago by Abraham Lincoln in these passionate words:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his prosperity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country. * * * Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation; and let the old and young, rich and poor, the grave and gay, of all sexes, tongues, and colors, and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

No society whether free or tyrannical can give its citizens the right to break the law. There can be no law to which obedience is optional, no command to which the States attaches an "if you please."

What has happened to us? Why is it necessary, at this moment, in this forum to repeat what should be axiomatic and accepted? Many, many words more eloquent than mine have examined from every angle the genesis, the roots, the grievances, the despair, the bitterness, the emotion, the frustration that have resulted in the tragedies of these days.

Now what is the responsibility of a citizen—the majestic title bestowed on those of us who create and share in the values of the law society? Let there be no question of where we stand on human rights and our rejection of discrimination. Surely the continuing social task for the morally sensitive citizen is to impart reality to the yet unachieved ideal of full and equal participation by all and in all our values and opportunities.

Yet we must remember that there have been no easy solutions for man's inhumanity to man. Justice Frankfurter once said:

"Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution to problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of color, race, or religion."

Let's not forget there is nothing new in violence. Violence has throughout mankind's history been too often a way of life. Whole continents have been involved in riot, rebellion, and revolution. Human rights problems exist in India, in Asia, in the Middle East, and in Africa. A large part of the world lives behind the ugly Iron and Bamboo Curtains of communism.

We cannot sanction terror in New York or in Mississippi. Retaliation is not justified by bitterness or past disillusionment. No individual or group at any time, for any reason, has a right to exact self-determined retribution. All too often, retaliation injures the innocent at random and provokes counter-retaliation against those equally innocent. Our imperfections do not justify tearing down the structures which have given us our progress. The only solution is the free and open law society. In times when man's progress seems painfully slow on any one issue, we might also consider how well we are doing on all issues compared to most areas of the world over most of the world's history.

In this frame of reference let us identify certain current forces whose aim is to destroy the law society.

The inexorable requirement of communism to exploit every difference between men should now be clearly understood. Communism constantly exploits mankind's troubles ideologically, philosophically, and psychologically. Yet we seem to be surprised, confused, even bitter about Communist intervention in our civil rights problems. What could be a more natural target for Communist usage? The Communist Party USA has a long history of attempting to infiltrate every segment of our society. The Negroes of America have a long history of resisting this subversion, but it would be foolish—yes—dangerous to believe that Communists would not seek to insert themselves where there is unreasoning and extreme militancy in any troubled area. This is no reflection on any segment of our society—it is a recognition of the constant threat of trained troublemakers and rabble rousers aimed at all times against our entire society. The Communists know they can profit by stimulating agitation and disrespect for law and order. They would be neglectful of their own sinister doctrines if they did not use these instruments of subversion and violence.

Ethnological warfare, the inciting of dissension and conflict between nationalities and races, is a widely exploited revolutionary tactic. Communists have long been instructed to change passive attitudes to activist attitudes, to intensify the struggle at all levels at all times. To the Communist, all means are justified by the end, the basic concept that we of the law society reject. These Communists have their imitators, who mimic under many theories and many labels, doctrines which reject law and order. The Nazis, the Malcolm Xes, the Ku Klux Klanners have repeatedly and directly challenged our principles and insisted on taking law in their own hands. Those who reject our legal methods and choose terror, force, violence, hate and bigotry only play into the hands of the international Communist conspiracy.

The jungle lawlessness of the frontier demonstrated to the pioneers that law was essential to the establishment of civilization. It was not the destruction of the buffalo, or the rise of fences, or fast-draw gunmen that tamed the wilderness. It was the installation of American juridical proceedings that enabled our people to weld together the disparate territories destined to become an organic nation.

I am also deeply troubled by certain concepts which have sought acceptability: the idea of "freedom now" and the idea of "righteous civil disobedience." In my opinion both terms are semantic traps and only add heat to the problems of freedom and justice for all. It is a further semantic trap to divide the discourse on civil disobedience into a stereotype of liberalism versus conservatism.

"Freedom now" is an illusion. The desire for self-expression can be satisfied only in an atmosphere of freedom, and freedom is not absolute. It exists only within the confines of the necessary restraining measures of society.

I wish it were possible to have heaven on earth. I wish it were possible to have the ideals of justice and freedom in all their perfect form at this moment. The cry for immediacy is the cry for impossibility. It is a cry without memory or perspective. Immediacy is impossible in a society of human beings. What is possible is to continue to patiently build the structures that permit the development of better justice.

Let us also beware of pat phrases such as "justice delayed is justice denied." Justice delayed is no excuse for antijustice or the destruction of the law system. The fact that particular reforms have not been completely achieved does not justify rejecting legal means—the only hope for lasting achievement.

The demand for equality cannot be converted into a fight for superiority. We must be for equality under the rule of law. We are for freedom under law, not freedom against the law.

Let us also avoid unreal questions such as whether justice is more important than order or vice versa. Order is the sine qua non of the constitutional system if there is to be any possibility for long-term justice based on public consensus.

What about the concept of righteous civil disobedience? I take it that all men now accept the fact that there can be no justification for violent disobedience under our constitutional system. Is the concept validated when the disobedience is nonviolent? In my opinion this idea has no place in our law society.

Parenthetically, I would suggest that you experts in criminal law consider whether there can be civil disobedience where there is a specific intent to disobey the law. Such a specific state of mind is ordinarily treated as the essence of criminality, hence not civil. Therefore, it seems to me that there is an inherent contradiction in the concept of premeditated, righteous, civil disobedience.

Yet I prefer to base the case on broader grounds. The concept of righteous civil disobedience, I think, is incompatible with the concept of the American legal system. This is particularly axiomatic where this society provides more than any other for orderly change, where every minority—including the minority of one—has been protected by a system of law which provides for orderly process for development and change. I cannot accept the right to disobey where as here the law is not static and where if it is claimed to be oppressive or coercive, many effective channels for change are constantly available. Our courts do not have to apologize for their continued dedication to the liberty of all men. Our legislatures have regularly met the changing times and changing needs of the society with consideration for the unalienable rights of all. Even the Federal and State constitutions have been amended. Our law has not only been a guardian of freedom, but the affirmative agent for freedom.

While the idea of civil disobedience may evoke sympathy where the claim is made that the cause is just, once we accept such a doubtful doctrine we legitimatize it for other causes which we might reject. We must be even more careful in the sympathetic case because, in effect, that sets the standard of conduct which then becomes acceptable for cases not as appealing or for groups not as responsible. Thus we substitute pressure for persuasion and squander the carefully nurtured value of self-restraint and jeopardize the system of law.

Let us not restrict our thinking to the area of civil rights. Think of the persons who feel they have the right to interfere with the launching of a Polaris submarine; think of the people who demand the right to sail into an area restricted for military testing; think of the people who feel, as some have in England, that they have the right to publicize their government's military secrets to the detriment of national security and survival.

The plain fact of human nature is that the organized disobedience of masses stirs

up the primitive. This has been true of a soccer crowd and a lynch mob. Psychologically and psychiatrically it is very clear that no man—no matter how well intentioned—can keep group passions in control.

Civil disobedience is an ad hoc device at best, and ad hoc measures in a law society are dangerous. Civil disobedience under these circumstances is at best deplorable and at worst destructive.

Specific disobedience breeds disrespect and promotes general disobedience. Our grievances must be settled in the courts and not in the streets. Muscle is no substitute for morality. Civil disobedience is negative where we require affirmative processes. We must insist that men use their minds and not their biceps. But while the emphasis must be on the three R's of reason, responsibility, and respect, we cannot accept self-righteousness, complacency, and noninvolvement. We reject hypocritical tokenism. We have an affirmative and daily duty to eliminate discrimination and provide opportunity—full opportunity and meaningful equal justice for all our people.

Obedience and not disobedience is the requirement of law and the law must be obeyed by laborers and Governors and especially lawyers.

I often think of J. Edgar Hoover as a symbol of the lawyers' obligation. His has been the difficult task to protect the law society, in accordance with its strict rules, against enemies within and without—the spy and the gangster—the saboteur and the kidnaper; the violators in New York and in Mississippi. Let his conduct remind us that the lawyer must serve in the tough, hard areas where our society rubs against complexity and controversy, and where prejudice, bigotry, and the emotions are the sharpest; where criticism and personal attack are certain from both sides. That is where we of the law have our primary obligation.

It is most appropriate here and now to reemphasize our professional calling as lawyers. We must insist on the integrity of the means. We must support and protect the laws whether we agree with the particular statute or we don't. Freedom is not some easy gift of nature. The plant of liberty has not grown in profusion in the wilderness of human history. Liberty under law is a fragile flower. It must be nurtured anew by each generation of responsible citizenry. Let but a year of neglect be sanctioned, even celebrated, and the jungle of force threatens to recapture the untended garden. The lawyer must be in the forefront of this citizenry. We cannot settle for lipservice to legality. We cannot be sometime lawyers.

In an era of social, political, and scientific revolutions—and at a time of accelerating and complex change—we of the law must particularly renew our understanding and improve our articulation of the basic issue of freedom under law and the continuing need to strive for equality and meaningful liberty and justice for all. Our will and determination are being tested as never before.

We must not tire of the challenge to extend freedom abroad or the challenge to make freedom a still greater reality at home.

Manna From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, while the Democratic Party continues to insist that "nobody can do nothing" without massive Federal aid, the mayor of Buffalo, Mo., takes a different attitude. Buffalo resisted the lure and its citizens bowed their own backs to improve their sewerage system. I commend the following article from the September 14, 1964, issue of the Springfield Daily News to the attention of every American citizen who wonders how the Nation ever progressed without "Manna From Washington":

MANNA FROM WASHINGTON

Multiply one home handyman who figures that a mashed thumb is less painful than a flattened pocketbook by 1,477 (its 1960 census total) and you have Buffalo.

As in the case of many a reluctant do-it-himselfer, Buffalo has been caught in a bind between a need for growing services and rising labor or other costs.

In the past 2 years, Buffalo has extended about 100 sewer lines with its own men and equipment.

"It's all been done without any tax increase," reported Herbert Leach, Buffalo mayor and editor of the Dallas County Republican-Reflex, proudly.

"We've spent about $22,000 and the sewer fund is only about $1,000 lower than it was.

"Oh, the Federal Government offered us matching funds, but we would have had to pay St. Louis union scale," Leach said. "It was cheaper for us to do it ourselves, than with the Government paying 50 percent of the more expensive project."

"A lot of towns don't realize this," the mayor said, "but it's true."

Acting Attorney General Sets the Record Straight on Race, Crime, and the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, it is being freely charged, from selected campaign platforms, that recent gains in civil rights and civil liberties have fostered an increase in serious crime.

It is difficult to know whether this notion is enjoying wide currency. I for one hope not, because it can thrive only as a parasite on the fears of those perplexed by the rush of events. It is not a case founded on modern crime statistics or the facts of modern life.

Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has rendered a great service to public understanding of crime problems by rebutting this charge in his speech last Friday to the Federal Bar Association. It should be informative to those who have heard enough doomsday oratory on this subject, and sobering to still others who may feel they can continue these allegations without risking contradiction.

The text of Katzenbach's speech follows:

ADDRESS BY ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH TO THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, SEPTEMBER 18, 1964

I am pleased to be with you today and to be a part of a program aimed at understanding one of the great laws of this century—the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The act was—and is—a controversial law. No act was more thoroughly debated. No act was introduced with deeper conviction or opposed with deeper passion. That the Congress could have so reasonably and dispassionately debated such a highly emotional issue is surely one of the great triumphs of our legislative process.

As a nation, we are in the process of working a profound social change in human relations—a change so deeply felt that I am hard put to find in history a comparable situation which any nation has faced and resolved more peaceably, more justly, and with greater dignity.

And so this act symbolizes something even larger than the realization of ideals of equality and that is the strength of our entire political system. Last summer in the South, we had a spirit of bitterness and hundreds of demonstrations. This year, through almost all parts of the South—and despite tragic exceptions—we have a spirit of good faith and respect for the law.

This is a result for which we must give credit to the responsible men and women of the South. Its representatives, reflecting the deep feelings of their area, fought the Civil Rights Act strenuously. But now that it is law, they have spoken out for obedience, even though it has, often, taken courage to do so. This is a dramatic testimonial to our oneness as a Nation and to our fundamental respect for law and the orderly process of self-government.

It is, too, a noble—and vital—tradition in America. It was given expression by Andrew Jackson when he was fined for contempt after the War of 1812. "Obedience to the laws," he said, "* * * is the first duty of a citizen and I do not hesitate to comply with the sentence you have heard pronounced."

It is in that tradition that the leaders and responsible citizens of the South are acting now. It is on that tradition that our rights as citizens and our very existence as a society depend.

But now another view is being heard. National attention has now shifted from political posturings in a schoolhouse door to the recent riots in northern cities and to the problem of "crime in the streets." And there are those who say or imply that these problems are related to racial problems in the South.

They do not speak of the Civil Rights Act as the product of our national concern for equal rights for all our citizens. That act, they say, results from capitulation to "agitators" and "demonstrators." They do not speak of the Civil Rights Act as a remedy to deeply felt grievances of Negroes in the South. The act, they say, has encouraged disrespect for the law in other parts of the country.

Thus, a link is drawn between demonstrations for civil rights and crime in the streets. Riots in Harlem, or Rochester, or Philadelphia, are tied to rising crime rates. And profound concern is expressed over lawlessness which has made our cities unsafe and our homes insecure. Because Negroes have been importantly involved in these riots—and despite the fact that they have been deplored by the overwhelming majority of Negroes and by all Negro leaders—they have been called racial.

I do not mean to suggest that these concerns with lawlessness are not real. Of course they are. The question is not whether disorders or increases in crime are serious. The question, really, is What do we do about it?

I wish I could tell you that these are simple problems that have simple solutions. But only the ignorant or the uninformed so regard them. To call them racial problems is not a solution but a slogan. What is worse, it is wrong.

To tie the difficult problems of racial adjustment to the equally serious problems of

crime and delinquency, can only obscure, obstruct, and politicize. "Prejudice, which sees what it pleases, cannot see what is plain." But that is no excuse for not looking at the facts.

The increases in the crime rate, for example, have been great, but they have overwhelmingly been increases in crime against property. Such crimes—robbery, burglarly, larceny, and auto theft—account for 90 percent of serious crime. In 1963, crimes in this category increased by 11 percent.

Crimes against the person increase far less. Aggravated assault went up 6 percent, murder 1 percent, and rape 1 percent. These increases are only slightly greater than the population increase.

As a second point, there appears to be no significant connection between a city's crime rate and its Negro population. During a debate on the Civil Rights Act in Congress, there was frequent reference to the crime rate of Washington, D.C., whose population is 54 percent Negro. I do not recall a single reference to Phoenix, Ariz.—a city I pick at random—the population of which is 95 percent white and whose crime rate is a third higher than that of Washington.

The point is further demonstrated by suburban crime figures. In the first 6 months of this year, crime in the suburbs—where there are few Negroes—increased approximately 28 percent. But crime in the city—where Negroes are concentrated—increased at less than half that rate.

As a third point, the increase in crime generally is directly related to the increase in the teenage and young adult population. Young people commit a very large proportion of the crimes against property—those crimes which have increased most. In New York City for example, more than three-fourths of all auto thefts are committed by those under 21. In Washington, D.C., young people under the age of 17 comprise half of those arrested for robberies, half those arrested for car thefts and 40 percent of those arrested for housebreakings.

The number of persons aged 15 to 24 is growing far faster than the rest of our population. And unhappily, people in this age group account for 70 percent of all arrests for serious crimes. This does not mean that our young people are crime-prone. Less than 3 percent of young people are ever arrested. But it does mean that our efforts to solve crime problems should in large measure be devoted to the problems of our youth. Juvenile delinquents may cease to be juveniles at 21, but they do not automatically cease to be delinquents.

This point applies demonstrably to the recent riots in Harlem, Rochester, Philadelphia, Jersey City and elsewhere. Plainly, these riots involved Negroes. But what is significant is not their race, but that some of our worst slum areas are occupied by Negroes; that the unemployment rate among Negroes in these cities is two and three times that of whites; that the school dropout rate among Negroes it twice that of whites. It is clear from the facts of the riots how these circumstances apply:

1. Most of those involved in the riots were between 15 and 25, unemployed, without education, jobs—or hope.

2. Juvenile gang members played a role in the riots in each city, and a large percentage of those arrested or known to have participated had criminal or juvenile records.

3. The participants came from poor, overcrowded slum areas.

4. To the extent that these riots could be said to have had a focus, they were aimed against police officials and merchants in Negro areas. And they were motivated, in part, by the possibility of an opportunity to loot—to make financial gain—under the cover of the disorder.

5. Only one of the riots occurred in areas of likely racial conflict, where Negro and white neighborhoods adjoin. The remainder have occurred in the heart of Negro neighborhoods.

I do not mean to imply that Negroes do not commit crimes. Of course they do. What I do mean to show is that to draw a causal connection between membership in the Negro race and crime is wrong. The relevant link is not between riots and race, but between riots and delinquency, between lawlessness and lawless environments.

It is to this complicated link, not to an emotional cliche, that we should devote our attention and our energies. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has for years expressed the deepest concern over youth crime. And, what has become obvious to others in 1964 was obvious to Attorney General Kennedy 4 years ago. He realized that our most serious crime problem was and would continue to be crimes committed by young people.

Accordingly, under the leadership of President Kennedy and President Johnson, the Federal Government embarked for the first time on a comprehensive juvenile delinquency program. This program involved comprehensive studies of young people, their problems, and methods to deal with them at the local level. Pilot projects have been established in 10 major cities to determine, through actual work with youngsters, how to help them adjust to our complex urban society—whether it be jobs, education, organized sports activities, or increased counseling.

In this effort, the Federal Government has not sought to assume responsibilities that belong to local communities. It has, rather, sought to offer assistance and experience to those communities which seek their own answers to their own problems.

Second, beginning also in 1961, Attorney General Kennedy mounted an unprecedented drive on organized crime and racketeering. Convictions against racketeers increased 23-fold in the past 4 years, from 14 to 325. The importance of these convictions—and there are many more to come—is best understood when one realizes that it is organized crime which supports and profits from the narcotics traffic, illegal gambling, and prostitution. It is organized crime—and occasionally organized prejudice—which corrupts law enforcement agencies and public officials. Where such corruption exists, or even where it is thought to exist, we cannot have respect for law. Lawlessness feeds on lawlessness. Lawlessness of one kind breeds lawlessness of other kinds.

In many cities, a high percentage of crime can be directly related to addicts' need to pay for narcotics. In this administration, we have sought not only to prosecute and punish those who run the narcotics business, but also to mount a drive against narcotic addiction. President Kennedy called the first national conference on this subject in history and the recommendations of the President's Advisory Commission on Narcotics and Drug Abuse have been and are being implemented by President Johnson.

Third, recognizing that slum conditions breed crime and disrespect for law, this administration has embarked upon the most extensive program of slum clearance and housing assistance in history.

Finally, under the leadership of President Johnson, the Federal Government, again in cooperation with local communities, has embarked on a major war against poverty. Its significance cannot be overstated. Surely it is clear to any thinking person that poverty—the lack of food, shelter, education, work, self-respect, and hope—goes hand in hand with crime.

All of these programs are concrete, practical, realistic, and nonpolitical approaches to the crime problem. All of them are based on hard facts. None of them offer simple or simple-minded explanations or solutions.

I have talked thus far about how we have sought to respond positively to the causes of crime and how we should continue to do so. But this long-range concern would not obscure and has not obscured the equally important needs of day-to-day law enforcement. Lawbreakers must be apprehended and punished with appropriate severity. Law enforcement authorities must have the widest public support and assistance. It should go without saying.

But there is no conflict between this need and the parallel need to attack the causes of crime. Rather, the two needs are complementary. Obsessive emphasis on either—whatever its inspiration—can only handicap effective law enforcement.

While the principal responsibility in this area rests on local law enforcement authorities, the Federal Government has sought to provide maximum assistance to them. The anticrime legislation enacted in 1961—the most extensive addition to the criminal laws in 30 years—has permitted us to expand considerably the kinds of investigative and other assistance we can provide. The FBI has built a proud body of alumni of its National Academy in police departments all over the country. And our greatly accelerated crime effort has produced leads and information which we have shared, to mutual benefit, with State and local officials.

It is for this reason that I welcome the support of all Members of Congress who believe, as I do, in the importance of these programs. Anticrime legislation has never been a partisan issue. It should not become one.

Yet I have read the opinion recently that the problems of crime and of local law enforcement stem from an "obsessive concern" on the part of judges "for the rights of the criminal defendant." I have read that the courts have taken away from the States powers which are "absolutely necessary for fair and efficient administration of criminal law." And, I have read, this is why crime is increasing.

These assertions are uninformed. More damaging, they are irresponsible. It is a historic function of the Supreme Court to insure that State convictions comport with due process of law. Undeniably, some decisions have created problems for State law enforcement officials. But then so has the Bill of Rights. In neither case have any fundamental State powers been destroyed.

I think it is helpful to review some of the fruits of powers which are supposedly "absolutely necessary" to the States and which the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional:

The conviction of a man without evidence.

The conviction of a man upon the prosecutor's knowing use of perjured testimony.

The trial of a man for a serious crime without the assistance of a lawyer.

The conviction of a man upon a confession coerced by the police, or upon a subsequent confession induced by the knowledge that the police already had the extorted confession.

The trial of a man before a jury biased against him.

Which of such vital powers, I wonder, should a State have?

The individuals rights the Court has defended in these cases are part of the fundamental guarantees our country makes to every citizen. I cannot understand how anyone committed to individual liberty could consider violations of these rights as mere "technical" violations, or consider protection against such violations as "obsessive concern" by our judges.

Approximately half the Federal judiciary—and two-thirds of the Supreme Court of the United States—have been appointed since 1952. During the whole of the administrations of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, the American Bar Association has been consulted on each and every judicial appointment. In all these administra-

tions, the views of the organized bar have been sought, appraised, and honored. The record is public and open to examination.

I hope—under these circumstances—that I may be excused for wondering how the growing crime rate can be blamed on judges so selected. If the ABA is too liberal to be entrusted with this responsibility—or if the ABA is incompetent—then to whom do we turn for advice?

I believe that both candidates for the Presidency will continue to adhere to a system which seeks and respects the advice of the organized bar on judicial appointments. And I think both will feel, as I do, that professional, not ideological, criteria are appropriate.

To attribute the growing crime rate to the attitudes or decisions of the Federal judiciary is an insult not merely to the courts but also to the bar. As a lawyer, I cannot but resent those who seek to make political capital by attacking the decisions of an independent judiciary which cannot, in propriety, defend itself. Indeed, I have an obligation to defend the courts against such an attack.

I had thought—perhaps I had only hoped—that the judiciary was beyond the realm of partisan politics. I had thought—perhaps I had only hoped—that all would realize that the constitutional independence of our judiciary, the separation of powers, was basic to the whole cause of law and order, and that to bring the courts into politics could only undermine that respect for law which is the cornerstone of our Republic.

Clearly I am not saying that our courts are immune from criticism. Indeed, responsible and informed criticism is one of the factors which shapes the law. Every lawyer knows this. And every lawyer—I hope—has respect for a court's decisions even when he disagrees vehemently with the result of the reasoning. And every lawyer has confidence in the independence of our judges.

We need to protect the rights of the individual from hasty infringement just as much as we need to protect society from lawlessness. Each is essential to ordered society and responsible freedom. There is need for everyone, whether from the South or the North, the East or West, to join in strengthening respect for law and order. Your presence at this conference demonstrates your participation in this process.

Law-government is a process which begins with respect for the Constitution, the decisions of our courts, the laws of our land, and the rights of each individual. It is a process which requires all of us, at all levels of government and in each walk of private life to seek to identify our common problems and to work together toward their resolution.

New Honor for Editor Jack Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is soon to be engrossed with the many events which take place as a part of the 1965 Olympics in Tokyo. The fine representation which our country will have at this international athletic meet will be possible only because of the time and energy of people like Jack Clark, sports editor of the Alameda (Calif.) Times-Star newspaper.

Jack Clark and the many other Jack Clarks throughout our Nation who stimulate interest in sports activity, provide an inspiration for our young people to take an active interest in sports and thereby to contribute so much to the healthy competition among nations which we will soon witness at the Tokyo Olympics.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an article describing a recent honor given to Jack Clark, the sports editor of the Times-Star:

NEW HONOR FOR EDITOR JACK CLARK

Another honor has been accorded Jack Clark, sports editor of the Alameda Times-Star.

At the annual dinner climaxing the summer boys' baseball program conducted by the Alameda Recreation Department and the Alameda Elks, Clark was presented with a plaque from the National Recreation Association.

The award commends the veteran Times-Star writer for his "outstanding contribution to the recreation movement in America."

The award was presented to Clark by Al F. Blanchard, chairman of the Recreation Commission.

Blanchard pointed out that Clark has "contributed 100-percent support to the boys' baseball program in Alameda and to all other local recreational activities."

The honor followed the recent Alameda Boosters campaign which will send Clark to the Olympic games in Tokyo next month.

Medal for an Old Friend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on September 14, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, president of the University of Notre Dame, was one of 30 outstanding Americans to be awarded the Nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The awards were presented by President Johnson in a special White House ceremony.

Father Hesburgh, whose award cited him as "a most influential figure in the reshaping of Catholic higher education," is not only the president of a great university but has shown outstanding leadership in academic development in areas far beyond his own university.

I have known Father Hesburgh in many roles, among them that of educator, community leader, and, I am proud to say, constituent. He is a man whose achievements and character make him a fitting recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an editorial tribute to Father Hesburgh published in the South Bend Tribune along with a list of the distinguished Americans whose achievements, in the words of President Johnson, "have made freedom stronger for all of us."

MEDAL FOR AN OLD FRIEND

The United States, unlike some countries, has never bestowed medals lightly or promiscuously. By the same token, when a U.S. medal is bestowed, it is a thing of meaning, a signal that the recipient is truly deserving of the honor and respect of his fellow Americans.

Thirty men and women today accepted Presidential Medals of Freedom, the highest civilian honor bestowed in peacetime, from the President of the United States in a White House ceremony. One of them was an old and familiar friend of South Bend area people, Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, president of the University of Notre Dame.

It was not surprising that Father Hesburgh arrived in Washington for the ceremony from Geneva, where he has been attending the Conference on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy and the annual meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Notre Dame president is very much on the go in his ceaseless service to his country and his church.

Father Hesburgh deserves the medal he received today for many reasons, but for two above all: His role in making Notre Dame a great American institution, and his membership on the national Civil Rights Commission, a group that has become the country's conscience in the field of human relations.

We are delighted to see Father Hesburgh recognized by his President and we know the South Bend area echoes the honor paid him today.

LIST OF RECIPIENTS

Those awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, as listed in the New York Times, were:

Dean Acheson, 71 years old, Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953, of Washington, D.C.

Detlev W. Bronk, 66, neurophysiologist and for 12 years head of the National Academy of Science, of New York City.

Aaron Copland, 63, composer and lecturer, of New York City.

Willem de Kooning, 60, abstract and impressionist painter, of New York City.

Walt Disney, 62, pioneer in the animated movie cartoon field, of Los Angeles.

J. Frank Dobie, 75, writer, professor and authority on the folklore and history of Texas and the Southwest, of Austin, Tex.

Lena F. Edwards, 63, physician and humanitarian who at the age of 60 gave up private practice in Jersey City to devote herself to care of migrant workers, of Hereford, Tex.

Thomas Stearns Eliot, 76, Nobel Prize-winning author of poetry, plays and criticism, who was born in St. Louis, of London.

John W. Gardner, 51, president of the Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, of Scarsdale, N.Y.

The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, 47, president of the University of Notre Dame since 1952, of South Bend, Ind.

Clarence L. Johnson, 54, aircraft engineer who designed the U–2 reconnaissance plane and the A–11, 2,000-mile-an-hour interceptor, of Encino, Calif.

Frederick R. Kappel, 62, chairman of the board of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., of Bronxville, N.Y.

Helen A. Keller, 84, a leader in assisting the blind although she was left blind, deaf, and speechless by an illness when 19 months old, of Westport, Conn.

John L. Lewis, 84, retired president of the United Mine Workers, of Alexandria, Va.

Walter Lippmann, 74, journalist and columnist of Washington, D.C.

Alfred Lunt, 71, honored jointly with Lynn Fontanne, husband and wife team of the American theater, of Genesee Depot, Wis.

Ralph Emerson McGill, 66, publisher and former editor of the Atlanta Constitution, of Atlanta.

Samuel Eliot Morison, 76, sailor and historian noted for his histories of naval affairs, of Boston.

Lewis Mumford, 68, author, social philosopher, and authority on architecture and city planning, of Amenia, N.Y.

Edward R. Murrow, 56, radio and television reporter and commentator and former

head of the U.S. Information Agency, of Pawling, N.Y.

Reinhold Niebuhr, 72, theologian and American Protestant leader, of New York City.

Leontyne Price, 37, American concert and opera star and the first Negro woman to sing some famous opera roles, of New York City.

A. Philip Randolph, 75, president of the Brotherhood of Sleepingcar Porters and a longtime leader in the Negro civil rights drive, of New York City.

Carl Sandburg, 86, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet and biographer, of Flat Rock, N.C.

John Steinbeck, 62, Nobel Prize-winning author and playwright, of New York City.

Helen B. Taussig, 66, professor of pediatrics at the Johns Hopkins University and the discoverer of surgical means to save blue babies, of Baltimore.

Carl Vinson, 81, retiring chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, of Milledgeville, Ga.

Thomas J. Watson, Jr., president of the International Business Machines Corp., of Greenwich, Conn.

Paul Dudley White, 78, physician and an authority on heart disease, of Belmont, Mass.

Proposal To Name TVA Structures in Honor of Senators Kefauver and McKellar Endorsed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Electric Power Board of Chattanooga, Tenn., recently adopted a resolution urging enactment of legislation before the Congress renaming a dam and a steamplant of the Tennessee Valley Authority in honor of two of TVA's great champions—the late Senators Estes Kefauver and Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee.

As the resolution states, each of these distinguished Senators from the great State of Tennessee contributed importantly to the establishment and development of the Tennessee Valley Authority "which has been of such great value to our State and Nation."

I ask unanimous consent to include this resolution in the Appendix of the RECORD. It follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE ELECTRIC POWER BOARD OF CHATTANOOGA, TENN., URGING THE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATING THE PRESENT NICKAJACK DAM AND RESERVOIR OF TVA AS THE "ESTES KEFAUVER DAM AND RESERVOIR" AND THE JOHNSONVILLE STEAM-ELECTRIC PLANT OF TVA AS THE "KENNETH MCKELLAR POWERPLANT"

Whereas the late Honorable Estes Kefauver, a Member of the Congress of the United States, and the late Honorable Kenneth McKellar, a Member of the Congress of the United States, during their service to the State and Nation contributed greatly by their efforts to the establishment and development of the Tennessee Valley Authority which has been of such great value to our State and Nation; and

Whereas there has been introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill to designate the Nickajack Dam and Reservoir as the "Estes Kefauver Dam and Reservoir" and the Johnsonville Steam-Electric Plant as the "Kenneth McKellar Powerplant," both of these installations being a part of the Tennessee Valley Authority project; and

Whereas the enactment into law of this bill will bring about justly deserved recognition of the efforts of the late Honorable Estes Kefauver and the late Honorable Kenneth McKellar in bringing the Tennessee Valley Authority project to its present state: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved:

(1) The Electric Power Board of Chattanooga urges the enactment into law of this proposed legislation;

(2) That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable JOE L. EVINS, a Member of Congress from the State of Tennessee, who has introduced said bill so recognizing and honoring the late Honorable Estes Kefauver and the late Honorable Kenneth McKellar.

S. R. FINLEY,
Chairman:
R. H. DULANEY,
Secretary.

Passed and adopted:
September 4, 1964.

Resolutions Adopted by the Polish Legion of American Veterans in Its 17th Biannual Convention, at the Hotel Schroeder, Milwaukee, Wis., September 6, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD resolutions adopted by the Polish Legion of American Veterans at its 17th biannual convention at the Hotel Schroeder, Milwaukee, Wis., on September 6, 1964.

These resolutions of a distinguished body of American veterans of Polish descent merit the attention of our people and the careful consideration of all Americans.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS IN ITS 17TH BIANNUAL CONVENTION, AT THE HOTEL SCHROEDER, MILWAUKEE, WIS., SEPTEMBER 6, 1964

1. The city of Milwaukee, its public officials and its citizens have spared no efforts to make our convention a tremendous success, and to provide for our physical comfort and spiritual well being: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the PLAV hereby expresses its sincere gratitude to the citizens and public officials of Milwaukee for their generous hospitality.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

2. We enjoin both candidates for the office of President of the United States to avoid any political promise of a war to liberate Poland from Communist domination, unless the candidate is prepared to commit the United States to full, all-out armed conflict with Soviet imperialism and to accept the consequences of a nuclear war, which would wipe out Poland and which would probably destroy most of the United States and kill or maim most American citizens.

We urge that the campaign be kept free of false promises, the inspiration of false hopes, and that no group be made a political pawn for the gain of public office.

Poland's future and freedom will be gained at a conference table attended by all major powers.

NUCLEAR WAR

3. The PLAV counts in its ranks veterans of both World Wars and the Korean conflict. Our memory is only too full of the horrors of armed conflict with its great toll in human lives and wanton destruction of property. Our Blue and Gold Star Mothers know equally well the consequences of armed aggression. We are not anxious that our sons wear the Purple Heart or that they receive the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously.

All of the foregoing considerations lead us to an expression of high praise for those leaders of the United States who succeeded in securing enactment of the nuclear test ban treaty and for their continued efforts to bring about true disarmament.

In the same context our disarmament must not reduce our military posture to a point where we will lay prostrate before the Chinese Communists, or where Soviet Imperialists will beat us to death with axe-handles. America must always remain strong enough to keep the peace everywhere.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

4. We urge the Veterans Administration, our Representatives in Congress, and the President of the United States to use their offices in order that the PLAV becomes a nationally recognized veterans organization. Denial of this privilege means a denial of adequate representation to the thousands of our members, who because of a language barrier, cannot communicate with VA officers except through a bi-lingual PLAV Service Officer.

We also urge that full medical and hospital benefits be extended to veterans of allied forces who are now U.S. citizens.

Whenever available, "counter-part funds" should be used to care for the graves of Polish soldiers in Italy and other foreign countries. The Communist regime in Warsaw has neglected the cemeteries of these brave men until they have become shambles.

We do not seek to have veterans set apart as a specially favored group of citizens; but we do insist that the sacrifice we made for the defense of this country be not forgotten. Those captains of industry and finance who oppose any extension of veterans' benefits should be reminded that we kept their empire intact.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

5. The assassination of John F. Kennedy evoked a tremendous emotional demonstration throughout the entire world. It brought tears to eyes of strong men and withered their spines. Therefore, let us pledge ourselves to make his martyrdom an inspiration for us to rededicate ourselves to those principles and ideals for which he lived and died.

These include such ideals as dignity for all men, regardless of race, religion, or national origin, the abolition of poverty and want everywhere; the building of a great America for future generations; and true peace for mankind. These goals can be implemented by our support of the Alliance for Progress, the mutual security program, the food for peace program, the Peace Corps, and other similar undertakings.

FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM

6. We urge the continuation of strong steps to halt the spread of communism and pledge ourselves to the support of our Government in this field. Diplomacy, rather than armed intervention, removed Red missiles from Cuba. But we must not hesitate to use armed force, as in southeast Asia, to prevent the spread of communism.

We urge continued use of surplus foods as a tool for the spread of democracy. The sale and gift of wheat and other foodstuffs to Poland and other Eastern European countries must be continued, the alternative is to force the citizens of those countries to continuously rely on Communist Russia for their survival. It is because America is the only bright light remaining for these people that we must not let them down in their hour of need. We must continue the foreign aid program.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

7. We have expressed ourselves on international matters and foreign policy in the foregoing resolutions. But we must not forget the problems of domestic housekeeping. Therefore, the PLAV resolves to cooperate and implement programs designed to make America a better place to live. We pledge our support for:

1. Job-retraining programs for veterans and nonveterans alike;

2. A reduction in Government spending, with further tax cuts resulting;

3. The use of all of our facilities to curb juvenile delinquency and reduce its incidence.

The PLAV has already instituted a plan of youth activities for this purpose on a State level; this program will be continued with greater emphasis and with more funds.

4. Conservation of natural resources and support of the wilderness preservation program.

5. The enactment of a comprehensive medical care for the aged program, using the best features of both the Social Security Administration and private insurance organizations.

6. The prevention of erosion of our cities by supporting urban renewal and urban conservation programs.

7. The upgrading of all our citizens to end the vast waste of human resources in our country, whether by aids to education, greater social security benefits, or any other means consistent with human decency.

As veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States, we pledge ourselves to the principles set forth herein, and as good citizens, we resolve to abide by both the letter and spirit of these resolutions.

UNITED NATIONS

8. We pledge our continued support of the United Nations and urge that its offices be used to pursue the peace everywhere; that it be used as a vehicle to move the Iron Curtain out of Europe; that our Government and the other powers act through the U.N. to foster democracy in the entire world.

IMMIGRATION

9. We urge that Congress enact a humane immigration policy based on the economic and social needs of our country, and that the archaic quota system be done away with.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

10. We solicit Congress to reopen the national veterans life insurance program for those veterans who failed to avail themselves of it upon separation from military service; we urge an expanded program of medical and domiciliary care for World War I veterans which will not reduce them to paupers, but rather will give them the decent care which their military service demands. The system of pensions for World War I veterans should be revised in line with the increased cost of living.

POLONIA AFFAIRS

11. All organizations of Americans of Polish descent must cooperate together for the accomplishment of our common objectives. These include the perpetuation of our Polish culture and its dissemination among Americans.

All Americans of Polish descent must work together to restore democracy and freedom to Poland and move out the Communist intruders.

We must combine our efforts to remind the world that this is Poland's millenium; that Poland was a Christian nation 1,000 years ago, and she introduced culture to Eastern Europe.

It is recommended that the Secretary of this convention distribute copies of these resolutions to:

A. Local press, radio and television.

B. All Polish newspapers and Polish radio programs in the United States.

C. To the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

D. To the Members of Congress from States having PLAV posts.

E. To the President of the United States and the Republican and Democratic National Committees.

F. To the Library of Congress.

G. Such other persons as the national commander directs.

Respectfully submitted.

Committee on resolutions: Judge Benjamin C. Stanczyk, Chairman, Edward L. Bielaga, Henry Gromak, Matthew Zamorski, Leonard J. Wolodzo, and Joseph C. Zalud.

The Poor Pay—The Rich Receive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Aurora Advertiser, a daily newspaper in southwest Missouri, recently carried a front page editorial describing in very clear terms the political motive behind the effort to attach "medicare" to the House-passed social security bill.

I commend the article to the attention of all who are interested in this critical issue:

THE POOR PAY—THE RICH RECEIVE

When, in order to provide a governmental service for a specific segment of our population, it is proposed to tax the wage-earners of this country and their employers, leaving out all others; to tax those who earn the least money proportionately much more than those who earn a lot and to tax employers whose employees earn less heavier than those with highly paid workers; and then to spend those taxes to provide that service to that part of the population with the largest income, on the average, and deny it entirely to the very part least able to provide it for themselves, it can be called nothing but "unfair," and the politicians who dreamed up such a scheme should be given a much deserved rebuke.

That is exactly what the clearly politically inspired rider to the social security bill called "medicare" provides, and regardless of what one thinks about the necessity of the Federal Government paying for the hospital care of the aged one can be opposed to this version tooth and toenail.

Here is the way medicare as provided in this bill works out for the Nation's workers, the Nation's employers and the Nation's aged.

Low-paid workers will be soaked extra social security taxes amounting to double the amount they saved through the tax cut the politicians hail is such an economic boon to the country's economy.

Employers of the low-paid workers, many of them barely able to stay in business, will be soaked an amount equal to the total all their workers have deducted from their already slim take-home pay.

Workers who earn the big money will pay only on a part of their salaries, and their employers will match the part, not the whole. In most cases these will be left with a part of the savings through income tax reductions.

Only those aged who have qualified for social security benefits will receive free hospital care.

Old age pensioners will receive nothing. Neither will retired farmers.

The people who pay the tax will receive nothing at all from their taxes directly. If they live to qualify for social security, then those who are employed during the remainder of the time they live will pay for them during that period.

Scrubwomen will pay taxes to provide free hospital care for retired millionaires, though not eligible for free hospital care themselves should they break down before they are old enough to draw minimum social security benefits.

Medicare, as now passed by the Senate, is based upon the rotten foundation of taxing the part of our people with least money to provide a service to the part of the aged who have the most money.

And that is unfair any way you look at it, and the very politicians who voted for it thinking to score a political advantage know that it is.

If we are to have governmental paid medical care for the aged, then let all of us pay for it equally according to our abilities to pay, and let that care go to all our aged, not just the best heeled part of the aged.

What has happened is that the jubilant and victorious liberals of the Democratic Party, flushed with the false enthusiasm of the "wheeler dealer" convention at which a bitter fight over who got to vote was solved by letting no one vote at all, came back to the Senate, and tacked onto a bill to provide a justified small increase in social security retirement benefits this rider, for just one reason, to embarrass the conservatives of the country—to make them go to the country seemingly opposed to social security. For, with medicare onto the bill to increase payments, conservatives cannot vote against the one without also voting against the other.

The idea is to reelect President Johnson and beat BARRY GOLDWATER, and to heck with being fair to the American people.

The liberal Democratic Senators, even though they had a big party majority to work with, could not have achieved their political aim without the help of five Republican Senators It is significant to note that not one of the five is going to support the Goldwater-Miller ticket in November. Beaten in their attempt to rule the Republican convention, they are now determined to ruin their party's chances to win the Presidency.

The medicare rider stinks so loudly that neither Senator from Arkansas could stomach it. Senator MCCLELLAN voted "No." Senator FULBRIGHT, a liberal himself, ducked the vote.

But, sadly we must relate, both Missouri Senators voted "Yes."

There is still hope that this reverse "Robin Hood" bill will not become a law. The House turned it down once, and may block passage again. But politics being politics, the odds that it will are not good.

What can the people do about this injustice? Probably nothing, now, but in November they can single out those Senators and Congressmen who would soak the poor to help the rich and spank them with a ballot, the very punishment most likely to be felt by a candidate.

Outstanding Reserve Airman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure recently to meet the outstanding Reserve airman in the Continental Air Command, M. Sgt. Elmer F. Schilling.

Sergeant Schilling is a resident of San Antonio, and his honor of being selected the outstanding Reserve airman for the Continental Air Command is a personal achievement of the first magnitude. There are about 250,000 Reserve airmen in this command, and this man stands out above all of them. He is one of the less than two dozen outstanding airmen in the U.S. Air Force. There are, of course, thousands—hundreds of thousands of fine, dedicated men like Sergeant Schilling in active service and in the Reserves. But no matter how fine all these men are, there are always a few who are truly outstanding, and Sergeant Schilling is one of these.

Sergeant Schilling is the outstanding airman in the 433d Troop Carrier Wing—a unit which is distinguished in its own right. He has been in the Air Force now for a total of 19 years. Until the Cuban crisis he was a civilian, or weekend airman, but when this great crisis struck, Sergeant Shilling volunteered for active duty and has been there ever since.

As a member of the cadre of the 433d Troop Carrier Wing, Sergeant Schilling has made strenuous and dedicated efforts to attract high quality men and to retain them. His efforts have resulted in a 100-percent effective manning for his unit.

This is also a man of courage, for on two occasions in 1963—both within mere weeks of each other—he risked his life to jettison heavy equipment from his stricken C–119 aircraft. These acts are credited with saving possible serious injury to the crew of his craft.

Elmer Schilling is an outstanding airman, an outstanding family man—a credit to himself and his community. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to count him among the residents of my district and proud to salute him before my colleagues.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 608.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

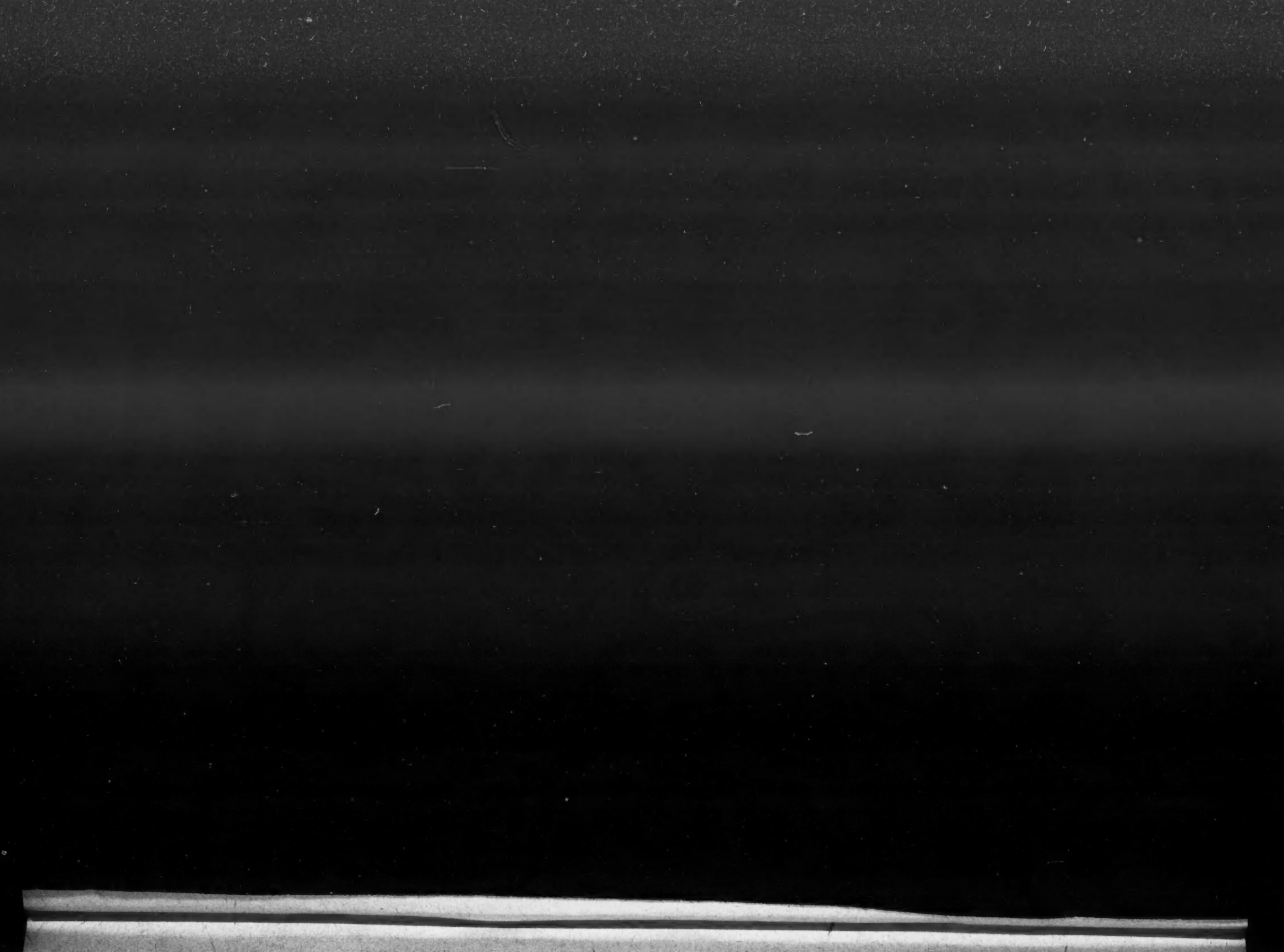

Appendix

Loyalty Day—Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America, Quincy, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, 1964, in the city of Quincy, Mass., the George F. Bryan Post No. 613, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America, conducted its annual observance of Loyalty Day which was established by Presidential and congressional order.

Under the general chairmanship of Post Commander John P. Dineen and the chairmanship of Post Americanism Officer Arthur G. McLean, a most successful and impressive Loyalty Day observance was carried out by the George F. Bryan Post.

In keeping with the theme of the national VFW poster of the 1964 Loyalty Day which depicted the first Commander in Chief of our country's Armed Forces and the first President of our great Nation kneeling in the snow of Valley Forge praying for divine assistance to the loyalty and allegiance of our American people, Americanism Officer Arthur G. McLean drafted the following letter which was sent to all veteran, civic and paternal organizations in the city of Quincy and Norfolk County.

The letter is as follows:

THESE ARE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS

A great American patriot, Thomas Paine, penned these words in a pamphlet in the winter of 1776–78 when the very life and future of our infant Nation was at its lowest point.

Our Continental Army, although lacking proper clothing, food and fuel, and ravaged by exposure and disease, encouraged by the inspiring words of that great American, produced for us today an America which is the greatest Nation in the world.

During the almost 200 years since those patriots left their bloodstained footprints in the snows of Valley Forge, our Nation has had other years in which the words of Thomas Paine again became true.

Today all true Americans must be again advised that in this year of our Lord 1964 "these are times that try men's souls."

Today prayer is banned in our public schools.

Today attacks are being made on the Pledge of Allegiance and the salute to the flag of our country.

Today many of our allies are doing business with any Communist nation and are giving aid and comfort to their demands for world recognition and support. These very Communist nations who have publicly avowed their determination to "bury" the democratic form of government of our United States.

The Communist bloc countries universally hold their greatest holiday, May Day, on the first of May each year. Unfortunately this infamous day is being celebrated in more countries each year.

Truly "these are times that try men's souls."

To counteract the cancerous spread of this communistic, athiestic ideology, the Veterans of Foreign Wars have been sponsoring an American Loyalty Day on the first Sunday in May.

This year the George F. Bryan Post No. 613, VFW, will again conduct its Loyalty Day in Quincy on Sunday May 3, 1964.

We earnestly solicit your joining with us in our observance to publicly show to all that the spirit of Americanism is just as alive today as when we first won our independence.

We will dedicate this year's observance in memory of the late Rev. Thomas J. Tierney, a man who truly lived as a dedicated and loyal American, who served his God and country equally well.

A most enthusiastic response to this letter was received from most of those contacted with the following dignitaries and organizations participating in the ceremonies and parade:

Hon. James A. Burke, Member of Congress; Hon. Amelia Della Chiesa, city of Quincy mayor; Hon. James A. McIntyre, State representative; Hon. Joseph E. Brett, State representative; Hon. Charles L. Shea, State representative; Hon John J. Quinn, Quincy City Council; Hon. William Edwards, Quincy City historian; Chief William Ferrazi, Quincy City Police Department; Chief Thomas Gorman, Quincy City Fire Department.

U.S. Navy, Boston Naval Shipyard Band.

215th MANG Band.

Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts.

Lexington Minute Men.

Quincy Police Department Drill Team.

Quincy Fire Department Drill Team.

Quincy City Hospital Nurse Corps.

Quincy Veterans Council (includes eight veterans organizations).

Quincy Post No. 95, American Legion.

Cyril P. Morrisette Post No. 294, American Legion.

Wollaston Post No. 295, American Legion.

Houghs Neck Post No. 380, American Legion.

Stoughton Post No. 89, American Legion.

Milton Post No. 114, American Legion.

Norfolk County Council, American Legion.

Quincy Post No. 195, Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

Amvets Memorial Post, Quincy.

Riding in Cars, surviving members of the John A. Boyd Camp, United Spanish War Veterans, Quincy.

Boston Post Office Department Band.

Quincy High School Band.

Braintree Warriors Band.

Braintree Braves Bugle and Drum Corps.

St. Ann's Neponset Band.

Sir Thomas More Bugle and Drum Corps.

Golden Rays, Stoughton Drum Corps.

The Brigadiers, St. Christophers Drum Corps.

Blessed Sacrament Walpole Drum Corps.

Joanettes, Weymouth, marching unit.

Norfolk County Council VFW colors—fifth district VFW colors.

Wellesley Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units.

Waverly Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units.

Natick Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units.

Medford Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units.

Walpole Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units.

St. Marks Post VFW and auxiliary and junior units, Dorchester.

George F. Bryan Post VFW.

Quincy Council, Boy Scouts of America, comprised of 25 Cub packs, Scout troops, and explorer units.

The 1964 VFW Loyalty Day in Quincy was dedicated in memory of a truly loyal American, the late Reverend Thomas J. Tierney, a priest who for many years served as the Catholic chaplain of the Quincy fire and police departments and also was the official parade director of the city of Quincy. His recent death has been considered a great loss to the city of Quincy by all its citizens. The only float in the parade was in memory of this beloved clergyman, and depicted his major duties. First was the Biretta of a Catholic priest carried by an altar boy—second his white fire helmet as fire department chaplain, and third his official uniform hat as Quincy parade director carried by a member of the George F. Bryan Post No. 613 VFW.

The formal observances were opened with the tolling of the bell of the First Parish Church in Quincy Square. It is in the crypt of this church that the remains of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams now rest. The Loyalty Day observances are held on the steps of this church.

Next followed the raising of our national flag and the singing of the National Anthem by all assembled.

The invocation was given by Rabbi Jacob Mann of Congregation Beth Israel, Quincy.

The greetings of the city of Quincy were given by Mayor Amelio Della Chiesa.

Greetings from the Department of Massachusetts, the American Legion, were given by Department Vice Commander Paul A. M. Hunt, of Quincy, and a member of the George F. Bryan Post No. 613 VFW.

Henry L. Cyr, senior vice commander, Department of Massachusetts, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, spoke on the necessity of all citizens reaffirming their loyalty and pride of our American heritage, and of the need of a more watchful concern about the encroachment of communistic and extremist ideologies.

I had the honor of being the keynote speaker and following my address, wreaths were placed on the tombs of President John Adams and President John Quincy Adams in the crypt of the First Parish Church. The Reverend Bradford Gale offered prayers at the tombs.

A hymn in memory of all our war dead was played by the Navy yard band. Volleys were fired by the St. Marks Post VFW firing squad and taps was sounded by the Braintree Warriors Buglers.

The benediction was given by the Reverend Francis X. Dufresne, St. Joseph's Church, Roxbury, of which Father Tierney had been pastor.

The parade then formed and when it reached School Street and Hancock Court it was halted to carry out the dedication of this square as "Rev. Thomas J. Tierney Square."

The dedication prayers were given by the Reverend Chester A. Porteus, Chirst Church Episcopal of Quincy. Reverend Porteus a fellow chaplain with Father Tierney for the Quincy Fire Department also recalled some of the incidents of their many years of friendship and close association.

Dedication speakers were Lawrence A. Butler, commander Quincy Veterans Council, Mayor Amelio Della Chiesa and Timothy J. Murphy past commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

After the dedication services the parade reformed and continued on to the George F. Bryan Post where refreshments were served to all who participated in the ceremonies and parade.

The Loyalty Day committee of the George F. Bryan Post was comprised of the following:

General chairman, John P. Dineen, commander; chairman, Arthur G. McLean, Americanism officer; honorary chief marshall (posthumous) Rev. Thomas J. Tierney; chief marshall, Timothy J. Murphy, past commander in chief, VFW; chief of staff, James Johnston, sgt. first class U.S. Army; officer of the day, Maj. William Dillon, USMCR; Lawrence A. Butler; Paul A. M. Hunt; David Alexander, past commander; John J. Brior, senior vice commander; A. Warren Steward, junior vice commander; Thomas McDonald, past commander.

South Dakota Young GOP Convention on August 27–29

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, September 21, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it was my privilege to attend and address the convention of the Young Republicans of the State of South Dakota. The convention was held on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, in the city of Aberdeen. It was the largest and most enthusiastic young GOP convention in the history of our State.

Under the able leadership of President Stan Adelstein, of Rapid City, S. Dak., the Young Republican League of our State has been steadily growing, both in size and in significance. Two of our present State candidates for the offices of secretary of state and attorney general are young Republicans, as is the executive secretary of the regular South Dakota State Central Committee of the Republican Party.

Instead of adopting a formal Republican Party platform for the Young Republican League, the convention endorsed and embraced the State and national platforms of the party, and then unanimously adopted a set of resolutions dealing with some of the subjects in which these Republicans, who are below age 36, are vitally interested.

SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolutions adopted at least week's State convention of the Young Republican League of South Dakota.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS, SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEAGUE, 1964, ABERDEEN, S. DAK., AUGUST 27, 28, 29

South Dakota Young Republicans proudly endorse the State and national Republican platforms. We wholeheartedly support the national ticket of BARRY GOLDWATER and WILLIAM MILLER, and the South Dakota congressional delegation of Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Representative BEN REIFEL and Representative E. Y. BERRY. We also enthusiastically support Nils Boe and Lem Overpeck for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State of South Dakota, and the outstanding slate of constitutional officers selected at the State convention.

We commend the Archie Gubbrud administration for its progressive administration over the past 4 years and commend it for its sound fiscal policy. We also commend it for its aid to State education, an increase from $5.2 million to $10 million per biennium, and for the establishment of a teacher's retirement program on the college level. We urge the further supplementation of South Dakota education opportunity.

AGRICULTURE

We deplore the lack of concern of the Democratic Party for the continual decline of farm prices to 74 percent of parity, the lowest level since 1938. We particularly resent the displacement of millions of acres of our productive lands through importation of cheap foreign beef and other red meats, and for surrendering to the State Department philosophies in forcing through Congress an ineffective beef import quota law as a substitute for the effective type of legislation which is so badly needed.

ASK REPLACEMENT FOR SECRETARY FREEMAN

We suggest that this administration replace Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman with Billie Sol Estes, who is apparently the only man who fully understands the farm program of this administration well enough to make it pay.

OPPOSE CARPETBAG CANDIDATES

We condemn the drive toward excessive power by the executive branch of our Federal Government and the manifestation of this attitude by the administration sending carpetbag candidates into strategic States to run for the office of U.S. Senator.

GOLDWATER BEST BET FOR PEACE

As young Americans we place our faith and confidence in the Republican Party with its policy of firmness supported by strength, which has always kept us out of war, rather than in a party whose policies of vacillation and indecision have repeatedly blundered America into foreign wars. We place our faith in the Republican Party and its leadership, which will regain the support and confidence of our friends and allies and restore the respect our enemies had for the determination and military might during the Republican years of Eisenhower and Dulles.

RECREATION

As young South Dakotans, interested in our unequaled recreational, fish and wildlife opportunities, we deplore and condemn the recent statements by the Democratic candidate for Governor, John Frank Lindley, revealing a desire to put the South Dakota Department of Game, Fish, and Parks back into partisan politics.

MORALITY IN GOVERNMENT

The YGOP feels that the people of the United States deserve the guarantee of morality, honesty, and integrity in government which the people of South Dakota have enjoyed with the Gubbrud administration and which will be continued by the Boe-Overpeck administration. All Americans can achieve this type of government only by election of the Goldwater-Miller ticket, "a team you can trust," which is in sharp and refreshing contrast to the scandalous, unethical, and immoral "fast deal" of the national Democrat ticket.

The South Dakota Young Republican League expresses its appreciation and thanks to the citizens of South Dakota and to the senior Republicans for their acceptance, support, and encouragement of the many young people who have entered into political activities of South Dakota.

The convention further thanks the host city of Aberdeen and the Brown County Young Republican Club, Steve Smith, convention chairman, and also those persons and businesses who have helped to make this convention a success.

Part I—Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I sent one of the most comprehensive questionnaires of any I have seen to every resident of my district, concerning the issues facing the United States. I have had nearly 12,000 returned and tabulated electronically, and I believe that the results are extremely revealing.

My district is partly urban and partly suburban, in Los Angeles County, and I am sure that all of our colleagues will find the following news story—based on the first question asked—of great interest:

CONGRESSMAN BROWN SAYS UNEMPLOYMENT, DELINQUENCY OF MOST CONCERN IN DISTRICT

First tabulations from the questionnaire which Congressman GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., sent to every resident of the 29th Congressional District earlier this year were released this week, showing unemployment to be considered the major domestic problem in the United States, with juvenile delinquency, narcotics and crime running a strong second.

The first question in a questionnaire that was one of the most comprehensive ever sent to constituents by a U.S. Congressman, listed 10 items generally considered to be major domestic problems, asking that the person answering check 3 which he felt would be the greatest source of trouble during the next few years. The 10 items, in the order of importance that 12,000 of BROWN'S constituents gave to them, with the percentage of all persons responding who checked each item, are as follows:

	Percent
Unemployment	50.0
Juvenile delinquency, narcotics and crime	46.9
Negro demonstrations	35.2
Racial discrimination	35.1
Communist subversion	28.2
Educational needs	24.6
The rapid population increase	21.9
The poverty of a large proportion of our citizens	21.5
The cost of medical care for the aged	20.6
Automation	16.2

Congressman BROWN pointed out that it was most interesting that the problem of automation received the least attention while unemployment ran the highest. Coauthor of the bill that was recently signed into law establishing a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, BROWN noted that these two items were tied together very closely, but were not, apparently, as closely related in the public mind.

Some of the most interesting figures are in the breakdown that BROWN has made by political party, age, and religion. However, 57.3 percent of the Democrats included unemployment in their list of concerns, making it the highest priority item in BROWN's party, while Republicans ranked unemployment fourth in importance, with 37.9 percent checking it off.

Republicans in the 29th District placed juvenile delinquency first, with 57.9 percent, Negro demonstrations second, and Communist subversion third. Democrats gave juvenile delinquency second priority and racial discrimination was ranked third.

"Presumably, those checking racial discrimination as a major problem would be inclined to look favorably on the civil rights issue and the Negro's efforts to increase his opportunities, while those marking Negro demonstrations as a problem, are probably not too sympathetic to these efforts," Congressman BROWN stated.

Religious breakdowns were also significant, with Protestants placing delinquency ahead of unemployment and Jewish constituents ranking racial discrimination second, just behind unemployment. Catholics placed importance on the issues closely paralleling the overall ranking, although they placed discrimination slightly ahead of demonstrations. The numbers in the following chart indicate the rank in importance which each group gave to each of the major problems listed:

	Total	Democrat (60 percent)	Republican (40 percent)	Protestant (54 percent)	Catholic (24 percent)	Jewish (5 percent)
Unemployment	1	1	4	2	1	1
Delinquency, etc	2	2	1	1	2	3
Negro demonstrations	3	4	2	3	4	8
Racial discrimination	4	3	5	5	3	2
Communist subversion	5	10	3	4	5	10
Educational needs	6	6	7	7	6	4
Population increase	7	9	6	6	10	9
Poverty	8	5	9	9	7	5
Medical costs for aged	9	7	8	8	8	6
Automation	10	8	10	10	9	7

Other facts BROWN discovered in the questionnaire include those showing that persons answering who were under 25 years of age are most sympathetic to the Negro problems, placing racial discrimination at the top of their list. All other age groups gave unemployment and juvenile delinquency either first or second place, with the delinquency problem receiving only fourth ranking among the youngest age group.

As expected, the cost of medical care for the aged received continually increasing attention with increase in age. It remains in the bottom position for all age groupings through age 40 and then picks up to where it is ranked fourth as a major problem by those aged 56 and over. The table below shows ranking by age:

	Under 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 to 50	51 to 55	56 to 60	61 and up
Unemployment	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Delinquency	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Negro demonstrations	7	5	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Racial discrimination	1	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	6
Communist subversion	5	6	6	6	5	5	5	6	5
Educational needs	3	4	5	5	6	10	10	10	10
Population increase	8	7	7	7	9	8	6	7	8
Poverty	6	8	8	8	7	7	9	8	7
Medical costs	10	10	10	10	8	6	7	4	4
Automation	9	9	9	9	10	9	8	9	9

Several high school and college classes were given BROWN's questionnaire to answer, bringing the percentage of those in the youngest age grouping to a larger figure. BROWN noted that the large percentage of those answering in the 61 and over category is due partly to the fact that other groupings are in 5-year steps and partly to the fact that elderly persons take a greater interest in political issues as well as probably having more time to spend answering a questionnaire.

The tabulations were placed on IBM cards and compilations were done by the California Research Foundation, an independent research group.

Legislative Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Hoosier Farmer is the publication of the strong and highly respected Indiana Farm Bureau, whose membership comprises a very significant proportion of the farmers of the State.

An editorial signed by the editor, C. W. Stall, and appearing in the August issue of that publication, commented on the action taken by Congress in the recent pay-raise bill, centering on the provision for pay increases for Members. Although some criticism has resulted from that action, and I am sure every Senator has received letters on the matter, Mr. Stall has made a reasonable analysis which should help the understanding of not only his regular readers, but also others to whose attention it might come.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "A Good Investment," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GOOD INVESTMENT

(By C. W. Stall)

Congress passed a bill not long ago increasing the salaries of certain Federal Government workers. Included was provision for a $7,500 increase in the salaries of U.S. House Members. This would bring their annual salary, beginning with those elected to Congress this fall, to $30,000.

In discussing salary, expense allowance, living costs, etc., with several Hoosier Representatives now serving, the cost of public service and campaigning comes out.

Experience shows that money can stand in the way of some well-qualified people seeking public office.

One House Member explained that his last campaign for reelection cost about $20,000. About half of that amount, he confided, came from the party and from individual small contributions, and the other $10,000 came out of his own pocket.

Flying back and forth between the Capital and the home district for business and political purposes is expensive. One round trip per congressional session is paid for at the rate of 20 cents a mile. The rest must be financed by the man himself. One Hoosier made the round trip 40 times last year, at a total cost of around $3,000. Only five of these were paid for by the party or by groups asking the Congressman to address them.

In addition to his salary, a Member of the U.S. House receives about $20,000 each year to pay nine assistants and clerical workers. He can use up to $1,200 per year for stationery, and send business mail postage free.

While all of this would seem to add up to a lot of money, it is easy to see how it can melt away rapidly for newsletters to constituents, necessary travel, correspondence, living expenses, social expenses, political contributions, administrative, and clerical help.

NONE HAVE COMPLAINED

No Indiana Congressman that we talked to has complained. Indeed, they seem dedicated to serving their districts as long as the voters continue to elect them.

This is just one example which shows that the financial consideration is real. It is felt just as much by people seeking office

at the local and State levels as by those aspiring to national offices.

Most candidates refuse unreasonably large campaign contributions because they do not want to feel subject to undue influence on their vote. Yet, they welcome small campaign contributions from well-wishers. Maybe it would be a good investment in good government to send a dollar or two to the candiate, candidates, or the political party (at any level) that you want to support. This kind of help, in addition to active work and a vote on election day, truly represents citizenship at its best.

Congress Should Keep At It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial taken from the Philadelphia Inquirer today, September 22, 1964, entitled "Congress Should Keep at It."

We of the Philadelphia congressional delegation wholeheartedly concur with the sentiments expressed in the article.

We firmly believe the Congress should remain in continuous session until all major legislation of importance to the American people is enacted into law.

To this end, we pledge ourselves to work around the clock to accomplish this task.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD KEEP AT IT

As summer yields to autumn, and election day stands only 6 weeks away, Members of Congress understandably are anxious to adjourn without further delay.

However, much work remains to be done. Bills are pending that demand attention now, not next year. It is the duty of Congress to stick to their desks until their task is finished.

Senate Democratic Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD has listed a half dozen must bills that should be acted on before adjournment. He is hopeful that several other measures will be passed also.

On the priority list are: a major appropriations bill containing funds for numerous programs; the foreign aid bill; food-for-peace legislation; Federal aid to education in areas, such as Philadelphia, where military or other Government installations are located; an increase in social security benefits with a medicare rider attached; and authorization for U.S. participation in an international coffee quota agreement.

The logjam will not be broken until the Senate ends its impasse over legislative reapportionment. A rider has been attached to the foreign aid bill which seeks to delay enforcement of last June's Supreme Court decision which declared unconstitutional the apportionment of either house of a State legislature on any basis except population.

At this late date, it well might be advisable for the Senate to schedule night sessions on a regular basis until the reapportionment deadlock is broken and the deck is clear to proceed with other urgent business.

We believe the Appalachian economic development bill ought to be elevated to a place on the priority list for enactment at this session of Congress. Much hard work of a bipartisan nature, by Governors as well as Congressmen, has gone into the Appalachian aid measure to eliminate flaws in the original program. Congress should not let this bill die.

Even though Congress has compiled a creditable record thus far—with passage of bills on tax reduction, civil rights, mass transit aid, war on poverty and several important conservation measures—there is much more still to do. Adjournment anytime soon ought to be out of the question now.

The Charity Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the American people have never failed to rally behind the national charity drives which have been conducted with more and more frequency during the past decade. Hundreds of millions of dollars has been collected for many worthy causes. Thousands upon thousands of unfortunate citizens have benefited from these charity drives. Lately, however, we hear more and more stories about "fast-buck operators" who feather their own nests through participation in these drives.

On August 22, Paul Harvey discussed the situation in his radio broadcast. I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from this program be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHARITY BUSINESS

Just when we think we're shockproof, along comes an exposé revealing that charity dollars intended for war widows and orphans have been pocketed by crooks.

Five years ago the Sister Kenny Foundation was rocked by scandal and an ugly shadow fell across all organized charities.

You'd think with such a warning that persons responsible for the administration of the other charities would immediately investigate and ventilate any symptom of hanky-panky. Yet, in the 5 years since, while Kenny Foundation officials were being prosecuted, the Disabled American Veterans allowed a professional fund-raising outfit in Chicago to steal some 2 million donated dollars.

Harold Sager, calling himself Col. Harold S. McClintock, solicited contributions for the DAV. Some contributions were sizable. When the Borden Co. donated property worth almost a million dollars, the DAV received only $250,000. The Attorney General says Sager pocketed the rest. There were some 400 comparable transactions in which he talked industries into making "tax deductible contributions" or merchandise, real property, sometimes entire factories.

Actually, the DAV, having been similarly embarrassed 1953, should have been gun-shy. A New York legislative committee showed at that time that the DAV had collected more than $21 million of which none went to individual veterans. A professional fund-raising group had kept for itself 68 percent of all contributions.

Now we discover that even if Mr. Sager had not got greedy, according to the terms of his contract with the DAV he could have kept—legally—49 percent of the total take.

Now the March of Dimes is under investigation. New York's Attorney General Lefkowitz says he is particularly interested in the "personal expenses of President Basil O'Connor."

Charity, in the original American tradition, constituted nothing more than a helping hand for a nearby neighbor.

When charity was taken out of the hands of the church and became a business—so that half the proceeds went to professional fund raisers and much of the remainder went for "administrative expense"—it became something other than charity.

I am militantly opposed to increasing Government snoopervision of our private lives, but we keep asking for it.

Have no illusions. The billion of your dollars which Congress recently voted for the President's antipoverty program will be culled by a lot of sticky and inefficient fingers before it ever finds its way into the hands of the hungry * * * Government administration of charity is no improvement. But the proponents of private charity had better examine their own degree of efficency before they invite Federal usurpation and administration of all welfare.

There are in our midst examples of how it can be done right. The Salvation Army accomplishes magnificent results with minimal overhead. Society charities on a community level often pay little or nothing for the brainpower and womanpower they are able to enlist.

But when dedication is so lacking that professional fund raisers must be employed, then charity costs more than it's worth.

Part II—Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most paradoxical situations confronting us today is the extremely strong support given to the proposed hospital insurance amendment to the social security system, and the apparent disregard shown by so many of our colleagues.

I would like to call attention to the following news story, showing how 12,000 of the residents of the 29th District of California feel about this program. The results of this questionnaire, mailed to every household in the district, have been tabulated in conjunction with a great deal of demographic information and every return has been included in the totals. I believe they are, therefore, quite significant:

GEORGE BROWN POLL SHOWS HEAVY MEDICARE SUPPORT

The medicare program, which was recently passed by the Senate and expected to be voted on in the House of Representatives this week, is favored by a 2-to-1 margin in the 29th Congressional District, according to the results of a questionnaire mailed out by Congressman GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., early this summer.

Tabulations show 67.5 percent of BROWN's constituents either strongly or mildly supporting a hospital insurance program as part of the social security system, and 32.5 percent either strongly or mildly opposing.

These percentages are based on only those expressing an opinion without including those who were undecided.

The Senate added the hospital insurance program to amendments that had previously been passed by the House, and a vote will probably be taken by Representatives this week to determine whether or not they will accept the addition of this amendment. Congressman BROWN introduced a bill in support of the medicare program early in 1963, and has indicated his desire to see it enacted on many occasions.

BROWN'S questionnaire also gives him results according to age, sex, political party, religion, and certain other categories. Democrats indicated heavy support for the program, which President Johnson includes in his list of essential legislation, with 83 percent in favor, whereas even 38 percent of the Republicans supported the proposal as well. The 29th District is strongly Democratic, about 63 percent registering that way for voting purposes, although only about 57.5 percent of those answering the questionnaire checked Democrat as their party preference.

The following table shows Catholic and Jewish persons as being the strongest supporters of the program (although Protestants also favor it by a substantial margin) when broken down by religion, and men more in favor of medicare than women.

[In percent]

	Support	Oppose	Undecided
Total	64	31	5
Male	66	31	4
Female	62	32	6
Protestant	56	40	4
Catholic	73	23	4
Jewish	86	11	3
Democrat	83	14	3
Republican	38	57	5

The results of Brown's questionnaires, with 11,700 returns from approximately 75,000 sent out, were all put on IBM cards and the tabulations compiled by the California Research Foundation.

Age breakdowns were interesting on the medicare issue, since it would primarily benefit the elderly. The differences in percentages were not as large, however, as one might suspect.

A marked drop in support between the ages of 26 and 35 is shown, with those aged 25 and under favoring the program heavily. Most concern, of course, is shown by persons who have passed their 51st birthday. The table of percentages by age is as follows:

[In percent]

	Support	Oppose	Undecided
25 and under	67	28	5
26 to 30	55	41	4
31 to 35	58	38	4
36 to 40	63	32	5
41 to 45	64	34	3
46 to 50	66	31	3
51 to 55	68	28	4
56 to 60	70	26	4
61 and over	70	25	5

Walter Norblad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, once again this House stands bereft of one of its most distinguished Members, and once more we stand with bowed heads as a good friend and colleague is called to his eternal rest.

In Walter Norblad we had a dedicated legislator who devoted most of his congressional career to a search for methods whereby the public interest could be conserved and the wasting of public substance brought to a stop. Our departed colleague's chosen field was the military, and he kept a constant vigil to make sure that defense administrators did not become derelict in the discharge of their accepted responsibilities.

Walter Norblad was a genial man and his unfailing good nature came to the surface in a ready smile and the kindly word. Gifted in repartee, he usually had a witty comeback to anyone who seemed inclined to question his sincerity in the pursuit of better living conditions for servicemen and a more effective utilization of the defense dollar. We shall miss this good friend, and assuredly, the House will be the poorer because of his passing.

Mrs. Dague joins me in extending our heartfelt condolences to the members of his family as they contemplate this irreparable loss. May an all-compassionate Father encircle them with His arms and ease for them the heartache of this sad hour.

Praise of the National Park System and Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, a Congressman's daily mail is replete with constituents' problems—matters, the resolution of which bring pleasure and satisfaction to both constituent and representative.

I have recently received a letter from a constituent which seeks no help, sets forth no problem, and no complaint.

This letter in praise of our Rangers and park service personnel deserves wide notice:

BABYLON, N.Y.,
August 24, 1964.

Hon. JAMES R. GROVER, Jr.,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We have just finished one of the most rewarding vacations of our life touring the national parks of our country and we want to thank you for your efforts in promoting the national conservation program of which the park system is but a part. We only wish there were some way of adequately letting you know how grateful we are to those many fine people who made this trip so memorable. The educational effort and almost personal care of each ranger and the never-ending patience of the personnel are all remarkable. For several years we have noted these facts and have resolved to try to let those responsible know of our praise.

I would be pleased if you felt that forwarding this letter to the Department of Interior or another Government office could in some way be helpful. I can think of no tax dollar that is of more ultimate value than one spent in preserving the heritage of our country.

Yours truly,

ARTHUR CHAMPAGNE.

Saturday Evening Post Smears and Attacks on Senator Goldwater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON W. GLENN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in my memory as a subscriber and reader of the Saturday Evening Post, I note vicious smears and attacks on Senator GOLDWATER in its editorials. I recall the days when the editorials were interesting and timely, and it was a magazine which thousands of readers looked forward to every week as part of the American scene. Now, instead of editorializing for the sake of news, the Post serves the purposes of a political party by circulating throwouts attacking a candidate. This certainly is not in keeping with the great traditions of the old Post, and I have written to the Curtis Publishing Co. as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 17, 1964.

SATURDAY EVENING POST,
Curtis Publishing Co., Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENTLEMEN: I have been a subscriber to the Saturday Evening Post almost all of my life and remember the days when the Saturday Evening Post had the largest circulation of any magazine in the country and rightfully so. The articles and stories were something which thousands of readers looked forward to every week. Even the front cover was outstanding with the pictures of Norman Rockwell becoming part of the American scene The editorials were interesting and timely.

For the first time in my memory as a subscriber and reader of the Post, I now receive news releases from its public relations manager, sending me copies of the editorials endorsing President Johnson for reelection, which is your privilege, and at the same time attacking his opponent, Senator GOLDWATER, with a vicious smear, which is not at all necessary and certainly not in keeping with the past policy of the Saturday Evening Post. In fact, the complete editorial instead of editorializing on President Johnson, mentions him only in passing and continues with an attack on Senator GOLDWATER that sounds like something written by political hacks of the Democratic Party.

I have always believed that an editorial is part of a periodical and is issued as part of the body of the magazine, but to start running a public relations news release, not apparently for the sake of news but to serve the purposes of a political party by circulating "throw outs" attacking a candidate, is certainly not in keeping with the great traditions of the old Saturday Evening Post.

Sincerely yours,

M.C.

Salute to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there is in the record of the 88th Congress much of which we may justly be proud. Indeed, that record has already been made the subject of a celebration at the White House. But as is pointed out in the following editorial from the August 20 editions of the New York Times, there is much we can still accomplish—notably passage of a hospital care program for the elderly. Let us, therefore, redouble our efforts and perhaps we may even merit another celebration—this one hosted by our senior citizens.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 20, 1964]

SALUTE TO CONGRESS

Bipartisan amiability and invincible optimism have always been parts of President Johnson's operating technique, but in his praise for this Congress he is surpassing himself. "When the record of this Congress is completed, it will place the 88th Congress in the record books as the most constructive in the 20th century. Exectuive-and congressional relationships could hardly have been better," he told reporters this week. In celebration, he invited members of both parties to a "salute to Congress" reception at the White House yesterday.

The record is at once less simplistic and less satisfactory than the President's rhetoric suggests. This Congress is sure of an honorable place in history if only because it adopted the Civil Rights Act. Cutting taxes to keep the economy from sagging, even though the budget was unbalanced, represented a wise departure from outmoded economic orthodoxy. This Congress has passed several other desirable pieces of legislation, notably aid to higher eduaction, the wilderness bill, and the expansion of the Hill-Burton hospital program. It has also pioneered—too timidly but still in the right direction—in the antipoverty and mass transit programs.

As against these achievements, however, there have been some serious failures. A southern filibuster stalled the Civil Rights Act for more than 4 months. The tax-writing committees stripped the tax reduction bill of all reforms, leaving the Internal Revenue Code a patchwork of inequities and special privileges. Chairman WILBUR MILLS and a bipartisan bloc in the Ways and Means Committee once again denied the House an opportunity to vote on the long-overdue medicare program. Chairman HOWARD SMITH again used the authority of the House Rules Committee to snarl the flow of legislative traffic. In recent days, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, the minority leader, has tied up the work of the Senate by seeking to attach to the foreign aid bill a rider on the wholly unrelated issue of legislative reapportionment.

This has been a better-than-average Congress, but it could have done much more to meet the needs of the Nation. In common with all recent Congresses it has provided fresh evidence of how hard it is proving for our national legislature to keep abreast of the problems of a rapidly growing and rapidly changing Nation. Even so notable a contribution as passage of the Civil Rights Act cannot obscure the necessity for a thorough reform of procedure and committee system of both Houses.

The bonhommie of a party at the White House provides an engaging curtain-raiser to what is likely to be an unpleasant campaign, but it ought not encourage too much complacency on Capitol Hill. A Congress which tolerates the present delays, obstructionism and committee irresponsibility deserves a reform even more than it does a salute.

Commencement at Willowbrook State School for Practical Nursing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 1964, I attended the commencement exercises of the Willowbrook State School, School for Practical Nursing, Staten Island, N.Y. Dr. Jack Hammond, director, presided at the graduation; Rev. Arnold Ostlund gave the invocation; Elizabeth Turner and Norman Middlebrook of the graduating class delivered a greeting and farewell message respectively; Mary Kelly, R.N., principal, presented the class; Dr. Frank Glasser awarded the diplomas; and Joseph Lombardi directed the Willowbrook State School Band. The graduates were: Betty J. Bolden, Susana Colon, Frances Fleschner, Arthur H. Hanna, John W. Harding, Jr., Peter L. Jones, Delina Diane Mahoney, Norman Clark Middlebrook, Martha E. Moore, Nancy Loretta Muldoon, Vena E. Murray, Georgette Nicholson, Stuart Paul Olsowske, Jr., Edward Robinson, Patricia Ann Russell, Geneva Sadler, Elizabeth J. Turner, Marianela Walmsley, and Yvonne J. Williams.

Marion Crotty, R.N., gave the principal address, and under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this speech:

The art of living—Florence Nightingale once said, "A better world will not be given to us, so let us begin without delay to make one." Many discerning individuals are deeply concerned over the future of our young people in the 1960's and onward. This awesome age of ours is one of "Sputniks," "Discoverers," and "Echoes"; man-into-space trips, shrinking continents; jet transportation, mass communication media and hundreds of other technological advances. In the health science fields we have had the discovery and the development of cures, treatment and methods of care that even 50 years ago would have been thought to be almost in the realm of fantasy. We should not overlook the effects of automation on society and individuals. Madison Avenue, labor unions, organized nursing and many other groups all tend to take care, or should I say charge, of many things and submerge the individual. Some of these trends are the road to riches for individuals and groups but some trends are the road to ruin.

With this marked progress, what is happening to individuals, to society, and what is being done about it? Some leaders are afraid, and there may very well be reason for their fear.

Because individuals, young and old, are being desensitized to the wholesome aspects of the "good life." The "good life" to which I refer you is the day-to-day life we live, the one which has deep meaning, the one in which we aspire to build that which will pay dividends for a whole life with deep satisfactions. These deeper satisfactions give meaning to life itself.

To illustrate my statement that individuals are being conditioned negatively, let me tell you how this is taking place.

One of the most outstanding changes that I have noted in people is their lack of concern for what is happening about them. People in general are quite casual to the murder stories that appear in print or occur in the same block or town, to the success of TV which depends on violence, to the wholesale corruptions of large groups of young men and women by the use of drugs, and their ensuing behavior. Is this not an acceptance of unwholesome living in a form that is second only to war in its destructive result? A desensitization toward violence comes about in an individual and his society in a not so unusual way. It may be outlined briefly by saying first there occurs a blunting of feelings to sudden shock. This is a defensive reaction for the individual. When it occurs frequently enough and the intensity of the shock is increased, we then note a lessening or blunting of the feeling toward actual danger to ourselves and others; or in some cases we could substitute the word "brutality" in any of its forms. What is the outcome of such a pattern? Unsafe, unbalanced, chaotic individuals, world or community. If this is true and there appears to be some evidence to substantiate it, then what is to be done? It is not sufficient to admit to the problem and then retreat. The situation should be corrected without further loss of human resources and dignity.

To correct this current dilemma, what can be done? First, we have to be seriously concerned with the role of knowledge and education in preparing individuals to meet everyday life situations. It is only when knowledge has passed into judgment and becomes assimilated into good behavior that wisdom is born. Man or men are simply the convertors of ideas into action and wholesome purposes. When wisdom is welcomed in the sanctuary of the heart and becomes wedded to emotions, it puts on the admirable cloak of charity, compassion and understanding. Education for any group, and particularly nurses, that is content with purveying information, is incapable of preparing individuals for a decent and successful life in the world of today and tomorrow. It is said by many of our leaders today that one of the greatest needs of our civilization is that more must be demanded of the individual. This has a particular application to the nursing field, of which this group is now a part.

The graduates will be given the rights and privileges of the nursing profession by their peers (other nurses), by their employers (hospital, health agency or wherever they as individuals elect to give service). The rights and privileges to which you are entitled have been enumerated, I'm certain, in your professional adjustment course, therefore, the repetition would not serve a purpose at this time. Your responsibilities will continue to increase in number and depth as you continue in the profession. You have been prepared to meet them and the road ahead will not be to riches, but should give you much satisfaction when you as an individual assume the role of responsible person who is a practical nurse.

I ask you to ask yourself some questions for the purpose of determining if you are an individual that has knowledge, some education, sensitivity for others, respect for your fellow man or if you may have a tendency

toward reacting in an insensitive way to the world about us, this last type of reaction would be disaster for a practical nurse. She would do better to enter a field of endeavor in which objects, or products, are of major importance.

Are you educated nurses? I would like to ask further questions of these new graduates. Can you entertain an idea—that is, have you the openness of mind, the objectivity of outlook, the concern for truth which would enable you to entertain every idea on merit—not accepting or rejecting a new idea because it happens to be fashionable, not welcoming an old idea because it has the backing of tradition, nor spurning it because it has ceased to be popular.

Have you determined for yourself that there is merit in doing a thing because it is right and can you accept that certain things are right for you as a person who is a nurse.

Extreme example: It is right to give medicines only on prescription of the doctor. It is not right for you to deprive any patient of spiritual counsel.

It is my opinion that we need a little more of doing a thing because it is right, as compared to the superficial thinking that has been used for an excuse to explain why patients have received quick, abrupt, or incomplete treatment from nurses in the hospitals. I am speaking of hospitals in general.

Can you entertain the other fellow? That is, have you willingness and the capacity to share joys and sorrows of others? Can you expand your ego so as to include other human beings in the sweep of your sympathy and understanding?

Can you entertain yourself? That is, do you have inner reserves to fall back upon which will enable you, as it were, to enjoy your own company, or must you be rushing from one thing to another in order to avoid yourself?

I would like to put in a plea for an important principle of life—one I shall call the gospel of work. I firmly believe that the continued interrelationship of manual and intellectual work is a vital part or element in our field. Work is the greatest useful force in life. Work is the price every decent person should be prepared to pay for the gift of life and the many gifts that life brings. It is a sound principle of life only if the doing is good. If it is haphazard or slipshod, doing it can be hopelessly bad. This brings me to a point of view of an oriental educator (Dr. Z. Husain). An adaptation of his theory for our purpose may be said to be: "All work is not purposeful. It is purposeful in the broad sense only when it is preceded by suitable motivation and intellectual effort and only that work is genuinely purposeful which serves some value, higher that our own selfish ends, and to which we are devoted." He who works only for his own selfish ends may be skilled; he does not become a valued member of service personnel in the hospital team. A valued member of the health team does not seek his own enjoyment, but strives to achieve perfection in his work. Work does not mean the passing of time by doing unimportant things; it is not amusement; it is not play; it is work; it is purposeful striving. Work sits in judgment of itself with the strictness of an enemy and when it is well done, it passes the test, which yields satisfaction to the patient and to the nurse.

This brings me to another point which has a bearing on the art of living and in the nursing profession—the relationship between the material and spiritual values in life. This is a matter which has been shuttled back and forth by many philosophers, men of religion and thinkers in general throughout the ages. I do not propose to discuss this at length but would like to say a few sentences about this contemporary and controversial topic.

There has been in recent years an overwhelming impact of material progress and prosperity on our outlook and attitudes, but I wonder if there is sufficient feeling and sensitiveness for moral and spiritual values in personal and social life. There is an unlimited multiplication of human wants—not merely in the usual course but through the mass media.

TV spaghetti, toothpaste, soaps, and detergents; all are best.

A fiction is being built up which is sold to or accepted by millions—but what do these things do for happiness. Or is this a type of so-called happiness of possession. Avoid the cult of easiness and security. Should we not be moving more toward another type of happiness through which we strive for happiness.

1. Through the peaceful pursuits of science and art.
2. Through social service endeavors.
3. Through human relations.
4. Through the "pursuit of excellence" because it is right.

CONCLUSION

Against the background of what I have said, I would hope that you will conclude that:

1. Violence must not be part of your life or your thinking.
2. Sensitivity to all humans and human relationships is essential in your field of work.
3. That continuous self-improvement through informal and formal education will help you in your personal and professional life.
4. That as an intelligent individual you will entertain ideas; accept and tolerate your fellow man with his strengths and weaknesses; accept, tolerate, and entertain yourself.
5. Use good commonsense and accept that which is right for you and the patient because it is right.
6. Accept the philosophy of the "right to work" means to do a good job, and you are a nurse by choice which implies that you will give service as needed.
7. Material and spiritual values must be brought into accord first within the individuals, then in the larger group.

Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a senior citizen in my congressional district concerning the issue of medical care for the aged under social security. Because the views of this constituent seem to be representative of many communications I have received in recent weeks I ask permission to have it printed in today's RECORD:

CONNERSVILLE, IND.,
September 5, 1964.

Hon. RALPH HARVEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARVEY: As I am an older person on social security I would like to present my views on the medicare bill which is up in the House of Representatives at present. My opinion and quite a number of other older people agree. I think with me that the medicare bill should apply only to those with less than a $5,000-a-year income and that a person that does not have over $40 a month social security check should be raised to at least $50 a month and that instead of 90 days of hospital care that should be 60 days hospital and 120 days nursing home care. This is my opinion and I think that as we taxpayers are paying the raise you gave yourselves without our consent I think you owe us this much and I dare you read this letter to Congress.

Sincerely,

RUSSEL GOEHRINGER.

Retirement of William R. (Bill) Thomson, District Tax Administrator, California Board of Equalization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, in California on September 30, 1964, we will be honoring Mr. William R. "Bill" Thomson, who is retiring as district tax administrator of the State board of equalization. On that day a retirement luncheon is being tendered him by the Honorable Richard Nevins, fourth district member of the board of equalization.

I am bringing this event to the attention of the Members of the House because I believe Bill Thomson is a fine example of a person who through dedication has made an outstanding contribution in serving the State of California.

In good measure Bill Thomson is responsible for the excellence of the operating procedures of California's State Board of Equalization. His service should be an inspiration to all public servants as the example of the opportunity and satisfaction of accomplishment which can be obtained in civil service by dedication, hard work, and interest in these positions of responsibility.

A native of New York State, born in 1899, Bill sojourned briefly to Ontario, Ohio, and Montana, before settling in Los Angeles County in 1922. His 31 years of service with the board began in 1933 after a number of years experience in the retailing merchandising field.

During his career with the board he contributed to many improvements in tax administration, such as the establishment of the board's out-of-State offices, the decentralization of the Los Angeles County Board of Equalization offices, and the initiation of out-of-State recruiting tours.

A veteran of World War I, he is past commander of Frank J. Irwin State Post No. 547; past president of the American Legion Luncheon Club of Los Angeles; past president of Metropolitan Chapter No. 54, California State Employees Association; one of the organizers and charter members of the California Association of State Auditors; also a member, American Society for Public Admin-

istrators; and vice president, board of trustees, Westminster Presbyterian Church; and trustee of Westminster Presbyterian Church Foundation.

Through the years it has been my privilege to be in public service, first as a member of the California State Legislature where I had the opportunity to observe the operations of the California State Board of Equalization, and Bill Thomson firsthand, and now as a Member of Congress from California, it has been a source of pride and satisfaction to know that the State of California has compiled such an outstanding record in the administration of its tax laws. William R. "Bill" Thomson has helped make this record possible.

To Bill Thomson we offer our thanks for a job well done and best wishes for a continued bright and happy future.

California: No Harvest of Shame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, any liberal, self-conscious about defending some type of reasonable farm labor agriculture work program for California, whether it be Public Law 78 or Public Law 414, should acquaint himself with the contents of a newsletter issued this week by the California Council of Growers.

It appears, after all is said and done, that the State which hires 54 percent of the bracero work force and produces 35 percent of the Nation's table food does not have the impoverished "harvest of shame" after all. Council letter follows:

INSIGHT BY THE COUNCIL OF CALIFORNIA GROWERS

SAN FRANCISCO.—California farmworkers are covered by more protective legislation than similar workers in any other State, according to the Council of California Growers.

Source of this information is Bulletin 264, just issued by the U.S. Department of Labor, and titled "Coverage of Agricultural Workers Under State and Federal Labor Laws."

Of 10 major labor laws listed by the Department of Labor, California farmworkers are covered by 9; Pennsylvania is second with 6.

Florida, a big competitor of California in citrus and vegetable crops, is credited with two.

Texas, another competitive State, provides limited coverage in only one category—farm labor contractor regulations.

Workmen's compensation, temporary disability insurance, farm labor camp standards, and minimum wages for women and minors, are among the major laws applying to farmworkers in California. Others fix the minimum wages for minors employed in agriculture, set up standards for buses used in transporting farmworkers, guarantee prompt payment of wages, and provide regulations to govern the practices of farm labor contractors.

The laws apply equally to foreign and domestic workers.

Besides providing benefits and protection under these laws, the council also points out that California farmers pay higher wages than their competitors in the major fruit and vegetable producing States with the exception of Washington. As reported by the Statistical Reporting Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture on July 1, 1964, the average wage paid in California was $1.35 per hour. This compared with the national average of $1.13 per hour, 88 cents in Texas, 95 cents in Florida, and $1.40 in Washington. The latter State, incidentally, has only two laws governing employment of farmworkers.

Herb Lee, president of California-Arizona Farm Labor Association, representing the major employers of farm labor in California, told the council that the combination of more benefits and higher wages puts a steady pressure on the farmer to increase his efficiency.

"The prices farmers receive are relatively unchanged from 20 years ago," Lee said, "yet wages, benefits, and competition have increased steadily. It is an indication of the progressiveness of the California farmers that they have managed to remain competitive with growers in other States despite these economic disadvantages."

Labor Day Sermon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on Labor Day, September 7, 1964, I attended the 16th Annual Labor Day Mass sponsored by members of organized labor in the Calumet region of my congressional district. The Reverend Martinian Wolf, O.F.M. Cap., associate professor of economics and philosophy, Capuchin Seminary of St. Mary, Crown Point, Ind., delivered the following message in his highly instructive sermon.

LABOR DAY SERMON

On this Labor Day 1964 we find that there is a certain fear gripping the world. There is good reason for this. The nuclear weapons of our country are twice as powerful as those of the Soviet Union. The destructive capacity of American weapons is the equivalent of 50 tons of TNT for every human being on this planet. Besides the nuclear bomb, we have the fear that comes from automation: the fear of losing one's job. Many of us fear this much more than the 50 tons of TNT. Maybe we have also been tinged with the myth of history which the marxists have been preaching the past 30 years. They have told us that man has lost control of his own destiny. Man's destiny is determined by the events of history.

Pope John XXIII wanted to smash this myth of history. He did this in many ways but particularly by his two encyclicals, Mater et Magistra and Pacem in Terris. These documents sum up the teachings of his predecessors from Leo XIII to Pius XII on peace. Peace was his watchword; not fear.

As you may recall, shortly before his death the late holy father was awarded the international Balzan peace prize. In a talk to 2,000 diplomatic government and church officials gathered in St. Peter's, he said:

"The edifice of peace must be built day by day, and on solid foundations. Here, under the vaults of the Vatican basilica, we see Michelangelo's peerless dome rising in the Roman sky. Surely we do not forget that it rests on four imposing pillars driven deep into the earth.

"Peace, then, is a house, the house of all. It is the arc which joins earth to heaven. But to rise so high it must rest on four solid pillars: those we pointed out in our encyclical Pacem in Terris.

"It is an order that is founded on truth, built on justice, nurtured and animated by charity, and brought into effect under the auspices of freedom."

In the past, papal pronouncements on the political and social order had always been suspended from three great words; namely, truth, justice, and charity. Here a fourth is added: freedom. This is so characteristic of the Pope of the II Vatican Council where he wanted the debate to be held in "holy liberty." The Pope had urged them on, "We are not friars singing in a choir."

In Mater et Magistra the Pope had said:

"The fundamental principle in this doctrine is that individual men are of necessity the foundation, the cause, and the reason for the existence of all social institutions, insofar as men are social by nature and have been raised to the level of the supernatural realm."

In Pacem in Terris the Pope wrote:

"Any human society, if it is to be well ordered and productive, must lay down as a foundation this principle; namely, that every human being is a person; that is, his nature is endowed with intelligence and free will."

God has made man responsible for his acts. This is why man is not a slave of history. Pope John merely repeats that which Leo XIII wrote in Libertas Praestantissimum, "Liberty * * * is the faculty of choosing means fitted for the end proposed." I admit that this is a philosophical concept and hard to grasp. However, have you ever asked some one in prison what he misses the most. He has three meals a day. He has a job. But he has been deprived of his freedom.

You may have heard of the tunnels that have been built underneath the Berlin wall. They call it, "Digging a way to freedom." The tunnels range from the 20-yard tunnel in an East Berlin graveyard to the famous tunnel 29 which was 15 feet beneath the surface and 250 tons of dirt had to be hauled away with tubs. This went on despite the fact that within the first year's existence of the Berlin wall 50 persons were shot and killed in trying to escape. Why did the people risk their lives? The answer is simple: freedom, namely, the ability to choose the means fitted for the end proposed.

Ask Hartwig Gerlach why he escaped through tunnel 29? In East Germany the Communist authorities had forbidden him to any further schooling toward becoming an electrical engineer. He is now studying engineering. He has regained his ability to choose the means fitted for the end proposed.

Yet, need we go overseas to understand the idea of freedom? The very formation of Gary ACTU was in response to a desire for freedom. There was little notice taken of a news item that appeared on page 6 of the June 28, 1944, issue of the Gary Post-Tribune. The heading of the news item stated: "Henry Yurin Reelected by Steel Local." The article pointed out that this was the largest vote in the history of CIO Local No. 1014. Yet, this election marked the end of Communist influence in the largest steel union in the United States.

The Communists had infiltrated strategic positions. They simply failed to take care of the grievances that were piling up. Hundreds of them were never brought to final settlement. As a result, the members of local No. 1014 criticized their officers and were on the verge of giving up their membership. It was then that Joe Goin, a Southern Baptist from Kentucky, challenged the Catholic members of local No. 1014. He reminded them that their complaints were use-

less but that they could change the situation by applying the principle of majority rule at the next annual election in June. The work behind the scenes was as dramatic as the escapes through the tunnels beneath the Berlin wall. It was your fight for freedom, namely, the effort to have a sense of participation in the control of your working life.

Perhaps John XXIII gave his best commentary on what he meant by freedom when he addressed the farmers in his encyclical, Mater et Magistra. He asked them to organize. Why? He says, "For today almost nobody hears, much less pays attention to, isolated voices." Unless you unite, you will not have a voice in the maintenance of your prices, you will not be on an equal footing with other economic and professional groups, you will not have a voice in the conduct of public affairs. In other words, if you do not unite, you will not be free.

However, John XXIII warns us not to lose our freedom in organizations by useless discussions, "They should take special care, moreover, not to exhaust themselves in interminable discussions and, under pretext of seeking the better or the best, fail meanwhile to do the good that is possible and is thus obligatory." Too many, he implies, want perfection immediately and so get nothing. You thereby endanger your freedom.

How well John XXIII applies his own principles. To solve the problems existing in the world today calls for a public authority having worldwide power and the means to bring about the universal common good. This public authority must be set up by common accord and not imposed by force. He sees that the United Nations is not perfect. Does he scrap it? He writes: "It is our earnest prayer that the United Nations—in its structure and in its means—may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks." He is striving for that which is possible though it may not be the better or the best.

How did he look upon organized labor? He tells us: "In the midst of many and frequently grave difficulties, these, our sons, have been striving and continue to strive for the effective promotion of the interests of the working classes and for their material and moral improvement." He is aware of the corruption that can exist. Despite that he wants the workers' associations to operate on an international scale. He states his reason:

"But it is not the decisions made within each individual productive unit which have the greatest bearing on this complex. Instead it is those made by public authorities or by institutions that function on a worldwide or national scale in regard to some economic sector or category of production."

John XXIII is not only striving for the possible but he wants the workers to be "able freely to make their voices heard, and listened to, beyond the confines of their individual productive units and at every level of society."

So far we have considered a lot of theory. This sounds nice. The question still remains: How can you preserve your freedom in this technological age? John XXIII told us that the edifice of peace must be built "day by day." The fight for freedom must begin in your own home.

Pope John stresses the need for organization. He had been in military service and saw the need of organization. He is rather blunt when he writes:

"Nevertheless, in order to imbue civilization with sound principles and enliven it with the spirit of the gospel, it is not enough to be illumined with the gift of faith and enkindled with the desire of forwarding a good cause; it is also necessary to take an active part in the various organizations and influence them from within."

To take an active part in an organization is learned in the home. A 12-year-old boy ran away from home in Michigan, dodging police and a search party of 25 volunteers for 7 hours. When he finally turned up, the only explanation he gave for his disappearance was: "It was my turn to wash the dishes."

It is within the family that the child learns division of labor and the need for organization: Dad earns the paycheck, Mother prepares the meals. As long as the meals are not eaten from paper plates and we don't want to eat from dirty plates, someone has to wash the dishes.

Pope John had a few more words about entering organizations. He says:

"And since our present age is one of outstanding scientific and technical progress, one cannot enter these organizations and work effectively from within unless he is scientifically competent, technically capable and skilled in the practice of his own profession."

In other words, John XXIII says that today education is necessary. This, too, must be learned in the home. In a small Indiana home not too long ago, a young mother had a busy day ahead. She knew the paperboy would come to collect. She gave her 5-year-old son, Mike, some money and told him, "Now you're going to get some money back. This you can keep." I forget the exact amount but it was not more than a dime or nickel. When the newspaper boy came, Mike transacted the business and went back to play. Now one can easily imagine what must have gone through his mind: How am I going to spend that dime or nickel? Perhaps he thought of a Hershey candy bar. Here he may have been up against the problem of inflation. Maybe the money won't even be enough for that. Suddenly he stopped his play. He ran into the kitchen and gave the money to his mother. "Here," he said, "keep this and put it away for my education." In some way these parents had brought home the idea to 5-year-old Mike that he needs an education in this technological age.

Education will also be the answer to the man who fears the loss of his job because of automation. Automation will bring with it new jobs. When the auto came, the blacksmiths, harness makers, wagon producers went out of business. With the auto came the industry itself together with gas stations, motels, highways, etc. The workers displaced by automation today will need retraining before they can be reemployed. You can cushion the shock of automation by the avoidance of layoffs, early retirement, work-spreading, transfer, and relocation; but the best job insurance still remains within yourself and that is your determination to learn. A determination to train not for any single job but for a whole class of jobs. This may require extra effort in the form of tuition fees, classes after a hard day's work, and continual study. This is your fight for freedom. A fight that may be as hard as those who dug the tunnel underneath the Berlin wall and the men who voted to oust the Communist out of local No. 1014.

The days are over when we can expect to have one type of job for life. A Department of Labor spokesman said, "A worker can expect to change his job two or three times within a lifetime." The author of "Pacem in Terris," John XXIII, is a wonderful example of the desire to learn. At 44 he learned Bulgarian. At 50 he learned Turkish. At 80 he started to learn English. In Turkey he had ordered all his priests to learn Turkish too, and when they protested that it was unnecessary, "because all civilized people here speak French," he reminded them that, unfortunately, they were not in Paris but Istanbul.

The teenager, too, has to fight for his freedom. To avoid losing his freedom he may have to be careful of the pitfalls of "going steady." I am atacking it not from the moral angle—though one cannot overlook the moral dangers. I am attacking it not from the psychological angle—though the question of emotional immaturity can enter it. I am attacking it purely from an economical angle. Here I would ask you to listen to a letter which was written to a Catholic newspaper a few years ago. The young mother writes:

"If you use my letter it may save some young couple from rushing into marriage without any knowledge of, or preparation for, the duties ahead. I married at 17, today is my 27th birthday, we have four children, expect our fifth late this summer. Husband is 28, 5 feet 11 inches, weighs 130 pounds and looks wan and worn and harassed. He is a common laborer. Don't laugh, but he wanted to be a doctor. It was 'going steady' that cheated both of us out of any single happy years of young manhood or maidenhood.

"Husband and I blame all our parents for our unsupervised rearing. We were together almost every waking hour. We could take either family's car and of course we went in for parking in lonely places. Consequently marriage was our only way out. Family cars and unsupervised young folks is one sure way to early marriage. Right now we're so deeply in debt that even thinking of it makes me cold. * * * I'm not writing to whine but print my letter to alert young girls and boys to be their age."

This letter needs little commentary. A person is not free when he makes it impossible for himself to choose the vocation in life he wants. Though this letter may be aimed at the teenagers; could not also the parents learn from this letter. This couple did not blame themselves; they blamed their parents. Would any of you parents want your children to blame you for not preparing them for this technological age?

In our concern to meet the demands of technology, we must not expect our salvation from it. In fact, because we have put so much trust in it, technology has made us so fearful today in giving us the nuclear bomb. Pope John reminds us, "The moral order, however, cannot be built except on God. Cut off from God, it disintegrates." Without God man will lose his freedom.

Last April the Soviet leader devoted a large part of his speech to imploring the people to work harder to attain the luxuries of life. He explained this by referring to the Bible:

"The Bible says the Creator sent manna to the Jews. I don't know whether this is true, I did not see it happen. I don't know whether the manna was of first quality or whether the Jews got enough of it.

"To find out, we sent Soviet Astronaut Yuri Gagarin up there to take a look. But Gagarin reported he saw nothing but emptiness. So we sent Valentina Tereshkova * * * and told her if she finds manna she should cook herself a meal, but she found nothing.

"So there is no hope that we can get manna from heaven. This means that we must trust our hard-working hands."

Your presence here this morning shows that what was said is not true. You use your hands to work but you must use them also to pray. God does watch over us. This reality must also be learned in the home. A young mother in Chicago did this while she was preparing the noon meal. She happened to glance out her pantry window. She noticed the neighbor boy sneak across the yard. He looked cautiously to the left and to the right to see if he was being noticed. When he got to the corner of the yard, he checked again and then pulled out a cigarette and match. While this was going on, the young Chicago mother called to her son,

"Come on over here. You want to see something."

The little fellow came over and crawled on top of the counter. The mother asked him, "Do you see that boy over there trying to sneak a smoke?"

"Sure, I do," he replied.

"He thinks no one sees him. But I see him. You see him, don't you?"

"Sure."

"It's the same way with God. We think He doesn't see what we are doing. But He does."

To know that God watches and cares for us will in itself help replace the fear that grips the world today. The knowledge of God's care for you and me will help bring us peace that is "founded on truth, built on justice, nurtured and animated by charity, and brought into effect under the auspices of freedom."

This is the type of peace that is so real that it makes a man confident and which made John XXIII remark when he was in his last illness, "Don't worry too much about me. My bags are packed. I am ready—in fact, very ready—to go." The type of peace which means not only peace on earth but peace in heaven. Amen.

Constitutional Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, no more important issue has faced the Congress in recent years than that of considering whether the legislative branch of our Government should attempt to nullify or modify the Supreme Court decision on the reapportionment of State legislative bodies.

A recent article in the Journal of the Missouri Bar by J. Ward Driscoll has impressed me with its pertinence and clear logic.

Under unanimous consent, I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A NEW U.S. JUDICIAL SYSTEM
(By J. Ward Driscoll)

I

Suppose a State deprives one of a right given in the U.S. Constitution.

Does one have the right to invoke the Government of the United States and to enforce the U.S. Constitution against the State?

The Judiciary Act of 1925 in effect says that the answer is no—that one does not have such a right.

This writer believes the answer is yes—that such a right is given in the Constitution.

Article III of the Constitution provides that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution * * *" and that the "judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

So, it seems elementary that if a State deprives one of a right given in the Constitution, that then one would have a case arising under the Constitution, and, since article III assures one that the judicial power of the United States extends to all such cases, that one would have the right to invoke the Government of the United States and to enforce the Constitution against the State.

Why then is it that the Judiciary Act of 1925 says in effect that one does not have such a right?

This writer believes that it is a result of a misinterpretation of another paragraph of article III, to wit:

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make."

This paragraph refers to which cases the Supreme Court will hear in the first instance and which cases it will hear on appeal. As is seen in the last sentence of the paragraph, Congress is given the authority to determine which cases will be heard on appeal in the Supreme Court.

Pursuant to this authority, Congress in 1789, the year the Constitution went into effect, provided that when the highest court of a State has ruled in a matter which involved the exercise of authority by the State on the ground that it was repugnant to the Constitution, the party could appeal directly to the Supreme Court.

This provision of the 1789 law remained in effect until changed by Congress in the Judiciary Acts of 1916 and 1925.

In an effort to limit the expanding number of appeals from the State courts to the Supreme Court and to effectuate the purposes of the 1916 act, the Justices of the Supreme Court, under the leadership of Chief Justice Taft, prepared a bill and presented it to Congress.[1] Known as the Judges' bill, it was passed by Congress in 1925 and is the law today.

This Judiciary Act of 1925 divided the constitutional cases involving the States into two categories—those cases where the State infringement of the Constitution is in the form of the State statute itself and those cases where the State infringement of the Constitution takes a different form.

As regards the first category, the act provides that a party still has his right of appeal from the highest State court to the Supreme Court.

As regards the second category, the act takes away one's right of appeal. In its place is substituted a proceeding by certiorari.

Certiorari means that it is completely discretionary on the part of the Supreme Court as to whether it will hear one's case or not. All one can do is to request the Supreme Court to hear the case. One no longer has the right to be heard. The Supreme Court might well agree that a State has deprived one of a right given in the Constitution, but still refuse to hear the case.

Congress has the authority to determine that a case need not be heard by the Supreme Court. But it is this writer's belief that Congress does not have the authority to determine that a case arising under the Constitution need not be heard by any court of the United States and that is exactly what Congress has done.

The judicial power extends to all cases arising under the Constitution. This judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court and in the inferior courts of the United States. Therefore, if one has a case arising under the Constitution, one is entitled to be heard by either the Supreme Court or one of the inferior courts of the United States. It is for Congress to determine which court will hear one's case.

Could Congress ordain and establish the State courts as the inferior courts of the United States?

In *Houston* v. *Moore*, 5 Wheat. 1 (1820), the Supreme Court ruled that the State courts could not be made the inferior courts of the United States and that Congress has no power to confer jurisdiction on any court not created by it.[2]

II

The following analogy might be helpful.

Suppose a baseball game is going on.

The score is 1 to 0. The team that is losing is at bat in the last of the ninth inning. The bases are loaded and there are two out. The count is three balls and two strikes.

The pitcher winds up and throws. The batter doesn't swing. All eyes are on the umpire to see if the pitch was a ball or a strike.

Then a strange thing happens. The umpire announces that he is not going to call whether it was a ball or a strike, but he is going to let the pitcher call whether it was a ball or a strike.

The pitcher says it was a strike. The game is over. The pitcher's team is the winner.

What if one's child was the batter and the pitch was over his head?

How could one ever explain to him what had happened? One would never be able to convince him that there was any fairness or sportsmanship connected with such a proceeding.

When a State takes away a right given in the Constitution and the Supreme Court refuses to hear the case and leaves the matter up to the State, it is similar to the umpire refusing to call the pitch and letting the pitcher call whether his own pitch was a ball or a strike.

III

Cases construing the constitutionality of the taking away of one's right to be heard would have to date from those two Judiciary Acts, but there seem to be none on the subject.

In reviewing cases prior to those acts it seems that there has always been at least one hearing in a court of the United States, when the case came within one of the specified classes in the Constitution.

This is true of Ex Parte McCardle, 6 Wall. 318 and 7 Wall. 506, which is referred to as "* * * the ultimate in sustaining congressional power over the (Supreme) Court's appellate jurisdiction.[3]

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was taken away, but there remained jurisdiction in the circuit court, where McCardle received a hearing.

Such cases as *Turner* v. *Bank of North America*, 4 Dall. 8, and *Sheldon* v. *Still*, 8 How. 441, are cited as examples of congressional power over the jurisdiction of the inferior courts.[4]

Denied trial in the inferior courts, the parties in these cases could have conceivably prosecuted their cases in the State courts and then appealed to the Supreme Court.

In *Cary* v. *Curtis*, 3 How. 245, it is stated that Congress by the act of 1839 "has made the head of the Treasury Department the tribunal for the examination of claims for duties said to have been improperly paid." In 1962 in the Glidden case, 82 S. Ct. 1459, Justice Harlan refers to this case, 1 c. 1472, note 21:

"As for Bakelite, its reliance on *Cary* v. *Curtis* for the proposition that disputes over customs duties may be adjudged summarily without recourse to judicial proceedings, appears to have overlooked the care with which that decision specifically declined to rule whether all right of action might be taken away from a protestant, even going so far as to suggest several judicial remedies that might have been available."

There is, however, a question inherent in the line of cases, represented by *Cary* v. *Curtis;* namely, Can Congress create article I courts to take the place of article III courts?[5]

Footnotes at end of speech.

It is seen that this question is basically the same as the question, Can Congress provide that no court of the United States, created pursuant to article III,[8] need hear a case arising under the Constitution?

The answer to both questions is "No."

IV

The underlying concept of the powers of Congress seems to stem from a misinterpretation of article III, section II, par. II, and in particular from the application of the word "exceptions."

The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such "exceptions" and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Federalist papers, Nos. 80 and 81, refer to this subject of "exceptions."

Federalist paper No. 80 discusses the classes of cases to which the judiciary authority of the United States is to extend:

"From this review of the particular powers of the Federal judiciary, as marked out in the Constitution, it appears that they are all conformable to the principles which ought to have governed the structure of that department, and which were necessary to the perfection of the system. If some partial inconveniences should appear to be connected with the incorporation of any of them into the plan, it ought to be recollected that the National Legislature will have ample authority to make such 'exceptions' and to prescribe such regulations as will be calculated to obviate or remove those inconveniences." [7]

A reading of No. 81 is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of the above quotation from No. 80. In that quotation the word "inconveniences" appears twice.

Federalist paper No. 81 develops what those "inconveniences" are:

"We have seen that the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court would be confined to two classes of causes, and those of a nature rarely to occur. In all the other cases of Federal cognizance, the original jurisdiction would appertain to the inferior tribunals; and the Supreme Court would have nothing more than an appellate jurisdiction, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

"The propriety of this appellate jurisdiction has been scarcely called in question in regard to matter of law; but the clamor has been loud against it as applied to matters of fact.

"The following train of ideas may well be imagined to have influenced the convention in relation to this particular provision. The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (it might have been argued) will extend to causes determinable in different modes, some in the course of the common law, others in the course of the civil law. In the former, the revision of the law only will be, generally speaking, the proper province of the Supreme Court; in the latter, the reexamination of the fact is agreeable to usage, and in some cases, of which prize causes are an example, might be essential to the preservation of the public peace. It is therefore necessary that the appellate jurisdiction should, in certain cases, extend in the broadest sense to matters of fact. It will not answer to make an express exception of cases which shall have been originally tried by jury, because in the courts of some of the States all causes are tried in this mode; and such an exception would preclude the revision of matters of fact, as well where it might be proper, as where it might be improper. To avoid all inconveniences, it will be safest to declare generally, that the Supreme Court shall possess appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, and that this jurisdiction shall be subject to exceptions and regulations as the National Legislature may prescribe." [9]

So, it is seen that these "exceptions" were intended as possible limitations on the review of facts and were not intended as a limitation on the review of law and were not intended to authorize Congress to provide that no court of the United States need hear a case arising under the Constitution.

Congress can constitutionally solve the problem of too many appeals from the State courts to the Supreme Court in cases arising under the Constitution by providing that the inferior courts, which Congress has created, shall hear the appeals from the State courts.

Federalist paper No. 82 is testimony that this solution is in accord with the Constitution: "And this being the case, I perceive at present no impediment to the establishment of an appeal from the State courts to the subordinate national tribunals; and many advantages attending the power of doing it may be imagined." [9]

An appropriate summary of the case is contained in the same Federalist paper: "The evident aim of the plan of the convention is, that all the causes of the specified classes shall, for weighty public reasons, receive their original or final determination in the courts of the Union." [10]

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[1] Frankfurter and Landis, The Business of the Supreme Court (1928), Macmillan, pp. 259–260.

[2] William Bennett Munro, The Government of the U.S., Macmillan (1946), p. 549.

[3] The Constitution of the U.S. of America, Analysis & Interpretation, 1952, U.S. Government Printing Office. Prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Edward S. Corwin, Editor, p. 615.

[4] Ibid., p. 619.

[5] In the *Glidden* case, l. c. 1472, Justice Harlan remarks, "Nor need we now explore the extent to which Congress may commit the execution of even inherently judicial business to tribunals other than Article III courts."

[6] *Glidden*, l. c. 1469, "The Constitution nowhere makes reference to 'legislative courts.' The power given Congress in Art. I, No. 8, cl. 9, 'To constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court,' plainly relates to 'inferior Courts' provided for in Art. III, No. 1, it has never been relied on for establishment of any other tribunals."

[7] The Federalist, edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, from McLean's Edition (1788), G. P. Putnam's Sons, (1888), p. 501.

[8] Ibid., pp. 509–511.

[9] Ibid., p. 516.

[10] Ibid., p. 515.

Eulogy—Hon. John Beamer

SPEECH
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be a friend of John Beamer. In many ways his family and ours enjoyed a variety of mutual interests and they were all pleasant.

John Beamer was a remarkable man. He had a keen mind, compassionate heart, and delightful personality.

The Beamer family was a close one and their wonderful devotion to one another was always obvious.

As he evinced his talents as a community and civic leader, John was destined to be called to higher service. It was no surprise indeed that he should be called ultimately to national service. We were closely associated during the 8 years of his congressional tenure. It was my privilege to observe his activities on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I can say that he was one of its most diligent and knowledgeable members. In fact his entire career was one in which the characteristics of a truly dedicated servant of the people were outstanding.

His last hour found him in the service of his Lord and those of his friends—they are legion—know that he would not have had it otherwise.

Our deepest sympathy is extended to his lovely wife, Letha, and their family.

Letters on Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. GILL
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, the fight for medicare legislation is not new, but this year we have arrived at a new juncture in the struggle. The Senate has approved a medicare under social security plan and I feel strongly that it is the responsibility of the House to approve this or a similar measure before going home.

The people of Hawaii, like the majority of our senior citizens across the Nation, want the Congress to approve a medicare plan under social security. In Hawaii we have an organization called the Hojukai which is made up of elderly Japanese people. The Hojukai is under the able leadership of Rev. K. C. Kondo. The Reverend Kondo and his organization in 1962 collected more than 33,000 names on a petition urging the Congress to approve the social security medicare program. This year, in 1 week, they have collected 5,000 names on new petitions. In addition to this, many members of the Hojukai have written me urging the passage of this vital legislation.

Here is a sampling of these letters:

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS GILL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILL: I am now approaching the age of so-called "worrying." In less than 15 years, I, too, shall be receiving social security benefits, God willing.

It will be heartwarming to know that medicare will be available soon for the retired persons and for our generation too. Please give us your kokua.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. MAY F. HYNES.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GILL: Please support the medicare bill.

Yours truly,

Mrs. T. HARANO.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 11, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am of the older citizen in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plan that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

Mr. GENTARO TANAKA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII.

DEAR MR. GILL: We requesting you and your endeavors to pass for the a poor old-man medical aid law in Congress which is we are always concerning for the present high expensive medical and hospital bill.

By the way, we depending only you strenuously effort.

Very sincerely,

T. YAMASAKI.

HONOLULU, HAWAII.

Hon. THOMAS GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plan that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours.

Mr. YOSHIO FUJII.
Mrs. MISANO FUJII.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older.

I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged.

This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. JEAN YAMADA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 11, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

Mr. GEORGE K. TANAKA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us have as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization and insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition. Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. CHIYO MCKILLOP.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GILL: As an aged resident of Hawaii, may I respectfully request your full support of medicare bill?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. SHIZUKO IKUMA.

HILO, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization and there is no group plan that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

HIDEKICHI SUEOKA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 11, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS GILL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILL: I am the mother of six grown children and the wife of a retired tailor. We now receive social security benefits and it is a blessing.

However, medicare will be the ultimate blessing for people like ourselves and it will make the sunset of our lives a great deal longer and brighter. I thank you for your interest and help.

Yours very truly,

SHIGE OKAMOTO.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 11, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS GILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILL: I beseech you to make medicare possibe for retired persons like myself and for the multitude of workers who will be eligible for social security benefits and medicare in the very near future. Medicare will be an added security especially for people who are retired and who have worked hard to educate his children to become good citizens on meager earnings, all his life and now finds that any help from Uncle Sam will be a godsend.

Thank you.

Yours very truly,

YUICHI OKAMOTO.

KAHUKU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

HOZU KAI,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I am a widow, who is aged with no income.

I would be very happy if there will be a passage of the medicare bill.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

ASA KANEYUKI.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community; the cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join.

If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please us your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged.

This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. HIDEI ODA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 12, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I can't afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

JAMES T. NAMIKI.

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
September 14, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older.

I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join.

If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged.

This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

ELIZABETH AIARESMA.

PACIFIC LABORATORIES, INC.,
Honolulu, Hawaii, September 15, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all of my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

JAMES K. YONEMURA.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILL: I am one of the older citizens in your community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that I can join. If I must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up

all my life savings and leave me in a very serious condition.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Sincerely yours,

KAME KANESHIRO.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1964.

Hon. THOMAS P. GILL.

DEAR MR. GILL: As you know, I am one of the older citizens in this community. The cost of hospitalization is a fear that many of us face as we grow older. I know that a number of my friends who cannot afford private hospitalization insurance and there are no group plans that they can easily join.

If they must go to the hospital for a long stay, it will use up all their life savings and leave them in a very serious condition. I am seriously considering these matters as I see they are aging fast.

Please use your office to help pass a social security medical plan for the aged. This is what we need for real security.

Very truly yours,

SEINOSUKE TSUKIYAMA.

I have also received a number of letters written in Japanese. Here are the names of persons from whom such letters were received:

H. Aihara, 1739 Nakula Street, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

S. Baba, 603 F. Kunawai Lane, Honolulu, Hawaii.

U. Fujita, Lihue, Kauai, Hawaii.

Kinu Furukawa, 410–C Ulupaina Street, Kailua, Hawaii.

Masaru Furukawa, 410–C Ulupaina Street, Kailua, Hawaii.

Mr. and Mrs. S. Hada, 713 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Sato Hanki, 334 Koa Street, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

Y. Henna, 1805 Akone Place, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Zenpei Higashi, Post Office Box 36, Honalunau, Hawaii.

Hiroyoshi Hirota, 718 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

I. Horii, 2074 Young Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

S. Inada, 45–689 Pua Alowalo Street, Kaneohe, Hawaii.

Kumaki Inouye, 1969 Kilauea Avenue, Hilo, Hawaii.

Mrs. K. Ishii, 1619 Ua Drive, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Hashiji T. Kakazu, Post Office Box 193, Halualoa, Kona, Hawaii.

Hirato Kajiwara, 1507 Makiki Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Isao Kato, 66 Kealakekua, Kona, Hawaii.

H. Kondo, 2820–B Kapiolani Boulevard, Honolulu, Hawaii.

C. T. Matsuda, 2506 Rooke Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

K. Matsuda, 2506 Rooke Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

T. Miyagawa, 4467 Alakoa Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Charles Miyashiro, 1583 Pahulu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Kame Miyrashiro, 1583 Pahulu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Mr. and Mrs. C. Miyazaki, 625–D Kunawai Lane, Honolulu, Hawaii.

K. Miyazono, 2820 Kapiolani Boulevard, Honolulu, Hawaii.

M. Miyazono, 2820 Kapiolani Boulevard, Honolulu, Hawaii.

S. Murakami, Post Office Box 686, Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii.

Yaroku Murashige, 1962 9th Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Mrs. J. Murobayashi, 1320–A 17th Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

K. Nakamoto, 460 Glen View Place, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

S. Nakamura, 1758 Young Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Shigemori Niahi, 2226 Palolo Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Shojiro Okamuro, 907 16th Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Kinpei Okuda, 33 Puainako Street, Hilo, Hawaii.

S. Okura, 456 Halapia Place, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Juichi Saito, 347 Koa Street, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

Kimiyo Saito, 347 Koa Street, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

N. Sakamoto, 1628 Democrat Street Honolulu, Hawaii.

Mrs. Matsue Sakata, Box 678, Honokaa, Hawaii.

T. Shimoda, 234 Valley Avenue, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

Aya Toki, 3684 Waialae Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

K. Ushijima, 3122 Hinano Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Tona Watai, 2519 Myrtle Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Juzo Watanabe, 944 18th Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Rev. K. Asaoka, Post Office Box 664, Kapaa, Kauai, Hawaii.

Mr. Eijiro R. Iwamura, 176 Muliwai Avenue, Wahiawa, Hawaii.

Eulogy—Hon. John Beamer

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of sorrow that I learned of the passing of my dear friend, the former Congressman from the Fifth District of Indiana, the Honorable John Beamer.

It was my privilege to be a close personal friend of this remarkable man. I first met John Beamer several years ago while he was a Member of the Congress and I served in other capacities. He had a brilliant mind and was most helpful in his advice to me when I became a Member of the House.

John served his community of Wabash, Ind., as a civic leader, and even after coming to Washington to serve in Congress his ties were very close to his hometown.

Although I never had the privilege of serving with him in Congress, I have had many occasions to know this great man intimately, and to be aware of his dedicated service to those in his community and to the Congress and to the Nation.

His passing occurred during the time he was demonstrating his love of God and his church. I know his many friends in Wabash will sorely miss this great leader, and I want at this time to extend my depest sympathy to his lovely wife, Letha, and to his family. There is little one can say at such a time, but perhaps the fact that we pause to remember a great man will be some measure of comfort to his wife and family.

The 15th Anniversary of the Federal Republic of Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on September 22 the Federal Republic of Germany marked its 15th anniversary. On this momentous occasion, we wish to take opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and to His Excellency the German Ambassador to the United States, Heinrich Knappstein.

This is an appropriate time to take stock of the distance the German people have traveled in the almost 20 years since the close of World War II and in the 15 years since the establishment of the West German Government. Shame, defeat, devastation, and foreign occupation were the lot of the German people in 1945. But in 4 short years, under the guidance of the military government authorities of the Western Powers, Germans residing in the Western zones of occupation had made sufficient progress in reestablishing order in their affairs to be empowered to establish a central government with relatively large responsibilities in the domestic realm.

Unfortunately, the same 4 years marked a growing split between the Soviet Union and the Western allies. Whereas the Western Powers sought to establish central administrative agencies for the whole of Germany and to plan for the holding of eventual free elections in all four zones, the Soviet Union sought only to consolidate its hold on the Eastern Zone while casting a hungry eye toward Berlin and West Germany. Thus, while West Germans could take pride in the birth of the Bonn government on September 21, 1949, they at the same time had to accept the fait-accompli of a divided Germany and to recognize that the way to reunification would be long and difficult.

Under the able leadership of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, the West Germans in 1949 refused to let distress over a divided Germany become a national obsession. Instead, they turned their attention to the tasks of rebuilding the West German economy and of establishing a strong, democratic regime. Even more important, they set out to play a constructive role in Europe. It is a measure of the intelligence and determination of Adenauer and his successor, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, that these efforts have been crowned with success. Today, the German economy is far stronger and more prosperous than it was in prewar years. War-torn industries have been rebuilt and hundreds of thousands of refugees from the East have been absorbed in the employment market. The West German government has proved remarkably stable and there are signs that a two-party system may soon become firmly established. In Europe, the

West Germans have led in the movement toward European unity, which is a goal that has captured the imagination of the youth of West Germany. With the settlement of the Saar dispute in 1956, the last impediment to the realization of good relations with France vanished. The Franco-German rapprochement that has occurred since that time is surely one of the greatest achievements of postwar Germany.

As it rapidly became apparent that West Germans were determined to turn their backs on the past, the Western allies relinquished the powers they had reserved in 1949, and assigned increasing importance to the positive role West Germans could play in world affairs. Thus, in 1955 West Germany became a member of NATO, and in 1956 began to rearm in order to make a contribution to the defense forces of the Atlantic Alliance. Today, with almost 12 divisions assigned to NATO command, the West German contribution to Western forces stands second only to that of the United States. West Germany has assumed other burdens. The government makes a substantial contribution to the costs of stationing American and British troops in Germany. The West German foreign aid program, which is worldwide, has steadily grown.

During the visit of our late President Kennedy to Berlin and West Germany in the summer of 1963, the strength of the ties between the United States and West Germany was made eloquently clear. These ties have been further strengthened by the recent visits of Chancellor Ludwig Erhard to this country. The distance traveled since 1945 is far indeed. Today, West Germany is a respected member of the family of free Nations, and it is a pleasure to salute the remarkable achievements of a friend and an ally.

Jim Jacobs' Contribution to International Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, there are a great many citizens of this country who are devoting their time and energy, on a volunteer basis, to one kind of humanitarian service or another. Not the least of this group are the "ham" radio operators, many of whom have worked out highly useful ways of combining their hobby with very significant public services. James M. Jacobs of Chestnut Hill, who is the president of a well-known haberdashery in Harvard Square, Cambridge, has taken the lead in this kind of effort in the Boston area and has been widely commended for his efforts. Recently, for example, the Naval Communications Bulletin, published by the Navy Department, called special attention to his contribution in creating, drilling and supervising a net of thirty amateur stations in the Boston area. This group, which has helped out in a number of emergencies, was especially effective during the Alaskan earthquake, relaying more than 500 messages to people in the devastated area and working with the Red Cross.

Over and above the establishment of this net, Mr. Jacobs has performed a number of life-saving enterprises for people in foreign lands. In May of this year, for example, he responded to a request from a hospital in Lima, Peru, for a special valve needed for a delicate heart operation. Obtaining the valve from a Boston hospital, he got it on a plane so it reached Lima within 48 hours of the first request. The same night he was asked by a fellow "ham" operator in Venezuela to get another valve for an operation on an infant in Caracas; again he made the necessary arrangements and the instrument was soon on its way. In March, he kept Boston surgeons in touch with the progress of a patient of theirs who was recovering from a hand-graft operation in Peru; 3 months ago he made it possible for an Ecuadorian girl to come to a Boston hospital for a stomach operation; and last November he made similar arrangements for the 11-month-old son of Israel's ambassador to Ecuador. Jim Jacob's name is now so well-known in Latin America that he is constantly responding to requests of this kind. In his own way, he is making a truly important contribution to international understanding in general and the Alliance for Progress in particular.

Auburn, N.Y., Mets Win the New York-Pennsylvania Class A League Pennant, and Also Win the Governor's Cup Playoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to extend my warm congratulations to the Auburn Mets, of Auburn, N.Y., in my congressional district. This great team, part of the New York Mets farm system, has just racked up a tremendous record by winning, not only the New York-Pennsylvania Class A League pennant, but also the Governor's Cup playoffs.

We are proud of this fine group of athletes and the great community of sponsors, fans, and supporters who have made this winning combination possible. In the process, they have also made Auburn "Baseball Town, U.S.A."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a recent editorial from the Auburn Citizen Advertiser:

BASEBALL TOWN

Auburnians can be particularly proud of their Mets baseball team this year.

And this isn't solely because they have won their second straight New York-Pennsylvania Class A league pennant. It's much more than that.

It was explained in part when their manager, Clyde McCullough, described them as one of the best groups of young athletes he ever has been associated with. This is why Mac, a veteran of 30 years in organized baseball and a member of three pennant-winning major league teams, was compelled to say that Sunday's victory was a "bigger thrill than any of them."

The young players gave their best on the field, of course. But they also were gentlemen off the field as well as on.

And there's no doubt that they were inspired to a great degree by the intense loyalty of their fans. More than 700 of them made the trip to Geneva Sunday to cheer them to victory. And thousands of others unable to attend were able to follow them by radio, thanks to local sponsors.

This year's successful season has caused older fans to recall the days when the national pastime was at its peak in the 1920's, when "outlaw" baseball was played at old Norwood Park.

But Auburn always has been known throughout the sports world for its contribution to baseball, so it's not surprising that a national magazine currently is working up an article on "Auburn—Baseball Town, U.S.A."

Fleet Reserve Association Marks 40 Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Fleet Reserve Association's 40th anniversary falls on November 11 of this year. The history and progress of any organization, in a great measure, reflects the personalities and abilities of its founders. Society has recognized the need for organizations—fraternal, charitable, protective, and social. All organizations qualify in some of these respects, but since its inception the Fleet Reserve Association has been a composite of all four. Since 1924 when a self-sacrificing group of enlisted shipmates gathered in South Philadelphia and formally organized it, the Fleet Reserve Association, established in the spirit of loyalty, protection, and service, has forged ahead until it is the acknowledged leader in affairs concerning the career serviceman of the Navy and Marine Corps, indeed, the career serviceman of all services. No greater tribute organization than its present membership total of nearly 60,000 in a highly restricted group.

Claims can be made for any organization, but an organization that can sustain its claims is the Fleet Reserve Association. It is primarily interested in the long-time enlisted man, the man who enters the Regular Navy or Marine Corps for a career. It is proud of its 40 years of adhering to its three cardinal principles: Loyalty, protection, and service.

The October 1964 issue of Naval Affairs magazine, has carefully gathered together the record of the association's long history of accomplishment. I have asked that it be placed in this RECORD, following

my remarks, believing that the material deserves both the attention of the Congress and preservation in this manner:

THE FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION, 1924–64—40 YEARS' SERVICE

("With reverence for God and country and being mindful of the glorious traditions of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps; our duty to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; our responsibility to aid in maintaining adequate naval defense for our beloved country; our desire to assist in obtaining the best type of American manhood for our Navy and Marine Corps; our interest in the welfare of the men who served and are serving in the Navy and Marine Corps; our devotion to our shipmates in good fortune or distress; our reverence for the memory of our departed shipmates; we associate ourselves together and declare this to be the Constitution of the Fleet Reserve Association.")

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION

Setting forth on an uncharted sea with naught to guide them but the above lofty principles, less than 100 shipmates gathered at a formal organizing assembly at 2417 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., in October 1922 to form the Fleet Reserve Association. The group chose that name because their members were largely from the Fleet Naval Reserve component or eligible to transfer to it. In other words, this was the first time in recorded naval history that career enlisted men were banding together for mutual loyalty, protection, and service.

The idea of banding together in such a fashion had its inception in the mind of a chief yeoman, George L. Carlin, on duty in Philadelphia. He is rightfully referred to as "the founder of the Fleet Reserve Association."

His idea stemmed from the earlier action of unorganized enlisted men who contributed to the expense of sending Chief Yeoman Robert W. "Bob" White and Chief Gunner's Mate Carl H. McDonald, U.S. Navy, retired, to Washington, D.C., to represent the enlisted men on legislation affecting them being considered by Congress.

In 1916 the Naval Reserve Act was enacted which permitted enlisted men of the Regular Navy and the Regular Marine Corps to transfer to the Fleet Naval Reserve, upon completion of 16 and 20 years of active service. At this time it became apparent that there was a need for an active organization to preserve the rights and benefits which Congress granted to these personnel and their dependents.

During the years of World War I, no attempt was made to secure direct representation for the enlisted man in the halls of Congress. However, in 1919, through the efforts of loyal shipmates, and with the sanction of the Navy Department, Chiefs White and McDonald, were able to present the views of the enlisted men in hearings on proposed pay legislation, then under consideration in the Congress. They made an excellent presentation of fact, and substantial pay increases were recorded in the passage of a temporary pay bill written in the act of May 16, 1920. A permanent pay plan was under consideration in the Congress in 1921–22. The successes obtained in the Temporary Pay Act of 1920 emphasized the need of an organization evident to protect these gains during the 1921–22 period. Unfortunately, no organization of enlisted men had formed to back up the beneficial work of Bob White and when he worked on the proposed permanent pay legislation he had to ask again for voluntary contributions to meet his expenses.

It was during this second fundraising campaign that Chief Carlin thought the time opportune for organizing a permanent organization and he devised the "Philadelphia plan." He wrote a letter to every fleet reservist in the 4th Naval District outlining his plan. Several informal meetings of this group followed and led to the organizing meeting in October 1922. The shipmates assembled there elected their first staff of officers; namely, president, William P. Green; vice president, Francis A. Knauss; secretary, George L. Carlin; treasurer, Walter E. Lowery; and they chose Bob White to represent them in Washington, D.C. Shipmate Carlin's letter received such a favorable response that he was encouraged to seek support from other naval districts.

This pioneering crew had to face their problems without experience in a new and exclusive type of protective unionism. Their organizing was viewed with alarm in many quarters of the Naval Establishment. They held no weapons of civil action, such as strikes, with which to force their desires. To gain disputed points they had only logic, debatable laws, honorable service, and a sense of American fairplay to support their efforts. They had no treasury with which to fight their way through the Federal courts, if necessary. To gain such a treasury would require immediate growth in membership. Despite these drawbacks, they courageously tackled the challenges of growth and ways and means of operating effectively.

It was not easy to navigate safely through the rocks and shoals of fear of naval discipline, inexperience, and financial weakness; but those who would ask proof of their success need only to compare the standard of living of the enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps lists (active, fleet reserve and retired) of today with their condition before the Fleet Reserve Association began to guard them. Such comparison must include the dependents of these men, too, for in this field truly vast success has been attained.

In 1923 came the first test of the ability of the new organization to provide protection for its members and potential members. Shipmates who had accepted temporary commissions in the Navy in World War I, were taken aback by the decision of the Comptroller General that only enlisted time could be counted as time served for transfer to the Fleet Naval Reserve. In the interim, many men, with commissioned service had transferred to the Fleet Naval Reserve. Under the sponsorship of the new organization, Bill H.R. 4820 was written in such a manner that no one could question its intent, allowing all active duty time, enlisted and commissioned, to count for transfer to the Fleet Naval Reserve. This was the first of many signal victories by the group.

The hardworking founders in Philadelphia aroused the interest of eligibles in the large cities in the East and the first organization movement outside the 4th Naval District came to life in the New York City area, under the leadership of Cornelius E. Anderson and James C. Shields. They launched a temporary setup on December 3, 1923, at the National Navy Club, New York City, and Shipmate Anderson was elected president. This was the birth of branch 2, which made Brooklyn its home. It was the first big step in expansion which eventually carried the Fleet Reserve Association to a growth of 280 branches located throughout the United States and overseas.

The charter of the Fleet Reserve Association was obtained on November 11, 1924, in the court of common pleas, Philadelphia. The constitution, as we know it now, was accepted on January 5, 1925, and, on the same date, the seventh branch charter was issued.

The association continued to win outstanding victories for the career enlisted man. They were responsible for the savings clause in the Naval Reserve Act of 1925 (which abolished future 16-year transfers to the Fleet Naval Reserve) to allow anyone on active duty on July 1, 1925, to retain all existing benefits pertaining to pay and time on transfer with either 16 or 20 years active service. Another outstanding victory was gained while fighting the Comptroller General's decision in the Willie Conway case. The Attorney General ruled that the Secretary of the Navy was competent to determine the eligibility of any person in the naval service for transfer to the Fleet Reserve, and that his decision was final and conclusive.

The distinctive triangular emblem of the Fleet Reserve Association was adopted in June 1925. To this date the cardinal principles embodied in its design—loyalty, protection, and service—have ever been true.

During the first national convention, under the charter granted by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the constitution was amended providing eligibility to membership of members of the Fleet Marine Corps Reserve.

In 1927 the creation of a legislative committee was another forward step, made necessary by the ever-growing membership and the chartering of additional branches. In this year recognition was given the Fleet Reserve Association to act as agent for principals in matters before the Veterans' Administration.

The country was enjoying unprecedented prosperity in 1928 and legislation detrimental to the career man "just wasn't." In passing, it may be noted that during the prosperous years the Congress is apt to consider the man in uniform a pretty good fellow, but let the tide turn and the career man becomes an expensive luxury. At this time the membership rolls numbered 1,700 shipmates, but what they lacked in numbers, they more than made up with a clearly defined legislative program.

By 1929, the organization had proved its worth to the Navy Department. At its sixth national convention in Norfolk, no less than three rear admirals addressed the assembled delegates; one being Rear Adm. R. H. Leigh, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, or the Chief of Naval Personnel as it is known today. Success of the new organization was assured when Rear Admiral Leigh unequivocally gave the association the endorsement of the Navy Department. Similar expressions have been forthcoming ever since.

Legislation, including free hospitalization and medical treatment for members of the Fleet Reserve and Marine Corps Reserve, passed the Congress in 1930; later, however, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery put a stopper on this legislation as a result of a ruling by the Comptroller General. It was not until 8 years later that the career man finally received the benefits of this important legislation when the Navy Reserve Act of 1938 became law.

During the 1930 convention held in Washington, D.C., annual dues were reduced to $9. The delegates assembled recognized the ladies auxiliary. Also in this year, through the support of the association the pay of members of the Naval Academy Band was placed on par with other musicians in the naval service.

A milestone in 1931 was the copyrighting of the title "Naval Affairs" for the official magazine of the Fleet Reserve Association. This superseded the "Fleet Reserve Bulletin," which was returned to its owners. A further change was made when the convention, held in Philadelphia, voted to reduce from 25 to 15, the number of names required to be on a petition requesting a branch charter.

As is well known the great depression of the early 1930's created economic havoc. Great economy moves stemmed from Congress. One such move was to give all Fleet Reserve men 1 year's pay in cash and remove them from the rolls. The FRA mustered the strength to defeat this proposal. Thanks to a

savings provision, introduced by the FRA, which included two words "except enlisted," they thereby prevented the members of the Armed Forces from taking a pay cut of from 8 to 20 percent in 1932.

The latter only saved the day temporarily, because the so-called Economy Act of July 1933, reduced the pay of the Armed Forces 15 percent and this action was bona fide proof of the axiom "What Congress gives, Congress can take away."

The shipmates in attendance at the ninth national convention in New York adopted a program to fight the 15-percent pay cut. In addition they proposed recognition of the free hospitalization while hospitalized in naval hospitals and civil service preference for inactive duty men with more than 16 years of service.

That year, 1934, the shipmates enjoyed the restoration of 10 percent of the pay cut in two 5-percent increments. The remaining 5 percent was restored in April 1935. While it would not be true for the Fleet Reserve Association to claim full credit for this restoration of pay, it did, as an organization, use all means at its command to alleviate the hardships caused the enlisted man by this cut.

Not only was the enlisted man faced with financial difficulty in 1934, the association experienced a financial crisis, too. The association, despite its magnificent service to the career enlisted man, had a total membership of a mere 2,000, yet owed debts totaling $5,000. The national president, Jesse M. Acuff, requested the branches to loan sufficient cash to the national body to allow it to pay off its debtors. The individual branch loan to be proportionate to its membership. He appointed a prosperity committee to administer the receipt of the loans and the disbursements to creditors. The response from the branches were overwhelming and the creditors were promptly paid off.

At the 10th national convention in Boston a new fiscal policy was adopted and the position of financial secretary in the Washington, D.C., executive offices was created. Shipmate C. A. Tudge, of Washington, was the first man to fill this billet. Also, at that convention, Shipmate Charles E. Lofgren was elected national secretary although he was not able to actively fulfill his duties until January 1935. When the complete new team started to work in January 1935 the association had but 2,000 members and owed the oustanding sums of the loans to the branches. Six months later at the end of the association year, membership had climbed by 93 percent, the loans to the branches were repaid in full, and treasury contained almost $5,000. This success was largely due to the stewardship of Shipmate National Secretary Lofgren, who is now the national secretary emeritus. The association secured a top rating with Dun & Bradstreet shortly thereafter and has been on a sound financial basis ever since.

In 1935, the association's national executive offices were moved from the Earle Theater Building to the Investment Building where they remained until the latter part of 1951. The association then moved to 522 Rhode Island Avenue NW., where it stayed until it purchased its present building.

Another benefit gained for the fleet reservists and retired man in 1935 was the eligibility for care in Veterans' Administration facilities in areas where Army and Navy hospitals were not available. Also gained was a provision for obtaining medical care for their families by Navy medical officers within designated areas adjacent to navy yards and naval stations.

In January 1936 the national secretary appeared before the Naval Affairs Subcommittee of the House of Representatives on a proposed reorganization of Fleet Reserve personnel. Through the watchfulness of the Fleet Reserve Association nothing of value was lost to the enlisted man. Legislation granting commissary privileges to widows of officers and enlisted men was enacted by the Congress. Membership this year reached 6,000, due mainly to the activities of the national administrative staff.

The association underwent some internal changes this year with a further subdivision of geographic regional districts. Three new regional districts were created and definite territorial boundaries were assigned each region. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan of action during a national emergency or war. Enjoying the stabilized finances of the past 2 years the association set up a cash reserve of $25,000 over a 5-year period. The distinctive Gold Button Award was initiated this year as an incentive to membership promotion.

In 1937, San Diego, Calif., was the site of the first FRA national convention to be held on the west coast. The office of regional vice president, Philippines, was created at this time. A past presidents pen for branch presidents was approved plus an automobile decalcomania for members. The convention body authorized the investing of surplus funds in Government bonds and provided a term of 2 years for the editor of Naval Affairs.

Shipmate National Secretary Lofgren proved as adept in his dealings with the Members of Congress as he was in boosting membership and squaring away the financial deficit. He and Shipmate Philip G. Cronan, vice chairman of the national service committee, assisted in drawing up the Naval Reserve Act of 1938 at the specific invitation of the Navy Department. The experience, gained by the association, since enactment of the 1925 Naval Reserve Act, was now demonstrated. The prestige of the FRA rose to its greatest heights.

The long fight for renewal of shipping-over money came to a successful conclusion when the Navy Department's directive, in the form of an ALNAV, was published directing that commencing on July 1, 1939, shipping-over money would be paid upon reenlistment or extension. A signal victory to a fight begun 6 years earlier.

A decision to permit retired enlisted men to waive their retired pay to accept higher benefits from the Veterans' Administration was made in November 1939. This altered the procedure whereby a man was first discharged before being taken up on the pension rolls.

The success of the financial policy inaugurated a few years earlier was seen in the purchase of a $10,000 Government bond this year. The custom of presenting a sword to the midshipman at the Naval Academy, standing first in conduct and aptitude in the graduating class was approved. This presentation was made for the first time in June 1940.

1940 was a momentous year for men in the Fleet Reserve; with the declaration of a limited emergency in 1939, many had been recalled to active duty and others were "waiting for the wagon." During 1940 suits were filed in the court of claims, and won, for pay due in behalf of enlisted men who were held in naval hospitals after enlistments had expired and to compel payment of the Medal of Honor gratuity.

The unlimited national emergency occurred in May 1941 and the following month the Fleet Reserve Association was able to secure for members of the Fleet Reserve the base pay and longevity rates as incorporated in the Selective Service and Training Act.

The New England region was formed this year; the constitution amended to provide for retention of membership for shipmates who received warrants or commissions; and the body agreed to operate the organization as heretofore in spite of the national emergency.

Members of the association, who had been taken as prisoners of war, were frozen and classified as being in good standing on the membership rolls. Further, the period of extension for other members, who were arrear in dues, was changed from 90 to 120 days because of the war situation.

The organization was particularly successful in securing for the enlisted man the following benefits, which, with the exception of item No. 1, were effective in 1942. Item No. 1 became effective upon date of signature, December 12, 1941, but a court test was necessary to insure its being retroactive and a favorable decision was rendered the association on June 1, 1942:

1. Pay for enlisted men retained in hospitals beyond expiration of enlistment date.
2. Prescribing a clothing allowance for enlisted men.
3. Elimination of reference to Insular Force being put on one-half allowance.
4. Insular Force to receive full allowances upon reenlistment instead of one-half and full dependent allowances for the three pay grades.
5. Insurance of all longevity increases to fleet reservists and retired men for active service rendered subsequent to transfer to fleet Reserve.
6. Establishment of quarters allowances for first three pay grades.
7. Transportation of dependents of fleet reservists to their homes upon retirement.
8. A savings provision retaining fifth class pay at $66 per month instead of $60.

These benefits were due primarily to the appearance of the national secretary before the Senate and House Military Affairs Committee and one would be naive indeed were he to think that these benefits just sprang from the hearts of the Congress without any urging from friendly outsiders. The new pay act was enacted through the combined efforts of all veterans' groups and public opinion, but the features numbered 1 through 8 may be rightfully claimed by the Fleet Reserve Association.

The claim which the organization had filed in the court of claims for the payment of the Medal of Honor gratuity was won in 1942.

The 19th national convention, scheduled to be held in San Francisco, was canceled at the requests of the Office of Defense Transportation. Instead, a meeting of the national board of directors was held at Chicago in October 1943. The main mandate of this meeting was that the national service committee was to seek legislation to give the F–5 and F–4–C fleet reservists, recalled to active duty and completing 20 years of active duty, the same rights and privileges as given to the F–4–D man. How well this fared may be judged by the fact that every man, now in the Navy, is eligible for transfer to the F–6 class. True, it was simple justice that all men with an equal amount of active duty be paid on a parity but it was hard to convince the Congress.

During 1943 a peculiar situation developed; some laws required proof of honorable discharge in order to apply for veterans benefits. A man being transferred to the Fleet Reserve does not receive a discharge and, under the letter of the law he did not qualify as a veteran. Consultation with the Veterans' Administration ironed out the point at issue and for the purpose of interpretation of the laws of the land as regards to eligibility requirements for veteran benefits, a release from active duty, under honorable conditions, was considered the equivalent of an honorable discharge.

The Fleet Reserve Association sponsored legislation, endorsed by the Navy Department, to make permanent, for members of the Fleet Reserve and retired men, advancements in rating while on active duty.

The year 1944 saw the association lower the membership eligibility requirement to 6 years. The logic behind this change being

that a person who had served 6 years would remain in service as a career man. The legislative program for the year contained a provision for support of universal military training; promotion for men detained as prisoners of war; and to continue support of legislation giving members of the Fleet Reserve and retired men their wartime ratings, with pay, upon return to inactive duty status.

A résumé of the benefits of the Fleet Reserve Association for the enlisted man during 1944 and 1945 follows hereinafter. First we would like to say to the sailorman that nothing just happens; there must always be a beginning, as the mighty oaks from little acorns grow. The implantation of ideas in the Navy Department, and their effective presentation at the right time, by qualified representatives, accounted for the following gains:

(a) Rotation of duty for enlisted man.

(b) Spot promotions.

(c) Transfer of patients in naval hospitals to naval hospitals nearer their homes at Government expense.

(d) Transfer to the naval district of their choice for enlisted surveyees when found eligible for shore duty only.

(e) Protection from discharge, by Boards of Medical Survey, for long-time enlisted men and permitting them to serve ashore until qualified for transfer to the Fleet Reserve.

(f) Thirty days' leave for Fleet Reservists and retired men upon release from active duty.

(g) Securing passage for retir d men in naval vessels to the Philippine Islands.

September 1945, under Fleet Reserve auspices, the shipmates saw two bills introduced into the House of Representatives giving Fleet Reservists and retired enlisted men permanent advancement to ratings earned while on active duty, and credit for longevity service earned during active duty. After much jockeying in the Halls of Congress, Public Law 720 became effective in August 1946.

Some benefits of this law were the retention of promotions made while on active duty; retainer pay to be computed on a total of all active time served; all active time in the Armed Forces to be computed for purposes of transfer to the Fleet Reserve and the election of one of two choices for computing retainer pay.

The 1946 convention at Chicago made changes in the constitution by continuing the eligibility of ex-enlisted men who had received commissions; and went on record to secure legislation for the benefits of the F–5 class fleet reservist.

In June 1947 representatives of the organization were called into conference with officials of the Navy Department to consider a revision of the 1938 Naval Reserve Act. This was of utmost importance to the organization, as it enabled its representatives to have incorporated into the act language that would be acceptable to the Comptroller General. Through an interpretation of Public Law 720, by the Comptroller General, some of the features of this law were not accomplished, and it was not until February 1952, after two court actions in the court of claims were members of the Fleet Reserve able to secure justice.

The prestige, which the organization had acquired in the Navy Department, was further enhanced by the recall of the national secretary to temporary active duty on the so-called Roper Board, a Board headed by the Deputy Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, to consider a revision of the Naval Reserve Act of 1938. The Subcommittee of the Roper Board appointed to consider Fleet Reserve problems, consisted of the Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel and the National Secretary of the Fleet Reserve Association.

During the month of December 1948 the report of the Hook Commission on service pay was released. This report seemed likely of acceptance and, as the glamor of victory had been replaced with the feeling that the serviceman could be well forgotten until the advent of another war, things looked dark for the active duty man. The feeling against "Treasury Raiders" was mounting and, to some Congressmen and others in public life, all organizations were tarred with the same brush. One of the features of this report, and of most interest to the man on duty, was the provision which would have eliminated transfer to the Fleet Reserve upon completion of 20 years' service and substitution of a straight 25 years' service or age 50. To say that this proposal caused consternation would be an understatement but, to the credit of the Fleet Reserve Association and the Fleet Reserve Association alone, this proposal was defeated. Shipmates, you will never know how close you came to going out on 25 instead of 20.

The FRA represented the enlisted men throughout the deliberations of Congress on the Hook Commission report. This report evolved into the Career Compensation Act of 1949 and became Public Law 351. Also, in 1949, the FRA instituted four test cases in the Court of Claims on four rulings by the Comptroller General in relation to Public Law 720. The most celebrated of the four cases was the Sanders case named after Past National President Christopher C. Sanders. The case contended that a man who retired on 16 years, was recalled to active duty and served enough time to complete 20 years should have his retired pay based on 20 years (one-half base pay) instead of 16 years (one-third base pay). The FRA fought this case through two appeal courts eventually winning in 1952. The result was that over 3,000 shipmates received more than $7 million back pay.

It is service such as this that has kept the Fleet Reserve Association growing in financial and numerical strength. Today we number near 60,000 members and our assets are in the six figure bracket. Continued growth such as this is assured because the Fleet Reserve Association keeps in constant contact with the leaders in Government and the Military Establishment who control the destiny of the enlisted man of our Armed Forces.

Today the retired man and the fleet reservist is fighting for the protection of his medical care on retirement. Due to a legislative misinterpretation of Public Law 569, the Dependents Medicare Act, in the Appropriations Committee Conferees Report of 1961, beds for retirees' needs are not being programed into new military hospital construction.

Two years ago the FRA launched a study on this problem that resulted in their present hospital rights program. Their program has been very progressive and profitable. It was the FRA's action, and their action alone, that brought about the hearings of a House Special Subcommittee to investigate the problem and write corrective legislation. The legislation will be forthcoming in the 89th Congress.

There is a French proverb stating, "The more things change, the more they stay the same." This is certainly true of the needs of the enlisted man. Despite the vast changes in weaponry and the methods of protecting one's freedom the essential ingredient, manpower, remains. The need for an active organization to preserve the rights and benefits granted to enlisted men and their dependents is as evident today as it was in the years following World War I.

The Fleet Reserve Association will not rest on its laurels of the past 40 years. It is looking forward to the challenges of the future: to bring military pay scales to an equal basis with that of the serviceman's civilian counterpart; the statutory right to medical care for retirees and their dependents; the protection of commissary and exchange privileges; improved military housing; continued protection for the career opportunities of the active duty man; and constant support of adequate naval defense for our Nation.

In all these complex problems we have but one goal—a U.S. Navy and Marine Corps second to none, manned by a personnel superior to all.

A Tribute to Senator Strom Thurmond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following column, written by Mr. Ted Lewis, appeared in today's Daily News of New York.

This article is a fine tribute to Senator STROM THURMOND. It shows how he stands out as a man of courage and how he despises the cant and hypocrisy that is all too prevalent in our day, both at home and abroad.

WASHINGTON, September 21.—One aspect of Senator STROM THURMOND's announcement that he is no longer a South Carolina Democrat but a Goldwater Republican has tended to be overlooked.

This is the fact that by changing his party affiliation on the basis of principle, he has posed an issue of political ethics which is peculiarly involved in this year's presidential campaign.

THURMOND had the guts to be forthright about where he decided he should stand. In doing so, it is now realized, he has exposed the hypocrisy of many of his Southern congressional colleagues who feel like he does but lack courage in their convictions.

And in the process he has also made some anti-Goldwater Republicans look bad. They won't quit their party, even if they much prefer Lyndon Johnson to BARRY.

THURMOND has shown the whole lot up. His honest stand is most embarrassing, however, to Southern leaders of the Democratic Party.

THURMOND has decided that his political philosophy jibes with the conservative viewpoint of GOLDWATER. So, for that matter, does the political philosophy of most other Southern Senators and Representatives.

If THURMOND is a narrowminded Statesrighter, so too is Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, Senators JAMES EASTLAND, and JOHN STENNIS, of Mississippi, SPESSARD HOLLAND, of Florida, and ALLEN ELLENDER, of Louisiana, to name just a few.

But none of these has any intention of breaking with his party. Yet their congressional voting records have been straight down the conservative GOP line, as reflected in GOLDWATER's stand on domestic legislation.

Is this an ethical issue or isn't it? We enjoyed the way in which Lyndon's running mate, HUBERT HUMPHREY, flummoxed on this issue in this "Meet the Press" TV questioning, Sunday.

HUMPHREY FINDS A DIFFERENCE

HUMPHREY found a real difference between a southern Democrat like THURMOND who had the decency to switch from his party and a Dixie Democrat who clung to his party

affiliations but surreptitiously knifed the national Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

HUMPHREY preferred the knife-in-the-back type of Democrat to the Thurmond type. He even said he didn't think such switchers should lose their seniority status on Senate committees if they failed to support the national ticket.

Just how ethical is it for an influential politician in either major party to act as an inside termite, when he opposes his own party's national ticket?

There is no dispute over the past records of such Senators as BYRD and HOLLAND in this phase of party loyalty. The Byrd machine in Virginia saw to it that the State went Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960.

Of course, this year it is hoped that BYRD's machine will operate in behalf of Johnson. This explains HUMPHREY'S reluctance to threaten BYRD and others with a possible purge, depriving them of congressional seniority privileges unless they work actively for L.B.J.

THEY AREN'T GOING TO BE PUNISHED

The fact is that even if BYRD and the others who think like THURMOND, but lack his fortitude, doublecross the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, they are not going to be punished. There is a sly threat to do just that, but it is only window dressing.

Such a purge of Mississippi Congressmen was proposed in 1961 after the entire House delegation supported the anti-Kennedy slate of electors. The idea was to deprive the off-the-reservation southerners of their committee seniority rights.

The attempt flopped when it was pointed out that in 1956 Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York, had supported Ike for President, not Adlai Stevenson, and was allowed to keep his committee assignments.

Right now, in an apparent effort to keep Southern Democrats from operating within their party in behalf of GOLDWATER, House Democratic leaders have privately warned of disciplinary action. It is along this line: In committee assignment preference will be given to party members with unblemished loyalty records.

This is not a lot of malarky, and southern Democrats know it. Imagine the mess that would ensue, particularly if the Senate followed the House with such a crackdown. BYRD definitely would be ousted from his chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee. EASTLAND would no longer control the Senate Judiciary Committee.

THURMOND DESERVES PRAISE

THURMOND has never been one of our political heroes. His longwinded oratory in the Senate is as deadly dull as that of Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon. But his honest break deserves praise. He is not going to stab the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in the back as a Democrat.

And by supporting GOLDWATER and declaring himself a South Carolina Republican, he is also acting ethically—in line with his conservative views.

The effort already underway to discredit him is typical of the way the administration often acts to cut down to size its political enemies. The word is being passed that THURMOND did not act from conviction but to save his own political future.

The Senator, so the word goes, knew that he could not be renominated as a Democrat in 1966, when he must run again. So he decided this was the time to make his move to get the Republican nomination.

This is dirty pool. THURMOND has strong opinions and political convictions and never has hesitated to express them. Above all, he abhors the hypocrisy of allegiance to a party which does not reflect his views.

Albert J. Hayes Gives Case Histories of Poverty in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the great wealth and affluence of this Nation, and it's position as a free world leader, may lead us to forget the millions of Americans who are poor and hungry. In his Labor Day address Mr. Albert J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, AFL–CIO, makes very clear the plight of our less fortunate fellow citizens. As I believe Mr. Hayes' remarks will be of interest to the Members of this body, I include the text of his speech:

CASE HISTORIES OF POVERTY IN AMERICA

On this Labor Day weekend of 1964, I sincerely appreciate this opportunity to talk to you about what this day really means—or should mean—to all those whose intelligence, skill, education, and training have given America the finest, most efficient, most productive, and most loyal labor force in the world.

Of all our national holidays, Labor Day is the most appropriate for a restatement of the fundamental principles upon which our country was built. And this Labor Day, 1964, is more appropriate than ever before—because, far too many people have apparently forgotten these principles.

For many of you Labor Day is a day of picnics and parades—of cookouts and ball games—of pleasure and of leisure well spent.

And that's as it should be.

Labor Day was created many years ago by—and for—the workers of America as their own special day—as a day when we celebrate not the conquests of war or even the great deeds of national heroes—but rather a day when we honor the inherent, God-given dignity of human beings—and the worth of human labor to our country and its important role in our kind of society.

And yet, it has not always been so. Despite the biblical injunction that the laborer is worthy of his hire—it was no more than a generation or two ago that millions of Americans—including not only men but even women and small children—were not considered to be "worthy of their hire" in terms of decent wages, decent hours or decent conditions of employment.

As in the case in so much of the rest of the world even today—time was—in America, that workingmen and their families had very little hope of sharing in the great wealth and abundance that they, through their own labor, produced.

The good life that so many Americans enjoy today—the higher living standards that this Labor Day typifies for some Americans—did not come easily, or automatically, or through natural evolution.

It came only because at each stage in our industrial development there were always some who rebelled against economic injustice. There were always some who were willing to work, fight and often suffer for greater equity and justice in the relationship between workers and our developing industrial system.

And those who rebelled against these inequities and injustices soon learned that they—as individuals—were helpless and ineffective—in their individual efforts to bring about corrections. The very nature of our industrial system compelled those workers to organize in order to receive any recognition of their just grievances.

Thus notwithstanding the self-serving propaganda about the great potentials of individualism—it was the organized workers whose efforts and sacrifices brought about improved standards of living for millions of our working families.

We hear many criticisms of organized labor today—many demands that the power and influence of unions be curbed. We hear politicians who tell us that we need laws to break up the unions—and to curtail the right to strike in protest against economic injustice.

But it is appropriate on this Labor Day, to once more recall what all wage earners once knew without being told—that the present standards of life of the American people as a whole could not have been accomplished without the pressure of unions for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

For no matter how some newspapers, magazines, politicians or corporations try to rewrite history, it is important that we remember, on this Labor Day, that it was America's labor movement, its unions, more than any other single institution, that made it possible for millions of American working families to reach higher standards of living and education, to enjoy more leisure through shorter hours and vacations, to secure more medical care, to leave the slums and go to the suburbs, and to look forward, after a life of honest work, to a pension and a measure of decency and dignity in retirement.

But also, on this Labor Day of 1964, we must not believe the propaganda that the race is run or that the battle for social and economic justice in America is won.

It is encouraging to note that many people in recent months have come to recognize what unions have known for a long, long time: that in the midst of all our abundance, in the midst of our productive potential, in the midst of our plenty, millions of our fellow citizens live in abject poverty, which is both unnecessary and unworthy of America.

In this regard it is also encouraging to note that at long last the Congress of the United States has recognized this problem and has taken the first needed step toward its solution.

But in taking this step we must not forget that there are still other millions who are not considered to be poverty stricken but who nevertheless cannot achieve a decent standard of living for themselves and their families.

To my office each month come many letters from people like these—good people, decent people, people who want nothing more than a chance for something better than a hand-to-mouth existence.

They write to describe how hard it is to live on $3,000 or $4,000 a year in a country where the Department of Labor considers that the average family needs at least $6,000 a year to barely maintain a standard of health and decency.

Not so long ago, for example, I received just such a letter from the wife of a member of the Machinists Union that I would like to share with you because I think it says something about America that needs to be said—again and again—and especially should be said on this day that we have dedicated to the dignity of those who labor.

The pertinent part of her letter reads (and I quote): "I have stopped reading magazines telling of the glorious 'American standard

of living.' This is only a slap in the face to the average wage earner.

"Whenever a cost-of-living budget appears in one of the newspapers I read it because I wonder if anyone has actually made a study of the needs of a family. It takes money to care for a baby—and more money each year as he grows older.

"We have no right to bring children into the world if we can barely keep them from starving. There is nothing cute about a hungry baby."

In this letter we hear echoed the true and authentic heartbeat of a great forgotten part of the American people.

This is not the voice of Madison Avenue or the professional prose of a high-paid propaganda artist. This is the voice of a decent and hardworking housewife who, like millions of others, is frustrated to the point of desperation with the almost impossible task of feeding, clothing, housing, and educating a family on the kind of wages that so many workers—not considered poverty stricken take home even in these so-called times of affluence and prosperity.

I think it is important—even necessary—that we listen to voices such as these. For in them we hear the authentic voice of the people.

And by listening we begin to better understand how far and difficult is the road we still have before us.

We have heard much in recent months—and especially in recent weeks—about the rights and the freedoms of man. But freedom has many meanings.

It can mean—and unfortunately to some people it does mean—freedom for economic wolves to prey upon the American people.

It means freedom for the poor to remain poor.

It means freedom for the powerful to exploit the weak.

It means freedom of workers to bear the full social and economic costs of unemployment.

It means freedom for children to attend overcrowded, understaffed schools and be denied higher education.

It means freedom of the elderly to suffer and die because they cannot afford the medical care they need.

To some—these are the definitions of freedom.

But these are not the kind of freedoms that are referred to in basic documents of our country.

These are not the kind of freedoms that will liberate the millions who still live in poverty—nor the millions of others who inhabit the bleak edge of want.

So on this Labor Day, 1964—as we put summer aside—and prepare for the fall and the winter that follow—let us take these few, brief moments to acknowledge once more our country's vast debt to the workers of America—the majority of our citizens who dug the coal, built the railroads, spanned the rivers, built the cities, filled the arsenals, and fought the wars that have kept America strong and truly free.

Without labor—the creation of all wealth—the vast fortunes and great corporations of America—would not have been possible. And in these times when so many people talk so glibly about rights—let us never forget that workers also have rights—rights that are due their great contribution to our society.

And let us remember most of all that a worker is not a material commodity, like copper or fertilizer or steel. A worker is a person—with a God-given soul and spirit.

He is more to be valued and protected than a tin mine, an oil well, an acre of pulpwood—or a financial investment.

And finally, let us recognize that labor is not an abstraction. Labor is work—and workers are human beings—the human beings of which America is made.

The right that every worker—every man or woman who works for wages anywhere in this great country—deserves is the right to receive a fair day's pay—not only because it is just that he or she enjoy the fruits of their toil, but because it is good for society—good for our country.

A thriving, prosperous work force is the most essential foundation of any good and just society.

That is the meaning—that is the true meaning—of this Labor Day of 1964.

Plea for Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, many of us are anxiously awaiting the result of the deliberations now being conducted by the conference committee on H.R. 11865. In the hope that the conferees have not closed their minds, I place before the House an editorial which appeared in the September 17 edition of the Camden Courier-Post and commend it to your attention and the attention of the members of the committee:

KERR-MILLS FAILS THE AGED

Why the Nation needs medicare, which Congress now appears to have set aside for another year, is shown by the statements of Governer Hughes and State Welfare Director Engelman in appeals to New Jersey Members of the House anticipating the floor vote on it that failed to come about.

The elderly people who would benefit from medicare and who are in serious need of financial aid to meet illness simply are not getting it from the Kerr-Mills Act, enacted a few years ago as a substitute.

In the first place, relatively few States have enacted the necessary laws to implement Kerr-Mills, which provides medical assistance to the aged with the Federal Government paying 50 percent of the cost, the States 30 percent, and the counties 20 percent.

In the second place, Kerr-Mills is proving ineffective in those States including New Jersey that have passed the enabling laws.

New Jersey's 1963 legislature enacted the Kerr-Mills program, but so far only an average of 4,700 persons a month have benefited from it. New Jersey has 600,000 persons over the age of 65 and Engelman says that few "have the financial ability to last over an illness of longer than a few days."

Kerr-Mills provides that a beneficiary must be at least 65 and demonstrably in need of its assistance "according to professional medical determination." It also imposes a means test requiring evidence which may be difficult to produce, and which many would be beneficiaries regard as degrading.

Kerr-Mills "meets the need of our elderly citizens in only a small way," says Governor Hughes—and that is the experience of other States.

In its first year in New Jersey, the program cost $11 million, shared on the basis noted above. It supposedly provides nursing home care, hospital and home health care for persons confined 30 days or more, and benefits to cover physicians' calls, medicine, prosthetics, etc. But the record shows that more than $9 million of the $11 million appropriated for the program in this State went toward the care of about 4,400 inmates of nursing homes—a group in which there is little turnover. Nearly all the rest went toward hospitalization.

Hughes and Engelman agree with almost all other unbiased observers that Kerr-Mills is not and never can be adequate. A medicare program under social security can be. The longer Congress procrastinates in enacting it, the more it is responsible for imposing needless hardships on America's ailing aged.

The Hague and Washington: Where Do We Differ?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, the Rotary Club of Scranton has, for many years, worked at a program of exchanging students with our great sister nation of the Netherlands. Under the sponsorship of the Scranton Rotary, nearly 100 of our young men and women have spent a year in the Netherlands, learning a new culture abroad to enrich their lives. A like number of young Netherlanders have come to our own community to enrich themselves in American culture by mingling with the fine people of the 10th Congressional District.

On August 31, a program commemorating this exchange program was held at the Scranton Rotary. I was privileged to be present at that meeting, and to hear the Netherlands General Consul, Johann H. Delgorge, from the New York Consulate, address the meeting. Dr. Myron Ball, president of Scranton Rotary, and Dr. Lester Jordan, district chairman for the exchange program, as well as all the other members of Scranton Rotary are to be highly commended for their fine work in the exchange student program, as well as for the delightful meeting they held to commemorate it.

I am pleased to enter the remarks on that occasion made by Mr. Johann H. Delgorge, Consul General of the Netherlands New York Consulate:

THE HAGUE AND WASHINGTON: WHERE DO WE DIFFER?

(Remarks by the Honorable Johann H. Delgorge, Acting Netherlands Consul General in New York, on the occasion of the luncheon given by the Scranton Rotary Club, at the Hotel Casey, Scranton, Pa., on Monday, August 31, 1964)

I wish to thank you for inviting me to be present at this luncheon. I am especially glad to see so many of my young compatriots here who had the good fortune to be invited to spend some time in this lovely country as your guests.

I call them lucky indeed.

I am also glad that so many young people from this area likewise have spent and are spending some time in the Netherlands.

We Dutch are particularly proud that Scranton has selected the Netherlands as the prime country for the exchange of students.

I fully agree with Congressman JOSEPH M. McDADE when he says that: "The inter-

national exchange program is one of the finest instruments conceived to foster international understanding and good will especially as it concerns young people in their formative years."

You have asked me to tell you something about my country.

Almost every American knows the story of the Dutch boy who put his finger in the dike, thus heroically saving his country. It will no doubt surprise you to hear that some years ago very few people in Holland had ever heard about this story. When the GI's and the first tourists came to the Netherlands after the war, they immediately asked to see the spot where this historic event took place. Well, there never was such a spot. So the tourists were disappointed.

On the strength of the great demand, a little village not far from Haarlem decided to erect a statue to the boy. Now all tourists go to Spaarndam and the villagers make a fast buck.

You see, in some ways we do not differ so much.

But where do we differ?

First of all: in size and density of population.

Our first and perennial problem is that we are a small country—twice the size of Connecticut—with a large and constantly increasing population.

Our population is nearly 12 million, which means that we have well over 900 people per square mile—the highest density of population of any country in the world. The United States has only 55 people per square mile, and if the United States was as densely populated as our country it would have a population of 2½ billion people instead of 180 million.

Its density leaves its mark on our people and our national character. In Holland there is always a village within 5 miles. Compare this with the wide-open spaces of this country.

Our population problem is steadly becoming more difficult because we have the highest birth rate of any country in Europe (22 per thousand), the lowest death rate in the world, and the longest life expectancy.

Holland is:

A country with no unemployment.

A country with no slums.

A country where you will find neither the very rich nor the very poor.

A religious country.

A country where a unique health service has been developed to the mutual satisfaction of both patient and doctor.

A country where the problem of public school versus parochial school was solved 40 years ago to everybody's satisfaction.

It will interest you to know that 60 percent of our population lives below sea level. Some parts are even 20 feet below sea level.

When you arrive at Schiphol Airport you will see a sign on the control tower proclaiming that Schiphol Airport is 18 feet below sea level. This is the only place in the world where a plane stands lower than a ship. On the horizon one can see ships sailing on the canal high above.

Land reclamation is an ancient occupation with us. The Dutch have won most of the land by pushing back the sea and keeping the water out by dikes, dams, and pumps. The 17th century French philosopher Descartes once said: "God made the world, but the Dutch made Holland."

And the English poet Hood remarked a century later: "Most of the Dutch are so low, they have to be damned to be saved."

The most remarkable land-reclamation work of modern times is the changing of the Zuyder Zee (an arm of the North Sea stretching down the middle of our country) into dry land. This colossal undertaking started in 1920 by the building of a 20-mile causeway right across the sea and is not quite finished yet. When it is, it will have added 30 percent more arable land to our country. And an even more difficult enterprise is the damming of the waters of the great rivers where they flow into the North Sea. This task—called the Delta Works—was undertaken after the terrible floods of 1953. Its aim is not primarily land-reclamation but to protect our country from the possibility of the sea ever breaking through the dikes again and engulfing the land.

One of the methods of dealing with the problem of harboring so many people in so small a country has been industrialization.

Although the sight of tulips, windmills, and wooden shoes is still important to tourists, today's visitors to Holland see something else, too; a highly industrialized country, small in size but large, I dare say, in many ways.

Formerly, our principle means of subsistence was agriculture, trading, shipping, and banking. In 1782, for instance, the young United States received its first foreign loan from the bankers of Amsterdam—$30 million—a lot of money at that time.

Under the Marshall plan, the United States—I am happy to say—more than returned the compliment. Half our working population is now engaged in industry and of the six largest corporations of the world outside the United States, three are Dutch: Royal Dutch Shell, Unilever, and Philips. This industrialization is the more remarkable because Holland has, or rather had—and I'll explain why later—hardly any natural resources. We have some salt and some coal. The rest has to be imported from abroad. Therefore we have to live by import, by export, deal in services, by shipping.

Holland has always taken advantage of her natural geographical location to establish a unique position. We did not participate directly in the industrial revolution, having no raw materials at that time to manufacture; we became the butter and egg man, the banker, the broker, and the shipper for our industrial neighbors.

Dutch agriculture grows the most expensive produce money can buy, and with some of that money we pay for the grain and other staples raised in vaster lands, such as yours.

The combination of our newly established industrialization and our traditional agriculture have made Holland a very affluent society today This has surprised many who were under the impression that after the Dutch lost their colonies much of our wealth would disappear. This has proved to the contrary. Dutch ingenuity and enterprise have found other ways for Holland to become more prosperous than ever before.

And all this, despite large losses in World War II. We lost: 2 percent of our population; one-third of our capital; 40 percent of our production potential; and 98 percent of our rolling stock.

Still, our prosperity grew; a prosperity which will be greatly accelerated by the discovery of one of the largest natural gas deposits in the world—in fact, a quantity surpassed only by the natural gas wells of Texas.

This gas deposit is large enough to satisfy all the energy requirements of the whole of Europe for at least 40 years.

Now I'll tell you something which shows how much we differ in certain ways.

When a gas deposit or an oil well is struck in Texas, the man living on the land becomes rich overnight and suddenly becomes interested in the gas depletion tax loss.

A Dutchman on whose land gas or oil is discovered doesn't get a penny because, under Dutch law, he only owns the horizontal rights and the Government the vertical. He's lucky if he gets compensation for the part of the land on which the oil derrick is rigged.

Speaking about oil. Before the war all Dutch oil and gas came from abroad. Now, 33 percent of our national needs are covered by oil won in Holland itself. Incidentally, the headquarters of Royal Dutch Shell (from where the worldwide operations of this great oil concern are directed), stands on top of one of the richest oil fields in Holland. Before the war no one knew about this.

These are the raw materials I referred to earlier in my remarks.

The questions often asked are: Where do you stand politically?

Where do you stand economically?

We are realists, and we know on which side our bread is buttered.

In order to be able to produce at competitive prices, it is necessary under modern conditions to apply mass production and mass production makes sense only if one has a big market in which to sell. Hence our Customs Union with Belgium and Luxembourg which has created in Benelux one single market. This is the fourth (and latest) trading unit in the world. (After the United States, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.)

The Benelux foreign trade is nearly half that of the United States.

But we did not stop there. For economic as well as for political and military reasons, we wished to weld the whole of Western Europe together, to create one great European market.

For these reasons the Rome Treaty, creating the European Common Market, was concluded in 1957.

It has always been the Dutch view that: the European organization should be given supranational powers; and should be an outward looking organization.

For these reasons we shall continue to work for strong ties between Europe and the United States.

In this—I trust—we shall have the help of your great country.

Thank you.

You Cannot Vote if You Do Not Register

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement of editorial opinion broadcast by WABC–TV in New York from August 25, 1964 to August 31, 1964.

All of us have the responsibility as well as the privilege of voting. This timely reminder to our constituents is an important one and should be heeded by all.

The editorial follows:

GOLDWATER OR JOHNSON

This is an old story, but it's worth telling again because it's the most important story you'll hear this year. Are you for Senator GOLDWATER or President Johnson? Does it make any difference for the next 4 years? Maybe you think that your vote does not count among the millions cast in a presidential election. Then you don't remember the 1960 presidential election. There were 68 million votes cast for President. Yet Richard Nixon lost the Presidency in one State—Illinois. And he lost it by under 9,000 votes. Maybe there were 9,000 more Illinois voters who supported Nixon. Maybe they didn't think their votes mattered. Maybe they forgot to register. If you have not registered to vote in New York you will not be able to vote in the presidential election this year. And you don't have much time left to register. There are only a couple more days in which you can register.

In New York City alone there are hundreds of thousands of voters who will not vote this year, only because they have not registered to vote. Those voters could well make the difference in how New York's 43 electoral votes will be cast. They could even make the difference in which man, GOLDWATER or Johnson, will lead the United States through 4 years. Those 9,000 Illinois voters who changed history in 1960 could be matched by a group from your State who could change it this year. We ask you to register today. If you don't know how to register, find out. The vote you cast this year could be the most important of your life. Please be sure you're able to cast it.

Aiding the Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the House an editorial from the Sunday Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., September 13, 1964, which comments on the growing trade between Soviet Russia and our principal ally in the cold war, Great Britain.

The newspaper wonders "whatever happened to the cold war?" We might well consider the same question, in light of the fact that this latest deal is not just trading with the enemy, but by extending him liberal financial credits it is giving him what amounts to "foreign aid."

The editorial follows:

AIDING THE ENEMY

The American taxpayer can hardly be blamed for not taking the "cold war" seriously or even for begrudging the billions of tax dollars the U.S. Government spends to combat communism when he learns that Britain, our principal free world ally, is extending foreign aid to the Soviet Union.

That essentially is what was involved when British and Soviet officials signed the biggest single contract in their trade history.

The agreement, between the Soviet state purchasing agency and three major British companies, covers the supply by the British of the major part of a polyester fiber plant costing approximately $84 million, which will produce what is known in the United States as Dacron.

In addition, the Russians will purchase $140 million worth of capital goods and technical information from the British, mostly in the fields of agricultural chemicals such as fertilizers and pesticides.

The contract represents the first British Government backing for a commercial loan to the Soviet Union; Britain's banks are providing 80 percent long-term financial cover for the deal for up to 15 years. This also is the largest contract ever covered by a British financial guarantee.

Understandably, the U.S. Government made several efforts, unfortunately unsuccessful, to dissuade the British from granting long-term loans to the U.S.S.R. Washington contends, and properly so, that this extension of credits is tantamount to foreign aid.

The British had one answer: Without the credits, the contracts would be lost. The key to British thinking lies in this sentence from a recent news story date lined London—"Some industrialists here believe huge markets are opening in the Soviet Union." Of course, the "huge markets" are dependent upon borrowed British money, as in the present instance.

Perhaps none of those who signed the trade agreement noticed an Associated Press story from Moscow on September 7, in which Premier Khrushchev declared, "The imperialists should remember that the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries have everything needed to deal a shattering blow at any aggressor."

Everything includes a plant to produce a valuable, multipurpose synthetic fiber and vital British technology to bolster a wobbly national agriculture.

Whatever happened to the "cold war" anyway?

Memorial Tribute to the Late Sam Rayburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tribute to the late Speaker of the House of Representatives Sam Rayburn delivered by the Honorable James A. Farley at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J., August 27, 1964:

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SAM RAYBURN, DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE JAMES A. FARLEY AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., AUGUST 27, 1964

Speaker MCCORMACK, Senator HARTKE, members of the clergy, ladies, and gentlemen of the convention, and my friends, the Congress of the United States is the mighty structure of American liberty. Neither our country nor any other country—neither the American people nor any other people—can call themselves free—unless there is an open legislative parliament where the will of the people can be enacted into law. Indeed, the Congress of the United States is literally freedom in action.

In this 20th century, two great men prided themselves on being "men of the House"—Sir Winston Churchill and Speaker Sam Rayburn. Their accomplishments are such that the 20th century's histories of their countries—and the laws they sponsored—are almost biographies of their lives. In his various capacities Speaker Sam Rayburn caused to be enacted into law more than 100 pieces of legislation. Today, they are the guidelines of every American's daily life. They range from rural electrification and collective bargaining to securities regulations and social security.

These laws, I know, he believed to be both his life work and his monument. No one of them has been repealed. On the contrary, every one of them has been expanded. Since both major parties have embraced their principles in their platforms they are now the dynamic force in the expanding American way of life.

Speaker Sam Rayburn believed—as Pericles and Sir Winston Churchill—that the only victory is in persuasion. And no man in its long history has carried more weight of persuasion in the Congress. When he spoke, Members of the House not only heard. They listened. They listened not because he aroused them with dramatic oratory, not because he soothed them with his mellow voice, not even because he compelled them with his flawless logic. They followed him because they trusted him. They accepted his leadership because he moved them as a sincere and knowledgeable captain of soundest judgment—an exalted and yet practical man—who truly knew whereof he spoke—and spoke only whereof he knew. The breadth of his vision was matched by the depth of his integrity. He was a Texan, and in the Texas tradition his word was his bond.

I have mentioned the more than 100 basic laws because I know that it is for them he would like you to remember him. And so I ask you to recall that in large part:

Because of Sam Rayburn the hard earned savings of the American people are no longer the subject of heartless market manipulation. They are guarded by a Securities and Exchange Commission.

Because of Sam Rayburn, the small deposits of the tens of millions of American working people are no longer in danger of any bank failure. They are protected by the insurance of the U.S. Government.

Because of Sam Rayburn and the late great Senator Wagner, an individual American need no longer stand helpless in the market place, forced to sell his labor as a commodity. He has the protection of collective bargaining.

Because of Sam Rayburn there has been incorporated into the laws of this land the fourth commandment of the laws of God: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land." No longer does our Nation turn its back on the men and women who are too old to work. Social security protects their age and their self-respect. This is not only a matter of the Nation's laws—but because of Speaker Sam Rayburn it is now a part of the Nation's conscience.

Here I cannot refrain from stating that I have known three generations of great Americans from Texas. I know that if Speaker Sam Rayburn were here tonight he would unhesitatingly say that much of what he accomplished he owed to his great teacher, Speaker of the House, Vice President of the United States John Nance Garner who brought him up in the ways of the Congress.

And, presumptious as it may seem, I most earnestly believe that the President of the United States would be the first to say that for much of his effectiveness he is indebted to the instruction and advice of Speaker Sam Rayburn. As a Democrat and an American I am thankful to God, the President of the United States is the representative of that tradition because of the precepts of Speaker Sam Rayburn, the Nation and the world could not be in more knowledgeable, more courageous, nor more honorable hands.

There is one single act of legislation, however, which to me especially hallows the name of Speaker Sam Rayburn. Because of his tremendous efforts it is not the law of our land that children may no longer be compelled to spend the precious hours of childhood at hard work. No longer are little girls in the mills and little boys in the mines part of our national economy. Because of Sam Rayburn they have been elevated to their proper place—the single great asset of our national treasury.

By his generalship in the House, Speaker Sam Rayburn wrote the emancipation proclamation for American childhood—a law which in my opinion gave more freedom to more children—boys and girls—without regard to race, creed, or color, than any document in recorded history.

"Suffer little children to come unto Me," said our Maker—and if this be the mightiest law of all—it is upon it that I commend my old friend to you—the American people—and to God—your faithful servant, Mr. Sam of Texas.

Patent Office Relocation Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I have publicly stated my opposition to the GSA proposal to relocate the U.S. Patent Office outside the Washington metropolitan area on several occasions. In my opinion such a move would be both inefficient and inappropriate and the GSA acted without properly considering the adverse effect such relocation would have on the functioning of the Patent Office as it relates to the public and their representatives of the patent bar, both locally and elsewhere.

The recently published results of a survey of attitudes on this subject made by the Patent, Trademark, and Copyright Research Institute of the George Washington University substantiates this view.

I include the report of the PTC Research Institute here in order that the information contained therein may be readily available to my colleagues:

REPORT OF THE PTC RESEARCH INSTITUTE SURVEY OF ATTITUDES ON PATENT OFFICE RELOCATION

The first consolidated tabulation of the replies to a questionnaire sponsored by the PTC Research Institute indicate an overwhelming preference for retention of a Washington location for the Patent Office. The tabulation refers to a wave of 186 responses received by September 3, 1964, within the first 3 weeks after mailing. After the summer vacation lull another batch of responses may be expected. In all, 505 questionnaires were sent to members and associates of the Research Institute, and a very large majority will evidently respond on the basis of the current showing.

Of the 186 respondents, 151—about four-fifths—unequivocally opposed the transfer. Only 19 favored the move; while 12 recognized both good and bad features of the proposed change, 4 expressed no opinion.

An analysis of the 151 opposing replies shows essentially the same ratio for both industrial companies and for patent law firms, which categories account for the bulk of the respondents. Specifically, 85 of 108 responding companies objected to the move, as did 51 of the 60 law firms that replied. The same ratio also prevails for 15 additional company officials and law firm members who responded on their own behalf.

Two of the 151 replies indicating opposition to transfer came from professional societies. One of these, from the Patent Office Society, stated that the membership of over 1,000 is "generally opposed" to the shift. The reply from an official of one of the largest patent bar associations also indicated opposition.

A geographic analysis of responses shows that distance from Washington exerts no significant influence on the opinions expressed. Thus, 40 of 53 responses from companies located in the eastern States between Washington and the southern boundary of Massachusetts objected to the move. In the next arc, which includes Massachusetts, Ohio, and North Carolina, 18 of 22 respondents expressed opposition. Most of the answering companies located still further away—in the ring including Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Miami—also voted in the negative, 13 out of 17.

Of the 11 responses received from still more distant companies, including those in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and the west coast, 10 disfavored the change. Only five industrial replies have been received from the Washington, D.C., area, but four are opposed. In view of the position taken by industrial companies, it is not surprising that law firms were generally opposed in all areas of the country.

Tabulation by size of responding organizations showed a fairly well distributed opposition. Thus, of the 85 companies objecting to transfer, 27 were large, 31 were medium, and 27 were small. Of the 51 law firms objecting to the move, 9 were large, 24 were medium, and 18 were small.

The questionnaire also solicited the expression of reasons for favoring and for opposing the proposed change. The reasons most commonly cited in favor related to the opportunities to enlarge the available space and otherwise to improve the facilities of the Patent Office. One respondent, agreeable to the move, considered it the "best overall solution." Another stated that it would "avoid mass transportation." Still another suggested that the professional employees of the Patent Office would be benefited.

Opponents of the move concentrated on the advantages of the proximity of other Governmnt agencies and cited the general inconvenience, transportation difficulties, expense, and time loss that would be imposed by a relocation. Almost as important as this category of reasons was the recognition of the unusual richness of the Washington area in law school facilities. It was also feared by a number of respondents that a move could result in a loss of experienced Patent Office personnel. Several opponents mentioned the adequacy of accommodations in contemplated new locations. Companies and law firms tended to emphasize similar points of objection.

Respondents objecting to the move, prefer either enlargement of existing facilities or some other solution within the District of Columbia area. While a few would accept a suburban location close to the District, a number propose the conversion of other existing District facilities.

A comprehensive report, which will also take advantage of additional replies, will be published in a forthcoming issue of Idea, the Institute's Journal of Research and Education. The study is being conducted by Executive Director L. James Harris and Dr. Irving H. Siegel, a member of the research staff.

The Space and Shipping Program in Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 10, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, a portion of the last paragraph of the article I inserted in the RECORD of yesterday was inadvertently omitted. I would, therefore, like to have the following paragraph inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, to replace the previous concluding paragraph of the article:

When one also considers the almost explosive growth of the petrochemical industry, as represented by Shell, Monsanto, American Cyanamid, Du Pont, Union Carbide and Kaiser, to mention some, in the great parishes of Jefferson, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist, and St. James—fast becoming the Ruhr Valley of America—it is no wonder so many of my colleagues say to me, "How does Louisiana obtain so much?" I like to feel, Mr. Speaker, without being immodest, that the answer to that question lies, at least in part, in the hard work which I have been privileged to do for my district over the years, because of the sustaining confidence and friendship of the people that I represent.

Surplus Food Rein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, though, as noted below, the victory may only be temporary the House struck a blow for commonsense and economy in its recent vote to include an anti-Communist provision in the food-for-peace program.

Some pertinent observations were made on this action by the Sunday Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., and I commend this editorial to my colleagues:

SURPLUS FOOD REIN

By voting a strict anti-Communist provision into the food-for-peace program, the U.S. House issued a timely reminder that to finance a potential enemy is stupid policy.

Most of the credit belongs to House Republicans, 143 of whom combined with 39 Democrats to overrule a coalition of 162 Democrats and 13 Republicans.

It is difficult to understand why, in view of the back-of-the-hand treatment this country has received from the Sukarnos, the Nassers, and the Nkrumahs—who are only on the Communist fringe—that there should be objection to such words as these:

"Any nation or area dominated or controlled by a Communist government or by the world Communist movement may not purchase surplus food from the United States at below-cost prices."

Yet the close vote reflects opposition from both the State Department and the administration against having Congress put any kind of restriction into the program. In fact, two Members of the House made an extraordinary about-face from positions previously taken.

Congressman ROONEY, Democrat, of New York, said he had "new information" that shifted him from championing tighter control of the food program by Congress one night to disclaiming such control the next day. Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, signed a petition urging a ban on surplus food sales to the United Arab Republic the night before he voted against such a ban.

Such reversals only emphasize the mysterious power that prevails in Congress year after year on foreign aid and associated spending programs. This remains the most obvious area in which State Department spenders thwart the majority will of the people. The anti-Communist provision broke the grip, but the victory may be only temporary.

Skilled Labor Shortages Begin To Develop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the tax cut bill earlier this year, a number of economists pointed out that too rapid an expansion of the economy could lead to inflationary shortages of skilled workers even while the overall unemployment rate remained at a high level. The experience of the economy since the tax cut appears to bear out this forecast.

While the unemployment rate in August remained at a high level of 5.1 percent, concern is beginning to develop within the Department of Labor over the possibility that the current economic expansion will result in shortages of skilled workers in a number of job lines. Coupled with the rising pressure of demand upon capacity and a recent spate of labor contract settlements which far exceed the administration's wage-price guideposts, these developments in the labor market could augur new inflationary pressures in the economy.

The possibility of labor shortages in certain lines was developed at a recent press conference by Harold Goldstein, Assistant Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Manpower. I was pleased to note the Department's concern over this problem and to read that it is following up on the possibility by beginning next month a much-needed survey of job vacancies in four selected cities across the country. The need for a series of statistics on job vacancies as means of analyzing the labor market has long been pressing. While progress toward this goal has not been as fast as I think it should have been, Mr. Goldstein's announcement represents a gratifying step forward.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD an article from the New York Times on September 18, discussing this matter.

AUGUST JOB RISE BELOW AVERAGE—U.S. AIDS SEE POSSIBILITY OF SKILLED-LABOR SHORTAGE

(By Edward Cowan)

WASHINGTON, September 17.—Nonfarm employment failed to rise significantly in August, but factory hours did, the Labor Department reported today.

These two developments, plus the persistence of a fairly large pool of unemployed persons, raised this question: Are potentially inflationary shortages of skilled labor cropping up in some job lines?

Harold Goldstein, Assistant Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Manpower, acknowledged that "we're concerned about this question."

He said at a press briefing on the new employment statistics that "there may be a development of shortages of workers in some occupations."

To learn more about that possibility, the Labor Department, in conjunction with State authorities, will begin in October a survey of job vacancies in four cities still to be selected.

Other Government analysts suggested that the August spurt in hours and the lack of significant expansion in jobholding meant that employers were showing a preference for overtime, as distinguished from hiring, to increase production. Industrial output rose in August for the 12th month in a row.

The analysts speculated that nonfarm employment would show a good gain for September. The limited data available, they said, pointed to shortages of qualified job applicants only in highly skilled machine-making lines. In any case, they cautioned, figures for 1 month—August—could not be deemed conclusive.

The average factory workweek increased by 18 minutes from July to 40.9 hours in August. The increase, an unusually large one for August, was described by the Department as reflecting "continued strength in the economy."

"Among most individual industries, weekly hours approached the high levels recorded in other periods of peak economic activity, such as 1953 and 1955," the Department said.

Mr. Goldstein said the expansion of the workweek was a "breakthrough reflecting the pressure of demand on employers." A gain of 6 minutes would have been normal for August.

The nonfarm employment total, which had shown better-than-seasonal gains each month since November, staged a seasonal advance of 240,000 in August, reaching a new high of 59,247,000. The previous peak was 59,212,000 in June.

On a seasonally adjusted basis, nonfarm employment totaled 58,944,000 in August, up 15,000 from July. This difference, officials said, was not significant.

The largest single influence in the change in the nonfarm job total from July to August was the layoff of about 110,000 auto workers during retooling for production of 1965 models. While this was a seasonal development, it tended to have a restraining effect on the job total in the absence of notable strength elsewhere.

President Johnson scooped the Labor Department by announcing on Tuesday, in a Miami speech, some of the statistics in today's regular monthly report. Saying nothing about the July–August change, the President observed that the August nonfarm job total was 1.6 million higher than a year earlier.

He also pointed out that factory employment—estimated by the Department today at 17,527,000 in August—was up 300,000 from a year earlier and represented a 10-year high.

The figures released today were based on payroll data furnished by companies.

Monkey Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the detrimental effect of unwarranted Federal interference in our Nation's economy is dramatically discussed in an editorial of Thursday, September 17, of the Blue Island Sun-Standard, Blue Island, Ill.

It is a message that we should ponder, as politically motivated schemes to ruin the social security system come before us.

The editorial follows:

MONKEY BUSINESS

There are certain groups that want Washington to rule and regulate just about everything. This is worth restating now that an effort is underway to have the Federal Government regulate private pension plans which, so far as anyone can see, have been doing a fine job.

The excuse for Federal regulation, of course, would be to protect the plans' members and beneficiaries. In the light of that, the Government's experience with its own pension systems is significant.

The social security fund has been shrinking and at the same time more people are becoming eligible for larger benefits. This means that each new entrant at the age of 20 must put in $1.69 during his working lifetime for each dollar he may be entitled to draw, if he lives long enough to draw anything.

"The pension system for Federal employees happens to be about $35 billion in the red," says the National Association of Manufacturers, and "* * * the thing is in a mess." Substantial increases in contributions to the railroad retirement fund have "* * * had to be instituted to keep it solvent."

These are examples of Government running pension systems. It would seem that it has a lot of learning to do before it monkeys with the private plans.

A Man of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the September 17 edition of the Trenton Times. All too often there is very little public recognition given the efforts of such men as Nicholas De B. Katzenbach, whom I am proud to call a friend.

The editorial follows:

A MAN OF LAW

Nicholas De B. Katzenbach, who is now the acting U.S. Attorney General, hardly needs an introduction in this area. A member of a prominent New Jersey family, he graduated from Princeton University with honors as well as from Yale Law School, also with honors. Later he was a professor of law and attained a brilliant reputation as a teacher and writer. It was Robert Kennedy who brought him into the Department of Justice and as Kennedy departed to pursue his political future in New York City, it was Katzenbach who was directed to take over the affairs of that vast Department.

The Acting Attorney General showed his mettle in recent disputes over civil rights. In a quiet but forceful manner he solved some very difficult situations which might have exploded into violence. With his thorough knowledge of law and of government procedure he had been a trusted emissary during the years of the administration of John F. Kennedy and now President Johnson has seen fit to elevate him to an honored position in the Cabinet.

In exploring Katzenbach's background, it is only necessary to refer to his ordeal during World War II when he was shot down in the Mediterranean while on duty as a naviga-

tor. Here was a man who did not let his courage die with his imprisonment. He managed to pursue a course of study which would help him to return to his university and so pick up the pieces of his career. And that is exactly what he did.

Legislation Limiting Beef Imports Offers Hope to Cattle Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY A. TAYLOR
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, agriculture is the No. 1 industry in our country. The farm problem is second only to that of national defense. A healthy livestock industry is essential to sound agriculture.

Beef production constitutes a large segment of American agriculture and beef producers have been in serious trouble and have lost heavily as the rapid increase in imports during recent years has had a depressing effect on cattle prices.

Last spring I appeared before the Tariff Commission at a hearing in Washington and requested that the Commission take action to limit beef imports and pointed out that the United States is the only major world beef market without import restrictions. In June I introduced legislation to force a limitation of beef imports.

Many other Congressmen felt the same way, and in August Congress passed and the President signed H.R. 1839 creating a new law which will add much needed stability to the cattle industry. The bill was backed by American cattle producers, and I was glad to vote and work for it. Its immediate effect will be to keep beef imports during the coming year about 15 percent below last year's average.

The bill provides that exporting countries will never have more than 6.7 percent of the U.S. market and likely much less. It clearly defines the future levels of beef imports. No longer will the consumer or any cattleman be faced with the erratic effects of dumping of world surplus of beef, veal, and mutton in this country.

In my home State of North Carolina, livestock production is a vital element in the total agriculture complex. The gross receipts from the sale of livestock and livestock products in 1962 was over $344 million. This represents 31 percent of our total gross income from agriculture. In North Carolina the gross income from livestock ranked second only to the income from tobacco. The livestock industry has special significance for the future of North Carolina because it is the direction in which there is hope for expansion.

As we look back over the record of the 88th Congress, we can be pleased that action was taken to provide more protection against beef and veal imports for livestock producers. This places the American cattle industry on a sounder financial basis and in better position to meet the demands of the future.

A Precedent Set That United States Might Note

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the slow deterioration of our position in Vietnam is attributed principally to the policy of vacillation practiced by the Johnson administration through its appeasement-minded State Department.

Columnist Roscoe Drummond's article of Thursday, September 17, in the Chicago Sun-Times dramatically points out the difference between the British firmness in the face of Indonesian aggression and the Johnson administration vacillation in the face of Vietcong aggression.

The article follows:

A PRECEDENT SET THAT UNITED STATES MIGHT NOTE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The events in southeast Asia are both favorable and unsettling.

The decisive British action to wipe out the Indonesian paratroop invaders of Malaysia is all to the good, particularly in view of the United Nations Security Council's intention to greet the admitted Sukarno aggression with an ineffectual slap on the wrist to both sides.

Thus far, at least, the U.N. is showing itself timid and futile. After the latest Indonesian invasion, all the Security Council can summon itself to do is to advise the Malaysian Government to negotiate.

That's what Malaysia has been doing for 2 years. That is what it has been doing ever since President Sukarno tried to seize the North Borneo territories of Sabah and Sarawak, which, under U.N. supervision, voted to join the Malaysian Federation.

The British acted because they are bound by treaty to defend the Malaysian Federation to which they gave full independence.

They have explicitly warned Sukarno that further raids on Malaysian territory will mean bombing of Indonesian bases.

The British are not bluffing. They are matching action to words.

There is one important difference between the problem in Malaysia and the problem in South Vietnam. The Malaysians, with the aid of the British, already have liquidated the internal Communist insurrection.

In South Vietnam, there is still a strong Communist insurrection against the Government. That is why the U.S. defense of South Vietnam is both internal and international.

American military and economic aid to South Vietnam is obviously being weakened by the instability of the Vietnamese Government. The recent noncoup, with Prime Minister Nguyen Khanh disappearing one day and reappearing the next, adds nothing but uncertainty to the war effort.

But these difficulties do not justify losing our nerve or our stamina. The state is not just protecting South Vietnam, but guarding the gateway against a Communist takeover in all southeast Asia.

There is little doubt that we face a long, slogging, painful effort unless the United States decides that North Vietnam cannot indefinitely commit aggression and remain an untouched sanctuary.

To the Indonesian aggression, the British have said to Sukarno: No sanctuary if there are any more raids. That is a sound precedent.

Esther Peterson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, everyone who knows Esther Peterson recognizes her as intelligent, honorable, and dedicated to the public welfare.

As Assistant U.S. Secretary of Labor, she has distinguished herself by the service she has performed. Like her beloved and departed dear friend, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Peterson has given much of her life in helping others.

She was a target recently for a most unfair attack by an editorial writer in Printer's Ink. In defense of Mrs. Peterson, I include with my remarks an article by Robert Gerhart, published in the current issue of the New Era, Reading, Pa.:

ESTHER PETERSON

Mrs. Esther Peterson is a name that may not be familiar to you. If you diligently read the New Era's columns each week, you may recognize it as the name of President Johnson's special assistant for consumer affairs. She also is Assistant U.S. Secretary of Labor for labor standards. But more and more she is being recognized as an outspoken champion of the consumer—and that's you and me.

I wouldn't ordinarily devote so much time to extolling the talents of Mrs. Peterson except that she recently came under fire—and that's putting it mildly—from a magazine by the name of Printers' Ink. By its own definition, Printers' Ink is "The weekly magazine of advertising and marketing."

In one of the most distasteful pieces of mis-writing I have ever read, this organ of Madison Avenue launched an editorial tirade against Mrs. Peterson. It begins on the front cover of Printers' Ink with three words emblazoned in big, black type: "Is she ignorant," followed by the rest of the sentence in smaller type, "—or is she deliberately pitting consumers against advertisers for her own purposes?" This kind of question is in the "When did you stop beating your wife" category.

And what is the crime over which the gray-suited lads in the advertising fraternity are so exorcised? Apparently they resent Mrs. Peterson's concern for the well-being of the consumer and the manner in which innocent, unsuspecting citizens are led by the nose by commercial interests principally concerned about making bucks, no matter what.

Printers' Ink considers Mrs. Peterson and her concern for the welfare of consumers as "the most pernicious threat to advertising today." What an odd point of view. This same publication, which is supposed to represent some of the best brains in the business, describes the revitalization of the consumer movement with government as an odd and ominous phenomenon. The dictionary

describes "ominous" as implying a frightening or alarming quality.

In other words, the professional brainwashers don't want anyone else cutting in. They are fearful that Mrs. Peterson will puncture a few balloons or let in a little light which will help housewives and wage earners to make intelligent choices before spending their hard-earned dollars.

And what, I wonder, is so terrible about that?

What the hypersensitive Madison Avenue crowd fears is that the general public will become educated to some of the sales and marketing devices which tell the truth but not the whole truth. Mrs. Peterson, for instance, supported legislation for truth in packaging and for this she was hacked to little bits by the advertising people who want unbridled freedom in such matters. Have you ever tried to compare different-sized packages of the same products and compute, standing in a supermarket aisle, which is the best deal for the money? You need an IBM computer to work it out.

I remember hearing Mrs. Peterson at a White House-arranged conference in Washington several months ago when she described some of the tricks that deprive unsuspecting consumers of their full measure of value. Why, she wanted to know, was inferior-grade produce sold in low-income neighborhoods at prices as high or higher than those charged for top-quality produce in more affluent areas of the same city? Unimportant, you say? On the contrary, it is the low- and middle-income families who must stretch dollars so their children get maximum nutritional value or clothing which lasts more than a few weeks, and the family itself buys merchandise or appliances that don't break down the minute the installer leaves.

Mrs. Peterson believes that advertising should provide full disclosure about an item. She doesn't feel that snob appeal or "keeping up with the Joneses" is a logical basis for making a purchase. Printers' Ink takes the attitude this is none of her or the Government's business. They imply that Mrs. Peterson's consumer crusade is a flop because there has not been a flood of written complaints in the wake of her activity. Then why the fearful concern?

It is scant praise for the noble admen to describe Mrs. Peterson as a woman whose "sincerity and dedication of purpose are indisputable," and then cast here in the role of ogre because she wants to help ordinary citizens in what unquestionably is the most complex aspect of living today—that is, using one's economic resources to rear a family and achieve a measure of security while maintaining a standard of living which is considered normal in our affluent society. In the final analysis it comes down to wise buying within limited income for sustenance, clothing, shelter, transportation, recreation, education and possibly savings. Yes, even savings are bought in the sense that you choose the best return from U.S. bonds, interest on savings accounts, mutual funds, savings and loan associations, or myriad other investment possibilities.

It is unfortunate that Madison Avenue resents the intrusion of Mrs. Peterson in their hallowed sanctuaries. She speaks with a firm voice, not in weasel words. She is dedicated to the task of helping consumers, a fact conceded by even her adversaries. And she apparently is hitting sore spots causing the cries of anguish and pain. Anyone who knows Mrs. Peterson knows full well that she is not waging a vendetta against advertising per se. Instead of fighting her, the advertising geniuses should do a bit of soul searching. Instead of being so sensitive to criticism they should consider listening to Esther Peterson and join in the highly moral task of educating consumers to get the most for their dollars. To say there is no need for the Esther Petersons in our society is to exhibit contempt for the people.

A Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, early in 1964 I submitted a report to my constituents reviewing my activities in Congress in 1963. It was entitled "A Freshman Congressman Reviews His First Year." A limited supply is still available for those who may wish to obtain a copy. This report, is therefore, primarily a review of my activities in 1964. The people have a right to know my record, my efforts and achievements, and my views on major issues.

As I look back over these past 2 years, I am mighty proud of the record of the 88th Congress. To me, a freshman Congressman serving his first term, it was a wonderful experience particularly because it turned out to be a very productive Congress, one of solid accomplishments for the Nation. Some call it the "Education Congress" because of the worthwhile legislation enacted in the field of education. Some call it the "Conservative Congress." Others call it the "Antipoverty Congress," or the "Civil Rights Congress." Actually, Congress has a notable record of achievements in practically every phase of our Nation's interests. It would take too long to enumerate all of the major bills enacted during these 2 years, but let me mention just a few.

WORLD PEACE

Humanity's most pressing problem today is world peace. While the world is nominally at peace, there is much tension and fighting in some areas which are stirred up by the Communist nations. Furthering the cause of peace and a lessening of international tension have been among my primary aims in Congress during the past 2 years, coupled with my support for the security of our country and the strengthening of its defenses and those of the free world. The security of our Nation comes first. The American people must never relax their guard for a moment.

Consequently, I have supported the foreign aid program to help our allies abroad, the highly successful Peace Corps, the food-for-peace program, the test ban treaty to prohibit nuclear testing in the air, space, and under water, appropriations for our national security and the strengthening of our defense system.

MAJOR LEGISLATION

Perhaps the most outstanding piece of leigslation passed is the Civil Rights Act, which is of historic significance and of great moral value. This bill was worked out in the House Judiciary Committee, of which I am a member, and I feel deeply honored that I was destined to play some small part in this historic struggle to safeguard the civil rights of all Americans, regardless of race, color, or creed. I hope and trust that we have abolished second-class citizenship in our country for all times.

Next in importance is the tax cut. The importance of the tax cut is not so much the extra dollars in our pay envelope every week, but the fact that this reduction in taxes helps to maintain a healthy and a growing economy, a continuing prosperity, and a high level of employment. Our Nation is currently enjoying the longest peacetime economic recovery in its history—a period which began in February 1961 and is still continuing its phenomenal growth for 44 months in succession. Let us hope it will continue for along time to come.

In the midst of this prosperity we are also witnessing abject poverty on the part of many millions of our fellow Americans. It is estimated that some 35 million people in the country, or nearly 10 million families, live under conditions of poverty. This is nearly a fifth of the Nation's population. In Connecticut, we have some 65,000 families—nearly a quarter of a million people—living in poverty. President Johnson deserves much credit for initiating the war on poverty to help our less fortunate neighbors lift themselves from the depths of deprivation. After a long struggle, Congress passed the antipoverty bill. Programs are now being set up to provide vocational training, work-study, and work-training programs for young people, for needy students and for the unemployed. The central idea here is that through education we can break the recurring cycle of poverty.

CONGRESS HELPS EDUCATION

It is no exaggeration to say that the 88th Congress has done more in the field of education than any other Congress in our history. The following are some of the bills passed:

First. Higher Education Facilities Act, to aid in college construction.

Second. Health Professions Education Act, to increase the number of students in medicine, dentistry, and other fields.

Third. Extension of the National Defense Education Act, to provide loans and other assistance to college students.

Fourth. Vocational Education Act, to expand our vocational education programs.

Fifth. Aid to schools in impacted areas, where Government installations placed a financial burden on local systems. I might add that the first bill I introduced was to extend this program and it was passed last year. Nearly half of the school districts in Connecticut benefit under it and the amount of Federal funds they receive is more than $4.5 million annually.

Another bill, of which I was a cosponsor and which was enacted last year, was the program to help States in combating mental retardation, provide maternal and child health services, and care for crippled children. Today there hangs on the wall of my office in Washington a framed copy of this act and the pen used by our late beloved President Kennedy when he signed it.

Another of my bills to be passed by Congress was H.R. 7710, to assist States in rebuilding their commercial fisheries. I hope in the near future to obtain funds under this act to build a modern pier at Stonington and to revive its fishing industry.

OTHER IMPORTANT LEGISLATION

Other bills of importance passed by Congress are: Hospital and Medical Facilities Act, to modernize and replace antiquated hospitals; Nurses Training Act, to provide more nurses and more nursing schools; Clean Air Act, to study ways to eliminate the danger of air pollution; and the Library Services Act, to build more libraries.

Of particular interest is the Housing Act, which provides 37,500 new public housing units, extension of the urban renewal program, rehabilitation of slum areas, more liberal mortgage terms on one-family homes, housing for the elderly, low-rent housing for migrant farmworkers, grants for park lands and open space areas, and other programs. There is also the Mass Transportation Act, to provide more adequate mass transportation for our cities and towns.

MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

This does not complete the list by far. There are many more, but there is one which I want to mention briefly since it is now the center of a great fight. I refer to the efforts in Congress to provide an effective program of health care for our aged citizens. Today we have some 18 million people in our country who are over 65. Most of them have limited financial means and are dependent on their monthly social security checks. They cannot afford hospital care, nursing home care, doctor bills, and similar other expenses.

The House of Representatives passed a bill to provide a 5-percent increase in social security benefits. When the bill came before the Senate, a medicare program was added which provides hospitalization benefits under social security. I am hopeful that we can succeed in retaining the medicare program in the bill. This would be a wonderful victory for our elderly people, who would be able to look forward to the future with greater security and faith in humanity.

I am interested in this social security measure for another reason. In May 1964, I introduced a bill in Congress to provide social security disability benefits to the blind, if they acquire six quarters of coverage. They now must have 20 quarters. I felt that their affliction should be recognized as a disability. When the social security bill came up in the Senate, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY—now the Democratic candidate for Vice President—submitted my bill on the blind as an amendment to the social security bill. It was passed by the Senate without opposition. If my bill is enacted, some 400,000 blind persons in the country will be entitled to receive social security disability benefits.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In the past 4 years, under the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, we have made great strides forward which are comparable only to the Roosevelt era of the 1930's. When President Kennedy took office in 1961, we had 4 million Americans unemployed and 2.3 million people were entering the labor market each year. Today our labor force is about 73 million strong, while unemployment has dropped from nearly 7 percent to about 5 percent—the lowest in nearly 5 years. Congress recently voted to set up a commission to study the effects of automation on employment and to recommend ways to lessen its impact on the ranks of the unemployed.

For those in the ranks of labor, these 4 years have chalked up many important gains. Let me enumerate some of these gains:

Nearly 28 million Americans are covered by the minimum wage law which provides for $1.25 per hour.

Factory wages increased from $89 per week in January 1961 to $103 now, thus providing more money in pay envelopes.

The cost of living has increased by only a small margin and prices held steady, while wages increased.

Congress extended an additional $800 million in unemployment benefits to 2.8 million workers who had exhausted their benefits.

Unemployment has been attacked and considerably decreased through training and retraining programs, accelerated public works projects, vocational education, area redevelopment and other programs.

Equal employment rights for women were established to protect them against wage discrimination.

Workers' rights are protected by better and faster disposition of unfair labor practices cases and the handling of labor complaints.

Time lost in strikes has been cut in half, and this was achieved in great measure through the administration's attention to labor-management problems and the improvement of labor-management relations.

BILLS INTRODUCED

During my first term in Congress I introduced a total of 43 bills and resolutions: 31 public bills and 12 private bills. This is a record of which any first-termer can be proud. These bills deal with various problems of national and local interest. About a half dozen of them were enacted, several were included with other legislation, and several private bills were resolved administratively. The remainder will go over for the 1965 session.

In my review of 1963, I listed 19 of the more important bills I introduced. Among those I sponsored in 1964 are:

H.R. 11021, to permit a tax deduction for the construction of treatment works to control and prevent water and air pollution.

H.R. 11210, to permit a veteran to deduct from his income expenses incurred by the death of his wife or a child, so as not to lose his VA pension.

H.R. 11393, to provide social security disability insurance benefits to the blind, if they have six quarters of coverage.

H.R. 12013, to declare election day a legal holiday in order to encourage all U.S. citizens to vote.

H.R. 12354, to provide for a general revision of the U.S. copyright law.

CONCLUSION

The needs of the people of my district always receive primary attention. Every effort is being used to obtain more Government contracts for industry, public works projects, post offices, new industries, in order to provide more work and continued economic growth of the area. I helped several firms obtain loans through the Small Business Administration. Similarly, I have exerted all influence to aid our farmers, particularly the dairy farmers in their struggle with the milk order problem, and the poultry farmers who face terrific competition. I was helpful to all farmers of eastern Connecticut in obtaining aid to combat the army worm infestation, in permission for grazing and harvesting of hay, and also urged the U.S. Department of Agriculture to provide livestock feed grains to farmers suffering from the drought.

In the past 2 years my office handled many personal problems of constituents and many were helped with housing needs, servicemen's hardship cases, veterans pensions, social security, welfare problems, immigration matters, postal service, student aid, and others. As your Congressman, I shall be pleased to continue to serve you in every way possible, as well as to receive your views on the issues of today. All letters receive my personal attention. For any information or assistance, address your letter to me as follows: Congressman WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Eglin Activity Teaches a Defense Lesson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Florida Times Union of September 16, entitled "Eglin Activity Teaches a Defense Lesson." The editorial is an interesting one which points to the continued development of Eglin Air Force Base and northwest Florida.

EGLIN ACTIVITY TEACHES A DEFENSE LESSON

The gulf coast region of northwest Florida, sometimes called the "Miracle Strip," is drawing attention this week for two reasons, one of which has to do with the construction of a new bridge in that area, and the other related to military operations at the Eglin Air Force Base.

The State road department has announced that work on the Brooks Bridge, costing nearly $2 million, will begin this week. The span will go across Santa Rosa Sound to Santa Rosa Island as an extension of the scenic 38-mile strech of U.S. 98 from Pensacola east to Fort Walton Beach which is being four-laned.

The phenomenal growth of this area in the past 25 years has been largely due to its natural beauty, but activity like that during exercise "Indian River III" at Eglin defines another reason for northwest Florida's gulf coast boom. Participating in the exercises, which are being conducted by the U.S. Tactical Air Warfare Center, are the famous 1st Infantry Division and the 2d Logistical Command. The maneuver has the purpose of improving the use of aviation to enhance the combat effectiveness of Army units.

Florida lends itself well to use as a training ground by the military. For example, favorable year-round weather and location

brought the Navy to Pensacola, a few miles from Fort Walton, many years prior to World II, to establish a center for aviation training. The story of how the State became a training ground for units of the Army and Navy during World War II is a matter of record, and now the Space Center at Cape Kennedy has become the proving ground for the age of gadgetry.

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Relief Ahead for Nurse Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been very proud of the work of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in obtaining passage of the Nurses Training Act of 1964. As one who helped frame it, I was privileged to be present to witness its signature into law by the President.

I was, therefore, very happy to note the strong editorial support given this significant new law by Florence Paulson, editor of the Mountain Lake, Minn., Observer. I place Mrs. Paulson's editorial, which points out the "critical shortage of nurses" in our country today, in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

RELIEF AHEAD FOR NURSE SHORTAGE

(By Florence Paulson)

I am happy to see that an attack is being made on the most critical shortage of nurses in the history of the United States. President Johnson has just signed the $287 million Nurse Training Act.

This money is going to be used for rehabilitation of inadequate nursing schools and buildings of about 30 new schools by 1970; for nursing students loans; for professional nurse traineeships to increase the number of advanced and specialized nurses and teachers.

The following information from Sylvia Porter's column in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune gives startling facts and figures:

So short are our 6,400 hospitals of professional nurses that 20 percent of these positions are now unfilled, and just to fill the hospital openings today at least 70,000 additional professional nurses are needed.

So understaffed are our nursing homes that 1 out of 10 of our 10,000 skilled nursing care homes, serving 350,000 patients, have no full-time professional or practical nurse, and among our 13,000 residential homes for the aged, only 1 in 8 has a nurse.

So serious is the shortage that in many hospitals, underqualified nursing aids are giving 80 percent of all nursing care, against the 20 percent of care they are qualified to give.

Meanwhile, the number of nursing schools has been declining steadily. There are 1,200 teacher positions vacant. Only 10 percent of all professional nurses today have a college degree.

Meanwhile, because of the blunt fact that nurses on average earn less than secretaries, enrollments in nursing schools are lagging far behind demand for nursing services and an estimated 500,000 trained, professional nurses are not practicing.

Representative Long of Maryland Provides Insight Into Congressman-Constituent Relationship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG], recently wrote a thoughtful and constructive article concerning the kind of help Congressmen give their constituents. The article appeared in the August 1964 issue of Coronet magazine. As I am sure it will be of great interest to the Members of this body, I include the text of the article:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN

(Everyone should realize that a Congressman's job is not a nappy one. He spends most of his time helping constituents)

(By Representative CLARENCE D. LONG, of Maryland)

The elderly man held up a white hand towel, on which was woven, in red letters, "U.S. Army." He then handed me a letter from a well-known doctor, certifying that the towel had been removed from him at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Years before, the man had been operated on in an Army hospital and the towel left in him. As a result, he had been nervous and unable to work. He was receiving a modest stipend as a disabled veteran, but wanted more adequate recompense. Possibly, the towel had affected more than his digestion, for he imparted his suspicion of a Communist plot among Army doctors.

This is one of the thousands of cases that have come to me in over a year as Democratic Congressman from the Second District of Maryland, which consists of Baltimore, Carroll, and Harford Counties.

When I ran for office, after a decade and a half as professor of economics at the Johns Hopkins University, I had the idea that a Congressman's job was to pass laws. Certainly, his vote on legislation is the source of his influence, which has never been greater than now. Not only does Congress spend over $100 billion a year, but—because of the close balance of division in Congress on questions of liberalism versus conservatism—much of its legislation passes or fails by a narrow margin.

Nevertheless, legislation is not what takes up most of a Congressman's time. The citizen has discovered that his Congressman can solve his own as well as the Nation's problems. As a result, two-thirds of my own time and three-fourths of my staff's have been spent not in considering the thousands of bills tossed annually into the hopper, but in bringing business to my district and helping my constituents with the problems they bring to me by phone, by mail, and by visit.

Bel Air, an old southern county seat, was the home of the Shakespearean actor, Junius Booth, who had many children, among them John Wilkes (who assassinated President Lincoln) and Edwin, a Shakespearean actor more famous even than his father. In the post office is a mural by William H. Calfee depicting a performance in 1850 by Edwin Booth at the Bel Air courthouse. The post office was being remodeled and plans were to eliminate the mural to make room for the new air-conditioning ducts. The community was up in arms. "The mural is dear to our hearts," Mayor Buchal wrote me. "We don't want to see it mutilated or destroyed."

"I do wish you could look into the matter and find out which of the architects down there in Washington has holes in his head," a minister wrote.

At my request, the Post Office Department in Washington stopped the work and took steps to see that art could live with air-conditioning.

A man sought my help for his son. Ten years before, the son, then a marine, was having trouble with his wife. He went a.w.o.l. so often in order to reason with her that he finally got an undesirable discharge. He now has a new wife, but his bad conduct record keeps him from a decent job, claimed his father. Could I get his record changed?

Nothing is tougher. I had not previously been able to accomplish this. Nevertheless, I asked my secretary to get through to Marine liaison. While waiting, I asked whether the son had done anything outstanding in the intervening decade to justify changing Marine Corps records.

"Well," the father said, "he served 3 years." He hesitated.

"What for?" I asked.

"Statutory rape," he replied.

"Cancel the call," I said to my secretary.

Recently there arrived this irate letter:

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN: My husband brought me to this country 17 years ago. All he ever does is sleep and put his pay in the bank. Now, he says I'm such a lousy cook that he got the Congressman to send me a cookbook. Could you write me a letter so I can call him a liar?"

I replied that we had no letter from her husband in our files and that we send the cookbooks to all the girls—no reflection on anybody's cooking.

One day I received a letter from a young man who had a wooden arm. He had worked at a local military installation on a hamburger grinder which could chew up 54 pounds of meat a minute. The machine, improperly guarded, had taken off his arm up to his elbow. For this he was given an official reprimand. Without a hearing. The young man wanted the reprimand off his record, in order to get a promotion. After 2 years of appeals, he came to me. I wrote to the commanding general for a hearing, indicating my wish to be present. The official reprimand was removed by return mail. Some colonel may have had a guilty conscience about allowing, first, such a situation to develop; and, second, a reprimand to be administered without a hearing.

Another time, a call came in from a State Department official who lives in my district. On a visit to Panama during the crisis, he had purchased a small, green, Spanish-speaking parrot. Mattie May, quarantined for a health check, had been flown to Washington the previous day. Could someone bring her over to Baltimore? At the close of business, my press assistant delivered the bird to her owner. No service too large or too small.

Congress stayed in session all last year and did not adjourn until the day before Christmas. Since neither my staff nor I had had any vacation during 1963, I let my staff go for 10 days of Christmas recess. This, it turned out, prevented any vacation for me. The entire recess, my home telephone rang with requests for help; and, with my staff gone, I had to do the work myself. Here is the kind of request you cannot put off:

A man requested a military funeral for his brother, a decorated veteran. The local military authorities reported that the honor guard was off on Christmas furlough. This being Saturday afternoon and the veteran

due to be buried on Monday, the matter could scarcely wait until my staff got back. I phoned all nearby military installations and insisted that men be summoned back to bury a man who had fought for his country when it needed him. After nine phone calls, I won him a full military funeral with honor guard, rifle salute, and taps.

A sergeant with 14 years in the Air Force gets orders for Vietnam. He welcomes his dangerous assignment, but—of all things for an airman—suffers from aeroneurosis, a fear of flying; he therefore requests help to get to Vietnam by ship instead of plane. Now they have heard everything.

A farm in my district bids to supply rabbits for medical research at the Walter Reed Hospital in Washington. It is low bidder, but the procurement officials lack confidence in the capacity of the farm—notwithstanding the rabbit's well-publicized talent for multiplication. At my request, the Army looks further into the farm's reproductivity and awards it a contract to supply 3,000 rabbits.

Many of the problems brought to me are trivial, except to those who bring them. In recent months, I have settled a complaint that the post office trucks wake up the neighborhood at 4:30 a.m.; obtained an explanation from the Food and Drug Administration to a firm's objections that fish flour had been ruled unacceptable for human consumption; persuaded the employees' association of the Social Security Administration to contribute $300 to a local volunteer fire department.

Some cases are exasperating:

When a Navy enlisted man, a popular square dance teacher, was ordered to sea, the community got up a petition to have him stay. The Navy felt there were more important matters to attend to elsewhere in the world. I agreed.

A father charges discrimination because his son, a high school graduate, had failed an Army screening test. I learned from the recruiting sergeant that with a passing grade of 31 percent, the boy got only 3 percent. I asked the recruiting sergeant to give him some books to study.

One case involved me in an unusual experience. Neighbors complained of generator noises at a Nike site. The following Sunday while out driving with my son, I went by the installation and decided to pay it a visit. I presented a card, indicating my membership in Congress and on the Armed Services Committee. By way of welcome, the sentry put a clip of bullets in his carbine, searched my car (which bore congressional license plates), then checked with his superiors all the way to brigade headquarters. I was denied admission to the site.

Later, I learned that Army counterintelligence agents attempt to enter missile sites, armed with forged credentials: if they get in, the admitting officers are in trouble. Thus, I was suspected of being—not a Communist spy—but an Army counterintelligence agent pretending to be a Congressman.

The accomplishment of which I am most proud resulted from a visit by a distinguished couple after I took office. Dr. Lomsky and his wife had fled the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948, leaving behind—with Mrs. Lomsky's parents, as too young to carry through the hardships that lay ahead—a baby daughter named "Radmila." The Lomskys at length found their way here and became American citizens. In the years since, they have endeavored to get their daughter, now 17, released to join them. They had about given up hope when a friend persuaded them to see me.

The State Department could promise little, aside from offering to admit the girl, if I could get her released. I wrote the Czechoslovakian Ambassador. No answer. I wrote President Novotny. No answer. In the months that followed, I wrote again and again. Same silence.

Then I asked Khruschchev to intercede with his Communist ally. No response from him, either; but several weeks later I received a reply from the new Czechoslovakian Ambassador, Dr. Karel Duda, who said that because of my interest the case would be reopened. No word for another 6 weeks. Then President Kennedy was assassinated. The alleged assassin—though surely acting on his own—had a Communist background and the Communists were concerned over American public opinion. Seeking some small good out of this terrible misfortune, I wrote to the President of Czechoslovakia: "In view of the recent tragedy, releasing Radmila Lomsky might do much to reduce world tension."

A few days later, Dr. Duda phoned his wish to visit my office. I alerted the Lomskys. The Ambassador, a remarkably young-looking man, informed me that the Czech authorities had just called on Radmila to tell her that she could leave.

He then lingered, expressing his admiration for President Kennedy and his many favorable impressions of the United States. When he left I picked up the phone to carry out the pleasantest duty I have had to perform as Congressman. A month later, Radmila came down at Friendship Airport to the arms of her family.

I recently took her to Washington to meet President Johnson and to see the Speaker of the House, JOHN MCCORMACK. Speaker MCCORMACK exclaimed: "What a lovely young lady." And she certainly is—blonde, pretty, well adjusted, she gets high marks at Catonsville High School and was the first person to be awarded a new scholarship for the study of ballet at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore.

I shall always treasure the letter I got from her father: "Even though Radmila is now with us and has completely filled our house with gaiety and happiness, my wife and I still find it difficult to believe that our years of heartbreak and anxiety are ended. As one father to another, I offer you my undying gratitude for your humane efforts in rescuing us. Your action in behalf of my family in time of need is especially reassuring to us as new citizens. Where but in America could we have received such personal and persistent attention from a high elected official?"

Cases like this are rewarding, but there are those who deplore this kind of service as keeping a Congressman from his main job of legislation. Indeed, a Congressman could scarcely vote wisely on the thousands of bills introduced each year, even if he spent full time on legislation. With all this busy work, he is good to know the issues on the major bills.

Nevertheless, I have come to appreciate the value of this service work. For one thing, it keeps me close to the people. The hundreds of contacts with people make me a better Representative, for to represent my people I must know what they want.

More important, with the growing size and complexity of Government—the State Department Building alone has 5 miles of corridors—the ordinary person often does not know where to address his prayer for relief.

Here is where the Congressman comes in. He cannot safely close his desk at 5, or seal himself off from the people; for he must go back for reelection every 2 years. And his vote gives him the power needed to get the ear of a too-often indifferent bureaucracy. The Congressman is thus the fellow who humanizes big government. As government continues to grow, the need for the human intervention will unquestionably grow with it. More and more, it is safe to predict, people in need of help will recall the old American saying, "Write your Congressman."

Wage-Price Guidelines Breached

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, a number of recent labor settlements, particularly the UAW-Chrysler agreement, have seriously breached the administration's guideposts for noninflationary wage behavior. In an expanding economy where rising demand is already beginning to press against capacity in some lines, these labor settlements signal a possible resumption of the wage-price spiral and a general inflationary trend in the economy.

In striking contrast to the action of the administration at the time steel prices were increased in 1964 and 1963, no sign of official disapproval of these potentially inflationary labor pacts has come from the administration. Evidently the wage-price guideposts will be invoked against business but not against labor.

A recent article in the Washington Post of September 11 discusses four recent labor settlements that seriously breach the wage-price guideposts. Under unanimous consent, I include this article in the RECORD:

WAGE-PRICE GUIDES HIT BY RECENT ACCORDS
(By Frank C. Porter)

The administration's antiinflationary wage-price guideposts stood bent and battered yesterday under the hurricane force of two lush labor settlements which may eventually affect nearly 2 million workers.

Almost overlooked in the controversy over Wednesday's high-prire pact between Chrysler Corp. and the United Auto Workers was an agreement 13 hours later between the Communications Workers of America and the Michigan Bell Telephone Co.

While the Chrysler package increase has been estimated variously from 4.3 to 4.7 percent annually—a clear breach of the 3.2 percent guidepost formula—the Bell settlement appears to call for a 5-percent boost.

And although administration spokesmen have laid great stress on auto negotiations as a bellwether for other industries, the Michigan telephone settlement may be only slightly less strategic. It is expected to serve as a contract pattern for 750,000 Bell System employees throughout the country and influence negotiations involving thousands of other communications workers.

Although both settlements violate the guidepost in the literal sense, private and Government economists here stress that the 3.2 percent standard offered by the President's Council of Economic Advisers is intended as an average, not as the precise target for every settlement. Thus some contracts can be expected to fall below it and others to exceed it.

In the first 6 months of 1964 the average annual wage and fringe benefit increase of negotiated contracts figured out to 3.2 percent, the guidepost level.

The administration warned the UAW and the auto industry as early as last March that excessive contract increases could threaten the extraordinary price stability of the past 7 years by inducing other unions to seek similar gains and thus stimulate a new round of wage-price or "cost-push" inflation.

But UAW officials deny the auto industry is a bellwether. They contend that market forces rather than example determine labor settlements. In other words, few industries could afford to pay the contract gains the UAW expected from the carmakers, whose profit margins are about the highest in the Nation.

While attention was rivited on the auto industry, two major settlements which exceeded the wage guidepost went practically unnoticed earlier this summer.

One involved the Nation's big oil companies and the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union; the other, the big rubber firms and the United Rubber Workers.

The annual wage and benefit gains contained in both agreements have been generally estimated at about 4.5 percent—roughly in the same range as the gains won by the auto workers.

Some analysis suggest that the UAW and CWA pacts merely followed a pattern set in the rubber and oil industries, that it would be unfair to point an accusatory finger at either union when the precedent they followed had gone unchallenged.

And defenders of the UAW and its president, Walter P. Reuther, argue that the union was justified in piercing the administration's wage standard because management had failed to go along with the price guidepost.

The general guide set on wages warns that contract gains should be in line with the national trend of increased annual output per worker, which averages 3.2 percent over the past 5 years. The price guidepost calls on industries where this productivity increase exceeds the national trend—it has been 4.9 percent in autos since the war—to reduce prices.

Although Labor Department figures show a slight dip in car prices since 1958, mostly due to quality improvement, the decrease is not proportionate to the excess of industry productivity gains over the national average.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this

Appendix

"New Vistas in Space"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, during the last several years, the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee has advocated that our national space program should furnish a broad-based technological basis for the exploration of space that would enable our Nation to achieve its goal of preeminence in space. To this end, we have authorized the appropriation of large sums of money to accomplish this purpose. We have repeatedly defended these funds, on the basis that they should be used to support a well-balanced national space effort, and should not be pegged to an individual program, such as landing on the moon, and should not be viewed in such narrow proportions as merely the accomplishment of a mission of landing on the moon and return. We have encouraged NASA to establish parameters for a broad technological base which will serve this Nation for decades to come, and to look beyond the present, in order to plan for the future.

I am happy to find that knowledgeable people are agreeing with this philosophy; and I take this opportunity to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the September 21 edition of Aviation Week and Space Technology, and written by Editor Robert Hotz. Mr. Hotz has long been associated with aviation and aerospace technological development, and I commend to all the reading of his recent editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW VISTAS IN SPACE

Even before its first decade is complete, the space age is opening onto new vistas. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration currently is finishing an interesting exercise (see p. 22) aimed at examing the new technology that has been created during the first 7 years of the space age and projecting what can be done with it in the decade ahead. Even a cursory examination of space progress shows clearly that it has far surpassed the rosiest predictions of its early prophets. The new vistas that are opening for the future would have been inconceivable a decade ago.

The fact that the principal legislative architect of the U.S. space program, President Lyndon B. Johnson, is in the midst of a reelection campaign has certainly played a part in the timing of NASA's new exercise. But technical pressure generated by the rapid progress of the past few years made such an exercise inevitable regardless of the political factors. Most of the scientists, engineers and administrators involved in the NASA-industry partnership have been engaged so intensely in pushing specific projects that it has been difficult for them to grasp the full significance of the enormous foundation of new technology they have constructed for the future. Nor do the American people who have enthusiastically supported the national space program, both financially and emotionally, fully understand the implications generated by its early achievements. Thus, we think that NASA's current effort in attempting to sketch this new technological base and project its applications for the future should serve an extremely useful purpose.

U.S. LEADERSHIP

The first phase of the U.S. space program was strictly a defensive reaction to the pioneering achievement of the Soviet Union. For too many years it was a grueling stern chase that demanded extraordinary financial and technical effort to overcome the gap created by complacency. This phase has just about ended. Although the Soviets still maintain a significant lead in some aspects of manned space flight, the United States has created a much broader foundation of space technology. This Nation has clearly established international leadership in space science and such applications as communications and weather operational satellite systems while slicing the Soviet lead in manned flight.

The hardware for the second generation of U.S. space systems is already in the flight test stage and its feasibility already demonstrated. This is why it is necessary now to organize a new type of national space program based not on the simple concept of overtaking the Soviets but on utilizing the new riches of space technology to serve domestic and international goals of U.S. policy.

Some people may wonder why it is necessary or even desirable now to chart a new space program when the principal goal of the present program—manned landing on the moon—has not yet been reached. There are two reasons why this exercise is necessary now. The first is that most of the basic new hardware that will be used to complete the Apollo moon landing program has been designed and is being constructed and tested. The technological capabilities of this equipment are already clear even though they have not yet been refined and tested by a full-scale lunar landing operation. Second, if the capabilities that are already within the realm of possibility are not now organized into programs projecting them beyond the lunar landing, they will not reach fruition in time to assure the full exploitation of this hardware in its operationally reliable stage.

Although responsible NASA officials have been harping on this subject for the past few years, it is still not widely understood that the Apollo lunar landing program is not an end in itself but rather the focal point for the creation of a new reservoir of fundamental technology that can be applied equally well in unveiling the mysteries of outer space or improving the lot of man on earth. Now that much of this technology is visible, tangible hardware and functioning systems, this point should be easier to understand, even for skeptics such as Senators FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, and PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin.

SECOND-GENERATION HARDWARE

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the major capability increases possible from the second-generation space hardware now coming into being. The new OGO scientific satellite will be able to provide from 10 to 20 times more data than the IMP satellite now sweeping space in huge elliptical orbits that almost span the distance between earth and the moon. Saturn 5 booster being built for the Apollo mission will have the ability to orbit a 120-ton payload—more than 50 times the weight of the initial Mercury capsules. How to use this 120-ton earth orbit capability will certainly be one of the major questions posed in the current NASA study. A whole new spectrum of power has been created, ranging from the three tons of thrust per second of the huge liquid-fueled boosters through electric, nuclear and ionic power down to systems whose power can be calibrated in micromouse burps and can function for years without servicing. Harnessing these new energy sources for earth as well as space applications may be one of the most technically significant developments of the next decade.

NASA is picking an excellent time, aside from the election implications, to inventory the achievements of space technology and project them into a future format that will give the national space program a focus and purpose beyond the Apollo lunar landings. For the development of space technology will continue to open new vistas for man and his universe that cannot yet be perceived from this point in time with our vision still clouded by the earth's atmospheric sheath.

ROBERT HOTZ.

Address by the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, of South Carolina, on the Occasion of the Commissioning of the Polaris Submarine "John C. Calhoun"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PORTER HARDY, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, on September 15, the 26th of our Navy's mighty Polaris submarines was commissioned. She is the U.S.S. *John C. Calhoun*, bearing the name of a great South Carolina statesman. The commissioning address appropriately was delivered by our able and distinguished colleague from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS].

This fine new vessel will add strength to our Nation just as the statesman whose name she bears was a bulwark of strength to our country during another perilous time in our history. An excellent ship, she is a product of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., located across the river from me in TOM DOWNING's congressional district. Many of my constituents work in that yard

and have applied their skills and their experience to making each succeeding vessel built there a little better than its predecessor. And so, this is the finest of our Polaris submarines yet to enter active service.

Mr. Speaker, it was fitting that Mr. RIVERS, a worthy successor in the Halls of Congress to the great John C. Calhoun, should make the address on this occasion, and his remarks were so appropriate, so interesting and informative that I commend them to the reading of the entire membership. His address follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT THE COMMISSIONING OF THE "JOHN C. CALHOUN" SSB(N)630: SEPTEMBER 15, 1964; NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

About 182 years ago, two boys were born in a new nation—one in the North and the other in the South of this infant, struggling member of that cold and brutal domicile we call the family of nations, this new concept in democracy, only an experiment in self-government, was never before attempted, and it has never since been equaled.

The one child from the North—Daniel Webster—was born in a log cabin on the bleak and frigid slopes of New Hampshire. The other—John Caldwell Calhoun—in the warmer, friendly climate of frontier South Carolina.

Each of these children was destined to become an imperishable cord in the fabric of our American heritage. Each was destined to be part and parcel of the warp and woof of the American loom which was to weave other mental giants. Each was to add to the legacy of every American. Each was to leave his imprint indelibly inscribed in every history book portraying the American story.

Prophetic words were destined to come from the lips of each. In 1832, Daniel Webster said: "If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our Treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley, all these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty?

"Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which united national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No. If these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw. The edifice of constitutional American liberty."

For this immortal American, a grateful country named her 18th Polaris submarine.

Now the other immortal, who devoted his life to the defense of Constitutional American liberty and States rights, shall be forever remembered as a man who loved his country. Revered its traditions. Protected its mores. Vigilantly defended its form of Government, and never once in his entire life surrendered his principles.

I regard this honor honor of participating in the commissioning of our 26th fleet ballistic missile submarine, named in memory of that other incomparable American—John Caldwell Calhoun—a privilege I shall cherish so long as I shall live.

With pardonable pride and with a sense of deep humility, I count it one of the highlights of my uneventful and unimportant life that I was able to persuade the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy to name this submarine for our own immortal South Carolinian.

In the book I hold in my hand, "Profiles in Courage," written by the late President John F. Kennedy, are these words quoted from Daniel Webster portraying John Caldwell Calhoun: "Much the ablest man in the Senate." The greatest in fact he had met in his entire life. "He could have," declared Webster, "demolished Isaac Newton, John Calvin, and even John Locke as a logician. His speeches, stripped of all excess verbiage marched across the Senate floor in even columns, measured, disciplined, carrying all before them." Webster knew this man. Webster knew Calhoun as no other man did. He met Calhoun on the field of battle, the floor of the Senate of the United States. And there, he felt the wounds of conflict.

Sailors, I am told, are alleged to be somewhat superstitious and conscious of good and bad omens. And therefore, perhaps the name of a ship—and especially a ship as important to the Nation as this one—may have great significance to the two crews that are assigned to her. If so—this submarine will sail over and under the seas protected by the name and memory of an American who has no equal in our history.

Greatness epitomized Calhoun and genius was his at a very early age. He graduated from Yale College in 2 years and, in the process, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa—the acme of collegiate intellectual attainment.

Indeed, John Caldwell Calhoun was a great man. He dwarfed his contemporaries as does the lordly cedar of the mountain tower over the blushing violet of the valley. He was a lawyer, a member of the South Carolina General Assembly, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, Vice President of the United States, and a Member of the U.S. Senate.

There was in his character many of the attributes of those who serve aboard our submarines. He was independent of thought and independent of action. Surely, there is nothing more independent than a Polaris submarine on station far from the shores of America. And, I say to you, his death did not toll the end of States rights.

Calhoun was a lonely man. Not because he lacked friends or family, but because of such superb intellect. He was lonely because he knew that with the death of State sovereignty, came the death of individual freedom. He knew that a powerful bureaucracy meant a weak State sovereignty. He knew that a strong Washington meant a weak Virginia or South Carolina.

He was a brilliant man who preferred to lead rather than be led; he was a genius serving with many who could only aspire to genius.

And in his loneliness, there is a kinship for those of you who will carry with you the awesome responsibility of guarding our Nation from the depths of the ocean or the sanctums of the sea.

All of you who compose the officers and crew of this submarine have demonstrated a capability and a degree of accomplishment that sets you aside from others. You truly can be compared with the man for whom this submarine is named.

Since you will have so much in common with John Caldwell Calhoun, I propose to you that you adopt a motto for this submarine taken from the lips of this patriot. I hope that aboard this submarine in some conspicuous spot you place a plaque and imprint upon it these words of Calhoun: "The honor of a nation it its life."

As she goes forth to sea, I sincerely hope that each of you will be blessed with the ability, the foresight, the determination, the steadfastness, the patience, the stamina, and the personal courage of the man for whom this submarine is named.

Perhaps you did not know that among the many achievements of John Caldwell Calhoun was the unheralded fact that while serving as Secretary of War, he is considered by many to have been the progenitor of the Monroe Doctrine. This may be hearsay in Virginia, but it is history in South Carolina. I am afraid that he would not recognize its application today, but nevertheless it still remains American policy, ignored and shattered as it may be.

And perhaps you would be interested to learn that John Caldwell Calhoun, as Secretary of War, fought to obtain added benefits for members of the Armed Forces. And this is every American's job.

And it was John Caldwell Calhoun who issued these prophetic words many years ago, "However removed our citizens from the great powers of the world and how pacific our policy, we are liable to be involved in war—perpetual peace is a dream which no nation has had the good fortune to enjoy."

As a war hawk who survived the vengeance of the Indian, he knew as no other American, the words of the greatest philosopher, Plato, who said: "Only the dead have seen the end of war."

He knew as did few that peace is only for those who can protect it. He knew that when the war tocsin sounds, only the strong can come forth, and only the ready remain.

Had there been more John Caldwell Calhouns in 1916, and more John Caldwell Calhouns in 1938, and more John Caldwell Calhouns in 1949, perhaps the policy of constant preparedness, for which he fought, would have prevented the wars which have taken so many precious flowers of our American manhood.

John Caldwell Calhoun was a discerning man and an incomparable judge of men. As Secretary of War, for example, he personally screened every cadet at West Point, and 1 year, after the names of 35 Virginians had been submitted to him as possible cadets at West Point, he approved only 9.

Among those nine were three who were destined to become the great leaders of the lost cause—Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Jefferson Davis.

So, ladies and gentlemen—I extend my sincere best wishes to the officers and men who will man this submarine; I congratulate the builders, and on behalf of the citizens of this great Nation, I welcome this submarine to the ever-growing fleet of ballistic submarines which have become a hallmark in our defense posture.

I also welcome the officers and men of this ship to their home port of Charleston. Certainly, nothing could be more appropriate for this submarine, with its awesome destructive power, with its highly trained crew, and with its monumental responsibility, than to sail into Charleston Harbor—where rests the remains of that restless man—and rekindle once again the spirit of John Caldwell Calhoun among the people of my Charleston, and our people of South Carolina, who revere his memory and praise his name.

You will find that Charleston is proud of America's military might; proud of the knowledge that Charleston is a vital Polaris submarine base; and proud of a ship that bears the name of John Caldwell Calhoun; and proud that while we protect the past, we, too, have concern for the future.

And just as Charlestonians and South Carolinians will be proud of this submarine, so also will they be proud of you—the officers and men who will have the priceless privilege of serving aboard this great addition to the naval might of America—the

only nation on earth capable of leading the free world—long may her land be bright, protect her by your might, Great God our King.

No TV Debates This Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the unfortunate action of 44 Democratic Senators in killing the legislation authorizing debates and other TV and radio appearances by major presidential and vice-presidential candidates has attracted a considerable amount of editorial comment, most of it understandably unfavorable.

In addition, the action is having some very unfortunate results wholly outside the political arena. The defeat of this legislation apparently has forced the cancellation of a television appeal by the President of the United States for the annual charity drive of the United Fund and the Community Chest. The responsibility for this blow to the charity and welfare programs financed by these community agencies must, of course, rest on those who refused to allow passage of this equal time suspension bill.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD some sample editorials on the Senate's action, together with an article published in the Wall Street Journal detailing this unfortunate, but wholly foreseeable, side effect of the Senate's decision.

There being no objection, the editorials and the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 20, 1964]

NO DEBATE

The decision of President Johnson to avoid a television debate with Senator GOLDWATER is poor public policy, whether or not it is wise politics. The Senate Democrats were clearly deferring to the President's assessment of his own political interests when they voted to table the bill which would have suspended the equal-time requirement and thus cleared the way for a direct confrontation before a nationwide audience.

It is in the public's interest that a presidential campaign should approach as nearly as possible a coherent and responsive dialog between the two candidates. The televised debates, as our experience of 1960 demonstrated, are valuable in developing that dialog. They could have been especially useful this year in view of the Republican candidate's apparent determination to avoid press conferences and his propensity for repudiating or reinterpreting his previous remarks.

President Johnson is not a man given to underconfidence in his own persuasiveness. His reticence in this instance has put an unfortunate limit on the evidence available to the voters in judging which nominee is better qualified to act as spokesman for this Nation before the world.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 20, 1964]

A BACKWARD STEP ON EQUAL TIME

When the Senate obliged the President by killing the equal time suspension bill, it meant neatly to torpedo any prospect of a 1964 series of debates between Mr. Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER—and to relieve Mr. Johnson of any embarrassment he might have felt at personally turning down the Goldwatr challenge.

But it did more. It deliberately threw a major block in the path of the broadcast industry in its effort fairly, honestly, and fully to cover the campaign. It knowingly denied the Nation's voters the right to have this coverage. Killing the bill (which had previously passed both houses, with overwhelming bipartisan support) was a shoddy bit of backstage political trickstering. And it was clearly dictated, for his own political advantage, by President Johnson.

This was not just a "great debates" bill—though one of its principal purposes was to makes the debates possible. Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 requires broadcasters to provide equal time for all "legally qualified candidates" in any given race, however frivolous their candidacies (and there were at least 14 candidates for the Presidency in 1960). This had the effect of placing broadcasters in an all but impossibly tight straightjacket. This was loosened somewhat in 1959, with legislation exempting certain types of programs—such as on-the-spot news coverage and bona fide news interviews—from the requirements of section 315. But it still left a broad range of potentially useful broadcasting enterprise, including documentaries about the candidates, under its restrictions, which in practical effect amount to a prohibition.

The bill dutifully voted down by obedient Senate Democrats would simply have suspended section 315, as it applied to candidates for President and Vice President only, for the duration of the 1964 campaign, as was done in 1960 and as President Kennedy had urged for 1964.

The networks, which under the 1960 suspension proved themselves scrupulously, even self-consciously, fair in their campaign coverage, are thus barred from serving the public's right to know to the best of their ability. The public has been told that if it thinks it's entitled to the fullest and best possible coverage, it had better think again. Mr. Johnson says no—and for no apparent reason better than a wish to duck a debate challenge by hiding behind a legal obstacle rather than saying no.

Eventually, section 315 ought to be repealed entirely; what's good for the Presidential race—and suspension would have been good—is good for congressional, State, and local races, too. But the least Congress could have done this year would have been not to take the backward step it took in burying even this limited suspension.

[From the New York Journal American, Aug. 20, 1964]

WRONG CHANNEL

By killing a proposal that would have suspended, for the duration of the election campaign, the equal time provision of the Federal Communications Act as applied to broadcasters, the Senate Democrats have done the public a disservice.

It was a squeaker vote, 44 to 41, and it was dubious strategy.

Whether true or not, the impression will remain that the Senate Democrats (excepting 12 who did not vote with the majority) were influenced by the White House. And whether true or not, the impression will remain that the White House wanted to prevent any chance of televised debates between President Johnson and BARRY GOLDWATER.

The ruling out of TV debates made the headlines, but it is not the primary issue.

THE NETWORKS NOW CRIPPLED

The primary issue is that the networks are now crippled in preventing any special reporting of candidates. If they do undertake such reporting, the equal time provision makes them liable to being forced to offer air time to all other candidates of splinter parties.

As Robert W. Sarnoff, president of NBC, pointed out recently in a reasoned letter to the New York Times, equal time "would limit or preclude programs providing background information on the principal candidates and their campaigns—information to which the public is entitled in the process of selecting a President or a Vice President." Such programs were possible in 1960 when the provision was suspended.

As concerns debates, President Johnson, if he wished, could have declined to participate on absolutely valid grounds.

The tremendous responsibilities of his office—the fact that national security might be endangered by a slip of the tongue in the heat of debate—are solid reasons why he could have declined.

The President also is on record before the public—virtually day by day on policies and decisions, and the determination that went into making them. And this, too, could legitimately make debates unnecessary.

That is why, in our opinion, the question of debates is not a primary issue. Capriciously limiting one source of public information is the primary issue, and that is what the Senate Democrats have done.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 20, 1964]

TV IN THE CAMPAIGN

The Senate made a serious mistake, in our opinion, in voting down the proposed amendments to the "equal-time" law. The bills, which had passed both the House and Senate in somewhat different form, were designed to encourage the presentation of the major presidential candidates to television and radio audiences. They would not, of course, have required debates between President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER. Their purpose was to facilitate the arrangement of broadcasts related to the 1964 campaign that would have been mutually satisfactory to the two candidates.

It is most unfortunate that the Democratic hierarchy has rejected this limited relaxation of the present law. The case against requiring equal time on the air for the major national candidates and the candidates of obscure fringe parties, if they demand it, grows stronger every year. We think the provision should be not merely set aside in presidential campaigns but repealed outright as to all political contests.

For the present campaign, however, it is a question of using broadcasting facilities to the maximum extent for presentation of the real candidates without any change in the law. Fortunately, the equal-time requirement does not extend to newscasts or to regularly scheduled interviews. Presumably President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER can appear on such programs as "Meet the Press" or "Face the Nation," for example, without exposing the networks to demands from the fringe candidates. If they were so disposed, it is possible that both could appear together on a regularly scheduled interview of this kind.

It is most unfortunate that the emphasis upon "debates" between the presidential candidates, a form of encounter that ob-

viously met with the disapproval of President Johnson, has resulted in the denial of any legislative relief from the restrictions of the present law. Nevertheless, a great deal of radio and TV "exposure" is possible under the statute as it stands. There is a genuine public interest in expanding legitimate news coverage and interviews to the maximum permissible.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 4, 1964]

JOHNSON MAY FORFEIT TV SPOTS BY REFUSAL TO DEBATE GOLDWATER—EQUAL TIME LAW, IN FORCE THIS YEAR, JEOPARDIZES BROADCAST FOR CHARITY, PRESS SESSIONS

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson's decision not to debate Senator GOLDWATER on television is producing curious side effects: Mr. Johnson apparently won't be able to appear on the TV kickoff of the United Fund and Community Chest campaigns, at least in the traditional format, and he may not be able to schedule any more televised news conferences.

During the election season, the radio and television appearances of the President and all other candidates for office are vitally affected by an otherwise little noticed section of the Communications Act.

Section 315, the equal time law, doesn't say anything about debates or United Fund campaigns, but it does say that if a station permits a candidate for public office to use its facilites it must afford the same opportunity to other candidates for the same office.

The broadcasting industry has long wished Congress would repeal the section, at least for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The networks have no objection; indeed they're anxious to give the two major parties' top candidates lots of prime time—but not if it means giving equal time to a dozen or so splinter party candidates.

When no White House incumbent was running for reelection, there was no problem. Congress suspended section 315 for the 1960 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, meaning that the TV networks could carry the Kennedy-Nixon debates without having to give time to splinter party candidates.

NO SUSPENSION THIS YEAR

But this year the Democratic leadership in Congress refused to suspend the section. Clearly, Congress and the networks were ready but the White House wasn't. Lyndon Johnson never said he wouldn't meet BARRY GOLDWATER in a TV debate, but the Democratic congressional leadership, according to most interpretations, acted on cue from the White House. Mr. Johnson apparently has no intention of sharing with Senator GOLDWATER the big TV audience that the Presidency commands.

There's no indication whether Mr. Johnson realized that this might bar him from almost any Johnson-only TV appearance that the party doesn't pay for. There may be no more televised White House news conferences until after election day; the FCC is studying this question now. There apparently won't be any special programs featuring Mr. Johnson, such as the United Fund-Community Chest kickoff.

The FCC, in response to a request from the United Community Campaigns of America, ruled that if stations carried a Johnson TV appearance for the charity fund campaign, they'd have to make equal time available to Mr. GOLDWATER and all the splinter-party candidates. United Community Campaigns had arranged with NBC to tape-record a 5-minute broadcast by Mr. Johnson at the White House to be carried on all national networks during prime time September 11.

NO "PUBLIC SERVICE" EXEMPTION

The Commission's Democratic and Republican members agreed in the decision that there's nothing in section 315 exempting Presidential broadcasts that are directed "in the public interest or as a public service." Thus, if stations air a candidate's fund appeal they'll be liable for equal-time demands; it's "immaterial whether or not a candidate uses the time to discuss matters related to his candidacy," the FCC said.

The Commission did offer the thought that perhaps a Johnson fund appeal could be carried in a different format. Congress in 1959, it noted, amended section 315 to exempt appearances of candidates on "bona fide newscasts," news interviews and in documentaries and "on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news events." The FCC suggested that perhaps a tape of a Presidential appeal could be worked into network news programs without incurring the equal-time liability. But the Commission didn't guarantee it would find such an arrangement exempt; it wasn't asked to pass on that question, the agency said.

The FCC's basic decision breaks new ground, though it isn't precedent shattering. During the 1956 campaign, President Eisenhower appeared in a special telecast to talk to the Nation about the Suez Canal crisis. Adlai Stevenson demanded equal time and the FCC turned him down.

Attacks on Supreme Court Have Historic Precedents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, in the Congress of the United States today we have a "heads you win, tails I lose" situation. When Republicans are in the minority as indeed they are in this Chamber, the administration is able to ride roughshod over the rights of the minority and use any parliamentary device it desires with little regard to morality of fair play. How clearly this was illustrated in the wheat-cotton bill. But consider the other body where those who favor calling a halt to Supreme Court intrusion in the field of State reapportionment are in the majority as evidenced by several recent votes. Yes, the people of the United States are prevented from expressing their will by a band of liberals who are afraid to let the issue come to a vote. Certainly the citizens of our Nation have a right under the Constitution to insist that the Supreme Court be a judicial rather than a legislative body and that is the purpose of the Tuck bill which recently passed this House. It is also the purpose, though somewhat less clearly defined, of the Dirksen proposal.

Following is an article by Mr. William Buckley, Jr., from the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, which puts this issue in its proper perspective:

ATTACKS ON SUPREME COURT HAVE HISTORIC PRECEDENTS

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

Senator GOLDWATER has opened up an issue than which there is no more important in the domestic scene, it seems to me. And his doing so has elicited howls of pain and rage from—are you surprised?—precisely those forces who pledge their eternal allegiance to freedom of speech and to the imperatives of rhetorical moderation.

The man in Washington most influential in matters that have to do with the Supreme Court, with the single exception of Chief Justice Warren himself and of course the President, is Mr. EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

Said he, reacting to Senator GOLDWATER's speech: "—(an act of) violent demagoguery (which) can only incite disrespect for law and order."

To make absolutely sure he had made his point, Representative CELLER urged the Nation to beware of GOLDWATER much as it would beware of Hitler or Mussolini. "One of the first and surest steps to totalitarianism is taking away the independence of the courts of a nation. That was what Hitler and Mussolini did."

The trouble with EMANUEL CELLER's squidlike reaction to Senator GOLDWATER's charge is that it presupposes that any criticism of the leadership of the Supreme Court equals an attack on the independence of the Court. To take such a position is to assume that there never has been, and could not possibly be, such a thing as judicial abuse, or judicial tyranny.

Suppose Mr. CELLER's philosophy had obtained in 1857, at the time the Supreme Court laid down the Dred Scott decision, whose meaning was in effect that Negroes are not human beings, but merely pieces of property? Would it have been an attack upon the independence of the Supreme Court to have railed against that decision—as for instance Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau did? And the New York Times? And Abraham Lincoln?

Those who are increasingly impatient with Senator GOLDWATER should consider the difficulty he has in making his points, so poised are his critics to emit their keening criticisms of his remarks.

The Senator said that the Supreme Court in these days is "the least faithful to the constitutional tradition of limited government of the three branches of government." He singled out as examples the two decisions of the Supreme Court respecting school prayer and reapportionment. These two issues are not the subject of this analysis, but rather the question whether it is any longer permissible to criticize the Court.

Now Senator GOLDWATER's point is that the Supreme Court has overstepped its constitutional function by misconceiving itself as a body with essentially legislative rather than judicial functions. Is this an extremist view?

Prof. Edward Corwin of Princeton University, for years acknowledged as perhaps even the foremost authority on constitutional law, a few months before his death deplored the "aggressive tendencies" of the Warren Court. The chief justice of the individual States passed a resolution of censure against Mr. Warren in 1958.

In that same year Mr. Justice Learned Hand, lecturing at Harvard University, remarked acidly that the Warren Court had turned itself into a "third legislative chamber."

Senator GOLDWATER uttered a sentence which in my judgment is a profound as any he or anyone has recently made, when he said in his speech to the political scientists in Chicago: "The question under our system of government is not simply what decision is right, but also who has the right to decide: only when the latter question is answered, should the former be considered."

That is quintessential conservative doctrine, for those who wonder what conservatism consists in, and Senator GOLDWATER brilliantly lives up to his function as a crystallizer of the conservative position by uttering it.

The argument, Senator GOLDWATER is saying, is not whether it is right or wrong under the aspect of the heavens that the regents

of New York State should have prescribed a prayer for those who wished to utter it at the beginning of classes or whether the State of Tennessee gives adequate privileges to urban voters: but rather, what are the means set down by the Constitution for correcting these measures, if indeed they are to be corrected?

The means set down are primarily legislative, not judicial: and it is a friend of the Constitution, and a mature student of a viable political freedom, who has the courage to remark the growth of judicial tyranny.

Legislative Reapportionment: The Hopeless Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "The Hopeless Situation," from the Richmond News Leader of September 22, 1964.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HOPELESS SITUATION

A litle more than 2 years ago, on April 7, 1962, Governor Harrison signed the reapportionment bill recently enacted by the Virginia General Assembly. It wasn't much of a bill, as this newspaper commented at the time. The new law corrected a few gross inequalities that had developed in the preceding 10 years, but it left some large and obvious discrepancies in the allocation of seats in Virginia's house and senate.

Mr. Harrison did his best to put a good face on the matter. To those who complained that the cities were being shortchanged, he pointed out that 55 of the 100 house seats and 29 of the 40 senatorial districts served urban areas. He dwelled upon the difficulties of fair apportionment in a State that stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Allegheny Mountains. "Ours is a large State of diverse interests and habits." He commented especially upon the difference in the task of a legislator who serves a single county or city alone, by contrast with the task of a legislator who serves half a dozen political subdivisions.

Population alone should not be the sole measure of fairness in allocating legislative seats, the Governor insisted. Geography counts for something, and community of interest, and the convenience of the people. By long tradition, Virginia never has divided any city or county in different legislative districts. He felt confident this sensible practice would be preserved. "Virginia would be faced with an utterly hopeless situation were population the sole basis of reapportionment."

We recall these remarks of Mr. Harrison by way of emphasizing how drastically conditions have changed since he spoke 2 years and 5 months ago. Now, by decree of the Supreme Court, population has indeed become the sole basis of reapportionment. Custom, tradition, convenience, community, and geography have been outlawed altogether. Virginia's 1962 act has been declared unconstitutional. In November, the assembly must be summoned into special session to tackle the "utterly hopeless situation."

Now, the problem in this whole controversy over reapportionment is that the equities are sorely divided. It would be so much easier to denounce the Supreme Court altogether, or to uphold the Supreme Court altogether; or per contra, to insist that the States were altogether right, or altogether wrong. No such neat and simplified position can be taken.

The palpable fact is that the State legislatures, over a long period of years, have grossly neglected their plain duty in this field. The record is clear, and the record is shameful. Virginia's course of conduct has been far superior to that of most other States, but even here, the assembly's 1962 reapportionment act complacently provided a Seventh Senate District of 61,700 persons and a Ninth Senate District of 163,400. Those who seek to defend this sort of thing are defending the indefensible.

Thus we are persuaded that the Supreme Court was not wholly in error, in the original Tennesesee case, in concluding that such gross inequities could be made subject to judicial relief. A persuasive case could be made, so long as one were deaf to the history and intention of the 14th amendment, that Tennessee was denying some of its people equal protection of the laws.

If the Supreme Court had been content with a reasonable and restrained construction of the 14th in this application, it is likely that more good than harm, on balance, would have resulted. The most flagrantly offending States would have been nudged into the making of necessary reforms, but there would have been no political revolution.

The Supreme Court was not content with such a course. On June 15 of this year, it handed down its reckless and doctrinaire decision asserting that population, and population only, must be the controlling factor. In that sweeping opinion, one of the great checks and balances of the American political system was nullified. The Court was just as wrong in its direction as the offending States were wrong on their side.

Now Virginia is caught in the judicial whirlwind. Mr. Harrison, to his great credit, has kept his head. He has asked the necessary people to make the necessary studies. He has neither capitulated nor defied. The assembly will try its hand once more. And if the assembly fails to suit the judges' egalitarian fancies? Then presumably the judges themselves will draw legislative districts with judicial pens.

These are the unpalatable alternatives—the rape of fair play on one hand, the rape of the Constitution on the other. In this dilemma, only the Congress of the United States can provide prompt relief by submitting a constitutional amendment that would permit the States to apportion one legislative chamber on factors other than pure population. The very submission of such a proposal might tame the ardor of our Federal judges, and thus provide a breathing space in which abstract "equality" could be made reasonably subject to the demands of commonsense.

Farmer's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERNON W. THOMSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Publisher and Editor Arnott Widstrand, Jr., in his paper, the La Farge Enterprise, calls for greater recognition of the contributions made by the American farmers. In the colorful and historic Kickapoo Valley of Wisconsin, Editor Widstrand is painfully aware that the parity index of 74 percent is the lowest since the thirties and the cost-price squeeze on the American farmers is the most offensive in many decades. His editorial suggests a method of recognizing through a day of public tribute the debt of the consumer to the producers of America's food and fiber. Under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include this editorial:

FARMER'S DAY

With the turbulence of our time an idea has struck which might be a step toward solving a social injustice which has long been neglected.

We suggest that a day of the year be set aside as "Farmer Day," a sequel to our Labor Day holiday.

"Labor," that priceless commodity, without which nothing is accomplished, has made great strides in the past 30 years. They now bargain with equality, pride, and effectiveness at the bargaining table. The fruits of labor are now more equally shared by the laborer.

Not so with the farmer. He is disoriented and split on methods and policy in an almost impossible jumble of marketing process. He still takes what is offered and pays what is asked in his selling and buying.

In this day of the NFO we have the farmer desperately trying to raise his income in order that he may live on the same standard as the rest of the citizens. He works harder and longer than most citizens and enjoys less of the fruits of his labor.

Farming today is a highly technical operation. And besides the skill required to make the operation successful, a substantial capital investment must be made.

The family farmer needs help in our new great society and one step is to give him recognition. Surely, we all must realize that the great abundance of food we enjoy is made possible by farmers.

With May, July, September, and November taken up with holidays, we suggest early spring, March or April, when the soil is beginning to awake, and the farmer again is planning to make his gigantic effort and magnificent contribution to our society, as the proper time for the holiday. Let's recognize him as a hard-working man, a shrewd businessman and an equal citizen with a Farmer Day.—Ed.

Keeping an Eye on Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, the need for watchfulness against the insidious enemy—inflation, has been voiced by Members of this House, distinguished economists, on both sides of the aisle; and it is hopeful and comforting to note that editorialists are keeping a watchful, perspective eye on the problem.

I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues such an editorial from Newsday, Tuesday, September 22, 1964:

FUEL FOR INFLATION

Walter Reuther having achieved major benefits for his UAW members in contracts with Chrysler and Ford (General Motors still is to come), the cycle of inflation has now been given a trial spin by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers' Union. The motor contracts have been described by all concerned as noninflationary, on the basis that wage increases and fringe benefits will be paid from increased earnings. Such is not the case with steel, the other bellwether American industry. McDonald says that wages and hours ought to be substantially improved when the union negotiates next year for new contracts. If the auto settlements represent a basis for steel, then the guidelines set up by the President's economic advisers will be breached—and here we go again.

In the last several years, progress has been made toward holding inflation in curb and toward reducing the growth in the cost of living. If steel follows the trend set by autos, unquestionably smaller industries will fall in line. Prosperity, as we all ought to have learned from the late 1920's, can if unregulated become galloping inflation, and the only sequel is a massive depression. Someone, possibly the President, ought to remind the steelworkers that there are limits to what the industry can pay without raising prices.

Johnson's Race Against Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article by Columnist John Chamberlain appearing in the Washington Post of September 21, 1964. While, in the opinion of some, things appear good for the President at the present time, just what problems he faces in the future are clearly set forth by Mr. Chamberlain.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 21, 1964]

THESE DAYS

(By John Chamberlain)

JOHNSON'S RACE AGAINST TIME

Things look good for Lyndon Johnson. With the polls falling his way, he has been able to cultivate a panic psychology among the more fainthearted Republicans. He will probably win in November by a thumping majority in some 40 out of 50 States if the present conservative apathy persists. Even so, he will, if successful, almost certainly feel that he has just made it by a hair in a fantastic race against time.

The big thing hanging over his head is South Vietnam. There is obviously no government in that country that is worth the name. The assassination of Diem and Nhu and the banishment or imprisonment of their followers vitrually cleaned out everyone capable of running a government.

As Marguerite Higgins, who deserved, but failed to get, the Pulitzer Prize for her Vietnamese reporting, put it, the Diem coup was as disastrous to South Vietnam as the liquidation of the President, the Vice President, the entire Cabinet, the Speaker of the House, the majority leader of the Senate, the Governors of the 50 States, the mayors of all the big cities and the aspiring minority candidates for all top executive posts would be in America.

Yet, despite the inability of the South Vietnamese to find any base or personnel for either a strong anti-Communist civil government or a stable military dictatorship, the ultimate disaster hasn't happened. General Khanh still is in control. The appointment of a new Russian ambassador to South Vietnam, Ilya Shcherdakov, who was head of the Chinese section of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee during the development of the rift between Moscow and Peiping, portends a continuing struggle between the two big Red powers for the control of North Vietnam. So the United States plays in luck here. Since the disaffected students have given General Khanh 2 months in which to "democratize" his South Vietnamese regime, he will probably be around until after the American presidential election is over.

What will happen then will be of great moment to the world. But if Thich Tri Quang, the Buddhist troublemaker who got his indoctrination in subversion from the North Vietnamese, emerges next year as a neutralist head of state in South Vietnam, all BARRY GOLDWATER can do will be to say from his Phoenix retirement, "I thought this would happen."

Another thing hanging over Lyndon Johnson's head is the coming inflationary impact of the Chrysler and Ford labor contracts. When General Motors and certain automotive parts companies have all signed similar agreements, the pressure will be on every other union in the United States to come up with equivalent victories. The steel union bosses, in particular, will be put on notice by their followers to "stand and deliver." Higher steel wages will, of a certainty, mean higher steel prices, and these will either have to be absorbed by fabricating companies (at a cost to profit margins) or passed along to the consumer (at a cost of diminished turnover).

None of this spiraling process will be readily discernible before November, however. It will be something for a victorious President Johnson to deal with next year. And again, all BARRY GOLDWATER can do will be to say from his Phoenix retirement, "I thought this would happen."

Lyndon Johnson is skillfully working his slight margin of time for everything that it is worth. The election of an anti-Red President in Chile was a good break for him. The stock market holds up. With everything going for him in the short term, Mr. Johnson misses no chance to cultivate the feeling that this is 1820, that we are in the middle of the Era of Good Feeling, and that he is a standin for a man named James Monroe who got every electoral vote save one. The man who wants to be "everybody's President" probably will succeed in his effort for just long enough to make it to his next inauguration.

The ravens are gathering, however. The pressures of a rising money supply are already pushing up prices on a broad front. The bloom is off the housing boom. And the Vietnamese crisis, with its portent for Australia and New Zealand as well as for Malaysia and the rest of southeast Asia, will not wait forever.

Maybe BARRY GOLDWATER will be lucky if he does not win.

A Success Story Unmatched in a Lifetime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, it has been a generation since the actions of Congress have offered so much hope and opportunity to millions of Americans.

In education, health and welfare, human rights, the national economy, natural resources, national security, international affairs, and science and technology, the 88th Congress has made possible national programs which will profoundly change our country for the better, will extend new and broadening opportunities to many people, and will assure the permanence and stability of the great society we are building.

EDUCATION

In the field of education particularly has the 88th Congress distinguished itself. It has—

Authorized a 3-year program to build new medical, dental and related-type teaching facilities and to offer student loans;

Passed a 3-year program of loans and grants to aid colleges and universities in financing academic construction;

Approved a Manpower Development and Training Act to train youths and adults for new jobs;

Revamped completely the vocational education programs to provide better training for the new technology; and,

Authorized a broad new 5-year program to build nursing school facilities and provide financial help for students.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

This Congress has done these substantial things for the health and welfare of our citizens:

Strengthened the air pollution control program by encouraging prevention and enforcement activity;

Adopted a 5-year plan to increase aid to States for maternal and child health services for crippled children's programs; provided for grants to be made for maternity care and research projects to prevent mental retardation;

Authorized a 3-year program to aid States in providing mental retardation research facilities, construction of community mental health centers, and so forth.;

Increased direct loans to nonprofit corporations and cooperatives for construction of housing for elderly;

Extended for 2 years the juvenile delinquency control program;

Improved and extended Hill-Burton aid for construction and modernization of hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical centers;

Increased payments to widows and other dependents of veterans who die of service-connected disabilities; and,

Authorized 5-year program of aid to States on matching basis for nursing home facilities.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Certainly the 88th Congress and this national administration will go down in history for incorporating into Federal law finally, those rights which assure each individual equality and freedom in matters of voting, public accommodations, education, job opportunities, and access to public facilities.

Growing concern for the legal rights of poor individuals faced with criminal prosecution in Federal district courts has resulted in a new law to authorize the courts to appoint public defenders.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Faced with three major recessions from 1953 through 1960, the administration, first under President Kennedy then President Johnson, resolved to cooperate with the leadership of Congress to restore dynamism to the national economy. To achieve this the 88th Congress has done these things:

Lowered rates of personal and corporate income taxes; changed tax laws for net reduction of $11.5 billion—partially effective in 1964;

Created the Office of Economic Opportunity to administer job corps of urban and rural youth, work training and work-study programs and to encourage community action to reduce poverty;

Authorized 3-year program of grants and loans to help States and communities provide mass transit facilities and service;

Authorized Federal contribution for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for the construction of primary and secondary State highways and city extensions; and for road projects in national parks, etc.;

Established a National Commission on Food Marketing to study trade procedures and price relationships from producer to consumer;

Set up a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress to provide answers on how to cope with the loss of 40,000 jobs a week because of new machines and methods;

Imposed a tax on purchases of foreign securities to stop the flight of investment dollars to more profitable foreign businesses;

Adjusted basic pay rates of postal and classified Federal employees and other Government officials to make them more comparable to salaries in private business and industry;

Amended Bacon-Davis Act to require Federal contractors to match wage and other customary benefits when determining standards; and

Improved the Area Redevelopment Act.

NATURAL RESOURCES

In conservation and in natural resource development the 88th Congress compiled a record which has been called "the most outstanding in history." This "Conservation Congress" has—

Passed the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs;

Established a National Wilderness Preservation System on 35 million acres of parks;

Authorized improvements in 11 river basins, navigable streams, flood control, and waterpower projects;

Approved 5-year program of aid to States for development of commercial fisheries;

Authorized 10-year program to finance water resources research centers at land-grant colleges and universities; and

Established three new major park and recreation areas and authorized several new historic sites.

NATIONAL SECURITY

The 88th Congress, ever mindful that a strong America stands as the bastion for the free world against Communist forces, reinforced our armed strength when it—

Provided substantial funds to the armed services for manpower and hardware to keep our defenses modern and efficient;

Extended Presidential authority to fix priorities, allocate defense materials, and expand manufacturing capacity under Defense Production Act;

Authorized extension of loans to 12 countries of 40 U.S. naval vessels;

Continued mutual security programs; and

Approved legislation supporting the President's action ordering U.S. forces to repel attacks against them in southeast Asia.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A durable peace in this troubled world depends not only upon America's military strength but also upon firm alliances with other peace seeking nations. Our country's efforts include many programs to which the 88th Congress gave substantial support.

The Congress—

Authorized funds for research and the operations of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;

Extended the Export-Import Bank for 5 years and increased the Bank's lending authority;

Increased the authorization for the U.S. Peace Corps and raised the number of volunteers to 11,300;

Approved the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere in outer space, and under water which was drafted by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union;

Increased U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank; and

Authorized the United States to participate with 16 other nations in the International Development Association.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Advances in modern science and technology depend in greatest degree upon fantastically expensive research and development financed by central governments. The total annual cost to the people of the United States for this Nation's preeminence in space sciences, electronics, nuclear energy, weapons, medical science, and so forth, has been over $15 billion. Whole new industries are based on these expenditures the size of which only a few decades ago would have more than amply supported the total Federal Government.

The 88th Congress reflected a national concern over the direction our Nation's research and development is taking by authorizing investigations and exploring ways its various committees can avail themselves of expert advice on how to legislate in matters affecting scientific policy. This is important development if our form of constitutional democracy is to remain vital and responsive in a world being revolutioned by new knowledge.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I look forward to the guidance we will get when we deal with the national space program.

CONCLUSION

I have particularly been concerned in better utilizing the brainpower and the resources of our district and Minnesota. On several occasions I have been instrumental in bringing together Federal Government officials and leaders from Minnesota business, industry, colleges and the university in an effort to find ways to exploit our area's rich capabilities in resources and manpower, and to develop new opportunities for economic and scientific growth.

I have sought in a variety of other ways to bring the interests of the Federal Government and our district together.

Of special importance is the building of Capital Center in downtown St. Paul. Federal urban renewal funds will make it possible, with the cooperation of local businessmen and city officials, to tear down many obsolete or deteriorated buildings and erect modern office structures and stores thereby increasing and strengthening the local tax base. I am pleased to note that the proposed new Federal building, soon to be started, will be one of the first, major moves in the imaginative proposal to revitalize downtown St. Paul.

Recognition of the importance of our district for Federal Government operations can be seen in the many new branch post office buildings which have opened, the just-completed annex to the St. Paul Post Office and Custom House, the new U.S. Department of Agriculture Lake States Experiment Station, and the advanced planning for a new Federal building at Fort Snelling and a regional post office garage.

I believe this 88th Congress has proved to be one of the most important in history for the Nation and our district. Its record of cooperation first with the administration of the late President Kennedy and with that of President Johnson shows that our democracy can be a dynamic and progressive force which is well-suited to meeting the challenges and problems of a particularly crucial era.

I have considered it an honor to represent the fourth district in this Congress and look forward to the opportunity of helping further to build the great society.

Self-Employed Retirement Trust Program Falling Short

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, Include the following article from the New York World-Telegram and Sun of September 15, 1964:

SELF-EMPLOYED RETIREMENT TRUST PROGRAM FALLING SHORT

WASHINGTON, September 15.—A 2-year-old law giving self-employed persons a tax break if they set up retirement programs hasn't proved as popular as its supporters once hoped.

It appears Congress will have to authorize greater tax concessions before most self-employed decide to take advantage of the program.

"The law—enacted in October 1962, after years of consideration—permits the self-employed to put as much as 10 percent of earned income, up to $2,500 each a year, into an approved retirement trust with half of the contribution deductible from Federal income tax.

DIVIDENDS NOT TAXABLE

Dividends earned from the trust investments are not taxable, and beneficiaries pay no tax until benefits are collected after retirement.

The basic purpose of the law was to give self-employed persons tax advantages similar to those enjoyed by corporations which set up pension programs.

But the benefits fall short of the corporate tax advantages. This led Representative EUGENE KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, one of the authors of the law, to seek liberalization this year but without success.

Moreover, self-employed persons must include under any pension program all employees with 3 or more years' seniority.

RULE DISCOURAGED SOME

This rule has discouraged some of the self-employed from setting up a trust. A druggist with five such employees, for example, might feel it not worth the expense of instituting a retirement system because of the costs involved and the turnover of workers.

All told, about 9 million self-employed persons are eligible to set up retirement programs under the law—from physicians and dentists to attorneys, accountants, druggists, barbers and corner grocery store owners.

No one knows for sure how many of these have set up retirement trusts but various sources agree the number is not large.

Only about 4,000 physicians and their employees have signed up under the American Medical Association's prototype program, according to latest count. And, fewer than 800 attorneys and their employees have elected to come under the American Bar Association master plan.

Insurance companies—which seek to sell such trust programs along with other types of insurance—have filed 213 prototypes; commercial banks have filed 132. Some mutual funds, the insurance industry's chief competition, are getting into the field.

The Internal Revenue Service recently reported 432 prototype retirement plans have been approved.

Spokesmen publicly insist the total is in line with original expectations but their off-the-record comments reflect disappointment the figure is not larger.

Most association spokesmen say the biggest handicap to selling the self-employed is that only half of the contribution is tax-deductible.

A druggist with five eligible $4,000-a-year employees, for example, would have to pay $2,000 a year into a retirement trust for his workers but could deduct only half of that from his tax, leaving him an out-of-pocket cost of $1,000.

The Man Who Strengthened the Federal Home Loan Bank Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT THOMAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include a very fine article commending Joseph P. McMurray, Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which appeared in the American Banker on September 17, 1964, as follows:

THE MAN WHO STRENGTHENED FHLBB

It is a fine job that Joseph P. McMurray has done as Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and the entire financial community is the stronger as a result of his efforts.

Perhaps the most important accomplishment of his more than 3 years in office has been the conversion of the FHLBB from an organization which served primarily as a lobbyist for the savings and loan industry into a forceful regulatory agency.

The timing was important in this, for the savings and loan business had been booming—and indeed, continued to boom under Mr. McMurray's leadership—but needed strong discipline to consolidate its gains. Mr. McMurray's success in imposing that discipline, particularly in the areas of reserve and liquidity requirements, met with strong and vocal opposition from some leaders in the industry. But it would be difficult today to find many who do not agree that these efforts were justified, and that the industry is on a sounder footing because of them.

In the process of establishing discipline, Mr. McMurray necessarily created a good deal of commotion in the industry. Needing to be tough, he also was vigorously outspoken. At times he took public positions which he subsequently had to modify. As a consequence, he created some difficulties which may not have been necessary.

But at the same time, in the substance of his objectives and in the enthusiasm with which he pursued them, he attracted considerable attention to an agency which previously had not made much news. And in this respect, because he was seeking higher standards of responsibility for one segment of the financial community, he contributed to a growing awareness of the importance of these standards in all segments of it.

Nothing if not candid, Mr. McMurray acknowledges freely that not all the steps he has taken have met with complete approval by the industry he was appointed to regulate. "When I took over," he recalls, "many of the rules and regulations governing the industry were vague and indistinct." He set up a task force to look into the whole problem, got recommendations from it as to what should be done, and determined upon a course of action. "I decided to spell out in more detail what was expected of home finance institutions," he says, "and I think this has paid off."

The result has been a marked increase in rules and regulations from the FHLBB, leading inevitably to some complaints from the industry that Washington was trying to regulate it too closely. But Mr. McMurray now states: "I think that in the long run most of them appreciated the more specific guidelines."

But along with clarification of responsibilities, Mr. McMurray also has set up procedures through which the Board has been brought into closer touch with the problems and objectives of the industry it regulates. One of his chief accomplishments has been the establishment of a division of research; in his personal operating practice he has made a major point of seeking out what the industry wants and needs, on the one hand, and keeping it fully informed of his intentions on the other.

The result has been a new vitality and effectiveness in the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which has resulted, in a comparatively short time, in the strengthening of the savings and loan industry.

Mr. McMurray will be leaving his agency and the industry it regulates in better shape than when he took office—and for that all members of the financial community will have benefited from his service.

Noted Jurist Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, the passing on September 20, 1964, of Judge John J. Connelly, presiding justice of the Boston Juvenile Court, brought to a sudden and tragic end a most useful and productive life. Judge Connelly was nationally famous for his efforts to make juvenile court an extra part of the judicial system. It was my pleasure to have known Judge Connelly for many years. His brother, Boston Police Lt. Albert Connelly, and I served together in the South Pacific during World War II as special agents, in military intelligence.

My deepest sympathy is extended to the judge's widow, Catherine, their two children, and to Lieutenant Connelly.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles, one a news story from the Boston Globe and the other an editorial from the Boston Herald of September 22, 1964:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Sept. 22, 1964]

DEFENDER OF YOUNG: YOUTH LOST FRIEND IN JUDGE CONNELLY

Though they may not realize it, the young people of Boston lost a friend Sunday.

He was Judge John J. Connelly, 57, presiding justice of the Boston juvenile court for the past 20 years. He died at his Chestnut Hill home.

Judge Connelly never believed that the modern teenagers were the worst in history, and that they were madly dashing downhill to their own damnation.

He believed: "American youth is the best in the world."

"We constantly talk about crime and juvenile delinquency," he once told a communion breakfast audience, "but the basic nature of children has not changed in 2,000 years. The world around them has changed.

"They must indeed by confused for we are their leaders, and we have created confusion in their world.

"Youth needs no defense. But it needs leadership. And the responsibility for leadership lies with the adults of the cities, States, and Nation."

Judge Connelly cannot be described as a hard judge, though he believed that sparing the rod all too often spoiled the child. The best word to use would be firm.

And because he ruled his courtroom with a firm hand, countless hundreds of young people who might have gone astray are now responsible citizens and a credit to the Boston community.

He delighted in recalling the time he attended a Boston Rotary Club luncheon and spotted two of his former juvenile delinquents at the head table. He had handled both young men when he was a juvenile probation officer, a post he held prior to his court appointment in 1945.

Judge Connelly was not a man who believed in shipping a wayward youngster to a reformatory simply for the sake of punishment. He consistently tried to make the punishment fit the crime.

One time, four boys appeared in his court charged with vandalism following a Thanksgiving Day football game.

The judge told them they had acted like babies and deserved to be treated like babies.

So for the next 24 hours, the four lads were required to wear diapers. They were fed only by nursing bottles, and had to eat spooned baby food.

In addition, they were rubbed with olive oil and doused with talcum powder, and required to play in a baby pen. Needless to say, the four teenagers never appeared in Judge Connelly's court again.

He believed religion should play an important role in the lives of all youngsters.

"Children should be taught there is a God, and the desire to worship God should be stimulated in the home by example, and not by the church alone," he declared.

Once he used shock treatment to impress two rock-throwing youngsters who appeared in his court.

He sentenced them to spend a day at the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, so they could realize what harm a thrown rock can do.

They were further sentenced to wear a patch over one of their eyes, so they would learn what the loss of an eye can mean.

The penalty served its purpose. The boys never returned to court.

Yet, if Judge Connelly was stern with youngsters, he was sterner still with their parents. The judge estimated that 80 percent of the youngsters who appeared in his court came from homes ruled by adult delinquents, who failed to provide a proper example for their children.

Once he sent a mother of three small children away when she neglected her children. And it was while the woman was separated from her children that she came to realize how much they truly meant to her.

Youngsters who appeared in his court charged with carrying weapons were quickly punished. He once sent a 15-year-old boy away until his 21st birthday for carrying a 13-inch foreign-made dagger.

"There is no second chance in my court for juveniles found armed with anything that they plan to use as a dangerous weapon," he stated.

John J. Connelly was reared in the Prairie section of Roxbury, "where the first kid to get home at night rated the bed."

In his younger days, when he was a probation officer, the fact he resembled the legendary Babe Ruth endeared him to the many youngsters he met.

He was constantly bringing youngsters to his own home, or to the homes of relatives, in an attempt to give them "that extra push" he felt would put them on the right track.

He loved children. He hated the word: delinquent.

He berated "well meaning, but weak and indulgent parents who are responsible for making inadequate homes for their children."

However, he refused to place the entire blame "upon the home."

"When you say that the mother and father are entirely at fault when a child gets into trouble," he said, "then you forget to take into consideration that all the forces in the community—the home, the church, the school, and the neighborhood—have something to contribute to his welfare."

He was firm, but he was just.

And his methods paid off. A large percentage of the boys' cases that come before us, and 90 percent of the girls, never come back again."

The vast majority of boys and girls who appeared before Judge Connelly did not go astray again.

They went on to lead good, useful lives.

A solemn requiem high mass will be sung for Judge Connelly at 10 Thursday in St. Ignatius Church, Chestnut Hill.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald, Sept. 22, 1964]

A FRIEND OF CHILDREN

John J. Connelly, presiding justice of the Boston Juvenile Court for the past 19 years, was probably best known to the general public for his outspoken criticism of parental laxity in the discipline of children.

"Parents," he used to say, "are confused. They have absorbed too many theories of permissive childrearing and progressive education, and have accepted doctrines which blame strict parents for frustrating children's natural urges."

Naturally enough, these views did not meet with complete agreement. While many responsible persons in professions associated with the problem of juvenile delinquency felt that he had gone to the heart of the matter, others equally responsible felt that youthful misbehavior was not attributable to any single cause.

But there was deeply respectful unanimity, among professionals and amateurs alike, on Judge Connelly's capacity for, and dedication to, the task of turning delinquent children into law-abiding citizens.

Under his firm and capable direction, the Boston Juvenile Court's rehabilitative arm, rather prosaically called the Citizenship Training Group, Inc., won a worldwide reputation for rehabilitating deliquent boys between the ages of 12 and 17. While other juvenile courts in the Commonwealth had to institutionalize between 10 and 15 percent of the boys coming before them, the Boston Juvenile Court, working hand-in-glove with the citizenship training group, compiled an amazing institutionalization rate of just 3 percent.

Over the years, approximately three out of every four boys assigned by Judge Connelly to the CTG training center at 48 Boylston Street in downtown Boston have gone on to live productive adult lives.

CTG is an interdisciplinary agency, relying upon the professional skills of doctors, social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists. Its central operating premise is that a boy who has done wrong must accept responsibility for what he has done—and for whatever he may do in the future.

This is the enduring monument to Justice John J. Connelly, friend of children, now dead at the age of 57. May his successor preserve and cherish it.

Constitutional Crisis in Apportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, judicial intrusion into the composition of legislative bodies strikes at the very root of our governmental system of divided power. In order that my position may be clearly known on this fundamental issue, I include a statement made by me in testimony before the Judiciary Committee of this House on July 29, 1964, and the text of a report to the people of my congressional district dated July 2.

We have long been taught to respect the independence of the judiciary. It is time our people also respect the importance of an independent legislative branch, answerable not to the courts but to the people.

The material follows:

STATEMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON JULY 29, 1964

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for permitting me to appear before your committee in support of House Joint Resolution 1050, introduced by me.

That proposal would incorporate into the Constitution a limitation upon the judicial power in the following language: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity for the apportionment or method of apportionment of representation in a State legislature or either house thereof, nor for the composition of any legislative or administrative body in any political subdivision of a State."

Since the decision in *Baker* v. *Carr*, the Supreme Court has asserted Federal judicial power to interfere with the composition of State legislative bodies. A logical extension of the Court's reasoning will vest in the Federal judiciary like control over the composition of legislative and, perhaps, administrative bodies in the political subdivisions of our States.

My proposal is intended to withdraw the Federal judiciary from the political thicket into which it has wandered, both at the State and local levels. The proposal would do so by declaring a limitation upon the extent of Federal judicial power, approaching the problem in precisely the same fashion as a much earlier threat to our federal system was removed.

In *Chisholm* v. *Georgia*, the Supreme Court entertained jurisdiction of a case instituted by a citizen of one State against another State. To prevent further occurrences and to overrule *Chisholm* v. *Georgia*, the 11th amendment to the Constitution was submitted by Congress and ratified with "vehement speed," to use the words of Mr. Justice Frankfurter.

I anticipate that a proper amendment, submitted in this present constitutional crisis, would likewise enjoy speedy ratification. I speak the conviction of an alarmed citizen, when I say the recent incursion by the Federal judiciary into the apportionment of State legislative bodies is revolutionary and is destructive of our constitutional system.

The separation of powers into three coordinate branches of Government, each of equal station with the other, is a keystone in American Government. The idea that the judicial branch can exercise power over the makeup of either the legislative or executive branches of Government would place the judiciary above the other two branches. Such reasoning is destructive to the system itself.

Until *Baker* v. *Carr*, it was settled law that Federal courts would not take jurisdiction of State legislative apportionment cases. These cases were recognized for what they are; the resolution of political questions. The law was that Federal courts concern themselves with legal rights. Political questions, on the other hand, were to be resolved by political processes. The method of apportionment of the members of a legislative body and the arrangement of legislative districts are questions of political power.

Political power is properly vested in the people and in their chosen representatives. Federal judges, who are not chosen by the people, or at any time answerable to them, are not the representatives of the people. It was never intended that Federal judges should be vested with political power. Their assertion of such power is erroneous.

We want no judicial dictatorship over our political institutions. But, if the Congress

and the country accept the power of an appointed, politically unreachable judiciary to define the makeup of our legislative bodies, then I submit that the political power has shifted from the people and their elected representatives to the courts. For, if this court can rightfully say the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment requires a particular kind of State legislative apportionment, a later court may change it, and in the Federal court; then, and not in the people, rests the political power to determine what kind of a legislature they shall have. We should not accept this overreaching of power by the judiciary.

It is my belief that our duty is to submit to the States a proposal which would lead the court away from the political thicket and restore to the people of each State their rightful, political power to define their own political institutions of government.

I submit that it is inconsistent with our Federal system that the judicial branch of one sovereignty, the central limited government, can hold sway over the political composition of the legislative branch of another sovereignty, a State, which with its people, holds the entire residue of political power.

Because of this reasoning, I shall not be satisfied with a proposal which would permit apportionment of one house of a bicameral State legislature on factors other than population only if the other house is apportioned on a population basis alone. This approach leaves the Federal judiciary in control of the field, much as it has been since *Baker* v. *Carr*. In every case, the contention will be that the house based on population is not actually so based, and the court will continue to fashion the legislative branch of the States. Nor does such a proposal reach the problem which will arise in the case of a unicameral legislative body, either at the State level or in the political subdivisions of a State.

Even if our Federal Constitution contained a provision permitting apportionment of one house of a bicameral legislature on factors other than population only if the other house is apportioned on a population basis alone, it would not prevent the Federal judiciary from meddling in the apportionment of Nebraska, nor in the apportionment of a legislative body of a political subdivision of a State. In sum, that proposal seems to me to be too narrow in scope to meet the evil, and I urge, rather, the more encompassing approach of House Joint Resolution 1050.

I desire to make one more point, Mr. Chairman; a point, I believe, of some importance and perhaps not reached by other witnesses on this issue. It is apropos the suggestion that the Congress might work a solution to this problem through legislative act rather than contitutional amendment. Let me say that if, in the opinion of your committee, this matter can be resolved legislatively, I would be in favor of that course of action, perhaps in addition to the submission of a constitutional amendment. But, to make my point: The 14th amendment contains rather broad prohibitions of power against the States in this Union. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

These phrases lend themselves to many different meanings. So far as I know, the Congress has never undertaken to define any of them, although the amendment specifically vests in Congress the power by appropriate legislation to enforce the article. Lacking any congressional definition, the courts have supplied some. It is my understanding that the courts have construed the privileges and immunities clause very narrowly, so narrowly, indeed, as to make it practically useless. The due process clause, on the other hand, has been most broadly interpreted, even to the finding of substantive rights in this language which, on its face, is merely procedural.

The length to which the Court is ready to extend the equal protection clause is evidenced in the issue we now consider.

In retrospect, Mr. Chairman, might we have had a more politically responsible situation if the Congress had undertaken to define the privileges and immunities of citizens, and the meanings of due process and equal protection? Instead of a court legislating to implement the Constitution, the Congress would be doing so, acting under the grant of power given to the Congress by the 14th amendment. The role of the Court might then be more orthodox, accepting legislation on these matters from Congress rather than legislating itself.

Is it now too late, Mr. Chairman, for Congress to undertake its proper function? We are still the elected representatives of the people and, if we would strengthen the people's branch of this government to assert again the coordinate power of this branch in our system, we should attack this dictatorship by the judiciary by every means available to us.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that your committee explore the untested possibility that the 5th section of the 14th amendment—the enforcement provision—vests in Congress the power to define the term "equal protection of the laws," and so, by that provision, declare what all evidence in the history of the amendment substantiates, that "equal protection" does not reach the apportionment of State legislatures.

NEWSLETTER TO THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN, JULY 2, 1964

SUPREME COURT NEVER VESTED WITH POLITICAL POWERS

The Supreme Court of the United States was never vested with power to dictate the governmental structure of any State in the Union, and its present assertion of such power in the apportionment cases is manifest error on its part. The Federal judiciary was not conceived to be an instrument of political power. Here is a branch of government not chosen by the people or at any time answerable to them. Federal judges are appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for life.

Political power in our system was recognized as vested in the people and their elected representatives. Federal judges are not those representatives. The resolution of political questions is not their prerogative, nor their rightful power.

The Congress has a responsibility to lead the Court out of this political thicket into which it has strayed.

IN POLITICAL QUESTIONS THE PEOPLE MUST PREVAIL

It is fundamental in our governmental system that, if a political question is put to the people in an election, their decision at the ballot box must prevail.

You may recall that at the regular State election in November of 1952, the people of Michigan were asked to decide whether they wanted a legislature apportioned on a straight population basis in both the senate and the house—the "one man, one vote" slogan—or whether they wanted a legislature with a house of representatives apportioned every 10 years on a population basis and a senate with fixed districts defined by the constitution—the so-called balanced legislature concept followed by the Federal Constitution. The people overwhelmingly chose the balanced legislature, rejecting the "one man, one vote" theory.

In April 1963, again at a regular State election, the people of Michigan adopted a new State constitution which directed the apportionment of house seats on a population basis and senate seats on the basis of population and area.

In these decisions we heard the voices of the governed, speaking with all of the political power inherent in them.

But there are forces at work composed of those who think the people were wrong in their decisions. For them, the voice of the governed, spoken through the ballot box, decided nothing. Despairing of their ability to win over the people to their philosophy themselves, they asked the Federal courts to overturn the people.

Until 1962 no Federal court imagined it had jurisdiction to meddle in the apportionment of State legislatures. The issue of apportionment presented political rather than legal questions. Moreover, the issue involved the fundamental question of how the lawmaking body of a State was to be composed, a matter to be decided only by the people of that State and a matter wholly inappropriate for adjudication by a Federal court which is not part of the State at all. In 1962 the U.S. Supreme Court nevertheless instructed a Federal court in the State of Tennessee that it did have jurisdiction of such a case.

Armed with its new-found jurisdiction over the composition of the Tennessee Legislature, the Federal District Court immediately struck down a 1962 legislative districting act not to its liking. In 1963 the legislature tried again, creating a House weighted somewhat on area—which the court accepted—and a Senate apportioned on a strict population basis.

Thus it appeared that in a two-house legislature one house could be based on factors in addition to population if the second was apportioned solely on a population basis. Such were the standards fashioned by the very court to which the Supreme Court gave jurisdiction in 1962. But now, even this slight concession to the concept of a balanced legislature has been tossed aside by the High Court.

It was also in 1962 that the people of the State of Colorado were asked at an election to choose between a legislative apportionment plan with both Houses based strictly on population—one man, one vote—and a balanced legislature with a House based on population and a Senate with fixed districts. It was the same issue Michigan resolved in 1952 and the people of Colorado resolved it in the same manner, approving the balanced legislature plan in every county in the State. Once again the people had spoken with all of the political power inherent in them to decide a political issue.

THE COURT ASSERTS PEOPLE ARE WRONG

But on June 15, 1964, the Chief Justice of the United States, speaking for a majority of the Supreme Court, asserted the people of Colorado were wrong. In effect he said they had no power to fashion their own legislature on any basis other than straight population. This decision, if generally respected, will do inestimable harm to our system of checks and balances. It can destroy our local governmental structure. It makes a shambles of the traditional legislative system of every State in the Nation.

The concept of balancing legislative representation by giving some weight to area as well as population is as sound today as it was when the framers of our Federal Constitution gave us a House of Representatives apportioned on a population basis and a Senate on area alone. And, in every single instance where they had an opportunity to indicate their wishes through the medium of the ballot box, the people have endorsed this concept and rejected the implications of one man, one vote.

Look Who's Squawking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Richard Starnes from the August 5 edition of the Washington Daily News contains some interesting comments on the concern recently expressed by Europeans and their newspapers in the coming presidential election:

LOOK WHO'S SQUAWKING
(By Richard Starnes)

The specimen American voter can survive a diet that an ostrich with a craw full of plowshares and discarded bedsprings would quickly succumb to.

Old boobus Americanus can listen to the most lunatic maunderings since Sister Aimee went keening off to her reward, and react only with rustic gargles of approval.

For example (and the midden from which examples could be drawn is boundless), windy hucksters of instant statecraft enliven the dog days by warning Europeans to keep their effete noses out of the Republic's election year convulsions.

This is a ploy that wins approbation from clods of every political hue—from yahoo racists planning to vote for BARRY to ne'er-do-well reliefers whose heart belongs to Lyndon. No one pauses to reflect that Euorpeans, and other civilized persons, are properly concerned at the prospect that our election may bring them a measurable step closer to annihilation without representation.

It is plainly of tremendous consequence to Europe and Europeans if, say, the witless American yeoman votes to turn over operational custody of nuclear weapons to people who might well have stepped out of the nightmare pages of "Catch 22."

Ordinary enlightened self-interest entitles the rest of the world to be concerned at our antics, but there is more to it than that—there is quid pro quo in it as well. If Le Monde goes into shock over the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER, how many acres of woodpulp has the Chicago Tribune consumed decrying the egocentricities of General de Gaulle? We Americans, forscoth, are the greatest busybodies in the world and it ill becomes us to pretend outrage when alien commentators profess interest in our quaint folkways.

With the possible exception of Rome and the British Empire, no other nation on earth has ever claimed the right to dabble, moralize and interfere the way the United States has in the years since World War II. We have pressured Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium to dissolve their colonial empires. We have destroyed legal governments in at least two friendly nations by extra-legal means, and we have frequently conditioned foreign aid on our approval or disapproval of other nations.

We insist we have the right—indeed, the duty—to take U–2 photographs of other nations, to din patriotic piety at them through the "Voice of America," to attempt to install CIA agents in their defense ministries, and to sell goods in their bazaars. And yet we howl blue murder if some nearsighted Fleet Street drudge suggests the world would be a better place if our election went one way or the other.

In his game of 20 questions with correspondents, Sir BARRY suggested that one of his campaign themes would be the decline of U.S. prestige throughout the world—a tactic that was used with some success in the late John F. Kennedy's campaign. It was as phony in 1960 as it is in 1964. The only genuine doubters of American power and influence are to be found among self-seeking politicians at home.

Sophisticated foreigners, friend and foe alike, know us for what we truly are—an adolescent giant whose strength may not yet be matched by his intellect. They have a genuinely justified interest in our affairs, and we would do well to brace ourselves for more of it.

Nikola Petkov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the last war ushered in a long period of misery and misfortune to a host of nations in Europe, and the nations in the Balkan Peninsula were to have their share under Communist tyranny. Even before the end of that war Bulgaria was engulfed in a Communist sea, and it was quite impossible for the people of Bulgaria to extricate themselves alone from the ever-tightening Communist grip. Under the powerful steamroller of the Kremlin all opposition groups and irreconcilable elements were ruthlessly crushed and their leaders liquidated. This was done so systematically that gradually most of the groups were more or less forcibly reconciled with the Moscow-imposed Communist regime.

But there was one sturdy and strong element that did not bow to the Soviet dictate. That was the rough and rugged peasant or the agrarian group, led by its inimitable and incorruptible leader Nikola Petkov. With all the means at his disposal he tried hard to frustrate the Communist attempt to rob Bulgarians of their freedom. But the Communists were determined to accomplish this, just as they were determined to liquidate all those who delayed or imposed their treacherous moves in all directions.

Soon Nikola Petkov found himself with only a handful of supporters. Of course the large mass of the populace were with him, heart and soul, but the populace was subdued and silenced by the regime. Still Petkov carried on the struggle in the face of Communist threats, blackmail, arrests, imprisonments, and terrorism. Early in 1947 it was quite obvious that Petkov's Communist foes were out to eliminate him by an elaborate legal process. So early in 1947 he was arrested, tried in a people's court on charges of conspiracy and high treason, which charges Petkov consistently denied, and on September 23 he was executed.

Thus was silenced the clearest shrill voice against communism in the Balkans, and in the judicial murder of Nikola Petkov the Bulgarian people lost their most outspoken champion of freedom, while the free world lost its leading exponent of real democracy in the Balkans.

The 88th Congress Hailed by President Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two recent articles in the Baltimore Sun paper. The first article deals with the 88th Congress and outlines clearly the record of progress that we have been able to establish. The second article shows the strength of our economy under the Kennedy-Johnson administration indicating the need to continue sound programs that balance human needs with financial requirements. I think the articles will be helpful to my colleagues:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Aug. 20, 1964]

THE 88TH CONGRESS HAILED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON—CHIEF EXECUTIVE CITES LEGISLATION ENACTED IN YEAR VIRTUALLY WITHOUT PRECEDENT

(By Muriel Dobbin)

WASHINGTON, August 19.—President Johnson tonight pinned a medal on the 88th Congress for enacting more major legislation this session "than any other session of this century or the last."

"This has been a year virtually without precedent in the history of relations between the executive and legislative branches of our Government," declared the President.

THE INTENDED WAY

He was speaking at a musical salute to Congress attended by more than 1,000 guests in the flood-lit dusk of the south lawn of the White House. Senator GOLDWATER did not attend but sent regrets.

Stamping the Congress as "constructive, compassionate and cooperative," the Chief Executive stressed, "I believe that this is the way our system was intended to function. Not with Presidents and Congresses locked in battle with each other, but locked arm-in-arm instead, battling for the people we serve together."

President Johnson said he wanted the American people to be aware of the record written by the 88th Congress and of the relationship existing between the President and Congress.

"That record and that relationship testify to the reassuring fact that there has been this year no stalemate in our system, no deadlock in our democracy," he emphasized.

Mr. Johnson expressed his belief in the philosophy of President Theodore Roosevelt, "a great Republican."

A CONSTRUCTIVE CONGRESS

He recalled that President Roosevelt had said, "I have a very strong feeling that it is a President's duty to get on with Congress if he possibly can and that it is a reflection upon him if he and Congress come to a complete break."

The 2d session of the 88th Congress, observed Mr. Johnson, was distinguished most by the fact that at no time had there been any question of the President and Congress getting on together. It had been a constructive Congress, passing such measures as the test ban treaty, the tax cut bill, and education measures, he said.

It had also been a compassionate Congress, passing the civil rights bill, a food stamp

plan and approving a program to attack poverty, he continued, and it had also been cooperative because both Republican and Democratic votes had achieved many of these measures.

The President emphasized that it was from full debate and advocacy of principles and devotion to convictions that strength had been forged into the laws enacted.

"This Congress has expressed on the record the commitment of the American people to the pillars on which our system and our society stand," he declared.

He added that our economic system of private enterprise had received "the most significant vote of confidence in our time with the enactment of the legislation reducing taxes for both individuals and corporations."

He reminded that $11,500 million had been returned to the pockets of American families and American enterprise in the confidence that private initiative would put these dollars to work, creating jobs, opportunity, and greater effectiveness in competition with the world.

The President and Mrs. Johnson were both present at a musical presentation of historic campaign songs produced by a cast of such groups as the "Back Porch Majority," "The Bitter End Singers," and "The Electioneers."

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Aug. 20, 1964]

ECONOMY IN UNITED STATES IS HELD STRONG—FIVE PAST, PRESENT ADVISERS PREDICT TAX CUT

(By William Knighton, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, August 19.—Five past and present Presidential economic advisers today painted a rosy picture of the Nation's economy for President Johnson.

The consensus of the experts, according to Dr. Walter W. Heller, current chairman of the Advisory Council, was that with increasing Federal revenues, a new tax cut can be expected within a year or so, and possibly with increased Federal contributions to State-aided programs.

If the economy continues its rise sufficiently, some reductions in the national debt could be accomplished along with the other two actions, Dr. Heller said.

GOOD JOB SEEN

The Presidential adviser said he was struck by the unanimity of the five, including two advisers to President Eisenhower, that the $11,500 million tax cut this year is doing a good job of stimulating business.

He also replied after the 45-minute conference with Mr. Johnson that the consensus was that the outlook for continued prosperity was good and there was no current danger of inflation.

Others meeting with the President were Edwin G. Nourse and Leon H. Keyserling, who served under President Truman, and Arthur F. Burns and Raymond J. Saulnier, who were chairmen of the council under General Eisenhower.

FIRST THINGS FIRST

Earlier, the President declared that since January, 1961, when President Kennedy was inaugurated, "we have created more new jobs in America than the total of the populations of nearly half the countries of the world."

He also said that during this period "made-work and handout answers to unemployment" have been rejected and "first things have been put first to enlarge private payrolls—not public relief rolls."

These statements were made during a ceremony in the Cabinet room when Mr. Johnson signed the bill creating a national commission on technology, automation and economic progress.

Automation is not an enemy, he said—rather, it can be an ally to prosperity "if we just look ahead, if we will understand what is to come, and if we will set our course wisely after proper planning for the future."

Should the Powers of the Federal Government Be Limited by the Proposed States Rights Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the country are vitally interested and many of us are concerned over the proposed States rights amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

On June 26 of last year, a debate on whether the three proposed States rights amendments to the Constitution should be adopted was broadcast over radio station WMOX-TV, St. Louis, Mo. Participating in the debate were Mr. Justice Millard F. Caldwell, of the Supreme Court of the State of Florida for the affirmative, and Hon. James O. Monroe, Jr., circuit judge of the Third Judicial Court of Illinois for the negative.

I personally strongly support the negative in this debate but I think it well for my colleagues and those who read this RECORD to note the debate on both sides of this critical question and I submit herewith the transcript of the proceedings carrying the discussion:

SHOULD THE POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BE LIMITED BY THE PROPOSED STATES RIGHTS AMENDMENT?

(Transcript of proceedings at taping of TV program, June 26, 1963, taken at studios of KMOX-TV, St. Louis, Mo.)

Moderator: Mr. Parkel Wheately, KMOX-TV.

For the affirmative: Hon. Millard F. Caldwell, justice, Supreme Court of Florida.

For the negative: Hon James O. Monroe, Jr., circuit judge, Third Circuit of Illinois.

Reported by: James W. May, official court reporter.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Good evening. Should the powers of the Federal Government be limited by the so-called States rights amendments? A debate tonight with a justice of the Florida Supreme Court and a judge of the Circuit Court of the State of Illinois.

Should the powers of the Federal Government be limited by the proposed States rights amendments? Speaking for the amendments tonight is the Honorable Millard F. Caldwell, justice of the Supreme Court of Florida and former Governor of the State of Florida. Justice Caldwell was special guest of the Madison County Bar Association Wednesday night in a debate on the question of Federal power and States rights. Speaking against the proposed amendments is the Honorable James O. Monroe, Jr., judge of the circuit court of the Third Judicial Circuit of Illinois.

Justice Caldwell, as our guest in the Illinois-Missouri area, and as a proponent for this debate of the so-called States rights amendments, what are they, please?

Justice CALDWELL. Well, I just use the language of the Council of State Governments which overly simplified them last fall by saying that the first amendment is one to revise article V so as to modify the provisions for State initiation of amendments, without the necessity for a convention. It does this: It gives 34 States to the Union the right to propose an amendment, which can be then submitted to all of the States, and which may, upon the approval of 38 States be made a part of the Constitution. That is the first one.

The next one has to do with the matter of apportionment, legislative apportionment within the States. And this amendment is designed to take from the Federal Government a power which the proponents say it never had; to take from the Federal Government the power to interfere with the State right of apportioning its own legislative representatives.

The third amendment is one which sets up what is called the Court of the Union, which is to be composed of the Chief Justices of the several States, and to which may be submitted one question only, and that is whether any decision of the Supreme Court of the United States has attempted to exercise a power which does not belong to the Federal Government and the Federal judiciary. That question may be raised upon the application of five States, noncontiguous.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, is this the way you define these amendments?

Judge MONROE. Well, I think in regard to the first one, he has accurately stated it.

First of all, I want to welcome a superior jurist from the State of Florida, and pay my respects on behalf of the judiciary of Illinois and Missouri.

He has stated the first one quite accurately.

He stated the second one not quite as I would state it. I believe the apportionment matter is a matter not of taking away powers of the Federal Government, but of depriving citizens of States of the equal protection of the laws that they deserve under our principles of proportional representation.

The third matter is accurate. It sets up what I call a super court of State judges, 50 of them, above the Supreme Court of the United States.

You asked to define rather than to criticize at this time. It is fairly accurately stated.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, I think we should hear from Justice Caldwell why he favors these amendments in the large.

Justice CALDWELL. On the first amendment, I think it is bringing back to the States the concept the authors of the Constitution had originally. They thought at that time that constitutional amendments should be proposed in one of two ways; by the Congress or by a constitutional convention. The latter method has never been used because the Constitution itself is so indefinite and so vague no one knows how it would be called. No one knows how it would be composed no, how representation would be apportioned, so it's an impossible sort of thing.

Now the only thing that is left in the Constitution as it is written now is that the amendment must be proposed by the Congress. But you see what has happened is that when people go to Congress they are inclined to see things in the Federal focus. They have lost contact with States rights and States thinking. And they have become Federalists. Don't ask me why. Nobody knows, but they are there, basking in the sunlight of power, and it just happens that way.

Now what I would like to see done is to put back in the States the rights to propose an amendment. And I see no good reason why 34 sovereign States of this Nation—that

is they were sovereign before the Supreme Court got hold of them a few years ago—34 sovereign States of this Nation cannot propose an amendment, and why that amendment when proposed cannot be approved or disapproved by 38, that is three-fourths of all of the States.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Justice Caldwell and Judge Monroe, may we pause here a moment and then Judge Monroe, your contravention.

Judge Monroe, do you disagree with Justice Caldwell's notion in support of the proposal that 34 States may propose an amendment and three-fourths may ratify it?

Judge MONROE. I disagree as decidedly as respect permits. The present arrangement for initiating an amendment to the Constitution calls for national approval by a national body and involves national debate, because this is most in order. We are not a confederacy; we are a united nation. And I would like to see it kept that way by providing national debate. What this does—it takes the Congress out of the picture, because it makes it mandatory on Congress to submit to the States a proposed amendment when two-thirds of the States, that is 34, would submit to the Congress an application therefor. Now this takes out of the picture any national consensus, any national debate, any national approval. It takes out of the picture the National House of Representatives which is the only national representative body chose in numerical proportion.

It throws this matter back to the States, and 38 States could, by initiation and ratification adopt these. Now these 38 States because of the misrepresentation, the disproportionate representation in those States, those 38 smallest States in the Union compose about 40 percent of the population of the United States. The 38 percent of 40 percent, Mr. Wheatley and Your Honor, is 15 percent. So State legislators representing 15 percent of the American population could put through an amendment to the National Constitution which could violently and critically endanger our form of constitutional government. I oppose it for these reasons. That is the first one.

Justice CALDWELL. Now I don't agree with his mathematics but you see when figures get more than two broad and two deep I have to get an accountant to handle mine, so I will not go into that. But 15 percent roughly of the people in this country would be something like 25 million people, wouldn't it? Nine men—no, take it back—five men have usurped this power we are talking about; five members of the Supreme Court have amended the Constitution within the last few years. Five men never elected by anyone, answerable to no one, there for life. Now it seems to me that 38 States ought to have as much power as 5 members of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Congress ought to be taken out of the picture so far as the proposal of amendments are concerned, unless you are willing to adopt this amendment and give the States a right, and let the Congress have the rights it has now. It can propose amendments; let the States propose amendments. All the power the Congress has was given to them by the States, and no one is better qualified to say what is given than the giver.

Mr. WHEATLEY. A brief reply, sir.

Judge MONROE. In regard to the matter of the Supreme Court, there is a decided difference. The form that the control by the legislators representing 15 percent of the people could take is not the simple negative kind of judicial veto exercised by the Supreme Court, which cannot act at all unless and until a case comes before it, and then must find justification in the Constitution. The control exercised by this, the legislators representing 15 percent of the people, would be the affirmative kind of action exercised by legislators acting whenever the legislators choose, on any question they choose, and with no justification in the Constitution but on their own determined policy.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, Justice Caldwell, thank you very much. We commend this proposed amendment to your study. About Monday night and the late show in just a minute.

Our guests tonight, Justice Millard Caldwell, Florida; Judge James Monroe, Illinois. Monday night, Supervisor Roos, St. Louis County. The late show is the best of CBS, "The Prince and the Showgirl," with Marilyn Monroe and Lawrence Olivier. Good night, have a good weekend. Many, many thanks.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Good evening. Should the powers of the Federal Government be limited by the proposed States rights amendments? Part 2 of a debate with a justice of the Florida Supreme Court and a judge of the circuit court of Illinois.

Should the powers of the Federal Government be limited by the proposed States rights amendments. Again, a debate. Speaking for the amendments, the Honorable Millard F. Caldwell, justice of the Supreme Court of Florida and former Governor of the State. Justice Caldwell was special guest last week of the Madison County Bar Association in its Wednesday night meeting and debate on this question of Federal power and States rights and was with us on Eye on St. Louis Friday night.

Speaking against the proposed amendments again is the Honorable Judge James O. Monroe, Jr., judge of the Third Judicial Circuit of Illinois.

Honorable sir, will you recapitulate your views on that first amendment?

Justice CALDWELL. Yes, but I am going to change that question a little bit. I conceive the question as being, Should the dual sovereignty system of Federal-State relationships as contemplated by the office of the Constitution be reestablished?

Mr. WHEATLEY. Dual sovereignty. What does that mean in our language.

Justice CALDWELL. That means that the Federal Government has certain sovereign powers and the States have certain sovereign powers, and I take the position that the States have lost much of their powers by usurpative methods used by the Federal Government. Now the question is, Should they not be reestablished as the authors of the Constitution contemplated them to.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, will you accept that question for the moment?

Judge MONROE. Yes. We pointed out—Honorable Justice Caldwell pointed this out Friday, and I contended that these new changes could be made by legislators representing some 15 percent of the American population as a whole. This frightens me because the types of changes that could be made are as one writer has listed them, "to change the presidency to a committee of three, hobble the treaty power, made the Federal judiciary elective, repeal the fourth amendment, make Catholics ineligible for public office, and move the national capitol to Topeka." That may sound fantastic, but not so when we realize that in our national history some 4,000 constitutional amendments have been proposed. I suspect the first under this might be the Bricker amendment, maybe then the $25,000 income tax limit, and I certainly would fear drastic changes in the 14th, 1st, and the 5th amendments.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Would you object to such changes if made under these proposals?

Justice CALDWELL. You know, I would not even object to some of the things that the Judge says might happen.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Justice Caldwell, could you sum up quickly for us your views on that first proposed amendment and then Judge Monroe his, and then we will go ahead.

Justice CALDWELL. Yes. I take the position that the first amendment is sound in that it permits 34 States of the Union, two-thirds, to propose an amendment, which may be adopted by 38 of those States or three-fourths. The Congress has that power; I think the States should have the same power. Now that in a nutshell tells you what I want.

Mr. WHEATLEY. And Judge Monroe.

Judge MONROE. I say it is a dangerous and unwholesome proposition because it deprives our Nation of a national debate on these things by relegating this initiating process to State legislators, who in themselves in many States are not representative on any concept of democratic numerical proportion as we understand it in a democracy.

Justice CALDWELL. Now let me just say one word there. I can see the problem that the Judge proposes, but I do not concede that anything that 38 States can do should be done more easily by five members of the Supreme Court who are not elected by anyone.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Gentlemen, a point of information and clarification. Under the proposal, two-thirds of both Houses may propose amendments. That is the present situation.

Judge MONROE. That one is still retained. This is in addition.

Mr. WHEATLEY. All right. Now then if legislatures of two-thirds of the several States propose, they may, but three-fourths must ratify, is that correct?

Justice CALDWELL. Just as they do under the present amendment.

Judge MONROE. That's right, with this one exception.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Yes, sir.

Judge MONROE. Under the proposal, States may ratify by legislative action only. Under the present law, States may ratify by their legislatures or by statewide conventions. Again, the democratic, the representational aspect is taken out. Under the proposal it would be by legislatures only. This is a proposal for State legislators, and I suggested it rises from their resentment at *Baker* v. *Carr*, which brings us into proposal No. 2.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Justice Caldwell, Judge Monroe, so that we might get to this major amendment, the Court of the Union, can you in 30 seconds or so each state your positions on the second amendment concerning legislative districting?

Justice CALDWELL. The amendment proposes to take from the Federal Government the right which the States do not concede it ever had: to meddle in the business of legislative apportionment in the several States. My position is stated very accurately by one of the Supreme Court Justices who dissented, Justice Frankfurter, in which he said that when *Baker* v. *Carr* reversed a course of decision established by a dozen cases in the Baker case, it unanimously rejected a state of facts which had been presented to it 5 years ago and now overturns. And as Justice Frankfurter says, "this destructively novel judicial power may well impair the Court's position as the ultimate organ of the supreme law of the land. A new legal claim which manifests an odd—indeed esoteric—conception of judicial propriety." And then he goes on here to say, "this case provides no guide unless the judges of this Court are to make their private views of political wisdom the measure of the Constitution."

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, will you reply after this message, please, sir?

Judge MONROE. Surely.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, we have about 3 minutes remaining for everything. Your point on the second.

Judge MONROE. On the second proposal, I simply think that Justice Frankfurter was rationalizing or protecting his position in *Colegrove* v. *Green*, which he had handed down and which was now overruled virtually. I say that the second proposal to restrict the Court's jurisdiction in reappor-

tionment matters is a destruction of a guarantee of equal protection of the laws provided by the 14th amendment. If this proposal were to pass, it would be the first diminution of any national constitutional guarantee in our history. And I say it will continue the evil of disproportionate representation whereby a rural legislator representing relatively few voters has as much legislative voice and vote as an urban legislator representing far more voters. This is a matter of equal protection of laws. Those city voters are entitled to that equal representation if we believe in democracy.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Thank you, Judge Monroe. Justice Caldwell, we have about 2 minutes, a little more, remaining to discuss the Court of the Union amendment.

Justice CALDWELL. That amendment is designed to set up what is called the Court of the Union to be composed of the chief justices of the several States, that is 50 of them. To that court upon the application of five States not contiguous——

Mr. WHEATLEY. Not next door.

Justice CALDWELL. Not next door can be submitted one question, one only. Does an opinion, a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court impinge upon rights which the Federal Government was never granted by the States. That is the only question to be determined. I think it has a great deal to commend it and I am for it.

Mr. WHEATLEY. More vigorously than for the other two even?

Justice CALDWELL. Yes, I think so. I think so.

Mr. WHEATLEY. And Judge Monroe?

Judge MONROE. It is possible that State judges are more wise and better suited to national affairs than Federal judges, and this is not to deprecate our distinguished guest at all. I say this proposal would set up an institution, 50 judges, too big for any rational deliberation or any rational consensus of decision, meeting too seldom to form any tradition or establish a set of jurisprudence. In this Court of the Union, a decision could be rendered by a majority which is 26. Again we come to matters of minority rule. These chief justices from 26 States, the smallest States in the Union, could come and speak for 30 million out of our 180 million. This is 16 percent.

I believe that the State judges would be subject to the pressures of legislatures and people in their States as is demonstrated by the distinction at times between State judges in the South, and the Federal, the 58 lonely but courageous judges in the South who are part of the Federal judiciary. It's the first proposal I have ever seen where a lower court judge goes up above the court that is above it, and I think it is too fantastic to contemplate.

Mr. WHEATLEY. Judge Monroe, Justice Caldwell, we are very grateful for your appearance, for the Madison County Bar in bringing you to us. All we can do is study this problem more, discuss it. More about the late show and tomorrow night in just a moment.

Realtor Says Peanuts Secret to Longevity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, we from the peanut growers area, think that this will be good reading for the Members of the House:

[From The Hanford Sentinel, Sept. 19, 1964]

REALTOR SAYS PEANUTS SECRET TO LONGEVITY

LOS ANGELES.—Louis Rich, a Hollywood real estate man who will be 100 years old October 29, attributes his longevity to eating peanuts.

Rich, the oldest member of the Los Angeles Real Estate Board, was honored Thursday at a city council ceremony.

When Rich said peanuts contributed to his long life, comedian Danny Thomas, who participated in the ceremony, quipped:

"I'm 50 and I'm going out right now to buy a bag of peanuts."

TELLS OF HABIT

In a firm voice that belies his age, Rich told of his peanut eating habit. Asked what kind of peanuts he eats, he replied:

"Just fresh roasted peanuts. A peanut is a peanut. Just so long as they're freshly roasted. I buy them in a grocery store, canned peanuts, they're shelled. I can't get them with the shells unless they're stale. I used to get them from vendors with push-carts, but now you can't get them anymore. I buy just cocktail peanuts."

Rich said he's "been eating peanuts about 80 years.

DEVELOPS HABIT

"I started on the railroad train. I was a newsboy on the Union Pacific out in the West. This fella, my boss, gave me a basketful of peanuts. They were fresh. He said, 'Now when you go through the train, put a bag in the lap of every passenger and watch what happens.' I filled the basket three or four times. People ate them. They were good. They have no food value that I know of. I started eating them, too. I eat about an ounce and a half a day, the equivalent of a 5 cent bag—about half after lunch and half after dinner.

"They're salted a bit. I can't get them any other way in cans," Rich said. "If you can get fresh peanuts with the shells and skin on it's better, but you can't get them."

Councilman Harold Henry noted that "Mr. Rich is still in his office every day from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m."

Strong Local Effort Needed To Obtain Full Benefit of Excellent Educational Advances by 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, this Congress will go down in history as the Congress which has done more for education in this country than any other Congress.

The 88th Congress, in 1963 and 1964, under the leadership of President Kennedy and President Johnson has indeed wrought significant advances. The inspired and responsible leadership of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Democratic leadership has produced these important advances in education in the course of 2 short years. I am proud that the Democratic Party has always vigorously pursued the need for education improvement and that it has acted decisively in the 88th Congress.

In July 30, 1964, President Johnson said:

Onto my desk each day come the problems of 190 million men and women. When we consider those problems, study them, analyze them, evaluate what can be done, the answer almost always come down to one word: education.

Here is part of the record of the 88th Congress:

Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963: will aid college construction over a 3-year period. Appropriates $1.2 billion for building classrooms and other facilities for graduate schools, 4-year colleges, and 2-year community colleges, technical institutes.

Health Professions Education Act of 1963: will help increase the number of professional health personnel—medicine, dentistry, and so forth—through construction grants for facilities and through low-interest loans for students of medicines, dentistry, or osteopathy.

National Defense Education Act extension: increased funds for NDEA student loan programs, for science, mathematics, and foreign language training programs, and for counseling services.

Vocational Education Act of 1963: will authorize a total increase of $956 million in Federal support for vocational education in the next 5 fiscal years; will bring enrollment in State vocational education programs from 4.2 million—1963—to 7 million in 1968.

Impacted areas aid extension: increase Federal funds available in areas where the presence of Federal installations places a financial burden on local school systems.

Mental Retardation Facilities Act of 1963: provides grants of $51.5 million covering 3 years for the training of 20,000 teachers for mentally retarded, handicapped children.

Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments: Federal assistance to State and local communities for preventing and treating mental retardation.

Library Service and Construction Act of 1964: authorizes $25 million aid to develop and expand existing libraries to cover urban areas as well as rural areas; also appropriated $20 million for new library construction.

But all this will be to little or no avail without clear understanding, firm leadership and courage on the part of those State and local officers responsible for the operation of our school system to keep pace with the current and future needs of our educational system and to resolve the major educational problems.

Recently the Village Post, a new, exciting, and a definitely interesting publication in my congressional district with Mrs. Kathryn Hall Proby as publisher and Fred Shaw as editor, published an excellent article which discusses this matter.

The author is Jack D. Gordon, a well-known and outspoken member of the Dade County School Board. In presenting this article by Jack D. Gordon the Village Post says:

Jack D. Gordon has looked into many a musty corner and has sung out "git along, little dogie" to many a sacred cow. Here he examines what he considers some of the major educational problems of our times.

Mr. Gordon is education minded and well informed on methods to improve teaching techniques and a firm believer in the three R's. He has served several years on the Dade County School Board. The school system in Dade County is huge, in fact it is the seventh largest in the Nation. Its budget is over $100 million; it has 8,000 teachers, almost 200,000 students, and a junior college with 10,000 more pupils. Jack D. Gordon thus has an impressive background of practical experience as well as formal education from which to draw.

In this article he makes a most valid point that there must be appreciation of the idea of learning and a recognition of intellectual achievement as the most important aspect of education. I certainly agree with him on this. Without this acknowledgment and effort at the school system level, all that the Congress can do and has done will be diluted and dissipated. The principal thrust of Mr. Gordon's discussion is urgent and timely.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include this important article in the RECORD at this point so it may be thoughtfully considered by the Members of this body and others throughout the country interested in the educational problems of today:

GORDON EXPLORES PROBLEMS

Education is the most important function of government. It touches every part of the community and every facet of American life. Because the operation of our schools is enormously complex, there is a useful role that everyone can play in making the schools responsive to current and future needs. The very act of freely giving time and thought to this community effort serves as a good example of the kind of public participation in governmental affairs which is essential to democracy.

During my 3 years on the school board, I have reached certain conclusions about our schools. Even though we have often traveled a rocky road, I am pleased with some of our progress. Yet it seems to me that there are four general areas of continuing concern—particularly if you believe, as I do, that the focus of the educational system has to be on the place where learning takes place, the classroom.

We have to realize the children in school today are being educated for life in the 21st century. This year's 11-year-old sixth grader will be just 48 years old in the year 2000. Thus we have to provide him with the foundation for a 21st century education without knowing what life will be like at that time.

This means that today's teaching process must provide a framework of knowledge and experience within which future judgments can be made. It also means that learning cannot be fact-oriented; it must be structure-oriented. Instead of just memorizing the multiplication tables, we have to know why mathematics works. We also have to recognize that education is going to be a self-education process for every individual. Therefore students must learn to appreciate the idea of learning and to recognize intellectual achievement as the most important aspect of their schooling.

Only teachers who have that same respect for the intellect can give students the leadership they need. Even more important (and I consider the lack of a major flaw in our local system) teachers have to be led by principals and administrators and supervisors (call them what you will) who are intellectual leaders and have a strong commitment to the importance of intellectual achievement.

Our school system requires that teachers and administrators have a much broader world view. We tend to think of many of our problems as being purely local when they are national and even international. We spend far too much time studying the geography of Florida and little or none at all on trouble spots like Asia or Africa or Latin America. We have no decent program of study leaves to permit our teachers to get to know other parts of the world at the expense of the school board. I am a firm believer in this kind of investment in teacher education.

Our school system has grown far more rapidly than the provision of management techniques to control it and direct it. Too many operating decisions are still made on the basis of personalities involved rather than systemwide policy. This problem is particularly evident in the area of personnel policy; there is, for example, no real policy for promotion to positions as assistant principals or curriculum assistants, and the procedure for selecting principals is very subjective.

Time won't wait for us. We must develop a great sense of urgency. Our world is changing very rapidly. Unless we adapt our educational process with the same rapidity, we are simply turning out obsolete products. We have to stop wasting our time going through so-called pilot studies of matters which have already been studied and researched elsewhere. There is nothing so different about living in Dade County that we cannot rely on work done in other States. We don't have the time to develop our own courses of study in mathematics, for example, when Yale, Illinois, Stanford, and other universities have already developed curriculums and have experimented with them in various school systems. I am aware that operating at this level of urgency makes great demands upon teachers, who will be forced to involve themselves in continual retraining in order to keep pace with curriculum developments. However, the teaching profession's problem is no different than that of most other professions where the explosion of knowledge is causing great changes to take place.

There is a saying in the "Ethics of the Fathers" to the effect that we do not have to complete the task, but we do not have the right to refuse to participate altogether. That's my feeling about our schools; I'm obligated to contribute my share, recognizing that the resolution of today's problems will bring new questions for tomorrow.

Educated laymen who believe in intellectual achievement within an ethical framework must involve themselves in the educational enterprise because it is much too important to be left completely to professional educators. That is why I do not believe anyone need be apologetic about delving into school problems or trying to come up with answers. We simply cannot move forward as rapidly as we need to unless there are enough people who understand the complexity and urgency of the problems we face today.

Marketing Our Cattle and Beef Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, it is well-known that our domestic beef cattle industry, boasting an outstanding production, and quality record, has had its difficulties during the past few years, with heavy increases in imports from other beef-producing Nations a significant factor in these problems.

There has been a recent intensification of the effort of the domestic industry to market its fine product in other areas of the world which are deficient in beef production.

As of interest in this connection, I include an article by Mr. C. E. Murphey of the Agricultural Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture:

FACTORS IN SELLING U.S. CATTLE, BEEF TO EUROPE INCLUDE PRICE AND SPECIAL IMPORT PREFERENCES

(C. E. Murphey, USDA Agricultural Marketing Service, reports on a 5-week study of cattle and beef requirements in the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy. The study was part of a market development program of the American Meat Institute and the Foreign Agricultural Service to promote the sale of U.S. livestock products in Western Europe.)

During 1963, the eight countries' beef imports—accounting for one-fifth of their total consumption—were the highest on record, have continued upward measurably in 1964. These imports for the most part came from South America, Australia, and New Zealand, as they have for many years.

Now, however, with traditional suppliers unable to meet Western Europe's increasing needs for imported beef, the United States has a real opportunity to share in this market—provided, of course, that our beef is competitive in price.

Fresh beef is in biggest demand. Chilled and frozen beef offer longer range possibilities for U.S. exports.

MARKET FOR LIVE CATTLE

In at least three countries—Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands—the preference for fresh beef is so strong that any exports from the United States will probably be live cattle for subsequent slaughter.

In Italy, where the live cattle export outlook appears most promising, importers have felt that the best solution to their beef shortage is to purchase 500 700-pound feeder cattle from the United States and feed them to 800–1,000 pounds before slaughter. Italy has already purchased some 2,500 head of U.S. feeder cattle over the past 3 months, and the importing of week-old U.S. Holstein calves for veal is underway.

Since last October, Italy has also imported some 50,000 Holstein steers from Argentina. Those being slaughtered at the time of my visit were 2 to 3 years old and were producing carcasses that would grade mostly low standard. (The U.S. grades in descending order: prime, choice, good, standard, grade, utility, and cutter.)

The Netherlands and Belgium were importing live cattle—mostly steers—from England and Ireland for immediate slaughter. Those from England, 2 years old and weighing about 1,000 pounds, would grade mostly U.S. good; cattle from Ireland, about the same weight, but 3 to 4 years old, would grade mostly U.S. standard.

U.S. CHILLED AND FROZEN BEEF

In addition to sales prospects for U.S. cattle, Western Europe offers long-range possibilities for exports of U.S. chilled and frozen beef—again, if our prices are competitive with those of other non-European suppliers. (Chilled beef is usually refrigerated to about 29°–31° Fahrenheit, will keep for a much longer period than fresh beef—which is held at around 36°. Solidly frozen beef will remain in good condition for several months.)

Generally speaking, U.S. standard grade beef—which accounts for about 11 percent of all beef produced in this country—has many

of the characteristics sought by European importers. However, Europeans do not evaluate beef as we do here.

Under the U.S. grading system, the primary emphasis is on the quality of the lean—its color, texture, firmness, degree of marbling, and the maturity of the animal from which it came.

CONFORMATION AND FATNESS

Conformation is also a factor but is generally subordinate to quality. For example, a carcass with choice conformation an daverage standard quality would be graded standard; but a carcass with unusually deficient conformation—say, utility—and good, would still be graded standard.

In Western Europe, by contrast, the emphasis is on both conformation and fatness, with practically no consideration being given to the quality of lean beyond what would be classified U.S. standard quality. Waste-conscious Europeans especially want beef that combines thick muscling with only a very thin covering of external fat.

A number of countries also prefer to import specific parts. For instance, in France, Switzerland, and Italy—and to a less extent in Belgium—the preference is for the "pistola." In terms of U.S. cuts, the pistola includes preferred portions of the round and the loin, and part of all of the rib. The pistola has practically all the flank and plate removed, plus kidney and pelvic fat, and the tail vertebra.

Switzerland and Italy also prefer to have the hind shank and shank meat removed. Because their beef has such a thin layer of external fat, these pistolas are nearly case ready, can be made into retail cuts with a minimum of trimming.

In addition to these general requirements, most of the countries visited had some distinct preferences.

The United Kingdom—which imports more beef than any county on the Continent, over half of its total beef consumption—is more tolerant of fat and prefers a higher quality beef than the other seven countries.

QUALITY MARKET IN UNITED KINGDOM

The majority of United Kingdom beef would grade U.S. good, a considerable amount, standard, and a smaller percentage, choice. While there is a general preference for beef with only a modest covering of external fat, Scottish beef—which commands the highest price on the Smithfield market—has as much fat as most U.S. choice beef.

There is also a growing demand for lightweight, young, very lean beef that would grade U.S. standard and good. Sizable shipments of this kind of beef were being received from Yugoslavia.

Conformation is a major consideration—beef with less than U.S. good conformation would not be well accepted regardless of its other characteristics. Choice grade beef would be readily acceptable if it were plump muscled and did not have much external fat. However, without an educational program to convince consumers that U.S. choice beef is a premium product which merits a premium price, it is doubtful that a higher price could be obtained for choice than for good.

In Italy, the second largest beef importer in Europe, the demand would be for very closely trimmed pistolas—preferably with three ribs, produced from young animals. Pistolas from 450- to 600-pound standard grade carcasses would be preferred, with at least good grade conformation and having not more than two-tenths inch of fat at the thinnest point over the ribeye. There is a definite preference for chilled over frozen beef in Italy.

West Germany, third largest beef importer, would probably purchase only frozen beef. Meat inspection regulations require that imported beef be in carcass form only. Apparently, West Germany puts less emphasis on conformation than any country visited, except Spain. The preference is for relatively young standard or good grade beef weighing 550 to 650 pounds, with not more than 0.3 inch of fat over the ribeye. As in the United Kingdom, U.S. choice grade beef with these same characteristics would also be acceptable but probably would not command a premium without intensive promotion.

SPAIN'S TIGHT SPECIFICATIONS

In Spain, the Government purchases all imported beef, which is frozen and in the form of full carcasses. Purchases are made on very limited specifications; weight (130 to 170 pounds per quarter); maturity (less than 3 years old); bone (not more than 18 percent); and fat (not more than 8 percent). The last beef purchase was from Argentina at 32 cents per pound. By U.S. standards, locally slaughtered beef was by far the poorest of any country visited. Very little of this would grade better than U.S. utility. It was produced almost entirely from cows and bulls.

Switzerland, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands rank about equally as beef importers.

The Swiss want to import only pistolas, rumps, and loins (the forepart of the pistola). Preferences appeared to be almost the same as those in Italy, except that the Swiss prefer pistolas from carcasses weighing at least 550 pounds.

In France, the demand is again for pistolas, preferably containing eight ribs. French beef was notable for its heavy weight and thick muscling. Because there seemed to be less discrimination against mature beef in France than in the other countries visited, the possibilities of our exporting utility grade beef seem greatest in France. However, to be acceptable, U.S. utility grade beef should have a much higher degree of conformation than required by U.S. standards—preferably at least average good. Also it should not have more than 0.3 inch of fat over the ribeye at the 12th rib.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, the preference is for relatively young beef. As in France, importers want it to be heavy, thickly muscled, and have a thin covering of external fat.

Representative John J. Rooney's Address to the Polish-American Congress Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege and pleasure to introduce to the executives and members of the Polish-American Congress gathered in Chicago for its quadrennial convention my esteemed friend and colleague, Congressman JOHN J. ROONEY, of New York.

Congressman ROONEY is almost as well known to the Polish-American leaders throughout the United States as he is to his own people in Brooklyn. Polish-American organizations have recognized his deep dedication to the same goals which motivate them in their desire to see the enactment of legislation which benefits the people instead of special interests. These organizations that have fought the battle for decent immigration laws which will permit America to benefit from the skills and professions of immigrants, those who have fought for aid to education, broader social security rights, and the score of other needed progressive measures, all know JOHN ROONEY as a friend and champion.

It is my pleasure at this point to insert in the RECORD Congressman ROONEY's remarks made to that great gathering of Americans proud of their Polish descent:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. ROONEY BEFORE THE QUADRENNIAL MEETING OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 19, 1964

Mr. Chairman, reverend fathers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure to be here. I am always eager to join with the Polish-American leaders in their important gatherings. I welcome the chance of meeting more of your fine people and to renew the friendships I have established with so many of you over the years.

My appearance also affords me the opportunity to thank you personally for the fine support you have given me and other Members of Congress who have been fighting for enactment of legislation to accomplish the results which you individually and as an organization have sought to attain. In mentioning legislation I want you to know it was my distinct privilege and honor to work closely for 8 years with that distinguished legislator, the Senator, the majority leader, the Vice President, and now the President, Lyndon B. Johnson. I shall always be grateful for his deep understanding and his warm response to the problems of funding our essential programs to aid the distressed people of the world, and particularly the construction of the American Children's Hospital in Krakow. I quote President Johnson's message to you last year when he said, "The objective of the United States is and shall continue to be—to see freedom returned to Poland and the other nations of Eastern Europe."

I want to mention again the great experience which I had 2 years ago in visiting Poland in company with Under Secretary of State Crockett, Commissioner Farrell, and Assistant Secretary of State Cieplinski, who are here with me again. I well recall every minute of a more than an hour long conversation at the Polish Institute in Rome with His Eminence Cardinal Wyszynski immediately previous to the week we visited in Poland. Not only did I have a chance to see the impressive cities which the people rebuilt with their own hands as well as the magnificent countryside, for which Poland is justly proud, but I had the satisfaction of meeting and talking with many of the people in the heroic capitals of Warsaw, Krakow, and the marvelous monastery of Czestochowa. Not only did I have the opportunity to see firsthand what our Government is doing in behalf of the Polish people, but I saw, too, the great things that you and your membership are doing.

My visits to the public schools, the industrial plants and the farms were both highly informative and extremely enjoyable, largely because of the friendliness and warmth of the people.

Nothing which I saw or was told impressed me more than the firm conviction which all of us felt, that the spirit of independence was not dead but burned hotly, and that the Polish people still feel much of the warm bond of friendship which has so long existed between the people of our two countries. They are eager to create "those bridges of friendship" of which President Johnson has spoken.

I want also to join those who have commended you for the magnificent contribution which your Polish-American Congress and

its constituent member groups continue to make throughout this country. America is indeed far richer because of your fine civic and philanthropic programs which are not confined to just your own members or restricted to Polish-Americans alone.

For all of your work and your accomplishments you well merit the happiness and satisfaction that come from knowing that you have given to America far more than America has given you. But my friends, the need of your help and your powerful support is not over. It is needed today and I foresee even an increased need in the days to come if you and I and others who love freedom are to succeed in protecting our own American heritage against those who would destroy it, and if we are to preserve any semblance of world peace. Your active help will be needed if we are to keep the way open for continuing the American tradition of welcoming a reasonable number of immigrants and refugees, victims of Communist oppression; for continuing the American tradition of helping the people of other countries to obtain or maintain their independence; and for continuing the American tradition of doing everything possible to eliminate the specters of hunger, of want and of unemployment from our beloved Nation.

To those of us who have a public responsibility it is most gratifying and most reassuring to realize the extent to which Americans can rely so heavily upon Polish-Americans for the finest type of support and civic service.

Tribute to Luis Muñoz-Marín

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB H. GILBERT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to add my sincere words of tribute to the many already spoken and printed extolling the statesmanship, leadership, and brilliant accomplishments of the great Governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Muñoz-Marín.

It has been my pleasure and privilege to meet with Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín on numerous occasions, and to discuss with him the problems of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the plans for the continuing improvement in the general welfare of his people as well as those of Puerto Rican birth in the United States. There are many persons of Puerto Rican birth now residing in my congressional district, the 22d District of New York, and I found my conferences with the Governor of inestimable value. My concern has always been to help Puerto Ricans overcome the tremendous handicaps to be found in the New York area, to render all possible assistance. The Governor's love for his people has always been evident, and in speaking with him, one could not help but realize how fortunate the people were to have such a champion and leader.

Under Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín's able leadership, Puerto Rico has become known throughout the free world as a workshop of democracy. His vision and ability to inspire his people have made his program Operation Bootstrap a rousing success; the goals of education, industrialization, and agricultural diversification have achieved a rise in the literacy rate to 90 percent, industry boasts of 700 booming factories and aims for 2,500 within 10 years; the agricultural advancement is outstanding. And this phenomenal advancement and success of a people are mainly due to the compassion and efforts of a man who was disheartened and heartsick over the poverty of the Puerto Rican people and who determined to tackle the formidable job of helping them achieve decent living standards, education, and a stable economy. The present showplace island of Puerto Rico is the wonderful legacy of Governor Muñoz-Marín upon whom the title "teacher of democracy" has been lovingly bestowed.

When Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín refused to accept a fifth nomination for Governor, it was stated that he "struck an almost unique blow for democracy." He gave to the people one of the greatest gifts of all; he gave them the opportunity to prove to themselves that they could continue along the paths of freedom, justice, and progress, without depending upon the leadership of any one man. He has served the people since 1940, first in the island senate, and since 1948 as Governor. Had he wished to continue in this high post, he would have been overwhelmingly reelected. However, as a dedicated advocate of democratic principles, he insisted upon stepping aside, and his decision to relinquish the far-reaching power that had been entrusted to him, has been hailed as the greatest act of his career. It must be acknowledged that men in power very seldom step aside voluntarily and at the height of prestige; yet, when we consider that the Governor is a man of many talents, is more than a politician, a man recognized as a philosopher, poet, lawyer, writer, possessed of the qualities of kindness and modesty, and above all a love for his fellow man, then we are not surprised at his selfless action and his placing ideals above personal ambition.

It is gratifying and heartening to know that he is not entirely retiring from public service; he has announced that he will return to the Puerto Rican Senate. He will continue to watch over his people and to serve as their elder statesman. With the example he has set, with the benefits the people will have with him as a "teacher" keeping and enhancing their faith in a representative government, we know that all will continue to go well with Puerto Rico. For Governor Muñoz-Marín I wish many more years of happiness and success in his many endeavors and all the gratification which a job well done can bring.

Nikola Petkov Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the gallant people of little Bulgaria have given more than their quota of brave men who have fought and died for freedom and democracy. Among these true soldiers of freedom, Nikola Petkov holds a high place. This dauntless foe of all forces of darkness and deceit, nazism, fascism, and communism, defiantly challenged all forces opposing freedom, and for his courageous stand he made the supreme sacrifice.

September 23, 1947, when Petkov was treacherously executed by Communists, was a black day for the Bulgarian people, for all peoples in the Balkans and for the free world.

Today on the 17th anniversary of the death of Nikola Petkov, we honor his blessed memory, and I gladly send my cordial greetings to the Bulgarian people.

Support Our Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it is not hard to understand that a society which seems to have less and less moral indignation should look the other way while a tragic disservice is being done to the real bulwark of our American system of law and order, the police officer. I have taken the floor on several occasions during the past 4 years to commend our law enforcement officials for their patience, dedication to duty and restraint in the face of real peril. Today's peril comes less from the gun than the organized, insidious attack by groups who desire to discredit the police and have a catchall to cover their assault, "police brutality."

Pick up the average paper and you no longer are shocked when you read that white youths at a sea resort in Massachusetts or New York engage in full battle with the police. You might read an account of the Philadelphia riots or more recently about the Negro youths who hurled bottles and obscenities at the policemen in McComb, Miss. While the civil rights upheaval and the encouragement from some leaders to "oppose the law when it is wrong" may have added some impetus to the attack on our law enforcement officials, the problem is much deeper than this and it certainly deserves our careful attention. My point is that we should be shocked at blatant insurrection and resistance to the lawful orders of policemen and we should all resolve to support our law enforcement officials in what has come to be a difficult and unappreciated job.

The charge of police brutality is being used throughout the United States wherever it serves the purposes of agitators and demagogs. Certainly the Communist Party, U.S.A., has consistently used this foil and smear. I personally observed the restrained manner in which Washington police handled student rioters at a hearing of the Committee on Un-American Activities last year. The Com-

munist press charged police brutality and gestapo tactics, as usual, but this time they failed. The fact that they have been very successful in this accusation in the past is a cause for great concern, however, and certainly their leadership in this smear of law-enforcement officials has had its effect.

Thugs and petty delinquents have observed that a gold mine lies in the charge of "police brutality" and "civil rights" when they are apprehended. It is getting to be a standard operating procedure to hurl these charges as a defense. Simply by being charged, a police officer must defend himself and I do not need to tell you what a bad effect this has on good law enforcement. In Harlem, posters were displayed everywhere which proclaimed "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop." Officer Gilligan was exonerated but what policeman wants to get himself into a similar position in the future?

In an outstanding series of articles which I had inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the Lorain (Ohio) Journal outlined the sordid story in which prisoners actually held a kangaroo court behind bars and carefully laid their plans to harass arresting officers by a contrived story of police brutality. They were smart enough to throw in the words "civil rights" and the next thing they knew, the Federal officials were jumping to their assistance like they had been shot out of guns.

This is not to discredit the civil rights movement. It is an unfortunate fact of life that many petty thugs have found that they can resort to looting and lawlessness if there is a pretext of civil rights in rioting and disorders in our metropolitan areas. This appears to be exactly what happened in Philadelphia. But who is the man in the middle—you guessed it, the policeman. In many instances, he cannot draw his gun and probably has orders not to use his nightstick to quell civil rights disturbances.

Moreover, groups like the American Civil Liberties Union make life more difficult for law enforcement officials. I documented one instance of their handling of a criminal charge in New York City wherein they were in my judgment, totally unfair to the police officers involved. A wanted murderer was given more consideration than the safety of the arresting officers. While lawyers should use every honorable defense in representing their clients, policemen should not be made a scapegoat to secure an acquittal. Courts have demonstrated a tendency in the past few years to be easy on the felon and harsh on the law enforcement officials.

All of these trends point to an eroding climate for law enforcement officials throughout the country. They can be shot at, cursed, jeered or struck by beer cans and the public they are charged to serve and protect sits back and turns past these news stories to the sports page. It is high time that we start saying a good word for the cop, for the sheriff, for the highway patrolman, for the detective—yes, for the chief of police too—and everyone in the fine fraternity which wears a badge.

Possibly because they wear a badge and are the symbol of authority in a world of ferment and strife, the officer has become the target of attack whether it be by civil rights enthusiasts who have valid gripes against the "system" or young college students who just want to rebel. Whatever the cause, this disrespect for law and order, for the uniform, for the badge should not be tolerated and only through an incensed public indignation and massive public support for our law enforcement officials can we hope to abate this trend. Only through rekindling the respect which we now seem to be lacking can we nurture the love of country, patriotism, and the belief in our great institutions which makes it possible to live in an orderly, peaceful society.

Once more the Lorain (Ohio) Journal has taken a lead in this cause. Their September 15, 1964, issue contains an excellent editorial "Police Fight Back" which would be an ideal rallying point to start a national campaign to "Back Our Police." I commend it to your reading:

POLICE FIGHT BACK

Police of the United States, harassed by unfounded charges of brutality, shorn by court decrees of powers essential for proper law enforcement, and made the butt of ridicule by scoff laws, are going to fight back.

This was the essence of a decision reached at a recent meeting of the board of directors of the Grand Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police held in Louisville, Ky.

A committee was appointed to draw up a resolution embracing the position of law enforcement in relation to lawlessness.

That the national conference of the police organization will strongly endorse the recommendation of the directors can be regarded as a certainty. Police officers everywhere are becoming keenly aware of the ever-growing obstacles to their maintenance of law and order.

This represents the first organized step of police to strike back at their detractors. Their purpose is to preserve their powers to perform their duty of safeguarding people and property. All citizens except those who live by pillage, plunder, and crime, should hope fervently that the police succeed in halting the trend to law-enforcement obstructionism.

The Fraternal Order of Police is a national organization with a membership of more than 60,000 working police officers. The need for the lodge to fight for police rights was brought into focus at the directors' meeting by discussions of the Lorain case in which two police officers are being charged in Federal court with brutality.

The two are targets of a civil rights action by Federal authorities. To emphasize the hazards to the general welfare that can spring from excessive official militancy in such matters, we repeat four paragraphs from an earlier editorial in this newspaper:

"Shrill denunciations of civil rights demonstrators against police brutality may sometimes, albeit infrequently, be justified. But if protests are accompanied by such remedies as defiance of law enforcement, deliberate abuse of the police or refusal to help them in time of emergency, the cure becomes far worse than the disease.

"Police are the shock troops that guard our governmental system and our way of life against lawlessness, upheaval and utter chaos. They stand in a thin blue line between order and disorder.

"The police do not have the resources and the manpower to hold the line against vicious assaults of nihilists unless they have the backing, the cooperation and, if necessary, the direct help of the general public.

"Thus the point evolves all too clearly that if the civil rights champions weaken or destroy legitimate police power, they will have no 'rights' at all—nor will other citizens."

The Philadelphia incident, when spectators screamed "police brutality" while police were attempting to check rioting, destruction of stores, and looting, was illustrative of the abuse aimed at the men whose duty is to enforce the law.

If the Fraternal Order of Police can turn the trend in law enforcement from abuse and interference with the police back to respect and cooperation, the accomplishment will stand as a renewed bulwark of freedom in this Nation—freedom from the anarchy of lawlessness.

The War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on September 3, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, delivered a significant address entitled "The War on Poverty" at the fourth annual Labor Day observance sponsored by the Right Reverend Coleman F. Carroll, of the Catholic diocese of Miami.

This is an able and meaningful address and I am sure my colleagues who observe it will appreciate it:

WAR ON POVERTY

Your Excellency Bishop Carroll, ladies and gentlemen, and my fellow trade unionists, it is obvious enough that you have honored me by inviting me to address this great occasion, so recently and yet so magnificently begun. Yet in choosing the subject of the "War on Poverty" for your fourth annual Labor Day observance you have honored all those men in Washington today, and those who preceded them who have brought this great moral issue to the center of our national concerns.

An interesting question about the war on poverty is where it began. I can personally recall, as a young man—as I thought—a boy in reality listening to a great American, then Senator now Representative Claude Pepper debating the question of the poll tax at Town Hall in New York City. The issue of the poll tax is now happily behind us, but the things that made it an issue are not. I can still remember Claude Pepper's description of poverty in America, particularly rural America. He was asked at one point by a faintly hostile person in the audience "Was a dollar really a lot to pay for a man who really wanted to vote?" And I shall never forget his reply: "Down our way we have a saying that a dollar ain't much if you've got one."

That is a remark of which my grandfather would have said has the look of truth about it. And it has been just that kind of direct confrontation with reality that has brought about the war on poverty—and done so in the face of a good deal of official indifference to the problem and academic insistence that it no longer existed.

The universities in particular turned their attention away from the problems of poverty in some degree because the problems were thought to have been solved, in the sense that the process of solution was well under

way. The post-World War II depression did not materialize, and those who had most anticipated it seem almost to have overcompensated in a confusion of surprise and disappointment. It was evident that incomes generally were rising, and it appeared that low incomes were rising fastest of all. Clearly, the world had changed. As S. M. Miller and Martin Rein report, "in a spirit of 'dazed euphoria' American social scientists formulated a new natural law of income equalization."

We were wrong. At almost the moment of the pronouncement of the beginning of the end of the historic inequalities of wealth, the distribution of income in the United States froze. In 1947 the 20 percent of the families with the lowest incomes received 5 percent of the national income. Fifteen years later it was still 5 percent. The proportions were exactly reversed at the top, and remained exactly unchanged.

We deserved to be wrong to the extent it was supposed that anything happening generally in the United States would also be happening specifically. The Nation is too vast and much too varied. And as it turned out by the 1950's things were getting relatively worse, not better, for many specific groups of people. By the end of that decade Robert J. Lampman of the University of Wisconsin was able to show that income shares generally were not changing, and since then Oscar Ornati and Herman P. Miller have demonstrated that for persons with certain characteristics of age, color, sex, area, and occupation the situation was in fact deteriorating.

Because our statistics separate them out, the experience of Negroes during this period is the one that can be seen most clearly. The majority of the poor are not Negro—four-fifths are white—but a near majority of Negroes are poor. What has happened to them is probably not unrepresentative of the common experience of the poorest groups during the great postwar prosperity. And what happened was awful. Real incomes did rise, and opportunities for Negroes with education and training did open up as never in the past, but by and large things got worse. In the first place, Negro wages relative to white wages, after moving ahead at a very good pace during the 1940's, suddenly began to fall behind—possibly for the first time in history. In 1951 the average male Negro wage earner was receiving 62 percent of corresponding white earnings. By 1962 he had dropped back to 55 percent.

Simultaneously Negro unemployment began its seeming inexorable rise: 4.4 percent of Negro male workers were unemployed in 1951; by 1962 the rate had almost tripled to 11 percent. Unemployment among white men rose, but by 1962, at 4.6 percent, it was only two-tenths of a point higher than the Negro rates a decade earlier. In the meantime the massive migration to the cities continued, so that by the middle of the 1950's the signs of social morbidity were unmistakable to anyone who cared to notice. The Negro family structure began to crumble under the impact of unemployment, dislocation, and possibly also the peculiarly savage welfare policies of the Federal Government which practically required that families break up as a condition of welfare assistance. With the family base eroding, there was less and less to build on as the years went by.

The American gross national product rose by $100 billion in the first 36 months of the new Democratic administration in Washington, but still the poor remained. At the current rate of attrition the prospect would be that the actual number of families living in poverty would begin to rise, reaching as much as 11.4 million by 1975.

The easing of the cold war, with the prospect of defense cutbacks, released a good deal of energy and, potentially, resources as the new administration passed midterm. The great upsurge of Negro militancy was an unavoidable fact that demanded and was entitled to a mature and generous response. But there was another factor: the stalemate of social progress as defined in the institutional terms of the 1930's and their aftermath. The New Frontier came to power with an impressive list of things to be done, but most of them were defined as extensions of earlier programs or reassertions of earlier ideas. Many of these incremental battles had been fought and lost previously, and before long it became clear that they were being fought and lost again. Then came the surge of hostility from the business community toward an administration that was profoundly and earnestly probusiness, not in the sense of being anti anything else, but rather in the automatic assumption of the mutuality of interests in a complex and creative economy. It was clear the Nation urgently needed a new definition of the social problem that would unite rather than divide, and a tract from the distant and almost forgotten world of apocalyptic ideology provided it: the issue was proverty. When President Johnson proposed that we go to war against it, he added just that measure of activism that the proposition needed. The stalemate was broken. A whole spectrum of program ideas that individually were deadlocked and doomed were put together, added to, and before anyone could have believed it, enacted by a coalition in Congress and a body of opinion in the Nation that could not have been conceived a year earlier.

What we have had is a great stroke of luck. After two decades of immobilism, the old rigidities are giving way and the Nation is moving ahead in an area where deadlock was turning gangrenous. The object now must be to exploit the opportunity. Almost certainly this will require an intense effort of analysis to understand much more about what has been the trouble, and how the present effort must proceed if it is to achieve its objective, an effort which must now involve the world of scholarship.

The vrst question is, What is the nature of poverty in the United States? It is curiously not a simple question. The problem is that poverty is the normal, historical condition of human life. It has always been that way, and in terms of world averages, it still is. But certainly mass poverty—and we have that—is hardly the necessary condition of life in a nation whose wealth grows by $30 billion a year, whose economists routinely assume the economy will have grown another fourth by the end of the decade.

"For ye have the poor always with you" quoted Congressman AYRES of Ohio at the outset of the hearings on the President's poverty program and that may very well be, but the question remains whether the reason will always be the same. There is no justification for simply ignoring a proposition that in one form or another has been with us from the beginning of the industrial revolution; namely, that the same processes that produce industrial wealth also produce poverty, that the two go hand in hand.

We are not far from the centenary of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" which put the matter in terms that still must be contended with:

"The masses of men, who in the midst of abundance suffer want; who, clothed with political freedom, are condemned to the wages of slavery; to whose toil laborsaving inventions bring no relief, but rather seem to rob them of a privilege, instinctively feel that 'there is something wrong.' And they are right."

We must now talk not of the masses of men, but of the minority, but that does not alter the conditions of the individuals involved.

I will venture that there is something of this kind going on, that the paradox of poverty amidst plenty in the United States is in some important respects only a surface reality, that underneath the relationship in a number of specific instances is causal.

The first and most familiar fact is that of advancing technology. The essential source of our prosperity lies in the unsparing application of technology to the processes of production. The word is unsparing; the effect is demonic when compared with the way other peoples altogether as anxious to get rich as we are, nonetheless manage to restrain themselves. The new technology (or more correctly, recent technology) is fundamentally a creative process, but in that process it destroys communities, destroys jobs, and destroys people. These are the new poor.

The destruction of the American coal miners is a prime example. It would not be accurate probably for us to state with Orwell that "Our civilization, pace Chesterton, is founded on coal," but it is fundamental to the production of ferrous metals and electric power. We have the cheapest coal in the world, and in measure thereby just about the cheapest steel and the cheapest power. We also have the cheapest coal miners. In the 12 years from 1950 to 1962 almost 65 percent of the soft coal mining jobs in the United States were eliminated, with such indifference to the effect on the lives of the miners and their families that it is hard to think of it as a contemporary event.

The coal miners of whom Orwell wrote went through a bitter era of unemployment during the 1930's, but it would be all but impossible for it to be repeated today. British productivity is improving and employment in the mines is being cut, but as a general proposition it may be said that not a single miner has been thrown permanently out of work for a quarter century. It is perfectly clear that this policy has required that inefficient mines be kept open, and that is what has happened, period. For a variety of reasons, some better than others, the British and most of the nations of the Continent can no longer conceive of throwing a whole industrial population on the slag heap.

We can and do. A similar case is that of our agricultural workers. The United States has the cheapest food in the world. This has come about through the application of science and technology that has driven in recent years millions of farm families off the land, into the cities, with little or no preparation for the life they then have to lead.

Through all this there is a steady, if essentially impersonal bias against the unskilled and the ill equipped. The notion that automation is about to do away with the work force altogether, or bring about some such domestic upheaval may conceivably be true, but there is no evidence of it. Productivity increases over the past years have simply not been that great. On the other hand, there is evidence of a continually rising standard of minimum acceptable abilities, so that more and more those at the bottom are left out. In 1962–63 for example, output per man-hour in nonagricultural activities increased less than 3 percent, hardly a sign of cybernation. But in agriculture, where there are still many marginal producers, output per man-hour increased 7.4 percent, a change brought about not by an increase in production, but by a reduction in workers.

This bias is painfully evident in the area of job creation. From 1957 to 1963, when the population of the United States grew by 18,097,000 only 300,000 new full-time jobs were generated by private demand. Since 1957 almost half the jobs added to the American work force have been in State and local government, positions that tend to be skilled, and almost invariably today require examinations and accreditations of various sorts.

This is a major explanation of the problem of youth unemployment. During 1963 every

additional teenager entering the work force caused a net addition of the number of unemployed youth. In the first half of 1964, stimulated by the tax cut, for the first time since 1957 there was marked and dramatic improvement in the unemployment situation in the United States. From the second quarter of 1963 to the second quarter of 1964 employment moved up by 1.8 million. In July 1964 the unemployment rate finally fell below 5 percent—for the second time since 1957. But in contrast with other groups, the job picture for teenagers actually deteriorated in comparison with 1963. At 15.7 percent in the second quarter of 1964, the unemployment rate for teenagers was as high as for any year in the postwar period—nearly half again as high as during the comparable period in 1957.

This situation is clearly worse among the children of the poor. Again using the Negro statistics because they are available, as late as 1948 unemployment among male Negro youths was actually below that of whites. Since then it has risen from 7.6 percent to 25.4 percent in 1963 and is now almost twice the rate of white youths.

It may be the characteristic fault of modern society will not be the exploitation of the poor, but their exclusion, based upon means tests of ability and training. Nature is not nearly so generous in passing out the brains as liberal social policy tends to assume. A quarter of the population has an IQ under 90. Such individuals are born pretty much at random throughout the upper, middle, and low income groups, but while a middle class upbringing will compensate for limited abilities, particularly by strengthening special talents of which most persons have some, the poor child of limited natural ability grows if anything worse, and is in turn unable to help out those of his own offspring who should happen to be born with a superior potential.

A cultural pattern is involved here. Industrial progress does not have to produce poverty, but with us it seems to be doing so, for some groups at least. By contrast, although returns are not altogether in, it appears very likely that the industrial democracies of Northern and Western Europe, without any particular travail, have in the course of the past 15 years quietly put an end to poverty in their own nations. It is as if it were too obvious a thing not to do if it could be done, and when the resources became available it was done—and not just in Scandinavia.

Here again the American experience appears to be related to qualities that are peculiar to us. The most striking quality of the American Nation is the size of the country and the diversity of its people. There is nothing in history to match the incredible mixing of "race, color, religion, and national origin," superimposed on a continental territory that stretches up and down and across the globe. Surely a great measure of our vitality, energy and creativity derive from the Noah's Ark quality of the Nation, with its incomparable potential for permutations, tensions, and excitements.

The advantages gained from this diversity in the population are real, because the differences are real. At the same time there are disadvantages, and these too are tangible. Because of them Americans have been unable to reach sufficient agreement on a whole range of issues involving "race, color, religion and national origin," not to mention region, to the point that we are almost unique among modern nations in the absence of certain types of uniform public services. The most important of these is education. Are we not the only industrial democracy in the world that does not have a national system of support for elementary and secondary education? The result is that persons who live in the poorest States and communities in America get the poorest education, with the resultant tendency to perpetuate that system. Perhaps the major social discovery of the postwar period has been the work of men such as Theodore W. Schultz and Edward F. Denison, demonstrating that investment in human capital—not physical capital, not technology—is the major source of contemporary economic growth. That being the case, our inability to establish national minimum levels of support for education has very likely had the effect of accentuating the difference between investment in the human capital of the well-to-do communities, as against the poor ones.

Size and ethnic diversity is probably also the main source of what might be called the discontinuities of the American social conscience. The hard luck of one group of Americans is not that easily perceived by another despite our enormous willingness to help one another. The problem is one of communication. If the white middle class knew the conditions of life among the American Indians, would they accept it? Probably not, but they don't know. In this sense ethnicity and size are a barrier in America similar to that of social class in the European past.

THE PROMISE AND DANGERS OF THE FUTURE

It is no answer that things are getting better for almost everyone, even if at differential rates which widen the gaps between top and bottom. Everyone is vastly better off today as compared with even the recent past, but the inequalities that persist still offend against the light. So long as excessive disparities exist between those who inherit privilege and those who inherit disadvantage, the social order is out of balance.

That is why unemployment for the moment is the master problem. The essential sin of which our society is capable is not that of allowing people to remain poor, but in making them useless. In an age of overactivity, to be unemployed is to be guilty. The evidence is strong (although one would think that by now much more would be known about the subject) that men on the margin of the work force, recurrently or even permanently out of work, suffer the worst kind of personal disintegration. The victims in the main of utterly impersonal forces, they nonetheless take it personally. Their families suffer and their children are deprived in ways unknown to the prospering majority.

If our society has any moral purpose, if we acknowledge any common responsibility for the minimum well-being of all, then surely our understanding of natural rights must extend to the subject of employment. Labor, in the words of Pope John XXIII, is "both a duty and a right of every human being." Right, repeat, right. In an industrial world that has not yet come to terms with the question of leisure, men without work are deprived of an essential condition of human dignity, and there has not been a week in the past decade when by any counting there have been fewer than a million such in the United States. (The number of unemployed reached 5.7 million in the month after President Kennedy took office, the highest point since the depression, but not all of these were marginal workers.) We have not understood this clearly until now, and perhaps not even now. Full employment is an accepted ideal, in our economy, much as perpetual motion would attract the managers of a generating plant, but the idea that it must be achieved, even at a price, because the cost of not doing so is intolerable, is not generally accepted.

We are still a long way from Sir William H. Beveridge's declaration to wartime England: "Full employment * * * is something that the British democracy should direct its Government to secure, at all costs save the surrender of the essential liberties. Who can doubt that full employment is worth winning, at any cost less than surrender of those liberties? If full employment is not won and kept, no liberties are secure, for to many they will not seem worthwhile."

It would be naive to think of Beveridge's proposition only in terms of the unemployed themselves. The very fact of unemployment, although it may involve relatively few, threatens many. It is the source of the untold rigidities and fears in the world of industrial and social relations.

Next to the problem of unemployment is that of low wages for men with large families. The United States is singular in the general absence of arrangements for adjusting income to family size. One can even detect a general assumption that families are smaller than they actually are. The City Worker's Budget prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and on which most conceptions of minimum living standards are based, assumes a family of mother, father, and two children, which is somewhat below the national average of families with children anyway, and almost irrelevant for a family of 10, of which there are a good many.

In 1961, 24.5 million children, or 37 percent of all children under 18, were in families with four or more children. These constituted 11 percent of all families, and about 18 percent of all families with children. In 1961 nearly half (48 percent) of all children in families with incomes under $3,000 were in families of four or more.

One of the most disturbing indexes of social disorganization in the Nation are the selective service rejection rates. If all young men of 18 were called up for examination, a third would be rejected as unfit for military service. (In actual practice more than half are rejected, but not all are called.) Roughly one in six would fail the mental test, which measures minimum achievement at about the level of a 13-year-old schoolboy. Seventy percent who fail below the mental standards come from families with four or more children and about half come from families of six or more.

Clearly we require a strong wage system, and a strong trade union movement to maintain it. But it may also be special adjustments should be made for family size at low-income levels.

At this point a warning is in order. Although it is no problem to describe in general terms what needs to be done, it is essential to emphasize that these simplicities are turning out to be difficult of achievement, and that in fact most "natural" forces seem to run contrary. The overwhelming danger we face in the area of poverty is that we will not have the energy and social creativity to make our system run properly, but will instead settle for making up for its shortcomings by massive programs of public assistance.

Despite all of those who sincerely feel these programs are already too large, the plain fact is that they exist, and the course of least resistance is to let them go on getting bigger. It would be disgracefully expensive to do so, but also, somehow, easier. Life surely provides examples of how often people individually and collectively will pay a price for not having to change their ways.

The American welfare system is one of the proudest achievements of a generous and compassionate people. But it must not be allowed to become the economic system of a permanent subculture. Men need jobs, families need fathers, communities need independence. This must be our objective and it is an objective entirely compatible with the fullest care for those individuals who find themselves temporarily or even permanently unable to look after themselves. It would seem we know very little about what changes things for a family or an individual. No one would deny that our best minds have been otherwise engaged over the past several decades, but it is past time that we righted that imbalance. In the mean-

while social policy must seek its own pragmatic solutions. We must share the courage and optimism of the President who declared, in signing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, "The days of the dole in our country are numbered."

This is the object of the President's war on poverty, with its emphasis on jobs and job training, education, and community action. It is within our power to change the course of recent events, and we fail to do so at the risk of all that is strongest and true in the American heritage.

Confidence Is Keynote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely read features of the Newark Star-Ledger is "Jersey Business," by John Soloway. In addition to being a discerning observed and able writer himself, John selects as guest columnists outstanding men from the New Jersey business and industrial community. Earlier this month such a columnist was Mr. George J. Haney, director of New Jersey operations of the brokerage house, Auchincloss, Parker & Redpath, Inc.

No one in the New Jersey financial community is more respected than George, both for his demonstrated ability and his personal integrity. And while the column he has written is directed principally to those engaged in commerce, you will see that his point is equally applicable to men in other walks of life, including our own. And for this reason, I would like to place it before my colleagues. As George has said, "Confidence is the keynote—solid confidence predicted upon the good character of our Nations, its leaders and its citizens." Establishment and maintenance of that confidence is the responsibility of each and every one of us.

The column follows:

JERSEY BUSINESS

(By John Soloway)

FINANCIAL: CONFIDENCE IS KEYNOTE IN FIGHT ON INFLATION

(By George J. Haney)

One of the most intriguing words in the English language is "confidence."

Webster defines it as "reliance," a particularly apt description.

In the world of economics, it is, strangely enough, never given the importance it deserves.

The study of money and currency is extremely difficult because after you have mastered the formalistic theories, you find that actually you know very little, inasmuch as any practical understanding of the subject is almost completely a matter of confidence.

Imagine what would happen if the pepole of this country and the rest of the world suddenly lost confidence in the value of the U.S. dollar? Economic chaos would result which would affect every nation in the world and all of the gold stored in Fort Knox wouldn't help the situation.

A nation's currency is what people believe it to be collectively, i.e., a matter of confidence.

Runaway inflation has occurred frequently in recent history and the currency of the nations involved has been rendered temporarily worthless. Germany and China are good examples of this, and the prime motivation for the denouncement of creeping inflation into a runaway inflation has been a steady decrease in confidence in the currency of the realms involved.

Every informed citizen should be deeply concerned with the different elements which go to make up confidence in the currency of a country. The character of a nation's government is perhaps most important. Paying debts on time, willingness to help less fortunate nations without being stupidly wasteful, keeping its word in diplomatic and business matters, quality of production at a high level, all of these are most important in establishing confidence in its medium of exchange. You will note that I make no mention of gold or other currency backing as the most important element in the creation of confidence. Gold and silver reserve is one element of confidence but history proves that its importance is sometimes exaggerated as opposed to the presence of national character.

As a prime example today, take the case of the Soviet Union. This powerful nation has probably the largest gold reserve available in the world today but its currency medium of exchange (the ruble) is held in very low esteem by all of the countries in the world because of the lack of character of its present communistic form of government.

The character of a nation is easily the most important confidence factor to nations outside the one being judged. What are the most important elements affecting confidence within the country itself? Once again, belief in and pride in the government of a nation and the character of its administrators is the single most important element.

In some cases, undesirable traits in the people of a country like delusions of economic grandeur and extreme nationalism have been contributors to a false confidence which eventually was unmasked with dire consequences to the nations involved. Confidence based upon a deception of the masses by a government's leaders has always been doomed to failure if history can be considered a competent teacher. Most recently, Nazi Germany was an example of such deception.

Mismanagement by government, business, and labor can be important contributors to the destruction of confidence within a nation. Evidence of a total lack of public morality on the part of these sectors of a nation sets the stage for a Nero-like collapse of the entire country.

The successful government leaders have always been those who were able to feel the pulse of public confidence before undertaking new ideas and experiments which were important to the economy and hence, the currency of a nation.

In the United States today, the most important problem facing the leaders of our Government is the possibility of a severe credit inflation affecting the confidence in which the U.S. dollar is held with the inevitable runaway inflation resulting.

Through a combination of circumstances which would take too much space to explain here, this administration does not wish to utilize the classic method of raising short-term interest rates; i.e.; a tight money policy to combat a possible runaway boom in business in the near future. There are many who feel that a general rise in interest rates would help our balance-of-payments situation. Opponents argue that any tightening of rates would cause a sharp slide in business and the stock market.

The American people are therefore faced with a great challenge, the necessity for retaining prices and wages at sensible levels, the necessity for realistic economy in Government, and, most of all, a practical understanding of the terrible evil of inflation and the factors which can cause it, regardless of the great affluence of the Nation involved.

Even if inflation continued at its present rate, a college education 15 years from now will cost 25 percent more than it does today, a $7,500 life insurance policy, which matures in 20 years, will buy only as much as $5,600 will today. A pension of $200 per month, taken 25 years from now, will only provide the same standard of living $150 a month would today.

The purchase of common stocks has often been considered one of the better hedges against inflation. However true this may be, it is much more important that every individual do all in his power to help destroy the chances of runaway inflation becoming a reality in this country.

Confidence is the keynote, not a false confidence relying upon spurious notions, but solid confidence predicated upon the good character of our Nation, its leaders, and its citizens. No more important challenge faces the people of this country today.

Wool Import: 30 Mills Closed and 6,450 Jobs Lost—Proves Point That Administration Doesn't Really Care for the American Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished constituent of mine, George Dorr, president of the Dorr Woolen Co., of Newport, N.H.—Post Office Guild, New Hampshire—just retired as chairman of the Northern Textile Association. In reporting to the association's 110th annual meeting recently held in Portsmouth, N.H., Mr. Dorr pointed out that 30 mills had closed and 6,450 jobs had been lost in the past 2 years because the wool import problem remained unsolved.

Although this administration has promised restrictive quotas, they have not kept their promise, although they did keep a similar promise to cotton textiles. The recent passing of the beef import quota legislation proves that when this administration wants to, they can get quotas promptly and cheerfully. To put it bluntly, they are selling the wool manufacturers down the river and, as a result, jobs are being lost, mills are being closed and whole communities are suffering.

The Newport (N.H.) Argus Champion reports on this matter in an interesting article which I shall include in the RECORD following these remarks.

Reading between the lines, the sorry story of broken promises and total disregard for an important industry, makes shocking reading for anybody who believes that citizens should be permitted to trust their Government to keep its promises and to foster an industry of

vital importance to the national security and to the national economy.

The article follows:

DORR REPORTS—WOOL MANUFACTURERS WANT IMPORT CONTROLS

PORTSMOUTH.—An effective system of import control of wool and man-made fiber textiles and apparel tops the Northern Textile Association's aims for the year ahead.

Reporting to the association's 110th annual meeting here today, President William F. Sullivan and retiring Chairman George A. Dorr, Jr., will give the membership detailed reports on both wool and cotton textile import problems and steps in progress toward their solution.

NTA represents New England's cotton, wool, and manmade fiber textile manufacturers.

Mr. Dorr, president of Dorr Woolen Co., Guild, pointed out that 30 mills had closed and 6,450 jobs had been lost in the woolen industry in the past 2 years largely because the import problem remained unsolved.

"There will be no long-term commitments for capital improvements of the magnitude to keep the wool segment of the textile industry virile until a solution of this problem is reached," he added.

Gordon Osborne, president and treasurer of Warwick Mills, Boston, Mass., was elected chairman of the association to succeed Mr. Dorr. Mr. Dorr was elected a vice president.

Mr. Sullivan listed the association's aims for the coming year as:

"1. An effective system of import control of wool and manmade fiber textiles and apparel on a category and country basis.

"2. Continued control of cotton textile and apparel imports by firm enforcement of the long-term cotton arrangement.

"3. The exclusion of textile and textile products from the Kennedy-Round under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

"4. Permanent Federal legislation which will make cotton available to American mills at the same price that it is available for export.

"5. Extension of the National Wool Act so as to insure the continued production of wool in the United States.

"6. The effective enforcement of U.S. labeling laws on imported textile products.

"7. Increased understanding of the importance of the textile industry to New England and the maintaining of our mills in a competitive position in the textile industry."

Fort Pickens History Recounted for Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully request permission to include in my remarks the following article by Mr. J. Troy Pickens, of Ireland, W. Va., giving an accounting of the history of Fort Pickens, W. Va. This is the story of Company A, 10th West Virginia Infantry Volunteers, during March 1862. I was pleased to speak at the dedication of the Fort Pickens Marker in Duffy, W. Va., recently and this historical presentation proved immensely interesting as a documentation of early history in West Virginia.

The article follows:

FORT PICKENS AND THE MEN WHO BUILT IT—FIRST KNOWN AS CAPT. MORGAN A. DARNALLS, CO. A, 10TH VIRGINIA

Company A, 10th West Virginia Infantry Volunteers, enlisted and built their fort during the fall and winter of 1861, and was mustered into U.S. service by Captain Bainbridge (at their Fort Pickens), March 13, 1862. Trained and joined other forces.

After more than 3 years of struggle it stood before Richmond from Christmas Day, 1864, until the fall of that fortified city and at the close of the war. Then it returned to Wheeling and was mustered out of U.S. service on August 9, 1865.

They were privates: William D. Anderson, William J. Anderson, Andrew Adkison, Nathan D. Bennett, William O. Barnett, Edward H. Ballard, John H. Barlow, Lushus C. Baker, Washington Boggs, William T. Bull, Gilbert Buckhannon, Thomas Buckhannon, John Cunningham, William P. Cunningham, Jesse Cunningham, Jennison P. Cunningham, Abel H. Cunningham, Abram L. Crites, Lemon S. Clothier, Robert C. Clothier, Isaac G. Chipps.

John Curry, Abram F. Curry, George W. Claypool, Patrick Callahan, Jeffrey Collins, Arch Collins, John F. Davis, William L. Davis, Thomas L. Davis, William C. Ewing, Murty Ford, David H. Grimes, Henry Harper, Peter Harper, Enoch Heater, Zachariah Howel, Samuel H. Loudon, John D. Loudon, Benjamin F. Lake, Andrew L. Leslie, Thomas McQuain, George P. Moss, Ezekiel C. Marple, John M. Marple, David Moor, Joseph Moor, William Marley, James Marley, John R. Mealey, John A. Mealey.

John T. McKisie, William N. McCarty, Elijah W. McCartney, Nathan McCord, Walter Mick, William Pickens, James Pickens, Charles Peatt, Benjamin Potts, Alfred M. Rexroad, Palser Rexroad, John Roby, James S. Roby, Peter Riffle, William M. Richardson, Silas G. Slaughter, Christian Simons, Jonas Simmons, Samuel Swecker, Aaron Shirtliff, General J. Shaw, William J. Smith, James H. Shawver, Commodore P. Townsend, James T. Underwood, Charles L. Underwood, Elihu Wimer, Morgan Wimer, Thomas M. Warner, William D. Warner, John F. Warner, Levi R. Warner, William Warner, James C. Wilson, Loudon B. Watson, Nelson Wanless, Andrew Wanless, George D. Walton, John Walton, George Williams.

Officers: Capt. Morgan A. Darnall; 1st Lt. Jos. G. Bouse; 2d Lt. Ausbin Wilson.

Sergeants: First, Ignatius Burbridge; Thomas Williams; Right B. Curry; William F. Detamore; Timothy Ford.

Corporals: James J. Anderson; Enoch Cunningham; John D. Armstrong; Maranda H. Rexroad; Elkanah H. Roby; Robert H. Ewing; John C. Harold.

Field and staff officers: Col. Thomas H. Harris; Lt. Col. Moses S. Hall; Maj. Henry H. Withers; Adjutant Oliver P. Boughner; Suregon George C. Gans; Assistant Surgeon Johnathon R. Blair; Quartermaster Samuel Adams; Chaplain John Branch.

A brief description of the fort and what took place there might be of interest.

It was erected on the lands of James Pickens, Sr., at Duffy, near the southern extremity of Lewis County, W. Va.

It was built as an outpost and as it was located on the Pickens land it became known as Fort Pickens.

It was two stories high and was constructed with double thickness of hewed log walls and was approximately 30 by 45 feet inside dimension. It was equipped with two chimneys with large fireplaces in which wood was used for both heating and cooking. (Some cooking was done outdoors in fair weather). The location of the chimneys is evidenced by two mounds remaining of the clay of which they were constructed.

After Company A left here and joined other forces, the fort was still used as an outpost and as a recruiting station. Several enlisted here as cavalrymen and went to other points to be mustered in wherever they were needed in the ranks.

The fort was also used as a way station and many soldiers including some from Ohio and Indiana were stationed here for short periods.

Somehow the enemy was always stopped short of reaching the fort and the only engagements here was with bushwhackers which came through the community as raiders. According to tradition, one such group from Webster County came through and attacked the fort and a member of Company A was slightly wounded in the skirmish.

There was a door in each end of the building but there were no windows, however light was admitted by a row of portholes conveniently placed around the top walls of both the upper and lower rooms.

The lower room had mostly a ground floor with exception of one corner where hewed boards called puncheons were used to cover what was referred to as the "tater hole" in which potatoes, turnips, apples, etc. were stored under the floor. Some bunk beds could be laid up in this room when needed.

The upper room was reached by two flights of stairs, one at each end of the building. It was equipped with bunk beds three tiers in height which were constructed without nails, being mortise and tenon work made in such manner that one man might easily assemble or disassemble them. In the case of an enemy approach the upper beds could be lifted off and the defenders stand on the lower beds to shoot through the portholes.

Each bed was wide enough to accommodate two soldiers and were made in units of several beds side by side extending the full length of the building which was about 45 feet long. The soldiers entered the bed by climbing in at the foot and slept with their heads near the wall.

The gunrack, which was about 30 feet long, stood in the middle of the room between the heads of the two flights of stairs at the ends, and the two rows of bunk beds on the sides. It was made to hold more than 100 guns in upright position.

Each gun was held by wooden pegs (which were also used for hanging shot pouches), from falling over and banging the gun next to it. While under the rack was space where the soldiers might put their boots when they went to bed.

And by the way, I was about to forget to mention that on each side of the gunrack was a bench extending its full length on which a soldier might sit while putting on his boots.

As stated above, Company A was mustered into U.S. service on March 13, 1862, by Captain Bainbridge. Not long after being mustered into U.S. service, they went to Buckhannon to work and train with Company B. Then in September of that year (1862), they, together with several other companies of the 10th (it seems there must have been as many as eight including Company A and Company B) went to Bulltown where the first muster work of regimental tactics took place.

Then they were ordered to join General Milroy, so they broke camp on November 4, 1862, and set out by way of Beverly to Winchester where they arrived January 1, 1863. While camped at Winchester they made several raids in the Shenandoah Valley. Then on May 10 they were ordered back to West Virginia and added to Gen. W. Averill's brigade and sent to Buckhannon.

On the 7th of June 1863, they were sent to Beverly at which place they were attacked by a Confederate force under Col. William L. Jackson on July 2 and compelled to sustain the force of the attack for 2 days before reinforcements arrived.

On the 15th of June 1864 the command was removed to Martinsburg where on the 3d day of July 1864, General Early was encoun-

tered at Leetown and successfully resisted for some time.

Among the important battles Company A participated in were Droop Mountain, Kernstown, Harpers Ferry, Openquen River, Cedar Creek, Snickers Ferry, Winchester, and Berryville.

At Fishers Hill on September 22, 1864, the 10th Virginia was the first to plant the Stars and Stripes on the Confederate fortifications.

On the 19th of December 1864, the regiment was ordered to Washington City where it embarked and joined the army before Richmond, going into camp at Chapins Farm, within 7 miles of the Confederate Capitol on Christmas Day, 1864, where it served until the close of the war as part of the XXIV Army Corps.

Then it returned to Wheeling and was mustered out of the U.S. service on August 9, 1865.

Some perished in the struggle, but not one of Company A deserted, and those who returned had a new State "West Virginia" to come back to.

Fort Pickens was burned by bushwhackers in December of 1864, but it had served its purpose well and helped to put West Virginia on the map, and West Virginia is here to stay.—Written by J. Trop Pickens, June 15, 1963.

Address by John A. Gronouski, Postmaster General, 70th Anniversary Celebration of the Union of Poles in America, Cleveland, Ohio, September 20, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 20, Postmaster General John A. Gronouski came to Cleveland to address the 70th anniversary celebration of the Union of Poles in America.

At the convention session in the evening Mr. Gronouski gave a stirring address in response to the factors relating to the so-called white backlash. In Polish he made a magnificent quotation from the last will and testament of Thaddeus Kosciusko, in which General Kosciusko made a bequest of all of his possessions in the United States for the purpose of freeing American Negro slaves. This stirring speech made a unique call for tolerance.

The speech is as follows:

ADDRESS BY JOHN A. GRONOUSKI, POSTMASTER GENERAL, 70TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE UNION OF POLES IN AMERICA, CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 20, 1964

We meet here in Cleveland in an hour of great national hope.

An hour when the prospects of a just and lasting peace are brighter than they have been in 20 years.

An hour when the atom is becoming man's servant, instead of his master.

An hour when the walls separating us from our brothers in Eastern Europe are beginning to crumble.

An hour of rededication to the rights of all our citizens.

An hour of opportunity for our poor and of hope for our mentally ill.

An hour when our workers have achieved an unprecedented standard of living.

An hour to preserve our wilderness and to mark our slums for extinction.

And this is just the beginning. We stand on the edge of a bright new era.

We stand there because a man dreamed of greatness for his nation—and that man was John F. Kennedy.

We stand there because a great and compassionate President knew how to put that dream to work—and that President is Lyndon B. Johnson.

We stand there because this Congress, now drawing to a close, has demonstrated itself to be one of the most productive sessions in modern times—and because it had among its most devoted Members such outstanding Americans as STEPHEN YOUNG, CHARLES VANIK, and MICHAEL FEIGHAN.

These men, whom you have chosen to lead you, understand the full meaning of the opportunity that now presents itself. They understand that the forces of nature, of science and of humanity have come together in this particular time and place which will allow us—if we are wise enough—to make more progress within the next 20 years than we have made in the past 200.

Man's knowledge has unlocked many of the secrets of nature and has learned to cure many of our oldest diseases.

For the first time in history, we now have the wealth and leisure to pursue our dreams of a better, more meaningful life for everyone.

And we have in President Johnson a man who is capable of bringing together—for a great national purpose—all the factions of America which have too long been split asunder: north and south, east and west; city and farm; business and labor; Negro and white; rich and poor; and Federal and State.

Men of vision and of faith, all over the country know that if we use our knowledge, our wealth, our leisure and our sense of unity, we can indeed build that which the President has called the great society.

We can change our deserts into lush farmlands.

We can rebuild our blighted cities into centers of beauty and culture.

We can bring the miracle of modern medicine to every citizen and cure the last of the killing and crippling diseases.

We can purify our streams and our air.

We can help every child realize his full potential by improving our schools.

We can give every man a chance to provide a decent life for himself and his family, regardless of his race, his color or his creed.

In short, we can build an America "where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

Such is the dream of Lyndon B. Johnson. But it is more than just a dream. It is our destiny—our own generation's destiny—if we only have the vision to see it and the will to grasp it.

Our heritage today is a good society for many. Our heritage tomorrow is a great society for all.

But the future has a way of mocking as it comforts; of taunting as it beckons. And so today, even as we stand on the edge of this great new era, we are confronted with a grave national crisis. There are those among us who would settle for the progress we have already made; who dissipate our energy in petty squabbling; who would retrench because they fear what tomorrow will bring; who look longingly to the past, rather than hopefully to the future.

Today, a man who seeks the highest elective office in the world, travels around the country, preaching the gospel of peace, yet advocating the reckless use of atomic weapons.

This man cries out for national survival, yet opposes the test ban treaty.

He talks about freedom, yet votes against the civil rights act.

He speaks of the dignity of the individual, yet turns his back on our aging.

He calls for the perfection of the "whole man," yet opposes the greatest attack on poverty in the history of civilization.

He decries violence in the streets, yet announces for every malcontent to hear that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice," and "moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

This man's way is the way of national chaos. He seeks to undo every act of enlightened, progressive social legislation of this century. In his own words he tells us: "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them. It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones. * * *"

He would cancel creative development of public power—power that helped bring this Nation to its present stature of greatness—by selling TVA to private industry.

He would betray every working man and woman in the United States by destroying the fabric of our social security system.

He would drive us back to the dark days of the 19th century—when the rich got richer and the poor got poorer—by doing away with the graduated income tax.

He would set our labor movement back 50 years with the passage of a national "right-to-work" law.

He would desert our poor and needy citizens with the cancellation of our social welfare programs.

He would allow our depressed areas to stagnate through the abandonment of our area redevelopment programs.

And on the international front, his policies are even more irresponsible.

He would drop a low-yield atomic bomb on North Vietnam.

He would support dictators in Latin America.

He would give life-or-death decisionmaking powers to our military field commanders.

He would slam the door of friendship on the people of Poland and other Eastern European nations, thereby destroying their hope of overthrowing Communist tyranny.

And he would carry this Nation to the brink of war, time and time again.

This Nation cannot afford the policies of such a man and I believe the American voters are going to reject him on November 3.

Today, for the first time in more than 100 years, a single political party has become the last hope of all reasonable citizens. Under one roof—the roof of a great President of the United States—have come men and women of many political shades, not for partisan reasons, but for national survival and national unity.

As you know, there are those in the Nation who are predicting that the so-called white backlash is going to be an important voting factor among Americans of Polish origin. What this implies, in plain English, is that Polish-Americans are going to turn to the intellectual bankruptcy of BARRY GOLDWATER because Senator GOLDWATER voted against the Civil Rights Act.

And when people say this to me, I tell them they don't know what they are talking about. This has never been the tradition of the Polish people—either in Poland or here in the United States—and President Johnson and I refuse to believe it is going to start now.

We of Polish descent are no strangers to discrimination ourselves. Our parents fought against it in the Old Country and they fought against it here in America, too. They were the victims of discrimination because their names were difficult to pronounce, or because their ancestors came from one part of Europe instead of another, or because they could not claim lineage back to the Mayflower.

We know from experience that anyone can be discriminated against for any reason, be it the color of his skin, or his religious beliefs, or the accent with which he speaks.

Earlier this month, before a similar group in Milwaukee, a great Polish-American Congressman, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, voiced much the same sentiment. "We have felt the sting of being rejected by those who considered themselves culturally and socially superior," he said. "We have felt the burning shame of being denied the opportunity to be equal in the home of democracy, the land of the free."

And then, speaking of the age-old Polish tradition of fighting discrimination wherever it exists, he said this:

"* * * let those among us who have not forgotten the bitter taste of second-class rights accorded to third-class citizens, look around and take note of the job that remains to be done.

"Let us remember that so long as discrimination, oppression, and third-class citizenship are allowed to exist, the cause for which (Thaddeus) Kosciuszko fought and died, the cause which the Polish nation championed during the thousand years of its existence, the cause which was the very reason and the inspiration for the founding of our own great Nation—that cause will not be victorious."

Congressman ZABLOCKI's reference to Thaddeus Kosciuszko was particularly appropriate. Kosciuszko was more than the famous professional soldier and engineer who helped this Nation win its freedom. He was also an outstanding humanitarian. And before he returned to Europe in 1798, he drew up a will that placed him at the forefront of the movement to abolish slavery.

It read:

"Ja—Tadeusz Kosciuszko wyjezdzajac z Ameryki na wypadek, gdybym nie zostawil innego testamentu oswiadczam niniejszym, ze upowazniam mego przyjaciela Tomasza Jeffersona do zuzycia calej mej wlasnosci na wykupienie niewolnikow jego wlasnych lub innych osob i obdarzenie ich wolnoscia."

"I, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, being just on my departure from America, do hereby declare that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes from among his own or any other and giving them liberty in my name * * * ."

And that is the tradition of the Polish people; not a tradition of hate and bigotry, but a tradition of love for their fellow men and of respect for human dignity. They have never faltered—and I do not believe they are going to falter in 1964.

Brief in Support of Petition for Complete Exoneration for M. Sgt. Carl H. Buck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. K. W. (BILL) STINSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. STINSON. Mr. Speaker, the case of M. Sgt. Carl H. Buck is one of gross injustice. I am inserting into the RECORD a statement of his case which was given to me by the Disabled American Veterans. It is my hope that Sergeant Buck will be completely cleared of the unjust charges brought against him.

The statement follows:

BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF PETITION FOR PARDON AND RESTORATION TO SERVICE FOR M. SGT. CARL H. BUCK

In August of 1952, Carl H. Buck, a marine master sergeant with an 18-year exemplary record of military service, was convicted by a court-martial of stealing three cases of chevrons from the U.S. Government. Since that time Sergeant Buck has unceasingly sought relief from that conviction; he has steadfastly and persuasively maintained that it was based upon mistaken identity. Every avenue of relief within the Navy judicial and administrative system has been pursued by and on behalf of Sergeant Buck; weighty representations on his behalf have been made to the Navy Judge Advocate General, the Secretary of the Navy, and to the President of the United States by the Board for Correction of Naval Records, by a committee of the U.S. Senate, and by individual Senators THOMAS HENNINGS, of Missouri, KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, and PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois.

On August 21, 1957, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS wrote an extensive communication concerning Sergeant Buck's case to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, pointing out various errors in the handling of Sergeant Buck's court-martial case and new and persuasive evidence of Buck's innocence. The present petition for pardon was prompted by the November 6, 1957, reply to that communication from the special counsel to the President, Mr. Gerald D. Morgan, which states:

"Sergeant Buck's situation has been considered with sympathy and understanding * * * several possibilities have been explored with the following results.

"A petition to the President for Executive clemency would not, as we understand it, be opposed by the Department of the Navy and would therefore receive full consideration by the Department of Justice."

Based upon this communication and upon subsequent representations to members of Senator DOUGLAS' staff by Mr. Henry R. McPhee, assistant special counsel to the President of the United States, that a petition for Executive clemency would receive a thorough investigation by the Department of Justice with the full assistance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Sergeant Buck hereby submits this documented brief in support of this joint request for the exercise of the clemency powers of the President and his restoration authority as Commander in Chief.

I. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF SERGEANT BUCK'S TRIAL AND CONVICTION

The sequence of events which gave rise to Sergeant Buck's conviction for larceny of chevrons, as it appears from the record of his court-martial trial, constitutes one of the strangest criminal cases in military history. On March 5, 1952, Sgt. Shurland E. Hatley, assigned to the survey warehouse, Marine Corps Supply Depot, at Camp Pendleton, Calif., was approached by an unknown marine with a request that he exchange three half cases of chevrons, having an estimated value of over $400, for $50 and a bottle of whisky. Sergeant Hatley, after instructing the unknown marine to contact him again on March 7, immediately reported the incident to his superior officers. The unknown marine appeared again at noon on March 7, dressed in khakis, wearing horn-rimmed glasses, needing a shave, and sporting a mustache. Within view of M. Sgt. Johnathan C. Layton and of M. Sgt. Walter J. Franz, who had been called in from the Criminal Investigating Division, Sergeant Hatley, at the instruction of his superior officers, gave the unknown marine three cases of chevrons in exchange for $50. The marine placed the cases of chevrons in his yellow Studebaker and drove off.

Immediately thereafter, Sergeant Franz, the investigator assigned to catch the criminal, turned his jeep around in order to apprehend him, but the latter sped away and Franz was unable to keep up with him in his slower military vehicle. Franz thereupon contacted California State police authorities with the request that they apprehend a marine who was just leaving the base in a yellow Studebaker. A few minutes later, in the town of Solana Beach some 21 miles from the scene of the crime, a State highway patrolman, William A. Doran, received the radio message to apprehend a marine driving a yellow Studebaker. At that very moment, Officer Doran was parked within sight of a yellow Studebaker whose driver, M. Sgt. Carl H. Buck, was standing outside in the rain. Just a minute earlier Master Sergeant Buck had stopper his Studebaker within sight of Officer Doran's police car and had started to repair his rear license plate.

Sergeant Buck was immediately arrested by Officer Doran, but no chevrons were found in his car. Moreover, unlike the marine to whom the chevrons had been handed at Camp Pendleton a few minutes earlier, Sergeant Buck at the time of his arrest was not wearing a khaki uniform but greens, was not wearing horn-rimmed glasses, had no mustache and needed no shave but, on the contrary, was clean shaven. In order to have reached Solana Beach where he was arrested no later than 12:20 p.m. according to the subsequent testimony of Officer Doran, it would have been necessary for Buck to have disposed of the chevrons, passed through five populated communities with stoplights on the highway, and changed his appearance in material respects—all while driving at more than 60 miles an hour in a pouring rainstorm—only to stop at the side of the road just 15 miles from Camp Pendleton within sight of a parked State police car, leisurely proceeding to make repairs on his rear license plate. Needless to say, it is improbable that a fleeing felon could negotiate the 21-mile distance from the warehouse at Camp Pendleton to Solana Beach under the prevailing traffic and weather conditions within the few minutes that elapsed in this case; but it is utterly unbelievable that any such felon, having undertaken such a mad race through populated communities on a well-patrolled highway, should suddenly park his car within sight of a State police officer and start to repair his license plate. In the years of controversy since Sergeant Buck's conviction over the question of his guilt or innocence, no one has yet suggested how anyone could and why anyone would have undertaken such an unprecedented stuntdriving flight from the scene of a crime only to park in front of a State police officer and proceed to repair his rear license plate.

Notwithstanding these startling contradictions, in August of 1952 Sergeant Buck was tried by military court-martial for theft of the chevrons surrendered to a marine by Sergeant Hatley on March 7, 1952. The major issue in the case was whether Sergeant Buck was the same marine who had been handed three cases of chevrons in exchange for $50, or whether there had been a mistake in identity. Sergeant Buck was convicted, and although the members of the court-martial which convicted him all recommended clemency, he served a sentence of 11 months' imprisonment and was discharged from the service.

Sergeant Buck is innocent of the crime for which he was convicted. In demonstration of his innocence and the circumstances which explain why, despite his innocence, he was convicted of larceny of chevrons, Sergeant Buck urges the following documented points in this brief:

1. Sergeant Buck's innocence was indicated at his court-martial trial by persuasive evidence of mistaken identity and by the weakness and conflict in the prosecution's testimony;

2. A major reason for Sergeant Buck's court-martial conviction, notwithstanding his innocence, is found in the misconduct of the Government prosecutor at the trial in introducing utterly irrelevant testimony to prejudice the defendant's case;

3. Sergeant Buck was deprived of a fair opportunity for vindication before the Court of Military Appeals because he was denied his constitutional and statutory right before that tribunal to have the effective representation of his chosen counsel;

4. Since his trial, Sergeant Buck has obtained vital proof that his conviction was the result of perjured testimony by a key prosecution witness, and that he is innocent of the crime of which he was convicted.

II. SERGEANT BUCK'S INNOCENCE WAS DEMONSTRATED AT HIS COURT-MARTIAL TRIAL BY PERSUASIVE EVIDENCE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY AND BY THE WEAKNESS AND INCONSISTENCY OF THE PROSECUTION'S TESTIMONY

Sergeant Buck was convicted on the basis of weak and inconsistent testimony against him, despite persuasive evidence that he could not possibly have been the marine who had taken the chevrons in question. Of the three prosecution witnesses who, for a considerable number of minutes on March 7, 1952, had observed the marine to whom the chevrons were given, only two even sought to identify Buck as that man, and all three were in complete contradiction concerning the clothing and appearance of the man who had taken the chevrons. Moreover, there was utter and irreconcilable conflict between the description of the offending marine by the three prosecution witnesses with respect to his clothing, his unshaven condition, and his wearing of a mustache, and the testimony of defense witnesses who had observed Sergeant Buck just before and after noon on the same day (one of which witnesses was the California State traffic officer who had apprehended the accused) concerning Sergeant Buck's dress and the fact that he was completely clean shaven and had no mustache. Finally, the evidence of the three prosecution witnesses themselves as to the time of the incident of the taking of chevrons and the time of accused's arrest as fixed by the California State traffic officer who apprehended him made it a physical impossibility for Sergeant Buck to have committed the larceny of which he was convicted.

An excellent summary of the "evidence" identifying the accused as the marine who had been handed the chevrons, as well as the evidence showing the impossibility of Sergeant Buck having been that marine, is contained in a letter of May 2, 1955, from Senator KARL E. MUNDT to the Secretary of the Navy:

"(1) The evidence bearing upon the identification of the accused.

"The evidence adduced at the trial established that at the time of the delivery of the chevrons, there were three individuals present; namely, Sgt. Shurlan Eugene Hatley, S. Sgt. Jonathan Layton, U.S. Marine Corps, and M. Sgt. Walter J. Franz, U.S. Marine Corps. Their testimony concerning the identification of the accused is quite interesting and will be discussed in detail.

"Hatley, in describing the person to whom the chevrons were delivered, said that the suspect was a large man wearing "greens," ribbons, and had four hash marks, and he had a shawl or a sweater thrown over his shoulders—that is all that he remembers. He did not remember whether he wore a hat; he did not remember whether he had a mustache, although he admitted at the pretrial investigation that the man that took the chevrons was wearing a mustache; that he believed to the best of his recollection that he was wearing glasses; that the shawl which he was wearing was a bright color; that it was either red or green, or blue.

"Layton could not identify the accused as the man who received the chevrons: he described the man as a big man, larger than Hatley, who he believed wore dark glasses and had a shawl or sweater thrown over his head. He could not recall even the color of the sweater or shawl, in fact, could not say whether it was a light or dark color: he believed that he had a small mustache, and he believed that he was in uniform, although he was not sure of that, and he was not wearing a hat but did not know the color of his hair. He admitted at the pretrial investigation that he stated then that the man had a mustache.

"M. Sgt. Walter J. Franz identified the man receiving the chevrons as being dressed in the uniform of the day with some kind of a little jacket which he was trying to hold around his shoulders and wearing thick, horn-rimmed glasses. He subsequently stated that the uniform was khaki, he did not know whether or not he had a blouse, that the glasses were not sunglasses; that they were not dark glasses; that the small jacket he was wearing was a real light tan and that he did not think that he had a mustache, but he needed a shave.

"T. Sgt. Hilliard Frie testified for the defense that he had seen the accused at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot Bakery on March 7 at about 11 and at that time he was clean shaven and was wearing the green uniform of the day. The only glasses he had ever seen the accused wear was a pair of tinted sunglasses.

"William A. Duran, another witness for the defense, was the State traffic officer who apprehended the accused on March 7 and he testified that he was clean-shaven and he believed he was wearing a green uniform, although he was not positive about it.

"John P. Freed, another witness for the defense, testified that he saw the accused at about 11:30 on March 7 at which time he was in full green uniform wearing a green wool field jacket; that he was clean shaven and that he was wearing tinted rimless glasses.

"It is difficult to understand how any group of witnesses for the prosecution could be any more uncertain about the description of the persons to be identified as the man to whom the chevrons were delivered than were these witnesses, and they were setting a trap for a man. By the numerous discrepancies in the testimony of these Government witnesses, the identification of the accused has failed completely. In contrast thereto, the witnesses for the defendant were all in substantial accord as to the appearance and dress of the accused on the day in question. While it is recognized that witnesses often disagree in some details about an individual, it is difficult to understand how there could be as much confusion as existed among these witnesses. Certainly, it would seem that the prosecution witnesses should agree on the type of uniform which the man was wearing and whether or not he was wearing a hat and if he was not wearing a hat, to know the color of his hair. Also, if he was wearing a sweater or a shawl it would seem that the prosecution witnesses would have some recollection of its color and not have the color range from red, green, blue, or light tan. Finally, and perhaps most important, it is difficult to understand how, if the accused was clean-shaven at about 11 or 11:30 a.m. and at 12:30 p.m. on March 7, as positively testified to by accused's witnesses, he could possibly be the same man who took the cases and who needed a shave or who was wearing a mustache at 12. I submit that the identification of the accused as the person who received the cartons simply is not established by the evidence adduced at the trial. To me it should be axiomatic that the prosecution must prove the identity of the accused beyond a reasonable doubt, along with all the other elements of the offense charged.

"(2) The evidence relating to the time of the commission of the alleged offenses and the apprehension of the accused.

"The evidence relating to the time of the alleged offenses and the whereabouts of the accused at the time of the commission of the alleged offense is just as confusing as is the testimony by which the prosecution seeks to establish the identity of the accused.

"The witnesses Hatley, Layton and Franz established the fact that the chevrons were delivered to someone about 12 noon on March 7, Hatley is very positive about the time, stating that he checked the time by the clock and that the person taking the cartons left at 12:10. Layton fixes the time 'right around noon.' Franz fixes the time as about 12:10 or 12:15 when the person receiving the carton left the building.

"William A. Duran, the officer who stopped the accused, testified that he stopped his car at Solona Beach, a distance about 15 miles from the main gate at Camp Pendleton at approximately 12:15. The distance from Building 22–S–4 was established as being 6 miles from the main gate of Camp Pendleton. Thus, we have the situation where, according to the evidence adduced at the trial, this person identified as the accused left the building from which the chevrons were taken at about the same approximate time (certainly, not more than 15 minutes later). When it is considered that there was a driving rain at the time, that the accused, if he were the guilty party, would have had to drive through about four or five towns in order to reach Solona Beach, that he necessarily would have to stop somewhere assuming the prosecution theory is correct, to transfer the chevrons to another car, as well as at the main gate, it would have been manifestly impossible for him to have performed the travel in the time shown by the evidence. It is impossible for a reasonable man to believe that the accused could have been the person taking the boxes supposed to contain chevrons."

Clearly, the prosecution's evidence identifying the accused as the marine who had been given the chevrons was hopelessly conflicting and confused and, unless the California State policeman who arrested the accused was untruthful in his testimony concerning the time of Buck's arrest, Sergeant Buck could not possibly have been the marine who was handed chevrons at Camp Pendleton between noon and 12:10 on March 7, 1952. The question, therefore, immediately arises why Sergeant Buck was convicted by the court-martial in the light of the most unreliable evidence against him and notwithstanding the proof of innocence, established by the testimony of three prosecution witnesses and a California State highway policeman, concerning the times of the taking of the chevrons and the accused's arrest 21 miles away. Much of the answer to the question why petitioner was ever convicted may doubtless be found in the willful misconduct of the prosecution in introducing irrelevant and highly prejudicial evidence at the trial.

III. A MAJOR REASON FOR SERGEANT BUCK'S COURT-MARTIAL CONVICTION NOTWITHSTANDING HIS INNOCENCE, IS FOUND IN THE MISCONDUCT OF THE PROSECUTOR AT THE TRIAL IN INTRODUCING UTTERLY IRRELEVANT AND PREJUDICIAL TESTIMONY

Shortly after his arrest on March 7, 1952, Sergeant Buck retained Mr. William H. Daubney as his counsel. Mr. Daubney had been a former legal officer at Camp Pendleton, a major in the U.S. Marine Corps who had a flourishing practice of military cases in the area. At the trial, prosecution witness Sergeant Franz testified that on the 19th of March 1952, accused's counsel Daubney called him to say that he had some chevrons

to turn over to the Government and that these chevrons were turned over by Mr. Daubney to a Mr. Scanlon of the FBI and ultimately received by Sergeant Franz. Thereafter the prosecution called to the stand as a witness for the prosecution, Sergeant Buck's defense counsel at the trial, Mr. Daubney, who testified:

"I received a telephone call—I think I can safely say it was not from Sergeant Buck because I would recognize his ovice. A person asked me what they should do if they had some Government property. So I said, 'Turn it into the Government.' As I recall, he then asked me if I would do it for them. I said, 'Certainly, bring 'em up.' I don't recall whether the person told me he had chevrons or not, or whether they just had Government property. I honestly don't remember. That evening, I think I received a telephone call in the afternoon, as I recall, * * * that evening the chevrons were found by me either in my outer office or in the hall. I can't figure out whether I picked them up in the hallway or whether I found them in the outer office and I can't remember. So I looked in the blanket, saw what they were, hauled them down to the library, dumped them in the library, and either called the military police or tried to get Mr. Scanlon. I couldn't get him. I talked to Sergeant-Major Franz" (R. 70).[1]

The evidence concerning the receipt of chevrons by Sergeant Franz from the accused's defense counsel was totally irrelevant and immaterial and introduced only to prejudice the accused. Nothing was adduced to show that the chevrons left at Mr. Daubney's door in an Army blanket on March 19 were in any way related to the chevrons that had been taken on March 7; indeed, unlike the chevrons taken on March 7, the chevrons turned over to Sergeant Franz by accused's defense counsel included private first-class chevrons. Moreover, there was no evidence or even any attempt to relate these chevrons to the accused. Mr. Daubney testified that he could state with certainty from his knowledge of the accused's voice that the person calling him on the telephone inquiring about how to return Government property was not the accused. Indeed, although this was not made known to the members of the court-martial, Sergeant Buck was hospitalized for treatment of a serious disabling condition on March 19, 1952, the day when chevrons were left at Daubney's door.[2]

That the testimony introduced by the prosecution through Sergeant Franz and the accused's own defense counsel concerning the turning over of chevrons to Sergeant Franz by Mr. Daubney was utterly irrelevant, has been fully conceded by Rear Adm. Chester Ward, the Judge Advocate General of the Navy. In a letter of July 22, 1957, to the chief counsel of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Admiral Ward states as follows:

"* * * these particular chevrons were never identified at the trial as part of the stolen loot. In fact, according to the testimony of Franz, there were among the chevrons which Daubney returned, some private first clas chevrons. This particular type of chevron was not described in the evidence as being among the type of chevrons handed over at the time of the larceny. Nor was an inventory of missing chevrons put in evidence to establish as a fact the inference already aroused by Franz's testimony that the chevrons returned by Daubney were probably part of the loot. As matters stand, then, these chevrons could have come from most anywhere."

Not only was the evidence concerning the chevrons irrelevant, but it was highly prejudicial and introduced for the particular purposes of prejudicing the accused. Members of the court-martial would not only obviously have drawn the inference from that evidence that Sergeant Buck may have used through his own defense counsel, but the prosecutor in his closing argument made the following highly prejudicial comment inviting the court-martial to draw that improper inference: "* * * it's circumstantial and circumstantial beyond a reasonable doubt that a huge quantity of chevrons were turned over by Mr. Daubney to Marine Corps officials at, or shortly after, the time he was retained by Buck" (R. 101).

Although the prosecutor knew full well that the Franz and Daubney testimony concerning the chevrons given Franz by Daubney was wholly incompetent and prejudicial, in violation of his obligation as an officer of the court and of the Marine Corps, the prosecutor not only offered this incompetent evidence to the court but deliberately used it in his closing argument in the most prejudicial way possible. It is by resort to irrelevant and highly prejudical testimony that the prosecutor achieved his purpose of reinforcing the unpersuasive and totally conflicting evidence concerning the identity of the accused as the man who had taken three cases of chevrons on the 7th of March 1952.

IV. SERGEANT BUCK WAS DEPRIVED OF A FAIR OPPORTUNITY FOR VINDICATION BEFORE THE COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS BECAUSE HE WAS DENIED HIS CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY RIGHT BEFORE THAT TRIBUNAL TO HAVE THE EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF HIS CHOSEN COUNSEL

Sergeant Buck was not only convicted on the most conflicting and improable evidence of identity and on the basis of a trial in which the prosecutor knowingly introduced highly irrelevant and prejudicial testimony, but Sergeant Buck was also subsequently denied his constitutional and statutory right to representation in the appellate process by eminent civilian attorneys he had retained for that purpose, and was thus denied fair opportunity for vindication in the military judicial appeal system.

The sixth amendment to the Constitution of the United States assures an accused the right to be represented at any stage of criminal proceedings against him, including the appellate process, by the counsel of his choice. *Adams* v. *United States,* 317 U.S. 269, 279. The same right is assured every member of the military services by the act of 5 May 1950, 64 Stat. 130; 10 U.S.C. § 870, which is article 70(d) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice:

"The accused has the right to be represented before the Court of Military Appeals or the board of review by civilian counsel if provided by him."

Due to a series of unprecedented mistakes by military personnel in the handling of his case before the Court of Military Appeals, Sergeant Buck was denied the valuable right to effective representation before that court by the civilian attorneys of his choice. Indeed, in violation of article 71 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (Act of 5 May 1950, 64 Stat. 131; 10 U.S.C. § 871),[3] Sergeant Buck was even discharged from the service before his full appellate rights had ever been afforded him.

On February 24, 1954, the Naval Board of Review in the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy affirmed Sergeant Buck's court-martial conviction. Sergeant Buck immediately gave the required notice that he desired a review of his conviction before the Court of Military Appeals. On May 14, 1954, Lt. Cdr. John J. Nelson, USNR, informed Sergeant Buck by letter that he had been appointed Buck's Appellate Defense Counsel.[4] By letter of May 21, 1954,[5] Sergeant Buck advised Commander Nelson that a brief on his behalf was being prepared by a civilian friend of his (Judge Martin Pence, who had for the past 25 years practiced law in Hawaii and served as the U.S. Circuit Judge, Third Circuit, Territory of Hawaii). Mr. Pence also promptly wrote Commander Nelson on May 29, 1954,[6] to inform him of his presence in the case.

a. Failure to file brief by Judge Pence

Thereafter, without consulting with Sergeant Buck's Counsel Pence, on July 30, 1954, Commander Nelson filed a cursory 5-page brief[7] in support of the petition for review of Sergeant Buck's court-martial conviction. On August 5, 1954, Mr. Pence, who had not been informed of the existence of that brief,[8] wrote Commander Nelson to say that he was "practically abandoning all other work in order to concentrate" on Buck's case,[9] and by letter of August 12, 1954,[10] Mr. Pence forwarded to Commander Nelson a "rough draft" of an extensive and excellent brief he had prepared in support of the petition for the Court of Military Appeals to review Buck's case. Thereafter Commander Nelson acknowledged the receipt of that draft and informed Mr. Pence and Sergeant Buck [11] that he would file an amended petition incorporating such new matters as were appropriate from Mr. Pence's brief. Both Buck and Pence wrote Commander Nelson [12] urging that the material in the Pence brief be brought to the attention of the court by an amended petition. On September 7, 1954, Commander Nelson filed a petition [13] before the Court of Military Appeals for enlargement of time to file additional briefs, reciting the receipt of the Pence brief and Buck's request that the appointed military counsel put the Pence brief "in proper form for submission to the court." Thereupon, additional time for filing of new material was granted until September 27, 1954.[14] Nevertheless, for some inexplicable reason, although both Buck and Counsel Pence had frequently and emphatically urged the filing of the extensive material prepared by Pence, and had been advised that such material would be filed, the Court of Military Appeals was informed by Commander Nelson that no further brief would be filed in the case.[15] Since the Pence brief was not presented to the court due to Commander Nelson's oversight, mistake, or indifference, the Court of Military Appeals proceeded to review the matter, and on October 4, 1954, on the basis of nothing but the cursory 5-page document filed by appointed military counsel, denied Buck's petition for review.[16]

Immediately thereafter, on October 7, 1954, Maj. Charles J. McCaffrey, a new military appellate defense counsel who, in the interim, had been appointed to represent Buck, filed a motion for reconsideration, stating that the five-page Nelson "brief" previously filed "omitted certain assignments of error urged for this honorable court's consideration and that this omission has resulted in substantial prejudice to the accused".[17] Major McCaffrey specifically informed the court of Comdr. Nelson's error in the following terms:

"The matters thus omitted were developed by civilian counsel employed by the accused and but for the inadvertent omission thereof by appointed defense counsel would have come to the attention of this honorable court and may well have influenced its judgment in the disposition of the aforementioned case. Appointed appellate defense counsel who submitted the brief is in the process of being separated from the service."

b. Failure to inform accused of Court of Military Appeals decisions against him

At this point, however, again for some inexplicable reason, Major McCaffrey not only omitted to inform Sergeant Buck that the Court of Military Appeals had denied him review on October 4, but over a 2-month period, in a series of communications to Buck and counsel Pence, McCaffrey discussed the case in great detail without even intimating that the Court had already refused to review it. See exhibits 18, 21, 24, 25, 26, and 30.

Examination of the correspondence indicates that apparently Major McCaffrey him-

Footnotes at end of speech.

self had overlooked or had forgotten the fact that the court had refused to review the case; indeed, in McCaffrey's first letter to Pence on October 7,[20] in discussing the case, McCaffrey failed to mention either the court's denial of review 3 days earlier or the motion for reconsideration he himself filed on that very day. Buck himself received no word from Major McCaffrey or anyone else in the appellate division from August 20 until October 28; and, although in a November 7, 1954, letter to Major McCaffrey [21] Buck stated that "In your letter there seems to be some doubt that the Court of Military Appeals will grant the petition for review," Major McCaffrey never informed him that the court had actually refused just that petition on October 4. It was not until December 20 that petitioner learned of this fact,[22] although he had personally written on October 19 to the Judge Advocate General requesting information concerning the status of his appeal.[23] On November 15, 1954, Major McCaffrey finally filed the 32-page brief prepared by Mr. Martin Pence,[24] which should have been submitted to the court in August or September, before the court's initial decision. On December 10, 1954, the Court of Military Appeals denied the petition for reconsideration.[25]

c. Because Sergeant Buck was not informed of the Court of Military Appeals decisions, General Snedeker's brief was submitted 2½ months too late

Meanwhile, Sergeant Buck, who spoke as late as December 10 by telephone with Major McCaffrey still without learning that the court had taken any action on his original petition,[26] had obtained Brig. Gen. James Snedeker, a former judge advocate general and leading expert on military law, to write a brief on his behalf to be submitted to the Court of Military Appeals on a petition for reconsideration if one were to become necessary.[27] Major McCaffrey was so advised by the accused by letter of December 16, 1954, and was also advised that the brief would be submitted "no later than Monday, December 20, 1954." [28] On December 20, 1954, the Snedeker brief was mailed to Major McCaffrey by Buck, airmail special delivery, and received at the Pentagon on December 21.[27] It was not, however, until December 28, 1954, that a second motion for reconsideration and the Snedeker brief were filed with the court by Major McCaffrey.[28] On December 30, 1954, that motion was opposed by the Government, in a written reply filed with the Court of Military Appeals,[29] solely on the grounds that it had not been timely filed.

d. Sergeant Buck was illegally discharged before the completion of appellate review

The Snedeker brief was received in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy at the Pentagon on December 21, 1954.[30] The judge advocate general had been informed, apparently by Major McCaffrey,[31] that the brief was arriving. But again, due to some inexplicable mixup in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy,[32] on December 28 a teletype was sent [33] from that office out to the field after the Snedeker brief had arrived in the judge advocate general's office, stating:

"New petition not received by defense counsel in GCM case Carl H. Buck 236477 MDXT USMC. Sentence may be executed at this time without prejudice to further appellate review. Whether new petition will be considered is within province of USCMA."

On January 7, 1955, General Snedeker wrote to the clerk of the Court of Military Appeals,[34] pointing out that the October 4, 1954, Court of Military Appeals order denying review had not been promulgated by the Judge Advocate General of the Navy until December 20, 1954,[35] which was the first date that the accused had ever learned of that action. General Snedeker pointed out that, contrary to the December 28 teletype, postal authorities checked and confirmed the December 21, 1954, receipt of his brief by the Judge Advocate General of the Navy. Nevertheless, on January 14, 1955, Sergeant Buck was discharged from the service pursuant to a supplementary court-martial order dated December 29, 1954,[36] over his strenuous objections, verbal and in writing,[37] while the Court of Military Appeals was still considering his motion for reconsideration, and before it had ever taken action upon that motion and the Snedeker brief. On January 17, 1955, after Sergeant Buck's discharge from the Marine Corps, the Court of Military Appeals denied his motion for reconsideration.[38]

All of the foregoing facts are fully documented in the correspondence of the parties involved, the legal papers filed with the Court of Military Appeals and the formal actions of that court. Photostatic or certified copies of these appear in the appendix; because of the voluminous nature of that documentation and for ease of reference, there is set out below a chronological table thereof:

Date, description, and exhibit number

May 4, 1954: Letter from Commander Nelson to Buck 2
May 21, 1954: Letter from Buck to Commander Nelson 3
June 8, 1954: Letter from Commander Nelson to Judge Pence 4
June 29, 1954: Letter from Lieutenant Hoag to Buck 5
July 28, 1954: "Brief in Support of Petition for Grant of Review" for Buck by Commander Nelson 6
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In approving Sergeant Buck's court-martial conviction and sentence, the convening authority had ordered that "the execution of that portion thereof adjudging bad conduct discharge is suspended until the accused's release from confinement or upon completion of appellate review, whichever is the later date." [39] It cannot be doubted that Sergeant Buck's premature discharge was in violation of his statutory right to a prior full appellate review. Both his appointed defense counsel, Major McCaffrey, and General Snedeker, concurred in that view at the time.[40] Moreover, Buck's constitutional and statutory right to effective representation by the expert civilian attorneys he had chosen, was denied him by the incredible mistakes of two successive appointed military defense counsel. The first of these, Commander Nelson, neglected to file the brief prepared for Sergeant Buck by Judge Pence; the second, Major McCaffrey, communicated with Buck and his attorney for over 2 months after the court had denied Buck's petition, without advising them of that significant fact. As a consequence, the excellent brief prepared by Buck's counsel, General Snedecker, was not timely filed; it is not clear whether the court ever considered that brief, although it is clear that Buck was unlawfully discharged from the service prior to the court's action upon it.

In sum, Sergeant Buck was denied a fair military judicial review; by virtue of the inexcusable mistakes of appointed military counsel, the excellent briefs on his behalf

Footnotes at end of speech.

prepared by his chosen attorneys were submitted to the Court of Military Appeals piecemeal and out of time and only "after the fact." Sergeant Buck was thus denied a fair and equal opportunity for review before that highest military court.[41]

Sergeant Buck, however, has not ceased in his effort to obtain redress. In the period since his conviction he has obtained a persuasive body of evidentiary documentation to buttress his consistent assertions of innocence; this evidence demonstrates that key testimony against Sergeant Buck at his court-martial was perjurious in various respects and that he is in fact innocent of the only transgression with which he has ever been charged in a lifetime of good conduct and faithful military service.

V. SINCE HIS TRIAL, SERGEANT BUCK HAS OBTAINED VITAL PROOF THAT HIS CONVICTION WAS THE RESULT OF PERJURED TESTIMONY BY A KEY PROSECUTION WITNESS, AND THAT HE IS INNOCENT OF THE CRIME FOR WHICH HE WAS CONVICTED

When Sergeant Buck was convicted by his court-martial, notwithstanding the contradictions in the evidence against him and the proof that he could not have been the offending Marine, he immediately began to gather all available evidence to show that he had been unjustly convicted of a crime he did not commit. The documentary material obtained since the trial gives the strongest possible indication of Sergeant Buck's innocence, and of the perjurious nature of the evidence against him by the chief prosecution witness, Sgt. Walter J. Franz:

a. New evidence of Franz perjury

The most vital issue at the trial was, of course, whether Sergeant Buck was the man who had requested and been given three cases of chevrons. Sergeant Buck has obtained extensive documentary evidence that Sergeant Franz's testimony on this key "identity" aspect of the case was perjurious.

Doubtless the most damaging testimony identifying Sergeant Buck was that by Franz, who testified that even before the boxes of chevrons were handed to an anonymous Marine, he had already obtained Sergeant Buck's name as that of the guilty party. Sergeant Franz testified that after he was called into the case (R. 47):

"I proceeded down there and talked to Major Gallagher and Major Moore and they sent for a man named Staff Sergeant Hatley and they explained to me that there was a master sergeant by the name of Carl H. Buck, from Marine Corps Recruit Depot, who had tried to purchase some Government property. They had a contract that morning that this Master Sergeant Buck was to be at 22–S–4 at noon." [42]

And Sergeant Franz further testified that he himself had used the name "Master Sergeant Buck" before Buck's actual arrest:

"I called the main gate, and as I called the main gate I could hear them hollering as the car was going out the gate. I heard them hollering and whistling, but they told me afterward that Buck had the green light * * * or the car had the green light, that I wanted stopped, and it went right straight through. I then called the town patrol and asked them to go up on 101 and see if they could stop this car with Master Sergeant Buck driving it which I had or which I was told was his name by Major Gallagher.

Question. What else did you do after you notified the town patrol, if anything?

Answer. I then got back in my vehicle and proceeded to the Oceanside Police Department. There I contacted the highway patrol—the highway patrol, it seemed within a matter of 5 or 10 minutes I heard this call going back and forth that they had Buck in Solano Beach" (R. 49).

Footnotes at end of speech.

Evidence obtained since the trial shows that Sergeant Franz' key testimony identifying Buck by name before his arrest on the highway was utterly perjurious in that Franz did not know Sergeant Buck's name before his arrest and that in calling the gate and police authorities to apprehend a marine, Sergeant Franz never identified and could not identify the suspect by the name "Buck." In an affidavit [43] Warrant Officer Young S. Knight, from whose home Sergeant Franz had made the telephone calls to the main gate and the town patrol for the apprehension of a marine, states that in making the telephone calls from his house:

"I do not recall Sergeant Franz mentioning the name of Sgt. Carl Buck and as Sergeant Buck is a friend of mine, I feel quite sure that had his name been mentioned by Sergeant Franz, I would recall it."

Further, California State Highway Patrolman Walter Woods has stated in an affidavit [44] that:

"While I was on duty as a California State highway patrolman in Oceanside, Calif., on the 7th day of March 1952, shortly after the noon hour, I was approached by M. Sgt. Walter Franz from the provost marshal's office, Camp J. H. Pendleton, and requested to put out a call on the police radio to stop and hold a marine driving a yellow Studebaker. I was not given any name of the marine wanted stopped nor the license number of the car. In fact, Sergeant Franz stated that he did not know the name of the person he was looking for."

Finally, the evidence provided by Officer Doran, who arrested Sergeant Buck, and the radio logs of the Oceanside, Calif., police department, show that Sergeant Franz did not have Sergeant Buck's name. Officer Doran has made an affidavit [45] stating as follows:

"When I approached this car to question the driver, in order to determine if he was a marine, I noticed he had stepped out of his car and was attempting to fix his rear license plate which was swinging loosely. In answer to my question, the driver stated he was a marine from Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego.

"He then handed me his identification card showing that he was M. Sgt. Carl H. Buck. I placed him under apprehension and held him in my patrol car for approximately 30 minutes during which time I sent his full name and rank by radio to the Oceanside Police Department. At about 10 minutes to 1 the MP's arrived from Oceanside and asked Sergeant Buck his name and thoroughly searched his car. There was two of them, one of them got into the patrol car with Sergeant Buck and I and he asked me to again radio in to Sergeant Franz at the Oceanside Police Department for the name of the marine wanted. We were informed by radio that Sergeant Franz did not have the name of the marine he was looking for. But we did receive a request for a marine named 'Blackman.'

"At approximately 15 minutes later a call came from the Oceanside Police Department that the marine they wanted was named Carl Buck; this was the first time that Sergeant Buck's name was sent over the air except when I sent Sergeant Buck's name in to identify him as the marine I was holding."

The radio logs of the Oceanside, Calif., Police Department also conclusively demonstrate the falsity of Sergeant Franz' testimony that he knew Sergeant Buck's name before Sergeant Buck's arrest. The recorded 1:03 p.m. radio message [46] states:

"(Contact Sergeant Franz at Camp Pendleton ascertain the correct name of the party being held by CHP Officers) 10–4 Sergeant Franz is at this office has apparently lost all papers with names will check further and call you (10–4) KMA 857."

The prearrest identification of Sergeant Buck's name by Sergeant Franz may have been the most important single piece of evidence relied upon by members of the court in finding that Sergeant Buck was the person who had solicited and been given three boxes of chevrons on March 7, 1952. That prearrest identification of Buck's name has now been proved perjurious by the affidavits of the warrant officer from whose house Sergeant Franz made the telephone calls to apprehend, by the California State highway patrolman whom Sergeant Franz requested to put out a call of apprehension, by the State police officer who apprehended Buck, and by the radio log message recorded by the Oceanside police at the time of Sergeant Buck's arrest. There can be no question that had this evidence of the perjurious nature of this testimony been present to the court, Sergeant Buck would not have been convicted, and that he stands wrongfully convicted on the basis of Sergeant Franz' perjurious prearrest identification of his name. Coming as it does from unimpeachable police sources, this new evidence provides most important corroboration that Sergeant Franz shamelessly gave false testimony identifying the accused by his name in order to cover his own inexcusable negligence in permitting the actual offender to escape from the scene of the crime.

b. The lie detector test

While lie detector tests are not accepted as evidence in criminal courts, they have become generally accepted as a nonjudicial basis of evaluating guilt or innocence. In 1956 at the request of his attorney, Sergeant Buck was subjected to an extensive 3-day lie detector examination conducted at Fordham University by Dr. Joseph F. Kubis, professor of psychology.[47] Critical questions were asked on every phase of the events relating to the taking of chevrons and Sergeant Buck's trial. It was the conclusion of Professor Kubis, an eminent expert in pathometer examination, that:

"It can be asserted that the records of Mr. Buck indicate that he believes his denials of stealing, taking, or receiving the missing chevrons; and, he believes his denials of making a deal to get them."

Indeed, Professor Kubis went further than merely characterizing Sergeant Buck's subjective consciousness of guilt or innocence, to state that "the general picture is that of a person who did not take the objects."

In contrast to Sergeant Buck, who took and passed a lie detector examination, Sergeant Franz, the chief witness against him, and whose testimony Sergeant Buck has repeatedly characterized as false, has refused to undergo a lie detector test. On June 9, 1959, counsel for Sergeant Buck addressed the following communication [48] to Sergeant Franz:

"I am writing to you as attorney for former M. Sgt. Carl H. Buck. You will recall that in August of 1952 you were the chief witness at Sergeant Buck's court-martial for larceny of Government chevrons and that the basic question presented in the case was whether Sergeant Buck was the person who had taken the chevrons or whether the case involved mistaken identity.

"Ever since his trial Sergeant Buck has attempted by various means to obtain redress, asserting his complete innocence and that your testimony against him was false in various important respects. Among other steps that Sergeant Buck has taken to prove his innocence he submitted himself to an extensive lie detector examination at Fordham University in May of 1956 which covered in detail every aspect of the case against him and which Sergeant Buck passed 100 percent.

"I am sure you will understand how important this matter is to Sergeant Buck and to his family. For that reason and because I know that as a member of the Navy criminal investigation branch you would not want to shirk your full responsibilities in such a matter, I make the request of you

that you consent as did Sergeant Buck to a lie detector examination to be given by some independent and acknowledged expert.

"If you consent to undergo a polygraph examination, we will, of course, make all necessary arrangements and pay all the expenses that you might incur.

"Since we are submitting for Sergeant Buck before the end of June a petition to the President for a pardon on the grounds of Sergeant Buck's innocence, I would appreciate your very prompt answer to this communication."

By a letter of June 12, 1959, Sergeant Franz refused that request in the following vitriolic terms: [49]

"Your letter which slyly attacks my character for truth and veracity is hardly the type I expected from a firm of such sound reputation. However, in this day and age nothing is unusual. It appears to me that the real reason for your letter was to offend me into not answering and thus give you an opportunity to capitalize on my silence. If this was your plan, Mr. Silard, let this letter be notice that it failed.

"Your request that I submit to a lie detector test and your statement that I would not want to 'shirk my full responsibilities in this matter' is completely unbelievable. First, Mr. Silard, my testimony was truthfully given under oath and recorded for the world to review. It has never been questioned by the U.S. Marine Corps, nor the courts. Secondly, my responsibilities in connection with the 'Buck case' were completely fulfilled when I gave my testimony in court in 1952.

"It is no great surprise that the convicted Mr. Buck would assert my testimony to be false. He has made assertions for quite some time without success. As far as I am concerned and apparently as far as the courts are concerned, the case is closed. If it were otherwise, you would not need to petition the President for a pardon.

"Very truly yours,

"WALTER J. FRANZ,

"Master Sergeant, U.S. Marine Corps."

The Navy has been just as solicitous to shield Sergeant Franz from the kind of examination or interrogation which might lead to his confession of perjury as has Sergeant Franz himself. On April 3, 1959, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS wrote the Judge Advocate General of the Navy requesting that Sergeant Franz be temporarily brought to Washington. In that letter Senator DOUGLAS pointed out that "the best and most direct way for Sergeant Buck to obtain evidence that a miscarriage of justice has resulted is of course through the chief witness against him, Sergeant Franz" and went on to request that Sergeant Franz be brought to Washington for interrogation, pointing out that—

"In order to present a record upon which he might base his plea for clemency, it therefore seems to me absolutely necessary for Sergeant Buck and his attorneys to be given an opportunity to confront and interrogate Sergeant Franz in the hope that he will retract his testimony or otherwise clarify what appears to be a grievous miscarriage of justice. It seems to me that an informal interrogation of Sergeant Franz at which a representative of himself and of my staff and possibly of Senator Hennings' staff, as well as Seregant Buck and his attorneys, would likely be productive. At the very least it would give Seregant Buck the fair chance to which he is clearly entitled as indicated by the White House letter to me, to demonstrate his innocence and obtain a full reprieve."

In communications of April 21, 1959, from the Judge Advocate General of the Navy and May 4, 1959, from the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Senator DOUGLAS' request was flatly refused, assertedly because of the expense of bringing Sergeant Franz from California to Washington. Notwithstanding that the future life and reputation of an American citizen is at stake and that there is overwhelming cause to believe that Sergeant Franz gave perjurious testimony at his trial, the Judge Advocate General of the Navy wrote Senator DOUGLAS that—

"The proposed examination of Sergeant Franz can have no other purpose except to attempt to weaken and discredit his previous testimony. Full opportunity to do this was accorded in the judicial proceedings now terminated."

c. Police radio logs unquestionably establish Buck's innocence

Finally and most importantly, Sergeant Buck has obtained irrefutable documentary evidence that he could not have been the man to whom the chevrons were turned over by Sergeant Hatley shortly after noon on March 7, 1962.

At the trial itself, the time of the turning over to the chevrons to an unknown marine was established by the prosecution's three witnesses, and the time of Buck's arrest, 21 miles away, was established by Officer Doran of the California Highway Police. The following is the pertinent testimony of these witnesses showing that the anonymous marine was handed the chevrons at 12:07 or 12:10 on March 7, 1952, and that Sergeant Buck was arrested 21 miles away just a few minutes later:

Testimony of Sergeant Hatley, a Government Witness

"Question. After you had this telephone conversation on the morning of the 7th, did you see him?

"Answer. Yes, sir. I saw him at 12 o'clock that day" (R. 12).

* * * * *

"Question. Now you say a chap came in on the 7th of March. Can you fix the time definitely?

"Answer. Who came in?

"Question. Some person to pick up the chevrons.

"Answer. Yes. 12 o'clock.

"Question. How do you fix the time positively at 12 o'clock?

"Answer. There was a clock in the office and I was expecting someone to pick up the chevrons, and during the telephone conversation that morning the person calling said he would be there approximately at 12 o'clock.

"Question. Then you are quite certain that it was 12.

"Answer. It could have been 2 or 3 minutes either way.

"Question. How long was the person there?

"Answer. Approximately 7 or 8 minutes * * * maybe 10.

"Question. What time did you say the person left?

"Answer. Approximately 10 after * * *.

"Question. Now, Mr. Hatley, is it then a fair statement that your testimony indicates that the individual who picked up the chevrons came in at 12 noon and left to the best of your estimation at 10 minutes after 12?

"Answer. Yes, sir, that is correct" (R. 22).

Testimony of M. Sgt. Johnathan C. Layton, a Government Witness

"Question. Do you recall the approximate time on the date in question that this money changed hands?

"Answer. Right around 12 o'clock noon" (R. 34).

Testimony of M. Sgt. Walter J. Franz, a Government Witness

"Question. What happened after they placed the boxes out there?

"Answer. * * * just about 12 o'clock right on the head, maybe a few minutes before 12, a yellow car drove up in front of 22–S–4 and Hatley said, 'It's him' " (R. 48).

* * * * *

"Question. Do you remember distinctly that it was 12 sharp when he arrived?

"Answer. As I said before, it could have been 1 minute to, or 1 minute after. The hands were almost at 12 or they were at 12. I wasn't specifying no different except a minute.

"Question. We can say safely, then, 5 minutes either way?

"Answer. Say 5 minutes either way.

"Question. How long did he stay there?

"Answer. I would say between 7 and 10 minutes.

"Question. Shall we safely assume, then, that according to the correct time he left there at 10 minutes after noon—5 minutes either way?

"Answer. Yes" (R. 59).

The record of trial contains the following testimony concerning the time of apprehension of Buck in Solana Beach, 21 miles from the scene of the crime.

Testimony of William A. Doran, State Traffic Officer, a Defense Witness

"Question. Were you on duty on the 7th of March?

"Answer. Yes, sir.

"Question. At approximately the noon hour, did anything unusual occur?

"Answer. Shortly after the noon hour, I received a call from the Oceanside Police Department to attempt to stop a yellow Studebaker, southbound on Highway 101 with a marine sergeant driving it.

"Question. Did you stop such an automobile?

"Answer. Yes, sir.

"Question. Where?

"Answer. At Solana Beach.

"Question. That's in the county of San Diego?

"Answer. Yes, sir.

"Question. At what time did you make the stop?

"Answer. Approximately 12:15" (R. 86).

* * * * *

"Question. Mr. Duran, how do you fix the time, 12:15?

"Answer. Well, I just approximate it. I don't recall looking at my watch. However, I know it was my lunch hour—starts at 12 and I was just thinking about going to get something to eat, and this—I know it was at least 10 after 12 or so when I started thinking about going for my lunch.

"Question. In other words, it could have been 12:30?

"Answer. No, sir.

"Question. You're absolutely sure of that?

"Answer. I'm positive it was approximately 12:15—12:20, in that area.

"Question. It could have been 12:20 or little——

"Answer. It could have been 12:20, but it could not have been 12:30.

"Question. What time did you first get the call?

"Answer. Just about 1 minute before Sergeant Buck pulled up to the signal" (R. 87–88).[50]

This persuasive evidence of mistaken identity was, however, rejected on the following grounds by the Navy Board of Review in its decision of February 24, 1954, affirming Sergeant Buck's conviction:

"If this was the only testimony in the record of trial reconciling the determination as to whether the person who left Building 22–S–4 was the same person who was apprehended at Solana Beach, this board would admit that a grave possibility of erroneous identification of the accused existed. It speaks for itself that it would be highly im-

Footnotes at end of speech.

probable, if not physically impossible, to drive 21 miles, part of such distance through populated areas involving traffic impediments, in approximately 16 minutes. But the record of trial contains considerable additional evidence which was properly within the court's discretion for consideration. While the testimony of Officer Duran was emphatic and positive it is apparent his deductions as to the time were not predicated upon a factual basis. His testimony discloses he approximated the time—that he did not look at his watch—he knew it was his lunch hour—and he was thinking about going to get something to eat. This testimony is refuted by that portion of Franz' uncontradicted accounting that he had arrived at the Oceanside Police Department—highway patrol—at '• • • approximately 12:30. It was between 12:30 and 1' and that 'it seemed within a matter of 5 or 10 minutes I heard this call going back and forth that they had Buck in Solana Beach.' (R. 49.) It is considered that the court was well within its prerogatives in rejecting that portion of the testimony purporting to be a definite establishment of the time of apprehension bottomed upon such uncertainty."

In short, the primary basis for the Board's rejection of the persuasive evidence of mistaken identity (based upon the time factor) was that Officer Doran's recollection of the time of arrest was "not predicated upon a factual basis." Since his trial, however, Sergeant Buck has obtained the irrefutable documentary "factual basis" for the time of his arrest—recorded radio messages at the San Diego, Calif., Police Department show the latest possible time that Sergeant Buck could possibly have been arrested.

Officer Doran has sworn repeatedly that it was just after Sergeant Buck pulled up to fix his rear license plate that he received a radio call to arrest a Marine in a cream-colored Studebaker. The radio log entry [12] shows the following radio call logged in at 12:33 p.m. by San Diego police: "Have 2473 pick up marine sergeant for CID Camp Pen cream colored Stude 1950 or 1951 south from Encinitas." [13] As further shown on the radio log, by 12:40 Officer Doran (2473), after stopping Sergeant Buck, examining his identification and placing him under arrest, had radioed these facts back to his headquarters.

Under these circumstances the time of Sergeant Buck's arrest is no longer based upon the uncertainty of Sergeant Doran's calculation of the time of the arrest. It is now established through radio logs and the prosecution's own witnesses that whereas the guilty party had left with chevrons at 12:07 or 12:10, Master Sergeant Buck could not have been picked up, 21 miles away, any later than 12:32 and that Officer Doran's unequivocal testimony concerning the time of Sergeant Buck's arrest was thus substantially correct.

It would, of course, have been totally impossible for Sergeant Buck in 21 minutes to traverse 21 miles in a driving rainstorm, through five populated communities with stop lights, also stopping at the main gate of Camp Pendleton and stopping to dispose of chevrons along the way. As emphasized in the communication of August 21, 1957, from Senator PAUL DOUGLAS to the President of the United States:

"According to the definite testimony at the court-martial, the unknown 'Chuck' left the Camp Pendleton warehouse at 12:10 p.m. or within minutes of that time. Buck was apprehended at Solana Beach some 22 miles away. The California State Police officer who apprehended him testified that he did so at 12:15 and certainly no later than 12:20 p.m. The police radio logs show that the calls for the apprehension of the person involved went out at 12:30 or 1232, or no more than 21 or 22 minutes from the time the unknown 'Chuck' left the Camp Pendleton warehouse. The police officer testified that he saw Buck just shortly before the first call came through. These calls were entered on the logs later than they actually occurred, but even then Buck could have been apprehended no later than 22 minutes from the time the so-called 'larceny' occurred and actually only 5 to 10 minutes later.

"From the police radio logs at San Diego and at Oceanside, Calif., it appears that for Buck to have been the person involved, he would have had to drive some 22 miles, at high noon, through a driving rain, through five towns most of them with stoplights, and meanwhile have gotten rid of the stolen goods, all in some 21 minutes. This appears to have been impossible."

Adding the documentary evidence discovered since the trial to the other contradictions in identification—that unlike the offending marine, Sergeant Buck had no mustache, was clean-shaven, wearing different clothing, no horn-rimmed glasses and had no chevrons in his car—it becomes perfectly clear that through an unfortunate coincidence in vehicles, Master Sergeant Buck, with a lifetime record of excellent military service, has been unjustly convicted and dismissed from his military career for an offense committed by someone else.

It is rare indeed that a person convicted of a crime can establish his innocence by the testimony of the prosecution's own witnesses and that of a state highway policeman. It is even more rare that documentary evidence by means of recorded police radio logs is found to substantiate the impossibility of the accused's commission of the offense. In this case, however, such evidence has been produced. Certainly, a convicted American citizen who can prove his innocence through the radio logs of a state police department, is entitled to a full reprieve from a mistaken criminal conviction.

VI. CONCLUSION—SERGEANT BUCK, UNJUSTLY CONVICTED OF A CRIME HE DID NOT COMMIT, DESERVES FULL PARDON AND RESTORATION TO THE SERVICE

Sergeant Buck seeks a pardon because of his innocence and for no other reason. In that connection, Sergeant Buck urges that the fullest investigation be made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of every detail of his trial and the testimony there introduced on his behalf and against him, as well as all the circumstances relied upon in this brief. Sergeant Buck will willingly undergo a second lie detector test or any other examination aimed at establishing the truth. He is confident that a full investigation will remove him and his family from the cloud of the degrading accusation that he has committed a crime against the Government he sought to serve; by finally proving his innocence, it will make possible the rebuilding of a ruined life.

There are only a few instances in which a President of the United States has granted a pardon because of innocence. But Sergeant Buck's case is certainly one of those rare cases which cries out for clemency for an innocent citizen wrongfully branded a criminal, imprisoned, and dismissed, after 18 years, from his career in the U.S. Marines.

Buck was convicted on the slimmest and most contradictory evidence against him in the face of persuasive proof that he could not have been the guilty party. Totally irrelevant and highly prejudicial testimony introduced by the prosecution at his trial through his own defense counsel denied him a fair trial. A series of incredible mistakes before the U.S. Court of Military Appeals by appointed military counsel denied Sergeant Buck his constitutional and statutory right to a fair defense in the appellate process by the expert attorneys of his choice. Finally, and most importantly, Sergeant Buck has obtained vital new evidence since his trial to demonstrate what has been clear to three Senators of the United States and every other impartial reviewer, that his conviction was the result of mistaken identity.

As an innocent man mistakenly convicted, Sergeant Buck fully deserves a pardon; such a pardon should be accompanied by his restoration to the service, which is within the power of the Chief Executive as Commander in Chief. Certainly, now that Sergeant Buck can demonstrate his innocence, nothing could justify the withholding of full redress by restoring him to his service career.

But all apart from Sergeant Buck's innocence of the crime for which he was convicted, there is a separate and additional ground for his restoration to the Marine Corps. On November 8, 1956, after an official hearing and investigation by the Board for Correction of Naval Records, that statutory agency made a determination that Sergeant Buck should never have been discharged from the Marine Corps.[53] The Board found, on the basis of Buck's "many years of faithful and meritorious service," [54] that the Clemency Board which had rejected his appeal to remain in the Marine Corps should have retained him in the service. The specific finding of the Board for Correction of Naval Records, concurred in by the Secretary of the Navy on November 29, 1956,[55] was as follows:

"• • • after a most conscientious and careful consideration of petitioner's naval record, the evidence presented by him, or in his behalf, and particularly in view of his many years of faithful and meritorious service, the Board finds that the ends of justice would have been better served had petitioner been restored to duty and afforded an opportunity to complete his enlistment under honorable conditions by serving a probationary period. In this connection the Board is mindful of the general policy of the Department not to restore to duty a person convicted of theft, but believes that exceptions should be made in certain cases and that in view of all the circumstances attending the instant case, an exception to the general policy should have been made."

Thus, although a statutory agency of the United States, as well as the Secretary of the Navy, have ruled that Sergeant Buck was unjustly discharged from the Marine Corps, he has yet to receive the only appropriate relief against that injustice—restoration to the corps.

Sergeant Buck, innocent of the crime of which he was convicted, has been unfairly and unjustly labeled a criminal and deprived of his military career. He hereby respectfully requests an exoneration, in exercise of the clemency and restoration powers vested in the President as Chief Executive and Commander in Chief.

Respectfully submitted.

STANLEY C. VORACHEK,
Commander, East Lake Washington, Chapter 43 of the Disabled American Veterans, Representative for Petitioner.

BELLEVUE, WASH., *September 1964.*

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[1] All "R." references herein are to pages of the official transcript of Sergeant Buck's court-martial trial.

[2] See appendix, exhibit 1, attesting Buck's hospitalization for acute spinal myositis from Mar. 11 to Apr. 10, 1952.

[3] See *United States* v. *Doherty*, decided by the U.S. Court of Military Appeals on June 12, 1959.

[4] See exhibit 2.

[5] See exhibit 3.

[6] See exhibits 4 and 5.

[7] See exhibit 6.

[8] See exhibit 11.

[9] See exhibit 7.

[10] See exhibit 8.

[11] See exhibits 9 and 12.

[12] See exhibits 10, 11 and 19.

[13] See exhibit 13.

[14] See exhibit 14.

[15] See exhibit 15.
[16] See exhibit 16.
[17] See exhibit 17.
[18] See exhibit 18.
[19] See exhibit 26.
[20] See exhibits 33 and 38.
[21] See exhibit 21.
[22] See exhibits 20, 22, 23, 27 and 28.
[23] See exhibit 29.
[24] See exhibit 30.
[25] See exhibit 31.
[26] See exhibit 30.
[27] See exhibits 38 and 39.
[28] See exhibits 35 and 37.
[29] See exhibit 36.
[30] See exhibits 38 and 39.
[31] See exhibit 33.
[32] See exhibit 42.
[33] See exhibit 34.
[34] See exhibits 38 and 40.
[35] See exhibit 32.
[36] See exhibit 49.
[37] See exhibit 43.
[38] See exhibit 44.
[39] See exhibit 48.
[40] See exhibits 31, 42, and 45.
[41] While the Court of Military Appeals subsequently had before it a motion to reopen the case, upon which it rendered a lengthy "Memorandum Opinion" on June 6, 1958, that proceeding was obviously not an adequate substitute for the fair and orderly submission of Sergeant Buck's regular appeal to the Court of Military Appeals with participation of his chosen counsel therein. Indeed, although the Court of Military Appeals' 1958 "opinion" purported to deal with the merits of some of Sergeant Buck's contentions, the court's decision also expressly recognized that at that late date the court no longer had jurisdiction to entertain Sergeant Buck's appeal. Certainly under these circumstances Sergeant Buck never had the benefit of the regular appeal of his conviction to the Court of Military Appeals with the benefit of full participation by his chosen civilian counsel, which was his statutory and constitutional right.
[42] As even the Board of Review decision of Feb. 24, 1954, conceded, "The circumstances were that Major Gallagher did not, and could not, have known that Sergeant Buck was involved."
[43] See exhibit 50.
[44] See exhibits 51 and 52.
[45] See exhibits 53 and 54.
[46] See exhibit 55.
[47] See exhibit 56.
[48] See exhibit 57.
[49] See exhibit 58.
[50] Officer Doran made a slip of the tongue here for he has repeatedly stated and verified in affidavits that Sergeant Buck pulled up to the signal a minute before the radio message, not vice versa. See exhibit 53.
[51] See exhibit 59.
[52] The radio logs actually show that at the very latest, Buck had already pulled up in Solana Beach by 12:30. The time could have been no later and was possibly much earlier for the San Diego log 12:33 excerpt was recorded only after the call had originally been broadcast from Oceanside, rebroadcast from San Diego, and finally logged into the log book at San Diego.
[53] See exhibit 60. While the Board for Correction of Naval Records did not recommend restoration to service for Sergeant Buck, it should be noted that it is the consistent practice of that Board either as a matter of jurisdiction or policy not to recommend such restoration. See exhibits 62 and 63.
[54] Marine Corps fitness report ratings range from "unsatisfactory" to "outstanding." The fitness reports contained in Sergeant Buck's personnel file, covering the period of his service, have been reviewed. Sergeant Buck's ratings include none in the "unsatisfactory" column, 2 ratings of "fair," 52 ratings of "good," 107 ratings of "very good," 115 ratings of "excellent," and 21 ratings of "outstanding."
[55] See exhibit 61.

Remarks of the Honorable Thomas N. Downing, Representative, First Virginia District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, Virginia's important role in the establishment, the development, and the continuing strength of our great country is written indelibly in our history. The first permanent English settlement in what was then known as "the New World" was at Jamestown. Virginians led the fight for our independence and played the most significant roles in drawing up the principles upon which our Government is operated and upon which our freedoms are based.

My colleague from the First Congressional District of Virginia, THOMAS N. DOWNING, knows of that history and he lets its lessons guide his own valuable service here in the House of Representatives. His district includes Jamestown and Yorktown and Williamsburg—an area steeped in the early history of our land. The footprints in history that were noted there still provide paths our Nation can follow with success.

Earlier this month, at the unveiling of a plaque at Jamestown Church in memory of one of our early settlers and heroes, the Reverend Richard Bucke, Congressman DOWNING took a look at our heritage in a talk that deserves the consideration of every Member of the Congress. Under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to include his address at this point and commend it to your attention:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS N. DOWNING, REPRESENTATIVE, FIRST VIRGINIA DISTRICT, AT THE UNVEILING OF A PLAQUE IN MEMORY OF THE REVEREND RICHARD BUCKE

The events which took place here in Jamestown 357 years ago mean far more to us than the historians could ever convey.

Our Nation, the mightest nation on earth, the most prosperous nation on earth, the Nation to whom all other freedom loving nations look for support had its beginning here. The settlement of Virginia by a group of colonists whose endurance can hardly be described in words, was more than the beginning of the United States of America. Jamestown was the beginning of a promise—a promise that a free people who govern themselves can create a greater degree of human dignity and a fuller measure of material prosperity and cultural attainment than any other governing philosophy conceived by the mind of man.

Jamestown opened up a new era—an era in which uncommon men responded to uncommon challenges to reach uncommon heights, the colonists at Jamestown undertook to master a harsh environment and the durability of character, developed more than 350 years ago, still can be seen in a people whose astronauts have virtually conquered the universe.

Jamestown was a tiny colony but there were no small men here. It is perhaps too easy to attribute giant stature to a man after his death, too difficult to praise a giant of a man while he is still alive, but many generations in our land have been blessed because men like the Reverend Richard Bucke had the courage to strive for giant stature during his lifetime. It is a stirring and humbling experience for me to stand here as a people's representative, knowing that the first legislators, the first representatives, ever to assemble in this New World had God's blessing and guidance requested by the man being honored today.

Reverend Bucke knew, as our first Representative knew, that a nation was being founded here on this soil. They knew too that the Nation they were founding had to be founded on a belief in God. The men who came here, came to the new world, in part, to worship God. Religious liberty was deeply meaningful to them and the first documents prepared here were religious documents. The colonists here acknowledged their dependence on God for survival. The second rector of the Jamestown Church, Rev. Richard Bucke, may justifiably be credited with initiating a new type of society here in Virginia—a free Nation under God. I believe deeply, that our Nation has become the great nation that it is because we have recognized the dignity of the individual and the individual's dependence upon God. I cannot believe that the tiny colony here at Jamestown, could ever have grown into the most powerful nation on earth without recognizing that our steps were being taken with His help. We have been blessed with vast resources. But I believe that our greatest resource has been the greatness of our people—primarily people like Reverend Bucke and the others who came here to say that an individual can be free under a system of government with God's help.

We must be true and faithful to this heritage. We must be true and faithful to the traditions which have been, on so many occasions, the saving grace of our society. They are being threatened now, perhaps to a greater extent than they have ever been threatened before. For the past 20 years, two ideologies have been struggling for the minds and the souls of men. Our ideology, call it if you will—our American way of life—recognizes our dependence on God, as the colonists here at Jamestown acknowledged it. The other ideology, communism, has no faith in the dignity of the individual and no recognition of God. Karl Marx framed the Communist philosophy because he failed to recognize that religious faith, a belief in God, can add conscience to capitalism. Capitalism in the United States functions with a sense of community obligation that stems from a religious sense. The tradition of business in America has been a conscientious tradition.

Capitalism could easily have become ruthlessly exploitive had it not been for faith, conscience, and a belief in God. After all, capitalism, in this great Nation, was established by the same colonists who established a nation under God. The people who came here to Jamestown hoped to make money. The people back in England who sent the colonists here hoped to make money. Our early settlers hoped to better their economic condition as well as find religious freedom. There were exceptions, of course, but the largest majority of men who we now call our Founding Fathers were men looking for a living and unashamed of capitalism.

Capitalism, or the seeking of a profit, did have a brief, dark time in our history, a time that undoubtedly arouses shame in all of

us, but the conscience that has always existed in capitalism, welled up, and business without a religious sense was very short-lived in our history. Karl Marx misinterpreted this dark time and set a large number of people off the religious path. The religious conscience was clearly the victor in our society, but it came too late to stop Karl Marx, who decided that no faith could be placed in God, and no faith in the individual. It is a source of great disappointment that one of the briefest periods in our history, when capitalism seemed to forget its conscience, spawned an ideology that now threatens our Christian-centered way of life.

Today, in honoring Rev. Richard Bucke and the Jamestown colonists, we also honor our positive traditions. Reverend Bucke was a positive leader who once led a group of passengers in thanks to God for their safe deliverance after the ship on which they were traveling was wrecked on the reefs of what is now Bermuda. His positive leadership inspired that group of passengers to set sail again, only 9 months later, for Virginia and Jamestown. The same strain of positive leadership has been carried forward throughout our history. It is a golden thread—Washington kneeling in the snow at Valley Forge—Lincoln's Gettysburg Address—Woodrow Wilson urging a world to forget hate—and John Glenn coming back to earth after traveling in outer space to say "The Heavens declare the glory of God."

We live in a good land, an inspired land, a land where positive men with vision and courage sat down to create an entirely new political philosophy. Because of them, no American has lived under any type of despotism. Few people have been so fortunate. Few people have been able to preserve for themselves mastery of their own destinies, as we have. Men have had the vision and the courage to put their faith in man. This is really what Reverend Bucke said to his people and this is what Jamestown has always been about—faith in man and in God. This must be what Lincoln meant when he placed his full confidence in America's future by referring to a young, insecure Republic as "the last, best hope on earth." It may even be that today we see with a greater clarity and purpose the same vision that Reverend Bucke saw and each succeeding generation has seen.

We call this vision the American dream and there have never, in the history of the world, been so many millions of people desperately longing to share the dream with us. It is a dream that lures men. Looking back to those men who first saw this dream, we marvel at the power of a vision that could draw men out to sea in a ship about the size of one of our lifeboats. A man must have had a full view of a rich promise to brave Jamestown in 1607 to 1610. The Reverend Mr. Bucke and others helped channel the American dream throughout the terrible early days on this soil, the American dream he channeled has survived and been illuminated and the light from it is now visible on parts of this earth unknown to Jamestown's colonists. Freedom loving people are said to stand side by side in a long phalanx before godless communism. It seems to me today that this phalanx is longer and deeper than we sometimes acknowledge. We have never faced a challenge alone in our Nation. We have never had a dark day or hour without the shield of Jamestown's promise and America's "last, best hope." As we face the masters of Moscow and Peiping, we are formed in a line that threads through the courageous men of our own time back through Wilson and Washington—Madison and Jefferson—Nathaniel Bacon and Richard Bucke. We share their faith and they truly share our challenge.

We can, it seems to me, pay no higher honor to our forefathers than to let them stand with us—unforgotten—as men who have longed for freedom together, dreamed of prosperity together, planned for greatness together, as a people and a Nation always under God.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

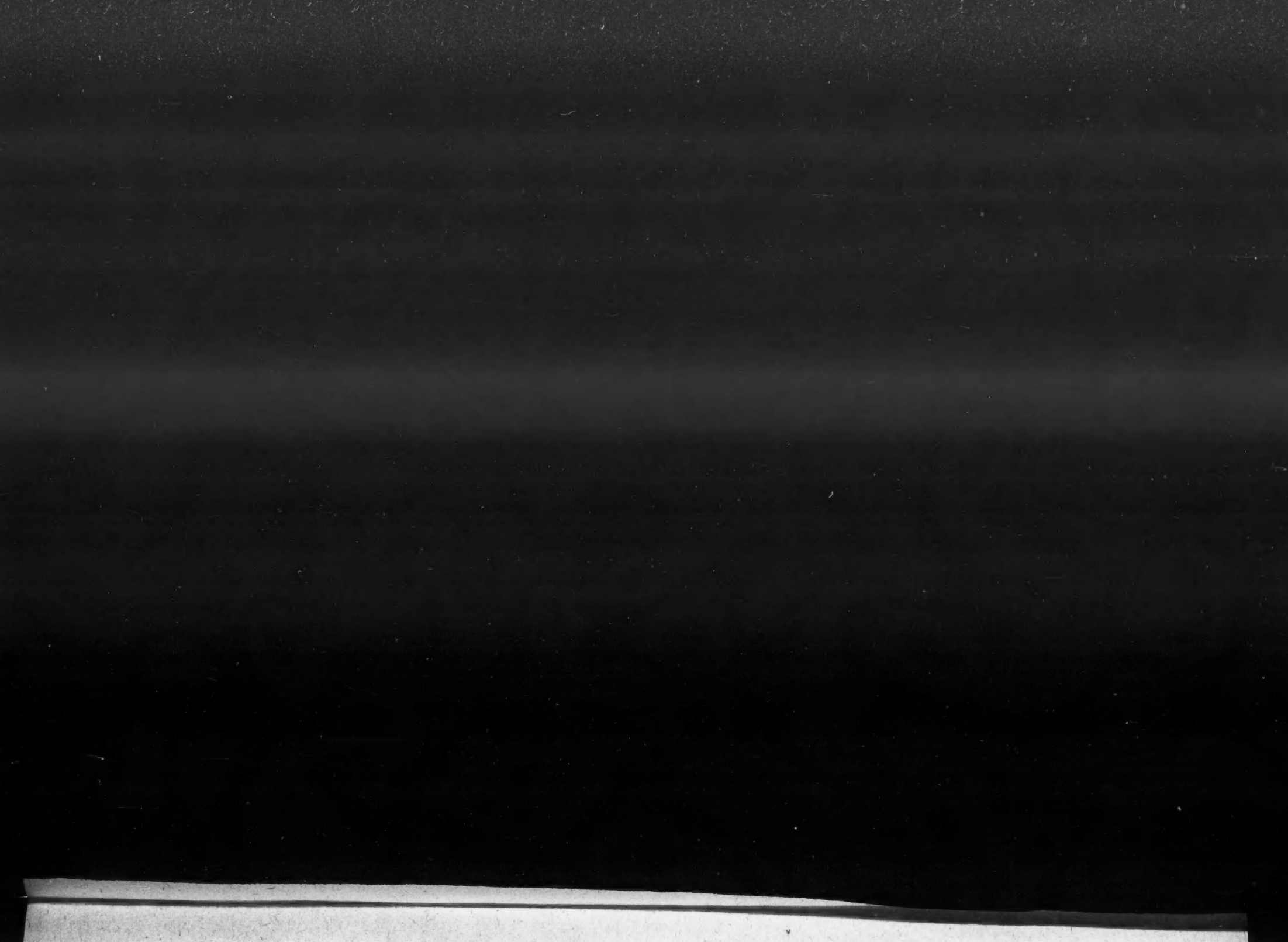

Appendix

Mark C. Honeywell, a Great Builder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the September 14, 1964, issue of the Wabash Plain Dealer, Wabash, Ind. It is a well-deserved tribute to a man who contributed much to this Nation's well-being and whose generosity to his home community was boundless. We are saddened by Mr. Honeywell's passing but we take great pride in his achievements. He was a great man who loved his country, his State and mankind.

The article follows:

MARK C. HONEYWELL, A GREAT BUILDER

Wherever he lived Mark C. Honeywell created beauty, industry, recreation, and the highest respect for craftsmanship.

Whether the need was for a golf course and country club at Wabash or Tippecanoe—or eliminating crabgrass in his backyard—he devoted the same energy to the task.

An amateur magician of skill, a violin player, a hypnotist, moviemaker, superlative host, Mark Honeywell brought pleasure to his friends and to citizens of Wabash.

He installed the heating system still in use in the old Bradley Building. He built the chimney for the Lutheran Church in Peru to show how to overcome draft problems. He was the proud owner of one of the first automobiles in Wabash County.

Surrounding each house he lived in, he built gardens. The most elaborate culminated in a garden festival at his lodge, enjoyed by thousands from all over Indiana. He was a student and devotee of outdoor beauty as well as a pioneer in indoor comfort.

Devoted to art, he was vice president of the Hoosier Art Salon for many years. He was a loyal patron of Indiana artists, and a discriminating collector of treasured antiques.

Spending part of his boyhood in Deland, Fla., he was one of the first to foresee the potential of Florida. His oranges were so well prepared for market that they brought a higher price.

He was a leader among leaders. He was president for many years of the Committee of 100 in Miami Beach, an organization of hundreds of industrial leaders from all over the country.

In 1944 he received an honorary degree of humanities from the University of Miami.

He was a director of Miami Beach's famed Surf Club for 25 years, also the Indian Creek Country Club.

His yachts have taken memorable fishing parties on the blue waterways of Florida to his private island, Boca Chita. He built a cottage there, a harbor, bridge, and lighthouse, as charming as they were sturdy.

He was a stanch friend of both Boy and Girl Scouts. He built a rustic cabin for their camping trips. He provided quarters for them when he built the Honeywell Memorial Community Center. The Scouts awarded him their highest award, the Silver Beaver.

He was a member of many local clubs including the Elks and Masons. Last July J. E. Ferrier, worshipful master of Hanna Lodge No. 61 presented Mr. Honeywell's 50-year membership pin.

In 1947 Mr. Honeywell was named one of Wabash's distinguished citizens and man of the year by Wabash's Chamber of Commerce. He and W. C. Mills shared this honor in 1947 and 1948. The two men were great friends and their joint planning resulted in development of the Honeywell Community Center.

Wabash was without a bank in the depression. He helped finance and organize our First National Bank and served many years as chairman of the board.

He and Horace Launder made buckwheat flour and cider at their North Cass Street plant. Later he became interested in heating problems and he developed the generator for hot water heating systems. This made possible more extensive use of hot water heating plants.

This grew into a great industrial company making the name Honeywell known around the world.

The corporate name has now been changed. The company has abandoned "Minneapolis" in its name. It is now known as Honeywell all over the world. Honeywell, Inc. is now the official name.

The company progressed from its early concern for human comfort to the manufacture of controls for safety, defense, and exploration of the future. It employs more than 47,000 people and makes countless homes, including the White House, more comfortable.

A genial, gallant gentleman, Mr. Honeywell never looked back, always ahead. His industry is a lesson to all who knew him.

The Honeywell Memorial Community Center was his crowning achievement for the citizens of Wabash. It is an adornment and joy to the entire Wabash Valley and State of Indiana.

The community center provides year around service to the area. Recreation naturally moves outdoors during summer months so the need was long apparent for a Wabash swimming pool. The Mark C. Honeywell pool was provided in 1961 by the Honeywell Foundation, established by Mr. Honeywell.

Whether it was pruning a tree, planting a climbing rose, greeting his favorite dog, finding a skilled workman, or flagstone for a favorite building project, Mr. Honeywell gave the occasion his best attention.

Everything he did he did well. And he did everything.

Nasser's "Peaceful" Intentions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the latest issue of Prevent World War III, No. 64, summer 1964, published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 24 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., contains a most timely analysis of Egyptian foreign policy and its threat to peace in the Middle East and elsewhere. The article explodes the illusion, harbored by some of our State Department policymakers, that Nasser has turned a new leaf, and no longer is intent on subverting or destroying the independence of neighboring Middle Eastern states.

Actually, Nasser's ambitions have grown to a point where countries in north Africa, and even countries in Latin America, are experiencing the sinister activities of his agents and propagandists. Security minded Americans are entitled to more than wishful thinking by State Department policymakers who try to assure us that Nasser poses no threat to our national interests.

This article makes very clear that a realistic and strong stand against Nasser's imperialism is essential, in order to protect American interests and security. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"NASSER HAS PEACEFUL INTENTIONS"—U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

It has become a standard argument among some U.S. policymakers that the springtimes of President Nasser's aggressive activities is past. The Egyptian leader and his cohorts, according to this theory, are mellowing; they are turning inward, so the theory continues, to the great task of internal construction and are leaving behind the youthful romantic dreams of conquest.

These policymakers will cite some "statistics" and some "moderate" statements by Mr. Nasser to support their contention that he is a "new" man. This is one of the main argument put forth year after year by those in the State Department who continue to maintain that the American taxpayers are doing the right thing when they permit our wishful-thinking policymakers to pour hundreds of millions of dollars into Nasser's coffers annually.

HAS NASSER CHANGED?

Is it really true that Nasser has turned the corner? Is he really setting down to give the wretched masses of Egypt an opportunity to improve their lives? Is he prepared now to pursue a policy of "live and let live" with his neighbors? These are questions to which the American people are entitled to have unambiguous concrete replies.

The society has done a little investigation on its own since we must confess that we have not succeeded up to now in obtaining from the State Department any concrete evidence which would support this glorified picture of the "new" Nasser. We shall leave it up to our readers to judge whether the evidence presented herewith supports or refutes the new image of Egypt's strong man.

On February 22, 1964, President Nasser delivered an address commemorating the "unity anniversary" which brought Syria and Egypt into one political setup as the United Arab Republic. Of course, Syria is no longer a

member of the United Arab Republic because its people found out that Cairo's definition of unity was more akin to the relation between the wolf and the lamb. Nevertheless, Nasser decided to go ahead to talk about the unity on the grounds that "the secession of Syria was not implemented by the will of the people," but rather by subversive elements cooperating with "imperialism." So apparently, Nasser looks upon the Syrian state as a sort of imperialistic instrument, and since Nasser is the self-proclaimed leader against "imperialism," it follows that the Syrian Government cannot enjoy Cairo's respect and must be regarded as an enemy of "Arabdom." We shall discuss a little later the implications of this attitude toward Syria. What struck our attention, however, in President Nasser's speech was his affirmation that "we never try to export our revolution. I believe that revolutions cannot be engineered from outside."

PLAIN TALK

We presume that it is precisely this kind of statement which some of our policymakers like to quote when they seek to assure the American people that President Nasser has given up his troublemaking activities. The society is a little more fortunate than most people in this respect because we have preserved a number of President Nasser's statements on the question of "exporting revolution." For example, we can point to Nasser's "victory" speech at Port Said, December 23, 1962, where he launched a vicious attack against the Governments of Saudi Arabia and Jordan alleging that the people of those countries did not support their Governments. He then shouted to the audience that it was "our duty to fight for our principles and for the revolution. We have to fight for the political systems which we want. Life is for the fittest. Death is for reaction." This was Nasser's way of telling Saudi Arabia and Jordan that they were on his list of governments destined to be destroyed.

In that same speech he also condemned the Syrian Government which by that time had broken with Cairo. Nasser promised that the Syrian regime too would be crushed. As for Egypt's intervention in Yemen, Nasser did not deny that he was spending E£1 million hard currency daily. "I wish we had the money to support all revolutions," he exclaimed. But even with the little money available to finance revolutions, Egypt makes no bones about its successes in this field. Thus, radio Cairo, broadcasting to the Arab world on April 8, boasted that since 1952 Egypt had "triggered more than 10 liberation revolutions in the Middle East and has ignited a number of liberation movements throughout Africa." Quite a record for a regime which now pretends that it no longer plays with matches.

It should be made clear that Nasser-style revolutions have no connection whatsoever with movements which are designed to truly improve the living conditions of the people who are the supposed beneficiaries. Certainly, the Syrians and Yemenites who were part of the United Arab Republic at one time, did not find their lives improved by Nasser's "revolutions." Indeed, the same medieval conditions which obtained in Yemen prior to its joining the United Arab Republic, continued to exist under the "enlightened" and "beneficent" rule of Cairo. As for the Syrians, one of the basic reasons for their decision to break with Egypt was precisely because their economic situation was turning from bad to worse thanks to the ruthless exploitation by their Egyptian "brothers."

Nasser's brand of revolution is nothing less than a ruthless overthrow of the independence of other countries with the expressed aim of absorbing the resources of those countries to further the ambitions of the Cairo regime. Whatever political and economic measures for regeneration may be incorporated in these "revolutionary" movements, they really serve as window dressing to fool the outside world. Indeed, one can say the same for Nasser's own "revolution" in Egypt where despite all the fanfare, the people are still on the borderline of starvation. The fact is that Nasser really has no time for his own people, he is so busy trying to bully other people. Let us cite cases:

INTERVENTION IN YEMEN

Since September 1962, President Nasser's armed forces, equipped with the latest Soviet-made aircraft and tanks, have been intervening in Yemen's civil war. It is now estimated that there are approximately 40,000 Egyptian troops in that country who are supporting the Yemenite political faction with headquarters located in the Yemen capital of Sanaa. Theoretically, the Yemenite troops operating out of Sanaa, are controlled by Yemenite officers under their leader, Marshal Abdullah Sallal. In reality, the real ruler of Yemen is Nasser's proconsul, General Abdel Mohsin Moutagi, the commander in chief of Egypt armed forces. Moreover, the so-called republican Government of Yemen is firmly under the thumb of Egyptians advisers. The Yemen civil service "is virtually an Egyptian affair" (London Observer, Apr. 5, 1964). As a matter of fact, every aspect of Yemenite life, official and unofficial, is heavily infiltrated by Egyptian agents posing as advisers, technicians, teachers, doctors, etc.

Time and again, the Egyptian Government has intimated that it would pull out its troops but these promises, as United Nations observers have revealed in official reports, have proved to be worthless. Nasser himself has publicly declared that "We shall support the Yemeni revolution till a strong nationalist Yemeni army is established * * *" (February 22, 1964). This means, of course, that President Nasser has no intention whatsoever to abide by the disingagement agreement worked out in 1963 by Ellsworth Bunker, retired U.S. Ambassador. Our own policymakers—those who come to Congress every year for aid to Nasser—hailed this agreement as proof that suspicions with regard to Egypt's intentions in Yemen, were unfounded. The British, who have a little more experience in the Middle East than we, have been extremely skeptical. Their skepticism seems justified by the facts. As Britain's Prime Minister, Sir Alex Douglas-Home told Parliament: "Everyone's objective has been to create conditions" under which Nasser could withdraw his troops from Yemen "within a reasonable time." But what is the present situation? According to Sir Alex: "The only result has been that, whereas there were 28,000 a year ago, there are now something like 40,000."

Yet, such State Department experts as Phillips Talbot, Assistant Secretary of State, have assured Members of Congress that there was every reason to believe that Nasser would carry out his pledges. But Yemen, in Nasser's book, is but a steppingstone to greater adventures. Only recently he declared that "Yemen is not the last; we have Palestine before us." He then promised that the training which the Egyptian troops received in Yemen, would not be wasted, for Yemen was not the "last battle * * *" (April 20, 1964). So much for Nasser's "new look" in Yemen.

SYRIA AND SOUTH ARABIA

Nasser's hand will also be found in another part of the Arabian peninsula; i.e., the newly established "Federation of South Arabia" which was formed from a number of areas that were previously under the direct control of the British. Sir Patrick Dean, Britain's Ambassador to the United Nations, told the Security Council during a recent debate that "the United Arab Republic must take their full share of the blame for the deterioration of relations between the Federation of South Arabia and Yemen." (New York Times, April 8, 1964).

Sir Patrick knew whereof he was speaking for it is public knowledge that a so-called revolutionary command operates out of Cairo with a view toward undermining the independence of the Federation of South Arabia under the guise of fighting "imperialism." Egyptian propaganda against the Federation is vicious and incessant. Nasser himself has publicly boasted: "We support revolutions of every liberation movement in the occupied South * * *" (February 22, 1964). And yet, President Nasser assures the world and seems to have convinced State Department policymakers that he does not "export revolution."

It is not only on the Arabian Peninsula that Nasser's forces work around the clock. These same forces will also be found in Syria, for Nasser has never reconciled himself to the decision of the Syrian people that they intend to live their own lives without the benefit of Cairo's "helping hand." His very speech of February 22, 1964, commemorating the unity of Syria and Egypt, when this unity no longer exists in fact, is a brazen attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

But Nasser does not confine his interference to speechmaking. Egyptian agents are very busy in Syria. In fact, the very day after Nasser delivered his "unity" speech, rioting broke out in a number of Syrian towns. Lives were lost and many were wounded. The rioting and killings compelled the Syrian Government to round up the Nasserites in Damascus and other points. It is interesting to note in this connection that among those who were rounded up for subversive activities on behalf of Nasser, was one Dr. Adnan Zein, "a local adviser to the German Embassy in Damascus" (New York Times, Feb. 24, 1964).

Rioting again broke out in April. Once more, many people were killed and the Syrian Government was compelled to take stern measures to restore order. Syria's Premier, General Amin Hafez, did not conceal the instigators of this challenge to the government. Speaking to a delegation of merchants and businessmen in the Syrian town of Homs, he declared: "The plot was hatched abroad and great amounts of money were put up to carry it out. The plotters have received the money from Abdel Salam Aref and the Egyptian Embassy" (Washington Post, Feb. 22, 1964). Meanwhile, Nasser has been trying to bypass Syria on the "Palestine question." Thus, Nasser's stooge Ahmad Al-Shukairy, noted for his slanderous attacks against the United States, decided to build up a "Palestine Liberation Front" whose ultimate goal is the "liberation" of the "Arab homeland" (UPI, Feb. 26, 1964).

This gangster-like organization is a pure Nasser concoction and Shukairy's job is to present the other Arab States with a ready-made organization which they will be obliged to join and so carry out Nasser's plans. It has been roundly condemned by the Syrians who sense that the Shukairy organizations is designed to inveigle them into pulling Nasser's chestnuts out of the fire. Thus, one of Syria's leading newspapers, Al-Bath, charged that Shukairy "not only exceeded the limits of his mission, but also took a wrong and serious course and submitted a plan which aroused the suspicious of the refugees and the fears of the Arab masses" (Feb. 15, 1964).

Thus, it is no wonder that despite the sweetness and light which allegedly colored the atmosphere of the Arab Summit Conference in early January, there was little love between Nasser and Syrian Premier Hafez who attended the meeting. How can there be sweetness and light between these two men when up to the very last moment before the meeting took place, the Cairo Radio was trying to incite Syrians against their Premier by describing him as a "bloody butcher."

MOVES IN IRAQ

A word should be said about the situation in Iraq. There, it will be recalled, the President of Iraq seized power in November 1963, following two previous coups d'etat which

resulted, among other things, in the murder of the Iraqi leader, General Kassim. The new Iraqi regime, established after Kassim's overthrow, combined a number of Nasserites and leaders of the Baath Party. The Baath Party is Nasser's chief political foe in the Middle East. It aspires to many of the same things which Nasser himself avows but it refuses to accept Nasser as the infallible leader of the Arab world. This, of course, is intolerable to the Egyptian strong man and so, Baathists and Nasserites are at sword's point.

Nasser blamed the Baathists in Syria for engineering the breakup of the United Arab Republic. He was afraid that the Baathist influence would upset his speculations in Iraq too. Hence, President Arif, an obedient tool of President Nasser and a thoroughly ruthless man, moved quickly, ousted the Baathists in the Iraqi regime and placed himself at the head of the state. What was Nasser's role in this affair? Was he minding his own business and tending to the needs of his own people? Let us quote from a report by the London Financial Times' own correspondent in the Middle East (Nov. 20, 1963):

"* * * There is mounting evidence that he had a hand in the tangled events of the past week. Nasser's policy objectives may at this stage be summed up as follows:

"1. To destroy the Baath, who emerged this year as his chief rival.

"2. To prevent at all costs, the union of Syria and Iraq. This is a constant of Egyptian policy, which since the Middle Ages has opposed the rise of a power in Asia strong enough to outweigh her influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

"3. To recover control of Syria—the linchpin of the Middle East power system."

This correspondent further pointed out that, to consolidate his gains, Nasser's propaganda services "have launched a large-scale campaign appealing to the Iraqui Army, as brothers in Islam, accusing the Baath of atheism, stressing the Christian origin of the Secretary General of the Baath, Michel Aflaq, and hinting that Egypt was ready to intervene militarily in Iraq if Syria moved."

LIBYA UNDER FIRE

So much for Nasser's "export of revolution" in the Arab Middle East. Let us now turn our gaze further to the west. Since January, the State of Libya has been in ferment. Rioting broke out in mid-January after it had become known that 75-year-old King Idris would not attend Nasser's summit conference in Cairo. As an elderly man, the King felt that this trip was too arduous and moreover, suspicious of Nasser's intentions, he sent his nephew, the Crown Prince. But a man like Nasser, whose conceit is one of his chief characteristics, could hardly accept King Idris' decision and so, the usual rioting, violence, and killing broke out in Libyan cities.

Were these acts of violence Egyptian inspired? According to the Sunday Times' (London) correspondent in Cairo, the answer is probably "directly no, indirectly yes" (Feb. 9, 1964). This correspondent reported that for the last 2 years, Cairo had been increasingly spreading Pan-Arab propaganda in Libya which has incited certain elements in the population to defy law and order. Nasser has been even more direct in his intervention in Libya. In his February 22 speech, he declared that U.S. bases in Libya constitute "a threat to us and all Arabs" and he demanded that the Libyan Government eject the United States and Britain from the country. It is of this issue that the Nasserites are resorting to every trick of demagogy so as to conceal their subversive activities against the Libyan Government.

Prior to Nasser's outburst, relations between Libya and the United States had been cordial and correct but now "the words of President Gamal Abdel Nasser have become political gospel transmitted by the Cairo Radio * * *." (New York Times, Mar. 29, 1964.) Nasser's influence in Libya is bolstered by the fact that more than 700 Egyptian teachers and professors staff the Libyan school system and dozens of Egyptians may be found in key posts in the government itself. The Cairo Radio dominates the air waves since the Libyans themselves have no broadcasting system. Under these circumstances it is understandable that the Libyan Government is now threatened by internal disorders. The infection of Nasserism is spreading and has already caused governmental upheavals in Libya. Here is another case how Nasser "does not export revolution."

REACHING FOR NORTH AFRICA

But Nasser has not only whipped up hatred against the United States and Britain in Libya, he is also trying the same in Cyprus. No one has asked him but Nasser took it upon himself to declare that the British bases in Cyprus must be liquidated. Why? On the grounds that they are "directed against the Arab peoples." This has become Nasser's standard slogan. It has become his major excuse for intruding on the internal affairs of other countries. Nasser, of course, has other fish to fry. The Cairo Radio (Feb. 25, 1964) made it clear what Nasser was up to when he said: "The time has come when these bases should be liquidated and the Arab land from the Atlantic to the Gulf should be freed * * *."

Why does Nasser still talk about the freedom of the Arab lands from the Atlantic to the Gulf? Would he deny that Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Libya are free? In reality, when Nasser talks about liberating this vast area, he means to subvert the independence of these countries and to undermine the position of the Western democracies so that Cairo can move in.

It has become standing operating procedure for Nasser to probe other soft spots when he is rebuffed elsewhere. His ambitions for a "bigger and better" United Arab Republic have been thwarted. His costly and inconclusive adventure in Yemen has become an embarrassing burden. Instead of drawing the appropriate conclusions by giving up these dreams of empire and devoting the meager resources of his country to internal development, Nasser takes the opposite approach. It appears that each time he is confronted with a stone wall of resistance, he turns to other roads of aggression.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Nasser has been accused by the Turks of wanting to restore the Caliphate, the supreme Moslem titular office which had been abolished by Turkey's national hero Kemal Atatürk in 1924. According to General Rafet Ulgenalp, a senior Turkish army officer, Nasser hopes to set himself up as the Caliph of all Islam. The Turkish general further charged that Nasser was supporting and financing subversive elements to undermine the independence of the Turkish state. (New York Times, June 1, 1964.)

Last winter, he embarked on one such course when Egyptian troops turned up in the border conflict between Algeria and Morocco. As the London Financial Times put it: The clash between Algeria and Morocco gave Egypt "another chance to win friends and influence people by sending military aid into the field against the forces of Monarchy" (November 14, 1963). Actually, Nasser's aid to Algeria against Morocco was not a sudden move. In point of fact, the Algerian army itself has been infiltrated by Egyptians on the highest levels as "advisers and military technicians."

The Egyptians have been training Algerians in desert warfare tactics. They have been teaching the Algerians to use Soviet armor and artillery. During the conflict itself, Egyptian officers led Algerian units against the Moroccans. Furthermore, 1,000 additional Egyptian soldiers were transported to Algeria during the conflict itself. Indeed, the influence of the Egyptians in the Algerian armed forces has become so pronounced that even Colonel Boumedienne, the leading Algerian officer, has been complaining about the presence of Egyptians on his general staff.

That Cairo should have intervened in this battle shocked the Arab world. The Moroccans were particularly bitter. The Moroccan radio denounced Cairo for shedding the innocent blood of the Arab people. "Cairo's rulers," the radio declared, "distort everything noble and sacred in Arab relations: Thus, they mutilate all principles, infest our Arab Maghrab sky with intrigues and treachery, and done by ways and means to which our free people are unused and which belong neither to the nature of the Arab people nor to the ideals of struggle * * *" The Moroccan radio further charged that the Egyptians had committed aggression "under an Algerian flag." It then declared: "We and the entire Arab Maghrab are facing a flagrant Egyptian and foreign conspiracy. This aggression and that conspiracy are settling before our eyes under the banner of socialism, Arab nationalism, and all the slogans in which Gamel Abdel Nasser and his set are trading."

The blatant interference of Egypt in the Moroccan conflict upset many Africans who were led to believe by Cairo propagandists that Nasser was a man of peace. A leading Nigerian newspaper wrote the following acid commentary which undoubtedly reflects the sentiment of many Africans: "This is shameful * * * Instead of playing the role of peacemaker, the Egyptian President found it necessary to take sides openly by threatening to break off diplomatic relations with Morocco. * * * Nasser has not dropped his pet ambition to making Cairo the throne from which he will rule an Arab empire which will include Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, the Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Aden."

IN LATIN AMERICA TOO

Nasser's ambitions are by no means confined to the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Most Americans are unaware of the fact that Cairo agents have been busily at work in South American countries where they tried to incite the people against the United States. In previous issues of Prevent World War III, the society has exposed Cairo's anti-U.S. activities in cooperation with Castro Cuba. We have also revealed how Cairo's propagandists try to stir up Panamanians against the United States several years ago. It is now clear that Egypt's efforts in Panama continue. A leading authority on South American problems, Mr. John D. Harbron, recently reported in the Montreal Star that the United Arab Republic's Embassy in Panama City is playing an aggressive role in inciting the Panamanians against the United States on the issue of the Panama Canal. These activities which include propaganda, Mr. Harbron writes, "suggest that Nasser's influence on Panamanian leaders * * * has been more important than the ill-defined role of the anti-American Castroite elements in Panama."

When the Panamanian conflict was at its height in January 1964, one of the leading Government-controlled newspapers in Cairo, Al Ahram, applauded the anti-U.S. attacks of Panamanian crowds "against American aggression." Cairo's vicious activities in Panama against U.S. interests were reflected in the recent meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference. This organization is heavily influenced by Moscow and Peiping and its day-to-day operations are administered by a staff which is predominantly Egyptian. Thus, it was not unexpected that the Conference should denounce the United States and call for the "expulsion of U.S. imperialists from Panama."

More recently, information has come to light that the Egyptians are also active in Brazil. According to these reports, Arabs located in Brazil, are kept in close touch

with the Egyptian Government through various agencies. The numbers of these Arabs has grown to a point where local Brazilian networks broadcast in Arabic. The Arabs are also playing a role among antidemocratic elements in that country. The Arab League too, which for all intents and purposes is an instrument of the Cairo regime, is busily at work spreading Cairo's gospel.

WORLDWIDE NETWORK

Thus, the Nasser network stretches from the remotest areas of the Arabian Peninsula to the not so remote lands of South America. The trails of his agents are strewn with the evidence of subversion and violence. It is not the picture of a leader who has finally made his peace with the rest of the world. Nevertheless, his apologists continue to maintain that he is bending all of his energies to satisfy the needs of the Egyptian masses. But the image and the real Nasser are entirely different. For example, in his speech of February 22, 1964, which ran over 3,700 words, only approximately 350 words were devoted to problems concerning the economic situation in Egypt itself. The rest of his talk spanned virtually the whole Middle East and the Mediterranean Basin. Yes, indeed, he had plenty of words to say about other people's business but he had little to offer to his own people. This is the true measure of the weight which Nasser gives to the welfare of his people.

What is remarkable in all of this is that his posturing and aggressive adventurism would be impossible, were it not for the fact that his government is the recipient of an annual largess from the United States which runs into the hundreds of millions of dollars. Those in our State Department who defend these handouts, claim they are necessary because this is the only way to influence Nasser and to keep him satisfied. It is the same argument which statesmen in the 1930's made to justify the appeasement of another predatory dictatorship. The world now knows that this submission to blackmail opened the door to the carnage of World War II. Security-minded Americans have the right to expect that our State Department policymakers will not lead them down that same road to disaster.

How Big Is a Tactical Nuclear Bomb?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial from the September 22, 1964, issue of the Peoria Journal Star which is self-explanatory:

HOW BIG IS A TACTICAL NUCLEAR BOMB?

If a newspaper editorialist has any obligations from the nature of his daily work and information, it must be to try to clear up the gamesmanship of words as used in a political campaign.

There is a lovely example in the attempts to work Mr. GOLDWATER's comment about the question of NATO tactical weapons into a political smear, instead of a genuine discussion of the issues and merits involved.

Hatchetman HUBERT HUMPHREY is trumpeting it across the Nation these days that GOLDWATER in talking about "tactical weapons" "means bombs that would destroy whole cities."

The new approach to the same old smear was made possible by Secretary of Defense McNamara who had publicly stated that the "average nuclear tactical weapon in Europe" would have "at least" the force of one Hiroshima explosion.

Those remarks in toto are a masterpiece. They speak much of huge and horrible weapons of mass destruction which make the average in this statement. And in the course of all this death and destruction, the Secretary kept his skirts clean, or assuaged his conscience, with just a one-line reference to smaller weapons.

He said that our "smallest nuclear weapon in Europe has tens of times the force of the conventional 1,000-pound bomb of the last war." And he let it go with that.

He didn't come right out and say that the smaller bomb was the Davy Crockett, a 2-man weapon with an explosive force of about 40 tons of TNT. But he picked the 1,000-pound conventional bomb for a fuzzy comparison of "tens of times." Why? The 1,000-pound bomb wasn't a big bomb.

It was used in salvos. We had many bombs a lot bigger than that. Did he mean to give the impression that the nuclear tactical weapon, the smallest, was fantastically greater than the biggest thing we used in World War II?

Now, war is horrible enough without exaggeration. The first requirement of war is to try to live with the reality and if you try to live with your imagination, you are on your way to the "talking doctor" and the psych ward. You have to stick to reality, which is bad enough.

If you haven't experienced some big ones, it is hard enough to imagine these ratios of force without having them glossed up with "tens of times" something that sounds big, and averages compared to one that killed 100,000 civilians in a paper and wood city.

When we got hit with even 1,000-pound bombs in World War II, we got hit with at least four at a time, and that multiplied by the number of planes, usually, "patterning" us. When we hit the enemy we often used much bigger ones, and went as high as 1,000 planes in a raid.

My "CP" was dead center on one occasion of a salvo of four of those bombs. It jars things. Protected by a crib of coconut logs, and dirt, however, it didn't interrupt either my pipe smoking or any communications. If it had been about 12 feet off center, instead of dead center, it would have disintegrated me. Simple fact.

A Davey Crockett dead center would have been four times the blast and would have done the job on me and a couple of others in my command post. It would not have wiped out my outfit, nor harmed any other installation, and certainly no cities or civilians.

This weapon, as one example, is, in fact, two-tenths of 1 percent of the Hiroshima bomb Mr. HUMPHREY refers to in charging GOLDWATER is talking about weapons "to destroy whole cities." He only stretched it by a multiplier of 500 times over.

The simple fact is that Senator GOLDWATER has raised publicly a serious question raised by a NATO staff including some of the most dedicated, responsible, and skilled experts of our country and of allied countries. But they raised it in private and were suppressed, being subordinates to the President.

That question is whether it would not be better to anticipate possible situations in advance, and give advance instructions to commanders in Europe as to the conditions when they might use certain types of battlefield nuclear weapons—without having to wait for the word from the President no matter what.

"It is a good question. It requires a healthy discussion of what potential circumstances do they anticipate in which the orders could just as well be cut in advance, and what possible problems do they fear under the present arrangements. That and what weapons do they have specifically in mind are the nub of the question.

Instead of dealing with this very serious functional question, publicly or privately, our Government is rushing clear out to the end of the limb in future commitment to a wait-and-see policy when under attack—and doing so in order to grossly exaggerate the issue, deceive the American people as to the problem and its real nature, and thus be able to use the subject for purposes of political smear campaign.

Such is the play of words—and hence on facts—by which we reach the "GOLDWATER will blow up the world" campaign pitch.

If it were just a bit of political cheating, it would not be so bad. Unhappily, it also plays fast and loose with our position as the champion of freedom and peace, in that it greatly reduces the "deterrent" which keeps the Communist power from getting too grabby * * * and makes us look as faltering, uncertain, and fearful as they hope we are.

It is a dangerous game, indeed.

C. L. DANCEY.

"A Look at America"—Address by Alan R. Willis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been very much impressed with an address on the subject of "A Look at America," recently delivered by Alan R. Willis before the Rotary Club of Gaffney, S.C. The address, which was made on August 18, 1964, eloquently points up some very important American principles which need to be discussed and considered throughout America if we are to protect our great political and spiritual heritage and retain our freedom in this Nation under God.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LOOK AT AMERICA

(A speech delivered before the Rotary Club, Gaffney, S.C., Aug. 18, 1964, by Alan R. Willis, executive secretary, Spartanburg Development Association)

It is incumbent upon every American businessman * * * in fact, every American citizen * * * to read, and to read a lot. In my work, perhaps 50 percent of my working day is spent reading * * * reading information which I evaluate, condense, digest, and pass along to others * * * Government information, labor information, management information, etc.

A short time ago I came across a paragraph which caught my eye and which forms the basis of what I would like to discuss with you today.

This paragraph began an article by Mae Craig. Now, you all know Mae Craig—she's the Washington correspondent for a Seattle newspaper—a little old lady who wears funny hats, and who has the proclivity for asking questions of Presidents.

This article was entitled "A Look At America." Now, I'm interested in looking at America, because it's not the same America

I used to look at a few short years ago. It is ever changing, but changing so gradually that few of us notice the changes taking place. Here is how that article began:

"Unless there is a change, deep down, in the American people, a genuine crusade against self-indulgence, immorality, public and private, then we are witnesses to the decline and fall of the American Republic."

Imagine that. The decline and fall of the American Republic. That's my country, and yours Mrs. Craig is talking about. So this warning, this prediction, if you will, should be of more than passing interest to us all.

When Thomas Jefferson and his compatriots framed the Constitution, this document which is still acclaimed as the most perfect governmental document ever conceived, was designed to prevent such a thing as the decline and fall of the American Republic. I am very convinced that, if we had hewed to the principles outlined in Thomas Jefferson's Constitution such a thing would be possible. But have you looked at your copy of the Constitution lately?

It is a document designed to insure the fact that the Government is and will remain, in the hands of the people, not the people in the hands of the Government. It is a document designed to hold good for all time. Now, times change, of course, but the Constitution is so written that its principles will take care of those changes fairly and adequately.

I wonder what Mr. Jefferson would say if he could see his Constitution today and note its usage in this Nation he fought so hard to create?

Now, I am the first to admit that I am not a student of the Constitution. (I share this condition with the nine members of the U.S. Supreme Court.) But even a cursory glance will show how far we have strayed * * * and how much further we are likely to stray.

One outstanding feature of our Constitution is the first 10 amendments—the Bill of Rights. Certainly, we are all familiar with the Bill of Rights, but have you stopped lately to realize what has already happened to the rights guaranteed therein?

The first 10 amendments, as we all know, guarantee such precious things as freedom of speech, religion, assembly, trial by jury and redress to the government of grievances, among others. Let us take just a moment to see what has happened to these rights.

There is no need to dwell upon the right of prayer in our public schools. As we know, Bible reading in assembly in our schools is now a violation of our Constitution, not a right—and this, in a Nation whose pledge to the flag includes the phrase "One nation under God," and whose coins are inscribed, "In God we trust," We can thank that same God that many schools do not adhere to this abridgement of the right of freedom of religion.

Let us look at freedom of speech and assembly and let me cite an example. A union organizer comes to your plant for the purpose of cajoling your workers into paying dues for the privilege of holding their jobs. He is given, by the way, carte blanche to tell just about all the lies he wishes in the process. The moment he makes contact your right of free speech has flown right out your office window. There are now things you cannot say even though they may be true.

Freedom of assembly? Under these same circumstances, let's see you assemble two or three workers in your office and explain to them how you feel about the organization efforts. Oh, no. You can't unless you wish to incur the wrath of the National Labor Relations Board; one of the countless bureaus which have taken over almost completely the rights guaranteed to you and to me by our Bill of Rights.

Do you enjoy trial by jury and are you presumed innocent until proved guilty? Then you haven't tangled with that fine bureau known as the Bureau of Internal Revenue * * * nor have you met the recently passed Equal Pay Act, the director of which said only a short time ago that the burden of proof of innocence lies with the employer and that the employer does not have the right to face his accuser.

Oh, but we must have some rights under the first 10 amendments. The right to own property, for instance, that right which is the real key to freedom. All right, you're a farmer. You decide that this would be a good year to plant cotton. With this in mind, you apply the old-fashioned principle of free enterprise and take a chance. But don't try planting any more cotton than the Department of Agriculture says you can. A perfectly ridiculous example of this took place a few years ago down on Route 301. A filling station operator, in an effort to attract tourists en route to Florida, decided to plant a few cotton plants around his filling station so the tourists could see cotton growing. He was fined by the Department of Agriculture because he didn't have a cotton allotment.

But don't give up, this is a free country. You own a plant, or a store. You decide that there are certain qualifications necessary to do a job in your establishment and * * * not so fast. We are now the proud possessors of another bureau, recently created under the Civil Rights Act. The Bureau of Equal Employment and Opportunity * * * and I'm sadly afraid that, when this bureau begins to affect your business in July of next year, qualifications will have very little to do with your hiring practices.

My point, my friends, is this: You and I are now governed, not by and for the people, but by and for a series of bureaucrats which grows in unbelievable leaps and bounds with every passing year. These bureaus, where the work of Government is really done, where decisions are really made, where budgets are really framed, and where your money is really spent, are leading us right down that road suggested by Mae Craig, the little lady with the funny hat.

Can you remember when the United States was the leading nation of the world? You probably can, because it was just 20 short years ago, at the end of World War II. Today, we talk of leadership, but as Mrs. Craig asks in her article, are we capable of giving it? Would Charles de Gaulle have flaunted U.S. policy 20 years ago? Would Britain have sold buses 20 years ago to a little pipsqueak in Cuba, if the United States had suggested she not?

When leadership falters, my friends, it is challenged. And it is being challenged today as never before in history.

Around the world our money is taken with one hand while we are slapped in the face with the other. And a perfect example of this was released just this week by Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota. He released a report which showed that, through 1963, we have spent $78 billion, $56 million in foreign aid to 21 nations. On key issues in the United Nations, these countries have voted 91 times for the United States, and 157 times with Russia.

We officially decide that Russia is not so bad because Red China is worse, and anyway, our Presidential advisers assure us that Russia is moving slowly to the right and we are moving slowly to the left, so eventually we will meet in one world. So, we sell wheat (subsidized, of course, with your money) to our most important enemy. We sign test ban treaties with the one nation which has a perfect record for throwing treaties down the nearest drain when they no longer meet her needs.

We fiddle-faddle in southeast Asia. We fight a "secret war" in Vietnam * * * our soldiers are killed daily by the Communists but it isn't really war. And we may well be ignominously thrown out.

We did nothing in Cuba, so she is now the home of subversion for all of Latin America and Africa.

The United Nations was founded in this country and now it is nothing more than a messy combination of nations grappling for our dollars while ignoring our arguments. We are paying the bills while countless other nations ride free and fight us at the same time.

At home, I am sorry to say, we are little better off.

We are fostering a society in which a Bobby Baker can turn a Government salary into a multimillion-dollar empire through influence peddling, and the minute the investigation of the hanky-panky touches people in high places, the whole mess is swept under the rug * * * even to the extent that our own President seems never to have heard of Mr. Baker before.

We were told in June by the nine wise men that our State legislatures, many of which are patterned after the very legislature prescribed for the Federal Government, are now unconstitutional and that, contrary to the Constitution, the affairs of the States are no longer in the hands of those States. (I see that Congress is attempting to do something about this decision * * * because it hits them right where they live * * * right in the job. You see, many astute observers see this decision as the forerunner of a Supreme Court decision to reapportion the U.S. Senate, too.)

Financial integrity is now a thing of the past. "Spend yourself rich," we are told, and charge the whole thing to your children and your children's children. Just raise the national debt limit, print paper money not backed by real money and don't worry, we're having a ball. (I suggest you check with your banker and see how long he'll let you operate this way.)

We are going to fight poverty by taking away man's right to be a man and stand on his own feet and earn his own way. We are going to defeat poverty by giving and giving and giving to the poor, to the young, to the old, to the successful and the unsuccessful, to the minority groups, and on and on and on. (I see where Sargent Shriver just gave Cherokee a little something she didn't want in the form of a work camp at Kings Mountain, and I salute Mayor Queen for his outspoken stand.)

What is the outcome of all this vote-buying giveaway of your money and mine? (The Government doesn't have any money, remember, except that which we give it in taxes.)

The tragic outcome, my friends, is socialism. The complete welfare state where every facet of your daily lives is in the hands of a benevolent government. During the last 30 years, we have seen a slow and deadly creeping toward this form of government. It has come during your lifetime and mine and it has come so gradually that all but the most brilliant among us have failed to notice.

Well, would socialism be so bad? "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs?" Everybody equal? That's not what the framers of the Constitution meant when they said: All men are created equal, and you know it. They referred to equality of opportunity, opportunity to take a chance, and to succeed or to fail. Not leveling all men off at a point of average. And civil rights demonstrators notwithstanding, the American Negro has that same opportunity—many have done it. That's the equality guaranteed in our Constitution.

But, I asked a question, I'd better answer it. Is socialism so bad? To begin with, arguments against it are very difficult to frame, because it carries that aura of "helping one's fellow man," so let me answer

the question by quoting a very brilliant man, Nicolai Lenin. Lenin said, in effect, "Feed a nation a little socialism at a time and it is soon ripe for communism." If this sounds like "it can't happen here," let me quote from column written by Elizabeth Curley Flynn, in the Communist newspaper, the Worker, "June was a month of victories in the people's struggle for democratic rights. Leading, of course, was the civil rights bill. Then came the reapportionment decision. On June 8, a body blow was delivered to the McCarran Act by U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the fifth amendment protection of Communists in refusing to register the party. A Federal court in San Francisco reversed the conviction of Archie Brown for holding office in the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union while an admitted member of the Communist Party. Flash! Yesterday, Dr. Herbert Apthecker and I won our passport case. Whoopee!"

Now do you see where socialism leads?

For myself, I'd rather not see my country became a Communist nation. Nor, I think, would you.

So what can we do about it?

Three things:

1. Know the system under which the United States is supposed to operate. The free enterprise system, which entails free markets, regulated by supply and demand, not government decree. Read about it, study it, and shout its praises from the housetop.

2. If the Constitution is outmoded as the experts tell us, then call upon Congress to amend it. Don't circumvent it by Executive order and Supreme Court judicial trickery.

3. Take an active part in politics. Let your chosen representatives know how you feel about issues. They do care. When a Congressman doesn't hear from his constituents on a given issue, he takes that to mean tacit approval and votes accordingly.

And remember, a politician's first duty is to be reelected; he will do what is necessary and take the appropriate steps to accomplish this, be he Democrat, Republican, or what have you. Therefore, let him know how you feel on every issue that comes before him.

The action is ours. We are the ones who can get this country back on the road to constitutional government.

So, if you feel this country is not on the road to socialism through its multiple vote-getting giveaway programs, if you feel there is no apparent danger in the welfare state where there is something for everybody with no work and no cost involved, then I respectfully suggest you do the same thing so many of us have been doing for so many years—nothing.

If, on the other hand, you think our Constitution is worth protecting; if you think America is, as our National Anthem proclaims, "* * * the land of the free," then I suggest you write your Congresman and let him know how you feel.

Two great civilizations, to which we owe much of our heritage: Greece, from whom we got the concept of our democracy; Rome, from whom we took the principle of government by civil law * * * both these great nations, when the responsible, informed citizenry no longer took an active interest in work and in the affairs of government, fell from the pages of history.

Let us then heed the philosopher, Santayana, who reminded us, "The man who does not recognize and understand history will be forced to relive it."

So let us accept the challenge offered by Mac Craig, the little lady with the funny hats. Let us bring about a change, deep down, in the American people. A genuine crusade against self-indulgence, immorality, public and private, so that we may not witness the decline and fall of the American Republic.

On Warmongering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday a number of Members joined me in discussing Senator GOLDWATER's record on foreign and military policy. In an analysis of Senator GOLDWATER's position, Walter Lippmann in his column appearing in this morning's Washington Post, has put the matter in succinct and articulate terms. Mr. Lippmann's column is as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 24, 1964]

TODAY AND TOMORROW—ON WARMONGERING

(By Walter Lippmann)

General Eisenhower says it is "tommyrot" to think that Senator GOLDWATER is a "warmonger"—that is to say, a man who wants to start a war. But does anybody say that BARRY GOLDWATER wants a war? I know of no one who says it, or thinks it. What is being said is that he is the kind of man who would be much more likely than President Johnson to get us into a big war.

This charge, which is affecting the campaign profoundly, is that Senator GOLDWATER's admiration of brinkmanship, his impulsive willingness to threaten nuclear war, could put this country in the position where the only choice left was between surrender and nuclear war. It is not that BARRY GOLDWATER wants to have a war; it is that he denounces every alternative to war as surrender, appeasement, or cowardice.

The crucial fallacy of his military thinking and of his ideas about foreign policy is the assumption that the United States must be and will be obeyed by all the rest of the world, by its adversaries, its rivals, its allies. Here again is that unreason of the dreamer: the illusion of superman that all opponents can be commanded to disappear. Of course, the Senator does not want a war. But he is suffering from that most dangerous of all the illusions of a statesman, the illusion of omnipotence.

Thus, if one studies his remarks on foreign policy, one finds that his idea of diplomacy is to deliver an ultimatum. If what he means is what he says, he would solve all our difficult problems by issuing an ultimatum to somebody. He would solve the Vietnamese conflict by an ultimatum to Hanoi and an ultimatum to Peiping. He would get rid of the nuisance in Cuba by an ultimatum to Castro. He would remove the Berlin wall by an ultimatum to the Soviet Government.

He is at pains to deny that he is trigger-happy, and General Eisenhower is now testifying that no one who has seen a war could want a war. But BARRY GOLDWATER is undeniably ultimatum-happy. And this makes him a very dangerous man. For there are powerful, brave, and proud nations which oppose us on various issues. A President who would conduct foreign policy by ultimatum is failing to realize that other people are like Americans in that, driven to it, they will fight rather than surrender.

This is the specific danger of Goldwaterism in foreign affairs: an instinctive and impulsive preference for the ultimatum rather than for negotiation. That is why, without intending to have a war, he would prove to be a precipitator of warlike crises and perhaps of the ultimate crisis of a war of annihilation. For him the outer world does not really exist: the foreigners who live beyond the seas are not other men with whom we must live on this planet but abstractions who will vanish if the President barks at them.

There has been no serious discussion about foregin affairs in this campaign. There is not likely to be. For the President lives in the daylight world and there he deals with Russians and Chinese and Germans and South Americans and Vietnamese and Cypriots, all of whom are very different and most of whom are very ornery. They all have certain things in common. In the daylight world the President knows that he did not create them. He knows that he does not own them. And he knows that he cannot command them.

But BARRY GOLDWATER does not live in the daylight world and he does not deal with real people, only with the good guys and the bad guys of superman's imagining.

Citation Awarded to Senator Long of Louisiana at the Conference on Dual Distribution Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the American small businessman has no better friend in this body than the Senator from Louisiana, our esteemed colleague RUSSELL B. LONG. As chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee, I have had the privilege and pleasure of working closely with Senator LONG in the labors of that committee throughout the now almost 15 years it has had permanent standing. Hence, I know from personal observation the devotion he has given and the effectiveness of his work.

Senator LONG is chairman of the Subcommittee on Monopoly. In that post, he has grappled for several years with the problems that are facing small business as a result of growing trends of vertical integration and dual distribution. He is the author of two bills, S. 1107 and S. 1108, that are gaining increasing attention as possible means for alleviating these problems.

This past Tuesday, our colleague's efforts were recognized in a citation awarded to him by the Conference on Dual Distribution, a new organization of independent businesses representing a number of industries and all segments of the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the citation to Senator LONG, his remarks on acceptance, and a news release about the Conference on Dual Distribution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation, remarks, and news release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITATION—CONFERENCE ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Monopoly, Select Committee on Small Business, U.S. Senate, the Honorable RUSSELL B.

LONG, has demonstrated keen awareness of the problems created for American independent enterprise by dual distribution. His energetic efforts and constuctive proposals have contributed importantly to the development of solutions of these problems. This certificate acknowledges with grateful appreciation Senator LONG's dedication to the goal of strengthening small business as a continuing vital force in our national economy.

[SEAL]

G. F. BEALL,
National Cochairman.
LAWRENCE SCHACHT,
National Cochairman.

Given at Washington September 22, 1964.

REMARKS OF SENATOR RUSSELL B. LONG, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON MONOPOLY, SENATE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE, AT THE CONFERENCE ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION, INTERNATIONAL INN, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 22, 1964

Mr. Schacht, Mr. Beall, and members of the Conference on Dual Distribution, you do me great honor with this award, and I thank you for it most gratefully. I guess no one really dislikes a word of commendation for his efforts, now and then, and it is especially pleasant when the word comes from so significant and promising a group as this one—and in a document suitable for framing. So I thank you again—for your warm hospitality, for the very generous words contained in this citation, and—most of all—for being here.

Let me explain what I mean by that last—why I thank you for being here. The presence of all of you in this room, for the purpose you have assembled, makes an accurate prophet of me. It is now 5 years, at least, since I first began to think and predict that someday there would be a national multiple-industry organization concerned exclusively with the problems of dual distribution. I mean no disrespect to Lawrence Schacht, Franklin Beall, "Eric" Erickson, Morris Rosoff, and Max Rogel, your organizing committee, when I say that if they had not invented this Conference, someone else would have had to. I know that others have thought about it. It is to the great credit of your Founding Fathers that they have done it.

Among the general public, I suspect that 99 people out of 100 have not yet so much as heard the term "dual distribution." Even in the ranks of commerce and industry, 8 out of 10 small businessmen might be at a loss to define it. But I think virtually 10 out of 10 small businessmen today would know immediately what you were talking about when you defined "dual distribution" to them as the situation in which your supplier becomes your competitor. Perhaps as many as 3 to 5 out of 10 small businesses have experienced it personally by now, in some form or other, at some level or other.

My own first close look at dual distribution came about in 1958. At that time I was approached, in my capacity as chairman of the Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee, by small business dealers and distributors in the flat glass industry. That industry was then experiencing a rather rapid growth in dual distribution, from various sources and of various types. Even earlier, the Senate Small Business Committee had been active in studying dual distribution in the tire industry.

After hearings, my subcommittee issued a report on its study of the glass industry, which was adopted by the full committee and filed as Senate Report 1015 of the 86th Congress. It is interesting—and an indication, perhaps, of the hazards inherent in recommending in this field—that the two dual distribution bills I finally introduced more than a year and a half after our glass report came out bore no resemblance to any of the 10 recommendations in the report. As in so many other areas of our complex society, in the field of dual distribution it is easier to describe an ailment than to prescribe for its cure.

At the time I originally introduced the two dual distribution bills, back in September of 1961, I admitted that I wasn't positive they would provide the final, workable answer; I had myself rejected many other ideas before writing up these two in legal language. It is possible that these, in turn, may have to give way to still others before we reach something that will represent a broad enough consensus of Congress and business to secure passage. But somewhere a beginning must be made, and I am glad that my bills have served that purpose.

Your Chairman has admonished me to be brief, and it is at least as welcome advice to me as to you, for the pressures of legislative business back at the Capitol are intense today. Therefore, I am going to assume that you understand—or from other speakers today will get understanding of—the provisions of S. 1107, the Antitrust Vertical Integration Amendments, and S. 1108, the Dual Distribution Reporting Act. I know that some other good ideas are going to be forthcoming from the House Small Business subcommittee work that our able friend, Congressman ROOSEVELT, has been leading with such vigor for so long.

But I want to close by reminding you how tremendously important a part you—all of you—have to play in this effort to find fair, workable solutions to the problems of dual distribution. Those problems are very severe. You would not have taken the time and spent the money to be here today if they weren't hurting your own business right where you live. But the remedies proposed by my bills, which Mr. ROOSEVELT has also sponsored, must be recognized to be drastic ones. After long thought, it is my judgment that nothing less drastic would do any good; but you must all recognize that the Congress will never pass these bills without the most widespread kind of interest and support from the business community.

In its 12th, 13th, and 14th annual reports, the Senate Small Business Committee has earnestly recommended and urged the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate to hold hearings on these bills of mine and Congressman ROOSEVELT's. But no hearings have yet been scheduled by either legislative committee. Neither my Senate Small Business subcommittee nor Mr. ROOSEVELT's House Small Business subcommittee can get these bills out on the floor for debate and a vote. That can only be accomplished by the Judiciary Committees, and they will only do it after they are persuaded to hold and have held hearings.

At such legislative hearings, the Senate Small Business Committee said in its 12th annual report, it will be—and I quote—"incumbent upon the small business supporters of this legislation to produce evidence that the problem is, indeed, as severe as they have averred, and that these bills will help to solve it, not only in their own but in the national interest."

An organization such as the one being born here today can produce that evidence, marshal it, and present it where it matters—at hearings of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittees of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees. Even before that, you can produce the kind of broad-based business support that must be present before those subcommittees will even hold hearings.

I welcome, therefore, the formation of a national Conference on Dual Distribution; I congratulate all of you on the part you are taking in a great and necessary effort; and I wish you the best of luck in your work—"not only in your own but in the national interest."

Thank you.

[News Release]

DUAL DISTRIBUTION PROBLEM EMPHASIZED

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 22.—Nearly 100 representatives of independent business and industry—meeting in Washington today (Tuesday) at the official organization gathering of the new national Conference on Dual Distribution—emphasized the growing importance of the dual distribution problem by stating that it has now become necessary for them to import materials from abroad in order to keep from being squeezed out of business.

Today's national meeting was called by Lawrence Schacht, president of the Schacht Steel Corp., New York, cochairman with G. F. Beall, Portland, Oreg., of the original organizing committee of the conference. Beall is vice president of the Beall Pipe & Tank Corp.

Principal speakers at today's daylong meeting at the International Inn were Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana, Irving Maness, Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and Gregg Potvin, counsel to the House Small Business Committee.

Awards were presented by the conference group to Senator LONG and to Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, of California, for their efforts in attempting to solve the dual distribution problem which is plaguing American industry.

Representative ROOSEVELT was unable to be present and his award was accepted by Mr. Potvin.

In calling the meeting, Mr. Schacht said in his letters to Senator LONG and other leaders:

"You are no doubt aware of the great adverse impact of dual distribution upon the independent business sector of the business community. Competition of the distribution and fabricating arms of vertically integrated complexes with the independents, in the same functional area whom they supply, merits, we believe, the ever increasing attention of the Government at both administrative and legislative levels.

"The bills already introduced by Senator LONG and Congressman ROOSEVELT, and the hearings already conducted by Congressman ROOSEVELT as Chairman of Subcommittee No. 4, are indispensably important steps which we believe must be implemented and brought to fruition through the efforts of the independent businessmen affected. They cannot do this without your active interest and support."

Indicative of the widespread current influence on American business of the dual distribution problem was the fact that today's meeting was attended by representatives of the following independent businesses and industries:

Aluminum, steel, business machines, culvert pipe, construction, warehousing, paint and wallpaper, glass, and electrical construction, among others.

It was announced at the meeting that: "The Conference on Dual Distribution will actively seek a solution to the problems posed by the practice of dual distribution. The Conference will, in future, include all trade associations and individual small businessmen who honestly and sincerely desire to help find the way to prevent the abuses and inequities involved with the problem of dual distribution."

The following were appointed as members of an interim organizational committee to help in the organization of the growing membership of the Conference: Max Rogel and Morris Rosoff.

Headquarters for the Conference on Dual Distribution have been established at Suite 229, Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets, NW., Washington, D.C.

Race Is the Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, within the last few days a most enlightening article appeared in the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C. The statements of Mr. Dixon, a nationally known news columnist, author of the article, serve to prove the deplorable depths to which racial relations have been lowered here in the District of Columbia. I wish to have Ken Dixon's material reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order to fully illustrate that the riots and unrest reported recently in Philadelphia, New York, and other major northern cities are not just the work of hoodlums. Contrary to what several news reports would have people believe—they indicate that groups causing trouble have no tie-in with racial questions—these outbursts of violence are very much the product of a loss of respect between the races. The arrogance and disrespect shown by the young Negroes in Mr. Dixon's case, under the shadow of the Capitol, are perfect examples of the initial steps toward the violent hostilities and wanton destruction of property which naturally follow.

The article follows:

DEPRESSING CHANGES IN RACE RELATIONS

(By Kenneth L. Dixon)

WASHINGTON.—It probably was inevitable that with the whole world torn by racial turmoil, this so-called capital of the world would have to suffer along with the rest.

But if you have lived here in happier days, and return for a brief visit, the drastic change in race relations is a depressing thing to see.

When my wife and I first moved here at the start of World War II, the District of Columbia was checkerboarded with sectors where black and white lived, either side by side or just across the street from one another. And they were neighbors—friendly neighbors.

Our home was in such a sector during part of the time I was overseas, and my wife was attending night school. But she never had a qualm about catching the bus or streetcar when necessary (cabs were hard to come by then, you may recall), and walking from the corner up the dark street to the house late at night.

JUST NEIGHBORS

Had she ever been threatened, one scream would have brought the whole neighborhood out in her defense—the whites from one side of the street and the Negroes from the other. We know because it happened to a friend of ours. This female friend let out one mighty yell and the guy who was threatening her suddenly saw men pouring out of the doors on both sides of the street and he fled in terror.

And this wasn't a rich-white-man, poor-black-man relationship. A lot of the guys across the street made more money than I did. It was simply that we were neighbors.

But it isn't that way any more.

In that particular sector the physical appearance has changed drastically. Most of the old houses have been razed to make way for new apartment buildings. But that physical progress cannot begin to compensate for the deterioration in racial peace and harmony.

I would not dream of allowing my wife to walk those streets alone, even in daylight—and I myself would not walk them alone after dark.

In that and other sections even armed policemen do not walk their beats alone. They either patrol in pairs or accompanied by a trained fighting dog on a leash.

THE SIN OF COLOR

In fact, right out here on the well-lighted hill the other night—within a stone's throw of the Capitol—I saw policemen walking with big trained dogs at heel.

Walking from my hotel the three blocks or so to the Capitol just after dark one night when there was a late session, I was cursed out audibly twice by small groups of young Negro men. Since I'd never seen them and they'd never seen me before, my only sin was being white.

And right in front of the Old Senate Office Building I saw a white taxi driver deliberately swerve his cab to frighten—if not actually to hit—a well-dressed Negro who stepped off the curb to hail him.

This tragic transformation in race relationship has to be seen to be believed, and it makes you weep internally.

The only possible good that could come of it is that Congress, dealing with racial strife at home and abroad cannot possibly ignore the powder keg right here.

It might make them a little more careful about lighting legislative matches.

Campaign Tactics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article on campaign tactics, written by William F. Buckley, Jr., and published on September 22 in the Washington Daily News.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON FIGHTING DIRTY

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

Writing in an English journal, Murray Kempton predicted last July after the nomination of Senator GOLDWATER that this surely would be the vilest campaign in recent history. It appears to be so.

Consider now some of the statements of Senator GOLDWATER'S opponents. Within a 48-hour period last week, three men drew a parallel of one sort or other between Senator GOLDWATER and Hitler. Specifically:

George Meany, head of the AFL–CIO;

Martin Luther King, head of the nonviolent Negro movement; and

EMANUEL CELLER, head of the Judiciary Committee.

It may be objected that the three gentlemen were provoked into objurgatory extremes, which cannot be blamed on the national leadership. Indeed?

But the national leadership was directly involved in the little 1-minute spot that is going the rounds of our television screens, featuring a pretty little girl licking an ice cream cone, with audio commentary to the effect that Senator GOLDWATER wants to resume nuclear tests, which would contaminate the milk, which would contaminate the ice cream, which would contaminate the pretty little girl. Poor little girl.

She doesn't know, and John Bailey won't tell her, that Edward Teller announced last week that the United States has developed hydrogen bombs that are 100 percent free of fallout: and presumably the little girl is not to be reminded that President Truman and President Eisenhower, whom we know as moderates, conducted nuclear tests of a very, very dirty kind during their administrations, on the grounds that to do so was necessary to the maintenance of the kind of freedom that permits little girls to eat ice cream cones, and big boys to lie about the dangers of doing so.

Or consider the lead editorial in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Senator GOLDWATER is—"a wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless political jujitsu artist."

Strange; the Saturday Evening Post's principal political writer is Stewart Alsop, who wrote as recently as last fall that Senator GOLDWATER was a man of principle and of total sincerity.

The English are having an election at this moment, and the strictly enforced rules of English politics require an interesting act of political discipline.

No one may issue a piece of political propaganda against one or another political candidate without the express consent of the opposing political candidate or his agent.

Thus, George Meany would not be allowed to "draw a parallel" between Senator Goldwater and Hitler without the consent of Lyndon Johnson.

Thus the publisher of an obscene little magazine in New York could not publicly question Senator GOLDWATER'S sanity in full-page ads without L.B.J.'s consent to do so.

I do not know whether such rules could be applied in the United States under the first amendment, and I am not altogether sure that I would welcome their institution. But the British, who have had such a long experience with democracy, recognize that vile campaigns are the enemy of thoughtful political discourse. We do not seem to know that at all.

Gardner Withrow—Eulogy

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana, the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sorrow that I have just listened to the announcement of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. THOMSON] of the passing of my great friend Gardner Withrow. Like the majority leader who has spoken so ably and so well here, and so fluently, may I say that Gardner Withrow was one of the most respected Members of this body to serve here in my time. He was a broadminded person and was always interested in the welfare of the people who sent him down here. Likewise, he was also interested in the affairs of our great Nation and of his great State of Wisconsin.

Mr. Speaker, on a number of occasions I had an opportunity to be with Gardner Withrow in his home district in Wiscon-

sin. My wife had an uncle who was head of the History Department at La Crosse State Teachers College. While we were up there to see him I frequently saw Gardner, and on other occasions I was there from time to time in joint political efforts with him. I have spoken of the high esteem in which he was held here by his colleagues in the House of Representatives. I can testify firsthand that he was held in the same high regard and esteem by the people of his area in Wisconsin.

So, Mr. Speaker, I mourn his passing. I am truly sorry that he is gone. Certainly, he left here a great imprint and a great example of conduct and statesmanship that many of us could well emulate.

Itchy Political Fingers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, the Washington Post for September 23 includes an interesting article, written by John Chamberlain, which puts into perspective some of the allegations being made today. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 23, 1964]

THESE DAYS—ITCHY POLITICAL FINGERS

(By John Chamberlain)

The question of itchy fingers is a major preoccupation with the politicians this autumn. Senator GOLDWATER is accused of having an irresponsible trigger finger because he advocates giving the NATO commander authority to use tactical atomic weapons without consulting the President in the event that the Russians pull a surprise nuclear infantry and tank attack on West Germany.

Senator GOLDWATER is, of course, merely supporting what military men insist is a necessity if they hope to save their troops from almost instant obliteration. The military men—Generals LeMay, Lemnitzer, Thomas S. Power—could speak out on this, but they would first have to be unmuzzled.

Commonsense—which, I suppose, is as rare a commodity as there is—should tell the American voter that Senator GOLDWATER is a responsible spokesman for trained military men when it comes to advocating that the NATO commander have the authority to reply instantly in kind to a tactical nuclear attack.

A soldier deprived for a critical period of the right of self-defense with the same weapon the enemy is using cannot possibly sustain his morale if, by chance, he is left alive to fire back after an inevitable time-consuming call by his commander to Washington or Texas.

So much, then, for one imputation of itchy fingers. If this allegation is a phony, however, there is another charge of itchy fingers that can be sustained. And that is the charge of itchy fingers on the monetary spigot.

Suddenly, in the effort to attract votes, the cry in the higher echelons of the "in" party is to call for turning on every spigot possible. Representative JOHN D. DINGELL returns to Washington after a close victory in a Michigan Democratic primary with the news that a few old-age pensioners saved him from the so-called backlash. So the orders have gone out to whip up enthusiasm for medicare.

It does not matter that young married couples in their twenties, living on $5,000 a year, cannot possibly maintain private insurance if the social security bite is upped to pay for the Federal hospitalization of anybody and everybody in the 65-year-old brackets.

The cry is out, too, to vote for partisans of the theory that the Federal Government must provide mass transit for our big cities, to pump in money for education, and to clear more downtown areas for resale at a favored price to redevelopers.

Now, if one thing is plain, it is that when tax money is pumped from the States to Washintgon and then back again via Federal bureaus, the bureaucrats take a hefty "living expense" cut from it. How much simpler it would be to let the States collect their own excise taxes. Or how much simpler it would be to accept BARRY GOLDWATER'S proposal for a Federal remission of a fair proportion of taxes to the States to use as local citizens see fit.

The States are quite capable of taking care of their own needs if they have funds and local incentive to do it. One currently popular Federal idea is that Washington should supply money to erase scars caused by strip mining. But in Indiana, for example, where taxes are levied on nominally worthless stripped-out coal areas, the owners of the land, to put value back into their taxed real estate, have reclaimed all save 3,621 acres out of a total of 80,000.

Every coal State could do what Indiana has done. But not if election-hungry politicians get their itchy fingers on the Federal spigot.

Our Decline in Morality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial reprinted in the Dixon Evening Telegraph which is self-explanatory:

OUR DECLINE IN MORALITY

Ray Page, State superintendent of public instruction, in a recent speech, called attention to a disturbing trend in American society which distresses those who want to see a strong and healthy Nation passed on to a generation yet unborn.

Mr. Page discussed the apathy with which so many Americans now accept the steady decline of morality in our society. An educator with broad experience in the high school classroom as well as in the administrative area, Mr. Page cited distressing evidence of how deeply this dry rot of adult indifference is eating into the core of our youth.

He mentioned an August report of the National Education Association which reported that 62 percent of American teachers, who have had 20 or more years of teaching experience, agree that students' behavior in the classroom has grown considerably more unruly in the last 20 years.

A major reason, Mr. Page believes, why students are becoming increasingly contemptuous of authority is because "they have examples at the highest level of government of dishonesty and immorality."

He notes that "big crime is big business and big criminals are the subject of glamor and considerable publicity."

He cites the alarming degree of government immorality at the highest level as illustrated by the Bobby Baker and Billy Sol Estes cases.

Mr. Page speaks for uncounted thousands of Americans when he deplores the casual acceptance of these glaring examples of high level wrongdoing and the complacency with which the spread of the moral blight throughout our society is viewed.

This concern is a major reason why Mr. Page and so many like him are devoting their individual efforts on behalf of the presidential campaign of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

They see in the no-nonsense attitude of Senator GOLDWATER, his refusal to compromise with those elements of society which shrug off the growing dangers to our basic fabric of democracy as unimportant, a renewed devotion to preservation of the virtues and principles which have made this country great.

Mr. Page in his own words offers an inspiring evaluation of a man who has captured the imagination of those Americans more concerned with the kind of America we leave for the future than for the national comforts we might enjoy today.

"A man with the courage to look at our history and point out what is good and important in it; and a man with the vision to fight for the prestige of those historical principles and precepts for America's future. That man, BARRY GOLDWATER, has captured the imagination of vast numbers of the American people."

These are indeed words that all should heed.

Judge Sarah T. Hughes Writes of the Crisis in the Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, of all the many domestic problems created by the movement of this Nation into an ever more industrial age, perhaps the most basic is the problem of the cities. Is the city of the future to be a place characterized by inadequate housing, overcrowded conditions, polluted air, and a pervasive urban ugliness? If the answer to this question is to be a resounding "No," which it must be, our cities must begin now to face up to these problems before they reach unmanageable proportions.

I am gratified that many cities in Texas are showing awareness of the need to plan for the future. Dallas and Houston, two of the fastest growing cities in the country, have been singularly imaginative in this regard, as an article in the September issue of Nation's Business points out. Especially noteworthy is the fact that these two cities have been making substantial progress without Federal aid. I commend the forward-looking leaders of Dallas and Houston for the initiative and skill they have exhibited in demonstrating what can be done at the local level.

In many of our communities, especially our older ones, the obstacles to be overcome may be so great, and the resources so slim, that outside help is needed. In these cases, the Federal Government stands ready to offer its assistance. Activity at both the local and the Federal level must be stepped up if urban blight is not to descend upon our great cities and pervade the landscape of the future.

Mr. President, a provocative and enlightening article on our urban crisis appears in the current issue of the Texas Observer, under the title "The Crisis in the Cities." The author is the Honorable Sarah T. Hughes, the U.S. District judge for the northern district of Texas. Judge Hughes was recently presented the outstanding woman jurist award of the Federal Bar Association; and she is the only woman ever to administer the Presidential oath of office to a President of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article to which I have referred, which was published on September 18 in the Texas Observer.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CRISIS IN THE CITIES

(By Sarah T. Hughes)

DALLAS.—According to a recent estimate, metropolitan Dallas will double its present population by 1985. President Johnson, in a speech delivered at the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964, said to the students, "Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans; fourth-fifths in urban areas. In the remainder of the century urban population will double, city land will double." A recent report of the World Health Organization declared, "After the question of keeping world peace, metropolitan planning is probably the most serious single problem faced by man in the second half of the 20th century."

These statements are a striking summary of the urban crisis and the urgent need for action. In this century there has occurred the most massive population movement from rural to urban areas history has ever seen. These people come from a limited environment, bringing with them their traditions and living habits. Many have lived on the margin of existence, and their education was of minor importance. But despite the limitations, life on the farm has been relatively self-sufficient and free from restrictions. A living was made by physical effort and endurance. Rural communities have been fairly stable, with close family and neighborhood ties and with much of the social life centered around the church. Politically the people were of some significance. County officials were personally known to them.

The shift to the city has meant more than a change in physical location. The immigrants entered the city with little orientation for urban living and have found themselves compelled to live in deteriorated homes, separated from friends and without community ties. Farmwork has given them no training for the skilled jobs in industry or experience with the restrictions on their freedom imposed by the routine work of the assembly lines in factories. They are unfamiliar with urban problems, and politically they feel frustrated.

They must alter almost all their living habits, their family and community relations, and adjust to the manifold difficulties of obtaining jobs and providing necessities for living. They need help, but few city administrations, welfare agencies, or churches have recognized their problems or done anything to alleviate them. There has been a failure to provide the means of inducting them into the requirements of urban living, and the development of pockets of untrained and unadjusted groups has concerned only a few.

The people from the rural areas not only present a problem themselves, but they contribute to other conditions which, according to the World Health Organization report, may reach catastrophic dimensions in the next 20 years. President Johnson in his May 22 speech declared that in the remainder of the century "we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those since this country was first settled."

The New York Times, in an editorial commenting on the report of the World Health Organization, said, "No one need look to the United States for precedent-setting policies in handling the world's No. 2 problem. America is the country of nonplan. Cars continue to invade the cities at a multiplication rate shared only by rabbits, trees are defoliated, smog is a health menace, and urban immobility is a daily threat. * * * The United States has a Department of Agriculture but no Department of Urban Affairs, though in 15 years 80 percent of the population will be concentrated in cities. * * * A city like New York still has no master plan. Resources are wasted, the stigma of formless sprawl is on the land.

"Control is a wicked word, even for the greater democratic good, and freedom apparently includes the right to consign cities to chaos for private speculative profit. The warnings are shouted by congested streets and shoddy buildings. The price is being paid physically, in health hazards and cities that don't work; emotionally, in frustration and neuroses, and esthetically, in sheer, solid ugliness."

But the urban crisis created by the vast influx of population is not solely physical. Aristotel has said of the city, "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." But to live the good life in American cities today is increasingly difficult. Along with the tremendous increase in population there has been the movement to suburbia, resulting in lessened interest in the old city and a consequent loss of the services that can strengthen those qualities of life, character development, and culture which only the urban center can provide. The city must be more than a place to care for physical wants. It should also be the civilizer of men and the builder of character.

To solve the problems of the city occasioned by the tremendous immigration from the rural areas will not be easy, but it can be done. The New York Times said in its editorial on "The Urban Crisis," "It is inconceivable that the immense resources of brains, money, science, and art that mark our time as clearly as does the urban crisis cannot be harnessed to solve it."

Some people who can do something about it are aware of the crisis in our cities. At a recent urban affairs seminar in Newark, N.J., leaders of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., said they believed religious organizations must join in physical, social, and industrial planning. According to these leaders questions of traffic, building, parking, housing discrimination, and jobs challenge the church to do something about them.

President Kennedy recommended to Congress the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs. At the insistence of President Johnson, Congress recently enacted the antipoverty bill, which will be a beginning in providing job training for underprivileged young people and heads of families on relief and in stimulating the planning of antipoverty programs by urban and rural communities.

An unusual local program, envisioned by New York's Mobilization for Youth, recognized the need of community and political awareness by young slum dwellers. It tries to sharpen their awareness of problems in education, employment, and housing and to help them participate in community efforts.

"The solution to these problems," President Johnson has said, "does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities." A realization that this is a job bigger than any one community was evidenced by a declaration of the Municipal Association of New Hampshire that "many of the towns in New Hampshire are not effective instruments of self-government" because "they simply do not have the fiscal resources nor the talents to support services." It urged regional planning and greater responsibility on the part of the State for welfare programs.

These are simply examples of the growing awareness of the urban crisis and of the existence of plans to cope with it. In every community there are probably individuals who recognize the dangers that face the city and faltering steps are being taken to solve the problems. But too often plans are dictated by expediency and seldom is a plan made in terms of the whole need. Piecemeal measures are not enough. To be effective plans require the cooperation of all groups in the community. Leadership is necessary, but the entire city must be made aware of the problems and must understand the need for action and the various alternatives and be capable of intelligent decision.

It is truly later than we think. The time for action is now. As Carlisle has said, "Nothing ever happens in this world but once. What I do now I do for all time. It is over and gone with all its eternity of solemn meaning."

Can an Employer Close His Plant?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following editorial by Holmes Alexander which appeared in his recent syndicated column in papers throughout the Nation:

CAN AN EMPLOYER CLOSE HIS PLANT?

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—Private enterprise will literally stand before the bar of justice in this same year that conservatism goes in judgment before the people.

The Supreme Court, which returns in October, has agreed to take up the celebrated Darlington case, which involves the right of an employer to go out of business and thereby cause unemployment.

Attorneys for the business interests and for the National Labor Relations Board are in for some hot weather skull sessions because this could be a landmark decision for the American economy. Having talked with persons on both sides, I am pierced with the arrows of their controversy. The NLRB says it is protecting workers' jobs from anti-union bias." The businessmen's lawyers contend that a firm should be allowed to

close its doors for any reason, including that of bias.

What's plain is that once the Federal Government can force one man to maintain a job for another man, we are coming very close to what Senator GOLDWATER has called a "controlled state." GOLDWATER is cosponsor of a Republican bill (S. 2744) that would legalize an industrialist's right to do what the NLRB says he cannot do. But the bill will undoubtedly languish in committee until after the November election, and the whole matter probably lies at the mercy of the Supreme Court, in which conservatives have little faith these days.

PLANT CLOSES

The Darlington Co. was a textile plant in South Carolina that was already losing money in 1956 when it also lost an election. The Textile Workers' Union won the right to organize the plant by an eight-vote margin (256 to 248), whereupon the stockholders by a much larger margin (134,911 shares to 3,774) decided to close the plant. They put up the machinery and other physical assets at public auction, and the firm ceased to exist.

The NLRB leaped into action with a complaint of "unfair labor practices." But from whom or what could the Labor Board extract "remedies" with which to pay the continuing wages of the disemployed workers or guarantee them new jobs? What corporation or person could be punished for this unfair practice?

Having decided that remedies were due and that punishment was required, the labor board set out to find culprits. It put the finger on Roger Milliken, who was president of both Darlington and the Deering-Milliken Co., the latter firm being a sales agent and stockholder of Darlington.

The concept of "single employer" emerged. Mr. Milliken and Deering-Milliken, as well as several other "affiliated" companies and many stockholders, were ordered to resume responsibility for paying wages and finding jobs for those who had lost them in the closure. After much litigation, the Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the Labor Board. But the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, and the GOP platform for 1964 came out in favor of a company's right-to-quit. These issues are at stake:

How far can the Labor Board, or any Government agency, venture into "mind-reading" an employer's motives? Few employers are without some "bias" against unions. Does previous prejudice cause a man to forfeit his right to make a future business decision?

In the Darlington case, as in ever-widening areas, citizens and corporations are leery of the long, strong arm of federalia.

Legislative Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, two very incisive editorials on the matter of legislative reapportionment were published in the Evening Herald, of Rock Hill, S.C., on September 21, 1964. The editorials were written by the very able president and chief editor of that newspaper, Patrick Talbot. These two editorials, entitled, "Vital to Our Nation" and "A Threat to U.S. Senators," should be given careful study by all who are concerned with this far-reaching issue. I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VITAL TO OUR NATION

Six weeks from tomorrow is the national election.

The result of that election may be less important for the future of the United States than what Congress does in the next several weeks. More particularly, what the U.S. Senate does.

Surprised?

We meant to catch your attention. And here are what we consider good reasons for the statements of the second paragraph above:

Regardless of whom the voters pick for the White House occupant—we hope for 4 years—a majority in each House of Congress is almost certain to remain Democratic. For the Republicans to gain control of the Senate, they would have to hold in the election 34 seats they have and take 17 out of 26 Democratic seats at stake. And to control the House of Representatives the Republicans would have to add 40 seats to the 178 they now have.

If GOLDWATER were elected President, the Congress thereafter would prevent him from doing many things he might like to do. If Johnson were elected President, a Congress whose Members have seen display of unexpected conservative strength across the Nation might well be more of a restraint on him than it was during his year as successor to President Kennedy.

Whoever is elected President, the Congress is going to continue much the same courses it has been following since it faced Republican President Eisenhower with Democratic majorities in both House and Senate. The courses of Congress after November 3, 1964, will be affected by the administration only to a degree; the Congress also can have strong effects on the administration's courses.

What's of even greater concern to us is what Congress will do in the next several weeks about membership in the legislature of the 50 States of our Nation.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered that all membership in a State legislature be solely on basis of equal representation of population. In accord with that decision, a U.S. Court of Appeals last week ordered Virginia to reapportion (and hold a new election) so that next January all members of both State house and senate be from districts to be new-formed later this year.

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court was to right a wrong: the control in many States of the State senate by senators from low-population rural areas. But carrying out the Supreme Court order in the 50 States would bring another wrong: control of both houses of the legislature in many States by one big city or by a combination of several bigger cities, to the detriment of statewide considerations.

One State already has had proof through the years of need to consider state geography, problems of small-population areas, etc., in the legislature's composition. This State has had only one house, instead of two. The technical term is that it is unicameral, meaning it has had only one chamber.

When Nebraska went to one chamber, membership was set up strictly on population representation. And Nebraska redistricted after each 10-year national census. But, recently, experience led the legislature's membership and leaders of both political parties in the State to agree that legislative membership should be modified, so as to give more representation to low-population areas of the State.

By the U.S. Supreme Court rule, Nebraska will have to go back to what experience had already proved unsatisfactory: representation strictly on a population basis. Unless—unless Congress takes action within the next several weeks;

The U.S. House of Representatives has already passed and sent to the U.S. Senate a bill which would stop all Federal courts from enforcing the U.S. Supreme Court ruling. But in the Senate sentiment is more divided, less strongly expressed.

Senator DIRKSEN, the Republican leader, has worked out a wishy-washy compromise. We call it wishy-washy because it would only "express the sentiment of Congress" in a rider on the foreign aid bill that courts allow a year or two for adjustments to the Supreme Court order. The Dirksen plan would not allow a bill for limitation of the Court order.

The Senate should pass a bill with real guts.

A THREAT TO U.S. SENATORS

Even yet, some U.S. Senators fail to see far enough ahead to realize that the U.S. Supreme Court decision about State legislatures carries danger of eventual change of the U.S. Senate.

They count on two parts of the U.S. Constitution. In one place membership in the U.S. Senate is established as equal for each State. In another, there is statement that no State can be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate without its consent.

Hah, and also hunh.

The U.S. Constitution already has been changed repeatedly by amendments, through acts of Congress passed by at least two-thirds vote in each House followed by agreement of three-fourths of the States. Some folks add that U.S. Supreme Court decisions have also changed the Constitution.

So, suppose the legislatures are changed, as the Supreme Court has ordered. Then we'll see most of the States with biggest populations controlled by the biggest population groups, that is to say in each State by one big city or by a combination of several big cities.

These States controlled by big cities thereafter will control each political party. The national administration and the U.S. House of Representatives will represent the big city controls. Over a period of time, appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court will reflect that same big city control.

Does any realistic U.S. Senator deny that in time this would bring an end to the U.S. Senate as it is now made up? The States of big populations, controlled by big cities, would force an eventual U.S. Senate membership based solely on population.

That would be mighty bad for this Nation of ours, and for the people living in it.

Remarks of Hon. Walter F. Mondale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in a speech yesterday, the attorney general of my State of Minnesota, Walter F. Mondale, pointed to another one of the examples of how difficult it is to understand the position of the Republican nominee for President.

The following excerpt from Attorney General Mondale's speech clearly shows how BARRY GOLDWATER has either

changed his position on farm policy or is engaging in some very confusing campaign rhetoric:

EXTRACT OF REMARKS OF HON. WALTER F. MONDALE, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF MINNESOTA, SIGMA DELTA CHI DINNER, ST. PAUL, MINN., SEPTEMBER 23, 1964

I am sure all of our farmers were much relieved that the temporary spokesman for the Republican Party clarified his farm program at Plowville by saying that under his administration, "Nothing would be done to bring disaster suddenly upon you."

GOLDWATER'S stated preference for slow, rather than sudden disaster, represents quite a movement from his previously expressed position in "Conscience of a Conservative" where he advocated "prompt and final termination" of all Federal farm programs. This, of course, would necessarily mean prompt and final termination of most farm families.

Now maybe GOLDWATER did not mean slow disaster, at Plowville. Maybe he meant disaster only for some, or disaster for all, but at some future date which will be kept secret until the election.

However, I would think that (unless GOLDWATER'S press secretary tells us in a week or so what he actually meant at Plowville) those farmers who prefer no disaster to slow disaster will vote this November for Lyndon Johnson and HUBERT HUMPHREY.

Editor of "Tactics" Expresses Apprehension and Concern Over Content of Warren Commission Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, the President's Commission To Report Upon the Assassination of President Kennedy is about to release its long-awaited findings and conclusions.

It is my firm conviction that the Warren Commission, being a political body, is not in a position to render an independent judgment as to the fundamental causes which brought about the tragic assassination of President Kennedy. The political pressures to which the Commission must pay heed will, I am sure, prevent it from reaching a final decision that will properly and completely disclose the Communist influences and motivations in Lee Harvey Oswald's assassination of President Kennedy.

Mr. Edward Hunter, a highly respected and knowledgeable anti-Communist writer and lecturer, is the editor of "Tactics." I have found "Tactics" to be an unusually well-researched publication, worthy of the attention of anyone who is interested in sharp, concise analyses of the strategies, tactics, operations, and objectives of the world Communist movement.

In the June 20, 1964 edition of "Tactics," Mr. Hunter addresses himself to the forthcoming publication of the Warren Commission report:

Mr. Hunter's article follows:

THE WARREN REPORT—I WON'T BE ABLE TO TRUST IT

(By Edward Hunter)

I am sincerely sorry, but I will be unable to put my faith in the Warren Commission's report on the slaying of President John F. Kennedy. Far too many weighty causes for doubt exist for me to put my trust in it. I cannot erase these points from my mind:

1. Chief Justice Earl Warren of the Supreme Court has practically never during his long tenure there adjudicated a case, in which the Communists had a vital interest, in a manner that conflicted with their stand. I can hardly believe he will be capable of doing so now, or will not use his tremendous influence to prevent it from being done. Whether this is a psychological or a politically opportunistic state of mind is immaterial to the result.

2. Under Chief Justice Warren's guidance, the Supreme Court has placed social studies along with or ahead of legal precedents as the basis for decisions, sometimes making them completely legislative rather than judicial in nature. The attitude cannot give me any confidence that he will be able to suddenly switch and make his findings in accordance to the traditional, legal approach. He permits other elements to enter, and whether he realizes this or not, this is a controlled, Marxism way of passing judgment. Facts are tampered with by selection or omission in such a framework.

WARREN HAS ALREADY PREJUDGED THE CASE

3. Justice Warren prejudged the case at the start on at least two occasions, in effect absolving the Communists and pinning the guilt upon so-called extremists and bigots in doubletalk that shockingly, for a jurist in particular, went counter to the obvious facts and smeared conservatives and old-time liberals as guilty in some mystic, collective manner. This, too, is a Marxist approach, utterly contrary to the philosophy of the dignity of man and his freedom as an individual. A jurist has the responsibility to avoid any such slant.

4. I have never know the Communists to urge something of national importance that they were not sure would rebound to their favor. They had a very special interest in this case because of the Marxist, pro-Communist motivation of the killer. They recommended Justice Warren for the post he now holds before he was given it. Knowing the subtle and often crude ramifications by which they are able to exert influence inside the Washington administration, I cannot feel sure that this recommendation was without at least clandestine and indirect impact.

5. The curious selection of a man connected through many years with organizations cited as pro-Communist and Communist, and the stubborn retention of him as a consultant, cannot be explained away. Those on the Warren Commission well understand the facts of life on such matters, and surely did not pick Norman Redlich by mere chance. If they did, and blundered so completely on so simple a matter, how can they expect their judgment to be trusted on so tremendous a case as the assassination of the President? If they picked him knowing his record, the same question arises even more.

COMMISSION IS LOADED WITH ANTI-ANTI-COMMUNISTS

6. The Warren Commission is for the most part a loaded commission, packed with men who are belligerently anti-anti-Communist. This outlook can hardly fail to determine whatever conclusions they reach, and how. Their state of mind, of course, will determine what material they regard as worthy of consideration and even inclusion. The anti-anti-Communist propaganda climate has created a pathological condition in false "liberal" circles, so much so that if the killer had been linked in any manner to so-called rightists, television would have been successful in signaling a virtual pogrom or purge of leading conservatives. Such "liberals" dominate the Warren Commission.

7. The manner in which the Commission was named, and its composition, neatly conform to the supposed need in our relations and negotiations with Moscow. Immediately upon learning of the attack, the State Department exerted pressure upon the press not to involve communism, thus leaving the propaganda field open by default to accusations basely made against anti-Communists and the right or conservative segment in American life.

8. At once upon receiving news of the assault, the State Department file on Lee Harvey Oswald was removed by an official there, and knowledgeable informants declare it has not been put back. The State Department's involvement by providing the money with which to bring Oswald back to the United States has been virtually ignored.

9. Considering Oswald's renunciation of his allegiance to the United States and his treasonable actions in the U.S.S.R., and his probable link to the Red network, the CIA and later the FBI would have been remiss if they had not contacted him in one way or another, for their own purposes, in order to discredit him with the enemy, and to find out all they could. This could easily be exaggerated wholly out of proportion in the present propaganda climate, with only a hint needed, giving an utterly untrue impression, through the one-sided misinterpretation of news fed to the public these days by the prestige press and radio-TV. I obviously have no way of knowing whether any such contact was made, but the type of propaganda being produced by Red and so-called peace organs makes this a matter that cannot be intelligently ignored. The Reds are obviously out to befuddle the issue permanently, if they cannot affix the blame to the rightists, as they sought in the beginning in the United States. They still, incidentally, are taking this line in many areas abroad.

10. Sadly, while "managed news" remains the administration's policy, it is impossible to know what can be believed. How is a Senator or Congressman, much more a citizen, to tell a falsehood from the truth, when Government policy still is the "speaking with one voice" line instituted by the Kennedys? The sooner this situation were cleared up by complete abandonment of this policy that admits falsehood, the better for all Americans. The Warren Commission of course is part of this picture, as it is an executive agency, not a Congressional one, as would have been proper and as was expected.

CONGRESS MAY HAVE TO MAKE ITS OWN INQUIRY

The composition of what is in effect an executive committee of inquiry is unfortunate. The first news I heard of the creation of the Warren Commission was by a television newscast. The commentator seemed to look his viewers in the eye and proclaim in a bland manner that the Commission was so composed that there was no question but that every American citizen would regard it as wholly fair and unbiased, and accept its findings unquetioningly. This was too much like big brother telling me, for one, how I must think, and I frankly knew differently, because of the grave doubts that had been raised for some time regarding Earl Warren's stewardship of the Supreme Court. Surely the commentator had heard about these opposing forces, and for him to say that all the people would automatically accept the appointments made as the best possible and utterly trustworthy, without any political connotation to them, was simply another attempt to manage the news to

manage the people's thinking. The time has come for this approach to cease.

The American public was promised by the new President that the FBI would have a report ready within a very short time, and that this would at once be made public. This promise was not kept. The people have the right to expect that their elected officials—their servants—keep their promises to them. The tendency has been in both political parties too long now to make promises for immediate political purposes, and to ignore them or go completely contrary to them later on. This can only be damaging to a democratic, republican system of free government.

The news media also disclosed that the Congress was prepared to immediately conduct an inquiry into all phases of the Kennedy assassination, by a completely bipartisan committee of Congressmen and Senators. Quickly, to extinguish this effort, the Warren Commission was named.

This editor, for one, anticipates that Congress must prepare to be faced again with the need and responsibility to make this sort of inquiry. Much time has been lost, but I, for one, wish my Congress as the elected representatives of all the people to make up its own mind regarding this, and be sure to act as promptly as possible, once the Warren Commission makes its findings public, or as much of them as it decides to reveal to the people.

Inefficient and Wasteful Practices of the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call to the attention of Senators an interesting—but disturbing—article, by the Associated Press, which summarizes some of the inefficient and wasteful practices of this bureaucratic Government. The article, entitled "General Accounting Office: Taxpayers' Watchdog," which was published in the Columbia Record on August 27, 1964, cites several examples of waste and extravagance which have been found by the General Accounting Office. The General Accounting Office does an excellent job of disclosing these practices, but it is up to Congress to bring an end to them.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE: TAXPAYERS' WATCHDOG

(By Bem Price)

WASHINGTON.—You brag in this town at your own peril.

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara held a news conference July 7 to announce his cost reduction program has saved $2.5 billion last year.

Since then there have been 28 reports—little noticed for the most part—by the General Accounting Office pointing out where it said the Defense Department should have saved even more.

The GAO accountants also produced three additional reports pointing out where what they called sloppy supervision on the part of commanders had reduced the combat efficiency of four spot-checked units, including an antiaircraft-missile base.

After examining 66 armored personnel carriers and cargo trucks belonging to the 30th Infantry Regiment in Germany, the GAO found 216 major defects and 2,300 less serious ones.

The GAO checked out the maintenance on the reconnaissance and liaison aircraft of the 1st and 2d Armored Divisions at Fort Hood, Tex., and found it so poor that "the combat readiness of these divisions was impaired."

Poor maintenance, said the GAO, was the primary factor in the crash and total loss of a $200,000 aircraft.

At an unidentified antiaircraft missile base somewhere overseas, the GAO reported the management of spare parts was so inefficient that $30 million worth of missile gear was inoperable.

As for the other GAO reports, they include such findings as these:

The Army wasted $1.3 million buying utility caps which cost $1.08 each and required special laundering, whereas the Marines and Seabees were buying 57-cent utility caps which could be washed under any circumstances.

At the U.S. Army Engineer depot just outside Seoul, Korea, was $376,000 worth of unneeded spare parts and the depot was in the process of ordering $101,000 more stock it didn't need.

Further, the Korean depot had suffered a $12.6-million inventory loss which it hadn't investigated.

The Air Force was in the process of spending $424,000 over a 5-year period by leasing electronic data processing equipment at its Tullahoma, Tenn., development center which could have been saved by buying the equipment.

The Air Force and the Army spent $441,000 in 1962 leasing teletype circuits and equipment they didn't need.

The Navy spent $13.3 million on rocket packs for the Crusader airplane which had a limited capability and could have saved $4 million of additional procurement costs if somebody in the upper echelons had been told in time.

The Army and Navy spent $245,950 for petroleum storage around Los Angeles, storage they either didn't need to meet mobilization requirements or had available on Government property.

The Federal Government was charged more than $2 million in unnecessary travel costs by military and civilian personnel of the Defense Department who were permitted to use private modes of travel.

At five military installations there were 595 commercial-type heavy trucks which were surplus to needs—about one in six—which cost $589,000.

The Navy's failure to terminate orders for excess jet engine parts when it was evident no more were needed, resulted in the loss to the Government of $310,000.

The Navy spent $2,329,000 on 333 receiver-transmitters "although it already had sufficient stocks on hand."

The Defense Department spent $5 million moving the household goods of defense personnel "because of overstated weights used by carriers in billing charges."

At Fort Rucker, Ala., the Army had 220 helicopters, worth $6.5 million, which were grounded "up to 60 percent of the time for lack of serviceable engines."

The Air Force had to dispose of $137,000 worth of photographic supplies at the Atlantic Missile Range because of shelf deterioration.

The Air Force spent $825,000 completing a $4 million rocket propellent plant "which couldn't be used as planned."

The Air Force spent $700,000 repairing airplane spare parts when it would have been cheaper to buy new ones.

The Army spent $269,000 buying unneeded special tooling for utility truck engine spares.

The Navy is spending $191,000 on off-post quarters allowances for personnel at its Oakland, Calif., hospital when on-post housing is available.

And, finally, the GAO reported:

"The Government has incurred unnecessary costs we estimated to be over $7.2 million because the Army rebuilt tracks for tanks instead of procuring new ones.

"When the rebuilt track was installed on tanks, the tanks experienced premature failures, creating safety hazards to personnel and impairing the combat effectiveness of the Army."

The GAO said the Army spent $12.5 million rebuilding tank tracks when new ones would have cost $5.3 million.

Report to the Voters of the 12th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the work of the 88th Congress is drawing to an end. Begun on a note of hope, brought to a standstill by the great tragedy which befell our Nation, it ends on a sense of legislative fulfillment. While the world is still beset by many problems and crises, and while the shadow of conflict still hangs above several areas of the world, particularly southeast Asia, the immediate tasks which faced this Congress have been accomplished. The legislative program has been enacted. The urgent needs of our Nation, and the requirements of the cause of freedom, are being met.

In every sense the accomplishments of the 88th Congress have already won it a prestige place in our Nation's history.

In retrospect, the achievements of this Congress bear the special imprint of two great men: the late President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. The spirit and vision of the former, and the patient, untiring work and ability of the latter, combined to make the record of this Congress truly remarkable.

In his final state of the Union message, delivered to the Congress on January 14, 1963, President Kennedy outlined the tasks to which we, the people's representatives in this great legislative body, have devoted our energies during the past 2 years.

The time has come—

He told us on that memorable day—

to translate the renewal of our national strength into the achievements of our national purpose.

He went on to propose a legislative program to improve the opportunities and the well-being of the American people, and to strengthen our Nation, by investing in our youth, by safeguarding the health of the Nation, by protecting the basic rights of our citizens, by promoting economic growth, and by making the

best and most economical use of our resources and facilities.

We must do these things, he said, "for we cannot lead for long the cause of peace and freedom, if we ever cease to set the pace at home."

President Kennedy's program did not, however, concern itself solely with domestic issues. Pointing to the world beyond our borders, he spoke of the need to maintain the frontiers of freedom, to concert the political and economic policies of the North Atlantic Alliance, to expand world trade, to aid the emergent nation, and to continue steady progress in building a "world of order."

In presenting his legislative program to the Congress, President Kennedy did not promise any easy solutions to the problems confronting the United States at home and on the world scene. He pledged—and asked—only toil and dedication. And these the Congress has given in good measure.

The record of the 88th Congress bears also the imprint of another great leader—President Lyndon B. Johnson. When the tragic assassination of President Kennedy shifted the burdens of the Executive Office to his shoulders, he pledged himself during the remainder of the current term of office to dedicate his efforts to the attainment of President Kennedy's program. He has directed his tremendous energy to this task. And the record of the 88th Congress serves in large part as a tribute to his dedication, his ability, and the success of his efforts.

The legislation which highlighted the record of the first session of the 88th Congress included appropriations for the defense and national security of the United States. This was for foreign assistance; expansion of the Peace Corps; satisfaction of World War II claims; extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act; repair and construction of foreign service buildings; extension of the arms control and disarmament program which has been responsible for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow; continuation of National Aeronautics and Space Administration research; and extension of the Export-Import Bank.

A trailblazing parade of education bills became law, including the Higher Education Facilities Act; legislation providing vocational education; health professions educational assistance in the form of expanded teaching and research facilities and student loans; maternal and child health services, including crippled children's programs and research projects to prevent mental retardation; and the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act.

The opportunities and well-being of our citizens were improved by the equal pay law providing equal pay for equal work for women; extension of the housing for the elderly program; a law governing air pollution control; extension of the Civil Rights Commission; increase of the library services and construction program; the Manpower Development and Training Act; and veterans' legislation.

Legislation enacted during the second session of the 88th Congress was the most creative passed by any Congress in recent history. I will report briefly on the bills of major importance. Complete information on any law can be obtained by writing to me at my Washington office.

Defense spending was again the largest budgetary item, which includes procurement of military materiel; research and development; cost of military personnel; maintenance and operation of the Military Establishment, the Department of Defense, and money for the Reserve officers; military construction; and military assistance.

Laws enacted for our servicemen and veterans are: Increase of 2.5 percent in basic pay for all officers, warrant officers, and enlisted personnel of the uniformed services with more than 2 years of service—since the pay scale for commissioned and warrant officers with less than 2 years of service had not been increased since 1952, Congress provided them an 8.5 percent increase—educational assistance was extended to children of veterans with total and permanent service-connected disability; extended disability income provisions of National Service Life Insurance policies through age 65 under certain conditions; exempted from draft sole surviving son of family whose father died as result of military service; assistance to States on matching basis for nursing home facilities of State veteran homes; raised authorized strength of Cadet Corps of U.S. Military and Air Force Academies and fixed period of obligative service at 5 years.

The Economic Opportunity Act, the so-called war on poverty bill, establishes a job corps for out-of-school and out-of-work youth, ages 16 through 21, offering opportunities for education, vocational training, recreation and physical training; establishes work-training programs designed to give unemployed young men and women from 16 to 21 training experience not now available, to enable them to acquire new skills and work habits, thereby increasing their employability. Counseling and job placement will be provided. College work-study programs are created, designed to provide basic financial assistance through part-time employment for needy and potential college students. Part-time work opportunities will be provided for more than 140,000 students from low-income families per year. Urban and rural community action programs will be conducted in the fields of employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home, management, welfare, and special remedial educational assistance, to provide assistance to all poor people in a community without discrimination.

The Urban Mass Transportation Act provides for more modern mass transit within our communities and low-cost transportation between them. The act establishes a program of Federal loans and partial grants for needed equipment for the extension and improvement of urban mass transportation systems and provides for an adequate relocation program for families displaced by each project, as well as fair and equitable arrangements to protect the interests of affected transit employees.

Certain excise tax rates were extended for 1 year, in order to allow the House Committee on Ways and Means to complete its careful and comprehensive hearings into our entire excise tax structure.

The Interest Equalization Tax Act is a temporary excise tax effective for the period July 19, 1963, through December 31, 1965. The tax is designed to aid our balance-of-payments position by restraining the heavy and accelerated demand on our capital market from other industrialized countries.

Salary increases were given to all Federal employees in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of our Government, ranging from 5 percent to 22½ percent. This is necessary in order to attract young people and to encourage them to seek public office.

The Housing Act was extended for 1 year. It provided $725 million for urban renewal; permits 37,500 new public housing units; raises to $30,000 the mortgage insurance limit on one-family FHA homes; grants broader lending authority to banks; establishes a new $50 million program to induce property owners to rehabilitate slum properties; authorizes 20-year loans at 3 percent interest to owners and tenants of property in urban renewal areas: up to $10,000 for homes and $50,000 for nonresidential property; establishes $150 million for direct farm housing loans; $75 million for direct housing loans for the elderly; $30 million for urban planning assistance in renewal areas; $25 million for grants to help in purchase of park lands and open space areas; $10 million for a new program of low-rent housing for migrant farmworkers; and finally, sets up relocation payments up to $1,500 for each business, and a rent supplement for families paid over a period of 5 months, for residents and businesses displaced by urban renewal.

The Renegotiation Act was extended for 2 years. It permits the Committee on Ways and Means to review the renegotiation process. It extends the application of this act to contracts entered into by the Federal Aviation Agency, and related subcontracts, in order to recover excess profits and continue present review of contracts of defense agencies.

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1964 is the regular 2-year authorization for the so-called A–B–C system, which means primary roads, secondary roads, and extension of these roads to urban areas. It also authorizes funds for roads in national parks and forests, and public lands. Congress authorized $1 billion for fiscal 1966 and 1 billion for fiscal 1967 for the A–B–C system—broken down 45 percent for the primary system, 30 percent for the secondary, and 25 percent for the extension within urban areas.

The Civil Rights Act provides for the enforcement of the inherent rights of all persons by all the States of these United States and its subsidiaries. These rights have too long been denied. It provides for the appointment of a three-judge district court in voting suits and for the ex-

peditious determination of such suits, and also provides against the discriminatory use of literacy tests in Federal elections; prohibits discrimination in enumerated public establishments; authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits to desegregate public facilities, other than public schools, and to intervene in suits charging deprivation of equal protection of the laws; authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits to desegregate public schools; makes the Civil Rights Commission a permanent agency; prohibits discrimination in any Federal financial assistance program; establishes a Federal Equal Employment Commission designed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices by business, labor unions or employment agencies; provides for the compilation of registration and voting statistics by race, color, and national origin; makes a remand of a civil rights case from a Federal court back to a State court reviewable on appeal.

The Securities Acts Amendments of 1964 amends the Securities Exchange Act of 1934; extends to issuers of securities traded in over-the-counter markets, where the issuers have over $1 million in total assets and 750 stockholders of record—reduced to 500 over 2 years—the same requirements that now apply to issuers of securities which are listed on an exchange; namely, registration, periodic reporting and financial statement must accompany proxy solicitation. Certain classes of securities are exempted from these requirements: building and loan associations; charitable, educational, and religious institutions; securities of stock insurance companies may become exempt if under State law or regulation there are comparable requirements. The bill also strengthens the regulation of over-the-counter broker-dealers, including qualifications standards and disciplinary controls.

The Hospital and Medical Facilities Amendment of 1964 extended the Hill-Burton hospital construction program for 5 years, authorizing appropriations for grants for the construction of public or nonprofit hospitals and public health centers; diagnostic or treatment centers; hospitals for the chronically ill and impaired; rehabilitation facilities, and nursing homes. It permits appropriations for construction and modernization of hospitals ranging from $150 million for fiscal year 1965 through $180 million annually for the last 2 years of the program. Of these amounts, $20 million is specifically earmarked for modernization in fiscal 1966, $35 million in 1967, $50 million in 1968, and $55 million in 1969. This law permits the States to transfer sums from the modernization category to new construction, in amounts which, when added to other funds appropriated for new construction, will not exceed in the aggregate $150 million for new construction in any fiscal year. The law consolidates nursing home and chronic disease categories and increases the combined authorization by $30 million (to $70 million) in fiscal 1965. It adds grants for areawide health facility planning in metropolitan and other areas ($2.5 million in fiscal 1965 and $5 million in each of the next 4 years, with 50–50 Federal-State matching). The bill permits States to use 2 percent of their allotments—not to exceed $50,000 a year—for State administration of the construction program, on a 50–50 matching basis. The Hill-Burton program is a milestone in successful Federal, State, and local grant-in-aid programs. Its success can be measured by the network of modern and efficient hospitals which have been built throughout the United States. As of June 30, 1963, these projects had produced 289,489 general, mental, tuberculosis, and long-term care beds, and helped construct 1,522 rehabilitation centers, public health centers, diagnostic and treatment centers, and other health laboratories. It has had a marked effect in raising State licensing standards and in improving the design, maintenance, and operation of health facilities in every State. It has helped attract vitally needed physicians and other health specialists to rural areas.

The Nurses Training Act establishes a 5-year program to combat the shortage of nurses, which includes grants for construction and rebuilding of collegiate and associate degree or diploma schools of nursing; traineeships for advanced training of professional nurses; and a student loan program.

The Graduate Public Health Training Act continues for 5 years programs for traineeships to increase number of professional public health personnel and expand health project grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, engineering, social work, and pharmacy.

The 88th Congress has a notable record in the field of conservation. The Wilderness Act represents a decade of effort to keep part of our country in the primeval state our pioneers saw; the law protects 9,200,000 acres in 13 States and provides for adding another 5,500,000 acres over the next 10 years. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act was a companion piece of legislation; this law establishes for the first time a permanent fund of $2 billion in the next decade to finance the acquisition and development of land to be used for recreation and for new wildlife refuges. The fund is derived from the proceeds of the existing tax on motorboat fuels and from admission and user fees to be paid by those who use camping sites and other facilities on Government-owned land. It underscores the interdependence of conservation and recreation—a balance can be had between developing some of our outdoor areas for sports and recreation and still maintaining other areas as wilderness and as game and bird refuges. Congress also passed the Ozark national scenic riverways bill, which saved the beautiful Current River and its tributary, Jacks Fork, in southern Missouri, from exploitation. Another law established the Canyon Lands National Park in the magnificent mountain country of southern Utah. Most important of all was the establishment of the Fire Island National Seashore, the first such park in the State of New York.

Congress initiated two special commissions—one, a National Commission on Automation and Technological Progress which will undertake a study of current and future trends of automation, technology and economic progress. The other, the National Commission on Food Marketing, will make a thorough study of the food industry from the farm to the consumer.

The National Defense Education Act Amendments extend, expand, increase, and revise the program for 3 years; more graduate fellowships are provided, as well as counseling, guidance, and testing services; it will strengthen Federal support of language development and increase training opportunities under a program of grants for training institutes for certain teachers, library personnel, and guidance and counseling personnel. The amendments provide for a considerable expansion of the title 3 program of equipment grants. Presently such grants may only be given for equipment used in the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern foreign language. This will be expanded to include history, geography, English, reading, and civics.

Public Law 480 deals with the vast agricultural surpluses owned by the American people, including you, my constituents. I supported a 3-year extension of this program, but with reluctance, because it needs vast revision. It is so costly to us that the more than $1 billion saved by this administration, including defense moneys, has been wiped out.

Foreign service annuities were adjusted to improve the pensions of the widows of retired Foreign Service officers, and also provided a small annual income to a few widows whose husbands were unable to provide a pension for them.

Two most important bills are presently tied up because of technical difficulties. It is hoped the outcome of this legislation will be solved before Congress adjourns. One, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964, which emerged from the Foreign Affairs Committee after 3 months of intensive study. It is remarkable for at least three reasons: First, the $3.5 billion program it proposed was the tightest, the most modest, and perhaps the most realistic authorization in years. Second, the principle of selectivity—of concentrating our aid in those countries which are showing the will and the determination to help themselves—is strongly reflected in this legislation. And, third, the bulk of the money which this bill provides will go to those countries—from Greece to Korea—which are on the firing line in the great conflict between communism and freedom. These countries need and deserve our help. They are the first to bear the brunt of Communist expansion. I supported this program because I believe that it is necessary for our national and free world security. It will also carry us a step closer to the goal we all seek; the goal of a free and secure world in which all men of good will can have the opportunity to strive to realize their hopes and dreams of a better life. We must continue to seek this goal. We must seek it for ourselves and for our children.

The other is social security amendments to increase benefits to retired workers, widows, and the disabled; raise

the wage base for social security tax; and reduce the age limit for widows' benefits from 62 to 60 years. Medical care for the aged was added to this bill in the Senate. The bill is now in conference.

One of the resolutions passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress bears my name. I admit bipartisan action and support of all Members was needed to make this record. This resolution expressed the sense of Congress that the President should direct the Permanent U.S. Delegate to the United Nations to continue efforts toward securing payment by members of the United Nations of their assessments in arrears. The resolution states it is further the sense of the Congress that if, upon the convening of the 19th General Assembly, the arrears of any member of the United Nations equals or exceeds the amount of the contribution due from it for the preceding 2 full years, the President should direct the Permanent U.S. Delegate to make every effort to assure invocation of the penalty provisions of article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations. The importance of this resolution should not be underestimated. It strengthens the purpose of the United Nations. It strengthens the policy of the United States—through our Ambassador Stevenson at the United Nations—to seek to establish the United Nations on a sound financial basis and ultimately helps in the establishment of "negotiable" differences between nations by peaceful means, not war.

It is an honor and privilege to serve you as your Representative in Congress. I want you to know that personal attention is given to any and all problems sent to me. If I can be of assistance to you at any time on the Federal level, please do not hesitate to write to me at my Washington office.

Resolution at the Sixth Convention of the Byelorussians of North America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolution adopted at the Sixth Convention of the Byelorussians of North America, held under the theme of "Twenty Years in the Free World" in New Brunswick, N.J., on September 6, 1964.

This resolution expresses the thinking of all Americans, and certainly all free men, with regard to the evil Communist policy of economic exploitation and denial of political, religious, and other freedoms within the captive nations.

The need for freedom and self-determination for these peoples is as clearly manifest today as it has been at any time during Communist and Russian imperialist rule of this area, and certainly the United States should continue to work toward freedom and self-determination for these brave people and others behind the Iron Curtain.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH CONVENTION OF BYELORUSSIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

1. As a result of World War II and the second occupation of Byelorussia by the Bolsheviks in 1944, great numbers of Byelorussians found themselves in the West. Some of them, fearing an unknown and uncertain future in foreign countries, returned to their homeland after the end of the war. Others were forcibly repatriated. Still others chose the unenviable path of political emigration. This emigration, and particularly its ideological and national leadership, dedicated itself to the task of continuing abroad the activity for national liberation which it was unable to pursue in its enslaved homeland. It undertook to develop, strengthen, and conduct propaganda in the free world for the idea of the act of March 25, 1918—the idea of a free and independent Byelorussia, which had been trampled and dishonored by the Bolshevik occupant.

2. In the free world, the Byelorussian emigration has encountered the sympathetic and friendly response of the democratic nations and people among whom destiny had brought them to live and to work. Throughout the free world, and above all in the United States and Canada, where the largest numbers of Byelorussian emigrees are concentrated, there has been a steady and satisfactory development of Byelorussian organizational life, cultural activities such as schools of Byelorussian studies and the publication of newspapers and books, religious life and political activity. Everyone here enjoys full cultural autonomy, while every trace of such autonomy has been eradicated on Byelorussian territories not included in the B.S.S.R., and also in Siberia and the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, where many thousands of Byelorussians have been deported.

3. In the area of political activity and the popularization among the peoples of the free world of the Byelorussian cause of national liberation, the achievements of the Byelorussian emigration for the past 20 years have been very substantial. The governments and political forces of the West, which had formerly been poorly informed concerning the problem of national liberation of the Byelorussian people, are today—chiefly thanks to the activity of the emigrees—aware of us, sympathetic toward our plight, and support us politically and morally.

4. With every passing year, the emigrees' work for national liberation reaches deeper through various channels across the Iron Curtain into enslaved Byelorussia, and strengthens our people's hopes for liberation. This is why the Soviet Union, which carefully ignored the existence and activities of the Byelorussian political emigration during the early postwar years, has in the last few years been compelled to speak of them openly. The Soviet Union seeks to besmirch the Byelorussian emigration morally and to compromise it politically in the eyes of the Byelorussian people and the Western World, representing it as a clique of unprincipled careerists and venal agents of American intelligence. However, no Soviet provocations or diversions, and none of the slanderous vilifications aimed at the emigree leadership, have accomplished their purpose.

5. While the Byelorussian emigration in the free world has every opportunity to carry on its national activity in all areas of public life, the yoke of slavery continues to strangle our freedom-loving people. Our people continue to suffer from economic exploitation, social injustice and unheard of mockery over the faith of its forebears. It is deprived of basic political rights and opportunities for free national development. Systematic Russification, especially in the field of language, national discrimination, and the resettlement of Byelorussian families and youth on the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and Siberia are aimed, by gradually undermining the Byelorussian national potential, at the eradication of the Byelorussians as a nation.

6. But ruthless oppression, moral, and physical terror and national discrimination cannot break the spirit of freedom alive in the Byelorussian people, or to quench its unshakable striving for liberation and full development as a national entity. The Byelorussian's devotion to, and love of, his national tradition, culture, and native tongue not only have not weakened, but are steadily growing stronger and prompting the most resolute resistance to Russification. This resistance is so great among the people, and particularly among the national intelligentsia—writers, leaders in every cultural area, teachers and student youth—that none of the measures employed by the Bolsheviks have been able, or shall be able, to crush it.

On the basis of all we have outlined above, we, the Byelorussians of North America, assembled at our Sixth Convention on September 5–7, in the city of New Brunswick, N.J.: Proclaim to our people at home and to the free world, that:

1. We condemn the criminal Russian Communist policy in Byelorussia, a policy of economic exploitation, political, national and religious suppression, and Russification.

2. We bow our heads before the glorious memory of the many thousands of sons of the Byelorussian people who have given their lives in the fight against communism, and we voice our admiration for, and gratitude to, all who unflinchingly carry on this fight for liberation in our enslaved, but unvanquished, homeland.

3. We express our deep appreciation to the American and Canadian peoples who, prompted by humanitarian sentiments and fulfilling the principles of democracy, have given our emigration asylum and equal civil rights.

4. As United States and Canadian citizens who loyally fulfill our duties to the United States and Canada, we appeal to the President of the United States, the Governments of the United States and Canada, and the Members of the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament to champion and support the Byelorussian people's struggle for national liberation both in domestic and foreign policies, in full consonance with the traditional observance and active support by both countries of the idea of freedom and independence of all the peoples of the world.

5. Today, on the 20th anniversary of the beginning of our life in the free world, we offer a solemn vow that we shall not cease our struggle for national liberation until the ideas of freedom and independence, proclaimed by the Council of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic in the act of March 25, 1918, are fully achieved and realized.

STANISLAU STANKEVICH,
Chairman of the Convention.

Captive Nations

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRAY. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. I, too, want to commend my colleague from Indiana for the statement he is making. I am in complete sympathy with it. For a long time I have thought we ought to go into this whole matter of the captive nations very thoroughly and exhaustively and do everything we could to hold out the hope they have a right to expect and to help them in that respect.

Again, I congratulate the gentleman and appreciate very much the statement he has made.

Mr. BRAY. I thank the gentleman.

U.S. Marshal Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 175th anniversary of the enactment of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which provided for the appointment of U.S. Marshals for each of the 13 newly created Federal judicial districts.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the proclamation issued by the President making today, September 24, 1964, U.S. Marshal Day:

UNITED STATES MARSHAL DAY—BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

September 24, 1964, marks the 175th anniversary of the enactment of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which provided for the appointment of United States marshals for each of the 13 newly created Federal judicial districts. The contribution of the United States marshals and their staffs to the development of the Federal judicial system is now a legend in the annals of our country. Their role in establishing the rule of law throughout the length and breadth of this Nation, including the new territories where some recognized no authority other than raw courage, is inscribed in history and enshrined in our national folklore. First in establishing the authority of the new Federal Government, and thereafter in performing a central function in Federal law enforcement, the United States marshal has become a foremost symbol and servant of the law.

The marshal's duties have changed with the times. Some of the services once performed by marshals have now been reassigned to specialized agencies. However, the importance of the marshal's position as an indispensable arm of our judicial system remains undiminished. Throughout the changes which have characterized this country's rise from a young republic to the foremost power in this world, the marshal has always performed with steadfast dedication, competency, and inspiration. Over the past century and three-quarters, the marshal's star has symbolized a tradition of service and courage; it has shone with the gleam of constancy and integrity in the performance of duty.

On this the 175th anniversary of the establishment of that service, it is fit and appropriate that a grateful Nation acknowledge and extol the distinguished record of our United States marshals, past and present, and of their deputies, special deputies, and other staff assistants. To them all we owe special recognition and commendation.

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, September 24, 1964, as "United States Marshal Day," and I call upon the Federal courts, Federal departments and agencies, bar associations, and other civic groups, and members of the bar and other interested individuals to plan and participate in appropriate ceremonies and activities providing public recognition for the 175 years of devoted public service performed by United States marshals and their staffs.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 18th day of August in the year of our Lord 1964, and of the independence of the United States of America the 189th.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

[SEAL]
By the President:

DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State.

Goldwater Does the Nation a Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the September 22, 1964, issue of the Christian Science Monitor points out how Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is pointing out the dangers of continuing expansion of Federal power and calls on President Johnson to face up and debate the issue. Under unanimous consent I include the editorial:

CAMPAIGN ISSUES—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: HOW BIG IS TOO BIG?

In recent decades the role of the Federal Government has grown from that of governing a predominantly rural society to that of presiding over a highly industrialized and exceedingly complex commonwealth. The demands of a blissfully isolated Nation have given way to the immense responsibilities of world leadership and of peacekeeping in an era of great turbulence.

Few would question the need for vastly expanded governmental functions today. Since 1932 the national consensus has gone along with the proliferating of Government. For this very reason Senator GOLDWATER has done the Nation a service in spotlighting the continuing expansion of Federal power. There is a danger of too much power being centralized in Washington. There is danger of too much intrusion by Government into the affairs of the individual. There is need for careful scrutiny of governmental trends.

To some extent the danger is inherent in the nature of political power. Power tends to feed on power. History shows this. The genius of the American political system in controlling this tendency is twofold: (1) the checks, balances, and separation of powers which characterize the system, and which must be preserved; and (2) the recognition that individual rights are more basic in substance and origin than human government itself; that freedom is not a gift to be extended or withheld by government, but that government exists by delegation of power from the people—that is, by consent of the governed.

Traditionally governments have tended to take autocratic or bureaucratic power unto themselves. Nevertheless it is an oversimplification just to blame the present danger on politicians who, according to Senator GOLDWATER, "would monopolize power, centralize power, manipulate power, and grow rich from power." The trend toward concentration in Washington arises mainly from the kind of society and the kind of world we have now. In horse-and-buggy days interstate highways weren't much needed. Neither were space programs or a network of defense bases abroad.

Still another pressure toward concentration of power is the tendency to ask Washington for help. Individuals, communities, States, industries, private interests and special groups—all exert constant pressues for more programs and bigger expenditures. The hue and cry over closing obsolete naval yards illustrates the problem. Such pressures mount when States and cities fail, as they often have, to face their problems and solve them. As the Democratic national platform states: "No government at any level can properly complain of violation of its power, if it fails to meet its responsibilities."

The pressures toward concentrated power cannot be blamed wholly on any one group or any one political party. But the voters are entitled to ask, and should ask, precisely what each of the Presidential candidates proposes to do about them. This will be the subject of a subsequent editorial. The same question might well be asked of State and local candidates, too.

It needs to be stressed that even while facing squarely the dangers of too-powerful government, nobody should assume that government is inherently evil. That, too, is an oversimplification encouraged by campaign oratory.

Government is a necessary instrument to improve the conditions of human living. It can and should be used as a positive instrument. Its power cannot be exercised merely negatively in the modern world. It must be exercised positively to carry out needed programs for the general welfare that cannot be accomplished any other way.

It is easy to say that Federal Government is too big. The test comes in what steps a candidate puts forward to curtail its activities. Where would he save money? What functions would he abolish? Unless sweeping generalities are backed by concrete proposals as to how and where cuts will be made, campaign promises can be empty and disillusioning.

It is easy to say more power should be transferred to the States and cities. But State and local governments too often are incapable of taking over functions lodged with the Federal Government. They are more corrupt and less free from abuse, generally speaking, than the National Government. The burden of proof rests on those who advocate such a transfer of functions. The need is for practical programs rather than campaign rhetoric.

This newspaper believes that as much of the business of government as possible should be done at the community level instead of the State level. Whatever can be done at the State level should be done there instead of by the Federal Government. All that can be left to the individual should be left to him.

And at the Federal level, authority should above all be balanced wisely by constitutional liberty—else freedom itself will decay.

But all this cannot be done merely by returning to the simpler ways of the past. The need is to find better ways of dealing with the problems of our highly developed society. The Founding Fathers devised a magnificent system of government. The American people today face the need to adapt and utilize it so as to cope with the needs of an increasingly complicated and urbanized society—

and at the same time to promote and extend individual freedom.

At least there is the thrill and the challenge of new horizons in that.

International Convention of Amchem Products, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, during the week of September 27, more than 150 top executives from all over the world are expected to attend the International Convention of Amchem Products, Inc., in Ambler, Pa. Amchem is a worldwide organization which last year received the U.S. Department of Commerce "E" Award for "excellence in exporting." I ask unanimous consent that a news release on this important meeting be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMBLER, PA.—More than 150 top executives from virtually every country in the world are expected to attend the International Convention of Amchem Products, Inc., here this fall.

Scheduled for the week of September 27, it will be Amchem's largest international gathering and is being planned as part of the firm's observance of its 50th anniversary.

The group, which will include the wives of many of the representatives will represent Amchem's worldwide organization of 125 direct licensees and distributors. Many will be from well-established industrial and agricultural countries while some attending will be from developing nations.

Previous Amchem international meetings have been held in Paris, Copenhagen, Brussels, Windsor, England, and The Hague. The last time the group met at Amchhem's headquarters in Ambler was in 1957. George Washington Motor Lodge, in nearby Willow Grove, will be "headquarters" for the week-long convention. In addition to overall meetings, there will be study groups on metalworking, agricultural, and thermal insulation chemicals. Also, visits are scheduled to Amchem's plant and laboratories, in Ambler; its experimental farm at nearby Springhouse; and to industries and universities in the area. A daily program of entertainment has been arranged for the wives attending.

Amchem has developed and markets many metalworking chemicals and processes for the protection of metals and for a wide variety of scientific applications. Its Agricultural Division produces chemicals for control of weeds in crops, and a third division, Foster Division, makes protective coatings and mastics for thermal insulations.

According to Amchem President, Gerald C. Romig, last year his firm recorded its greatest sales volume in history. This year, International Division direct sales and royalties are continuing the growth trend of the past 10 years, when each year's annual growth in overseas business was significantly greater than the previous year's.

Mr. Romig expects this growth to continue, and has pledged his firm to continue its stepped-up program of research and development.

J. O. J. Shellenberger, Amchem vice president and director of marketing, states that in the last 4 years Amchem's international direct sales have doubled, and licensee sales have jumped by over 70 percent. Licensees use Amchem scientific know-how, basic patents and trademarks, and on-the-spot technical assistance.

Last year the U.S. Department of Commerce gave Amchem the President's "E" Award for "excellence in exporting." It cited the firm for "its intensive program of licensing, for improving service and product knowledge, for conducting technical refresher courses, and for its long-range research."

Some 40 years ago, Amchem began licensing for oversea business. All those early licensees are still part of the Amchem organization while many are substantial companies in their own right. Today, a distributor generally starts with direct sales, and licensing agreements covering local manufacture or formulation are negotiated when justified by market development.

However, sometimes a country will require local manufacture for other reasons. In this event, Amchem may license a local distributor in order to protect a market which may not be profitable for years. Warren E. Weston, manager of the international division, feels that this is an "investment" his firm must make to continue growth of its oversea business.

In its 50 years, Amchem has pioneered many scientific "firsts," including: Deoxidine, the prepaint chemical coating which made the all-metal automobile possible; Alodine, for prepaint treatment and protection of aluminum; Lineguard, the first automated electronic method for controlling the prepaint chemical treatment process; and Granodine, for prepaint treatment of steel.

In the agricultural field, there are these well-known Amchem developments: Weedone, the original 2,4–D selective weedkiller; Weedazol, for control of hard-to-kill perennial weeds and grasses: and Amiben, for weed control in soybeans and other food crops.

Just recently, the firm revealed the part it played in evolving a technique for treating the ultrathin aluminum foil skin of NASA's Echo II satellite. Alodine 401 was designated as the coating because it stabilized the skin temperature, reducing its "space fever" to a moderate degree so that tracking radiobeacons would remain operational.

Besides its Ambler headquarters plant, Amchem has plants in: Philadelphia, Pa.; Chicago, Ill.; Detroit, Mich.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Houston, Tex.; Fremont, Calif.; and Windsor, Ontario.

Peaceful Coexistence—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I took occasion recently to bring to the attention of the House a book entitled, "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," published by West Publishing Co. under auspices of the American Bar Association.

This work was prepared by Dr. Richard V. Allen, chairman of the Study Program on Communism at the Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, under commission from the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association, which committee is headed by Mr. Morris I. Leibman, of Chicago.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, Mr. Speaker, I will include, for the information of the House, certain introductory material of this important work, as follows:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE: A COMMUNIST BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY

FOREWORD

(This committee shall study, made report and recommendations, plan and give effect to programs of education on Communist tactics, strategy and objectives and encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction on the contrast between communism and liberty under law.)

(ABA Bylaws, art. X, sec. 7: (j); (2).)

The American Bar Association's House of Delegates in August 1962 unnanimously adopted the above amendment to its bylaws establishing this standing committee. Under this mandate the committee has undertaken three primary programs:

1. A program of bar activities to encourage and support State, county, and local bar associations to undertake meaningful activities on the local community level paralleling our committee's activities on the national scene;

2. A teacher training institute program encouraging and supporting schools and colleges in the conduct of summer institutes for the training of secondary school teachers who have the classroom responsibility of instructing our Nation's youth on the contrast between communism and liberty under law;

3. A continuing research program on Communist strategy and tactics in consultation with individual authorities of various graduate centers of study specializing in the field of contemporary Communist tactics, strategy and objectives.

The August 1962 house of delegates action cited above signifies the continued concern of the American Bar Association for the threat posed by the international Communist movement to our national security and the concepts of human dignity and individual freedom protected by a rule of law. As early as 1950, the association's house of delegates created a special committee on Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives. Over the years this committee published a number of interpretive reports.

That committee's report of May 1961 was entitled "Peaceful Coexistence—A Blueprint for Disruption." This report focused attention on the publicly announced Communist strategy of peaceful coexistence as contained in the statement entitled "Statement by 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties" adopted unanimously in Moscow on December 5, 1960, at a meeting of Communist Parties and further elaborated upon in the statement by Nikita Khrushchev delivered at a top-level Soviet Communist meeting on January 6, 1961. In that report translations of these two documents were reprinted in full.

In the preface to the 1961 report the former special committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry J. TePaske, of Orange City, Iowa, expressed itself in the following manner:

"The (Communist) party line loses its effect when it is recognized as propaganda and its true meaning is understood. The party line must be exposed, and so explained that it will be understood by the citizens of the free world as well as by the party elite. * * * Widespread knowledge of the Communists' tactics, strategy, and objectives is essential to national survival."

In the latter part of 1963 our committee commissioned Richard V. Allen, chairman of the study program on communism at the Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, to undertake a current documen-

tary study of the Communist strategy of peaceful coexistence. In his examination of this area, Mr. Allen analyzed over 500 articles, documents, and speeches of Communist origin representing some 11,000 pages.

The Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, whose director is Adm. Arleigh Burke, U.S. Navy, retired, former Chief of Naval Operations and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is one of the Nation's outstanding graduate research centers engaged in the study of the multifaceted threat posed by the international Communist movement. This committee is privileged to be able to turn to such knowledgeable and responsible scholars in the field as represented by Mr. Allen and other members of the center for strategic studies.

The committee wishes to express its sincere appreciation to the West Publishing Co., of St. Paul, Minn., which has freely provided the printing and publishing services necessary to produce this study.

Obviously, no single pamphlet or publication will in itself constitute an adequate answer to communism. For this reason, the committee will continue to sponsor quality materials from responsible sources in this complex field.

This study is informational and is not intended as a policy statement of the American Bar Association. We urge leaders of the organized bar, teachers, and civic leaders to acquaint themselves with the facts contained herein. It is the hope of this committee that greater knowledge of the Communist threat will be gained by all citizens, and that the real dimensions of Communist objectives will be more clearly undertsood in the light of principal strategic pronouncements.

The members of this committee, and its staff which so capably assist in this work, is in accord with our national desire to lead a peaceful existence in conjunction with all nations. But we want to coexist without surrendering for ourselves or for others the concepts of human dignity and the protection of individual rights under a system of due process and the rule of law. Genuine peace is one thing; the charade of Communist peaceful coexistence as a game of quite different intent.

July 1964.

MORRIS I. LEIBMAN,
Chicago, Ill., Chairman.

Standing committee on education against communism

Members: H. Lynn Edwards, Washington, D.C.; Egbert L. Haywood, Durham, N.C.; John G. McKay, Jr., Miami, Fla.; Raymond W. Miller, Washington, D.C.; William C. Mott, Washington, D.C.; Louis B. Nichols, New York City; Mario T. Noto, Washington, D.C.; C. Brewster Rhoads, Philadelphia, Pa.; John Ritchie, Chicago, Ill.; and Jackson A. Wright, Columbia, Mo.

Staff: Boudinot P. Atterbury, consulting counsel; Frank R. Barnett, consulting program manager; Dorothy M. Belina, secretary; Francis J. McGuire, administrative assistant; and Dorothy E. Nicolosi, research assistant.

PREFACE

On both sides of the Atlantic, it is now rumored that the cold war is obsolete, except for the hostility of Mao Tse-tung and his followers. Khrushchev is pictured as a "reformed" Bolshevik, dreading nuclear war and seeking to lead Soviet communism away from world revolution toward the rule of law and middle-class affluence. From this premise, some contend that the West need not strengthen military, economic, and psychological barriers to types of Soviet aggression that may shortly cease to exist. It is urged, rather, that the next order of business is to encourage Khrushchev's "moderation" by pressing for détente and relaxation of trade restrictions with Russia and her satellites. Some statesmen even argue that we should prepare for the neutralization of central Europe and the eventual disengagement of American forces from the Continent. In short, on the hypothesis of a "peaceful evolving Soviet Union," one new objective for NATO may be to preside over its self-liquidation.

Obviously, few in the West would object to reducing defense budgets if genuine peace were in prospect. But is it? Or is Khrushchev using Pavlov and the hidden persuaders to advance Lenin's unchanging goals? Suppose that the massive "peaceful coexistence" propaganda of the U.S.S.R. and its oversea agents conceal an ambush? Suppose that current interoffice memos of the Communist chiefs and ideologs call not for a reduction in tension but for an increase in class warfare, subversion, and ideological combat? Suppose Communist communiques promise more guerrilla thrusts into the vitals of Afro-Asia and Latin America? Suppose that very recent Communist documents (published after the 1963 Treaty of Moscow) openly reveal how Moscow is again using "peaceful coexistence" as a charade to feint the democracies off guard? Assuming shy motives in the Kremlin (a not unreasonable supposition after 44 years of broken treaties and deceptions), who stands to benefit from another relaxation of vigilance?

Is today's emphasis on peaceful coexistence a new departure for the Kremlin, or is it the repetition of a time-tested gambit for retooling world revolution from temporary positions of weakness? It is useful to appraise Khrushchev's current tactic in the context of history; for, seen in this framework peace to the Communists is simply the continuation of war by other means.

Marx himself believed that Communist and capitalist states were wholly incompatible. Marxism as official dogma still influences the behavior of Communist elites despite the flaws in his prophecy; and Marx taught the inevitability of Communist triumph in the highly developed nations of the West. In a sense, communism deprived of its faith in the necessary obliteration of capitalism would be religion without belief in the certainty of judgment and life everlasting. Marxism must reject any genuine form of peaceful coexistence (on anything more than the temporary basis of expediency) or cease to be.

Lenin, the arch pragmatist of world revolution, taught his cadres how to survive through concession. Confronted by hostile bourgeois states which did not succumb to worker uprisings in the wake of the Russian revolution, Lenin devised the technique of temporary and tactical "peaceful coexistence." At Brest-Litovsk, he signed a formal treaty with Germany which allowed Mother Russia to be dismembered. Still hoping for a chain reaction of revolution now that the "weakest link" had been broken, Lenin made temporary peace with capitalism inside Russia in order to build the economic sinews of his base.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky contended that "socialism in one country"—a thesis advanced by Stalin—violated the basic principles of Marx and Lenin and betrayed the world revolution.

The savage polemics that preceded Trotsky's exile and assassination in Mexico by the victorious Stalin has obscured the fact that the disputing heirs of Lenin were not nearly so far apart as they seemed. True, Stalin wanted to consolidate power in Russia before risking everything on revolution elsewhere; but Stalin never believed that Soviet "socialism" was an end in itself. More cautious than the theoretical Trotsky, Stalin wanted secure possession of the sturdiest lever and most powerful fulcrum for the eventual upheaval of capitalist citadels. Therefore, he became the manager of "planned periods of peaceful coexistence" which enabled not only communism, but also Stalin, to survive.

It is clear, therefore, that even for the patient Stalin, peace was a tactic and not a goal. It gave him time to purge his rivals in the party. It gave him time to collectivize the peasants. It gave him time to industrialize Russia. But even as Stalin led the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, he financed plots, subversion, and popular fronts all over the world. The Communist "peace movements" of the 1930's were designed primarily to ensure that a weak (but developing) Soviet Union would not be crushed from the encircling capitalist powers; they in no way inhibited Moscow's agents from covert operations, industrial espionage, or building international fifth columns.

When Stalin's game with Nazi Germany exploded in his face, he was quick to form alliances with those hated centers of capitalism—England and America—whose arsenals could furnish him with tools of defense. At war's end, he was prepared to exchange token gestures of cooperation with London and Washington for freedom to seize Eastern Europe.

He even dissolved the Comintern in 1943 to underscore the end of Communist subversion abroad, an event hailed in Western circles as the formal termination of Bolshevik ambitions and a sure sign of evolution.

Somehow, the imagemakers have made the buoyant Khrushchev seem less threatening than the cruel Stalin. Thus, we forget how often Western experts on Russia proved Stalin's devotion to peace by citing his reluctance to risk major war and the cynical sacrifice of foreign Communists to the interests of Russian foreign policy. In retrospect, evaluations of Stalin's foreign policy as peace oriented seem naive. Yet, ironically, the dread hand of Stalinism was more constrained to avoid world war than the flexible fingers of Khrushchev, who sought recklessly to engineer a nuclear ambush from Cuba. (For that matter, despite the inflammatory words, Red China's relative restraint with respect to invading the offshore islands, Taiwan, India, and southeast Asia shows Peiping is not much more adventuristic than was Moscow with its wall in Berlin, its rocket threats over Suez, and its hidden missiles in Cuba.) That Khrushchev, like Stalin, often tempers an activist foreign policy with prudent regard for the future of Russia only underlines the essential continuity of Soviet strategy from Lenin to the present.

Communist philosophy, consistent Soviet behavior over four decades, and recent party directives combine to show that peaceful coexistence is a carefully formulated strategic course of action designed to attain revolutionary goals at minimum cost and with minimum risk to the headquarters of the conflict elite.

It behooves the American people, therefore, to ask the question, "Cui bono?" Who benefits, and how, from the illusion that Khrushchev is different not only in degree but in kind from Stalin or Mao? Or perhaps we should ask Lenin's question, "Who is doing what to whom?"—relevant to the cooperation of Communists with their antagonists.

CONCLUSION

Communist actions and Communist words prove that Communist goals are unchanged. The danger may well be greater now, in our moment of one-sided relaxation, than in the tense days of naked Stalinism. The "split" between China and the U.S.S.R. may be of benefit to freedom in the long run. In the short run, polycentrism in the Communist world means we are menaced by two competing strategies: (1) the revolutionary violence of Chinese-oriented Communists in Afro-Asia and Latin America; (2) the more sophisticated Popular Front subversion of Russian-alined Communist factions. Moscow and Peiping agree that capitalism and

human liberty are still the primary targets. Both subsidize class war, ideological war, and guerrilla war, while debating with each other as to whether we are a paper tiger or a nuclear lamb. There is no evidence, in Communist documents or actions, that U.S. policy can be safely based on hopes for genuine accommodation or convergence. Quite to the contrary, Moscow and Peiping both assert that capitalism must be forced to disappear from the earth. Their debate is, "How and When?"

Nevertheless, the Communist bloc has weaknesses: industrial, agricultural, ideological, and political. It is vulnerable to economic sanctions and political warfare. Its disregard for human dignity saps its vitality. Communist Parties all over the world can be embarrassed, isolated, rendered impotent. Until there is genuine change in the goals and techniques of Communist dictatorship, the United States must maintain a shield of invincible military deterrence. From behind that shield, we should use our own propaganda sword to quarantine, divide, and undermine aggressive Communist power. That no genuine change in Communist aims has as yet been effected is abundantly clear from the analysis of current Communist documents which follows:

"As soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole, we shall immediately take it by the scruff of the neck."—Vladimir Lenin, 1920.

"A fight is in progress between these two systems, a life and death combat. But we Communists want to win this struggle with the least losses and there is no doubt whatsoever that we shall win."—Nikita Khrushchev, 1963.

THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AGAINST COMMUNISM.

Justice From the Streets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I have been immensely impressed with the observations of a native South Carolinian as reported by Marguerite Higgins in the "Point of View" column of the September 21 Washington Evening Star.

Without entering into the difficulties that may exist in South Carolina politically, I feel that these expressions are consonant with the feeling of a great many people in our Nation. We cannot proceed on any program of progress, any program of constructive education, any program of prosperity—which I suppose means the elimination of poverty—with justice coming from the streets. Rioting and looting are too often the handmaidens of protest that graduates to violence. We must have law and order that is commensurate with the dignity of this great Nation that espouses freedom of the individual, his right to progress, his right to education and his freedom to achieve that of which he is capable. Any diversion from this format is, in my opinion, not in agreement with our destiny.

The article follows:

SOUTH'S NEW STIRRINGS AID GOLDWATER'S DRIVE

(By Marguerite Higgins)

GREENVILLE, S.C.—In all fairness, Senator GOLDWATER's tour of the South added up to nothing less than a smashing personal triumph.

But most fascinating now that it is all over is to investigate the reasons and the light they shed on some deep new stirrings in this part of America.

Watching the GOP nominee in action immediately brought to mind the great contrast in campaign styles between President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER.

President Johnson cries hallelujah—Senator GOLDWATER cries havoc. With the President, it is good tidings all the way and, glory be, a great society just around the corner.

With Senator GOLDWATER, there are intimations of doom—a nuclear gap, a morality gap, a legality gap, a victory gap—and predictions that socialism is going "to git you if you don't watch out," all delivered in the matter-of-fact tones that might be used by a teacher describing how to put together and operate a ham radio set.

FRIENDLY AUDIENCES

With Evangelist Johnson, the audiences have been friendly, often enthusiatic, although in individual conversation they sometimes give the impression of being more against Senator GOLDWATER than for President Johnson.

But here in the Southland, in the case of the matter-of-fact Mr. GOLDWATER, there was evangelism all right—not in the candidate's manner, certainly, but in the audiences whose fervor had to be witnessed to be believed. And it is not just a speech-day thing either.

Here in the lovely green foothills of the Carolinas, the Republicans have been working steadily and doggedly. In the Greenville-Spartanburg area alone, they have quadrupled the number of volunteer Republican campaign workers. Crossovers from the Democrats to the Republicans have increased 25 percent over 1960.

VICTORY ANTICIPATED

The rest of the State claims roughly the same percentage of gain. Republican leaders here point out that in 1960, Richard Nixon, with only a skeleton GOP organization, lost to John Kennedy by barely 10,000 votes. So the Goldwaterites think they spy a Republican victory in November because they expect more Democrats to join their ranks, checkmating a probable increase in the Negro vote against Senator GOLDWATER.

Who are these Carolina Goldwaterites?

They are the newly minted middle classes—lower, middle and upper—who are the South's new breed.

It is a new breed of self-made men and women who have turned their back on the mores of the decayed southern aristocracy where charm was sometimes held to be more important than accomplishment and where an aristocratic heritage was a frequent excuse for indolence.

This new breed of self-made southerner has come into dominance because of the swift industrialization of the South since 1945—an industrialization so new that it has been free of the slum-making accompaniment of the past.

PROGRESS IS SEEN

Integration, for example, has progressed sufficiently in the schools so that there is a ring of sincerity about it when a Carolinian says: "We are not against Negro rights. We are against the Federal Government's encroachment, not just in the civil rights field but all fields."

What does this new breed want?

By and large, it is not to turn the clock back though there are a few Federal functions that the people would like to see turned back to the individual State. In the main, the South's new middle class wants to put a brake on the Federal Government's power. It is a "this far and no farther" attitude. Social security as presently organized is fine but any drastic increase or change would be opposed.

A SOUTHERNER SPEAKS

But where Mr. GOLDWATER touches these people most deeply is in his philosophy of what America and Americans ought to be. It is not easy to discover a southerner's real feelings because he rarely puts them into words and often is embarrassed to try and do so with newspaper reporters who are regarded automatically as members of the "liberal establishment"—an establishment whose values are viewed as at least partly responsible for what's wrong with America.

As one Republican precinct worker put it: "This country is suffering from a bad case of double standard.

"If there is a riot, these slick liberal writers ooze sympathy for the 'poor rioters.' It's not really the fault of the guy that bashed the cop's head in and broke the store window and stole six television sets, or so we are told. This poor guy just got riot happy because he is living in poverty, the neighborhood is a slum, there is garbage in the alley, or his mother didn't love him enough.

"None of these liberals ever say this rioter is a bum, a criminal and lazy and no good.

"So long as the rioter is treated as a hero and the cop is treated as a beast, the decline of law and order is inevitable. Nobody ever says that tenants can be just as responsible for creating slum conditions as the landlord.

"Why don't they have a clean up and paint up Harlem week? If they don't like garbage in their alleys, why do they dump it there in the first place? My family was so poor that as a teenager I had to be up at dawn milking cows, delivering groceries, and the like.

"I could hardly wait for each day to begin. It was a happy life and it never occurred to me to go and start a riot because I only had one pair of shoes every 2 years and didn't taste ice cream until I was 15.

"Some of America's finest hours were in the days when most of the population was living in what the sociologists would pitingly label as poverty. In those days poverty was not something you started gang warfare over or stole or rioted or killed. It was something that you used grit, self-reliance, and pride to overcome.

"Those qualities were not sneered at then. Now they are sneered at. Pride in country is considered naive.

"It is even considered naive to think that a great power like the United States should have insisted that the Soviet Union live up to its international treaties instead of knuckling under as we so shamefully did when the Berlin wall was built. The more Central Government takes over control of the human being's destiny, the weaker he becomes, along with his moral fiber and his country's moral fiber.

"People like GOLDWATER believe in such things as moral fiber and you Easterners can sneer all you want. He is trying to stop the process of decay and that is why we are for him because we think our lives, our pride, and our human dignity are at stake."

Repression of Jews in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, for more than a dozen years, there has been

increasing evidence of anti-Semitic activity on the part of the Government of the Soviet Union. Once prominent and among the leaders of the professions, sciences, and administrators of the Government and the Communist Party within the U.S.S.R., since 1948 Soviet Jewry has been increasingly subject to religious, social, economic, and employment discrimination.

There are estimated to be some 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union, although the number cannot be exactly figured because of many hundreds of leading Jewish intellectuals who were imprisoned in 1948, and of whom many perished. In fact, some two dozen of their leaders were executed in 1952.

Although Soviet practice and, in fact, the Soviet Constitution recognizes the right of cultural and national groups within the U.S.S.R. to maintain and perpetuate their own identities, this right is not accorded to the Jewish community—the only minority group to which it is denied.

Jews are forbidden schools of their own, are not permitted classes in Yiddish or Hebrew in the other schools, and are denied classes in the Russian language on Jewish culture and history. The effect, of course, is to deny Soviet Jews any real opportunity to perpetuate their identity and cultural values. In addition, the Jewish religion is subjected to particular discrimination by forbidding them to maintain national religious organizations, by the forcible closing of synagogues in many areas, and by vicious press attacks against Jewish groups and the few synagogues which do remain. Because the Government controls the press in the Soviet Union, the responsibility for these attacks must be borne by the Soviet Government. In addition, leading officials of synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad have been arrested and imprisoned on charges of espionage. The Soviet authorities usually claim that these men are spying for the State of Israel.

The severe hampering of religious activities, and the antipathy of the authorities toward religious observances is, of course, an official program of the Communists and is directed against all activities which seek to worship a Supreme Being. However, their activities against the Jewish religion in the Soviet Union have been much stronger and show a particular strain of hate and repression.

The proportion of Jews in universities has declined from more than 13 percent, 30 years ago, to about 3 percent today. Official observers believe this has been brought about through a planned policy of discrimination and quotas.

Thousands of Jewish families were broken and spread over other parts of the world as the result of the Nazi invasion. Many of the refugees now live in Israel or West European countries Yet the Soviet authorities have denied permission to Jewish family members remaining in the Soviet Union to leave the U.S.S.R. in order to be reunited with their families elsewhere.

Despite the full recognition of these, and many more effects of obvious Jewish repression within the U.S.S.R., the official policy of our Department of State has been, and continues to be, that no official protests should be made to the Soviet authorities. The reason given is that such official recognition and pressure on the Soviet Government by our Government might bring about certain repercussions and retaliation on Soviet Jewry. Obviously, no one can predict what reaction would take place within the Soviet Government to an official protest by our Department of State, but I do feel that the Department's policy, while taking cognizance of this problem, has the effect of sweeping it under the rug. I believe that more official recognition should be taken of Jewish repressions in the Soviet Union, and that more publicity should be given throughout our Nation and the world to the undeniable facts of Jewish persecution by Communist authorities. I call upon the Department of State and all other appropriate agencies of our Government, such as the U.S. Information Agency, to increase their activities in this regard, and I strongly hope that the President will direct them to do so.

Frank L. Auerbach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it was with a sense of loss that I learned of the death of Frank L. Auerbach, Deputy Director of the Visa Office of the Department of State. I had come to know and respect greatly Mr. Auerbach. His career bespeaks his unique talents. He was Immigration Counsel to social agencies in Germany and assistant case consultant to social agencies in the United States. He worked with the War Relocation Authority of the Department of Interior and was a lecturer of both Hunter College and Columbia University in New York City. He began his work with the Department of State in 1948 as a consultant to the Chief of the Visa Division and became Assistant Director of the Visa Office in 1955 and Deputy Director in 1962.

Mr. Auerbach is the author of "Immigration Laws of the United States, "Nationality Problems of Children," "Principles Which Should Underlie our Nationality Laws," "The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United States," and "The Immigration and Nationality Act, a Summary of Its Principal Provisions."

Mr. Auerbach's matchless knowledge of the immigration laws, his compassion, his dedication to his work, his unfailing courtesies to all who sought of his time and his talent, made him the public servant beyond reproach. His death leaves a void in an area where there are too few experts. He served us well and he will not be forgotten.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife and children, and to all of the members of his family.

Debt and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, if in these times of economic prosperity our Government cannot balance its budget and limit its spending within the revenues it receives, can it ever do so?

In time of economic adversity and in time of war, expenditures in excess of revenues are frequently necessary. In time of general prosperity, sound fiscal policy requires a balanced budget with provision for the reduction of public debt.

At the beginning of the present Congress, the Kennedy administration presented for our consideration a budget intentionally unbalanced. On February 28, 1963, I reported to the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan my concern about the new econoics in the following words:

"Economic theorists close to the President are trying to convince the American people—as they have already convinced the President—that the way to an ever-expanding prosperity is to cut the revenues, increase the spending, and go further into debt.

"It is tragic that the power of government has fallen into the control of those espousing so unsound a doctrine. A prosperity based upon debt is indeed a house built upon sand. Debt is borrowing from the future. In the future, the debt must either be paid or repudiated. There is no third alternative.

"In the experience of us all, debt is a burden and a reduction of net worth. Still, the New Frontier speaks of increasing the national debt as though it were an asset. The President refers to 'increasing the debt in ways that serve to strengthen the debtor.'

"Such strange doctrine is a complete reversal from the sound beliefs of George Washington, who said: 'Avoid the accumulation of debt, not merely by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burdens which we ourselves ought to bear.'

"Washington's admonition was followed in every generation until our own. In these times of relative prosperity, we should be reducing the national debt. The President urges us to increase it. He tells us that the size of the debt may be disregarded. Let it increase, he says, and reduce the income tax to spur what he calls a sluggish economy.

"Now a tax cut is appealing. If we could take home a greater portion of the paycheck, we could purchase more, save more and invest more. But consider what will be the situation if the Government goes on spending without stint. By reason of the tax cut, the tax revenues will be reduced, so, in order to pay for its spending, the Government will

have to borrow more to fill the gap between revenue coming in and spending going out.

"If the Government borrows from the people, it will take from them all the increase they thought they would have for use in the free economy. If the Government borrows from the banking system, more dollars will be issued to pay the Government's bills, resulting in inflation. In that case, the expected increase in take-home pay will evaporate in increased prices. If taxes are reduced, there must be a reduction in Government spending; otherwise, there can be no spur in the free economy.

"If our economy is sluggish, as the President says is the case, it is because of the deficit—debt policy of the Government. A government which actually lived within its tax income and systematically reduced its debt would so stimulate the economy that the economy would move forward with confidence and enthusiasm. Then we would experience a sound economic expansion, producing revenues sufficient perhaps to permit a tax reduction."

Now, in 1964, as this Congress comes to a close, it must be recorded that our national debt limit has been increased from $308 billion to $315 billion to $324 billion—in a 2-year period of general prosperity.

We are living off the future when we ought to be living within our means; when we ought to be reducing, not increasing, the national debt.

Complexities of Police Protection Amazes Reporter on Patrol Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the public is concerned with the problems facing law enforcement officers. The public is also rightfully concerned with the disregard for law and order that is flourishing in various parts of the country.

The Enterprise Publications, of Brookfield, Ill., assigned its staff writer, Miss Lyn Daunoras, to cover the police department on a typical tour of duty.

I submit her article for the RECORD as I feel it places the problems of law enforcement in a very practical light and merits our attention:

COMPLEXITIES OF POLICE PROTECTION AMAZES REPORTER ON PATROL DUTY

(By Lyn Daunoras)

It was Saturday, August 29, and I had been given approval by Police Chief Edward Barcal to accompany a squad car from 9 to midnight on its routine patrol of the village.

I sat in the back seat alone with Sgt. Tony Azzarrello at the wheel and Police Commissioner Joe Wazny at his side. Along with many other residents, no doubt, I had always assumed that police protection meant merely answering and checking out complaints registered by citizens.

That was a very wrong assumption. Police protection is all-embracing and fantastic in its thoroughness. All residents would find it fascinating to tour with the men in blue as they patrol and protect the village during a shift, looking for trouble, covering bad traffic intersections, checking out business houses, alleys, schools, parking lots, homes, questioning loiterers, stopping violators they note with a quick, observing eye, all between investigations of complaints.

In 3 hours, there were only two calls from the police desk to check out. The rest of the time was just touring, touring and checking, checking, checking. Nothing went unnoticed. A young couple sitting in a doorway holding hands was questioned by Azzarrello and when he found neither one lived in the apartment house whose doorway they were utilizing, he asked them nicely to move along.

Asked why, since it seemed almost a shame to disturb them, he responded that apartment tenants and landlords complain about persons who do not live in the buildings taking up the doorway. Sometimes, when tenants want to enter or leave the building and they find couples or gangs sitting on the doorstep, they get abusive language in response to their request to move aside. Therefore, complaints are lessened by getting right to the source.

Groups of teenagers are watched carefully and the grouping is discouraged wherever possible. Reason for this is that another gang, cruising in a car may stop before a group standing around a corner and suddenly a "rumble" erupts. On this night four boys crossing Prairie Avenue joined three others in front of the Purple Plum and they proceeded down Grand Boulevard.

At the same moment the first message from the desk came through: someone had broken the drinking fountain at Kiwanis Park at the base and the water was gushing out heavily. It was possible the four crossing Prairie had come from the park since they were coming from that direction. "If they're responsible for the destruction, they'll be wet," Azzarrello said and drove off in pursuit of the group which he intercepted at Washington.

He stopped, talked to all of them, viewed their identification and checked for any wetness. There was none. None of the boys were from Brookfield; they were all polite and cooperative. One 15-year-old had no I.D. and Azzarrello asked him why. No reason, just didn't have any, he was told.

Back in the squad, Azzarrello questioned the wisdom of parents who allow their children out without any type of identification. He pointed out that a boy or girl walking alone could be hit by a car and taken to a hospital where he might need an emergency operation in order to save his life. A doctor cannot operate or even treat a minor without consent of the parents. How would they locate the parents of an unconscious youth with no identification?

Around the swimming pool we went, checking from every vantage point with flashlight. The spotlight is not used because it tends to scare off persons a block away who might be up to malicious mischief and are thus warned of an approaching squad. The pool was deserted, as was its immediate vicinity.

Going down Shields, Azzarrello suddenly flashed his light on the car in front, bringing that driver to a halt. As he talked to the driver, I looked the car over carefully, trying to find why he had stopped him. Nothing appeared out of order. So when he said, "OK, be sure you take care of it now" to the teenaged driver and got back into the squad car, it was our first question.

There was no light over the back license plate. Again he flashed his light at the departing car. "See that?" he asked. Then I did. "In case of a burglary, how could witnesses take the license number? Such a car becomes a suspicious object. I just warned him to get a light on there." Meanwhile, he had taken the youth's name, address and license plate number and will be checking it out to be sure the light is there next time. Just a precaution that could be a lifesaver at a later date.

Then the second message came through. Resident at 4307 Eberly Avenue reported someone peering into a window. Young, thin man who ran north through the alley. In a whisk, we tore off to Eberly Avenue from Washington and McCormick. In minutes flat we were there, going up and down the streets, side streets and alleys, checking and flashing. There was no one in sight. But Azzarrello made a wide sweep around the area, taking no chances of missing anyone afoot getting away.

And then we went on a round of veritable death traps for police. There were narrow, dark passageways where a squad car would be at a handicap, hidden stairways, high, flat roofs made easily accessible for those hiding out. Azzarrello flashed his light down one passageway leading from the alley to the street. "See anything?" he asked. We didn't. Then he lowered the flashlight and the sidewalk bellied in the center, making it an ideal place for a person to lie flat.

A policeman unfamiliar with the gully, would flash his light straight through, as he had the first time, and see nothing. "For 100-percent protection, it is absolutely essential for a policeman to be completely familiar with every place in the village," he said.

This, we made a mental note, was another good argument against a metropolitan police force. How would a policeman from Oak Lawn or Chicago know about a gully in a certain sidewalk in Brookfield?

The dangers lurking in the shadows of business houses bothered me, and I asked if business operators were aware of the pitfalls they presented police in the performance of their duties. But Azzarrello wasn't complaining. "I consider it a personal challenge," he smiled. "I know these trouble spots so well by now that I feel if anything happens to me, I deserve it for letting it happen."

But what of the new men? There are too many places where they'd be sitting ducks. It's something residents should know about because the protection at every angle given by their police department borders on the unbelievable. Even cobwebs on doorways are examined because they indicate no one has opened the door in 24 hours. Periodically the department or village hall will receive a note of gratitude from a resident who has had first-hand experience in utilizing the services of the department in an emergency.

But emergencies are just a small part of the facets of police work they do not know about and probably will never know about. They can only be assured that Brookfield is one of the best protected suburbs in the county. The fact that only four messages came through in 3 hours on a Saturday night (the other two were handled by the other squad car under Officer Rick Gallas) proves the point.

Of course, this was an unusually quiet evening. The police department averages about 7,000 complaints per year and as of September 1, had already passed the 4,000 mark.

It was obvious that residents do nothing to make their jobs easier. There were open overhead doors on garages, just begging burglars or delinquents to help themselves, cars standing unattended with motors running.

The fact that 60 miles had been put on by Azzarrello during his shift from 4 to 12 p.m. and that upward to 100 miles per shift have been put on by squad cars, just within the limits of Brookfield, certainly proves without doubt the vigilant, careful, thorough pro-

tection given the residents of Brookfield. They'd have to see it to fully appreciate it, but it's a great comfort to know it's there.

Religious Persecution in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following letter describing religious persecution in the Soviet Union was sent by way of Poland to the editor of Novoye Russkoye Slovo, a Russian-language newspaper published in New York City. It was brought to my attention by Mr. Paul Voronaeff, of Indianapolis, Ind., and its graphic description of intimidation and terror lends little support to the theory that the Soviet Union is mellowing:

To all children of God who compose the church of Jesus Christ—to all evangelical Christian Baptists living in our land, from east to west and from north to south, "Grace be unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come" (Revelation 1: 4).

Beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord.

We decided to inform you about a sad event of which we were the witnesses. The grief which we wish to share with you is our common sadness, because we all are one church which is the body of Christ (1 Corinthians 12: 26): "And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."

January 11, 1964, Sister Maria Ivanovna Chmara, living in Village Kulunda, Altai Region, received information from the prison in the City of Barnaul that her husband passed away. It was confirmed by a telegram communication that she is now a widow, with her four children between the ages of 13 years to 1 month. Her husband, Brother Nicolaj Kuzmich Chmara, born 1916, together with his wife, joined the church in 1963. This short life in Christ was a vivid example of a new life to all with whom he led his former life of drunkenness.

The church at Kulunda, of which he was a member, testifies of him that he sincerely loved the Lord and served Him with all his house. He loved to sing the hymn:

"I was called to work on this earth,
To fight with every idol,
Not looking on the fearful friends,
To be a witness before the world.
And not afraid of the judgment of the men."

It was December 24–27, 1963, that he, with Brother F. I. Subbotin and his brother and sister, B. K. Chmara and L. M. Chmara, appeared before the court and together with others was sentenced for the name of Christ for good and conscientious behavior. After the sentence of the court he spent just 2 weeks in prison, and then the communication came that he is dead.

January 13, 1964, the widow and relatives of the dead, together with us, got from the prison the body of Nicolaj Kuzmich. During the trial by the court, the relatives and friends had seen him in perfect health and cheerful. But what did we see when we got him dead? On his hands are seen marks of chains. The palms of the hands are burned; the fingers and bottoms of both feet are burned. The lower part of the abdomen has marks of wounds made by piercing with a sharp and red-hot object, right leg is swollen, both feet have pierced wounds, and the body with signs and bruises. When we saw all this we had mixed feelings—of deep grief and joy. Our grief is because our dear brother Nicolaj Kuzmich had to pass through such brutal trials and accept death in the prison walls. We grieve for the unhealed wounds made by godless hands upon the innocent hearts of children. Not for evil deeds, but for good, for love to the people, to the Lord, and for His name, he bore it all as a good soldier of Jesus Christ and was faithful to Him unto death. We are filled with a deep sorrow at seeing the widow and her children crying at the casket, with difficulty recognizing the face of their father. We tried to comfort them and ourselves with the fact that we all have the Father of orphans and widows—and there is a righteous Judge, the Christ.

During 4 days and nights at the casket were many brothers and sisters from afar and from the local area who solemnly conducted services. The funeral service took place in the afternoon of January 16, 1964, with a procession through the town singing hymns and carrying placards which read:

"For to me to live is Christ and to die is gain."

"Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul."

"I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God."

After the burial of the body of the deceased brother we returned to our respective places with thanksgiving and with greater zeal to serve the Lord and to be faithful to Him unto death as our brother was.

Beloved brothers and sisters, we know that the first question that will arise in your mind is—What for? What official charges were presented against him by the court of prosecutors and for what reason was he sentenced to death?

For the answer we present some transcripts from the sentence of Altai Regional Court, Act No. 142, where it said that a group of Baptists conducted illegal meetings under unsanitary conditions, drawing the youth and teenagers into the sect group. Under cover of "cleaning up," they propagated against CUECB (Council of Union of Evangelical Christian-Baptists in Moscow) and its position and kept contact with other likewise illegal groups and other like charges.

This is the definition of the court, according to which Brother F. I. Subbotin was sentenced to 5 years of strict imprisonment; two brothers, Wasilij and Nicolaj Chmara, to 3 years of jail; and their sister, L. M. Chmara, to 2 years with suspension.

Yes, in our days "unusual" things happen. We call your attention: Discuss and tell this to all people who love the Lord. Tell about this to large and small. To all who still fear God and who desire to meet with Christ.

Signed by brothers and sisters of the city of Barnaul, Village Kulunda, 120 persons.

A Tribute to Loren Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, in the recent appointment of Loren Miller to the municipal court of Los Angeles as a judge, well-deserved recognition has been given to one who has assiduously and without personal aggrandizement given of his time and talent to the cause of human justice.

The following article by Paul Weeks, staff writer for the Los Angeles Times, highlights some of his major accomplishments in the field of civil rights, and I am pleased to insert it in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1964]

NEW JUDGE RELUCTANT MEMBER OF PROFESSION: DRAGGED INTO LAW "KICKING AND SCREAMING," SAYS NEGRO NAMED TO BENCH BY GOVERNOR BROWN

(By Paul Weeks)

Los Angeles' newest municipal court judge is a spindly, bespectacled man of 61 who admits he never wanted to be a lawyer.

"I was dragged kicking and screaming into the practice of law because, you know, in those days a Negro could be a doctor, lawyer or schoolteacher—and that's about all," said Loren Miller as he relaxed in his Silver Lake district home late last week.

A few days earlier, Tuesday to be exact, he had been appointed by Governor Brown to fill the unexpired term of the late Judge Ernestine Stahlhut.

BEGAN ON FARM

Miller views his rise from Nebraska farm boy to the bench with easygoing, low-key humor. But it's been a long time since Loren Miller was a farm boy setting out to practice law.

Today he is regarded as one of the Nation's great living civil rights attorneys, with a trailblazing history of triumphs, particularly in the field of housing discrimination, behind him.

The most celebrated, *Shelley* v. *Kramer*, came in 1948 when the U.S. Supreme Court delivered the epochal decision that racial covenants on property cannot be enforced by the courts.

HIGH COURT VICTORY

"That was for a Detroit man who bought a piece of property, and was denied the right to occupy it when it was found he was a Negro," Miller recalled. "We lost that one all the way up—until the Supreme Court reversed it."

Miller said he "guessed" he had tried about 100 racial covenant cases, beginning in about 1939, "before we got that Supreme Court decision."

That was followed by a series of precedent setting legal victories by Miller against housing discrimination. They included: A California ruling that a white property owner could not collect damages from another Caucasian because the latter sold racially restricted property to a Negro.

A 1954 State supreme court decision which forbade the city of San Francisco from following neighborhood racial patterns in renting public housing.

A 1962 appellate court ruling that a landlord cannot evict a tenant because of his race. Miller fought the case for an engineer who had rented a Pasadena apartment only to be evicted when the landlord discovered his new tenant to be a Negro.

In virtually all his civil rights cases Miller has acted as counsel for the NAACP, of which he is national vice president, as well as regional counsel.

In the latter role, he has played a major part in striking down school desegregation barriers, including the case which led to the historic U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 which discarded the old "separate but equal" theory.

Born in Pender, Nebr., on January 20, 1903, the second of seven children, Miller was graduated from high school in Highland, Kans. He attended the University of Kansas at Lawrence, Howard University in Washington, D.C., and finally received his law degree in 1928 from Washburn University in Topeka.

MOVED HERE IN 1929

He moved to Los Angeles in 1929, where his mother was then living, upon learning of the

death of a sister. For 4 years he was a reporter, first on the California News and then the California Eagle—weeklies circulated in the Negro community.

In 1933, after his marriage, his wife persuaded him to take the bar examination and return to law. Mrs. Juanita Miller is a USC graduate in social work, and is today still carrying on a career of her own as a social worker in the State department of welfare's Los Angeles office.

The Millers have two children, Loren, Jr., 27, also an attorney, of 1319 South Highland Avenue, and Edward, 18, a student at Valley Junior College. Loren, Jr. and his wife, Anne-Marye have two children, Michael, 5, and Robin, 4.

OWNS NEWSPAPER

Miller is one of the few newspapermen to achieve the goal of owning a newspaper, for which he once worked. In 1951, he bought the California Eagle, in which he has regularly written a militant, goading column with a "freedom now!" message.

A Democrat since he voted for Al Smith in 1928. Miller has espoused often unpopular causes (he defended Black Muslims after a violent clash with Los Angeles police) in law and in politics.

ONE OF REGRETS

But one of his regrets as he leaves law practice for the bench is having to withdraw from participation in a case which he feels ultimately will result in invalidation of an initiative measure on the November ballot.

It would amend the State constitution, nullifying all antidiscrimination legislation in housing and blocking future legislation.

Miller is convinced the initiative is unconstitutional—but he and his allies lost preliminary skirmishes to keep it off the ballot.

The Big Gyp That's Costing You $200 a Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, frequently issues that are not widely discussed by the American people because they do not know enough about them are the very issues that are the most important.

Such an issue is one that a crusading Texas Congressman by the name of WRIGHT PATMAN has been calling to the attention of the Congress and the people for the past several years. It is the issue of tax-free foundations. Congressman PATMAN, although not of my political party, has been doing a job for the benefit of the country. There is no politics in his operation. I endorse his effort sincerely and heartily.

If there are massive abuses of tax-free foundations and tax evasion on the part of those best able to pay taxes, business manipulations done under the cover of educational or charitable foundations, then it is time for the Congress—Republicans as well as Democrats—to support Representative PATMAN in legislating corrective measures.

An article appearing in Saga magazine, October issue, discusses PATMAN'S effort at length. It was written by Fred J. Cook, a first-rate writer who has written books about unsung Revolutionary heroes, crime in New York, Pentagon extravagances, and many other interesting matters. He has never written about a more intriguing subject and he has done it well. Cheers to Saga magazine, Fred Cook, and above all, to my good friend and hard-working colleague, WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas.

The article follows:

UNDER AN UMBRELLA OF PIOUS CHARITY LURKS THE BIGGEST, JUICIEST TAX DODGE OF ALL TIME

In his long career in the House, he has been one of that body's guttiest fighters for the common man—and against the power complexes of our time: the millionaire industrialists, the huge corporations, the powerful banking trusts. The bigger they are, the harder WRIGHT PATMAN fights them.

Right now, PATMAN is waging the battle of his life on behalf of the little man, which means nine-tenths of all Americans. He is out to apply the coup de grace to what he calls "giants with tax umbrellas," and his opponents are only people like the Rockefellers and the Du Ponts, who consider a million dollars mere pin money. The particular "giants with tax umbrellas" whom PATMAN is fighting are the huge, tax-exempt foundations set up by such great industrial dynasties.

These foundations represent a tax escape hatch that, to PATMAN, is the most vicious and unjust in the whole income tax structure. Through this escape hatch, he says, the extremely wealthy avoid paying anything like their proper share of the tax burden—and the rest of us have to make it up. Just how far down in our jeans do we have to dig to keep the elite in the tax-exempt status to which they have become accustomed? The figures, as PATMAN cites them, are fantastic.

He has uncovered deals in which, by use of the foundation device, individuals have escaped paying taxes on literally millions of dollars in profits.

The total annual loss from such Brobdingnagian tax dodgers runs into the billions. And this means that the average man gets soaked—and soaked hard—to make up the deficit. "This year's tax cut would be peanuts compared to what would be possible if foundation frauds were eliminated," PATMAN declares.

PATMAN would like to see the Treasury Department figure out exactly how much better off Joe Doakes would be if he were not helping to pay the taxes of the Rockefellers, etc., but Treasury has exhibited no wild enthusiasm for dredging up the facts. In the absence of such explicit knowledge, the best that can be offered is an educated guess. That guess goes this way: Assume that foundations were required to pay taxes on their gross income like other businesses, then if the much-ballyhooed 1964 tax cut saved you $100, closing the foundation tax loophole could probably save you double that amount—another $200. So you are losing, out of pocket, $200 a year.

The gimmicks PATMAN has exposed show the extent of the abuses. Foundations compete with banks, making multi-million-dollar loans with their tax-free money and often giving highly preferential rates of interest to the donor—or his friends, or his businesses. They run restaurants, invest in real estate, build and lease gas stations—enterprises in which, naturally, they hold an enormous competitive edge over businessmen who have to pay taxes. In one startling case, PATMAN'S researchers found a broker, a member of the New York and American Stock Exchanges, using three family foundations (assets: $28 million) to run an unregulated, tax-free security enterprise for himself and his fellow magnates.

"There's one wealthy, residential area outside of Philadelphia where virtually every other house has a foundation set up to send its kids to college at the taxpayers' expense," PATMAN declares.

He explained the deal as follows:

Randolph Enterprise Jones is a wealthy industrialist with an income that places him comfortably in the upper brackets. He has a couple of sons who will soon be going to college. So what does Enterprise do? He creates the Randolph Enterprise Jones Foundation to provide scholarships for worthy college students. In anticipation of future need, he takes a nice, round sum, say $25,000, and donates it to the foundation. For this generosity Uncle Sam rewards him in two ways. Since this presumably qualifies as charity, he pays no income tax on the $25,000, and in addition, if this burst of benevolence has dropped him into a lower income tax bracket, he saves a further tidy hunk of pocket money on the taxes he pays on his remaining income. Enterprise, as can be seen, is making hay with this deal, and if he can just arrange to recapture the $25,000, he'll be home scot free. This last step is not too difficult. Enterprise scouts around and finds an obliging college that is positively overawed by the scholastic attainments of Randolph Enterprise Jones, Jr. Then Junior gets the scholarship from his father's foundation—and all his college expenses are paid with tax-free money. The same deal is later worked with son number two, the foundation being kept alive by carefully gaged bequests until there are no more deserving Enterprise Joneses to be rewarded.

"All of this is a kind of city slicker deal," says PATMAN, who comes from the north Texas farmlands. "There are more city slickers in the United States today than ever before, and their deals mount up to a lot more in money. It used to be that the city slicker was working to euchre you out of $5 to $100; today, it's millions.

"To the very rich, our tax system is just like passing around the hat. If they want to put in, they can. If they don't, they don't have to.

"Suppose everybody took advantage of this. Suppose every American had his own foundation? You know what would happen? We wouldn't collect enough money to pay the Capitol's police force. We couldn't keep Congress in session. The whole thing would collapse."

Most of us have probably been brainwashed into considering foundations as essentially noble enterprises. Some of them are, of course. At their best, foundations finance important medical research, help care for orphans and the aged, support the arts and education. But there is a huge—and constantly growing—number of foundations whose principal function is to pile up huge fortunes, giving only a pittance to charity as a tax-escape cloak. Such foundations, exempt from all taxation, act in reality as holding companies, dominating huge industrial empires, making the wealthy ever wealthier and more powerful at the expense of the average man.

After a dogged, 3-year probe of what he calls "the foundation mess," PATMAN cites some specific examples:

The Rockefeller foundations.—At the close of 1960, seven Rockefeller family foundations held 7,891,567 shares of the common stock of Standard Oil of New Jersey. (In mid-May 1964, Jersey Standard was selling at $88 a share and paying $2.80 annually. This would make such a holding worth $694,457,896—and would result in $22,096,387 of tax-free income.) But Jersey Standard was not by any means the only major oil stock in the portfolios of the Rockefeller foundations. They also owned hundreds of thousands of

shares in each of the following: Socony Mobil, Continental Oil, Ohio Oil, Standard Oil of Indiana, and Union Tank Car Co. PATMAN points out that the Justice Department in Teddy Roosevelt's day once broke up the Standard Oil monopoly, but now, he claims, it threatens to return again, exercising the same kind of tight, competition-stifling control through the medium of tax-exempt foundations.

This pyramiding of power, under the proper circumstances, might even boost a man into the Presidency. "We would be naive indeed to think that Nelson Rockefeller's candidacy wasn't helped along by a lot of tax-exempt foundation money," PATMAN says.

The Du Pont foundations—The kingpin of the group, the Longwood Foundation (receipts: $32,952,885 for the years 1951 through 1960) didn't even bother to file returns from 1955 through 1958 to let Uncle Sam in on the secret of how much it was getting. For such an oversight, the average taxpayer would be penalized, fined or jailed, PATMAN points out; but you don't do things like that to the Du Ponts. They didn't get so much as a slap on the wrist from Internal Revenue. Another huge hunk of the Du Pont fortune is tax sheltered in the Nemours Foundation, created in the will of Alfred I. du Pont when he died in 1935. To get some idea of what is involved, consider this: the Du Pont Estate is now valued at some $392.7 million and controls resources in excess of $1 billion. It holds huge blocs of E. I. du Pont de Nemours stock and General Motors stock; it controls 31 national banks in Florida, the Florida East Coast Railway, a paper company, a telephone company and a baronial sweep of Florida real estate. PATMAN is incensed at the thought that the entire income from the vast empire ($7.5 million in 1962 alone) soon won't be paying a dime in income taxes. Under the provisions of Alfred I. du Pont's will, the shares of beneficiaries as they die go into the Nemours Foundation. The major beneficiary has been the widow, Mrs. Jessie Ball du Pont, now 80 and the recipient of $6.6 million in 1962. When she dies, the Nemours Foundation, which the Du Ponts will still control, will shelter virtually all of the multimillion-dollar annual Du Pont income from the income tax.

The Ford Foundation—the foundation enabled the Ford estate to dodge onerous inheritance taxes in settling the estates of Henry and Edsel Ford. It was instrumental in keeping the huge motor company in the hands of the Ford family. PATMAN is concerned because he feels the Ford Foundation's oversea deals often seem to defy the foreign policy of the United States. The National Government has been worried about our vanishing gold reserves; the drain was so severe that, in 1961, we even brought servicemen's families home to ease the foreign spending. But at the same time, PATMAN says, the Ford Foundation was shipping $33 million overseas, practically undoing national policy. Much of this foundation money sent abroad is invested in foreign companies, helping to build foreign businesses to compete with our own, and taking jobs away from our workers. This outrages PATMAN. "The clear intent of Congress in granting tax exemptions to foundations," he says, "was to encourage charitable activities at home. I think there's a very great question about the legality of foundations shipping tax-exempt funds abroad."

The abuses possible in the foundation setup, the kind of thing that might happen if every Joe decided to set up his own foundation, are illustrated by the case of Frank Lloyd Wright, the famous architect. When Wright died in 1959 at the age of 93, he had not filed an income tax return for 25 years. During that period, all of his income had been donated to the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation of Spring Green, Wis. When Internal Revenue began a belated probe, it uncovered this picture:

Wright had always earned good money. In 1955, for example, his income was $34,862. It all went to his private foundation, which took care of Wright's living expenses. It paid him amounts ranging from $2,370 to $3,300 a year for food, living quarters and personal expenses. It paid from $300 to $1,057 a year for clothing; from $200 to $715 a year for medical and dental care. It paid him up to $6,000 a year in lecture fees, and it paid from $500 to $1,300 a year from 1941 through 1949 to educate his daughter, Iovanna, the child of his third wife, Olga Lazovich.

For 25 years, the income tax laws that apply to others hadn't applied to Wright, and he had lived well—and tax free—off his private foundation. Not until Wright was dead did the Government begin to wonder about his finances; and now, since it cannot collect from him, it is trying to sock the foundation for $76,972 in back taxes, interest, and penalties.

This is the kind of thing that WRIGHT PATMAN is determined to stop. So far Congress hasn't exhibited any passionate fervor for PATMAN's reforms; but the record of the past 35 years says quite clearly that he's not a man to be sold short. More than once, he's kept plugging away until finally the country and the Congress saw things his way. The outstanding example occurred during the depression-ridden thirties when PATMAN drove through the soldier's bonus, inflicting on Franklin D. Roosevelt one of his rare and most stunning congressional defeats.

The bonus battle was a pivotal point in PATMAN's career. It was the beginning, in fact, of his interest in foundations—and his suspicions about their unwarranted immunity and influence.

"It got me interested in the whole field of money," PATMAN explains. "I began to see all the unfair advantages the big take of the little. I could see that these people who were against the bonus—and the foundations were right in the middle of the fight—were serving their own selfish interests and were against the veteran or the little man ever getting what was due him. I began to look around, to look at their interests, and to jump on them."

Once the worst of the depression crisis had passed, PATMAN became concerned about the fantastic growth of the chainstores. He felt that the great grocery chains menaced both the farmer and the small businessman. "I introduced a bill and came near getting it through, that would have limited the number of stores in any chain to 50," PATMAN recalls. "I would have gotten it through, probably, except that the farmers were on the wrong side on that issue. All that they could see was that the chainstores were bringing them cheaper prices on the things they bought."

PATMAN's abortive attack on the chainstores brought him once more into collision with foundations. The moment he began to probe chainstore prices, he was faced with the phenomenon of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.—and the Hartford Foundation that stood behind it. PATMAN wanted to find out what kind of special discounts and rebates A. & P. was giving in its drive to kill off competition, but every time he probed this issue, he developed "staff trouble." His staff, for one reason or another, just couldn't seem to find the answers to the $64 questions, and so PATMAN, in desperation, turned to a Texas friend who knew the intracies of business—a man whom he could trust implicitly.

The friend was Rowan Howard, who was employed by the Duncan Coffee Co. Howard answered PATMAN's call and came tramping into Washington in typical Texas attire, wearing a 10-gallon hat and boots with the mud still on them. PATMAN gave him a large, rawhide briefcase, a highly ornamented piece, presented him by a grateful veterans' post in Texas for his work on the bonus. With this under his arm, Howard departed for New York. Still in boots and 10-gallon hat, he barged into the office of George L. Hartford, then president of A. & P. and the guiding hand behind the Hartford Foundation. Rowan Howard explained his business and said he'd like to take a look at the A. & P. files.

"Of course," said Hartford. "We have nothing to hide."

So Howard, with PATMAN's rawhide briefcase under his arm, began to prowl. "Rowan knew business and he knew exactly what he was looking for," PATMAN explains, with a chuckle. "He'd go through the files, and he'd spot something he wanted—and, pop, it would go into the briefcase."

When Rowan Howard came back to Washington, he was loaded with all the information PATMAN previously hadn't been able to get about A. & P. discount practices. PATMAN used the information well. Putting a prominent A. & P. official on the witness stand, he began to fire specific questions at the official, who became surprised and flustered at PATMAN's exact knowledge. He kept referring to a little black book, checking figures in it. "Here, let me see that book," PATMAN said to him finally, and the official passed it over. PATMAN took one swift look, saw that the book exposed A. & P.'s full and variable discount scales. He whirled around. "I'll offer this in evidence," he said.

PATMAN chuckles at the memory. "I thought that A. & P. man was going to faint on the witness stand," he says. "That night all the newspapers had big headlines about the use A. & P. made of discounts to crush competition."

Such clashes whetted PATMAN's appetite for his eventual showdown battle with the foundations. PATMAN had founded the House Small Business Committee in 1941 and remained its chairman until 1963, when he became chairman of the more influential House Banking and Currency Committee. In early 1962, he began to probe foundations in earnest, and for nearly 3 years now he has been examining the incredible system under which tax-free money, squirreled away in foundations, becomes a virtual law unto itself, controlling the destinies of some of the mightiest corporations in the land—and affecting the lives and pocketbooks of every one of us.

PATMAN's invaluable assistant and dogged digger of statistics in this enterprise is a trusted friend of some 20 years' standing, Harry A. Olsher. Between them, Olsher and PATMAN have submitted to Congress three exhaustively detailed reports on foundation inequities and subterfuges, and they take pride in the fact, in PATMAN's words, that "not a single fact among the literally thousands of facts in those reports has been successfully challenged."

The Treasury Department, PATMAN says, is a fountain of ignorance on the matter. At the end of 1952, Treasury's records showed that 12,295 foundations existed; just 9 years later, at the end of 1960, it cataloged 45,124. But these were only the foundations that Treasury knew about. PATMAN's researches disclosed that there were thousands of others, like the one set up by Enterprise Jones to send his kids to college. Many foundations just took their exemptions for granted, without even bothering to get Treasury's approval for their tax-exempt status. In one instance, PATMAN and Olsher uncovered a foundation that had been prospering for 35 years, completely unknown to the Treasury Department.

Just what kind of money is involved? How serious is the foundation tax-escape dodge that PATMAN is fighting?

You begin to get some idea when you realize that PATMAN and Olsher, with limited re-

sources, have managed only to scratch the surface. In their first report at the end of 1962, they told Congress that, out of 45,124 foundations known to Treasury, they had been able to make a detailed analysis of only 534. Yet they had discovered that this relatively small number of foundations was sitting on a mountain of $10.2 billion tax-free. And the mountain was growing all the time. From 1951 to 1960, these few foundations had had incomes of $6.9 billion (of which slightly less than half, $3.4 billion, had been spent for their announced charitable purposes); and in the single year of 1960, they had had incomes of $1,034,710,518—a figure that was almost 20 percent larger than the $864,435,000 earned, after taxes, by the 50 largest banks in the United States.

Such figures are testament to foundation power. PATMAN illustrated this same power in another way. He reported to Congress that 111 of his examined foundations held 10 percent or more of the stock of 263 different corporations. They exerted control, either persuasive or outright, over a broad cross-section of some of the mightiest corporations in the land.

"The record shows * * * that foundations are the perfect holding company device," PATMAN says. "The founders of great fortunes—fortunes built many times on fraud and chicanery—can dodge the inheritance tax laws and the income tax laws that apply to the rest of us. They can pile up ever greater fortunes in their private foundations."

Charity has nothing to do with it; the charitable pretense is sometimes so flimsy and transparent it is a joke. In his first report to Congress, PATMAN cited the manner in which two of the most powerful New York banks used the foundation device to avoid payment of taxes on heavily profitable stock transactions. Four of the city's major banks held 60 percent of the stock of Discount Corp. of America, a primary dealer in U.S. Government securities, bankers' acceptances and negotiable time certificates of deposit. By concerted agreement, quite evidently, the banks decided to dispose of this control. But, in making this decision, two of them were suddenly overwhelmed by charitable impulses.

The Morgan Guaranty Trust held 9,739 shares of Discount Corp. In early January 1961, these shares were worth $2,493,184 and represented a profit of $945,005 to Morgan Guaranty. Instead of selling the stock and paying a 25-percent capital gains tax, as Joe Doakes would have to do, Morgan Guaranty hastily set up the Morgan Guaranty Charitable Trust, to which it contributed its Discount Corp. shares. These shares represented the only assets the charity had. On August 31, 1961, the charity sold the shares for $2,515,735.47, and subsequently, on March 12, 1962, it asked the Federal Government for tax exemption. This was granted—and made retroactive, covering the million-dollar profit on the stock deal.

An identical pattern was followed by the Chemical Bank of New York. It, too, was suddenly possessed by magnanimous impulses, and it, too, created a brandnew charity—the Chemical Bank Trust Foundation. Just like Morgan Guaranty, it donated all its Discount Corp. shares—4,998, on which it had a profit of $1,087,065—to its foundation, and just as in the case of Morgan Guaranty, these shares constituted the only assets the foundation had. Then on August 31, 1961, the same day Morgan Guaranty sold its shares, the Chemical Bank's charity sold its shares—and subsequently, just like Morgan Guaranty, it also applied to the Federal Government for retroactive tax exemption.

To PATMAN, the present "foundation mess" threatens the very foundations of American democracy. On the one hand, the unconscionable use of foundations as a tax escape hatch drastically narrows the tax base and puts the most crushing burden on the poor and the middle classes, those least capable of supporting it.

This first great evil, in PATMAN's view, is father to a second. The tax-free funds amassed in the hands of foundation baronies represent enormous financial leverage on our entire society. There is virtually nothing that they cannot do, and they sometimes indulge in activities that have not the remotest connection with charity.

In St. Paul, Minn., for example, he found that three foundations—the Louis W. & Maud Hill Family Foundation, the Amherst R. Wilder Foundation, and the Tozer Foundation—"have been purchasing gasoline service stations and commercial buildings and leasing them back to the sellers, Pure Oil Co., Cities Service Oil Co., General Electric Co., and F. W. Woolworth Co." These deals, PATMAN says, enable "these big oil companies, General Electric and the Woolworth chain to expand without having to go into the money market for capital. Thus, these foundations are not only in the commercial investment business, in competition with real estate investors, but they are being used as a handy tool to speed up control of our economy by corporate giants and to limit opportunities for small, independent businessmen."

The favors that foundations do for their creators and for fellow foundations are infinite. The Ford Foundation, for example, supplied the Duke Power Co., of Charlotte, N.C. (controlled by the Duke Endowment), with $3 million on a 20-year loan at 2.65-percent interest—at a time when other borrowers were paying 6½ percent. In 1961, when the Ford Motor Co. was seeking control of Philco, it needed more than a million shares of Ford stock to trade for 4.1 million shares of Philco. Where did it get the stock? From the Ford Foundation, of course.

Incensed by such discoveries, PATMAN fired off a series of sharply worded questions to Internal Revenue Commissioner Mortimer M. Caplin. He wanted to find out if there were any limitations on what foundations could do, and he discovered that there were virtually none.

Though PATMAN's 1962 report attracted some attention, Internal Revenue proceeded on leaden feet to act on the revealed abuses. In October 1963 PATMAN bluntly called IRS's supervision of foundations "a dud, a dismal failure." He pointed out that IRS had not even attempted to audit 11 Rockefeller-controlled foundations, 8 Ford-controlled foundations, 5 Carnegie foundations; it hadn't attempted to audit 4 of 6 Mellon-controlled foundations, and 6 out of 9 Du Pont-controlled foundations. Stung by the criticism, Internal Revenue promised action and appointed an advisory committee on foundations to help it study the knotty problems PATMAN had raised. PATMAN was promised some action on a program by the end of last year; then the action was deferred until this spring—and now it's been put off again, until the end of the year. PATMAN, after examining the composition of IRS's advisory committee, hasn't much doubt about the reasons for the protracted stall.

"Ten of the fourteen members of the advisory committee are tied in with foundations," he says. "That's like appointing the goose as guardian over shelled corn."

IRS and its flock of trained geese may still have a rough time with PATMAN. He is convinced that facts and logic are on his side, that his idea of curbing the privileged might of the foundations will take root and grow, that the time will come when not even the massed power of obstructive billions will be able to stop it.

Nightmare in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, an unprecedented and intensifying reign of terror now threatens the Negro community of McComb, Miss., with death, injury, and unlawful detention.

Today, the very day that President Johnson is to meet with three women whose houses have been recently bombed, reports from McComb foretell a total breakdown of civilization there.

Two new bombings are reported. Twenty-four people, most of them school aged, have been arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism for the sole reason that they live in the neighborhood of a recent bombing and it is rumored that one young person residing there has damaging evidence about the attackers.

Owners of bombed dwellings are under suspicion, even arrest, for the crime against their own lives and property. A young civil rights worker has been jailed and charged with being an accessory after the fact to a bomb incident; it is explained that he illegally failed to come forward with evidence about the attack, when it appears that he had merely observed aloud that bombings were occuring in McComb. A Negro, recently hired as a local policeman, has declined to follow orders to brutalize other members of his race, and has resigned; his house has also just been bombed.

This situation demands a greatly increased Federal presence in Pike County, and much more vigorous initiative by the Department of Justice. These steps are being urged on the administration in the appropriate way at the present time, and it is ardently hoped that the President will take the lead in turning back this tide of brutal reprisal before it is too late.

Mr. Speaker, in light of today's events a remarkable article appearing in the September issue of the Progressive takes on even greater significance. Entitled "Nightmare in Mississippi," it was written by Dr. Peter Weiss, director of the county mental health project at the University of Wisconsin. It ranks among the very finest pieces of writing thus far to emerge from the Mississippi project, and I commend it to the attention of all Members.

The article follows:

NIGHTMARE IN MISSISSIPPI

(By Peter Weiss)

In Mississippi this summer, against the background of the jack-booted terror of official and unofficial reprisals, one could not avoid being startled by the success of the summer project, an education and voter registration program sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and by the enthusiasm and concentration of the young civil rights volunteers working on it. It has split Mississippi wide open and revealed to the Nation a social order so rotten

and corrupt that it defies comprehension. The student volunteers who came here from middle-class Northern homes early in the summer are already veterans, as hardened to their battle as any soldiers can be, and the likelihood of frightening them away has all but disappeared from the mind of white Mississippi.

The war on racism is a serious one, and these student volunteers have moved constantly in the shadow of violence and death. But the words "freedom now" burn in their stomachs, and they have learned to live with their fear and perpetual concern about safety. In doing so, they have implicated all of us and revealed that had we thought of the Negroes as people we would have been implicated long ago.

Such courage born of purpose is still hard for us to believe. In Jackson, I met a tall, soft spoken, tow-headed Stanford University student who had just been bombed out of the Freedom House in McComb and was recuperating from his injuries. His ear drums had been split, and he had a mild concussion and cuts from glass. He was frightened and at first spoke little (the night before he had awakened screaming in a thunderstorm).

He told me that he was on his way back to McComb to help with repairs and to continue canvassing for voters. He explained that McComb was a new project (in the dangerous southwest hill country where the Klan has been very active) and that in time the community would become more tolerant. "When they see that we mean to stay, then they will slow up." He said this less than 24 hours after he had left McComb and after a wild chase given by carloads of armed whites up the highway to Jackson.

Again, in a church in Meridian, I witnessed a similar display of courage in a young Negro member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who was planning to go back into Neshoba County, a death trap for civil rights workers and the place where the bodies of the three young volunteers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, who "disappeared" in June, have now been found: "I will go up there on Saturday with Lilly (a local volunteer) and stay the weekend. Then on Monday we'll move in." They would go there armed only with pencils and sample registration forms and a deep commitment to nonviolence. "God help this boy" a woman jumped up and cried, "He's going there for you and me and I haven't the nerve to go with him. He is going up there to die for us just like James Chaney and the other boys did."

Courage such as this is already legendary in the young movement of nearly 1,000 volunteers recruited by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, CORE, and other civil rights groups. There is hardly an SNCC staff member around who hasn't been clubbed, beaten, and drenched in his own blood by the police and the young hoods that serve them. What is overpowering about the summer project and the COFO organization is not the program, which is startling enough, but the people in it. They reveal the passion that is their youth, and they are armed with the ideals of Christ and Patrick Henry and Jefferson and Gandhi. The righteous raging at the "student volunteers—the beatniks, the wild-eyed, leftwing nuts, the unshaven and unwashed trash * * *" reveals a desperate need among the local racists to create as much social distance from the students as possible, lest they see too closely the broken promise of their own youth.

Thus, while the white citizens don their sheets and tough sheriffs go around looking for someone to "knock the fire out of," COFO has been nailing its message to the door of Mississippi. Biracial teams have fanned out daily into Negro neighborhoods to plead with the people there to "go down and register." They have met the apathy and resignation that constitute the Mississippi Negro and they have read the fear that has been laminated into his hide.

This work is discouraging, often infuriating, but mostly humbling, because on those fearful black faces is the searing truth about tyranny: So many of the subjects have collapsed before the king and are cooperating in their own beheading. "And when," puzzled one project youth, "they ask us, 'What you goin' to do when they knock my head off, if I go down to register?' what can we say?" There is nothing that can be said, but the Negroes do see these COFO workers risking life and limb, and they, like the whites, cannot help but be impressed. The summer project is moving a civilization just by its very existence, and the paltry returns from the voter registrar's office do not detract from this.

If Negroes cannot be placed on the regular voting rolls then COFO will register them on its own freedom rolls. Thousands are being registered this way, allowing them to vote, even if it is not legally recognized. What cannot be done within the racist political structure of Mississippi is being done outside it and within the structure of the new Freedom Democratic Party (FDP). This political move has an uncertain future, but as an experiment in political education it is already a stunning success.

At a church meeting one night the breathtaking truth of this was revealed when a young Negro COFO worker staged a mock election. With the sensitivity and finesse of King Solomon, he drew shy and retiring people into a contrived precinct meeting and assigned them participating roles. He explained to them the meaning of an election and what a precinct was and told them of the coming county FDP convention. He explained how they were to elect a chairman for their group.

Then they tried it. A woman nominated herself for chairman. Someone had to second the nomination, and the COFO worker showed them how. They did it over again. They squirmed, and someone stood up and complained that she didn't know what was going on. The worker patiently went through the process again, and you could feel the tension and the impatience and the frustration they felt in their ignorance, in front of white people who were in the audience.

These Mississippians were enacting fundamental democratic roles which the caste system has forced them to ignore. They were full-grown adults who were participating, for the first time in their restricted lives, in the basic process of a free society. The light of pride in their faces showed through their embarrassment. Moreover, as they became absorbed in this process, they began to function on a new level. They elected a committee to seek the use of the courthouse for the FDP county convention. The subjects of the king had declared themselves citizens of the republic.

It is difficult for a subjugated people to take advantage of such an opportunity merely by having it presented to them. The cost of political interest is so high for the Mississippi Negro, and he has learned so well to avoid it, that in many ways citizenship is not yet a psychological possibility. Education, here, is thus not the mere acquisition of skills but also the process of developing an awareness of self and learning the significance of one's own life experience.

The crushing effects of the caste system in Mississippi, as elsewhere, have left the Negro so severely depressed that he walks in a haze, never knowing who he is and never understanding the real meaning of his trying life. His education has been a preparation for an adjustment to a white world that does not recognize him. It is an education—what there is of it—for a life of servitude, turning him away from opportunities that are not his and teaching him not to see them. COFO is trying to supplement this thin diet with its voter registration drive, with its encompassing mass-meeting workshops, and, more pointedly, in the establishment of freedom schools with their enriched curriculum of Negro history and contemporary problems.

These schools have functioned all over Mississippi this summer in the hope of providing Negro teenagers with some awareness of their past and its significance in terms of their present life situation. The courses in Negro history, English language expression, art, and other subjects are all designed to encourage these young people to get into the freedom movement and to work for social change. The social renewal of a broken people is a complex task and cannot rest solely on voting. In Mississippi an enlightened local leadership needs to be developed, and people need to be awakened.

For similar reasons community centers are being established not only as a resource for recreational, educational, and welfare activities but also to validate the need for people to express varied aims in life so that they can advance beyond working and bearing slave children. As with the freedom schools, these centers also provide Negro children with an opportunity to see the possibilities of an integrated world and to learn something about people beyond their being dangerous or safe. The program is undermining some of the intense hatreds that otherwise would inevitably consume these children when they grow up, and is providing them with some new meanings about freedom that have to do with an inner sense of belonging to this world.

All of this has sparked the summer outrage of white Mississippi, and the violence of its reprisals has left its people spent of their energy for cooperation. White Mississippi lacks heart and courage, but most of all it lacks perspective. It is choking on its own lynch rope and pulling the knot tighter and tighter around its own neck. Here are the white victims of the caste system and its racial mythology that keeps them entranced in a state of dysphoric excitement.

The COFO program in its entirety is open to white Mississippi on a segregated basis if need be. The response from whites has been less than enthusiastic, and the rare inquiries that are made make COFO news. On July 5 in Ruleville a local white man came into the community center to inquire of the activities there and to engage in a critical but friendly dialog (the beginning of enlightenment). He was arrested. More often such dialogs with COFO takes place from the window of a pickup truck, guns blazing with buckshot to scatter "them nigger lovers."

This is Mississippi's ruthless reply to the COFO peace corps. To date this State has an almost unblemished record of lawlessness, which is supported by the limitless patience of the Justice Department. The present restraint of official violence against the COFO volunteers, however encouraging, is misleading, because local Negroes suffer the reprisals. Bombings, burnings, whippings, shootings, and job dismissals continue to occur with unfaltering regularity. It is appalling to find them appearing in the Northern press as "scattered incidents."

To the Negroes of Mississippi and to the COFO staff, these incidents are a nightmare reality that faces them daily. I cannot recall an instant of my visit in Mississippi that I was not afraid. And you don't have to be a civil rights worker or a COFO supporter to get hurt. If you are black, you might still get killed in a night's "funnin'," and be dumped half and half into the river.

Those who catch the worst of this terror are the Negro civil rights workers, especially those from SNCC who are frequently faced with being beaten by the police in the jailhouse while "resisting arrest." Somehow

personal dignity and nonviolence combine to terrorize the authorities and sorely try their already limited capacity for restraint. The record is full of incidents such as this one:

On June 8, five SNCC workers were passing through Columbus, Miss., en route to a staff meeting in Atlanta. They were stopped by the State highway patrol. (Gov. Paul Johnson relies heavily on the patrol in his struggle with the county sheriffs for the control of Mississippi.) The patrolman walked up to the car and said, "You goddamn niggers want to change our way of life." (This to my knowledge is not a traffic problem.) He then ordered the five out of the car and searched it, finding Summer Project literature and Fanny Lou Hamer (a Negro candidate for Congress sponsored by COFO) campaign posters. He called the sheriff of Lowndes County and searched each one of the five young men. The sheriff arrived and took four of them, handcuffed, to jail. The fifth went with the highway patrolman to a spot about a mile from where the car had been stopped. The affidavit dated June 8, 1964, and signed by James Black, age 17, reads:

"He told me to get out of the car; I refused to get out. So he pulled me out. He started hitting me with his fists, and after about twenty blows he got out his blackjack and hit me one time with it and knocked me down. Then he told me to get back in the car. While he was beating me, he asked if any white folks had ever treated me bad; I told him yes, and he hit me again. He asked me again had any white folks in Mississippi treated me bad, and I told him no. At that point he helped me back into the car.

"Then he took me to the county jail (Lowndes) where I was questioned by the sheriff. The sheriff asked for my driver's license and to take everything out of my pockets * * * I had a friend's I.D. card in my pocket and he asked me if my friend was a Negro or a nigger. I told him a Negro. The same highway patrolman was there, and took out his blackjack and again asked if my friend was a Negro or a nigger. He started to hit me with the blackjack, and I told him my friend was a nigger."

The four other young men were questioned similarly throughout the night and finally charged with reckless driving. James Black was tried, convicted, and fined the following day in court. All were released, after paying $4 each for their night in jail.

This is a common occurrence in Mississippi. In it the cry of "Jew! Jew! Jew!" echoes from the Nazi past amid the thumping cadence of blows to the head and groin, only to be thinly covered up by the barest formalities of the judicial process. And people say, as they once said, "We didn't know."

In its deep commitment to the safety of its volunteers, COFO has covered Mississippi with a security network that would make the Central Intelligence Agency envious. COFO knows when you are out and where you will be and the route you will take and your time of arrival. If at any point in this process a person "disappears," the Federal Bureau of Investigation is notified, and search parties set out immediately. Sometimes the sheriffs get coy and start shifting a prisoner around in order to foul up the search. In one case the sheriff's wife took the jailhouse telephone off the hook to prevent the location of a COFO prisoner. None of this has so far succeeded.

The three young students who disappeared in June were not sacrificed, as was cynically claimed, to bring Federal pressure on Mississippi. Federal attention to the constitutional rights of the student volunteers is what it was from the start—minimal. In a statement to the press July 10 in Jackson, J. Edgar Hoover stated that the FBI does not "and will not give protection to the civil rights workers." And, indeed, the FBI has not. The opening of a permanent FBI office in Jackson and the addition of 50 agents in Mississippi were not very encouraging to the civil rights workers, since the existing contingent of 100 did not allow itself to become overworked.

The catalog of official and unofficial violations of Federal law, especially interference with voter registration work in the first month of the summer project, covers eight legal-size pages of single-spaced type. The FBI arrested three people in one case. It has been called repeatedly for help and has done little if anything. When Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner disappeared on June 21, the FBI was notified at 10 p.m. It entered the case 20 hours later, after 16 calls had been made to the FBI and to the Justice Department. This is usual. It leaves the impression that the FBI, this summer in Mississippi, had been little more than a telephone answering service for the Federal Government.

The FBI is not entirely to blame, however. Its activity depends on Federal policy. Hoover's televised gesture of solidarity with Mississippi officials was a tour de force. They looked as if they were getting married as they upheld the rule of law and order and exchanged vows of allegiance to it. But of the flagrant and systematic violations of the State and Federal Constitutions in the denial of due process to U.S. citizens in Mississippi, nothing was said.

The problem of anarchy—the lawlessness of Mississippi law enforcement—seems to have been referred once again to the local authorities. The Federal Government is not enforcing the law. Its failure to do so has encouraged local indifference to it in Mississippi. If a Federal judge, hearing a voter registration case in the name of the United States, refers from the bench to the applicants as "a bunch of niggers who are acting like a bunch of chimpanzees," then what can be expected from a county sheriff in the discharge of his duties?

Here is the alarming frustration of the civil rights movement. You fight your way past the bottles and curses to the courthouse. Then you fight your way through a gantlet of billyclubs up the steps to the registrar's office only to find that you cannot exercise your birthright as an American citizen. Then you fight your way back home again through the same mob. That night your house is bombed, and you stumble dazed and deaf into the front yard where a policeman stands spitting on your grass, trying to conceal his glee. Mississippi, 1964, is Germany, 1936, revisited.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board of independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Lithuanian Festivities at World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 25, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I was privileged to attend Lithuanian Day ceremonies at the New York World's Fair last month and to join in paying tribute to the brave people of Lithuania. Jospeh Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires of the Lithuanian Government, also spoke on that memorable occasion as well as on August 23 at the Lithuanian song and dance festival.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the remarks of Mr. Kajeckas on those occasions.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR KEATING'S REMARKS ON LITHUANIAN DAY AT THE WORLD'S FAIR, AUGUST 23, 1964

I always welcome an opportunity to pay tribute to the oppressed people of Lithuania and the cause they represent.

What is at stake in Lithuania is the great question that will determine the future of mankind—the question of whether men and nations should be free.

Two historic movements are in conflict throughout the world. On one side are the democratic nations of the West which have worked steadily since World War II to spread human freedom by granting independence to their former colonies.

On the other side are the new imperialists of international communism who have moved relentlessly to extend their tyranny by swallowing up smaller and weaker nations.

Lithuania's present state is a tragic example. I have admiration for this brave little land which reestablished its independence in 1918 and victoriously fought off Soviet Russian attempts at conquest for 3 long years. I mourn Lithuania's loss of its hard-won freedom during World War II when the Soviet Communists finally succeeded in taking over the country by military force and annexing it against the will of the people.

Lithuania as a nation disappeared from the map of Europe, but it still lives on in the hearts of its sons and daughters who loathe their Communist masters.

There are some in the United States today who say that we should accept the map as the Communists have redrawn it. They say that we only delude ourselves and the Lithuanian people when we talk of future freedom for Lithuania.

Those who offer these counsels of defeatism call themselves realists. I call them shortsighted. They are unable to see beyond the surface map of the moment to the underlying realities of our world situation.

It is totally unrealistic to suppose that by condoning Russia's annexation of Lithuania and the other Baltic countries we can expect Soviet comunism to become more conciliatory. Instead, the Soviets will be encouraged to pursue their aims of conquest all the more aggressively.

It is equally unrealistic to suppose that if we yield in such matters of principle we can retain effective leadership among free world nations. Instead, there will be a loss of confidence in the United States among our friends and allies.

True realism demands an opposite course. We must make it unmistakably clear that in our dealings with the Communist world we will never bargain or make concessions on the fundamental issues of human rights and freedom. So far the defeatists in our ranks have not prevailed. The U.S. Government, with the backing of not only 1 million fine Americans of Lithuanian origin, but the American people as a whole, has continued to withhold recognition of the Soviet conquests of the Baltic republics.

We must stand firm on this policy, and we should go farther. We should not be content with a passive policy of nonrecognition. We must proclaim at every opportunity the right of self-determination for the Lithuanians and for the many other subject peoples now suffering under alien Communist oppression.

In so doing, we can reassert before the world the absolute falsity of the Communist claim to be the liberators of humanity.

We must give our support to the cause of freedom in Lithuania as a matter of right and justice.

We must give this cause our support if we are to succeed in the great struggle to advance the cause of freedom throughout the world.

REMARKS BY JOSEPH KAJECKAS, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF LITHUANIA, AT THE LITHUANIAN SONG AND DANCE FESTIVAL, SINGER BOWL, NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, AUGUST 23, 1964

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, at the last New York World's Fair held here in Flushing Meadow, on the eve of World War II, Lithuanians exhibited to the world the happy fruits of the peaceful progress under freedom and independence which they had enjoyed since 1918. They demonstrated the indomitable spirit of a people whose language and culture are older than that of most other countries of the world. Since that last New York World's Fair, however, Lithuania has been a captive nation and the victim of ruthless, flagrant and continuing aggression. We meet here today to honor the thousands of valiant Lithuanians who have died in the just cause of freedom, and also to demonstrate that the desire of Lithuanians to be free and independent again continues to burn with undiminished strength. Earlier today, we participated in ceremonies at the Lithuanian Wayside Cross erected here at the World's Fair; that cross symbolizes the suffering of our people, but it also symbolizes their hope and determination to be free again.

Here at this song and dance festival, we see an expression of the flowering of Lithuanian culture. The variety and vigorous life of our native arts encourage us to hope that the creative energy mirrored in art can lead to a better world for all peoples, if only we remember how to dream, how to be dedicated, how to spend ourselves. Our songs and dances teach us how to put aside inhibitions, how to go out of ourselves, and how to join with others in "taking arms against a sea of troubles." We are doubly proud today to have as the mistress of ceremonies of this festival Miss Ruta Lee Kilmonis, who just a week ago succeeded, after long years of effort, in effecting the release of her grandmother from behind the Iron Curtain. She has given us all an example of how to persevere in a just cause. I am privileged to congratulate her and all the participants in this Lithuania Day, especially Chairman Prof. Jack J. Stukas and his committee, and to welcome the visitors to this event of the Fair.

REMARKS BY JOSEPH KAJECKAS, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF LITHUANIA, ON THE OCCASION OF LITHUANIA DAY AT THE U.S. FEDERAL PAVILION, NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, N.Y., AUGUST 24, 1964

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege to greet you at this observance of Lithuania Day at the Federal pavilion. By gathering here today, we are honoring a nation whose language and culture are older than that of most countries of the world; a nation that played a great part in the formation of modern Europe, and whose people have for centuries demonstrated their dedication to human freedom; we honor a nation well over a million of whose sons and daughters on American soil have played a substantial part in helping America meet the challenges of freedom.

In the early middle ages, Lithuania was one of the most powerful states in Europe, but her power dwindled, and she was engulfed by a more powerful neighbor. For centuries after that, Lithuanians struggled to regain their freedom and independence, and this they did in 1918. From 1918 until 1940, Lithuania achieved a wonderful record of peaceful democratic progress in all spheres of national life. But in 1940, Lithuania was gobbled up by her imperialistic and totalitarian neighbor in a flagrant and ruthless act of aggression. That illegal occupation continues to the present day, and the atrocities and genocide which it involves are public knowledge. Here at the fair there is a Lithuanian wayside cross opposite the garden of meditation; this cross is dedicated to the thousands of brave Lithuanians who have died in the struggle to regain their country's liberty. That cross expresses the suffering of my enslaved nation, but it also stands for the hope and determination of my people to be free again.

I have talked about these aspects of Lithuanian history because the theme of this fair is "Peace Through Understanding." One of the things we must understand is that there is no real peace without human freedom based upon the dignity of the individual; as Abraham Lincoln said, the world cannot endure half slave and half free. And if men and nations are to cooperate peacefully, there must be justice between them. There is, in other words, no peace without justice, and that is the principal problem facing the world today. In this sense, the present fate of Lithuania, a nation unjustly enslaved, has for almost a quarter century served as a paradigm of a world out of joint. Yet the determination of the Lithuanian people to be free again stands as an example of hope to all freedom-loving peoples. And the contributions made by Lithuanian-Americans to build a good and free society

in America, their adopted country, shows how hope must be made manifest in action.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is no doubt that we live in a paradoxical age. Millions of people have made the voyage to America, a voyage so eloquently documented in a film here at the Federal pavilion, and then passed through New York Harbor and the welcoming presence of the Statue of Liberty. Now, hundreds of thousands of people who approach this Federal pavilion must pass by the Berlin pavilion, which reminds us of injustice and wanton disregard for human dignity, but it also expresses the hopes of the people of West Berlin. Such a seeming contradiction helps to remind us that a just political order takes years to build, but injustice and greed can tear it down overnight. Evil forces have a much easier time of it than the forces of justice, because evil forces can afford to be unscrupulous. As we enter this Federal pavilion, we pass by an excellently fashioned bust of a man who knew how to be patient and courageous in the face of this paradox. John Kennedy once described the unfinished business of freedom-loving peoples as "the long twilight struggle." No one has put it better. The Lithuanian people who have enriched these American shores know that lesson very well. Their patience and courage in the pursuit of regained independence for Lithuania is matched only by their gratitude to their fellow Americans for the steadfast support and encouragement which Americans have given to the Lithuanian cause. And I echo their gratitude as I warmly thank you for your presence here on Lithuania Day at the Federal pavilion.

Report of Congressman John Brademas on the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, every 2 years I send to the citizens of the Third Congressional District in Indiana, whom I have the honor to represent, a report, printed at my expense, on the work of Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the text of my report on the 88th Congress:

THE 88TH CONGRESS ENACTS MAJOR LEGISLATION—A REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 1964.

DEAR FRIEND: As I write, the 88th Congress is still in session discussing important legislation. Although we have not yet adjourned, I want to send to you, as I have done every 2 years, this report, printed at my expense, on the 88th Congress (1963–64).

This Congress passed highly important legislation in the areas of education, tax reduction and reform, civil rights, nuclear testing and anti-poverty, as well as updating existing programs in manpower retraining, the Peace Corps, housing, mass transit and natural resources conservation, and scored a legislative "first" in the field of mental health.

Members of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, have given long and conscientious consideration to their responsibilities. The Washington Post said that, in quantity and quality, the 88th Congress is destined to rank as one of the top legislative performers of our time and added: "It can never be said of the 88th that it 'rubber-stamped' anything. Nearly every administration bill rolled out for action has been the subject of a swift and roughneck rumpus."

This report is necessarily brief and centered on my primary duties as a lawmaker. Of course, I also spend a large portion of my time helping Third District citizens on such matters as veterans' problems, social security, small business and military service; working to bring new industries and Government contracts to our area; seeking approval of new and improved post offices; in short, serving as a link between you and your Federal Government.

JOHN BRADEMAS,
Member of Congress.

TOWARD FULL EMPLOYMENT: A COMMUNITY CHALLENGE

The State of Indiana and most of the third district have been sharing in the extraordinary expansion of the U.S. economy since early 1961. For example, 42 new industries have begun in Elkhart so far in 1964. The insured jobless rate in Elkhart County was only 1.1 percent in mid-August 1964, down from 8.9 percent in January 1961. The insured unemployment rate in La Porte County fell from 12.6 to 1.7 percent in the same period.

The Studebaker shutdown of last year was chiefly responsible for damaging the remarkable gains in the South Bend-Mishawaka area. From 11.1 percent of the total labor force unemployed in January 1961, the rate fell to 2.1 percent last October—a 10-year low.

When Studebaker management decided to halt production last December, an army of individuals and agencies got busy to help: my own office, Senators VANCE HARTKE and BIRCH BAYH; the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare; Indiana State and South Bend officials, and local community leaders.

President Johnson immediately set up an Interdepartmental Committee to assist South Bend in meeting the problems growing out of the shutdown.

Here are some of the actions taken:

1. New industry has come to South Bend: Kaiser-Jeep, Cummins Engine, Allied Products. In February Kaiser-Jeep took over Studebaker's $80 million Army truck contract and in July won more Government work. Altogether Kaiser holds nearly a quarter of a billion dollars worth of contracts to make Army trucks in South Bend.

2. Senators HARTKE and BAYH and I and the South Bend-Mishawaka Chamber of Commerce sponsored an Industrial Procurement Conference to encourage increased participation by area firms in government business. The chamber has since established a local office of Federal procurement and business assistance to encourage new jobs and payroll.

3. At the suggestion of Dr. Harold L. Sheppard, President Johnson's expediter in South Bend, Mayor Lloyd Allen named an economic action council to coordinate the community's development efforts.

4. Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz directed speedy approval of manpower training projects for unemployed Studebaker workers.

5. The Agriculture Department agreed to expedite distribution of surplus food to unemployed workers where necessary.

6. FHA and Veterans' Administration cooperated with local lenders where employees requested postponement of payments on federally insured mortgages.

There are no easy answers to the human and economic problems caused by a major plant shutdown. But the close cooperation by Federal, State, and local officials and community leaders and the determination of the citizens of this area give solid hope for the future. As President Johnson said following his visit, "South Bend is a city that is fighting back. It is retraining its workers and attracting new industry."

We will continue these efforts until South Bend and Mishawaka are booming along at the same pace as neighboring cities and the rest of the Nation.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT MEANS ATTACK ON POVERTY IN UNITED STATES

On March 16 this year President Johnson sent a message to Congress pledging the full resources of the Government toward the elimination of poverty, a condition which affects one-fifth of the Nation's population. In August, I was present at the White House to receive from the President one of the pens with which he signed into law the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This act will enable the United States to begin a massive attack on the paradox of poverty in the richest nation in history.

Economists generally define poverty as an annual income below $3,000 for a family of four, or $1,500 for an individual living alone. Thirty-five million persons, or 20 percent of the American people, live below the poverty line.

The new Office of Economic Opportunity, to be headed by Sargent Shriver, will administer the several programs authorized by the new law, including:

1. A Job Corps to provide 100,000 youth, age 16–21, with a 2-year vocational training and work experience.

2. A work training program to enable 200,000 youths to work and train in their own communities on projects selected by local organizations or governments.

3. A work-study program to provide part-time employment for 140,000 needy students to continue college.

4. A community action program to encourage urban and rural communities to prepare long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families obtain education, employment, job training and counseling, vocational rehabilitation, housing, and welfare.

5. A corps of volunteers in service to America to act as a domestic peace corps among needy Americans.

Community leaders in South Bend and officials at the University of Notre Dame have already indicated interest in local participation in certain programs provided by the Economic Opportunity Act.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON SALUTES SOUTH BEND'S ROLE IN MANPOWER TRAINING

When President and Mrs. Johnson visited the manpower training classes at the Cline School in South Bend earlier this year, they were deeply impressed by the community's program of retraining unemployed workers to help them find new jobs.

Said the President: "We have gone through this school and have been stimulated and inspired by what we have seen—men and women who have lost their job but not their determination. * * * They are working and preparing themselves to do a better job today than they did yesterday. When I get back to Washington I am going to say to the leaders of that great Capital that I wish they could come here to the heartland of America and see what the people are doing for themselves."

South Bend was one of the first communities in the Nation to set up classes under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, on which I worked as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee. In 1963 Congress amended this act to authorize literacy programs to prepare those insufficiently educated for occupational training. South Bend Tribune Publisher Franklin D. Schurz, head of both the Indiana State and St. Joseph County Manpower Advisory Commissions, testified before our committee on the need for courses in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Unemployed workers are learning new skills in the many different training projects now underway in South Bend. Fortunately, South Bend had several manpower classes in action when Studebaker closed its gates, so it was possible to move swiftly to set up additional courses in the community's effort to find new employment for several thousand workers.

One of the toughest problems caused by the Studebaker shutdown unquestionably is the dilemma faced by the man in his midfifties, too young to retire and too old to find another job easily. South Bend is one of five cities in the United States receiving funds under the Manpower Act for a program specially aimed at helping unemployed workers over 50. In June 1964, the Labor Department extended for another year the life of Project ABLE, which is concentrated on helping some 2,000 workers over 50 find jobs where available, or retraining them for new ones and encouraging area employers to hire on the basis of ability without regard to age.

PEACE CORPS SHOWS AMERICA AT ITS BEST

The 88th Congress, by sweeping bipartisan votes, passed bills to expand the Peace Corps. Members of both parties praised Sargent Shriver for his able administration of the Corps.

As one of the original sponsors of the 1961 bill establishing the Peace Corps, I am naturally highly gratified at the great success of this program to aid developing nations while promoting a better understanding between the peoples of our country and theirs.

I have several times talked with Peace Corps volunteers training at the University of Notre Dame for service in Chile and Uruguay and have been deeply impressed by their ability and dedication. The Peace Corps shows our American heritage at its best.

THE OLDER CITIZEN—18 MILLION AMERICANS

Among the chief problems faced by the nearly 18 million older Americans are adequate health protection, housing and retirement income.

As I write, Congress has not yet acted on the issue of providing some form of protection against the cost of hospitalization and nursing home care through the social security system, as proposed by the late President Kennedy and President Johnson.

Here are some of the facts behind this proposal: (1) Hospital bills have increased tremendously (up from $9.39 a day in 1946 to about $40 in 1964); (2) people over 65 use 3 times as much hospital care as those under 65; (3) the elderly have limited financial resources (half the aged couples have less than $2,800 in annual income); only half the Nation's elderly held hospital insurance as of 1962.

With a few days to go before adjournment, however, Congress now appears more likely to provide some increases in cash benefits to social security beneficiaries than to pass a health care measure. This would push the issue into the Congress next year.

The 1964 tax cut law contains changes important to people 65 or older, including: (1) a higher limit on the amount of retirement income on which the retirement income credit is based; (2) more liberal rules on medical expense deductions.

In 1964 Congress also extended and broadened the program of low-interest loans for housing for the elderly.

The problem of job discrimination because of age continues to be a serious one for many older workers and will certainly command the attention of the next Congress.

CONGRESS PASSES BIGGEST TAX CUT IN HISTORY

On February 26 this year, President Johnson signed into law the largest tax cut in the Nation's history—$11.5 billion in individual and corporation income levies. In doing so, he ended a campaign begun by President Kennedy 13 months earlier.

The Revenue Act of 1964 lowered the tax rates on individuals from a range of 20 to 90 percent to a new range of 14 to 70 percent and cut corporation taxes from 52 to 48 percent over a period of 2 years. Congress also revised the rates to give special benefit to small businesses.

The tax cut already has helped spark the longest peacetime business expansion in U.S. history. Four million more people are working today than in January 1961. Personal incomes are reaching new all-time peaks, and so are corporate profits. The total output of goods and services (gross national product) will hit about $625 billion this year, up $120 billion since 1960. And business plans to invest 13 percent more in plant and equipment this year than in 1963. This means still more jobs.

In spite of this unprecedented economic expansion, due in large measure to the tax cut and the general climate of business confidence, the U.S. record of price stability exceeds that of any other nation. Inflation has been kept under control.

What will the tax cut of 1964 mean to individual taxpayers? Income tax rate reductions in 1965 will average about 20 percent. Here are some average cuts per income level:

Reduction in percent

Up to $3,000	39.0
$3,000 to $5,000	26.9
$5,000 to $10,000	20.6
$10,000 to $20,000	17.0

I agree with President Johnson's statement that the tax cut is "the single most important step that we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II."

THE EDUCATION CONGRESS

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I take particular pride in the outstanding record of the 88th Congress in the field of education. Among the accomplishments:

1. Higher Education Facilities Acts: will help colleges and universities like Bethel, Goshen, St. Mary's, Indiana, Purdue, and Notre Dame build classrooms, libraries and laboratories. Provides $1.2 billion in grants and loans over a 3-year period. I authored one section of the bill which earmarks about $50 million annually in grants for technical institutes and junior colleges, to train vitally needed 2-year, college-level, semiprofessional technicians to assist our scientists.

2. Vocational Education Act: provides $956 million in matching grants for the expansion of State vocational education programs in the next 5 years. South Bend has already applied for Federal funds to build one of the new vocational schools provided by the act. The law also authorizes work-study grants for needy vocational students.

3. Medical and Dental School Act: authorizes $175 million in grants to build such schools; also provides loans for students of medicine, dentistry and osteopathy.

4. Mental Health Facilities Act: authorizes grants of $51.5 million over 3 years to train 20,000 teachers of mentally retarded, and other handicapped children.

5. National Defense Education Act: increases funds for college loans (students at Bethel, Goshen and St. Mary's Colleges and Notre Dame received $400,000 in loans last year); continues programs for science, mathematics and foreign language training, and for counseling services. Under the National Defense Education Act, Notre Dame also received over $100,000 for a graduate fellowship program in 1963 and over $80,000 for a language institute.

6. Library Services and Construction Act: authorizes $25 million to help develop and expand existing libraries to cover urban as well as rural areas; also provides $20 million for new library construction.

U.S. DEFENSES STRONGER THAN COMBINED MIGHT OF ALL NATIONS IN HISTORY

As your Representative, I have served with three Presidents of the United States—Johnson, Kennedy, and Eisenhower—and I have given solid support to all three on legislation affecting our foreign policy and national security.

Since 1961 we have greatly strengthened our defense posture against possible challenge from the Communist world. As President Johnson said on June 3, 1964: "In every area of national strength America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or combination of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all nations in the history of the world."

It was this massive arsenal of balanced military forces which enabled President Johnson to choose the appropriate response to the outrageous attack on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. President Kennedy had shown similar firmness and skill during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. We now have a limited war capacity which allows us to select the kind of military response to punish an aggressor without risking an all-out nuclear war.

I have voted for legislation which has made possible the development of this powerful and effective defense structure. The cost of maintaining freedom is high, but I know Americans are willing to pay it.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964: AN HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT

Five days after the assassination of President Kennedy, President Johnson made clear to Congress and the Nation that the new administration attached the same high priority to civil rights as President Kennedy had done.

On July 2, 1964, after long months of debate in the Senate and an historic vote to halt a filibuster, President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The act, a major landmark in American history, was passed with overwhelming bipartisan support. In the House the vote was 290 to 130, with 152 Democrats joining 138 Republicans for the bill, and 96 Democrats and 34 Republicans against it. In the Senate the vote was 73 to 27, with 46 Democrats and 27 Republicans for, and 21 Democrats and 6 Republicans against.

Although I am a Democrat, I want to pay tribute to the work of House Republican Leader CHARLES A. HALLECK and Senate GOP Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN. Without their support, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would never have become law. The support of the churches and religious leaders of the Nation also was of decisive importance in winning passage of the bill.

In signing the bill, President Johnson said: "The purpose of this law is simple: it does not restrict the freedom of any American, so long as he respects the rights of others. It does not give special treatment to any citizen. It does say the only limit to a man's hope for happiness, and for the future of his children, shall be his own ability.

"It does say that those who are equal before God shall now be equal in the polling booths, in the classrooms, in the factories, and in the hotels, restaurants, movie theaters, and other places that provide service to the public."

Because there has been much misrepresentation about what the Civil Rights Act really does, I should point out some things it does not do. The Civil Rights Act does not affect job seniority rights; it does not require quota hiring of minority groups; it does not permit (in fact, it specifically forbids) the Federal Government to transfer students among schools for racial "balancing"; and it does not permit the Federal Government to tell a home or apartment owner or real estate operator to whom he must sell or rent.

The Justice Department has advised me that the Federal Civil Rights Act will in fact have little effect in Indiana because: "(1) Indiana has a long history of good race relations; (2) there is relatively little discrimination in Indiana as compared to other areas of the country; and (3) Indiana already has State laws dealing with discrimination."

POST OFFICES—EXPANDED FACILITIES

No agency of the Federal Government is closer to the daily lives of more citizens than the Post Office Department. I have given particular attention to helping win approval of either new or improved post offices in every county of our district.

For example, this month I helped lay the cornerstone for a new and long-needed post office building in Elkhart and, in June, I took part in ceremonies dedicating a fine new post office in La Porte. Here are other Third District communities which have had or will have new or improved post offices during my term as Congressman: Argos, Bourbon, Bremen, Bristol, Donaldson, Goshen, Hanna, Michigan City, Millersburg, Middlebury, New Carlisle, Plymouth, Tippecanoe, Union Mills, Wakarusa, Walkerton, and Wanatah.

VOTED AGAINST COTTON-WHEAT SUBSIDIES

I do not believe a responsible Congressman should vote for bills simply because they are recommended by a President of his own party or oppose them just because they are offered by a President of the other party. So, just as I supported President Eisenhower on foreign policy legislation during my first term, I voted against President Johnson's major farm proposal this year—the cotton-wheat bill.

The measure was passed in the House by only eight votes and the pressures upon me to vote for the bill were therefore intense. But I believe, that the bill, which provided Federal subsidies for cotton and wheat, would do little good for the farmer, the consumer or the taxpayer. So I voted against it.

This year Congress extended the food stamp program, which provided help to a number of families in our area displaced by the Studebaker shutdown. As I write, we are still considering stepping up the highly succesful food for peace program under which we have for years helped reduce farm surpluses, earned dollar benefits and won good will from hungry peoples abroad.

HUMPHREY AND GOLDWATER SUPPORT FEDERAL PAY RAISE

With strong support from both Republicans and Democrats, the House and Senate passed a bill raising the pay of 1.7 million Federal employees. The bulk of the pay boost—$536 of $556.8 million—went to 1.6 million civil service and postal employees; the rest to top Federal executives, judges, Members of Congress, and legislative and judicial branch employees. The raise for Senators and Congressmen does not go into effect until January 1, 1965.

The measure was designed to bring Federal salaries to levels comparable to those in private industry. Leaders of both parties, including Senators HUMPHREY and GOLDWATER, MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, voted for the bill.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN MAY BE KENNEDY'S CHIEF LEGACY

History may record that the overwhelming vote of both Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Senate in favor of the nuclear test ban treaty in 1963 will be President Kennedy's chief legacy in the field of foreign policy.

By a 4-to-1 margin, Democrats and Republicans, led by Senators MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, and EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, or Illinois, voted to prohibit nuclear testing in the air, in space, and under water. The treaty, ratified by 105 nations, does not forbid underground tests.

The air we breathe and the milk we drink are freer today of nuclear contamination because of this treaty. Yet our Government maintains the fullest safeguards to detect and respond to any violation of the treaty.

Nearly every newspaper in our area supported the treaty. For example, the La Porte Herald-Argus said the treaty "is an indication that the nuclear powers, having arrived at somewhat of a stalemate, very costly and very dangerous, now wish to express their hope for a less perilous world, a coexistence which will at least reduce the chances for civilization's suicide."

The test ban treaty is certainly no final solution to world tensions, but it is a hopeful sign pointing to more peaceful agreements. President Kennedy described the treaty as "an important first step—a step toward peace—a step toward reason—a step away from war."

Even the first step toward preventing nuclear war is of immense significance in today's dangerous world. Many people do not know that even the average-sized tactical nuclear bomb (which some—mistakenly—call conventional) in Western Europe today has an explosive power five times the yield of the first atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima in World War II.

Report to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as the residents of my congressional district know, I believe it to be my duty and my trust to exercise independent judgment on the merits of each proposal which comes before the Congress, as well as to publicly report to my constituents at the end of each session. This report on the major accomplishments and shortcomings of the 88th Congress is a reflection of these responsibilities. Each citizen in Pennsylvania's Sixth Congressional District will receive a copy which I hope will be read and studied.

The 88th Congress is one of the longest in our Nation's history. The first session did not end until the night before Christmas last year. This second and final session was not yet adjourned when this report was prepared.

But this 88th Congress has also been described by competent and impartial observers as one of the most constructive in the annals of American history. As President Johnson said, it has enacted more legislation, met more national needs, disposed of more national issues than any other Congress in this century or the last.

SERVED WITH PRESIDENTS

In my 16 years as a Representative I cannot remember any Congress that has been more creative and hardworking than the present one. To me it was a high honor and privilege to serve in this great representative body under President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. For this I am deeply grateful to the Sixth District citizens whose confidence and faith in me have made this possible. I have known both Presidents since I was elected to Congress in 1948 as colleagues and as personal friends and as men of great dedication, vision, and ability.

President Kennedy will live throughout history as one of the great men of our time. In the hour of national tragedy when the beloved President Kennedy was assassinated, we were indeed fortunate to have as Vice President a man of stature, experience, and judgment in Lyndon B. Johnson. He was able to pick up the reins of the highest office in the world without faltering and without permitting any loss in national momentum. He has worked toward those great objectives for which President Kennedy laid the groundwork.

DISTRICTS VISITS LIMITED

I deeply regret that I did not have the opportunity to appear before more groups of my constituents, particularly in Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties, which I have represented the last 2 years since the merger of Berks, Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties into this big congressional district. The population of our Sixth District is 553,000. It is larger than any of five States of the Union. It is more than half the size of 20 of our States. Nevertheless, this new big district was a challenge to me, particularly because of economic distress in many of the coal region areas of Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties.

It gives me a great deal of satisfaction to note that substantial progress is evident throughout our Sixth Congressional District as a result of the Kennedy-Johnson legislative program and the cooperation I received from Congress and the White House and from local community leaders.

THE RIGHT TO KNOW

Citizens have a right to know about their Congress and the record and the performance of their Representatives. Decisions of the Congress affect every family in our land and determine the course of our Nation in keeping a prosperous and strong economy.

For this reason I consider it my duty and responsibility to make this report to the people I represent in the Sixth Congressional District.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD

It is quite obvious that many persons do not realize how closely their welfare, their opportunities for jobs, for education, health services, old-age and disability pensions, good housing, and a decent livelihood are affected by decisions of the Congress.

It is important to know the fundamental differences between our two great political parties and their conflicting philosophies of government. To better understand the controversy over the antipoverty program, Appalachia, education, social security, redevelopment, taxes, public works, conservation, and other progressive programs, it is essential to know and understand these basic differences. From them sharp conflicts arise on social and economic questions.

Fiscal and economic policies vitally affect the performance of the whole American economy. They affect the price level, the levels of production and employment, the rate of economic growth, and the standard of living.

They affect the degree of economic opportunity afforded to the small as well as the large, the weak as well as the strong. They affect not only the degree of economic stability and progress, but also the degree of economic justice or injustice.

CONFLICT OF ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHIES

Democratic Senator RUSSELL LONG put it in plain language in a Senate speech when he pointed to the cleavage between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Senator LONG said:

It reflects a difference of fundamental economic philosophy—a difference which has persisted throughout our history as a Nation, and particularly during the current century. The difference is between those who believe in an economy of scarcity and those who believe in an economy of abundance; between those who feel that we must stand still, have occasional recessions or depressions, and those who feel that we have the brains and the tools to move forward without substantial interruption. It is a difference between those who feel that social injustice is the price we must pay for economic progress and those who feel that social justice and economic progress are one and inseparable.

Never before in our history were these differences more sharp and clear than in this presidential and congressional election year.

Regardless of election campaign oratory, the decision at the polls in State and National legislative contests this year will determine which one of these two courses the Nation will follow to meet the challenge and problems of our time.

RECORDBREAKING CONGRESS

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has called this Congress one of the most productive in recent history. The record speaks for itself. Encouraged by congressional economic legislation, the Nation is currently enjoying the longest peacetime expansion in its history.

Our gains and prosperity are evident by any index—personal income, employment, corporation profits, industrial expansion and production, or gross national product. And while promoting the general well-being, Congress has also moved to improve the lot of the poverty-stricken minority of invisible Americans. We have made a strong effort toward erasing the paradox of want in the midst of plenty.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY REVERSES TREND

When President Kennedy took office in January of 1961, the Nation was in the midst of its third recession in 7 years. To fight unemployment and get the economy moving again, President Kennedy stepped up the release of funds for Federal procurement, for highway construction, and other public works. He called for the enactment of a bold antirecession program.

Congress supported President Kennedy in enacting legislation such as public works, manpower training, educational aid, and development programs designed to stimulate the economy and help the unemployed find jobs.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON CARRIES ON

During the 1st session of the 88th Congress the Kennedy programs were expanded and refined. In the second session, under President Johnson, tax cut legislation was enacted to further encourage growth and increased job opportunities. It had my support.

The Revenue Act of 1964 provided the biggest tax cut in our Nation's history—$11.5 billion in individual and corporate incomes. Designed to bring our economy to its fullest potential, the largest share of the individual tax cut is going to families with incomes of $10,000 or less—and this group accounts for 85 percent of all taxpayers—an additional $2.2 million per month has gone to residents of the three counties of the sixth district as a result of the tax cut bill. Business gains have resulted from the $2.5 billion investment incentive for modernization and expansion, the corporate tax cut of more than $2 billion, and the release of millions of dollars into the spending stream.

WAR ON POVERTY

Also passed was the historic Economic Opportunity Act, or war on poverty program, designed to open the door of opportunity a little wider for more of our people.

Both President Kennedy and President Johnson have put strong emphasis on the need for a balanced economy. Both recognized the real waste in our Nation, a waste which results from mass unemployment and lost productivity. This loss in real wealth runs into untold billions of dollars. The drive for legislation to help our Nation's youth reflects the concern of the President about loss of talent and brainpower due to our failure to meet growing educational needs.

While great progress has been made in meeting public and human needs, there is deep concern about the many citizens who are not sharing in the progress and prosperity that most of our citizens have enjoyed. The President's program for Appalachia, his war on poverty, his desire to improve social security, and his efforts for improved educational and job opportunities are all part of his program to keep our Nation strong and forever moving forward.

The poverty program focuses attention on the needs of the 35 million Americans who live beneath the poverty line. It sets up educational, vocational, and work programs for young people, provides technical aid and grants for community projects, provides aid for the rural poor and migratory laborers, and allows concerned citizens to join a Domestic Peace Corps and serve as teachers and advisers.

THE "EDUCATION" CONGRESS

Without progress in education, there will be no progress in society. A free nation can rise no higher than the standards of excellence set in its schools and colleges. Yet the demand for qualified teachers, adequate school facilities, and proper finances so outweighs their actual supply that the United States suffers from an education gap at all levels of instruction. And the gap is growing larger.

John F. Kennedy sent Congress a special message on education in late January 1963, requesting us to "keep an eye on the whole system" of education so that all Americans might "develop their talents to the utmost." The 88th Congress responded so emphatically to his request that it was called the education Congress. Here are a few projected results of education legislation passed by this Congress.

COLLEGE EDUCATION

The College Facilities Construction Act, called the brick and mortar act, encouraged construction of college classrooms, new junior colleges, and new graduate schools to accommodate 7 million young people entering colleges in the next 7 years. Amendments to the National Defense Education Act will extend a program of loans for college education to between 70,000 and 90,000 new students; 600,000 students have already received loans under this act.

All this legislation had my support.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

This Congress passed three bills—including key sections of the poverty bill—to improve work-study and work-training programs of vocational education. For the first time the Federal Government will cooperate with the States to finance experimental programs of vocational education and construction of new vocational education facilities.

PROGRESS ON MENTAL HEALTH

In response to President Kennedy's plea for a bold new approach to attack mental illness and retardation, Congress, for the first time, acted on a program to meet our largest health problem. The Mental Health Act of 1963 provides grants for the construction of community mental health centers, emphasizing care and treatment in patients' home communities. It also authorizes a broad program to prevent and treat mental retardation by providing States and communities with needed research, manpower development, and facilities for health education, rehabilitation, and vocational services.

As ranking member of the House Subcommittee on Health and Safety and as a member of the joint Senate-House conference committee which approved this important mental health legislation, I was invited by President Kennedy to the White House to take part in ceremonies when the bill was signed. President Kennedy noted that the act "was one of the most important pieces of legislation passed by the 88th Congress."

My House subcommittee also helped steer the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963 through the Congress. It was a 3-year program for construction or rehabilitation of medical, dental and related professional schools, including colleges of podiatry, and a 6-year program of loans for students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy.

The effect of these programs will be more fully realized when they are completed and in full operation.

Due to my efforts for this legislation, the American Foot Health Foundation presented me with their 1964 Foot Health Award.

In the previous Congress I also received the Award of Merit from the Association of Schools of Public Health for helping to improve public health personnel training through sponsorship of the Hill-

Rhodes Act of 1958, authorizing Federal grants for the training of needed professional public health personnel. My legislation was a forerunner of the historymaking Health Professions Education Assistance Act and the Nurses Training Act of 1964, both of which will help combat the shortages of needed medical and health professionals in our growing counrty.

Two other awards were presented to me for my efforts on health legislation. One was presented by Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins of Johns Hopkins University representing the Association of Schools of Public Health. The other was a presentation by the Indoor Sports Club, a national organization of handicapped citizens.

LIBRARY SERVICES

Education should not stop in the classroom—it should be fostered for all a citizen's life. This year Congress authorized $20 million in matching grants to the States for public library construction, and $25 million for development of other library services.

I voted for this legislation.

HOUSING LEGISLATION

The Housing Act of 1964 which I supported authorized $1.2 billion for urban renewal, for 45,000 new public housing units, for loans for housing for the elderly, for farm housing, and for other programs. This was supplemented by extensions of a rental housing program for the elderly in rural areas and by a program of constructing 19,800 housing units on military bases. My proposal for presubsidence payments for homes damaged by mine cave-ins was included in this legislation.

CONSERVATION

This Congress with my support approved a national wilderness preservation system, permanently preserving 9.1 million acres of federally owned lands in their primeval, untrammeled state. The lands finally included in the system will be a paradise for sportsmen and for campers who really want to "rough it" in the splendor of untouched nature. Over the next 10 years the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture are to make recommendations concerning possible inclusion in the system of nearly 52 million more acres of Government land now classified as "primitive" national forests, national park areas, seashores and game ranges or refuges.

Also enacted into law with my support was the important land and water conservation fund of 1964 to assist the States in providing adequate outdoor recreational facilities to meet growing public needs. This legislation will be especially helpful in the Sixth District where new highways and development of natural resources to attract tourists will further stimulate economic growth and employment.

VETERANS

Veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict and their widows and children, were not forgotten by this Congress. H.R. 1927, which had my full support, increased veterans pensions by excluding certain types of income in determining pension benefits. These exclusions amount to 10 percent of payments to an individual under any public or private retirement annuity. Cash benefits accruing to veterans under this bill alone are estimated at more than $330 million during the next 5 years.

H.R. 1927 was a fitting climax to other veterans' legislation passed by the 88th Congress. Other legislation: Increased payments to parents, widows, and children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities; permitted the Veterans' Administration to waive recovery on defaulted home loans in certain hardship cases; provided educational assistance to children of veterans with total and permanent service-connected disability; extended disability income provisions of national service life insurance policies through age 65 under certain conditions, and authorized a 5-year $25 million program of matching aid to States for nursing facilities in State veterans' homes.

Legislation which I and several other Members introduced for a World War I pension was put over to the next Congress.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Congress enacted into law the first meaningful civil rights legislation in 100 years. It took a much-needed step toward guaranteeing to a minority of Americans the protection of the Constitution which the majority of our citizens have long enjoyed. It gave to all Americans what Pennsylvania had already legislated for every resident within its borders.

Ignoring the issue or failing to take positive national action on civil rights would only delay the inevitable and necessary, and intensify the hazards of change. An overwhelming majority in Congress voted to enact the legislation.

The bill does not in any manner establish so-called quotas whereby Negroes must be hired to replace Caucasians, nor does it affect the seniority rights of union or nonunion workers.

The provisions of the Civil Rights Act are morally right, intellectually sound, legally correct, and socially necessary.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Both Houses have approved an increase in social security benefits as well as a broadening of eligibility requirements for the program. The increase is expected to be $7 a month. The Senate version of the social security bill includes a modified hospitalization program financed through social security.

The passage of a social security bill has been delayed by the dispute over the inclusion of medicare. Those of us who support an expanded social security program seek enactment of the bill before adjournment. As this is written the final decision has not been made.

I strongly support social security and efforts to improve the program. In a Nation that worries about its surpluses, automation, and increasing production, retired elderly citizens should have the opportunity to live out their twilight years without the fear of crippling ill health, poverty, and neglect.

In a House speech during the social security debate, I pointed to the need of coverage for all citizens over age 65 including those who did not have the opportunity to receive coverage during their working life. I urged that benefits be paid on retirement at age 60 to both men and women. I also proposed a ceiling on individual social security taxes which now put a heavy burden on lower income workers and called for a partial financing from the General Treasury to meet future needs.

Social security became an issue at the GOP convention in San Francisco. Extremist elements now influential in the Republican Party have opposed what they call compulsory social security. The John Birch Society and other extremist groups would repeal it. At their national convention in Minneapolis, Young Republicans also opposed compulsory social security.

New York Governor Rockefeller opposed these GOP extremists by pointing out that the social security program would be killed if the compulsory provision should be repealed.

From its beginning social security has been a controversial issue as it is sure to be in this presidential election year.

FOREIGN POLICY

A nuclear test ban treaty limiting tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere was finally signed after 17 years of fruitless negotiations with the Soviets by Democratic and Republican administrations alike. This treaty in no way weakened our defenses or compromised our position on the many substantive issues. It was an explicit recognition of the restraint and responsibility that all governments must exercise in the nuclear age.

Similarly, unprovoked Communist attacks on our ships in the Gulf of Tonkin resulted in the adoption of a joint resolution of Congress reasserting our determination to maintain international peace and security in southeast Asia, and our resolve to support the President's efforts to prevent further acts of aggression.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Sixty percent of all money spent by this Congress went for a purpose to which all Americans would subscribe—maintaining the strongest Defense Establishment in the world. This sum is eight times more than the total financing of all health, education, labor, and welfare programs, the second largest category of Federal spending which accounts for only 7.6 percent of the national budget.

Still, under the responsible and effective leadership of Secretary McNamara, economy has been a guidepost in defense spending. Last fiscal year alone more than $2.5 billion was saved through prudent budget management, and this without in any way impairing our Nation's superior defense posture. On the contrary, our military might today is greater than at any time in history.

The result of our space effort was dramatically pointed out with the recent successful Ranger moonshot, an historic achievement which muted the cries of those skeptics who describe all space ventures as "moondoggling."

KEFAUVER AND WALTER

In addition to President John F. Kennedy, death claimed two other outstanding and prominent Americans during the 88th Congress. They were Senator Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, and Congressman Francis Walter, of Pennsylvania. Both of these men were very dear friends of mine. Walter was dean of the Pennsylvania congressional delegation. Kefauver was best known as a fighter against corruption and crime.

I was closely associated with Senator Kefauver when I served as chairman of a House Subcommittee on Morals and Ethics. President Kennedy declared that Kefauver's devotion to the public interest and welfare of the people made him a powerful influence—and his death deprived the Nation of one of its greatest leaders.

Indeed, death has deprived our country of three of its greatest leaders.

FARM LEGISLATION

The 88th Congress enacted two major pieces of farm legislation. In 1963 it voted to extend the feed grain program authorizing payments to producers who voluntarily reduce their feed grain acreage. The controversial Wheat-Cotton Act, which I opposed, became law in 1964.

Legislation to extend important farm programs under the Agricultural Research Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Agricultural Marketing Service, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Farmers Home Administration was also approved with my support. Under these programs over $2 million in necessary Federal assistance has aided Sixth District farm families.

DEMOCRATIC WHIP

In this Congress I again served as assistant House whip and floor leader of the Pennsylvania Democratic delegation. As a party whip, I worked with House and Senate leaders, with President Kennedy and later with President Johnson, in seeking enactment of their progressive programs.

My attendance record was again one of the highest in Congress.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

During the first session of the 88th Congress I served as a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the House Administration Committee and several subcommittees.

In the second session of the 88th Congress I was elected to the important House Ways and Means Committee headed by Chairman WILBUR MILLS.

COPTER TRIP WITH PRESIDENT

Two weeks ago I was honored by President Johnson with an invitation to fly with him and his wife, Lady Bird, in the presidential helicopter from the White House lawn to Harrisburg. It was a thrilling experience which gave me the opportunity to thank the President for his personal interest and help to our district. Two years before, I received a similar invitation from President Kennedy but unfortunately was held in Washington by a night session of Congress.

DISTRICT OFFICES

District offices have been opened in each of the three counties of the Sixth Congressional District in order to better serve constituents. They are located in Sunbury, Pottsville, and Reading.

Hundreds of students and club groups come to Washington to visit their Nation's Capital and to tour its historic sights. It has been my policy to welcome and meet them and to help make their visit an interesting and educational experience.

The many individual citizens who have visited my district and Washington offices were welcomed and afforded all possible cooperation and help.

BALLOT FRAUDS

Many Northumberland County citizens have written to me to request the Justice Department to oversee the balloting in Northumberland County this year. Deep concern has been expressed that no final decision has been made in regard to the contested election in last year's county commissioners' contest. Protests pertain to the handling of absentee ballots peddled in county hospitals and institutions and charges of violations of the election law.

Disappointment has been expressed over failure of the State attorney general to investigate voting fraud charges and take necessary steps to protect the balloting in Northumberland this year.

I discussed this matter with U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy before his resignation. Although the Federal Government does not have jurisdiction in a local election contest, the Justice Department will be prepared to act against any violation that may occur in Northumberland this year because it will be a Federal election.

The right of the people to a free election choice is one of our Nation's sacred principles. To protect this right, the people of Northumberland County can be of help by promptly reporting any evidence of fraud or dishonesty in this important election year.

PROGRESS IN THE SIXTH DISTRICT

Substantial economic progress is evident throughout our Sixth Congressional District as a result of the Kennedy-Johnson legislative program.

Unemployment in Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties has declined to less than half its 1960 level. It has dropped from 15 percent to less than 7½ percent. In Berks County it has dropped to below 5 percent.

The increase in jobs was made possible by the impact of the administration's antirecession program and the cooperative effort of local community leaders and public officials in taking advantage of the Federal aid programs.

In the past 2 years approximately $30 million has come into our district in Federal assistance for public works, sanitation, housing, area redevelopment, small business highway, recreational, farm aid and water projects. It was my pleasure to have voted for legislation making these projects possible, and to have given my full cooperation to local officials applying for needed Federal assistance.

HIGHWAYS

In the last 2 years $2.5 million came to our district in highway assistance. The Keystone Shortway and the Anthracite Expressway are outstanding examples of the Federal Government's role in helping to meet State and local needs. They were initiated, planned, and executed by the State government with Federal cooperation—90 percent of the cost was supplied by the Federal Government.

The completed highway projects will make the Sixth District, and especially the coal regions, more accessible to tourism and industry and have given a major boost to economic development and employment in our district.

URBAN RENEWAL AND HOUSING

Ten million dollars has been provided for housing and urban renewal in Reading and Pottsville and for urban renewal projects in other district communities.

Pottsville has mader emarkable progress in the last few years and is moving forward with urban renewal and redevelopment projects, industrial redevelopment, and other programs to provide improved public facilities to meet public needs and to provide needed job opportunities.

The elderly housing projects going up in Pottsville are a credit to the community, reflecting intelligent and enlightened leadership of public officials and commnuity leaders.

In Reading the third elderly housing project is being constructed. Reading was the first city in the Nation to have an elderly housing project. I was glad to play a role in making this possible. Other cities in our district should explore the possibility of an elderly housing project. My office will give all possible support to such efforts.

COALDALE MINE CAVE-IN PROBLEM

Owners of properties damaged by mine cave-ins will receive presubsidence value for their homes as a result of legislation which I introduced and helped pass. This was good news for families vacated from the area where the renewal project is located.

PUBLIC WORKS IN SIXTH DISTRICT

Sewage, drainage, water system and other public works construction projects were granted over $6 million by Federal agencies during the 88th Congress. These funds, to which local communities and businesses contributed percentage shares, not only helped build needed public facilities and provided funds for business expansion, but created an estimated 5,000 man-months of employment in the Sixth District.

Public works and sewer and water construction grants were made to communities throughout the Sixth District including Cumru, Fleetwood, Spring Township and Sinking Spring in Berks County; Pottsville, Cressona, Coaldale and Tamaqua in Schuylkill County, and Milton, Sunbury and Watsontown in Northumberland County.

Public works planning advances, amounting to over $600,000 were approved to help plan sanitation, hospital, parks and educational facilities in communities.

Several Sixth District industrial development corporations were given loans totaling almost $600,000. Included among these were loans to the Mount Carmel District Industrial Foundation for expansion of the Arcwire Corp., to the Shamokin Area Development Corp. for construction of a railroad siding; and to the Great Tamaqua Industrial Development Enterprises for construction of sewer lines and an access road to Tidewater Industrial Park.

WATER, FISH AND WILDLIFE

Over $550,000 was provided by the Federal Government for ground water and surface water research, fish and wildlife restoration aid, and for mine safety in the sixth district.

A $100,000 appropriation was approved to begin preliminary planning and engineering work on the proposed Blue Marsh Dam in Berks County; $1 million was appropriated with my assistance to begin construction of the Blanchard Dam and Reservoir on Bald Eagle Creek.

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

Also important to the quickened pace of economic progress in the sixth district was the almost $2.5 million in U.S. Small Business Administration loans granted to firms in each of the three counties. Most of these loans were for construction, purchase of equipment or machinery or for purchases of inventory, and thus helped stimulate the entire economy and created additional jobs.

SOCIAL SECURITY AIDS SIXTH DISTRICT

Every month almost $5 million in social security benefits comes into the sixth district counties of Berks, Northumberland, and Schuylkill for the aged, disabled, widows and dependents. Over 70,000 sixth district residents receive these benefits.

Besides helping aged and disabled citizens and their families, it is an important business stimulant.

BILLS INTRODUCED

In this Congress, as in the past, I have introduced legislation in the House of Representatives which I believe to be in the public interest. As in previous Congresses, some of my proposals were enacted into law. Some were passed in amended form, or as part of an omnibus bill.

These are some of the bills I introduced in this Congress. They would:

Raise income tax exemptions from $600 to $800;

Provide further opportunity to State and local employees, including schoolteachers, to elect coverage under social security;

Allow social security benefits to both men and women at age 60;

Grant deduction for income tax purposes to handicapped persons for transportation expenses;

Increase to $1,800 the annual amount individuals are permitted to earn while receiving social security benefits;

Allow presubsidence value for homes damaged by cave-ins when acquired for urban renewal;

Authorize Commerce Committee to conduct an investigation and ascertain need for improvements in passenger train service;

Provide a pension for World War I veterans;

Provide for Federal assistance for the construction and expansion for community junior colleges;

Increase minimum monthly social security benefits.

PART OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY

Local projects have contributed to community progress and are an example of administration programs responsible for the historymaking 44 months of our Nation's economic growth and prosperity.

Opponents of President Johnson in the Congress, and particularly extremist elements throughout the Nation have opposed Federal assistance programs which have helped our district and the Nation. They have charged that the Federal Government is too big and strong, that our freedom is being lost and that initiative is being destroyed.

The truth is, President Johnson has said, that far from crushing the individual, Government at its best liberates him from the enslaving forces of his environment.

Does the Government subvert our freedom through the social security system, which guards our people against destitution when they are too old to work? Does Government undermine our freedom by bringing electricity to the farm, by controlling floods, or by ending bank failures? Is freedom lessened by efforts to abate pollution in our streams or by efforts to gain knowledge of the causes and cure of crippling and killing disease?

Is freedom really diminished by banning the sale of harmful drugs, by providing school lunches for our children, by preserving our wilderness areas, or by improving the safety of our airways? Is freedom betrayed when in 1964 we redeem the pledge made a century ago by the Emancipation Proclamation? Those of us who support President Johnson say emphatically, "No."

In President Johnson's words these programs, "are the goals of a compassionate government which keeps faith with the trust of its father and cherishes the future of its children. Through compassion for the plight of one individual, Government fulfills its purpose as the servant of all the people."

These words of President Johnson are the answer to his critics, particularly extremist elements which have opposed the programs I have mentioned.

Basically the future of our free society hinges upon whether or not we as a free people can work out rational and responsible policies to deal with this central question: How do we keep America fully employed, how do we harness the increasing abundance that is now within our grasp and relate that abundance to the unmet needs in education, housing, medical care, highway development, resource development and many other things that make up the long list of unfinished work on the agenda of America's democracy?

The legislation for which I indicate support in this report is, I believe, the answer to this question.

Peaceful Coexistence—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker on yesterday, I offered for the information of the House prefatory material from the book "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory."

At this time, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an additional significant segment from this publication of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association, as follows:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE: A COMMUNIST BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY

INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the world of today would be the first choice of the overwhelming majority of mankind. To be rid of the uncertainties and tensions of human conflict, and to have assurances of being able to live, work, and enjoy the great spiritual and material benefits which the world of today offers—these are priorities for all people in all nations.

But as the days and months and years progress, we seem to be no closer to these elusive goals. The sphere of human conflict, far from having contracted, and has been enlarged, and today there is virtually no corner of the globe which can isolate itself from the events which develop and aggravate such unrest.

Hence the principal feature of the absence of peace, the "cold war," is to many an integral part of contemporary international relations, something which is uncomfortable in that it threatens the American way of life, expensive, in that it imposes great financial burdens upon the government of the people; and complex, in that its language and dialogue have become more obscure with the passage of time.

Clearly, the cold war is something every American would rather do without. But nearly every American is equally aware that settlement of the cold war on the terms now offered by our main adversary, the Soviet Union, would be unacceptable.

Unquestionably, the American people do not bear malice toward the Soviet people; but they know that the words of Soviet leaders, the words of Communists, are not the words used in the language of true democracy and freedom. Although it has been said that Americans have no sense of history, nearly every public opinion poll ever taken has yielded a heavy negative response to such question as, "Can we trust the Soviets to keep their word if an agreement is made on the issues of x or y. * * *?"

While there is awareness of the realities of the Soviet record, there is also a sense of frustration which reflects our apparent inability to communicate clearly our desires to the Communists. It would seem that by now the Communists should realize that the United States really does not want war, that it wishes to make the world safe for diversity, that it wants to live side-by-side with its neighbors in peace. On hundreds of occasions the United States has officially proclaimed its peaceful intention vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Communist camp, but the unrelenting pressure on the defenses of the free world continues.

For their part, the Communists claim to be the insulted and the injured; they, "the champions of peace and democracy," are the ones who are "threatened" by "the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism"; it is they who constantly "strive for the reduction of tensions" and are impeded by the "capitalist camp"; it is they who have thus far shielded mankind from a destructive war through their "consistent policies of peace"; and it is they who ultimately will "liberate" the world from the "evil system of capitalism." In a word, it is their policy which "represents the best interests of mankind," and that policy is called the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

While such Communist claims are at best equivalent to their claims during the late 1940's and early 1950's that they had discovered everything from baseball to the steam engine well in advance of the rest of the world, there is a certain air of "legitimacy" to their appeal for "peaceful coexistence." The term is in itself not repugnant to our concepts, because on the face of it, it sums up some of our basic desires: we do in fact wish to "coexist peacefully" with the rest of the world.

For Americans, "coexisting peacefully" consists in a variety of conditions which can be summed up roughly as follows: "You live there, we live here; what's yours is yours, and what's ours is ours; we will not interfere in your affairs, and you will not interfere in our; our affairs involving you will be conducted on the principles of equality, honesty, and candor, and your affairs involving us will be likewise governed; and on this basis, we will progress, each in his own way, toward the goals which we each have set for ourselves."

If this were the principle used to regulate the affairs of state on a worldwide basis, friction and tension would be greatly reduced. But even to achieve the limited aim of greatly reduced friction and tension, it would be necessary for each participant in world affairs to have a clearcut and unobstructed notion of what is meant by "peaceful coexistence." In others words, the meaning of the term would necessarily have to be identical for all concerned.

The nations of the free world have such an understanding of peaceful coexistence. In their dealings with one another, a common language with precise meaning is employed.

But for the Communists, the meaning of peaceful coexistence is quite different. It is not a description of what is or what should be in the conduct of international affairs, but is rather a subtle and complex strategic doctrine designed to serve the cause of the worldwide Communist movement in its prosecution of the proletarian revolution.

It is well to note that while the nations of the free world may acknowledge the general validity of living in peaceful coexistence with friends and enemies alike, they have never felt a need to define the concept in the form of a doctrine. Hence the term itself is somewhat alien to the language of diplomacy and other global affairs, and as a doctrine it has never found a permanent place. But because it does, as noted earlier, appear to encompass some of the basic desires of all nations, the free world has been reluctant to decline to use it for fear of appearing to be uninterested in promoting the cause of peace.

The Communists, noting Western reluctance to refuse to adopt any term which seems to signify a devotion to peace among men, have consistently sought universal recognition of peaceful coexistence as a regulating concept. At every opportunity they have emphasized it as the basis of their foreign policy, and have waged a singularly impressive campaign for its adoption among the non-Western and underdeveloped countries.

Because by their own admission the term is elevated by the Communists to the position of strategic doctrine, because it defines so much of Communist strategy for the present and for the foreseeable future, and because it is complex, the following pages are devoted to an exposition and analysis in depth of peaceful coexistence.

The new requirements for Americans who live in the nuclear age demand an extraordinary expenditure of effort and determination. Foremost among them is the clear-cut recognition that our way of life now faces in the Communist threat the gravest challenge of its history; but merely to acknowledge the existence of that challenge will no longer suffice. It is incumbent upon us to know the enemy and to be prepared to do combat with him on whatever level he chooses to utilize for advancing the cause of world communism.

Therefore, it is no longer acceptable to be prepared to state merely that the Communists "seek to dominate the world." It is vital to know what instruments they are now employing to further that cause. There can be no doubt that communism is in fact attempting to dominate the world, but an educated and enlightened citizenry will ultimately prove to be the single greatest stumbling block the Communists will encounter.

The citizenry of the most advanced Nation in the world thus has an especially great obligation to understand and be prepared to meet the elaborate Communist strategy designed to destroy its way of life. At the same time, the obligation of renewing the heritage and tradition which has provided the impetus to wealth and greatness that this Nation enjoys must also be recognized. If the best defense against an armed aggressor is to understand his strategy and tactics, then certainly the best defense of a way of life is to be dedicated to, and mindful of, its guiding precepts.

A NOTE ON COMMUNIST SOURCES

In connection with their "peace offensive," during the past few years, the Communists have increased by several times the quantities of propaganda materials made available to the non-Communist world. Nearly every major document or speech is translated into the major languages, and Radio Moscow and satellite transmitters operate on intensive daily schedules to all parts of the world.

A striking example of this expansion is the revolution in miniature electronics which has produced the transistor radio. Now that production of such radios in quantity and at prices within the reach of nearly every citizen of the world has been made possible, additional importance has been attached to the role played by radio propaganda.

The Communists have taken the measure of this technological breakthrough, and have harnessed their propaganda activities to it. Hence it is possible for the peasant in Africa to receive transmissions in his native language from the Soviet Union, and for the campesino of Venezuela to tune to Radio Havana. A March 1964 U.S. Information Agency report points out that Communist broadcasting activities reached a record high of 4,288 hours a week in 1963. This figure represented an increase of 11 percent over the previous year, and by the end of the year broadcasts were being beamed in 67 languages.

Standardized Communist publications are easily procured in the world's major cities and by mail. For example, the official ideological journal of the international Communist movement, "Problems of Peace and Socialism," is published monthly in Prague in some 20 different editions (the English language edition is called the "World Marxist Review"). In all cases such literature is cheap, and is persuasively presented.

The literature of communism is indeed vast. The primary sources alone, the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, number over 75 volumes. Thousands of secondary works have been written, including those by Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, to develop the theories contained in the original works. But of greatest interest here is the behavior of Communists in recent times; and while the study of the remarkable continuity of the basic tenets of communism from the days of Marx in the 19th century to the days of Khrushchev in the second half of the 20th century is in itself interesting, it is impossible to include it in a study of peaceful coexistence.[1]

Thus, by focusing the attention of the reader on recent statements of the Communist movement, this study provides an up-to-date account of the goals and methods utilized in the quest to subvert and ultimately overthrow the free world. In addition to official Soviet statements, sources from both satellite and Western Communist Parties have been used wherever appropriate.

WHAT IS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE?

Traditionally, Communists have always given the greatest care to defining carefully the strategic course of action to be followed over a given period of time. Tactics may vary within the period of time in which the strategy operates, but the latter will remain constant until officially changed and until that change has been proclaimed to the world movement. Hence as stated in fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, an authoritative manual for Communists everywhere, a careful distinction is made between strategy and tactics:

"The term tactics often implies a political line for a relatively short period of time determined by particular concrete conditions, whereas strategy refers to the line for a whole historical stage." [3]

The manual goes on to point out that:

"When elaborating the strategic line of the party under capitalist conditions, it is important, in the first place, to determine correctly the main aim of the working class at the given stage and the chief class enemy against whom it is necessary to concentrate at the given stage the class hatred and the shock force of all the working people in order to overcome this enemy's resistance." [3]

Despite what has appeared on the surface to be substantially complete break with the past of Stalinism, these definitions bear a remarkable similarity to those laid down by Stalin in 1924:

"Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the passing of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout a given stage.

"While the object of strategy is to win the war * * * against the bourgeoisie * * * tactics pursue less important objectives, for the object of tactics is not the winning of the war as a whole, but the winning of some particular engagements or some particualr battles.[4]"

From this it is clear that Communists set themselves certain well-defined priorities to be accomplished by the concentration of "class hatred" and the "shock force of all the working people" under the guidance of the "strategic line of the party." In individual cases the details may vary, but at heart it is always a question of assuming political power through the overthrow of the "enemy."

It is important to understand, then, what the Communists themselves understand as the "strategic line" to be followed for an entire "historical stage."

Is "peaceful coexistence" a strategy or a tactic?

Footnotes at end of speech.

"The Marxist-Leninists do not understand the policy of peaceful coexistence as a tactical maneuver designed for some limited span of time, but as the strategic line designed for the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.[5]"

Peaceful coexistence is therefore the strategy which will carry forth the Communist revolution to the final overthrow of the free world and the establishment of worldwide Communist rule.[6] To take it as something less important than the "strategic line," or to dismiss it as a "semantic phrase" would be to ignore the fundamental statement of the plan to accomplish the final phase of the attack against the non-Communist world.

As the principal "strategic line" of the majority of the Communist movement, peaceful coexistence is quite young. It received its initial, cautious formulation and blessing by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, but escaped widespread attention in the West because of the sensational nature of the "de-Stalinization" pronouncements made at that time. It was Stalin, however, who first affirmed that "coexistence" was a temporary possibility designed to buy time. Speaking at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1927, he said that:

"The period of 'peaceful coexistence' is receding into the past, giving way to a period of imperialist attacks. Hence our task is to pay attention to contradictions in the capitalist camp, to delay war by 'buying off' the capitalists and to take all measures to maintain peaceful relations. Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of the two opposing systems is possible. Practice has fully confirmed this."[7]

Still earlier references to coexistence may be found in Trotsky and Lenin, but until recent years it has been a descriptive slogan; i.e., it described a condition to which, however unfortunate for the Communists, they had to adapt.

Under conditions of obvious inferiority to the "capitalist world," until 1956 the Communists described their position as one of "capitalist encirclement." The major task under those conditions, according to Stalin, was to strike incessantly at the "weakest link" of the capitalist chain in an effort to break out of the "encirclement." At the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 the declaration was made that the chain had been broken, and that the worldwide revolution had begun to enter the final phase of human history, the "transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale." It is in this phase that the Communists relinquish the defensive position assumed under the previous conditions of peaceful coexistence, and go over to the strategic offensive under a new and enriched kind of peaceful coexistence.

While the phraseology has undergone no change—i.e., "peaceful coexistence" is still used to describe Communist policy objectives—the content of the slogan has changed radically to accommodate the new period of the offensive. Thus it is that the period of peaceful coexistence contains such nonpeaceful events as the construction of the Berlin wall and the Cuban missile build-up.

As to its specific content Nikita Khrushchev has said that:

"The policy of peaceful coexistence, as regards its social content, is a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle of the proletariat against the aggressive forces of imperialism in the international arena."[8]

From this definition, it would appear that peaceful coexistence, inasmuch as it prescribes "intense struggle," does not accord with the meaning of the word "peaceful." But the "Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties" of December 1960, a major policy declaration, goes into greater detail:

"The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful coexistence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy, and national liberation."

It should be noted that Communists consider peaceful coexistence and the "national liberation movement," i.e., the revolutionary movement in the underdeveloped countries, to be mutually reinforcing. The principal impact of this mutual reinforcement is the ability to "limit the sphere of action" of "imperialism." Accurately translated, this means that the successes of the Communists can be turned into an advantage by restricting the freedom of action of the Western countries, chiefly the United States.

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[1] For reasons of space only. The reader will find at the end of this booklet a select list of books which probe in much greater detail both the historical and ideological aspects of the Communist movement.

[2] Otto V. Kuusinen (ed.), Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), p. 424; 2d ed., rev., 1963, p. 345.

[3] Kuusinen, p. 425; 2d ed., p. 346 (italic in original).

[4] Josef Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," in Problems of Leninism (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953), pp. 83–84.

[5] "For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement," Pravda, December 6, 1963.

[6] It has been pointed out, however, that "what is strategy on one level is a tactic on another." The merging of the one into the other gives rise to the possibility of differing interpretations of what actually is "strategy."

[7] Josef Stalin, Political Report of the Central Committee to the 15th Congress of the CPSU(B), December 3, 1927 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), pp. 26–27.

[8] Nikita Khrushchev, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," Kommunist, No. 1 (January 1961). The famous speech delivered on January 6, 1961, has become a major document of the Communist movement. On February 2, 1962, Time magazine reported that President Kennedy considered it to be "one of the most significant speeches ever made by Khrushchev—Indeed, a Red blueprint for eventual world domination," and had directed the Nation's top policymakers to read the speech. The most comprehensive analysis of the speech has been made for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Dr. Stefan T. Possony of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Congressman Fraser Reports to the People of Minneapolis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Congress is about to conclude one of the most productive sessions in history. I am proud to represent the city of Minneapolis in a Congress which has enacted so many important measures.

The tax cut, the civil rights bill, substantial aids for higher education, the antipoverty program, and the nuclear test-ban treaty underscore the resoluteness with which this Congress has acted to achieve lasting prosperity at home and enforceable peace in the world.

A TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Our accomplishments will go far to keep America strong at home and abroad. We have fashioned a living tribute to the memory of President John F. Kennedy, under whose tragically brief leadership our deliberations began.

I should like to set forth my voting record and comment upon the legislation that has come before us.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

It is reassuring to note that this Nation is stronger than ever before. U.S. armed might today represents a triumph of "strategy, science, and human ingenuity," greater than any military force in history. At the same time, economy measures which have been put into effect in the preparedness program will now save the Nation billions of dollars each year.

Congress appropriated almost $97 billion during the 88th Congress for the continuing maintenance and build-up of the U.S. nuclear and conventional Armed Forces. I supported all of these requests of the Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

My work as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee has reinforced my belief that the position of the free world is steadily gaining at the expense of the Communist cause. The West is standing firm in southeast Asia and in West Berlin while a serious rift is widening between the Soviet Union and Red China.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD U.S.S.R.

I believe, therefore, we are wise in continuing to pursue a three-pronged policy as enunciated recently by President Johnson: to convince the Soviet Union that it is dangerous to engage in aggression, futile to impose their system on unwilling people, and beneficial to their nation to join in achieving genuine peace.

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the U.N. resolution against orbiting nuclear weapons in space, the hot line agreement, and the mutual action to cut back production of fissionable material for weapons are arrangements which greatly benefit the United States. Important work on these four steps toward peace was done by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

I was one of the cosponsors of the bill by which we extended the life of the Agency and increased funds for this vital work.

The United States has been able to make these advances in the field of international relations in part because of America's strength and the strength the United States has helped build in the free world. The diverse actions of this Congress will demonstrate that the United States continues to stand ready both to defend the security of the free world and share in solving its problems.

PEACE CORPS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

We are endeavoring to expand world trade and lower tariff barriers. We have voted to expand the Peace Corps, "the most powerful idea in recent times." By 1965, there will be 14,000 American peace corpsmen in 46 nations. This Congress has also extended "food for peace" for 3 more years.

The United States is pledged to create working partnerships with the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to help them continue along the road to freedom. American foreign aid, including money for the Alliance for Progress, is to be distributed on a realistic basis emphasizing "self-help, reform, and performance."

This year, our foreign aid appropriations call for a "bare-bones" budget of $3.5 billion. I am pleased to report that I was among those who actively worked for this important piece of legislation which passed the House virtually intact.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Passage of the civil rights law was unquestionably our foremost domestic achievement. This great measure grapples directly with the fundamental moral and national issue of the times: the attainment of liberty and equality for all citizens regardless of race, religion, and color.

The long struggle to pass the civil rights law in the House was truly dramatic. I am proud to have authored a companion bill and to have actively worked for passage of the civil rights law.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Some measures proposed to this House have threatened to impair the civil liberties of the people. I have questioned some of the procedures of the House Committee on Un-American Activities because I believe that the committee sometimes exceeds the proper role of a congressional committee as defined by the courts. I indicated my concern by a negative vote on appropriations for this committee and placed a statement in the RECORD expressing my desire that this committee be made a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled last June that every citizen should have an equal vote with that of his neighbor in the election of members to the State legislature. In recent weeks many efforts have been made to overrule or delay that decision. I have opposed every such effort, for I believe that the political rights of American citizens must be jealously guarded.

DUE PROCESS FOR ALL

Congress took an important step this year to assure due process to everyone. Enactment of a bill which I cosponsored provides that indigent defendants in Federal courts will be provided with counsel who will be compensated for their work. The new law takes a giant step forward in making the right to counsel a reality.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

The tax cut measure for which I voted early in 1964 is doing exactly the job it was intended to do. The $11.5 billion slash in personal and corporate taxes has spurred our economy by increasing purchasing power. This has created greater demand for goods. This demand, in turn, is creating more jobs.

Currently, the Nation's economy is booming. The United States is enjoying the longest and strongest peacetime expansion in the 20th century. In the first 6 months of 1964, record profits being shown by business have helped generate a $1.6 billion annual increase in tax revenues.

Today, 72 million persons are working, up 5 million in the past 2 years. An average factory worker earns $103 a week, also a record high. Prices have held stable.

Still, we cannot afford complacency. Five percent of the labor force is unemployed and 16 percent of our productive capacity is idle. One-fifth of the people do not enjoy minimum levels of decent living.

ANTIPOVERTY MEASURES, AUTOMATION

To begin a long-range effort to improve this situation, we passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, better known as the antipoverty bill. This 3-year program will begin to combat the poverty which afflicts tens of millions of Americans who are living on incomes of $3,000 a year or less for a family of four.

This is not a handout program. Rather, through Federal, State, and local agencies, it attempts to break a vicious cycle of dependency. It will give almost 400,000 youth new opportunities to escape their heritage of poverty and become self-

supporting, productive members of society. I particularly welcome the emphasis that the bill places upon vocational training and counseling. I know this measure will help Minnesota which now has 12,000 young people out of school and out of work.

Because the impact of automation continues to pose major challenges to workers and industry as well as to the public, Congress authorized the National Commission on Technology and Automation. This Commission will give intensive study to the effects of automation and recommend appropriate measures to insure that the increasing technology is harnessed to advance, not retard, human welfare.

EDUCATION

We are extending the National Defense Education Act at least through June 30, 1967, to strengthen teaching at all levels and provide financial help to qualified students through loans and fellowships. I was pleased to introduce a bill to aid students seeking higher education, for it is shocking to know that every year 60,000 to 100,000 students in the top quarter of their high school graduating class cannot afford to go to college.

LIBRARY, COLLEGE, AND VOCATIONAL AIDS

We have voted a substantial "education package" for the Nation—$1.2 billion for the first 3 years of a 5-year college construction program to help accommodate doubling college enrollments, an additional $175 million for medical and dental school construction, $30.7 million for loans for students in the health professions.

We have also voted for the first time to aid hard-pressed libraries in cities as well as in rural areas. The Library Services and Construction Act of 1964 will provide needed money for the Minneapolis library system.

Vocational education funds have been expanded fourfold to provide needed vocational schools and part-time work for youths. Teaching basic skills, curbing school dropouts and working with illiterate adults will go far to aid in the fullest development of this Nation's most important resource, its manpower.

CURBING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

We have also launched a new attack on juvenile delinquency. A bill I cosponsored will continue the entire juvenile delinquency program until 1967. This has made it possible for the youth development project of the Hennepin County Community Health and Welfare Council to receive a $250,000 grant to help reduce delinquency in two specially selected target areas in Minneapolis.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

As this report is written, the fate of medicare, the program of hospital insurance under social security, is uncertain. I have lent my hand to its passage wherever possible. I cosponsored the King-Anderson bill by introducing a companion bill as my first bill in Congress. I have debated American Medical Association representatives a number of times across the country, and I testified in favor of the bill before the Ways and Means Committee. Enactment of health care legislation for the elderly this year will be a great step forward.

Because Minneapolis has a larger than average population of older citizens, I was pleased to support the new social security bill now pending. It will give 20 million social security beneficiaries throughout the Nation an increase in monthly payments. I might add this is the first such increase to help offset rising living costs since 1958.

Meanwhile, this Congress has not been indifferent to the general health and welfare needs of the people. The Nation's largest health problem, mental illness and retardation, will be vigorously combatted with a 4-year program passed last year.

The 1964 Hill-Burton amendments permit large-scale construction and modernization of hospital and other health facilities. We have also begun an intensive program to add 130,000 nurses by 1970 to the Nation's current total of 550,000.

PURIFYING AIR AND WATER

Nor have we in this session ignored the very air America breathes or its water supply. The Clean Air Act of 1963, Water Resources Research Act of 1964, and the pending water pollution control amendments will go far to control exhaust and industrial fumes and other air and water pollution to which the cities are increasingly subjected.

HOUSING

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1964 contains a feature I requested that is of special importance to Minneapolis: $50 million in low-interest loans to help people improve their homes and avoid slums and blight. Another feature I supported will provide additional rental housing for our senior citizens. In addition $600 million will be available for urban renewal projects.

MASS TRANSPORTATION

The Urban Mass Transportation Act we passed this year is a start in the right direction. We must continue to make every effort to relieve the choked highways and improve local transit systems within the cities as well as between city and suburb.

AGRICULTURE

Although my district, comprising the city of Minneapolis, is entirely urban, Minnesota is a farm State and the economic health of the urban and rural areas are tied closely together. I have supported every measure to maintain and improve farm income and to use our food abundance to raise standards of living at home and abroad. If we had not passed the Wheat-Cotton Act, Minnesota farm income would have dropped nearly $10 million. Adoption of an expanded food stamp program will help to make American agricultural abundance available to those with low incomes or on welfare. We are already moving ahead with plans to bring Minneapolis into this program.

CONSERVATION

This has also been an important year for protecting nature's heritage. After a 15-year legislative struggle, the new wilderness bill guarantees that 9 million acres of underdeveloped lands will be preserved in their natural beauty for the good of generations to come. Contemplated for protection over a 10-year period are an additional 60 million acres.

A second, equally important, recreation measure providing a land and water conservation fund will result in Minnesota's receiving $2 million annually to plan for, acquire and develop land for recreational purposes.

Increased emphasis on leisure time has led more States to adopt daylight saving time thus permitting greater use of daylight hours. Because various States have adopted different beginning and ending dates, I introduced a bill establishing uniform dates for all States which elect daylight saving time. Hearings were held and a bill reported from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee but passage seems unlikely this year. Nevertheless this represents far greater progress than in prior years, and enactment of such a bill should receive prompt consideration in the next session.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Any report on the work of this Congress would be incomplete without emphasizing the greater opportunities for women that will now exist.

One worker in three in the American labor force is a woman. We have provided that women will now receive the same pay as men for the same work. We have liberalized provisions for child care deductions for working mothers in the new tax law. We are continuing to investigate various ways in which equal status for women may be assured in all States.

Also, as consumers, men and women alike will welcome efforts by this Congress to strengthen food and drug laws and insure fair weights and proper grade labeling.

RULES REFORM NEEDED

But I must observe that much of the legislation we have enacted has had to surmount formidable roadblocks arising out of the rules and procedures in this House. To the extent that a minority is able to thwart the will of the majority using these procedures, the democratic process has been subverted.

The voters who sent us to Washington are entitled to a fully functioning legislative branch of Government. A minority should not be allowed to block this entire body from considering fundamental legislative proposals.

When the 89th Congress convenes in January, I urge careful examination of the rules governing our operations so that all major legislative proposals may receive critical scrutiny under genuine majority rule and be voted either up or down.

A LOOK AHEAD

Four-fifths of this Nation's population reside in urban areas. Because the cities have so many common needs and problems, I believe their interests would most efficiently be served through the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs, much as problems relating to Agriculture are concentrated in one cabinet department.

I am convinced this century's greatest continuing need concerns the education of the people. Modern technology has so increased the need for educated and trained persons, we must regard our an-

nual educational appropriations not as a national cost but as the best investment we can make to secure our Nation's future.

We must continue to explore opportunities to provide academic and vocational education to all, to the full extent of individual ability to learn.

Additional consideration must also be given at home to the health, welfare and recreational needs of the rapidly enlarging older population.

ANOTHER LOOK AT SELECTIVE SERVICE

The selective service system also needs critical reevaluation. If we can attract to the military sufficient numbers of high caliber career men and women, it may be possible to meet the remaining military manpower needs on a voluntary basis. Study is needed to see if this is so. In all events, we should aim at meeting our military manpower needs without social or economic injustice to anyone.

THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM

Abroad, Asia remains one of the most acute tension spots in the world. The ultimate future of freedom in the rest of the world may well hinge on the direction Asia takes. It therefore behooves the free nations of the world to insure that freedom coupled with economic and social progress goes forward in Asia. A U.N. presence in southeast Asia with an appropriate peace-keeping force could implement agreements which must be reached aimed at ultimately securing the complete independence of southeast Asia.

I strongly support strengthening the U.N. and enlarging the Security Council and the U.N. Economic and Social Council so that the U.N. may increasingly become the major instrument for achieving world peace under the rule of law.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the Appendix of the RECORD a table which lists major legislative proposals before this Congress and my position on these bills and resolutions:

My position	Issue	Outcome
	NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SPACE	
Supported	Increased pay and subsistence allowances for military personnel	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $93,972,061,000 for defense	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $3,156,848 for military construction projects	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriations for NASA and Atomic Energy Commission	Enacted.
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Supported	Foreign aid authorization and appropriation	Enacted.
Supported	Extend the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	Enacted.
Supported	Increase size of the Peace Corps	Enacted.
Supported	Limited nuclear test ban treaty (voted upon only in Senate)	Ratified.
Supported	Extend food-for-peace program for 3 years	Enacted.
Supported	Study for new canal in Central America	Enacted.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Supported	Tax cut and reform bill	Enacted.
Supported	War-on-poverty bill	Enacted.
Supported	Program to combat poverty in Appalachian region	Passed Senate.
Supported	Mass transit program	Enacted.
Supported	Accelerated public works program	Pending in House.
Supported	Extend area redevelopment program	Pending in House.
Supported	Establish a National Commission on Technology and Automation	Enacted.
Supported	Equal pay for women	Enacted.
Supported	Davis-Bacon Act amendments	Enacted.
Opposed	Relaxing ICC control on rail rates	Defeated in Rules Committee.
	CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES	
Supported	Civil Rights Act of 1964	Enacted.
Opposed	Suspension of equal-time rule of FCC for 1964 presidential election	Passed House.
Opposed	Deny Federal courts jurisdiction over apportionment cases	Passed House.
Supported	Provide counsel for indigent defendants	Enacted.
	EDUCATION	
Supported	Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963	Enacted.
Supported	Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963	Enacted.
Supported	Vocational Education Act of 1963	Enacted.
Supported	Manpower Development and Training Act extended and funds increased	Enacted.
Supported	Extend and amend National Defense Education Act	In conference.
Supported	Library Services and Construction Act of 1964	Enacted.
	HEALTH AND WELFARE	
Supported	Housing and Community Development Act of 1964	Enacted.
Supported	Social security increase and medicare	In conference.
Supported	Provide for construction of community mental health centers	Enacted.
Supported	Establish air pollution control program	Enacted.
Supported	Food stamp plan to distribute food to needy families	Enacted.
Supported	Federal aid for construction and modernization of hospital and nursing homes (Hill-Burton)	Enacted.
	GOVERNMENT OPERATION	
Supported	Pay increase for postal and other Federal employees and officers	Enacted.
Opposed	Prohibit FCC regulating TV commercials	Passed House.
Opposed	Let NSA fire employees without a hearing	Passed House.
	VETERANS	
Supported	Veterans pension increases	Pending.
Supported	Providing nursing home facilities for veterans	Enacted.
Supported	Provide educational assistance to children of disabled veterans	Enacted.
	AGRICULTURE AND CONSERVATION	
Supported	Feed grain bill	Enacted.
Supported	Cotton-wheat bill	Enacted.
Opposed	Continue importation of Mexican farmworkers	Enacted.
Supported	Wilderness Act	Enacted.
Supported	Establish $2,000,000,000 recreation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation	Enacted.
Supported	Water Pollution Control Act amendments	Passed Senate.
Supported	Program to finance water resources research centers	Enacted.

Some bills I have sponsored

Number	Issue	Outcome
H.R. 4160	Medicare	In conference.
H.R. 7197	Civil rights	Enacted.
H.R. 8325	World War I veterans pension bill	Pending in committee.
H.R. 8372	Youth Employment Act (became part of war-on-poverty bill)	Enacted.
H.R. 6155	Extension of Juvenile Delinquency Control Act	Enacted.
H.R. 6499	Provide counsel to indigent defendants	Enacted.
H.R. 7196	Establishment of National Council of Arts	Enacted.
H.R. 7631	Extend Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	Pending in committee.
H.R. 7832	Reopen lapsed national service life (GI) insurance	Pending in committee.
H.R. 8587	Establish an Office of Consumers	Pending in committee.
H.R. 8996	Great River Rd. bill	Enacted.
H.R. 10620	War-on-poverty bill	Approved by committee.
H.R. 11206	Provide uniform period for daylight saving time	Pending in committee.
H.R. 11346	Tax relief for teachers	Pending in committee.
H.R. 12336	Aid for needy college students	Pending in committee.
H. Res. 412	Call Foreign Affairs Committee the International Relations Committee	Enacted.
H. Res. 476	Congressional committee to study federally supported research programs	Pending in committee.
H. Res. 580	North American Conservation Hall of Fame	Pending in committee.
H. Res. 860	Save airline service into smaller communities	

The Erosion of American Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER H. DOMINICK

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, it is a real pleasure for me to insert in the RECORD a very stimulating and penetrating article written by Dr. Millard C. Faught, Doctor of Economics, Columbia University. I have not had the pleasure of meeting and knowing Professor Faught but I have read his essay and believe that my colleagues will agree that it is a timely and stimulating presentation. This is the type article that should prick the conscience of all citizens to assume a fuller responsibility in carrying out their civic duties. Apathy is as great a danger, if not greater, as aggression. Hence it is my belief, Mr. President, that this essay should be printed in the RECORD and made available to all our citizens.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this essay, "The Erosion of American Citizenship" be placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ESSAY ON THE EROSION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

"Treason" is an ugly word. It describes the most despicable act which a citizen can commit against his country.

The paucity of treason's tarnish and of traitor's tracks on the pages of American history, by their very scarcity, have added cumulative testimonial to our high traditions of patriotic citizenship.

We who are today's American citizens are now the custodians of those traditions. They have brought to us a dual legacy of the greatest good fortune and the most commanding responsibility that has ever befallen a generation of citizens, in any country at any time, as a native heritage.

We are basking in the superlative citizen blessings of this American heritage beyond the beneficient dreams of any generation which helped to build it. But by conspicuous contrast.

We are discharging its equally superlative citizen responsibilities so inadequately as to invite the indicting judgment of history as being a generation of American traitors.

And it will not reduce the indictment, nor restore the long heritage of liberties losable thereby, if the nature of our treason is less despicably overt than insidious by default.

But such it is.

The price of liberty, payable in vigilance, rises with its blessings. In this age of superlatives the price equates with the shining contrast between our democratic freedoms and the stygian depths of Communist tyranny. This same contrast is the measure of freedom's peril in these times.

Never was the price of liberty higher. Never was it less payable with deficits in vigil nor defaults in performance, such as those which tarnish our contemporary record of citizen stewardship of the American heritage.

As patriots we have become spectators to the point where vigilance by the many shrivels to tolerated vigilantism by the few. The uncast votes of the casual majority are vetoed by the casuistic but cast votes of venal minorities; until citizenship becomes more literally "sitizenship."

And thus does a placid apathy accumulate, lulled by ignorance of new and subtly sinister threats to our freedom, at home and abroad. In the face of evidence which generates its own uneasiness of mind and erosion of soul, even among the callow and the callous, I offer my fellow Americans no apologies for defining our collective citizen conduct in these times as treason by default.

If this publication of the reasons and logic, which lead me to this indictment by definition, lessens even slightly the probabilities of its becoming a judgment of history, then apologies become irrelevant; my error will have been that of remaining another silent citizen too long.

Overt or subversive treason by the few is the subject here only in that defaulted citizenship among the many makes it possible. Rather than solace to witch-hunters, I could wish this tract no greater success than that it disturb, mortify, frighten, provoke, or otherwise bestir its readers in proportion to their own citizen apathy; and I dedicate it to those sufficiently bestirred to do something about their own views and acts as American citizens. Where there is no citizen apathy there is no cause for umbrage here.

DOMINION BY OPINION

Nothing is so useless to a democracy as citizens without opinions. Only to the degree that citizens form and act on their own opinions can a democracy be strong. Democracy ceases to be an end whenever and wherever it ceases to be a means to self-government among men. To recognize and act on such motivating premises seems a logical beginning toward the objective of urging all citizens so to think and act on their own individual equity in America.

Had it not been for those generations of men who have thought, spoken, and fought for their opinions of freedom, and thus devised and secured what we so unthinkingly accept as our American heritage, it would not be safe for me to express nor for you to read what is written here as personal citizenship opinion. In the scant two centuries since Voltaire declared, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," millions of men have died to establish this right which we now have. Many are still dying for that same right elsewhere in the world.

Yet many among us who have it without earning it use it poorly for our generation and do little to pass it securely on to the next. This is the surest way to help lose it for all. And the steps toward its loss can be counted by the number of individual citizens who think, "my opinion doesn't count, so why should I have one?" Each of us is the only one who can make his or her opinion count as nothing. Even one such derelict citizen is too many.

The capacity to think, and thus to have personal opinion, is the most vital and distinguishing gift to man from his Maker. Of all God's creatures, only man has the intellect, emotions, and can secure the knowledge essential to the having of opinions. But it is our citizen freedoms which give right of exercise for our capacity to have personal opinion. In our way of life, therefore, citizen opinion should rank with self-opinion, and the one should reinforce the other. Both should reinforce our country. Unless strength does thus flow from us who are the only growing roots which our democracy can have, then we will have less and less democracy—until our progency have none.

As declared by its authors in preamble, the precious but fragile theory of our democracy becomes a working self-government only by consent of the governed. And the first essential of this consent is informed opinion among the citizens, personally delegated by expression. Authority delegated by citizen default to any representative is not democratic authority. It belies government of or by the people and denies government for the people. Not even the "public interest" is discernible in a public opinion vacuum derived from unexpressed private opinions.

If today we have a growing feeling of citizen emptiness, it is because we are creating ever larger such vacuums. Synthetic public opinion, enticed and expanded from tiny samples of the populace, does not fill in the voids of unthought personal opinion and unexpressed public opinion. Comparing and quoting pooled anonymous averages is a poor substitute for a personally and vigorously debated concensus among neighbors or throughout a nation.

In our citizen roles we grow in need of both a think-it-yourself and do-it-yourself movement. On what are called public issues, in lieu of "What do you think?" we might better ask one another, "Who's secondhand thoughts are you wearing today?" Even the bulk of our small talk on current events is less often invented than quoted. Our opin-

ions grow more patched and soiled as we do less of our own intellectual laundry. Among soviets of parrots such citizen hypocrisy would be sad, but less serious than in a democracy where the very foundation of freedom's dominion rest on citizen practice of personal opinion.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

That which we call the Bill of Rights is indeed a bill. Its price to each citizen should be, and morally is, a bill of responsibilities. Both lists appear to have been mislaid by many in these times.

There are 10 stated rights and implicit responsibilities listed in the Bill of Rights, which is in turn an integral part of our shield of freedom, the Constitution. Regrettably, our modern skills in measuring "public opinion" reveal that most adult citizens can identify less than half of these rights.

Two of those uppermost in public awareness are the right to free speech and the right to vote. The attending, and even preceding, responsibility of both is surely to think—to be aware of the consequences even of keeping silent or not voting.

Where there is suppression of either right, there is quickening public outcry, a trend which at least again bespeaks the kind of vigilance which is the price of liberty. Why then do we value so lightly in use these freedoms when they are not abridged? Vigilance is poorly served by ignorance of that which requires the vigilance, and not at all in a democracy by silence among the sentries in their forums and absence from their polling booths.

In the time of these rights' aborning for us, Thomas Paine observed that "It would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated." But more prophetically for us than necessary for the embattled citizens who secured our Bill of Rights, he also added, "What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly."

Is this why we keep uninformed and silent on public issues behind our ornamental think signs, and turn up absent at the polling booths? And when we do vote, how often is it to obtain cheaply for us what our children may pay again for as dearly as did our ancestors?

Yes, we have rights; no citizenry ever had more. If we cringe from accepting our own stewardship of them, it is not because we lack enduring criteria from the past, either as history or its profound interpretation. Wrote Edmund Burke, to us if we care to read and heed words which we ignore at our peril:

"Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon the will and appetite is placed somewhere; and the less of it there is within, the more there must be of it without."

THE ANSWERS ARE WITHIN

It has become fashionable in these evasive times for us to search outwardly for that "soundness and sobriety of understanding" which we should not need a Burke to tell us must lie within a citizenry. We go about asking, "What's wrong with America?" "What should be the new goals for America?" "How do we get America moving again?"

There is less wrong with America, as a Nation, than was or is wrong with any nation in history; and history itself is America's greatest attesting eulogy. Nor is there any more wrong with America's goals than was ever wrong with them; no nation has pursued higher goals more nobly.

Our Nation's Founding Fathers set themselves on a high course, and to it they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. As for getting America moving again on that course, the prime requisite is to get Americans moving again. Ours is less a lagging nation than a nation of laggard citizens. And the conscience of most of us would concede that there is little wrong under many headings that couldn't or wouldn't be quickly remedied by some self-correction of what's wrong with us who are the casual citizen custodians of all that is America and the American tradition.

Past problems in our Nation's history have not been solved by evasion of their true identification nor by disguising their root causes. And we affront that vigorous vernacular tradition of calling a spade a spade by the shoulder-shrugging, bysitting, buck-passing refusal to identify ourselves and our shameful citizen conduct as the root causes of whatever is currently wrong with America.

It is equally specious to sit back and heap abusive blame upon our elected leaders. It is a function of democracy to elect its own leaders, and those it elects reflect the direction in which its citizens are willing to be led. America has made her greatest leaders by following them to greatness, supporting them en route.

Nor do we lack directing documents adequate to our continuing journey which have been proven by test. We might better consult as guides, more than adulate as holiday ornaments, those same charts which have already secured men more freedom than have any other in history. They contain truths no less true, commandments no less clear, and directions no less dangerous for freemen to ignore than when they were written. But their formulas for freedom all work only by the responsible citizen use thereof.

On the seamy side of American history the raveled threads are those which run to the occasions where the citizenry have been tempted, or their leaders permitted, to seek the easy way around hard questions which blocked the Nation's progress. And most statesmanly silhouetted are those leaders who persuaded their citizen supporters to scorn the demeaning detours around principle. Even the American vernacular echoes with aphorisms which Thomas Edison well summarized in saying, "If the answer is easy, it is wrong."

THE CITIZENSHIP GAP

There is usually a wide gap between a hard problem and an easy answer. In matters of citizenship, the more evasive, inadequate, or otherwise knowingly "wrong" the answer, the more likely the gap is to be filled with bad feelings along with poor results. It should hardly be surprising, then, that there is an elusive something amiss in our midst which produces a malaise of emotions among Americans as Americans.

In our great "what's wrong?" debate there seems significance in the consensus that there is something emotionally missing from the American environment. Its inward absence bothers us more in spirit than does the outward presence of some new and more material problems, on which we try erroneously to charge off the blame.

There is no shortage of description of the too many, too big, too costly, and too complicated problems which confront us in these times. But, again, what a dearth there is of diagnosis in terms of defaulted citizenship. This omission is made even more ironic yet conspicuous by the now standard prescription of solution through more government.

Even granted that the size and complexity of modern problems make more government the seemingly easiest answer, they should also make more citizenship, and certainly better citizenship, equally essential. If ours is still a government of, by, and for the people, then more "of" and more "for" should require more "by"; and this can be supplied only by more and better citizen participation.

INNER CRACKS IN MANY LIBERTY BELLS

Renewed citizenship practice is most likely to be forthcoming if and when it is preceeded by a resurgence of that good citizenship feeling, once called "patriotism"—a term seldom used in everyday conversation anymore. It is not the crack in the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, but rather the cracks in the bells of conscience within us as citizens, which mute patriotic expresssion among us. When J. Edgar Hoover voices with deep regret that, "The apologetic approach to patriotism is becoming fashionable," our consciences tell us why. Spontaneous patriotic display is liable to stir more of a sense of shameful hypocrisy than of pride if we are inwardly uncertain of how really patriotic we are, as measured by our citizenship conduct.

Conversely, it is equally understandable why our pent-up and frustrated patriotic feelings burst forth in self-renewing approval when a magnificently humble reincarnation of the American citizen prototype like the astronaut, Col. John Glenn, says for us, "I know I still get a real-hard-to-define feeling down inside when the flag goes by and I know all of you do too."

In this era when citizenship and even patriotism are obscured by the translation of "citizen" into "taxpayer," Colonel Glenn may well have given Americans a full return on the astronomical costs of his pioneering trip; less by his outer-space perspective on the earth, than by his introspective reminder that "I am an American citizen" can still be a patriotic speech in itself; that it can still stiffen the back with pride and bend the head with humility at the same time; that it still speaks inwardly about flags and heroes, ideals and rights; and that to feel like an American citizen can still be an unblurred good feeling.

LET US BE CITIZENS AGAIN

If we are surfeited with vicarious viewing from the subsidized sidelines, let us rejoin the American parade as marchers, as participating citizens. Obviously, we cannot all be astronauts; and the complex too-bigness of the challenges which beset us on all sides as citizens may seem only to add harassment to the embarrassing demand: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." But surely the worst thing we can do is to continue the conspiracy of silence whereby we cloak our citizenship concern in muted self-criticism which fools no one, least of all ourselves.

We must all start from where we are, but it is a minority indeed among us who have no means whatever to practice better citizenship where it begins—within the individual. One first step, as simple as it is basic, can be to take thought and then write down personal answers to the question, "What does American citizenship mean to me?"

It will come as a rude shock to many to realize that never once in their lifetime have they ever faced squarely up to this question. Yet simply to pose and ponder it honestly is the quickest and surest beginning on answers to "What can I do for my country?"

At the barest level there is self value as well as civic virtue in the answer that a better person makes a better citizen; and the line of bettermen runs in upward gambit through better parent, better neighbor, better participant in the whole of society under democracy.

As for better means toward such better ends, the very complexity which now attends every role in life dramatizes again the opportunity which first set man on his upward course to the democracy and freedom which we enjoy—access to growing knowledge. No more universal means can be found, toward goals that serve citizenship at every level, to

compare with knowledge; and never was more knowledge more accessible to more people in a free society. Equally, ignorance was never less an excuse for defaulted citizenship.

IN IGNORANCE LIES CHAOS

Ignorance is the dark side of knowledge and each generation must light the lamps of learning for the next. How much more enlightenment, then, must we generate in this age of accelerating change for that never-ending race between education and catastrophe, lest freedom plunge into darkness. It was out of concern for his America then and our America now in this race that Jefferson warned, "The Nation which expects to be ignorant and free expects what never was and never will be."

Today our very enemies renew this warning. In a declared war for men's minds, they have vowed to bury us. Their choice of weapons, amidst a truce of mutual terror in atomic armaments, is subversive propaganda and economic warfare. Citizen ignorance is our Achilles heel in either such conflict and the reasons are as direct as the danger is deadly.

That which we call the American way of life is as a bundle of freedoms, each one reinforcing all, and secured by our citizen vigilance in practice of the rights which bind the whole bundle of freedoms together. A critical danger, as revealed by the analogy, lies in the fact that even the strongest bundle can be weakened if any stick can be worked loose. By propaganda and economic warfare the Communists cunningly work to loosen those freedoms least secured by our citizen vigilance, backed by understanding.

It is no coincidence that they concentrate on our economic freedoms. The American economy is the central arsenal of the whole free world in both military and economic warfare materiel. Besides being the most productive and powerful economy on earth, itis also the most complex. It operates on the same principle of citizen participant control as does the democracy which it supports. However, by our own admission, our economic freedoms are less well comprehended by the average citizen than are such other freedoms in our bundle as freedom of religion, of the press, or of speech. To the degree that we are in frequent dispute, even among ourselves, over our economic freedoms, they are the least secure in our bundle.

It is all of a sinister piece, therefore, that our enemies center their war of words on our "capitalism," subversively within America and propagandistically throughout the world. Their lies are the cheapest of all possible ammunition and citizen ignorance is the least defense against such a siege. Where the truth is not known, our statistics of abundance convert easily into stigmas.

Wherever economic ignorance provides a stage, at home or abroad, our domestic prosperity can be reviled as capitalistic greed and our international largesse decried as materialistic imperialism. On economic issues our own citizen freedom of speech, practiced in luxurious and dangerous unawareness of fact, affords our enemies some of their most devastating propaganda against us. As with all problems of citizen ignorance in a democracy, the solution to which every individual can contribute lies in education, not censorship; in awareness, not apathy.

A TIME FOR CITIZEN WARRIORS

Americans no longer plow with muskets in hand. But if we wish truly to live consistent with our strong and honorable traditions of citizen soldiers, then we can all take up this modern conflict where our enemies have chosen to join it. In reality it is our strongest ground they seek to undermine. It is in our unique capacities to work together that the individual American has contributed so much economic strength to the miracle of America. And the truth about that miracle is its own best defense in wars of words for men's minds or in wars of productivity for men's well-being.

There should be no mystery then about what the individual citizen soldier can do to help his country in times of such conflict. Where our productive strength to protect every form of freedom at home and abroad depends on the decisionmaking wisdom of millions of individual citizens, economic literacy becomes as vital to vigilance as economic ignorance becomes an Achilles heel. Even behind a secure military defense our beneficient way of life can grow no faster than the soundness of decisions made by its beneficiaries. Every citizen has a role in making those decisions wisely.

WHAT MANNER OF LEGACY FROM US?

We recognize that freedom is indivisible among us. It must also be indivisible as between generations if we wish our children to receive, enjoy and pass on the legacy of American freedom. It is in this transfer that we as custodians of our heritage face a greater citizen challenge than did our predecessors; and for a reason that is everyday more evident to all of us. The truth that makes men free is not a static thing and ours is an era of knowledge explosion, even more than of population explosion.

As life grows more complex, more oil of knowledge is needed in every lamp of citizenship if freedom is to keep shining in all its facets. Whether it is for us whose paths along the American way of life have been bettered and extended by knowledge applied, or for our children who need still more knowledge for the still longer lives in prospect, ignorance becomes an ever greater adversary of citizenship.

Amidst the confrontations of complexity in life, concern mounts, beyond the natural doubts as between generations, about juvenile delinquency. Even as the need for more knowledge mounts, the more young are scorning the greater education which they need. Parents blame the schools and educators blame the parents. The whole process reflect an inherent citizenship defaultency, and democracy shares the loss with each dropout.

The complexities of our times do not change the principles of democracy, which rest on enlightened citizenship; but they enormously challenge its practice. And the more citizens there are in numbers, the more—rather than the fewer—informed citizens it takes to make the majority decisions, without which there can be no democracy.

DOMESTIC UNCOMMITTED NEUTRALS

The list grows ever longer, therefore, of things which every citizen can know as well as do for his country. And the price of freedom goes up with the degrees of ignorance against which it must contend. Every generation of democracy is divisible into its citizens and so is the price of its span of freedom. Every defaulting citizen adds to the price of both which must be borne by his neighbors. The can make up for his apathy even less than for his ignorance.

Against naked armed force in the world America is invincibly garrisoned. She does not want for brave and vigilant soldiers. Against the forces of ignorance in the war for men's minds America is not so well garrisoned. Nor is it the uncommitted neutrals in the world who hold the balance. Moreso it is the uncommitted neutral citizens within America's garrison who sap her strength. In wars of ideas, against ideologies which feed on ignorance, uninformed citizens make poor soldiers and worse sentries. Apathetic citizenship in such a war, declared and raging even within American, equates with treason by default.

Wirtz Decries Failure To Hire Due to Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written recently by Mr. Frank C. Porter which appeared in the Washington Post on September 24, 1964. By referring to page 2756 of the February 13, 1964, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, it is rather apparent very limited information is possessed by officials of various departments as to the number of older people who are refused work in the Government when they seek it:

WIRTZ DECRIES FAILURE TO HIRE DUE TO AGE

(By Frank C. Porter)

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz ripped into employers yesterday for refusing to hire workers because of age.

"This is a shortsighted, cruel discrimination, which deprives our economy of much valuable skill and experience, and deprives older workers of a chance to contribute to the society of which they are a part," he said.

The Secretary addressed the Conference of State Agencies Administering Age Discrimination Laws. Later in the day he switched his attention to the other end of the age scale, speaking before a forum on youth employment problems.

While Wirtz's stand against age discrimination is not new, his remarks underscore a developing dilemma posed by a countervailing trend toward compulsory and early retirement for older workers.

Earlier this month the United Auto Workers signed contracts with Chrysler and Ford that lower the compulsory retirement age from 68 to 65 and offer a bonus to employees who retire as early as 55. Much of the same sort of deal with signed by the United Rubber Workers with major tire companies a month earlier.

The rationale for early retirement was succinctly explained by UAW President Walter P. Reuther at the union's convention last March.

"When there's a choice between an older worked bucking the line and a younger worker walking the street," he said, "let's retire the older worker and put the younger guy on the job."

At first glance it would appear that Wirtz is trying to put older workers into jobs at the very time Walter Reuther is trying to kick them out.

This is an oversimplification, of course. The Secretary made it clear, for example, that he was talking about workers too old to meet many employers' specifications but too young to retire.

But this in turn raises two perplexing questions:

What is a reasonable retirement age?

Is compulsory retirement in itself discrimination against the older worker?

The target age for most early retirement plans is 55. The object of the plan is obvious: To ration scarce work in a particular industry, particularly where employment is declining because of technological innovation, and to give the younger worker a break.

The Labor Department's 1964 Manpower Report, however, had this to say:

"When a worker leaves the work force at age 55, the economic loss to the Nation and to the individual is substantial. On the average, a 55-year-old man has 12 additional years of work ahead of him; this represents more than one-fourth of the entire work life expectancy for men."

Where the 55-year early retirement age is in effect it is usually not mandatory, although some of the rubber contracts leave it to the option of the employer or to "mutual agreement." On the other hand, the extra benefits above regular pension payments offered the early retiree are a not-so-subtle hint that he's no longer wanted on the payroll.

As for compulsory retirement, it is becoming more and more common, thus eliminating more and more job opportunities for workers over 65 at the very time the Johnson administration is pledging a massive effort to make them available for all those willing and able to work.

The main impetus for such restrictions and inducements generally comes during periods of high employment. The Social Security Act, for instance, was intended in large part to move older persons out of the work force and thus help younger ones at a time when unemployment was in the 20-percent range.

Today, business and consumer demand is accelerating rapidly and the unemployment rate is inching downward, raising hopes for a full-employment economy. This may prove to be older workers' best insurance against discriminatory hiring practices and against a premature one-way ticket to the rocking chair.

Father Patrick McPolin, Chaplain of the Chicago Police Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, Father Patrick J. McPolin, chaplain of the police department, is one of the most dedicated of God's servants in the service of humanity. His work encompasses the entire field of human endeavor to serve the penniless and the friendless. He is cognizant of the problems of human rights, of individual freedom and personal liberty and works at it. You may find him in a courtroom interceding for a first offender or fostering the cause of an immigrant visitor overstaying his visa.

Father "Pat" as he is affectionately called is the true religionist who does not turn away anyone because of the unpopularity of his cause—he only requires truthful information and complete understanding of the problem. He attracts for his services the little people who wander through life, unwatched, unhonored, and unwashed—not the dregs of society, but the poor and unfortunate.

Father Pat, in his everyday life of activity, reflects the characteristics in principle of his patron, St. Jude—the patron saint of the department of police—the difficult and impossible cases as intercessor.

The mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, accepts him as the distinguished advocate priest, who tempers public opinion in the defense of unfortunates who need a friend to plead for them for a chance to make good. The mayor is his friend as are members of the Illinois congressional delegation, city, county, and State officials.

Father Pat, in aiding the unfortunate and counseling men and women in their troubles, remains true to his trust in Christ. He has endeared himself to the people of Chicago because of his unselfish dedication in his services to others—and the members of the police department, regardless of their religious affiliation venerate Father Pat, not only for his work among the poor, but as a man of action in getting things done. The department supports his charitable acts and spiritual responsibilities to a man. To be loved by your fellows is the greatest reward to a man of the cloth—everyone is so proud of Father Pat. He has God's blessing in his meritorious work, together with our prayers.

The following article appeared in the Sunday issue, September 27, of the Chicago Tribune—special feature writer, Frank Haramija, did a masterful work:

FATHER PAT, POLICEMEN'S GUIDE—CHAPLAIN ON CALL FOR 24 HOURS A DAY

(By Frank Haramija)

One of the busiest men stationed at central police headquarters is Father Patrick J. McPolin, 47, chaplain of the Chicago Police Department.

Father Pat, a member of the Claretian Missionary Fathers, was appointed director of the police branch of St. Jude's league shortly after his ordination in 1943 and was assigned to police work.

As police chaplain, Father Pat frequently visits policemen in district stations, hospitals, and their homes.

MINISTER TO DYING OFFICERS

Of the 42 officers killed in the line of duty since 1944, Father Pat ministered to 20 in their dying moments. It frequently was his task to inform widows of their husbands' deaths and to offer spiritual and material help.

Further Pat is on call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and he never knows when the phone will ring in the early morning hours. It was one of these mornings, September 11, that he was awakened by an emergency call from the police communications center. The call told of a policeman dying of burns after his squad car crashed during a chase and exploded into flame. An hour later Father Pat received another call that an off-duty police officer was fatally wounded while making an arrest.

A TRAGIC MEMORY

Father Pat has answered many such emergency calls, and yet the one that is imbedded most deeply in his mind was when he spent more than 36 hours helping identify more than 90 young bodies, children who had died in the fire of the Lady of Angeles Grammar School.

Father Pat averages about 500 sick calls and attends at least 400 wakes during a year.

With the revamping of the police training program in 1962 he now spends 6 semester hours at the police academy instructing recruits in the ethics and morals of their future work as policemen during their 13-week training.

He has written numerous articles for Catholic publications, on police ethics, a policeman's role in public service, and tributes to police officers. He also lectures to civic groups and fraternal organizations.

PLAYS LIAISON ROLE

"I feel that I have been performing a liaison duty between the police department and the public, of bringing a better understanding of the dedication and the responsibilities of a policeman to the citizens that he serves," said Father Pat. He often borrows a quote from the late President Kennedy about police:

"God and not the policeman, all men adore. In time of danger and not before. When the danger is past and all things righted, God is forgotten and the policeman is slighted."

Father Pat has enlisted the clergy of all faiths to attend stricken members of the department. The chaplaincy of the Chicago Police Department is now shared with two prominent clergymen, Rabbi Bernard D. Perlow and the Reverend Robert A. Holderby. They have offices on the 12th floor in the central police headquarters building, 1121 South State Street.

As director of the police branch of St. Jude's League, Father Pat has spiritual responsibility for more than 9,000 members.

AIDS STUDENTS OF PRIESTHOOD

The charitable aim of St. Jude's League is to aid the education of young men studying for the priesthood. St. Jude's Seminary at Momence, was started through financial help from the league.

The monthly meetings are a social gathering place for the members and their wives. After business sessions, the members are entertained by prominent show people who are in the city at the time. Danny Thomas, a friend of St. Jude's League since 1945 and a very close friend to Father Pat, makes a point to stop at the league's hall whenever he is in town.

The police branch of St. Jude's League was founded in February 1932.

St. Jude, one of the 12 apostles, has been known as the patron of difficult and impossible cases. In view of their many desperations in the line of duty, the policemen chose him as their heavenly intercessor.

Young Democrats Reject Embalming of State Legislative Bodies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the Young Democratic Clubs of Maryland recently passed a resolution endorsing the one-man, one-vote principle laid down in the Supreme Court's famous reapportionment decision. I am proud of their position and wish to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

DISTRICT HEIGHTS, MD.,
September 17, 1964.

Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CARLTON: Enclosed herewith is a resolution passed at the annual convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of Maryland on September 12, 1964.

As their newly elected president, I have been directed by our convention to convey to you our deep felt commitment to the principle recently enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States of one man, one vote. We are greatly concerned over recent efforts on the part of many groups, as well as the Congress, to lessen or negate the impact of this historic decision.

I would urge you, as I know you are doing, to take whatever action is necessary to insure timely consideration of all reapportionment cases by the courts of our land.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

STENY H. HOYER,
President, Young Democratic Clubs of Maryland.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MARYLAND, SEPTEMBER 12, 1964, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

This convention gives its strong endorsement to the principle of one person, one vote in electing all State legislators. We urge the defeat of any proposed constitutional amendment that would dilute this principle in any State. We also oppose any attempt in the U.S. Congress to delay or to limit orderly action by the courts in reapportionment cases. We believe that such attempts are not only an unwarranted attack on the traditional separation of powers between the branches of Government, but also that they would tend to prolong and even perpetuate malaportioned legislative bodies which already have been declared unconstitutional in composition.

The Weapons Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, U.S. News & World Report, a magazine with a widespread reputation for objectivity in its news columns, has recently performed a valuable service for the American people. In an article entitled, "A-Bomb in Politics—Who's Right, Who's Wrong?" the magazine presents a careful six-point analysis of the current controversy over this Nation's nuclear defense policy.

This policy has now become a presidential campaign issue and it is clear, Mr. Speaker, that a great deal of confusion has resulted. Much of this confusion is clarified by this U.S. News & World Report article, which appears on page 49 of the issue dated September 28, 1964.

I, of course, have my own views on this subject, but I need not add them here. The facts speak for themselves in this report and, because I believe these facts should be brought to the attention of Congress, I wish to insert the article, "A-Bomb in Politics," at this point in the RECORD:

A-BOMB IN POLITICS

Defense policy of the United States is suddenly at the center of a heated and growing debate in the 1964 political campaign.

Complex issues of nuclear warfare are involved—problems that are difficult for many voters to understand under the best of circumstances.

Concern now is felt by many that Americans are being further confused, getting official information from civilian officials in the Pentagon that only increases bewilderment.

Some military authorities say that facts given in rebuttal to Senator GOLDWATER, the Republican candidate, are highly selective and presented not so much to clarify as to make political points for Democrats.

The result, they say, is this: Americans, already grappling with highly technical problems, tend to become more and more confused.

At this time, issue is being taken with a half dozen points made by the administration in the defense debate. Those points are as follows:

Point 1: Only the President of the United States can ever be entrusted with authority to order the use of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

About this point, some military sources say that the administration itself was considering a move away from that position before it became a domestic political issue. It is reported that intensive studies were under way in Washington about relaxing the U.S. veto over use of certain nuclear weapons now shared by allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The United States has more than 1,000 tactical nuclear weapons in Europe—in Greece, Turkey, England, Italy, and Germany.

Reversal of the administration attitude on this issue came, it is said, only after Senator GOLDWATER suggested giving authority over smaller atomic weapons to the supreme commander of NATO.

Even now, the understanding is widespread among NATO allies that U.S. commanders in Europe already have orders, issued in advance, to use nuclear weapons in certain emergencies with no further instructions from Washington.

Some military men say that, when the campaign is over, it will be found that the administration and Senator GOLDWATER were actually not far apart at the time the issue was first brought up in the campaign.

Point 2: The average tactical weapon in Europe has the explosive equivalent of 100,000 tons of TNT, or five times that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. That kind of power reinforces the argument that only the President should control it.

Military men say they are dismayed by this kind of fact produced by political appointees in the Pentagon. They emphasize that soldiers do not assess their arsenal in terms of average bombs. They do not fight wars with average bombs. They use specific weapons for specific missions.

One tactical weapon in Europe, for example, fires a projectile with a yield equal to 50 tons of TNT, not the 100,000 tons presented by the Pentagon as an average. Some other arms now operational in Europe—the 155-millimeter howitzer and the 8-inch howitzer, for example—are vastly less powerful than the 100,000-ton average.

What the administration has done—military men assert—is to strike an average that not only confuses, but frightens people. They say the high figure was reached by including the biggest of the nuclear weapons in Europe along with the smallest. Says one officer:

"When you start including the warhead yield of a two-stage ballistic tactical missile such as Pershing—or such as the atomic bombs carried by tactical fighter planes stationed in Germany, you are going to come up with an astronomical average.

"The range in size and power of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is truly spectacular—and so to talk about an average, only begs the issue and adds to the general bewilderment about the matter."

Point 3: The smallest nuclear weapon in Europe, the Davy Crockett, is tens of times more powerful than the biggest conventional blockbuster of World War II.

"It was just last week," one senior military man reports, "that Davy Crockett was being lumped by the administration with the A-bomb that leveled Hiroshima. Now, the comparison has been scaled down, but still doesn't tell the whole story."

The Davy Crockett, in one version, is an atomic bazooka that can be hand-carried and set up by two men in the field. Its power is rated at 40 tons of TNT, well below the tens of times comparison with the 5-ton blockbusters of the last world war. In any case, military men stress the point that a 40-ton bomb does not have eight times the destructive power of a 5-ton bomb. The laws of nature involved bring the scale of destruction down sharply.

What military men object to chiefly is the implication that Davy Crockett is in the same class as the Hiroshima-type bomb. The A-bomb over Hiroshima carried an explosive equivalent of not 40 tons of TNT, but 20,000 tons.

This point is said to be overlooked by Goldwater critics: He has spoken out for development of even smaller tactical nuclear weapons—of 5 and 10 tons of firepower. The United States has been on the threshold of such finely tailored battlefield weapons for years, but their development has not been pushed as hard as many military men would have liked. The Army is rapidly losing its conventional battlefield artillery, but promises of a diversified nuclear arsenal to replace it have not fully materialized.

Point 4: Senator GOLDWATER claims that deliverable nuclear capacity may be cut by 90 percent in the next decade under present policy. The Pentagon says this is "false," and the point is added by others that Air Force Chief Gen. Curtis E. LeMay provided accurate figures on this problem which Senator GOLDWATER chose to ignore.

Military officials know of no record in the Pentagon that General LeMay ever provided Senator GOLDWATER with precise "top secret" figures that would have altered his estimate. In fact, it is pointed out, General LeMay has decried some military cutbacks more than Senator GOLDWATER and testified this year before a House Armed Services subcommittee that he believes Russia has already narrowed the gap of U.S. nuclear superiority.

Senator GOLDWATER'S argument is that by far the bulk of U.S. strategic power is now carried by bombers. He says that the switch, in the next decade, from a mixed force of bombers and missiles to an all-missile force will account for a 90 percent reduction in the explosive power that can be carried. That is because missiles carry only a fraction of what bombers can carry. He provides these figures: Deliverable explosive power by bombers and missiles now totals 28,570 megatons—the megaton being the equivalent of a million tons of TNT—but will plummet to 1,656 megatons in 1970, assuming an all-missile force.

Those figures are conceded by Senator GOLDWATER to be inexact, because he did not use secret Pentagon details. Backers of the Senator make this point: During the Senate debate last year over the nuclear test-ban treaty, Senator GOLDWATER cited his 90-percent figure to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Mr. McNamara said it was a bit high but that 75 percent would be a fair approximation.

Now, in rebutting Senator GOLDWATER as being totally without foundation in fact, the Pentagon ignores future explosive power and argues instead that the United States will have 2½ times more warheads than it had in 1961. Military men say that numbers of warheads bear no direct relation to overall explosive power—Mr. GOLDWATER'S point. The result, they say, is figured juggling and more confusion.

Point 5: To take up the bomber slack, the administration has added more than 200 Atlas and Titan missiles, more than 600 Minutemen and 14 Polaris submarines with 16 missiles each.

This claim peeves some military men, who say that the Democrats are thus assuming the entire credit for someone else's foresight and work.

The facts, as borne out by the record: The funding and development of the entire Atlas missile force were carried out almost entirely by the Eisenhower administration. Titan was also well along before Mr. McNamara took office, and one of his first acts was to cut back the Titan II force by two squadrons.

Both Minutemen and Polaris were initiated by the Eisenhower administration, and many were already on order. Mr. McNamara, when he assumed office, increased the pace and numbers of these two programs.

Point 6: The important thing about the nuclear arsenal of the United States is not that it is declining, as Senator GOLDWATER asserts, but that it is piling up at a fantastic rate long after there already is enough to destroy the world several times over.

This kind of sweeping statement not only dismays, but angers military men with access to the facts.

It now is accepted that atomic weapons are, on a cost effectiveness basis—initiated by Mr. McNamara himself—what the Pentagon calls the "biggest bang for the buck" that the Nation has ever had. The point is made that nuclear weapons are a bargain—cheap to build and maintain, when compared with any other strategic system.

Then, military men ask this question: How much is enough nuclear power With breakthroughs being sought in antimissile migsiles, and other developments coming, no one really knows. "You don't just shut down your arsenal because you have enough today," one officer emphasizes. He adds:

"For us, it is not how big our stockpile is, but whether we will be able to take a surprise attack and still be able to devastate the enemy with what is left. In other words, always to maintain a 'balance of terror.' In a country that is committed to absorb the first strike, as we are, our own retaliatory arsenal must keep pace with the enemy's offensive power. The more he can throw at you, the more you must have in reserve.

"It is not Americans who dictate the size of our nuclear arsenal. It is the Russians. The more they pile up, the more we must have. It is not only confusing, but dangerous, to play around with issues like these in a political campaign."

The Time Is Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. FINNEGAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. FINNEGAN. Mr. Speaker, our late beloved President, John F. Kennedy, referring to the civil rights movement, stated:

What we're talking about is a problem that involves 180 million people.

Because of the continued and burning interest of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL–CIO, in seeing that no one within its ranks is deprived of his civil rights, a booklet, beautifully illustrated has been prepared and circulated. Its title of "The Time Is Now" illustrates the real need to recognize our responsibilities as a whole people and not defer to another day the demand of such a large part of our population.

Segregation is such a 20th century problem that many leaders have advanced to suggest answers. Most of the articulate ones such as the Reverend Martin Luther King and the leaders of the NAACP recommend moderation in approach.

But, as "The Time Is Now" so aptly states:

There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair.

It is impossible to capture the impact of this mostly pictorial position of this progressive union which has prepared this review without an examination personally of the brochure.

I commend it to my colleagues and suggest that all those, and I hope there will be many, ask for such copies as would be put to good use, by writing to Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL–CIO, 2800 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

Gov. John Connally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I include an editorial that appeared September 20, 1964, in the Longview Morning News, Longview, Tex., concerning the attainments of the people of Texas under the administration of Hon. John Connally and other officials who work with him. We Texans take pride in these attainments:

[From the Longview Morning Journal, Sept. 20, 1964]

TEXAS PROGRESS

That Texas is enjoying almost unprecedented prosperity and progress is apparent to almost everyone, both inside and outside the State. This kind of progress does not just happen, even when the Nation is prosperous—some States today are experiencing economic conditions that range from weak to poor.

Good State government, we believe, is the basis for much of our current Texas progress. Government either clears the atmosphere of doubt and confusion which hamper economic development, or it clouds the atmosphere with problems and threats which discourage and delay business and industrial expansion and growth and the development of jobs.

Thanks to able and dedicated John Connally, Texas has had both progressive and responsible government. Under the leadership of Governor Connally—and with the help of an able team of State officials which includes Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, Attorney General Waggoner Carr, along with Speaker Byron Tunnell—Texas government has gained new strength and purpose.

A number of nagging problems, some of them rooted far back in the years, have been solved. Instead of drift and indecision, State government now is marching ahead with new goals and high purpose—thanks to the vision and the understanding of State needs shown by Governor Connally, and his initiative and follow through in planning and working toward goals.

The Connally administration and the legislature, early in his current term, attacked several old problems. One of these was weak State finances and threatening deficits. As a result of action taken, the Governor was able to report to the recent State Democratic convention in Dallas that Texas gave $43 million more support to higher education, and more support to such worthwhile causes as mental health, research, good roads, and the prison system, and yet came up with an unprecedented $73 million balance in the treasury.

As we said nearly 3 years ago—when we were the first newspaper in Texas to announce our support of John Connally after he revealed late in 1961 he would resign as Secretary of the Navy to return to Texas and run for the governorship—here is a native son with the ability and the capacity to bring harmony and unity of purpose and direction to Texas government. Under the strong and wise leadership of Connally as Governor, Texas today enjoys harmony of historic proportion. The credit in large measure must go to the moderate and prudent views, the progressive leadership, and the unifying spirit of this son of Texas.

Setting the State's finances in order was basic. This had to come first, and it was put first in order. Then Governor Connally launched out in a major program designed to upgrade higher education and bring new industry to the State. He saw that these two goals complement each other, and must be worked out together. Real progress is being made—a fact which lends strength to all facets of the Texas economy today. It is this area of State leadership—good education for all, and new industry providing jobs for people and payrolls to support business—that the Connally administration has centered its work.

In John Connolly, Texas has a great Governor. Come what may, he knows how to give Texas his first attention and to center his activities on meeting Texas' needs and opportunities. He has plans and purposes and goals for Texas which will assure our State's continued growth and progress in ways that will benefit all our people.

It is for these reasons that we unhesitatingly recommend and strongly urge his reelection in November to the Governor's office. He should ge given a strong mandate from the people to carry on his vigorous but unfinished program for Texas progress.—Carl L. Estra.

The Founding Fathers' Advice on the Reapportionment Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to Mrs. Melvin Paul, of Long Beach, Calif., for her following letter, which contains messages from our Founding Fathers of great pertinency to all of us today:

LONG BEACH, CALIF.,
September 12, 1694.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOSMER: In the current debate on the apportionment of State legislatures, the philosophical arguments are really not as powerful as those presented in 1776–1814. The following are some historical references with an excerpt to show you what I mean:

Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 1776:

"The senate is, by its constitution, too homogeneous with the house of delegates. The purpose of establishing different houses of legislation is to introduce the influence of different interests or different principles."

John Adams, "A Defense of the Constitutions of Government in the U.S.A.," 1787:

"In every form of government, we have seen a senate, or little council, a composition generally of those officers of State who have the most experience and power * * *. We have seen, in every instance, another and a larger assembly, composed of the body of the people * * * to control them from rushing into those exorbitances to which they are most addicted." * * * "It will be found necessary to give negatives to the Governors, to defend the executives against the influences of this body, as well as the senate and representatives in their several States. The necessity of a negative in the house of representatives will be called in question by nobody * * *." "To expect self-denial from men, when they have a majority in their favor, and consequently power to gratify themselves, is to disbelieve all history and universal experience * * *. There is, in short, no possible way of defending the minority * * * from the tyranny of the majority, but by giving the former a negative on the latter * * *. The passions and desires of the majority of the representatives in an assembly being in their nature unsatiable and unlimited by anything within their own breasts, and having nothing to control them without, will crave more and more indulgence, and, as they have the power, they will have the gratification * * *."

John Adams, "Knowledge Will Forever Be a Cause of Aristocracy," 1814:

"The moment you give knowledge to a Democrat you make him an aristocrat. If you give more than a share in the sovereignty to the Democrats, that is, if you give them the command or preponderance in the sovereignty, that is, the legislature, they will vote all property out of the hands of your aristocrats."

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) MARIE E. PAUL.

The Jones Act Examined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, log exports and the competition of Canadian mills continue to loom as real problems to lumbermen of the Pacific Northwest, including those in my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State. As I have pointed out many times, the lumber industry is vital to the economy of this area and, for this reason, is of great interest to me.

There appears to be no quick and easy answer to the log export problem, although I am happy to report that a number of "save our logs" committees and other groups are helping myself and others to work toward a solution. Answers acceptable to both lumbering and longshoring interests are yet to be found, but these answers are being sought.

Meanwhile, there is almost general agreement that American mills could better meet Canadian competition if they were freed of restrictions in the Merchant Marine Act, the so-called Jones Act, which now forbids the shipment of American lumber in foreign-bottom vessels when U.S. flagships are unavailable.

As I am sure you are aware, Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 7961, to repeal these restrictions. While such legislation was endorsed more than a year ago by the late President Kennedy, the present administration has been unwilling to act, despite the fact that it professes a wish to create jobs.

Recently, the Everett Herald, a daily newspaper in my district, carried a letter to the editor from Mr. Gene Talbut, secretary of Lumber & Sawmill Workers' Local No. 2655 in Everett, Wash. Mr. Talbut comments on the log export problem, but he also goes on to note that the repeal of these Jones Act restrictions would definitely increase American lumber shipments. Because I think his letter will be of real interest to all those Members of Congress who sincerely want to create jobs, the letter follows:

DEAR EDITOR: As secretary of local No. 2655 of the Lumber & Sawmill Workers' Union, I would like to answer some of the questions that Donald Gilchrest, secretary of International Longshoremens' Union of Local No. 32 of Everett, brought up in his recent letter to the editor.

Apparently, Mr. Gilchrest has had some incorrect information as to the availability of timber in this area. He feels that there is an unlimited supply, when in fact there is "not enough public timber available to meet all requirements." This is a quotation from a letter written by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, signed by Edward P. Cliff, chief, dated August 10.

The estimate of the 6,200 primary jobs which will be lost in this area is computed from the Department of Commerce statistics and is the best information we have.

Mr. Gilchrest mentions the longshoremen's payroll for the last year in Everett alone amounted to $321,000. This is not very impressive—the loss of one shift at Three Rivers Plywood alone would amount to over $400,000. Besides this example, the lost time suffered at other plants would amount to a great deal more. I very much share Mr. Gilchrest's concern for the prosperity of the smaller ports.

The sawmills in this area used to ship lumber competitively to the domestic east coast, and moved a good volume; however, 72 percent of that trade has now gone to British Columbia mills because industry in this area is limited to using noncompetitive U.S. ships under the Jones Act. A repeal of this provision would definitely increase these shipments.

GENE TALBUT,
Secretary, Local 2655, Lumber & Sawmill Workers, Everett.

Mr. John Joseph Courtney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL VINSON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, I have lost a devoted and dear friend, and America has lost one of its most dedicated and able public servants.

Mr. John Joseph Courtney, former counsel of the Armed Services Committee's Investigating Subcommittee, died suddenly here in Washington on Wednesday, the 9th of September 1964.

He was buried at Arlington National Cemetery with appropriate military honors on the 14th day of September 1964.

Most of the distinguished Members of this body have had, at one time or another, occasion to seek and heed the good counsel and advice of Mr. John Courtney during the 12 years he had served as counsel for the Armed Services Committee.

Most of us, therefore, know and appreciate the significant and professional influence that he had exerted in assisting this body in insuring the military might and security of our Nation.

Most of us also know and remember his professional competence and objectivity. However, though John Courtney was without peer as a dedicated and able public servant, he was much more than that.

Msgr. Patrick J. Ryan, former Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Army, and now a retired major general in the U.S. Army, knew the whole John Courtney. The brief remarks made by Monsignor Ryan at the burial service at St. Thomas Apostle Roman Catholic Church therefore reflected in a beautiful manner the terrible sense of loss his friends and family experienced with his untimely death:

REMARKS OF MSGR. PATRICK J. RYAN AT THE BURIAL SERVICE OF MR. JOHN J. COURTNEY

It is difficult for me to speak on this occasion. I am speaking about a lifelong friend and a friendship that goes back to our early school days. Through the years our paths lay close together. So it would be difficult for me to give a eulogy—and I think it is quite unnecessary.

No eulogy would be adequate to do proper honor to John Courtney. Those of us present—his friends, who knew him well, know what a true, loyal, devoted friend he was. However, I feel I would be remiss were I not to express briefly and perhaps, haltingly, what is in my heart and in your hearts this morning.

The character of our friend was well rounded—spiritually, morally, and intellectually. He had the natural and the supernatural virtues in high degree.

We knew him in many ways. We knew him as a conscientious public servant who gave many years of his life to the Navy Department. And completing this, some 13 years to the Armed Services Committee of the Congress.

His service was marked with honesty, integrity, intelligence, and judgment—seasoned with a fine sense of humor. His loyalty and devotion to his superiors were without compare.

We, his friends, also knew him as a dutiful husband, a loving father, intensely proud of his family. But particularly, we knew him as a true friend.

A grateful country conferred upon him its highest award, the Distinguished Civilian Service Award for outstanding service to his country.

And there is no doubt in my mind that when he appeared before the great Commander in Chief, the Supreme Master of all, whom he served so well, that he received the accolade eternal—"Well done, good and faithful servant."

So, in my own behalf and in your name, I bid our friend, farewell.

In the same breath, I express our deep sympathy and condolences to Mrs. Courtney and the family. We will help you bear your burden of sorrow.

His departure makes us all poorer. But our faith tells us that we should not lament and grieve now that he has gone to his eternal reward—into the presence of God, the beatific vision.

He has joined that long line of distinguished Americans who served their God and their country well.

He served his God and his country with his whole heart, with his whole mind, with all his ability and with his whole soul. He also loved his neighbor as himself.

In the Sunday gospel just yesterday, our Lord said these were the two great Commandments—"Keep these and thou shalt live."

And so, John, as you swing into step with that long column of good and illustrious Americans, the prayer of your friends who remain behind is that God will grant you peace and rest and quiet in this your eternal bivouac.

A Well-Deserved Tribute to Milwaukee's Police Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the life of a law-enforcement officer is not an easy one. It takes its toll on him and his family. More often than not, it involves long hours of work, many inconveniences, even physical danger. At times, the rewards of such a career—measured in terms of compensation, community respect, and appreciation—are not always commensurate with the responsibilities and hardships entailed.

It is a welcome occasion, therefore, when a voice is raised publicly, calling attention to the accomplishments of our law-enforcement officers.

We have heard such a voice through the columns of an article which appeared in the September 28 issue of the weekly magazine, U.S. News & World Report.

The article is entitled "How One City Keeps Its Streets Safe" and it focuses the spotlight of national attention on my hometown, the city of Milwaukee. It tells how, in these times of growing crime rates and mounting civil disorders, our city has maintained its fine reputation for civil peace and order, for efficiency and honesty in public administration.

Even more welcome than this "pat on the back" for our city, is the article's open tribute to Milwaukee's great police force. It is a tribute well-deserved, and it should warm the hearts of all our law enforcement officers from the recruit in training to the chief of police.

Mr. Speaker, the joys and sorrows, the hardships and the rewards, of every police officer are shared by his family—his wife and children, his parents, and his relatives. It is these families that are in no small part responsible for the fine performance of our Milwaukee police force. I know that this article will be of deep interest to them.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HOW ONE CITY KEEPS ITS STREETS SAFE

(NOTE.—In Milwaukee, you're safer on the streets than in any other big city of its size. Violence is rare, police efficient, criminals uncoddled. How does Milwaukee do it? This report gives some clues.)

MILWAUKEE, WIS.—What makes a city law-abiding?

Come to Milwaukee, one of the most law-abiding cities in the United States, and you find it takes more than a good police department, tough prosecutors and honest judges.

It also takes solid citizens.

Public officials agree that it is the whole civic climate in Milwaukee that keeps crime down.

There is a saying here that every Miwlaukee policeman has a thousand pairs of eyes.

At a time when crimes of violence are increasing all over the country, this saying goes a long way to explain why this city continues to be one of the safest places in which to live.

The extra "eyes" are those of the people here—men, women, and children who have come to be accepted as an arm of law enforcement.

THE CITY'S TRADITION

"In Milwaukee," says Mayor Henry W. Maier, "we are lucky to have a unique combination of a fine police force and a settled and stable population, largely of German and Polish descent.

"The Milwaukee tradition is that when you see a strange car or a strange man in your neighborhood you call the cops. And if it's a false alarm, the cops don't make you look foolish."

"People in this town," says Police Inspector Raymond A. Dahl, "are willing to give information to the police, willing to be witnesses.

"We've got to have this kind of cooperation if we are going to make arrests and get convictions.

In many cities of this country, unfortunately, people are afraid to help the police."

Last year, although it had a 16 percent increase in serious crimes, Milwaukee could still lay claim to being the most crime-free city in the 700,000-to-800,000 population group.

Among the six cities in this class, Milwaukee was lowest in incidence of murder, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, and auto theft.

It is safe to walk the streets at night in Milwaukee.

Although the Negro population is sizable, there have been no serious racial disturbances.

Public officials attribute this good record to many factors of Milwaukee life besides efficient policemen and cooperative citizens. Among them are: alert newspapers; good schools; hardworking social services; an absence of tenement-type slums; a comprehensive system of parks and playgrounds; swift and sure justice for offenders in the courts.

"I think Milwaukee, as a community, probably devotes more of its resources to the prevention of crime than do other cities," Mayor Maier said.

CONVICTIONS: 95 PERCENT

Almost all criminal cases in Milwaukee are prosecuted by the district attorney's office, headed by William McCauley, whose top assistant is Hugh R. O'Connell.

"We get fine cooperation from our people and the courts," Mr. O'Connell said.

"Trials in Milwaukee are not delayed to the point where witnesses are silenced or forget.

"I would estimate that we get convictions in 95 percent of the cases in which 'not guilty' pleas are entered.

"Don't forget, the same solid citizen who helps us with police work also serves on our juries."

Mr. O'Connell was asked whether anything like the Kitty Genovese case could happen in Milwaukee. Miss Genovese was stabbed to death on a New York street one night last March. Thirty-eight people saw or heard some part of the attack, yet none of them came to the girl's help or called police.

"I doubt very much if that could happen here," Mr. O'Connel said. "I don't think people in Milwaukee have reached that degree of apathy.

"I recall the case of a girl who was seized in the neighborhood of 33d and Lisbon about 1 a.m. one night. She was dragged into an alley, where her assailant tried to rape her. Four or five men in a tavern heard her screams, rushed out, grabbed the man and held him until police arrived."

LOCAL JUSTICE

In Milwaukee courts, there is no coddling of criminals.

"That doesn't mean we don't give a man a chance," said Circuit Judge John L. Coffey.

"A first offender always has a chance of probation if the crime is not too serious. He seldom gets a second chance, however.

"I think the fact that we don't have capital punishment in Wisconsin is a deterrent to crime, particularly among repeaters. I think a man who has been in prison and is going again often would prefer death to life imprisonment."

The court calendar in Milwaukee is in good shape, Judge Coffey reported. Cases come to trial quickly.

"I tried a first-degree murder case during the last week in July," the judge said. "The offense occurred during the last week in May.

"That's about the way our calendar has been running. In Chicago, it sometimes takes 2 or 3 years to get a case to trial."

TRIALS IN 24 HOURS

Police Inspector Dahl had praise for the pace of justice in the city's courts.

"I can recall several occasions in the early 1930's when major criminals were on their way to Waupun, the State penitentiary, on the same day they committed their crimes," he said.

"It happened in cases where they were arrested on the spot, waived preliminary hearings, pleaded guilty, and took their medicine.

"Those were the days when we were working hard to keep out the gangsters from Chicago, Detroit, and New York.

"The legal process here is slower today. But it is just as sure."

CITIZEN COOPERATION

As an example of how citizens help to catch criminals, Inspector Dahl told about a bank robbery that occurred 5 years ago.

"It was the first bank robbery in Milwaukee in 19 years. Three men and a woman were in on the job. A mailman got the license number of one of their cars. Through that, we traced the whole gang and sent them to jail."

Regularly, the police department issues certificates of merit to citizens who aid in law enforcement.

Joseph Budin got an award for apprehending an armed gunman who tried to rob him.

Mr. and Mrs. Roland Schmidt got one for reporting a burglary and following the suspects until they were arrested.

Ronald Brady got another for helping to catch a purse snatcher.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In its continuing war on crime, Milwaukee expects to get a good deal of help from its new social development commission, a task force organized by Mayor Maier.

"The commission has three main functions," the mayor said—"to oversee a program of culturization, that is, to get immigrants used to our city; to combat juvenile delinquency; and to improve the lot of old people.

"You have to treat the causes of crime," Mayor Maier said.

"I believe this country is going to have to think seriously about spending more on urban areas. The ratio of farm to urban spending by the Federal Government is 13 to 1. The ratio of spending on space to urban spending is 3 to 1. One rocket now costs as much as a whole urban-renewal program.

"This struggle against crime and the degradation caused by narcotics, prostitution, and gambling is almost a war.

"We didn't think of the cost of defending the country after Pearl Harbor was attacked. We shouldn't be reluctant to spend to defend our cities against criminals."

Mayor Maier said Milwaukee has two current crime problems.

One is the persistent effort of out-of-State "syndicates" to get a foothold in the city, organize gambling and prostitution, and prey on merchants.

The other is a heavy in-migration of Negroes, white people from the Appalachian region, and Puerto Ricans.

"These people are not accustomed to doing things our way," the mayor said. "They have to be taught the Milwaukee tradition. This is a job for the schools and welfare agencies as well as for the police."

Since 1950, Milwaukee County has had an in-migration of more than 26,000 nonwhites. The Negro population of the city, concentrated mostly in the sixth ward, is now approaching 10 percent.

Basically, however, Milwaukee remains about four times as German as the average urban area and more than twice as Polish.

THE POLICE SYSTEM

Milwaukee's police department, headed by Chief Harold A. Breier, has a complement of 1,942, including clerks, janitors, etc.

Personnel with police powers total 1,720, which officials say is below average for a city of Milwaukee's size. Chief Breier is asking for 300 more men this year.

In 1963, the department operated at a net cost to the city of $11,288,604.

In 1962, the latest year for which figures are available, Milwaukee had 2.40 officers per 1,000 inhabitants, compared with an average of 2.24 for the 16 largest cities in the United States.

Per capita expenditures for police services in the same year totaled $17.65, compared with $16.23 for the 16 largest cities.

A lot of money is spent on motorized equipment in Milwaukee—half its fleet of squad cars is traded in every year—but the biggest deterrent to crime, according to Inspector Dahl, is the policeman on foot.

"We like to have an omnipresent force of policemen on the streets," the inspector said. "We can't afford to be just an answering service, getting there after it happens. We want to be on the spot to prevent crime.

"A policeman walking his beat is the answer to juvenile delinquency and to traffic enforcement. It's really the answer to crime prevention.

"This is expensive, but every city is going to get the kind of law enforcement and safety climate that it is willing to pay for.

"Ideally, we would like to have 25 percent of our men on foot. The best we can do right now is between 15 and 18 percent, including traffic officers."

Milwaukee has no police dogs. The city's aldermen wanted to have a study made of the feasibility of a canine corps, but Mayor Maier vetoed it.

"I thought it was untimely and that it would be tremendously provocative," the mayor said. "I just didn't think it would square with my feelings about Milwaukee and its traditions."

TRAINING POLICEMEN

In-service training has been in effect in the Milwaukee Police Department since 1922. Under this program, officers spend 30 hours a year studying current police problems in the city, new criminal techniques, and similar subjects.

"We now have 1,600 officers studying in 16 classes," Inspector Dahl said. "A man can be with us 35 years, and he still goes to school.

"A police recruit goes through a long course of schooling before he goes on the street. The recruit stays in the training division for 13 weeks, and after that he's on probation for 1 year.

"To join the force," Inspector Dahl said, "a man must be between 21 and 31, stand 5 foot 9 inches in his stocking feet, and be not taller than 6 foot 4. An applicant must be a perfect physical specimen.

"It's not easy to get good men. We're competing with industry, remember, and also with the armed services. We recruit on a statewide basis, and hold exams three or four times a year. At the State fair this year, we put up a recruiting booth and tried to sell young men on a career in law enforcement."

POLICE CADETS

In 1951, Milwaukee started a police-cadet program that is now being copied all over the country.

"We take in boys 17, 18, and 19 who have finished high school and are recommended by their principals," Inspector Dahl explained. "We have 52 positions listed for these boys in our table of organization.

"They take the same type of tests that an adult recruit does, and we hire from 15 to 17 a year.

"Cadets go to school in the morning, studying shorthand, typing, business English, and a little psychology. In the afternoon, they work in police stations. They're rotated in their jobs every 6 months so that they get a rounded police education.

"Starting pay is $3,745 a year, and cadets can work up to $5,079.

"You understand, we wouldn't get very many of these boys if we waited until they were 21. By then they would be in the armed services or in factory jobs, earning more than we could pay them as beginners."

POLICE SCANDAL

While the Milwaukee police department is widely admired and imitated, local people will point out to you that it isn't perfect.

This was demonstrated in May of 1962, when the attorney general of Wisconsin launched a grandjury type of investigation of police misconduct and laxity in Milwaukee.

Thirty-five policemen and deputy sheriffs, some of them senior officers, retired or resigned during the course of the investigation. The vice squad got a thorough housecleaning.

A local newspaper called it the worst police scandal in Milwaukee in 75 years.

Forty-two warrants were issued, about half a dozen against police officers and deputy sheriffs. Charges included bribery, fixing of speeding tickets, and evasion of State income taxes.

The probe was supervised by Circuit Judge Coffee, who said it could not be taken as an indictment of the entire police force, "in which there are many fine and dedicated men."

Le Roy L. Dalton, an assistant State attorney general, handled the investigative side of the proceedings.

"We found that the police department, jealous of its reputation, had a tendency to sweep some things under the rug," Mr. Dalton said.

"We got the story of what was going on from policemen themselves, officers who were disgusted with the situation."

THE JUVENILE PROBLEM

Teenage crime, like other crime, is increasing in Milwaukee, despite everything that is being done about it.

One way the city attacks its teenage crime problem is through its vocational and technical schools.

These institutions are headed by Dr. George A. Parkinson, who said:

"A kid who's not in school or not employed is a natural for trouble—and not just Negro kids, either."

In Milwaukee, high-school dropouts have to go to Dr. Parkinson's "continuation" school until they are 18. There they get special training to fit them for jobs and life in the community.

Dr. Parkinson gave this description of the typical continuation-school student at the time he begins his special studies:

"He has a high hostility index. He holds himself in low esteem. He can't read or write properly, and can't do arithmetic. He comes from a troubled home.

"So you see he needs a lot of working on," Dr. Parkinson added.

"We find teenagers want a girl, a car, and a job or money, in that order," the educator said.

"If they can't get money, they get a car to get a girl. When they get the girl, they need money to spend on her. It's a natural drift to crime if they are out of school and out of a job."

Milwaukee is now spending $4 million on a new continuation school.

Taxpayers consider it another good investment in their fight to keep the city law-abiding.

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the Prince Georges County commissioners recently passed a resolution endorsing the one-man, one-vote principle laid down in the Supreme Court's famous reapportionment decision. I am proud of their position and wish to bring it to the attention of my colleagues:

SEPTEMBER 17, 1964.

Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES,
Congressman-at-Large,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SICKLES: As chairman of the board of county commissioners, may I respectfully submit for your consideration the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by this board:

"Whereas throughout the United States citizens of urban and suburban areas, among them the citizens of Prince Georges County, have been partially disenfranchised by reason of underrepresentation in their legislatures; and

"Whereas it has been declared by the Supreme Court that this practice is undemocratic and shall not be continued; and

"Whereas there are now in Congress proposals which would deny the Court's jurisdiction over reapportionment cases and would delay the effects of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling: Now be it

"*Resolved*, That the Prince Georges County Board of Commissioners urges the President of the United States, Prince Georges representatives in both Houses of Congress and the other major officeholders and officeseekers to make every effort to see that no delaying legislation is enacted so that at the earliest practicable date reapportionment may be accomplished under the duly reached decisions of the courts."

Sincerely,

FRANK J. LASTNER,
Chairman, Board of County Commissioners.

The Constituents Speak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, my mail continues to form one of the most effective links I have between myself and the people I represent. I am always happy to receive letters and to consider the views which they present.

While it would be impossible for me to share all of the letters I receive, two which I believe are particularly worth noting, have come to me in recent weeks.

The first, written by Mr. Ron Geuin, of Everett, Wash., a city in my district, discusses the administration's poverty bill. In my opinion, few people have said so much about this bill in so few words.

The other letter comes from Mr. Robert Lundvall, a rancher in the Everett area, who discusses his view on the beef import problem. This letter, too, makes some worthwhile points, and was certainly in my mind when I voted in favor of H.R. 1839 to permit meat import quotas.

Mr. Speaker, I believe both of these letters will be of interest to Members of Congress:

DEAR MR. WESTLAND: L.B.J.'s war on poverty is a real fine program—I'm for it 100 percent—providing he uses his own money and not mine. I've got a real war on poverty going right here and the $600 or $700 I pay in taxes would strike a mighty blow in my behalf if I were allowed to keep it. Those people should fight their battle against poverty the same as I do—10, 12, 14 hours a day and do without—and be darned proud of what little they do have because they earned it.

Sincerely,

RON GEUIN.

DEAR MR. WESTLAND: As a producer of several hundred head of beef cattle, I am tremendouly interested in the present import tax and quotas that have glutted our American markets and caused immense loss to many of our cattlemen. The situation is manifestly unfair and makes it difficult for us to pay heavy taxes to local and Federal Government.

The November election will doubtless reveal the disapproval of all stockmen as well as informed citizens toward the massive importation of beef with an unfair advantage over American cattle producers.

It is hard to understand how any legislator would favor keeping our present low tariff and large quotas on beef importation which are more favorable to virtually all other countries than our own. For this reason, I would respectfully request that you advise me of your past and prospective action on this matter.

With appreciation of your interest and with all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

ROBERT LUNDVALL.

Address by Bud Wilkinson, of Oklahoma, Before the National Press Club in Washington, on September 18, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAGE BELCHER
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following speech made by Bud Wilkinson, of Oklahoma, to the National Press Club here in Washington, on September 18, 1964, after being introduced by Allan Cromley, Washington correspondent for the Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times, and also a member of the board of the National Press Club:

While I am certainly grateful for Al's kind introduction, I believe he may have "Texanized" the facts to a certain degree. And I know you all understand the meaning of the word "Texanized."

I would be less than honest, though, if I didn't recognize why I was invited to speak to this distinguished group.

I realize that I am here as a candidate but also as a former football coach and obviously not in that order.

However, this is an important day for Oklahoma in our Nation's Capitol. Our great football team is in town a team led by one of the country's great coaches Gomer Jones.

And a former Oklahoma coach has been asked to speak here at the Press Club one of the truly distinguished opinionmaking forums in the world.

Needless to say, I hope both of us have success.

I know there is probably an element of curiosity in your attendance and that most of you came to look at the man who jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

I have already learned this much from my experience in politics; being a football coach is the second hardest way anyone can make a living.

I have always been impressed with the ability of reporters to analyze any situation. A few years ago, when we had a great winning streak going, a reporter asked me almost every week and with persistence at the end of each season, when are you going to quit coaching?

Well, in 1961 we lost our first five games, and this same reporter asked me if I ever intended to get back into coaching again.

Well, lady luck was with us, and we won our next five games. The same reporter displayed another characteristic that has always impressed me in writers; he took full credit for our winning streak.

Now that I am involved in politics, I intend to do the best job of which I am capable and, during a campaign as you well know this means run as hard as you can.

Frankly, I am a firm believer in the competitive process. In my experience, without question it is the best way to breed excellence.

I am quite certain you ladies and gentlemen recognize this fact because you know the personal qualities that make for success. You have practiced them yourselves or you would not have reached the pinnacle of your profession.

The qualities that make an individual great are, obviously, the same qualities that make a football team great.

The qualities that make any team great are the same qualities that can help make a nation great.

What are these qualities? You know them—

Men must be dedicated to their cause, they must have ambition, they must be self-reliant, they must possess self-discipline, they must be prepared to sacrifice even personal interests for the good of the cause, and at all times they must give the best they have no matter how often they fail.

They must learn that victory comes through strength, that strength comes through preparedness, and that preparedness results only from hard work and extra effort.

This quality of extra effort is perhaps best explained by a story they tell about John Wanamaker, who was perhaps the greatest merchant who ever lived. He made a fabulous success with a single phrase:

> "The part of the blanket
> That keeps you warm
> Is the part of the
> Blanket that hangs over."

And it is just that little extra, the part of the blanket that hangs over, that is the difference between success and failure.

In spite of the self-evident truth of what I have just said we tend to ignore the lessons of history.

Instead of relying upon individual initiative, we put more and more dependence upon government and we put less and less reliance on self-help and the dignity of the individual man.

What does this have to do with government. Government actually is like football teams—its strength is only the collective strength of the individuals.

In America we think we are a pretty good team, and I must admit, we look good on paper. But if and when tested, our strength will rest on the human factor—on people. If we suceed, it will be on the basis of better individual performance.

We have the equipment and the tools—but do we have the initiative and the desire?

We must ask ourselves some pretty basic questions. How much liberty can we afford to pay for so-called security? Will bureaucracy destroy the incentive and the efficiency in production—which alone create economic wealth.

Sometimes I wonder if the welfare state isn't a place where it costs far too much to get something for nothing.

As you and I know, from the perspective of Washington one may get a rather distorted view of the feelings of our citizens.

Here you have the special interest groups, the lobyists and the indignant delegations. Besieged as you are by the avalanche of news—in a world of modern communications—your own time factor makes it difficult to determine accurately what the majority of our people are thinking.

I cannot speak for a majority of Americans, but I can speak for Oklahoma.

In Oklahoma there is a rebellion against big government. This rebellion is in the cause of individual freedom.

We Oklahomans feel the impact of the Federal Govefnment in a personal way. We feel the high hand of big government intervention in our wheatfields, in our cattle pastures, and on our oil rigs.

Our wheat farmers, the farmers of Oklahoma, joined with farmers throughout the Nation in rejecting last year's ill conceived wheat proposal, the proposal which meant a further extension of big government control.

The voice of Oklahoma was clear. But when Oklahoma farmers saw almost the same bill, a bill which they had overwhelmingly rejected, pass Congress, and be signed into law, they learned again the same harsh lesson.

They know what this administration actually said was, "You farmers do not know what is good for you. You do not know how to manage your own affairs. Big government will tell you what to do.

Our cattle ranchers deeply resent it when the State Department consistently ignores the interests of our cattle industry by opening the flood gates to foreign beef.

Our independent oil producers resent it when foreign oil imports become great enough to threaten their ability to survive. In this regard Oklahomans are very much aware that HUBERT HUMPHREY has voted consistently against the 27½-percent depletion allowance which is vital to the survival of our domestic industry.

In the area of foreign affairs, Oklahomans resent the continuing loss of prestige of our great Nation—we do not accept the platitude that—all is well—that the cold war has ended.

Oklahomans recognize that when the American flag is hauled down and trampled in distant lands, that when consulates are burned, stoned, and looted, our Nation has lost the respect of much of the world. And we cannot agree that our interests must constantly be adjusted to favor the positions of those who oppose us.

We Oklahomans believe our foreign policy has lost momentum, direction, and meaning. The message of American foreign policy has become blurred. We have no clear cut, well-defined policy—a policy which is understood by both our friends and our foes. Platitudes will no longer suffice. Oklahomans demand to know what is our foreign policy?

We Oklahomans do not believe any basic problem is too complex to be understood by our citizens.

The relations of nations, like those among individuals, boil down to simple choices—choices of what is "right" and what is "wrong."

There is little real question actually in our minds as to definition in this area—and I question if there is in yours. Most of us do agree in our hearts about what is "right conduct"—and we know in our conscience—what is "wrong conduct." The eternal human problem remains.

Do we as individuals—do we as a nation—have the courage to make the hard choice which we know to be right?

The crisis in the world, which we call the cold war, presents a constant series of life and death challenges to our great system of self-government and its institutions.

Our responses to these challenges, in the opinion of Oklahomans * * * have been inadequate. We believe the United States has failed to lead. We believe the United States has failed to further its true goals of achieving liberty and freedom for all mankind.

I do not mean, of course, that the United States should use force to achieve its goals. The unregulated use of force to secure goals is unjust and therefore self-defeating.

What I do mean is that we must, if we are to regain * * * the respect of the world, utilize our great material strength, supplemented by our spiritual strength to define, defend, and extend out beliefs.

In a positive sense, we Oklahomans believe the Marshall plan was a success. We had hard and fast evidence that this aid program was carefully conceived and conscientiously managed in the best interests of both the giver and the receiver.

But what we Oklahomans demand is proof that our tax dollars spent for foreign aid have positive results * * * results designed to further our own objectives.

Too often we have been outplanned in the blackmail pressures of the foreign aid game. Oklahomans are clearly frustrated by the knowledge that over $113 billion of American tax money has gone across the seas to over 100 nations.

We are more deeply concerned, in fact we cannot accept any reason why 5 billion of America's tax dollars have been given to eight Communist countries. We do not believe the Communists have surrendered their goal of conquering the world. On the contrary, they continue their subversive and propaganda activities in every country of the free world constantly seeking to add to their power and territory. Today the Communists operate on every continent in their effort to rob free people of their liberty in Laos and Vietnam, in the Congo and Zanzibar, and in the heart of the Americas.

By aiding the Communists in any way, we Oklahomans believe this administration may well be buying for our enemies the pot in which to cook our own goose.

As a candidate for the Senate, I believe I should define my position. I will try to do so.

A friend of mine, a short time back, observed to me that he had a good job, that he paid his bills, saved for his future and the future of his children, that he hoped some day to move to a better home, that he and his wife attended church, and that he was anxious to build a better world for himself and for his children. And then he went on to say he wanted some one in Washington to really represent him.

And, I think you would agree. You see, my friend is not a member of any special interest group. He is only the kind of man who has made Oklahoma and this Nation great. I am for him. I am his candidate.

It is my hope to work to restore the principles of representative government to our State. I recognize the pressures that result from the executive branch but I believe a Senator's duty transcends party loyalty. His first obligation is to the citizens of his State, the people who have elected him, the people who have sent him to Washington to represent their interests.

I believe I know what Oklahomans want from their government. We are proud, dedicated, independent, people. We do not want handouts, we do not want alms from Washington, and we do not want rubberstamp representation.

We desire strong, effective, honest representation.

I believe I can clearly express to the Senate and the Nation the wishes of the Oklahoma farmers who want to keep Orville Freeman out of their wheatfields, the wishes of the Oklahoma beef producers who cry out for relief from reckless imports, and the wishes of the Oklahoma businessmen who want to manage their own affairs, and, above all, the wishes of the youth of Oklahoma who say only please give me the opportunity that you had, the opportunity that is my heritage.

Further, I believe I can be effective in selling the advantages of Oklahoma to industry. We have the natural resources when our important water programs are completed, as they should be by 1970, we will have access to the sea. This will unlock our vast reservoirs of natural wealth.

But more important, we have people who look to the future. Our people are God-fearing and hard working. They are talented people who bring perserverance, understanding, ability, and above all, dedication to their jobs.

It is my conviction that our workers will produce for new industries in exactly the same way our Oklahoma football players produced. In other words, if business will invest in us, merely get us in the game, we will win the championship.

To fully live as a responsible, free citizen of this, the world's greatest nation, requires dedication, participation, and full involvement in the affairs of our Republic, for the course we select will determine the future of this land.

I hold that man is a child of God, not a child of the State; that man is a spiritual being who, as Christ said, cannot live by bread alone.

Our decision, our choice in this election will determine the future.

If America is to regain its greatness, we must stop gagging at the word, spiritual. We must reaffirm our faith in those spiritual qualities on which American society has really rested since its beginning.

Peaceful Coexistence—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include a further segment of "Peaceful Coexistence; A Communist Blueprint for Victory," a thought-provoking publication of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association, as follows:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE—III

The statement notes that the Communists will do everything possible "to prevent world war." It has been said that peaceful coexistence implies that, as far as the Communists are concerned, war has become an "impossibility." Khrushchev has stated: "Our foreign policy is peaceful coexistence, not war. It is the Communists who in general want to exclude war between states from the life of human society."[1]

But such general statements rarely go uninterpreted in the Communist camp, and the theme has been repeated and elaborated in dozens of ways. In such elaborations one is apt to find a more complete candor than is present in the public pronouncements of the leaders. From the following recent statements one can gain an appreciation of the real meaning attached to the relationship of war to peaceful coexistence: "Some try to reduce the notion of peaceful coexistence to the renunciation of war. But peace and peaceful coexistence are not one and the same thing. Peaceful coexistence does not mean a temporary and unstable armistice between two wars, but something more complex.[2]

* * * * *

"Peaceful coexistence, which is the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist counties, does not imply a temporary absence of war, or a breathing space between clashes. Not at all. Peaceful coexistence is the only positive, constructive policy which promotes economic,

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[1] Nikita Khrushchev, radio-television speech, August 6, 1961.

[2] H. Dona, "Peaceful Coexistence: A Basic Principle of the Foreign Policy of the Rumanian People's Republic" (Bucharest: State Publishing House, 1963), p. 2.

social, and cultural progress all over the world."[3]

It is fairly safe to assume that the Communists do not desire a general war at this time. They fully realize that whatever benefits would accrue to them as the result of a war would be outweighed by the damage which they would suffer. Khrushchev, speaking on August 19, 1963, stressed that the "Communists want to win this struggle with the least losses."

However, it is quite a different matter to assume that because the Communists do not view war as a realistic instrument of policy at the present time, they will never employ it. It is also necessary to point out that the Communists have differentiated between the various types of wars, and have clearly delineated those which are acceptable and are to be encouraged and assisted. (See the section on "The Role of Wars," p. 53.)

Even when certain measures can be agreed upon with the "enemy" allegedly to reduce the chances of a nuclear war, as was the case with the signing of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Communists find it necessary to underscore the value of such agreements by reiterating their view of peaceful coexistence. Immediately in the wake of the treaty, Khrushchev said: "The essence of the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems lies precisely in compelling the big Western powers to renounce war as an instrument of their policy and to adhere to peaceful, not military, methods of settling international problems through the superiority of the peace-loving nations over the forces of militarism and aggression."[3a]

And a later article on the treaty by an Estonian Communist pointed out that "In the view of the Communists, peaceful coexistence between the two systems is certainly not a passive process in which there is some sort of parallel development of capitalism and socialism, no freezing of social relationships, or strengthening of any status quo in the relationship between the forces of socialism and capitalism * * * but an active and intense struggle, in the course of which socialism irresistibly attacks, while capitalism suffers one defeat after another."[4]

While such agreements may be of limited value to the "capitalists," by thtis view they will redound infinitely more to the benefit of the Communists. Note that Khrushchev stresses that peaceful coexistence "compels" the West to submit to the policies of the "superior" forces, i. e., the Communists, and that the latter statement emphasizes that such agreements by no means imply a status quo between Communists and non-Communists, but that "socialism" attacks and deals "capitalism" successive defeats.

The "competition" which Communists profess to pursue with the West in the name of "peaceful coexistence" likewise smacks of the language of total victory over a thoroughly vanquished enemy: "Comrades, when we speak of victory in economic competition, the point in question is not only cement or metal, but policy as well—the power of our ideas, the power of Marxist-Leninist theory, * * * the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The capitalists know the cruel laws of competition: if one firm outstrips another, the stronger one swallows the weaker one. The competition of the two systems in the economic field strikes even greater fear into the hearts of the imperialists: they see that the rapid growth of socialism is increasingly shaking the foundations of capitalism, bringing nearer the end of this system, which is doomed by history.[5]

Since communism takes an active role in "shaking the foundations of capitalism," Khrushchev certainly does not intend to operate on the "live-and-let-live" principle which dominates the Western concept of peaceful coexistence.

If it were merely a matter of straight competition between the two powers, with the winner's only prize the satisfaction that he had won and had demonstrated that his system performed in a manner superior to the loser's, then the West would have little to fear from the bumbling and centralized economy of the Communist States. The conditions of totalitarian rule have endowed the Communist countries with an inability to compete successfully with the free world in general, and with the United States in particular.

But it is not a case of "straight competition." The stakes in this novel form of "competition" are simply the freedoms which we have fought so hard and so long to defend; and, like it or not, it is the Communists, not we, who have determined that the stakes should be set so high.

It is essential to note here that while the principle of peaceful coexistence serves as an operating code for Communist behavior in the realm of relations among nations, it has never been stated that peaceful coexistence applies within the boundaries of the capitalist countries.[6] The struggle which is to take place under the conditions of peaceful coexistence can utilize, as we shall see later, any form of opposition, and can be waged with every instrument, including violence. Thus, in colonial or newly independent countries as well as in the advanced industrial countries "anything goes" and no holds are barred:

"If the class struggle within the capitalist states has internal and only internal roots, it is clear that the principle of peaceful coexistence is not applied to the relations between classes within the bourgeois countries. The class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters and the struggle of the people against reactionary regimes cannot be dissolved by international agreement. For this struggle to cease, the causes eliciting it must be eliminated, i.e., capitalism must be liquidated."[7]

In sum, this statement declares that subversion, class warfare, and the general attempt to overthrow non-Communist societies will not come to a halt until capitalism has been destroyed. Since capitalism actually causes the Communists to wage a struggle against it, capitalism must be destroyed in order to stop the struggle. This is akin to a robber telling his victim that because the latter has earned the money which he carries in his billfold, he has forced the robber to take it from him. It is because of such perverted reasoning that non-Communists so often feel at a loss either to understand or to explain the logic which communism employs.

Similar confusion is often experienced when coping with the Communist claim to universal representation of the "downtrodden masses of working people," and when, in spite of the terror and inhumanity which millions have suffered at the hands of the Communists, the claim is made that the "humane" movement of communism employs only true humanitarian methods. It taxes the imagination when claims such as this are made:

"The Communist morality is the morality of the revolutionaries who are fulfilling their historic mission of saving all people from social inequality, from all forms of persecution and exploitation, and from the horrors of war, and who are establishing a system of the greatest justice and humaneness on earth.

* * * * * *

"Peaceful coexistence is the specifically proletarian form of the class struggle conducted on an international scale. Being specifically proletarian, peaceful coexistence is at the same time also the most humane and the most rational form."[8]

Note that peaceful coexistence is reserved exclusively to the protetariat; that is to say, to the Communists themselves. It is because the Communists alone may implement this principle that it is automatically elevated to the level of "the most humane" form of struggle.

If only the Communists have a title to peaceful coexistence, then it should be clear that what the West professes to practice, i.e., its own form of "coexisting peacefully," cannot serve as a medium for improving relations with Communists or for alleviating the internal "class struggle." And herein lies the most important point: one does not practice peaceful coexistence, one wages it. Peaceful coexistence is to the Communists a unilateral strategic doctrine which is imposed upon the "inevitably doomed" adversary through the combined inherent "moral" and physical "superiority" of the Communist system, and to which the adversary may only "respond" because he is denied a creative and participating role in determining its essence and application.

From the conclusion that communism determines both the form and content of peaceful coexistence has arisen the most brazen and extensive claim yet to be made: specifically, that peaceful coexistence and international law are identical:

"Without exaggeration one can designate all contemporary generally recognized international law, as it exists today, as a code of peaceful coexistence. From this it follows that everything which is incompatible with the principle of peaceful coexistence does not exist juridically in international relations. Conversely, all the old and new principles which contribute to the development and consolidation of peaceful coexistence can with complete justification lay claim to legal validity."[9]

It is as much to say that all which is incompatible with peaceful coexistence "is illegal." Therefore, if the task of peaceful coexistence is to insure that communism triumphs over capitalism as quickly and as efficiently as possible, the resistance which the non-Communist world may put up is basically contradictory to "law," and hence is "not legal." That such is the task of this new form of "international law" is made clear by the following statement by the dean of Soviet international lawyers, Korovin:

"One of the consequences of socialism's transformation into the decisive factor of international relations is that peaceful coexistence has gradually become an accepted

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[3] I. Glagolev and V. Larionov, "Soviet Defense Might and Peaceful Coexistence," International Affairs (Moscow), November 1963, p. 33.

[3a] N. S. Khrushchev's message to the Ninth International Conference in Hiroshima for the Banning of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons, Aug. 19, 1963.

[4] N. Shishlin, "Nuclear Test Ban Agreement: A Leninist Coexistence Principle in Action," Sovetskaya Estoniya, Oct. 23, 1963.

[5] N. S. Khrushchev, Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, June 21, 1963.

[6] See below, p. 63, for greater detail on the problem of "peaceful" and "violent" internal methods.

[7] Dona, "Peaceful Coexistence," p. 31.

[8] I. Kuz'minkov, "Communist Morality and General Moral Standards," Kommunist, No. 1 (January 1964), p. 32.

[9] Yevgeniy A. Korovin, "The Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties and the Tasks of the Science of International Law," Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, August 1961, p. 66. Needless to say, the Communists use the conventional meaning of international law when it suits their purposes.

principle of international law. Initially it was the expression of a peaceful "breathing space," but being a specific form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism on an international scale, peaceful coexistence was filled with new content as the relation of world forces changed. Its ultimate objective at the present time is to insure the most favorable conditions for the victory of socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism." [10]

While it has become fashionable in the West to speak of "victory" in the cold war as "meaningless," the Communists persist in employing it as an official goal. Needless to say, they have a very real appreciation that "victory" by means of nuclear war would very probably be a victory in the true sense for no one; but to exclude a single method of achieving victory as an unrealistic instrument of policy does not signify that the entire concept of victory has been relinquished.

WHAT DOES PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ACCOMPLISH?

That Communuists envision a genuine "victory" is demonstrated by the remarks of Khrushchev in August 1963 following the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty."

"Today the imperialists pretend to be brave, but only in words, whereas in reality they tremble before the world of growing and strengthening socialism. And let them tremble. So much the better for us.

"If everyone acted and thought in the Communist way then there would be no antagonistic classes and communism would already be victorious everywhere. However, while there are still two systems, Socialist and capitalist, each system has its own policy, its own course, and we cannot but take into account the fact that two systems exist. A fight is in progress between these two systems, a life and death combat. But we Communists want to win this struggle with the least losses and there is no doubt whatsoever that we shall win." [11]

The recognition that two systems do in fact exist in the same world is given only grudgingly; and because there does exist in the world an alternative system to that of the Commuunists, the contest between them assumes, in Khrushchev's own words, the form of "a life and death combat." Peaceful coexistence fulfills the Communist objectives in this mortal combat by "insuring" that victory is accomplished with minimal losses.

It follows from this statement that the Communists are prepared to accept some losses in propelling the revolution forward, but nowhere is it made clear just what these losses could entail. Despite the possibility of such setbacks, however, Khrushchev emphasizes the certainty of triumph.

The specific function of peaceful coexistence is not, as we have found, the establishment of a mere period of relative calm on a worldwide scale. Rather, it is to provide conditions favorable for waging a many-pronged offensive at and within the non-Communist world. Above all, it creates a degree of flexibility hitherto unknown to the Communist movement, inasmuch as it allows for harnessing and utilizing the most disparate forces for the revolutionary cause:

"The success of our movement and the possibilities opening up before it, together with the responsibility devolving on our movement, all demand that Communists pursue a well-thought-out and well-founded policy, a policy designed to bring us victory over imperialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence." [12]

Among these "possibilities" is the fact that "peaceful coexistence creates the most favorable conditions for the fight of the oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors. Peaceful coexistence means the maximum support to the oppressed nations including arms." [13]

Hence wherever the Communists declare an "oppressed nation" or an "oppressed area" to exist, there weapons will be supplied to forces which serve to undermine peace and stability, and which seek to establish either a Communist regime or, at minimum, a regime favorably disposed to existing Communist States. It is remarkable that the Communists, by unilateral proclamation, have reserved to themselves the right to determine "war zones" and "peace zones," and have repeatedly emphasized the "morality," "legality," and "necessity" for universal recognition of the "inherent justice" contained in such proclamations.

Confident that to them belongs the initiative in dictating the essense of the tasks which peaceful coexistence will accomplish, Communist leaders have labored to create the impression that time is on their side:

"The policy of peaceful coexistence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism." [14]

And again:

"Peace and socialism are indivisible—this Marxist formula has a profound meaning. In an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, time works on the side of socialism, which is why the imperialist ideologists have such a dread of the very concept of peaceful coexistence." [15]

In providing conditions favorable to the diverse forms of "struggle," peaceful coexistence acts as an accelerator of the "world revolutionary process." By not concentrating all the resources of the movement in any one direction for the support of any single objective, the Communists seek to implement the entire spectrum of techniques designed to overthrow established governments by allowing a maximum degree of "leeway" in selecting the weapons of struggle to be used at a given place and time.

In a later discussion of the forms of "transition from capitalism to socialism" this "flexibility" is examined in greater detail.

[10] Yevgeniy A. Korovin, "An Old and Futile Demand," International Affairs, April 1963, p. 100.

[11] N. S. Khrushchev, "Speech at the Soviet-Hungarian Meeting, Aug. 19, 1963," Current Soviet documents, Aug. 19, 1963.

[12] L. Sharkey, "Creative Marxism Is the Basis for Revolutionary Practice," World Marxist Review, October 1963, p. 10. Sharkey is general secretary of the Communist Party of Australia.

[13] Kjeld Oesterling and Norman Freed, "Peace, Freedom and You" (Prague: Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1963), p. 15.

[14] Statement of the 81 Communist Parties in Moscow, U.S.S.R., December 1960, p. 16.

[15] V. P. Kalugin, "The Magnetic Force of the Leninist Ideals of Peaceful Coexistence," International Affairs, No. 8 (August 1963), p. 24.

My Silent Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a prayer written by Mr. Fletcher Newell, of Phoenix, Ariz., during the time he was a patient in the Phoenix Veterans' Administration Hospital. Mr. Newell is a veteran of World Wars I and II, and a life member of the American Legion, to which he has given unstinting service. He is a member of Luke-Greenway Post 1 in Phoenix, where he serves both his country and that post with continued devotion.

The above-mentioned follows:

MY SILENT PRAYER

(By Fletcher Newell)

Let me do my work each day, and if the darkened hours of despair overcome me, may I not forget the strength that comforted me in the desolation of other times. May I still remember the bright hours that found me walking over the silent hills of my childhood, or dreaming on the margin of the quiet river when a light glowed within me, and I promised God to have courage amid the tempest of the changing years.

Spare me the bitterness and sharp passions of unguarded moments. May I not forget that poverty and riches are of the spirit. Though the world know me not, may my thoughts and actions be such as shall keep me friendly with myself.

Lift my eyes from the earth and let me not forget the uses of the stars. Forbid that I should judge others lest I condemn myself. Let me not follow the clamor of the world, but walk humbly in my path. Give me a few friends who will love me for what I am, and keep ever burning before me my vagrant footsteps, the kindly light of hope.

And though age and infirmity overtake me, and I come not in sight of the castle of my dreams, teach me to be thankful for life and for time's olden memories that are good and sweet, and may the evening twilight find me gentle still.

Superior Athletes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I am pleased to include a column by my old friend, Bob Johnson, sports editor of the Spokane Chronicle. Bob is one of the very best in the sportswriting field. His column, "My Nickel's Worth," makes real good reading. Here he pays his respects to three outstanding athletes from the Fifth District, which it is my privilege to represent in the House of Representatives. They are: J. Jerry Lindgren, the distance runner who has meteored across the track heavens this past year; Phil Shinnick, crack broad jumper, who starred for Gonzaga Prep of Spokane. Both will represent the United States in Tokyo. Bob also hails the prowess of Spokane's own Peggy Conley, winner of 2 matches in the 9-to-6 success of America over England in the Curtis Cup Golf Tourney in far-off South Wales in the British Isles.

We can add to these whom Bob Johnson mentions the name of Dennis Van Valkenbergh, of Arlington, Va. Dennis

will go to Tokyo to represent the United States in the canoe singles. This stalwart athlete has his roots in Wenatchee, Wash., where his father, Bob Van Valkenburgh, was born and raised and where the Van Valkenburgh family still lives. Dennis captured his event all 3 days of the Olympic trials held recently at the Orchard Beach Lagoon in the Bronx, N.Y.:

The article follows:

MY NICKEL'S WORTH

(By Bob Johnson)

ONE, TWO, THREE

They laughed last winter when we sat down to the typewriter and suggested that Spokane, which had only had one Olympic representatives in all of the past games, might have as many as three in 1964 in Tokyo.

It did seem a little farfetched, we admit, but as we said at the time, it certainly wasn't impossible.

In December young Gerry Lindgren had just shown that he not only could run with the best in the Pacific Northwest but that he was a young man capable of competing with class performers with his indoor win in a schoolboys' mile race in San Francisco.

Up north in Portland, Toby Gibson had just opened his bid for an Oympic berth by winning the Portland Golden Gloves tourney. And in the wings, Phil Shinnick, who astounded the track the summer before with an unrecognized 27-foot 4-inch broad jump, was simply waiting for spring and a chance to get back to work.

Today, 9 months later, they're all holding plane reservations to Tokyo, and Spokane is bursting its sports buttons with pride.

Toby, of course, made it first with his mow-'em-down performance in the National AAU and Olympic trials.

LIKE MONEY IN BANK

It seemed like money in the bank for Lindgren as early as June when he finished second in the AAU championships and qualified for the U.S.-Russian meet in late July. When he only managed a third place in the 5,000-meter finals of the first Olympic trials in New York, his prospects still looked good. Then, suddenly they simply looked wonderful when he astounded everyone with his victory at 10,000 meters against Russia.

The climax, of course, came Saturday when he won a Olympic 10,000-meter berth with ease. It was only the third time he had ever run that distance in competition. The fact that in three races he has chopped his time from 29 minutes 37.6 seconds to 29:02 makes you wonder just how much more he'll slice off that in Tokyo. Another 30 seconds and he'll break the Olympic mark of 28.32.2 set in 1960 by Russia's Pyotr Bolotnikov.

SHINNICK TOOK LONGER

Shinnick had been the biggest question mark all the way. After his 27-foot 4-inch effort at Modesto, Calif., a year ago he had been unable to approach that distance again. Injured legs and an inability to hit the takeoff board consistly were Phil's big bugaboos. Saturday, however, he came back with that 26-foot 3½-inch leap that was his best since Modesto. It won him an Olympic berth by the margin of one-half an inch.

Since he broke into headlines with his showing last summer, Phil and his parents have moved to Seattle. But he's "one of us" just the same as an ex-Gonzaga prepster.

And last weekend in far-off South Wales Perky Conley was doing all of us proud with two victories in Curtis Cup golf competition. Her effort as the team's youngest member certainly was a big help in a 9–6 victory for the U.S. forces over Great Britain.

Just mark 1964 down as a year Spokane produced its supersports stars. And they're not through yet.

The New Administration's Natural Resources Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an able address by the Honorable Elmer B. Staats entitled "The New Administration's Natural Resources Budget." This outstanding address was delivered June 5, 1964, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress at its annual meeting in Washington. Mr. Staats is Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget and is an outstanding public servant.

The address follows:

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S NATURAL RESOURCES BUDGET

(Address by Elmer B. Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, June 5, 1964)

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning and again to have the opportunity, as I have had several times in the past, to discuss with you the President's budget program and its implications for the natural resources and water resources activities of the Federal Government.

President Johnson's 1965 budget proposals to the Congress were made within the framework of a reduced overall Federal budget. If it was not clear at the time that the budget was sent to the Congress, the President has made it amply clear since then that the expects maximum results from the executive branch of the Government in getting a dollar's value for each dollar of Government expenditures.

BUDGET PROPOSALS, 1965

The President's budget recommendation for fiscal year 1965 provided for total administrative budget expenditures of $97.9 billion, $500 million less than estimated for the fiscal year 1964. Budgetary and fiscal policies on which the 1965 budget was based took into account several major considerations: (1) The American economy is still operating below its comfortable capacity—5.4 percent of the civilian labor force is still unemployed; (2) the budget expenditure and tax proposals should be designed to help spur the expansion of the economy and narrow the gap between actual and potential output and employment; and (3) the necessary expansionary stimulus for the economy should come primarily from the side of private investment for consumption rather than from increased Federal expenditures.

One of the principal means of achieving the objective of stimulating the private economy was the proposed tax reduction and reform measures. The tax legislation was, as you know, enacted early this year and we are now beginning to feel the benefits of increased stimulation of private investment and consumption.

Within the framework of the reduced overall Federal budget, the President made provision for essential program increases for health, education, training and welfare programs; for resource development, for the attack on poverty and the initiation of the special program for Appalachia; and for necessary increases in the space program and in interest on the public debt. These increases in the Federal budget were offset by decreases in expenditures for national defense and by various other program reductions and economies.

CURRENT BUDGET OUTLOOK

Since the budget was presented to the Congress, there have necessarily been some changes in the Government's program. First, with reference to fiscal 1964—the current fiscal year—it is now estimated that total administrative budget expenditures will be about $98.3 billion, about $100 million less than estimated in January. This small reduction in the current fiscal year reflects various upward and downward adjustments in major program activities.

It is, of course, too soon to attempt any definitive reestimate of fiscal 1965 expenditures since no appropriation has yet been enacted for 1965. Any revision at this time, therefore, of the January estimate for 1965 would be highly conjectural. Based, however, on developments which have occurred, it now appears that 1965 expenditures will be some $600 million less than estimated in the January budget. Our present judgment is that the 1965 defense procurement rate will result in lower expenditures by the Department of Defense than estimated in the budget. On the other hand, the Commodity Credit Corporation expenditures will probably run higher than estimated in January because of upward revision in crop yield estimates and a somewhat more costly cotton program than had been anticipated in the budget. Also to be taken into account are the probable appropriation and legislative actions in the present session of the Congress and the pressure being exerted by the President on all Government agencies to hold down and reduce their expenditures and employment below the budget estimates.

NATURAL RESOURCES BUDGET

The 1965 budget decisions for natural resources programs, which include most of the water resource activities, were made within the context of the President's decision to hold down total Federal budget expenditures and in recognition of the fact that these programs, like other Federal programs, must be managed efficiently and economically. Nevertheless, administrative budget expenditures for natural resources were estimated to reach $2.6 billion in 1965, $100 million greater than estimated for 1964 and more than double their level of 10 years ago. This category of Government activities includes the land and water resources programs of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Department of the Interior, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, as well as expenditures for the conservation and development of our forest resources, our national parks and other public lands, our mineral resources, and our fish and wildlife and other recreational resources.

The largest part of expenditures on natural resources is for the development and use of water and related land resources. Total construction outlays for water resources and related developments, excluding expenditures for operation, maintenance and research, but including watershed protection projects of the Department of Agriculture and grants for waste treatment facilities by the Public Health Service, were estimated in the January budget to be $1,518 million in 1965, compared with $792 million in 1955. Construction expenditures for water resources activities have nearly doubled in the 10-year period. Budget expenditures for all natural resources programs have more than doubled in the same time, whereas the total administrative budget of the Federal Government has increased but 52 percent.

The overall level of Federal expenditures for water resources programs depends in large part on the number of new projects which have been started in prior years. Most of the expenditures in 1965 will be for work started prior to that year. In this connection, it should be noted that it will require over $4 billion of expenditures after 1965 by the Corps of Engineers to complete water

resources projects now underway and nearly $2 billion for the Bureau of Reclamation.

President Johnson's 1965 budget, however, provides for continuation of a progressive policy on initiation of new water resources projects. The new projects proposed in the January budget for the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation were estimated to cost in total more than $500 million. In addition, it should be noted that there is a very substantial backlog of Corps and reclamation projects which have been authorized by susbtantive legislation but which have not been programed for construction. In the January budget the authorized reserve of Corps of Engineers' projects available for starting after 1965 was estimated at $5.1 billion, and for the Bureau of Reclamation, the estimate was $2.7 billion.

In determining his budget recommendations to the Congress, the President, taking into account his overall fiscal objectives and major national goals, must make major decisions as to the relative priorities among the major program areas. He must consider the relative importance of defense programs as compared with civil programs; he must consider objectives in health and welfare programs as contrasted with needs in the agricultural and natural resources areas; he must consider the problems of poverty in the United States in contrast to the goals of international aid programs. And within major program areas, he must consider and determine the relative priorities of water resources projects as compared with conservation and development of national forests, provision of recreational facilities in the national parks, and development of mineral resources or fish and wildlife resources.

The task of arriving at decisions on relative program priorities is not an easy one. Due consideration must be given to the impact of water resources and other natural resources programs on the economic development of the Nation and the progress in meeting the needs within major regions of the Nation. More can be accomplished, however, within the constraints of a tight fiscal policy if progress can be made in improving the efficiency of our water resources programs. The budget contained a number of legislative proposals which are designed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of our water resource and related programs. I will mention a few of these.

IMPROVEMENTS PROPOSED IN WATER RESOURCES AND RELATED PROGRAMS

1. Proposed Water Resources Planning Act of 1963 (S. 1111): This legislation is a revision of the bill proposed by President Kennedy in 1961. The bill was passed by the Senate in December 1963 and is now being considered by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. It would provide for a Federal Water Resources Council, for joint Federal-State river basin planning commissions, and for grants to the States to assist them in water resources planning. The enactment of this legislation would represent a forward step in achieving comprehensive and efficient development of the Nation's water resources.

2. Federal Water Project Recreation Act (H.R. 9032): This proposed legislation, which was transmitted to the Congress in November 1963, for the first time provides uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs on Federal multipurpose water resources projects. It would also provide the Secretary of the Interior with authority for recreation development of projects under his control comparable to the general authority now available to the Department of the Army. H.R. 9032 was reported favorably with amendments by the House Interior Committee in March. This is a good bill; it will enable us to better justify significant increases in Federal investments in recreation in relation to Federal water projects; and it will not impose an undue burden on the communities involved. We want to support maximum recreation development in connection with water resources projects, but this will be more difficult to do in the absence of a reasonable cost-sharing program.

3. Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1963 (H.R. 3846): This legislation, reported by the House Interior Committee and now before the House, would establish a special fund to be financed from recreation user fees at Federal areas, proceeds from the sale of Federal surplus real property, and from the existing 4-cent tax on fuel used in pleasure boats. The fund would be used for grants to States for planning, land acquisition and development of recreation areas, and for Federal acquisition of lands. About 60 percent of the funds would be used for grants to States and about 40 percent for Federal acquisition.

4. Water resources research legislation (S. 2): To complement the research being supported by Federal agencies, the administration endorsed legislation which would authorize a new program of grants to colleges and universities to stimulate water research at these institutions, including research by contract. The program would be administered by the Secretary of the Interior. This legislation has passed the Senate and has been passed by the House in amended form.

Various other legislative proposals have been made by the administration which recognize the importance of preserving additional seashore and other areas with important recreation potential, and would authorize Federal acquisition of such areas. Legislation has also been proposed to protect our remaining wilderness areas. Special emphasis is also being given in the research program of the Department of the Interior to finding means of reducing the cost of converting saline water to fresh water. A major breakthrough in the effort to reduce the cost of converting saline water would provide a major benefit to areas of the United States facing limited water supplies, as well as providing widespread benefits in other parts of the world.

We have, of course, not reached the end of improvements in our water resources programs and policies. There remain a number of difficult problem areas on which policy decisions will need to be reached by the executive branch and by the Congress. Although President Kennedy, in May 1962, approved new policies, procedures, and standards for the formulation and review of plans for water resource projects, detailed standards for cost allocation and reimbursement and cost-sharing policies are still being developed. The proposed Federal Water Project Recreation Act, which I have mentioned would deal with the question of cost-sharing in connection with recreation and fish and wildlife purposes at Federal water projects. Attention should also be given to the possibility of improving our cost-sharing standards for other purposes of water development such as flood control and water pollution abatement.

The budget for 1965 repeated a recomendation made by President Kennedy for a 2-cent tax on fuels used in inland navigation: This proposal was in recognition of the major investment to date amounting to more than $2 billion in Federal navigation improvements and the current annual expenditure of about $70 million for the operation and maintenance of these same waterways. A tax of 2 cents would yield less than $10 million annually. Now I recognize that this organization has gone on record as being opposed to this proposal. I sincerely urge your reappraisal of this position. The general principle of user charges is now firmly imbedded as a matter of policy of the executive and the legislative branches. The yield from the enactment of this legislation—small as it may be—would in my opinion go far toward removal of a serious point of contention with respect to future growth of inland navigation waterways system. Its acceptance could very well affect the long run public support for the continued heavy investment in this program.

In addition, more detailed criteria and standards are needed for appraising the benefits of water resource development and in determining the use of such benefits as redevelopment benefits where areas have unemployed or underemployed labor resources and in the ues of so-called secondary benefits on a national basis as against secondary benefits which are of importance only within the region or area. Much effort will be required to reach agreement on some of these complex and difficult issues.

In conclusion, I believe a close examination of President Johnson's budget for natural resources programs and his legislative proposals reveals a clear support for the efficient and effective development and use of the Nation's natural resources—while at the same time the President is not losing sight of the need to develop our human resources. The challenge which the President faces in arriving at budget decisions is one of providing for the most pressing needs of our complex and growing society within the limitations imposed by the need to restrain the overall level of Government expenditures. I believe this challenge can be effectively met, but it wil require the efforts not ony of those directly working on the budget but the sincere and cooperative help of many others as well—such as the important group assembled here today—to identify needs, weigh their merits, accord relative priorities, and promote increasing efficiency and effectiveness in Government operations.

Mississippi Crusade, Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, during the past summer several hundred courageous citizens volunteered to aid in the struggle for equality in Mississippi. We all know the violence to which they were subjected and which continues to this very day. In order to increase our understanding of the situation in Mississippi, I call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article entitled "Crusade in Mississippi" by Alex Poinsett which appeared in the September 1964 issue of Ebony magazine. At this time I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the first part of this article:

CRUSADE IN MISSISSIPPI: COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS CONDUCTS SUMMER-LONG, FREEDOM PROJECT

(By Alex Poinsett)

In an airplane hurrying out of Mississippi, a veteran reporter hides his tears from a stewardess. He has been thinking about a true story related to him earlier, a story already 34 years old but still painful, a story telling of an elderly, white plantation owner found hanging in his bedroom. Had he committed suicide or had he been murdered? The dead man's grandson is certain a murderer hides among his Negro sharecroppers.

Unable to find him, he arbitrarily picks a family of three and ties them to stakes. Then, while he and other white men force the remaining Negroes on his plantation to watch, he burns the helpless family alive. Then * * * and the reporter cries.

Black human beings no longer burn at stakes in Mississippi. Thirty-four years have produced refinements. They are beaten now with ax handles and clubs. They are teargassed, shotgunned, and blasted with dynamite. They are anchored in rivers and planted in shallow graves. Ask a Mississippi judge whether he thinks the 1959 lynchers of Mack Parker ever will be apprehended. He says "No." "Besides," he explains, "three of them are already dead." And so a Vicksburg Negro understandably decides: "I can't be a part of a nonviolent movement. When they send the butt-kicking gang down here, I want to be president."

The angry man's sister is committed to an organization which believes the philosophy of nonviolence will one day save Mississippi and America. A coalition of civil rights groups (primarily SNCC, but including CORE, NAACP, and SCLC), the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) is spearheading a crusade across the length and breadth of Mississippi with blessings of the National Council of Churches. COFO's Mississippi summer project is a massive 10-week effort to increase Negro voter registration, raise the educational levels of Negro high school students, reduce illiteracy, increase skills in arts and crafts, and promote a slate of Negro Democrats to challenge the seating of the State's white Democrats at the party's national convention.

COFO workers are little Davids in a land of Goliaths. Armed only with idealism, tenacity of purpose and courage, some 525 volunteers (mainly white students from northern and western colleges) and 100 hardnosed COFO staffers are assaulting a way of life stoutly defended with bullets and bombs. Fanning out across the State, they do not drive at night except in emergencies and then only after removing the dome lights of their cars to avoid presenting an easy sniper target when they get out. Death and rumors of death have taught them to be cautious. They have been arrested on bogus charges, beaten, and murdered. The risks they take are matched only by those taken by Negro families who house and feed them and refuse to accept their offers of money for reasons summed up by one man—"We should be paying you to be here."

"The threat of a bombing hangs like an atomic bomb over our heads," admits COFO volunteer Emily Shrader, 22, at her Jackson headquarters post. "We don't know when it's going to happen, but we believe it will." She gestures at plywood sheets boarding up the office plate glass windows smashed by white hoodlums. "At night we work in three or four shifts," she continues. "It's like a game of Russian roulette. You don't know whether you'll be 'it' when the shot comes."

Emily's stoicism in the face of death mirrors the attitude of most COFO workers grieving the late June murders of colleagues Michael Schwerner, 24, James Chaney, 22, and Andrew Goodman, 20, near Philadelphia, Miss. You hear it in the softness of a voice, see it flickering in bonfired eyes, feel it in the air. The attitude—where is the adjective to describe it?—tumbles out of Joyce Brown, 21, a researcher in COFO's Hattiesburg office where the drop of a pin is sometimes an explosion. "I'm scared," Joyce whispers, "but my fear is not as great as my duty. I've got to do it."

The compulsion, the compassion, the willingness to suffer so that the suffering of others might be abetted has long since been a categorical imperative for Bob Moses, 29, the brooding, bespectacled Harvard M.A. (in philosophy) who directs COFO's project and promises to dent if not break Mississippi this summer. He had given up the security of New York private schoolteaching to devote his full time to civil rights, to seek solutions to America's problem more in action than in thought. "We ourselves have been working in Mississippi and have been subjected to being killed for the last 3 years," he says. "So we have asked people to come in and share that risk." By so doing COFO hopes to engage the Nation's interest and its will to act. COFO leaders, says Moses, are "very bitter" at what they take to be the lesson of the past 3 years: "The country, unfortunately, moves only in response to acts of violence."

In the vortex of violence, COFO labors for the 915,722 black humans who are 42 percent of Mississippi's 2.3 million population. A few grim facts merely hint at their misery in a State described by one local cynic as so bad "a white man will chunk a bomb in your coffin to make sure you're dead." A newly born Negro baby has about twice as many chances of dying in the first years as a white child in Mississippi, according to the U.S. Children's Bureau. If he survives, he will probably receive only 6 years of schooling compared with 11 years for whites—a gap of academic importance only since Mississippi considers a white idiot automatically superior to a Negro genius. If he lives in the Delta—Mississippi's flat, fertile, Northwest reservation for plantation workers earning $2.50 a day—he attends school on the "cotton cycle." That is, 2 months of his schooling comes during the heat of July and August when there is no cotton to be planted, chopped, or picked. His education prepares him for a special "place" in the Mississippi scheme of things. Somehow he must "understand" he is biologically inferior to the white man, that his inferiority is documented by the Bible, that his aptitude suits him for menial labor only and that separation from whites is absolutely necessary for social stability. White men, in short, must forever stand 10 feet tall—majestic astride the heads of Negroes.

These white supremacy doctrines—challenged by COFO and championed by most Mississippi whites—undergird the near-hopeless condition of most of the State's Negroes. Newsweek Associate Editor Frank Trippett, Mississippi-born and reared, describes the hopelessness accurately. "Depriving the Negro of education * * * left him with no skills," he writes. "* * * Shutting the Negro out of decent jobs only (made) him a veritable ward of the State—and, characteristically, white Mississippians condemn the Negro for the very welfare checks he is forced to rely upon as they damn him for drinking and fornication, among the few pleasures left to him. Consumed by the fires of its racial passions, the white electorate takes little notice that its politicians, too often if not invariably, are inept at governmental science."

Since the Negro is "inferior"—and this is really what Mississippi politicians are saying when they harangue about States rights—he must be treated so to complete a chain of illogic further "proving" his inferiority. When he steps out of the niche assigned to him, he must be punished. Thus there have been 5 murders and more than 50 floggings since January in the McComb area alone, according to the U.S. Justice Department. And so a Jackson police lieutenant explains: "I ain't got nothing against niggers as long as they know their place. But when I see them marching up and down for something they ain't got no right to I get mad."

Neither the anger of Mississippi whites nor their bestial behavior detours COFO's brave youths from their mission. The naturally nappy hair of the Negroes, the stringy hair of the whites, their general, unmiddle-class look of disheveled casualness—all are irrelevant to the cause which engulfs them. Communications Director Francis Mitchell, who as a national magazine editor had once known the comforts of home and car ownership, works now up to 20 hours a day and lives out of a suitcase. "Why don't you spend your vacation down here?" he asks an ex-journalism colleague. "We could use you in Greenville." The journalist refuses.

But the totally committed do what they must. The success of their efforts at voter registration is measured by such responses as "I've already been down," or "I'm going down," or "I'm afraid." In Hattiesburg, white Jake Plum and Negro Johnny Waters step on the rotted porch at the home of an 81-year-old Negro and introduce themselves. "Are you registered?" Johnny asks, holding out a COFO application.

"I already got two of them," the old man explains.

"But you haven't filled one out," Johnny continues. "Your neighbor over there filled it out and so did the man down the street. We'd like to sign up everybody and we'll drive you down to the courthouse to register. Do you think you're a citizen?"

"No Lord. I ain't no citizen. I sho ain't no citizen."

"Wouldn't you like to vote?"

"I'll fill it out later on," the old man replies, dodging the question. He knows if he registers his name will be printed in the local paper for 2 weeks and he will become vulnerable to all sorts of reprisals.

Jake, the white youth, speaks up for the first time. "Wouldn't you like to have your street paved?"

"Yassuh."

"Well if you register and vote," Jake continues, "you can make the city do some of the things for you it hasn't done. Do you believe that?"

"Yassuh."

Texas State Democratic Convention Keynote Speech Delivered by the Honorable John Connally, Governor of Texas

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the State Democratic Convention in Dallas last week, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD wish to include the introductory remarks of our State Democratic chairman, Mr. Frank C. Erwin, Jr., when presenting the Honorable John Connally, Governor of Texas, as the keynote speaker.

Mr. Erwin's remarks are followed by the keynote speech of Governor Connally who, in my opinion, has made one of the finest chief executives the State of Texas has had in her glorious history:

REMARKS BY FRANK C. ERWIN, JR., DEMOCRATIC STATE CHAIRMAN, IN INTRODUCING GOV. JOHN CONNALLY AS CONVENTION KEYNOTE SPEAKER

General Carr, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, once in a great while there emerges in our public life, a leader who rises above the others of his time; a leader who appeals to only the finest instincts of our people; a leader who challenges us to move forward in the forefront of progress; a leader who inspires us to strive for greatness in both our culture and our Government; and a leader who reminds us that there can be

no progress—there can be no greatness—if we do not proceed in strict accordance with those fundamental principles which have operated to make this the mightiest Nation in the history of the world.

Such a leader is the man who today serves all Texans as the Governor of this great State.

Born in humble circumstances on a small farm in Wilson County, he earned a seat on the board of directors of some of the largest corporations in this country before he was 45 years of age.

After working his way through the University of Texas, he achieved nationwide prominence in political and governmental circles before he ever offered himself for public office.

A true son of Texas, he lived up to the finest traditions of Texas fighting men when during World War II he served in the Navy in both the Atlantic and Pacific theaters of war with such distinction for heroic conduct that he was awarded both the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star.

A Democrat from birth, he entered the Governor's office with the forces of democracy in Texas in complete disarray, but under his inspiring leadership, in the party primaries held last spring the Democrats outvoted the opposition party more than 10 to 1.

A confident of Presidents, he has never lost the common touch.

A highly successful lawyer, rancher, and businessman, he has never forgotten what it is to be poor.

A partisan officeholder, he has united the people of Texas as they have seldom been united in our history.

This, then, is the leader of the Democratic Party of Texas.

This is the man the Democratic Party has nominated for reelection as Governor of this State.

This is the man whom every poll taken in recent weeks shows to have the approval of more than 75 percent of all the citizens of Texas, regardless of their political affiliation.

It gives me great pleasure to present to you the present Governor of Texas—and the next Governor of Texas—the Honorable John B. Connally.

GOV. JOHN CONNALLY'S ADDRESS TO STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, DALLAS, TEX., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1964

My fellow Democrats, this is D-day in our campaign for Democratic victory on November 3.

This is the day for our final planning, for the marshaling of the manpower and firepower we will need in the weeks ahead, and for the renewal of our hopes and ideals for the future of the great State we are privileged to serve.

Today we fulfill two of the most important functions of the Democratic Party of Texas—the election of our party officers, and the adoption of a platform which will guide the policies of our State government during the next 2 years.

You are here because you are working Democrats who started our campaign long months ago in precincts throughout the State, organizing our party machinery and helping define our goals for the continued growth and progress of Texas.

Through the precinct and county conventions and the State convention in Houston last June, you have carried the fight for the Democratic Party in 1964.

You sent to Atlantic City a delegation pledged to the nomination of our native son, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

I am proud of our Texas delegation—of its demeanor, its conduct, its dedication and its leadership. I assure you that Texas democracy was in the forefront at Atlantic City.

We have nominated a native son as President of the United States. We have a host of other fine nominees and we will elect them decisively on November 3.

I am honored to speak to you today in several capacities:

First, as Governor of Texas and titular head of our party.

Secondly, as a working Democrat who has labored beside you for many years to build a true party of the people to guide and govern our beloved State.

And thirdly, as a partner in our all-out campaign for a smashing Democratic victory in November.

I thank you for all you have done for the Democratic Party—and for me.

I ask you to stay in the fight until we accomplish as much as we humanly can for the people of Texas.

We are asking—and I think we will receive—a clear-cut mandate from the people of Texas on November 3 to continue the stable, responsible, reasonable leadership which has brought our State to greatness under the Democratic Party for many generations.

The Democratic Party in Texas is not waiting in the trenches to defend itself, but is moving forward on all fronts with initiative and responsibility.

We face the electorate not with reluctance and apprehension, but with pride and confidence in our achievements.

We have written a record that will stand the test of time, while our critics still grope for wornout slogans and rehashed ideas, and attempt to play the discords of passion and prejudice.

Two years ago at our El Paso convention, you were reminded that an almost completely new team would be going to work in Austin the following January.

For the first time in many years, Texas had a new Governor, a new Lieutenant Governor, Preston Smith, and a new attorney general, Waggoner Carr, all entering office together. In January a fourth newcomer was added, the able speaker of the house of representatives, Byron Tunnell.

I believe we have ample proof that this new team has been a productive team.

The legislature last year gave the people of Texas a chronicle of accomplishments unparalleled in recent history. A Democratic administration and a Democratic legislature faced, and solved, some of the most challenging problems of our time.

I want to review the highlights of this stewardship.

We pledged pay-as-you-go financing and an end to deficit financing. I am pleased to report that the State government began the 1965 fiscal year 2 weeks ago with a surplus of $73 million in the general fund, and at the beginning of the next fiscal year it is predicted to be $83 million.

We called upon Texas to lift the level of excellence in education in all areas. To this end, the legislature established the Governor's committee on education beyond the high school which has just completed a yearlong study and issued a comprehensive report for massive improvement in Texas education.

Appropriations for higher education were increased by $43 million last year, and teaching salaries in our State colleges and universities have gone up an average of $500 a year.

We have started pilot projects for an all-out war on illiteracy, and set up our first special school programs for the children of migrant workers. We have strengthened compulsory school attendance requirements and begun local programs to combat the dropout problem which causes too many of our people to remain unproductive.

We called for expanded vocational education programs to meet the demands of modern-day industry. This we have begun. In the junior colleges alone, technical programs have been increased fourfold.

We called for a more effective industrial program. Last year, we provided the Texas Industrial Commission with full State financing for the first time, its program was judged first in the Nation for effectiveness in competition with all the other States.

In addition, we brought 317 new plants into Texas in 1963—second high among all the States and only 8 fewer than the leader, New York.

We called for a better tourist program, and we created the Texas Tourist Development Agency to operate an aggressive full-time campaign for the attraction of tourists. Last year we set a record of 11,700,000 out-of-State visitors. This year it should exceed 12 million.

We urged greater development of our parks. We combined the State parks board and the game and fish commission into a new parks and wildlife commission which is improving both our wildlife conservation and State parks programs with far more efficiency, economy, and effectiveness. In addition, we were instrumental in creating one of our finest potential tourist attractions, the Padre Island National Seashore.

We called for a strong program of highway construction. Today we lead every other State in completed construction on the Interstate Highway System and in mileage presently under construction. We are building these superhighways at a cost 40 percent less than the national average.

We called for an expanded historical landmarks program and for repairs to the San Jacinto Monument. These, too, have been accomplished by legislative action.

We called for a full-scale effort to eradicate the screw-worm which has plagued our livestock industry. Today, the screw-worm is virtually eradicated in Texas and we are building an effective barrier in Mexico to prevent reinfestation.

We spelled out proposals to help the needy, aged, dependent children, the blind, and the permanently and totally disabled. In response the legislature and the administration established the Texas 65 plan for low-cost health insurance for the aged, modernized and expanded the public welfare program, increased funds for the disabled, and submitted a constitutional amendment to broaden medical care for senior citizens under the Kerr-Mills program.

We urged new approaches to the critical problem of mental health. This is being done through comprehensive planning for increased research and more treatment and rehabilitation at the local level—to get us away from the outmoded concept of the human warehouse for the mentally ill and retarded child.

We have accelerated the transfer of senile patients from mental institutions to nursing homes. We have begun a new school for the retarded at Richmond and authorized additional schools at Corpus Christi and in west Texas, further increasing badly needed beds to fulfill this important State responsibility.

We called for a better election code for Texas. This was adopted and it is the strongest set of election laws we have ever had. We called for regulation of small loans to eliminate the loan shark from Texas, and this was finally achieved after 36 years of frustration and failure.

These are just some of the goals we outlined in 1962 and our successes in carrying them out. Not everything was done which should have been done, but I believe we can take justifiable pride in a good and lasting record for Texas.

We will continue that record into a second term for this administration and a new legislature in January.

But as we drive for victory in November from the courthouse to the White House, don't make the mistake of underestimating our Republican opponents.

They are organized—well organized, especially in the larger cities.

They are dedicated—and they are energetic.

They tell us that they are the party of the future, the party of youth, the party of hope and glory for Texas.

But let's not hesitate to set the record straight.

They are an uncomplicated party, because they don't really have answers for the problems of modern Texas. Everything is easy for them, because they have not worn the cloak of leadership nor carried the burden of decision.

It is always comparatively simple to let the other fellow make all of the decisions and then criticize him for what he's done.

When we do battle in the weeks ahead, remember this: The Democratic leadership of our State government has nothing to apologize for, nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to hide. On the contrary, we have built an honorable tradition of good government, of honor, of integrity, of sound progress for Texas.

Wherever we go between now and November 3, let's ask these questions:

Which party will lead our State to an educational system second to none in the Nation? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party has the will and the compassion to erase the stigma to illiteracy which afflicts more than 700,000 of our fellow citizens? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party has the heart and the desire to help those who can't help themselves—the needy, the aged, the mentally ill, the totally disabled, the retarded children? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party wants to improve the skills and broaden the opportunities for all Texans, so that every individual can aspire to the highest level of his ability? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party will find new ways to conserve and develop our water supplies and our other precious natural resources? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party will broaden the recreational opportunities of our families so they can lead a richer and fuller life? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party will seek intelligent answers to our problems of rapid growth, urbanization and automation, and help create the hundreds of thousands of new jobs we must have in the next decade? The Democratic Party of Texas.

Which party has nourished a climate in Texas for business growth and job opportunities—a climate which encourages a fair return on investment capital? The Democratic Party of Texas.

And which party can continue to meet our needs and maintain fiscal soundness and a balanced budget? The Democratic Party of Texas.

The Democratic Party of Texas is the party of solutions—the party which does not fear the 20th century. We recognize the rapid and drastic changes which are transforming our State and the society in which we live, and we face those changes with vision and determination rather than dreaming of the less complicated days of yesteryear.

We are a party big enough and broad ehough to include Texans in every walk of life and economic circumstance.

We are the party of local self-government, seeking answers first in our local communities where most of the problems occur. We believe in decentralized government, in local control, and local responsibility. And we believe in strong responsible State government capable of the solutions which cannot be found at the local level.

Above all, we remain the party of Texas—in communion with the hopes and aspirations of Texas.

As individuals, our stewardship is brief. In the measure of time, our role of responsibility is fleeting indeed. But in this short period, it is our solemn obligation to do the very best we can to advance the progress of our State and its people.

Our labors here today are in keeping with this obligation. Ours is the task, and the bright opportunity, to do our part toward assuring yet another constructive step in the destiny of Texas. Together, we can do the job. Together, we will do the job—to help build a tomorrow worthy of the heritage of our yesterday.

Public Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Scarsdale Inquirer, a New York weekly newspaper, an editorial on September 17, 1964, which indicated I had voted against, among other things—commuter aid, water pollution control, the school lunch program, library assistance, aid to medical students, and minimum wage legislation.

Editors, like anybody else, are entitled to their own personal likes and dislikes—but as a matter of public policy they should state the facts as they exist, and not as they would perhaps like them to be, in order to reinforce their own personal leanings.

Although the Scarsdale Inquirer serves primarily a district other than my own, there are a number of my constituents who are among its subscribers. It is largely for their benefit, therefore, that I hereby set the record straight.

COMMUTER AID

June 22, 1961: I voted in favor of bill—H.R. 6028—which authorized the mass transportation demonstration program—providing Federal assistance to test new techniques, technology, and methods for improving commuter transportation service. Rollcall No. 96.

June 25, 1964: I voted in favor of bill—H.R. 3881, S. 6—authorizing assistance to States and localities to build or improve commuter transit systems. Rollcall No. 170.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

May 3, 1961: I voted in favor of Water Pollution Control Act Amendments—H.R. 6441—providing for a more effective program of water pollution control. Rollcall No. 48.

July 2, 1964: I voted in favor of conference report on S. 2, authorizing a more adequate national program of water research. Rollcall No. 182.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

May 3, 1961: I voted in favor of legislation—H.R. 11665—revising the formula for apportioning cash assistance funds among the States under the National School Lunch Act. Rollcall No. 100.

ASSISTANCE TO MEDICAL STUDENTS

April 24, 1963: I voted in favor of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act—H.R. 12—which expanded opportunities for training of physicians, dentists, and professional public health personnel. Rollcall No. 24.

MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

June 30, 1960: I voted in favor of bill—H.R. 12677—increasing the minimum wage rate and extending coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Rollcall No. 169.

March 24, 1961: I again voted in favor of bill—H.R. 3935—increasing the minimum wage rate and extending coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Rollcall No. 29.

LIBRARY ASSISTANCE

August 22, 1960: I voted in favor of bill—S. 2830—extending for 5 years, until 1966, the Library Services Act. Passed by unanimous consent under suspension of rules.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The editorial also incorrectly inferred that the food stamp program, which I did indeed oppose, made use of only surplus foods.

The food stamp program covers all foods for human use with very few exceptions, including luxury items, and it competes with the long-established direct distribution program which is limited to surplus foods and which I support.

It is a known fact that the controversial food stamp program would never have gotten through the House had it not been brought up on the same day as the equally controversial cotton-wheat bill. April 8, 1964, marked the biggest vote-trading day in the 88th Congress. Members of Congress from the Farm Belt voted for the stamp program in exchange for city votes for the cotton-wheat bill. Neither measure would have gotten through on its own merits, and I, therefore, opposed both of them.

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS

The same editorial also correctly stated that I voted against the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs. It neglected to mention, however, that the applicable reorganization plan was sponsored by a Democrat President and soundly defeated by a Democrat-controlled Congress. If it were such a great idea, I am sure the President would have been more successful in obtaining necessary support from members of his own party in Congress.

There are many valid arguments against the creation of any more departments in the Federal bureaucracy which has already become unwieldy. We have a number of existing departments and agencies which according to their own particular jurisdictions, devote specialized attention to the various aspects of urban affairs—likewise for suburban and rural affairs. There is no need to duplicate the work of these departments and agencies, or to superimpose a bureaucratic czar over them.

The district I represent is composed of urban, suburban, and rural areas, each with its own characteristics and problems. Who is to say the affairs of one type of area are more important than the others? By supporting the creation of a Department or Urban Affairs, the editor of the Scarsdale Inquirer is saying in effect: first, that the problems of his own area, which is suburban in nature, are secondary to the problems of

the big city; and second, that he is in favor of subjugating suburban areas to nearby cities which would result in a loss of local control and community identity.

National Association of Government Engineers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, two very good friends of mine, Mr. Ted Moody and Mr. Clyde Emmons have along with approximately 75 other engineers formed a new association known as the National Association of Government Engineers. Mr. Moody is the president and for many years was the assistant to the director of public works for the city of Dallas before joining the Federal Government. Mr. Emmons was both city engineer and then city manager for the cities of Paris and McKinney, Tex., before joining the Federal Government.

The September 3 edition of the Engineering News Record carried an article on the formation of this organization and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I should like to include several excerpts from this article:

Engineers working for government agencies have launched a national organization to represent fellow professionals on the payrolls of public bodies throughout the United States. Incorporated in the District of Columbia with 75 charter members, the National Association of Government Engineers (NAGE) aims to provide special service and a potent voice for engineering employees of Federal, State, and local governments.

Ted Moody, president of NAGE and former secretary of NSPE's government-engineer section, states the case for his new society: Government engineers comprise only 27 percent of the NSPE membership. Representing all categories of engineering practice, with heaviest enrollment among engineers in industry, NSPE cannot concentrate undivided attention on the needs and interests of government engineers.

Years of effort tested and proved his point, says Mr. Moody, who is general engineer of the Agency for International Development. NSPE's government-employed members turned to a separate organization as the only feasible means of getting full-time, on-target representation, he says. To assure contact with Congressmen and officials in the executive branch of the Government, the new association engaged a Washington lobbyist, Roy E. Riddle, as executive director.

NAGE sees a potential of 61,000 engineers on the rolls of Federal agencies alone, with another 85,000 or so employed by States, counties, municipalities, and other political entities. Charter membership has been extended to next December 31. By that time, President Moody and his colleagues look for 400 or 500 members.

Dues are set at $15 a year, with the initiation fee included in the first year's dues. Requests for application forms are welcomed at NAGE headquarters in Mr. Riddle's office, 200 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C.

ACCION 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the work being done by a small group of private American citizens who have joined with a like-minded group of Venezuelans in a unique binational program of urban community development known as ACCION.

The founders of ACCION—Americans for Community Cooperation in Other Nations—describe their function as that of a catalyst. This is to say that the success of the program's self-help approach rests upon the eagerness with which the idea of self-improvement has been grapsed by the people with whom ACCION volunteers have worked.

ACCION was founded in early 1960. In its purposes and methods it parallels the Peace Corps in many respects, one of which is that ACCION volunteers live and work with the poor people of Venezuela's cities, sharing their lives as fully as possible. The volunteers receive only their basic living expenses during their period of service in Venezuela.

Although the organization is now made up of about an equal number of Americans and Venezuelans, it is hoped that in time the American participation will diminish to the point where the entire program will be operated on a permanent basis by Venezuelans alone.

In a special report, "ACCION 1964," the program's founder and executive director, Joseph H. Blatchford, points to the need for, and importance of, this sort of program. This letter, and an article from Time magazine describing ACCION's accomplishments, tell the story of what I believe is a unique effort of private initiative and dedication in our hemisphere. I ask unanimous consent to insert these two items in the RECORD, along with personal appraisals of the work of ACCION by Romulo Betancourt, President of Venezuela from 1959 to 1964, C. Allan Stewart, U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela, and Eugenio Mendoza, a leading Venezuelan industrialist.

The texts follow:

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH H. BLATCHFORD

The seeds of revolution have been planted in Latin America. Millions of people, once resigned to accepting a life of abject poverty and following the submissiveness of their ancestors, now realize that change is possible within their lifetime and that it has been slow in coming by the old ways. In the last decade rural villages have been uprooted and thousands swarm daily to the urban centers looking for a better life.

In Caracas alone, 300,000 people, almost totally unprepared for city life, live in hillside shacks of cardboard and tin. Sanitation, water supply, roads, schools, housing, medical care are almost nonexistent. To compound the problem, the dispossessed are conditioned to wait for all succor to come from above and to depend on others for their every need.

Painfully aware of the comforts of modern life, the people of Latin America are demanding solutions. The seeds of ferment may grow with those who preach class warfare and totalitarianism. Or the seeds can grow in a system of grass roots community action in which the community organizes itself and pools resources and creative energies for the improvement of community life on all fronts.

This is the revolution that places the individual above the state and makes him an active participant in the affairs of his community and his nation. This is the challenge facing the whole idea of democracy—it is the challenge to which ACCION is wholly committed and dedicated.

We have seen, in the last 3 years, the power of this idea. The people are receptive and willing. The ACCION workers are the needed catalytic agents. With ACCION's guidance the people of the barrios have built water mains, schools, community centers, and brought many other improvements. Hundreds share in the decisionmaking process and organize their own educational and social activities. Citizens learn to deal effectively with their government and to obtain needed technical and material help. Success is infectious and as a result of the spirit and pride sparked by a touch of progress, neighboring settlements have initiated grassroots movements and called on ACCION volunteers to aid and guide the effort.

We believe that the collective initiative of hundreds of such communities can bring progress without bloodshed, and champion the most revolutionary idea of all—the dignity of the individual human being.

ARTICLE FROM TIME MAGAZINE

NOT ALMS BUT ACCION

The fetid slums that choke Latin American cities breed disease, crime, and a numbing sense of helplessness. For most slum dwellers, there is seemingly no escape from misery, and little incentive to try. Yet in less than 3 years since it was founded, a small but dedicated group called ACCION (Americans for Community Cooperation in Other Nations) has shown that Venezuelan slum dwellers can be helped to help themselves. In Venezuela, it is a sort of private Peace Corps.

Bucket brigades

The founder of ACCION is Joseph H. Blatchford, 29, an intense, athletic law graduate of the University of California at Berkeley. Convinced of the need for more U.S. goodwill and good works in Latin America, Blatchford swung into ACCION in 1960, 6 months before the Peace Corps got underway. Today the organization has 30 Americans and 30 Venezuelans working in 25 slums in Caracas, Maracaibo, and other cities. Typically, they win slum dwellers' confidence by organizing volleyball or baseball teams, then build a recreation area and later divide the teams into bucket brigades to clean up the barrio. Soon the whole community joins in digging, hammering, and painting, installing sewers, sidewalks, water systems. ACCION workers scrounge around for bricks, pipe, and cement, also hold classes in reading and sewing. On major projects they occasionally get an assist from the Venezuelan Government and the Alliance for Progress.

ACCION'S philosophy, as one leader puts it, is "not to give people alms, but to give them confidence in their own ability." At the Cañada Honda slum in Maracaibo, residents organized by ACCION volunteers recently pitched in to build a community center, proudly naming it Nuestro Esfuerzo (Our Effort). Two years ago at the notorious Barrio la Linea outside Caracas, Communists sabotaged their projects and intimidated residents, but a new sense of community pride won out. One Communist leader is now a regular volunteer worker.

Profits for progress

At least 70 percent of ACCION's current $420,000 budget comes from Venezuelan con-

tributors, and it can count on future support from the "Voluntary Dividend for the Community," a new program whereby Venezuelan corporations agree to kick in 2 to 5 percent of their profits to help fight poverty (Time, Mar. 6). Gradually, the Americans are turning over their jobs to Venezuelan volunteers and to slum leaders themselves. Says Blatchford: "That's what we want to do—work ourselves out of jobs." They may not get the chance. Already communities in Brazil, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and the Philippines are asking for ACCION.

APPRAISALS OF ACCION

Romulo Betancourt, President (1959–64), Venezuela: "I have been kept completely informed by my closest advisers of the fruitful work that ACCION en Venezuela is doing in the urban slums of Caracas and other parts of the country. As a Venezuelan I hold in the highest esteem the excellent service of guidance and assistance that ACCION is giving to our poor people in the slum areas.

"Venezuela is making a great effort to develop its social and economic resources by democratic means. We are very proud of our recent presidential elections in which our people demonstrated their support for responsible and peaceful self-government. ACCION en Venezuela is strengthening the foundations of democracy by means of community action and is contributing significantly to this democratic task in which we are engaged."

C. Allan Stewart, U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela: "ACCION has developed into a model for other areas, proving that private United States and Venezuelan enterprise can unite to carry out an important and effective development program. The effectiveness of the U.S. volunteers in the poorer barrios and communities has been notable, not only on the basis of individual assistance provided, but also because their efforts have included an increased flow of Venezuelan private and governmental assistance to the needy areas in the form of materials, services, and capital.

"Moreover, ACCION volunteers initiated a program which enlists Venezuelans to work side by side with their American counterparts in community development. In this way ACCION is leading the way in interesting Venezuelans in the problems of their own country. Their interest in the homeland is stimulated by the examples of the American volunteers."

Eugenio Mendoza, Venezuelan industrialist: "ACCION is a movement which must be expanded to every corner of our country. The work that the dedicated ACCION men and women are accomplishing is educational in a profound sense. It is creating a sense of civic responsibility and community pride among the poor and even the most indifferent people. ACCION is motivating people at every level of our society."

Let's Have Some Answers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, the Democrat vice-presidential candidate has accused the Republican presidential candidate of being unclear in his statements on domestic and foreign policy. The Republican presidential candidate is making it very clear to the people where he stands. It is long past the time that the Democrat vice-presidential candidate told the American people exactly where he stands.

Since the election of the Democrat ticket would put the vice-presidential candidate, the founder of Americans for Democratic Action, just a heartbeat from the Presidency, the American people surely want to know if this candidate still stands behind the positions taken by that socialistic-minded organization when he was its President. Let him clarify his position on these issues:

The ADA has stated:

We propose that no loyalty investigation be conducted by any government, State, or Federal, for any agency or position which does not clearly affect the national security.

The Communist Party agrees. Does the Democrat vice-presidential candidate still agree?

The ADA has stated:

While we recognize the right of Congress to conduct investigations, the House Un-American Activities Committee has proved itself a threat to freedom of political opinion. We, therefore, call for its obolition.

The Communist Party enthusiastically agrees. Does the Democrat vice-presidential candidate still agree?

In its resolution on disarmament the ADA called for total disarmament under the control of the U.N. In the Progressive magazine in 1950, the Democrat vice-presidential candidate echoed this stand when he said:

The United States should stand ready to turn over its stockpile of destruction to the U.N. as part of an international agreement for a police force to maintain world peace.

This would amount to turning over our Nation's stockpile of atomic weapons to the United Nations where the Soviets have a veto in the Security Council, and the United States has but 1 voice in 120 in the General Assembly. The Communist Party enthusiastically agrees. Does the Democrat vice-presidential candidate still agree?

The ADA has come out squarely in favor of admission of Red China to the United Nations. The Communist Party enthusiastically agrees. Does the Democrat vice-presidential candidate still agree?

Yes, Mr. Speaker, these are some questions that should be answered by the Democrat vice-presidential candidate prior to his calling upon the American people for their support November 3.

Of course, I do not seriously expect him to publicly tell the people his position on these questions. To do so would expose the entire fabric of the Democrat campaign.

However, for the benefit of the opposition party, I might point out that the strategy it is embarked upon is useless. Already Americans are awake to the subterfuge, and alert American editors are busy informing more voters each day as witness this editorial from the Nashville Banner of September 25, 1964. The editorial follows:

FROM DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM TO LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON—NUCLEAR WEAPONS AUTHORITY HYPOCRITICAL HOAX, FALSIFIED FLIM-FLAMMERY, DAMNABLE DECEIT

For unprincipled distortion—by misrepresentation of facts to rig a campaign issue—nothing in America's political history exceeds the Johnson team's attempted snowjob on the subject of nuclear weapons authority. That the posture assumed by these is sheer hocus-pocus—and transparently so to anyone bothering to check the facts—has not deterred them from a screaming intent to defame BARRY GOLDWATER for the suggestion that the NATO commander shares a contingent responsibility for decision.

Therewith they blew the ideological gasket—and the hustings have rung with charges of trigger-happy irresponsibility run amok.

One of two explanations applies: Either they, including the President himself, do not know the facts in the case—respecting an authority already shared—or they believe that in prevarication they have hit paydirt. Though accustomed to stupidity in high places, the American people are not inclined to charge this one up to that.

The blatant party line of subterfuge on this point did not really get going until the Democratic Convention. That was its sparkpoint.

There surfaced in sputtering array, with hearts crossed to signify that this was their moment of truth:

The colossal hypocrisy of the platform.

This hissing hysteria of keynoter JOHN PASTORE.

The habitual, unmitigated gall of HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY.

The damnable deceit and flagrant falsification of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

These since have been embellished by elaboration on their subject—as in spot TV infamies as paid political announcements depicting a little girl incinerated as she pulled petals from a daisy; all conditioned on a vote for anybody but Lyndon and HORATIO. The sickening party line therein propagandized was a new low in attempted brainwashing, but no more of a calculated deception than the words these have employed in their truth twisting to fabricate an issue.

Said the platform: "Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the highest elected official of the country—the President of the United States."

Senator PASTORE: "As for the feuding that took place at that [other] convention on the question of whose finger should be on the trigger of the atomic bomb * * * that power today rests solely with the President."

Seeking the next-in-line role for that awesome responsibility of decision, HORATIO has joined in with the declaration that "the question before the electorate is simple, prophetic, profound. Which of these men, Lyndon Johnson or BARRY GOLDWATER, do you want to have his hand on that nuclear trigger?"

And posing almost as unctuously as the only safe arbiter of human destiny—the lone defender of little girls, otherwise facing incineration—Mr. Johnson has parroted the identical line. "No President of the United States," he said, "can give up responsibility for deciding when or if to use nuclear weapons."

The ipse dixit was of leftwing coinage—hardly with casual resemblance to fact—but reiterated on the propagandist theory that if you tell something often enough eventually it will be believed. Fortunately, truth has its own counteractive device—the despair of flimflam artists who can't extinguish it, however much they strive by "news management" and distortion to obscure and suppress it.

What are the facts regarding the matter in controversy?

Time magazine and U.S. News & World Report dispel the fog and supply the answer. Says Time, in its current issue: "GOLDWATER insists that the President should delegate such authority. President Johnson lets on that he can't and won't. The fact is that

he already does, as President's Eisenhower and Kennedy before him.

"In 1957, the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy received written notification that plans were being developed to give NATO's supreme commander in Europe the right to use nuclear weapons in certain contingencies—such as the incapacity of the President or the breakdown of communications between Europe and the United States. Those plans are now in operation. All are classified as top secret, but they apply not only to NATO's commander, but to the commander of the North American air defense."

U.S. News & World Report says that the administration was considering modifying its veto on nuclear weapon use "before it became a political issue." Then, "Even now the understanding is widespread among NATO allies that U.S. commanders in Europe already have orders issued in advance to use nuclear weapons in certain emergencies with no further instructions from Washington."

Thus agreed on the facts—by individual research and presentation—are the Nation's foremost liberal news magazine and its major conservative news magazine. They are one on where that power rests under the Johnson administration and where it has rested under the two previous administrations.

The official rebuttal rushed out yesterday by the Defense Department answered nothing. It was in the Pentagon's and politicos' evasive terms, which have been a part of the customary policy of news management.

The contingency power recognized by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy as a necessity is even more imperative now. Conceivably the emergency could arise with the President not instantly reachable, maybe driving across Texas at 90 miles per hour, with his trigger finger around a beer can; or elsewhere engaged with communications disrupted. Or with military advisers, decoding equipment, etc., trailing somewhere in another plane, as occurred on the Labor Day weekend. On that occasion he took along a certain labor tycoon, being in pursuit of votes, rather than the complement of communications equipment and people so necessary to security in event of any national emergency that might have occurred.

The point of the whole business is that L.B.J. and company have been totally misrepresenting the case. They have done that, deliberately, maliciously, and venomously, with one purpose only: To justify by callous disregard for fact their campaign pitch, seeking to depict BARRY GOLDWATER as a trigger-happy man, a "warmonger," proposing to gamble recklessly with nuclear holocaust.

Who is it that is reckless with the truth?

Who is it that is "irresponsible"?

Who is it with a sensitive finger for the panic button?

Who is it that is willfully bent on misleading the American people, with every line and syllable of a fright message—alternating the pitch only to pontificate for party bows as the pathfinder to, the guardian and lawgiver of, the great society's promised land?

The questions answer themselves. The name is Lyndon Baines Johnson.

There recur, in continuing campaign doses since the launching of last month:

The colossal hypocrisy of the platform.

The hissing hysteria of JOHN PASTORE.

The habitual, unmitigated gall of HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY.

The damnable deceit and flagrant falsification of L.B.J.

America is in a sober mood. It is listening to sober voices—for sober counsel. Din from the extremist left, in behalf of its own ticket, is striving to drown out these. But in contrast to that pandemonium of political H.H.H.—standing this time for hypocrisy, hysteria, and hokum—the Nation hears something else; the calm summary of reason's case.

That was Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's analysis of the issues, plural. Sitting with Senator GOLDWATER in conference Tuesday, he branded for what it was the leftwing's falsehood which has called the Republican nominee a "warmonger" who would plunge the Nation into nuclear disaster.

Said Ike, "BARRY, that is tommyrot. That is just crazy."

Commandments for Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE SILER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the Appendix of the RECORD my own compilation of congressional commandments that I have sent back to the newspapers of my congressional district this week for publication. I would hope that they might prove to be applicable to all of us, including myself, who are now serving our great country in the U.S. Congress. This compilation is as follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT
(By Congressman EUGENE SILER)

So far as I know there has never been compiled a set of commandments for Congressmen. It seems to me that a 10 commandments for Congressmen is something that might be long overdue and so I now publish such a decalog and would hope that many Congressmen could see fit to take them unto themselves. The Congressman's commandments, as conceived by me and publicized for your consideration, are as follows:

1. Thou shalt always be saturated with Americanism, preferring Americans to all others, remembering the Holy Writ, "If any provide not for his own, and especially those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

2. Thou shalt have constant compassion for the poor because, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord."

3. Thou shalt balance the budget and reduce the public debt, beginning by terminating the annual outpouring of taxpayer billions for foreign aid.

4. Thou shalt not undertake to police the whole world, especially the faraway spots like Vietnam, 7,000 miles from our shores.

5. Thou shalt act and look like a Congressman, remembering thy position of leadership and high honor at the hands of the people.

6. Thou shalt not worship mammon by raising thine own salary, at least not until the budget is in balance and one or two reductions have been made in the national debt.

7. Thou shalt encourage private enterprise by taking the Government out of many of its current operations such as shipbuilding and dozens of other fields of endeavor.

8. Thou shalt revere the Constitution and adhere to it, turning a deaf ear to all those who claim it is very ancient, for so also is the Lord's Prayer.

9. Thou shalt not take junkets at the expense of the taxpayer, living high on champagne and staying at luxury hotels while many of thy people are struggling to make ends meet.

10. Thou shalt not put thy son or wife or daughter on thy payroll while he or she never darkens the door of thy office to render a public service to the people.

There they are. What do you think of them? If I did not think they could be used to produce a better America, then I would not even bring up the subject at all.

Center for the Study of the American Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that last week, Friday, September 25, Marquette University announced the establishment of a center for the study of the American press. The announcement was made by the Very Rev. William F. Kelley, S.J., Marquette president, and Donald McDonald, dean of the college of journalism. Director of the center is Dean McDonald.

The new interdisciplinary center will be concerned primarily with the quality of the news-editorial performance of the American press—newspapers, magazines, radio, and television broadcasters.

The staff for the center includes the 10 full-time members of the college of journalism faculty, 9 consultants drawn from other departments and colleges of Marquette University, 3 professional consultants, and 3 graduate student research assistants.

Father Kelley noted that in recent years the Marquette College of Journalism has been urged and encouraged by journalism educators in other schools to make qualitative studies of the American press in the light of the college's traditional teaching of and commitment to the personal and social responsibility of reporters, editors, publishers, and broadcasters.

Father Kelley said:

With the establishment of this center, Marquette hopes to make a unique contribution to an understanding, evaluation and consequent strengthening of the press in our society. Our teaching researchers will not be timid about making value judgments of the performance of the press. But their judgment will be based on explained principles, sound analysis, and adequate evidence.

Father Kelley added that, although Marquette is initially supporting the center, efforts will be made to attract the support of private and governmental foundations, individuals and professional associations concerned with the work of the press.

The campus consultants include: Dr. John Hirschboeck, dean and vice president of the Marquette School of Medicine; Dr. Norbert Wiley, sociology; Rev. Bernard Cooke, S. J., chairman of the department of theology; Dr. Thomas Bennett, political science; Dr. Marc Griesbach, philosophy; Dr. William Miller, history; Dr. James Barrett, science; Prof. Brooks Smeeton, business and economics; and Dr. R. S. Gawkoski, statistics.

Professional consultants include: Irwin Maier, president and publisher of the Milwaukee Journal; Arville Schaleben,

executive editor of the Journal; and J. L. O'Sullivan, professor and dean emeritus of the Marquette College of Journalism.

Journalism faculty members who will conduct the research include, in addition to Dean McDonald and Professors Bovee and Berdes, Profs. David Host, Clifford Heibert, Louis Belden, James Arnold, Donald Ross, Lucas Staudacher, Patrick Horan, and Albion Ross.

Marquette's College of Journalism, founded 54 years ago, is the second oldest college of journalism in the country—only the University of Missouri's school is older—and it is the only accredited Catholic college of journalism in the country.

Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate Marquette University on the establishment of the new center. This development is fully in keeping with the fine traditions of this great American university.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD at this point the statement of Dean McDonald, the director of the Center for the Study of the American Press.

The statement follows:

COMPLETE STATEMENT BY DEAN DONALD MCDONALD ON THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

This center will be concerned with studies of the performance of the American press—newspapers, radio, television, magazines.

It will be concerned also with developing ways of improving education for journalism.

It will be concerned with bringing together periodically teachers and professionals for meaningful discussion of both the principles and practices of journalism.

It will be concerned with the future character of American journalism as that character can be discerned from present trends.

Finally, it will publish and distribute the results of its studies to owners and operators of the mass communications media, as well as to schools of journalism and to citizens who share an abiding interest in the press.

A basic conviction, or motivation, behind the establishment of this center is that only through an ever-deepening understanding of the American press—its nature, its function, its indispensable social role in our life—can it be steadily strengthened by those who operate it and can it be more efficiently used by those for whom it is intended, the American people.

Support for the center's work will be sought from a number of sources—both foundations an individuals.

Because of the diverse nature of the center's studies, different foundations and individuals will find particular projects more attractive than others. Multiple sponsorship is therefore desirable and will be actively and continuously sought. Such sponsorship will also insure that the interests of no single patron will dominate the work of the center.

The center will publish the results of its studies as they are completed, or as major phases of individual studies are completed. It will also give serious consideration to the feasibility and desirability of issuing bulletins at regular intervals—say annually or semiannually—reporting on work in progress and publishing individual papers by members of the center's staff on one or another problem or achievement of the contemporary press.

The center will also undertake to sponsor, singly or in collaboration with others (e.g., Johnson Foundation at Racine, or with particular newspapers or broadcasters), annual institutes or conferences bringing together professional journalists and teachers of journalism so that they may explore, in the benign atmosphere of relative seclusion, major problems and opportunities that affect—at its center—the well-being of American journalism.

Since it will make the results of its research freely known to both the press and the schools of journalism, the center will also make lavish use of the findings of other schools of journalism doing research in other areas of the mass communications field. The center will continually seek for the integrating and cohering elements in the various research efforts. It conceives as one of its most important potential functions the relating of diverse research studies to the practical good of the journalistic profession. While recognizing that the value of a great deal of research lies in the realm of the theoretical, the center will strive to mediate the theoretical and the actual, the speculative and the practical, wherever such mediation is possible.

We are hopeful that the work of the center will have both direct and immediate usefulness for the communications industry and long-range value to both the industry and the schools of journalism.

It lies in neither the purpose nor spirit of the Center for the Study of the American Press to find fault or to play the role of the carping critic or gadfly. It is the purpose of the center to find facts, not faults. And if some of the facts it finds happen also to be faults, the center will not obscure its findings, just as it will not obscure its findings when they are virtues and strengths.

Indeed, one of the principal continuing projects of the center will be to broadcast far and wide the examples of superior journalism that it gathers and analyzes.

Many of the remarks made about the American press are unsubstantiated generalizations of both a positive and negative nature. Schools of journalism, as Alan Barth has remarked, have a critical function to perform vis-a-vis the American press. But the criticism, if it is to be helpful and constructive, must be informed. There is no substitute for facts. All the rhetoric in the world will not compensate for the absence of knowledge of the relevant facts.

The center will seek facts with rigorous and dispassionate objectivity. It welcomes the press itself as an ally in this undertaking because it believes the press, no less than the schools, is dedicated to striving for the highest standards of professional competence. In this connection, it will seek close ties with the projected Research Center of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Associated Press Managing Editors, and others, which is designed to be a clearinghouse of research information rather than an operational research center in itself.

The center welcomes, too, the support that foundations, individuals, and governmental bodies can give to its work, since so much of that work coincides with their own social, cultural, political, economic, and educational concerns.

A number of the studies and projects the center plans to carry out have been done on a limited basis, with limited samples, by individual members of the college of journalism faculty. The time is now ripe to broaden and deepen these studies through collaboration with other disciplines on the university campus, through integration of hitherto isolated inquiries, through steady and intense concentration of effort and energies on the problems undertaken, and through the financial support needed to establish and sustain these vitally important research activities.

Reapportionment and the Tuck Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, appearing in the Hastings Press is a strong editorial purporting to relate a vote in favor of the Tuck bill as a position in opposition to reapportionment of State legislatures, in opposition to reapportionment within county governments and an effort to reverse the "one man, one vote" formula.

In the interest of public policy, I would like to clarify these points:

The basic controversy between the Tuck bill and the Baker against Carr decision lies solely in the matter of jurisdiction over legislative reapportionment. The Baker against Carr deicsion of the Supreme Court in 1962 reversed all court precedent and established Supreme Court and lower Federal court jurisdiction over State legislative reapportionment matters. The Tuck bill merely removes the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts from involvement in this matter in which the Supreme Court itself has refused to intercede throughout its history until 1962. The Tuck bill in effect would place State reapportionment matters back in the hands of the State legislatures and State courts.

A vote for the Tuck bill does not signify in any way opposition to the principle of reapportionment. Although I voted for the Tuck bill, I am decidedly in favor of reapportionment of legislatures when it becomes evident that inequities in representation exist. Again, I would like to stress that the controversy is one of jurisdiction and its effects, not of opposition to the principle.

Passage of the Tuck bill would leave untouched the "one man, one vote" decision handed down in Reynolds against Sims in June of this year. A constitutional amendment would be necessary to reverse this decision since Reynolds against Sims establishes a constitutional right to "one man, one vote."

Local county reapportionment is not affected by recent Supreme Court decisions, nor is Westchester County awaiting a Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of its board of supervisors. At no time up to the present has the Supreme Court established jurisdiction over county government reapportionment matters.

Those who would like to pin a "liberal" versus "conservative" lebal on each side of the agument—terms which are misnomers anyway and which tend to obscure the actual issues—would be interested to look back at the dissent in the Baker against Carr decision. Two apostles of judicial restraint, Mr. Justice Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Harlan, dissented against the Baker against Carr decision on the basis that no matter how desirable reapportionment may be in it-

self, the use of the judiciary for such political reforms reflects a mistaken view of the function of the Federal courts.

A Mississippi Experience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 17, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, this summer Albert Sayer, the chairman of New York Americans for Democratic Action, and Mrs. Sayer taught in a freedom school in Mississippi. Mr. Sayer's account of his experience has been published in the September 1964 edition of the ADA World. His firsthand report is a vivid description of the courageous activities of those who are fighting for equality in Mississippi. I urge all my colleagues to read the article which follows:

FEAR WAS RAMPANT IN MISSISSIPPI

(By Albert Sayer)

It was a muggy July afternoon when my wife and I stepped off the bus which had brought us from Meridian to Holly Springs in Mississippi.

The day we arrived there was Freedom Day. Forty-five Negroes were applying for registration as voters at the county courthouse; that was why the normal complement of 10 policemen had been swelled with several dozen deputies and highway patrolmen.

Yet Freedom Day was highly successful in Holly Springs, because it had been so carefully organized. All of the 45 Negroes were registered. It would take another 2 weeks, of course, to learn how many of the registrants had been passed. There was also the possibility that some might be coerced into withdrawing their applications, since the Mississippi law requires that the names of the applicants be published in the newspapers for 2 weeks.

FEAR PREVALENT

For the most characteristic feature of the Mississippians is fear. There are two sets of fears—the Negroes' fear of the white people, and the whites' fear of one another. That Saturday night, in Holly Springs, we had a vivid example of the Negroes' fear. A tall, husky Negro stood on the porch of the COFO headquarters, sweating and afraid. He had literally run from his shack on a plantation a few miles away, because the plantation owner had threatened to kill him. Why? Because the plantation owner had learned that the tenant's brother was involved in the voter registration activities. Now the tenant was in a quandary; he was safe at the COFO headquarters, but his family was still at the plantation. It was finally arranged that two COFO workers would return with him and stay temporarily at the shack as a guard.

In Meridian we had witnessed the white man's fear. We stayed there with a courageous Negro family, which was actively involved in the voter registration work. Our landlady received a call one day from the white man for whom she worked as a housekeeper; she had raised his three children. (The standard pay there for a housekeeper, 6 full days a week, is $18.) Her employer told her that he had heard from a relative about her keeping white people—obviously northern agitators—at her home. She told him that this was her right, and she offered to quit her job. No, he told her, his family needed her; but, if his friends learned that he was employing a Negro who was keeping white people in her home, he would lose his job in the post office, and his wife would lose her job, too. So he pleaded with her to be discreet, and he would pretend that he knew nothing about what she was doing. What was significant was that he was much more afraid than she was.

Were we afraid? We certainly were. We left for Mississippi just a week after the Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman boys had disappeared. And, during our orientation in Memphis, the dangers were emphasized and reemphasized, to weed out those who might later weaken and become a problem. Our stay in Mississippi proved, however, to be a peaceful one. It was apparent that the Mississippi authorities, to the extent that they could control the situation, were determined to keep the lid on for the summer. Too many of the "invaders"—students, ministers, lawyers—had connections up North, and the shadow of Federal intervention hung over the State. This must be understood, of course, in relative terms There have been dozens of incidents—threats and beatings; arrests on charges of trespass and traffic violations; tampering with the gasoline tanks and motors of COFO cars; and the burning of churches. Yet, in a State where everybody has a gun, and violence is an accepted part of the way of life, the summer has been more peaceful than was expected.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

What troubled many of us, as we analyzed the situation, was the question of what would happen after the summer, when the summer volunteers had returned to their schools and jobs. We had boundless admiration for the courage of the permanent COFO workers, both Negro and white, who knew that they would have to take the brunt of the white people's bottled-up fury when the summer was over.

Yes, we were afraid; but our fear had one positive influence. As one Negro woman, in my adult class, put it, "When we realize that you were afraid, but you came anyway, then we know that we have to overcome our fears and work for freedom now."

Before we had left New York, TV and radio reporters had asked repeatedly, "What do you expect to accomplish?" It's too bad that the reporters could not have visited the freedom schools. There were no educational miracles. Just hundreds of Negro boys and girls coming each day, neatly dressed, to hastily improvised classrooms, mostly in church basements, where they were accepted as equals by white teachers. They could speak and write freely about the meaning of freedom and about their aspirations. They could laugh and banter and argue and sing and dance with white people—without being afraid. They could, under our guidance, discuss the significance of "All men are created equal," the 14th amendment, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These topics are not discussed in their public schools.

The most important factor in the freedom schools, however, was the impact that the volunteers and the Mississippi Negroes had upon each other. We shared in their poverty and their fears and their hopes. We were warmed by their friendliness and their eagerness to learn. We were moved by their courage and their hopefulness. On the other hand, they learned that there are other kinds of white people besides the typical white of the Mississippi region, and that the Negroes have many friends in their struggle for equality.

For the first time Mississippi Negroes came into contact with Jews. Many were startled to find that there was no noticeable difference between the Jewish and Christian volunteers. One lady, in my adult group, finally asked me, "Mr. Sayer, you've mentioned that you are Jewish. What is the difference between Jews and Christians?" I explained that Jews, as well as Moslems, Hindus, and other groups, do not accept the divinity of Christ. She closed the discussion by remarking, "Well, you may be Jewish, but you're a real Christian." How could I argue with that?

IMPACT ON EACH OTHER

Perhaps we should also note the impact of the volunteers upon one another. After all, we had left the North with the good wishes of so many people, who at the same time expressed their doubts about the wisdom of our decision. It was heartening, therefore, to meet hundreds of people who were equally impractical and stubborn. Most of them were young, undergraduates and graduates, still starry-eyed, hypercritical of the older generation, and ready to effect a social revolution in one summer. (They teased us by calling us "Mama" and "Papa.") But there were many older folks—ministers, lawyers, psychologists, medical workers, journalists—more restrained, but equally determined to do their bit, each in his own way. The discipline and morale were extraordinarily good, because each one had made his commitment on the basis of his faith in the ultimate triumph of the good.

There were so many little things, too many to recall at any one time, which made the sojourn in Mississippi worthwhile. One is the letter we got from one of the women in our Meridian group:

"I can never put in words or speech how glad I have been since I met you. I have been for 23 years trying to lead and teach people of things that really did not exist, I mean that never came to pass, only a dream or imagination. We have let the blind lead the blind and both have fallen in the ditch. We were told that we were not under slavery as our foreparents were, and the white people kept us pretty much in ignorance of what has been going on and we believed what they told us, we obeyed. If it had not been for the dream I had about washing clothes white and hearing sticks breaking and being warned to help, I would be afraid to write, afraid to attend freedom school. Now I know that we are not free and that we are still slaves, and I believe that is why you are here, to help us get freedom and to help us that our rights according to a citizen of the United States will not be violated or taken away. I believe that you who are free know what freedom means * * * you are a committee sent here to help us get freedom so we could live in the South without discrimination but in peace."

Plymouth (Ind.) Pilot News Praises Work of Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD the text of a fine editorial from the Plymouth (Ind.) Pilot News concerning the outstanding work of the Peace Corps with special reference to the September 1964, issue of the National Geographic Magazine, which contains an article by the Director of the Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver.

The editorial follows:

WORK OF PEACE CORPS

The September issue of the National Geographic has a splendid article about our Peace Corps, written by Sargent Shriver, who has headed the plan since its beginning. With help he planned what it was to be, how it should be made up and what its work was to be in foreign lands.

Some people in our country opposed the plan and foreign nations thought that Americans, who lived such an easy and comfortable life would never go among poor, ignorant, and dirty foreigners and live with them. The Peace Corps workers have proved all of these prophets wrong.

Since 1960, 10,000 Peace Corps members have worked in 46 nations and there are calls for thousands more. There are many men and women of 50 years of age and over who are some of the most desirable members, for they have the experience.

Mr. Shriver tells of the experience of the first crew of 55 who went to Ghana. There was a big crowd to meet them when they got off the boat and to the great surprise of that crowd the Peace Corps members sang one of the popular native songs in the native language. The Ghanians could hardly believe their ears but were so pleased that they broke into cheers.

If we keep this work of the Peace Corps going and increasing, we think it will eventually do more good than the spending of our billions in foreign aid.

No Peace Corps persons are sent to any nation unless asked for, and there have always been nations calling for them. Those where the Peace Corps members have gone usually call for more and more, so well are they liked and so much help they give to the people where they go.

If you are retired and have nothing much to occupy your time, think seriously of joining the Peace Corps. They want more elderly people. If a young person is attracted to such a life for 2 years and wants to go, you will get a thorough education before you depart. This includes one or more foreign languages.

Peaceful Coexistence—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an addition to the material I offered earlier today from the book, "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," published by the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association, as follows:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE—IV

THE VICTORIES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Despite the relative newsness of peaceful coexistence as the "strategic line" of the majority of the Communist movement, the Communists have begun to consider as "victories" for their policies agreements which the West has entered into for the purpose of relaxing international tensions:

"The ideas of peaceful coexistence are penetrating deeper and deeper into the consciousness of the masses of people. The policy of peaceful coexistence has scored great successes. One was the Moscow test ban treaty. Another was the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly urging all states to refrain from launching space vehicles with nuclear weapons into orbit. The forces of peace and the desire for peace are growing. We believe that the will of the people will triumph—that the policy of peaceful coexistence will emerge victorious."[1]

Particular emphasis has been placed on the ratification of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963 by the great majority of the nations of the world:

"The conclusion of a treaty on this matter after 5 years of exhaustive talks was the result of the consistent position adopted by the Soviet Union and the growing pressure from the peoples of the world."[2]

A statement by a Latin American Communist Party goes into greater detail:

"The treaty signed by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain in Moscow is a partial concession on the part of imperialism to the Soviet Union and the other peoples who have long fought for the termination of nuclear tests. It shows that the imperialist states can be compelled to enter into certain compromises in the matter of peaceful coexistence with the socialist states. A new blow has been struck at the more aggressive imperialist quarters, specifically the Pentagon. The fact that the treaty was signed in Moscow makes it clear to all in whose favor the scales have been tipped in the nuclear competition. The Moscow Treaty creates better conditions for the struggle for disarmament and lasting peace; it strengthens the people's faith in the possibility of tangible gains in the struggle against imperialism. And thereby it contributes to the popular revolutionary struggle in the capitalist and oppressed countries."[3]

Such a statement reflects the optimism which Khrushchev seemed to exude in his speech of January 6, 1961:

"The policy of actively struggling for peace has imparted dynamic force to the foreign policy acts of the Socialist countries. In recent years, the initiative in the international arena has been in the hands of the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries, while the imperialist states and their governments defend themselves with their backs to the wall, their prestige and foreign political stock have never been so low."[4]

Another illustration of the nature of Communist "victory" statements may be found in the Soviet treatment of the events of October 1963, when the Soviet Union sought to change the balance of power radically by attempting to introduce strategic missiles into Cuba:

"There have been many tense situations threatening world peace in the years since the war. During the Caribbean crisis, for instance, the nations were brought face to face with the danger of a thermonuclear world war. In this grave situation the Soviet Union displayed a high sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind; the catastrophe was averted and peace preserved through negotiation, and, at the same time, the independence and gains of the Cuban people were safeguarded.[5]

* * * * *

"Every honest person will arrive at the conclusion that the solution of the Cuban crisis is a victory of reason over recklessness, of the policy of peaceful coexistence over the policy of gross wantonness in international relations."[6]

The bald statement that "every honest person" will conclude that the outcome of the Cuban crisis was a result of Soviet "statesmanship" is as credible as the Soviet claim that American "assistance" in World War II against Nazi Germany "was of no real value in defeating the aggressors." The world knows that it was the action of the United States which prevented the deployment of intermediate-range ballisic missiles into Cuba.

Although much of the emphasis in Communist discussion of the victories of "peaceful coexistence" is designed for purposes of propaganda, there is another side of the coin as far as Cuba is concerned: That country remains an armed Communist camp in the Western Hemisphere, and the Communists consider it to be an integral part of the expanding revolutionary process. It is therefore more difficult in this particular case to dismiss completely the claims attributed to peaceful coexistence:

"Overcoming the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area was a major victory of the policy of peace. * * * The result is known to all. The Cuban revolution has won, all the peoples have won, the cause of peace and general security has won."[7]

Thus on the third anniversary of the "Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties," Pravda could declare:

"The world Socialist system as a whole has strengthened its economic and political positions on the world stage. After the victory of the revolution in Cuba, the beacon lights of communism are now shining on three continents: Europe, Asia, and America."[8]

THE CORRELATION OF FORCES

During the 19th century the principal mechanism for maintaining the peace was the "balance of power" with the British Empire as the "keeper of the balance." It is said that the application of the balance-of-power concept is responsible for the long period of peace lasting from 1815 to 1914, and that the principle became weakened only after England moved into a permanent alliance system.

Some hold that, with the rise of totalitarian powers which have goals exceeding the traditional ones known to modern history, the balance-of-power concept has be-

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[1] Commentator Viktorov, Radio Moscow, November 11, 1963. Note that the treaty is referred to as the "Moscow Treaty." The Communists insist on this formulation for propaganda purposes.

[2] Zenon Kliszko, "Peaceful Coexistence: The General Line of the Foreign Policies of the Socialist Countries," Pravda, Aug. 9, 1963.

[3] "The Views of the Paraguayan Communist Party on the Ideological and Practical Position of the Chinese Communist Party," Information Bulletin—Documents of the Communist and Workers' Parties, No. 2 (November 1963). The Information Bulletin was begun in the fall of 1963 by Peace and Socialism Publishers in Prague, and is apparently designed to serve as a vehicle for collecting criticisms of the Chinese Communist position on strategy and tactics. It is particularly interesting to note that the insignificant Paraguayan Communist Party was chosen to make this statement, which was later widely quoted in the Soviet press as being representative of worldwide Communist opinion. It is very likely that the statement was "planted" with the Paraguayans in order to get the point across without attracting attention in the press of the free world.

[4] Nikita Khrushchev, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement, Kommunist, p. 66. (The Jan. 6, 1961, speech referred to in note 7.)

[5] I. G. Maurer, "The Inviolable Foundations of the Unity of the International Communist Movement," World Marxist Review, November 1963, p. 13.

[6] Speech of Andrei Gromyko, Tass, Dec. 13, 1962.

[7] Speech of Presidium Member Nikolai Podgorniy, Radio Moscow, Nov. 6, 1963.

[8] "For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement," Pravda, Dec. 6, 1963.

come largely outmoded. Ideological power movements such as nazism and communism are driven not by limited aims, but by unlimited aims most accurately reflected by the quest for nothing short of worldwide domination.

Nonetheless, the term "balance of power" is still used by many to describe the operating mechanisms of international politics in the second half of the 20th century.

The basic defect of this term when applied to the free world's conflict with communism is that it is not sufficiently inclusive, for modern scientific and technological progress has brought about the utilization of warfare techniques which do not fit into the category of "military power." And it has been noted more than once that democracies experience great difficulty in thinking of strategy as being anything more than merely military.

The Communists have officially rejected the "balance-of-power" concept, and have substituted for it a new concept: "the correlation of forces." This term allows them to identify the present era as one in which the forces of communism are, on balance, outstripping the forces of "imperialism," and in which "socialism" becomes the "decisive force" in determining the course of world events:

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend, and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism in inveitable." [9]

It is this new condition that allows the Communists to "get the upper hand" in the struggle with imperialism:

"The tables have been turned in the relations between the two main world forces. Socialism is the force that is now on the offensive on all fronts. Capitalism has lost its old domination for good. It is being attacked by world socialism, by the forces of the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation revolutions. Under these concentrated attacks, capitalism is losing one position after another. A real possibility is being created of finally overthrowing the last system of exploitation in a short historical period and opening a road on a world scale to the society on whose banners are inscribed these sacred principles: Peace, labor, freedom, equality, brotherhood, and happiness for all.

"But this possibility still has to be transformed into reality. Final victory is drawing near but it still has to be won, and it has to be won in a struggle with a very strong enemy." [10]

While the Communists admit that their strength may in some specific areas be inferior to that of the adversary, in the final analysis they insist that their forces are stronger, because they combine all the growing physical power in the world with all the growing political and moral power:

"The Soviet Union occupies the vanguard position not only because of her accumulated experience, but because of the accumulation of strength, which is the greatest in the world Socialist system and in the world Communist movement. Strength is here meant in all its aspects: economic strength, international political influence and prestige, technological and scientific superiority, military defense, preparedness, and so forth. As is known to all, * * * the Soviet Union places all its strength at the service of the revolutionary liberation factors in the world, at the service of the interests of the international proletariat." [11]

This understanding of strength reflects the view of Khrushchev that, for any group to win in the nuclear age, it is vital to utilize anything with the potential of assisting in the broad-ranging struggle with the opponent, and that it is necessary to utilize them with only an offensive purpose in mind. That is to say, each factor of strength is to be thrown into the arena not only to build up the general power of the movement, but also to be used individually when necessary to bring about the downfall of the enemy.

All the elements of strength are never possessed exclusively by the Communists; rather, they may simply seek to utilize existing factors for their own ends:

"The nature and meaning of the world revolutionary process in our times are determined by merging into a single stream the struggle against imperialism on the part of the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movements of the workers' class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples, and the general democratic movements.[12]

"Note that the various movements mentioned will not of their own accord spontaneously merge into a single stream, but that they are to be merged. The difference would appear at first glance to be slight, but is in fact important: it is the Communists who are to do the merging, and, having achieved that, will proceed to determine the course of the single stream."

Perhaps the clearest summation of the relationship of peaceful coexistence to the correlation of forces in Communist jargon is that of Nikita Khrushchev in June 1963:

"Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The camp of imperialism, too, has to recognize this. Take, for example, Dulles. He could not even utter these words.

"When I was in America, Britain, and France, lengthy explanations were required during the negotiations on what was meant by peaceful coexistence. During the discussions in the United States with President Eisenhower it was clear that he, just as Secretary of State Herter, could not utter the words 'peaceful coexistence.'

"Now what has happened? The words are the same and their meaning has not changed. What has changed is the correlation of forces in the international arena.[13]

In short, Khrushchev contends that whereas formerly the United States and its allies refused to use the Communist term "peaceful coexistence," today they have been compelled to accept it, and that what has compelled them to accept it is the shift in the "correlation of forces" in favor of the Communists.

The Communists reject the concept of balancing the forces of "socialism" and "capitalism," and claim that, no matter what in desperation it tries to do, capitalism will be destroyed.

CAN CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES?

When major differences and tensions between nations exist, there is a likelihood that under certain circumstances armed conflict will break out if one nation attempts to impose a solution upon the other. A more desirable method of resolving differences is to attempt, by peaceful means, to reconcile the objectives of each, or, barring that, to achieve a tacit recognition on the part of each that despite their divergence on objectives, they must live together without trying to undermine each other.

In its conflict with communism, the West is dedicated to the peaceful resolution of outstanding differences, and utilizes each and every opportunity to proclaim its desire to settle those differences by negotiations and other peaceful methods.

Because the meaning of the term "peaceful coexistence" is so often misunderstood in the West, many come to the conclusion that, because the Communists understand that peaceful coexistence means, for the time being, the exclusion of war as a means to achieve victory, relatively little importance should be attached to the Communists' insistence that, short of general war, "anything goes." The misunderstanding is frequently expanded to the assumption that, because the Communists have stated their preference to avoid war to defeat the West, they have given up their objective of accomplishing such a defeat.

"Many of those in the West who in principle accept peaceful coexistence between capitalist and Socialist countries interpret it in a different way from Marxist-Leninists. Representatives of different outlooks often give different readings to such questions as the relation between the peaceful coexistence of the State of interstate relations and the development of social contradictions inside the capitalist world, between the peace movement and the working class struggle for socialism.

"Many bourgeois and Social-Democratic ideologists take peaceful coexistence to mean a reconciliation of the two warring, irreconcilable classes, the proletariat, and the bourgeoisie, and say that it leads to a "fade-out" of the struggle between the antagonistic class ideologies, the Socialist, and bourgeois.

"Marxist-Leninists cannot accept this distorted * * * interpretation of the policy of peaceful coexistence which slurs over its class substance and direction and ignores the irreconcilable antagonistic social contradictions of the modern world.

"The Communist Party has always acted on the assumption that the peaceful coexistence of the two systems does not exclude but, on the contrary, implies a further development of the working people's class struggle. * * * The contemporary * * * general line of the international Communist movement does not freeze the initiative of the people, but, on the contrary, mobilizes them to a greater extent. It opens up before all revolutionary forces of our day new prospects for successful advance." [14]

The Communists clearly recognize, then, that the West fundamentally misunderstands or misinterprets "peaceful coexistence" as a welcome alleviation of the "class struggle." The "class struggle" denotes in reality the unrelenting battle against non-Communist society everywhere, and therefore to alleviate the class struggle is to slacken the effort to overthrow free governments. Such a slackening is hotly denied:

"It is as impossible to reconcile opposing classes or eliminate the antagonisms between them as it is to have peaceful coexistence of clashing ideologies which reflect the basic interests of these classes. The struggle to win the hearts and minds of the people and their loyalty is inherently adamant and uncompromising."

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[9] Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, U.S.S.R., December 1960, p. 2.

[10] V. G. Korionov, "Proletarian Internationalism—Our Victorious Weapon," International Affairs, No. 8 (Aug. 1963), p. 12.

[11] Mosheh Sneh, "Chinese Errors," Kol Haam (Voice of the People, Israel), October 4, 1963.

[12] "The Soviet Position vis-à-vis Peiping," Kommunist, No. 11 (July 1963).

[13] N. S. Khrushchev, Speech at the Plenary Meeting, June 21, 1963.

[14] T. T. Timofeyev, "Against Distortions of the Class Nature of the Leninist Policy of Peaceful Coexistence," International Affairs, No. 8 (August 1963), pp. 18–19.

Let's Knock Out the Dropout Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a fine gentleman living in my northern Virginia district, Mr. Anthony J. DelPopolo, has recently sent me a copy of a speech he delivered before a toastmasters meeting, on the subject of the dropout, which is of grave interest to all concerned citizens of our Nation. Mr. Anthony J. DelPopolo, the gentleman to whom I refer, is the Assistant Superintendent at the District of Columbia Youth Center at Lorton, and I believe he is eminently qualified to talk on this subject in view of the many young people with whom he works daily whose problems resulted from irregular family life and failure to attend school with regularity.

I am pleased to insert Mr. DelPopolo's speech in full in the RECORD, so that all may benefit from his comments:

LET'S KNOCK OUT THE DROPOUT PROBLEM

(A speech delivered at a meeting of the Knights of Columbus Toastmasters Club No. 1273, in Arlington, Va., on September 9, 1964, by Anthony J. DelPopolo, club president)

Mr. Chairman, fellow toastmasters, honored guests, I would like to ask each of you a serious question: Suppose, after you arrived home from this meeting tonight, your 16-year-old son or daughter met you at the door and spoke these works to you: "Dad, I want to quit school and go to work." What would be your reaction? This is the dilemma faced by the parents of over a million boys and girls who leave high school each year before graduation. This is the 20th century American tragedy. This is what is known as the dropout problem.

INTRODUCTION

The challenges facing our young people in school today are many. We are deeply concerned with one of them this evening—namely, the important question of deciding how much education is enough. The choice for our young Americans is a difficult one to make, especially for those who find no pleasure in school or classwork. Many see no present or future value in what they are studying today. They fail to understand the relationship between more schooling now and their own improved chance for lifelong success.

Those million boys and girls who, each year make the wrong decision doom themselves for life. How can these maltrained and maleducated dropouts expect to find work among the already dwindling market of unskilled workers. It is obvious that they are the last to be hired, the ones to receive the lowest pay, and the first to be laid off. It won't be long before automation takes over these jobs too.

Recent studies have shown that the trend of the dropout problem is such that by 1970 over 6½ million more will be added to the already staggering number of Americans who are academically and vocationally ill-equipped for the ever-changing and challenging space age.

Would you believe that one out of every three in the fifth grade today will drop out of school before high school graduation? We must do everything within our power to prevent this evergrowing curse from taking its toll each year. Are these youngsters destined to become noncontributing parasites of our American society?

WHO ARE THE DROPOUTS?

Let us look more closely at this dropout problem. Now, just who are these young people called "dropouts." For the record I would like to state that there is no such thing as the typical dropout.

Some current surveys reveal that slightly more than half of all the school dropouts are male. Compulsory school age in most States is 16. Because of this we find that the largest number of boys and girls who do not finish high school leave soon after this age, usually when they are in grade 10.

Many of these dropouts are seriously retarded in basic school subjects, such as reading and arithmetic. They are usually failures in one or more subjects. They are not at all active in athletics or in extracurricular activities. However, some research has shown them to have a sufficient I.Q. to succeed in school to graduation, if they only would continue.

It was also found that a majority of the high school dropouts came from families where attendance at school or academic achievements were of little or no importance.

Another study made in our neighboring State of Maryland indicated that a substantial majority of the mothers and fathers of dropouts had been early dropouts themselves. This research further revealed that their parents usually had the type of job that required only physical energy and were known to suffer frequent periods of unemployment.

WHY DO THEY DROP OUT?

Many of us may know one or two reasons why some boys and girls select to withdraw from high school before they graduate. The most frequent reason dropouts themselves give is simply a lack of interest in school. What does this actually mean? He or she probably was discouraged over their academic progress. They disliked a certain subject or teacher; they could not project the worth of their studies to future application. Moreover, it could mean that they felt ostracized from the social life of the school.

Whether a sound reason or not, discredit should not be given to him who withdraws from school to help with the care of his family or to add to the family income.

The decision to drop out of school is often made because the student hasn't yet acquired a real goal in life. He is probably unaware of the probable consequences of his foolish action.

I know for sure that "idleness is the Devil's workshop." A substantial majority of the young men confined in the correctional institution of which I am assistant superintendent are former school dropouts.

The Bureau of Guidance of the New York State Department of Education conducted a comprehensive research project on the dropout in that State's schools. In one phase of this study the school counselors found that dropouts withdrew from school, (in order of frequency) because of parental attitude, lack of success, low ability, indifference, and marriage.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE DROPOUT?

Whatever happens to the dropout when he drops out of school? If the dropout finds work he does so for a short period of time. He then feels he is accomplishing something worthwhile. It is true that he gets a paycheck—more money to spend on clothes and entertainment than many of those who remain in school. But to the dropout's disappointment this is usually temporary.

HOW DO WE SAVE THE DROPOUT?

However, our present and deepest concern appears to be: "What can be done to save the dropouts?"

The schools are playing a most vital role in combating the dropout problem. Guidance programs, which have been strengthened in most schools in recent years, can and do provide the needed leadership with their specialized training and experienced counselors.

Solving the problem of school retention is not the task of the schools alone. It takes the close cooperation of parents, schools, and the individuals and organizations of the community—employers, civic groups, service clubs, labor unions, church groups, and social agencies.

A recent U.S. Health, Education, and Welfare report shows that cities like Detroit, New York City, San Francisco, Kansas City, Racine (Wis.), Philadelphia, St. Louis (Mo.), and numerous urban and rural communities of the Nation are providing situations to interest young people in work which will, while restoring their self-respect now, also reveal to them the value of school.

A 7-year holding power project completed recently by the Bureau of Guidance of the New York State Department of Education mentioned before revealed 21 factors known to be associated with dropping out of school. From this study was drawn a composite image of the dropout.

The researchers went on to say, "The implications in the light of this study are that schools can improve retention rates if they focus their attention upon potential dropouts. If they use the checklist of characteristics which "put the finger" on the dropout a whole year before he does drop out.

The problem of the dropout seems to yield only long-term effort by the majority of those who work with each individual potential dropout.

I have first-hand knowledge of the fact that two radio broadcasting stations, KXLW in St. Louis, Mo., and WWDC in Washington, D.C., have editorialized the perils of school withdrawal to its young listeners. And there may be many more.

WHAT DO WE SAY TO THE POTENTIAL DROPOUT?

What word of caution can we say to the student who is planning to drop out? These are just a few:

1. Stay in school and you will be in a better position to compete for worthwhile, better paying jobs.

2. You will be better suited for promotion if and when the opportunity may present itself.

3. You will be able to train yourself for the really good job you may decide upon 5 or 25 years from now.

4. Do you know that:

(a) The fastest growing labor source in America is technical and professional—requiring at least 16 years of formal education.

(b) In the last decade jobs for high school graduates rose 30 percent, while jobs for those with less than high school decreased 25 percent.

(c) The difference in earning prospect in a lifetime of a high school graduate beginning at the age of 18 years is $46,000 more than a high school dropout and $76,000 more than a grade school graduate.

And this is a final warning. Don't be a high school dropout. There's no advantage in neglecting your education when it is so vital to your future success. Don't let the immediate money and material gains be your only goal in life. In this complex society we live in the need for a good education is vital to every young man and woman who wants equal opportunity, a satisfying career, and a place as a responsible informed member of society. Without enough education, it will be difficult to attain these goals. If you leave school too soon, you'll regret it for the rest of your life—just ask your fellow student who dropped out last year.

LET'S KNOCK OUT THE DROPOUT PROBLEM

As you now see we are faced with a fierce battle against the dropout problem. This is a fight to the finish. We cannot win it with kid gloves. We must accept the challenge. We must rid this blemish upon our democratic society. The future of America's young men and women and of America itself are at stake. Let's punch into oblivion this problem of the dropout with a technical knockout.

Appendix

Women's Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. PEARSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a short article entitled "The Ballot of My Fair Lady." It was published in the October 1964, issue of Coronet magazine.

This article, written by Bula Lemert, wife of former State Senator Merl Lemert, of Sedan, Kans., appeals to the female voters for maximum participation in election activities. This is a subject on which Mrs. Lemert is well qualified to write, inasmuch as she has been a first-hand observer and an active participant in election activity.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Coronet Magazine, October 1964]

THE BALLOT OF MY FAIR LADY

(By Bula Lemert)

The next President of the United States will owe his victory to the ladies. They will put him in office because they voted for him or because they allowed him to be elected by not voting at all.

Women hold such a substantial majority of votes in this country that they outnumber men voters in 40 States. Four million more women than men are eligible to vote in November, and by 1970 Census Bureau forecasts indicate that the female majority will reach 5 million.

By voting in a bloc, women would have a weapon powerful enough to elect any candidate, adopt any issue, promote any reform or produce a complete social revolution. Their majority of ballots, either cast or not, remains a force strong enough to influence history.

Women, however, seem oddly reluctant to exercise their suffrage rights. Although many U.S. citizens are curiously indifferent to voting, women are downright nonchalant. Even though they have eagerly seized equal opportunities for employment and property rights, women seem hesitant to make full use of their power at the polls.

The 1960 presidential election had one of the highest vote turnouts on record. Figures show that of the potential men voters, 66 percent took part, but of the potential women voters, only 60 percent cast ballots. In terms of numbers, this means that 17 million men didn't vote for President, but neither did 22 million women. The difference in the popular vote between the two presidential candidates was 17 hundredths of 1 percent. If every woman who took the family wash to a coin-operated laundry on election day also had gone to the polls, the balance of votes could have swung widely to either side.

Idaho ranked first in voting participation among the 50 States in the 1960 election; more than 80 percent of its electorate went to the polls. Significantly, it is one of the 10 States where women voters do not outnumber men. North and South Dakota, also with more men voters, ranked fourth and fifth respectively. New York State, with half a million more women voters, scored 32d.

New York, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ohio are considered big "swing" States because of their 119 electoral votes. Eligible women voters in these States outnumber the men by 1,192,000—a formidable strength in any election. The effect of this majority as an active political force is still referred to as "potential," however, because there appears to be a significant difference between eligible voters and actual voters.

A small percentage of women are dedicated political workers, a larger group votes but does not actively participate and an even greater number does neither.

That women deliberately disenfranchise themselves seems incredible in view of the 80-year-long struggle made by a valiant few to secure the mere right to vote.

Suffragettes of the past sacrificed, marched, lectured, picketed, and even went to jail to call attention to voting discrimination. In 1913, militant women marched in New York carrying a banner that read, "New York State Denies the Vote to Criminals, Lunatics, Idiots, and Women."

Today's suburban housewife occupied with children, laundry, marketing, PTA, Scouts, and fund drives might find it difficult to realize that her counterpart of a few generations ago had a legal status comparable to that of a quarry slave.

In the early days of the 19th century, a married woman who had property found it was controlled entirely by her husband. He could also collect and spend any wages she might earn. If he chose to discipline her with a beating, there was no law to prevent such brutality. If she ran away, her husband could not only compel her to return, but he could also sue and collect damages from anyone who harbored her in her flight. Obviously, to consider giving women the privilege of voting was as unthinkable as electing the family cow to the legislature.

Rebellion against this absurd position initiated the long struggle for equal rights for women, foremost of which were equal voting rights.

Carrie Chapman Catt, ardent suffragist, spoke eloquently concerning the women's crusade: "Millions of dollars were raised, mostly in small sums, and spent with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime. Thousands gave years of their lives; hundreds gave constant interest and attention and such aid as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who helped forge the first links were dead when it ended."

Equal voting rights for women evolved gradually, each advancement made at considerable cost. Now, on the 44th anniversary of that triumph, thousands who have fallen heir painlessly to this hard-won privilege will, incredibly, ignore it, neglect it, or use it carelessly.

Anyone delving into the recesses of the female conscience might discover an assortment of reasons why women, even those who clamor loudly for equal rights, are conspicuously absent from the voting places on election day.

A young housewife in Wichita, Kans., did not vote in the last election because, she says, it is hard to find a sitter for five children even for an hour.

Two women under hair dryers in a Midwest beauty shop said that politics is an unsavory business they didn't want to get mixed up in, so they didn't bother to vote.

An active member of a Tulsa, Okla., bowling team voted in the last election but admitted she marked only one name—that of the candidate for water commissioner who lived across the street.

"I'll fight until I bleed," said one young mother, "to vote for a better school board. But don't ask me for an opinion on anybody out of town."

Some experts believe that the shadowy past when women were subservient to men still lingers in the female subconscious. The enthusiasm for equal voting rights often seems to languish in favor of the cliche, "It's a man's world." Having made that pronouncement, many ladies turn with obvious relief to bargain sales, trading stamps, and household chores. It gives them an easy way out.

A study made by the University of Michigan Research Center regarding the voting of both men and women in recent elections indicates there are still many women too absorbed in household duties to take part in political activities. The researchers conclude: "The suffragette's desired role for emancipated womanhood is still neither realized nor wanted by many women.

"My vote wouldn't make any difference anyway," some potential women voters declare. Yet history is replete with instances of the potency of a single expression of opinion.

One vote cost King Charles I of England his head in 1649. A single vote won the Presidency of the United States for John Quincy Adams and Rutherford B. Hayes. In 1868, one vote spared President Andrew Johnson from a conviction after he was impeached by the U.S. Senate. In another notable instance, two candidates for nomination to Congress in California, received exactly the same number of votes. In accordance with the State constitution, the contenders drew lots in the presence of the secretary of state. The incumbent Congressman lost the draw and the right to his party's nomination. He consequently sank into political oblivion—because his secretary was too busy with office work to cast her ballot on primary election day.

Do women voters select candidates for their personalities or their platforms? The "little boy look," the "father image," and other appeals are supposed to make female hearts quicken and ultimately influence the tally at the polls. Some politicians believe that women will vote for a candidate with personal charm, although his political record may be suspect and his platform as sturdy as milk toast.

This interesting reasoning cannot be confined to women, however. Politicians have always been aware of the importance of their public image. They grew beards or shaved them off. They chose their attire, particularly hats and vests, with great care. They acquired "spellbinding" speech skills.

Theodore Roosevelt declared himself as strong as a bull moose and thus provided the motif for the Bull Moose Party, designed to

attract virile men. James G. Blaine happily adopted the cognomen of "a plumed knight" given him by Robert G. Ingersoll, agreeing that he was going forth into the campaign like an armed warrior. These and innumerable other similar tactics were not to influence the vote of emotional women; they were for the purpose of swaying men who alone had the vote at that time.

In the past, a belief had existed that women voted as their husbands dictated. Perhaps in the earliest day of equal suffrage, when women proceeded slowly with their newly acquired rights, this was true. A University of Michigan report on the mores of voting says, "most husbands and wives are in complete agreement." Mrs. Clare Williams, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, points out that it is likely the wife—who has more time to read, listen to broadcasts, and attend political meetings—ultimately determines the family's vote.

Political leaders are well aware of the untapped strength of the women's vote. The 1960 presidential campaign saw an unprecedented play for the favor of voting women; the 1964 campaign has intensified that effort. Coffee hours, afternoon teas, telephone campaigns, block parties, "chain listening" to political broadcasts, all used in connection with intriguing slogans and catchy program ideas, are designed to interest women. Promises to appoint women to more governmental positions are plums dangled by many candidates before aspiring feminine eyes.

Voting is a right with particular responsibilities attached. It is not a ritual to be performed without thinking. "Don't vote at all," advise political leaders, "unless you can give informed, careful consideration to the performance."

"Voting is a judicious weighing of knowledge and facts," says a Federal judge. "The ballot is a significant political instrument."

To learn how to use this instrument, women are urged to take part in political activity.

"This does not necessarily involve stumping the country, waving banners, and screaming campaign slogans at political gatherings," says one Midwest county chairman. "The serious, interested woman working in small groups within her own block, precinct or ward may be far more influential."

The Commission on Registration and Voting Participation appointed by President Kennedy in 1961, agreed that "stirring people up is the best tradition of American politics and we commend the practice of well-organized, comprehensive register-and-vote campaigns."

To make the greatest use of their vote potential, women must vote in a bloc, something they have not yet done. No single proposal has ever been proved to be entirely a woman's issue. Then, too, many women resent the suggestion of a women's bloc, protesting that women are as individual in their thinking as men and should not be lumped as a statistical mass.

The women who do not vote at all, who give no consideration to this facet of their citizenship, who close their ears and eyes to all things political, do make up a women's bloc whether they realize it or not. And if in sufficient numbers, they may permit a candidate to be elected by just not voting.

In Australia, eligible citizens can be fined for failing to vote. Americans have only their consciences to get them to the polls.

"The privilege of the vote for women was earned by a noble group of heroic women fighting surprising odds," says Mrs. Dorothy A. Elston, president of the National Federation of Republican Women. "The least we can do is keep the torch of liberty alight. We owe it to ourselves and them to vote."

Today, when women outnumber men, live longer, own more property, and handle more money, they also share a great responsibility in Government, a responsibility that must be fulfilled at the polls.

A Bill To Amend Public Law 874, Federal Impact Aid Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, as we near the end of this session we leave some very important unfinished business.

One of the laws needing serious study and amendment is the so-called Federal impact aid bill, which pays Federal funds to school districts impacted by Federal peoples and properties.

In this regard I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following news release on H.R. 12670 as well as the full text of this proposed act for the information of the membership of the House.

With 306 out of 435 Members of this House representing districts receiving this type of aid it is imperative that all of us understand the proposals fully.

The material follows:

Congressman JOHN H. DENT, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Education of the U.S. House of Representatives, introduced a new bill, H.R. 12670, for the purpose of amending Public Law 874, commonly known as the Federal impacted aid law.

This legislation as now written extends Federal aid presumably to those areas injured taxwise by the activities of Federal installations and the excessive influx of Federal employees' families into school districts.

Congressman DENT, after a series of hearings and extensive studies on the Federal impact problems, believes that in a substantial number of areas the impacted conditions caused by Federal activities benefit the total economy of the communities involved rather than injure them.

Impact payments under the present law are based on the loss of taxes from real property which has been removed from local tax rolls due to Federal activities. Based on this formula, many of the school districts which have excellent financial positions are receiving this assistance while a much larger number of needy school districts are unable to qualify for these funds. This new proposal of the Congressman will not injure any school district presently receiving Federal impact assistance but will simply permit school districts, which are impacted as a result of the presence of certain federally connected needy children, to qualify for this aid.

In his new bill, H.R. 12670, Congressman DENT seeks to broaden the base of Public Law 874 to include new categories for elementary and secondary schools. The Congressman proposes to further schedule a series of "grassroots" hearings in a selected number of areas in order to fully crystallize the subcommittee's opinion on this important issue.

In recent hearings on this problem in Los Angeles, Calif., the subcommittee found that due to one of the inequities in the present law, Los Angeles failed to qualify for approximately $10 million because Public Law 874 requires that districts of over 35,000 children in average daily attendance must be federally impacted by a minimum of 6 percent—Los Angeles was impacted by only 5.6 percent. Practically all the $300-odd million appropriated last year for the impact program has been paid to small districts which under the present law qualify with an impact of as little as 3 percent while larger communities with far more federally connected children, numerically, have been denied any assistance under the present program.

The Congressman pointed out this same type of restriction existed in the Library Services Act until he introduced a bill and successfully guided it through Congress which removed restrictive features and included all libraries on a fair and equitable basis.

Mr. DENT said that his new bill, H.R. 12670, will amend Public Law 874:

(1) To recognize the Federal connection for school district payment purposes of:

(a) Children of school age on whose behalf parents are currently receiving payments under the Aid to Dependent Children welfare program.

(b) Children of persons residing in local school districts who have exhausted their entitlement to unemployment compensation.

(c) Children of persons residing in the local school districts who received payments pursuant to titles, I, X, XIV, or XVI of the Social Security Act for a period of 6 or more months during the previous fiscal year.

(2) The bill provides that if the number of children of school age in one or more of these three new categories and the old category "B" (during the previous fiscal year) is 10 or more and amounts to 5 percent or more of the total number of children who were in daily average attendance during the fiscal year for which payment is being sought, the local educational agency would be entitled to a payment for each child equal to 25 percent of the payment made under Public Law 874 for a child whose parent both works and lives on Federal property (category "A" children).

H.R. 12670

A bill to amend Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, relating to assistance for schools in federally affected areas, to provide assistance in certain cases on account of children in needy families

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress), as amended (20 U.S.C. 236–244), is further amended as follows:

(a) Section 3(a) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) For the purpose of computing the amount to which a local educational agency is entitled under this section for any fiscal year, the Commissioner shall determine the total number of children who were in the membership of the schools of such agency at any time during the previous fiscal year and for whom such agency provided free public education and who, while in attendance at such schools, resided on Federal property and (1) did so with a parent employed on Federal property situated in whole or in part in the same State as the school district of such agency or situated within reasonable commuting distance from the school district of such agency, or (2) had a parent who was on active duty in the uniformed services (as defined in section 101 of title 37, United States Code)."

(b) Section 3(b) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) For the purpose of computing the amount to which a local educational agency is entitled under this section for any fiscal year, the Commissioner shall also determine the total number of children (other than children to whom subsection (a) applies) who were in the membership of the schools of such agency at any time during the previous fiscal year and for whom such agency provided free public education and who, while in attendance at such schools, either resided on Federal property, or resided with a parent employed on Federal property situated in whole or in part in the same State as such agency or situated within reasonable commuting distance from the school district of such agency. A child of a parent who commenced residing in or near the school district of such agency while assigned to employment, as a member of the Armed Forces (as defined in section 101 of title 37, United States Code) on active duty, on Federal property (situated in whole or in part in the same State as the school district of such agency or within reasonable commuting distance from such school district) and who was subsequently assigned elsewhere on active duty as a member of the Armed Forces, shall continue to be considered as residing with a parent employed on such Federal property for so long as the parent is so assigned elsewhere."

(c) Paragraph (1) of section 3(c) is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) The amount to which a local educational agency is entitled under this section for any fiscal year shall be an amount equal to (A) the local contribution rate (determined under subsection (d)) multiplied by (B) the sum of the number of children determined under subsection (a) and one-quarter of the sum of (i) the number of children determined under subsection (b), (ii) the number of dependent children residing in the local school district for whom payments pursuant to title IV of the Social Security Act were made for a period of three or more months during the previous fiscal year, (iii) the number of children of persons residing in the local school district whose entitlement to unemployment compensation under State law or title XV of the Social Security Act was exhausted during the previous fiscal year, and (iv) the number of children of persons residing in the local school district who received public assistance grants under title I, X, XIV, or XVI of the Social Security Act for six months or more during the previous fiscal year. In determining the number of children for the purposes of subsections (a) and (b) and of this paragraph, the Commissioner may rely on a certification of the number of children to be counted by the State or local educational agency official or official administering the applicable Social Security Act program or State unemployment compensation program."

(d) Paragraph (2) of section 3(c) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) No local educational agency shall be entitled to receive any payment for a fiscal year with respect to a number of children determined under subsection (a) unless the number of children determined for the previous fiscal year is ten or more. No local educational agency shall be entitled to receive any payment for a fiscal year with respect to a number of children determined under subsection (b) and clauses (ii), (iii), and (iv) of subsection (c) unless the number of children determined for the previous fiscal year is ten or more, amounts to 5 per centum or more of the total number of children who were in average daily attendance during the fiscal year for which payment is sought and for whom such agency provided free public education, except that such 5 per centum requirement need not be met by such agency for any period of two fiscal years which follows a fiscal year during which such agency was entitled to payment under the provisions of this section, but the payment, under the provisions of this section to such agency for the second fiscal year of any such two-year period during which such requirement is not met, shall be reduced by 50 per centum of the amount thereof. However, the Commissioner may waive the 5 per centum condition of entitlement wherever, in his judgment, exceptional circumstances exist which would make the application of such condition inequitable and would defeat the purposes of this Act."

(e) Paragraph (3) of section 3(c) is repealed.

(f) Paragraph (5) of section 3(c) is amended to read as follows:

"(5) No payment shall be made to a local educational agency if the Commissioner determines that for the preceding fiscal year the State has reduced its contributions to the school district of that local educational agency because of Federal contributions under this Act."

(g) Section 4(a) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. (a) If the Commissioner determines for any fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1965—

"(1) that, as a direct result of activities of the United States (carried on either directly or through a contractor) an increase has occurred in the number of children who were in the membership of the schools of any local educational agency at any time during the previous fiscal year, which increase so resulting from activities of the United States is equal to at least 5 per centum of the difference between the number of children who were in the membership of the schools of such agency during the second preceding fiscal year and the number of such children whose attendance during such first previous fiscal year resulted from activities of the United States (including children who resided on Federal property or with a parent employed on Federal property);

"(2) that such activities of the United States have placed on such agency a substantial and continuing financial burden; and

"(3) that such agency is making a reasonable tax effort and is exercising due diligence in availing itself of State and other financial assistance but is unable to secure sufficient funds to meet the increased educational costs involved,

then such agency shall be entitled to receive for such fiscal year an amount equal to the product of—

"(A) the number of children which the Commissioner determines to be the increase, so resulting from activities of the United States, in membership during such previous fiscal year; and

"(B) the amount which the Commissioner determines to be the current expenditures per child necessary to provide free public education to such additional children during such year, minus the amount which the Commissioner determines to be available from State, local, and Federal sources for such purpose (not counting as available for such purpose either payments under this Act or funds from local sources necessary to provide free public education to other children).

Any payment which such agency would otherwise be entitled to receive under section 3 for the next fiscal year (except where the determination under the preceding sentence has been made with respect to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965) shall be reduced by the amount of the payment under this subsection for the preceding fiscal year. The determination under clause (B) shall be made by the Commissioner after considering the current expenditures per child in providing free public education in those school districts in the State which, in the judgment of the Commissioner, are generally comparable to the school district of the local educational agency for which the computation is being made."

(h) Section 9 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(11) The membership of schools shall be determined in accordance with State law or, in the absence of State law governing such a determination, in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner; except that, notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, where the local educational agency of the school district in which any child resides makes or contracts to make a tuition payment for the free public education of such child in a school situated in another school district, for purposes of this Act the membership of such child shall be held and considered—

"(A) if the two local educational agencies concerned so agree, and if such agreement is approved by the Commissioner, as membership of a school of the local educational agency receiving such tuition payment;

"(B) in the absence of any such approved agreement, as membership of a school of the local educational agency so making or contracting to make such tuition payment.

In any determination of membership of schools, children who are not provided free public education (as defined in paragraph (4)) shall not be counted."

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall take effect July 1, 1965.

Keynote Address by Mark O. Hatfield, Governor of Oregon, at 1964 Republican National Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the keynote address delivered by the Honorable Mark O. Hatfield, Governor of Oregon, a great American and Governor, and an outstanding leader of the Republican Party, at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco, July 13, 1964.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1964—KEYNOTE ADDRESS

(By Mark O. Hatfield, temporary chairman, Governor of Oregon, San Francisco, July 13, 1964)

Governor Smylie, Chairman Miller, my fellow citizens, we must meet here to nominate the next President of the United States. Our platform and our candidate will have the support of a united Republican Party. And let me say to each and every Republican we cannot afford the luxury of the handsitters in the parlor, we need laborers in the vineyard come November, and the candidate of this convention will have such laborers from every Republican throughout the United States.

We promise no miracles, but we believe that the responsibility of our Republican Party is to seek liberation of mind and body and spirit and to call up the best America has to offer.

The Republican Party is committed to a set of principles. This commitment is an act of unwavering faith in the American people in the cause of freedom, in the eternal

principles of morality, and there is a stark contrast in the record of the present administration. In place of the faith we find fear. Anxieties and tensions infect and corrupt our country. At least three fears have typified this administration: fear of the facts; fear of the future; fear of the people.

The fear of the facts is most clearly revealed by the coverup. The refusal of the Senate majority, under administration pressure, to examine fully the questionable actions of a Senate employee violates the solemn pledge of the Democratic platform of 1960. It said in a very simple sentence:

"The conflict-of-interest statutes should be revised and strengthened to assure the Federal service of maximum security against unethical practices on the part of public officials."

You cannot sweep a hi-fi set under the rug and expect the bulge not to show. The Republican Party strongly believes that America should be a land of opportunity and not a land of opportunists. But the most telling examples of this administration's fear of the facts goes back 4 years. That was when the party of fear and failure adopted a platform that consisted of 20,000 words and 261 promises, and we are still waiting for over 200 of these promises to be fulfilled. Four years ago the Democratic candidate for Vice President declared:

"A platform is drawn up for submission to the voters. If the voters approve of it, they will make their decisions known forcefully in November and it is the duty of the party to carry out the decision in the following Congresses."

Now, my friends, what we did not fully realize at that time was that the candidate for Vice President of the United States was standing with one foot on the banks of the Rio Grande and the other foot on the banks of the Potomac, and that in these two postures we find that his national foot pointed toward school integration. His State foot pointed toward school segregation. His national foot pointed and advocated the repeal of State right-to-work laws, whereas his State foot endorsed a right-to-work law as "necessary." I say to you that one cannot dance for long on two platforms without stubbing his toe. And is it any wonder that the speeches we have been hearing from the White House dancer sound as if they come from a man of two minds? We only have the record to point to. In 1960 we heard about a missile gap. The Nation was told that our advantage in missile leadership was shrinking. The fact is there was no missile gap. Today, however, there is a missile gap from Cuba to Key West, and it is 90 miles wide.

And so we say to the American people: Don't be fooled by an administration which is a master of destruction and whose snow jobs had changed the climate in Washington.

We ask you: Was it a Republican administration that presided over the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs? (Chorus of "no.")

Was it a Republican administration that neutralized Laos and so initiated the chain of events that threatens freedom throughout all of southeast Asia? (Chorus of "no.")

And I ask you: Was it a Republican administration that ignored the problem in Panama until it erupted into rioting and bloodshed? (Chorus of "no.")

Was it a Republican administration in power when the Berlin Wall was built? (Chorus of "no.")

You know and all Americans know that these things have happened under the misrule of the opposition in the past 4 years. With such a record it is not surprising that this administration fears the future. It relies on the panacea of the past, especially the midthirties; its record is one of reaction, not of progress, and more than a century ago we were warned that every progressive spirit is opposed by 1,000 men appointed to guard the past—and this administration, I say, has no progressive spirit in it. The current administration finds in automation not the elimination of drudgery and the foundation for a higher standard of living, but only the threat of unemployment and poverty. The current administration finds in the fantastic expansion of our agricultural capacity not the blessing of relief from hunger but a reactionary excuse for expanding bureaucratic regulation.

The current administration should wage a war on poverty of its own ideas. Wed as it is to the past, the administration will learn that the complexities of the present cannot be met by a simple passage of a bill in Congress or by the spending of large sums of money on ill-considered programs that deal only with the symptoms and not the causes, and by sloganeering and headline-hunting, stage-managed expeditions whose essential purpose is publicity rather than action.

Herbert Hoover, a great Republican and one of the world's greatest humanitarians—and may I always say to any Republican in an American audience, my boyhood hero 30 years ago made this very eloquent statement of the Republican Party's faith in the future when he said: "Advancing thought, science, discovery, and invention are constantly imposing new surroundings upon us. Constant reform is an essential part of the protection of liberty, and society, to be successful, must secure the effort and the initiative of its citizens." These were Hoover's words 30 years ago that are as appropriate today as they were when they were stated.

And so I say to you, this Nation cannot afford to follow the banners of retreat and reaction. This Republic needs new leadership—leadership that is unafraid of the future. We need to ponder—and seriously—what 4 more years of reluctant backing into tomorrow would do to this Nation.

We need leadership that does not evidence fear of the facts or fear of the future or fear of the people. Time and again this administration has revealed distrust of us all. Why, why do they fear telling the American people what our foreign policy is? Even when American boys are dying in a war without a name. Tragic as is a tomb for an unknown soldier, still more tragic is the fate of the unknowing soldier, whose life may be lost in a battle the purpose of which he has not been told and which he is not allowed to either win or to conclude.

On the domestic front the administration's fear of the people is demonstrated by its lack of confidence in the capacity of the individual to manage his own affairs. In its lack of faith in the capacity of State and local government to deal with State and local problems, and in the capacity of our free institutions to adapt to the challenge of change. The banner behind this podium is the answer that we Republicans make to those who would have us believe that the State should be the master instead of the servant. The Republican Party offers America a choice, a choice between fear and faith. The Republican Party with its devotion to the principles of Lincoln, with its dedication to the cause of freedom, exemplified by the service of Dwight David Eisenhower, with its century-old tradition of progress, and with the commitment to the principles of morality, we offer America a program of faith.

We have faith in the value of our open society where people of many lands, minorities all, have migrated to these shores, each has added richly to the cultural diversity that makes this the unique Nation in all the world.

We have faith as the historic party of human rights that for those minorities which do not now have equal opportunity for education, for employment, for housing, we can find the means of assuring to each of these the requirements of progress.

We have faith in our capacity to defend human rights against the forces of bigotry and hate within our own country. With the authors of the Declaration of Independence we know that the rights of men are endowed by their Creator. They are not bestowed by men. The State is not the author of freedom. The State has a duty, however, to support and defend civil rights, the political rights, the rights of opportunity that some men in defiance of the Creator would destroy.

We have faith in the forces of law and order under our Constitution. Our faith challenges any who would destroy freedom whether they wrap themselves in a false cloak of patriotism or an equally false cloak of religion. There are bigots in this Nation who spew forth their venom of hate. They parade under hundreds of labels, including the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society. They must be overcome, and the Republican Party—and the Republican Party will lead the quest for victory in the struggle to change the minds and hearts of men, because it is only by such a victory that human dignity will be won and preserved.

We have faith that the American Nation and system will prevail against the Communist menace that stalks and threats to bury us and against the Fascist that lurks and threatens to capture us. We oppose both dangers in the Republican Party. And, we have the energy, the knowledge of the enemy, and the faith in freedom that will maintain our liberty against either danger.

We have faith in the Republican Party in our educational system, as the foundation of self-government, as the mainspring of economic progress, as the source of brain power for the defense of the state.

We have faith in the free enterprise system in the Republican Party. And let me remind you that capitalism in the United States has brought us to the highest standard of living in the history of the world, to the common inter-partnership of the worker, the investor, and the consumer.

We have faith in the working man and the working woman of America, their skill, and their productivity. We share their aspirations and support their right to organize and to bargain for their economic benefit.

We have faith in our ability to find the means of distribution that will assure that hunger is not the neighbor of surplus.

We have faith in the strength America draws from her natural resources. We support the programs of conservation and development, initiated in the administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

We have faith in our capacity to help those who are in their senior years to avoid the ironic hardship imposed by the bitter harvest of inflation.

We have faith in our Federal system, as in a nation as complex as ours it is a necessity, but more than this, it permits us to solve our problems in a way that no monolithic national government could do.

We have faith in our Nation's capacity for leadership of the free world and in the capacity of all free nations to find the means, including the work of the United Nations, for achieving a world that is truly free.

We have faith in the programs of assistance to other nations, if only the aid that we offer demonstrates vision, certainty of purpose and a clear understanding of our needs as well as their needs. But the most fundamental faith of the Republican Party and of all Americans must be in the strength of our religious heritage and the need for a spiritual renaissance in our country.

A decade ago a great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, pointed to the central role of a righteous and dynamic faith. He said, "All else avails us little. The lack can-

not be compensated for by politicians, however able, by diplomats, however astute, or by scientists, however inventive, or by bombs, however powerful. Our greatest need is to regain confidence in our spiritual heritage." John Foster Dulles said this.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, government is not in the business of dispensing religion. However, government by its example shares in the setting of the moral standards of this Nation. To hold a political title does not excuse the holder from high standards of ethics and morality. If this Nation's leaders do not demonstrate integrity of ideas, integrity of action, they will surely destroy the moral standards that guard us from decay, and each political leader owes, especially to the youth of this Nation, an example of right conduct.

Every citizen is entitled to expect that his political leaders will, by their political and personal behavior, add luster to a free government. We need leaders with the certainty of faith and the commitment of purpose of the valiant few at Valley Forge who won their battle for us against overwhelming odds.

The political party assembled here tonight faces similar odds, but we have as our strength faith in the people, faith in the future, and we do not fear the facts. In the program of the Republican Party is a victory for all Americans, Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and it is to them that we present the invitation to set out again on a pilgrimage of faith. In this faith, in this commitment, in this hour of solemn rededication, this convention must display the wisdom, the progressive spirit, and the leadership that is so desperately required by all who would be free. Thank you.

Apportionment Compromise Quickly Rebuffed by Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, that great Capital City daily of the State of Ohio, has in its lead editorial of its issue of September 27, 1964, in a clear and convincing manner set forth the result of the weak and ineffective apportionment compromise adopted in the other body last week.

How will the majority of Members of the other body, particularly the Members from States west of the Mississippi, explain and justify their votes if irrigation, reclamation, flood control, and hydroelectric power districts begin to topple and fall under the slogan of "one man, one vote."

I need not tell my Ohio colleagues, in fact I need not tell well over half my colleagues of the House that the series of Supreme Court decisions on apportionment of State legislatures is one of the major campaign issues of 1964.

Mr. Speaker, I should like for the spokesman, or spokesmen, for the majority in the other body to tell us just why he or they refuse to give the people, from whom all power finally comes, of the 50 States their duly elected representatives time to consider nullifying the Supreme Court-made law, which overturned 173 years of unquestioned State constitutional provisions for legislative apportionment by a divided court.

The editorial follows:

APPORTIONMENT COMPROMISE QUICKLY REBUFFED BY COURT

The accuracy of Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN's charge that the weak compromise on legislative reapportionment approved Thursday by the Senate is "not worth the paper it is written on" and will have no effect whatever on the Federal courts was quickly demonstrated.

One of the special three-judge Federal panels to which the U.S. Supreme Court has delegated speedy enforcement of its highly controverted decision of last June 15 has arbitrarily ordered cancellation of a November 3 election in Connecticut for members of a new General Assembly and directed that the present general assembly reconvene after the election and as soon as posible enact a reapportionment formula acceptable to the high bench.

The compromise finally accepted by a weary Senate, anxious to adjourn, was quickly passed after Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD withdrew his support for the stronger amendment he had cosponsored with Senator DIRKSEN which would have required the courts to refrain from execution of reapportionment orders until January 1, 1966.

What the Senate did approve, by a significantly slim 44 to 38 margin, with 18 absentees, was merely a recommendation to the Supreme Court of the "sense of Congress" that it ought to allow States up to 6 months time to reapportion where this might be ordered, and to permit the next election of State legislatures to be held on the old basis.

The language of the compromise includes no stated or implied criticism of the Supreme Court, as did the first version, and is not binding in any way on the Federal judiciary.

Enactment of the compromise, which its critics have correctly called "meaningless," is a victory of sorts for the "liberal" wing of the Senate, for the Johnson administration and for a headstrong Supreme Court which obviously is bent on arrogating the functions of Congress to itself, thus upsetting the balance of authority in the tripartite government carefully prescribed by the Nation's Founding Fathers and violating the Constitution it is charged with defending as well as interpreting.

However, it was a victory achieved because of a combination of absenteeism, the pressures on the Senate to adjourn so as to allow time for electioneering in a crucial year, and the feeling on the part of Senate Democrats that action on the foreign aid bill, to which the amendment was attached as a rider, simply could not be longer delayed.

It could prove to be a hollow triumph, another instance of how it is possible to win a battle and still lose a war. It is inconceivable that the issue will not be raised again and perhaps even more strongly, in the next session of Congress in the form of action on the flood of stronger remedial bills and proposed constitutional amendments designed to stay the Supreme Court's hand.

Meantime, nevertheless the mischief which the Senate's temporary surrender can precipitate has been graphically illustrated by the fiat handed the State of Connecticut on the same day that the surrender took place.

It was an act which lends further credence to the charges voiced by critics of the Supreme Court's reapportionment rulings and its almost frantic haste to enforce them, that the basic motive behind the Court's reckless course is baldly political.

Acquisition of Land by the Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, from June 1963, the time when the Tennessee Valley Authority was assigned the responsibility of developing the Between-the-Lakes recreation area in western Kentucky, many allegations have been made concerning the TVA's disposal of lands determined to be excess to the Agency's requirements. Specifically, it is charged that the TVA acquires land, under eminent domain, at a low price, and later disposes of it at a high price.

Dr. John C. Quertermous, of Murray, Ky., in a letter dated September 15 has provided me with documentary evidence of the TVA's acquisition of 24.7 acres for about $12 an acre in 1941, and the subsequent sale of 16.99 of these acres to individuals for about $326 an acre in 1946. I call this material to the attention of the Senate, in view of the generally expressed dissatisfaction with early acquisitions of land for the recreation project.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Quertermous' letter of September 15, 1964, and the affidavit of the Honorable D. W. Shoemaker, clerk of Calloway County Court, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and the affidavit were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHN C. QUERTERMOUS, M.D.,
Murray, Ky., September 15, 1964.

Hon. THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Senator, Commonwealth of Kentucky,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORTON: These extracts from deed indicate that in 1941 TVA took 24.7 acres of land from the William Mason estate of $273.91 or a little less than $12 an acre.

In 1945 TVA started selling this land off as "surplus" and within a year had sold 16.99 acres to individuals for $5,525 or about $326 an acre.

The family it was taken from was fortunate enough to be able to buy back 3.02 acres of this land for $1,300. Other families less wealthy and less politically powerful were not able to buy their land back even at six times the rate TVA paid for it originally.

Mr. Wagner has stated in the press that TVA is not involved in real estate or speculation—this evidence, which can be re-presented hundreds of times along the shores of the Kentucky Lake, proves that TVA is not unaccustomed to dealing in real estate in a very profitable manner.

It doesn't take much intelligence to use the power of eminent domain in this way and create the appearance of shrewd management.

It would be a source of some small gratification to those forced out of the Barkley Lake "recreation" area if TVA were prevented from repeating this maneuver over there. It seems appropriate that if TVA finds it has some "surplus" property, or property it wants developed privately it be required by law to

offer it back to the original owner at the same price it was appropriated for.

Very truly yours,

JOHN C. QUERTERMOUS, M.D.

AFFIDAVIT—STATE OF KENTUCKY, COUNTY OF CALLOWAY

I, D. W. Shoemaker, clerk of Calloway County Court, being first duly sworn according to law, state:

That as clerk, I am the recorder of all deeds conveying Calloway County property.

That there is of official record in my office in Murray, Calloway County, Ky., the following deeds:

In deed book 69, at page 485, a deed from William Mason Memorial Hospital Association to United States of America (TVA) conveying 24.7 acres of land for the consideration of $273.91, that this deed is dated the 24th day of April 1941.

In deed book 81, at page 510, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Patricia M. Drake (who is the daughter of William Mason) conveying lot No. 42 consisting of 1.59 acres for the consideration of $300, that this deed is dated the 24th day of July 1946. The source of title for this lot is the deed from William Mason Hospital Association.

In deed book 81, at page 514, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Ora K. Mason (wife of William Mason), conveying lots No. 43, containing 2.02 acres and lot No. 45, containing 1.43 acres for a consideration of $1,000, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is the deed from William Mason Hospital Association.

In deed book 85, at page 26, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to George Klamen conveying lot No. 32 containing 0.78 acre and lot No. 40 containing 6.05 acres for a consideration of $950, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is the deed from William Mason Hospital Association.

In deed book 85, at page 77, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Robert A. Orr conveying lot No. 48 containing 2.37 acres for a consideration of $650, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from Robert B. Holland and the William Mason Hospital Association.

In deed book 85, at page 73, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to James T. Fuller conveying 2.57 acres for a consideration of $850, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from Robert B. Holland and from the William Mason Hospital Association.

In Deed Book 85, at page 69, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Albert G. Wilson conveying Lot No. 49 containing 2.18 acres for a consideration of $600, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from Robert B. Holland, from Aubrey T. Moore, from Lovie Sheridan, and from the William Mason Hospital Association.

In Deed Book 85, at page 262, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Betty Beale conveying lot No. 39 containing 0.74 acre for a consideration of $350, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from Carter O. Brandon and the William Mason Hospital Association.

In Deed Book 85, at page 383, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Christine C. Reynolds conveying lot No. 46 containing 1.36 acres for the consideration of $750, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from Robert B. Holland and the William Mason Hospital Association.

In Deed Book 109, at page 264, a deed from the United States of America (TVA) to Wallace H. Spradling conveying lot No. 41 containing 3.97 acres for a consideration of $275, and that said deed is dated the 27th day of June 1946. The source of title for this lot is a deed from the William Mason Hospital Association.

Further, the affiant sayeth not.

D. W. SHOEMAKER,
Clerk, Calloway County Court.

State of Kentucky, County of Calloway, ss.

I, Robert O. Miller, notary public of and for the county and State of aforesaid, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing affidavit which was duly signed and acknowledged and sworn to before me in Calloway County, Ky., this the 15th day of July 1964.

ROBERT O. MILLER,
Notary Public, Calloway County, Ky.

My commission expires the 19th day of April 1967.

Address by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, recently the distinguished Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, Dr. Edward C. Welsh, gave an address in the city of Philadelphia, to help honor the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on its sixth anniversary and to preview the man-in-space exhibition.

I am pleased to insert the timely remarks of Dr. Welsh in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ADDRESS BY DR. EDWARD C. WELSH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE COUNCIL

It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here this evening. I was honored to be invited by both your distinguished mayor and the president of the chamber of commerce of this great metropolitan area. To my way of thinking, that adds up to a very special sort of invitation. In addition, I am pleased to help honor NASA on its sixth anniversary and also to preview the man-in-space exhibition at the commercial museum.

SPACE EXHIBITION

I understand that the exhibition is impressive. I am confident that it marks a forward-looking step. It is evident that far-sighted civic leaders have realized that this great new space era is here to stay and hence they have thoughtfully planned to enlighten the community on the progress being attained. It is such a current field, however, that we must wait for part of the history to be made before the evidence can be displayed. The developments in space are so amazing that even the most active imagination has difficulty keeping ahead of the accomplishments. I want to congratulate the city of Philadelphia for its museum and particularly for this new space exhibit. I also congratulate NASA for its role in making this exhibit possible.

MISCONCEPTIONS

The space program has many mysterious aspects, not the least of which are the misconceptions created about it. It takes a certain type of ability to manufacture plausible-sounding myths, and unfortunately such ability has been working overtime regarding the space program. I would take a few minutes of your time to examine several of these confusing rumors about our space effort.

1. National security

First of all, we are told that our space activity is all directed toward going to the moon while neglecting our military competence. The facts do not support that accusation. For example, during the last 21 months, we have put more than 100 payloads into earth orbit, of which about 80 percent were put there by the Department of Defense. I hasten to add that this in no way plays down the significance of the NASA launches. It is cited merely to give a factual account of the amount of defense activity in our space program.

Moreover, less than half of our total space expenditures go to what is loosely referred to as the "lunar venture." I say "loosely" because most of what is being devoted to the lunar project would be spent to develop space competence even if there were no goal of a manned trip to the moon. Do not be misled by those who would have you believe that we are spending $20 billion just to put a man on the moon. The fact is that the $20 billion figure includes the cost of developing large rockets and sophisticated spacecraft which will have many uses, only one of which is the lunar trip. The $20 billion figure also includes the Gemini project, which is devoted to extending our experience and increasing our competence in manned space flight in earth orbit, including the rendezvous and docking of two spacecraft. These developments in rockets, spacecraft, rendezvous and docking, tracking, etc.—all contribute to a strong national security base for keeping the peace, not for aggression.

The fact is that the Department of Defense is annually spending about $1½ billion in space research and development. This includes projects in navigation, communications, observation, detection, booster development, scientific instrumentation, command and control techniques, interception, and manned and unmanned space flight. In addition, various space projects of NASA, the AEC, and the Weather Bureau contribute directly or indirectly to improving our national security.

One of the outstanding features of our national space program is the close and efficient working relationship between NASA and the Department of Defense. This interface includes the exchange of personnel, the sharing of scientific and technical knowledge, and the use by one agency of the boosters and spacecraft developed by the other. The critic who belittles what is being done in space to strengthen the Nation's defense is either ignorant, irresponsible, or both. This does not mean that I am satisfied with the rate of progress, but I do accept facts as facts. Progress of a substantial nature is being made in strengthening our national security through space competence.

2. Crash program

A second misconception which cannot stand exposure to factual analysis is the assertion that we have a "crash" program in space. Of course, anyone who knows anything about crash program would never talk that way. Crash programs have unlimited funds, unlimited overtime, and parallel approaches to the end objective. None of these aspects applies to the space program or even to the lunar project. Funds are not unlimited; overtime does not characterize the activity; and a single approach to the lunar trip is being followed. Moreover, the speed of the program is geared to getting the most progress per dollar spent rather than the most progress in the shortest period of time. Whether we should or should not have a crash program is a different question, but to assert that we do have one is to deny the facts and distort the truth.

3. Either/or philosophy

A third misconception about our space program flows from those whose reasoning is handicapped by what might be called the "either/or" philosophy. In the simplest terms, this concept is that we can have either a space program or better educational advantages, but not both; that we can have either a space program or a slum elimination program, but not both; that we can have either a space program or a program to care for the elderly and the ill, but not both. It is my belief that most people who hold such narrow views are opposed to progress in general rather than specifically opposed to space exploration. They probably would not vote more money for education or public housing even if they could curtail the space program. They might be known as the "fiscally responsible" type of individuals at whose hands this country's health has suffered before. They are the type who let us get behind the Soviets in space while at the same time we were experiencing recessions and very slow economic growth. We already know that path well enough and do not plan to travel it again.

No realist believes that this country cannot afford to invest in our national security and in technological progress just because we are not investing enough in some other phases of our economy. Actually, investments stimulate other investments; they do not deter them. This is not an either/or proposition, i.e., schools or space. Rather, the one helps the other. Both are needed and both can be afforded. What is more, decreased spending in education, for example, does not automatically increase the funds available for space exploration, or vice versa. We cannot afford to neglect any of the basic essentials, including space exploration, if we are to continue to be the world's leading peace-loving and freedom-loving nation.

4. Slowdown

A fourth misconception is that we should slow down the program and thereby save money. At first blush, this "what's the hurry?" philosophy may sound reasonable. In fact, the proposition has only two things wrong with it. First, such an approach would be of great benefit to the Soviets as it would make it easier for them to increase their lead in some aspects of space and attain the lead in others. Do not think for a moment that they are not trying hard to do just that. So far this year, the U.S.S.R. has put more than twice as many spacecraft into orbit as they had put into orbit by this time last year. In a sense, they are doubling their space effort. The second thing wrong with the slowdown approach is that it doesn't save money; it wastes it. To slow down a carefully planned project, such as Apollo, would be to increase its cost and reduce its likelihood of timely success. Key to the waste involved is the breakup of highly competent teams of scientists, engineers, and managers. Key also to the waste is the resultant idleness of facilities rather than their full use. Those who propose the stretchout or slowdown in the space program are in fact arguing for inefficiency and higher costs as well as delayed accomplishments.

SPACE RACE

Now that we have sharpened our awareness that the space program is making a major contribution to our national security; is not a crash program; is not being pursued at the expense of other primary objectives; and cannot be slowed down without raising costs and benefiting the Soviets,

I would turn your attention briefly to how we stand in the space race.

1. As regards that key feature: booster power, the Soviets are still ahead on an operational basis, although we are moving up rapidly, having attained the current weight-lifting record on a test shot by the Saturn I.

2. We have placed almost three times as many payloads into earth orbit, while they continue each year to increase their absolute lead in total weight of net payloads orbited.

3. Our numerical progress in orbiting payloads is impressive. Since January 1963, the United States has put more payloads into earth orbit than the U.S.S.R. has since Sputnik I in 1957.

4. The increased reliability of our launchings is also impressive. During the past 3 years, we placed successfully into earth orbit about 85 percent of all the payloads which we attempted to put there. The Soviet record, while not identical, is comparable.

5. The Soviet heavy Vostok class of vehicle has accumulated more than 2,500 orbits, as compared with 37 for our smaller Mercury. In flying time, even their female cosmonaut has gained more orbital experience than all our astronauts combined. Gemini, Apollo, and MOL may well correct that imbalance, but at the present we are well behind.

6. The Soviets have devoted more of their attention to deep space than we have. As a percentage of total space launching attempts, they have devoted four times as much effort to escape-missions to the moon and planets as we have. The opposite is true as to near-earth orbits, in which our emphasis has been much greater than theirs.

7. Both countries have made impressive strides in accumulating scientific data about space. We may even be ahead in this regard, but, if so, the margin is not large.

8. The United States is clearly ahead in worldwide sharing of space research in cooperative programs, and in direct application of space technology to practical use in communications, weather reporting, geodesy, and navigation. I want to emphasize that the Soviets have a strong, orderly program, with every indication that it is continuing vigorously, apparently unaffected by adverse economic factors in their country. Wishful thinking to the contrary, we dare not slow down unless we are willing to pay the exorbitant price of second place. We have made very impressive progress in the past several years. Our gains have been encouraging.

THE FUTURE

And now I would glance with you at what the space program may look like in the future. Keep firmly in mind that the program is here to stay and that its trend will be one of expansion rather than contraction.

Application of space-oriented knowledge will increase at an increasing rate. Weather prediction and possibly even weather control will save vast amounts of property and thousands of lives annually. Communication by satellites will link the nations of the world closer together and aid in the sharing of knowledge, the conducting of business, and the avoidance of international misunderstandings and disputes. New materials, new products, new processes will flow from the space program to raise our standard of living. Our national security will be enhanced as satellites contribute to our alertness to what other nations are doing, contribute to the observance of treaties, and divert competitive energies from earth-bound aggression to peaceful competition in limitless space. Our knowledge of the earth's origin will be greatly increased and our education stimulated.

As for space projects, we will explore the moon, not just visit it; we will explore the planets, not just fly by them; space laboratories will be generally accepted as extensions of laboratories here on earth; and spacecraft and space rockets will be recoverable and reusable.

It is my thesis that we are entering such a period of prosperity, technical opportunity, and social progress that our previous accomplishments will pale by comparison. The vitality of the space program will contribute immensely to this building of a greater society.

As President Johnson has said: "Seldom in its lifetime is a country fortunate enough to be confronted with such a challenge as that of the national space program. It enables our people to devote their skills, their courage, their initiative, and their resources to a continuing series of projects which dwarf their imagination while enriching their country."

Which Trend in the Election?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD David Lawrence's editorial from the September 28 issue of the U.S. News & World Report.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHICH TREND?

(By David Lawrence)

Do many people really believe either of the nominees for the Presidency is the best-qualified man in the United States to preside over the destinies of the American people in this critical period in world history? Yet each candidate has an enthusiastic following.

Many voters, on the other hand, while marking their ballots for either President Johnson or Senator GOLDWATER, will not feel they are endorsing a particular personality. They will be voting in favor of or against what they believe to be a definite trend in American affairs.

The American people will really be deciding between two trends of thought. Which viewpoint will the majority, rightly or wrongly, approve in the belief that it will save the country from depression and war?

One school of thought believes in borrowing $11 billion from the people, then giving it away as a reduction in taxes, and at the same time increasing governmental expenditures. Large sums are allocated to the areas where the most votes can be garnered.

This is the school of thought which accepts "pump-priming" and deficit spending as a necessary economic stimulus, hails the result as the greatest prosperity in history, and brushes aside as inapplicable and irrelevant the futile experience of the 1930's. Yet the artificial economics of that period caused millions of persons to suffer the hardships of an unemployment crisis which lasted 10 years.

This is the school of thought which believes that racial discrimination can be remedied by law and that both the States and the Federal Government have the right to tell a storekeeper what customers he shall serve, to tell a homeowner what prospective buyer he must accept, and to compel parents to send their children to schools many blocks away from home, even though there is a school building nearby in their own neighborhood. The plan is supposed to achieve "racial balance" in the educational system.

This is the school of thought which believes in trading with our enemy—Communist imperialism—despite its worldwide aggressions.

This is the school of thought which minimizes the significance of Soviet control of

Cuba, the Communist mischief-making in Vietnam which is costing the lives of American boys, and the Communist encouragement of armed uprisings in Africa and the Middle East and of disorders in Latin America.

This is the school of thought which believes that appeasement is expedient and necessary in foreign policy and that such things as principles and convictions based on the indelible facts of history are myths or unrealities.

Then there's the opposite school of thought, which believes in maintaining a solvent government and paying off Government bonds at maturity in dollars that are worth the same as when the securities were bought. For today we are confronted with a constantly depreciating dollar.

This is the school of thought which believes in equal rights but also equal responsibilities.

This is the school of thought which doesn't believe in special privilege, whether it takes the form of labor-union power or monopolistic practices by businesses.

This is the school of thought which would like to see a real war on the poverty that comes when wage-and-price inflation devalues the pension dollar and inflicts misery on the elderly and the disabled.

This is the school of thought which fears the collapse of the private-enterprise system and the substitution of an economy dominated by a centralized government—the forerunner of state socialism.

This is the school of thought which foresees an America plunged into a major war if appeasement continues to encourage the aggressor, as he is tempted to misconstrue our passion for peace as cowardice.

Which trend does the voter want? It matters less which personality is triumphant than which philosophy of government is to be accepted as the will of the majority of the American people.

Which trend will the successful candidate himself feel he must follow? And which trend sacrifices basic principles for a temporary victory? It was Woodrow Wilson who once said:

"I would rather fail in a cause that I know some day will triumph than to triumph in a cause that I know some day will fail."

Which candidate will face up to the fact that a government which runs in the red year after year eventually loses the confidence of the public—its lenders and its investors?

Shall we continue the gambles of political hypocrisy, along with its brainwashing techniques and preachments of unsound economics? Will the Nation realize in time that economic disaster at home and a disintegrating world situation could bring on the big war that nobody wants?

Which trend?

Bridgeport's Project for the Advancement of Youth Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABNER W. SIBAL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am today inserting in the RECORD a detailed description of a project for the advancement of youth opportunity which is being undertaken by the people of Bridgeport in my district under the initiative of the Junior League of Bridgeport. I am so impressed by the work that is being done and by the way in which it is being carried out, through the contributions of many interested citizens and business firms, that I want to present the details of the program for all other Members to see.

The project is called YOU—Youth Opportunities Unlimited. It is an excellent name for it and I expect it will serve as a valuable model for other communities in the land:

THE JUNIOR LEAGUE OF BRIDGEPORT, INC.,
Fairfield, Conn., July 20, 1964.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SIBAL: As our Representative we felt that you would want to know about the Junior League of Bridgeport's 2-year demonstration project YOU, a program of opportunity for young people.

A nursery school will be conducted at Father Panik Village (an integrated housing project), enrichment and remedial reading program at Waltersville School (public elementary school of 1,200 pupils living in the lower East Side of Bridgeport), a careers program at Waltersville School and Father Panik Village, and a parent education discussion group of those whose children are enrolled in the nursery program.

The Junior League of Bridgeport's guaranteed financial commitment is $8,000 per year for 2 years. A bank account has been opened in the name of the Junior League of Bridgeport's Project YOU, and $8,000 has been deposited for this year's operating budget.

Anticipated allocation of the $8,000 for the first year of YOU paid in full by the Junior League:

Reading coordinator—primary responsibility is the reading developmental program at Waltersville School portion of time at nursery school	$6,400
Operating budget for reading coordinator to purchase materials for program at Waltersville School	100
Materials for language developmental programs for nurseries at Father Panik Village (20 pupils) and Mall Neighborhood House Day-Care Center	500
Enrichment program for 1,200 pupils at Waltersville School (for example, to take each child on just 1 educational bus trip would cost $600; 2,000 books for the library we are establishing would cost $6,000	855
Careers—8 evening programs at Father Panik Village on educational opportunities and careers for teenagers and parents; reference books for study lounge; bus trips to local industries and colleges	80
Parent discussion group—required of mothers of children who attend the Father Panik Nursery. The course will be based on the interest and needs of the parents, but a tentative plan for the course includes: demonstrations of homemakers' skills, how and what families can do together, field trips to places of educational value, library, museums	40
Community relations—film for slides depicting YOU for illustrated talks to civic clubs. Progress reports to advisory board, Community Chest, and council, mayor, Senators	25
Total cost	8,000

Items concerned directly with the nursery school teacher's being hired.

Nursery school teacher for Father Panik Village Nursery 3 mornings a week	$1,000
Equipment (amount does not include reading and language developmental equipment which the junior league will be purchasing) such as crayons, paper, clay, etc	200
Total deficit	1,200

Project YOU is a coordinated community effort of human renewal as evidenced by the following support and cooperation:

A. The Bridgeport Board of Education has (1) supplied a large room to establish library, exhibits, etc., for enrichment program at Waltersville School; (2) supplied reading specialists office at Waltersville; (3) Miss Anna Cain and Miss Dorothy Hanley have interviewed, with a junior league committee, all reading specialist candidates; (4) consultants—Miss Conroy and Dr. Humpreyville—will set up part of reading program and Mr. Silverstone and Dr. Mayer will help careers program for eighth graders; (5) supplied for library room fluorescent lights, floor tile, has painted, provided bookshelves, bulletin boards, librarian's desk, file, 6 library tables and 40 chairs, 1 round table for exhibits, globe; (6) board of education is also supplying fluorescent lighting, bulletin boards, blackboard, bookshelves, one round table for the nursery at Father Panik Village.

B. The Housing Authority of City of Bridgeport has (1) supplied a basement room (47 by 26½) for the nursery, building 24, Father Panik Village; (2) supplied four-room apartment, building 24; (3) apartment and nursery room have been painted and tile floor installed, 2 bathrooms and sink installed, 20 wooden lockers built and lighting installed; (4) heat and electricity will be supplied free, as well as maintenance.

C. Tenant Relations Association, Father Panik Village: (1) gave a bingo party to raise money for some of the furnishings for the apartment; (2) will make curtains for apartment.

D. Hall Neighborhood House: (1) supplied 20 chairs, 6 tables, tricycles, easels, and other equipment for the nursery at Father Panik Village; (2) Mr. Newman, Mrs. Hines, and Mrs. Arrington have held meetings with Junior League to discuss recruiting, screening, and program of nursery at Father Panik Village.

The following community agencies and groups have also been asked and have agreed to help Project YOU.

Inter-Group Council, Inc.; careers.

Connecticut State Employment, Baptist office: careers.

Bridgeport Chamber of Commerce: enrichment and careers.

Mayor's Commission on Human Rights: enrichment, careers, nursery.

Bridgeport Labor Council: careers.

Boys' Club: careers.

State Welfare Department: social workers recruit for nursery and hobbies.

City Welfare Department: for enrichment.

National Council Jewish Women, Bridgeport: volunteers.

College Club of Bridgeport: volunteers.

Fairfield County Symphony: free tickets, youth concerts.

Twelve citizens have called to donate their specialized skills to YOU: psychological examiners, doctors, teachers, and social workers.

To date the following businesses have donated needed equipment:

Friedman's Furniture: furniture for living room of apartment.

Weston Woods Studio: films and records for nursery and enrichment.

Bader TV Repair: repair and installation of donated TV in library at school.

West End Lumber Co.: lumber for nursery lockers.

Whiteman, Meyers: rug for nursery.

The Junior League of Bridgeport is supplying 47 trained volunteers. Each volunteer will spend at least 3 hours per week working for YOU. Our members have already donated a great number of books, exhibits, etc.

We have sent for information from all over the country on similar programs. The enclosed bibliography represents materials that we have consulted. Thus we have concrete information on how to spend our money, and

should more money be given to Project YOU, it would be spent wisely.

Obviously the money we have could not pay for the facilities, equipment, and personnel needed unless we had received the tremendous support and interest of many, many wonderful citizens who do care and do want to participate in a coordinated effort to alleviate some of Bridgeport's problems.

We shall be holding ceremonies on Wednesday, September 30, at 10 a.m., at Father Panik Village to celebrate the opening of all phases of YOU's program. We should be greatly honored if your busy schedule would permit your participation in these ceremonies.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

VIRGINIA D. RIDER,
Chairman, Project YOU.

FACT SHEETS: YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES UNLIMITED (YOU)

Who: YOU was voted as a 2-year demonstration project by the Junior League of Bridgeport, Inc., at a membership meeting on March 18, 1964.

What: YOU is a program of opportunity for young people. It was conceived by the Junior League of Bridgeport in cooperation with the Bridgeport Board of Education, the Connecticut State Employment Office, Hall Neighborhood House, and the Housing Authority of the City of Bridgeport. It will be financially supported by the Junior League of Bridgeport.

Where: In the Lower East Side of Bridgeport; where an integrated Federal housing project (Father Panik Village), Waltersville School, and Hall Neighborhood House are located.

When: From the fall of 1964 through the summer of 1966.

How: The program consists of three parts:

A. READING

1. A qualified reading specialist will be hired by the Junior League of Bridgeport for the 2-year period. The reading specialist, with trained volunteers, will conduct reading readiness programs for preschoolers at the nursery school being established at Father Panik Village by Hall Neighborhood House.

2. A similar program will be offered at Hall Neighborhood Day Nursery.

3. The reading specialist will offer remedial reading at Waltersville School, in cooperation with the staff at the school.

4. The reading specialist will be employed for 11 months each year, in order to prevent summer setback.

5. The reading specialist will be assisted by trained Junior League volunteers.

B. ENRICHMENT

1. Bus trips for the children of this area to the museum of art, science and industry; youth concerts; Beardsley Park Zoo; children's programs theater; the library; and other places of educational and cultural value.

2. The Junior League of Bridgeport's project, "Art Goes to School," will continue to provide art lectures to the fifth- and sixth-grade students in Bridgeport schools.

C. CAREERS

1. Career nights for teenagers at Father Panik Village's Community Center with movies, slides, speakers, and written information on job and educational opportunities. These will be planned in cooperation with the Bridgeport Inter-Group Council, the youth division of the Connecticut State Employment Office, and the Bridgeport Chamber of Commerce.

Why: To prevent school dropouts caused by reading problems, to provide educational and cultural opportunities, to demonstrate what a team approach might accomplish for our youth, to encourage other groups and individuals to work together on opportunities for youth, to give parents an opportunity to learn skills and techniques to help their children, to provide hope and incentive to young people, and to develop self-reliance among young people.

Ultimate goal: (1) To convince the city that money spent and action taken on young peoples' problems are essential to the welfare of the Greater Bridgeport area; (2) to demonstrate to the citizens the need for the city to continue YOU in this area, as well as other needed areas in Bridgeport.

Planning: YOU was planned by the project finding committee of the Junior League of Bridgeport since March 1963 with the cooperation and support of the following:

Miss Anna Cain, assistant superintendent of schools.

Margaret Driscoll, juvenile court judge.

Miss Dorothy Hanley, principal, Waltersville School.

Mrs. Jewel P. Hines, social worker, Hall Neighborhood House.

Patrick Hunter, director, intergroup council.

Francis King, president, board of education.

Ewell Newman, director, Hall Neighborhood House.

Max Nickowitz, citizens school dropout committee.

Joseph Porter, superintendent of schools.

Sam Rosoff, Bridgeport Chamber of Commerce.

Francis Shanley, director, Bridgeport Housing Authority.

Lester Silverstone, assistant superintendent of schools.

Leo Sperling, director, youth division, Connecticut State Employment Office.

Anita Vogel, board of education.

Mrs. Edward Wasserman, vice president, National Council of Jewish Women.

Retirement of Representative Eugene Siler From House of Representatives

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Louisville Courier-Journal about the Honorable EUGENE SILER, who has ably served the Fifth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives for the past 10 years and who is now retiring.

I do not know a finer man. He will be greatly missed by all of us who are his constituents; and also, I know, by his colleagues in the House.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MANY LANDMARKS AND MEMORIES RECALLED AS SILER LEAVES CONGRESS

(By Fred W. Luigart, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—In room 209 of the House Office Building here, Representative EUGENE SILER has begun the preliminaries to winding up a 10-year career in Congress.

The Kentuckian's clerks still go about their work but the pace has slackened. There are fewer visitors to see. Each day brings fewer letters from constituents seeking help. They are writing now, instead, to thank the Williamsburg Republican for the countless favors—big and small—rendered in their behalf.

One office clerk, a resident of Washington, has already been informed her services won't be needed by SILER's successor—presumably Dr. Tim Lee Carter, of Tompkinsville. Dr. Carter won the Republican nomination in the Fifth District, which has never sent a Democrat to Congress.

HAS MANY MEMENTOS

In the week following House adjournment, mementos collected during his decade in Congress—photographs of prominent politicians, certificates of appreciation, and inexpensive gifts from friends, such as a framed copy of the 10 Commandments, a giant twist of tobacco, a Kentucky mountain hornet's nest—will be removed from the walls of SILER's office to be shipped home.

Although SILER is still at his desk—except when away for preaching engagements—his interest in congressional proceedings has obviously waned—a natural reaction for a man preparing to abandon the national political arena.

HE HAS NO REGRETS

He has no regrets about calling it quits after five terms in Washington. He could have remained here. Had he run again, he would have been reelected.

He still has no particular reason for retiring from Congress beyond a strong, personal yearning to return to his hometown.

The SILER who leaves Washington will be a man whose conservative posture has been diluted by circumstances during his five terms here.

He remains a fiscal conservative in the tradition of Senator HARRY BYRD of Virginia, But in response to acute economic conditions within his own district, SILER has moderated his views on flood-control projects and Federal welfare and economic development proposals that would benefit his constituents.

SAYS CONGRESS "SELFISH"

In the past few years, he has even found himself in the company of House liberals in urging special Federal legislation for depressed areas.

While he professes to have enjoyed his years as a Congressman, SILER remains disillusioned with what he calls the "selfish attitude of Congress."

This attitude, which he sees as finding expression in the recent pay raise Congress voted itself, the new $100 million House Office Building, and legislation to increase salaries for congressional office help, sets a bad example for the Nation.

"I do think Congress, as an institution, ought to have more self-denial and more desire to set a good example for the rest of the country in matters of fiscal integrity and good conduct," he said.

SOUGHT MANY THINGS

If SILER had had his way during his years here, Congress would also have curbed nepotism, congressional junketing, liquor advertising, and approved a constitutional amendment "to permit—not compel" Bible reading in schools.

But as he concedes, quoting President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Politics is the art of the possible. Every man can't have his own way."

SILER, an active Baptist layman, battled to curb liquor advertisements his first year here. Although his fight threw a scare into congressional leaders who, since the repeal of prohibition have resisted every effort to divide Congress along wet and dry lines, SILER's bill died in committee.

NEVER TOOK JUNKET

He has never taken a congressional junket—"90 percent of them are unnecessary." Neither has any member of his family ever been on the congressional payroll.

SILER's view on his congressional career is that it has been highlighted by the help he has rendered constituents with their social security claims and veterans' benefits, and his support of flood control projects.

He is particularly proud to be returning to his native fifth district with local flood protection for Corbin now complete, and construction about to commence on the Laurel River dam.

"I haven't gotten these solely by myself, of course," he adds. "The Kentucky delegation has accomplished these things together."

PLENTY OF MEMORIES

His political associations in Washington, the funeral of President John F. Kennedy, the civil rights march on Washington, serving under three Presidents, social visits to the White House—all are incidents that stand out in SILER's memory as landmarks in his life as a Congressman.

The men in Congress who have made the deepest impression on SILER have been mostly conservatives of his own bent—BYRD, and Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, chairman of the House Rules Committee, both from Virginia, and former Congressmen such as John Taber and the late Dan Reid, both of New York, and the colorful Usher Burdick, of North Dakota.

FUTURE UNDECIDED

Now 64, SILER is not overly concerned about adjusting from the demanding pace of life as a Congressman to the more casual pace of a country lawyer.

"I'll just live 1 day at a time and look for the open dooors," he says.

Although he is undecided about his political future, he is not yet ready to close any political doors on himself. If, for instance, his party should beckon him to run for Governor, that invitation is a bridge to be crossed when it is reached, SILER says.

Tonkin Gulf: What Happened?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, American foreign policy and international developments continue to be responsible for grave concern on the part of the public over the manner in which the administration is facing up to its foreign policy responsibilities.

The latest incident, the second Gulf of Tonkin action and the treatment of it by the administration, has left the press and public in the dark as to what happened. What is worse, we are given the distinct impression that the administration does not know either.

This incident was the subject of an editorial, entitled "Tonkin Gulf: What Happened?" Which appeared in the September 22 issue of the Los Angeles Times. Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

TONKIN GULF: WHAT HAPPENED?

Washington's initial and continuing handling of the latest incident in the Gulf of Tonkin reflects disturbingly an attitude of confusion and a posture of awkwardness. Certainly the U.S. public has a right to expect more than this.

Defense Secretary McNamara waited 24 hours after receiving the first news of the incident before issuing a statement which did little to clarify things.

President Johnson's comments to newsmen Monday morning, nearly 72 hours after the event, indicated either that the Government still doesn't know fully what happened or else that it knows but has no intention of letting the public know.

Such an information vacuum reflects no credit on the administration, nor on U.S. policy in southeast Asia. In the absence of any clear American report on last Friday's events the explanations and charges of Hanoi, Peiping and the Soviet news agency inevitably are given prime consideration in much of the world. Regardless of what actually might have occurred the propaganda advantage has been seized by the Communists.

In view of the retaliatory attacks which followed the North Vietnamese torpedo boat assaults of August 2 and 4 there was naturally a mood of apprehension following announcement of Friday's incident. But then, for a full 24 hours, nothing more was said officially. If press and public were uncertain and confused, it was only because administration spokesmen to all appearances were equally lacking facts.

Senator GOLDWATER on Sunday quite properly raised some questions concerning this incident which was still await answers: why were details withheld for so long? what explanation is there for the apparent communications gap? how does Friday's involvement differ from those of last month, which prompted retaliation?

The President said yesterday that he could not determine the motives which apparently prompted the incident, but this comment largely ignores the real questions being raised. Indeed, it has yet to be learned from administration spokesmen even what types of ships, or whose, were fired at by the U.S. destroyers.

The administration may have valid security reasons for withholding information from the public, but given the curious way the incident has been handled this appears unlikely. What does seem likely at this time is that some embarrassing foul-up took place, somewhere, and that the administration feels the less said about it the better.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—Introduction, I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, since the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia by "peaceful" means in 1948, our foreign policymakers have been confronted with a new and serious problem:

How can the United States best meet the Communist challenge on the political and ideological level?

What must we do, apart from our military programs and our international economic aid and trade undertakings, in order to first, counter Communist efforts to penetrate and subvert the free world nations; second, help prevent complete communization of countries already under Communist control; and third, more effectively advance U.S. foreign policy objectives on the world scene?

These questions have concerned both our policymakers and the American public for more than 15 years. This concern has been fully justified because of the profound change which took place since the end of World War II in the conduct of international relations.

Events transpiring since 1945 have demonstrated clearly that the traditional tools of foreign policy—diplomacy, military power, and economic policy—no longer suffice to advance the legitimate objectives of a nation in its relations with the rest of the world.

The concurrent revolutions of the 20th century—in communications, science, education, and in other fields—have opened a new dimension for foreign policy operations. On a scale unmatched in the past, they brought the masses of people into direct contact with the conduct of foreign relations.

The revolution in communications has played an important role in this development. By using modern means and techniques of communication, governments can now appeal to target audiences in foreign countries over the heads of their leaders. They can inform, convince, even strive to motivate entire populations to a specific course of action. In turn, these foreign audiences exert increasing pressures on their own governments to continue, or to change, given policies.

In this new dimension of foreign policy operations, the ideological and psychological, words and ideas serve as weapons. Persuasion is the goal—and, frequently, the principal means for the attainment of political objectives.

The Communists have been quick to appreciate the potential of this new dimension of foreign policy. They adopted ideological warfare—political agitation and propaganda—as a key instrument for carrying out the strategy of Communist world revolution. Their massive effort in this field, and the political successes it has achieved, presented the governments of the free world with a serious challenge.

During the past two decades, the U.S. Government has used a variety of programs in coping with the Communist challenge on this plane. These programs range from exchanges of persons and oversea information activities to strategic psychological operations. All of them are intended to serve a single overriding purpose: to provide support broad for U.S. foreign policy by combating Communist propaganda, by countering Communist political agitation, by promoting understanding of U.S. foreign policy goals, and in other ways.

How well are these programs administered? Are they fulfilling their primary mission? Do they meet the requirements of our foreign policy? Are they effective in meeting the Communist challenge in the cold war, and advancing our foreign policy objectives?

These are legitimate questions. Unfortunately, the answers to them have not been forthcoming very readily.

The Congress, of course, periodically reviews these programs. Generally,

however, a given congressional committee will look only at those programs which come under its immediate jurisdiction. For years now, there has been no overall review of all the programs in this category, of their relationship to each other, and to our foreign policy, and of their affectiveness in coping with the threat posed by the Communist ideological offensive. The last congressional inquiry which concerned itself with such questions as they related to our oversea information programs, took place over a decade ago.

Because of this, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs decided in March 1963, to undertake a comprehensive review of all programs which operate in the fourth dimension of our foreign policy. As chairman of the subcommittee, I am taking this opportunity to report to the House of Representatives on our undertaking and on its progress during the two sessions of the 88th Congress.

In initiating this study, the subcommittee concentrated on four immediate tasks. We decided:

First, to inquire into the nature of the ideological challenge presented by the international Communist movement, and to explore different views about the best ways to meet it;

Second, to inventory all governmental programs which are neither strictly military nor strictly economic in nature, but which are intended to provide support abroad, on the ideological and psychological level, for our foreign policy;

Third, to study the relationships which exist between these programs, and to see how they are coordinated and brought to bear on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy; and

Fourth, to survey the oversea programs of private U.S. organizations which have an impact on the American image abroad and thus either directly or incidentally affect the implementation of our foreign policy.

In subsequent parts of this report I shall describe what my subcommittee did during the past 18 months in carrying out the above-described plan. In the sixth and concluding part I will comment on some of the changes which took place, partly as a result of our subcommittee's activities, in the administration of various governmental programs. I will also attempt to outline very briefly the job that remains to be done before this study can be considered successfully completed.

When Is a Statesman Not a Statesman?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON L. SHORT
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Moley, one of the contributing editors of Newsweek, has written an excellent article in the current issue, on the subject of medical care for older people under our social security program. This article sets out the facts of this issue in such a clear, understandable way, that it should enable everyone to understand the fact and fiction involved.

The facts are that low income people would pay a disproportionate share of the costs of such a program.

The fiction is that there is no medical care program for older people. The Kerr-Mills program, presented May 4, 1960, by the Eisenhower administration, and enacted later that year as a part of the Social Security Amendments of 1960, combined with the old-age assistance program to take care of all older people not financially able to provide for their own medical care, and for those not on public assistance whose income and resources were insufficient to meet the costs of necessary medical service.

I commend this article to the attention of all Members:

THE GREAT DECEPTION

(By Raymond Moley)

Statesmen, from the President down, who for political advantage promote unsound legislation under false representations strike at the very roots of national morality and character. In the instance I cite, medicare attached to social security, the proposed legislation would visit grave injustice on some at the expense of others; and because it would become permanent policy if passed, future generations would also pay the penalty.

Two weeks ago I pointed out that medicare under social security would be unjust even to those who are the alleged beneficiaries. In part at least, by substituting services for a cash pension it would suggest that those who receive it are unfit to spend their own income. Now let us consider the millions of workers who will pay the cost in social security taxes.

An employee with a wife and two children and an income of $5,600, who paid an income tax of $528 in 1963 and is paying $430 in 1964, will pay $386 in 1965. Thus, through the tax cut there is an annual saving of $142 in 1965 over 1963.

But under the bill demanded by the President and passed by the Senate, this man would pay $174 in social security taxes in 1964 and $238 in 1965. Thus, his income-tax saving would be cut by almost a half in 1965. The Government giveth and the Government taketh away.

The tax cut was hailed by people with large incomes with great delight because, to those of them who pay it, the social security tax is small change. It is the poor who are soaked this time.

Other injustices to those employees who are "covered" by social security would be:

1. They would be burdened with a considerably increased tax to pay for what is called a social (or national) need—i.e., hospitalization and other services for people over 65. If this is a social need, it should be paid by all, not by some of the Nation's taxpayers.

2. Those employees would also be compelled to pay for free services for everyone over 65 when it is apparent from the voluminous statistics published by the Government that only about half of those people need the help.

3. Once this law is enacted, the tax on employees is scheduled to rise and rise over the years for an indeterminate number of beneficiaries at a totally unpredictable cost. So far as employees buying future benefits for themselves is concerned, they would be buying not a pig in a poke but a tyrannosaur.

4. For every employee who pays, the employer also pays. This employer's tax is mostly passed on in the price of his product. Thus, these employees, as well as all other consumers, would be paying the employer's tax in the products they buy.

5. But since for competitive reasons some employers cannot increase prices, there would be great pressure by employers to eliminate jobs and thus there would be an increase in unemployment.

6. This scheme is dressed up to look like insurance. But it is not insurance because it lacks the contracual character which is present in private insurance. A future Congress could reduce, change, or eliminate the benefits.

7. Another feature of the plan also discredits the claim that it is insurance. For even with the progressively heavier taxes contemplated, most of the older employees would not have paid into the so-called trust fund enough to pay for the services they could receive at the age of 65.

Chairman Wilbur Mills has quite properly resisted all efforts to attach medicare to social security. During the Eisenhower administration he and the late Senator Robert S. Kerr after great labor framed the plan which was embodied in the Kerr-Mills Act. This eliminates all or most of the inequities in the present proposal. At any time since 1961, the House committee headed by Mills could have reported and passed perfecting amendments to that act which would have met the legitimate needs of the elderly. But the Kenendy-Johnson administration has insisted upon this new, unfair, and unsound substitute.

And now, since it seems unlikely that the Senate medicare plan will prevail, Mr. Johnson will use it as a campaign issue.

Urban Renewal in Norfolk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, the city of Norfolk is an acknowledged leader in the urban renewal program and is a dramatic example of how an older city can be rejuvenated. The effort to modernize Norfolk and clear out and rehabilitate its rundown areas has the broadest possible support among business and civic leaders. Those who have not seen the city for 15 or 20 years would hardly recognize the new Norfolk. Through urban renewal and other programs, and through the enlightened leadership of the city, tremendous new investment has been generated and employment and civic pride have grown apace.

This progress has been well described by Norfolk's Representative, our distinguished colleague, the Honorable PORTER HARDY, JR., in an article which appeared in the New Norfolk, published by the Norfolk Chamber of Commerce. I regret that we cannot include the illustrations which show the dramatic changes, but the gentleman from Virginia's [Mr. HARDY] words well describe the modernization of Norfolk. I hope all of my colleagues will give them careful attention:

AFTER 15 YEARS OF URBAN RENEWAL, NORFOLK SHINING EXAMPLE

(By Hon. PORTER HARDY, JR.)

The lack of decent housing for millions of Americans in slums, and the growing decay of our cities in the past, presented overwhelm-

ing problems. No individual, no private organization, nor even any local government could successfully tackle them alone.

The urban renewal program was established by Congress in 1949 during the Truman administration. It grew out of a recognition that blight in urban areas and all its attendant evils constituted problems that had to be faced. The sound growth and development of our cities was recognized as an important goal of national policy and the accomplishment of this goal required Federal encouragement and assistance.

Urban renewal has been a bipartisan program from the start, sponsored and approved by Republicans and Democrats alike. Senator Robert A. Taft was one of its original three sponsors, together with Senator Ellender of Louisiana, and Senator Wagner, of New York. During the Eisenhower administration in 1954, and again in 1956 and 1959, it was expanded and strengthened. Substantial improvements were made and additional funds were authorized by the Congress in 1961, the first year of the Kennedy administration.

Urban renewal has not been limited to any particular region of the United States, nor has it been limited to big cities. In 1963, nearly one-half of more than 700 localities actively participating in the program had populations of less than 25,000—many of them in the Southeast. Of 1,556 federally assisted urban renewal projects or activities in the Nation at the end of 1963, a total of 339 were in the Southeastern States, and 35 in Virginia. This has become truly an effective national program, serving well all sections of the country.

The Congress stipulated in its 1949 declaration of national housing policy that "private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can" in order to attain "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities, and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

The primary emphasis on private enterprise has remained a basic principle of the American urban renewal program.

Through urban renewal, local governments help and support private industry to achieve what it cannot do alone. The Federal Government, pursuant to requests from the localities, provides necessary additional funds and technical know-how which local governments cannot supply from their own resources.

FOUR BILLION DOLLARS SPENT TO DATE

The total Federal expenditure authorized by the Congress for urban renewal to date is nearly $4 billion. That is a lot of money. But compared to some other Federal programs it is relatively small. Notwithstanding the few instances of mismanagement which have been identified, the results this $4 billion has achieved are tangible and truly phenomenal. Aside from helping to build the physical environment we want for ourselves and our children, it is proving to be a good investment financially.

Recent congressional hearings on urban renewal legislation have brought out the impressive fact that every dollar of Federal investment in urban renewal generates about $6 in private investment—in building construction and related activities that are of direct benefit to the growth of our national economy, and of permanent financial gain to cities and local governments.

With mushrooming increases in municipal costs and limited tax sources, local governments need money. Cities, through urban renewal, have been able to raise their revenues to realistic and responsible levels, to strengthen their economic sinews through real estate tax gains. They have increased commercial and industrial activity and achieved higher returns from land put to new and better uses and more receipts from business privilege taxes. New jobs, new markets, and business expansion have resulted from better location, improved traffic, and adequate parking. There has been considerable attraction of new enterprises—particularly distributive and wholesale firms—that do not want to be trapped in undesirable sites. Thus cities, through urban renewal, once again can stand on their own feet.

NEW BUILDINGS STRENGTHEN TAX BASE

One building in a 35-acre section of one urban renewal area in Norfolk today pays two times the taxes formerly received from the entire section. One new downtown hotel, on 5 acres of former crime- and disease-infested slum, produces 18 times the real estate tax revenue of the structures it replaced.

It is well established that city governments cannot be strong without a sound real estate tax base. I know of no public program which can do more to strengthen and reestablish American local government to its rightful place than urban renewal.

No city wants to sit and rot. Now most of them are working out of this dilemma through our national housing legislation and are voluntarily initiating their own programs of urban renewal. There is no compulsion about it. Urban renewal is planned, initiated, and executed locally. The full responsibility for carrying out the program rests with the community.

All of us are proud that Norfolk has been a pioneer in urban renewal, and proud that it was cited in congressional hearings as an outstanding example among cities that are building and rebuilding with confidence for the future. Norfolk's preurban renewal expenses for crime prevention, public health, police and fire protection, and other slum costs were tremendous. Its slum areas were a festering drain on the city's resources, a drain that could not be allowed to continue without ultimately destroying the community.

BEST IN COUNTRY

Today, after 15 years of urban renewal, Norfolk is a shining example of what urban renewal can help to achieve—a growing, thriving metropolis that is well on its way to clearing most of its slums, providing improved and more efficient locations for business and industry, and for new educational and cultural facilities. Norfolk has carried out its urban renewal and related community development activities, trade expansion projects, and transportation improvements, in fulfillment of the intent of Congress that urban renewal should be a program for the benefit of the cities and the people of the land.

The ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Housing in the U.S. House of Representatives, the Honorable WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey, was so impressed by Norfolk's achievements that he made the following statement on October 24, 1963, to Norfolk officials who had just finished their congressional testimony for this subcommittee headed by the Honorable ALBERT RAINS, Democrat, of Alabama:

"I certainly want to congratulate you on having what appears to be the best urban renewal program in the country.

"For some time many of us who are interested in urban renewal, have understood that you used all the tools that are necessary to make an urban renewal program work. We wish you good luck in the future.

"Keep up the good work, and I hope that you can still continue your good, sound program."

Norfolk has undergone a transformation which only those who have seen it can realize and appreciate. I am proud that my colleagues in the Congress on both sides of the aisle have been outspoken in recognition of the fact that the rest of the Nation looks to Norfolk, a bustling world seaport and naval base to maintain leadership in urban renewal.

Tax Reductions in Cleveland Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in the Cleveland Press on Monday, September 21, 1964, Mr. Ray de Crane, a Press writer, submitted a very exciting story to the effect that in the Cleveland area the current U.S. income tax receipts are running at a level almost equal to last year's level despite the substantial tax reduction passed by this Congress as part of the Kennedy-Johnson tax reform program.

These reports substantiate the theory that tax cuts can be made to generate business activity as well as added personal income.

The article is as follows:

U.S. TAX TAKE HIGH DESPITE 22-PERCENT DECREASE—RECEIPTS OFF ONLY A FRACTION IN THIS AREA

(By Ray de Crane)

Release by the Treasury Department in Washington of the first comparative figures since the 22-percent income tax cut went into effect last March shows:

Almost as much is being paid in income taxes today as was being collected when the tax rate was considerably higher.

This writer made an official request of Internal Revenue Service in Cleveland for a comparison of the total withholding tax collected in April, May and June of 1963 and the same period this year.

The query, referred to Washington, was answered today. The announced figures apply only to the Cleveland IRS district which covers the northern half of the State. While national comparisons are not yet available, the report in Washington is that the experience in Cleveland is believed to be typical of the Nation.

Here are the figures:

In 1963, Ohio employers paid into the Federal Treasury in the 3-month period $507 million for withholding taxes and social security taxes that had been deducted from employees' wages. The withholding tax rate during this period was 18 percent.

This year, with the withholding tax rate reduced to 14 percent the same employers turned over $506 million in the same 3-month period.

This is a reduction of two-tenths of 1 percent in tax take despite a 22-percent tax cut.

The explanation given by Washington tax experts is that more people are employed, more money is being earned, therefore the tax collection is just as good as formerly.

It would seem, then, that the tax cut is doing exactly the job that Congress and the administration planned when it was put into effect.

When he signed the revenue measure last February 26 President Johnson said the cut—the largest in history—was "the single most important step we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II."

The prophecy seems borne out by the facts, if this area is any yardstick.

Here employment figures are mostly reaching new highs and unemployment rates are constantly being reduced.

Last month the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce reported that employers on its job survey list had added 1,000 new workers during the month.

Nationally, auto manufacturers and makers of appliances are contributing to the boom in employment.

Adding to the glow is the knowledge that on January 1 still another income tax cut is coming.

Congress' $11-billion cut provided a two-stage reduction. Two-thirds became effective last March. The other third begins on January 1.

On that day the new rate in the lowest tax bracket will be reduced from 16 to 14 percent.

Urban Renewal Has Its Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD C. BRUCE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, not too long ago, a highly respected research group, after a year-long study, reached this conclusion concerning the Federal urban renewal program:

The inequities and problems generated by the Federal public housing and urban renewal subsidy programs are very great, and a time of moratorium, with no new commitments under the existing programs, may well be needed during which reasonable new courses can be evaluated. Effective courses will be those which offer maximum opportunity for States and communities to proceed with marshaling talents, resources, and techniques without interference for the solution of their housing problems.

Several days ago another study made news here in Washington with recommendations paralleling those of the above study. This is, of course, the now famous study of the joint center for urban studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University made by Martin Anderson.

Columnist Richard Wilson in his excellent column in the Washington Evening Star of September 25 describes the findings of the study thus:

The analysis by Martin Anderson is about as critical as a professorial tract can get, describing the program as a dismal failure that stands in sorry contrast to better efforts by private enterprise guided solely by the demands of the free market rather than the esthetes of the Urban Renewal Administration.

Anderson's chief recommendation is the abandonment of the program after the completion of authorized projects.

Following is the description of the study by Richard Wilson for those Members who may have missed it:

URBAN RENEWAL HAS ITS CRITICS

(By Richard Wilson)

Everywhere that the urban renewal program has swept away square blocks of decrepit buildings people wonder what became of the former occupants. Obviously most of the former residents could not afford quarters in the modernistic high-rise apartments so typical of urban renewal projects.

It is a mystery. Washington officials don't have a very clear idea of what happened to the occupants, whether they are better or worse off than before they received eviction notices. It is clear, however, that the very poor have been evicted to make way for the better off in one of the most curious and controversial of Federal aid programs.

According to some estimates the projects now authorized, under construction or completed will have displaced about 4 million people in major cities. This is about like transferring the entire metropolitan area of Detroit somewhere else.

On the face of it urban renewal sounds like a good idea. The blighted city areas are depressing and hurt the pride of the conscientious city dweller who loves to show off his town. Some kind of order is brought into progress. Citizens look with awe and wonder at the glass, stone, and concrete buildings that have replaced the slums, and some of them. provided they can pay the high rents, move in.

For 15 years, this program has been underway. It has been examined in a very critical light in a book to be published next month under the respectable imprint of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The analysis by Martin Anderson is about as critical as a professorial tract can get, describing the program as a dismal failure that stands in sorry contrast to better efforts by private enterprise guided solely by the demands of the free market rather than the esthetes of the Urban Renewal Administration.

Of course, urban renewal is a form of private enterprise. The Government subsidizes the razing of blighted areas for sale to private developers, who in turn develop it with Federal financial help under the direction of a local agency.

MIT and Harvard are sending the Anderson study to scores of prominent people in public life. Anderson's chief recommendation is the abandonment of the program after the completion of authorized projects.

The study is being published at a good time because it is so evident that the Federal Government has prepared the ground for new advances into the field of government and local cooperation opened up by programs like urban renewal. This has been one of the little noticed major trends initiated in the Kennedy administration and now to be carried further in the Johnson administration. President Johnson is much sold on the idea of new local-Federal cooperation.

The trend is largely an outgrowth of the changed political structure of this country, which now centers so much more strongly around cities and metropolitan areas than it did 30 or 40 years ago. One of the reasons the U.S. Senate today is so much more "liberal" than the House of Representatives is that urban political pressure can be brought more directly on the election of two Senators at large from a State than upon Representatives elected from mixed urban-rural districts or mainly rural districts.

One of the surprises of the current session of Congress was the adoption of the mass transit bill to help cities solve the agonizing problem of getting people to and from work. This bill was adopted only by intense political pressure and logrolling.

Only a short time before President Kennedy was killed, it has now been learned, he was discussing with his aids a new suburban program, which has not yet seen the light of day. The antipoverty program, which President Johnson later espoused, was under discussion concurrently and some of the President's aids thought there might be something inconsistent in an attack on poverty while at the same time programs were pushed for the more affluent suburbanites. But President Kennedy saw nothing inconsistent in the two efforts.

In fact, they are consistent in the sense that they are both part of the general trend toward attempts to solve urban problems through State, local, and Federal cooperation. This inevitably means the growth, and probably at a rapid rate, of Federal subsidization and a great increase in Federal intervention in local affairs. Setting aside the question of whether or not this is desirable on general principle, does it work? Is it effective? Is it the best way to solve the problems of the cities? The urban renewal program does not yet, in the opinion of some experts, give a favorable answer to these questions.

Social Security Approach to Medicare Opposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. QUIE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the most concise explanation in opposition to the so-called medicare plan which the conferees are presently considering is that of Dr. John L. Falls, who was chairman of the committee which worked out the Minnesota implementation of the Kerr-Mills Act. I include the following letter from Dr. John L. Falls of Red Wing, Minn., in opposition to the medicare approach to social security:

THE INTERSTATE CLINIC,
Red Wing, Minn., Sept. 18, 1964.

Hon. ALBERT QUIE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: In the coming weeks you will undoubtedly be asked about medical care for our older citizens, and your opponent will undoubtedly espouse medicare. As chairman of the committee which worked out the Minnesota implementation of the Kerr-Mills Act, I learned a good deal about the socio-economic problems involved and the elderly population characteristics of this State. It became clear that what our older citizens fear, and rightly so, is a catastrophic illness—one requiring long hospitalization and rehabilitation, or the need to continue some medication for the rest of their lives. It is not the flareup of sinus trouble, or a bout of intestinal flu that worries them, but the prospect of a serious stroke, a bad heart attack, a fractured hip, cancer, and diseases of that magnitude. Accordingly, we drafted and passed a Kerr-Mills medical assistance to the aged which went into effect July 1, 1964. This medical assistance to the aged act pledges to any Minnesotan over 65, whose independence would be threatened by the expense of a major illness, unlimited and complete coverage of any and all health care expense after he has incurred $200 of health care expense in a 12-month period. This limits the expense to the individual to an amount that most can handle. However, when major illness strikes, it makes their individual plight a matter of legitimate public concern, and they sign no lien against their property to obtain this help. For those who cannot meet the first $200 of health care, the local board can waive this requirement. There is no time limit to the benefits, as there would be under medicare. Our concern with the patient and his illness is total and continuing—not partial and limited to 45 or 60 days. The Minnesota Kerr-Mills implementation ranks with the finest drafted by any State. It requires no apologies. It can be modified or made more flexible administratively as experience is gained under its present provisions. As other forces in our society improve the economic well-being of our retired citizen, such as more widespread purchase of private insurance during the working years, prepaid retirement payments as fringe benefits during the working years, prepaid health insurance that protects

the worker after retirement, the number of our senior citizens who need public help will surely decrease. To this extent the Kerr-Mills medical assistance to the aged does not necessarily have to remain a large and permanent fixture on the American scene. It might interest you to know that during the 14 years from 1949 through 1960, though the number of Minnesotans over 65 grew at twice the rate of the general population, the number requiring old-age asistance dropped 20 percent. Why did this drop occur? Because in our increasingly affluent society we in Minnesota are increasingly able to take care of ourselves.

The defects of the medicare proposal are these:

1. It is not medical care, as its name implies, but is limited to temporary hospital and nursing home care. It does not cover drugs, doctor or dentist bills, surgeons fees, house calls, etc. In fact, it covers only 25 to 30 percent of the health care cost of the individual. It is obviously a cruel hoax to hold this forth to the electorate as the answer to major illness expense involving our senior citizens.

2. Medicare departs completely with the traditional concept governing social security. Up until now, our workers have been subjected to this payroll tax on the basis that these dollars would be returned at a later time. It is a dangerous precedent to start taking more dollars out of the paycheck for the promise of a federally determined service at some future time.

3. Medicare would guarantee a service which the Federal Government does not have the facilities, equipment, or personnel to provide. This is dangerous to the fiscal soundness of the program. As deficits mounted, rather than raise the tax to cover the true cost, there would be mounting pressure to take over the facilities and equipment, and possibly the personnel providing this service. Do we, as a free society, really want that?

4. Medicare is not a "free" or painless solution to the problem, despite what proponents imply. It would require a hefty increase in the social security payroll tax at once, and even larger increases in the future. To begin with, it would take $70 more per year from the individual paying on the new maximum amount. Is this logical? The social security tax is a flat payroll tax. It is the most regressive tax on the books today. It is applied at a constant rate on the first part of a worker's income, and it allows no exemptions for number of dependents, for illness expense, for other taxes that have to be met—or any of the relief that makes the graduated income tax more equitable. The social security tax falls heaviest on the worker who earns the least, for it covers his entire income. Is this the tax that should be used to solve one of our society's major social problems?

5. Medicare has no provision to prevent double insurance or profitable illness. It would be tempting for many of those over 65 who now carry private insurance (60 percent of them have private hospitalization coverage) to keep up their policies and collect their insurance benefits as a reward for being sick while the social security fund picked up the tab for their hospital bill. We carefully prevented this possibility under Minnesota Kerr-Mills by stipulating that all benefits from any private insurance must be first applied to the bill before any public funds could be used.

6. Medicare would remove approximately $36 million a year from Minnesota's economy via increased social security taxes. One and one-half million people in the State pay the tax. The mean wage on which it was paid in 1961 was $2,740, but one-fourth of the people who are subject to the tax paid it on the maximum wage. By boosting the maximum wage subject to tax to $5,600, and increasing the tax one-fourth percent, the number of dollars flowing out of the State is conservatively put at $36 million per year. This goes a long way toward nullifying the expected benefits of the income tax reduction, for many of these people who would pay the big increase in social security pay little, if any, income tax in the first place.

These are the economic realities which make the medicare proposal a fiscal farce, and you can be of great service to all your constituents by protecting the younger workers from this payroll grab, and working to increase the scope and effectiveness of the Kerr-Mills Act, the only mechanism providing total care.

With kindest personal regards,

JOHN L. FALLS, M.D.

Loans to Optometry Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, a bill is pending before the House which provides loans to students of optometry. I wholeheartedly support this legislation and strongly urge its passage by this body.

The bill, H.R. 8546, authorizes loans up to $2,000 a year to students of optometry and it establishes the administration of this program under the Health Professions Education Assistance Act.

This legislation is vitally needed. Today we are short on trained optometrists. It is generally recognized in the profession that we need one optometrist for every 7,000 of our citizens in order to render adequate care. However, today we have only 1 optometrist for every 10,300 people.

H.R. 8546 will help solve the problem in at least two ways by providing more money in loans to these students and by giving a 3-year grace period after graduation during which time no repayment of the loan is required.

The optometrist affects the lives of nearly every American. He performs 65 to 70 percent of all eyesight examinations in the United States. The optometrist does 75 percent of all contact lense work. He performs 80 percent of all work in orthoptics and visual training. In short about three-fourths of all persons who seek vision care turn first to an optometrist.

The optometrist renders about 85 percent of all eyesight treatment to the members of our Armed Forces in every branch: Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Statistics show that the number of optometrists in the United States is declining in proportion to the growth of our population.

H.R. 8546 certainly does not solve completely this growing shortage of optometrists. However, this program of liberalized loans to students will help considerably, and I am hopeful the bill will receive strong support in the House.

Congressman Harold R. Collier Reports to the People of the 10th District of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith the report to the residents of the 10th Congressional District of Illinois covering a résumé of major legislation and my activities as their Representative in Washington.

The 2d session of the 88th Congress convened the first Tuesday in January and extended more than 9 months before its preelection adjournment. The combined 1st and 2d sessions were the longest in peacetime history. Adjournment of the 1st session did not come until Christmas Eve, leaving less than 2 weeks between sessions instead of the usual 3 or 4 months.

Several legislative programs which were instituted under the administration of the late President Kennedy became law during the first 6 months of this year.

The tax bill of 1963, which was written last year by the House Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, was adopted with few changes in the Senate and subsequently returned for final passage in late January. Following the enactment of this important legislation, the administration's civil rights bill, which had been passed out of the Judiciary Committee late last year, came to the floor and was finally passed after several days of heated debate during which time 14 amendments were adopted. It was signed into law by President Johnson on July 4.

Later in this report, I will outline other major legislative action of the second session of this Congress.

While the Federal budget announced by President Johnson was $98.6 billion, slightly higher than that of the previous year, Federal spending is actually well over $6 billion above what Congress appropriated. It is $23 billion higher than President Eisenhower's suggested 1961 fiscal budget which will carry the total spending figure to $105 billion for the current fiscal year. This exceeds the highest spending during World War II and promises a deficit of nearly $10 billion which is twice the deficit of the current fiscal year. Significant is the fact that this budget contains $6 billion in Federal agency expansion for the fiscal year which began on July 1. Whether one likes it or not, the sale of $2.3 billion in Government assets and an additional billion dollars in trick bookkeeping in the Commodity Credit Corporation were used to make the budget figure look lower. This was because CCC losses for fiscal 1964 are more than $2½ billion. Notwithstading this fact the budget asked for only $1.1 billion because the

administration cancelled out $931 million in interest of it to the Treasury by the CCC. It is interesting to note, too, that back-door spending of $1.4 billion for urban renewal will actually be paid by the taxpayers even though it does not show up in the budget. These facts are not generally known because the result will not show up until the turn of the year.

Our international monetary situation is still the source of great concern although it is quietly being tucked aside this election year of 1964. U.S. gold stocks have been reduced from $24.5 billion to a current reserve of slightly more than $15½ billion. Presently, our legal gold requirements are $14.62 billion which includes $12.7 required for our domestic fiscal needs together with borrowing from the International Monetary Fund, foreign currency borrowing by the Federal Reserve bank, and foreign currency borrowing by the Treasury. This would appear to leave $833 million but such is not the case since aggregate foreign claims of approximately $26 billion are outstanding at the present time. This year foreigners have drawn only $50 million from our gold reserve which would lead to the conclusion that the dollar which has been inconvertible at home for more than three decades has become inconvertible de facto abroad.

Perhaps the readers of this report might wonder why I am presenting this summary of our domestic and international fiscal situation in a legislative report of this nature. I do so because I do not believe we can afford to ignore this situation in evaluating the legislative actions of the Congress obviously because they are tempered—or certainly ought to be—by these fiscal facts. To suggest that there is no direct relationship would be folly. In fact, ignoring the fiscal problems of the United States either at home or abroad in legislative deliberations would merely be heading blindly toward economic and fiscal chaos.

In the presentation of this report, I shall provide a breakdown of the major legislative activities on a category basis since it would be impossible to list all important legislation in these respective areas.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Seventeen bills including authorization and appropriation measures will probably have been signed into law by November 1 of this year. The total defense budget for fiscal 1964–65 is $39.6 billion. Of this sum, nearly $17 billion was for procurement and construction of planes, missiles, ships, and research and development. Another $5 billion has been earmarked for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for 1965 research, development, construction, and administration. This includes $2.6 billion for the Apollo man-to-moon project. The Atomic Energy Commission will draw an additional $2.6 billion and another billion and a half is earmarked for construction projects at Armed Forces bases at home and abroad.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

The major legislation in this area was the authorization of $3.25 billion for foreign aid and a proposal to provide a $750 million increase in the lending capital of the International Development Association along with 16 other participating nations. A bill to increase U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank and an expansion of Peace Corps operating costs to $115 million for fiscal 1965 were approved and signed into law.

Interestingly enough was a House joint resolution expressing the sense of Congress that every effort be made to obtain payment of dues of delinquent nations, including the Soviet Union, was adopted. It provides for pressing for the penalty of the voting rights in the General Assembly for those who fail to pay. However, it will be more interesting to see whether a conscientious and determined effort will be made to force the "dead beat" nations in the United Nations to pay their dues as well as special assessments since the United States has been the prime contributor since the inception of the U.N.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Never before in the history of the country has as much legislation been enacted in a single session of Congress to deal with economic programs as well as provide the means of increasing or extending revenues. A bill creating an Office of Economic Opportunity, better known as the antipoverty program, was passed in the sum of $947.5 million for fiscal 1965. An authorization to provide $1.1 billion annually for fiscal years 1966–67 as the Federal contribution to construction costs of State highways and various road projects was approved along with the extension for 3 years of aid to States and communities in the amount of $75 million for the construction of airports on a matching-fund basis. Another bill to increase from 33⅓ to 55 percent the subsidy for construction of fishing vessels was approved, including an extension program for 5 years to July 1, 1968, with authorization of $10 million annually. In the area of our domestic economy were several bills which were reported by the committee of which I am a member. Ways and Means, including the 1964 tax bill discussed previously; extension of current schedule of excise taxes on liquor, cigarettes, automobiles and parts, telephone service, and airline tickets. The committee also voted to impose taxes on the purchase of certain foreign securities as well as a 3-year proposal of $375 million in grants and loans to States and communities for mass transit facilities. Needless to say, it is again necessary to raise the national debt by $9 billion from $315 billion to $324 billion for fiscal year ending July 1, 1965. This represents an overall high in the public debt and an aggregate increase in the debt ceiling of $24 billion in 2 years' time.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the major piece of legislation in this field although 11 others were approved and signed into law, including an act to increase and adjust basic pay rates of postal and classified employees as well as officers of all three branches of the Federal Government.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND PUBLIC WELFARE

In the area of social security, both the House- and the Senate-passed bills to increase monthly payments to 19½ million old-age survivors and disability beneficiaries. It also liberalizes eligibility provisions and lowers the retirement age of widows to 60 years. This, of course, means increasing the social security tax again beginning January 1, 1965, and continuing on a rising scale thereafter to 1971. As of the time this report was written, the House and Senate conferees had not reached any agreement with regard to the medicare provisions under the bill.

In a separate item of legislation, Congress extended to June 30, 1967, authority of the HEW to provide temporary assistance to U.S. citizens returning from a foreign country under emergency hardship circumstances. Both Houses also extended to June 30, 1967, the provision of the Social Security Act permitting States to transfer dependent children from unsuitable foster homes to nonprofit institutions.

The National Defense Education Act was extended for 3 years to July 1, 1967, and increased authorization for college student loans from $135 million currently to $195 million for fiscal 1969.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Pay increases totaling $275 million monthly for all men and officers in the Armed Forces was approved and became law in midyear. The bill excepted those in the service less than 2 years, however. Approved also was a 5-year, $5 million per year program of aid to States on a matching basis for nursing home facilities and State veteran homes, and another measure which liberalizes nonservice-connected pensions for needy veterans and widows, and revising limits of permissible income without loss of pension. H.R. 2664, a bill exempting from draft induction a sole surviving son of a family whose father died as a result of military service was enacted into law. Congress also voted to raise the authorized strength of the Cadet Corps of the U.S. Air Force and Military Academies and fixing the period of obligated service now at 5 years.

AGRICULTURE

Most controversial and important of farm legislation this past session was the passage of the bill which continues cotton price support and the subsidy for exporters as well as providing a new subsidy for domestic processors. In the same bill was an authorization for a new wheat marketing program to maintain a $2-a-bushel price support domestically and a minimum of $1.55 for export. Other agricultural bills included one requiring registration of all pesticides before they can be sold to the public, extension of the food-for-peace program, and a bill to permit the purchase of process food grains by the Commodity Credit Corporation for donation under domestic welfare and foreign aid programs. Because of the sharp drop in domestic beef prices, a bill restricting importation of beef, veal, lamb, and mutton to 6.5 percent of domestic consumption was passed as a compromise to several more restrictive import bills.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Most important of the natural resource legislation was Senate bill, S. 4, establishing a national wilderness reservation system on 35 million acres closed to commercial use and retained in their preservative state. In other bipartisan supported legislation, authorization of a 10-year, $82.5 million program to finance water resource research centers in colleges and universities was approved as was a $2 billion land and water conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs. Senate bill, S. 1363, providing for increased payments to counties in which wildlife refuges are located became law this year, also.

Bills which I introduced during the 88th Congress were:

H.R. 1904, to amend the Internal Revenue Code to exclude from gross income gain from sale of his principal residence by a taxpayer at age 60. Included as provision in Revenue Act of 1964.

H.R. 3286, Commission on Aircraft Noise.

H.R. 3927, to provide for medical and hospital care through voluntary health insurance.

H.R. 5501, for the relief of Wieslawa Marianna Borczon. Approved and signed into law July 11, 1964.

H.R. 5986, amend duty on broom corn. Passed by both the House and the Senate.

H.R. 6490, repeal excise tax on communications.

H.R. 6926, increase the amount of outside earnings under social security.

H.R. 8204, remove inequities from Federal Employees Compensation Act for survivors.

H.R. 8535, right to be represented by an attorney before Federal agencies.

H.R. 9804, amend title II of the Social Security Act. Amend benefits for a person forced to retire at 60 years.

H.R. 9805, amend Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to deduct higher education expenses.

H.R. 9978, amend Internal Revenue Code relating to manufacturers excise tax on TV sets.

H.R. 10838, to amend the Antidumping Act, 1921.

H.R. 11385, establish a U.S. mint in Lake or Cook County, Ill.

H.R. 11767, amend Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

H.R. 12512, amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase widows' benefits.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Since the Congress has jurisdiction in many areas in legislation affecting the District of Columbia, it passed a dozen major items of legislation ranging from pay increases for District of Columbia teachers and Metropolitan Police and Fire Departments, to strengthening enforcement procedures against owners of unsafe structures in the District. Bills to permit suspension or dismissal of unruly school pupils, increase the number of man-dog teams authorized for the District of Columbia Police Department, and legislation permitting principals and teachers to use reasonable force in maintaining order in public schools were passed in the House but did not get through the Senate this year.

PERSONAL REPORT

The spring and summer months of 1964 were marked by the greatest influx of tourists of any of my 8 years in the Congress. The 10th Congressional District, which has the largest population of any in Illinois and is among the largest congressional districts in the country, naturally had perhaps the largest number of visitors than any district of its distance from the Nation's Capital. Families who normally spend their vacations in other sections of the country came to Washington en route to the World's Fair in New York this year in great numbers. Our guest book shows more than 500 residents of our district visited my office where members of my staff arranged for visits to the White House, Gallery passes for both the House and Senate, and tours of places of historical interest in the Nation's Capital.

Congressional mail, expected to be heavier this election year than in previous years, actually maintained a normal volume. The number of personal problems with the various agencies of Government referred to us by constituents during the course of the year increased sharply, however. These range from matters pertaining to assistance in social security, immigration, and servicemen and veterans' requests. Each of these was handled on an individual basis and every possible assistance given each inquiry.

In closing, let me state that while the 2d session of the 88th Congress was marked by certain achievements and admitted failures, we must expect to make even more difficult decisions next year. New crises in many areas of the world have cast their shadow over U.S. foreign policy and the need for changes in our posture abroad.

Although this report appears to be lengthy, it is actually but a brief and comprehensive analysis of the legislative activity of the Congress during the past year. For this reason, my office is prepared to provide detailed information on any and all bills of special interest to my constituents. Requests may be made either by writing to my Washington office, room 1026, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C., or by telephoning my district office at 749–4115.

Captive Nations

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRAY] and the others here for taking this time to expound on a great malady which afflicts the world today. All through our history the principle of self-determination has been the essence of our development. This principle was part and parcel of the settling of America and part and parcel of the founding of this great Nation. It has figured in our history because of the very nature of our democratically governed Republic. It is the foundation of our international relations and it is the basic reason for our participation in the various conflicts throughout our history—including the Spanish-American War, two World Wars, and the Korean episode. And now, we are attempting to preserve this principle in South Vietnam.

America, as a nation, does not wish to conquer. It does not wish to encourage or to extend the principle of dictatorship. It wishes only to preserve the freedom of other peoples. In accordance with my strong belief in this fundamental concept of self-determination, I wish to join with my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRAY], and all others here in a reassertion of this principle and a reassurance to all of the good people now suffering within the boundaries of the captive nations.

Urge Registration, Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in this country, it is tragically true that many of our eligible citizens fail to register and vote.

My friend, Mr. W. H. Champion, editor and publisher of the Dublin, Ga., Courier-Herald, published an editorial on September 21 in which he urged the people of Laurens County, Ga., to take a greater interest by registering to vote.

His points are well taken, and I would like my colleagues in the Congress to read his fine editorial:

INTEREST IN VOTING HERE

The report by Tax Commissioner R. C. Garrard that Laurens County has now approximately 16,000 registered voters suggests that more and more we are becoming interested in the exercise of the voting privilege and duty.

We sincerely hope that this is true and that in the general election in November, and in all subsequent elections and primaries, the people of this country—and area—will take the trouble to do what they ought to do as a free people—vote.

The question was raised as to when we will reach the saturation point in registrations in Laurens County, or when will every eligible person be registered to vote?

A check into the statistics of Laurens County shows that we are not yet 100 percent registered. In fact, we have approximately two-thirds of the potentially eligible people now registered to vote in elections and primaries.

Here are some figures that may be interesting, thanks to help from the Carnegie Library and our own collection of statistics.

There were—and we say were because we know there are more now—32,313 of us in Laurens County according to the 1960 census. Of that number, 12,851 were 17 years of age

or under, and thus ineligible to register to vote.

But in 1960 there were 1,951 who were from 15 to 17 years of age and are now eligible to register to vote.

That leaves 10,900 of the underaged in 1960 who are still underage as far as voting is concerned.

By a little subtraction we can see that according to the 1960 figures there are potentially 21,431 people in Laurens County who are eligible to register and vote; but we have approximately 16,000.

The births over the past 4 years have outnumbered the deaths in the county, and the number of adults who have moved in has been more than those who moved out. So we can safely conclude, we think, that our total population is greater than the 32,313 figures of 1960, and hence we have a larger number of potential voters than the 21,413 as calculated from the 1960 census.

While we can be proud of the fact that so many people have made themselves eligible to vote, we still have a sizable number who are not. And certainly we have not reached the saturation point that no further registrations can be expected.

It remains for us to stand fast to the idea that free people should act the part of free people, and while enjoying the benefits of a free country to exercise the duties and obligations of a free people.

The increased registration here is a healthy sign, and the interest in voting when the ballot boxes are brought out is also a healthy sign. But we have not yet reached the point that we can sit back in the calm assurance that we are doing all that we should to maintain and strengthen a free America. It is a continuing battle to keep what is our heritage from our forebears who cherished freedom as something well worth fighting for.

And we can well remember that freedom is not always lost on battlefields with thundering guns and bursting shells; usually it is lost because a country's people lose their interest in working to keep what they have.

Thanksgiving Day Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, Fred Radatz is a lifelong friend and neighbor of mine who works the farm on which his pioneer father settled many years ago.

As a man of the soil, Fred Radatz has had much opportunity to reflect upon nature and to feel closer to the Almighty than do many of us.

The other day, as we spoke together, Mr. Radatz recited to me a Thanksgiving Day prayer he had composed. As a religious man he believes that food is a blessing which is given by Him to provide us with strength and energy to do our work in peace and not to destroy each other.

Mr. Radatz' prayer follows:

THANKSGIVING DAY PRAYER

We thank thee, O Lord, that Thou hast given the farmers of the United States of America the wisdom to understand some of the secrets of nature so that they can raise enough food to supply the people who live therein. And while we partake of that food we pray Thee, O Lord, that the strength, faith and energy derived therefrom shall be used for constructive and not destructive purposes. Amen.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—The Communist Challenge, II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, what are the basic elements of the Communist strategy for winning the cold war—a strategy that employs ideological as well as military and economic weapons?

What part do the ideological elements—Communist doctrine, propaganda and political agitation—play in that strategy?

What can the U.S. Government do to counter Communist efforts on this nonmilitary plane?

What role can private initiative—business, labor, the academic community, and other private organizations—play in the struggle to win men's minds?

The answers to such questions were sought by the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements during the initial part of a study which we initiated in March 1963.

To obtain the answers, the subcommittee invited a cross-section of leaders in business, industry, labor, and in communications, as well as writers, commentators, and other interested persons, to present their views in open hearings.

The hearings opened on March 28, 1963, with the testimony of Edward R. Murrow, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, and continued intermittently through September 13. In the course of those 6 months, the subcommittee received testimony from 53 witnesses, as follows:

Thomas Aitken, Jr., vice president, INFOPLAN, of Interpublic, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Mrs. Mariada Arensberg, executive secretary, Cuban Freedom Committee, Washington, D.C.

Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES, a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

Stanley Ballard, secretary, American Federation of Musicians, AFL–CIO.

Adrian Berwick, senior editor, the Reader's Digest international editions, Pleasantville, N.Y.

Theodore Bikel, actor, council member, Actors' Equity Association.

Ralf Brent, president, Radio New York Worldwide, New York, N.Y.

Edward S. Butler, Executive Vice President, Information Council of the Americas, New Orleans, La.

Leo Cherne, executive director, Research Institute of America, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Louis Cheskin, of Louis Cheskin Associates, Chicago, Ill.

James B. Conkling, president, International Educational Broadcasting Corp., Sherman Oaks, Calif.

Hon. George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Coordinator on International Labor.

Angus Duncan, executive secretary, Actors' Equity Association.

George Englund, motion picture producer-director, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios, Culver City, Calif.

Lionel C. Epstein, attorney, Ginsburg & Leventhal, Washington, D.C., and member of board of trustees of the Experiment in International Living.

Hy Faine, National executive secretary, American Guild of Musical Artists.

Rudolph Faupl, U.S. Worker Representative to the International Labor Organization and international representative, International Association of Machinists.

Lloyd A. Free, president, Institute for International Social Research, Princeton, N.J.

John W. Gardner, Chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Carl Harms, actor, recording secretary, Actors' Equity Association.

Miss Melissa Hayden, prima ballerina, New York City Ballet Co.

Hal Holbrook, actor, member Actors' Equity Association.

Dr. Kenneth Holland, president, Institute of International Education, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Robert T. Holt, department of political science, University of Minnesota.

Earle Hyman, actor, council member, Actors' Equity Association.

Richard A. Humphrey, Director, Commission on International Education, Washington, D.C.

Walter Joyce, managing editor, Printers' Ink, New York, N.Y.

Herman Kenin, president, American Federation of Musicians, AFL–CIO.

Dan Lacy, managing director, American Book Publishers Council, New York.

John E. Lawyer, Acting Director, Office of International Organization Affairs, International Affairs Bureau, Department of Labor.

Dr. Arthur H. Litchfield, chairman of the board, Governmental Affairs Institute.

John McMullan, news director, Washington Bureau, Knight Newspapers.

Henry Mayers, president, the Mayers Co., Los Angeles, Calif., and chairman, Cold War Council.

Rosario Mazzeo, personnel manager, Boston Symphony Orchestra.

George Meaney, president, AFL–CIO.

Herbert C. Merillat, executive director, American Society of International Law.

H. Philip Mettger, president, Governmental Affairs Institute.

Dick Moore, editor, Equity magazine.

John D. J. Moore, vice president, W. R. Grace Co., and chairman, U.S. Inter-American Council.

Hon. Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency.

Stanley Plesent, General Counsel and Congressional Liaison, USIA.

Stanley F. Reed, president, Reed Research Foundation, and president, Technology Audit Corp., Washington, D.C.

Hon. J. Leonard Reinsch, Chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission on Information.

John Richardson, Jr., president, Free Europe Committee, New York, N.Y.

Hon. James Roosevelt, a Representative in Congress from the State of California.

Kermit Roosevelt, vice president, Governmental Relations Department, Gulf Oil Corp., Washington, D.C.

Robert H. School, director of public relations, Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), New York.

Eric Sevareid, author, commentator, and news analyst, New York, N.Y.

Thomas C. Sorenson, Deputy Director for Policy and Plans, USIA.

Miss Blanche Thebom, concert and opera singer, Metropolitan Opera Co.

Dr. Theodore Vallance, director, Special Operations Research Office, American University, Washington, D.C.

Hon. George L–P Weaver, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs.

Eddie Weston, actor, second vice president, Actors' Equity Association.

In addition, the subcommittee received a number of written statements which addressed themselves to the subject under study and which were prepared by civic-minded citizens, without cost, to the U.S. Government.

The testimony of witnesses who appeared before the subcommittee, together with a number of additional statements, has been printed under the title "Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Parts I Through V." Other papers submitted to the subcommittee have also been of help to its members and were retained for possible future publication.

The five volumes of hearings mentioned above make fascinating reading and in the opinion of at least one news correspondent, point to several far-reaching conclusions.

First, that ideological activities—teaching of the Communist doctrine, persuading people to its cause, and motivating them to take political action in support of Communist objectives—constitute an integral and eminent part of the Communist strategy of world revolution.

Second, that the thrust of the Communist ideological effort, added to the impact of the concurrent revolutions of the 20th century in science, education, communications, and rising expectations of the masses of people of the underdeveloped countries, has profoundly influenced the entire character of the East-West confrontation and created serious challenge for the foreign policy of the United States. This conclusion—that the nonmilitary conflict is not only significant but may prove decisive to the outcome of the global struggle between the world Communist movement and those who oppose it—was underscored in a statement made by the late President John F. Kennedy on April 2, 1961, and cited by one of the witnesses who appeared before our subcommittee. President Kennedy said:

> We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concepts, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it, whether in Cuba or South Vietnam. And we dare not fail to realize it is this struggle which is taking place every day without arms or fanfare, in thousands of villages and markets and classrooms all over the globe. * * * No greater task faces this Nation or this administration. * * * Too long have we fixed our eyes on the traditional military needs; on the armies prepared to cross borders; on missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear this is no longer enough; that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border.

Third, that the U.S. Government has not attempted to meet the nonmilitary challenge posed by the Communist movement, and to advance our own foreign policy objectives abroad, with anything approaching a well-coordinated campaign of the size and scope of our other foreign policy undertakings. Rather, in the opinion of several witnesses, the U.S. Government has pitted a handful of limited, fragmented and frequently uncoordinated programs, against a massive, integrated, worldwide Communist ideological offensive.

Fourth, that private American initiative, embodied in programs conducted abroad by private American individuals and organizations, may play a vital role in deciding the outcome of the cold war—and that this realization was slowly beginning to produce positive results.

These broad conclusions emerged from the testimony of witnesses who appeared before our subcommittee during the initial part of our study. This does not mean that all of the witnesses agreed upon each and every conclusion—nor even that two or more witnesses would define any single conclusion in precisely the manner in which it appears above. Any attempt such as this to summarize the rich variety of views and ideas advanced by a group of thoughtful and well-informed persons is bound to do some injustice to each individual presentation. The same, of course, applies to the membership of our subcommittee. I know that each of its members could well improve upon this summary.

Nevertheless, these four tentative conclusions became the base from which the subcommittee continued its study. We were fully conscious of them as we moved into the next phase of our undertaking. That phase will be the subject of part III of my report.

How the Russians Think—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, former Senator William Benton, of Connecticut, recently returned from a visit to Moscow, where he spent 10 days seeking the answer to what lies behind the "relaxation of tensions" in that area. He wrote a series of articles on his trip and they were published in the Hartford Courant.

I believe they represent a penetrating analysis of Soviet strategy and give an interesting picture of the Russian Premier. I therefore submit the first article for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HOW THE RUSSIANS THINK: MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S "STATUS QUO" MEANS "FREEDOM OF SUBVERSION"—PART I

(By William Benton, publisher and chairman, Encyclopedia Britannica)

(Former U.S. Senator William Benton has visited the U.S.S.R. five times since 1955. During his last visit, in May, he interviewed 40 top Soviet officials in 10 days—including Chairman Nikita Khrushchev. "I wanted to see for myself what lies behind the so-called relaxation of tension," says Benton. "I didn't argue. I listened. I interjected comments and objections occasionally, only to help strip away some of the Soviet propaganda." The North American Newspaper Alliance asked Senator Benton, who is now chairman and publisher of Encyclopedia Britannica, and is also U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, to summarize some of the highlights of his interviews. This is the first of four articles on his talks to Russian leaders.)

NEW YORK, August 15.—Soviet leaders expect to achieve victory for communism without a nuclear encounter with the West. They believe they can do this in part by supporting national uprisings, or liberation wars, conducted by guerrilla forces such as Castro's.

Chairman Khrushchev's strategy for overcoming the West was enunciated on January 6, 1961, at a meeting of world Communist leaders. The strategy has not been changed.

During my recent visit to the Soviet Union it became clear that the Chairman is as convinced as ever—Red China's violent reaction to the contrary notwithstanding—that his program for quietly burying capitalism can be accomplished without World War III. It can be attained in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence—which means perpetuation of the cold war—in which the status quo of countries is guaranteed both by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The question then is, What is the definition of "status quo"?

When I met in Moscow with Chairman Khrushchev he went into the meaning and significance of "status quo" as he sees it. He spoke at length and with great warmth. He began by referring to his meeting in Vienna with the late President John F. Kennedy in the spring of 1961.

"BYPASSED" BY J.F.K.

The problem of "status quo," Khrushchev said, "is most difficult for your statesmen. They must face up to it. They must solve it." At Vienna, said Khrushchev, he had felt this problem most acutely. However, President Kennedy bypassed it.

"The question still remains," Khrushchev declared. "It remains for President Johnson."

The Chairman stated: "Mr. Kennedy tried to argue with me that we should have a status quo. This is quite correct. I don't deny this thesis. But, Mr. Kennedy gave a meaning to it of his own. The Soviet Government on December 31 last year published a letter on not changing the boundaries. Isn't this the status quo? Seemingly our policies on this subject of boundaries—the United States and the U.S.S.R.—are the same. However, Mr. Kennedy had a still further meaning to the status quo, and a still different meaning. We agree with him that the sovereignties of all individual countries should be maintained. We agree that there should

be no interference from the outside by any other country. We agree that each country has the right to pick its own social system. All else is mechanics. This is our stand in the U.S.S.R.

"NO SUBVERSION

"Mr. Kennedy spoke of not having any 'subversive activities' in any country. Now this is quite another question. I can agree on the undesirability of a second country or a third country moving in to interfere. But revolutions do happen. They do occur as they did here in the Soviet Union. A political system becomes rotten. And a rotten system leads to an explosion. Then the new is born through the struggle with the old. We in the U.S.S.R. feel that the revolutionary process should have the right to exist. Tender plants can and do break through the asphalt and can crack the concrete. (The Chairman emphasized this with an uppointed thumb.) Isn't it strange that a frail plant can break concrete?"

Khrushchev was eloquent at this point—and, demonstrating his emotional power, he said President Kennedy had opposed the right of any foreign power to help people in rebellion. But he (Khrushchev) insisted that people would continue to rebel, and would continue to succeed in rebellion. He said that any policy which opposed the right of people to rebel was doomed. (I could not break in on his torrential barrage to inquire about the right of the Hungarian people to rebel in 1956.)

U.S. POLICY "DOOMED"

Charging that the United States supports the reactionary forces, he asserted: "You Americans are happy at your victory in Brazil. President Johnson has just sent a congratulatory letter. But your policy is doomed to failure."

Then, slamming the table, Khrushchev promised:

"Indeed, it will be a pyrrhic victory. The reactionaries in Brazil can of course murder the leading figures who have opposed them. But the people will provide new leaders. The new leaders will emerge to organize the masses. This whole question of the right to rebel, and the Soviet right to help combat reactionary governments, is very serious and complicated.

"This question will not be understood by your American leaders. This is the question of questions. This affects our relations with you. Indeed, this question is at the heart of our relations with you. If you of the United States will only recognize the right of people to have the government they want—to have social systems they want and they like—if you will only not interfere with them in this goal—this will be the great step forward. Kennedy could not understand this. Here is the present question: Will Johnson understand it?"

HOW ABOUT VENEZUELA?

I wondered whether Khrushchev actually believed that the people of Hungary, or Poland, Czechoslovakia, or East Germany would agree with him if they were permitted to express themselves freely. Citing the most recent example, I said that I could not allow to pass unchallenged the suggestion that international communism did not interfere—as an outside party—in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries.

"Let us take Venezuela," I said. "President Betancourt was legally elected President of a democratic regime which we in the United States respected and admired. An effort was made to assassinate him which was traced back to Castro and Cuba. The Cubans further sought to foment revolution and shipped arms into Venezuela."

The Chairman did not let me continue. He waved his hand at me and said emphatically: "Who placed the arms in Venezuela? Was it Castro? Was it the CIA?"

I laughed. The Chairman then laughed also. Indeed, he laughed many times during the interview. He has a quick sense of humor. And he added with a chuckle: "Both things could have happened." Thus he evades the question. Thus he shows his skill at dialectics.

FREEDOM TO SUBVERT

When we analyze Khrushchev's definition of "status quo," we come up with the following: The United States and the U.S.S.R. are not to seek to alter the boundaries of other countries. Neither should overtly interfere with the social or political systems obtaining within these countries. But either should feel at liberty to help liberation movements everywhere—when these movements seek to overthrow reactionary forces or imperialism.

If Chairman Khrushchev could have his way—which he cannot—the United States would pledge itself to stand by idly while Communist guerrillas—with Soviet support—toppled governments by subversion and localized fighting. Thus Khrushchev chooses to regard the Communists in Vietnam as a legitimate revolutionary movement against the reactionary and hence illegitimate government which the United States is supporting.

Quite naturally President Kennedy did not agree to Khrushchev's definition of the U.S.S.R.'s right to intervene internally to assist antigovernment forces. President Johnson does not agree. When challenged to the brink of nuclear war, Khrushchev gave way on Cuba. This was an experience that may have taught him a great deal. But it has not compelled him to scrap his grand strategy for country-by-country Communist victory.

Immigration Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates seem to delight in misrepresenting the facts regarding immigration legislation in this session of Congress.

The following statement by the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Senator HUMPHREY, outlines the true facts concerning this legislation.

The New York Post editorial of September 11, 1964, gives valuable facts on U.S. Immigration legislation.

HUMPHREY SCORCHES MILLER ON IMMIGRATION STATEMENT

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY today assailed as "patently false and nonsense" the claim by Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER that President Johnson's immigration bill would triple immigration and cause unemployment.

Noting that "we are a nation of immigrants," HUMPHREY asked:

"When did Congressman MILLER lose faith in America?"

The Democratic vice presidential nominee pointed out that if present laws were effective 100 years ago Senator BARRY GOLDWATER'S grandfather possibly could not have come to the United States.

MILLER, in a speech on Monday in South Bend, Ind., said that if the administration bill passed, "the number of immigrants next year will increase threefold."

Following is the text of Senator HUMPHREY'S statement:

"First of all, Congressman MILLER has his facts wrong. He states that if President Johnson's immigration bill is passed, 'the number of immigrants next year will increase threefold.' Now, of course that is patently false and nonsense. The present law allows 155,500 persons to enter the United States each year. The President's immigration bill increases this by only 14,500. Now that surely doesn't mean a threefold increase. That kind of arithmetic just doesn't make sense.

"But the important question is: When did Congressman MILLER lose faith in America? Why, we are a nation of immigrants. Not 6 weeks ago Senator DIRKSEN, Republican leader in the Senate, offered in nomination a man whom he described as 'the grandson of a peddler, a proud honorable and spirited man who left his ancestral home in Europe at an early age and came to this land a century ago.' Now it is a fact that for the past 40 years our immigration law has in effect, discriminated against some peoples because of race, creed or national origin. In fact if the present law had been in effect 100 years ago, Senator GOLDWATER'S grandfather possibly could not have come to the United States.

"Now this is an area of discrimination in our national life that we have not yet brought into line with the rest of our laws and we ought to change that pattern of law. If Congressman MILLER is against the change that's his business. But we are for it and the people can make their choice on November 3."

[From the New York (N.Y.) Post, Sept. 11, 1964]

GOP Vice-Presidential Candidate MILLER'S attack on the administration's proposals for immigration reform has quickly backfired. And well it should have.

MILLER asserted that the administration's immigration proposals "would open the floodgates for virtually any and all who would wish to come and work in this country."

This happens to be nonsense. The purpose of the bill is not a substantial rise in the annual number of immigrants but abolition of a national origins quota system which discriminates against immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and contains overtones of bigotry.

As President Johnson has said, our question to an immigrant from Italy or Poland should not be, "Where do you come from?" but "What can you contribute to America?"

The administration's bill would carry out objectives originally projected by President Truman and reaffirmed by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. All party platforms except the 1964 GOP document have favored the goals it embodies. The measure bears the support of many distinguished GOP Congressmen.

Once again Mr. MILLER was as misinformed about his facts as he was impoverished in spirit. Has he ever visited the Statue of Liberty?

A Rousing Speech by the Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party and the Nation is privileged to have the services

of the Honorable John A. Gronouski in the office of Postmaster General. As well as being a most able public official, Mr. Gronouski is making himself noteworthy as a public speaker in this election year.

It was with great pleasure that I and several other Los Angeles Congressmen were the honored guests at a gathering of postal workers this past week, and we were doubly honored to have the Postmaster General as the main speaker for the evening. I consider Mr. Gronouski's speech to be of interest to all my colleagues and to the country at large, and I therefore submit it at this time for the attention of all concerned with the future of our country:

ADDRESS BY JOHN A. GRONOUSKI, POSTMASTER GENERAL

I am delighted to be here among my fellow Democrats. It's such a pleasure belonging to a political party that isn't ashamed of its leaders. That's quite a contrast with the Republicans, you know. I've traveled all over the country during the past several months, and no matter where I go, local Republican leaders and candidates are trying to pretend they've never heard of BARRY GOLDWATER. We Democrats have had to refresh their memory a bit.

And isn't it wonderful that we have a real two-party system again? A party of hope and a party of memory. For all this we can thank Mr. GOLDWATER. He was determined from the beginning to give the Nation "a choice, not an echo."

Some choice.

The Republican Party hasn't had a progressive idea since Calvin Coolidge decided not to seek reelection in 1928. And now they're desperately trying to stamp out the ideals of Abraham Lincoln.

Well, if the Republicans don't want Lincoln, we'll take him—and everything he stood for.

Here in California you have a U.S. Senator who has never been afraid to stand up and be counted when questions of human decency arise. And that Senator's name is PIERRE SALINGER. PIERRE is an old and close friend of mine and I know that he has strong convictions about the dignity of the individual—all individuals—and I also know that he has the courage to back up those convictions.

I believe, too, that the vast majority of Americans feel the same way. I believe that Americans have a heritage of fairplay and respect for their fellow man. I believe they would rather follow the honorable lead of a GEORGE BROWN or a GUS HAWKINS or an ED ROYBAL or a CHARLIE WILSON—rather than the lead of bigoted men who seek to fan the flames of hate and discrimination to promote their own political ends.

And in this context, I must say I am tremendously impressed with the quality of your representation here in the Los Angeles area. Your four Congressmen—freshmen all—have already earned reputations for themselves, in Washington and in California, that far exceed their length of service. I could speak extensively about their records, their dedication to their jobs and their abilities, but I think there is one example I can give you that sums it all up.

As you know, President Lyndon B. Johnson recently signed into law the Economic Opportunity Act—better known as the Anti-Poverty Act. It represents the most massive attack on poverty in the history of mankind. One of the unique aspects of this law is that it places on the local communities the responsibility for developing their own programs. The National Government will assist—and will supply the funds—but the local government must decide what needs to be done and how to do it.

Thanks to the foresight of Congressmen BROWN, HAWKINS, ROYBAL, and WILSON, an organization has already been set up that will probably give this area a decided head-start over much of the rest of the Nation.

I speak, of course, of the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency. This organization, which has already done so much good for your poor, your needy, your youth, your aged and your unemployed, will now dovetail with the antipoverty program to bring a new dawn of hope to hundreds of thousands of less fortunate citizens in this area.

The way of the Los Angeles area is the way of progress: progress through Congressmen of outstanding experience, demonstrated vision, and forthright convictions.

Such, I am sorry to say, are not qualities readily found in the Republican Party under the temporary leadership of BARRY GOLDWATER.

Experience?

Mr. GOLDWATER has been a Member of the Senate for 12 years, and in that time, he has compiled one of the most lackluster records of any Senator of our generation. The fact is that not a single piece of major legislation bears his name.

Vision?

Senator GOLDWATER is afraid of the future—and you don't wonder when you hear what he proposes to do. In his own words he tells us: "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them. It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones."

Convictions?

They certainly don't concern the welfare of the citizens of this Nation or this State. You have only to look at the record.

This administration—under the leadership of President Johnson—is committed to a realistic and humane program of health care for the aged; a program designed to assure them "dignity in sickness, as well as in health."

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on the aged by voting against medicare.

This administration believes that our generation—for the first time in history—has the knowledge, the wealth and the tools to eradicate poverty in America; to give all our citizens, no matter how lowly their station or inadequate their education, a new opportunity to help themselves.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on the poor by voting against the antipoverty bill.

This administration believes that social security represents one of the great social achievements of our century, providing peace of mind and a better life for millions of retired citizens.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on these people by advocating policies which would destroy the very fabric of our social security system.

This administration is committed to the proposition that our workers are entitled to a decent salary for an honest day's work.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on labor by voting against increases in the minimum wage.

This administration is determined to wipe out the cancer of long-term unemployment and hopelessness in the chronically depressed sections of our Nation.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on the unemployed by voting repeatedly against area redevelopment.

This administration believes that every child in America deserves a decent meal, no matter who his parents may be.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on hundreds of thousands of hungry children by opposing the food stamp and the school lunch programs.

This administration believes that our Nation cannot achieve its full measure of greatness until our young men and women—all of them—have an opportunity to develop their minds to their full capacities.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on our young people by voting against aid to education.

This administration believes that every man, woman, and child has the constitutional right to an equal opportunity in our society, regardless of the color of his skin or his religion or the accent with which he speaks.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on millions of Americans by voting against the Civil Rights Act.

This administration believes it has the moral and awesome responsibility of protecting every living creature from the poisonous effects of radioactive fallout.

And the Republican nominee has turned his back on all the people by opposing the test ban treaty.

Yes, Senator GOLDWATER has turned his back.

While President Johnson seeks to unify our people behind a great national cause, the opposition seeks to obstruct, divide, and conquer.

And the hallmark of its approach is extremism.

I know there is an effort being made to hide extremism under the elephant's trunk. I know the temporary Republican leader went to Gettysburg and began talking like a "moderate" for the sake of party unity.

But I also remember what he said in San Francisco: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice," and "Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The echo of those infamous words will be reverberating throughout this Nation long after the last ballot is cast next November 3. They represent an open invitation to any radical of the left or right to take the law into his own hands by wrapping the American flag around his devious ends.

Extremism is hate and divisiveness. It is spitting on the Ambassador to the United Nations. It is labeling the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court a traitor and a Communist. It is storing up arms against what is called a "Communist menace," against the day when you brand everyone who disagrees with you a Communist.

Extremism is a racial issue. It is justification for turning dogs loose on Negroes, or bombing churches, or pouring acid into newly integrated swimming pools.

It is a program to foment prejudice among ethnic groups by playing on their economic insecurity. And it is a cynical disdain of those same ethnic groups by perpetuating a discriminatory immigration policy.

Extremism is encouraging lawlessness by stirring the passions of the disgruntled and the maladjusted.

And finally, extremism is reckless and suicidal nuclear irresponsibility. It is the surrender of life-and-death decisionmaking authority from the President of the United States to military field commanders.

But BARRY GOLDWATER insists that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

Hate: "in the defense of liberty."

Suspicion: "in the defense of liberty."

Prejudice: "in the defense of liberty."

Fear: "in the defense of liberty."

Assassination: "in the defense of liberty."

Divisiveness: "in the defense of liberty."

Economic deprivation: "in the defense of liberty."

And nuclear holocaust: "in the defense of liberty."

This Nation cannot afford such a "defense of liberty"—and neither can liberty itself. Because in the end, it would be liberty as defined by a rabid group of radicals—which means liberty for them to rule as they see fit.

We have long since passed the point where we can treat the radical elements among us as a joke. There is no shrugging it off. This is a grave national threat.

The extremists are organized, well financed, disciplined, and highly motivated. They have captured a major political party. The only way to defeat them is to expose them to the voters; to tell the American people that these people are not traveling the road of freedom and liberty; they are traveling the road to anarchy and chaos.

They must be repudiated before they poison our system completely. And the time to repudiate them is now.

Thank you.

School Dropout Problem Examined Among Mexican-American Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that the Monterey County, Calif., Office of Education, in cooperation with the Chualar Union School District has just completed the 1st year of a 2-year education project under legislation approved by the California State Legislature in 1963. The study should be of interest to all educators and persons concerned with education of our youth.

The study confirms the theory that one of the major causes of school dropouts among students from Mexican and Filipino families is difficulty with English. Information on the study follows:

For a complete report on the project, requests may be directed to Mr. Ed Coffin, superintendent, Monterey County Schools, Post Office Box 851, Salinas, Calif.:

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROJECT

Difficulty with English is one of the major causes of school dropouts in areas where there is a high percentage of students from Mexican and Filipino families.

This statement was borne out by the Monterey County compensatory education project, carried out by the Monterey County Office of Education and the Chualar Union School District in Chualar during the past school year.

The project was one of four carried out by county offices throughout California.

A report on the project states: "English is the foundation of American education and as far as children from non-English speaking backgrounds are concerned, it is the greatest obstacle. It is undoubtedly one of the major causes of school dropouts in this segment of the population."

Chualar, a rural community 11 miles south of Salinas, was chosen for the project because of its isolation, its high percentage of Mexican families and its lack of cultural and educational facilities.

At the close of the 1962–63 school year, 231 students were enrolled in school in grades K–8. Of these, 74 percent had Mexican or Filipino surnames, with the Mexican names by far the most numerous.

The children were given the Wechsler intelligence scale in sixth and seventh grades. Fifty-one students were tested, and 59 percent had Mexican surnames. The children were cooperative and interested.

A look at the scores showed that at least half of the children were "culturally deprived" in that their experiences with language, knowledge, opportunities, and values of the American middle-class culture were limited. The majority of these children came from Mexican homes where little or no English was spoken.

Primarily, the children tested were of average intelligence. While the average for the performance IQ was higher than the verbal IQ in both the Mexican-American and non-Mexican groups, the difference was far greater in the Mexican-American group. This shows that while the Mexican-American group has the ability to do at least average work, it has not developed verbally.

The report states that the children often listened to the questions and directions and then merely shrugged. While this is usually taken as an "I don't know" answer, investigation showed that the child either didn't understand or didn't know how to answer in English.

The report said that these children need extensive work in learning English, beginning with the fundamentals and progressing through the comprehension of abstract concepts.

The report also details other features of the project, which included the initiation of a Spanish-English newsletter for Mexican families, adult education classes in English and Spanish, development of a community library, teaching of English as a second language, field trips to Sacramento and San Francisco for children and parents, and performances in Chualar by the county symphony orchestra.

The project generated interest in education in Chualar, both among students and parents. Teachers also felt they had benefitted from the testing by gaining new insights into students' problems.

Needs for the future, according to the report, include more effective face-to-face communication with Mexican parents to interest them in school-parent functions, and a plan for developing curriculum that will better accommodate Mexican-American children. Also needed is a continuation of the work in teaching Spanish, and in teaching English as a second language.

How the Russians Think—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, when former Senator William Benton, of Connecticut, toured the Soviet Union earlier this year, he talked with Yuri Zhukov, one of the senior editors of Pravda, and subsequently reported his observations in the Hartford Courant.

Zhukov's emphasis on disarmament presents an interesting view of Soviet attitudes. I believe it is well worth the study of this body, and I offer it for the RECORD:

HOW THE RUSSIANS THINK: ARE THEY SERIOUS IN TALKING OF SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES?

(Former U.S. Senator William Benton has visited the U.S.S.R. five times since 1955. During his last visit, in May, he interviewed 40 top Soviet officials in 10 days—including Chairman Nikita Khruschev. "I wanted to see for myself what lies behind the so-called relaxation of tension," says Benton. "I did not argue. I listened. I interjected comments and objectives occasionally, only to help strip away some of the Soviet propaganda." The North American Newspaper Alliance asked Senator Benton, who is now chairman and publisher of Encyclopedia Britannica, and is also U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, to summarize some of the highlights of his interviews. This is the second of four articles on his talks to Russian leaders.)

(By William Benton, publisher and chairman, Encyclopedia Britannica)

NEW YORK, August 16. A forceful member of the Supreme Soviet—one of the three senior editors of Pravda—has urged that both the Soviet Union and the United States reduce their armaments budgets, "on the basis of mutual trust." He envisages this as a first stride toward achieving a disarmament agreement.

This appeal was made to me in Moscow in May by Yuri Zhukov, former chairman of the state committee on culture, whom I first met in 1955 when he was foreign editor of Pravda.

Zhukov told me that "the most important opportunity for disarmament right now between our two countries grows out of the power of example." This was a reference to the American, Soviet, and British decisions to cut back production of fissionable materials, as a step toward decreasing world tension. Each government acted unilaterally. There were no treaty negotiations or agreements.

The United States and the Soviet Union "must seek to continue along this line," Zhukov said. He pointed out that "before the year is out, we of the U.S.S.R. are going to discuss our arms budget before the Supreme Soviet. You will have the same discussion in January. Cannot we agree that these discussions offer the opportunity for new and serious steps in the field of mutual example? Here is an idea which is very real. Here is an area in which we can move forward without any formal agreement, without any negotiations, but on the basis of mutual trust. Cannot we now take this further step? Cannot we both unilaterally reduce our armament budgets?"

HOPE FOR FURTHER ACCORD

Zhukov maintained that reduction in United States-U.S.S.R. armament budgets—on this basis—can then lead to further formal agreements, such as one barring underground nuclear tests and another establishing nuclear free zones.

"Of course we would like the whole world to be a free zone," he said, "but I appreciate that this is difficult. Why don't we start with Africa? Neither the United States nor the U.S.S.R. has anything in Africa of much importance. Why not support the Organization of African States in a move to get a guarantee by the United States and the U.S.S.R. to Africa which will make it a free zone? Why not set Africa up as an example? This will give to the African people a feeling of gratitude toward both the United States and the U.S.S.R."

Zhukov warmed to his subject and continued to talk for almost an hour, with very few interruptions from me. My interjections were designed chiefly to maintain candor. "We must start on nuclear disarmament with something. Let the two of us start. Let other countries come in later. Let one idea develop from another."

Zhukov charged that the United States has not given "sufficiently careful consideration, at a high level" to the problem of underground testing.

"PLENTY OF NUCLEAR ARMS"

"You have plenty of nuclear arms," he noted. "We have plenty. Why do you need any more tests? Yet since the nuclear test ban treaty you have made 20 underground tests. We are at present tranquil on this issue. We are calm. We have made no tests of any kind since the test ban. Every time you make a test, China puts on a big campaign to prove that the test ban treaty is a

hoax. Some people give tender ears to this campaign—some people in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. They try to prove that the United States uses the test ban treaty to step up U.S. nuclear power in contrast to the U.S.S.R. But the truth is that the authority of both the United States and the U.S.S.R. is being undermined.

"Can't we arrange an agreement to bar underground testing? Why can't we provide for the 'black box' inspection as proposed at the recent Pugwash Conference? This would be a very big step forward in the relaxing of international tensions."

I reminded Zhukov that disarmament discussions had bogged down because the U.S.S.R. had failed to agree to what we regard as "effective inspection." I asked him to explain his views on "effective inspection" in contrast to his "black box."

NOT READY TO TRUST

Zhukov continued: "By effective inspection the United States means sending people into the U.S.S.R. to go wherever they like and see whatever they like. We have not yet reached that point of trust. This is now premature. The black box is automatic. International teams spot the black boxes and control them. The scientists at Pugwash agreed that they can give an adequate check of underground testing. * * * What your State Department calls effective inspection—this is not feasible now. Later and by all means, it should be carried out. It will be carried out. We, too, will want it as the goal to effective disarmament."

Disarmament is very much on the mind of all Soviet leaders, due in part to the Soviet propaganda, even though specific proposals are few. Mikhail Millionshchikov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and most recently the chairman of the Soviet delegation to the Pugwash Conference in India this January, stated that "the goal of the improvement of living standards is the central goal of our Soviet program; it is set forth in every single speech by Chairman Khrushchev."

I said that significantly higher living standards were impossible without a major move toward disarmament, so that the Soviet economy could concentrate on producing goods for the Soviet people instead of armaments. He agreed immediately. Then he said flatly: "Our present armament program prevents the putting of resources into the improvement of living standards for our people.

DIFFERENT STANDARDS

Konstantin Simonov, former head of the Soviet Writers Union and a prominent novelist, put it this way:

"The heart of the problem which divides the United States and the U.S.S.R. is the great difference in living standards. We are less afraid now to send our people to the United States. The psychological problem isn't as great as it was. Five or ten years from now, as the gap closes, it will be still easier. It's very complicated when our boys, from both sides, move into an environment to which they're not accustomed. I am, of course, speaking now largely from the materialistic side. This does not mean that I am shying away from the ideological and psychological problems which divide us, but the materialistic side is closely related." Simonov recognizes the heavy block to improvement in Soviet living standards due to an armanent program which takes a much bigger chunk of the Soviet economy than does ours in the United States.

From my discussions with key officials in the Soviet Union, including Chairman Khrushchev himself, I am sure that few ever waver in their belief in the ultimate triumph of communism. Khrushchev wants to see a Communist society everywhere. He thinks that this is an attainable goal. His problem is this: How can capitalism be buried in this atomic age?

IMPROVED IMAGE

I believe Mr. Khrushchev feels that if nothing happens; if nothing helpful to the U.S.S.R. can be now achieved by negotiated agreements, then the best present position for the U.S.S.R. is a stalemate. How can the U.S.S.R. lose, if communism is the wave of the future? He is not now in a position for a showdown over Cuba or Berlin. When one doesn't know how to move in one direction or aonther, then why not a stalemate?

Even a stalemate helps to make some things happen. It helps to assure the world of a reasonable Soviet attitude. This in turn can leave two results: It keeps the West hopeful and hence relaxed; and it makes a very good impression throughout the so-called neutralist world.

However, even in time of stalemate, while we press for progress and for agreement on new fronts, we must be mindful that Khrushchev intends that he or his successors will serve as capitalism's pallbearers. True, he wants no head-on collision at this time. He and his subordinates are now seeking friendly gestures.

Khrushchev understands that the U.S.S.R. cannot fight America, and that America connot fight Russia. This is indeed hopeful. This came out in all my interviews with Soviet officials. They also understand that they cannot cause a revolution in America. Thus they have deemphasized their propaganda output to the United States and recognize that their best hope is to talk to the world.

Implicit in this hope, in the minds of many leading Communists, is the chance of isolating America. They even hope to make communism less unattractive within America—to persuade America that aggressive communism is merely peaceful socialism in Russian form.

Federal Juvenile Delinquency Planning Grant Gave St. Louis a Vital Headstart in War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Human Development Corp. has just made public its general plans for coordinating all of the many programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to wage the war against poverty in the St. Louis area—the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County. The program is an ambitious one and a practical one.

The St. Louis Human Development Corp. was established in 1964 as an outgrowth of the planning work done in St. Louis during the last 2 years with the aid of a grant from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, made possible by the program enacted by Congress to provide funds for demonstration projects as well as planning. The planning project, initiated and directed locally, was sponsored by the St. Louis Department of Welfare, the health and welfare council, and the metropolitan youth commission.

In the course of the study, a close relationship was proved between the existence of continuing poverty in a family and incidents of crime or delinquency. As the market for unskilled labor diminished, it was not unusual to see a family appearing on the public welfare rolls through a third generation.

As the St. Louis Human Development Corp. points out:

People cannot pull themselves out of the rut of poverty without jobs. Many cannot get jobs without special training. They cannot take special training without basic schooling. It is hard for them to succeed in school if they come from a family situation and environment that stunt their capacity or desire to learn. So many seem doomed to fail in life before they start.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS APPOINTED BY MAYOR TUCKER

The St. Louis Human Development Corp. is an independent, nonprofit corporation qualified by the Internal Revenue Service to receive tax deductible contributions. Its board of directors was appointed by Mayor Raymond R. Tucker, of St. Louis. It includes not only outstanding residents of the city of St. Louis, but several directors residing in St. Louis County, and four ex officio directors including Governor Dalton, Mayor Tucker, the supervisor of St. Louis County, Mr. Lawrence K. Roos, and the regional director of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the action of the Congress in enacting the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and in view of our action here in the House just a few days ago in passing the supplemental appropriation bill containing three-quarters of a billion dollars for implementation of the act, I am sure there will be widespread interest among the Members in the plan of action developed by St. Louis to enable the community to gear up all of its resources for the most effective use of the aid to be provided by the Federal Government in combating poverty and misery. Therefore, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an announcement of the plans sent to me by a good friend, Mr. Raymond H. Wittcoff, president of Transurban Investment Corp., of St. Louis, who is serving as chairman of the St. Louis Human Development Corp. The announcement is as follows:

ST. LOUIS HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CORP.

ORIGIN

The St. Louis Human Development Corp. was created early in 1964 with a board of directors appointed by Mayor Raymond R. Tucker. Originally its aim was to attack the basic causes of poverty and juvenile delinquency in a limited target area in the heart of the city. The grave problems of the people living in these particular neighborhoods, including the fact that 8,000 crimes are committed there annually, had aroused the awareness of the whole community. The creation of the corporation and the original target area were recommended by a planning project begun here 2 years ago.

The planning project was initiated and directed locally. It was sponsored by the St. Louis Department of Welfare, the Health and Welfare Council, and the Metropolitan Youth Commission. It was supported by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and local sources. Professional and lay leaders representing various public and private

agencies participated in the planning. Many people living in the target area were interviewed. The planning project proposed that while financial support for the program be secured from several sources both private and public, the principal sources of funds would have to be Federal agencies.

It should be noted that the planning project was begun and the idea of the Human Development Corp. was conceived by St. Louisans before the President proposed the war against poverty. The antipoverty program, which was incorporated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 passed by Congress in August, provides for Federal support for community action programs like the one conceived in St. Louis. This will enable the St. Louis program to get underway, and on a basis broader than that originally proposed. The services of the corporation will not be limited to the original target area; they will be extended to the poor of the county as well as the city.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the St. Louis Human Development Corp. now is to coordinate the war against poverty in the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County.

There is no precise definition of poverty. It has been suggested that an income of $3,000 is needed for a family to live according to a minimum level of decency. Well over 200,000 people in the city and county belong to families with incomes below that level. The circumstances of these people vary greatly. Among this group unemployment, disease, broken homes, emotional illness, unsafe and unsanitary housing, school dropouts, crime rates, and death rates are high.

The aim of this program is to help people to help themselves. There will be no handouts. Funds will be invested in useful projects where people are earning and learning. The cost of this multimillion-dollar program will be substantial, but it will be small in relation to the cost of other programs arising out of human needs, such as the more than $32 million which is spent annually in St. Louis for direct welfare payments. To the extent that this program succeeds and people are prepared for more productive lives, human misery will be reduced and so will the burden on our economy.

About half of the impoverished here are age 21 and under. The children of the poor become parents of more poor. It is not unusual to see a family appearing on the public welfare rolls through a third generation. The cycle of poverty can be broken by helping young people to extricate themselves from the human backwash and to move upward in the mainstream of an expanding economy. So the planning project proposed that with the limited resources available the emphasis be on opportunities for young people and that the program be called Gateways for Youth. There is inspiring evidence that with new opportunities even the apathetic may be fired with ambition.

In the Nation as a whole it has been estimated that nearly 80 percent of the people living in poverty are white. In the original target area in St. Louis studied in the planning project 55 percent are Negro and 45 percent are white. This community is committed to the elimination of racial discrimination and the Human Development Corp. will act on that commitment in all of its operations. However, the elimination of racial discrimination will not by itself solve the problem of poverty.

The reduction of poverty depends on economic growth. Just as jobs are lost when industries leave and business is bad, so job opportunities increase when new industries are attracted to this metropolitan area and business is good. Progress in reducing poverty can only be made in an environment which is favorable to economic progress. But many people today are victims rather than beneficiaries of economic progress. Automation is throwing a lot of people out of work. In the past there were usually plenty of jobs for people who had good work habits even though they had no special skills. There were always places where the unskilled could get a foothold from which they could work their way up. Now, with the advances in technology, for many people the bottom rung has fallen off the economic ladder. The supply of unskilled workers is much greater than the demand. So it is unrealistic to assume that economic progress by itself will automatically solve the problem. While the demand for unskilled workers is rapidly diminishing, the demand for people with special skills is increasing. This suggests the importance of large-scale programs of vocational counseling and job training.

However, many people cannot take technical training because of deficiencies in their basic education. They have not learned how to read or to use numbers competently. How to give everyone the elements of a sound basic education is the greatest challenge. This means more than developing the capacity to learn a marketable skill (and then when the market for one's skill vanishes through automation to learn a new one). It means learning to use our abundant free time for truly human ends. And for everyone in a free society it means education for responsible citizenship.

People cannot pull themselves out of the rut of poverty without jobs. Many cannot get jobs without special training. They cannot take special training without basic schooling. It is hard for them to succeed in school if they come from a family situation and environment that stunt their capacity or desire to learn. So many seem doomed to fail in life before they start. They are roaming the streets out of school and out of work.

There is no simple answer to the problem of poverty. Its causes are complex. A war against poverty requires attacks on many fronts: basic and remedial education, job training and guidance, family counseling, child care, home economics, housing improvement, legal assistance, health, recreation. These attacks must be coordinated. Coordination is necessary from two points of view. From the standpoint of the community it is essential that the resources of the various public and private agencies be used efficiently with a minimum of duplication and waste. From the standpoint of the individual being helped it is essential that the complex of problems in which he is trapped be seen as a whole.

THE PLAN

Funds

Federal, State, and local government agencies and private foundations can coordinate their support for antipoverty activities in this metropolitan area through the Human Development Corp. Support is anticipated from all these sources. The corporation has been qualified by the Internal Revenue Service to receive tax-deductible contributions.

The corporation will operate some of its own programs. However, it will allocate most of its funds to existing public and private agencies which will implement major parts of the program under contract with the corporation. Useful work is now being done by agencies which merit more support. In a sense the corporation will be a coordinating conduit through which funds will pass from multiple sources to multiple operating programs according to a plan that will insure cohesive community action.

How much money the corporation will have for the various projects in which it will be interested has not as yet been determined. Negotiations are now underway with the sources of support. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides that up to 90 percent of the cost of community action programs in the first year may be met by the Federal Government. The amount of Federal funds available for distribution among and within States will be determined by formulas set forth in legislation.

Control and management

Although most of the funds in the beginning will come from the Office of Economic Opportunity and other Federal agencies, the Federal Government is not prescribing a plan for St. Louis. The operating plans, like the corporation itself, are being conceived locally. This is an independent nonprofit corporation. It will be free of any involvement with partisan politics or pressure groups in all of its operations.

The policies of the corporation are made by a nine-member nonpartisan board of directors which was appointed by the mayor of St. Louis (the board includes several county residents). The Governor of Missouri, the mayor of St. Louis, the supervisor of St. Louis County, and a representative of Federal agencies serve as nonvoting ex officio members of the board.

A general manager, appointed by the board of directors, is responsible to the board for the corporation's day-to-day operations, for the appointment of a staff, and for relations with the cooperating agencies and institutions. Wayne Vasey is serving as general manager on leave of absence from his position as dean of the School of Social Work at Washington University.

The Board has appointed Price Waterhouse & Co. to serve as independent auditors.

To promote coordination and to insure that the overall objectives of the program are being met efficiently, there will be a continuing systematic review and analysis of all projects which the corporation is supporting.

Neighborhood stations

The corporation will establish neighborhood stations in each of the areas where it is operating. These branch offices of the corporation will be near the people whose needs it serves. Where possible they will be located in schools or other public buildings. The neighborhood station will keep informed on the problems of the people in its area. It will see to it that there is no duplication in the services extended to persons. It will seek out persons who need service and are not now getting it.

At neighborhood stations people will get or be referred to places where they can get counseling on family problems; vocational training and employment opportunities; medical, prenatal, and infant care; and legal assistance.

Neighborhood advisory committees will be composed of people who live in the neighborhoods to assist and advise the corporation in its work. As people are involved they should develop more of a sense of belonging to a community. Young people especially should benefit from working together with staff persons and volunteers. It is vital that all young people have friendly contacts with healthy personalities who have achieved something worthwhile. Many who are in trouble have been denied this.

Special staff training will be given to employees of the corporation, the cooperating agencies and the many volunteers who will be doing staff work which will emphasize the overall objectives of the program and the importance of a sensitive, understanding approach to the people being helped.

The neighborhood stations will be contact points from which people may be referred to the special projects which are listed below.

Youth service corps

The youth service corps will provide short-term part-time work for boys and girls age 16 to 21 who seem likely to drop out of school or for dropouts who might reenroll. They will work at public or nonprofit private in-

stitutions, such as parks, hospitals, schools, libraries. The work must be useful to the community. The earnings will help them stay in school. The program will be administered in close collaboration with the schools. Enrollees will work under the supervision of staff members of participating agencies. They will learn skills and good work habits. Essential to the program is the requirement that enrollees be given professional counseling. They must be encouraged to continue their basic education or move into vocational training. Jobs will not be taken away from present wage earners.

Job Corps training centers

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides for the establishment of residential centers in various parts of the country for young people age 16 to 21 who have dropped out of school and whose potentialities are thwarted by the adverse circumstances in which they are living.

The enrollees will further their basic education, learn vocational skills, and do work on useful projects, such as conservation, national parks and forests. The Human Development Corp. will screen applicants from the St. Louis area for the Job Corps training centers. It is possible that one of these residential centers might be established here.

Basic and remedial education projects will be supported which will improve the chances for disadvantaged youngsters to do well in school and to keep them from dropping out. It will take all the inventiveness and imagination our educators can muster to develop changes in curriculum and methods to meet this challenge. Pioneering has been traditional with St. Louis schools. A grant has already been made through the corporation to the St. Louis Board of Education to strengthen and expand the nationally acclaimed work being done in the Banneker district with parents and children. Pre-school, after-school and summer-school remedial and tutorial projects will be encouraged.

Prekindergarten classes will be organized with professional staff and trained volunteers. Many children come from home situations which block their chances for success in school before they enter. It has been shown that their chances can be vastly improved by exposure during the formative years of 3 to 5 to the intellectual and emotional stimulus provided in a well-run prekindergarten program.

Youth groups under the leadership of trained personnel and volunteers can be an effective antidote for delinquency. Expanded organization of youth groups will be encouraged for youngsters not now being reached with opportunities for wholesome recreation and sports, creative expression through arts and crafts, the broadening of horizons through tours and camping experiences, and good fellowship.

A BEGINNING

The board of directors is humbly aware of how limited the corporation's resources will be in relation to the size of the problem. The scope of the program will depend on the availability of funds and qualified personnel. It will not be possible to start the whole program at once. Parts of the plan will be implemented as fast as sound arrangements can be made for financing, staffing, and mobilizing community resources.

The directors have no illusions that this program will bring total victory in the war against poverty. It can be a strong beginning. Ultimate success will depend on the determination of the people to whom help is offered. All citizens of the metropolitan area have a moral as well as an economic stake in the success of this program. As Americans we are committed to the principle of equal opportunities for everyone. As St. Louisans there is no more fitting way to observe our bicentennial year than to launch this community effort.

ST. LOUIS HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CORP. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chairman: Raymond H. Wittcoff, president, Transurban Investment Corp.

Vice chairman: Theodore McMillian, judge, circuit court.

Joseph P. Clark, president, St. Louis Labor Council, AFL–CIO.

William Kottmeyer, superintendent, St. Louis public schools.

J. Wesely McAfee, president, Union Electric Co.

H. Sam Priest, president, Board of Police Commissioners, St. Louis Police Department.

Edward J. Walsh, Jr., investments.

Secretary: Mrs. Irvin Bettman, Jr., vice president, family and children's service.

Treasurer: Ethan A. H. Shepley, Jr., vice president, Boatmen's National Bank.

Ex-officio: John M. Dalton, Governor, State of Missouri; Raymond R. Tucker, mayor, city of St. Louis; Lawrence K. Roos, supervisor, St. Louis County; James W. Doarn, director, region VI, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

General Manager: Wayne Vasey.

Address by A. Tyler Port, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics), Before the Midwest Joint Government-Industry-Labor Surplus Area Procurement Workshop, South Bend, Ind., June 17, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, among the many steps taken in the effort to meet the challenge posed in December 1963, by the decision of the Studebaker Corp., to terminate the production of trucks and automobiles in South Bend, Ind., was the establishment by the Chamber of Commerce of South Bend-Mishawaka, Inc., of an office of Federal procurement and business assistance.

This office was established on the recommendation of President Johnson's coordiator of Federal activities in the area, Dr. Harold Sheppard. The purpose of the office was twofold:

First. To provide a closer liaison between the South Bend-Mishawaka business community and Federal procurement and business assistance agencies; and

Second. To create new jobs and payroll, and enhance the economy in the South Bend-Mishawaka area through local business exposure to business opportunities and business assistance offered by the Federal Government, as well as local, county, and State governmental agencies.

One of the ablest leaders of the South Bend-Mishawaka community, Eli D. Miller, assistant executive vice president and manager of the manufacturer's division of the South Bend-Mishawaka Chamber of Commerce, was designated as liaison or area coordinator in Federal procurement and business assistance programs to the chamber of commerce. Mr. Miller undertook extensive briefing sessions with Federal procurement and governmental representatives in Washington some weeks ago in an effort to inform himself in depth, so as to be able to give counsel and advice to business and industrial firms in our area.

Following the establishment of the office of Federal procurement and business assistance of the South Bend-Mishawaka Chamber of Commerce there was held in South Bend a Mid-West Joint Government-Industry-Labor Surplus Area Procurement Workshop which was attended by a number of contractors who do business with the Federal Government and who are interested in doing part of their work with Midwest firms.

Among the addresses delivered during this procurement workshop meeting was one given on June 17, 1964, by the distinguished Deputy Assistance Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics, Mr. A. Tyler Port.

Because I think Mr. Port's address will be of interest to Members of Congress throughout the Midwest, as well as from other parts of thet United States, under unanimous consent I include his address in the RECORD.

I appreciate very much the opportunity to be with you today and to participate in this meeting of Midwest representatives from both sides of the Government-industry team. I use the word "team" advisedly because I believe that, as never before, "team play" is absolutely essential in the implementation of the defense procurement program. This is particularly so in our joint efforts here today to study the methods of implementing the Government's policy to assist firms in depressed areas. We in the Defense Establishment and you in industry must continually strive to achieve a closer working relationship and a better understanding of our respective objectives, problems, and limitations.

I think that this thought was especially well expressed in a speech given less than a year ago by the then Vice President, Lyndon B. Johnson, to a group of Government and industry officials, and because of the significance of his remarks I would like to quote at length from that speech—and I quote:

"Over the past two decades, we have learned that the security of our free society requires successful relations between Government and industry. * * * What this represents is a demand for closer cooperation and closer concern between industry and Government—between private technology and public policy. But this is a sensitive area in our system.

"The independence of private enterprise and the integrity of public policy must both be preserved and strengthened.

"We delude ourselves when we conceive the relationship between Government and industry merely to be that of customer and contractor.

"We likewise delude ourselves when we regard the purposes of Government as inevitably partisan and the policies of industry as inevitably anti-Government.

"In both instances, the damaging consequence is a cleavage between Government and industry in areas where there ought to be the greatest sense of common purpose and common understanding.

"The national interest is not served when Government castigates industry for failing to see the broad view of national interest

when no effort is made to communicate that broad view.

"Likewise, the national interest is not served when industry deplores Government's lack of efficiency, lack of talent or lack of business-like methods while withholding these capabilities from Government * * * times require Government and industry to work together in a new climate of mutual trust, understanding and common purpose.

"There are, for both parties, common problems and obstacles which can only be removed by this approach."

I am sure that the fundamental views conveyed by Mr. Johnson's remarks prevail in this meeting today. I am equally sure that I can add little of substance to the exchange of views that have been expressed this morning or will be further discussed this afternoon on the specific subject at hand. I would therefore like to leave with you some food for thought on a broader scale about our methods of procurement.

MAGNITUDE OF DEFENSE PROCUREMENT

First of all, I think it is well for all of us to reflect upon the sheer magnitude of defense procurement today, not to overwhelm you but, rather, to recognize the impact and implications necessarily brought about by the sheer size of military procurement in this atomic age. Within the past 25 years, with the demands or threats of war on the one hand and the strides of science on the other, the Federal Government and particularly the Defense Department, has emerged as the principal buyer, as well as the principal seller of goods and services, as the principal source of credit, and all in all, as the most important single business factor in the entire national economy.

The Department of Defense is responsible for spending nearly 10 percent of the gross national product of this country. It employs 3.7 million Americans directly, in and out of uniform, and millions more indirectly in every aspect of our economic life. It absorbs over half of every tax dollar, as it has done for over a decade. With "Peacetime" budgets running at $50 billion plus, there has come a realization that national survival can be at stake on either of two fronts, military or economic.

Thus, it is fitting and proper that in the development of our procurement policies we take into account socioeconomic factors. Indeed, it is a mandate of Congress as well as the President that consideration be given, for example, to labor surplus areas and small business while at the same time not infringing upon specific laws and rules of good procurement practices such as using formal advertising, obtaining price competition, and assuring equitable treatment to all potential participants. I assure you that the development of procurement policies in such a fashion as to give proper balance to the interrelationships of all these factors is not an easy task nor is it something which can be developed in a vacuum. We need and seek your advice and counsel.

We in procurement have a role which is not always a popular one. Almost any procurement policy is inevitably to the disliking of some specific group or groups of people. Certainly, when it comes to the matter of specific contractual awards, we seldom make more than one individual firm happy, while making several unhappy.

KAISER-JEEP TO PRODUCE ARMY TRUCKS IN SOUTH BEND

I am delighted, however, on this occasion to make reference to the Department of the Army's announcement of contract award to the Kaiser-Jeep Corp. for 2½-ton trucks which will be produced here in South Bend, and the award for the engine production to Continental Motors. I think both of these firms are to be congratulated for winning these very sizable contracts which will be performed here in the Midwest over a 3-year period. The award of these contracts, together with the 5-ton truck production which was transferred to Kaiser-Jeep under novation agreement with Studebaker Corp., will provide a firm employment base for an extended period of time. This improved employment situation will accomplish what I am sure President Johnson had in mind in his press release of December 24, 1963, wherein he stated and I quote, "On December 9 I directed that an interdepartmental committee be established to do everything possible to help South Bend meet the emergency created by the closing of Studebaker facilities and the idling of some 8,000 workers."

In addition to these contracts being a very pleasant subject to mention to this audience, I would like to cite them as an example which typifies innovations which we have developed to achieve cost reductions and which we believe are in the best interests of the Government, industry, and the taxpayer. First of all, we moved away from the historically negotiated type of procurement for this item to the more preferred formally advertised method of contracting. This was accomplished through a technique which we call "twostep" formal advertising. This technique is designed to permit fixed price competition on the basis of publicly opened bids by competent suppliers in cases where our initial specifications are not sufficiently precise for onestep advertising, or where the item is of such complexity that we must take extraordinary steps to assure ourselves that the potential producers fully understand what the Government desires to procure and what is involved in the production process itself. In the first step, the bidder submits his technical proposal without regard to price. The purpose of this step is to evaluate the technical approach of each prospective bidder, and to select those bidders who are considered to be technically capable of competing. Under step two, the technically competent bidders submit sealed bid price proposals and award is made to the firm determined to be the lowest responsive and responsible bider. To dispel any idea that we take lightly our task of determining the responsibility of prospective bidders, I would like to quote from a letter signed by Secretary McNamara in February of this year.

"In working toward better defense procurement, nothing is more basic to satisfactory procurement than that we deal only with responsible prospective contractors. Contract awards to concerns of marginal capabilities can lead only to delays or failures in obtaining delivery of needed items and to increased eventual costs to the Government." Secretary McNamara's directive went on to emphasize that contracting officers are required to make an affirmative determination that the "prospective contractor is responsible before any contract award may be made."

MULTIYEAR PROCUREMENTS

Again, inviting your attention to the 2½-ton truck and engine contracts, I would like to point out that they were multiyear procurements. That is to say, the contracts cover the estimated and anticipated requirements for a 3-year period. From the Government's standpoint, this has the advantage of: (1) Achieving true competition for the requirements which will arise over an extended period; (2) avoiding the gaps in production which could result from an annual shift of contractors; (3) promoting the standardization program; and (4) minimizing those occasions when sole-source negotiations for follow-on production may be necessary. From industry's point of view, management has a more stable basis upon which to plan, and, by the same token, labor can reasonably anticipate 3 years of continuous work. It also provides the prime contractor a far better opportunity to effectively implement his own subcontracting policies and procedures such as in the case of the policy which is being discussed here today in the interest of promoting greater opportunities for labor surplus area concerns.

I should also stress the point that the competition for these awards was keen and very real. Several reputable firms competed, some of whom had not always expressed an interest in the 2½-ton truck procurements. Also, not to be overlooked is the fact that the Government achieved what we consider a very fine price. It is estimated that based upon last year's award price we effected a savings of approximately $20 million for the 3-year period covering both the vehicle and the engine.

Speaking of the engine, we are using essentially the same multifuel engine in this 2½-ton truck as we will use in the 5-ton truck. This, of course, has obvious logistical advantages which in an indirect but very real sense accomplishes additional savings.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S COST REDUCTION DRIVE

I am sure that all of you are aware of the emphasis which Secretary McNamara is placing upon the President's drive to reduce costs. Within the Department of Defense and at all echelons throughout the military departments there is a formal, well-organized and closely managed program to reduce costs wherever possible. This program is extremely broad in scope, covering as it does all phases of the military department's operations to include value engineering, computation of requirements, traffic management, communications, etc. The one aspect of particular concern to us in procurement is the mandate "to buy at the lowest sound price." For a procurement, of course, the ideal way to "buy at the lowest sound price" is through competition. This is why we are taking such extraordinary steps to increase competition and to utilize the formally advertised method of procurement. There are, of course, circumstances where competition is not possible and where, quite properly, sole source procurement is in the best interest of the Government. In these cases it is imperative that a system be used for computing profit which is equitable both to the Government and to the contractor. A great deal of effort and study has been made by the Defense Department to establish the conditions wherein a contractor is provided the opportunity to earn a greater profit. The result of this effort has been the establishment of what many of you, I am sure, know as "the weighted guidelines technique." The weighted guidelines technique is designed to draw a very substantial distinction between the contractors who do and those who do not undertake cost risk; between those who do and do not provide their own facilities and working capital; and between those who have a good or a poor record of past performance. Also, it is intended, other things being equal, that there should be greater reward for more difficult work in the use of higher skills.

Before leaving the subject of reasonable prices and our objective of buying at the lowest sound price, I would like to emphasize a fact which probably is not well known or, if known, is not given sufficient attention. The fact to which I refer is that roughly half of the dollars which we spend with the prime contractor are, in turn, spent by the prime through subcontracting or with other suppliers. Hence, assuming for the moment that we in the Defense Department are "buying at the absolute lowest sound price" it is still only half of the story. The burden of the other half is on industry, not only to achieve the lowest sound price in its subcontractual actions but also to share its rightful responsibility for the implementation of the socioeconomic policies of our Nation to which I have referred.

We are encouraged with the manner in which industry on the whole is recognizing its responsibility for assisting and alleviating problems in areas of substantial unemployment. In fiscal year 1963, out of a procurement budget of $25 billion, the Department of Defense awarded directly about $4 billion to firms in depressed areas. Our statistics show that of the $21 billion awarded to prime contractors in nondepressed areas, almost $6 billion was in turn awarded by these prime contractors on a subcontractual competitive basis to firms located in depressed areas.

More specifically, here in the Midwest, the Department of Defense awarded $4.2 billion in prime contracts, of which $600 million was awarded directly to firms located in depressed areas. This $600 million represents 14 percent of the $4.2 billion placed in the eight Midwestern States: Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Iowa, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

In closing, I would hope that this meeting today will serve to emphasize that "these times require Government and industry to work together in a new climate of mutual trust, understanding and common purpose."

Thank you.

Joseph J. Lombardo, Brooklyn, N.Y., Completes Term as Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on August 28, the then national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and my good and longtime friend, Mr. Joseph J. Lombardo, a distinguished attorney of Brooklyn, N.Y., completed his tenure as the highest official of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

He was succeeded in the office of commander in chief of the VFW by another outstanding patriot, Mr. John A. "Buck" Jenkins, of Birmingham, Ala. I rise at this time to express, not only for myself, but I am confident, on behalf of the many Members of this House who know and admire Joe Lombardo, our deepest appreciation for the truly important services which he has rendered to our Nation and to the cause of freedom throughout the world during his year as commander in chief of the VFW.

It would be impossible, due to limitation of time, to itemize even briefly his many acts of constructive leadership. However, there are some things which Joe Lombardo did during his time as commander in chief of the VFW, which especially merit our attention and gratitude.

Throughout the past year he has demonstrated abundantly his qualifications to join that long list of veteran leaders who have risen to the high position as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and who have, additionally, demonstrated high qualities of national leadership. During his tenure, the VFW, and veterans as a whole, had in Joe Lombardo a truly wise, strong, and effective spokesman.

He championed, logically and forcefully, every just cause of U.S. war veterans. As Members of this House, I am sure, are aware, the important veterans' legislation passed in this session is a reflection, in large measure, of the understanding and effort with which Joe Lombardo fought for those things which our Nation's veterans so rightfully deserve. Examples of legislation, which the VFW, under Joe Lombardo's leadership, helped bring to successful accomplishment are the new laws providing nursing care for aging invalid veterans, and providing educational assistance for children of veterans totally disabled in service.

Although continually and deeply interested in the specific problems of veterans, Joe Lombardo, as commander in chief of the VFW, also exerted a strong and wholesome influence on our Nation's defense and foreign policy. Under his leadership the VFW continued its role in the forefront of national organizations supporting a strong military posture for our Nation, and a sound commonsensed, and farsighted foreign policy. Repeatedly, during his year as head of the VFW, his statements with respect to South Vietnam, Cuba, and our military weapons helped pinpoint basic issues and contributed toward a better understanding of these issues by our citizens.

I believe it particularly pertinent to point out that although he never played favorites and never pulled his punches, Joe Lombardo's views are recognized as fair, forthright, and based upon logic and reason. While not slow to criticize, neither was he slow to praise. His consistent public support of our Government's policy of resisting Communist aggression in South Vietnam is but one example of how the VFW, under Joe Lombardo's leadership, has helped strengthen our Nation.

One of the things that gained such widespread admiration and respect for Joe Lombardo was the fact that in discussing defense and foreign policy matters, he knew what he was talking about. He was not an "armchair strategist." Almost invariably, his press releases and policy speeches were based upon his personal observations.

During his tenure as commander in chief of the VFW he saw communism in action: He stood at the Berlin wall. He saw the indispensable role being performed by a great naval base in Guantanamo Base, Cuba. He visited the Far Eastern outpost of freedom—the embattled island of Quemoy. He visited the outpost of combat in South Vietnam. There, incidentally, he went far north into the mountainous area and met with the American, South Vietnamese, and tribal leaders who had been fighting to turn back Communist aggression.

He has visited our fleets at sea, and our Strategic Air Command headquarters.

And each place where Commander in Chief Lombardo went, he carried with him an inspiring message of the VFW's support of, and faith in, our men in uniform.

But, the VFW, under the leadership of Joe Lombardo, as under his predecessors, knows that in spite of highly technical and complicated weapons, it is still people upon which our Defense Establishment, in the final analysis, rests.

During his time as commander in chief, Joe Lombardo continued to give meaning to the VFW's determined efforts to protect the interests and improve the lot of our military personnel: Active, retired, and their dependents. With good reason, the VFW has continued to be looked upon as an understanding and effective champion of our servicemen.

Our Nation is, indeed, fortunate to have veterans organizations that produce leaders such as Joe Lombardo. We who are his longtime neighbors and friends in Brooklyn are proud of Joe Lombardo. We know that he has served his Nation well as commander in chief of the VFW, and we know, too, he will continue to serve his community, and his Nation in the future.

I am confident Joe Lombardo's many friends in this House join with me in expressing sincerest appreciation for the services which he has performed for the VFW, for veterans everywhere, and for our Nation.

The Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, a long time ago I expressed the belief—I am a farmer and I know farm and smalltown opinion firsthand—that rural America was entertaining disquieting fears as to its ultimate position should the Democrat approach to the farm problem collapse .

In fact, I said that many people in rural America were actually anticipating the day when the whole jerry-built structure, might collapse and either bury farmers in chaos or force them from the land that has been their home for over a hundred years.

It is my belief that this rural and small town unrest has resulted in the American people being given a choice this year in their selection of a President of the United States because the people who went to the Cow Palace in San Francisco knew exactly how they felt and exactly what they were doing. And in the choice they made they are offering the United States a chance to indicate whether or not it too feels disquieting fears and whether or not it would like to change direction.

This point can be stated at length, but never as well as it is stated in two editorials published in current issues of the Farm Journal.

I submit these editorials:

[From the Farm Journal, September 1964]

THE CHOICE—PART I

The election this November will be the most crucial of the century thus far, for as at no other time in recent decades it will determine the basic direction this country is now to take.

This will be true no matter who wins. If Mr. GOLDWATER wins, the people will have issued an unmistakable mandate for some fundamental changes. If he loses but comes somewhere near close it will be a clear signal to slow up sharply in the present drift toward the welfare state. If Mr. Johnson wins big, it will be just as clear an indication that people are content with the way things are going. We've come to a basic choice.

The thing to keep in mind through the heat of the election campaign is that the overriding issue is the choice between philosophies of government. True, we will be choosing between men, too. But more importantly, we will choose between what they champion. We may or may not like everything about the man we vote for. We may or may not agree with everything he says. But which man represents more nearly the way we want this country to go? That is the big question. Let's never lose sight of it.

Moreover, it's the first time in many years that the choice has been clear cut. Mr. GOLDWATER is not a "me too" Republican. He doesn't just claim that he could carry out a version of the Democratic program, under another label, better than the Democrats could. He offers a fundamentally different program. And he has the courage to state it forthrightly without the kind of something-for-everybody and let's-offend-nobody political pap we are so used to. Agree with him or not, it's refreshing and it's a change. You know where he stands.

What are some of the choices in policy we have the chance to make? Well here are a few:

1. We have seen a steady drift toward a bigger, more powerful, more centralized, more authoritarian big state. That can scarcely be denied. Anyone who wonders whether it is real can measure it concretely by our increasing number of bureaucrats, our ever-bigger budget, our continuous deficit spending, our proliferation of "programs" which try to solve every problem in the country (including those that can better be solved closer to home), our ever more numerous handouts to more and more people, the increasing reach of Government into the private lives of its citizens, the penchant for putting Government increasingly into business in competition with private enterprise. We all know this has been going on and at an increasing pace. Do we want it to go further or is it time to call a halt? We can do it without "reverting to yesterday," which, incidentally, no one is proposing.

2. Do we want more—or less—Federal dabbling in local affairs? Who knows better what we want and how to get it—we ourselves, and our State and local governments, or an army of nonelected bureaucrats and "wise men" down in Washington?

3. Do we want a dollar that amounts to something or one continually cheapened by a government that has decided not to live within its income?

4. Do we want to continue indiscriminate and wasteful "foreign aid" that "can't be cut further," or pare this back to a sensible program that probably would, in fact, achieve its objectives even better?

5. Do we want a farm policy which continues to aim at further Government control over agriculture, or one that begins to hand farming back to farmers, with markets rather than bureaucrats setting prices?

6. What kind of appointments do we want made to the Supreme Court? More like we've had?

These are a few of the questions that face us this November. And as we said in the beginning, let's not get so absorbed with personalities that we forget what the real issues are.

[From the Farm Journal, October 1964]

THE CHOICE—PART II

It has been amusing to read the comments in the European press expressing incredulity and shock at the "suicidal" actions of the delegates in San Francisco who nominated Senator GOLDWATER a few week ago. How could anyone who just might be President of the United States, be so uncouth as to put America's interests first, without the usual pussy-footing?

The screams from the eastern press in our own country have been almost as hysterical.

What apparently hasn't got through to some of the professional politicians, columnists and TV commentators—particularly those from east of the Alleghany mountains—is that, as one shrewd observer put it. "Mr. GOLDWATER did not produce the popular revolt against the way things are going in Washington. The revolt produced Mr. GOLDWATER."

The fact is, there's a groundswell of protest across the Nation and it only broke into view in San Francisco. All those delegates in the Cow Palace weren't hypnotized. They knew how people back home felt and they expressed it. The home folks hadn't been talking much but they had been doing a lot of thinking and they were deeply disturbed—not just over this particular or that, but over the whole post-war trend toward the super State at home and an indecisive foreign policy abroad.

Whether the forces of revolt will prove to be in the majority or the minority we won't know until November. Be that as it may, they'd rather protest and lose than acquiesce and win. The way they feel, it will have been worth the fight either way.

Interestingly enough, the revolt is most pronounced West and South of where "the East" leaves off. It is strongest on the farms and in the towns of rural America. There is nothing surprising about this. In any land and at any time farmers and other nonurban people have always been the chief opponents of the big state. (Witness the wheat referendum last year when farmers showed that they could vote against a short-term pocketbook interest in favor of a principle.) They have been the prime defenders of personal liberty, self-reliance, and the right of the individual to make his own decisions and control his own destiny. They have acknowledged the need of Government to perform some functions and exert certain authorities but they have favored keeping these as limited as possible, and as near home as possible. They agree with Mr. GOLDWATER that an ever-growing paternalistic big state inevitably becomes "a leviathan, a vast national authority out of touch with the people and out of their control." They're just not for it.

Particularly is this true of younger people who, unlike some of their elders, are less interested in becoming wards of the state and more interested in individual opportunity. They don't want the Government for a guardian the rest of their lives.

Actually this transcends party. Whereas we will be using the usual Democrat and Republican labels this fall we will see an alinement of so-called conservatives versus liberals, with a lot of crossing of party lines. We say "so-called" because both labels are misnomers. Throughout history those who have wanted to vest more authority in Government have been the real conservatives. Those who have wanted to wrest control from Government and give it back to individual citizens have been the real liberals. It is no accident that "liberty" and "liberal" come from the same root word.

One thing sure: No longer can the Republican Party be tagged as being in the control of "Wall Street" and "the East." A lot of common ordinary Americans have taken it back. How many we'll have to wait and see, but it could be a surprising number.

How the Russians Think—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I offer for the RECORD another in the series of articles written by former U.S. Senator William Benton following his return this year from a visit to the Soviet Union, during which he interviewed 40 top officials. This particular article describes the Soviet concern about Germany and their arguments with respect to the policy which the Soviet Union wants to press. I believe it is a useful analysis of this aspect of Soviet thinking.

The article follows:

HOW THE RUSSIANS THINK: SOVIET FEARS OF GERMANY BORDER ON THE HYSTERICAL—PART III

(Former U.S. Senator William Benton has visited the U.S.S.R. five times since 1955. During his last visit, in May, he interviewed 40 top Soviet officials in 10 days—including Chairman Nikita Khrushchev. "I wanted to see for myself what lies behind the so-called relaxation of tension," says Benton. "I didn't argue. I listened. I interjected comments and objections occasionally, only to help strip away some of the Soviet propaganda." The North American Newspaper Alliance asked Senator Benton, who is now chairman and publisher of Encyclopaedia Britannica, and is also U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, to summarize some of the highlights of his interviews. This is the third of four articles on his talks to Russian leaders.)

(By William Benton, publisher and chairman, Encyclopaedia Britannica)

NEW YORK, August 17.—The United States and the Soviet Union will continue to differ for a long time about Germany. Yet they have similar goals with respect to Germany. Both oppose a belligerent, militaristic Germany equipped with nuclear weapons—a Germany with the capacity to attack Russia. Thus both seek a peaceful Germany—and I assume the U.S.S.R. even shares our hope for a prosperous Germany.

It is upon the means of attaining these goals that the United States and the Soviet Union thus far have failed to agree.

Pavel Romanov, head of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Publishing, which is responsible for all Soviet publishing—is one of many Soviet leaders who believes that a principal aim of German policy is to divide the United States and the U.S.S.R. The Germans seek to instigate a quarrel between the United States and the Soviet Union, he charged, adding:

"There isn't any reason for a war between our two countries. Why should we have a war? Yet this is the goal of the German troops who seek revenge."

UNFORGETTABLE PAST

Each day during my stay in the Soviet Union I was exposed to the passion of Russians who had fought against the Germans in World War II. At one luncheon in my honor, each man around the table was introduced to me and his native city speci-

fied—cities that had been totally destroyed by the Nazi armies. Romanov spoke of his part during the siege of Leningrad. Few of us in the United States remember that in this siege 600,000 people died of starvation. It is difficult for Americans to comprehend the passion of Russian feelings about Germany. We remember the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact; they do not remember it. We must weigh in the balance their passion over their 20 million dead as we judge many questions that relate to our disagreements about Germany.

Pressed for the identity of the German revenge seeking forces, Romanov replied they are the groups who seek to revise Germany's eastern border.

"Adenauer and Erhard publicly proclaim that they will not abide by the present borders," he said. "Is not this a revival of the military spirit? Everywhere there are evidences of this revival."

He continued: "Won't you admit that the Germans waged the last war for world domination? Aren't they again producing submarines? Aren't they again pressing for atomic weapons? Won't they get the atomic weapons through your submarines, or won't they get the atomic weapons through General de Gaulle? Doesn't this all show the desire for revenge?"

NATO USURPERS?

Yuri Zhukov, a senior editor of Pravda, accused the Germans of trying to "move into command posts in NATO." This greatly alarms him. The Russians also are deeply concerned over growing German military budgets.

What are these revenge seeking forces doing? Romanov cited examples: "It is announced that the election of the West German President will be held in Berlin. The Soviets have never agreed to this. This is illegal."

I replied that I did not see this as an example in any way of the revenge seeking forces but merely as an expression of the German people's desire to unite.

Romanov pressed on: "The military committee of the Bundestag is going to meet in the Reichstag, the building destroyed by Hitler."

I inquired how this can be construed as revenge-seeking. To me this was another example of the German people's understandable desire to unite. But Romonov said it was like "forcing your birthday party into your neighbor's house even if he did not want to give you a birthday party."

I kept emphasizing to Soviet officials that the U.S.S.R. does not understand the American view on Germany. Yes, the U.S.S.R. had suffered much more at the hands of Germany than had the United States. But we Americans had been pulled into two wars because of German aggression.

Twice in this century we had been forced to raise and equip great armies and send our young men thousands of miles overseas to fight Germany. We, too, have our reasons for fearing renewed German belligerency.

ADAMANT IN MISUNDERSTANDING

But the Russians maintain that we in the United States do not understand their view on Germany, Romanov said to me: "If the United States and the U.S.S.R. share the same goals on Germany, why doesn't the United States accept the most reasonable proposals on the withdrawal of its troops from Europe?"

The Soviet spokesmen will not recognize—they do not wish to recognize—that U.S. and other NATO forces are in Germany for the defense of Western Europe from potential Soviet aggression.

I said that if the detente between the U.S.S.R. and the United States progresses, and if the indications continue to grow that the climate is improving—if further formal agreements supplement the test ban treaty—there could come a time when the United States would most eagerly want to withdraw its troops from Europe. I said I did not know when this time would come. I pointed out the great cost to us of keeping these troops abroad, and the resulting upset in our dollar balances. I also suggested that the troops were one of the negotiable items on the table in front of us as we moved ahead into disarmament negotiations.

CONSTANT REAPPRAISAL

In my talk with Mme. Ekaterina Furtseva, U.S.S.R. Minister of Culture, I asked whether she would not agree that the overwhelming probability is that Germany will be unified at some future time—perhaps not for 10 or 20 years—but that this is inevitable. Would not she agree that this is a legitimate aspiration of the German people? Isn't it possible that the division of Germany now helps stimulate the revenge tendencies within Germany which are watched with such fear by the Soviet observers?

Mme. Furtseva did not reply directly to my question. But she perhaps replied obliquely. She said:

"The worst policy is that of standing still. The worst policy is doing nothing. We must constantly reexamine our policies. We must constantly negotiate. Any decision is better than no decision."

Conceivably, the U.S.S.R.—when it deems the time is right—will make new moves in respect to the German problem. A reiteration of the present Soviet position on Germany will be implicitly a decision to prolong the stalemate. When and whether the United States and the Soviet Union will agree on the means for a solution remains to be seen.

The dilemma remains this: Russians fear and distrust Germany deeply and passionately. But can there be real peace in Europe so long as a great and vigorous people like the Germans remain divided? Will the time come when the U.S.S.R. agrees to German unity? What are the possible terms for such agreement?

Excerpts From Speech by Congressman Bob Taft, Jr., at the Republican Veterans Convention, Marietta, Ohio, September 19, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIVER P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Honorable ROBERT TAFT, JR., before a group of Ohio veterans, did much to cast away the cobwebs of doubletalk and obfuscation from a question that has troubled Americans for many years: Should the present military draft laws be changed?

This is just one of many national issues that have been avoided purposely in this year's campaign dialog by the incumbent administration. In the following remarks, Mr. TAFT does much to dispel the cloud of fog that has been permitted to surround this question of vital importance to millions of our Nation's young men, their wives and mothers.

Because of its high degree of clarity and conciseness, I recommend BOB TAFT's remarks to my colleagues in the House and Senate who—sooner or later—must finally come to grips with this problem:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN BOB TAFT, JR., AT THE REPUBLICAN VETERANS CONVENTION, MARIETTA, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 19, 1964

Under present draft laws, we continue to play with the liberties and opportunities of millions of American young men. We do so unfairly and unnecessarily.

Yet the Johnson administration and the congressional majority continue to stall. They are studying the problem to death in an apparent attempt to forestall both criticism and change. Tragically, it appears certain that Congress will adjourn without taking action on any of the meaningful bills which propose a comprehensive congressional study of the draft system.

The excuse to be given? It's this: Because the Defense Department has initiated its own study of the selective service program, both it and the Bureau of the Budget—two arms of the Presidency—are opposed to any independent study by Congress.

Completely overlooked is the fact that the draft has far deeper implications than mere manpower procurement for military purposes. Then again, perhaps the point isn't missed at all. There may be those who view the draft as a sociomilitary scheme directed to other ends which justify its perpetuation.

I am certain the American people do not agree with this contention.

The draft system is a congressional responsibility, especially so since it is the most direct of all Federal interferences with individual liberty. Only the Congress can and should decide what policies to follow. The special interests of the social and military planners should disqualify any report they may submit.

In view of the explosive nature of the issue, it is not surprising to see it played down in an election year. Still, the Nation must make a choice. The voice of the people, as expressed in the Congress, deserves a chance to be heard.

The degree of administration opposition to a congressional draft study can be seen in its refusal to consider a prompt moratorum on induction of young men to judge its effect upon enlistments, something I suggested more than a year ago. Such a test might prove conclusively the absence of a need for the draft.

Some claim such a test would be discriminatory in that a number of young men would be freed of their service obligations during the test period. But how could it be any more so than the present hit-or-miss system of exemptions for fathers, deferrals for students, and rejections for physical misfits?

There are many other valid reasons for criticism of the present system. A number of them were outlined recently by Congressman THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri. He said:

"1. The draft is an invasion of individual liberty. The existence of an aggressive world Communist conspiracy necessarily means that freemen must relinquish some freedom of choice in order that the great remainder can be preserved. But individual liberty should be infringed upon only when no effective alternative means exist for achieving the goal. Conscription should be the last resort, not the first expedient.

"2. The draft actually impairs national security. Men who enter the services of their own free will make far better servicemen than those who are drafted or who enlist from the threat of the draft. The high personnel turnover produced by the draft system—73 percent of Army first-term enlistees, 97 percent of all draftees—means that the Armed Forces lose far too many reliable and experienced men and must fill those positions with fresh trainees. The draft produces draftees at age 22, about 4 years older than the Army would like.

"3. The draft is inequitable. Today every other young man never enters any form of military service. The draft favors the physically and mentally unfit, those who marry early, those who can afford to stay in college to age 26, criminals, perverts, and those who can obtain an occupational or hardship deferment. The principle of universality, upon which the present system was sold to the public years ago, is today a transparent falsehood.

"4. The draft produces the evasion mentality. Young men attempt to avoid induction. If unsuccessful, they attempt to avoid responsibility while in the service. Upon their discharge, should we be surprised if they evade their responsibilities to their community, their nation, and their fellow man? The existence of a whole generation of men imbued in various degrees with the evasion mentality is a matter of the gravest concern to society and especially to Republicans.

"5. The draft has harmful social effects. It encourages early marriages, which in turn raise the national birth and divorce rates. The higher incidence of broken homes results in an increase of psychological and welfare problems both for parents and for children. The draft contributes to youth unemployment because employers are reluctant to hire a man who may be snatched away by the draft after expensive training. Thus, many youths float around until draft age, 22, unable to get a job, but unwilling to volunteer for induction or enlistment because they know they have a good chance of avoiding service altogether.

"6. The draft is inefficient. Instead of recruiting men with the needed skills by offering incentives comparable to the private sector, the services are forced to spend great sums on personnel training. Thus, instead of attracting experienced, middleaged bakers, who can bake if not fight, the army drafts an unskilled 18-year-old, trains him to be a baker, and most likely watches him depart in 2 years.

"7. The draft is costly. The high turnover rate caused by the draft system is extremely wasteful of training funds. Without the need to justify the draft, many functions could be transferred to the private sector at a saving.

"8. The draft law, as written, is unworkable. It forces administrators to find ways of circumventing the clear intent of the law. This is always a dangerous practice in a democracy. Administrators should be given a law that will work as written and not be forced to resort to tricks of interpretation."

But perhaps even more important than any of these, to the individuals threatened, is the adverse effect of the draft on employment opportunities. As I stated on April 21 on the floor of the House:

"We have found in our studies on manpower and employment in the Committee on Education and Labor in various hearings that we have had on measures before us in this session of the Congress, that the rate of unemployment of those under the age of 22 in this country is double the rate of unemployment of those over the age of 22, or indeed of the entire unemployed labor force.

"The rate is now, I believe, somewhere in the neighborhood of 10 or 11 percent. Certainly, without doubt, one of the contributing causes for the unemployment rate has been and continues to be the fact that the average induction age under the draft is now about 22 years of age. This means that many employers or potential employers, who seek someone for a particular job in existence today, must give careful consideration to any young man who perhaps is out of high school—who may or may not be a dropout—or who may have completed his high school training. Employers are faced with a problem. Employers know that if they hire this young man, within a year or two he may have to leave his employment and go elsewhere, and he will return with employment rights—which he should have. Nevertheless, the employer is faced with that possibility, and the employment of older men under these circumstances is far more likely, with the rejection of the younger man, who has not yet completed his military obligation."

Certainly, all of us agree that we cannot—and we will not—endanger our national security by cutting off the draft permanently, without assurances of a substitute procurement policy adequate to our defense needs.

But the problems created by the present system are so serious as to justify some immediate action and a trial suspension of inductions, higher pay, if necessary, and a fairminded bipartisan study of the entire problem by the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

Security Agents Told To Burn Records

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following letter from a typical American mother who lives in the 15th District of Illinois, which it is my privilege to represent:

Bob and I are extremely concerned over this article and would appreciate it if you would investigate the directive and, if possible, instigate a movement to have it abolished. Please note the time limit of October 1:

"U.S. SECURITY AGENTS TOLD TO BURN RECORDS

"(By Willard Edwards)

"WASHINGTON, September 24.—The State Department's Security Office has directed its agents in 20 major cities of the United States to destroy the bulk of their field office records, containing data on Government security risks.

"By October 1, according to a directive dated August 28, resident agents 'will destroy all completed investigative reports by burning process with a special agent in attendance,' as a witness.

"'RAW FILES' TO GO

"The Department's security agents investigate State Department employees and applicants for employment to ascertain if they are loyal to their country, have Communist connections, or have difficulties in character, such as drunkenness or homosexuality, which would make them potential security risks. They also investigate passport frauds.

"The data to be destroyed will include not only copies of reports forwarded to Washington but what intelligence agents call 'raw files.' These include data useful in subsequent investigations such as names of prospective witnesses and leads to subversive activities.

"A field agent has complained to his Senator that the destruction of his records will seriously impair his usefulness in the future and hamper his inquiries into the background of State Department employees.

"Henceforth, under the order, the agents will receive only that information which the Office of Security in Washington sends them and they are forbidden to accumulate data for future use. All security records will be based in the Washington headquarters.

"In issuing the order, the Office of Security asserted it was designed to effect efficiency and economy.

"These agents, especially veterans of many years' service, have accumulated filing cases full of data which they must now burn, with a witness looking on. They may keep no records in the future of their cases. They will dictate a report and send it to the field office which, in turn, will transmit it to Washington.

"'He—the agent—will be operating out of his hat,' commented an intelligence authority. 'The new system is calculated to handicap investigative work, if nothing worse.'

"The Office of Security maintains field offices in Boston, New York, Washington, Miami, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles."

The clipping which she attaches appeared in the Chicago Tribune of September 25. Other Members of the House from the Chicago area have received equally strong protests from their districts.

I have written the Secretary of State as follows:

HON. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have before me State Department Office of Security letters C-64/17 dated August 6, 1964, and C-64/18 dated August 28, 1964. These obviously will curtail field office activities of your security division. I should like to know the reasons underlying such a decision. If you have evidence which establishes that the threat of Communist imperialism has lessened to a degree which permits relaxation of security procedures in your Department, I believe the Congress and the people should share this information. If, however, this is an economy measure, I would like to know if there is not some activity which could be curtailed with less risk to our Nation.

A story based on these letters appeared in the Chicago Tribune, September 25, 1964, and has aroused grave concern among the people of Illinois. It appears from this article that the August 28 letter will, in the opinion of some of your employees, handicap the investigative work of the State Department. If their understanding of this order is incorrect, I suggest immediate clarification in the interest of maintaining the high level of security and efficiency which I am certain we both wish to see in all of the activities of your Department.

I feel that in fairness I must withhold judgment in this matter until I have heard what Mr. Rusk has to say. Nonetheless, the timing of this action is strange. Last Sunday the Washington Star reported a Presidential directive demanding tighter security checks on Government appointees. According to that paper the directive reads as follows:

TEXT OF MEMORANDUM

We have been somewhat concerned about our procedures in requesting security name checks, particularly from the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for appointees to the Federal service. Such procedures are an essential part of any effective security program.

In most instances it would seem desirable to request such checks prior to serious consideration being given to an individual, and most certainly before a firm commitment is made to the interested party or parties. Not only should this be observed in the respective departments and agencies, but also in instances in which recommendations for appointments are made by departments or agencies to the White House.

These procedures can prevent considerable embarrassment both to the Government and to the potential employee himself. Irreparable harm can be done to a person's reputa-

tion in instances where publicity is given to his possible appointment to a Government position, yet subsequent security checks result in a decision to suspend action on the appointment.

SOUND BUSINESS SENSE

It would be unfortunate if undesirable individuals were put on the Federal payroll simply because sufficient precautions were not taken prior to their appointment. This is merely sound business sense and should not be construed as an unwarranted invasion of privacy or violation of any person's constitutional rights.

Commonsense must naturally be exercised in the administration of name checks requests. For example, high-ranking military personnel who have possessed top-ranking clearance normally would not require security checks prior to appointment in the civilian service.

It would be desirable for all departments to examine their procedures in the above regard. This practice is in effect at the White House now and will be strictly adhered to in the future.

As we all know, a subcommittee of the other body has recently completed a 2-year investigation of security procedures in the State Department, which I am told will be made public sometime after the first week in November. I think Mr. Rusk would have been wise to see what that committee had to say before making these changes. It is also strange that Mr. Rusk has curtailed security activities at a time when the President has decided that stricter security investigations are necessary.

I am confident Secretary Rusk will provide an early explanation of this seeming difference of opinion within the administration.

Public Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 15, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr, Speaker, appearing in the Hastings News, a New York weekly newspaper, is a strong editorial purporting to relate a vote in favor of the Tuck bill as a position in opposition to reapportionment of State legislatures and an effort to reverse the one-man, one-vote formula.

The editorial naively went on to say that a vote for the Tuck bill was a vote against greater representation by the town of Greenburgh on the Westchester County Board of Supervisors. Nothing could be less true nor more farfetched.

In the interest of public policy, I would like to clarify these points:

The basic controversy in the Tuck bill lies solely in the matter of jurisdiction over legislative reapportionment of State legislatures. The Tuck bill removes the Supreme Court and lower Federal courts from involvement in this matter in which the Supreme Court itself has refused to intercede throughout its history—that is until 1962. The Tuck bill in effect would place State reapportionment matters back in the hands of the State legislatures and State courts where it had always been before the 1962 decision—Baker against Carr.

A vote for the Tuck bill does not signify opposition to the principle of reapportionment. Although I voted for the Tuck bill, I am decidedly in favor of reapportionment of legislatures when it becomes evident that inequities in representation exist. But, I would stress that the controversy is one of who has jurisdiction to decide, not one of opposition to the principle.

Furthermore, passage of the Tuck bill would leave completely untouched the one-man, one-vote decision handed down this year—Reynolds against Sims. A constitutional amendment would be necessary to reverse this ruling since the decision establishes a constitutional right to one man, one vote.

Contrary to the editorial, local county reapportionment for Westchester is not affected by recent Supreme Court decisions, nor is Westchester County awaiting a U.S. Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of its board of supervisors. Never in the history of the Supreme Court has the Court established jurisdiction over county government reapportionment matters.

Those who would like to pin a "liberal" versus "conservative" label on each side of the argument—terms which are misnomers anyway and which tend to obscure the actual issues—would be interested to look back at the dissent in the 1962 Supreme Court decision. Two apostles of judicial restraint, Mr. Justice Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Harlan, dissented against the decision on the basis that no matter how desirable reapportionment may be in itself, the use of the judiciary for such political reforms reflects a mistaken view of the function of the Federal Courts.

When the Supreme Court by its decisions overruled the will of the people as expressed in public referenda results—it ignored the fact that ours is a Government of, by, and for the people. Thus, the nullifying of the results of a legally constituted election by the Federal courts, is probably the most outrageous and dangerous byproduct of its interference in legislative matters.

I agree with Senator JAVITS, who recently said:

There may be a case for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, if it is limited only to permitting the people of any State, if they wish it, to choose by referendum to have one house of their legislature apportioned with reference to a factor other than population.

The Senator has introduced a resolution calling for such an amendment, and I am proud to sponsor an identical measure in the House of Representatives.

The text of the resolution follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE XXV

"SECTION 1. Nothing in the Constitution of the United States shall prohibit a State having a bicameral legislature from apportioning the membership of one house of its legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, if such apportionment has been submitted to the qualified voters of the State through a statewide referendum held in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution, and such apportionment has been approved by a majority of those voters in that referendum.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

Vinson Hall, Proposed Navy-Marine Corps Residence for Elderly, Should Be Encouraged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Navy-Marine Corps Residence Foundation was incorporated in the District of Columbia in March 1961 under the guidance of Adm. "Mick" Carney. Adm. W. H. Callaghan was elected president of its board of trustees. Its purpose is to create in the Washington area a residence for 300 elderly persons consisting of 200 single and 50 double apartments together with public rooms such as a chapel, lounges, dining room, card room, recreation room library, service facilities, and a modern infirmary to provide the best of nursing care. The residence will be named Vinson Hall in honor of the gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable CARL VINSON, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Those who would be eligible to seek admission by approval of an anonymous admissions committee include: widows of Regular Navy and Marine Corps officers; widows of Reserve officers who die on active duty or retire after at least 20 years' active service; retired officers and their wives; retired commissioned female officers, Navy and Marine; retired officers, on space-available basis.

While a site for Vinson Hall has not yet been obtained, 12 possible sites in the area have been inspected by the foundation's building committee, headed by Rear Adm. A. C. Husband, CEC, U.S. Navy, retired. About 10 acres of land will be needed. Pending is the bill H.R. 11609 to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey real property to the foundation for the residence should that appear desirable.

This project is a most worthy one. There is real need here at the hub of Naval and Marine Corps activity for suitable accommodations for the widows of officers and retired officers themselves. When, on sad occasions, officers occupying very high ranks and assigned Gov-

ernment quarters have died, their widows almost immediately have been forced to vacate the quarters, often with little, if any, place to go in their period of bereavement. This is only one of the needs Vinson Hall would fulfill.

It will be a club-like residence charging reasonable costs commensurate with an individual's ability to pay. Its entrance fee and monthly charge will guarantee not only lifetime tenure, but also nursing care whenever needed. Maximum security for the elderly is aimed for at a minimum cost.

This project has sponsorship of the highest caliber. Vice Adm. Laurence H. Frost, U.S. Navy, retired, is administrative manager of the tax-free, nonprofit and charitable organization. Secretary of the Navy Paul H. Nitze on August 14 certified his support by stating:

The foundation has my enthusiastic support as a much-needed and worthy undertaking.

The Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. David L. McDonald, made this statement regarding it:

Most Navy and Marine Corps officers make the best provision they are able against the day when their wives may suddenly be left alone. Most similarly provide for their own advanced age. But it is generally recognized that even these best efforts may not be enough.

The whole purpose of the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation and the facilities they aspire to build is to help close this gap for those elderly retired officers and/or their spouses who need help.

The plans of the foundation are attractive and impressive. But, as we all know, this job must be done without appropriated funds. I fully support the efforts of the foundation, the Navy and Marine Officers' Wives' Clubs whose labors have built up the existing fund, and all others who in the future will lend a hand to the ultimate success of the task.

McDonald's counterpart, Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps, said:

The career of a military officer is primarily one of service rather than one of reward. All too frequently retired officers, and especially widows of officers, find themselves approaching their golden years with no suitable place to live.

The Navy-Marine Residence Foundation, a chartered, tax-free, nonprofit organization, has undertaken to provide suitable retirement housing for elderly career retired Navy and Marine Corps officers, both Regular and Reserve, and their wives or widows.

The foundation is a worthy undertaking. It is sponsored by capable and responsible individuals. It has begun on a sound financial basis, but needs assistance to continue. It merits the support of all of us. The Marine Corps is squarely behind this project.

The foundation is administered by a board of trustees of not less than 9 or more than 19 members, and now is composed of the following:

Mr. William C. Allen, U.S. Naval Academy, 1929, president.

Rear Adm. Preston V. Mercer, U.S. Navy, retired, vice president.

Vice Adm. Stephen R. Edson, U.S. Navy, retired, treasurer.

Capt. Will J. Davis, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired, secretary.

Rear Adm. H. Lamont Pugh (MC), U.S. Navy, retired.

Rear Adm. Alexander C. Husband, U.S. Navy.

Rear Adm. Frederick J. Harlfinger II, U.S. Navy.

Rear Adm. J. O. Cobb, U.S. Navy.

Capt. Viola Sanders, U.S. Navy, Wave.

Lt. Gen. Robert M. Pepper, U.S. Marine Corps, retired.

Mrs. Frank Virden.

Mrs. John S. Oldfield.

Mrs. C. J. Van Arsdall.

Mrs. A. M. Shinn.

Mrs. R. F. Skylstead.

Under the able sponsorship of the Navy and Marine Officers' Wives Clubs, servicewide, $120,000 has been raised through contributions, bazaars and membership subscriptions to start the residence foundation on its way to success. The foundation's welfare committee also carries on work of disseminating information and fundraising. This committee is chaired by Mrs. A. M. Shinn and has as its advisers the wives of the Chief of Naval Operations, the Vice Chief of Naval Operations, and the Chief of Naval Personnel.

When completed Vinson Hall will cost about $4½ million. Its building loan will be paid from income and no contributed funds will be used for support of any resident who is financially able to pay his own way. As a tax-free organization, at least one-third of its residents must receive at least partial financial assistance.

The Army Distaff Hall, for widows only, in Washington is operating most successfully. Vinson Hall will generally be similar to Distaff Hall. However, the Navy-Marine Residence will accept officers, male and female, of both services, and the Nurse Corps, as well as officers' wives and widows.

The cost of living in the Distaff Hall varies depending on accommodations. Each resident pays an entrance fee of from $4,000 to $9,500 and a monthly rental of from $75 to $172.50, depending on unit size. Adjustments in costs are made for those in financial need. All but the smallest accommodations contain cooking facilities.

The Honorable Fred Bantz, former Under Secretary of the Navy, has volunteered to act as chairman of the national fundraising campaign aimed at turning the dream of Vinson Hall in to bricks and mortar. His campaign will begin October 1 with the volunteer assistance of Navy, Marine, and civilian individuals and groups throughout the world.

Present address of the Navy-Marine Resident Foundation, Inc., is building 54, U.S. Naval Observatory, Washington, D.C.

Farley Sees Fall Sweep for Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 4, 1964

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James A. Farley has made a prediction on the outcome of the 1964 presidential election. In view of the accuracy of his prediction in 1936, there are many who hope that his prediction for 1964 will turn out as well. It follows:

FARLEY SEES FALL SWEEP FOR JOHNSON

(By Lyn Nofziger)

ATLANTIC CITY.—James A. Farley, who prides himself on being a political realist, thinks Lyndon Johnson will sweep to a landslide victory in November.

And Farley, mastermind of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first two campaigns and his Postmaster General, will do all he can to help.

Farley, who no longer holds official party positions, is still regarded as one of the Democratic party's most astute politicians. He is in regular touch with the White House and the President.

VIEW UNCHANGED

Farley, who predicted in February that Mr. Johnson would do as well in 1964 as Roosevelt did in 1932, when he carried all but six States, hasn't changed his mind with the nomination of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER as the Republican candidate.

He cannot see GOLDWATER carrying any section of the country, not even the South, the West or the Middle West, the areas where GOLDWATER is considered strongest.

In the South, Farley sees political expediency bringing the States back to the Democratic Party "as the evidence grows that Johnson will win." He thinks only Mississippi and Alabama will bolt to the Republicans.

FARM OUTLOOK

In the Middle West he sees farmers voting "belly" issues. He points out that GOLDWATER's votes on farm issues generally have been against price supports and subsidies. "The Democrats have done the most for the farmer," Farley insists. "There is no reason for him to vote for GOLDWATER."

In the far West he thinks the trend is to the Democrats.

"I think Johnson will even carry Arizona," he says.

Farley, still mentally sharp and physically active despite his 75 years, thinks also that Mr. Johnson will carry some now-Republican congressional districts with him and he even sees a slight gain for the Democrats in the Senate.

PROSPERITY CITED

Why a Johnson victory? Prosperity, mainly, in Farley's opinion. "There are two occasions," he says, "when people don't want to rock the boat—war and prosperity."

To top the situation off, Farley says he thinks "Johnson is the greatest political leader we have had in the history of this country. I want to be very active in this campaign to help Johnson win."

Mississippi Crusade—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, during the past summer several hundred courageous volunteers participated in the Mississippi summer project. In the face of constant threats and violence they were determined to help the cause of equality. Three sacrificed their lives. Alex Poinsett described the situation in the September 1964 issue of Ebony mag-

azine. Yesterday I brought to my colleagues' attention the first part of his article entitled "Crusade in Mississippi." Today I am including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remainder of the article. I urge every Member of Congress to read this account of bravery and dedication.

[From Ebony, September 1964]

CRUSADE IN MISSISSIPPI: COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS CONDUCTS SUMMER-LONG PROJECT—Continued

(By Alex Poinsett)

The dialog continues, first the Negro, then the white youth patiently chipping away at the fear Mississippi has programed into the old man's nervous system. They tell him about the nine vote-discrimination suits the Government has pending in seven delta counties. They explain how COFO President Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale druggist who also heads the State NAACP, polled 82,000 votes (in only 3 weeks of campaigning) last fall in a mock gubernatorial election to demonstrate potential Negro voting strength. Before they leave, the old man finally agrees to accompany them to the courthouse later in the week. One down and thousands to go.

In Gulfport, Harvard student, Gibbs V. Kinderman, 21, and colleague George Johnson, 17, are canvassing for vote registrants when a red truck which has been trailing them pulls up. The driver asks what they're about then frowns as Kinderman explains. "Boy, things are fine," the driver replies. "We don't want things changed. If I see you around again, I'll beat your a——. In fact, I'm going to beat your a—— now." Leaping from his truck, he collars Kinderman who manages to free himself and flee with Johnson. As they run the driver explodes in a spasm of frustration: "Stop, or I'll beat your a——."

In Jackson, a COFO worker is hours overdue, setting in motion a series of security measures that can lead all the way to contact with the U.S. Justice Department and the FBI. A worried communications officer phones the Mabon, Miss., sheriff's office and asks: "Do you have a Mr. James R. Brown in jail there?"

"We have a nigger named James Brown in jail here," the voice on the phone snarls. "Now are you white or another one of those niggers?"

"Have you fixed bail on him?"

"I'll fix it when you get here," the voice promises menacingly.

In Clarksdale, local COFO Project Director Lafayette Surney, 22, walks one of his white girl volunteers to the uptown bank to open an account. "When we walked in everything stopped, including the clock," Surney recalls. "All eyes were on us. The girl was so nervous she messed up a dozen applications." Lafayette, peat-black and proud of it, does not mention he had risked his life.

He has been incurably "hooked" on the freedom movement ever since 1955 when his uncle, the late Rev. George Lee, was shot to death in Belzoni, Miss., for refusing to take his name off the town's voting rolls. At age 6 Lafayette had seen a white woman push down an 80-year-old Negro. Before he could rise from the sidewalk, several white men jumped on him and beat him to death. "I'll never forget that," Lafayette says. "It's an educational experience for me to work with white people now, because I grew up hating them." He nibbles on a lettuce leaf in a Hattiesburg restaurant, having refused an offer of a full lunch with the explanation that he had disciplined himself to eat only one meal a day. He had to since for 2 years his salary as a SNCC worker had been $9.64 a week, raised 2 cents by the recent income tax cut and collectible if and when payroll money was available—which was seldom.

Lafayette walks down the street, now wary but not afraid of passing carloads of hostile whites. Sight of the nearby COFO Freedom School reminds him of a white woman who earlier had driven up with a boy of about 6. Getting out, she had led him to the opened school door, pointed to several white volunteers and said: "See there. Those are nigger-lovers. I don't want you to grow up to be like them. Do you hear me?"

And Lafayette had walked over to the boy and said: "Son, don't you ever believe anything your mother tells you again."

But the little boy is already hopelessly contaminated with what University of Mississippi History Professor James W. Silver describes as "the constant refrain from city and State officials that there is no racial problem in a social order where segregtaion is voluntary and where, they would have it believed, a peaceful, happy, and carefree citizenry is occasionally stirred to angry protest only by outside agitators."

And so in Vicksburg, police hound outsiders like Neil Hindman, 21, COFO's local project director, then jail him on a drunken driving charge, although he swears he has not tasted liquor in 2 months. His acquittal on the charge does not stop police snooping into his activities. Tall, rangy, his throat scarred by a boyhood trachea operation, Neil had come to Vicksburg in late May after completing a semester at Tougaloo College where he nearly forgot he was white. Working alone, he had renovated an ancient building for use as a freedom school and spent $70 of his own money to buy and build book shelves for the school library.

The school is in session as Neil fidgets from side to side, conscience-stricken for spending a moment away from work. "I'm going to do something I'll be a little ashamed of next week," he says. "I'm going to take a day off. I want to visit my girl friend at Tougaloo." He does not identify her race, ignoring it as one would the color of drinking water. "One of the reasons I came to Vicksburg," he continues, "is because this is her home. But she can't meet me here because her parents wouldn't approve of us going together. That bugs me. We're going to get married someday."

For the present, Neil busily teaches courses in algebra and geometry in a curriculum dominated by Negro history. Classes which had begun at 9:20 a.m. are disbanding for an afternoon break that will run until 7 p.m. in deference to Mississippi's mid-day heat. Neil moves with his students and faculty into a large room and joins them in a medley of freedom songs ending with the movement theme song, "We Shall Overcome." "We have these song sessions twice a day," he explains later. "They help keep up our morale."

But music only blots out temporarily the terrible reality that dominates Mississippi like its hot sun—the thought control imposed by the white citizens council, the tyranny of its police and courts, the appalling ignorance of most of its inhabitants, the savagery, the hate, the hopelessness. Veteran COFO worker Stokely Carmichael, who reportedly won't drive a car in the State unless it will go 120 miles an hour, manages to communicate some of that reality to Representatives PHILIP BURTON, Democrat, of California, AUGUSTUS HAWKINS, Democrat, of California, and WILLIAM F. RYAN, Democrat, of New York, in the State to see firsthand what seemed unbelievable in press reports. The eloquence of raw courage flows effortlessly from Stokely as he tells of clandestine visits to delta plantations to encourage voter registration—visits made although "the boss men," those country gentlemen romanticized by the "Southern mystique," carry rifles in racks on their trucks to shoot civil rights intruders. Stokely comes dressed in dungarees and carrying a hoe. While chopping cotton, he makes his pitch for freedom to the plantation workers. Despite being shot at several times, he, a New Yorker, and George Green, a native Mississippian, succeeded in signing up about 600 Negroes last summer.

The distinguished visitors listen attentively to Stokely. They are white-shirted and manicured men, trying desperately to understand the strange and frightening world of blue denim and red clay. Finally, one of the deeply concerned Representatives wants to know: "What can we, as Congressmen, do to help you"

"We're under heavy attack and no one is answering our critics," Stokely replies. "You can at least speak out." Against what?

Against the Mississippi's flourishing all over this land.

Against the Mississippi soaked with the blood of nameless and numberless martyrs.

Against hopelessness.

Hopelessness is FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover claiming that there is no more lawlessness in the State of Mississippi than elsewhere in the country.

Hopelessness is the U.S. Justice Department needing more evidence of a breakdown of law and order in Mississippi before it will send in marshalls.

Hopelessness is martial law in Mississippi—the U.S. military one day coming to preserve law, order, and the status quo while the dignity of human beings remains crushed.

How the Russians Think—Part IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I offer for the RECORD the fourth and concluding article written by former U.S. Senator William Benton, of Connecticut, and published in the Hartford Courant following Senator Benton's return from a visit to the Soviet Union earlier this year.

In these articles, Senator Benton has summarized some of the highlights of his interviews with the Soviet leaders. As U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, he is keenly aware of Soviet programs and has developed information which I believe should be broadly available:

HOW THE RUSSIANS THINK—SOVIET VIEW OF HOT SPOTS PRESENTS A DISTORTED IMAGE—PART IV

(Former U.S. Senator William Benton has visited the U.S.S.R. five times since 1955. During his last visit, in May, he interviewed 40 top Soviet officials in 10 days—including Chairman Nikita Khrushchev. "I wanted to see for myself what lies behind the so-called 'relaxation of tension,'" says Benton. "I didn't argue. I listened. I interjected comments and objections occasionally, only to help strip away some of the Soviet propaganda." The North American Newspaper Alliance asked Senator Benton, who is now chairman and publisher of Encyclopedia Britannica, and is also U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, to summarize some of the highlights of his interviews. This is the last of four articles on his talks to Russian leaders.)

(By William Benton, publisher and chairman, Encyclopedia Britannica)

NEW YORK, August 18.—How do the Soviets view the world's current "hot spots"?

Chairman Nikita Krushchev told me emphatically: "We don't like American forces in Korea or South Vietnam. In South Vietnam, the ground is aflame while in Korea your boys walk freely in the streets."

During my interview with the Soviet Premier in May in Moscow, he declared:

"The sober and only possible decision for you is to withdraw your forces. Otherwise, you will sink deeper and deeper into the swamp."

In Chairman Khrushchev's view, any native population should seek to rise up against its "capitalist imperialist exploiters"—and ought to be encouraged to do so. (Hungary in 1956 to him was an example of the exploiters trying to get back into power.) "You in the United States receive every uprising against tyranny as a Communist uprising—even when it is a revolution by people with no knowledge of Lenin or Marx, and where there is no Communist Party. We are honored that you attribute all such ideas to us."

Yuri Zhukov, a senior editor of Pravda, who has been a close associate of Khrushchev and a cabinet minister, warned:

ESCALATION FEARED

"There are those among you who want you to bomb North Vietnam. This can lead on to the bombing of China. This will precipitate another Korea. * * * If you bomb North Vietnam the risk of war is very great."

From Nikita Khrushchev down the Kremlin ladder, there is deep and I believe genuine concern that the American presence in southeast Asia and over Cuban skies may touch off world war III.

The Russians now seek no armed solution to the problems that divide East and West. They believe communism can triumph on a global scale through the force of its ideas, through subversion (Soviet support of so-called national liberation movements), and through propaganda and economic competition. This will take time, they admit, but Khrushchev and his followers are prepared to wait.

While they are waiting, they will talk tough to appease the Chinese but will also try the commonsense approach to the West. They will try to convince us that our policies in Vietnam, Laos, and elsewhere are all wrong. And of course they will try to convince the world that U.S. policies are wrong. Further, they will continue to hope for U.S. and other credits to help build their industrial machine.

CAN'T CONTROL CASTRO

Khrushchev is deeply concerned over the danger of a new Cuban crisis. The implications of his talk with me—during which he conceded the U.S.S.R. uses satellites to photograph our military installations—are clear: he cannot control Castro.

"If sober sense doesn't reign," he said, "Cuba will shoot down your planes. This can provoke a crisis even more severe than the last crisis over Cuba. Neither President Johnson nor I want this crisis." He asked me why the United States doesn't take its reconnaissance photographs from satellites.

Zhukov, who—to my surprise—spoke highly of Castro's responsibility as a leader, said:

"Right now we must do everything we can to avoid aggravating international problems. Will there be a war over Cuba before the election?"

Zhukov admitted "I am gravely worried" over Cuba. "The Cuban emigrees could not be doing what they are—without plenty of American money."

I interjected to say that the U.S. Government is not financing the anti-Castro attacks by the Cuban emigrees; that there are rich Cubans who had built up large fortunes—deposited outside of Cuba—before they migrated. Why won't he concede that they may be supporting the operations of the Cuban emigrees?

BLAST AT CIA

"Your CIA is said to be a state within a state," Zhukov retorted. "You must realize that the situation is very tense. Every day, there are small invasion forces into Cuba. Daily there is a war announcement. A government-in-exile is formed. I assure you that our press is very reticent on all these subjects * * * but this is not because they don't concern us. We remember our duties. We may be forced into a position in which we must interfere. We don't want to interfere. We need help from the United States to insure that we do not interfere. You Americans know that we Russians don't want war. Chairman Khrushchev's speeches clearly reflect this."

Zhukov shifted to southeast Asia:

"Take Laos for example: I recognize that this is very complicated. But how can your people stand by and do nothing about the organization of the rightist coup d'etat? You could have prevented this. You have a very good intelligence operation in Laos. We in the U.S.S.R. want the Geneva compact observed. This rightist coup has created new hostility. You have given bombs and planes to be used against the Pathet Lao. You confirm the Chinese claim. The Chinese have always insisted that a neutral Laos is impossible. The situation is rapidly becoming more complicated."

DIFFERENT APPROACH

Zhukov conceded that the Soviet approach toward national liberation movements is very different from that of the American. He termed these movements psychologically and politically most important.

"We share the desire of all people to get rid of colonialism," he said. "Take Angola, Mozambique, South Africa. We of the U.S.S.R. must help the people. The United States itself often helps. However, these are small questions."

I interrupted to suggest that the American people are sympathetic to the goals of the people in Angola and Mozambique, and acutely sympathetic with the Negro groups and their goals in South Africa.

Zhukov pressed on, "Let me finish the case I am making out.

"When colonialism has been done away with we shall move into a new era. Our two countries have now decided we cannot resolve the issues which divide us by war. How can we then resolve them? Our systems are antagonistic. What kind of trouble can we anticipate? Chairman Khrushchev has often spoken on this question * * * he is formulating the issues of the new epoch. The antagonistic struggle of the United States and the U.S.S.R. must be confined to economic competition. For this, both countries have great opportunities."

DULLES' MISTAKE

Zhukov said that due to Secretary of State Dulles' "mistake in Egypt"—a reference to the withdrawal of U.S. aid for the Aswan Dam—Chairman Khrushchev was at Aswan instead of President Johnson, who should have been there. Dulles, he pointed out, then repeated his "grave mistake." He repeated it in India when he told the Indians that their Government could not build their steel mill with American cooperation—that "only private enterprise could build it." This gave the Russians the opportunity to build the steel plant at Bhilai.

"The West Germans have put up a new plant in India," he said. "The British have built a new plant. Here we are competing among the three of us. This is all to the good. But where is the United States?"

I interrupted to tell him that our last year's AID budget for India was $835 million—our largest for any country in the world. I conceded that the Russians have been smart propagandists in seizing some of these big, spectacular projects. But I pointed out that it is a fair assumption that much of this $835 million has been used constructively for the benefit of the Indian people. Zhukov did not deny this.

COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE

"Yes, this is a competitive struggle," said Zhukov. "This is economics. This is no war. And this is how we see the 21st century. Let us compete without war at the economic level."

I said that the 21st century is a long way to look ahead. I suggested we settle for the 20th century.

Zhukov then concluded with this warning:

"But let there be no illusions in the United States about the weakening of the determination of the U.S.S.R. Your press often suggests that the time has come to push the U.S.S.R. for concessions. Your press stresses our economic difficulties. Our bad harvest. Our quarrel with China. All of this is senseless."

The U.S.S.R. is of course seeking to widen its influence in the underdeveloped world. Here is where the Russians are trying hardest to "bury capitalism." They are surely hoping to kick us out of the Middle East and to take over our oil interests there. They are hoping eventually to out-vote us in the United Nations on the admission of Red China and other questions. Assuredly, their phrase, "the new colonialism"—which I often heard from Russian leaders during my stay in the U.S.S.R.—is aimed primarily at the United States. England, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, represent the old colonialism. The new colonialism—to the Kremlin—is American capitalism; it is this equated with the term reactionary forces. Therefore, in the Soviet sense, American opposition to guerrilla uprisings means American support of "the new colonialism"—of reactionary forces.

INTERFERENCE

It is clear that, on paper and in formal discussion, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. agree that all peoples should be permitted to determine for themselves how they wish to live, and to decide this without any interference or pressure from outside.

Where the two countries disgree is here: the U.S.S.R. contends that, if the people are allowed to develop without capitalist-imperialist interference they will seek not only national independence but a Social-Communist form of society.

We in the United States agree that the local populations are entitled to seek freedom and independence—and should be encouraged to do so—but should be encouraged and allowed to seek a free and democratic form of society.

We do not agree with Khrushchev that the seizure of control by a Communist minority is a legitimate form of revolution or a step toward "liberation."

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

We Must Retain Our Essential Weapons

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I have served as chairman of the Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee for more than 15 years. This year we have provided substantial funds, $25,500,000, to increase our efforts to find and use all means to protect ourselves and our source of food from insects and disease. We mean to see that this effort is speeded up, for we have been working in this field for many years.

In the meantime, we must not prohibit the use of proven weapons, of effective agricultural pesticides which are so essential to our standard of living and to our welfare—where there is no evidence of injury to our people, simply because we come up with a new test which shows an infinitesimal amount of residue, which in itself has not been determined to be dangerous.

We must provide for reasonable tolerance on pesticides and a standard test, if we are to protect the cheapest, the best, the widest variety of foods ever enjoyed by any nation, as each year our life expectancy increases. If we do not take action in this area, the consumer will be at the whim of local authorities, where health is not endangered, as in the Washington milk situation. I regret to see some say that elimination of chemicals might cut production; that it would be a good thing in view of our surpluses.

This is a shortsighted viewpoint, which ignores several extremely important factors—the world's food and population situations and the contest between us and Communist-dominated countries.

Aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, probably the foremost problem in the world today is hunger. Approximately half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from malnutrition and the World Food Congress was told in 1963 that around 10,000 persons die every day from starvation. India has a food crisis just now due to bad weather. We are rushing wheat and other foods from our surpluses in an effort to avert chaos. I said that India has a food crisis. I should have said "an accentuated food crisis" since that vast subcontinent has a year-round hunger problem. So do many other areas in the world, mostly the underdeveloped ones. Moreover, hunger probably will grow more and more intense with the passage of time. The world's population increase is almost unbelievable. Each year births exceed deaths by almost 60,000. The way things are going now, it looks as if this globe will have close to 6 billion persons by the year 2000.

As Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, said in a speech in 1963:

> Two grim specters beckon mankind toward oblivion today. One offers instant and wholesale death by nuclear means. The alternative guarantees eventual starvation when the human population exceeds the food supply.

Also, the efficiency of American agriculture is a most important and practical weapon in the struggle with communism. The failure of Communist agriculture, a failure which is chronic and deep seated, has tremendous implications to the hundreds of millions constantly plagued by hunger. The Communist inability to produce efficiently and abundantly plainly tells them—if they get the message—that there is little hope along the Communist road.

If they follow this path—as they are being urged to do every day—all they have to look forward to is more starvation and misery.

In my opinion, this contrast between our systems, the contrasts in agriculture, should be used to the fullest. I cannot think of any better answer to Communist propaganda. As Don Paarlberg, of Purdue University, in his book, "American Farm Policy," said:

> Agriculture represents our greatest absolute advantage over the Communist world.

Modern agricultural production would be impossible without the use of chemical pesticides and herbicides. Even with their use, destructive insects do damage every year approximating $4 billion. One of the primary reasons for world hunger and human diseases is the absence of effective chemical pesticides in extensive areas of the world. I know for I have seen many of these countries. In India where, as I have pointed out, hunger is endemic, destructive insects work almost unhindered. For example, it is almost impossible to maintain supplies of stored grain in that country because of the depredations of weevils and beetles, including that pest of pests, the Khapra beetle.

If there is to be any improvement in the food situation abroad, we must not only use our food reserves to combat hunger; we must keep our agricultural products available and offered on the markets of the world.

Mr. Speaker, in our recent bill providing funds for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for fiscal year 1965 the Congress provided approximately $25,500,000 for increased research on the handling of insects and insect diseases of man and animal and plant life. Pending results from such efforts we must not permit anything to take away our present weapons, where there is no evidence of danger to human health.

Since our report on the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies, I have made a rather thorough study of the overall problem of chemical pesticides and the alternatives, research for which we financed in that bill. It is our agricultural chemicals, our machinery, and improved and prolific varieties of plants which make it possible for so few to provide for so many. Without these agricultural tools a great many of our people would have to go back to the farm, possibly as many as half. Should that occur, we would not have the many things which make our life so much better than that of the rest of the world.

I am convinced the American people cannot do without farm machinery, improved varieties of plants or the new, better, and more lasting pesticides which are essential if we are to keep insects and diseases from seriously damaging our food supply.

What makes the situation doubly bad is that so many of our people in key positions apparently want to capitalize on a public opinion built up by a wonderfully written book, a mixture of fact and fantasy, by the late Miss Rachel Carson; yet our leading scientists all point out that it is not a scientific book at all but a marvelously written narrative, really a rather nostalgic plea for a return of yesterday, though its warning as to proper use is both timely and helpful.

Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks we all have been aware of the burning of thousands of acres of timber, of homes and buildings in the Santa Barbara watershed area of California. Today we are told that more than 80,000 acres will have to be replanted with trees for which $1 million is requested and I know if we don't protect these young seedlings with effective pesticides, the seedlings will be cut down by rodents as fast as they are set out.

Last week the House of Representatives provided for payment by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of $8,800,000 in damages incurred in the Washington, D.C., area by milk being condemned by the local health department, because of new tests and the residues which they showed, without any evidence of danger to public health. All authorities I have studied clearly prove that chemical residues do not continue to build up in humans, and I have found no evidence that injury has resulted where chemical pesticides have been properly used. What makes the situation bad is the fact that writers have gone from discussion of injury by misuse right into "residues," where there is no evidence of potential injury.

During a recent debate someone talked about the Mississippi River fish kill. I have read the hearings on this case; the fish were almost all salt water fish and died just below a spot where one of our major cities dumps 17 million gallons of sewage daily—500 miles down river from Memphis, Tenn., where it was claimed pesticide residues were allowed to enter the river.

Much has been made of the bird kills. Instead of fewer birds we have had a bird population increase of explosive proportions as chemicals have held down mites, rodents, and other pests and animals which destroy bird life.

One of the most effective chemicals has been DDT, which without doubt has saved many lives in and since World War II. However, the use of DDT and other chlorinated hydrocarbon chemicals has been banned, to all intent and purposes, on lands administered by the Department of the Interior. Insofar as I have been able to ascertain, there is no evidence of damage to wildlife, or any other form of life, to sustain this ban. It is true that DDT, improperly used, has killed fish and other forms of wildlife, just as it is true that aspirin, improperly used, has killed human beings—more every year, and all by misuse incidentally, than pesticides, where, too, it has all been from misuse. But DDT and some other of the chlorinated hydrocarbons are very efficient agents in combating destructive insects. They are efficient because their effects are long lasting and persistent. On application lasts quite awhile, which is why they do the job.

In announcing the ban on the chlorinated hydrocarbons, the Interior Department did not announce any new proof of injury or hazard. I can only hope that within a year or two insect damage on some of the forest lands administered by Interior has not proceeded to the point where there has been havoc from such pests as the spruce budworm, together with great damage to watersheds and an enhancement of the threat of fire in areas in the West.

In 1963 the Connecticut legislature failed to approve money for pesticides to spray forests against the gypsy moth. As a result, there was drastic curtailment of pesticide use against the pest. In 1964 a sharp rise in damage from the moth in Connecticut has been evident. In the absence of preventive measures, we may expect this damage to increase every year and the major danger is fire which would be diastrous to hundreds of watersheds and cities below throughout the country.

In connection with the theory that pesticides accumulate threateningly in the water and soil, I went hunting not long ago in Mississippi for doves. We hunted in an area where pesticides, the chlorinated hydrocarbons, had been used in large quantities for years and years. Yet game was plentiful, so plentiful that the hundreds of hunters got the overall limit, 12 each, in a very few hours.

The Mississippi Delta, or a large portion of it, is in my district. Pesticides, the persistent kind, have been used to literally drench much of the delta for years in order to protect crops. Nevertheless, fish and game flourish and thrive. Moreover, my constituents of the area are vigorous and healthy. Their lifespan like that of the people of the Nation has risen sharply since the use of DDT eliminated the malarial mosquito and the disease itself. In addition to the scientific evidence, the evidence of commonsense is against the present charges.

I quote from the report of our Appropriations Committee:

THE PESTICIDE RESIDUE PROBLEM

The need for additional research on development, testing, and use of pesticides and insecticides, together with the effects of sprays or other residues from products used in agricultural production is very acute. Recent well-publicized books and articles, not always based on complete and objective information, have increased public concern about this matter. Current statements in the press which make certain claims concerning the effect of agricultural pesticides on fish in the lower Mississippi River present a completely one-sided point of view, and in this instance it is not claimed that health is affected.

To enable the Department to protect agriculture and the consumer by developing and presenting full and complete facts on this matter and to develop improved methods of insect and pest control, some expansion of research activities in this area is necessary. Congress provided for the establishment of a weed-control laboratory last year. Since the work at this location will be directly concerned with the use of pesticides, insecticides, other agricultural chemicals, materials, and methods, plans for this facility should be modified to permit testing and development of pesticides, insecticides and other materials necessary to agriculture, including effects of residues.

For expanded research on use of pesticides and control of insects and pests, the committee included approximately $25,500,000 in the final bill for next year, including such amount as may be needed for the modification of plans at the weed-control laboratory provided last year to include this type of research.

Both the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Agriculture are deeply interested in protecting the public health. Both Departments have responsibility for approving materials for use as pesticides and insecticides for agricultural purposes.

Neither Department, we are sure, would want to needlessly deprive the American consumer of any part of the finest and cheapest food any nation has ever enjoyed. In recent weeks, however, after materials have been approved and put into use, new means of detection of minute amounts of residue have resulted in news releases, press accounts, and headlines which needlessly frighten the consumer, do financial damage to the manufacturer and the farmer, and lessen the supply of food for the consuming public, though there is no claim that the public health is endangered. Neither the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, nor the Department of Agriculture would want to needlessly destroy any American business or agricultural enterprise. Yet that is what present policies are doing in cases where there is no evidence of danger to the public health.

The members of the committee recall the cranberry incident in 1960, when a whole industry was practically destroyed by reckless statements and charges. It took $10 million recommended by President Eisenhower to compensate for the damage and bring back public acceptance of this commodity. The public health must be protected. However, the supply of food and the processes which make food and fiber plentiful and cheap must also be protected where there is no evidence that public health is endangered.

In an effort to prevent further financial damage to American producers and loss of food for consumers as a result of reckless handling of this problem, the committee has set up $250,000 for the use of the Secretary of Agriculture to collaborate with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in working out rules and regulations including the recommendation of such changes in the law as may be necessary to protect our high standard of living with the most plentiful, cheapest and finest food and fiber any nation ever had—while at the same time protecting the public health.

The food supply shortage is said to be Russia's "Achilles heel." Russia's monumental failure to provide food for her people and their allies is her chief weakness in the world of today. We must prevent our Nation, where only 18 percent of total income goes for food, from sinking to Russia's level, where some 50 percent or more of national income is spent for food.

It is the firm belief of this committee that news releases or other public statements regarding any pesticide or other material which such departments have authorized for use should not be made unless at least one of such departments states that there is evidence that the continued use of such material would injure the public health.

Further, some provision should be made for payment of financial losses to any producer, processor, or manufacturer resulting from statements or actions concerning the use of approved pesticides, insecticides, chemicals or other materials, where there is no evidence that their use endangers the public health. The payment for such damages should be made by the department issuing or negligently permitting the issuance of such statement or action.

PROTECTION FROM DISEASE AND PESTILENCE

It is estimated by officials of the Department that, if it were not for the use of fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides, in 5 years the cost of a very inferior quality of food to the American consumer would double, and in 10 to 15 years the people of this Nation would be short of essential foods.

The threat from insects and diseases becomes increasingly serious as the speed and volume of travel increases between all areas of the world. Nearly 57 million more persons entered the United States during fiscal year 1963 than in 1954. The number of planes, ships and other carriers in 1963 was over 26 million as compared to 14 million in 1954. The number of pieces of baggage inspected increased threefold in 6 years—from 9 million in 1957 to over 27 million in 1963.

The opening of additional ports along the St. Lawrence Seaway and increased nonstop oversea air flights to airports in the interior of the country are also increasing the threat of introduction of new pests from abroad.

It has been estimated by agriculture experts that the damage to crops by the more than 600 different kinds of major destructive plant insects in the United States amounts to nearly $4 billion each year. Cotton insects account for nearly $600 million annually, cereal and forage insects account for some $400 million annually, and stored grain and household insects cause annual damage of over $1 billion. It is further estimated that annual losses caused by plant diseases total $2,500 million, and that livestock losses due to diseases and parasites exceed $2 billion per year.

If foot-and-mouth disease should become established in this country, it is estimated that annual losses would be in the billions of dollars. It is further predicted that the

introduction of fowl pest in this country could virtually eliminate the poultry industry. The introduction of rinderpest would cost the Nation $1 billion annually.

To fully appreciate the effects of these destructive diseases and pests, it is necessary only to look to other parts of the world where food production is subject to their ravages. In the Middle East, desert locusts have been sweeping the semiarid lands for centuries, leaving ruined crops and starvation in their wake. In Pakistan, severe locust, caterpillar, and cricket outbreaks have caused losses as high as 80 percent in some areas. It is almost impossible to maintain supplies of grain in storage in India because of the ravages of weevils, bran beetles, and the world's worst pest of stored grain—the khapra beetle, which is now a threat in the United States.

Stored-grain pests are so bad in tropical areas of the world that the race to eat the grain before insects devour it results in frequent periods of starvation. The people compete with the pests for survival. Their low standard of living thus becomes understandable.

The distribution of cattle in Africa is determined primarily by the presence or absence of the tsetse fly. This is a major reason why an African child, once weaned, may never again taste milk. The cattle tick and the human warble or torsalo fly cause tremendous losses to hides, beef, and milk production in Central and South America. Mortality among calves may be as high as 70 percent in some of the most heavily infested areas.

A recent report from Argentina indicates that 50,000 calves succumbed in 1 year's time to screw-worm—the same one found in this country. The Argentines have had no effective means of dealing with this pest.

PROTECTION OF MARKETS FOR LABOR AND INDUSTRY

The economic welfare of each segment of the Nation's economy is dependent on the economic strength of each of the others. History demonstrates that our Nation is prosperous only to the extent that our agricultural economy is strong and healthy.

Agriculture is the principal source of new wealth. It is the main provider of basic raw materials which support all segments of business and industry. Around 65 percent of the basic raw materials used in industry come from the farm. Reliable estimates indicate that each dollar of wealth taken from the soil generates $7 of income throughout the rest of our economy.

Agriculture is our largest industry. It employs 12 times the number of people in the steel industry, 9 times the number in the automobile industry, and twice the number in the transportation and public utility industries. In addition, it supports directly another 10 percent of our nonfarm population which supplies the farmer with his needs and processes and markets his products.

Agriculture is a major dollar earner in world markets and is playing an important role in solving our balance-of-payments problems. It is expected that agricultural exports will represent 25 percent of our total exports in fiscal year 1964 as compared to 22 percent in fiscal year 1956.

Agriculture is one of the major markets for the products of labor and industry. Agriculture uses more steel in a year than is used for a year's output of passenger cars. It uses more petroleum products than any other industry in the country. It uses more rubber each year than is required to produce tires for 6 million automobiles. Its inventory of machinery and equipment exceeds the assets of the steel industry, and is five times that of the automobile industry.

Urban workers benefit directly from this rural demand for machinery, equipment, supplies, and the other items used on the Nation's farms. Significant changes in this demand, therefore, have a direct effect on business and employment in urban areas. Every major business recession in this country has been preceded by the loss of income and purchasing power at the farm level.

This important rural market must be protected by the assurance of adequate income to the producers of farm commodities and maintenance of farm purchasing power. Business prosperity and full employment in the cities is dependent on a strong and dependable agricultural market, including both large and small farms.

The programs of the Department which help the producer to market his commodities at home and abroad efficiently and profitably, as well as the activities of the Commodity Credit Corporation and other agencies which have an effect on production and commodity prices, have done much to maintain agricultural income and thereby protect this important market for labor and industry. The committee has attempted to provide sufficient funds in the bill for fiscal year 1965 to make certain that these essential services will be available to the producer and their benefits will be available to the consumer during the coming year.

Goldwater No Demagogue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NORRIS COTTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, an excellent article, entitled "Goldwater No Demagogue," was published today in the Washington Post. The article was written by John Chamberlain. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 30, 1964]

THESE DAYS—GOLDWATER NO DEMAGOGUE

(By John Chamberlain)

Whatever may be the faults of BARRY GOLDWATER, he is not one of those who rave and rant about anything. So far as his own personal speechmaking is concerned, he has been waging the least demagogic national campaign that anyone now alive could possibly remember.

Just consider how he has been breaking all the more cynical campaign rules. He goes into West Virginia and unburdens himself on the subject of the current anti-poverty campaign for the allegiance of the Appalachian States. He says a mere billion dollars will do practically nothing toward eliminating poverty, which is certainly a true statement. But it is not the sort of thing that a demagogic ranter and raver would choose to tell an audience in the heart of the region that will be getting the money.

On his swing through the South, Mr. GOLDWATER stops in Tennessee. There, where it is supposed to be political suicide to attack the TVA, he reaffirms his proposal to sell certain TVA appendages, such as fertilizer plants, to private owners.

Moving on into Texas, he speaks at Fort Worth, where the local plant of General Dynamics Corp. has been awarded a $6 billion contract to manufacture the TFX aircraft. He tells the Texans that the TFX contract was "politically oriented," and that it should have gone to Boeing in Seattle, a company which, Senator GOLDWATER said, was in a position to make a better plane.

Mr. GOLDWATER's refusal to play it safe is cause for almost ecstatic wonder in a most unlikely place, the little Freedom and Union magazine put out by Clarence Streit, the prophet of a federation of the Atlantic democracies. When Mr. GOLDWATER made clear at San Francisco that "Atlantic union is a key issue to him," says Streit, "the extreme nationalists in the Goldwater camp and his extreme critics in the other who seem convinced that he is dominated by 'isolationists,' 'Birchers' and 'Fascists' * * * were struck dumb." Streit finds Mr. GOLDWATER far more satisfactory than Lyndon Johnson on the subject of Atlantic community, for the Johnson acceptance speech at Atlantic City "made no reference to Atlantica, whose flowering had so big a place in Senator GOLDWATER's acceptance."

As the Goldwater campaign unfolds, it becomes increasingly apparent that we have a most unpolitical nominee contending for the Presidency. The man seems extreme because he is extremely honest. It is true, of course, that GOLDWATER hasn't been talking recently about making social security "voluntary," which might be construed as a retreat.

But the reason for the silence, I think, is that Mr. GOLDWATER despairs of making himself understood on the subject in a campaign year. The original Goldwater statement on social security followed the publication of a poll taken in Britain which indicated that more than 50 percent of the English voters would like to have the opportunity to "contract out" of Government welfare schemes. "Contracting out" implies that welfare must be kept up, but that a choice would be allowed between the public and private kinds.

Now it is not true that the American Government is powerless to find a way to finance a social security system that would permit a person to select a public or a private old-age insurance policy, the qualifying stipulation being that he must maintain either one or the other. But a presidential candidate would have to take a battery of insurance actuaries along with him to be convincing on this point. And very few people would hang around long enough to listen.

Senator GOLDWATER's honesty, which transcends the call of duty, recalls that of John Stuart Mill in Victorian times. When he was campaigning for the English Parliament in 1865, Mill was confronted by a group of workingmen who asked him if he had authored a quote that said "the lower classes, though mostly habitual liars, are ashamed of lying." Mill looked the workingmen in the eye and said, "I did." Whereupon they cheered him and voted for him—and he won his seat in Commons.

That, however, was a century ago. And besides, it was in another country.

Tribute to the Late Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the life and service of our departed colleague, WALTER NORBLAD.

It would be superfluous to say here that I express my sorrow, because every Member knows of the fondness and

friendship in which WALT was held by his fellow Members. We all mourn his passing, in particular because WALT always had a kind word for each of us, and I do not know any Member of the House who had more friends or a warmer personality.

As to the public service of WALTER NORBLAD, I can speak personally as to his interest in fisheries. He constantly asked me, because of my membership on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, about pending fishery bills and matters of that nature. But, of course, his great contribution was as a member of the Committee on Armed Services. Here, again, he kept me and others I know of posted on developments which he thought were important to us and our districts.

Mr. Speaker, I think that especially WALT NORBLAD'S important public service is recognized in his efforts to eliminate waste and unnecessary spending of the taxpayers' money. But, actually, his talents were not limited to any one field; he was—as those of us who served with him know—a well-rounded, able and conscientious Representative. He was close to his constituents and served them well.

Of even greater importance, however, he was a U.S. Representative whose first consideration always was the welfare of the entire country.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, it has been a privilege to associate with WALT, day in and day out, now, for the first six terms I have been here. I am going to miss him, but I will always remember him with respect and affection.

Meanwhile, my wife and I extend to his beloved wife and son our deepest sympathy.

Clifton E. Cushman Gives a Challenge to Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I, for one, believe the youth of today generally compares favorably with the youth of any other time. I know of no period in our history when there have been more outstanding young people. One such young man is Clifton Cushman, of Grand Forks, N. Dak. He is a young North Dakotan of whom all of us are very proud.

Lieutenant Cushman is an outstanding athlete. In 1960, he placed second in the 400-meter hurdles in the Olympic Games at Rome. This year, he was determined to bring back a Gold Medal from the 1964 Olympics, to be held in Tokyo, Japan. Lieutenant Cushman worked and trained very hard to this end, only to be denied a berth on the U.S. Olympic team through an accident which, in the trials at Los Angeles, saw him stumble on a hurdle and fall, thereby disqualifying himself.

Mr. President, the fine qualities of this young man are best expressed in an "open letter" he wrote on September 17 to the youth of Grand Forks, N. Dak. I ask unanimous consent that Lieutenant Cushman's letter, as published in the Grand Forks Herald, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I know of no more ringing challenge to our young people than that expressed in Lieutenant Cushman's letter, and I know of no better example for our young people to emulate than that of Lieutenant Cushman. His indomitable spirit and his will to succeed are best shown in his challenge to our young people.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Grand Forks (N. Dak.) Herald, Sept. 17, 1964]

CUSHMAN NOT GIVING UP SETTING GOALS DESPITE OLYMPIC TRIAL MISS—WRITES OPEN LETTER TO YOUTH

Lt. Clifton Cushman of Grand Forks, whose hopes for a place on a second consecutive U.S. Olympic team fell with him over a hurdle in a trial meet last Sunday, says he will not give up setting goals for himself and trying to reach them.

In an open letter to Grand Forks youth received here Thursday, Cushman challenged them to do the same thing. The letter follows:

"Don't feel sorry for me. I feel sorry for some of you.

"Last Sunday you may have seen the U.S. Olympic trials on television. If so, you watched me hit the fifth hurdle, fall and lie on the track in an inglorious heap of skinned elbows, bruised hips, torn knees, and injured pride, unsuccessful in my attempt to make the Olympic team for the second time.

"In a split second all the many years of training, pain, sweat, blisters, and agony of running were simply and irrevocably wiped out. But I tried. I would much rather fail knowing I had put forth an honest effort than never to have tried at all.

"This is not to say that everyone is capable of making the Olympic team. However, each of you is capable of trying to make your own personal 'olympic team,' whether it be the high school football team, the glee club, the honor roll, or whatever your goal may be. Unless your reach exceeds your grasp, how can you be sure what you can attain?

"And don't you think there are things better than cigarettes, hotrod cars, school dropouts, excessive makeup, and ducktail greasecuts?

"Over 15 years ago I saw a star—first place in the Olympic Games. I literally started to run for it.

"In 1960 I came within 3 yards of grabbing it; this year I stumbled, fell and watched it recede 4 more years away. Certainly, I was very disappointed in falling flat on my face.

"However, there is nothing I can do about it now but get up, pick the cinders from my wounds, and take one more step followed by one more and one more, until the steps turn into miles and the miles into success.

SCRIPTURE QUOTED

"I know I may never make it. The odds are against me but I have something in my favor—desire and faith. Romans 5: 3–5 has always had an inspirational meaning to me in this regard.

"'* * * we rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance, and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us.'

"At least I am going to try.

"How about you? Would a little extra effort on your part bring up your grade average? Would you have a better chance to make the football team if you stayed an extra 15 minutes after practice and worked on your blocking?

MANY UNHAPPY

"Let me tell you something about yourselves. You are taller and heavier than any past generation in this country. You are spending more money, enjoying more freedom, and driving more cars than ever before, yet many of you are unhappy.

"Some of you have never known the satisfaction of doing your best in sports, the joy of excelling in class, the wonderful feeling of completing a job, any job, and looking back on it knowing that you have done your best.

"I dare you to have your hair cut and not wilt under the comments of your so-called friends. I dare you to clean up your language. I dare you to honor your mother and father. I dare you to go to church without having to be compelled to go by your parents.

"I dare you to unselfishly help someone less fortunate than yourself and enjoy the wonderful feeling that goes with it. I dare you to become physically fit. I dare you to read a book that is not required in school.

"I dare you to look up at the stars, not down at the mud, and set your sights on one of them that, up to now, you thought was unattainable. There is plenty of room at the top, but no room for anyone to sit down.

"Who knows? You may be surprised at what you can achieve with sincere effort. So get up, pick the cinders out of your wounds, and take one more step.

"I dare you.

"Sincerely,

"CLIFTON E. CUSHMAN."

The AMA's Able Staff Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OMAR BURLESON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article from the AMA News is worthy of the attention of the Members of Congres and ask that it be made a part of the RECORD:

AMA'S ABLE STAFF MEN

The Kiplinger Washington Letter, an old and widely read newsletter, recently charged the AMA's representatives in the Capital with threatening Members of Congress who favor the King-Anderson bill.

The charge is false.

The men who represent the Nation's physicians in Washington are honorable and are respected by Congressmen in both political parties. Legislators who disagree with the AMA's position on the financing of hospital care for the elderly through the Social Security System have praised not only the competence but the character of the AMA's representatives.

President Lyndon Johnson, back in 1959 when he was the Senate majority leader, said: "The greatest legislative representative that I know and the individual in whom I have the most confidence and respect is the representative of the American Medical Association, Cecil Dickson."

More recently, during the 1963 House Ways and Means Committee hearings on the King-Anderson bill, Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, Democrat, of New York, had this to say:

"I * * * get the impression that there goes abroad the notion that those of us on the committee who are presumed to be supporters of the pending legislation have a total and complete disregard for the American Medical Assocation, and I want you to know that I do not join with them.

"Without intending to embarrass them, candor compels me to tell you here today in these circumstances that in Cecil Dickson and Jim Foristel you have two very able, very gracious, and very effective spokesmen.

"My only critical comment of them would be that on occasions they have been somewhat too effective."

Earlier last year, the Associated Press in an article published nationwide, cited Dickson as an example of a successful representative whose tactics could be emulated by young people aspiring to be Washington lobbyists. "Dickson," the AP said, "is rated one of the most effective—though by no means the highest paid—lobbyists in town." The AP story continued:

" 'One rule should always be observed,' Dickson says. 'Never throw a Congressman a curve by giving him misinformation. If you once embarrass a Congressman, the word gets around.'

"What seem to be facts to the AMA may look like nonfacts to opposing lobbyists, but Dickson does his best to supply facts according to his lights, even if they may temporarily hurt his cause."

The other AMA representatives in Washington are Richard N. Philleo and Harold Slater. Like their colleagues Dickson and Foristel, they do their work forthrightly and with tact. They have not imperiled their effectiveness by issuing threats to Congressmen. This is not their way, personally or professionally.

It should be noted that the Kiplinger Letter does not support its charge with facts. It gives no detail—and not even a generalized description—of the "threats." Plainly, there are no facts. The Kiplinger Letter was wrong in making this charge, as wrong as it was in 1962 when it repeatedly told its readers that medicare would be passed by that session of Congress.

Gift of Calves to the Dominican Republic by Albemarle Ruritan Club, of Charlottesville, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I have received a very interesting letter from Mr. John E. Gerow, vice president of the Albemarle Ruritan Club, in Virginia. The letter, which is self-explanatory, describes a project undertaken by the club. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Gerow's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ALBEMARLE RURITAN CLUB,
Charlottesville, Va., September 14, 1964.
Hon. HARRY F. BYRD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BYRD: I thought that you and your fellow Senators might be interested in a project that the Albemarle Ruritan Club has undertaken. As you know, we are a civic organization. In thinking of a worthwhile undertaking, we decided that with all of our agricultural surplussage we should be able to help some of our less fortunate neighbors.

Upon writing to various Embassies, we discovered that the Dominican Republic was struggling against desperate odds to overcome 31 years of the most oppressive dictatorship this hemisphere has ever known. We found out that there is a horrendous shortage of protein, especially milk for the youngsters.

The average yearly consumption is something like 50 liters per person.

With all of our dairy cattle and dairy surplus, we decided that we could help by assembling an airplane load of calves, if the Dominican Republic would provide the transportation. We have been working with Ambassador Bonilla and the University of Santo Domingo. These calves are being assembled on three different farms here in Albemarle County, and in October the plane from the Dominican Republic will pick up these animals.

The University of Santo Domingo will raise these animals and see that they are properly grown out. They will be used for class work and training poor farm boys in the proper care of dairy cattle. When they are safe in calf, deserving youths, properly trained, will be given an animal with the understanding that the first heifer calf will go back to the University for payment. The University has made arrangements with the American Breeders Association of Chicago to supply frozen semen in order that well-bred sires be used.

We feel that besides helping in a very small way to raise the intake of milk, this is an excellent way to promote good will and help stem the tide of communism. This project has caught the imagination of nearly everyone. Dairymen have donated many calves and Southern States has donated feed to care for these calves. Everyone is working hard to bring this undertaking to a successful conclusion.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN E. GEROW,
Vice President, Albemarle Ruritan Club.

Double Standard in Name Calling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to the following significant editorial which appeared in the Chicago Daily News of September 23, 1964, and which clearly presents one of the dangerous facets of the presidential campaign—a double standard in name calling.

Mr. Speaker, the choice that the voters make on November 3 can very well change the course of our history. It is essential that each voter make certain he is not influenced by the reckless charges being made in the heat of the campaign. It is essential that the voters be made aware of the excesses which are resorted to, so that they may think logically and objectively on the many issues being discussed and judge for themselves. Editorials such as the one which follows are a helpful contribution to clear thinking and I commend it to the readers of the RECORD:

HITLERISM? FASCISM? DOUBLE STANDARD IN NAME CALLING
(By John M. Johnston)

If you detect in your political opposition a tendency toward communism you are a bigot, a screwball, an extremist and a hatemonger. But you may charge your opponents with a leaning toward fascism and remain a liberal.

The campaign against Senator GOLDWATER is taking advantage of this double standard in malediction. No sooner had the Republican candidate been nominated than California's Governor Brown announced that "the stench of fascism is in the air."

Recently came the Reverend Martin Luther King to assert, "We see danger signs of Hitlerism in the candidacy of Senator GOLDWATER." The motion has been seconded by George Meany, the union tycoon, and Representative CELLER, Democrat of New York.

What the Reverend Dr. King meant to suggest was that GOLDWATER is using the Negroes as Hitler used the Jews as scapegoats in a drive for power. In his defense, the Reverend Dr. King would doubtless cite the support for GOLDWATER by such race-minded people as Mississippi's Governor Johnson.

It would be decent of him to mention GOLDWATER's personal record of service to the cause of integration. It would also be fair to note that Arkansas' Governor Faubus and his like all over the South remain faithful to President Johnson and the Democratic Party.

But at this stage of the game, not all are concerned with being decent or fair. The Reverend Dr. King even adds, regretfully, that he fears outbreaks of violence should GOLDWATER be elected. No waiting to see what the new President might do; just as soon as the returns are in. Nobody can say he wasn't warned not to vote Republican.

The charge that Goldwater conservatism is akin to Hitlerism is really outrageous. Hitler rose to power on a tide of national socialism, not individualism. That socialism was the culmination of a long accumulation of state welfarism, which GOLDWATER vigorously opposes.

Essential to fascism, as it is to communism, is a strong central government, gathering into its hands control over local matters through its custody of the purse. Is the greater totalitarian threat then GOLDWATER, who advocates decentralization of the vast bureaucracy and sharp reduction of the income taxes?

Was it GOLDWATER who declared it to be his ambition to siphon off the wealth of the rich and distribute it among those who need it more? It was not; that was President Johnson, and if you are looking for a candidate for mobmaster, score that one for L.B.J.

A noteworthy condition of the Germany that produced Hitler was the fading of the line dividing the left and right. Big business and workers alike agreed that national socialism was just what the country needed. Does such an alliance back Goldwater?

It would be nonsense to accuse President Johnson of flirtation with the idea of dictatorship. All he wants is unity behind his policies and general agreement that he is the man preeminently qualified to administer them.

The outlook is that he will get it. But if words have any meaning left, this program will continue the national drift toward socialism.

Those who consider this welfarism to be the wave of the future like to attribute to GOLDWATER a desire to return to the McKinley era. They ought at least to acknowledge that Hitlerism and national socialism were not products of the 19th century.

Harpers Ferry, W. Va., Continues To Record Growth as a Major Tourist Attraction—Thousands Enjoy the History and Heritage of Civil War Landmark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the community of Harpers Ferry continues to grow in popularity as a center of interest for tourists and students of American history. Located at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers, the city has performed an important role in events which have shaped our Nation. Today, it has been restored and developed as a reminder of our heritage and traditions.

During 1963 some 709,285 persons toured Harpers Ferry and enjoyed the rugged beauty of the surrounding hills and valleys. In the first 8 months of 1964 the visitor total stood at 512,369 as compared to 480,040 for a similar period last year.

As sponsor of the original measure to establish Harpers Ferry as a national monument, and as sponsor of the legislation which changed the official name to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, I have been gratified to note the high degree of public acceptance which has been achieved. Likewise, it is heartening to note the helpful activities of the U.S. Park Service which are contributing to the progress of the Harpers Ferry area. The Park Service this summer dedicated the Stephen T. Mather Interpretive Training and Research Center on what was formerly the campus of the old Storer College. This new facility is being utilized in the training of Park Service personnel.

Mr. President, on Sunday, September 13, 1964, the Potomac magazine of the Washington Post printed an informative and effectively written article describing the beauty and benefit which awaits the traveler at Harpers Ferry, W. Va. I commend the author, Ian Ledgerwood, and ask unanimous consent that this significant article be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Potomac, Sept. 13, 1964]

THEY BRING HARPERS FERRY BACK TO LIFE

(By Ian Ledgerwood)

It was born on the river and often it has almost died under it. The Shenandoah and Potomac gave birth to Harpers Ferry but they seem to be jealous of its unique position and keep trying to remove it by flood.

Less than 2 hours from Washington, this West Virginia town that lies in the shadow of the Blue Ridge Mountains has seen much violence since it was first settled in 1733 and is the focal point of a tour that takes in three States in a 138-mile round trip. You can see all three States at once at Harpers Ferry, if you are the climbing type.

Take the beltway to Route 70, then head north to Frederick, Md., where you turn south on Route 340 at the Harper's Ferry exit.

Most of the route is fast but take it slow through Jefferson, Md., an "olde worlde" town where you can almost hear the stagecoach coming around the next corner. Freeway construction will cut your speed on the last few miles—but this may be a blessing because it gives you a chance to admire the magnificient scenery.

Prior to the Civil War, Harpers Ferry had a population of 3,000. Most of the inhabitants worked in its arsenals. Although industry has long since disappeared, it is still a thriving community of 600, many of whom commute to Washington by train.

Despite the risk of inundation, the National Park Service has restored several of the buildings to their pre-Civil War glory and has plans to restore many more.

On Shenandoah Street, the recently reopened 1826 Stagecoach Inn has a theater where one can hear a slide lecture before starting the tour of the town.

Although Shennandoah Street is below the flood line, the Weather Bureau's 24-hour warning is enough time to remove the exhibits to higher ground. The buildings have to stay, or course, but they are used to floods.

Oldest dwelling in the town is the Harper House, built by Robert Harper who arrived in 1747 and who saw the possibilities of waterpower from the two rivers.

The house was Harper's third home, the other two having been destroyed by floods. Above the flood line, this house was begun in 1775 but not completed until 1782 because of the labor shortage during the Revolution. By this time, both Harper and his wife had died.

It first saw service as a tavern—George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were among those who slept there—and later became a private home.

As you wander around the pre-Civil War buildings, now being restored at the intersection of Shenandoah and High Streets, marvel at the marksmanship of the Confederate sniper who shot the owner of the confectionery shop from his hideout on the opposite side of the Potomac.

And reflect on the clean-living Union troops: when many layers of paint were removed from the shop, only names were found. There were no obscene words and somehow or other, Kilroy missed Harper's Ferry.

Even if you are not energetic, find the strength for the stiff, 300-yard climb to Jefferson's Rock. There are few finer views and you will agree with Jefferson that "the scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic."

The town's situation made it a strategic position in the War Between the States, during which time it often changed hands, but Harpers Ferry is best known for the John Brown raid.

Today only the ruins remain of the covered bridge over which Brown led his men in a bid to liberate the slaves in October 1859.

Harpers Ferry has another claim to fame, again in the military sphere. Gunsmith John Hall had a factory there and in 1819 received a Government contract for 1,000 breech-loading, flintlock rifles, his own invention.

The guns were so exact in scale that all parts were interchangeable—the first successful application of the principle that led to modern mass production.

None of the arsenal buildings remain, having been burned by retreating Union troops in 1861, but the ruins of Hall's rifle works are still there.

On your way home, circle Harpers Ferry by leaving through Bolivar, scene of Col. Dixon S. Miles' surrender to "Stonewall" Jackson in 1862, and return by way of Route 671 and Leesburg, Va.

Facts and figures: this is not a costly trip. Admission to restored buildings is free and there is a tree-shaded picnic area by the Shenandoah River.

If you do not want to drive, you can take the train from Union Station. There is one at 8:30 a.m. and another at 2 p.m.

Return trains are at 4:30 p.m. and 10:40 p.m. The journey takes approximately 1 hour, 10 minutes and the round trip fare is $3.36. Children 5 through 12 travel half fare. The visitor center opens at 8 a.m. and closes at 7 p.m.

The Urban Complex

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Robert Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, has been an outspoken and articulate spokesman for better housing in the United States. He has handled the enormously complex problems of his office with a keen understanding of the human aspects as well.

In his latest book entitled "The Urban Complex" Dr. Weaver clearly displays his firm grasp of the social and physical problems which so gravely affect our rapidly expanding metropolitan areas. This book has been well received, as can be seen from the following reviews which have appeared in newspapers throughout the country:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 1, 1964]

BOOKS OF THE TIMES—THE BEST OF OUR DREAMS AND THE WORST OF OUR NIGHTMARES

(By Charles Poore)

Years ago discussions of slums and blight reminded Robert C. Weaver of the general condemnation of sinfulness in the world at large.

"Few, if any," he remarked dryly, "were in favor of these social ills, but there was, and is, a vast difference between being against sin and knowing what to do to eradicate it. Similarly, opposition to slums was, and is, far from commitment for their eradication or realization of the painful and slow process that is involved in effecting this objective."

Yet the "painful and slow process" is Mr. Weaver's lifetime dedication. Others drop into what you might call its slow-motion maelstrom from time to time. They make stirring speeches. They write powerful pieces. They demand funds, funds, funds, and action, action, action. Then, like as not, they move on to get properly warm and righteous over the use of insecticides and fluoridation, cancer, and cigarettes, the preservation of the two-party system in America and the hydrogen-bomb-haunted survival of the human race.

Mr. Weaver's aim is not inimical to any of these attitudes. Indeed, I take it from his forceful and persuasive book, what he is primarily after is a decent setting in which all Americans can consider their problems, pursue their folkways and enhance their abilities to share the best of what man has thought and said and done.

In working for the achievement of that decent setting of which none need be ashamed and all can be proud, Mr. Weaver has a list of duties as long as your arm. He

is chief adviser to the White House on everything having to do with the Nation's city planning and development, housing, and the codes and practices of the real estate world.

He is responsible for the operation of the Housing Administration, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Public Housing Administration and the Urban Renewal Administration.

Urban renewal, the heart of this book on "The Urban Complex," means many things. It means dust in your eye as you walk down the street. It means finding ways to make people feel that they won't have to spend all their lives living three or five or seven to a room in the tenements of desperation.

It means, in a word, change. And fighting change often oddly unites remarkably varied elements. The conservative and the liberal form an unacknowledged front when anyone threatens to touch a fine old tree or a picturesque old building.

And they have complementarily uncomplimentary things to say about the design of the new housing block, the new shopping center, the slashing throughway, or the bunch of glass and steel that allegedly scrapes the clouds that eventually appears.

Meanwhile, absolutely everyone is dutifully shocked at the way our big towns are—miraculously—(a) dying and (b) growing.

Mr. Weaver can give you facts and figures about that till they numb your ears and glaze your eyes. The wonder is that with the full magnitude of the matter before him he can remain so calmly determined and hopeful. Some things do get done, you know.

Ordinary people may grow moody when they traverse the long honky-tonk stretch of industrial and shore-dinner backwoods along our Atlantic coast, for example. But not Mr. Weaver. He centers, first, last, and all the time, on the human element involved. He is determined to make us see that it is better to try to live up the best of our dreams than to wallow in he worst of our nightmares.

The Dallas Times Herald of August 23, 1964, had a review by J. F. Rothermel, Sr., as follows:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald, Aug. 23, 1964]

THE FEDERAL VIEW OF URBAN NEEDS

(By J. F. Rothermel, Sr.)

This book may be taken as presenting the current official thinking at Washington on all such matters as housing, slum clearance, urban renewal, city planning, and the like. As Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Weaver is the chief Presidential adviser on these matters, and an intelligent, persuasive spokesman in behalf of a strong Federal role.

But because a lot of emotion is involved in such questions as housing, who shall live where, and the respective roles of private business, local government, and the Federal Government. Mr. Weaver's book will run into mixed reactions.

For example, he says flatly that we "have not, do not, and apparently cannot produce an adequate amount of housing for low-income families without some form of public assistance." The fairly recent voting in Dallas on bonds to enable matching Federal assistance in housing projects indicated a majority of Dallas voters may not agree with that statement.

And again, those Dallas citizens who declare that what happened here last November could happen anywhere will hardly find comfort in his somewhat incidental statement that communities develop personalities—some bad, and some good.

But we should not do Mr. Weaver an injustice. His book is not in itself argumentative. He doesn't say much about the philosophy of housing, urban adjustments, and the like. He concerns himself mainly with the techniques of Federal action in the area. (Perhaps that's his bureaucratic experience showing up.) He writes more of the ways in which the Federal Government is, and can be, of help in moving toward that social goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

One of Washington's chief roles, as Mr. Weaver sees it, lies in advising local communities to adopt coordinated planning. He doesn't illustrate that type of assistance with reference to Dallas, but he might have. Planning for the best land use in an area involves more than a central government. The Dallas metropolitan area, for example, he no doubt thinks, should have a coordinated program. But that would mean cooperative action by 4 county governments, at least 30 municipal governments, and various other governmental bodies. The Federal Government, with its overall point of view, and its accumulation of the experience of many communities, can be of help in such planning.

There is, however, an implied warning, and one that may be found in many areas of our national life; unless State and local governments act, the Federal Government will assume responsibility.

Along the way, Mr. Weaver looses a few blows at some ideas that are strongly held. The idea that colored infiltration of an area lowers market values is not true, he says, where the nonwhite families moving in are comparable in living standards, education, and social behavior to those already living in the area. Also, he says, in housing as in education, there is no such thing as separate but equal facilities.

Generally, Mr. Weaver is hopeful. He believes that under intelligent urban renewal programs, our cities can become economically more healthful, esthetically more pleasing, and culturally more vital. With Washington's help, of course.

The Saturday Review of September 12, 1964, in a review by Robert A. Low stated:

[From the Saturday Review, Sept. 12, 1964]

NO PLACE LIKE HOME IN THE CITY

("The Urban Complex: Human Values in Urban Life," by Robert C. Weaver (Doubleday. 297 pp. $4.95), explores what Government is doing to try to meet the phenomenon of urbanization. Robert A. Low is chairman of the Buildings Committee of the New York City Council.)

(By Robert A. Low)

Some 70 percent of the people of the United States live in 1 percent of the land area, and the concentration of our population in metropolitan areas is continuing at a striking pace.

The dramatic urbanization of American life has prompted many planners and social scientists to analyze the phenomenon. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these efforts is that of the French geographer Dr. Jean Gottmann, who described the urbanization of our northeastern seaboard from Maine to Virginia in "Megalopolis."

But government response to the challenge of urbanization has been slow, whether at the Federal level, where Congress still hesitates to act on the creation of a department concerned with urban affairs, or at the local level, where a multiplicity of political jurisdictions continues to hamper efforts to deal with problems that are metropolitan or even regional in scope.

Only a handful of government officials have spoken with perception about the problem. One of these, Robert C. Weaver, who is administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, has compiled and brought up to date in "The Urban Complex: Human Values in Urban Life" material from articles and lectures published over the last decade setting forth the challenges of urbanization and what the Government is trying to do to meet them. His emphasis is on housing and urban renewal, fields in which Dr. Weaver's credentials are excellent. Today he is the highest Federal official concerned with urban problems; he has also served in Government positions at the State level—as New York State rent administrator—and at the local level—as chairman of New York City's Housing and Redevelopment Board. Robert Weaver has frequently been mentioned as a possibility for the Cabinet post should Congress create the long-awaited Department of Urban and Community Development.

In this volume his essays explore slum clearance, relocation of tenants from cleared sites; barriers to the movement of nonwhites within the core city and to the suburbs; successful and unsuccessful efforts to achieve integrated housing; rehabilitation of run-down properties, and Federal and State programs to deal with these difficult matters.

Dr. Weaver analyzes perceptively the interrelationship of the Negro in-migration and the changing character of our core cities. The chapter entitled "The Urbanization of the Negro" previously appeared under the title "The Changing Structure of the American City and the Negro" in "Assuring Freedom to the Free," edited by Arnold Rose.

The author notes that the in-migration of the rural poor to the city is not peculiar to the United States, but is prevalent throughout the Western World. Even in Denmark, where the population is ethnically homogeneous, this in-migration is accompanied by an outmigration to the suburbs of those who have moved up the economic ladder. Dr. Weaver concludes: "Urbanization is neither the salvation nor the damnation of Negro Americans," but it is "the sine qua non of the Negro's participation in the mainstream of national life."

Although he is aware of the need for more public housing for families of low income, he suggests that meaningful integration may come sooner through federally assisted programs for housing for families of moderate and middle income.

Dr. Weaver is no dreamer. His thinking is tempered by the frustrations that confront a dedicated public servant eager to get on with the task of providing decent housing for every American.

The publishers of this volume have performed a service in making possible a wider audience for Dr. Weaver's insight into the urbanization process that is so drastically affecting the face of the United States.

Dr. Herbert Sandick and the Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to call attention to a most interesting and important development in Massachusetts with regard to the civil defense program.

I am pleased that in this particular instance, the area involved happens to be my home city of Pittsfield—where a distinguished doctor, Herbert Sandick, has pioneered in certain medical self-help programs and, in doing so, has

brought great credit upon himself, his country and the entire State and Nation.

The two articles that follow are from the Berkshire Eagle in Pittsfield, Mass., and they describe in full the remarkable efforts of Dr. Sandick and his colleagues in Berkshire County. It would seem to me that the example of these men could be used as a model for the entire Nation.

I know that all of my colleagues in the House, as well as Members of the other body, will be greatly interested in "The Berkshire Story." For this is a story based on knowledge, the kind of knowledge which replaces fear.

The articles follow:

[From the Berkshire Eagle, of Pittsfield, Mass., Sept. 11, 1964]

COUNTY'S MEDICAL SELF-HELP PROGRAM HELD UP AS MODEL BY STATE CIVIL DEFENSE HEAD

"The Berkshire Story," a Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency folder being distributed throughout the State, has lauded the "stick-to-it-ive-ness" of the civil defense medical self-help program in Berkshire County.

In outlining the progress of the disaster program in the county, the folder points to the pioneering work done in western Massachusetts by Dr. Herbert Sandick, of Pittsfield. An orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Sandick was serving at the head of the county disaster committee when he became interested in the medical self-help program.

Initiated several years ago under Dr. Sandick's direction, the program met with limited success as a result of public indifference to the Berkshire Medical Society's advertising campaign. A later appeal to industries and hospitals brought a wider response. Today 2,000 county residents are trained in medical self-help.

The training programs are carried out by a small group of county doctors, concerned with the effects of natural or nuclear disaster on normal medical assistance accommodations.

The program directors hope to enlist more students in the medical self-help course. In a letter included in the folder, Daniel J. Finn, director of the MCDA, praised the progress made in Berkshire County and urged that all State residents take the medical course.

Registration for the course can be made by contactnig the Berkshire County Medical Society in Pittsfield.

[From the Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle, Sept. 12, 1964]

NAME IN THE NEWS

"Just what the doctor ordered," is the opinion of Director Daniel J. Finn of the Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency. The physician is Dr. Herbert Sandick. What he ordered dealt with the medical self-help program in Berkshire County, and the results are so spectacular that Mr. Finn has summarized the doctor's methods in a pamphlet just issued.

Entitled, "The Berkshire Story," the civil defense unit presents it as a model for the entire State to follow in self-help programs, some of which are lagging. This was the case also in the Berkshires when Dr. Sandick launched the project November 23, 1962, before a class of medical assistants. Despite publicity, the hoped-for-public response did not follow the first gathering.

Dr. Sandick wasn't daunted; just disappointed. He was sold on the concept of medical self-help and its priceless value in case of natural or manmade disasters; which may strike anywhere, any time. The Worcester tornado is one uncomfortably close example of the former; too-frequent crashes of huge planes into populated areas, the latter.

Actually, Dr. Dandick's concern with medical self-help sprang from a course he took on his own initiative 2 years ago in Washington, D.C. It was on a national scale, and subject was the danger from radioactive fallout. Soon after he returned to Pittsfield, he launched the self-help program. He had the full backing of his fellow members of the Berkshire medical district disaster committee, of which he was—and is—chairman.

Associates of Dr. Sandick cite him as a wizard on organization and in the fine art of inspiring others to help him carry out projects such as this. Poor response early in the game brought this comment from him: "While the first group was small, it was enthusiastic. But we realized that there existed a resistance of indifference to the program, with the public not realizing fully the value of such training, what it could mean in the saving of lives or preventing the aggravation of injuries if the proper initial steps could be taken by a trained person prior to the arrival of professional personnel."

Casting about for more direct means of promoting the program, Dr. Sandick instinctively hit on the direct approach: taking the message by word of mouth to those he sought to influence. He and other speakers appeared before clubs, workmen's groups, employers and other gatherings throughout Berkshire County. Individuals were contacted through their employers, industrial and government leaders were brought together for "get acquainted" sessions. From these sessions came requests from agencies, industries, and hospitals asking that medical self-help classes be set up for their employees.

Under the impetus established by Dr. Sandick, interest in the project appeared in other quarters. Self-help training for all the teaching nuns in the Berkshire parochial schools was carried out, and the Red Cross added 6 hours to its first aid courses so students could learn of medical self-help procedures.

"As a result, nearly 2,000 Berkshire County residents were trained in this field through the drive and determination of a small group of doctors realizing the value of such training," says the Civil Defense pamphlet.

Resting not at this point, Dr. Sandick and his associates have drawn up plans to enlarge greatly the number of self-help classes. The idea is to penetrate further into industry by training plant personnel as instructors, and to spread the message that disaster can take many forms. This can be a fall in the home an auto accident, storm, flood, or nuclear incident.

In addition to toiling in the more populated centers of the county, Dr. Sandick and his fellows stand ready to arrange for self-help training in every town and village in the region. Only requirement is that persons be willing to give 16 hours of their time to learn the rudiments of self-survival. "Remember," says the pamphlet, "knowledge replaces fear. And fear has no place in disaster, no matter what type the disaster may be."

Dr. Sandick opened his practice in Pittsfield in 1953 as an orthopedic surgeon, with offices at 222 South Street, and later moved down the street to 262. He came here from Bayonne, N.J., after graduating from Columbia College and Columbia University Medical School. He interned at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, and spent 2 years in the service as an Army captain in various post hospitals.

As a final word on the medical self-help program: It is rumored among Dr. Sandick's colleagues that the U.S. Department of Defense in Washington is considering using the Berkshire method in its drive to sell the idea on a national scale.

Address by Mr. Elwood Moffett, President, District 50, UMWA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Elwood Moffett, president, District 50, UMWA, at the 44th Consecutive Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers of America on September 2, 1964, at Bal Harbour, Fla.:

ADDRESS OF MR. ELWOOD MOFFETT, PRESIDENT, DISTRICT 50, UMWA

President Boyle, Vice President Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer Owens, delegates to the 44th Consecutive Constitution Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, I bring and extend to you the fraternal greetings of my associate executive officers, the office and field staff, and the officers and members of the 1731 local unions comprising the International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, in 41 States of the United States and in the Dominion of Canada.

District 50, United Mine Workers of America, was created and established as a special district of the United Mine Workers of America on September 1, 1936. The formation of District 50 was in response to the request of some 10 Federal labor unions in the New England area, which had been chartered by the AFL on Federal basis, comprising the employees of gas utility and coke plants in that area.

These 10 local unions were dissatisfied with their Federal status in the AFL and were unwilling to be chartered by some organization of the CIO but desired to become an integral part of and a direct affiliate of the United Mine Workers of America. They, as well as others, recognized that the United Mine Workers of America was the outstanding champion of the industrial union type of labor organization and the powerhouse behind the drive to extend industrial union organization to the unorganized workers in the great mass production industries in America—they wanted to be a part of that powerhouse and they still are, as a part of the largest affiliate of your great organization.

The chartering of District 50 enabled the United Mine Workers of America to extend its philosophy, principles, and policies into areas reaching far beyond the coal industry in the United States as well as in Canada. This has been good for the labor movement in America, and it has been good for America.

The birth and development of District 50 constitutes one of the milestones in the economic history of the United States. Its organization was concurrent with the industrial unionization of the major mass producing industries. This was made possible by the United Mine Workers of America through massive organization campaigns, the creation of the Committee of Industrial Organization and, later on, the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations—better known as the CIO.

The efforts of the unions associated with the AFL–CIO to play down the magnificient contributions of the United Mine Workers of America and its great leaders in the creation and establishment of industrial unions in the mass production industries of the United States and Canada is but a puny effort to ignore the indelible record of our

history, but the record of history has recorded and will show that the CIO was created—it was nurtured and developed—by one man and his union—in fact, the modern labor movement, as we know it in America, was the result of the contributions, the sacrifices and the aggressive leadership of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America.

In the 28 intervening years, District 50 has expanded to a degree that its membership embraces employees in some 30 or more different industries. In the chemical and allied products industry, we have a larger membership than any other labor organization—we have a substantial membership in the gas and electric industry throughout New England, as well as in the Eastern, Midwestern, and Southern States of the United States—we have thousands of members organized in the pulp and paper industry, the refractories industry and in the fabricated metal products industry, among many others in the durable and nondurable goods industries.

We are making substantial progress in organizing the employees in the heavy construction, highway and roadbuilding industry. At the present time, we have statewide agreements with the heavy and highway construction companies in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware, Tennessee, and Kentucky. We are extending the establishment of our organization in this industry to many other areas of the United States and Canada. Our growth and progress in this industry in several of the States has provided employment for unemployed coal miners on these road construction and related jobs.

When we entered the field of organizing the workers in the heavy and highway construction industry, we borrowed the principle of industrial unionism from the United Mine Workers of America and applied it to the building of public roads, highways, bridges, tunnels and dams.

The AFL and their craft union system were flourishing in their futile effort to organize this industry for the same essential reasons that the craft unions floundered in their futile efforts to organize the great mass production industries 28 to 30 years ago.

District 50 is carrying on the great work that the United Mine Workers of America developed during more than seven decades of its history. The United Mine Workers of America—its loyal membership and its outstanding leadership of yesterday and of today—have a right to be proud that it can contribute so much for so many and still have more than it gave.

In total membership, district 50 ranks among the top 20 international unions in size in North America. The achievement of this status has been accomplished notwithstanding the concentrated harrassment by the AFL–CIO on district 50 directly and on the United Mine Workers of America indirectly. It might not be out of place for me to suggest that the AFL–CIO spend more of its time and energy in organizing some of the 48 million unorganized workers in this country and less time in raiding fratricidal warfare.

We have achieved rank among the 20 largest international unions in this country notwithstanding the coercive tactics of antiunion employers' use of certain permissive features of the Taft-Hartley Act to defeat the effective unionization of their employees.

Despite these handicaps, district 50 continues to move forward, continues to grow in membership and carry on our program of organizing the unorganized among those workers who need and want union representation to assist them in securing improved wages and working conditions.

We in district 50 are making a determined effort to stimulate and breathe new life and activity into the labor movement—to utilize our talents and energy to organize the unorganized—to extend the trade union movement to include an ever-increasing number of employed industrial workers.

We believe that to extend union organization to the unorganized workers is as important in this decade as it was in the decade a quarter of a century ago.

To understand this law of growth is an inheritance passed on to us by the United Mine Workers of America. Throughout the 74-year history of the United Mine Workers of America, your leadership has been in the forefront of labor's struggle for recognition and has led the way—breaking new ground for others to follow—to achieve and establish modern conditions of employment.

The total number of employed industrial workers in the United States is steadily increasing—keeping apace with our population growth. The total membership of the AFL–CIO declined some 5 million members between the years 1957 through 1963. In 1957, the membership of the AFL–CIO represented 29.1 percent of our work force; in 1963, it was only 18.7 percent.

On the other hand, District 50 is among the few international unions in this country showing some growth in membership.

There are some 48 million unorganized industrial workers whose wages and working conditions are not protected by collective bargaining agreements or in any other way protected except by the minimum standards established under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

This situation extends a challenge to the leadership of your great union—and to District 50 as well—to give of our manpower and leadership to organize the unorganized in this decade as your great organization and its aggressive leadership met a similar challenge three decades ago.

Modern history teaches us that organized labor has made very substantial contributions to the growth of our economy and to the strength of our governments on the North American Continent.

The thousands of collective-bargaining agreements freely arrived at between management and labor have over a period of years produced the highest standard of living in any country in the known world. The fact that management and labor in a large segment of our economy fix the wages of labor by contract through the collective bargaining process has resulted in Government being excluded from functioning in this area.

On the other hand, in the free world countries—using Western Europe as an example—where industrial production is high, plants are quite modern, and production know-how compares favorably with our own, but where labor unions are in too many instances weak and ineffective, little is being done in the area of collective bargaining as we know it, the wages of labor are low and the nation itself is unable to carry on its own full burden in relation to the rest of the world, the spread between the standards of living of management men and of the workers grows wider and the tendency becomes strong among the underpaid workers to nationalize the industries employing them.

In North America, where labor unions are relatively strong, our governments are strong and we are thus able to contribute manpower and generate military and financial aid in astronomical amounts to protect the "free world" from the penetrating influence of international communism.

It is well that we keep in mind that it is a strong labor force—well paid, well fed, well organized—in strong, free and effective labor unions that makes possible, supports and protects a free and strong government—that it is a free labor movement engaging in free collective bargaining with employers—that it is the surest safeguard, if not the principal one, that labor and management has to preserve our private enterprise system. These are the instruments of our strength and of our freedom.

We think that the time has now come when steps should be taken to remove and modify the legal impediments of the Taft-Hartley Act which shackles unions and restricts essential areas of collective bargaining and enables antiunion employers to effectively deny their employees the right to self-organization and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing—accordingly, we take the position that at least the Taft-Hartley provisions be amended and modified in the following manner:

First. Outright repeal of section 14(b) of the act. This would result in voiding and eliminate State right-to-work laws and restore to Congress the jurisdiction over union security in all States of the Union. It would eliminate the need for at least one extremist hate group with its misguided zeal, tortured arguments and twisted logic.

Second. Modify section 8(a)(5) and make it mandatory that the National Labor Relations Board seek immediate injunctive relief where an employer refuses to bargain after certification of a representative of its employees by the NLRB.

At the present time, an employer who refuses to accept the procedures of collective bargaining after certification by the NLRB may exploit all the procedures before the trial examiner and an appeal to the NLRB before it becomes mandatory for the Board to seek enforcement of its order by the court.

These procedures may, and often do, consume as much as 2 years' time. In the meantime, the employer has suffered no current penalty—he has gained 2 years' time—because in the end he has no retroactive obligation. We have been victimized by exploitation.

Third. Modify section 8(c) of the act to the end that concealed coercion and implied threats on the part of the employer may not be construed as a protected activity in a representation election and thus effectively thwart the policies of the act.

Under this section, the National Labor Relations Board has been prone to construe clever abuses of freedom of speech on the part of antiunion employers as protected activity. Given a liberal construction under this section, an employer may and has used the threat to refuse to bargain if certified, with the further threat to use the delaying processes of the law—thus thwarting the policies of the act and defeating the hopes of the employees to have effective union organization.

One can speak endlessly of the new ground that has been broken by the United Mine Workers of America for others to follow. Little was known about pension security for the aged of our workers in any industry until your United Mine Workers of America welfare and retirement fund was negotiated and established by your great union.

While others talked about a shorter workweek, you were the first to establish reduced hours of employment without loss of earnings. The provisions for union security in wage agreements were virtually unknown until you first established union shop and checkoff provisions in your contracts in the thirties.

It has been your organization and your leadership that have pioneered State and Federal legislation throughout the length and breadth of this land, to name but a few:

Section 7(a) of the old National Recovery Act which legally affirmed the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing. Upon the demise of the National Recovery Act, section 7(a) survived and was incorporated in the Wagner Act, which was the Magna Carta for labor in this country. Section

7(a) still survives in the Taft-Hartley law.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, or "minimum wage and hour law" as it is commonly known, was born of the leadership of your great organization and that principle of public policy for America is unique among all the nations of the world. This public policy establishes minimum rates of pay, maximum hours, restricts child labor, establishes other minimum standards of working conditions, and indirectly the minimum wages become the instrument for the regulation of commerce between and among the States.

These are some of the instruments of our freedom. For your vision—for your wisdom—for your leadership, we say thanks.

But this is not all—no other union—I repeat, no other union—can point to the record of accomplishment that the United Mine Workers of America has achieved throughout its long and illustrious history. It can be said that the modern labor movement, as we know it today, is the creation of the United Mine Workers of America.

Your organization established the principle for organized labor to follow—that labor abide by its contracts and conduct labor-management relations as set forth in the language of its wage agreements.

Your refusal to tolerate work stoppages under contracts is now a recognized procedure in all labor organizations and that disputes arising under and within a contract shall be settled under the grievance machinery of the existing contract.

The first Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, came from the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America. The deeds and accomplishments of another of your leaders, John Mitchell, exceeded that of any labor leader of his time. No individual has done so much for so many over so long a period as the creator of the modern labor movement, President Emeritus John L. Lewis. His successor, our beloved and late Thomas Kennedy, as president of the United Mine Workers of America, devoted a lifetime of service to the men of the mines and was widely known for his devotion to the cause of helping the underprivileged everywhere.

Only last week I had the pleasure of meeting with several of the representatives of the Indonesian Government. This new Republic is only 14 years old. They wanted to know something about the labor-management conference program of District 50.

During our discussions, these two representatives of the Government of Indonesia made the comment that the two best-known and respected Americans in Indonesia were John F. Kennedy and John L. Lewis.

The job of president of the United Mine Workers of America is a big job. In our time, the leaders of your great organization, because of the vast accomplishments of John L. Lewis and his associates, have been looked upon with respect not only among the laboring people of North America but by leading citizens throughout the world. With all the responsibilities of this high office, an individual must be well-trained and must have vast experience to handle the reins that guide the destinies of your organization and its members. You have such a leader in your international president, W. A. Boyle. He capably and diligently performs the duties and requirements of his high and important office. With his vision and through his guidance, your organization will go forward to achieve new goals and greater accomplishments in the years ahead.

In your new vice president, R. O. Lewis, you have a most capable and experienced lieutenant and counselor to your president; and, in your secretary-treasurer, John Owens, you have a great leader in his own right. He has experience due to his background as an outstanding district president. He commands the respect of all men and women in the labor movement, and he is looked upon as one of the great labor leaders of this country.

In your international officers you have a triumverate of leadership who are most capable, and, with that type of leadership, you have little to fear in the future.

We in District 50 have endeavored to build and administer our union organization in the chemical, gas and electric, pulp and paper, heavy construction and other miscellaneous industries with the same meticulous care and in the image that you operate your union in the coal industry. I can assure you that every member of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, is as proud of his union and of your union as the coal miner is proud of both of our unions.

During the past few years, we have spent considerable time in realining our regional operations, and this has resulted in consolidating smaller regions and reducing the total number of regional operations, which has improved the capabilities of our entire field staff.

We have improved our financial condition so that our position is sound and we are accumulating a reasonable operating surplus.

We have very recently completed an extensive field staff training program for the more than 300 members of our field staff throughout the United States and Canada.

This field staff training program was conducted by our resident officers and the staff of our international headquarters and was directed toward greater competence, the negotiation and administration of our more than 3,400 wage agreements, and in extending our union to those workers who wish to broaden their horizon, lift their standard of living and improve their security.

During the past year, we created a rather broad labor-management conference program. We have held more than 600 of these plant-site conferences with management to review problems created by the introduction of automation and new mechanical devices—the problems created by competitive imports produced by low-wage labor—employment opportunities—retraining of workers to qualify for the changing occupations and the problems of plant safety.

Management, as well as labor, must recognize that these problems are of mutual concern to both parties.

The field staff of District 50 negotiates and renegotiates an average of more than 50 wage agreements each week. This totals nearly 3,000 separate and distinct contracts that are negotiated each year.

We continually make appearances before governmental agencies—both State and Federal—in such matters as wage and hour hearings and in the processing of petitions involving representation elections and unfair labor practices before the National Labor Relations Board. Also, we represent local unions in hundreds of arbitrations cases annually.

Through the offices of our general counsel, we dispose of, through our own initiative, many matters of litigation involving our organization.

Through the facilities of our research department, we provide information and assistance which is helpful in the organization of new members and in the negotiation of contracts, the establishment of pension programs and related welfare matters.

In concluding my remarks, I trust you will accept the very best wishes from our officers and members to the officers and members of your great organization.

District 50, United Mine Workers of America, is a growing organization and, as each month and year goes by, our union will become a greater and stronger economic force. As an affiliate of your great organization, we will stand shoulder to shoulder and march into the future together.

Peaceful Coexistence—A Glossary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, there has been called to the attention of the House in recent days a significant publication of the standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association entitled "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory." The committee is headed by Mr. Morris I. Liebman, prominent attorney, of Chicago, and this absorbing analysis of the strategy of the international Communist movement is the work of Dr. Richard V. Allen, chairman of the study program on communism at the Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

In the understanding of the devious techniques and perverted lexicon of communism, the inclusion of a glossary of terms in their communistic usage is particularly helpful, and I include it under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, as follows:

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adventurism: Error committed by Communists who incur unnecessary risks, or who profess "excess revolutionary zeal"; used by both Soviet and Chinese Communists in arguing their differences, as well as by Communists in general.

Aggression: Any act which serves to impede Communist achievement of a goal; also any action by "imperialist" nations attempting to defend their own interests when dealing with weaker nations.

Aggressive military blocs: Those military-assistance organizations formed by the West to counter Communist aggression; e.g., NATO, SEATO.

Antagonistic contradiction: A problem or difficulty inherent in the internal relations of "capitalist" countries and between "socialist" and "capitalist" countries, and which can be solved only with the downfall of the capitalist system; as distinguished from a nonantagonistic contradiction.

Anticommunism: Any opposition to communism; recently used to refer to the "black reaction" of democratic socialists and labor leaders who refuse to unite with, or express sympathy toward, the Communists.

Bourgeoisie: Originally the middle class, as distinguished from the very wealthy; later enlarged by Lenin to include all property owners. In recent times it has undergone further enlargement to include non-Communist classes even in countries such as India and Ethiopia.

Breathing space ("Peredyshka"): Period of rest in which forces are regrouped in preparation for another offensive against the West, which usually occurs after a Communist advance has been halted and the "enemy" has become alert to further Communist aggression; a period designed to relax the enemy's defenses so as to facilitate the next offensive. "Peredyshka" means "pause."

Class enemy: Any class other than that of the "proletariat" which holds political power, or which stands between the "proletariat" and the seizure of power; also used to refer to anti-Communist elements within Communist countries.

Class struggle: Generally, the "battle" waged by the various classes of society

against one another; stems from the classical statement by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." The doctrine of class struggle in Communist ideology holds that classes in society are unable to live in peace, and hence incessantly seek to destroy one another. The class struggle recedes only when the "proletariat" (Communists) has achieved power.

Cema (Comecon): Council of Economic Mutual Assistance, an economic organization designed to serve as the "Communist Common Market," integrating and coordinating the economies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

Correlation of forces: The overall "balance" of forces in the world; a specific term coined by the Communists to replace the concept of the balance of power, and used to demonstrate that the correlation stands in favor of communism and against imperialism.

Counterrevolution: The act of impeding the success of a developing Communist revolution, or of threatening an accomplished Communist revolution.

Definition of the epoch: A general statement by the international Communist movement describing the events which will take place within a given period of time, usually of long duration. Hence, the present epoch is defined as the era of "transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale," i.e., the complete victory of communism.

Democracy: Identified with communism in general; as opposed to Western democracy, which is "Fascist," "reactionary," and "antidemocratic."

Democratic centralism: The guiding procedural principle of the Communist Party specifying that debate and dissent may be heard in the ranks on any given issue (the democratic aspect), but that when a decision is made from the top, everyone must adhere wholeheartedly to that decision and toe the line (the centralist aspect).

Development of social contradictions: The process of waging class warfare in non-Communist countries for the purpose of overthrowing established governments or, at a minimum, to weaken the internal social and political structure as an interim measure.

Disarmament: A process in which arms production will be either controlled or discontinued and existing armaments will be abolished, but which does not rule out the use of arms for achieving the overthrow of non-Communist nations. To the Communists it represents a condition in which the ability of non-Communist states to combat Communist offensives is weakened. In 1916 Lenin said of disarmament: "Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie, can it, without betraying its world-historical task, throw on the scrap heap all kind of armaments in general—and the proletariat will doubtless do it—but only then, and by no means before."

Enemies of peace: Those who oppose communism, Communist policy, and Communist "solutions" to international problems; Includes all madmen, warmongers, and wild men.

Fascists: Term of opprobrium applied to the rightwing generally and bearing litle or no relation to the Western understanding of the word. In Eastern Europe after World War II the Communists applied the laws established by the Allied Forces pertaining to "Facists" to anyone who opposed their drive for power.

Forces of peace: All Communists; those movements which may have aims temporarily coinciding with Communist goals (e.g., the unilateral disarmament movement).

General line: The agreed strategy of the international Communist movement.

Imperialist camp: The non-Communist, chiefly capitalist, group of advanced industrial nations. The leader of the imperialist camp is considered to be the United States.

Just war: Any war which Communists fight. Hence a war initiated by the Communists for purposes of acquiring territory is just, while resistance by the opponent is unjust.

Liberation: The act of establishing Communist rule. Hence Cuba was "liberated" from capitalism by Castro's revolution, as were all other countries now ruled by communism.

Liberation war: Any war designed to establish Communist rule; any "just war"; also referred to as "war of national liberation."

Madmen: Term of opprobrium applied to outspoken opponents of communism and to those who may oppose any specific Communist "peace" proposal. Hence, U.S. opponents of the partial nuclear test ban treaty were declared to be "madmen"; interchangeable with wild men.

Morality: Behavior in accordance with Communist standards; the qualities of a good Marxist-Leninist; the virtue of the Communist cause.

National democratic state: Intermediate political form applicable only to underdeveloped countries which allows them to "bypass" the conditions of advanced capitalism on the road to "socialism."

National liberation movement: The revolutionary and anti-Western forces operating in underdeveloped countries and in colonial areas, which are frequently, but not always, led by Communists.

Neutralism: A condition applicable to underdeveloped countries which weakens and erodes the ability to resist Communist advances. Hence, a nation passing from the anti-Communist camp to a condition of neutralism is viewed as being one step closer to the Communist orbit.

Nonantagonistic contradiction: A problem or difficulty arising between Communist states or parties and which is soluble on the basis of Communuist theory; as distinguished from an antagonistic contradiction. According to both Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev, the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union is "nonantagonistic."

Oppressed peoples: Any citizens of colonial or non-self-governing areas; also newly independent nations which maintain close ties with former mother countries or who remain in commonwealth status.

Organizers of the cold war: Those who from their official positions in government, have taken strong measures to resist Communist encroachment upon the free world, chiefly the United States and its Presidents since 1945.

Party line: The course of action decided upon by a given Communist Party which must be strictly adhered to by all party members.

Peace zone: A territory or area declared by the Communists to be "off limits" for all activity by Western countries. All Communist countries and many anti-Western countries are within the "zone." Non-Communist countries within the "zone" remain fair game for Communist activity.

Peaceful competition: A specific form of the "struggle" with the West designed to lead to victory; as portrayed by Khrushchev, "the stronger one swallows the weaker one."

Peaceful transition to socialism: Seizure of power and establishment of Communist rule without the application of mass violence or civil war. Concerns only the actual seizure of power, and does not rule out the internal use of violence after power has been taken.

People's republic: A Communist state.

Principal contradiction: The point at which the main forces of the Communist movement must be deployed; normally spelled out by major declaration. (A principal difficulty of the Sino-Soviet split; the Soviets hold that the principal contradiction of the era is between socialism and capitalism, and hence the main forces must be directed toward overthrowing the capitalist system; the Chinese insist that the principal contradiction is between imperialism and the colonial and oppressed peoples, hence implying that the way to defeat capitalism is through the underdeveloped countries).

Progressive: Adjective used to describe anything which forwards the Communist cause.

Proletarian internationalism: As defined by "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," "the scientifically confirmed ideology of the community of interests of the working classes of all countries and nations; * * * the feeling of solidarity of the working people of all countries; * * * a definite form taken by the relations between the national detachments of the working class"; in short, a regulating principle reflecting the basic interests of Communists everywhere in achieving power, as expressed by the mutual relationships of the Communist Parties.

Proletariat: Technically the class of industrial wage laborers engaged in the production of commodities; also used to designate the Communists in general, and frequently used to designate all "toilers."

Provocation: Any action deemed inimical to the Communist design. Hence, allied military bases ringing the Soviet Union for the purpose of defending against Soviet aggression are labeled "provocative."

Reactionaries: All-inclusive term applied to opponents of Communist policies, and often used in conjunction with other terms, as in "reactionary warmongers," "Fascist reactionaries," "reactionary imperialist circles."

Reformists: Those who seek to change the fundamental nature of the enemy capitalist society by persuasion and legal methods; those who admit that the class struggle need not be terminated by total Communist victory, but by evolutionary change.

Revanchists: Literally "revenge seekers"; term of opprobrium applied chiefly to West Germany, but also to "certain circles" in the United States.

Revisionism: The ideological "crime" of revising or otherwise changing the content of Communist doctrine. Both the Soviet Union and Communist China have accused each other of "revisionism." The term is rarely used with specific meaning.

Rightwing socialism: The anti-Communist part of the Socialist movement which refuses to engage in common action with the Communists.

Self-determination: In theory the right of nations and "oppressed" nationality groups to determine their own destiny; in practice it has amounted to the "right" of nations and groups to determine the method by which they pass into the Communist camp or to the "anti-imperialist camp" in general.

Sober circles of the bourgeoisie: Those non-Communists who express a "proper appreciation" for the strength of communism, and who strive for "accommodation" with the Communist movement.

Socialism: Communism during its first phase, as distinguished from the final, utopian "Communist" society. No "Communist" country has laid claim to living under the second phase. To be distinguished from Western democratic socialism.

Socialist camp: The Communist bloc countries taken as a unit.

Socialist internationalism: A higher stage of "proletarian internationalism" which governs the relations of Communist states with one another. The principle does not apply to relations of Communist states with non-Communist states, as these relations are based upon hte principle of peaceful coexistence.

Strategy: As defined in "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," "the (political) line for

a whole historical stage"; as distinguished from tactics.

Tactics: As defined in "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," "implies a political line for a relatively short period of time"; as distinguished from strategy.

Unjust war: Any war waged by the "imperialist camp." Hence, the Korean war, although fought by the United Nations to defend Korea from Communist aggression, was an "unjust war" for the U.N., but was for the Communists a "just war." (See just war.)

Vanguard of the proletariat: The Communist Party, the "most advanced and most class-conscious detachment" of the working class.

Violent transition to socialism: Seizure of power and establishment of Communist rule by means of violence.

War of national liberation: (see liberation war).

Warmongers: Formerly those who opposed any aspect of Communist policy, as in "imperialist warmongers"; now used more selectively to designate proponents of military strength as the principal defense against Communist expansion, especially military leaders of the West and NATO.

Warsaw Pact: Defense pact signed in 1955 by the Soviet Union and East European Communist countries; an "Eastern NATO."

Wildmen: (see madmen).

Working class movement: Generally the labor movement; specifically, the Communist-led or Communist-sympathizing labor movement.

Creative Immigrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABNER W. SIBAL
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. SIBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Bridgeport Post has paid fitting tribute to one of its most remarkable citizens, William Carlson, who has been honored as "Immigrant of the Year." Mr. Carlson's achievements are set forth in the editorial which I am pleased to insert into the RECORD:

CREATIVE IMMIGRANT

William Carlson, who was honored Sunday as "Immigrant of the Year," did more than take advantage of the opportunities offered in America He is a man who has shared with others the good fortune he met with in this land He created new opportunities for those who came after him and joined with those who preceded him to forge a great nation

Honoring Mr Carlson at a Citizenship Day party was an inspired way to open the observance of Constitution Week, a period to remind us what a precious possession citizenship is. Mr. Carlson typifies those who do so much with the rights, privileges and duties that go with being an American

To the gift of freedom, he brought the immigrant's adaptability Coming to America from Russia in 1903, he became a wagonmaker. When the horseless carriage made the wagon obsolete, he was willing to change with the times, switching to car manufacturing.

The inventive immigrant and his brother, Philip, founded the Metropolitan Body Co.—an industry that has bolstered the Bridgeport area economy. It was acquired by International Harvester in 1948.

Mr. Carlson's generous nature has led him to support every type of community endeavor. He was named Barnum Festival Ringmaster in 1952, providing that great event with the kind of leadership that has made it better every year. He has worked hard for the University of Bridgeport, which named its library in honor of him and his brother. Their foundation donated $250,000 to the library.

Mr. Carlson has served the City of Bridgeport as a financial advisor. He has supported Jewish causes and community cultural organizations. In business, municipal, civic and religious affairs, he has been a worker and a leader.

Look upon his works, ye humble, and aspire.

It Feels Good To Be Back on This Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, there are not a great many Americans who have the opportunity to gain a new appreciation of our way of life and of our standard of living by comparison with conditions in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. I think that perhaps too many of us are inclined to take our freedoms, our prosperity and all the other blessings of life in America for granted simply because we do not realize the unfortunate lot of human beings who are forced to live under the tyranny of communism.

One American who recently has been privileged to make this comparison, and to thus become aware for perhaps the first time how good it is to be an American, is Ernest Conine. He has recently returned to the Los Angeles Times editorial board as a senior editorial writer after a year abroad covering the Iron Curtain satellite nations out of Vienna.

M. Conine has written a column for the Times entitled "It Feels Good To Be Back on This Side," which appeared in the issue of September 27. I commend it to the reading of Members because, as Mr. Conine states:

An American returning from an extended stay in Communist lands feels something like the war veteran—he has lived through an experience that no one at home can understand.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit Mr. Conine's column for inclusion in the RECORD:

IT FEELS GOOD TO BE BACK ON THIS SIDE
(By Ernest Conine)

Just about everybody from the Presidential candidates on down, is worrying publicly that America is losing her way—that while the Nation grows richer, our moral and spiritual fiber is undergoing a dangerous erosion.

Soul-searching is one of our healthier national pastimes, since it acts as a constant antidote to smugness.

But to a correspondent returning from a year's travel and work in Communist lands, it occurs that this beating of breasts shouldn't be overdone.

The contrast in living standards, here and behind the Iron Curtain, is of course startling.

Despite, a mammoth housing construction program, the average Soviet citizen still lives in a smaller space than the standard set for inmates of Federal prisons in the United States.

While Americans worry about buying that second car for the family, the average resident of Prague rides to work in a crowded, rusty streetcar that frequently breaks down because of the electric power shortage.

The U.S. housewife ponders whether to serve meat or fish for dinner. Behind the Iron Curtain, she often must trek from store to store to find either one.

Although living conditions are gradually improving, it remains true that no Communist country has managed yet to provide a decent standard of living for its people.

More startling, however, is the contrast in the quality and tone of life in the two worlds.

An American returning from an extended stay in Communist lands feels something like the war veteran—he has lived through an experience that no one at home can understand.

How can you explain how good it feels that your hotel room is not bugged? That you can stop a stranger on the street without arousing the suspicious interest of the police? That you can drive from Los Angeles to New York without anyone's permission? That you can leave the country and live somewhere else if you don't like it?

How can you explain that Communist lands are ugly and depressing in a way that almost defies description?

A recent incident illustrates the point.

Shortly before leaving Vienna, this writer drove across the Czech frontier with an American friend who has lived in Western Europe for a decade, but had never ventured behind the Iron Curtain. Like many Europeans, he was convinced that Americans, especially newspapermen, exaggerate the horrors of life under communism.

When we saw dilapidated houses in the Czech city of Bratislava, he pointed out that he had seen worse in Vienna's slums—overlooking the fact we were driving through the Bel-Air of Bratislava.

The people were dressed poorly. But so are many Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Americans. Service in restaurants was lackadaisical—but isn't it everywhere?

After a few hours, however, the wall of preconceived notions began to crack.

As we got into our car outside a restaurant, almost within sight of free Austria, a Czech approached and asked timidly if we had a newspaper—"any newspaper"—from the "outside."

When we drove through the crowded downtown streets, the writer's companion fidgeted uneasily and asked, "Why is everything so quiet?" For, it is a fact that in Communist cities, the hum of life is muted—children play quietly, and their elders exchange few words on the streets.

A little later the visitor added, "Why don't they use a coat of paint, here and there?" The answer is simply that Communist economic planners are interested in production, not in beauty. Paint is an expendable luxury.

Once back in Austria, the American heaved a sigh of relief and said quietly but firmly, "It feels good to be back on this side."

Exactly.

Americans should be concerned to live up to our own ideals. But there should never be any doubt that the superiority of our system over communism rests on something other than shiny tailfins.

Problems and Programs for Appalachia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, my district in Baltimore City is far removed from the mountains of Appalachia and only a small portion of our State is within the Appalachian region. Yet we are all members of one great nation and each of us must depend upon his fellow Americans to maintain a decent level of employment, production and prosperity throughout the country.

There is no doubt that many people within the 11 States comprising the Appalachian region are living in poverty to an extent few of us realize. As a matter of fact, I do not believe most people stop to think that this area covers 165,000 square miles and has a population of 15.3 million people.

Decreases in mining and agriculture employment have added several hundred thousand Appalachians to the ranks of the jobless in the last 15 years, and the problems have grown more serious through neglect of concentrated effort in this region. Attempts at solutions to the problems of Appalachia have already been made on four levels; by individuals, by local groups, by communities and by each of the States. However, I think the time has come when we must support a joint effort, spearheaded by the Federal Government, if this area is to reach the degree of productivity of which it is capable. The so-called Appalachian regional development act is designed for this purpose and I am hopeful that the Members of the House will support this measure so that it can be enacted into law before the 88th Congress adjourns.

Mr. Ernest V. Baugh, an editorial writer for the Sunpapers and one of the most distinguished newspapermen in my State, has recognized the merit and desirability of this legislation proposed by the administration. I urge my colleagues to give careful consideration to his excellent commentary on the problems of the Appalachian region:

APPALACHIA IN MARYLAND
(By Ernest V. Baugh)

The Maryland section of Appalachia is not large, in Appalachia as a whole. It contains less than 1 percent of the 165,000 square miles in the mountain region stretching from lower New York to upper Alabama and Georgia. In terms of Maryland, though, it is large; its 1,567 square miles represent more than 15 percent of the State's total area.

In population the Maryland section of Appalachia has slightly less than 1.3 percent of the mountain region's 15.3 million residents. But Maryland's Appalachia accounts for about 6.3 percent of the State's population.

Washington, Allegany and Garrett Counties, which make up Maryland's Appalachia, are not in the Atlantic coast corridor, with its population explosion and economic expansion. Western Maryland in a sense is far away, reaching as it does into the Mississippi watershed. In easy labels, Maryland is a coastal, not a mountain, State and its economy has a tidewater base.

Back in Colonial times and well into the 19th century the people in the urban areas along the coast considered the Appalachians something to get through on the way to new, developing western lands, not a place to settle in.

George Washington's road pioneering through western Maryland was done solely to establish a trade route to the Ohio River. He took the path he did, not because he liked Appalachia, but because the Narrows at Cumberland provided a slash through part of the mountains.

It was to open up the new West that the Federal Government built the National road in the early part of the last century. As for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, their names indicate their goals and those goals were not in the mountains. True the canal did not get beyond Cumberland but only because the railroad could do the job of passing through the mountains quicker and better.

Later came the exploitation of Appalachia's natural resources, primarily coal. This brought people into the mountains to remain, not to pass through. But the boom was based on an extractive economy and when the natural resources were depleted hard times came.

True, there was some industry but not enough to absorb the unemployment pool. People began to drift away; the area generally became depressed, except in a few of the urban spots where manufacturing had flourished. What is the answer?

There has been much talk about turning large areas of Appalachia into recreation centers. Steps toward that end have long since been taken in the Maryland section; witness the big State forests and parks and the development around Garrett County's Deep Creek Lake. However, some of those who have become experts in Appalachia's problems hold that recreation is not the answer, that the best promise rests in an expansion in manufacturing.

Here again western Maryland has not been sitting on its hands. Manufacturing has expanded, particularly in the Hagerstown and Cumberland areas. According to a recent report western Maryland accounts for 8 percent of the State's manufacturing employment, a figure that runs higher than its share in the State's population.

Appalachia, along with the rest of the country, has shared in Federal aid programs; unemployment relief, retraining, forest rehabilitation, attacks on stream pollution, highway construction and so forth. Now, if the House approves the Senate-passed administration bill for a $1.6 billion relief and rehabilitation program, Appalachia will be given a special uplift.

The time is ripe for such an uplift and, parochial though it may be to say so, particularly in our section of the mountain areas. The people up there have done a lot on their own to raise the economic level in the three counties; with a proper boost from the outside they could go much further and much faster—western Maryland is not without assets for development.

Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, Representative WALTER NORBLAD was a good friend of mine and his wife was a good friend of my wife. We were terribly distressed to hear the sad news about WALTER. He was not only an alert, able, and distinguished Member of Congress with a great record, but on top of that he had a most engaging personality. Just being in his company was a lot of fun. We shall miss him and extend to his family our deepest sympathy.

Tribute to Speaker McCormack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, our Speaker has received many tributes, all deservedly, and I am happy to record one more. On Sunday, September 27, my good friend, Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno spoke to a gathering of 4,000 people at the Italian Fall Festival in Mitchellville, Md., where tribute was paid to Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK for action he had taken in saving their parish church, the Holy Rosary Church, from destruction. The Speaker was to have been present himself but other commitments made impossible his participation in the festivities, but Justice Musmanno conveyed the Speaker's greetings to the congregation. I ask unanimous consent to have Justice Musmanno's speech on that occasion printed in the RECORD because, in addition to the justice's remarks on the saving of the church, he spoke of the crusade which the Speaker and he waged from the earliest days against the scourge of communism.

Justice Musmanno's speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate Vagnozzi, Father Joseph, pastor of Holy Rosary Church, Father Dominick, assistant pastor, friends: I bring you personal greetings from a great American, an illustrious statesman, a crusader for justice, a lover of humanity, a champion of the Holy Rosary Church and all its parishioners, the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK. I have known Speaker MCCORMACK for 35 years and I am proud to say that we together were battling against communism long before most of the country realized its menace to American democratic institutions, its criminal conspiracy to overthrow our Government by force and violence, and its atheistic assault on religion.

A Russian astronaut said recently, after a flight through space, that there could be no God because he didn't see Him as he circled the earth. A more arrogantly stupid remark it would be impossible to fashion from the weirdest of imaginations. Why, God was everywhere about him. That capsule of his could never have remained aloft were it not for God's will. As that Russian astronaut hurtled through the celestial vaults at thousands of miles per minute, as he watched the stars, satellites, comets, and meteors whirling in their heavenly orbits, as he witnessed the sunbeams bathing the whole planetary system with golden light, as he took in the boundlessness of infinity with its galaxies, constellations, and astronomical latitudes and longitudes, did it not occur to him that this could not be, except for Almighty God

whose supreme intelligence directs the orderliness of the universe?

I want to join with you in thanking Speaker McCormack for his valiant intervention which resulted in saving your Holy Rosary Church from destruction. Nothing can be more sacred to a devout person than his church. It is more than a house for prayer and worship; it is a ship on which one books passage for the eternal voyage which will reunite him with all the loved ones that have gone before. During the war I saw many churches shelled by artillery, blasted by grenades and razed by airplane bombs. One of the supreme joys for me in the ending of the war was the realization that no longer would churches be crushed between conflicting engines of destruction. And yet, a church can be demolished even in peacetimes, and your lovely church had been condemned to demolition because a highway, known as the Beltway, was to be built right through it.

Speaker McCormack decided to look into the situation. This highway was being built by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia who come under the jurisdiction of Congress. Speaker McCormack called in the Commissioners and, because of what he said and did, the church was saved.

The Commissioners immediately changed the course of the road, the bulldozers slunk away, the wreckers beat a retreat, and our house of God remained serene and untouched in all its architectural grace and spiritual exhaltation.

And so the Holy Rosary Church continues to lift its steeple to the heavens, in benediction to all its parishioners and in expression of gratitude to that defender of churches, that nemesis of Communists, one of the greatest Speakers that ever graced the rostrum in the U.S. Congress, the Honorable John W. McCormack.

The Hayward Morning News Begins Publication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure and pride that I announce the beginning of publication of a fine new newspaper in California's Ninth Congressional District. I am referring to the Hayward Morning News which will serve Hayward, Castro Valley, and southern Alameda County, and is published every day except Sunday. The publisher is Mr. Abe Kofman, one of the most distinguished publishers and businessmen of California. His talented staff includes Mort Kofman, assistant publisher, and Harre DeMoro, editor.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that the newspaper is especially fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. DeMoro as its editor. Although young in years, Mr. DeMoro has enjoyed a productive career as one of our most thoughtful columnists and newspaper reporters.

I have had a number of communications from constitutents living in the area to be served by the Hayward Morning News, expressing their delight and pleasure that Mr. Kofman has commenced publication. It will be a hard-hitting, independent, and progressive journal in the tradition of the great free newspapers of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the Hayward Morning News will enjoy success and long life, and I offer the editors and the staff my heartiest congratulations.

Help for Narcotics Addicts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, just 2 years ago, Robert J. Driver, a resident of Solana Beach, in San Diego County, Calif., organized a group of San Diego citizens to stimulate community interest and raise the money necessary to establish a center for the treatment of drug addiction in San Diego.

Driver himself is addicted only by a desire to serve his fellowman. His family background is one of active participation in the business and social communities of the city, dynamic support of their political party and of their church.

At the time of his initial interest in the potentially heartbreaking problem of narcotics addiction, Driver was 24 years old, married to his high school sweetheart and the father of two boys. He was securely employed in an insurance corporation bearing his father's name.

A pragmatically religious man, Driver says he was motivated by an interest in the dynamics of goal-directed groups, but his subsequent involvement indicates an empathy with people and a feeling of personal obligation for their welfare.

Initial investigation of the symptoms of the disease indicated to Driver that medical, penal, sociological, and neuropsychiatric authorities were generally agreed that there could be no lasting cure.

Driver, however, heard of a group of voluntarily withdrawn addicts in Santa Monica who were successfully avoiding the use of drugs or narcotics through a program of self-administered discipline and specifically adapted group psychotherapy. This movement—calling itself "Synanon"—first came to national attention through the interest and efforts of U.S. Senator Thomas Dodd, of Connecticut.

After visiting the group's headquarters in Santa Monica, young Driver was convinced that their program, though still in its formative stage, was of conceivable value to the San Diego community.

It was then that Driver organized the Sponsors of Synanon in San Diego. His first recruits were his sister, Sandra Driver, and an assistant district attorney, Norbert Ehrenfreund.

Driver organized speaking committees within the group as it grew to contact San Diego service clubs and organizations expressing interest. At first Driver filled most of the speaking engagements himself.

Interest in the Sponsors of Synanon was faltering and erratic, but enough money was raised to secure a large house in which the addicted members of Synanon could live and work toward physical and social rehabilitation.

This was a little over 2 years ago.

Today, five houses are used for the various Synanon functions in San Diego. The group has a small fleet of vehicles donated by citizens and service groups at the suggestion of the Sponsors of Synanon. One hundred and fifty addicts are undergoing treatment in San Diego.

The Sponsors of Synanon have raised better than $40,000 a year for the last 2 years to support the program. Some of San Diego's leading citizens are now members of Driver's group, among them Mrs. C. Arnholt Smith, Frank Alessio, and Councilwoman Helen Cobb.

Early next year the Synanon members, guided by the Sponsors of Synanon, will assume the full-time operation of a profitmaking goods and services facility here. They are already engaged in a small manufacturing endeavor, working toward the goal of their founder, Chuck Dederich:

It has always been the feeling that an organization whose philosophy is based on self-reliance must one day be self-reliant.

When this self-reliance occurs in San Diego and throughout the country it will be due in large part to groups like the Sponsors of Synanon, and the dedication of people like Robert J. Driver.

Texas and Peru: Partners for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, a group of distinguished Texans have just returned from Peru where they represented the Texas Partners of the Alliance for Progress. Along with other States, Texans have alined themselves together in an organization known as the Texas Partners of the Alliance and have associated themselves with a like group from the Republic of Peru to carry out the purposes of the Alliance for Progress on a nongovernmental basis.

On Thursday, August 20, my colleague, the Honorable Bob Casey, inserted in the Congressional Record an excellent article from the Houston Post about this group, and I would like to supplement this insertion by including in my remarks a resolution adopted by the Texas Rehabilitation Association expressing its faith in and its support of the Alliance for Progress:

Resolution of the Texas Rehabilitation Association

Inasmuch as the Texas Rehabilitation Association is guided by the principle of helping troubled people to become self-reliant

and free of the burden of being dependent; and

Whereas the Government of the United States recognizes its obligation to assist underdeveloped areas over the world to achieve economic and personal freedom; and

Whereas the various governments of the Western Hemisphere have recognized a common interest in the needs and the stability of one another and have banded together in an Alliance for Progress to achieve hemispheric stability; and

Whereas a group of citizens of Texas have alined themselves together in an organization known as the Texas Partners of the Alliance and have associated themselves with a like group from the Republic of Peru to carry out the purposes of the Alliance for Progress on a nongovernmental basis: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Texas Rehabilitation Association express its faith in and its support of the Alliance for Progress and express its approval of and a continuing interest in the Texas Partners of the Alliance to the end that hemispheric solidarity may be furthered and the people of the Western Hemisphere may be helped in their struggle for economic and personal freedom.

DAVID WADE, M.D.,
President.

What Democracy Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, each year I sponsor an essay contest for high school students in the Eighth District of New Jersey which I have the honor of representing in this body. This year a young man named Adrian Van Soelen, of Haledon, N.J., a freshman at Paterson Technical and Vocational High School, was selected the winner by a board of judges. The prize was a 3-day trip to the Nation's Capital under my sponsorship. Adrian's essay follows:

WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS TO ME

(By Adrian Van Soelen)

To me democracy means freedom to live where I please and to wander and travel without restrictions. I can travel anywhere in the free world in peace and comfort and I can think my own thoughts and say what is on my mind.

To me democracy should mean more than to many others because I have not always lived in the United States. My parents and I are originally from the Netherlands. During the Hungarian revolution in 1954, my father decided to come here in fear that the Communists would occupy Holland like the Germans did during World War II.

I was about 8 years old but I still remember when we arrived in the United States. The first thing I discovered, which I never encountered in Holland, was that the apartment next to us housed a German family; in the apartment below lived an Italian family; in the house across the street lived a Polish couple.

In school and in the streets they would greet us as if we were fellow Americans. Although I could not undertsand them, a language barrier cannot hid a warm, friendly face. Right there and then we had a warm feeling of security; we knew we were wanted and we were not merely foreigners. Thus I realized the value of democracy. I could enter any school I wished and my parents could do any work they pleased.

It is hard to write about democracy because it is all around us. Writing about democracy is like writing about trees; it would get pretty monotonous naming and listing the various kinds, shapes, and sizes.

To me democracy means only one thing. One word can describe it: "freedom." The way God wants it.

One Draftee's Contribution to the Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Universal Military Training Act has never been a very popular law, but it is a necessary one to insure that our country has well-trained citizens to protect it in times of war or national emergency.

Thousands of young men are drafted every year to serve their military obligation. Some serve with honor and distinction and still others decide to follow a military career, but most of these young servicemen lead uneventful lives and follow established procedures until they are discharged.

We in Baltimore are very proud of a young doctor from our city who went into the Army with ideas of his own, and has been cited for his outstanding service in Korea. The Baltimore Sun recently told the story of Capt. Stephen S. Leavitt and under unanimous consent I place that article at this point in the RECORD. I think it can serve as an inspiration to other young men who still have their military obligation ahead of them.

The article follows:

FROM BALTIMORE TO KOREA: DR. LEAVITT SHOWED WHAT NEW MAN CAN DO TO IMPROVE THE ARMY

Ever wonder what a young draftee could do to improve the fighting effectiveness of the U.S. Army?

If, like most people, you are of a practical set, you probably say "don't be silly."

A young Baltimore doctor who just finished a tour of duty in Korea, however, did go into the Army with the idea of changing things, and his efforts were both effective and appreciated.

He is Capt. Stephen S. Leavitt, a 25-year-old City College graduate, the son of attorney Robert Leavitt, 100 West Cold Spring Lane.

The young Baltimorean was assigned as a battalion surgeon and medical platoon leader of a unit stationed near enemy lines in Korea.

"His platoon was understrength, short of equipment and working under unsatisfactory conditions," his commanding officer, Lt. Col. Lyle H. Wright, noted in his recommendation for the award.

"He immediately set about to organize * * *," Lieutenant Colonel Wright continued.

Two months after his arrival in Korea, he received the equipment he had requested, including front line ambulances, armored personnel carriers, and other equipment foreign to him.

"He established a training program that enabled himself and his men to learn vehicular maintenance, field operations, and other unfamiliar subjects not ordinarily the concern of a medical doctor.

"He wrote standard operating procedures and other documents that prepared his platoon for duty under garrison or combat conditions.

"All this he did in a magnificent manner while simultaneously attending to the medical needs of approximately 1,100 personnel."

Lieutenant Colonel Wright then mentioned one of the Baltimore doctor's grandest projects, a field medical demonstration that was attended by all commanders and surgeons of the division.

Korean civilians also came to recognize the achievements of Captain Leavitt, his commanding officer pointed out.

FAVORABLE COMMENT

"His attempts to improve the local sanitary and medical standards have been extremely successful and have brought favorably comments from many local (Korean) officials.

"Captain Leavitt's conduct has been such as to set him apart from his contemporaries," the Army document said, noting that "while accomplishing all this, Dr. Leavitt still found time to publish professional articles and conduct research in diseases common to Korea, which will prove beneficial to other medical officers."

Military and civilian personnel who came in contact with him came to call him "the soldiers' doctor."

"His outstanding performance reflects great credit upon himself, the 1st Cavalry Division and the U.S. Army," says the citation.

What does the young Baltimore doctor say of all this recognition?

"I had a very considerate commanding officer."

Congressman John E. Fogarty Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHIL M. LANDRUM
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. JOHN E. FOGARTY, has been cited over the years for his many achievements in health and welfare. The legislative record of his Subcommittee on Appropriations and his personal sponsorship of legislation have identified him with a number of significant advances in these important fields.

Of increasing importance is the work that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] has been doing in behalf of the cause of education. As the membership of this body well knows, he has been identified with programs for handicapped children, vocational education, library services, aid to federally affected areas, and the appropriations of the National Defense Education Act. He has been particularly effective in his research program in the field of education. His work in furthering the research and development programs of the Office of Education was recently recognized by the Air Force Association. On September 9, 1964, he received the Citation of Honor presented by the Air Force Association at its 18th national convention held in Washington. I am pleased at this time

to insert the wording of the citation presented to Mr. FOGARTY and also to call to everyone's attention his remarks upon acceptance of this award.

CITATION OF HONOR

Air Force Association pays tribute to JOHN E. FOGARTY, Member of Congress, Second District, Rhode Island, for pioneering efforts and legislative leadership in establishing Federal support for educational research and development as the cornerstone of future progress.

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY, OF RHODE ISLAND, ON RECEIVING THE CITATION OF HONOR OF THE AEROSPACE EDUCATION FOUNDATION

It is with the deepest appreciation that I accept your Citation of Honor here today. I do so with keen awareness that in recognizing my own efforts in Congress on behalf of educational research, you are rightfully recognizing one of the long-needed, long-neglected, and truly essential foundations for the future of American education.

A few weeks ago, President Johnson said that "the first work of our times and the first work of our society is education." He spoke of the present 88th Congress as the education Congress and outlined its many legislative acts for education, for libraries, and higher education, for medical education and vocational training, for teaching the handicapped and reaching the poor, and for research into better ways and means of improving the whole learning process from the primary on to the postgraduate school.

Never has so much been expected of education as today. We seek to educate and prepare our youth for a day of profound technological and social and global challenge. We seek to create in fact the universal education we have long promised ourselves, an equality of educational opportunity for all our people, whoever they are and wherever they live.

But what we expect from education must clearly be equaled by what we give to education, the quality of minds, as well as the quantity of funds we allot to its basic research. No one knows better than you, who represent the most far-reaching scientific accomplishments of history, that we can only take out at one end of the channel what we put in at the other.

In accepting your citation, I wish I could say that educational research is now well underway, that we have fully met our responsibility to support and encourage it. Unfortunately, this is not true. Instead, in educational research we are only at the beginning.

Since the end of World War II we have seen an enormous growth in the research funds of industry and of government. America's industries now devote up to 10 percent of their gross revenues to research—and more than that to product development. Throughout our economy we now spend more than $18 billion on research and development every year.

But what of education? What do we now devote to research and development for the improvement of our schools?

American education today is America's largest enterprise. It embraces 125,000 schools, 47 million elementary and secondary pupils, 1,800,000 teachers. On all levels of education today, we spend $34 billion annually.

Out of these $34 billion we spend on education, we devote only $72 million to research and development—only one-fifth of 1 percent of our educational funds to this task which lies at the heart of knowledge and of human development.

But this is a beginning. Back in 1960, only 4 years ago, our national allotment for educational research was $33 million. It has doubled since then. Back in 1960, one of the most vital areas of basic educational research—the Office of Education's cooperative research program—was budgeted at $3 million. Today, these funds have increased to about $16 million or more than fivefold the 1960 level.

With this modest beginning we are now starting to see new and promising prospects. The cooperative research program is now recruiting some of the best minds in education to examine some of the basic problems which have long hampered education.

It is exploring new ways to detect and discover talented youth in the arts and humanities as well as the sciences.

It is seeking new and better ways to teach our English language in a Nation that can no longer afford illiteracy anywhere or any place.

It is searching out methods of teaching the mentally retarded and the handicapped to the limit of their capacities.

It is investigating better means of teaching and of learning in a day of ever-expanding knowledge.

And it is testing out these findings in new proving grounds for education, at university centers where the best of research may be soundly examined and developed and then transmitted to our schools.

Through this emerging pattern, I see our great opportunity to give to education a prospect of fulfilling the great expectations we have of education in the years to come.

Arizona Publisher Finds Barry Goldwater Wanting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, there is a natural inclination for people to be proud when a man from one's own home State is a presidential candidate of one of the two great political parties.

The candidate receives from his fellow State citizens a little more patience, a little more understanding and a little less criticism than might be extended to a candidate who comes from somewhere else.

It is then highly significant when opinion leaders begin to call for the defeat of their own State's candidate.

This is happening today in Arizona. In August, Lewis W. Douglas, who has served as Arizona Congressman, U.S. Budget Director, and former Ambassador to Great Britain, announced his support of President Johnson. Mr. Douglas had supported his lifelong friend BARRY GOLDWATER for the Senate in 1952 and 1958. And he had supported the Republican presidential nominees in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

Surveys have revealed there is a good probability that President Johnson will carry the State against native son, BARRY GOLDWATER. Perhaps what is happening is this: No matter how popular Senator GOLDWATER may be as an individual, many citizens of Arizona have waited and listened and have found him wanting as a man who should be leading this Nation from the White House.

In this regard, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the editorial of September 27, 1964, by William R. Mathews, the distinguished publisher of the Arizona Daily Star, Tucson. Mr. Mathews is a fairminded, deeply studious, and tremendously experienced observer of the State, National, and international scenes.

With great care Mr. Mathews has taken the measure of Senator GOLDWATER and President Johnson. He finds in President Johnson outstanding ability for leadership, for understanding, and for hard work. He finds in Senator GOLDWATER a dismaying lack of statesmanship and an inability to come forth with a program to meet the truly challenging problems of today's world.

Mr. Mathews finds himself unable to do other than to call upon the people of Arizona to vote for President Johnson. The editorial follows:

THE STAR ENDORSES FOR PRESIDENT—

(By William R. Mathews)

When Senator BARRY GOLDWATER was nominated as the Republican candidate for President, the Star openly rejoiced that a native son of Arizona, of a family of such humble origin, should rise to be nominated for President by one of the two great political parties of our country. It could not help admiring him for winning the nomination in the face of the opposition of organized finance in the East, organized labor, organized Negroes, organized education, and Santa Claus himself.

As a matter of fairness, the Star decided to wait and see how BARRY would measure up as a candidate. The Star prides itself on being conservative, and a champion of a free society. It hoped that possibly once he was nominated, BARRY would come forth with a true conservative program, not only in the domestic field, but in the field of international relations.

The Star has waited patiently to see some evidence of the statesmanship a candidate for President should show. Although it has openly endorsed L.B.J., it was ready to give the breaks to a friend and a native son of Arizona.

In the Star's opinion BARRY has failed patheticqlly to measure up to what it expects of a candidate for President. He appears more and more as a synthetic candidate merely parroting the words that some other folks put in his mouth. Of course, he has pleased the old fat cats of the country with his plan to reduce income taxes by 25 percent. Of course, he has pleased millions of Democrats in the South with his civil rights record. Of course, he pleases millions of other people with his cracks at L.B.J. and McNamara.

On the other hand, he has dismayed the Star by confirming what the Star has said for many years, that he is entirely too reckless in foreign policy. He has been downright politically stupid in raising a fuss over who had the authority to use nuclear weapons. He has scared millions of voters with this needless debate over semantics.

He had a chance to come forward and arouse enthusiasm by becoming the Nation's No. 1 champion of a free society, laying a base for Republican Party strategy for all time. But that would have meant that he would have had to educate the public to the duties and responsibilities of a free society, as well as the benefits. Evidently he does not know, and neither does any of the advisers and speech writers that surround him, what a free society is or the responsibilities it calls for.

His record so far furnishes proof that he is lacking in the qualities that a President should have. He is surrounded by a coterie

of advisers who are as ignorant as he is of what it takes to make a free society successful.

The Star has no other alternative than to stick with Lyndon Johnson. Some 10 months ago, when he became President upon the assassination of President Kennedy, he rose magnificiently to meet the desperate situation that faced the Nation. Within a matter of hours he began a record that has won the acclamation of millions of Republicans and has stirred the pride of Democrats. Quickly he won the confidence of the nations abroad. Here was a President unafraid to make decisions.

Faithfully, and with astonishing success, he chose to support and implement the Kennedy legislative program. He became a president of all of the people, regardless of race, color, or religion.

But some folks ask, what about L.B.J.'s record in Texas? The Star's answer to that is that is old stuff. Within the past few weeks there has been a primary election in Arizona where two contenders ran so close that first one and then the other was leading. As recently as September 23 the declared winner won by 75 votes. It took nearly 2 weeks to determine the final official count.

Yes, there is a book written by a Texan on L.B.J. The Star has received four copies of it. It is completely useless to argue about the past life of L.B.J., when he has made a great historical record during the past 10 months. That he has been so successful comes in part because he is a professional politician, just as Harry Truman was one. But such experience would be comparatively valueless unless there were born in him other qualities of moral courage and native intelligence that enabled him to take the country out of a tailspin and make a safe landing.

Never has a President worked harder. In fact, he causes some alarm among his friends, who think he works too hard. Anyway, the country is prosperous, and on the whole, peaceful. The nations abroad have confidence in L.B.J. The only real trouble is in Vietnam, a situation that Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson inherited from a Republican administration. In the past, when Johnson was in the Senate, he made a notable record of supporting the foreign policies of President Eisenhower. His qualities as a statesman, which he shows as President today, have grown in part out of that experience.

The Star believes that the people of Arizona will be wise to vote for L.B.J. for President.

Barry's Hometown in Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following very interesting newspaper article by Mr. Haynes Johnson published in the Washington Evening Star of Tuesday, September 29, 1964:

PHOENIX REFLECTS STRUGGLE OF CAMPAIGN

(By Haynes Johnson)

PHOENIX, ARIZ.—From Paradise Valley where BARRY GOLDWATER's desert home, "Be Nun I Kin," stands, to East Broadway, south of the Salt River and the railroad tracks, is only a matter of miles.

Yet measured in terms of attitudes and philosophies of government, it is a million light-years away.

The extreme disparity between these two sections helps to explain the fundamental differences that separate the Goldwater conservatives from their opponents. It also illuminates the deep emotions and the bitterness that lie beneath the surface of the presidential campaign of 1964.

HISTORIC STRUGGLE

Phoenix, in miniature, adds further proof that this national election represents a historic struggle over the very nature of the role of Government in the United States.

North of Phoenix, where GOLDWATER lives, represents wealth, country clubs, gracious entertaining, a devout belief in the tenets of the supposed rugged individualism of the pioneers and a yearning to return to the days of laissez faire.

South Phoenix represents poverty, squalor, poor housing, poor schools, despair, crime and discontented citizens, whose spokesmen demand aggressive Government action.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

The Goldwater supporters, with the fervor that marks their efforts everywhere, say local initiative is the answer to any difficulties. Any other remedy comes close to "socialism."

They point to the example of BARRY GOLDWATER himself. In the rise from merchant to millionaire, the Goldwater family personifies the virtues of free enterprise.

The Goldwaters, one is told, are the kind of people who transformed a desert into a shining modern metropolis. And the dream has not ended—Phoenix continues to grow and prosper.

But with the growth have come problems.

"I always thought of myself as a conservative," said a businessman who came here from the East. "To me a conservative is a man who acts with caution, who operates out of reason with a logical plan which conserves what is best in the past while continuing to move forward.

"NOT MY KIND

"But these Goldwater people aren't my kind of conservatives. They don't seem to believe in any kind of government. And that's just what we have in Phoenix. No government."

He said Phoenix has no urban renewal plan, no housing code, no housing authority.

"I wish somebody would come out here and do a study and really show the country just what the Goldwater brand of conservatism means in terms of government—local government right here in Phoenix," he said.

Then, typically, he asked not to be quoted by name. "I'm not a coward," he said, "but I'm not going to do any good by being identified. I'll just be called socialistic."

The Reverend George Brooks is not so hesitant about being quoted.

Mr. Brooks, a Negro, is the president of the NAACP branch in Phoenix. He lives off East Broadway—the slum section inhabited by the majority of the 25,000 Negroes in Phoenix. In that same general area are most of the city's 65,000 Mexican-Americans.

"THE BIGGEST LIE

"The biggest lie that's ever been perpetrated on America is the lie that Phoenix doesn't have any problems," Brooks said. "We have many problems. Wherever you have poor housing such as you have here, you have problems.

"Mr. GOLDWATER says we have no problems, but indeed Phoenix parades under a banner of conservatism which is a coverup for a system of denials and discrimination and which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Why the wage scale in this town is atrocious. There are grown men working for 75 cents an hour."

He had begun speaking very slowly, with long pauses, choosing his words carefully and enunciating precisely. As he talked, his language became louder, his manner more aggressive.

Within minutes he was in a car, pointing out the sights of the slums: Shacks and shanties, litter and junk, dirt roads with ruts and rocks.

At the 40th Street School, the 174 Negro children—there are no whites—were playing in the yard while Mervyn Lakey, 32, the principal, escorted the visitor through the building.

"We need a completely new plant," he was saying, "to include what our leaders here call 'frills'—music, physical education, a cafeteria where the children can have a hot lunch, a library."

At present the students bring their sandwiches and either eat them at their desks or in the yard. A favorite place is inside a large concrete pipe on the grounds.

The school was built by the WPA in the 1930's.

Lakey, tall, light-skinned, spoke without animosity. In this he is typical of so many in Phoenix. Like others, he was lured here from the outside—in his case, Oklahoma—by the prospect of Arizona's storied climate.

Somehow this, too, adds to the soil in which Goldwater conservatism flourishes, for the people here are conservative by nature, even those who will vote for Lyndon Johnson this November.

MIGRATED TO ARIZONA

Without any attempt at scientific selection, the people one talks to all seem to have migrated to Arizona. They are from everywhere in the country, and if there is a common denominator it seems to be of a negative sort: They came here to get away from something.

With many it is the weather. Others come to such retirement communities as Sun City, where they are among their own—a group largely well-to-do—untroubled by such issues as pensions and hospitalization costs for the elderly.

Then there are those who have come out of a sense of protest at the life they knew, or thought they knew.

A businessman, for instance, said with the utmost sincerity that he had left Chicago to escape the Negroes and the high crime rate. That very day the front page of the Phoenix paper carried a two-column box set in boldface type on page 1 quoting the police chief as saying policemen walking their beats on foot have reduced nighttime crime in downtown Phoenix.

"Police have received favorable comments from merchants in the area, who have noticed fewer drunks, vagrants, and associated problems," the chief said. "Strong-arm robberies also have been reduced."

SEEMS TOSSUP

The presidential election is arousing wide attention, but it is impossible to predict the outcome in Phoenix. The most that can be said is that GOLDWATER is by no means universally popular. Here, it seems to be a tossup.

"It's all liar's dice," one man said. "The people won't really tell you how they're going to vote."

When the votes are cast, though, they will give some answers to the political direction of the future. For the real heart of Phoenix and Arizona lies not in Paradise Valley or south of the Salt River.

Like the Nation, it is somewhere in between.

Domestic Water Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, D. E. Skinner, president of the Alaska Steamship Co., recently made an important speech to the Propeller Club of Portland, Oreg. Because I think Mr. Skinner's frank statement regarding domestic water transportation will be of great interest to those in the shipping and shipbuilding industry I am placing the full text of his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

SPEECH BY D. E. SKINNER

You have been kind enough to invite me, representing the Alaska Steamship Co., to discuss with you this evening the current problems of the domestic water transportation industry. I am most appreciative of your interest, and especially to have the opportunity to discuss this subject with an audience as interested and knowledgeable on water transportation problems as this Propeller Club is.

As a longtime member of the Propeller Club of the United States, my company has supported this club's efforts to improve the U.S. merchant marine and tell its story to the nonmaritime segment of the American public. We are particularly conscious of the fine leadership under your national president, Adm. Ralph E. Wilson (retired).

Many of you may not be too familiar with the job performed by Alaska Steam. The Alaska Steamship Co. is the oldest continuous operator in the domestic, noncontiguous trade between Puget Sound and Alaska. We are now in our 69th year. We regularly serve familiar ports such as Ketchikan, Juneau, Seward, and Kodiak. We also serve 60 other ports with more unfamiliar names, such as Egegik, Ugashik, Ouzinkie, Metlakatla, Unalakleet, and Kotzebue. Of these 60-odd ports, other common carriers serving Alaska actually go to a maximum of three—not that they can't serve more if they want to. We have shared in Alaska's progress from territory to statehood, commencing service 18 years before Alaska's first Territorial Legislature. We were providing service during the great eruption of Mount Katmai in 1912. More recently we were directly involved in the catastrophic earthquake and resultant tidal wave last March. One of our vessels, SS *Chena*, a 10,000-ton Liberty, was hurled over the pier at Valdez, and as a direct result of the superior response of her officers and crew, and the man upstairs, the vessel was able to get back to deep water. I merely mention these two incidents to point out that not all of our troubles in Alaska have been involved with labor unions, regulatory agencies, politicians, a seasonal one-way trade, small docks, no docks, winter ice, summer heat, heavy seas, and the sex life of a salmon.

In the interest of time and continuity, I have been asked to limit my comments to the domestic trade generally, and the noncontiguous area of Alaska specifically. Occasionally I must make reference to the more rewarding offshore trade for purposes of contrast only. Much of what I have to say is not new for those of you who have actively participated in this business. However, I would hope to raise some questions and make some suggestions that will cause you to look at the many problems that exist in a different light.

As you know, the bible for our industry is the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 as amended, and certain related shipping statutes. These acts have been passed for the purpose of aiding the development, promotion, and operation of an American merchant marine adequate to carry the Nation's domestic water commerce and a substantial portion of its foreign commerce during peacetime, and capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency. How successful has this policy been?

I do not believe today that the domestic fleet is adequate to carry the Nation's domestic water commerce, and certainly 9 percent does not constitute a substantial portion of its foreign shipments. If what has taken place in the last 28 years continues, I have little hope that this Nation will receive much support from the domestic water carrier in case of a national emergency. Unlike the offshore operators who received $312 million in construction and operating subsidies, we of the dometsic trade do not now, nor ever have, received any kind of financial Government support. This has not been true throughout the years to competitive domestic carriers in the fields of air, highway, or rail.

In order to support the shipbuilding industry in this country, the domestic carrier is prohibited from building or buying any ship built in a yard outside of the United States. This policy may have been necessary 20, 30, or 40 years ago, but I believe that it has outlived its usefulness. We need only to look at what has happened to the domestic fleet in the last few years. Twelve years ago, in 1952, there were five combination freight and passenger ships in the domestic fleet. Today there is one. Twelve years ago there were 154 privately owned freighters. Today there are 89. A total fleet of 159 ships excluding tankers has been reduced to 90, operating in this unsubsidized phase of the U.S. merchant marine. Here is a trade, protected from foreign competition by the Jones Act, which has all but disappeared—and what remains is certainly a second-class fleet.

Some of you may point to new tugs and new barges that have been built to replace outmoded self-propelled vessels. I hardly think that this type of carrier would qualify as being capable of serving this country as a first-class naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency.

Who is responsible for the demise of this industry? It must fall on the shoulders of the Federal Government, management and the labor it employs, and not necessarily in that order. Let us briefly examine each of these for the purpose of arriving at a few hopefully constructive and practical suggestions.

GOVERNMENT

All of the rates and practices employed by the domestic carriers are, as you know, regulated by the Federal Maritime Administration and the Federal Maritime Commission. If the condition of this industry is unhealthy, certainly these organizations share in its sickness. For several years the Maritime Commission has complained to Congress that its staff has not been sufficient to keep current with the demands placed upon it. To this we agree. For example, in 1959 an increase in freight rates was filed by each of the common carriers then operating in the Alaska trade. Three and one-half years and one common carrier later, after many expensive and extensive hearings, Maritime approved this increase as follows:

"The proposed rates, charges, tariffs and regulations herein under investigation are just, reasonable and lawful, and therefore, it is ordered that this proceeding is discontinued."

This decision was rendered on May 6, 1963. On April 21, 1964, 15 days short of 1 year and another common carrier later, the Federal Maritime Commission ordered a reopening of this now famous docket No. 881. I can assure you that actions like this by regulatory agencies are burdensome to the carrier and confusing to the public.

To my knowledge no domestic operator has yet been told what it is entitled to earn on its investment. We are of the opinion that each trade area should be singled out by the Commission and advised of its allowable rate of return.

This rate, of course, would vary depending upon the physical and economic conditions as they vary in each area. Without this information, I fail to see how management in this regulated, or for that matter any nonregulated, industry is capable of intelligently planning and conducting its own affairs.

Since statehood, we of the Alaska trade, who have lived under the jurisdiction of the Federal Maritime Commission, are now having to answer to the Interstate Commerce Commission for certain tariffs that involve our company. If life was difficult under one regulatory agency, I am sure it will be even more frustrating, if not impossible, under two. We strongly advocate that the Federal Government determine which one of these two agencies should be responsible for the Alaska area.

All of our rates are meticulously regulated—except the section 22 rates on cargoes of our largest customer, Uncle Sam, where anything goes as long as carriers don't conspire together and as long as rates can be forced lower and lower, even though the result can only be upward pressure on the rates paid by the private businessman. We strongly recommend the discontinuance of section 22 rates.

It has long been accepted by our Federal Government—and most State governments—that when regulation is established for an industry, protection is also established for those regulated, in the form of certificates of convenience and necessity, which impose certain requirements on the industry and in turn prevent the fly-by-night type of competition. This is true of all privately owned public service industries—airlines, rails, trucks, telephone, power, telegraph, intercoastal and coastwise vessels, pipelines, radio and television—except water carriers in the domestic offshore trades. We have the regulation, we alone do not have the certificates.

Last year, then Vice Chairman of the Maritime Commission, now Chairman, Rear Adm. John Harllee, retired, said, "If there is any mediocrity in the maritime fleet today, it is the result of Government lethargy, Government indifference, and labor problems which have beset the entire maritime industry."

LABOR

The primary responsibility, in my opinion, for the group of labor unions with whom we have contracts is to extend its fullest cooperation in the direction of mechanization, automation, or any form of advanced technology that will result in the water carrier again assuming its role of being an efficient and healthy carrier. If management is capable of designing and willing to invest in ships and equipment that will provide for this efficiency, labor is being shortsighted not to encourage it by supporting this effort by action—not merely lipservice.

It is only natural, I suppose, that labor should demand the highest wages and finest working conditions that the industry can afford. It is quite apparent to me, however, that the downfall of the domestic trade is largely due to the fact that labor's demands have forced ship operators to pay wages and fringe benefits that it could not afford. The end result penalizes employer and employee alike. Why has the domestic carrier been unable or unwilling to hold the line? I would be less than candid if I did not express my strong feeling that the wage pattern in the domestic unsubsidized trade is estab-

lished by the offshore subsidized operator with the knowledge and support of the Federal Government that subsidizes him. His willingness to accede to the pyramiding demands of labor over the last 12 years is the most important reason why instead of operating 159 ships employing 6,400 men, the domestic fleet is now comprised of less than 100 ships employing some 4,000 seamen. I fail to see how any segment in our industry has made any substantial gains, and feel quite certain that unless this attitude changes the curve will continue its downward direction: fewer companies, fewer ships, fewer jobs.

MANAGEMENT

What of management? It is by no means relieved of its responsibility in helping to bring about this impossible situation. The unwillingness of ship operators to work together in the interest of stability within the industry is most regrettable. Those managements who allow their traffic departments to do whatever is necessary to get cargo, regardless of harmful effects on the trade, and regardless of the violations to the tariffs, should not be condoned but rather condemned. Backbiting efforts on the part of one operator to create hardships for another, even though they are not serving the same area, are undermining the entire system.

I am sure that if there has been any common reason for the failure of a number of the companies in this trade, it has been because of a lack of ingenuity and willingness to support it. Most of you are aware of the increased movement of railroad cars between the continental limits of the United States or Canada to the State of Alaska. Some of you may remember the effort we made in 1954 to build 2 ships capable of carrying 110 railroad cars plus forty 40-foot trailers. The decision to abandon this project was made after bids had been received and bank financing had been provided which involved an investment of some $23 million. Those ships should have been built in 1954 in U.S. shipyards. Those ships could have been built at that time had we enjoyed a construction subsidy similar to that offered to the offshore carriers. Ten years have passed, and this trade is now being served by a second-class tug and rail barge system capable of an average speed of 8 knots operating out of the United States and Canada, a fleet of World War II built freighters from the United States, and a modern, efficient 18-knot trainship operating out of Canada. The latter, being operated by the Alaska Trainship Corp., you will be able to identify as the *Alaska*. This ship is better known to those of you who read the congressional reports as the *City of New Orleans*. I am still of the opinion that the merchant marine of the United States would be better off if this ship were flying the U.S. flag, rather than that of Liberia. Shipyards in this country claimed that the flag transfer of this ship would have put them out of business. With this I disagree. I fail to see how a shipyard can lose a business it doesn't have. The effort that management has made in this instance and in others involving the use of containers is good evidence of a willingness to do as much as the traffic will bear. Unfortunately this is not enough.

Lest some of you feel that I am against all forms of subsidy, I should like to make the record clear. I do feel the domestic carrier should be encouraged in some way to build new construction with highly automated machinery and the latest in cargo handling equipment, whether it be roll on, roll off, or lift on, lift off. I am definitely against any consideration, even if it were possible, for an operating subsidy. As I have indicated earlier, a subsidy of this kind can only breed inefficiency and lassitude. Many of you are aware of the dramatic strides made by foreign maritime interests. The Japanese are now building several 15,000 ton vessels capable of being manned by 15 men. The Russians contemplate operating a ship in the Black Sea with no one aboard. When the operating subsidy to the offshore operators, which now exceeds $200 million annually, is based on a 15-man crew, not to mention an unmanned vessel, the increase to the U.S. taxpayer will not only be excessive but unnecessary as well.

The rehabilitation or even the salvation of this domestic fleet can only come about through a working partnership made up of management, who must be allowed a fair rate of return on its investment and free to employ the best techniques it can provide; the Federal Government, who must modernize its approach to domestic shipping; and the forces of labor, who must recognize that a few jobs well paid are better than no jobs at all.

New Television Program Depicts Life of Legislator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the public image of the modern politician is not always drawn by a sympathetic hand. Perhaps this is because politics is a controversial area of our society, and its practitioners must expect to be treated harshly from time to time.

It gives me a great deal of satisfaction, therefore, to call this chamber's attention to a depiction of a modern legislator that is at once realistic and sympathetic, that is both fair and discerning. I refer, Mr. Speaker, to the first effort of the television industry to dramatize the life of a lawmaker, in "Slattery's People," seen on the Columbia Broadcasting System's television network.

The leading player in this dramatic series is a young actor whose grasp of a legislator's point of view is remarkable. His name is Richard Crenna, a resident of the great San Fernando Valley which I help to represent here in the House. In his role, Mr. Crenna depicts the minority leader of the lower house of a State legislature. The first drama on the series illustrated the conflict that sometimes arises when a legislator must choose between the interests of his own district and the interests of his State as a whole.

The man chiefly responsible for pioneering into this new arena in television is James E. Moser, another San Fernando Valley resident, who created "Slattery's People" after spending more than 8 months researching the program by working beside legislators in the California State capital of Sacramento. This is typical of Moser's exhaustive approach and concern for realism, which first was noticed in the famous "Dragnet" series of several years ago.

I think that this series and the men responsible for it at Bing Crosby Productions, Inc., deserve a great deal of credit for pioneering into this new dramatic field on television. I am pleased that they have taken the high road to show a legislator's life, and have not pandered to sensationalism or unreality to stimulate an audience following. In an industry that has received its share of criticism for the quality of its product, I am happy to extend this salute to one effort that deserves our respect and praise.

Federal Aid Flow Proves Hays' Critics Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, apparently, from what is going on again, some people never learn. Two years ago the opposition in the campaign against me used the big lie technique by repeating all over eastern Ohio that I had not done anything to help my district economically. The result was that 8 months after the election the following editorial appeared in one of the leading newspapers in the 18th Congressional District, the Martins Ferry-Bellaire Times Leader:

FEDERAL AID FLOW PROVES HAYS' CRITICS WRONG

In the last 18th District congressional campaign, the opponents of Congressman WAYNE L. HAYS charged that he hadn't done much for the district, and that he had overlooked its economic problems while concentrating on foreign affairs.

The charge was ridiculous, and the voters were wise enough, as they usually are, to see through it. As a result, the Congressman was elected to his eighth consecutive term.

Let's look at what's happened since then.

Belmont County is just one of the counties in the district. In just the past 8 months, here are some of the projects in Belmont County alone for which HAYS has been instrumental in getting Federal funds.

Martins Ferry industrial planning, $86,065.
Brookside sewage system, $5,000.
Shadyside water improvement, $280,500.
Powhatan Street improvement, $2,210.
Martins Ferry Post Office, $171,703.
Barnesville waterworks, $604,000.
Barnesville Hospital, $157,148.
Belmont County sewer system, $571,000.
Martins Ferry Hospital, $569,000.
Belmont County Sewer District No. 1, $223,000.

In addition, new post offices will be built in Flushing, Bethesda, and Belmont at a cost of approximately $180,000.

The Warren Township Water Authority, which is partly in Belmont County, has received a loan of $115,000.

HAYS didn't do all these things himself. The communities had to qualify for aid, and then he helped obtain approval.

The efforts of HAYS were also a factor in getting the Interstate Route 70 projects, involving an expenditure of some $20 million (90 percent Federal money), advanced 2 years because the county is an economically depressed area.

Since some of the Congressman's critics raised the point of whether he was sufficiently aware of the district's economic problems, this compilation of the projects he has been associated with is in order.

Sort of proves the voters know what they were doing, doesn't it?

Since the last campaign, the following other projects have been attained through the assistance of my office:

Jefferson County Sewer District No. 1, $6,000.

Columbiana County sewage treatment plant, $270,000.

Lisbon Nursing Home, $200,000.

Adena, Ohio, preliminary planning for sewer facilities, $5,000.

Minerva, Ohio, Carroll County, new topping and widening of streets, $36,500.

St. Clair Township, Columbiana County, sewer facility for several sections of township, $4,780.

Jefferson County sewer facilities, $15,000 advance for preliminary planning.

Flushing, Ohio, extension of water main, relocation of waterplant, new wells, and equipment, $23,000.

Atwood Lake project, Carroll County, three accelerated public works projects totaling grants of $794,000.

Steubenville, Ohio, advance for final planning of sanitary sewerage and draining system, $24,000.

Steubenville housing project, $66,000 advance.

Lock and dam No. 11, Ohio Power Co. located in Brilliant, $125 million project.

Salem City Hospital, $99,000.

Wintersville, Ohio, water pollution control grant, $153,810.

Columbiana County, new sanitary sewerage system for Southeastern Water and Sewage District, $8,710 advance planning.

Belmont Electric Cooperative, St. Clairsville, Ohio, loan from Department of Agriculture, $469,000.

Salem Trade Extension Training School, $7,640.

East Liverpool urban planning program, $86,120 to Ohio Department of Development to aid East Liverpool and Marion in comprehensive planning.

Jefferson County water and sewer projects, Island Creek Township, $3,100; New Alexandria and Overlook Hills, $5,000.

Yorkville, Ohio, flood disaster, $5,830.

The following new post offices either completed or approved for construction:

Bellaire, Ohio; Bloomingdale, Ohio; Dillonvale, Ohio; East Liverpool, Ohio, station A; Freeport, Ohio; Jewett, Ohio; Lafferty, Ohio; Lisbon, Ohio; Mount Pleasant, Ohio; Neffs, Ohio; Richmond, Ohio; Salem, Ohio; Salineville, Ohio; Scio, Ohio; Shadyside, Ohio; Tiltonsville, Ohio; Columbiana, Ohio, addition and remodeling; Steubenville, Ohio, extension and remodeling; Wellsville, Ohio.

Disturbing Reports From Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the recurring reports of a substantial Soviet military buildup in Cuba are most disturbing. I have no private source of information as to the extent, if any, of such increases in Soviet armed forces in Cuba, and I am not privy to the intelligence available to responsible agencies of our Government. The Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, however, often has obtained and made available information as to happenings within the Castro regime which later has been corroborated by official agencies, and I note that a recent report made available by that committee through the editor of Free Cuban News, Paul D. Bethel, states that "the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo is surrounded by Russian bases."

This and other reports, if false, merit prompt denial. If they are true, even in part, they present a most serious new threat to the national security of the United States.

I am asking the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense for information as to the truth or falsity of such reports. In the meantime, I include, for information of the House, the material referred to, disseminated by the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, as follows:

INSIDE CUBA—SOVIET BUILDUP IN CUBA INCLUDES UNDERWATER EXPLORATIONS

The Russian military presence in Cuba has been augumented sharply in the past 30 to 45 days. New Soviet military bases are being constructed in Guanabacoa, on the north coast of Havana Province, as well as in the Gonzalo Hills, near the Hershey sugar mill, also on the north coast of Havana Province. Missile silos are being installed, according to the opinion of eye witnesses.

This information has come to light at the time of the arrival of a Soviet naval mission, which will investigate the waters of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico.

All indications are that the Soviets have embarked upon a heightened military buildup in Cuba which includes oceanographic studies of the Caribbean, and the Gulf of Mexico. The reason for these latter studies, it is believed by competent Navy authorities, is related to finding strata of water in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico in which sumarines may lie undetected by sonar devices and other means of detection.

The Soviets have taken charge of the Castro navy as well as the Lambda fishing fleet which is under Cuban Navy command. According to the Cuban radio, over 250 Soviet personnel are involved in this expedition, which will last "approximately a year or longer." Private sources, in and out of Cuba, estimate that the actual number of Soviets will be in the neighborhood of 1,000 or more. In addition, the Cuban radio states that an unspecified number of Czechs will join the expedition at a later date.

With regard to the intentions of Castro's "fishing fleet," State Department Aid William C. Herrington testified last January 29 before the Senate that many of Castro's fishing craft are thought to be spy vessels, and said that the numbers had increased over the past year. Other sources, among them the Organization of American States, have established the military nature of Castro's fishing fleet in gun running and infiltrating terrorists into Latin American countries. Units of the fishing fleet, which will comprise a great part of the Soviet underwater expedition, are known to be equipped with electronics equipment in no way related to the task of fishing.

Interest in hostile naval activities just off our shores is now heightened by the announcement from Moscow that three Soviet vessels are towing a drydock from the Baltic Sea to Havana Harbor.

According to military analysts, the apparent backdown by the Soviets during the missile crisis of 1962 was due to the lack of a Soviet naval base to support Russia's military offensive in this hemisphere. The conclusion drawn at the time by these same military analysts was that, should the Soviets remain in Cuba, the preparation of naval facilities in the Caribbean would claim a high priority. This prediction seems now on the verge of fulfillment.

Dr. Osvaldo Aguirre, President of the Speleological Society of Cuba, now a refugee in Miami, relates Soviet marine studies to the military use of sea caves.

Dr. Aguirre notes that the Cuban Government announcement states that the Soviet expedition is to initiate investigations. Yet, Dr. Aguirre reports that those explorations have been going on for "more than a year and a half."

The Cuban cave expert elaborated on Soviet military activities in the following statement:

"Information sent to us from our own sources inside Cuba indicates that the Soviets now are preparing to construct secret underwater bases in Cape of San Antonio and at the Ensenada de Guadiana.

"Large perforations are being made underwater from near Cape Buenavista onward toward the port of Mariel in Pinar del Rio Province. This has been going on for 14 months.

"Cuba has quantities of underwater caves of various sizes and shapes—some more than a hundred yards wide and of great depth. They are spacious enough to serve as submarine pens where the submarines can hide undetected."

From the Isle of Pines comes corroborating evidence. Li Chih, a Chinese-Cuban reported over a year ago on the use of sea caves in that area:

"The Soviets have taken over all major hotels, and the place is swarming with Russians—mostly in uniform.

"The belief among the Cubans in the area is that sea caves are being converted into 'natural' submarine pens."

On land, a new shipment of arms from Russia arrived at the port of Matanzas on August 11. They were unloaded from four Soviet ships of various tonnage under the bynow familiar security precautions.

Included in the cargo are amphibious tanks of undetermined number, security cargo, and new military trucks and trailers. One convoy unloaded from the ships contained 12 enormous 26-wheeled truck trailers.

Still another convoy, larger than the first, carried cylindrical objects which were covered with tarpaulins. They are believed by the underground to be missiles. Each truck contained two Russians, and the convoy, like the previous one, was escorted by Soviet soldiers in jeeps, and by truckloads of Cuban militia. All entrance roads to the highway were blocked by security guards armed with machineguns. The route of the convoys took them to the south of Las Villas Province, east of Matanzas.

The use of the port of Matanzas for the introduction of missiles has been reported on previous occasions. (See "Intermediate-Range Missiles in Cuba, States Intelligence Report," FCN No. 8, vol. 2, Aug. 10, 1964.)

On the heels of these reports come others:

Russian youths of 17 and 18 years of age, newly recruited into the Soviet Army, are being sent to Cuba. They are in camps at Torrens, and Guajay-El Chico, Habana suburbs.

General headquarters of the Soviet Army of occupation has been located in the Kohly section of Havana. The building housing the Russian general headquarters in Kohly is known to the Cubans, ironically, as the "White House."

The few remaining Cuban families in the Kohly section have been removed. Their

houses have been reconditioned for occupancy by newly arriving Soviet personnel.

More Russians and their families have been located in the section called Plaza del Medio Dia, where 1,000 houses have been put at their disposal.

Another area is being readied for the arrival of more Soviets. The section is the beach of Vista del Mar, between Quiebra Hacha and Mariel on the north coast of Pinar del Rio Province.

Soviet soldiers are busily constructing underground bases in a hill near Guanabacoa, on the north coast of Havana Province. This work which commenced 6 months ago, followed the destruction of pre-1962 obsolete Soviet military emplacements.

Eyewitnesses, among them Victor Alegria Torres, former secretary of Foreign Affairs of the now Communist-captured Cuban Confederation of Labor, believe that missile silos are being constructed in that area.

He reports that the familiar 26-wheeled truck trailers arrived at the site of construction bearing hollow cylindrical objects. Sections of these tubes, or objects, were then lowered vertically into the ground by heavy duty cranes and assembled by Russian crews. The diameter of these sections is described as between 6 and 8 feet, large enough to silo an IRBM.

The entire area is camouflaged by grass and shadow-casting eucalyptus trees.

Commenting on the Soviet missile potential in Cuba, Fidel Castro's sister Juana, who defected last June, had this to say in an interview printed August 18 in the Brazilian newspaper "Tribuna":

"Cuba is militarily very strong, said Juanita, the Soviets help the country to arm itself. This help does not extend to the economic field. In Cuba there are long-range ballistic missiles which are well camouflaged."

Spokesmen for the United States insist that there are no missiles in Cuba. Castro obviously does not agree with that assessment. He bluntly refused to answer a question as to whether ballistic missiles are in Cuba, put to him by Barnard L. Collier, of the New York Herald Tribune, thus adding to mounting circumstantial evidence that the Soviet-Cuban base is more, not less, dangerous than it was in 1962.

SOVIET BASES THREATEN GUANTANAMO

The U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo is surrounded by Russian bases.

Soviet soldiers have built a system of military establishments which is intended to "destroy the U.S. base at Guantanamo." This is the most recent information on Soviet military activity in Cuba, and was brought out by a former employee of the Cuban high command. The intelligence on Soviet fortifications surrounding the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, given out by Jose Luis Nunez Hernandes, is corroborated by another escapee—Juan Bennedetti Lopez.

Nunez Herrera traveled extensively to various military establishments in Cuba. He did so as a medical aide to high officials of the Cuban general staff, and states that military matters often were discussed in his presence. Among them were those related to the Soviet encirclement of the U.S. naval base.

According to Nunez Herrera, Soviet officers and military technicians have been supervising the construction of a solid horseshoe of military emplacements around the naval base. Guantanamo Naval Base is under permanent lease to the United States, and is used almost exclusively as a training base for U.S. personnel.

Nunez Herrera states that the Soviet fortifications include a vast underground network carved into the hills and mountains, and that they are manned almost entirely by Soviet soldiers. Cuban militia are used only as security guards, and are stationed outside the Russian bases.

In conversations held between Soviet officers and Minister of Defense Raul Castro, the former medical aid learned that the Soviet construction was considered inadequate for defense purposes. Their conversations indicated that they will be used to strike first to inflict the greatest possible damage on the U.S. base.

Juan Bennedetti Lopez, an escapee from the city of Guantamano, supported the testimony of the former medical aid. In a separate interview, Bennedetti Lopez not only spoke of the Soviet buildup in the hills, but claimed that such construction included bases for missles.

"All of the hills surrounding the U.S. naval base are filled with every type of armament. The armament includes missiles of various sizes, including those of long range. Russian officers are in complete command."

The escapee spoke of the construction which the Russians have been carrying on near a small town called Yerba Guinea:

"Near the small town of Yerba Guinea, the Russians are working ceaselessly on underground fortifications. Enormous truck trailers carrying large cases covered with tarpaulins constantly move into the hills behind the town where the Soviets are working. There is a great number of Russians in the area, and the military traffic is so great that Cubans are not permitted on the highway."

Neither of the Cuban escapees would venture an estimate of the number of Soviet troops in the area. However, Bennedetti Lopez inferred from the amount of supplies sent to one small base that the numbers must be great. He stated that six large Russian trucks came to the city of Guantanamo once each week and left completely loaded with meat, rice, canned milk, and canned Soviet hams. This was for one of the lesser establishments. The larger bases are supported by truck convoy from Cuba's second largest city, Santiago.

Questions regarding the number of Soviet and Soviet bloc troops moving into Cuba were given heightened emphasis by the testimony of Jorge Rodriguez Echemendia. The 24-year-old worked at the Havana Airport of Rancho Boyeros where he witnessed the arrival of large numbers of Soviet and what he described as Chinese military men. He identified the flights as those that arrive in Cuba from Prague. None of the passengers was subjected to customs examination, and they moved in and out of the airport in semi-military formation, though dressed in military clothes.

Echemendia's information checks with that of several other escapees interviewed by the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba. All agree that the numbers of Soviet troops, military technicians, and others of similar description have not diminished over the past year or more. Of some 45 persons interviewed in the past 6 weeks, not one agreed with an assessment that the Communist bloc personnel in Cuba are preponderately in the category of civilian technicians. They are, according to those interviewed, 90-percent military and 10-percent civilian.

Hon. Dr. Antonio Fernós-Isern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I feel regretful that my friend, Dr. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN, the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico has decided to retire from the House of Representatives at the expiration of his present term.

I do wish Dr. FERNÓS many, many years of happiness and success in the Puerto Rican Senate where he will serve together with Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following editorial published in the Washington Post of September 25, 1964:

ENVOY TO CONGRESS

For 18 years, an unpretentious and likable physician has been the voice of Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress. It is true that Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner, Dr. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN, has earned no gaudy celebrity in that time. His methods have been those of quiet persuasion, and he has eschewed hucksterism and humbug. But his record is impressive, he has an enviable reputation for sincerity and fairness, and as he prepares to return to Puerto Rico, he deserves a warm "well done."

When Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN arrived in 1946, his own post was appointive and his country bore the melancholy reputation of being "the stricken land." Since then, the island's wealth has tripled, hope has supplanted despair, and Puerto Rico has become a self-governing Commonwealth within the American Union. The Resident Commissioner, it should be added, has been an elective office since 1948.

This quiet nonvoting delegate to Congress has played a key role in framing the legislation that has altered the island's destiny. Now he is returning to run for the Puerto Rican Senate (along with his retiring chief, Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín), where his experience may further benefit the island. His likely successor, the nominee of the dominant Popular Democratic Party, is Santiago Polanco Abreu, Speaker of the Puerto Rican House. But before the guard changes, a group of friends of Puerto Rico will gather on Saturday to express their affection and respect for Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN. He has surely earned both.

United Steelworkers of America Resolution in Support of the ARA Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the United Steelworkers of America AFL-CIO, in recent convention passed many policy resolutions, one of which stated its support of the ARA program.

Although the district which I represent may be eligible for this program only 6 more months, other areas do need the legislation and I thought my colleagues would find the views expressed in the following resolution both informative and interesting:

SECTION 9. AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

President John F. Kennedy signed the Area Redevelopment Act into law on May 1, 1961, 6 years and two Eisenhower vetoes after organized labor had begun the struggle on Capitol Hill.

Five months later Congress appropriated money for its operation, and after a great

deal of necessary preliminary work, the ARA's job-creating money began to flow into the distressed areas on the Nation.

Although the ARA program provides new Federal assistance, communities must organize representative committees—labor, management, educators, agriculture, private organizations, public officials—to participate in the program.

Members of the United Steelworkers of America in distressed areas have an opportunity to cooperate with other civic groups in this community endeavor. By serving on and participating in local development committees, steelworkers have helped in restoring Dunkirk, N.Y., Wheeling, W. Va., and other communities to economic health. Such efforts to provide new jobs deserve our firm support.

Our members can help safeguard their own interests by seeing that these programs protect local labor from exploitation. We of the steelworkers union have raised special problems (particularly involving investment in reinforcing bar manufacturing facilities), with the Area Redevelopment Administration. As a result of our efforts, an industry-wide study was undertaken by the ARA of working and marketing conditions. Based on the findings of this study our union and ARA have agreed that ARA should concentrate its financial assistance to those sectors of this industry which, by expanding, create new and permanent jobs with wage levels commensurate with accepted industry standards, and will not add capacity doomed to ultimate idleness.

Future investments by ARA in this industry are to be governed by the following guidelines, outlined by ARA pursuant to our joint discussions:

"1. ARA will not accept for processing projects which will compete mainly with existing domestic iron and steel capacity until the industry has maintained a fairly consistent and measurable degree of recovery.

"2. Projects offering the promise of import displacement will be considered only after the applicant has demonstrated that the project's cost of production and geographic position will insure its successful operation with a minimum of competition with the domestic steelmaking facilities which normally serve the area.

"3. In determining the reliability of an applicant's proposed cost of production, ARA will examine:

"(a) the cost of raw material and, in the case of steel scrap, will not accept cost projections based on a continuation of currently depressed prices;

"(b) the wages to be paid, and will not accept cost projections based on wages below the average wage levels for the industry.

"4. In processing such projects, ARA will obtain information on capacity from BDSA and will utilize BDSA in reviewing all such proposals submitted for ARA consideration.

"5. No ARA loan for steelmaking facilities shall be approved by the ARA unless the ARA shall first find that the proposed project is economically feasible and unless the ARA shall find that no domestic iron and steel producers are now supplying to the area proposed to be served by the applicant, any substantial quantities of the products to be made by the applicant, and furthermore, that the operation of the proposed facility will not reduce the employment at any of the domestic plants currently serving said territory, giving the basis for such finding in reasonable detail."

The United Steelworkers of America has supported the area redevelopment program because its purpose is to meet the job needs of the unemployed without jeopardizing job security of employed workers. We believe that the ARA has fulfilled this task admirably in the face of unwarranted criticism by those to whom the plight of unemployed Americans is only a statistic and not a reality.

The accomplishments of this new agency are impressive. By July 1 of 1964, ARA has approved 507 projects involving industrial loans and public facility assistance and will have created 70,000 jobs directly and 45,000 more indirectly—when completed a total of 115,000. Another 210 propects involving 27,000 new jobs have been received by ARA, but are not yet finally approved. Behind these an additional 316 projects involving 30,000 potential new jobs are in the planning stage for submission to ARA. Further, 753 retraining programs have been approved under ARA involving over 33,000 jobless workers, of whom almost 20,000 have completed retraining with a reported placement rate of over 75 percent. New production methods, research and development projects, engineering studies and other activities designed to combat unemployment and create new permanent jobs have been aided financially through the technical assistance program of the Area Redevelopment Administration Act. In the Cuyuna and Mesabi regions of the Minnesota iron ore ranges, ARA assisted specifically to find new processes for the utilization of low-grade iron ores. Some of these new processes have proved themselves so useful that, once they are fully exploited, we can expect a possible regeneration of the Minnesota iron ore industry.

The effectiveness of the ARA program is illustrated by the halt, indeed reversal, of the trend toward higher rates of unemployment in depressed areas. A broad sample of 79 major depressed labor market areas show that, from 1961 to 1963, unemployment declined from 11 percent to 7.6 percent, a rate of decline faster than that for the Nation as a whole. Even hard-core areas have shown improvement. For example, the number of unemployed in West Virginia dropped to a 10-year low in 1964.

A year ago it became evident that additional funds would be required to carry forward the ARA program. The agency expects to create 190,000 jobs with its original authorization when all its moneys are committed. Therefore, legislation to amend the act and increase its authorization was introduced in June of last year. A proposal has been approved by the Senate, 65 to 30, but was defeated by 5 votes in the House of Representatives. A scaled-down version of the bill is now awaiting clearance by the Rules Committee and it is hoped that the House will approve it during this current session of Congress. Early action will be needed by the Congress to insure continuation of this vitally necessary agency, as the present act expires on June 30, 1965.

Economic development of depressed areas must not fail. Too many of our members are in once-booming depressed areas, which because of technological changes and market shifts have become desolate.

Therefore, the United Steelworkers of America asks that Congress evaluate this promising program in terms of its great contribution to the forward development of America's economy, and urges speedy passage of the amendments to the Area Redevelopment Act in order to make available this vital assistance to areas with high unemployment. We urge prompt action by the Congress to continue and strengthen the area redevelopment program for an additional 4 years, so that we can do more and learn more about solving the economic dislocations that go along with an expanding and technologically advancing economy.

We further urge that the ARA continue its rigorous enforcement of its congressional mandate to reject projects which would merely result in the reallocation of jobs or job opportunities from one area of the United States to another.

President Johnson Dedicates Lake Eufaula Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, September 25, was a day of great historic significance for Oklahoma and the entire Southwest.

On that day, more than 50,000 Oklahomans and our friends from nearby States gathered at Lake Eufaula for the dedication by President Lyndon Johnson of the Eufaula Dam.

Completion of this great reservoir is the greatest milestone of this century in Oklahoma's march of progress. I think it was most fitting that the dedication speech was delivered by one of the all-time congressional champions of water resource development—President Johnson.

As the years have gone by, the Eufaula project more and more has come to be a bipartisan undertaking with support by both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. This is the way we would like to have it.

However, history will forever record that Eufaula Dam and Reservoir was initiated by Democrats in Congress, it was authorized for the first time by a Democratic Congress, and appropriated for the first time by a Democratic Congress over the very determined opposition of a Republican President.

President Lyndon Johnson on the other hand has been a stalwart champion of the Arkansas River from its very inception and he continues to be a champion today.

We in Oklahoma are proud of President Johnson for his great record as a leader in water resource and natural resource development. He is not afraid of the future. President Johnson knows that money spent in developing our great inland waterways is truly an investment in the future of America and the dividends far exceed the investment.

In addition to President Johnson, Oklahomans were fortunate to have on hand another great champion of natural resource development, the Honorable MIKE KIRWAN. We were proud to have Congressman KIRWAN share our joy on that historic day.

Eufaula Dam and Reservoir is a vital link in the multipurpose program of developing the Arkansas River. With this great dam now dedicated, we look forward to the completion of navigation on the Arkansas River and we are ready to go on with the work to complete the entire project.

Oklahomans shall long remember the words President Johnson spoke at the dedication ceremonies. His message has significance for all Americans. At this time, I wish to insert into the RECORD the complete text of the President's remarks:

The PRESIDENT. Governor Bellmon, Senator Monroney, Senator Edmondson, Governor Connally, of Texas, Congressman Albert, our great Majority Leader, Ed Edmondson, and other distinguished members of the Oklahoma delegation to the Congress, all of whom are making a great contribution to our country—and I want to say on behalf of all the people of this Nation that we, the people of the United States, are deeply in the debt of the people of Oklahoma for the quality of the men that they send to the U.S. Congress. I could talk about your Senators, MONRONEY and EDMONDSON; I could spend days talking about your House delegation, particularly your majority leader; but I want to say that none of the things that we have accomplished this year, and this is one of the finest years, one of the finest hours of the U.S. Congress, could have happened except under the leadership of the Oklahoma delegation, and particularly that fine, young Majority Leader, CARL ALBERT.

This is a great day for the Sooners. I thank you for letting a Texan have a little slice of it. But Texans and the people of Oklahoma alike share the memories of the days before dams like this remade the earth. I grew up on land like this back in Texas. I am going back to it when I finish here this evening. That land is thin soil, scrub oak and blackjack trees. The Pedernales River that runs in front of my little farmhouse was just a trickle in the dry season, but when the rains came down from the hills, the Pedernales always drowned all of us.

Many of us remember those days. We remember the want and the despair, the devastating cycle of flood and drought, the ruined crops and the Dust Bowl. Worst of all was the great waste, the waste of resources, the waste of crops, the waste of men and women.

I went to Washington then to serve in Congress under a great leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Over the years of progress which he began, we have seen our States change from brown to green, from dry, eroded country to grassy land dotted with lakes and pools. We saw a nation afraid become a nation of hope. We saw a people divided become a people united, and to the memory of that progress, and to the determination that our children will never suffer that neglect, I have come to the great State of Oklahoma today to dedicate this great dam to you great people.

I have devoted much of my 30 years of public career to the conservation of America's natural resources. So have MIKE MONRONEY and HOWARD EDMONDSON and CARL ALBERT and ED EDMONDSON. So did our great beloved friend, the giant of them all, Bob Kerr, who is watching down on us today. This dam was one of his dreams, and I only wish that he could be here with us.

You know, in 1940, after I had been in Congress several years, I looked up the number of homes with electric lighting in my State, and we had 59 out of every 100. Today we have 100 percent rural electrification. In Oklahoma they had 55 percent of their homes electrified in 1940. Today they have 100. In Louisiana they had 49. Today 100. In Arkansas they had 33, today 100. Arkansas had 45 percent of its homes that had running water in 1940. Today it has 72. Louisiana had 44 with running water. Today it is 87. Oklahoma had 46; today it is 89. Texas had 56; today it is 91.

The percentage of homes that use wood for cooking, 76 out of every 100 in Arkansas in 1940. Louisiana had 50; today it has 4. Oklahoma had 32—32 homes out of every 100 used wood for cooking. Today only 2 out of every 100.

In the number of autos, Oklahoma had 387,000 autos in 1933. Today she has 982,000—3 to 1. Arkansas had 155,000; today she has 589,000. Louisiana had 190,000; today she has 1,042,000. Texas had 1,015,000 in 1933. Today she has 4,000,011.

The percentage of homes with refrigerators, Texas had 36 in 1940, per hundred. Today she has 98. Oklahoma had 31; today she has 98. Louisiana had 24; today she has 98.

The percentage of farmer-owned occupied farms, Arkansas had 37 that had homeownership out of every 100. Today she had 76. Louisiana had 33; today she has 75. Oklahoma in 1930 had only 38 out of every 100 farms owned by the man that lived on them. Today not 38 in Oklahoma, but 80. And Texas was 38 in 1930, and 78 today.

So you can see the progress that we have made with the help of men that you have sent to Congress in that period of 20 or 30 years in homeownership, in lighting our homes, in improving our standard of living, and to the memory of that progress and to the determination of the people who led the way, I salute you today.

Our very first President, George Washington, looked at the vast possibilities of harnessing our great rivers and prayed, "Would God that we may have the wisdom and the courage to improve them." Improve these rivers as you have done. For years we ignored his warning. Reckless exploitation and ruthless plunder lay waste the rich earth. But then some farsighted men, men of every party and of every section, men like Theodore Roosevelt, men like Franklin Roosevelt, men like John F. Kennedy, men like Robert S. Kerr, men like Mike Monroney and your House delegation, all began to act and to protect and to develop the natural resources, not only of Oklahoma, but of all the Nation, and the result has been a fuller and a richer life for all of our people, and a much better life for those people that will grow up. These men knew that conservation was not a "pork barrel," that it was not make-work, that it was not a giveaway. It was an investment in the future of America. It was the best kind of economy. In this way we could assure our children the natural resources.

I remember coming to Oklahoma to help dedicate Bob Kerr's book, "Land, Wood and Water," on which the strength of our Nation and the prosperity of our people depended. The Government has a responsibility never to waste taxpayers' money, but the Government also had a responsibility never to waste the Nation's resources. The real wasters, the real spendthrifts, are those who are neglecting the needs of today and destroying the hopes of tomorrow. Our country just cannot afford this kind of waste.

Only 35 years ago we began to open up the Ohio River Basin. Then men of little vision cried out against this as "pork barrel." They were against this progress. Well, we ignored their warnings. We moved ahead. Since World War II alone, over $21 billion of new industry development has taken place in the counties along the Ohio and its navigable tributaries, and one of the great statesmen of Ohio is here today. He not only participated in developing the State of Ohio, he has been one of the ringleaders in developing the State of Oklahoma. I want to call his name. His name is the Honorable MIKE KIRWAN, Congressman from the State of Ohio. Stand up, MIKE.

New jobs and new business, and a steadily improving life, have come to all the people of the area. Men like Congressman KIRWAN have not been content just to look after their own State or their own section. They have been men with national vision. As a result of their national vision you have the monument here to them today.

So that is the story of the development of the United States, and that is the story of the development of the Arkansas River Basin. The Eufaula Dam is a key part of the development of the Arkansas River. It will provide a new link between the Southwest and our industrial heartland. It will provide relief from devastating floods and give us electricity to homes and businesses. It will mean new industry, new jobs, and new opportunities for the people. It will mean a stronger Oklahoma, a more prosperous Oklahoma, a richer Oklahoma, and a stronger United States.

That development will go ahead, and as President, I am here to promise you that it will go on schedule.

I just had to break my budget one time this year. I had a very prudent budget. I had $1 billion less in the budget this year than last year. I was determined to keep it that way until MIKE MONRONEY, CARL ALBERT, JOHN MCCLELLAN, and all this bunch of highjackers from Oklahoma came down there and pounded that Cabinet desk one afternoon and it cost me $14 million, but it got your Arkansas River development back on schedule.

But I would like to look beyond the celebration of today to the challenge of tomorrow, especially to your growing need for water, for this is a land which knows the meaning of water. By the year 2000 more than 300 million Americans will require 888 billion gallons of water a day. This is three times what you are using now. We cannot meet that challenge by looking backward. We cannot meet it by finding things wrong with our Government. We cannot meet it by complaining.

We must meet it by dreaming and executing those dreams. We must meet it by looking forward to the real, and to the men of tomorrow. We must meet it first by going full speed ahead at every level of government in the comprehensive development of our river basins. We cannot approach the problems of water conservation and flood control and recreation and navigation on a piecemeal and divided basis. We must develop river basins as a whole, to use all of our resources while preserving scenic values.

Second, we must step up our efforts to fight the destructive cycle of flood and drought. We have increased flood control programs by more than 50 percent, but we cannot rest on past achievements if we are to rescue our land from the ravages of nature.

Third, we must develop a national policy to attack the pollution of our water, and the pollution of the air that we breathe. This must require research, this will require increased construction of treatment plants and better methods of control. Polluted water is wasted water, and America cannot afford such waste.

Fourth, we will continue to press ahead with weather satellites, deep sea nuclear weather stations, and other scientific advances so that we can understand the weather and so that we can become its master.

Fifth, I am asking for early passage of the Water Resources Planning Act to help us look ahead to future patterns of water needs, to look ahead to plan our projects so that supply will be ready for demand.

Sixth, we will begin to draw fresh water from the oceans before very long. We already have plants in operation that are converting salt and brackish water into 2½ million gallons of fresh water every day, and within a few years desalted water will be an actual reality for millions of Americans.

Three things, and three things only, sustain life on this planet. They are—a thin layer of soil, a cover of atmosphere, and a little rainfall. This is all that the good Lord has given us except one thing: He has given us a choice of what we will do with it. We can waste it. We can pollute it. We can neglect it. Or we can conserve it, and we can protect it, and we can develop it, and we can pass it along to our children, more promising, more abundant than we found it when we discovered America.

I know, I think, what your answer wants to be. I think I know what you ought to do about it. I think your answer is here in this great dam that was built because of your confidence, built because of your support, built not only to make life more pleasant and more productive and more prosperous for you, but for your children and for your grandchildren.

The West was not settled by men who looked back. It was not settled by men who called a halt to progress. It is not held by such men today. Let me say just one thing more:

It was about 10 months ago that we had a great tragedy in Dallas, Tex., and the awesome responsibility of being President of all the people of this country fell into my lap. Although I had spent 33 years in Washington as a clerk, as a Congressman, as a Senator, as a minority leader, as a majority leader, as Vice President, I still felt inadequate to the responsibilities of leading 190 million people and trying to provide hope and leadership for the other free people that live in a world that is made up of 3 billions.

I asked for God's help and for yours. I have done my dead-level best. I have worked with everything that God gave me. I have spent all the energy that I had. I have tried to be careful and prudent. I have tried to be fair and judicious. I have tried to be farsighted and foresighted. I have tried to look forward and not backward. I have tried to develop the land that I would be proud of, and my children would enjoy living in. I found that we had much to preserve and much to protect.

We have the greatest system of government in all the world. We have the highest standard of living of any people anywhere. We have a minimum wage that says to our workers they must pay you this minimum and they must work you this maximum, and in just the short period that I have been in Congress we have gone from 25 cents minimum to $1.25 minimum. Just the short time I have been there we are working less hours per day and less days per week, and less weeks per year. We have more time for recreation, more time for the luxuries of life than our fathers and grandfathers had, to come out to lakes like this and dams like this.

We have a social security system that will give us a modicum of income when we reach our maturity and are no longer able to stay in the labor market. We are proud of the farm programs that we have had that have raised the income of our tenant farmers, that have raised our homeownership, that have brought us rural electrification. I flew over this afternoon from Muskogee and looked at all the little ponds that were filled with water that had been built here in just the last few years. I said to Senator MONRONEY he must be mighty proud of the efforts that he and other Congressmen from Oklahoma had made because that was a tribute not only to them, but to their people, that they had made this soil better, through their own efforts.

Well, there are voices that have questioned me about minimum wage. When I voted for the first bill it was 25 cents an hour, and they told me it would ruin me and they said it would ruin the labor organizations, too, but we are all here, and it looks to me like we are doing better at $1.25 than we were at 25 cents.

I remember before I was elected when I was just a kid secretary talking to my Congressman about voting for social security, and I heard all the scare arguments and all the fright that they tried to put into men. They said it is socialistic, it is compulsory, it is evil, it will destroy our form of government. I think we are better for it. I think we are stronger for it. I think we are richer for it. I don't think many people would like to do away with either our minimum wage or our social security.

As your President, I deal every day with the problems that affect your freedom and affect the peace of the world. Those problems may be remote from this peaceful site out here this afternoon. Not many of you get waked up in the night about Cyprus, of Zanzibar, or Vietnam, but I never send a reconnaissance mission out about 11 o'clock, with our planes and our boys guiding them to take a look at what is developing, and realize they have to be back at 3:30 in the morning, but what promptly at 3:25 I wake up without an alarm clock, because I want to be sure my boys got back, and sometimes they don't come back. There are those that say you ought to go North and drop bombs, to try to wipe out the supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war.

We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700 million people and get tied down in a land war in Asia. There are some that say we ought to go south and get out and come home, but we don't like to break our treaties and we don't like to walk off and leave people who are searching for freedom, and suffering to obtain it, and walk out on them. We remember when we wanted our freedom from Great Britain, and we remember the people that helped us with it, and we'll never forget them. So we don't want to run out on them.

So what are we doing? We're staying there and supplying them with some of the things that we have, some of the things that the richest, most powerful nation in the world has developed. We have some tanks, some planes, and some helicopters. We have 20,000 men out there advising and helping them, and we're hoping that some way, somehow, these people that are invading them and trying to envelop them and trying to take their freedom away from them will some day decide that it's not worth the price and they will leave their neighbors alone and we can have peace in the world. But we are not about to start another war and we're not about to run away from where we are.

Now, our hopes for the future, our hopes for peace, rest on our strength, and I can look you in the eye and I tell you in truth and sincerity today that we are better prepared than we have ever been prepared in our lifetime, and we are prepared because of the strength that you are building here and the qualities that you bring to your work.

I ask each of you to look back to your own lives. Remember not too far back. Just look at the 1930's that I was talking about a moment ago, or the early 1940's, and see if there are any of you, if there's one among you, who are better clothed, doesn't make more money, doesn't pay more taxes and doesn't live in a stronger, a richer, a better, and finer nation.

Now, what we have in the future and how we rank in the world will depend largely upon you people. If you invited me down here this afternoon and expected me to tell you all that was wrong with your country, and how we have failed, and how everything was in a mess, then you invited the wrong fellow. Today we have more fellows working than we've ever had in the history of the United States. They're living in better homes, they're eating better food and more of it. They are wearing better clothes, they are driving better automobiles, they have got more savings, they have got higher wages, they have got better income, their children are better educated, their health is better, their doctors are better, their hospitals are better, they have more of the pleasures of life.

The strength of America today, the strength of America in the years to come, will depend upon you and you must build that strength, because it depends upon the vision of the people, and on their willingness to look to the future and not to the past. Here's your look at the future. That's what you dreamed, that's what you want, that's what you have. Aren't you proud of Oklahoma? I am.

If any of you have martyr complexes, you are going to be disappointed. If any of you are distressed and depressed with yourself and expect me to come down here and feel sorry for you, you are going to be disappointed. I'm proud of you. I recognize what you have done. I recognize what this Government has done with your help, and I want to tell you we not only have much to preserve and much to protect, but we have much to learn.

If you will just go back to the Good Book and practice some of the teachings of the Lord, if we will just follow the Golden Rule and do unto others as we would have them do unto us, if we just engage in a little introspection and look where we were and where we are, we won't be unhappy very long. We won't feel sorry for ourselves very long.

We have done mighty well. We have a lot to be thankful for, and one of the things that I am thankful for at present is the prayers and the support and the good will and the faith of God-fearing men and women like you, and like this great delegation that you sent there to help me. We are not out of the woods. Some of our friends talk about a crisis a week. Well, sometimes I don't think they know much about the Government until we have a crisis a day and a crisis an hour, and we're always having crises. But we're not going to be crybabies. We're going to stand up like men and face them, and we're going to win.

We're going to win because we have faith and because we have the support of people and because we're builders and because we look forward to leaving this world a better place than we found it.

Thank you for inviting us here. I wish I could stay all day, but I have two other engagements along the road down here in Arkansas and back in Texas tonight, but if you will invite me back sometime, I'll bring my boat and we'll have a good sail together.

Thank you.

Developing an American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent previously obtained, I offer for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the September 26 issue of the Marine Digest. The editorial points up the critical importance of our developing an American Merchant Marine:

RACE FOR WORLD TRADE ROUTES

Now and then we read of Soviet plans for developing her merchant marine as part of her ultimate goal of world economic domination. But, very few of us have any realization of how great her ambition is in this area and how she intends to bring it to reality.

Writing in the September issue of the Atlantic, Hanson W. Baldwin, long the military editor of the New York Times, tells the story as he sees it under the grim title "Red Flag Over the Seven Seas." After citing a wealth of facts and figures, he says this: "The startling objective of the Soviet maritime program is a seagoing merchant marine totaling somewhere between 20 million and

27 million tons of shipping in the 1975–80 period, the largest maritime fleet in the world."

Then, later in his article, after presenting more impressive sets of figures, he writes: "There can be only one major reason for such grandiose aims. Russia, already trading with some 60 foreign countries, is engaged in a race to capture the trade routes of the world."

Mr. Baldwin is somewhat critical of our own merchant marine in certain aspects. But the controversies such criticisms arouse must not be allowed to obscure the overall need and problem. The war between the Soviet Union and the free world is being fought with economic weapons, and in all probability it will continue to be—neither power seeks to raze the globe. In this war, our merchant marine is a vital and basic weapon. The use we make of it—and the support we give it—will have much to do with our ability to meet the determined Soviet challenge. For, as Mr. Baldwin writes at the end, "Soviet wings over the seas cast a shadow over tomorrow * * * Russia's challenge already is formidable, and it will grow." And that is why the United States must do all in its power to encourage the growth of a second-to-none merchant marine.

Duke Endowment 40th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to hear a magnificent address by Henry C. Alexander, chairman of the board, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., at the Duke Endowment 40th Anniversary Banquet, Charlotte Country Club, Charlotte, N.C., on Thursday, September 24, 1964. I commend this timely and superb address to the attention of the Congress and the people of this Nation:

ADDRESS BY HENRY C. ALEXANDER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST CO., AT THE DUKE ENDOWMENT 40TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, CHARLOTTE COUNTRY CLUB, CHARLOTTE, N.C., THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1964

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cocke, Governor Sanford, Governor Russell, Mayor Brookshire, Mrs. Semans—beloved by her fellow trustees of the Duke Endowment and by all her friends as "Little Mary"—ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to be here tonight for a number of reasons. One is my great respect for James Buchanan Duke, a pioneer of American industry and of American philanthropy. In a very real sense, he is the guest of honor here tonight. It is a pleasure for me to join a group of friends and admirers of Mr. Duke, and of the enterprises and institutions that are even today the best witness to his achievements.

It is an honor to be introduced by Norman Cocke. He and his very able successor at the helm of Duke Power Co., Bill McGuire, have had a large part in fulfilling the great ambitions which Mr. Duke cherished for that company and for this entire area.

My heart is gladdened by the opportunity this occasion affords me, a Southerner by birth, to come to this beautiful and charming city once again. Ancestors of mine once lived here, so I have a warm feeling for Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

Those of you who have studied the history of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence may recall that six men bearing the name Alexander were among the signers. Some of the Alexander family later moved on from Mecklenburg County into Tennessee. As a descendant of that branch of the family, I can assure you that they carried with them, and handed down, a deep pride that they had been here and had joined in that bold stroke for freedom.

I do not wish to add further confusion or controversy to the scholarship surrounding the Mecklenburg declaration, but I am tempted to share with you a bit of family legend. No scrap of historical evidence supports it, and I volunteer it here, not as part of the Mecklenburg chapter in American history, but only as a matter of fair warning to this audience.

This family legend has it that after the declaration was signed on that Friday night in May of 1775, one of the Alexanders was chosen to ride with a copy of it to Philadelphia, where the second Continental Congress was in session. At that point the legend trails off into anticlimax. He did not get to Philadelphia. In fact, he was never heard from again.

In the privacy of the family we sometimes speculate as to what fate may have befallen him. Perhaps Indians, perhaps Tories or British, perhaps a wrong turn in the road. But the real moral of this little piece of family folklore may be that, if you want a message delivered, you ought not to pick an Alexander to do it. That may also be the conclusion you will reach before I have finished my remarks here this evening.

Another reason I am happy to be here is that I have come at the invitation of my good friend, Tom Perkins. Tom, as a director of the bank where I work, is one of my bosses, and it is always pleasant to receive an invitation from the boss.

Twelve years ago your own Dr. Rankin gave an address on the life of Mr. Duke. He had been an intimate friend of Mr. Duke for many years and was closely connected with the Duke Endowment from its beginnings. Still he felt obligated to open his memorable tribute with an expression of personal modesty which is a classic. I would like to quote from it. Telling how he had come to accept the invitation to make the speech, he used these words:

"The trite warning that contrasts the impetuosity of fools with the circumspection of angels rang the bell of caution in the belfry of my cranium when the importunities of overconfident friends prevailed over sounder judgment and accumulated experience."

You may soon wish that, in similar circumstances, I had been more circumspect and less impetuous.

The occasion that draws us here is the 40th anniversary of a remarkable creation, the work of a most remarkable man. Many of you know far more about the Duke Endowment than I can hope to learn, for you have seen in your own communities the flow of benefits which it generates. I would not presume to recite to you the details of this unique legacy. Nor am I qualified to enumerate the ways in which James Duke's business genius, through the enterprises he built, has continued to invigorate and enrich this vital Southeast. As an example, the Duke Power Co. is spending $70 million to expand and improve its facilities this year. This is seed money for further economic growth throughout the Piedmont area. It represents the same kind of constructive foresight that the company's founder displayed so consistently throughout his business career.

We all know that Mr. Duke set out early in life to make a great fortune, and that he succeeded admirably. Throughout his life, however, he made it quite plain that, to him, wealth was less an end than a means. The keynote of his financial philosophy was that money should serve men, not the other way around.

No episode from his life better illustrates his essential qualities than one that occurred very late in his life—in his last year, in fact, and during his last visit to this city. It was the summer of 1925. This area was suffering a severe drought. Water was low in the Catawba and the other rivers that drove the hydroelectric plants of the Duke Power Co. Factories shut down, or ran on short hours. Men were laid off their jobs. Whole towns and industries were affected.

Mr. Duke had planted his powerful turbines on those streams in the confidence that they would be an unfailing source of energy to the communities they served. Until that terribly dry summer, they had justified his faith. But now they were faltering and he decided something must be done.

With characteristic decisiveness, while he was in Charlotte that July, he determined to build enough steam generating plants to insure an ample supply of electricity if water power should ever fail again.

At age 68, he threw himself into this project with the same energy and dedication he had brought to bear on problems throughout his life. On his orders, sites were selected, engineers were put to work surveying and designing, financing was provided, and plans were drawn.

In the midst of this, he was stricken with a severe illness. Confined to his bed under the constant care of doctors and nurses, he insisted on keeping in close touch with the major work he had launched. Finally, against all orders of his doctors, he summoned to his sickroom the engineers and company officials—all the key people concerned with the project. He went over their plans and figures in detail. When he was satisfied that the plans were sound, that they met the need he had seen, he gave the order to go ahead at full speed.

That was the kind of man Mr. Duke was. His sense of responsibility to the community would not let him rest, even in sickness and pain, until he knew that the necessary was going to be done.

When Mr. Duke died, that same year, he was saluted in hundreds of newspapers in all parts of the country. The New York Herald Tribune pointed out that he had been a benefactor to his native State in "a double sense."

First, the editors noted, he contributed to its growth and prosperity through his achievements as a businessman. Second, he turned back a large share of his wealth to give the State trained leaders in the learned professions and to help people help themselves in many other ways.

He was, in other words, a double-barreled philanthropist. And the volleys he fired from both barrels have been and still are heard not only in his native State but around the world. Both his business life and his benefactions were aimed at the goal which always seemed his first concern—the improvement of human resources. He sought always to make the most of men and to help men make the most of themselves.

Tonight we mark the 40th anniversary of the instrument he created to give continuity and permanence to the work he had begun. The mere statistics of those 40 years can only hint at the thrust of the force he set in motion—grants totaling $125 million to four splendid institutions of learning: Duke University, Furman University, Davidson College, and Johnson C. Smith University; $59 million to churches, hospitals, and child-care institutions in the Carolinas; $1½ million to retired clergymen and their families.

These are only figures. To understand what they mean, we have to look at them in the terms James Duke always had uppermost in his mind—human terms. We have to think of the thousands upon thousands of people whose lives, in one way or another, have been touched by this constructive force.

We have to consider the minds that have been enriched, the lives that have been saved, the pain that has been eased. Who, I would ask, can draw up an earnings statement or a balance sheet that would adequately set forth the scope of the enterprise conceived and launched by this inspired man?

Perhaps none of us can hope in these days to follow Mr. Duke's example on the scale which he set. All of us who respect the same values that he cherished, however, can serve them in a way appropriate to this time. Over and above what each of us may be able to give of personal means, I believe there is a question that demands our urgent consideration. What is to be the future place of private giving within the total humanitarian effort in this country?

In the 40 years since the establishment of the Duke Endowment, the amount of private charitable giving in this country—including gifts to churches, schools, hospitals, and all kinds of welfare activities—has risen from about $1 billion to about $10 billion per year.

This is very impressive growth—about a 900 percent increase. However, let us compare it with the increase that has occurred in the annual expenditure for health, education, and welfare by all levels of government. Here the growth has been from about $3 billion in 1924 to about $65 billion this year—a rise of more than 2,000 percent.

I suggest we should not be hasty in deploring the sheer size of this figure for public expenditure. It would take a good deal of analysis, which I have not performed, to support a judgment that the amount spent is too large. Some programs may be questionable, but for the most part the things that Government does in this field seem to be things that people want done and are willing to support with their tax money. About one-third of the total, for example, goes for public education, an investment with which not many are likely to quarrel.

I do believe, however, we should be uneasy that public philanthropy is growing so much faster than private. In recent years we have seen Government agencies assume a major role in health research. We have watched enrollments in tax-supported colleges and universities press past those in private institutions, even while private and corporate giving to higher education has been increasing very sharply. We hear expert projections which suggest that, by the end of this decade, nearly three-fourths of all college and university students may be enrolled in tax-supported schools.

Is this trend, in education and elsewhere, heading toward monopoly? Will government's growth in health, education, and welfare reduce private philanthropy to an inconsequential role in those fields, or force it out of them althogether? Thus far, private and tax-supported institutions have proved able to exist side by side. I hope this will continue to be so. But, we must admit, in most instances that come to mind the private sector is now far smaller than the public.

Why should we be concerned about maintaining a duality in these matters? Why do we need private philanthropy when government appears so willing to take on all responsibilities and simply levy taxes to meet the cost? Wouldn't this be much simpler, and more efficient, than the splintered, fragmented multitude of private agencies, with all the agonizing, duplicative fundraising they go through year after year?

The strongest answer to these questions is that we need private institutions in the fields of health, education, and welfare to provide leadership, encourage innovation, and guard the standards of quality in the administration of humanitarian measures. We need them also to keep the human quality of charity itself from succumbing to the dead hand of government control.

If generosity were ever to become a monopoly of the state, a part of the human spirit would die. Many of those who need help would be less humanely aided. Those who gladly give help would be less humanly ennobled. When all giving is to the tax collector, and all receiving is from some official bureau, the meaning will have gone out of being one's brother's keeper. This is repulsive to every tradition of mutual help that has come to us from the earliest days of this country. It is hard to imagine it could ever happen here.

Yet we would be foolish to ignore a campaign of pressure that presently is trying to put private giving on the defensive. This is the aggressive drive that is being waged against features of the tax law specifically designed to encourage private charitable endeavors. The theme of this attack is that charitable trusts and foundations, by their tax exemption, are depriving the Government of dollars rightfully belonging to it.

Proposals have been made in Congress that would seriously retard the ability of individuals and corporations to support charitable and educational causes. These proposals appear to rest on a belief that any charitable contribution, by giving rise to a tax reduction, takes money away from all taxpayers; and that tax exemption for the income of charitable foundations does the same thing.

This argument completely overlooks two facts. First, it overlooks the fact that the donor gives up the full value of his contribution. Even if he is in the highest tax bracket, the gift still represents a net cost to him. Whatever the tax consequences, he is poorer—in material terms—after making it than he was before. In spite of the folklore that has been woven about this subject, you cannot make money by giving it away.

Second, and more important, it overlooks the fact that a person or company making a charitable contribution is giving society a greater amount than is lost to the public treasury through the tax deduction. In the case of income earned by a charitable foundation, the benefit to society from the use of that income at least offsets—and very often exceeds—the loss to the public through the tax exemption.

This, of course, is the reason why the tax law provides deductibility for contributions and exemption for charitable foundations. With income tax rates as high as they are, private philanthropy would be doomed if the law did not do so. Any attack on this principle is a direct attack on the whole concept of voluntary support of humanitarian works.

There are, undeniably, abuses of tax exemption among foundations. But the solution to that is not to penalize all foundations or, as has been recommended, to suspend the establishment of new ones. If the present law is being violated, the offenders can and should be punished and the improper practices stopped. If the law has loopholes, they can be closed by setting standards more rigorously to insure that a foundation's purpose is truly and legitimately philanthropic if it is to qualify for exemption. It is not necessary to chop down the tree to get rid of the bad branches.

In marking the 40th anniversary of the Duke endowment, I have so far asked you to turn your attention back to beginnings, to review briefly events and accomplishments that have filled the intervening years, and to look about at some features of the current scene. On a 40th anniversary, I believe it is inevitable that we also look forward and indulge in some conjecture as to how things may appear when the Duke endowment completes its 50th year.

Perhaps the easiest thing to predict that far into the future is that the four educational institutions which principally benefit from the endowment will have gone through a period of challenge unlike anything in their long and distinguished pasts. The educational demands of our society and our economy are rising rapidly. James Duke made the meeting of needs a guidepost of his life, and it is fitting that his benefactions will be helping these four schools respond to the Nation's educational needs.

It is dangerous to project figures in a straight line, but if allocations of the endowment are continued at the 1963 level, almost $100 million will go to the four schools between now and the golden anniversary in 1974. On the same assumption, some $40 million will go to hospitals and child-care institutions in the Carolinas.

The prospect of receiving benefactions on such a scale places a heavy responsibility on these major beneficiaries of the endowment. They must be sure their institutions are prepared to utilize the funds with maximum effect. At the same time they must avoid the too-comfortable complacency that may result when support is assured. Wisely, the trustees of the endowment have established a committee on educational institutions to deal specifically with these problems.

The dominant purpose of Mr. Duke's generosity—his insistence on helping men to help themselves—has a special meaning for the years of this coming decade. We are in an age of brimming prosperity for our Nation as a whole, but of increasing uncertainty for many individuals in our society. The onrush of science and technology is changing the ways of work. Some have lost their jobs as a result; others fear they are going to be displaced. And there is general concern as to the availability of work for the waves of young people who will be coming into the labor force each year.

We hear with increasing frequency the suggestion that automation is going to make unemployment a permanent problem of steadily growing proportions. The only alternatives open to us, according to this view, are either to hold back the pace of technological change by artificial curbs, or to "settle up" with unemployment by breaking the connection between income and work and guaranteeing an annual payment to everyone.

I instinctively feel that these are counsels of desperation, and that they are wrong. Automation has not yet shown itself to be essentially different from the process of change that has continuously transformed American industry over the past century. Every major improvement in productive processes was deplored in its time as a destroyer of jobs. Each time it turned out to be a creator of more jobs than it had eliminated. I am not yet ready to give up faith in the promise of progress.

With progress, however, come problems of adjustment and adaptation. Institutions supported by private philanthropy can help solve those problems and alleviate the hardships they may cause in particular cases.

As a member of the business community, I would stress that business too must be concerned with the social problems that result from rapid technological progress. Just as it cannot leave them all to government, it cannot simply dump the problems into the laps of private philanthropic institutions along with a financial handout and be on its way without concern. It must turn its own best minds and talents to the working-out of difficult new adjustments, because these are business problems as well as social ones.

This, I think, was the business philosophy of James Buchanan Duke. With it he earned brilliant success in his lifetime. Faithful to it, the endowment he created has earned brilliant success in his memory. The lesson he taught is one we all need to study and learn.

Thank you.

Peaceful Coexistence—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to continue at this point the presentation of material from the important study of the strategy of international communism as presented by the standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association under the title "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," as follows:

Khrushchev feels that the West for some reason deliberately misunderstands the nature of peaceful coexistence, and stresses that, whether or not we understand it, communism will continue to attack:

"In the West they do not want, or at least pretend they do not want to understand, that peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems does not mean peaceful coexistence in ideology. * * * We Communists have never accepted and never will accept the idea of peaceful coexistence in ideologies. There can be no compromise here. * * * In this grim struggle between two uncompromising ideologies, the socialist and the bourgeois, which is underway in the world, and no one will deny this, we are attacking and will attack, asserting Communist ideas." [1]

Under normal circumstances it could be assumed that two ideologies would be able to coexist without being engaged in a grim struggle, since the two would not be mutually exclusive. But because the Communists insist on their understanding of peaceful coexistence, their ideology must attack that of the opponent, and must not relinquish the attack until the enemy ideology has been vanquished. The critical point here is that the process of combat is continuous and unrelenting on many levels, since the only way it can be brought to an end is for the class which creates the bourgeois ideology; i.e., all non-Communists, to be eliminated. In other words, the combat ends when communism has won in the fullest sense of the word.

"Peaceful coexistence naturally has nothing to do either with the legalization of, or reconciliation with, imperialism. Being a form of proletarian class struggle, peaceful coexistence is directed toward making social progress easier and accelerating the inevitable collapse of imperialism as a result of its defeat in the economic struggle with socialism. In other words, it is peaceful coexistence that creates the most favorable conditions for struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations." [2]

The offensive nature of the Communist attack is often muted by the insertion of a qualifying phrase, as is the case with the above quotation, which speaks of the defeat of imperialism in the economic struggle with communism. Such qualifiers appear when a particular effort to relax the situation gets underway. When the situation deteriorates, or when it appears to be advantageous to act with particular firmness, the qualifier disappears, leaving the structure of the formula intact and more threatening.

Will the systems always be irreconcilable? Khrushchev's answer is that "no treaties and agreements between states can overcome the radical contradictions which exist between the two coexisting social systems." [3]

Footnotes at end of speech.

The remark of an official commentator underscores the dimensions of the gulf which separates the two systems:

"Bourgeois ideology and propaganda are built on hate of mankind, lies, and slander. That is why we cannot reconcile ourselves to bourgeois ideology, that it why we speak a different language and will never find a common one." [4]

The irreconcilability of the two systems, capitalism and communism, is therefore not a Western contrivance; it is rather an integral part of Soviet doctrine and practice, an axiom which will for the foreseeable future guide the conduct of Communists in their affairs with the non-Communist world.

WILL THE TWO SYSTEMS CONVERGE?

If capitalism and communism are irreconcilable in terms of the present makeup of each system, is it possible that they can move together to meet at some mutually acceptable middle ground? Much speculation on the possibility of convergence has arisen in the West because of the rapid industrialization which is taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Some have even contended that the pressures which such industrialization will generate will inevitably have an impact upon the policies of the Communist regimes, thereby moderating the radical demand for control of the world.

In its simplest form, the argument for convergence holds that the United States will drift leftward to socialism and perhaps beyond, while the Soviet Union will gravitate toward a measure of capitalism. It is argued that with the passage of time such trends, which have already begun on a modest scale, will become more noticeable. In the meantime, it is contended, a community of interests between West and East will arise, in which the basic interests of each will find expression, and by means of which the security of each will be enhanced and insured.

While convergence attracts attention among some in the West as a conceivable way out of the present discomforts of world tensions, it is denounced and ridiculed as absurd by a Communist spokesman:

"One of [the] strong arguments in favor of supporting the views about the possibility of a convergence, for instance, is the development of electronics and computing techniques. The rational methods of economic planning and industrial management based on these techniques will * * * oust both the capitalist free market and the centralized Soviet system of management. As a result of this * * * the United States and the Soviet Union will within a few decades 'grow so similar or at least so reasonable that hatred between them will cease.'

"A dream, perhaps a sweet dream, but one that will not come true. First, they ignore the fact that the social structures of these two countries are diametrically different." [5]

With respect to the possibility of a world government, it is stated that "the development of the weapons of mass annihiliation, and simplification of their manufacture, will impel the two systems to seek points of convergence and agree to international inspection which will gradually grow into a world government placed above the still raging cold war.

"This, it appears, is the end aim of convergence, this is the path to salvation suggested by the apologists of capitalism.

"The concept of a future in which capitalism and communism will converge on an equal footing is utopian through and through. The time will come, of course, when there will be a world government, but it will be the government of a world Socialist community in which there will be no place either for free enterprise or for the monopolies. Neither research nor the subtle sophisms of the apologists of capitalism can save it from the death predestined for it by history." [6]

In recent times there have been few stronger statements than this clear-cut declaration of the Communist view of the future, a future in which there is no room for an opposing system nor for divergent personal views. It is well to note that "life will always smash the adovcates of ideological comprises and their bleak illusions and attempts to find a third way in the struggle of the two systems." [7]

Rather than prolong the illusions of the Western World, Communists provide a form of definite assistance:

"Our Socialist world is definitely helping capitalism in one thing: to dig its grave the more quickly. Such are the facts of the fruitful competition of the two systems." [8]

THE ROLE OF WARS

If the systems of capitalism and communism are diametrically opposed, if there is to be no reconciliation and no convergence between them, and if the Communist goal of world domination remains unchanged, will war be the only logical alternative? The question of war is perhaps the most vital of our time. Never before has mankind possessed so many weapons of such great destructive power—hence the possibility that colossal damage on a world-wide scale will result if a nuclear war should occur remains firmly fixed in the minds of many people.

There is no question that the people of the free world in general and the people of the United States in particular do not want war; but what is the attitude of the self-declared enemy?

"The Soviet Union does not want to go to war with anyone. We do not need anyone's territories, anyone's wealth. How could we covet anyone's wealth, considering that the Soviet Union possesses vast natural resources, a highly developed industry, wonderful cadres of scientists, engineers, technicians, workers, agriculturists?" [9]

If it were merely a question of natural resources and industrial plants which divided the free world from the Communist world, there would be substantially fewer obstacles barring the way to peace. But we know that the key question is one of power, of Communist power over the rest of mankind. Hence such statements by Khrushchev and other Communist leaders are much less credible when viewed within the framework of their design for the world.

From the very day of the inception of the Soviet Union, Communists have attributed to the West a desire for war. The technique is still employed, and is in keeping with the Communist tradition of accusing the enemy of what they themselves are about to do:

"The Communist movement believes that if the imperialists unleash a war, this would mean the final downfall of the rotten order of capitalism. But the Socialist revolution does not need to have the road cleared by atomic or hydrogen bombs." [10]

And again:

"There can be no doubt that a new world war would lead to the final collapse of capitalism as a system. However, this does not at all imply that a war is needed for the further development of the world revolutionary process, that the peoples must go into a world thermonuclear conflagration to culminate the struggle against imperialism." [11]

As long as the Communists can accuse the West of wanting to start a war, they are able to engage in saber-rattling remarks designed to intimidate the opponent. At celebrations of events connected with the military as well as at cocktail parties and diplomatic receptions, the Communists are free with accusations concerning the Western mania and lust for war. In 1963 they began to make more liberal use of the term "madmen" to accuse those who expressed doubt concerning Soviet intentions, and spoke

specifically of certain American and free world leaders as madmen.

Such accusations are also used to provide an opportunity to stress their own capabilities. These statements are by the Minister of Defense and a leading military theorist, respectively:

"In developing the military might of our armed forces and raising their military preparedness, we must vigilantly follow the intrigues of the imperialists and study all their habits. And if they still impose a war upon us, let the imperialist gentlmen then blame themselves. Soviet armed forces will crash down upon them with their entire all-crushing might; it will be the last war, one in which the imperialists and their whole system of capitalism will be buried once and for all.[12]

* * * * *

"I would like once again to recall a remark by Defense Minister Malinovskiy that we will retaliate for the number of missiles threatening us with a simultaneous salvo of several times that number of missiles * * * and completely wipe out the countries that have allowed their soil to be used for American war bases." [13]

The Soviets thus leave little doubt of their intention to wage all-out war should the occasion arise. Whether they will launch such a war to achieve their objectives or whether they will rely on nuclear blackmail to attempt to force the non-Communist world into a series of concessions are matters of speculation for even the most skilled students of Communist affairs.

Regardless of who starts a war, it must be judged according to the goals for which it is fought:

"Developing Marxist teaching on war and the army, V. I. Lenin, in a number of his works, set forth the opinions which became the substance of the principles of Soviet military doctrine. Most important of them is the proposition that war is a continuation of politics by means of force. This proposition permitted discovering the content of wars according to the goals for the sake of which they are waged and according to the role which wars play in the life of society. The doctrine of just and unjust wars was the result of this." [14]

From this it follows that if war results from the expansionist politics of Communist countries, then one must judge it not from the point of view of who is the aggressor, but rather on the basis of the aims of each belligerent. And, since imperialism by definition would fight a war for the purpose of maintaining its own system, even if that war were fought in defense, the goals which it would seek would be declared immoral.

At this point the classical definition of "just" and "unjust" wars as interpreted by the Communists is applied:

"A world war between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism * * * would be an aggressive, predatory, and unjust war on the part of imperialism, but would be a war of liberation, a just war, a revolutionary war on the part of the states of the socialist commonwealth." [15]

To the non-Communist accustomed to judging events by the traditional standards of morality and fairness, such a subjective and one-sided doctrine is repugnant; but when taken in the context of Communist morality and objectives, it is not novel.

But while the Communists may not desire a world war, they are quite explicit concerning their attitudes toward other kinds of war:

"Liberation wars will continue to exist as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable. * * *

"Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. Can there be such uprisings? There can. But these are wars which are national uprisings. In other words, can conditions be created where a people will lose their patience and rise in arms? They can. What is the attitude of Marxists toward such uprisings? A most positive one. * * * These are uprisings against rotten reactionary regimes, against the colonizers. The Communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles.[16]

Any uprisings directed against imperialists and reactionaries are therefore deemed just and progressive, and Communists are bound to support them. The least violent form of such an uprising is considered to be a mass protest or a strike, while the most violent would be an all-out civil war. The Communists feel that under such conditions there is little likelihood of a direct confrontation with the imperialists, and hence do not hesitate to take a direct and overt part in leading an insurrection.

As the Communists have stepped up their activities in the less developed countries, they have relied increasingly upon guerrilla warfare as a means to the seizure of power. That guerrilla warfare does not have mere local and limited aims is clearly stated by "Che" Guevara:

"This form of struggles is a means—a means employed to achieve an objective—of seizure of state power. It is necessary and inevitable objective for all revolutionaries. * * * The guerrillas are the people's armed fighting vanguards operating in a certain area of a certain place. They aim to carry out a series of combat activities for the sole, possible strategic goal: the seizure of state power." [17]

The Cuban specialist on this form of violence sketches the progress of a guerrilla war as follows:

"A guerrilla war or a liberation war generally covers three stages. It begins with the stage of strategic defense, when the fast-moving and quickly disappearing small units will now and then take a bite at the enemy, but do not retire in a small area for passive defense. Their defense means launching every small-scale attack that can be made. This is then followed by the stage of stalemate when there will be activities by both the enemy and the guerrillas. Later on it will come to the final stage of the collapse of the repressive army. The guerrillas will now capture the big cities, fight large-scale decisive battles and wipe out the enemy thoroughly and completely." [18]

The following passage from the leading Soviet monthly, International Affairs, is reproduced at length to impart the flavor of the small bites taken by Venezuelan guerrilla forces:

"Nothing except the chirring of the cicadas broke the slumbering silence covering the Venezuelan state of Zulia. Suddenly a few bright flashes pierced the tropical darkness, the sound of explosions tore the air, and tongues of flames leaped skyward. For the sixth time this year guerrillas had blown up the Ule-Amuay oil pipeline belonging to the Creole Petroleum Co., an affiliate of the Rockefeller-owned Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. That attack on the night of September 19, 1963, was made by a group of patriots, men of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

"It is hard to list all the operations carried out by the intrepid Venezuelan patriots even for the short period of 1 month. They include the blowing up of oil and gas pipelines, setting fire to factories and warehouses owned by North American companies, and clashes with army patrols, raids on police headquarters,[8] and the homes of army leaders, seizure of radio stations for the purpose of broadcasting a message to the people. * * * The tactical combat groups * * * often engage in regular battles with the police in the heart of the Venezuelan capital.

"At the same time members of these groups carry on extensive propaganda, distributing anti-Government leaflets and posters, explaining to the people the aims of their struggle. * * * Tense days of struggle and the tremendous difficulties of underground work, which require not only great courage but real revolutionary self-sacrifice, have made the members of these groups seasoned town guerrillas. Houses and streets are their trenches, and residential areas their field of battle. The war they are waging is in effect a war of political exhaustion of the enemy."

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] N. S. Khrushchev's replies to questions by I. Petra, director of the Italian newspaper Giorno, Current Soviet Documents, May 6, 1963, pp. 17–18.

[2] D. Y. Melnikov, "Coexistence and the Struggle Against Imperialism," International Affairs, No. 8 (August 1963) p. 23.

[3] N. S. Khrushchev's speech at the reception in the Kremlin, Current Soviet Documents, Aug. 19, 1963, p. 5.

[4] A. Solodovnikov, "Speaking Different Languages," International Affairs, No. 11 (November 1963), p. 53.

[5] Solodovnikov, International Affairs, p. 47.

[6] Solodovnikov, International Affairs, p. 48.

[7] Solodovnikov, International Affairs, p. 52.

[8] Solodovnikov, International Affairs, p. 49.

[9] Nikita S. Khrushchev, speech of Aug. 6, 1961. Such statements evoke interest when compared with the actual progress of Soviet industry and agriculture.

[10] Dona, Peaceful Coexistence, p. 29.

[11] N. Inozemtsev, "On Peaceful Coexistence and the World Revolutionary Movement," Pravda, July 28, 1963.

[12] Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, speech at the Kremlin Palace at the Soviet Army and Navy 45th anniversary meeting, Feb. 22, 1963.

[13] Col. Gen. Vladimir Tolubko, "McNamara Boasts of Nuclear Supremacy," radio Moscow, Nov. 20, 1963.

[14] N. A. Lomov, "Soviet Military Doctrine" (Moscow: 1963), p. 5.

[15] Marshal V. D. Sokolovskiy, "Military Strategy" (Moscow: 1962). English edition (New York: Frederick A. Praeger), p. 178. While this definition of "just" and "unjust" wars is of recent vintage, the concept has long been a key element of Marxism-Leninism.

[16] Nikita Khrushchev, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," "Kommunist," pp. 64–65.

[17] Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Guerrilla Warfare: A Means," Cuba Socialista, September 1963.

[18] Guevara, Cuba Socialista.

Speech of Simeon Booker, at the Khayyams Klub, Cleveland, Ohio, September 26, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 26, 1964, Mr. Simeon Booker, chief of the Washington Bureau of the Johnson Publishing Co., delivered an address before the Khayyams Klub at the Hotel Carter. The Khayyams Klub is a group of young leaders in the business and professional community of Cleveland.

The stimulating address by Mr. Booker follows:

SPEECH OF SIMEON BOOKER, AT THE KHATYAMS KLUB, CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 26, 1964

After being introduced as a White House correspondent, you expected a celebrity with a Brooks Bros. suit, a dapper, flashing smile and a halo stuck on his head. You've been fooled. The last time I saw L.B.J. was the same time you saw him—on TV. To be frank, I have not interviewed L.B.J. or Senator Goldwater, but did have the pleasure of interviewing Ike and Nixon months after they left the jobs. So you see, I'm no "hot shotter."

In America, a Negro's hometown is the place from where he migrated or got chased from to go somewhere else to find work and take care of the family. That's why the best location (for whites) in the Nation is my hometown. I left here some 15 years ago as a symbol of unequal opportunity. I return tonight with great appreciation for the clubmen who have brought me here, stashed me in the first suite I have ever stayed in, and shepherded me about the city as if I have some formula to get rich quick. Well, I do—buy my book, "Black Man's America," so I can retire.

Unlike some of my distinguished friends in Washington who have made headlines by being the first Negro appointed to this or that job, I don't come here telling you to quit demonstrating, picketing, boycotting, or protesting discrimination—until after November 3. This is always a question in my mind about whether these VIP's are thinking of your future or their continued prosperity—a fine home and riding a limousine in one of the highest income cities for Negroes in America.

There is much talk of a white backlash, and the need for us to be quiet, docile, and hidden in some corner of American cities when major political candidates come around this year. We're supposed to stay out of the way and let the major parties appeal to the white citizenry since we are only a tenth of the population and a less percentage of the voters. On November 3, we're supposed to vote a certain way.

In regards to the white backlash, we have felt the sting for 350 years of the backlash, the side lash, the front lash, crooked lash, the vote lash, the Dixie bomb lash, the police bashlash, the leather lash, and even the lynch lash. We have survived. In regards to the Negro communities being "off limits" to major politicians this year, we need to say, "those who come to visit us, visit our areas, speak to us as friends, and pledge support in building a better America will win our vote and those who stay away and condemn us before the world, will feel the wrath of our vote."

We should make clear that our vote—the largest in history because of a huge mobilization—can easily bring victory in the important Northern States and some Southern States. What other minority, with more than 6 million votes, boast leaders who are advising our people to "lay low" during these critical times instead of insisting on firm, well-publicized goals. Who is going to insist on more and higher positions in Washington—including a Negro in the Cabinet, on the Supreme Court, and in diplomatic roles? Who is going to insist that the Agricultural Department which has robbed Negro farmers of millions of dollars, denied them credit and quotas, denied our schools money for courses and programs, be integrated to improve the economic lot of our people in the South? Who is going to insist on a fair shake in the antipoverty program, the antijuvenile delinquency programs, the housing and business programs, and the medicare programs? Who is going to insist that Congress appropriate sufficient money for application of the civil rights law, that the new administration appoint an aggressive Attorney General (in the make of Robert Kennedy), and that the National Government take greater steps to end mob violence and defiance of law in the South?

This election, it seems to me, is a critical election—not of whites versus black, or State versus Federal, or South versus North. This is an election which could determine the future of our great land, whether we will remain a democracy for white people or whether, in the original sense, America can become truly the melting pot of all of the oppressed who seek its shelter—including the ones who were here before the European immigrants got here. Americans want this country to grow, to prosper with a growing economy and a growing sense of racial harmony. Our role is to take leadership and give direction, not succumb to the fright and panic which could only guarantee another century of mass poverty and violence for our children and grandchildren.

My subject tonight is, "The New, New, New Negro, Esq." I didn't pick this subject. The press gave it to me. Every few years or so, there's a wave of articles on something new about us and nobody has stopped to compile the various shifts and trends since we came here some 350 years ago as slaves. So tonight I thought I would do the job—in a few minutes.

The first step was the "beat down" stage when we were tagged with the label of Negro, black, nigger and what have you. We were slaves auctioned off on blocks, sold like pigs, bred like horses, hit in the head like cattle, called morons and imbeciles. These 250 years were the most inhumane period in American history and what we went through few historians write about. The history books extoll the magic of Christianity which influenced the white folk to cleanse their souls and free us eventually—after a war. Read some of the gripping accounts of slavery conditions and you'll begin to understand the horrors and cruelties your forefathers and mothers survived. This was the period during which few Negroes thought for themselves. We were forbidden to learn to read or write by law. We were put in the hands of masters; we were toys and love partners at the impulse of our guardians. We sacrificed, we slaved, we died like fleas. We bowed low, said "yas'm" and we suffered from worn out knees, bad backs and heart trouble induced by being around savage white men. But we struggled on.

The second step was "the beat up" period. We'd been freed and promised a mule and 20 or 40 acres. We really got to thinking we were on freedom road when Negroes for the first time sat in Congress and the Senate and served as State Governors in the South. We shouted, thanked the Lord while politicians in Washington stripped us of most constitutional rights, including the right to vote. We became freed slaves, unable to work, denied education, housing and welfare. We were exploited, victimized, murdered, slaughtered and starved to death. We were tenants, peons, and convicts. But we witnessed one of the biggest double-crosses in history. An emancipation which turned into slavery again and gave us a century of mass misery. We couldn't vote in Mississippi, then, either.

This brings us to the "beat out" period. The next years, we struggled to live, to exist, to keep a little flame of freedom alive. Aw, it was rough, baby. Hitler was a freshman compared to what happened in America's South. But few writers tell about the horrors. The big Negro leaders were the one who knew how to properly carry their hats in their hands, bow low enough to touch the floor, and say "yes, sir" the loudest. You can grin but that was the way it was, and had to be. The leadership in this period was accommodative. Can you imagine college presidents who had to know how to pray and sing, or do a soft shoe shuffle to get money for their schools, and many of them could not add or subtract? Can you imagine the big Negro in a community being the headwaiter at a country club or hotel? Well, baby, this period was rough. When we went to college, Negro college, that is, we had to preach or teach—take our choice—and by the time we got out, we'd have to do both to make ends meet. In Mississippi, we still didn't vote.

Well, we come to the "beat in" stage. While we were running like hell to get out of the South and escape the cruelties, we were packing into old houses in northern cities and running down communities. We moved in—on and on, and bigger and bigger, and wider until we got a sizable vote. But we had a sizable everything else—a sizable headache, too. Rural families unused to toilets. Families in one room. Commonlaw marriages. Crime, low morale, delinquency, a sense of hopelessness, just think of something unfortunate and we had it. But despite this mountain of despair, we managed to support civil rights groups fighting for legislation and recognition and we managed to get Negroes on Capitol Hill. Then we started to do something about schools—letting Negro kids get some education, like white folks said they needed. The only thing, we wanted education at the other schools. There was the legal channel, and the NAACP successfully used it. It took the case several years to reach the U.S. Supreme Court, giving bigots the chance to fire a few hundred teachers and kill some race leaders. Negroes were getting bolder. We even asked for old books used by white kids in Mississippi, but we didn't win the right to vote there.

The "beat it out" stage was the most thrilling. It was climaxed in 1963—the centennial of our emancipation—and it happened because Rev. M. L. King, Jr., made the decision to march in Birmingham, Ala., when the police warned him not to, when the courts ruled against his marching, when white leaders tried to throw every roadblock. We have waited long enough, thought Reverend King. Segregation must go. With scores of sit-in demonstrations in the few years before, 1963 became the year of the Negro—his freedom year, the year of the march on Washington, a quarter million strong—white and black, we brought a great Nation to its knees; we touched the conscience of a multitude of Americans. We demonstrated in every city of America. And we prodded a great President to press for passage of a major civil rights bill, an action which politicians said couldn't happen.

For the second time in American history, we were legally freed. The children of the children of the children of bondage finally saw the sun slowly coming over the hill. But too few Negroes see the sunshine. Two-thirds of us are poor. Most of us live in ghettos with poor schools with poor housing and poor paying jobs. We are blinded by the ravages of disease, stunted by the horrors of slum living, hungry on starvation diets, and discouraged by the continual thump, thump, thump of oncoming poverty and bankruptcy and disaster.

This is the "beat out good" stage today despite the glory and might of the publicity releases of government. The problems we face today are great, much more harassing and distressing, much more intricate and complexing to solve than merely winning passage of a civil rights bill or marching in the street. We have serious problems in housing, education, employment, and welfare which will require the best brains and knowhow.

Who is the "New, New, New, Negro, Esq." to help erase this backwash of 350 years of neglect, of deprivation, and of fourth-class citizenship?

Is he the Negro, two paychecks and a mortgage ahead on a new home, who explains: "Look, I'm not interested. I've got mine. Negroes are not my concern or my business. I'm happy. They should be happy." Aloof from his people, this Negro is interested only in belonging to downtown organizations, in mingling with only a handful of us, and in appearing at a bargaining table against us. He is a product of overintegration, overexposure, and has become a loss to our total improvement.

Or is this selection the slick-talking Negro, who's given up the fight to win a place in America, and who has become the black nationalist, spreading race hate and bigotry as well as discouragement to the masses? His message is one of emphasizing the defects, inequalities, and the faults. His philosophy is one of turning black against black and black against white and calling for a Jim Crow state and a back-to-Africa excursion.

No, the new, new, new, Negro is not a member of either of these two groups. He or she is a Negro who thinks of his people and his Nation, serving as a brother and a neighbor. He's one who's not ashamed to walk into slums and help his people, emphasizing the vote, home care, and the value of an education. He's able to properly represent his people in every area of a city, an ambassador, a symbol, and a citizen. He is an ardent supporter of integration, always willing to lead his people in this direction, but he insists on quality and efficiency in Negro institutions and undertakings.

He's a Negro who can say "baby" or "sir," enjoy chitterlings or soft shell crabs, drink bourbon or wine. He's one who carries no racial chip on his shoulder, but is quick to defend the rights of his people. He neither panics nor becomes frightened at the perilous journey we have yet to go in America, but constantly inspires, encourages an even greater number of our people to join in the freedom march. The future of our people will depend upon the firmness and militancy, but yet the constructiveness of our program. And it will depend upon the balance of the "New, New, New, Negro, Esq."

So many people ask me how I can get so involved in so many civil rights crusades—even to bring one of the passengers on the first freedom ride a few years ago in Alabama—and not get angry, or blinded with passion. This how I explain it. Several years ago, I spent many weeks in Little Rock when they integrated the schools and came home a pretty banged-up guy—just in time to take my youngest son on his first day of school. My kids go to a parochial school in Maryland and they have to walk several blocks through a white neighborhood to board the bus. That morning, I was angry, giving whites hell. As I stood beside my boy with a growing number of white kids, getting angrier all the time, a little white girl came up to me and said, "Mr. Booker, you don't have to stand there. I'll take Jimmy to school and I'll look after him." I went home an embarrassed man, a bigot.

The nation we want to live in is not our Nation or their nation—but a together nation. We have millions of white Americans as allies. We have come too far to turn back now.

National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following calendar of events of the National Gallery of Art for October 1964:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, OCTOBER 1964

Gallery hours: Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Collections: Paintings and sculpture from the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are on the main floor. The Garbisch American primitive paintings, Kress Renaissance bronzes, and Widener decorative arts are on the ground floor.

New exhibitions: Drawings of the 15th and 16th centuries from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. Central gallery. October 4 to November 1.

William Blake: poet, printer, prophet. Illuminated books of William Blake and color facsimiles. Ground floor. October 25 through November 22.

New publications:

"An Exhibition of the Illuminated Books of William Blake: Poet, Printer, Prophet." A commemorative handbook; 56 pages, 12 inches by 9 inches, with a study by Geoffrey Keynes, and a foreword by Lessing J. Rosenwald, 26 color plates and 1 black-and-white illustration; $3 postpaid.

Catalog. Drawings of the 15th and 16th centuries; 116 pages, with foreword by Horst Keller, director, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; 70 illustrations; 75 cents postpaid.

New reproductions: 11 inches by 14 inches color reproductions. Sassetta and assistant, "St. Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor"; Pissarro, "Peasant Woman"; Daumier, "Advice to a Young Artist"; Boucher, "Venus Consoling Love"; Rousseau, "The Equatorial Jungle"; 25 cents each. Orders under $1, add 25 cents handling charge.

Lectures: A series of Sunday lectures on drawings, presented in connection with the exhibition from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, will begin on October 4 and continue through October 18.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Monday through Saturday 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sunday 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4

Painting of the week: Kalf. "Still Life"; (Chester Dale collection), gallery 49. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2. Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: History painting; rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1. Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection; rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3. Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "German Drawings." Guest speaker: Horst Keller, director, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Alfonso Montecino, pianist. East garden court 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 5 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11

Painting of the week: Homer, "Breezing Up"; (gift of the W. L. and May T. Mellon Foundation), gallery 65. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2. Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: The art of the picture frame; rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1. Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection; rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3. Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "A Drawing by Leonardo from Cologne." Guest speaker: Jacob Bean, curator of drawings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: William Shores, Baritone; Richard Tetley-Kardos, pianist. East garden court, 8.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

Inquiries concerning the gallery's educational services should be addressed to the educational office, 737-4215, extension 272.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18

Painting of the week: Renoir, "Madame Henriot" (gift of the Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.), gallery 69. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2. Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: German drawings from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Central lobby. Tuesday through Saturday, 1. Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection; rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3. Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Flemish Drawings." Guest speaker: Winslow Ames, author. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra; Richard Bales, conductor. East garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25

Painting of the week: Rembrandt, "The Mill" (Widener collection), gallery 45. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2. Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: Italian and Flemish drawings from the Wallraf-Richartz Museum; central lobby. Tuesday through Saturday, 1. Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection; rotunda. Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3. Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "William Blake, Bookmaker." Guest speaker: S. Foster Damon, professor of English, Brown University, Providence. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra; Richard Bales, conductor. (Program in honor of United Nations Day.) East garden court, 8.

The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents, Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, has recently given me information in respect to the foundation which I feel would be of interest to my colleagues. This foundation has done commendable work in improving the health of the peoples of the world and promoting the establishment of peace, and has honored a great number of our country's distinguished leaders with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and diploma in recognition of their service to mankind. Some of the most eminent recipients of the Grand Cross include former Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover, and Harry Truman, the late President John F. Kennedy, President Lyndon Johnson, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, Senator Everett Dirksen, Senator Jacob Javits, Gen. Omar Bradley, Adm. William Halsey, Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, Gen. Lucius Clay,

and Dr. Milton Eisenhower. I, too, was likewise honored on October 17, 1960, when the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross was presented to me by Dr. John Maurice Keesing, international provost.

Dr. Bayern was originally honored with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross, in recognition of his efforts to promote world peace through prayer, originated by the late Honorable Herve L'Heureux, a former outstanding member of the Foreign Service of the United States. Former Chief Judge Albert Conway conferred this honor on Dr. Bayern on February 19, 1963. Thereafter, he was named the American provost.

Diplomas have been received from the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation granting the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross to the following:

Former Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Hon. Robert S. McNamara, Hon. William Warren Scranton, Hon. Carl Hayden; Hon. Paul R. Douglas, Hon. Everett McKinley Dirksen; Hon. John J. Williams, Hon. John V. Lindsay, Mr. Eugene Gillis, Hon. Harrison Brody, and Hon. Lawrence Wood Robert, Jr.

The following individuals having been recommended for the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross, the board of dignitaries of the foundation have approved the following persons:

Rev. John Brett Langstaff, B. Litt., Oxon, past grand prelate, Grand Commandery Knights Templar, State of New York, Rev. Dr. Richard A. Dizon, Dr. Gustav Erlanger, John H. Adam, Hon. Robert Bernard Anderson, Hon. Robert F. Kennedy, Hon. Lister Hill, Hon. John L. McClellan, Hon. J. W. Fulbright, Hon. Michael J. Mansfield, Hon. Eugene J. McCarthy, Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, George Levy, post potentate, Mecca Temple, and an honorary 33d degree Mason, Hon. John J. Sparkman, Hon. Harry Flood Byrd, Hon. Ogden Rogers Reid, Hon. James Roosevelt, Hon. D. Johnston, Hon. Elmer J. Holland, Hon. John G. Pastore, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Hon. Leslie C. Arends, Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, and Hon. Joseph S. Clark.

It now gives me pleasure to insert for the information of my colleagues excerpts of the story of Eloy Alfaro, citizen of the Americas, 1842–1912, edited by A. Curtis Wilgus, director of inter-American studies, University of Florida.

ELOY ALFARO

("There is no redemption without sacrifices; these are the solid bases of progress." —ELOY ALFARO.)

Eloy Alfaro, soldier, patriot, statesman, and martyr, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated on June 25, 1942, was a citizen not only of his native Ecuador; he was a citizen of America. The personal integrity, the unwavering defense of the principles of truth, justice and friendship among nations, the self-control and self-sacrifice that marked almost three-quarters of a century of unflagging service to his country and to America extended his sphere beyond the confines of his own country, awakened unbounded admiration in distant lands, and brought him unsought but richly deserved fame and honor in far places as well as at home.

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The future soldier, statesman, American, was born at Montecristi, in the province of Manabi, Ecuador.

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Following the abortive revolt at Manabi, Eloy Alfaro established himself in Panama. It is a strategic location for one with the burning vision of uniting the Americas. As Switzerland is the logical seat for any joint European movement, so Panama, where North and South America clasp hands, is the logical site from which to draw together the two hemispheres. This fact was also taken into consideration in selecting Panama as the headquarters of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation.

* * * * *

Alfaro was the disciple of an Aptostle of Pan Americanism—the great Ecuadoran author and American, Juan Montalvo. With the inspired writings of Montalvo to support him in the face of his enemies, and the ideal of the Liberator to guide him, Eloy Alfaro ever widened the boundaries of his laudable ambitions for the Americas.

* * * * *

While Eloy Alfaro lived a life devoted to the struggle for liberty and American unity, in the minds of Americans he is most revered for two almost unprecedented acts on his part. Both were undertaken because of his love for freedom and for Bolivar's ideal of American unity which the great Ecuadoran took as his own.

* * * * *

The humanitarian good will of Alfaro's attempt to settle the Spanish-Cuban struggle without further bloodshed is attested not only in the letter to the Queen itself, but in a paragraph of a letter he subsequently wrote to the Cuban patriot Merchán:

"In the message to Spain I did my duty as an American. I deplore the fact, naturally, that a weak nation like Ecuador cannot make her voice heard with the efficacy the case requires." He thought and acted on behalf of the American people; Pan Americanism was for him a living thing long before the present emphasis now placed on what he then recognized as a natural hemispheric policy.

Of even more profound significance is a step which the Great American took in the same year of 1895. As we have noted, Alfaro was inspired in his American thinking by the ideas of the Liberator regarding united action by the American nations.

A true disciple of Bolivar, Alfaro realized that next to Bolivar's successful fight for independence for South America, Bolivar's most valued contribution to America was the precedent he set in the minds of Americans in the underlying thought of the unsuccessful Panama Conference of 1826. The great Ecuadoran statesman determined to try once again to bring about a unity of thought, a homeogenity of action and a continuity of agreement which would enable the American people to free themselves from all but sentimental attachments to Europe.

Accordingly, on December 26, 1895, the Minister of Foreign Relations of Ecuador, Ignacio Robles, upon the instructions of President Alfaro, sent out an invitation to the Ministers of Foreign Relations of the other American nations, calling upon them to meet in an international Congress at Mexico City.

* * * * *

The Congress was convened at Mexico City on August 10, 1896, 70 years after Bolivar's congress. Regrettably it was not wholly a success. Yet, in the larger sense, it was successful inasmuch as it served to further point the way toward inter-American cooperation. Just half a century later the act of Chapultepec was adopted by the 21 American Republics in the same city of Mexico, in the same Palace of Chapultepec where at the invitation of Eloy Alfaro that other congress was convened for exactly the same basic purpose.

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One is almost tempted to believe that Alfaro sought to realize the same aims incorporated by Bolivar in the acts of the Conference of Panama. The pattern is the same although the material was somewhat changed. The spirit of the leader had not changed, only his identity.

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History cannot truthfully say that any one of these farsighted men was successful in his efforts to realize his vision. Can we say truthfully that any one of them failed wholly to impress Americans with the necessity of acting together as democratic peoples? If that were so, no Pan American Union would exist today, no Pan American Conferences would be called, no peace would reign on our continent.

* * * * *

We have seen that one of the underlying motives of both Bolivar and Alfaro was a groping after democracy for all Americans. In his own country, during those years when he had the power, Alfaro undertook to accomplish reforms which would free the Indians from oppression, spoliation and cruel treatment. He abolished the subsidiary labor tax.

* * * * *

Behind his every act in Ecuador, as indeed throughout all the Americas, lay a profound conviction that Americans were the inheritors of freedom and democracy. Through education, through social reforms, through international relations, Alfaro sought to raise the level of the great mass of Americans. By the example of his own country and people he hoped to influence other American countries and peoples.

* * * * *

The boundaries of his mind were farflung. His concept of liberty was not local, not national, but international; he viewed the American continent as the field for honest effort and sincere friendship of mankind, as a vast theater for the fruitful work of peace. He loved independence; he recoiled from the thought of aggression. He believed in democracy; he advocated American unity as a safeguard for the common liberty. He devoted his life to the creation of a better world in which he and his fellowmen, their children and their children's children, might live in harmony and concord. He was truly a citizen of the Americas and so he may justly be revered by the people of all the Americas as the prototype apostle of Pan Americanism.

Material expressions of appreciation both at home and abroad began to be offered Eloy Alfaro even during his lifetime. In the years since his death, such homage has increased. An incomplete list of tributes rendered to this preeminent citizen of the Americas, whose life was dedicated to the realization of the highest and best ideals of Americanism, will be found as an appendix to this work.

Kudos From Roscoe Drummond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to commend to the attention of

our colleagues the following article by the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the September 18, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. After all the brickbats that have been hurled at the Congress in the recent past it is good to have this well-deserved bit of praise.

The article follows:

"DO-SOMETHING" CONGRESS: SOME PRAISE AND ESTEEM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—This has certainly been a "do-something" Congress.

Its record of achievement merits the praise and esteem of the whole Nation.

It has accomplished more useful things during the last 9 months than during the previous 3 years. For two reasons: the skillful prodding of President Johnson and the remorseful impact of the tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination.

Viewing the 1964 session as a whole, it seems to me that what is most impressive about this Congress is that:

1. It dealt constructively with the really urgent and central problems of the country, even when they were deeply and emotionally controversial. Example: civil rights law.

2. Both parties put aside partisan politics and stood overwhelmingly united when Congress was dealing with the most critical matters. Examples: the tax cut and civil rights.

3. The record of this Congress adheres substantially to the center of American political thinking and at most points reflects a very broad national consensus.

4. The Congress has been remarkably responsive to the leadership of President Johnson—more responsive than any Democratic Congress has been to a Democratic President since the first 100 days of Franklin Roosevelt.

Just look at this cross-section of what Congress has done:

Tax cut: Here is a measure which is a tremendous boon to taxpayers and business alike. It does more to free private enterprise from the shackles of depressing tax rates than anything the Eisenhower administration dared offer.

Civil rights: A bold step to redress grievous injustices. Too long delayed but finally passed overwhelmingly. Supported more strongly by Republicans than by Democrats in both Houses of Congress. The civil rights bill deserves no ideological label. It reflects the kind of justice and equal protection under the law which most Americans want. It corresponds to a basic conservative premise that human rights and property rights are part of the same garment and that failure to protect one jeopardizes the other.

Antipoverty program: It is ridiculous to suggest that President Johnson is running on a prosperity-and-poverty campaign. The degree of unemployment and poverty which has continued for a decade in the midst of wide and sustained prosperity in the United States has been a grave concern throughout the Eisenhower and Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

The antipoverty program is criticized by some as inadequate, as just picking at the problem. It involves little additional spending. It mostly pulls together a variety of measures already separately administered. It involves no intrusive extension of Federal power. Local communities and States must initiate programs and ask for Federal assistance, and the approval of the Governor is required. It is not a handout program. It aims to help individuals help themselves by getting at the root causes of poverty—inadequate schooling, inadequate job training, poor health, etc.

This Congress has also acted in the field of mass transportation, conservation, and wilderness preservation. It has rightly raised the congressional and executive branch salaries.

There have been shortcomings—the fiasco of the Bobby Baker investigation, the unjustifiable blocking of the TV debates, the shortsighted effort to prevent better redistricting of the State legislatures.

It is always easy to attack Congress collectively. The best reply is for Congress to do its job. While congressional reforms are still needed, the Congress has done a notably good job. It shows representative government working well.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—Government Agencies and Programs, III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in an earlier part of this report, I indicated that the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, of which I am the chairman, was deeply concerned about the apparent lack of meaningful information relating to one important part of our Government's effort in the cold war.

We knew, of course, what our Government was doing on the economic plane because the foreign aid program and our foreign trade policies are subject to a systematic, regular review by the Congress.

We knew, also, what our Government has been doing to meet the Communist threat on the military plane. Our national defense budget and our military assistance program are studied each year by the appropriate congressional committees and debated at length by both Houses of the Congress.

We did not have readily available, however, similar information about the total U.S. Government effort on the ideological plane: an effort designed to counter the Communist ideological offensive and to provide support abroad for our foreign policy through oversea information programs, exchanges of persons, strategic psychological operations, and related activities.

There was no single document, congressional or executive, no single source, which contained adequate information about the full range of these activities—who was doing what, why, and at what cost to the U.S. taxpayer.

And we had to have this information before we could begin to study these activities and reach some judgment about their worth and effectiveness.

In order to meet this need, the subcommittee directed its staff to prepare an inventory of governmental programs operating in this field. The inventory was to be brief in order to be suitable for quick and easy reference. Also, it was not to contain any material with a security classification. Such material could not be published but had to remain in appropriate files, available to Members of Congress and other authorized personnel.

In cooperation with the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, the work on the compilation of the inventory began in May 1963. Dr. Allan S. Nanes, analyst in U.S. foreign policy in the Legislative Reference Service, prepared the document under the supervision of the subcommittee and its staff. It was published on January 3, 1964, as a committee print, entitled "The U.S. Ideological Effort: Government Agencies and Programs."

With the publication of this document, the subcommittee and the Congress as a whole had available to them an extremely useful reference work which contained the answers to the basic questions: who was doing what, under what authority, and, generally, at what cost to the U.S. taxpayer.

I shall not attempt at this point to describe the inventory in detail because it is readily available to all Members of Cnogress. I would like, however, to comment on its three main features.

First, the inventory revealed that over 20 Government departments and agencies are currently engaged in conducting programs which are neither strictly military nor strictly economic in character but which can provide support for U.S. foreign policy.

Second, it indicated that the annual expenditures on these programs are in excess of $500 million per year.

Third, it pointed to an area of apparent weakness in the U.S. ideological effort: lack of adequate coordination.

This third point became the subject of the next step in the subcommittee's inquiry.

Having inquired into the nature of the challenge confronting our foreign policy on the ideological plane;

Having brought together information about governmental programs operating on this plane;

The subcommittee was now ready to take a closer look at the programs themselves. And we began at the top by inquiring into the direction and the management of the U.S. ideological effort in the cold war.

The Press Supports Lyndon Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, editorial support for the program and policy of President Lyndon Johnson is spreading throughout the length and breadth of America. Last Friday, September 25, 1964, the Cleveland Press militantly announced its support for President Lyndon B. Johnson on the basis that he deserves election on the record of his achievement. This newspaper endorsed

Lyndon Johnson 4 years ago and now restates its support on his demonstrated qualities of leadership.

The editorial follows:

THE PRESS SUPPORTS LYNDON JOHNSON

President Johnson deserves election on his own.

The Cleveland Press (and the other 16 Scripps-Howard newspapers) refrained from making a hurried judgment in the presidential campaign until BARRY GOLDWATER had been accorded a fair chance to state his case.

Now he has done so. Although the press admires his energy, courage and frankness and considers him an attractive man, this newspaper does not find his arguments sufficiently persuasive and does not think he has shown the required qualifications for the Presidency.

It will come as no special surprise to readers that the press thinks well of Lyndon Johnson.

Four years ago this newspaper endorsed Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination, saying: "The times call for a man in the White House who has demonstrated qualities of leadership, who has experience and judgment, a man of vitality and courage, and patriotism that rises above partisanship."

In these 4 years, Johnson has enhanced all those qualities. In his 3 years as Vice President, and especially in the 10 months he has been President, he has grown taller in meeting responsibilities with calm confidence and competence.

The times still call for proved qualities of leadership. And this paramount consideration makes Johnson a natural choice.

There is no better way to judge a man than on his performance record.

Johnson has shown he knows how to handle the job of President. He can make hard decisions and act decisively in foreign crises, without being brash or provocative, as he demonstrated in the Panama riots and the Gulf of Tonkin incidents.

He is a unifying force—proved by the manner in which he has enlisted the growing support of divergent elements of our population. When he says he wants to be President of all the people, he means it—and he works at it.

He knows how to get things done, as he has shown in winning from Congress a sweeping program of legislation which Congress previously merely studied.

The kind of President Johnson has been could have been charted by the type of Democratic leader he was for 6 years in the U.S. Senate.

The White House, in those years, was occupied by a Republican, General Eisenhower. A small-minded partisan in Johnson's place could have frustrated President Eisenhower's every move, causing confusion in a party-divided Government.

Johnson chose, instead, to cooperate with the White House on constructive legislation, preferring the good of the country to the immediate advantage of the party.

There were two outstanding examples of this: the "sputnik" crisis indicating the United States had lagged dangerously behind Russia in space exploration, and the U–2 incident which brought U.S.-Soviet relations to the ragged edge.

Here were chances to reap partisan profit by loading all the blame on a Republican President. Instead, Johnson used his powerful influence and great political skills to calm the storm and get America to work on a course that since has caught and passed the Soviets.

Lyndon Johnson has impressive credentials, a long record of constructive national leadership. He has earned our country's confidence.

The press urges his election.

Wake Up America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Don Brown, editor of the Waseca, Minn., Herald, is among many editors in the Second Congressional District who have taken a strong stand against the State Department handling of the Otto Otepka case, and its refusal to fire William Wieland. I insert Brown's level-headed assessment of the situation in the RECORD for the benefit of its readers:

WAKE UP AMERICA

It is high time that the people of this Nation wake up to the manner in which we are being sold down the river by a tiny band of devout liberal extremists. Wake up America before it is too late.

Let's look into a situation which exists today. A matter that is now in the hands of Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The decision is in his hands and it shouldn't take him 5 seconds. We repeat it should not require 5 seconds. If you think us wrong we ask you to read on.

The question is this: Should William Wieland be ousted as a security risk or restored to full rights as a Foreign Service officer. Here is the evidence.

In 1961 the Wieland security case was up for decision. Otto Otepka, who has been in the doghouse with his superiors in the State Department, said there was laxity in the handling of the Wieland case. As early as 1961 Otepka was not certain about Wieland. He was of the opinion that there was not enough evidence to say that Wieland was disloyal but that Wieland had given incorrect information to Government officials on several occasions.

What was this correct information? Wieland said that he had been with Castro on two occasions. Now this was very important at the time for security division investigators found evidence that Wieland had been with Castro on at least a half dozen occasions.

Knowing that Wieland had lied Secretary of State Dean Rusk cleared him. If that shocks you listen to this. Rusk was about to assign Wieland to a highly sensitive post in Germany. It was more than FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover could stand and he went to Attorney General Robert Kennedy. We all might thank God that in Kennedy the Nation had a man of action. He issued an order blocking the Wieland assignment.

Now let's go back to the time that Fidel Castro was coming into the picture in the Latin Americas. This Nation could not risk the rise of a Communist to power in Cuba—but was Castro a Communist?

During the late 1950's Wieland held Embassy posts in many Latin American countries including Cuba. Then came that period when the FBI filed voluminous reports on Castro's Communist connections. Some information said he was a Communist.

What happened to this important information? It stopped at the desk of Wieland in the State Department and did not go to higher officials. Just think of that. A Communist outpost 90 miles off our shores could have been averted but for Wieland.

Wieland was able to keep this important information from President Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his successor, Christian Herter, by pigeonholing the reports in his office. And Secretary Rusk is piddling away precious time deciding whether this man should be fired.

President Eisenhower acted and Dulles reviewed the situation with FBI Chief Hoover.

New evidence against Wieland has since developed and last March security officials recommended that Wieland be dropped from the State Department. Even this was 6 months after Otto Otepka had been removed from control of the security evaluation division for insubordination. His insubordination constituted telling the truth to save his country. He should have a hero's medal. He will not get one for we have sunk so low in this Nation that high officials discharge or demote an honest man to protect anyone under suspicion of being a lover of communism. Should Rusk spend 5 seconds on this decision, we ask you? Wake up Americans, before it is too late.

Beech's Viet Victory Formula: Bomb North—Veteran of Delta War Weighs Pros and Cons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of the continued lack of U.S. leadership in the Vietnamese crisis and the series of tragic miscalculations on the part of our State Department and administration leaders such as Secretary of Defense McNamara, an article by the Chicago Daily News columnist, Keyes Beech, is especially apropos. I include this article in the RECORD, feeling it is a very thoughtful analysis of the situation in southeast Asia:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Sept. 29, 1964]

BEECH'S VIET VICTORY FORMULA: BOMB NORTH—VETERAN OF DELTA WAR WEIGHS PROS AND CONS

TOKYO.—What time is it in South Vietnam? Late, but not too late to win.

If things are allowed to go on sliding downhill as they are now, then defeat is inevitable.

This will not happen tomorrow, the next day or next month. But it could very easily happen next year.

There will be no sudden collapse of the South Vietnamese armed forces, or stunning Communist victories. What is more likely is that one day the American official community in Saigon will wake up to find that a neutralist government has taken over, ready to make a deal with Hanoi.

Some Americans complain that this is a war without end. So it is, under the present ground rules. But imagine how the Vietnamese peasant feels. He hasn't known peace for 20 years. He knows little or nothing about communism and the same goes for democracy.

All he really wants is to be let alone. So why not trade war for peace, even if it means the Communists will ultimately take over the whole country?

This need not happen if the United States takes the bold and decisive action that is necessary—and some of our top American officials know that it is necessary.

No one can accuse me of optimism in reporting the Vietnamese scene. Over the last 10 years I have seen that country go through too many ups and downs to venture any prediction beyond the next 24 hours—and that with fingers crossed.

But I do know that when the situation seems most desperate it can change for the better overnight. It can also change for the worse.

There is very little we can do about the dismal political mess in Saigon—despite all the high-priced help we have there—except hope, pray, and persuade.

But there are some plus factors. And there are some cards that haven't been played.

In military terms the war is by no means lost. The army, for all its shameful blunders with needless loss of life, still is an effective fighting force. In some respects it's a better army than it was a year ago.

The hamlet defense forces, which bear the brunt of the war, fight like tigers because they are fighting for their lives and their families.

The Vietcong, despite some claims to the contrary, are not 9 feet tall. They, too, are Vietnamese or they would have done a better job than they have.

They are tough. They are elusive. But their military capability is limited. They cannot meet the army head on and hold their own. They cannot take and hold cities.

They are a threat everywhere. But they do not, contrary to some reports, hold the entire countryside. A Canadian friend of mine recently traveled 10 days through the Mekong Delta, accompanied only by an interpreter, and returned unscathed.

If we have problems, which Heaven knows we do, so do the Vietcong. There is every indication that the enemy is suffering from a manpower pinch. A great many Vietcong have been killed. Their reservoir of recruits in the south is not inexhaustible.

Rank-and-file or part-time guerrillas complain about the youth and immaturity of Vietcong cadres. A much more important indicator, however, is the massive infiltration of native-born North Vietnamese into the south.

INFILTRATION ADDS A NEW DIMENSION

Top U.S. commanders in Saigon are at last beginning to accept what their Vietnamese counterparts have been saying for months—that the increased scale of infiltration from the north has added a new dimension to the war.

And this underlines a point that should be emphasized. Even if we have political leadership in Saigon there could be no end to the war so long as Hanoi is allowed to feed fresh bodies into the south as they are needed.

There is little or nothing that South Vietnam can do about this infiltration. But there is a great deal the United States can do about it—if it has the will to act.

The infiltration route from North Vietnam through Laos—called the Ho Chi Minh Trail—is well known. We have excellent aerial photographs of Communist troops and supply movements along this freeway. They have few secrets from us.

But we haven't done anything about it.

What could be done?

U.S. military experts say it would take at least two divisions to block the infiltration routes. South Vietnam doesn't have those divisions to spare. One U.S. marine division might be able to do the job. But that means committing U.S. ground troops to what might well develop into an interminable jungle war.

There is an alternative. We could bomb the Communist supply line. This would make things more difficult for the enemy but it wouldn't stop him.

One of the more costly lessons of the Korean war was that airpower is highly ineffective against primitive human pack trains.

REMAINING STRATEGY IS GREATEST RISK

There is another course of action that holds far greater promise and as a consequence far greater risk. That is to bomb North Vietnam itself. There is nothing new or original about this proposal. We've already done it once and we could easily do it again.

The provocation for our August air strike against North Vietnam was a torpedo boat attack against two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin.

But this isolated attack was nothing compared to the impact on South Vietnam of a constant flow of fresh bodies from the north. And the war is being fought in Vietnam, not the Gulf of Tonkin.

Hanoi has had a taste of what American airpower can do. Neutral travelers from the Communist capital reported that nothing has had such a sobering effect on the Reds as the August strike against their torpedo boat bases.

"What seemed to surprise them most was that you knew exactly what to hit," said one visitor to Hanoi. "They don't want it to happen again."

Indeed they don't, which is precisely why it should happen again. Hanoi knows very well that American airpower can wipe out in 24 hours what it has taken 10 years to build. They also know by now that there is nothing their chief backer, Red China, can do to help.

Next to U.S. air power the Hanoi regime fears most a "protective" Red Chinese invasion. One thing all Vietnamese have in common, whether they are Communists or anti-Communists, whether they live in the north or south, is a fear of the Chinese.

U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, on a highly selective basis, might very well bring the Chinese across the border into the northern half of the country. Which is another excellent reason for putting the squeeze on Hanoi in this fashion.

TWO VITAL EFFECTS OF AIR ATTACKS

Air strikes on North Vietnam would not, of course, end the war in South Vietnam. But it would have at least two important by-products.

1. It would provide a tremendous and much needed boost to South Vietnamese morale. This was demonstrated by the August strike. It would also arouse fears in Saigon of Communist air reprisals.

In view of U.S. air superiority, it's doubtful if any Communist plane could get that far south. Even if one did it might be a good thing. It would convince the Saigonese that there is a war going on.

2. More important than the effect on South Vietnamese morale would be the impact on the Vietcong. The fountainhead of the Communist insurrection in the south is Hanoi. Vietcong forces in the south get their inspiration, their political guidance, and their military orders from Hanoi.

The knowledge that their privileged sanctuary was under attack would inevitably have a disheartening if not a demoralizing effect on the Vietcong. It would create what one expert on Vietnam—Prof. Bernard Fall of Howard University—has called the "endless tunnel" complex.

To be sure, there are risks.

The Red Chinese might come in on the ground. This is extremely doubtful since Peking has more than enough problems at home without risking a military confrontation with the United States.

Assuming the Chinese did come in, we would have to bomb China, too. That's another risk, but then the world is full of them.

And perhaps it's better to take the risk of winning than the certain road to defeat.

Senator Humphrey's Speech to Polish-American Congress Convention, Chicago, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, without a doubt, the highpoint of the Polish-American Congress Convention which was held in Chicago 2 weeks ago, was the speech of Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY.

The depth of feeling which swept the hall of the convention as the Senator strode to the podium and the genuine affection and esteem which resounded throughout the chamber in the standing ovation he received from the thousands of people present made the occasion one of the most memorable I have ever witnessed.

Senator HUMPHREY is a man whose life and record as a public servant personify his belief in American democracy. He continues to express his goals and ideals in terms of positive accomplishments and his enthusiasm for the United States is readily communicated to all those he meets.

Because he does care so deeply about this country and all her citizens, I should like to bring the text of his remarks before the Polish-American Congress Convention to the attention of my colleagues. The speech was interrupted again and again by thunderous applause. At the conclusion the entire audience burst into a spontaneous rendition of a Polish folksong, "Stolat" which, loosely translated, means "May He Live to 100 Years."

As a citizen of the United States who is privileged to serve in the House of Representatives, it is a signal honor to be a member of the same Democratic Party as those responsible and distinguished Americans, President Lyndon Johnson and Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY. Our country is fortunate that we can draw upon the wisdom, dedication and prudence of such men to meet the enormous challenges of this generation.

Mr. Speaker, following is the text of Senator HUMPHREY's speech in Chicago, September 19, 1964:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY'S SPEECH TO THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 19, 1964

No nation has a unique claim to America—but no people from other lands can claim to have made a greater contribution to our society than those who came here from Poland.

America has always been a land of opportunity, and none have understood this better than those who came to these shores from Poland.

And it was a great Polish patriot over 150 years ago who eloquently stated that opportunity in America means opportunity for all. A statesman of compassion, a soldier of courage, he had received from our Government a large land grant in gratitude for his valor in fighting for American freedom. When he returned to his native land—again to fight for its freedom—he left this testa-

ment with Thomas Jefferson. Let me read its inspiring words:

"I, being just on my departure from the United States, do hereby declare and direct that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof on purchasing Negroes and giving them liberty in my name; in giving them an education in trade or otherwise; in having them instructed in their new condition in the duties of morality, which may make them good neighbors, husbands, and wives, in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and of their country, of the good order of society, and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful; and I make the said Thomas Jefferson the executor of this."

This paper bears the signature of "Thaddeus Bonaventura Kosciusko."

General Kosciusko was the brilliant leader who walked 160 years ahead of us—50 years ahead of Abraham Lincoln—in the cause of extending freedom and opportunity to all Americans. You Americans whose forebears came from Poland, you have an unusual number of heroes in your ranks, but none greater than Kosciusko. And his heroism in battle, against big armies or bigoted minds, is both an inspiration and a challenge to those of us who follow him.

I share your pride in him. I have a warm feeling that today when we are challenged to make opportunity available to all Americans by protecting the human rights of all Americans, Kosciusko would be proud that we have succeeded in passing a law that guarantees equal freedom and equal opportunity to all.

One month ago the newest of our nuclear submarines was commissioned the *Casimir Pulaski*. So we honor the name of the young Polish nobleman who gave his life to help our Nation win its independence. But although this ship will carry inside her more destructive power than all of the explosives used in World War II, her purpose is still the defense of liberty and the cause of peace across the globe. We must always remember that America is a land of peace as well as a land of opportunity. Peace is our preeminent purpose in the world today.

Nineteen sixty-four marks the beginning of the thousand-year anniversary of the existence of Poland as an independent state and a Christian nation. Despite today's conditions of temporary subjugation, the fires of liberty have not been dimmed in Polish hearts. And Poland shall be free again.

We trust the Polish people. We understand well their bravery. As President Johnson has said, "We know the unswerving dedication of the Polish people to the goals of liberty, equality, and independence. That is why our policy is designed to help the Polish people so that they may increasingly help themselves."

Americans are offered a choice this year on how best to serve the cause of Poland, and the cause not only of Poland, but of all Eastern Europe.

We can continue to be friends of the people of Poland through bridges of trade, ideas, visitors, and humanitarian aid. Or we can consider them sworn enemies of ours because they are under Communist domination—and coldly reject the claims of nourishment and brotherhood.

We can accept the commitment of the Polish people to their long Christian heritage. Or we can reject the people of Poland as a godless people because the Marxists in control have betrayed the religious traditions of a thousand years.

Almost exactly 4 years ago that gallant warrior in the cause of freedom, John F. Kennedy, spoke to this congress here in Chicago. He said:

"Our task is to pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny—a policy that looks toward evolution, not revolution—a policy that depends on peace, not war.

"We must never—in any summit, in any treaty declaration, in our words or even in our minds—recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Poland's claim to independence and liberty is not based on sentiment or politics. It is deeply rooted in history, in culture, and in law—and no matter what pressures the Soviets may exert, we do not intend to see that claim abandoned.

"We must strive to restore the traditional identification which Poland and Eastern Europe have had with the European community instead of the Soviet empire. For Poland back through the centuries has belonged to the European tradition of freedom and national independence. It has been a part of European culture, of European economy, and European history. And even the Soviet Union cannot rewrite that history."

This policy stated by John F. Kennedy in 1960 continues to be the policy of this Government and the policy to which I am personally committed.

Let me make it clear right now that only a political charlatan can talk of instant victory over communism, or instant liberation of the captive peoples held in Communist subjugation.

We cannot imitate those of an earlier era who talked grandly of liberation—but when the Hungarian people rose in heroic revolt, stood mute on the sidelines.

No, the possibility of instant victory vanished with the coming of the era of instant annihilation. So we must pursue the more challenging course, the only sane course, of devising a policy that will achieve freedom without obliteration—not only for the Polish people, but for all peoples wherever tyranny and dictatorship rule.

We are convinced—unlike some narrow-visioned defeatists—that time is on the side of freedom. That is, if we put time to good use. We are completely confident that Poland and its people will be restored to the family of free nations.

And we intend to use time as a tool, not as a couch. We intend to build bridges to the Polish people—bridges which may now be obstructed at the other end but which will be there to be opened wide when the day of freedom dawns.

We have already begun. The United States has initiated a new and constructive policy toward the Polish people and the oppressed nations of Eastern Europe. We have recognized the deepening divisions in the Communist camp. We have encouraged those divisions, and we have made use of these divisions for helping these people to regain their freedom and independence.

We have strengthened the economic and cultural ties between Poland and the United States. We have expanded trade. We have assisted the Polish people to build their economy. We have encouraged exchanges of students and scholars. Through the efforts of Congressman CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, of Milwaukee, and myself, the U.S. Government has provided more than $10 million for the construction of a 300-bed children's hospital and research center in Crakow. We have sold American agricultural products for Polish currency which, in turn, we have been able to spend in promoting valuable projects of friendship. We have encouraged the Poles to assert their independence and to pursue a course of action based on Poland's national needs and interests. For example, in the agricultural sector they have repudiated the disaster of collectivization. Today in Poland 85 percent of the land is privately owned.

There is much more to be done. We must continue to open doors and windows in the Iron Curtain. The Polish people must never have reason to believe that we have forsaken them.

Yet there are some within our Nation who would close these doors and windows—who denounce our efforts to build bridges to the people of Poland. Such men seek instant answers to long-range problems. We are dealing "with the enemy," they bellow. We are following a "no-win" program.

But when Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski deals with Gomulka, is he engaging in a "no-win" policy? When Pope Paul concludes a diplomatic agreement with the Hungarian Communist regime—as occurred this very week—is he capitulating to the atheists?

To ask these questions is to indicate the absurdity of the issue. Pope Paul and the Primate of Poland have as their first charge the spiritual welfare of their pepole. When they negotiate with the enemy, it is from an impregnable bastion of principle which has stood for almost 2,000 years.

It is Gomulka who runs the risks in dealing with the church—2,000 years of Christianity and the Catholic church will survive two decades of communism and dictatorship.

It is the Communists, not we, whose power is being eaten away by the corrosive impact of freedom—by the knowledge among their people that the United States looks upon the people of Eastern Europe as friends who have temporarily been denied the right to assert their friendship and their common dedication to liberty.

The Goldwater extremists may cry that in sending food to hungry people behind the Iron Curtain we are aiding communism. But the people who receive this food know its American origin and do not thank their Communist bosses for the nourishment it brings.

Some people denounce our aid and trade in nonstrategic goods. But you know and I know—all the rest of the American people know—that such aid and trade is instead an assertion of human solidarity against the forces of inhumanity. The Polish people know this too. And so do the men and women in the other nations of Eastern Europe.

Having provided the life-giving substance of hope, the Democratic Party under President Johnson will not now turn its back. As President Johnson has said: "The objective of the United States is—and will continue to be—to see freedom returned to Poland and the other nations of Eastern Europe. We know the years of darkness have not extinguished the light of freedom in Poland. And the masters of darkness know that."

The Soviet leaders in the Kremlin do indeed know that. The nations of Eastern Europe are no longer the satellites they were. In being forced to lengthen their leash, Mr. Khrushchev has been forced to admit that they "are getting too big to spank." Soon they will be too strong to chain.

The process may not be swift. But we shall prevail. In spirit, Poland never left the West. In full political freedom it shall return.

The same Goldwater faction that distrusts people abroad, distrusts people here at home. And, characteristically, it distrusts the same people.

I was shocked to hear that Senator GOLDWATER's runningmate—whose ancestral boat presumably came in only a few lengths behind the Mayflower—has recently condemned the Johnson administration's proposal to revise the immigration laws. He says that he opposes "opening the floodgates"—but what an incredible distortion. What is really at issue is not floodgates at all. What is at issue is "fairgates"—gates which are fair, which do not open only at the knock of an Anglo-Saxon hand.

The Johnson proposal, which is similar to the proposal made earlier by John F. Kennedy and myself, is designed to end the stigma which was imposed by the Republican

administration and platform in 1924—that insulting statutory endorsement of the principle that Poles, Italians, and other Eastern European and non-European peoples somehow belonged to inferior breeds.

The immigration bill, which President Kennedy sent to Congress shortly before his tragic death, opens no floodgates. But it would correct this burning inequity and a disgraceful discrimination against peoples. It will end the quota system which sought to maintain a mythical racial and ethnic purity by apportioning immigration visas among the nations of the world in proportion to the ethnic composition of our population in 1920.

In its 1960 platform, the Republican Party pledged to do something about it, too. But the Goldwater platform of 1964 purged this concession to decency, and now the temporary Republican leadership has added the insult of disdain to the injury of neglect.

On Wednesday of this week, Senator GOLDWATER's handpicked national chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, welcomed Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, to the Goldwater party with the statement: "The Democratic party has forsaken the people to become the party of minority groups."

Now what would your grandfather have said of all this? You will recall, I am sure, that your grandfather belonged to that courageous group of men and women in Eastern Europe who dared to pull up their roots and move their families in search of justice and liberty in another land. They fled from tyranny to be welcomed to our shores in one of the great tides of immigration that invigorated our country in the middle of the 19th century and the early 20th century * * * like my own grandfather and those of so many millions of Americans.

But I tell you this in astonishment and wonder: Your grandfather could not come to America under our present immigration laws. Your grandfather could not come to America under the legislation BARRY GOLDWATER supports. Your grandfather would have found our gates barred to him and to his family—barred by BARRY GOLDWATER and those who share his views on immigration.

And what would your grandfather have done? He would have had to remain in a Communist state in Eastern Europe, hoping and yearning for the light and air of liberty, his eyes turned toward America in quest of friendship and reassurance. Yet what would he have found if America were ruled by BARRY GOLDWATER? I tell you what he would have found—and Senator GOLDWATER has made clear what he would have found: a closing of the windows we have opened to bring light and air to the people of Eastern Europe—an end to our programs of educational and cultural exchange, our food-for-peace program, our information program. Your grandfather would have to suffer in darkness because of the policies of BARRY GOLDWATER.

President Johnson has stated the truly American position on the question of immigration. "In establishing preferences, a nation built by immigrants of all lands can ask those who seek admission: 'What can you do for our country?' But we should not be asking: 'In what country were you born?'"

America is a great land. Yet we are on the threshold of the possibility of more progress by the end of this century than ever before achieved in a century.

The comforts of many will be extended to all.

Our people, who are living longer, will also live in dignity and health.

Our cities that have grown big will also come to know beauty.

A great society is possible for America in which every man will have the opportunity to provide a decent life for himself and his family—regardless of race, creed, or nationality.

We need leadership, however, with vision to match our potentialities. We need a President who heads divisions between people—at home and abroad—who will help put salt in peoples' bread, not pour it into their wounds.

By the grace of God, we have such leadership in America.

Let us continue—with Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Role of Private Enterprise in Urban Renewal

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the intent of Congress in enacting the Housing Act of 1949, and subsequent housing legislation in the urban renewal field was to encourage the use of private enterprise to the greatest extent possible. This involves both the encouragement of private enterprise within a project area through rehabilitation and renovation, and the business community as a participant from without in rebuilding the slums and blighted areas of our cities.

A recent statement by Milford Vieser, the president of the Commerce and Industry Association of Newark, N.J., delivered on September 18, 1964, before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Committee on Construction and Community Development, reveals the role that private enterprise has played and can play in urban development. He points out the need for complete cooperation between local government and labor, business, and the people within the community in order to achieve a successful urban renewal plan. Mr. Vieser also stresses the need to avoid the endless delay which has plagued so many projects throughout the country.

The proper roles of the Federal Government, local officials, and private enterprise are a fit subject for congressional inquiry and debate. Mr. Vieser's statement is a valuable contribution to this dialog.

The statement follows:

URBAN RENEWAL: A PROGRAM FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

(By Milford Vieser)

It is time that the American businessman recognized that the Federal urban renewal program is, above all, a program for him.

The basic purpose of urban renewal is not to compete with private enterprise—it is to clear the way for private enterprise; to create the conditions in which private interests can continue their traditional role as the builders of our cities.

Urban renewal is the program of the city to improve itself through the elimination of slums and blight, to remove their causes, thereby preventing their recurrence, and to rehabilitate and conserve the existing inventory of housing. Its role is not only to provide housing. It is also to provide commercial and industrial structures, better transportation, and cultural and educational facilities. Simply stated, it is a program to make our old, tired cities better places in which to live and work.

As businessmen, our particular interest in urban renewal is not in public housing, except as it is the solution to part of the complex problem of renewing our city. Had we not had a public housing program in this country to start the slum clearance bill rolling, there would be no opportunity today for private enterprise to take the leadership in urban renewal. I know that in Newark public housing prevented living conditions from declining to the point where no one would have invested $1 of private capital in a renewal effort, with or without Government participation. Our role in public housing is to review its record to determine better methods of providing housing for our lowest income group.

However, our natural interest as businessmen is in that portion of the program which provides for the purchase and clearance of blighted urban properties to make way for the private development of new private housing and new commercial and industrial facilities.

To those who think that the job of urban renewal can be accomplished by private enterprise alone, without the assistance of Government, I can only say that it is time we stopped deluding ourselves. The plain, indisputable fact is that most blighted urban areas are far too expensive to acquire and clear to allow any private developer to take on this obligation and still hope to make a profit.

Without Government participation, a badly blighted area deteriorates still further. The result is the opposite of economic growth. It is economic stagnation. It is poverty, with new social problems which bring new financial burdens to the municipality, which in turn bring still higher taxes. It is all the things that are bad for private business.

With Government participation, on the other hand, it is possible to bring into play the constructive power of private enterprise. Let us take one of those blighted urban areas which no private developer would be able to buy and clear. Government participation means an investment in the future of that land parcel, an investment in the form of the expense of purchasing and clearing the land. The next step brings the first return on that investment. The Government sells the land to a developer, and part of the public expense has already been defrayed. Now the forces of private enterprise are able to take over. The developer builds his project. New commercial activity is generated, both inside and outside the project area.

The activity which results from an urban renewal project not only brings new opportunity for private enterprise. It reimburses both the local and Federal governments, which helped start the ball rolling in the first place. Property taxes from an urban renewal project area normally exceed greatly those which were realized from the slum area before the project was undertaken. The expense to the municipality for police and fire protection and for social services in a renewal area usually is cut substantially. Moreover, the enlivened business community generates more revenue for government at all levels. Ultimately, an urban renewal area more than pays its debt to government. It is simple arithmetic—the arithmetic of urban renewal.

Urban renewal is a local program. It is locally planned, administered, and executed. Except for the buying, clearing, and readying of the land it is financed by private capital. A successful urban renewal program requires the complete cooperation of local government, labor, business, and the people.

The cooperation of business is especially vital to the success of urban renewal. No community in our Nation has had a successful program of rebuilding without business leadership. This is a program to which businessmen interested in the future of private

enterprise must give total support, both at the local and Federal levels.

It was 10 years ago that the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co. embarked on a program of new construction in the downtown area of Newark. We erected a modern, 20-story home office structure for our company. This building has become one of the symbols of the renewal program in Newark. We also constructed four other office buildings and we hope to start on still another within a reasonably short period of time. When we complete our complex of buildings we will have built 6 imposing structures and an 1,100-car garage.

What Mutual Benefit has done provides a dramatic example of something I referred to earlier—the arithmetic of urban renewal. Before we undertook our rebuilding program, the properties which we are developing returned to the city of Newark a total of $77,000 a year in tax revenues. When we complete this redevelopment work, those same properties will produce $1,500,000 a year for the city treasury. Moreover, the city will have realized this gain without having to provide new schools, or any other new service facilities. Our company benefits as well as the city, for our policyholders are receiving an excellent return on the investment.

For about 30 years prior to the start of Newark's urban renewal program there was almost no construction in the city of private housing, commercial, and industrial structures. The only building during that time was public housing. Newark was on the downgrade. Its pride and spirit were at a low ebb. Now, a decade since we started renewal activities in the business center of our city, private enterprise has greatly altered the appearance of our downtown business area. In addition to the Mutual Benefit complex, the Prudential Insurance Co. has built a new head office and several commercial structures. The National State Bank, National Newark & Essex Bank, Fidelity Union Trust Co., United States Savings Bank and Carteret Savings & Loan all have invested heavily in our main street by building new quarters for themselves or refurbishing established facilities. The Robert Treat Hotel has constructed a major new addition, and a large new Holiday Inn motel has been built. So have several medium-sized new commercial structures—all on that same street.

To support the expanding Newark economy, our utility companies have spent millions on new facilities. Public Service Electric has constructed a new power distribution center, and N. J. Bell has invested in an expanded switching center. Both our newspapers, the Newark News and the Newark Star-Ledger, are building new plants within areas earmarked for renewal under the title I program. Our breweries are expanding. Ballantine recently opened a multimillion-dollar distribution center as its most recent improvement, and Pabst is engaging in a major expansion plan.

Two chemical companies, Pitt Consolidated and Dixon, have spent huge sums on new plants in Newark. Engelhard Industries, the largest platinum company in the world, opens a new building almost every year. Tung-Sol has improved its home office in Newark, and Western Instruments, formerly the Daystrom Corp., recently moved its home office to our city. Liberty Optical Manufacturing Co., a leading manufacturer of eyeglass frames, has moved from its old quarters in Newark to an ultramodern building at another location within the city.

The city has made its own major contribution with a vast, self-supporting underground parking garage. There is a new spirit in our city. While the problem of rebuilding is complex and at times frustrating with delay, we have good reason for faith in our future.

We are proud of what has been accomplished in Newark, but the investment which has been made places upon us the responsibility of making certain that it is not wasted.

Like all older and larger cities in this country—including many which aren't nearly as old as Newark—our financial problems are serious. As a result of the migration to the suburbs of the middle and upper income groups, as well as some business, major cities have been losing population for the last two decades. The middle and upper income groups have been partially replaced by the low-income workers.

This has brought about a sharp rise in police, fire, school, and welfare costs to the cities. As a result, taxes keep going up.

One of the principal solutions to this problem is the rebuilding of our slum areas, and this means urban renewal with the participation of the Federal Government in the purchase and clearance of blighted areas.

As supporters of urban renewal, we must strive to find a solution to the most pressing problem facing this program—the problem of endless delay—of red tape.

My own city of Newark offers an excellent example of how endless procedures at all levels of government has slowed progress on a job which private enterprise is anxious to get on with.

During the 10 years in which we have had a resurgence of private activity, only one federally assisted urban renewal project—the Colonnade Park Apartments on North Broad Street—has been completed.

Incidentally, this project offers another excellent example of the highly favorable arithmetic of urban renewal. The land on which the Colonnade stands, together with some adjacent land now occupied by public housing, returned $178,000 a year in property taxes to the city before any renewal work was undertaken.

Today that same sector, including the land on which public housing was built, produces for the city $550,000 a year in property taxes. What is more, the cost to the city of servicing that area has been greatly reduced by the renewal work. Estimates of the annual savings, which have resulted for the city through the sharp reduction in police, fire, social welfare, and other service costs, are over $500,000 a year.

However, many of our slum areas still lie untouched. Others have been cleared, but nothing has yet replaced these slums that the city wants for the new ratables that new development would bring.

The biggest single reason for this lag has been endless procedures and red tape. We have had private developers more than anxious to get started. What has held them up has been the agonizing process of getting approvals and clearances from agencies of all sorts, at all levels of government—approvals which must be acquired before the Federal Government can participate financially.

It was only 4 weeks ago that Jack Parker—potentially our largest private developer—was able to break ground on a renewal plan for our city. It was 5 years ago, however, that he announced his plan for a vast multimillion dollar renewal project in Newark. At that time his proposal brought new enthusiasm and hope to everyone interested in the redevelopment of Newark.

Mr. Parker, who has built more than $75 million in high-rise apartment housing in New York City alone, was prepared to start work on his project in Newark within a year of the time he made his proposal. However, because of the endless stream of steps required between the announcement of a plan and the actual start of work on it, Newark was unable to give the go ahead to Mr. Parker until this year.

An exciting plan for the reclamation of about 2,000 acres of stagnant meadowland for industrial and commercial use—a project which would be a boon to our city and to private enterprise—was announced nearly 2 years ago and given top priority in Newark. Yet, more than a year was needed just to accomplish 40 separate steps required by various government agencies at all levels before it was even possible to hold a blight hearing—still an early step in any renewal project.

Delay of this sort simply means that private enterprise must wait until some future date to do a job it is ready and anxious to start today. As businessmen, I am sure each of us can appreciate the cost of unnecessary delay—the cost not only to the public but to private enterprise. If private enterprise is really going to step in and do the rebuilding job in our cities that it wants to do, we must streamline the process by which a sound renewal plan is turned into reality.

On thing which would help us achieve such a streamlining, I am sure, is less centralization of this program in Washington and greater reliance on the know-how and talent at the municipal level. Too often we must wait seemingly interminable lengths of time while an agency in Washington duplicates study and planning which already has been accomplished by highly capable people working for the city.

I don't suggest that Washington, which makes such a heavy financial investment in urban renewal, should merely give automatic approval to any renewal plan it receives.

I am sure that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States can do much to help bring about such a streamlining. The active support of the chamber for any step or any measure which tends to substitute action for delay in the urban renewal program would represent a distinct service, not only to our cities, but to private enterprise as well.

This country has rapidly moved away from its agricultural past toward its present high degree of urbanization and advanced technology. By 1975 we expect that about 80 percent of the population of this Nation will live in urban areas. Already, 90 percent of our New Jersey population lives within the urban sectors of our State.

Obviously, we cannot afford to ignore the problems of the urban segment of our society. We must not only work to correct the problems we face today, but also strive to prepare for the future, when we will be even more urbanized. Urban renewal is the only real tool we have at our command in preparing for this future. It must be sharpened and made as effective as possible.

In Newark, the commitment of the business community to urban renewal is already complete. We have been participants on our own. But we also recognize the need for a many-pronged attack on urban problems in which private enterprise and government at all levels work together for solutions.

We recognize the need to expedite the program at the local level as well as at the Federal level. Toward that end the Commerce and Industry Association of Newark has formed an Urban Renewal Committee of leading Newark businessmen under the chairmanship of Mr. S. Westcott Toole, senior vice president of the Prudential Insurance Co., a recognized expert and a longtime leader in these affairs.

I would like to quote to you the sentence in which we described the purpose of this committee at the time it was formed. It is "To exert helpful pressure, wherever appropriate, to achieve a quickening of the pace at which Newark's renewal program is moving, and to maintain a continuing review of our urban renewal process so as to make it a more effective tool in the rebuilding of our city."

May I suggest that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States consider the formation of a similar committee of businessmen of nationally recognized stature. The

function of this national urban renewal committee, I would hope, would be to help speed the pace at which the national renewal program is moving, and to help make it as effective a program as possible.

I assure you that private enterprise would be among the principal beneficiaries of such an effort.

The Clergy and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column by Robert G. Spivack, which appeared in the September 27, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. Spivack's answer to the pronouncement of a prominent Washington clergyman should be read by all fair-minded people.

Mr. Spivack's column follows:

CLERGY AND POLITICS

(By Robert G. Spivack)

No politician is likely to argue with a minister, least of all one so eminent as Dean Francis P. Sayre, of the Washington Cathedral. But to leave unchallenged Dean Sayre's pronouncement that the Nation faces "a sterile choice" in the Presidential campaign gives consent to a doctrine of neutralism in public affairs that could have consequences far beyond 1964.

The Dean expressed his distaste for both the President and Senator GOLDWATER in language that may satisfy those who look upon politics as a sordid business unworthy of superior men with higher moral values. I think he has been unfair to both men, particularly the President.

I make no brief for politicians as a breed, having spent a large part of my adult life as a reporter, and the rogues I have known would fill many galleries. But one must learn to distinguish between politicians, how they started their careers, what happened as they went up the ladder, whether they changed and grew and, especially as in the case of Lyndon B. Johnson, what happened when they crossed the threshold of the White House.

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory portion of the sermon is that Dean Sayre does not seem to understand the role of a politician in a democratic society, or for that matter the nature of American politics. When a man becomes President, we expect him to function as leader, teacher, commander-in-chief, unifier, or pacifier. We look to the challenger to see how he may perform some of these functions.

But any President must be judged on what he has said and done as President, not on what he may or may not have done as a youth, or Congressman or even as Vice President.

Or let's take the case of Dean Sayre's grandfather, President Woodrow Wilson. According to author John Morton Blum in "Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality," President Wilson never openly took issue with the Jim Crow laws of his day and, indeed, restored a degree of segregation in Federal employment that had been banned since the Civil War. Are we to damn President Wilson on these grounds?

Or do we look at the entire record of Wilson, Kennedy, and Roosevelt before handing down moral judgments?

Lyndon B. Johnson had 1 hour to become President of the United States, to effect the transition after the assassination, for which other Presidents are allowed 3 months after a regular election. How has he measured up, as a man, as a leader, in his dealings with Congress, with our allies and with our adversaries? Do the results outweigh his ownership of a TV station in Austin? If Bobby Baker was as crucial as some make it appear, how has the President managed to function without him?

One may prefer Senator GOLDWATER's approach, or agree with the late President Kennedy's candid comment during the 1960 California primary that, "Of us all, Lyndon Johnson is the best qualified for the office."

Boston Herald Urges Congress to Consider American Ombudsman Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on July 16, 1963, I introduced H.R. 7593, to establish an Administrative Counsel of the Congress. The Administrative Counsel would be an adaptation of the highly successful Scandinavian institution of Ombudsman.

An editorial in the Boston Herald recently urges that the American Ombudsman proposal be given close scrutiny during the 89th Congress:

OMBUDSMAN FOR AMERICANS?

In Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, and—most recently—New Zealand, the national legislatures have established the office of the ombundsman, or grievance man, to look into complaints from private citizens.

Would such an arrangement work well in this country?

Congressman HENRY S. REUSS, of Wisconsin, suggests, in an article in the New York Times magazine, that it might—in modified form.

REUSS would not have the governmental grievance officer directly answerable to individual citizens, as in Scandinavia and New Zealand, but to Members of Congress. If individuals could approach the office of the grievance officer directly, the Congressman feels, it would become "yet another impersonal bureaucracy," and at the same time the traditional political relationship between Members of Congress and their grievance-bearing constituents would be badly diluted.

But the grievance officer—REUSS would call him the administrative council—could serve to relieve the individual Congressman and his staff of much time and effort by looking into each complaint and reporting back on his findings. The Congressman, in turn, could pass the report along to his constituent—or pursue the matter further on his own if not satisfied.

"In a typical week," REUSS says, "I get at least 300 letters, visits, or phone calls from my constituents asking me to mediate for them with the Federal bureaucracy. My staff of seven spends most of its time on these matters and some become my personal concern. As a result, only a small fraction of my staff's work can be devoted to helping me on substantive legislative matters."

The Wisconsin Congressman has filed a bill to establish the office of administrative counsel, but it has remained dormant in the Committee on House Administration since July 1963.

The next Congress should give this measure close scrutiny. The bureaucratic treatment of citizens by Federal governmental agencies is a serious and continuing problem. So is the weighing down of our national lawmakers with duties which have little if anything to do with the business of making laws.

Will Americans Go the Way of the Passenger Pigeons?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, readers of the Rock County, Minn., Star-Herald are privileged to have as their editorial writer one of the finest country editors in America—Alan C. McIntosh. Al McIntosh repeatedly hits the verbal nail on the head as he does when he writes:

We cannot survive if America's yardstick turns to what's in it for me instead of "My country T'is of thee."

There is much to think about in the latest McIntosh offering, which I insert in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

WILL AMERICANS GO THE WAY OF THE PASSENGER PIGEONS?

(By Al McIntosh)

Once upon a time, when Columbus stepped foot for the first time in the new world, there were nearly 5 billion passenger pigeons in America. So many they formed one-third of the total bird population in America.

For 200 years the passenger pigeons, who thought nothing of roaming several hundred miles for food, blanketed the skies. James Audabon, the naturalist, witnessed one migratory flight in 1813 when the skies were full of the birds. They were so numerous that during the day it was as completely dark as though there was an eclipse of the sun.

On a 55-mile journey near Henderson, Ky., Audabon saw pigeons passing overhead all day long. The migration continued 3 straight days. Audabon estimated that the pigeons in one flock a mile wide, flying overhead for 3 hours, contained over 1,115,130,000 pigeons. And that was just 3 hours of the 3-day flight. That flock alone would consume 8,712,000 bushels of nuts per day.

The flock, tremendous as it was, was but a small part of the 3-day migration.

In one nesting, near Petosky, Mich., after several days the dung covered the ground below like snow to a depth of over 3 inches.

Yet—within two decades after that great nesting the passenger pigeons were all but gone.

Meat hunters slaughtered them. Maybe a good thing with the march westward of agriculture for they would have devoured crops faster than farmers could have planted them.

The last wild passenger pigeon was shot by a boy in 1900.

Today if you want to see a passenger pigeon you will find one, "Martha," in the Smithsonian Institution's museum in Washington. She was hatched in a Cincinnati zoo. She died September 1, 1914.

Her tag, on the exhibit, reads: "Martha, last of her species, died at 1 p.m. September 1, 1914, age 29, in the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens. Extinct."

Meat hunters caused the passenger pigeon to disappear. But how could hunters wipe out a total of over 5 billion birds? It seems that in nature there are minimum limits to population if species are to survive. When the population reached that figure, even though there were several billions left, the passenger pigeon was doomed.

You have to see the last of the passenger pigeons in a museum.

Which raises the eery thought will there be a case in some museum marked "American—1620–1974" because our country might be destroyed?

Seemingly there is no limit to America's future.

A seemingly bottomless pit of most of the world's gold buried at Fort Knox. Physical resources beyond counting.

But—there is no guarantee of the permanence of America. We have been prodigals with our boundless resources, squandering them with no heed for the morrow.

We've polluted our rivers and our streams.

We've chopped down our forests.

We've allowed our lands to be raped of the precious topsoils which have washed down to the Gulf of Mexico.

It was probably a good thing for agriculture that the passenger pigeons did not survive.

But will we survive?

Have we enough integrity to survive?

Have we enough old-fashioned faith to survive?

Have we enough moral courage to survive?

Have we the toughness of moral fiber to survive?

Will be have the resources left to survive?

Have we the selflessness this Nation needs for us to survive?

Do we really care enough to want to pay the price to survive?

Above all—do we deserve to survive as a nation?

We cannot survive if we allow the cancer of moral decay to grow unchecked.

We cannot survive if we follow the false political prophets who "con" us with the lure of something for nothing.

We cannot survive if America's yardstick turns to what's in it for me instead of "My country 'tis of thee."

Martha, the last of the carrier pigeons lived in a cage for 29 years.

Will we live in a cage of softness and selfishness and moral decay for 29 years before somebody puts up a sign in front of us "Species Americans—Extinct." We would have nobody but ourselves to blame.

From President Johnson: Visit and a Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, our President visited New England on Monday, landing in Providence and then traveling to all the New England States. I was privileged to be with him in Hartford, where the turnout of Americans anxious to pay their respect was beyond belief.

His schedule was crowded, but President Johnson displayed his customary warm, friendly desire to talk with the people, to be among them, to report to them and to pledge his continued service. The crowd responded enthusiastically, so much so that many a citizen of Hartford who has known other visits found it hard to comprehend.

I was particularly pleased that President Johnson had an opportunity and took the time, while he was in downtown Hartford, to see and visit the brilliant accomplishment of urban renewal represented by Constitution Plaza. This is a remarkable combination of private and public investment carried out under the authority of the urban renewal act in downtown Hartford as positive proof that where the people have vision, the future is within their grasp.

He met, there, during his visit, some of the leading businessmen and industrialists of our city and our State, and he talked with them. His remarks were down to earth and yet they moved many of his listeners to hearty agreement and inspiration. They drew an editorial from the Hartford Courant, the oldest newspaper in the United States, celebrating its 200th birthday this month, which I offer for the RECORD:

FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON: VISIT AND A TRIBUTE

Citizens of Hartford gave President Johnson something to remember them by when he came here yesterday. They turned out for the Nation's Chief Executive in a tumultous throng larger than any within recent memory. Not only were there some 80,000 persons packed into the area in front of the Hartford Times where the President spoke, but his calvacade had to plow its way through throngs that time and again brought his car to a stop, as he made his way to rostrum site. No one could recall anything like it, and those who have been following the President elsewhere as he campaigns about the country were astonished by what they saw here.

Obviously it was a converging with political dimensions. After all, the President came to Hartford as a political candidate, and myriad of his fans swelled the great throng. And too, the President in return did make remarks pitching it for his Democratic Party. But the part that the citizens of this community should remember in especial—quite apart from political considerations—was his glowing tribute to the American system of free enterprise. Here the President's words touch everyone, and should be graven on everyone's memory. For they sum up a national achievement and a national philosophy.

Speaking particularly to businessmen who met him at Constitution Plaza, President Johnson contrasted the philosophies of democracy and communism. We have been capped capitalists, he said. Then he defined: A captalist is a man who through prudence accumulates a sum of money and then invests it in America. He expects a reasonable return, but his enterprise and industry and faith build the prosperity of the Nation at the same time. In return, he does not fear he will be arrested in the middle of the night. Free enterprise, the President reminded us all, has been the heart and the measure of American achievement. "We can outwork, outproduce, and outfight any nation in the world," the President assured his hearers, because of this mighty tradition.

Nor was this all just general praise for the American way. President Johnson applied it here in a way that should make this particular community particularly proud. He especially asked to meet business leaders here, he said, because the people of this area have always led in vision, prudence and progress, and he came to take counsel with them. "Your eyes have been in the stars and your feet on the ground," he told this community, "and you have made outstanding contributions to American history and living."

In a political year, the President's words had more than a political implication. If the people of Hartford gave the President something to remember in their thronging presence, he gave them in return something to mull over long after he had gone. It was this, that democracy, founded on free enterprise, is unconquerable—and that we here may take pride in contributing to it so well and so long.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—The Uncoordinated Effort, IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I referred earlier to the fourth dimension of foreign policy: the ideological and psychological.

This dimension embraces a wide range of programs and activities which are intended to communicate information and ideas to foreign audiences, to influence them, or to move them to a particular course of action.

Included in this category are radio and television broadcasting, distribution of publications, community relations projects, educational and cultural exchanges, strategic psychological operations, and a host of other programs.

As shown in the inventory published by the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements ("The U.S. Ideological Effort: Government Agencies and Programs," Foreign Affairs Committee Print, 1964), operations of this type are currently conducted by more than 20 departments and agencies of the U.S. Government. Their cost runs into hundreds of millions of dollars annually. They constitute the third and increasingly important dimension of U.S. foreign policy.

How do these programs operate? How are they coordinated with each other? How is the experience and information derived through these programs channeled and brought to bear on the formulation of foreign policy decisions? How are foreign policy decisions transmitted to the operational heads of these programs and implemented?

In a series of executive hearings held in January and February 1964, the subcommittee addressed these and many other questions to the representatives of the four governmental agencies principally involved in foreign policy decisions: the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, and the Department of Defense.

The testimony of these witnesses, after the required security deletions, was pub-

lished under the title, "Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Parts VI Through VIII." In addition, this three-volume set contains an appraisal of "The Cold War Since 1960," prepared by the Department of State, as well as several research studies of the U.S. Information Agency.

On the basis of information received in the course of the two sets of hearings conducted by the subcommittee—March-September 1963 and January-February 1964—the subcommittee issued report No. 2 entitled "Ideological Operations and Foreign Policy," House Report No. 1352, 88th Congress, 2d session, 1964. The subcommittee's findings, outlined in that report, may be summarized as follows:

First. The basic goals of U.S. foreign policy have been expressed clearly and have remained fairly constant. They are designed to advance our national interests and security by encouraging a peaceful world community of free and independent countries whose governments are responsive to the just aspirations of their people, and by combating Communist designs for world domination.

Second. The concurrent revolutions of the 20th century—in science, warfare, communications, education, and other aspects of life—have in turn revolutionized the practice of diplomacy. Foreign policy operations have acquired a new dimension: the ideological or psychological. This revolution has been recognized only recently by the United States—much later, in fact, than by many other countries.

Third. In the pursuit of its basic objectives in the world, the United States, unlike the Soviet Union, has assigned relatively low priority to the ideological and psychological area of foreign policy operations. The attention and the resources devoted to these operations do not begin to approach those expended on foreign military and economic activities.

Fourth. There exists in the executive branch a broad range of nonmilitary and noneconomic programs which are directed at foreign audiences and can provide support for U.S. foreign policy. These, however, are yet to be orchestrated into an effective instrument of our foreign policy. The concept of an "ideological offensive"—of coordinating these programs and their application—thus far has been only partially implemented by the executive branch.

Fifth. A number of U.S. Government programs which operate in the third dimension of foreign policy suffer from fuzziness of concept. Their purposes and the roles which they are supposed to play in the execution of U.S. foreign policy have not been clearly defined.

Sixth. The coordination of programs operating in a particular field—for instance, information, research, exchanges of persons—is less than fully effective. While considerable progress has been made in recent years to improve coordination, there is evidence that greater effort will be required to complete the job and to eliminate duplication and underutilization of resources.

Seventh. The implementation of the country team concept has improved the oversea coordination of U.S. programs. Careful selection and adequate training of personnel placed in charge of U.S. country teams is indispensable to the success of U.S. operations abroad.

Eighth. Perhaps the weakest aspect of the U.S. ideological effort in support of foreign policy is the apparent lack of a clearly defined, operational authority. Such direction is necessary, in our opinion, to coordinate programs operating on this plane and thereby maximize the effectiveness of our effort.

Ninth. The fragmentation of congressional supervision over programs comprising the third dimension of U.S. foreign policy presents another problem. At least six major committees and an even larger number of subcommittees exercise jurisdiction over programs in this area of foreign policy operations. From the standpoint of legislative authorizations and appropriations, programs are judged, supported, or criticized, as the case may be, on an individual basis rather than in the context of the total effort in support of U.S. foreign policy.

Tenth. Too little effort has been expended in exploring the contribution of private American citizens and organizations abroad to the advancement of U.S. foreign policy objectives. These private operations have a tremendous potential.

At the conclusion of its report, the subcommittee made the following recommendations:

First. The need for organizing U.S. Government operations on the ideological and psychological plane and blending them into an effective effort in support of U.S. foreign policy, particularly with respect to the cold war challenge on this plane, should be acknowledged at the highest level in our Government.

Second. Operational authority for the management of ideological and psychological activities in support of U.S. foreign policy should be unified and placed at an appropriately high level in the executive branch.

Third. A systematic evaluation of all Government programs with a potential for influencing the attitudes of foreign audiences should be undertaken with a view to eliminating duplication, abandoning programs which are no longer related to the requirements of our foreign policy, and providing those which are, with a clearly defined mission.

Fourth. The coordination of programs operating in each of the several fields—exchanges of persons, information, strategic psychological operations, and others—should be greatly improved. The implementation of recommendation No. 2 appears indispensable to the attainment of this objective. In addition, responsibility for coordination at lower levels should be clearly defined and adequate authority provided to make possible effective discharge of such responsibility. The cumbersome structure of interdepartmental coordinating committees should be streamlined by reducing the number of such committees to the minimum required for effective operation.

Fifth. To the extent possible, educational and informational activities should be brought into a single agency or department—as suggested by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information. Existing division of operations and responsibility between the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, and, to some extent, the Agency for International Development, is illogical and not conducive to efficiency and economy.

Sixth. Government officials and personnel responsible for the conduct of ideological and psychological operations should be trained in the requirements and techniques of ideological warfare. It is not practical to try to bring all of these activities into a single Government department or agency. It is both feasible and necessary, however, to provide appropriate training to the personnel of Government departments involved in this type of foreign operations.

Seventh. The input of the ideological and psychological dimension of foreign policy—particularly in the field of basic research in behavioral sciences—should be increased.

Eighth. Cooperation with private enterprise should be strengthened. Prompt attention should be given to ways and means of achieving that goal.

After issuing report No. 2, the subcommittee turned its attention to programs conducted abroad by private American organizations. That subject will be discussed in the next part of my report.

Westchester County Leads Country in Crime Prevention and Enforcement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, in our great country, our affluent Nation, possessed of the most advanced technology, of unexcelled cultural advantages available to all, and of a social consciousness which reaches to every corner of our villages and cities, mass crime still exists. The challenge to combat the problems of mass crime makes the jobs of our law enforcement officials momentous as the network which surrounds certain public offenses meshes into a sophisticated traffic which transgresses city, county, and State lines and ignores the strata of education, environment, parental interest, wealth, and civic pride.

So it is with traffic in narcotics, one of the grossest violations of human law.

The most heinous villain is the narcotics baron who operates through national syndicates, who hides behind the local pusher, and who preys upon the innocent, the unsuspecting. He is our society's most evasive criminal.

The county of Westchester, N.Y., has conducted the most intense and successful campaigns in the Nation against narcotics traffic. A concerted effort to combat the problem as it exists within a small segment of the county has uncov-

ered and led to the conviction of leaders in interstate and international traffic in narcotics. This campaign has been undertaken by the county sheriff's office under the direction of Sheriff John E. Hoy who has effectively utilized the combined forces of the Federal, State, county, and city government officials in law enforcement and narcotics prevention.

Sheriff Hoy's contribution to the suppression of the narcotics traffic was saluted by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in the following words of George Gaffney, Deputy Commissioner:

In reviewing our cooperative effort over the years, I feel I must take this opportunity to extend my most sincere thanks to you for the tremendous contribution you have made in suppressing international and interstate traffic in narcotics. I can say, without any risk of contradiction, that your efforts in this field cannot be surpassed by any municipal official in this country. I shall continue to point to your department as a splendid example of enlightened narcotics enforcement and prevention.

I join with the people of Westchester in expressing my pride and confidence in this campaign. In the public interest, I have asked Sheriff Hoy to outline the enforcement and preventative steps taken by his office.

His report follows:

REPORT OF THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N.Y., JOHN E. HOY, SHERIFF

Herein is outlined the steps taken by the sheriff's office, under my direction, to combat the narcotic drugs use in Westchester County.

In the year of 1960 as a result of an investigation conducted by the combined forces of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, the sheriff, the district attorney, and local police departments, four persons were arrested, pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to prison to serve terms up to 15 years.

This investigation disclosed the fact that these 4 individuals had influenced 135 persons between the ages of 14 to 19 to use narcotics, such as heroin, marihuana and hashish. This incredible condition called for drastic action on the part of law enforcement and after due consideration it was decided to acquaint the fathers and mothers with the acts of their young people. This was done in each and every case and a follow up has shown the authorities that of the 135 persons who were involved, only 5 returned to the use and sale of drugs and have since been sentenced to State institutions.

Westchester County authorities together with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics inaugurated an intensive campaign to ascertain whether or not narcotics were available in any quantity in Westchester County. Investigations disclosed the information that some questionable people resided within our county whose mode of existence was dubious in character. Their daily acts were observed and it was determined that they were engaged in the narcotics traffic on the wholesale level. Day and night observations of these individuals were conducted by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and members of my staff.

One day they came into Westchester County driving a bakery truck which was discovered to be equipped with a false bottom containing $5½ million worth of pure heroin. The seizure of this heroin, along with the arrest of the individuals transporting it led to the further arrest and conviction of more than 20 others, including Joseph Valachi who had testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations during the hearings on organized crime and illicit traffic and narcotics.

Alarmed at the discovery that such a condition could exist in Westchester County immediate steps were taken to acquaint the youths of the county to the dangers of narcotics and its use. A program was set up by the sheriff to make personal appearances in the high schools of Westchester County. To date 28,226 members of the student body of our high schools have been addressed and warned of the dangers of narcotics use. It is the plan of my office to address every high school in the county on this subject. In addition lectures on the subject of narcotics have been given before groups in synagogues, churches, parent-teachers associations, women's clubs, fraternal organizations, veterans agencies, colleges, and Westchester County medical societies.

In addition to the steps taken as outlined above Mr. George Belk, supervisor, New York office, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, was contacted for the purpose of setting up a school of instruction for the law enforcement officers of Westchester County pertaining to the narcotics problem.

One hundred and forty-nine police officers attended a 2-day session on this subject at the Westchester County Community College. Commissioner Henry L. Giordano, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, Washington, D.C., sent to Westchester County and this school his top experts to instruct our men in all phases of investigatory techniques pertaining to apprehending narcotic traffickers. Deputy Commissioner George H. Gaffney, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, appeared personally before this group.

In addition to the program supervised by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, we have been able to secure the facilities of Iona College for police training purposes where 431 new police officers have been trained and have received instructions on narcotics and narcotics investigations.

Manhattan College and its metropolitan law enforcement conference has set up seminars for the discussion of the narcotics problem at the request of the writer. At these seminars there has been an attendance of approximately 400 persons affiliated in the field of law enforcement, a predominant number coming from Westchester County. We have been addressed and instructed by the top men in the field of narcotics, including the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, the New York City Police Department, and representatives from the New York State Bureau of Narcotics.

We have also been fortunate in having a seminar on narcotics of 2-day duration held in Westchester County under the supervision of the former deputy chief inspector, Edward Carey, of the Bureau of Narcotics of the New York City Police Department, together with his associates. The problems of observation, recognition, techniques, and methods of operations of the pusher of narcotics has been gained through the experience of the men of the Narcotics Bureau and the New York City Police Department.

At present the representatives of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and New York State Police and the District Attorney's Office and local police departments of Westchester County and the sheriff's office are combining their efforts to cope with any narcotics situation that exists within Westchester County.

County Executive Edwin G. Michaelian of Westchester County has appointed a committee known as the County Executives Advisory Committee on Narcotics. The membership of this committee is comprised of doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, the district attorney, probation officers, the sheriff, a police chief, educators, hospital directors, and judges.

This committee has had before it many experts in the field of narcotics addiction and they collectively are attempting to delve into the causes. The committee meets regularly and discusses the problems with which the various agencies are confronted and gathers pertinent information about eventualities which will be evaluated and acted upon.

Ohio Partners of the Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, September 28, 1964, in Cleveland, Ohio, a group of Ohio business, civic and education leaders formed an organization to work as a partnership between the citizens of Ohio and the State of Parana, Brazil. The project is known as Ohio Partners of the Alliance and will conduct various programs on a reciprocal basis with the Brazilian State.

This is part of a growing program between the American States and Latin American nations and is sanctioned by member countries of the Alliance for Progress.

"Projects are expected to be worked out on the basis of reports of visitation teams from each State," said Dr. Paul Noble, dean of Business Administration of Ohio University and head of the partnership's executive committee.

The following civic leaders of Cleveland have joined this splendid movement and serve on its executive committee:

Dr. Vernon R. Alden, president of Ohio University; Clifford M. Andrews, vice president of foreign operations of the Ferro Corporation, Cleveland; Frank P. Celeste, president of the World Investment Guaranty Corp., Cleveland; Dr. John E. Corbally, Jr., vice president of Ohio State University; Raymond Dix, publisher of the Daily Record, Wooster; Lynn Brua, 2734 Southington Road, Shaker Heights; Herbert E. Evans, president of the Peoples Broadcasting Co., Columbus; Harry M. Griffith, export manager, Reliance Electric & Engineering Co., Cleveland; William Guthrie, president, Buckeye Federal Savings & Loan Association, Columbus; Joseph W. Vander Laan, executive director of the Cleveland World Trade Association; Severino P. Severino, vice president, Beiswenger, Hoch Arnold & Associates, Cleveland; C. H. Smith, Jr., president, Steel Improvements & Forge Co., Cleveland; Dr. R. L. Moloney, chairman of the department of Spanish and Portuguese, Miami University, Oxford; Don Newkirk, executive director of the Ohio Hospital Association, Columbus; John Crout, retired vice president of Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, and Dr. Otis Maxfield, senior minister, First Community Church, Columbus.

At the first meeting of the Ohio Partners of the Alliance the following address was made by the Ambassador of Brazil Juracy Magalhães, at the Hotel Sheraton-Cleveland on Monday, September 28, 1964:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR JURACY MAGALHÃES, OF BRAZIL, AT THE MEETING FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE OHIO-PARANA PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAM, CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 28, 1964

I should like to begin by telling you that to meet people and to make friends has al-

ways been one of the real pleasures in my life; and that in this new phase of my activities, since I accepted the honor and the responsibilities of representing my country in the United States, I have always welcomed, as one of the most interesting experiences, every opportunity to contact people in all the different areas of the American society. These contacts are particularly pleasant to me, because on the one hand they confirm the admiration I have always felt for the singular qualities of the American people, and on the other hand they reaffirm the close ties of friendship and understanding that have always existed between our two countries.

It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I accepted President Alden's invitation to come here and to speak to you tonight. And my pleasure was even greater because I knew this would be an opportunity for me to make new American friends and I knew I would find them joined together by the sincere wish of serving the noblest of the causes and working for the final achievement of the common ideals of all the peoples of this hemisphere. For what was to bring us here was the same motivation which inspired the launching and will guide the final implementation of the great crusade of the Alliance for Progress. To achieve prosperity with social justice is not only a common purpose in the Americas: it is a fundamental responsibility of all of us, of the old generation which right now bears the duties of the leadership and of the younger generations preparing themselves for their hour to come.

For that achievement, desirable as it is indeed, is still far ahead; it is a formidable task, a tremendous work which is not of one man, nor of one nation or even of one generation. It is a task for a whole continent, for a community of nations and for the generations yet to come as well as for ours. However, difficult and distant as it may be, such an achievement is not impossible, provided the peoples of the Americas remain united and faithful to their common destiny. I would say, moreover, that we have already identified and recognized the one indispensable condition for the fulfillment of that aim: cooperation. Full, sincere, permanent cooperation between all the countries of this hemisphere is the sole inescapable condition to be fulfilled. And since we have already understood such an important truth, our first task, right now, is to keep faith to that recognition, to fight everything and everyone who could imperil our union and jeopardize our understanding.

I do not believe it is necessary for me to emphasize once again the importance of Latin America from the viewpoint of the foreign policy of the United States. Illustrious Americans, President Johnson himself, Secretary of State Rusk, Assistant Secretary Thomas Mann and so many other statesmen and distinguished citizens—have already done it repeatedly and clearly. As to the importance of Brazil, within the context of Latin American affairs, to the highest interests of the United States and the free world, it suffices to keep in mind that the Brazilian revolution of last April, which restored the national dignity in my country and freed it from the threat of Communist subversion, was justly considered by the most qualified observers of American political thought to have been one of the decisive victories of democracy in our times. The revolution's reinstatement of the foreign policy of Brazil on its traditional path of friendship and mutual understanding with the United States was explained very clearly by President Castelo Branco in his address on July 31 last to the graduating class of the Rio Branco Foreign Service Institute: "The Brazilian foreign policy is based upon the fundamental option which consists in a political and cultural adherence to the Western democratc system." Such a policy on the part of the Brazilian Government opens the broadest possible outlook for fruitful cooperation between our two countries in the field of economic development and social progress. I feel sure that we will respond to the challenge of the responsibilities that rest on our shoulders in measure as we, together and united, explore all new roads to this necessary and fundamental cooperation in behalf of our most enduring common interests. And in so doing we shall be but rendering testimony to the exceptional political foresight of one of the Founding Fathers of the American Nation, Thomas Jefferson. As far back as 1787, Jefferson made this affirmation: "As a North American I firmly believe that my country not only wants but also needs an independent, strong, and friendly Brazil to carry out in the southern portion of the hemisphere the mission that is ours in the northern part. Our two nations, united by a sincere friendship, would not only maintain peace throughout the Western Hemisphere, but would form with the other countries of America a bloc capable of resisting any aggression."

My friends, the least I could say about the partners of the Alliance program, so fittingly launched under the auspices of the Alliance for Progress, is that I see it as a venture entirely in line with the true American tradition of doing things directly, of achieving goals with full and open participation by the people. The mere idea of its launching is one more proof that the Alliance is a living force, not only in the documents that approved it and that regulate its implementation, but also, and principally, in the hearts of the peoples of the Americas.

I feel that special praise is due to the spirit in which the program was conceived and is being carried out: as an instrument to help the Latin American peoples to help themselves, exempt from any sense of charitable assistance or from one of "adoption" such as has already frustrated so many good intentions of collaborating on this terrain. Indeed, each new tool placed in the hands of a Brazilian agricultural worker, through a contribution from the American people, represents one more link to strengthen the ties of understanding and amity between our two peoples; for I do not know of any language that favors comprehension among men better than the joining of efforts for the sharing of a common ideal. And each new school that is built in Brazil with the help of young Americans will be one more home sheltering the same substantiated hopes for a future of prosperity and justice.

In considering a relationship between Ohio and Paraná, the two States which are now planning a partnership of work and progress, one might be led initially to accentuate their dissimilarities: Ohio situated in a north-central temperate area, Paraná at the edge of a southern tropical belt; Paraná open to the sea, Ohio inland, facing the Great Lakes; Ohio garnering the fruits of a fully developed economy, Paraná attempting the first steps toward its economic development; Ohio with a highly concentrated urban population, Paraná with 60 percent of its population located in rural areas. But, with some measure of historical perspective and projection toward the future, it would not be difficult to emphasize similarities: Paraná's economy today, as was Ohio's in the past, is strongly based on agriculture, in consequence of the singular fertility of its lands; and its economic destiny will be, as Ohio's has become, that of maintaining and encouraging a high agricultural productivity simultaneously with the development, expansion and diversification of its industrial plant. Paraná also is a significant example of the harmonious work of a migratory flow of varied nationalities, brought together by the same desire for progress in a land that is young and rich in possibilities. Paraná is today, as Ohio was in the times of Moses Cleaveland, a challenge to the enterprising spirit of its people, and the record of its progress in the last decades shows how this challenge is being met.

Before I conclude, I should like to convey to you a brief idea of what the State of Paraná is, in terms of the Brazilian reality today. The State has an area of 82,740 square miles; it is bordered on the northeast by the State of Mato Grosso, on the south by the State of Santa Catarina, on the north by the State of São Paulo, on the Southwest by Argentina, on the west by Paraguay, and on the east it faces the Atlantic Ocean. It is the second youngest member of the Brazilian Federation, having been raised to the category of Province of the Empire in 1853, when it was separated from the then Province of São Paulo. The evolution of its economy presents one of the most significant examples of the progress being made by some regions in Brazil. After going through a number of well-defined cycles in an extractive economy—mining, lumber and firewood, mate tea, etc.—Párana finally took its place as one of the great agricultural States of Brazil. Throughout this transformation, the breeding of cattle on the broad plateaus westward of the Serra do Mar mountain range continued to be one of the main sources of wealth for the region. But it certainly was since the decade of the thirties, with the migration of coffee from the south of São Paulo to the north of Párana, that the State began the swift ascending trend which now projects it as one of the live forces in the national economy. The richly fertile lands in the north and northwest were thus opened to cultivation in a pioneering march that displaced the economic frontiers of Brazil. Where 30 years ago there was nothing but forest and desert, the labor of a community formed by a true melting pot of the most varied national origins has created a series of urban centers, some with 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. The city of Maringá, for instance, ranking second in importance in the region, had a tax yield of over $3 million only 17 years after its founding. The wealth created by coffee encouraged new activities in industry and agriculture, opening perspectives for the economy of the State such as no one could have foreseen only a short time ago. At this point, I would ask your permission to quote a passage of the speech delivered by Ambassador Lincoln Gordon in Curitiba, the capital of Paraná, when the State Assembly of Paraná granted the title of "Honorary Citizen of Paraná," post mortem, to President John F. Kennedy: "President Kennedy would have felt himself at home in this State. Paraná, as well as his home State of Massachusetts, is in the process of creating a new civilization, through the amalgamation of people of many different national origins and cultural traditions. The people of Paraná look ahead with confidence and strength while maintaining their precious cultural heritage in the fields of music and fine arts and attaching the greatest importance to education in all its stages. At the same time, this fast growing State displays an impressive push toward progress, not only through the development of its natural resources but also by the broadening of opportunities to every one of its inhabitants. Indeed, one finds here the spirit of the New Frontier, the expression created by President Kennedy to symbolize his views on political leadership within his own country and on the world scene."

Coffee supplies today over 40 percent of the revenue of the State. It is therefore and will continue to be for some time the main source of wealth of the region, Paraná being today the principal coffee-producing State in Brazil. Production grew from one million bags in 1940 to 18 million in 1960, which represents the total Brazilian quota under the International Coffee Agreement and about a third of total world production.

The participation of the State in the overall national revenue, which amounted to 4.8 percent in 1950, had risen to 7.5 percent by 1962. The rate of population growth is one of the highest in the country: from 120,000 in 1940 to 5,600,000 in 1964. The immigration flow explains, to a large extent, this increase which also benefits the economy of the State through the experience and technical know-how brought into the area by this adoptive citizenry coming from the most varied origins.

This population explosion expresses, moreover, the diversity and magnitude of the problems confronting the administration of the State. There is such a swift process of creation of wealth and multiplication of claims upon the public interest, that the Government has to make a tremendous effort to avoid being overtaken and surpassed by this rhythm. It is indeed a living crisis of growth. There is much to be done in all sectors, despite all that has been and is being done, and despite the resources available locally.

The economic outlook of the State, as I have mentioned, is one of maintaining the agricultural basis of the economy and trying to increase productivity steadily, while making use, on the other hand, of the exceptional conditions for a planned and growing process of industrialization. Paraná is today, without doubt, one of the Brazilian States best provided with the infrastructure required for a great manufacturing center: its territory is crossed by one of the main branches of the railway network of the country, as well as by a good highway system; it is located near the great consuming centers; it has a hydroelectric potential sufficing to attend to the present and future necessities of the entire southern region of Brazil. Besides all this, the State capital, Curitiba, a modern city with half a million inhabitants, is one of the outstanding educational centers of the country, possessing the oldest Federal university in Brazil.

Such is the Brazilian State, enlivened by a unique rhythm of progress, and whose friendly and hospitable people hope to receive the valuable cooperation of the people of Ohio. For myself, I feel sure that the program will be crowned with great success and that it will help to insure a new and promising stage of friendship and cooperation between Americans and Brazilians. And right now, in a sincere desire to help in any way at my command, I want to assure you that the Brazilian Embassy will place its services at the entire disposal of the organizers of the partnership program. The Brazilian diplomatic service will be honoring its finest traditions by participating in this initiative.

Thank you.

Religious Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on July 2, 1964, I placed in the Appendix an article by Franklin H. Littell entitled "Toward Religious Liberty."

In his article Mr. Littell made some remarks about Protestants and Other Americans United for separation of church and state and at the request of their general counsel, Mr. Franklin C. Salisbury, and in the interests of fairness, I call the attention of our colleagues to the reply prepared by the POAU:

PROTESTANTS AND OTHER AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE,
Washington, D.C., September 18, 1964.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MULTER: We read with interest the article, "Toward Religious Liberty," by Franklin H. Littell, which you had inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 2, 1964. You state that it should be read by everyone who concerns himself with the problems posed by church-state relations. We commend your interest in the problems of church-state relations.

May we request that since our organization was criticized, by name, in the article which you sponsored that, perhaps, you would permit us to prepare an answer to be inserted in the Appendix to reach a similar readership.

The author, Mr. Littell, has stated that:

"Organizations such as Protestants and Other Americans United (POAU) build up their staffs and budgets by appealing to Protestant anxiety at the rise and increasing acceptance of the Catholic community, and flood our churches with the most vicious and scurrilous attacks on American catholicism, its leadership, and on such Protestants or Jews as seek solutions to specific issues by reasoned discussion rather than blind prejudice."

This, of course, is untrue. His observation is on the same level of accuracy as his previous statement:

"Although the public schools have been largely a Protestant institution, with a prevailingly Protestant liturgy for generations, and although for many decades in various States Protestant boards received tax moneys in contract to perform a public purpose, the petitions of the Catholics for scholarships, or other tax assistance for their schools is condemned as un-American, 'contrary to the principle of separation of church and state,' and so on ad nauseam."

The members of organizations such as POAU are equally offended by Protestants who seek tax money for Protestant parochial schools. It was, in fact, the Roman Catholics who succeeded in establishing the principle of separation of church and state in the public schools by the elimination of the then prevailingly Protestant "liturgy" which, at an early date, characterized the public school system. Organizations like POAU seek to assure both Protestants and Catholics alike that tax money will not be used to support any schools, no matter what the faith, which teach sectarian religion. POAU teaches that sectarian church-related schools must be supported by the members of the church to which they belong.

If Mr. Littell knows of any "Protestant boards" which presently receive tax money to teach sectarian religion, let him reveal their whereabouts and POAU will publicize the violation of separation of church with equal vehemence.

It is odd that a man who accepts the seeking of "solutions to specific issues by reasoned discussion rather than blind prejudice" stoops to an appeal to unenlightened prejudice in his attack on our organization. Contrary to the misrepresentations set forth in the article, POAU rather carries out in practice the principle which Mr. Littell so ably sets forth in a later paragraph in his article:

"We must remember religious liberty, like our other liberties, will not long endure if citizens neglect the disciplined initiative which brought it into existence in the first place."

It is this disciplined initiative which organizations like POAU promote and to which its members are dedicated.

Sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN C. SALISBURY,
General Counsel.

Congressman Minshall Report of the 2d Session of 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of the 88th Congress is nearing adjournment after more than 9 months in session.

The House of Representatives passed nearly 400 public bills out of the more than 3,000 introduced. It also approved more than 100 Senate bills. Of this number more than 300 will have been signed into law by the President by the time Congress adjourns.

During my 10 years in Congress I have answered literally thousands of rollcalls and my attendance record on votes has been better than 91 percent. However, bare statistics do not accurately represent the long hours spent by each of us in committee work alone. It is in committee that the major portion of actual legislating is done. There the bills are painstakingly studied, analyzed, discussed, often amended. Those measures favorably reported by a committee are again studied and debated when they reach the floor of the House, but the spadework is accomplished in committee.

My own Appropriations Committee assignments include a massive amount of detail and work. As a member of two of the most important subcommittees in the entire Congress—the Department of Defense appropriations and foreign operations appropriations—I spend many long hours in locked-door sessions with our Nation's highest civilian and military officials. I have access to top-secret information pertaining to our defense posture and planning. These two subcommittees have a great sense of responsibility in taking initial action on budget requests submitted by the executive branch. My Defense Subcommittee scrutinizes military expenditures, which account for more than one-half of the entire Federal outlay. My Foreign Operations Subcommittee makes the dollar appropriation on economic and military assistance to foreign nations.

I have an intense interest in both of my committee assignments, and I feel that in fulfilling them is one of my important services as a Representative in Congress.

Although there are occasional sharp differences of opinion among members of the subcommittees, I can report to you that every member works diligently in what he believes to be the best interests of his country.

My report on the second session of the 88th Congress follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Unanimous support was given by the whole House for the Defense Appropriation, $46.7 billion for fiscal year 1965, a figure the Senate basically agreed to. It represented a reduction of nearly half a billion from the previous fiscal year, and

a reduction of $718 million less than Pentagon requests. In addition to this amount, nearly $1.57 billion was appropriated for military construction.

Chief dispute in the House over the Defense measure centered around the Pentagon's too-heavy reliance upon cost-effectiveness studies, failure to develop major new weapons, and political censorship of testimony given before my Defense Subcommittee.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A spirited attempt to cut the foreign aid bill by $247.8 million was waged by the chairman of my Foreign Operations Subcommittee, allied with most of the minority members of the group. This economy move was defeated on the floor of the House by a mere 10 votes in a 198 to 208 rollcall. The House approved a total of $3.7 billion for the entire aid program. The Senate authorized nearly the same amount and their appropriation bill awaits final action as this is written. A rider attached to the Senate foreign aid authorization delayed action somewhat on reapportionment of State legislatures, as ordered by the Supreme Court.

International Development Agency: Public and congressional reaction to the seemingly endless flow of American dollars overseas was reflected by the House when it rejected funds for IDA late in February, later reconsidered and passed the necessary legislation by a narrow margin in May.

Laos Commission: House floor debate was heated over authorization of payment of the U.S. contribution of $683,000 for 1964 to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. Dispute was over the Commission failure to prevent funneling of Communist troops and supplies through Laos to Vietnam. Payment was approved in a 268 to 89 rollcall vote.

Vietnam resolution: Following the Bay of Tonkin clash in early August, the Congress approved a resolution in support of the President's action in the crisis and reaffirming the United States' determination to assist any member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization which asks for aid in defense of its freedom.

United National Charter: As the Soviet Union remained intransigent in its refusal to pay certain of its financial obligations to the U.N., the House unanimously approved a resolution expressing its sense that the President should direct our permanent delegate to the U.N. to continue efforts toward securing payment of assessments, and that if such arrears are not paid that article 19 of the U.N. Charter should be invoked penalizing nonpayment by revoking the right to vote in the Assembly.

The Panama Canal may soon reach the point where it will not be able to meet the demand of increased size and number of vessels. Congress authorized a study to determine a site for construction of a new and larger sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

DEBTS AND TAXES

For the sixth time since January 1961, the House voted to increase the national debt ceiling, this time from a "temporary" $315 billion ceiling to a "temporary" $324 billion limitation. On an average, there has been an increase of about $8 billion a year each year since 1961.

An omnibus tax bill, provided for $11.5 billion reduction in rates, lowering individual and corporate taxes, but repealing the 4 percent dividend credit, and tightening allowable deductions for certain State and local taxes, casualty losses, sick pay, and certain oil and gas income. Too low withholding on payrolls may leave many unhappy taxpayers with money due Internal Revenue next April.

An attempt to repeal wartime-imposed excise taxes on jewelry, fur, luggage, handbags, and toilet preparations was defeated by a scant 22 votes in the House, and continued for another year.

Social security benefits were increased by 5 percent across-the-board by the House, with limited benefits extended to some 600,000 formerly ineligible persons. Self-employed physicians were added to compulsory coverage, firemen were included on a voluntary basis. Increased payroll tax rates for employers and employees will be 3.8 percent each starting January 1, 1965, spiraling upward to 4.8 percent each by 1971. Increased self-employed tax rate will be 5.7 percent as of January 1, 1965, reaching 7.2 percent in 1971. House and Senate conferees are presently meeting to resolve differences. The controversial "medicare" amendment is likely to be shelved until next Congress.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Mass Transportation Act: The $375 million mass transportation act was given congressional approval for the purpose of making Federal grants and loans to States and communities to acquire, construct and improve land, rolling stock and terminal facilities for mass transportation systems owned or leased by a public transportation authority. Of the $375 million authorized, $75 million is to be appropriated in 1965, the balance in fiscal years 1966 and 1967.

Federal pay raise: Proposed increases in the salaries of Members of Congress caused many of us who have always supported pay raises for Federal employees to vote against this bill as a protest against raising our own salaries at a time of heavy national deficit spending. The $10,000 increase for Members was defeated in early 1964, but a majority of the House voted for the bill the second time it was considered, when it limited the congressional raise to $7,500. Although I strongly felt that the average 4.3 percent raise for Federal workers and 5.6 percent raise for postal employees carried in the bill was justified, I voted against the congressional pay raise, feeling that any increase would be inappropriate for Congress at this time. Another military pay raise totaling $207.5 million monthly was voted into effect during this past year.

Civil Rights Act: As enacted into law, voting rights are afforded stronger protection; public school desegregation will be accelerated, discrimination will be eliminated from all programs receiving Federal assistance. Most controversy and debate centered around the public accommodations provision, which outlaws discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, theaters, and stadiums, or by any establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment, such as a barbershop located in a hotel; and the Equal Employment Commission, whose task will be to prevent discrimination in hiring, promoting, firing, apprenticing, or job assignment.

National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, composed of 14 members, was authorized to report legislative recommendations to Congress by January 1, 1966.

Wilderness bill: After many years' delay in Congress, the wilderness bill finally received congressional approval. The legislation places 9.1 million acres of Federal land already classified as "wilderness," "wild," or "canoe" land, under a permanent protective wilderness system. The Secretary of Agriculture is assigned to review 5.4 million acres of primitive national forest areas and the Secretary of the Interior some 22.1 million roadless park areas and 24.4 million wildlife refuges and game ranges and to recommend their inclusion or exclusion from the wilderness system. Congress would be required to act before such recommendations would become effective.

Economic Opportunity Act: Better known as the antipoverty bill this new law revives a number of work programs from the 1930's and launches several new ones. The 3-year program, authorizing specific appropriations of just under $1 billion, provides for 10 separate programs under the supervision of the Director of the new Office of Economic Opportunity. The act provides for a Job Corps training youth in conservation camps and in urban and rural residential training centers, a work-training program for youth on the community level, community action programs involving Federal aid and direction to civic groups and other private organizations, a Domestic Peace Corps to be known as VISTA—Volunteers in Service to America—and a number of programs for rural areas.

Appalachia bill: The Senate passed a bill to provide public works and economic development programs, as well as the planning and coordination needed to assist in the development of this whole region. The House bill awaits floor action in the near future.

Fish and wildlife protection from the use of insecticides and pesticides was furthered in legislation passed by Congress as the result of Rachel Carson's bestseller, "Silent Spring."

National Defense Education Act: The 1958 measure is to be extended for another 3 years and college student loan funds increased from $135 million to $195 million for fiscal 1969. The bill also includes the 50-percent loan forgiveness to student teachers in private institutions as well as public ones. The House will take action on the conference report prepared by conferees from both Houses late this week.

Housing and health: The Housing Act authorizes $1.2 billion for urban renewal, 37,500 low-cost public housing units,

loans to elderly citizens and farmers, and some relaxation of FHA conditions and requirements for home mortgages.

The Hill-Burton Act for construction and modernization of hospitals was extended for 5 years and authorized $1.3 billion on a 50-50 State-Federal matching basis.

Other bills authorized a total of nearly $360 million to provide aid to education of nurses and other professional personnel in the health field.

Highways: $1.1 billion annually for 1966 and 1967 was earmarked for the Federal contribution to our national road system. It should be of interest to know that in the past 2 years 33 Federal-aid highway projects were authorized for Cuyahoga County, having an estimated total cost of $95 million. This covers improvements to a combined length of 17.9 miles and the construction of 31 bridges in the greater Cleveland area.

Veterans: Several bills were passed in both sessions to liberalize the veterans' pension laws. Of most interest this session is the House passed bill to increase non-service-connected pension for veterans and their widows, and to revise upward limits of permissible income without loss of pension. This measure is on the Senate Calendar awaiting action.

PUBLIC WORKS

Over $3.5 million will go into survey work, construction, and operation and maintenance of Cleveland harbor and river facilities in 1965.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will spend $709,000 on the Lake Erie portion of a comprehensive study of the Great Lakes to find a solution to the problem of pollution of lake waters.

It is an honor to represent the nearly half a million residents of the 23d district, one of the most highly informed and articulate congressional districts in the entire Nation. I take particular pride in the fact that these citizens have awarded me their confidence and support during the decade I have served them in the U.S. House of Representatives.

My Cleveland and Washington offices are always ready to provide counsel or assistance for constitutents who are involved in the increasingly complex problems of Federal Government.

Forest Service Should Not Open Green River Watershed to Public Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Tacoma, Wash., receives about 95 percent of its water supply from the Green River. Certain area bordering the river is known as the Green River watershed. This area has for years been closed to public recreational use for the reason that the city did not want its water supply polluted. It wished to protect the health of the citizens of Tacoma who used the water. The Federal Government has cooperated but now is considering the opening of the watershed to public use.

The opening of this watershed to public travel and recreation could most seriously affect the quality of the water in Green River. Waterborne diseases such as typhoid fever, amoebic dysentery, and infectious hepatitis can be easily contracted from polluted waters. The probability of contracting these diseases increases with the increased use of watershed by human beings.

The Green River watershed is not needed for recreational use. In Washington State only 1 percent of the total land area is devoted to municipal watersheds. Thirty-two percent is listed as "public outdoor recreation areas" by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. It can readily be seen, therefore, that the Green River watershed itself would add very little area to that already devoted to public use.

There has been an interesting development in connection with the proposal to open the watershed to public use. The proposal received its impetus from some residents of Seattle and from a couple of public officials representing the Seattle area. Just recently the Seattle City Council asked the Federal Government to exempt its own watersheds from public use. A timely editorial appearing in the Tacoma News Tribune points out that cities other than Tacoma are interested in keeping their water as pure as possible for the sake of the health of their citizens. I insert the editorial herewith and shall send a copy of it and of this statement to the U.S. Forest Service.

The editorial follows:

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News-Tribune, Sept. 26, 1964]

SEATTLE JOINS THE FIGHT

Seattle, facing the same encroachment on its sources of water supply as Tacoma, has fired off a resolution to appropriate Federal agencies. The resolution, adopted by the city council, asked the Federal Government to exempt from public recreation use any Federal land in Seattle's Cedar River and Tolt watersheds.

The Seattle Times properly classed the action as a fight to maintain the purity of Seattle water.

"The sportsmen who want access to the watersheds," said the Times editorially, "say the public would be protected through pollution-control regulations. But we do not believe either the State or Federal Government would be justified in taking chances with the purity of domestic water supplies.

"Seattle and neighboring cities always have been proud of their water, which is the purest in the United States. This is one of the few areas in the Nation where the bottled water business does not flourish."

If anyone disagrees with this, and with similar comments earlier in the News-Tribune, let him ask the city of Bellingham. There, where the watershed was opened to recreation, the water was polluted to the extent that Bellingham now must put in a $3½ million filter plant to bring water back to the standard required by State and Federal health departments. Bellingham has found that it cannot service ships entering the port with water below the standard for interstate use. Tacoma and Seattle don't want it to happen here. And Bellingham, although already burned, is a strong supporter for Tacoma's case and Seattle's.

Hypocrisy Clouds Nuclear Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, one of the principle issues of the 1964 campaign involves the question: "Should our NATO commanders have flexibility with regard to the use of tactical nuclear weapons under certain emergency conditions?"

Senator GOLDWATER very early in his campaign said "Yes," they should. The opposition immediately retaliated with cries that he was "reckless" and "trigger happy" and that by taking such an "uninhibited" stand he would almost certainly plunge us into a nuclear holocaust.

As it turns out, NATO commanders have had such authority under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson himself, although he has been most reluctant to admit it.

Under the circumstances it was most refreshing to read Marguerite Higgins' clear and concise analysis of the issue as it appeared in the September 28 edition of the Yonkers Herald Statesman, to which I hereby respectfully invite your attention. I might add that while I agree with her treatise of the nuclear weapons issue, I do not necessarily concur with what she terms "GOLDWATER'S failings."

The article follows:

HYPOCRISY CLOUDS NUCLEAR ISSUE

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—The trigger-happy nuclear issue has been overwhelmingly good for vote seekers in the Democratic Party. But is it good for America?

Ever since the United States exploded its first atomic weapon and got a nuclear headstart, the aim of Communist propaganda has been to brainwash the American public into such a state of terror that its Government would never dare use its most formidable weapon.

This would suit the Communist military purposes just fine. It would checkmate the one area in which America has superiority and leave any contest to be fought out in a way that would assure Communist victory because the Communists have the edge in manpower and conventional weapons.

And the one sure way to invite a war is to make the Communists think that we would never use nuclear weapons even in self-defense. Why should Moscow resist the temptation of sure victory?

OFFICIALS UNEASY

It is against this background that many thoughtful Americans—including some of our top defense officials who are muzzled by policy—are profoundly uneasy over those Democratic Party television commercials showing a little girl picking daisies and then vanishing in an atomic cloudburst.

The target of the commercial is, of course, BARRY GOLDWATER. But whatever GOLDWATER'S failings, and they are many in the way of imprecision and lack of clarity, it is a disservice to the truth, a disservice to the United States of America, a disservice to an honorable and decent American, and a disservice to the 30 percent of America that believes in him, to say that the GOP nominee wants war.

It is "tommyrot"—to use General Eisenhower's phrase—to suggest, for example, that GOLDWATER is trigger happy because he feels that American troops stationed near Hamburg, Germany, ought to have the right instantly to defend themselves without taking the time to telephone Johnson—with their atomic bazookas such as the Davy Crockett (range 2 miles; explosive load 40 ton) if the Russians staged a surprise attack in that area.

HEARING DESERVED

There are some Americans, no doubt, who believe that even the firing of a 40-ton nuclear weapon which has only sufficient explosive power to take out a bridge, ought not to be permitted without a specific checkback with the President of the United States even if, as is almost certain, the delay means the sacrifice through obliteration of the forward troops ordered to stand there and take it without defending themselves in the interval.

It is an argument that deserves a hearing on its merit. But so do the counterarguments deserve a hearing. There is the fact, for instance, that under such conditions the morale of frontline troops is likely to become nonexistent.

And in any case there is much evidence that this issue of emergency delegation of powers has been massively infused with hypocrisy.

Two weeks ago this reporter wrote that according to European NATO sources, there was a gentleman's agreement between Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, NATO commander, and the White House in which in certain specific emergencies, military units equipped with atomic weapons could fire back if fired upon by these weapons.

REPORT AMPLIFIED

Since that time this report has been amplified in two national magazines.

Additionally, in recent days several American sources at the Pentagon have flatly told this reporter that in the Eisenhower and Kennedy years and in at least part of the Johnson administration, the right to fire back with nuclear weapons in specific attack situations has been delegated.

If this is true, and there has been no contradiction as of this writing, the Democrats have been calling GOLDWATER trigger happy for advocating something that has been operational procedure under two Democratic Presidents as well as under a Republican President well known for his cautious ways.

The hypocrisy is not only downright breathtaking but obscures the sensible debate that would be good for America. The central issue is: How best to prevent nuclear war?

WILL IT HELP OR HURT?

If American public opinion is horrified by nuclear mushroom into ruling out the use of nuclear weapons under any condition, will this help or hurt the cause of peace?

If the Russians know NATO frontline troops cannot retaliate instantly to a local nuclear attack, will this help or hinder the cause of stability on the East-West frontline of middle Europe? These are the questions that count.

After 5 Years in South America—Story of Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include the following article by David B. Richardson which appears in the September 21 issue of the U.S. News & World Report on the accomplishments of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. This is a thought-provoking piece, and I commend it to my colleagues:

A North American returning home after 5 years in South America brings w th him the impression of a whole continent struggling to shake off its backwardness and catch up with the rest of the Western World.

One's second impression is that the likely outcome of that struggle is far from clear.

Chile, in the opening days of September, joined a growing list of South American countries moving to make a sharp break with the past. It did so by electing as President, by a landslide, Eduardo Frei, a Christian Democrat who is pledged to sweeping reform and modernization.

South America has come a long way in 5 years. You see signs of progress in many places—ultramodern office buildings, new factories, broad highways streaming with traffic, store windows loaded with consumer goods. The changes are profound as well as numerous.

Yet South America's drive to modernize, backed by more than $2.5 billion in U.S. aid since 1959 and with the promise of more to come under the Alliance for Progress, has not rescued the continent from the nagging fear that its internal strains will someday erupt into widespread violence and chaos.

South America, for all its recent gains, still suffers from poverty, illiteracy, and disease. It is faced with a staggering increase in population. It grapples with huge economic problems, with widespread social injustice.

In 5 years, Cuba's Fidel Castro, the Communists, and other extremists have failed in several attempts to take over countries of South America. The latest came in Chile's presidential vote, with a pro-Castro candidate who had nearly won power before suffering a smashing defeat. Yet the danger of tyranny remains, and will remain so long as the big problems of this region are unresolved.

How far has South America come as an emerging continent? Can it surmount its troubles and make the grade as a prospering and stable part of the world in years to come?

South America is so big, so complex, so variegated in its peoples and geography that no simple answer would be completely true. It is made up of 10 different countries and 3 colonies, each with its own history, resources, and racial mix, and each at its own particular stage of development.

All told, the 10 countries contain a total of 150 million people and cover an area nearly twice as large as the United States. To travel from the capital cities into the countryside is, in some cases, to go from the 20th century back to the 16th century, or even further into the past.

This much, however, seems clear after 5 years of traveling the length and breadth of South America:

NOW: A MIDDLE CLASS

Large numbers of South Americans are better fed, better clothed than ever before. You see more and more members of an emerging middle class. These changes stem partly from U.S. aid, partly from a rise in industrialization, but also partly from new self-help efforts on the part of South Americans themselves.

Five years ago, the rural areas were the most backward and neglected parts of most countries in South America. Now, farm-to-market roads, irrigation projects, and schools are starting to reach out into many long-dormant backlands. Under this impetus, food production is climbing in several countries.

Five years ago everybody talked about the acute housing shortage in South America, but nobody seemed to be doing anything about it. Now you find low-cost housing projects shooting up in many places. In Chile, a leader in housing, hundreds of modest new homes now stand row on row in many districts where slums festered in the past.

The changes also include growing numbers of all-weather roads, health center and hospitals, water systems, powerplants. No more than a fraction of South America's rural communities have gotten such improvements so far. But there are stirrings of hope. In a Bolivian village, an illiterate farmer tells you: "My sons now have a school to go to and can earn money." Down the road, village volunteers are building a community health clinic in hopes of getting a nurse. A truck has begun making a regular run through the area to collect llama wool, the country's latest boom export.

At the same time, dramatic changes are occurring in the cities. In some places, old Spanish colonial towns are emerging as modern metropolises. South America's new boomtowns bear such names as Cali, Colombia; Valencia, Venezuela; and Santa Cruz, Bolivia. Each is teeming with new enterprise, new opportunity, plenty of money.

These stirrings in the cities are having an impact on the lives of hundreds of thousands of ordinary people. Take, for example, the cholos (Indians) of Peru. Not many years ago, all the cholos were illiterates, eking out a primitive existence high in the Andes. Then many began streaming down into Lima and other cities in search of a better life. At first they had to live in slums and do menial labor. But today you see cholos in business offices, behind store counters, and in Government jobs. They now make up 70 percent of the population of Lima alone, and wield important political and buying power.

South America's middle class still is not large by U.S. or European standards, except in Argentina and a few big cities elsewhere. But it is growing fast. Wage earners and small businessmen throng the shops to buy appliances, clothes, furniture, books. Many of them are also moving upward from the bicycle or motorbike to a small automobile—often buying on credit terms of as high as 2 to 4 percent a month.

THE NEWLY RICH

Further up the economic ladder, a new moneyed class is taking its place alongside the old families who ruled in the past. There are sharp differences between the two groups. The old-family wealthy have traditionally limited their business interests to landownership, banking and law. The new breed is much more free-wheeling, will go into anything where there's the prospect of a good return. It is much less inclined to ship money abroad as a hedge against inflation or politics; it takes chances.

With their derring-do as entrepreneurs, the "new" South American businessmen are forcing many changes in business practice on the continent. They are applying the lessons of modern U.S. and European management experience, learned in some cases in seminars financed by U.S. aid. You see the results in better advertising, the expansion of installment buying, the introduction of employee incentives in some of the larger firms.

In the process of catching up with the modern business world mistakes are made. Bad financing has left many a half-finished building as a rusting skeleton. Inventory control sometimes is so loose that the radio set in the window turns out to be the only one of its kind in a large appliance store—and that set is broken. Business failures are high.

Even so, it was Brazilian businessmen whose city-to-city shuttle planes, between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, served as a forerunner of today's New York-to-Washington air shuttle. And in the field of modern architecture and construction, South Amer-

icans are credited with several advances now adopted elsewhere.

PRICE RECOVERIES

Foreign trade is one of the brightest spots in the new South American picture. A long decline in the world prices of the main commodities that South Americans export—coffee, cotton, cocoa, wool, cooper, tin—has at last been reversed. Many economists blame the prolonged trade slump, dating back to the mid-1950's, for many of the economic and political crises of recent years.

Now export earnings are climbing again almost across the commodity board. Suddenly, there's more foreign exchange with which to buy capital goods and other needs of development.

On top of this, more money is flowing into South America from other sources. The Alliance for Progress is pouring in U.S. aid at the rate of $800 million a year. At the same time, European and Japanese investors are showing a greater interest in the region by setting up new plants in several places.

More important still, U.S. private investors, who hold the bulk of the foreign investment, are beginning to put in money again, although more warily than formerly. Many investors have been running scared ever since local governments, just a few years ago, began clamping down with a series of expropriations and restrictive moves on remittance of profits.

In 1963, however, new U.S. investments in South America were up $85 million over 1962. And this year investment analysts are predicting that U.S. private companies will increase their holdings there by at least as much—quite possibly more.

This doesn't mean things have suddenly started coming up roses for all United States and other foreign investors. In Argentina, the Government of President Arturo Illia has yet to arrange a settlement for last year's annulment of oil-drilling contracts with United States and British companies, which had invested upward of $150 million since 1958. Individual companies still face difficulties in Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil.

But there are more hopeful signs, too. Just recently the Brazilian Government agreed to the terms of a proposed sale of the holdings in Brazil of the American & Foreign Power Co., Inc., for $135 million. A previous government had blocked the sale—or rate increases that would have enabled the U.S. firm to expand its facilities and still make a fair profit.

Talk to the managers of major U.S.-owned business firms in South America and you find them, as a group, cautiously optimistic. Their feeling is that the risks in most places are balanced by the rapidly expanding market, the competitive advantage of being on the spot and a substantial rate of return for most products.

"Sure, it's a gamble to be doing business here," says one drug company's chief executive in South America. "But what growth situation isn't? And actually, the risks are less than some reports would indicate. Since the Cuban takeovers there have only been two to three expropriations in this region I know about, and these have all been negotiated to bring fair settlements."

Even so, most of the new U.S. investment here is in manufacturing, not in the more politically risky field of electric power and mining. Most South American governments, far from shunning the investment of a foreign manufacturer, will sweeten the deal by providing a protective tariff if a new product is made locally.

Just recently, one of the most singular developments in South America has been the sudden appearance of political stability. Not for months has a major flareup occurred in any country of this long-turbulent region.

Brazil, the giant of the continent, has enjoyed a prolonged period of peace and quiet following the revolution that ousted a radical leftist regime last April. Things are much more stable in Venezuela, too, since the victory over pro-Castro terrorists who last December tried to topple the constitutional government at the polls.

In Argentina, Peru and Ecuador, a more peaceful period has been evident lately. Colombia, meanwhile, finally has come up with the military means to start routing the bandit gangs that have long subjected its countryside to terror and violence.

British Guiana remains uneasy, with British troops on guard after sporadic violence, but this remote colony seems an exception in a suddenly calmer continent. Even Bolivia, long regarded as the tinderbox of the Andes, appears to be much stabler than it was just a few months ago.

NO CUBA HERE

How long all this tranquility can last is anybody's guess. But that there is a prolonged spell of peace and quiet is significant. To a North American leaving South America after 5 years, it is a reminder of the impressive fact that in all this time the entire region has managed to escape the tragedy that overtook Cuba.

There are sharp memories of that first year or so in South America after Castro grabbed power in Havana in early 1959. Then, the continent was in almost constant turmoil. There were predictions on many sides that sooner or later—more likely sooner than later—one country after another in South America would go the way of Cuba. Walls everywhere bore the words: "Cuba, sí; Yankees, no."

Yet, 5 years later, the countries of South America remain free. They remain so in spite of everything Castro and the Communists have thrown at them—propaganda, trained guerrillas, smuggled arms and money, elaborate plots, popular front movements, neutralist pitches. True, there are frequent complaints about various government officials in South America. These are accused of being corrupt highhanded, undemocratic—but none in power now is a Soviet puppet running a police state, or the engineer of his country's ruin.

Indeed, as Castro looks worse and worse, some of South America's government leaders are looking better and better. Take President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, of Peru. In his first year in office, Belaúnde has tranquilized a country that seemed on the verge of bloody revolution. He has done so, among other ways, with a self-help scheme that is encouraging more and more villagers to meet their own community needs with government tools and technical advice.

In neighboring Bolivia, President Victor Paz Estenssoro, a former Marxist, has abandoned leftist policies that were stagnating his country. Now he listens to U.S. experts on how to promote broad growth. The result, a progress calling for more accent on agriculture, transportation, and small industry, is paying off, with substantial help from U.S. aid money, in a 6.5-percent annual growth rate.

In Venezuela, new President Raúel Leoni has done so well in his first 6 months in office that he is being talked of as a leader who may even outdo his vigorous predecessor, Rómulo-Betancourt. Leoni is pushing a 4-year plan of public works and private investment that already is exceeding some of its production targets. Industry alone is expanding at a rate of more than 14 percent a year.

It is military men in two other countries, Brazil and Ecuador, who are pushing programs of development. In so doing, the ruling officers are confounding those who have insisted that only a democratically elected government can produce needed changes.

Already, a military junta in Ecuador has whipped through a tax reform, an administrative reform, and a self-help credit plan for rural development. In Brazil, Marshal Humberto Castello Branco, as President of a revolutionary government, is conducting a major overhaul of his country's inflation-ridden economy and is pushing several social measures.

By no means all of the countries in South America enjoy good government. But to one degree or another, you sense in many of them a growing confidence among top government officials that their country can achieve, in a peaceful way, a social and economic revolution outstripping Red Cuba's tortuous system.

Yet there remains another and darker side to the South American picture. A North American is likely to come away with the depressing thought that South America, in trying to solve its urgent problems, almost is in the position of a man running on a treadmill.

South America's population, according to a recent survey, is rising at an average rate of 2.9 percent a year—much faster than that of any other major area in the world. In India and Red China, the rate is 2 percent.

STAGGERING PROBLEMS

This human explosion, a product of modern medicine in reducing the death rate, compounds the already staggering problems of bringing economic and social progress to the continent. At the South American rate, the 150 million population will double within the next 25 years. Almost half of the continent's population is under 15 years of age, putting a severe burden of dependency on the other half.

What's needed is more jobs and better pay. But industry in this region is not growing nearly fast enough to absorb today's children into tomorrow's labor market. And trying to substantially increase income per capita—one of the main goals of the Alliance for Progress—turns out to be a Herculean feat.

South America's real per capita income rose barely 1 percent in each of the last 2 years—well below the Alliance for Progress goal of 2.5 percent. Last year, in fact, the population growth actually outstripped economic growth in three countries—Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. These three nations account for about two-thirds of the continent's population.

When the Alliance for Progress passed its third year of operation this August, U.S. aid officials were able to reel off a long list of projects completed or underway—new homes, schools, roads, irrigation networks, health centers, water systems, hydroelectric plants. By itself it made impressive reading. But when you set it against South America's needs, the result is chilling.

Take housing: In 3 years, some 180,000 new homes have been built in South America. Yet there are still vast shantytowns around most of the principal cities. Experts say the continent must have, to get ahead of this problem, some 900,000 new housing units a year.

Or take education: Since 1961, about 19,500 new classrooms have gone up. But almost everywhere you travel, you see children without schools. As of now, 10 million children have neither classrooms nor teachers.

Food production, for all its gains in some countries in recent years, is a depressing picture over all. Population has grown so fast that per capita food output in 1962–63 was 7 percent lower than before World War II. Only the pumping in of U.S. surplus foods under the food-for-peace program has prevented growing hunger.

And so it goes, with one problem after another in South America. Progress is being made, but simply not enough to win the race against population growth—and the threat of chaos and violence. Behind the bright facade of surface prosperity, millions of peo-

ple still live in misery and squalor. Opportunity to imrove remains limited.

What's the answer? Is it a question of more U.S. aid, or what? Basically, most development experts agree, the key to whether South America will ever become a thriving part of the world lies with the South Americans themselves. U.S. aid and private foreign investments are vital elements in development, these experts say, but could never begin to take over the major burden.

"What we need down here," says a Chilean economist who has lived years abroad, "is another revolution in every country, a revolution in our way of thinking."

As some observers see it, too many South Americans display only three loyalties—to themselves, their families, and their God. As for their community, their country, the company they work for, these may scarcely enter in. Yet a spirit of teamwork and mutual cooperation is paramount to the real success of any development program.

Many of South America's wealthy keep on shuttling their money into Swiss banks for safekeeping, rather than investing it for productive purposes at home. An estimated $8 billion in such flight capital now reposes abroad.

Others in South America simply wink at corruption in government. They may speak out in favor of democracy with considerable heat, but they lack the sense of responsibility to make it work.

A North American traveling in South America gets used to the sight of cars zipping through unpoliced red lights and people smoking in "no smoking" coaches on trains. For there's an unspoken rule that many go by: The law is to be respected but not obeyed. Tax evasion reaches flagrant proportions in most countries, with loss of revenue of 50 percent or more.

It is habits of mind such as these that hamstring many carefully laid development programs, lead to misunderstanding and ill feelings between South and North Americans, and could ultimately open the way to extremism—if not the Castro brand, then some other.

In an important sense, the revolution in thinking that alone can bring about a breakthrough is already underway in some places and at some levels in South America.

Consciously or otherwise, this revolution is being fought by the cholos striving to improve their lot by their own efforts, by the new businessmen out to apply the latest management methods, and by a new breed of enlightened political leaders who appear to be coming to the fore in several South American countries.

There is a long way to go in South America. But the continent is moving, and there is reason for hope in the fact that, as of now, it is moving away from Castro and extremism, along the path of freedom and progress.

Explanation of Voting Positions of Representative James G. Fulton, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, September 22, 1964, and on Wednesday, September 23, 1964, I was in my Pittsburgh congressional office making myself available for consultations and conferences with my constituents. This saves trips to Washington, D.C., for my local people, and I am glad to cooperate by making these appointments in Pittsburgh. As the present session of Congress has extended much longer than expected, it is necessary for me to meet these commitments previously made.

On rollcall No. 260, Tuesday, September 22, 1964, on the final passage of H.R. 12633, making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 262, September 23, 1964, on the final passage of the National Ice Age Scientific Reserve, I would have voted "nay."

Ship of Good Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, some people may have the mistaken idea that the doctors who sign aboard the S.S. *Hope* enjoy some sort of vacation from arduous medical practices back home. A recent article in the New York Herald Tribune refutes any such misconception.

Dr. Alex Sahagian-Edwards, an internal medicine specialist in New York City's Ayerst Laboratories, soon learned that duty on the floating medical center is all work.

In his account in the Tribune, Dr. Sahagian-Edwards describes how he quickly replaced his camera with a stethoscope—and never picked up his camera again.

Dr. Sahagian-Edwards, in his vivid story, describes the torment of many of the world's people and the devotion of the small group of doctors, nurses, and medical assistants who each year leave their successful practices or jobs to help cure the world's sick and instruct their less knowledgeable counterparts in the latest discoveries in medicine.

Following is the article by Dr. Sahagian-Edwards:

SHIP OF GOOD HEALTH

(By Alex Sahagian-Edwards)

(NOTE.—In Indonesia, South Vietnam, Peru, and Ecuador, disease is the human condition: it batters, blinds and buries thousands there every year. For 3 successive years, the steamer *Hope* has sailed to those countries, carrying a task force of doctors, nurses, and medical technicians to fight disease and medical ignorance. Each time Dr. Alex Sahagian-Edwards has gone with them to work as an internist. This is his report on the Ecuadorian expedition.)

GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR.—I'm exhausted. I've just spent 3 hours at the clinic of the Luis Vernaza Hospital, and I might as well have held the clinic in the street. The place looks like the Bastille, and the examination rooms are like accommodations for solitary confinement. There is one table and one sink in each cubicle. There is no place for the patients to undress, so we examine them with their clothes on. If you can picture trying to hear a lady's heart and lungs by dropping the stethoscope down the front of her dress (for heart) or the back of her dress (for lungs), then you can appreciate the informality of the situation. However, the diseases we see are so far advanced—so clinically identifiable—that physical examination only keeps up appearances.

Such an experience exposes the desperate need of Ecuador and many other nations for medical facilities and knowledge. And outside the hospital in the barrios, the situation seems overwhelming.

A barrio by our definition is a slum, but these in Ecuador make the Algerian casbahs look like the Copacabana. I went clad in a sport shirt with a camera slung over my shoulder like something off a Grace Line cruise, not intending to play doctor. At the *Hope* dispensary, however, the nurse immediately handed me a stethoscope and an interpreter and, presto-chango—instant pediatrician. I had to examine patients from 6 months to 11 years old, after a lifetime of thumping only adult torsos. The canny nurse explained that pediatrics, after all, was internal medicine for little people.

I had my problems with these small patients. A lady carrying a red-headed child walked in accompanied by two black-haired children. I immediately explained that we were obviously observing a classical case of kwashiorkor, a protein deficiency disease common in advanced malnutrition, whose principal sign is a reddening of the patient's hair.

DYE, NOT DISEASE

"How long has this child's hair been that color?" I asked in my most academic tone.

"Ever since I dyed it," the woman said.

The older children had put chewing gum in the child's hair and peroxide had been used to remove it. The red-head wasn't even the patient.

Instead of being asked to leave the premises, I went on to see at least 15 more patients. We saw cases of tapeworm, kidney disease, tapeworm, rheumatic fever, tapeworm, juvenile diabetes, and tapeworm. The incidence of parasites, such as tapeworm, down here is staggering.

After the clinic I walked around the barrio and it became clear why 80 percent of the children had worms. The area is a swampland, regularly flooded with the tide of the Guayas River. Pools of green slime surround the houses on stilts, and children (mostly naked) run around barefoot, picking up hookworm. There is no plumbing in these houses. The only available water is a rusty pump stationed every three or four blocks. Why a massive epidemic doesn't wipe out the entire population is a phenomenon only an epidemiologist can explain.

On board the *Hope*, I am working directly with two Ecuadorian doctors who have come from opposite ends of the country to live and work on board. One is from Lojas, in the extreme south, near the Peruvian border, and the other from Esmeraldas in the extreme north, near the Colombian border. These men are observing how we practice internal medicine in the hospitals in the United States. And for every *Hope* specialist there is an Ecuadorian counterpart—urologists, gynecologists, neurologists, surgeons, etc.

We have four wards open, plus an intensive care unit for postoperative patients and acute emergencies. In the 7 months the *Hope* has been here, the doctors have set up a teaching program for nurses and medical students in Guayaquil, an immunization program in the slums which has protected about 130,000 children against tetanus, whooping cough, and polio for the first time in the country's history.

The *Hope* people have a nutrition program for poverty-stricken Indians, which has so captured the imagination of the Ecuadorians and everyone else in Guayaquil, that the

wives of the foreign consuls have volunteered their services, along with the upper-middle-class Ecuadorian housewives, who ordinarily shun any direct contact with the poor natives of their country.

The program is the brain child of Dr. Dinah Kohner, a pediatrician of the *Hope* staff. Nine American college students recently gave up their summer vacations to join her.

The program is brilliant, simple and effective. For centuries the Indians have been starving their newborn because they cannot conceive of feeding them anything but breast milk. If a mother cannot breast feed, then the child inevitably dies. However, after 9 months when a new baby comes (as it evitably does), the older infant gets sugar water or anything else that is around. One woman fed her 10-month-old toothpaste.

Dr. Kohner now teaches mothers the simple art of straining food. Whatever the adults eat, the baby eats strained. Along with this basic tenet she is also teaching "sophisticated" facts, such as that beans contain protein, potatoes and corn are starch, and oranges and limes contain vitamin C.

A couple of weeks ago I flew up to the Hope project in Cuenca, a small town in the Andes Mountains. The population is mostly Indian and on Sunday morning (a market day) a few thousand more Indians from remote areas descend into the village.

TOP MEDICAL SCHOOL

In the midst of a primitive atmosphere, there is a medical school which turns out only 25 students a year, but oddly enough it has been our experience that Cuenca-trained physicians are some of the best in Ecuador. Cuenca has about 24 doctors, 21 of whom are on the medical school faculty, and 1 hospital, St. Vincent de Paul, adjacent to the medical school. The Sisters of Charity, who wear the large white caps, keep the place immaculate and efficient.

Most of the doctors have spent some time in the United States and are very conversant with our current medical literature.

For these reasons, Project Hope is going to set up a permanent program there. Three of our nurses on board have already volunteered to return there after this tour. An American orthopedic surgeon, Dr. James Madison, of Miami, will spend the next 14 months organizing a modern medical training center. Medical students from Quito journey to Cuenca to consult with American specialists already working there. Nurse teams from *Hope* have already visited Cuence to work with the nuns.

I never cease to marvel at the ingenuity, courage, and dedication of the *Hope* nurses. Nothing daunts them. Some have been assigned to duties which would give any man pause. I have seen our American nurses go alone into the barrios to teach native women how to bathe infants. On several occasions, nurses have run the dispensaries there without the help of a doctor. The sign of their success is the ever-increasing number of patients who show up each morning when word of mouth has spread through the barrio.

SLAVERY—A MOUTH LESS

Two of my patients want to come home with me. One is a little boy of 11 with a rare blood disorder, and the other, a little girl with chronic kidney disease. I'm tempted to bring them back, but I don't know if I could get them past immigration. This is not entirely in jest, because the other day I met an American State Department officer who is down here consulting on crime and legal matters. He tells me that kidnaping is not a criminal offense, and that every day children disappear with very few complaints from parents. They are apparently snatched and used as household servants (which adds a new dimension to slavery). Many families, mostly Indian, are glad of the opportunity to feed one mouth less.

The last rotation of doctors on the *Hope* ship started July 1. At this point we are sending teams of doctors and nurses to all parts of Ecuador, such as Esmeraldas and Lojas. Activities on board ship are somewhat reduced, but teaching continues. The other day 54 Eucadorian laboratory technicians had a 2-hour session on common laboratory procedures. And just to keep things interesting, one of the workers on the dock fell off a freighter and was rushed to the *Hope* with a comminuted fracture of the femur and possible brain concussion. We are a regular floating Bellevue.

The gringos have never been very popular in Guayaquil. However, I am told by disinterested observers that there has been a visible change in the attitude toward Americans. Wearing a Hope pin in this town is a guarantee of courtesy, gratitude, and effection wherever you go. And why not? To date more than 1,200 Ecuadorian patients have been admitted and treated abroad the *Hope* and thousands more in the various clinics. If we could do this all over the world, Americans would be greeted everywhere.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board of independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Don't Give Up the Ship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

EXCERPT FROM REMARKS OF HON. JOHN M. MURPHY, 16TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK, AT THE 1964 PROPELLER CLUB CONVENTION AND MERCHANT MARINE CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 30, 1964, NEW YORK CITY, AMERICAN GRAND BALLROOM AT THE WALDORF ASTORIA

I appreciate this opportunity to meet with the leaders of our American merchant marine and discuss some of the problems as they appear to a freshman in the business.

I have been a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries for 2 years and I have been disturbed by the situation in which our shipping finds itself. I feel that my views as a newcomer may be helpful to you in arriving at our mutual goal of a vigorous and prosperous merchant marine working for the benefit of all of us.

In spite of my short time on the committee, I feel that I have been afforded a fairly liberal education since nearly 2 years ago when the committee concerned itself with the labor problems of the American merchant marine and more recently when it has delved at length into the administration of the regulations affecting the operation of American and foreign shipping serving our waterborne commerce.

From the point of view of the men who man our ships, it would appear that a certain lack of statesmanship is evident in their leaders and that a considerably higher degree of cooperation between labor and management is essential to permit the American merchant marine to achieve its proper place in the world.

We need more ships.

We need more business. But in order to get these, we need an assurance that the ships will sail on schedule for the benefit of our commerce. Our record to date in this respect has been poor and it is important that this image be corrected.

Right at the moment, we are confronted with the prospects of another tieup which will strangle our ocean commerce for not only the length of the strike but for a considerable period thereafter because of the necessity of getting things moving again on schedule.

While I feel that labor is certainly entitled to its fair share of the profits in this or any other business, I am not convinced that its course in this case is designed to benefit anyone.

We have seen the situation where the Government and one of our large companies has endeavored to move forward in the direction of automation with the intention of reducing the high costs of operation. And we have seen that with respect to one union there have been efforts to frustrate this aim. I feel that in this particular field the interests of labor dictate full cooperation with any aim to reduce operating costs without reducing the standard of living of the men, since skyrocketing costs have been placing us at a greater and greater disadvantage in relation to our foreign competitors.

I must pay tribute to those leaders who have recognized this truth and have expressed their intention to cooperate fully in achieving this end. Unless we can reduce the cost of ship operation, we are in no position to place more ships in service. Thus, we are in no position to expand our overall labor force in the field. Our commerce is large and growing but unhappily our share in carrying it is dwindling daily.

My researches into the background of our present Marine Marine Act convince me that it has fallen considerably short of the success that its sponsors hoped to achieve. At the time of its enactment in 1936, it represented a gigantic step forward in the continuing desire to provide an American-flag merchant marine for our needs both in peace and war. Unfortunately, however, the number of ships operating under its subsidy provisions has increased very little over the past 38 years. We had about 300 ships then. We have about 300 ships now. True our present ships, and the new ones as they come out of the shipyards, are larger and faster than their predcessors. But, unhappily, they represent a net decrease in our carrying capacity in relation to the expansion of our commerce

While our foreign commerce since the dark days of the 1930's has expanded almost unbelievably year by year, the relative share of that commerce carried by our ships is dwindling. I note that this week our active privately owned fleet decreased to less than 900 vessels, which represents a continuing downward trend since World War II. We are presently spending some $200 million a year for operating subsidy and about $100 million for construction subsidy, the latter figure being for our benefit in maintaining active shipyards in the United States.

In the past 15 years, our operating subsidy has increased fourfold without any appreciable effect on the size of our liner fleet. We all recognize the need for operating subsidy to see to it that our seamen maintain their position as first-class citizens of our country but sooner or later a limit on the amount available from the Government for this purpose will be reached. Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson, in a speech before the Propeller Club of Los Angeles this month, expressed this view in the following words:

"I am firmly committed to the principle that the American industry's cost disadvantage must be made up with subsidy payments, because without Government assistance the American merchant marine as we now know it—built in America and manned by American citizens—will, I fear now, disappear.

"But I am not firmly committed to the details or the operation of the present parity system; because I do not believe it has given the American shipper and taxpayer, the shipping company, shareholder, and the maritime worker the full shipping capability, profit and job opportunity that is possible."

I have a great deal of respect for the brains and experience in the industry and I am convinced that for their own selfish interests they must come up with some idea to get a greater result from Government expenditures in this field. I am aware that the subsidy given our merchant marine has been unfavorably compared with the subsidy on cheddar cheese, for example, but unhappily, as we in Government are aware, such comparisons do nothing to solve the problem.

There is a limit to the number of dollars available for each particular cause and the demands for that dollar are multitudinous. While, of course, we must continue our efforts to secure more dollars, we must also begin thinking about ways of spending the dollars that we actually get in a way that will produce greater results.

We can be proud of our new freighters that represent amazing advances in the art of ship design and construction. And it is a fact that their greater speed and general attractiveness has increased their carryings in relation to their foreign competitors. Unfortunately, however, to a large extent we are about to lose some of this initial advantage by advocating revenue pooling agreements by which the share of each company in the earnings of a particular service will be frozen irrespective of who moves the traffic. Thus the advantages of our new ships will be lost and we will be placed in the same category of our foreign competitors who for reasons of their own have not chosen to replace their fleets to the extent that we are beginning to do.

While small beginnings have been made in the upgrading of our liner vessels, the necessity of a balanced fleet appears to have been lost sight of. In the passenger business we have the best vessel in the world, the SS *United States*. In spite of the fact that she is about to enter the second decade of her service, there is nothing on the seas that can rival her.

Our committee, some years ago, proposed and there was enacted into law, a bill to authorize a sistership to the *United States*. Unhappily, the successive administrations have not seen fit to request a single dollar for this purpose.

We are told that passenger ships are in a dying business.

This would be easier to believe if our foreign competitors were not actively building new vessels. We have seen a number of nations, including the Israeli, the Italians, the French, and now the British, building newer and better vessels for passenger service.

I do not believe that any of these hardheaded countries expect to throw their money away. They recognize the continued need for passenger service both for the benefit of peacetime commerce and availability in wartime.

We have heard a great deal about how the plane has replaced the ship as a troop carrier but we forget when the Lebanese crisis arose that the immediate demand was not for more planes but for ships to evacuate American nationals. And in the critical days of the Cuban crisis the demand was not for more planes, but "How soon can you get your passenger ships in position and condition to carry a massive troop lift?"

At the rate we are going, soon we will have no vessels available for this purpose.

And we must not lose sight of the value of the passenger vessel as a dollar earner. We are permitting this source of dollars to go by default to foreign countries. To some slight degree, this trend was reversed when the legislation authorizing cruises by subsidized vessels was enacted, but we cannot stop there. We must make efforts to recapture at least a fair share of the passenger business in the booming transatlantic and other natural passenger service trades.

We have seen the new French liner carrying better than 85 percent capacity since its entry into service. We have seen the Italian liners constantly replacing their fleets with newer vessels. And we have seen the British about to undertake the construction of a new Atlantic Queen.

In other phases we are in even worse shape. We have a grand total of four bulk carriers under our flag, at a time when our natural resources in the form of iron and aluminum ores and similar commodities have been depleted to the point where we are becoming more and more dependent upon foreign sources. An attempt to construct four ore carriers under the American flag just a few years ago was thwarted by the refusal of the Department of Commerce to make available subsidies for their construction. The vessels are constructed—but abroad—and they are operating under foreign flags today.

Within the past year or two, applications have been filed for subsidy for the construction of nine bulk carriers. After long, and presumably agonizing consideration, the administration has announced that it is deferring action pending a whole new study of the problem. While we are studying, the Japanese, Norwegians, and British are building ships to carry our commerce.

In one category at least there has been an increase in vessels under the American flag. At the time of the enactment of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, there were no American-flag tramp operators. Now there is a fleet of possibly 100 to 150 vessels in that category, but to a large extent they are aging war surplus ships, veterans of World War II. The only relatively modern ships in this category are converted tankers that have been attracted to the field by the availability of cargoes under Government aid programs. The continued need for Government aid abroad has permitted operation of this relative handful of vessels. Unfortunately, there is little or no prospect of their replacement and inevitably they will wear out.

Government policy precludes construction subsidies and our tax laws prevent the accumulation of sufficient capital for replacement of our tramp fleet. Together with the increasing cost of new vessels, this lack of available capital assistance spells the doom of our tramp fleet in the not too far distant future. Presently, Liberty ships are available for not much more than a quarter of a million dollars and their operators can see no prospect of replacing them with modern vessels which would cost possibly 20 times as much. They realize that they cannot compete in world markets because of their costs and the limited availability of American cargo. Relatively low profits do not make additional investment in the field attractive enough to interest new capital.

It is my belief that the future of the American merchant marine rests in your hands and those of your opposite number in labor. Between you, you have virtually all of the experience and background that is available for the improvement of the industry. It behooves you to put on your thinking caps and offer solutions. I know that we in Congress will be receptive to any constructive ideas you may bring forth. But you must have the ideas. We are not in a position to formulate them because we lack the practical experience. We can assist, but the initial impetus must come from you.

Constitution Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we take the solemn oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States and as Americans work within its framework. We note that too many citizens take the virtues of the Constitution for granted.

The Constitution does not receive the degree of attention that it deserves, since it is accepted in such a permanent fashion by the American public.

I was proud to note an editorial that appeared in one of the Cook County suburban newspapers—the Desplaines Valley News—on Thursday, September 24, on "Constitution Week," and insert the editorial into the RECORD at this point:

CONSTITUTION WEEK

September 23 marked the end of the U.S. Constitution Week observance period; one called in recognition of the 175th anniversary of that document.

With congressional leaders debating currently over the rights of the Supreme Court to decree that States shall apportion themselves so that their State legislatures should be composed of representatives in relation to population or "one vote for one resident," the famed decree over State rules on a prescribed prayer in public schools and the ruling in relation to accommodations on private property, there should be some attention given to the role of the Constitution in our daily affairs.

In order that the Constitution continue to work, its principles needs citizens who are willing to understand and protect the basic principles that have made that document the oldest Constitution still in active use.

In 1776, Thirteen Colonies declared themselves free of English rule, supporting that decision with military victories in the years that followed until 1781.

At that time each State was an independent unit, bound to others by a league labeled a "Confederation." Finding this system rather unworkable, they called a Constitutional Convention to design a common Government in 1786.

Eight States ignored the invitation, and only a minority of five States took the trouble to send delegates.

In the following year, 1787, George Washington was elected Chairman of the Constitutional Convention. Within 5 days, the delegates agreed to establish a Central Government without revising the Articles of Confederation.

As any grade student can tell you, 39 delegates signed the document, but their action was subject to approval of the States they represented. Ten States of the original 13 adopted the Constitution on July 2, 1788, and it was made effective May 4, 1789.

In general the Constitution gives to the States all rights except those specifically imposed in the Federal Government.

But no matter how good a document is, there is always room for improvement, and the first 10 amendments known to all as "The Bill of Rights" were adopted at the first session of Congress.

During all the 174 years that followed, only 14 other amendments have been added, which makes it quite more remarkable for a document of this type.

In the entire 175 years, only one amendment was erased from the document, that of prohibition.

It is the action of the Supreme Court which makes the Constitution workable, for without legal enforcement of the decisions, they would be meaningless. It is the vote of the people which can erase the verdict.

In view of the many groups stating that majority should benefit, note the number of decisions which affect only the minority. In the decision on religious freedom, the Supreme Court accommodated the view of the minority, and denied the view of the majority.

In the decision on reapportionment, 48 of the 50 States will be affected, which is certainly not agreeing with the majority.

In the matter of State's rights in matter of segregation, and that of public accommodation, the view of the minority was given precedence.

This is not a condemnation of the rightness or wrongness of the rulings of the Supreme Court, it is that currently the Supreme Court has made decisions and rulings, or interpretations on things never contained in the Constitution.

How a court can create a situation with a phrase, "with all deliberate speed" with one decision, then restricting State's rights in the matter of segregation in the matter of public accommodations in another and then order the State legislatures to switch their own elective procedures (affecting 48 out of the 50 States), by reading these rulings into the Constitution is hard to see.

The object of this writing is not so much to criticise the rulings of the Supreme Court, but to create an interest in a document that is 175 years old, and still so good that its principles can mean things that probably were not existing in the original document.

History today may well mark this period as one where powers of the legislature and that of its interpretative body, the Supreme Court, can be hampered or extended to even wider views.

Fooling the Voter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT G. BURKHALTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. BURKHALTER. Mr. Speaker, Goldwater partisans in California have begun an insidious campaign to capitalize on the fear and hate spread by rightwing extremist groups in our society. As the following excerpt from Drew Pearson's column of September 26, 1964, shows, they are secretly attempting to ferret out and encourage racial prejudices and subvert our democratic way of life.

Such unethical tactics violate the code of fair campaign practices agreed upon by the Democratic and Republican Parties. It is not surprising that these people are resorting to such practices for they have turned their backs on the traditional republicanism of former Governor Warren and Senator KUCHEL. Instead they now embrace the reactionary tenets of racism. Mr. Speaker, the actions of these people constitute a menace to our political system. I hope that on November 3, the voters of Califorina will show their contempt for such tactics by repudiating the candidates who seek to gain an advantage from them.

FOOLING THE VOTER

Goldwater workers in California are disguising themselves as "nonprofit" poll takers in a secret move to switch conservative Democrats without the latter catching on. The operation has the lofty name "Opinion Analysis," but the questions asked aren't nearly as interesting as the confidential instructions given the workers.

"Introduce yourself as an opinion analysis survey worker, not a Republican precinct worker. Read the instructions. Casual clothes are best, no suits or ties. If anyone asks, you are going to 'selected' or 'random' households, not Democratic households. Do not reveal you know their name. Do not show your walking (instruction) sheet to anyone."

The project has been launched on an ambitious scale in Los Angeles in an effort to help the Goldwater-Miller ticket and defeat Representative JAMES CORMAN and other Democrats. Idea is to compile a big list of conservative Democrats—from questions asked—then to work on them with anti-Johnson literature and personal calls.

Questions include loaded ones against foreign aid and the Supreme Court. Another is: "Do you think the Communist Party is a bigger threat to our democracy than the John Birch Society?"

Two others are: "Do you think the size of the Federal Government is a threat to your freedoms?" and "Do you think an owner should have the right to refuse to sell or do business with a Negro, because he is a Negro?"

"Please remember, these questions are not designed to be fair questions, nor are they designed to make people think like Republicans," says the instruction kit. "They are designed to ferret out the hard-core conservative Democrats. * * * This operation is not a sample or guide to a campaign. It is the campaign. Every voter you find is pure gold."

Words by Which John C. Calhoun Lived

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following are excerpts from speeches delivered in the U.S. Senate during the 1830's by Calhoun, quoted by W. Edwin Hemphill, editor of "The Papers of John C. Calhoun," in an address on the occasion of the unveiling of a portrait of Calhoun by Arthur Conrad in the Abbeville County Courthouse, Abbeville, S.C., September 20, 1964:

(NOTE.—The following references are to the published speeches in Richard K. Crallé, editor, "The Works of John C. Calhoun" (six vols. Columbia, S.C.: printed by A. S. Johnston, 1851, and New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853–57):)

"I stand * * * here as the representative of no particular interest. I look to the whole, and to the future as well as the present; and I shall steadily pursue that course which, under the most enlarged view, I believe to be my duty." (Vol. III, p. 79.)

"I would at no period make the least sacrifice of principle for any temporary advantage." (Vol. II, p. 486.)

"Where the Constitution or important principles are involved, * * * [my] only guide * * * [is my] judgment and * * * [my] conscience, and not the popular voice." (Vol. III, p. 97.)

"All this influence I had to encounter, with the entire weight of the administration thrown into the same scale. I hesitated not. I saw the path of duty clearly, and determined to take it, sharp and rugged * * * [though] it was." (Vol. III, p. 127.)

"Expediency, concession, compromise. Away with such weakness and folly. Right, justice, plighted faith, and the Constitution: these, and these only, can be relied on to avert conflict." (Vol. III, p. 190.)

"I am a conservative in its broadest and fullest sense, and such I shall ever remain, unless, indeed, the Government shall become so corrupt and disordered, that nothing short of revolution can reform it. I solemnly believe that our political system is, in its purity, not only the best that ever was formed, but the best possible that can be devised for us. It is the only one by which free States, so populous and wealthy, and occupying so vast an extent of territory, can preserve their liberty. Thus thinking, I cannot hope for a better. Having no hope of a better, I am a conservative; and because I am a conservative, I am a States rights man. I believe that in the rights of the States are to be found the only effectual means of checking the overaction of this Government; to resist its tendency to concentrate all power here [in Washington], and to prevent a departure from the Constitution; or * * * to restore the Government to its original simplicity and purity." (Vol. II, p. 614.)

"Let us not deceive ourselves—the very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts, bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or a party; and that system of political morals which regards offices in a different light, as public prizes to be won by combatants most skilled in all the arts and corruption of political tactics, and to be used and enjoyed as their proper spoils—strikes a fatal blow at the very vitals of free institutions." (Vol. II, p. 462.)

"All political powers * * * are trust powers, and limited in their exercise by the subject and object of the grant." (Vol. II, p. 361.)

"Rights always precede duties, which are in fact but the obligations they impose, and, of course * * * [rights] do not confer power." (Vol. II, p. 415.)

Freewheeling Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

FREEWHEELING WASTE

The administration's programs ostensibly designed to aid depressed areas, in spite of the nice sounds of the names and the aims, have some depressing aspects. And one of the most depressing of these is the political nature of their administration. For example, consider the widespread activities of the Area Redevelopment Administration.

Behind the whole idea of the ARA is reflected the simple old pork-barrel theory that just about any depressed area can be revived if you inject enough Federal tax dollars into it, which may be true in the short run. However, the fact is that some areas simply cannot be restored to full economic self-sufficiency with any amount of Government tax funds. For example, some lack of manpower, material, and natural resources on which a revival might be established.

However, that does not seem to bother the ARA. For in its zeal to spread tax dollars around as widely as possible, it has approved projects in which a large part of the manpower and materials have to be brought in from other areas—hardly a technique designed to be of substantial help to the local depressed economy.

Additionally, the agency has helped to set up new companies to compete with other firms which already were having trouble finding enough business to keep their heads above water. Then, too, its reports to Congress have been found to be politically inflated; in one instance the General Accounting Office found that 28 percent less work actually was being done than had been claimed by the ARA.

Never before, however, has the agency's political tinge been made more visible than it has in the latest GAO finding that the ARA has granted areas in four States about $7.4 million in Federal tax funds they should not have had. This occurred when the ARA somehow construed the Area Redevelopment Act's language to mean that one area in each State could be designated for redevelopment whether or not it met the law's criteria for a depressed area. In other words, the ARA has been found to be merely pouring out funds, regardless of any legal rules concerning need.

But it may serve one useful purpose, though that is certainly freewheeling waste, even by Washington standards. It should at least make clear to everyone the extent to which this so-called depressed-areas aid can become an inflated political boondoggle.

British Medical Association Votes Resolution Asking Patient Payment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a recent article which appeared in the Medical Tribune and Medical News of Wednesday, August 5, 1964. This article, a news report from Manchester, England, reviews the recent change in the stand of the British Medical Association with regard to Britain's National Health Service. In short, the British Medical Association has in the past always supported the National Health Service system of medical care. However, at the annual meeting of this organization in August of this year, the members of the British Medical Association by a large majority voted a resolution that a patient must pay some kind of fee for service. This fee, perhaps best defined as a "nuisance charge," seems to be the only means available to cut down the large number of unnecessary consultations with which they have become plagued. The details of this problem are given in this article. It seems very surprising that this action by the BMA was given so little coverage

by the American press. These British doctors have had 16 years experience with a government-sponsored health plan. We should all be able to profit by their experience in this matter.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include this article in the RECORD:

BMA VOTES RESOLUTION ASKING PATIENT PAYMENT

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.—In a startling about-face, the 572 members of the representative body of the British Medical Association voted a resolution asking that patients make some payment for medical service at time of treatment. At present they pay only through taxation.

Under the National Health Service rules a general practitioner may not make any charge to a patient. The BMA has in the past repeatedly supported this ban on payment. The reversal of its position came on a motion introduced by Dr. Richard H. Davison, who declared that some token payment was now necessary to prevent "widespread abuse" by the public of the National Health Service.

The decision of the representative body, the policymaking assembly of the BMA, has caused a storm of criticism in Parliament and the press. And it may presage a head-on clash with the government, if the Labor Party wins the elections in October.

The representative body also changed a longstanding policy on another basic financial issue—health service prescription charges. This is a 28-cent levy on the patient for each item prescribed. Although the BMA has always opposed these charges, the representative body voted they should be retained.

In presenting his motion, Dr. Davison declared that he was aware it would be "offensive to the evangelists of free medicine, but many responsible people recognize something must be done." He was supported by Dr. John M. W. Sedgwick of Ware, who said that time is the main problem of the NHS family physician, and time cannot be bought by more money paid to the practitioner by the Government. Only by making the patient pay will there be a reduction in the number of "items of service."

VOTED BY LARGE MAJORITY

As finally amended and voted by a large majority, Dr. Davison's motion stated that the BMA's policy against a financial barrier "should not be interpreted to preclude" any form of charge to the patient for the doctor's services. The action was formally held to be a change of policy by the chairman of the representative body, Dr. Ronald Gibson of Winchester.

In an attempt to clarify this new policy, the representative body then debated anotther motion calling for "some barrier"—not necessarily financial—"between doctor and patient to prevent increasing abuse of the National Health Service."

Chairman of the BMA General Medical Services Committee, Dr. James Cameron, declared something would have to be done to control patients' demands if they were to reform general practice. However, Dr. Joan Chappell of Hendon countered with the observation that "I am very sad to think that this representative body should adopt any resolutions which suggest a barrier between doctor and patient." And Dr. John Happel of Winchester warned that if payment were adopted it would mean that physicians would be faced with a load of bad debts.

The clarifying motion was not put to the vote.

Despite the prevailing mood of disgruntlement with the NHS, there was insufficient support for a move to draw up plans for an alternative health service if the profession should decide to withdraw from the NHS in its present form. Nor could a majority be formed to back a move to draw up "a pattern of sanctions" to be available to the profession for use in any future disputes with the Ministry of Health. Both proposals were described as likely to be seen as "strike action" by physicians against the National Health Service.

In the debate on these issues, Dr. Arnold Elliott of Stratford said the representative body's answer to the objections to the NHS should not be to wash its hands of the Service as it is today but to work to put things right. "Some of us are trying to make a better National Health Service, both for the patient and the doctor," he said. The motions, he added, "could lead to the wrecking of the NHS."

The representative body's actions came on discussion of a report of the BMA Council. The report declared that the shortage of doctors is "at the root of the many difficulties which beset medical practice in this country." Just before the meeting a report published by the Social Administration Research Trust showed that between 450 and 500 physicians leave Britain every year.

Dr. Ralph A. A. R. Lawrence of Derby noted that only one new medical school is being planned by the government and that it will take 10 years before this would have any effect on the physician shortage. But, he pointed out, "more doctors alone are not going to help; we must make the National Health Service attractive so that doctors will stay in the country."

Another speaker noted that in 29 areas, physicians are looking after an average of more than 3,000 patients (the national average is 2,300). Dr. James Cameron said the Health Ministry had miscalculated the number of medical students needed, and this, in addition to the "emigration drain" means that Britain is approaching crisis conditions.

The BMA's changes in policy were explained at a press conference at the end of the meeting.

On the question of charging patients, chairman of the BMA council, Dr. John R. Nicholson-Lailey said:

"The condition of affairs in general practice is getting steadily more and more difficult. There is a shortage of general practitioners, and those we have got are being stretched to th uttermost. They feel they are not giving the proper standard of treatment that they want to give and are driven to almost any expedient to curtail unnecessary and frivolous calls."

The new policy of the association, he said, should be read to imply that if it became necessary to introduce some curb on patients' demands, them some form of charge could now be considered. "It is not intended that this should cost the patient more," he added. "Nor is it intended to augment the income of the general practitioner. Furthermore, there is no intention of putting any burden on the necessitous or elderly."

If such a system were introduced, Dr. Nicholson-Lailey continued, there would have to be some alteration in the system of taxation. At present, the citizen pays for the NHS through taxes and by small contribution from the weekly national insurance stamp that all workers are compelled to buy.

A Safety Record To Be Proud of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, in this day when so many Americans are crippled in industrial accidents, it is indeed an honor to call to the attention of my colleagues the distinguished achievement of the employees of Sinclair Petrochemicals, Inc., in our area of Harris County.

For 6 straight years—more than 3 million man-hours of work—there has not been a lost-time accident at Sinclair's plant.

The record they have set is to be envied by every plant employee and management official in our country, for the drain on our economy of industrial accidents is heavy, and the personal tragedy that often accompanies such an accident is tragic.

I am extremely proud of the many Sinclair workers who live within the 22d District for the magnificent safety job being done, and certainly believe congratulations are in order for General Manager Homer C. Wilson, his officers, and all the Sinclair people. I know my colleagues share this feeling.

Akron General's 50th

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the 14th Congressional District of Ohio is fortunate in having many outstanding institutions concerned with the health and general welfare of its citizens.

Last week, I was honored by an invitation to join my fellow citizens in participating in the 50th anniversary convocation of the Akron General Hospital.

As I listened to the inspired messages of the Reverend Paul Kershner, Publisher John S. Knight, Mr. Robert H. Collacott, and Dr. Norman P. Auburn, president, the University of Akron, I felt a deep sense of pride in the citizenry and medical profession of my community who had brought into being and maintained this great institution of healing. Not to be forgotten is the work of the Akron Beacon Journal in its support of the growth of the Akron General Hospital.

Messrs. H. W. Slabaugh, chairman of the board; Frank W. Steere, president; William A. Palmer, vice president; Donald C. Mell, vice president; R. Bruce Silver, secretary; and Raymond W. Apple, treasurer, are to be commended for their unstinting work in making this an institution of which we can all be proud.

Akron General Hospital's executive director, Dr. Joseph S. Lichty, has set the high standards by which the hospital operates. His staff is outstanding and always has the welfare of all patients at heart.

I wish that my colleagues here in the Congress could have been with me during my visit to the Akron General Hospital so that they might have seen the good use made of the Hill-Burton funds that we have made available to it.

The Akron Beacon Journal of September 29, 1964, carried the following editorial concerning the Akron General Hospital:

AKRON GENERAL'S 50TH

Over a period of half a century, thousands of persons have contributed time, talent, and money to make Akron General Hospital the great institution it is today.

It was appropriate that many of these individuals should join last week in celebrating the hospital's 50th anniversary and in looking forward to the years of service that lie ahead.

More than bricks and mortar, beds and meal trays, operating rooms and a business office are required to make a hospital.

To make the sick well again and to relieve pain and anxiety for those who can't get well, something more is needed than mere mechanical equipment. That something is a spirit of helpfulness permeating all personnel from administrators to doctors to nurses to maintenance workers. Such a spirit has existed for years at Akron General.

As the hospital necessarily continues to grow, one hopes that the individuality of attention given each sick or injured patient may always remain as fine.

From Democratic Platform to Lyndon Baines Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith an editorial from the Nashville Banner of September 25, 1964, which certainly bears repetition in this day of misrepresentation of facts and rigging of issues in an election year. Certainly people will care to be informed and so exercise independent judgment by election day in this presidential election. I commend it to the serious and objective consideration by all concerned:

FROM DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM TO LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON—NUCLEAR WEAPONS AUTHORITY HYPOCRITICAL HOAX, FALSIFIED FLIM-FLAMMERY, DAMNABLE DECEIT

For unprincipled distortion—by misrepresentation of facts to rig a campaign issue—nothing in America's political history exceeds the Johnson team's attempted snowjob on the subject of nuclear weapons authority. That the posture assumed by these is sheer hocus-pocus—and transparently so to anyone bothering to check the facts—hasn't deterred them from a screaming intent to defame BARRY GOLDWATER for the suggestion that the NATO commander shares a contingent responsibility for decision.

Therewith they blew the ideological gasket—and the hustings have rung with charges of trigger-happy irresponsibility run amok.

One of two explanations applies: Either they, including the President himself, do not know the facts in the case—respecting an authority already shared—or they believe that in prevarication they have hit paydirt. Though accustomed to stupidity in high places, the American people aren't inclined to charge this one up to that.

The blatant party line of subterfuge on this point didn't really get going until the Democratic Convention. That was its spark point.

There surfaced in sputtering array, with hearts crossed to signify that this was their moment of truth:

The colossal hypocrisy of the platform.

The hissing hysteria of Keynoter JOHN PASTORE.

The habitual, unmitigated gall of HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY.

The damnable deceit and flagrant falsification of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

These since have been embellished by elaboration on their subject—as in spot TV infamies as paid political announcements depicting a little girl incinerated as she pulled petals from a daisy; all conditioned on a vote for anybody but Lyndon and HORATIO. The sickening party line therein propagandized was a new low in attempted brainwashing, but no more of a calculated deception than the words these have employed in their truth twisting to fabricate an issue.

Said the platform: "Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the highest elected official of the country—the President of the United States."

Said Senator PASTORE: "As for the feuding that took place at that [other] convention on the question of whose finger should be on the trigger of the atomic bomb * * * that power today rests solely with the President."

Seeking the next-in-line role for that awesome responsibility of decision, Horatio has joined in with the declaration that "The question before the electorate is simple, prophetic, profound—which of these men, Lyndon Johnson or Barry Goldwater, do you want to have his hand on that nuclear trigger?"

And posing almost as unctuously as the only safe arbiter of human destiny—the lone defender of little girls, otherwise facing incineration—Mr. Johnson has parroted the identical line. "No President of the United States," he said, "can give up responsibility for deciding when or if to use nuclear weapons."

The ipse dixit was of leftwing coinage—hardly with casual resemblance to fact—but reiterated on the propagandist theory that if you tell something often enough eventually it will be believed. Fortunately, truth has its own counteractive device—the despair of flimflam artists who can't extinguish it, however much they strive by "newsmanagement" and distortion to obscure and suppress it.

What are the facts regarding the matter in controversy?

Time magazine and U.S. News & World Report dispel the fog and supply the answer. Says Time, in its current issue: "GOLDWATER insists that the President should delegate such authority. President Johnson lets on that he can't and won't. The fact is that he already does, as Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy before him.

"In 1957, the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy received written notification that plans were being developed to give NATO's Supreme Commander in Europe the right to use nuclear weapons in certain contingencies—such as the incapacity of the President or the breakdown of communications between Europe and the United States those plans are now in operation. All are classified as top secret, but they apply not only to NATO's commander, but to the commander of the North American Air Defense."

U.S. News & World Report says that the administration was considering modifying its veto on nuclear weapon use "before it became a political issue." Then, "Even now the understanding is widespread among NATO allies that U.S. commanders in Europe already have orders issued in advance to use nuclear weapons in certain emergencies with no further instructions from Washington."

This agreed on the facts—by individual research and presentation—are the Nation's foremost liberal news magazine and its major conservative news magazine. They are one on where that power rests under the Johnson administration and where it has rested under the two previous administrations.

The "official" rebuttal rushed out yesterday by the Defense Department answered nothing. It was in the Pentagon's and politicos' evasive terms, which have been a part of the customary policy of news management.

The contingency power recognized by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy as a necessity is even more imperative now. Conceivably the emergency could arise with the President not instantly reachable, maybe driving across Texas at 90 miles per hour, with his trigger finger around a beer can; or elsewhere engaged with communications disrupted. Or with military advisers, decoding equipment, etc., trailing somewhere in another plane, as occurred on the Labor Day weekend. On that occasion he took along a certain labor tycoon, being in pursuit of votes, rather than the complement of communications equipment and people so necessary to security in event of any national emergency that might have occurred.

The point of the whole business is that L.B.J. and company have been totally misrepresenting the case. They have done that, deliberately, maliciously, and venomously, with one purpose only: To justify by callous disregard for fact their campaign pitch, seeking to depict BARRY GOLDWATER as a trigger-happy man, a warmonger, proposing to gamble recklessly with nuclear holocaust.

Who is it that is reckless with the truth?

Who is it that is irresponsible?

Who is it with a sensitive finger for the panic button?

Who is it that is willfully bent on misleading the American people, with every line and syllable of a fright message—alternating the pitch only to pontificate for party bows as the pathfinder to, the guardian and lawgiver of, the great society's promised land?

The questions answer themselves. The name is Lyndon Baines Johnson.

There recur, in continuing campaign dose, since the launching of last month:

The colossal hypocrisy of the platform.

The hissing hysteria of JOHN PASTORE.

The habitual, unmitigated gall of HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY.

The damnable deceit and flagrant falsification of L.B.J.

America is in a sober mood. It is listening to sober voices—for sober counsel. Din from the extremist left, in behalf of its own ticket, is striving to drown out these. But in contrast to that pandemonium of political H.H.H.—standing this time for hypocrisy, hysteria, and hokum—the Nation hears something else: the calm summary of reason's case.

That was Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's analysis of the issues, plural. Sitting with Senator GOLDWATER in conference Tuesday, he branded for what it was the leftwing's falsehood which has called the Republican nominee a "warmonger" who would plunge the Nation into nuclear disaster.

Said Ike, "BARRY, that is tommyrot. That is just crazy."

Reapportonment Act Ruled Invalid in Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the recent ruling of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court invalidating the Commonwealth's reapportionment act of January 1965 will be of general interest,

and therefore have requested that the following news story be made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 29, 1964]

REAPPORTIONMENT ACT RULED INVALID IN PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH, September 29.—The Pennsylvania supreme court ruled today that the State's legislative reapportionment act of last January is invalid, and the court retained jurisdiction in the matter.

The court in effect ordered the general assembly to write a new reapportionment law in time for use in the 1966 State elections.

Until then, the court said, the present reapportionment law will prevail, even though it has been found invalid.

A 31-page opinion written by Justice Samuel Roberts said the law failed to meet requirements of the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Chief Justice John Bell wrote an 11-page concurring opinion. There were no dissents.

Roberts said that at least 37 State election districts differ widely in population but have equal representation.

"We hope the difficult and complex task of the legislature will be clarified by the guidelines set out in this opinion," Roberts said.

The opinion added, "We shall be obliged to take necessary affirmative action" if the general assembly fails to act in time to insure that the 1966 elections will be conducted under a valid plan.

The case reached the State supreme court on an appeal by a group known as the committee of 70, made up mainly of Philadelphia area residents.

Columbus Day—A Legal Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the history of America is made to live by the special recognition we accord great historical events in our daily lives. Each year, we set aside 6 days for national devotion to the memory of George Washington, those Americans who gave their lives fighting for freedom, our struggle for independence, organized labor's formation, war veterans, and the pilgrims' thanks to God.

Therefore, I believe it is in keeping with this tradition to institute a holiday memorial to Christopher Columbus, the noble Italian navigator, for realizing his dream of finding a "New World." Many States, including my own New York State, have declared October 12 a legal holiday for many years. Now, I propose that Columbus Day be so decreed by the Congress of the United States.

This action of the Federal Government honoring the man whose discovery of 472 years ago led to the creation of our country would give added substance and meaning to those principles we hold near and dear. It would provide an annual opportunity for Americans to express their pride in our heritage.

I ask that we rededicate ourselves to the motto of the United States, "E Pluribus Unum" or "one out of many," by enacting into law my bill to make Columbus Day a national holiday.

Salute to Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the fourth anniversary of the independence of Nigeria. On this memorable occasion, we wish to take opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Nigeria, Anamdi Azikiwe; and to the Chargé d'Affaires Ad Interim, Godwin A. Onyegbula.

It is with pride and pleasure that we salute the Government and people of Nigeria on this occasion. Nigeria, the ninth most populous country in the world, is an effectively functioning democracy, a land of rich and varied resources, and a nation of industrious and education-conscious people.

Nigeria is physically a land of contrasts—from its semidesert Muslim north of ancient high-walled towns to the tropical coastal region of the west, to the forests of the east. The diverse regions of Nigeria—eastern, western, midwestern, and northern—are united in a federal system of government in which each region has its own parliament and executive with fairly extensive powers.

The Nigerian economy has been achieving a steady rate of growth in this stable political climate. Over the past decade the average annual increase in national output has approximated 4 percent, keeping comfortably ahead of the annual estimated population increase of 2 percent. The economy is based heavily on agriculture, but contrary to many of the African economies, crops are widely diversified. Thus, Nigeria's prosperity is not dependent on the success of a single crop. Most observers are confident that the economy will continue to grow at an average rate of 4 percent. Crop production reached record levels in 1963, resulting in an estimated 6 percent gross national product increase during that year, significantly above the 4-percent average over the past decade.

Another promising aspect of the Nigerian economy is the existence of rich fuel and energy resources, as yet largely unexploited. A recent AID special research report on sources of energy in Nigeria notes that Nigeria has ample volumes of petroleum, natural gas, coal, lignite, wood, and hydroelectric power. The report points up eight specific investment possibilities for the consideration of private investors, including carbonization of coal, construction of lead and aluminum smelters, resin manufacture, and production of petroleum coke.

The existence of these energy resources provides the key to Nigeria's future economic development. Energy is a prerequisite to industrialization, and industrialization is essential to support a continuing upward trend in the economy. As yet industry contributes only a small portion of Nigeria's gross national product, but encouragement of private foreign investment for industrial development has already yielded some promising results.

Perhaps most important, the Nigerian Government is intensely aware of Nigeria's need for foreign capital and is determined to do everything possible to encourage and reassure private foreign investors. A national development plan for the years 1962–68 calls for private foreign capital investment of $100 million a year. A special section on Nigeria in the New York Times of January 20, 1964, included a full-page advertisement listing incentives for private foreign investment. The same section contained a message from Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa assuring potential investors that oversea capital under mutually satisfactory conditions is most welcome in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and that the interest of investors will always be safeguarded.

We commend the approach of the Nigerian Government to its economic development problems. We congratulate Nigeria on achieving a democratic, federal system of government. We salute you, Prime Minister Balewa and the people of Nigeria, on the fourth anniversary of your independence and express our sincerest wishes for the continued successful development of your country.

Nice Name on a Bad Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shelbyville News, September 15, 1964:

NICE NAME ON A BAD BILL

The ingeniously designed medicare amendment, which would set in motion benefit payments to millions before the election, and which wouldn't tax the other millions who must pay for them until after election, has squeaked by the Senate and now must come before the sometimes more sensible House.

Few citizens really know what the medicare plan is. At its beginning it would tax all workers, from the poorest to the highest paid, to provide limited hospital and nursing home benefits for others who have not paid for them, whether they need such help or not.

The Senate was awash with crocodile tears as the amendment was argued. One Senator said that he didn't want to send old people who needed medical help to the welfare office. But he'd send them willingly to the social security office for precisely the same help. In both cases it would be charity, for it will be many years before any substantial number of those who get the assistance will have

paid for any or much of it by their own contributions.

Medicare advocates had almost nothing to say about the fact that it will increase social security taxes by more than $70 a year within a few years—an amount that represents a week's take-home pay to many earners. No one cares that these people may have medical bills to pay in their own families.

They deplore the fact that the present Kerr-Mills Act provides medical care for the aged only to those who need such help, because of the "humiliating means test." They conveniently forgot that social security itself has a means test—that you can't draw it if you earn over a certain small amount.

Both sides in the argument admitted that the level of social security taxes, once this change is passed, will be about as high as it is safe to go. Yet, they all knew that medicare won't stay within the costs they have estimated, for they have heard expert testimony on the subject and have the experience of other nations for examples. Medicare is a nice name on a bad bill.

Legal Recognition Overdue for Courageous Italian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, on August 15, 1964, the Senate passed a bill to designate Columbus Day as a legal holiday. This measure is pending before the House Judiciary Committee and I am hopeful that it will be enacted into law before this Congress adjourns.

For many years the Federal Government has observed Lincoln's Birthday and Washington's Birthday as legal holidays. I think the time has come for the Federal Government to join most of the other States who have for many years also observed Columbus Day as a legal holiday. Certainly this recognition of the man who discovered America is long overdue.

The name of Christopher Columbus is familiar to all Americans. Children learn about this brave Italian explorer in their classrooms at a tender age. They learn how he battled great odds with remarkable determination before discovering the New World and proving that the earth is round. The great courage displayed by Columbus serves as an inspiration to all Americans as well as citizens of other countries in search of new opportunity.

An editorial from the Baltimore Evening Sun, which I believe sums up the reasons why it is appropriate that a legal holiday be named in honor of Christopher Columbus, follows:

DUE HIS DAY

It is called Landing Day in Wisconsin, Fraternal Day in Alabama, Discovery Day in two more States and a memorial day in three others. But in most of the States, including Maryland, October 12 is Columbus Day, recalling the date in 1492 when the Genoese discoverer-explorer found land in the Western Hemisphere and planted his cross of gratitude on shore at San Salvador.

Columbus Day is, in fact, observed in one form or another, under one or another of its names, in 38 States. Now a bill which has passed the Senate and is before the House would make the day a legal public holiday.

Apart from Christmas and New Year's, the other days so designated are Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Veterans Day, and Thanksgiving The history made by the events and heroes they honor began with Columbus. We cannot think of the origin of the very concept of the New World without thinking of him. As Morison and Commager say in their "Growth of the American Republic," he "personally led the first colony to the New World in 1493; he discovered the South American Continent in 1498; and he obtained the first definite news of the Pacific Ocean. The history of the Americas stems from his four voyages." If the purpose of legal holidays is to cause us to remember men and moments of greatness, to honor turning points in the story of mankind, to give a special place to dates marking decisive changes in the world's development, then Columbus surely deserves the full and formal recognition of his day.

No Rush

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, a subject which has received the attention of a number of members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, particularly members of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations, concerns the transatlantic movement of mail by air, including airmail and military ordinary mail.

Therefore, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial on the subject which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on September 1, 1964, and in particular, the reply to this editorial by Mr. Richard M. Jackson, president of Seaboard World Airlines which was printed in the September 24, 1964, issue of the Journal. Certainly both sides have a right to be heard.

The article follows:

NO RUSH

If your mail does not get to its destination as fast as you think it ought to, the fault is not always the Post Office Department's. Look at what happened to the Department's proposal to speed airmail across the Atlantic.

Some weeks ago postal officials announced plans to allocate most transatlantic airmail to airlines having all-jet flights. This understandably upset a couple of airlines carrying mail on their prop-jet aircraft, which of course are slower than pure jets; no one likes the prospect of revenue loss.

So the prop-jet operators took their case to the Federal court, and have won an order forbidding the Post Office Department from making its planned switch to the fastest available means of transportation.

It probably wouldn't be quite fair to say that had the Post Office been under comparable restraints from the start, mail today might be still traveling overseas under sail, and across the country via pony express. But it does seem the Department has enough slowdown capability of its own, without needing any such judicial help.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 24, 1964]

AIRMAIL ABROAD

EDITOR, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL:

Your editorial "No Rush" (Sept. 1) created the impression that transatlantic airmail flown in pure jets will be delivered sooner than that flown in prop-jets because of the speed differential between the two airplane types. In a large degree this is not true since the number of deliveries to the addressee (usually one a day) is the controlling time factor.

For example, in the case of one delivery a day, airmail arriving at foreign cities prior to 3 a.m. will be delivered to the addressee later that morning; and airmail arriving at any time in the next 24 hours will be delivered on the following morning. It makes no sense to favor one flight over another (one airline over another) if there is no improvement in the actual delivery to the addressee. A 3-hour differential in arrival between a jet and a prop-jet flight is meaningless unless it spans the 3 a.m. airmail arrival deadline (which none of them does).

It is clear that the Post Office Department, with the support of the large jet operators, made an unwarranted change of policy without due process of the law, and the courts have twice recognized their illegal action with injunctions. The transatlantic airmail addressee is getting the same excellent service either way, and it is indeed an unfortunate spectacle when a Government department can be used by huge companies to obtain competitive advantage over their smaller rivals.

RICHARD M. JACKSON,
President, Seaboard World Airlines, Inc.
JAMAICA, N.Y.

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert an article in the RECORD which should concern all thinking Americans. This article, entitled "Reapportionment Would Endanger Rural Representation," was written by Richard L. Prether and appeared in the August 1964 issue of Buckeye Farm News. The article focuses its attention on how reapportionment would affect Ohio:

REAPPORTIONMENT WOULD ENDANGER RURAL REPRESENTATION

(By Richard L. Prether)

Reapportionment could be a reality soon for Ohio. Only one small light of hope shines out against this action, and that is the McCulloch amendment, which, if passed, could put Ohio's present process of electing State representatives on more solid constitutional grounds.

The irony of the situation is that Ohio for 61 years has been electing members of the house of representatives with a system that has been fair to both population and political units, flexible to provide for shifts in population and interests, has minimized periodic bickering over the question of reapportionment, and the system has been proven by the quality laws approved by Ohio Legislatures, but now the U.S. Supreme Court says this system is unconstitutional.

The threat of reapportionment has been lurking in the background of agriculture for a number of years, ready to gobble up rural America.

The Ohio Farm Bureau Federation has fought reapportionment for many years on the grounds that the present system is fair and just, giving each county at least one member in the Ohio house, D. R. Stanfield, executive vice president, OFBF, said recently.

"Our system also takes into consideration population when electing members to the house," he remarked.

If reapportionment based on population alone takes place in Ohio, about 48 counties could lose "direct" representation in the house of representatives. To make the picture clearer, these counties are presently represented by 48 members in the house, but after reapportionment they would share less than 20 representatives.

EIGHT WOULD CONTROL

This process will, also, give eight large counties, comprising less than 10 percent of the State's total land area, more than a majority in the Ohio house. These are Cuyahoga, Summit, Mahoning, Franklin, Montgomery, Stark, Lucas, and Hamilton Counties.

There are 88 counties in Ohio. So, 8 counties would have more to say about legislation in Ohio than 80 other counties. Based strictly on population, Cuyahoga County would have more votes in the Ohio General Assembly than an entire southeast block of 36 counties, or more than one-third of the State's land area.

It is obvious that population alone is not a good guide for apportionment, but neither is area alone. Cuyahoga County with a 1,647,895 population should have more representatives than Vinton County with only 10,274 residents.

Under the present system, Cuyahoga's population is taken into consideration, giving that county 17 representatives. It also recognizes the area of Vinton County by giving it one representative.

The U.S. Supreme Court by a 7-to-2 vote ordered a three-judge Federal court, upholding the Ohio apportionment formula (Hanna amendment) that guarantees each county at least one representative, to reconsider its decision of June 12, 1963.

The district court might have to go even further than the High Court is asking because the 1851 Ohio constitution provides that "Every county having a population equal to one-half of said ratio, shall be entitled to one representative."

Cleveland taxpayer, James D. Nolan, asked the lower court and the Supreme Court to declare only the Hanna amendment unconstitutional. In light of the High Court's decision that membership of State legislatures be based on population alone, this leaves this section of the Ohio constitution in question, according to some courtroom observers.

Ohio House Speaker Roger Cloud, Republican, of Logan, recently named 21 Ohio legislators to seek ways to elect State representatives on the equal-population rule now set up by the U.S. Supreme Court. The committee is expected to meet late in July or early August.

The Ohio constitution also provides that an apportionment board, consisting of the Governor, secretary of state and auditor, divide the State in redistricting.

The present Ohio formula determining the State representative radio divides the State's population (9,706,397) by 100, or 1 representative for every 97,064 residents. Also each county is guaranteed at least one house member. Reapportionment is required by the Ohio Constitution every 10 years after a Federal census.

Practically every State in the Union will be affected by the far-reaching Supreme Court decision. Many people are trying to evaluate the situation, if reapportionment is completed on a strict population basis.

Political experts are saying nationally that city and urban people, who will be in control, are generally for higher taxes to pay for more State services, including most of the welfare aids. They also predict that it will give organized labor a great opportunity to pass legislation increasing workmen's compensation benefits, new minimum-wage laws, and other programs geared toward the city.

So, not only will the political change be great, the economic change may be even greater. Experts are generally in agreement that the Democrats will benefit by the U.S. Supreme Court ruling, although there are others who predict it will even itself out because suburban areas are generally Republican.

Many political observers believe that the proposed constitutional amendment of U.S. Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, (Republican, of Piqua), of the Fourth District, may come too late to salvage present systems in operation.

The proposed amendment, given full support by the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, would guarantee States the right to apportion one house of their bicameral legislatures on factors other than population. This legislation needs a two-thirds majority vote by Congress and three-fourths of the State legislatures to amend the U.S. Constitution. Hearings were scheduled for late July or early August.

In opposing the Supreme Court ruling, Stanfield cited the dissenting opinion of Justice Potter Stewart who said the decision finds no grounds in the U.S. Constitution.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, of the U.S. Supreme Court, stated in the majority opinion (6 to 3) that "considerations of area alone provide an insufficient justification for deviations from the equal-population principle. Again—people, not land or trees or pastures—vote."

It might be of interest to note that Justice Warren, when Governor of California, and Republican candiate for Vice President, opposed what he is recommending in the recent ruling.

Justice John Marshall Harlan's dissenting opinion, countered the majority statement with the following: "It is surely equally obvious and, in the contest of elections, more meaningful to note that people are not ciphers and that legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interest—economic, social, political—many of which do reflect the place where the electors live."

When Justice Warren was Governor Warren, he agreed with Justice Harlan.

The Honorable Albert Rains

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I did not realize this afternoon, when the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS] took the well, that he was going to pay tribute to ALBERT RAINS.

There are Members of this House who have been here much longer than I have and who know ALBERT RAINS perhaps a little better than I do. I do not profess to have known ALBERT for a long time, but as he leaves this Congress of his own free will and accord I must say to Americans everywhere that the U.S. Congress is indeed losing one of its most distinguished Members.

I know there will be those who will say, upon his retirement, that they have not agreed with some of his actions in Congress, but the same can be said of any or every Member who leaves the halls of this Congress.

I do not believe it can be said that ALBERT RAINS has ever, during his tenure in the Congress, acted in bad faith. If ALBERT RAINS has made mistakes while he has been here in the Congress, they have been mistakes of the mind and not mistakes of the heart.

I have enjoyed my personal dealings with ALBERT. I consider him a personal friend. I consider him as capable as any man in this House of Representatives and do so without reservation. As a less experienced colleague he has assisted me and my constituents over and over again.

He is a great American and I know that the good people of Alabama and the American people everywhere are going to miss his services here in this Congress. I only wish him God's blessing in these remaining years of his life. His successor had better have big feet because he will be called upon to fill the shoes of a big man. Mark my words and mark them well. History will record that his footprints have left their imprint in the sands of time. History will record him worthy of being remembered. He will be remembered.

The Honorable Albert Rains

SPEECH

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am thrilled and I am awed by this tribute to one of the truly great Members of this House today. In fact, my feelings are intermingled.

I feel pleased, I feel privileged, and I feel proud to participate.

I feel pleased to see this time taken today to pay tribute to a man retiring from our ranks physically but who will never retire from our hearts or from the work of the Congresses to come.

I said I feel privileged. I am privileged—privileged to be able to join in this tribute and to say how beloved he is, what warm personal affection I have for him, and how truly admiring I am of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS].

I said I feel proud. Yes, I am proud—proud to be a Member of the House and to have the opportunity of knowing such a fine colleague, so beautiful a human, and so able a public servant.

I have learned much from AL RAINS. From the first day I became a member of the Banking and Currency Committee I took notice of AL. One could not help but notice him—his calmness and collectiveness under stress and during difficult sessions attracted me immediately.

His unique grasp of the issues at hand, his scope of knowledge, his analytical mind, his sense of fairness, his tasteful humor and his brilliance are truly exceptional.

I have been privileged to have served with AL RAINS in the committee and in this House. My life and my own public service have been much enriched by having had ths experience, and I feel certain that many, many other Members of the House feel the same as I do.

I am particularly honored to be able to join in this tribute to our colleague today and to wish him many, many years of good health and happiness.

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman from New York.

The Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE CHOICE

The election this November will be the most crucial of the century thus far, for as at no other time in recent decades it will determine the basic direction this country is now to take.

This will be true no matter who wins. If Mr. GOLDWATER wins, the people will have issued an unmistakable mandate for some fundamental changes. If he loses but comes somewhere near close it will be clear signal to slow up sharply in the present drift toward the welfare state. If Mr. Johnson wins big, it will be just as clear an indication that people are content with the way things are going. We've come to a basic choice.

The thing to keep in mind through the heat of the election campaign is that the overriding issue is the choice between philosophies of government. True, we will be choosing between men, too. But more importantly, we will choose between what they champion. We may or may not like everything about the man we vote for. We may or may not agree with everything he says. But which man represents more nearly the way we want this country to go? That is the big question. Let's never lose sight of it.

Moreover, it's the first time in many years that the choice has been clear cut. Mr. GOLDWATER is not a "me-too" Republican. He doesn't just claim that he could carry out a version of the Democratic program, under another label, better than the Democrats could. He offers a fundamentally different program. And he has the courage to state it forthrightly without the kind of "something for everybody and let's offend nobody" political pap we are so used to. Agree with him or not, it's refreshing and it's a change. You know where he stands.

What are some of the choices in policy we have the chance to make? Well here are a few:

1. We have seen a steady drift toward a bigger, more powerful, more centralized, more authoritarian big state. That can scarcely be denied. Anyone who wonders whether it is real, can measure it concretely by our increasing number of bureaucrats, our ever bigger budget, our continuous deficit spending, our proliferation of programs which try to solve every problem in the country (including those that can better be solved closer to home) our evermore numerous handouts to more and more people, the increasing reach of government into the private lives of its citizens, the penchant for putting government increasingly into business in competition with private enterprise. We all know this has been going on and at an increasing pace. Do we want it to go further or is it time to call a halt? We can do it without "reverting to yesterday," which, incidentally, no one is proposing.

2. Do we want more—or less—Federal dabbling in local affairs? Who knows better what we want and how to get it—we ourselves, and our State and local governments, or an army of nonelected bureaucrats and wise men down in Washington?

3. Do we want a dollar that amounts to something or one continually cheapened by a Government that has decided not to live within its income?

4. Do we want to continue indiscriminate and wasteful foreign aid that "can't be cut further," or pare this back to a sensible program that probably would, in fact, achieve its objectives even better?

5. Do we want a farm policy which continues to aim at further Government control over agriculture, or one that begins to hand farming back to farmers, with markets rather than bureaucrats setting prices?

What kind of appointments do we want made?

6. What kind of appointments do we want made to the Supreme Court? More like we've had?

These are a few of the questions that face us this November. And as we said in the beginning, let's not get so absorbed with personalities that we forget what the real issues are.

Salute to Guinea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow Guinea will celebrate the sixth anniversary of its independence, and we wish to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Guinea, Sekou Touré, and to His Excellency the Guinean Ambassador to the United States, Karim Bangoura.

Its history since that fateful day in autumn 1958 is a telling chronicle of the implications of the choice facing all newly independent nations: whether to turn east or west for help. It is a source of reassurance and gratification to the Western World that Guinea, having once turned east to the Communist bloc for aid, has gradually turned back to the west.

The Western World cannot, however, take credit for Guinea's change of mind; the credit belongs rather to Prime Minister Sekou Touré and other Government leaders, whose perceptive self-interest led them to recognize the poor quality of Communist goods and the inferior workmanship of Communist technicians. Guinea has been a testing ground of the East-West offensive in Africa, and the East has failed miserably.

But again, while we cannot help being critical of Guinea for turning to the Communist world for assistance in the first place, we must remember that the causes of this move were interwoven with the independence events of 1958. The first step, it is true, was Guinea's rejection of French President de Gaulle's plan for limited autonomy in September 1958 when all the other French African colonies accepted the De Gaulle program. From then on, Guinea was gradually pushed toward the Communist bloc. French administrators and technicians withdrew immediately, taking equipment with them, and French aid to Guinea was cut off. Guinea's headstrong "non" in the referendum on limited autonomy isolated Guinea from the West, and requests for aid from the United States understandably remained unanswered.

Thus, the price of Guinea's "non" became dependence on the Communist bloc. The Soviet Union was only too happy to answer Guinea's request for help affirmatively, and the Soviet response was the extension of $127 million in aid, mostly in long-term loans. Soon Russia, East European, and Chinese diplomats and technicians began arriving in Guinea. During the first 3 years of its existence, Guinea was considered by many Western observers another Communist satellite.

By the end of 1961, however, a significant change was in the wind. The Guinean economy was lagging badly. State regulation of the economy had resulted in corruption and black marketing. Communist equipment proved ill-suited to the tropics, and spare parts were seldom available. Communist technicians were overbearing and sometimes incompetent. Much Communist aid was designated for useless showpieces rather than for basic essentials. The blowup occurred in late 1961 when evidence of Soviet involvement in an alleged plot against the government was uncovered. In December 1961, Guinea expelled the Russian Ambassador.

The truth of the matter is that the Communists bungled badly in Guinea. With the new year of 1962, Guinea turned back toward the West, and relations between Guinea and the West have steadily improved ever since. The U.S. aid program has been expanded at Guinea's request, amounting to only $0.2 million in 1961 but increasing to $10.4 million in 1962 and $16.1 million in 1963. Guinea has adopted an investment code designed to attract foreign capital. In spring of 1963, American jet flights were inaugurated between New York and Conakry, and an American trade fair visited Guinea. In May 1963, financial differences were settled between France and Guinea.

Thus, on the sixth anniversary of Guinea's independence, relations between Guinea and the West are considerably different from relations 6 years ago. We commend Prime Minister Sekou Touré

and the people of Guinea for their determined and successful efforts to secure the fruits of independence amid many difficulties. The sixth anniversary of their independence gives us the opportunity to express our good will toward them, our best wishes for their successful development in the future, and our ardent desire for the continued improvement of relations between our two countries.

The Steuben Society in Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK J. HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on August 21, 1964, the Steuben Society of America met in my home community of Rochester, N.Y., for its 21st national convention. It was my privilege and honor to address the final banquet of this important convention.

Through the courtesy of Ward Lange, national chairman of the society, and my own constituent, Kilian J. Schmitt, chairman of the banquet, I obtained a copy of the platform of the society which contains a report on the accomplishment of this convention. Because it so well tells the patriotic story of the Steuben Society's members, their love of liberty, and dedication to the principles of an America that is firm in its defense of freedom, I take pleasure in sharing this platform with my colleagues in the House of Representatives:

PLATFORM FOR 1964–66 OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA AS ADOPTED BY THE 21ST NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ROCHESTER, N.Y., AUGUST 21, 1964—RATIFIED AUGUST 23, 1964

PREAMBLE

In these times of increasing interdependence of nations, of newly enfranchised peoples and of social and political upheaval, the tremendous challenges confronting the United States of America compel us to champion the priceless heritage of freedoms passed on to us by our forefathers and to affirm the principles of government rooted in the dignity of the individual and the equality of citizens, no matter what their race, color, or creed, and to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.

PLATFORM

Firmly pledged to these convictions, we submit the following platform and program:

1. Government system

(a) We reaffirm our faith in, and pledge our allegiance to, the system of government as set forth in our Constitution: the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary.

(b) We advocate that any change in our system of government be made through constitutional amendments and not by executive fiat, legislative surrender, or judicial usurpation.

(c) We urge that all concepts of an all-powerful Central Government and welfare state be rejected.

(d) We recommend an amendment to the Constitution which would permit the voters to exercise directly their choice in the election of the President and Vice President.

(e) We recommend that legislation be enacted to establish the procedure in defining the conditions and circumstances under which the President is considered unable to carry out the duties of his office, in order that his successor can legally assume such office, immediately.

We recommend the election, by the Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress, from a brief list of nominees made by the President, for filling the office of Vice President, whenever it may become vacant.

(f) We advocate an amendment to the Constitution which would prevent the Executive from exceeding the treatymaking powers of his office.

(g) We recommend that the Constitution be amended to provide that all Federal judges shall be appointed by the President subject to the majority approval of the Senate. Such appointments shall be for a probationary period of 2 years after which time the appointment becomes permanent upon a two-third vote of the Senate.

(h) We recommend the submission of proposed constitutional amendments directly to the qualified voters of each State.

(i) We advocate the reorganization of governmental departments and bureaus as outlined by the Hoover Commission reports.

(j) We favor a rollcall in both Houses on all bills and measures involving the expenditures of moneys.

(k) We advocate the establishment of a Foreign Service Academy.

(l) We urge the legislative branch of our Government to exercise their basic powers to ultimately compel the State Department to establish a standard of personnel selection to insure personnel of the highest caliber.

2. Church and state

We maintain that the doctrine of separation of church and state be definitely upheld.

3. Communism—Subversion

We propose to fight the doctrines and practices of communism and other forms of subversion.

We advocate the exclusion or dismissal of all Communists, fellow travelers and other proponents of subversion from public office and any other positions of public trust.

4. National defense

(a) We adovcate adequate preparation for the defense of our country.

In the event of a constitutionally declared war, all the resources of the country as well as its manpower, shall be made available as the Congress shall prescribe.

(b) We urge a revision of the Universal Military Training Act To remove its injustices and uncertainties.

5. Space Agency

(a) We recommend that the Federal Government encourage and stimulate basic research, experimentation, and operation of all aspects of the space program through and by private and nonprofit organizations without expense to the Federal Government through licensing agreements, mutual and otherwise.

(b) We favor the development and promotion by the Federal Government of all other programs within space activities and the operation thereof all within sound budgetary allotments in order that the United States of America may attain and/or retain its leadership in this field.

(c) We advocate the development by private means of space communications and continued research within the overall program of our space planning.

(d) We recommend that all space planning be accomplished through the joint efforts of the Federal Government and private industry.

6. Foreign affairs

A. General: Conscious of the gravity of world problems, we advocate that our Government in its relations with other nations pursue policies which embody these concepts:

(1) The interdependence of the free world, of which we form an integral part, is the harsh reality of international life; however, the solidarity, friendship, and economic well-being of all the nations in our own hemisphere should have priority in United States diplomacy.

(2) We must put increasing emphasis on regional pacts, both political and economic.

(3) Admission to the United Nations of newly independent countries and their exercise of the full powers and rights of such membership shall be based upon national stability and political maturity. Until these conditions have been fulfilled applicant nations shall not be entitled to a vote but shall be permitted to attend sessions and participate in deliberations and debate.

Member nations shall be deprived of their vote during their delinquency in payment of their assessments.

(4) The constitutional guarantees and the sovereignty of the United States must not be surrendered to any suprastate or world government.

B. Foreign Aid: We urge that all authorizations and appropriations for foreign aid be curtailed and rigorously supervised "on the spot" in the nations receiving such aid. However, no such aid should be given to Communist or Communist-controlled countries.

Expropriation of American property without adequate compensation shall disqualify recipients from such aid. The principle of the sanctity of private property must not be bargained away in international agreements.

C. Self-determination: We advocate that the Government and the people of the United States must pursue their traditional policy of giving moral and material help to the reunification of Germany and all other nations which have been torn asunder and are striving to reunite under the age-old law of self-determination.

D. Common Market: (1) We favor close cooperation with the European Common Market. However, should the Common Market take any action prejudicial to any segment of our economy, we recommend that the Federal Government take such supportive measures necessary to equalize our competitive position.

(2) We favor the establishment of a common market in our own hemisphere to effectuate the potentials inherent in the Common Market of Europe.

E. Metric system: As an instrument of furthering industrial and commercial efficiency, we advocate universal adoption of the metric system.

7. Immigration law

(a) We firmly believe that our immigration law must serve first the best interests of our Nation and must contain a clearly defined system of selective control. Until a better control has been devised we favor the present national origins quota system, updated and based on the 1950 or 1960 national census, with all unused quotas to be pooled for proportionate reallocation to alleviate hardship cases.

(b) We further believe that: To deal with emergencies arising out of acts of aggression and oppression, the law must provide for the speedy enactment of special emergency legislation.

8. Taxation

We believe that current methods of taxation are confiscatory and tend toward the destruction of our free institutions; therefore we advocate that studies now underway of both the Federal and State tax systems be expedited to achieve a more equitable tax structure.

9. Currency and balanced budget

(a) We advocate a return to sound fiscal policies directed toward a balanced budget, the maintenance of a sound currency and a constant appraisal of administrative operations directed toward economy and increased efficiency in governmental functions.

(b) We recommend that the national debt shall be amortized annually.

10. Government subsidies

We believe that the granting of subsidies should not be made a permanent Federal policy. Consequently, we advocate that existing subsidies, except where required for defense purposes or to meet foreign competition, be eliminated in an orderly manner so that our domestic production and markets will not be adversely affected.

11. Government employment—civil service

(a) We believe that public service should be fostered.

(b) Qualifications for employment by the Federal Government under Civil Service jurisdiction should be based on merit only.

(c) We advocate that any public servant who under oath shall refuse to answer questions concerning his or her loyalty to this Nation, shall suspended and his or her remuneration shall cease.

(d) Officials in positions of policymaking power shall not be protected by civil service status.

(e) We vigorously oppose the weakening of the present provisions of the Hatch Act as it applies to Government employees.

12. Veterans

We advocate that veterans receive adequate care from our Government for service-connected disabilities.

13. Business, capital, and labor

(a) We advocate fair and effective enforcement of laws designed to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade, by capital and labor. The ability of small business to compete in a free market must be preserved.

(b) We believe that the incentive and initiative of the individual must be encouraged, and that Government should not compete with private industry.

(c) We maintain that the public interest demands that labor and management discharge their responsibility to achieve industrial peace and maximum efficiency in production in order to halt the wage-price spiral, and to enable America to compete with the Common Market for world trade.

(d) We advocate that labor and management take effective measures to retrain employees whose jobs may be abolished through automation.

(e) We believe that neither management nor labor should cause, directly or indirectly, any work stoppage affecting vital public needs and national defense.

(f) We favor the trial of unfair labor practice cases in Federal district courts.

Complainants should have the alternative right to present their own cases, or to have local U.S. attorneys present them.

14. Education

(a) We oppose Federal aid to education. Education is solely the obligation of the State and community. Federal aid, sooner or later will result in Federal control.

(b) The knowledge of foreign languages is essential for completion of scientific courses in most of our educational institutions, and for cultural, scientific, political and economic intercourse among nations. Among the foreign languages, the study of German is a most critical need.

(c) We believe that schoolbooks treating of historical and cultural subjects should be based upon accurate unbiased research. We advocate that courses in the history of the United States and of civil government be required subjects in the curricula of all our institutions of learning.

We condemn all attempts to use educational institutions for the furtherance of private interests or for propagation of ideas subversive to our form of government.

We advocate the continued study by Government agencies and private organizations of the manifold problems facing youth today.

15. Social security

(a) We advocate that the funds collected under the Social Security Act be earmarked and used exclusively in payment of social security benefits.

(b) We advocate that social security benefits be paid to all those entitled thereto regardless of other income.

16. Medical care

We advocate medicare for the aged as provided under the Kerr-Mills Act, now successfully in operation in the majority of States.

We oppose any legislation providing for medicare under social security.

17. Public health

(a) We propose that maximum precautions be exercised in the use of chemical and biological agents in products intended for public use or consumption. We urge continued measures to effectuate the objectives of the Pure Food and Drug Act.

(b) We advocate a comprehensive program of education on the dangers of narcotics and humane guidance and help for addicts.

18. Conservation

(a) We favor the conservation, development and effective control of our country's natural resources and their sound utilization for the present and future welfare of the people.

(b) We advocate the strict enforcement of the laws protecting our national parks, forests, monuments and any natural resources affecting our national economy.

19. Prohibition

We are opposed to national prohibition. It would bring about a repetition of conditions existing during the attempted enforcement of the 18th amendment.

Congressman Tuten Commended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, the Waycross, Ga., Journal-Herald, in its issue of September 28, 1964, carried an editorial comment by the editor and publisher, Jack Williams, Jr., which I think should be made a part of the record of this Congress because of the commendation it makes of one of our colleagues from Georgia, Congressman J. RUSSELL TUTEN, of Brunswick.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to set out for the House the contents of that editorial:

TUTEN TO SERVE IN HIS PARTY

"I do not hesitate to say that I have always been a Democrat. And I will continue to be a Democrat. There is no doubt in my mind that the needs of the people have been served better and a more stable economy has prevailed under Democratic administrations."

Congressman J. RUSSELL TUTEN, of Brunswick, thus affirms his allegiance to the party. His statement is refreshing at a time when some Dixie Democrats with short memories are pouting or switching.

TUTEN, accepting his party's nomination, spoke some good commonsense.

"It is easy to criticize the Federal Government," he said. "We are all concerned about the rapidly expanding cost of our Government. And I share your anxiety about the necessity of applying businesslike principles. On the other hand, I find that we are overlooking the fact that we have enormous problems at other levels of government.

"Having recently served 8 years as a city official, I found it was almost impossible to provide our population's needs without overburdening the taxpayer. Some of you realize, but most of you are not aware of the fact that State and local government cost has increased at a much greater rate than the cost of our Federal Government.

"It is easy to say that we are going to cut taxes 25 or 30 percent. But commonsense tells us that such a statement is ridiculous.

"We would like to eliminate many of the programs. But permit me to risk a few statements. Many improvements are needed in your city and county which you can hardly accomplish without urban renewal or accelerated public works.

"It is difficult to meet educational requirements, and I doubt you can do it without Government participation. I do not believe you can provide adequate hospitalization without the Hill-Burton Act.

"It is not reasonable to believe the American public would abolish the REA or social security."

TUTEN made it quite clear that he can work with the Johnson administration for the progress and development of this area.

"Old patterns will not work," he said. "Democratic administrations of the past have stood the test. It is evident to me that I can serve you best by striving to improve the effectiveness of your party and mine."

RUSSELL TUTEN has taken his stand. He has rejected the call to turn back the clock.

Some Constitution Week Thoughts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the 188th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States was marked by many notable observances and by appropriate statements of all kinds. None was more fitting than the words of A. Fred Berger, Jr., of Davenport, Iowa, who as assistant county attorney for Scott County, Iowa, wrote a guest editorial for the Saturday Times-Democrat of Davenport, Iowa, in behalf of Constitution Week which was observed throughout the land last week.

The Constitution is our guide as we deliberate in the Halls of Congress and I am sure that many of my colleagues will be interested in reading "Constitution Week Thoughts" and weighing Mr. Berger's analysis of what he feels are the obligations placed upon American citizens by their Constitution.

Under leave to extend my remarks, the editorial by A. Fred Berger, of Davenport, Iowa, follows:

CONSTITUTION WEEK THOUGHTS

CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS

A lawyer asked Him a question to test Him. "Teacher, which is the greatest com-

mandment in the law?" And He said to him, "'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.' This is the greatest and first commandment, and a second is like it, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets."

The laws referred to by Jesus were the only statutes governing the total conduct of the people of His nation, and these statutes formed the basis and reason for the existence of the nation.

The basis and reason for the existence of our Nation is the Constitution of the United States. It contains the laws governing the conduct of the people of our country. This being Constitution Week it is fitting to ask ourselves, "What does the law of our Nation depend upon?"

To answer this difficult question, it is necessary to discuss some of the important obligations placed upon the citizen by the Constitution. In order to govern, the Constitution established a legislative and executive branch in the Government and provided that these offices be filled by citizens through popular election.

This places an obligation upon the American people to vote at all primary and general elections, to be informed as to the ability and honesty of the candidates, to be interested in legislation, and above all to actively support the party of their choice.

The 10th amendment states that, "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

There are over 3,000 counties in the United States. Each one has its own governmental system which provides laws, courts of justice, and administration for local affairs, among which are police and fire protection, education, health, welfare, and other forms of local service.

Towns and cities are other forms of local government which function in much the same manner and for the same purpose as county governments.

In recent years the powers of the States and local governments have been accumulating in the Federal Government. In order to enforce the 10th amendment and preserve the powers of our local governments, each of us has the obligation to promote calm, clear thinking in all local problems of race, religion, and economics, and then take positive action on the local level.

If we fail to do so, the Federal Government will be required to assume more and more of the powers reserved to the States or to the people by the Constitution.

In addition to these obligations, the Constitution provides for equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; the right of peaceable assembly; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected.

These are mandates to our people to promote justice and fairplay among our fellow men, of whatever walk of life; the personal obligations to see that none of these rights are denied a fellow American is obvious.

And finally, we all have the obligation of obeying the law of the land and defending that law and this country if the need arises. It has been well said that "To fight for one's country when its life is threatened by violence is noble and heroic; to stand up for it in peace time is a virtue quite as necessary. And unless there be such virtue in citizenship, our traditions will be forgotten, our ideals neglected, and our institutions will crumble."

The conversation described in the opening of this editorial took place almost 2,000 years ago. Jesus advised that the law of His nation depended primarily upon the people's duties and obligations to their God and their neighbors.

If we ask ourselves today "What does the law of our Nation depend upon?" can we not give this answer: "We must perform our duties and obligations under the Constitution and in no way hinder or deny the right of our neighbor to perform these same duties and obligations." In substance, is this not the same answer Jesus gave to the lawyer centuries ago?

Congressman Abele Reports to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, today I am including a copy of my latest report to the people of the 10th Congressional District of Ohio. This report deals with the problem of reapportionment that is facing most of our State legislatures. This is a problem of deep concern for every thinking American:

REPORT

On June 15 this year the Supreme Court handed down a decision that shocked all thinking Americans. By a 6-to-3 decision the Supreme Court decided that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on the basis of population alone. This decision struck against the very heart of our American system of government. Traditionally and historically, the States have had the right to determine for themselves the manner in which their legislators were elected. This decision, if allowed to stand unchallenged, would change the whole concept of our American form of government. The tradition of a two-house or bicameral legislature is older than the Constitution itself. Most of the colonies, before becoming States, had bicameral legislatures. Indeed, the Constitution itself specifically provides that the legislative branch of the Federal Government be composed of two Houses. All but 1 of our 50 States have two-house legislatures. Traditionally, one of the houses of the legislatures is composed on a basis other than population.

The Supreme Court denies the States the right to determine the manner in which they are to be represented. It does, in effect, do away with the tradition of a two-house legislature. More specifically, it would deny the rights of the people of southeastern Ohio to adequate representation in the general assembly. In this country, we have always concerned ourselves with the problem of majority rule and minority rights. The majority of the people should have the right to rule, but not at the expense of the rights of the minority.

In Ohio we have worked out an equitable solution to the problem of representation. The State senatorial districts are alined on the basis of population and members of the Ohio House of Representatives are apportioned on the basis of population with the provision that each county is entitled to elect one representative regardless of its size. Under this system each county in the 10th Congressional District has 1 representative, while Cuyahoga County has 17. This insures that all the counties have an independent voice in the affairs of state and that their best interests are represented. The people of Ohio have the right to decide for themselves the manner in which they wish to be represented.

The effect of this decision would be to turn control of the State legislature over to the eight most populous counties in the State. This would mean that programs which involve the whole State, and your tax dollars, could be dictated by representatives from these eight metropolitan areas. Too often, our section of the State has been neglected in vital areas such as roads, buildings, and schools. We would be like beggars eating the crumbs off the legislative tables.

What is being done about this decision?

I, along with other Members of Congress, have proposed a constitutional amendment that would guarantee the rights of the State to apportion one house of their legislature on a basis other than population. However, the amendment procedure is a time-consuming process and would require ratification of three-fourths of the States before it becomes the law of the land. Meanwhile the courts are acting to enforce their recent decision.

Some means of buying time is necessary to prevent the disruption of governments. For this reason, I introduced a bill which would take jurisdiction away from the Federal courts in matters regarding reapportionment. A bill similar to the one that I introduced was passed by the House of Representatives. This bill, if passed by the Senate and signed by the President, would give the States time to put their own houses in order, while awaiting the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

What we have seen here is another example of the courts overstepping their bounds and legislating by judicial decree. The Congress has the right to limit judicial authority as given the Congress by the Constitution. Congress must exercise this power to preserve our traditional freedoms.

I would suggest that every citizen in the 10th District of Ohio who wishes to keep our present form of representation write their U.S. Senators or any Senator they may know.

Envoy to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, for several weeks I have been endeavoring to formulate in my mind a fitting tribute to Dr. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN, the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

All of us here are aware of his gentle characteristics and his complete devotion to his beloved Puerto Rico.

An editorial in the Washington Post this week contains what I want to say about this distinguished gentleman. I offer it for the RECORD:

ENVOY TO CONGRESS

For 18 years, an unpretentious and likable physician has been the voice of Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress. It is true that Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner, Dr. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN, has earned no gaudy celebrity in that time. His methods have been those of quiet persuasion, and he has eschewed hucksterism and humbug. But his record is impressive, he has an enviable reputation for sincerity and fairness, and as he prepares to return to Puerto Rico, he deserves a warm "well done."

When Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN arrived in 1946, his own post was appointive and his country bore the melancholy reputation of being "the stricken land." Since then, the island's wealth has tripled, hope has supplanted despair, and Puerto Rico has become a self-

governing Commonwealth within the American Union. The Resident Commissioner, it should be added, has been an elective office since 1948.

This quiet nonvoting delegate to Congress has played a key role in framing the legislation that has altered the island's destiny. Now he is returning to run for the Puerto Rican Senate (along with his retiring chief, Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín), where his experience may further benefit the island. His likely successor, the nominee of the dominant Popular Democratic Party, is Santiago Polanco Abreu, speaker of the Puerto Rican House. But before the guard changes, a group of friends of Puerto Rico will gather on Saturday to express their affection and respect for Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN. He has surely earned both.

The Fourth Anniversary of Mali

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, the Republic of Mali celebrated the fourth anniversary of her independence. I wish to commemorate this occasion at this time, by extending our warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Mali, Modibo Keita.

Four years ago, President Keita proclaimed the Republic of Mali. He thus closed another chapter in the evolution of his country from the French colony of Soudan to an independent and progressive African state which is trying to transform itself into a modern nation. Envisioning a greater West African nation, two former West African French territories, Senegal and Soudan, united in the Federation of Mali. They chose for their union the name of the great empire that had once spread over much of the area. Internal difficulties soon rent the Federation and Senegal broke away in August 1960.

Left alone, the Soudanese or Malians as they were now called, did not turn back, but instead strove to live up to the name of "Mali," which means hippopotamus in one of their languages and signifies strength. They sought to mobilize the country's resources in order to build a modern, viable state which would not have to rely on other countries for its existence.

To map its progress, the Malian Government instituted an ambitious 5-year plan which takes into account the fact that Mali is a landlocked country and that the country's economy does and will rest for sometime on farming, livestock, and fishing.

Mali is fortunate in possessing an agricultural base which can provide revenue for development. Attention is being paid to this sector of the nation's life and to the construction of industrial plants which will process Mali's agricultural products—meat, cotton, peanuts, vegetables, and fruits—and thus save or provide badly needed foreign exchange. The Government has also tackled the problem of transportation in order to facilitate the movement of goods within Mali itself and to its neighbors whose ports handle Mali's produce.

While it is using all internal resources that it can muster, the Malian Government realizes that it will have to rely in part on outside financial and technical assistance for some time to come. In line with its neutralist posture, Mali has accepted aid from a variety of countries, including the United States. France, who remains its largest trading partner, also provides the greatest number of technicians. However, the final goal is self-sufficiency and already many talented Malians have taken over positions formerly held by outsiders.

On this fourth anniversary of its proclamation as a Republic, I salute Mali on the serious efforts which it has made toward its development and I commend the earnest dedication of the many young Malians who are working hard for the betterment of their fellow citizens. Their endeavors are enabling Mali to live up to what its name means—strength.

You Know He's Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL W. RICH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on September 29, 1964:

YOU KNOW HE'S RIGHT

In the decade since he entered public life, BARRY M. GOLDWATER has been telling the American people things that many of them have not enjoyed hearing.

For he has not seen politics as the art of misleading the American people, or as the trick of using the people's money to buy the people's votes, or as the science of manipulating public images.

He has seen politics instead as a means of creating an environment in which man can grow.

Almost alone among the political figures of our time, he has had the audacity to suggest that man has the capacity for growth, that man has a mind and a spirit and a heart as well as a stomach.

This has represented a notable departure from the cynical diet to which the American voter has become accustomed.

For Senator GOLDWATER does not ask the American people to barter away one after another of their liberties in exchange for what the politicians are wont to call "security." He thinks—and so, once, did all Americans—that man has a higher purpose than to retire to a future of Federal handouts. He thinks—and so, once, did all Americans—that the American Revolution produced some ideals and principles that deserved sharing by men everywhere.

But America, we fear, has been seduced by a philosophy that is gradually hacking away at the tree of liberty. The practitioners of this philosophy long ago lost faith in the people and in the people's wisdom. Hence, they have appointed themselves to determine what the people need and what they must have. And in the process, they have, little by little, year by year, reworked the very fabric of America.

They began by "helping" the farmer. And now the farmer can no longer raise what he pleases. Indeed, he must even support a Department of Agriculture that sends planes over his property to see what he plants.

They began by "helping" the worker. And now the workingman finds himself being spoken for on a wide variety of social issues by a self-perpetuating clique of labor politicians who have forgotten what a dinner pail looks like.

They began by "helping" the businessman. And now the businessman must prostitute himself for Government contracts and the forlorn hope of immunity from bureaucratic harassment.

They began by "helping" the aged. And now the retiree finds himself penalized if he earns enough to buy himself a good cigar.

They began by "helping" the restive downtrodden. And now the streets of our cities have become veritable jungles.

Is this the America we inherited?

Is this the America we want to bequeath to our grandchildren?

For daring even to ask these questions, BARRY GOLDWATER has become the most slandered man in American political history. Arrayed against him is the whole propaganda apparatus of the Federal Government, to say nothing of its allies in the "liberal" establishment.

He is portrayed as a poisoner of children, as a creature of the night riders, as a pawn of the militarists and the warmongers.

To see the viciousness of the vilification heaped upon him is to begin to understand the desperation with which his enemies are trying to cling to the perverted political order they have been foisting upon America. Their purpose is to do considerably more than defeat him at the polls: they seek literally to crush him lest any other muster the courage to ask them to account for their sordid works.

The real issues of 1964 are far simpler than the defenders of entrenched statism would have us believe.

The issues boil down to whether it is the destiny of the American people to become the servants of a leviathan state at home and to cower before totalitarian aggressors abroad.

BARRY GOLDWATER says it is not. And in your heart, you know he's right.

This is why we believe 1964 to present one of the great opportunities in America's political history. This is why we believe Senator GOLDWATER's election to the Presidency to be the most urgent task to which the American people can devote themselves.

Walking on Eggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

WALKING ON EGGS

We live in a strange time indeed.

Take, for instance, the economic situation in various of its complexities.

We have had an income tax reduction, designed to spur spending and investment. With it, we have had more creeping inflation along with an increase in the social security tax. These have largely offset the

gains from the tax cut for millions of people.

Much of the economy is booming. Yet reports from Washington tell us that plans are now being laid to cope with a possible downturn. And in many quarters there is a very real fear that more inflation, and on a bigger scale, may be in the offing.

In other words, we are, so to speak, walking on eggs. A prime duty of the next administration, Democrat or Republican, will be to put its house in order, to make a real effort to cut the cost of Government and to protect what is left of the dollar's purchasing power.

Open Poll Shows Goldwater Ahead With Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I herewith attach a poll which was taken at the Farm Progress Show a few miles north of Lafayette, Ind., the home of Purdue University. The Farm Progress Show is sponsored annually by Prairie Farmer. Fletcher, Wessel & Enright, Inc., an advertising agency of St. Joseph, Mo., took this tabulation. I am sure my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will be interested in the results of this poll which was not taken in secret—but was open to public inspection. The following is from the Danville (Ill.) Commercial News of September 27, 1964:

POLLS SHOW GOLDWATER POPULAR WITH FARMERS

BARRY GOLDWATER emerged as the farmers' choice for President during a sample ballot taken this week at the Farm Progress Show at Brookston, Ind., a few miles north of Lafayette.

Of the 1,068 ballots cast, 57.6 percent indicated that the farmers casting them believed "GOLDWATER would make the best President," while 42.4 percent preferred Johnson. This sampling came from an estimated attendance of 200,000, mainly from Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.

The voting machines also proposed a list of 10 questions with reference to agriculture. Voters could agree very strongly, agree a little, disagree very strongly or disagree a little.

Typical of the type of questions asked were the following:

"Most farmers need government controls and subsidies to survive." There was disagreement of 63.4 percent with this question, while 36.6 percent indicated they believed the statement true. Disagreeing strongly were 52 percent, mildly 11.4 percent; agreeing strongly, 22.4 percent; mildly, 14.2 percent.

"Cooperatives are unfairly criticized by commercial competition." Agreeing were 74.2 percent, 34.2 percent strongly, 30 percent mildly; disagreeing were 35.8 percent, 16.5 percent strongly and 19.3 percent mildly.

"To obtain fair prices for their commodities, farmers need bargaining organization." In answer, 68.6 percent agreed, 45.7 percent strongly, 22.9 percent mildly; disagreeing was 31.4 percent, 10.3 percent strongly, 21.1 mildly.

In the choice for GOLDWATER or Johnson, it was pointed out by the sponsors of the voting that 88.6 percent of those voting were strongly in favor fo their choice, while only 11.4 were mildly favorable.

Sponsoring the sampling was Fletcher, Wessel, and Enright, Inc., an agricultural advertising concern of St. Joseph, Mo. Two voting machines were in operation during the 3-day show.

The Farm Progress Show is sponsored annually by Prairie Farmer. The first such exhibition in the 12-year series was in 1952 on the farm of the late Earl Bass, near Armstrong.

Foreign Economic Policy: The Herter Lecture Series

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, shortly before the opening of the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I had the pleasure of initiating the Christian Herter Lecture Series at Tufts University. I placed this speech in the RECORD on January 20, 1963, page A221. Because of the interest that has been shown by my colleagues in the matters which I discussed therein, and the pertinency it has to the present GATT trade negotiations, I want to place the matter in the RECORD again. Under unanimous consent I place the material in the RECORD at this point:

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

(Remarks of the Honorable THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, Second Missouri District, at the Herter Lecture, Tufts University, Boston, Mass., Monday, Jan. 7, 1963)

It is a privilege to be a participant in the Christian Herter lecture series established at this great university. It is appropriate that I should discuss foreign trade on this occasion as Christian Herter, the first Chief Trade Negotiator of the United States, pilots this Nation on a new and an uncharted course in the altered archipelago of foreign trade.

I would be remiss if I did not take note of the appearance of Walter Hallstein, the President of the European Economic Community, here at Tufts in April of 1962, to lecture on the dramatic economic developments occurring in Western Europe in the 5 years since the Rome Treaty was signed. This massive emergence is one of the major reasons that old charts and old courses must be abandoned and new ones charted.

The most important provision of the Reciprocal Trades Act of 1962 (Trade Expansion Act) was the creation of the position of Chief Trade Negotiator requiring Presidential appointment and Senate confirmation, carrying with it the rank of Ambassador Plenipotentiary, and investing in it the basic powers of negotiating our trade treaties, and chairing the newly designed Intercabinet Trade Policy Committee.

There are two basic reasons for the importance of this provision. First, it raised the stature of trade negotiating throughout the world. Other countries sent their trade negotiating teams to Geneva headed by top Cabinet officers or other top governmental official. The United States, on the other hand, frequently and usually sent a team headed or directed by a top civil service employee, a highly competent person with highly competent people to assist him, but one with no stature of his own. His decisions were subject to telephone approvals sought from other faceless officials back in Washington, D.C. Now this has been changed. The decisions now will be made on the spot backed by the authority and integrity of one of the highest officials in our Government, one who is directly responsible to the President.

Second, it raises the stature of trade negotiating in the United States. Personally, I favored the creation of a new Department of Foreign Economics headed by a Cabinet officer who would be the Chief Trade Negotiator, and who would draw together in one place all the various important points where foreign economics impinge upon our domestic economics. As it is, the contact points of foreign economic forces are spread in an uncoordinated fashion throughout our Federal departments, bureaus, and agencies.

I believe foreign trade or, to use the broader terms, foreign economics, has assumed such great importance to our Nation, even though trade itself amounts to less than 10 percent of our gross national product, that we could not possibly deal with the problems it creates under our former administrative setup.

However, I believe it is possible for the Chief Trade Negotiator to develop the powers that are entrusted to him in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 so that he can deal with the most important of the foreign economic contact points.

The powers that go with preparing for trade negotiating are vested in this newly created office. The powers of conducting the negotiations of course are vested here. Furthermore, if the concept of the Intercabinet Trade Policy Committee that some of us had, and tried to spell out in the committee report and during the congressional debate, is carried out, the compliance with the treaties and agreements negotiated will be supervised by the Chief Trade Negotiator. Finally, the Committee has authority to develop procedures for receiving, hearing, evaluating and recommending remedial action to the President on allegations of unfair trade practices which bear on foreign trade agreements, even though not specifically a part of them.

These charges of unfair trade practices may be directed against foreign or domestic businessmen, I hasten to point out.

At this point, let me state that President Kennedy by appointing a former U.S. Secretary of State to the position of Chief Trade Negotiator has captured the full significance of upgrading the place foreign trade should hold in the council of nations and in the United States. Let me further state that by appointing a person with the wisdom, experience, imagination, and integrity that Christian Herter possesses, we are most likely to develop the governmental machinery the new law makes possible for dealing with the problems presented in the field of foreign economics.

It is in these areas that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 deserves the oft applied cliche, bold and imaginative. At the same time I make this point I want to make the point that what has been hailed as bold and imaginative in the Trade Expansion Act—the granting to the President of additional trading material to further reduce tariff rates and eliminate many altogether—is shirking and sterotype. This is no more than the last possible move remaining that could be made under the provisions of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. Too many people have forgotten that the Reciprocal Trade Acts were mere amendments to this basic act which remains on the books today. By starting from a level of high tariff rates, we were able to negotiate downward as Congress intermittently gave the President power to do so. Incidentally, the original Reciprocal Trade Act and most of those that followed permitted the President to negotiate upward if he had been so inclined, and so does the present law. This point has not been overlooked by many people who are unsympathetic with the doctrine of freer trade and may have a great significance. Time will tell.

What our trade policy will be, once we have used this last bit of tariff trading material the President now has is one of the questions not yet resolved.

I have said that in this area of trading material the act is shirking, not bold. I justify my choice of words for the following reason. Today tariffs are among the least of the trade barriers that hamper free trade. Quotas, licenses, embargoes, internal excises, monetary policies, exchange rates, governmental subsidies of an infinite variety, state trading, Government sponsored or unrestrained cartels, health and other regulatory laws perverted to embargoes are the major barriers in international trade today. The United States is an offender in these areas, along with the other major trading nations, yet nothing meaningful is said in the Trade Expansion Act about these trade barriers. The GATT, which seeks to eliminate all trade barriers, remains unmentioned in the Trade Expansion Act, either by name or by reference to its principles.

As a matter of fact, the most liberal of all trade barriers is the much abused tariff which is now being abandoned in toto. A tariff at least is a law for all to read, determine, and apply, and courts have been set up to resolve differences of interpretations in accordance with established laws and procedures. The other types of trade barriers I have listed almost without exception require administrative determination without established laws, procedures, or courts. Who gets a quota, and how much, and into what ports in what quantities is the subject of administrative negotiation. This is government by men, not government by law. In this process woe betides the little operator and fortune blesses the operator with political connections and power.

The trade adjustment features in the Trade Expansion Act deserve no such accolade as bold and imaginative. Redundant and defensive are the adjectives that come to my mind to describe them. The adjustment features for the unemployed duplicate the provisions in our unemployment insurance laws, our Manpower Training Act, and our depressed areas legislation. These new provisions can only confuse and damage established programs and do little or no good. The adjustment features which relate to employers are unnecessary for large corporations which can adjust their line of products and services within their own structure, and duplicate for smaller businesses the loan provisions of the Small Business Act. I used the adjective "defensive" because these provisions were placed in the law as a defense mechanism against those who had been claiming for years that foreign competition damaged their business or their jobs. The same reasoning could be applied to any form of competition. The proponents of this defense mechanism fell back on the thesis that this economic damage results from the governmental action in reducing tariff rates and, therefore, the Government should compensate. The same reasoning should then apply when Government moves its contracts from certain businesses in one area to businesses in other areas, or when Government takes any action which has an impact upon the marketplace. This would be quite an undertaking for a government with an annual expenditure of $100 billion.

At this point I would like to make an observation that I have been making for the past few years. I am convinced that most of our people who think they want protection really want fairness in trading—not protection, not an advantage, and definitely not a handout. I have listened for years to the testimony of businessmen, labor, and farm groups who have appeared before the Ways and Means Committee in opposing the Reciprocal Trade Act extension. I have dug into what seemed to be bothering them. Most of their troubles arise from lack of fairness or reciprocity in trade matters on the part of their foreign competitors, from a State subsidy to their competitor, or an embargo, or a quota system, or an unhealthy wage scale—unhealthy to the overall economy of the country which permitted it.

I recall a statement from one of our exporters to Venezuela. He said his company was unable to compete with the Western German companies in that market because the German companies could offer more liberal credit terms financed by the German Government. I posed this case to Secretary of Commerce Hodges during the public hearings on the Trade Expansion Act last year. The Secretary's response worried me. He said, "Well, we will look into that and perhaps we (meaning some governmental agency) can enable the U.S. companies to match this liberal credit extension." My expressed thought was, if we really are talking about freeing up trade, why not negotiate with the German Government to quit subsidizing their businesses? Don't compound the error by subsidizing ours.

Another matter coming out of the hearings comes to my mind which illustrates the point in a somewhat different way. The Secretary of Interior pointed with some pride to the fact that Government loans had been extended to some of our west coast fishermen who otherwise would have been forced out of business by the Japanese. The point was that our fishing boats were obsolete and needed renovation. I asked why the tariff on fish was not increased, if there was to be protection. In that way the most efficient of our fishermen would do the renovation. By a subsidy, the fishermen who were most efficient in presenting their case to the Small Business Administration for the guaranteed loan, not necessarily the best fishermen, would do the renovation. Either way, however, we were not freeing up trade and by the subsidy method we might even be keeping an inefficient operation alive which would be coming back for more subsidy. As a not too irrelevant side point, there was testimony to the effect that it was not the efficiency of the Japanese fishing boats as much as it was the noncompliance by the Japanese with the international fishing agreements set up for conservation purposes which kept our fishermen from competing.

If this latter point turned out to be true, the gravamen of our fishermen's case was not protection of an American industry, but rather, insistence on the mutual observance of good conservation laws. By protecting instead of insisting that a violation cease, we compounded the error and impeded the expansion of trade.

I want to express one other specific point of concern I have about our foreign trade policy. Section 203 of the Agriculture Act which authorizes the President to enter into international cartel agreements in respect to agricultural products and products manufactured therefrom with other nations was not only not repealed by the Congress, but at the request of the administration, its authority was broadened to provide that these agreements would be made binding on nations not party to the international agreement. It was this authority, incidentally, that lay at the base of the International Textile Agreement entered into in Geneva in January of 1962.

I asked Secretary of Commerce Hodges how it was determined how much textile, of what varieties, from what companies, from what countries were to come into what U.S. ports. He replied straight facedly that they were going to use the 1960 census figures. In other words, we are going to freeze the trade pattern as of that date. How expansive and progressive can we get? I know of nothing that more dramatically drives home the point I seek to make of the regressiveness, the stifling aspects of the license-quota type trade barrier. Is this what we are coming to once we have run out of the tariff-rate trading material set up in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act? This is not an isolated example of our use of quotas and licenses or international type cartel agreements. The Sugar Act is an example. Many of our agricultural products are state traded, under Public Law 480. Indeed, very few agricultural products move without knocking against these kinds of trade barriers and government subsidies. Recently we have been utilizing the quota system instead of tariffs for oil imports.

And now I must relate another important piece of legislation affecting foreign economics which was passed the last session of Congress. I refer to the Revenue Act of 1962; that part which altered the tax treatment of American enterprise abroad. It has been my observation that we cannot separate trade from foreign investment and that anything that deters foreign investment will deter trade. I think this is particularly true in face of the development of the European Common Market. Much has been made of the efficiencies the EEC countries will derive from manufacturing for a mass market. However, these are efficiencies that they should be able to put into effect without too much to do. However, mass manufacturing is based upon mass distribution and mass servicing, a point that seems to escape many economic planners. It requires the economic infrastructure of power, communications, transportation, and education. The United States is just about the only society that has developed the techniques of mass distribution and mass servicing. For this reason I have suggested that the greatest opportunities open to U.S. enterprise in the European Common Market lie in the field of distribution and servicing.

If some question this point, let me give just a practical illustration which may drive it home. I have a friend who mass-produces special pallets to be used in mass warehousing where turnover is fast and handling must be made as efficient as possible. There is no market in Europe, as yet, for his product, because warehousing has not been developed to this point and probably will not be for many years.

We have had so little regard for the distributive and servicing sectors of our economy, probably as a result of what seems to be our mesmerization with mass production, that we really have been unaware of what is going on. We accept packaging as routine and actually curse advertising with an unawareness of the vital economic part they both play in obtaining the efficiencies that can be had in a mass market. Perhaps this point will drive the point home; while employment has been steadily declining in manufacturing in the United States, employment in the service and distributive fields has continued to climb, even during our post-World War II recessions.

Now, to get back to the point I sought to make about foreign investment. If we are going to avail ourselves of the opportunities offered in the European Common Market in the service and distributive fields, we must encourage, not discourage, our capital to move there. All the talk about our manufacturing processes moving to Europe is largely unanalytical. What movement there has been is largely to gain the efficiencies derived from having a crucial part of the manufacturing process nearer to the market for distributive and servicing efficiencies. Actually this process creates more jobs in the United States than it displaces, not less. However, it is true the jobs will be shifted out of manufacturing into distribution and servicing, but they will become better paying and requiring less brawn, but a little more brains.

It certainly is a shortsighted policy which seeks to solve a balance-of-payments problem through discouraging healthy and remunerative private investment going abroad. This is sacrificing gain over the long haul

for a very temporary short-term benefit. One of the strongest items in our balance of payments is the income we derive from our foreign investment. And yet Government policy seeks to weaken it.

I do not introduce the subject to argue its merits or demerits. I brought it up primarily to emphasize its inseparable relation to our trade policy. In trade we talk of going one way, toward expansion, to help our balance of payments, and in investment we talk and promote contraction, allegedly for the same purpose. This is a grave inconsistency.

I do not like to mention the relatively trivial items the administration sponsored in the previous Congress, such as increasing the tariffs on the most person to person of all foreign trade, the trade between our tourists and the foreign shopkeeper, and cutting back on military personnel purchasing abroad. But they are straws in the wind which reflect the way the trade policy really is blowing. These two pieces of legislation were also promoted in the name of balance-of-payments problems.

I must mention a major administration policy not referred to the Congress but set by Executive decree. This is the buy-American program, adopted by the Defense Department. This policy requires purchases of military goods to be made in the United States if the U.S. price is not 25 percent greater than the foreign price. Already this has cost the Military Establishment over $100 million; at least, that is the boast of the Defense Department and the administration when they were toting up the effective job they claimed they had done in respect to the balance-of-payments problem.

While the administration talks freer trade, every policy it has followed to date indicates it is pursuing a course of more restricted trade—all in the name of balance of payments.

From this discussion you may be gaining the impression that I am the greatest free trader since Adam Smith. In theory, I guess I may be, but in practice I am a fair trader which puts me in bad with the so-called protectionists with some frequency. I happen to believe that increased trade depends upon free trade and free trade depends upon fair trade. The points at issue revolve around the definition of fair trade. For a starter I will take the definitions set forth in the GATT. What my protectionist friends call protection I find, on analysis, to be usually a differential, reflecting some subsidy or impact of a trade barrier set up on the other side by the competitor. The policy I would have us pursue is to remove the subsidy or the barrier, which is the justification for the differential. However, if a differential is to be used, I would recommend that the most liberal differential possible be used; this happens to be also the most flexible—it is the tariff. I would adopt only as a last recourse the other differentials—those regressive devices of licenses, quotas and subsidies. I would eschew without equivocation health and other regulatory laws used as subterfuges for economic differentials.

I would oppose any differential that created a preference, that is, any differential which went beyond the economic difference sought to be measured for adjustment.

I think our foreign economic policy should be trade wherever possible, not aid; when trade is not possible, then loans rather than grants; where loans are not possible, then know-how rather than money; and when know-how is not possible, then outright gifts, rather than money with a string tied to it. When we get to money with strings tied to it, we move out of economics into diplomacy which is the realm of the State Department.

I am happy that foreign economics is being taken out of the hands of the State Department and is being placed, to some degree, in the hands of a new, independent and possibly coequal agency headed by the Chief Trade Negotiator. This new law serves as the authority to do this. I believe our State Department should be relieved from any control of the details that go to make up our economic arm, just as they have no control of the details that go to make up our military arm. Diplomacy is the area of endeavor of the State Department. In implementing our foreign policy, exercising diplomacy that is, we must be able to utilize the strength of either and both arms, military and economic. To make and keep them as strong as possible, they must be under the direction of their specialists, not specialists in diplomacy who sometimes are tempted, like Xerxes, to whip the seas when the laws of nature fail to respond to their pleas.

Politics and Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Newberry (S.C.) Observer, is timely and worthy of the attention of each Member of Congress while we are considering legislation which, if adopted, could lead to socialized medicine, a collapse of our great social security system, and the destruction of our superb medical standards:

POLITICS AND MEDICAL CARE

It is an unfortunate fact that medical care for the elderly has been made into a partisan political issue. For—regardless of one's particular views on this matter, or the party to which one belongs—the inevitable result is to distort and cloud facts and to air claims and charges which cannot be substantiated.

For one thing, it is said that an appallingly high percentage of people past 65 are completely unable to pay for medical care. Trustworthy surveys have disputed this. As a whole, this group is in a much better financial position than the medicare proponents will admit.

The growth and worth of Blue Cross and other voluntary insurance plans have been minimized. The truth is that these plans have been and are making dramatic progress. Testimony given a Senate subcommittee a short time ago showed that the percentage of older persons with voluntary insurance more than doubled in the 10-year, 1952–62 period, going from 26 percent to 54 percent to 60 percent. The number of over-65 persons thus covered at the end of 1962 was in the neighborhood of 10 million.

No one opposes help for the needy, and Federal-State programs to achieve this are now in effect. They can and should be broadened and improved, and that certainly can be done without the socialistic—and extremely costly—medicare approach.

The work of the medical profession in this field deserves a great deal more recognition than it has been given. Organized medicine has been studying and working on the problems connected with it for years. It pledges that no one shall be denied care because of lack of funds. Doctors everywhere devote time and skill, without charge, to those who are too poor to pay.

Finally, nonsocialized medicine has provided this country with standards of care which are not surpassed anywhere. And the way to assure still higher standards is to maintain the system which has made that achievement possible.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, this is my final rollcall report to constituents on the representation which I have given them in the 88th Congress. Differing slightly from the many periodic reports which have preceded it, a greater share of its contents is tabular material itemizing my voting and attendance record, rather than commentary on why I voted as I did. This shift in presentation stems from my desire to provide the electorate with my complete voting record—which necessitates having this report appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the final day of the session—and the increasing number of rollcalls as the House pushed toward adjournment.

Nevertheless, this report does contain my condensed views on several measures which the House has considered since July 1. They include the land and water conservation fund, free medical care for owners of fishing boats, amendments to the Social Security Act, the wilderness bill, the President's recent action, against North Vietnam, antipoverty legislation, increased pensions for veterans, and the Housing Act of 1964.

ROLLCALL NO. 187—LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

Statistics indicate the emergency nature of establishing a land and water conservation fund, a proposal which I am happy to note had overwhelming approval of the House and Senate. Our population is increasing at the rate of 1.7 percent annually. Per capita real income is climbing at a comparable rate. People are finding a great deal more leisure time through shorter workweeks, longer retirement, and longer vacations. Attendance at parks and other outdoor recreation areas is jumping about 10 percent a year, or a doubling in attendance every 8 years. It has been reliably estimated that total recreation use in the year 2000 will be 10 times greater than it was a scant 8 years ago.

Faced with this crisis of population versus recreational space, the Land and Water Conservation Fund is aimed at tackling the problem on a Federal-State basis. The program permits the States to plan, acquire and develop outdoor recreational facilities, while the Federal Government concerns itself only with acquiring recreational areas. To this end, 60 percent of the fund must be allocated to the States on a 50–50 matching basis. The remaining money will be used by the National Government to purchase ideal recreational sites before the cost of land becomes prohibitive.

A pay-as-you-go program, the fund will be financed from four sources: admission and user fees charged to persons using Federal outdoor recreation areas designated by the President; proceeds from the sale of Federal surplus real property; proceeds from the existing

Federal tax on fuels used in motorboats; and repayable appropriations from the Treasury to help start the fund. H.R. 3846 represented urgently needed legislation.

It was a carefully drawn bill, and it had my complete support.

ROLLCALL NO. 190—FREE MEDICAL CARE FOR FISHING BOAT OWNERS

In view of the 88th Congress reluctance to act on legislation which would provide senior citizens with medical care financed by social security taxes, it was quite paradoxical—and very regrettable—that both the House and Senate passed a bill which gives owners of fishing boats free medical care at Public Health Service hospitals. In examining the House vote, it was interesting to observe that some of the most stubborn and vocal "conservative" foes of medicare were among those Members voting for passage.

American taxpayers were told that they will have to pay out an estimated $1.8 million annually so that some 10,000 owner-operators of large fishing vessels can get free hospital care. Congress paid no heed to the Bureau of the Budget's recommendation that benefits provided under the bill ought to be paid for by the fishing industry or by the seamen through a user charge, or that there should be an increase in the tonnage tax on vessels.

A key question went unanswered during debate. Why can't the owner of a boat provide his own hospitalization or buy his own health insurance contract? He is able to do so. He is working. He has money.

Until 1954 these boatowners received free medical care, but a decade ago fairness prevailed and they were removed from what the critics of medicare call socialized medicine. Indeed if medicare is evil why the bg push to bring owners back under it?

Proponents of the bill had only one argument: to restore a traditional right, one that had been earned because of working at a "hazardous occupation." Using this reasoning, why not provide free medical care for farmers who are apt to lose an arm or a leg while operating cornpickers and other mechanized tools? Certainly the vast majority of farmers are worse off economically than fishing boat entrepreneurs.

As a vigorous propent of medicare, I could not become a party to hyprocrisy and I voted against the bill.

ROLLCALL NO. 197—WILDERNESS BILL

The wilderness bill has been described as one of the most vital conservation measures ever before the Congress. Sponsored by a bipartisan group of House Members, it was supported by practically all National and State conservation organizations and civic groups having an interest in natural resources and conservation.

The bill, which establishes a national policy for wilderness preservation and a program to make it effective, places 9.2 million acres of our national forests and wild areas in the National Wilderness Preservation System. In addition, it provides that 5.6 million acres may be added during a 10-year review period. Any changes in the system can be made only after public hearings and Congressional review.

During floor action a provision was removed which would permit ski commercialization in 3,500 acres of Southern California's Mount San Gorgonio Wild Area. It seemed incongruous to embrace legislation which, on the one hand, was designed to preserve primitive areas, yet, at the same time, would allow commercialization of a wilderness site close to my congressional district. Mail from individuals ran heavily in opposition to the so-called ski amendment, whereas organizational or inspired pressure group mail was heavily in favor. I was pleased that the amendment was struck from the bill.

ROLLCALL NO. 210—VIETNAM RESOLUTION

National unity as reflected by the Congress following the unprovoked attacks upon American vessels by North Vietnam came as a stern reminder to friend and foe alike that the United States will protect its own interests and promote the cause of peace wherever and whenever the challenge arises.

After meeting with my colleagues in an executive session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to hear Secretary of State Rusk, Secretary of Defense McNamara, and General Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, give testimony in support of the joint congressional resolution calling for maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia, there could be no question that President Johnson took a firm, prudent, and proper course in ordering retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnamese military installations.

The President acted with the dignity and determination appropriate to the leader of the free world's strongest nation, and he deserves the unwavering support of all citizens in any further action which becomes necessary in the critical period ahead. President Johnson proved himself to be a Commander in Chief who is calm under pressure, courageous when challenged, and clear thinking when faced with a complex international crisis.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the responsible action which he took—action which was widely acclaimed at home and abroad—is now being distorted by issue-hungry politicians who have quick trigger fingers, poor aim, and even worse judgment. Irresponsible allegations to the effect that the President authorized military commanders to use nuclear weapons against North Vietnam were soundly criticized by the press and public, and correctly so. Election year or not, I am sure the American people will not allow such gross distortions, misrepresentations, and falsehoods to go unchallenged. Proof of this is evident in the "yes-I-said-it, no-I-didn't" stance which has now been adopted—as could be expected on the basis of past performance—by President Johnson's principal detractor, a person who, only a few short months ago, himself advocated giving military commanders the option to use nuclear weapons at their own discretion.

ROLLCALLS NOS. 212-216—ANTIPOVERTY BILL

With passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 the Congress and the Nation pledged an attack on poverty in the midst of plenty. But the act is no panacea for poverty. It will not wipe out deprivation and dependency with a single stroke. Its fruits will not be harvested in a year or in a decade. But it is a beginning, an acknowledgment that the world's wealthiest and mightiest nation will not stand idly by while millions of its citizens waste away on the vine of degradation and despair. And in extending a helping hand to young and old alike, the poverty program seeks to release them from the harness of the handout. The act seeks to do what its title implies: provide an opportunity for economic self-help.

The program does this in several ways. It establishes a job corps for youths 16 to 21 years of age to provide them with education, vocational training and useful work experience, including conservation work. It sets up a work-training program to employ youth locally, and authorizes Federal aid to colleges and universities to provide part-time jobs for students from low-income families who need the work to continue their studies.

At the heart of the Economic Opportunity Act is the community action program which relies upon the traditional and proven American method of helping organized local communities to help themselves develop antipoverty programs geared to the needs of the individual area. Programs will be conducted by public or private non-profit agencies with the maximum possible participation by local residents. Funds will be used for education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management and welfare.

Another key section of the program provides for loans to small businesses on more liberal terms than the regular loan provisions of the Small Business Administration. The money must be earmarked for training and employment of long-term unemployed persons or to promote management skills.

Contrary to what many partisan critics of the program allege, the Economic Opportunity Act is not a Federal "power grab." It contains specific language to maintain a proper role between the National Government and the individual States and local communities. The Governor of a State has the right to veto the establishment of a Job Corps camp, just as he holds veto power over all antipoverty projects contracted between the Federal Government and a private agency.

The act recognizes that if the war on poverty is to be won all levels of government must pool and coordinate their efforts to promote the common good. As Lincoln observed when he commented on the general welfare more than a century ago:

If the Nation refuse to make improvements of the more general kind because their benefits may be somewhat local, a State may for the same reason refuse to make an improvement because its benefits may be somewhat general. Thus it is seen that if this argument of inequality is sufficient anywhere, it

is sufficient everywhere, and puts an end to improvements altogether.

ROLLCALL NO. 217—VETERANS PENSIONS

When the House unanimously passed H.R. 1927 it renewed its commitment to the men who defended our country in World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict, as well as to their widows and children. The bill was endorsed by all of the Nation's leading veterans organizations, and I was especially pleased that it was supported by W. R. Kime, national commander of the Veterans of World War I, who informed the House Veterans' Affairs Committee that it would "not hear anything more from national headquarters about Discharge Petition No. 4—re H.R. 2332—during my administration."

H.R. 1927, which liberalizes non-service-connected pension payments, is long overdue. Predicated on the basis of need, its benefits are justly deserved. It is an important step toward assuring that veterans and their families will be able to afford a more healthful and fuller life.

The bill, which improves the pension law in several ways, would allow new exclusions from income in determining eligibility. The veteran could exclude 10 percent of the total social security payments he receives in 1 year, guaranteeing that the recent 5-percent increase in social security benefits would not cut his pension. Also excludable is the amount paid for the last illness and burial of his deceased spouse or child, profit from nonbusiness sale of property, any bonus paid by the State, payments received under the War Orphan's Act, and all of a wife's earned income. Under present law, a veteran can exclude only the first $1,200 of her income when calculating his own income.

The bill also removes the present requirement that veterans must be 10-percent disabled and unemployable to receive a pension at age 65. It increases the additional allowance for aid and attendance cases from $70 to $100, and it provides a new rate of $35 additional per month to any veteran who is permanently housebound.

The total cost factor of the bill will not involve a prohibitive cost upon the economy but will stabilize for the next several years at about $100 million annually. This figure compares to an estimated $1 billion annually had H.R. 2332, a proposed pension bill solely for veterans of World War I, been enacted. The cost burden of this measure would be so great—and it in no way relates to the need of the individual recipient—that it would jeopardize existing pension programs for veterans of all wars who have service-connected disabilities. H.R. 1927 properly considered the needs of all veterans and it had my wholehearted support.

ROLLCALLS NOS. 224–225—HOUSING ACT

The Housing Act of 1964 did not authorize any new housing programs but merely extended present programs for another year. It did contain, however, several key provisions designed to tighten administration of the program and correct weaknesses in present law. As the Republican floor manager of the bill said:

I do not believe there is any reason to fear Federal involvement or control—this is, instead, an effort to promote more local responsibility and a lessening of the need for future Federal assistance and involvement.

The bill's major provisions would: permit lower downpayments and higher mortgage amounts on FHA sales and give additional protection against foreclosure for FHA homeowners; authorize additional funds for low interest direct loans for rental housing for the elderly, and new housing aids for the handicapped; authorize 35,000 additional units of low-rent public housing; provide an additional $25 million in grants for the parks and playgrounds program; and authorize additional grants for the urban renewal program and tighten its requirements to encourage more rehabilitation and code enforcement.

This latter feature, providing for more intensive enforcement of housing codes as they relate to safety and sanitation, could eliminate the first stages of blight and prevent the need for subsequent clearance through urban renewal projects. It also authorizes $50 million in low-interest loans to help homeowners and businessmen to improve their properties before they deteriorate to a level where bulldozers have to be called in to tear them down. There can be little doubt that the cost of these loans will be repaid many times over by the reduced need for demolition of buildings in urban renewal areas.

Citizenship Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most progressive and effective organizations in support of sound governmental principles is the League of Women Voters, and I was pleased to note editorial comment in the Palos Regional of September 17, produced by Mrs. Doreen Crewe, president of the Palos-Orland League of Women Voters, which I insert into the RECORD at this point:

THIS IS CITIZENSHIP DAY

(By Doreen Crewe)

Today, Thursday, is Citizenship Day, in the year of the 175th anniversary of the first U.S. national election.

What better time to show our gratitude and faith in democracy, to rekindle our devotion to the principles and ideas on which our country was founded. In what better place can we express this faith than in the voting booth. And in what better way than by determining, each of us, to know and learn as much as we can about the candidates, their qualifications, voting records, and the issues which affect us all, directly or indirectly.

It is less than 7 weeks until the November 3 election—an important one, which will be complicated by the at-large election of State representatives.

The League of Women Voters, whose goal is to see every citizen an active partner in the business of government, will again provide voting information, candidate questionnaires and meetings, information on legislators, and assistance to new voters.

The 88th Congress—A Record of Achievement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress will probably adjourn in a few days. As has been my practice in the past, I am sending to the citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, whom it is my privilege to represent, a report printed at my expense on the work of this Congress.

The year 1963 will mean many things to many people, but history will probably record it as the year the President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was assassinated. This great young man will long live in our hearts.

In those dark hours of that tragic November 22, and through the succeeding days and weeks, our Nation was blessed to have strong shoulders to which the burdens of the Executive Office could be shifted. President Lyndon B. Johnson picked up the reins without faltering, without permitting any loss in national momentum. He pledged himself to dedicate his efforts to the attainment of President Kennedy's program. He directed his tremendous energy to that task.

The record of the 88th Congress, described by competent and impartial observers as one of the most constructive in our Nation's annals, serves in large part as a tribute to his dedication, his ability, and the success of his efforts.

This Congress has been one of the longest in our country's history. The first session ended the day before Christmas 1963, having been in session through the previous night until 7 a.m. The second session will probably have an October 1964 dateline. While all the legislation considered by this Congress cannot be listed here, I am including some of the major actions.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

At the present time about 60 percent of all money appropriated by the Congress goes for national defense. This sum is eight times more than the total financing of all health, education, labor, and welfare programs, the second largest category of Federal spending, which accounts for only 7.6 percent of the national budget. The cost of maintaining freedom is high.

Yet, by planning military expenditures in 5-year cycles, by avoiding unnecessary duplication in equipment, and by using the competitive purchasing methods of private business, the Defense Department saved $2.5 billion in the fis-

cal year 1964 over what would have been spent using old methods of procurement.

I have voted for legislation which has made possible the development of our powerful and effective defense structure. President Johnson said on June 3, 1964:

In every area of national strength America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or combination of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all nations in the history of the world.

EDUCATION

I have long been interested in local, State, and Federal activity in the field of education. The first bill which I introduced in the present Congress was H.R. 945, to establish a Department of Education. I had introduced this bill in a previous Congress, at which time I said on the House floor:

Aristotle * * * stated that "a lawgiver should direct his attention above all to the education of youth." What Aristotle said 2,200 years ago remains true today. Education has become the key to both national advancement and national survival. * * * What we do today has the most profound effect on what our world of tomorrow will be like.

Therefore, the actions of the 88th Congress, which may well be recorded in history as the "Education Congress," are particularly gratifying to me. The accomplishments include:

First. Higher Education Facilities Act: It is the first general college aid program ever enacted. It provides $1.2 billion in grants and loans over a 3-year period.

Second. Vocational Education Act: It provides $956 million in matching grants for the expansion of State vocational educational programs in the next 5 years. The law also authorizes work-study grants for needy vocational students.

Third. Medical and Dental School Act: It authorizes $175 million in grants to build such schools; also provides loans for students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy.

Fourth. Mental Health Facilities Act: It authorizes grants of $51.5 million over 3 years to train 20,000 teachers of mentally retarded and other handicapped children.

Fifth. National Defense Education Act: It increases funds for college loans; continues programs for science, mathematics, and foreign language training, and for counseling services.

Many worthy Philadelphia students have been able to continue in college because of the loan program under this act. The Federal loan program is acceptable to, and supported by, all elements interested in higher education. It provides for the return of the public funds with interest. It contains special inducements for teachers so that the teacher shortage can be overcome. It helps one of the most vital programs in the United States today.

Sixth. Library Service and Construction Act: It authorizes $25 million to help develop and expand existing libraries to cover urban as well as rural areas; also provides $20 million for new library construction.

TAX BILL

The Revenue Act of 1964 provided the biggest tax cut in our Nation's history—$11.5 billion in individual and corporate income levies. Designed to bring our free enterprise economy to its fullest potential, the largest share of the individual tax cut is going to the workingman, to families with incomes of $10,000 or less—and this group accounts for 85 percent of all taxpayers. Business gains have resulted from the $2.5 billion investment incentive for modernization and expansion, the corporate tax cut of more than $2 billion, and the release of millions of dollars into the spending stream. President Johnson did not underestimate the importance of this act when he called it the single most important step that we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The most comprehensive civil rights legislation ever enacted was passed with overwhelming bipartisan support by the Congress and was signed into law by President Johnson on July 2, 1964.

The act provides a legal framework for solving problems stemming from the abridgment or denial of civil rights. It emphasizes voluntary compliance, plus local and State enforcement if voluntary efforts fail. Much responsibility rests with the State authorities before Federal intervention.

The legislation is designed to prevent racial discrimination in these five areas: voting in Federal elections; access to public accommodations; the use of public facilities such as parks, libraries, and schools; programs supported by Federal funds, and employment.

In signing the bill, the President said:

The purpose of this law is simple. It does not restrict the freedom of any American, so long as he respects the rights of others. It does not give special treatment to any citizen. It does say the only limit to a man's hope for happiness, and for the future of his children, shall be his own ability.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Last month President Johnson signed into law a bill "to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States." The act provides for a 3-year program, with appropriations of $947.5 million authorized in fiscal 1965 to combat poverty, which affects 20 percent of our Nation's population.

The new Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, will administer the several programs authorized by the new law, including:

First. A Job Corps to provide 100,000 youths, ages 16–21, with a 2-year vocational training and work experience.

Second. A work-training program to enable 200,000 youths to work and train in their own communities on projects selected by local organizations or governments.

Third. A work-study program to provide part-time employment for 140,000 needy students to enable them to continue in college.

Fourth. A community action program to encourage urban and rural communities to prepare long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families to obtain education, employment, job training and counseling, vocational rehabilitation, housing, and welfare.

Fifth. A corps of volunteers to act as a domestic peace corps among needy Americans.

I was particularly gratified by the passage of this bill, because I regard it not only as a measure designed to combat poverty but as an investment in our Nation's youth. It will meet the needs of idle young men who cannot find a place in today's labor market, because there is no place for them.

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ACT

Public Law 88–379 authorizes Federal grants for the acquisition, construction, and improvement of facilities and equipment for local mass transit systems. These grants may cover up to two-thirds of the net cost of the new facilities, and may be made to local public authorities to help either publicly owned systems or systems privately owned and operated under a lease arrangement. A total of $300 million is authorized for appropriation over a 3-year period. Loan assistance is also provided by the extension of a provision in existing law authorizing $50 million for this purpose.

The Urban Mass Transportation Act also authorizes a research and development program for new and improved ways of meeting mass transit problems. For this purpose the balance of the $25 million grant authority provided by the Housing Act of 1961, plus up to $30 million of the new grant authority, would be made available.

The passage of Public Law 88–379 was a source of satisfaction to me, as I sponsored mass transportation proposals in the 88th Congress, as well as in the 87th Congress. In urging the House Committee on Banking and Currency to take favorable action, I stated:

My own district in Philadelphia is in one of the metropolitan areas which is representative of the complex of problems connected with urban transportation. Although it is also one of the most fortunate in having been able to accomplish so much toward solution of at least some of the problems, nevertheless much remains to be done.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Both Houses have approved an increase in social security benefits, as well as a broadening of eligibility requirements for the program. The Senate version of the social security bill includes a modified hospitalization program financed through social security. As this is written, a House-Senate conference is working to iron out the differences in the two bills.

With a few days to go before adjournment, Congress now appears more likely to provide some increase in cash benefits to social security beneficiaries than to pass a health care measure. The latter also is greatly needed, and if not now provided for, I hope a medical care program for the aged will be enacted by the 89th Congress.

VETERANS' BENEFITS

The concern of Congress for veterans' needs is reflected in the following measures. Last year the Congress enacted two laws increasing payments to widows, children, and parents of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities. Other legislation provided additional compensation for service-incurred loss of hearing or speech. Congress also au-

thorized the Veterans' Administration to waive recovery for defaults on home loans in certain hardship cases.

This year the Congress provided for additional assistance for children of veterans with total and permanent service-connected disability. Also authorized is a 5-year, $5 million-a-year program of aid to students on a matching basis for nursing home facilities in State veteran homes. Proposed pension legislation liberalizing the rates and income limitations of all non-service-connected pensions for World War I, World War II, and Korean veterans has been passed by the House and Senate and is now before a conference committee. The main feature of this legislation permits the exclusion of certain types of income in determining income for pension purposes. Cash benefits accruing to veterans under this legislation are estimated at more than $330 million in the next 5 years.

HOUSING

The Housing Act was extended for 1 year. It provided $725 million for urban renewal; permits 37,500 new public housing units; raises to $30,000 the mortgage insurance limit on one-family FHA homes; grants broader lending authority to banks; establishes a new $50 million program to induce property owners to rehabilitate slum properties; authorizes 20-year loans at 3-percent interest to owners and tenants of property in urban renewal areas: up to $10,000 for homes and $50,000 for nonresidential property; establishes $150 million for direct farm housing loans; $75 million for direct housing loans for the elderly; $30 million for urban planning assistance in renewal areas; $25 million for grants to help in purchase of park lands and open space areas; $10 million for a new program of low-rent housing for migrant farmworkers; and finally, sets up relocation payments up to $1,500 for each business, and a rent supplement for families paid over a period of 5 months, for residents and businesses displaced by urban renewal.

CONSERVATION

The passage of the act establishing the National Wilderness Preservation System represents the culmination of numerous years of effort, both in and out of Congress. This action was a source of deep satisfaction to me, as I know it is to the people of my district in Philadelphia who, like those in all other regions of our country, but particularly those of the heavily settled eastern seaboard, are greatly interested in preserving for ourselves and for future generations these "wilderness areas."

Under this legislation 9.1 million acres of federally owned lands are to be permanently preserved in their primeval, untrammeled state. Over the next 10 years the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture are to make recommendations concerning possible inclusion in the system of nearly 52 million more acres of Government land now classified as primitive national forests, national park areas, seashores, and game ranges or refuges.

The land and water conservation fund, also enacted into law this year, will assist the States in providing adequate outdoor recreation facilities to meet growing public needs.

EQUAL PAY

An equal-pay-for-equal-work bill had been introduced in every Congress since 1945 by both Republicans and Democrats. A bill was finally passed in this 88th Congress, Public Law 88–38, prohibiting discrimination in pay on the basis of sex in work that is subject to the minimum wage laws. Because this act excludes from coverage several categories of workers, it is not as strong as those of us who have long worked for equal pay would like it to be. However, it is a step in the right direction.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

No commentary on the 88th Congress would be complete without mention of the limited test ban treaty.

On July 26, 1963, President Kennedy, addressing the Nation on radio and television, said:

> This treaty * * * will not resolve all conflicts * * * but it is an important first step—a step toward peace—a step toward reason—a step away from war.
>
> My fellow Americans, let us take that first step. Let us, if we can, get back from the shadows of war and seek out the way of peace. And if that journey is 1,000 miles, or even more, let history record that we, in this land, at this time, took the first step.

Signed by Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and more than 100 other nations, and ratified by an 80 to 19 bipartisan vote in the U.S. Senate, the treaty advances our national interest by checking the spread of nuclear weapons and reducing fallout hazards.

The agreement bans nuclear tests in areas where detection capability is good—space, the atmosphere, and under water. Underground testing can continue, however, as long as radioactive debris does not spread beyond the testing nation's territory. The treaty in no way restricts the use of nuclear weapons in wartime, and it contains a withdrawal clause if "extraordinary events have jeopardized the supreme interests" of the nation. While America does not relax its guard—maintaining on a standby basis testing facilities silenced by the ban—we have demonstrated our genuine interest in the health and peace of the world.

I had hoped that in 1964 the Congress would revise the archaic national origins provisions of our immigration law. The Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Judiciary Committee has held extensive hearings, beginning on June 11, on pending immigration proposals, including my bill. I urged the subcommittee to take action designed to correct discriminatory and other iniquitous features of our immigration code.

However, since the last two parts of the hearings have not reached the printing stage as of this writing, it is not expected that Congress will entirely revise the antiquated immigration system in this session.

It has been an honor to represent the 4th Congressional District of Pennsylvania in the 88th Congress and I want to express my appreciation to my constituents for this privilege. If reelected on November 3 to the 89th Congress, I shall diligently continue to keep up with all matters which affect the district and the Nation and to serve my people in every possible way.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—The Impact of Private Initiative, V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in submitting its Report No. 2 to the Congress, the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements stressed the important role of programs conducted abroad by private U.S. citizens and organizations. The subcommittee found that—

> These private activities—personal contacts, exchanges, assistance programs, mass media communications activities, and other endeavors—and in large part responsible for the conditions of the U.S. image abroad. These activities mirror the diversity of our people's interests, talents, and convictions. They serve as an excellent indicator of the condition of life attainable in a free, democratic society. And they demonstrate to the world the peaceful, humanitarian sentiments of the American people.

The subcommittee further suggested that because of their diversity and volume, these private endeavors undoubtedly have "some implication for the attainment of U.S. foreign policy goals." Unfortunately, the subcommittee was in no position to gage the impact of these activities because information relating to their direction and scope, available to the subcommittee, was frequently inadequate and inconclusive.

The need to explore the potential of private American initiative abroad without attempting to bring it under Government control, was explained in the following passage from the subcommittee's report:

> The subcommittee is convinced that it would be improper and harmful for the Federal Government to attempt to control or direct for political purposes the activities abroad of private American citizens and organizations. At the same time, the subcommittee believes that closer contacts should be established between responsible Government officials and private efforts in particular fields. On the one hand, the Government ought to know at all times what private American individuals and organizations are doing in a given country—if for no other reason than simply to prevent duplication of effort and waste of scarce resources. On the other hand, ways and means could be devised to keep such private individuals and entities informed about U.S. policies and programs in particular regions or fields of endeavor—again, to prevent duplication, to point out areas into which private effort could be channeled constructively, and to indicate in what respects private undertakings might work at cross-purposes with Government programs.

In an effort to help meet the need clearly evident in this area, the subcommittee undertook to survey the oversea activities of private American organizations. A questionnaire designed to elicit information about the size and scope of such undertakings, their direction and relationships—if any—to U.S. Government-sponsored programs, and related factors, was prepared by the subcommittee staff under my direction. This questionnaire was mailed earlier this month to a sample of approximately 1,500 foundations, universities, labor organizations, church-related groups, voluntary organizations, and people-to-people projects.

We are hopeful that the results of this survey will prove of interest and help not only to our committee and to the Congress, but also to the many private American organizations which are interested in, or are conducting, oversea programs. We are planning to release the results early next year.

Hon. Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, many fine tributes have been accorded our friend and colleague ALBERT RAINS today upon his retirement from Congress. It is an honor and privilege to add my remarks to this richly deserved accolade.

Since coming to the House of Representatives in 1944, he has served in many capacities and always with outstanding ability and distinction. As chairman of the important Subcommittee on Housing of the House Banking and Currency Committee, he has left his mark on every housing bill that has been approved by the Congress in recent years. He has established himself as a recognized authority on housing matters, and his leadership and knowledge in this field will be sorely missed in the years ahead.

I feel a genuine sense of personal loss at his retirement. I well remember his many kindnesses and great courtesy when I first came to Congress. His sympathetic understanding meant much to a green Congressman, and I am truly grateful to him for his help and advice and for the real interest he has shown in Kentucky's housing needs.

Our good friend can look back upon the past 20 years and take just pride in his numerous legislative accomplishments which have so tremendously benefited so many Americans. He has greatly contributed to the betterment of our society, and when he leaves, it will be with the knowledge of a job well done.

I extend to him every good wish for happiness and continued success in his return to private life but want him to know that he will leave among us here in the House a void that will be impossible to fill.

Report to the People of the 22d District of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CORMAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, as the 88th Congress moves toward adjournment, the Members can look back on the most productive and fruitful session in 30 years. President Johnson recently pointed out that we have enacted more than 25 major pieces of legislation. This equals the record of the historic 73d Congress. The Members of this Congress can be proud that they have acted in a positive manner in the national interest.

Last year it was fashionable to criticize Congress for the long session and the alleged failure to enact certain bills. I noted, however, in my report last year, that Congress enacted several important pieces of legislation and laid the foundation for the passage of other bills. Congress should not act in haste. Every proposal should be given careful and deliberate consideration. Our aim should be to find constructive solutions to the Nation's problems.

Our record shows we have done this. To the accomplishments of the first session we have added the civil rights bill, the Tax Reduction and Reform Act, two conservation bills, an extension of the housing law and the start of a campaign to eradicate poverty in America. President Johnson, continuing the excellent cooperation with Congress shown by President Kennedy, deserves a large share of the credit for this excellent record. It is one which everyone who supported these measures can be proud. I believe it is one which will win the support of the American people.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

This year Congress appropriated a total of $46.8 billion to keep our defenses the strongest in the world. This represents a small reduction from last year due to the success of the Defense Department's program to increase efficiency and reduce costs. Obsolete facilities have been terminated, purchasing procedures have been standardized and consolidated and a determined effort made to buy only the amount needed at the lowest sound price.

The savings have been effected without any sacrifice in our preparedness. Our stock of land-based and Polaris missiles is being expanded every day. Our strategic forces are invulnerable. They could withstand an enemy attack and completely destroy the adversary. While we have stressed increasing our nuclear arms in the last 4 years, we have not neglected our arsenal of nonnuclear, conventional weapons. The swift, destructive response of our forces when attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin is proof of their retaliatory power.

It has been charged that our nuclear strength is being reduced by policies of the Defense Department. This is wholly false. Today, we have a 4-to-1 superiority over the Soviet Union in both bombers and intercontinental missiles. In the past 3 years we have produced a 150-percent increase in the number of nuclear warheads and a 200-percent increase in the total megatonnage in our strategic alert forces. There has also been a 60-percent increase in our tactical nuclear forces in Europe. As a result of these actions every citizen is more secure today than at anytime in many years.

The purpose of this vast arsenal is to deter aggression by our enemies. But our strategy is one of peace, not destruction. Our goal is the day when a just and lasting peace will be guaranteed by disarmament with inspection and verification.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This past summer marked the first anniversary of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. Originally signed by the United States and the Soviet Union, it has now been ratified by more than 100 other nations. The treaty has fulfilled the hopes of President Kennedy and others who believed it would be a first step away from armed conflict toward the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This is not the only benefit we have derived from the treaty. It has stopped the fallout of deadly radioactive materials from atmospheric tests. And it has prevented the Soviet Union from decreasing our superiority in nuclear weapons. In retrospect, I believe those who doubted the treaty have been proven wrong and President Kennedy right in his judgment that the treaty is in our national interest.

The mutual security legislation met less opposition in Congress this year than in the past. I believe this reflects an increasing understanding of the vital role this program plays in insuring our own national security. Freedom around the world is no stronger than its weakest link. Accordingly, it is in our interest to help build an alliance of strong, free, independent nations which will join us in protecting and advancing the cause of liberty. This is the purpose of our aid program.

Our assistance is largely responsible for the great strides made toward economic independence in the past decade by Israel, Greece, Mexico, Nationalist China, and Venezuela. Aid to these countries should end soon. Substantial progress toward this goal has been made by India, Pakistan, Turkey, Thailand, and Colombia in recent years. Our aid program has set an example which the other free nations are following. The countries of Western Europe, Canada, and Japan have joined us in our effort to assist the developing nations of the world toward providing a better life for their people.

Our military aid and supporting assistance to countries on the edge of the Communist empire is vital to the maintenance of freedom in these areas. Without it, our allies in Laos and Vietnam would be swallowed by Communist subversion. Here is where our aid makes the crucial difference between communism and freedom.

Once again Congress voted to increase the size of the Peace Corps. The success of this program is attested to by the

fact that 46 countries are now participating in it, and requests for volunteers still exceed the supply. The Peace Corp is a lasting tribute to the ingenuity and wisdom of President Kennedy.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

The tax cut has now been in effect for more than 6 months and according to every indication it appears to be the success its supporters hoped it would be. It has given consumers increased purchasing power and has resulted in higher profits for business. It has boosted the entire economy and accelerated our growth rate. Unemployment is down and the gross national product is up more than $10 billion. The tax cut has insured the continuance of the economic expansion which began in February 1961, and has lasted for more than 44 months, a peacetime record. During this period the gross national product has risen more than $100 billion. All this has been accomplished without a significant rise in prices.

During the past session, Congress enacted a number of measures to further assist the economy toward full employment of all its resources. The $1.1 billion housing law will advance the construction industry. It will also enable millions of people to raise the standards of their housing through such programs as urban renewal. This has been particularly valuable to Los Angeles. The new law also increases the amount of a mortgage which can be insured and liberalizes the eligibility requirements for housing for the elderly.

A first-class highway system is essential for a growing economy. Congress recognized this and authorized the expenditure of a billion dollars in each of the next 2 years to aid the States in the construction of streets and highways. California will receive $120 million, more than any other State. This will enable our State to maintain its leadership in building the best network of roads in the country.

Under its power to regulate interstate commerce, Congress has the duty to protect the investing public from stock market swindlers. Congress met this responsibility by enacting amendments to the Securities Act to enlarge the safeguards for investors in the over-the-counter market.

SPACE

This year brought additional progress toward our goal of landing one of our astronauts on the moon and returning him safely to earth by 1970. The highlight of our space activities was the success of Ranger VII which has given us the first close-up pictures of the moon. The year was also marked by three successful launchings of the Saturn rockets that will power our spacecraft to the moon. The six manned flights in the Mercury program have been concluded and the Gemini program, the intermediate stage in the lunar project, has begun.

In just 6 years since the establishment of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration we have become the world leader in space technology. Our Mariner spacecraft have explored the sun and the planet Venus. We have launched many weather satellites which provide valuable information, and communications satellites which give us direct radio and television contact with every part of the world. In this way our space activities benefit us in our daily lives. In the years ahead the knowledge we gain from this program will result in new and useful products to make our lives safer, more interesting and pleasant.

Despite the opposition of many Republicans, particularly Senator GOLDWATER, who declared in June that "we are spending entirely too much money on the manned moon program," Congress has recognized the value of this effort and appropriated $5.3 billion for NASA, virtually the entire amount asked for by President Johnson. I continued my wholehearted support for this program by resisting every effort to cut the funds for this vital project.

Once again this year, as in every one of the past 3 years, the number and dollar volume of contracts awarded to firms in the 22d District increased. We can be justifiably proud of the fact that the district is the place of performance of more than $600 million worth of contracts.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most important piece of legislation of its kind in this century. The law fulfills the promise of full equality made to the Negro more than 100 years ago in the Emancipation Proclamation. But this law is not only for our Negro citizens. It is for every American. It forbids discrimination on the grounds of race, creed, color, or national origin in the exercise of basic citizenship rights. As a Member of the House Judiciary Committee I helped in writing this historic bill and worked to secure its passage by an overwhelming majority.

The law is designed to remedy six major injustices suffered by Negroes and others in our society: First, it prohibits interference with the right to vote; second, it declares that all places of public accommodation must be open to all people on an equal basis; third, it provides that State and local tax supported facilities must be open to everyone; fourth, it requires that all programs in which Federal funds are used, such as hospital construction and schools lunches, must be administered on a nondiscriminatory basis; fifth, it insures equal job opportunities for all citizens by barring discrimination in employment practices by employers, unions, and employment agencies; and sixth, it forbids segregation in the public schools.

Despite the best efforts of the President and community leaders across the country to promote understanding and acceptance of the new law, it has been much misunderstood. The advocates of extremism have generated fear and mistrust in some segments of the population by spreading false and misleading propaganda about the law. Accordingly, I want to set the record straight concerning three charges frequently made against the law. First, it does not compel a store owner to serve any person who enters. It merely requires that he apply the same standards to all, regardless of their color. Second, it does not affect union seniority, nor will any employer be required to fire any employee to make room for a Negro. And third, it does not give the Federal Government authority to transport children to affect the racial composition of schools.

In California we can be proud that we have been among the leading States in civil rights legislation. We have long had laws guaranteeing the right to vote, equal access to places of public accommodation, and equal opportunity in employment. The fact that people of many races and religions live together in harmony in California is due in large part to the forward-looking attitude of our State and local government. The civil rights laws are comprehensive in scope yet moderate in application. All people of reason and good will can support them. Those who truly believe that all men are created equal can do no less.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

In the 87th Congress, I supported several bills to strengthen the laws against organized crime. I am pleased to report that these measures have achieved the hoped-for results. Due to these new laws there has been a great increase in the number of indictments and convictions of leading underworld figures. Last year there were 288 individuals convicted on charges of racketeering. This total is more than the number convicted on such charges in the previous 3 years combined.

Our Federal law enforcement officials in Los Angeles have compiled a fine record. They have successfully prosecuted and convicted several notorious racketeers. The Justice Department has also been active in fighting corrupt labor practices.

It is implicit in our constitutional system that disputes among individuals and groups must be settled peaceably in the courts, according to law. No person has the right to take the law into his own hands. Rioting and violence in the streets have no place in the American way of life. Law and order must be maintained at all times. It is the duty of every citizen to obey the Constitution and laws of the land.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The Hill-Burton Act, which has aided in the construction of more than 7,000 hospital projects since its inception in 1946, was amended and extended this year to provide more than $1.3 billion in Federal funds for the next 5 years. Emphasis will be on the modernization of existing facilities in urban areas. Hill-Burton stands as a milestone among successful Federal, State, and local grant-in-aid programs. It has helped initiate a more coordinated system of hospitals and has improved the standards of health facilities. Two Valley facilities, Olive View Hospital in Sylmar and the Jewish

Home for the Aged in Reseda, received funds for construction under the Hill-Burton Act this year.

Another important measure passed by Congress to improve health care was the Nurses Training Act of 1964. This legislation authorizes $283 million for a comprehensive program of nursing school construction, expanded nurse training programs and student loans.

Under the new amendments to the Library Services Act, public libraries in both urban and rural areas will receive $45 million in Federal funds for construction and service costs to aid them in meeting the increasing need for well-equipped libraries. Removal by this Congress of a restriction limiting Federal funds to libraries in cities with populations of 10,000 or less will permit public libraries in urban areas to receive Federal assistance.

In an attempt to help combat the growing problem of juvenile delinquency, Congress extended the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act for 2 years. The bill authorizes $10 million for this fiscal year to finance special studies of compulsory school attendance and child labor laws to determine their effects on juvenile delinquency. Funds also will go for demonstration projects in cities and for training grants for universities, foundations and other research institutions.

One of the most important bills to be passed by this Congress was President Johnson's $947 million Economic Opportunity Act to help combat poverty in the United States. This measure opens to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. Although this legislation is not expected to eliminate poverty completely, it will provide ways for the poor to help themselves become productive members of society.

Much of the bill is designed to help young people break the vicious circle of poverty. The Job Corps created by the measure will increase the employability of youths between the ages of 16 and 21 by furnishing them with job skills, either in camps or on projects within their own communities. Another section of the Economic Opportunity Act provides part-time jobs for students who have reached college but whose families have no financial means to help them.

In addition, community action programs, designed and administered by local agencies, will receive Federal assistance to combat local poverty. For the most part, this financial assistance will be limited to education, training, social service and other human development programs rather than for construction of facilities.

Clearly, this long-needed measure is not a give-away program but a program of opportunity which attacks the causes of poverty and permits the poor to improve their own standard of living so they may share in some of the abundance which most of this Nation enjoys.

AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES

During the past session, Congress took effective action to reduce our agricultural surpluses and make these commodities available to needy families here and overseas. The food stamp program will enable those who cannot afford enough food for an adequate diet to obtain additional nourishment. The food for peace program, which has made millions of friends for the United States in the 10 years it has been in operation, was extended and strengthened. Thus, people overseas will continue to share in our abundance. These programs and other actions of the administration have resulted in large reduction of our agricultural surpluses and consequently an accumulated savings of a quarter of a billion dollars in storage and other costs.

I am pleased the bracero program, which I always opposed, has finally ended. This program was morally indefensible and there is sufficient domestic labor available. Farmers should not be permitted to import foreign laborers at low wages to harvest their crops when American labor is available at reasonable wages.

This year Congress approved legislation to begin the construction of a vast hydroelectric power network encompassing the entire Pacific coast. Private companies will join with municipal, State, and Federal agencies in the largest electric transmission program in the country. When completed, it will be of great benefit to Los Angeles.

Long-standing attempts to set aside federally owned land as wilderness areas finally met with success in this Congress, as we passed a bill establishing a National Wilderness Preservation System. The Wilderness Act authorizes 35 million acres of federally owned land to be preserved as wilderness areas for the use and enjoyment of the American people today and in future generations. The act insures that these areas will retain their primeval character.

The Land and Water Conservation Act, which was supported by both President Kennedy and President Johnson, will permit us to meet the growing outdoor recreational needs of the American people. This long-term program will develop, improve, and enlarge outdoor recreation areas and facilities of the entire Nation. Funds for this program will come from three sources—earmarking of funds from sales of surplus Federal property, earmarking of the 4-cents-a-gallon Federal tax on fuels for motorboats, and admission or user fees from national parks and forests. The fund is expected to provide nearly $2 billion for outdoor recreation in the next decade.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

This year Congress enacted a pay increase for virtually all military personnel. If we are to attract and retain the top quality men we need in our Armed Forces we must pay them decent salaries. The bill passed this year is a sizable step in that direction.

The World War I pension will liberalized veterans benefits for aged, needy veterans suffering non-service-connected disabilities.

To meet the needs of veterans in Los Angeles, Congress approved the construction of an additional hospital.

BILLS I HAVE SPONSORED

One of California's most pressing problems is the need for water to meet the demands of our growing population and industry. As a first step toward solving this problem I introduced a bill which will protect our State's existing water rights and provide for a study to ascertain ways in which the water supply in the Colorado River, from which we get much of our water, can be increased.

My bill enabling homeowners who are liable for the cost of public improvements such as streets and sidewalks to obtain FHA loans to finance their construction, was enacted as part of the 1964 housing law. This provision will be particularly useful to residents of the valley and should speed its orderly growth.

Another bill of mine which was enacted was the one to provide U.S. recognition of the International Exposition for Southern California to be held in 1968. This event should be a great stimulus to the economy of Los Angeles, just as the Seattle and New York Fairs have been to those cities.

It is one of the fundamental principles of any democratic society that no person should be persecuted or coerced because of his religion. Violation of this principle should not be tolerated anywhere in the world. For this reason, I introduced a resolution to condemn persecution of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

NEXT YEAR

While Congress accomplished a great deal in the 88th Congress, there were still some matters which were not acted upon. Among the most important is legislation regulating the interstate shipment of firearms, and a law to fill the gap in Presidential succession and disability. High on my personal priority list for next year is revision of the copyright laws so that composers can receive compensation for the jukebox performance of their work and a strengthening of the laws protecting consumers from frauds in lending and packaging. Having been in Washington for 4 years, I am convinced that home rule for the District of Columbia is needed. I will be working for that next year. Citizens of the District of Columbia should also enjoy the benefits of self-government.

The most overriding challenge of all is the preservation of peace and freedom. The absurdity of "better dead than Red" or "better Red than dead" is that we have an alternative. We need be neither Red nor dead. We ought to and we shall pursue a course which preserves our own freedom without nuclear holocaust. Patience, perserverance and intelligence are necessary ingredients for success.

VOTING RECORD

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a table which lists the major legislative actions of the 2d session of the 88th Congress and my position on each of them:

My position	Issue	Outcome
	NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SPACE	
Supported	Appropriate $46,700,000,000 for defense	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $1,600,000,000 for military construction projects	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $5,200,000,000 for NASA research and development	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $2,600,000,000 for Atomic Energy Commission	Enacted.
Supported	Extend Defense Production Act for 2 years	Enacted.
Supported	Extend Civil Defense Act for 4 years	Enacted.
Supported	Protect visiting heads of foreign states and other visiting officials	Enacted.
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Supported	Appropriate $3,300,000,000 for mutual security program	In conference.
Supported	Increase U.S. participation in Inter-American Development Bank	Enacted.
Supported	Expand Peace Corps	Enacted.
Supported	Increase U.S. contribution to International Development Association	Enacted.
Supported	Approve and support Presidential action in southeast Asia	Enacted.
Supported	Extend food-for-peace program	Enacted.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Supported	Tax reduction of $11,500,000,000 and reform tax laws	Enacted.
Supported	Mass Transportation Act	Enacted.
Supported	Interest equalization tax	Enacted.
Supported	Extend current excise taxes	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $750,000,000 for Office of Economic Opportunity to administer poverty program	Passed House.
Supported	Establish national commission to study trade practices in food marketing	Enacted.
Supported	Establish National Commission on Automation and Technology	Enacted.
Supported	Amend minimum wage law to provide that Federal contractors include prevailing area fringe benefits in computation of wages	Enacted.
Supported	Strengthen Securites and Exchange Commission Act	Enacted.
Supported	Extend program of Federal aid for the construction of airports	Enacted.
Supported	Housing Act of 1964	Enacted.
Supported	Continue Federal highway construction program for 2 years	Enacted.
	CIVIL RIGHTS	
Supported	Civil Rights Act of 1964	Enacted.
	GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION	
Supported	Establish John F. Kennedy Center for the performing arts	Enacted.
Supported	Increase pay of Federal civilian employees	Enacted.
Supported	Establish a National Council on the Arts	Enacted.
Supported	Provide for orderly transition between election and inauguration of a new President	Enacted.
Supported	Prohibit bribery of participants in sporting contests	Enacted.
Opposed	Deprive Federal courts of power to decide cases affecting apportionment of State legislatures	Failed.
Supported	Provide legal counsel for indigent defendants in Federal criminal cases	Enacted.
Opposed	Prohibit Federal Communications Commission from regulating amount of commercials	Passed House.
	HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE	
Supported	Increase social security benefits	In conference.
Supported	Extend program for prevention of juvenile delinquency	Enacted.
Supported	Extend Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act	Enacted.
Supported	Establish a 5-year program to increase the supply of nurses	Enacted.
Supported	Extend program for training of professional health personnel	Enacted.
Supported	Provide assistance to urban areas in the construction of library facilities	Enacted.
Supported	Extend National Defense Education Act	In conference.
Supported	Appropriate $50,000,000 to aid the victims of the Alaska earthquake	Enacted.
	SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS	
Supported	Pay increase for military personnel	Enacted.
Supported	World War I veterans' pension bill	In conference.
Supported	Acquire land for new VA hospital in Los Angeles	Enacted.
Supported	Provide educational assistance to children by disabled veterans	Enacted.
Supported	Permit conversion or exchange of national life insurance policies to new plan	In conference.
Supported	Establish a 5-year program to assist States in construction of nursing home facilities	Enacted.
Supported	Increase size of cadet corps at service academies	Enacted.
Supported	Extend disability income provisions of national service life insurance through age 65 under certain conditions	Enacted.
	AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES	
Supported	Broaden food stamp program for needy families	Enacted.
Supported	Continue wheat and cotton programs for 1 year	Enacted.
Supported	Require registration of pesticides before sale to the public	Enacted.
Supported	Extend program for distribution of surplus milk to Armed Forces and veterans hospitals	Enacted.
Opposed	Restrict importation of beef, veal, lamb, and mutton	Enacted.
Supported	Establish national wilderness preservation program	Enacted.
Supported	Inaugurate land and water conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor vocational areas	Enacted.
Supported	Begin research on water resources of the United States	Enacted.
Supported	Authorize construction of hydroelectric power intertie on the Pacific coast	Enacted.
Supported	Preserve congressional control over construction of hydroelectric projects on the Colorado River below Glen Canyon Dam	Enacted.
Supported	Appropriate $1,200,000,000 for public works, including $46,800,000 for 93 projects in California	Enacted.
Supported	Protect wildlife on Pacific flyway	Enacted.
	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Supported	Revise and codify District of Columbia code on judiciary and judicial procedure	Enacted.
Supported	Improve sick leave benefits for employees of District government	Enacted.
Supported	Increase pay for educational leave for teachers	Enacted.
Supported	Increase salaries for teachers, policemen, and firemen	Enacted.

Bill No.	Bills I have sponsored	Status
H.R. 5264	To provide hospital and related services under social security for the elderly	In conference.
H.R. 5544	To provide insurance under the Housing Act for loans to homeowners for the construction of public improvements	Enacted.
H.R. 8882	Authorize reduction of the period under which certain voting records are required to be retained	In committee.
H.J. Res. 543	To establish a U.S. World Film Festival Commission	In committee
H. Res. 696	Condemn Soviet persecution of Jews	In committee.
H.R. 9656	Revise the Immigration Act	In committee.
H.R. 10965	Establish a program for the construction of Veterinary medical educational facilities	In committee.
H.R. 11056	Present a statue of Lincoln to Mexico in honor of its independence	In committee.
H.R. 11672	Establish uniform period for daylight saving time	In committee.
H.R. 12338	Investigate and report on water resources and requirements and protect existing water rights	In committee.
H.J. Res. 952	Extend recognition to the International Exposition for Southern California for 1968	Enacted.

The Fallacies of Goldwaterism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the very distinguished political analyst, Walter Lippmann, in two thoughtful columns appearing in the Washington Post, has exposed two of the great fallacies of Senator GOLDWATER and his campaign.

In an article of September 15, Mr. Lippmann points out that Senator GOLDWATER is campaigning on the thesis that—

The powers of the Presidency must be reduced and that then a smaller and weaker President can and should do away with the most troublesome problems at home and abroad.

"How," Mr. Lippmann quite correctly asks, however, "can we run the world and yet pay less?"

In his excellent column of today, this noted and knowledgeable observer points out, in referring to the Republican presidential and vice presidential nominees, that—

While these two men take their indomitable stand against crime and vice, they are at the same time silent or scornful about almost every practical measure dealing with crime and vice.

And he continues so pointedly—

There is no more unfounded claim than that BARRY GOLDWATER is a conservative. He denies the fundamental principle of conservatism which is that we belong to a community which is greater, older, and more enduring than ourselves.

Mr. Speaker, these articles make a valuable contribution to our fuller understanding of positions which have been loudly and piously stated, but with little basis in fact or reason.

I commend Mr. Lippmann's perceptive analysis to all Americans.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 15, 1964]
THE HALLMARK OF GOLDWATERISM
(By Walter Lippmann)

Senator GOLDWATER has been telling the country that the President has become much too powerful and that this very powerful President has been much too weak to win the cold war and stamp out crimes of violence in our city streets. The Senator has based his campaign on the thesis that the powers of the Presidency must be reduced and that then a smaller and weaker President can and should do away with the most troublesome problems at home and abroad.

This central contradiction is the hallmark of Goldwaterism. The Senator finds it easy to believe that a smaller, shrunken, much less costly Government can overawe the Communist nations jointly and severally, can command the Western alliance, and can put Latin America in order. In BARRY GOLDWATER'S mind a cheaper government could act more strongly, a weaker government could see that the cities are successfully policed.

How, one must ask, can we run the world and yet pay less? The fact, to be sure, is that to do what Senator GOLDWATER wants to have done demands a much more powerful government than we have today. Why does he think it doesn't? The plain truth, I submit, is that he is a dreamer, that when BARRY GOLDWATER talks about public affairs, he lives in a world of fantasy. He dreams that all things are possible. For it is only in the world of dreams that weaker Presidents can do gigantic things, that great results can be achieved at little cost.

This unworldliness is a part of his personal attractiveness. In his world everything becomes possible when you have said that it should happen. There is no clash between the theories and the facts. The hard realities do not really exist. It was this boy who has never grown up fully who said the other day that when he was President he would install his ham radio set in the White House and would then be able to talk to a number of heads of State.

This unworldly divorce from reality is not always charming. Many dreams can be quite cruel, and when Senator GOLDWATER talks about the poor he can be very cruel. He has been making much of our common worries about the increase of crime and, exploiting this worry for political purposes, he has been claiming that he, BARRY GOLDWATER, can stop the crime which Lyndon Johnson is, so says GOLDWATER, promoting.

How is President Johnson promoting crime? By backing the Civil Rights Act and by sponsoring social security and welfare measures. These according to Senator GOLDWATER'S Minneapolis speech, are causing "a breakdown in private responsibility" and in "respect for law and order." The Senator asks that "if it is entirely proper for Government to take from some to give to others, then won't some men be led to believe that they can rightfully take from anyone who has more than they?"

This must be about the first time in 200 years that any public man has argued that charley corrupts the characters of the poor.

It is not only charity that is corrupting the poor. The search for justice is also corrupting the poor. The GOLDWATER theory about civil rights for Negroes is that by enacting laws about these rights the Negroes have been incited to demand these rights. According to one of his leading supporters, perhaps the most distinguished intellectual in the Goldwater camp, Prof. Milton Friedman of Chicago University, the Civil Rights Act "has directed Negro resentment against whites."

Thus, it is not the grievances that incite the Negroes; it is the effort to redress the grievances.

The campaign has been underway only for about 2 weeks and it begins to look as if the real issue to be decided is not whether this or that policy or this or that piece of legislation is sound but whether BARRY GOLDWATER is fit to be President in the hard world of reality.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 1, 1964]
GOLDWATER AND THE MORAL DISORDER
(By Walter Lippmann)

There is a persistent contradiction in Senator GOLDWATER'S talks between what he complains about and what he wishes to do about it, between the problems he poses and the solutions he proposes. This is evident in the field of foreign affairs, defense, fiscal policy, social security, and indeed in almost every great concern of a President and of the Federal Government. Except for trying to revise his own record, he has in fact turned away from the discussion of the great issues of national policy, and is putting his main emphasis on crime, violence, and immorality.

The central theme of the Goldwater campaign has now become in effect that crime and sin are evils which can be dealt with successfully by the personal example and virtue of BARRY GOLDWATER and WILLIAM MILLER. We two are, he is trying to tell the voters, morally superior men who, because of what we are and what we say, will drive crime and violence from the city streets and inaugurate a new era of virtue in this corrupted land.

Stripped down, this is no doubt a remarkable example of self-admiration. But this being an election campaign, the self-righteousness does not matter too much. What does matter is that while these two men take their indomitable stand against crime and vice, they are at the same time silent or scornful about almost every practical measure dealing with crime and vice. They have nothing they want to do about the schools, housing, the police, recreation, health. They want to save us from our troubles by their personal example, by their capacity to exude virtue, and by denouncing sin. They are like the preacher who, said President Calvin Coolidge when he returned from church one Sunday morning, had preached on sin and was against it.

Not only do Messrs. GOLDWATER and MILLER propose no remedies except their personal example, but when they expound their philosophy, they cut themselves off from any kind of concerted effort to introduce discipline, authority, and order into modern life.

What is their remedy for all our moral evils? To liberate the individual from the tyranny of Government and the constraints of society, to deny and reject the belief—which is the central conviction of genuine conservatism—that the individual is part of a community of the dead, the living, and of the unborn, to which he is bound, as Edmund Burke, said by "ties which though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." It is because of the existence of this invisible community that I once ventured to write that "young men die in battle for their country's sake and * * * old men plant trees they will never sit under."

There is no more unfounded claim than that BARRY GOLDWATER is a conservative. He denies the fundamental principle of conservatism which is that we belong to a community which is greater, older, and more enduring than ourselves. Senator GOLDWATER is in fact a radical opponent of conservatism who under the banner of personal freedom would compound that moral disorder, which is the paramount problem of the modern age.

Democratic Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the record of achievement of our distinguished majority leader was made even brighter by his role as chairman of the Platform Committee of the 1964 Democratic National Convention. He performed an outstanding service to his party and to the Nation in a difficult and demanding task.

A prominent Oregon Democrat, former national committeeman and State senator, Monroe Sweetland, served on the platform committee and has expressed his great admiration for the chairman in a letter to the gentleman's hometown newspaper, the Ardmore, Okla., Ardmoreite.

It gives me pleasure to join in Mr. Sweetland's comments, and to recommend them to my colleagues.

ALBERT IS PRAISED FOR PLATFORM JOB

To the EDITOR:

Yesterday I returned from the Democratic National Convention where I served as Oregon's man on the platform committee. As we drove westward I decided to send you this letter as a result of my experience as a member of the platform committee.

CARL ALBERT, the Congressman from your district, was the chairman of our 1964 platform committee. This was the first time most of us from the farther out areas have ever seen him in action, although in recent years we have begun to know his name. To most of you in the Congressman's district this comment from me will be no surprise, but perhaps you will be interested in the specific comment of a faraway Oregonian.

Congressman ALBERT was handed one of the toughest, most delicate and potentially explosive of all convention duties—presiding over the deliberations of the committee on platform and resolutions. With President Johnson's nomination uncontested and the vice-presidential choice a matter of common consent, we usually controversial Democrats could be expected to take our penchant for conflict in the major committees. Among the 106 members of the platform committee (a man and a woman from each State and territory) there were widely divergent opinions. It was here "trouble" was to be expected. Differences of opinion were indeed there, and they came out sharply in debate, as they should. For 9 long days of testimony we heard several hundred witnesses from every sort of American group which had an interest in Democratic policy. For the Democratic administration some of these could have been the occasion for serious cleavage, for widespread disruption or explosive publicity.

Your Congressman presided. He was a fair, forceful and good-humored ringmaster. He knew just how to keep the process moving along, conciliating the disappointed, gently quashing the insurrectionists, terminating the filibusters and dampening the more inflammatory moments. But he was in fact more than a model moderator—he is a practical statesman of stature who understands the importance of individual human relationships, even in making profound policy decisions.

This testimonial for publication, I decided, was far more suitable than a mere "fan letter" to Mr. ALBERT himself. I hope you will publish it.

Yours sincerely,

MONROE SWEETLAND.

Report to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to render a report to the people of the 10th District of New York, whom I represent.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

I am your Congressman. I have been Congressman from the 10th New York District since I was first elected in 1922. I have served the good people of my district all these years and hope to continue to serve them through reelection. Almost my whole adult life has been spent in serving you in Congress.

The end of the 88th Congress is close at hand. I, therefore, feel that it is my obligation to render an accounting of the stewardship with which my constituents have entrusted me. Clearly, the 88th Congress, when it adjourns, will have left its mark on history. It is a Congress that has wrestled with some of the most far-reaching issues of our day. It is a Congress which witnessed the tragic assassination of President Kennedy and which proved that the basic premise of our Government is sound when it gathered its courage to go forward under the administration of President Johnson to fulfill many of the visions President Kennedy had had and had given to the people.

Over 600 laws were passed by this Congress and among them were the tax cut; the Economic Opportunity Act—the antipoverty program; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the salary increase for Federal employees; increased loan opportunities through the Small Business Administration; increased social security; the Mass Transportation Act; the Mental Health Act; the expansion of the Hill-Burton Act providing assistance for hospital construction and nursing homes; the conservation fund and the wilderness system to make certain that our children will have preserved for them the open spaces and access to recreational facilities.

President Johnson has rightly called the 88th Congress the "education Congress." Under the Higher Education Facilities Act, $1.2 billion in grants and loans was authorized to improve academic facilities of public and private, nonprofit graduate schools, colleges, community colleges, and technical schools. The Health Professions Education Assistance Act provided for the construction of teaching facilities for medicine, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, and public health.

The National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress was established by Congress to study the problems created by automation.

Legislation was enacted to expand the Peace Corps; the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was approved, to mention a few of the highlights.

These were the steps taken to move our country forward, as President Kennedy had promised. These were some of the concrete steps taken to move us forward into the great society that President Johnson has envisioned.

All of these programs I supported because I cannot believe that a nation as rich and powerful as ours dare remain indifferent to what happens to people. Government is people. If we forget that there are those who lack opportunity, if we forget those whose lives are poisoned by the effects of prejudice, if we forget the stifled lives of those who, though willing and able, cannot find work; if we forget the creative impulses of our people, of what avail would be the boast of riches and power?

For the 42 years I have had the privilege of representing you, I have been guided by this one thought that the avenues of opportunity must be open to all people so that each can rise to the heights of which he is capable. It is for this reason that I have devoted so many years to fighting monopoly, fighting to secure constitutional rights for all peoples, fighting to liberalize our immigration laws.

I am gratified that the Celler-Kefauver Anti-Merger Act has been the greatest deterrent toward monopolization passed in the last two decades. I am gratified that the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 all bear my name.

As chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, I have had, of course, to keep my interests varied. Grave constitutional issues were brought before this committee and studied. For example, the Committee on the Judiciary, in considering the civil rights bill, had 22 days of hearings, filling four volumes of testimony. The subcommittee considered the bill in executive sessions for 17 days. The full committee met 7 days to consider the recommendations of the subcommittee. The Rules Committee held hearings on the bill for 9 days, and the Members of the House of Representatives debated for 64 hours and 25 minutes on the floor of the House. During these long hours of continuous debate, 155 amendments were offered, of which 34 were accepted. The bill was finally adopted by a vote of 290 ayes to 130 nays.

There was also brought before the Committee on the Judiciary the task of examining the delicate school prayer amendment. We held 18 days of hearings and filled three volumes of testimony wherein appears every shade of opinion on a question which has vexed many of our citizens.

The testimony was taken from individuals, from representatives of various church bodies, constitutional lawyers, and private organizations. The hearings held clarified the issue for many and brought into focus the meaning of the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The Committee on the Judiciary was also charged with the responsibility of examining 139 constitutional proposals on the reapportionment of State legislatures which arose after the Supreme Court decisions. It was my purpose to examine thoroughly and, if possible, to protect the principle of "one man, one vote" which, to me, is the very essence of representative government. These hearings were not concluded because the Rules Committee, by the use of an obscure and rarely used rule of the House, brought the issue to the floor. You are not unfamiliar with the struggle in the Senate on the Dirksen rider which was finally resolved.

I would like to place before you two tables, one table will contain those acts passed in the 88th Congress, of which I am the author, and those acts which the Committee on the Judiciary passed and which became the law of the land. All of these acts were the product of much thought and much labor.

Acts which bear the Celler name

Bill number	Title	Public Law
H.R. 7152	The Civil Rights Act of 1964	88-352
H.R. 4715	To incorporate the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation	88-11
H.R. 2849	To amend sec. 47 of the Bankruptcy Act	88-16
H.R. 2833	To amend subdivision d of sec. 60 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 96d) so as to give the court authority on its own motion to reexamine attorney fees paid or to be paid in a bankruptcy proceeding.	88-17
H.R. 2842	To amend sec 3238 of title 18, United States Code (offenses not committed in any district)	88-27
H.R. 2845	To provide that the district courts shall be always open for certain purposes, to abolish terms of court, and to regulate the sessions of the courts for transacting judicial business.	88-139
H.R. 1049	To amend secs. 334, 367, and 369 of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 734, 767, 769) and to add a new sec. 355 so as to require claims to be filed and to limit the time within which claims may be filed in ch. XI (arrangement) proceedings to the time prescribed by sec. 57n of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 93n).	88-175
H.R. 2835	To clarify the status of circuit and district judges retired from regular active service	88-176
H.R. 2837	To amend further sec. 11 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 311)	88-190
H.R. 4157	To enact pt. II of the District of Columbia Code, entitled "Judiciary and Judicial Procedure," codifying the general and permanent laws relating to the judiciary and judicial procedure of the District of Columbia.	88-241
S. 1319 (H.R. 2834)	To amend ch. 35 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to the escape or attempted escape of juvenile delinquents	88-251
H.R. 7235	To amend secs. 671 and 672 of title 28, United States Code, relating to the Clerk and the Marshal of the Supreme Court	88-279
H.R. 1997	To amend subsec. (c) of sec. 1332 of title 28, United States Code, relating to diversity of citizenship	88-439
S. 1917 (H.R. 7651)	To provide authority to protect heads of foreign states and other officials	88-493
H.R. 4223	To provide for audit of accounts of private corporations established under Federal law	88-504
H.R. 5543	To extend the provisions of the act of Oct. 11, 1949 (63 Stat. 759, ch. 672; 32 D.C. Code 417), to authorize the commitment of persons of unsound mind found on Federal reservations in Loudon County, Va., to St. Elizabeths Hospital in the District of Columbia.	88-505
H.R. 7219	To amend secs. 3288 and 3289 of title 18, United States Code, relating to reindictment after dismissal of a defective indictment	88-520
H.R. 9436	To amend the act of Sept. 2, 1958, to establish a Commission and Advisory Committee on International Rules of Judicial Procedure, as amended.	88-522
H.R. 6910	To provide for the settlement of claims against the United States by members of the uniformed services and civilian officers and employees of the United States for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to their service, and for other purposes.	88-558

Other Judiciary Committee legislation enacted into law

Bill number	Title	Public Law
H.R. 4374	To proclaim Sir Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of the United States of America	88-6
H.J. Res. 282	Designating the 6-day period beginning Apr. 15, 1963, as National Harmony Week, and for other purposes	88-7
S.J. Res. 39	Designating the week of May 20-26, 1963, as National Actors' Equity Week	88-23
H.R. 6441	To amend Public Law 86-272, as amended, with respect to the reporting date	88-42
H.J. Res. 513	Authorizing the President to proclaim the week beginning July 28, 1963, as Veterinary Medicine Week	88-78
H.R. 1709	To establish a Federal Commission on the Disposition of Alcatraz Island	88-138
H.R. 3369	For the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth G. Mason and to extend the Civil Rights Commission 1 year	88-152
H.J. Res. 626	Granting the consent of Congress to the establishment of an interstate school district by Hanover, N.H., and Norwich, Vt., and to an agreement between Hanover School District, New Hampshire, and Norwich Town School District, Vermont.	88-177
S.J. Res. 137 (H.J. Res. 852)	Authorizing the Commission established to report upon the assassination of President John F. Kennedy to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence.	88-202
H.J. Res. 335	Designating the 17th day of December of each year as "Wright Brothers Day"	88-209
H.R. 5703	Granting an extension of patent to the United Daughters of the Confederacy	88-213
H.R. 5495	For the relief of the city of Binghamton, N.Y.	88-217
H.R. 7601	For the relief of the city of Winslow, Ariz.	88-221
H.R. 4839	For the relief of certain persons involved in the negotiation of forged or fraudulent Government checks issued at Parks Air Force Base, Calif.	88-222
S. 2364 (H.R. 9341)	To provide that the Commission on the Disposition of Alcatraz Island shall have 6 months after its formation in which to make its report to Congress.	88-226
H.R. 2985	To amend sec. 1391 of title 28 of the United States Code, relating to venue generally	88-234
S.J. Res. 113	To authorize the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the 1st week in March of each year as "Save Your Vision Week."	88-242
H.J. Res. 848	To provide for the designation of the month of February in each year as "American Heart Month"	88-254
H.J. Res. 680	Requesting the President to designate 1964 as "U.S. Customs Year"	88-255
S. 721	To amend sec. 124 of title 28, United States Code, to transfer Austin, Fort Bend, and Wharton Counties from the Galveston division to the Houston division of the southern district of Texas.	88-282
H.R. 8507	For the relief of certain medical and dental officers of the Air Force	88-283
H.R. 10051	To amend Public Law 86-272, as amended, with respect to the reporting date	88-286
S. 2040	To amend title 35 of the United States Code to permit a written declaration to be accepted in lieu of an oath, and for other purposes	88-292
S. 980	To provide for holding terms of the U.S. District Court for the District of Vermont at Montpelier and St. Johnsbury	88-312
S. 741	To amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit schemes in interstate or foreign commerce to influence by bribery sporting contests, and for other purposes.	88-316
S. 1828	To amend the joint resolution establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission so as to authorize an appropriation to carry out the provisions thereof.	88-328
H.R. 9094	To authorize the President to declare July 9, 1964, as Monocacy Battle Centennial in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Battle of the Monocacy.	88-357
H.J. Res. 475	To authorize the President to proclaim Dec. 7, 1966, as Pearl Harbor Day in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor.	88-366
H.J. Res. 950	Granting the consent of Congress to an amendment to the compact between the State of Ohio and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania relating to Pymatuning Lake.	88-371
H.R. 8590	To incorporate the Aviation Hall of Fame	88-372
H.R. 10437	To incorporate the National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements	88-376
H.R. 9234	To incorporate the Little League Baseball, Inc.	88-378
H.R. 9834	Granting a renewal of patent No. D-161,955, relating to a plaque of the American Legion	88-396
H.R. 9833	Granting a renewal of patent No. D-162,975, relating to a medal of the American Legion	88-397
H.R. 4732	To change the name of the United States Olympic Association to the United States Olympic Committee	88-407
H.J. Res. 658	Authorizing and requesting the President to proclaim 1964 and 1965 as a period to "See the United States," and for other purposes	88-416
S. 2339	Conferring jurisdiction upon the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Sarpy County, Nebr.	88-425
H.R. 11255	To validate certain payments of per diem allowances made to members of the Coast Guard	88-435
H.R. 8999	To provide for the settlement of claims of certain inhabitants of the United States living in the area inundated by the sudden floods of the Rio Grande as a result of the construction of the Falcon Dam, and for other purposes.	88-447
S. 1991	To charter by act of Congress the National Tropical Botanical Garden	88-449
S. 1057 (H.R. 7457)	The Criminal Justice Act	88-455
S. 1664	To provide for continuous improvement of the administrative procedure of Federal agencies by creating an Administrative Conference of the United States, and for other purposes.	88-499
H.R. 5728	For the relief of the county of Cuyahoga, Ohio	88-502
H.R. 11466	To enact subtitle II, "Other Commercial Transactions," of title 28, "Commercial Instruments and Transactions," of the District of Columbia Code, and for other purposes.	88-509
H.R. 5964	To provide for the inclusion of Hopkins County, Tex., within the Paris division of the eastern district for the U.S. district courts in Texas.	88-512
H.R. 7508	To amend title 28, United States Code, to establish jurisdiction and venue for appeals from orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission in judicial reference cases.	88-513
H.R. 11520	To amend subsec. (d) of sec. 1346 of title 28 of the United States Code relating to the jurisdiction of the U.S. district courts	88-519
S. 1909	To amend the joint resolution establishing the Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission to authorize an appropriation to enable the Commission to carry out its functions under such joint resolution.	88-591
H.R. 4786	For the relief of the State of New Mexico	88-596
S. 49	To provide for the establishment of the Alaska Centennial Commission, to cooperate with the State of Alaska to study and report on the manner and extent to which the United States shall participate in the celebration in 1967 of the centennial anniversary of the purchase of the territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.	88-610

There are always some very special problems which arise in the district. Because of this, I was pleased, during this session, to accept the chairmanship of the newly formed congressional Committee on Naval Shipyards, which is composed of 132 Members of the House and Senate banded together to protect and strengthen public shipyards, of which the Brooklyn Navy Yard is one. With the cooperation of the Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, we are developing a program designed to maintain the continued operation of all naval shipyards. The committee is seeking legislation which will enable the Brooklyn Navy Yard to maintain a reasonably full complement of workmen by bringing more work to the yard. I believe that the continued operation of each of our naval shipyards is vital to the common defense and the general welfare of the United States.

Experience has taught me much, and what it has taught me can, perhaps, be summed up in a phrase, "To serve mankind is truly living the good life." I, therefore, thank you for the opportunity you have given me time and again to serve you.

Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress have repeatedly been assured that hospital insurance for the aged under social security is unnecessary. Medical societies have taken full-page ads in local newspapers and have given brochures to their patients stressing the availability of care for all who need it. The insurance industry, time and again, has insisted that it is willing and able to handle the job of adequately protecting our older citizens. Those who work closely with our older citizens know the emptiness of those assertions. A letter I received this week from a resident of Oregon is a case in point, and I am sure my colleagues will be interested in reading it.

JUNCTION CITY, OREG.,
September 24, 1964.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We are old people and hope you will vote for the medicare bill. People say the old people don't need it, that they are covered by hospital insurance privately. Well, we were one of those.

Recently my wife had an operation for gall bladder and the doctors removed it. The cost of hospital and doctor was around $1,200. Our insurance paid about one-third of the bill and we had a little savings which took care of the rest and which is now nearly gone. When the insurance company (ICOA of Salem, Oreg.) sent the check, they canceled the rest of our insurance and since taking out their insurance I have developed heart trouble so now I doubt whether I could get hospitalization insurance again at the cost we could pay.

We own our own home, nothing stylish, but it is still a home where we can have a garden and some flowers and the Kerr-Mills insurance of Oregon requires you to sign away our home before they will give medical assistance. Lots of old people are in the same fix or even worse and we certainly need medical care of some kind. It seems to me the Government should help the old people. I am unable to work much. I am 77 and my wife is 72 and with our social security we manage to get along, but could not stand another big hospital bill.

Sincerely,

———— ————.

New Communications With Grassroots America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to reacquaint its officers with the thinking and views of Americans in communities across the land, the Department of State is encouraging Foreign Service officers on leave from foreign assignments to accept invitations to meet with community groups, service clubs, churches, and other organizations. This program is under the direction of Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and long an advocate of an increased dialog between American communities and the Foreign Service officers who represent us abroad.

Through such contacts our Foreign Service officers are able to familiarize themselves with grassroots thinking on a host of domestic and international subjects and to become acquainted with developments in our rapidly changing society. Equally important is the opportunity for audiences to observe actual problems our people must deal with in representing the United States in a foreign country. Foreign Service personnel of course do not accept honoraria for such appearances, and since they are on home leave there is no additional cost to the taxpayer.

As an example of the scope and success of this program, I would like to insert in the RECORD an article entitled "New Communications with grassroots America," which appears in the September issue of the Department of State newsletter:

NEW COMMUNICATIONS WITH GRASSROOTS AMERICA

The Department's Office of Community Advisory Services, established less than a year ago, has set up new and expanding lines of communications between the Foreign Service and grassroots America.

The Office is headed by Mrs. Katie Louchheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Advisory Services. It is under the supervision of William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration.

"The Office of Community Advisory Services strengthens the dialog between the Foreign Service and the American people through personal contacts between individual Foreign Service officers and their hometown neighbors," Mrs. Louchheim says.

"Such meetings," she added, "make it possible for members of the Foreign Service to familiarize themselves with the thinking of their fellow citizens, while their audiences in turn can get to know the men and women who represent them abroad and learn directly about their work and experiences."

The program was tailored to meet requests from the grassroots for information about the Foreign Service—what it is, what it does, and who comprises it.

The results to date have exceeded expectations. And the costs to the Government have been relatively small.

In 8 months, from January through August, 182 Foreign Service officers participated in the Office of Community Advisory Services program. They visited 39 States. Speakers included Ambassadors and other members of the Foreign Service.

Scores of articles and editorials appeared in the press. The participants also received wide coverage on radio and TV. Many of their talks were taped.

Typical of the reaction—in nearly every case highly favorable—is the comment from the Kiwanis Club of Nashville, Tenn.

"It is particularly worthwhile for a group of responsible businessmen, such as those in our club," the organization wrote the Office of Community Advisory Services, "to get to see and hear firsthand an able representative of our country in dealing with those of other lands. I think we all went away feeling that with people like this representing us we can indeed be proud."

The Kiwanis Club of Ormond Beach, Fla., said that the Foreign Service officer who addressed them was "an excellent speaker, well informed on his work and able to answer questions intelligently and honestly. We were all much impressed with him and learned a great deal about the Foreign Service. It was one of our best programs of the year."

The Knights of Columbus in Huntington, W. Va., declared that the talk was "excellent." They thanked the Department "for taking the time to give us current information that all Americans are so vitally interested in hearing."

The Twelve-Thirty Club in La Jolla, Calif., asserted that "more exposures to men of his caliber from the State Department would do us home folks a lot of good by helping us better to understand the goals and methods of the Department. . . ."

The Parent-Teacher Association in Dearborn, Mich., lauded a Foreign Service officer's talk and added: "We realize that you gave much of your valuable time to present the students a background of your particular field. Such encouragement and information is priceless to youth who plan for their future."

A TV station in Brockton, Mass., in its "thank you" letter to a Foreign Service officer for "three very informative and extremely interesting interviews," wrote:

"It was a real pleasure to meet you and have the opportunity to see that others heard of your service to your county in other and remote lands. Your ability to convey your deep interest in your work and your scintillating enthusiasm was a joy to all of us at WBET."

No less enthusiastic is the reaction from the Foreign Service officers who have participated in the program. Here are excerpts from their comments:

"There is no doubt in my mind that the present program of Community Advisory Services is extremely useful judging from the ignorance which exists regarding our Department of State and Foreign Service."

"I have found students, teachers, and school officials most enthusiastic and eager to learn about American activities in foreign

countries and the work of our embassies overseas."

"People are interested and most asked questions about actual day-to-day operations. This part of the country could use much more information about the State Department."

"The work is vitally important to the Department's public affairs programs. The program should be stepped up in order that the people who live in the little hamlets across the Nation can be informed of the important work being done by the Foreign Service abroad."

"The main question raised at every single meeting was: 'What can I do to help?' "

In addition to the Foreign Service officer home leave program the Office of Community Advisory Services carries out other major projects. These include "hometown relations," such as sending press releases to the local newspapers, radio, and TV stations on Foreign Service office promotions, transfers, and awards; supervision of a special trailer-trip project in various sections of the United States (see p. 9); and the establishment of links between community organizations and Foreign Service wives' programs overseas.

The office receives scores of requests for assistance from Foreign Service wives who are carrying out volunteer activities. The office puts these wives in touch with organizations at home which might, if approached, be glad to help support their activities overseas. Such grassroots support actively strengthens the bonds between American citizens and their friends and neighbors in other lands.

For example, Foreign Service wives in Uganda, Senegal, and Brazil recently called upon Office of Community Advisory Services for aid. The Office made for Mrs. Olcott Deming, wife of the U.S. Ambassador to Uganda, an appointment with the Public Welfare Foundation of Washington, D.C. Mrs. Deming later informed the Office of Community Advisory Services that the foundation made a gift of $2,800 to the Uganda Society for the Deaf.

The Delta Sigma Theta sorority contributed $300 for a 2-year scholarship for a secondary school girl in Uganda.

The Office also made arrangements with the Friends of Liberia, who presented two large boxes of handmade clothes for small children to Mrs. Charles E. Rhetts, wife of the then Ambassador to Liberia.

At this time, however, the Office is emphasizing the need for a reimmersion of returning Foreign Service officers in the mainstream of American life.

All posts have been requested to submit to the Office of Community Advisory Services 6-month projections of their schedules of officers returning on home leave.

When the Foreign Service officer checks in the the Foreign Service lounge in the Department he is instructed to call at the Office of Community Advisory Services headquarters on the seventh floor.

At the Office of Community Advisory Services the officer completes a questionnaire and discusses his plans for home leave. The Office in turn gives him a kit containing background information on foreign policy, pamphlets on current issues, and other speech material, and helpful suggestions on the proposed talks and interviews.

The Office reviews the file of requests from clubs, educational institutions, and civic associations. It sets up a speaking schedule for the visiting Foreign Service officer or his wife, if both Office of Community Advisory Services and the officer consider it advisable.

The Office of Media Services in the Bureau of Public Affairs, working with Office of Community Advisory Services, then invites representatives of the press, magazines, radio and TV to interview the Foreign Service officer while he is on home leave.

The Foreign Service officer not only helps the cause, he himself benefits in other ways:

He receives a better knowledge of the current thinking of his fellow citizens. The days on which he gives interviews or talks are credited to duty and are not charged against home leave. Letters of appreciation or commendation are placed in his personnel file. And selection boards give credit for effective community relations.

TRAVEL TRAILERS ARE AVAILABLE TO FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS FOR REVISITING AMERICA

Foreign Service officers and their families returning to the United States on home leave will now be able to take 3 or 4 weeks' trailer trips to sections of the country where they have never been before.

During their cross-country treks the Foreign Service officers will address various groups and will discuss the Foreign Service and their experiences in it. At the same time they will refresh their knowledge of America.

The new, 2-year project is part of a continuing community relations program under the direction of Deputy Assistant Secretary Katie Louchheim, Director of the Office of Community Advisory Services.

The year-round project was launched on August 27 when Foreign Service officer Richard G. Johnson, his wife, and two children left Washington on a three-week trip to San Francisco.

The Wally Byam Foundation and the Ford Motor Co. are providing the needed vehicles. The Byam Foundation has given the Department the use of three Air Stream trailers for 2 years at no charge. The Ford Motor Co. is providing three automobiles to tow the trailers at an annual cost of $1. The foundation is also providing gasoline and oil for the cars.

Foreign Service officers will pay for food, toll charges, and incidentals.

Mr. Johnson, who joined the Foreign Service in 1947, has just returned from Paris where he was a senior officer trainee detailed to the NATO Defense College. He has served in Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Algeria and Ethiopia; he speaks German, French, Italian, and Polish.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson hold degrees from the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies. She speaks French and Italian. The Johnsons were accompanied on the trip by their children, Susan, 14, and Richard, 12.

Hon. Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the passing of WALTER NORBLAD is a cause of great sadness among us. He truly was one of the best liked, and most respected members of this body.

Having served 12 years with him on the Armed Services Committee, I had come to know him quite well. I know that his judgment in the military affairs of this Nation was of considerable influence on the committee. Through his years of experience with our armed services, he had developed a skeptical view when skepticism was justified; but he also had an experienced understanding which helped the committee to act intelligently and with dispatch on many occasions.

It also became obvious that WALTER's strong sense of humor made him many friends in the House, and his ability to see things with some perspective was another much respected characteristic.

Knowing of his previous attacks, many of us wondered what kept him plugging along, working diligently and seeking reelection. I am convinced it was a strong sense of duty and of dedication to this country and to this body.

To his widow and children, we extend our deepest sympathy and we share greatly in their sense of loss.

Pittsburgh Supports Bill Creating National Foundation for the Humanities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on August 17 I introduced H.R. 12406 calling for the creation of the National Foundation for the Humanities. Since that time I have received considerable mail in support of the proposal. I bring to the attention of the House an editorial from the Pittsburgh Catholic, a sampling of letters from educators in the congressional district I have the honor to represent and a letter from the dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania.

[From the Pittsburgh Catholic, Sept. 3, 1964]

A HUMANITIES FOUNDATION

Now that the national political conventions are over and our legislators are back to the sober business of running the country, we express the hope that serious attention will be given to a bill introduced in the House at a time when most minds were diverted by what was happening in San Francisco and Atlantic City.

We speak of Congressman WILLIAM MOORHEAD's bill to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

Some people might smile because Congressman MOORHEAD conceives the foundation program as meeting "a need no less serious than that of national defense." But his is not mere rhetoric. As the Congressman pointed out (in words that evoked recollection of Pius XII), "it is essential that we preserve the interdependence of science and the humanities so that men will remain the masters of their technology and not unthinking servants."

The purpose of the National Humanities Foundation, as envisioned by its sponsor, would be to develop and promote a policy of support for the humanities and the arts. This would include the study of languages, literature, history, and philosophy; the history, criticism, and theory of art and music; the history of religion, science, and law; the creative and performing arts, including theater and dance; and those aspects of the social sciences that have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods.

There will be many prepared to dismiss Congressman MOORHEAD's bill on the premise that its objectives are the business of universities and privately financed foundations.

They are, of course. But they are also the business of government.

In profound degree government sets the tone of its people. A government that is contemptuous of the humanities (and if ours isn't contemptuous, it is mighty indifferent) cannot expect much more from its citizenry.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, Pa., August 25, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Member, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD:

I was very happy to receive a copy of H.R. 12406 which you introduced into the House on August 17. I am very proud that a Pennsylvania Congressman should introduce this bill which I hope will become law. We all appreciate your interest in this very much. As I think you are making history, I hope that this will be known as the Moorhead Act.

Sincerely yours,

ROY F. NICHOLS,
Vice Provost and Dean.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH,
Pittsburgh, Pa., September 18, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I should like to add my voice to the many others that must have commended already your introduction of a bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

Artists and humanistic scholars have done their work in all ages and will continue to do so in the face of every discouragement, but there has perhaps never been a time when their efforts have been so nearly eclipsed by brilliant achievements in other disciplines. It is no denigration of the natural sciences, but merely a statement of demonstrable fact, that many of their most exciting and valuable discoveries in recent years would have been impossible without the strong support of the U.S. Government. Such support for the humanities, on whatever scale, will surely bring renewed vitality to this humanly essential but recently neglected area.

It needs no argument perhaps that every masterpiece of art and every breakthrough in humanistic scholarship enlarges the dimensions of the human spirit and the self-knowledge that is necessary to its continuing growth. But it may not be amiss to point out that there are practical considerations, as well, in support of the humanities. As the events of history bring our country into increasingly close and significant relationship with our neighbors all over the world, we must have more and more people trained to speak the languages and understand the problems and attitudes of peoples whose religious traditions, historical goals and difficulties, and local cultures are often far different from our own but whose destinies are irrevocably linked with ours. Such a foundation as you propose is an important step in meeting these demands in a concerted way.

And may I add that I am proud to know that the initiative comes from a representative of Pittsburgh, which has led the world in industry and now extends, through you, the spirit of its "renaissance" and its cultural leadership to all America.

Yours very truly,

WALTER H. EVERT,
Associate Dean.

MOUNT MERCY COLLEGE,
Pittsburgh, Pa., September 8, 1964.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: It is with great pleasure that I have been following the progress of the legislation concerning the National Humanities Foundation. In academic circles this bill has received a great deal of favorable comment and support for practically the same reasons you set forth in your summer report. I am especially proud that it was our own Congressman who introduced it.

May I congratulate you for your insight into the real worth of humanistic disciplines. In the name of the faculty and on my own behalf I wish to promise support of a National Humanities Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Sister M. PATRICK, R.S.M.,
Dean.

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY,
Pittsburgh, Pa., August 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
718 New Federal Building,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR BILL: I am most grateful for the copy of "John Fitzgerald Kennedy—Late a President of the United States." It will find a very receptive home in our library where it may redound to the service of our students and faculty in the years to come.

This letter also gives me an opportunity to tell you how delighted I am with your proposal to the House of Representatives for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. In our race for the moon I have had occasion to be concerned about the overemphasis on the sciences. I do not deny that reaching the moon will be a great accomplishment, and this will reflect great credit on our scientists. However, it is even more important to know why we are going there and what we are to do after we get there. The humanities can help us answer both of the latter questions. The more human I become the more I perfect my nature. The humanities are disciplines which serve to make me more human.

I know I am speaking for all our faculty in the liberal arts and the humanities when I say may you have great success in focusing the spotlight in a very vital area for the good of society and America.

Believe me, words cannot express the full extent of my appreciation for your part in this.

With every best wishes and prayer, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rev. HENRY J. MCANULTY, C.S.Sp.,
President.

Washington Notes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following newsletter reporting to my constituents on the recent activities of the Congress:

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

DEAR FRIENDS: This will be my last newsletter of the 88th Congress—and I want to begin by thanking you for giving me the privilege of serving as your Representative from the great 15th District of Illinois. I do hope my efforts in your behalf have met with your approval. Certainly, I have appreciated your counsel on the many important issues facing us and I hope you will continue to give me your views and to call upon me for any help I may be able to give.

These years that I have served as your Representative have been exciting and challenging. However, I must admit that my efforts to protect your freedom and economic well-being are all too often frustrated by the political maneuvers of the present Administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress. As you know, the current membership of the 88th Congress is 254 Democrats to 176 Republicans in the House, and 66 Democrats to 34 Republicans in the Senate. Thus, it is the Democrats who determine what legislation is to be considered both in committees and on the House and Senate floors.

Adjournment still is uncertain. For a brief period we thought we would finish action on the administration's "must" legislation before the Democratic National Convention. Then adjournment was to be this week. Now we hear varying reports—adjournment the 10th or 12th of October or a recess until after the election. In fact, things are so uncertain that the situation could be completely changed by the time you receive this letter.

These have indeed been strange days. Senators who earlier deplored the use of the filibuster held up adjournment by themselves filibustering on the reapportionment issue. On the House side we have been faced with almost the same vacillation and lack of leadership as are so prevalent in the handling of our foreign policy by the administration. For example, each Member of Congress received official notice on Tuesday morning, September 15, that the Senate-passed social security bill would be considered on the House floor the following Thursday. Less than 2 hours after receiving that notice, the Democratic leadership brought the bill to the floor and it was sent to conference. The conferees are still meeting on this legislation as this letter is being written—with the outcome of the medicare provisions still undecided. My mail has been running heavily in opposition to placing medicare under social security and I have been passing on to the House conferees the views of my constituents on this vital issue.

I am particularly concerned over the failure of the Democratic chairman of the House Judiciary Committee to report a meaningful reapportionment bill—thus making it necessary for those of us interested in the rights of individual citizens in the States to take unusual steps to secure action. Two bills on this matter have now been reported directly to the House by the Rules Committee. One of these bills, H.R. 11926, limits the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in cases on the apportionment of State legislatures and did pass the House with my support. The other bill is a constitutional amendment, but the Democratic leadership has failed to bring this up for a vote on the House floor. In the other body, Senator DIRKSEN tried to secure adoption of an amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill similar to my own bill, H.R. 12238. This provided for a delay in court orders for reapportionment until 1966 so as to give time to submit the question to the people in the form of a constitutional amendment. H.J. Res. 1139 which I introduced on August 3, 1964, does this. The Senate, however, adopted a substitute simply expressing the "sense of Congress" that Federal district courts are to give State legislatures up to 6 months to comply with an order to carry out the Supreme Court's ruling that both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a strict population basis. Senator DIRKSEN's comment on this was that it "is not worth the paper upon which it is printed." I shall continue to press for a satisfactory solution in this vital matter.

I am equally concerned over the failure of the leadership of this 88th Congress to take action on the prayer amendment and thus preventing the American people from expressing their wishes. Also, I deplore the fact that the Senate has failed to take action on a House-passed bill which would protect each and every one of you from receiving unsolicited obscene mail.

These are just a few of the problems facing the Congress today. In addition, we are plagued by the continued vacillation and uncertainty of the administration in conducting our foreign policy. One day the President states that he has no intention of going into North Vietnam to preserve the freedom of South Vietnam. The next day, the President's Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, William P. Bundy, said extension of the Vietnamese war outside South Vietnam "could be forced upon us by the increased external pressures of the Communists." The only thing that I can conclude from this is that the President and his Assistant Secretary of State are not coordinating. In fact, it almost makes me wonder if they are speaking to each other.

We also have reports that field agents of the Department of State have been ordered to burn the bulk of field office records containing data on Government security risks. Interestingly enough, the Members of Congress learned about this through an article in the Chicago Tribune. Nothing ever appeared in prior official reports to the Congress or in the Washington newspapers. I have made strong protest in this matter directly to the Secretary of State. This definitely points out the need for House approval of the Information bill, S. 1666, already passed by the Senate, giving citizens the right to file suit in a Federal court to force Government agencies to disclose information which is not injurious to the national security. I definitely believe the American people have the right to know what their Government is doing.

As I witness what is going on in Congress and in the other branches of your Government, I cannot help but wonder if some in government may not have forgotten that they are your servants and not your masters. Each one of you will have the privilege of voting on November 3 to reaffirm the fact that you are the master. Two thousand four hundred years ago Plato said: "The punishments of wise men who refuse to take part in the affairs of Government is to live under the Government of unwise men." This is still so true today.

Remember: "Vote and the choice is yours. Don't vote and the choice is theirs." It only takes one vote to decide the outcome of an election—and that one vote could be yours.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLOTTE T. REID,
Your Member of Congress.

Secretary McNamara's Statement Before the Democratic Platform Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, my colleague, Mr. FORD, placed in the RECORD a letter, dated September 15, 1964, from former Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. So that the matter can be viewed in its full context, I feel it would be fitting to place in the RECORD the other items involved in the exchange of correspondence. These consist of a telegram Secretary McNamara sent to Mr. Gates on August 31, 1964, as well as Secretary McNamara's response on September 18, 1964, to Mr. Gates' September 15 letter.

PRESS RELEASE

Secretary of Defense McNamara today issued the following statement in connection with the exchange of correspondence with former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates:

"It is unfortunate that any misunderstanding has arisen about my opinion of my predecessor, Thomas Gates. As I emphasized in my telegram of August 31, 1964, to Mr. Gates, which I am releasing at his request, I have the highest regard for him and for the personal contributions he made to our Nation's security as Secretary of Defense."

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., August 31, 1964.

DEAR TOM: I understand from Doug Dillon that you were concerned about my statement before the Democratic Platform Committee. I recognize the cause of your concern and the importance of keeping the Defense Department out of the partisan political arena. I need hardly tell you how much I appreciate your contributions to the national security and the importance of programs and policies you instituted as Secretary of Defense.

For 3½ years I have tried to prevent Defense policies and programs from being discussed in a partisan context. I have taken every opportunity to make certain that the American people understand that Defense is not a partisan political matter; but rather that it is a complex problem to which you and I and many others in and out of uniform have given and are giving our best efforts in the interest of our national security. I have tried to point this out on numerous occasions. For example,

At a press conference on May 26, 1961, I said, "I think Tom Gates, more than any other Secretary in recent years, did much to establish a close relationship with the chiefs. I have endeavored to expand upon that relationship."

At a press conference on July 6, 1962, I said: "The Air Force has in the past year, as a result of work that started long before we entered the Department, introduced a new maintenance system which is substantially increasing the efficiency of their maintenance operations."

Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20, 1963, I said: "When we took office, we had a firm base from which to work. My predecessor, Tom Gates, had already given strong support to such programs as MINUTEMAN and POLARIS, which are designed to ride out any conceivable attack."

In my statement before the Foreign Relations Committee on August 13, 1963, I said: "There have been very substantial increases in our nuclear forces over the last 5 years."

It has been my consistent position that defense matters should be kept kept outside the partisan political arena. Even responding to charges made by a Republican Task Force on June 29, 1964, I stated:

"I read with regret the partisan attack on our Nation's military program contained in the report of the Republican Policy Committee's Task Force on American Strategy and Strength.

"The national defense has always been a bi-partisan activity of the U.S. Government. To date Republicans as well as Democrats have supported the national defense program of the Kennedy-Johnson administration."

My efforts to keep defense matters outside the partisan political arena have become increasingly difficult over the past several weeks as Senator GOLDWATER has persistently made defense a partisan political issue. In addition, he has so phrased his attacks as to cast doubt on the credibility of our military power and has thus jeopardized our national security. Let me cite a few examples of the kinds of statements which, if allowed to stand unchallenged, could do great harm to the credibility of our defense posture.

In an article in Life magazine on January 17, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER stated: "Our present deterrent power was built almost entirely under the Eisenhower administration. There has been no significant addition to it since, and there are no plans for strengthening it. There are, indeed, plans to phase it down."

On the program Issues and Answers on February 9, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER stated: "* * * I have not questioned the accuracy of these missiles. I know their accuracy and I know that it is wonderful. What I am talking about is, will they go when the button is pushed under actual conditions, and I have not been satisfied that the reliability figures that Secretary McNamara gave us are right * * *."

In a speech at Palomar Junior College, California, on March 20, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER stated: "I make the flat charge that Secretary of Defense McNamara and the State Department are engaged in unilateral disarmament at the expense of peace and at the expense of freedom * * *."

In a speech at the Economic Club in Detroit on March 25, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER cited four fatal flaws in our defense posture: "First, we are building a Maginot line of missiles. Second, we are failing to introduce rapid technological advances, sometimes because of false economy, sometimes because of misguided steps toward disarmament. Third, we are permitting our defense policies to disrupt NATO and our other alliances. Fourth, we are downgrading the armed services, ignoring professional military advice and substituting one man's bookkeeping technique for national policy."

In a speech to the Texas Republican Convention in Dallas on June 16, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER said, "We are in second place and I defy the czar of the Pentagon to dispute that statement."

On June 5, 1964, in response to a question from the Associated Press, Senator GOLDWATER said, "The defense policies of this administration add up, in effect, to unilateral disarmament. We are lagging behind in weapons technology and in the development of new systems."

In accepting the Republican presidential nomination on July 17, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER stated, "We are at war in Vietnam—yet the President who is the Commander in Chief of our forces refuses to say whether or not the objective is victory. His Secretary of Defense continues to mislead and misinform the American people. It has been during Democratic years that our strength to deter war has stood still and even gone into a planned decline."

Before the National Association of Counties in the State of Washington on August 11, 1964, GOLDWATER said, "And what of this, the most perilous statistic of all? Under our present defense leadership, with its utter disregard for new weapons, our deliverable nuclear capacity may be cut down by 90 percent in the next decade. Let me repeat that. The figure is startling, and yet undeniable."

In his forthcoming book, "Where I Stand," reprinted in part in the Washington Post, Senator GOLDWATER has written: "I charge that the present Secretary of Defense has become the leading advocate—indeed the leading architect—of a so-called defense policy which, by the late 1960's and the early 1970's, will have turned the shield of the Republic into a swiss cheese wall, full of holes; a policy which will have isolated the power of America behind a maginot line of illusions; a policy which will encourage our enemies to become bolder, to risk the final, fatal step toward nuclear war; a policy which will turn the profession of arms into a second-class craft; a policy which will have so hardened the arteries of our defenses that flexible response to challenges will be impossible, leaving us with the alternatives of only withdrawal or nuclear holocaust. I repeat: The architect of this policy is the present Secretary of Defense. In simplest terms, the

defense policies of this administration add up to unilateral disarmament."

I regret that my statement before the Democratic platform committee was given a highly partisan interpretation. I particularly regret that anyone should infer any intention on my part to detract from your efforts on behalf of the national security. I was, rather, trying to emphasize the tremendous organizational and other problems which you and I have encountered—and which I continue to face—in managing the Defense Department. As I said in my article in the April–June 1964 issue of the Civil Service Journal, "When the President first asked that I accept appointment as the Secretary of Defense * * * I called upon my predecessor, the Honorable Thomas S. Gates, Jr. Mr. Gates briefed me thoroughly on his own experience as Secretary of Defense. * * * During his 6 years as Under Secretary and Secretary of the Navy, and thereafter during his 2 years as Deputy Secretary and Secretary of Defense, Mr. Gates had worked to establish the sort of control that Congress has authorized. * * * The sheer magnitude of the task as it unfolded made me question again whether I or anyone could really manage the Department."

Unfortunately, not all my statements before the Democratic platform committee on August 17, 1964, received newspaper coverage. For example, I was asked as a result of the statement in the Republican platform, "We will return the Joint Chiefs of Staff to their lawful status as the President's principal military advisers"; whether there had been "any structural or functional change in the operations by the Joint Chiefs of Staff." In my response, I stated:

"I want to emphasize to you * * * that my predecessor, Tom Gates, initiated a series of meetings with the Joint Chiefs. Until that time, there had been very little regular contact between the Secretaries and the Chiefs on very important matters of the Department, and particularly that was true in the budget."

I think you will agree that we cannot permit partisan attacks and campaign oratory to bring into question the credibility of the military power you and I and many others have worked so hard to assemble. My purpose in responding to these attacks by Senator GOLDWATER has not been to make the Defense policies and programs of this country a partisan political matter. Rather, my purpose has been to attempt to assure that our allies and our enemies, as well as the American people, retain their confidence and respect for the credibility of the strategic deterrent and conventional military power of this country,

Let me say again that I regret very much that my remarks were interpreted in any way as critical of the outstanding job you did as Secretary of Defense. As you know, I have the highest regard for the contribution you made to the Defense Department and for the assistance you gave me when I became Secretary.

Sincerely,

ROBERT S. MCNAMARA.

Test of Cushing's Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I am privileged at this point in the RECORD to insert for the attention of my colleagues in the House the text of the remarks of our beloved Archbishop of Boston, Richard Cardinal Cushing, before the Ecumenical Council in Rome as they appeared in the New York Times of Tuesday, September 29, 1964:

TEXT OF CUSHING'S ADDRESS

The declaration on the Jews and non-Christians is acceptable in general. Through this Ecumenical Council the church must manifest to the whole world, and to all men, a concern which is genuine, an esteem all embracing, a sincere charity—in a word, it must show forth Christ. And in this schema "De Ecumenismo," with its declarations on religious liberty and on the Jews and non-Christians, in a certain sense it does just that. I would propose, however, three amendments specifically on the Jews.

First: We must make our statement about the Jews more positive, less timid. More charitable. Our text well illustrates the priceless patrimony which the new Israel has received from the law and the prophets.

And it well illustrates what the Jews and Christians share in common. But surely we ought to indicate the fact that we sons of Abraham according to the spirit must show a special esteem and particular love for the sons of Abraham according to the flesh because of this common patrimony. As sons of Adam, they are our brothers: As sons of Abraham, they are the blood brothers of Christ.

The fourth paragraph of this declaration should manifest this and our obligation of special esteem, as a conclusion which logically flows from the first section.

REJECTION A MYSTERY

Secondly: On the culpability of the Jews for the death of our Saviour. As we read in sacred scriptures, the rejection of the Messiah by his own people is a mystery: a mystery which is indeed for our instruction, not for exaltation.

The parables and prophecies of our Lord teach us this. We cannot judge the leaders of ancient Israel—God alone is their judge. And most certainly we cannot dare attribute to later generations of Jews the guilt of the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus or the death of the Saviour of the world, except in the sense of the universal guilt in which all of us men share.

We know and we believe that Christ died freely, and he died for all men and because of the sins of all men, Jews and gentiles.

Therefore, in this declaration in clear and evident words we must deny that the Jews are guilty of the death of our Saviour except insofar as all men have sinned and on that account crucified him and, indeed, still crucify him. And especially, we must condemn any who would attempt to justify inequities, hatred or even persecution of the Jews as Christian actions.

NO RATIONALE FOR HATRED

All of us have seen the evil fruit of this kind of false reasoning. In this August assembly, in this solemn moment, we must cry out: There is no Christion rationale—neither theological nor historical—for any inequity, hatred or persecution of our Jewish brothers.

Great is the hope, both among Catholics and among our separated Christian brothers, as well as among our Jewish friends in the New World, that this sacred synod will make such a fitting declaration.

Thirdly and finally, I ask, venerable brothers, whether we ought not to confess humbly before the world that Christians too frequently have not shown themselves as true Christians, as faithful to Christ, in their relations with their Jewish brothers? In this our age, how many have suffered? How many have died because of the indifference of Christians, because of silence? There is no need to enumerate the crimes committed in our own time. If not many Christian voices were lifted in recent years against the great injustices, yet let our voices humbly cry out now.

Space Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SEPTEMBER 25, 1964.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. FULTON: Enclosed herewith is copy of a paper entitled "The Boundary Between Territorial Airspace and International Outer Space." This was read for me at the Federal bar meeting in Washington while I was in South America at an aviation meeting. I consider the subject matter of this paper of real importance.

The present administration on several occasions has indicated that it is too early to negotiate an international convention fixing the boundary between airspace and outer space. But this does not answer the need for the United States to fix its own boundary. We must, in my judgment, continue to insist on full control of all flight in the airspace which we use for our normal military and civil flight. We need the legal veto applicable to any flight in that area. Now, however, we have agreed that outer space is free for all international peaceful flight, and perhaps for military flight as well. Obviously, there must be a decision as to the height above our lands and waters where our right of national control comes to an end.

The problem is somewhat similar to territorial waters, as I have pointed out in this article. We have no international agreement as to the outer boundary of these waters, but this has never deterred us from asserting our own outer boundary as against all other nations.

I realize that this session in the House has about ended, and nothing can be done this year. However, I would like to suggest that you ask the staff of the House Space Committee to study the problem. I feel strongly that a bill should be introduced in the early days of the next House session, which would fix a definite boundary above the surface of our lands and waters as the upper boundary of national airspace.

Hoping that this letter will reach you personally, I am sending the original by special delivery to Washington and a copy to your Pittsburgh office.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN COBB COOPER.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1964.

MR. JOHN COBB COOPER,
Princeton, N.J.

DEAR MR. COOPER: It is a pleasure to receive your letter of September 25, 1964, together with your paper entitled, "The Boundary Between Territorial Airspace and International Outer Space," which was read at the Federal bar meeting in Washington, D.C.

I have read your article with interest, and am placing it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as I feel it deserves wide recognition by

Members of Congress and the American people.

In addition, I will be glad to introduce a bill in the next House session for a congressional commission to study the question of a definite boundary above the surface of our lands and waters, as the upper boundary of national airspace.

Any time my office in Pittsburgh or Washington can be of assistance to you, let us hear, and we will be glad to cooperate.

Sincerely,

JAMES G. FULTON.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON SPACE LAW—FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION NATIONAL CONVENTION, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 11, 1964

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN TERRITORIAL AIRSPACE AND INTERNATIONAL OUTER SPACE

(By John Cobb Cooper)

The United States should not delay longer in stating a definitive position as to the upper boundary of its territorial airspace. The unanimous adoption of the United Nations on December 13, 1963, of Resolution 1962 (XVIII) has created a new and urgent situation. It is understood that the United States assisted in drafting the resolution and the United Nations records clearly show vigorous American support. One of the major purposes of that resolution was to fix the legal status of the areas generally called "outer space" in which satellites and other spacecraft may operate with minimum interference from the earth's atmosphere. The effect of the resolution was to declare that such outer space is a highway which is and must remain open for the use of all nations, free of any claim or rights of sovereign control by any nation. The declaration of principles set out in the United Nations resolution contains the following statements:

"Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law."

"Outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means."

The legal status of outer space as thus stated is in direct conflict with the accepted legal principles applicable to our national airspace.

The legal status of national airspace as part of our territory is not subject to question. The United States assisted in drafting the Paris Convention of 1919 with its much quoted statement in article I that the parties to the convention "recognize that every power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory." For other reasons we did not ratify the Paris Convention, but in adopting the Air Commerce Act of 1926 a provision was carefully inserted in section 6 to the effect "that the Government of the United States has to the exclusion of all foreign nations, complete sovereignty of the airspace over the lands and waters above the United States."

This was the declaration to the effect that such airspace is part of our territory. The same principle was even more forcefully stated in section 9 of the same act defining the term "United States":

"The term 'United States,' when used in a geographical sense, means the territory comprising the several States, Territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia (including the territorial waters thereof), and the overlying airspace; but shall not include the Canal Zone."

Substantially the same definition was carried forward into section 1(31) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 (omitting the reference to the Canal Zone) and has since been repeated in subsequent statutes. The United States has thus firmly declared that the airspace over its lands and waters is part of its national territory.

As a result the United States has the same right to complete unilateral control of all foreign movement within its airspace as it has in other parts of its territory. The only recognized exception to this right of absolute control is that which is enjoyed by foreign merchant ships in time of peace passing through the territorial waters of the United States. But even this limited right has never been accorded to foreign aircraft flying in the airspace over our territorial waters.

While it is true that the 1963 United Nations resolution quoted above has not yet been incorporated into our statutes nor into a duly ratified treaty, nevertheless it would be most difficult for the United States hereafter to claim any rights of territorial control in "outer space."

Admittedly there is as yet no general agreement as to the lower boundary of outer space but this does not obviate the necessity for the United States to fix its own upper boundary of its national airspace territory.

It has been said that there is no general agreement as to the outer boundary of territorial waters and this fact has been used as an argument to support delay in reaching agreement as to the boundary between the airspace and outer space. The argument is unsound so far as it applies to our national action. It overlooks the fact that every State which has maritime boundaries has formally asserted a fixed outer boundary for its territorial waters so that no other State can question its position. The high seas are an international highway open to all. A ship leaving a U.S. port passes through part of our territory which we call territorial waters and thence into the high seas which is not part of our territory. Since the early years of our history, we have repeatedly asserted that there is a definitive boundary out to which the United States has territorial control of all foreign movement. In these territorial waters we are sovereign. In the high seas we are not. Similarly in national airspace over our lands and waters we are sovereign, but with the passage of the United Nations 1963 resolution we have joined other states in asserting that there can be no claim of sovereignty in outer space.

To prevent international misunderstanding we have always asserted the right to fix an outer boundary for our territorial waters. Exactly the same situation now exists as to flight. We have the right to control all flight in our territorial airspace. We have in substance surrendered that right, if it ever existed, in the area termed "outer space." But where lies the boundary between these areas? Can any logical reason be brought forward as to why the United States must not promptly assert its upper airspace boundary so as to give notice to the world of the area above its lands and waters in which it reserves the right to control all flight?

The time is not far distant, and in fact may be with us today, when the right of foreign spacecraft to pass through our territorial airspace will require an immediate and vigorous answer. Are foreign spacecraft, military or civil, to be permitted to fly within 25 miles above our lands and waters, or 50 miles, or 100 miles? A decision must be made.

This decision is necessarily political. It involves consideration of matters of great importance both civil and military. The accepted boundary should have reasonable scientific background. For example, 25 miles above sea level is perhaps the maximum height for the practical use of aircraft requiring aerodynamic support to sustain flight and using air-breathing motive power. Fifty miles above sea level is perhaps the maximum height at which the atmosphere is sufficiently dense to provide any appreciable aerodynamic lift. A point somewhere between 75 miles and 90 miles is perhaps the lowest point of practical orbital unpowered flight around the earth.

The most urgent reason for an early decision is the problem of the flight of spacecraft through the airspace when ascending or descending. Careful examination of the known records of past successful flights into or from outer space indicate that no such flights have ever been recorded at an altitude below 75 miles above a foreign state. Perhaps 90 miles might be an even more correct figure. But this will not continue. Problems of launching and landing are becoming more complex.

Until now flights have passed only through the airspace of the state of launching or the airspace over the high seas when ascending toward or descending from outer space. The airspace over the high seas is as free for flight use as are the high seas themselves for shipping. The spacecraft launced into orbit from Cape Kennedy (formerly Cape Canaveral) have ascended through airspace over the United States lands and territorial waters and thence over the high seas into outer space. When descending, our manned orbital flights have started the descent in outer space over the Pacific Ocean and have thence proceeded downward through the airspace over the United States and finally through the airspace over the Atlantic Ocean to a landing at sea. No foreign airspace has been used. It is understood that Russian spacecraft when being put into orbit or brought back for landing have passed solely through Russian airspace before entering the outer space and before landing at the end of orbital flight. The enormous Russian national landmass permits this procedure.

But, as orbital flights become more frequent and diverse, it is certain that we will face the very practical question of whether or not foreign spacecraft should be permitted to use our territorial airspace for ascent and descent, and we will certainly wish to know whether we have similar privileges in the airspace of other states.

The adoption of the United Nations resolution discussed earlier did not directly or indirectly grant any privileges of passage to foreign spacecraft through the national airspace of any state. In the case of the United States, national airspace has by statute been made a part of the territory of the United States, carrying with it our right to determine unilaterally what flight instrumentalities may enter or otherwise use such airspace. No resolution of the United Nations could alter our law so as to grant rights of passage. Historically the United States has permitted foreign aircraft to enter and use United States airspace only when and to the extent that such use has been authorized by treaty or other international agreement to which the United States is a party, or at times by special permission or authority. No general rights of passage for foreign aircraft exist in the United States airspace even though we accept the rule of international law that the airspace over the high seas is free. In other words, an aircraft approaching our shores and intending to land here cannot proceed past the outer boundary of the airspace above our territorial waters unless it has specific authority so to do. Obviously the same rule is applicable legally to the use of United States airspace by any foreign spacecraft.

But it must be noted that academic suggestions have been made that the United Nations resolutions as to the freedom of use of outer space have carried with them a consequential privilege of passage by spacecraft through foreign airspace in order to enjoy the rights of use of outer space. To some this theory may be politically attractive, but it is certainly legally unsound. The United States, for its part, should without delay fix a definite statutory upper boundary of its national airspace. When this is done, exist-

ing law will without question require the operator of any foreign spacecraft to seek authority to use our airspace if such use is found necessary in connection with the free international use of outer space.

When the upper limit of our national airspace has been fixed and our unconditional sovereignty thus reasserted, the United States will be in a position to deal reciprocally either by general convention, or through bilateral arrangements, so that the United States will enjoy for its spacecraft the same privileges extended to the spacecraft of other states who are parties to such arrangement.

Ultimately, a broad international convention will certainly be arrived at fixing the height of national airspace and determining what rights of passage, if any, will be permitted. In a convention of this kind the United States might alter its own upper national airspace boundary if then deemed useful, and could also determine what rights of passage, if any, foreign spacecraft would reciprocally enjoy.

Certainly the unilateral right of each state to control all flight in its national airspace can be modified only by direct national act, or international agreement, and not by inference or interpretation based on any theoretical effect of any agreement for the use of outer space. The legal status of territorial airspace and international outer space is diametrically opposed. May I say that I have long recognized the need to determine by international agreement any rights of airspace passage for spacecraft. In the convention which I proposed in 1956 to the American Society of International Law, this problem was considered. I suggested that a new convention might include the following as then stated:

"(a) Reaffirm article I of the Chicago Convention, giving the subjacent state full sovereignty in the areas of atmospheric space above it, up to the height where 'aircraft' as now defined, may be operated, such areas to be designated 'territorial space.'

"(b) Extend the sovereignty of the subjacent State upward to 300 miles above the earth's surface, designating this second area as 'contiguous space,' and provide for a right of transit through this zone for all nonmilitary flight instrumentalities when ascending or descending.

"(c) Accept the principle that all space above 'contiguous space' is free for the passage of all instrumentalities."

As I have often explained, my 1956 suggestion of 300 miles in paragraph (b) above was based on erroneous scientific views existing before sputnik that atmospheric conditions below a 300 mile altitude would make free satellite orbital flights difficult, if not impossible. Subsequent developments have indicated that this scientific position was not correct and that satellite flight is practical at much lower altitudes. It will be noted, however, that I carefully recommended rights of transit through the extended sovereignty zone for nonmilitary flight instrumentalities when ascending or descending. So far as I recall, this is the first time that the problem was considered.

Considering present conditions, scientific, political, and legal, the type of international convention which I proposed in 1956 might be very practical if the upper boundary of territorial space were now fixed at 25 miles above sea level and the upper limit of "contiguous space" were fixed at 75 miles, or in the alternative, at such other figure as might be scientifically determined to be the lowest limit of practical free orbital flight. The principle that all space above what I called "contiguous space" should be free for the passage of all flight instrumentalities has now been accepted by the United Nations resolutions with the strong support of the United States. The principle that the United States has full and absolute sovereignty in its airspace is still part of our law.

A convention of this kind is desirable as an early goal. But this objective does not minimize the urgency of present definitive action by the United States fixing the upper limit of its territorial airspace, thus notifying the world of its assertion of unilateral sovereign control of the usable areas below this national boundary. This control is applicable to all flight instrumentalities, whether they be rockets, missiles, aircraft, spacecraft, or any combination of these basic types.

Tom Curtis for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED SCHWENGEL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, one of our colleagues and outstanding Members, the Honorable TOM CURTIS has been cited and recommended for election by one of the Nation's metropolitan newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Globe Democrat, an independent and articulate newspaper in its editorial columns, said among other things that TOM CURTIS is a man of ability and that that virtue is paired with responsibility. This is a combination of characteristics so much needed in this body. His knowledge and understanding of the economics of Government fiscal problems is greater than almost any who ever served or is now serving in this House.

I join with the St. Louis Globe Democrat, as do all Republicans in the House as well as a vast number of Democrats, to wish him success on election day so that he may have the honor of serving his people and the Nation another 2 years in a period that needs brave decisions by intelligent, able, and fearless men.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the editorial referred to above be put in the Appendix of the RECORD.

TOM CURTIS FOR CONGRESS

The sixties are not the halcyon days of the Congress of the United States. The shadow of sordid scandal has fallen across the greatest deliberative body on earth.

Ambitious impatient advocates of centralism want the executive branch to enhance its power at the expense of Congress and are not above capitalizing on and exaggerating every real and imagined falling of our Congress and Congressman to achieve their goals.

Insatiable welfaremongers see in a national assembly of independent legislators, representing the varied and diverse sectors of America, only a troublesome, and hopefully temporary, roadblock to their national and world designs.

If Congress is to survive the onslaught of the social radicals and the power centrists, it will be because enough Americans saw, through the shower of vilification and criticism of their Congress, the independence, integrity, courage and ability of the men who sat in that Chamber. It will be because enough States were represented by enough men of the caliber of THOMAS B. CURTIN.

Seeking his eighth consecutive term, Mr. CURTIS enjoys a position of respect and power on Capitol Hill far in excess of what even his 14 years seniority would entitle him. Ability has been paired with responsibility.

Public officials invariably come to be known by traits and qualities they show most in evidence. In Mr. CURTIS' case there would have to be first integrity and then perseverence. The Congressman from the Second District is known in congressional parlance as a "man who does his homework."

He is the very antithesis of the urbane, casual, big-city, eastern "Tuesday-to-Thursday-and-home-again" Representative, who doesn't know a support price from a fertilizer tank and who swaps his vote on a billion dollar farm bill for rural help with his urban pork barrel.

Because Mr. CURTIS is a legislative wheelhorse and devotes as many hours to studying issues as many average men spend awake, he casts an intelligent and independent vote and any public criticism of it will invariably bring a bristling and documented CURTIS reply.

In a day when Congressmen are being rated "progressive" and "obstructionist" as they "rubberstamp" or oppose spending schemes pushed by the Chief Executive, the Nation needs all the men of courage and durability it can find in the popular Chamber of Congress. Mr. CURTIS is one such man.

In economics, the science which through history has set men to arming themselves with paving stones from the streets, Mr. CURTIS has few peers on the Hill. Ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, TOM CURTIS was one of two selected by his party to present the Republican position on the matter of tax cuts and reform, when the critical issue was raised by President John F. Kennedy and his Council of Economic Advisers.

Balance of payments, administrative and cash budgets, gold outflow, deficits, monetary policy, wholesale and retail price indexes are rarely the glamorous subjects of headlines which make Congressmen famous. But an administration blunder in these matters can be as damaging to the country as a weakness of Executive willpower at a Bay of Pigs.

The Government and Congress today do not have enough men of knowledge in this critical field; we can hardly afford to lose an expert like TOM CURTIS. He is a credit to his district and State. For reelection from the Second District, we endorse once again TOM CURTIS of Missouri and America.

National Association of Government Engineers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on September 28, 1964, I inserted in the RECORD a news article from the Engineering News Record concerning a new organization called the National Association of Government Engineers which was formed here in Washington.

After the article appeared I received the following letter from my good friend Mr. Ted Moody, president of the association concerning an error in the article from the Engineering News Record. In order to set the facts straight in this matter, I wish to include the letter I received from Mr. Moody as well as a copy

of Mr. Moody's letter to the editor of the Engineering News Record:

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

Congressman OLIN E. TEAGUE,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TEAGUE: I appreciate very much your fine remarks which you put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 28, 1964, about Clyde Emmons and myself. In the article, however, Mr. Roy E. Riddle, one of our incorporators and officials of the association was referred to as a lobbyist. This is incorrect and I enclose a copy of a letter which we forwarded to the Engineering News-Record also advising them of Mr. Riddle's correct position in the association.

Sincerely yours,

TED M. MOODY,
President, NAGE.

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

Mr. ARTHUR J. FOX,
Editor, Engineering News-Record,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. FOX: I was very appreciative of the nice article that you carried in your September 3 edition of your Record concerning my background and that of Mr. Clyde Emmons. There is, however, a correction that I wish to give you in that the executive director, Roy E. Riddle, who was referred to as a Washington lobbyist is not a lobbyist but one of the officials, incorporators, and officers of our new association.

Again my thanks and kind regards for your nice assistance.

Sincerely yours,

TED M. MOODY,
President, NAGE.

Farley Challenges the Polls; Declares They Are Wrong on the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, one of our dedicated public officials and Americans is the Honorable James A. Farley, of New York, former Postmaster General and former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and a successful businessman.

The views of Jim Farley are highly respected. His analysis of various presidential campaigns have been uncanny. His political opinions and predictions have made history in American politics.

Jim Farley recently issued a statement upon certain aspects of the present presidential campaign, which I am pleased to include in my remarks:

FARLEY CHALLENGES THE POLLS—DECLARES THEY ARE WRONG ON THE SOUTH

(Statement by Hon. James A. Farley, former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee)

I predict that President Lyndon B. Johnson will carry the South. I make this statement because my prediction that the President's majority will equal or surpass those of President Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936 has been challenged by some of the public opinion polls.

With all due respect to their techniques, I believe I know the South at least as well as they do.

As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, I worked closely with the great southern leaders during those years. They were statesmen in the highest sense of the word: John Nance Garner and Sam Rayburn, of Texas; Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; Joe Robinson, of Arkansas; Carter Glass, of Virginia; Josiah Bailey, of North Carolina; Walter George, of Georgia; Kenneth McKeller and Joe Byrns, of Tennessee; the Bankheads, of Alabama; and many others of like importance, too numerous to mention.

It was the support of those men and their like which made possible the passing of F.D.R.'s basic legislation.

It is because of my experience here that I challenge the polls. Much of F.D.R.'s program they didn't like, and they certainly expressed their dislikes most strongly to both the President and me. But, after they had made their position clear they made even clearer that they held their principles and their traditions higher. They spoke, and often angrily, for themselves and their States, but they voted in the showdown to sustain the party of their fathers in accepting responsibility before the Nation for its policies. They made known their views as gentlemen, and as gentlemen they accepted the verdict. I predict that the South will follow that pattern.

I might say, in passing, though I hate to offer good advice to a demagogic opposition, that it is also characteristic of southerners that they cannot abide bad manners. I personally think the President's opponents would be defeated south of the Mason-Dixon on their uncouth discourtesy alone.

To the unromantic, who discount the traditions and chivalry of the Old South, I am of the opinion that the new South will support President Johnson at least as strongly as the traditionalists. Do you realize that the southerners I have named, within the Democratic Party, have waged war on poverty—and successfully—for 30 years? The President isn't proposing anything radical; he is carrying out the tradition handed to him by southerners.

Why in 1932, cotton, corn, and tobacco were the only mainstays of the southern economy. Talk about carpetbaggers? Who do you think stopped child labor but the Democratic Party with southern support. Talk about power? What party do you think brought electricity to the farm? Talk about water and conservation? What party do you think built the great dams which made new industry thrive there? Talk about intelligent conservation? There was nobody more conservative than Texan Jesse Jones, but when he finished his work the South was humming with new factories instead of groaning under Republican poverty.

The President's opponent states that he is going to stop completely the farm subsidy program. This, in effect, is asking the South to put him in the White House so he can put the South in the poorhouse.

Not only would the opposition candidate sell TVA but he would abolish rural electrification. Possibly his efforts to turn off the electricity in southern homes is coupled with his desire to prevent the rural South from having TV—where they can witness his ludicrous performances for themselves.

It is also my experience that every southerner, new or old, is a romantic. Before election day, every southerner will ask himself—how would Gen. Robert E. Lee have voted?

I can't—and I don't know anyone else who can imagine Gen. Robert E. Lee voting against a southerner who has served the whole Nation by carrying on the traditions of the South. And so, I repeat my prediction. Far from revising it downward I am revising it upward. I predict that by the third week in October the polls will reverse themselves and show that the South will overwhelmingly support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

The Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, as the Peace Corps launches on its fourth year of activity in foreign lands, it becomes increasingly apparent that this experiment in practical idealism has met with phenomenal success. When President Kennedy signed into law the bill creating it on a permanent basis, on September 22, 1961, the Peace Corps had been operating on a pilot basis since March of that year; but most of that time had been spent in preparatory steps preliminary to service in the field.

In the 3 years that it has been in operation overseas, it has won almost unmitigated praise both abroad and at home. Every country to which it has gone—and the Peace Corps goes only where it is invited by the government of the country—it has been asked to return and expand.

Some of the host countries have set up Peace Corps type projects of their own. Many other countries have begun programs patterned after the U.S. Peace Corps. In this flattering imitation of the American venture, we find fruition of that idea expressed by that man of vision, our beloved President Kennedy, when, in March 1961, he hoped that "our own effort [would be] only one step in a major international effort to increase the welfare of all men and to improve understanding among nations."

At home the Peace Corps has overcome the voices of the skeptics. This is the more remarkable because some of the early criticism of the idea was strong against it. When it was proposed, it was expected that it would be a flasco. More than one Member of Congress has admitted agreeable surprise at his error in prejudgment. Some of the sternest critics have become the most earnest supporters of the Peace Corps in action.

When, in fact, the Peace Corps volunteers took up their idealistic missions abroad and began the process of helping others to help themselves, it was not long before the words of one favorable prophecy began to come true. When Senator HUMPHREY had been asked what he thought of the proposed program, he had foreseen that "the effect of the Peace Corps would be invaluable. The citizen of an undeveloped country may," he said, "forget a can of American supplies quickly consumed. He may resent a load of American guns turned over to his government. But his memory of working with and sharing the skills of an American citizen will be strong and enduring * * * America's best resource is its people."

When the Peace Corps volunteers—young and old—go to the underdeveloped countries, willing and prepared to adjust their accustomed way of life to the hard-

ships, living conditions, work, recreation, and customs of the natives, the accomplishment of their physical mission is but a small part of the forces which they have set in motion for future accomplishment, for sympathy and understanding, for goodwill, and for mutuality of hope. They, too, have learned; and not a small part of the benefit of a Peace Corps tour of duty is the preparation for service in the various fields of international endeavor which are open and in need of persons of experience and understanding. The U.S. Government and private enterprise, at home and abroad, have welcomed the Peace Corps "graduates" and seek the products of such training.

More than all of the benefits to the recipients of Peace Corps aid, more than all the benefits to the Peace Corps volunteer himself, there are, however, the benefits that rebound to the United States from the sum of that experience. The image of this country abroad has, in some instances, been reversed: from "Yanqui, go home!" to "Yanqui, come back!" In every country where the volunteer has served, there has been appreciation of this different sort of ambassador. More and more countries have asked to have the Peace Corps volunteers come to them.

The Peace Corps has, above all else, succeeded in its fulfillment of that final purpose for which it was created: "to increase through such exchange of knowledge the chances of mutual understanding and of peace on earth." It has earned its name: the Peace Corps.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive—An Encouraging Beginning, VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in parts 1 through 5 of this report, I outlined briefly the progress of the investigation undertaken 18 months ago by the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. This investigation is concerned solely with programs which comprise the fourth dimension of our foreign policy; namely, programs which provide support for our foreign policy by reaching, informing, and influencing foreign audiences. Our activities in this dimension of foreign policy, their effectiveness and success, may well decide the outcome of the cold war.

In summary, during the past 18 months, my subcommittee:

First. Held two series of hearings during which we received testimony from some 70 witnesses. These hearings have been published in eight volumes;

Second. Had prepared under its direction, and published, an inventory of governmental programs operating in the third dimension of foreign policy;

Third. Issued two reports which included a number of specific recommendations for strengthening our effort in this field; and

Fourth. Initiated a survey of activities conducted abroad by private U.S. citizens and organizations—activities which have a bearing on the implementation of our foreign policy.

This summary of the subcommittee's activities does not convey, of course, the full impact of our undertaking. I say this because it is often impossible to measure the indirect effects of an investigation of this type. We have concentrated primarily on getting together a body of information about the subject under study. Simultaneously, however, we have pointed out shortcomings which exist in some of our programs, suggested areas in which new approaches could be tried, and lent our support to innovations and improvements which, in some cases, were being considered in the executive branch and which, on the basis of our investigation, appeared sound to us.

The results of our efforts in such cases are reflected in a number of tangible improvements which have been put into effect during the past year and a half. We do not claim full credit for them. But I believe that our activities were at least partly instrumental in bringing them about.

Last month, for instance, the President issued a memorandum to the heads of executive departments and agencies, directing them to exert every effort to assure that competent, qualified citizens of the United States be available for service on the staffs of international agencies—a development which has been of interest to our subcommittee and which was dealt with in our Report No. 1 on "U.S. Participation in the International Labor Organization."

Similarly, earlier this year there was established in the executive branch an interdepartmental Foreign Area Research Coordinating Group—an innovation which was strongly recommended by our subcommittee in Report No. 2. In that report, we dealt at length with the shortcomings in the coordination of governmental research in foreign affairs. We also made this recommendation:

> Effective methods must be evolved to insure that the results of research conducted by Government agencies are promptly made available to all agencies concerned with foreign policy operations. Other arrangements must be worked out to divide research assignments and make certain that all requirements are covered to the extent that funds are available. A system of priorities must be established and enforced to insure that scarce resources—human and financial—are applied first to the most urgent tasks.

The establishment of the coordinating group is a step in the direction recommended by this subcommittee.

Similarly, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency earlier this year established a Social Science Advisory Board to advise the Agency on matters of social science research—another innovation which our subcommittee considers significant and desirable from the standpoint of foreign policy operations.

In still another field, the representatives of several government agencies who have contact with private American organizations operating abroad, have put their heads together and are trying to devise steps which will promote more effective cooperation—a development which we have encouraged.

There is one more area that I would like to mention—the area of cultural and educational exchanges—in which our subcommittee has been active. We have seen a number of improvements in these programs in recent times. For example, greater effort is being made to evaluate and to improve current methods for handling foreign nationals brought to the United States under Government sponsorship for education, training, or observation. These visitors are being afforded much greater exposure than ever before to our way of life, our political and social institutions, our philosophy of government, and the goals of our foreign policy. This has been vigorously advocated by our subcommittee.

These are but a few examples of changes which have been put into effect during the past year and a half with the encouragement and support of this subcommittee.

On the negative side, there are a number of recommendations which our subcommittee has made but which have not been implemented to date. I hope that we will see some improvement in this situation during the coming year.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding this report, I want to make one thing clear: while the beginning has been encouraging, the job which our subcommittee undertook is far from being completed. We have much work ahead of us. And we intend to see it done.

I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. THOMAS E. MORGAN, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, whose understanding and support have made our project possible.

I also want to thank the distinguished members of my subcommittee: Representatives L. H. FOUNTAIN, of North Carolina; OMAR BURLESON, of Texas; DONALD M. FRASER, of Minnesota; PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey; ROBERT R. BARRY, of New York; and H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, whose ability, patience, and tact have enabled us to move as far as we have during these past 18 months. Their devotion to the public good warrants the respect of every patriotic American.

The Spirit of '64

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, an interesting campaign song entitled the "Spirit of '64" has been suggested in the current campaign. In a letter to Publisher Loeb of my State's largest newspaper, Mr. Edward Lewis, of Durham, N.H., has in-

cluded all of its stanzas as well as the melody.

Under unanimous consent, I am inserting Mr. Lewis' letter and the song in the RECORD because much of the sentiment therein expressed includes some issues of vast importance to American citizens and taxpayers on November 3.

WORDS AND MUSIC

DEAR MR. LOEB: Doggerel and jingles, set to music, have done much to foster, quicken and sustain the spirit of political movements in this country ever since "Yankee Doodle" was tootled on the fifes and whistled and sung by the troops of the American Revolution.

The crisis confronting us today is as great as any America has faced since 1776.

The people must be awakened, alerted and aroused to the point where, by their sustained and concerted action, the entrenched forces of subversion now controlling the Federal administration and leading us into bankruptcy, tyranny, and chaos will be swept from power, and America's traditional liberty, freedom, security, and independence under limited constitutional government, restored.

I have a letter from Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., endorsing the enclosed campaign song in which he says, " 'The Spirit of '64' is very cleverly written," and congratulating me upon its authorship.

If you find it available for publication perhaps it may be copied in other papers; and if, in this way, it might possibly contribute in some measure to the success of the Republican presidential campaign, nothing would make me happier.

EDWARD A. LEWIS.

P.S.—Because some of the verses require a slight variation in the rhythm, I have written out the melody (not printed in RECORD) for the second stanza.

"THE SPIRIT OF '64

"The government's nose
Is getting too long,
It's being poked in
Where it doesn't belong.
We're fed up to here,
And we're pretty darn sore—
We're voting for GOLDWATER
in '64.

"The anual budget
Again has us set
Adrift on the ocean
Of billowing debt.
Oh, pull for the shore, sailors!
Pull for the shore—
With BARRY M. GOLDWATER
in '64.

"When Nikita Khrushchev
Has nothing to eat,
And comes begging to us
For American wheat,
Who would hand him his hat
And show him the door?
BARRY M. GOLDWATER
in '64.

"We are not afraid
Of the Big Black Beard—
Turn on the heat
Until Cuba is cleared.
Don't give us that jazz
About nuclear war:
Vote for BARRY GOLDWATER
in '64.

"The fair welfare state
With its Federal grants,
Is picking the pockets
Of the taxpayers' pants.
This vote-buying racket
We refuse to ignore—
We're voting for GOLDWATER
in '64.

"We have doled out a billion
In lush foreign aid,
And what have we got
But fond hopes betrayed?
Who is the man
To have tending the store?
BARRY M. GOLDWATER
in '64.

"While the eggheaded 'liberals'
Raise particular cain,
Constitutional government
Goes down the drain.
To put in a saving
Conservative oar
We're voting for GOLDWATER,
in '64.

"It is time, once again,
To 'Let Freedom Ring,'
As it did in the days
When we broke with the king.
We can do it again
Like we did it before,
If we vote for GOLDWATER,
in '64."

Mississippi Terror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, now that the summer volunteers have left Mississippi, there is a new wave of violence. It is difficult to appreciate the courage it requires of anyone in Mississippi to exercise his constitutional rights, rights that are taken for granted in other parts of the Nation.

In order to deepen our understanding of the situation in Mississippi, I call attention of my colleagues to an article by Drew Pearson published in the New York Post on September 30, 1964. This article conveys the terror and breakdown of law in Mississippi and the courageous determination of those who continue to fight for freedom in that State. It follows:

[From the New York Post, Sept. 30, 1964]

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

WASHINGTON.—Willie J. Dillon of McComb, Miss., was out in his ward repairing a COFO car on August 27, when he was warned not to do so; his home later was dynamited, according to the account given the Justice Department by Willie's wife.

Charged with operating a garage without a license and illegally using electricity, he was tried next day without opportunity to secure a lawyer or to have his wife present.

"You might as well plead guilty. It'll save you a lot of money," he was advised by McComb authorities, according to the account given to the Justice Department.

Willie got 9 months in jail plus a $600 fine, and Mrs. Dillon quoted the sheriff as saying, "If you don't cooperate with us instead of COFO, more than this will happen to you."

He was referring to the Council of Federated Organizations, which sent freedom workers to Mississippi all last summer. But following their partial withdrawal, a wave of violence has broken out in McComb against Negroes who cooperated with them.

Since September 6 there have been five bombings in Pike County, in which McComb is located.

Mrs. Ora Bryant, whose home was bombed, spoke to the Justice Department.

"I run a lunch counter," she said. "It's very small. I sell soft drinks and cigarets and the COFO workers used to come in. I didn't run 'em away like some people do. I tried to be nice to 'em, and they sat out on my lawn in chairs to relax.

"So when the bombings started, I said to my husband: 'We're going to be next.' We were. On the night it happened, we closed up around 11 or 12. I was nervous and couldn't sleep. I heard a car park in front of the house and looked out the window. Then the lights of another car came along. The first car drove away, but it circled around and came back.

"I had my shotgun and I sat there. I see the car come back and park, and I see people move around in the car. Then they threw the dynamite and I shot at them. The first dynamite didn't amount to much; so the car drove off, then came back, fired two shots at me and set off a much bigger blast. There was a terrific explosion. My husband fell to his knees, praying. Thank goodness he wasn't hurt."

After the three Mississippi women had told their story to the Justice Department and the President, they got a telephone call from friends in Mississippi, warning them not to return. Newspaper accounts of their visit to Washington had been published locally and tension against them was high.

I telephoned George Guy, McComb chief of police, to ask whether this was true and whether he could guarantee protection for the women when they returned. He said he could not.

"I am very much concerned," he said. "McComb has been getting a very black eye. I have only 15 officers and 25 auxiliary police and it's not enough to prevent these bombings. There have been 15 to 16 bombings this summer. It's a dangerous situation."

America's Conscience Fund, headed by Gov. Pat Brown, of California, and Charles Taft, of Cincinnati, has now contributed $1,000 toward the rebuilding of McComb's Society Hill Baptist Church, bombed the night of September 20. However, its funds are running low.

But the prevention of the dynamiting beforehand, rather than repairing the damage afterward, should be the main goal, and even more important is the repairing of the damage in men's hearts. For these problems the Justice Department had no answers.

"We're not running a police state," Burke Marshall told the three Mississippi women when they called on him. "We are doing everything we can."

Meanwhile, the FBI has been curtailing its manpower in Mississippi in order to concentrate on the problem of northern race riots.

However, President Johnson promised the three Mississippi women, when he saw them, that he would increase FBI strength in that part of Mississippi.

Los Angeles Custom House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on my last trip to Los Angeles I had the honor of visiting with several of the officers and

members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

These prominent community leaders are strongly of the opinion that the proposed plan to move most of the customs offices now located in downtown Los Angeles to the harbor area should be reconsidered.

In fact, it is my understanding that all major organizations in Los Angeles having any connection with international trade and customs matters are unanimous in agreeing that the principal facilities of the Customs Service at Los Angeles should be maintained in the downtown area, where they have always been located.

These organizations include the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Businessmen's Association, the Foreign Trade Association of Southern California, the Customs Brokers and Freight Forwarders Association, the Licensed Customs Brokers Association of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles Steamship Association, and the Consular Corps.

On behalf of these groups, Miss Marjorie M. Shostak, one of the leading customs attorneys in Los Angeles, and chairman of the Committee on Import Legislation and Customs Problems of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, has written me a thoughtful and comprehensive letter listing the reasons they believe this proposed move should be reconsidered.

Mr. Speaker, I agree wholeheartedly with the committee on import legislation and customs problems for the reasons which I now wish to outline:

First. Construction of a customhouse in the harbor area to house the principal offices of U.S. Customs in the Los Angeles Customs District would greatly inconvenience the substantial business interests in the downtown area who are the principal users of the customs facilities there. These include the customhouse brokers (over 40 firms), the freight forwarders, the international departments of all the banks, and the steamship companies, now located within 1 mile from the present offices of the customs service in downtown Los Angeles. The importers, exporters, and consular offices are also concentrated in and around the downtown area of Los Angeles, within a radius of 5 or 6 miles of the present downtown customs offices.

Second. Unless adequate facilities are maintained in the downtown area to handle the customs work done there, the service firms, such as the customhouse brokers, freight forwarders, steamship companies, and international departments of the banks would be forced to move their offices from their present convenient downtown locations close to their customers and other Government offices with which they must deal, to the harbor area location 22 miles away.

Third. Maintaining only an entry division to file customs entries and a cashier of customs to receive payment of duties in the downtown area would be totally inadequate, as files must be maintained downtown for inspection by customs brokers, importers, and their attorneys.

Fourth. The plan to move the principal offices of customs from downtown Los Angeles to the harbor location was predicated on acceptance of the plan by the users of customs, 90 percent of whom are located in the downtown area.

See Report of Commissioner of Customs to Secretary of Treasury, dated June 5, 1961, page 12:

> Customs should not agree to locate in a harbor World Trade Center until it is shown that a respectable portion of the users will move, too, if customs does, and do so voluntarily.

See also remarks of Commissioner of Customs at hearing before Subcommittee of Committee on Public Works, U.S. Senate, June 27, 1962, acknowledging that moving customs to the harbor would "gravely inconvenience * * * the users of customs, the importers, and the customhouse brokers," and that 90 percent of the users would use a downtown branch rather than one located at the harbor, at page 23.

Fifth. The Commissioner of Customs, in his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee, indicated that if the plan to house customs in the harbor area and to house the users in a World Trade Center to be constructed in that area, was not accepted and implemented, he would not be in favor of proceeding with the harbor area plan.

Sixth. The users of customs located in the central area of Los Angeles have not accepted the plan, and are as much opposed to moving the customs offices to the harbor area as they were at the time of the hearings at Los Angeles befor the Commissioner of Customs in 1961, when the Commissioner acknowledged (in his report of June 5, 1961, page 10), that the 90 percent of users of customs in the downtown area made an overwhelming case against the harbor area site.

Seventh. The 40 customs brokerage firms in the downtown area alone, account for about 500 employees who would be forced to leave the downtown area or seek other employment. Many of the employees have indicated an unwillingness to work in the harbor area. This would cause grave personnel problems to these firms, as these employees require special training and are difficult to replace.

Eighth. Many of these firms feel that it would be necessary for them to maintain offices in the harbor area and downtown, to properly service their customers, which would add substantially to the cost of customs clearance of imported merchandise at the ports in our customs district. Increased costs of customs clearance could well adversely affect the continued growth of international trade through our port.

Ninth. Removal of these firms from the downtown area would result in loss of business by restaurants, department stores, and other establishments now patronized by these firms and their employees.

Tenth. Moving the customshouse to the harbor area would not result in any substantial saving in operating costs to the customs service. Cost of transporting packages for examination to the appraiser's stores is based on handling, not on mileage carried. In any event, examinations are made at the dock in many cases, by personnel already stationed at the docks. However, travel of customs officials to importers' premises would be greatly increased, since importers' premises are located throughout the metropolitan area in a 40-mile radius from the present downtown location of customs.

Eleventh. Customs operates very efficiently from its present location; the cost of administration in the Los Angeles Customs District is only 2.7 cents per dollar of revenue collected, one of the lowest figures shown by any customs district.

Twelfth. Removal of the customs offices from downtown Los Angeles will inconvenience 90 percent of the users and is not required for adequate service to the harbor area, where customs offices have been maintained, since 1911, to handle work arising there. These offices (now in the harbor area) include the entire Marine Division, which handles the entry and clearance of vessels, and enforcement and inspectional personnel required at the harbor area. Export documents can be filed at the harbor or downtown, but the greater number are filed downtown, by far, as indicated in the Commissioner's report, page 9, giving the following statistics for the first 4 months of 1961: 74,381 export declarations filed downtown, and 5,844 at San Pedro.

Thirteen. The customs offices in Los Angeles offer better service to the importing public from their present locations than would be available if the downtown offices were removed to the harbor area. Our complex metropolitan area, served by air, sea, and rail, requires facilities at the harbor, at the airport, and in the downtown area where most of the persons using the customs offices are located. Facilities were established at the International Airport several years ago, to properly process air importations, and will be maintained there; there is no plan to close the airport office in order to consolidate customs offices in the Los Angeles Customs District under one roof.

Fourteen. The proposed plans for a world trade center in the harbor area have not materialized, for construction on Terminal Island, and most of the users in the downtown area do not want to move, even if such facilities were available, because of the many inconveniences of a harbor area location.

Fifteen. The Bureau of Customs recently authorized the collector of customs at Houston to move his offices from the Civic Center area of downtown Houston to another building in downtown Houston closer to the customs brokers and steamship companies. The reason stated was that the move was "in the best interests of the brokers, importers, and other users of customs who will have more ready access to the customs offices with which they deal and that customs will attain better public relations."

This was accomplished through the efforts and assistance of Congressman ALBERT THOMAS, of Houston.

Sixteen. The same objectives should be sought at Los Angeles, as indicated in

the letter of Ken Hamanaka, custom house broker of Los Angeles, in his letter of July 13, 1964, to the Commissioner of customs, copy attached. Mr. Hamanaka's views are typical of the views of the customs brokers and other users of customs in Los Angeles.

Seventeen. While the reply received by Hamanaka from the Bureau of Customs stated that the situation at Houston was not regarded as comparable to that at Los Angeles, it is apparent that the relocation of the collector of customs office in Houston was for the convenience of the brokers, importers, and other users of customs, and that the facilities were not removed from the downtown area of Houston solely to combine them under one roof in another custom building at the ship channel 15 miles from downtown Houston, where other customs personnel are stationed.

Mississippi Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, since June when the Council of Federated Organizations—COFO—undertook the Mississippi summer project to aid in the struggle for equality, there have been murders, numerous beatings, bombings, and other acts of violence and terror in that State. For a brief time the Nation's attention was focused on Mississippi when three dedicated young civil rights workers were ruthlessly murdered. However, the violence and terror continue. It is imperative that all of us are aware of the situation in Mississippi. To aid in our understanding of the events in Mississippi, I call the attention of my colleagues to an article by Marquis Childs which appeared in the Washington Post of September 30, 1964. The article follows:

THE DILEMMA THAT MISSISSIPPI POSES

(By Marquis Childs)

Bombings and burnings of Negro churches and homes in Mississippi have become epidemic apparently in revenge against those who attempted in the long hot summer to register Negro voters.

The only conclusion that can be reached is the one so long evident—that this is done with the connivance, if not the cooperation, of law enforcement officials in many communities. In short, the lawlessness of Mississippi is winked at, if not sanctioned, by duly constituted authority. That is the allegation of three Negro women from McComb who had the courage—effrontery in the Mississippi view—to try to register to vote.

They came to ask whether the Federal Government did not have power to check the epidemic of bombing and burning. In the midst of the campaign conflict—northern lawlessness versus southern lawlessness—this is an embarrassing question.

Civil rights leaders such as Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., have been arguing for months that the Federal Government does have authority under statutes going back as far as Shay's Rebellion to protect individuals or groups deprived of their constitutional rights. The Department of Justice insists that sending U.S. marshals into, say, McComb where tension is great would only provoke more violence and perhaps open rebellion. Any flare up requiring the mass use of marshals or troops, as at Oxford, would acutely embarrass the President throughout the South at this point.

President Johnson said more than 6 weeks ago that arrests for the murder of the three civil rights workers at Philadelphia, Miss., in June would come soon. There have been no arrests. A Federal grand jury at Biloxi—23 members including one Negro—is examining the evidence in a series of racial crimes including murders. They are attempting to show a pattern of intimidation of Negroes to deprive them of rights guaranteed all American citizens.

But this effort confronts the ancient refusal of white juries to convict white men of crimes against Negroes. The murder of Medgar Evers, State head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has gone unpunished. And that is only one of many instances.

The painful reality is that Mississippi is isolating itself completely and this is a fact the Federal Government cannot forever ignore. As Prof. James W. Silver has shown in his courageous and forthright book, Mississippi is a "closed society" and the attempt of young white and Negro students from the North to register Negro voters seems to cause even greater resistance to any outside influence.

The political meaning of this isolation is written large. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is certain to carry Mississippi—as certain as anything can be in politics. Gov. Paul B. Johnson and the party hierarchy—with two notable exceptions—have given their public blessing to a protest vote overriding the traditional prejudice against Republicans.

The exceptions are the two Mississippi Senators, JAMES O. EASTLAND and JOHN STENNIS. They have key committee assignments in the Senate. STENNIS ranks high on the Appropriations and the Aeronautical and Space Science Committees, which could be one reason so many hundreds of millions are going into NASA projects in Mississippi. On Armed Services he is second only to Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL, of Georgia.

EASTLAND as chairman of the Judiciary Committee exerts a powerful, if often unspoken, veto over the Department of Justice in its relations with Congress. Up until the discovery of the bodies of the three murdered civil rights workers he was saying that their disappearance was a hoax.

If they keep quiet during the campaign presumably they will retain their posts of power and privilege. This course contrasts sharply with that of Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina. A segregationist, long in rebellion against the Democratic Party, he has become a Republican and an active GOLDWATER backer, touring with the Republican candidate in the South.

This must seem, however belately it has come about, an honest decision based on conviction. THURMOND has given up his committee seniority on the Democratic side. While Senate Republicans say they will be good to him, he cannot be sure how much this means.

Senator GOLDWATER had at one point scheduled a stop in Mississippi. The stop was canceled and the apparently will not visit the State. Since astute appraisers rate the vote there currently as about 60 to 40 in his favor it would obviously be a waste of time.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette Urges Support in High Interest Fight; Representative Patman Is Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, our diligent colleague, the able chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, has received strong support for his monetary proposals from the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette, of which W. E. Chilton III is the publisher. Mr. Chilton is a grandson of a former distinguished U.S. Senator from West Virginia, William Edwin Chilton.

After having carefully evaluated Representative PATMAN's speech of August 3, 1964—the A B C's of America's money system—in the House, the editors of the Gazette concluded that "Solon Needs Support in High Interest Fight." That was the headline of the cogent editorial that appeared in the August 19, 1964, issue of the Charleston morning newspaper, and the one with the largest daily circulation in West Virginia.

The Gazette noted:

As chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, PATMAN has for years led an almost one-man crusade against the domination of the Federal Reserve System by bankers.

He seeks to return control of the Fed to Government, to make its actions directly responsive to the President and Congress.

The Charleston morning newspaper concluded its incisive editorial by commending Representative PATMAN "for his gallant and longstanding battle against what appears to be insurmountable odds. He has earned the gratitude of the Nation. But he will need the total support of the American people to win."

Chairman PATMAN acknowledges that he has received criticism of his position as expressed in his historic speech on the Nation's money system, but he reports increasing editorial and other support following distribution of more than 200,000 copies of his speech in the House.

Mr. President, having served with Representative PATMAN in the other body, and having continued our friendship and cooperative efforts through the years, I attest to his unsurpassed diligence, his fund of knowledge, especially in economic and financial fields, and his steadfastness in espousing the principles in which he believes.

I am pleased to have this opportunity in the closing hours of this 88th Congress to pay tribute to the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee for his faithful and outstanding service in the other body for 17 consecutive terms since March 4, 1929. Only four incumbent Members of the House have served longer in point of consecutive terms; namely, Representatives CARL VINSON, of Georgia; EMANUEL CELLER, of New York; JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts, and Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the editorial from the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette to which reference has been made.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOLON NEEDS SUPPORT IN HIGH INTEREST FIGHT

There's a small and bitter war being waged in Washington that few Americans know or care about.

Yet its outcome will affect the future of every citizen for years to come. The issue is simple: Who should control the Federal Reserve Board?

As presently constituted, the Board is empowered to manufacture money which it lends or uses to purchase Government securities. This power of the Fed determines credit control of the Nation's monetary system; it can dictate high or low interest rates on all money borrowed.

This year the American people will pay $75 billion in gross interest charges for the use of money, goods or services. About $11 billion of this interest charge will be for annual interest on the national debt.

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, charges that this money paid to moneylenders will rob this and future generations of funds to build better schools, parks, hospitals, roads and other things so essential to our national well-being.

As chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, PATMAN has for years led an almost one-man crusade against the domination of the Federal Reserve System by bankers. He seeks to return control of the Fed to Government, to make its actions directly responsive to the President and Congress.

Only in this way, PATMAN claims, can we avoid further manipulation by the financial giants to drive America hopelessly in debt.

Although "independent," the 50-year-old Fed is supported by taxpayers. Last year its operation cost more than $100 million; Alfred Hayes, President of the all-powerful New York Federal Reserve Bank, receives an annual salary of $70,000. His salary was set by the Federal Reserve—not by Congress—although it is paid by taxpayers. Only the President of the United States receives a higher salary from tax money.

Increased interest rates by the Fed since the early 1950's have accelerated our financial troubles, under the guise of controlling inflation and gold loss, PATMAN charges. By arbitrarily boosting charges on Government securities—thus controlling the reserves of more than 6,000 member banks in the Federal Reserve System—the interest on our national debt has been boosted by $40 billion.

"If we had maintained the interest rates in effect prior to the Eisenhower regime," PATMAN continues, "the carrying charges on our entire national debt would be $6 billion instead of $11 billion per year and the debt itself would be $270 billion rather than $310 billion."

Within the next 15 years present policy of the Fed will lead to a $600 billion national debt—and taxpayers will be forced to pay an astounding $36 billion a year in interest charges. This money paid for the use of money would amount to three-fourths of the present defense budget—and three dozen times more than the total cost of President Johnson's antipoverty program.

It is significant, too, that in the period when Congress has shirked its constitutional duty to control money and shifted this power into the hands of the banker-controlled Federal Reserve Board banks profits have reached alltime highs. Time magazine reports that in the first half of 1964 the Nation's major banks' profits rose 9 percent above 1963.

PATMAN's efforts to recapture control of the Fed have run into some fantastic lobbying opposition in Washington. Last week a member of his Banking Committee revealed an offer of $15,000 worth of bank stock from a businessman in Texas.

The influential American Banker newspaper spokesman for the American Banking Association. editorially dismisses PATMAN's charges as "arrant nonsense" and says he is conducting an emotional and illogical vendetta against the existing monetary system.

However PATMAN's charges are painfully documented; the American Banking Association's are not.

For the past 6 months the committee has heard a parade of witnesses, including top officers of the Federal Reserve System. It also listened to the testimony of 23 economic experts of diverse backgrounds and viewpoints. All were in substantial agreement that reform is needed—not only of the Federal Reserve System structure which permits bankers to control their own actions—but of the Fed's basic policies.

We commend Representative PATMAN for his gallant and longstanding battle against what appears to be insurmountable odds. He has earned the gratitude of the Nation. But he will need the total support of the American people to win.

William McCauley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it is with feelings of great esteem that I speak of William McCauley, Director of the Bureau of Employees' Compensation of the Department of Labor, who is retiring today after 46 years of the most dedicated and outstanding service to the Federal Government and the American people. With his retirement, the Government will lose an executive of great

ability and a man of deep feeling for his fellow man. He has been not only sympathetic but highly constructive and responsible to the human needs of Federal employees, their dependents, and others who have been covered by the Federal Workmens' Compensation laws.

There are few public servants who have labored longer or with more devotion to duty, more talent or more loyalty than William McCauley. His record of service should be honored by all Americans who ask their public servants to go beyond the call of duty and exemplify the highest kind of dedication, integrity and honor in both their public and private lives. He has had a long and splendid working relationship with Congress. His entire career makes him a rightful recipient of honor and recognition by this body as well as by millions of Americans throughout this country and in other parts of the world. It is fitting indeed that we pause and pay tribute to the selfless devotion and accomplishments of this official.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 12, 1894, Mr. McCauley is the father of five children. During World War I, he served in the 16th Infantry, 162d D Battalion from May 1918 to May 1919. He received a high school education and prior to his initial appointment with the Government, worked as a bookkeeper for 3 years in Hot Springs, Ark.

The career of William M. McCauley in the Federal service provides a striking example of the Federal career system at its best. It is the story of a young man of 25, beginning his employment in 1918 as a clerk at $1,200 per year in a small organization of about 70 people, the old U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission, and through outstanding ability and devotion to his public trust, becoming Director of the Bureau of Employees' Compensation. This Bureau is responsible for administering Federal compensation laws covering close to 4 million workers.

Mr. McCauley's employment began 11 years after the enactment of the first compensation law in this country. This was only 3 years after the U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission was organized in 1916. Throughout most of his career, he has played a major role not only in the administration and interpretation of laws as enacted by Congress, but in the pioneering associated with workmen's compensation legislation, which was the forerunner of all social legislation in the United States.

In the development of workmen's compensation systems, the Federal Government's system and its administration have served as models for the various States. In awakening the public's responsibility to caring for the injured and their families, as well as in the legislation enacted to provide worker protection, Mr. McCauley has played an important role. The influence of the work performed by the Bureau of Employees' Compensation, under Mr. McCauley's direction and leadership, has been profound not only throughout the United States but in many foreign countries.

Until today, in his 71st year, he has directed and coordinated a comprehensive and complex program of workmen's compensation throughout the United States. It is noteworthy that, during most of his career, he has had to make important policy and program decisions in this pioneering field, with very little to aid him in translating the broad objectives of the Federal compensation laws into effective organizations and operations.

Despite varied and frequent amendments to the basic laws which have occurred during the past 35 or 40 years, he has invariably displayed high executive and administrative competence in carrying out the spirit and letter of congressional mandates, and in providing invaluable advice to Members of Congress. As an administrator, he has had to coordinate the complex legal, medical, actuarial and adjudicative requirements of the laws for which he was responsible.

The progressive importance of the responsibilities which he has had to assume may be somewhat gaged by the great expansion of the Federal employees compensation coverage and benefits which occurred in the last 46 years. From September 7, 1916, to October 31, 1917, the Commission received a total of 13,337 injury reports. The Bureau now receives approximately 200,000 injury reports annually. The annual budget has increased from $87,000 in 1918 to approximately $75 million at present. In terms of benefits, on a dollar basis, the job has increased more than 500 fold.

During the past 48 years since the Federal employees' compensation system went into effect, almost 8 million workers and their families have received medical and compensation benefits. In the development and expansion of the Bureau's operations, Mr. McCauley has demonstrated his ability to mold an efficient, economical organization that would best carry out the principles and laws on Federal workmen's compensation.

Over the years, he has demonstrated a capacity to meet the needs of the times, and with changing economic conditions has shown keen foresight and judgment in initiating action that would best serve the public interest. This has demanded perception, judgment, and responsibility of an exceptional nature. Decentralization of Bureau operations, the development of a rehabilitation program, and the initiation of legislation that liberalized benefits for injured workers and their families are examples of his progressiveness in meeting some of the current challenges of the Federal compensation program. By such action, equity of financial benefit has been achieved, claims are being adjudicated more rapidly, and a closer, more direct approach to claimants has been provided. Rehabilitation services, going beyond the limitations of financial assistance, have helped restore disabled workers to positions of productiveness and dignity.

In his dealings with congressional committees, Members of Congress, innumerable Government officials, union representatives, and representatives of foreign governments, he has invariably earned high praise for his sound recommendations, integrity, fairness, and dynamic leadership. He has resolutely taken the steps to assure equity in administering the Federal compensation program, and has consistently demonstrated his sympathetic understanding of the human problems underlying the letter of the law. His dedication to the public service, in every sense, has been a vital force to his own organization and to the American workers who have benefited through that organization. That he has admirably achieved both humanitarian and Government objectives is amply confirmed by the record and by the esteem in which he is held by worker and official alike.

In the administration of the Federal workmens' compensation program, Mr. McCauley has been confronted, continually, with the social and economic problems arising from accident, death, disease, disaster, and war. In meeting these problems, he has demonstrated a keen sense of social awareness that has been coupled with exceptional executive ability. He has practiced vigilant alertness to assure that the programs fulfill both the spirit and the letter of the law. His position has been a public trust, affecting the lives and economic security of a vast number of Federal workers and their families, and throughout his entire Government career he has never lost sight of the significance of this deep public trust.

That he has been a dedicated official of the highest distinction is readily apparent to all who have ever been in contact with him. In him are combined humility, humaneness, personal integrity, and great constructive energy. In the face of perplexing administrative and legislative problems, organizational and geographic displacements and the complexities of dealing with changes in his own superiors, he has invariably impressed all with whom he has dealt with his fairness, his sense of justice, and his strong, vital interest in his fellow human being.

Possessed of warm human traits, which have been combined with administrative and executive ability of the highest degree, this able official has been self-effacing and modest to the point of humility. These are traits which have endeared him to all with whom he has come in contact. In short, he has combined competence of a high order with innate modesty in the best American tradition. His career has meant to him but one thing—service, loyalty, and devotion to the American people and their Government.

In recognition of his outstanding service to the Government and the Nation, he received the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service. It is the highest honor the Government can bestow on a civilian employee. The award was made by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on January 11, 1961, at the White House. Mr. McCauley is the first and only Labor Department employee to receive this award.

The award citation was as follows:

A man of unusual foresight, judgment, and executive competence, he has exercised a profound influence in developing the Federal employees compensation system to serve the human needs of the times.

Through his keen sense of social awareness and superior administrative ability, he has greatly alleviated for Federal personnel and their families the social and economic problems arising from accident, disease, and disaster.

The Distinguished Service Award of the Department of Labor was made to Mr. McCauley by the Secretary of Labor on January 12, 1964. The citation was as follows:

For more than four decades of dedicated service and profound influence on the Federal workmen's compensation program; for his keen foresight, sound judgment, integrity, and fairness in directing the Bureau's program.

It is obvious that William McCauley has earned the commendation of this body. I wish to offer him also our congratulations on his retirement, our compliments and our best wishes for the fruitful and happy years which lie ahead for this distinguished gentleman.

Zero Defects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, earlier this year Mr. Ed Woll, general manager of the small aircraft engine department of the General Electric Co., delivered to the U.S. Army Missile Command an address concerning his firm's zero defects program.

I think this program is an excellent one. It is designed to provide the Government and the firm's private customers a better product at a better price. I believe that Members of the Senate will be very much interested in the program and its application to other industries.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Woll's address be printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ZERO DEFECTS

(By E. Woll)

General Electric's Small Aircraft Engine Department serves the aviation industry as its name indicates. Now aviation does not have to be a dangerous business—but, it is unforgiving of mistakes. In the design, manufacture, and service of an aircraft system, there is no room for error.

My purpose for being here today is to tell you about what we've been doing to meet the challenge of excellence imposed on us by the aviation industry.

The philosophy of zero defects is quite simple. It's an employee motivation program—it works through people—it is based on the assumption that the individual human being can achieve perfection in what he does—if he wants to. It's a positive psychology applied to the task of inspiring superior performance.

Zero defects puts the responsibility for performance squarely on the shoulders of the individual. It makes each man his own worst critic. And it brings back something that has long been missing from the American scene: craftsmanship.

The problem is one of attitude toward the job. Zero defects is a program aimed at correcting attitudes. It's a positive program. We try not to penalize people for making mistakes—but praise them when they do their work properly. We try not to harass people for poor performance—but give them public recognition for excellent performance.

I like to think of it in these terms. What we are asking of all our associates is that in their work, they do it right and do it right the first time and do it efficiently. That they eliminate waste—in time, in material, and in effort. And that they assume an attitude that one mistake is one too many.

Before we started our own zero defects program, we held a series of interviews with employees to sample opinion; practically everyone indicated his awareness of the need for excellent quality in his work. But, 75 percent of our people told us that they thought it was impossible for them to do their jobs without making mistakes.

In 1711, it was Alexander Pope who said "that to err is human, but to forgive, divine." That may have been a reasonable standard in 1711, but it doesn't meet the requirements of the space age. We decided on a four part zero defects program to bring about a change in this standard.

First—we had to set the stage—get the selling team fired up. This was a vital step. The emphasis had to be from the top down.

We met with every supervisor. Passive acceptance of the zero defects concept by supervisors wouldn't do the job.

We established a zero defects council made up of individuals from each function of the business—finance, employee relations, engineering, product support, the project management, purchansing, and manufacturing. This was a high-powered group of people in responsible jobs with reputations for getting things done.

We met with union leaders. We asked for their support and their ideas. We proved to our skeptical union friends that we were really interested in their ideas by making an investment in carrying them out. We assured the unions that we weren't trying to penalize people for making mistakes—we weren't going to use zero defects as a new club.

Enthusiasm started to build. We got the endorsement from our unions—and a change in attitude—the start of a more constructive relationship with them.

Next came what is perhaps the most important part of the small aircraft engine department's zero defects program. This was the error cause removal program.

Everyone says that accidents do happen. But they don't happen very often in the small aircraft engine department.

Over the years, we have had an excellent safety record in our shop. We are first in our class of the industry—for the entire Nation. Just recently we passed the 10 million man-hour mark without a single lost-time accident.

We asked ourselves, "What is it about our safety program that makes these results possible?" We do two things. First, anyone who notices an unsafe condition immediately reports it and it is eliminated. Next, we promote the devil out of safety to keep people constantly aware of the importance of working safely.

Why couldn't this same approach work to eliminate errors? We decided to find out if it would. We set up the error cause removal program.

We asked each employee to look for potential causes of error in his job and report these to his supervisors. We gave him a form on which to report and describe this potential for error.

In all, over 5,000 of these potential causes for error have been identified since the beginning of this program. All but 500 have been resolved.

We have here a program that identified potential error-producing conditions—even more important, we have a vehicle for frequent informal conversations between man and boss about quality. As managers of the business, we have an opportunity to prove to individuals time after time, that we are sincere in our commitment to quality and aren't afraid to put our money where our mouth is in eliminating causes.

The next major element of our zero defects program was employee motivation. This called for an all-out effort. Our goal was challenging. We wanted to bring about a resurgence of craftsmanship—to overcome a trend of apathy that had been a long time building. As you know, pride of workmanship has become more and more routine. Responsibilities are split so fine that many people don't have to apply their full skill, care, and effort to do their jobs. Reward systems don't seem to provide the recognition for people to have real pride in what they're doing.

Our challenge, then, was to change this and to do so dramatically. First we needed to show people that we appreciated good work and that we recognized them for their pride of craftsmanship. The error cause removal plan and all of the publicity that went along with it started us off well in that direction.

Since 1893, our plant in Lynn had been known as the river works—not an inspiring name for the place where high precision turbine products were designed and built. So we started here.

On February 4, 1963, we became Turbotown—a community where craftsmanship is a living tradition. Our symbol is a colonial figure recalling the heritage which is ours in New England where industrial skills were born in our country.

Let me try to recapture for you some of the excitement of Turbotown Day. A giant rally was arranged at the Boston Garden—the only place around large enough to hold all 6,500 employees at one time.

The logistics of moving 6,500 people from Lynn to Boston at morning rush hour proved to be a challenge in itself. A combination of busses and subway trains were used. Everyone expected mass confusion—and the fact that the whole move came off without a hitch—that all 6,500 employees and 400 vendors were seated in the Garden on schedule at 9:15 a.m. was glaring proof that zero defects was possible. February 4 can keep you guessing in New England but even the weatherman cooperated with a cold but clear day.

The meeting started with a specially prepared filmstrip, "Why Joe Can't Go"—hitting home from the employees viewpoint, the irritation that sets in when he as a customer gets a defective product or service.

I then reviewed the business, telling employees what the future looked like to me if we met the zero defects challenge.

There was a motion picture of some of our customers speaking very frankly to us about how they saw our quality and what they expected from us in terms of error-free performance.

Gerhard Neumann, our vice-president and division general manager was host to the dignitaries who joined with us. These included the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, and the presidents of our three unions.

This was our kickoff; it was elaborate and it was exciting. Some of you may be disturbed by the emotional gusto and jazz of the occasion. I want to assure you, we planned it this way for a reason. The stakes were high—if we could succeed in getting mass enthusiasm and spirited support, the results would show up in performance.

I am pleased to report that we have been successful.

When employees returned to Turbotown, almost to a man they signed their pledge cards dedicating themselves to trying for zero defects in everything they do.

Since that day almost a year and a half ago, we've taken advantage of many opportunities to keep alive and help grow the enthusiasm that was born in the Boston Gardens. All standard communications devices are used.

Individual managers have recognized employees for outstanding achievements by holding cake and coke parties, giving them tickets to a ball game or taking them out to dinner. Others have given their people token promotional gifts such as fountain pens, decks of zero defects cards and so on.

These are the zero defects hats which employees in one unit agreed to wear until they collectively performed a month's work without a single error. The hats were off within 2 months.

Measurement charts keep all employees up to date weekly on their progress toward zero defects goals. They can personally identify themselves with the progress made. These are key quality measures which provide the knowledge of results which is essential in a motivation program.

Each operation has its own programs and goals that support the broader department goals. Each month two employees are chosen as citizens of the month for outstanding achievements.

And now for the results. Our quality system must satisfy both military and commercial requirements. Just recently, in a triennial FAA audit of our facilities and processes not a single violation was observed. The audit team left a day ahead of schedule because of the good condition they found. They also told us that we have the cleanest aircraft plant they had ever inspected. Our people worked very hard for this and were most proud of the achievement.

The quality of our product has improved to the point that both our T–58 and J–85 engines are now accepted on a test sampling plan—a program, eliminating the initial test, teardown, inspection, and reassembly cycle on three out of every four T–58 and J–85 engines. This provides both more quality and lower cost to the Government.

Customer complaints from our largest J–85 user, Norair, even though initially low, have decreased by another 85 percent.

Manufacturing losses have decreased another 16 percent in 1963 over 1962 and by 32 percent so far this year and this, too, results in a lower cost product to the Government.

Our first T–64 production engine was rated by our resident Government quality representative as the best first production engine he had ever seen.

At first, we saw most of the zero defects activity taking place in our manufacturing areas. But this has changed. For example:

In finance, a special zero defects effort produced the most accurate inventory count in the histroy of our department.

The engineering operation has significantly reduced drafting errors. Also in engineering, we've had special programs such as seminars, drafting workshops, new design manuals, programs to tighten control of vendor design changes, and streamlining of systems and procedures.

Each day, new example arise in which the zero defects program helps or can help every part of our business do its job better. We have just enumerated some of the things that we can measure.

This has been a capsule summary of how "Turbotown" ras responded to the idea of zero defects.

I believe that this program has application to others in the aerospace industry.

In the complex systems used in the space age, there is no longer any room for even that one mistake.

There is nothing really new in this approach. Whether you call it zero defects, pride in workmanship, or something else makes little difference. There is no substitute for designing and building quality into our products and that job is done by people.

We want to create in each employee his or her personal enthusiasm and attitude for doing the job without error. That, gentlemen, is the meaning of zero defects.

Thank you.

A Plea for a Nationwide Program To Preserve Our Country's Natural Resources and Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read the recent Labor Day plea by the president of a large trade union for a nationwide program to preserve our country's natural resources and beauty. His address indicates a growing awareness in America of a need to do something to save our rivers, streams, forest, and scenic wonders.

The union president is Joseph A. Beirne, of the Communications Workers of America, AFL–CIO. He offered no easy solutions nor a scapegoat to blame, but pointed out that the American labor movement is deeply concerned. What good is a vacation with pay, for example, if there's no place worth seeing, he asks. This is a question we must come to grips with, Beirne declared. We can't leave this problem to future generations.

His speech is as follows:

It is good to have this chance to talk with you on Labor Day, the last holiday of this summer of 1964. I hope that, wherever you live, you have had an enjoyable weekend—a break in the everyday routine. I hope also that on this holiday you have had a chance to enjoy the best of America—the sweep of white clouds in fair skies, the green of hills and plains, the blue water of river, pond, lakes, or ocean.

Today our country is busier and more crowded than ever before. Rising population, plus the growth of new industry and the scientific exploitation of our resources, are making us realize that America's natural wealth and beauty, which we used to think had no limit, does indeed have to be protected and conserved.

So it becomes important how we protect America—how, for instance, we protect our water reserves or the topsoil of the land. We find it necessary to act on matters like urban planning, or transportation to smaller communities. We realize the time has come when we must preserve our wilderness areas, and the cleanliness of our shorelines.

These things must be done, speedily and carefully. We fight against no simple enemy when we fight industrial pollution or water depletion. No easy slogans will win this campaign for a better and cleaner America. No tidy scrapegoats exist, on whom we can heap blame for what ails us.

But mobilize we must, if our generation and the generations that follow will still be able to enjoy America, as well as live in America. We have a gigantic community services problem, on a national scale—and we had better tackle it with intelligence and with determination.

A vacation with pay, you know, isn't much good if there's no place to go.

A house with a view isn't much good if you can't see across the street because of the smog. A new car loses a lot of its zing when there's no place to drive except into a traffic jam.

Some of you may be wondering what all this has to do with Labor Day—or with the labor unions in America. I think it has a direct connection.

Wasn't it Abraham Lincoln who pointed out that labor is America, and that what affects the Nation inevitably affects its working people.

As times have changed in America, organized labor, of course, has changed with them.

Thirty years ago, when modern unions were in their period of greatest growth, Labor Day was celebrated with Labor Day picnics and parades. They were fun, and they brought working people together for rededication to the ideals and objectives of the American trade union.

But now the Labor Day parade or picnic, in most cities, is a thing of the past, like suspenders and nickel beer. America has changed, and America has also changed its way of celebrating this workingman's holiday.

There are also changes on the American economic scene.

Not so many years ago, it was an exceptional product that was union made. Today most of our basic industries work under union contracts and conditions.

The American car you're driving was made by a member of the United Auto Workers—and if you drive a foreign car, that was probable made by union members in other countries. The clothes you wear—the appliances you use at home—the telephone that gives you such efficient communications service—the radio that brings you this conversation—all of them were made by union people, and probably by members of unions in the AFL–CIO.

Unions have grown, and become generally accepted. We are not perfect. Unions are human institutions, and they can always stand improvement.

Some politicians, and some diehard commentators and industrialists, can only see the gloomy side of American labor. They read that a labor leader has been convicted in a trial by jury and they jump to the false conclusion that all labor leaders are crooks or cynics.

They come across the example of a man or woman who has lost pride in his work or craft, and they wrongly suppose that all working people have lost their sense of values.

They see a union trying to protect the income of its members, and they wrongly conclude that featherbedding and make-work practices are common to every union under every sort of condition.

Or they see unions trying to represent their people fairly, and they decide on the basis of not much real evidence that an anti-union, so-called right-to-work law must be enacted at once.

It is an awful thing that so many people who should know better about the facts of industrial life in America think that the answer to America's economic problems lies in carving up unions, under some application of the antitrust law, or of weakening unions to the point of debility, through the passage of laws to undermine union security.

The people who offer this kind of solution—this throwing out the baby with the bath—don't really know unions. I believe they overlook the truly substantial contributions that strong and healthy trade unions offer to 20th century America.

Look at the record, in Washington and in the 50 State capitals. The facts are clear that organized labor has gone down the line in support of measures to improve the quality of American life.

Take schools? A century or more ago, unions were the leading force in the movement to create an excellent public education system. Today, unions have been in the forefront of the continuing and necessary campaign to build more schools; to improve the quality of those we have; to extend free college training. Labor in America is for education.

How about old-age security? A generation ago, America's labor movement stood in the front ranks of the forces which pleaded for passage of a social security system. In the intervening years, trade unions have advocated improvement in old-age pensions, and in protection for the underprivileged or the unlucky—the millions of our people who need a helping hand. Labor in America has stood for a better social security system.

Then there is poverty and unemployment—at the end of World War II, it was organized labor that provided the most effective support for the significant Employment Act of 1946—which spelled out as national policy that every American willing to work has a right to a job.

In more recent years, union members have seen the wisdom of a program to dig out the roots of poverty in this otherwise prosperous land. There can be no justification for the fact that upwards of 30 million Americans—young and old, Negro and white, Southerners and Northerners—do not share in the material abundance of present-day America.

It has become the fashion, among some observers of the national scene, to preach that labor in America has become a vested interest, a fat cat, a solid supporter of the status quo.

The facts are quite to the contrary. We have worked extremely hard in a continuous effort to improve social security, or fight for better health care, or for an expansion of human rights, or for jobs for everyone, or for more funds for our schools, or against poverty, or for conservation of the natural resources of this Nation.

This has been a constant and at times a fatiguing job. Especially when people throw knives at us.

There was a time when a union could afford, perhaps, to be isolationist or selfish. It negotiated, on behalf of a few people, with a small employer concerning the wages to be paid—or whether men should get time off for the Labor Day holiday.

But today collective bargaining is conducted between big, powerful corporations and unions of national scope and influence. Collective bargaining covers a host of issues, that affect not only the worker and the employer, but also the consumer and the community.

In an age of automation, we must look hard at the facts—and we cannot afford to sweep unpleasant facts out of the window.

My own union—the Communications Workers of America—represents well over a third of a million telephone workers, and we are getting to be known as the union that automation built. We know the blessings that this technological revolution has brought to our country, and we are conscious of the injuries automation can inflict.

It is good to realize that an increasing number of corporation executives—along with Government officials and experts from the universities—realize we must extract the benefits of automation with minimum injury to the working force.

We are a Nation of people, not machines. No robot, no computer should ever be allowed to enslave us. Neither should we let our thinking become enslaved to the idea that the machine is the only important thing that counts.

Just as your car should be your servant, to take you comfortably where you want to go, so the new machines of automation should be the servants of our economy. They should be used to help us produce goods and wealth, to build our defenses, to make our society more strong—not to rob us of jobs or buying power or vitality.

Let us always remember that people come first.

The machines and the computers must be used to serve us, and we must determine not to become enslaved to the machine.

On this Labor Day 1964—in a year of change and crisis—we in the democratic unions of America reaffirm our belief in people—just plain people—the people who work to make our country great and free.

As unions serve them, they under God serve this Nation.

Need To Increase Exports, and Opportunties for Small Business—Statement by Senator Humphrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] concerning the need to increase our exports, and the opportunities for small business in that regard.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S EXPANDING MARKETPLACE—STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

It has become so commonplace to observe that the world is shrinking in size, that peoples have become more interdependent, and that we are living in the midst of the greatest technological revolution in history, that I think we are sometimes in danger of failing to recognize the full implication of these stupendous facts.

Profound changes in the conditions of human life demand rethinking of many of our attitudes and accustomed way of doing things. We must not, in the face of intellectual and scientific advancement of enormous proportions, cling to the past. We must instead move ahead courageously and creatively.

As an example of the advancement I refer to, consider that the computer is less than 20 years old, or that the harnessing of atomic energy is just as recent, and the possibilities for its constructive uses have barely been scratched.

Similarly, developments in the speed of communication, travel, and transport have been dramatic. It took thousands of years for man to advance from the speed of a fast horse to the speed of vehicles driven by engines. Then, in a couple of decades, the speed of travel leaped from that of the fastest land travel to over 400 miles per hour, the speed of the fastest propeller-driven aircraft. Now men have orbited the earth at over 16,000 miles per hour. Scheduled civil jet aircraft fly at close to 600 miles per hour, and supersonic planes will go into regular service before many more years have passed.

This era has brought opportunities greater than have ever existed before. Our mission as a people must be to translate these opportunities into things meaningful and beneficial to the lives of individual human beings: jobs, knowledge, goods of new usefulness and in new volumes. It is on this area that I wish to focus, and on one segment of it in particular.

The American domestic market has been huge, and it remains so. No one would deny it. There are great demands to be filled, innumerable opportunities to be seized. But we must not overlook the great new opportunities of export markets.

Today, less than 5½ percent of our gross national product is exported. Compare this with some European industrial countries which export 25 to 35 percent of their gross national product. Increasing our exports is the most challenging opportunity facing American business. It is the best solution to our balance-of-payments problem and it represents a real opportunity to create new jobs for Americans and new profits for business.

Most of our very large corporations do not overlook these opportunities. Many of them have engaged in foreign trade for decades; others have begun more recently to embark upon such trade with vigorous steps. But there are thousands upon thousands of other firms which could, and should, get into the act.

Some of them have been held back, I believe, because of the idea that, "We cannot compete against cheap foreign labor." This is a myth that must be laid to rest. The fact is that 80 percent of American exports of manufactured goods come from our 10 highest wage industries.

It is true that wage scales overseas, although substantially above what they were a few years ago, are still low relative to ours. The productivity of that labor, however, is also often low when compared with that of the American worker teamed with American machinery and managerial know-how. The plain truth is that the intensive investment in machines and tools which is characteristic of American business results in greater productivity for each labor hour.

Moreover, wages overseas, starting at a lower base, have generally been rising at a higher percentage rate than those in the United States, and the worker abroad has disposable income he never had before. This buying power is building a desire for manufactured consumer goods, for a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by Americans, for products with the "Made in America" label which holds strong fascination for consumers in other lands and is in itself an almost magical selling force.

Experts tell me that, in international trade, price is rarely a problem for American goods. Much more important are such factors as delivery time, quality, technical innovation, style, credit arrangements—and imaginative salesmanship. What is called for is first class advertising, sales promotion, new ideas—the kind of salesmanship and distribution which we have applied so strikingly in our own country.

Let's look at the potential for the small businessman in oversea markets. I say the small businessman, because the giants of industry have long recognized the importance of international marketing. This new look for small businessmen must first revise all of the geography which we have learned. Geography must be related to time, for the ability to compete in new markets is importantly influenced by speed of transport. Today, the manufacturer in New England is closer to many European customers than he is to those in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. The manufacturer in California is closer to Tokyo than to Chicago. The manufacturer in the midwest is closer to Caracas than he is to New Orleans. In these comparisons, of course, I am contrasting jet-

aircraft times of shipment to the rail and truck shipments typical in domestic trade.

Today it is possible for a businessman in London to decide he is short of an American product when he closes business for the day, cable Chicago for a resupply and have it in London for the opening of business the next morning. We can supply foreign customers by air from the United States faster than they can get supplies by truck from manufacturers in their own country. In the era of supersonic flights, which will be with us in the 1970's, a British businessman will be able to leave London in the morning and, because of the 5-hour time differential, arrive in New York 2½ hours before he left London, do a day's work in New York and be back home before midnight London time. Let's use this new concept of "time related to geography" to open new channels for our commerce.

This concept of speed broadening markets is not new. Remember the American clipper ships which were famous in every port in the days of sail. Remember the Pony Express which played so dramatic a part in the opening of the West; the building of railroads to the Pacific; the first interstate highway opened to trucking—all evidence that speed of transportation is close to the heart of a vigorous and expanding commerce.

Our sights must be on the fact that the world's markets are growing at a dramatic pace and Europe alone has a market almost the size of the United States. We cannot disregard the challenge. The Small Business Administration and the Department of Commerce are doing a magnificent job of breaking down the misconception that foreign trade is a mysterious and difficult process. Our Government today provides the American foreign trader with protection against most of the financial risks of foreign trading, such as currency devaluation in other countries, expropriation and other contingencies.

There is desire on the part of small businessmen to go into foreign trade as is evidenced by the fact that over 5,000 responded affirmatively to a questionnaire sent out by the Small Business Administration asking for expressions of interest in foreign trade. The problem is to move these expressions of interest into action, to implement the desire for export and to get the movement into high gear. The tools are there, we must get small business to "think big" and be aggressive in developing the assets which they have.

What are the steps to carry you forward into international trade?

1. Contact the Small Business Administration and the Department of Commerce at their nearest office and let them provide you with the information and the tools they have ready and waiting.

2. Use all other sources of business assistance overseas: the banks, airlines, or shipping companies that have programs and staffs for providing contacts, market reconnaissance, and other business data.

3. Study the areas receiving foreign aid from the United States—remember almost 80 percent of the aid money is spent on products from the United States.

4. Use all these facilities to set up well planned programs in advance and then go overseas and see for yourself how to get more business abroad.

5. Analyze the use of distribution by jet aircraft, which minimizes your oversea inventory, reduces your investment, improves your competitive position and brings you next door to previously distant markets.

6. Plan your selling costs on the basis of expanded production in your existing facilities and see how you can keep your prices down.

America has a great future in expanding markets abroad.

Corruption and Conflict of Interest in High Places

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress are deeply concerned about the impact that widely publicized stories of corruption and conflict of interest in high places have had on the people of this Nation. Unfortunately, much of that concern has been oriented to what political effect these stories will have in the coming election. I think we should be even more concerned about the long-range influence they will have on the young people of this generation.

Recently I received a copy of a letter that Mr. Al F. Rinehart, star route, Naches, Wash., wrote to the Senate Rules Committee members. Mr. Rinehart's letter pinpoints most graphically a situation that I am sure is multiplied in schoolrooms throughout the Nation. I shall be very interested to know how the individual members of the Senate Rules Committee answer his questions.

Under unanimous consent I place Mr. Rinehart's excellent letter at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NACHES, WASH.,
September 14, 1964.

Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN,
Senator CARL HAYDEN,
Senator HOWARD W. CANNON,
Senator CLAIBORNE PELL,
Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK,
Senator ROBERT C. BYRD,
Senator JOHN S. COOPER,
Senator CARL T. CURTIS,
Senator HUGH SCOTT.
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: I am one who has served my country honorably as a marine for over 2 decades and am now endeavoring to continue service, but in a different capacity.

Following retirement I attended college and attained my credentials to teach in secondary schools. I am presently a teacher of special education in both the Selah junior high and senior high schools. Among other subjects, I teach American history and government. Here we study the history of these United States and discuss the principles of our great democracy.

One precept which I follow in my teaching is that pupils should be encouraged to learn through inquiry. My task is to help these youngsters seek out the answers to their questions. In a time and place which seems to stress—or at least display—materialism and often wanton dishonesty, it has fallen upon the classroom teacher to impress upon these young people the virtues of honest, upright living. This is extremely important with the group I teach, for many of them are underprivileged and from broken, culturally deprived homes.

Last spring when the Baker case was encountered during a review and discussion of a current news magazine, they questioned the propriety of this man's actions and the involvement of others in high places. They asked me how this could happen. I explained that the world was not without those in high positions who would take advantage of the public trust, but that in this case a legislative body of elected officials was morally obligated to the electorate to expose corruption, reveal the whole truth and to recommend suitable prosecution, above and beyond a token censure. Some few of the class were skeptical that this would ever occur.

Fall classes have been convened for 2 weeks and with elections in the air, politics is the topic of the day. Now, because of the McCloskey implication, the students ask, "Mr. Rinehart, are the people who run that committee crooked, too?"

In light of the actions of the majority which prevails in the Rules Committee, there is little I can offer in reply. It has always been my practice to vote for the individual and not the party, and I particularly avoid any political bias in the classroom. But in the instant case, it is obvious that party loyalty transcends the moral obligation due the electorate. All I could suggest to my class was that we go to authority and seek an explanation. Two pupils suggested that "any reply we get will just be a lot of political doubletalk." Another bets that "they haven't got the guts to put the truth in writing so everyone can understand it."

What about it? I am reserving my predictions. Can any to whom this letter is addressed supply an answer? Replies may be addressed to me at the above address or to: Ninth Grade Special Education Class, Room 105, Selah High School, Selah, Wash.

Very respectfully,

AL F. RINEHART,
Major, USMC (retired),
Teacher, Selah School District No. 119.

One Man—One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, it is an unfortunate fact that at the present time in many fields slogans have taken the place of thought.

Recently, we have heard much of the slogan, "one man—one vote." This slogan is, I believe, intended to reflect American constitutional government; and the implication is that any departure from this alleged principle represents a failure to meet our national ideals.

A moment's reflection demonstrates that the slogan is meaningless. Ever since ratification of the 19th amendment, women have voted. Some States permit minors to vote; other States do not. So far as I know, no States permit prisoners to vote. In addition to these exceptions to the general statement, one may ask, "one man, one vote—where?"

Around Metropolitan Washington, for example, there are tens of thousands of military personnel and Government employees who, for reasons satisfactory to them, maintain voting residences and vote in their home States, but are counted by the Census Bureau as part of the population of Virginia or Maryland. College students, too, are now counted as part of the population of their college towns, though before 1940 they were counted as part of the population of their hometowns and States. To allocate votes strictly according to the

Census Bureau's population count may, in fact, be very misleading.

These are, however, merely exceptions to the slogan, "one man—one vote." The slogan itself conceals a fundamental misconception of the American system of government. The American system of government is still, I believe, a representative Federal government. We have not yet come to the state of a pure democracy, such as a Greek city state or a New England town meeting, where, I understand every issue is decided by the votes of all the citizens. We have a far more subtle and far more effective form of government than those.

I discussed these issues at some length in a speech I delivered in Charlottesville, Va., on August 30, 1960. I pointed out that the various elements of the U.S. Government represent different constituencies selected out of the total population. Under the electoral college system, the President is normally chosen from a large State; and the entire executive branch, therefore, typically represents especially the big States. Members of the House of Representatives, coming from particular districts, represent those districts, whether urban, suburban, rural, agricultural, or industrial. Senators are selected by their entire States, large or small, and, therefore, give especial representation both to the small States and to the urban populations of all States. When the U.S. Supreme Court enters the legislative field, as it did in its "one man—one vote" decree, it is not easy to describe what constituency the Supreme Court represents—nominated, as its members are, by the President, and confirmed by the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from my 1960 speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE MAN—ONE VOTE

Even though the population of the United States in 1787, at the time of the Constitutional Convention, was no greater than that of Virginia today, both being approximately 3,800,000, the framers of the Constitution thought it wise to preserve a division of the Nation into 13 States of varying area and population. Nearly 4 million people could best be governed under a decentralized Federal system, instead of a single centralized authority.

A single unified government for the entire United States would not have given proper scope to the wide differences among the people and their State governments and would have been all too likely to have resulted in oppressive dictatorship. Madison in No. 10 of the Federalist, from which I have quoted, pointed to two elements of the Federal Government which would minimize the undesirable effects of "factions." These two elements were first, the Federal nature of the government, with a limited Federal Government and many powers reserved to the States and the people, and second, the representative nature of the Federal Government itself.

The representative nature of the Federal Government finally agreed upon gave additional protection to the variety of interests within the Nation.

In the Congress, Senators, being chosen by States, were to be primarily responsive to their States. Until the adoption of the 17th amendment in 1913, they were actually chosen by the legislatures of the States, and, therefore, represented the people of those States only indirectly. Representatives were to be chosen from the districts within States and to speak for the interests of their particular districts.

The President was to be elected by the electoral college under a system, which, as it has developed, gives particular importance to the large States. A candidate who carries New York by one vote receives a huge block of electoral votes which outweigh overwhelming losses in a number of smaller States. This system, and the developments which have occurred in party machinery in the national political conventions, have given the large States a particularly strong voice in the selection of the President.

Thus, we see that representative government in the United States is the product of forces and influences which, while they do not necessarily always conflict, do arise from basically different systems of representation.

Of course, all these representatives should cooperate and work together, and under our two-party system, they do so in the vast majority of matters. But not in all matters. When the interests of a particular State represented by a Senator, or the interests of a particular district represented by a Member of the House, do not coincide with the views of the President or the majority of the Senators or the Representative's party, then the Senator or the Representative must carry out his responsibility to represent the interests of his State or district, in contrast to the other views presented. It is to his own system of representation that he owes his allegiance when these conflicts occur.

In this way the manifold interests of the country, or "factions," are reasonably assured of an opportunity for a hearing for their point of view, an opportunity to make their views known, before legislation is enacted.

To summarize, constitutional government in the United States was framed so as to provide an effective government and at the same time to prevent this effective government from becoming so overwhelming, so oppressive, that the liberty of the individual, and his initiative and enterprise, would be obliterated. These devices include the separation of the powers of the Federal Government into the three great departments, the division of governmental powers between the Federal Government and the several State governments, and the reservation of powers to the States and to the people. These devices, which are basic to our constitutional government, pose many problems, problems which may appear to be completely insoluble in theory. But the framers of the Constitution, as my quotation from James Madison shows, rose above the theories of political science and organization charts. Instead, they concerned themselves with human nature, with all its potentialities of good and evil. And the successful result of their efforts is a tribute to their wisdom and foresight.

Senior Citizens Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by my colleague, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON], and an accompanying letter.

There being no objection, the statement and the letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENIOR CITIZENS VOTING—STATEMENT BY SENATOR CANNON

Recently I received from the Housing Authority of the City of Las Vegas a most interesting letter describing the activities which took place during the recent primary election in my State.

The letter describes the formation of a precinct at the Archie C. Grant Park, a senior citizens housing project in Las Vegas. The registration of eligible voters in the Archie C. Grant Park exceeds 90 percent; and on election day, 146 of the 151 registered voters actually went to the polls. This is an outstanding and highly commendable example in the practice of responsible citizenship, and I commend the residents of Archie C. Grant Park on their accomplishment. I submit the letter for printing in the RECORD:

To Whom It May Concern:

"As always on election days, there are many human-interest stories, but it seems the one to top them all is one to come out of the newly established precinct No. 123 at the housing for the elderly, the Archie C. Grant Park on Bruce Street, Las Vegas, Nev.

"This project was opened last year, 1963, for senior persons of low income. In February of this year, 1964, Mrs. Marie Waffle, a resident of the project, always interested in availing herself and others of the privilege to vote, inquired from the county clerk about having a precinct established at the project for the tenants. She was told that if a 100-percent registration were secured, it might possibly be arranged. All experienced politicians know how much work it takes to get a precinct started, and that it probably would be more difficult because of the ages of the tenants, ranging from 62 to 83. This, however, did not deter the new registrar. Prior to the date of the primary elections, the Archie C. Grant Park had 90 percent of its tenancy registered. Precinct No. 123 was in business, and the social room of the administration building was designated as the voting place.

"Election officers all reside in the park. John Rasmussen, a well-known oldtimer and active in civic and fraternal affairs in Las Vegas for many years, served as guard. John has been active for many years in politics, not for any personal gains, but for what America has done for him—he being an immigrant lad from Denmark many years ago.

"There's nothing new on election day to have car pools—but here it was different. Jim Taylor, an oldtime rodeo rider and a resident of the project, and known to all horse lovers in Clark County, was at the polls at 7 a.m. with his car to offer transportation. Earl Ennis, another resident, also kept busy all day transporting voters. One enterprising politician contributed the use of two wheelchairs to assist the handicapped to get to the voting place. No political signs or placards of any nature were posted on the project.

"Oscar Horton, a Las Vegan since 1932 and a former painter at Mercury, Nev., suffered a stroke in 1963. With the aid of his wife, he walked to the polls from his car, having rejected his cane and wheelchair for this special occasion. Edith Hanson and Vella Morrison both recuperating from serious illnesses, made the effort and voted because their neighbors aided with car and wheelchair transportation.

"It was a thrill to watch Bill Reddaway, who had been unable to speak or walk as a result of a stroke and assuredly unable to vote for quite awhile, being assisted to the polls by one of the Clark County sheriffs.

"A first-time vote was the record for Ellen Ramey, 73 years of age, a resident of the city for many years, and another charmer, Nellie Bagsley, 83 years young who voted for the

first time in 30 years. Nellie is a real pioneer, having come to Las Vegas in 1911, and can keep you enthralled with tales of early days, but sharp as can be on current events.

"In the hustle and bustle of our times, most voters are annoyed if they have to wait a few minutes at the polls, not so with the voters of this precinct No. 123. They simply drew out more chairs and kibitz with their friends and neighbors.

"When asked how many of the registrants voted—we were told 146 out of the 151. The registered voters living in the Archie C. Grant Park had voted and then the informant explained that those who had not voted, were out of town.

"In our book, it's 100 percent for the newly established 123d precinct on its 1st election day; and by the way, this was only a primary election. This is their way of reciprocating to those who have shown interest in their behalf."

Certificate of Appreciation for Members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to advise that the national commanders of six of our leading veterans' organizations, the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, AMVETS, the Blinded Veterans' Association, and Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., have joined together and presented to the following members of the Veterans' Affairs Committee a certificate of appreciation for distinguished service in passing veteran benefit legislation during this session of Congress:

Hon. W. J. BRYAN DORN, South Carolina;
Hon. ELIZABETH KEE, West Virginia;
Hon. JAMES A. HALEY, Florida;
Hon. WALTER S. BARING, Nevada;
Hon. ROBERT A. EVERETT, Tennessee;
Hon. THADDEUS J. DULSKI, New York;
Hon. ROLAND V. LIBONATI, Illinois;
Hon. HARRIS B. MCDOWELL, JR., Delaware;
Hon. HORACE R. KORNEGAY, North Carolina;
Hon. RAY ROBERTS, Texas;
Hon. ROBERT T. SECREST, Ohio;
Hon. JOHN O. MARSH, JR., Virginia;
Hon. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., California;
Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES, Ohio;
Hon. E. ROSS ADAIR, Indiana;
Hon. PAUL A. FINO, New York;
Hon. JOHN P. SAYLOR, Pennsylvania;
Hon. CHARLES M. TEAGUE, California;
Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN, New York;
Hon. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, Wisconsin;
Hon. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, Kansas; and
Hon. JAMES E. BROMWELL, Iowa.

The text of the certificate follows:

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

Given in recognition and appreciation of the distinguished service of ---------- who served with distinction as a member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs throughout the 88th Congress and in such capacity performed invaluable service which made possible a record of accomplishment including:

Passage by the House of Representatives of the non-service-connected pension program which promises to insure, for the future, that prior consideration shall be given to those with the greatest financial need and the most severe physical disabilities.

The enactment of legislation which, for the first time, provides nursing care facilities in the Veterans' Administration hospital system and care in private nursing homes for chronically ill veterans who do not require intensive hospital care.

The enactment of legislation to provide educational assistance to the children of veterans who are premanently and totally disabled from disability incurred during a period of war or the induction period.

The enactment of legislation to increase the monthly rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to the dependent parents and children of veterans who die of service-connected causes.

The enactment of legislation to increase the monthly rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to widows of veterans who die of service-connected causes.

The enactment of legislation to provide that a service-connected disability which has been continuously rated at or above a certain percentage for 20 or more years shall not thereafter be reduced below such percentage.

Given at the city of Washington, D.C., this ---- day of ----------, 1964.

WILLIAM G. DWYER,
National Commander,
Disabled American Veterans.
DANIEL F. FOLEY,
National Commander,
American Legion.
EDMUND M. GULEWICZ,
National Commander,
American Veterans of World War II and Korea.
WILLIAM R. KIME,
National Commander,
Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc.
KENNETH C. CLARK,
National Commander,
Blinded Veterans Association.
JOHN A. JENKINS,
Commander in Chief,
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Fall Conference of United Cerebral Palsy Associations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BURKE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, may I call to the attention of the Members of Congress news about the Fall Conference of United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc., being held here in the Nation's Capital, October 1, 2, and 3, 1964, at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C. Attending this conference are members of the United Cerebral Palsy of the South Shore Area, Inc., of Massachusetts, Mr. Gerald S. Gherardi, president, and Arthur Chiampa who was accompanied by his charming and lovely wife, Phyllis. These dedicated people are doing great work and performing yeoman service in behalf of a great cause.

Voltaire said:

Men who are occupied on the restoration of health to other men, by the joint exeration of skill and humanity, are above all the great of the earth. They even partake of divinity, since to preserve and renew is almost as noble as to create.

United Cerebral Palsy of the South Shore Area, Inc., is a nonprofit organization duly incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Its purposes as set forth in its bylaws are to provide for the habilitative needs of the cerebral palsied, to promulgate the aims of the cerebral palsy movement and to raise funds to carry out this program.

The hope of research—to eradicate cerebral palsy by preventing it—lies with our national organization which sponsors medical research grants and educational projects.

To assist those victims of cerebral palsy who are with us now, the South Shore affiliate has established a program of services. There are no miracles in the treatment and management of cerebral palsy—only hard work, sincerity, and dedication to a purpose.

To accomplish this purpose requires the cooperation and support of private and public agencies, organizations, fraternal and military orders, religious and community groups. To tell the story of cerebral palsy necessitates the assistance and participation of newspaper, radio, and television. To raise the money to carry on the programs demands an army of volunteers who will join together to march on cerebral palsy.

No task is too great when it has the support and assistance of public officials and an enlightened citizenry.

What is cerebral palsy? Cerebral palsy is a group of physical and mental conditions resulting from injury to the brain. Its manifestations may be characterized by paralysis, weakness, overactivity, lack of coordination and balance, uncontrolled movements, and other motor dysfunctions. Generally originating in the period before or soon after birth or during the birth process itself, the cerebral palsy syndrome may also include sensory defects, perceptual difficulties, learning, and behavioral problems. Each child with cerebral palsy may therefore have multiple handicaps differing in combination and degree which require comprehensive treatment and care.

To meet the needs of physical restoration, the United Cerebral Palsy of the South Shore Area, Inc., maintains a clinic for diagnostic evaluation of each child with cerebral palsy. A medical team of consultants blend their skill in arriving at the ideal treatment plan for each patient. Clinic facilities are provided through the cooperation of the city of Quincy, health department, Massachusetts.

The services include speech therapy, occupational therapy, physical therapy, social services, psychological and psychiatric services, education, nursery school, and there are periodic progress and development checks.

There are adult classes as well and a camp program. The corporation is in need of transportation facilities and legislation.

They serve the following communities in Massachusetts: Abington, Avon, Bellingham, Braintree, Bridgewater, Brockton, Canton, Cohasset, Duxbury, East Bridgewater, Easton, Foxboro, Franklin, Halifax, Hanover, Hanson, Hingham, Holbrook, Hull, Islington, Kingston, Marshfield, Medfield, Medway, Millis, Milton, Norfolk, Norwell, Norwood, Pembroke, Plainville, Plymouth, Plympton, Quincy, Randolph, Rockland, Scituate, Sharon, Stoughton, Walpole, West Bridgewater, Westwood, Weymouth, Whitman, and Wrentham.

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Dr. Paul A. Miller, President of West Virginia University, Addresses 50th Anniversary Meeting of the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on September 11, 1964, the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association held its 50th anniversary meeting at Jackson's Mill, W. Va. Principal speaker on this notable occasion was Dr. Paul A. Miller, president of West Virginia University.

In his remarks before an attentive and appreciative audience this respected and energetic educator commented on expansion recently noted at the university. He made significant reference to areas in which West Virginia and Appalachia are undergoing important change, and discussed the challenges which we face in bringing the region back into the mainstream of the American economy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address of Dr. Miller at this significant event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF DR. PAUL A. MILLER

I am told that the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association, which was organized 50 years ago, is the oldest such organization of procedures, distributors, and carriers in the Nation. On the occasion of this 50th anniversary meeting, I am honored to have been invited to appear on your program, and to have this opportunity to share in your fellowship.

No one can address himself to the subject of natural resources in West Virginia without recognizing the extremely important contribution of the oil and natural gas industries to the development of the State. Natural gas was referred to here as early as 1775 by General Washington who preempted the land around "burning spring" 9 miles above Charleston. We know that even before the separation of the western counties of Virginia and the formation of the new State in 1863, oil and gas wells were being produced in the Kanawha Valley. As early as 1842, natural gas was being used as a fuel for boiling salt brine, and drilling for oil began in the Kanawha Valley immediately after the first success of the Drake well at Titusville, Pa., in 1859. Although to Pennsylvania belongs the credit for organizing the petroleum industry, it was in West Virginia that the natural gas industry was originated and developed. Such facts are important not only as a matter of State pride; they offer as well a perspective on the history of West Virginia, showing as they do that the fortunes of the State were to be closely tied to the utilization of its natural resources.

For nearly a century, West Virginia has ranked near the top of the States in value of minerals produced. In each of the last 5 years, West Virginia has produced minerals valued at over $700 million. This mineral wealth, including coal, natural gas, oil, salt, clays, sand, limestone and other stones, and our other natural resources are the basis upon which the economy of West Virginia largely rests, for the fortunes of West Virginians are almost wholly reflected in the ups and downs of the mineral-producing industry, and the heaviest users of these materials.

Everyone but an economic historian might expect that a State rich in natural resources would be equally rich in economic development, for it is a common assumption that States or nations rich in resources are prosperous. "It leads one to wonder," writes John Kenneth Galbraith, "why West Virginians, who live in a State phenomenally rich in natural resources, should have incomes far below those of the arid and barren West." Therefore, "the resources endowment or the fertility of the land have little to do with it."

It is ironic that West Virginia has been called the Switzerland of America, for Switzerland is as poorly endowed in natural resources as West Virginia is rich. Too, among the 40-odd States which West Virginia outranks in the value of its minerals are New York, Connecticut, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Clearly, an advantage of natural wealth gives no assurance of a State's high achievement, economically or culturally. If there is one lesson to be learned from this, it is that a high level of economic and social growth comes from something else: an investment in people greater than the investment in natural resources. This investment is achieved through education, institutions, and community services. Natural resources are unimportant in themselves, unless the people who use them are capable of doing so with the greatest skill and intelligence. Our most precious resource is people.

It has been shown by Economists Theodore Shultz and Walter Heller that the average rate of return on investment in formal education as a whole is higher than the rate of return for business investment. But even this is understated, because it leaves out indirect benefits. Our technological progress is the result of research and development, which in turn is made possible by education. Alfred Marshall put it this way: "The economic value of one great industrial genius is sufficient to cover the educational expenses of a whole town; for one new idea, such as Bessemer's chief invention in the steel industry adds as much to England's productive power as the labor of a hundred thousand men. Less direct, but not less in importance, is the aid given to production by medical discoveries such as those of Jenner or Pasteur, which increase our health and working power." Furthermore, according to Walter Heller, "Findings indicate that for the United States a significant portion, possibly as much as one-half of the economic growth not accounted for by increased inputs of capital, land, and labor—can be explained by increased productivity brought about by higher levels of education for greater proportions of our population."

There have been numerous complaints in the press of the United States that Government contracts have been distributed preferentially. Of course, the answer is that they are distributed preferentially. Government contracts today are generally of an advanced scientific and technological nature. The awarding of contracts can often be related simply to the scientific and technological competence residing in a particular geograph-

ical area; and it is the outstanding educational institutions which are capable of attracting the necessary scientific and technological competence to an area in the first place. Strong centers of learning and research attract new industry; weak centers will likely be too repellent to industry. As Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, sums it up, "Only (with the drastic improvement of educational institutions) will it be possible to produce the new scientific and technological manpower, to retread and advance the old manpower, and to attract other advanced scientific and technological activities to an area—thereby creating the scientific and technological base for economic well-being."

Documentation for the case of attraction between education and capital-intensive industry may be found throughout the United States. Why is this so? First, modern technical industry, thrives on ideas—creativity—and ideas are generated in enormous quantities by great universities. The university thus is a center of the preeminent raw material of the day—knowledge—and because it is, the university has achieved a period of the greatest esteem and usefulness in its history. It used to be, when colleges and universities were thought of as theological centers (which they largely were until the 18th century) that their support was considered a charity. Today, the university has become so wedded to the economic growth of the United States that worth of a single Ph. D. is calculated by the number of new jobs it may add directly or indirectly to the economy. Accordingly, support today to universities is a necessity for an economy, such as ours, based on the rising expectations of people. Second, highly technical industry finds universities attractive because they are sources of highly trained personnel. The industries thus come to the universities to find the best young people early in their careers, usually the most productive period. Third, the faculty of a good university provides a body of experts possessing a wide range of talents available on a consulting basis; even a small organization near a university has access to specialized knowledge on a basis that it can afford. Fourth, a university close to industry provides educational opportunities to improve the abilities of employees and to keep them abreast of new scientific developments and technological changes. Fifth, the university offers cultural and intellectual opportunities found nowhere outside the largest cities. These five advantages of universities do not, of course, appeal to all industry. They are important only to those of a complex and highly refined nature, to which new knowledge is essential. But I suspect that one might look very long before he would find an industry that could not be improved by new knowledge, ideas, and readily available consultants.

This argument is applicable to West Virginia, not only because it seeks new industry of the type I have described, but because every community in the State needs the direction and supporting knowledge that only a modern university is capable of offering. To these tasks, and others, centered around the total social and economic development of the State, West Virginia University is committed.

We have just completed the most intensive planning program in the history of the university, one that offers new directions for the university in the future. The highlights of our planning are set forth in the annual report of the university, which will be circulated early in October, but I want to share with you some of these plans, particularly as they relate to the State development task.

One of the early results of planning was the establishment of the West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development. The Appalachian Center already has attracted national attention as a unique organization of services by which a university may contribute actively to the economic and social development of a State and region. The Appalachian Center administers all the extension services of the university, program of State development, off-campus centers, and the international programs. In addition, the research resources of the entire university are available to the Appalachian Center for statewide application. The center is exploring new ways by which to make these resources readily available to every West Virginia community, and to every organization with a desire to advance the social, economic, and cultural well-being of the State.

The fields of development and study of basic concern to the Appalachian Center are the State's nonrenewable and renewable resources, chemical production, manufacturing, and transportation facilities, water supplies, travel and recreation potential, and human resources, including labor economics, enhancement of occupational skills, and continuing education.

Area development centers have been established at Keyser, Weston, Beckley, Charleston, Parkersburg, and Morgantown. Each area center follows a carefully planned process of analyzing local problems and opportunities and involving area residents in achieving development goals. In cooperation with other institutions of higher education, Federal, and State agencies, the centers conduct workshops, conferences and clinics, and sponsor cultural activities and short courses.

The research arm of the Appalachian Center, the Office of Research and Development, is working in partnership with State, Federal, and private agencies (especially the State department of commerce) to develop a statewide plan of development goals. The making of such a plan requires a coordinated effort in gathering data of all types—population, employment, skills, educational levels, economic indicators, natural resources, land use suitabilities, and transportation factors. All economic data must be brought up to date and maintained for ready retrieval. The university's computer center, soon to have the State's most powerful computing equipment, will serve as the focal point of a central data bank for the project. It is through this modern information feeder and retriever that pertinent data covering the spectrum of economic development will be recorded.

The Office of Research and Development already has completed nearly 30 surveys and research projects on the State's economic problems. These projects include travel surveys, studies of the pressed and blown glassware industry, economic studies of arts and crafts, market feasibility studies for certain West Virginia products, including lumber, coal, and water, and other natural resources important to the life of West Virginia.

A recent development within the Appalachian Center is an Institute of Water Resources. The institute is working with university and outside agencies on flood control programs, water conservation, stream pollution abatement, erosion and sediment control, the planning of recreational developments, and special studies in such fields as the legal and economic aspects of water resource development.

A second area of great importance to the development of West Virginia is forestry, a program which is being strengthened substantially with new facilities at the university. Although West Virginia is one of the Appalachian States producing the finest hardwoods to be found anywhere, the lack of research in the handling of hardwoods has seriously retarded the improvement of forest management methods and wood-product manufacturing techniques. New methods of wood processing and utilization are research subjects now being explored.

In addition to producing timber, forests constitute one of the basic resources of the State in its bid to become a public recreational area for much of the eastern United States. The university's forestry education program can help here by training more specialists in fish and wildlife management to develop the recreational use of forests.

A third area of great importance is in regional social and economic research. The Appalachian region needs basic study to provide a factual and analytical foundation for planning and development. Consequently, the university has established a center for regional studies, which already has received support from the Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation in the amount of $285,000. This center will support with basic economic and social research the work of the Appalachian center.

In addition to the foregoing, planning is underway in the medical center with a view toward making further improvements in the standards of health care throughout West Virginia, and the new creative arts center promises new cultural and artistic interest in West Virginia by people everywhere. There are many other exciting new developments in the university, but these are of particular importance to the whole matter of social and economic development in the State.

The areas chosen for special emphasis at the university are these in which the university is capable of achieving distinction, by reason of past performance, the issues facing West Virginia, and the situation of West Virginia University among the larger community of universities. The initial planning phase, now completed, gives overall direction to this enterprise, and, in addition to the areas of emphasis already discussed, planning for certain other areas of unusual importance to the university and the State is underway. The area of interest of basic relevance to the oil and gas industry is that of a cross-disciplinary arrangement of natural resources utilization. It is clear that any university, located in a State so dependent on natural resources, must find a special mission through a way of relating itself, through education and research, to the development of these natural resources. The university has long had an active educational program in mining engineering and, for several years, an active research program on the utilization of coal; research on woods show promise, and there is substantial progress in the college of engineering's programs pertaining to resource use. The question now facing the university is how to arrange these programs in such a way as to make our work on resources exceptional; how to contribute directly through research and education to the eventual refinement of the industries themselves related to resource utilization. Are there other areas of education and research needing the special attention of the university which we are not now attempting? What are the problems of the oil and gas industry in West Virginia that a university, deeply concerned about economic development, should help to solve? We welcome your help in answering these questions and in making these plans.

Through no way other than a common understanding of State needs, a mutual determination to help West Virginians, a pooling of ideas, and a willingness to share fairly in goals and mutual benefits, can the organizations, industries, and institutions of West Virginia ever hope to increase the potential of West Virginia to become a great State. It will take all this, and then something more. We believe that no State can aspire to a great future for itself, much less achieve it, without the concurrent resolve and commitment to find within its power a way to have a dynamic, distinctive, and great university.

We have set out to achieve this for West Virginia University; in doing so, we are determined to be of greater help to the people of West Virginia. We are on our way.

The Military Man Is Our Best Investment in the Cause of Peace: Address by Hon. Charles S. Gubser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, we have lately been witnessing a concerted campaign designed for discrediting our military leaders and our entire Military Establishment in the conduct of our cold war policies and strategy.

On the highest levels, military decisions are being made by civilians without any regard whatever for the judgment of our chosen military strategists. Choices of weaponry for the future security of our country are being made with no consideration given to the recommendations of those who are most experienced and best informed in that field, the military man.

An excellent, well-documented address on this subject was given by our colleague, Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER, to the members of the Fleet Reserve Association in their meeting on September 23 at Indianapolis, Ind. Entitled "The Military Man Is Our Best Investment in the Cause of Peace," Representative GUBSER's speech is included with my remarks at this point in the RECORD, under unanimous consent:

SPEECH OF THE HONORABLE CHARLES S. GUBSER, TO THE FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION, SEPTEMBER 23, 1964, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

In addition to being the hub of the free world, Washington, D.C., is a vast city of organizations, associations, lobbyists, dedicated public servants, loyal employees, elected officials and appointed officials.

I measure my words carefully when I say that in Washington, among all who are privileged to know its operations, the Fleet Reserve Association enjoys a reputation that sets it apart from all other organizations.

It is made up of patriotic, loyal, dedicated men who have served their country and who continue to serve it.

It never seeks self-aggrandizement; it never asks for the impossible; it always is in the forefront of legislative proposals that truly benefit the armed services. Its leaders are invariably reasonable, intelligent men, who ask only for that to which they believe they are entitled. The Fleet Reserve Association never threatens nor pressures. It presents the truth and is always ready to substantiate its statements and stand behind them.

Though I shouldn't single out names when there are so many which could be mentioned, let me say that my frequent contacts with your Bob Means and Bob Nolan have had much to do with my strong and friendly feelings toward all of you.

So, because I respect your association, I am sincerely honored that I have been asked to make this address.

Tonight I have chosen the subject of the military man. I suppose a proper title for my speech could be "The Military Man Is Our Best Investment in the Cause of Peace." I shall present some views which are strongly held and have been previously expressed.

The American people have not forgotten Bunker Hill, Appomattox, Chateau-Thierry, Guadalcanal, and Panmunjon. Though memories have dimmed with time, the hearts of our people still hold a quiet pride in the achievements of our military men. Today in South Vietnam the bravery of our fighting men is vivid once again in the minds and hearts of every American. Two years ago, it was clear beyond dispute that the ultimate factor which brought this country through the Cuban crisis withs its safety and honor intact was not negotiation. It was the realistic fact that this Nation's military power was too great, too dedicated, and too skillful for the Soviets to challenge it.

But during periods of relative calm and the absence of crisis, we hear the voices of a few who would discredit the military man.

Often our professional fighting men are represented as witless opponents to civilian intellectuals in their pursuit of wise negotiations which lead to peace. Often the military man is represented as a trigger-happy fool and a dangerous rightwinger. In these times between crises, we see efforts to discredit the military mind and military thinking.

What is the purpose of these efforts?

The attackers say they fear military domination of our country. They point to the great size and power of our Military Establishment and recent examples of military takeovers in other countries.

But these takeovers are not at all analogous to our own situation.

Historically and down to the present, there has been complete civilian control of our Military Establishment. This is as it should be. The heads of the Department of Defense are appointed civilians. The power of the purse, an absolute prerequisite for domination of military power, is in the hands of a civilian Congress. Our form of government provides these and other effective checks and balances to prevent military domination.

Rather than an imbalance favoring the military over the civilian, we actually have the reverse. Within the Department of Defense, the Secretary has increased the size and power of the Secretary's office. At the time Secretary McNamara took office, there were less than 2,000 employees in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. As of the first of this year, there were over 34,000 employees responsible to the Secretary's office.

Today, civilian decisionmaking dominates military expertise more than ever before. Without attempting to pass judgment upon them, my point is served by merely mentioning the decisions not to build a nuclear powered aircraft carrier; to phase out manned bombers; and to build the TFX. These were major civilian decisions taken in opposition to preponderant military advice.

In addition to weapons selection, there are other examples of increased centralization and power in the Secretary's office. By controlling intelligence and public information, the Secretary can control information going out to the military, up to the President, to Congress, and to the people. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, I have seen material bearing a top secret label in a closed session on one day and seen the identical material a few days later on national television. I have seen the highly secret A–11 announced as two different aircraft capable of performing two separate missions and I have heard the announcement of a secret system which is now claimed as a satellite killer. None of these announcements of previously classified information was made to serve a military purpose.

One of the prime safeguards in our system of checks and balances is the legislative appropriations process. Here again during the course of recent hearings, it became apparent that military views are not receiving proper consideration. During the hearings, decisions were being made that were opposed by the military in their testimony. Normally, much of this would have become public knowledge when the hearings were published. But the power of the executive civilians was exercised, and in the name of military security they cut out large portions of testimony by the military which would have indicated these disagreements. Thus, military judgment was hidden.

Thus, civilian power can disregard military advice and expertise. At the same time, the channels of information can be manipulated to foreclose the final avenue of appeal to the true sovereigns, the American people. Far from being domination by the military, this is an imbalance of civilian power.

Another favorite whipping boy of the antimilitary people is the so-called military-industrial complex. Our people are led to believe there is some sort of unified conspiracy between these two groups for the purpose of making money and gaining power.

Within the defense industry, particularly in recent years, competition has been so great that participation in a conspiracy is impossible. With the advent of large weapon system programs, the number of contracts are significantly fewer, and, as a result, the competition is keener. Then, too, the leaders within the defense industry are not unified politically. There are Democrats, Republicans, independents, and whatever else you may find in the cross section of American industrial life. As a result, any of the industrial associations related to defense generally assume a timid political posture.

The military is in a similar situation. Within the Military Establishment there are individuals of both political parties. They cannot offend the party in power, because it is in power, nor can they offend the party out of power, because it may come to power by the next election. The military, therefore, walks a political tightrope.

The net result is that all these factors tend to diffuse and dilute the possible power of the so-called military-industrial complex.

Many civilians state their aim as some form of disarmament and believe that accomodation of the Communists to some degree can produce a proper climate for such cooperation. Military judgment does not support this view except in cases where the absence of risk is certain. Military judgment in disarmament negotiations has, therefore, been kept to an absolute minimum. This is frightening and serious, in my opinion, since it plays into the announced Communist strategy to undermine and weaken the military establishments of all capitalist countries, particularly the United States.

It is the military man who must overcome the damning and insidious propaganda in films like "Dr. Strangelove" and "Seven Days in May" and present the logic which rebuts and resists such civilian opinions.

The military man believes our country should have a Military Establishment second to none in order to remain free and insure peace. But civilian antimilitarists have taken the position that parity with the Soviet Union will better insure the peace. This area of serious disagreement is one in which military opinion has either been ignored or downgraded. I agree with the military man.

The military man believes that in war, whether it be a small or big war, the end objective for this country can be only victory, and the suppression of an enemy's ability for further aggression. This again is an area of conflict with civilian antimilitarists who believe that victory over any form of Communist aggression would either create a dangerous imbalance in the world power structure or could stimulate an escalation to a nuclear war. The military believes that when any enemy says he will bury you and all his actions and all his words are dedicated to your destruction, you have every right and obligation to protect your people.

The military man believes as George Washington did: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

Further, he believes the use of force at the right time and at the right place will reduce the risk of war.

Gen. Curtis LeMay summed up the military position during this year's Defense appropriations hearings when he said: "If we can prevent a war from happening we will have succeeded in our mission. If the war happens, I think we have failed."

Unfortunately, there is too little said about the personal qualities of the men who hold these views. Far from being the crazed characters depicted in movies and best-selling novels, they are typical Americans.

The military man is a typical American who attended American schools and loves his home and family. He is one who thoroughly accepts and understands the requirement for civilian control of the military in our form of government. At West Point, the Naval and Air Force Academies, this basic premise is drilled into future officers. The same is done for enlisted men. In view of this and their understanding that many civilians fear military domination, they generally bend over backward to avoid any effort to dilute traditional civilian control of the military.

There are spiritual qualities in the military man that influence his thinking and his decisions. He respects life more than most, having lived close to death. His moral values are outwardly expressed in both love of God and love of country. He knows honor in his uniform and in his actions. He is a man in which this Nation can take pride. He needs our confidence and support. The military man is our best investment in the cause of peace.

The time has come when it is urgent that we take positive steps to protect this important investment. For too long we have downgraded military knowledge and experience. For too long we have whittled away at the personal security of the military man.

It is interesting that in recent years the caliber of military personnel has gone up dramatically, and yet at the same time the relative pay of the military as compared to civilian pay has gone down. Why this seeming inconsistency? There are two answers for it. One is sheer patriotism and love of service to country on the part of the military man. The second, and much the least important, are the fringe benefits of a military career. Yet, one by one, on a regular basis, these fringe benefits are disappearing. The commissary privilege is under attack this very minute. Some traditional price advantages to military personnel are now prevented by regulation. We have seen recomputation drastically curtailed as a traditional part of retired pay. We see retired pay represented as a serious financial drain on the future. Current administration policy is that hospital beds for retirees are being eliminated because they are not included in our present building program. One by one fringe benefits are going by the boards.

At this point I should like to pay particular tribute to the Fleet Reserve Association for the part it has played and is playing in maintaining the traditional medical care for retirees which dates as far back in our history as the year 1798. Though lawyers may quibble and disagree on the question, I as a lawmaker am firmly convinced that medical care for retirees was a legal, as well as a moral, right until the year 1956 when the Dependent's Medical Care Act was written.

Many of you remember the old Naval Hospital Fund to which you contributed. Though 20 cents a month wasn't much, it should be remembered that over a 30-year career of service, a Navy man would contribute $72 toward hospital construction. In my own community, we have just finished a new, ultramodern hospital for which we contributed only $33 per capita in local funds. Thus, those who served under the old law have more than bought the hospital facilities in which they receive care. This legal right still exists irrespective of the 1956 law. But even if we admitted medical care for retirees is not a legal right today, there certainly is no question that it is a moral right.

This is why I became so alarmed when this year's military construction bill did not contain provisions for retiree beds. In the case of the Oakland Naval Hospital, beds bought and paid for by retirees' contributions were to be destroyed and not replaced. I like to think that the strong protest I made during debate on the House floor on March 18 had something to do with the decision of the Defense Department to take another look at the question. Certainly the commonsense proposal by the Fleet Reserve Association, which I was honored to introduce had a tremendous influence on the Department and the forthcoming recommendations of the Rivers' subcommittee on military hospitalization.

I have seen the galley proofs of the Rivers subcommittee report which has not yet been released. I would violate a confidence if I told you of its recommendations, but I will say that the recommendations of the Rivers subcommittee will please you in that they constitute a tremendous step forward from the situation which existed on March 18 as the House, against our opposition, accepted the administration view that new military hospitals should not contain provision for retired beds.

I predict that as a result of the combined efforts of the Rivers subcommittee, your association, other retired groups, and your friends in Congress, there will be a definite percentage of constructed bed capacity for retirees. This makes nothing but sense, since it will provide a cushion to take care of the medical needs of a national emergency which can be operated in peacetime to an efficient capacity level by caring for retirees. If the Fleet Reserve Association had never won another battle in its history, its existence would have been amply justified by the results of the Rivers subcommittee hearings.

Along with the erosion of fringe benefits we see what appears to be a deliberate downgrading of the military man by a very strong array of forces in this country.

The trend raises a simple and basic question: How long can patriotism alone keep our service people from seeking the superior earnings, the convenience, and the social status that is available to their civilian contemporaries outside the service?

The needs of the service of the future are going to be even more exacting as we go further and further into the electronic age. The caliber of the people we will need must go higher and higher, and I wonder how long we can expect patriotism alone to produce the kind of man that the defense of this country requires?

I sincerely believe that this is a crisis that we have to face up to as a people. Something must be done to stop the conspiracy to downgrade the military man. He must be listened to and respected at all times instead of only when there is fighting and dying to do.

History has shown that armies without morale can be defeated easily and, in fact, can defeat themselves. One of the most frightening aspects of the present antimilitary atmosphere is the effect upon the morale of our servicemen. Too many good men are leaving and in this climate not enough good men are joining.

Antimilitary expression not only has an effect upon the military but upon our civilians as well. It tends to develop false views of the world in our citizens. It identifies our military strength with war instead of deterrence to war. It views compromise, accommodations, and appeasement as acts of peace because they are not violent acts in themselves. Reality becomes blurred as if influenced by a narcotic and further retreat from reality becomes easy as the real world becomes more dangerous.

In the words of President John F. Kennedy: "Regardless of how persistent our diplomacy may be in activities stretching all around the globe, in the final analysis it (all) rests upon the power of the United States."

In this world where there is a known aggressor threatening our very existence, it is an absolute necessity that we maintain a strong Military Establishment. Some of that strength is in missiles, some in aircraft, some in ships, but most of it is in men who need our support and deserve it. Smears, inuendos, and ignorant downgrading of our military can undermine the Military Establishment. In so doing, it could ultimately destroy this Nation.

The time has come when we must proudly speak of our strength and stop apologizing for it. Our military people deserve our applause and not the scorn of those who advocate "Peace at any price" and "Better Red than dead." The military man is our best investment in the cause of peace.

Statement by Bernard Wien, President of National Association of Retail Clothiers & Furnishers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, at the request of the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement delivered on September 14 by Bernard Wien, president of the National Association of Retail Clothiers & Furnishers, to the Young Men's Association of New York.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY BERNARD WIEN, PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL CLOTHIERS & FURNISHERS

For many, many years the Young Men's Association has had an enviable reputation in the trade as an outstanding business and social organization. As a business organization it has served as a sounding board for advanced thinking and provocative discussions, both stimulating and constructive. As a social organization YMA has served to make and cement personal relationships so important for industry harmony. This opportunity of intimate contact has allowed a freewheeling exchange of ideas. This YMA dinner has become one of the outstanding industry forums for these discussions. This is why my fellow panelists and I are flattered to be with you and to take part in the program this evening.

Let us forgo preliminaries and strike directly at our topic. For some strange reason—perhaps because of our preoccupation with our immediate problems, there has been little appreciation of the notable lack of comment on implications of a very important industry phenomenon and its ulti-

mate impact and effect on the men's apparel industry. Although the phenomenon itself has received notice and comment, the implications unfortunately seem to be a spate of changes which reflect the peripheral but not the heart of the issue. I'm referring to the trend toward bigness, the mergers, the consolidations occurring each year at an increasing pace.

The first thought that comes to mind when I consider this whole question centers on where we began and how far have we come—but most importantly why? We began small. The retail organizations in our field—the men's wear specialty shops are constantly expanding—derive their roots from the side street tailor shops. Many of our finest manufacturing firms arose from this same humble circumstance.

It is quite natural then, to understand why much of the growth we are witnessing today is built upon a foundation of person-to-person relationships. Ours is a business where sons now deal with sons of fathers who also before them conducted their relationhip on a personal basis. The mutual problems of both are respected. This has brought continual cooperation in achieving understanding. I'm fearful that as we grow bigger we will lose this atmosphere of understanding and cooperation. I'm fearful that historic practices which have contributed so greatly in building and preserving quality men's wear stores must inevitably go by the wayside as giganticism becomes the by-word.

The examples are everywhere. The lessons to be learned obvious to all. The corner grocer of yesterday succumbed to the power of bigness—the buying power of large chains and supermarkets which displaced his service-oriented method of merchandising.

In the appliance field, products limited previously to traditional appliance stores and department stores began appearing wherever a fellow could scrape up enough dough to throw up a quonset and display an automatic washer or two at off prices. This created terrific havoc in the marketing of appliances, and service-oriented retailers capable of following through on the sale gradually decreased their emphasis on what became an unprofitable line.

I point to these instances to illustrate in the simplest possible form what could happen if this bigness would overtake the men's apparel industry and make it the victim of these same evils. Even now many retailers ponder what is going to happen to a historic line with selected distribution in a community when the manufacturer is the subject of a merger or consolidation move.

Will the historic practice of franchising the line to one or two organizations in a trade area go by the wayside? Will more of the line go to mass merchandisers who while delivering price and quantity, are unable to deliver customer service? These are the questions that need thorough and exhaustive study in our industry today.

Certainly, it is not up to me as a retailer to suggest to my many manufacturing friends that they should consult me before they consider a prospective outlet for their goods. I do not intend through these thoughts discussed with you this evening to suggest any action that would work to a detrimental effect on a manufacturer who departs from historic distribution practices and embarks on new marketing technique.

My purpose is much different. My intention is to bring the past into focus and frankly and explicitly enumerate those factors which have been most important in bringing the back street tailor shop to the forefront of American industry with a total annual men's wear volume in excess of $11 billion.

We, as an industry—retailing and manufacturing—are the victim of growing pains. To emerge unscarred as a mature industry, demands that we carefully evaluate the direction we are going. It seems quite logical to me that when building a house one does not disturb the basic foundation.

In my opinion, the foundation of our industry is the close personal cooperation and understanding existing between retailing and manufacturing. Part of the bargain in achieving this successful structure has been grounded in the recognition by both retailing and manufacturing that quality goods demand quality outlets. The distribution of goods through traditional retailers insures a manufacturer the opportunity to continue to conduct the manufacture of his garments on the same high level of quality. A traditional retailer doesn't tell the manufacturer how to cut the garment, or how many stitches per inch should be contained in the seams. The traditional men's wear specialty shop depends upon the proved skill of the manufacturer for this. He depends on the manufacturer to deliver quality goods. He doesn't dictate how this is done.

The men's wear retailer doesn't concern himself with mass appeal prices as profit builders, but rather concerns himself with merchandising unstinting quality to achieve profits.

Our industry did not grow to its present size by being neither fish nor fowl. If quality men's apparel shops merchandising quality men's wear are going to be a strong and successful factor in the retail picture of tomorrow, it is incumbent upon our manufacturing friends to carefully consider their marketing techniques as the pressures from other prospective outlets increase.

This trend toward bigness which I think is an ever present part of growth and success must not interfere with the good judgment and sound practices that have been the mainstays in creating present day success. The trend toward bigness must guard against the encroachment of impersonalness and misunderstanding. The trend toward bigness if it is not going to be self-destructive to our industry must travel within the framework of historic and proved successful practices.

It is my opinion that we can no more stop this trend than we can stop the flow of the tides. Nor do I think that it is to the benefit of the consumer or the industry itself to try to restrain this bigness trend in manufacturing and retailing in this atomic, electronic age. It is my hope that as we continue—industrywise and individually—while becoming bigger, and more efficient, that we do not lose those qualities that created trade personalities, both manufacturer and retailer, that those relationships between manufacturer and retailer that developed into close friendships that were mutually beneficial, should continue and grow even stronger in the future.

It has not been my intention to sound like an alarmist this evening, but rather I have intended to focus on something that has been happening in our industry that is worthy of consideration and discussion.

I am sure that with the quality of our panel this evening we should bring forth some interesting ideas. Thanks very much.

Project Dropped but Kansas City Gets $3 Million Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed clipping from the Kansas City Star, of Monday, September 14, illustrates very drastically the use of taxpayers money in the administration's continuation and propagation in power. It will be noted from the insertion that although the citizens of Kansas City voted not to have the urban renewal program, they nevertheless were granted $3 million for such a program, and when called to the attention of big centralized Federal bureaucracy, commented only that it might be applied to a prior approved project. "Quo vadis?"

PROJECT DROPPED BUT KANSAS CITY GETS $3 MILLION AID

KANSAS CITY, MO.—There was some confusion when it was announced in Washington that Kansas City had received a Federal allocation of more than $3 million for the Sign Board Hill urban renewal project.

Al J. Harmon, executive director of the Land Clearance for Redevelopment Authority of Kansas City, expressed surprise saying that project had been pigeonholed after two city bond issues to supply supplementary funds for the project had been turned down.

Later Mr. Harmon said a check with officials of the urban renewal agency brought out the information the allocation can be transferred to another project.

Mr. Harmon said the funds might be applied to the Trinity Lutheran-St. Mary's project, a program involving redevelopment of the area between the two hospitals by those names.

Extremist Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, September 22, 1964:

EXTREMIST TALK

This presidential campaign has been plagued with an excess of hysterical charges about extremism. There are, of course, fringe gaggles of extremists, hissing and honking about the stump so loudly they threaten to obscure the real issues—the conservative and liberal philosophies of the two presidential candidates.

Neither BARRY GOLDWATER nor Lyndon B. Johnson is a wild-eyed extremist. Both doubtless regard themselves as moderates. By political predilection, however, the Senator is right of center; the President, clearly left.

Mr. GOLDWATER is not a member of the John Birch Society and has not solicited their vote. The President does not belong to the Americans for Democratic Action, though he certainly welcomes their support and has tabbed one of ADA's founders, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, for his vice presidential running mate.

The ADA nor the Birchers can be called unpatriotic, though some of their leaders have made stupid and radical statements. The Birch coterie is far right; the ADA most certainly deep left. Each is reported to have about 50,000 members.

In 1960 the ADA cabal waged a bitter end fight against the nomination of Lyndon Johnson for President. They wrote him off

as a "reactionary" and "racist." At the time L.B.J. retorted he would not feel comfortable if he had their support.

Now he has it. He has adopted a whole passel of their programs. Whether he is comfortable with them or not, he wants their votes. Whether ADA is entirely comfortable with Mr. Johnson, whom they still distrust, doesn't matter. They have nowhere else to go.

Besides they are hugging to breast the knowledge they are going to have one of their own members a heartbeat from the Presidency, should the Johnson-Humphrey ticket win November 3.

Some, not all the Birchers are backing Mr. GOLDWATER, whose conservative thesis comes closer to their thinking by far than the policies projected by Mr. Johnson since he became welded into the Kennedy administration.

Democrats in their convention lambasted "extremists," naming the Communists, the Ku Klux Klan and the Birch Society. This was dirty political pool.

Birch members are constitutionalists. They certainly don't want the Government overthrown or approve of sheeted nightriders. They should no more be linked with Communists than the ADA. But with all the stump-slugging about Birchers, it is certainly fair for Republicans to put ADAers in a counterpart category.

The fact is the ADA has become a legitimate issue and target for BARRY campaigners for two reasons:

The President deliberately injected the ADA thesis into the election battle by naming HUBERT HUMPHREY as vice presidential nominee. Senator HUMPHREY is one of the original organizers of ADA, a former cochairman and still a member.

The second reason is that Americans for Democratic Action, embracing a number of hard-nose, knee-jerk liberals, have already impressive power in government. Birchers, of course, have none.

Among the ADA members in the Democratic administration are Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Chester Bowles, Ambassador to India; James Loeb, Ambassador to Guinea.

And Mr. Humphrey has just named as his speech writers John P. Roche, current president of ADA, and ADA "bigwig" Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a White House assistant to President Kennedy.

The ADA is fair campaign game, (1) because it is notably intrenched in government, (2) and because of the policies it openly advocates. Included among these policies are:

Another Geneva Conference on Vietnam, after the former Geneva convenant had been shredded by Red invasion; opposition to more arms or wider combat operations in the South Vietnam war.

United States recognition of Communist China and its admission to the U.N.

No "sporadic" raids on Cuba or in Cuban waters.

Increase of the minimum wage to $2. Another $2 billion for public works, which shouldn't but often does degenerate into a wholesale barrel business. Passage of medicare and Federal school aid from pre-school age through college.

Defeat of Constitutional Amendment proposals relating to school Bible reading and school prayers. Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and loyalty oaths.

Many of these issues President Johnson has already espoused. They will probably have stanch support from "Old 'Umphrey." Senator GOLDWATER is antagonistic to all of them.

Here are basic issues proper to polemics between candidates and parties. They should be discussed with vigor and frankness. But there has been an overabundance of overwrought "extremist" talk. It could most profitably be dropped.

The Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, we have engaged with the people of Latin America in a joint effort to help them help themselves. Surely this is one of the most important activities in which we are engaged. We are contributing economic and technical assistance; and Latin America is devoting their economic resources and taking necessary, although often politically difficult steps, of economic and social reform without which long-range development would be impossible. But this effort cannot succeed if, while with one hand we offer economic aid and urge Latin American self-help efforts, with the other we engage in a restrictive trade policy, denying these nations the opportunity to export products essential to the development of their economies.

In a recent speech in Houston, Tom Mann, U.S. Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, described the problems Latin America faces and what she is doing about them. I commend it to the careful reading of every Member of Congress.

Assistant Secretary Mann's remarks before the Houston Council on World Affairs on September 23, 1964, follow:

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS—A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY

(By Hon. Thomas C. Mann, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs)

The other day I spoke in Dallas about the very considerable progress that has been made in the last few months against Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere. Today I should like to speak about the economic aspects of a subject which is intimately related to this struggle—the Alliance for Progress.

As a fourth generation Texan perhaps I shall be permitted to say to fellow Texans that our history, our geographical location, our jurisprudence which draws from the civil as well as the common law, our cultural heritage, our economic ties, our traditions of free enterprise and liberal trade give us all a special interest in Latin America and, I hope, a clear understanding that the destiny of our country is closely linked with that of our neighbors to the south.

In the past it was possible for nations to think in terms of isolation and withdrawal from the outside world. All of us may sometimes have nostalgic thoughts about how much simpler life would be if we did not have to bother about the problems of others, if we could somehow pass on to others the responsibilities which we did not seek but which our military and economic strength have thrust upon us. But in our more thoughtful moments we know, deep down in our minds and hearts, that now and in the future we live in an interdependent hemisphere which is part of an interdependent world. Two world wars have taught us this. Whatever endangers the political independence of any American Republic threatens freedom in all the others. Whatever impedes economic and social progress and creates situations of political unrest in one, presents practical, concrete problems for all the rest.

The Alliance for Progress recognizes this interdependence. The preamble of the Charter of Punta del Este recites:

"We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty."

Let us look at the nature of the development problem.

Twenty-one free and sovereign nations exist in middle and South America with a population and a land mass greater than our own.

Our gross national product reached $600 billion in 1963. The gross national product of the other American republics is between $60 and $75 billion.

The average annual individual income of our people is about $2,500 and is steadily rising. The average annual individual income in the other American republics is around $300 a year. It is not rising as fast as it should.

Not only do these contrasts exist in an age of rising expectations, but the Americas face a population explosion unprecedented in history. There are now 200 million Latin Americans. If present trends continue, this number will double in the next two decades.

A high and sustained rate of economic growth in all of middle and South America is not therefore merely a desirable goal. It is an imperative. Each country must, for example, rapidly expand production of food that its people consume or there will be hunger. Each nation must rapidly increase the number of job opportunities or there will be rising unemployment.

There is another important element in the problem that deserves mention. In recent decades, it was possible for Latin American governments to postpone taking economic and social measures which were clearly needed simply by borrowing money from abroad. This is no longer feasible in some cases simply because countries are finding it increasingly difficult to service additional "hard" loans and short-term supplier credits. Excluding Venezuela, Latin American countries must use 20 percent of their export earnings to pay their foreign debts. In consequence, a number of countries have been obliged to request a "stretchout" of their payment obligations.

Every one of our sister republics therefore faces the necessity of taking those measures necessary to create conditions propitious for rapid growth and progress—and of taking them quickly.

What are they? Each country is of course different from all the rest. Each has its own particular problems and each wants to follow its own path. We do not wish to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

But perhaps it will not be taken amiss, if, without intending to refer to any particular country, I try to outline some of the economic problems which seem to me to impede the achievement of the Alliance goals in the Western Hemisphere. This opens up such a wide vista that I shall be able to mention only a few.

In listing the problems, and in making brief generalized comments about them, I do not intend to be doctrinaire. After all, the acid test of any development policy is not whether it fits a particular economic theory but whether it works—whether it produces equality of opportunity and a better life for its people.

Common to several countries—not all of them by any means—is the old problem of chronic, galloping inflation. This kind of inflation can achieve short periods of growth. But it cannot achieve the high and sustained level of progress which the situation demands.

This kind of inflation robs the wage earner. It disrupts orderly processes in the economy. It destroys incentives for domestic private savings. It discourages private sector investment in job- and goods-producing farms and factories. It promotes flights of capital to safer havens abroad. It raises interest rates on loans needed for economic and social progress to incredibly high interest rates and very short terms, thus denying loans to those who need them most. The speculator, not the people, profit from inflation.

One of the principal causes of inflation is large budgetary deficits which governments attempt to cover by printing more money. And, in turn, one of the principal causes of these large budgetary deficits is that government-owned enterprises—not necessary social projects, but enterprises which are supposed to earn a profit or at least to pay their own way—all too often run very large operating deficits.

These operating deficits of government-owned enterprises impede economic and social progress by draining off domestic tax savings urgently required for development. Tighter control over national and autonomous agency budgets is obviously part of the answer to the problem of inflation. Lower operating costs and increased efficiency in government-owned enterprises which must compete for world markets is also an essential.

Another part of the answer to the problem of budgetary deficits is to increase tax revenues. This is one of the reasons the Alliance Charter speaks of the importance of tax reform both in the sense of better tax collection methods and, in many countries, modern tax policies.

A dynamic economy and accelerated social progress are compatible with fiscal and monetary responsibility; indeed fiscal and monetary irresponsibility is incompatible with the achievement of the goals of the Alliance. The proof of this is that those countries in this hemisphere which control inflation and follow sound monetary and fiscal policies are those which have the highest growth rates and are making the fastest progress toward social justice.

Another problem common to several countries—again, not all—is the familiar chronic balance-of-payment deficit. Whenever this occurs the nation is unable to import the capital goods which it needs for development. Since the need to import will grow rather than diminish in the forseeable future, it will obviously be necessary for nearly all countries to begin now to diversify and expand those exports for which there is a foreign market. Policies which discourage exports are archaic and should be reformed as quickly as is feasible.

Another common problem is the need to increase rapidly the production of food for internal consumption, to create a fair and efficient system of land tenure, and to improve food storage, food processing, and food marketing facilities. There is no task more important or urgent than this. In doing this, countries will not only assure their people of adequate food supplies but they will be giving the farmer a way to improve his standard of living and, by increasing his purchasing power, increase national markets for national industries.

How to get the private sector to make its full contribution to economic and social progress is another problem common to many countries.

At least 70 percent of gross domestic investment in Latin America comes from the private sector. Obviously, if the domestic private sector is not making its full contribution to development, the goals of the Alliance will not be achieved.

If the domestic private sector is to make its contribution, Government policies must give a basis for confidence that agreements and contracts will be respected, property rights preserved, and adequate incentives given to capital which is invested in enterprises which contribute to growth. For its part, the domestic private sector has a responsibility to repatriate its capital, to invest in ways which will contribute to progress, to seek fair rather than excessive profits, to compete rather than expect special privileges and monopoly positions. What is needed is teamwork and trust between Government and business so that each can make its maximum contribution to the welfare of their peoples. As the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, recently pointed out:

"Nations that elect to pursue policies that tend to eliminate the private sector—should be aware that they are denying themselves a source of capital that could otherwise greatly speed their economic development."

These are some of the problems that can only be solved by internal policies, attitudes, and measures taken by the government concerned. They therefore fall into the category that in recent years has been increasingly referred to as "self-help."

Unless conditions favorable to development are created by each country all the aid from and trade with the outside world will not achieve the goals of the Alliance. Indeed, there have been occasions in the past where aid has served, only to postpone constructive self-help measures and to increase the external debt that future regimes have to pay.

That is why our policy is one of stepped-up emphasis on the importance of self-help. Foreign assistance, for its own sake, will never result in real development; foreign assistance is helpful only when others are ready and willing to institute the changes, reorganize their own societies and economies, rationalize their tax and budget policies, reform their agriculture and change their societies in ways which open the door to growth. We must be convinced that a government and a nation is prepared to do everything it reasonably can to put its own economic house in order before we can justify the commitment of our own resources.

But I would like to say with equal emphasis that it would be a tragic mistake, harmful in the extreme to our national interests, if we were to put ourselves in a straitjacket by limiting the use of loans to specific projects undertaken only after general reforms have been accomplished. There have been, and could well be in the future, moments in the rapid unfolding of events in Latin America when we must be in a position to provide general support in limited amounts and for a limited period to new governments who are prepared to commit themselves to serious programs of development and reform. Program loans for the importation from the United States of essential capital goods and raw materials are also of direct benefit to the private sector permitting businessmen to get on with the job of increasing production.

These considerations apply with particular importance to Brazil, for example, which has been a trusted and valued friend of our country in good times and bad. We cannot turn our backs on the gallant efforts of the present government to bring order out of the chaos created by its predecessor. All we have a right to ask is that it match our efforts, step by step, by taking every feasible measure of self-help.

But in all cases our lending must be more and more related to self-help. Our assistance program can only be effective if it supplements the efforts of others to progress. As President Johnson said a year ago:

"For the job before us, our resources are not comfortably abundant. What we have to work with is enough only if we carefully and wisely use it to create the growth now which will free the growth of the future."

At the same time it needs to be repeated again and again that even those countries which are doing their level best to help themselves will not be able to progress fast enough to keep up with their growing populations unless we also do our part. Our policies on trade and aid are crucial. Cordell Hull said in 1936:

"For generations humanity has built its life upon recognition of the primary fact that trade is the lifeblood of economic activity."

And why is that so? When pressure groups in our country seek quotas and high tariffs to protect them from competition, they are asking for an indirect Government subsidy which the American consumer pays for in the form of higher prices.

There are, to be sure, exceptional cases where limited protection of particular industries serves the national interest. But the general rule is that the Nation loses from protectionism. Our exporters lose; all Americans who produce for export lose because nations which cannot earn dollars by selling their products to us cannot buy from us. The American consumer loses. The American worker loses.

The point which I want to emphasize is that a departure from the liberal trade policies we have followed since the great depression of the 1920's and 1930's would not only harm us: It would foredoom the Alliance to failure and create in this hemisphere—in our neighborhood—all the economic, political, social and security problems which flow from hunger, resentment, despair and hopelessness.

As we ask Latin America to take self-help measures let us, then, also resolve to do our part by participating with our friends in a mutually advantageous trade.

Our second task is to continue, through our aid program, to make it possible for all American nations who are doing their part to obtain loans on terms which they can repay.

Our aid program in Latin America is justified by our tradition of humanitarianism. It is not a giveaway. It is an investment in freedom, in decency, in progress in our own neighborhood. It is part and parcel of our defense effort. It is required by our security interests.

In spite of the problems to which I have referred, we are making progress under the Alliance.

The majority of the American Republics are progressing toward new horizons of economic achievement and social justice. Seven have begun major tax reform programs and others will soon follow. A majority have undertaken important agrarian programs. Eight countries have established development banks and nine have passed legislation for savings and loan associations, both types of institutions designed to mobilize domestic savings and to use them creatively.

But beyond figures of this kind, the Alliance partnership is moving forward on many fronts. Representatives of 17 of our land-grant colleges and of 14 of our States, as well as our own Foreign Service personnel (who come from every State in the Union) are working side by side with their counterparts in 21 countries. Under the first 3 years of the Alliance they have participated in programs which have built more than 23,000 classrooms, 220,000 houses, 2,900 miles of roads, made 200,000 agricultural credit loans, built more than 1,000 water supply and sewage systems serving 15 million people, helped in this year alone to feed more than 24 million people.

We are participating, too, in programs of teacher training, rural and urban electrifica-

tion, training in tax and customs administration, rural cooperatives, and in other programs which are all ingredients of progress.

In all this, we are partners in an historic effort under the Alliance for Progress, an effort which joins progressive and forward-looking people of the hemisphere in a common program which is dedicated to one overriding purpose and one purpose only: The improvement of the condition of human life in Latin America. We seek no political or economic advantage. We have no territorial ambition. We do not seek to impose our will on others. We seek only to join hands in the reform and development of this, our hemisphere, so that each nation can take its rightful place in the community of nations—free, democratic, self-confident, and able to provide for its own people the jobs, schools, and decent life to which all men in this century are entitled.

And, finally, I should like to say that I am not one of those who seem to believe that the United States is always wrong and that we are responsible when things we obviously do not and cannot control do not go well in every country in the hemisphere. There is no need for this great country of ours to be constantly on the defensive as if we were suffering from some giant complex.

The United States is prosperous not because we exploit others but because the great majority of our people are dedicated, honorable, and industrious; because we have made reasonably good use of the natural resources which Providence gave us; because we have been blessed with responsible leaders who have put country above selfish advantage; because we seek equality of opportunity for all within a democratic framework of political and economic freedom.

If all Americans in this hemisphere remain true to their traditions, the future of the New World will be as bright and shining as it was in the visions of Jefferson, Juárez, and Bolivar.

As President Johnson said last November 26:

"The accomplishments of the years to come will vindicate our faith in the capacity of free men to meet the new challenges of our new day."

Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Fleet Reserve Association, meeting recently at Indianapolis, Ind., had the privilege of hearing a most informative speech on the operations of the Veterans' Administration by Mr. Samuel Rose, who is Chief of the Central Office Contacts Division of the Veterans' Administration.

The magnitude and scope of the VA's various veterans' programs are, I am sure, of great interest to all of us, and Mr. Rose's speech covers the subject thoroughly but succinctly. I recommend it to the reading of Members and include it at this point in the RECORD, under unanimous consent:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

(Address by the Honorable Samuel Rose)

I bring you warm greetings from a great many friends of yours back at the VA—John S. Gleason, Jr., Administrator of Veterans' Affairs; Bill Driver, Deputy Administrator; Cy Brickfield, Chief Benefits Director; and others who have had the privilege of working from time to time with the Fleet Reserve. We all admire you; but then, who doesn't?

Here we are at your 37th national convention. It seems like just the other day when Shipmate Charles E. Lofgren submitted an application for the recognition of the Fleet Reserve Association in the presentation of claims before the Veterans' Bureau. It's hard to realize that was 37 years ago. Attached to that application was a letter of endorsement from Curtis D. Wilbur, who was then Secretary of the Navy. Let me quote a sentence from that letter of 37 years ago:

"The association has cooperated to the fullest extent with the Navy Department, and is performing a service that reacts beneficially to the morale of the transferred members of the Fleet Naval Reserve and the retired enlisted men of the Navy."

Do you know what happened to Charles Lofgren's application? It came across my desk, and I gave it my heartiest recommendation, and sent it on to Gen. Frank T. Hines, who was then Director of the Veterans' Bureau. General Hines approved it quickly. And ever since then, for the past 37 years, our relationships—we of the VA and you of the Fleet Reserve Association—have been warm and cordial. We understand one another. We respect one another. We have a certain closeness that comes with mutual respect and passing years.

I don't believe in wearing one's heart on one's sleeve, but when it comes to your organization, I feel compelled to express publicly the praise you deserve.

I praise you not only for having served our country well in war and peace, but for fighting for the best interest of the U.S. Navy, your shipmates and their families. I praise you for the encouragement you have given young men and women to enlist in the Armed Forces. I praise you for all you have done to keep America free and strong and growing. I praise you for the help you give not only to FRA members but to other shipmates and their widows who need a helping hand. I praise you for the leadership in veterans' affairs you have given over the years. I praise you for your firm stands in which you consider both the welfare of America and the welfare of your shipmates. And I praise your executive staff in Washington, D.C., with whom I work so closely—your national secretary, Bob Means; your national financial secretary, Glen Glezen; and the editor of Naval Affairs, Bob Nolan.

They have earned the respect of the VA. Their deep understanding of our mutual problems have contributed much to veterans' programs. You should be proud of them.

Since I consider myself a part of the family of the FRA, and since we consider the FRA a part of the VA family, I want to tell you about some of the things that are going on, and some of the thinking we are engaged in at present.

First, a word about our size. The Veterans' Administration, although not a Cabinet department, is bigger than all the Cabinet departments but two, and bigger than several of the others put together.

We operate the third largest ordinary type of life insurance company in the world, with $40 billion worth of policies.

We have a compensation and pension program that pays out each year some $4 billion to 3 million disabled veterans and 2 million dependents of deceased veterans.

We operate a GI loan program that has built every fifth house in America since World War II.

We operate the world's largest medical program under a single administration, 168 hospitals, 93 clinics, 5,100 doctors, 15,000 nurses.

We administer an education and training program that has helped to raise the entire educational level of this entire country.

All in all, the VA combines under one roof five of the largest businesses in America, with a total expenditure of $5.5 billion a year.

Why all this bigness? The reason is simple. The VA is big, the VA has to be big, because hundreds of thousands of people rely on VA for benefits and services that help them become independent citizens; and help them lead better and fuller lives.

More than 22 million veterans are in this country today. They, together with their families, make up 47 percent of the American population. That's almost one out of every two people on the face of this land. These are the reasons the VA has to be big—for the VA cannot and will not let them down. Ever.

Yet, with all the bigness, with all the tossing around of large numbers in the millions and the billions, the VA has never lost sight of the individuality of the people it serves. Each is an individual, with individual needs and wants, strengths and weaknesses, hopes and fears. Each is relying on VA for help, with some personal problem or some personal affair.

The VA may be big, but the VA never was, never is, and never will be impersonal. Our concern is for the individual. Our concern is for his happiness and his well-being. And as long as we keep the individual at the top of our minds, you need never fear that we will become engulfed in our numbers. We never will. Never.

Now, all this doesn't mean that the VA goes around with its hands in bottomless pockets, strewing wealth and payments around indiscriminately. We have a responsibility to serve the needs of veterans and their families and beneficiaries. We also have a responsibility to serve those needs efficiently and effectively. You know the slogan of the Defense Department: "More bang for the buck." We've adopted a similar one at the VA: "More service, far more service, for the buck." We are finding that a dollar at the VA stretches a lot more further than it ever did before—yes, in these days of rising costs, we are finding we can get more for our money.

And do you know how? Through modern science, modern technology. For example, there was a time in our insurance program when we had 17,000 employees handling 6 million policies. Now we have 3,000 employees handling the same 6 million policies—with even greater efficiency and accuracy. The reason? We use electronic machines and modern business methods.

Here's another example. We buy 22,500,000 aspirin tablets each year, as well as other millions of tablets, capsules, and drug items of every kind. We now buy all these drugs by generic names rather than by brand names. A small thing? Maybe. But that change has saved us $3 million a year. Veterans have benefited and so have the taxpayers.

I could give you plenty of examples. But you get the idea, I am sure. We are making our money stretch. We are doing more and more with the same amount, or in some cases, even less. We are not—and let me underline that word "not" saving one single penny at the expense of veterans or their families. We are not sacrificing service, and again, I repeat that word "not." Our business is service with a capital S. Our entire mission is to serve you, and you, and you. We will never stint on service. That is our pledge to you and to all the veterans of America.

President Johnson recently called a meeting of his Cabinet and of independent agencies. He brought them together to highlight his economic campaign and to urge

these agency heads to continue their efforts to cut Government costs.

He asked them to be on the lookout for new ways to increase productivity, to get more and more for the same amount of money or less.

And do you know which agency he held up to them, as an example to be followed? The Veterans' Administration. Yes, the VA. He said: "Productivity in that agency has increased annually almost seven percent for the last 7 years. I am proud of the people over there."

He was talking about the VA. And I am proud to be part of the team that is making such a wonderful showing for America. I am proud to be part of the team that has put so much hope and meaning in the lives of so many people in this country.

To close, I want to give you these stirring words by Dr. Ralph Bunche, expressed with great eloquence in the credo of the World Veterans' Federation:

"None can speak more eloquently for peace than those who have fought in war. The voices of war veterans are a reflection of the longing for peace of people the world over, who within a generation have twice suffered the unspeakable catastrophe of a World War. Humanity has earned the right to peace. Without it there can be no hope for the future. And without hope, man is lost. The voice of the people must be heeded. They aspire to a richer life in freedom, equality, and dignity, as in things material, they pray for peace. Their will for peace and a better life can be, must be, crystallized into an irristible force against war, aggression, and degradation. The people have had to work and sacrifice for wars. They work more willingly for peace. Let there be a dedicated effort, a greater crusade than history has even known, for a world of peace, freedom, and equality."

As members of the Fleet Reserve Association, let yours, too, be a dedicated effort for peace, freedom, and equality * * * for all men in all time.

Thank you.

Arends Raps "Big Lie"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the attached article datelined Washington, UPI, from the Springfield, Mo., Daily News of September 30, 1964, speaks for itself. However, as one of the three physicians in Congress, many will recall I have previously inserted material from the so-called Fact magazine denouncing the editor, Mr. Ralph Ginzburg, and his unscientific approach to our national elections. I want to include the ranking minority member of the House Armed Services Committee and the Republican whip's article as reported in the Springfield, Mo., Daily News, and add only that last weekend while journeying to address the North Essex County Medical Society in Massachusetts, I overheard a radio program on which Mr. Ralph Ginzburg was a guest, and admitted that he was "stirring up public reaction in order to sell his magazine and make it a popular one with a demoralized American public." I think the article, based on these facts which I have related, speaks for itself:

ON GOLDWATER: ARENDS RAPS "BIG LIE"

WASHINGTON.—House Republican Whip LESLIE C. ARENDS said Tuesday a New York publisher is using the "big lie" in what ARENDS called an effort to portray Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER as mentally unfit for the White House.

ARENDS said in a speech on the House floor that Ralph Ginzburg, publisher of Fact magazine, was guilty of a "vile effort to assassinate the character and reputation" of the GOP presidential candidate.

The Congressman said Ginzburg currently is appealing a jail sentence for sending pornographic materials through the mails.

Arends' speech was prompted by a mail poll of psychiatrists conducted by Ginzburg on Goldwater's fitness for the presidency.

ARENDS said the American Medical Association (AMA), the American Psychiatric Association and the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons have repudiated the poll.

He said the AMA called it an "obviously scurrilous, unscientific questionnaire." He said the American Psychiatric Association tried to warn its members not to answer but it was too late in many cases.

ARENDS said the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons objected "to the inane method of attempting to judge the psychological fitness of an individual through long-range diagnosis."

It also deplored "the slanted presentation which encourages only one kind of vote * * * which apparently is for the purpose of vilifying and destroying the character of an individual citizen."

Noting that GOLDWATER is a jet pilot, ARENDS said it requires excellent physical coordination, mental judgment and nerve control to fly a jet airplane.

Lyndon Drives Everybody "Nuts"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Portland, Maine, Telegram:

LYNDON DRIVES EVERYBODY "NUTS"

(By May Craig)

WASHINGTON.—When Senator GOLDWATER chose Representative MILLER of New York to be his vice presidential candidate on the GOP ticket he said, that in addition to other suitabilities of MILLER "he drives Lyndon nuts." Well, maybe so, but Lyndon drives a lot of people nuts too—including the White House press that never knows when he will really go on a planned trip or when he will not—and vice versa. That time we were invited by the President to keep him company at a party for us in the White House mansion when Lady Bird and the girls were away and he was lonesome, he suddenly decided to take us to the Democratic convention in Atlantic City.

So off we went on an hour's notice and a quick grab at some of the elegant food prepared for the party in the White House. You should have seen the disappointed faces on the serving staff left with their silver trays of food, the table of drinks and other comestibles they got ready for us.

Well, and then dates made and canceled, or somebody sent instead. Granted sometimes something official comes up and he has to stay at the office, but often reason is not visible, either for the going or not going.

These sudden changes not only drive the reporters "nuts," but the staff that had to make elaborate arrangements for his travel and protection—they go "nuts" too when there is a sudden departure. Also, the sudden cancellation of the arrangements when he doesn't go. "Nuts" is a tame word for the people on the other end who have made arrangements for him to come or can't make them properly for a sudden coming.

All this leads up to a warning to folks in Maine not to put too much trust in his coming to Maine for the campaign the latter part of this month. No firm date has been set, but even if it were firmly set, don't count on it. Same for vice presidential candidate HUMPHREY, who may come in addition to the President, or in his place. Not that anything is even scheduled firmly, but even if it were, it might be canceled. He might come, though; he wants to take Maine.

Democrats are expected to have all arrangements made for a visit of the President or vice presidential candidate, including selling dinner tickets, and having a good crowd. But how can you do that, and then he doesn't come? The local Dems who made the arrangements are in bad with the other local Dems.

But suppose the visit is sudden and they can't get together a good crowd? That's too bad, too. This goes to some extent in relation to GOLDWATER, the GOP candidate for President. Make 'em and break 'em, and then comes on sudden dates. Even at that the crowds for GOLDWATER at some planned events have not been what GOP expected.

On the other hand, there have been some enthusiastic big crowds for the Republican candidates. This is the sort of thing that drives the local officials nuts because they are held responsible for anything that happens. Presidents can always get more crowds than anybody.

There has been political interest here in the emotional enthusiasm that has accompanied some of the campaign stops of Robert Kennedy, who is running for the Senate in New York. Not so much in the cool up-State as around the city of New York. We never know how much emotional crowds, with their huzzahs, mean. There was Al Smith, who ran for President against Hoover and was beaten, though seldom have I seen more idolatrous public crowds and acclaim. It is said, with some truth that GOLDWATER is the candidate of the GOP convention delegates, the local political managers—not necessarily of the general mass of Republicans. He had the delegates nailed down before the convention ever met.

It remains to be seen whether Bobby Kennedy can come from Massachusetts and get elected in New York. This attempt by him is a possible trend of great political change. The speed of transportation and communication today has been welding us more into a nation, people mix more, they move about from job to job as the tides of industry change site of available jobs.

The Story of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the story of a Congress, as well as being

a record of the words and deeds of their chosen representatives, is in large measure a capsule history of the public life of the whole American people. The story of the 88th Congress, I believe, will especially command the attention of future historians and generations due to the troubled and discontented nature of our national life which has been the scene of great tragedy, deep-rooted controversies and impassioned conflicts.

The hairline presidential election in 1960 has proven to be symbolic of the basic differences so much in evidence in the debates in this Congress as to the proper role of Government in the lives of our people. The leadership has been guided by one view: that our problems—social or economic, national or local—can and should be solved through new Federal laws granting more and more power and responsibility to a centralized authority. This approach places the demands of group interests above the preservation of individual freedom and responsibility. Under it, each citizen is reduced to a social or economic statistic, to a fraction of an interest group, a unit of a bloc vote. This determined effort to treat individuals in essentially materialistic terms has aroused widespread dissatisfaction.

For some 3 years Congress refused to approve most of the administration's programs. However, this year many have been cleared one way or another, in one form or another, with administration coercion used again and again to circumvent the independent reasoned deliberation of the Congress, causing many to voice displeasure and shock at the tactics of the majority leadership and the lack of respect shown by the administration for representative government. In this manner, the administration has achieved congressional approval of fundamental changes with respect to spending control, farm legislation, defense policy, and cold war strategy which have left many disturbed over the conduct of their government.

While Congress responded to the deeply felt national concern for the equal participation of our citizens in community facilities and public life, in many quarters there has been a growing awareness and alarm at the apparent loss of civic responsibility, for moderation, and for the rule of law. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which I supported, I believe can be of service in this regard if enforced with reason, rather than impetuously or in a spirit of vengeance without regard for the consequences.

Likewise, the growing tendency in the decisions of the Supreme Court to assume new powers at will on the assumption that most social ills can be solved by judicial edict has been the source of deep concern to many. I have joined in efforts to check what I felt to be this overreach of judicial authority in order to preserve our system of checks and balances, the Federal character of our government, and the long-established principle of local self-determination with respect to apportionment of State legislatures, and religious observances in public schools.

Without doubt, Mr. Speaker, the story of the 88th Congress will be forever etched in black by the tragedy of November 22, 1963. In such troubled times I believe we may draw reassurance about the strength and durability of our system of government from the orderly functioning of our national life during those grave days, and in the renewed awareness that the preservation of the freedoms we now enjoy is dependent upon our willingness to take the time and trouble to govern ourselves at all levels through the orderly, time-proven procedures of our representative institutions.

Fiorella H. La Guardia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the following are the remarks made by Morris S. Novik at the ceremony at Woodlawn Cemetery, at the grave of Fiorello H. La Guardia, on Sunday, September 20, 1964. Mr. Novik was director of radio station WNYC during the La Guardia administration:

FIORELLA H. LA GUARDIA

On this, the 17th anniversary of the death of Fiorello H. La Guardia, we assemble as we have done every year to pay tribute to a man we loved.

As the years go by, each of us attempts to assess the man. We try to explain the imprints he made, not only on our lives in general, but also on our personal lives.

The legacy of La Guardia was his identification with the people, they loved him and he loved them.

Each of us, as the years go by, sees Fiorello La Guardia, naturally enough, through his own eyes. Objective though we try to be, we cannot but think in terms of our own personal relationship with him.

All of us knew La Guardia as a great man—as a great mayor—as a great leader. It was my fortune to know La Guardia as a great communicator.

There are many explanations for the La Guardia phenomenon. One seems to dominate. He was able to talk to the widest audience and not only be heard, but understood. His phrase was not elegant. It often was not eloquent, but it was always direct, earnest, and completely understandable. It was as though his heart had a tongue that spoke to other hearts. This understanding was not limited to any one group. It reached everyone.

La Guardia pioneered in the use of radio. He understood that it was not merely a medium for making speeches. It was, to him, a medium for talking personally with real people about real life problems.

He talked to people about their problems in their own terms. When he talked about the price of tomatoes on radio, he wanted to help people with limited earnings to make every penny count. He was trying to help them live better and more rewarding lives. Radio helped him ring each doorbell. Talk with each person, and help every one of them with the problems of everyday living.

This personal recollection of La Guardia is more than a sentimentalized memory. La Guardia, saw radio, and in his last years, television—practically an extension of personal conversation. Many did not agree with La Guardia but they always listened.

WNYC was in existence for many years prior to Mayor La Guardia taking office. In many ways, it was regarded as an orphan or stepchild of the city government. In fact, previous administrations literally hid its antenna behind the statue on top of the municipal building and assigned the station to the housekeeping agency of the city, concerned with maintenance of buildings and bridges—the department of plants and structures.

It was Mayor La Guardia who first recognized the value of a city radio station. It was he who was responsible for the establishment of the radio station as an independent municipal department. Then began the long-range campaign to establish WNYC as a vital force in the affairs and lives of the people of the city of New York. This led into the prolonged struggle with the Federal Communications Commission to obtain recognition for the unique services rendered by WNYC and for its right to have full-time on the air. A major step in winning that battle was actually achieved only recently, 25 years later—hopefully the final victory will not be long in coming.

During the crucial years of World War II La Guardia saw radio as a personal line of communication between government—local government—and the people. From day to day the people wanted to know not only about the events of the day, but how those events were evaluated by someone they trusted. They trusted Fiorello La Guardia.

When the war broke out in 1941, the mayor was the first to realize the importance of radio and WNYC in supporting the war effort on the home front, in civil defense, and in keeping people informed of where and how they could help.

Mayor La Guardia never missed a Sunday broadcast during the war. In the heat of summer—and city hall was not air conditioned in those days—and in the dead of winter, Fiorello La Guardia left his home to face the WNYC microphone and press every Sunday to report to the people of New York on city affairs and the contribution the city was making to the war effort.

He reported how and where they could help—when to collect tin cans, what changes were being made in rationing, how to conserve vital energies needed for the war effort.

He told them of what he thought about everything connected with the war effort. He lifted high the hope and strengthened the courage and the morale of the people of the world's greatest city.

Just as the bells of the Tower of Parliament inspired the beleaguered people of Great Britain, so WNYC broadcast the historic chimes of our city hall, followed by the identification "WNYC in a city where over 7 million people live in peace and enjoy the benefits of democracy."

La Guardia wanted the station to be a living service to the city. He wanted it to draw the people closer to each other and to their city. He wanted it to help, to teach, to entertain, to serve, to unite—and to continue.

Regularly during the war, the civil defense programs and services of WNYC were transmitted to the commercial stations in the city for rebroadcast. WNYC was the keynote in the arch that never cracked security during almost 4 years of voluntary censorship and self regulation.

Many are commemorated by statues, monuments, or public facilities named in their honor such as airports, bridges, and tunnels.

While one of the great New York airports bears his name, I prefer to think that Mayor La Guardia's principal monument is radio

station WNYC. The station established a standard of excellence and a code of public service for broadcasting that even today is still unique. The station still plays a leading role in the cultural and civic affairs in the city.

That is the monument on the ether waves to Fiorello La Guardia. It is a voice that still speaks long after its innovator has passed from us. It is a voice that has meaning and responsibility. It is listened to because of its authority.

It is a living thing, a monument to his patience, his fortitude, his fighting spirit.

Perhaps I have spoken too much about La Guardia's great contributions to WNYC and the field of communications. That is natural for me.

On this the 17th anniversary of his death, I know that all of us here feel his presence. We still miss him for his concern with a hundred causes.

We miss him as a man. We miss him as a friend. He was sometimes difficult. He was sometimes violent. He could be gay. He could be sad.

Fiorello La Guardia is missed, and he will never be forgotten.

The Vice Presidency—Constitutional Amendment Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of regret to many thoughtful students of good government that nothing has been done in this session of Congress about the matter of Presidential succession. Hopefully, this will be the first order of business next year. There are several excellent suggestions, perhaps the best being that the President be given the power to nominate a Vice President, subject to confirmation by a majority vote in the House and Senate.

The Lebanon, N.H., Valley News, a daily newspaper published in my district, comments on this important matter in an editorial dated September 30, 1964. I might say that I do not agree completely with all of their comment but because of the importance of this subject, I would like to share the following editorial with my colleagues.

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

On 16 occasions, or during 38 of the 175 years of the Presidency's existence the office of Vice President has been vacant. Eight Vice Presidents succeeded to the Presidency, seven died in office, and one, John C. Calhoun, resigned to enter the U.S. Senate.

Until a few years ago a vacated Vice Presidency didn't seem to matter much. The No. 2 man—and just about everybody else including the President—looked upon the office as little more than a constitutional necessity, calling for an Alexander Throttlebottom to fill a seat, occupy an office somewhere or other on Capitol Hill, and to while away the time between elections. Unless, God forbid, something happened to the President.

The notion of what a Vice President should be and do has changed drastically, and under recent Presidents the No. 2 man has become increasingly important in the scheme of Government. Today it is established that the candidate for Vice President must be the second most qualified man in the party. (This year the Democrats adhered to this principle, the Republicans did not; but that is not the subject of this piece, however obvious and disturbing the contrast.)

It is imperative that a method be evolved to fill the office when it becomes vacant between national elections. Many ways have been suggested, and finally a compromise method which has a good chance of acceptance has been drawn.

It suggests that the President be given the power to nominate a Vice President subject to confirmation by majority votes of the House and Senate.

This past summer the Senate Judiciary Committee approved a proposed constitutional amendment which contains the compromise method. The proposal should be brought up again in the next Congress; and if both Houses approve it by two-thirds vote, and three-fourths of the States ratify it, it will became a part of the U.S. Constitution.

Representative JAMES CLEVELAND, Republican of New Hampshire, has stated that he will support the proposal. There is no valid reason why the other Vermont and New Hampshire solons should not, also.

The "Big Lie" Technique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week I took the floor to call to the attention of the House and to the country the "big lie" technique being employed, maliciously, and viciously, against Senator BARRY GOLDWATER.

I called special attention to the latest attempt to bring into question the health and mental stability of the Senator. Costly ads placed in the New York newspapers by one Ralph Ginzberg refer to responses made to a poll of psychiatrists as to the Senator's psychological fitness for the Presidency. I question the professional fitness of psychiatrists who would respond to such a poll.

As a part of my remarks I am inserting in the RECORD a press release on September 30 of the American Medical Association with respect to this whole matter.

The release follows:

CHICAGO.—Donovan F. Ward, M.D., president of the American Medical Association today described as an "exercise in yellow journalism and scientific irresponsibility" an article written for a magazine purportedly evaluating Senator BARRY GOLDWATER's psychological qualifications for the Presidency.

Dr. Ward said psychiatrists were polled by a magazine called Fact for their opinions on Mr. GOLDWATER'S psychological fitness for the Presidency.

"The AMA," he said, "strongly condemns the polling of members of the medical profession to elicit medical opinions by mail, regardless of who is involved, whether it is Mr. GOLDWATER, President Johnson, or any other citizen in public or private life. In this case, this procedure was made doubly improper because it was obvious from its inception that its purpose was to defame a particular individual."

The AMA president said that the magazine "has falsely implied that the American Medical Association cooperated in this exercise in yellow journalism and scientific irresponsibility by supplying names of psychiatrists for the purpose of this poll."

"The AMA did not supply Fact with the names and did not cooperate or participate in any manner in this scurrrilous endeavor," Ward said. "The names were obtained by the magazine from a New Jersey firm which handles mailing lists. The names were obtained without the knowledge or approval of the AMA.

"The AMA hopes the American people will not be misled by this pseudopsychological 'study' and will realize that this publication and its editor, Ralph Ginzberg, are attempting to pervert the science of medicine and psychiatry for commercial and political ends.

"It should be obvious even to those few psychiatrists who permitted themselves to be used by Ginzberg for this political smear that the results of this survey have absolutely no scientific or medical validity. In response to a loaded questionnaire, the survey has produced what is predominantly a collection of personal opinions, and the consequences may do harm to the profession of psychiatry.

"If Fact's figures are accurate, 89 percent of the Nation's psychiatrists did not receive the questionnaire or did not choose to participate. Those who replied to the questionnaire were not required to sign their names. No scientist or statistician would take such a 'survey' seriously or give any credence to the results.

"Furthermore, proper medical procedures were violated in the assembling of the material for this nefarious article. A physician can properly arrive at a medical opinion on the health of an individual only by following accepted clinical procedures, including personal examination of the patient. This procedure was not followed.

"Moreover, the relationship between physician and patient should be kept confidential, the only exception being when disclosure is required by law or judicial proceeding. It should also be noted that Ginzberg has been convicted on a charge brought by the Federal Government of sending obscene matter through the mails.

"He was fined and sentenced to 5 years in prison. He has appealed this conviction. He also brought suit attempting to declare Senator GOLDWATER disqualified for the Presidency because he was born in Arizona before it became a State."

Federal Health Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, N.Y., concerning the location of the Federal Health Center in our area. I support this action wholeheartedly:

FEDERAL HEALTH CENTER

Whereas the city of Buffalo has many natural resources and educational and health research institutions; and

Whereas the city of Buffalo is within a short radius of a substantial portion of the population of the United States and Canada and would thus be able to provide many

skilled scientists, technicians, and laboratory assistants; and

Whereas the city of Buffalo is desirous of affording to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an opportunity to locate within the city of Buffalo so that it may have available many of the scientists and skilled workers required who are presently residing in the Buffalo area: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this common council solicit and invite the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to locate its planned Environmental Health Center in the area of the Niagara Frontier; and be it further

Resolved, That the city clerk be and he hereby is authorized and directed to forward a certified copy of this resolution to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare as well as the U.S. Senators representing the State of New York and the Congressmen representing the Niagara frontier.

The Phoniest Issue Begins To Collapse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. ABELE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ABELE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the September 28 edition of the Herald-Dispatch of Huntington, W. Va. This editorial does a wonderful job of exposing the "myths" surrounding nuclear weapons created by the present administration. It is reassuring to know that at least some of the people outside of Washington are getting the true story in this election year.

The editorial follows:

THE PHONIEST ISSUE BEGINS TO COLLAPSE

The phoniest issue of the presidential campaign is collapsing. Constant misrepresentation of the facts concerning the "nuclear issue" by the Johnson administration is about to boomerang massively against the Democrats.

Senator GOLDWATER has been assailed repeatedly, unmercifully, and dishonestly by President Johnson, Senator HUMPHREY, and Defense Department spokesmen for suggesting that the NATO commander in Europe ought to be given discretion, in certain circumstances, as to whether to use nuclear weapons in the event of an enemy attack.

It now seems to be indisputable that this very discretion has been granted already to the NATO commander. The Democrats have knowingly and deliberately perpetuated a propaganda fake and are riding it for all it is worth.

As Senator GOLDWATER put it last week: "If I can be called trigger happy for suggesting it, what can you call the President for having already done it?"

Let's look at the background.

The current issue of Time magazine, commenting on what it concedes to be vicious Democratic propaganda to portray BARRY GOLDWATER as a trigger-happy presidential candidate, anxious to promote a nuclear war, has done a serviceable job of clarifying the truth.

(An example of Democratic viciousness in this area is found in a disreputable paid political television commercial. It shows a little girl eating an ice cream cone, and then an artful actress in a bad-witch tone says that children should have lots of vitamin A and calcium, "but they shouldn't have Strontium 90 or Cesium 137. These things come from atomic bombs and they make you die. But there is a man who wants to go on testing more bombs. His name is BARRY GOLDWATER. If he is elected they might start testing all over again").

The Democratic attack rests on Senator GOLDWATER's statement that the supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe—now, as from the beginning, an American general—should have the option to use nuclear weapons without direct specific authorization from the President if faced with sudden attack. Mr. GOLDWATER has repeatedly maintained that such authority should be confined to small, conventional battlefield weapons, tactical and strategic. At no point has he spoken of intercontinental missiles of immense power.

The argument is that an enemy attack can come with great suddenness, perhaps with nuclear weapons being used. In a gunpowder war, NATO planners estimate that Western forces could be driven back to the Rhine in 3 days and forced off the Continent of Europe in 30 days.

The Republican candidate contends that unforeseen delay in getting in touch with the President because of communication breakdown might prevent the NATO commander from effectively responding to attack.

He has answered Secretary McNamara's allegation that worldwide communications networks would enable a commander to reach the President in 2 minutes by reminding the Secretary that it was 28 hours before the Secretary could report on the latest shooting incident in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Further, on President Johnson's Labor Day trip to Detroit, the Presidential plane could not accommodate the code machines which are supposed to bring instant intelligence. They rode in a second plane, and the President was out of touch with events while in flight.

Mr. GOLDWATER's suggestions have brought an avalanche of Democratic propaganda that the Arizonan is trigger-happy, that the President alone must have the decision to bring nuclear weapons into play, that there is no such thing as a "conventional" nuclear weapon, and that a field commander sharing in the authority is "irresponsible" and carries the threat of nuclear war by the miscalculations of a "madman."

Senator GOLDWATER has been made out by the Democrats to be some sort of a Dr. Strangelove of a catastrophic horror story.

But, asks Time, what the facts?

And what conclusions will the American people draw concerning the integrity, or lack of it, of an administration which flagrantly misrepresents the facts in so vital a matter?

Time says flatly in the current issue (September 25) that whereas President Johnson denies he can delegate authority to the NATO commander to use nuclear weapons under certain circumstances—

"The fact is that he already does, as did President Eisenhower and Kennedy before him. In 1957 the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy received written notification that plans were being developed to give NATO's supreme commander in Europe the right to use nuclear weapons in certain contingencies * * *. Those plans are now in operation * * *."

Newsweek magazine (September 21) contradicts the Johnson administration's repeated efforts to deny that there are small, tactical nuclear weapons equivalent to some 40 tons of TNT. Now come both Time and U.S. News & World Report to say the same thing.

And Senator GOLDWATER rightly asks: If I can be called trigger happy, what can you call the President * * *?

Senator GOLDWATER has been denounced unjustly across the land as a stupid, unbalanced, reckless trigger-happy man who would probably gleefully blow up the world, if his ideas for giving discretion to the NATO commander were put into effect.

Yet General Norstad, according to Time, never had any doubt about his authority to act in the event of an attack upon Western Europe during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962; he "could use tactical atomic weaponry."

The magazine adds also that General Lemnitzer, the present NATO commander, "under a delegation of power from Johnson, has just such authority."

(It will be recalled that the 1960 campaign had its phony issue of the "missile gap." But this was not carried on with the smear or innuendo of the present misrepresentation of facts. It was merely phony).

God knows no one—certainly neither of the candidates—wants a nuclear war.

Listen to Mr. Eisenhower on warmongering charges in the recent "Conversation at Gettysburg":

"Well, BARRY, in my mind this is actual tommyrot. Now, you know about war; you've been through one. I'm older than you. I've been in war. But I tell you no man that knows anything about war is going to be reckless about this. Now, certainly, the country recognizes in you a man of integrity, of good will, modesty, and dedication to his country. You're not going to push a button here and start a war in another year. Now, they're just crazy and I'll tell you I can't imagine it."

That one side in a political campaign should so distort the facts for political gain, should suggest the other candidate is irresponsible in the face of the awesome fact of nuclear weaponry and its use, is despicable.

This has been the phoniest issue in the campaign and has been shamefully exploited to the detriment of Senator GOLDWATER. We may only hope that clarification can now catch up with the unfair slander.

Tribute to Dr. A. Fernós-Isern

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join my colleagues in tribute to Dr. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN—the able and charming gentleman who has honored this body as Resident Commissioner from the neighboring Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to my own State of Florida. He is a gentleman who has rendered eminent service here, gaining and enjoying the fullest respect of all his colleagues in this House. He will carry back to his own land, which as we are all proud to say, is a great part of our own country, the affection and highest esteem of all those who have had the privilege of serving with him here. He has endeared himself to his colleagues by the graciousness of his manner and the cultivation of his mind. Our affection and fondest wishes go with him and he has our best wishes for his continued success in his career in the future.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I thank the gentleman from Florida for his splendid tribute to our colleague.

Representative Albert Rains, of Alabama—A Tribute

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I like to think that the testimony I am about to give in tribute to Representative ALBERT RAINS, of Gadsden, Ala., enjoys the integrity, the authenticity and the informed judgment, that characterized the language, the data and the sincerity of Representative RAINS himself when he functioned so brilliantly and so successfully among us here in the House. I like to think that when I speak of Representative RAINS I do it from a special position of close and intimate knowledge, just as he himself never rose on this floor to offer a judgment, influence a vote, or sponsor a piece of legislation unless his words were solidly bulwarked by honesty of conviction and exact information. Those of us who know the meaning of Representative RAINS' service to his State and to the Nation—and that is a considerable company—must feel a certain sense of failure in the democratic process itself because of the fact that he is to retire from the Congress. He is only in his early sixties.

For me it seems that the loss from our midst of such a talent in legislation and leadership, when there is yet so much more of it to be had, ought not to be allowed to occur. I wish somehow I had the power—the benign power of course—to alter this decision and keep ALBERT RAINS on the job here in strategic positions with the key committees to which he contributed so much. When I say that my knowledge of his effectiveness, his skill, his diplomatic handling of many men of talent and decision, is grounded upon a very special vantage point, I mean, of course, that ALBERT RAINS and I worked together in committee.

We conferred, we studied, we poured over reports and documents, we consulted our colleagues, we sought to master the problems and the differences among men, and we even disputed. Always ALBERT RAINS toiled in the interests of better and better legislation, and always in the interest of decision and success. As a fellow legislator on the same legislative team, so to speak, with ALBERT RAINS, I am particularly grateful to him, for he made the burden of our job less arduous.

I feel that no credit attaches to me that I, as Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, had him constantly at my side and then appointed him Chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing. He had been Chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing in the committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Brent Spence of Kentucky for many years, and had become our outstanding expert on the subject of housing. It took no special genius to recognize that here, in this great man from Alabama, was the foresight, the capacity for direction, the progressive legislative point of view, that constitute the very heart-blood of leadership for the public good in a democracy. And his experience as a lawyer and in public service in Alabama before he came here in 1944, his affection and enthusiasm for people, all made for the kind of service in this House that is stamped forever upon the history of our country.

It is a service that is remarkably significant in the legislation for housing in which he was a great technician and an expert not only, but a statesman of profound understanding. I am an old hand myself at the business of legislation, often under great difficulty and greater pressure. For more than 3 decades I have watched the democratic process in this Chamber and before that in Texas.

I know something of the indispensability of men like ALBERT RAINS.

And I know what the great law firms of our country, or private industry, or banking and management would do to count men like RAINS in the top echelons of their leadership. It is my firm conviction, however, that ALBERT RAINS belongs in Government, belongs in service to his fellow man for whom he feels so deeply and works so hard. I earnestly hope that he will be returned soon to the public service, in one capacity or another.

We are, Mr. Speaker, in the midst of a harsh and sometimes bitter presidential campaign. I have, with great pain and anguish, heard words spoken that downgrade and disparage the profession of politics, as if politics were some unpleasant business charged with corruption and ignorance, and devoid of moral dignity. I pray that the often unwitting traducers of the political profession could come to this House, this Chamber, Mr. Speaker, and see and talk with, and learn about men like ALBERT RAINS of Alabama. For there is nothing in the whole spectrum of human endeavor that is so symbolic of the noblest quality in human nature, the finest aspirations, the most diligent endeavors, as the public and private life of a man like ALBERT RAINS.

It gives me personally a tremendous sense of loss to see him retire. But it gives me also a concomitant sense of gratitude to know that politicians like ALBERT RAINS give dignity and stature, distinction and honor to the profession of politics and to the democratic process in our country.

Salute to Uganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, October 9, Uganda will celebrate its second anniversary of independence, and on this grand occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Uganda, A. Milton Obote; and to His Excellency, the Uganda Ambassador to the United States, Solomon B. Asea.

Sir Winston Churchill once wrote about this country:

> Uganda is a fairy tale. You climb up a railway instead of a beanstalk, and at the end there is a wonderful new world. The scenery is different, the vegetation is different, the climate is different, and, most of all, the people are different from anything elsewhere to be seen in the whole range of Africa.

What makes Uganda a fairy tale? First, its scenery is probably unmatched anywhere else in Africa, or perhaps in the world. It is rich in wildlife and natural beauty; among the many species of animals found there are the giraffe, the rare white rhino, the elephant, and the hyena. Uganda is a land of colorful flora, of gently rolling mountains interspersed with valleys, and of open plains. It is a land of rivers, lakes, and falls. Its history is a tale of adventure. In 1862 the English explorer, John Speke, undertook a hazardous journey through Uganda in search of the main source of the Nile and eventually found it in Lake Victoria; Alan Moorehead's "The White Nile" contains a fascinating account of Speke's explorations.

Uganda is a country unique in every way. Its economy is based on agriculture, like that of the rest of Africa, but its people are independent farmers with a larger share in the national economy that most Africans. The people of Uganda dress differently than those elsewhere in Africa. The traditional dress of the women is the "basutu," a Victorian-style dress with standup puff sleeves and skirts billowing to the ground—a fashion introduced by 19th century missionaries. Many of the men wear the traditional Arab khanzu, a sort of ankle length shirt.

Perhaps most interesting of all is Uganda's political system, which is a strange mixture of feudal and modern elements. The government is federal in structure, but one of the federal subdivisions, the kingdom of Buganda, is a powerful political entity which has a system of government, including a king and parliament, dating back four centuries. To mix further the old and the new, when Uganda became a republic on the first anniversary of its independence, the King of Buganda was named head of state, the President of Uganda. Uganda's uniqueness, however, does not extend to economic development. It has not escaped the development problems of other newly independent nations but it is meeting them rationally and competently. The government has carefully assessed development needs, and a development plan running to mid-1966 seeks to achieve an annual increase in GNP of 4 percent. Diversification and expansion of agricultural and livestock production is viewed as a first step in the country's long-term economic growth. Currently the emphasis is on improving the productive capacity of the individual peasant farmers who grow all

Uganda's cotton and 98 percent of its coffee, its two chief exports.

In foreign policy, Uganda, as a member of the British Commonwealth, remains politically and economically affiliated with the West. Most of Uganda's trade is with other Commonwealth countries, and nearly all financial aid comes from the West. On the African Continent itself, Uganda is beginning to play an increasingly important role in the continentwide Organization for African Unity and in discussions looking toward an eventual East African federation of Kenya, the Republic of Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, and Uganda.

Our salute to Prime Minister Obote and the people of Uganda on the second anniversary of their independence is a pledge of our deep-felt friendship toward the Ugandans and our continuing interest in their unique and fascinating country.

A Reasonable and Thoughtful Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Bangor Daily News, September 23, 1964:

A REASONABLE AND THOUGHTFUL SPEECH

Those who have been led to believe by alarmists that Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is, somehow, a trigger-happy man must have been surprised by his first nationally televised speech of last Friday evening.

He talked about peace. He noted that peace was "the matter upon which everything else depends—everything we care most about—our material possessions—our hopes and our dreams—our families and their good futures."

Those don't strike us as the words of a warmonger. Nor do we know of anything of his 12-year record in the U.S. Senate that would substantiate such a charge. As a man who served as a pilot in the Air Force during World War II, he knows all about the horrors of war. As a major general in the Air Force he is well up on the might of nuclear bombs and missiles. It simply doesn't make sense that he would want to loose these weapons upon the world any more than any other sane American and family man.

GOLDWATER stressed the importance of preparedness—and unswerving determination to stand up to the "schoolyard bully," meaning Communist aggression. He contrasted Eisenhower's success in the cold war with the record of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, citing the Berlin wall and the present situations in Cuba and Vietnam.

"I do not intend," GOLDWATER said, "to see peace and freedom stolen from this Nation and this world because we lack will or weapons or leadership."

Surely that is a reasonable enough assertion, and one for every American to ponder. What the Arizona Senator calls the illusion of peace in the world today, fostered by the Johnson camp is tempting to believe, but the consequences could be fatal.

Liberal elements in both parties hate and fear GOLDWATER. They are doing their best to create a false image of the Republican presidential nominee. We hope citizens will listen more to GOLDWATER and less to his angry detractors for the balance of the election campaign.

TVA Versus Arizona Project—Some Questions for Barry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD FULTON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Republican nominee for the Presidency has again proposed that Tennessee Valley Authority steamplants be sold to private interests. Yet it is interesting to note that the Senator's own home in Phoenix apparently receives electric power from the federally created Salt River project's steamplants.

An illuminating analysis of the similarities between TVA and the Arizona Salt River project has recently been prepared by Prof. Marray J. Martin, of the Department of Business Administration, David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tenn. It appeared in the letters to the editor column of the Memphis Press-Scimitar on September 17, 1964, and, under leave to extend my remarks, I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

TVA VERSUS ARIZONA PROJECT—SOME QUESTIONS FOR BARRY

Senator GOLDWATER wrote Congressman RICHARD H. FULTON, of Nashville, that TVA should be sold. Since then he appears to have modified his position. A recent publication, "Senator GOLDWATER Speaks Out on the Issues," has this statement in part: "Terminate or dispose of TVA activities that do not have counterparts anywhere in our Federal structure. These include the system's steam generating plants."

It is worth noting that Mr. GOLDWATER has not advocated similar action for steamplants of the Salt River project in Phoenix, Ariz., his hometown. He has been curiously silent about this Federal enterprise. Yet the SRP obtains 72 percent of its power from steamplants. For TVA in 1963 the figure was 73 percent, only 1 percent more.

SIMILAR TO TVA

The SRP has characteristics very similar to those of TVA:

It is a Federal multipurpose project: (1) water for that semiarid region, (2) power, and (3) flood protection.

As is true of TVA in the Tennessee Valley, the SRP has contributed to the development of central Arizona, Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona (a Democrat), observes, "In 1910 there were about 35,000 inhabitants in Maricopa County (Phoenix). Today over 650,000 people live and work there. This growth is attributable almost solely to what is now the Salt River project."

Salt River project pays no Federal income tax. It is also exempt from governmental property taxes. However, like TVA, it now makes payments in lieu of taxes to State and local bodies—$1.6 million in 1964.

Federally appropriated funds invested in its electric and irrigation plant facilities currently stand at $11.6 million. This is being repaid in annual installments to the U.S. Treasury and will be completed by 1993, TVA is doing exactly the same thing.

IDENTICAL PROCEDURE

SRP is a nonprofit enterprise. All net profits are "plowed back" into the business. Net profits for 1963 were $4.8 million. TVA follows an identical procedure.

When established in 1903, SRP's main purpose was to harness the Salt River for irrigation. It also proposed to sell some hydropower "on the side" (like TVA) to be developed from its dams.

But it could not foresee what its water and power would accomplish in stimulating the economy.

The hydropower facilities of SRP, which initially were adequate, currently furnish only 10 percent of power needs for the Salt River Valley. And no further development of hydropower is feasible.

So now, to meet the increasing need for electricity, which its management forecasts will double every 6 years, SRP must produce power from steamplants. Its first steamplant was built in 1952 and the latest in 1961—an overall investment to date of $57.3 million.

Thus, in 1964, by utilizing steamplants SRP has become the second largest producer of power in Arizona. Every fourth purchaser of electricity in the State buys from SRP.

STEAMPLANT PARALLEL

TVA's experience has been the same, only on a much larger scale. It too has been compelled to build steamplants.

Incidentally, Senator GOLDWATER's home is in Paradise Valley, a suburb north of Phoenix. A map of SRP's electrical service area shows that this region is within its boundaries. Therefore it is possible that the Senator himself enjoys Salt River project power.

The Salt River project—with a record of operations for over half a century—should be permitted to retain its steamplants. Senator GOLDWATER appears to have no objections.

And TVA is worthy of the same consideration.

The Senator suggests that it would be a "great boon" to Tennessee to have the TVA placed on the tax rolls. So, why does not Mr. GOLDWATER propose to place the Salt River project—at least its steamplants—on the tax rolls of Arizona?

MURRAY J. MARTIN,
Associate Professor of Business Administration, David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tenn.

Pilot of Air Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress, it has been my privilege to appoint young men to the Air Force Academy. Although I have not had an opportunity to visit the Academy, I hope to do so.

I wish to include in the RECORD a very interesting article which appeared in the September 22, 1964, issue of the New York Daily News concerning the Superintendent of the Academy, Maj. Gen. Robert H. Warren. I commend General Warren on his many fine accomplishments:

PILOT OF AIR ACADEMY

(By Sidney Fields)

COLORADO SPRINGS, September 21.—When Robert H. Warren got out of West Point in 1940 he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Artillery, but he went directly to flying school.

"I just didn't like to walk," he explained.

While piloting bombers in World War II it never occurred to him, even remotely, that he'd ever be a schoolmaster. But he is. He's now Major General Warren, Superintendent of the $161 million U.S. Air Force Academy, gleaming in the Rocky Mountain foothills here. He's also mayor to 10,000 people in the town that grew up on the Academy's 17,900 acres since it opened in 1958.

PICKS THE PILOTS

One of his jobs is to determine whether his students will go on to become Air Force pilots. It costs $100,000 to train one for a year.

"Only 1 out of 10 of our boys wash out of pilot training," the general said.

Of 1,947 Air Academy graduates so far, 1,544 went on to pilot training. The rest earned special scholarships for further study in medicine, navigation and space technology. Seven are Rhodes Scholars.

"Princeton devised a test to determine how bright a whole graduating class is," General Warren said. "Among 240 colleges who took it, ours ranked second in 1962 and first last year."

About 1,000 doolies, or new cadets, were admitted last July, largest freshman class in Academy history. From reveille at 5:55 a.m., to taps at 10:15 p.m., the discipline for them is strict; their work, constant, with few free time periods. Athletics are required, not voluntary.

"Our purpose is to turn out a young man with a good basic education as a starting point for a specialized career in the Air Force," General Warren said.

SHAKESPEARE TO SPACE

For their basic education the courses include Shakespeare, music, painting, languages, literature, and economics. The specialization starts with such studies as engineering, military tactics, astronautics, concepts of aerospace power, a 3-day survival course in the mountains with 1 day's food, diplomatic history, and international affairs.

"Since many of them will be serving overseas they have to be as effective at a conference table as they are in a cockpit or a space capsule," the general said.

His daughter Barbara, 17, is a freshman at Stanford. His son, Robert Jr., 19, is a second-year man at the Air Force Academy.

"He got his appointment and was accepted before I knew I'd be here," the general said.

Gentle, 6-foot-2, and 47, Warren comes from tiny Yankton, S. Dak., where his father was a lawyer. After Yankton College he went to West Point. While there the boy from Yankton spent one summer herding tourists and New Yorkers around Radio City as a guide.

THIRTY-EIGHT BOMBER MISSIONS

Nine months after he got his wings, America was in World War II. He flew 38 bombers missions, surviving the deadly low-level run over the Ploesti oil fields in Rumania. He was assigned to a newly formed B-29 group in the Pacific, which was thoroughly briefed on targets in Korea and Manchuria. But V–J day came. Five years later Warren was air operations director for Gen. Otto Weyland's Far East air force in the Korean war.

"And, of course, we couldn't touch those targets," Warren said. "Ironically I was made senior negotiator at the Panmunjom meetings with the North Koreans."

After 3 years at a Pentagon desk, another three commanding the aircraft and missile test center at Eglin, Fla., he was ordered to the Air Force Academy in 1962 as its fourth Superintendent.

He immediately established the practice of overhauling the entire curriculum every year. "We must," he said, "to keep pace with the rapid changes in our space age."

IMPROVES FRESHMAN'S LOT

For years to come every doolie will be grateful to him for ending the meaningless harassment by upperclassmen. Warren quickly stopped them from "punishing" new cadets by making them do pushups, take long runs, 2-hour walks with rifles, reciting lessons at mealtime.

"I expelled one cadet for keeping food from a doolie," the general said. "So everyone is getting the message loud and clear. We now have a demerit system and regular punishment periods except, of course, for serious offenses like reckless driving or drinking publicly in uniform. For such things they are kicked out at once."

How's his own son doing?

"I told him life would be unbearable for him here with me as Superintendent. But he survived it. Academically, he stands in the middle of his class and he made the honor list for military achievement."

But what pleases pop most is junior's attitude. "Why, he thinks the Air Force Academy is the greatest place in the world," General Warren said. "And, of course, he's right."

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I include the October 1 issue of my Washington Report for the information of the Members:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman M. G. "GENE" SNYDER, Third District, Kentucky)

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

DEAR FRIEND: As we go to press a few days before the end of the month, I anticipate congressional adjournment momentarily. No doubt this will be accomplished by the time the printer finishes this letter. Louise, Mark, and I have been able to spend most of last month in Louisville. The reapportionment filibuster in the Senate left little for the House to do during September.

The monthly Newsletter will not come as often during adjournment. I expect to have another report about December 15. I will continue the monthly reports when the 89th Congress reconvenes, if, of course, I am still your Congressman.

FOREIGN AID IMPACT

In a foreign aid debate last year, an administration spokesman said that 80 percent of our foreign aid money was spent by the recipient here in the United States. At the time, no one had any information to the contrary. Now, Dr. Lewis E. Lloyd, head of business research for the Dow Chemical Co., has completed a study for a private organization on this subject. In testimony presented to the Senate Committee on Appropriations on July 31, 1964, he states that in fiscal 1963 only $855 million out of a total of $5,170 million foreign aid grants and loans was spent in the United States. The rest was spent overseas for products, foreign labor, and for 3,379 personnel stationed overseas to administer aid. Thus 78 percent of grants and loans were spent outside the United States.

The General Accounting Office, auditors for Congress, has just accused the Commerce Department of improperly spending $7.4 million in taxpayers' money under two programs touted as remedies for unemployment, poverty, and economic lag. These are the so-called Area Redevelopment Act and the Public Works Acceleration Act. GAO said the Commerce Department permitted projects in nondepressed sections, which did not qualify for Federal aid under these laws, to get this aid. The war-on-poverty program and the equally big relief project for the so-called Appalachia area are new ventures wide open for the same type of bureaucratic expansion. Measures taken to help the genuinely needy are not much help to such people if the manna is distributed extravagantly to just about anybody who asks. Yet this is the fate of most Government programs of this nature. Only the most strict policing will save the poverty scheme from a like fate.

Information made public by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover shows that serious crime in the United States has increased 40 percent in the last 5 years. In the report, Hoover stated "Crime in the United States jumped 19 percent during the first 3 months of this year—more than 2½ times the increase reported a year ago." Most of the increase is in large cities, where we have the greatest concentration of immigrants.

House Committee on Un-American Activities on Oswald: HUAC has released a report placing the responsibility for the assassination of President Kennedy squarely upon Communist "Hate America" campaigns and the tendency of Americans to underrate the Red threat to our freedoms. The report says: "Because hate is so large an element in Communist doctrine and propaganda, it is reasonable to conclude that Oswald's close association with the Communist movement and reading of its propaganda organs markedly influenced his conduct. Oswald was involved in the U.S. Communist agitation-propaganda effort, leading the attempted organization of a Fair Play for Cuba chapter in Dallas—and the Communist propaganda he read portrayed the President as the leader of that Government deemed by the Communists to be their principal enemy. Their (Communists) carefully contrived words are the father of thoughts that impel their adherents and sympathizers to actions that, in one way or another, are all designed to undermine and destroy our way of life. All Americans, I believe, were shocked to learn that our President had been assassinated by a citizen of the United States. Undoubtedly, it did not have to happen. Perhaps it would not have happened, if, during past years, the American people, as a whole, had worked harder to disclose the lies and half-truths in domestic Communist propaganda so that our youth would not be misled by it."

According to Representative RICHARD ROUDEBUSH, Republican, of Indiana, one of the strangest pieces of legislation passed by the House of Representatives recently was a bill to provide free Federal medical care to fishing boat owners. The cost of this "motorboat medicare" program, the Congressman notes, will come to $1,825,200 per year. Does this signal a new tactic by the proponents of medicare? Unable to get Congress to act favorably on a general program, will they try for passage of a series of "special interest" bills to initiate Federal medicare one group at a time? Arguments used by proponents of the "motorboat medicare" bill could be used for many other special interest groups. According to ROUDEBUSH, the major argument used was that fishing boat owners are entitled to free medical service because their occupation is "hazardous." By the same yardstick, miners, athletes, lion tamers—and editorial writers, might qualify.

A 45-CENT DOLLAR

During and since World War II, more than 90 billion inflationary dollars have been poured into our economy. The worth of our dollar has dropped to 45 cents. The Federal debt limit is $324 billion. Federal taxes have been cut, but heavy spending continues. In the last 33 years, the budget has been in the red 27 times. The fiscal deficit for 1963 was $6.2 billion. In fiscal 1964 this had increased to $8.3 billion. New programs recommended to Congress by the administration for fiscal 1965 will add more than $8 billion to the 1965 and future fiscal years' spending.

ART OF BABYSITTING

If you are worried about the mess in Washington, the chaos in Vietnam, the approaching bankruptcy of the United Nations, Communist gains in Africa and the Far East, relax. The Federal Government has other problems more pressing. After dealing with all these countries and problems, the administration has money left over which is spent on such subjects as the art of babysitting. Even though most homemaking magazines and a number of books have been covering such problems for years, the book produced by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entitled, "A Guide for Babysitters," covers all aspects of the profession. It suggests such solid advice for sitters as this on page 5: "Your main job is to watch the child." But, according to HEW, girl babysitters had better keep an eye on the baby's father as well. "Some men forget," advises Mother HEW, "or almost forget—that sitters are sitters. They try to treat them like girl friends." No doubt it will be a bestseller.

Observe United States Day, October 23: The main purpose of United States Day is to pinpoint and dramatize the imminent danger of losing our freedom to internationalist planners who are determined to destroy the independence of the United States and set up a world government dictatorship. Help establish United States Day as a permanent institution to serve as a continual reminder to all citizens to be on guard against alien ideas of government that threaten the independence and sovereignty of the United States.

The U.S. public debt exceeds that of all the other non-Communist countries of the world. Tabulations by the Library of Congress disclose that at the end of last year the other non-Communist countries had a total debt of $232.6 billion. The U.S. national debt limit is $324 billion. While exact figures are not available from the Communist nations, the United States is believed to have a public debt at least $25 billion higher than all the nations of the world combined.

During the month of September, President Johnson signed the appropriation bill for water research projects throughout the United States. Included was the sum of $20,000 to implement the resolution of the House Public Works Committee which I was able to get adopted, for a study of the eventual flood protection of southwestern Jefferson County.

A recent report by the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures reveals that employees are being added to the Federal payroll at the rate of 325 a week. The report shows 7,948 new employees have been added to the Government payroll during the first 6 months of this year; 2,626 during the month of June alone. This January–June increase averages 1,300 new Federal workers a month. Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, comments: "Any administration that is still adding 325 new employees per week to the public payroll and which is spending over $125 million per week more than its income certainly must have its tongue in its cheek when it talks about economy." In announcing the economy drive last December, President Johnson promised that "we will have fewer Federal employees next year than this." "Washington Report" readers will recall my sincere "congratulations" to the President on that occasion. What has happened to that pledge? Net increase for the period since L.B.J.'s promise: more than 17,000.

Spreading freedom: The American people should spread freedom every opportunity that presents itself because everyday we are losing a little bit more. Ever since World War II, the free world has been losing ground and Communists have been gaining. Fourteen countries and nearly 800 million people have fallen under Communist rule since 1945.

Now a new Soviet volunteer corps: The Soviet Union has begun a Communist volunteer corps as their answer to the U.S. Peace Corps. Disclosure of the new Communist corps came from a Tass (July 11) dispatch from Moscow. The dispatch revealed that "Soviet student volunteers are staying together with Algerians." Their task is to aid Algerians in rehabilitating war-ravaged areas in Algeria. Algerian President Ben Bella, in addressing the Soviet student volunteers, declared, "We returned from your country (the U.S.S.R.) with still greater faith, hope, and resolution to continue our socialist experience. Now that our country has joined battle against the oil and gas companies which are exploiting the people's labor * * * your work is a great support to us." It is interesting to note that Ben Bella was wooed in this country after gaining power in Algeria, but no sweet words of praise have ever fallen from his lips.

Until the next report, I solicit your prayers and advice—that my conduct as your Congressman—will be worthy of the commendation of all good men.

Sincerely,

M. G. "GENE" SNYDER.

The 600th Anniversary of the University of Cracow, Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on September 20, 1964, Buffalo, N.Y., celebrated the 600th anniversary of the University of Cracow, Poland.

The program began at 12 noon with a Mass at St. Stanislaus R. C. Church, Buffalo, celebrated by Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. Adamski, P.S., and sermon by Rev. Francis X. Wlodarczak.

Later in the day at St. Stanislaus Social Center, I was privileged to participate in a very interesting program which was presented by the Adam Mickiewicz Library and Dramatic Circle.

1. "Broken Signal": Taps.
2. National anthems: I. Paderewski Singing Society.
3. Invocation: Rev. Joseph J. Stelmach.
4. "History of the University": Stanislaus Mrozowski, Ph. D.
5. I. Paderewski Choir under the direction of M. Slominski.
6. F. Chopin Choir under the direction of Peter Górecki:
   a. Brzmijcie Traby i Puzony, F. Chopin.
   b. Maki, S. Niawiadomski: Mrs. T. Skotnicka-Dybas, soprano.
   c. Zolnierz i Panna (Rozkwitaly Peki), folk song.
   d. Dopóki Wisla Biezy, P. Górecki: Mrs. Skotnicka-Dybas and Mr. L. Distel, duet.
   e. Zyczenie, F. Chopin: Miss J. Wnek, soloist.
   f. Czesc Polskiej Ziemi.
7. "History of the University": Bruce McCausland, M.S.
8. Miss Melinda Blahovec, violin; Miss Angeline Matthews, accompanist: Romance Opus 23, Szymanowski; Mazurka Opus 19, H. Wieniawski.
9. Address: B. Richard Bugelski, Ph. D.
10. Benediction: Rt. Rev. Msgr. S. Sierakowski.
11. Boze Cos Polske: Song.

The following is a brief history of the University of Cracow:

It was on May 12, 1364, that King Casimir the Great founded the first university in Poland, one of the oldest universities in Europe. The act of foundation was issued by the King with the later approval by the Pope.

The University of Cracow was founded after the pattern of the renowned Italian academies, that of Bologna and Padua, particularly noted for their remarkable law schools. The newly founded university consisted of three faculties; the liberal arts, law, and medicine. It was a national university of a secular character, closely connected with the political aims pursued by the state. In the 14th century Poland was faced with two problems: that of reuniting all Polish territories and of defending the state against Teutonic Order of Prussia. The university was to play here a most significant part, educating Polish jurists, scholars, teachers, and physicians. Its professors and disciples were to serve the country and on the other hand, by their contact with the other European centers of research, to contribute toward universal progress in science and culture.

Thus, from the very beginning the University of Cracow was concerned with these important tasks and has since been fulfilling them during 600 years of its existence the history of university, like that of any other university, comprises both glorious periods and moments of decline and regression.

After the strenuous first years in the middle of the 14th century, the death of its founder, Casimir the Great (1370) was followed by a temporary interruption in the activities of the university. Soon, however, due to a financial grant from Queen Jadwiga, the university was reopened by the queen's husband, King Wladyslaw Jagiello, on July 26, 1400, at this time the university was organized after the pattern of the Sorbonne and a fourth faculty was added—theology.

Among its disciples were scholars as eminent as Jan Dlugosz (historian), Mikolaj Copernicus (astronomer), Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski, Marcin Kromer (writers), Jan Kochanowski (poet), Józef Strusiek (physician), Maciej of Miechow (historian and geographer) Jakób Górski (philologist) and others.

This brief list of names in itself may serve to illustrate how great was the force of attraction exerted by the University of Cracow. Thus during the 15th century as many as seven university graduates from Cracow were appointed professors of the University of Bologna and during the 16th century four others held professorial chairs at Padua.

The committee for national education, the first European ministry of education (1773) undertook a great reform in the methods of

teaching. The committee appointed Hugo Kollataj to reform the Central Cracow School (as it was called at that time) and during the years 1777 to 1780 he supervised its thorough modernization. This important reform laid the main stress upon the necessity of educating teachers, physicians, and jurists. At that time a great emphasis was laid upon the experimental sciences and so the first Polish University Botanical Gardens were organized (1782) as well as a physical laboratory (1784), a chemical laboratory (1783), astronomical observatory (1787), and the first medical clinic (1788).

The loss of state independence and the partition of Poland were extremely unfavorable for the university which was subjected to a series of different reorganizations. After an intense struggle for existence and a successful defense against germanizing tendencies, the establishment of the free town of Cracow brought a temporary respite. An autonomic organic statue was granted to the university on March 19, 1818. During 1869–1918 period the university was able to create new chairs, modernize the methods of research. During the period from the recovery of political independence in 1918 to the outbreak of World War II, the development of the university continued. Unfortunately, the Second World War and the Nazi occupation brought to a tragic and brutal halt both scholarly and pedagogic activity.

On November 6, 1939 the Gestapo arrested within the university walls 183 professors, docents, and assistants, who were then deported to prison in Cracow and Wroclaw and later to Nazi concentration camps at Sachsenhausen, Dachau and finally to Mauthausen-Guser. Over 30 professors, some of them of international reputation met their death at those extermination camps. The university was closed and its research establishments and collections ruthlessly destroyed. Yet not withstanding all repression, by 1942 the university had begun to function again—in secret; despite the dangers incurred both by teachers and students, many secret groups were organized, lectures were held and examination taken.

At the present time the university has returned to the former high standard. The university is ready to carry out its duties in teaching and producing scientists in every branch.

The oldest Polish university has well fulfilled its obligation. An important center of science and research, it has contributed largely to the renown of Polish science abroad, providing an important link in international scientific and cultural cooperation.

Rules of the Road Simplified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in recent years we have witnessed a number of tragedies at sea that might well have been avoided had proper attention been placed upon adherence to the "Rules of the Road." It gives me great pleasure, therefore, to place before the House a proposal to make the "Rules of the Road" better understood by deck officers. The proposal is recounted in an article which appears in the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings of September 1964. Its author is Capt. E. J. Newbould, a distinguished naval officer, whom many of you will remember from his term of service on the Hill. The article is as follows:

RULES OF THE NAUTICAL ROAD FOR OFFICERS OF THE DECK

"White over red, pilot ahead;
Red over white, fishing at night."

Granted that this mnemonic is no substitute for an understanding of the "Rules of the Nautical Road," it does represent an honest effort to achieve a simplified method of learning the rules. Farwell,[1] preeminent and indispensable, has nonetheless dominated the Navy's approach to the rules for too long. Farwell, perpetuated by the so-called "Simplified Rules of the Nautical Road,"[2] is written for the admiralty lawyer, the master mariner, and the commanding officer.

Reliance on the premise that the "Rules of the Road" must be learned in toto, and applied only in the light of knowledge of court interpretations, has been self-defeating insofar as officers of the deck are concerned. Officers of the deck approach the whistle diffidently, if at all, and are bemused by a welter of lights as they strain to recall whether, for example, the three white lights ahead represent a tug with a tow of more or less than 600 feet.

The clutter of shapes, lights, and whistles outlined in the rules—and the subtle differences between those required by International and Inland Rules—are even now at the stage where they are beyond the retentiveness of the average intellect. New changes to the rules are already in the offing, and this before the most recent ones have been universally absorbed. All of the lights, whistles, and shapes in the precise form used by ships working on a submarine cable, seaplanes, vessels of 20 tons or 40 tons, vessels fishing, etc., need not be learned by officers of the deck if they are to achieve a minimum standard of competence.

What is required is a thorough comprehension of the basic and usual steering rules, the ability to identify the more important lights and sound signals, and sufficient forehandedness to refer to the rules for those odd baskets, diamonds, and balls when they may properly expect to be encountered.

The time is now, before new rules add to the confusion, to adopt the simple expedient of requiring our officers of the deck to memorize a few simple rules and insure that they have the confidence to use them in emergency situations which can and do arise before the captain can arrive on the bridge. Too many examples are available, but one glaring one may be cited here ot demonstrate how such a simple method of learning fundamentals might well have avoided what sounds in the telling like an incredible maneuver.

After exercises at sea, two U.S. Navy ships were aproaching Guantanamo in normal, clear Caribbean, daylight weather. Ship A overtook B and rammed her in the port quarter. Neither ship sounded her whistle before collision was inevitable. A board of investigation found ship A wholly at fault. But what about the officer of the deck in ship B? Here was a classic opportunity for the use of the five-blast International signal by the privileged vessel to alert ship A that her actions were, to say the least, not understood. If nothing else, such a signal surely would have brought both commanding officers to the bridge and perhaps would have avoided acostly and inexcusable collision. The Navy is accused by our merchant marine brothers of not using the whistle often enough. While there may be room for improvement in their adherence to the rules, I believe that this particular charge is justified.

It is fatuous to put out any more directives such as "There shall be no more collisions in this fleet." The answer lies in training each officer of the deck in the essentials of the Rules of the Road. This can be done by having him commit to memory the appended table—a true simplification of the rules of the road for employment by the officer of the day. This table on pages 138–139 consists of a practical selection of excerpts from the rules which the officer of the day must know by rote.

Commanding officers must continue to absorb Farwell and the latest court decisions. That is their job and will someday perhaps become the job of the officer of the deck. But for now, the officer of the day must be required to memorize the multiplication tables, as it were, before he can approach his algebra. It may also be observed that reference to the heart of the Rules—the steering and sailing rules—is also omitted. An officer of the deck who does not already know these fundamentals should have his relief on deck.

The introduction of radar has made life easier for the seaman in a variety of ways—including the application of the Rules of the Road. Radar grants a time interval to the officer of the deck during which he can check that strange conglomeration of lights off the starboard bow. Radar also helps the officer of the day, by the nature of the return echo and by plotting to identify small ships fishing, sailing vessels, vessels in tow, seaplanes, and ships at anchor. While this does not complete the list of what radar can do for the officer of the deck, it does serve to illustrate why it is not imperative for him to take courses in memory improvement in order to know the rules of the road well enough to use them with confidence.

Furthermore, we must accept the reality that pitifully few of our officers of the deck will be or will have been at sea for any appreciable length of time. There really is not sufficient time for them to absorb Farwell's nicety of detail—complete with footnotes. Indeed, the Farwell forest hides the trees and discourages the simple sailor. It is easily demonstrated that requiring the learning of capsule rules of the nautical road introduces the officer of the deck to this subject in a manner too long neglected and induces him voluntarily to approach the "forest" with confidence and interest.

In all other subjects in the Navy we begin with the rudiments and advance to the complexities. For some unfathomable reason, this has not been so in teaching the rules of the road. The procedure outlined herein is a method of insuring that officers of the deck will develop the confidence that comes with knowledge.

Farwell quite properly states: "The rules will not be better obeyed until they are better understood." The rules will not be understood at all until they are learned.

[1] Raymond F. Farwell, "The Rules of the Nautical Road" (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1954).

[2] O. W. Will, III, "Simplified Rules of the Nautical Road" (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1962).

Capsule rules of the nautical road

(Proposed by Capt. E. J. Newbould, U.S. Navy)

PART I. LIGHTS AND SHAPES

Type vessel	International waters		Island waters
	Night	Day	
Power vessel underway	2 white range lights (1 white light forward on smaller ships); side lights; and stern light.	Nothing special	Essentially the same.
Any vessel at anchor	2 white lights (or 1 white light forward on smaller ships): 1 forward, 1 aft.	1 black ball on larger ships	Do.
Power vessel not under command	2 vertical red lights; side lights (only if making way); and stern light.	2 vertical black balls	No special provisions but be alert for 1 or more red lights in forward part of vessels which should be avoided. No day shapes, but be alert for specialized shapes for dredges, etc.
Any vessel aground	Normal anchor lights plus 2 red vertical lights	3 vertical black balls	No special provision for ships aground; normal anchor lights and shapes are required.
Power vessel towing or pushing	2 or 3 or 4 vertical white lights; side lights; and stern light or steering light.	Nothing special	Essentially the same.
Vessel being towed or pushed and sailing vessels.	Side lights, and stern light (for sailing vessels and last ship in tow).	do	Do.
Sailing pilot vessels on station, underway, or at anchor.	(a) 1 all-around white light; (b) 1 intermittent flareup light; and (c) Upon approaching ships, side lights. At anchor: Normal anchor lights plus all-around and flareup light.	Nothing special	Do.
Power-driven pilot vessel on station, underway, or at anchor.	Underway: (a) 1 all-around white light above all-around red light; (b) 1 flareup light; and (c) side lights. At anchor: Normal anchor lights plus all-around white over red plus flareup.	Nothing special	Do.
Fishing vessels while fishing	3 possibilities—underway: (a) 1 all-around light plus (light or flareup) toward net when approached; (b) white light triangle with or without side lights plus flareup; and (c) tricolored lantern with white below plus flareup. At anchor: Normal anchor lights—usually 1, plus all-around light toward net when approached.	Underway: Basket. At anchor: (a) basket plus ball or (b) basket plus ball plus cone.	Night—Underway or at anchor: red over white only. Day—Underway: Basket. At anchor: Basket plus ball.

PART II. FOG SIGNALS

Type vessel	International waters		Inland waters	
	Signal	Interval	Signal	Interval
Power vessel underway with way on.	1 prolonged blast	Not more than 2 minutes between blasts.	1 prolonged blast	Not more than 1 minute between blasts.
Power vessel underway, no way on.	2 prolonged blasts	Not more than 2 minutes between blast groups.	do	Not more than 1 minute.
Sailing vessel underway	1, 2, or 3 prolonged blasts depending on tack.	Not more than 1 minute between blasts.	1, 2, or 3 prolonged blasts depending on tack.	Do.
Any vessel at anchor	(a) Rapid ringing of bell and gong if over 350 feet long, plus (b) 1 short, 1 prolonged, and 1 short blast.	(a) Not more than 1 minute; (b) When approached too closely.	Rapid ringing of bell	Do.
Any vessel aground	Rapid ringing of bell and gong (if required) plus 3 strokes on bell after each signal.	Not more than 1 minute	do	Do.
Vessels towing or not under command, etc.	1 prolonged followed by 2 short blasts	do	Towing—1 prolonged followed by 2 short.	Do.
Vessels towed	1 prolonged followed by 3 short blasts	do	1 prolonged followed by 2 short.	Do.
Fishing vessels	A blast followed by rapid ringing of bell.	do	Same as any ship underway or at anchor—4 short blasts—danger signal. May be used to express doubt of intention of another vessel in fog.	

PART III. MEANING OF SOUND SIGNALS

INTERNATIONAL WATERS (NOTE.—To be used only when ships are in sight of one another and never in fog)	INLAND WATERS (NOTE.—To be used only when ships are in sight of one another and never in fog except for the danger signal)
A. 1 short blast: I am altering my course to starboard	(a) In head and head meeting, means "I intend to pass port to port." Neither vessel has right of way, and other vessel must answer proposal by a single blast in order to proceed safely. (b) In crossing situation, when given by privileged vessel means, "I intend to hold my course and speed." Must be answered in order to proceed safely. (c) In overtaking situation means, "I request to pass you on your starboard hand." May be answered by 1 blast or 4. Must be answered to proceed safely, if at all.
B. 2 short blasts: I am altering my course to port	(a) In head and head meeting means, "I intend to pass starboard to starboard." Neither vessel has right of way, and other vessel must answer proposal by 2 blasts to proceed safely. (b) In overtaking situation means, "I intend to pass you on your port hand." May be answered by 2 blasts or 4. Must be answered to proceed safely, if at all.
C. 3 short blasts: My engines are backing	My engines are backing.
D. 5 short blasts (only by privileged vessel): I doubt that burdened vessel is taking proper action to avoid collision.	4 or more in inland—Danger signal. May be used by either privileged or burdened vessels. It means, "I am in doubt as to your course or intention." May be used in fog.
E. 1 long blast: None	When clearing a pier.

National Political Conventions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following editorial by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., of the Hearst magazines is new, timely, and refreshing.

NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, the Hearst newspapers)

Another national political convention has gone into the history books and while we'll have to wait 4 more years to see a like combination of hoopla and hokum, oratory and hot air, I feel that most of us will be able to endure the extended pause without too much nostalgia.

It's the practice of reporters in the days following a convention to ponder the proceedings of the preceding week and compare them to similar get-togethers of other years, so herewith a few thoughts.

As conventions go, the 1964 clambake of the Democratic Party rates on the dullish side. Missing was the electric excitement that characterized previous gatherings—such as the 1948 explosion over civil rights in Philadelphia, provoked by the fiery young mayor of Minneapolis (someone named HUBERT H. HUMPHREY); or the convention that nominated John F. Kennedy over Lyndon B. Johnson in Los Angeles 4 years ago.

At Atlantic City, of recent but not fond memory, President Johnson did his best to inject some suspense into the selection of his running mate, but I'm afraid the result was a bit synthetic. Somehow the picture of L.B.J. being the last to know that Senator HUMPHREY was foreordained as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate just doesn't come into focus.

If there were questions among reporters and delegates as the Wednesday deadline neared, they were:

"Is it conceivable that the President will pick anybody else but HUBERT HUMPHREY?" * * * and * * *

"Then why the contrived suspense?"

Personally, I was glad to hear that blunt-spoken anti-Communist, Senator THOMAS DODD, of Connecticut, was mentioned as in the running. But most newspapermen, on the basis of hard-boiled, pragmatic consideration of who would help L.B.J. most, did not rate Senator DODD's chances at all highly.

The President's unexpected appearance to announce his choice of Senator HUMPHREY did bring a taste of drama into the humdrum routine of the convention, and probably reflected the President's own judgment that the big show was laying an egg.

We imagined L.B.J. looking at and listening to the dreary oratory of the first 2 days and grumbling to his aids that something had to be done, and quick.

Hollywood style, one of the boys gets an idea.

"I've got it, Chief—er, Mr. President," he says. "Why don't you fly up there and personally announce the name of your Vice President, and milk it for all the drama you can?"

"I'll buy that, J.V.," says L.B.J. "Lay on Air Force One, and G–2 and the Secret Service and the helicopter and the motorcycle cops, and away we go."

Well, maybe it didn't happen that way. But 2,944 delegates and alternates and 5,000 members of the various information media couldn't all be wrong. The President unquestionably shared our feeling that the 1964 show lacked the old punch of other years. The story line had leaked out in advance.

Anyway, the President came, was seen, and conquered.

But if this Sunday article could report 4 weeks ago that HUBERT HUMPHREY's nomination was all but certain, don't think it was anything the President didn't already know. I wrote at the time that the Humphrey boom had gone so far that the President would find it difficult to take the prize away from him.

Speaking of the information media here are a few thoughts on one of them.

Actually, TV is no longer reporting conventions. It is producing them. And there's a big difference.

The last conventions that TV reported were the 1952 meetings in Chicago. The networks turned their cameras and announcers loose to tell you what was happening, and to tell it as clearly and accurately as possible, which is the basic function of reporters in any medium of information. Those were exciting conventions, if you remember, and TV transmitted the excitement.

With the passage of 4 years, TV changed all that. By 1956, it was in the production end. Everything was arranged for the television cameras.

In other words, where events had created the news before, TV was now bent on creating the events. It's the difference, really, between the art of reporting—and it is an art—and the art of entertainment.

Under the TV formula, spontaneity, for the most part, was ruled out. Those hours when TV has its most viewers, known as prime time, became of prime importance. The concept of presenting commentators in pairs crept in—that is, two announcers asking questions of one another and replying with quasi-witty or quasi-sage answers.

I don't know what you would call them. They aren't comedy teams, except unwittingly. They aren't reportorial teams. They're there to entertain, and while I'd be the first to assert that the pattern of political conventions has become an antiquated, crashing bore, the TV teamsters have done next to nothing to alleviate it.

Probably it's too late to go back to the 1952 style and "cover" a convention instead of producing it. As Columnist Russell Baker wrote so wittily in the New York Times a few days ago:

"Any sensible convention in this age would put the delegates outside the hall entirely, and in fact that is where most sophisticated delegates remain for all but the most pressing sessions.

"They simply retire to someplace air-conditioned where cooling beverage is available and attend a television set.

"This trend is resented by convention planners as well as the television industry. The political managers fear that empty expanses in the hall, if shown on television, will have bad repercussions. The viewer may ask: 'If the delegates are too bored to show up, why am I sitting here watching?' "

The big headlines about the Alabama and Mississippi disputes put the true story out of perspective. This was nothing like the civil rights uproars of 1948, or other arguments in later conventions.

Frank Conniff, in a column in our papers last Wednesday, went to the heart of the matter of this year's civil rights altercations. Here are a few paragraphs:

"Regardless of the immediate outcome of the (civil rights) struggle, the appearance of the freedom group from Mississippi was an augury of events dimly seen in the future. Things will never be the same again.

"This is not to say that the South will swerve from its overall allegiance to the Democratic Party. What has been demonstrated here is the movement of influential southerners into the mainstream of the party.

"There was significance in the fact that 13 members of the Alabama delegation were willing to sign a loyalty oath binding them to support the party ticket. This was the wave of the future in the South, not the posturing and bully boy antics displayed by Bull Connor, the State's national committeeman.

"Bull Connor huffed and puffed and probably gave the impression he was pushing people around just like the old days in Birmingham. The reverse was exactly the case. Bull Connor was being pushed around for the first time in his cotton pickin' life, although not by physical force. What was bugging Bull Connor was the irresistible tide of history."

The coming men below the Mason and Dixon line are people like Governor Sanders of Georgia, Representative WELTNER of the same State—he wasn't afraid to sign the Civil Rights Act. They and other emerging leaders look to the future and not the past.

They are no less southern because of it. It means that they have taken the proper measure of the times in which they live and no longer dream of the honeysuckle and magnolia of the past.

Nine delegations from the Old South seemed rather happy to join in the nomination of Lyndon Johnson. Might not that be bigger news than the trouble with two States which don't seem to want to remain in the Democratic Party anyway?

Time will tell. And maybe time will give the answer to questions raised by Milt Kaplan, the able chief of our Washington Bureau.

Was this convention necessary? Or could it have been held in a telephone booth?

Frank Daley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was very deeply touched to learn of the recent untimely passing of my dear and valued friend, Frank Daley.

The notable career of this fine American was marked by an unusual spirit of dedication to his daily tasks and duties. His was a gifted and versatile mind, well stocked with ideas. He was aware, knowledgeable, and effective in probing complex political and governmental problems.

His capability ranged over a wide field, and he was extremely well informed on a great variety of subjects. A publicist of skill and ingenuity, a commentator of eloquent phrasing and penetrating analysis, a champion of many good causes, he was fired by lusty enthusiasm and was anxious to work with zeal and devotion in whatever he undertook.

Frank Daley was esteemed and respected in the Boston and Washington communities, and wherever he was known, for his ready wit, his keen mind, his broad interest and his unflagging labors. He was endowed with rare imagination and the gift of foresight and deep understanding of the problems of government and their reaction upon public

opinion. He was an accurate forecaster of political movements and events.

I have known Frank Daley for years and have always held him in highest regard. He was a good, loyal friend, warmhearted and generous spirited, and a considerate, gracious companion, always eager to lend a helping hand.

He was in tune with the pace of modern life and a human being of understanding and love of his fellow man, exceptionally devoted to his family and friends and the cause of his country. We of Massachusetts are very proud of Frank Daley and his unselfish, constructive contributions, and we join in mourning him.

We are all the richer for having known and enjoyed the friendship of this talented publicist and honored public relations specialist, who was widely recognized as one of the best in his field.

Those of us who were his friends, as well as community, State and Nation, have suffered a great and poignant loss and with a sense of deep grief share the great loss which has been sustained by his family and his dear ones and which is felt by all of us who knew him well.

I feel a special sense of personal loss and sorrow, because I entertained deep affection for this fine, devoted, loyal friend, who so greatly and constructively adorned the congressional scene during the time he has been with us, and whose warm personality, sincerity, kindness, good works, counsel, and solid achievements will long remain before us, not only as a very happy memory, but as a true source of gratitude and inspiration.

Frank Daley was a great American and a dear, esteemed friend. I extend my most heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family and all his dear ones, for whom he had such great love, and hope that the Good Lord will lighten their heavy burden of sorrow and bring them His consoling blessings of comfort, courage, and peace.

May Frank Daley find eternal rest in his heavenly home.

May the Good Lord keep and cherish him.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report to my constituents:

ROLLCALL NO. 193, SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, FRUSTRATION AND FAILURE

On Rollcall No. 193 the greatest display of hypocrisy that I have witnessed in the Congress was demonstrated. This measure was a well-conceived piece of legislation, designed to provide the first across-the-board increase in social security benefits in over 6 years. The measure would have provided a 5-percent increase in benefits to some 20 million recipients of social security, as well as making an additional 600,000 individuals eligible for benefits. It also provided a decrease in the age for retired widows from 62 to 60 and allowed for children attending schools and colleges on a full-time basis to continue to receive benefits until the age of 21 rather than the present cutoff of 18.

I say that the measure was well conceived in that the House provided adequate financing for these needed increased benefits by raising the base upon which taxes are paid from $4,800 to $5,400, as well as making a modest increase in the rate to be paid by both employers and employees. I had hoped that the House bill would have also provided a medicare program similar to that advocated by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Senator RIBICOFF'S proposal was of a purely voluntary nature. It provided that persons eligible for social security benefits would have had an option to elect either to receive the basic 5-percent increase in benefits or a medicare program. The House did not adopt such an amendment; however, it passed this measure by the overwhelming vote of 388 to 8. Numbered among those 388 favorable votes were many persons who were voting for social security for the very first time and who did so, in my view, in bad faith for they did not have the slightest intention of sustaining that position when the bill was returned from the Senate for Senate-House conference.

In the Senate amendments were tacked on that guaranteed the defeat of the measure. Instead of adopting the Ribicoff approach to medicare, which was both voluntary and actuarially sound, the Senate added the Gore amendment, which provided, in effect, the complete King-Anderson approach to medicare and increased the across-the-board benefits of 5 percent provided in the House version to 7 percent. They did this without providing any additional funding and, therefore, threw the entire social security system actuarially out of balance. The funds payed out as a result of the Senate amendments would have been substantially more than the income to the fund. The argument was advanced that the Senate did this solely for bargaining purposes with the intent of retreating to the Ribicoff concept in Senate-House conference. I am of the opinion that this was not done in good faith for the rules of the House are such that conference committees may not submit totally new material back to the House from the conference. They can only submit material that was included in the original House or Senate bill. As there was no voluntary approach in either of the bills as passed by the respective bodies, the conference was precluded from this compromise.

Thus it was not possible for the conferees to return a bill that included medicare and was actuarilly sound. Six of the conferees were for eliminating medicare and passing the social security provisions, the other six felt that if this were done that medicare would be set back another 10 years. This total impasse resulted in the bill dying in the Senate-House conference.

As a result, the 88th Congress has failed the senior citizens by providing neither the needed increases and adjustments in social security nor a medicare plan. I believe this was a deliberately calculated plot and certainly the lopsided vote in the House substantiates my view. It is absolutely incredible that the Congress enacted H.R. 3873 providing medical benefits for fishing boat entrepreneurs, as discussed under Rollcall 190, and failed the senior citizens.

MEDICARE—APPALACHIA

Though in the main the 88th Congress has been an exceptionally constructive one as evidenced by the enactment of legislation in the areas of civil rights, education, recreation, tax relief, poverty, and so forth, it is my view that this Congress has failed miserably in two vital areas.

As discussed above my feelings are very strong with respect to the necessity of providing immediate amendment to the Social Security Act such as the provisions originally passed by the House in H.R. 11865 and inclusion of the RIBICOFF approach of a voluntary medicare plan for social security recipients.

The second area of failure is one involving the establishment of economic viability to the major depressed area of this country—Appalachia. The Appalachian legislation was passed by the Senate, was approved by the House committee, and a rule was granted by the Rules Committee 45 days prior to adjournment. The measure never came up on the floor because there were not enough votes on the House side to enact the legislation. The reasons are many and varied, but foremost among them must be the obstinance of northern liberals from both parties who took the position that they would support Appalachian legislation only after the southerners agreed to support medicare legislation. The irony of this is that the northern liberals acted exactly as the reactionary Republican Thaddeus Stevens did during the reconstruction period following the Civil War. They attempted to beat the southerners into submission, completely ignoring the long-range interests of the country as a whole.

At this point, I want to go on record urging the President to call a special session of the Congress to begin on Monday, November 16, for the purpose of enacting a Social Security and Medicare Act of 1964 and the Appalachian legislation. I hope that this view will be shared by many of my constituents and that you will so advise the President by writing the President of the United States, the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

Following is my rollcall report:

Rollcall No.	Date	H.R. No.	R.B.C.	Vote		Not voting	Brief description
				Yea	Nay		
175	July 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Springer, Republican, of Illinois. (39 Members absent).
176	July 1	11812	Nay	198	206	25	Motion to recommit foreign assistance appropriation bill for cuts.
177	July 1	11812	Yea	231	174	26	On passage of foreign assistance appropriation bill (for position on foreign aid see rollcall Nos. 152–3, 4th report, 2d sess).
178	July 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Williams, Democrat, of Mississippi. (27 Members absent).
179	July 2	789	Yea	289	126	15	On House acceptance of Senate amendments to H.R. 7152, Civil Rights Act of 1964 (1 Member answered "present," for position on civil rights see rollcall No. 32, 1st report, 2d sess.).
180	July 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (57 Members absent).
181	July 2	795	Yea	264	92	76	On appointment of Special House Committee to Investigate Campaign expenditures.
182	July 2	S. 2	Yea	347	0	85	On acceptance of conference report on water resources research act.
183	July 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (92 Members absent.)
184	July 21	319	Yea	325	19	88	On passage of bill to protect postal patrons from obscene mail matter and Communist propaganda.
185	July 21	11611	Yea	259	75	98	On passage of bill establishing a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress.
186	July 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (74 Members absent.)
187	July 22	738	Yea	337	8	86	Resolution to permit consideration of H.R. 3846, land and water conservation fund.
188	July 23		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Springer, Republican, of Illinois. (64 Members absent.)
189	July 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (63 Members absent.)
190	July 28	3873	Nay	202	170	59	On passage of bill to permit certain owners of fishing boats to receive free medical care and hospitalization at Public Health Service hospitals.
191	July 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Martin, Republican, of California. (44 Members absent.)
192	July 29	802	Not voting.	350	29	52	Resolution to permit consideration of H.R. 11865, Social Security Amendments of 1964 (R.B.C. adjusting auto accident claim with insuranceman; would have voted yea).
193	July 29	11865	Yea	388	8	35	On passage of Social Security Amendments of 1964.
194	July 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (47 Members absent.)
195	July 30	803	Yea	244	131	56	Resolution to permit consideration of the Federal pay bill by conference committee.
196	July 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Schwengel, Republican, of Iowa. (75 Members absent.)
197	July 30	9070	Yea	373	1	57	On passage of bill establishing a National Wilderness Preservation System.
198	Aug. 3	1096	Paired yea	164	154	113	Authorizing Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in Wisconsin (⅔ vote needed for passage; measure failed; R.B.C. attending Senator Engle's funeral in California).
199	Aug. 3	3672	Not voting.	250	67	114	Providing for construction, operation, and maintenance of certain reclamation pro ects under Colorado River Storage Project Act. (R.B.C. attending Senator Engle's funeral; would have voted yea.)
200	Aug. 4	10939	Yea	351	0	80	Acceptance of conference report on Defense Department appropriations.
201	Aug. 4	10939	Nay	186	178	67	Amendment to Defense appropriations permitting cutback in repair work done by U.S. Navy shipyards.
202	Aug. 4		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Morrison, Democrat, of Louisiana. (66 Members absent.)
203	Aug. 4		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (71 Members absent.)
204	Aug. 4		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Roosevelt, Democrat, of California. (44 Members absent.)
205	Aug. 5		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Teague, Republican, of California. (51 Members absent.)
206	Aug. 6		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Roosevelt, Democrat, of California. (42 Members absent.)
207	Aug. 6		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Beermann, Republican, of Nebraska. (45 Members absent; R.B.C. at meeting with Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara re Vietnam crisis.)
208	Aug. 6		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ayres, Republican of Ohio. (48 Members absent.)
209	Aug. 7		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Arends, Republican of Illinois. (48 Members absent.)
210	Aug. 7	1145	Yea	416	0	14	Adoption of resolution supporting President Johnson in his efforts to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. (1 Member answered present.)
211	Aug. 7		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Johansen, Republican of Michigan. (32 Members absent.)
212	Aug. 7	11377	Nay	197	225	9	Parliamentary maneuver by Judge Smith of Virginia to kill the antipoverty bill.
213	Aug. 7	11377	Yea	228	190	13	Motion to substitute Senate approved antipoverty bill for House version.
214	Aug. 8		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (23 Members absent.)
215	Aug. 8	11377	Nay	117	295	19	Motion to recommit Economic Opportnity Act of 1964.
216	Aug. 8	11377	Yea	226	184	21	On passage of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.
217	Aug. 11	1927	Yea	388	0	42	On passage of pension bill for veterans of World Wars I and II and Korea.
218	Aug. 11	5990	Nay	301	81	48	Amending District of Columbia Charitable Solicitation Act.
219	Aug. 12	S. 1451	Yea	374	3	53	Amending the Trading With the Enemy Act.
220	Aug. 12	S. 1627	Yea	368	89	74	U.S. support of International Control Commission in Laos.
221–234	Aug. 13–17		Absent				During this period R.B.C. was in California attending to District matters. He was also a delegate to the Democratic State Convention. There were 6 quorum calls and 8 rollcalls.
235	Aug. 18		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Goodell, Republican, of New York. (55 Members absent.)
236	Aug. 18	1839	Nay	232	149	49	Adoption of conference report on meat import quotas.
237	Aug. 18	8864	Yea	183	194	53	Adoption of conference report authorizing the President to carry out U.S. obligations under the International Coffee Agreement Act.
238	Aug. 18	8000	Yea	221	147	62	Adoption of conference report on Interest Equalization Tax Act to aid U.S. balance-of-payments position.
239	Aug. 18	S. 1007	Yea	230	134	66	Adoption of conference report on bill guaranteeing electricity in Pacific Northwest on preference basis.
240	Aug. 19	S. 3049	Yea	310	70	50	Adoption of conference report on Housing Act of 1964 (H.R. 12175).
241	Aug. 19	845	Nay	242	148	40	Resolution to permit consideration of H.R. 11926 to deny jurisdiction to Federal courts in reapportionment cases.
242	Aug. 19	11926	Nay	218	175	36	On passage of bill to deny jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases. (1 Member answered present.)
243	Aug. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ashbrook, Republican, of Ohio. (58 Members asbent.)
244	Aug. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Bow, Republican, of Ohio. (84 Members absent.)
245	Aug. 20	9586	Yea	213	135	82	On passage of bill to establish a National Council on the Arts.
246	Sept. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (89 Members absent.)
247	Sept. 1	S. 2701	Not voting	320	23	87	Providing for study to determine site for construction of a canal connecting Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (R.B.C. at going-away lunch for summer office intern from Stanford University; would have voted yea.)
248	Sept. 1	4487	Yea	236	110	84	Bill to minimize injury to fish and wildlife from insecticides and pesticides.
249	Sept. 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (63 Members absent.)
250	Sept. 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Arends, Republican, of Illinois. (65 Members absent.)
251	Sept. 3		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican, of Ohio. (81 Members absent.)
252	Sept. 3	12298	Nay	183	175	71	Motion to recommit for amendment a bill extending Public Law 480, food-for-peace program. (1 Member answered present.)
253	Sept. 3	12298	Yea	349	6	73	On passage of bill extending Public Law 480, food-for-peace program. (2 Members answered present.)
254	Sept. 3		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Quie, Republican, of Minnesota. (104 Members absent; R.B.C. en route to California).
255	Sept. 3		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Harris, Democrat, of Arkansas. (108 Members absent; R.B.C. en route to California).
256	Sept. 3	S. 2220	Not voting	140	160	130	On passage of bill to encourage physicians and dentists who received student loans under Federal programs to practice in areas having physician and dentist shortages. (R.B.C. en route to California; would have voted yea.)
257	Sept. 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (264 Members absent; House adjourned for lack of a quorum.)
258	Sept. 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Younger, Republican, of California. (139 Members absent.)
259	Sept. 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (132 Members absent.)
260	Sept. 22	12633	Yea	208	103	128	On passage of bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending July 30, 1965.
261	Sept. 23		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican, of Washington. (130 Members absent.)
262	Sept. 23	1096	Yea	180	118	132	On passage of bill authorizing the Secretary of Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in designation and administration of Ice Age National Scientific Reserve.
263	Sept. 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Saylor, Republican, of Pennsylvania. (111 Members absent.)
264	Oct. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (97 Members absent.)
265	Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 1183	Yea	159	193	79	On passage of resolution making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1965.
266	Oct. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (89 Members absent.)
267	Oct. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Griffin, Republican, of Michigan. (83 Members absent.)
268	Oct. 1	S. 3060	Nay	268	236	87	Motion to recommit for amendment bill providing for extension and amendments of National Defense Education Act of 1958 and Public Laws 815 and 874.
269	Oct. 1	S. 3060	Yea	320	20	88	On final passage of National Defense Education Act with conference committee amendments. (2 Members answered present.)

Korean War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which expresses the comradeship which exists between the Korean members of the Armed Forces and those of the United States and other nations which supported them in their endeavors:

SEOUL, KOREA,
September 25, 1964.

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY,
Member of the House of Representatives,
The U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MURPHY: I would like to express on behalf of the members of the board of directors, Korean Committee, Relations Center International, Allies of the Korean War, my sincere thanks and appreciation for the moral support and encouragement which you so generously rendered in our endeavor to promote the souvenir program for the 12,000 hospitalized United Nations, Korean war veterans under medical treatment at hospitals throughout the participating free world nations of the Korean conflict.

Gratitude is an expression which is frequently used but at the same time can easily be forgotten. Like the olden day Korean adage "the darkest spot is underneath the burning candlestick," memories tend to be lax and forgetful of the mental anguish and sufferings of the wounded war veterans who once fought so courageously during Korea's darkest hour.

I am happy to inform you through the souvenir program that we have elicited a nationwide reawakening of the Korean people in urging them to fulfill our obligations to pay back in whatever small humble manner the overdue debt of gratitude which we owe to these heroic 12,000 hospitalized war veterans who fought so valiantly here in this frontline of defense of the free world nations against Communist aggression.

It is sincerely hoped that through the medium of this souvenir collection drive from the people-to-people program, more and more wider depth of understanding and mutual friendship may develop between the Korean people, the hospitalized war veterans, and your great people.

To date, we have the honor to provide you with a brief breakdown of the souvenir program activities as follows:

First consignment sent July 13, 1964: 1,944 American war veterans at 37 VA hospitals in the United States of America; 59 Philippine war veterans at 1 Manila hospital.

Second consignment sent September 25 (transmitted Sept. 18, 1964): 3,530 American war veterans at 41 VA hospitals in the United States of America; 95 Canadian war veterans at 20 hospitals in Canada; a total of 5,628 UN war veterans at 99 hospitals.

The Korean society as represented by its citizens, newspaper publishers and editors, government officials, national assemblymen, school principals, these and other supporting organs and agencies have banded together to do something in their most humble way to present souvenir mementos as tokens of thanks and affection for hospitalized war veterans who are our guardians of freedom's frontier.

The goal is only half over, when we recall that there are still a remainder of over 6,000 American hospitalized war veterans whose noble sacrifices we must not forget and to whom we shall devote our utmost efforts to prepare and send our third consignment of Korean souvenir mementos to these hospitalized war veterans. We hope to be able to send these additional gifts before Christmas.

In closing I shall pray for your reelection, knowing that you shall succeed. With best wishes and renewed assurances of my highest esteem, I remain.

Very sincerely,

KAP-CHONG CHI,
Director, Souvenir Program.

Letters to a Daughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the October issue of the Ladies' Home Journal wherein is copied four wonderful letters written by Senator BARRY GOLDWATER to his daughter, Joanne.

Mr. Speaker, I place this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that millions of American children might read and profit thereby, including my own grandchildren, Anne, Joan, Janet, MaryBen, and Donald.

The article follows:

LETTERS TO A DAUGHTER

Over the years, duty has often separated BARRY M. GOLDWATER from his four children. Experience taught him, long before his nomination as Republican candidate for the Presidency, that long-distance phoning was not enough. Only by writing his girls and boys at some length could the Senator express fully his concern for their growth and well-being in heart, mind, and body.

An early riser, he often composed these family letters at the crack of dawn, pecking them out on a portable typewriter. None was revised. Once, in his Senate office, he remarked to me, "Through letters I preserved emotional closeness with my children. It worked out better than you might have imagined."

The four letters presented here were written to his first-born child, Joanne, now Mrs. Thomas Ross. Made available to me by Senator GOLDWATER and Mrs. Ross, the selection ranges from the time Joanne was 12 years old until her wedding day.

Mrs. Ross is the wife of a resident surgeon at Harbor General Hospital in Torrance, Calif., and the mother of four children: 6-year-old Carolyn, 5-year-old Cynthia (whom they call "CC"), 3-year-old Thomas Michael and 1-year-old Alison. "I saved these letters because they were so beautiful," Mrs. Ross told me. "Daddy put so much of himself into them."

Urged in the letters to develop self-reliance, Mrs. Ross is meeting that injunction fully. "She is so unspoiled," her mother said, "that she does her own housework and her own cooking. She cares for the children herself, with the help only of babysitters, and even does her own sewing." The Goldwaters' modern desert home in Phoenix, Ariz., has a guest cottage which Joanne and her family often use.

Mrs. Ross speaks of her family with great affection. "Daddy and mother are opposite personalities. He likes camping. She is happier in a resort. Yet she has learned to cultivate his interests. My brothers, Barry, Jr., and Mike, are also very different from each other.

"Barry is so intense that he once developed an ulcer. He looks like daddy, and he is always trying to live up to daddy's image. Both daddy and he think they're right, and when they disagree there's quite a merry-go-round.

"Mike doesn't look like daddy, and isn't burdened with the image. Mike's his own man, sharp, clever, and witty. My 20-year-old sister—little Peggy as we call her, to distinguish her from mother, who is known as big Peggy—is an easy-going, sweet, beautiful, poised girl who grew up very fast."

The years spanned by the letters remain vivid to Mrs. Ross. "Camping trips with daddy," she told me, "are the outstanding memories of my childhood. We started the trips when I was 10. Little Peggy missed them all. Barry, Jr., and Mike were little boys and tagged along. It seemed I had all the fun."

FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER.

JUNE 11, 1948.

DEAREST JOANNE: Those beautiful quaking aspens you have seen in the forests as we have driven along have one purpose in life. I want to tell you about them because they remind me a lot of mommy and me and you kids. Those aspens are born and grow just to protect the spruce tree when it is born. As the spruce grows bigger and bigger, the aspens gradually grow old and tired and even die after a while, but the spruce which has had its tender self protected in its childhood grows into one of the forest's most wonderful trees. Now think about mommy and me as aspens standing there quaking ourselves in the winds that blow, catching the cold snows of life, bearing the hot rays of the sun, all to protect you from those things until you are strong enough and wise enough to do them yourself. We aren't quaking from fear but from the joy of being able to see your life develop, and you grow into tall, straight men and women. Now you have almost reached the point where you don't need us as much as you used to, just like the spruce reaches a place in his life where the aspens are not much use to him.

Now you stand like the young spruce, a pretty, straight young thing whose head is beginning to peep above the protection of mommy's and daddy's watchfulness.

We have seen you grow this far and have influenced you all we could toward the attainment of beauty that is now yours. Funny thing about that word beauty. I don't mean just a pretty face and a pretty body, but I mean something deeper. Take Mommy she is the most beautiful woman in the world not because her face is pretty, but because people like her to be around, she smiles, she helps other people, she is kind and thoughtful, that, Joanne, is the true meaning of the word beauty. The spruce tree is like that too. He reaches the age we have been talking about and then he is pretty, but what he grows into after he goes on his own is up to him. Will his branches reach toward God's sky and protect those weary people who come to rest under him? Will you in your growing become a woman the world wants to know because you will offer the friendship of your heart to them? Or will the tree and you not grow these branches but hold them unto yourselves, becoming still a pretty tree and a pretty woman but ugly to the thinking of men and women?

Will this tree cover his branches with bright, shiny leaves that will reflect to all who pass the warmth of the sun, will you grow so that your smile and your eyes will reflect to all the happiness of your heart, or will you both become things of homeliness because you won't share with the world the joy of living and the happiness of your minds and hearts?

I am telling you all this because from now on a lot of what you eventually become, a lovely woman, a happy woman, a brilliant, popular woman depends on you. You can't go through life being these things and at the same time frowning.

You can't achieve these things and be grumpy, you have to grow so that your every deed and look reflect the glory that is now in your heart and soul. Smile, think right, believe in God and your family and your country. You can become one of the most beautiful women in this worldwide forest of men and women. It's up to you.

I love you,

DADDY.

JANUARY 18, 1950.

MY DARLING JOANNE: On this your 14th birthday I would like to wish for you all the happiness and beauty this world can offer a young and beautiful girl. I would also like to say a few things to you that can be said again and again during your life, so that explains the letter instead of just a talk whose words would float on out an open window.

These words you can save if you wish and read them again when you are older.

As you are now 14, I should tell you some things a girl of that age should be doing, and as far as that goes, a girl of any age. You must be tolerant and patient with other people. You must not be selfish. You must remember that because you have been fortunate to have been born in a family with a small amount of what people call wealth that you must be very careful of the things I have already mentioned, tolerance and patience. It is easy for you to forget these things, but you must never, never forget them.

Your attitude at times toward Mommy and me is one of impatience born of a thought in your head that we don't understand you or your desires as a young girl. We are not that old that we have forgotten our own young days, and what we advise you is born of experience. What we tell you are signposts along your life whose letters have been painted with the colors of years. We want you to heed us and to listen to us. As you grow older, what we tell you and advise you will be tempered with what you are able to associate with those things from your own growing experience, but right now when you are only 14 you must lean on us and believe us.

Laziness in your schoolwork and your work at home will only result in your being a lazy woman, and believe me, man to girl, there is nothing worse than a lazy woman unless it's two lazy women.

It is easy to become lazy. It is a bad habit that many, many people in this world have gotten into, but it is not a habit that attractive people will ever get into.

Watch these things I have told you about. Tolerance, patience and laziness. You have shown signs of all of them, and it has been only natural. You are still very young and you can change these things, and I am asking you that during this coming year you try real hard to correct them. Change your tone of voice to Mommy and me and your brothers and sister. We all want to live together in a happy, contented home, and with you screeching at the others it won't be so happy.

Remember, Joanne, that the happiest people in this world are the people who are busy trying to make others happy. The truest words ever said or written are: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Keep those words close to your heart and let the feeling of them go through your every thought and every act. It is easy to say, "What's in it for me?" but it's hard to say, "Will it help others?" but those last four words can become the slide rule of your actions that will make your life the happy, wonderful thing that I know it will always be. I am proud to be your father.

Love always,

DADDY.

(Undated, circa 1952)

DEAREST JOANNE: I keep thinking that I will see you each day, and when night comes and that hasn't happened, then I renew again my pledge to write you on the morrow. This then is the morning for the letter, but believe me I would much prefer sitting with you someplace and talking this over with you than resorting to the coldness of black print on white paper. So when you read it, if there are questions, then we can talk next time we are together but then the subject isn't that kind it's just what your old man thinks about the period of your life you are going through. I say these things to you 'cause I remember just about your age I got to thinking the same things, and I guess I got as low in the mind as you seem to be. You see I started school with the idea that I didn't need to study. I wasn't exactly lazy, but I didn't apply myself. I had a much better time doing other things.

Sort of like you, isn't it? Well, one day I figured out that if I wanted to be a poor student, then I was on the right path, but if I wanted to pass and to make better grades, then a little work was in order, and by golly it worked, and you know what? everything else worked better too. I had more fun and I got along in other activities better, which leads me to this point. It's almost impossible for one person to be everything to herself or to anyone, there have to be compromises, like an airplane; when we want to make a fast one, then we have to forget payload and lift, if we want payload and lift, then we have to forget speed, to get the best airplane for all purposes we compromise among all the factors. By doing this we build better and better airplanes that go faster and faster and carry more and more, so it is with a person. If she wants to be a good student and nothing else, then she gives up other interests, if she wants to be social, then she forgets her schooling. Now, if she wants to be a little of both, she compromises, she studies a little more and plays a little less, and the first thing you know, she is better at both school and the extracurricular affairs.

What you should do then is to study a bit more and play a bit less, but never quit playing for studying or quit studying for playing. Your job is to make the best of what you have, and you have a whale of a lot. You have charm that others work hard to develop, you have brains, but you haven't been able to put them to their best use yet; you have many friends and you make friends easily, so, baby, you start with more than most girls ever wind up with and most important to your dad, you are honest, and whatever you do in this attempt to compromise your efforts, never, never give up the honesty that is the basic rock in your foundation of a successful life. The honors of the world mean nothing if your head rests uneasily on your pillow from the pangs of a guilty or dishonest conscience. I would rather hold my head high in honesty than be king.

Don't take this as criticism. It's only me watching you live through the same things I lived through, and I'm only trying to be a roadmap for you.

Love,

DADDY.

G.I. Snoopers or Is This America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on September 17, 1964, the Nutley, N.J., Sun, the oldest weekly newspaper in New Jersey's largest county, published a thought-provoking editorial entitled "The G.I. Snoopers or Is This America?". This editorial makes a strong case against the invasion of privacy by government and industry through the use of telephonic and other snooping devices.

The Nutley Sun is published by Frank A. Orechio. Long a New Jersey civic leader, Mr. Orechio enjoys a well deserved reputation as an outspoken defender of individual rights and good government.

Mr. Speaker, because of the broad interest in this subject, I ask unanimous consent to insert this fine editorial in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Nutley (N.J.) Sun, Sept. 17, 1964]

THE GI SNOOPERS OR IS THIS AMERICA?

Monday, Congressman CORNELIUS GALLAGHER, Democrat, of Jersey City, praised Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz for banning the use of telephone recording and other snooping devices in the Labor Department.

This astonishing compliment to Wirtz was also accompanied by another still more shocking statement by the Jersey City Democrat. GALLAGHER said he hoped other Government agencies would take similar action.

The Congressman is chairman of a special congressional committee which plans to conduct a broad investigation of the invasion of privacy by Government and industry.

We believe snooping by the Government upon the activities of its employees is reprehensible and un-American. If GOP U.S. Senate candidate Bernard M. Shanley is looking around for a good issue to hammer the Democrat national administration here is one ready made for him.

Our senior U.S. Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE should get into the act also. CASE should demand that the U.S. Senate conduct a similar investigation but hold public hearings on the subject in order that American citizens across the land may fully realize the extent of our gestapo-type Government.

The use of gestapo-type tactics was accelerated under the rule of Robert F. Kennedy when he governed the affairs of the Department of Justice. This hangover from the Bobby Kennedy era must be ousted from our American way of life. If any sleuths from the Gallagher investigation committee want to hit real pay dirt all they have to do is spend a little time in the New York-New Jersey area, quizzing demoralized Federal employees. In fact, GALLAGHER should publish a post office box number inviting Federal employees to use it for letters detailing their personal experience with the snooping tactics of our Federal Government.

Often we hear much from the Civil Liberties Union on questions of individual freedom. Where is this vaunted organization today when the privacy of Federal employees is subject to invasion by one sleuth after another?

Where are those liberals in both Houses of Congress who wail and moan in defense of liberal causes but now remain strangely silent in the face of the indecent, unfair, Nazi-type disclosures inherent in GALLAGHER'S public statement of Monday?

New York Educators Hail Humanities Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a number of New York educators have written to me regarding H.R. 12406, which I introduced on August 17. I wish to bring these letters to the attention of the House, as follows:

AMERICAL COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES,
New York, N.Y., August 27, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: In introducing H.R. 12406 you have performed a great service not only for all of us who are concerned about the plight of the humanities in America, but also for the country as a whole. I was especially pleased to see that you had followed so closely the recommendations of the Commission on the Humanities, which seem to me the most sensible that have yet been put forward in this area. I am sure you are correct in thinking that no action on your bill can be expected in the present Congress, but I share your hope that the very fact that a bill has been introduced will serve both to stimulate and to focus discussion in the coming months. I would hope that by January the climate of opinion both in the country and in the Congress will be suspicious for the reintroduction of the bill; the two editorials you were kind enough to send me are most encouraging.

I very much look forward to discussing the whole situation with you after the election. In the meantime, if there is anything we can do to be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Yours sincerely,
FREDERICK BURKHARDT,
President.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY,
Bronx, N.Y., August 31, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I was delighted to learn that you have introduced in the House of Representatives a bill for the establishment of a national humanities foundation. This is a most enlightened step, and one that will mean much to the educational future of our country. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that the 200 graduate faculty members at Fordham join with me in congratulating you on this far-sighted action.

I have read H.R. 12406 and have found it eminently satisfactory. My only regret is that the initial appropriation requested seems excessively modest. But then perhaps it is best to begin slowly.

With every best wish for the success of the bill in Congress, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
JOSEPH F. MULLIGAN, S.J.,
Dean, Graduate School.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
Albany, August 19, 1964.

The Honorable Representative WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, *House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

HON. MR. MOORHEAD: I read with interest and delight the article in a recent New York Times which describes your proposal of a bill in Congress "to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities." It is a much needed move and I do hope you and other Members of the House will continue to press for passage of the bill.

You may be interested to know that we in the New York State Education Department are already at work on a project which integrates the arts and humanities with the ongoing curriculum at the ninth level in 13 New York State project schools.

Enclosed find pamphlets explaining more about project CUE which has been operating under a Federal grant from the U.S. Office of Education. CUE has met with considerable success here in New York State and the U.S. Office of Education is very pleased with our efforts.

However, we feel theer is much need for national support in this area as we know from personal experience it is well nigh impossible for single school systems to initiate such programs without outside help. If there is anything we can do or any way we can help insure the passage of this bill or give you more information about our program, please feel free to call upon us.

Good luck and success with the humanities bill and congratulations on your foresightedness in championing this issue.

Sincerely yours,
GRACE N. LACY,
Associate Director, Project CUE.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, N.Y., August 26, 1964.

The Honorable WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Many thanks for your letter of Auugst 24 with enclosures concerning H.R. 12406. I have been following very closely the work of the Keeney Commission and have already read their final report. I am pleased to know that this bill is to be reintroduced during the opening days of the 89th Congress, and you may be sure that I will continue to follow its course with interest and will do whatever I can to give it encouragement and support.

Sincerely,
GRAYSON KIRK,
President.

HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY,
Hempstead, Long Island, N.Y.,
September 1, 1964.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is to applaud your sponsorship of H.R. 12406, providing for the establishment of the national humanities foundation.

Here at Hofstra the master of arts program in humanities has been in existence for 5 years. Primarily designed for secondary schoolteachers of English, drama, fine arts, music, and foreign languages, the program seeks to broaden students awareness and appreciation of humanistic studies outside of their specialization. Central to this purpose is the study of Renaissance art and contemporary problems of esthetics in 20th century literature and art. The culminating experience is the carefully supervised writing of a master's essay interrelating at least two disciplines of the arts.

I outline our program in order to let you know of the reason for our special interest in the national humanities foundation.

To be brief, then, I should like to commend you especially for including provisions respecting the broadness of the foundation's purpose, the emphasis on scholarships and other grants, the interchange of information, and the publication of scholarly work.

Sincerely,
A. R. DAVIS,
Director, Graduate Program, in the Humanities.

AUBURN UNIVERSITY,
Auburn, Ala., September 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On my behalf and that of the 75 members of the English faculty of Auburn University, I wish to commend you for your recent action in introducing a bill in the House to create a national humanities foundation. If this bill is passed, it will begin to correct a serious national imbalance which exists in the support available to the sciences and that available to the humanistic fields.

It is perhaps understandable that defense considerations account for the great support being given the sciences today, and I think it is right and proper for the sciences to be well supported. At the same time, I am among those who believe the future wars may well be won with words instead of bombs, and that we cannot afford to neglect the kind of training in history, philosophy, language, and literature which will produce highly literate citizens and wise national leaders.

Sincerely yours,
W. R. PATRICK,
Head Professor of English.

SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
New York, N.Y., August 31, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
1023 New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Speech Association of America is gratified to learn that you have introduced H.R. 12406 to establish a National Humanities Foundation. The need for a Federal program in the humanities is manifest. Although the discipline of speech in many ways transcends the usual academic categories, many of our major concerns certainly fall within the usual definition of "the humanities."

The Speech Association of America will be anxious to lend its support to H.R. 12406. Any information or suggestions that your office may have will be gratefully received.

The legislation that you have introduced is long overdue; you are to be congratulated for your initiative and support.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM WORK,
Executive Secretary.

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
Plattsburgh, N.Y., August 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Representative in Congress,
5226 Westminster Place,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Please allow me to congratule you upon your sponsorship of a bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation. I am sure that I speak for thousands of others, like me faculty members in humane studies in American higher education, all of whom applaud the wisdom of this bill.

If it should be enacted, as I have no doubt it will, the benefits both tangible and intangible to future generations of America as well as to us today will be incalculable. I am sure you will discover that faculty members in the humanities throughout our land will proffer all possible cooperation to assure the success of the foundation.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN T. GOLDTHWAIT, *Chairman.*

Czechoslovakian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed feelings that we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the national uprising in Czechoslovakia in 1944. The exhilaration of pride and admiration for the brave souls who revolted against their oppressors from both east and west is tempered with sadness as we consider the suppression of that free spirit which is the mark of the Czechoslovakian people no matter who their rulers may be. It is a sobering thought to contemplate the crushing of right by might, the struggle of principle against power.

Czechoslovakia in 1944 was caught between the crushing force of the Nazis, who had overrun their country since 1939, and the more powerful Red Army of the Soviet Union, which reached the Czechoslovakian frontier in 1944. At the moment when true liberation seemed at hand, the people, encouraged by the Government-in-exile about to return from London, rose against the puppet government and drove the Russians back from the Slovak-Polish frontiers, only to be suppressed again by the Germans before their final ousting by the Russians.

Despite the crushing blows that caused all resistance to cease, the noble effort of the Czechoslovak nationalists was not, indeed, in vain. Not only did it show once more that the independent spirit of Czechoslovakia was ever active; it also won for the National Committee, which had led the resistance, the recognition by the incoming leaders of its right to take over the government. The National Committees which were recognized at this time were to remain the effective basis of government until the 1948 Communist takeover.

The spirit of independence in Czechoslovakia has remained indomitable throughout all regimes. When it emerged triumphant after World War I, and the new nation took its place on the international scene, the world was to hail in Czechoslovakia one of the outstanding examples of true democracy in history.

Through all the years of its independence, between World Wars I and II, Czechoslovakia was recognized as the exemplification of true democracy. In the constitution of the new state, born in 1918, provision was made for liberty of the individual, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of assembly. And these were not mere paper freedoms. They were put into practice.

The Czech soul, as that remarkable founder of his country, Thomas Masaryk, saw it, was indelibly marked with an independence of spirit and originality of thought which became characteristic of that doughty little country.

Today we celebrate the anniversaries of those two great occasions: First, the birth of the new nation, 46 years ago, when after World War I it originated through that truly democratic process, the self-determination of people; and second, the manifestation of that same vigor of soul and bravery of heart that sought to regain and maintain freedom in 1944.

Nor have the people ever really lost that aura of freedom in Czechoslovakia, in spite of all the superimposed governments which have sought to destroy it. Though they languish politically behind the Iron Curtain these many years, the Western World has ever had a sense of the temporariness of this indignity thrust upon an unwilling people. Our admiration and our sympathy is ever with those who struggle for liberty as Czechoslovakia has struggled. It applauds the manifestation of an inextinguishable freedom of mind and spirit.

One Goal—One Cause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, my good constituent, Mr. Nick La Bella, upon the death of two men, wrote a letter to the editor of his local newspaper, the "Oyster Bay Guardian," which carries a message for all of us. I am proud to place it in the RECORD:

DEAR EDITOR: When a pastor dies, it is as if a large oak is felled from the forest and the empty space reflecting against the sky leaves us all a little lonelier.

Two left us this past week.

One I visited, was lying in almost regal splendor—the other, a simple bier, yet with a splendor all its own.

One a leader in a church, whose members are numbered in the millions, the other a simple pastor of a small flock and yet each; did his duty and was a true shepherd to his children.

One suffered years of illness with surely saintly fortitude and humor.

The other worked hard right up to the last day * * * a lesson is here for all of us. One taught us that years of physical pain can be met head on with prayer, humor, and understanding. The other left us the lesson that if one can do effectively the job to which we have been assigned, a ray of light will lead us too, to the proper road.

I am sure both spirits are still looking over their flock, not in their former earthly pigmentations of black and white, but rather blended together in God (who is after all) our common Father, Golden Light. For in eternity there are no black and white color schemes. A lesson for us all.

It is not by a man's color, or economic status that a man's worth is judged but rather, how well did he use what goods his Creator gave him, and to what benefit for his fellow neighbor.

Let us first take the slums out of the man before taking the man from the slums.

May Fr. Vincent Short and Rev. Moses T. Smith glance down our way and continue to guide us.

NICK LA BELLA.

OYSTER BAY, N.Y.

Democracy and Our Newspapers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, most Americans during the week October 11–17 will reach for their newspapers not knowing or little caring that it happens to be National Newspaper Week.

Newspapermen themselves, already numb from the barrage of overlapping, conflicting, and sometimes ridiculous national weekly observances, will pause only briefly in their labor to pay tribute to their chosen field.

It is a busy world but this kind of observance is not appropriate to the occasion. Further comment is in order.

Newspapers are a vital part of our national life. At the same time, they are both the pulse of the community and the trusted purveyor of truth to the community.

Because it holds a position of intimacy and trust, the newspaper bears a fantastic burden of responsibility—the kind of responsibility that we in public office can fully understand.

Let us consider for a moment the problems of an editor who is confronted daily with a flow of significant news, most of which he cannot possibly fit into the columns of his publication. Every day he sits in Solomon's chair deciding what his readers will see in the next edition, discarding that which he considers least important. It is a perpetual moment of decision. It is no job for the faint-hearted.

Certainly it is not a job for the misguided or the incompetent. For every time that only one side of an issue is reported, every time a reporter injects personal feelings to distort the truth, every time an error in fact inadvertently passes the editor's vigilant blue pencil, the reader is cheated of his right to know, robbed of his right to make an intelligent judgment.

Newspapers are in a constant battle to stay alive in a tough competitive business. It is a battle against time, a battle against prejudice, against cleverly disguised lies, evasive officials, and public apathy.

Individual newspapers do not always win this battle. And, as in other fields there are always a few unfortunately, who do not even try to win.

But, fortunately for all who believe in democracy, the vast majority of newspapers across this Nation do wage an

aggressive battle to find the truth and to bring it to light.

Without newspapers our American way of life would soon die, for the light of democracy must be kindled and fed by the judgments of an informed people.

The greatness of our Nation depends on the greatness of our newspapers.

Tribute to Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Alabama delegation, I have requested this time in order to give the membership of the House an opportunity to join with us in paying tribute to an outstanding Member of this Body who is retiring at the end of this session. I speak of ALBERT RAINS, a worthy son of Alabama.

ALBERT was born in DeKalb County, Ala., on March 11, 1902, which makes him a young man—one of this generation. While young in years and in spirit, he is old in legislative experience and is certainly one of, if not the best, debaters in the House.

After attending the public schools of DeKalb County, he attended Snead Seminary which is now Snead College, being a member of the board of trustees of this fine institution and also of Jacksonville State Teachers College and the University of Alabama.

Mr. RAINS is a lawyer by profession, having been admitted to the bar in 1928, and commenced practice in Gadsden where he has since resided. He served as city attorney of Gadsden for 10 years, was a member of the house of representatives of the Alabama Legislature from Etowah County where he distinguished himself as a leader. He was an officer in many local organizations and has always given of his time and energies to many patriotic, fraternal, and religious causes. He is married to the former Allison Blair of Centre, Ala., who has been most helpful to him in his career.

Congressman RAINS has been quite active in speaking for the Democratic Party, both in his own State and throughout the Nation. He is a Democrat in every sense of the word. While he espouses the philosophy of the Democratic Party and really fights for it every inch of the way, no one can charge that he was so blinded to partisanship that he did not fight fair or ever hit below the belt.

Yesterday during the debate on the Housing legislation, many Members took the occasion to pay tribute to ALBERT's service here in the House. He is most worthy of these fine tributes. His retiring from Congress is a loss to his State and to the Nation. He is recognized throughout this country as the architect of housing legislation here in the House. He leaves this body as a builder—what more could one wish?

Whatever the future may hold for ALBERT RAINS, I am sure that the Members of this House join with the Alabama delegation in wishing for him and his lovely wife, Allison, all of the good things of life.

Improving the Attack on Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, granted September 23, I wish to call attention to the problem of water pollution in this Nation, and to the effectiveness of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

When that act was last extended by the Congress in 1961, the minority members of the Committee on Public Works made a concerted effort to secure an amendment to the act which, after a certain waiting period, would require State matching of the Federal grants-in-aid for construction of pollution abatement works. This effort, in which I joined, failed at that time, but I continue to believe that this is a question to which our committee and the Congress should continue to give its attention.

Water is, indeed, the No. 1 resource problem confronting the United States, today. It is a problem that is directly related to our country's rapid population and economic growth. The Federal Water Pollution Control Act has most certainly been for great value in promoting abatement action at the local level—but we are still not making progress at anywhere near the level we should be.

In my judgment, one of the reasons this is so its that—no matter how strong enforcement procedures we or the State adopt—no matter how we may juggle around agencies and departments at the Federal level to administer this program—the financial burdens imposed on local governments have, in all too many instances, been greater than they can bear.

Mr. Speaker, Federal grants-in-aid to the local communities are now limited to 30 percent of a project's cost, with a fairly liberal total dollar cutoff point. S. 2, which is now pending, but on which action in this Congress would seem to be doubtful, would, among other things, raise that dollar cutoff point.

But, even so, local government is faced with a tremendous financial burden in trying to shoulder the remaining share of any such project, in addition to keeping up with the ever-rising cost of providing other, essential local services. This problem, as much as anything else, has delayed and impeded the usefulness of the present Federal program.

I have always believed—and I still believe—that the preferred solution would not be to increase the Federal percentage of aid, but to encourage the States, in some fashion, to join in this attack in a meaningful way. At the present time, only a mere handful of States—and I regret to say that my own State of New York is not among them—have provided any measure of financial assistance to local government as a supplement to Federal aid.

Of course, it can be argued—and it will be argued—that the States, or many of them, cannot afford to do so. But, I well remember that when the tax cut bill went through Congress earlier this year, its supporters argued that one of its side benefits would be an automatic increase in State tax-revenues as, without any increase in rates by them, the accelerator effect the tax cut would produce would result in a "spin-off" of more returns to them. It is, perhaps, a little too early to determine how well this theory may have held up but, if it does hold up, then I can think of no other problem than this one toward the solution of which those funds might better be applied.

I further believe that the States have a proper responsibility for sharing in the cost of pollution abatement of interstate streams. One can argue over the exact proportion of that responsibility but, offhand, why would not a one-third local, one-third State and one-third Federal formula be about right?

That sort of a formula is suggested in the following resolution as adopted and sent to me by the Board of Supervisors of Tompkins County, N.Y., which county I have the honor to represent in Congress. I have asked consent to set that resolution forth, here, in order to bring this problem to the attention of my colleagues, in the hope that it will have their consideration in the next Congress when, undoubtedly, this whole program will be reevaluated.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 245

Resolution recommending legislation for financial aid toward sewage and pollution elimination

Whereas both State and Federal Governments have for years urged local governments to eliminate sewage and pollution from streams and rivers of the State of New York; and

Whereas the Federal Government has contributed about 30 percent of the total approved construction costs of any sewage treatment plant, the interception and the outflow only, which normally will only cover 10 percent of the complete new system; and

Whereas the cost of sewage and pollution elimination systems are frequently beyond the reasonable financial capabilities of local municipalities, and greater State and Federal aid is necessary to accomplish the worthwhile purposes of such elimination programs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this board of supervisors does approve reasonable sewage and pollution elimination programs, but believes that the cost is usually beyond the financial capabilities of the municipalities involved and recommends that legislation should be promptly enacted by the New York State Legislature and by the Congress of the United States to provide that the State and Federal Governments should each contribute one-third of the total approved cost of any necessary sewage and pollution elimination programs and the facilities thereof, with the

remaining one-third to be provided by the local municipality; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of this board forward certified copies of this resolution to the representatives of the county in the State legislature and in the Congress of the United States for necessary and proper action; and be it further

Resolved, That our assemblywoman, Senator, and Congressman are requested to inform this board as soon as possible as to whether or not they intend to support this resolution, and if not, why not.

National Association of Counties Condemns Use of Tax-Exempt Revenue Bonds To Finance Industrial Plant Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include an editorial in the October 1964 issue of the County Officer, the publication of the National Association of Counties. In condemning the use of tax-exempt bonds to finance construction of industrial plants, the national association supports the position taken by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] and by me in introducing H.R. 10547 and H.R. 10549. The text of the editorial follows:

PROSTITUTION OF COUNTY TAX EXEMPTION

(By Bernard F. Hillenbrand, editor)

Certain business interests, using the politically attractive bait of new jobs for the community, have been bringing pressure on our local government officials to use county-issued, tax-exempt bonds (industrial revenue bonds) to finance new plant construction.

These special interests make it sound very attractive. The community will get sorely needed employment. All the county has to do is issue industrial revenue bonds to finance the new plant. The company will pay off the indebtedness in monthly installments and it won't cost the local taxpayers a cent.

It certainly is a good deal for the special interests. Because, under the U.S. Constitution, the bonds of State and local government are exempt from Federal taxes, the county revenue bonds can be issued at interest rates as much as a third below the going rate for money borrowed from private lending agencies. This is a huge saving for the special interests and is often coupled with exemption from all or part of regular local taxes.

Some of them have gotten more greedy. They have found a new way to milk the cow. They buy the county bond issues and their interest income on the very bonds that finance their plant is exempt from Federal taxes.

If it is a fur-lined, gold-plated deal for the special interests, how about the community itself? What of the quality and stability of the new employment? Many have argued that reputable business does not seek this type of special advantage and the companies that do are second-rate. They are after the fast buck. They have no ties with or interest in the community.

INDUSTRIAL NOMAD

Organized labor has agreed that this is the type of industry that moves from community to community. An industrial nomad, it wears out its welcome, and it moves on. It pays the lowest wages, has the poorest working conditions, and no job security.

How about the fairness to existing industry? Why should the newcomer be given a special advantage over established industry? How many realize, for example, that in most communities, the overwhelming number of new jobs are created by expansion of existing industry?

How about the local taxpayer? Someone has to pay the cost for public services for the new plant. Someone has to pay for the education of the children of the workers. These costs must be borne by the rest of the community.

WHAT ABOUT TAX EXEMPTION?

Finally, how about the Federal taxpayer? We appreciate that as each of these cases is debated locally, there will not be much thought given to loss of revenue by the Federal Treasury through improper use of tax exemptions. And yet, this may be the greatest danger of all. It threatens our right to issue tax-exempt bonds for schools, hospitals and other valid public purposes.

Here is why. The Treasury has traditionally felt that it should have the right to tax the interest on our State and local bonds. Counties firmly believe that this exemption is granted by the U.S. Constitution and is vital to sound local government.

The Treasury and a small, but growing, number of Congressmen point with justifiable horror to the industrial revenue bond and demand that our exemption be eliminated or curbed.

A recent study by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations confirms that the number of industrial revenue bonds issued for plant construction is still very small and the present loss of revenue to the Treasury minuscule. However, the adverse public and congressional reaction to this obvious misuse of tax exemption is growing every day.

REFRAIN FROM USE

NACO has studied this matter long and carefully and in the newest addition to our American county platform, we urge all local officials to refrain from further use of industrial revenue bonds. We find that reputable business does not want special favor. Those that do obtain special favor do so at the expense of all segments of the established community.

Worst of all, the continued prostitution of our exemption can easily sour the public and bring an end to our tax annuity. This would profoundly threaten local government.

A better way to create new jobs is to work with existing taxpaying businesses to help them to expand. Often a new highway, vocational school, business airport, water or sewer line, or other bona fide public improvement will help a company to economic growth and add to the prosperity of the entire community.

Eulogy for the Honorable Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the passing of my good friend, the Honorable WALTER NORBLAD, of Oregon. WALTER was one of the strong, stabilizing Members of the House, and his experience, thorough knowledge of his committee assignment, and sound judgment were respected by all.

He was a student of government and always thought in terms of what was best for all the people. He worked hard, was always on the job, and never considered his own personal welfare. We are especially saddened when we reflect on the fact that while suffering a series of physical setbacks this year, WALTER NORBLAD conscientiously pursued his duties as Representative, feeling at all times his first obligation was to his constituents in Oregon. His firm belief in the fundamental virtues of our Nation was reflected in the dedicated representation he gave to the people of his district for 19 years.

However, WALTER NORBLAD was also a true friend and will be missed by the Members who knew him as well. He was always calm, helpful, and thoughtful in his dealings with other Members and left an indelible impression on all who knew him.

I join my colleagues in paying tribute to this great Member of Congress, and Mrs. Derwinski joins me in extending to his wife and son our deep sorrow at their great loss.

The Tragedy of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on October 3 we shall commemorate the 20th anniversary of a valiant but futile uprising of the Czechoslovak people against the Nazis. The uprising had been planned far in advance. In March 1944 the Czechoslovak Provisional Government in London had appealed to the people to rise against the Germans—to break the Nazi supply lines and give support to the Allied armies which were slowly moving toward Czechoslovakia. The rebellion began on August 28 as planned and continued until the end of October. An army of 70,000 Czechs and Slovaks fought bravely and with determination, but in the end their resistance was ruthlessly crushed by the Germans.

There is more to the story than a simple defeat by the Germans, however; the tragedy of early autumn of 1944 lies deeper and has been of more lasting duration. Under a mutual assistance treaty the Soviet armies were to have come to the aid of the Czechoslovakians. The tragedy was in effect a Soviet betrayal of Czechoslovakia. Soviet aid was too little and came too late. Because Czechoslovak resistance was broken by the Germans in 1944 the following year the Soviet armies were able to move in without opposition.

The defeat of the rebellion of 1944 thus paved the way for a Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia. The vision of the Czechoslovak patriots who so ardently desired the rebirth of the free Czechoslovakia of 1918 was destroyed by the tragedy of autumn 1944, but Amer-

icans will never forget the bravery of the Czechoslovak struggle against the Germans and will never cease to hope that one day Czechoslovakia may again be free.

Fast Action Saves Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, too often our young people and children are not given the recognition they deserve when performing courageous service in their community. At this time I speak of Cara Jane Dammann, 11 years old, and her brother Carey, 13 years of age, who by fast action helped save three lives at an abandoned gravel pit adjacent to Aberdeen Hills, Md. The News-Advertiser, Aberdeen, Md., contained an article on this heroic deed, under date of July 3, 1964, which follows:

FAST ACTION SAVES LIVES

A good combination—fast thinking, action and knowledge—paid off Sunday when three Aberdeen children and their father were saved from drowning in an abandoned gravel pit adjacent to Aberdeen Hills.

Six-year-old Virginia Columna and her twin brothers, Charles and Arthur, 11, were berry-picking on a steep incline near their home on Doris Circle in Aberdeen Hills Sunday afternoon. Suddenly, little Virginia lost her balance and tumbled down the bill into an abandoned pit which was filled with water to a depth of 12 feet. Both Charles and Arthur jumped into the pit in an effort to save her.

Two neighbor children playing on the opposite side of the hole saw the three youngsters struggling in the water. Eleven-year-old Cara Jane Dammann ran for help while her older brother, Carey, who will be 13 in August, ran to the pit.

"I pounded on the door of the Shackleford home," Cara Jane said, "and when they didn't answer right away, I ran to the Columna house and told Major Columna his children had fallen into the pit."

Maj. Vincent U. Columna, a retired Army officer and nonswimmer, raced to the scene and waded in, thinking the water was shallow. He sunk into the muddy bottom up to his knees, and the water rushed over his head.

Robert O. Shackelford, another retired Army major, and Robert Baicy, a 17-year-old Aberdeen senior, arrived at the scene of the tragedy and managed to pull Major Columna out.

"Major Columna was incoherent at this point," stated Major Shackelford, who is assistant director of civil defense in Harford County. "We didn't know about the three youngsters in the pit until the Dammann boy told us there were three more under water."

The three rescuers again entered the water. Young Carey found one of the twins, Charles, under the water near the edge of the pit and dragged him to safety. Major Shackelford and Bob Baicy swam to the center where Carey had last seen Virginia struggling before she went under.

"We were treading water, trying to keep from sinking into the quagmire at the bottom," Major Shackelford related, "when we touched the body of one of the children floating under the surface. We drove down and found the other twin. Bob took him to shore and I drove again. I found the little girl lying on the bottom."

"When I got her ashore," he continued, "she seemed absolutely lifeless. No pulse, no heartbeat. I began to apply mouth-to-mouth resuscitation while Bob and Carey worked on the twins."

The Aberdeen ambulance which had been summoned to the accident by Cara Jane arrived within minutes of the rescue and the ambulance crew began immediate treatment with a Pulmotor.

Major Shackelford credits the quick action of the ambulance crew toward saving Virginia's life.

The three youngsters were taken to Kirk Army Hospital at APG for further treatment.

On Tuesday, the twins were released from the hospital, apparently no worse for their ordeal. Little Virginia is still in an oxygen tent suffering from pneumonia which was induced by her lungs being filled with water. It is estimated that she was under water nearly 6 minutes. If all goes well, she will be released sometime next week.

The water-filled hole is part of the sand and gravel operations of Stancill, Inc. It lies about 125 feet from the Shackelford home on Ruby Drive.

The gravel pit is bounded on two sides by streets in the Aberdeen Hills development and on the third side by Route 22.

Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this occasion to express my sadness over the passing of our beloved colleague, WALT NORBLAD. In my 12 years in the House, I have valued his friendship and wise counsel very highly. I am going to miss WALT greatly but shall always treasure the memory of his warm personality with affection.

WALT NORBLAD was a dedicated public servant, able and conscientious in the performance of his duties to his constituents, the people of Oregon, and his country. He probably will be remembered best for his hard and effective work on the Armed Services Committee, where he labored with great zeal in the interests of a strong and secure United States. His views on defense matters always commanded the respect of his colleagues, both on the Committee and in this House as a whole, because he was considered one of the best informed Members on matters affecting the military security of our country in the cold war.

Because of WALT'S kindness, his gentility, his fairness, and his trustworthiness, I am sure we may all agree that he enjoyed the friendship and respect of as many of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle as does any Member of this body. Everyone who ever knew him will remember him as a fine and honorable man.

Mrs. Hosmer and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Elizabeth, and their son, Albin.

Lost, Strayed or Stolen: Millions of Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, with the 1964 presidential vote just around the corner, it is well to recall the alarming facts about vote frauds of 1960. Perhaps a review of 1960 may enable alert citizens to prevent a recurrence this year.

Especially revealing was an article which appeared in U.S. News & World Report, March 6, 1961. It is reprinted below:

TIME FOR ELECTION REFORMS?—LOST, STRAYED OR STOLEN: MILLIONS OF VOTES

A fantastic picture of the way this Nation elects its public officials is emerging from a series of widely varying studies.

Below are a few of the facts that are coming into view in the aftermath of the unusually close presidential election of November 8:

The Honest Ballot Association, a nonpartisan agency, estimates that a million and a half persons had their votes stolen by one party or the other, and that an equal number of people, confused by the ballots, had their votes thrown out or miscounted.

Experts estimate that more than 10 million persons, healthy and otherwise qualified to vote, were disfranchised by archaic registration and voting laws. These people had changed residence or could not vote by absentee ballots.

Election laws vary widely. In Michigan, a voter casts a ballot for all the candidates of his party with one mark, or one twist of a lever. In Massachusetts, he must mark his choice of a man for each office. Ballots often are long and confusing. Counting methods vary. Recounts of close elections usually are so hard to get that they virtually are out of the question.

These facts are causing many nonpartisan groups, some of them under the prodding of the Republican National Committee, to explore the jungle of election laws. The hope is that better procedures can be found for the future. Democrats as well as Republicans are interested in the search.

ELECTION THIEVES

Fifteen ways to steal votes are described and documented by a new booklet being distributed by the women's division of the Republican National Committee. It asks, "are you a 'shadow' voter?" and tells how to avoid being victimized. In the 1960 election, the booklet points out, the change of one vote in each election precinct would have reversed the popular vote.

Newspapers, magazines and many private citizens in letters have come up with examples of vote frauds as they were practiced in 1960. Most of these are a repetition of practices used by one party or another for almost a century. They came to full flower in the 1920's and 1930's under the regimes of a Republican Party boss in Philadelphia and a Democratic boss in Kansas City. The fresh citations for 1960 run like this:

In New Jersey, $5 bills were handed out within 50 feet of the polls. * * * In Chicago, payoffs were made from automobiles parked a short distance away. * * * In Chicago, 43 persons voted and the machine showed 121 votes cast. * * * A Republican election judge in a midwestern city admitted voting Democratic for the last 4 years.

In Philadelphia, voters came to the polls and found their names were not on the registration lists. * * * Chicago voters sometimes discovered that the record of their registration had been lost. * * * In Wilkes-Barre, Pa., pages were missing from registration books; the names were found if the voters happened to favor the right candidates.

A doctor in Chicago discovered that his father had "voted"; his father had been dead 17 years. * * * A newspaper in Georgia got affidavits that in one county majorities were padded by using the names of dead persons or of persons who long since had moved away or had never lived there. Some of the names were used in more than one precinct. Strangely, use of these names did not affect the result, the newspaper reported.

Men who watched the election closely reported that the misconduct was not all on one side. A political writer in the Middle West, himself a Republican, made this comment: "If they get to digging in the Republican areas of our State, a lot of good Republican housewives are going to be embarrased by learning what went on under their noses. They don't know how many dead men voted in their precincts."

ROLLS: INACCURATE

Most States require that the names of dead persons be removed from the voting lists at regular intervals, monthly, quarterly or fairly soon after death. In some States, bureaus of vital statistics report deaths to election officials. But the changes are not always made.

Permanent registration laws, convenient for the voter, help to maintain fictitious voting lists unless officials comb through them regularly. Each State has its own way of keeping the lists current.

South Carolina revises its lists annually. At least 11 States bring their voting lists up to date before or after each general election. Quite a few States automatically drop the names of those who did not vote in the last general election.

Other States allow more latitude. Illinois, Delaware, Tennessee, and Missouri drop the names of those who have not voted within 4 years. Maryland stretches this period to 5 years. Virginia electoral boards purge the books whenever they think it necessary.

A lot of deadwood piles up in 4 or 5 years. People move across town or out of the State. Voters die. Names remain on the rolls as a constant temptation. A few States guard against the use of these names by requiring voters to sign an affidavit before balloting.

REGISTRATION: DIFFICULT

Often it is hard to get on the rolls. Registration requirements vary widely.

A few States still require payment of a poll tax to qualify. Many States have literacy tests. Each State has a special list of people who are disqualified for one reason or another.

Residence requirements for new citizens differ. In Idaho, where registration is easy, 6 months' residence in the State and 30 days in the county are required. In Mississippi, a person must live 2 years in the State and 1 year in the county to qualify.

Conservative estimates fix at 8 million the number of persons unable to vote in 1960 because they had changed residence and had not been in their new homes long enough to qualify. They were qualified in their old homes, but not in the new.

An additional 2 million persons were away from home and unable to vote by mail, election experts say. At least 5 States do not permit the use of absentee ballots. Many States provide no way for a citizen to vote if called away from home by a sudden emergency just before election. In some States, a person may vote by mail if on a business trip, but may not do so if he is on vacation.

BALLOTS: A PUZZLE

The simple business of preparing ballots varies from State to State. It is taken for granted that the candidate whose name is at the top of the list of men running for an office holds an advantage. Similarly, the party whose candidates are printed in the left-hand column of the ballot has an advantage; this is the first spot the eye turns to in reading.

About half of the States rotate the names of candidates from election district to election district so as to give them equal chances at the preferred positions. This is done in Wisconsin, Oregon, Montana, Kansas, Idaho, Colorado, Alaska, and various other States.

Elsewhere, each State has its own method. Nebraska and Iowa list candidates in the order in which they file. Nevada, Maine, and Florida arrange names in alphabetical order. California and Massachusetts give the preference to incumbents. Missouri gives it to the candidate whose party won the governorship in the last election. Arkansas has the candidates draw lots for the place.

In the South, the left-hand column is given to Democrats. Often, there are no contesting Republicans. In Vermont, this spot is given to Republicans by law. Connecticut and various other States give it to the party that won the last governorship election. Rhode Island lets its secretary of state decide.

If the voter hunts for them, he can find the candidates for Congress on the ballot. Montana puts these at the top of the State ticket. Michigan inserts them at the bottom of the State ticket, just above candidates for the State legislature and county sheriff. Most of the other States follow one or the other of these examples.

Many States prescribe by law a general form for the ballot and leave it to local officials to fill in the details.

VOTERS: CONFUSED

Net result often is to get the voter so mixed up that he doesn't know what he is doing.

At least 30 States list all candidates on one ballot. The voter has to pick his way through a long list of names and offices: presidential electors, U.S. Senators, U.S. Representatives, State officers, and county officers. On the same ballot, there often will be a dozen or more paragraphs of legal gobbledygook describing State constitutional amendments and referendums.

Voters often do not know the candidates or what they stand for, do not understand the constitutional amendments. A 1956 ballot in Little Rock., Ark., listed 169 elective offices to be filled. In 1960, Denver voters had to decide on seven constitutional amendments and 95 candidates for 45 offices. Oregon's ballot is so long and confusing that schoolbooks have used it as an example of what not to do.

In Georgia, a 1-party State, the 1960 ballot listed candidates for 43 offices, ranging from presidential electors to county coroner, plus from 19 to 27 constitutional amendments, depending on where the voter lived. More than a week after the election, George's Secretary of State reported that 35 counties had not yet finished the count and sent in official returns.

The long-winded language of amendments and referendums sometimes is self-defeating. A North Dakota official says: "I believe the tendency is just to vote 'No' on all of them instead of taking time to read the lengthy ballot." New Hampshire and California have begun using simple language to ask a question that can easily be answered by "Yes" or "No."

Even in States that use short ballots, things are confusing. Oklahoma in 1960 had four ballots of different colors. The separate ballots listed: presidential electors, candidates for Congress, candidates for county offices, and constitutional amendments.

THE "STRAIGHT TICKET"

In 25 States, the voter can solve the problem by making just one mark or twisting one lever, signifying that he wants to vote for the full slate of candidates of his party. A great many voters do this.

A study by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan says a presidential candidate is more likely to carry the entire slate of his party into office in a State where it is easy to vote a straight ticket.

Michigan's voting in 1960 illustrates the point. This is a State where it is easy to vote a straight ticket. The State is well organized by Democrats and labor unions. John F. Kennedy carried Michigan, and his party made virtually a clean sweep of the top State offices. Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives got exactly the same share of the statewide vote as did Mr. Kennedy—51.2 percent.

In Minnesota, one of the 24 States where it is harder to vote a straight ticket, the story was different. Voters went through the list of offices, picking the men they wanted and ignoring parties. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY led the ticket for Democrats with 57.8 percent of the vote. Mr. Kennedy got 50.9 percent. Republicans elected a Governor. Democrats elected a Lieutenant Governor. Democrats lost a House seat they previously had held.

Texas has a problem peculiar to itself. To cast a legal ballot, the Texas voter must run a line through the names of candidates he does not want. Thousands of Texans failed to do this in 1960 and technically cast "illegal" ballots. Local election judges worked out agreements about counting these ballots. Sometimes the ballots were thrown out; sometimes they were corrected and counted. It is estimated that 100,000 Texans lost their votes.

MORE VOTES THAN VOTERS

In Texas, Illinois, and a few other States, there were charges after the 1960 election that some election districts came up with more votes than there were voters living in the districts.

Each State has its own way of dealing with this problem.

In South Carolina, for example, the procedure is spelled out in the election laws. If there are more ballots in the box than names on the poll lists, all of the ballots are put back into the box and mixed thoroughly. Then the district manager or a clerk draws out and destroys as many ballots as there are in excess of names. After that, the ballots are counted.

ELECTION JUDGES

All States give considerable power to local officials in setting up machinery for elections. Men who check poll books, run elections and count the votes are chosen locally. Many State laws specify that representatives of both major parties shall be present at the polls.

Republican complaints about the 1960 election often arose from this power of local officials. There were charges that, in such big Democratic cities as Baltimore, New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, supposedly Republican poll watchers were not always Republicans. Now and then, they turned out to be working for the Democratic city administration, or were former Democrats themselves.

In the South, where Democrats are dominant, the laws are less specific. Mississippi election commissioners appoint three persons in each election district to run elections. The law specifies that "if suitable persons of different parties" are to be found, the managers shall not be of the same party. Two challengers of each party may be present when the managers count votes.

This works out in unusual ways. In the State election of 1959, Republicans put up a candidate for State senate in Hinds County, Miss. He was beaten by about 6 to 1. Jackson newspapers on the day after election reported:

"The counting was slower at the level of the individual box than had been expected. Some workers at the polls complained of Republican observers at the counting, insisting that the young people made themselves objectionable by their close observation of the counting, making nervous the clerks not accustomed to such steady surveillance.

"At some polls the Republican observers were asked to leave and did so. At others, they remained throughout. Presence of observers at the polls is legal but is not the usual practice here."

RECOUNTS?

Only two States have provisions for virtually automatic recounts of close elections. In South Dakota, a margin of one-fourth of 1 percent assures a recount upon request. In New Hampshire, a 1-percent margin is close enough. Losing candidates need only to make the request—and pay a fee, which is returnable if they win.

Oregon, Alaska, and Michigan grant recounts on the basis of a petition if the request is accompanied by a cash deposit to cover the cost of the work.

In most other States, a long, slow, and expensive process is involved. In Oklahoma such requests are handled by the State election board, in Delaware by the Governor, in many States by the secretary of state. Often the requests are dumped into the courts for a long battle. Virginia and Missouri send their upper level election contests to the State legislature.

REMEDIES?

No one knows exactly what should be done to straighten out the Nation's tangled election procedures. Elections are a province of State governments. Only where Federal officers are involved can the Federal Government enter the field.

Many studies are being made by groups of private citizens. The Republican National Committee is urging the work forward, setting up groups of its own.

Changes are being made constantly by the States. Candidates have to recheck the laws before every election. Ballots are being shortened. The use of voting machines is being encouraged. Half the votes in 1960 were cast by machines. But an expert testified before a committee in Louisiana that even these can be rigged.

"Actually, in spite of the differences from State to State, there is not too much wrong with the election laws," says one official. "They are not too bad. It is the enforcement of the laws and the general attitude toward elections that cause trouble."

Mount Clemens Public Housing Units Win Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 24, 1964

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it has recently been called to my attention that the public housing units of the Mount Clemens, Mich., Housing Commission have been cited for outstanding design in the annual competition sponsored by the American Institute of Architects in cooperation with the magazines, House and Home and the American Home.

I want to take this opportunity to express my warm and sincere congratulations to those who have made development of these outstanding public housing units possible. The Mount Clemens units received an honorable mention award for their design this year and were 1 of 10 apartment and townhouse projects to be honored in the 1964 Homes for Better Living competition.

As Mr. George J. Ryan, the director-secretary of the Mount Clemens Housing Commission, pointed out in a recent letter to me:

Considering the fact that we were competing with apartments in the luxury class, I feel that the public housing units in Mount Clemens prove that good design can be accomplished almost anywhere with a minimum of cost.

I believe Mr. Ryan and others connected with the Mount Clemens Housing Commission deserve our congratulations. In calling the attention of our colleagues to this award, however, we would be remiss if we failed to congratulate also the project architects, Meathe, Kessler & Associates, Inc.; the builder, Rodney Lockwood & Co., and the landscape architect, Johnson, Johnson & Roy.

Mr. Speaker, the announcement of the honorable mention design award for the Mount Clements public housing units appeared in the August 1964 issue of House & Home. Under unanimous consent I place a description of the units which was included in the magazine article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PYRAMIDAL ROOFS CAP MULTIPLAN PUBLIC HOUSING

Clusters of the modular, prefabricated roofs are used over any of four different floor plans for a wide range of family sizes. The low-silhouette buildings themselves—25 in all with 60 units—are the second successful effort by the architects and the local housing authority to provide outstanding design in low-rent ($21 to $55) housing on scattered downtown sites. The first. 40 units in the same midcity area, was an AIA award winner.

Construction is simple: masonry walls are broken only by floor-to-ceiling windows and door panels and cantilevered prefabbed closets. Building costs averaged less than $11,000 per unit.

Lyndon Johnson Is Uniquely Qualified To Lead the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, none but the most qualified men can cope with the tremendous job of President of the United States. The enormous burdens of the office are sure to overwhelm those with lesser abilities, with disastrous results four our country and for the world.

Fortunately, we have in President Lyndon Johnson a man uniquely qualified by experience, intellect and outlook to give this Nation the wise, just and progressive leadership it so vitally heeds.

In Lyndon Johnson, America has a man who has devoted his entire adult life to public service. He was an outstanding Member of this House. In the other body, he was one of the greatest majority leaders in the Nation's history. As Vice President, he worked with John F. Kennedy in moving America from stagnation and uncertainty of 1960 to the sure progress of today. As President, he has demonstrated his ability to lead the Nation past the pitfalls of domestic complacency and international Communist aggression to a brighter future of social justice, general prosperity, and peace.

By word and deed, Lyndon Johnson has shown that he is a man of sound judgment and of noble purpose. The American people can—and, I am sure, will—put their trust in his proven, tested capacity to lead in a perilous time.

H.R. 8546: Extending Aid to Students of Optometry

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8546), to amend title VII of the Public Health Service Act so as to extend to qualified schools of optometry and students of optometry those provisions thereof relating to student loan programs.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that the opportunity did not present itself earlief to extend my warm commendation to the able gentleman from Texas [Mr. PICKLE], and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, for their splendid work in bringing to the House and securing the passage of H.R. 8546 having to do with extending to qualified schools of optometry and students of optometry, those provisions of the Public Health Service Act the same treatment with respect to student loans as are provided in those sections for students of medicine, osteopathy and dentistry. This consists of 90 percent Federal funds and 10 percent funds provided from other sources for making loans to students on a full-time course of study at these schools. Small scholarships will be available in all 10 schools of optometry and my State of Florida has already passed legislation providing scholarships for home State students of optometry. The 3 percent interest rates per year over a 10-year period would begin 3 years after the student ceases to pursue the full-time course of study and the $2,000 per year loan would meet the cost of their education.

For some time there has been a growing evidence of the need for optometrists since 191 million people in the United States are now being served by only

17,000 optometrists. I believe we have done the right thing for the young people of America in providing this much-needed legislation to allow them to pursue this career and at the same time insure the continued humanitarian work of the optometrist in the preservation of sight.

Honoring Broadcast Music

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EARL WILSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. WILSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, with the knowledge that every Member of the House is inclined toward some type of music, I wish, at this time, to recognize the 25th anniversary of Broadcast Music, Inc., of New York, which licenses the music of over 15,000 composers and music publishers in this country. On October 15, the Post Office Department will issue a special stamp in honor of American music, in which Broadcast Music, Inc., has played a great role.

As a part of its service to all fields of music and the related arts, Broadcast Music, Inc., has issued the 11th in its series entitled "Concert Music, U.S.A." It lists some astounding figures in the development of classical music in this country, specifically the fact that the growth of all phases of music since 1940 has been a phenominal 852 percent. This is 78 percent faster than the growth of the country's gross national product since that time, which has been 480 percent.

The following information is preceded by a statement by Mrs. Clifton J. Muir, president, National Federation of Music Clubs.

In the new "1964 Concert Music, U.S.A." there appear many more valuable statistics which will be of interest to Members of the House. Under unanimous consent I place in the RECORD excerpts from this brochure:

Concert music in one form or another is increasingly becoming a major part of the American way of life. We of the National Federation of Music Clubs are profoundly grateful to Broadcast Music, Inc., for making this 1964 survey of concert music, U.S.A., possible and for its many other distinguished services to American music and musicians.

Those of us who work constantly for the promotion of music in schools and churches, on radio and television, by symphony orchestras and opera companies and on the concert stage have a feeling of gratification when we read of the revolutionary growth in the performance and appreciation of good music in our country.

The main objectives of the National Federation of Music Clubs are to develop and maintain high musical standards, to aid and encourage musical education, and to promote American music and American artists. Let all of us use our mighty influence to carry out our objectives and to bring to the fullest potential the cultural resources of our Nation, proving once again our faith in the values to be found in the timeless art of music.

MRS. CLIFTON J. MUIR,
President, National Federation of Music Clubs.

AMERICAN MUSIC INTEREST KEEPS ON CLIMBING, MORE GOOD NEWS IN 1964

The growth of all phases of music in the United States has been phenomenal since 1940. An increase of 852 percent has been registered in the dollar volume of sales of records, musical instruments, performing rights and other aspects of American music interest during that period; this rate is 78 percent faster than the country's gross national product growth of 480 percent during the same time.

The number of American symphony orchestras has more than doubled, from about 600 in 1939 to 1,442 in 1964, more than half of the world's 2,000 symphony orchestras. The 263 orchestras surveyed in the annual orchestral program survey conducted by BMI and the American Symphony Orchestra League increased their average number of concerts by 10.5 percent last season.

Sales of musical instruments, accessories and sheet music have increased more than 645 percent, reaching over $670 million in 1963; record sales increased 1,271 percent, to $658 million since 1940.

Since 1950 there has been an 86-percent increase in the number of people who play musical instruments.

In 1964, an average of 14,507 hours of concert music per week is being programed by 1,221 responding AM and FM radio stations, or an average of 11.1 hours per station per week.

There are now 795 opera-producing groups in the United States.

More than 11 million Americans play musical instruments and receive musical instruction in schools and with private teachers, compared with 2,500,000 in 1947.

There are more than 71,000 instrumental music organizations in all the schools in the United States, with 15,000 orchestras, 49,000 bands and 7,000 "stage" bands.

More than 250 educational institutions in the United States now offer degree courses in music and advanced-level music training.

HIGH SYMPHONIC STANDARD MAINTAINED IN UNITED STATES

"America is a country of symphony orchestras, and * * * Americans support their orchestras * * * When it comes to symphony orchestras, no country in the world can touch us," wrote Harold C. Schonberg in the New York Times, May 3, 1964. Commenting on the fact that the 1964–65 orchestral season will be the heaviest in New York musical history, Mr. Schonberg points out not only does the United States have five orchestras (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and Chicago) of as high calibre as Europe's Big Three (the Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics and the Amsterdam Concertgebouw), but that "even orchestras from smaller American cities operate on a level of proficiency considerably above their European opposite numbers."

America's present 1,442 symphony orchestras (as reported by the American Symphony Orchestra League) make up more than half of the world's total and represent a growth of nearly 4 percent since 1963. Already the largest group, 1,094 community orchestras (with annual budgets ranging from a few hundred dollars to $100,000) showed the greatest growth rate—4.18 percent—followed by a 3.45-percent upturn in the 30 metropolitan orchestras (with budgets between $100,000 and $250,000). College orchestras grew by 2.83 percent to 291, and the number of major orchestras with annual budgets over $250,000 remained steady at 27.

Last year's gain of 53 new symphonic groups is almost twice the number in existence in 1900; and almost twice as many orchestras have been founded since 1962 than were operating in 1920.

Orchestral support goes down to the grass roots; 30 percent of the orchestras are in cities with less than 25,000 population, and there are less than a dozen U.S. cities in excess of 50,000 population in which there is not a symphonic ensemble of some kind.

RECORDS OPEN UP A NEW CONCERT MUSIC WORLD

Classical music accounts for 13.8 percent of America's $485 million long-playing record sales, 56 percent of the world's market, last year. The quality and variety offered on 528 long-playing monaural and 267 stereo labels last year contrasts strongly with the concert music available on only 20 or 30 78-r.p.m. labels in 1939—and at roughly half the 1939 cost per minute of music.

The Schwann Long Playing Record Catalog listed 572 contemporary composers in 1964, 18 percent more than in 1962, and their representation grew 6 percent, to 3,144 recordings of 1,995 titles. The 263 orchestras covered by the BMI/American Symphony Orchestra League Orchestral Program Survey last year performed works of 458 20th-century composers, out of 625 composers played. A total of 3,502 performances of 1,735 works were given by the groups surveyed.

AMATEUR PERFORMERS CONTINUE RECORD ACTIVITY

There are now 35,500,000 amateur musicians in the United States, nearly 4.5 percent more than of the overall growth rate 3 times that of the overall population. In 1936, by comparison, there were only 14,300,000 amateur musicians, and in 1950, only 19 million.

According to the American Music Conference, 21,700,000 Americans play the piano, one of our most popular instruments, and 6 million play guitar, the Nation's second favorite. Organs continue to gain popularity, moving from eighth place in 1954 to fourth in 1963 and this year reaching third place, with 3,250,000 players; the growing availability of electronic organs is probably a major factor here. Next in order of popularity are woodwinds (3,100,000), basses (3 million) and strings (down 43 percent from last year's third place position, and now numbering only 1,850,000). Others, in order, are: "C" melody flute (educational), 1,800,000; accordion, 1,200,000; ukulele, 1,100,000; recorder, 650,000; nontoy harmonica, 650,000; drums, 500,000, and assorted others, 650,000. Fastest growing in popular interest is the guitar (up 13 percent from 1963), probably as an outgrowth of increased interest in folk music.

Since many play more than 1 instrument, the total is more than the number of amateur musicians and—since many pianos and other instruments are shared—more than the estimated total of 40,500,000 instruments in use. Instrument ownership has, however, climbed nearly 4 percent, and is up roughly 99 percent from its 1950 total of 21 million instruments.

The retail value of new musical instruments, sheet music and musical accessories reached $670 million, up 6 percent from last year, eight times the 1940 figure and almost three times what it was in 1950.

In 1950, 1 of every 7.8 Americans played a musical instrument or received instrumental instruction; the 1963 ratio was 1 of every 5.4, making self-made music second only to reading among the Nation's leisure-time participative activities.

A survey conducted by the National Industrial Recreation Association revealed that there are approximately 1,600 combos, ensembles, bands, orchestras and symphonies supported or sponsored by industrial firms.

MUSIC A GROWING FACTOR IN PERSONAL SPENDING

During the period 1941–63, the music industry's percentage of annual personal consumption expenditures more than doubled from 0.168 percent of $82 billion in 1941 to 0.356 percent of $373.1 billion in 1963. Record sales were the fastest growing segment of personal music purchases, rising from 0.058 to 0.176 percent of personal consumption. These figures do not include purchases of phonographs and radios, nor admissions to musical events, but only purchases of music, musical instruments, records and accessories.

RADIO CONTINUES TO HOLD THE LARGEST CONCERT MUSIC AUDIENCE OF ANY MEDIUM

With more than 214 million radios in operation, the average American listens over 17.5 hours per week to radio programing, at least 80 percent of which comes from records. New technical and legal developments—FM stereo and the mandatory inclusion of UHF tuners in all new TV sets—are expected to encourage new station construction in both FM and educational TV, both major disseminators of concert music.

BMI's 12th annual survey of broadcasting stations showed that as of May 1964, 1,008 AM and 213 FM respondents programed a total of 14,507 hours of concert music, for an average of 11.17 hours per week, virtually unchanged from last year.

The 1961–62 opera season set records, and the 1962–63 season broke them: 4,606 performances of 303 works by 795 opera-producing organizations in 49 States—a far cry from 1941's 77 companies, or even the 45-State network of 316 companies which the United States boasted in 1950–51. Of 1962–63's 4,606 performances, say the annual "U.S. Opera Survey" in Opera News, the standard repertory—roughly speaking up to "Turnandot"—accounted for a record 2,670 hearings of a record 145 works. The contemporary repertory—roughly speaking, "Three Penny Opera," and after—accounts for 1,936 hearings of 158 works, a slight increase but fewer than the performance peak hit in the 3 seasons 1957–60.

GROWING YOUTH ACTIVITY A GOOD OMEN

There are now more than 11 million school-age instrumentalists—almost half of them studying piano—as against only 2,500,000 in 1947, a 340-percent rise. Approximately 85 percent of all band and orchestra instruments are purchased for use by school-age youngsters.

More than 26 percent of American schools have increased their musical instruction schedules during the past 5 years, while only 4 percent decreased them; over 97 percent of elementary and 95 percent of secondary schools now provide time for music instruction, with band instruction—the most popular course—now offered by two-thirds of the secondary institutions. Eighty percent of the Nation's school systems now provide rhythm-band training in kindergarten, to introduce children to instrumental music.

In the fall of 1963, it was estimated that elementary, junior high, and high schools had more than 71,000 instrumental music organizations, including 15,000 orchestras and 49,000 bands in addition to supervised "stage" (or jazz) bands. While the number of bands and stage hands has increased 22 percent, the number of orchestras has remained constant since 1961; all of these figures, however, have doubled since World War II as a consequence of interest generated through classroom music instruction. These figures do not include the numerous ensemble and chamber music groups found in almost all school music programs.

As to the future of music education, the 6.5-percent rise in the number of music education degrees granted in 1961–62 over the number granted in 1960–61 is the highest in at least 5 years, a good omen for the future.

Congressman James R. Grover, Jr., Reports to the Second Congressional District of New York

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, we are on the threshold of adjournment of the historic 88th Congress at the end of its 2d session.

I was elected to this first term in the House of Representatives after 6 years of intensive work as a legislator in the New York State Assembly where I represented an assembly district which comprised two-thirds of the Second Congressional District.

This 2 years in the 88th Congress has been the most interesting and informative 2 years of my life, and I have been honored to serve my constituents in this House with such distinguished statesmen as you, Mr. Speaker, and my dedicated colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

During these 2 years, I have tried to be a full-time Representative, and my percentage attendance at quorum calls and rollcalls is 98 percent. I have spent many hundreds of hours at my desk and at hearings and meetings of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Public Works Committee and the respective subcommittees to which I have been assigned.

I am proud of the productivity of the 88th Congress in many fields, although I feel that in some areas this Congress has failed to hold in check the administration's demands for new programs and excessive deficit spending.

In regard to education, the following were favorably enacted:

Higher Education Facilities Act; legislation providing vocational education; health professions educational assistance in the form of expanded teaching and research facilities and student loans; maternal and child health services, including crippled children's programs and research projects to prevent mental retardation; and the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act.

The National Defense Education Act Amendments extend, expand, increase, and revise the program for 3 years; more graduate fellowships are provided, as well as counseling, guidance, and testing services; it will strengthen Federal support of language development and increase training opportunities under a program of grants for training institutes for certain teachers, library personnel, and guidance and counseling personnel. The amendments provide for a considerable expansion of the title 2 program of equipment grants. Presently such grants may only be given for equipment used in the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern foreign language. This will be expanded to include history, geography, English, reading, and civics.

On the conservation front, we passed the wilderness bill to protect 14.7 million acres in 10 States from destructive commercialism. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act was also passed to set up a partially self-liquidating $2 billion fund for acquisition and development of new recreation and game refuge lands. Many local conservation bills were passed, including the Fire Island national seashore bill. I was privileged to cosponsor the Keating seashore bill first passed in the Senate and substituted by the Pike bill in the House.

When I first became a legislator 8 years ago, someone said:

> You will rarely see a law repealed—you will just make new ones; and you will never lower, but only raise, taxes.

I was pleased to vote for the biggest tax cut in years; and, conscience dictated that I support economies in government to help pay for it. Recently, I was named one of the watchdogs of the Treasury, by a National Businessmen's Association who rated me 90 percent on key votes as saving taxpayers' dollars.

Outstanding and controversial legislation which passed were the Mass Transportation Act, the civil rights law, and the antipoverty legislation; otherwise known as the Economic Opportuniy Act.

At this time, the future of medicare, social security, and Appalachian relief are somewhat in doubt, as is the veterans pension bill, passed by the House and now in conference.

This session has produced renewal of the Housing Act, extension of the Hill-Burton Act for construction and modernization of hospitals, and a new law to provide aid to education of nurses.

The annual bill for highway construction was passed and a trail-blazing National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress was formed.

In our foreign affairs, I opposed at first an appropriation to the International Development Association and later supported it as a logical self-help approach to foreign aid. And I supported efforts to reduce foreign aid to underscore my belief that it should be streamlined and placed on a more sound and businesslike basis. I supported the Vietnam resolution supporting U.S. retaliation when attacked on the high seas, and I supported the resolution calling for penalizing United Nations members who do not pay the assessments.

The Panama Canal Subcommittee reported a bill similar to mine to set up a commission for study of a new sea level canal. This bill passed in the House.

I am pleased to state my voting record on major issues:

Date	Issue	Vote
1964		
Jan. 14	Extension with modifications of time for 3 years for Federal aid airport construction, $75,000,000 per year authorization. (Yea 298, nay 11.)	Yea.
Jan. 21	Confining Federal library services aid to rural and small town areas, while increasing authorization. (Yea 179, nay 183.)	Yea.
Jan. 21	Increased authorization, Federal aid for library services, from $7,500,000 to $25,000,000 for fiscal 1964, authorized new program for matching Federal grants. (Yea 254, nay 107.)	Yea.
Jan. 28	Amend Davis-Bacon Act, include more fringe benefits in making prevailing wage determinations. (Yea 357, nay 50.)	Yea.
Feb. 10	Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Yea 290, nay 130.)	Yea.
Feb. 18	Recommittal motion on simplifying and consolidating laws relating to employment of civilians in more than 1 position. (Yea 83, nay 262.)	Nay.
Feb. 20	Military procurement authorization, $17,000,000,000 for defense research, development, and ship, aircraft, and missile procurement. (Yea 336, nay 0.)	Yea.
Feb. 25	Amend Internal Revenue Code of 1954, reduce individual and corporate income taxes. (Yea 326, nay 83.)	Yea.
Feb. 26	Recommittal motion, authorization of U.S. participation in increase in resources of International Development Association. (Yea 208, nay 188.)	Yea.
Feb. 27	Amend Communications Act of 1934 prohibiting FCC from regulating radio and TV commercials. (Yea 317, nay 43.)	Yea.
Mar. 4	Recommittal motion limit 1965 Peace Corps authorization. (Yea 90, nay 309.)	Nay.
Mar. 5	Amend Internal Revenue Code of 1954, tax acquisitions of certain foreign securities. (Yea 238, nay 142.)	Nay.
Mar. 10	Establish Public Land Law Review Commission to study existing public land laws and regulations. (Yea 339, nay 29.)	Yea.
Mar. 12	Federal employees' pay increase, included $10,000 increase in salaries of Congressmen. (Yea 184, nay 222.)	Nay.
Mar. 23	Authorize National Bureau of Standards to improve fiscal and administrative practices for more effective research and development. (Yea 164, nay 162.)	Nay.
Mar. 24	Appropriations for Treasury, Post Office Department, Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies. (Yea 326, nay 20.)	Yea.
Mar. 25	$5,200,000,000 appropriation for NASA for fiscal 1965. (Yea 283, nay 73.)	Yea.
Apr. 6	Appropriation to carry out provisions of act establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission. (Yea 233, nay 39.)	Yea.
Apr. 8	Expanded cooperative Federal-State program of food assistance to needy. (Yea 229, nay 189)	Nay.
Apr. 8	Passage of wheat and cotton bill with Senate amendments. (Yea 211, nay 208.)	Nay.
Apr. 10	Recommittal motion on legislative branch appropriations for fiscal 1965. (Yea 188, nay 131.)	Yea.
Apr. 14	Appropriations of $6,900,000,000 for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies for fiscal 1965. (Yea 347, nay 21.)	Yea.
Apr. 15	Authorization of implementing finances of convention between United States and Mexico to settle boundary dispute. (Yea 348, nay 5.)	Yea.
Apr. 22	Appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1965. (Yea 365, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 6	Appropriations for Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for fiscal 1965. (Yea 314, nay 40.)	Yea.
May 7	Appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1965. (Yea 341, nay 3.)	Yea.
May 13	Recommittal motion, amend International Development Association Act, authorize U.S. participation in increase in resources. (Yea 132, nay 247)	Nay
May 18	Issuance of gold medal to Henry J. Kaiser. (Yea 150, nay 143; ⅔ needed.)	Nay
May 20	Amendment to appropriations for Department of Agriculture for peanut research laboratories. (Yea 181, nay 198.)	Nay
May 20	Appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965. (Yea 311, nay 64.)	Nay.
May 26	Appropriations for Defense Department for military construction for fiscal 1965. (Yea 340, nay 5.)	Yea.
May 27	Recommittal motion, increasing amount of insurance on savings and loan accounts by Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. (Yea 197, nay 142.)	Nay.
June 3	Authorization appropriations for fiscal 1966 and 1967 for highway construction. (Yea 296, nay 0.)	Yea.
June 10	New appropriations for foreign aid for fiscal 1965. (Yea 230, nay 175.)	Yea.
June 11	Federal employees' pay increase, with increase for Congressmen reduced from previous bill. (Yea 243, nay 157.)	Yea.
June 16	Appropriations for public works projects of Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, Department of the Interior, and other related agencies. (Yea 361, nay 11.)	Yea.
June 17	Recommittal motion, reduction of certain excise tax rates. (Yea 185, nay 207.)	Yea.
June 18	Increase temporarily national debt limit. (Yea 203, nay 182.)	Nay.
June 25	Amendment broadening job protection for employees in transit companies, mass transit bill. (Yea 234, nay 170.)	Yea.
June 25	Federal assistance on greater scale for mass transportation in metropolitan and other urban areas. (Yea 212, nay 189.)	Yea.
July 1	Appropriations for foreign aid for fiscal 1965. (Yea 231, nay 174.)	Yea.
July 2	Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Yea 289, nay 126.)	Yea.
July 2	Authorizing Speaker of House to appoint special committee to report on campaign expenditures. (Yea 264, nay 92.)	Yea.
July 2	Agreeing to conference report on act to establish water resources research centers at land-grant colleges. (Yea 347, nay 0.)	Yea.
July 21	Protection of postal patrons from obscene mail matter and Communist propaganda. (Yea 326, nay 19.)	Yea.
July 21	Establish National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. (Yea 260, nay 76.)	Yea.
July 22	Resolution providing for consideration of bill to establish land and water conservation fund. (Yea 338, nay 8.)	Yea.
July 28	Permit certain owners of fishing boats to receive medical care and hospitalization without charge at hospitals of Public Health Service. (Yea 202, nay 170.)	Nay.
July 29	Increase benefits under Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system. (Yea 388, nay 8.)	Yea.
July 30	Establish national wilderness preservation system. (Yea 374, nay 1.)	Yea.
Aug. 3	Authorize Secretary of Interior cooperation in administration of Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in State of Wisconsin. (Yea 164, nay 154; ⅔ needed.)	Nay.
Aug. 3	Provide reclamation projects under Colorado River Storage Project Act. (Yea 250, nay 67.)	Nay.
Aug. 4	Appropriations for Defense Department for fiscal 1965. (Yea 186, nay 178.)	Nay.
Aug. 7	Joint resolution to promote peace and security in southeast Asia. (Yea 416, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	Motion to strike enacting clause antipoverty bill. (Yea 197, nay 225.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	Substituting Senate version of antipoverty bill. (Yea 228, nay 190.)	Nay.
Aug. 7	Motion to recommit antipoverty bill. (Yea 117, nay 295.)	Nay.
Aug. 8	Passage of antipoverty bill. (Yea 226, nay 185.)	Nay.
Aug. 11	Increase in disability and death pensions for veterans. (Yea 389, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 11	Amend District of Columbia Code withholding charitable solicitations license from any who it is felt would not promote health, welfare, and morals. (Yea 301, nay 81.)	Yea.
Aug. 12	Amend Trade With the Enemy Act, let Court of Claims have jurisdiction over validity of foreign claims. (Yea 374, nay 3.)	Yea.
Aug. 12	Authorized payment of U.S. share of costs of International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. (Yea 268, nay 89.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	Recommittal motion, independent offices appropriation bill. (Yea 114, nay 270.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	Housing Act of 1964, authorizing appropriations for FHA programs for fiscal 1965. (Yea 308, nay 68.)	Yea.
Aug. 14	Subsidizing program for construction of fishing vessels in U.S. shipyards. (Yea 198, nay 124)	Yea.
Aug. 14	Resolution to pay expenses incurred by special subcommittee on poverty out of contingent funds of the House. (Yea 115, nay 156.)	Nay.
Aug. 17	Resolution continuing efforts toward securing payment by members of the U.N. of their assessments in arrears. (Yea 351, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 17	Require migrant farm labor crew leaders of 10 or more workers to register with the Department of Labor. (Yea 393, nay 7.)	Yea.
Aug. 17	Extend mandatory Federal inspection requirements to previously exempt small mines. (Yea 202, nay 151.)	Yea.
Aug. 18	Agreement on conference report establishing mandatory quotas on meat imports. (Yea 232, nay 149.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	Conference report International Coffee Agreement. (Yea 183, nay 194.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	Conference report amending Internal Revenue Code taxing acquisitions of certain foreign securities. (Yea 221, nay 147.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	Conference report on bill to guarantee electric consumers in Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated plants in that region. (Yea 230, nay 134.)	Nay.
Aug. 19	Conference report on bill extending and amending laws relating to housing, urban renewal and community facilities. (Yea 310, nay 70.)	Yea.
Aug. 19	Prohibit Federal courts from considering cases involving reapportionment of State legislatures. (Yea 218, nay 175.)	Nay.
Aug. 20	Establishment of a National Council on the Arts. (Yea 213, nay 135.)	Yea.
Sept. 1	Bill to study fesability and site for new Atlantic-Pacific canal to supplement Panama. (Yea 320, nay 23.)	Yea.
Sept. 1	Coordinate Interior Department and Agriculture Department activities on pesticides. (Yea 236, nay 110)	Yea.
Sept. 3	Motion to recommit food-for-peace program to prohibit sales to Poland and Yuoslavia. (Yea 183, nay 175.)	Yea.
Sept. 3	Allow 50 percent forgiveness of Federal students with loans to doctors practicing in remote, rural areas. (Yea 140, nay 160.)	Yea.
Sept. 3	Extend the food-for-peace program for 3 years. (Yea 349, nay 6.)	Yea.
Sept. 22	Supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal 1965. (Yea 208, nay 103.)	Yea.
Sept. 23	Cooperation of Secretary of Interior with State of Wisconsin on Ice Age National Scientific Reserve. (Yea 180, nay 118.)	Nay.
Oct. 1	Resolution on continuing appropriations for fiscal 1965. (Yea 159, nay 193.)	Nay.
Oct. 1	Conference report on extension and amendment of National Defense Education Act of 1958. (Yea 320, nay 20.)	Yea.

Public Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, Congress has, year by year, become more and more interested in the development of trade. The Third District of Washington, which I have the privilege of representing, is one of those areas in this Nation intimately associated with commerce and is consequently deeply concerned with the development of our rivers and harbors. Particularly during the past 4 years has this Congress recognized these needs and we have been deeply appreciative of the understanding and help of the Appropriations Committee and particularly the Subcommittee on Public Works, chaired by Ohio's outstanding Congressman, MIKE KIRWAN.

Because of this trade interest and the port district development in Congress, I think other Members of Congress may be interested in some of the figures recently obtained from one of the outstanding port districts in the Pacific Northwest, Longview, Wash. Harvey Hart, manager of this port, is considered one of the Nation's most knowledgeable and able members. Citizen participation in port affairs and an excellent relationship between the port district and the people have made it possible for Longview's projects.

Interestingly enough, the port of Longview is the youngest deep-water port in the State of Washington. It has, in the short space of 37 years, moved from a standing start to the first port in volume of exports in the State of Washington and it has completely saturated the capabilities of all present facilities, land, and cargo-handling capacity. Further progress and development requires expansion. This fall, this forward-looking port is proposing a $3 million general obligation bond—this to be voted on by the electorate of the district in November.

Some indication of the port's value to the district, the State of Washington, and the Nation are found in the following facts:

In 1963 the port handled 1,794,080 short tons of outbound waterborne cargo, and 482,973 short tons of inbound waterborne cargo. Shipments were made to 52 nations and received from 18 nations. The port used its berthing space to 90 percent of ultimate capacity and serviced 812 offshore vessels. The port is responsible for the direct and indirect employment of 2,380 persons out of 18,688 persons employed in the port district, and for a payroll of $16,250,000 out of a total payroll of $106,600,000—a total of 15.2 percent. Local potential buying power released in the district for 1963 was $14,370,000.

The expansion contemplated will increase the district payroll by approximately 400 persons, will measurably assist the export expansion program of President Lyndon Johnson, and will assist Washington ports in maintaining their competitive relationship with aggressive ports in Canada, other areas of the Pacific coast, as well as the gulf and Atlantic coasts, which have spent well over a billion dollars during the past 10 years on modernization and improvements. It also will add additional security to our national defense program.

The Late Honorable Walter Norblad, of Oregon

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it was a great shock when I learned of the untimely passing of our colleague, the Honorable WALTER NORBLAD, of Oregon. WALTER was a conscientious and able legislator, and ever since he was elected to the House of Representatives by special election in 1946, he was dedicated to fulfilling the duties of his office with loyalty and distinction. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, WALTER was critical of unnecessary expenditures but the welfare of our men and women in uniform was always his first concern.

Because of WALTER NORBLAD'S personable ways, there was no partisanship in the respect and affection which the Members on both sides of the aisle felt for him. He was my friend and I shall greatly miss him.

To his wife, his son, and his mother I extend my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 28, 1964

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, has written a most interesting article for the Saturday Review entitled "Human Rights and Foreign Policy." This article, an appraisal of the current efforts of the United Nations in the field of human rights and their meaning for the United States, is adapted from a chapter in Mr. Gardner's forthcoming book, "In Pursuit of World Order: U.S. Foreign Policy and International Organizations."

Richard Gardner is a knowledgeable commentator on the United Nations. He was recently awarded the Arthur S. Flemming Award as one of the 10 outstanding young men in the Federal Government for his work in promoting international cooperation through the United Nations.

The text of Mr. Gardner's article follows:

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY
(By Richard N. Gardner)

Questions of human rights are now at the forefront of international attention. The wall in Berlin, anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the general deprivation of human rights in Communist countries, apartheid in South Africa, the setbacks for freedom in less developed areas, and the struggle for racial equality in the United States—all have stirred public opinion around the world and profoundly affected international relations.

During most of the first two decades of the United Nations, the drive for freedom tended to be defined as the drive for national independence. But we know that history is studded with examples of unholy alliances between nationalism and tyranny. Now that freedom has been achieved for so many new nations, we are still faced with the previous question: What about freedom for individual men and women and children, the individual human persons whose dignity and worth is reaffirmed on the opening page of the United Nations Charter?

The world today is very far from a satisfactory answer to this question. In some nations, fundamental freedoms are denied by governments as a matter of principle—by racial separation, by political oppression, by religious persecution. In other nations, many freedoms are deliberately postponed, by government action, to concentrate on what are thought to be more urgent items of public business. In all nations in greater or lesser degree, freedoms are threatened by lust for unchallenged political power—by the animosities of tribe or class or caste or sect or party, and by prejudice and bigotry and other evils that still divide the branches of humanity.

These facts pose a central challenge to United States foreign policy—particularly as prosecuted in international organizations. The United Nations and its affiliated agencies have developed increasingly effective measures to promote two of their great objectives—the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of economic and social cooperation. But the members of the United Nations have been not nearly so successful in devising methods to promote the third main objective laid down in the charter—the promotion of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all."

Whether and by what means the United States should seek to rectify this imbalance in the achievements of the United Nations are questions that are urgent, controversial, and complex.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

One of the important respects in which the Charter of the United Nations differs from the League of Nations Covenant is in its emphasis on human rights. The charter makes the promotion of human rights one of the main purposes of the organization. In articles 55 and 56 the members of the United Nations pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Moreover, articles 13 and 62 of the charter charge the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council with making recommendations for the advancement of human rights.

These provisions have provided the legal basis for the consideration of human rights questions by the General Assembly and other United Nations organs. It is true that another provision of the charter, article 2(7), forbids the United Nations to "intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." But when taken together with the human rights provisions of the charter, this paragraph does not preclude the Assembly and other United Nations organs from carrying on general discussions about the worldwide promotion of human rights that may include specific references to human rights situations in particular countries. Moreover, the United Nations may consider and adopt recommendations about specific violations of human rights that are part of the member's official policy and inconsistent with its obligations in articles 55 and 56. This last qualification is important: it helps explain why United Nations organs have passed recommendations concerning the enforcement of apartheid by the government of South Africa and have not passed recommendations about racial discrimination in the United States that is being ardently attacked by the Federal Government. Of course, violations of human rights may be the occasion for mandatory sanctions against a member only when the Security Council determines that they constitute a threat to or breach of international peace.

The Charter of the United Nations also provides for a Commission on Human Rights. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the Commission undertook as its first major task the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a nonbinding statement of principles to serve as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." The Universal Declaration is a comprehensive affirmation of basic political and economic rights found in the Constitution and basic legislation of the United States as well as in the laws of other free countries—including the right to life, liberty, and property, fair trial, freedom of speech, assembly, and religion, the right to participate in government, the right to work, to equal pay for equal work, and to form trade unions, and the right to an effective remedy if any violation of these

rights occurs. It was approved by the General Assembly in 1948 without a single negative vote and with the abstention only of the Soviet bloc, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Universal Declaration has become the yardstick for measuring the progress of governments and peoples in their long struggle for freedom and dignity. It has helped to stimulate two regional conventions: the 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms—the first comprehensive regional measure for incorporating human rights into law—and the Draft Inter-American Convention on Human Rights. It has influenced the constitutions of at least seven states, including the Federal Republic of Germany, the peace treaty with Japan, and the Austrian State Treaty, treaties relating to at least four African states, and the legislation of many nations around the world. It has been cited by the International Court of Justice and by courts in a number of countries. While possessed of no binding legal force itself, it has become a basic norm in the body of human-rights law that is now being slowly built up within nations. It has also become the basic working outline for the development of an international law of human rights through conventions that do have contractual force.

Following the adoption of the Universal Declaration, the members of the United Nations turned to the drafting of an international bill of rights in treaty form. In 1951, however, the General Assembly decided to divide the rights enumerated in the Declaration into two legal instruments: a Covenant on Political and Civil Rights embracing the traditional civil and political rights recognized in Western societies, which are generally amenable to legal enforcement; and a Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights heavily emphasized in recent years by Communist, newly independent, and Western countries, which lend themselves less readily to enforcement than to long-range education, planning, and promotion. In view of existing differences between countries about human rights and the appropriate means for implementing them, it is hardly surprising that these instruments are still under negotiation.

Given the difficulties encountered in the negotiation of the comprehensive covenants, it was natural that attention should turn to a more modest approach—the building of an international law of human rights step by step through specific conventions dealing with particular rights. The first such treaty instrument—the Genocide Convention, which has been in force since 1951—commits the parties to preventing and punishing within their territories the destruction of any national, racial, religious, or ethnic group. Other United Nations conventions now in force deal with the rights of refugees, stateless persons, the political rights of women, nationality of married women, and slavery. Also in force are ILO conventions on forced labor and discrimination in employment, and a UNESCO convention on discrimination in education. In various stages of completion are other U.N. conventions on racial discrimination, consent to and minimum age of marriage, reduction of statelessness, freedom of information, and the international right to transmit news.

Quite apart from the drafting of human rights principles, the United Nations has sought to promote human rights in other ways. The most dramatic examples have come in the debates on worldwide progress in human rights in the General Assembly and Human Rights Commission, and in the Assembly's consideration of specific human rights situations such as apartheid or the position of Buddhists in Vietnam. The Trusteeship Council regularly considers the situation—including observance of human rights—in 3 (originally 11) territories placed under U.N. trusteeship. A committee, established pursuant to the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples calling for the granting of "all powers to the peoples of these territories * * * without any distinction as to race, creed, or color," examines conditions in other non-self-governing territories. And it should not be forgotten that the activities of the United Nations in peacekeeping and nationbuilding—even though not labeled "human rights"—have become formidable instruments for the promotion of individual dignity.

PROGRAM OF SUPPORT

Finally, a special "action" program for the promotion of human rights has now been underway for more than a decade. This program calls for periodic reporting by governments on human rights progress and problems in their countries; research into worldwide implementation of specific human rights; and advisory services in the form of seminars, fellowships, and visiting experts.

The considerations for U.S. leadership in this many-sided U.N. program in the field of human rights are clear and compelling. They derive in part from the nature of American society. Since the Declaration of Independence the United States has been dedicated to the pursuit of human rights and fundamental freedoms—not just for Americans but for "all men." Throughout American history—and still today—U.S. power in the world derives not just from its position as an arsenal of weapons or as a storehouse of commodities but as a base from which to seek the universal realization of the dignity of man.

Vigorous American support for human rights around the world is not only an essential and irreversible part of the American tradition; it serves to clarify the issues in the basic struggle for freedom in the world today. Communist leaders put human freedoms very low on their scale of priorities; they are prepared to violate them in their drive for world power and rapid economic growth. The same was true a generation ago of the leaders of the Axis Powers. It is the belief in human rights—in the importance and worth of every individual—that distinguishes the United States and other countries of the free world from the totalitarian countries of the left and the right.

We have also learned from hard experience of the intimate interdependence between human rights and peace and security. Nazi Germany should have taught everyone the lesson that internal suppression is often the handmaiden of external aggression—that the destruction of freedom at home can quickly lead to the destruction of freedom abroad. Dictators typically use foreign adventures to solidify their domestic power, and the recklessness of their foreign policy is directly facilitated by the systematic destruction of domestic dissent. The other side of the coin is no less true: the more a country is threatened from without, the more dangerous it is for human rights within. Those concerned with the preservation and development of human rights in free societies cannot fail to be concerned with the promotion of human rights on a worldwide basis. The same is true for those concerned with the pursuit of peace and security. As President Kennedy asked so eloquently in his American University speech in June of 1963: "Is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights * * *?" Worldwide progress in the vindication of human rights and fundamental freedoms will also be progress toward creating a peaceful and stable world order.

Of course, the international promotion of human rights is not a one-way street. World opinion is concerned not only with human-rights problems of other countries but also with human-rights problems in the United States—particularly with the struggle for racial equality. Some Americans fear that an attempt to assert U.S. leadership in the international promotion of human rights may result in unwanted international attention to our domestic problems. They raise the question: As the price for putting the heat on others, are we prepared to take the heat ourselves?

To a large extent, this question has already been answered for us. The United States is an open society with the world's most highly developed media of mass communication. Our domestic racial problems are widely advertised to every corner of the globe. So we are already "taking the heat" of intense international attention.

The same is not true for the closed societies of the world. In these countries—where the press is controlled and foreign newsmen are severely restricted in their freedom of movement—violations of human rights do not automatically succeed in impressing themselves on world opinion. Thus, there tends to be a geographic imbalance in the focus of international attention to human rights problems.

BROAD SCOPE OF PROBLEM

Nor is the imbalance one of geography alone. The current international preoccupation in the field of human rights is on racial discrimination and specifically on the struggle for Negro equality. The vindication of the rights of Negro communities in the United States and elsewhere is a matter of urgent public business. But there are other human-rights questions besides the question of Negro equality. In the preoccupation with how white men treat black men the world must not lose sight of how white men treat white men, or now black men treat black men, or even how black men come to terms with the white minorities in their midst.

Human rights, like the U.S. Constitution, should be colorblind in every sense of the phrase. In a world becoming increasingly race-conscious, there is a particular danger that violations of human rights within racial groups will tend to be ignored. The problem was poignantly illustrated in a recent cartoon that shows a smiling Mao Tse-tung telling an African leader: "Of course, there is no discrimination in China. Here we enslave everybody."

The choices facing the United States in the field of human rights are therefore clear. On the one hand, it can take a defensive posture out of concern with its domestic difficulties. In this event, the world's concern with the racial issue in the United States will not go away. On the contrary, the present disparity between the world's attention to racial discrimination—as manifested particularly in the United States—and other kinds of human rights violations in other countries will probably increase.

On the other hand, the United States can assert its leadership in the worldwide promotion of human rights. In this case, it can broaden international awareness and concern with human rights problems into an objective examination of the state of human dignity in all countries and thus place the struggle for equality in the United States in its total world setting.

The United States is already in the sun. Any additional light on human rights that can be generated through the United Nations will do more to illumine the deprivations of these rights in the dark corners of closed societies than in the open societies of the free world.

Recent experience suggests that the long-term interests of our country may well be served by fuller information on our struggle for racial equality. Criticisms of U.S. racial problems in the U.N. by the Soviet Union and others have attracted little support in recent years—partly because U.N. members have been increasingly impressed by the efforts

of the Federal Government to assure civil rights for all our citizens.

U.N. delegates who have traveled widely in the United States frequently become our best defenders. A case in point is the visit to Atlanta arranged in January 1964 for members of the Subcommission on Discrimination and Minorities. The members of the Subcommission were invited wholly in their personal capacities as individuals known to be interested in the city's progress. Nevertheless, fears were immediately expressed that they would concentrate on adverse aspects of race problems with a view to discrediting the United States in the U.N. Further objections were voiced when it was found that the visit would coincide with renewed demonstrations by local student organizations against restaurants that had not yet desegregated.

All these fears proved groundless. The visitors toured all sections of Atlanta and talked freely with citizen and protest groups as well as city officials and the press. All were favorably impressed, not only with the city's determination to achieve racial equality but, even more, with the concern of the police for free speech and a fair hearing for all involved in controversy, whatever their views might be.

RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES

There are many different ways, of course, of promoting human rights. The United States has a powerful lever in its bilateral diplomacy. Increasing opportunities for acton on human rights questions are becoming available in regional forums. In some cases, quiet representations to a government or an informal and ad hoc process of conciliation may produce the best results. But the experience of recent years also suggests the utility of exposing human rights problems to world attention in the global forums of the United Nations where they can be looked at by the community of nations as a whole.

The American interest in promoting the human rights activities of the United Nations has already been expressed through vigorous leadership in a number of areas. The United States played the leading role, through the person of Mrs. Roosevelt, in the preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It sponsored the "action" program to strengthen human rights through national reporting, research, and advisory services. It has left no doubt about its position when violations of human rights from South Africa to Tibet have been brought before United Nations forums.

Yet the United States is now being challenged to take further leadership in United Nations activity in human rights. The administration has reaffirmed support for ratification of the Genocide Convention. And, in July of 1963, President Kennedy submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification the conventions dealing with slavery, forced labor, and the political rights of women. Although the legal standards established by these conventions are already reflected in our Constitution and statutes, and have long been deeply rooted in our legal and moral heritage, the United States has so far not ratified them, or any other human rights convention drafted under U.N. auspices—a fact that many find hard to understand.

Obviously, words on paper are not enough. Nobody believes that the signing of a human rights convention in and of itself brings automatic improvement in the condition of people around the world. But United States participation in the great effort, under United Nations auspices, to define and clarify basic human rights can make a practical contribution to the national interest in promoting human rights in at least three ways:

First, U.S. ratification can stimulate other nations to adhere to these conventions and can augment their impact among countries already parties to them. The United States will thus be encouraging the implementation of these basic human rights standards within foreign countries.

Second, ratification will put the United States in a better legal and moral position to protest infringement of these human rights in countries that have ratified the conventions but failed to implement them in practice.

Third, ratification will increase U.S. influence in the continuing United Nations process of the drafting of legal norms in the field of human rights. So long as the United States fails to ratify any human rights conventions, its views will carry less weight than they deserve.

ACTION THROUGH UNITED NATIONS

Beyond ratification of human rights treaties, more can be done with the existing resources of the United Nations— particularly through the opportunities for influencing international opinion in the General Assembly and the Human Rights Commission. The potentiality of the United Nations in this connection has been graphically illustrated on many occasions—most recently when the United States brought the issue of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union to the attention of the Human Rights Commission last March.

Existing U.N. procedures, however, may not be sufficient. In the words of Harlan Cleveland: "The problem we need to consider is how sharp beams of international light can be effectively poked into the world's darkest recesses of reaction—and how those beams once inside can be focused and intensified until, like the laser ray, they burn out the malignancy of man's inhumanity to man."

At the present time the beams of international light are not sharp and fully focused. The only comprehensive information received by the Commission on Human Rights is a survey every 3 years, based on reports submitted by member governments. These reports are generally bland and incomplete; many countries fail to report at all. Moreover, the incoming material is not made available in original form; the document prepared for the Commission is merely a summary of what has been received, so that governments are spared direct exposure of self-serving omissions and interpretations. The Human Rights Yearbook, published regularly 3 years after date, consists only of legislation, court decisions, and official documents. Discussion in the Human Rights Commission is further inhibited by the tradition that reference should not be made to a specific situation or a specific country.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

The result of all this is that the Human Rights Commission regularly bypasses discussions of current problems in specific countries. In the vacuum thus created, the General Assembly has tended to involve itself in political and emotional discussions of a few human-rights problems without the benefit of a broad and analytical review of the entire subject. And the United Nations as a whole lacks an up-to-date, comprehensive, and professional analysis of the measures taken by member states in fulfillment of their obligations to promote human rights for all their citizens.

In the months ahead, the United States and other U.N. members will be considering possible ways to strengthen the work of the United Nations in the field of human rights—in defining standards, in clarifying experience, in reviewing government performance against charter principles, and in exposing to the conscience of the world the denial of those rights that should be the heritage of all human beings.

Thus new opportunities may be available in the international promotion of human rights—particularly through a process of publicity and persuasion. But such a process can work successfully only if the nations participating in it are genuinely devoted to the national pursuit of human rights—not the national pursuit of self-righteousness. In this field we might well benefit from the application of the familiar legal doctrine of "clean hands"; those who would call in question the practices of others should at least be making every effort to put their own house in order. For the real test of a nation's commitment to human rights is not what it says in the United Nations for all the world to hear, but what it does at home for all the world to see. As Mrs. Roosevelt put it some years ago: "It is not just a question of getting the (human rights) covenants written and accepted * * * it is a question of actually living and working in our countries for freedom and justice for each human being."

Brief Summary of Some Legislation Enacted During the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in reviewing the work of the 88th Congress, there is no question that the dominant issue was that of civil rights. This historic legislation attracted more national attention and consumed more hours of debate in the U.S. House of Representatives than any other legislation in recent congressional history.

The impact of the 10 titles of the civil rights bill is not as great in Illinois as in the Southern States. However, the implementation of the civil rights bill through voluntary action, as well as local, State, and National efforts, is bound to keep this subject in the forefront of our national life for at least a decade.

The tax cut legislation is probably second in significance. If the theory of reducing taxes and increasing expenditures—without inflation and spiraling national debt—is achieved, this too will be a landmark in our Nation's history. My votes against the tax cut as well as my opposition to the debt increase and various appropriation bills bespeak my lack of confidence in the new economic philosophy which has guided this administration. However, with other citizens, I will watch the outcome and will prepare to meet new legislative challenges affecting the fiscal business of our Government.

Many have commended the 88th Congress for its boost to education. In the field of vocational education, the Congress has recognized the need to mod-

ernize this traditional Federal program. Extension of the National Defense Education Act and various other aids to higher education also account for this recognition.

Certainly the Congress has reflected a national concern for our natural resources. A National Wilderness Preservation System has been established by congressional action. In addition, a land and water conservation fund has been created to further develop our outdoor recreational facilities. Water resource centers in various colleges around the country are authorized by another measure passed by this Congress. A bill passed recently establishes a committee to review our vast public land holdings. Other measures relating to water pollution, pesticides, and natural resource development also have received favorable action in the Congress.

Our Nation's preeminence in space and in national defense have received popular support from members of both parties. These programs have been supplemented by legislative action in support of ROTC programs at the high school and college levels, strengthening of the Coast Guard and civil defense, as well as increasing enrollment of our Air Force and Military Academies to equal the enrollment at our Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Passage of measures in behalf of public health, mental health, hospital construction, and similar subjects indicate further concern for our individual citizens in need.

Most of the measures referred to here were passed without regard to party alinements. Some other bills such as the poverty, wheat-cotton, feeds grain, and mass transit bills have been omitted as it is the opinion of this Member of Congress that they will not be among the measures with which this Congress will be identified in the annals of history. Still, a Congress such as the 88th, identified with education, conservation, and national defense, is one to be remembered.

Voting Record of Congressman Wayne L. Hays on Major Legislation of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my voting record on major bills to come before the House of Representatives during the 88th Congress. I have done this every 2 years since I have been in Congress and mailed out copies so that my constituents could have a convenient method of checking my record. As voters in the 18th Congressional District they have the right to know how their Congressman represented them in Washington and how I voted on the major issues. The record follows:

How I voted	Issue	Status
Yes	Health Professions Education Assistance Act authorizes construction grant program for medical and dental schools and student loans.	Enacted.
Yes	Higher Education Facilities Act authorizes program of college construction loans and grants	Enacted.
Yes	Vocational Education act expands vocational education programs	Enacted.
Yes	Clean Air Act to strengthen air pollution control programs	Enacted.
Yes	Extends the Manpower Development and Training Act, increases authorization and broadens program	Enacted.
Yes	Antipoverty program (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964)	Enacted.
Yes	Defense Production Act extension for 2 years	Enacted.
Yes	Extend Civil Defense Act for 4 years	Enacted.
Yes	Civil Rights Act of 1964	Enacted.
Yes	Revenue Act of 1964 to reduce personal and corporate income taxes by $11,500,000,000	Enacted.
Yes	Library Services Act of 1964 extending assistance to urban area libraries in addition to those serving rural areas	Enacted.
Yes	Mass transit bill authorizing loans and grants to States and communities for mass transit facilities and service	Enacted.
Yes	Continue Federal highway construction program for 2 years	Enacted.
Yes	Federal employees salary increase	Enacted.
Yes	Peace Corps expansion	Enacted.
Yes	Food Stamp Act to distribute surplus and other foods to needy	Enacted.
Yes	Social Security benefits increase	Died in conference.
Yes	Extends Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act	Enacted.
Yes	Hill-Burton Act extension of aid for construction and remodeling of hospitals, nursing homes, and medical centers	Enacted.
Yes	Nurses Training Act providing construction grants and student loans	Enacted.
Paired for	Housing and Community Development Act of 1964	Enacted.
Yes	Extends National Defense Education Act and increases college student loan authorization	Enacted.
Yes	Military pay raise	Enacted.
Yes	Amend Veterans Pension Act to liberalize pensions of veterans and families of deceased veterans	
Yes	Provides educational assistance to children of disabled veterans	Enacted.
Yes	Authorizes program of nursing home facilities for veterans	Enacted.
Yes	Extends food-for-peace program	Enacted.
Yes	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency authorization	Enacted.
Yes	Extend programs for sale of surplus milk to Armed Forces and Veterans' hospitals	Enacted.
Yes	Establish $2,000,000,000 land and conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs	Enacted.
Paired for	Establish a national wilderness preservation system	Enacted.

Dr. Fernós-Isern

SPEECH
OF
HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying a sincere and deep tribute to our colleague, Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN.

It is a great pleasure and honor to join Congressman RYAN in paying a well-deserved tribute to our distinguished colleague and to wish him the very best during his retirement.

When I first came to Congress, Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN was almost one of my first acquaintances. I had the privilege of serving on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and working with him on a number of programs for the well-being of his Commonwealth. He is indeed a dedicated servant of his people and I am sure they regret his loss as do we. However, I am equally sure that they join all of us in wishing him well in retirement.

Bringing Business Back to Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Republican platform emphasizes this year the right of Americans to go into or out of business if they so desire. One would not think that, under the American system, this right could even be questioned. However, as Business Week points out in its issue of September 26 in an article entitled "Gale Winds Blow on High Court," this right is being challenged. The labor unions are trying to overrule a decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of a company completely liquidated 7 years ago and which they are trying to bring back to life like Lazarus.

Under unanimous consent, I introduce this article into the RECORD:

The nine Justices of the Supreme Court will come back to Washington next month to find themselves a major campaign issue.

Controversy, of course, isn't new to the Court—particularly in the 10 years since the school desegregation decision. But the "Warren Court" starts its term October 5 in what may turn out to be a new environment.

One new element is the strength of anti-Court sentiment in Congress.

In 1956, the Darlington Manufacturing Co., a company in the Milliken family textile empire, liquidated its plant in Darlington, S.C., after it had been organized by the Textile Workers Union. The Labor Board held that the dissolution was an antiunion tactic and ordered Deering Milliken, Inc., as an affiliated company, to place Darlington employees on a preferential hiring list and pay them for lost wages. An appeals court, however, upheld the company's contention that it had an absolute right to go out of business for any reason.

Two other cases will probably have more effect on independent decisionmaking by management.

Congressman Bob Dole in His Votes on Key Issues During the 2d Session, 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT DOLE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of the 88th Congress began on January 7, 1964, and from then, to and including October 2, 1964, there were 112 rollcall votes, and I was present and voting on 111. Listed below is a summary of 82 key measures and my vote thereon. The 30 votes not listed related primarily to procedural matters, duplications and bills which were not, in my opinion, of general interest.

Some of the votes were easy and some very difficult, and I am certain my constituents will not agree with every vote cast. Nevertheless, as the session finally comes to an end, it is time for an accounting, and I therefore include a summary of my voting this session:

Voting record of Congressman BOB DOLE, 2d sess., 88th Cong.

Date	Issue	Vote
1964		
Jan. 14	To recommit bill extending program of Federal aid for airports to reduce proposed authorization by $15,000,000 per year for 3 years. (Yea 110, nay 201.)	Yea.
Jan. 14	After defeat of recommittal motion, House passed bill providing for 3-year extension with modifications of the program of Federal aid for airport construction. (Yea 298, nay 11.)	Yea.
Jan. 21	Library services amendments proposed to confine Federal library services aid to rural and small town areas, while increasing the authorization for such aid, but eliminating a proposed new program of Federal grants for library construction. (Yea 179, nay 183.)	Yea.
Jan. 21	After failure of efforts to limit the scope and cost of the library aid program, the bill passed. It increased the authorization for Federal aid for library services from $7,500,000 to $25,000,000 for fiscal 1964 and authorized a new program of matching Federal grants for library construction with $20,000,000 for 1964 and authorizations with unspecified amounts for 1965 and 1966. Starting with fiscal 1965, the programs were extended to urban in addition to rural and small town areas. (Yea 254, nay 107.)	Nay.
Jan. 28	This bill proposed amending the Bacon-Davis Act to include most fringe benefits in making prevailing wage determinations. The Bacon-Davis Act generally provides that workers on most Federal construction contracts be paid not less than prevailing wages for the same area. (Yea 357, nay 50.)	Yea.
Feb. 10	Civil rights. (Yea 290, nay 130.)	Yea.
Feb. 20	Authorized $17,000,000,000 for defense research and development and for ship, aircraft, and missile procurement. (Yea 336, nay 0.)	Yea.
Feb. 25	Vote on the conference report on the $11,500,000,000 tax cut bill which reduced individual income tax and corporate tax rates. Various other changes were made in the tax laws, benefiting some taxpayers and hurting others. In my opinion, a tax cut without a consistent policy of reduced spending could result in large budget deficits and inflation with a further lowering in the purchasing power of the dollar. (Yea 326, nay 83.)	Nay.
Feb. 26	Bill proposed authorizing an additional U.S. contribution of $312,000,000 to the International Development Association which makes 50-year loans interest free but with a ¾ of 1 percent annual service charge, to underdeveloped nations. A vote for this recommittal motion was a vote against the bill. I objected to the bill on economy grounds, to the high percentage of American financial participation, to the liberal terms of the loans, and to the possibility that some of the loans might be counter to American interests and policy. (Yea 208, nay 189.)	Yea.
Feb. 27	House passed this bill amending the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the Federal Communications Commission from making certain rules relating to the length of frequency of radio and TV advertisements. (Yea 317, nay 43.)	Yea.
Mar. 4	This recommittal motion was designed to limit the fiscal 1965 Peace Corps authorization to the 1964 figure of $95,700,000 instead of the proposed $115,000,000 After failure of the recommittal motion, the bill passed by a voice vote. (Yea 90, nay 309.)	Yea.
Mar. 5	This so-called interest equalization tax was actually a tax on the purchase of most foreign securities by Americans from foreigners. The object of this bill was to ease our balance-of-payments deficit by discouraging foreign borrowing from U.S. sources. In my opinion the balance-of-payments deficit could be easily reduced by cutting foreign aid, without discouraging private American investment abroad. Foreign investments bring us a long-term benefit through their yield of profits. At the same time, they help develop private enterprise abroad. (Yea 238, nay 142.)	Nay.
Mar. 10	This bill establishes a Public Land Law Review Commission of 19 members to conduct a 3-year study of public land laws and regulations. (Yea 339, nay 29.)	Yea.
Mar. 12	Bill proposing a $545,000,000 pay raise affecting approximately 1,700,000 Federal workers. $10,000 increase in the salaries of Congressmen, from $22,500 to $32,500, was provided for by this bill. (Yea 184, nay 222.)	Nay.
Mar. 24	Vote on an amendment to restore $10,000,000 to Coast Guard funds for vessel, aircraft, and installation construction and improvement. (Yea 160, nay 193.)	Nay.
Mar. 24	Vote to pass a bill appropriating $6,200,000,000 for the Treasury, Post Office, Executive Office of the President, and various independent offices. This included funds for the electric lights at the White House. (Yea 326, nay 20.)	Nay.
Mar. 25	Bill authorizing $5,200,000,000 for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal year 1965. (Issue was increasing costs of "man-on-the-moon" project.) (Yea 283, nay 73.)	Nay.
Apr. 8	Recommittal motion to add provision to the food stamp bill requiring States participating in the program to pay half of the costs. (Yea 195, nay 223.)	Yea.
Apr. 8	This bill expanded and made permanent the food stamp program. On a pilot basis the program cost $44,000,000 in 1964. The bill carried an authorization of $400,000,000 over a 3-year period. The program may eventually mean food at below wholesale prices to 4,000,000 people at a cost to the Federal Government of perhaps $360,000,000 per year. (Yea 229, nay 189.)	Yea.
Apr. 3	Bill establishing special 2-year programs for wheat and cotton. (Yea 211, nay 203.)	Nay.
Apr. 10	Recommittal motion to limit expenditures of appropriations to congressional committees and the Architect of the Capitol to those expenditures which are a matter of public record. (Yea 188, nay 131.)	Yea.
Apr. 14	Appropriations of $6,900,000,000 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies. (Yea 347, nay 21.)	Yea.
Apr. 15	Legislation authorizing up to $44,900,000 for implementing the Convention of the Chamizal which settled a boundary dispute between the United States and Mexico at El Paso, Tex. (Yea 348, nay 5.)	Yea.
Apr. 22	Defense Department appropriations bill of $47,000,000,000 for fiscal 1965. (Yea 365, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 6	Appropriation of $1,700,000,000 for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, for related agencies and for the Federal Judiciary. (Yea 314, nay 40.)	Yea.
May 7	Bill authorizing $2,600,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1965. (Yea 341, nay 3.)	Yea.
May 13	Recommittal motion which was in effect a vote to kill bill proposing an additional U.S. contribution of $312,000,000 to the International Development Association. (Yea 132, nay 247.)	Yea.
May 20	Amendment to provide $1,600,000 for construction of a National Peanut Research Center at Dawson, Ga. (Yea 181, nay 198.)	Nay.
May 20	Vote on recommittal motion to insert language to prevent use of any funds for payment of export subsidies on any surplus agricultural commodities sold to Communist countries unless approved by the President and reported to Congress. (Yea 186, nay 187.)	Yea.
May 20	Bill providing appropriations of $5,200,000,000 for the Agriculture Department and related agencies. (Yea 311, nay 64.)	Yea.
May 26	House voted $1,600,000,000 in funds for Defense Department military construction for fiscal year 1965. (Yea 340, nay 5.)	Yea.
May 27	Vote to recommit a bill proposing increasing Federal insurance coverage on depositors' accounts in banks and savings and loan institutions from the present $10,000 to $20,000. Some of the recommittal votes were by Members, myself included, who wished to combine consideration of proposals to tighten regulations concerning savings and loan institutions with the proposal to increase insurance coverage. (Yea 197, nay 142.)	Yea.
June 3	Bill authorizing $1,175,000,000 per year for 2 years for Federal-aid for highway construction and for Federal highway programs. (Yea 296, nay 0.)	Yea.
June 10	Vote on recommital motion with instructions to reduce the foreign aid authorizations for development loan funds and for the President's contingency funds by $222,200,000 of requested amount. (Yea 193, nay 211.)	Yea.
June 10	Bill authorizing $2,000,000,000 in new appropriations for foreign aid, bringing total foreign aid spending to $3,500,000,000 for fiscal 1965. (Yea 230, nay 175.)	Nay.
June 11	Following defeat of a 1st Federal pay raise bill because of its proposal to increase congressional salaries by $10,000, this 2d pay raise bill handled controversial question of congressional pay by proposing an increase of $7,500 plus additional automatic increases at the times of future general Federal pay increases. (Yea 243, nay 157.)	Nay.
June 16	Bill providing $4,300,000,000 appropriation for civil public works projects, water resources construction, reclamation, and the Atomic Energy Commission. (Yea 361, nay 11.)	Yea.
June 17	Vote to reduce retailers' excise taxes on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, luggage and handbags from 10 to 5 percent on July 1, 1964, and repeal such taxes on July 1, 1965. (Yea 185, nay 207.)	Yea.
June 18	Bill to increase temporary national debt limit to $324,000,000,000 through June 30, 1965. (Yea 203, nay 182.)	Nay.
June 25	Authorization of a new Federal program of grants to States and localities to build or improve mass transit systems. An authorization of $375,000,000 over a 3-year period was included in the bill. (Yea 212, nay 189.)	Nay.
July 1	Vote to effect a cut of $248,000,000 in foreign aid appropriations through reductions in economic assistance funds. (Yea 198, nay 208.)	Yea.
July 1	Foreign aid appropriation bill providing $3,300,000,000 for foreign aid and $400,000,000 for related activities. (Yea 231, nay 174.)	Nay.
July 2	Resolution concurring with Senate amendments to the civil rights bill to clear it for Presidential signature. (Yea 289, nay 126.)	Yea.
July 2	Provision for appointment of a special House committee to investigate campaign expenditures of House candidates. (Yea 264, nay 92.)	Yea.
July 2	Bill proposing grants to States for establishing water resources research centers at colleges, and grants to States for water research projects. (Yea 347,	Yea.
July 28	Free medical care and hospitalization at Public Health Service hospitals was extended to certain owners of fishing boats by this bill, in addition to the seamen already eligible. (Yea 202, nay 170.)	Nay.
July 29	As originally passed by the House on this vote, the social security benefit and tax increase bill did not include medicare provisions. It provided for a 5-percent increase in benefits, raised the wage base for deductions from $4,800 to $5,400, slightly liberalized eligibility requirements, and increased the social security taxes paid by employees, employers and self-employed people. (Yea 388, nay 8.)	Yea.

Voting record of Congressman Bob Dole, 2d sess., 88th Cong.—Continued

Date	Issue	Vote
1964		
July 30	Establishment of a national wilderness preservation system. Bill placed 9,000,000 acres of Federal land in it permanently with provisions for its further expansion. (Yea 304, nay 1.)	Yea.
Aug. 4	Conference report on adopting defense appropriations bill for $46,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1965. (Yea 359, nay 0.)	Yea.
July 21	Bill to protect postal patrons from receiving unsolicited mail which they regard as "morally offensive." Person receiving such mail can request the Post Office to notify a specific mailer not to mail him or his children any unsolicited material. (Yea 326, nay 19.)	Yea.
July 21	Bill for establishment of a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, at a cost of $2,000,000. Opposition was centered on the question of establishing another new commission. (Yea 261, nay 76.)	Nay.
July 22	Vote to consider a bill to establish a land and water conservation fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting outdoor recreation needs. (Yea 338, nay 8.)	Yea.
Aug. 4	Motion to recede and concur with a Senate amendment to defense appropriations authorizing the Defense Secretary to make at least 35 percent of the funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval vessels available for work in privately owned shipyards. It was in place of a House provision which would have had a more limiting effect on the allocation of work to private shipyards to the advantage of Government navy yards. (Yea 186, nay 178.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	This resolution pledges support, including the use of armed force, as the President determines, to aid SEATO nations in southeast Asia which request assistance in defense of their freedom. It supported the President in taking necessary measures to repel armed attack against us and in preventing further aggression. (Yea 416, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 8	This poverty bill included a package of programs to be administered by an Office of Economic Opportunity. Among them were a Job Corps, a work training program, a work study program, a Domestic Peace Corps (Volunteers in Service to America), urban and rural community action programs, loans to small farmers and businessmen. The bill authorized programs for 3 years, with a fiscal 1965 authorization of $947,500,000. (Yea 226, nay 185.)	Nay.
Aug. 11	This bill proposed revising the non-service-connected disability and death pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war and their widows and children. It proposed various pension increases and liberalization of income limitations. (Yea 380, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 12	Bill to authorize $683,000 for U.S. contribution to the expenses of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. (Yea 268, nay 89.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	Vote to recommit the conference report on independent offices appropriations bill to reduce by $200,000,000 funds provided for NASA research and development. The funds in question were part of those for the man-on-the-moon project. (Yea 114, nay 271.)	Yea.
Aug. 13	This motion to recommit was with instructions to add an amendment continuing indefinitely the Federal Housing Administration's insurance authority. Such permanent authority might have made it more difficult to obtain passage of future expensive housing bills in future years, as continuation of FHA insurance authority when contained in a housing bill is a factor working toward obtaining approval of a bill containing many other items. (Yea 184, nay 194.)	Yea.
Aug. 14	This bill revived an expired program of Federal subsidies to help build fishing boats and increased the percentage of the subsidy. This bill, in my opinion, simply revises another Federal subsidy program. (Yeas 198, nays 124.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	The housing bill as passed by the House authorized $992,000,000 in spending for fiscal year 1965. (Yeas 308, nays 68.)	Nay.
Aug. 17	Proposal to extend Federal inspection and safety requirements to the smallest coal mines, employing fewer than 15 people underground. Kansas safety laws are adequate, in my opinion, and the expense of additional improvements that would be required, would put many small mines out of business and add to unemployment. (Yeas 202, nays 151.)	Nay.
Aug. 14	House refused to approve an additional $10,000 for the House Education and Labor Committee to cover expenses of its ad hoc Poverty War Program Subcommittee. (Yeas 115, nays 156.)	Nay.
Aug. 17	This resolution was to express the sense of the Congress that we should make efforts to get financially delinquent U.N. nations to pay up and that the United States should urge that provisions of the U.N. Charter providing loss of votes in cases of continued financial delinquency be enforced. (Yea 352, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 17	Bill calling for Federal registration of contractors making work arrangements between 10 or more migrant workers and growers in interstate agricultural employment in order to protect migrant workers from employer abuses. (Yea 343, nay 7.)	Yea.
Aug. 18	This bill provided for import quotas on chilled, frozen, or fresh beef and veal whenever imports threatened to rise 10 percent above the average import levels of 1959–63 adjusted for market growth. Under certain circumstances, the President was given the power to suspend or increase quotas. This legislation was designed to benefit beef producers, in a situation where the United States has become the world's largest importer of beef. Beef producers do not get Federal price supports which are granted to various other groups of farmers. (Yea 232, nay 149.)	Yea.
Aug. 18	House rejected the conference report on this bill to implement the International Coffee Agreement which had been ratified by the Senate as a treaty. It felt that the coffee agreement hurt the American consumer by in effect putting a floor under the price of coffee, and would point out coffee prices have risen since the agreement was ratified. (Yea 183, nay 194.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	This so-called interest equalization tax was actually a tax on the purchase of most foreign securities by Americans from foreigners. The object of this bill was stated as being to ease our balance-of-payments deficit by discouraging foreign borrowing from U.S. sources. In opposition, it was argued that the balance-of-payments deficit could be easily reduced by cutting foreign aid, without discouraging private American investment abroad. Foreign investments bring us a long-term benefit through their yield of profits. At the same time, they help develop privatee nterprise abread. (Yea 221, nay 147.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	This bill guaranteed electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region. Its enactment cleared the way for construction of an intertie between northwestern and southwestern power grids with surplus northwestern power to go to the Southwest. In effect it represented a compromise between public power and private power. (Yea 230, nay 134.)	Yea.
Aug. 19	This bill authorized $1,100,000,000 for housing and urban renewal programs. It included new programs for rehabilitation loans to property owners in urban renewal areas, for building rental housing for farmworkers, for grants to train urban development administrators, for graduate fellowships in city planning. (Yea 310, nay 70.)	Nay.
Aug. 19	This bill proposed taking away from the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court, jurisdiction on the subject of reapportionment of State legislatures. Proponents felt that the Federal courts had exceeded their power in assuming jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures. (Yea 218, nay 175.)	Yea.
Aug. 20	Provided for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the arts in the United States, at a cost of $150,000. (Yea 213, nay 135.)	Nay.
Sept. 1	Authorized the President to set up a Commission to study the feasibility of and to find a suitable site for construction of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to supplement the Panama Canal. (Yea 320, nay 23.)	Yea.
Sept. 1	This bill proposed coordination of Government programs in minimizing the effects of pesticides and insecticides on fish and wildlife. It proposed raising the Interior Department's authorization for pesticide research. In effect the bill, in my opinion, further complicated departmental jurisdiction over pesticide research and control and was not supported by either the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or the Department of Agriculture. (Yea 235, nay 111.)	Nay.
Sept. 3	Vote on recommittal motion to add language to the bill to prohibit the sale of surplus farm products under the provisions of Public Law 480 ("Food for Peace" program) to "any nation or area dominated or controlled by a Communist government or by the world Communist movement." This language was aimed at preventing such sales to Communist Poland and Yugoslavia. (Yea 183, nay 175.)	Yea.
Sept. 3	Extended the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act for 3 years with new authorizations of $4,450,000,000. The funds were for titles I and II of the act: sales of surplus American farm products to foreign nations for foreign money and for U.S. donations of food to foreign nations. (Yea 349, nay 6.)	Yea.
Sept. 4	This bill proposed partial forgiveness of student loans received under certain government programs to doctors and dentists practicing in areas where there is a shortage. Opponents did not feel the inducement was necessary to attract doctors or dentists and that these persons must be motivated by a real desire, not lured to rural areas by a promise of something for nothing. (Yea 140, nay 161.)	Nay.
Sept. 22	A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. (Yea 209, nay 103.)	(1).
Sept. 23	Bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes. (Yea 180, nay 118.)	Yea.
Oct. 1	Resolution to make continuing appropriations for fiscal 1965. This resolution related only to the foreign aid appropriation bill which provides for a number of oversea activities of the U.S. Government. (Yea 159, nay 193.)	Nay.
Oct. 1	Recommittal motion designed to provide a 2-year extension of the Federally Impacted Areas Acts, instead of the 1-year extension in the Conference Report on Extension and Amendment of National Defense Education Act of 1958. This would give assurance to the school districts that funds would be available for at least 2 more years, and at the same time give Congress sufficient time to consider fully its long-promised revision of these acts, which it was hoped would be the result of the study provided for in the bill. (Yea 107, nay 236.)	Yea.
Oct. 1	Final passage of 3-year extension and amendment of National Education Defense Act of 1958. Bill passed extends for 1-year Federally Impacted Area Acts, as recommittal motion to extend these acts for 2 years failed. (Yea 320, nay 20.)	Yea.

[1] Absent, not voting.

Ralph W. Olmstead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the H. K. Ferguson Co. is a subsidiary of the Morrison-Knudsen Co., of Boise, Idaho—the largest construction company in the world. The Ferguson Co. has its headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio; and its president is Ralph W. Olmstead, a remarkable administrator who has made an exceptional record with his company. Mr. Olmstead is a former Capitol policeman and one-time staff member of the late Senator Pope.

Recently, the magazine Engineering News-Record featured a picture of Mr. Olmstead on its cover, and published an excellent article on his accomplishments.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

R. W. OLMSTEAD WAS NEITHER ENGINEER NOR BUILDER BUT H. K. FERGUSON PROFITS UNDER HIS DIRECTION

An engineer-constructor that is the principal subsidiary of one of the Nation's largest heavy construction corporations building profitably and smoothly is under the direction of a 52-year-old attorney.

The subsidiary is H. K. Ferguson Co., and the parent is Morrison-Knudsen Co., Inc., of Boise, Idaho. Ralph W. Olmstead, lawyer by training and administrator by experience, sits—usually in shirt sleeves—in the president's chair at the Ferguson headquarters in Cleveland.

Mr. Olmstead came to Ferguson in 1954 as assistant to the president, 4 years after acquisition of the company by M-K.

When M-K bought the Ferguson company in 1950, following the death of its founder in 1943, M-K obtained an organization operating in the red and one waging a losing battle in the fight for new business.

In 1958, when Mr. Olmstead took over as president, the order books showed a backlog of only $20 million, about $45 million below the backlog of 1954. In June 1959 the company returned to the profit side of the ledgers where it has remained since, and its backlog today exceeds $120 million.

Mr. Olmstead charted the course to profit early in 1959 by reorganizing the company. He established nine highly specialized divisions, and at the same time centralized the estimating department within one office in Cleveland. Prior to 1959, Ferguson operated estimating departments in various parts of the country near concentrations of customers. "We no longer confuse estimates with salesmanship," says Mr. Olmstead. "We've tried to remove such pressure on estimators and the estimating department."

The divisions are: chemical, mining, and metallurgy; manufacturing; pulp and paper; synthetic fibers, missiles, and space; laboratories; nuclear and industrial engineering.

The reorganization did not change the subsidiary's external relationship with the parent. H. K. Ferguson retains its separate corporate identity, and lines between the two remain clearly drawn.

Mr. Olmstead reports directly to M–K president, J. B. Bonny. The parent specializes in heavy construction, and Ferguson does mostly industrial work. The two have joint-ventured in the United States and abroad.

BUILDING FOR GROWTH

The reorganization did form the foundation of Mr. Olmstead's business-building idea of gearing for new markets and growing markets. He says divisional specialization helps Ferguson spot economic trends, develop capabilities, and be ready with the know-how in fields his specialists and trend-spotters sight.

The idea works. Last year the assistant director of the mining and metallurgy division spent more than 6 months touring European steel facilities, boning up on developments in steel manufacturing. As one result, Ferguson can now offer continuous casting processes to the American steel industry—a process Mr. Olmstead feels will be as important to the industry in the future as basic oxygen is now.

Looking further ahead, the specialists saw the possible results of Cuba's political break with the United States. Mr. Olmstead ordered an increase of capability in the sugarbeet processing field. His decision put the company in a position to obtain contracts for construction of two sugar refineries.

Forecasting considerable demand for expansion in the rubber industry, and rising to the expected demand, paid off in two multi-million-dollar contracts within the past year.

If this type of foresight also demands the deemphasizing of an existing specialty, Mr. Olmstead acts accordingly. Oil refining fell into this category since overcapacity and sharp competition in the oil industry means fewer jobs at less and less profit.

No engineer, but: All these changes resulted from decisions by Mr. Olmstead acting as a skilled business administrator.

A chief engineer at Ferguson says of Mr. Olmstead: "Although he's not an engineer, he can ask engineers extremely embarrassing questions."

A department head adds: "He doesn't have to be an engineer. He's got the knack of sizing up a situation immediately and getting the best results people are capable of."

Mr. Olmstead started sizing up situations 30 years ago in Idaho. "I'm one of those who knew that Horace Greeley, contrary to his own admonition, stayed East," says Mr. Olmstead. A railroad worker's son, he came out of the University of Idaho in 1932 with a B.A. degree in psychology. The depression and the acute shortage of jobs convinced him that law and government might prove fruitful. He set his sights on George Washington University Law School in Washington, D.C.

The depression demanded, however, that he take a circuitous route. Mr. Olmstead borrowed money and returned to the University of Idaho where he enrolled in the law school. There he organized that institution's first Democratic club, eventually signing up 700 student members. He campaigned in 1933 for James P. Pope of Boise then running for the U.S. Senate. Mr. Pope won. Both Mr. Pope and Mr. Olmstead went to Washington, the latter to join the Capitol police force.

Mr. Olmstead then entered George Washington University Law School, obtained his law degree, did some writing for Senator Pope, and finally became a member of the Senator's staff.

Later he joined the U.S. Department of Agriculture where he directed the Department's organization and management division. During World War II he served as director of supply for the War Food Administration and won the Legion of Merit.

The complex supply and transportation problems of lend-lease and wartime food allocations, coupled wth manpower problems, seasoned Olmstead's management experience. He went to China as operational director of UNRRA in 1946. Mr. Olmstead found the time-consuming administrative requirements in the face of devastating famine impossible to bear.

"The late Gen. Claire Chennault and I got together and flew in milk powder to one of the hardest-hit provinces," Mr. Olmstead recalls. "But I didn't go through proper channels so was reproved. I quit."

He became managing director for two American companies in Shanghai, then returned in early 1950 to Boise with the idea of retiring—at the age of 39.

"I ran out of golf partners," Mr. Olmstead says, "so when Harry Morrison asked me to head up a special projects section for Morrison-Knudsen in 1950, I took the job."

Lack of engineering training presented no obstacle to Mr. Olmstead either then or now. He considers the deficiency as an advantage. Says he: "I figure if our engineers can explain a project so I can understand it, everybody's better off. The people you're dealing with aren't engineers, either. Owners aren't concerned with complicated engineering details. They depend on our competence."

TAKES PERSONAL CHARGE

Communicating with his clients is Mr. Olmstead's forte. He strongly believes in the personal touch at the top management level. He issued the order that when something goes wrong on a job he wants to be the first one informed.

"People on the job can go through channels later," says Mr. Olmstead. "I want to know what's happening immediately." When a trouble call comes in, he often flies in one of the company's two planes to the construction site within hours after the initial alarm.

Ralph Olmstead says his title as president demands that he make decisions, and plunge deeply into management. He believes the manager of a construction organization ideally should be trained in law and possess a background of broad, liberal education.

"Develop capable staffs, elevate the best people to responsible spots, and rely on them to handle problems in their field," Mr. Olmstead says. But he warns that the top man can't sit back and let the staff make decisions that should be made by the president.

SALES BUILDER

Although he emphasizes the role of top man as a decisionmaker, Mr. Olmstead recognizes the sales responsibility that today falls heavier and heavier on an executive.

His hand shows in the industrial engineering division the company established in 1959. Mr. Olmstead gave it sales appeal by dubbing it "corporate growth planning."

"Industrial engineering to Ferguson means the total marketing effort as well as straight feasibility studies," Mr. Olmstead says. "We know from experience that good preliminary planning can cut a customer's plant costs by 10 to 15 percent and operating costs by as much as 50 percent."

More than just an expanded feasibility study, the corporate growth planning service is a brandnew sales tool for Ferguson. Making use of its computer capability, Ferguson turns its computer center loose on a client's total operation.

Growth planning service, which Ferguson offers with or without a construction contract tie-in, analyzes inventory control, depreciation schedules, return on investment, market penetration and market potential of products. Computers evaluate the information and relate it directly to distribution to determine the most efficient, economical location for a client's warehouse and production units. A "profitability index" is established for each of the client's products. The index points out areas of excessive costs and provides specific cost-cutting recommendations for the client.

Mr. Olmstead says the operation gives Ferguson the opportunity, "to provide as much service as we can, but only incidental

to the intent. We're not out to become management consultants. We're engineer-constructors."

The corporate growth planning service gives Ferguson a big advantage. The company benefits from the thorough knowledge of a client's requirements, present and future. After such a study Ferguson can bring in engineering and construction management, supply cost figures and timetables, and provide a total turnkey operation.

Although Ferguson developed the growth planning service as a sales tool, it has been compelled to advise a client that he doesn't really need a new plant. But when the study proves the need of a plant, probability runs high that Ferguson will get the engineering and construction contract.

Even if a construction and engineering contract doesn't follow, the client pays for the study on a per diem basis.

Ferguson also works hard at selling an intangible—its own competence. The sales argument takes a tangible turn, however, when the company cites the use of computers more efficiently to assign employees to jobs.

THE RIGHT PERSON

"One of the problems in the construction business," Mr. Olmstead says, "is too often assigning people on the basis of availability rather than capability." Because he wanted to know exactly what skills and experience each of the company's divisions had, Mr. Olmstead called for a skills inventory.

Interviews—some of them as long as a full day—established each employee's experience in every type of construction, every type of plant, process and design. The company maintains this record with tabulating and computer equipment. A special program makes it a simple matter to match skills with people, and at the same time keep a running total of hours employees spend on various projects. The latter operation instantly shows what skills are being further broadened and refined.

"We sell competence and integrity," says Mr. Olmstead, "and the claim to competence must be backed by experience. With the skills inventory we overcame the major obstacle to fully utilizing human resources—that of miscasting people."

The vast capability in computer technique and utilization developed from the need to stay alive in business. Mr. Olmstead says that construction management must stay ahead of developments in order to survive. For this reason, when the critical path method first loomed on the horizon, Ferguson tested the principal economically, but effectively. The company bought a computer kit, assembled it and operated it. This do-it-yourself machine still operates today in the computer center next to the complex bank of IBM equipment.

The Honorable Harold C. Ostertag, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the most dedicated men I have ever known is retiring from public life at the close of this Congress; and as a friend and fellow New Yorker, I would like to say a few words of tribute to this gentleman who has given so generously of his life. The Honorable HAROLD C. OSTERTAG of the 37th District of New York has served the public for 33 years. He started his political career in 1932 when as a young man he was elected to the New York State Legislature where he performed his duties with distinction until 1951. On November 7, 1950, he was elected to the 82d Congress, and the fact that he has been reelected to each succeeding Congress is indicative of the admiration and respect in which he is held by his constituents.

For many years HAROLD and I served together on the House Committee on Appropriations and even though we are on opposite sides of the political fence, I have respected his judgment on matters which came before the committee.

I shall certainly miss him and do hope that he and his lovely wife, Grace, will have many, many years of good health and happiness.

Legislation and Voting Record of Representative Frelinghuysen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress in 1953 I have issued reports to my constituents at the end of each session. I am submitting here a list of bills which I have introduced during the 88th Congress and a synopsis of my voting record during the 2d session of the present Congress as part of my final report to the people of the 5th Congressional District of New Jersey.

The list follows:

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BY CONGRESSMAN FRELINGHUYSEN IN THE 88TH CONGRESS

H.R. 3134, to authorize assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education, including junior colleges and technical institutes, in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities (College Academic Facilities Act.)

H.R. 3482, to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and for other purposes (Civil Rights Act of 1963).

H.R. 3396, to authorize the addition of lands to Morristown National Historical Park in the State of New Jersey.

H.R. 5193, to extend for 1 additional year the temporary provisions of Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress, as amended.

H.R. 6457, to amend section 111 of title 23 of the United States Code to permit States to allow certain service facilities to be constructed or located on the rights-of-way of the Interstate System.

H.R. 6727, to enforce constitutional rights, and for other purposes.

H.R. 7048, to authorize assistance to the States for surveying the needs of elementary and secondary education (Educational Improvement Act of 1963).

H.R. 9454, to establish a commission to be known as the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Memorial Commission.

H.R. 10617, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a 30-percent credit against the individual income tax for amounts paid as tuition or fees to certain public and private institutions of higher education.

H.R. 11050, to authorize a 3-year program to assist States and communities to mobilize and coordinate human and financial resources to combat the causes of poverty in the United States, and to assure coordination of Federal, State, and local programs designed to eliminate or alleviate any effects of poverty (the Human Resources Development Act of 1964).

H.R. 11709, to provide for the appointment of a Commissioner General for U.S. participation in the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition, and for other purposes.

House Joint Resolution 270, designating the 8-day period beginning on the 12th day of October of each year as Patriotic Education Week.

House Joint Resolution 445, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

House Joint Resolution 766, providing for the recognition and endorsement of the 17th International Publishers Congress.

House Joint Resolution 858, Select Committee To Watch Administration and Operation of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Voting record of Congressman Frelinghuysen, 88th Cong., 2d sess.

Legislation:	
Civil rights	Yea
Tax bill ($11.5 billion reduction)	Yea
Federal pay bill	Yea
Agriculture appropriation	Nay
Treasury-Post Office appropriation	Yea
Legislative appropriation	Yea
Labor-HEW appropriation	Yea
Defense appropriation	Yea
Foreign aid appropriation	Yea
Public works appropriation	Yea
Federal highways	Yea
Reduction of excise taxes from 10 to 5 percent	Yea
Increasing public debt	Nay
Mass transit	Yea
National Defense Education Act Amendments	Yea
Social security benefits	Yea
Omnibus housing	Yea

Ernie Davis Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 6, 1964, the Intra-American Sports Club of Cleveland held a dinner in honor of the late Ernie Davis from which all proceeds were donated to the American Cancer Society in his name. Approximately 1,500 guests attended the affairs. Harrison Dillard, famed track star, served as master of ceremonies and introduced appropriate remarks made by Congressman ROBERT TAFT, JR., the Honorable Ralph Locher, mayor of Cleveland, and representatives of local sports media.

Dr. Kenneth Clement, main speaker of the evening, gave a very fine address as follows:

ADDRESS OF DR. KENNETH CLEMENT

Mr. Toastmaster, honored and distinguished guests and friends of Ernie Davis, I am indebted to you for the privilege of participating in this momentous event. It is

an appropriately joyous one, coming as it does after Cleveland Browns' victory last evening. Permit me, however, to introduce a serious note, that may give this event its proper historical perspective, and place your participation in it in its appropriate frame of reverence.

As a trustee of the local cancer society, I wish that I could say tonight to you that the cause of cancer is known, and its total cure imminent. I cannot. I can say, however, that we stand on the threshold of discovery; and that your efforts and support such as this hastens the day of that discovery.

I understand this is the first public affair undertaken by the Intra-American Sports Club and it has been a magnificent success. The officers and members of the club deserve praise and commendation. Praise for your choice of honoree and commendation for your choice of a living memorial to him.

When I looker over your roster of membership, I recognized many names; some illustrious athletes and others only avid spectators. However, I recognized many men who have given much to the community in other forms of civic activity. I know how much time, money, energy and effort they have given to advancing the cause of freedom, and in support of all civil rights organizations so committeed.

I also know that many of your club are working ardently and earnestly for the reelection of President Johnson. This I also applaud.

The fact that you were willing to put forth additional effort for this benefit is all the more significant. For with this benefit, you add a new and significant dimension to your social consciousness, your social concerns—for your fellow-man and your community.

You deserve praise for the establishment of a memorial to Ernie Davis. His was a short life—but a monumental one.

It is fitting that his memorial should be a life-saving one, a life-perpetuating one, one which will contribute to securing for others what his life stood nobly dedicated to—a sound mind in a sound body. For it was thus that the Romans defined health, "Mens sans in corporo."

Our city is indebted to the memory of Ernie Davis.

Over 1,000 years ago, in ancient Greece there lived two unusual men. Their dedicated and inseparable friendship, remains to this day the symbol of personal loyalty throughout the world. Because of this friendship and personal loyalty of Damon and Pythias, Syracuse, the city of ancient Greece, is remembered to this day as the site of an ideal friendship.

Ernie Davis, John Brown, and Jim Brown have made the modern-day Syracuse of New York such a city, where ideal friendships, personal loyalty and loyalty to a great educational institution are not likely soon to be forgotten.

They have, however, enlarged this personal friendship and personal loyalty to include loyalty to the highest ideals of professionalism in athletics.

Ernie Davis had many readily discernible qualities. He had character. His courage was unremitting; his spirit indomitable; and his hope even through the final hours irrepressible and unending. And the glow of his human warmth was all-enveloping.

Industry and imagination, applied intelligence, good sportsmanship and personal integrity were possessed in large amounts by Ernie Davis. Like virtue, these qualities were intrinsically rewarding for him, but when recognized by many, they also brought him, justly earned, public acclaim.

His was a monumental life.

In his private life, as well as his public life, his deportment was exemplary. For he recognized the great responsibility that accompanied the hero-worship of our youth.

His indeed was a monumental life.

A life that validated the American dream, and brought the distant vision of Horatio Alger—seen only dimly from the underprivileged ghetto—into clear focus, an attainable reality for all.

Like the brooks and streams that pool to make the great lakes; like the rushing rivers and confluent waters that make the mighty seas; lives like his enlarge the reservoir of human virtue, human compassion and earthly goodness.

Lives like his swell this reservoir and extend it to touch the shores of all human existence.

So your choice of Ernie Davis remains an excellent one for honoring in memory and in deed.

This benefit, however, has even a larger meaning, when viewed as a representative symbol of human compassion.

In the early 1830's, a French noblemen Alexis De Tocqueville, journeyed to the then fledgling America. Alexis was an astute political scientist, and his announced intention in visiting America was to evaluate its institutions, and determine how a democratic form of government differed from the European monarchies; and to determine what the chances of survival were for such a democratic republic.

As a result of his visit, Alexis wrote two renowned volumes on the institution and organization of "Democracy in America." His works remain required reading for all political scientists, because the passage of time has validated many of his forecasts and justified his optomistic enthusiasm for the then new republic.

De Tocqueville found one institution in America for which he could find no counterpart in any previous European society. He wrote of the willingness of Americans to spontaneously form voluntary citizen committees to band together to accomplish a common good against a common adversity. Whether conditions of climate, of conditions of human misery, the formation of such voluntary groups to fight against these was understood to represent the ubiquitous distribution of compassion among the citizens of the new republic. He pointed out that in European countries this type of public philanthropy, this type of citizen benevolence was unknown; for in these older governments the expression of this type of compassion was largely left to the government or to the aristocrats.

Compassion is more than sympathy; it is more than empathy. It leads invariably to the prevention and cure of human suffering. Through understanding love, it seeks to improve the total well-being of men.

In a larger sense then, this Memorial Foundation Benefit is an example of how a democratic society expresses its compassion. It is in keeping with the growth of such great democratic institutions, as the National Foundation, United Appeals, and the American Cancer Society—all of whom have raised the standard of living in this our beloved land.

And all express the high regard of a democratic society for compassion.

Compassion is the great enobling sentiment expressed by man on earth.

It is a shield which protects him against the hidden and repressed hostilities of other men.

It rescues men from the slight and harm of indifference.

It transforms apathy into genuine activist concern.

It subdues and overcomes the lurking beast in each of us.

Wherever men express compassion.

Whenever men demonstrate compassion.

They build a shrine—and so long as it stands there can be hope that cures for all disease and illness will be found; and there can be hope that man's inhumanity to man will someday be no more.

And whoever labors to erect this shrine with usefulness and distinction.

Whoever reinforces its foundation with but a single unselfish act.

Whoever adorns its pillars with but a single sacrificial and altruistic gift.

Whoever supports its dome with a softly spoken word of comfort and encouragement for the ill and downtrodden.

Whoever does these—assures the durability and ascendant progress of human society.

Whoever does these allies himself with the angels in lifting man toward the skies.

In this uplifting effort you, the participating audience, stand united with the Intra-American Sports Club.

For all here bear witness that a life which evokes an expression of compassion for others;

A life that inspires and motivates men to express and demonstrate compassion for others—even those whom they do not know—is indeed a monumental life.

Such then was the life of Ernie Davis.

"Federal-State Relations in Regard to Resource Management"—Address by John Woodworth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the able director of the Idaho Fish and Game Department, John Woodworth, expressed an admirable attitude recently when he addressed the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, on September 18, in Atlantic City. At a time when sentiment against the Federal Government is being fanned from many sources, Mr. Woodworth said:

Let us not be so conscious as to who gets the job done or who gets the credit for it, but—in the interest of the resource—let us see that it gets done.

The Idaho director found it "difficult to understand the blind opposition that sometimes occurs: 'State's rights—cut off those Feds and we'll handle it.' The job is too big; it is going to take the combined efforts of every agency that has any know-how or anything to do with wildlife to get the job done," he said.

With this attitude prevailing, the preservation of fish and wildlife in Idaho is going forward in a cooperative and progressive way. For a look at one of the reasons why, I submit for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD John Woodworth's fine convention address, entitled "Federal-State Relations in Regard to Resource Managment."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS IN REGARD TO RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

(By John R. Woodworth, director, Idaho Fish and Game Department)

As you may or may not know, I am a relative newcomer to the ranks of the directors of the fish and game agencies throughout the country, particularly on the west coast. I came to Idaho 2 years ago from the State of Hawaii where I had worked for a number of

years with the fish and game department over there.

One of the things that struck me when I first started attending conferences on the west coast was the very apparent disagreement between various State directors and Federal agencies or, as they put it, a distinct anti-Fed feeling. This puzzled me because I had some very fine relations with the Federal agencies while working in fish and wildlife matters in the islands. It was rather difficult for me to understand this quite strong feeling that was prevalent throughout the States. I might explain that, in Hawaii, I had a rather unique relationship with the Federal agencies, especially the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. They had no representation in wildlife work there and, as a result, they contracted the various jobs to the State fish and game department—such as management of the Hawaiian Islands National Refuge and other specific projects such as the Nene or Hawaiian Goose restoration project. As a result, I became quite well acquainted with various officials of the region having jurisdiction over Hawaii. Having had this relationship with the group, I felt that I had a fair insight into their philosophies and attitudes toward wildlife management and the general overall picture. I could not see the Fish and Wildlife Service in the same light that many of the western fish and game agencies apparently did.

Approximately 70 percent of the land in Idaho is federally owned and, as a result, we have many occasions to work with the Federal agencies in the management of the natural resources. We work closely with the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management under a standard memorandum of understanding whereby we manage the game and the Federal agency manages the habitat. With a little vigilance on both sides, this works well in Idaho.

There are 14 national forests in the State containing 20 million acres. We have a close working relationship with the supervisors of all of these forests in regard to fish and wildlife management. I have found that without exception the forest supervisors today, in Idaho in particular, are extremely conscious of the wildlife problems and wildlife management and that they will go out of their way to see that the needs of this resource are acknowledged and taken care of in the best manner possible. I have also found the Bureau of Land Management in Idaho to be well informed, very cooperative and conscious of wildlife values, with extremely competent personnel in key positions who are willing to work out mutual problems and give wildlife every possible benefit.

Another field of activity that is common to all of us is the Federal aid in fish and wildlife restoration program that is administered by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. This program alone is probably responsible for more progress in management than any other program in the history of wildlife work. In all my years in the field that I have dealt with the Fish and Wildlife Service in regard to this program, I have found them most cooperative and helpful, and in only a few instances have they been officious or arbitrary.

Another prime example is the progressive, necessary and worthy Columbia River Program of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries where they are supplying 100 percent money for the States to make necessary studies and physical improvements to insure the continuation of the anadromous fish runs in the great streams of the Northwest. This program goes on without a hitch. There is excellent cooperation, allowing the State all the freedom they could desire in doing a job for the resource, never minding who the agency is that is getting the job done.

In other words, I think that we get out of these people and programs just about what we put into them—if we really look the situation over and put every effort into cooperation with these agencies, we are going to get good cooperation back and together we are going to make a lot a headway. Every agency has ideas, procedures and redtape that seem ridiculous to an outsider. Success in dealing with other agencies is often dependent upon the way you approach them. If you do not say, "Here is how you must do this," but, rather say, "Here is our problem, here is what needs to be accomplished. How can it be done?" You will be pleasantly surprised how often you can get a satisfactory solution that fits into the other agency's regulations.

I think the feeling—the anti-Fed feeling—that persists in many areas is left over from, say, 15–20 years ago from two main sources. First, there was a different group, a different attitude and a different generation of people in the key positions that were interested primarily in their own particular field and interests. For example, in timber management—the old "timber beast" as they called him in the Forest Service tended to overshadow other uses of the forest resource. The Bureau of Land Management was administered strictly for livestock and so on down the line. A second important reason for this condition was simply the matter of a lack of trained personnel in the ranks of State fish and game agencies. In many cases, the natural resource of wildlife was administered by people whose only qualification was belonging to the right political party. As a result, the resource was being mismanaged and kicked about in haphazard fashion. Various programs were either functionally poor due to unsound basic policies supporting them, or there simply was no program. Then, when the States began to rid themselves of politics and gather a few trained men into their folds, it was only natural that attempts were made to throw off the Federal agency encroachments. Now, we have trained career men fully capable of administering the resource. Now, we can stand shoulder to shoulder with Federal resource agencies and cooperatively plan and operate good sound programs for the public benefit. The question of who does what is far overshadowed by the impact of getting the best job done for the most people in the long run.

I think the concept of multiple-use has definitely come of age and that the key people in charge of these programs in these various agencies are fully converted to multiple-use concept, and that if you look at the situation in today's light, you actually find a very different attitude on their part and lots of room for cooperation and advancement in the field of resource conservation. Perhaps the feeling was justified years ago and maybe it served a purpose. But that time is past.

I have already mentioned a few cases of places where I thought that cooperation was extremely good. I realize that it is not all rosy and that there are exceptions, there are personalities, there are individuals that make it difficult, but, in general, I think that Federal agency personnel are well trained and well qualified to handle a broad spectrum of natural resource management and that they are going to give the fish and game aspects of it adequate attention if we give them a chance.

The programs of the Corps of Engineers have been a problem particularly in the Northwest and most of the large projects they have undertaken have been extremely detrimental to fish and wildlife, particularly anadromous fish and big game species. The big dams that are constructed on some of our most famous and wonderful rivers have posed problems which seem insurmountable even with considerable cooperation. It is our opinion that we sometimes don't get the cooperation that would be necessary to do everything that we could for wildlife. There appears to be a reluctance on their part to go all out to see if they can't really do something to offset the losses that are bound to occur when they install one of these large projects. Instead of joining with the State Fish and Game Departments and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in planning an outstanding program to mitigate the losses, their attitude seems to be that fish and game agencies should design the program, then they do their utmost to tear it down and poke holes in it and get by for as little cost to the projects as possible.

There needs to be some definite improvement in the working relationship between the corps and the fish and game agencies in the Northwest. I believe that some steps are being taken in that direction because now the chief fisheries man in the division that serves at least a portion of Idaho is a former State fishery biologist who has recently taken over that position. I think we can even look forward to some improvement along this line. In other words, things are looking up and if we really work at it, I think we can get the job done.

We must, however, insist that high-level wildlife and fishery experts be employed by these agencies and placed high enough in the organization to be listened to. Fishery experts in some of the private power companies have shown the way and have attained excellent results in just a few years. Uncle Sam still lags in this area.

One reason I am sure that the overall picture with the Federal agencies has changed in recent years is that many of their key people are from the ranks of the State fish and game departments. This loss of personnel is a problem that we all have and yet it may be a blessing in disguise. When we get an outstanding young man heading up a program, before we know it the Federal Government has offered him a job at a substantially greater salary and usually better security and he winds up in one of their programs. This has been going on for a number of years now so that throughout the country, both at the Washington level and at the State level, the Federal agencies are manned with former State fish and game people who know and understand our problems and talk our language.

For example, the Federal Power Commission has taken one of Idaho's key fishery biologists to head up their program in fisheries management as their chief fishery biologist. Certainly, this man is going to see things from both sides and understand the problems of the State and transfer this on to the Federal Power Commission. In the Bureau of Land Management, the man who heads up the wildlife program is the former Director of Game and Fish from Arizona. Incidentally, he was one of the stronger anti-Fed men. His assistant is a former big game biologist from Idaho who heads up the Bureau of Land Management's State wildlife program in Idaho? Our former land management supervisor, a very fine game biologist. Who heads up the program in Arizona? The former chief of game for Arizona. I am sure that we could go on for a long time enumerating people in key positions in the Federal agencies who have recently come from State fish and game departments. What I am getting at, ladies and gentlemen, is that if we are going to make any progress, if we are going to meet this fantastic demand on wildlife that everybody says is going to come in the next 10 or 20 years, the only way we are going to do it is to cooperate fully and completely with all of the agencies.

* * * * *

I find it difficult to understand the blind opposition that sometimes occurs: "State's rights—cut off those Feds and we'll handle it ourselves." The job is too big, it is going to take the combined efforts of every agency that has any know-how or anything to do with wildlife to get the job done. I

heartily recommend that the various State Departments take a new look at this thing. Sit back and evaluate—figure out how many wildlife-oriented people are in these various agencies and spend more time with your people in liaison work with these agencies, rather than getting out and trying to do each little job yourself. There are many jobs that can be worked out together, such as browse transects and many other surveys. If we combine all of these data gathered by the Bureau of Land Management, Forest Service and other agencies, think how much better our information would be rather than to have only the data that could be gathered by the relatively small staff of the fish and game agencies.

We are going to have to take a long, hard look at the overall picture if we are going to meet the demands of the future. The handwriting is on the wall—we can look at other States and other resources and see what has happened to them in the last few decades. If you are afraid the Federal Government is going to take over fish and game administration from the States, I suggest you examine the history of large Federal programs. You will find the Federal Government moves only into a vacuum. If a local governmental agency will do a job that must be done, there is no Federal action. If the job is essential and is not being done by local government, slowly but surely the Federal Government will drift in. Your defense must be by doing the job, by yourselves or cooperatively.

In the West, we will have a chance to have and maintain many of our wildlife resources if we take the proper precautions to work out the details now with all agencies so that we can plan an overall program to get the job done. Let's not be so conscious as to who gets the job done or who gets the credit for it, but—in the interest of the resource—let's see that it gets done.

The Record on President Kennedy's Action in the Cuban Missile Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WM. J. RANDALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, during the month of September we all saw press accounts of how the Republican nominee reflected upon the integrity of our late President, John F. Kennedy, when he said in Seattle, Wash., that in 1962 the Kennedy administration waited until the perilous last moment to take action in the Cuban missile crisis so it would have the maximum domestic political impact.

It was my privilege to hear remarks of my senior Senator from Missouri, STUART SYMINGTON, who I expect has forgotten more about military preparedness and general know-how in matters of the military, as the last Secretary of Air for the Army and the first Secretary of the Air Force, than the junior Senator from Arizona will ever be able to acquire in the short time remaining for him in public life.

During the spring of 1963, I know it is a fact that the junior Senator from Arizona sat as a member of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Subcommitee on Preparedness when it held extensive hearings in executive session on the operations and effectiveness of the American intelligence community with respect to the Cuban missile crises of October 1962.

An interim report submitted to the Senate on May 9, 1963, on behalf of the entire subcommittee stated that the first hard photographic evidence of medium range and intermediate range missile installations in Cuba was obtained on October 14, 1962; and the first photographic evidence confirming the presence in Cuba of "Soviet highly mobile armored task groups" was obtained on October 25, 1962.

It will be recalled that on October 22, 1962, the late President John F. Kennedy, after having affected appropriate military preparations, confronted the Soviets before the world with an ultimatum that they remove from Cuba missiles which might be used in an aggressive attack upon this and other nations of the Western Hemisphere.

However, last September 9, speaking as Republican nominee for President, the Senator from Arizona, voiced in Seattle, Wash., the following allegation which reflected on the integrity of our late President:

Despite weeks and months of warning about the missiles, an administration totally political in its goals and instincts could and would wait until the perilous last moment to take action, take action at a time that would have maximum domestic political impact.

Our senior Senator from Missouri, Senator SYMINGTON, who also serves on the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate, recently performed a service in the interest of truth and accuracy in setting the record straight.

I have asked unanimous consent that Senator SYMINGTON's remarks delivered in September, in Lexington, Mo., be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

SPEECH OF SENATOR SYMINGTON DELIVERED AT LEXINGTON, MO., ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1964

Senator GOLDWATER'S recent attack, in Seattle, on the late President Kennedy, when he charged the latter with timing the Cuban missile crisis for political reasons at home, is not borne out by the record.

Both Senator GOLDWATER and I are members of the Senate Military Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee; and in the Spring of 1963 this subcommittee held extended hearings on the sudden Soviet military buildup in Cuba during October 1962.

In the last 2 days I have carefully reread the record of those hearings—and in the absence of President Kennedy, who is no longer here to defend himself, I am glad to report that the President moved with great dispatch after approving every single recommendation made by the head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

On the same day that the President received firm information the Soviets were moving strategic missiles into Cuba, he so informed congressional leaders. Within 4 days after the information was confirmed, he had completed the military buildup considered necessary in case the U.S.S.R. decided not to remove the missiles upon his demand, had informed our allies of the details of the development, had evacuated our dependents from Guantanamo, and had landed marines at that base. Thereupon the President promptly notified the American people of the crisis, and told them what he intended to do about it.

In other words, the record shows the matter was handled efficiently, and, for which we can all be very grateful, effectively. Cool courage was combined with restraint. The President knew the holocaust that would follow a full scale nuclear exchange.

He knew also, however, that life would not be worth living without freedom; and he acted accordingly.

Let us hope that in the future our leaders will continue to use our unparalleled power with prudence. In World War I our battle deaths were 53,000. In World War II they were 291,000. It is now estimated, by the experts, that a short but full-scale nuclear exchange would eliminate the existence of any possible aggressor. In turn, however, some 100 million Americans would be killed.

For that reason alone, the importance of restraint with firmness as exemplified in the Cuban crisis of 1962 and recently in the Tonkin Gulf, could not be overemphasized. Nobody can truly gain from a hydrogen sunset.

This is why it is so important for the world to work, if possible, under some form of international agreement.

This United States became great because it has always operated as a government under law. Throughout the world we have become the symbol of freedom under law; and in law we have placed our faith.

This faith was well expressed long ago by Jean Jacques Rousseau, when he said: "It is to law alone that men owe justice and liberties * * *. It is with this voice alone that political leaders should speak, when they command."

Robert Taft, Jr.'s Views on Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 23, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been called the education Congress because of the fine record the 88th Congress has made in this area. I have counted it an honor to have served for the past 2 years on the House Education and Labor Committee. Having had the opportunity to assist in the drafting and consideration of much education legislation, I have come to some conclusions about what the role of the Federal and State Governments should be in the field of education. The following statement presents my views on this subject in some detail and therefore I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

American education today is the best in the world and our most important resource, because it is the product of local imagination and support. Unlimited Federal participation inevitably would lead to imposition of Federal standards and Federal controls.

A shift of general support of education from the local and State levels to the Federal level would be dangerous. It would tend to dry up local support and would lessen the priority of concern which education has traditionally received at the local level. This is why I am opposed to efforts to provide Federal aid to education on an across-the-board basis unrelated to specific needs. Local concern would dissipate and bureaucratic initiative in Washington would supplant that inspired and required by the people.

At the same time I have never had any blind objection to the use of federally col-

lected tax funds to assist in this most important public responsibility. While it might be preferable to return revenue sources to the States and local governments, we have to consider practical possibilities and the urgency of meeting certain specific needs. But we might well reflect also that the virtual priority of the claims of local education on local tax resources, such as real estate taxes, could evaporate, or at least dwindle, if Federal funds become a major source of support. Education, then, would find itself in a new and highly competitive position for funds with defense, space developments, welfare and agriculture.

With specific national and emergency needs we do recognize that Federal support is justified and needed. For instance, chronic unemployment, particularly among those aged 16 to 22, is one of the most perplexing problems confronting us today. As teachers and citizens you are working diligently to overcome it. You recognize it as the soil in which the roots of many social ills are imbedded.

The unemployment problem is of urgent national concern. But its most immediate impact is upon the individual local community. It is here, at home, where we must meet it. It is here where we can devise most appropriate remedies.

Education is essential to our efforts. Expanded vocational training programs, for instance, can equip young men and women with the skills they need to earn a living wage in our industrial society. Retraining programs can develop new skills in older persons whose jobs have been eliminated by technological advances.

These two programs which I have supported in Congress illustrate proper roles of Federal Government in the field of education. They enhance the opportunity to learn with well-devised and limited Federal participation and support. They are intended to correct specific deficiencies.

The Federal Government also has a role to play in specialized areas of education of general national concern. Offering facilities and scholarship funds in the dental and nursing fields encourages young men and women to enter these professions which are so vital to our society. The National Defense Education Act, expanding the opportunity for acquisition of scientific and language skills, strengthens our national capacity to meet any external challenge. Extension of construction aid helps local and State officials to accommodate the growing number of youngsters seeking higher education. Special aid to federally impacted areas eases the pressures imposed by the Federal Government on these communities.

By offering these kinds of aid, the Federal Government encourages local communities to meet their own problems by their own initiative. But direction and control of these programs must continue to reside at the local level.

Our Nation has prospered because we have relied upon the individual initiative and concern of our citizens at the local level. Education is our most valuable national resource. We cannot afford to sanction its depletion through imposing massive dependence upon the Federal Government.

A Tribute to Peter T. Schoemann

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, there occurred recently in the city of Milwaukee a testimonial dinner honoring Peter T. Schoemann, president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry. It was my pleasure to be a guest at that banquet, along with the chancellor of Marquette University, the Very Reverend R. J. O'Donnell, S.J.; the Reverend Thomas E. Burke; Senators Proxmire and Nelson; Governor John Reynolds; Mayor Henry Maier, of the city of Milwaukee; Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO; Mr. George Haberman, State president of the AFL–CIO; Mr. Anthony J. King; Mr. Harold Vincent, superintendent of schools; Mr. Frank Bonadio, secretary-treasurer, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO; and Mr. Louis Schmaus, to name a few of the many distinguished people on hand to honor Mr. Schoemann on the occasion of his 50th year of service in the labor movement.

I personally have known Mr. Schoemann for many years. His reputation as a great labor leader precedes him. He is everywhere known as a labor statesman who builds for the future of his union, community, and country.

One of Mr. Schoemann's main interests in the labor movement has been to foster a spirit of continuing improvement in their trade amongst the journeymen and apprentices of the plumbing and pipefitting industry. The United Association has produced many fine, skilled craftsmen who not only have served their industry with pride but their Nation as good citizens.

Mr. Schoemann's contributions have been many and varied, yet for all his honors he is a modest man, a family man, a man whose personal life reflects the dignity of hard work.

Mr. Gordon A. King's moving tribute to Mr. Schoemann reflects the feelings of all of us:

From the ranks of organized labor in Milwaukee during the past 50 years, there have come some men who have won the unqualified respect and admiration of people in all segments of our society. These men were above all honest, dedicated to the fraternity of mankind, the prosperity of the community and the enrichment of our social and physical environs.

A few of these men have been distinguished by national recognition, public confidence and trust.

Peter T. Schoemann is one of them.

A resolution was presented to General President Schoemann by Governor Reynolds and I wish to insert it in the RECORD at this point:

A PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Whereas the contributions of Peter T. Schoemann to Milwaukee, the city of his birth, to Wisconsin, the State of his birth, and to his Nation have distinguished him among his fellowmen; and

Whereas those contributions include service as president of the Milwaukee Building and Construction Trades Council from 1932 to 1955; member of the Milwaukee School Board from 1932 to 1953; chairman of the Wisconsin State Board of Vocational Education from 1938 to 1945; vice president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry from 1928 to 1955; international labor delegate to the International Labor Organization in Geneva, 1947 and 1962; chairman of the Milwaukee Housing Authority; vice president of the AFL–CIO Executive Council since 1955; chairman of the AFL–CIO Committee on Education since 1958, and, since 1955, general president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, and vice president of the AFL–CIO Building and Construction Trades Department; and

Whereas Peter T. Schoemann has exemplified to America the very best that Wisconsin has to offer in leading the cause of the workingman, has honored his native State by his achievements and his public service, and tonight, permits us to honor him on the occasion of his 50th anniversary of continuous membership in Plumber's & Gas Fitter's Local No. 75: Now, therefore,

I, John W. Reynolds, Governor of the State of Wisconsin, do hereby proclaim the date of September 12, 1964, as Peter T. Schoemann Day in Wisconsin so that the attentions of our citizens may be drawn to this able and cordial man, of whom all of us are so proud.

JOHN W. REYNOLDS,
Governor.

Problems Created if Public Law 78 Is Not Extended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from the Agricultural Commissioner of Monterey County, Calif., succinctly describes the problem facing California agriculture and the Nation if Public Law 78 is not extended.

I have sought other sources of supplemental labor which is needed only at peak harvest seasons, but no one has come forward with a practical, workable proposal.

I urge my colleagues to carefully consider the facts in the following letter:

MONTEREY COUNTY
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Salinas, Calif., September 17, 1964.

Hon. BURT L. TALCOTT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TALCOTT: Please excuse my delay in writing to give you my opinion in the farm labor situation in California and especially in Monterey County.

Under the bracero program (Public Law 78) we have been able to produce and harvest our crops under somewhat competitive conditions. Without supplemental labor this will be impossible in most crops. The end results will be shortages of good vegetables with extremely high prices for those available. Don't pay too much attention to the stories of mechanical harvesting. In most cases where hand labor is now used it will be needed for years. Mechanical harvesting will occur in a limited amount in some crops, but may never be practical in other crops. A good example of this would be strawberries. Our strawberry harvesting season extends over 7 to 8 months with continual picking over that entire period. Selection for maturity and defects are critical and I do not know of any machine capable of this work. Yet we have in this county 3,674 acres of strawberries which represent an investment of approximately $2,000 per acre before a berry is picked.

This is only one crop—I could continue to quote others but why lengthen this letter with the obvious.

According to the newspapers some unions are against this program. If they will honestly study this situation they would see that the elimination of braceros is also going to eliminate many of their own jobs. Tractor drivers, some field help, truckdrivers, shed workers and workers in many allied industries are going to be badly hurt. Even if mechnical harvesting methods are developed, many workers other than braceros will be eliminated.

There is talk of slave labor and poor living conditions. This charge is ridiculous—certainly there are some drawbacks to the program, but the good far offsets the poor. I received a bulletin from the U.S. Department of Agriculture published in June 1964 regarding "winter vegetables in Mexico" which quotes the heavy increase in labor costs in recent years. This publication quotes a wage scale in Mexico, including certain fringe benefits, of $1.68 per 10-hour day in 1964 as against 88 cents per day a few years ago. No wonder these workers like to come to California where they can average more per hour than they can per day in Mexico. Regarding living conditions, they are generally housed in cleaner, warmer, and better quarters than when at home in Mexico. Most workers gain several pounds during their short stay, which certainly indicates the food is good.

One more point and I will cut off. I have been associated with agriculture since my high school days (about 1925). During these early years, but especially from 1930 to 1937 during the period known as the depression (and it was), I worked at many, many field jobs: Irrigating, riding planters, etc. I worked with many men trying to feed their families and stay off relief. But as times improved or a better job opened up these men left this type of work and I did also. Based on this long experience it is my personal opinion that very few locals will do this type of labor as long as they can find anything, and I repeat, anything else to do. This is doubly true where the individual can collect as much loafing on unemployment, welfare, or other handouts. This seems to be the trend today. There is talk that increased pay rates would change this picture. In my considered opinion I do not believe this to be correct. It could put us out of competition with other growing areas but would do little to better our labor problem.

Writing this letter has been a difficult task as I have very strong opinions and could write a book on the subject. I am sure you receive clippings of all the news stories pro and con, but I am sending a pamphlet which I hope you will read.

It is a shame that we must do away with the finest foreign aid program existent, one which has done tremendous good at the grassroots level in Mexico at no cost to the American taxpayer.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT W. CULVER,
Agricultural Commissioner.

Asian Participants in Congressional Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, an article in the September 1964 issue of the Asia Foundation's Program Bulletin carries a message which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. It is entitled "Asian Participants in Congressional Program," and it emphasizes the importance of the young leadership training program in the developing countries with specific reference to the congressional fellowship program for the Asians.

As a friend of the Asian people, I commend highly the Asia Foundation and the American Political Science Association for their joint efforts in the initiation and the execution of this significant program. I sincerely hope that the practical experience of our Asian friends in the U.S. Congress would advance the progress of their respective countries which are going through the pain of adjusting traditional values into new perspectives.

In this connection, it gives me a great pleasure to make a special announcement that the following Asians participated in the 1963–64 congressional fellowship program: Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, of Pakistan, Mr. Bartolome de Castro, of the Philippines, Dr. Chin Kim, of Korea, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, of India, and Prof. Sadanand S. Varde, of India.

Over the past several months, I have been indeed fortunate in having the assistance of Dr. Chin Kim, of Korea. Dr. Kim's educational and professional background is outstanding. He graduated cum laude from Florida Southern College in Lakeland, Fla., and from there proceeded to George Washington University Law School, and later to Yale Law School where he received a Master of Law degree in 1956 and Doctor of Science of Law degree in 1958.

Returning to Korea in 1958 Dr. Kim taught at Seoul National University and Korea University. In 1960 he was awarded a special grant from the French Government for the study of French legal and legislative processes. Upon his return, once again to Korea, Dr. Kim became associate dean of the Graduate School of Law at Seoul National University in 1962. Aside from these duties he was appointed by the Premier to serve as a member of the Board of Appeals, Veterans' Administration and as a member of the Commission on Studies of Legislation, Office of Legislation, Republic of Korea.

Dr. Chin Kim is an excellent example of the type of person sponsored by the American Political Science Association and the Asia Foundation. I have been privileged over the years to have several of these young men in my office. They have all displayed the finest personal qualities, a remarkable ability to grasp any situation and work with it until it is solved, and brilliant educational backgrounds.

The article follows:

ASIAN PARTICIPANTS IN CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Weak and inept political leadership and inefficient governmental systems can be massive roadblocks to self-development. This is especially important in areas where the government is clearly the most powerful organizing and unifying force, and where even the most modest social and economic achievements depend wholly on governmental action.

Systematic efforts by outside organizations, both public and private, to aid developing countries must therefore be joined with efforts in the receiving countries themselves to make more effective the functioning of political and governmental machinery. This is a widely accepted belief, shared by many in the developing areas including Asia.

While the need for political leadership throughout Asia is vast, resources to educate about the political role and to train political leaders are extremely limited. Western nations provide large amounts of aid for economic growth and the building of social institutions but are perplexed about how they can aid the development in these societies of skilled, responsible and responsive political leadership.

Among its contributions to the process of political development in Asia, the Asia Foundation regards as one of the most effective a program that provides training for young Asian lawyers, social scientists, diplomats and teachers through an internship program with the U.S. Congress. Under the congressional fellowship program, sponsored by the American Political Science Association, four to six promising Asian leaders each year obtain a unique educational experience by serving on the staff of Congressmen or congressional committees.

This program was initiated by the American Political Science Association in 1953 and was originally limited to 15 American participants annually. Since 1958 Asia Foundation support has permitted expansion of the program to include several Asian fellows each year. In cooperation with the association, the foundation has sponsored 21 young Asians in this program during the past 6 years. Foundation grants totaling almost $150,000 in that time have enabled fellows from India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Republic of China, and Thailand to take part. Many of these Asian fellows have returned to positions of importance in their own countries.

The congressional fellowship program begins in mid-November with 6 weeks of orientation. In the words of Yun Young Lim, a 1962–63 Asian fellow who is now chief secretary to the Prime Minister of Korea, this affords "a general picture of and insight into not only the organization, composition, function and operation of the Congress, but also the intergovernmental relationship between the Congress and the Executive in formulating and implementing legislation—and the ultimate part played by the people in guiding the nation's future through its relationship with the Congress."

By the first week in January, all fellows are at work with a Representative or a House of Representatives Committee of their choice, serving for the 3 months the group spends on the House side. About the time of the Easter recess, the group moves to the Senate, where the fellows work either for Senators or for Senate committees until conclusion of the program in August.

A Tribute to the People of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, October 3, we shall celebrate the 46th anniversary of the birth of free Czechoslovakia in 1918. Czechoslovakia is not free any longer, of course, but per-

haps the time has come when a better future for these oppressed people is again in view.

As the tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States diminish each day, we have not allowed ourselves to forget the fate of the men and women of Czechoslovakia who still live under Communist domination. More than ever, we must turn our attention to the task of freeing the courageous people of that land.

The history of Czechoslovakia and her people has been a stirring symbol of hope for the ultimate restoration of freedom and independence throughout all of eastern and central Europe. For over a thousand years, they have had to suffer the hard hand of alien and arbitrary rule. History records this, and also records their spirit of independence and their faith which have survived the test of time and tyranny.

With the breakup of the great empire of Austria-Hungary after World War I, there was a reshaping of the political geography of Europe. At that time, the Czech and Slovak drive for freedom and independence reached a high peak in the history of its people. At the head of the liberation movement was Thomas G. Masaryk, a noted scholar and writer, whose contributions on the subject of democracy will live forever. A man of action, he led his people to independence and for 17 fruitful years served as president of the newly formed Republic of Czecholslovakia.

His death in 1937 saved Masaryk from witnessing the terrible events which befell his beloved country. First, the Nazi occupation and, then, an even worse subjugation by the Soviet Union.

Their agents will have no more success in smothering the flames of freedom in Czechoslovakia, however, than those who attempted to do this in the past. Alien occupation and oppression have not yet been able to dim the aspirations and extinguish the hopes of her people. It has only increased their determination to regain their freedom and independence.

The resistance movement in Czechoslovakia is one of the most powerful in eastern and central Europe. The spirit of independence, love of country, and faith that will not fail are the greatest assets of her people as they struggle against Communist rule.

I know that we who are fortunate enough to be living in the free world appreciate this resistance movement, and look forward to the day when an independent Czechoslovakia will again arise and freedom is restored to her brave and courageous people.

In Memoriam: Judge Archie Owen Dawson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, last August 6 in New York City was held the memorial service for Judge Archie Owen Dawson, late of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York. The eulogy was delivered by Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, minister emeritus of Christ Church Methodist, New York City. Dr. Sockman is a great churchman, and he gave a moving eulogy about his old and beloved friend, Archie Dawson. Dr. Sockman's words about a great trial judge merit wide attention. The memory of Judge Archie Dawson must be carefully preserved, for he should be held up to the bar and to future judges as the kind of man our country needs presiding over its courts.

AN ADDRESS BY THE REVEREND RALPH W. SOCKMAN

The office of judge confers distinction on all who fill it. And there are some who confer high distinction on the office of judge. Archie Dawson was one in whom the worth of the man brought honor to the wearing of the mantle. As one of his judicial colleagues wrote: "What he stood for—the hallmark of Judge Dawson—affected legions for the better and brought inspiration and encouragement to go forward. * * * The judicial mission as undertaken and pursued by him had vital meaning—fervently and indelibly."

Archie Dawson was first of all a good judge of himself. In his youth he recognized his shyness and set out to overcome it. So well did he succeed that he became a much-sought-after member of innumerable social groups. He served a term as president of his Columbia College class. He held high office in the great Masonic order. His wit and wisdom enlivened multitudes of gatherings.

His outward grace was developed through fortitude of spirit. While a young man he endured a painful injury from which he recovered after long and trying struggle. He was a master of men because he was master of himself.

He judged men with an insight into their present and a forethought into their future. This made him a good judge of youth. In his early years he worked with youth on the Lower East Side. He became a leader in the Big Brother Movement. He gave himself to the aid of the mentally retarded.

His interest in young lawyers was highly noteworthy and deeply appreciated. He held the loyalty and admiration of his younger associates in the law office and in the courtroom. Only a few months ago these men paid him tribute by celebrating the 10th anniversary of his elevation to the bench. He saw young men not only for what they were, but for what they could become. He looked for the best and thus brought out the best.

When he ascended the Federal bench, his appointment was universally hailed by the legal fraternity. He had already distinguished himself as a brilliant lawyer. His ability was manifest in law school. The head of an important law firm asked Justice Stone, then dean of Columbia Law School, to recommend a graduate for his office. The request was for "an exceptional man, not just a good one." Archie Dawson was the man suggested and selected. And 40 years later the distinguished lawyer who chose him still lauds his character and ability.

Archie Dawson's integrity of spirit, brilliance of mind, breadth of outlook, and depth of understanding won and held respect for him as a lawyer and a judge. Men who stood before him on trial have written to express appreciation of his fairness. He sought to interpret the spirit of the law as well as the letter of the law. He had an eye to the stature of persons as well as to the statutes of precedents.

So worthy was he of his high position that his rise aroused no envy of rivalry. One distinguished former judge generously exclaimed to me yesterday, "Archie Dawson was one of the truly greats."

Another reason that Judge Dawson was so well qualified for his high office was that his interests were so wide. He was concerned for the welfare of the general community. He gave himself to the service of his political party. I do not recall that he ever ran for office, but he helped in the campaigns of others. Only recently at a summer meeting of the New York State Bar Association he revealed his interest in the history field. In fact, no area of human experience seemed foreign to his thought.

His judicial mind was active in the realm of religion. He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Communion, but he attended this church with his wife, Barbara, to whom he was so devoted. Well do I recall many an enlightening remark of his at the church door. And long remembered will be his timely lecturing of certain warring factions in a denominational church controversy wherein he reminded them that instead of fighting among themselves, they should be uniting in serving the needs of the world.

When I think how Judge Dawson upheld the dignity of the bench, the integrity of the law, the welfare of the community, I feel justified in calling him a pillar of society. Underneath the pillars of this church run the trains of the New York Central Railroad and the BMT subway, but the marbles remain unshaken because of their well-built foundations and the weight resting upon them. Under Archie Dawson's career ran the vibrating traffic of our city and our Nation, but his reputation stood unshaken because of the spiritual foundations of his character and the social responsibilities which he supported.

Near the end of the Bible is this divine promise: "He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the truth of my God; never shall he go out of it." (Revelations 3: 12).

Can We Abolish Poverty?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the September 5, 1964, edition of the Saturday Evening Post.

I predict that like the Peace Corps, the war on poverty will be successful and the support of influential magazines like the Post is certainly welcome.

The editorial follows:

CAN WE ABOLISH POVERTY?

"Go to the poor if you're in trouble," Ma Joad said in "The Grapes of Wrath." "They're the only ones who will help you, the only ones." That may have been true in the terrible first years of the depression, when it was still literally possible for an American to starve. It is no longer true. Though BARRY GOLDWATER says that nobody in this country owes anybody else an "average" living, the fact is that the American consensus has long since guaranteed a minimum living to everybody, whether he works or not. In a sense, that has made poverty more terrible, since, knowing that no one will starve, we can turn our backs upon it.

Because of this, it is heartening news that Congress, in a social experiment unique in human history, has just authorized $947.5 million to begin finding out whether poverty

can be eradicated from America. Its target is the 9.5 million families whose income is less than $3,000 a year—35 million people of whom 11 million are children.

Only a beginning is being attempted. While a single massive handout of about $12 billion—the amount of the recent tax cut—could raise the whole 9.5 million above the "poverty line," the root causes of their misery would not be removed at all. Those causes are bad housing, inferior education, unemployment because of lack of skills. Above all, the roots lie in the self-perpetuating "culture of poverty"—of ignorance, apathy, resignation, defeat, and despair—by which one generation of the poor infects the next, until, among thousands of families now on relief rolls across the land, poverty has been perpetuated into the third and fourth generations. Some people are born on relief, marry on relief, breed on relief, and when they die are mourned by grandchildren on relief. The heart of the problem is not so much to raise the incomes of all, but to break this fatal chain by helping one generation break free of the cycle and enter the sunlight of normal society.

This is the wise goal of those who are now setting up the President's antipoverty campaign. They plan to enroll about 40,000 young men and women this year in Job Corps camps and 200,000 by next year, and establish 200 camps all over the country. They are seeking some 5,000 volunteers to lead the program—the same sort of dedicated, unselfish Americans who have made the Peace Corps as successful as it is popular—to help give these youngsters the education (many are dropouts) and job skills that will enable them to move on into work-training programs. The program will stand or fall on the amount of public support and enthusiasm it can engender. It needs help in finding and recruiting those who most need the help it is intended to offer. Anyone who wants to enter the program, either as volunteer or trainee, can get full information by writing to the Bureau of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

Poet Robert Frost used to infuriate his do-gooder friends by saying, "I agree with the Bible where it says, 'For Christ's sake, forget the poor some of the time.'" When they challenged him as to where such an injunction appeared, he would sweetly reply: "Don't you remember where Jesus says, 'For ye have the poor always with you'?"

Now, for the first time in man's long struggle, America is testing the validity of this age-old proposition that poverty is ineradicable. If even a beginning can be made at disproving it, that will mark a truly revolutionary new phase in what has already been the greatest peaceful revolution in history—one which has created the world's first truly abundant society. What the Peace Corps proved, despite the scoffers who, like Eisenhower, called it "naive," was the tremendous reservoir of practical idealism in thousands of Americans who were eager for some selfless and valid cause to call forth their energy and devotion. Now, in the task of abolishing poverty, they have a greater one.

Anniversary of Czechoslovak Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow marks the 46th anniversary of the birth of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Despite oppression and brutal domination at the hands of Communist forces, the spirit of the Czechoslovak Republic and the heritage of greatness which the free leaders of that proud nation have left behind is still enshrined in the hearts of her sons and daughters, both within their homeland and abroad.

Despite the fact that the people of Czechoslovakia have been suppressed by totalitarian powers, incorporated forcibly into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, deprived of their individaul political, economic and religious freedoms, the people of that country long for the day when their country will once again resume its rightful place in the family of free nations.

It behooves all who enjoy the fruits of a free society to recall the tragedy which the Czechoslovakian people have been forced to endure. In the postwar period from 1945 to 1948, the fate of that country was in the balance until that fateful day in February of 1948 when a Communist coup took over the government and initiated the 15 years of suffering for the Czechoslovak people.

In those 15 years, the failures of the Communist regime in its attempt to impose a foreign ideology on Czechoslovakia are well known.

In attempting to control the fires of freedom, the Communist regime has tried to eliminate all the humanitarian ideals so cherished by that country's people.

The mute evidence of that failure lies in the barbed wire and mine fields separating the people from the free world.

On the 46th anniversary of the birth of the Czechoslovak Republic, I want to extend my best wishes to the people of that brave country and to all Americans of Czechoslovakian ancestry. I join in the prayer that the oppression of their native land may soon be ended.

Secrets of Defense in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union, of September 28, 1964:

SECRETS OF DEFENSE IN POLITICS—DANGEROUS WHEELING, DEALING

For the first time we are witnessing a President break the seal on defense secrets to gain political advantages.

This has not gone unnoticed even among leading Democrats on congressional military and security committees who have been distressed by recent actions of President Johnson.

The President refuses to discuss the issues of the election campaign but whenever his opponent, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, strikes deep, Mr. Johnson reaches for what has become a grab bag of military secrets.

When the Bobby Baker scandal was reaching its height in Washington, the President summoned correspondents for a stroll through the White House rose gardens and revealed the development of a spectacular military aircraft.

When the war in South Vietnam was experiencing more reverses, President Johnson rejected an invitation to address the national convention of the American Legion and sent in his place Secretary of Defense McNamara, who avoided a discussion of the war, and instead disclosed the development of new Minuteman missiles many times more powerful than their predecessors.

When the administration was accused of not having developed any new major and perhaps crucial weapons systems, the President chose Sacramento, the State capital of California, to reveal the perfection of space satellites capable of destroying any nuclear space stations that might be put up and of advanced radar capable of earlier detection of missile launchings.

This same information had been sought through regular Government and military information channels and the requests had been denied on the basis of national security.

But the President has no hesitancy in using this same classified material for political advantage while at the same time cloaking his announcements in an aura of nonpartisanship. This has been described, and rightly, as a breach of ethics.

The defense of the United States is not the personal province of the President, and the Federal departments charged with this obligation are not the agencies of any political party.

It will be recalled that former Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the late John F. Kennedy all prohibited the heads of the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments from participating in politics.

The military security of the United States has been a subject of political debate for three decades, and will continue to be discussed, but that is different from choosing the campaign trail to reveal major and heretofore secret defense advances and sending the heads of the Defense and State Departments to testify before the platform committee of the Democrat Party.

During the last presidential campaign, when Mr. Kennedy charged that there was a missile gap under President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, the administration did not offer rebuttals from military sources or disclose figures, on grounds that it would violate national security to do so.

The moral level of this administration seems not to be on equal plane. It willingly sacrifices tradition and ethics and now seems willing to wheel and deal in military secrets.

National Airlines—30th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, congratulations to National Airlines on its 30th anniversary which it will reach on October 15, 1964. Thirty years may seem a long time, but in the life of a corporation it is a short span.

In 1934 National started a mail run from St. Petersburg, Fla., to Daytona Beach. The entire fleet consisted of one second-hand, 4-place aircraft, a sister ship to the "Spirit of St. Louis" with which Lindbergh made his historic transatlantic flight. From this modest beginning, National has grown to become a major trunkline serving the east coast from Boston to Miami and points in between, and the southern transcontinental route between Florida and California.

The award of the "rocket route"—the southern transcontinental route—link-

ing the aerospace centers of Cape Canaveral, Houston, and the west coast, in June 1961, created a route system for National which attracted the young Frontier Airlines president, Lewis B. Maytag, Jr. In 4 years he had built up Frontier so that it was consistently in the black, but he saw greater scope for his energy and talents in National Airlines. He purchased a controlling interest in National in April 1962, paying $25.75 per share for stock then selling at $17 a share. Less than a year later his judgment was vindicated when National stock was worth $31.625 a share.

"Bud" Maytag, as he is known to his friends, is the youngest of the major airline presidents, being junior by 15 years—at age 37 years. He is the only airline president who is checked out to fly jets and personally flew a DC–8 fanjet for National on its acceptance flight. He obtained a pilot's license in 1947 and had organized two aviation-directed companies while still in his twenties. As a pilot he prefers a 1940 vintage, open cockpit PT-17 biplane, in which he does weekend stunting and on the fuselage of which "National" is written upside down. This is so that National will be right side up when he is "showboating" upside down, he says.

Under his direction the debt burden of National was eased through new financing arrangements, the types of aircraft in the fleet reduced from six to two—the DC–8 jets and the Electra propjets—and shares held by Pan American reacquired. The National fleet now consists of 9 DC–8 and 17 Electra aircraft. In keeping with the new look the hostesses were outfitted with uniforms designed by Oleg Cassini.

After 2 years of heavy losses, National was solidly in the black for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, and has continued to improved. For the first 6 months of 1964 the net operating profit was $5,896,000. In the meantime National has continued to render excellent service to the people in the territory through which its routes are operated. Under the able management of its present officers we know National will continue to be one of our outstanding airlines.

Again, most hearty congratulations to National on its 30th anniversary with sincere wishes for its continued progress.

The U.S. Customs Service Protects the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Customs Service celebrated its 175th anniversary. On this auspicious occasion I extent sincere congratulations. The celebration was combined with a conference on customs matters which was attended by customs officials from 11 midwestern customs districts. The affair was held in Milwaukee during the week of September 21–25, 1964. An important aspect of this event was the effective use of this opportunity by the Honorable Marguerite Benson, collector of customs, Milwaukee, to acquaint the people of Wisconsin with the functions and objectives of the U.S. Customs Service. The Milwaukee press, radio, and television media cooperated fully in reporting events at the conference and describing some of the ways in which customs protects the Nation against narcotics smuggling and other problems.

I believe it would be of interest to my colleagues in the Congress to be reminded of some of the intricate and vital responsibilities being carried out by the Bureau of Customs of the Treasury Department. I, therefore, under unanimous consent insert in the RECORD the text of two addresses delivered at the Milwaukee Customs Regional Conference, one by Assistant Commissioner Lester D. Johnson and the other by Deputy Commissioner Alfred F. Beiter, entitled, "How Customs Protects the People."

The addresses follow:

HOW CUSTOMS PROTECTS THE PEOPLE

(By Alfred F. Beiter, Deputy Commissioner)

Governor, Mr. Mayor, honored guests, I am honored to be on this rostrum this evening, representing our Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Philip Nichols, Jr., who asked me to express his greetings and regrets at his inability to be with you. It is a real satisfaction to me to be able to talk about the customs service to so many distinguished representatives of the business community of Wisconsin. We in the customs have maintained cordial and mutually helpful relations with American industry for at least 175 years, performing the dual role of "protector" as well as "tax collector," and there is every reason to believe that we will continue to do so for another 175. Some of us may possibly not be here to mark the date but perhaps our grandchildren will foregather in this very same hall, and recall those dim distant days of the 20th century when extremists were on the loose, when namecalling was the vogue (especially every 4 years during national political campaigns), when the space age was just dawning—and when a trip to the moon seemed like a fantastic dream.

There isn't a citizen of the United States, old or young, who hasn't benefited from the services of the Cutoms Bureau. It was established by the First Congress 175 years ago to collect duties on imported merchandise, and thus provide funds for the young government. But as the years went by, the service was given more and more responsibilities. Among them are:

1. The prevention of smuggling and frauds on the customs revenue.
2. Supervision of export controls.
3. Enforcement of foreign assets control regulations.
4. Prevention of illegal import and export of gold.
5. Cooperation with Department of Agriculture in enforcing animal and plant quarantines.
6. Prevention of smuggling of narcotics.
7. Cooperation with the Coast Guard in insuring that safety requirements are met before vessels are cleared, and that crew members on U.S. vessels are accounted for after a voyage abroad.
8. Registration and documentation of vessels.
9. Barring pirated copies of copyrighted books and trademarks.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Customs Service implements the Government's accelerated efforts to advance economic development. It has done this in a number of ways: by close cooperation with the U.S. Travel Service in encouraging tourist travel from abroad, by streamlining and modernizing its collection procedures, and by working with legislative bodies in simplifying certain sections of the Tariff Act of 1930 in the interest of stepped-up trade.

We do not fix rates of duty, but on our interpretation and enforcement depends much of their effectiveness. In this sense, we have played a major role in the vast expansion of the American economy from the day when, in 1789, our total national receipts of $2½ million consisted mainly of customs collections. Today our collections are only a small percentage of the country's aggregate income from internal revenue and other sources.

The Customs Service and other Federal agencies work closely in promoting American business development. For instance, the Bureau provides the basic documents from which are compiled statistical reports on imports, exports, and vessel movements—and much of the country's long range planning is done on the basis of these reports.

The Customs Bureau controls the import of patented and trademarked articles for the Patent Office, and works with the Bureau of Standards on data on drawback cases, sampling techniques, and customs laboratory work.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

We in the Customs Service are engaged essentially in law enforcement, and we approach our jobs without emotional bias, without fanfare, or bias predilection for one set of laws as against another. The Congress passes legislation, and it is up to the Bureau to enforce it.

Out of approximately 9,000 persons employed by the Customs Service, most are located in Customhouses and Appraiser's Stores. The function of the majority is to receive the entries made by importers, to classify and appraise the merchandise, and to make final settlement of the duties owing.

The Appraisement Division administers the statutes on dumping, countervailing duty, convict labor, U.S. Government importation of war material, strategic and radioactive materials, importations for international organizations, and the clearance of shipments of foreign governments and their diplomatic representatives under usages of international courtesy.

THE C.Q. PROGRAM

This recital of job functions does not begin to do justice to the volume of work for which the Customs Service is responsible. Subject to their paramount duty to "protect the revenue," our people are imbued with the feeling of friendliness and willingness to cooperate, and they impart this feeling to people who want to avoid making mistakes.

A good illustration is the so-called C.Q. program, which was instituted in 1956 and was designed to provide the Canadian exporter with advice from the Buffalo, N.Y., appraiser on the provisions and requirements of tariff laws. Canadian shippers took full advantage of this program, which was indicative of how customs is willing to "meet you more than half way." The program was such a success that it has been extended to other appraisers on the Canadian border and was praised by the Canadian Government as an example of splendid cooperation from a U.S. Government agency. We would do the same for other countries if the need were the same.

Our Division of Investigations and Enforcement consists of 846 men who are stationed all over the continental United States, the Far East, Canada, Mexico, and Western Europe.

About 200 of these work out of uniform. Their job is primarily investigative. Besides criminal investigations, of which they do a great deal, they conduct investigations in the civil cases to solve problems relating to

the value and classification of merchandise. Many of our cases involve civil, not criminal, penalties, for many kinds of violations. The agents are required to be knowledgeable in matters of business and trade.

Finally, we have the CPI's or port investigators, some 561 strong, who perform what are essentially police duties and who normally wear uniforms. Basically, their job is to patrol the waterfront areas of the great ports to detect smuggling and capture smugglers. They are largely motorized using two-way radios and other modern aids.

DOCUMENTARY SHIPS

All ships, planes, vehicles and persons arriving from a foreign country must report to U.S. Customs. An international passenger arriving in the United States is met by three agencies: The Public Health Service which is concerned with vaccination certificates; the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is responsible for enforcing admission requirements, and customs which examines baggage.

The passenger fills in a customs form known as the "baggage declaration," describing merchandise which he acquired while outside the United States. He presents his luggage and his declaration to the customs inspector for examination. If his purchases come within the exemption allowed under law, and he has no prohibited items, the inspector will pass the merchandise free of duty. On the other hand, if his imported merchandise exceeds his customs exemption, duties are collected on the items in excess of the amount allowed free by law. (The Bureau of Customs publishes a number of "custom hints" both for residents and nonresidents. These are available without charge from any U.S. consulate or from any customhouse.)

IMPORTS AND CUSTOMS

What is the role of customs in collecting duty on commercial imports? Customs entry requirements apply to all importations, whether they are free of duty or not, regardless of their value. Following the First World War, quotas came into common use by many nations as a means of restricting the importation of foreign goods, and in order to realocate markets. The United States established the authority for imposing import quotas as recently as 1933. U.S. import controls now in effect apply to various products and all are administered by the Bureau of Customs. The Commissioner of Customs has no authority to change or modify a quota. He merely controls the importation of quota merchandise according to the terms of Presidential proclamations.

No import licenses or permits are required under quotas administered by the Commissioner of Customs. The Department of Agriculture does require licenses in some instances.

The Bureau of Customs has the important task of assuring that all export shipments (except shipment by mail for which the Post Office Department is responsible) are made in accordance with export control regulations. Customs performs this task through three related activities: (1) examination of shipping documents, including validated export licenses, shippers' export declarations, bills of lading, airway bills, carrier manifests, etc.; (2) physical examination of export shipments; and (3) appropriate actions against violators, including seizure of proposed shipments being made or about to be made in violation of export control regulations.

LAST LINE OF DEFENSE

Customs inspectors have been called "the last line of defense" in the United States against violators of export control regulations. Prior to the time the inspector enters the picture, proposed exports have been checked only against documents. Customs inspectors, on a spot check basis, see the merchandise itself and decide whether it is actually what the documents say it is.

Shipments selected for examination are those which, due to a combination of factors, such as destination, exporter, consignee, or type of commodity, are deemed most likely to involve violations.

Customs inspectors also conduct periodic physical examinations of shipments at international dispatching depots of the Post Office Department as a means of detecting and preventing violations of export control regulations by shippers using the mails. A sufficient number of these inspections are held (1) to assure that mailers generally are complying with the regulations in a reasonably satisfactory way; and (2) to detect specific violations and take appropriate action against firms or persons involved in such violations. Inspections also serve as a means of educating mailers with respect to their responsibility under export control regulations.

Shipments to Soviet bloc countries receive special scrutiny and attention. For example, vessels and planes departing directly or indirectly for ports in Soviet bloc countries or Cuba must present to customs complete cargo manifests. This must be done prior to customs clearance. (Other vessels are permitted to present manifests within 4 workdays after clearance.)

The principal type of action taken by the customs service against violators of export control regulations is seizure of merchandise being or about to be illegally exported. During the fiscal year 1964 the customs service made 403 such seizures of merchandise, valued at $421,778.

TRAVEL FUNCTIONS

The customs service differs from most other Government agencies in that we deal primarily with the traveling public, with importers and with exporters, with shipping companies, with pilots and businessmen in general. Thus, service to the public has become our watchword.

We are constantly seeking new techniques for expediting our customs examinations and collections. Many notable improvements have been made in the appraisement of imported merchandise. New methods of processing air passengers and their baggage were developed into a "supermarket" inspection area at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport, in Miami, and in San Juan. The system of checkout lines and conveyor belts has been so successful that it is planned for other airports.

There are many other examples of the streamlining, too numerous to mention this evening. We are cooperating with the U.S. Travel Service in putting out the welcome mat for foreigners who wish to visit the United States as tourists, for businessmen wishing to trade with U.S. businessmen. This cooperative effort will continue, and we hope that our visitors from abroad will avail themselves of the reduced costs of travel to our country and of the warm welcome that awaits them.

In the Federal Government, just as in big business, the stockholders must be informed of an outfit's aims and objectives in order to achieve success. In the Federal Government, the stockholders are the American people.

An informed public is the key to success in a representative government. The success of any governmental endeavor depends on the support of the people. People tend to remember the bad things an agency does over the good. These mistakes cannot be erased by propaganda, but must be eliminated by publicized reports of an agency's successes.

And here, I believe there is some room for improvement. We probably do not put enough emphasis on the fact that Customs is a revenue-producing agency as well as a law enforcement branch of Government. Words alone cannot do the job. Employees and management alike must work to make sure every courtesy is extended to the public. We must constantly reexamine our operations that deal with the public so that any unnecessary delays or discourtesies can be quickly eliminated. Such courtesies and concern for the public promote good will and gain support when it is needed.

Customs, of course, is not guilty of all of these fallacies in communications, but perfection is imperative in these areas in order to fully accomplish our objectives and to produce results of higher quality.

I am optimistic about the future of Customs. While we do not have the glamour of some of the newer agencies we do enjoy the respect of Congress and this is due largely to the accomplishments of a dedicated staff of employees.

Thank you.

TALK BY LESTER D. JOHNSON, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, AT MILWAUKEE REGIONAL CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 21, 1964

My friends and colleagues in the customs service, I am pleased to have this opportunity to welcome you to the second of our regional conferences, here in the beautiful city of Milwaukee, home of Collector Benson, our hostess, who has done a tremendous job in making preparations for the conference, in all of its aspects.

Before I start, let me convey the greetings of Commissioner Nichols who could not attend because of a business trip to Europe, but who asked me to extend his best wishes to all. He has high hopes for the success of this and similar future regional conferences, which we all feel can do much to improve customs operations, build morale, and solve many of our mutual problems.

I've given quite a bit of thought to my present assignment this morning, and I decided that it would be in keeping with the aims of this conference to mention some of the highlights of our progress during recent years.

As I look back, I find that the record is impressive, but one which does not allow us to rest on our laurels. There remains a great deal of work to be done, and we should not sit back contentedly and pat ourselves on the back. However, I do feel a strong sense of satisfaction for having been able to work closely with Commissioner Nichols and with former Assistant Commissioner Strubinger and with many of you on some of these projects and programs. It is also worthwhile, in my opinion, to take stock of ourselves in order to get a better perspective on the unfinished tasks which lie ahead of us.

RELATIONSHIP WITH EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS

One of the milestones in our development is the cordial relationship between management and employees. By frequent consultation and mutual understanding with employee organizations many problems have been worked out amicably and to the mutual satisfaction of management and employees alike. We have been very fortunate in this respect through having capable and cooperative executives in the principal employee organizations.

IMPROVEMENT OF SERVICES

Nothing better illustrates our policy of improving the Service than the implementation of the program of the citizen's task force on baggage examination. Most of the 32 recommendations which this task force submitted to Secretary Dillon 2½ years ago have been put into effect with positive and profitable results. In cooperation with the Treasury Department and the shipping companies, the Bureau has cut down the time required to clear customs at the New York City piers. We have been working closely with the U.S. Travel Service in making visitors from abroad feel welcome when they arrive in this country. The handling of cargo has also been facilitated and the paperwork simplified.

MANAGEMENT PROJECTS

In 1963 and 1964, a long list of special management projects were put into effect, each demonstrating anew our determination to make the maximum use of our manpower

at minimum cost. Let me cite a few examples: Our accounting system and fiscal procedures were improved; an intensive examination of gift parcels was undertaken; widespread abuses were reported in the use of the gift parcel privilege, and measures were introduced to arrest these abuses.

We have worked out with the Immigration Service, Public Health, and Agriculture, a unique agreement on multiple screening in inspectional operations for all agencies along the Mexican border, with a resultant saving in manpower and increased efficiency, i.e., one inspector, normally, performs all of the functions for each agency.

TRAINING PROGRAM

Our training program is being improved and expanded. A basic training course for new customs inspectors was given earlier this year at Fort Slocum, New York, and additional courses and regional basis are now being planned for the current fiscal year.

LIAISON WITH FIELD

Nor have we neglected the important area of liaison with the field. Instructions to field officers; personal contacts between the Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner, liaison officers, and other officials from Bureau headquarters; conferences with presidential appointees at the Bureau and in the field, and Regional Conferences; and collectors, appraisers, comptrollers, and Bureau representatives, are among the devices used to improve manpower utilization and control.

Our economy program resulted in a total actual savings in fiscal year 1964 of approximately $102,450, plus an additional saving of $51,200. During fiscal year 1964 there was a substantial reduction of more than 15 percent in the backlog of formal entries ready for tentative liquidation.

We have broken new ground in streamlining and simplifying procedures and utilization of manpower at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, N.Y. Our force of inspectors at J.F.K., N.Y., has been able to clear passenger arrivals at the rate of 5,000 a day. A survey of our old procedures resulted in actual savings of $32,000 in fiscal year 1964 and a projected $289,000 in fiscal year 1965.

We introduced the oral declaration procedure at all airports throughout the United States, replacing the older form, which was unwieldly and cumbersome, and we are in the process of trying it out with the cooperation of several trans-Atlantic shipping lines at the port of New York as well as elsewhere.

ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITY STRENGTHENED

All of us can take pride in the successes scored by our Customs Agency Service, which has demonstrated remarkable ability to perform big jobs with a small staff on an extremely modest budget. The reorganization of the Agency Service a year ago has brought about a substantial increase in the enforcement capabiltiy of the Service. The rise in narcotic seizures by the Mexican border offices can be attributed in part to the reorganization scheme. It has given our agents an opportunity to concentrate on enforcement rather than administration. We have introduced new electronic equipment and other investigative ideas, and we have intensified our program of developing new and reliable sources of information, supported by a more liberal use of our purchase-of-information funds.

The Customs Agency Service rendered assistance to the Bureau of Narcotics in 297 cases; to Internal Revenue in 135 cases; to the Secret Service in 84 cases; to the Coast Guard in 81 cases; to Foreign Assets Control in 29 cases; to the Department of Defense in 80 cases; to the Department of Commerce in 83 cases; as well as to the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 233 cases; the FBI in 182 cases; to city, county, State police and sheriffs in 319 cases; to foreign customs and policies and consuls in 407 cases.

As an example, when Kenneth Wayne Long and his wife arrived at San Ysidro on March 31 in separate rented cars; a curious customs agent checked the motel room they had occupied in Tijuana, finding 3 pounds of marihuana and a Vancouver newspaper carrying a story about a bank robber. From photographs Long was positively identified as the robber, and was turned over to the Canadian authorities, who prior to his arrest had had no clue in the case.

On January 22 agents at Brownsville, Tex., arrested Clarence E. Smith in possession of 6 pounds of marihuana and 99 postal money orders he had stolen in Florida; an accomplice was later intercepted at Corpus Christi.

On the other side of the world, our officers in Hong Kong kept their eyes on Charles Travitzky, who was free on bail after two arrests for smuggling diamonds and jewelry into the United States. His heavy purchases in the Crown Colony were reported to the Treasury representative in Singapore, and when he moved on from there to Bangkok, the word again went with him. He was searched on arrival by the Thai authorities, who found $30,000 worth of jewelry and watches in his baggage, concealed in a corrugated box, a record player, and cans labeled "fruit salad."

Beginning last spring, customs agents and customs port investigators in several cities have on various occasions been specially assigned to assist the Secret Service in protection and surveillance work. Total time spent on such assignments has been approximately 1,000 man-hours.

The U.S. Customs Service is a pregressive, dynamic organization which strives continually to improve itself, to achieve maximum results at minimum cost. We place high value on innovation, on creativity, on our ability to adapt ourselves to the demands of our changing times. This has given us a reputation which has been described in Life magazine in these words:

"So efficiently does Customs do its job that it produces more money for the Government than any other source except the Bureau of Internal Revenue."

President Lyndon B. Johnson has described the U.S. Customs Service as "honest, resourceful, and efficient."

During our anniversary year, just now drawing to a close, we have received accolades from many Members of Congress; Secretary Dillon; the Governors and mayors of many States, and above all, from the huge army of citizens, travelers and importers, with whom we do business year in and year out.

We could not have earned this praise without having deserved it, without having a topflight commissioner, and without a first-rate work force.

We still have many problems, and we will need all your help if we are to solve them. What we have done together in the past, we can exceed in the future. During these difficult days of international strife, the Government knows and the people of the United States know that they can rely on the Customs Service to do a good job.

Terror-Struck Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 16, 1964, I introduced H.R. 9652 to provide for the mandatory reporting of child abuse cases by doctors, nurses, and others who treat injured children in the District of Columbia.

This is legislation which is badly needed in all of our States. Thirteen States have adopted this mandatory reporting law and I believe the District of Columbia should be added to that number.

Persuasive arguments for this legislation can be read in the following article from the May 30, 1964, edition of the New Republic. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues.

TERROR-STRUCK CHILDREN

(By Robert Coles)

We are slowly realizing the needlessness of much of the social and economic hardship in this Nation, and that recognition allows us really to see what formerly had to be hidden. And so the more we learn about child development generally, and the more we allow ourselves to care about its afflictions for the socially or racially exiled, the more we can expect, for a while, some painful, unnerving times.

In grim example we have the fact that all over this country every year hundred of children are brutally assaulted and many of them killed—in their own homes at the hands of their parents. I recall my own unwillingness to believe my own senses, believe what I saw and heard when I faced such facts. It is hard for a young doctor, grown and educated in our culture with all its emphasis on child study and the family, touched by all the enlightenment of the social sciences and the sense of advance which the progress of the natural sciences affords, to accept before him the presence of the grossest forms of neglect, violence, and even murder, all done by parents upon their own children. That such events are not simply mischievous lapses or isolated outrages but occur with terrible regularity, that they have been documented, studied, even given the clinical name of "the battered-child syndrome," is even harder to accept.

Yet, any child psychiatrist who works with severely and consistently violent youths must eventually realize the frequency with which their actions reflect their parents' earlier actions. In the case of some delinquent girls I once treated—antisocial enough to have to be confined to a State industrial school—severe beatings, ugly and often bizarre punishment were largely the heart of the memories they recited. It was an awful thing, seeing the clear and often irreversible damage inflicted by one generation upon another.

Still, these girls had at least managed to survive, and for some there was even hope. In contrast many infants die of sustained neglect and injury before they become children, and many children are so badly attacked they have scant hope for survival through adolescence. Hundreds of children are beaten, cut, burned, strangled, suffocated, and drowned by their own parents. In 1962 a study by the American Humane Society found 662 cases of such abuse of children reported in the newspapers alone—and many are never reported. One in four of those cases died from the injuries inflicted upon them. Most of these children are under 4, helplessly vulnerable to an astonishing array of damaging blows.

The problem is all too familiar to those interested in it: the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Child Welfare League of America, and the American Humane Society, a national association of child protective agencies. Then there are those whose work continually brings them in contact with parents who willfully or helplessly, have it either way, neglect, hurt and maim their children: doctors, nurses, social workers, lawyers,

judges, policemen, probation officers; the list itself is a reminder of our various troubles.

How are these children first noticed? What happens to them? What can be done to help them and their parents? It is done tors who usually first come upon them, wounded and in need of healing. Parents bring them to the emergency wards of hospitals and attribute their injuries to a variety of accidents or mishaps. A review of the medical literature is an absorbing experience: what emerges is the slow realization among naturally reluctant physicians that they are face to face with more than nature's havoc or man's fate, but with a kind of harmfulness very much akin to the bestiality we like to think crops up only in wars or among fanatics or bigots in happily distant lands.

About two decades ago articles began to appear in various medical journals documenting the obvious human contrivance in certain childhood injuries. Reading them one sees the tension between civilized doctors possessed of certain very firm assumptions about human behavior—about how parents and children manage with one another—and the relentless insistence of their logical thinking, their medical training. Radiologists, for instance, noted the frequency of broken bones in certain children, and the fact that they often sustained head injury as well as fractures of their arms and legs, suggesting that some children did not only "fall" or "get hurt," but were repeatedly hit in several parts of their bodies.

DUTY OF DOCTORS

The Journal of the Americal Medical Association for July 7, 1962, published what is probably the definitive medical paper on this subject. The syndrome is described as "a significant cause of childhood disability and death" and the summary to the article remarks: "Physicians [read, all of us], because of their own feelings and their difficulty in playing a role they find hard to assume, may have reluctance in believing that parents were guilty of abuse. They may also find it difficult to initiate proper investigation so as to assure adequate management of the case. Above all, the physician's duty and responsibility to the child requires a full evaluation of the problem and a guarantee that the expected repetition of trauma will not be permitted to occur."

The quiet language of many earlier medical reports shows the long-standing confusion in many doctors about just what they should do—repeatedly treat the child, knowing in their hearts but dismissing in their minds the likelihood of recurrence, and dangerous recurrence at that; or take the personal and social responsibility (and risk) of reporting the cases, of initiating a complaint or recommending an investigation. The dilemma can even be followed by reading the titles of medical articles. Thus, in 1953 a paper was titled "Roentgen Manifestations of Unrecognized Skeletal Trauma in Infants." In 1958 another paper, similarly concerned with radiological research rather than social action, was headed by "Skeletal Manifestations of Parent-Induced Trauma in Infants and Children."

Though there is little direct psychiatric research on the matter, the truth is that there is a good deal of psychiatric information about the kinds of parents who will likely attack their children, and the reasons apt to impel them. The real problem is how to translate present knowledge into preventive or ameliorative action. Any psychiatrist who has heard enough life histories knows the possibilities of violence in certain kinds of mentally ill or deficient people. Psychotics, the criminally murderous or delinquent, confidence men of various kinds, severely disturbed alcoholics, addicts, people of limited endowment—of mind or of means—all these people hardly confine their rage, their sense of worthlessness, abandonment, or retaliatory rage and hate, to themselves. In other words, mental illness is not only a private sorrow but usually a family disaster, affecting among other relationships those between mothers and fathers and their children.

Even though we have established the existence of a problem and understand some of its causes, its solution is still to come and requires several kinds of effort. Doctors must be educated to recognize and acknowledge what they so often resist and evade. But they cannot bear such responsibility without legal and social support. I am thinking of doctors I know who have to deal with the complicated problems of the "health" of migrant workers, or others involved in the touchy question of cigarette smoking and the matter of allowing the continually seductive advertising of some tobacco manufacturers. Frequently it is a derelict or divided society which has forced upon these medical men a tangled web of its own contradictions and of its own frustrations.

The only alternative for the conscientious doctor is to do his job and make his findings known lucidly and emphatically. In the case of parents who hurt their children, psychiatrists are especially duty-bound to speak out. They must assist in diagnoses and help those others of many professions who bear the brunt of such difficult cases. And they must continue to let the public know how serious some of our psychiatric problems are, how great is the need for more clinics and personnel to staff them. It is the old story, a flood, an earthquake, the casualties in a distant war summon their deserved, responsive attention. Ignored, however, is the harm to children in our very daily midst, sure to be handed down by them, if they survive, to their children—the sins of one generation thus going endlessly forward in time.

RECOGNIZING THE PROBLEM

Most important and practical is public and legal recognition of this problem. Our society very strongly bulwarks the integrity of the small family. Parents may hit their children, offer them poor diets, allow them late hours, encourage in them fresh or nasty behavior toward others and mostly fear no interference. And this should be the case. What parent hasn't at some frantic moment wanted to just about banish his or her child from this earth? We all have our moments of rage and anger and sometimes such feelings are quite strong and quite murderous. But we don't live them out, and if we do sometimes lose control, we a ' contrite and attentive to the person who is innocently involved in those outbursts of ours.

Though it is few, therefore, who require the special concern and protection of the law, there is a problem of degree. Every child psychiatrist meets children who are victims of hurtful, fearful, careless, or essentially unloving or unstable parents. There are sick and withdrawn mothers who are so crippled emotionally, who offer their children so very little warmth, that it is clearly a matter of time, and sometimes very little at that, before the children, too, will be disturbed.

On the other hand there are clear cases of parental brutality, and it is these which demand specially vigorous and sometimes drastic action. Disturbed parents require psychiatric care, and that is one urgent national problem. But parents who repeatedly attack their children and are in danger of killing them deserve quite another priority of attention.

Few would deny society the right to intervene where a child's very life is at stake. Yet, as might be expected, opposition to laws which try to establish a basis for such intervention often centers about such rallying slogans as "individual rights," "parents' rights," or the right of the family to "privacy." Of course in a complicated society like ours all "rights" are relative, are modified by various legal and social obligations. It is incredible that these obligations do not yet in most States, hence for most people, provide protection to children when their parents are crazed enough, or enough stunted in intelligence or psychological development, to threaten their very lives.

Only 13 States have laws whose purposes generally are to provide sanction and obligation for doctors afraid or hesitant to report cases of children grossly abused; and to establish some institutional means—courts, welfare agencies—of receiving these reports, dealing with them, investigating the situations they cover, and finally, attempting to provide help for both the parents and children involved. On this last matter of assistance, the laws tend to diverge into those primarily interested in punishing the guilty and those concerned with rehabilitation, insofar as it turns out that rehabilitation is possible.

It is an ancient and far from concluded struggle: whether to rise in outrage and demand jailing these parents as both punishment and a form of fast removal from society; or to use the law as a necessary means of restraint, but also as an entering wedge, in this case so that isolated, often defensively shrill and combative human beings may be approached, seen, and perhaps even helped with their enormous emotional impoverishment and desperation.

In a sense this terrible problem, challenging by its very existence so much of what we think of ourselves, owes its increasing recognition to the progress made by Freud and his followers in looking fearlessly into man's thoughts, feelings, and actions. A pediatrician, having a hard time with his own horror at what he had just seen—the near murder of a little girl by her mother—said to me later words to this effect: "I suppose in the past we would have just taken that mother's word for what had happened. (She had made some pathetic, transparent attempts to call her deed an accident.) We probably would never have bothered to look at what kind of person she is. But now we see more about people, and why they do things, and because of that we have more responsibilities and, in a way, more trouble on our hands."

His responsibilities are everyone's; they belong to his fellow doctors and to members of a host of professions. Most of all they must be taken up by 37 State legislatures, not in hasty repudiation of senseless brutality at the hands of sad and frightful people, but in passionate interest and willful shielding of their State's children and adults alike. Parents may have to be separated from children. Others may have to be closely watched and worked with intensively. Children may have to be given a great deal of medical and psychiatric care, for some of them have not only dramatic bruises, lacerations, or fractures, but symptoms of chronic indifference or neglect, vitamin deficiencies, poorly treated infections, a score of minor and major diseases secondary to such lack of good care.

It is nothing short of a scandal that we allow crushed and terrified parents a continuation of their misery in their own children. Surely here there can be no real disagreement about the need for immediate action. Lives are in the balance.

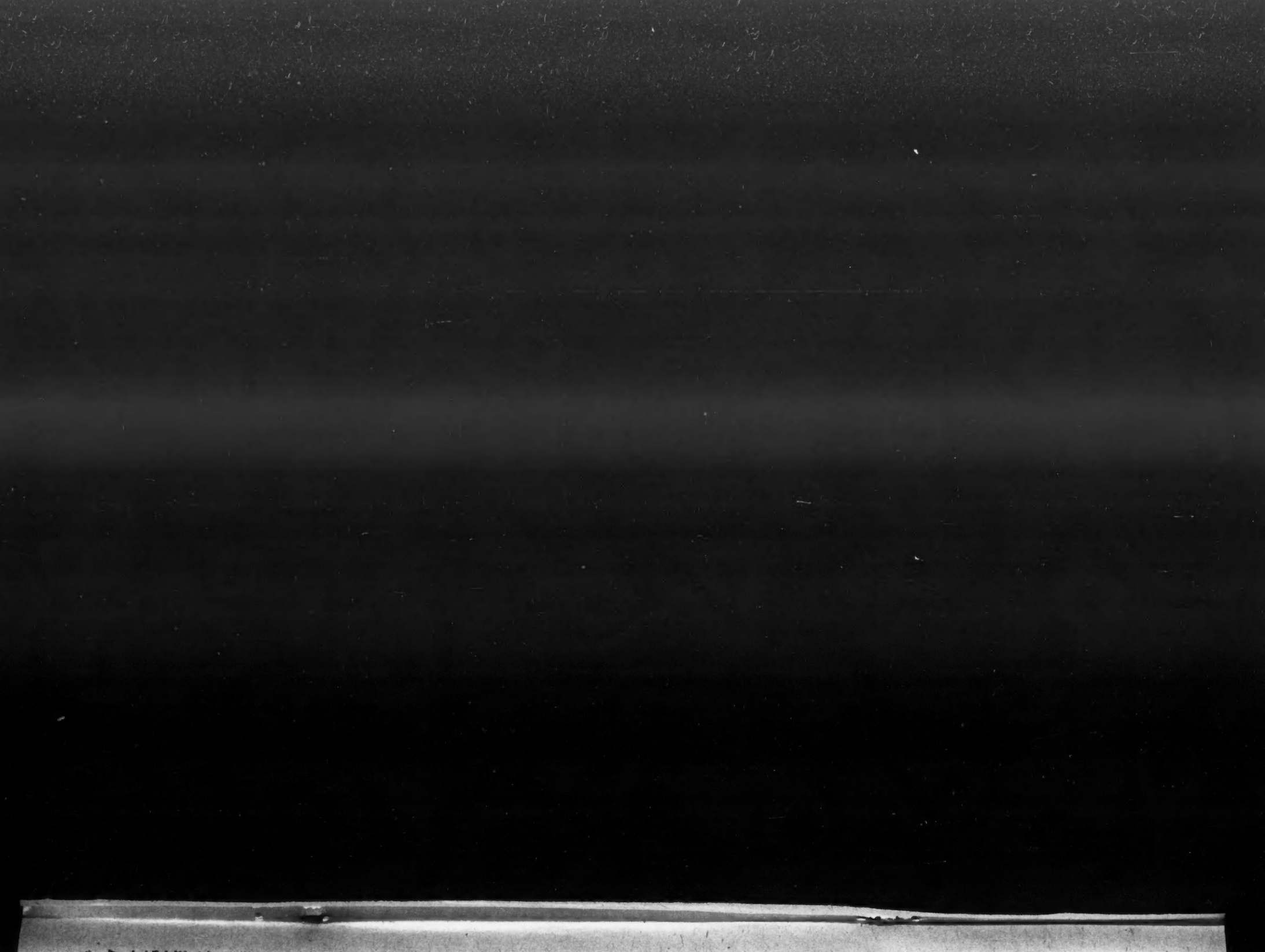

Appendix

Good News for Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Good News for Coal," which appeared in the September 23, 1964, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

GOOD NEWS FOR COAL

People who occasionally preach gloom and doom for the future of the coal industry—so vital to our area—should note the latest news about nuclear-fuel costs as compared to coal costs in some areas.

On the same day recently, the Messenger noted two developments:

A report from the Tennessee Valley Authority that its average cost for coal burned in its steamplants in the fiscal year ending last June 31 was 1.7 mills for each kilowatt hour of electricity produced. At the TVA's big Paradise steamplant over in Muhlenberg the cost was 1.2 mills.

A report that the Key West, Fla., Utility Board has dropped plans to build a 10-million-gallon-a-day dual-purpose nuclear-powered desalting plant (to make fresh water out of salt water) because of excessive cost of atomic fuel and is now considering plans for a fossil-fueled facility. The main reason? It was estimated that nuclear fuel would produce for them a power cost of 10.68 mills per kilowatt-hour. This is a whopping nine times the cost of coal fuel at Paradise and more than six times the TVA average on coal costs.

It isn't known yet whether Key West's fossile plan calls for coal, oil, or gas, but the contrast is worth noting.

This isn't all the good news about coal that's appeared lately. Forbes magazine, in its September 15 issue says that coal "may be on the verge of some real growth. Out of a recent luncheon came a plan that may give coal a tremendous boost."

The luncheon, Forbes said, was held at the White House and President Johnson met with executives of some of the Nation's biggest coal compainies, coal-hauling railroads, and mine and railroad unions.

The topic of conversation was:

What could be done to increase exports of coal, as well as consumption at home?

As a result of the session, the President appointed a special committee of Cabinet and sub-Cabinet members, headed by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, and told them:

Push coal for all it's worth.

Immediately the word went out to U.S. representatives in Geneva, Switzerland, to give coal top priority in current trade talks underway among Western nations. The aim: to pave the way for an increase of U.S. coal exports by 5 to 15 percent.

And the coal industry and its allies are hard at work on McNamara and his associates on the special committee to get a freeze of residual-oil imports into the Nation at their present levels. Forbes says the coal industry has great hopes that their idea of freezing oil imports will prevail.

Forbes finds other reasons for coal optimism, particularly the tremendous growth in coal-powering of electric generating facilities. Utility coal totaled 403 million tons in 1961; jumped to 422 million in 1962; 452 million last year, and may reach 468 million this year.

And, out in California is a case like the one at Key West. Two big power companies on the west coast dropped consideration of nuclera power for a water-desalting plant and will turn to fossile fuels.

Whatever the outcome of the Presidential board, the coal industry right now is highly pleased at prospects. McNamara is known as a real go-getter and is "a business man."

The day may come when nuclear power will be a real problem for coal, particularly if Federal subsidies to atomic fuel production continue. But the day is not "just around the corner"—as some fear.

Social Security Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the time has come to call a spade a spade. We are winding up this session with some very serious legislation still tied up in committees.

I refer especially at this time of the failure to get an agreement in conference between the House and Senate on the social security amendments.

I for one and I know I speak for many more of my colleagues when I say that the conferees acted in bad faith when they failed to give the Members an opportunity to vote for beneficial legislation in behalf of our elder citizens.

Not many of us have taken the time to really study the plight of our aged and aging citizens. Few of us have really taken the time to analyze the Social Security Act and the reasons for its original passage.

The issue is one of inadequacy, simply because we failed to expand the benefits and to lower the age limit for retirement.

The original purpose of social security was to make retirement possible for the older worker, to give opportunity to the youth of America knocking at the employment agency doors, to make life bearable and to make retirement a self-satisfying achievement in reward for his lifetime of service to this Nation and its institutions.

However, a few willful persons in charge of the responsibility and in authority over the fate of this law have prevented this logic and reasoning and at this writing look at social security as a private insurance fund and demand that it must maintain liquidity in spite of the fact that this type of social legislation was created as a social measure designed to render a service rather than to depend upon its economic stability.

The general funds of our Nation are tapped for every conceivable type of social service and yet the mere suggestion that the social security law is to be honored in its intent rather than in its financial structure draws inimical criticism.

We can make it work but we must face up to the issue. Any suggestion that an act that started out with $85 and 65 years of age as its maximum provisions and 30 years later still maintains a 65-year limit for full benefits of $108 per month.

Compare this to the advances in our own incomes, our wages, our costs of living, and you can see why this Congress has failed in its obligation to these worthy citizens.

My own bill, introduced year after year, has been pigeonholed by the same committee that has killed time after time remedial legislation in the field of health and sickness benefits for this group of citizens.

I assure the House that I shall continue to fight for increased benefits, lowering the age limits and to provide for the care of those unable to finance proper medical care in their time of need.

This shall and must be the first objective of the next Congress.

I assure you it is mine.

Better Days Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. BROMWELL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I offer herewith some interesting views on our currency, prepared by Mr. E. Wendell Schroeder, of Dubuque, Iowa.

Mr. Schroeder is well versed in these matters and speaks with authority.

BETTER DAYS AHEAD

Our sometimes contributor to these columns, E. Wendell Schroeder, of Woodland Park and Florida, pens us a note on the Nation's gold situation.

Mr. Schroeder is a former member of a Federal board in Washington, D.C.

He writes:

Shortly a select group of financial wizards—the International Bankers of the Free World—will meet once again to solve if possible the mounting problems of international exchange.

A desperate search is underway for a means to merge the faltering dollar in a common world currency which would eliminate a final run on the rest of the gold and ruinous collapse of confidence in the United States.

The day of a common currency backed by world reserves of gold is fast dawning. Free convertibility between all of the free nations and perhaps even the Communist bloc is vital and imminent if we are to expand trade, eliminate deficits in balance of payments and raids on "weak" currencies.

Up to now one of the stumblers to this plan has been the reluctance of industrious and provident nations whose currency is soundly based to merge their money with that of lazy or unstable mediums of exchange. But it is painfully evident that we've got to support and encourage all free nations or risk the outbreak of new Communist tyrannies and escalating atomic war.

It is also crystal clear that the United States cannot longer pit its weakening dollar alone against the abject poverty of the have-nots. Internationalization of the dollar is already fact as we quietly buy up with special treasury bonds, etc., marks and francs and pesos and pounds—what have you—with which to stave off the demands on Fort Knox.

When it no longer is necessary to keep up the pretense of a sound buck with gold at $35 per ounce every member nation of the new free world bank will be working the mines like mad to get their gold quotas into the world pool, backing the new money which will have stable exchange value everywhere.

To be sure there are many problems and headaches ahead for the smart minds of money, but spurring them on is the goliath of collapse, communism, and the atom.

Make no mistake, the new money is coming, the new mining will begin at prices and subsidies to make the district leap.

Better days are ahead.

Choir Recognition Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is the first Sunday in October. In the last few Congresses I have introduced resolutions to proclaim the first Sunday in October as Choir Recognition Day.

Almost every church in this country has a choir, and a day should be set aside when our country can pay tribute to those dedicated people who participate. Choir singing is enjoyed by all religions all over the world.

For 6 consecutive years, the mayors in Buffalo, N.Y., have officially proclaimed the first Sunday in October as Choir Recognition Day in our community.

The proclamation follows:

CHOIR RECOGNITION DAY

For the 6th consective year the first Sunday of October has been official proclaimed as "Choir Recognition Day" for the Buffalo community. The official proclamation as issued from the mayor's office is as follows:

"PROCLAMATION

"Whereas thousands of loyal Buffalo citizens of all faiths and all ages have resumed their participation in their church choir programs, and in doing so contribute greatly of their time and talent throughout the year; and

"Whereas the great majority of choir members serve so faithfully and steadfastly, frequently over a span of many years, with no remuneration except the satisfaction received from participating so intimately in their Church worship program; and

"Whereas music has always been so closely integrated with the worship of the Almighty throughout the ages;

"Now, therefore, I, Chester Kowal, mayor of the city of Buffalo, do hereby proclaim Sunday, October 4, 1964, as "Choir Recognition Day".

"_____ _____

"Mayor of Buffalo."

May we ask your encouragement and recognition of this day through publicity on your daily programs the week of September 27.

Representative THADDEUS J. DULSKI, of New York State, has a joint motion before the U.S. Congress proposing that the First Sunday of October be set aside each year as National Choir Recognition Day.

Would it be possible to schedule some religious music throughout this week.

Thank you for whatever assistance you can offer.

Very truly yours,
ROBERT F. SCHULZ,
Organist-Choirmaster,
St. Mary of Sorrows Church,
Founder: Choir Recognition Day.

It is my every hope that in the very near future the Congress will also proclaim a Choir Recognition Day for our Nation.

A Brief Summary of Totals of Appropriation Bills, 88th Congress, Second Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am including for the RECORD a brief summary of the action taken by Congress on appropriation bills during the 88th Congress, 2d session.

This summary shows total appropriations enacted during this session of $94,163 million, a reduction of $4,134 million from the budget estimates, and an increase of $128 million over funds provided for fiscal year 1964.

In the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the President's budget was reduced approximately $6,500 million. This makes a total reduction for the two sessions of the 88th Congress ten billion six hundred million dollars.

I know that the taxpayers of America appreciate the work of the conservative Members of both the Republican and Democratic Parties in making this large reduction which represents a saving of over $200 on an average for each family in America.

I certainly want to express my own appreciation for the fine cooperation I have received from Members of Congress and others in handling the appropriation bills of this session and accomplishing the savings indicated above,

The summary follows:

Summary of totals of the appropriation bills, 88th Cong., 2d Sess.

(NOTE.—Loan authorizations not in this summary. And permanent appropriations not requiring action in the session total $11,800,000,000 in round figures.)

House actions	*Rounded figures*
1. Budget estimates considered (both fiscal 1964 and 1965)	$97,677,000,000
2. Amounts passed by the House (including, to avoid a gross distortion, the $5,200,000,000 reported for NASA but stricken on a point of of order)	93,630,000,000
3. Reduction below budget requests (for the 1964 session)	—4,047,000,000
Consisting of—	
(a) Applicable to fiscal 1964 deficiencies and supplementals	—697,000,000
(b) Applicable to fiscal 1965 requests	—3,200,000,000
(c) Applicable to fiscal 1966 requests	—150,000,000
4. Appropriations for fiscal 1964 (tentative totals, approximately final)	92,242,000,000
5. Appropriations as approved by House for fiscal 1965 (including to remove the distortion, the $5,200,000,000 for NASA)	91,950,000,000
6. Reduction by the House, amounts for fiscal 1965 below appropriations for 1964	—292,000,000
Senate actions:	
1. Budget estimates considered (all bills of session)	98,297,000,000
2. Amounts approved (all bills)	94,702,000,000
3. Comparisons—	
(a) Below budget estimates	—3,595,000,000
(b) Above the House bills (omitting, to avoid gross distortion, $5,200,000,000 for NASA)	+1,072,000,000
(c) 1965 amounts above 1964 amounts	+648,000,000
Final actions:	
1. Amounts enacted (all bills of the 1964 session)	94,163,000,000
2. These amounts are below the fiscal year 1965 budget requests, in round figures	—4,134,000,000
3. The fiscal 1965 new appropriations in these bills ($92,370,000,000) are above the corresponding fiscal 1964 appropriations ($92,242,000,000) by about	+128,000,000

In These Challenging Times Defense Production Facilities of Long Demonstrated Efficiency, Such as the Watertown Arsenal, Should Be Adequately Maintained Beyond Any Reasonable Doubt

SPEECH
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, as we approve large appropriations for multitudinous programs, including the war on poverty and foreign aid projections, a great many Members have expressed to me their very deep concern about proposed eliminations and reductions of certain defense facilities throughout the country. Let me assert, Mr. Speaker, that I completely share that concern.

I may ask, What will it profit us to improve every facet of our society, if we fail to prevent a nuclear holocaust; if we fail in any respect to defend our security?

Obviously the most practical way to avoid the catastrophy of nuclear destruction, while we strive for world peace, is to demonstrate clearly and consistently to every potential enemy that we possess and retain an increasing and overwhelming supply of military instruments for preparedness and retaliation, if it should be forced upon us.

Recent experience proves such supply should include conventional as well as nuclear weapons. As the result of certain programs of armament production elimination and closings of certain defense facilities, many of them in critical pilot line areas, an increasing number of Members of Congress, military authorities, and civilian experts are seriously disturbed about the continuing effectiveness of our planned defense security system.

Because of my personal grave concern over Defense Department announcements of projected restriction and elimination of Navy Yards in my area and the historic Watertown Arsenal in my district, I have joined with all the members of my State and regional area here in questioning the wisdom of such planning in the light of past experience and the dark shadows now obscuring any certain future vision.

The Watertown Arsenal has been a vital pilot line factor in our defense system for 142 years. When Army officials announced, last April, their intention to phase out the activities of the Watertown Arsenal, I immediately solicited the U.S. Senators from our State and the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation to urge the Secretary of Defense to review and promptly rescind this announcement. At my insistence, we all met with the Secretary on May 1, last. We emphasized to him that such proposed action was not in the best national interest and I presented facts and figures in support of our contentions. The Secretary took our urgent request under advisement, but later informed the delegation that he intended to sustain the original decision.

Following that advice our delegation held several conferences with the able, energetic representatives of the arsenal employees and civic and business leaders from the Watertown and Greater Boston area, and representatives of our State government. I then prepared a vigorous appeal to the President in which we outlined the unique defense contributions of the Watertown Arsenal throughout its long existence, the extreme personal hardships that would inevitably be visited upon the families of so many faithful Federal employees, the pronounced adverse effect such action would have upon the area economy and the grave doubt that the military determination in this case was based upon provable grounds.

This appeal to the President was signed by every member of the Massachusetts delegation. The President forthwith asked the Secretary to review and reply to us, which the latter did and in substance reiterated his previous intention to uphold the Army decision.

Following this report from the Secretary, our delegation under my leadership, again met with employee representatives and business and community leaders to formulate additional plans to press further in our objective efforts to keep the arsenal in full operation in the national interest.

It was next decided that another appeal should be presented to the President urging that he grant us an interview so that we might personally present the facts and our views for his personal consideration and action. It was my privilege once again to prepare this documented request to the President in which we reiterated our previous contentions and asked for a meeting with him and urged his personal intercession.

Mr. Speaker, that urgent request was forwarded to the President on August 12, last; we received a timely reply from him and on September 22 we received a further report from Secretary McNamara advising that the President had asked him to contact us, and he, the Secretary, stated that he would be pleased again to meet with the members of Massachusetts delegation at our convenience to review the arsenal decision and extend additional consideration.

We are not satisfied with the Army's unsound decision in this case and propose to continue our work together for still another conference with the President, because we hold very deep convictions that the action of the Army in this, and in other similar instances, is not consistent with the adequate defense of the Nation. In view of recent expanded military activities abroad, in Vietnam and elsewhere, it is impossible, we assert, for the Army to show beyond a reasonable doubt that the closing of this and other defense installations is in the best national interest.

To many Members of Congress and to many recognized military experts, these proposed restrictions and the elimination of vital production facilities appear to be entirely unjustified and are based on dangerous, unwarranted speculations about our clearly demonstrated essential defense and security needs.

For myself and the Massachusetts delegation I reaffirm our resolute intention to persevere in our intercessions with the Secretary of Defense, the Army, the President, and in every other way given to me, to bring about the reversal of the decision to close the Watertown Arsenal.

We appreciate the consideration extended to us by the Department and the President. We are thankful for the efforts to cushion the shock of the closing, as it were, by deferring the final date of closing and assuring every displaced worker a job. These are well-intended concessions to our cause no doubt. But they are palliatives. They do not meet our demands or serve the best interest of either the faithful employees or the defense of the United States. Only an order canceling out the closing order can provide the fair, just, and national interest answer to this crucial problem.

We submit in full respect to all those concerned in this matter that the national defense comes before penny-pinching, ill-advised economy. The continuance of the great Watertown Arsenal with its modern equipment, fine physical plant and its pool of highly skilled specialist workers is of far more importance to the welfare and safety of this country than the relatively meager sums that would be saved by its closing. False economy is no substitute for a powerful, well-rounded national defense.

Mr. Speaker, our command is forward. Let us continue our fight for Watertown until we win it either by administrative action or by statute law. We cannot compromise the rights of our workers; we cannot trifle with the safety and security of the country and the cause of the free world.

Retirement of Hon. Joe Kilgore

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, old friends view the retirement of a beloved colleague with mixed emotions.

JOE KILGORE has made us a real fine hand. He has been a good and faithful representative of his people; and he has made his mark as he has labored among us.

We hate to lose him; and yet, no one can begrudge him a life which will be closer to his family and to his home than the life of a Member of Congress could possibly be.

JOE has not disclosed his plans to me, but I am sure that wherever he goes and whatever he does he will be as successful as he has been here in Washington. Perhaps he will stay at home and prac-

tice law. Perhaps he has other political ideas.

Whatever his choice, he takes with him the best wishes of all of us who have been associated with him.

Equal Rights for Men and Women

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, of which I am chairman, has had before it in the 88th Congress many important proposals relating to proposed changes in the Constitution of the United States.

Among these, Mr. President, is a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would guarantee that persons are not discriminated against solely because of their sex.

It is clear that throughout the history of the United States women have not enjoyed full equality. It was in 1920 that women were first permitted to vote in the United States—and then only after a long struggle for this precious right. And today we often find women unable to gain jobs for which they are qualified when they are employed, or to command salaries commensurate with those of men in the same positions.

Recently the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments and the Committee on the Judiciary approved a proposed amendment to the Constitution to secure these rights. Under unanimous consent I place in the RECORD an excerpt from the report of the Committee on the Judiciary relating to this proposal.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the report (No. 1558) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT

The substantive section of the proposed amendment is quite simple and straightforward. It reads as follows:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Senate Joint Resolution 45 was introduced in the 88th Congress by Senator MCGEE for himself and 35 other Senators as cosponsors. During the past 10 years, the Legislatures of Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland have adopted resolutions memorializing the Congress to submit this amendment to the States for ratification.

This proposal has been before the Congress since the 19th amendment to the Constitution extended voting rights to women. In recent years, resolutions proposing this amendment were reported favorably by the Committee on the Judiciary in the 80th, 81st, 82d, 83d, 84th, 86th, and 87th Congresses. In the 81st and 83d Congresses, the amendment passed the Senate with a floor amendment, but it was never acted upon by the House of Representatives. In the 86th Congress, the same floor amendment was adopted by the Senate and then the resolution was recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary upon motion of its principal sponsors. (The provisions of this floor amendment or "rider" are discussed subsequently in this report.)

Adoption of this amendment will complete women's long movement for legal equality. Like the 14th amendment, the restrictions of this proposed amendment apply only to governmental action. It would not apply to private or to individual action. The 14th amendment provides a body of case law as to what constitutes "State action" and its precedents will be available for judicial determination of the scope of this amendment.

There remain many well-known vestiges of ancient rules of law which treat women as inferiors. In many States, a woman cannot handle or own separate property in the same manner as her husband. In some States, she cannot engage in business or pursue a profession or occupation as freely as can a member of the male sex. Women are classified separately for purposes of jury service in many States. Community-property States do not vest in the wife the same degree of property rights as her husband enjoys. The inheritance rights of widows differ from those of widowers in some States. Restrictive work laws, which purport to protect women by denying them a man's freedom to pursue employment, actually result in discrimination in the employment of women by making it so burdensome upon employers. Such protective restrictions hinder women in their competition with men for supervisory, technical, and professional job opportunities.

Your committee has considered carefully the amendment which was added to this proposal on the floor of the Senate in the 81st, 83d, and 86th Congresses. Its effect was to preserve "rights, benefits, or exemptions" conferred by law upon persons of the female sex. This qualification is not acceptable to women who want equal rights under the law. It is under the guise of so-called "rights" or "benefits" that women have been treated unequally and denied opportunities which are available to men.

Just as equal protection of the law under the 14th amendment is not a mathematical equality, this amendment does not contemplate that women must be treated in all respects the same as men. Nor does it mean that all legal differentiation of the sexes will be abolished. "Equality" does not mean "sameness." "Equal" rights does not necessarily mean "identical" rights. For instance, a law granting maternity benefits to women would not be an unlawful discrimination against men. As a grant to mothers, it would be based on a reasonable classification despite its limitation to members of one sex.

Nor would the amendment mean that criminal laws governing sexual offenses would become unconstitutional. The public has such an interest in relations between the sexes that the conduct of both sexes is subject to regulation under the police power apart from any considerations of unequal treatment or protective status.

In the past, it has been suggested that this amendment would require equal treatment of men and women for purposes of compulsory military service. This is no more true than that all men are treated equally for purposes of military duty. Differences in physical abilities among all persons would continue to be a material factor. It could be expected that women will be equally subject to military conscription and they have demonstrated that they can perform admirably in many capacities in the Armed Forces. But the Government would not require that women serve where they are not fitted just as men with physical defects are utilized in special capacities, if at all.

Your committee wishes to emphasize one additional fact. The proposed amendment would confirm equal rights under law for both men and women. In instances where laws are burdensome to men solely because of their sex, they would benefit from the amendment. For instance, alimony laws probably could not favor women solely because of their sex. However, a divorce decree could award support to a mother if she was granted custody of children. This would be incidental to the children's support. Matters concerning custody and support of children properly should be determined solely with a view to the welfare of the children, without favoritism to either parent solely because of sex.

Both major political parties have repeatedly supported this proposal in their national party platforms. The United States, as a signatory to the United Nations Charter, has confirmed its faith in equal rights of men and women. Nevertheless, we withhold from our women a constitutional guarantee of equal treatment under the law and thus lag behind such countries as Burma, Egypt, Japan, Greece, Pakistan, and West Germany.

An impressive list of women's organizations have recorded their support of this proposal in the past. Among them are the following:

Alpha Iota Sorority.
American Association of Women Ministers.
American Federation of Soroptimist Clubs.
American Medical Women's Association.
American Women's Society of Certified Public Accountants.
American Society of Women Accountants.
Association of American Women Dentists.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
National Association of Colored Women.
National Association of Women Lawyers.
National Council of Women Chiropractors.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Women's Party.
Osteopathic Women's National Association.
Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc.
Women's Auxiliary to American Osteopathic Association.
Women's Auxiliary to the National Chiropractic Association.
Women's Circle, Woodmen of the World.
Women's International Association of Aeronautics.

Tribute to Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JEFFERY COHELAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to express in words the great contributions that CARL VINSON has made to the Congress and to our country. It is equally difficult to express our appreciation, our thanks, and our regret that he is leaving.

It has been a rich personal privilege and honor for me to serve under this great American on the House Committee on Armed Services. We have all learned to appreciate his tremendous energy and enormous abilities, his vast wisdom and knowledge, and his total commitment to the security of our country and the welfare of our people.

Today the United States of America is the strongest nation in the world. Better than ever before we are prepared to deter and to defeat Communist aggression; to defend the liberty of freedom-loving people. Certainly no one man more fully deserves the credit for

this accomplishment and this position than CARL VINSON.

The gentleman from Georgia deserves and requires our unbounded thanks not because he has served longer in this House than any other man. He deserves it because he is a distinguished American and one of the great statesmen of this or any other time.

I join with my colleagues in wishing this remarkable man many, many years of happy retirement. We know they will be active and productive, for that is the nature of CARL VINSON.

Congressman Bob Ellsworth Reports From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent of the House, my final report from Washington to my constituents follows:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BOB ELLSWORTH REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 1964.

SUMMARY

This issue of the Newsletter is a summary of some of the important actions of the 88th Congress, and the effect of those actions on us in the Third District of Kansas, and in the Nation.

NATIONAL SECURITY

The Congress has continued to support a powerful (and expensive) Defense Establishment. While there has been some argument over certain Pentagon policies—whether or not to continue production of manned bombers, whether or not our missiles are reliable enough, whether or not we are investing enough in research to develop advanced military technology—the fact is that the legislation authorizing the Government to carry out its policies has been supported almost unanimously.

Even so, three major policy questions remain unresolved, to confront the American people and the next Congress in 1965:

1. On what basis should major defense contract awards be made? For example, was the award of the TFX contract to a Texas plant in the national interest when another contractor had a better (according to the military) design and a lower bid?

2. Are we going to spend $12 billion or more to build an anti-ballistic-missile system? The Pentagon has been spending some $400 million a year to research such a system, which would theoretically knock out incoming ballistic missiles before they hit us. However, some Defense Department officials admit it is easier and cheaper to develop penetration systems that will knock out any known anti-ballistic-missile system, than it is to build such an ABM system.

3. What role should the Defense Department play in the conduct of our international affairs? Defense Secretary McNamara played a leading role in setting up the so-called Khanh regime in South Vietnam; a former Assistant Secretary of Defense has been moved over to take charge of our State Department's Far Eastern affairs; and General Taylor, until recently Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is now our Ambassador to South Vietnam. It is evident that our southeast Asia-South Vietnam policies are not working, and the question of the wisdom of our military-oriented approach naturally presents itself.

TAX POLICY

The 88th Congress enacted one tax cut (in income tax rates) and postponed another (a cut in excise tax rates) to next year.

The theory of tax reduction at this time is that such cuts "unleash" the free enterprise economy, stimulating economic growth, returning spending decisions to the people, and generating greater dollar revenues on the rates that remain, due to increased plant investment and consumer spending. This theory, in general, is subscribed to by advisers of both President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER.

The income tax cut of 1964 was particularly helpful to us in Kansas, because the emphasis was on cuts in the tax on the first $25,000 of corporation profits. This is the tax cut that helps small businessmen, and since Kansas is a State of many small businesses, Kansas will be one of the States that benefits most from the cut.

Next year Congress will probably cut the excise taxes, too. Many of us have been working and voting to cut these "nuisance" taxes for several months, and we are confident the job can be done in 1965. Included would be cuts in taxes on automobile parts and tires, luggage, cosmetics, telephone bills, and the like.

CIVIL RIGHTS

For 30 years Congress and our national leadership have been buying time—and wasting it—on the question of civil rights. Because of the political danger of any kind of meaningful action in this controversial and sensitive area, many politicians have avoided engagement in civil rights legislation. Finally, in 1964, the 88th Congress enacted an important Civil Rights Act—because most Members of the Congress believe in equality under the law as it is guaranteed by the Constitution, and because they had the courage and integrity to support those beliefs.

EDUCATION

The 88th Congress has become known as "The Education Congress." Probably no Congress in history has done as much to strengthen education in America as this one.

The Higher Education Facilities Act, for example, will make some $3 million available to colleges and universities in Kansas on a matching fund basis, for construction of much needed academic facilities. Baker University, Ottawa University, and the University of Kansas will be able to participate in the program.

The Health Professions Education Assistance Act provides construction grants to help build teaching facilities for medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and nursing students. The University of Kansas medical school has shown its interest and will undoubtedly participate in this act.

The Vocational Education Act authorizes Federal grants to States to assist them in maintaining and improving their existing programs and in developing new programs in vocational education. Kansas has an outstanding vocational education program. In this period of fast technological changes, and automation, good vocational education programs are essential to help keep workers' skills up to date.

And of course this Congress continued the important legislation which provides Federal assistance to schools in federally impacted areas. In our district, this includes schools in Baldwin, Bethel, DeSoto, Easton, Edgerton, Eudora, Kansas City, Lawrence, Lenexa, Louisburg, Mission, Olathe, Overland Park, Prairie Village, Shawnee, Spring Hill, Turner, Wellsville, and Winchester.

FLOOD CONTROL AND WATER CONSERVATION

Flood control is important all over the United States, and especially in eastern Kansas. Our farms, our factory jobs, and our homes all depend on controlling the Kaw and the Marais des Cygnes Rivers and their tributaries. Federal money invested in eastern Kansas flood control and water conservation saves double and triple the amount of the investment, in preventing loss of human and property values through devastating floods.

Beyond that, the value of large lakes and reservoirs for outdoor recreation and sports is obvious.

The 88th Congress has appropriated over $9 million this year for projects located in or directly affecting our district:

[In thousands]

Clinton Reservoir	$240
Kansas City local protection works	100
Lawrence local protection works	300
Melvern Reservoir	230
Merriam local protection works	40
Perry Reservoir	8,500

Perry Reservoir will provide major flood protection for downstream farms, homes, and factories; through State of Kansas participation in construction costs it will help provide water supply for local communities; and of course it will afford outstanding sport fishing and water recreation facilities for all of eastern Kansas. (We will be delighted to have Missourians come over, too.)

FARM PROBLEMS

An unfortunate mistake of the 88th Congress was enactment of the so-called wheat and cotton bill. The bill reduces Kansas wheat acreage, continues to subsidize surplus production in the South and East, and further cuts down on farmers' freedom to manage their farms as they see fit. But beyond all that, the new law has had the shocking effect of sharply reducing commercial sales of American wheat on world markets.

After a record year of Kansas wheat export sales for dollars, July of this year saw a sharp drop in such sales. Of course commercial dollar sales of Kansas wheat have in past years been a big help in our Nation's balance of payments. Now, with dollar sales of wheat down by 60 to 70 percent, our balance-of-payments position suffers. At the same time, we are losing commercial markets to Canada and other wheat-producing nations. While Kansas farmers are cutting their acreage, and the Metropolitan Kansas City area is losing wheat traffic, the whole wheat economy of other lands is booming.

The administration and the next Congress will have to work fast to correct this situation by the next crop year.

SPECIAL

Of special interest to all of us in eastern Kansas are individual projects that affect us directly, and for which your Congressman is responsible. Kaw River navigation study: With the Missouri River receiving authority for a 9-foot deep navigation channel, and with serious attention being given to making the Arkansas River navigible from Wichita, both the Kansas legislature and the Congress felt it was time to take another look at the feasibility of making the Kaw River navigible from Lawrence to the mouth, at Kansas City. Industrial flood insurance: Congress is being asked to give mutual flood insurance companies fair and equitable tax treatment, on a par with stock insurance companies. This would be of prime importance to factories and other industries in our area, since we have at least one major mutual flood insurance company located here—and enactment of this requested law would encourage further industrial growth in our part of Kansas. Unfair tax withholding: Airline pilots, railroad workers, and truck drivers, who travel constantly across State lines, are con-

stantly harrassed by cities and States withholding taxes on the income attributed to that part of their travel which brings them through or across the city or State concerned. It is difficult if not impossible, in many cases, to get proper refunds at the end of the year. Therefore, I have asked Congress to enact legislation that would prohibit this unfair tax gathering technique. Passage of the bill would be a step toward fairness and equity.

SCHOOL TIME

Fall 1964 classes are in progress now. Mrs. Ellsworth joins me in expressing the hope that by study, hard work, and attention to the opportunities that surround us for helping our fellow man, this world can be made a better place for all.

Sincerely,

BOB ELLSWORTH,
Your Congressman.

Our Nation's Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. BROMWELL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, the filing of the Warren Commission report has refreshed the sad recollections of the events of last November the 22d and in commenting upon the report the Nation's press has commented upon this fact.

In the city of Dubuque, Iowa, lives a lady by the name of Helen S. Dougherty who was moved by the Nation's sorrow to write a verse which by its terms sprang from the heart. As the months have passed, the verse in all its simplicity has been circulated in ever wider periodicals and during the summer reached the hands of many persons directly from the hand of the author herself. In my opinion, circulated in the manner and by the people it has been, it is the kind of heartfelt tribute which distinguishes the literature and folklore of America from that of any other nation, and I herewith submit it, under leave granted, for inclusion in the RECORD:

OUR NATION'S TRAGEDY

(By Helen S. Dougherty (Mrs. Paul), Dubuque, Iowa)

The sun was brightly shining
As they left the plane that day.
In Dallas a banquet had been planned
To honor J.F.K.

The President was smiling.
Their welcome was so warm.
How could anyone suspect
That he would come to harm?

He stepped into the limousine
To start that fateful ride
With Governor Connally and his wife
And Jackie by his side.

That famous bubble made for his car
To be used in each motorcade
Was left behind that shining day
Why should he be afraid?

The motorcade moved slowly.
His fate had now been planned.
For soon they'd be approaching
The man with gun in hand.

Suddenly three shots rang out.
The President jerked in his seat.
He started falling slowly.
Then Jackie jumped to her feet.

"Oh, my God, they've killed him."
She cried in great despair.
Over the trunk of the car she crawled
To find some help somewhere.

The car sped through the city streets.
She held him tenderly.
The tears were running down her cheeks
For everyone to see.

It happened on that fateful day
For swiftly the news did spread
Of the tragedy in Dallas.
The President was dead.

After he had passed away.
She bade him a last goodbye.
And slipped her ring upon his hand.
How could we help but cry?

The shock must have been unbearable
But through it all she stood
Tall, erect and dignified.
Just as we knew she would.

At the graveside she lit the Eternal Flame.
It burns through wind and rain.
It seems to be her plea to God
That death be not in vain.

Rich or Poor Politicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, during these days of misunderstanding and sometimes an abnormal stretching of political tenure it is refreshing to read an editorial written with courage and courage in the face of a political campaign that seems to be reaching new depths in bad taste and bad judgment.

The following editorial appeared in the Greensburg Tribune-Review of Greensburg, Pa.

I congratulate the editor and publisher for this fine contribution to a better understanding of responsibility for candidates and political parties.

The editorial follows:

RICH OR POOR POLITICIANS

The Republican candidate for Congress from Westmoreland County has challenged his opponent to make public his financial holdings.

This is apparently the result of similar disclosures by the presidential and vice presidential candidates of both parties.

The whole business sounds like so much nonsense. It sounds like an attempt to make political hay on the basis of unsubstantiated rumors of the incumbent's financial holdings.

This is not a legitimate campaign issue unless those who pose the challenge are questioning the honesty of the incumbent. And if that is the case, why not pose the question directly?

A challenge of this nature is in the best tradition of "when did you stop beating your wife?"

It also raises the question of how poor or how rich should a public official be to be acceptable to his opponents and the public.

Were the challenge accepted and the incumbent found to be worth, say, $200,000 would this be good or bad?

In other words, would the public be expected to vote for the richest or poorest candidate? Does wealth in itself qualify or disqualify a man for public office?

It is a false issue and should be dropped.

So long as there is no evidence a man's wealth has been acquired illegally, it is not a proper subject for political debate.

There is nothing morally wrong with being rich. Nor is there any particular virtue in being poor.

Mr. Miller's Relationship With the Lockport Felt Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, today I wish to go into the question of Mr. MILLER'S relationship with the Lockport Felt Co. and related companies. This matter deserves more public scrutiny and more public information than has yet been given it.

From the days of Thomas Jefferson the House of Representatives has proceeded upon certain assumptions, assumptions that have perhaps not always been justified, but nevertheless are necessary if the people of the United States are to have any trust in their elected Representatives. In "Jefferson's Manual and Rules of the House of Representatives," the following is stated:

Where the private interests of a Member are concerned in a bill or question he is to withdraw. And where such an interest has appeared, his voice has been disallowed, even after a division. In a case so contrary, not only to the laws of decency, but to the fundamental principle of the social compact, which denies to any man to be a judge in his own cause, it is for the honor of the House that this rule of immemorial observance should be strictly adhered to.

This has been followed in the rules of the House of Representatives, rule VIII, with the right of a Member to vote, limited by the following restriction:

Every Member shall vote on each question put, unless he has a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the event of such question.

The record of this Congress indisputably shows that on July 23, 1956, and on February 4, 1958, Congressman WILLIAM E. MILLER took the floor of the House of Representatives to voice objection to certain proposed legislation which was opposed by the Lockport Felt Co. Mr. MILLER has explained this as merely an act that he would do for any constituent and has stated that he does not own any stock in the Lockport Felt Co.

Last night Mr. MILLER stated he had been a director and an officer of the Lockport Felt Co. since 1947 and has received a salary of $7,500 a year from that company ever since that time. He denied ever having owned any shares of stock in that company. When, in connection with a recent Federal Trade Commission price-fixing proceeding against the Lockport Felt Co., Mr. MILLER was asked about that matter, he was quoted as saying that he was not in management and not familiar with the matter.

Now, I do not know what management is if it does not include a director and officer of a company. I do not know

what Mr. MILLER would do to earn his $7,500 a year, the public does not know what Mr. MILLER did to earn his $7,500 a year, but we do know that Mr. MILLER did not disclose to the House of Representatives on July 23, 1956 or on February 4, 1958 that he was an officer or director of Lockport Felt Co. I think that the House of Representatives and the American public are entitled to know what he did to earn this amount of money.

In this connection, Mr. MILLER has admitted owning stock in Lockport Holdings, Ltd., which he valued at $27,500. I find it significant that he did not disclose certain information which was reported in the Canadian press this summer in connection with the opening of a million-dollar plant in Vancouver, British Columbia. According to the report, Mr. MILLER's stock in Lockport Holdings, Ltd., constitutes 25 percent of the stock in that company. According to that report, Mr. Lee, the president of Lockport Felt Co., owns another 25 percent, thereby giving Mr. Lee and Mr. MILLER together a half interest in the company. According to that same report, Lockport Holdings, Ltd., owns the land and the buildings involved in this million-dollar plant. And what is the company putting up that million-dollar plant, but Lockport Pacific, Ltd. And who does that same story report as a director of Lockport Pacific, Ltd., but the same Mr. MILLER.

This is a pretty deep involvement for a man who says he is not in management, for a man who says he had no financial interest in the well-being of the Lockport Felt Co. Perhaps the press story is wrong. Perhaps there is an innocent explanation. I say it would be an irresponsible Democrat and an irresponsible Republican and an irresponsible American citizen who did not demand that explanation.

In order to be very specific, I have set forth a series of questions which, if fully and candidly answered, may cast some light on this matter. This cannot be swept under the rug by some campaign cry of smear, for the facts and reported facts are there, and it is up to Congressman MILLER, to the House of Representatives, and to the American people to see that the questions are answered. The questions are as follows:

First. State the services you performed for the Lockport Felt Co. in return for the payment of $7,500 a year for each year while you were a Member of the Congress of the United States.

Second. Explain what you meant by stating you were not in management when you are an officer and director of the Lockport Felt Co., and a director and significant stockholder of one or more related companies.

Third. Set forth the exact interest you have and the exact positions you hold in any of the Lockport related companies including, but not limited to, Lockport Felt Co., Lockport Holdings, Ltd., and Lockport Pacific, Ltd.

Fourth. State when you acquired those holdings, the amount you paid for such holdings, and their current market value today.

Fifth. State what other action, if any, you have taken since becoming a Member of the Congress on behalf of the Lockport Felt Co., with respect to legislation or matters before any agency of the U.S. Government, including correspondence with the various agencies of the executive branch of the Government. Explain why you did not disclose to the House of Representatives in 1956 and 1958 your relationship to the Lockport Felt Co., when you spoke and voted on its behalf.

Tomorrow I will have a statement concerning Mr. MILLER's law firm in Buffalo, N.Y., and a list of questions concerning it.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I personally delivered a copy of my statement to Congressman MILLER's office with a request that it be sent to him. I will do the same with today's statement.

The ethical requirements of the legal profession, as set forth in numerous opinions of the Committee on Professional Ethics and Grievances of the American Bar Association, make two rules very clear.

First, where a person is not a partner in a law firm, it is highly improper for him to permit the firm to hold him out to the public as a partner. This is set forth, for example, in Opinions 97, 106, 115, and 126 of the committee.

Second, the relations of partners in a law firm are such that neither the firm, nor any member or associate thereof, may accept any professional employment which any member of the firm cannot properly accept. Opinions of the committee, numbers 72, 33, 49, 50, 185, and 220.

The standard directory for the legal profession is the "Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory." In its 1964 edition, at pages 4250–4251 of volume II, in setting forth the background of the various members of the law firm of Miller, Farmelo, Adams & Stenger of Buffalo, N.Y., Mr. MILLER's name is listed first. Included in that background is the fact that he has been a Member of the House of Representatives since 1951, a member of the Committee on the Judiciary since 1953, and chairman of the Republican National Committee since 1961. Nowhere in the directory is there any indication that Mr. MILLER is less than an active partner.

Immediately after the recent Federal Trade Commission proceedings against the Lockport Felt Co., where that company signed a consent order to prohibit price fixing, it was learned that Mr. MILLER's law firm in Buffalo had represented the Lockport Felt Co. in those proceedings. Mr. MILLER's partners stated that Mr. MILLER was inactive and did not participate in the affairs or the revenues of the firm. I do not believe Mr. MILLER has spoken on this subject. But the simple question is raised, Is Mr. MILLER a partner as shown in the law directory, where he is held out as the senior partner, with a full biography given, or is he not a partner and not responsible for his law firm's actions? He must be one or the other.

Now this law firm, according to the records, was not established until 1961 or 1962. It was in 1961 that two of his apparent partners left the U.S. Attorney's office and the firm was established. Prior to that time no listing for this firm was contained in the "Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory," but on the contrary Mr. MILLER was listed as a sole practitioner in Lockport, N.Y., as distinguished from being the senior partner of a law firm in Buffalo. Since Mr. MILLER was a Congressman at that time and also chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1961, it is a little hard to understand the purpose of the law firm, or the purpose of his being the first name and his being the first biography, if he was not going to be active in the firm or participate in its profits. Perhaps he was just taking out insurance for the day when he was defeated when he ran for public office. If that is the case, he ought to say so frankly, and he ought to fully disclose all income, if any, he received from the firm and what business, if any, he channeled to the firm.

What really makes this a more serious problem is the fact that Mr. MILLER has stated that he was receiving a fee of $7,500 a year from the Lockport Felt Co. He has said that he was not in management when a question came up about a recent Federal Trade Commission price-fixing charge against the Lockport Felt Co., and that therefore he really did not know anything about it. Nevertheless, on January 31, 1964, a notice of appearance on behalf of the Lockport Felt Co., was filed with the Federal Trade Commission, and that notice of appearance is on the letterhead of Miller, Farmelo, Adams & Stenger, and in the listing of partners on the letterhead the first name listed is WILLIAM E. MILLER. In addition to the notice of appearance, the consent order of April 30, 1964, was signed on behalf of the entire law firm, being signed "Miller, Farmelo, Adams & Stenger. By: Neil R. Farmelo."

Does Mr. MILLER really contend that the same Mr. Miller who is a director of the Lockport Felt Co. and who is the first listed partner in the law firm representing the Lockport Felt Co. had no idea of what was going on? Would he not know that his name was being utilized in appearances before the Federal Trade Commission, an agency of the U.S. Government?

Again I ask what was he doing for the $7,500 a year which the Lockport Felt Co. was paying him? As I noted above, Mr. MILLER is quoted as saying he is not in management. When asked about his speeches on the floor of the House of Representatives on behalf of the Lockport Felt Co., he disclaimed being paid to make those speeches. Was his fee for legal services, and would it include the services of his firm before the Federal Trade Commission? Did his firm receive any fee from the Lockport Felt Co., and does Mr. MILLER share in the firm's profits?

The "Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory" provides in a number of instances an approximate estimate of net worth, and the directory specifically states that it is often difficult to obtain reliable estimates and, therefore, the ratings it gives are approximations only. Until the for-

mation of this law firm in 1961 or 1962, Mr. MILLER showed a rating indicating his net worth was about $5,000 or $10,000. I assume that rating was low. On the other hand, Mr. MILLER's current net worth, at the values he gives, is well in excess of $200,000. Allowing a margin of error on both sides, there is still a very great gap. Disclosure of Mr. MILLER's income, and the sources thereof, in the last 4 years, therefore would certainly seem in order.

I do not raise these questions lightly.

Senator CLIFFORD CASE pointed out in a recent article on congressional conflicts of interest, contained in volume 24, No. 3, of the Federal Bar Journal, as follows:

When conflicts-of-interest legislation was first passed by the Congress in the 19th century, the Congress was a part-time legislative body, meeting 6 or less months a year. However, the office of the 20th century Congressman is a year-round responsibility, and little time is left for conscientious members to dabble in business or professional activities.

In that same article Senator CASE cited certain canons of professional ethics of the American Bar Association and stated:

On the basis of canons 26 and 32, the committee on professional ethics of the ABA has rules that: "a law firm could not accept employment to appear before a legislative committee while a member of the firm is serving in the legislature * * * (and that) a full disclosure before the committee would not alter this ruling nor would it be changed by that fact that the member of the legislature would not share in the fee received thereby." Opinion 296, August 1, 1959, 45 ABAJ 1272 (1959).

It seems to me that the same standards must follow in connection with the Congressman representing a client before the House of Representatives and with regard to the Congressman's participating as a member of the law firm appearing before a Federal agency. Again I wish to make clear that we do not know what the facts are here, but the issues are too important and the Congressman is seeking too high an office for there to be any doubt left on this score.

Mr. MILLER's statements have not provided the full facts. I think it is important to the integrity of the Congress, and to the integrity of the office that Mr. MILLER seeks, that he promptly disclose those facts. To make it easier for him, I have against listed some questions which I think should be answered fully and completely:

First. Are you a partner in the law firm of Miller, Farmelo, Adams & Stenger, and if so, to what extent did you participate in this law firm, either in fees or in work, and to what extent have you participated from 1961 on, including your anticipated participation in 1964 fees? In this regard you should reveal the partnership agreement beginning with the original agreement, and any changes made subsequent thereto.

Second. If you have not received any fees from your law firm, and will not for 1964, what was the purpose in setting up the firm and in allowing your name to be listed first on the firm letterhead and as the first biography in the directory?

Third. Why did you not prevent your law firm from utilizing your name in an appearance before the Federal Trade Commission?

Fourth. In how many other cases has your name been utilized before Federal agencies by your law firm?

Fifth. What services have you rendered in each year to the Lockport Felt Co. to receive an annual retainer of $7,500 a year?

Sixth. Is your law firm of Miller, Farmelo, Adams, & Stenger receiving a fee for its services in the Federal Trade Commission proceedings?

Seventh. Did you receive payments for any services rendered by your or others in connection with the Federal Trade Commission proceedings or proceedings before any other Federal agency?

Eighth. What was your income for each year beginning with 1961, and what were the sources thereof?

I hope Mr. MILLER will promptly take the opportunity to give us his version of the facts so that the House, before it adjourns, may make a judgment on how to proceed.

Hon. Carl Elliott

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute and saying goodbye to CARL ELLIOTT, a respected Member of this body since 1949.

CARL has been a leader ever since the days of college when he was elected as president of the student body at the University of Alabama. In the ensuing years he was a practicing attorney in his home town of Russellville and served with distinction in the Army during World War II. He also served for a period of 8 years as a member of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee prior to his election to the Congress.

I had the pleasure of serving with CARL on the Veterans' Affairs Committee during the 81st and 82d Congresses and regretted to see him leave this committee. He nevertheless served with distinction on the Education and Labor Committee, the House Administration Committee, the Rules Committee, and also chairmaned the Select Committee To Investigate Government Research Activities. He authored the National Defense Education Act of 1958, assisted in framing legislation granting aid to federally impacted school areas; authored the Rural Library Services Act and generally demonstrated in numerous ways his great concern for the welfare, not only of the people he represented in Alabama, but for the whole country.

His presence will be greatly missed in this body as well as his leadership in the many fields in which he excelled. I wish to take this opportunity to join with his many friends in wishing him Godspeed.

An Ingenious Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the Texarkana Gazette, Monday, September 28, points up one of several factors that have made this Nation the No. 1 power on earth. That factor is American ingenuity.

In an age of mergers, and the creation of giant corporations, we are still actively engaged in attempting at least to nurture small business. We are trying against great odds to create new small business. I do know something about the small business problem since, for so many years, I was the chairman of the Select Small Business Committee of the House of Representatives.

The editorial, "Calling Retired Talent," tells about a new Small Business Administration "army" to be known as "SCORE," to be composed of 1,100 senior citizens, retired executives, who volunteer their services, without pay, to help small business enterprises in their own communities.

The idea is ingenious and I heartily subscribe to it and I commend the Gazette for its editorial which I offer for the RECORD:

[From the Texarkana Gazette, Sept. 28, 1964]

CALLING RETIRED TALENT

Every year hundreds of thousands of Americans enter into retirement, never again to take up the work they spent a lifetime learning. With retirement ages heading lower—well into the productive life of homo sapiens—a great amount of diverse talent disappears into disuse each year.

Not all of this ability is lost at age 65. Some retirees busy themselves with hobbies and community interests employing both organizational abilities and technical skills. Others would like to do something constructive with their time, but have been unable to overcome prejudices against retired persons trying to reenter productive circles.

There is one area in which they not only can serve, but are eagerly being sought by both private and government groups. That is in the role of adviser. Since each person accumulates a distinctive assortment of skills in a lifetime, each has something a little bit different to offer in knowledge or experience.

Almost all large corporations, and many small businesses, employ advisers to help with specific problems. Sometimes the employment is indefinite, sometimes it is for the duration of a specific project. Mutual satisfaction almost always is a byproduct.

A new army of advisers has just been organized by the Small Business Administration, with the purpose of aiding businessmen who have received loans from the Government prosper and avoid some of the pitfalls almost any business finds in its path from time to time.

Composed of retired executives of national stature, the SBA army of 1,100 advisers goes by the name of SCORE (Service Corps of Retired Executives). All volunteers will serve without pay, and most will be assigned cases in their hometowns. Although the Government is not deliberately limiting the activities of SCORE to SBA—helped businessmen, the demands for executive talent and the limited number of volunteers will probably limit this group's activities to firms with Government financing.

The greatest service SCORE can perform is to alert other retired persons with scarce skills to ways of contributing to the economy after retirement. With or without pay, the satisfaction of accomplishment is one of the basic needs of the retired.

U.S. Coffee Experts Justify U.S. House of Representatives' Defeat of H.R. 8864, To Implement the International Coffee Agreement of 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I wish to especially congratulate this House of Representatives for its vote on August 18, 1964, in which the conference report on H.R. 8864 was rejected by a vote of 183 to 194.

This bill, H.R. 8864, was proposed ancillary legislation to the International Coffee Agreement of 1962. The original agreement established a quota system for the coffee-exporting nations, which had for its purpose the reduction of the coffee supply to coffee-importing nations, such as the United States. This program is now in effect, and is a principal cause for the increase in the retail price of popular-brand coffee from 69 cents in 1962, to 91 cents in August 1964.

H.R. 8864 had for its purpose the exclusion of coffee from nonquota countries into the United States and other coffee-importing nations.

Since the defeat of H.R. 8864, the same popular brand of coffee that sold for 91 cents per pound during August 1964 in the Washington area, is, today, selling for 87 cents per pound. The defeat of this bill, H.R. 8864, is the major reason for this reduction of 4 cents per pound in the retail price of coffee.

The American housewives and the consumer public is indebted to this House of Representatives for its defeat of this legislation that would have further perfected the international coffee cartel.

The Los Angeles Times recently published an article by Mr. Samuel E. Stavisky, in which he criticized the defeat of the conference report on H.R. 8864 by the House of Representatives.

Mr. John T. Daly, chief consultant of the Consultants on Latin American Trade, of 132 Front Street, New York, N.Y., recently wrote to the editor of the Los Angeles Times, in which he points out that Mr. Stavisky is "nothing but a public relations man of the Pan American Coffee Bureau and/or of some coffee-producing countries."

Mr. Daly's letter, in effect confirms my statements on this subject.

If H.R. 8864 had not been defeated by the House of Representatives, the perfection on the international coffee cartel scheme would have been accomplished. The coffee supply available to the United States would have been sharply reduced in relation to the demand, and coffee prices, instead of having been reduced would have been pushed up to a retail price per pound of between $1 and $1.25.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD, the text of a letter from Mr. John T. Daly, chief consultant of the Consultants on Latin American Trade, and an accompanying explanatory letter of September 30, 1964, from Mr. John T. Daly to Mr. Turner Catledge, executive editor of the New York Times.

Mr. Daly's letters follow:

CONSULTANTS ON
LATIN AMERICAN TRADE,
New York, N.Y., September 30, 1964.

THE EDITOR,
Los Angeles Times,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SIR: On August 24, 1964, and under the title "How Not To Make Friends in Latin America," you published an article or letter signed or sponsored by a Mr. Samuel E. Stavisky.

Among other things, he says that the United States initiated the International Coffee Agreement in 1962 in Geneva, Switzerland. He is totally wrong, intentionally or unintentionally. The agreement was the creation of 12 countries and the obligations of the United States do not prevent our country from acting freely to ratify or reject the agreement or its ancillary legislation (H.R. 8864).

Furthermore, the agreement was discussed and preliminarily approved in New York, not in Geneva. In the United Nations, here.

The enclosed copy of our letter of today to the New York Times tells the truth. Mr. Stavisky is nothing but a public relations man of the Pan American Coffee Bureau and/or of some coffee-producing countries.

Any additional information from us is yours for the asking. We have no ax to grind and we are not paid nor supported by anybody who may profit from exploiting the United States or our consuming public.

Sincerely yours,
CONSULTANTS ON LATIN AMERICAN TRADE,
JOHN T. DALY, *Chief Consultant.*

CONSULTANTS ON
LATIN AMERICAN TRADE,
New York, N.Y., September 30, 1964.

TURNER CATLEDGE, ESQ.,
Executive Editor, the New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. CATLEDGE: The illustration on page 63, financial page, of your issue of yesterday, does not mean anything to a sophisticated reader. After all, very little coffee is actually loaded at the port of Rio de Janeiro. It is only another sample or proof of intellectual newspapermen trying to enhance or strengthen the impression they want to create on their readers about a subject they, the editors or reporters, do not know anything about. Pardon our frankness.

In all sincerity and good faith, we have been trying to warn you about the loopholes, the dangers of blindly pushing the whole package of the International Coffee Agreement. We respect and admire you people, but we do not think you are infallible, and we do not want to be impressed or awed by the importance, respectability or latent power of your organization. That inferiority feeling is for the birds.

You have undoubtedly been greatly influenced by the public relations men or activities of the Pan American Coffee Bureau, New York City, formed and supported by about 15 Latin America coffee-producing countries. That organization succeeded in obtaining complete tax exemption, as a nonprofit entity, for all of their staff, composed of resident Latin Americans but including also American citizens.

It is our considered opinion that the Pan American Coffee Bureau, which has been leading the campaign "for the coffee agreement," has been and is violating our laws, because it has been directly influencing our legislators in Washington. They, the Pan American Bureau men, have no right to propagandize anything which has to do with our laws being discussed in the Senate or House of Representatives. That Pan American group of foreigners has been and is behind unlawful activities as regards the approval of the price-raising coffee agreement (H.R. 8864). We hereby denounce them before you.

You apparently are being used as innocent instruments for a blackmailing campaign against the U.S. Government, Congress, and people. You underestimate the ability and astuteness of the Brazilian and other Latin American diplomats.

It is innocent to publish Brazilian statements to the effect that Brazil lost $20 million last month and the other coffee-producing countries lost $50 million, because of delays by the U.S. Congress to approve legislation obligating the United States to police coffee import restrictions. The Brazilian assertion or charge is preposterous, farfetched—it is undiluted blackmail.

In this regard, the undersigned wrote on June 29, 1962, personally to Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, to his home in Quebec Street, Washington, warning him against the United States assuming a blank guarantee as to coffee prices. Mr. Rusk instructed Mr. William V. Turnage, Director, Inter-American Regional Economic Affairs, State Department, to answer the above letter, and Mr. Turnage said, in his reply to us on July 9, 1962:

"* * * I should perhaps point out that the Chairman of the Coffee Study Group (which prepared the coffee quota agreement) is the Brazilian representative, Mr. Frazao, and that the United States was only 1 of the 12 countries which served on the Coordinating Committee for the Conference."

This simply means that the United States is not the one country responsible for the agreement and that, therefore, contrary to your statement in your editorial, "Twilight on Capitol Hill," September 27, 1964, we, the United States, do not "have a moral commitment to Latin America—authorization for U.S. participation in the experimental system of world coffee quotas." This last was printed on your editorial page.

This happened to you because you do not have the time nor the experience to study complex commodity problems as that of coffee. If and when the U.S. Congress approves the pending supplementary legislation (H.R. 8864), our country will be unconditionally committed to a straitjacket type of organization which can (and will) fix any prices on coffee it sees fit.

We again, for the nth time, submit that a ceiling on prices should be made a part of the ancillary legislation, along the basic lines provided by the International Coffee Agreement itself, viz.: That the coffee prices should be stabilized at the September 1962 levels. Perhaps a margin of fluctuation

should be allowed, let us say, of 10 percent over the 1962 prices aforesaid.

The way the pending legislation is written, and the way the International Coffee Council in London has been acting, it will inexorably bring excessively high prices, and will constantly be the source of complaints and charges against the United States. Your adjective "experimental," when qualifying the Agreement is quite ingenious, but let's not "experiment" too much with the position and prestige of the United States. Let's not follow blindly the propaganda lines of the Latin American countries, represented in New York and Washington.

Most sincerely,

CONSULTANTS ON LATIN AMERICAN TRADE,
JOHN T. DALY,
Chief Consultant.

Who's Pulling the Colors Down?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Mr. Morrie Ryskind of the Los Angeles, Calif., Times, entitled "Who's Pulling the Colors Down?":

WHO'S PULLING THE COLORS DOWN?
(By Morrie Ryskind)

My good—and wise—friend, Ray Moley, notes sadly that fear and near-panic dominate this campaign. And I would add, from my own observation, that no matter who wins this election, the real loser may be the country we love.

It was a stout flag the deft fingers of Betsy Ross stitched for us—as stout as the men of Lexington and Concord. The Star-Spangled Banner still waved after that dread night when Francis Scott Key watched the shelling of Fort McHenry and poured forth his thanks in what was to become our national anthem; and in a bloody civil war and two ghastly world wars, those colors have never been lowered in defeat.

But Old Glory is more—far more—than a battle flag. It has been a beacon of light, representing freedom from the monolithic state. Especially religious freedom. The Pilgrims who braved the Atlantic to seek it were followed by thousands of immigrants, equally harassed by state religions, who found here the right to worship God as they chose and learned to dwell amicably together—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—in the process.

There have been, from time to time, abortive attempts by bigoted fanatics to divide us on the grounds of our religious beliefs, but, praise the Lord, these have been rejected. Whatever our background, some of our ancestors knew religious persecution; and one reason we call this beloved land God's country is that we realize freedom of worship is one of the "certain unalienable rights" the Creator endowed us with. So we have clung wholeheartedly to the precepts of the Founding Fathers and kept undefiled the line of demarcation between state and church.

Betsy Ross' flag has withstood the hatemongers who would tear it asunder: those gentlemen who peddle the "Protocols of Zion," that forged document exposed innumerable times, which alleges a fantastic Jewish plot to take over the world; and the professional anti-Catholics who devoutly believe that every Catholic legislator has a hot line to the Pope.

But it would be the grimmest of Greek tragedies if the current attempt to divide us were to succeed, for this one, I regret to say, is led by churchmen who, under the cloak of respectability denied the professional hatemongers, desecrate both their national and spiritual heritage by seeking to merge church and state in an unholy political alliance.

The wire services gave Reinhold Niebuhr national publicity when his publication, "Christianity and Crisis"—I erroneously referred to it as "The Protestant" recently—broke tradition and called for the defeat of BARRY GOLDWATER, urging his Protestant readers to work toward that end.

That was followed almost immediately by a similar appeal by the United Church of Christ to its 2 million members. And Bill Buckley notes that a Yale divine, on a tour sponsored by the State Department, has been urging India's university students to pray that GOLDWATER will not be elected.

The conclusion is obvious: these men of the cloth have had a revelation: the Lord had definitely chosen sides in this campaign, registered as a Democrat, and ordered his flock to take to the hustings against BARRY.

I have plenty of angry letters from church members who refuse to accept this revelation as authentic and who are bitter that their contributions should be used for such partisan politics. I could quote them by the bushel, but what is needed is a Zola to come thundering and cry, "J'accuse." Is there no large group of Christian ministers who will stand up and denounce this irresponsible talk conducted in the name of the church? If not, we have fallen low indeed.

And, over the weekend, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, celebrated the Sabbath by telling his congregation that "A Jewish vote for GOLDWATER is a vote for Jewish suicide." He concedes BARRY is "decent, honest, articulate, and religious," but fears "the men around him" and calls for that most un-American of all doctrines, "a solid Jewish vote against GOLDWATER."

The idea that BARRY is guided by the likes of George Lincoln Rockwell and Gerald L. K. Smith, as the rabbi asserts, is as false and vicious as any statement in the "Proctocols of Zion." I know the Senator and many of his strongest supporters—and the rabbi palpably doesn't. If I may talk politically—as Dr. Prinz does—I suggest the rabbi is talking through his yamalka. And I think it the duty of honest men who speak for Jewry to tell him so bluntly. Will they?

I do have some letters arguing that a clergyman has the same right to urge support of his candidate as I have. I agree fully—provided he does not pretend to speak excathedra, but as an individual. Thus, I did not resign from my local synagog when the rabbi in charge was listed, in the 1948 campaign, as a supporter of Henry Wallace, though I thought him naive not to recognize—as Wallace did later—that Henry was fronting for the commies.

But when, at a Rosh Hashana service, the rabbi devoted his New Year talk to an attack on the Republican Party, I did quit.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House paid tribute to a great American and a great legislator, CARL VINSON, of Georgia.

So much has been said of his ability, his wisdom, and his patriotism, that I can add very little. Yet, I must rise to express my own sense of gratitude for the privilege of serving here with him. Georgia, and the Nation, will be the losers when he lays aside his public duties. He will be sorely missed by the Nation and by his colleagues.

The Proposed Youngstown Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, new public hearings have been slated on the proposed Youngstown Canal for October 19–20 at Pittsburgh and October 22–23 at Jefferson, Ohio.

The opponents and proponents of this controversial waterway will have inadequate background material to defend their positions at these hearings. A new feasibility study for this costly undertaking has been completed. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Pittsburgh District, has disclosed that full details of the study will not be available to the public until after the hearings are held. I have made known to the engineers my objections to holding the hearings without first making the full study details public.

Not only is there a lack of up-to-date information on this planned waterway, but the hearings come in the midst of a political campaign, thereby subjecting this matter to partisan politics.

Following are some editorial comments on the canal by newspapers in the 24th Pennsylvania district:

[From the Sharon (Pa.) Herald, Sept. 30, 1964]

CAMPAIGN NOT A PROPER TIME FOR OHIO CANAL PUBLIC HEARINGS

Congressman JAMES WEAVER is on solid ground in asking for a postponement of public hearings on the proposed Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal until after the election. In the highly charged, highly partisan atmosphere which prevails at the moment, the hearings, the Congressman believes, inevitably will take on political overtones.

We agree. The magnitude of this project—its cost is estimated by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in excess of $1 billion—and the potentiality of its economic impact not only on the Youngstown-Warren area but this region as well—requires cool and objective consideration free of partisanship and emotionalism.

Moreover, neither the advocates nor potential opponents, as Dr. WEAVER also points out, have had sufficient time to study in detail the revised report and recommendations of the corps in order to prepare their cases. The corps has made a number of changes in its previous canal recommendations which could alter the thinking of both sides, but they are not readily discernible in the abstract of the report now in general distribution. Complete information is available only from corps detailed report—and it is voluminous.

Since the postponement involves only a matter of a few weeks, we can think of no valid argument for denying the Congressman's suggestion. Certainly both the cost and the importance of the project make mandatory careful and unhurried consideration rather than hasty action.

[From the Erie (Pa.) Times, Sept. 15, 1964]

NEW CANAL HEARING

Why the new hearings on the billion dollar ditch?

The announcement from Washington that new public hearings will be held on the proposed Ohio River-Lake Erie Canal has created considerable mystery.

Detailed hearings have already been held, most notably 2 years ago when they were staged in Youngstown and Pittsburgh.

The new hearings are now slated for Pittsburgh, October 19–20 and at Jefferson, Ohio, October 22–23.

There's some suspicion, with the hearings slated just prior to the November election, that they may be aimed more at political consumption than anything else.

It's no secret that the principal proponent of the billion dollar ditch is Congressman MICHAEL KIRWAN, of Youngstown, a politican of considerable ability.

In Youngstown, support of the billion dollar ditch is obviously good politics.

But elsewhere in the area, with both Pittsburgh and Erie interests opposed, the canal is an extremely controversial topic.

Robert M. Taylor, executive secretary of the Upper Ohio Valley Association, which opposes the canal, said this past week that "the best formula for the defeat of a candidate that I know of would be his support for the billion dollar ditch."

Erie has already made its position clear on the canal but apparently it's going to be necessary to renew the fight.

The alternative to fighting could be construction of a monstrous undertaking aimed at benefiting the few, and with possibly disastrous consequences for the port of Erie.

Snooping Into Income Tax Returns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial opinion of Station WGR in Buffalo, N.Y., September 25, 1964:

We always thought that the one place nobody could snoop was into our income tax returns. Now it turns out that this isn't true. Two Government agencies, the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission have been doing just that. Frankly, there is nothing that the FTC or SEC needs to know about the worst of us that is worth the risk of turning them loose in the Internal Revenue files. This act, committed by any person in or out of government is an invasion of privacy and a violation of the law. The chairmen of these agencies should be held responsible for this action and they should let us know what has been done about it.

Senator WARREN MAGNUSON summed up our thinking pretty well when he said, "Any time that you fool around with the Internal Revenue records in this fashion, you are on your way to establishing a financial gestapo." We couldn't agree more.

I agree wholeheartedly with this opinion. It has been my impression that information on income tax returns was sacred. I would like to know by what authority the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission can check income tax returns, and I am requesting an explanation from both agencies.

My Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, this is the last day of the 88th Congress, and it is appropriate therefore to discuss such matters as the record of the past 2 years and in particular the voting record I have compiled during this period.

I am proud to report that I have voted in support of and been recorded on all major legislation in this historic Congress. I voted in favor of the several major bills in the field of education; I voted in favor of the tax cut; the civil rights bill; the war against poverty bill; the national wilderness preservation bill; the pay raise bills for our military and Federal civilian workers; the Hill-Burton hospital construction bill; the veterans pension bill; the expanded food stamp program bill; and the many other important measures that have made this 88th Congress so memorable.

Individual voting attendance figures and percentages do not have much meaning unless we consider the particular bills that were voted upon and the particular bills that were not voted upon. In addition, it is important to consider whether the votes actually cast were good votes or bad votes.

My voting participation record in the form of percentages for the entire period of this Congress stands at 74 percent. This means that I personally voted and was recorded either for or against almost three-quarters of the total number of bills brought before the House of Representatives.

I would like to have compiled a 100-percent voting participation record for the life of this Congress, but in company with more than 415 of the 435 Members of this House I found the goal of total participation to be an impossible one. The pressure of committee business, constituent problems, and the many other varied demands upon a Congressman's time made it impossible for me to remain on the floor of the House for each and every vote. However, I think the record will show that most of the votes I was required to miss had little importance to California or the Nation at large.

I was not able to record my vote on the bill to provide for the construction of the Savery Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa participating reclamation projects; or the bill to amend the joint resolution establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission, but I am sure the residents of my congressional district will not hold this against me.

Where the leaders of the opposition party are concerned, my voting participation record is better than that of the Republican presidential candidate, and much better than that of the Republican vice-presidential candidate. Congressman WILLIAM MILLER has a total voting participation and attendance record of 49 percent in 1963 and 38 percent up to the end of August in 1964. Whether Congressman MILLER has been an adequate representative for his district is not for me to judge, but it is perhaps just as well that he was not present to cast his vote against most of the progressive legislation of the past 2 years.

I do agree with the Republican Party, however, that percentage records of voting participation and attendance are not the true measurement of a Congressman's worth. Congressman MILLER was chosen for the high honor of the vice-presidential nomination despite the fact that he has one of the worst records of attendance in the House of Representatives. I am sure that his support for his party's positions and policies was considered to be far more important than the number of times he was present on the floor of the House. By the same token, I am proud that I can be judged by my consistent support for the progressive policies of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, and by my record of support for the legislation that has made this 88th Congress one of the most effective of all time.

If We Could Spend the Money Ourselves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. BROMWELL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ross Young of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, who has spent a long and fruitful lifetime as a journalist and student of government has analyzed the rough figures of the Federal budget in a novel and most impressive way.

He has taken Iowa's pro rata share of the Federal budget and applied it to hypothetical purposes in order to illustrate dramatically the size and power of the outlay. I herewith submit it, under leave granted, for inclusion in the RECORD:

IF WE COULD SPEND THE MONEY OURSELVES

A few hundred billion dollars in Federal spending does not frighten one until he spells it out in terms of what that Federal spending is doing to him. If the people of Iowa could be excused their share of the burden of the Federal spending in 1964, they would save an amount that could buy all the things listed below. This shows why the Federal Government should spend money only for the most necessary things.

One thousand playgrounds at $10,000 each; 100 auditoriums at $1,500,000 each; a scholarship fund of $100 million; 100 lakes and

1,000 conservation ponds; 100 homes for the aged at $500,000 each; firefighting equipment worth $20 million; 2,000 miles of paving at $75,000 per mile; 100 hospitals or additions at $1 million each; a refund of $100 million paid on property taxes; 100 junior college buildings at $1,500,000 each; 500 miles of State highways at $100,000 per mile; 400 elementary school buildings at $750,000 each; 100 junior high school buildings at $1,500,000 each; 100 senior high school buildings at $2,500,000 each.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join my colleagues in tribute to one of the great men who have served in the Congress of the United States, the revered and beloved dean of this House, and my cherished and esteemed friend, CARL VINSON. For half a century he has served his country with rare dedication and unique distinction as a Member of this House. In the half-century of his service here, the United States of America has moved from a rural to an urban nation; from a nation dominated by the sentiment of isolation—the belief that few of our vital interests lay outside of our own territory—to the leadership of the free world and the strongest nation upon the earth; from a time when colossal combinations of industry were coming to birth to produce what have now become the industrial giants of the world. In this half-century the level of life in America has been immeasurably lifted for all Americans. Human life has been prolonged, human health protected and human happiness increased throughout this blessed land. Few men to all this magnificent American expansion and growth have contributed more than CARL VINSON.

From the time he entered this House he had a vision of the great America which we know today and he determined to help that dream of America come true. He saw his fellow citizens of the South struggling with problems of discriminatory freight rates, manipulated or inadequate markets, a shortage of money and excessively high interest rates, lacking adequate employment, needed housing, required health facilities, protection against unemployment, old age, and disability; with the potential of the South's rivers unharnessed, excessive cost of power; the soil being washed away, the natural resources of a potentially rich land undeveloped or being squandered through exploitation and all the evils of inadequate wages and poverty often appalling.

CARL VINSON resolved in his heart that he would help to lift these burdens from the bent backs of his people; that he would dedicate himself to lifting his beloved Southland to the place which its resources and the genius of its people entitled it to enjoy; that he would help to move the South into the main stream of pulsating American life. And, CARL VINSON has kept his promise to himself and his covenant with his people. He has been both a great southerner and a great American, honored by his district, his State, by his colleagues in this House and in the other body and only this week signally recognized and rewarded by the President of the United States with the highest civilian award his country can bestow upon him.

The record of CARL VINSON is the record of America for the last half a century because CARL VINSON has helped to build this majestic America and the America of tomorrow will arise from the foundation of the America of today which few men more than CARL VINSON have helped to build.

In the field of national defense, CARL VINSON stands and long has stood supreme. As chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House, he determined that the strength of America should be second to none and all nations upon the face of the earth; that America should be so strong that if like ancient Atlas, it were called upon to bear the free world upon its shoulders its strength would be equal to the task; and so today out of his committee, out of his dedicated service, his vision and genius has come the mightiest arsenal the mind of man has ever conceived, a power in America that today safely bears the cause of freedom on its banner and on its back. Every American can sleep with tranquility because of the mighty American armada of which CARL VINSON is the father and which he has so zealously and jealously nourished.

Like Elijah, he has come to the time when he passes his mantle to another. We know that he who takes it in the Armed Services Committee of this House shall bear a challenging obligation to wear it with the honor and the nobility with which it has been so long worn by CARL VINSON. We know that the inspiration and the leadership which CARL VINSON has given to the building and the perpetuation of the military might of America will be worthily carried on by those who take up the burden after him for they shall always be asking themselves when making the critical decisions about our country's service and strength, "Is this what the 'Admiral' would have us do?"

To his colleagues he has been a warm and cherished friend ever helpful, ever considerate, always kind. The glow of his personality has warmed this Chamber and the hearts of his colleagues. Today, full of honors from his district, his State, his colleagues and his country and beloved by all, he voluntarily retires from this House. Like Winston Churchill who served only a little while longer than CARL VINSON and recently took a last lingering affectionate look at the House of Commons which had been his home for so long, CARL VINSON will shortly take his own fond look at this Chamber which has been his home for half a century. I suspect that he will with his memories leave much of his heart here in the Chamber he has so long loved and where he has been so long beloved. He will return home to the bosom of his district, his State and his Southland, and his name, already a legend, will ever be uppermost on their scroll of honor. His illustrious career will ever be a challenge and an example to younger men who shall follow him and the dedication of his life to his country shall ever be an inspiration to every patriot.

And, we know that he will continue to go about doing good, casting the warm glow of his friendship upon countless friends, counseling his countrymen and still dreaming dreams of the America yet greater than this noble land he has so much helped to build.

Fond farewell, "Admiral," your country shall ever honor you, your colleagues shall ever honor you and love you.

Educators Support National Humanities Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, prominent educators of many States across the Nation have written to me expressing their support for my bill, H.R. 12406, to create a National Humanities Foundation. I call these letters to the attention of my colleagues:

CALIFORNIA

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Stanford, Calif., September 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I appreciate your sending me a copy of the bill you have introduced to create a National Humanities Foundation and also the background material accompanying your letter of August 24.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the problem of support for the humanities has been a frequent item on the agenda at meetings of the Association of American Universities and many other educational organizations. I note that the report of the National Commission on the Humanities is scheduled to be discussed at the next AAU meeting in late October. I look forward to participating in these discussions, and am sure the material you sent will be helpful in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. WALLACE STERLING.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE,
San Francisco, Calif., September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: As one who has devoted practically all of his adult life to the improvement of higher education and the advancement of educational opportunity, I congratulate you upon your introduction to the House of Representatives of the national humanities foundation bill (H.R. 12406). The humanities and the arts have, in fact, been undernourished in our society. We have a critical need for the encouragement of the study of human values, the extension of creative experiences, and the development of personnel who can and will devote their lives to these fields.

I am commenting personally below on a few of the provisions of the bill.

Section 7 authorizes and directs the foundation to assist by grants, loans, and other means of assistance public and other nonprofit organizations concerned with encouraging and developing scholars, teachers and artists and also to assist programs for the improvement of teaching in the humanities and arts. It is urgent, I believe, that this type of assistance be extended to colleges and universities directly so that program development and flexibility in staffing may be permitted under such support. It is my opinion that the most promising part of any assistance forthcoming under the bill is likely to be in this category. For in this area, coordination, group planning, and the concurrent encouragement of individuals all can take place.

Section 7 also provides that scholarships and graduate fellowships may be awarded in the humanities and the arts. Experience under other Federal programs suggests that such scholarships and fellowships may not be forthcoming to students engaged in study at institutions which do not grant the doctor's degree. It is essential, I believe, that the regulations for the award of any scholarships and graduate fellowships enable students who are working for master's degrees at nondoctoral granting institutions to qualify for such awards. In the arts, creative and professional contributions commonly are considered in higher education as the equivalent of a doctoral degree. Many highly qualified members of college faculties in the arts do not hold advanced degrees.

As one instance of a contribution which a master's degree granting institution can make to higher education, San Francisco State College, in its strong program in the arts, has many of its graduates teaching in colleges and universities over the country.

I am pleased also to note in section 7 that the foundation is instructed to avoid undue concentration of the education and research in the humanities and the arts. Some of the most vibrant, dynamic, and integrative types of programs in the arts and the humanities exist in institutions which do not normally qualify for large research subsidies. I would hope that in hearings on the bill that there will be ample opportunity for representatives of such institutions to be heard.

Finally, I am delighted to see under section 13 the encouragement of the establishment of summer and academic year institutes which have been highly productive in the development of teachers in the foreign languages and sciences during recent years. Furthermore, it is good to see the reference to encouraging experiments in presentation and organization including interdisciplinary studies and the development of new curricular materials.

Please send me 10 copies of H.R. 12406. Many of my colleagues in the arts and humanities would like to see it.

I shall look forward with considerable interest to the progress of your bill in the House. You have moved with vision and foresight in a field which badly needs attention in our American culture.

Very truly youra,

GEORGE C. FELIZ,
Dean, Graduate Division.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Davis, Calif., September 2, 1964.

Re H.R. 12606.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: We wish to add our enthusiastic support to the bill providing for the establisment of the National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities, and for other purposes.

Surely all will concur in your declaration that the social, moral, and esthetic development lags far behind the material advance in the physical and biological sciences made possible to a very considerable extent, by Federal grants and the prestige which inevitably follows. We at the graduate level are particularly aware of the urgent need in the humanities for expanded facilities, such as library and theater, and for individual assistance to the advanced student. Your interest in this area of education is greatly appreciated and we sincerely wish you every success in securing passage of your bill.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD G. REIBER,
Associate Dean.

CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
Pasadena, Calif., September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you for informing me about the bill H.R. 12406 which you have introduced in the Congress, providing for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

I am very pleased to know of your support of this proposal and I want to express my sincere hope that this legislation will pass at the earliest possible time.

The California Institute of Technology is heavily engaged in scientific and engineering research, much of which has been supported by various Government agenices. We do, however, aim to maintain a strong program of teaching and research in the various fields of the humanities and subjects essential to a well-rounded educational institution. Needless to say, support for our work in these fields has been difficult to secure even though we, along with other educational institutions, are convinced of the essential values of these scholarly areas. The interest of the Government in higher education is longstanding and well founded, and the time has surely arrived when the Government's interest should be an interest in the whole educational program available to our young people and not just in certain special areas. I see no better way of restoring the present imbalance that eixsts in our universities and in our many scholarly atcivities than by the creation of a National Humanities Foundation.

Though no educational institution, as a unit, can take a position on legislative matters, I assure you that this legislation will have my personal support and I know it has the support of many distinguished members of our faculty.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

LEE A. DUBRIDGE.

PEPPERDINE COLLEGE,
Los Angeles, September 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: This is to register my approval of H.R. 12406, a bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation, which you introduced on August 17, 1964.

The establishment of such a foundation would fill one of the most urgent needs of our time.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD A. WHITE,
Director of Graduate Studies.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, Calif., September 22, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Allow me to express my special gratification at learning about the bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation which you were thoughtful enough to introduce on August 17, 1964.

Those of us familiar at first hand with the situation of the humanities in the major American universities have been aware for many years of the adverse effects of the prevailing indifference on the morale of luminaries as well as of rank-and-file scholars and students.

Your bill and its significant implications may very well help to reverse that unfavorable trend and thus usher in a period of flowering of "the humanities and the arts," duly encouraged and supported by the Federal Government.

Sincerely yours,

SANFORD S. ELBERG, *Dean.*

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY,
San Marino, Calif., September 7, 1964.

Representative WILLIAM G. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you for writing me about your bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation. This is a cause in which I am much interested. My old friend, Dr. Abraham Flexner, preached it year after year in his later life, declaring such a foundation one of the prime needs of the country.

May your undertaking prosper. I shall do what I can here to arouse interest in it, and I shall ask the many scholars who gather here to support it.

Sincerely yours,

ALLEN NEVINS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, Calif., September 11, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: I want to express my great interest in your bill H.R. 12406 which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. I am greatly pleased that finally the Congress is asked to pass legislation to provide for a National Humanities Foundation as a parallel to the highly successful National Science Foundation. I hope that the amount of $150,000 asked for the fiscal year ending June 1965 will not be the average appropriation in succeeding fiscal years.

It may seem pedantic to point out flaws in your bill if one highly approves of its general purpose, but I find the wording on page 5, lines 10 and 11 quite disturbing. It is stated to be one of the objectives of the Foundation—to avoid undue concentration of such education and research. I cannot imagine that concentration of education and research in any area can be detrimental to our national interests. I would strongly urge that you agree to amend this wording, preferably to delete this passage entirely.

Sincerely yours,

Prof. HERBERT PENZL,
Acting Chairman.

CONNECTICUT

YALE UNIVERSITY,
GRADUATE SCHOOL,
New Haven, Conn., September 2, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have recently noted in the newspaper that you introduced a bill into the House of Representatives for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. I have just completed reading a copy of that bill.

I should like to congratulate you upon your foresight and understanding in sponsoring this legislation. The establishment of a National Humanities Foundation along the lines which you have suggested would

go far to reinvigorating the humanities and redressing the balance in the support of higher education in the United States.

You have my wholehearted support in this matter. If I can help in any way, I should be most happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN PERRY MILLER,
Dean.

FLORIDA

STETSON UNIVERSITY,
DeLand, Fla., September 10, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: Your bill to authorize a National Humanities Foundation is certainly appreciated by all who feel that this vital aspect of education has too long been neglected. We at Stetson certainly support you in this endeavor and we want you to know that we will be happy to lend any assistance we can.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD B. MORLAND,
Chairman, the Graduate Council.

JOHNSON JUNIOR COLLEGE,
Leesburg, Fla., August 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Democrat, Pennsylvania,
U.S. House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: The August 17, 1964, issue of the Washington Post carried an article on page A5, columns 1 and 2, regarding a bill to set up funds for humanities. Please accept my congratulations for your keen insight into the needs of our Nation in this area.

Please send me a copy of your bill.

Yours for cultural growth,

W. D. TOLBERT.

GEORGIA

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE,
Atlanta, Ga., August 28, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: It is good news to know that somebody has the foresight to try to get the U.S. Congress to do something for the humanities. I certainly will do anything I can to help you in this great effort. I think the bill is wonderful.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

_____ _____,
President.

GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
Atlanta, Ga., August 31, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Your introduction of the national humanities foundation bill in the House of Representatives on Monday, August 17, represents, in my opinion, a significant step toward bringing some well-needed perspective into the totality of the support influencing scholarship, teaching and research in human endeavor. I commend you most sincerely for your understanding of the problems implied and the great return to be gained from the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. You know so well how often so many have spoken to the need for the humane studies in the programs of education in our modern world so much oriented to science and technology. You have done something about the need.

With every best wish for success in this endeavor on your part and with warmest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

M. J. GOGLIA,
Associate Dean of Faculties and Dean of the Graduate Division.

HAWAII

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, Hawaii, September 17, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Dr. Gustave O. Arlt, president of the council of graduate schools, has sent us a copy of H.R. 12406, a bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation, which you introduced on August 17.

This is just a note to express both my personal and professional appreciation for your having done this. There is absolutely no question of the importance of the humanities in our scheme of education. Without adequate support for the humanities, much of what we consider vital to our national life may well wither away with truly disastrous consequences for each of us as a person and for all of us as a nation.

If there is anything I can do to help you further in your support of the National Humanities Foundation, please award me the privilege of doing so.

Sincerely yours,

WYTZE GORTER,
Dean.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII,
Honolulu, Hawaii, September 23, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: First, I should like to congratulate you on introducing a long awaited bill to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. As one who has long been connected in a consultive and advisory capacity with the National Science Foundation, and who have seen the great impact that this governmental agency has made on the development of science and technology in this country, I can well attest to the fact that a similar foundation would do the same for those activities which are more concerned with human values. You are certainly aware of the fact that our current stress on science and technology has, in effect, made centers of learning lopsided. We are developing two kinds of citizenry on our campus, the "haves" and "have nots." Your bill would go a long way toward putting us back on a more balanced and useful track in higher education.

Please be assured that everyone on our faculty will give this bill our utmost support. At this stage no Federal legislation will be more significant.

Please let us know if we can assist further in your efforts to develop a more sane and balanced program in our centers of higher education in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. HIATT,
Vice President for Academic Affairs.

ILLINOIS

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
Evanston, Ill., September 24, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SIR: It was a very great pleasure to learn that you had introduced a bill in Congress to establish a National Humanities Foundation. I have seen the immense benefits to our students and to our institution which have flowed from the National Science Foundation and I am sure that equally fine results would come from the proposed foundation.

As chairman of the English department at this university I am discovering that a very great shortage exists of competently trained instructors in our field, and at this season particularly I receive desperate appeals from fellow chairmen in various parts of the country asking me to recommend possible candidates. The demand has been so great that for some months we have been unable to supply new instructors. It is obvious when we contemplate the expansion of institutions all over the country that the shortage of teachers in the humanities will become more and more acute. I was shocked to see the headline in one of our local newspapers recently that more than 5,000 qualified applicants were turned away by the University of Illinois for lack of teachers and facilities. I sincerely hope that your fellow Congressmen will realize the urgency of this problem and adopt your proposal soon enough so that the new foundation can begin to operate before the beginning of the next academic year.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST SAMUELS,
Chairman.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
Evanston, Ill., September 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: It is gratifying indeed to me to learn that you have introduced into the House of Representatives H.R. 12406 to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities. I have watched the development of ideas along these lines for some months now and, as a graduate educator, I am very grateful to you for this gesture in behalf of a long-neglected branch of learning in this country. I am sure that I speak for those divisions of this university that are concerned with humanistic studies and that I speak as well for the scientists and engineers who feel that, though their own support is of importance, it is nevertheless important to the whole Nation and to higher education in the Nation that humanistic studies keep pace with the progress in the sciences and social sciences.

You may count upon me to do what I can in support of your efforts.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT H. BAKER,
Dean.

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY,
Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: You deserve the thanks of every institution of higher learning for your pioneering bill, H.R. 12406, on a National Humanities Foundation. I hope the Nation will hear you; most of us will bend every effort that you call on us to make, to insure that this legislation is furthered.

Small universities and colleges, like ours, will most especially thank you. The great and well endowed State and private universities may even be able to help their humanities department as they do their science departments; but in an institution like Roosevelt University, with 6,300 students and with income chiefly from tuition, our humanities work does suffer. Yet we are asked by the Nation to expand our graduate work, and we are doing so: our M.A.-seeking scholars, under 500 6 years ago, now number over 1,200. Graduate work is more costly per student, as you know; and so the helping hand of a foresighted Congress is much needed.

Personally, I feel many of us will gladly testify on behalf of this bill, if you wish it. Meanwhile, do accept my personal thanks and inform me whom else I may express my views to. Pray urge my own Congressman, the redoubtable and dauntless BARRATT O'HARA, to lend his good name.

PAUL B. JOHNSON,
Acting Graduate Dean.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., August 31, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the bill which you are introducing for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. I have read both the bill itself and the attached news release and have found them most interesting and informative. I congratulate you warmly on your leadership in introducing this bill and you can count on me to do anything that I can to aid in its public discussion and its support.

Your letter has arrived just as I am on the point of leaving for my vacation and my answer cannot be transcribed until after I have left the office. I am asking my secretary to send this letter along to you unsigned, however, since I do want you to know as soon as possible how strongly I support your leadership in introducing this bill.

Sincerely yours,

CYRIL O. HOULE,
Professor of Education.

INDIANA

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME,
Notre Dame, Ind., August 21, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I was very pleased to receive your letter and the copy of your bill providing for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. As a member of the Commission on the Humanities which produced the recent report, I need not tell you how favorable I am to the bill you have introduced. Having served on the National Science Board for the past 10½ years, I have learned how important it is that the bill founding such a Foundation be open-ended and flexible as to the future, as well as leaving the responsibility for policy within the board of the Foundation. All of this has worked splendidly in the life and growth of the National Science Foundation. Moreover, the Foundation has gained the complete respect and backing of the academic community. I am sure the same would be true of a foundation founded along the lines of your bill. You may be sure that I shall give my fullest support in every way possible to your efforts.

With all best wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rev. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C.S.C.,
President.

P.S.—I am sure you will receive some static from the academic community because of the provisions under section 15. However, referring again to the history of the National Science Foundation, I can understand the political necessity of these provisions where public money is concerned.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY,
Bloomington, Ind., September 9, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Congratulations on introducing H.R. 12406. This is a matter of great importance to the welfare of the United States. I hope you may have luck during the coming Congress to get an extensive discussion of the importance of this kind of a National Humanities Foundation for the continued development of the American people.

Very sincerely yours,

WALTER H. C. LAVES,
Chairman.

SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE,
Notre Dame, Ind., September 2, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Thank you for your letter of August 27, including the bill to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. I heartily endorse the proposal and can think of no arguments opposing a National Humanities Foundation.

One can scarcely measure the extent of influence that has been exercised in our country and on higher education, in particular, by the National Science Foundation, which is indeed good. But in a democracy like ours, where the educated level of the citizens in their democratic responsibilities is so basic to the success of our form of government, I think we have neglected an area of leadership that is essential.

As a liberal arts college with a very strong science department, I can affirm with great earnestness the value which our science faculty and students place upon the several required courses in the liberal arts which we insist upon in their curriculum. Particularly as seniors, they become more aware of their ability to think energetically on questions of general concern to the Nation and appreciate the courses which have developed these abilities.

Just as an experiment, recently in a group of college educators, I asked them what objections they had to a National Humanities Foundation. They looked at me horrified and commented, "There are no cons in the case." The sooner Congress realizes the values to the Nation, the better off our educational system can become. So much Government money is now being directed to the sciences that the humanities is becoming like stepchildren. Interestingly enough, we have produced no book in the 20th century that duplicates Plato's "The Republic."

A whole chain of philosophical development in political theory could be traced. The writers of our own Declaration of Independence and Constitution were men familiar with the humanities and classical learning. Breakdowns in military loyalty usually occurred among those young men who had no knowledge of their American history or understanding of their government and its purposes and ideals.

At meetings of associations this fall and winter there will be among the professional institutions, undoubtedly, more discussion relating to the National Humanities Foundation to create professional and public support.

May I commend you for the bill you introduced, even though it may have to have its floor struggle and public support vote during the 89th Congress. Our own college faculty will be willing advocates in helping to persuade the public.

May I also take this occasion to thank your office for having sent me so beautifully printed an inscription of the inaugural address of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. We will have it framed and hung where our students will see it.

Cordially yours,

Sister MARIA RENATA, C.S.C.

EARLHAM COLLEGE,
Richmond, Ind., September 1, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your bill, H.R. 12406, to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. I had already heard of this proposal and was very much impressed by the imagination and concern of a Congressman which would lead him to sponsor such an undertaking at a time when so many people in and out of Government seemed to be primarily concerned with the natural sciences.

I shall be glad to help in any way that I possibly can in the development of support for your proposal. Specifically, I will bring it to the attention of the Council of Protestant Colleges and Universities, of which I am chairman of the board this year. You may be interested in knowing that the Great Lakes Colleges Association, of which Earlham is a member, has had under discussion for some time the question of what we, as a group of colleges, could and should do to strengthen the role of the humanities. Your bill gives timely help with our thinking.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

LANDRUM R. BOLLING.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY,
Bloomington, Ind., September 24, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Please forgive the delay in acknowledging your letter inviting me to comment on H.R. 12406. The past few weeks have been extremely crowded and my correspondence has been badly neglected.

We at Indiana University have a particularly keen interest in what may come out of the report of the Commission on the Humanities because our chancellor, Herman Wells, was its Vice Chairman, and our graduate school dean, John Ashton, is currently chairman of the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, which cosponsored the Commission. I'm studying the report, and your bill, which I gather is intended to implement it or parts of it. I'm not yet in a position to comment at any length since I'm looking forward to the benefit of discussions of it next month in the Association of American Universities and probably in other circles off and on this campus, including the Indiana Conference on Higher Education.

You and I have a mutual friend in Powell Pierpoint, I believe. I hope we may see each other along the way.

Sincerely,

ELVIS J. STAHR., *President.*

BUTLER UNIVERSITY,
Indianapolis, Ind., September 16, 1964.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Please forgive my delay in replying to your letter of August 27, which invited me to forward to you my comments and suggestions concerning the bill which you introduced in the House of Representatives to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. Your letter arrived while I was on vacation, and since my return I have been caught up in the annual whirlwind which always accompanies the starting of a new school year.

Since I lack legal training, I do not feel qualified to discuss the bill itself; rather, I would prefer to comment on the proposed National Humanities Foundation. I feel that perhaps such an approach is justifiable since in the long run it will be the implementation of the bill which will be significant in determining whether or not a National Humanities Foundation makes a worthwhile contribution to American culture.

Let me say at the beginning that I thoroughly agree that there has been in recent years a "social, cultural, and educa-

tional imbalance" as the result of a tendency to promote activities in the sciences and to neglect corresponding activities in the humanities. If the proposed National Humanities Foundation can remedy this imbalance, then it deserves very careful consideration and probably vigorous support.

On the other hand, I would consider it tragic if a National Humanities Foundation repeated the mistakes which, in my opinion, have been made by the National Science Foundation. Although the National Science Foundation has accomplished many worthwhile things, I believe it is open to sharp criticism on three charges:

1. At a time when there is already a critical shortage of college science teachers, the NSF has in many instances made that shortage more severe by drawing faculty members from teaching into research. As a result, the academic world all too frequently views research as a high-prestige status symbol and full-time teaching as a low-status activity which must be endured by those who lack the ability to secure research grants. The same charge, I think, could be leveled against other Federal agencies which make grants for scientific research.

2. Much of the research sponsored by the NSF seems to me extremely pedestrian with the result that we have accumulated a great mass of what one scientist has called "dispensable details" and only a small amount of truly significant or "breakthrough" knowledge.

3. Some of the rumors I have heard lead me to believe that there have been at least a few instances of flagrant misuse of NSF funds, some of them dangerously close to downright dishonesty.

I would hope that any National Humanities foundation would avoid these pitfalls. If such a foundation aggravated the already existing shortage of college teachers in the humanities, if it promoted scholarly and artistic activities of a mediocre quality, and if it failed to control its funds tightly to make sure that they were spent legally and wisely, then I feel that the creation of a National Humanities Foundation would not be in the best interests either of the humanities in particular or of our country in general.

On the other hand, if the above pitfalls could be avoided, and if a National Humanities Foundation could promote more effective teaching of the humanities, help to increase the supply of qualified teachers, and support truly outstanding scholarly and artistic activities, then it would certainly have my support.

Sincerely,

ALEXANDER E. JONES,
President.

KANSAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
MUSEUM OF ART,
Lawrence, Kans., September 10, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: I have recently been advised that you have introduced into Congress a bill for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. I am most interested in this bill, as I feel we are in great need of an institution which would develop and promote support for the humanities and the arts.

If there is anything that I could do to aid in the passage of this bill, I would be most happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

MARILYN STOKSTAD, *Director.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS,
Lawrence, Kans., September 7, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I have just learned of your sponsorship of a bill (H.R. 12406) to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. As one who has worked all his life in music education and at all levels, from the elementary school through the university, wish to support this bill in any way that I can. While America has for several centuries looked to Europe for cultural leadership, it is becoming increasingly evident that our country should, itself, become a world leader in the arts and humanities.

Respectfully yours,

MARCUS E. HAHN,
Chairman, Department of Music Education.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS,
Lawrence, September 8, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your bill to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. Such a Foundation has long been needed to help attract able students into the humanities and to encourage research and creative work in this area. The rewards and prestige in the sciences have been attracting not only young men and women who are highly qualified for scientific work but also many students who would be happier and better qualified to make an important contribution in one of the humanistic disciplines.

The National Humanities Foundation would also influence the quality of teaching in both high schools and colleges. Particularly in high schools, the teaching of science and mathematics has improved much more rapidly than teaching in the humanities.

Your bill should have far-reaching benefits for education and for the national welfare. If I can influence its passage in any way, I should be glad to try.

Sincerely yours,

W. P. ALBRECHT, *Dean.*

KENTUCKY

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY,
Lexington, Ky., September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Although I am a scientist by profession, I am intensely interested in the social sciences and the humanities. I heartily commend you, therefore, for introducing your bill (H.R. 12406) for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation for the purpose of encouraging and supporting the study of languages, literature, history, and philosophy; the history, criticism, and theory of art and music; the history of religion, science, and law; the creative and performing arts, including theater and dance; and those aspects of the social sciences that have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods.

I have long felt that these areas merit as much support as the sciences and I am greatly pleased with your efforts in their behalf.

Very sincerely yours,

M. SCHERAGE, *Chairman.*

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY,
Lexington, Ky., September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I have just received word that you have introduced H.R. 12406, a bill to create a National Humanities Foundation. I congratulate you upon your sponsorship of this forward-looking legislation. If we have need for a National Science Foundation (and I am sure we do), we need even more a humanities foundation. I am not alone in believing that the neglect of humane learning (literature, the arts, philosophy, rhetoric, and religion) has contributed to the present aimlessness which pervades so much of American society. The sciences may provide the means for national security or the means for the good life; they cannot provide that good life. The humanities should be able to do it. They should have the chance to do it. They could enable us to live in tolerance and dignity and peace with our neighbors; they could enable us to enjoy the best that has been thought and said and done in the world. Having spent my career (I have been a university professor of English for nearly 40 years) studying and teaching the humanities, I am indeed grateful for this move on the part of certain Members of Congress; having been active for the past 17 years in the Southern Humanities Conference (chairman of it last year), I am especially pleased. I shall be happy to be of whatever help I may to you and to the other sponsors of this bill in either or both Houses of the Congress.

Faithfully yours,

THOMAS B. STROUP,
Professor of English.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY,
Lexington, Ky., September 17, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It has been brought to my attention by the dean of our graduate school that you are sponsoring bill H.R. 12406 for the establishment of a national humanities foundation. We, in this university, offer a major in the dance field, as well as one in theater and dramatics, so, of course, we are very much interested in this type of a foundation. I am sure you are aware that all performing arts need support commensurate with the support that is given to science and mathematics. Support is needed in the form of facilities, graduate scholarships, and lectureships.

We will be interested in following this bill through the House and would be glad to assist in any way which you might suggest.

Sincerely,

MARTHA G. CARR,
Chairman, Women's Division.

LOUISIANA

TULANE UNIVERSITY,
New Orleans, La., September 21, 1964.

Representative WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I seldom write in an effort to influence legislation but I feel strongly moved in this instance. I write in support of the pending bill which would create a National Humanities Foundation.

First, as to my background: I have a Ph.D. in biology from Harvard University (1961) and have taught at the University of North Carolina, Brown University and, presently, Tulane University. I saw military service as an aviation physiologist in World War II and during the Korean fracas. I have also been a professional associate on the staff of the National Research Council and an executive secretary in the Division of Research Grants, National Institutes of Health. In the latter position I was privileged to attend panel meetings at the National Science Foundation.

I do not stand to obtain personal gain from the pending legislation. However, I and my fellow biologists have gained so much from Federal support it is difficult to imagine the parlous state that the life sciences would be in without the support of the National Science Foundation (and National Institutes of Health).

As one who has seen the tremendous stimulus afforded by Federal funds in the life sciences, I plea that my colleagues in the humanities be given the same necessities. I accept Federal support with deep gratitude, but it sometimes embarrasses me to see equally deserving colleagues not eligible for

support because they happen to be in another discipline.

Respectfully yours,

EUGENE COPELAND,
Chairman.

TULANE UNIVERSITY,
New Orleans, La., August 31, 1964.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you for your letter of August 24th and the enclosed materials. We have followed closely the work of the Commission on the Humanities, chaired by President Keeney of Brown University. Doubtless you are aware of the fact that the background for that Commission and for the idea of a Humanities Foundation was laid in discussions by a distinguished Tulane University scholar, Dr. Robert Lumiansky, who was then provost and dean of the Tulane Graduate School.

Dean Lumiansky's successor, Dean John Snell, took the occasion of his Tulane Summer School Commencement Address to emphasize the need for a Humanities Foundation as proposed.

We appreciate very much your willingness to sponsor this most important legislation and anticipate with pleasure the opportunity of additional contacts with you during the course of this bill's legislative history. At present, I serve as Chairman of the Commission on Federal Relations in the American Council on Education. For that reason, I am sending a copy of this letter to the Director of the Commission, Mr. John Morse, who may already be in contact with you or your staff in regard to a schedule. Public discussion of the proposal at this time will certainly be needed.

Sincerely,

HERBERT E. LONGENECKER,
President.

MARYLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND,
September 4, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I am pleased to respond to your letter of August 26 with reference to H.R. 12406, a copy of which you enclosed.

For some time, as president of the University of Maryland, I have felt a pressing need for a National Humanities Foundation which would serve the humanities in much the same way as the National Science Foundation serves the sciences. The support which has been given to the sciences in recent years has created a division on campuses, and I am afraid that we are reaching a dangerous situation. We have almost come to the point of the haves and the have nots, no far as research is concerned.

It is bad for morale and it is bad for the people of the United States who depend so much upon education. All of us agree, I think, that the humanities are the foundation of education and, if they are neglected at the university level, we shall suffer immeasurably.

I believe that the answer is, at least in part, the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation such as you have presented in H.R. 12406. I think that the educational community will support it strongly.

Sincerely yours,

WILSON H. ELKINS,
President.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND,
September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: Your bill, H.R. 12406, to establish a National Humanities Foundation has come to my attention. From the viewpoint of my concern with the professional education of social workers the advancement of education in the humanities is of paramount importance. A National Humanities Foundation would support and encourage research and teaching in this important area. You are to be commended for your interest. I trust that the members of our Maryland congressional Delegation will support you enthusiastically.

Sincerely yours,

VERL S. LEWIS,
Dean.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND,
College Park, September 17, 1964.

Mr. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: I am writing to give you my moral support in the passage H.R. 12406. Our market economy does not satisfactorily allocate resources to the humanities, therefore, financial support for this segment of our national life is inadequate compared to its contribution to the general welfare. The only way I see of overcoming this fault in the market system is a subsidy from the Federal Government as you are advocating. I feel it is extremely important that your bill pass.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. MOORE,
Associate Professor.

MASSACHUSETTS

BRANDIES UNIVERSITY,
September 8, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Please accept my most enthusiastic support and congratulations for your sponsorship of H.R. 12406. The Moorhead bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation promises to be one of the most farsighted pieces of legislation in the educational and cultural history of the United States.

The preamble to the proposed bill, in section 2, stating its purpose, is most impressive and fully justifies the enactment of the bill. I am especially pleased to note that "humanities" is used as a broad concept, broad enough to encompass the creative and performing arts as well as languages, literature, history, philosophy, and the social sciences that have a humanistic content and employ humanistic methods.

This bill must be passed. It has long and badly been needed. Thank you for your vision and statesmanship. There is now really hope.

I know that all members of the faculty at Brandeis University, the scientists as well as the humanists, join me in my sentiments. I wish you the utmost success in obtaining the enactment of H.R. 12406.

Very truly yours,

LEONARD W. LEVY,
Dean of Faculty.

BOSTON COLLEGE,
August 28, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: It is a great pleasure to be able to convey to you my deep satisfaction upon receiving, through President Gustava O. Art, a copy of H.R. 12405 which you introduced into the House of Representatives.

Scholars in the field of humanities have been waiting for this for a long time, and it will be my purpose to make it clear as soon as possible to those on this campus in these disciplines that this bill has been borne through your very much appreciated cooperation.

Could you see that I am sent 20 copies of the bill?

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

JOSEPH A. DEVENNY, S.J.

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Amherst, September 25, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: I am attaching copies of letters written by me to the congressional representatives from Massachusetts; urging their support for your bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation. I am sure it is not necessary for me to repeat here what I have said in those letters, but I do want you to know that, as a person whose academic discipline is in the area of the humanities, I am delighted with the bill which you are proposing, and that I wish to give it support in every way possible. I have circulated copies of the bill to all the department heads at the university and have urged them to write in support of it to our congressional representatives and to advise you of their interest in it.

If I can be of assistance to you in any other way, I hope that you will feel free to call on me.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD C. MOORE, *Dean.*

MINNESOTA

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE,
St. Peter, Minn., August 25, 1964.

Mr. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I appreciate receiving a copy of the bill which you have introduced into the House of Representatives for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. As a member of the commission which prepared the report, I am gratified to see that it has so quickly been cast in legislative form. The provisions of the bill seem to me to accord with the intention of the commission with the exception of the very controversial loyalty oath to be exacted from those who are awarded grants from the foundation. I have not had opportunity to examine the language of the National Science Foundation; but if this follows that pattern, I presume that a case could be made for it. I am glad that the disclaimer affidavit is not included.

Sincerely yours,

EDGAR M. CARLSON,
President.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
September 22, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Mr. Gustave O. Arlt has advised us of bill H.R. 12406 for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. I just want to let you know how heartening it is to realize that someone in political life is interested in this very important aspect of our American culture. When we learn that certain countries like Russia are actually more conscious on the political level of the value of the humanities, those of us who have long been concerned feel a sense of shame that people in public life have sacrificed the interests of the humanities in favor of scientific and technological progress. We feel that unless we do more in America to give the humanities some financial support, we shall rapidly decline into a second-rate nation so far as art and culture are concerned. We deeply appreciate your awareness of our former political apathy concerning the advancement of the humanities, and we wish you every possible success. If there is anything that the uni-

versity people can do in the way of cooperation, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. RAMSEY,
Acting Chairman.

MICHIGAN

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
September 8, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: The introduction of H.R. 12406 is a source of deep gratification to those of us committed to studies in the humanities. It now appears that the most deplorable lack of financial encouragement to scholars in this area is about to be corrected. Humanists are deeply conscientious of the fact that 98 percent of the research funds available in this country are earmarked for the sciences. We do not begrudge the scientists the support they have enjoyed. We simply believe that our country cannot afford to let humanistic pursuits wither. We believe that the values to be found in the study of history, of literature, of philosophy, and the fine arts have a most important part of our national heritage. Out of these pursuits arise the values that make life meaningful and extend the dimension of the human personality beyond the realm of sheer physical needs.

I wish you the greatest success in your leadership.

PAUL A. VERG, *Dean.*

MISSISSIPPI

THE SOUTH CENTRAL
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION,
September 27, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I am anxious to get your bill on the National Humanities Foundation (H.R. 12406) before the public, particularly that portion of the public which will be most interested in it and which can discuss it freely and objectively and can create an atmosphere favorable to its passage.

The South Central Modern Language Association will meet in November, and I should like to alert the membership to the bill prior to the meeting through the pages of the October Bulletin. The issue will go to press by the end of next week.

Would you be good enough to provide me with a copy or two of the bill in time for us to get something into the Bulletin?

Sincerely,

TOM J. TRUSS, Jr.,
Editor and Professor of English, University of Mississippi.

P.S.—Even though we might miss the October issue, I should appreciate having something for the next number.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
September 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: It was very gratifying to learn of your efforts in introducing H.R. 12406, a bill to provide for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation.

A number of us who have been very close to the tremendous growth of the sciences in the post-World War II period as well as to the circumstance that the humanities have not received adequate support in this period, endorse your action with a great deal of enthusiasm. We hope you will be successful in bringing this bill to successful enactment.

Sincerely,

MILTON E. MUELDER,
Vice President and Dean.

MISSOURI

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI,
Columbia, August 31, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I am happy to have a copy of your bill, H.R. 12406, and I am delighted that you have introduced it. I understand there will be no opportunity for it in this Congress but you can depend on us for any support that we can give when it comes up in the next.

I am sure you have earned the appreciation of all the academic community in the United States by this statesmanlike move.

Cordially,

ELMER ELLIS.

NEBRASKA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
Lincoln, Nebr., September 8, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you for sending a copy of your bill for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation.

We are pleased to have a copy of this bill and will, of course, be discussing it during the year.

Sincerely,

CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,
Chancellor.

DUKE UNIVERSITY,
September 9, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you indeed for your recent letter. I am delighted to know that you have introduced H.R. 12406, and wish you every success with it in the coming session of Congress. I shall certainly have it in mind as I talk to people around the country, and I shall try to be useful in every way possible.

Yours always,

DOUGLAS M. KNIGHT.

NORTH CAROLINA

THE LEARNING INSTITUTE
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
September 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
New Federal Building,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR BILL: My apologies for this tardy reply to your good letter of August 18 enclosing a copy of H.R. 12406. It is an important beginning, and I am grateful to you for notifying me about it.

I think that the organizational features in the bill, as written are excellent. In addition, the general statement of purpose in section 4, when combined with the broad stipulations in sections 12 and 13, seems to me to embrace the possibility of supporting all the activities suggested in the report of the Commission.

I have to express my concern about section 15(b). Whereas I understand the importance of loyalty provisions for both political and security reasons, it does seem to me that the oath required in section 15(a) is adequate to take care of the matter. People who work in the fields of humanistic scholarship are particularly likely to be concerned about the idea in 15(b), which assumes that an individual is disloyal because he chooses to support a particular organization. Motives for interest in a cause or organization are many and complex and to prejudge a person as ineligible simply because of membership seems to me unwise. It seems, in addition, unnecessary if the person has taken the oath prescribed in 15(a).

With this one reservation, I think the bill is first rate. I hope that it will get support, and I shall endeavor to make people with influence aware of it.

Since you and I met in Virginia a year or more ago, I have changed positions. My new address is on this letterhead. Please let me know of ways you feel I can be useful in advancing this effort. I shall hope to see you again before long.

Sincerely,

HAROLD HOWE II,
Executive Director.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
September 4, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Thank you for sending me the copy of your bill to establish the National Humanities Foundation.

It is encouraging to see your great interest in supporting the humanities. I was in Washington yesterday and suggested to several of the higher education association officials that your legislation should be reviewed soon, and I am confident this will be done and comments furnished you.

I do appreciate your letter.

Cordially,

WILLIAM FRIDAY,

NEW JERSEY

WOODROW WILSON NATIONAL
FELLOWSHIP FOUNDATION,
September 15, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. Representative,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Copies of H.R. 12406 are going out to 1,066 representatives of the foundation on about 1,000 U.S. campuses. These representatives are generally professors and sometimes administrators, not necessarily in the humanities.

Please let me know if you can think of any other way in which the foundation might be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

HANS ROSENHAUPT,
National Director.

OHIO

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,
September 1, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: May I take the liberty of expressing my warm commendation on your initiative in introducing H.R. 12406 and congratulating you on your foresight. I am sure that I speak in the name of all scholars and in particular those of us who are devoted to the humanistic studies. I wish your project all the success it deserves.

Yours sincerely,

LESTER G. CROCKER,
Dean.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY,
August 21, 1964.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: As you can well imagine I was delighted to hear that you have submitted a bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. You can be sure that all of us in the organizations which sponsored the Humanities Commission will do all in our power to create the atmosphere which will be necessary if the bill is to pass the Congress.

I have read the text of the bill rapidly. I have only two comments to make.

1. I believe some mention of the library needs should be incorporated.

2. I wonder whether $150,000 is an adequate appropriation for the initial year. As I recall some of us on the Commission were thinking of a somewhat larger sum. However, none of us thought that it would be wise to do anything but start on a very modest scale.

We shall be in touch with you during the coming months.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

WHITNEY J. OATES.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY,
Oxford, Ohio, September 15, 1964.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: It has come to my attention that you recently introduced a bill to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

Those of us who teach human relations realize the tremendous importance of such an undertaking. Therefore, I would like to convey to you my interest in and support of legislation of this character. I hope that it will be successful since I feel that it is vital to our continued development in the future.

Sincerely yours,

J. RICHARD BOX, Ph.D., *Director.*

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY,
Columbus, Ohio, September 12, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: Let me first congratulate you and encourage you for your action in support of the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

Second, let me ask your help in supporting the measure. I have been in communication with a national officer of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and, at my urging, they have shown interest in supporting this measure. Also, I intend to do my best to win general support from the Speech Association of America at their national convention in Chicago in December.

What I lack is full knowledge of the bill itself, its history, and what persons and ideas have been gathered in support of a National Humanities Foundation. Will you supply me with whatever information is available?

Very sincerely,

RICHARD D. RIEKS,
Assistant Professor,
Director of Forensics.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO,
Toledo, Ohio, September 18, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
The House of Representatvies,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Belated thanks for introducing a bill to create a National Humanities Foundation designed to balance out the catastrophic overemphasis on science, technology and athletics.

Thanks and congratulations on the foresight and courage for doing this service to the stepchild of education and culture-at-large in our land.

I attribute one great portion of our failure to influence and win more cultured minds and hearts to our ideals and the cause of freedom to the accent on products and their export. To be sure, I count myself amongst the voices that have been crying in the wilderness about this very thing, and am therefore delighted that it was you who had introduced this bill in behalf of the humanities through which 'we come to know the excitement of ideas, the power of imagination, and the unsuspected energies of the creative spirit."

I would very much appreciate your sending me a copy of the entire bill, for I shall watch with renewed hope for a ray of public acknowledgment and endorsement of that to which I among others devote all our energies and efforts.

Very sincerely yours,

BORIS E. NELSON,
Ph. D., Litt. D., Professor Humanities and Director of Fine Arts.

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY,
Kent, Ohio, September 25, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I have learned that you have introduced a bill to establish a National Humanities Foundation, H.R. 12406. I wish to assure you that such a foundation would be a great boon to the Nation's colleges and universities, and especially to the departments in the humanities field. I am sure you are aware that the sciences have received disproportionate attention and support from the Federal Government. The fact that you have introduced this resolution indicates that you have a broader view of the needs of the country than many. If a time comes when you wish the friends of your bill to write or wire to other Members of Congress, please let me know.

Sincerely,

K. R. PRINGLE,
Chairman, Department of English.

AIR FORCE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, AIR UNIVERSITY, U.S. AIR FORCE, WRIGHT-PATTERSON AIR FORCE BASE, OHIO,
September 2, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: Congratulations on your introduction of HR. 12406 which proposes to establish a National Humanities Foundation. Passage of the bill will do much to insure that our Nation will not remain unstoried, artless, and unenhanced. Your bill not only fulfills the dream of many who cherish the humanities, but, more importantly, it recognizes that the inner resources of man are the sustaining strength of a nation.

I do have some reservations about one section of the bill; namely, the loyalty oath. As you know, the loyalty oath has been a bone in the throat of many students and colleges who were otherwise eligible for aid under National Defense Educational Act. It is possible that your provision for a loyalty oath may bring up the same problem for some civilian institutions and scholars in the humanities. My experience has been that many teachers and scholars in the humanities object to a loyalty oath for two reasons: (1) They feel that academic people are often singled out as likely candidates for suspicious thoughts and deeds. Many other individuals and groups (for example, farmers) receive Federal aid and sign no loyalty oaths. (2) They feel that one of the bases of Anglo-Saxon law is that a man is innocent unless proven guilty. The loyalty oath assumes that a man may be guilty and asks him to swear his innocence. Some of my civilian colleagues also add that a loyalty oath would seldom, if ever, deter one who deliberately plotted or schemed against his country. Although I know that you are familiar with these arguments and although I know that they are often debatable and certainly controversial, I hope they might be given serious consideration.

Your bill is a good one, and I sincerely hope for its early passage.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY E. HAND.
Head, Department of Humanities.

RHODE ISLAND

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND,
September 11, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: As a scientist, I have heartily approved of Federal support for the useful and exciting explorations of life, space and matter. I agree with you that this support should be expanded to include explorations by the mind wherever they may lead in the arts and the humanities as well as in science and technology. Physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs must all be met and satisfied in reasonable proportions if human beings are to be truly responsible, productive, and happy.

I should like to commend you for your worthy concern and endorse your efforts as evidenced by your bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation.

Respectfully yours,

CARL H. BECKMAN,
Associate Professor of Plant Pathology.

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND,
September 10, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I am writing this letter to express my commendation and compliments as a zoologist for the excellence of your bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation (H.R. 12406), and to indicate my feelings concerning the urgency of its passage.

There is little doubt in my mind that our social, moral, and esthetic development has lagged far behind our material advances in technology and the various sciences. If we are to become a Nation of whole men, the type of support that you envision for the humanities must be accomplished.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD J. ZINN,
Professor of Zoology and Chairman of Department.

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND,
September 10, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: I am indeed pleased to learn that you have introduced H.R. 12406, seeking the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. The accelerating rate of change that characterizes all of American life is today most pronounced in those fields in which the Federal Government has given support, both of its prestige, organizational power, and finances. Obvious development in the fields of science and transportation are clear illustrations. Areas in which the Federal Government has as yet taken little action reveal no similar development. The result is a distressing imbalance in American life, one that seems to justify the charge that we are interested solely in material things, with little or no concern for the arts and humanities, for those things of the mind and spirit that distinguish the truly great civilization from the lesser.

The creation of a National Humanities Foundation would be a major step toward correction of this imbalance. It would without question provide significant impetus for the strengthening and expansion of work in art, music, drama, literary endeavor—those fields in which man seeks to express those qualities of mind and spirit that make human life worth the living. I am confident that you will find widespread support for your proposal among educators and all others who are anxious that the United States be known not just for its rockets and gadgets, its automobiles and TV's, but also

for the excellence of its artistic, scholarly, and literary achievement.

Cordially,

WILLIAM D. METZ,
Chairman.

TENNESSEE

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
September 25, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to support most strongly the bill which you introduced on August 15 in support of a National Humanities Foundation (H.R. 12406).

I am a teacher of chemistry and a research chemist. In both capacities, I have seen the great benefits which have accrued to science through the National Science Foundation. In the long run, I believe it is as important to support the arts and humanities as the sciences. Much of the value of the understanding and control of nature through science and engineering is lost unless the enlightening and humanizing influence of the humanities also is encouraged to flourish. A national emphasis only on science and engineering conceivably could result in a materialistic nation with little appreciation of the beauty and worth of the humanities and arts in our national life. The humanities and arts should be more cherished and featured more prominently in our Nation than at present and your legislation should provide the important help toward this end. The humanities and arts undoubtedly will become increasingly important as more leisure time becomes available to our citizens and as the proportion of retired persons increases. A balance of science, engineering, the humanities, the arts, and the social sciences seems indispensable to a truly great and truly civilized nation.

You have my most earnest wishes for success with the legislation which you have proposed.

Very truly yours,

LAMAR FIELD,
Chairman.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY,
September 15, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: Thank you very much for sending me a copy of H.R. 12406 for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. This is a matter of great interest to the American Association for State and Local History because of our great concern for the better dissemination of historical knowledge.

We shall certainly carry in our monthly publication, History News, a notice on your introduction of this bill. I know our members will share with me a gratitude to you for trying to do something to provide leadership on the national level for the whole broad area of the humanities.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. ALDERSON,
Director.

TEXAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
Austin, Tex., September 16, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: Thank you for your gracious letter of August 24, which came while I was on an extended trip away from the university.

All of us concerned with the humanities in higher education will stay deeply grateful to you for the wise and thoughtful support which you have given to the prospect of a national foundation.

Because of your kind suggestion, I shall feel free to write to you from time to time concerning such echoes in the educational community as may be interesting to your office. I do not wish to burden you with correspondence, of course.

We do appreciate your valiant support.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY RANSOM,
Chancellor.

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY,
Dallas, Tex., September 21, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: It has become increasingly clear to me that, without a program of aid such as that sponsored by you in bill H.R. 12406, the U.S. Government is continuing to sacrifice a wealth of talent capable of service both to society and to government. Although the private foundations have performed a herculean effort in underwriting the graduate education of a sizable number of students, I have noticed in my capacity as coordinator of graduate scholarships and director of the Ford Foundation MA–3 Program at Southern Methodist University that a large number of competent, capable students are not able to continue their schooling because of financial difficulties.

At Southern Methodist University annually approximately 3 students in 20 applying for private financial assistance receive such aid; approximately 10 students do not continue because of a lack of funds; 7 continue graduate education through teaching assistantship programs but this adds an additional year or two to the total educational experience—a waste then can only be described as unfortunate, a delay that is costly for the Nation as a whole.

A bill such as that you are now sponsoring not only recognizes the immediacy of the present plight of the humanities and the social sciences, but offers tremendous opportunities for greater university planning and the development of those interdisciplinary programs which can utilize the talent now wasted.

Wishing you great success in your endeavors, I am,

Cordially yours,

JOHN RISON JONES, Jr.,
Associate Professor, European History.

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY,
Fort Worth, Tex., September 4, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: I am pleased to hear that you have introduced H.R. 12406, a bill for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. Please accept our thanks and congratulations.

I have heard this idea debated at numerous meetings, and in every case the preponderant opinion has been favorable. Only this week such a foundation was the main topic of an address by the president of Brown University at the dinner meeting of the triennial meeting of the council of Phi Beta Kappa at Burlington, Vt.

As keenly as we need good science education, the greatest need in our country and around the world is for humane education. How to live together will always be a more important question than how to harness the atom or conquer some dread disease. We want the atom harnessed and we want diseases conquered, but these would do us little good if we have not learned to live well together.

In my opinion, the creation of a National Humanities Foundation would not only furnish substantive help to humane education but would lend an aura of recognition which not yet pronounced in the conduct of Federal affairs. Thank you for your help in rectifying this situation.

Cordially yours,

J. M. MOODY,
Executive Vice Chancellor.

RICE UNIVERSITY,
Houston, Tex., September 3, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I want to congratulate you on your bill presented in Congress on August 17, 1964, H.R. 12406, to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation. This kind of support for the humanities has been needed for a long time and I am particularly gratified that you have taken an interest in this and have introduced the measure so promptly.

The bill is very carefully thought out and I hope it will receive full support from Members of the Congress. The only disappointing feature is the small amount of money, $150,000, proposed for the first fiscal year. On the other hand, this may be an advantage in getting the bill passed, with the hope that further financial support may be received in future years, both from the government and from gifts which may pour in from corporations and foundations.

At Rice University we are very much interested in this bill and I hope that you will receive some supporting letters from members of our faculty.

With my very best wishes in this important venture.

Yours sincerely,

PHILIP A. WADSWORTH.

VIRGINIA

HAMPTON INSTITUTE,
Hampton, Va., September 22, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I believe that we need to emphasize the area of humanities in our educational program. It is most heartening to know of your interest in this area, and to know of your proposal to establish a National Humanities Foundation. Such a program will enhance the role of the humanities in present day life.

Very truly yours,

JEROME H. HOLLAND,
President.

WASHINGTON

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
Seattle, Wash., September 4, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MOORHEAD: I appreciate greatly your courtesy in sending me your bill H.R. 12406 for the establishment of the National Humanities Foundation. I have followed the activities of the Commission on the Humanities and am delighted to see this tangible outcome of its recommendations. I am hopeful that the next Congress will give your bill the favorable attention it deserves.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. ODEGAARD, *President.*

WYOMING

THE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING,
Laramie, Wyo., September 28, 1964.

Hon. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MOORHEAD: Your bill, H.R. 12406, to provide for the establishment of a National Humanities Foundation to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities, has just come to my attention and I hasten to write to you expressing my appreciation of the bill itself and your inten-

tion in offering it. I have written to the Congressmen from Wyoming urging their support, and I shall urge others to do so. The goals of the bill and its very possible results far outdistance the small amount of money involved. The history of Western civilization gives clear evidence that scientific and mechanical improvements have only furthered man's progress when they have been part of a general cultural flowering and advance. All of the money put into scientific investigation and hardware may be of little help in saving man from his present perilous position unless the whole level of his cultural life changes. The present bill is certainly no cure-all, nor does it guarantee cultural progress, but it at least starts us in the right direction and gives evidence that the Congress realizes the varied educational and research needs of the country.

Sincerely,

BAIRD WHITLOCK,
Head, English Department.

The "Primer on Money"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Washington Post of October 2, an article about the "Primer on Money," a print that I am pleased to report is in considerable demand from universities and high schools, as well as from the general public. The schools, of course, are planning to use it as a textbook. It is priced so reasonably at the Government Printing Office—40 cents—that it is not surprising that the demand has been heavy.

I am inserting the Post article in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 2, 1964]

PATMAN GOES TO PEOPLE WITH "PRIMER ON MONEY"

(By David Fouquet)

In 1637 the government of Massachusetts made wampum legal tender and fixed the exchange value between wampum of white clamshells and that made of black clamshells. Later plantation owners used recepits from tobacco warehouses as currency.

Since then the monetary system in this country has grown more sophisticated and complex and according to Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, it is one of the most vital aspects of our society.

As part of his plan "to go to the people," in his feud with the Federal Reserve System, PATMAN as chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee recently released a 144-page "Primer on Money," which he says took over 25 years to prepare.

A statement from PATMAN's office accompanying the book states that the work "already threatens to be a best seller" The book, on sale at the Government Printing Office, it is hoped by the Congressman, will be "perhaps as effective a textbook for social science classes and university economic courses as has ever been put together, and all for 40 cents per copy."

In this text, he says the public does not understand our monetary system because it is something people get emotional about and involves something akin to faith. He adds this is probably why in past societies the money was in the hands of the priesthood, the subject of magical rites and the ceremonial services of the tribe's medicine man.

A feeling that public knowledge would probably destroy the system has prompted managers of money to cloak their work with the mantle of secrecy in the past. And, he says, many of our officials share this view.

The Primer details the workings of this country's monetary system and the functions of the agencies which administer it.

In the text and the conclusions, PATMAN resumes his call for tighter control over the Federal Reserve System and for reforms in the money system.

He contends that the Fed is controlled too much by private bankers whose interests can clash. He adds that the Fed's decisions can and often do run counter to the President's and Congress.

He also renews his call for presidential guidelines to be followed by the Fed and to transfer the power to buy and sell Government securities from the Open Market Committee, some members of which are elected by private bankers, to the Board of Governors, appointed by the President.

Hon. Carl Elliott

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to join with my colleagues in honoring one of our most distinguished Members.

Alabama has contributed many great men to the Nation, and well up on this list must be inscribed the name of our friend and colleague, CARL ELLIOTT.

He has been an outstanding Member of the House since coming here in 1948. His devotion to and love of country is something to be admired, and he has worked hard toward those objectives which he believes are in the best interests of all our people. He brought to his congressional duties a wide knowledge of public affairs and a warm humanity which have made him highly esteemed and universally liked. His honesty, integrity, and frankness are well known, and, it has been a real pleasure to be associated with him.

During his years in Congress he has served in many capacities, and in every instance he has distinguished himself and the State of Alabama. His work as a Member of the House Education and Labor Committee has been particularly outstanding and he will be long remembered as the author of the National Defense Eduaction Act. He can take justifiable pride in his many legislative accomplishments, particularly those in the field of education.

CARL ELLIOTT is a remarkable man, and his retirement will be a real loss to the House. We shall miss his aid and wisdom as a legislator, but, more than that, in the days ahead we shall miss his quiet, unassuming, friendly presense, and his dedication to the common good of our Nation.

As Consulting Engineers Council's President Sees It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as a confirmed advocate of the policy that private enterprise should undertake all projects except those which must of necessity be done by Government agencies, I was much impressed by an article called to my attention by a prominent civil engineer of Michigan who is deeply concerned about the increasing encroachment of public engineering projects on private efforts.

Under unanimous consent I place this article by William W. Moore, president of the Consulting Engineers Council, which appeared in a recent issue of Consulting Engineer in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because it points out so well some of the conflicts which develop as Government agencies intrude more and more on private programs. It is truly disturbing and discouraging to know that more and more taxpayer dollars are being used to compete with the efforts of private enterprise—it is a trend which must be checked if we are to continue in the traditions which have made our country so great.

The article follows:

AS CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL'S PRESIDENT SEES IT

Some people seem to believe that Consulting Engineers Council is opposed to Government engineers. This is not true. The members of the council recognize the need for highly capable engineers at many levels of local and Federal Government—just as highly competent engineers are needed in many industrial and commercial aspects of our economy. The physical life and comforts of our country have become so entwined with the products of science, engineering, and industry that practically everything we do depends, in one way or another, upon applications of engineering services. This technological age should open many opportunities for engineers at the policy level of Government.

FRUSTRATING AND CONFUSING ASPECTS

Essentially our great need is for a clear guiding policy that will define the objectives and limits of direct government participation in engineering activities. Without such a policy it becomes more difficult every day for private engineers to plan for and maintain facilities and organizations to meet the engineering needs of today and tomorrow. Although we recognize and support the need for highly competent engineers in appropriate positions of government, we find certain aspects of government operations are extremely frustrating and confusing to us—both as taxpayers and as practicing engineers. A few examples may help illustrate circumstances we believe are improper.

The Chattanooga Times, of April 11, 1964, describes how TVA will provide free architectural and engineering services to plan reconstruction of private buildings in Cleveland and Athens, Tenn.:

"Engineers and architects for the Tennessee Valley Authority are preparing drawings showing improvements which could be made

in downtown buildings here (Cleveland) and in Athens, Tenn.

"TVA has photographed the Cleveland skyline in an 8-block area; in Athens the project is confined to the streets immediately surrounding the courthouse.

"TVA's projection is being awaited for study. It will provide an excellent opportunity for property owners to actually see what can be done in revitalization of existing property at reasonable cost.

"It was learned that TVA architects may present only a one-block drawing initially so that property owners can determine if they desire to see more complete sketches of the larger area.

"The TVA service is free. According to one official, TVA's architectural and engineering work would ordinarily cost about $10,000 * * *"

In a letter dated October 30, 1963, from the Corpus Christi Chamber of Commerce to a consulting engineering firm that had submitted a proposal for a water resources project for the city, the secretary of the area development committee of the chamber wrote:

"In a letter dated August 1, 1962, you were told your proposal to study Corpus Christi's water resources and requirements was still under consideration.

"Recently, our subcommittee was informed that the city of Corpus Christi planned to investigate the possibility of entering into an agreement with the Bureau of Reclamation for a similar study. Such an agreement is presently being negotiated.

"Again we thank you for submitting such an excellent proposal for our consideration. Your suggestions were extremely helpful to us."

A press release describes a contract undertaken by the State of California to render engineering services to Chile under four Alliance for Progress agreements:

"(State of) California experts will help Chile plan development of a major river valley, strengthen a rural extension program, prepare manpower studies, and spur development planning under four Alliance for Progress agreements signed today in Santiago, Chile.

"The agreements were signed by Chilean Government officials and officials of the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Santiago.

"The Chilean Government has given high priority to all four projects, and work on them is scheduled to get underway immediately. Activities will be carried out by the Chilean Government and a California mission in Chile, with financial support from AID.

"Preston N. Silbaugh, a member of the cabinet of Gov. Edmund G. Brown and former administrator of the California State Business and Commerce Agency, headed the California mission to Chile."

Announcement that the Department of Interior would undertake a survey of the water supply problem at Boulder City, Nev., appeared in a Las Vegas paper. The article stated:

"WASHINGTON.—The Interior Department Monday advised Senator ALAN BIBLE it is willing to undertake a survey of the water supply problem at Boulder City.

"The Boulder City council had written BIBLE that the city 'faces a critical water problem' this year. The council asked whether the Bureau of Reclamation could study the problem.

"BIBLE's office said there presently are two reservoirs of 2 million gallons each at Boulder City, but that a total capacity of 10 million gallons is needed. There also is a need for rehabilitation of some lines and extension of others.

"The council's letter to BIBLE said it felt a study of the problem by the Bureau of Reclamation 'will show that existing water lines, if upgraded by additional pumping and storage capacity, will be capable of furnishing the water and storage to fill our needs until the southern Nevada water supply project is completed, when the additional improvements would tie into and become part of the project.'"

Unfortunately, these are not isolated examples, but rather, seem typical of many governmental agency activities in the engineering field.

THE CURSE OF VARYING INTERPRETATIONS

In contrast to these activities, the policy of the U.S. Government has been administratively adopted by Executive direction in the past and is enunciated in Budget Bulletin No. 60.2, currently in effect. It states in part:

"2. Policy: It is the general policy of the administration that the Federal Government will not start or carry on any commercial-industrial activity to provide a service or product for its own use if such project or service can be procured from private enterprise through ordinary business channels."

The Hoover Commission, in its studies of governmental efficiency, further made the following recommendations relating to engineering services:

"(a) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government should not initiate nor carry on any program which provides services regularly obtainable from firms or individuals in private enterprise.

"(b) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government should not solicit nor accept engineering works from private industry or from other Government agencies, if such works can be accomplished by private engineering firms.

"(c) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government should permanently employ only those professional engineers necessary for the performance of normal functions such as research, planning, supervision, and management."

In contrast to these recommendations, the General Accounting Office has issued a statement as follows:

"According to Bureau of Public Roads officials, one of the principal reasons for the lack of sufficient engineering personnel in some state highway departments is the inability of the States to compete with consulting engineering firms. On page 94 of our report you will note that this is the reason given by both Bureau and State officials for the shortage of engineering personnel in the bridge design divisions. This condition would indicate the cost of direct engineering services on State contracts with consultants ordinarily would be higher than if the work were done by State forces.

"It seems clear from the above that reimbursements to the States by the Federal Government for its participating share in the cost of engineering by State forces are less than they would be for the same engineering by consulting engineers, at least to the extent of overhead and profit."

This conclusion drawn by the General Accounting Office certainly is unjustified and incorrect. It leads to the position that the Government can carry out any economic activity more cheaply and efficiently than the private enterprise economy can. If the result indicated by GAO were obvious, maximum benefit to our country would occur if the Government manufactured automobiles and home appliances, and carried on many other commercial activities.

GAO's statement does not hold up even within Government. We are told by a representative of a large Government engineering organization that public agency costs are always greater than those of the consulting engineer. Reasons cited are: much more detailed construction inspection; public agency overhead is "inherently" much greater than that of private firms; and average wages paid Government engineers probably are higher than those paid comparable persons in private industries.

ADMINISTRATORS, NOT ENGINEERS, TO BLAME

When we as engineers and taxpayers note the conflict between statements such as these emanating from high level governmental officials, we almost are forced to believe that certain parts of the Government are against us as private practitioners in the consulting engineering field. It is quite probable we would be able to find agreement with many Government-employed engineers on basic policies concerning the proper scope of practice for public and private engineering agencies. Unfortunately, it is somewhat futile for engineers in Government and engineers in private practice to discuss these matters at great length, because the governmental agency actions are not controlled by the engineers who are working for the Government. The policies and actions emanate from administrators of governmental agencies. In most instances, engineers in Government would be powerless to influence these policies and generally unable even to speak strongly in regard to them.

Certainly there are numerous governmental entities, on both national and local levels, that do support the policies of using the capabilities of private enterprise and particularly private taxpaying engineering firms. A number of governmental officials have stated publicly that their experiences prove the overall economy and benefits of using a proper balance between publicly and privately employed engineering staffs. But so, too, are there the dedicated bureaucracy builders as illustrated by the examples herein.

CEC RESPONSIBILITY

Consulting Engineers Council feels there is no alternative but to expose and to oppose actions of governmental agencies which directly compete with and usurp the proper areas of practice for private consulting engineering. CEC is the only organization in the United States that can and will concern itself actively with this problem. Consultants' views on these matters must be carried by CEC and its members directly to legislators, to policy levels of Government, and to the voters and taxpayers and the country if they are properly to understand the problems and act accordingly.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, among the many privileges of being a Member of Congress is the value of associations which one makes and over the years of my service I consider it a privilege to express my admiration for the gentleman from Georgia, CARL VINSON.

CARL VINSON has served his country well over many years and his outstanding record in the House of Representatives is something to the everlasting credit of the United States of America. His alert mind and indefatigable zeal has always commanded the respect and admiration of his colleagues among whom he has made a host of friends. I will always treasure his friendship and my admira-

tion for his example of Americanism will never be forgotten.

Like everyone else, I wish him well in the days of his retirement which I hope he will enjoy to the fullest extent and in the knowledge that he has earned the everlasting respect of the citizens of our country.

Peaceful Coexistence—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I should like to offer, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, additional material from the useful study of major policy techniques of the international Communist movement published by the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association under the title, "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," as follows:

VIOLENCE OR NONVIOLENCE? THE "TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM"

The question of how the international Communist movement will succeed in achieving further power in countries which are now non-Communist has been a subject of dispute among the various Communist Parties. It is also an important issue for the West, since we cannot assume that those who "reject the violent path" are necessarily any less dangerous to us in the long run. We ignore this important issue at our own peril, for a false sense of security could lull us into an extremely dangerous situation.

There is a long-standing misconception in the West that a superficially nonviolent method of overthrowing a government is equivalent to a "peaceful" and "legitimate" political change. Such is not always the case, for subversion, intimidation, and pressure from outside may cause a government to fall prey to communism, a system providing for no future political change. The most obvious example of a "peaceful" Communist takeover is that of Czechoslovakia in 1948.[1]

Whether the "transition" will be violent or peaceful depends, according to Khruschev, on the conditions in each country:

"Historical development has long since placed on the agenda the question of the advent to power of the working class in alliance with all working people. We Marxists describe this process as the transition from capitalism to socialism. Whether this will be a peaceful transition or not will depend on specific conditions in this or that country." [2]

What kind of "specific conditions" determines the method used? The primary condition involves the degree of resistance which is put up by the non-Communists, since the Communists hold that the ruling classes will never relinquish power voluntarily:

Revolution by peaceful means is in keeping with the interests of the working class and the masses. But if the ruling classes counter revolution with force and are unwilling to bow to the will of the people, the proletariat must break their resistance and start a resolute civil war.[3]

Needless to say, "the will of the people" is to be represented by the Communists themselves, and hence resistance to the demands of the Communists will bring about revolutionary violence. This bold formula for the use of violence puts on notice all those who contemplate "obstructing history" through their attempts to maintain law and order.

To be sure, the first time Khrushchev used this language in 1956, he simultaneously pointed out that war was no longer "inevitable." Many took this innovation as a renunciation of violence in general. It is apparent that he did not exclude all lesser forms of violence, nor did he rule out any combination of peaceful and violent techniques.

Consider these three statements made in 1963 by the head of the Communist Party of Chile, his counterpart in Colombia, and "Che" Guevara, respectively:

"I emphasize that this struggle has been developed in Chile because we have called upon the popular masses to take advantage of all the possibilities afforded by the peaceful way. We wish to take advantage of the favorable conditions of the presidential elections in order to achieve the front rank positions of power. Obviously we do not restrict ourselves merely to this position. I repeat, we know very well that the enemy will do everything to prevent the victory of the people, that it will use all possible means. Consequently, the popular movement is preparing to carry on the struggle in any field.[4]

* * * * *

"The revolution can advance for a distance along the peaceful road. However, if the dominant classes make it necessary through violence and systematic persecution of the people, the revolution may be obliged to take the road of armed struggle as its principal, but never sole, form in another period. The revolutionary road in our country could also turn out to be a combination of all the forms of struggle: elections and parliamentary action to sharpen the crisis of the antidemocratic system, strikes and mass demonstrations in the cities and proletarian centers; rural struggles for the land and guerrilla actions against official violence.[5]

* * * * *

"The real capacity of a revolutionary is measured by his ability to find adequate revolutionary tactics in every change of situation. By keeping all tactics in mind, he will exploit them to the maximum. It would be an unpardonable error to underestimate the gain that a revolutionary program can make through a given electoral process. At the same time it would be unpardonable to look only to elections and to neglect other forms of struggle, including armed struggle, to win power, which is the indispensable instrument for applying and developing the revolutionary program. If this power is not won, all other conquests, however advanced they appear, are unstable, insufficient, and incapable of producing necessary solutions." [6]

Unquestionably the Communists would prefer to come to power by means of the peaceful method, but it is clear that they are prepared to employ any method which promises success.

Of particular importance is their willingness to utilize the instruments of democracy to destroy that very democracy which guarantees them the right to organize politically and even take part in the conduct of governmental affairs. In this respect so-called national Communists, those who profess to swear allegiance only to the causes of the country in which they reside, are no less dangerous than their internationally minded brethren, for they, too, have as a minimum goal the destruction of the democratic system. "National communism" is no less totalitarian and antidemocratic than any other variety.

DISSENSION WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT: THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT

In the West a great deal of attention has been focused (particularly by the press) on the rift which has developed between the two giants of the Communist camp, the Soviet Union and China. Many theories have been advanced, some sound and others unsound, about the causes for the dispute: it has been said that China advocates violence as the only method for achieving the "transition to socialism" while Moscow expounds the peaceful method; that China harbors territorial grudges against the Soviet Union; that the Soviet Union fears a strong and industrialized China as a long-range threat to Soviet security; that China, as a "colored" nation, feels a racial antipathy toward the "white" Soviets; that China, a "have not" nation, is jealous of the Soviet Union, a "have" nation; and that both the Chinese and the Soviets have in fact renounced "international" Communist goals in favor of achieving "national" goals to augment their own respective strengths.

Although this by no means exhausts the catalog of theories which have received attention, the official statements of the disagreeing factions have included an unusual combination of exceptionally bitter charges and countercharges, personal attacks, quotations from the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism, and declarations of "fundamental unity."

While the debate has gone on at the highest level, Communist Parties around the world have become involved on each side, with the overwhelming majority of parties siding with the Soviet Union. In some countries the Communist Party has been split into "Soviet" and "Chinese" factions, causing considerable "fraternal strife," and in others a "neutral" attitude has been assumed. Both Moscow and Peiping have actively sought to influence the Communist Parties of the free world, and on occasion have used a foreign Communist Party as a "mouthpiece" to say something they themselves would never say.

The Belgian Communist Party, long known as a troublemaking element, has very succintly defined the issue between the Soviet Union and China:

"The Moscow-Peiping quarrel can be summed up by saying: 'Moscow gives priority to peaceful coexistence, Peiping to world Socialist revolution.' Are these two policies contradictory? We do not think so." [7]

During the summer of 1963 there occurred ones of the most heated exchanges yet to take place between the disputants: the famous "Open Letters" of the Chinese to the Soviets on June 14 and of the Soviets to the Chinese on July 14. Refuting the Chinese charge that the Soviets are slackening in the struggle to "defeat imperialism," the Soviet letter states flatly:

"We stand fully for the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. We not only believe in the inevitable destruction of capitalism but are doing everything for this to be accomplished by class struggle, and as soon as possible." [8]

The Communists repeatedly stress that the goals which both seek are the same, but that the difference arises over the tactics used to achieve them:

"The Chinese leaders * * * affirm that the main thing is to get rid of imperialism as soon as possible at the price of whatever sacrifices may be necessary.

"To be sure, we too want to see an end to capitalism, but it is through the struggle of the working class and its allies that we intend to achieve socialism, and not over the ruins of a thermonuclear war.

"But if we are for the policy of peaceful coexistence between states, it is also because this policy is still the best way to help the international revolutionary movement to achieve its main * * * objectives." [9]

During the latter part of 1963 statements which openly admitted that the dispute was over means and not ends became increasingly frequent. In November the official ideological journal World Marxist Review sermonized:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"The Chinese leaders will not get very far by trying to monopolize the idea, shared by all Communists, that the old bourgeois governments do not topple of their own accord, that as long as they are not "toppled" they will not yield power to the new, socialist governments. There is not a single Communist who will dispute this revolutionary thesis. The argument with the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party is not about whether bourgeois governments should be "toppled," but about how they should be "toppled"—solely by means of an armed uprising and civil war, or by various means other than an armed uprising, or at any rate civil war. In either case it is a question of revolutionary violence." [10]

While at the same time roundly condemning each other, the Soviets and the Chinese rarely lose an opportunity to proclaim their over-all "unity and solidarity," and express optimism that the future will bring a complete understanding:

"The Socialist camp will in the future be united and whole, embracing all Communist Parties, all truly revolutionary forces. We consider that what unites the Communists of all countries is immeasurably higher than the differences which divide it today. * * * We believe that the difficulties which exist today will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement will be insured.[11]

During the last days of 1963 and the first part of 1964, there were signs that the Chinese were becoming more conciliatory in their attitude toward the Soviets. While on a good will tour of Africa, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai stated that—

"If anything unusual happens, the Soviet Union and China will stand shoulder to shoulder and arm to arm.

"There are serious differences between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties on Marxist-Leninist principles. But we believe that the results of such disputes will eventually be a solution on these principles. As for certain countries which try to exploit such a dispute for their own benefit, they will certainly be defeated.

"Remember, both China and Russia belong to the Socialist camp." [12]

Then, during the spring and summer of 1964 the polemics between the two giants of the Communist world reached new antagonistic heights. Despite repeated efforts by other members of the Communist bloc to heal the growing schism, the Chinese continued to level one broadside after another at the Soviet Communist Party and at Khrushchev himself. After a 6-month period of "self-restraint," the Soviet Union retaliated by issuing a summons to a worldwide conference of Communist Parties to deal with the differences between the two factions. Although the differences were serious and far reaching, neither side appeared to be moving toward an open break.

Many felt that with these developments the two former allies would never again unite for common action, but would allow "national" and "racial" differences to come to the fore. Others, noting the advanced ages of both Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, felt that the differences could be solved only through a change of leadership in either or both of the countries. Still others felt that, should the split become final and irrevocable, the demands upon the defenses of the free world would increase, with both factions pursuing widely variant strategies designed to bring about the ultimate worldwide victory of the Communist system. To be well prepared for different kinds of offensives, they noted, is the first ingredient of security.

[1] There exists an extraordinary document by Jan Kozak, Historian of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which explains in great detail how the Communists took over in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Two chapters of this document came into the possession of Western sources in 1959, and were reprinted in full by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1962 under the title, "The New Role of the National Legislative Bodies in the Communist Conspiracy" (Washington: Government Printing Office).

[2] "N. S. Khrushchev's Replies to Questions by I. Pietra, Director of the Italian Newspaper Giorno," Current Soviet Documents, May 6, 1963, p. 16.

[3] N. S. Khrushchev, "For New Victories for the World Communist Movement," Kommunist, p. 73.

[4] Luis Corvalan, "The Nations Must Choose Between Coexistence and Nuclear War," El Siglo (The Century), Sept. 20, 1963.

[5] Gilberto Vieira, "The Attitude of the Chinese Communist Party and the Unity of the Communist Movement," November 1963.

[6] Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Havana Radio Broadcast (European Service), Aug. 17, 1963.

[7] Roger Forton, "Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution," La Gauche (The Left), Brussels, Aug. 2, 1963.

[8] Open Letter of CPSU Central Committee to All Party Organizations and All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

[9] Waldeck Rochet, "Report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France," L'Humanité (Humanity), Oct. 8, 1963. Rochet is Secretary General of the French Communist Party.

[10] Pedro Motta Lima, "Who Is Revising Agreed Decisions?" World Marxist Review, November 1963, p. 53.

[11] Alvaro Cunhal, "The U.S.S.R. Is the Main Bulwark of World Revolution," Pravda, Nov. 3, 1963.

[12] Chou En-lai, Interview in Cairo, Dec. 20, 1963.

NAACP Meeting in Harrisburg, Pa.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, on September 24, 1964, in the forum of the State education building, a splendid meeting of the NAACP, Dauphin County Branch, and its guests was held.

The Reverend Franklin L. Henley, president of the Dauphin County Branch and minister of St. Paul's Baptist Church, 1201 North 17th Street, Harrisburg, Pa., has been doing a yeomans job in aiding and promoting the peaceful development of the Civil Rights movement in our area. He has been active in every phase of the movement and the adjustment which has been occurring.

I had the privilege of speaking to the audience present at this meeting. Included herewith is the speech I delivered:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN C. KUNKEL, NAACP MEETING, HARRISBURG, PA., SEPTEMBER 24, 1964

My advocacy of civil rights is lifelong. It is based on heritage and tradition, on education and study. But primarily on my firm belief in the equality of all men before God.

My great-grandfather, Dr. William W. Rutherford, was one of the early abolitionists. His home, located where the Dauphin County courthouse now stands, was an underground railroad station for fugitive slaves during the Civil War. This occupation was unpopular. He was rotten egged on several occasions by the majority who disagreed strongly with his views.

Here I am 100 years later, urging the same principles and receiving a good measure of approval for my efforts. While my efforts on behalf of them are more effective (due to my representing you in the Congress of the United States), nevertheless it does not require so much courage on my part as was shown by my great grandfather. After all, a hundred years have made a tremendous difference. Progress has been slow but there has been progress. "Now we have taken the big leap."

During my lifetime, well before ever seeking public office, I tried in many small ways to help promote the cause of equality.

Apparently this family trait will reach into the next generation. My stepson, Dr. Minster Kunkel was given the NAACP Freedom Award by the State of Pennsylvania in recognition of his trip to the Congo. During that time he performed surgery on well over 550 Congolese patients in an effort to help the sad conditions existing there.

Naturally I was an ardent supporter of civil rights legislation during the present Congress. As a matter of fact I have supported all civil rights legislation, including antipoll tax and antilynching during my 15½ years of service.

My efforts have been directed also on many occasions to securing greater job opportunities at higher levels with various business firms and people in Dauphin County and in many other little ways which are so important in the long run. If all of us keep our eyes open for these little things and do them, we'll speed the pace toward true equality by leaps and bounds.

The civil rights bill is a tremendous step forward. It adds the stamp of legislative approval to that given by the Supreme Court and the executive branch of the Government. It is broad in scope. It covers all the major areas in which discrimination now exists. It is a legislative affirmation of the citizenshp rights of all of us. We know the underlying reason for the legislation was to rectify the plight of the Negro. But the basis of the legislation is equality for all mankind. Keep this in mind.

In practical effect this law also transfers the burden of proof in securing rights from the Negro to the alleged offender. No statutory law can completely end discrimination. Remember that. It takes time and many court interpretations to work out exactly what the law means. How far it goes. Cases will be arising under this law for years to come. But the pattern is set. The language is clear.

I feel the answers will be just and what we expect them to be.

Undoubtedly additional personnel will be needed by the Department of Justice to aid and carry out the new duties thrust upon it. You can count on me to do my best to see that the Department of Justice is supplied with fully adequate manpower to do the job.

Final success will depend greatly on cooperative action at the State, county, city and local levels. You people here at home have a lot of work to do—work in which I will be proud to assist whenever time permits.

All of us must strive to make these changes as rapidly and as quickly as can be done. We must work together in harmony. Here in Dauphin County we have been having just that kind of outstanding leadership and fine cooperation which ultimately will bring to full fruition the goals of this legislation. This has to be done bit by bit all over this vast Nation of ours—in the States, the towns, the villages, the townships. It requires an adjustment in the thinking of many. All of us must learn to believe in equality deep down in our hearts. Ultimate success lies in the hearts and minds of men.

Given equal opportunity for education, jobs and full access to all facilities, it will not be long until the Negro will have completely proven that he can attain equality

with the best of us. In fact, many have done so already, such as Ralph Bunche and Carl Rowan. But the field of sports gives us the most tangible proof of this. The Negro has had a greater degree of equality in this field for some years. Our Negro athletes have shown that they rank with the best. Willie Mays and Jim Brown are prime examples. What would we have done in the last few Olympics if it had not been for our Negro athletes? In tennis and golf the Negroes are rapidly rising to the top. You never hear of any racial feeling or race discrimination in the field of sports, except on rare occasions. I believe this proves what can and will happen in all fields of human endeavor.

The national leaders of NAACP and other national leaders such as Martin Luther King, have taken the position that now is the time for restraint. I thoroughly agree with them. We must avoid race riots and violent disturbances. My own judgment is that many of the recent riots, which in most cases have been called race riots, are in many instances primarily pure hoodlumism based on a desire to loot and having little if anything to do with the race question. We must remember, also, in this connection that the Communists never miss an opportunity to step in and promote disturbances. May I add parenthetically here that the Negro leadership deserves unstinted praise for the way in which they have kept their movement free of communistic influence during all the recent turmoil.

We in the United States are frequently criticized for having discriminatory practices. We should be. I follow history and current events very carefully. But no where in the world is there a society free from discrimination. It exists everywhere. India has its caste system. The British have a rigid social structure. South America is the same. So it goes east, west, north, and south. However, only here in the United States is there a sincere and nationwide movement afoot to end all discrimination. The rest are shuting their eyes to their own sins and criticizing us. Furthermore, we will succeed. But it will take time. Rome wasn't built in a day.

Many people ask me what changes should be made in the law. Undoubtedly as time goes on many changes will be needed in the law. But, for the time being, I think we should all give full support to the law as it is. Flaws will appear—then they can be corrected.

Maybe it is because I am an optimist. But frankly I think we have done extremely well in this country during the past few months. I do not like to hear the comment about "restraint until after the election" because I believe we should have restraint before and after the election and at all times—just so long as we can see tangible progress being made. I was delighted to read in the paper today about the quick action the Supreme Court was going to take on the recent public accommodation case. If the Court will act quickly on all cases brought under the civil rights bill, then the exact scope can be found more quickly and everyone's rights can be protected at a much earlier time. Quick Court action is a key to the success of this bill.

It will hasten the time when we can all hear the voice of Leviticus "proclaiming liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

Reverend Henley delivered a magnificent, down-to-earth talk which really reached into the fundamentals of the problem. I hope the Members will read this address of his with the care and attention it richly merits.

Reverend Henley's speech follows:

ADDRESS OF REV. FRANKLIN L. HENLEY

Mr. Chairman, distinguished candidates, honorable platform guest, and fellow citizens, I am delighted to welcome you tonight to the First Freedom Rally sponsored by the Dauphin County Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The branch not only welcomes you, but we wish to express our sincere thanks to the candidates for coming here to present their platform upon which they seek support, now, and on November 3. We also thank you, the citizens, for coming out to hear these oustanding community, State, and National leaders.

The NAACP as you know, is a nonpartisan organization composed of members of all political parties, except the Communist Party and such allied-political organizations, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council, the John Birch Society, and the Black Muslims. The NAACP was not organized to fight other citizens and has lived up to this during the 55 years of its history. The purpose of the organization is to fight against the social cancer that exists in our society, which is discrimination, segregation, and injustice. The cure is equality and justice for all citizens in every phase of American life. Unless this cure, which is the only social medicine with therapeutic value, is accepted, our society is doomed, just as sure as a man suffering with advanced physical cancer.

During this month and next, meetings are being sponsored by our organization throughout our Nation to ask the political candidates of both major parties to join with us in a cure of this social ill.

The Negro does not seek any advantage over other citizens. Why should he? Yet, propaganda against our organization and the civil rights bill is being spread real thick throughout our country today. The civil rights bill does not give any advantage to the Negro, but seeks, according to the statement made by the distinguished U.S. Senator, WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, to bring the Negro as a citizen into the Constitution of the United States of America. I ask you tonight, Is there anything wrong with this? Is there anything wrong with assuring every citizen the right to buy a home wherever he desires, to be accepted as an employee based on qualifications alone and that qualification should not include color? Is there anything wrong in American citizens being given the opportunity to register and vote? Is there anything wrong in serving American citizens in places of public accommodations, if that citizen meets all the rules and regulations of the establishment, such as proper attire, etc.; should he be denied simply because of his color? If this practice is continued it will dehumanize some members of a race so treated, and fill them with contempt for law and decency. When a business is opened to the public, this includes the Negro, for he is a large part of the American public. There is no such thing as a private business, all businesses must be licensed by the government, and must depend upon the public for its existence. The Negro is a part of the government, and pays his taxes the same as other citizens, therefore, his money pays the salaries and other oxpenses involved in maintaining the licensing agency, as well as the other services the government must give to each business, such as inspection, police and fire protection, building and upkeep of streets and roads that lead to the places of business, and many other services.

I ask you tonight, fellow Americans, can there be anything wrong with sending our children to the best schools? Should we be forced to send our children to schools ill equipped and staffed with teachers who are not prepared for their jobs?

If a teacher, Negro or white, is not prepared to teach white children, he is not prepared to teach Negro children, and we do not want him teaching our children. We need the best equipment and the best teachers, because of 100 years of neglect, and in order to cure the social ills in America, somehow, the educational level of the Negro must be brought up to the national level. We are not responsible for this neglect; therefore, we must not be expected to make up for it alone. This condition exists because we were not brought into the mainstream of American life after our slave experience. As we study world history we notice that this has not happened to others, after their freedom from servitude. Even after wars, we move to bring the subdued people back into the mainstream of the world's economy. The American section of Germany and the nation of Japan are two examples: We have poured money and skill into these two countries, so that today they are the most prosperous people on earth, almost completely without unemployment. The Negro was brought to America against his will, and used to clear the land, build the roads, worked inhuman hours in the mines and mills, contributing human energy to make this country great, yet after 100 years of citizenship he has not been accepted into the mainstream of opportunities which he helped to create for others. By keeping alive segregation, discrimination and injustice have created a society in America that is responsible for the ghettoes, the high rate of crime, juvenile delinquency, and a lack of skill among the Negroes which has resulted in a high rate of unemployment. The average income of the Negro college graduate is below that of the whites completing only the eighth grade. Using President Johnson's guideline of $3,000 between poverty and no-poverty, I would like to give you this picture. In 1962, 44 out of every 100 Negro families earned less than $3,000 a year, compared to 17 out of 100 white families.

More than 60 percent of the white families were farmers in the Southern States. These conditions create tension in the Negro community, and all the poverty and social programs will not relieve the tension until the Negro is accepted completely as a human being. I am not speaking of being accepted on a social level, this is personal, and like water, will seek its own level. I am speaking of involvement; that is the opportunity to become a part of Government, business, employment, and community, State, and National responsibilities.

In conclusion, permit me to say to you that the NAACP and all responsible Negroes are opposed to violence and rioting in every form. We know that this type of action will hurt our cause. We also know that political leaders using violence by Negroes as a political issue will hurt their cause at the polls November 3. They are using it to insult and degrade more than 20 million decent and loyal citizens, knowing that less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our people are involved in this ugly act, that cannot be condoned or tolerated by the members of our race. These same politicians have failed to say one word about the violence going on continuously in the State of Mississippi, where more than 22 churches have been burned, and many others bombed. They have said nothing about the Negro Educator and Reserve Officer in the U.S. Army, who was torn to bits by the KKK in the State of Georgia, and the particular type of justice that freed the confessed killers. They have said nothing about the violence that took place in the States of Vermont and Oregon on Labor Day. These politicians cannot see these acts, because they are color blind. You know, and I know, that this is not equal justice under the law. So tonight we ask of you, equal opportunity and justice after you are elected to the office you seek. We wish for you the very best

during your campaign, and for many years of faithful and dedicated service to the greatest people on earth. May God be with you and guide you in the making of every decision for the good of all the people.

The United States and the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the following speech which I made before the Zionist Organization of America in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

THE UNITED STATES AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Dr. Nussbaum, Secretary Harriman, members of the Zionist Organization of America, and your guests, I am deeply honored to be here tonight to discuss with you problems of interest to all Americans. The fact that this is an election year looms large in the minds of many of us, and does not skip those who are candidates. But if ever there was an area of discussion that should be divorced from the realms of partisanship, it is the problems relating to Israel. They are and have been so varied and complicated that they can hardly stand any approach that is not carefully studied and judicious. Yet at the same time, they are so immediate that a moratorium on discussion does not seem desirable or wise. A new look is imperative before it is too late. For that reason many voices have spoken up from both parties. It has long been so.

I remember with pride the fact that the late great Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver first focused my father's attention on the birth pangs of Israel and won his deep interest and lifelong support. I value deeply the help and friendship of his most able son today.

One of my most vivid memories is of my discussions with my father regarding the preparation and delivery by me for him of his last major address, made before the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Cincinnati on May 26, 1953. I shared his sentiments then, and I share them still now, when he said:

"I have been criticized by some because I supported the independence of Israel and have stood on their side against Egypt and Jordan which tried to destroy them. I supported a free Israel because of my earnest belief in justice and freedom and the keeping of promises. The Balfour Declarations during the first World War, the British mandate of Palestine and our own undertakings which tied us in during the first World War and during the maintenance of the mandate, I believe clearly constituted a promise to establish a Jewish national home. A Jewish national home could only mean a State where Jews predominated and could not be ruled or persecuted by others. I believe the State should have been established at the height of the power of the allies during the Second World War. If that had been done, I doubt if we would have ever had the Israel War, or the fleeing of the Palestine Arabs, or the dangerous conditions in that region of the world today because Israel had to take up arms to establish their own independence, the British having abandoned the mandate. I have supported the movement because it seemed to me it was the only way in which we could assure freedom for millions of Jews who lived in countries where they would always be subjected to intermittent attacks and persecution. I supported it because it undertook to relieve the world of the problem of resettling a large number of Jewish refugees, for which the world had proposed no better solution."

These beliefs he came by naturally. His father and the Congress in 1911 had terminated a Russian trade treaty on account of persecution of the Jews. He came by it intellectually, too, however, for the spirit and strengthening of individual freedom and dignity to which he was so dedicated seem to me to be inherent in the precepts of Zionism.

But while such principles remain everduring, circumstances, and attitudes change with remarkable haste. Reflecting on the dozen years that have passed, much has changed.

The population and economic strength of Israel have expanded greatly. So have the population and power of its Arab neighbors. The number of registered Palestinian refugees is about 1.2 million as compared to the original 725,000, and a new generation of Israeli and Palestinian refugees approach the brink of adulthood with new attitudes and problems.

The original UNWRA tasks of mere sustenance and shelter have shifted to rehabilitation, integration, and resettlement.

The Lebanon occupation and Suez crisis have left their own marks upon the history of the Near East and also of the world.

Nuclear spread and weapons potential cast a long shadow of fear over the existence of any armed conflict, yet, in spite of it, the virus of aggression has spread rather than receded in the Near East. The growth and encouragement of irredentism continues, and the flames are fanned by Nasser at every opportunity. Each step forward toward peace and stability seems to be followed by a step and a half back.

Many of these factors are beyond the control of any one of us or of our country. But we must recognize as an additional and contributing factor that there has been a basic change in, or at least a wide reorientation of, U.S. foreign policy toward avoiding confrontation with problems of international aggression, discrimination, and subversion. Now we attempt to meet them, if at all, only by negotiation and by trade favors and assistance.

In present horrible potentialities of nuclear holocaust, caution and prevention must certainly be paramount. The launching of such a conflict by ourselves must be, and is, wholly abjured, but our leaders seem unable to engage successfully in the bargaining contest with nonmilitary weapons, even though we have a tremendous moral and economic arsenal. Instead, our international relations resemble a labor negotiation with compulsory arbitration at the end of the road, yet we make concession after concession without getting much in return. This often strengthens rather than weakens our adversaries. We hear repeatedly from the State Department that each situation is enormously complicated and must be examined on its own, but the virtual abandonment for expediency of principles such as national self-determination, no benefit from aggression, and freedom and justice for individuals, can win us no respect. In the long run it will damage the likelihood of peaceful solutions. As in jurisprudence, the ad hoc approach eventually breaks down the certainty of and respect for law.

Admittedly, these are generalities. Let's be specific as to the Middle East. In spite of Nasser's continued and increasing threats to Israel, his undiminished military intervention in Yemen, and his machinations to control other Arab nations, we continue our aid to him. These issues arose most recently in relation to an amendment to this year's Public Law 480 "Food for Peace" bill proposed by Congressman OLIVER BOLTON. This amendment would have eliminated any possibility of the United Arab Republic qualifying as a "friendly" nation, because, as BOLTON put it, "The President has not seen fit to determine that an aggression is going on and is being perpetrated by the United Arab Republic" as the President is authorized to do under the Foreign Aid Authorization Act. Apparently, administration and State Department policy in this regard was expressed by Congressman GALLAGHER, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, when he said:

"Termination of sales of surplus U.S. foodstuffs to the United Arab Republic would not affect that country's capabilities. It could survive without our food-for-peace program by tightening its belt, reducing the living standards of its people, and increasing its reliance on the Soviets. Termination would not affect the United Arab Republic military program, but it would leave us with reduced influence in the United Arab Republic and throughout the area. By removing ourselves from the United Arab Republic scene, particularly at this critical juncture in Near Eastern affairs, we could help the Soviets recapture without a battle the favored position it held in the post-Suez period when we had no surplus food disposal program in the United Arab Republic."

This statement lays bare the erroneous philosophy of our leadership that we must ignore or overlook aggression for fear the aggressor will turn elsewhere for aid. The contrary is true and the United States aid to Egypt ($204 million in fiscal 1963 and $144.5 million in fiscal 1964) has enable the diversion of that nation's resources to preparing for and carrying out the business of aggression,

If this were an isolated instance of such policies, it might be excused, but the same attitudes seem to exist with regard to tyrannies of the left and of the right. For some reason, our leaders seem to feel ashamed to speak out and assume moral and actual leadership in foreign affairs even for causes we know are just and against actions we know are just and against actions we know are wrong. For instance, unlike the 1911 action I referred to before, we see action stymied on congressional proposals, such as my own, condemning cultural and religious repression of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Apparently we have become too sophisticated to point out unpleasant truths. Such a position would cost us nothing, but would hold up to world scrutiny the corruption and falsity of communism and its claims.

Examples of such default of leadership by the United States are unfortunately all too common. We see them in NATO, in the U.N., in the Far East, and especially in the Fulbright approach to the Cuban and Latin American Communist threats. They need not be detailed here. But they have a broad meaning that bodes ill for our position in the Near East, particularly as to the threats to Israel. And, with the Nasser-inspired and supported building of an irredentist army of Palestinian refugees, the time for a firm position is overdue. In spite of this, we find in the President and the administration leaders a great reluctance to use existing powers to cut off aid to Egypt. This was shown in the debate over the Gruening amendment to the foreign aid bill last November, when Senator HUMPHREY first wanted to eliminate the Presidential authority to deny aid if the recipient was merely "preparing for aggressive military efforts." But even he at that time agreed Egypt was actually involved, saying:

"I favor cutting off our aid to Egypt. From the available evidence, it would appear that Nasser is guilty," and again,

"We have ample information in regard to the conduct of Egypt, and there is no doubt about what Egypt has been doing."

How does this jibe with the failure to act, since or now, on the part of the Senator's present running mate?

What then should we be proposing and doing to recapture leadership of the free world on a basis of moral as well as military and material leadership? The course of the big stick is not the answer and can't be in a nuclear age. We will not gain by bullying or threatening. But strong trade, aid, and other economic weapons are in our hands. If we care to use them they can be of tremendous importance. Even so, they may not be half so potent as a clear and unequivocal restatement that we will do what we believe is right, we will do it consistently, and we will not ourselves be blackmailed or bullied.

For a start on such a course, I suggest that we move to cut off aid and trade with nations that we believe to be preparing for military aggression. We can encourage other freedom-loving and peaceful peoples, if necessary by boycott, to do the same.

We should move with dispatch to cause United Nations enforcement of its original Security Council positions precepts for the Middle East such as free passage through the Suez Canal.

We should take leadership and push for enforcement of the World Court ruling regarding withdrawal of voting rights by those failing to support peacekeeping activities of the U.N. It will not suffice to stand silent as we did in the U.N. Congo troop removal where our fear of offense to Russia in pressing the voting issue apparently dominated our policy or lack of it.

We should push for reform of the U.N. Charter to eliminate the veto and to reconstitute the Security Council as the policy body of the organization. The unplanned buildup of the General Assembly and Secretariat powers are threatening the very existence of the U.N. as a peacekeeping organization. The voting ratios in the General Assembly constitute a particularly severe threat insofar as Israel is concerned.

These suggestions are not radical. They would move toward setting up a meaningful international organization and a body of international law with a U.S. position strongly backing it. The future of Israel and the cause of Zionism would be implemented and the course toward world peace best served. Our country would be answering its challenge with an acceptance of the task of its own "Aliyah." Your organization and your members can have a vast influence upon such a course.

The Farmer: His Fortune and His Peril—A Report on Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress, working with a sympathetic, vigorous, and helpful administration, has turned the tides of fortune for the farmers of America. This, and the preceding 87th Congress, forestalled a collapse of the farm economy. We have revived confidence of the future in rural America.

In January of 1961, when the 87th Congress convened—and it was the year that President John F. Kennedy was inaugurated in Washington—the Nation's agriculture, our basic and largest industry, was plunging headlong toward bankruptcy.

CASTROPHE AVERTED

We averted the catastrophe that was then impending.

This Congress, and the preceding 87th Congress, called a halt to the destruction of the farm program.

First. We reversed the downslide of farm prices. In these 4 years, $16 billion has been added to the gross income of agriculture, as compared with the previous 4 years. Net income is up by $3 billion over this period.

Second. We have reversed the buildup of unmanageable surpluses, which by 1961 threatened to bring the entire structure of farm programs crashing down in ruins.

At the beginning of 1961 the surplus of feed grains totaled 85 million tons; the surplus of wheat totaled 1,400 million bushels. Through the emergency feed grains and wheat programs enacted by Congress and carried out by the administration, the buildup of surpluses has been stopped and turned into reverse. Stocks of feed grains are down by 15 million tons—almost one-fifth. Stocks of wheat are down more than one-third, to about 900 million bushels.

The reversal of the buildup in surpluses has freed agriculture from the most immediate threat of destruction of farm programs. Annual storage costs are down over $225 million. More than that—our actions during the past 3½ years have resulted in savings of over $2 billion that would ultimately have been added to the cost of farm programs if the Nation had attempted to continue with programs that were in effect in 1961.

Without our effort, it is entirely reasonable to presume that farm programs would have become impossible to maintain, and farm income would have fallen to less than one-half of what it is today. By averting a surplus calamity, and enactment of new forward-looking programs, we have constructed a base upon which to rebuild a farm program that will enable farmers again to share equitably in the Nation's prosperity.

THE PERIL WE FACE

But, Mr. Speaker, the Nation's agriculture stands today face to face with another peril. It is a political peril.

The Republican candidate for President is pledged, if elected, to the complete destruction of the farmers' price and production stabilization program. The consequence would be bankruptcy in rural America.

The American farmer is the world's most efficient producer. The output of the average agricultural worker in the past decade has increased almost three times as much as the average worker in industry. I will tell you frankly that the thing which burdens may conscience is the failure of our economy—in spite of all our efforts—to reward the farmer's efficiency with income gains as fast as those made by other people in our economy.

The year 1965 will be a year of big decisions for farm programs.

The wheat program will come up for renewal next year. The feed grain program will expire next year. The wool program has just 1 more year to go, anr the sugar program is slated to expire at midnight, December 31, 1964—before the new Congress even gets back to Washington. The cotton program must be renewed in 1964.

Regardless of who is elected President, the Congress might vote to continue a cotton program, and a wheat program, and a feed grain program, and a wool program, and a sugar program. But when such bills are laid on his desk, the next President will have it within his power to bring about the "prompt and final termination" of all these programs one by one by the simple stroke of his pen.

This is the farmer's peril.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

Mr. Speaker, this Congress now is completing its work, and it is my duty, as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, to review for the Members of the House, and to advise the country at large, concerning the work of this Congress, and of the administration, in behalf of agriculture. Moreover, I deem it to be my obligation to bring into perspective for the Nation the circumstances of our farmers and their families who have made this the best fed and best clothed nation on earth, and who now feed millions of hungry, freedom-loving peoples around the world.

I deem it my duty, also, to identify the peril of our farm people, and consequently our total economy, from the involvement of their business in partisan politics.

FARMERS' PROBLEMS IN PARTISAN POLITICS

Mr. Speaker, I would be less than frank with my colleagues if I did not tell the House that this review is presented, in one respect, with a heavy heart.

In years past I have been proud to stand in the well of the House and commend Republicans and Democrats alike for their devoted service to the farm families of America. There was a day when we could not tell one party from the other as legislation seeking a parity of position for rural America came into this House for consideration. I recall with great satisfaction those years when I fought shoulder to shoulder with Hon. Clifford R. Hope, of Kansas, then the Republican farm leader.

But, Mr. Speaker, those days and those years a long past.

It is distressing to me that, in presenting this report, I must note that, with very few exceptions, bill after bill in the interest of agriculture has met strong, and ofttimes overwhelming, resistance from the Republican Members of this body. Our Republican friends have made political issues of the policies of our Government that served our farm people so long and so well.

By the best statistics available to me, more than 90 percent of the Republicans were recorded as opposing the emergency feed grain bill, the voluntary wheat program of 1962, and the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. On the bill to aid western cattle ranges in 1962, Senate Republicans voted 88 percent against it. Republicans voted almost as a bloc against the wheat-cotton bill passed in

early April of this year, and against the food stamp plan expansion.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, those who fought hardest against virtually every effort in the Congress to restore a parity position to agriculture now are taking to public platforms shouting the loudest about what the Congress has "failed to do" for agriculture. I hope our farm people will not be misled. I personally like to think of the greater strides we could have made, to bring agriculture into parity position in the Nation's prosperity, if we could have had the cooperation and companionship of those who now so bitterly criticize our accomplishments.

URBAN SUPPORT OF AGRICULTURE COMMENDED

Mr. Speaker, at this point I want especially to commend the Democratic Members of this body who represent urban constituencies, for their support of policies and measures in behalf of farm people. There are now only about 135 Members of this 435-Member body who represent districts with predominantly agricultural interests. No farm bill can pass in this body without support from a substantial number of our city friends.

Our Members from the cities have demonstrated that they will not be moved by schemes to prejudice city people against farmers.

It is unthinkable that urban people can be persuaded to such prejudice. A population predominantly predisposed to agriculture controlled the Congress and the State legislatures during the formative and development years of this country, and it was during this time of great rural influence and power that the laws and the free enterprise climate were created for the growth of the greatest industrial Nation on earth. To speculate now that the predominant urban population might turn upon and repress the less-numerous population in agriculture would be to suggest that a former rural ascendency should have legislated against the growth of cities. Both propositions are preposterous.

I commend the statesmanship of the Members of this body representing urban constituencies who have supported sound and solid measures essential to the well-being of rural America.

A STORY ON THREE PARTS

Mr. Speaker, to bring this report into proper focus it is best to recount briefly the story of agriculture over the last one-third century. This story is divided into three distinct parts: A 20-year story; an 8-year story, and a 4-year story. These three parts together are unmistakable and implicit in their message on what is good and what is bad for the farm people of this country.

THE 20-YEAR STORY—1933–52 INCLUSIVE

In 1932, our farm people were wracked and wretched in poverty, in the depth of the great depression. The Democratic Party in its platform that year pledged "the enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid the farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities prices in excess of cost."

On this platform, on this pledge, the Nation's farm program was constructed.

This program made the law of supply and demand work for the farmer and not against him. Companion programs turned on the lights in rural America through REA, and soil and water conservation became a national objective and actuality. These and other undertakings brought a rebirth of hope.

Agriculture emerged from the great depression.

Farmers moved on to their greatest era of prosperity in all history.

For 11 consecutive years—1942–52 inclusive—farm prices were at or above 100 percent of parity. The Government actually made a profit of $13 million in its price support operations in the 20 years, 1933 through 1952, on basic farm commodities.

There was prosperity in the countryside. Business on Main Street was humming.

THE 8-YEAR STORY—1953–60 INCLUSIVE

In 1953 a Republican administration was installed in Washington. Mr. Ezra T. Benson became Secretary of Agriculture.

Production adjustment was deemphasized. Price supports were lowered. The farm program, as it had operated successfully for 20 years, was virtually destroyed.

Great surpluses accumulated. Farm prices went into an 8-year slide; and in those 8 years—1953–60—net farm income fell $20 billion below such income in the 8 previous years. Government costs on agriculture ran into the billions of dollars. In fact, more money was spent in those 8 years by the Department of Agriculture than in all the Department's previous 90-year history.

THE 4-YEAR STORY—1961–64 INCLUSIVE

When a Democratic administration returned to Washington in 1961, agriculture again was on the edge of ruin. Farmers were leaving the land by the hundreds of thousands. Many former flourishing Main Street towns were becoming ghost towns.

The new administration and the Congress moved promptly to halt and reverse the downslide in farm income. This we have accomplished. We have worked against great odds. We have found that many farmers lost faith in their own program during those 80 years when Secretary Benson was deliberately destroying this program. We have had to work against the opposition of the majority of our Republican friends. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, gross farm income has increased by $16 billion during the most recent 4 years, as compared with the 4 years prior to 1961. Net farm income is up by more than $3 billion during the same period.

Business on many Main Streets is humming again.

Broad consumer programs, making maximum use of our food and fiber abundances, especially for our needy people, have been established. Food-for-Peace shipments have been multiplied, carrying food and fiber from our farms to more than 100 million people in 100 nations. Community programs are underway in our Main Street towns.

All America, and the millions of people in the free world, are benefiting from the genius of our farmers' productivity.

Mr. Speaker, of course I do not impugn or question the motives of anyone, no matter how reckless or bitter he has been, in opposing sound and sensible and fair and equitable policies and programs for our farm people. However, I am at a loss to understand their position, in view of the foregoing facts and figures, and in view of the independent studies of economists from time to time that have set forth clearly what would happen in this country if our farm program were scuttled.

ECONOMISTS' CONCLUSIONS

I hold in my hand a paper just prepared, on request, by Dr. Walter W. Wilcox, senior specialist of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. Dr. Wilcox was asked to review and draw conclusions from previous and well publicized separate studies by a committee from land grant colleges, by economists at Iowa State University and at Cornell University, by Professor Brandow at Pennsylvania State University, by economists at the Center for Agricultural and Economic Development at Iowa State University, and by Tyner and Tweeten, economists at Oklahoma State University.

Earlier I stated that the 87th and 88th Congresses had averted a catastrophe in agriculture, by halting the destruction of the farm program.

Dr. Wilcox utilized the methods developed in these earlier studies at Iowa State, Cornell, Pennsylvania State, and Oklahoma State, and has concluded that, in the absence of price support and acreage diversion programs, net farm income in 1961, 1962, and 1963, instead of averaging $12.6 billion a year, as it actually did, would have plunged to $6 billion. Moreover, he states that, under these circumstances, farmers' realized net income in 1964 and 1965 would not be expected to average more than $6 billion.

Mr. Speaker, it is true that the job we have done, to avert catastrophe in agriculture, has been costly. I have said on previous occasions, and I repeat and emphasize now that, outside of money spent on the weapons of defense against foreign enemies, this probably is the best investment the American taxpayers have made.

The study by Dr. Wilcox shows that for each $1 the Government expended on price support and acreage diversion programs during the last 3 fiscal years, farm income increased by $2.36. This margin has been the difference between bankruptcy and solvency.

Mr. Speaker, I repeat that this was a good investment. It has prevented a catastrophe in agriculture that would have sent a shock wave through the whole economy.

And, I repeat, I cannot understand what has moved our Republican friends to oppose the steps that had to be taken, for the good of all of us. And I cannot understand the position of the Republican candidate for President, when he calls for a complete scuttling of the farm program.

THE FARMER AND FREE ENTERPRISE

Mr. Speaker, the basic and unique difficulty in agriculture is that so many are engaged in the production of a single crop that individuals cannot measure their production so the whole crop commands a reasonable price in the marketplaces.

It should be obvious to everyone, in these circumstances, that so long as his capacity to produce far exceeds the demands of his markets, the farmer cannot expect to achieve stability of income and an equitable share of the Nation's prosperity, unless: First, the producers of the various crops develop bargaining power in the marketplaces, as other industries in our free enterprise economy have done, by placing restraints upon production and/or by orderly movement of commodities into the markets; or second, the Government, by various devices, subsidizes farm income to make up the difference between what the farmer receives in the marketplaces and a reasonable income representing the management, skill, labor and land, and machinery and materials he invests in the production of food and other farm commodities.

So there are obviously three roads open to agriculture:

First. Production adjustments and orderly marketing, to make the law of supply and demand work for the farmer, and not against him. This gives the farmer bargaining power in the marketplaces. He can command a parity price in the domestic market, and he is entitled to an equalization payment in his long-established export market. The cost of such programs is relatively small.

Second. Subsidy programs to bolster the income of those farmers who voluntarily hold down their production. Such programs are very costly, as we have seen in recent years.

Third. No price or production stabilization programs at all. Net farm income would drop to less than one-half what it is today. Government expenditures for stabilization operations would be eliminated completely.

Mr. Speaker, the old farm program followed the first road. The Republican candidate for President would travel the third and last road. Under the old program we placed in the farmer's hands, for use at his own election, the essential tools employed by other industries since the beginning of the free enterprise system, to command a price by measuring production to fit market demands and/or by orderly movement of commodities into the markets.

The old farm program worked, when Republicans and Democrats in the Congress, regardless of political affiliation, wanted it to work, and when the great majority of farmers enthusiastically supported the program.

THE RECORD

Mr. Speaker, the Congress now is ready to adjourn, and all of us will be returning home to report to our people on the service we have rendered here. The best wishes of the farmers of America will go with each Member of this body who has shown some devotion to these people who feed and clothe us.

The deep concern of many Members of this House for the well-being of agriculture is spread vividly in the records of the Committee on Agriculture. These records show that Membres of this body introduced in this Congress 455 bills intended to improve the conditions on our farms. Our committee, with its 15 subcommittees, conducted 266 hearings and study sessions. We received hundreds of thousands of words of testimony, from farmers, spokesmen for farm organizations, Department of Agriculture officials, and from others interested in agricultural legislation. We have sought to develop sound and reasonable legislation which would be fair to farmers and consumers alike. We reported 44 bills. Of these, 32 have become law.

Mr. Speaker, in these last 4 years, the progress we have made can be traced in large part to the fact that the farmers of America have had friends in the White House—our martyred President Kennedy and now President Johnson.

Moreover, we have a Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, dedicated to the interests and well-being of farm people.

Many of us, when we return home, will be asked to review the record we have made in behalf of agriculture during these 4 years. Among the accomplishments, along with my foregoing discussion, I shall cite these:

SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Total net farm income in 1961–63 averaged nearly $1 billion a year higher than in 1960.

Total net income per farm was 18 percent higher in 1963 than in 1960.

Farm purchasing power, or gross farm income, rose from $37.9 billion in 1960 to approximately $42 billion in 1963.

Percent of family income spent for food, by the average American family, declined to only 18.8 percent, the lowest in history, and lower than anywhere else in the world.

Feed grain surpluses have been brought down to manageable proportions; wheat surpluses this year will be the lowest since 1958.

These reductions in wheat and feed grain surpluses are saving taxpayers about a quarter of a billion dollars in storage, transportation, interest, and other costs.

Farm exports have increased by 35 percent in these last 4 years, and reached a record high of $6.1 billion in fiscal 1964.

Credit resources administered by the Farmers Home Administration are up 141 percent over 1960, and are averaging now $687 million a year.

Commodity programs are strengthening the farm income structure.

The rural areas development program has helped create an estimated 125,000 new jobs.

Participation in the agricultural conservation program has increased 20 percent since 1960.

More than 20,000 farmers have received technical help to develop recreation as an income-making crop on land which had been producing surpluses.

Over 600 rural communities have been aided in providing modern water-services.

During the school year, 1963–64, a special lunch program was instituted for 315 schools and 12,000 children in rural areas where families have extremely low incomes.

Since January 1, 1961, $1.1 billion in electric loans has been made by the Rural Electrification Administration—about $350 million more than in the previous 3½ years.

Farmers in 196 have protected crop investments totaling $500.5 million with Federal all-risk crop insurance—more than double the amount of insurance in force 3 years ago.

Two hundred and eighty-nine new small upstream watershed projects have been authorized in the last 3½ years; 3,000 local soil and water conservation districts are in the process of updating their long-range programs to reflect the broadened concepts of economic development; the Great Plains conservation program has been extended for 10 years and 36 countries have been added to the program.

Congress in June 1964 authorized the creation of a National Commission on Food Marketing to investigate the operation of the food industry from producer to consumer.

In the last 3½ years more than $5 billion worth of surplus farm commodities have gone overseas under food-for-peace programs. This is $1.5 billion more than during the previous 3½ years.

AGRICULTURE AND MAIN STREET, U.S.A.

Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that the well-being of agriculture and of the people in agriculture has been made an object of partisan politics. It is a tragic thing for America. But since this is true, I must say this: The Democratic Party, as reflected in the Congress and in the administration, has stood firm and unwavering in its dedication and determination to achieve again and maintain parity of income and prosperity on the farms of America; moreover, we have established it as our aim, objective and overall goal the restoration, repopulation and revitalization of Main Street America.

Free enterprise—as opposed to baronial, feudal, and communal systems—began with the family farm on this continent. The family farm and the towns in the countryside scattered over the breadth of this land first established the economic foundation for our liberties. The contribution of rural America to the Nation's spiritual, social, and political vitality—down through the years—is immeasurable.

Our cities have created unprecedented opportunities for enterprising individuals to develop and employ their arts, their skills, and their labor. They have advanced the American heritage. They have drawn great strength from our far-flung countrysides, and the well-being of the urban populations will rest in a very substantial way—in the future as in the past—upon the contemporary prosperity and vitality of rural America. Moreover, it is a matter of simple justice that those people who have mastered the art of food abundance, and who have

made the United States the best fed nation on earth, must share fully in the national prosperity that this abundance has helped to achieve.

Therefore, it is the purpose of the Democratic Party, as I know this party:

To continue and persist in the development of national policies, in cooperation with—and with the approval of—farmers, enabling the people who produce our food and fiber to enjoy a level of income and a standard of living on a complete parity with those engaged in other undertakings in our free enterprise system.

To adjust and attune Federal policies to the needs and the aspirations of Main Street America, to strengthen existing programs and to develop new, sound and imaginative free enterprise undertakings, as may be approved locally by the people involved, to aid in the bestowal of a new vitality to the many thousands of Main Street towns.

To intensify the use of our food abundance to feed the needy among our own people at home and to relieve hunger and encourage peace among freedom-loving peoples around the world.

To protect the Nation's most vital resources—the land, the streams, the forests—and to develop this wealth for the security and enjoyment of all the people and as a legacy to be bequeathed to the generations to come.

Broad Benefits Achieved Under New Cotton Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on last April 11, President Johnson signed into law the Agricultural Act of 1964. A paramount purpose of this law is to save cotton's domestic markets from destruction and to restore the cotton industry as a vital, dynamic segment of our national economy.

As author of the cotton program embraced in this act, I am proud now to report to the House that these objectives are being achieved.

This legislation eliminated the two-price cotton system, under which foreign mills were able to buy our cotton at 8½ cents a pound cheaper than could our own mills, and then ship cotton goods into the United States and undersell our domestic mills. The new law requires that American mills be able to buy American cotton at the same price it is offered for export.

Cotton competes more fairly with synthetic fibers.

The competitive position of our domestic mills, against imports of cheap foreign goods, has been vastly improved.

Instead of continuing its pell-mell slide, cotton's domestic consumption is turning up by a million bales or more this season. Moreover, a new atmosphere of confidence permeates the American textile industry.

The expansion of the use of cotton is tremendously important to our cotton farmers.

In the first quarter of this year—just before the new cotton program was enacted—investments in new textile plants and equipment were at the annual rate of $600 million. In the third quarter, this rate soared to $850 million, and it is expected to rise further to $900 million in the fourth quarter. This is an increase of 50 percent between the first and fourth quarters, while all other manufacturing industries have been going along at about 8 percent. Obviously, this is giving great stimulus to the national economy.

Equalization of raw cotton costs to domestic and foreign mills, coupled with modernization of the textile industry, is helping to put an effective brake on the manufactured cotton imports which had been coming into this country in an ever-increasing flood. In May and June following passage of the new cotton program, yard imports were down about one-third from the same months last year. Reports for May, June, and July on imports of cotton in cloth form are down 4 percent from last year.

Such are the results of competitive, one-price cotton in the few short months since the legislation was enacted.

Mr. Speaker, recently there have been some statements to the effect that the new cotton program has not worked out as anticipated. Such statements are decidedly misleading. One charge has been made that the reduced price for raw cotton is not being passed along beyond the mill level. A few isolated cases were cited where textile goods are a bit higher than before.

But the answer here is apparent to anyone who really wants to understand the situation. Prior to passage of the cotton program, there was great uncertainty about what would be done. Inventories of cotton goods were sharply reduced all along the line from the mills to consumers.

Right after the new cotton program became effective, prices of yarn and cloth generally took a definite drop. But with everyone eager to rebuild inventories of cotton goods, these prices have strengthened for the time being. This strengthening is nothing more than the result of a temporary situation when supply is inadequate to meet demand. When supply catches up, the tremendous competition within the textile industry will assure new adjustments in yarn and cloth prices.

In any event—in spite of the short-term supply and demand situation—I want to make it clear that prices are down.

Of the 36 constructions of cotton gray fabrics on which prices were shown in the Daily News Record of both January 2 and September 21, 1964, 29 were priced lower in September than in January, 3 showed no change, and 4 were up moderately in price. In the same publication, all counts of carded singles knit yarns shown were down 5 cents per pound across the same period, and carded plied yarns were down 4 cents. Combed yarn prices show drops ranging from 3 cents per pound in fine plied yarns to 6¾ cents in coarser singles.

Mr. Speaker, in summary, for those who are interested in developments since the new cotton program was enacted, I present at this point a rundown of facts on the textile industry:

1. Capital expenditures by the textile industry for 1964 are estimated by the U.S. Department of Commerce at $760 million, compared to $640 million in 1963. This is an increase of $120 million in 1964 over 1963.

Quarterly expenditures at annual rates for 1964 are: $600 million rate in January–April; $650 million rate in April–June; $850 million rate in July–September; and $900 million rate in October–December.

2. Unfilled orders for cotton broad woven goods in July 1964 (latest available month) were 8 percent higher than July 1963.

Cotton broad woven goods inventories in July 1964 were 5 percent below July 1963 and the lowest since August 1960.

3. Cotton consumption in April 1964 was 3 percent above April 1963. In August 1964, it increased to 7 percent above August 1963.

4. Mill consumption of rayon and acetate in April 1964 was 15 percent greater than April 1963. In August 1964, it dropped to 8 percent above August 1963.

5. Prospects for a continuing but modest upswing in manufacturing activity in the U.S. economy through 1964 and first quarter 1965 are very bright. This strong market outlook suggests continuing strength in textiles and increased cotton consumption.

6. Imports of cotton manufactures in the October 1963–July 1964 period ran about 9 percent below the level of a comparative period 12 months earlier.

7. Wage increases that average about 5 percent have been announced by textile mills producing goods from all fibers. When this increase becomes widespread it will represent a sizable increase in manufacturing costs. The annual textile mill products industry payroll is about $3.6 billion. A 5 percent increase would be $180 million and probably $100 million or more represents cotton processing.

My Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, today is the last day of a long and busy 2d session marking the end of the 88th Congress. As I have in the past, I again feel it my duty to report my voting record to the people of my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State.

In terms of miles, the Second District is a long way from the Nation's Capitol. But from letters and from the response I have received to my annual District opinion questionnaire, I know that the people of my district are very much aware of the complex problems facing their Federal Government.

Many, indeed, are the bills that have been introduced in this Congress; 4,948 measures have been introduced in this second session alone. Obviously, a great many of these measures were never brought to a floor vote, and even fewer passed with an official rollcall requiring a definite "yea" or "nay" vote. The important land and water conservation

fund bill, for example, passed in the House of Representatives only by voice vote.

Yet an examination of the record rollcall votes reveals that they represented some of the topmost issues to come before the Congress. Therefore, I have confined this record to those votes on which an official rollcall was taken on issues of importance to the Nation and to my district. To make my record as clear as possible, I have listed these votes by categories according to the general fields they encompass. My voting record for the 88th Congress follows:

BILLS OF GENERAL INTEREST

Voted for H.R. 9070, the wilderness bill, to give statutory protection to some 9 million acres of wilderness area.

Voted for H.R. 8070 to establish a commission and conduct a 3-year study of public land laws and regulations.

Voted for H.R. 11926, the Tuck bill, to give States the authority to determine the composition of their individual State legislatures.

Voted for H.R. 6041 to include fringe benefits in the Bacon-Davis Act requirement that workers on Federal construction projects be paid prevailing wages.

Voted against H.R. 8864, a bill providing for implementation of the administration-backed International Coffee Agreement at a resulting price increase of about 16 cents a pound to consumers.

Voted for H.R. 8316 to preserve the independence of American broadcasters by forbidding the Federal Communications Commission to impose rules regulating the length and frequency of radio and television advertisements.

Voted for House Joint Resolution 247 to suspend equal time radio and television requirements for the 1964 Presidential campaign and permit debates between the Republican and Democrat Presidential candidates.

BILLS AFFECTING THE GENERAL WELFARE

Voted for H.R. 11865 to provide a 5 percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits, and to make other changes.

Voted for S. 978 to restore Public Health Service benefits to self-employed commercial fishermen.

Voted for H.R. 12175 to extend the Housing Act of 1964 and to provide for an expanded housing program through June 30, 1965.

Voted for S. 1576 to authorize $238 million in Federal grants to help States combat mental illness and retardation.

Voted for S. 2 to provide Federal grants to States for water resources research.

Voted for House Resolution 579, a motion to consider H.R. 745, a bill to provide legal assistance for indigent defendants in criminal cases before U.S. Federal courts.

Voted for H.R. 319 to prevent the mailing of obscene material.

Voted for H.R. 7152 to affirm constitutional rights for all Americans.

Voted against H.R. 10222, the administration-backed food stamp bill calling for wasteful spending of $400 million to subsidize food purchases.

Voted against H.R. 11377, the administration-backed poverty bill calling for $947.5 million in fiscal year 1965 alone to finance a series of wasteful programs duplicating State and Federal efforts already costing $100 billion annually.

BILLS AFFECTING GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Voted for H.R. 9140 to appropriate $4.2 billion for fiscal 1964 public works projects, including $1,042,000 for work in the second district.

Voted for H.R. 5279 to provide fiscal 1964 appropriations for the Department of the Interior, including $205,000 for second district Federal fish hatchery construction.

Voted for H.R. 11579 to appropriate $4.3 billion for fiscal 1965 public works projects, including $1,121,000 for work in the second district.

Voted for S. 1153 to extend Federal aid for airport construction.

Voted for H.R. 8986 to provide recommended salary increases for 1.7 million Federal employees and executives.

Voted for an economy motion to reduce spending from $115 to $95.7 million under H.R. 9666, the fiscal 1965 Peace Corps authorization bill.

Voted for an economy motion to kill S. 2214, a bill proposing an additional U.S. contribution of $312 million to the International Development Association.

Voted for an economy motion to limit expenditures under H.R. 10723, a bill appropriating funds for congressional committees and the Architect of the Capitol on matters of public record.

Voted against H.R. 6009, a bill to increase the public debt limit to $307 billion during May and June 1963, and to $309 billion during July and August.

Voted for House Resolution 504 to investigate ways of eliminating costly duplication in Federal research programs.

Voted against H.R. 3881, the administration-backed bill calling for $375 million from general taxation to finance mass transit systems in a few major cities.

BILLS AFFECTING NATIONAL DEFENSE, MILITARY PERSONNEL, AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY

Voted for H.R. 1927 to increase veterans' pensions and to liberalize other benefits under the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959.

Voted for H.R. 5555 to increase pay rates and retirement pensions for members of the uniformed armed services.

Voted for H.R. 9139 to appropriate $1.6 billion for fiscal 1964 military construction, including $693,000 for new construction at Paine Field and the Blaine Air Force Station.

Voted for H.R. 11369 to appropriate $1.6 billion for fiscal 1965 military construction, including $459,000 for a new telephone exchange and aircraft holding apron at Whidbey Naval Air Station.

Voted for H.R. 2440 to authorize $15.9 billion for the fiscal 1964 purchase, research, and development of military weapons, including the RS–70 experimental airplane and additional nuclear submarines.

Voted for H.R. 9637 to authorize $17 billion for the fiscal 1965 purchase, research, and development of military weapons, including ships, airplanes, and missiles.

Voted for H.R. 10945 to authorize $2.6 billion for the Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1965.

Voted for H.R. 10456 to authorize $5.2 billion in fiscal 1965 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Voted for House Resolution 249 to provide operating funds for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Voted for H.R. 950 to enforce strict security standards for employment with the National Security Agency.

BILLS AFFECTING FOREIGN POLICY

Voted for House Joint Resolution 1145 to support the President's stand in retaliating to attack against U.S. Naval forces in the Bay of Tonkin off North Vietnam.

Voted for a motion which, if passed, would have cut $585 million from H.R. 7885, the fiscal 1964 foreign aid authorization bill. Voted against the foreign aid authorization bill on final passage.

Voted for a motion which, if passed, would have blocked the sale of American wheat to Russia by striking lending authority for the sale from H.R. 9499, the fiscal 1964 foreign aid appropriations bill. Voted against the foreign aid appropriations bill on final passage.

Voted for an economy motion which, if passed, would have cut $222.2 million from H.R. 11830, the fiscal 1965 foreign aid authorization bill. Voted against the foreign aid authorization bill on final passage.

Voted for a motion which, if passed, would have cut $248 million from H.R. 11812, the fiscal 1965 foreign aid appropriations bill. Voted against the foreign aid appropriations bill on final passage.

Voted for a motion to amend H.R. 12298, the Agricultural Trade and Development Act, to prohibit the sale of surplus U.S. farm goods to nations controlled or dominated by Communist governments. Voted for a 3-year extension of amended H.R. 12298 on final passage.

Voted for House Concurrent Resolution 343 to insist that the United Nations collect back assessments owed by member nations.

Voted for S. 2701 to authorize a feasibility study to find a second canal route to supplement the Panama Canal.

Voted for H.R. 4374 to proclaim Winston Churchill an honorary U.S. citizen.

BILLS AFFECTING BUSINESS AND THE GENERAL ECONOMY

Voted for S. 1007 to guarantee Pacific Northwest users a first-call preference on hydroelectric power produced in the Pacific Northwest, primarily at facilities of the Bonneville Power Administration.

Voted for H.R. 8363 to provide an $11.5 billion cut in Federal income and corporation taxes.

Voted against H.R. 6755, a bill to extend corporation taxes and "temporary" exise taxes imposed during the Korean war.

Voted for a motion on H.R. 11376 to, in effect reduce retailer's excise taxes on certain items from 10 to 5 percent, and to permanently repeal such taxes on July 1, 1965.

Voted against H.R. 8000, a bill to impose a retroactive tax on the purchase by Americans of certain foreign securities.

Voted for H.R. 11611 to establish a national commission to investigate the problems of automation and technology.

BILLS AFFECTING EDUCATION

Voted for S. 3060 to extend financial assistance under Public Laws 815 and 874 to public schools in federally impacted areas.

Voted for H.R. 6143 to authorize $1.2 billion for Federal grants and loans to aid college construction.

Voted for H.R. 4955 to provide an additional $450 million for expanded and improved programs of Federal aid to vocational education; voted against Senate-added amendments to increase cost.

Voted against S. 2220, a bill which, if passed, would have provided for unnecessary reductions up to 50 percent on the repayment of student loans to certain physicians, osteopaths, and dentists.

BILLS AFFECTING AGRICULTURE

Voted for H.R. 1839 to require the President to impose import quotas on beef, veal, and mutton, when imports into this country rise above specified levels.

Voted for H.R. 40 to authorize Federal matching grants to States for the expansion of research facilities at State farm experiment stations.

Voted for H.R. 6242 to require annual Labor Department registration for all labor contractors dealing with 10 or more migrant farmworkers.

Voted against a costly amendment to H.R. 11202, the fiscal 1965 agriculture appropriations bill, calling for construction of a $1.6 million National Peanut Research Center. Voted for the reduced agriculture appropriations bill on final passage.

Voted against H.R. 6169, the administration-backed "cotton-wheat" bill providing for unnecessary subsidies, imposing rigid cotton and wheat acreage quotas, and providing civil and criminal penalties for certain instances of noncompliance.

Mr. Speaker, that concludes my voting record. The political philospher Edmund Burke is said to have remarked that seldom, if ever, "are all of the angels and all of the good" on one side. Certainly this would seem to be true of the many difficult issues that have come before this Congress; on none of them was the entire weight of public opinion solidly on one side. Yet each required a "yea" or "nay" vote. Not everyone will agree with every vote I have cast, but I have always been guided in my decision by what I honestly felt to be best for the Nation and the people I represent. I hope that most persons will approve of my overall voting record.

Clinton Hospital Observes 75th Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, there appeared recently in the celebrated Clinton Daily Item a brilliantly written article by my talented friend and neighbor, Mrs. Carol Powers, entitled "Clinton Hospital Observes 75th Year."

I congratulate the author, Mrs. Powers, upon the splendid research job that she has done, her keen analysis and her thorough-going, penetrating study of the history of the Clinton Hospital, a great charitable institution which has played such a meaningful part for the past three quarters of a century in serving the medical and health needs of the Clinton community and several other towns in the area.

This fine article served a dual purpose. It fittingly contributed to the celebration of the 75th anniversary of this most worthy charitable enterprise, and it emphasized the remarkable leadership, ability, dedication and public spirit that the Clinton Hospital has been able to command since it was founded 75 years ago.

The Clinton Hospital was the first hospital of its kind to be established in Worcester County outside of the city of Worcester.

At the time of its origin, medical science has not yet moved into the fabulous discoveries and techniques that it has developed since. The X-ray was in its earliest stage, modern diagnostic techniques unknown, surgery in the elementary stage, as measured by today's standards, internal medicine hampered by the absence of modern, scientific techniques, and the "wonder drugs" that are available today.

The whole process of caring for the sick and the disabled was just emerging into the dawn of the new day that was to herald the miraculous advances that were to take place in the latter part of the last century, and especially in the first 60 years of the 20th century.

Mrs. Powers' inspired article has many features to commend it, because it is so comprehensive, so detailed, and so precise in its treatment of every period of the long, rapidly unfolding history of the Clinton Hospital.

Most touching is the recital of the original conception of Clinton's public-spirited, farsighted leaders—their early recognition of the need of setting up a medical center in the town to treat the sick, the disabled, the handicapped, and the underprivileged on the basis of their need, rather than their financial means alone.

The clear vision and unwavering determination of these dedicated leaders who were drawn from every segment of the community—spiritual leaders, doctors and professional men, civic, industrial and mercantile leaders, farmers, workers, consumers and women's groups, is an exciting, as well as a very impressive story. A veritable cross section of the community itself took active part in the early efforts to build, furnish, and implement an institution devoted to the care and treatment of those in the area, who, because of their condition, were unable to help themselves, and urgently required the kind of alleviative and curative therapy and help that only trained medical and nursing specialists working in a suitable environment could provide.

The early struggles of the Clinton community under zealous leaders are well portrayed. That extraordinary, local leadership gave dynamic impulse and wise guidance that inspired men and women in every walk of life in the town is quite evident. Every class and group contributed generously of themselves and their substance and made real sacrifices to make Clinton Hospital a reality. That notable fact is beyond question.

That these humane endeavors continue down to this very hour is also unquestioned. Through every disappointment and obstacle, through periods of discouragement and depression, faced with problems that would defeat and stagger less hardy souls, these resolute, hometown leaders, loyally backed by the community, were inflexibly intent upon achieving their goals.

In every period of Clinton's history, they banded wholeheartedly together to work devotedly, to press militantly, to strive tirelessly, for the growth and improvement essential in order to bring the facilities, the personnel and the standards of the Clinton Hospital to highest possible levels for an institution of its kind.

One thing that stands out with particular clarity is the sound planning, prudent judgment and commonsense of those who drew the blueprints and carried out the plans. There were few visionaries or bleeding hearts among them.

With rare singleness of purpose, these devoted, sensible men and women, and the groups associated with them, never allowed themselves to be sidetracked by temporary differences of opinion or by transient setbacks. They worked for, and they found, that solidarity of purposes, method and objective that enabled them to drive forward together against every obstacle and objection, until they had lifted up the standards and the conditions of the Clinton Hospital from one new plateau to another, marking in each generation and time, the progress and advancement of medical science and modern hospital construction, administration and procedure.

A great many people participated in the building and improving of the Clinton Hospital throughout the years, and they must, each and every one, receive great credit for their unselfish labors and contributions.

There were outstandingly generous benefactors, who gave very substantial funds at every stage and in every period. Many extremely able, dedicated and devoted doctors, nurses, administrators, and organizations, took a very prominent part in this great work, and many dedicated public officials joined with them to lighten the burden, to smooth the way of progress. All these must be commended and credited, thanked, and given the recognition they so richly deserve.

But there is one, high-minded, gifted doctor and inspired leader, who was, in fact, the moving genius who over a long period brought all these commendable efforts together, the great innovator, whose ideas, concepts, goals and sterling leadership in several generations, whose persistentency, whose vigorous sponsorship, and sure, steady, guiding hand, made him one person who, above all, must be credited with driving through to a successful conclusion the plans which he and the community had early

formed to make the Clinton Hospital what it is today.

That man was the late, highly gifted and dedicated, esteemed Dr. Walter P. Bowers, who unselfishly devoted practically his entire life and fortune to the Clinton Hospital and was in truth its modern progenitor and most zealous champion.

It is true, to be sure, that many doctors in every generation, including several of the outstanding men of the present, who give the Clinton community and the Clinton Hospital such high standard medical service, joined him from time to time in his labors, as other leaders of the community did.

It can be said that, while some of these leaders did not always see eye to eye, when the chips were down and the various projects had been finalized, they all got behind Dr. Bowers and labored with him to complete his tasks in the construction, reconstruction, and new construction, and ultimately the modern equipping and implementing of the hospital virtually as we know it today.

Innovator, creator, builder, humane and able medical doctor, leader in his calling, he was ceaseless in his activity, moving forward and upward all the time, never settling for mediocrity, always aiming for, and usually getting, the best.

I can vividly and gratefully recall the many conferences and talks I had with Dr. Bowers and some of the other esteemed staff doctors concerning the plans for the new Clinton Hospital.

Doctor Bowers was clear sighted. He knew what he wanted, and how to get it, and nothing could deter him. He was able to win people over to his ideas, to enlist their cooperation and assistance, and to spark their enthusiasm.

It was Doctor Bowers who set up the very wonderful drive for the relatively large funds that were so urgently needed to construct the new hospital.

Here again, there were many people who helped him, but he was the moving spirit, the dominating figure, the human dynamo, that moved the machinery through difficult periods of fund raising, and the complex patterns of State regulations and governmental directives that had to be complied with in order to qualify the hospital and make it eligible for the direct, monetary grants that it was able to get in such generous measure from the Federal Government and the valuable assistance it received from the State government.

At the same time, many applications for Federal aid were pending in the Commonwealth. It was in the early days of the Hill-Burton Act and funds available for Federal grants were quite limited and very strict priorities were established. It was not only necessary for Dr. Bowers, the board of trustees, and the managers of the hospital to arrange for compliance with standards and conditions, but it was also necessary for him to keep track of every single development.

Time and time again, he called upon me to confer with him, to alert me of some new development, some recent obstruction, or some new favorable turn in the general picture that would enable us to make a stronger case with the Federal Government and State officials for the proposed grant under the Hill-Burton Act.

Even at the outset of this constructive legislation, Dr. Bowers consulted with me about the legislative situation in Washington and urged my special interest in pressing for the then pending Hill-Burton law which would make every substantial hospital construction funds available for the Clinton Hospital, and at the urgent request of Dr. Lawrence F. Burke, another one of Clinton's greatest doctors, speaking for the able staff, I helped to coordinate all available information about the status and prospects of the legislation as well as its terms.

Fortunately, following long, sustained efforts, in which I was proud indeed to take a very active part in the Congress, this legislation was passed, funds were appropriated and the Clinton Hospital became one of the first institutions in the State to receive a very substantial grant amounting to nearly $225,000.

This assured the new construction and Dr. Bowers lived to see the realization of most of his dreams for the Clinton Hospital, which his brains, foresight, judgment, hard work and unstinted gifts of most of his personal fortune helped so materially to bring to fruition.

Of special help in our efforts to clear this application through the State board were Dr. Charles F. Wilinsky and Father Robert J. McEwen who steered our application for priority through that body.

Time and space prevents me from mentioning many others in every walk of life in our entire area who worked hard and contributed most generously to build the Clinton Hospital. The unstinted generosity and work of these individuals and families will always be gratefully recalled.

Mrs. Powers' admirable article, which the able, distinguished editor of the Clinton Daily Item, Mr. William Coulter, published in full, thus pinpointing and reemphasizing the memorable contributions of his own distinguished Coulter family, and the Item, to the Clinton Hospital, throughout the years, in service, publicity, and monetary support, well illustrates the great role that public-spirited, generous-hearted, openminded, proud, loyal citizens of Clinton and surrounding towns have played in the important beginnings and the fulfillment of the splendid hospital projects that meant so much in terms of human betterment and progress to so many of Clinton's people and the people of our neighboring towns.

Our New England towns are replete with evidence of the type of public service that conceived and built the Clinton Hospital. Clinton is especially renowned for it in the retrospective sense, and we hope for the continuance of this spirit and this kind of community service, in keenly reawakened form and enthusiasm in the future.

Unfortunately, this kind of unselfish service, this strong, united community spirit, we can view more in the past than in any broad, present sense, and that is something that could concern all of us deeply, because, unless we can keep alive and vigorous that public spirit, that wholesome, whole-hearted, cooperative effort, that all-embracing, fully shared pride in our town, that willingness on the part of our people at the local level, leaders of every level and calling, and the general public alike, to respond to the call of public duty, to take part in town government and the general betterment affairs of the community, and in the extracurricular tasks of government, to promote the broad interests of community life, to work, to give of themselves, to contribute their time, energy, and substances in the accomplishment of necessary public projects and to the sound progress of the community and the Nation, we will all be the poorer for this lack of active, individual responsibility for the public welfare, a primary responsibility of good citizenship, not only in our own community, but in our State and Nation as well.

We urgently need that kind of vibrant, rudimentary, early American public spirit today, if we are to continue in the great tradition of our free system, our illustrious forbears and our historic town, and if we are to continue to enjoy that measure of freedom, democratic idealism, and willingness to give of ourselves, upon which the Nation was founded and has grown to such strength and grandeur. It is up to us to keep that great, creative, communal and sustaining spirit alive and give it practical expression in our thoughts, words, and deeds, not only in Clinton, Mass., where to be sure, as elsewhere, it is needed, but in every other town, village, hamlet, and city in the Nation. Thus shall we best protect and enrich our great and blessed heritage of freedom for the benefit of all and for countless future generations.

Hon. Joe Kilgore

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, it was with much regret that I learned some months ago of the decision of our friend and colleague, Hon. JOE KILGORE, not to seek reelection. Few young men who have come to this House and remained such a short time during my more than 30 years in this body have made a more lasting impression upon me. His virtues and marks of strong character have imprinted themselves in this body.

Possibly outstanding among other characteristics has been the creation of the image of a sound conservative statesman. In his service here he has always placed the welfare of his country above his party or personal ambition. He has done this in an atmosphere where the popular thing is to play the game. Political courage rather than political expediency has been his hallmark of service in this body.

Mr. Speaker, I join with JOE KILGORE's many friends in this House in wishing for him the best of everything as he enters again the practice of his profession of the law.

Peaceful Coexistence—VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, I brought to the attention of the House an additional portion of the work, "Peaceful Coexistence: A Communist Blueprint for Victory," prepared and published under direction of the Standing Committee on Education Against Communism of the American Bar Association.

At this time, I offer, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, a final segment of this important publication, as follows:

THE COMMUNIST VIEW OF THE WEST: AN EXERCISE IN DISTORTION

For nearly half a century Communists in and out of power have systematically presented a vicious and thoroughly distorted picture of the West in general and of the United States in particular. Despite the ups and downs of international politics, through periods of "relaxation" as well as periods of tension, and even while Communist leaders wore their biggest smiles, this false view has been drummed into the citizens of Communist countries and has filled the airwaves and the printed page.

Year after year the Communists have launched propaganda campaigns about the "horrible crises" suffered by the capitalistic system—while capitalism grew stronger; time and again they told of the inhumanity, suffering, and oppression under capitalism—only to see their propaganda exploded by the realities of growing affluence and expanding freedom in the richest nations of the world. To the dismay of the Communists, the gap between rich and poor, far from expanding, has shrunk many times. And contrary to their predictions that the class of the "proletariat" would grow while the rich diminished, the Communists have witnessed in the capitalist countries an unprecedented growth of a politically and economically powerful middle class, and a rapid improvement of the living standards of all others.

How are these glaring discrepancies between theory and fact explained in the Communist camp? More often than not the excuse given is that these are just "devices" with which capitalism "postpones" its last great and fatal crisis—"bribes" to the working class to forestall a revolutionary uprising, "pressures" upon the "internal enemies" of capitalism.

One great fact stands out: the West has grown strong because of its common consensus on goals and because of its diversity; there is no monolithic conformity under freedom, no suppression of individual creativity and initiative. Were the Communists to recognize, or to allow their subjects to recognize, this basic truth, the days of their system would indeed be numbered. But no such recognition is allowed, as this statement of Khrushchev demonstrates:

"Some tourist may go to America, see one side of it which is zealously shown to him by people especially appointed for the purpose and, when he returns home, think: this is what America is like. When such a person deludes only himself, that is trouble enough. It is much worse if he spreads everywhere, as the only true view, the wrong views and impressions imposed upon him by hostile ideology. What should be done in this case? Evidently, such people who have risen to the bait of bourgeois propaganda should be corrected. And the Soviet people or correcting them." [1]

In essence, this means that an individual who, after visiting the United States, returns to the Soviet Union and gives an objective description of what he saw, will have to be "corrected." We are well aware of the methods by which Communists have traditionally "corrected" those whom they have considered "wayward." Even in art and literature the Communists feel constrained to employ the iron fist of coercion against those who rub against the Party line. In the speech quote above, Khrushchev also made clear the chances for independent opinion:

"Each Communist is entitled to his opinion, but when the Party adopts a decision, maps out a general line, then all Party members toe the line and do what has been worked out by the collective thinking and will of the Party." [2]

This is equivalent to saying that everyone may have an independent opinion on anything until the Party makes a decision. From that moment on, no opinion about the subject of the decision will be entertained unless it conforms with the established Party line. Because the party decides, the rights of man must necessarily be curtailed "in the interest of the cause." Such concepts are completely antithetical to free world principles.

The following statement deals with the teaching of courses on capitalism for the purpose of "contributing to a Communist outlook," and is brutally frank in ordering that such courses be taught with a slant:

"A course in capitalist political economics can contribute to a Marxist world outlook if the materials studied, incorporating a substantial amount of specific data, are presented in such a way as to show the changes which occur within the regime at the various stages in its development, and also the unchangeable nature of its exploiting characteristics and its class nature. Furthermore, modern capitalism must be systematically presented as a regime suffering from incurable ulcers and vices, and doomed historically to certain extinction. This complex presentation, set forth with consistency in all educational and scientific literature and in educational and propaganda work, will not only promote a profound mastery of theory by the students, but will also help then to develop a Party approach to capitalist phenomena. It will contribute to the development of a Communist outlook as regards the world of private ownership. It will also make clear the methods by which capitalism is prolonging its existence under current conditions and will indicate the means of waging revolutionary struggle against these methods, against capitalism." [3]

In other words, the study of capitalism should concentrate upon its "ulcers" and "certain extinction" because to do otherwise would seriously undermine the distorted Communist image of our way of life. Notice that such a presentation of capitalism is to play a role in shaping the attitude of the student toward "private ownership," a phenomenon which has never ceased to plague the Communist system. To this day there are self-styled capitalists in the Communist countries despite the all-out campaigns against them, including the reintroduction and extension of the death penalty (supposedly a remnant of "Stalinism") for "economic crimes." It would not be an understatement to say that the single greatest bugbear of the Communist system is private ownership.

One of the characteristic indicators of a nation's intentions vis-a-vis the rest of the world is the education and preparation it gives its citizens concerning that world. In the United States and in the rest of the free world, official stress, and schools and churches and private organizations teach, that there is hope for the world's peace and security, and that men of good will can overcome the basic differences which divide them. When we contrast this attitude with that displayed by the above quotation concerning the teaching of economics courses, we are shocked. While we, on the one hand, feel that we need to know more about the Communist system in order to be able to understand it, the Communists precondition their people to hate and condemn us.

Consider carefully this statement:

"The ideologists of imperialism, all the enemies of communism, are intensely trying to prevent our progress. They try to win over all kinds of unstable people. We say to those people: do not draw away from the people and the Party, step into our common ranks under the Marxist-Leninist banner, the banner of the Communist Party. If you have any revolutionary spirit, any enthusiasm for the struggle for people's happiness, any spark of hatred for our enemies, and faith in your people and their power, step under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism. * * * And hatred for the class enemy is necessary because one cannot be a fine fighter for the people, for communism, if one does not know how to hate the enemy." [4]

While in the West tolerance and charity are emphasized as models for the behavior of citizens, Khrushchev is intent upon inculcating hate in the Soviet people. This doctrine of hate permates the entire instructional and political system of the U.S.S.R., and has even been extended to the preparation of the population for war:

"The political preparation of the morale of the people for war is of decisive importance. * * * One of the tasks in indoctrinating the population is to expose clearly the reactionary essence of American policy [and to maintain] our burning hate of the imperialists. * * * Hatred of the enemy should arouse the desire to destroy the armed forces and military-industrial potential of the aggressor and achieve complete victory in a just war. * * * The political preparation of the morale of the people for war is directed by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, and is executed by every governmental and public organization in the country, and by the whole system of education and public information." [5]

What greater contrast between freedom and tyranny could there be than the maintenance by the Communists of an official indoctrination machine on the one hand and the individuality and decentralization of our educational system on the other? We do not "prepare" our citizens for war in the sense in which the Communists do; but it could also be noted that, without hatred, we are prepared to repel aggression wherever it may occur. Without coercion and without hatred, the Communist system would be unable to sustain itself.

CONCLUSION: THE CHALLENGE TO THE WEST

Faced with such a real and formidable opponent, the West must clarify and reaffirm the goals which it has so long sought to achieve. And if a just and lasting peace is foremost among those goals, then it will have to keep sight of that goal while steeling itself to meet even greater threats than those experienced in the past.

Footnotes at end of speech.

There can be little doubt about the goals which the Communists have set for themselves: they have been forthrightly stated on these pages by the Communists themselves, and are summarized by Khrushchev:

"Capitalism * * * wants to bury the Soviet system and we want—not only want but have dug—quite a deep hole, and shall exert efforts to dig this hole deeper and bury the capitalist system forever." [1]

Whether there will continue to be room on the earth for the opposing systems of capitalism and communism is a question which history alone will answer. For our part, we are willing to examine serious proposals for peace at any time; but "peace" on the basis of the Communist doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" is clearly an impossibility.

There is, however, a very real danger to the free world should it fail to judge accurately the intentions of the Communists. After some 8 years of peaceful coexistence as the principal strategic line of the international Communist movement, we have no evidence that it seeks genuine peace with the rest of the world. Above all, it is clear that the Communists have not given up their long-range goal of world domination, and in the final analysis we must judge their motivations according to that goal. An intervening period of apparent "peace" and relaxation, regardless of how inviting it may seem, must not be allowed to lower the guard of the free world.

It is clear that when Communists employ the language of "peace," they do so to mask their true strategic purpose: the isolation, encirclement, weakening, and final destruction of the free world and its way of life. The cold war has not concluded, but has entered a new and still more complex phase in which the spectrum of psychological, political, economic, and class warfare will be radically expanded. Such classic techniques as subversion, espionage, propaganda, sabotage, terrorism, deceit, and incited disorder will remain and be refined; but the new techniques of nuclear blackmail are also to be employed whenever feasible. It would be totally unrealistic to hold, as some do, that nuclear weapons have only a military purpose. Long ago the Soviet Union appreciated fully the political purposes of these enormously destructive modern weapons, and their early decisions to invest huge sums of money and manpower into their development indicates their willingness to attempt to attain real supremacy over the West.

During the period of peaceful coexistence, the Communists also hope to reap the benefits of a worldwide "detente," i.e., a relaxation of tensions. Under such conditions they would hope not only to gain through an American and Western slowdown in armaments, but also to subvert and paralyze hostile governments in the hope that at the critical moment such governments will capitulate or will be incapable of offering effective resistance.

The great paradox of our time may well turn out to be our inability to recognize that the cold war has in reality become more intense despite the increasing appearances of peace. It need not be emphasized that the overwhelming sentiment of the free world is to live in peace. But to mistake the illusion of peace for genuine peace would be a profoundly dangerous, perhaps fatal mistake.

Our purpose in this great struggle imposed upon us by the Communist world is, as our Presidents and statesmen have repeatedly stressed, the victory of our way of life. If the clash between the two systems is, as the Communists never tire of stating, irreconcilable, then our victory will not be achieved until freedom and justice prevail everywhere in the world.

[1] Khrushchev, speech at the Plenary Meeting, June 21, 1963.

[1] Khrushchev, speech at the Plenary Meeting, June 21, 1963.

[2] L. Voznesenskiy, "Political Economy and the Formulation of a Communist World Outlook," Kommunist, No. 16 (November 1963).

[4] Khrushchev, speech at the Plenary Meeting, June 21, 1963.

[5] Sokolovskiy, "Military Strategy", pp. 333–334. (English edition.)

[6] Khrushchev, speech at the Plenary Meeting, June 21, 1963.

Tribute to Walter Besterman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a great American, my good and honored friend, Mr. Walter M. Besterman. He has served the U.S. Congress with distinction since January 15, 1946, and is a recognized authority on immigration and nationality law of the United States, both past and present.

It is his true compassion toward all of his fellowmen, together with his great knowledge of history and perceptive understanding of the intricacies involved in the successful conduct of foreign affairs, which has made Walter Besterman so valuable an adviser to the Congress and the House Judiciary Committee.

We friends, feel a sense of personal loss on his departure from Capitol Hill, but we are proud that he was selected to serve the U.S. Government abroad as Deputy Director of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in Geneva, Switzerland. This organization was founded in 1951, largely through the inspired vision of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and the late Honorable Francis E. Walter, and is presently comprised of 29 member nations. Briefly, its function is to assist in the resettlement of migrants and refugees from overpopulated areas in Europe into underpopulated areas of the world. The fact that more than 1.3 million persons have been resettled is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of that organization.

Newspaperman, diplomat, linguist, and lawyer, no man is more highly qualified to accept the position as Deputy Director of that organization than Walter Besterman. He is no newcomer to Geneva. After receiving his Doctorate of Laws from the Geneva School of International Law, he was assigned as a reporter to the League of Nations. At the outbreak of World War II he was chief of the Warsaw Desk of the United Press and fled his native Poland when Warsaw fell to Hitler's armies.

Walted came to us as a new American, and he has often quipped "I only missed the *Mayflower* by 320 years." But, if Walter came to the United States through adversity, then it must truly be stated "Sweet are the uses of adversity." I know of no person who has more fully accepted or more diligently executed the responsibilities of U.S. citizenship.

It is gratifying to the U.S. Congress to have this fine recognition of Walter Besterman's ability, and to know he leaves us to accept an even more difficult asignment in world affairs.

Iowa War Heroes Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, on September 19, 1964, at Waterloo, Iowa, a park and a permanent memorial was dedicated with proper ceremonies to the five Sullivan brothers who lost their lives in World War II.

It was off the Solomon Islands in the far Pacific, on November 13, 1942, that the U.S.S. *Juneau* was torpedoed. Going down with their fighting ship were the five brothers, George, 27; Francies, 25; Joseph, 23; Madison, 22; and Albert Sullivan, 19. In the park, which has been named the Sullivan Brothers Memorial Park, is a granite pentagon with one of the five boys' names on each of the five sides.

Among the many who attended the dedication ceremony were Mr. and Mrs. Tom Sullivan, parents of the war heroes, and their sister, Mrs. Murray Davidson, a former WAVE, who enlisted in the Navy after her brothers were killed.

Among those participating in the dedication were Vice Adm. Maurice Sheehy, retired Navy chaplain from Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mayor Jochumsen of Waterloo; President Hugh Patterson of the Waterloo Chamber of Commerce; N. O. Paulsen, chairman of the Waterloo Board of Park Commissioners; the Right Reverend Monsignor Klassen, pastor of St. Mary's Church in Waterloo, and Rear Adm. H. A. Yeager, commandant of the Ninth Naval District.

In his remarks, Monsignor Klassen said in part:

We can never pay our proper respects or honor those who have departed from our midst for the cause of freedom without first examining our own separate feelings of sacrifice, and rededicating ourselves to the unfinished task and extending the cause of peace, justice, and liberty.

The speech of Admiral Yeager follows:

IOWA WAR HEROES HONORED

Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan, other distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be here this morning at the dedication of this splendid memorial to five of your favorite sons, the Sullivan boys.

I consider this ceremony today a great tribute, not only to them, but to their 700 shipmates in *U.S.S. Juneau* and the rest of our Navy men who did not come back to us after World War II.

You here were particularly close to George Thomas Sullivan, Albert Leo, Francis Henry, Joseph Eugene, and Madison Abel Sullivan, who were in *Juneau* when she was torpedoed in November 1942, by a Japanese submarine. I lost one of my best friends in the same terrible sinking—Command Graf, *Juneau's* gunnery officer. He was my roommate and

classmate at the Naval Academy. That is just one other reason I am so pleased to be here with you today to pay tribute to these wonderful lads, all from the same family.

World War II taught us a lot of good lessons. We no longer have several members of one family serving in one ship. But, first and foremost, the United States has learned that our only road to peace is eternal vigilance and having a military so strong it will deter any other nation from attacking us or our allies.

Here in Waterloo you are a thousand miles from our seacoasts and our major naval ports. You do not have the opportunity of seeing ships such as our Polaris submarines, our giant aircraft carriers, and ships like U.S.S. *The Sullivans*, which is now employed training our Naval Reserves. I am pleased that Captain King, former commanding officer of U.S.S. *the Sullivans*, and now my commander of recruit training at Great Lakes, could come down here with me today.

As a farm boy down in Kansas, I remember thinking about the ocean as something far off, big, impressive, and a bit mysterious. This it is. I guess I thought those fields of waving Kansas wheat looked like the ocean should.

But the longer I stayed in the Navy, the more I realized that even an inland city such as Waterloo is dependent on the Navy and its seapower to assure its citizens of their daily routine of life, in war and peace.

We emerged triumphant from World War II because we finally were able to project our seapower far overseas. To places like the Solomon Islands, where U.S.S. *Juneau* was lost.

Our victory was not without cost; not without sacrifice; with the Sullivan family, perhaps, suffering the most terrible loss of all.

Today in this period of uneasy peace, the Navy still stands ready to counterattack quickly should we be called on. The 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean; the 7th Fleet in the Far East; the recent operations off North Vietnam, and earlier during the Cuban crisis, are vivid examples of our capabilities.

But out here in the heartland of America we tend to think of the Navy only when we see the big headlines. We forget about the day-to-day services the Navy provides in helping to keep America strong economically as well as militarily.

Each of you has a personal stake in supporting a strong Navy, even in peacetime.

We must have free use of the ocean highways or our national economy would be seriously crippled. You in this great agricultural State know, I am sure, that the U.S. domestic market cannot absorb all the foodstuffs grown in this country. We must export a great deal of agricultural products. In fact, over 10 cents out of every dollar's worth of crops and cattle sold by Iowans comes from oversea sales And the amount of Iowa-manufactured goods marketed abroad adds to your economy, too.

We must go into the world market with competitive prices for our goods, and that means shipping them abroad in the cheapest possible manner.

We have advanced technologically a great deal, but we have not found a substitute more economical for transporting goods overseas than using cargo ships.

This is why I say we all must work toward maintaining a strong Navy in these times, as well as in war, so that our maritime commerce will have free access to the seas and to the markets abroad.

But while you Iowans provide the foodstuffs and manufactured goods which make America a strong, healthy Nation, your most important product still remains your manpower. Manpower exemplified by the five Sullivan brothers, and the other fine, young men you have sent to the services over the years.

When I first entered the Navy over 40 years ago, I was surprised to find so many lads from the Midwest. I certainly came to appreciate them. I am convinced these boys—these Iowans—are generally smarter, come from a better home life, and have a better attitude than their shipmates from other areas. They are the boys who get to be the electronics technicians. and who go up to the officer ranks. Thev are the best sailors and you can be proud of them.

Over at Iowa State University, for example, we have a Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps unit. About 50 young members of the NROTC graduate each year and go on to active duty. We have 14 such units in the 9th Naval District, contributing 1,200 young officers annually to the Navy. We are greatly dependent on them—to man our Polaris submarines, our modern carriers, cruisers, and destroyers. To fly our planes. They are the future commanders of our Navy. The men who will run our fleets.

That is another reason why I am so pleased to be here today to see this wonderful memorial to the Sullivan brothers and all Iowans who gave their lives during the war. Looking around this park, I see something alive and virile about it. Not just the monument itself, but the entire atmosphere. Your wonderful facilities for the young people of Waterloo and all Iowa. This is a great thing you people have accomplished in this community. You not only have raised the money to create an edifice to honor the memory of our heroes, but, also, you have insured that it is in a setting appreciated by all. Particularly by our most precious national asset—our youth.

The young boys and girls will use this park to the fullest. They will benefit from its facilities, playing out in the good, clean, fresh air. They will grow strong. And at the same time, by the presence of this memorial, they will gain an appreciation for the contributions the older generation have made to the security of their country. As they grow older they will come to understand fully the responsibilities each citizen has to this democracy. They will appreciate the sacrifices which may have to be made in order that the United States continues to be free. And they will pass this along to future generations. This memorial will have long-lasting effects, far past this dedication day.

But there is another way each of you can personally honor the memory of the Sullivans. I am sure they would want you to do this.

When you see one of our young sailors here in Iowa on leave, don't just pass him by without a second thought. Remember, he is serving you, your family, your children's family, your country. Just as the Sullivans and the other Waterloo boys who went away to war did. The young sailor of today is part of your security in case of an attack on this great country.

If this lad in uniform is shown in some way that you appreciate the work he is doing in the Navy, that you recognize that he is contributing something valuable to his country, to his community, and to you, he will walk a little taller. His chest will be out, and his head will be held higher. He will go back to his ship and work longer, harder, and more efficiently. The net result will be a better prepared Navy.

If you do this you will be carrying on a living memorial to the five Sullivan brothers, who unhesitatingly stepped forward to defend this wonderful country in a national emergency. I believe it is our solemn obligation to do everything in our power, so that each of us can contribute to the security of the United States, even if only in some small way.

We must never let down our guard. We must keep this democracy strong and healthy. We must never, never let it be said that those who died in the defense of their country passed on in vain.

On behalf of navymen everywhere, I want to express our great appreciation for the honor you do all sailormen by erecting this wonderful memorial to these five shipmates who are no longer with us. They departed this life in the best traditions of our Navy and our democratic Nation, and it is fitting that we honor them for it.

Thank you, Mayor, for permitting me to join in these ceremonies with you and the rest of you fine Iowans. It has been a very moving experience.

Advocacy of Assassination and Magnicide in October 1963

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the article and poem entitled "The Hatching" from the magazine Americas issue of October 1963, published by the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.

This poem by Homero Aridijis, a Mexican poet clearly advocates assassination shortly before the tragedy of President Kennedy in a widely circulation magazine in the Americas. Did Oswald have any contact with this person or his associates on Oswald's now famous Mexican trip?

For the future protection of our President and officials of countries of the Americas, it should be noted that Homero Aridijis advocates not only one assassination, but the assassination of the person who replaces the victim. Also the persons who replace "the ones we kill."

What is the reason and background for this philosophy? Is this an individual or a group?

The introduction to the poem in the magazine America says, "He (Aridjis) publishes in most of the Mexican literary magazines and his poetry is heatedly discussed."

Why should the Pan American Union immediately before the assassination of President Kennedy be publishing a full page poem in Spanish and English translation with picture of the author advocating assassination and magnicide?

To those of us who admired and respected our President Kennedy, it is amazing that this magazine with the large display advocating openly assissination, should be carried in the U.S. mails under the designation "official business," just prior to President Kennedy's death.

We Americans are an amazing people.

The article and poem follow:

HOMERO ARIDJIS

Homero Aridjis was born on April 6, 1940, in Michoacan. He publishes in most of the Mexican literary magazines, and his poetry is heatedly discussed. He has published "Los Ojos Desdoblados" (Eyes Open), poetry, and "La Tumba de Filidor" Filidor's Tomb, a

novel. A book of poetry and one of prose will come out this year. He studied journalism.

THE HATCHING

I advocate magnicide.
I say:
Let's assassinate the tyrant.
That manipulates, bosses, suppresses,
speaks for all without their consent,
and has led only to the snare and the whip.
I say that we must commit a second magnicide,
Because after the first purification a second tyrant
Will replace him.
And we will wait.
And the air will be cleaner in the meanwhile.
And we will make love.
And we will meander through the rainy streets,
Directionless, holding hands,
You and your wife, you and your child,
My wife and I.
And we will laugh.
And the air will be cleaner in the meanwhile.
And we will go on waiting.
And there will be a third to follow the second tyrant
That we assassinate.
And we will kill him too.
And the air will go on being clean.
And our hands will do heroic deeds out of necessity.
But there will come
a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a ninth,
a tenth, a twentieth, a hundredth, a thousandth tyrant
to replace the ones that we kill
and each will be killed in his turn.
Because we must kill them all.
Until power inspires
fear. A death sentence;
a pedestal, gilt but crumbing.
This is the way we will make life pure.
We will raise up all our new strength:
the sun, the night,
the wind, the rain,
love, solitude,
our bodies,
Upon him who would have power,
upon his henchmen, his messengers, his slaves,
upon his apologists and his prophets,
will crash down all our new strength.

Dr. Fernós-Isern

SPEECH
OF
HON. RALPH R. HARDING
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. HARDING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. HARDING. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Four years ago when I first took my seat in the House Committee on Agriculture it was my privilege to be seated between the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN. These two gentlemen, one from an island in the Pacific and the other from an island in the Caribbean, turned out to be two of my closest friends in the Congress.

I was delighted to see our colleague [Mr. INOUYE] go on to the U.S. Senate. Today, it is with great pleasure that I join my colleagues today in wishing Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN well as he leaves this body.

He has been a gentleman. He has been considerate and helpful. Certainly he has won the respect of all his colleagues.

I am happy to join with the gentleman from New York in wishing him well, great success, happiness, and God speed in whatever he undertakes.

Another Possible Substitute for Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as the 88th Congress prepares to wind up, I can think back to a number of confrontations with profound satisfaction. In helping to carve a record that compares favorably with some of the historic sessions of the past, I think all Members can take a great deal of pride.

One issue in which I have been deeply involved has been the issue of silver. At various points during the past year—in my Treasury-Post Office Subcommittee on Appropriations, on the floor of the House, and in public statements, I have stated that substitutes should be used in place of silver in our coinage system so as to alleviate our shortage of coins in all denominations. I have often said that unless immediate action is taken to substitute some material for silver in our subsidiary coinage that the coinage system of this country would be in serious jeopardy. I have suggested as possibilities zirconium, columbium, copper nickel, and other materials. Now, a magazine has suggested the use of stainless steel, which has been used in other countries since 1939. As a matter of interest, I am enclosing a copy of an Associated Press article which appeared recently in the Nation's press.

The article follows:

COINS OF STAINLESS STEEL SUGGESTED

NEW YORK.—Use of stainless steel in the U.S. coinage as a substitute for silver was suggested Tuesday.

The idea was thrown out by Steelways, an industry magazine which called attention to rising industrial consumption of silver, dwindling supplies and high prices.

The publication said stainless steel has been used in the coins of other governments since 1939.

An official of a leading precious metals refining firm recently called for minting of U.S. coins without silver, holding that at the present rate of use U.S. Treasury stocks were dropping uncomfortably fast.

An estimated 215 million ounces of silver will go into U.S. dimes, quarters, and half-dollars this year, Steelways said—about twice the volume consumer by industry in 1962.

Although U.S. Treasury stocks of silver remain ample for coinage demands of several years, a coin shortage that has plagued banks and retail businesses lately has focused attention on longer range aspects of the problem.

Los Angeles County Absentee Ballot Applications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of those who may seek absentee ballots for the November 3 election and are residents of Los Angeles County, Calif., the following instructions and application form are applicable:

ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICATION

The application must be signed by the applicant and be received by the registrar of voters between and including the following dates: October 5–27, 1964.

To apply for your absentee ballot, detach the form on the next page, fill in the blanks, sign it, and mail to the registrar of voters.

This form can be used by only one person. If you know of others who need to apply, instruct them to write a separate letter request containing the information called for by the form.

To be counted, your marked ballot must be mailed to the registrar of voters in time for him to receive it by 5 p.m., November 2—the day before the election. So apply for your ballot early, mark and mail it prompty. Do not risk losing your vote by any delay.

APPLICATION FOR ABSENT VOTER'S BALLOT—BY MAIL

GENERAL ELECTION—NOVEMBER 3, 1964

BENJAMIN S. HITE,
Registrar of Voters,
808 North Spring Street,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SIR: I, _____ am a voter of Los Angeles County.

I am registered at my home address in Los Angeles County which is _____.

The only reasons a voter may vote an absentee ballot are as follows: (Check the reasons applicable to you.)

☐ 1. I expect to be absent from my election precinct.
☐ 2. Because of physical disability, I will be unable to vote in my election precinct.
☐ 3. The tenets of my religion will prevent me from attending the polls throughout that day.
☐ 4. I reside more than 10 miles from polling place by the most direct route for public travel.

I am therefore making application for an absentee ballot for the above-named election.

Ballot to be mailed to me at _____ Street, _____ City, _____ State.

_____ _____
Date *Signature of Applicant*

This material also will be contained in my current Report From Congress. It is regrettable that the number of days which Congress has been in session over the past 3 or 4 years has had the effect of depriving citizens at home the opportunity to see and talk with their Congressman to the extent that is desirable. Our colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] discussed this subject with great perceptiveness on Thursday last. His wise remarks struck me so forcefully that I have felt it necessary to extend the following invitation

to the people of the congressional district I am honored to represent: "You are cordially invited to meet your Congresman Sunday, October 18, 2 to 4 p.m., Lafayette Hotel Ballroom, Broadway at Linden." My report discusses the reason for this and other matters as follows:

OCTOBER 1964.

DEAR FRIENDS: Congress has been in session almost continuously since January 1963. Getting home to talk with you personally has been a matter of quick trips except for the 2-week recesses for the Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

The Hosmers miss seeing our old friends at home and meeting new ones. We also feel that the people should have the opportunity to see their Congressman, whether they approve of him or not. That is why the afternoon of October 18 has been set aside for this purpose. We surely hope to see you.

As this is written Congress has high hopes of adjourning for the year. That may come to pass before this reaches you—or the situation may change entirely. That is the nature of things in these swift moving times.

In any event, it is certain that a great election will take place on November 3. Vote as you please—but please vote. For those who need it, there is an absentee ballot application form on the last page of this report.

Last month's report promised details of the new social security and veterans' benefits to all who asked for them. The intervening filibuster in the Senate over reapportionment of State legislatures delayed action on these bills and many more. As soon as action is final we'll get the data to you.

The last minute rush characteristic of the closing days of a Congress leaves me hard pressed to give you an accurate report on other measures, too.

It appears an effort will be made to provide the added protection for our Presidents recommended by the Warren report on President Kennedy's terrible assassination.

Also in the mill is a proposed constitutional amendment to cope with the problem of Presidential succession and filling a vacancy in the Vice Presidency. The Nation has been without a Vice President for periods totaling 37 years. This amendment would permit a President to appoint one, subject to confirmation by the House and the Senate.

Although neither of these measures may pass this year, both are needed and likely to be enacted by early 1965.

A surprising number of people asked for the agriculture bulletins mentioned in the last report. It takes some time to get them together. Please be patient if yours have not arrived—they will be along soon. The supply has been used up, so no more requests can be honored.

This operation went smoothly except for the joker who sent in a request for a bulletin on bedbugs in another person's name. The sweet lady who got it was pretty irate for a while. I hope my apologies have made us friends once again.

As my 12th year in the Congress nears closing I want to express real appreciation to you for making this service meaningful and personally satisfying. You have written and spoken freely to me of the grave problems facing our country and the hopes and aspirations we share for an even better America. Together during these years we have worked toward realization of this dream.

More often than not we have agreed on particular issues. When there has been a difference of views, we've both understood that no two people ever see everything exactly the same. We have respected each other's judgment. In fact, often it is impossible to know—and seldom is it crystal clear—whether passing or not passing a specific law will be best for the United States in the long run.

The important thing is that our basic objectives are one and the same—a strong America and the freedom and well-being of its people.

Best personal regards,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress.

Address by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey to Democratic Executive Committee of Cuyahoga County, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 27, 1964, Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, attended the annual steer roast sponsored by the Democratic Executive Committee of Cuyahoga County at Euclid Beach Park and delivered a stirring address before an audience of approximately 12,000 people.

Senator HUMPHREY presented a dramatic record of the achievements of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and closed with a profound statement on immigration policy.

Senator HUMPHREY's address follows:

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, AT DEMOCRATIC STEER ROAST, CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 27

Today I speak to one of the greatest Democratic gatherings in America.

This steer roast has known many dramatic moments. But none can surpass the visit 4 years ago of a courageous and eloquent young Senator from Massachusetts—the Democratic candidate for President of the United States.

Many of you will recall his vision of a greater America: "I would like it to be said that in our administration, our country moved here at home: it began to solve the problems that face our people; it put special emphasis on education, because no free society can survive without the best educational system in the world; it took care of our children and gave medical care to the aged, so that our older citizens could live out their lives in some security * * * I would like it to be said that we ended discrimination of all kinds in the United States * * * We want fair treatment for all Americans."

This was a vision worthy of a great Democratic President and a great Democratic Party. And for a dynamic and unforgettable 1,000 days, our beloved John F. Kennedy kept his promises to America. And when he was taken from us, and the whole world faltered, it was Lyndon B. Johnson who stepped forward bravely and told the Nation: "Let us continue."

As the running mate of President Johnson, I rejoice to say that with your help, we shall continue to move America forward.

The Democratic Party believes in the philospohy of government expressed by Woodrow Wilson, when he said: "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being."

To Democrats, people are partners in the government. Government exists for the people, because of the people, and is answerable to the people—all of them.

Believing this, and acting upon it, a Democratic administration began to release the energies of America and bring opportunity to all its people.

Four years ago, our economy was floundering in the midst of the third recession in 8 years. Today it is enjoying the longest sustained growth in all our history—releasing the energies of the American enterprise system.

Four years ago unemployment was dangerously high and no plans were made to meet the effects of automation or absorb new people coming on the labor market. Today employment is at an all-time high of 72 million people and we are slowly cutting the unemployment rate—releasing the productive energies of American workers.

Four years ago there were no plans to improve the woefully inadequate facilities of higher education to educate our children. Today, we have provided means to construct facilities, add new institutions, and provide more loans—releasing the intellectual energies of American students.

Four years ago our economically depressed areas had been ignored. "Poverty" was an unmentionable word—even though millions of Americans lived in its misery. Today the ARA, the accelerated public works, and the antipoverty bill are law—releasing the dormant energies of forgotten towns and forgotten people.

Four years ago the moral issue of human rights had not been faced. Today the civil rights bill has been passed—releasing millions of Americans from the indignities and humiliations of second-class citizenship.

Four years ago the world remained gripped by the tense, oppressive black cloud of nuclear fright and anxiety. Today the test ban treaty has been signed and we have taken the first steps toward a lasting peace—releasing the world from the effects of radioactive fallout.

Four years ago John F. Kennedy set before you a vision of a better America. You responded to this vision. America responded. And we started to move forward.

This progress did not just happen. It took courageous leadership. It took government that cared for people, identified with them, and above all trusted them.

Ohio has shared in the progress of these past 4 years. Your manufacturing employment is up. Your educational institutions have grown. Your retail sales are up. Your cities have begun urban renewal and to attack the problems of our rapidly growing urban society.

This thriving city of Cleveland is the eighth largest city in the United States. But Cleveland is going to get larger. So are all of the many large cities in this State. You still have problems to work out in urban renewal, in clean air and water, in good transportation, in decent homes for all of the people.

Industry in Ohio must grow and innovate to provide jobs for all your people. But likewise the considerable agriculture of this State must not suffer neglect. The wonderful orchards and vineyards of this Western Reserve, and the varied agriculture all over the State must be strong—both for you and for the Nation.

On election day, Cleveland—and all America—has a choice. You can choose the party of Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson—the party that believes in releasing the energies of America. Or you can choose those who have said "No" to every constructive piece of Democratic legislation in the past 4 years, and will continue to say "No" to the challenges of the next 4 years.

You can choose the Democratic Party that seeks to revise and improve our outdated and inhumane immigration system, or you can choose those who seek to replace the Statue of Liberty with an iron, padlocked gate.

What is wrong with immigration legislation that has been supported by the last four Presidents of the United States—including General Eisenhower?

What is wrong with an immigration bill permitting family unification of blood relatives of U.S. citizens?

What is wrong with a bill providing for immigration of persons with special skills and exceptional ability needed by the United States? Such people will not take jobs away—they will create jobs in our economy.

What is wrong with a bill providing for refugee asylum for persecuted persons?

It is not a question of opening the "floodgates." It is a question of opening the "fairgates" to admit 45,000 more immigrants—one-fortieth of 1 percent of our present population.

I believe we will be a better nation when those 45,000 live among us.

I believe we will be a prouder, richer nation when the administration's immigration bill becomes law.

I believe we will be a more compassionate and commonsense nation when it becomes law.

I was proud to testify for the administration bill in these words: "A great society is not a closed society. It is open to enriching ideas and contributions of many cultures. It thrives on diversity. Immigration reform means substantial progress toward this goal. If our society sincerely judges its members on worth instead of birth, then our immigration policy should be based primarily on merit."

Worth—not birth—that is the JOHNSON-HUMPHREY promise to you. It is our pledge. It is our faith.

We have a job to do in the next 6 weeks. Let us make November 3 a resounding V-day—V for voting; V for victory—for all that is just, noble, courageous and decent in American life.

In every precinct, in every ward, in every State, we must spend the next 6 weeks unleashing the energies of our people in behalf of Lyndon B. Johnson and his vision of the great society.

We have a job to do. We must keep America moving forward.

Five Rollcalls Missed During Entire 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, during the 88th Congress, it was necessary for me to be absent on five occasions when seven rollcall votes were taken. Had I been present, I would have voted as indicated below:

On rollcall No. 111, April 14, 1964, final passage of H.R. 10809, HEW-Labor appropriations, I would have voted "yea." On rollcall No. 182, July 2, 1964, conference report on S. 2, water resources research centers, I would have voted "yea." On rollcall No. 198, August 3, 1964, on motion to suspend rules and pass H.R. 1096, Ice Age Reserve, I would have voted "nay." On rollcall No. 199, August 3, 1964, on motion to suspend rules and pass H.R. 3672, Colorado-Wyoming reclamation, I would have voted "yea." On rollcall No. 200, August 4, 1964, conference report on H.R. 10939, Defense Department appropriations, I would have voted "yea." On rollcall No. 201, August 4, 1964, to concur in Senate amendment to H.R. 10939, to make 35 percent of funds for repair and conversion of naval vessels available for private yards, I would have voted "yea." On rollcall No. 256, September 3, 1964, on passage of S. 2220, to encourage practice of physicians and dentists in shortage areas, I would have voted "yea."

The White House Summer Intern Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, recently there was a touching ceremony on the steps of the Senate wing of the Capitol. The White House summer interns on that occasion presented a sum of money voluntarily contributed by them to Hon. Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General, as a gift to the John F. Kennedy Library.

Mrs. Pepper and I who were privileged to attend that stirring ceremony were much pleased that one of the fine young members of the White House intern group from my district was master of ceremonies and made a moving address. This young man is Keith Barish who has already distinguished himself in the councils of the Democratic Party and as a young citizen of Florida and the United States. He is one of those dedicated to the great principles embodied in the life and death of President Kennedy and determined to keep those principles alive in the youth of today and the citizenship of tomorrow in our land. I commend to my colleagues and countrymen Keith's address:

We are all here for the same purpose to honor the memory of our late President Kennedy.

One year ago, President Kennedy spoke to many of us on the White House lawn. He told us of his faith in us, and in our future. He spoke about America and the part we must play in keeping it free and good.

John F. Kennedy is no longer with us but his memory will remain with us forever. He was our President, our friend. We thought of him when we thought of America. We had someone to emulate, someone whose example we might use to formulate our opinions and goals.

The White House summer intern program representing students from 50 States and many cities and towns who have come to Washington to learn by participating in the affairs of this Nation, have undertaken a personal project. We have raised over $2,000 which we will present to the Attorney General today to be used for the Kennedy Library. We had two goals—the immediate one of doing our part for the Kennedy Library, the other to use his example to promote peace and brotherhood among all Americans, to eliminate bigotry from the hearts of all.

Let us pray that when our children and our children's children walk along the banks of the Charles River in Boston, they will know as do we the meaning of his life and work. And, when we visit the library let us be able to say—the tragedy of his death made us better men.

Mr. Attorney General on behalf of the youth of our country may I please present our gift to the Kennedy Library.

Address by Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on October 2, 1964, the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, delivered a stirring address at a United Nations civic luncheon held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, before an audience in excess of 2,000 civic leaders and supporters of the United Nations Assembly and its work.

Ambassador Stevenson's address is as follows:

I will begin by reminding you that 12 years ago—in 1952—I said it is essential to recognize that "who wins or loses the next election is less important than what wins—what ideas—what concept of the world tomorrow, what quality of perception, leadership, and courage."

So, while it is a fact that we are in the midst of a political campaign, it is also a fact that we are in the midst of a critical period in our Nation's history. At another critical moment, Lincoln said:

"If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity."

Despite this, we have recently heard it said: That President Kennedy deliberately timed the Cuban missile crisis for its impact in the 1962 elections; that President Johnson will deliberately provoke a crisis to coincide with the election next month; that this administration is responsible "for lies and lives" in Vietnam; that the nuclear test ban treaty menaces our security; that the hot line connecting Moscow and Washington may be used for "secret" talks and "deals between this country and Russia"; and so on.

I think we may be confident how Lincoln's test of "time and eternity" will deal with such "catch arguments."

But, it is not my purpose here to discuss these partisan charges. I have come to talk about the United States, its leadership in the world, its security, its interests, and the United Nations, which is not a partisan matter, at least it has not been for some 18 years. For it, too, has been severely attacked. And I ask you to believe that my defense of this remarkable institution for international cooperation and collective security would be the same whatever political label its detractors wore. And what I have to say about a bipartisan American foreign policy that has been in effect for two decades—that has had the overwhelming support of both major parties—I would say at any time, whether a political campaign was underway or not. For that quadrennial political fit does not affect the basic fact that our foreign policy in this generation has

followed the same broad outlines under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Under that policy, it has been our good fortune that since the Charter of the United Nations was approved, not one major American political leader—Republican or Democrat—has ever before questioned the value of U.S. membership.

On the contrary, they have been united over its value to us as over no other domestic or foreign policy issue. And this has been true of every President in this past generation—Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson; every Secretary of State, from Stettinius to Dulles to Rusk; every foreign policy leader of the Senate, from Vandenburg to Fulbright.

If ever there was a bipartisan effort, if ever there was a bipartisan agreement, if ever there was a bipartisan consensus on how this country should conduct its foreign policy, it has been our support of the United Nations. And I emphasize this support is an all-American support, an all-American policy that every poll shows is backed by 80 to 90 percent of the American people—and that's some mainstream.

Indeed, it may come as a surprise to you—it did to me—to learn that I am the first registered Democrat to serve as the U.S. representative to the United Nations.

I mention this because it underscores the absence of partisan politics in our approach to the United Nations.

The United Nations Charter was approved in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2.

There has never been a delegation to the General Assembly that did not comprise both Republicans and Democrats.

The United Nations planks in both party platforms were roughly similar in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

But now we are told that everyone has been out of step, and we should get out of the United Nations and "quit wasting our money on it." And, in spite of the conflicting statements which we have come to expect, this seems to be the basic attitude.

To me this means we should abdicate our role of leadership in the world.

And when I hear such talk I think back 19 years this month to the signing of the United Nations Charter and of what Beardsley Ruml said about the United Nations shortly before its first session in London where I was then stationed. It went like this:

"At the end of 5 years you will think the United Nations is the greatest vision ever realized by man.

"At the end of 10 years you will find doubts within yourself and all through the world.

"At the end of 15 years you will believe the United Nations cannot succeed. You will be certain that all the odds are against its ultimate life and success.

"It will only be when the United Nations is 20 years old that * * * we will know that the United Nations is the only alternative to the demolition of the world."

What a prescient bit of crystal ball gazing that turned out to be.

A great many people now have arrived at the fourth stage in Ruml's 20-year prophecy—that stage where we know that "the United Nations is the only alternative to the demolition of the world."

Let me be emphatic. This is not said for rhetorical effect. The facts are much too practical.

Because there has been no way to exorcise conflict from the human breast or the politics of nations, the world still abounds in conflicts—some old, some new, some trivial, some serious, some minor, some potentially climactic.

If these are not to be settled by war—which has been the great instrument of change through the ages—then they must be resolved by institutions for peaceful settlement and peaceful change.

This seems inescapably by the international machinery of peace we have constructed in the postwar years at the regional and global levels.

And let me assure you, this machinery already has a far better record than most people seem to realize or understand, particularly those who claim it has failed.

During the past decade and a half there have been some 20 occasions when the armed forces of two or more nations engaged in active hostilities. In only one case did the fighting end the way wars have ended traditionally—by military capitulation.

On at least 20 other occasions there has been minor fighting on disputed frontiers, or armed revolts in the outcome of which other states had a national interest. In no case has the fighting spread to international warfare.

As for those international disputes now on the agenda of the Security Council of the United Nations, some are settled and others are dormant—and some are hardy perennials.

But one thing is clear about all of them: far less blood has been shed than if the disputes had not found their way onto the agenda of the United Nations or regional peacekeeping organizations.

All this has been going on simultaneously with the most massive political transformation in history—with astonishingly little bloodshed all the way around. I refer, of course, to the sudden transition from colonialism to independence throughout the world.

Now I do not mean to suggest that the United Nations has or will, or ever can, solve all the problems: or that peace—lasting peace—is around the next corner.

There are still too many nuclear and conventional arms to doubt that grave danger still persists. And in dealing with it we had better keep in mind Santayana's warning that "those who will not learn from history are destined to repeat it."

In this nuclear age the world can't afford to repeat its prewar history. That should be the first realism of our politics today.

To understand this, though, it is also necessary to understand—as I fear not all of us do—that we now live in a world which is no longer simply bipolar but in which multiple centers of power and influence have come into being; in which the most extreme forms of power are the least likely to be used; in which realities are eroding rigid political dogmas; in which there can be no ideological agreement but where there can be agreement on mutual survival; in which imperialism is dying, and paternalism is dying, too; in which old trading systems, monetary systems, market systems, and other elements of the conventional economic wisdom are being challenged; and, finally, a world in which fundamental issues of human rights—which have been hidden in closets down the long corridor of history—are out in the open and high on the agenda of human affairs.

The United States has sought to establish the fact that this Nation would be both sensitive and firm in meeting the challenges and threats of these changing times.

We met steel with steel—in Berlin, in the resumption of nuclear testing when the Soviets broke the moratorium, and in Cuba.

But we have also sought to match hope with more hope and press on with an ever more intensive quest for peace.

Now the quest continues even as a more complex world emerges—a world in which the cold war still has no sharp beginning or end and in which the changes I have noted—fundamental as they are—still are not finalities but trends.

But they give us reason to hope that with the achievement of a test ban treaty—and with the resolution banning weapons of mass destruction in outer space, and the installation of the hot line between Moscow and Washington, and the first halting steps toward United States-Soviet cooperation in exploring the universe that these and the expanding peacekeeping operations of the United Nations we have reason to hope, as I say, that the cold war, in the form in which we have known it, may be receding.

Yet other rivalries abound. New crises, new tensions take the place of old. New imperialists arise from the ruins of past empires. So the world remains in a turbulent and dangerous state of affairs.

But between the two thermonuclear powers we have reason to hope that additional areas of common interest can be identified and further agreements reached—until we reach a consensus on survival. The imperative of our foreign policy is to hasten that day.

President Johnson did not invent the policy I have been talking about. He is simply the present custodian of it.

He has carried it forward from his predecessors.

To the credit of this policy are such great accomplishments as the rebuilding of Europe through the Marshall plan and point 4; our nation-building programs for Asia and Africa; the Alliance for Progress in Latin America; our efforts to achieve realistic disarmament; the launching of a decade of development; the promotion of peaceful uses of atomic energy.

And so it goes—positive, constructive, progressive ideas and programs that have been the driving force of our postwar foreign policy.

And I say thank God that this great policy has been passed on from the hand of one President to the next, regardless of party, during this very dangerous generation which we are now concluding. And let me also say that President Johnson's instant pledge to continue the Truman-Eisenhower-Kennedy policy was not only reassuring to the American public, but equally so to our allies and most other nations of the world.

One is deeply aware of this at the United Nations. And we are constantly reminded of how much the new President's rededication to the United Nations and NATO means to our friends abroad.

I would add that one thing you learn at the United Nations is that America's leadership rests on a broad confidence that our cooperative policy of the past two decades will not be abandoned.

The President has given that assurance.

Now, when we look into the future we see that the mutations in power and influence in the world today will require us to be even clearer in our heads and even faster on our feet than we have been so far.

The twilight of empire, the emergence of Communist China, the tidal wave of independence all on the heels of European economic and military recovery, have spawned a multitude of problems and external dangers involving our allies and the United States with its worldwide commitments.

And while all these problems do not have the same priorities of importance, they all add to the diversity of our interests—interests and solutions that must be geared to what the peoples of the world really want for themselves.

I would not presume to mention all of them. Just let me mention a few in passing:

There is the question of NATO and the Atlantic Community; Germany and European security; the Common Market; trade and aid; our changing relationship with the Communist world; disarmament; the bellicose threats of Peiping; the struggles of Vietnam, Laos, Malaysia, Cyprus; the strivings of the developing countries of Africa and Asia; Latin America.

Each of these begets a dozen more and then a dozen again, and I have not begun to scratch the surface. Neither have I men-

tioned one of the most troublesome of the problems now confronting us—one whose outcome may well determine the fate of the United Nations machinery itself.

I refer, of course, to the problem of the unpaid assessments owed by the Soviet bloc and a few other countries that have refused to pay their share of the cost of peacekeeping operations. The problem could quickly be resolved if the Soviet Union recognized that the removal of present financial impediments is a necessary part of wiping out the United Nations nagging deficit and improving the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace.

Agreement could be reached on this, even as agreement was reached on the removal of missiles in Cuba, even as agreement was reached on a nuclear test ban treaty, even as agreement was reached on the signing of the United Nations Charter itself. We intend to persevere on this fiscal problem just as determinedly as we did on the others.

Recognizing the multitude of problems that still exist, and the complexities that each poses, President Johnson recently appointed a task force for peace to help advise him on how to proceed. In keeping with our bipartisan policy, he named Republicans as well as Democrats. And I mention this because it points up anew how the policy of the past 20 years not only is being continued, but is being extended.

We now have a clear choice before us—the choice between an American foreign policy evolved by broad consensus over the postwar years, and a rival policy—if it can be called that—based on a dangerously militant minority view of the world. A policy of ultimatum, if you will.

Ultimatums, however, offer only the alternatives of nuclear war or the humiliation of backing down.

Either alternative is intolerable to the United States, especially since experience teaches us that ultimatums are often just last warnings before resorting to concessions.

The problems of Vietnam, Laos, Cyprus, Cuba, Peiping, Berlin—indeed, every problem that besets mankind today, including the problems of poverty, disease, illiteracy, inequality—will not be solved by ultimatum.

Perhaps the use of power will be forced upon us. That is one of the responsibilities of power in this age. But the choice will not be ours. We shall not seek it, although we shall be ready for it—that is the dual reality of the day in which we live.

For even if the present leaders of the Soviet Union have come to see that the expansion by armed force is irrational in the nuclear age, the leaders of Communist China have gone to spectacular lengths to show that they still live in the age of Stalin—with what dangers to all of us we can scarcely discern.

The President has made it clear that while these dangers will be resisted, they will not be permitted to goad us into any rash acts.

We are resolved that we shall not be betrayed by weakness. But we are equally resolved that we shall not betray our strength.

For we know that even as threats and menacing gestures solved no problems of the past generation, neither will they solve those of the next—a generation that will require the same perseverance and dedication to peace.

The world, as I have said, is still very dangerous, but not quite as dangerous as a short time ago. And this more hopeful state of affairs has come about not through hostile confrontation, unacceptable challenge, and belief in our own omnipotence. It has come about through a patient building of world community.

In place of ultimatum, in place of old ideas, we have used negotiation and new conviction. Perhaps these will not usher in the new millennium of peace but they may give civilization a chance to reach it.

Here again I must refer to those words spoken by Lincoln about the care we must exercise in what we say—particularly in what we say about the use of our power. Both of our parties have a responsibility, not only to the electorate of America, but to the people of the world whose lives we control only because that power is vested in our hands.

What may be partisan rhetoric to us may be provocative war-mongering to them. They are people with lives, purposes, dreams, ambitions of their own. We cannot ignore them or permit them to misunderstand what we say in the heat of a political campaign. The damage could be irreparable.

We must speak now, as ever, with clarity and responsibility. I say this because some of the things I have heard these past weeks, including militant mutterings and conflicting declarations about the United Nations and other national policies, have reminded me of passages in Alice in Wonderland when the March Hare admonishes Alice:

"You should say what you mean."

"I do," replied Alice, "at least—at least I mean what I say—that's the same thing, you know."

"Not the same thing a bit," said the Hatter. "You might just as well say that 'I see what I eat' is the same thing as 'I eat what I see.'"

"You might just as well say," added the March Hare, "that 'I like what I get' is the same thing as 'I get what I like.'"

"You might just as well say," added the Dormouse, who seemed to be talking in his sleep, "that 'I breathe when I sleep' is the same as 'I sleep when I breathe.'"

Now, in closing, I am brought full circle to what I said earlier about world leadership—for we now have the opportunity of making it clear that we mean to continue our role in United Nations and our role as a leader of the free world. They are really the same thing, and they have been for the generation just past; it is our role today; it must be our role in the future.

For in this new world of diversity that is shaping up, the true leader is not the one who gives orders, but the one who shows the way.

The true leader is not the one who embraces agreeable myths but who faces the facts even when they are ugly.

The true leader is not the one who expects followers, but who welcomes the company of all who wish to join him.

The true leader is not one who insists that his way is the only way, but who is ready to share his own experience for what it is worth to others.

This, it seems to me, is the leadership that is needed in a world which, indeed, is changing rapidly but which is concerned to the last with building a great society. And the nation which leads the way to the great society need never fear for its influence—for that nation will be setting the pace for all others in a world unified through brotherhood, not fear.

Alexander Matsas, Ambassador of Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during my service in Congress, I have had the honor and privilege of receiving various letters of appreciation for the work we do here.

One that I value most highly is a telegram which I received from His Excellency Alexander Matsas, Ambassador of Greece, soon after I introduced my resolution urging justice for Cyprus.

It is a source of great pride to know that Greece, which has written such a heroic record in her brilliant defeat of communism after World War II, should include my efforts and those of my colleagues for our work toward obtaining true justice for Cyprus.

It is my hope that the Congress will interest itself in the great cause of justice for the people of Cyprus. Our own Government as early as 1947 unofficially fostered a plan of "Enosis"—reunion with the motherland—which would have turned Cyprus over to Greece.

On thorough reflection, enosis continues to appear as the best vehicle for guaranteeing justice for Cyprus. The free world must at all costs help Cyprus resolve its problems so that there will not be any need for anyone seeking assistance from the Soviet Union or any other nation whose system of government is based on brute force and suppression of human dignity.

Cyprus clearly belongs in the family of free nations, managing its own affairs. The United States and the free world must exert all of their influence to hasten the day when peace and justice, in an atmosphere of complete freedom and democracy, shall again prevail on Cyprus.

Ambassador Matsas' telegram follows:

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Please allow me to express my warm appreciation for your noble efforts in favor of justice for Cyprus. This cause is based on the ideals of equity, freedom, and democracy which are fundamental to the civilization of both Greece and the United States.

Cordially yours,

ALEXANDER MATSAS,
Ambassador of Greece.

Hon. Carl Elliott

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I extend my best wishes to our colleague Congressman CARL ELLIOTT, of Alabama. CARL ELLIOTT has served his district and the Nation with devotion.

Since coming to the 81st Congress in 1948, Congressman ELLIOTT has risen to be chairman of the House Select Committee To Investigate Government Research Activities and also sat on the Rules Committee for the past two Congresses. I know that my colleagues in the House will miss his valued counsel and warm friendship, which he so willingly extended to all in his 16 years of membership in the House of Representatives.

Again, I wish to Congressman and Mrs. Elliott best wishes for continued success and happiness.

Goldwater's Campaign Speeches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House I include herewith the following column written by Miss Doris Fleeson for the Washington Star of October 2, 1964:

GOLDWATER'S CAMPAIGN SPEECHES

(By Doris Fleeson)

ABOARD GOLDWATER TRAIN IN MIDWEST.—As a campaigner for the Presidency, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER lacks the gift of the sustaining theme.

His train is taking him through rich farming and industrial areas of important States where he is met by happy crowds prepared to float on clouds of his inspiration. It is some of the most invigorating country in the world. Even the fall sunshine is cooperating.

Yet, despite such surroundings, GOLDWATER seems unable to project a coherent and hopeful view of his new conservatism upon which he can continue to build a reasonable alternative to what Americans have now.

He strikes no spark and achieves no crescendo.

He skips around. He opens closets and displays skeletons marked Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes and Matt McCloskey.

He invokes the shade of Joseph R. McCarthy with an assertion that the Johnson administration is "soft on communism."

He airs various prejudices which some Americans share. He says President Johnson is a get-rich-quick type who knows only how to make money and attract power. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, he says, is a Socialist radical.

This was the fare at Cincinnati, but the early morning enthusiasts at Middletown next got a heavy dose of the inequities of foreign aid in Bolivia, the Congo and Ghana, all more than a trifle remote from their immediate problems.

He threw away a larger and equally hospitable crowd at Dayton with a technical attack on a new manned interceptor plane which Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was unveiling in California. This echoed an Air Force view which GOLDWATER, reserve major general in that service, passionately shares. Dayton is an Air Force center, but it was not a uniformed crowd.

Such speeches are nothing new in American politics. They do not add up to plans and policy for an administration which would face the opposite direction from the recent past.

GOLDWATER has felt the heat of attacks on his past statements about nuclear weapons and nuclear policy. He is avoiding the topic, and foreign policy as well, except for compliments to Atlantic civilization at Cincinnati. Here he made a rather striking omission.

Our destiny, he suggested, was to "stand as a great central pillar linking Europe, the Americas, and the venerable and vital peoples of the Pacific." Africa was not mentioned.

Early impressions of this journey, so crucial to his hopes, must be that he has not fixed upon a clear way to retrieve his apparent setbacks. He is trying one thing and another. He is clearly tempted to attempt destruction of the reputations of the President and HUMPHREY, though he omitted in delivery two short lines of his advance text at Cincinnati.

He continues to complain that Johnson will not debate him, though he once said that a President should not debate his rival, that it was too risky for the country. He has got around that in his own mind by saying now that he and Johnson are both running for President for the first time.

James T. Farrell's Impressions of Senator John F. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, James T. Farrell, the noted author and novelist, wrote his impressions of Senator John F. Kennedy a year before Senator Kennedy was nominated for President in 1960. James T. Farrell's impressions were published in the August 1, 1964, issue of Thought. I bring this article to the attention or my colleagues, for I believe it is an important contribution to the literature about our late beloved President John F. Kennedy.

MY FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

(By James T. Farrell)

(Written over a year before the late President Kennedy's election in 1960)

At the Democratic Convention in Chicago, in 1956, Adlai E. Stevenson threw open and onto the convention floor, the choice of a candidate for Vice President. Almost instantly, there was a boom for Kennedy, that is Senator John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts. And Kennedy almost won the nomination away from Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. This was a dramatic and surprising event, and marked the beginning of the Kennedy drive for the 1960 presidential nomination.

MAN OF PERFECT CHARM

In 1956, Senator Kennedy was one of a group of liberal, Democratic Senators. He was a young man of 39 whose appearance was so boyish that he could easily have passed for the son of a candidate. He did not look very much older than Adlai Stevenson's own sons. He was an attractive, well-mannered, well-dressed and self-assured young man. He had, as it were, a disciplined mop of dark hair that should have been undisciplend or uncombed. To women, seeing him on TV, he was very attractive, but not as any mere glamour boy. Many older women would have liked to mother him, or even muss his hair, and as a son-in-law, he would have given them the conviction that they had a daughter who could not have married better. Masculine, but not rough, he seemed like an exceptionally desirable young man to be permanently in a family. His charm was quickly perceived, and had the perfection and quality of an excellently prepared, and expensive product into which the greatest skill and care and the best ingredients had gone.

It was charm without any excess temperament, unstrained, fluent but unsurprising. It was charm that was perfect as a young man with a gift for the French might learn to speak a perfect French. His face was open and honest, and, despite his boyishness, it was not a weak face. Neither was it a strong face. It was real, not false, not a mask, and there was no grossness in the features. It was alive, but with a slow mobility, like a slow, absorbed, not studied, gesture. Neither false, nor quickly emotional, it wore a natural expression of self-assurance. The hair split one's gaze, and you saw the features, and you saw the hair. You could, thus, miss the eyes. They were direct, and could have suggested wonder if the young man had any cause to wonder. They were alert, unwondering eyes, which were fixed on the visible extent of the scene, which saw with a quickness that seemed slow. His was a gaze that was unlazy, and yet lazily focused.

He was real, but rather than a personality of interest, he seemed like a reflection of such, of an interesting personality. It was a personality that you could not get close to, but that you might think that one day you might.

He seemed shy without being shy, soft without being weak, bland with no blandness in him, shallow when he was not, and friendly when he was an easily met stranger who remained a stranger while he could treat you with an air of deference that took away none of his dignity. You could imagine that you knew him when you did not, had seen him before when you had not, were close to him when you and he were meeting for the first minute.

SONS OF MILLIONS

He was appropriate in and unto himself, alert and attractive. Wherever he went, he would be without awe, and it would seem as though he had been there before.

He is a son of millions, and his traits are rich and Ivy League, that is a product of one of the Eastern American colleges with ivied campuses, to which the sons of the rich are often sent to the most famous of colleges and universities, and the ones which soak a graduate with prestige as the sun soaks a summer morning. He had the airs of a rich young man, without the offensiveness, the snobbery, the unsureness which can so frequently disturb the personality, or empty it. You did not dislike him because he was so rich, nor did you see him as a stereotyped son of a multimillionnaire. You felt that he knew how to be rich and to be himself. You did not distrust his liberalism, and you could only wish him well.

He was unusual.

But he was socially and politically unusual, rather than unusual in personality. If you got to know him, it would be easy to call him "Jack." He was not one of the boys, nor was he one of his class who was a cipher plus the covering of that cipher by a family fortune. He had found himself from where he had come and was at ease in where he was going. He could talk to God as an equal, and he could talk to a coal miner as one.

The word used for such as Senator Kennedy is "adjusted," or so it seems, but he was adjusted—plus. The plus was that he would remain above any adjustment and not change himself so that his adjustment was the firmament of his soul. He would adjust as he would drink a glass of water when thirsty.

He was sure of himself. He was a young man who should have been remarkable, but he was neither that, nor was he a bay-window of pretense.

He was a person and personality like a beautifully designed, expensive, unostentatious, finely functioning automobile with a motor that purred in quiet and steady nonmalfunctioning. His many good traits are all as though assembled into a motor that is well-made, durable, and will run without ever having knocks nor will it shake in a trembling explosion of noise like a bomb going off. Moving a hundred miles an hour, Kennedy might appear to be going only forty-five or fifty miles per hour.

That is how, on reflection, Kennedy strikes me. Personally, I could not say I know him.

I talked to him five to ten minutes, all told, and in two chance meetings. But I count how he had seemed to measure me before he had scarcely seen me.

AFTERMATH OF AMERICAN YOUTH

He is a product of aftermaths. His heroism in war, his high scholastic range at Harvard, his polictical liberalism, these come from the world into which he was made. Now, he stands upon the decades and puts his hand out to take the power that grew in those decades. Where as others had to make something of the world to gain their place and power, Senator Kennedy must gain power in order to make his place. He is, so far, a product, a reflection; now, and as a finely put out product, he is on the market. He has been finished, polished, and prepared to put his hands on power and on destiny. He is an American of the days of America's wealth and power. He has nowhere to go but to the areas of power. Intelligent, ambitious, he is an aftermath of the days of youth. He is the flesh made from promises of American life, the need made from these promises, the career opened wide because of these promises. He, and his generations of ambitious young men who would lead, who would command, who would be the modernizers of the Founding Fathers, the great grandsons of all past victories who live in the confidence which these victories created.

Not to create, but to manage and to merge, to modernize the world that made them, and to circumstances of the country in question.

It is the business of every Marxist-Leninist Party and the sovereign right of every Socialist state to elaborate, select or modify the ways and means of Socialist reconstruction.

It is a corollary of this that every member of the Association of Communist States can foster economic ties "with all countries, regardless of their social system."

It soon became clear that the Bucharest leaders intended the communique to be understood not as a general statement but as a "prelude to business." Gaston-Marin's trip to the United States and the new and far-reaching economic agreements with Western countries made this just as plain as did Bucharest's violent reaction to any attempt to prevent Rumania from taking such steps. When a Moscow radio broadcast, obviously referring to Rumania, condemned extensive economic ties between Communist countries and the West, Bucharest asked acidly why "some countries have the right to improve their relations with the West while others do not." A book about the Council for Mutual Economic Aid by East German author Willy Kunz was just as sharply criticized as the article circulated in East Berlin by Gunther Schade and Gerhard Huber. What aroused Bucharest's fiercest reaction, however, was a proposal by Professor Valyev, of Moscow, that joint Russo-Rumano-Bulgarian economic system should be established. "This plan," retorted Morescu in Viata Economica's mid-July issue, "is more than mere interference in Rumania's internal affairs. It is a proposal which would curtail her sovereignty. Rumania as a state and the Rumanian people as a nation would simply be annihilated by administrative measures taken under the pretext of 'economic' necessity and in the name of pseudo-Marxism-Leninism."

Other Communist countries may well be affected by Rumania's example. This is why the East European countries are trying to resist Mr. Khrushchev's pressure to hold an international Communist conference which would excommunicate China. With China officially out of the fold, Mr. Khrushchev could then turn his full attention and pressure on the straying members of his East European bloc.

Today, Senator Kennedy, who may become President, is the well-stamped profile of a career and a future.

Is he more?
He well can be.

The days ahead will reveal. If he succeeds then, he will make a land cleared into suburbs where once virgin trees stood—to make that land again seem like a virgin frontier. This, and power and the prestige of power, that is the New Frontier of Senator Kennedy.

Summary of Congressman Donald Rumsfeld's Voting Record on Some Important Issues During the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress has considered more than 2,000 bills, resolutions, and amendments, all of which affect in some measure the welfare and strength of our Nation. Of these, more than 945 have been enacted into law.

I insert herewith a brief series of examples indicating my views and positions on some of the important issues considered by Congress during the past 2 years. The summary follows:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Toward the goal of world peace and freedom through sound foreign policies—carefully made known to the world and supported by strength—free world alliances, and meaningful international understanding through the United Nations and bilateral diplomacy, I have supported such measures as the resolution approving U.S. retaliatory action in the Gulf of Tonkin—Vietnam crisis—funds for the Laos Control Commission, expansion of the Peace Corps, enforcement of the U.N. Charter provisions denying voting rights to member nations (such as the U.S.S.R.) delinquent in payments for U.N. peacekeeping activities, "foor for peace" programs, increased U.S. participation in the Export-Import Bank, U.S. participation in The Hague International Law Conference, and improvements in the ROTC program. While working for the elimination of waste in defense spending, I have generally supported Defense Department appropriations—a necessary expense for the security of the free world.

While supporting multilateral foreign aid through the International Development Agency—IDA—and the principle and goal of foreign aid programs, the continued failure to correct the lack of direction, lax administration, and wasteful practices in present programs led me to support various unsuccessful moves to reduce and revise the omnibus foreign aid bills and to oppose them when many deficiencies were not rectified.

In supporting freer trade, I have opposed such barriers as beef import restrictions and the International Coffee Agreement—which inevitably result in price increases to the consumer—and the equalization tax designed to curb private investment abroad. I supported a 1-year extension of the Mexican farm labor program in preference to a 2-year extension, and opposed continued U.S. aid under Public Law 480 (food for peace) to Nasser and the United Arab Republic in view of continued United Arab Republic aggressions in the Middle East.

ASSESSING LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES: THE BUDGET BATTLE

Each Congressman has the solitary and painstaking responsibility of carefully studying and evaluating the merits and costs of the many measures considered, and of assessing the urgency and priority of each in the entire legislative spectrum. Thus, particularly in a year with an $8 billion deficit—making total deficits in the past 3 years of over $20 billion—it was necessary to ask not only whether a program was sound and necessary, but, also, whether it was of sufficiently high priority that it should take precedence over other worthwhile programs.

FEDERAL SPENDING

Traditionally, appropriations bills cover many dozens of items for various departments, agencies, and programs. Frequently, some obviously wasteful or unwise proposals, which could not pass on their own merits, are purposely tacked on to bills which contain many meritorious items. For example: A $7,500 pay increase for Congressmen, which I opposed, was tacked onto the postal workers' and Federal employees' pay increases; the creation of an Agricultural News Service which would compete with privately owned news services, which I opposed, was included in the agriculture appropriations bill; 30 unbudgeted public works "pork barrel" projects which were not adequately justified were included in the omnibus public works appropriation bill which also carried funds for the Atomic Energy Commission; and, a swimming pool for the unnecessarily luxurious new congressional office building, which I opposed, was included in the legislative appropriation bill, which also carried funds for the worthwhile activities of the Library of Congress. In such instances, I have opposed the bills knowing that if defeated, the undesirable items, as indicated in the debate, would be removed and the bills then returned for passage in more acceptable form.

I supported reductions in Federal income taxes to be contingent upon limits on Federal spending. When the bill in final form omitted these limitations, I opposed it. In addition, I supported cuts in corporate taxes, and, on two occasions, reduction in excise taxes. Having opposed excessive Federal spending, I also opposed all four Federal debt limit increases in the past 2 years.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I supported every civil rights measure to come before the 88th Congress, including extension of the Civil Rights Commission—1963—various amendments to prevent discrimination in Federal programs such as Federal aid to medical schools, et cetera, and the comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964, as well as aid to indigent defendants in Federal courts.

EDUCATION—THE TOOLS FOR TOMORROW

In the belief that the future of this country depends upon giving our people the tools with which to become contributing citizens in an increasingly technical society, I supported improved vocational education programs and expansion of the Manpower Retraining Act—both designed to assist unemployables—mental health and retardation legislation, grants for training and facilities, expansion of the National Defense Education Act, student loans, et cetera, and the Nurses' Training Act.

In addition, I sponsored legislation to provide for individual income tax deductions for educational expenses. This approach came within a few votes of passing in the Senate. Believing the tax deduction approach to be a sound one, and in view of current Federal deficits and other considerations such as the rejection by the House of an antidiscrimination amendment to the Federal aid to medical schools proposal, I opposed that measure as well as the higher education bill. Certainly, the area of education will continue to be of vital concern to our Nation.

CONSERVATION

To conserve, develop, and utilize our Nation's natural resources, I have supported such measures as the national wilderness preservation bill, the outdoor recreation bill, the land and water conservation fund, in addition to other conservation programs.

BUSINESS, LABOR, AGRICULTURE

I supported such measures as legislation to improve protections in the over-the-counter securities market, the atomic energy bill to facilitate commercial use of nuclear materials, a National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, and amendments to improve the Davis-Bacon Act on prevailing wage rates and fringe benefits for labor. I opposed such measures as expansion of the programs of Federal aid to local libraries, feed grain subsidies, wheat-cotton subsidies—which increased the price of bread—massive Federal aid to local transit, while approving of "demonstration projects" through the Housing and Home Finance Agency such as the "Skokie Swift," as a spur to local initiative, and area redevelopment programs which have financed construction of golf courses, cocktail lounges, and so forth, often in competition with private enterprise.

Bills providing for increased social security benefits, funds for Alaska earthquake relief, and improvements in housing and urban renewal programs received my support. Measures which I opposed included the food stamp plan, which unwisely superseded sound existing programs for distribution of surplus food to the needy, and the $975 million Antipoverty Act of 1964, which will result in bypassing of State agencies. I did support Congressman FRELINGHUYSEN's alternative to the antipoverty bill, which was a reasonable expansion of existing programs which have proved effective in combatting poverty, not by the dole but by increased vocational education, retraining, and so forth, and which would have utilized existing Federal and State agencies rather than create a superbureaucracy and establishing direct Federal-city relationships, thereby bypassing State Governments, as was the case in the administration bill. Finally, I supported such measures as the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act, highway and airport construction bills, limitations on unnecessary travel—"junketing"—by Members of Congress, and repayment to the Seneca Indians for lands taken by the Government.

This summary covers approxmately 60 of the issues which were considered by the 88th Congress. Complete information on any aspect of the work of the 88th Congress is available on request through my office—room 241, Cannon Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515.

The Late Right Reverend Monsignor Felix F. Burant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago this country lost one of its great benefactors. On August 25, 1964, the Right Reverend Monsignor Felix F. Burant, pastor of St. Stanislaus Church in New York City passed away.

Monsignor Burant's death climaxed a rich and noble life dedicated to the service of others and to the espousal of a multitude of programs of spiritual, cultural, educational, and social significance. His sphere of interests was worldwide in scope but was chiefly centered in human problems. His dedication to his fellow men transcended race, color, or religious beliefs. In time of war he served his country as an Army chaplain, retiring with the rank of colonel. In time of peace he served by enlisting wide support in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of displaced Poles and Polish refugees and escapees. He maintained an active and valued interest in Polish-American organizations.

As a churchman, Monsignor Burant was a dedicated soldier of the cross. He was an active supporter of the Kosciuszko Foundation and a member of the Foundation's National Council.

Those who knew Monsignor Burant personally mourn the loss of a close and understanding friend and adviser. His church and the people of this country have lost a great humanitarian; a zealous champion of the underprivileged and homeless; and a noble Christian who enriched the country with his many successful achievements. We all shall miss him sorely, but we shall never forget him.

DAR Constitution Week Essays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Francis Broward Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., has again sponsored a most worthwhile essay contest in the schools to encourage young people to become aware of the foundation of their American Government, our Constitution.

It is my privilege to list here the winners of the contest this year, and to submit for the RECORD the county essay winners.

In the elementary division, the winners were:

Kathryn Johnson, sixth grade, Coleman Elementary School, Pompano Beach; David Phillips, sixth grade, Coleman Elementary School; Susan Alpaugh, sixth grade, Harbordale Elementary School, Fort Lauderdale; Robert Martin, sixth grade, Harbordale Elementary School; Lucia Viniciquerra, fifth grade, Nativity Elementary School, West Hollywood.

In the junior high school division, the winners were:

Lynn Travis, eighth grade, Margate Junior High School, Margate; Kathy Ziegler, ninth grade, Cardinal Gibbons Junior High School, Fort Lauderdale; Paula Zyskowski, ninth grade, Cardinal Gibbons Junior High School; Susan Grant, seventh grade, Nativity Junior High School, Hollywood.

In the senior high school division, the winners were:

Lynn Ottowitz, 10th grade, Fort Lauderdale High School; Harry Hamilton, 12th grade, Saint Thomas Aquinas High School, Fort Lauderdale.

In a companion contest for art covers and artwork the area winners were:

Bobby Wayne, sixth grade, Coleman Elementary School; Anthony Braggs, fifth grade, Saunders Park Elementary School.

Michael Meredith, eighth grade, St. Elizabeth Junior High School.

Wendy Wirges, eighth grade, St. Elizabeth Junior High School.

Kenneth Collette, sixth grade, Harbordale Elementary School.

Michael McCann, sixth grade, Harbordale Elementary School.

Jacqueline Grant, fifth grade, Nativity Elementary School.

Pam Kruszeski, ninth grade, Cardinal Gibbons Junior High School.

Karen Moran, ninth grade, Cardinal Gibbons Junior High School.

It is unfortunate that the county winners in the art contest cannot be represented in the RECORD by their work, but I would like to add a special congratulations to the county champions, Kenneth Collette of Harbordale Elementary and Pam Kruszeski of Cardinal Gibbons Junior High. Both of these young people

and al the other area winners in the art contest deserve our praise for their work in this contest.

Now it is a pleasure to ask that the county winning essays be printed at this point in the RECORD. These three essays represent the dedication of young people everywhere, and their understanding of the American dream. In these days when much thought is given to the future of America it is most encouraging to those of us of an older generation to know that those who will follow have a burning faith in this great land and its future.

Susan Alpaugh, sixth grade student of Harbordale Elementary School in Fort Lauderdale is the county champion in the elementary schools division.

The essay follows:

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

Since the time that our Founding Fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the formation of a government dedicated to the freedoms of the individual, our Constitution has proven highly influential in our private lives. America today is known as the foremost democracy in the world. Therefore, each American citizen has an obligation to uphold our country's principles and preserve its strength.

Today, with the world tension continually mounting, it is of vital importance that we the American people appreciate the freedoms granted us in the Constitution of the United States.

Individual freedoms under the Constitution are numerous. They appear in almost every phase of daily life. The American way of life is highly complex. The constitutional freedoms and the liberty given us by the greatest documents in the history of the Nation, have succeedetd in making our people successful.

The right to vote; the election of the people who represent us is one of the best known privileges which our Constitution offers. It is truly unfortunate that many Americans do not take advantage of the opportunity and exercise their precious right to vote.

The church which a person attends is one of his own choosing. One of the main reasons that our forefathers came to the New World was to secure the right of choosing his own form of religion. Thus from the beginning, freedom of worship has played an integral part in American life.

The newspaper, which my family reads after dinner, is another fine example of constitutional freedom. The first amendment to the Constitution guarantees freedom of the press; therefore, most persons in the United States have a chance to know what goes on in this ever-changing United States. Our Government does not censor material which goes to press and does not hold back from us that which it does not wish us to know.

Americans may count on their Government for protection both locally and on a national level. Local policemen protect citizens from crime. Our militia protects us from the threats of invasion by other nations.

Jury trials also protect the rights of the individual. Our country has always had a compelling sense of justice. Jury trials tend to see that justice is carried out.

Today, perhaps our most dangerous and deceptive foe is communism. The ultimate goal of the Communist movement is complete domination of the world. We, as Americans, must learn the dangers involved and be able to meet and overcome them. Freedom will survive only as long as the individual is held in high esteem. Our people can never be subjected to a tyrant's will, for we are a freedom loving nation.

With the opportunities granted us by our Constitution, we will push the threat of communism aside and maintain our American way of life.

Kathy Ziegler, ninth-grade student at Cardinal Gibbons Junior High School, is the county champion in the junior high division.

The essay follows:

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

History tells us that on many occasions men have fought to escape slavery, or to flee from a totalitarian government. In modern history there have been four movements toward freedom; namely, religious freedom, economic freedom, representative government, and freedom of speech and of the press.

I feel that these freedoms are all closely dependent on each other and it seems that one would not survive without the others. As an American I feel that freedom is one of my most cherished possessions with its guarantees under the Bill of Rights. Unfortunately, however, our freedom must not be regarded as a steady and secure possession. It is always threatened by forces within and outside of our country. It is up to each individual American to keep this freedom alive and secure. Now would be a good time for each of us to exercise our gift of freedom. Through an honest effort we could solve the many problems facing our Nation today, particularly in the civil rights measure. There is no magic formula to determine what is reasonable and what is restricted. Freedom must be earned in each generation by a wise adjustment of conflicting needs and values.

Lynn Ottowitz, 10th-grade student at Fort Lauderdale High School, is the county champion in the high school division.

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

A little over three centuries ago, in 1620, when our Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, they began a colony under conditions of pure communism. They found later, however, that because of starvation and lack of enthusiasm for their work, they had to discontinue the communistic practices.

They then turned to the theory of "to each according to merit" or, in other words, each individual had a right to the fruits of his own labors. As a result, Governor Bradford recorded that "any general want or famine has not been among them since to this day."

It was upon this principle that our country was founded. During the time since then, no better way of life has been found.

We have walked into this heritage and with little effort and sacrifice have become sharers in its wealth and honor. We take for granted the freedoms which have been bought by hard work and bloodshed.

This heritage includes our documents of liberty and freedom which, though old, still safeguard our rights and privileges and guide our true progress.

Freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition are the original five freedoms. They are guarantees against the National Government's encroachment on our basic individual rights. None of these rights is absolute, but they are necessary. For with them we can keep our Government a government of the people.

Every individual also has the right to his life, liberty, and property. These three rights are so bound together as to be essentially one right. To give a man his life but to take his liberty makes his life meaningless. In the same respect to give him his liberty and to deny him his property is to leave him a slave.

Liberty generally flourishes when goods are privately owned and distributed. The extent of liberty and prosperity has always hinged upon the degree of private ownership.

Freedom cannot be taken for granted. Instead we should work for it, sacrifice for it, to keep it safe.

The Constitution is primarily the means of fairly determining the will of people. It will not work by itself and guarantees no results. If Americans do not uphold and defend it, it will fail. In like manner, if we will not give of our lives, substance and time to defend and serve the cause of freedom, the Constitution will be ignored and overthrown.

Americans should try to understand the basic virtues, attitudes, and ideals which our forefathers had in creating our country and Constitution. For too many of us are not conscious of having lost anything because we did not know what we had that was worth preserving to start with. Many liberties, freedoms, and privileges have been taken from use for this reason.

Freedom of a people has never been, nor ever will be, secure. Therefore we should wake up and speak out against the forces which would rob us.

Freedom is an opportunity. We must hold it, cherist it, and use it.

While there was no category in this contest for poetry, one student was awarded special recognition for a poem which accompanied her award-winning art, and I ask that it, too, be printed here in the RECORD because of its unusual merit.

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

Freedom is some apple pie,
Freedom is a new born's cry,
Freedom, prized by you and I,
This freedom is America.

Freedom is the wide oak trees,
Freedom is a cool sea breeze,
Freedom, to worship as we please,
This freedom is America.

Freedom is to wake at eleven,
Freedom is bread without leaven,
Freedom—from God in Heaven,
This freedom is America.

Freedom is a team's heartache,
Freedom is a man's big break,
Freedom, in the laws we make,
This freedom is America.

Freedom is a dress with lace,
Freedom is a smiling face,
Freedom—for every race,
This freedom is America.

—PAM KURSZESKI.

Hon. Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL G. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I know that all of us in the House will greatly miss our colleague, the gentleman from Alabama, ALBERT RAINS, who is retiring from the Congress.

Since coming to the Congress in 1944, ALBERT RAINS has served his district and

the Nation with dignity and devotion. The people of his district and State can feel justifiably proud of the representation he has given them. His colleagues on the Banking and Currency Committee will miss his valued counsel, as we in the House will also.

I extend to Congressman and Mrs. RAINS my best wishes for continued success and happiness.

Hon. Joe Kilgore

SPEECH
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in the House in wishing my good friend JOE KILGORE continued success in the future. I have had the pleasure of knowing JOE KILGORE since we both came to the 84th Congress in 1955 and hold his friendship and counsel in high regard.

He has represented his district and State well and I know his constituents are proud of his service. I am sure that all of the Members of the House will miss JOE KILGORE and the wisdom he has lent to this body.

I extend to Congressman and Mrs. Kilgore my sincere good wishes for continued success and happiness.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Hon. John Pilcher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I extend to Congressman JOHN PILCHER my sincere good wishes on his retirement from the Congress. Congressman PILCHER can well be proud of his service to his district and his country. I know that his many friends here in the Congress will miss his counsel and friendship.

The President, in selecting JOHN PILCHER to head the regional office of emergency planning in Georgia, has indeed chosen a well-qualified man. I know that the successes which he has attained as a legislator will follow him in his new position.

I extend to Congressman PILCHER my sincere good wishes for continued service to the people of this country in his new endeavor.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 110 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1964 No. 192

Appendix

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1964

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress will be published not later than Friday, October 23, 1964. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Report to Residents of the 19th Congressional District of New York

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, many political pundits were prepared to bury Congress when it reconvened in January 1963. But their forecast that Congress was incapable of legislating effectively proved to be invalid. The recently adjourned 88th Congress, under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, wrote one of the most impressive leadership records in history. More constructive legislation, such as the precedentmaking Civil Rights Acts of 1964, and the reduction in Federal income taxes, was passed in this session of Congress than ever before. Roscoe Drummond, the noted political analyst, confirmed this opinion in his column of September 19, 1964, when he wrote:

> This has certainly been a do-something Congress. Its record of achievement merits the praise and esteem of the whole Nation.

For myself, I am grateful for the privilege of having been a Member of this Congress.

To substantiate these claims, I should like to review for my constituents some of the important measures enacted into law by this session of Congress. This review is not meant to obscure the unfinished business of Congress, such as the enactment of a medicare plan for the elderly under social security and an improved Presidential Succession Act. But I make this report with the sincere conviction that the Nation can take pride in the accomplishments of its Representatives in Congress.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

This Congress energized the national economy by passing legislation lowering rates of personal and corporate income taxes, thus increasing the purchasing power of the consumer and encouraging industry to expand production, Public Law 88-272.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—the antipoverty program—established the Office of Economic Opportunity to control and coordinate all resources and programs aimed at eliminating the pockets of poverty that remain in this—the wealthiest nation in the world. This Office will administer a job corps of urban and rural youth, and a work-training and work-study program. In addition, it will encourage local action to reduce poverty. Additional programs will provide the youth of the Nation with the opportunity to develop skills and continue education. The act also provides loans to very low income families for enterprises which will help increase their level of earnings. I am confident that ultimately this legislation will convert welfare recipients into contributors to our national prosperity.

The Domestic Peace Corps, which is part of this program, was introduced by me 2 years ago. I am pleased to have it incorporated as a part of this most important legislation.

Enacted into law was Public Law 88-365 which provides a program of Federal assistance in financing facilities for needed urban mass transportation systems. Ultimately this legislation will help residents of cities like New York get to and from their jobs faster and more comfortably than now.

A National Commission on Food Marketing to study trade procedures and price relationships between the producer and the consumer was established. One of the items to be studied is the concentration of buying power in the hands of a small number of persons and the effect of the "supermarket" system on the consumer.

Public Law 88-423, approved in August 1964, authorizes funds for the construction of primary and secondary State highways and for their extensions into our cities as well as for road projects in national forests, parks, and Indian reservations.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

In addition to stimulating the economy, Congress in 1964 also gave attention to the health and welfare needs of our people.

The Housing Act of 1964 represents the continuation and broadening of a number of programs under which many thousands of our citizens have been able to purchase their own homes or to rent decent apartments at prices they can afford. It authorizes $1.2 billion for urban renewal, 37,500 new low-rent public housing units throughout the country, and loans for housing for the elderly, for farm housing, and other existing programs. It provides for construction of facilities for migrant farmworkers. It extends the maturity of FHA-financed

home mortgages, and lowers the downpayments required; and it provides compensation for persons and businesses dislocated by urban renewal projects. It is anticipated that this legislation will make home ownership possible for many more of our citizens, and that it will make low-rent housing available for our needy. In addition, it will make housing for the elderly financially possible for many of our senior citizens.

During previous years I offered amendments to the housing bills seeking to improve them in keeping with the needs of my constituency. This year I sought to amend the bill by restricting Federal aid to housing in urban renewal areas to low- and middle-income developments. Although my amendment was not accepted, I am certain the effect of the debate, which I helped to lead, will help attain the desired end since it clarified the intent of Congress.

The Congress launched the first allout attack on the largest health problem in the country—mental illness and retardation. It also took constructive action to improve the hospital bed shortage by extending for 5 years to June 30, 1969, the Hill-Burton Act, providing Federal aid for construction, modernization of hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical centers. The Hill-Burton Act, originally enacted in 1946, provided assistance for 7,306 projects including almost 311,000 hospital beds and 2,011 health facilities. First steps have been taken toward the coordination of hospital systems and facilities to provide more efficient and economical health care. The bill passed this year continues the program initiated in 1946 and provides funds for areawide planning of health facilities.

It has been estimated that the United States will need 850,000 professional nurses by 1970. At present there are 550,000 professional nurses in practice. The 5-year program enacted by this Congress anticipates an increase of 130,000 nurses. While this is short of the estimated need, the legislation should do much to increase the number of graduates of nursing schools. The Nurses Training Act of 1964 includes grants for construction and rebuilding of school and college facilities, traineeships for advanced professionals, and loans for students. This program will help patients and also will help many young girls find a satisfactory, professional career.

Another health measure will alleviate the critical shortage of adequately trained professional public health personnel. It provides for a 5-year extension of training programs to increase the number of professional public health personnel; it also will expand health project grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, engineering, social work, and pharmacy.

The Library Services Act, originally enacted by the 84th Congress as a step toward providing public library services for the Nation, was once again extended, providing matching grants for the construction of public libraries. It is available to all parts of the Nation. This should greatly benefit the Nation's 60 million people who are served by inadequate libraries and the 1.5 million in urban areas with no public libraries at all.

We broadened and made permanent the stamp program for distribution of surplus and other foods to those families requiring such assistance. The bill authorizes the Department of Agriculture to provide surplus foods to States requesting such aid. This food stamp program, establishing on a pilot basis in 1961, proved to be an effective means of expanding farm markets and of improving the food consumption and nutrition of low-income households. This is now, thanks to the 88th Congress, a permanent program.

We passed legislation which permits the purchase of processed grain foods by the Commodity Credit Corporation for donation under domestic welfare and foreign aid programs. It is anticipated that this legislation will result in a savings to the Government in the program of donating surplus grain to needy persons.

To my regret, I must report that the medicare program unfortunately was not passed by this session of Congress. It is my firm opinion that our senior citizens should have medical care as a matter of right; and I shall continue to fight for home and hospital care for the elderly under social security so long as I hold public office. This year, as in previous years, I had cards printed at my own expense which were signed by thousands of my constituents and which I delivered to the Ways and Means Committee to convince them of the desire of my people for this legislation. Once again these petitions were ignored by a handful of callous men who are headless of the needs of others. I remain confident this vital legislation will be passed soon.

VETERANS

Over 25 veterans measures have already been signed into law, which makes this Congress one of the most productive ever in this field. Some of these can be described as milestones and were achieved only after a continuous, difficult uphill battle.

Of particular note is the bill which provides additional beds and nursing home care facilities for veterans.

Another milestone is embodied in Public Law 88-361, which provides educational assistance to the children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled from disabilities incurred during their war service.

Of great significance to 2 million service-disabled veterans is the bill which provides that a service-connected disability which has been continuously rated at or above a certain percentage for 20 or more years shall not thereafter be reduced below such percentage. This means that the disability ratings of most World War II veterans will be frozen shortly since the great bulk were incurred during the period which ended in 1945.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign aid is a multipurpose instrument of foreign policy. It helps transitional societies develop stronger economies and institutions; it helps other nations preserve their independence; and it helps primitive societies learn to deal with contemporary problems. Currently, our foreign aid program is shifting from supporting assistance to repayable loans, and other nations of the free world are joining with us in providing such assistance. As this shift toward repayable loans continues, it is felt that future Government aid will be diminished and that the hardship on the American taxpayer will be lessened. This Congress has appropriated $3,250 million for foreign aid in fiscal year 1965.

Since August of 1961 when the first Peace Corps volunteers set foot on foreign soil, more than 10,000 volunteers have seen duty in 46 countries. On signing the order creating the Corps on a pilot basis in March, 1961, the late President Kennedy said:

> Our Peace Corps is not designed as an instrument of diplomacy or propaganda or ideological conflict (but) to permit our people to exercise more fully their responsibilities in the great common cause of world development.

So successful has this program become that an additional 20 countries have requested Peace Corps missions, but they cannot be supplied immediately since the demand for trained volunteers exceeds the supply. This year Congress authorized expansion of the Peace Corps. This bill came before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am a member; I cosponsored the legislation and spoke for it during debate.

The test ban treaty between this country and the Soviet Union was signed during this Congress. This is a landmark in our relations with the Soviet Union since it provides not alone for the discontinuance of testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere but also encourages the coexistence policy which is so vital in this nuclear age.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

This Congress has provided for the insurance of our military strength while making every practical effort to prevent a nuclear war.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Perhaps the major achievement of the 88th Congress was embodied in the civil rights legislation which was enacted on July 2, 1964, because this involves a moral issue that cannot be ignored or evaded, however politically convenient it may be to do so. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a major landmark in American history; in my view it is the culmination of the century-old struggle of all Americans, whatever their race, color, creed, national origin, or sex, to obtain equal rights along with the dignity and freedom which is their birthright. It guarantees that all Americans will enjoy the same rights and opportunities and reaffirms our dedication to the American democratic ideal. Technically, the bill provides for: enforcement of voting rights, which I believe will change the political structure of the South; injunctions against discrimination in public accommodations; protection of rights to education. In addition, it extends the Civil Rights Commission for 4 years to January 31, 1968, establishes a Community Relations Service and a Commission

on Equal Employment Opportunity, and requires nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs. In short, it eliminates discrimination against minority groups in the United States. Despite the fears that some forces have implanted, I believe this legislation will help improve our democracy.

This Congress has also passed legislation authorizing U.S. district courts to appoint public defenders for defendants in criminal cases who cannot afford legal assistance. I joined in the debate on the floor of the House favoring this legislation because I have seen many situations where poor defendants were not adequately protected in our courts—not because of what they did but because they were poor. This legislation will, I am confident, improve our system of justice.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Conservation of our natural resources also has been emphasized in the work of the 88th Congress.

We established a 10-year land and water conservation fund to assist the States in developing outdoor recreation programs. The need for this legislation is highlighted by the increasing use which the American people have been making of our Federal and State recreation areas.

A National Wilderness Preservation System, established by this Congress, will close 35 million acres of land to commercial use and keep them in their primitive state. This program will aid scientific research as well as preserve the primitive beauty of these lands for the benefit of all of the people in the United States.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS

And now, if I may, I should like to turn from the accomplishments of the 88th Congress as a whole to my own activities as your Representative to Congress. First, I should report that this has been an extraordinarily busy year. My constituents have asked for help on a multitude of problems. I am pleased to report that in most cases I was able to provide the help they requested. I would also like to express at this time my pleasure in receiving an increased volume of communications from residents of my area advising me of their opinions on the various subjects which were before the House of Representatives for consideration. I found to my satisfaction that we were in complete agreement on most of the issues in question. Of course, not all of my constituency agreed with me, nor I with them, but to the best of my ability and mindful of what would be best for the greatest part of the constituency and for the Nation as a whole, I acted in accordance with the dictates of my conscience.

Many of my constituents have, over the past year, asked about my voting record. I would say that I have supported the legislation described earlier in this report, and that I was the cosponsor of many of the bills which were enacted. I have introduced proposals which formed the basis for legislation reported out of committee in various versions, and some which are still under committee consideration. Specifically, I refer to legislation which is incorporated in the foreign aid bill, the Housing Act—it is, incidentally, interesting to note that some of my proposals have been adopted by the New York State Legislature although not by the U.S. Congress—amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, and a resolution to appoint a Committee on Economic Conversion which will help the Nation convert from a defense to a peacetime economy.

Unfortunately, no action was taken on my bill which, by amending the Food and Drug Act, would have reduced the prices of certain drugs. Nor was action taken on my bill calling for an investigation of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield rates. However, I expect to reintroduce them next year if I am reelected and shall do whatever I can to obtain favorable action on them.

Similarly I shall continue the fight for medicare. This legislation is absolutely essential for our senior citizens. They deserve insurance, such as can be provided under our social security system, against financially crippling illness.

Among other bills which I expect to reintroduce in the next Congress will be my proposals to: first, further liberalize the existing immigration laws; second, to obtain more low- and middle-income housing in my district; third, to further liberalize the Social Security Act, and fourth, to help the consumer through the passage of the "truth in packaging" bill.

Furthermore, I assign a very high priority to revision of our Presidential succession law, including a mechanism of selecting a Vice President should the Chief Executive die in office.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and a member of the Subcommittee on the Near East and the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations, I am, understandably, vitally interested in the foreign affairs and policies of this country and have, over the years, directed a great many of my efforts toward the attainment of peace in the Middle East. Time and again I have urged that the Arab States and Israel be brought together in direct peace negotiations, and I have been unremitting in my efforts to make sure that sufficient aid is given to Israel in order to help that little bastion of democracy in the Middle East maintain her ability to withstand all pressures brought against her by her Arab neighbors. In this connection, during the recent debates on foreign aid, I pointed out that by feeding half of the people of the United Arab Republic—Egypt—without receiving return payment we are making it possible for that country to purchase arms and engage in aggressive action against Israel. I also explained that Russia has been supplying Egypt with arms, and that by providing Egypt with funds to buy them we were assisting the Soviet arms industry. I explained that German scientists are in Egypt building weapons of terribly destructive power, and that Egypt was now not only acting aggressively toward Israel, but toward Yemen, Ethiopia, and other African nations. As a result of these arguments, I hope our policy toward Egypt will be modified.

Today we face new uncertainties in a world still turbulent and dangerous. We have no lack of challenges: In South Vietnam, in Africa, in the Middle East and at our own back door in Cuba. Events clearly indicate that we must continue to provide military assistance to our allies and that we must expand and improve our programs of assistance to underdeveloped countries. So long as the program achieves its broad objectives, I will continue to endorse the act of faith which this legislation embodies.

Incidentally, as a result of my seniority on the Foreign Affairs Committee, it is anticipated that in the next Congress I will become chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy. This subcommittee deals with matters affecting trade, international, financial and monetary organizations, foreign loans and technical and economic assistance.

During the debate in the House of Representatives in connection with extension of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, I brought to the attention of my colleagues the excellent work being done in our district by the Mobilization for Youth program. The fight against juvenile delinquency must be continued and in this connection I was also happy to join in the debate on the President's antipoverty bill which is aimed, among other things, toward the elimination of the causes of juvenile delinquency.

In sum, this has been a productive year. I have sought, in my congressional work, to reflect the wishes of my constituency as far as possible in keeping with my conscience.

In conclusion I should like to remind you that I have established a congressional office at 200 West 72d Street, New York City—telephone—Triangle 7–3163—which is open Monday and Thursday evenings from 8 to 10 p.m. and on Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 12 noon. I also maintain a congressional office at 276 Fifth Avenue, New York City, room 608—telephone—Murray Hill 4–2200. For those residing in the southern part of my district, I use the meeting rooms of the local Democratic organizations to make myself available to my constituents. I would hope that all my constituents would feel free to use these offices whenever I can be of assistance to them, or whenever they wish to advise me of their views on pending legislation. Naturally, I might add, all of them are welcome to visit me in my Washington office.

Eugene K. Denton Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the growth of America, in part, can be measured by the growth of its retail business community. From the first commercial enterprises of the Colonies and the Yankee traders of New England, to the

trading posts of the West and the rise of the great merchant princes in the cities, American retailers throughout the years have been prime contributors toward the betterment and growth of the economy of their communities and their country.

Last year retail sales in this country were the largest ever, according to the National Retail Merchants Association: $246.5 billion in business in more than 1,700,000 individual retail stores. Of this vast sum, over 6 percent was concentrated in New York City, which has given birth to many of this country's most influential and respected retail business establishments and institutions.

One of these institutions on New York's famous thoroughfare of fashion, Fifth Avenue, is headed by a man who is something of a 20th century pioneer—a man who has contributed greatly to the development of new and useful retail merchandising techniques. I believe his story and achievements illustrate the opportunities this country has to offer, and it is particularly fitting that we focus our attention on them at this time, for 1964 marks a half century in his business career.

The man is Eugene K. Denton, who is observing his 45th year as founder of the Tailored Woman—a store which is among the fine enterprises which distinguish Fifth Avenue in New York City as one of the great commercial thoroughfares of the world.

Mr. Denton was honored last week by the Fifth Avenue Association, an account of which was published in the New York Times of September 29. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OWNER OF THE TAILORED WOMAN LOOKS BACK ON STORE'S 45 YEARS

(By Philip H. Dougherty)

Against a backdrop of mink pelts in five expensive shades and a painting of a prize-winning black bull, Eugene Denton received a citation from the city and a plaque from the Fifth Avenue Association yesterday to mark the 45th anniversary of his store, the Tailored Woman.

The ceremony took place on the fourth floor (ladies' suits and coats) of the specialty store at 57th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Known privately as "Papa" or "Daddy" to most of his 300 employees, the pink-cheeked, 76-year-old Mr. Denton has been in the retail business for 56 years.

When the brief ceremony ended he went back to his fifth-floor office, sat behind his desk with its five neatly placed letter openers and though back to those days just after World War I when he opened his first store.

LOOK AT IT NOW

"Thirty-fourth Street was the shopping hub in those days," he said, adjusting his horn-rimmed glasses. "We opened on the west side of Fifth Avenue between 49th and 50th Streets, surrounded by five-story buildings. Look at it now—Rockefeller Center."

As far as the Tailored Woman's founder, president, and sole owner is concerned, the big changes in merchandising in the last 45 years are the improvement in ready-to-wear clothes. ("We had trouble making them fit"), the advance in manufacturing ("They're smarter about copying Paris fashions now"), and the change of the shopping hub from 34th Street to 50th Street.

"People eat out more today, too," he added. "That helps the dress business; they want to look nicer."

Ignoring the chatter from Butch Denton, the parakeet hanging on a cage in his secretaries' office, he said, "Our first newspaper ad on September 28, 1929, advertised women's clothes of a 'simple character at a fair price,' we haven't changed."

Who are the women to whom the store has catered at four successive addresses in 45 years?

TWO KINDS OF WOMEN

"There are two kinds of women," said the dean of Fifth Avenue merchants. "Those who like simple, lovely, clothes and clothes-horses. We don't cater to clotheshorses."

"I am opposed," he said, "to the tackers-on-of-trifles—doodads, furbelows, sequins, and beads."

The store is open from 9:30 to 5:30, 6 days a week and the Tennessee-born boss works from 7:45 to 7.

He doesn't restrict himself to his office, which is covered with pictures and paintings of the Aberdeen-Angus cattle that he raised, until a year ago, at White Gates Farm in Flanders, N.J. He is constantly checking on goings-on in his place and one of the four elevators at the back of the store is for his use only. When he is in his office the elevator stays on the fifth floor waiting for him. He operates it himself.

Mr. Denton, whose mustache is clipped so short that it is not noticeable at a distance, received his citation from Robert W. Watt, first deputy commissioner of the city's department of commerce, and his plaque from Frank E. Conant, president of the Fifth Avenue Association.

The citation saluted him as "a valued member of the retail business community, who has earned the esteem of the people of the city" and the plaque offered "sincere good wishes for many more years of continued success" on his 56th anniversary as a member of the business community and 45th anniversary on Fifth Avenue.

Later in the day, Mr. Denton still had the citation. But the plaque, which had been engraved to "Eugene E. Denton," was missing. Since his middle name is "Kenneth," the association had taken back the plaque for a correction of the initial.

The Honorable Wayne Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege recently to be invited to a luncheon in honor of a group of NATO parliamentarians who were visiting the United States on a military tour. I was impressed by the dedication of these men to the objectives of NATO and to the improvement of understanding and the dissemination of information among Europeans and North American parliamentarians. I know of no element of our entire foreign policy proceeding which is more vital than that the House of Representatives be vigorously represented on the North Atlantic Treaty Parliamentarians' Conference. The Conference, by virtue of its membership, drawn from the various national parliaments, provides an informal link between the responsible NATO authorities and these parliaments. Through its discussions, it helps to promote a common feeling of Atlantic solidarity in the various legislative assemblies and to further the aims of the Atlantic Alliance.

My colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, WAYNE HAYS, was one of the original sponsors of the Conference and was chairman of the House delegation to the first Conference and all subsequent Conferences. He has served continuously in one capacity or another since 1955, and served as President in 1956–57. This year he is acting as one of the three vice presidents and is also the U.S. member of the standing committee. The Speaker recently named the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] chairman of the House delegation to attend the 10th annual session of the Conference this coming November in Paris.

Over the past 9 years WAYNE HAYS has done yeoman service on this Conference for the House of Representatives. He and his colleagues are performing a function important to this body and without which it would be impossible for us to keep abreast of the exchanges and activities of the executive organs of NATO and parliamentarians.

I personally want to commend and thank the gentleman from Ohio for the gifts of his time and talents in this significant mission on behalf of the House. His contributions have been of the highest quality. WAYNE HAYS, as is well known, is one of the most effective Members of the House in all of his undertakings. He is also one of our most articulate Members and is a brilliant and highly skilled debater. His forensic ability is a source of both pride and pleasure to his colleagues.

There is no more knowledgeable or effective Congressman than WAYNE HAYS. He has distinguished himself as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and of the North Atlantic Treaty Parliamentarians' Conference. His knowledge and skills in the latter area particularly are unique and could not be equaled or replaced by any member.

In addition to his distinguished work in international affairs, WAYNE HAYS has also earned the respect of all Members of the House as a strong and competent spokesman for his party. He is knowledgeable on all issues, alert to the problems arising in debate, courageous in his convictions, and certainly is one of the outstanding extemporaenous debaters in the entire House.

WAYNE HAYS is, above all, an effective spokesman for his own district. His people have a strong voice in the House of Representatives. The good work of their Congressman attests to their excellent judgment.

Senator Goldwater in Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune of October 1, 1964, entitled "Senator GOLDWATER in Perspective." I commend the sound reasoning of this editorial to all:

SENATOR GOLDWATER IN PERSPECTIVE

Enter politics today and be prepared for the worst. No matter on which side you are campaigning, you will end up with a dual personality: The lily-white champion of liberty and human rights and the most desperate hood this side of the FBI's "10 most wanted" list.

Both President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER have been the targets of under-the-belt attacks in recent weeks. Neither, of course, is perfect. But without more evidence than is usually included in the reports of their character assassins, it is well for us to take these political blasts with a generous grain of salt.

Recently a Chicago Tribune Press Service column quoted a reader's letter appearing in a Washington newspaper. This letter was called to our personal attention by a local reader whose family is well acquainted with Senator GOLDWATER in his home State. His family subscribes 100 percent to the accuracy of the statements made by Irene C. Pilson, quoted in part as follows:

"It may be old fashioned but I believe that deeds still tell a good deal about the man. Senator GOLDWATER has been called everything from a Fascist to a madman, but the facts just don't substantiate these accusations.

"Fifteen years ago he was responsible for desegregating the Phoenix public schools and he desegregated the Air National Guard in Arizona as well as many other public facilities. * * * In addition, he has footed numerous medical bills for his employees; he organized and flew relief missions consisting of food and medical supplies to flood-stricken areas of northern Mexico shortly after World War II. He has set up countless charities and organizations which aid Arizona's many Indian tribes.

"His stores for years have cleaned and repaired children's shoes and distributed them free to Navaho families. He set up old-age pensions as well as share-the-profit plans for his employees long before it was standard practice in business. All this and much more was done out of conviction that when your brother asks for bread you don't give him a stone (or a Federal agency). You take your time and your money and you help him right then.

"These are not the deeds of a Fascist, humanity-hating, bigoted, backward warmonger."

The easiest way to knock any man is to say that he is no good. Yet it is obvious that both Senator GOLDWATER and President Johnson, though of opposite political faiths, have many good traits in common.

The basic question, then, is not so much one of personality as it is of issues.

Be it to Senator GOLDWATER's everlasting credit that he is willing to vote his convictions even if they are unpopular, as would seem to be the case in his civil rights stand. But his willingness to risk votes to state his beliefs is something we need more of, not less.

Someone did say that this was to be a campaign of vilification and slander. But to those who look beyond the calumny and backbiting, other issues loom: Foreign and domestic Federal spending, the clash between eastern and western political and financial interests, the size of Government employment, the strength of our defenses, the status of individual liberty, the power of our mass unions, the future of private enterprise.

Those who would seek the answers to these things would no longer be confused by the character assassins. This might not make them converts to GOLDWATER but at least it would help them to see the campaign in a more enlightened perspective.

Statement on Conference Report on Rule of Law Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, in the conference on the foreign aid bill, H.R. 11380, we agreed to adopt the rule of law amendment to section 620(e) of the act. This amendment modifies the act of state doctrine as laid down by the Supreme Court in the Sabbatino case by making clear that Federal and State courts are to be free in cases before them involving acts of foreign states to enforce principles of international law, including the requirement for prompt, adequate, and effective compensation in cases of expropriation as spelled out in the first part of section 620 (e). This amendment, like the rest of section 620(e), is important to the protection of investment abroad. However, the case in our courts may arise or the act of state doctrine be invoked, the amendment will enable a party who has suffered an expropriation in violation of these principles to bring suit asserting his claim to the expropriated property if there is an attempt to market it in the United States or to resist a suit by the expropriating government to seize the property.

I would like to make one point about the January 1, 1966, cutoff date we inserted in the amendment. This will give the Senate Foreign Relations Committee an opportunity to have hearings next year on how the amendment works in practice and whether it should be made permanent. I want to serve notice now that the burden will be on the State Department, which opposed the amendment, to give the amendment a chance to operate in practice and then to show us how the power of the President to suspend enforcement of the amendment in special cases for foreign policy reasons does not amply meet any problems that may arise in the actual conduct of foreign affairs.

New Film Method Aids Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a few days ago I was greatly intrigued by an article which Earl Rich, D.C., had written for a publication in his field.

Described was a new machine and detailed was what it will do. Dr. Rich had analyzed much of the 11,000 feet of experimental film taken through this method.

In the article, the cineroentgenographic machine is discussed at some length, as well as what Dr. Rich found in assessing the film, almost frame by frame.

I would ask the unanimous consent of the Senate at this point that the article by Dr. Rich be entered into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OBSERVATIONS NOTED IN 11,000 FEET OF EXPERIMENTAL CINEROENTGENOGRAPHY FILM

(By Earl Rich, D.C., project chairman, ACA Department of Research)

PROJECT BEING SUPPORTED BY RESEARCH GRANT FROM FACE

During the past 13 months, while establishing technical data relative to operation of the cineroentgenographic machine as well as darkroom procedure, some 11,000 feet of moderate to excellent 16-millimeter movie film has been accumulated. A number of heretofore unknown physiological and anatomical findings were observed, which should be recorded and investigated to establish whether the preliminary observations are fact or fallacy.

In filming motion of the various bones and joints of the upper and lower extremities, an interesting feature was observed in the study of the ankle. Little if any lateral or medial flexion is expressed by the talus in relation to either the fibula or tibia. Undoubtedly, this limited medial and lateral flexion is related to the strong ligaments of the three bones, and unquestionably relates to the severity of the symptoms in a "sprained" ankle. Not only would there be disturbance of these ligaments in such an injury, but abnormal movement would be allowed to occur between the three bones with much stress and contusion being directed to the synovia and intraarticular cartilage of this joint. This increased motion possibly explains the mechanism and frequency of osteochondritis dissecans developing in this area, either from cartilage or articular margins of the three bones.

In filming the gastrointestinal tract, including the gallbladder, there is possibility that further cine studies will establish a more complete understanding of the mechanism emptying the gallbladder. These films show that, when fat is introduced into the stomach, which theoretically causes the sphincter of Oddi to be patent, the normal mechanism of respiration produces a compression or milking of adjacent organs against the gallbladder, which, in turn, is compressed against the liver with subsequent movement of the contrast media through the neck of the bladder, into the common bile duct, through the

sphincter, and into the stomach or duodenum, according to the location of the sphincter.

One case study made with a fatty mixture combined with a barium meal shows that this milking action could be accomplished by close relationship of the duodenal bulb to the gallbladder. The sequence of film shows the barium passing through the duodenal bulb compressing against the gallbladder, forcing dye out of the bladder and through the common bile duct. Subsequent studies might show another mechanism, but in the preliminary studies there is no observable gallbladder peristalsis or any other motion that we can link to emptying of the gallbladder.

In reviewing the hundreds of feet of movie film of contrast media studies of the entire intestinal tract, we have been much impressed by the increased capabilities of a more profound diagnosis that is capable with cineroentgenography, as compared to conventional fluoroscopy and radiography. The density of light in the optical visualization of the intestinal tract is many, many times more brilliant than in conventional fluoroscopy, to the point that one might compare the two methods of study to piston- and jet-driven aircraft.

But most important is that the movie film strip may be run and rerun forward and backward at a different number of frames per second. The film strip may be single framed, with very little likelihood of missing any of the various lesions of organic pathology common to the intestinal tract. In the foreseeable future, once the cost of installation of cineroentgenography equipment is appreciably reduced, this method of study unquestionably will replace the present radiographic and fluoroscopic equipment in most diagnostic centers.

One of the more thrilling experiences in this project to date has been the motion studies of the thoracic cage and its content: the heart, great vessels, pulmonary vessels, esophagus, and diaphragm. As the project develops and widens in its scope, moving picture films of these structures can be utilized as visual teaching aids in college classes of anatomy, physiology, pathology, etc.

Conventional visual aids in this field, including dissection, have been utilized in the past 50 years, and have been invaluable in developing and training our chiropractic students, but to see these structures alive and in motion with normal and abnormal conditions will lay a foundation for the student, which will undoubtedly increase his proficiency in practicing his profession. Certainly no one can deny the student's dilemma in the past in trying to understand and correlate the physiology of the respiratory and cardiovascular system within the thoracic cage. Within minutes, cineroentgenography will allow the student a hundredfold more comprehensive understanding of the chest.

Eighteen studies of the motor unit of the vertebral column emphasize the need for careful differentiation between a calcified and an ossified ligament. The motor unit, which presents caclification within the ligaments, shows the ligaments to be less supportive and allows a greater range of motion than does a normal ligament. It is quite likely that this ligament may be toothpaste-like in its consistency and lax in its ability to hold bones together, much in the same fashion that aneurysm so frequently accompanies arteriosclerotic changes in the arch of the aorta or the abdominal aorta. As suspected though, a ligament which has undergone ossification markedly retards motion of the vertebral unit.

In 23 cine studies of the spine presenting discopathies with spondylosis, with or without osteophytes, there is indication that the premise of limited movement in these motor units is false, since discopathy of the spinal area produces hypermotoricity of the motor unit. This would indicate that one of the chief functions of the intervertebral disc is to serve as an intervertebral ligament—probably of just as great importance, if not more, than the anterior and posterior common ligaments.

In these studies, all chronic cases of discopathy show excessive motoricity in most of the normal directions of movement with the exception of the spine which shows an accompanying arthrosis of the apophyseal joints. The apophyseal joints with the great arthrotic changes appear to be the limiting factor of the motion. Heretofore, it was assumed that discopathy with spondylosis or osteophytosis produced a limited movement.

In every case with discogenic spondylosis and osteophytosis studied by cine to date, we have found a coexisting underdevelopment of the AP measurement of the pedicles at the site of discopathy. Further studies could show this to be a predisposing factor, just as spondylolysis seems to be the greatest single predisposing factor to spondylolisthesis. Incidentally, a spondylolysis probably becomes spondylolisthesis when the intervertebral disc or intervertebral ligament ruptures.

Seventy-eight studies have been made in the cervical spine, including all normal motions in the vertical, sitting, and supine positions. Insofar as flexion and extension studies are concerned, cinewise, it is felt that the best position for the study is supine, with the patient's head extending over the end of the table with no support, and the table supporting the body from the shoulders down. This maneuver excellently exhibits what is felt to be an existence of actual flexion and extension of the occiput on the atlas. To date, though, rotary movement in the upper cervical area seems to be a collateral movement of the occiput and atlas in relationship to the axis.

Another finding which confirms previous thinking is that, when lateral movement of the atlas is accomplished in relation to the axis, the axis rotates with the spinous rotating in the opposite direction to the lateral movement of the atlas. Verification of this collateral movement undoubtedly has been misinterpreted many times in the routine AP view of the upper cervical when the head and neck have been carelessly positioned in relation to the tube and the film.

In the early days when the cine project was beginning, all persons concerned with the project were amazed and excited by the above striking findings and indications, but when the lumbar area began to be successfully cineradiographed, even greater astonishment was expressed because of the beautiful, yet very complicated, rhythmic movements in the low back, particularly L4, L5, and the lumbo-pelvic junction.

One of the earliest enlightenments was the fact that, in lateral flexion of the body in relation to the pelvis, in normal subjects, L5 presented relatively little motion so far as lateral flexion was concerned in relation to the sacrum or ilia. This hastened an anatomical search, out of which came great respect for the iliolumbar-sacral ligament. Subsequent studies made in the supine position revealed relative ease of flexion of the pelvis and lower extremities in relation to L5 in both active and passive motion.

This finding alone in this area is so intriguing that the coming project for 1964, a study of the lumbopelvic junction in motion, will certainly include statistical study of lateral flexion of the lumbar spine in relation to the pelvis, and lateral flexion of the pelvis in relation to the lumbar spine. This study may pinpoint the chief etiological factor in the very common iliolumbar sacral ligament syndrome.

There are many more findings and accomplishments in this 11,000 feet survey. Included is a positive verification that rather severe bony encroachment occurs during hyperextension at the foramen above in the spine of a patient exhibiting spondylolisthesis. The films clearly show displacement of the vertebral motor unit anterior to the pars interarticularis which allows an inferior movement of the inferior articular processes of the vertebral column at this level, producing dramatic encroachment of the foramen by the elements of the posterior neural arches involved. Various spinal movements, particularly flexion of the hyperextended unit, and overall hyperlordosis, immediately enlarge the foramina.

One of the most striking and controversial observations in the preliminary studies is that the films verify the intact pelvic ring or "wedding ring" theory that motion is quite limited in the symphysis pubis and in the sacroiliac junction. Forty-five different cases have been studied while various movements of the lower extremities, pelvis, and spine were carried out: patient standing, supine, walking, weightbearing, and nonweightbearing.

The cases were studied in slow motion and regular motion, and there was no millimetric difference or break in any of the three linking points of the pelvic or wedding ring. These observations, as well as other current investigations by other investigators,[1] indicate that the future could hold a complete revision of the criteria that constitute a "sacroiliac lesion" or "sacroiliac subluxation."

[1] "Movement of the Sacroiliac Joint in the Adult Male: A Preliminary Report," September 1963, Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation.

Goldwater on Crime Rise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times on September 29 published a letter from an observer in this country, trained in the common law tradition which we share with all English-speaking people, who has been disturbed by the criticisms which Senator GOLDWATER has directed against the U.S. Supreme Court for its decisions on the rights of defendants in criminal prosecutions. This observer, Anthony Lester, reminds us how precious are the safeguards provided in our democratic society for those who are accused of crime. He holds up a standard by which we can judge the recklessness of some of the proposals now being made by the Republican candidate for the Presidency which would abridge those basic rights.

The text of Mr. Lester's letter is as follows:

GOLDWATER ON CRIME RISE: LAWYER COMMENTS ON LEGAL ISSUES IN ATTACK ON FEDERAL RULINGS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the course of several speeches on law and order given in Florida on September 15 and reported by you on September 16, Mr. GOLDWATER criticized a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions on the rights of defendants in criminal prosecutions and promised to work to overturn them.

As an English lawyer it is no part of my business to become involved in American political controversy. However, as an independent observer just back from a 6-week field trip to study criminal justice in the South, I should like to comment on the legal issues involved.

Mr. GOLDWATER apparently argues that the power to punish crime has been taken from the States by Supreme Court decisions, and that Federal rules, for example regarding the admissibility of evidence obtained by the police through illegal search and seizure or by confession after undue delay in the arraignment of the defendant, unduly favor the "obviously guilty defendant," and ought to be limited or abolished.

PROMISE TO STATE

Mr. GOLDWATER promises to use his power and influence "to see that law enforcement officers, on the State and local level, get back the power to carry out their job" and to "give back to the States those powers absolutely necessary for fair and efficient administration of criminal law."

Mr. GOLDWATER states that among other things he would use the Presidential power of appointment to alter the liberal character of recent Court decisions.

It is elementary that the common law tradition, which is shared by the United States and England, presumes the innocence of the accused until he is proved guilty beyond all reasonable doubt. A defendant is not "obviously guilty" until declared so by a jury of his peers. Furthermore, in both countries there are basic rules of due process of law which must be observed from the moment of arrest until ultimate conviction or acquittal.

These safeguards may sometimes result in the acquittal of the guilty, but better that the guilty be freed than the innocent unjustly convicted. They may also hamper the efficiency of the police, but the most "efficient" police work is the police State.

It is even doubtful whether a police force which ignores the basic safeguards of the accused thereby more effectively deters crime.

Finally, it has always been assumed that the branch of government best able to ascertain the appropriate guarantees of due process of law is a fearlessly independent judiciary.

SHORTCUTS FOR CONVICTIONS

From my observation of the administration of the criminal law in the South, there is abundant evidence that the States retain intact those constitutional powers necessary for the "fair and efficient administration" of the law. It is also obvious that law-enforcement officials everywhere may be tempted to take shortcuts to secure the conviction of those whom they regard as "obviously guilty."

The procedural guarantees against such shortcuts and possible resulting injustice are neither "liberal" nor "conservative," but neutral. Indeed, in the last resort they should not properly be regarded as "political questions" at all, which is why I have taken the liberty of commenting on the subject.

—ANTHONY LESTER.

State Department Security Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent press release issued by my office.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT SECURITY PROCEDURES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON said today the State Department still has on its payrolls "at least 15 top-level officers or employees" recommended for suspension or separation several years ago on security grounds. Senator SIMPSON said the 15—"definitely a minimum figure"—are among 250 listed by the late Scott McLeod as having records about which there were "serious questions." McLeod was Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Counselor Affairs, predecessor to the State Department's Office of Security and Evaluation.

"The 15 possible risks now holding highly sensitive and key positions in our Department of State are above the rank of GS–13," SIMPSON said. "At least 10 of the 15 are below GS–16. All hold jobs of substantial importance, including Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Office Director, First Secretary of Embassy, Counsel General, and Counsel." SIMPSON said Foreign Service officers "are not unrepresented in the group of 15."

The Wyoming lawmaker stressed that he is not questioning the loyalty or the stability of any of the 15 officers "or anyone else in the State Department. What I do question is the unconscionable and ridiculous system under which these 15 could be retained by the Department without a complete reevaluation and investigation to clear up the original charges that led to recommendations for their dismissal or suspension.

Senator SIMPSON called on the Department of State to use the clear remedy available for determining if the 15 represent security risks by ordering an investigation and reevaluation of their security status. SIMPSON said the reevaluation should not only extend to the 15 officers but also to all State Department officials and employees ever recommended for suspension or separation on security grounds..

Senator SIMPSON explained that security procedures in the Department of State ostensibly prevent security risks from gaining access to sensitive posts or information. He said, however, that top level officers can overrule the security findings of subordinates charged with security evaluation. Numerous top level clearances have been issued to overrule recommendations that certain people be suspended or separated from the Department. SIMPSON said that such top level clearances have come even in the face of unanimous concurrences favoring dismissal. It is clear that in such instances the mere act of ordering or issuing a clearance does not change the facts which led to the adverse recommendation in the first place. In every case during the past 10 years where a security clearance has been granted or ordered by the Secretary of State, the Secretary's action came as an arbitrary repudiation of the judgment of security-conscious subordinates intimately familiar with the case, SIMPSON maintained.

Senator SIMPSON recalled the disclosure early this year of a secret document which listed more than 800 potential security risks 8 years ago in the State Department. He said the list had been compiled by Scott McLeod. Of the 800 listed, there were approximately 250 that McLeod considered questionable in regard to the broad security responsibilities of the State Department.

"There can be no doubt that the summary dismissal of State Department security evaluator Otto Otepka and the subsequent disgraceful treatment to which he has been subjected while awaiting a departmental hearing has a direct relationship to this list," SIMPSON said, "for Otepka is the last top security officer still with the Department from the days when McLeod ran its security."

Senator SIMPSON said the "heavy hands" of both the State Department and the White House are involved in Otepka's suspension and in the suppression of information on potential security risks now in the Department of State.

SIMPSON recalled that Otepka clashed with his superiors in 1962 over the granting of 152 security waivers by Secretary Rusk. The waivers, which Otepka vigorously protested, went to high-ranking State Department personnel, enabling them to skip the customary security investigation. This process had been invoked only five times during the Eisenhower administration.

SIMPSON quoted McLeod as having told his superiors in 1956 that "on the State Department rolls are some 800 individuals concerning whom the Office of Security has information which raises questions in major or minor degree with respect to the criteria of Executive Order No. 10450; namely, questions as to possible past Communist activity or associations, false statements, immoral conduct, homosexuality, intoxication, mental defects, etc. All have been cleared as qualified for access to classified (secret) information."

Senator SIMPSON said he had been informed, "on unimpeachable authority," that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has amassed a great volume of testimony and evidence which supports his observations on loose security procedures in the State Department.

The Democrat-controlled subcommittee began an inquiry nearly 3 years ago into conditions in the State Department's Office of Security and has questioned scores of witnesses and accumulated bulky documentary evidence.

"The subcommittee has not published any of its findings and apparently does not propose to do so before the November 3 election," SIMPSON remarked. The reason for the delay, he noted, might be deduced from the statement by a member of the subcommittee that the hearings contained "political dynamite."

"I think the American public is entitled, without further delay, to be informed of conditions bearing on our national security," Senator SIMPSON concluded.

The 88th Congress—A Record of Distinction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. SLACK, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, throughout my service in the House, it has been my custom to distribute to my constituents an annual report summarizing the work of this body with particular emphasis on the legislation which will bear directly on the problems of the people residing in the Third West Virginia District.

Legislation was passed in the fields of education, health, and welfare, natural resources, human rights, national security, international affairs, and science and technology.

EDUCATION

In the field of education, the work of this Congress has already been publicly

acclaimed. Five important enactments affecting education have emerged:

First. The Higher Education Facilities Act will provide $1.2 billion in grants and loans over a 3-year period to help colleges and universities build classrooms, libraries and laboratories.

Second. The Vocational Education Act provides $956 million in matching grants for the expansion of State vocational education programs during the next 5 years.

Third. The Medical and Dental School Act authorizes $175 million in grants to encourage expansion of these schools, and also provides loans for students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy.

Fourth. Amendments to the National Defense Education Act provide increased loan funds for college students and continue the programs to encourage science, mathematics, and foreign language training by extending loans to 70,000 additional students.

Fifth. The Library Services and Construction Act authorizes $25 million to encourage development and expansion of both urban and rural libraries and also provides $20 million for new library construction.

MENTAL HEALTH

One of the historic actions of this Congress, allied to education, must surely be the Mental Health Act, a bold new attack on mental illness and retardation. This act provides $51.5 million over 3 years to train 20,000 teachers of mentally retarded and handicapped children, and authorizes grants for the construction of community mental health centers, emphasizing treatment in patients' home communities. It also authorizes a broad program to prevent and treat mental retardation by providing States and communities with research assistance and facilities for health education and rehabilitation.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Three significant new programs mark a new realization of the need to husband our natural resources in the face of established needs for a growing population:

First. Passage of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act marked the climax to a campaign by conservationists which had been gathering momentum and public support for over 10 years: The fund created by this act will draw revenues from certain existing Federal taxes and user and admission fees. The fund will be available to the States on a matching basis for planning, acquisition, and development of land and water areas for public outdoor recreation purposes. Through this program the Federal Government and the States will begin to acquire on an orderly, pay-as-you-go basis the outdoor recreation facilities that tomorrow's citizens will require.

Second. The Wilderness Act authorizes a national wilderness preservation system, permanently preserving 9.1 million acres of federally owned lands in their primeval state. The classified wilderness lands will be a paradise for sportsmen and campers, and during the next 10 years a study will be made of 52 million additional acres of Federal land to determine whether any of this acreage should be added to the wilderness system. This new program has been hailed as pioneering, landmark legislation; it will certainly go far toward permanent preservation of a priceless national asset.

Third. The Water Resources Research Act establishes a 10-year program of assistance to States in the establishment and financing of water resources research centers. Pollution of our water sources is one of the growing threats to our domestic society, and these research centers will concentrate on specific problem solving to roll back this threat before pollution overwhelms us in our cities and towns.

TOWARD GREATER HUMAN DIGNITY

Our economy presently functions at record levels of prosperity in all respects, but our prosperity has been partly purchased at a cost in social and economic dislocation. This cost is borne directly by the technologically unemployed, by those elderly persons prematurely displaced without adequate income, by the unprepared youth and the rural dwellers bypassed by national growth patterns, and by certain ethnic minorities.

These elements of our society do not and cannot assume their proper role unless their special problems receive specialized attention. Without it they will never be able to participate in the full benefits of American citizenship, bear their share of the taxload, and contribute to the strength of the economy by widening the base of our purchasing power.

The difficulties faced by these people cannot be resolved by endless direct relief programs. There must be businesslike, realistic approaches which not only enliven opportunity and open the door to new skills, but which also underscore the value of human dignity and strengthen hopes for self-improvement.

The 88th Congress passed six major bills endeavoring to recognize the importance of repositioning the less fortunate who have not kept pace with the majority in a growing nation and a prosperous economy.

First. The Economic Opportunity Act, the authorization for the so-called war on poverty. This measure will direct Federal and State efforts toward betterment of the circumstances faced by the 35 million Americans who presently subsist on incomes below the minimum level defined as poverty by recognized economists. These will be the approaches:

(a) A Job Corps to provide 100,000 youths age 16 to 21 with a 2-year vocational training and work experience.

(b) A work training program to enable 200,000 youths to work and train in their home communities on projects selected by local authorities.

(c) A work-study program providing part-time employment for 140,000 needy students to continue in college.

(d) A community action program to encourage urban and rural communities to prepare long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families obtain education, employment, job-training, vocational rehabilitation and housing.

(e) A corps of volunteers to serve these ends as a domestic Peace Corps among needy Americans.

Second. Extension of the food stamp plan to national scope. After 3 years of pilot operation in selected counties, the value of the program has been amply demonstrated and the mechanics of operation have been properly refined. The food stamp plan operations since 1961 have established beyond doubt that it not only raises the general health standard of eligible unemployed persons and their families, but also raises income to farmers and retailers while at the same time reducing farm product surpluses held in storage.

Third. Extension until 1967 of the work of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, with its hopeful prospect for developing techniques which will break the poverty-dropout-delinquency-crime cycle among youth. One of the key demonstration efforts in this program is Action for Appalachian Youth, now under way in West Virginia with the support of Federal funds.

Fourth. Extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act, with $531 million in authorized new funds to permit training of 93,000 additional persons and support work training with a literacy training program.

Fifth. The Civil Rights Act, designed to guarantee to ethnic minorities the protection of the Constitution, with particular reference to education, voting privileges and work opportunities, so that all Americans will have an equal incentive to develop their full capabilities and share in the national progress according to their accomplishments.

Sixth. The Public Defender Act, which directs each U.S. district court to guarantee any indigent accused of a Federal crime adequate legal counsel at public expense.

TAX REDUCTION

The Revenue Act of 1964 which reduced income taxes by an average of 20 percent and will result in a net reduction of $11.5 billion in Federal income taxes collected this year, was a bold and unprecedented effort to strengthen the economy. Originally greeted with misgivings because it would certainly cause a budget deficit for the year, the effect of the tax cut has more than supported the forecasts of its proponents. The cut has helped spark the biggest peacetime business expansion in our history, with 4 million more persons employed than in January 1961, and personal income and corporate profits at all-time highs. The gross national product will reach a rate of nearly $625 billion this year, an increase of $120 billion since 1960. Reflecting confidence in the future, the business community plans to invest this year 13 percent more money in new plants and equipment than last year, resulting in even greater job opportunities to come.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SPACE

Our defense posture stands at its highest peak of development, and we can be confident that our military forces are stronger than those of any adversary.

During the past 3 years we have created a limited war capability to deal with incidents and provocations that enables us to react with a selective response to an aggressor without risking allout nuclear war.

The space exploration has scored notable successes this year and proceeds on schedule from the standpoint of accomplishing military and space travel goals. For the current fiscal year we have appropriated a total of $53.5 billion for defense, military construction, and space program activities, about 60 percent of the entire Federal budget.

At the same time the hope for a lasting peace was given impetus by ratification of the atomic test ban treaty during this Congress, and by promising negotiations which led to an increase of 20 percent in funds for pursuit of a stronger program by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

VETERANS

A group of measures passed by the 88th Congress adds substantially to the veterans' benefits program. These new enactments will increase pensions by excluding certain types of income in determining pension benefits, thereby providing about $330 million more for veterans during the next 5 years; increase benefits to dependents of veterans who die because of a service-connected disability; permit the Veterans' Administration to waive recovery on defaulted home loans in certain hardship cases; provide educational assistance to children of veterans with total service-connected disability; extend disability income provisions of national service life insurance through age 65 under certain conditions; and authorize a $25 million program of matching aid to States for nursing facilities in State veterans' homes.

LOOKING AHEAD

Two important actions by this Congress launched factfinding missions to explore problems which will require intensive consideration. One measure established a National Commission on Food Marketing to study trade procedure and price relationships from producer to consumer. The other authorizes a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress to inquire into the question of how we should cope with the loss of industrial jobs because of new methods and machines.

HOUSING AND NURSING HOMES

The Housing Act of 1964 authorizes $1.2 billion to be used for urban renewal, for 45,000 new public housing units, for loans to create housing for the elderly, for farm housing, and for extension of a rental housing program for the elderly in rural areas.

The Nurses Training Act authorizes $287.6 million for a 5-year program for nursing school construction, nurse training programs, and student loans, as a means of expediting the training of the 300,000 additional nurses we will need by 1970, according to estimates by the U.S. Public Health Service.

Remarks of Paul Harvey—Student Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, on September 17, 1964, I heard a broadcast by Paul Harvey in which he discussed the international situation, especially in relation to the so-called student riots that seem to be so prevalent throughout the world. It was so well stated and so much to the point that I want to give the membership an opportunity to read it in case they had missed it.

Therefore, under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I include the September 17 broadcast on student riots by the eminent Paul Harvey:

DICTATORSHIP OF CHILDREN

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, "Students riot," the papers say. In Tokyo and Seoul, in Mexico City and Caracas, in Singapore and Saigon, "students riot."

The youngsters who used to eat goldfish and set fire to an effigy of the football coach, now demand the overthrow of established government.

The "spring fever" which formerly manifested itself in panty raids now erupts in an adolescent acne of street riots.

Last week "rioting students" in South Vietnam demanded the right to designate members of the Seoul Cabinet, or they threatened to "overthrow the government."

What kind of business is this? A dictatorship of children.

In South Vietnam there is no enforceable military draft. Americans are drafted to fight for that forsaken jungle of elephants and opium poppies, but native youths are not drafted. And when the Seoul Government tried to force them into uniforms, "students rioted," beat up recruiters, set fire to military vehicles, and forced the government to backtrack.

So we are still drafting American youths to fight for allies who won't draft their own youths. There is no logical or reasonable justification for subservience to delinquents abroad—or at home.

Is it not mostly crude girls and rude boys instigating the so-called race rioting which results in wholesale looting of established businesses in Chester and Philadelphia, New York and Newark, Chicago and Detroit?

A generation of American parents terrorized by their own children cannot escape the parallel terrorism of foreign students.

How can we lecture them when juvenile crime has increased in the United States 11 percent in the past year? Our juvenile crime rate is increasing seven times faster than our juvenile population is increasing.

The young hoodlums rioting in our streets can hardly be categorized as "students," and I suspect this is usually the case when "students" riot overseas. There, too, it is the dissident minority or the dedicated Communist or the mercinary hoodlum making trouble for fun, for a purpose or for a profit.

But whatever the motivation, the conduct of these young hooligans is inexcusable and indefensible. They are not qualified to overthrow and not competent to lead their countries; they must not be allowed to intimidate ours.

For much too long we have coddled and appeased and apologized for the arrogant excesses of children. It's time for us to treat a criminal as a criminal, whatever his age. A rioter is a rioter, however many his birthdays.

FBI Director Hoover has said that, "Any youth capable of a man's crime should be eligible for a man's punishment."

If young Castro had been recognized as a subversive rebel instead of excused as an "unstable student," Cuba might have been spared much agony.

The discipline which today's worse-than-ever generation of brats requires is no different in the kitchen where he throws Pablum or in the street where he throws gasoline bombs.

If we delay the administration of punishment to fit the crime, whatever the age of the criminal, then the day is not far away when firehoses and tear gas will not be enough.

When small men cast big shadows the sun is about to set.

National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs held its annual convention in Detroit in July.

This organization, which has a membership of nearly one-half million, passed a resolution acknowledging this country's religious heritage and opposing any efforts to remove the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution adopted by them be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

(Passed by the Federation at its National Convention, Detroit, Mich., July 1964, proposed by: District of Columbia State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club)

"Whereas measures are being instituted in the State of Maryland to remove the words 'under God' from the Pledge of Allegiance;

"Whereas we recognize that our Western civilization is based on moral law and that our system of justice is derived from the Mosaic Code which recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being:

"Whereas we seek to implement our national motto 'In God We Trust' as the cornerstone of national policy and direction;

"Whereas we wish to maintain in every practicable way the influence of spiritual values in our national life through specific reference to the Deity in public observances;

"Whereas we recognize that in a nation freedom and justice for all are possible only under God; be it

"*Resolved*, That the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs does affirm its support of the Pledge of Allegiance with the words 'under God' as a permanent part of the pledge."

The above resolution was adopted by action of the membership of the District of Columbia State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs at their annual convention held in Washington, D.C., on May 22, 1964.

Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo Reports on 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed proud and feel privileged to have had the honor of serving the Seventh Congressional District, Queens County, N.Y.

I believe that the 88th Congress has been one of the outstanding Congresses on record and that it has accurately reflected the mood of our citizens and has been responsive to the needs and wishes of our people in both domestic and foreign affairs.

At the end of each session since I came to Congress almost 4 years ago I have summarized the year's activities, reprinted them at my expense, and mailed them to my constituents. Each of the years has been a breaking of the previous year's longest peacetime session. My only regret has been that the lengthy session reduced the time I would have spent in my district personally discussing and obtaining the views and attending to the needs of my constituents.

In addition to sending out a report on the highlights of the legislative accomplishments of the session, I sent a questionnaire to my constituents early this year covering many of the important issues which would have to be decided by me on behalf of the people I am privileged to represent. There were approximately 160,000 questionnaires sent out to my constituents, and I received a return of approximately 15 percent. Although this would seem a small return, from all surveys, the average, I am led to understand, return is approximately 5 to 10 percent, so I believe my district represents an active and informed district. Following are the questions asked and the answers received:

1. Do you support our policy of opposing admission of Red China to the United Nations?

	Percent
Yes	62.4
No	19.3
Undecided	8.3

2. Should the House Committee on Un-American Activities be continued?

	Percent
Yes	64.6
No	27.7
Undecided	7.7

3. Should the foreign aid program be:

	Percent
Increased	16.7
Decreased	21.3
Eliminated	17.1
Remain the same	38.2

4. Do you favor Federal aid to education for:

	Percent
School construction	69.3
Teachers' salaries	57.6
Public schools only	36.3
Private and parochial school participation	61.1

5. Do you favor increased salaries for Federal civil service and postal employees?

	Percent
Yes	71.4
No	23.2
Undecided	5.4

6. Should the Social Security Act be amended to:

(a) Include hospital care for the aged?

	Percent
Yes	71.6
No	24.2
Undecided	4.2

(b) Remove the limitation on outside earnings?

	Percent
Yes	73.3
No	22.9
Undecided	3.8

(c) Continue child's insurance benefits beyond age 18, if child is attending high school or college, as provided in my bill, H.R. 1987?

	Percent
Yes	71.5
No	24.3
Undecided	4.2

7. Do you support my position for an expanded program to combat narcotics addiction and for a Federal narcotics treatment center in the New York area?

	Percent
Yes	73.6
No	21.2
Undecided	5.2

8. Do you believe our expenditures for defense should:

	Percent
Be increased	46.1
Be decreased	21.1
Remain the same	26.3

9. Do you believe our expenditures for space exploration should:

	Percent
Be increased	39.2
Be decreased	24.7
Remain the same	29.6

10. Do you favor enactment of a Federal trade law to allow manufacturers to establish minimum retail prices in brand-name merchandise?

	Percent
Yes	64.7
No	25.1
Undecided	10.2

11. Do you favor the truth-in-lending bill which would require that all interest and credit charges for time-purchasing and borrowing be clearly itemized in writing at the time of the transaction?

	Percent
Yes	71.6
No	25.2
Undecided	3.2

12. Do you favor a domestic Peace Corps of young American volunteers to help fill the gap in our country's social, medical, educational, and recreational services?

	Percent
Yes	68.7
No	36.8
Undecided	4.5

13. Do you favor Federal assistance to meet the crisis facing mass transportation systems in metropolitan areas?

	Percent
Yes	63.2
No	29.8
Undecided	7.0

14. Do you favor a revision of our immigration laws to remove the nationality restrictions in the current act, while keeping immigration admissions at approximately the present level?

	Percent
Yes	63.2
No	29.7
Undecided	7.1

15. Do you favor enactment of the pending civil rights bill?

	Percent
Yes	62.2
No	29.1
Undecided	8.7

The 2d session of the 88th Congress, as did the 1st session, enacted legislation of a far-reaching nature both nationally and internationally. I have in this session, as in the past session, held to what I believe to be in accordance with the dictates of the needs of our Nation and the dictates of the needs of the people from my congressional district as evidenced by the response to my questionnaire. I have supported the Kennedy-Johnson administration's programs when I believed the programs to be just and needed, and I have opposed and voted against the Kennedy-Johnson programs when I believed them not in accord with the majority thinking of the people of my district.

More than 600 laws have been enacted by the 88th Congress. Time and space make it impossible to discuss all of them. The following is some of the major legislation I have supported in this Congress:

MEDICAL AND HEALTH

Public Law 88–129 provides for a 3-year program to expand facilities of medical, dental, and related type colleges and $30.7 million for students' loans.

Public Law 88–156 provides for $350 million in aid to States for maternal and child health services, crippled children's programs, and maternity care and research projects to prevent mental retardation.

Public Law 88–591 authorizes a 5-year program to expand nursing school facilities and for loans for student nurses.

Public Law 88–164 provides $329 million to aid States in providing mental retardation research facilities and in constructing community mental health centers.

Public Law 88–443 extended Hill-Burton construction program and included funds for areawide planning of health facilities that have mostly been only on a citywide basis.

Public Law 88–305 requires USDA approval of pesticides before selling them to the public.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

Public Law 88–38 prohibits discrimination in pay on the basis of sex in work that is subject to the minimum wage laws.

This measure had been before Congress for 18 years.

HOUSING

Public Law 88–158 increases to $275 million the loans to organizations constructing housing for the elderly.

Public Law 88–54 extends for 2 years the authority of FHA to insure mortgages.

MILITARY FORCES

Public Law 88–132 increases the pay for members of the Armed Forces and readjusts pay schedules. Another bill passed this year grants a further pay increase.

EDUCATION

Public Law 88–204 authorizes $400 million per year to aid college classroom construction. Colleges and universities would be required to pay at least two-thirds of the cost of each construction project.

Public Law 88–210 provides for new grants to States to expand vocational education.

S. 3060 expands the National Defense Education Act programs and extends the impacted areas aid to local school districts for 1 more year. College loans for students were increased a total of 100 percent but still total only about one-third the number required to loan each student an average of $700 who has the ability to go to college and would be accepted.

This is the most legislation for education that has been passed in any Congress since the Land-Grant College Act of 100 years ago.

WHEAT SALES

Russia was in the world market for wheat last year. A prohibition against American businessmen selling to them through the Export-Import Bank on normal commercial terms was proposed but rejected. They bought 65 million bushels for $140 million and have paid for it. Our Government-held stocks are now lower than in many years.

RECREATION

Public Law 88–578 establishes a land and water conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs and acquiring recreation areas.

Public Law 88–9 authorizes coordination of Federal and State outdoor recreation plans.

Public Law 88–577 sets aside 35 million acres of federally owned wilderness areas to be preserved in its primitive state for public use.

INTERNATIONAL

Public Law 88–285 authorizes an expansion of about one-half in the Peace Corps. Congress has indicated it intends to replace some foreign aid grants with Peace Corps programs which cost much less and most believe will be more effective.

Public Law 88–186 extended the Arms Control Research Agency through 1965.

The nuclear test ban treaty was negotiated by President Kennedy and ratified by the Senate.

House Joint Resolution 1145 approved and supported the determination of the President to repel attacks on U.S. forces and to prevent aggression jeopardizing peace and security in southeast Asia.

Foreign aid in 1965 will cost $3.4 billion—the smallest and tightest budget since the program began. More than 80 percent of this $3.4 billion will be spent in the United States for U.S. goods and services—providing 500,000 jobs. This $3.4 billion will account for 3.5 percent of the Federal budget and 0.56 percent of our national income—the smallest percentages ever—70 percent will be for economic aid, 30 percent will be for military aid—two-thirds will be in the form of loans, one-third will be in the form of grants. Assistance will be highly selective and concentrated—7 countries will get 67 percent of all development loans—4 countries will get 78 percent of all supporting assistance—11 countries will get 64 percent of all military assistance.

LABOR LAW

Public Law 88–133 increases benefits under railway retirement and unemployment acts, and strengthens the trust fund's financial position.

Public Law 88–349 amends the Davis-Bacon Act to include pension and other fringe benefits in wage scales.

VETERANS

Public Laws 21 and 134 increase payments to dependents of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.

Public Law 88–151 permits the Veterans' Administration to waive recovery on home loans in certain hardship cases.

Public Law 88–20 provides additional compensation for service-connected loss of hearing in both ears.

Public Law 88–22 increases benefits for veterans suffering complete loss of speech.

H.R. 1927 liberalizes the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children. It also reopens national service life insurance for 1 year for service-connected disabled as well as a limited group of nonservice connected who are generally rated as insurable or who can only obtain insurance at substandard rates. In all cases administrative costs would be borne by the insured—estimated to be $5 per policy per year.

TAX BILL

Public Law 88–272 reduced Federal taxes by $11.5 billion by cutting personal income taxes an average of 19.4 percent. It also reduces corporate taxes. It did not contain many of the reforms I have proposed and hope may be enacted in the 89th Congress. Due to increase profits and less unemployment, even with the lower rates, tax revenues for the first 3 months of 1964 were up $1.5 billion over the same period last year.

I voted against the continuation of excise taxes on ladies' handbags, cosmetics, baby oil, and so forth. The administration and Congress are now working on a bill to eliminate excise taxes where the proceeds are not used directly for the benefit of the taxpayer paying them.

FOOD

Public Law 88–525 expanded the food stamp program. Under this program, families in need could buy stamps at less than fair value to purchase certain foods.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, the Government furnished $634 million worth of food and milk to needy people, institutions, school lunch, military, and veterans programs. This compares to $425 million in 1957 and $411 million worth furnished in 1960 and shows the extent to which great emphasis has now been placed on food. The diets of about 6 million needy and 16 million schoolchildren are affected. Food exported for cash has increased greatly.

PAY BILL

It was my privilege to again support justified and needed pay adjustments for our postal and Federal employees.

Public Law 88–448 provides pay adjustments for Federal employees and officials. The committee headed by Clarence Randall, of Inland Steel, appointed by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy made conclusions as to the scales that would make Federal salaries comparable to non-Federal pay scales. The bill brings judges, scientists, Congressmen, Senators, and executive personnel to about two-thirds the amount recommended and brings the other 95 percent of the Federal employees up to the non-Government rate of 1962.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Public Law 88–352 bans discrimination based upon religion, or race in: First, voting in Federal elections; second, distribution of Federal aid; third, public eduction; fourth, certain types of publicly owned or publicly operated facilities or accommodations; and fifth, employment. The prohibition relative to employment, generally speaking, covers employers of 100 or more workers—to be gradually reduced to 25 workers—and does not cover private clubs, employees working on religious activities, religious educational institutions. It also establishes a group—headed by former Governor Collins, of Florida—to seek satisfactory settlements of complaints without publicity or court action. The bill, as passed, gives to the Nation that which has been and is the present law in New York State. The Federal law does not provide preference to any religion or race, does not provide for racial balance in schools, and does not involve sale or use of private homes.

DEFENSE

Although most of our tax money is spent for defense hardware, bases, and to pay for the Armed Forces and personnel, legislation in this area has been relatively noncontroversial. The 88th Congress provided legislation to increase nuclear warheads in our strategic alert forces, tactical nuclear forces in Europe, tactical air squadrons, airlift capability, special forces trained to deal with guerrilla warfare, polaris submarines, and also in certain other areas.

I have continually worked for increased defense contracts for the New York area and there has been formed a special committee to acquire additional work for the New York Naval Shipyard—Brooklyn, N.Y.

SENIOR CITIZENS

The Republican-Southern coalition has again trod upon the needed benefits for our senior citizens. The House passed an increase in social security benefits for our senior citizens—the Senate passed an increase in benefits plus a "medicare" amendment. In the House-Senate Conference Committee

the Republicans were unanimously against this measure and they were joined by Southern Democrats—this coalition defeated this much-needed legislation.

I know this legislation will be given top priority in the 89th Congress and, if I am returned to office, I will again support it and fight for its early enactment.

MISCELLANEOUS

Public Law 88–273 expands help to privately owned small business investment companies which in turn help small businesses who are unable to secure needed loans from regular sources at reasonable rates.

Public Law 88–452 is the antipoverty program consisting of work-training and work-study programs and provisions designed to encourage local action.

Public Law 88–354 establishes a Commission to study the price spread from producer to consumer.

COMMITTEE WORK

It has been my privilege to serve on the Committee on Appropriations which deals with the spending of the taxpayers' moneys. As a member of this Committee, I have tried to save taxpayers' dollars while providing for the needs of the Nation. Following is a full schedule of appropriations, which appropriations were voted out of the committee with bipartisan support:

The appropriation bills, 88th Cong., 2d sess., as of Sept. 22, 1964

Title and bill No.	Budget estimates to House	Amount as passed (House)	Amount as passed (Senate)	Amount as approved (Senate)
1965 APPROPRIATION BILLS				
District of Columbia (H.R. 10199)	($357,702,300)	($338,205,200)	($342,181,975)	($341,242,200)
Federal payment, 1965 regular	53,220,000	40,720,000	44,220,000	40,720,000
Loan authorization	(14,400,000)	(26,400,000)	(26,400,000)	(26,400,000)
Interior (H.R. 10433)	1,035,678,000	1,009,175,600	1,029,226,400	1,028,277,200
1965 regular appropriations	998,903,000	976,475,600	993,554,400	994,069,200
Loan authorization	(20,000,000)	(14,000,000)	(14,000,000)	(14,000,000)
1964 supplementals	36,775,000	32,700,000	35,672,000	34,208,000
Treasury-Post Office (H.R. 10532):				
1965 regular appropriations	6,271,991,000	6,225,420,000	6,240,423,000	6,233,273,000
1964 supplementals (by transfer)	(1,675,000)	(1,100,000)	(1,100,000)	(1,100,000)
Legislative (H.R. 10723)	222,587,355	173,626,640	210,380,685	210,300,885
1965 regular appropriations	222,375,655	173,446,640	210,231,685	210,300,885
1964 supplementals	211,700	180,000	149,000	
Labor-HEW (H.R. 10809)	7,561,968,000	6,908,063,000	7,081,193,000	7,089,707,000
1965 regular appropriations	7,104,782,000	6,908,063,000	7,081,193,000	7,089,707,000
1964 supplementals	457,186,000			
Defense (H.R. 10939):				
1965 regular appropriations	47,471,000,000	46,759,267,000	46,774,401,000	46,752,051,000
1964 supplementals (by transfer)	(6,000,000)	(6,000,000)	(6,000,000)	(6,000,000)
State, Justice, Judiciary (H.R. 11134)	1,957,764,700	1,702,627,800	1,730,855,700	1,717,157,800
1965 regular appropriations	1,915,089,700	1,702,177,800	1,700,405,700	1,686,707,800
1964 supplementals	42,675,000	450,000	30,450,000	30,450,000
Agriculture (H.R. 11202)	5,832,922,600	5,182,665,000	5,338,672,525	5,137,162,200
1965 regular appropriations	5,582,259,600	5,182,665,000	5,323,872,525	5,127,162,200
Loan authorization	(753,000,000)	(795,000,000)	(795,000,000)	(795,000,000)
1964 supplementals	6,573,000		14,800,000	10,000,000
Independent Offices (H.R. 11296)	14,244,653,400	8,118,965,500	13,613,224,000	13,454,859,000
1965 regular appropriations	14,099,653,400	8,118,965,500	13,613,224,000	13,454,859,000
1964 supplementals	145,000,000			
Military Construction (H.R. 11369) 1965 regular appropriations	1,879,000,000	1,599,014,500	1,582,969,000	1,570,968,000
Public Works (H.R. 11579) 1965 regular appropriations	4,372,449,000	4,325,969,200	4,443,283,200	4,430,794,700
Foreign Assistance (H.R. 11812) 1965 regular appropriations	3,958,377,000	3,739,249,400	3,662,077,000	3,662,077,000
Supplemental, 1965 (H.R. 12633)	1,370,468,374	998,645,874	1,220,098,068	1,117,196,068
Total, 1965 regular	95,299,568,729	86,750,079,514	92,889,952,578	92,369,885,853
Total, 1964 supplementals (included in 1965 bills)	688,420,700	33,330,000	81,071,000	74,658,000
Total, all appropriations	97,677,058,218	88,430,011,203	94,702,348,721	94,162,918,996
Total, loan authorizations	(787,400,000)	(835,400,000)	(835,400,000)	(835,400,000)

Total budget requests, $97,677,058,218.

Total authorized by Congress, $94,162,918,996.

Total reduction by Congress, $3,514,139,222.

LOCAL ISSUES

I have continually worked with the Federal Aviation Agency and the Port of New York Authority to find means to give relief from the noise nuisance to the people of my district. The FAA and Port Authority, to some degree, have worked out new landing and takeoff flight patterns trying to alleviate this problem. I believe that progress has been made in this field, but much more must be done. I have flown with the FAA on various experimental flight patterns to prove that landing patterns are safe for the aircraft and can be developed to give further relief to the people of my district. I will continue to press the FAA and the Port Authority to work out additional programs so that we may find better and faster solutions to this serious problem which plagues the people of my district. I shall continue to press for additional research into the field of noise reduction.

As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I have seen to it that the appropriation for a new Veterans' Administration hospital to serve the veterans of Queens and Long Island has been retained in the budget. I believe the hospital should be in Queens and the Veterans' Administration is just awaiting the decision of the State of New York on where the new medical school will be located.

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

I have tried to give the people of my district, while here in Washington and back home in my district, 365 days of service per year. I maintain a full-time district office where I meet with my constitutents whenever time permits me to be in the district. I have attended the various civic, veterans, and social affairs of my district. Through these media I have been able to discuss personally with my constituents problems facing them and the Nation. Through my previous reports on the congressional sessions and through this one, I have tried to keep my constituents informed and, through questionnaires, I have tried to be informed by them of their wishes, beliefs, and thinking.

It is a very great privilege and honor to me to have served the people of the Seventh Congressional District and, if reelected, it will be my pleasure to serve them in the 89th Congress with the same diligence and attention I have heretofore given. If the people of my district approve the service I have given to them and the representation I have given to them here in Washington, it will be my honor to return to the 89th Congress to continue the programs I have started, programs to alleviate the problems of the people of my district and our Nation.

Congresswoman Martha W. Griffiths Reports to the People of the 17th District of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, this final report to the 17th District, as it is presently constituted, is a farewell to the old district and hail to the new district.

It has been a pleasure for the past 10 years to represent you. You have been the best district in America. Whether or not you were for me, I was for you. When I read the local papers I carefully noted the outstanding things that had been done by the people of our district. I loved your intelligent children. I was pleased when they made top records at the academies.

Those of you who live in Redford township, Livonia, Northville, Plymouth, and Northville and Plymouth townships after January 4, 1965, will be a part of either the 19th Congressional District of Michigan or the 2d District of Michigan. Those of you who live in the 22d ward remain in the 17th District. We have also added that part of the 16th ward east of Meyers which is bounded on the east by Livernois, on the north by Eight Mile, and on the south by the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks.

America's chief domestic problem in the sixties has been a persistently high rate of unemployment. Early in his term of office, President Kennedy decided that tax cuts, which would permit consumers to buy more and business to improve their plants, would be one way to increase employment. So, with some fear of inflation or hopelessly increasing the national debt, at last a general tax cut was enacted. To everyone's great relief it worked extremely well. Employment increased, the total amount of taxes collected increased, and business boomed.

In the main, the tax cut lowered the tax rates on individuals from a range of 20 to 90 percent to a new range of 14 to 70 percent and cut corporation taxes from 52 to 48 percent. It removed 1.5 million low income taxpayers from the tax rolls; gave an overall tax cut of almost 40 percent to taxpayers earning $3,000 or less; gave an average cut of more than 26 percent to taxpayers earning between $3,000 to $5,000; gave an average cut of 20 percent to taxpayers earning between $5,000 and $10,000; and gave an average cut of more than 16 percent to taxpayers earning between $10,000 and $20,000. Reducing Federal taxes by a total of $11.5 billion, the Revenue Act of 1964 increased the take-home pay of every American wage earner. It is estimated that when fully effective the tax cut will add $35 to $45 billion more to the gross national product and approximately 2 million jobs to the economy.

The tax cut, however, is not sufficient to pick up the hard core of unemployed—the illiterate; the unskilled; and the uninformed. In today's world as well as tomorrow's, skill and learning are essential; new skills must be learned throughout your lifetime—at 50 as well as at 15.

The Congress passed two basic measures to help the unemployed qualify for available jobs and to prepare new workers and the current work force for changing employment patterns:

The Vocational Education Act authorizes $956 million in Federal matching grants for the expansion of State vocational education in the next 5 years. As the first major redirection of vocational education since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the legislation will improve existing programs of job training and will develop new programs to fit individuals for gainful employment. Under the act, vocational education will be provided for high school students, high school dropouts or high school graduates preparing to enter the labor market.

The Manpower Development and Training Act amendments strengthen the Manpower Development and Training Act program passed by Congress in 1962 to correct the educational and training deficiencies of the unemployed. The amendments will permit the training or retraining of an additional 93,000 young and adult workers. Through this program, it is believed that 499,000 workers will be able to acquire new skills and a new stake in life.

In further response to the growing awareness of the interrelationship between economic growth and education, Congress acted in other areas of education. The following is a brief summary of major education legislation enacted by the 88th Congress:

First. The Higher Education Facilities Act is designed to assist institutions of higher education to construct needed classrooms, laboratories, and libraries. The act establishes a $1.2 billion program of loans and grants for construction of academic facilities for graduate schools, 4-year colleges, 2-year community colleges, and public technical schools. It is expected that over 2,000 institutions will benefit from this brick and mortar measure in meeting massive enrollment increases of 350,000 students per year.

Second. The Health Professions Educational Act provides a $175-million 3-year program for the construction of schools for the training of needed health personnel. In addition, the act initiates a low-interest loan program to assist medical, dental, and osteopathic students obtain their high cost education. The need for this type of legislation is best expressed in statistics. The average number of persons cared for by each family doctor in the United States has risen from 1,300 in 1950 to 1,700 in 1960. By 1970, the average number of patients per doctor is expected to rise to 2,000. To keep abreast of the physician to population ratio, the number of individuals entering medicine and dentistry must be increased from 12,500 to 19,000 per year.

Third. The National Defense Education Act extension increases funds for the National Defense Education Act student loan program. Since the program was first established in 1958, the Federal Government has been able to assist 600,000 qualified college students in securing a college education.

Fourth. The Nurse Training Act of 1964 provides loans to students of nursing; construction grants for nursing schools; and grants to improve nurses training. The shortage of trained nurses today leaves 20 percent of our nursing positions unfilled.

Fifth. The Library Services and Construction Act authorizes Federal aid to develop library services in both urban and rural areas and establishes a new program of assistance for library construction. Only 4 percent of our libraries have been built since 1940, and many rural areas are still without library facilities. This act will help city libraries meet the demands of a growing urban population and, what is more, will help make library services available to 38 million Americans in rural areas.

To protect the health and well-being of our citizens, Congress directed considerable attention to problems connected with pesticides, pollution, and mental health.

In the case of pesticides, Congress passed legislation requiring registration and Department of Agriculture approval of pesticides before public sale. To assist in the prevention and control of air pollution and to assure an adequate supply of pure water for the future, Congress passed the Clean Air Act and the Water Resources Research Act.

A new attack was launched against mental retardation and mental illness with the passage of the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act, and the maternal and child health and mental retardation planning amendments. The programs established call for research aimed at prevention; approved maternal and child health care to reduce the incident of mental retardation; assistance in the training of additional measures of handicapped children; and construction of facilities providing diagnostic services, outpatient and inpatient treatment, as well as transitional and rehabilitative services.

The 88th Congress after 18 years took special consideration on the plight of working women. By amending the Fair Labor Standards Act, Congress enacted the requirement that employees doing equal work on jobs demanding equal skill, effort, and responsibility be paid equal wages regardless of sex. Today, one worker in three in the labor force is a woman. Approximately 7 million women covered by the Minimum Wage Act are now guaranteed they will receive the same pay as men for the same type and amount of work.

To mobilize the vast human and financial resources to combat poverty affecting 35 million Americans, the Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The act will provide vocational training and work experience for thousands of young people aged 16 to 21; jobs and training for unemployed youngsters; part-time employment for needy college students; and assistance to migrant farm families and poverty stricken farmers.

After more than a year of discussion and debate, the 88th Congress passed the civil rights bill. President Johnson in signing the bill stated:

> The purpose of the law is simple. It does not restrict the freedom of any American so long as he respects the rights of others. It does not give special treatment to any citizen.

In brief, the bill includes the following provisions: First, it bars voter discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin; second, it bars discrimination in places of public accommodation if they are in interstate commere; third, it bars discrimination based on race, color, religion, or sex in employment affecting interstate commerce; fourth, it bars discrimination in any program receiving Federal aid; fifth, it extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission; and sixth, it sets up a Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce to provide a conciliation service to ease racial tensions in communities threatened by disturbance.

The 88th Congress, in two pieces of legislation, displayed special concern in the protection of our natural resources and the increasing demand for outdoor recreation facilities. The national wilderness bill establishes a national policy for wilderness preservation and sets aside 9.2 million acres of Federal land within the system. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act establishes a program to improve outdoor recreation facilities at State, local, and Federal levels. Its purpose is to provide a fiscally sound means to meet outdoor recreation demands by assisting States to acquire and develop lands with recreation potential.

In international affairs, the nuclear test ban treaty was ratified by the Senate on September 24, 1963. The treaty signed by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics bans nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater. One hundred nations subsequently have ratified this treaty.

Congress enacted the Urban Mass Transportation Act to help overcome a major urban problem—transportation. The act provides $375 million to States and localities for construction and improvement of public and private urban mass transit systems.

Approval of the Federal pay raise bill climaxed a 15-month congressional battle. The Federal pay raise provides a $556.8 million salary increase for all Federal civilian career employees, Federal executives, judges, Members of Congress, legislative, and judicial employees. The congressional pay raise, unlike all other raises which were made retroactive, will become effective January 4, 1965.

Major legislation passed by the 88th Congress pertaining to veterans: first, increases by 10 percent payments to parents and children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities; second, increases payments to widows of veterans whose death was due to service-connected disabilities; third, increases compensation for veterans suffering complete loss of speech; and, fourth, provides additional compensation for service-incurred loss of hearing in both ears. The Veterans' Pension Act amendments was passed in the final moments of the 88th Congress. The measure increases veterans' pensions and reopens the national service life insurance program to certain World War II and Korean war veterans.

In the last days of the 88th Congress the social security bill and its medicare provision, attached by the Senate, was killed by the conference committee to which the bill had been sent for the purpose of resolving differences in the House and Senate versions of the bill. Failure of this committee to report the measure prevented further vote by Congress. While it is regrettable that the social security bill did not succeed, all Senators were given the opportunity of registering their vote and future intentions on this vital matter affecting millions of older Americans. Unfortunately, the House did not get to vote for medicare.

The Late Honorable Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am very much distressed to learn of the sudden death of WALTER NORBLAD, whose friendship I cherished and whose example of devoted service to his country I admired.

He was a man of the highest ideals and his courage in living up to them and expressing his feelings without fear was a great inspiration. He served his country well in times of war and in times of peace and his passing leaves a great void in the hearts of his many friends.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow and son and I hope that the memory of his example of a good life will sustain and comfort them.

A Tribute to Hon. Harold D. Cooley, of North Carolina, on 30 Years of Distinguished Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ALBERT
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, we cannot adjourn this Congress appropriately without taking note that one of our most distinguished Members, the gentleman from North Carolina, HAROLD D. COOLEY, is completing his 30th year of service in this body.

This gifted Member from the Tarheel State, as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, is the voice of the farm families of America in the Congress, a pleader for justice in their behalf, and a spokesman for their aspirations and their hopes.

Moreover, he is a worthy, brilliant, and forceful advocate and leader in behalf of all the interests of his district and State, in the counsels of Government in Washington and in the country at large.

Mr. Speaker, North Carolina is the world's greatest center of tobacco production and manufacture; it is a great capital of cotton production and textile manufacture; it is the leader among the States in the manufacture of household furniture.

Our colleague, HAROLD COOLEY, has achieved a station in the Congress unique in its opportunities for service to the people he represents. He is chairman of the committee in the House of Representatives which has jurisdiction over the policies and laws relating to tobacco, to cotton, and to forestry in the United States which is the basic raw material of the household furniture industry.

Therefore, this North Carolinian is the leader in this great body on matters pertaining to the three great industries which are the basis of the solid economy of his State—tobacco, cotton, and furniture.

How wisely he has employed this position of influence and strength can be measured by the phenomenal growth of these industries and the progress and prosperity that now prevails in the area he represents in the Congress and generally where these industries flourish.

I will say that I know of no other Member of this body who has better served his people than HAROLD D. COOLEY.

Mr. Speaker, while attending to the particular matters relating to the well-being of the people of the Fourth North Carolina District which he represents in the Congress, this North Carolinian has maintained a national outlook. His imprint is upon many pieces of legislative national in scope.

Almost without exception, HAROLD COOLEY has played an important role—since the 1930's—in every piece of legislation that has gone into the making of the overall farm program. Hundreds upon hundreds of complicated and far-reaching bills, which meant new hope to farmers all over the country, have passed through his hands, as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, and as chairman of this great committee. He is one of the architects of the concept, and the farm program built around this concept, that the farm families of America are entitled to a parity of income with all others who contribute to our total wealth and prosperity under the free enterprise system.

The farm people have nowhere a more dedicated, devoted, and effective friend and advocate, than HAROLD D. COOLEY.

Mr. Speaker, our colleague from North Carolina has a natural and unique talent for leadership.

The House witnessed a dramatic demonstration of this leadership on last April 8. In a single day—in a single session of the House—he guided to final enactment three major bills—three of the major enactments of this Congress—the Cotton bill, to revitalize the cotton industry of this country; the Wheat bill, establishing a voluntary program which has prevented a one-half billion dollar loss to the Nation's wheat farmers in 1964; and the food stamp bill, through which our food abundance will be used in the future more effectively to relieve hunger among the needy in the United States.

This was an achievement of major enactments in one day perhaps without precedent in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, with HAROLD COOLEY now completing his 30th year of service in the Congress, I want to salute the people down in North Carolina, for their wisdom in sending him here, and keeping him here. We, his colleagues, look forward to enjoying his friendship and to profiting by his leadership, for many years ahead.

Voting Record of Representative Gerald R. Ford, Fifth District of Michigan

SPEECH
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report of my voting and attendance record during the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no attempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

The report is as follows:

Voting record of Representative GERALD R. FORD, 5th District of Michigan

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
1	Jan. 7	Quorum call	Present.
2	Jan. 8	Quorum call	Present.
3	Jan. 8	Quorum call	Present.
4	Jan. 14	Quorum call	Present.
5	Jan. 14	S. 1153: To recommit to committee the bill to amend the Federal Airport Act in order to reduce the authorization of funds by $15,000,000 a year for each of 3 years. (Defeated 110 to 201.)	Yes.
6	Jan. 14	S. 1153: On final passage of the act to amend the Federal Airport Act. (Passed 298 to 11.)	Yes.
7	Jan. 15	Quorum call	Present.
8	Jan. 20	Quorum call	Present.
9	Jan. 21	Quorum call	Present.
10	Jan. 21	Quorum call	Present.
11	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): To amend the Library Services Act to eliminate the library construction program, to confine Federal aid to rural areas, and to make more money available for rural libraries. (Defeated 179 to 183.)	Yes.
12	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): To recommit the Library Services Act to committee in order to eliminate the library construction provision from the bill. (Defeated 174 to 188.)	Yes.
13	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): On final passage of the Library Services Act extending Federal aid to urban as well as rural areas and increasing the authorization for 1964 from $7,500,000 to $45,000,000. (Passed 254 to 107.)	No.
14	Jan. 22	Quorum call	Present.
15	Jan. 22	Quorum call	Present.
16	Jan. 28	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
17	Jan. 28	H.Res. 582: On a motion to order the previous question on the resolution to take up H.R. 6041, amendments to the Davis-Bacon Act, in order to provide for consideration of an amendment permitting judicial review of decisions by the Secretary of Labor. (Passed 297 to 105.)	Absent.[1]
18	Jan. 28	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
19	Jan. 28	H.R. 6041 On passage of the bill to amend the Davis-Bacon Act to include fringe benefits in prevailing wage determinations. (Passed 357 to 50.)	Absent.[2]
20	Jan. 31	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
21	Jan. 31	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
22	Feb. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
23	Feb. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
24	Feb. 3	Quorum call	Present.
25	Feb. 4	Quorum call	Present.
26	Feb. 5	Quorum call	Present.
27	Feb. 6	Quorum call	Present.
28	Feb. 7	Quorum call	Present.
29	Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
30	Feb. 8	On a motion to adjourn at about 10 p.m. during consideration of the civil rights bill. (Passed 220 to 175)	No.
31	Feb. 10	Quorum call	Present.
32	Feb. 10	H.R. 7152: On final passage of the civil rights bill. (Passed 290 to 130)	Yes.
33	Feb. 17	Quorum call	Present.
34	Feb. 18	Quorum call	Present.
35	Feb. 18	H.R. 7381: To recommit to Committee on Post Office and Civil Service the Dual Compensation Act relative to the employment of civilians in more than 1 position and the civilian employment of retired members of the Armed Forces. (Defeated 83 to 262.)	No.
36	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
37	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
38	Feb. 20	Quorum call	Present.
39	Feb. 20	H.R. 9637: To authorize an appropriation of $16,900,000,000 for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. (Passed 336 to 0.)	Yes.
40	Feb. 24	Quorum call	Present.
41	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
42	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
43	Feb. 25	H.R. 8363: To adopt the conference report on the Revenue Act of 1964. (Passed 326 to 83.)	No.
44	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
45	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.
46	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.
47	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.
48	Feb. 26	H.R. 9022: To recommit to committee the bill to amend the International Development Association Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the International Development Association. (Passed 208–188.)	No.
49	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
50	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
51	Feb. 27	H.R. 8316: To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the FCC from making rules relative to the length and frequency of radio and TV commercials. (Passed 317 to 43.)	Yes.
52	Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
53	Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
54	Mar. 4	Quorum call	Present.
55	Mar. 4	Quorum call	Present.
56	Mar. 4	H.R. 9660: To recommit to committee the Peace Corps authorization bill in order to reduce the authorized funds for 1965 from $115 to $95,900,000. (Defeated 90 to 309.)	No.
57	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Absent.[3]
58	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Absent.[3]
59	Mar. 5	H.R. 8000: To impose a tax on acquisitions of certain foreign securities as a means of alleviating the balance-of-payments problem. (Passed 238 to 142.)	Absent.[4]
60	Mar. 9	Quorum call	Present.
61	Mar. 10	Quorum call	Present.
62	Mar. 10	Quorum call	Present.
63	Mar. 10	H.R. 8070: To establish a Public Land Law Review Commission to study laws and procedures relating to the administration of the public lands of the United States. (Passed 339 to 29.)	Absent.[3]
64	Mar. 11	Quorum call	Present.
65	Mar. 11	H.R. 650: To adopt the resolution calling for consideration of H.R. 8986, the bill to increase salaries of Federal employees and officials, including Members of Congress. (Passed 251 to 147.)	No.
66	Mar. 12	Quorum call	Present.
67	Mar. 12	H.R. 8986: To increase salaries of postal and Federal employees and certain officers of the Federal Government including Members of Congress. (Defeated 184 to 222.)	No.
68	Mar. 16	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
69	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
70	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
71	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
72	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
73	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
74	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
75	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
76	Mar. 19	H.R. 556: To adopt an open rule providing for 2 hours debate and waiving points of order against H.R. 5838, a bill relative to the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards. (Passed 264 to 99.)	No.
77	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
78	Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
79	Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
80	Mar. 23	H.R. 5838: To recommit to comittee the bill relative to the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards in order to amend it to require that no transfer of funds in excess of $250,000 shall be made without submission of the proposed transfer to the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate and if no adverse action is taken by either committee within 30 days the transfer is approved. (Defeated 151 to 172.)	Yes.
81	Mar. 23	H.R. 5838: To approve the bill amending the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards. (Passed 164 to 162.)	No.
82	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
83	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
84	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
85	Mar. 24	H.R. 10532: On a motion to add $10,000,000 to this appropriation bill to provide additional funds for construction and repair of Coast Guard vessels, etc. (Defeated 160 to 193).	No.
86	Mar. 24	H.R. 10532: On final passage of the $6,200,000,000 appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the Executive Office of the President and certain independent agencies. (Passed 326 to 20.)	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting record of Representative GERALD R. FORD, 5th District of Michigan—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
87	Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
88	Mar. 25	H.R. 660: On adoption of an open rule for the consideration of H.R. 10456, the NASA authorization bill, totaling $5,100,000,000. (Passed 357 to 0.)	Yes.
89	Mar. 25	H.R. 10456: On final passage of the $5,100,000,000 NASA authorization bill. (Passed 283 to 73.)	Absent.[3]
90	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
91	Apr. 6	S. 1828: To amend the joint resolution establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission in order to authorize the appropriation of not more than $13,553.23 for use of the Commission. (Passed 233 to 39.)	Yes.
92	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
93	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
94	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
95	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
96	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
97	Apr. 8	On a motion that the House adjourn (the time being about 9:20 p.m.) (Defeated 173 to 239.)	Yes.
98	Apr. 8	H.R. 10222: On a motion to recommit to the Committee on Agriculture the Food Stamp Act in order to add a provision requiring the States to finance 50 percent of the cost of the free stamps issued under the act. (Defeated 195 to 223.)	Yes.
99	Apr. 8	H.R. 10222: On final passage of the Food Stamp Act. (Passed 229 to 190.)	
100	Apr. 8	H.R. 665: To agree to the Senate amendment (wheat provisions) to H.R. 6196, the cotton bill previously passed by the House. (Passed 211 to 203.)	No.
101	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
102	Apr. 9	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under quorum call No. 101. (Passed 222 to 132.)	Absent.[4]
103	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
104	Apr. 9	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under quorum call No. 103. (Passed 232 to 122.)	Absent.[4]
105	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
106	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
107	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
108	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
109	Apr. 10	H.R. 10723: To recommit to committee the legislative appropriation bill in order to require the records of expenditure by congressional committees and the Architect of the Capitol to be available for public inspection. (Passed 188 to 131.)	Yes.
110	Apr. 14	Quorum call	Present
111	Apr. 14	H.R. 10509: On approval of the 1965 appropriation bill in the amount of $6,900,000,000 for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Labor, and related agencies. (Passed 344 to 21.)	Yes.
112	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
113	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
114	Apr. 15	S. 2394: To authorize an appropriation of $44,900,000 to carry out the provisions of the convention on the Chamizal made with Mexico relative to exchange of land at El Paso, Tex. (Passed 347 to 5.)	Yes.
115	Apr. 21	Quorum call	Present.
116	Apr. 21	Quorum call	Present.
117	Apr. 22	Quorum call	Present.
118	Apr. 22	H.R. 10939: To approve the $46,700,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense. (Passed 365 to 0)	Yes.
119	Apr. 29	Quorum call	Present.
120	May 6	Quorum call	Present.
121	May 6	H.R. 11134: To approve the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies in the amount of $1,700,000,000. (Passed 312 to 40.)	Yes.
122	May 7	Quorum call	Present.
123	May 7	H.R. 10945: To adopt the bill authorizing appropriation of $2,600,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 340 to 3)	Yes.
124	May 11	Quorum call	Present.
125	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
126	May 13	S. 2214: To recommit to committee the bill to provide additional funds for the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank. (Defeated 132 to 247.)	No.
127	May 18	H. J. Res. 1020: To authorize the expression of appreciation and the issuance of a gold medal to Henry J. Kaiser. (Defeated 150 to 143; a two-thirds vote being necessary under "suspension of the rules" procedure.)	No.
128	May 19	Quorum call	Present.
129	May 20	Quorum call	Present.
130	May 20	H.R. 11202: To add $1,600,000 to the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture for the construction of a national peanut research facility at Dawson, Ga. (Defeated 181 to 198.)	No.
131	May 20	H.R. 11202: To recommit to committee the agricultural appropriation bill in order to provide an amendment prohibiting export payments or export subsidies on any agricultural commodities sold to a Communist country. (Defeated 186 to 187.)	Yes.
132	May 20	H.R. 11202: On final passage of the $5,100,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture. (Passed 311 to 64.)	No.
133	May 20	Quorum call	Present.
134	May 21	Quorum call	Present.
135	May 26	Quorum call	Present.
136	May 26	H.R. 11369: To approve the military construction appropriation bill in the amount of $1,590,000,000. (Passed 340 to 5.)	Yes.
137	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
138	May 27	H. Res. 724: To adopt the rule for consideration of H.R. 5130, a bill to increase the insurance on deposits in banks and savings and loan associations. (Passed 218 to 115.)	No.
139	May 27	H.R. 5130: To recommit to the Committee on Banking and Currency the bill to increase from $10,000 to $20,000 the insurance coverage on banks and savings and loan associations. (Passed 197 to 142.)	Yes.
140	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
141	June 3	H.R. 10503: To pass the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1964 authorizing appropriations for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for construction of certain highways. (Passed 294 to 0).	Yes.
142	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
143	June 3	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 10 to 289.)	Absent.[4]
144	June 3	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
145	June 3	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 16 to 271.)	Absent.[4]
146	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
147	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
148	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
149	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
150	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
151	June 10	Quorum call	Present.
152	June 10	H.R. 11380: To recommit to committee the foreign aid authorization in order to reduce the amount for the Development Loan Fund by $172,200,000 and the contingency fund by $50,000,000. (Defeated 193 to 211.).	Yes.
153	June 10	H.R. 11380: On final passage of the bill authorizing new appropriations in the amount of $2,040,000,000 for foreign aid. (Passed 230 to 175.)	Yes.
154	June 11	Quorum call	Present.
155	June 11	H.R. 11049: To approve the bill increasing salaries of Federal employees, administrative and judicial officers, and Members of Congress. (Passed 243 to 157.)	No.
156	June 16	Quorum call	Present.
157	June 16	H.R. 11579: To approve the public works appropriation bill in the amount of $4,300,000,000. (Passed 360 to 11.)	Absent.[2]
158	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
159	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
160	June 17	H.R. 11376: To recommit to committee the bill extending certain excise taxes for 1 year in order to reduce from 10 percent to 5 percent for 1 year and then to eliminate the retailer's excise tax on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags. (Defeated 185 to 207.)	Yes.
161	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
162	June 18	H.R. 11375: To increase the public debt to $324,000,000,000 until June 30, 1965. (Passed 203 to 182.)	No.
163	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
164	June 23	Quorum call	Present.
165	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
166	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
167	June 25	Quorum call	Present.
168	June 25	H.R. 3381: To amend the Mass Transportation Act relative to its provisions concerning labor-management. (Passed 233 to 171.)	No.
169	June 25	H.R. 3391: To recommit to committee the Mass Transportation Act in order to defer action pending the evaluation of certain engineering studies. (Defeated 190 to 215.)	Yes.
170	June 25	H.R. 3381: In final passage of the Mass Transportation Act with an initial authorization of $375,000,000. (Passed 212 to 189.)	No.
171	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
172	June 30	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting record of Representative GERALD R. FORD, 5th District of Michigan—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
173	June 30	H. Res. 793: To adopt the rule waiving all points of order against H.R. 11812, the foreign aid appropriation bill, and providing 6 hours of debate on the legislation. (Passed 222 to 162.)	No.
174	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
175	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
176	July 1	H.R. 11812: To recommit to committee the foreign operations appropriations bill in order to reduce the funds for economic assistance by $247,800,000. (Defeated 198 to 208.)	Yes.
177	July 1	H.R. 11812: On final passage of the foreign operations appropriations bill in the amount of $3,700,000,000. (Passed 231 to 174.)	Yes.
178	July 2	Quorum call	Present.
179	July 2	H. Res. 789: To approve H.R. 7152, the civil rights bill as passed by the Senate. (Passed 289 to 126.)	Yes.
180	July 2	Quorum call	Present.
181	July 2	H. Res. 795: To approve the appointment of a special committee of the House to investigate campaign expenditures of candidates for election to the House. (Passed 264 to 92.)	Yes.
182	July 2	S. 2: To approve the conference report on the bill to establish water resources research centers and to promote water research. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
183	July 21	Quorum call	Present.
184	July 21	H.R. 319: To protect postal patrons from morally offensive mail matter. (Passed 325 to 19.)	Yes.
185	July 21	H.R. 11611: To establish a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. (Passed 260 to 76.)	Yes.
186	July 22	Quorum call	Present.
187	July 22	H. Res. 738: To adopt rule providing for 4 hours of debate on H.R. 3846, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. (Passed 338 to 8.)	Yes.
188	July 23	Quorum call	Present.
189	July 28	Quorum call	Present.
190	July 28	H.R. 3873 (S. 978): To permit certain owners of fishing boats to receive medical care and hospitalization without charge at hospitals of the Public Health Service. (Passed 202 to 170.)	No.
191	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
192	July 29	H.Res. 802: To adopt closed rule with 5 hours of debate on Social Security Amendments of 1964. (Passed 350 to 29.)	Yes.
193	July 29	H.R. 11865: To increase benefits under the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, improve actuarial status of trust funds, and to extend social security coverage. (Passed 388 to 8.)	Yes.
194	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
195	July 30	H. Res. 803: To agree to a conference with the Senate on H.R. 11049, the Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 246 to 131.)	No.
196	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
197	July 30	H.R. 9070 (S. 4): To establish a national wilderness preservation system. (Passed 374 to 1)	Yes.
198	Aug. 3	H.R. 1096: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin. (Defeated 164 to 154; a ⅔ majority required.)	No.
199	Aug. 3	H.R. 3672: To provide for construction, operation, and maintenance of the Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa participating reclamation projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act. (Passed 250 to 67.)	Yes.
200	Aug. 4	H.R. 10939: To adopt conference report on appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1965. (Passed 359 to 0.)	Yes.
201	Aug. 4	H.R. 10939: To adopt the Senate amendment to the defense bill providing 35 percent of funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval vessels available for work in privately owned shipyards. (Passed 186 to 178.)	Yes.
202	Aug. 4	Quorum call	Present.
203	Aug. 4	Quorum call	Present.
204	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
205	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
206	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
207	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
208	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
209	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
210	Aug. 7	H.J. Res. 1145: To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. (Passed 416 to 0.)	Yes.
211	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
212	Aug. 7	H.R. 11377: To strike the enacting clause from the so-called antipoverty bill. (Defeated 197 to 225.)	Yes.
213	Aug. 7	H.R. 11377 (S. 2642): On motion to substitute the text of S. 2642 which modified in a number of respects H.R. 11377, the so-called antipoverty bill. (Passed 228 to 190.)	No.
214	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
215	Aug. 8	H.R. 11377: On motion to recommit to committee in order to substitute H.R. 11050, the Human Resources Development Act of 1964. (Defeated 117 to 195.)	Yes.
216	Aug. 8	H.R. 11377 (S. 2642): On final passage of the antipoverty bill. (Passed 226 to 185.)	No.
217	Aug. 11	H.R. 1927: To revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children. (Passed 388 to 0.)	Yes.
218	Aug. 11	H. R. 5990: To amend the District of Columbia Charitable Solicitation Act to require the Commissioners to make certain findings before issuing a solicitation permit. (Passed 301 to 81.)	Yes.
219	Aug. 12	H. Res. 836: To grant a rule for consideration of S. 1451, conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to render judgment upon certain claims arising under the Trading With the Enemy Act. (Passed 374 to 3.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 12	S. 1627: To enable the United States to contribute its share of expenses of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. (Passed 268 to 89.)	No.
221	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
222	Aug. 13	H.R. 11296: On a motion to recommit to committee the independent offices appropriation bill in order to reduce by $250,000,000 the funds provided for research and development by NASA. (Defeated 114 to 270.)	No.
223	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
224	Aug. 13	H.R. 12175: On a motion to recommit the housing bill to committee in order to add a provision permitting FHA to continue to insure loans beyond Oct. 1, 1965. (Defeated 184 to 194.)	Yes.
225	Aug. 13	H.R. 12175: To extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. (Passed 308 to 68.)	Yes.
226	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
227	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
228	Aug. 14	S. 1006: To authorize an increase in subsidies for the construction of fishing vessels and an annual appropriation of $10,000,000 for 5 years for the subsidies. (Passed 198–124.)	No.
229	Aug. 14	H. Res. 663: To provide an additional $10,000 for expenses of the Committee on Education and Labor. (Defeated 115 to 156.)	No.
230	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
231	Aug. 17	H. Con. Res. 343: To express the sense of Congress that the President continue U.S. efforts toward securing full payment of U.N. assessments by all United Nations members and to apply the penalties if assessments are not paid. (Passed 351 to 0.)	Yes.
232	Aug. 17	H.R. 6342 (S. 524): To provide for the registration of contractors of migrant agricultural workers. (Passed 343 to 7.)	Yes.
233	Aug. 17	H.R. 9000: To amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to provide more Federal control relative to safety measures in coal mines. (Defeated 202 to 151; ⅔ majority required to suspend rules.)	No.
234	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
235	Aug. 18	Quorum call	Present.
236	Aug. 18	H.R. 1839: To adopt the conference report on the bill altered by the Senate to provide for the imposition of quotas on beef, veal, and mutton. (Passed 232 to 149.)	No.
237	Aug. 18	H.R. 8864: To adopt the conference report on the bill to carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962. (Defeated 183 to 194.)	No.
238	Aug. 18	H.R. 8000: To adopt the conference report on the bill imposing a tax on acquisitions of certain foreign securities. (Passed 221 to 147.)	No.
239	Aug. 18	S. 1007: To adopt the conference report on a bill guaranteeing electric consumers in Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region and to guarantee electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority. (Passed 230 to 134.)	No.
240	Aug. 19	S. 3049: To adopt the conference report on a bill to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. (Passed 310 to 70.)	No.
241	Aug. 19	H. Res. 845: To adopt rule for consideration of H.R. 11926, the bill to remove from the jurisdiction of Federal courts cases involving apportionment of State legislatures. (Passed 242 to 148.)	Yes.
242	Aug. 19	H.R. 11926: To deny to the Federal courts jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures. (Passed 218 to 175.)	Yes.
243	Aug. 20	Quorum call	Present.
244	Aug. 20	Quorum call	Present.
245	Aug. 20	H.R. 9586: To provide for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the arts in the United States. (Passed 213 to 135.)	Yes.
246	Sept. 1	Quorum call	Absent.[a]
247	Sept. 1	S. 2701: To suspend rules and pass a bill to provide for a study to determine a site for construction of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. (Passed 320 to 23.)	Absent.[a]
248	Sept. 1	H.R. 4457: To pass the bill designed to prevent or minimize injury to fish and wildlife from the use of insecticides and pesticides. (Passed 236 to 110.)	Absent.[a]
249	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
250	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

Voting record Representative GERALD R. FORD, 5th District of Michigan—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
251	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
252	Sept. 3	H.R. 12298: To recommit to committee the bill amending the Food-for-Peace Act in order to tighten the definition of friendly governments which may receive surplus agricultural products. (Passed 183 to 175.)	Yes.
253	Sept. 3	H.R. 12298: On final passage of the bill to extend and amend the Food-for-Peace Act. (Passed 349 to 6.)	Yes.
254	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
255	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
256	Sept. 3	S. 2220: To recommit to committee the bill to encourage physicians and dentists who have received student loans under certain governmental programs to practice in areas having a shortage of physicians or dentist. (Defeated 140 to 160.)	No.
257	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
258	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
259	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
260	Sept. 22	H.R. 12633: On final passage of the supplemental appropriation bill of 1965 in the amount of $998,600,000, including $750,000,000 for the anti-poverty program and $77,600,000 for mass transportation. (Passed 208 to 103.)	No.
261	Sept. 23	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
262	Sept. 23	H.R. 1096: To adopt the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin. (Passed 180 to 118.)	Absent.[4]
263	Sept. 30	Quorum call	Absent.[2]
264	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
265	Oct. 1	H.R. 892: On adoptionof the rule making in order the consideration of H.J. Res. 1183, making continuing appropriation for fiscal 1965. (Defeated 159 to 193.)	No.
266	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
267	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
268	Oct. 1	S. 3060: To recommit to the conference committee the bill to amend the National Defense Education Act in order to delete funds for institutes and equipment for teaching of history, civics, geography, and English literature. (Defeated 107 to 236.)	Yes.
269	Oct. 1	S. 3060: On final passage of the conference report on the bill to extend and amend the National Defense Education Act. (Passed 320 to 20.)	Yes.
270	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Present.
271	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
272	Oct. 3	H.R. 12633: To agree to the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriations bill providing about $5,000,000 for the schools of the District of Columbia as being in an impacted area. (Passed 211 to 78.)	No.

[1] Speaking engagement.
[2] If present, would have voted "yes."
[3] In Michigan.
[4] If present, would have voted "no."

The Honorable Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Alabama, Congressman ALBERT RAINS, is completing a tenure in the Congress which can fill him with profound satisfaction and many of us in the public service with pardonable envy. Within the 20 years of his service in the House, ALBERT RAINS literally helped change the face of the Nation, upgraded our American way of living and in so doing, strengthened our democracy. Millions of American children have grown up in comfortable homes in decent surroundings because of ALBERT RAINS. The home construction industry continues to flourish and its leaders and its publications have vied with each other in praising our colleague for his vision and idealism, coupled with a shrewd appreciation of the builders' problems and abilities.

ALBERT RAINS earned the respect of the 10 Congresses in which he served. He won the universal acclaim of homebuilders and real estate practitioners and should have the gratitude of the millions of Americans who actually owe him their homes, because his legislation made it possible for them to finance their housing.

The common tendency of many to associate a man who had had brilliant success in one endeavor with that effort alone operates to the disadvantage of our colleague, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS]. RAINS and housing are something of a synonym around the country. But the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS] made his mark as a lawyer before coming to the Congress and his legal background contributed to his talents as a parliamentarian and a most efficient investigator and committee chairman. His deep knowledge of what improves a State's economy engaged his active interest in development of natural resources, highways, and waterways and his wide interests made him a tower of strength within our Alabama delegation. An old friend, he also was a good adviser and consultant for me. I will miss his keen analysis of the most complex issues and problems.

When he came to the House from Gadsden, Ala., in 1944, he was assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee. He immediately immersed himself in the very complex and then, not so glamorous problems of housing. Strange as it may seem now, this required extracurricular study and even courage. At the time, Federal participation in provision of housing for other than the very lowest income groups was a subject of hot controversy. Within a few years, the congressional leadership recognized ALBERT RAINS as a committee member who did his homework and he acquired the tag of "Mr. Housing."

There was a quick recognition that ALBERT RAINS in his views and legislation looked beyond bricks and mortar and was motivated alone by what he believed was the best interests of the American people and the country. Every housing bill passed by the Congress since the landmark housing legislation of 1949 bears the unmistakable stamp of ALBERT RAINS' knowledge, enterprise and dedication to an ideal.

In the 1950's there was a rush by some of the unscruplous and the fast-buck crowd to cash in on the postwar housing shortage and the housing needs of war veterans, with shoddy construction their mark. Without hesitation, ALBERT RAINS headed the subcommittee of investigation. With complete objectivity and fairness, he put the facts on the record and his suggestions for safeguarding the home buyers' dollars, not only exposes poor building methods but resulted in nationwide standards which have benefited every American who buys a home.

Whenever legislation came before the Congress concerning housing, ALBERT RAINS invariably took a position which was fair to all segments of the industry, but always in the best interests of our people. He had the rare ability to take the most explosive and controversial issues in their proper perspective. Influential and trusted for his counsel by his colleagues, he is one of the main reasons our country has achieved the splendid record it has made since the close of the last World War in meeting what was a staggering problem in human engineering, consisting of provision of adequate housing for an expanding population.

His retirement from the Congres is regrettable because it will leave a gap in the expertise on housing problems in which he was a leader. We wish him well and he leaves with a unanimous "well done," by those who will be inspired by his record of splendid service, which always will be marked in congressional annals.

The Honorable Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart and also

a grateful heart that I rise today. A heavy heart because one of my closest friends, my colleague from Chicago, the Honorable ROLAND V. LIBONATI, is leaving the U.S. Congress. A grateful heart because it has been my privilege to know him, not only as a colleague but as a warm personal friend.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate my remarks with the previous speakers. "LIBBY" is a charitable man. He has done much for not only the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars with his ability here in Congress but also the widows and orphans of veterans. He is a man very easy to get along with and has a pleasant word for everyone. He is a sentimental man with a heart as big as himself. No job is too big for "LIBBY" and he offers his help without reservation.

It will be my earnest prayer, Mr. Speaker, that the Good Lord will spare "LIBBY" and his family with blessings and happiness for years to come. It is also my earnest wish that the people whom "LIBBY" represented in Chicago would send him back for I will say that his leaving the Congress is a great loss to the Nation, the State of Illinois, and the district he represents.

Hon. Roland Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. KENNETH J. GRAY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure a few minutes ago, when we passed the conference report on the veterans' bill, to make some remarks about our dear friend, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIBONATI]. I shall not be repetitious now, but I would not want this occasion to pass without thanking my good friend, the gentleman from Illinois, MEL PRICE, and all of our colleagues who have extended felicitations and best wishes to our friend, LIBBY, who is going back to Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, there will be a void in this House because we could always find LIBBY here every day that this House was in session. He was always on the job. Many times presiding.

Mr. Speaker, I think the words of the late President John F. Kennedy would best fit our friend, the gentlemen from Illinois [Mr. LIBONATI], and I would like to repeat them if I may.

With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must be truly our own.

I think those words speak far more eloquently than any words I might utter, because I think they fit ROLAND LIBONATI. We have known of his great work in the Illinois General Assembly before coming here and for 8 years in the Congress, and we know that LIBBY has dedicated his life to others. As was stated by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER], there are few veterans in the United States, particularly those who have spent months and even years in the veterans' hospitals, who do not know of the great work that ROLAND LIBONATI has done for the veterans, their widows and orphans.

I say to LIBBY, we shall miss you. We wish you Godspeed, and we hope to see your smiling face back again on every occasion.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend very much for yielding to me at this time.

Hon. Lester Johnson, of Wisconsin

SPEECH
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I am glad to yield to my colleague from Wisconsin.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, we are all grateful that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] has taken the lead today in enabling us to say farewell for the time being to our great and beloved colleague, the representative for so many years of the ninth district of Wisconsin, LESTER JOHNSON.

LESTER JOHNSON is a true son of the middle border who has fought his great legislative battles on that frontier where the problems of agriculture and the problems of conservation meet.

LESTER understands and loves fertile soil, pure water, the things that grow from the soil and the wild things that live on the land and in the waters.

Whether it was in pursuance of his duty at the head of our congressional subcommittee on the dairy industry, or whether it was in taking the lead to provide more wetlands to extend the watershed conservation program, or most recently, the dramatic setting up of that great memorial, the Ice Age National Scientific Preserve in Wisconsin, LESTER JOHNSON has truly shown the connection between agriculture and conservation of our natural resources.

The historians some day will turn to the career of LESTER JOHNSON in studying both these great movements.

I join with our colleagues today in wishing all the best to our wonderful friend, that fine legislator, LESTER JOHNSON, and to his charming wife Marjorie. We wish them both long and happy years.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I thank my colleague.

The 28th Annual Pulaski Day Parade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, 1964, the 28th annual Pulaski Day parade was held in New York City. It was in honor of the memory of Polish Count Casimir Pulaski, and this year's event marked the 185th anniversary of his death on October 11, 1779.

It was my honor to be an invited guest at this parade, and to attend and see more than 150,000 Polish-Americans from the Metropolitan New York area parade up Fifth Avenue. It was my particular honor to have elected unanimously as grand marshal by the 200 parade committee delegates at Polish Hall in Manhattan, the Right Reverend Monsignor Gervase Kubec, pastor of St. Hedwig's Church in Floral Park, which is located in the Fourth Congressional District. It was one more signal honor for what I call the "Fabulous Fourth" Congressional District; and I looked with pride as the car bearing Monsignor Kubec passed, and also in it was my friend, the Right Reverend Monsignor Edward Glamkowski of St. Ladislaus Roman Catholic Church in Hempstead.

Monsignor Kubec, who is 85 years old, and who has been a priest for more than 60 years, is the dean of the Polish-American clergy in Manhattan. In his honor, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the cover page of the Pulaski Day parade.

THE 1964 ANNUAL PULASKI DAY PARADE

(Frances J. Wazeter, president; grand marshal, The Right Reverend Monsignor Gervase Kubec)

Twenty-five years ago Nazi dive bombers screamed through the skies of Poland and Russian tanks plowed through quiet farms and villages in the infamous Rape of Poland. World War II began.

Twenty years ago—exactly to this day—October 4, 1944, the Warsaw uprising was finally crushed by Nazi tanks and bombers with more than 500,000 Poles killed during the 63-day revolt. The Soviet doublecross was complete.

One hundred and eighty-five years ago, a Polish count, only 31 years old, gave his life for America, the first of many Poles in American uniform to die for freedom and liberty.

Today, the General Pulaski Memorial Committee commemorates these occasions in the 28th annual Pulaski parade on Fifth Avenue. More than 150,000 persons march today to point to the heroism of the Poles, here and in their homeland.

Count Casimir Pulaski died on October 11, 1779, after suffering for 3 days from gangrene and wounds inflicted in the Battle of Savannah. He was wounded while attempting to rescue trapped French soldiers.

Count Pulaski came to America on July 23, 1777, from Paris, to volunteer his services. He was not a soldier of fortune and gave $50,000 of his own money to form the first

American Cavalry, known then as the Pulaski Legion. He was a hero at the Battle of Brandywine, stunning British troops in their rout of General Washington, near Philadelphia.

His heroism at the Battle of Savannah is commemorated by a monument in Monterey Square. Another stands in the Nation's Capital.

His heroism, his deeds, his selfless devotion that all people be free is symbolic of the dedication Americans of Polish descent have in their hearts for a free Poland. This is one of the reasons that the grand marshal of today's parade is the Right Reverend Monsignor Gervase Kubec, a priest who has dedicated most of his 85 years to helping the Polish people, here in the United States, and in Poland.

Men like Monsignor Kubec remind the world that Poland was the first to fight for freedom 25 years ago. While the great nations of the world sought to appease Hitler and Stalin, it was the Poles who recognized the threat to peace and tried to stop the eventual holocaust. It was the Poles in the frontlines against Hitler and Stalin, using pitchforks against machineguns, horses against tanks, and sabers against cannons. For 28 days the Poles told the world that it was time to mobilize against mankind's most inhuman enemies.

Today's parade reminds the world that Soviet treachery knows no limits. In 1944 the Soviet nation, then a member of the Allies, pledged to aid the Polish underground army in Warsaw with military aid if the Poles would start open warfare with the Nazi occupation forces. The Soviet Army rolled to the Vistula River. The Poles attacked the Nazi forces on August 1. The Soviet Army remained across the river while Polish women and children joined their men in one of the bloodiest masacres of all time. The underground army of 10,000 was nearly wiped out. In the ensuing bombings and shelling of Warsaw the great city fell in ruins. Beneath those ruins lay the bodies of 500,000 civilians, victims of a Russian "promise."

Today's parade reminds Americans that Poland is not a free nation because of the Teheran and Yalta Pacts of appeasement.

Today's parade reminds Americans that Americans of Polish descent remain in the frontlines against communism, against bigotry, against hate, against injustice on every level of life, in the neighborhoods, in the cities, States, and the Nation.

Today's parade reminds Americans that we Americans of Polish descent loyally manifest our love for the United States. We call attention to the fact that Poland is still enslaved by communism but that the spirit of liberty—in which Pulaski died—still lives in the hearts of the Polish people.

Niech Zyje Wolna Poslka.
Long Live A Free Poland.

The Late Honorable Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the late WALTER NORBLAD was one of the most honorable men I have ever known. He was a dedicated public servant who never faltered in his devotion to duty. Throughout his service here in this body he was my personal friend. I respected him very much. During his long period of service he made an enviable record in behalf of the people he represented, and in behalf of the national interest. I extend to his wife and family my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

People—Peace—Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, all must agree with those who say that this Congress has earned the right to be called the "Do Something Congress."

That is principally so because it has done more than any other Congress for people, for peace, and for prosperity.

We started with hope and optimism. Hardly midway through the session we were thrust into the depths of despair by the tragic and untimely death of our beloved President, John F. Kennedy.

An omniscient Providence, however, had caused us to have ready and able to take the reins of Government a great, a kind, a knowledgeable, a competent leader in the person of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

No one has ever become President of these United States, better prepared and with greater capacity to exercise the high and important prerogatives of that exalted office.

Without faltering, he took over and proceeded to implement the programs of his fine predecessor and then continued to move forward with new ones.

People were recognized as human beings with dignity and equality regardless of race, color, creed, or place of origin, by supplementing good morals with good laws and by reenforcement thereof with justice to all.

Peace was promoted by word and by deed, by strength of character and by strength of arms. We are our brother's keeper. His freedom is ours. We cannot let him lose any of his, lest we lose all of ours.

Prosperity is not only a reality, but it is to be sustained and continued and expanded so that all people may live in peace with it.

I have always maintained that although party platforms and campaign pledges are to be run on before elections, they must not run away from after elections. I have always told my constituents that the party or the candidate that does not perform should be turned out of office. Hence, our constituents have a right to know now as we close this 2d session of the 88th Congress how we measure up.

I hope the country and my constituents take as much pride in the results as I do.

Every liberally oriented group has endorsed my voting record as 100 percent correct. In all things I have acted as I believe the overwhelming majority of my constituents would have done if they occupied my high office.

Once again, as from the beginning of my service in Congress in 1947, I have not missed a single important vote. I have not missed a single vote where my absence could have affected the result, and I have been recorded on every rollcall either by voting or by announcing how I would have voted if present.

It would serve no good purpose to set forth a detailed listing of all the bills we passed in the House, or of all those that were amended either in committee or on the floor and not enacted, or of each of the 625 new public laws enacted. The detailed record is available for all who care to pursue it or to study it.

A statement in general terms will, however, be enlightening, provided we bear in mind that none of us claim that the full job has been done. Much more remains to be done. I hope to have the opportunity to participate in the next Congress in doing some of it.

Here is an abbreviated scorecard.

The first worldwide treaty to outlaw atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons was consummated and approved. Disarmament conferences are being continued and will be pressed with renewed vigor.

Unfortunately we have been compelled to spend tremendous sums of money to keep our defenses strong so that no one will dare attack us. At the same time, we strengthened our alliances of peace and friendship. We will continue our faith in the United Nations and are doing all possible to strengthen it as a peacekeeping force.

Second class citizenship at home has been outlawed. The new Civil Rights Act guarantees equality and dignity to all races, creeds, and colors. It has been implemented with new aids for enlightenment as well as enforcement.

The war on poverty is now an integral part of the law of the land. National prosperity, the like of which we have never witnessed, is not for the fortunate many alone, it must be and will be extended to the unfortunate few. The personal economic security we provided is a necessary part of permanent prosperity.

One hundred fourteen different programs of Federal assistance sounds tremendous. It is not enough. There is still much to be done. The additional new jobs we created is fine. But we still have too many unemployed. We will continue to try to help them get work.

Equal pay for equal work for women, extended and increased minimum wages, increased unemployment insurance, and tremendous tax cuts are part of what we did to increase our well-being. We have liberalized our social security laws, but medicare must yet be accomplished. Easing the impact of automation is sought by a new law.

Improved mass transportation and more housing and slum clearance will be accomplished under new enactment.

Increased benefits for the aged and disabled veterans have been enacted, but we still have not enacted a proper provision for reinstatement of veteran insurance.

Conservation, recreation, and prevention of air and water pollution have received legislative attention and appropriations.

Hospital construction, training of nurses, medical education, and juvenile delinquency have not been overlooked.

Court congestion has been relieved and a public defender system set up to guarantee to the impecunious a fair trial.

In international affairs, the Peace Corps has proved itself as a great builder of good will, as well as a tremendous aid to the underdeveloped countries.

We have helped our friends and stood up to our potential enemies and to those who are inimical toward our friendly allies.

In the Middle East, we have refused aid to the belligerents and extended the hand of cooperation, technically, and financially to our friends. Israel has been again assured of our help against those who would destroy her, and Nasser and his allies have been warned to behave. The law permitting the President to withhold aid from unfriendly nations, like the United Arab Republic, has been invoked. The Roosevelt amendment to give the President the discretion to withhold the sale of surplus foodstuffs from Nasser was enacted with my support and that of Congressmen CELLER, FRIEDEL, JOELSON, and GILBERT, despite the attempt of a Republican Congressman to embarrass President Johnson with an amendment that would have tied his hands.

This has been a good, hard-working Congress. It has made an excellent record because it has responded to the needs of a mighty forward-looking, and ever-growing Nation, and a fast moving world.

But little of this would have happened, much of it would have been delayed or prevented if not for excellent leadership of the highest, the most patriotic, the most selfless leadership.

Thank the Lord, we had that.

We had it in our late beloved John F. Kennedy.

We have it in Lyndon B. Johnson.

We have it in this House in Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK and in our majority leader, CARL ALBERT.

May the Lord bless them and keep them safe and healthy in mind and in body so that they may continue to lead us on the paths of peace and prosperity which all good people can travel.

Getting the Need and Know Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on June 4 and 5 of this year a Conference on New Technology was held at the Lewis Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of Cleveland, Ohio.

This conference was so well received that plans have currently been made for a similar conference at the Lewis Research Center on October 29 and 30.

Following is an article which appeared in the magazine, "Steel," on June 15, 1964:

GETTING THE NEED AND KNOW TOGETHER

(NOTE.—A NASA experiment in Cleveland brought together industrial executives and NASA researchers. Purpose: Show industry how to use new processes, materials, and knowledge developed for the space age.)

Nearly 350 industry executives, mostly presidents and top engineering managers, spent 2 days (June 4 and 5) at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Lewis Research Center, Cleveland, to find out how their companies could use new technical knowledge generated by the Nation's space efforts.

The briefing, called an "experimental effort to bring together knowledge and need" by Dr. Walter T. Olson, Lewis assistant director, was highly successful, judging from the 15 attendants Steel queried in the corridors between sessions. Said one: "I've picked up several ideas that I think we'll be able to use in solving some plaguing problems." Said another: "We're already using a number of the processes discussed and we're looking at some of the new ideas in materials and instrumentation."

In a fast moving, fact packed, audiovisual presentation, 21 Lewis researchers, plus James Webb, NASA administrator, exposed the executives to space age methods in forming, machining, joining, materials, electric power generation, fluid systems, propulsion, instrumentation, and controls. Here's a quick rundown (Steel will cover some of the subjects, such as electron beam welding, in depth, in later issues):

FORMING TECHNIQUES

High energy rate forming methods were emphasized. Specific items:

Electrohydraulic forming techniques offer considerable potential outside the aerospace industry, said Austin Reader, chief, fabrication branch, Lewis. One reason: "The initiation wire can be shaped to direct the energy where you want it," he reported. (In this method, electrical energy from a capacitor bank is released into an initiation wire held between two electrodes in a liquid. The wire explodes and sets up a shock wave which acts against the workpiece to form it. Only one die is required.)

Among jobs reported being done electrohydraulically: (1) Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio., is forming and bonding refractory metal liners inside tubes. (2) Martin Co., has formed a dome of three-fourths-inch-thick aluminum alloy in three hits with the method. (3) Battelle has spirally wound the initiation wire around a plastic bag containing metal powders to compact the powder. (4) Rocketdyne Division of North American Aviation, Inc., has used the electrospark method to make turbine exhaust collectors from Rene 41. Reason: To cut down springback.

A magnetic hammer has been used to remove distortions in a workpiece caused by welding, the Lewis researchers reported.

At Lewis, a modified roll-forming technique is being used to form tungsten tubing (one-half inch diameter with 0.035 inch wall thickness). Heated tungsten is fed with a heated mandrel into the first set of rolls. Flame jets between each set of rolls keep the material temperature high enough to form the tubing. After forming, it is welded in an argon atmosphere and bent to form a coil.

Lewis researchers have also used a modified conventional press technique to form refractory metal parts. Heat jets are placed in the center of the lower die to give the metal sufficient ductility.

By electroforming, Lewis made a 16-foot-long nozzle that couldn't be machined to the required tolerance in one piece, George Tulisiak, head, welding section, Lewis, reported. He also reported that experimental work is underway on ultrasonic assistance in electroforming.

Cryogenic stretch forming has much potential applicability in the civilian economy, the Lewis researchers asserted.

A Tribute to Chairman Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the greatness of any human institution depends in large part on the men who lead its affairs. The ability, the dedication, and the spirit of such individuals affect the character of the institution, its performance, and its public standing.

In the long history of the U.S. House of Representatives, there have been many men whose names are indelibly inscribed in the memory of every American citizen. The character of these men, and their accomplishments, have sustained this institution in which free men, conscious of their responsibilities to their respective electorates, have come year after year to resolve their differences and to enact laws for the benefit of our entire Nation.

Chairman CARL VINSON whom we are honoring today, is one of those men. He has served in this House for half a century—in itself a feat unequaled by any other Representative. But more importantly, his record of public service during those 50 years has earned him a position of unique prestige in the history of our Nation.

I have known "Uncle" VINSON for 16 of those 50 years. When I first came here, he already had the reputation of a giant among legislators. His great parliamentary skill, his intimate knowledge of the workings of this House, and his many years of experience in dealing with national as well as international issues, made him an outstanding leader. He fulfilled the responsibilities of that position with unfailing courtesy and patience, and with singular dedication to the public good. He has been untiring in championing the interests of this great Nation and of his beloved State of Georgia.

Mr. Speaker, it has been an honor and an experience I shall never forget, to have served in this House with Chairman VINSON. I know that we shall all miss him deeply. And I also know that, as he leaves these Halls that he has loved so dearly, he takes with him the gratitude of a Nation that he has served with great disinction, and the affectionate respect of all his colleagues. We wish him the Lord's most bountiful blessings in his retirement.

Dean Pound—Witness to the Light

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing of the great Dean Roscoe Pound, dean emeritus of Harvard Law School, at the age of 93, saddened a multitude of people in this Nation and throughout the world.

Dean Pound was one of the greatest legal authorities who ever lived, a man endowed with extraordinary talents and interests. Possessed of a lofty public spirit and a determined will to shape the "rule of law" and its administration better to serve mankind, it would be virtually impossible in these remarks to recite the achievements of this high-minded genius, who did so much to teach, streamline, and modernize the law, and to infuse into our organic, legal institutions those functional features vitally needed to make it a more human, effective instrument for dispensing justice.

Roscoe Pound was something more than an outstanding teacher, leader, and great legal authority. He was a man of many parts, many extraordinary attainments, and many accomplishments covering a wide spectrum of intellectual, political, economic, social, and spiritual ideas and ideals.

Like all great men, he was extremely humble and modest, without being obsequious or pretentious. Strong, rugged, and at times explosive in his personal makeup, yet he was gentle and compassionate by nature. His long, useful life of constant penetrating study and hard work never overshadowed or dimmed the warm qualities of heart and mind that made him stand out among men as a most unusual human being moved by nobility of spirit.

Dean Pound was profoundly interested in his students and the people. Although he was a scholar of first magnitude, he never lived in an ivory tower, but moved continually in the world of reality and the world of men and women.

There were few men, if any, who ever mastered the wide range of intellectual pursuits precisely the way that Dean Pound achieved his scholarly tasks. While legal studies were his forte, he ranged through a wide gamut of intellectual interests. There was hardly a single major segment of learning that was not fiercely attacked and penetrated by his all-encompassing mind.

His intellectual curiosity knew no bounds. On many occasions, I was fairly astounded by the wide reach and richness of his knowledge.

I would hardly know how to describe his agile, richly stocked mind. He was sharp as a razor, a close, keen observer of everything around him, restless, tumultuous, photographic—able to grasp complex facts, principles, situations, and conditions with lightning speed.

His coordination and his facility to integrate what he learned was fabulous. He told me once he had mastered five languages in 5 weeks, and I believed him, because he not only wrote them but spoke them, and could read them at sight. It was not merely incidental that they assisted him in his vast studies of comparative law, a subject in which he was one of the great authorities in the world.

His love of simple things and his own innate simplicity of manner and outlook were deep personality and character traits which were always with him.

He detested the pretense, sham, affectation, and egocentric characteristics that sometimes are the hallmark of brilliant people. He was more concerned with the substance than the shadow, and had no time for useless formalities or rigid procedures which he considered as petty, narrow, and unworthy of civilized man.

He was a man of broad approach and boundless vision, and he has left the great university which he so magnificently and tirelessly served and, indeed the world, a great, inerasable legacy.

It fairly challenges belief that a man of great mental powers, such ceaseless quest for universal learning, for action, and accomplishment could, at the same time, be graced by such gentility of demeanor, tolerant understanding, and the warm sympathy for human beings which Dean Pound always seemed to feel but never allowed ostentation to dilute.

Not only this Nation, but the civilized world, wherever respect for law and order and profound learning dwells, is immeasurably indebted to this gifted philosopher, scholar, and dynamic, teeming figure of the world of letters and the intellect that Dean Pound so tremendously honored.

Not only the law as a social determiner, but lawyers themselves, owe him much. The field of jurisprudence and scholarship in general owe him a debt that could never be repaid in coinage of the realm. Only in the hearts of men and women can fitting recompense be found to acknowledge such a debt.

Down through the unbroken channels of history, as long as civilization lasts, the works and contributions of Roscoe Pound will move with majesty, luster, admiration, and gratitude. For years to come, his memory and contributions will remain as a guide and inspiration for succeeding generations, who will realize as we do in this generation the true sweep of his tireless genius.

Dean Pound blazed new trails in the law that leave an indelible imprint upon its history. He was the precursor, as well as the powerful projector, of legal functionalism, the view that the law is a living instrument of the times that must be adapted to the changing, and sometimes revolutionary, character and circumstances of current events.

He was a preeminent influence in shaping a new school of law and a fresh approach in teaching and interpreting the law, and his contributions profoundly affected American and international jurisprudence and are bound to be felt for many generations to come.

His extensive written works not only constitute a valuable index of knowledge in the legal field, but many of them lay down important milestones and guideposts that have immeasurably improved and advanced our tools and techniques for making the law more responsive to the needs of the Nation and world in which we live and to bring the ideals of abstract justice closer to realization.

He was a kindly, generous-hearted man, notwithstanding the incredible pressures he generated by the activation of his exceptional physical and mental energies. He was a restless spirit whose unrelenting quest for knowledge led him to many new paths.

The question of how such a busy man as Dean Pound could at once write so many profound legal tracts and yet find the time to roam through such vast fields of human knowledge must remain unanswered. In this sense, he must remain somewhat of an enigma.

Even his authoritative works on botany, his mastery of so many languages, his keen interest and work in so many useful public projects, and his sense of participation in fraternal activities do not afford a complete explanation of the reasons for Dean Pound's extraordinary powers, talents, and intellectual life, nor do they disclose the source of his boundless energy and passion for ceaseless inquiry.

Dean Erwin N. Griswold, the able, learned, very distinguished, present dean of the Harvard Law School, has written a splendid article on his illustrious predecessor, Dean Pound, which has appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe. After reading it, it seems to me that anything that I might say, or may have said, of the life and work of Dean Pound would be like carrying coals to Newcastle.

In his article Dean Griswold has impressively summarized Dean Pound's contributions, and at the same time he has closely analyzed and described the character, extent, and importance of his work so much better, certainly more authoritatively, than anyone else could do.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include Dean Griswold's article as part of my remarks, and also an admirably written article on Dean Pound that recently appeared in the celebrated Boston Globe.

I am personally deeply touched by Dean Pound's passing. He was a valued friend, ready with wise counsel and help, and a patriot of the first order. We certainly shall never look upon his like again. He will live in our hearts and he will live in the history of free people and free institutions.

To his bereaved family, I tender my most sincere, heartfelt sympathy for the truly irreparable loss that they have suffered and that so many in the country and the world so abundantly share.

May Dean Pound find rest and peace in his heavenly reward.

The above-mentioned articles follow:

[From the Boston Globe, July 12, 1964]

POUND GREAT TEACHER, SCHOLAR, AND THINKER—DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY HIS MONUMENT

(By Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Law School of Harvard University)

Roscoe Pound came to teach at the Harvard Law School in 1910, and he made his home in this community for most of the ensuing 54 years.

He had been here as a student for 1 year in 1889–90—nearly 75 years ago, and that is all the formal legal education he ever had. He never received an earned law degree, though he did receive honorary degrees from many institutions.

Pound was a man of remarkable qualities. He had an encyclopedic mind. He received a Ph. D. degree in botany, and conducted the basic botanical survey of the State of Nebraska before he devoted himself seriously to law.

He was perhaps more proud of the fact that a lichen was named after him than he was of his legal honors.

But by the time he was 30 he had begun to work primarily in the field of law, and he had more than 60 years of active production as a legal scholar.

Such a man, of course, soon became a legend. There was the case where he lost the manuscript of a book.

So he sat down and dictated it again from beginning to end, including all the many footnotes, with the volumes and page numbers of the references, all from his prodigious memory.

Despite his massive learning, Pound was a good companion. He was interested in baseball and other sports. His sister was the women's champion in tennis in the State of Nebraska, and he followed this with great interest.

Pound was dean of the Harvard Law School from 1916 to 1936, a period of more than 20 years. During this time the school grew in size and in stature, the latter in considerable part because of his own contributions to scholarship and to legal literature.

He traveled extensively, and gave learned lectures in other lands, and did much to develop the international reputation of the Harvard Law School, as well as to make himself, in a very real sense, a citizen of the whole learned world.

But there are many men with many of these qualities. What did Pound do that made him the unique sort of person he was?

This can be answered both in terms of the quantity and quality of his work.

A complete bibliography of his writings has been prepared which lists nearly a thousand titles. More than 200 of these are books and major articles.

But quantity of production is not enough to make a truly great reputation. The quality must be there, too, and this was clearly to be found in Pound's work.

CRITICAL OF THE BAR

The first piece of his work to attract national attention was an address he gave before the American Bar Association in 1906, which was entitled "The Causes of the Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice."

Some of the more solemn of the bar association members did not like this, and there was at first some doubt but that the association would publish Pound's address.

But wiser counsel prevailed, and many subsequent developments in American legal procedure can be traced back to the criticisms and suggestions made in Pound's address.

Pound wrote many other books and articles, including "The Spirit of the Common Law," and "Interpretations of Legal History."

Out of these and other writings there developed what has been called sociological jurisprudence.

Perhaps the shortest way to state why Pound was a great figure, and what his place is in American legal thinking, is that he was the founder of sociological jurisprudence.

A little background is necessary to illustrate what this means.

SCIENCE OF LAW

Jurisprudence is the science of law. It is the study of the ways of thinking about law, what law is, what is the function of law, and its place in man's aggregate collection of wisdom and thought. During much of the 19th century, analytical jurisprudence was dominant, and largely controlled the thinking of men of law.

In one form of analytical jurisprudence, derived largely from English thinkers like John Austin, law is the command of a sovereign. It has no particular connection with morals, or even with justice. It is simply the word of the lawgiver, and must be complied with no matter what.

This may have been congenial to English thought, which had known an omnipotent king, and was developing an omnipotent parliament. But it did not fit the American scene very well.

In this country, analytical jurisprudence developed more in terms of analysis of premises and logicalness of reasoning from the premises. Too often, though, premises were accepted without careful consideration, and were sometimes developed with greater sweep than was warranted. Moreover analytical jurisprudence did not give sufficient weight to custom, and other elements of the law, which may develop in a practical, and not very logical form.

Another form of jurisprudence which grew up in the latter part of the 19th century was historical jurisprudence. Under this approach, law was thought of like a growing plant which grew and developed because of forces within it, and without much regard to the outside element in which it was placed. Many of the historical jurists felt that to understand law it must be traced back to its earliest sources. There one might find the genes and chromosomes which would explain how the law had developed as it had, and how it would continue to develop in the future. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in his famous lectures on "The Common Law" took an essentially historical approach—though he largely abandoned it later; and Dean Ames of the Harvard Law School faculty was a leading American historical jurist from the 1880's until 1910.

Both of these approaches were interesting ways of looking at law, and much was learned by following the paths they indicated. But they did not prove satisfying, particularly in the dynamic new community which was developing in America.

POUND'S THEORY

It was at this point that Roscoe Pound began to develop his sociological jurisprudence, under which law was to be tested not by its logical consistency, not by its historical origins, but, in a word, by how it worked—how it met the needs of a growing society, a society which was becoming industrialized, with a strong egalitarian tradition, and a deep, though imperfectly developed, sense of justice.

Pound preached that law must be tested in operation, that the judge must take into account in making his decision what would be the consequences of that decision, that law must be developed for society as a whole, and not merely for the particular litigants before the court.

He denounced the sporting theory of justice, under which a trial is thought of as a sort of game, with the rival lawyers as competing players, rather than as a dispassionate search for truth.

He said that "Law must be stable yet it cannot stand still." And he said: "Let us think of jurisprudence for a moment as a science of social engineering," as "the ordering of human relations through the action of politically organized society."

Because of Pound and his thought (aided and followed by many others, of course) law has become a human, vital, agency in our society. It is not something handed down from above, or something which we find delivered to us from the past.

It is, instead, a tool to work with, something for which we are responsible, something which we can make work for good of society if we devote ourselves to it and understand and work with it sufficiently.

Much of this might have come without Roscoe Pound. But he was the originator of a great deal of the thought along these lines. He was the eloquent and scholarly spokesman for the sociological approach.

It can even be said that he provided the intellectual climate which brought forth the New Deal. Much of modern social legislation has its intellectual underpinnings in work of Roscoe Pound.

When a man through thought and the written and spoken word has contributed much to the transforming of society, the members of that society are greatly in his debt, though they may never have heard of him, or have little understanding of his influence on what they do. Great men are an inspiration to those who know them, and work with them. And they leave their marks in ways which are influential long after they have left the scene.

Roscoe Pound was a great teacher, a great scholar, an astoundingly productive author, and one of the great influential thinkers of our time.

In a very real sense, he leaves his monument in the development of American society.

[From the Boston Globe, July 2, 1964]

HARVARD LAW'S POUND DIES, 93

Roscoe Pound, 93, dean emeritus of Harvard Law School, eminent legal scholar and considered the grand old man of American law, died Wednesday night in Stillman infirmary at Harvard after a long illness.

Dean Pound had been a patient at Peter Bent Brigham Hospital until recently transferred to Stillman.

Indefatigable to the end, Dean Pound until last year worked 8 a.m. until 5 p.m., 5 days a week, at Harvard. Often he worked in his law school office on Saturday.

He was a master of 10 languages, possessed an enclopedic mind, a sharp wit and an unfailing memory. Once asked how many books he had written, Dean Pound pointed behind his desk and replied, "These two shelves."

In 1906, and at an age when most lawyers are struggling to establish themselves, he startled the legal world with an address before the American Bar Association in St. Paul, Minn.

The iconoclastic speech was entitled "The Causes of Popular Dissatisfaction with the Administration of Justice."

Dean Pound denounced an archaic court system, the lavish granting of new trials, the wasting of courts' time with legal sophistry and the idea that justice would eventually triumph despite the full play of opposing lawyers' oratorical tricks.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan said in 1962 that the speech "started a national movement for judicial reform."

The "schoolmaster of the American Bar Association," who incidentally leaves behind the Roscoe Pound-National Association of Claimants Counsel of American Foundation, believed world law to be inevitable.

"People aren't quite ready to accept a world law. Politicians certainly aren't ready to accept it. But the nature of things is making us accept it," he said.

"Nations are afraid of being policed by their bigger neighbors," Dean Pound said less than 2 years ago. "You can't blame them. But they are perfectly willing to do business with their neighbors and that gives us one law. We are approaching very rapidly a law of the world."

The popular Harvard lecturer believed the 1962 Supreme Court decision on prayer in public schools was the correct one.

The Founding Fathers, he said, "relieved the Government of any religious responsibility. Governments which try to run on religious lines generally get into trouble. No government has been able to set up a satisfactory State religion."

Dean Pound was born in Lincoln, Nebr., 3 years after the territory became a State.

His mother taught him to read Latin when he was 4 and his father, a judge, taught him Greek, at the age of 9.

By 1890, he had earned an A.B., masters, and Ph.D., all in botany, at the University of Nebraska, and would have become an eminent botanist had he not turned to the law.

He attended Harvard Law School, and although he never received an L.L.B. through his own studies, he later received honorary doctor of laws degrees from more than 17 universities.

After his stint at Harvard, Dean Pound returned to Nebraska to practice at Lincoln and serve as commissioner of appeals for the Supreme Court of Nebraska.

He joined the law faculty of the University of Nebraska in 1899 and left in 1907 as a full professor. He came to Harvard Law in 1910 after teaching at Northwestern University and the University of Chicago.

He was named Story professor of law in 1913 and dean in 1916. Twenty years later he retired to become Harvard's first roving professor. He ended his teaching at Harvard in 1947.

One of Dean Pound's frequently quoted remarks was "the unconquerable enemy of absolutism is law."

Serving on the Harvard Law faculty under Dean Pound were James M. Landis and Felix Frankfurter. The dean's students included Dean Acheson and David E. Lilienthal.

During prohibition, Dean Pound was a member of the Wickersham Commission, appointed to recommend whether prohibition should be continued.

Though never a teetotaler, the dean voted with the commission majority that prohibition deserved a further trial.

His stamina was legend. It was said that he could run a mile in less than 5 minutes until the age of 50.

For years, Dean Pound didn't wear an overcoat in winter, believing in the body's ability to withstand cold temperatures.

He wore a green eyeshade most of his life to protect his poor sight.

One morning in 1961, William L. Bruce, an assistant dean at Harvard Law School, recalls, Dean Pound came pounding into his Langdell Hall office at 8:15 a.m.

The dean emeritus explained that he had not got home from Denver, until 2 a.m., and had decided to take it easy this morning.

After he retired in 1947 as university professor, which position allowed him to teach any subject he chose anywhere in the university, Dean Pound accepted the Nationalist Chinese Government's invitation to codify its laws.

He quickly learned Chinese and surveyed the entire judicial system in order to modernize it.

He was an athletic man. In his prime he stood 5 feet 10 inches and weighed 200 pounds.

Once, in an early morning vigil, Dean Pound surprised a thief trying to rifle lockers at the law school. The dean threw his man to the floor and sat on him for 2 hours until a janitor arrived at 7 a.m.

At 90, he got a few of his thoughts on jurisprudence into a five-volume work.

One of the more trenchant: "The conception of a criminal trial as a game between lawyers for the amusement of the public belongs to the rural pioneer America of the past and has no place in the metropolitan city of today."

* * * * *

Federal Charters for Mutual Savings Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas, Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN, at the request of the administration, introduced H.R. 12142, on July 30, 1964, which would authorize the establishment of Federal mutual savings banks. I also introduced a companion bill, H.R. 12167, which is identical.

There follows a section-by-section analysis of the bill which should prove helpful to those Members of the House who have asked that such a summary be prepared. I wish to caution those who use it that it is intended as a summary and not a definitive document. Reference to the bill itself is recommended for those who wish to review its provisions in detail. The analysis follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL SAVINGS BANK BILL (H.R. 12142 AND H.R. 12167)

INTRODUCTION

The bill has two titles. Title I may be cited as the "Federal Savings Bank Act" and is divided into nine chapters. Title II redesignates the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation as the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation and contains provisions for the transfer of reserves from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation of those State chartered mutual savings banks changing their insurance coverage to FSIC. Title II also contains technical and conforming amendments to existing law.

Chapter 1. General provisions

Section 11. Definitions and rules of construction: This section sets forth definitions of certain terms used in the bill, as well as rules of construction, primarily as aids to brevity and uniformity of construction and interpretation.

Section 12. Rules and regulations: This section authorizes the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to make rules and regulations (including definitions) for the "administration, enforcement, or effectuation" of the title.

Section 13. Examination: The Board would be required to conduct one or two so-called regular examinations each year of each Federal savings bank. Special examinations are permitted at any time. The Board [illegible] make assessments against the banks "in a manner calculated to yield a total sum approximately equal to the total cost" of these examinations.

The section also provides the Board with the power to render advice and comment, as it deems appropriate, on the affairs of a Federal savings bank.

Section 14. Reports: This section is the Board's authority to require periodic and other reports.

Section 15. Accounts and accounting: This section authorizes the Board to prescribe the accounting systems and practices for Federal savings banks.

Section 16. Right to amend: The right to alter, amend, or repeal this title is hereby expressly reserved by Congress.

Chapter 2. Establishment and voluntary liquidation

Section 21. Information to be stated in charter: This section requires that every Federal savings bank have words "Federal," "Savings," and "Bank" in its name. The charter is to set forth the locality in which the bank's principal office is to be located, and that it is issued subject to the act, amendments thereto, and all other applicable laws of the United States. The Board is authorized to make provision for amendments to charters, and to provide for additional material to be stated in them.

Section 22. Issuance of charter for new bank: The authority of the Board to grant charters is discretionary but the Board must withhold the granting of a charter where the statutory requirements have not been met. The Board must find—

(1) That the bank will serve a useful purpose in the community in which it is proposed to be established;

(2) That there is a reasonable expectation of its financial success;

(3) That the operation of the new bank "may" foster competition and "will not" cause undue injury to existing institutions, including commercial banks, that accept funds from savers on deposit or share accounts;

(4) That the applicants for the charter are persons of good character and responsibility; and

(5) That the new bank will have initial reserves of not less than $50,000.

Section 23. Issuance of charter for a converted bank: The Board may issue a charter for a converted Federal savings bank but only after determining—

(1) That the applicant is a mutual thrift institution;

(2) That (in the case of a Federal savings and loan association) at meetings held for the purpose within 6 months prior to the filing of an application with the Board, two-thirds of the directors have voted in favor of such conversion and two-thirds of the votes entitled to be cast by members are in favor of such conversion;

(3) That, in the case of an applicant which is a State-chartered institution, the conversion will not be in contravention of State law; and

(4) That the composition of the converting institution's assets is such that, with such exceptions as the Board may prescribe, the institution will be able to dispose of assets not eligible to be invested in by Federal savings banks.

In addition to the above four criteria, and the qualifications set forth in the bill in subsection (b), referred to below, the other statutory requirements are basically the same as those that apply in the case of an application for a charter for a new institution.

Under subsection (b) the Board is also required to consider the quality of the assets of the converting institution, its reserves and surplus, its expense ratios and such other factors as the Board may deem appropriate for this purpose. Making appropriate allowances for differences among types of financial institutions, the Board must also determine that the institution's history has been "of a character commensurate with the superior standards of performance expected of a Federal savings bank."

Section 24. Conversion of Federal savings banks into other institutions: The Board is authorized to permit a Federal savings bank to convert into any other type of mutual thrift institution. Such an application may not be granted, however, unless the Board finds that certain formal requirements have been met, one of which is the resulting institution will be insured by the FDIC or the FSIC.

The section provides for a 10-year prohibition against the conversion of a Federal savings bank to a stock institution whether taking place directly or through intermediate conversions. The Board (and the FDIC) would be empowered with authority, in the case of a conversion in violation of this section, to terminate the offender's status as an insured institution "without notice, hearing, or other action." The section applies to mergers, consolidations, assumption of liabilities and reorganizations as well as conversions.

Section 25. Voluntary liquidation: A Federal savings bank is permitted to liquidate voluntarily only after a finding by the Board that there is no longer a need in the community for the bank or that there is not a reasonable expectation that the continued operation of the bank will be financially sound and successful, that two-thirds of the bank's directors have voted in favor of the proposed plan of liquidation and that the plan is fair and equitable and meets the requirements of sections 26 and 45.

Section 26. Distribution of assets upon liquidation: Upon the voluntary liquidation of a Federal savings bank, or in the event of any liquidation of any institution while subject to the 10-year prohibition on conversion to a stock institution set forth in section 24 of the bill, any net assets remaining after satisfaction of all proper claims and demands (including those of depositors) shall be distributed to the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation. In the case of involuntary liquidation of a Federal savings bank, any such net assets remaining are to be distributed to the bank's depositors in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Board may prescribe.

Chapter 3. Branching and merger

Section 31. Branches: The section provides that branches may be established by a Federal savinks bank only with the approval of the Board and after the Board has determined there is a reasonable expectation of the branch's financial success, that its operation may foster competition and will not cause undue injury to existing institutions, and provided competitive State-chartered institutions are permitted to establish branches or practice chain banking.

The section also provides that a converted Federal savings bank may retain any branch it had in operation immediately prior to conversion as well as any unexercised branching rights, subject to such exceptions and conditions as the Board prescribes.

In the case of a merger, acquisition of assets or assumption of liabilities of another institution by a Federal savings bank, the principal office of the institution which has been merged or transferred into it, as well as any branch operated by such other institution, may, with the approval of the Board, be maintained as a branch. Unexercised branching rights of the merged institution shall also belong to the Federal savings bank, subject to Board approval. However, the Board may not approve such branches unless they could be lawfully established either as a branch or an office of an affiliated institution under State law. On the other hand, if the Board determines that a merger, acquisition of assets or assumption of liabilities is advisable because of supervisory considerations, it may approve the branch(es) regardless.

Section 32. Merger into a Federal savings bank: A Federal savings bank may be permitted to acquire another mutual thrift institution by merger or otherwise, but only with the approval of the Board after its determination that the requirements of this section have been met.

The statutory requirements are basically the same as those that apply in the case of application for a charter for a new institution. The Board must also find that the proposed arrangement will be in the public interest taking into consideration the effect it will have on competition, including any tendency toward monopoly. The section would also require the Board (unless it finds it must act immediately to prevent the probable failure of one of the institutions involved) to request a report on the competitive factors from the Attorney General. Federal bank supervisors are also to be given an opportunity, if they wish to do so, to make such a report.

Section 33. Merger of a Federal savings bank into another institution: This section would permit a Federal savings bank to merge into or consolidate with another institution, or have another institution acquire its assets or assume its liabilities, provided the Board approves. The Board cannot grant such approval unless every party to the arrangement is a mutual thrift institution, that the requirements for approval by directors and depositors have been met and that such other institutions, will, after such arrangement is carried out, be an institution insured by either the FDIC or FSIC.

Chapter 4. Management and directors

Section 41. Board of directors: This section requires that a Federal savings bank shall have a board of directors consisting of not less than 7 nor more than 25 members. Management and control of the Federal savings bank is vested in the directors. The Board may prescribe regulations relating to the management structure of Federal savings banks, and subject to such regulations, each board of directors may, by bylaws or otherwise, delegate such functions and duties as it may deem appropriate.

Section 42. Initial directors: The section provides that in the case of a new Federal savings bank, the initial directors are to be elected by the applicants for such terms as the Board prescribes by regulations. A Federal savings bank resulting from the conversion of an existing institution retains the directors it had prior to conversion, unless the Board expressly provides otherwise.

Section 43. Election of directors by depositors: Except in the case of initial directors and directors of converted institutions with "grandfather" rights, directors of Federal savings banks are to be elected by the depositors. The Board is given power to provide by regulation for the terms of office of directors, the manner, time, place, and notice of election, the minimum amount and holding period or date of determination of any deposit giving rise to voting rights, and the method by which the number of votes any depositor is entitled to cast.

Section 44. Selection of directors of banks converted from State-chartered mutual savings banks: This section confers "grandfather" rights upon Federal savings banks converted from mutual State-chartered savings banks allowing them to retain trustee-type boards of directors if they had that type of management on the date of enactment of the act, and continuously retained it up to and including the time of conversion.

Section 45. Approval of proposed merger, conversion, or liquidation: This section provides that a Federal savings bank may make application to the Board for merger, consolidation, transfer of assets or liabilities, conversion or voluntary liquidation only after a two-thirds vote of the depositors or, in the case of banks without depositor voting, a two-thirds vote of those electing such bank's directors. The Board may also on the basis of "supervisory considerations" permit such actions to be taken without such approval. The Board may also set aside these requirements in the case of "an emergency requiring expeditious action."

Section 46. Proxies: The section provides that proxies for the election of directors are revocable at any time. Proxies given with respect to approval of mergers, conversions, or liquidations are revocable at any time, must expire within 6 months, and must specify how the holder is to vote on the proposal for which the proxy is given. The Board is authorized to prescribe regulations governing proxy voting and the solicitation of proxies, to require the bank to disclose the financial interest, compensation and remuneration of those persons proposed as officers or directors and such other matters as it deems necessary for the protection of depositors.

Section 47. General provisions relating to directors, officers, and other persons: The section provides that the directors and officers of a Federal savings bank are in a fiduciary relationship to the bank and its depositors and authorizes the Board to prescribe regulations defining and governing the relationship. A director of a Federal savings bank is prohibited from serving as an officer or director of any other financial institution (commercial bank, a thrift institution, or an insurance company). An exemption to the prohibition is provided for any director of a converted institution who served as a director continuously from the date of enactment of the act. The Board may terminate, however (after opportunity for hearing), the services of such a director if there is an actual conflict of interest or a violation of some other provision of law.

The section also lists the residence and attendance requirements for directors and provides that they may not receive remuneration as a director except reasonable fees for attendance at meetings or for service as a member of a committee of directors. The section also prohibits a Federal savings bank (except under various specified restrictions) from making loans or extending credit, other than on security of deposits, to any director, officer, or employee of the bank, or any person or firm regularly serving the bank in a capacity of attorney-at-law or to any other type of business in which any of the parties have any interest. Additionally, no Federal savings bank may purchase any loan from any of the aforementioned parties except with the prior approval of a majority of directors not interested in the transaction.

Other provisions set forth statutory limitations and prohibitions on those who may serve as officers, directors, or employees of the bank, as well as on certain other types of transactions. For example, one provision provides that, unless allowed by the Board's general regulation, no officer, director, or employee of any Federal savings bank may at the same time be connected with the securities business.

Chapter 5. Sources of funds

Section 51. Reserves: The section sets forth the statutory requirements for the various types of reserves required of a Federal savings bank. In addition to the initial reserves required by section 22 of $50,000, a bank must maintain such other reserves as the Board may prescribe.

Section 52. Borrowing: This section provides that a Federal savings bank may borrow to such extent as the Board may authorize by regulation or advice in writing.

Section 53. Savings deposits: The section would authorize such bank to accept savings deposits, except from foreign governments or official institutions thereof, and except from private business corporations for profit

(other than financial institutions acting in a fiduciary capacity), and would also permit the classification of depositors according to the character, amount, duration, or regularity of their dealings with the bank.

Section 54. Time deposits: Section 54 would authorize savings banks to accept time deposits for 91 days or more except from foreign governments and official institutions thereof, or from private business corporations for profit (unless acting in a fiduciary capacity).

Section 55. Authority of Board: The section provides the Board with regulatory authority over the authority given Federal savings banks in section 53 (savings deposits) and 54 (time deposits). Aside from overseeing a bank's program of promising to pay an additional rate of interest on savings deposits based upon a classification of depositors as provided in section 53, it is specifically prescribed in section 55 that "nothing in this section shall confer on the Board any authority with respect to interest rates."

Chapter 6. Investments

Section 61. General provisions: This section would prohibit a savings bank from making any loans or investments not authorized under this act or other provisions of Federal law. However, the Board is given the power to approve the acquisition or retention of assets by a Federal savings bank not so authorized (including stock in service corporations) upon determining that it is necessary or advisable for reasons other than investment.

Section 62. Definitions: This section sets forth definitions of certain terms used to identify eligible investments. For example, a "conventional loan" is defined as one "which is secured by a first lien on a fee simple or eligible leasehold estate in improved real property."

Section 63. Purchases and participations: The section would permit Federal savings banks, subject to the Board's limitations, to acquire by purchase or otherwise any loan or investment, or to acquire by origination or otherwise a participating or other partial interest in any loan or other investment, subject to certain restrictions.

Section 64. Investments eligible for unrestricted investment: Section 64 would permit a Federal savings bank to invest in general obligations of, or obligations fully guaranteed as to both interest and principal by the Federal Government and certain other government corporations, by any State, and certain international financial institutions. The section also would permit investments in bankers acceptances (eligible for purchase by Federal Reserve banks) and stock of a Federal Home Loan Bank.

Section 65. Canadian obligations: The section would provide authority, subject to certain limitations, for a Federal savings bank to invest in the general obligations of Canada or obligations fully guaranteed as to both interest and principal by Canada or any Province of Canada.

Section 66. Certain other investments: This section would permit a Federal savings bank to invest in general obligations of a political subdivision of a State; revenue or special obligations of Canada or a Province of Canada, a State, or a political subdivision of a State; debentures of mutual thrift institutions insured by the FDIC or FSIC; and corporate obligations (including equity securities). This investment authority would be limited by statutory limitations and would be subject to such further limitations as to amount, and such requirements as to investment merit and marketability, as the Board may by regulation prescribe. For example, not more than 2 percent of the Federal savings bank's assets may be invested in the securities and obligations of the issuer or obligor of such security or obligation. Furthermore, at the time of making investments in equity securities the Federal savings bank must have reserves and undivided profits of at least 5 percent of its assets, such holdings cannot exceed 50 percent of its reserves and undivided profits, and the quantity of equity securities of the same class and issuer cannot exceed 5 percent of the total outstanding.

Sections 67 through 70. Secured and unsecured loans: These four sections would permit a Federal savings bank to invest in loans secured by collateral, a deposit or share account, and/or a life insurance policy, subject to such conditions and limitations as the Board may impose. These banks would also be able to make, subject to such conditions and limitations as the Board may impose, unsecured loans up to $5,000 except to a private business corporation for profit.

Sections 71 through 73. Loans on improved and unimproved property: These three sections would permit nationwide conventional mortgage lending up to 80 percent of value for one-to-four-family residences and 75 percent of value for other types of real property, except as the Board may permit a higher limitation by regulation. These sections would also permit mortgage loans on commercial properties and leaseholds subject to the Board's regulatory powers. Authority would be granted to a Federal savings bank to make property improvement loans and loans upon unimproved property, subject to certain limitations.

Section 74. Guaranteed or insured loans: This section would permit a Federal savings bank, unless otherwise provided by regulations of the Board, to make loans where the repayment is wholly or partially guaranteed or insured by the United States, a State or any agency of either, or as to which the bank has the benefit of such insurance or guaranty or of a commitment or agreement thereof.

Section 75. Loan servicing: A Federal savings bank would be required in those cases where it invests in a loan on a one- to four-family residence more than 100 miles, and in a different State, from the principal office of such bank, to retain an FHA-approved mortgagee in such locality to act as an independent loan servicing contractor.

Chapter 7. Miscellaneous corporate powers and duties

Section 81. General powers: This section includes the usual provisions dealing with corporate powers and duties of a federally chartered institution, such as the right to sue and be sued, adopt bylaws, make and carry on contracts, etc.

Section 82. Service as depositary and fiscal agent of the United States: This section would allow a Federal savings bank, when so designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, to be a depositary of public money and a fiscal agent of the Government.

Section 83. Federal home loan bank membership: This section would provide that upon issuance of a charter to a Federal savings bank, it will automatically become a member of the Federal home loan bank, generally, of the district in which its principal office is located.

Section 84. Change of location of offices: This section would require approval of the Board before a Federal savings bank could change the location of its principal office or any branch.

Section 85. Liquidity requirements: The section would require that a Federal savings bank shall maintain liquid assets consisting of cash and obligations of the United States, as a "general liquidity requirement" of not less than 4 percent or more than 10 percent of the bank's deposits and borrowings. Additional liquidity may be required by the Board (referred to as a "special liquidity requirement") where the composition and quality of assets, or the composition of deposits and liabilities, or the ratio of reserves and surplus to deposits suggests that safety and soundness demand such action. The total of the "general" and the "special" liquidity requirements could not exceed 15 percent of the bank's deposits and borrowings. Penalties are provided for deficiencies in the general or special liquidity requirements. The Board is authorized, when it deems it advisable and subject to such conditions as it shall impose, to permit a bank to reduce liquidity below the minimum amount and during the time of national emergency or unusual economic stress suspend any part or all of these requirements.

Chapter 8. Taxation

Section 91. State taxation: This section limits the authority of a State to impose a tax on a Federal savings bank to that which is no "greater than the least onerous" imposed on other types of financial institutions (except an insurance company). The section also would prohibit taxation of a Federal savings bank by any State other than the State in which the bank's principal office is located unless the bank is doing business therein. Certain types of activities in the mortgage loan business are listed as not falling within the definition "doing business."

Chapter 9. Enforcement

Section 91.[1] General provisions: The section would authorize the Board to act in its own name and through its own attorneys. The Board could also be made subject to suit by any Federal savings bank with respect to any matter under title I, or of its rules or regulations thereunder except as provided otherwise by chapter 9.

Section 92. Cease-and-desist orders: The section would authorize the Board to commence proceedings against a Federal savings bank if it believes a violation of the law, rule, regulation, or an unsafe or unsound practice has occurred or will occur by serving notice of charges upon the institution concerned. The charges must set forth the facts constituting the alleged violation or unsafe or unsound practice and fix a time (ordinarily not later than 60 days after the service of such notice) and place for the hearing. If at the hearing the facts contained in the notice are established, the Board shall issue and serve a cease-and-desist order upon the bank. Such order would become effective 30 days after service and remain effective unless "stayed, modified, terminated, or set aside by action of the Board or a reviewing court." Judicial review of such order must follow the procedure set forth in section 96 of this title. The section also provides that if the Board determines that the continuation of the violations specified in the notice served upon the bank would seriously prejudice the interest of its depositors, it may issue a temporary order requiring the bank to cease and desist from any such violation or practice. Such order would become effective upon service and remain effective until such time as the Board shall dismiss the charges specified in the notice or until the effective date of a permanent cease and desist order takes place. The subject bank within 10 days of service of such temporary order may ask the U.S. district court for an injunction to set aside, limit or suspend the order. Likewise the Board may apply to the U.S. district court for an injunction to enforce any such order.

Section 93. Suspension or removal of director or officer: The section would provide for the temporary suspension or removal by the Board from office of any bank officer or director. The grounds for such suspension may be the violation of final cease-and-desist orders, or the commission of acts constituting a breach of fiduciary duty. Such officer or director must be warned not to continue

[1] Drafting error. Use of the same section number.

the violation or unsafe or unsound practice. The administrative procedures and provisions for judicial review are similar to those provided in the case of the issuance of a cease-and-desist order.

Section 94. Conservatorship and receivership: The section provides that the grounds for the appointment of a conservator or receiver shall be: (1) insolvency; (2) substantial dissipation of assets or earnings due to violations of law, rules, or regulations or due to unsafe or unsound practices; (3) unsafe or unsound condition to transact business; (4) willful violation of final cease-and-desist order; (5) concealment of records or refusal to make them available for inspection; (6) consent; (7) termination of membership in its Federal home loan bank; (8) termination of deposit insurance and (9) failure to pay withdrawal applications within 90 days. The authority of the Board to appoint conservators or receivers requires no notice and no hearing. However, the bank may seek judicial review by action in a U.S. district court filed by the bank within 30 days of seizure.

Section 95. Hearings and relief: The section would provide that any hearing set forth in chapter 9 will be held in the Federal judicial district in which the principal office of the bank is located unless the party afforded the hearing, consents to another place. The Administrative Procedure Act applies to such hearing.

Section 96. Judicial review: Any party subject to a proceeding or any person required by an order issued under section 92 to cease and desist certain violations or practices stated therein may obtain review of the Board's order in the U.S. Court of Appeals by filing a petition for review within 30 days of service of the Board's order.

Section 97. Enforcement: The Board may apply to a U.S. district court for the enforcement of any effective and outstanding order issued by the Board under this chapter. The section also limits injunctive and review powers of the court to those provided in chapter 9.

Section 98. Miscellaneous provisions: The section contains ancillary and implementing provisions for carrying out the various orders and includes subpena powers, as well as powers to make rules and regulations.

Section 99. Criminal penalties: The section provides for criminal penalties for those directors and officers who have been removed from office and who knowingly participate in the affairs of the bank or refuse to comply with the demands of a conservator or a receiver for possession of property, business, or the assets of the bank.

TITLE II

Section 201. Federal Savings Insurance Corporation: The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation is redesignated as the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation.

Section 202. Merger, consolidation, or other transfers: This section would apply to any savings bank insured by the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation and would require the Board to approve any proposed merger, consolidation, or other type of transfer. The criteria to be followed by the Board is generally the same as in section 32. Likewise, the Board must request a report on the competitive factors from the Attorney General and advise the other bank supervisory agencies of their opportunity to also comment on these factors.

Sections 203, 204, and 205. Technical and conforming amendments: These sections would amend sections 403, 406, and 407 of the National Housing Act which would require FSIC to insure deposits of Federal savings banks and authorize it to insure the deposits of State-chartered mutual savings banks.

Section 206. Transfer of insurance reserves: This section provides that whenever a State-chartered mutual savings bank, which is an insured bank of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, qualifies to be insured by the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation or is converted, merged, or consolidated into a Federal savings bank, a proportionate share of the reserves of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation attributable to such institution would be transferred to the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation.

Section 207. Limitation of FDIC authority: This section would withdraw the authority of FDIC to grant in the future insurance on the deposits of State-chartered mutual savings banks.

Section 208. Criminal provisions: This section would make certain provisions of the Criminal Code now applicable to banks insured by FDIC also applicable to institutions which are members of any Federal home loan bank, or the accounts of which are insured by the Federal Savings Insurance Corporation. These provisions would also apply to examiners appointed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Sections 209 and 210. Miscellaneous provisions: These two sections are standard provisions relating to the construction and separability of any provisions of this act.

OCTOBER 5, 1964.

Johnson Administration Tries To Buy Farm Votes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, to say the least, I was shocked to read a report from one of my constituents who happens to be a township ASCS chairman in Ogle County, Ill., about how the Johnson administration has embarked on a scheme involving an unprincipled and cynical use of taxpayer's money to campaign.

Indeed, I was amazed when I read his report how "the Democrats are really pumping money—taxpayer's—into this campaign."

His letter goes on to say that:

All chairmen (25) for the county were called into the office on September 18 for a meeting which lasted 45 minutes. For this we received one-half day's pay. We were instructed to visit with about seven people about the farm programs. To answer as many questions as we could—if we could not answer them we were to send the questions to the county office for them to answer. For this we were to receive 1 day's pay.

In his letter to me he added:

I've been a township chairman for several years now, and I have never seen such a payoff for votes. I know the whole State of Illinois is doing this, and maybe every State—this could cost up to $3 million. I'm for a sound farm program, but not this type of thing.

Mr. Speaker, evidently the Johnson administration has decided to stop at nothing in its drive to perpetuate itself in power for the next 4 years, including bringing into use during the campaign the full resources of the executive branch in the Federal Government in an unprecedented manner, for purely political and partisan purposes. In view of the foregoing, in its political drive, it intends to stop at nothing, including the use of Cabinet officials as political hatchetmen on the hustings. Now we find that the administration not only intends to use the Democratic National Committee's overloaded campaign coffers but also, now at the expense of the American taxpayer, the Johnson administration is using tax dollars taken from the pockets of American taxpayers to foster its own selfish political purposes.

However, I do not believe our farmers are going to be fooled by such a scheme. With the parity ratio at an all time low of 74 percent and with the distressed and depressed state of affairs in the livestock industry, it is perfectly obvious that the Democratic administration has failed in its promise to American farmers.

The William McKinley Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure in the few moments of respite from the activities of the session and of the campaign to read a new book on our martyred President, William McKinley, written by his fellow townsman and eminent historian, Edward Thornton Heald.

Though considerably shorter than the several other recent biographies of William McKinley, this new book, "The William McKinley Story," contains much that is new and hitherto unpublished about President McKinley's background and associations in Stark County.

It should be an invaluable reference to students and historians who wish to have the facts about McKinley stripped of the speculation and interpretation that is characteristic of other biographies, though this is said not to diminish the value or importance of the other works.

I have many mementos of McKinley and among those I treasure is a copy of the lease signed by him and by my father when my father, C. C. Bow, rented office space in McKinley's building in 1896. My father enjoyed a long and close relationship with the late President and, as the Heald book reports, it was my father's sad duty to be chairman of one of the committees that handled the funeral arrangements.

Edward Thornton Heald, the author, has made the Stark County Historical Society his life work, crowned by the erection a few years ago of the new museum which contains an outstanding collection of McKinley information. Now retired from active direction of the society, Mr. Heald is devoting himself to historical programs of which this book is an outstanding achievement. I hope it will have wide circulation, particularly among students for whom it would be an excellent source of basic material.

Medical Care for Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I regret very deeply that stubborn insistence upon the social security system as the only medium through which we can provide medical care for the aged apparently will result in another year of deadlock and inaction on this pressing problem, and has postponed for at least several months the increased benefits for those who are drawing social security annuities. I think this is inexcusable.

I have done everything in my power to urge consideration of the Bow bill for medical care for the aged, a program that would do more, on a voluntary basis, at less cost, without inciting the violent arguments that have been aroused by the administration proposal and the threat of Federal control of health care.

I had hoped that it might be possible to enact the Bow bill this year, as a substitute for the plan embodied in the Senate amendments to the social security measure. It now seems that there will be no opportunity to do so.

The responsibility for another year of delay and inaction rests squarely with the leaders of the Democratic majority party who confess that they do not have sufficient votes in the House of Representatives to enact even the Senate version of the King-Anderson bill.

This was an admission that a substantial number of Democrats recognize the inadequacy of the King-Anderson bill and refuse to support social security hospitalization, because, as all of us know, there are 255 Democrat Members of the House, far more than a majority, and a united Democratic membership could pass any measure recommended by the administration if they believed it worthwhile.

The newspapers say that this will now become a political issue. I regret that. It has been a political issue in 1958, 1960, and 1962, and thousands of elderly Americans can tell you from firsthand experience that a political issue never paid for a day in a hospital, or a visit to the doctor, or a prescription drug. I say again, I regret that this may be a political issue for the fourth or fifth successive campaign, but if it is to be one, I want everyone to know that the Democratic leadership is responsible because the Democratic leadership, even recognizing that its own proposal is unpopular in its own party, steadfastly refuses to consider the Bow bill or any other substitute or alternative to King-Anderson unless it is financed by a social security payroll tax and controlled by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

BOW BILL SOLUTION

If the Bow bill could be brought to this House for debate, I predict that it would be enacted into law by an overwhelming margin and by next January 1 any person over 65 could have in his possession the means to acquire either of the comprehensive medical and hospital care insurance proposals outlined in that bill, regardless of his physical condition, regardless of his previous medical history, and on a guaranteed renewable basis for as long as he continued the premiums in force. And the Bow bill would assure him that this Government would make the necessary provisions, through the tax credit or by the medical care insurance certificate, to keep those premiums in force.

I have talked to hundreds of older people about this bill. Some of them have been devoted advocates of the King-Anderson plan, simply because they need assistance and it is the only assistance they have heard about. But when I explain the Bow bill to them, they are pleased, they applaud it, they ask me why the leaders of the House of Representatives will not let us debate the Bow bill, and they ask us why the newspapers of the Nation have given so little information concerning it.

If there is anyone who does not understand the bill, let me discuss it briefly.

INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

It is based upon individual choice. It is a system whereby Government and private enterprise can cooperate to advance the welfare of those older citizens who need help with health problems.

Further, it is a system under which a son or daughter, or any other relative, can discharge his family responsibilities for the elderly without undue financial strain. And it is a system whereby business and industry can extend to retired workers the fine insurance programs now provided for active workers.

The basis for this entire system is an income tax credit not unlike the principle so ably advocated by the gentleman from Wisconsin, the ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee.

An individual over 65 would be guaranteed the means with which to pay the premiums on a comprehensive medical care insurance program, the details of which are stated in the bill.

The Federal Government would issue a medical care insurance certificate to anyone over 65 who paid no Federal income tax and who was not insured by reason of any of the other provisions of the bill. He could take that certificate to the insurance carrier of his choice and use it to pay the premiums. The carrier would return it to the Treasury where it would be redeemed for cash, or the carrier might use it in partial payment of its own tax bill.

Every person over 65 whose income, though less than $4,000, was sufficient to require him to pay an income tax of $150 would receive a tax credit in that amount so that instead of paying the tax, he could use the money to buy the medical care program.

Any person who paid the premiums for this protection for a relative past 65 could take the same tax credit, as could any employer with respect to a retired employee.

And for the older persons who pay between $1 and $149 in income tax, the tax would be forgiven and a certificate issued in an amount sufficient to make up $150.

INSURANCE IS AVAILABLE

About this point in the explanation, someone always says that you cannot buy the kind of insurance I am talking about for $150. Or that someone will be left out because he is ill, or had a heart attack. And I can only say to these people that they are not abreast of developments in health insurance. Tremendous progress has been made. Policies that disregard prior medical condition or even current illnesses are commonplace and they cannot be canceled because someone is a bad risk. They are guaranteed renewable. This is a development that private enterprise has achieved in its own efforts to solve the problem, and the achievement should be recognized, applauded, and encouraged.

As to the adequacy of $150, let me say that I took occasion to ask actuaries of several major companies to draw me a plan which would cost that much. They did so. That plan is in the Bow bill. Later, I wrote to some 80 major insurance carriers and asked whether they would issue the kind of insurance described in my bill for $150. More than half replied that they would do so. Some have assured me that they would be able to write even better policies than I have established as the Bow bill minimum because the market of some 14 million people, and the possibility of combining resources to insure large groups, would make a savings likely.

Occasionally, I manage to convince the opponent of this fact, only to have him counter with the argument that my bill would constitute a windfall for the insurance carriers. How, I ask, can anything be more inconsistent? On one hand, they say that a company could not afford to offer the insurance for $150 and, on the other, they charge that it would be a windfall or a bonanza.

Insurance carriers today are trying to solve this problem and, in trying to do so, they are willing to cut costs and profits to the bone or to do without profits.

QUESTION OF PROFIT

But suppose some profit should accrue. Is that a crime in America? Consider how the profits of insurance companies are used today. They are a backbone of development in our economy. They are the financial foundation of countless new economic enterprises. And they pay taxes. We do not expect highway contractors to build our highways without profit. We do not expect food suppliers to deliver goods to veterans hospitals without profit. We do not expect Boeing to build aircraft without profit. Why, then, should anyone question the profit of insurance carriers providing a desperately needed service?

I think we should encourage insurance carriers to perform a service that they are well equipped and trained to do, thus relieving the Government of a burden that it is ill equipped to carry. Why should we create a new bureaucracy in HEW to handle hospitalization when we already have adequate private and nonprofit means of doing so?

A letter from a constituent, one of the thousands who has waited months while

his claim for social security disability is processed, wrote to me recently and said he hoped that we would never give the social security administration responsibility for hospitalization. He foresaw the same long delays and endless investigations before admission to a hospital that he is now experiencing before he can collect the disability benefits to which he is entitled. And I could have told him, though I did not, that he was probably right. I am told that in Britain it now takes up to 2 years to arrange for surgery under the British plan of nationalized medicine. Is that what we want for our retired citizens?

It is true that we have made some provisions for the older person who is indigent. The Kerr-Mills Act, in effect in over 30 States, is beginning to provide a good service for the indigent. But I am concerned with those who are not indigent just as much as I am concerned with the very poor. Must an American citizen be reduced to near poverty before anyone will raise a hand to help him? That is the question. The purpose and the importance of the Bow bill is to provide help before illness reduces an older couple to indigence; to help them with medical costs before they must exhaust their savings or mortgage the family home.

There are so many arguments for the Bow bill.

CHILDREN CAN HELP

We are told that young people should not be forced to deprive themselves or their children in order to help aged parents. This is a new idea to me. I still believe that children have an obligation to their parents, and I still believe that most young Americans want to discharge their obligation. The Bow bill would make it so easy to do so, much easier than increasing the regressive payroll tax for social security hospitalization to 10 or 11 percent of gross earnings, with no deductions.

I should think that labor leaders would welcome the Bow bill. Here is a chance to secure for retired union members the kind of insurance protection they need, a program that most certainly could be included in labor-management contracts with ease. Can it be that labor leaders do not wish to bother with the retired man who no longer pays dues? Or could it be that some of them want Government control of medical care? Perhaps that is the explanation. Certainly individual labor union members with whom I have talked endorse my idea.

I mentioned the social security tax, Mr. Speaker. Social insurance is the term. The worker pays into the fund during all of the years of his life until he retires and then he will be cared for. His retirement and hospitalization will come from a self-sustaining fund to which he and his employer contributed for 45 years. The administration and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the AFL–CIO leadership and the leaders—though not the rank and file—of the National Council of Senior Citizens demand that this is the way and the only way to finance assistance for our old people. They are willing only to concede that the general revenue can be used for people who are not part of the social security retirement system.

I wonder why this must be the case. Why must everything we do for our old people be paid for by a self-sustaining fund based on payroll taxes? We do not apply this rigid standard to other Federal Government programs. With a very few exceptions—the interstate highway program and the acquisition of wetlands for waterfowl are the only two I think of immediately—all other Federal Government programs are paid for out of the general revenue of the Treasury, or by borrowing, which becomes an obligation of all of the people. We do not put our foreign aid program on a self-sustaining pay-as-you go basis. We do not put the construction of Federal buildings on a self-sustaining pay-as-you-go basis. We do not require that the farmers alone support farm programs. Why then do we single out the elderly, the retired Americans, and say that their medical care requirements must be financed by deductions from wages?

MEDICAL CARE PRIORITY

Some reply that it is because medical care for the aged would cost so much. To that I reply it is high time we set a system of priorities among the various demands for Federal funds. We should estimate our revenue, and put some aside to reduce the national debt, and then find out what we had left to spend and decide what programs are most deserving of a share. Defense is extremely important; perhaps it has first priority. But somewhere close behind it, with a high priority indeed, should be the solution of the problem that faces a retired American when catastrophic illness strikes him. Certainly I would give it priority far higher than the $3.5 billion foreign aid program; far higher than amounts spent on Federal hydroelectric projects; way ahead of grants for the training of Cuban refugee college students, and many, many other programs I could mention. This is the straightforward way to discharge what I believe is a national obligation.

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE?

Others say that the administration insists upon social security financing, and control by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, because the King-Anderson bill is only the camel's nose under the tent, the first, tiny step toward national compulsory health care for all citizens. This is brought out clearly in a column by Joseph Kraft in the Evening Star of September 4. Writing of the Senate action, Mr. Kraft says:

> Medicare was a particularly touchy issue because it involved a basic principle, the use of the social security system to finance health benefits. Once the principle has been accepted, it is merely a question of money. While the opening payments will be small, the door has been opened. It is now predictable that, step by step, over the years, the United States will develop a full-scale program of health insurance for all citizens.

Here is the real motive, and the reason why there is so much opposition to the King-Anderson bill.

Few people wish to see the day when the Federal bureaucracy will control all of the medical care and health facilities of this Nation. Government medicine will be bad medicine for the people of America. Instead of the highest standards of medical care in the entire world, we will be reduced to the inadequate and unsatisfactory system that has been the lot of the people of Great Britain since nationalized medicine was established.

These are my arguments and this is my plea to the leadership of this House and the President to abandon their stubborn insistence that their way is the only way to help our retired citizens. Open the door to other suggestions. Let us consider alternative plans. Let us debate the Bow bill. This is a problem that needs solution. It is time to act on it now.

Final Newsletter to Constitutents of the 2d Session—88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD the final issue of my newsletter which will be forwarded to my constituency.

The newsletter follows:

RESULTS OF 88TH CONGRESS—2D SESSION

At long last the 2d session of the 88th Congress has passed into history. Unlike the "do nothing" first session of this Congress, this was a "do everything" session. Many of the legislative acts passed were not needed, not desired, and counterproductive of the best interests of the country. This Congress invaded the rights of the citizen more deeply by time after time going beyond that wise limitation established by Abraham Lincoln, when he said, "The Government should do for the people only those things they cannot do for themselves."

In evaluating a Congress, it is well first to look at its fiscal performance. This 2d session of the 88th Congress appropriated a total of $105,962,918,996. By comparison, the first session aprpopriated $103,798,634,671, while the 2d session of the 87th Congress appropriated $102,661,536,812. As a further comparison, the appropriations for the last fiscal year of the Eisenhower administration were $83,799,241,957. Thus, in less than 4 years of Kennedy-Johnson administration, appropriations have gone up over $22 billion, or approximately 32 percent. Even so, this Congress appropriated $4,134,439,560 less than the administration requested. Had this cut not been made, the appropriations for this Congress would have been in excess of $109 billion. I do not intend to indicate that I am satisfied with the Congress performance, but I think it is fair to say that Congress is still acting as some anchor to windward against an executive department which seems bent on spending more and more of the country's substance, and leaving less and less of it for the people themselves to use.

The following bills (and I am only including those which seem to be most important) became law during this Congress:

1. Library Services Act amendment: The original Library Services Act was adopted in order to give some aid to rural and isolated communities in providing bookmobiles, and

the like. I was on the Education and Labor Committee when the original bill was passed, and supported it wholeheartedly. However, the amendment, in typical bureaucratic style, tripled the size of the expenditures, and has moved the concept of library services aid into urban areas as well as rural. This has gotten beyond the concept of the Federal Government doing things for the people which the people cannot do for themselves, and therefore I felt it necessary to oppose this extension.

2. Civil rights bill: This bill provided for Federal penalties for the denial of voting, failure to desegregate public schools, discrimination in federally aided programs, and extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission for 4 years. These portions of the bill I favored. However, there was a public accommodations section affecting the operation of restaurants, lunch counters, soda fountains, gas stations, hotels and the like, which I deem to be in contravention of the constitutional guarantees for the peaceful enjoyment of private property. Also, there is a penalty for discrimination in employment practices. I deemed the latter to be desirable, but unenforceable.

While I am just as much against discrimination in public accommodations or employment as anyone can be, in my opinion, this cannot be accomplished successfuly by Federal legislation any more than we could successfully bar the sale of intoxicants by constitutional amendment. In both instances, we have tried to legislate in the field of individual morality. It cannot be done.

3. Peace Corps authorization: The key vote came on a motion to recommit to cut the amount authorized from $115 million down to $95.7 million. In my opinion, the Peace Corps has done a good job and has not wasted the money which has been appropriated to it. I, therefore, voted against the motion to recommit, and in so doing gave a vote of confidence to the Peace Corps.

4. Federal employees' pay increase: This bill provides for $545 million more to be spent on salaries for the Federal Establishment each year. In addition, it called for a raise in salary of Members of Congress from $22,500 to $32,500. I voted against it, because I felt that giving Congressmen a raise under the present circumstances would be like raising the pay of a board of directors of a corporation which is operating in the red. When we balance the budget, we will deserve a pay raise.

5. NASA authorization: This bill provided $5.2 billion for activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal year 1965. As a former member of the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, I have had unusual opportunities to observe the NASA programs. While I have voted to cut the man-in-space program down to the pace contemplated by the Eisenhower administration, I am very much in favor of most of the NASA effort. Therefore, on balance I voted for the authorization bill.

6. Cotton-wheat bill: In my opinion, the philosophy of the bill finally adopted was all wrong. It will get the Government deeper into agriculture, instead of getting it on the road to extrication. It is an expensive bill to the taxpayer, and, in my opinion, in the long run it is against the best interest of the cotton farmers of our State. Therefore, I voted against the Senate version of the bill, which version has now become law. I had previously voted for the House version, which contained certain safeguards, and pointed toward eventual savings for both the cotton farmer and the taxpayer.

7. Agricultural Appropriations Act: When this bill was being considered, there was a motion to prohibit the use of any funds for payment of export subsidies on any surplus agricultural commodities sold to Communist countries. This very sensible motion lost by one vote, with 182 Democrats joining five Republicans to defeat it. I voted in favor of the motion, along with 155 other Republicans and 30 Democrats.

8. On June 18, 1964, the House voted 203 to 182 to increase the public debt limit to $324 billion. Not a single Republican voted to increase the debt limit. Personally, I feel that the debt limit is an artificial barrier which has little practical value, unless an administration is in power which has demonstrated its inability or unwillingness to live within its means. I submit that this administration has demonstrated exactly that; and, therefore, I favor using the debt limit to curb public spending as much as possible.

9. Mass transit bill: This bill authorizes a brand new Federal program of grants to States and localities to build or improve mass transit systems. The bill authorizes $375 million over a 3-year period. However, it is well known that this amount is only the beginning, and that eventually this program if continued will call for a Federal outlay of at least $10 billion. I voted against it because many of our localities have already demonstrated that they can attack and defeat their mass transit problems, either by themselves or with the help of the State in which they are situated. Here, again, is a program in which the Federal Government has no business.

10. The land and water conservation bill: This bill provided for the establishment of a fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting present and future outdoor recreation demands and needs of the American people. This appears to be a very meritorious bill, and I voted in favor of its consideration.

11. The wilderness bill: This bill, which has been around for a long time, provides for the establishment of a national wilderness preservation system. The fact that it has been considered for many years, and negotiated between interested parties is borne out by the vote. There were 374 votes in favor and only one in the negative. I voted in favor of the bill.

12. Antipoverty bill: This bill has some features which are good, but in my opinion, many more which are bad. Therefore, I voted against it. Many people are pleased with the idea of a job corps being created because they associate it with the fine work done by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the thirties. While I doubt that our present position is comparable to the one we occupied in the thirties, I would be willing to try a job corps, as a means of getting young men off the streets temporarily so that they might be aided in finding themselves. However, it will not solve the problem of school dropouts, undertraining, and juvenile delinquency by itself.

The rest of the bill mainly deals with urban and rural community action programs, providing for grants and loans, mainly for purposes which are already covered in other legislation. In fact, the U.S. Government spents $8 billion a year right now fighting poverty. It is difficult to see how this act can perform the miracles its proponents claim for it.

13. Pay bill for military personnel: This bill increased the pay of members of the armed services. The pay increase is needed, and will help us attract the type of people required to give us really professional armed services. I voted in favor of it.

14. Amendments to the National Housing Act: While I am very much in favor of the Federal Housing Administration program for mortgage insurance, and some of the other phases of our Federal housing program, this bill went far beyond the proper scope of Federal activity. Among other things, it provides for training of people to go into community work. It extends the public facility loan program. It goes further into urban renewal and planning. It even provides for relocation payments for property owners affected by "coal mine subsidence or underground mine fires." Because of the very extravagant nature of this bill, I felt it necessary to vote against it even though I agreed with much of it.

15. A veterans pension bill passed both Houses of Congress in the last few minutes of this session. I voted for the bill. Under this law, every person drawing a pension will receive an increase. Interested veterans will soon be notified by the Veterans' Administration of the exact increase which can be expected. Under this law, World War II and Korean veterans who have service-connected disabilities can purchase up to $10,000 of National Service Life Insurance. This same option is also extended to veterans with non-service-connected disabilities who are uninsurable commercially.

This Congress will also be noted for some of the laws which it did not pass.

1. It did not pass a bill for medical care for the aged under social security. The House of Representatives adopted a bill to provide for an increase in social security payments for which I voted. The Senate tacked on a medicare proposal. The whole bill, including the increase for social security recipients died in conference.

It is particularly unfortunate that the standard provisions of the social security bill did not become law. Not only did they provide for an increase of $7 across the board for social security recipients (which is certainly badly needed), but also provided for a substantial increase in the amount that the people drawing social security can receive from their labors without loss of benefit payments. There is much criticism of the Democratic majority in the Congress and the Johnson administration for allowing all of this legislation to "go down the drain" because the Congress would not pass a bill which included medicare. This is another example of the arrogance of the executive department in demanding that the legislative branch completely abdicate its prerogatives and abandon its own views at the wish of the President. The persons who will suffer from this callousness will be those least able to bear it—social security recipients.

2. Neither the Tuck bill, the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment, or a constitutional amendment to deal with reapportionment cases was adopted. This apparently leaves the Supreme Court and inferior, Federal courts free to continue along the same lines they have started insofar as the organization of congressional districts, and of the two Houses of State legislatures are concerned.

3. The Appalachia bill was not passed. This was a bill to provide rather massive aid to areas in the Appalachian Mountain regions in the form of grants and loans, for the rehabilitation of these areas. This is a regional antipoverty effort, and will undoubtedly be brought up in the next Congress. I do not plan to vote for it, if I am a Member of the next Congress.

If this Congress has a hallmark, it is the return of subservience of the legislation to the Executive, which was so characteristics of New Deal days. Whether this return has been caused by armtwisting, promises of reward, or other reasons I am unable to tell. Suffice it to say during the early part of the Kennedy administration there appeared to be a lot of independence of thought and action in the House and Senate. I happen to feel that that type of legislative atmosphere is good for the country. Since the succession of President Johnson, legislation has passed which most people would have felt had not the slightest chance of passing, and which I am sure most of the Members of Congress would have voted against, on a secret ballot.

No matter how the elections come out, it is my hope that the independence of Congress will be reestablished in the 89th Congress.

The election on November 3 is an important one, as every election is. Vote for the candidates of your choice, but vote.

Visitors: Mrs. Lon Smith, Mrs. Vida R. Grassie, Mr. and Mrs. J. Earl Smith, Mrs. Alice Flickinger, Mr. and Mrs. Horton, Yaeger and Catherine, Mr. and Mrs. Lee Hempy, Mrs. Louis Booker, Jr., Miss Marthanna Booker, Miss Novaline Thurlow, Miss Beatrice J. MacClary, Mr. and Mrs. L. J. Estrada, and Gary, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Fennemore, Mr. and Mrs. G. C. Curran, Mr. and Mrs. D. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Harward and Paulina, Mr. and Mrs. R. Scheid Roger, and Larry Gault.

Mr. and Mrs. G. Gerber, Dick Spurlock, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest H. Hill, Tom, Gregory, and Pamela, William Bruce Barton, Carole and Mike Cotten.

Mr. and Mrs. Don Sanderson, Sue and Kay, Americo Lazzari, Mr. and Mrs. G. G. Gaskin, Paul R. Madden, Harlen O. Wold, Robert M. Jaap, Chris C. Tountas, Dr. and Mrs. W. Albert Brewer and family, Helen Rymal. Mrs. JoAnn Freeman, and family. Charles B. Bitner, Mr. and Mrs. George Waggoner, Mr. J. D. Waggoner, Virginia A. Canfield, Ralph Gruhn.

Floyd Auckly, Ronald H. Burks, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Babel, Villa L. Horner, Col. and Mrs. E. M. J. Alenius, Mr. and Mrs. Elmer T. Kemper, Dr. Karl H. Pfuetze, Hon. Priscilla Hays and Bruce, Mr. and Mrs. J. Warren, Mrs. Elmer D. Clark, Capt. and Mrs. Robert Johnson, Mr. Spencer Stewart, Keith S. Brown, Fred H. Bitner, John B. Smith, Jr., Mrs. G. Robert Herberger, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Spoonmore, S. Ed. Greenwood, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Green, Ray Adkins, Mr. and Mrs. William Hungerford and family.

Mrs. Jerrey Conroy and Bill, Roscoe C. Hildebrandt, Herman Laffoon, Bill Alcaida, Norman Scott, Homer M. Gilliland, Dempsey Scott, Harry Laffoon, Henry Little, Denise Florence, Agnes Savilla, William J. White, Dick Welsh, William Savilla, William Ray Alcaida, and Peter Homer, Sr.

The Sugar Problem

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in the remarks of the distinguished majority leader. My knowledge of this matter is not as extensive as that of the majority leader, but, upon the adoption by the Senate of the sugar amendment to a tariff matter originating in the Ways and Means Committee, I became aware quickly of the interest of the distinguished majority whip and of the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS], and of other Members of the Louisiana delegation, as well as delegations of other States interested in this problem.

I should like for their friends to know that they discussed this matter with me on numerous occasions. They were most hopeful that some arrangement could be worked out whereby some additional legislation could be passed in this session of Congress.

We made the effort of trying to get the matter to conference, as the membership here knows, in order to try as best we could to help resolve this very perplexing problem and a problem which I know is of great interest to these gentlemen.

Congressman Rostenkowski Reports to the People of the Eighth Congressional District of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following report to the residents of Illinois' Eighth Congressional District as a composite self-analysis of the legislative activities of the 88th Congress and my activities as their Representative.

With sine die adjournment on October 3, 1964, the 88th Congress was in session longer than any other peacetime Congress. The first session lasted until Christmas eve, while the second session remained active for 9 months of this year. But the results of the action taken, can label the 88th as a "do something" Congress. It should be said that its theme was "Progress and Prosperity With a Purpose." In all areas, its many accomplishments have labeled it as "one of the top legislative performers of our time." Roscoe Drummond of the Chicago Sun Times wrote, "Its record of achievement merits the praise and esteem of the whole Nation." And I might add that we have recovered our position as the No. 1 Nation in the world. It took 4 years of sound and responsible leadership under the Kennedy-Johnson administration and through progressive legislation we have regained the momentum necessary to forge ahead. But the success we do enjoy is not complete and much remains to be accomplished if we hope to maintain our position as leader of the free world and eventually defeat the communistic slavery which still engulfs part of the world. And this defeat can be accomplished not by forceful means—although we will never relax our defense posture, but will keep it strong as a deterrent against Communist aggression—but by the example of the riches that can be enjoyed through free enterprise, which cannot go unnoticed by the enslaved peoples, regardless of the censorship that surrounds them. The examples set by the free world, with us as its leader, will be the inspiration needed by the enslaved to shake their shackles and become part of the great society of freedom and enjoy its fruits.

Our forward motion on the road to recovery reached high gear in the last 9 months. But the acceleration started 4 years ago and with each succeeding year, we picked up speed to reach the momentum we now enjoy and which will catapult us to greater progress in the future.

I present this report for its readers to take note of what was necessary to regain our stature. And I also make it to show that important issues failed to be improved and must be brought to the forefront in the next Congress. Some might say they are "lost" causes, but the legislative process takes time and considering all that was necessary to get us moving again, time was at a premium.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

For the United States to regain its position as a progressive, prosperous nation, importance fell upon legislation dealing with our economic problems and to establish programs for economic growth. Of the legislation enacted, the most significant had to be the tax bill of 1963, which was written by the House Ways and Means Committee of which I am now a member. When the Kennedy administration first suggested the possibility of a sizable individual and corporate tax cut in 1961, the President' Council of Economic Advisers advanced the theory that the Federal tax burden should be reduced to stimulate use of the country's full economic capacity. Through this program we could increase the amount of national income, which would result in more revenue to bring a balance to the budget. The legislation was attacked by sarcastic nonbelievers who felt we would destroy our price structure and create chaos in our Nation's already floundering economy. But since the enactment of the tax reduction bill in February of this year, the dubious have been proven wrong and the economy has blossomed. Federal tax revenues are at a record level showing an increase of $2.5 billion for the first 7 months of this year as compared to the same period last year. Our gross national product has reached an annual rate of $618.5 billion in the second quarter, exceeding the predicted $617 billion, and far above the $577.4 billion for the same period last year.

Business enterprises are expanding and modernizing much faster than predicted. Capital spending is $4.3 billion ahead of last year.

Retail sales are booming and should reach a record volume of about $260 billion by this year's end. We are well ahead of the $246.4 billion in 1963 and double the volume of 17 years ago.

And in spite of this increased spending individual savings are at an alltime high—$35.4 billion for this year's second quarter compared with last year's figure of $27.1 billion.

Unemployment has dropped and will continue to do so with other programs now underway. The economy should continue to move upward in the months ahead.

The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act will assist those swept by the tide of progress that leaves backwaters of unemployment. The 3-year authorized program provides for a job corps training youth in conservation camps and in urban and rural residential training centers, a work-training program for youths on the community level, community action programs involving Federal

aid and direction to civic groups and other private organizations, a domestic peace corps to be known as VISTA—Volunteers in Service to America—and a number of programs for rural areas.

With the extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act to June 30, 1967, we are assisting the displaced persons who are victims of automation to update their knowledge so they can be available for the many opportunities that result through progress. These people can thus keep pace with our new advanced society and be self-supporting while contributing their share to needs of our country. With expanding employment we can look to further tax reductions in many areas, while reaching a true balanced budget. With continued reductions in many areas of Government spending the scales can be favorably reversed.

This Congress approved fair minimum wages in many areas heretofore not covered, and provided equal wages for women doing the same job as their male counterpart.

With pay raises granted to postal and classified Federal employees as well as to the military, they can keep pace with the advancements in our economy.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

In the closing hours of the 88th Congress, we passed a compromised veterans' pension bill to increase pensions for most war veterans and reopened the national service life insurance program for a limited number of veterans. The bill's provisions on pensions cover veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war who have at least 10-percent disability that is not connected with their military service. Widows are also included.

To be eligible for a pension a veteran or widow must have an income of less than $1,800 a year if they are without dependents or less than $3,000 a year if they have dependents.

Under the insurance compromise, all veterans who have disability resulting from military service will have a year to enroll in the NSLI program. Their premiums for $10,000 of life insurance: $149.20 a year at age 35; $288.40 a year if they are 45; and $365.40 a year if they are 55.

In addition, veterans with non-service-connected disabilities who are unable to obtain insurance from private firms will be eligible. Their premiums for $10,000 of life insurance would be $100.80 a year at age 35; $287.10 a year at age 45; and $451.30 a year at age 55.

EDUCATION

This Congress was quite cognizant of the technical advancements taken place in our way of life, and we realized the need of proper education for our youth. We met the challenge before us with sound programs to provide the needed education to our young so they can be prepared to face the challenges of the future.

With the extension of the National Defense Education Act we enable promising students who seek a college education to borrow money from the Federal Government, working in cooperation with the higher institutes of learning, which is needed to finance this education. The money is to be paid by installments after the individual has become self-supporting. This program is truly one of the most progressive pieces of legislation of modern time. Students that have benefited from this act when it was first established in 1958 are now repaying their obligation with interest.

With other programs adopted to assist in financing the construction of needed academic and related facilities; assistance in the aid of education of nurses and other professional personnel in the health field; and assistance in vocational educational programs, we, in this Congress, have faced the challenge of advancing the education of our youth through sound judgment.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

This Congress has not jeopardized our security in the world. We have provided for the military strength of this Nation, which is second to none. We have advanced our weaponry systems, maintained a balance of available manpower for defense at a moment's notice, if it should be needed, and generally continue our sound program of preparedness as a deterrent against aggression. And although this phase of our Federal Government operation requires the largest part of our revenue for its support, we reduced the cost of financing it by half a billion dollars from the previous fiscal year, without endangering our position. It is most ironical that we, a nation that does not desire world conquest but seeks to live in peace, must maintain the strongest military might to check aggression. It is unfortunate that we have to tax ourselves to this extreme, but it is an investment in protection for our homes, our resources, and our future. An investment against the destruction of self-determination as our way of life.

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The strongest opposition to the program of progress in this Congress centered on providing for our senior years. Since the enactment of the Social Security Act back in the thirties—which has proven its worth to the point that it is reluctantly being recognized as a sound program of security and dignity for our senior citizens by those who have opposed all of its concepts since its beginning—the attack against improving this program is the strongest conducted by the conservative element in Congress. Although their present national leader states that he supports the social security system and wants to see it strengthened, he has led the action to oppose it.

Our biggest failure in this Congress was to approve much needed improvements in the Social Security Act. I had hoped we could reach an agreement on establishing a needed medical care plan under its provisions, but the most intensified assault on any piece of legislation in this Congress was focused on this, one of the truly worthy pieces of legislation considered. It was stymied in Congress and the reluctant opposition would not yield their position. The end result was the loss of across-the-board benefit increases, benefits to children who attend school full time after reaching age 18 and until age 22, lowering the age limit for widows to be eligible for benefits, and to enable certain groups of self-employed to be covered under the act if they so desired.

It was a bitter pill to swallow but as I have said, there are times when the legislative process is slow, especially when powerful opponents delay and sidetrack the issue. However, we cannot give up and I believe that the will of the people in their strong support of the Social Security Act and the need for the improvements I have mentioned, should prevail and we must work for these improvements in the next Congress.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

We continued aid to nations in great need, who are struggling to reach a position of self-reliance, and the progress being made by these nations has enabled us to reduce the costs of support. This is insurance for free world strength.

The establishment and continued work of the Peace Corps has been most beneficial in proving to the world that we desire peace and prosperity for all nations of the free world.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Many improvements have been made in this area. We have faced the problem of meeting the demands of national transportation, both public and private, through the Mass Transportation Act. We met the challenge of urban renewal and the need for low-cost public housing, and we continued to improve our highway systems.

We looked after the needs of the mentally retarded; and provided for the construction of additional hospitals while modernizing those now in existence.

We have insured the rights of all citizens in all areas of our Nation, which we, in Illinois, have recognized and enjoyed under State laws dating back to the year of 1885.

We have acted to control water and air pollution and to seek means of eliminating these hazards to our health. We took a positive approach in developing outdoor recreation programs and preserving our wilderness areas for us to enjoy in our leisure hours.

PERSONAL REPORT

I am grateful to the citizens of the Eighth Congressional District in Chicago, Ill., for their confidence and support in this, the 88th Congress, as well as the 86th and 87th Congresses. This encouragement was most inspiring in accepting the important position as majority whip of Illinois, and a seat on the important Ways and Means Committee—the committee on committees—on which my colleagues elected to have me serve. And I hope that the roles I have assumed in this Congress will be a sense of pride to every one of the 490,000 residents of the Eighth Congressional District of Illinois, as I have been proud to serve.

This may appear to be a lengthy report but it is only a comprehensive analysis of the action of the 88th Congress. Therefore, my constituents can obtain more detailed information by writing me if they so desire. If they seek personal service for any of their problems, my dis-

trict office at 2547 West North Avenue, Chicago, Ill., will be open daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and on Monday and Thursday evenings from 7 until 9 p.m. during the winter months. Although the volume of mail I have received this past year has greatly increased, I have geared my staff to look after the needs of my constituents and make every effort to acknowledge their requests as quickly as possible. I shall continue to look forward to hearing from them.

Annual Legislative Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am submitting herewith a copy of my annual legislative report for the 88th Congress, 2d session, which will be mailed to the residents of the 13th District of Illinois later this week.

The legislative report follows:

ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE REPORT—1964: 88TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The campaign banners of most candidates for public office have been fully unfurled for over a month, and, amidst the drama of a presidential election year, the now somewhat weary Members of Congress are finally able to head home from Washington for the final month of our campaigns. During the recordbreaking 88th Congress, the House of Representatives has studied, debated, and voted on over 2,000 bills, resolutions, amendments, and motions, which touch on every conceivable topic affecting the welfare and security of our Nation.

Some interesting statistics: The 88th Congress—one of the longest in the history of our country—has filled close to 60,00 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; 18,700 measures were introduced for consideration, more than 1,600 bills, resolutions, etc., passed the House, and over 945 bills became law.

The role of the Congress: Since the convening of the first Congress, each Member has been charged with the responsibility of helping to accomplish the lofty goals for government set forth in the Constitution, and each measure considered must be tested against these guidelines. Nonetheless, in passing on the legislative proposals which come before us the deliberations are necessarily reduced to practical considerations, such as:

Where can this problem be best solved?—Consideration of the nature of the problem involved, and a judgment as to which level of government, if any, is best suited to handle that problem;

How can this problem best be solved?—Debate as to the workability of the solution proposed; and

Which problems must urgently need attention, which can be deferred?—An evaluation of the financial resources available to meet all problems of Government, and an assessment of the relative urgency of one issue as compared with other problems—keeping in mind that national revenues are not unlimited.

Assessing legislative priorities: "The budget battle": Each Congressman has the solitary and painstaking responsibility of carefully studying and evaluating the merits and costs of the many measures considered, and of assessing the urgency and priority of each in the entire legislative spectrum. Thus, particularly in a year with an $8 billion deficit—making total deficits in the past 3 years of over $20 billion—it was necessary to ask not only whether a program was sound and necessary, but, also, whether it was of sufficiently high priority that it should take precedence over other worthwhile programs.

Attendance record: House average, 78 percent; RUMSFELD attendance, plus 96 percent.

President Johnson called his budget one of "economy and progress" which "carries us a giant step toward a balanced budget." But Representative Clarence Cannon, Democrat, of Missouri, chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, said that "this budget is higher, now lower, than the current year" and "signifies more, not less, spending." Controversy has also centered on alleged recent shifting of expenditures from the current budget year to the pricr budget, so as to attribute some of the Johnson deficit to the Kennedy administration. From the standpoint of new spending authority, the 1965 budget unfortunately points to the likelihood of continued Federal deficits.

Bills introduced: Part of a Congressman's responsibility is to identify problems and initiate action to resolve them. I have introduced or sponsored several bills and resolutions, including measures:

To raise the annual earnings limitation (now $1,200) for individuals receiving social security benefits so they may earn more without a reduction in benefits.

To permit individual tax deductions for education expenses. This approach to education financing came within a few votes of adoption when Senator RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, offered such a proposal in the Senate earlier this year.

To express the sense of the House of Representatives condemning Government-supported persecution of religious minorities and anti-Semitic practices in the Soviet Union. (A sense of Congress resolution on this subject became law as an amendment to the foreign aid bill in the final days of this session.)

To call for an investigation by the House of conflicts of interest in financial activities of Congressmen and congressional employees.

To permit certain mailing privileges to facilitate disemination of educational material for the blind.

Space Committee work—House Committee on Science and Astronautics: We have seen in the last 2 years some dramatic examples of U.S. space proficiency. As a member of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, I have been privileged to participate closely in the consideration of authorization bills for the U.S. space programs. This Nation is committed to successfully meeting the challenge of space both with respect to civilian applications as well as the military threat which space breakthroughs pose. Our commitments must be met. However, the whole story is not told in headline events such as John Glenn's orbital flight or the Ranger moon landing. There is evidence that the Soviets are directing much of their space effort to military uses, as President Johnson recently confirmed, and it would be folly to overlook the development of this aspect of our space program. Consequently, I introduced a resolution to create a Select Committee on National Space Policy to review and appraise U.S. space goals and priorities. As a member of the Space Committee, I have supported budget restrictions which I believed would not hamper the effectiveness of the space program wherever possible, but have worked and voted to keep U.S. space efforts moving ahead.

Summer intern program: I have instituted a program for college students who reside in the 13th district. Each summer a young man and woman are selected to serve as "congressional interns" for 6 weeks on my Washington staff, to gain practical experience in Government and to encourage interest in public service.

OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE 13TH DISTRICT

Aircraft noise: At my request, the House Committee on Science and Astronautics accepted a reallocation of funds within the NASA budget for the purpose of stepping up research programs to alleviate the increasingly critical problem of aircraft noises. Noises from both conventional and jet aircraft today represent a serious annoyance, particularly in urban and suburban areas. With millions of dollars being spent to develop supersonic aircraft, this problem promises to become more critical in future years unless immediate steps are taken to protect the homeowner's peaceful enjoyment of his property while accommodating necessary progress in aircraft development.

Government publications available: Congressman are provided with materials and publications for distribution to constituents. Examples of the types of material available on request include: reproduced copies of President Kennedy's Inaugural Address, the Pledge of Allegiance, a booklet entitled "Our American Government," another entitled "Our Flag," etc.

American flags: American flags which have been flown over the Capitol can be secured through my office. Sizes: 3 by 5 feet, $2.60; 5 by 8 feet, $5.60. Please include the name and address of the person or organization to whom the flag will be presented.

Academy nominations: Applications are now being accepted from young men interested in attending the U.S. Military, Naval, Air Force, and Merchant Marine Academies for classes entering June 1966. Applicants must be U.S. citizens, between 17 and 22 years of age, single, and residents of the 13th Congressional District of Illinois. Selection is based on merit.

Communication with the 13th district: In addition to frequent speaking appearances, meetings, and visits with civic groups and individuals, I have tried, always, to keep the district informed about legislation and congressional matters through the annual "national issues poll," the "legislative report," my weekly radio "Report from Washington," and periodic "newsletters" on the activities of Congress, mailed to the 13th district residents. These reports are available on request. Please notify my Washington office if you wish to be placed on the mailing list.

WHAT'S AHEAD IN THE NEXT CONGRESS

The 88th Congress has made some strides forward. We can expect even more difficult decisions in the coming years. As we review past accomplishments, it is well to note briefly some problems which still confront us.

World peace: This illusive but ever present goal remains unachieved as wars rage around the globe. There is no more precious possession than freedom, and ours is a heavy but noble and necessary responsibility as the bastion of freedom and leader of the free world.

The economy: Fiscal responsibility, encouragement to economic growth, and serious attention to the problems and benefits of automation are matters of high priority for the coming Congress.

Corruption in Government: Congress must come to grips with corruption in Government and conflicts of interest to assure that those in public office serve but one master—the people. We cannot tolerate another Bobby Baker case.

Congressional reform: The next Congress must recognize that the proper formulation of legislation requires adequate committee staffing for the minority as well as the majority party, and give consideration to plac-

ing control of the chief investigating committees of the House and Senate with the party not in control of the White House to assure vigorous investigation of wrongdoing.

The President: We must no longer delay resolving questions relating to Presidential succession, Presidential disability, and Presidential protection.

Other matters: Hopefully, the coming Congress will give attention to the establishment of a "Freedom Academy" to train men to cope with the more subtle, nonmilitary problems of the cold war; demand of the administration improvements in postal service; seriously study the vital question of Federal-State relationships if we are to cope effectively with the problems of a modern, changing, and dynamic society; and give prompt consideration to revision of the burdensome excise tax structure.

These are big orders, and there are no easy solutions. But I am confident that this Nation, blessed with its great human and economic resources, can effectively meet them. The extent to which each individual concerns himself with these challenges and with the working Government, will determine our success in meeting them.

Campaigns, elections, and you: There is no greater force in our society than an informed and expressed public opinion. Each individual has a responsibility to participate in the processes of government by selecting public officials at all levels. In the 1960 election, an average of 205 people per precinct voted for one party, 206 per precinct voted for the other party, and 224 of the potential voters per precinct didn't vote at all. Only 60 to 65 percent of the eligible voters voted in 1960. Illinois was above the average with 75.7 percent, but still below such other nations as Great Britain, 78.7 percent; Italy, 93.7 percent; and Norway, 79.1 percent. The importance of the great national and international issues facing this country demand and require the fullest participation and best judgments of all the people.

Personal note: It is my hope that these legislative reports, which also appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, have assisted you in considering the work of the 88th Congress. It is a privilege to represent the 13th Congressional District. The interest shown by the people of our district in the issues facing the Congress is a rewarding challenge—a challenge that makes me ever aware of my duty to represent all the people of our district responsibly, energetically, and thoughtfully.

Atmospheric Sciences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the National Education Association in its Journal recently carried an interesting article by Dr. Thomas F. Malone of Hartford on the characteristics of the weather sciences and the atmosphere. Dr. Malone, who is from Hartford, is an acknowledged authority in this field and serves our own Committee on Science and Astronautics as a member of its advisory panel of sciences.

I thought his discussion of the atmospheric sciences was most enlightening, and I offer it for the RECORD, so that all may have access to this understanding of our physical environment.

The article follows:

ATMOSPHERIC SCIENCES

The atmosphere was man's first scientific laboratory. In it he could observe, in colossal grandeur or in exquisite detail, practically all of the phenomena of interest to the physical sciences.

In each generation for thousands of years a few individuals have had the perception, the curiosity, and the imagination to do more than look at the visible manifestation of physical processes taking place in the atmosphere. These individuals have asked "Why?" about such things as these: the blue of the sky; the splendor of the rainbow; the glowering arc and shimmering curtain of the aurorae; the shattering power of the lightning stroke; the infinite variety and marvelous detail of snowflakes; the inexorable march of temperature from season to season; the terrifying fury of the hurricane; the life cycle of a cloud as it forms, grows, decays, and disappears on a summer afternoon.

The cumulative contribution of the answers assayed to these "whys" down through the centuries is a body of knowledge which is the framework for man's understanding of his physical environment. This structure is not yet complete, but today—as never before in all history—we have at hand the tools, the techniques, and the knowledge which give us the opportunity to complete an edifice started more than 3,000 years ago. This is the challenge of the atmospheric sciences.

Before discussing the developments that have seemingly brought us to the threshold of a new era in this field, let us begin with an historical footnote of sorts.

Four milestones can be identified in the slow and often halting process by which meteorology has been transformed from the beginning stages when it embraced most of science, on through an era of narrow preoccupation with local weather forecasting, to the present, when its scope is so broadened and changed that it has even acquired a new name—the atmospheric sciences.

The first milestone was passed when the perspicacious Greeks recognized that wind and rain, heat and cold, were not caused by mythical deities punishing or rewarding their subjects but rather by processes taking place in the atmosphere. The Greeks sought to interpret systematic—albeit crude—observations in the light of these processes. Their studies were summarized in Aristole's compendium, Meteorologica. This treatment of the science of the atmosphere, with its many remarkable examples of insight as well as its understandable misconceptions, was to stand as the final authority in this field for nearly 2,000 years.

The start of a quantitative era was the second milestone. The invention of the thermometer, the barometer, and the hydrometer in the 16th and 17th centuries extended man's capability to observe, and sharpened his desire to interpret and to understand.

Systematic investigation of problems of the atmosphere attracted some of the best minds of the times. Galileo, Evangelista Torricelli, Blaise Pascal, Robert Boyle, Jacques A. César Charles, René Descartes, Isaac Newton, Anders Celsius, Benjamin Franklin, and many others made their mark in meteorology as they became intrigued with the explanation of physical phenomena in the atmosphere.

The third milestone was signaled by the efforts of Brandes, about 1820, to portray the state of the atmosphere at a given time by arraying a set of simultaneous observations on a weather map. This bold attempt to view the atmosphere as a whole instead of through unrelated single-point observations clearly revealed the continuity of successive "snapshots" of the fields of temperature, pressure, and wind and suggested a pragmatic approach to weather forecasting.

With the advent of the electric telegraph later in the 19th century, it became possible to collect weather data quickly enough to attempt to anticipate tomorrow's weather. The resulting forecasting efforts, empirical in nature, have achieved just enough success to justify the development of a relatively extensive worldwide array of weather stations in various nations, loosely synchronized and coordinated by international agreement.

From a scientific standpoint, this was an era of descriptive studies which were gradually extended into a new dimension as observations of the upper atmosphere became available in response to aviation needs. Meanwhile, the outlines of a general theory of the hydrodynamical processes began to emerge so that by the beginning of the 20th century it was possible for the late V. Bjerknes to set down the set of mathematical equations which would ultimately place weather forecasting on a rational basis. The stage was now set for significant progress.

The final milestone began to come into view during the late 1930's when the late Carl-Gustaf Rossby and his collaborators at MIT started a serious effort to explain atmospheric motion in terms of hydrodynamic theory.

During the past two decades, new techniques of observing the atmosphere up to altitudes of several hundred thousand feet above the surface reawakened the interest of the scientific community, and the escalation of meteorology into the atmospheric sciences began to get underway. The following description of a typical problem to be solved may suggest the significance of this development:

The main characteristic of the atmosphere which establishes the nature of the scientific problem to be solved is that the atmosphere is in motion. This movement is influenced by the earth's rotation and by a combination of internal and cosmic forces.

The complexity of the problem is further compounded because of other factors; the atmosphere consists of a mixture of gases in which minute amounts of many substances play important roles; as a whole, the atmosphere gases are compressible, nonhomogeneous, resist internal flow patterns, are bounded above by the outer reaches of the solar atmosphere, and below, by surfaces with varying shapes, sizes, composition, and heat properties.

The atmospheric envelope rotates with the earth but does not rest quietly upon it. The minor internal motions of the atmosphere, which we know as the winds, are in fact small departures from rather large absolute velocities. Winds are induced by a nonuniform distribution of sinks (areas where energy is added or remvoed) and energy sources, which are variable in number and strength and exist mainly in response to the disposition of short-wave solar radiation, flux of outgoing radiation, the latent heat involved in phase changes of water substance (water vapor, liquid water, and ice), and on the flow of detectable heat at the boundary between the lower atmosphere and the ocean or land.

Much remains to be learned about energy exchange processes in the atmosphere, particularly about the thermodynamics of clouds and the exchange process at the air-sea interface. However, the theoretical and observational tools now exist to acquire the needed information.

Air circulation patterns in the atmosphere range in scale from the circumpolar vortex at midtropospheric levels, down through the migratory cyclones and anticyclones, hurricanes, tornadoes, to smaller mesoscale wind systems, on into the convective cloud currents, and finally into small-scale turbulence. One of the central problems of meterology is to explain the existence of this spectrum of

atmospheric disturbances and the interactions among them.

The atmosphere forms a major part of the environment to which this life is sensitively responsive. To this extent, it has the characteristics of a great natural resource. All over the world, climate influences the intricate balance between plant life and lower forms of animal life. Plant growth and productivity react sharply to a complex combination of temperature and moisture.

Human and animal life, and even their evolutionary progress, are influenced by their reactions to the atmospheric environment. Floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, droughts, killing frosts, and the problems of air pollution have all, on occasion, influenced modern society.

On first consideration, the scientific problem of the atmosphere seems to be incredibly complex. However, if the overall problem is analyzed and subdivided into an orderly series of separate problems, it becomes less formidable. There is a logical ordering of the several parts of the atmospheric problem. In simplest terms they are these four: observation, understanding, prediction, and control.

For the atmosphere, as for any physical system, the capacity to understand is predicated on the capability to observe; the ability to predict in a really satisfactory manner is dependent on the capacity to understand and in a scientific sense is a measure of that understanding; intelligent control must rest firmly on an ability to predict—else the efficacy of measures by which control is attempted will remain in doubt because of uncertainty as to the course the atmosphere would have taken if left to its own devices.

Let us note the progress that has been made during the past couple of decades in each of the four parts of the total problem.

Totally new dimensions have been opened up in our capabilities for observation. Microwave radar enables us to extend our vision and peer into the inner workings of coluds—to examine the distribution of drop sizes and the convective cells around which clusters of raindrops form and to study the motions therein.

Rockets permit direct measurements of the composition, structure, and physical processes in the layer between 100 and 600 thousand feet. This is the layer within which X-rays and most of the ultraviolet rays and energetic particles are observed and where the air glow and aurorae occur. Highly specialized sensors can be mounted on airplanes and balloons to probe the almost limitless types of clouds.

Finally, the advent of meteorological satellites has placed in the hands of the atmospheric scientist a powerful tool for acquiring on a truly global basis, a variety of measurements fundamental to an understanding of air motion and to the exchange of energy between the sun and earth which is responsible for these motions. The photographs of global cloud systems are only the first step in the utilization of this new tool. In time, other atmospheric and oceanographic elements will be measured to augment and extend conventional observations made at the bottom of the atmosphere.

No less important than the great variety of observations which the meteorological satellites make possible is the fact that for the first time it is becoming possible to bring the entire atmosphere under surveillance.

Observing systems are now envisioned in which the satellites not only make direct measurements but also serve as communications links between freely floating balloons (which when interrogated by the satellites will report temperature and wind speeds) and automatic recording stations over the vast oceanic areas and sparsely inhabited land regions. The capability to describe in a fashion hitherto almost unimagined is now within reach.

These new observational capabilities would result in little more than surfeit of weather data were it not for the fact that theoretical understanding has reached the stage at which it is becoming possible to specify the kind of measurements required for reliable weather forecasting.

In essence, this means that today it is practicable to relate the systems of mathematical equations which describe the physical processes in the atmosphere with the reality of nature revealed by our observations.

Scientists can now relate the state of the atmosphere as described by observations on a given day with its state on the following day through quantitative statements of the physical processes which relate those two states. The ability to do this provides a foundation for a physical approach to weather forecasting. This would not have been possible without a successful blending of physical and mathematical insight with the modern high-speed digital computer.

While these methods have so far been applied only to large-scale weather systems (e.g., those that span a continent), the extension to the processes that produce clouds and those that operate over the entire globe are already being attempted. Similarly, entirely new light is being shed on the physical-chemical processes in the upper atmosphere, as well as those that convert water vapor into clouds and clouds into rain.

With respect to prediction, the ability to link tomorrow's weather with that of today by means of a computer and a set of mathematical equations hints at a coming revolution in the professional services provided by the meteorologist. When this ability is combined with the use of mathematical statistics to express the degree of uncertainty inherent in so capricious a system as the atmosphere, the way is opened to apply the rapidly developing theory of decisionmaking in the face of uncertainty to the vast number of operations that depend to some degree on the weather.

We do not know if we can ever learn to control our atmospheric environment. We do know that clouds can be modified, and certain kinds of supercooled fog can be dissipated. Evaporation processes can be altered to some extent over water surfaces, and recent results suggest the possibility of artificially interfering with the way plant life loses moisture to the atmosphere. It has been demonstrated that electrical properties of cumulus clouds can be altered by artificially modifying the space charge in the lower part of the atmosphere.

The possibility has been recognized that suitable catalysts may trigger the release of energy stored in the upper atmosphere in the form of atomic oxygen and free radicals. We have started to conduct some highly preliminary experiments in tinkering with the energetics of incipient hurricanes and tornadoes. More significant than these tentative efforts is the fact that because we can now simulate the behavior of the atmosphere on a computer, we have within reach a means of discovering the possible consequences of conscious intervention in atmospheric processes before actually attempting to intervene.

Although meaningful control of the weather may never be practicable, this activity has now passed from a purely speculative phase into a stage in which rational analysis is the order of the day.

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Salute for Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Robert W. Coyne, president of the Distilled Spirits Institute, at a testimonial dinner sponsored by the institute on September 29, 1964, in honor of Dwight E. Avis who recently retired as Director of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Avis served with great credit and distinction in a difficult assignment for a period of 38 years and is a fine example of the many dedicated and devoted career Federal civil servants. It is my hope that in retirement Mr. Avis will enjoy with his wife and family many years of good health, contentment and happiness which he so richly deserves:

The address follows:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Avis, honored guests, ladies, and gentleman, I am most proud to have been named to speak at this dinner where my industry does honor to Dwight Avis. It is not an easy assignment. It is not easy, for my friendship with Dwight for nearly 40 years has encompassed so much. I need not grope for material; my choice is to select so that reminiscence dear to me shall not bore and dull the brilliance of a gathering like this which should be in sharp focus on our honored guest and not a vehicle for my meandering memoirs.

I take some liberties, however, for there are those among you who do not know that almost 40 years ago, fresh from law school, Dwight Avis and I were Federal agents together. Shortly thereafter, he became my boss and continued as such for nearly 15 years. We go back a long way together, as do our families. And warm indeed do I feel as I see his wonderful family gathered here tonight to share his honor.

In my role tonight, I shall not aim for completeness of detail or credit. I should, I think, merely visit with you and compress, almost as on a thumbnail, impressions of Dwight Avis as a career public servant, most distinguished and most unique. The usual superlatives do not apply. His experience was not usual. His progress was not conventional. The times that served as a backdrop for his service were historic, almost without counterpart or parallel.

Dwight Avis entered the Federal service during and at the height of the attempted social revolution called prohibition, whose rules were crude and unproven—whose guideposts were vague and whose evils and dangers defy adequate description. He served through the counterrevolution of restored social sanity which, like all counterrevolutions, was replete with problems most grave.

There were few from whom Dwight Avis could learn his profession. There was no book of rules worthy of the name. There were no maps. The frontiers were new.

Dwight Avis never served in the ranks. By force of public necessity, he was immediately catapulted to positions of grave responsibility. Called an investigator and special agent, he was such in name only, for in those capacities, as a fledgling, he supervised and prepared prosecutions of top rank such as in the Waterloo Distillery and Illinois Alcohol cases that made history in the development of major conspiracy cases. This at the age of 26. No apprenticeship. No trial runs. Armed only with intelligence, good sense, a good education, character, and guts. He found few rules. Where he found no rules, he made them.

His progress was rapid and in a very short time he was near and at the top, and at the top he stayed.

Picture, if you will, the jungle in which he operated.

His beginnings were not in or concerned with the industry that honors him tonight. He dealt with a widespread industry of crime in its ugliest manifestations—systematized, organized, virulent crime. And he worked against odds beyond belief.

In the dark days of prohibition, more adventurers were attracted to crime than in the lustiest days of the Klondike, and adventurers of all descriptions were on both sides of the fence. It was an era of double agents. Officers took lives in hand and infiltrated criminal gangs for good purposes, and crooks infiltrated Government agencies for dollars.

This was the atmosphere and environment into which the young lawyer was thrust. He did not stand alone. In those troubled days he found a vast legion of honest, dedicated officers who made up a proud nucleus for the maintenance of good government. He saw and helped this group reject the misfits, weed out the corrupt, develop fine skills, and win respect and recognition inch by inch, year by year, and always uphill. Charter members of that group are with us tonight—Dwight's associates in the service—and the gray and grizzled veterans of yesteryear, such as Mal Harney, and Harry Dengler, and Ed Bernie, Frank Wilson, and, of course, Howard Jones. They know the language I speak. They were there. This is their party, too. They and Dwight saw friends succumb to the dirty dollar of bribery. They saw friends killed in the line of duty. And, of course, and happily, they saw a host of comrades weather the storm and walk with them into the proud chapters of his story that we commemorate tonight. But the road for Dwight was thorny. He savored suspicion at every turn. He fought hostile newspapers and public officials. He knew the frustrations and disappointments of tasks well done aborted and vitiated. And, of course, he and his team knew the satisfaction of seeing their work cut deep into the flanks and vitals of the toughest mobs in the land. The Capone syndicate and lesser groups in Chicago, the Purple Gang in Detroit, Eagan's rats in East St. Louis, are but names and obscene memories now, but great forces for evil in their day; he saw these and their ilk come off second best.

Dwight saw his own group of special agents build under his hand into a hard-hitting, honest, ingenious, enforcement machine which made history and which, even today, is a conversation piece wherever law enforcement experts gather.

He did it the hard way, and I wish I had time to give you the chapter and the verse. He pioneered in car-to-car radio, direction finders for illicit broadcasting, raw materials control, miniature microphones, and a score of developments that were the forerunners for many crime detection advances now in universal use, and not credited to him. And this he did without fanfare, without bylines, without personal aggrandizement; no books, no lectures, no movies.

You may gather I think he was quite a guy. I think I can explain him best when I say that when some of us look in a mirror we see ourselves. When Dwight Avis looked in a mirror, he saw his job.

I have described to you a cop, a supercop, to be sure, super in dedication and in intelligence, but nonetheless a cop. We have all heard, "once a cop, always a cop." But here my tune changes.

After 25 years as a rough, tough enforcement leader Dwight was drafted to new responsibilities. He was charged with new duties. He was placed in charge of dealing with the most complex, sensitive industry on the economic and social terrain. I mean this industry. By all odds, his hand would be too heavy. Cops are not known for fines or diplomacy. This was a new league. He was bound to strike out.

I need not fill you in on this phase of his career. You were there—you are there. You have been witness to his immersion in this industry's problems with the same total interest and understanding and perception that made for his earlier successes. You have seen his genius for splitting problems into their component parts with no policy too sacred, no precedent inviolate, no effort too painstaking. To give you a blow-by-blow of his successes would be redundant, for you know them all.

You can tell with more skill than I his continuing forays against illicit distillers competing against our industry, against the honest taxpayer, and against decency. You can cite his battles against overregulation; his pressing for reforms which, as in 1954 and 1958, were hailed by industry and government observers alike as the most outstanding and significant achievement in the field of liquor and tobacco law in 75 years. You were witness to the attitudes and the deft skills that he brought to the inexact science of fair advertising. You know of his slavish devotion to the solution of every industry problem where he could bring government into the area of service and out of the area of control. You have known him as a stanch ally in supporting the ethical guidelines you laid down for yourself. You saw him strengthen and defend your good ideas just as he would oppose with vigor any ideas from any of us tht he feld would lead to error.

My opinion is not humble, for I am a schooled observer of the Government scene, when I say that of all industries and their dealing with Government, this industry—rated the most difficult, linked as it is not only with economic factors—most complex, but with social, political, ethical, behavioral, and even religious considerations—this industry stands second to none in its having won understanding and cooperation with our Government. This is due to the wisdom and the good attitudes I am proud to attribute to the industry leaders. This is due also to the breadth and vision and capacity of our guest of honor.

In viewing the career of Dwight Avis, many points are noteworthy on his great record, but I selfishly grade them.

It is thrilling always to witness a professional who through force and excellence rises to the top. But that is not the greatest point.

It is a great career that marks success in an arena bounded by all of the dangers that beset the enforcement of criminal laws unpopular and dangerous in their execution. But that is not its greatest point.

It is a great accomplishment for one to develop the skills and expertise for accomplishments, where methods were uncharted, where encouragement and recognition were faint, grudging, or nonexistent. But that is not its greatest point.

It is a study in versatility to witness a change of direction as was seen in Dwight Avis when he added to his portfolio of the most difficult criminal law enforcement, a new department of activity, that of guiding a complex regulatory function affecting an industry of unbelievable complexity; as was seen in his mastery of a maze of obscure controls and prohibitions relating to alcoholic liquors; as was seen in his penetrating the cobwebbed thinking of the 19th century; as he cut through, weighed, and rejected outmoded proscriptions to let the light of contemporary reason and commonsense, rather than mildewed precedent, be his guide and his design. But that is not the greatest point.

These points are sharp. They are impressive. They are incisive. They are admirable. They are the mark of the true professional that should evoke the highest regard and the ultimate in respect.

These appeal to the mind. What then are the greatest points I would urge? They are points that transcend cerebral efficiency, however superb. They are points that are linked not so much to the brain as to the emotions and what we loosely refer to as the heart.

I would name three great points of the Dwight Avis career, whose imprint is indelible and beyond price, points which are the greatest.

Of greatest import is a career that offers to thousands of faithful workers in public service proof that sincerity and guts and honesty of purpose are not empty terms and phrases; that devotion, drive, and imagination, and not the shoulders of friends or political wheedling, are the touchstones of quality and success. This point is of the greatest.

Of the greatest also is a career that is a dramatic and dynamic example that the relationship of Government, the public, and business is not an adversary relationship; that a public servant can have the intellectual security to deal with the public and with business on terms of trust, that he can have the courage to risk the misinterpretations and criticism of small men and deal in every direction with an open deck, and give the lie to those who would use office to control, rather than to fill the traditions of true service for which all public office was created. This is a great point indeed, and of the greatest.

And, lastly, the superlative of great—"greatness" in its essence and full flower—is seen in a career that is a center-spread for the very young, a career that is a living exhibit "A" for the thesis that public service is a noble endeavor, not a roost for the self-serving, not a refuge for the mediocre, not a playground for venal opportunists, not an arena of expedience, but a calling of the highest order, whose standards are stern, whose demands are challenging, and whose price in excellence is high: But also, for those who can run the course, their rewards in self-fulfillment, and excitement and accomlishment can add up to the high adventure for which every boy yearns as he dreams great dreams and before he learns from us oldsters to conceal the stars in his eyes.

These, then, are my greatest points brought into relief by the career of Dwight Avis. They are the jewels, beyond price, on the badge Dwight Avis wears tonight. I think I could describe no prouder decoration. May he wear it forever in his heart.

Taking Up the Torch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by George F. W. Telfer as it appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, Sunday, September 27, 1964. It indicates the splendid cooperation by the free nations of the world in attempting to improve international economic conditions.

The article follows:

TAKING UP THE TORCH

(By George F. W. Telfer)

Little by little some of the world's richer nations are taking over from the richest, the United States, a greater share of the task of aiding poorer lands.

Many, following the U.S. lead, also are giving the poor lands more time to pay back loans and are lending at lower interest rates.

Last year West Germany, Canada, and Italy all boosted their commitments of loans and grants while the United States cut its pledges, latest published figures show. This country's share of the total pledged by major free-world donors and the international lending agencies dropped to half, compared with 56 percent of the 1962 total.

The U.S. share will move up again this year, but probably fall below 50 percent of the total by 1965. The United States is likely to commit about $4.7 billion this year and next, putting the level back where it was in 1962, according to the best estimates available.

(These figures include commitments for food for peace, the Peace Corps, the Export-Import Bank, and the international agencies as well as those by the Agency for International Development.)

The United States and the other advanced countries with substantial foreign aid programs, that is, most of Western Europe, plus Japan and Canada, belong to the Development Assistance Committee, aid coordinating arm of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Outlays by the other 10 DAC countries probably will reach the $3 billion level in 1965, up from $2.7 billion last year and $2.4 billion in 1962. The international agencies, such as the World Bank, probably will bring their lending level up to $1.5 billion by 1965, up from $1.3 billion for each of the last 3 years.

EUROPE

Other countries are spreading their aid around a little bit, too. Europe's aid to Latin America now runs about $80 to $100 million a year. This is about four times what it was in 1962, although it's still only a small part of Europe's total aid outlay.

The Latins can expect an even larger flow of European aid, Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, said last week. He held a press conference in Paris on the eve of a meeting of the DAC, which examined the latest condition of European aid to Latin America and heard pleas for more from officials of the Alliance for Progress.

The Alliance officials proposed creation of a common European fund to attract a greater flow of capital to Latin lands. They also asked credits on better terms: Interest rates of 5 to 6 percent with 2 years grace and 12- to 15-year maturities.

A major problem for foreign aiders is the lack of sound projects in poor lands. Argentina and Brazil are considered good aid candidates in Latin America.

India and Pakistan are already looking ahead to their next 5-year plans. They will need more money just to maintain the current rate of net capital inflow, because their debt service payments are rising. And their new plans may even require a higher net capital inflow.

Turkey now has a sound plan and can use aid wisely. In the past it merely incurred balance-of-payments deficits to bring in capital. Turkey is now working out specific projects, but lacks the money to finance its plan.

International cooperation is evident in aid consortiums of major donor nations to India, Pakistan, and Turkey. This gives each donor a chance to get an idea of a borrower's needs and what it can do to help.

In Africa, Nigeria, Tunisia, and lately the Sudan, are getting substantial aid for their development programs.

CHANGES

Here are some of the changes taking place in the foreign aid field:

Last week the Netherlands pledged about $69 million for foreign aid in 1965, a rise of 15 percent over what it offered this year.

Last year West Germany committed $671 million, up from $432 million in 1962. When German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard visited the United States he reportedly told President Johnson he hoped to keep commitments at the same level or higher in 1964 and 1965.

Pledges by Canada and Italy more than doubled to $125 million and $128 million respectively.

This is a notable performance, considering the United States had the foreign aid field all to itself 10 years ago.

Canada has started a soft-loan program on terms similar to those of the World Bank's International Development Association, that is, 50 years maturity, with three-fourths percent interest and 10 years grace. It is now pumping $50 million a year through this program.

Several other countries continue to liberalize terms. Average maturities of German loans in 1963 were 19 years, compared with an average of 17 years in 1962. Japan's average moved from 8 years in 1962 to almost 13 in 1963.

BRITAIN

Great Britain now provides a waiver of interest payments for up to 7 years on aid loans. This helped cut Britain's interest rate average to 4.4 percent in 1963 from 5.6 percent the year before.

Britain seems on the verge of expanding its aid program, and is stepping up its technical aid to Latin America. Its expansion probably will begin to show up in the 1964 and 1965 figures.

Last year Britain announced a new policy of offering loans of up to 30 years maturity and actually committed $4.2 million in loans with at least that maturity in 1963. It also is making more use of loans with 25-year maturities.

The United States which loaned with an average maturity of 29.9 years in 1962, lent $35 million at between 30- and 40-year maturity last year and $988 million at 40 years or more. Only Germany and France among other donor countries have loaned very much at maturities of more than 20 years.

Soviet bloc nations have been committing about $500 million a year for "mutual defense and development programs," not including their aid to Cuba. As with Western nations, some of these commitments are only slowly turned into actual expenditures.

The international lending agencies recently broadened their policies considerably. The World Bank plans to make its profits available for loans, for example.

This will add $50 million to the Bank's soft-loan fund, which was about $250 million in 1963. The hard-loan program also is slowly expanding.

The Honorable Carl Elliott

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, with full consciousness of the notable contributions so many of my colleagues have made to education of our American youth, I can say without fear of contradiction that CARL ELLIOTT, our colleague and my old friend from north Alabama, has done more than any other single person in our time to foster universal education.

CARL ELLIOTT is leaving the House at the termination of this Congress, but he will be remembered not only in this body, but wherever anyone prizes education as the mainspring of our American democratic system.

Although Mr. ELLIOTT has been a champion of freer and wider education, his interests and knowledge in many other fields attested to his versatility. He proved himself to be an authority in many aspects of agriculture, modern science, industry, and conservation of natural resources. His record as a legislator and as a member of the Rules Committee is known universally here and is unanimously praised. He has been a close friend of mine for years and I will always appreciate his counsel and sharing of his vast knowledge of issues before us and our people.

It is universally agreed in the Congress itself, among our leading educators and, I hope, among hundreds of thousands of Americans that CARL ELLIOTT was the father of the National Defense Education Act. It was his legislation, it was he who explained its provisions within the Education and Labor Committee, and it was he who guided it through the House.

No single piece of legislation has done more to give capable but needy students the opportunity for higher education than CARL ELLIOTT'S inspired legislation. Its success is attested to by the record which shows that almost 700,000 loans have been made since his legislation became effective in 1958. No Member of Congress could ask for a better or more noble monument.

It is notable that CARL ELLIOTT'S legislation came during the Eisenhower regime. That is a tribute to his powers of persuasion and also to his popularity and respect in the House. His most persuasive argument was that Americans, who spend 15 times more on legalized gambling than on education, ought to take a gamble on American youngsters. The gamble certainly has paid off.

His awards and citations from the leading educational organizations and institutions are too numerous to catalog here, but in addition to what he has done for our older educational system, he fathered legislation to help rural libraries, train teachers of retarded children, tax relief for teachers studying to improve their abilities, and was outstanding in his championship of vocational education and rehabilitation of the crippled and handicapped.

We of Alabama will long note his efforts to promote our State's economy, his good record on farm legislation and help to farmers through REA, study programs, and practical helps. Our campaign for waterways development has lost an able ally and champion. But CARL ELLIOTT can leave the Congress with the deep satisfaction and knowledge that he made an enviable record that set a standard not only for the Alabamians who may succeed him, but for any Member of the House in the future. We wish him success in whatever endeavor he chooses and these are plentiful for a man of CARL ELLIOTT's talents.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NEIL STAEBLER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, Monday, October 12, is the anniversary of the discovery of America, 472 years ago, and I wish to pay tribute to the greatness of mind and spirit of the man who led that famous expedition, Christopher Columbus.

Like others who have left the shores of Italy and Spain he was determined not to turn back, but to discover new lands and spread the civilization and faith of Europe beyond the seas. Columbus Day indeed serves to remind us of the contributions of those later generations who have sailed from Italy for which we in America should be profoundly grateful. The enrichment of our American way of life in the fields of music, art, literature, science, and labor by the courageous and generous sons and daughters of Italy has been particularly marked. Their contributions refute the contentions of those who would bar the door against liberalization of our immigration laws, who would retain the outmoded nationality quotas and who have so little faith in our future that they would turn away the compatriots of those who have helped to make America great.

We, like Columbus and his countrymen, must meet the unknown continent of the future with steadfastness of purpose and greatness of spirit, not with the meanness and confinement of little minds.

Alleged Burning of State Department Papers

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ZABLOCKI] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Wisconsin yield briefly?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I am delighted to yield to my colleague, the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JOHANSEN], at page 22930 of the RECORD, addressed the House with regard to, as he says, facts on the State Department's security file burning order. Mr. Speaker, I should like at this time to include with these remarks a statement of the State Department with regard to their domestic field investigative program which indicates very clearly that no data, reports, information, names, leads, and so forth, were ordered destroyed that were not already available in the Washington headquarters.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the matter referred to is as follows:

STATE DEPARTMENT DOMESTIC FIELD INVESTIGATIVE PROGRAM

On August 28, 1964, the Office of Security reorganized its field offices in the United States in order to increase the number of major cities in which we have security officers, reduce travel requirements imposed on our security officers, reduce the number of clerical personnel required to backstop these offices, and to give the Office of Security more flexibility in the utilization of security manpower for other security responsibilities.

Along with this reorganization, duplicate files, control cards (often erroneously referred to as index cards), and obsolete administrative data which had been maintained in field offices were ordered destroyed, since the originals of all this material were maintained in Washington.

This reorganization places the procedures and operations of the State Department domestic investigative program in the United States on a comparable basis to those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Civil Service Commission and other investigative agencies of the U.S. Government.

The principal purpose served by State Department security agents in cities in the United States is to carry out security and suitability investigations on job applicants for State Department positions. Other functions which are not only secondary in nature, but also important, are the responsibilities of these State Department security agents to plan for the protection of visiting foreign dignitaries to the United States and to investigate alleged visa and passport fraud.

In carrying out their job applicant investigative responsibilities under the new organization, the following procedures will be in operation:

1. All applications for jobs are received in Washington.

2. The Washington headquarters of the Office of Security sends the name of the applicant together with information from their employment application to the appropriate field office. (There are now 7 field offices in the United States as opposed to 19 under the old organization.)

3. The field office records the receipt of the investigative request on a control card and then assigns the request to the field agent whose territory covers the city in which the applicant lives. (There are now agents in 27 major U.S. cities as oposed to coverage in only 22 under the old plan.)

4. The field agent conducts a complete investigation on the applicant. This includes a neighborhood check, interviews with employers and acquaintances, a check of the police and credit records, interviews with teachers and schools and in most cases a personal interview with the applicant. (Other investigative agencies do not normally interview the applicant personally.) The investigator follows all leads that are available in his territory.

5. Once he has completed all of his investigation, he dictates his investigative report into a dictating machine and sends his report together with his notes to the appropriate field office (his headquarters). This report that he has dictated contains all data that he has unearthed, all leads that he has followed up, all leads that should be followed up in other sections of the United States or overseas, résumés of all interviews; full information concerning the case is included in his investigative report. (This procedure is similar if not exactly comparable to the way investigative reports are processed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Civil Service Commission.)

6. The resident agent (located in 20 cities) will have an office normally in a Federal office building, but will not have a secretary, since he will dictate his reports on a dictaphone. (This also has saved seven secretarial positions which will be used to strengthen the Washington headquarters operation.) His investigative caseload covers a large territory, oftimes as many as two or three States, and as a result, he will be away from his office approximately 85 percent of his time investigating State Department applicants and in the performance of his other assigned duties.

7. His field office (there are seven of them) has a stenographic pool which will type his investigative reports and send the original and one copy to Washington headquarters. Washington headquarters will, therefore, have the complete agent's report of the case which includes all interviews, all leads, both those followed up and those suggested for further followup, and all material relating to the investigation of the applicant.

The field office has been authorized to retain duplicate copies of the finished investigative report. The agent's dictated record or tape will be maintained in the field office during the retention period for duplicate copies of the investigative report, although the resident agent will not see the transcribed copy of his report. In all cases, it will be reviewed for completeness and accuracy, and then it will be signed and approved by his supervisor who thereby assumes responsibility for the report along with the resident agent.

8. Neither the field agents (headquarters field offices) nor the resident agents have any authority to initiate any investigation nor

to follow up any new leads on any case that is not first directed by Washington headquarters. This has always been the procedure in the State Department and is the same procedure followed by other Federal investigative agencies. Indexes of leads and cross-references of names have always been and will continue to be maintained in and furnished when necessary by the Washington headquarters. Field offices and resident agents maintain control cards of cases under active investigation and in some cases, have retained those cases after the investigation was completed. These cards, which are duplicates of cards originated and maintained in Washington, together with duplicate investigative reports which some resident agents had maintained, are the kind of records that were ordered destroyed in the directive of August 28. No data, reports,, information, names, leads, etc., were ordered destroyed that were not already available in Washington headquarters. In those few instances where a current case file will be needed for further investigative work by a field agent, duplicate copies of the previous reports will be sent from Washington to the appropriate field office, as well as all other pertinent additional information from the Washington files.

This reorganization of State Department domestic field organization and operation was developed by Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security G. Marvin Gentile, who came to the State Department from the position of a senior security and investigative capacity with the Central Intelligence Agency. Prior to that time, he was an investigator with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

OCTOBER 1, 1964.

The Late Honorable Gardner R. Withrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with sadness that I read in the latest issue of the Trainman News of the passing away of our former colleague, the late Honorable Gardner R. Withrow, of Wisconsin. He passed away in his hometown of LaCrosse, after a prolonged illness.

I know that these tidings will bring sorrow to the hearts of Gardner's many friends in this House. He had served in this legislative body for 20 years, retiring in 1960. During his service here, his cheerful demeanor, his tact and courtesy, his wise counsel, and his unfailing willingness to help his colleagues, won him deep respect and the affectionate friendship of his fellow Representatives. He was truly one of the kindest and considerate men I ever knew, and I sorrow at his passing.

But apart from his tremendous personal qualities, Gardner Withrow was an able, conscientious and forward looking legislator. He represented the Third District of Wisconsin for two decades, championing the interests of his electorate, striving to make this a better world for us and for our children. Only three Wisconsin Congressmen have served in this body longer than he did. This, in itself, is a measure of the outstanding job he did for his people, and of the confidence and respect which he enjoyed in his district.

I may mention that Gardner Withrow's record of public service included also 2 years as a member of the Wisconsin State Assembly, from 1928 to 1930.

I would be remiss if I did not recall at this point Gardner Withrow's special concern and interest in problems faced by our transportation system and the people employed in it. The origin of that interest dates back to January 20, 1918, when he became a member of Lodge 176 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. He remained a member of that lodge for the remainder of his life, and served for a time as the brotherhood's Wisconsin State representative. His contribution to the enactment of substantive legislation in the field of transportation, and of railroad employees' retirement benefits, will long be remembered.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to extend my and my wife's profound sympathy to Gardner's widow and family. May they find consolation in this hour of their loss in the thought that the good Lord has called him to be among His very own.

Hon. Donald C. Bruce

SPEECH
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my Republican colleagues from Indiana in expressing my sorrow and my regret on the fact that DONALD C. BRUCE, our 11th District Congressman, is leaving the House of Representatives. I have known DON now for something like 20 years, long before he became a Member of this fine body. I well remember his fine work as a news commentator in his home city of Indianapolis, Ind. His contributions to community life were many, but we remember him best during those years as an intelligent and effective leader of those forces which have lent their energies to the task of alerting the American public to the threat of Communist subversion. He continued this struggle throughout his service in the Congress as an effective member of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

If the gentleman will yield further, I will say that I have known many men in my time, but I would say that DONALD C. BRUCE is one of the finest Americans it has been my privilege to know. Certainly he has done a wonderful job these past 4 years as a member of two of the most important committees of this House. His participation in and his contribution to good government are unquestioned. I join with my colleagues in expressing again my sorrow and in extending my best wishes for future success to him and my warmest and best regards to his lovely wife, Hope, and to his fine children.

In closing I will say, "DON, the House of Representatives will have a big empty seat as a result of your absence and I know your colleagues here will miss you very much."

American Legion Investigates State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Dean Rusk addressed the National Convention of the American Legion in Miami Beach, Fla., on September 10, 1963. During the course of his remarks he extended a personal invitation to the American Legion to investigate the State Department. His invitation was based on the fact that from time to time various posts of the American Legion had adopted resolutions calling for such an investigation.

As a result of Mr. Rusk's invitation, the national convention then in session authorized the national commander to appointed a committee of five members to act as a special committee for the purpose of making the investigation. The national commander, Dan Foley, named a former national commander, Preston Moore, of Oklahoma, as chairman of this committee.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a copy of the conclusions reached by this committee. I commend these remarks to each Member of our body in light of the continuing charges which are made against the State Department:

AMERICAN LEGION INVESTIGATES THE STATE DEPARTMENT

COMMITTEE'S OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee finds that the State Department is reasonably well geared to make available to the public adequate information concerning major developments that are relevant to U.S. foreign policy, and that the Department—through press releases, pamphlets, and expressions on the part of its key officials—does a good job of explaining U.S. aims and purposes in relation to significant international issues and events.

What the Department lacks, in the committee's opinion, is a faculty for explaining itself, positively and effectively, in instances where it is the target of substantial criticism or the center of a storm of public controversy.

The several booklets which are prepared for the public's benefit, treating the various aspects of the Department and its work, serve generally well as aids to one's understanding of the nature of the organization, its activities, and its place in our society. These publications are primarily descriptive, however, and do not discuss controversies involving State Department personnel and operations. The Department's routine press releases do not deal with such matters either.

The Public Affairs Bureau occasionally does prepare papers in an effort to answer a specific adverse accustation or to controvert attacks expressed in a magazine article

or other publication. Such papers, though, usually are made available only upon request or inquiry, and often are not presented in the form of an expression which can be attributed to any particular person or office, much less a responsible official of the Department.

For the most part, the State Department's reaction to criticism has been of a passive and defensive nature. It appears to have no set policy, procedure, or mechanism for dealing with critical publicity.

Meanwhile, old charges and rumors are repeated and embellished; new ones arise with dismaying frequency. Hardly a week goes by without there being circulated widely one or more news stories, articles, or editorials containing comments and innuendoes derogatory of the State Department. A month seldom passes without there being carried in some major periodical another in the seemingly endless string of writings on the theme "What's Wrong With the State State Department." There was no abatement of such stories and articles during the period of the committee's study.

The committee feels that the State Department is not doing as much as it can and should do concerning this continual flow of adverse publicity, particularly as to the more serious charges and insinuations which, if not promptly and adequately rebutted, tend to lessen the public's confidence in the Department and its leadership. Too often, it seems, the public is caught between repeated accusations of subversion or incompetence in the State Department and silence on the part of the Department itself. The prolongation of this situation is bound to cause at least some portion of the public to believe or to suspect that there is substance to the accusations.

The committee believes, therefore, that the State Department must take a more active and positive approach to the problem of adverse publicity relating to the Department. In order to bring about significant and lasting improvement in its public image, the Department needs to take steps to correct its own public relations policies and procedures.

In its associations with key officials of the Department over the past half-year and more, the committee found that the Department has answers to many of the criticisms currently in circulation concerning the Department. Furthermore, the committee believes that if these answers were to be conveyed to the public, the great majority of Americans would find them to be reasonable, satisfactory, and reassuring.

Admittedly, senior officers in the Department are very busy with day-to-day problems of serious proportions. They are in no position to look into every comment that appears in the daily press about them or the Department. The point is, however, that someone should be, and should have the authority to follow through and take the indicated action. That is, responsibility for looking into matters that give rise to critical publicity should be fixed, and procedures for dealing with such publicity should be established. The Department needs a system whereby derogatory publicity will be dealt with automatically and conclusively, not haphazardly and indecisively.

The committee is not suggesting that every adverse mention of the State Department be commented upon by the agency. Some charges are so inconsequential as to not require comment; some are patently absurd and should not be dignified by a response; some are unreasonable repetitions of old and no longer meaningful issues. Some statements about the State Department are intentional fabrications or distortions. Treatment of these must vary depending upon their source and motivation.

The committee is suggesting, however, that when there is publicized a new charge or rumor relating to the State Department, a judgment should be made as to whether or not the public image of the Department might be impaired if there is not soon forthcoming an official and responsive comment on the part of the Department. If the determination is affirmative, then there should be a prompt followthrough to develop an appropriate statement and to insure its release to the public under the most favorable circumstances. The statement could be made at a routine press conference, in a special press release, or perhaps might be incorporated into a major speech or television appearance of the Secretary or other principal officer.

There will be instances, of course, when the charges or rumors may relate to a matter which the Department cannot discuss fully and openly because national security interests are involved, or for other good and compelling reasons. If so, the Department could—when the charges or rumors are sufficiently serious—at least explain that much to the public and promise that a fuller explanation will be made when circumstances permit.

The committee realizes that there will always be a certain amount of heedless criticism of any large-scale Government operation. It feels, however, that much needless criticism of the State Department could be avoided if the public were to be provided with the Department's side of a story, on a timely and straightforward basis. In this regard, the committee again wishes to emphasize that the concern of the American Legion as to the public's attitude toward the State Department is for the good of the Nation, not for the mere benefit of the Department.

To give effect to the foregoing thoughts, the committee recommends that the following steps be taken: (1) It should be made a policy of the State Department promptly to place on the public record as full and as factual an answer as can be given, consistent with the national security, to all adverse charges or rumors which relate to the Department and which, if left unanswered, may tend to lessen public confidence in the Department, (2) a unit of the Department's Bureau of Public Affairs should be given responsibility for identifying such charges and rumors, for developing the indicated answers, and for recommending the most appropriate and efficacious circumstances for release of such answers; (3) this "trouble-shooting" unit should have close liaison with the offices of the Secretary and the other principal officers, and should be given all necessary authority to secure from Department sources whatever information it requires in order to carry out its responsibility.

CONCLUSIONS

When Secretary Rusk advanced his proposal that representatives of the American Legion visit and look over the State Department, he expressed his conviction that both the legion and the Department "could benefit by becoming better acquainted."

With the advantage of having conducted the study for the legion, the committee is convinced that many lasting mutual benefits might be expected to eventuate out of the thus far unique project which the Secretary's proposal set in motion. The committee hopes, however, that the relationship will also lead to material gains for the Nation as a whole. It hopes, too, that sufficient indications of the nature and dimensions of at least some such potential gains have been given expression in this report.

As individuals, the members of the committee have gained in several respects, including greater understanding of the Department and increased appreciation of its problems. Perhaps the most important benefit which the members have derived from the study is the sense of reassurance that can come only through face-to-face discussion with the men and women who shoulder the burden of the foreign affairs of the United States. No amount of reading or long-range observation can serve as an adequate substitute for personal contact.

From its many discussions with State Department personnel in Washington and at oversea posts, the members found to their satisfaction that the Department is made up by and large of capable and dedicated public servants in whom the Nation can place much confidence. What reservations the committee has in this regard have been stated in as fair and as frank a manner as possible. It wishes at this point, however, to emphasize its feeling that those employees of the Department whose loyalty or suitability is subject to question are relatively few in number, and that those whose principal fault is mediocrity are much in the minority.

While the committee's mandate did not extend to analysis of specific issues of U.S. foreign policy, it did include reference to the State Department's policymaking and policy-executing procedures.

Commentary relevant to these matters is included throughout the foregoing discussions of State Department activities and methods of operation. To have treated them separately would have involved unnecessary repetition. The State Department does not, strictly speaking, make U.S. foreign policy. Therefore, a description of its "policymaking" procedures must be limited largely to an explanation of the means by which the Secretary of State keeps himself informed, so that he in turn can fulfill his responsibilities to the President, the National Security Council, and the Congress. (The Department's "Policy Planning Council" is one of these means, but it is largely engaged in formulating courses of action through which long-range foreign policy objectives might be achieved.)

The preceding sections covered much of the physical aspects of the Department's "policy executing" procedures. What has not been discussed previously in the report is the manner in which the Department approaches its task of carrying out U.S. foreign policy.

Although this topic in itself could well be the subject of an entire report, the committee wishes to touch briefly on only one aspect of it; that is, the manner in which the Department conducts relations with the Communist bloc. This aspect is considered important from the viewpoint of the overall purpose of the study inasmuch as one of the most frequently voiced criticisms of the State Department is that it is "soft on communism."

Whatever the truth may be, what the public thinks to be the case is often just as damaging to the image of the State Department as if it were the case.

The public's concern arises out of its understanding—or misunderstanding—of the State Department's dealings with Communist governments. The committee believes that the Department must approach the conduct of U.S. relations with those governments in such a manner that the American public will have no cause for misgivings. Too often, this has not been the case.

The committee realizes that how a policy is executed is, to a large degree, a reflection of the policy itself. On the other hand, the manner of approach can influence U.S. attitudes greatly. It might also influence results abroad.

The State Department is aware of the menace and methods of the Communist movement. In a 1963 publication,[1] it stated the case quite realistically:

"Communist doctrine asserts that the eventual triumph of communism through-

[1] Department of State publication 7542, "Our Foreign Policy." May 1963, pages 2 and 10.

out the world is inevitable—and Communist leaders are doing their utmost to bring this about. They preach of 'peaceful coexistence' with non-Communist countries, but in practice they attack the free world with every weapon—economic, psychological, political, and even military—short of all-out war.

"Communist objectives have never been in doubt. The leaders of the Communist conspiracy have been open, at least, about their ultimate intention—the destruction of the independence of free nations and of individual freedoms and the substitution of a global Communist empire. This is their goal and they pursue it relentlessly, using subversion, manipulation of trade and aid, and psychological, political, and military pressures.

"The United States is fundamentally opposed to this Communist objective, and our Government and the Nation as a whole are working day and night to insure its defeat."

In contrast to this expression of the Department's official outlook on communism, the public reads regularly of new or renewed negotiations between U.S. and Communist representatives. These deal with a wide variety of topics including disarmament, increased trade, educational and cultural exchanges, technical "exchanges," cooperation in space exploration and in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The public reads, too, that talks on such matters take place generally in a friendly and conciliatory atmosphere. In connection with such stories, it constantly hears the terms: "detente," "rapproachment," "accommodation," "concession," "normalization of relations," and even, "peaceful coexistence." It often appears that the U.S. negotiators are anxiously seeking agreements with the Russians, simply for the sake of agreement.

At the same time, the public is also reading of continuing Communist subversion, aggression, treachery, and deception, all over the world. And, the majority of Americans are well aware that Communists look upon negotiation as simply one more weapon to use against the free nations, and upon treaties and agreements as means of furthering their will and as instruments to be broken when such action will better serve their will.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the issue of the State Department's attitude toward communism is surrounded by so much confusion. On the one hand, unarmed U.S. planes are shot down over Germany, and American servicemen are killed almost daily in Vietnam. On the other hand, a wheat deal favorable to Russia is authorized, and Communist technicians are invited to observe space shots at Cape Kennedy and to inspect U.S. atomic-powered plants conducting experiments in the desalinization of sea water—plants which, incidentally, are not open to the American public or accessible even to most U.S. scientists.

These obviously antithetical situations—both involving U.S. relations with the Communist world—cannot help but cause a substantial portion of the public to question whether the State Department acts occasionally as if the Kremlin has discarded the tenets of Lenin and given up its plan to "bury" us; or, whether the Department is pretending that communism is no longer a menace in the hope that this will make it so.

In its face-to-face discussions with most State Department officials both in Washington and abroad, the committee found that this is not the case. They are under no delusions concerning Communist intentions; they are not playing a game of "let's pretend." The personal attitude of these Department leaders toward communism is tough and realistic, particularly so among the chiefs of mission with whom the committee members talked overseas. This same attitude is revealed also in the Secretary's speeches.

On the other hand, the committee believes there are some members of the Department who assist in the making of U.S. foreign policy but who appear to believe that the leaders of Communist Russia are mellowing, and that these leaders are willing to solve international problems in a conciliatory and reasonable manner. The test of this thesis should be performance, not words, on the part of the Soviets. The past is replete with instances of their deceit and broken promises.

The committee is of the opinion, therefore, that the personal attitudes of those Department officials who are realistic in their beliefs concerning communism—that its main purpose to dominate the world has not changed—must be reflected to a greater extent than has been the case in much of our past negotiations and official relations with Communist governments. The approach to these negotiations and relations needs to be exercised in such a manner that the American public will know, without doubt, that the State Department is not practicing, a policy of appeasement.

It is not the committee's intention to represent the view that this is simply a choice between a "tough" versus a "soft" approach. This is profitless. The former will not make the Communist leaders "roll over dead," and the latter will not "change their spots."

It is not necessary or even desirable that we be belligerent in our manner of dealing with Communists. However, it is essential that we not be propitiatory in our dealing with them and—from the viewpoint of public reaction—it is equally important that our manner of dealing with them not appear to be propitiatory.

Our approach to such relations should be firm, balanced, consistent, and unequivocating. We should always be willing to enter into negotiations with Communist representatives, but—in view of the dismal record of past negotiations—we should require beforehand that they demonstrate good faith. For example, if they seek talks on a Berlin settlement, they should first be required to live up to existing agreements, cease to obstruct the corridors to Berlin, and destroy the infamous and illegal wall dividing West Berlin from East Berlin. In fairness to the Department, it should be noted here that the United States has laid down prerequisites to further Laotian talks with the Russians. The violation of the Geneva accord on Laos, and the open warfare carried on by the Pathet Lao, makes imperative this firm stand. It is important, moreover, that we take a similar stand in other instances of this nature and remain firm in our decisions along these lines. (On its trip around the world, the members of the committee had opportunity to confer with many officials of the State Department and the Armed Services, American businessmen, and representatives of friendly foreign countries. From Tokyo to Lisbon, there was a complete unanimity of viewpoint that unless the United States stand steadfast in support of the free countries of southeast Asia, we might as well "walk out" and permit the entire continent to fall under communistic China's domination).

Whatever the subject of our negotiations with Communists, the committee believes that the State Department should (1) make clear to the public why it is important that the United States enter into talks with Communists on the subject; and (2) when negotiations are concluded, make clear to the public the results including what concessions we made, if any, and what concessions we received in exchange. Also, in the conduct of such negotiations, we must not make any concessions which will serve to erode away our basic rights.

In short, our manner of dealing with Communists should be such that the official attitude of the United States toward communism will not be misunderstood by either the Communists, or the American public. Let our diplomatic relations with Communists be firm and meaningful. In appropriate cases, let our Government demonstrate its power, capacity, and determination to deal directly with a willful provocation wherever it may arise. This will result in the American people having more confidence in the Department of State, and will hasten the day when the Communist world will realize its ambitions cannot be attained by armed aggression or peaceful coexistence.

Cypriot Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, at the 42d supreme convention of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, 1,500 delegates unanimously adopted an important resolution on the troubled Cyprus situation.

The convention endorsed the principle of self-determination for Cyprus and condemned the recent attacks on Cypriots that have alarmed all civilized nations.

A great many Members of Congress sent the Ahepa convention wires and telegrams of support and encouragement.

I would like to make the resolution and the messages available to all Members of the House under unanimous consent and include them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

1. The members of the Order of Ahepa again reaffirm their oft-stated opposition to communism and all other forms of tyranny and subversion.

2. Immediately after World War I, President Wilson gave hope and inspiration to the enslaved and downtrodden nations and peoples of the world by enunciating the principle and doctrine of self-determination.

This doctrine was wholeheartedly supported and became a cornerstone of American foreign policy. As a result of this policy, great segments of the world were liberated, and many peoples of the world have established their own democratic nations in Africa and Asia. It is a policy that continues to give hope and inspiration to those nations and peoples still enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. It is a policy that has given deserved credit to the United States. There is a struggle going on in the island of Cyprus. The people of Cyprus are entitled to self-determination for the purpose of establishing a democratic government where all the citizens will have equal suffrage, equal protection of the laws, religious freedom, and equal educational, economic, and social opportunities in accordance with American history and tradition.

The Order of Ahepa, in convention assembled in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, again endorses this basic principle of U.S. foreign policy, and urges the U.S. Government to wholeheartedly pursue and fully implement this policy of self-determination for the people of Cyprus.

3. The Christians of Constantinople and other parts of Turkey are being expelled and persecuted. Their properties are being confiscated without compensation. The Order of Ahepa condemns this arbitrary, unjust, and uncivilized treatment of these Chris-

tians by Turkey, and calls upon all men of good will everywhere to urge their respective governments to come to the aid of these unfortunate victims.

4. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and its hierarchy are being persecuted and exiled unjustly. The Order of Ahepa condemns such barbaric practices and appeals to all people of every faith to join in this condemnation so that religious freedom may be reaffirmed in Turkey.

"I feel that the people of Cyprus should have the right to determine the form and type of government they prefer. The people should be permitted to decide this important question for themselves.

"J. EDGAR CHENOWETH,
"Member of Congress, Colorado."

"The ideal solution is one which accords self-determination to the people of Cyprus with specific guarantees of the rights of the Turkish minority.

"THOMAS J. DODD,
"U.S. Senate, Connecticut."

"I am hopeful that during the truce which is now in effect that the principle of self-determination may be clearly established for Cyprus.

"EUGENE J. MCCARTHY,
"U.S. Senate, Minnesota."

"I believe the people of Cyprus should enjoy the right of self-government under a constitution safeguarding the rights of all people.

"HARRY F. BYRD,
"U.S. Senate, Virginia."

"This month will mark the fourth anniversary of an independent Cyprus. Therefore, it is my sincerest hope that as the Cypriot people reconstitute their sovereignty and freedom from colonial status, a lasting peace will be resolved, through the efforts of the United Nations or other mediating offices, to enable this republic to progress in its development without conflict and disharmony.

"JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
"Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives."

"As one who accepts Woodrow Wilson's belief that all peoples are entitled to the right of self-determination, I am satisfied that the people of Cyprus should enjoy the right of self-government under a constitution to be adopted by them which should contain adequate safeguards for the rights of the Turkish minority, as well as for the rights of all other Cypriots.

"SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
"U.S. Senator, North Carolina."

"In my judgment, the principle of self-determination should be the cornerstone of American foreign policy with regard to Cyprus and all other nations. I believe, with Woodrow Wilson, that all people shall have the free choice as to their form of government.

"Admittedly, the crisis in Cyprus is the direct consequence of the unfortunate British policy of playing one side against the other during the 1950's. The result today is that feelings are so strong that a solution is extremely difficult. I share your hope, however, that an agreement can be reached without resort to war.

"LUCIEN N. NEDZI,
"Member of Congress, Michigan."

"I am afraid there will not be any permanent peace on Cyprus so long as a minority of 17 percent can exercise a veto over such critical government policies as taxation, foreign affairs, and defense. A government so organized has little if any chance of permanency. Certainly the rights of a minority in any country must be protected but in providing such protection it is eqally important that the rights of the majority not be sacrificed.

"The principle of self-determination is one which I think most if not all citizens of the United States endorse. I do not see how any country can have an effective government if majority rule is to be abrogated. So I believe that the only practicable and workable solution of the Cyprus problem will depend upon the adoption of a new constitution to be voted on by all of the people of Cyprus, but such a constitution must include definite and permanent guarantees to protect the rights of the minority.

"Maintenance of a permanent outside force on Cyprus to preserve peace will be intolerable from many standpoints. This seems to me to leave the principle of self-determination by the people of Cyprus, in a fair election in which the right of all who are eligible to vote shall be guaranteed, offers the only practicable solution of what all recognize as a very serious problem.

"CHARLES RAPER JONAS,
"Member of Congress, North Carolina."

"I believe strongly in the right of self-determination of the people of Cyprus and this has been a basic American policy throughout our life as a nation. Even though the situation on this unfortunate island is an emotional one, the peace of the world requires that restraint be exercised by both parties to the dispute. It would be tragic, indeed, if two strong allies of the United States and bulwarks of the collective security organization against communism should enter into a conflict which would not only not solve the problem immediately, but whose inevitable result would be the triumph of the communism to whose restraint both are dedicated.

"JOHN S. MONAGAN,
"Member of Congress, Connecticut."

"Every Greek must sympathize with the determination of the Greek Cypriot to govern his own destiny and to live in peace. The savage conflict which is gripping the island of Cyprus is the bitter legacy of years of oppression of the Greek people by the Turks. After the hard-fought struggle for independence which finally ended in 1960 the Cypriot again finds his life destroyed by civil war and the threat of invasion. The Zurich Agreement was an honest, but futile effort to enable the Greek and the Turkish communities to live in peace together. The failure of that effort is clear. No form of government imposed from the outside can bring the island of Cyprus the peace and prosperity for which it has waited so long.

"HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.,
"U.S. Senate, New Jersey."

"Congratulations on the work you are doing to alert the free world to the serious situations in Cyprus. I support self-determination of Cyprus with majority rule so long as the rights of minorities are protected. There is no reason why a 17-percent minority should prevent the 82-percent Greek majority from having effective government.

"HUGH SCOTT,
"U.S. Senator, Pennsylvania."

"Heartily endorse principle of national self-determination with adequate protection of minorities. Fervently hope your work may be fruitful and that this may be achieved in Cyprus.

"JOSEPH M. MCDADE,
"U.S. Congressman, Pennsylvania."

"Please convey my congratulations and best wishes to your members, and especially the Indiana delegation, at your 42d supreme convention. I share your members' concern for the crisis in Cyprus and pledge to support efforts to secure peace and justice there.

"VANCE HARTKE,
"U.S. Senator, Indiana."

"Many Americans have been appalled by the news from Cyprus of the air attacks upon the civilian population, the suffering unnecessarily caused, and the nightmare which for the last 6 months has been the fate of the people of Cyprus. Greek or Turk, much of this havoc was caused by the interference of Turkey and the so-called veto rule which deprived the majority of the democratic right to act and vested in the minority the power to disrupt the orderly processes of government regardless of its effect on the general populace. The attacks of the Turkish Air Force upon the unprotected coastal towns and villages of Cyprus without warning have affronted our sense of civilization recalling some of the worst episodes of a generation ago as mayor and as a private citizen conscious of God-given rights of every person regardless of race and religion. I hope and pray with my friends of Greek and Turkish descent and all Americans of good will that the negotiations now taking place in Geneva will find a just and permanent solution to the problem of Cyprus which will bring peace not only to that unfortunate island to Greece to Turkey but to the rest of the world as well.

"ROBERT F. WAGNER,
"Mayor, City of New York."

"I assure you that as a citizen of this Nation, I have always believed in majority rule with constitutional guarantees for minority groups.

"It is my hope, just as I know it is the hope of you and all the members of the Order of Ahepa, that the Cyprus question can be brought to a peaceful and equitable solution at an early date.

"TERRY SANFORD,
"Governor, North Carolina."

"I want to assure you of my support of the principle of self-determination with regard to Cyprus. I might add that, it is my opinion that in the best tradition of democracy, the Greek people of Cyprus will not use this right of self-determination to ride roughshod over the rights of any minority group, but will protect the legitimate interests of such groups.

"CHARLES S. JOELSON,
"Member of Congress, New Jersey."

"Certainly, the people of any country have a right to determine their future. I agree that the people of Cyprus should have the right of self-determination and I am hopeful this principle can be recognized soon.

"BYRON G. ROGERS,
"Member of Congress, Colorado."

"Considering the traditional emphasis in our foreign policy on the principle of self-determination ever since this principle was first postulated in the Declaration of Independence, I would like to urge that this tradition be kept in mind when policies concerning the Cyprus question are formulated.

"I have made a study of the Cyprus issue, and have concluded that self-determination would be the only policy consistent with the facts of the situation, as well as being consistent with our principles.

"I hope that it will be possible to continue our traditional policy of supporting self-determination, in regard to this issue.

"DOMINICK V. DANIELS,
"Member of Congress,
"U.S. Representative from New Jersey."

"Certainly, I believe that the people of any country should have the right of self-determination. Likewise, the people of any nation

should be free from interference in their internal affairs from other nations.

"JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
"Member of Congress, Mississippi."

"It certainly seems to me that the proposal for a constitution to be voted upon by all the people of Cyprus is the kind of proposal that we should support since it is in keeping with our basic policy of permitting all people to settle their problems through traditional democratic processes.

"As you well know, I have always been deeply interested in the problems of all Greek-Americans, and I know they share my concern about the serious situation which now exists in Cyprus.

"B. EVERETT JORDAN,
"U.S. Senator, North Carolina."

"The right of self-determination for all peoples was first promulgated by our great President Woodrow Wilson right after World War I. It has since been one of the cornerstones of American foreign policy. We have supported this policy in the post-World War II period for all the nations in Africa and Asia. The late, martyred and beloved John F. Kennedy, both as President and Senator, was in the forefront of all American efforts to implement and effectuate this policy.

"I have consistently supported this policy in the past. I think that the people of Cyprus are entitled to self-determination. I am sure that judging by the past and recent history of the Greek people, that, as the majority, they will respect and protect the rights of the Turkish minority.

"HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
"Member of Congress, Massachusetts."

"I endorse a solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with United Nations principles of self-determination and hope this can be achieved.

"LISTER HILL,
"U.S Senator, Alabama."

"I join with you in supporting majority rule in Cyprus to self-government and self-determination of. I trust that the situation in Cyprus can be resolved peacefully in the best interest of all Cypriots.

"GEORGE M. RHODES,
"Member of Congress, Pennsylvania."

"I wholeheartedly support the right of the people of Cyprus to self-government and self-determination of their Government. I would like to see all foreign armies removed from Cyprus if peace can be maintained by the United Nations Forces until an election and the independence of Cyprus can be secured and peace guaranteed.

"OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
"U.S. Senator, South Carolina."

"I have long been a strong supporter of the principle of self-determination for people everywhere in the world. Our forefathers believed in their right to determine the kind of government under which they were to live. As a result, we enjoy today the greatest measure of freedom of any other nation. American devotion to the principle of self-determination is reflected in our support of the United States.

"The Greek people on Cyprus are engaged in a historic struggle to determine the form of government under which they and their children are to live. Comprising the majority of the Cypriot population, the Greeks on Cyprus deserve the support of all those who respect the principle of self-determination.

"It is my hope that the Greek majority on Cyprus will be permitted to work its will. Only through such action can peace and economic progress be brought to a land which means so much to the cause of the free world.

"BASIL L. WHITENER,
"Member of Congress, North Carolina."

"As one who accepts Woodrow Wilson's belief that all peoples are entitled to the right of self-determination, I am satisfied that the people of Cyprus should enjoy the right to self-government under a constitution to be adopted by them, which should contain adequate safeguards for the rights of the Turkish minority, as well as the rights of all other Cypriots.

"SAM J. ERVIN, JR.,
"U.S. Senator, North Carolina."

"There is no question that the Greek people are not the aggressors in this situation. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, on which I serve, has been fully briefed on this problem. I am hopeful that the new cease fire will permit a solution that will uphold the rightful claims of the Greek people on Cyprus.

"F. BRADFORD MORSE,
"Member of Congress, Massachusetts."

"As you may know, I have always maintained that the people of any country should be permitted to choose the government of their choice in free and open elections, and that there should be no interference by an outside alien power.

"You may be assured of my continuing stand in this matter.

"JOHN LESINSKI,
"Member of Congress, Michigan."

"I am deeply grateful to you for giving me the benefit of your thinking and that of the other members of your fine organization. I certainly agree that the people of Cyprus are entitled to the rights mentioned in your letter and I sincerely hope that steps can be taken to guarantee these rights to them.

"I hope that our State Department will take this position, and you can count on my support in any way in which I can help.

"With fond regards, I am

"JOHN STENNIS,
"U.S. Senator, Mississippi."

"As a nation we have always basically believed in self-determination. I am personally for this position as a matter of principle. In this instance I recognize that before this can be accomplished without danger of war, there are certain political questions with the major powers involved, Greece and Turkey, which must be resolved, and it is these upon which the concentration is being placed. Certain facts stand out in my mind: The present constitution is not workable. The Greek Cypriots do comprise approximately 80 percent of the population. Therefore, as in our own country, the majority is entitled to certain specific privileges and powers, but the 20-percent minority, as with us, is entitled to the protection of their individual liberties and civil rights.

"These are the matters which must be negotiated, and I believe can be negotiated, when the present highly charged emotional and military atmosphere has been pacified and relaxed.

"JAMES ROOSEVELT,
"Member of Congress, California."

"I wish you to know that I am in agreement with the principle of self-determination in resolving the problems that beset the Island of Cyprus.

"In a democratic form of government, the rights of the minority must be protected, but it is the will of the majority which must prevail.

"WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
"Member of Congress, Colorado."

"I feel that every country should be free to establish and maintain its own government and handle its internal affairs without intervention from other countries.

"TOM G. ABERNETHY,
"Member of Congress, Mississippi."

"I concur fully, that the people of Cyprus have a right to self-determination without interference from other nations.

"ALBERT WATSON,
"Member of Congress, South Carolina."

"To all of us interested in the issue of Cyprus these days there is great concern. We see hope, however, that peace can be restored so that all of the peoples of Cyprus may live in harmony. There must be respect for majority rights. There must be respect for minority rights. I am hopeful that the voice of the order of Ahepa will continue to be heard clearly in the days ahead.

"JOSEPH S. CLARK,
"U.S. Senator, Pennsylvania."

"Please express to the delegates that I am in sympathy for a just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus crisis, with the Cyprus citizens given their choice of self-determination.

"HAYDON BURNS,
"Mayor of Jacksonville, Fla., Democratic Nominee for Governor-Elect."

"At this hour in the history of the great Ahepa organization please be assured Members of Congress are aware of the critical situation existing and you may be sure I stand ready to assist in every way to assure the fight of self-determination for all freedom-loving people.

"ROBERT T. MCLOSKEY,
"Member of Congress, Illinois."

"Certainly I endorse wholeheartedly the traditional principle of determination, and share your conviction that free people should have the right to manage their own affairs without outside interference.

"ED EDMONDSON,
"Member of Congress, Oklahoma."

"I support just solution of Cyprus problem in accordance with U.N. principles of self-determination. Hope such solution will be reached.

"JOHN SPARKMAN,
"U.S. Senator, Alabama."

"I endorse the ancient principle of national self-determination which is in the very best tradition of the United States of America and Greece so long as in that same tradition there are adequate safeguards for minority groups.

"DANIEL J. FLOOD,
"Member of Congress, Pennsylvania."

"Ahepa is to be commended for its dedication to the cause of freedom and its concern for the individual and his rights. May the warm fellowship be extended to all your members.

"WILLIAM SCRANTON,
"Governor, Pennsylvania."

"Well, of course, I have had an opportunity for a long period of time to observe these international problems, and I can see no reason why self-determination should not be permitted to the people of any nation.

"For a major nation to step into a smaller nation and endeavor to predetermine its international political or economic welfare is, in my opinion, an erroneous procedure. Were I in a position to create a policy of this character, you may rest assured that the above statement would be the basic philosophy of the policy I would issue.

"HARRY R. SHEPPARD,
"Member of Congress, California."

"I am concerned as we all are about the situation in Cyprus and most certainly endorse principle of self-determination for the island with protection of all minorities. I fervently hope there will be a peaceful solution to the current problems and disptues. I can assure you that the Congress will con-

tinue to give this matter the consideration and attention it warrants.

"BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL,
"Member of Congress, New York."

"I know your convention will raise its significant voice for continuing the fight for freedom in the world and particularly for self-determination for the heroic people of Cyprus.

"CLAUDE PEPPER,
"Member of Congress, Florida."

"It is essential, not only to troubled Cyprus, but to the peace of the world that a just and reasonable solution to this dispute be speedily achieved. In all negotiations compromises are usually necessary, but in my opinion there can be no compromise of the basic right of majority self-determination free from outside dictation or coercion. I have stressed this point to our officials and have urged continued adherence to the principle of representative government by the consent of the majority in the present crisis. This has been a fundamental policy of our diplomatic efforts on behalf of peace for almost half a century, since its promulgation by President Woodrow Wilson; without it, the search for peace must be futile.

"Let us hope and pray that, guided by right principles, a just and permanent accord may be reached in Cyprus and that the most close and cordial relations may exist between our nations.

"JOSEPH G. MINISH,
"Member of Congress, New Jersey."

"You may be sure that I am continuing my efforts to bring peace, law and order to this afflicted island and its inhabitants which include such a large number of Greek people, entitled to have their rights as free men and women recognized, and to be protected against aggression from any and every source.

"At the outset of this recent outbreak, I again immediately communicated with the Department of State urging that the Department and our Government render every possible help, through the United Nations and otherwise, to stop military aggression and bring about peaceful conditions and orderly free government in Cyprus, and I fervently hope and pray that these great, humane objectives can speedily be realized.

"I want you and all our Greek friends to know that I will leave nothing undone to support and sustain our own Government in every measure to accomplish these ends, which I have urged upon our Government with all my heart.

"Let me again join you in pleading for self-determination, peace and fair and impartial, responsible, representative government in Cyprus, and I am both anxious and resolved to render this cause every possible measure of support and assistance. May peace, order and good government soon be realized in Cyprus.

"PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
"Member of Congress, Massachusetts."

"The vexing problem in Cyprus regarding the Greek and Turkish populations demands a prompt and equitable solution.

"Insofar as there is an overwhelming Greek majority on the island of 4 to 1, I would think the most reasonable solution would be to have a popular referendum to adopt a more practical and workable constitution. If the majority wishes to continue the independent status or to adopt a policy of union with Greece, absolute guarantees for the protection of the minority interests should be incorporated in the new Constitution.

"Serious consideration should be given to the very real possibility of repatriating the Turkish minority to its homeland—and, as a matter of fairness, extending the same offer to the Greek minority in Turkey—with appropriate compensation for property, travel and resettlement expenses. Most important is the settlement of the problem as rapidly as possible so that continued violence and bloodshed can be avoided.

"CLAIBORNE PELL,
"U.S. Senator, Rhode Island."

"I believe that the people of Cyprus should have the opportunity to select the type of government that they wish for themselves. If the Cypriot people are allowed to settle their own affairs and exercise their right to determine for themselves the type of government they ought to have, this matter would resolve itself.

"The U.S. Government, moreover, should make it crystal clear that the present involvement of Turkey, Britain, and Greece is not only a violation of the principles upon which their government was founded but illegal and immoral as well. The people of Cyprus have certain inalienable rights which should be honored and respected without outside interference.

"PAUL A. FINO,
"Member of Congress, New York."

"I would wholeheartedly support any program that will provide complete self-determination for Cyprus and all other countries, in letting the people of such countries decide their own destiny. This is fundamental to Americans.

"FRANK B. MORRISON,
"Governor, Nebraska."

"Strongly favor immediate cessation of Turkish aggresison in Cyprus with eventual U.N. conducted plebicite for its people. Divided Cyprus is contrary to British grant as well as basically unsound. Have protested Turkish aggression to U.S. Department of State as well as to White House.

"LOUIS C. WYMAN,
"Member of Congress, New Hampshire."

"I welcome this opportunity to make clear to you my views on the Cyprus issue. I firmly believe that in Cyprus, as in the United States and elsewhere in the world, majority rule must be the basis of all representative government. Self-determination is vital for a final, peaceful settlement on Cyprus and this right must not be denied to the people of Cyprus. The people of Cyprus deserve an effective government, and with a minority veto, effective government is impossible. In my judgment, the proposal which is best for the foreign policy interests of the United States, as well as for Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey, is full self-determination, which I believe would result in union of Cyprus with Greece. Throughout the centuries, political self-government has been one of the great legacies of the people of Greece to our Western civilization. It is only right and reasonable that the people of Cyprus should also enjoy the precious principles of self-determination and majority rule which we in the United States have come to cherish so deeply for our own country. The civilized world is shocked by recent Turkish attacks on Cypriot civilians, including strafing and dropping napalm bombs on men, women, and children. It is intolerable that U.S. military assistance supplied by our Government and paid for by the taxpayers of the United States should be used in these barbaric attacks. I have strongly protested to the Secretary of State and urged an immediate cessation of military assistance to Turkey. You can be sure I shall continue to work for a fair and honorable treatment for the people of Cyprus.

"KENNETH B. KEATING,
"U.S. Senator, New York."

The Rogers Corp. of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an article entitled "Plant Expansion Spotlights Diversification at Rogers." which was published in the September 1964 issue of Connecticut Industry. The article was written by Dr. William T. Fisher, assistant dean, School of Insurance, University of Connecticut.

This is a brief story of the Rogers Corp., located at Rogers, Conn., in my congressional district. In existence for 132 years, the company recently underwent a process of expansion and diversification of its products. Today it employs over 550 persons and its products are sold in 15 countries. The Rogers Corp. is an excellent example of the industrial possibilities and potentials of eastern Connecticut. We welcome other industries and manufacturing enterprises to visit the area and to consider possible location there.

The article reads as follows:

PLANT EXPANSION SPOTLIGHTS DIVERSIFICATION AT ROGERS

(By W. T. Fisher, assistant dean, School of Insurance, the University of Connecticut)

A new 35,000-square-foot plant addition dedicated June 26 in Rogers, Conn., underlines evolution of the Rogers Corp. from a paperboard manufacturer 132 years ago to a diversified participant in the electrical/electronic industries.

The new facilities, devoted primarily to the firm's exclusive Mektron molded circuits, will triple manufacturing capacity for these units and release space in adjoining quarters for expanded research and development and related office functions. The building also will serve as headquarters for Rogers' Killingly Division which, in addition to Mektron, makes automatic transmission gaskets and thermal heat shields used on jetplanes. Space is provided for materials preparation, finished goods storage, and shipping.

Gov. John Dempsey, who led the dedication ceremonies, was introduced by Saul M. Silverstein, president of the Rogers Corp. The approximately 250 guests included State and local officials, industrial development authorities, and officers of the corporation.

NO PAPER TIGER

For the first half of its existence, Rogers stayed close to its original product. Then, with the birth of commercial electricity at the turn of the century, the manufacture of sheet insulation for transformers was an initial step toward production of a wide range of nonmetallic specialty materials.

Further diversification in 1930 aimed at combining plastics with fiber products. These efforts were successful and the company became a supplier of high-strength molding materials and matrices for rubber and plastic printing plates.

During World War II, Rogers concentrated on improving production methods for existing materials, still used primarily as electrical insulation. Their scope was widened,

however, to include many more applications and, in 1943, the term "paper manufacturing" was dropped from the original company name as misleading. Today, as a result of intensified research and development, Rogers products are used in most major industries, with 80 percent of the firm's sales volume now in products developed and marketed since 1950.

One such product is Poron—the first material of its type that "breathes" through minute pores visible only through a microscope. Typical space age contributions include Mektron heater circuits for the Apollo fuel cell, raising the temperature of highly exotic fluids to levels essential to operation.

The broad range of other products now lists such examples as Nitrophyl carburetor floats which are replacing cork and brass types, DAP molding compounds, reinforced phenolic molding compounds and a high temperature series of electrical and insulating materials. Production of the latter, known as SF/duroids, has increased tenfold thus far in 1964. They are all synthetic, fiber-resin structures widely applied today as motor insulation and printed circuit materials.

MEKTRON—A UNIQUE PRODUCT

The Mektron development, responsible for the plant addition, just completed, has found successful applications in fields ranging from motoring to orbiting, from washing machines to computers. These uses include providing power for space exploration vehicles; as power busses in comptuers and communications equipment; switch circuits in windshield wiper systems and washing machine controls; heater assemblies in automatic chokes and deicing airplane propeller blade cuffs.

A flexible Mektron circuit replaces the maze of wiring previously used behind truck instrument panels. By combining conductors, it provides more reliable circuitry and greater resistance to shocks.

Introduced by Rogers 10 years ago, Mektron production involves stamping the circuit patern out of metal foil into an uncured sheet of plastic. Foil and plastic then are bonded under heat and perssure.

Mektron circuits are said to enable designers to pack more energy in less space. They are mass produced in a number of forms by highly automated methods and have the additional advantage of being able to utilize any conductive or resistive foil, not just electrolytic types suited to circuits produced by printing or etching. Tempered copper alloys, aluminum and silver are applicable in Mektron for conducting circuits. For resistive applications, stainless steel, Inconel and Invar foils are practical.

DIVERSIFIED DIVISIONS

The Rogers division at Rogers houses manufacturing facilities for electrical insulation, Duroids and Porons as well as sales, research and development and administrative headquarters. The Killingly division, also in Rogers, designs and builds tools and dies and converts fibrous and plastic materials into a variety of close tolerance parts.

The Manchester division in that city manfactures phenolic and diallyl phthalate molding materials and printing plate matrices. The Willimantic division produces rubber printing materials and high precision parts from advanced and specially compounded materials. In its three Connecticut locations, the company now employs more than 550 persons and looks to foreign markets in its sales expansion plans. Its products now are being sold through 21 oversea licensees, agents and distributors in 15 countries.

While recent scientific triumphs have freed the product designer's imagination, they leave him even more dependent on materials. Rogers, noting this need for better nonmetallics, has geared its research and development accordingly, holding no brief for any particular formulation, process, or material. The company's technologists are equally experienced in selection or development of material, devising appropriate productions methods and in their technical lowthrough.

Cancellation of the Mobile Mid-Range Ballistic Missile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on August 29, 1964, the Department of Defense announced that all but two subsystems of the MMRBM would be canceled. The statement from the Department of Defense included the following reason for the cancellation: "Because the Congress reduced the Department of Defense's request for appropriations." The statement went on to say that the Department continues to believe that there is a definite need for this system.

I am particularly disturbed that the Defense Department chooses to blame Congress for the cancellation of this weapons system. Congress has bent over backward to be both reasonable and generous in view of the justification to the Congress and management of this program by the Department of Defense. The statement by the public relations mouthpiece of DOD therefore places blame where it does not belong and it has all the earmarks of being said for other purposes.

The Defense Appropriations Subcommittee of the House of Representatives has approved funds for this program consistently with the needs of the program as presented to us by the Department of Defense. Congress has chosen to support the Defense Subcommittee's recommendations. However, equally consistently, the Department of Defense has not utilized the funds appropriated to the Department. The following detailed tabulation will clearly show the facts:

Research, development, test, and evaluation—Mobile medium-range ballistic missile

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Present budget	Congressional appropriation	Department of Defense approved program	Funds released against appropriation program	Expenditures
1962	0	0	4.0	4.0	4.0
1963	100.0	[1] 80.0	25.8	25.8	25.0
1964	[2] 143.1	73.1	73.1	34.9	[2] 15.6
1965	110.0	40.0	37.0	0	0

[1] $25,000,000 was reprogramed to the MMRBM-related stellar inertial guidance system (Stings) program.
[2] As of July 31, 1964.
[3] An additional amount of $6,900,000 included in the "Military construction appropriation was disallowed in the enabling authorization.

As shown in the tabulation, although the Congress reduced funds for the MMRBM in both fiscal years 1963 and 1964, in neither year did the Department utilize even as much as 50 percent of the funds appropriated.

Congress itself tried to impress the representatives of the Department of Defense during the course of the hearings on the difficulties involved in deploying this weapons system. The committee recognized that in order to be within striking distance of an enemy, the MMRBM would have to be deployed on foreign soil. Congress urged the Defense Department over 3 years ago to obtain rights with the applicable foreign countries so that deployment would be possible. This was an absolute necessity before any extensive amount of moneys should be spent on this project. To date, the executive branch has not attempted to reach accord with other nations for those rights. In fact, we have been led to believe that there is an extreme reluctance on the part of the Department of Defense to take steps to solve this problem.

We believe the Department of State has put pressure upon the Defense Department not to actively pursue this program and obviously the negotiations for deployment rights. The State Department has clearly indicated that they prefer the MLF—multilateral force—to be used in the defense of Europe particularly and in other parts of the world where this type of weapons system would be required. In their justifications of the MLF, one can clearly see the arguments they would use for discouraging the MMRBM concept. It is reasonable therefore to expect that if the MMRBM ever becomes operational, it would be more difficult to proceed with the MLF concept.

There are arguments for the MMRBM approach and the MLF approach. We expect that the Departments of State and Defense would be candid enough to explain to the Congress and the American people why one approach is preferable to the other, and not try to evade the issue by placing blame upon Congress for the cancellation of MMRBM.

Aside from the above arguments, we on the Appropriations Subcommittee have been shown that the Department of Defense has not been, on numerous occasions enthusiastic about the program. Consistently witnesses have appeared before our committee and have not indicated that the reductions in appropriations which the committee recommended would be detrimental to the progress of the program. In this cate-

gory of witnesses is Secretary McNamara himself. For example, this year he stated before our committee:

I think one can argue either it is wise to proceed with the program itself, because, as you know, we have not had, as yet stated, a firm deployment plan for that weapon. We have, we believe, a sound basis upon which to recommend the program to you, but I think one can argue this pro and con and we should no doubt discuss it at length.

As further proof of this reluctance, last year in the fiscal year 1964 budget the House Appropriations Committee reduced the $143 million budget request for the MMRBM's by $100 million. It is customary for the Department of Defense to appeal to the Senate to restore those amounts which the House has deleted from appropriations bills when the Defense Department feels it has sufficient reason to request restoration of these funds. Its official appeal to the Senate last year did not request any restoration of the $100 million deleted by the House. The Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatric, who testified for the Secretary of Defense at the Senate Appropriations Committee hearings, stated:

In our formal reclamae we indicated we would try to manage with this reduction—the amount remaining in the House bill for MMRBM's will be sufficient to carry out that phase of the work and to continue general studies of the entire system.

Numerous other statements made by witnesses who appeared before the House and Senate Appropriations Committees would testify to this lack of administration enthusiasm and apparent indecision as to where the program was heading.

One final statement that perhaps will sum up the impression left by the Department of Defense with the Congress occurred in consideration of the fiscal year 1964 budget. Mr. MAHON, of Texas, the chairman of the subcommittee, asked Dr. Herald Brown what the effect was of the reduction Congress made in the program for fiscal year 1963. The program has been reduced by $100 million to $80 million. Dr. Brown stated:

The program has been delayed and that allowed us to do what we had to do within the money appropriated by the Congress. The decision to delay was not caused by that cut.

Mr. MAHON said, "In other words, the cut did not retard the program in any way." Dr. Brown replied, "No, the cut did not retard the program because the program was delayed anyway."

The position of the Department of Defense may be best illustrated by an exchange that took place in May of 1963. It became apparent that the Department of Defense had not made a firm decision on proceeding with the development of the MMRBM. In essense, Dr. Brown asked us for the funds to fully proceed with the program, but did state that decisions to do so would not be made until a later date. The committee's reaction was summed up eloquently by my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD]. He said:

In other words we could appropriate this money and then the Secretary will make up his mind sometime in June or July whether or not something should be done about it. * * * This puts the cart before the horse. This makes a mockery of the whole system of the hearings.

Mr. Speaker, Congress has been, and probably always will be, blamed for many things that happen, and there is no doubt that at times it is deserved. Not in this case, however, does the fault lie with Congress. The blame in this instance falls squarely on the Department of Defense and the Department of State. The MMRBM record clearly shows the executive branch of the Government in this administration was guilty of poor planning in the first instance, secondly guilty of confusing and uncertain justification before the Congress, and finally, guilty of poor management of the MMRBM weapons system program. This should be clearly shown to the American people, not just because this particular weapons system has been virtually cancelled, but because it reflects a line of reasoning and behavior that should be clearly recognized and understood by the Congress, as well as the people.

Included as a part of my remarks is the following article from Missile/Space Daily of September 1, 1964:

DOD's after-the-fact announcement last weekend of the death of the Mobile midrange ballistic missile (MMRBM), first reported in the August 21 Missile/Space Daily, accuses Congress of killing the program by failing to appropriate sufficient funds.

There are many reasons for eliminating the MMRBM from consideration as a potential U.S. weapon, but none seem to implicate Congress as the guilty party. The death of MMRBM was largely a result of international politics and many experts have said the program never was able to measure up to its initial promises and was doomed some time ago (M/S Daily, Feb. 13, 1964). The biggest problem was deployment—a medium range missile has to be deployed within comparatively easy striking distance of an enemy—and France held the key to its future. In a sense, it would be fairer to say the French President Charles de Gaulle killed the MMRBM.

Since the MMRBM would have had to be deployed in Europe, the heart of the program was pierced when France would not give the United States permission to use its territory without having control over the nuclear warheads. The United States has not attempted to reach accord with other European allies for similar rights. The State Department and the Pentagon flatly refuse to allow joint control over the missile system operation. At loggerheads over the MMRBM in the diplomatic field, DOD realized that even if the system were developed, there would be no place to station it. With this reasoning, DOD made it clear to congressional sources that it had no intention of using the bulk of the MMRBM funds and Congress, besides, was not about to appropriate large amounts of money for a program of marginal value.

With this knowledge in hand, the authorizing committee on Capitol Hill did the only logical thing in their power. They cut the MMRBM funds from the requested $110 million to $40 million—with the added restriction that the funds be used only for the stellar inertial guidance system which is applicable to other missile systems. When DOD failed to make a reclama for the funds earlier this year, it became obvious that MMRBM was doomed. Nothing that happened since has changed the situation one bit. So the weekend announcement from DOD on the lapsing of MMRBM contracts because of the lack of funding approval from Congress, although technically correct, skirts some of the important factors in a complicated situation which was more a diplomatic failure than a systems development one.

In killing the MMRBM, DOD said it "continues to believe that there is a definite need for this highly mobile, survivable, and accurate weapons system and that, to the extent congressional appropriations will permit, we should proceed with its development as an 'insurance' program to fill the range gap between the Army's Pershing missile and the Navy's A-3." The two areas in which work will continue are studies (1) of an advanced, highly accurate guidance system which can be used by other missile systems (General Precision, Inc., prime) and (2) studies on command and control elements which could have additional applications to other programs (Bunker-Ramo Corp. and Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., contractors).

The four phases of the developemntal program to lapse where system integration, assembly and checkout being done by Hughes Aircraft Co.; reentry by aeroneutronic division of Philco; propulsion by Thiokol Chemical Corp.; and transport-launcher by Goodyear Aerospace.

A Faithful and Great President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, as this 88th Congress draws to a close, I wish to put on the record my admiration for the quality of leadership which President Johnson has given to this body and to the Nation since he assumed his high office under such tragic circumstances.

The 88th Congress has written a magnificent record of accomplishment, comparable only to its most productive period under the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Representing an urban area, as I do, I am especially pleased that we were able to act finally on a program for urban mass transportation and to pass a comprehensive housing and community development bill. These measures will help us carry on the work of reshaping our cities to meet the needs of present and future generations.

Perhaps greater landmarks in legislative history are the Civil Rights Act and the Economic Opportunities Act. These new measures are of monumental importance to our Nation. Many other acts go to make up the astonishing record of this Congress—a record that could not possibly have been achieved without the leadership of the President.

President Johnson has faithfully carried on all the responsibilities he inherited from President Kennedy. But he has already made a great contribution uniquely his own in uniting the country in a common effort to build a national prosperity in which all can share with equal opportunity. He is a great President, leading us into one of the greatest periods of our history. He deserves to and will surely be elected by an overwhelming majority of the voters on November 3.

The Honorable Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, we of the Georgia delegation are indeed privileged to have this opportunity of honoring our beloved colleague, the Honorable CARL VINSON. We are particularly pleased that this was made possible by the provision of a house resolution of which you, Mr. Speaker, are the author. I can think of no one who deserve this distinctive honor more than the illustrious dean of our Georgia delegation as well as of this distinguished body.

CARL VINSON leaves a remarkable record of long and dedicated service which goes back 50 years—service in the interests of his constituents, his colleagues and his country, particularly the defense of his country. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] leaves the chairmanship of the House Committee on Armed Services after 14 of the last 18 years, in which his efforts for peace through a strong military have not been in vain.

CARL VINSON leaves a responsibility to his constituents which is transferred to five Members of the Georgia delegation each of whom has received one or more of the counties which the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] represented for 32 years.

Prior to 1933, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] represented the old 10th District at a time when Georgia had 12 representatives. The Redistricting Act of 1931, which became effective with the election of 1932, transferred Mr. VINSON'S home county of Baldwin from the old 10th to the new Sixth District. The Redistricting Act of 1964 transferred seven of those sixteen counties to the new 10th District which will be represented by my colleague, Mr. STEPHENS; two counties to the First District represented by my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HAGAN]; and one county to the Eighth District represented by my colleague, Mr. TUTEN. Three counties will now be a part of the new Third District and three counties, Bibb, Jones, and Monroe are transferred to the new Sixth District. I have the honor to have been renominated as the Democratic nominee to represent the new Sixth District in the 89th Congress.

CARL VINSON leaves his friends and fellow Members of the House of Representatives. But left behind is a legacy of friendship, devoted service and wisdom in the exercise of his duties, not to be forgotten but to be long remembered. With the voluntary retirement of CARL VINSON goes a man with a purpose not to be discouraged.

CARL VINSON was elected to Congress 5 days before I was born. During that entire period of nearly a half a century he has rendered outstanding public service. He has benevolenfly dominated the committees of which he has been chairman in a manner which is perhaps as unequaled as is his record of continuous service in this body. He presided over the Committee on Naval Affairs and the Committee on Armed Services during a period of transition and growth which has seen the establishment of the most effective defense structure in the history of the world. His contributions to this growth and posture of strength have been dynamic, judicious, and above all, effective.

CARL VINSON served in the General Assembly of Georgia with my father. It was through my father that I first came to know the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON]. Since the beginning of my service in the House of Representatives, I believe that I have now earned on my own the friendship first inherited from my father. He is a sage and venerable colleague. He is a warm personal friend.

Mrs. Flynt joins me in extending our congratulations to him upon reaching a point of service unequaled in American history and which will reach the 50th year of continuous service on November 3, 1964. We wish for him many years of good health and happiness and continuous effective service.

Polish Civil War Veterans Honored by Postmaster Gronouski in Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the honor and the pleasure of being present in the district I have the honor to represent in the Congress—Pittsburgh—when Postmaster John A. Gronouski paid tribute to the 114 Americans of Polish descent who served in the Pennsylvania regiments in the Civil War.

These ceremonies, held on September 26, 1964, were a part of the centennial commemoration of the Civil War. They were held under the auspices of the Historical Committee of the Central Council of Polish Organizations of Pittsburgh.

A memorial plaque, designed by Charles Bradley Warren, was unveiled in the city-county building.

I place the program of this patriotic occasion placed in the RECORD together with the names of the members of the committees who made this great occasion possible:

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL PROGRAM, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1964, CITY-COUNTY BUILDING, PITTSBURGH, PA.

Civil War concert music: Police and Fire Band of city of Pittsburgh.

Opening: Joseph A. Borkowski, general chairman.

American and Polish National Anthems: Police and Fire Band, city of Pittsburgh.

Pledge of Allegiance to U.S. Flag: Hon. John J. Brosky, judge of Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County.

Invocation: Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. C. Shinar, pastor, Holy Family Church.

Civil War Song: Polish Choir, Nest 176, Polish Falcons of America under Prof. Henry Grzeskiewicz.

Unveiling and Dedicatory Address: Hon. John A. Gronouski, U.S. Postmaster General.

Presentation of Plaques to county of Allegheny and city of Pittsburgh: Thomas K. Hupert, president of Central Council of Polish Organizations.

Remarks: Hon. Dr. William D. McClelland, chairman, Allegheny County Board of Commissioners.

Remarks: Hon. Joseph M. Barr, mayor of Pittsburgh.

Civil War Martial: Police and Fire Band of city of Pittsburgh.

Gettysburg Address: Hon. Walter T. Kamyk, member of council.

Military salute: Washington Infantry under command of Capt. Andy Miscuk.

Taps: Police and Fire Band of Pittsburgh.

Benediction: Rev. S. F. Idzik, pastor, St. Mary's Polish Church, McKeesport, Pa.

God Bless America: Assembly and band.

Expressing our sincere gratitude to all that participated at this affair.

HATTIE SIWICKI,
General Secretary.
ANTHONY STUDNICKI,
Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE AND HONORARY PROGRAM COMMITTEES

Commemorating the U.S. Civil War Centennial and the Poles who volunteered and fought with the Pennsylvania regiments 1861–65.

Executive centennial committee

Joseph A. Borkowski, general chairman; Thomas K. Hupert, cochairman; Hattie Siwicki, general secretary; Anthony Studnicki, treasurer.

Program aids

John Radzyminski, chairman; John Wisniewski, cochairman; Stanley Pilchowski, publicity; Joseph Gredja, Pittsburgh post office.

Honorary centennial committee

Hon. John A. Gronouski, Postmaster General of the United States.

Hon. Gov. David L. Lawrence, chairman of President's Commission and Equal Opportunity in Housing.

Hon. Dr. William D. McClelland, chairman, Allegheny County Board of Commissioners.

Hon. John E. McGrady, member of Allegheny County Board of Commissioners.

Hon. Blair F. Gunther, member of Allegheny County Board of Commissioners.

Hon. Joseph Dobbs, coroner, Allegheny County.

James W. Knox, controller of Allegheny County.

Hon. Joseph M. Barr, mayor of city of Pittsburgh.

Hon. Patrick T. Fagan, president of city council of Pittsburgh.

Hon. Walter T. Kamyk, member of city council.

Hon. David A. Smith, treasurer, city of Pittsburgh.

Hon. James J. Dillon, director of public safety, city of Pittsburgh.

Hon. E. Coll, postmaster of city of Pittsburgh.

Ignatius A. Borkowski, police inspector, city of Pittsburgh.

James J. Hughes, director, lands and buildings, city of Pittsburgh.

John M. Appel, director, property and supplies, Allegheny County.

Charles M. Stotz, president, department of art commission, city of Pittsburgh.

Charles Bradley Warren, sculptor and designer of commemorative plaque.

Mrs. David A. Campbell of State College, relatives and descendants of Trcziyulnys.

Mrs. Katherin Trcziyulny Campbell Mock, of New Jersey, the 34th, 39th, and 137th Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment.

Michael Stypula, commander of Polish War Vets.

Maj. Henry Jaracz, Polish combat troops in exile.

The historical committee and central council of Polish Organizations express sincerest appreciation for your wholehearted cooperation.

The Farmer: The Record and the Choice—A Report on Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, every 4 years in our wonderful Republic each political party must account to the people for its stewardship of the public trust. Each party must take its record to the people together with its proposals for the future. Accordingly the Democratic Party which has held complete control of both the White House and the Congress for these past 4 years must now make its accounting to the American farmer.

As the ranking Republican member on the House Committee on Agriculture, I would like to take this occasion to present the record and the proposals that Republicans have made in behalf of the American farmer.

THE GOP RECORD IN CONGRESS

Let me say at the outset that Republicans serving in Congress the past 4 years, as members of the minority party, have opposed those programs which we felt were not in the best interest of American agriculture, and we have supported those programs which we felt were good for farmers.

There is an important distinction for every farmer to keep in mind when he looks at the legislative record of the past 4 years and that is to remember that there is a big difference between being for the farmer and being for administration farm bills. In many cases a few more rubberstamp votes for an administration farm bill would actually have been a vote against the best interests of farmers.

Here are several examples of what I mean:

In 1961 the administration tried to impose marketing quotas and controls on cattle, hogs, poultry, lambs, and all other livestock products. In 1962 it tried to imprison dairy farmers in a penitentiary for failing to keep proper books and records. It also sought to establish mandatory, strict controls on corn and feed grain farmers. Another administration effort was to impose a strict control wheat certificate program on wheat farmers. The administration also tried to set up a subsidized grazing program which would aggravate already low livestock prices.

Of course Republicans in Congress opposed these programs and, except for the wheat program, each of them was narrowly defeated in Congress. In the case of the mandatory wheat certificate program, over 638,000 wheat farmers rejected it in the 1963 referendum.

While Republicans opposed programs which were not good for farmers, we supported, amended, and improved legislation which was beneficial to farmers.

Here again are several examples of what I mean. During the past 4 years we worked for the enactment of legislation dealing with the improvement of Farmers Home Administration loan programs; extension of the Sugar Act; extension and amendment of Public Law 480, the food for peace program; emergency hay harvesting on conservation reserve land; extension of the school milk program; surplus grain sales in disaster areas; extension of the Wool Act; extension of the Great Plains conservation program; extension of Armed Forces and veterans hospitals dairy programs; hog cholera eradication; extension of the Mexican farm labor program; bills to improve the rice, peanut, tobacco, and cotton programs; amendments to the Cooperative Forest Management Act; improvements in the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act; expanded rural telephone service; emergency loan programs; small watershed projects; animal disease eradication; improving education at our land grant colleges; and the establishment of a bipartisan commission to study the marketing of food from the farmer to consumer. In addition, we overwhelmingly supported the appropriations bills which provided the money needed to finance the necessary activities of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

These examples are consistent with the record of the last Republican Congress in 1953–54 when such important programs as Public Law 480; the Small Watershed Act; the school milk, armed services, brucellosis eradication, and veterans milk programs; and the flexible price support laws were enacted.

Much more could be accomplished in the development of closer bipartisan cooperation during these past 4 years had it not been for arm twisting and other pressure tactics used by the administration on members of the majority party.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD

The administration would lead farmers to believe they never had it so good, but we all know that just isn't true. The cost-price squeeze is worse than ever. Total farm debt is up $10 billion in the past 4 years; 2.1 million farm people have left the land, and 376,000 farms have disappeared since 1960. Taxpayer investment in surplus farm commodities stands in excess of $7 billion while employment in the U.S. Department of Agriculture together with total expenditures by that agency have climbed to all time highs.

The Administration claims per capita and per farm income is up. Of course it is. The reason is simply that there are fewer farmers around today to share in the total net income for agriculture. The total income pie is about the same, but there are fewer farmers today to share in it.

The one statistic that the administration never mentions is the parity ratio. This figure has been published each month by the Department of Agriculture for over 30 years. The parity ratio measures the relationship between the prices farmers receive and the prices they pay for their living and production expenses.

In 1963 this parity ratio dropped to 78, the lowest since 1939. On September 15, 1964, it stood at 75. During the Eisenhower administration the parity ratio averaged 84.5.

The administration has been embarrassed by this revealing statistic and has changed its method of calculating the parity ratio. It is now adding Government payments. Even with Government payments added to the formula, the parity ratio during this administration is going down to the lowest levels since depression days.

THE FUTURE

Rather than dwell on the failures of this administration which I admit are plentiful, I feel it is more important to go on to the future that faces American agriculture.

I think we should recognize that American farmers have made the most outstanding contribution to our economy of any single group in the Nation. Their efficiency, hard work, frugality, and enterprise have earned them both the appreciation of the American consumer and the admiration of the world.

Farmers are now being told by the administration that they face a choice of three roads for the future—one road of Government controls—or "supply management"—one road of complete withdrawal from agriculture by the Government, and one road of voluntary commodity programs. The administration says the Republican Party will pull the rug out from under the farmer by following the road to complete withdrawal. This is not true.

The Republican Party offers farmers a variety of programs designed to improve farm income while leaving the farm management decisions on the farm where they belong.

Our 1964 platform pledges the development of truly voluntary commodity programs using payments in kind out of Government-owned surpluses. It seeks to divert unneeded land to conservation uses. It promises price supports free of political manipulation and dumping. It seeks better farm prices in the market. It supports farmer-owned and operated cooperatives in their efforts to improve the bargaining power of farmers. It supports the rural electrification and rural telephone programs. It promises to resist efforts to make the American farmer dependent for his economic survival on either compensatory payments or arbitrary administrative action by any Secretary of Agriculture.

It also asks for improvements in the rural area development program which was started under the Eisenhower administration in an effort to expand income opportunities for low-income farmers and rural people.

It pledges effective and meaningful action on the importation of beef, veal, and cotton textiles.

It also seeks to establish new markets both at home and overseas.

It does not call for the termination of the cotton, tobacco, rice, and peanut programs. It recognizes that producers of these crops have in the past approved these programs, and it does not seek to change them unless better programs can be developed.

It asks for a better wheat program, one which is more acceptable to farmers than the present program under which only 35.4 percent of all wheat farmers are participating.

It seeks legislation to provide farmers with an adequate labor supply with fair wages to farm workers.

It pledges to work for a strong social security system.

It promises to correct, by constitutional amendment, the reapportionment decision of the Supreme Court which will, unless changed, make farmers and other rural people pay ever-increasing State taxes and lose their present representation.

The presidential candidate of the Republican Party, Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, has repeatedly stated that he supports the Republican platform. I know BARRY GOLDWATER. I know he is a man of his word. I know he will not pull the rug out from under the American farmer.

In addition to the platform, Republicans from rural areas have made a number of other proposals which I hope the next administration and the next Congress will consider. These are:

First. The appointment of a Secretary of Agriculture who has actual farm experience. Farmers need a spokesman in the Cabinet who has actually plowed, planted, and reaped a crop and raised livestock. They need a men who understands agriculture and speaks for farmers, and not a spokesman for the Americans for Democratic Action.

Second. No one makes a greater contribution to the family farm than the farm wife. She has to be a partner in the full sense in order to meet the many problems of today's farm family. Would it not be a good idea to appoint a real farm wife to a high position in the Department of Agriuclture? I feel that the viewpoint of today's farm family could be recognized much more fully if this were done.

Third. Market prices for grains could be strengthened if Government sales policies were changed. Farm organizations throughout the Nation generally agree on the proposition that the CCC release price for the sale of surplus grain should be increased from 105 percent of the support price to 115 percent of support price. This should be done.

Fourth. Public Law 480, the Eisenhower food-for-peace program, should be continued. Increased emphasis should be placed on title IV long-term dollar credit sales to friendly nations. The expansion of these sales for dollars would help develop new markets overseas, help our balance-of-payments problem, and give our taxpayers a better return for their investment than in the case of sales for foreign currencies.

Fifth. The recommendations of President Eisenhower's Commission on Industrial Uses of Agricultural Commodities should be pursued and implemented. These recommendations have languished in Democratic Congresses for the past 6 years. Certainly a nation that can land men on the moon can find the secrets of chemistry needed to transform some of our surplus into useful and economical industrial products.

Sixth. The Sugar Act should be extended and U.S. beet and cane growers should be given the legal right to sell the sugar their Government asked them to produce. The administration has let the foreign quotas in the Sugar Act expire on December 31, 1964. It has also blocked efforts to enact legislation to permit the marketing of the 1963–64 production of U.S. sugar producers. This callous disregard of responsibility must be corrected.

Seventh. Next year the present feed grain and wheat programs expire. Voluntary programs for these crops should be enacted along the lines set out in the 1964 Republican platform.

Eighth. Finally, a Republican President should appoint as his advisers, a committee of real farmers and rural citizens. They could advise him on agricultural policy from the standpoint of how the complicated and grandiose proposals which come out of Washington's bureaucracy will affect real farmers out in the country. They can also advise him on new and better ways to promote our free enterprise system of farming.

Yes, there are three roads for farmers to travel in selecting which party will be entrusted with their welfare during the next 4 years. The first road toward controls, regimentation, and greater bureaucracy is the road the Democratic Party has long advocated and has tried many times to get farmers to travel. The second road to complete withdrawal is one which would mean great and unnecessary hardship for farmers and rural people. It has been rejected by the Republican Party. The third road, the one toward voluntary adjustment by individual farmers making their own decisions on their own farms based on their own problems and aspirations is the road which in 1964 the Republican Party offers to travel. The choice is up to the American farmer.

Hon. Lester Johnson of Wisconsin

SPEECH
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to pay tribute to LESTER JOHNSON, with whom I served on the House Committee on Agriculture and on the Dairy Subcommittee, of which he is chairman.

LESTER has been an extremely conscientious, intelligent, and informed Member of the House of Representatives, and deserves the thanks of the State of Wisconsin and of the Nation.

I hope that he is interested in serving the country in some executive capacity, and I would certainly support him in such an effort.

Governor Dempsey Proclaims Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 22, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Governor of Connecticut, the Honorable John Dempsey, recently issued a proclamation declaring Sunday, October 11, 1964, as Pulaski Day in honor of the great Polish-American hero of the Revolutionary War period Gen. Casimir Pulaski.

October 11 marks the 185th anniversary of the death of General Pulaski, who died on the field of battle during the siege of Savannah in 1779. On this date, we pay tribute to the memory of this gallant soldier and fighter for freedom who fought in the cause of American independence.

General Pulaski had left his native Poland and came to the American Colonies to join in the struggle for their freedom. George Washington put him in charge of organizing the cavalry forces. Pulaski participated in the battles of Germantown and Trenton. During the winter of 1777–78 he was with the main army at Valley Forge. Later he was detailed to the southern campaign and lost his life at Savannah. He was only 31 years old at the time of his death.

On this day, when we honor the memory of this brave Polish-American patriot, I salute all Americans of Polish descent who take justifiable pride in the heroic deeds of such men as Pulaski, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko and others. From the days of Pulaski to the present day, Polish-Americans have fought for our freedom in World War I, World War II, the Korean war, and also earlier conflicts. Americans of Polish origin have also helped to enrich our country by their contributions to the development of our cultural life, religious institutions, economic growth, and in many other ways.

As we pay tribute to Gen. Pulaski, it is our fervent wish that his ancestral homeland Poland, which he loved so much, will soon be liberated from its present Communist oppressors and will once again attain its freedom and independence.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the proclamation by Governor Dempsey on Pulaski Day in Connecticut:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN DEMPSEY, GOVERNOR: A PROCLAMATION

The American Colonists' heroic dedication to the cause of liberty stirred the hearts of freedom-loving men in European countries throughout the years of our Revolutionary War.

In this struggle, the largely untrained troops under General Washington's command received timely and invaluable aid from such historic figures as Lafayette, Rochambeau, Von Steuben, and the Polish patriot, Count Casimir Pulaski.

To Brigadier General Pulaski goes much of the credit for molding eager but unskilled American militiamen into capable, disciplined soldiers.

The gallant Polish military genius chiefly is remembered by an appreciative America, however, for the fact that, in addition to sharing his knowledge, he was willing to sacrifice his life in an emerging nation's cause.

On October 11, 1779, General Pulaski fell mortally wounded while leading his famed Pulaski Legion into action at the siege of Savannah.

The General Assembly of Connecticut, having directed that the memory of General Pulaski be honored each year on the anniversary of his death, I am honored hereby to proclaim Sunday, October 11, 1964, to be Pulaski Day.

As this day approaches, I call upon the schools of this State to conduct appropriate exercises recalling the sacrifice of General Pulaski, and on October 11 may flags be displayed in his honor on public and private buildings.

May the observance of Pulaski Day serve also to give recognition to the contributions to the growth and progress of our Nation which have been made by those who followed General Pulaski from Poland to America, seeking a new life.

Let us make this an occasion to give thought to be liberty-loving people of Poland and other Communist-dominated countries behind the Iron Curtain, and to pray for the day when they can again enjoy the freedom intended for all men by Almighty God.

Given under my hand and seal of the State at the capitol in Hartford, this 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1964, and of the independence of the United States the 189th.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By His Excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEIL STAEBLER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. STAEBLER. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, October 11, is the 185th anniversary of the death of Count Casimir Pulaski, the heroic Polish patriot whose life was devoted to the struggle for freedom, first for his own country and then for ours.

He was among the most distinguished of those Europeans who saw the struggle for American independence as part of a struggle for mankind's freedom from tyranny, and he did not hesitate to do something about it. His daring and his courage at a critical stage of our Revolution gave new strength and life to the cause just as later Polish immigrants brought their abilities and enterprise to our growing Nation.

There are those today who seek to raise barriers against immigrants to our land, who belittle the contributions Polish and other nationality groups have made to our prosperity and who threaten unemployment if our immigration laws are liberalized. Pulaski Day serves to remind us of the contributions immigrants have made to our life and in particular, to help us recall the important part that has been played in our history by those of Polish descent.

Social Security and Civil Service Retirement Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Speaker, is it acknowledged—however indirectly and unintentionally—that I have been right all along on these certain matters?

SOCIAL SECURITY

Just before the final adjournment, administration and congressional advocates of medicare under social security faced a clear cut choice: Either enactment of increased social security benefits and higher payroll taxes, substantially as voted earlier this year by the House, but without medicare or no election-year social security legislation in 1964.

They chose the latter. The explanation current in Washington is curious, to say the least.

The liberal Washington Post reported medicare sponsors believed "payroll taxes to support increased social security benefits would have been raised to such a level that it would have been difficult, if not impossible in the foreseeable future, to push through additional taxes to support medicare."

The Washington correspondent of the conservative Wall Street Journal similarly explained that proponents of social security financed hospital care for the elderly "feared these increases would preempt much of the higher payroll taxes needed to finance medicare."

At first blush, this seems like a belated but welcome rediscovery of arithmetic and emergence of a previously lacking awareness that even the taxpayer has "load limits."

Rejoicing, however, could be premature on both counts. Quite possibly this is only a preelection recollection that taxpayers are also voters.

The hard truth is that advocates of medicare were willing—indeed, eager—to take both expanded social security benefits and medicare so long as they thought they could get both. The further hard truth is that if medicare is later adopted—as is strongly urged by President Johnson—it will open the door to new, unprecedented, and recurring pressures to forget both arithmetic and the taxpayers' plight.

It is pleasant, though, to know that the liberals acknowledge—even briefly and under the spell of preelection good behavior—that there is some validity to the misgivings I have voiced and voted over the years regarding a sky-is-the-limit expansion of social security benefits and taxes.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT BENEFITS

In another matter—adequate funding of retirement benefits for present and future Federal civil service retirees—I won not only agreement with my past position but a pledge of future support for my stand.

Representatives of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees and the AFL–CIO Federal employee unions became alarmed over reports that I might use a parliamentary move to block House consideration of a bill increasing pensions for present and future retirees.

In a conference with them I agreed not to do so—and, indeed, to vote for the bill—on two conditions: first, that time would be allowed for floor debate to point out the serious financial condition of the retirement fund—the present fund deficit is $35 billion—and the need for adequate future congressional appropriations to the fund; and, second, that the employee organization leaders themselves would pledge to go all out next year to support legislation to begin correction of the situation.

The first condition became pointless because the administration itself did not permit the bill to come to the floor of the House—thereby killing the pension increase this year.

The employee leaders' pledge, on the other hand, was given unequivocally. If I am still in Congress next year I will introduce legislation to begin sound and adequate financing of the retirement fund—and will then call on the employee leaders to redeem their pledge.

The practical, human value of this retirement program—like that of social security—depends on its soundness as well as its generosity.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following additional tabular material for my rollcall report:

Rollcall No.	Date	H.R. No.	R.B.C.	Vote		Not voting	Brief description
				Yea	Nay		
270	Oct. 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Roosevelt, Democrat, of California (89 Members absent).
271	Oct. 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Bow, Republican, of Ohio (114 Members absent).
272	Oct. 3	12633	Yea	211	78	151	On final passage of supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, with conference committee amendments.

The Appalachian Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Appalachian bill—H.R. 11946—to put it mildly, is complex and comprehensive. I doubt if ever any measure covering such a vast area of human activity, coupled up with a most confused and confusing problem, "poverty," has ever been considered by any other legislative body, let alone the highly organized and erudite House of Representatives of the United States of America. The matter is by no means simplified when we realize that by some people, "poverty" is considered a virtue and history proves that it has never been overcome by legislative action. It can be corrected only by the human effort of the individual. This is the fact and it cannot be overcome by political sophistry. As that great political economist, William Graham Sumner, said many years ago:

> Poverty is the most fundamental and complex of social facts, and the most important of human interests; it is therefore the hardest to understand, the most delicate to meddle with, and the easiest to dogmatize about.

May I very briefly review the salient features of this measure? Others better qualified than I will elaborate on them.

First. The provisions of this bill apply only to one section of our country, although there are other parts of our land which are suffering from "poverty," and its citizens are suffering from the lack of opportunity to earn a livelihood. We might well ask ourselves if it is right and fair for us representing our whole Nation to authorize the expenditure of over a billion dollars of all our people's money for the benefit of a comparatively small area of our country.

Second. The bill covers a very comprehensive area of activity and why it was referred to the Committee on Public Works, which has authority over only 4 of the 12 activities proposed is a mystery. The Public Works Committee, which by the way is made up of a most conscientious and capable group of men, has control of the highway, water resource and sewage treatment, flood control, and rivers and harbors legislation, appearing in the bill. But there are many other matters included in this legislation which have no connecion whatever with the jurisdiction of the Public Works Committee. These include: health facilities; pasture improvement and development; timber development operations; mining area restoration; vocational education facilities; amendments to the Housing Act of 1954; personal financial intrests; and supplements to Federal grants to aid programs.

All of these measures come under the jurisdiction of other committees, yet their views were not asked for or received.

The overcoming of "poverty" under the leadership, advice, and financial aid of a centralized Federal Government, using the money of all the taxpayers for the benefit of one area or community, has been tried before in this country and met with absolute failure. May I remind my colleagues, and some of us may well remember, the attempts made under the administration of Franklin Roosevelt in New Jersey, where with public funds, the establishment of the "Jersey homesteads" was attempted which included municipal plants, housing, and factories. After a few years the whole thing failed and what remained was sold to private enterprise at a large loss to the Government. The same was true of other and similar ventures in West Virginia at places named "Eleanor," and "Arthurdale." This sort of policy just does not accomplish the elimination or even the abatement of "poverty": it is a waste of time and money at the expense of every citizen in the country. I can see no reason to believe that a larger but quite similar program should succeed under the guidance of another Roosevelt who is Under Secretary of Commerce.

This is a most serious matter and a very great responsibility. Everyone who is a red-blooded American is willing to make sacrifices to help our fellow citizens to a better life. There is no quarrel about that whatever. America is the "land of the free and the home of the brave," and our forefathers through the years of the past set an example of self-sacrifice in achieving a sound economy which we should emulate. Someone has said that, "God helps those who help themselves," and that is as true as can be. Let us devote our resources and energies in teaching the less fortunate how to help themselves and thereby justify themselves as worthy of help from others.

Every State in the Union has similar problems, and each State has the responsibility to improve and better the lives of its residents. What are the 11 States situated in this so-called Appalachian area doing to overcome "poverty" within their borders? How do they react to this plan? Are they all in accord with the paternalism of a big central government? Let us look at the record.

First. "Virginia: This State prides itself as having the lowest total percent of unemployment in the Nation, equaled only by Hawaii and the District of Columbia.

Second. Tennessee: Governor Clement emphasized in his testimony before the committee that not all of the designated Tennessee portion of Appalachia is depressed. To the contrary, he pointed out that the designated area comprised some of their most prosperous industrial portions of which they were justly proud. Remember that all of Appalachia-Tennessee is within the service area of the TVA, which is reported to have accomplished so much in improving the economy of that region.

Third. Maryland: There are only three counties in this State included in the Appalachia program, which embraces only 6.3 percent of the State's population. Maryland is justly proud that it completed its fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, with a surplus of about $32 million, and with an estimated surplus of about $31 million at the end of the fiscal year 1964. Do these people need aid from a Federal Government which is operating at a large loss?

Fourth. West Virginia: The Governor of West Virginia testified that the period of 1961–64 "has been one of great economic recovery." "Unemployment," he said, "which stood at 105,000 in January 1961 has been gradually cut down to less than 60,000 early in 1964." The value of private building contracts for industrial plants in West Virginia awarded during 1962 was $119,500,000—about 4.7 percent of the U.S. total of such contracts. This certainly does not indicate that West Virginia needs additional Federal aid.

Fifth. Pennsylvania: In 1963 the per capita personal income area was about the same as the national average, and the percentage of families having an annual income of less than $3,000 has been well below the national average in the Appalachia portion of Pennsylvania. It is well to note that as of April 15, 1964, Federal grants totaling $58,988,000 have been extended to this Appalachia portion under the Accelerated Public Works Act.

Sixth. Alabama: About one-half of the 32 counties in the Appalachian area of this State are in the Tennessee Valley Authority region and 8 of these counties are not eligible for Federal grants under the Accelerated Public Works Act because of high employment. In spite of this, as of April 15, 1964, Federal grants totaling $20,827,000 have been granted to the eligible area under the Accelerated Public Works Act. In addition to all this increased Government activity, under the space flight program, which plans to award contracts of

about $1 billion, it would appear that the Federal Government was doing its share in the economic development of this State.

Seventh. Kentucky: In his testimony the Governor emphasized the action during the past 4 years to solve its Appalachia problems, and he is justly proud of the definite and sound progress that has been made. In addition to its own bond issue of $176 million, the State has received $27,561,000 for its Appalachia problem under the Accelerated Public Works Act.

Eighth. Ohio: The per capita personal income in Ohio is well above the national average, with a lower percentage of families having income of less than $3,000 and higher percentage of families with more than $10,000 a year. The Appalachia portion of Ohio includes less than 10 percent of the State's population and being comparatively well off does not share the problems of other portions of the Appalachia region. Ohio is capable of meeting any such problems without Federal aid.

Ninth. Georgia: There are 35 counties in the Appalachian area, one-third of which are in the area serviced by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Furthermore, 10 of these 35 counties have never been eligible for assistance under the accelerated public works program. The report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission indicated an unemployment rate lower than in the balance of the United States.

Tenth. South Carolina: No part of this State was included in the Appalachia region as defined in the original proposal of the President; no reference concerning the economy of this State is in the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission; and no testimony was presented to the ad hoc committee regarding this State. But in this new bill, H.R. 11946, six counties of this State are included. None of these counties is eligible under the Area Redevelopment Act and only one is eligible for assistance under the Accelerated Public Works Act. Certainly taxpayers' money from the other States in the Nation should not be made available under such circumstances.

Eleventh. North Carolina: Of the 29 Appalachia counties in this State, 15 are ineligible for aid under the Accelerated Public Works Act, and according to the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission this area in the State had a lower unemployment rate than the rest of the Nation in 1950 and 1960. According to articles published in newspapers and magazines, business in Appalachia region is booming in North Carolina.

This brief summary clearly indicates that the States involved are not facing problems which they cannot themselves cope with, especially when the Federal laws extending aid to underprivileged communities are taken into consideration. I beg that you weigh these facts carefully before supporting this proposal.

The Great Gen. Casimir Pulaski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, October 11 will mark the 185th anniversary of the untimely and tragic death of one of our greatest Revolutionary heroes. It was on that date in the year 1779 that a burst of grapeshot from the British guns during the battle of Savannah snuffed out the life of the brilliant young Gen. Casimir Pulaski.

It is often said that no greater sacrifice can be made than for a man to lay down his life for his country. I believe Polish-born Pulaski made even a greater sacrifice since he fought and died for this, his adopted, country.

Casimir Pulaski came from a wealthy family. His childhood was replete with the things that wealth could buy. But young Pulaski sought things which money could not buy. Even in his teens, he was opposed to much of the way of life about him. He sought and found companionship and friendship with a growing group of Polish patriots who plotted the overthrow of Russian domination.

He joined the group that staged the uprising in 1768 in an attempt to drive the Russians from Polish soil. Unfortunately, the uprising was crushed and its leadership and many of its participants were forced into exile. Pulaski was one of them. His fortune was forfeited and his lands were confiscated.

In 1775 Pulaski was in Paris still fired with a spirit of independence, still hopeful of bringing freedom to his native land. It was fortunate indeed that Pulaski came into contact with Benjamin Franklin, for from this association Pulaski adopted the cause being espoused by Franklin—help to the American colonies in trying to overthrow the yoke of the British.

With a letter from Franklin, young Pulaski arrived in Philadelphia in the dark days of 1777. He offered his services to Gen. George Washington. It is not known whether it was the ebullient personality of Pulaski or the letter from Franklin that caused Washington to accept his offer and place him on his own staff as a volunteer.

In a matter of a few months, young Pulaski had so proven himself in battle that Washington urged the Continental Congress to give him the rank of brigadier general and to put him in charge of creating an American cavalry.

Pulaski's enthusiasm, his zeal, and his bravery was such that it outshone many of his contemporary American officers. His ardor to beat the British and gain independence for the Colonies was so intense he asked for and got permission to create an independent corps of cavalry. This unit known as the Pulaski Legion was moved into fighting toward the south and carved its niche in history at Charleston and later in the Battle of Savannah where Pulaski was to lose his life while commanding the American-French cavalry.

Mr. Speaker, it is one of our great tragedies that this young patriot, who did so much for General Washington and his fellow officers and for the men of the ragged and weary Continental Army, should have to die at the age of 31. He is revered not only because of his great achievements along with "mad" Anthony Wayne in scouting and foraging for the supplies so essential to the starving soldiers at Valley Forge. His memory is not hallowed alone for the gallant charges he led in battle after battle. We pay him homage not only for creating the cavalry which became the great arm of American military prowess and went on to cover itself with glory wherever and whenever our country has been forced to resort to armed defense.

No, Mr. Speaker, we honor the name of Casimir Pulaski because he had the vision of mankind enjoying full freedom and independence; because he had the will to pursue his dreams even to the ultimate sacrifice of his life; and because he made himself a shining and heroic example of a true patriot.

It is not happenstance that the millions of Polish-born Americans or their descendents revere and pay homage to patriot Pulaski. It is not by accident that millions of Americans descended from its many nationalities look back upon General Pulaski as one of the great fathers of our independence. No, Mr. Speaker, I feel that the arrival upon our shores at the most critical time in our history of such men as Pulaski was ordained by the Almighty. To him, then, we should express our gratitude for the deeds and actions of Pulaski and for the deeds and actions of his countrymen who followed him and assured that the independence which he fought to win would remain unblemished and intact for the generations of Americans to follow.

We should, on October 11, rededicate ourselves to help Poland, the country from whence Pulaski came, to soon regain its freedom and independence and to become a member of the family of free nations of the world.

The Sugar Problem

SPEECH
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I thank the gentleman very kindly.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to say that all the four gentlemen from Louisiana who have spoken so strongly have represented all the agricultural interests of their districts. The problem with sugar is that both the cane growers in Louisiana and the beet growers in the West have a crisis situation that will not be solved unless we can force some early hearings next year, in January, on this sugar problem, by the House Committee on Agriculture. I hope we can all cooperate in that effort.

Reports From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include extraneous matter, I am including one of my newsletters outlining to my friends and constituents back home services rendered by my office and how they can best utilize those services with a minimum of time and effort. It also occurred to me that other Members of Congress might find this of interest and value in their relationships with their constituents.

The newsletter follows:

Early in 1963, I put out a memorandum explaining the operation of my office, in respect to individuals in my congressional district. There are thousands of people in my four counties who know from personal experience how we function. For the benefit of those who have not had contact with my office, I have decided that nothing could be more worthwhile than to use for this newsletter the memorandum I issued early in 1963 in explanation.

My offices, both in Harrisburg and Washington, are set up with the purpose of giving all the people of all the four counties of my congressional district the maximum amount of service in the shortest possible time. As you know, my office relates only to the Federal Government, and not to State, city, county, or local problems. Nearly everyone, however, is apt to have a problem with the Federal Government sooner or later. If he or she doesn't, he or she is lucky.

The purpose of this memorandum is to point out how you can take maximum advantage of my work and how you can save yourself time and trouble in the process. Remember: All cases go across my desk and have personal attention at some stage of the operation, usually at two stages.

Mrs. M. Willois Wertz, my secretary in Harrisburg (phone: 238-0395) was secretary for my good friend and predecessor, "Walt" Mumma, for 9 years. She has been with me since my election on May 16, 1961. She is thoroughly familiar with the practical problems of the various departments and agencies. She knows exactly what facts are necessary in order for me to get started on almost all of your special problems. If you will either stop in the office or call her on the telephone and give her the information, she will send the facts to me in Washington, and then I will immediately get started on them.

Many problems arise in connection with Olmsted, Mechanicsburg, social security, veterans affairs, railroad retirement, etc., etc., which can be taken care of right here in Harrisburg. Mrs. Wertz knows just who to contact on these. She knows how to proceed. Frequently she is able to get the answer locally without even getting in touch with Washington. Whenever necessary, she does get in touch with my Washington office, either by special delivery mail or by telephone.

In general, I get back to Harrisburg only a Saturday and Sunday. Occasionally, I am not able to get back even for those two days. If you wait to contact me, personally, you will lose a lot of time. Time is usually important to those who do contact me. So, my suggestion is that if an when you have a problem, you should get in touch with Mrs. Wertz at once. You can rest assured it will be referred to me if necessary. As you can well imagine, Mrs. Wertz, with 11 years' background, is thoroughly familiar with the congressional district and the people in it, as well as with the various governmental agencies to which their problems relate. Since Mrs. Wertz takes one day a week off, you should call the office first and arrange an appointment, so you will avoid the danger of being there on her day off.

I have office hours every Saturday and every Friday that I can get home on a Friday. My schedule is always filled solid. I can see just so many people, and no more. So this suggestion does not save any time or effort for me, but it does enable me to get started on your problem anywhere from 2 to 4 weeks earlier than otherwise would be the case. That is the reason I am stressing this suggestion.

I also have a field representative, George W. Jackson, of 213 South Ninth Street, Lebanon. The population distribution of the district makes it important for me, and for you, to have someone in Lebanon County in this position. George travels out in the district and makes calls on the people when they have problems which are too difficult to discuss in a letter. On the way from Lebanon to Harrisburg, he is able to stop and see people about their problems in Myerstown, Richland, Schaefferstown, Cornwall, Annville, Palmyra, Hershey, Hummelstown, Middletown, Campbelltown, Quentin, Lawn, etc. He also can cover the rest of Lebanon County with a good deal of ease. George also makes trips through the upper end of Dauphin County, and through Perry and Juniata Counties, periodically.

This gives my friends in those areas an opportunity to make a personal contact with someone from my office. I also make similar trips through the same areas, when possible. This is difficult for me to do while Congress is in session and my presence, therefore, is required in Washington, Monday through Friday of each week.

Mr. Jackson also helps arrange trips for school clases, Boy and Girl Scout troops, and other organizations making trips to Washington. This service has worked out most successfully. Mr. Jackson is able to arrange the trip so as to have it take the least possible time. I take care of making definite appointments (if possible) for visits to the White House and the FBI. Incidentally, it is quite important to let me know about your trip well ahead of time (particularly during April and May). It is almost impossible to arrange guided tours through the White House and FBI then. It is difficult to arrange this even if you let me know well ahead of time. A guided tour is far superior to the ordinary tour of the White House. Also, Mr. Jackson may be able to make your trip more pleasurable by suggesting interesting places of which you might not have thought.

So that you can have 24-hour service with my office, I subscribed to an answering service last year. This telephone answering service operates day and night. If you call, and no one is in the office, the answering service will take your name and telephone number. When Mrs. Wertz comes in the office the next day, she will call you.

If you have occasion to call me in Washington, my secretary there is Mrs. June Burke. She also was with the late Congressman Mumma for 4 years. She is really top notch. A good deal of the success of my office is due to the fine personnel.

Please don't forget my longstanding policy of doing what I can to help my constituents in any legitimate claim that have with the Federal Government, whether they are Republican, Democrat, or independent. By now, this policy is very widely known and recognized. I will certainly continue it. No one who comes to the office is ever asked their politics. The only question is whether you have a legitimate problem with the Federal Government.

Let me hear from you. Then there is the U.S. mail. My addresses are: 20 South River Street, Harrisburg, Pa., Room 123 Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C. Your views and thoughts on pending legislation are always welcome.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOE M. KILGORE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, two of the most instructive and satisfying years of my life have been spent in service on the House Committee on Armed Services under the chairmanship of one of the all-time great men of this body, the Honorable CARL VINSON.

The resolution unanimously adopted by the House praises the gentleman from Georgia for "his incomparable record as a legislator, his manifold contributions to the strength of our country, his constant and unimpeachable devotion to the public interest." This is praise that is truly deserved. Yet it is not all that is to be said of CARL VINSON.

As a member of the committee he has headed for so long and, with such great distinction, I can testify that, in his day-to-day contacts with other members, Mr. VINSON shows courtesy and consideration greater than I have ever seen extended by any other man. Many times I have gone to him with problems that were of importance only to me and the people of my district. He always had time to listen. He always displayed understanding. He was unfailingly helpful.

Others here have spoken, and spoken with eloquence, of Chairman VINSON'S unmatched contributions to the defense of our Nation. And he has indeed been a great man for the United States of America. Yet the tremendous responsibility he has carried never set him aside from his fellowmen. He is a tremendous human being, a kindly man of integrity and understanding, and it is as such that I salute him from a heart filled with admiration and affection.

Address by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on September 18, Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, appeared at the Commercial Museum in Philadelphia, Pa., at the invitation of the city of Philadelphia and Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, on the occasion of the man-in-space exhibition at the Commercial Museum.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include Dr. Welsh's speech on that occasion:

ADDRESS BY DR. EDWARD C. WELSH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE COUNCIL, AT THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA., SEPTEMBER 18, 1964

It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here this evening. I was honored to be invited by both your distinguished mayor and the president of the chamber of commerce of this great metropolitan area. To my way of thinking, that adds up to a very special sort of invitation. In addition, I am pleased to help honor NASA on its sixth anniversary and also to preview the man-in-space exhibition at the Commercial Museum.

SPACE EXHIBITION

I understand that the exhibition is impressive. I am confident that it marks a forward-looking step. It is evident that farsighted civic leaders have realized that this great new space era is here to stay and hence they have thoughtfully planned to enlighten the community on the progress being attained. It is such a current field, however, that we must wait for part of the history to be made before the evidence can be displayed. The developments in space are so amazing that even the most active imagination has difficulty keeping ahead of the accomplishments. I want to congratulate the city of Philadelphia for its museum and particularly for this new space exhibit. I also congratulate NASA for its role in making this exhibit possible.

MISCONCEPTIONS

The space program has many mysterious aspects, not the least of which are the misconceptions created about it. It takes a certain type of ability to manufacture plausible-sounding myths, and unfortunately such ability has been working overtime regarding the space program. I would take a few minutes of your time to examine several of these confusing rumors about our space effort.

1. National security: First of all, we are told that our space activity is all directed toward going to the moon while neglecting our military competence. The facts do not support that accusation. For example, during the last 21 months, we have put more than 100 payloads into earth orbit, of which about 80 percent were put there by the Department of Defense. I hasten to add that this in no way plays down the significance of the NASA launches. It is cited merely to give a factual account of the amount of defense activity in our space program.

Moreover, less than half of our total space expenditures go to what is loosely referred to as the "lunar venture." I say "loosely" because most of what is being devoted to the lunar project would be spent to develop space competence even if there were no goal of a manned trip to the moon. Do not be misled by those who would have you believe that we are spending $20 billion just to put a man on the moon. The fact is that the $20 billion figure includes the cost of developing large rockets and sophisticated spacecraft which will have many uses, only one of which is the lunar trip. The $20 billion figure also includes the Gemini project, which is devoted to extending our experience and increasing our competence in manned space flight in earth orbit, including the rendezvous and docking of two spacecraft. These developments in rockets, spacecraft, rendezvous and docking, tracking, etc., all contribute to a strong national security base for keeping the peace, not for aggression.

The fact is that the Department of Defense is annually spending about a billion and a half dollars in space research and development. This includes projects in navigation, communications, observation, detection, booster development, scientific instrumentation, command and control techniques, interception, and manned and unmanned space flight. In addition, various space projects of NASA, the AEC, and the Weather Bureau contribute directly or indirectly to improving our national security.

One of the outstanding features of our national space program is the close and efficient working relationship between NASA and the Department of Defense. This interface includes the exchange of personnel, the sharing of scientific and technical knowledge, and the use by one agency of the boosters and spacecraft developed by the other. The critic who belittles what is being done in space to strengthen the Nation's defense is either ignorant, irresponsible, or both. This does not mean that I am satisfied with the rate of progress, but I do accept facts as facts. Progress of a substantial nature is being made in strengthening our national security through space competence.

2. Crash program: A second misconception which cannot stand exposure to factual analysis is the assertion that we have a crash program in space. Of course, anyone who knows anything about crash programs would never talk that way. Crash programs have unlimited funds, unlimited overtime, and parallel approaches to the end objective. None of these aspects applies to the space program or even to the lunar project. Funds are not unlimited; overtime does not characterize the activity; and a single approach to the lunar trip is being followed. Moreover, the speed of the program is geared to getting the most progress per dollar spent rather than the most progress in the shortest period of time. Whether we should or should not have a crash program is a different question, but to assert that we do have one is to deny the facts and distort the truth.

3. Either/or philosophy: A third misconception about our space program flows from those whose reasoning is handicapped by what might be called the either/or philosophy. In the simplest terms, this concept is that we can have either a space program or better educational advantages, but not both; that we can have either a space program or a slum elimination program, but not both; that we can have either a space program or a program to care for the elderly and the ill, but not both. It is my belief that most people who hold such narrow views are opposed to progress in general rather than specifically opposed to space exploration. They probably would not vote more money for education or public housing even if they could curtail the space program. They might be known as the "fiscally responsible" types of individuals at whose hands this country's health has suffered before. They are the type who let us get behind the Soviets in space while at the same time we were experiencing recessions and very slow economic growth. We already know that path well enough and do not plan to travel it again.

No realist believes that this country cannot afford to invest in our national security and in technological progress just because we are not investing enough in some other phases of our economy. Actually, investments stimulate other investments; they do not deter them. This is not an either/or proposition; i.e., schools or space. Rather, the one helps the other. Both are needed and both can be afforded. What is more, decreased spending in education, for example, does not automatically increase the funds available for space exploration, or vice versa. We cannot afford to neglect any of the basic essentials, including space exploration, if we are to continue to be the world's leading peace-loving and freedom-loving Nation.

4. Slowdown: A fourth misconception is that we should slow down the program and thereby save money. At first blush, this "what's the hurry?" philosophy may sound reasonable. In fact, the proposition has only two things wrong with it. First, such an approach would be of great benefit to the Soviets as it would make it easier for them to increase their lead in some aspects of space and attain the lead in others. Do not think for a moment that they are not trying hard to do just that. So far this year, the U.S.S.R. has put more than twice as many spacecraft into orbit as they had put into orbit by this time last year. In a sense, they are doubling their space effort. The second thing wrong with the slowdown approach is that it doesn't save money; it wastes it. To slow down a carefully planned project, such as Apollo, would be to increase its cost and reduce its likelihood of timely success. Key to the waste involved is the breakup of highly competent teams of scientists, engineers, and managers. Key also to the waste is the resultant idleness of facilities rather than their full use. Those who propose the stretchout or slowdown in the space program are in fact arguing for inefficiency and higher costs as well as delayed accomplishments.

SPACE RACE

Now that we have sharpened our awareness that the space program is making a major contribution to our national security, is not a crash program, is not being pursued at the expense of other primary objectives, and cannot be slowed down without raising costs and benefiting the Soviets, I would turn your attention briefly to how we stand in the space race.

1. As regards that key feature: booster power, the Soviets are still ahead on an operational basis, although we are moving up rapidly, having attained the current weight-lifting record on a test shot by the Saturn I.

2. We have placed almost three times as many payloads into earth orbit, while they continue each year to increase their absolute lead in total weight of net payloads orbited.

3. Our numerical progress in orbiting payloads is impressive. Since January 1963, the United States has put more payloads into earth orbit than the U.S.S.R. has since Sputnik I in 1957.—

4. The increased reliability of our launchings is also impressive. During the past 3 years, we placed successfully into earth orbit about 85 percent of all the payloads which we attempted to put there. The Soviet record, while not identical, is comparable.

5. The Soviet heavy Vostok class of vehicle has accumulated more than 2,500 orbits, as compared with 37 for our smaller Mercury. In flying time, even their female cosmonaut has gained more orbital experience than all our astonauts combined. Gemini, Apollo, and MOL may well correct that imbalance, but at the present we are well behind.

6. The Soviets have devoted more of their attention to deep space than we have. As a percentage of total space launching attempts, they have devoted four times as much effort to escape-missions to the moon and planets as we have. The opposite is true as to near-earth orbits, in which our emphasis has been much greater than theirs.

7. Both countries have made impressive strides in accumulating scientific data about space. We may even be ahead in this regard, but, if so, the margin is not large.

8. The United States is clearly ahead in worldwide sharing of space research in cooperative programs, and in direct application of space technology to practical use in communications, weather reporting, geodesy, and navigation. I want to emphasize that the Soviets have a strong, orderly program, with every indication that it is continuing vigorously, apparently unaffected by adverse economic factors in their country. Wishful thinking to the contrary, we dare not slow down unless we are willing to pay the exorbitant price of second place. We have made very impressive progress in the past several years. Our gains have been encouraging.

THE FUTURE

And now I would glance with you at what the space program may look like in the future. Keep firmly in mind that the program is here to stay and that its trend will be one of expansion rather than contraction.

Application of space-oriented knowledge will increase at an increasing rate. Weather prediction and possibly even weather control will save vast amounts of property and thousands of lives annually. Communication by satellites will link the nations of the world closer together and aid in the sharing of knowledge, the conducting of business, and the avoidance of international misunderstandings and disputes. New materials, new products, new processes will flow from the space program to raise our standard of living. Our national security will be enhanced as satellites contribute to our alertness to what other nations are doing, contribute to the observance of treaties, and divert competitive energies from earth-bound aggression to peaceful competition in limitless space. Our knowledge of the earth's origin will be greatly increased and our education stimulated.

As for space projects, we will explore the moon, not just visit it; we will explore the planets, not just fly by them; space laboratories will be generally accepted as extensions of laboratories here on earth; and spacecraft and space rockets will be recoverable and reusable.

It is my thesis that we are entering such a period of prosperity, technical opportunity, and social progress that our previous accomplishments will pale by comparison. The vitality of the space program will contribute imensely to this building of a greater society.

As resident Johnson has said: "Seldom in its lifetime is a country fortunate enough to be confronted with such a challenge as that of the national space program. It enables our people to devote their skills, their courage, their initiative, and their resources to a continuing series of projects which dwarf their imagination while enriching their country."

Hon. Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in this expression of esteem for my friend, ROLAND V. LIBONATI, who is retiring.

During my freshman term in the House, the 87th Congress, it was my privilege to serve with LIBBY on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. His dedicated work in behalf of those who have served our Nation so well and their dependents is typical of his devoted and dedicated service to all during his tenure in the House and in his life before he came to Washington. LIBBY will be sorely missed when the 89th Congress convenes.

ROLAND LIBONATI is and always has been a devoted family man. It is his devotion for his chaming wife that has prompted him to retire from the House to be with her in a climate more suitable to her health.

My very best wishes to LIBBY and his family for many happy, healthy and prosperous years together. The Washington scene will not be quite the same without them—they will be sorely missed.

Good Neighbor Policy: The Road to Power Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article by Norman M. Clapp, the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, which appears in the September 24, 1964, issue of Public Utilities Fortnightly.

In this article Mr. Clapp calls for an end to the differences between the commercial power companies and the rural electric cooperatives—differences which have been brought many times to our committees and to the floor of the House. The REA Administrator suggests that the interests of the country, and the interests of the two segments of the electric power supply industry, will be better served if they lay aside their differences and follow a "two-way 'good neighbor' policy based on mutual respect and common interests." This would certainly be the case in my home State of Illinois.

I am pleased to insert in the RECORD this thoughtful discussion and proposal:

GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY: THE ROAD TO POWER ECONOMY

(This article calls for an end to differences between the investor-owned and cooperative segments of the electric industry. It also suggests further efforts at joint power pooling and transmission agreements.)

(By the Honorable Norman M. Clapp, Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration)

Since the creation of REA nearly 30 years ago, the attitude of perhaps a majority of power company executives toward the Government's rural electrification program has been one of unabashed hostility. Currently a number have asked Congress to shut REA down, or to curtail or abolish portions of the REA loan-making authority, on the general grounds that federally financed rural electrification has outlived its usefulness to rural people and to the American society.

But there is another, and happier, side to the relationships between power companies and REA and its cooperative borrowers. Over the years, a number of company executives—and recently it would appear that the number has been on the increase—have worked and negotiated in good faith with REA borrowers in a variety of constructive ways. In Iowa and Kentucky, we can point to many years of integrated operation by commercial power suppliers and REA-financed cooperatives.

In Texas there are companies which have worked with REA borrowers to the mutual benefit of both. One Texas company is presently joined with a group of REA-financed cooperatives in defending their new wholesale power contract before the Federal Power Commission. A similar situation finds power companies and the cooperatives on the Delmarva Peninsula defending another power contract negotiated between companies and cooperatives.

In New Mexico, two power companies and an REA borrower have a "gentleman's agreement" proposing joint construction of a new transmission line, and the parties currently are exploring other areas of joint enterprise. In Missouri, a large-scale power pooling arrangement among cooperative, commercial, and public suppliers is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished through cooperation to make more efficient use of electric power resources and to reduce the retail cost of power. And there are other examples.

We are cheered by all of these instances of power company cooperation, for we are convinced that America's commercial utilities can, in large measure, assist in attaining this administration's dual objective of developing effective rural electrification with maximum economy to the taxpayer. We believe that the time has arrived for leaders on both sides of the rural electrification question to end the feuding and to substitute a two-way "good neighbor" policy based on mutual respect and common interests.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations was advocating more of this type of policy last year when it stated:

* * * this committee believes that both the rural electric cooperatives and the private power companies who furnish most of the supply of energy needed to serve the electric cooperatives are here to stay and they should make every effort to enter into earnest negotiations in reaching power supply contracts because it is to the mutual advantage of the cooperatives and the private companies to enter into satisfactory power supply arrangements.

INTEREST IN COMMON

The Senators who voiced this plea could well have said, "A plague on both your houses," for they have been confronted at every session with testimony from both camps as to the shortcomings and alleged misdeeds of the other side. They must have wondered why an industry which is capable of engineering the 1,000-megawatt generating unit and the 500,000-kilovolt transmission line should still indulge in backwoods feuds reminiscent of the 1930's. The Senators said in effect: "The Congress is no place to solve all your intraindustry conflicts, so why don't you get together and work them out as good neighbors?"

Certainly the companies and the cooperatives have no shortage of interests in common. During the fiscal year 1963, REA borrowers purchased some 14.4 billion kilowatthours of wholesale power from electric companies—$109 million worth. That was more than they purchased from any other single source, and the amount of the purchase is increasing at the rate of 9 percent a year. Obviously, both buyer and seller share an

enormous interest in the future of their power supply arrangements. And just as obvious is that in this era of rapidly changing technology in the power industry, a "good neighbor" policy can pave the road to economies in which both parties can share.

A sound basis for improving relations is within reach of all parties concerned. The psychologist, William James, liked to talk about two kinds of people: the "tenderminded" and the "toughminded." The tenderminded shrinks from unpleasant facts and substitutes his own reassuring version of things. The tough-minded person, on the other hand, faces up to reality and deals with the world as he finds it. As a result, he has a lot more survival value. Let us all be toughminded and try to see things as they are in the power business, in this year 1964.

The Senate Appropriations Committee gave us one realistic precept when it observed that both the cooperatives and the companies are "here to stay." While the Senators were not offering either type of organization a guarantee of permanence, they did mean that the cooperatives, just as much as commercial companies, should be viewed as an integral and important segment of the American electric power industry. REA borrowers resent being referred to as makeshift, stopgap arrangements. They are proud of the difficult job they have done and of the quality of service they provide, and they see no reason why they should not continue to serve in the areas they have pioneered.

As a corollary to this proposition REA-financed rural systems insist upon the integrity of their territories. A refusal to recognize the territorial rights of REA-financed rural electric cooperatives and their need for low-cost power only postpones the day when the rural systems can become self-sustaining—independent of REA assistance, technical, and financial.

Our borrowers will fight, just as the power companies would, to protect their right to retain their service areas intact, as well as the right to serve all loads which may develop in those territories.

Those that have not yet achieved this protection through their State legislatures are going to keep right on trying to get it. Surely no one can blame the systems for displaying an instinct for self-preservation or blame REA for its genuine concern over the security of several billions of dollars in outstanding Federal loans.

SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES

The rural systems also would like it recognized that theirs is an uphill fight. In carrying out their mission of providing adequate, low-cost power to their consumers, they have to struggle against a number of handicaps which are inherent in the task they have undertaken.

A number of power company executives understand these special difficulties, and their policies toward rural systems have been most helpful. One such executive is A. R. Watson, president and general manager of the Southwestern Public Service Co., in Amarillo, Tex. His firm is an important supplier of wholesale power to cooperatives in four Southwestern States.

In the testimony before the Federal Power Commission, Mr. Watson said that his company's pricing policy to rural electric systems "is based on the recognition that the company is cooperating with the rural electric cooperatives in the development of the agricultural economy for the benefit of the entire area. Hence, a pricing policy has been followed that has always resulted in less than average system rate of return."

He cited a number of instances of helpful cooperation between Southwestern Public Service and REA borrowers, and then he testified that the followings points were considered in offering to cooperatives new—and reasonable—wholesale power contracts: "(1) The continued growth of the agriculturally based economy should be promoted for the benefit of all customers. (2) It is public policy to help rural electric cooperatives. (3) My understanding is that the cooperatives' retail rates are generally higher than our company rates for comparable classes of service."

Mr. Watson also told FPC that he did not believe his company could do any better job of serving the rural people in his area than the cooperatives were doing. He said that his engineers "have always concluded that the lowest overall cost of rural electric service is obtained by the mutual approach of the company furnishing power for distribution by the rural electric cooperatives."

We think that other power company executives should join Mr. Watson in taking a realistic view of the handicaps faced by REA electric borrowers. Low density is one. At the close of 1962, the rural electric systems financed by REA were serving only 3.3 consumers per mile of line. In contrast, the class A and B commercial power companies averaged 33.2 or 10 times as many consumers on each mile of line.

This problem of low density is compounded for our borrowers by a general shortage of large power users and a lack of load diversity. Just 20 percent of the 1962 revenues of REA-financed systems came from commercial and industrial loads. The class A and B commercial utilities drew more than 50 percent of their revenues from these sources.

Partly as a result of this situation, the load factor of the rural systems, on a nationwide basis, is only about 45 percent; and that of class A and B commercial utilities is 65 percent.

When we compare revenues an even greater disparity exists between REA borrowers and power companies. In 1962 the average annual gross revenue per mile of line on the rural systems was only $460. On the lines of class A and B commercial systems, it was $7,164. Those figures tell an important story.

To these widespread handicaps should be added several more which, while not universal, are nonetheless serious where they do occur. These include service areas containing chronic pockets of poverty; areas of high power cost; isolated areas; and areas which have suffered from a disaster of unusual severity, such as a late freeze, flood, or drought. In sections where farmers rely heavily on income from one type of crop, the loss of that crop also can eat heavily into co-op revenues.

To help the rural systems overcome some of these handicaps, Congress has built some important equalizers into the Rural Electrification Act. It has provided low-cost, long-term financing. It has provided stable financing, to encourage the orderly development of systems. It has provided a broad generation and transmission loan authority, which offers cooperatives the opportunity to provide their own source of power whenever they cannot buy it under rates and conditions which will help them to overcome the handicaps inherent in providing rural service; whenever they cannot buy power at low enough rates, or in adequate amounts, or on fair and equitable terms. Congress also has provided for technical assistance by REA. While still important, more and more borrowers are developing competent staffs of their own, making it possible for REA to reduce its technical assistance in many phases of electric borrower operations.

But not all the "equalizers" which have helped rural systems to approach parity of service with urban systems have been provided by the Congress. A major contribution to lower operating costs has been made through the nonprofit operation of the rural electric cooperative, as have applications of such modern developments as large-scale generation, pooling arrangements, and interconnections.

THE GOAL IS SERVICE

And not the least important contribution has been made through the efforts of hundreds of rural systems to stimulate the adoption of new farming techniques, industry, and business in their service areas. These diverse projects, which can be grouped under the general heading of rural areas development, of necessity come to fruition sowly, but their net effect now is beginning to be felt on the power loads of our borrowers.

Rural people who direct and manage the affairs of REA's electric borrowers do not want unfair advantages or improper privileges. Their real goal is parity of service and rates for rural areas, for they know that such a parity is essential to the provision of equal economic opportunity.

But we know that our borrowers still fall short of this goal of parity. The limited studies which we have been able to make indicate that rates on REA-financed systems generally are some 30 percent higher for the first 250 kilowatt-hours than are the rates for city consumers. While many borrowers are able to make rate reductions each year, they still have a long way to go.

REA-financed systems are looking far ahead of their current requirements. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, comprised of a majority of our borrowers, presently is studying the possibilities of supplemental financing in the private money market. Within REA, we are undertaking a study of the possibilities of a type of intermediate financing for rural electrification which would be free from some of the restrictions placed upon the basic 2 percent REA financing and would return a rate of interest which would be fully compensatory to the Federal Government for the cost of its money. This rate currently is about 3.6 percent. While we continue to see a clear need for the basic, low-cost financing, we also think that a new type of intermediate financing could fill the capital needs of those rural systems which, through growth and maturity, move beyond the basic program requirements. The greater flexibility of such a financing arrangement could accelerate the growth and development of REA-financed systems to a point where they no longer would need Federal financing of any kind.

Under both President Kennedy and President Johnson, REA has been firmly and unequivocally committed to the basic strengthening of the rural systems it has financed. This objective can be realized most quickly in an atmosphere of trust and helpfulness among all sectors of the industry. A good neighbor policy, begun now, would create a better climate for planning and development. It would encourage cooperatives to carry on their efforts to improve the economies of their service areas, a development which eventually could lead to more power sales and revenues for all. And it would help the rural systems, and in many cases the other power suppliers, to share in the economies of large power generation and high-voltage transmission.

There is one final thing which should be understood about rural electric systems and the people who own and operate them. They are looking to the future with optimism. They see exciting technological developments emerging in the power industry and they want to share in them. They are flexible in their thinking; they are not married to one way of doing things. Given the right kind of atmosphere they are eager to work with other power suppliers in exploring ways and means of achieving the economies of new techniques in the production and delivery of power. Surely nothing but good can come from such an enlightened course.

Wisconsin's 440th Troop Carrier Wing Again Is Tops in Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, at the Air Force Association convention held recently in Washington, the 1964 award for the Air Force's top reserve unit in the United States was presented to the 440th Troop Carrier Wing, USAF Reserve, located at General Mitchell Field in Milwaukee, Wis.

The presentation marked the second successive year that the 440th "Flying Badgers" has been judged the Nation's top Air Force Reserve unit. It was a singular honor. The wing is ably commanded by Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Lingle, who has been active in the military reserves since 1940. Under General Lingle's command, the 440th also has won the 10th Air Force Mission Performance Award for three consecutive quarters—a record unequaled in the history of the award.

It is my privilege to be an honorary member of this outstanding organization. Understandably because my interest in the activities of the unit since its inception in 1952, I am gratified with the success which it has achieved.

These feelings are shared, I know, by the people of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, many of whom have friends, relatives or neighbors who are active in the 440th.

The pride of our community and our State in this topnotch Air Reserve unit was reflected in an article in the Milwaukee Journal on September 20, written by reporter Edward R. Williams. The article points up the high morale, technical excellence and leadership of tht 440th, qualities which have earned it national recognition.

At this point, I include the article, another Milwaukee Journal story on the AFA award, and a brief history of the 440th Troop Carrier Wing, and a short biography of its commander:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 11, 1964]

MILWAUKEE AIR WING RATED RESERVES' BEST

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The 440th Troop Carrier Wing at General Mitchell Field Friday won an unprecedented honor of being named the Air Force's top Reserve flying wing 2 years in a row.

Announcement that the Milwaukee unit was chosen as the 1964 winner was made at a Reserve forces seminar at the Air Force Association's 18th annual convention at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. The 440th had been named the outstanding Reserve wing for 1963 at last year's convention here.

LINGLE ACCEPTS TROPHY

The award, a silver bowl trophy which is kept for permanent display by the unit, is given by the AFA and is one of the highest honors bestowed by the association.

Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Lingle, 3940 South 99th Street, Greenfield, 440th Wing Commander, accepted the trophy from Maj. Gen. Jess Larson, a Reserve officer and Washington lawyer newly elected president of the association.

Basis of the award was the wing's tactical, administrative, and logistical efficiency. Each of the continental air command's six Reserve regions nominated one wing for the final judging by Conac headquarters at Robins Air Force Base in Georgia.

Operational readiness, inspections, and Conac's general rating system were considered in making the selection. The 440th had the best overall score in manning, unit training participation, annual summer camp attendance, combat readiness of aircrews, sorties flown, and proficiency in supply activities.

USES FLYING BOXCARS

The 440th flies Fairchild C–119 Flying Boxcars in paratroop and heavy equipment drops.

Lingle was accompanied at the presentation by representatives of the wing's two troop carrier groups, the 933d at Milwaukee and the 934th at Minneapolis. Lt. Col. Kenneth W. Hall, 842 Robertson Street, of the 933d, and Lt. Col. Dodson Graybeal, Minneapolis, of the 934th accepted Larson's congratulations for the two groups.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 20, 1964]

THE 440TH WING MEMBERS CALLED DEDICATED MEN

(By Edward D. Williams)

When the 440th Troop Carrier Wing at General Mitchell Field was called to active duty in October 1962, in the Cuban crisis, reservists who wanted to be excused as hardship cases were surprisingly few.

Lawyers, a judge, the mayor of Wheaton, Ill., key business executives, and others who could have escaped the callup for good reason made it a point of honor not to ask. Six dental students and a medical student jeopardized their college work to respond to the call.

Capt. Wayne L. Freeman, Whitewater, a navigator, was told that he faced loss of a year of college if he served with the 440th. He took the active duty and lost the year.

HIS SPIRIT IS TYPICAL

This is typical of the spirit of the officers and men of the unit, which for 2 years in a row has been named the top Reserve flying wing in the Air Force.

What does it take for a unit to be called the best?

"People," said Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Lingle. "Highly qualified and dedicated people."

Lingle, 3940 South 99th Street, Greenfield, commands the 440th, which is made up of two groups, the 933d at Milwaukee and the 934th at Minneapolis.

At the recent Air Force association convention in Washington, the 440th was named the Air Force's top Reserve unit for 1964, and Lingle was given a silver bowl trophy by the association. It was a repeat of the same honor given in 1963.

Honors are nothing new to the wing, its members, or its departments. For example:

The base supply department for the last 2 years has been selected as the best in the Continental Air Command, and Lingle expects it to repeat this year. Lt. Col. George Boutell, 1212 Lake Drive, South Milwaukee, group chief of supply, worked on his own time some Saturdays and Sundays to bring his department to the top.

Chief M. Sgt. Frank Ellison, 5505 Brandon Street, Greendale, field maintenance supervisor, this year was named the outstanding Air Force supervisor by the Department of the Air Force's personnel inspector's office.

One of every four of the enlisted men sent to technical schools by the wing in the last 2 years has been an honor student in the upper 3 percent of the class. No 440th man has flunked any technical school course.

Col. Leonard J. Dereszynski, 6016 Briarcliff Court, Greendale, vice commander and wing information officer, this year was named the outstanding Reserve information officer in the midwest region.

The wing's newspaper, the Flying Badger, 2 years ago was named the best in the Continental Air Command and the third best in the Air Force throughout the world.

The base fire department 2 years ago placed third in the entire Air Force in fire protection competition.

This is only a partial list. In flying and on the ground, the 440th often has been given high praise.

In last year's operational readiness inspection, the Tactical Air Force inspectors reported of the ground training unit that "because of the outstanding performance demonstrated by many activities in the group, special mention should be made to give appropriate credit. More activities are in this category in this unit than in any other Reserve troop carrier group inspected this fiscal year."

SCORED HIGH

The 440th in recent years has won or placed high in the troop carrier equipment and paratroop drop competition.

In written examinations on their knowledge of the wing's C–119 Flying Boxcars, 440th air crews this year have an average of 96 percent, with 85 percent a passing grade.

Three fliers scored 100 percent, two scored 99 percent "and I was disappointed that one of my key officers scored only 94 percent," Lingle said. Lingle scored 97 percent.

"Our crews do so well that we begin to expect top ratings as commonplace," Lingle said.

TESTS CONDUCTED

To keep pilots on their toes, the wing conducts periodic standard evaluation tests on their flight ability. In turn the Air Force tests the wing's examiners on their flight ability.

Maj. David Lumley, who headed an evaluation team from Langley Air Force Base in Virginia, at General Mitchell Field last week, praised the 440th flight examiners.

"This is the best Reserve unit I have ever evaluated. In fact, it is a better than some Regular units," he said.

Lumley had just completed the testing of Lt. Col. Patrick J. Freeman, 5569 South 116th Street, Hales Corners, 933d group operations officer.

TOPPED PARADROP FIELD

Freeman, a World War II, Berlin airlift, and Korean war pilot, is one of the many paradrop competition winners in the wing. In 1960 he placed first of 36 competitors in the annual contest.

The 440th is located on a $5,500,000 base on the southwest corner of Mitchell Field. The land is federally owned but the air force has a lease with the county.

The wing has 1,481 officers and airmen, of which 803 are based at Milwaukee and 678 at Minneapolis.

Lingle gave much of the credit for the reservists' attitude to the support of the community. "There was very little ill feeling by employers when their Reserve employees were called to active duty," Linge said.

STAFF ADMIRES LINGLE

Although Lingle stressed that it was the competence and dedication on the lower levels that made the unit what it is, Lingle himself contributes greatly to the 440th's high rating.

A leader by example, he is admired and respected by his staff. He is punctual and a hard worker.

A World War II B–29 bomber pilot and later a jet fighter pilot, Lingle is also a top administrator. He is a stickler for timely and accurate reports.

WATCHES FUNDS

"He manages the wing's dollar as if it were his own," one officer said.

Lingle's judgment also is respected at higher levels. He is a member of the Tactical Air Command policy committee.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE 440TH TROOP CARRIER WING

On D-day, June 6, 1944. less than a year after its activation at Bear Field, Ind., the 440th Troop Carrier Group was in business over Normandy.

The 440th not only dropped infantrymen and engineers of the 101st Airborne Division, but also resupplied them by parachute and by actual landings on the hastily constructed strips of the Cherbourg Peninsula.

The following month, part of the group departed under secret orders for Italy to prepare for the August invasion of southern France. Again, infantry was dropped, and gliders carrying a field artillery battalion and antitank company added to the deadly effect of the group.

Then, in September, the 440th moved to a new base near Reims, from which the group supported the rolling advance of the Allies, in Holland and northern France. Col. Frank X. Krebs, group commander, and his crew went down while dropping paratroopers behind enemy lines in Holland. Late in October, though Colonel Krebs escaped from German-held Holland and made his way back to his command.

Medical supplies, gasoline, and ammunition were flown to the trapped defenders of Bastogne during the Battle of the Bulge. Losses for the group were highest of the war during these operations.

Units of the 17th Airborne Division were dropped behind the lines during the Rhine crossing, and vitally needed supplies were flown to the units racing across Germany.

By the time the 440th was deactivated in October, 1945, its officers and men had won an impressive number of individual decorations. The group won campaign streamers for its share in the battles of Normandy, southern France, northern France, Rome-Arno, Rhineland, Ardennes, and central Europe.

The 440th Troop Carrier Wing was reactivated on August 26, 1947, as a Reserve organization. Training facilities were greatly expanded in 1949, at which time the wing was equipped with T–6, C–46, and C–47 aircraft. The wing contributed assistance to stricken ranchers in Dakota and Montana during Operation Haylift in 1948, and also participated in the Berlin airlift in 1949. The unit was based at Minneapolis during this period.

The 924th Reserve Training Wing was activated in February 1952 at General Billy Mitchell Field in Milwaukee. On July 1, 1952, the unit was redesignated as the 438th Fighter Bomber Wing. The first aircraft assigned were four T–6's and two C–46's. Later the wing received F–51 Mustangs, the famous World War II fighters. In 1951, the unit was equipped with F–80 Shooting Stars and T–33 jet trainers.

Shortly after the jets arrived, Congress appropriated money for the construction of a Reserve training center at General Billy Mitchell Field. This allowed the 438th to centralize all of its ground and air operations, and improve training efficiency.

In November 1957, the wing's mission and aircraft were changed. The 438th Fighter Bomber Wing was deactivited and the 440th Troop Carrier Wing was transferred from Minneapolis to Milwaukee. The F–80 aircraft were replaced with the C–119 Flying Boxcars.

Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Lingle became the new wing commander, and many of the officers and airmen of the 438th became members of the 440th.

The mission of the 440th Troop Carrier Wing is combat airlift support, paratroop and equipment drops, airlift of troops and equipment to forward areas, and aeromedical evacuation. The wing flies C–119 Boxcars—large, rugged planes with tremendous lift, capable of operating from unprepared airfields. Their dependability is a major asset to the crews and ground personnel of the 440th in maintaining a ready-now status.

In June and July of 1960, the 440th was selected to furnish three aircrews to deliver C–119's half way around the world to India—the first time Air Force reservists had been used on an oversea ferrying mission. In August 1960, the 440th furnished 30 C–119's, with aircrew and support personnel, for Operation Bright Star/Pine Cone III, the largest peacetime airborne exercise ever held involving Reserve forces. Hundreds of paratroopers and tons of equipment were dropped by the 440th in a simulated battle at Fort Bragg.

Operation Swift Strike in August 1961 was one of the largest peacetime war maneuvers. This exercise demonstrated convincingly the mass airlift capability and quick responsiveness of the Air Force Reserve under realistic combat conditions. The 440th Troop Carrier Wing supplied 24 aircraft and flew 94 sorties in 5 days, dropping 1,325 troops and 253 tons of equipment.

Aircraft maintenance and other ground personnel of the 440th operated a functional forward airbase in the North Carolina boondocks in support of wing aircraft involved in Operation Swift Strike.

In July of 1962, the 440th Troop Carrier Wing furnished 16 C–119's for Exercise Big Sweep II in Alaska. Along with the airplanes went the necessary aircrews, mechanics, and other personnel to operate and support them. The wing airlifted and dropped personnel and equipment of the 1st Battle Group, 23d Infantry, from Fort Richardson, Alaska. Later in the exercise, the wing, operating from gravel strips, delivered supplies to remote military outposts north of the Arctic Circle. Over 150 of the wing's personnel participated in the Alaskan operation, while the remainder spent their active duty tour at Volk Field in Wisconsin. For 2 weeks, they staffed and operated all the integral functions at Volk.

During the routine performance of its various missions, the 440th Troop Carrier Wing has earned many distinctions. In September 1963, it was named as the "outstanding Air Force Reserve unit in the Nation." In June 1962, a 440th aircrew won first place in a troop carrier competition sponsored by the Air Force Association at Las Vegas, Nev.

The 440th aircraft maintenance unit has been cited for achieving the highest engine time on overhaul ever experienced with the R3350.89 engine either by an active duty or Reserve organization. This was a significant achievement in terms of mission performance, safety of flight, maintenance management, morale, and efficiency. The 440th's maintenance personnel make it possible for the aircrews to fly more hours than any other Reserve wing. During the Cuba crisis, the 440th led all eight recalled wings in aircraft and aircrew operational readiness.

On October 28, 1962, President Kennedy mobilized the wing as part of the Tactical Air Command during the crisis in Cuba. After 1 month of active duty, during which the crisis waned, the 440th reverted to Reserve status as part of the Continental Air Command.

A guarded apron filled with Flying Boxcars in the flat gray of combat; the early morning rumble of heavy engines being preflighted; an operations command post constantly manned, directing the aircraft on simulated war missions; a bustle of activity in communications, with classified reports and directives being sent and received around the clock; maintenance working through the night, keeping the docks filled to support an increased flying schedule; major efforts being accomplished by supply, personnel, hospital; and, overall, there was the electrifying sense of being advanced overnight from a Reserve wing to an active duty Tactical Air Command wing for our Nation's defense. This was the 440th Troop Carrier Wing during the Cuba crisis of October and November 1962.

The 440th Troop Carrier Wing is a "ready now" wing manned and equipped to respond on short notice, as a self-contained tactical unit, to the needs of our national defense. Its members can be compared with the Minutemen of colonial days.

MEET THE COMMANDER

Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Lingle, commander of the 440th Troop Carrier Wing since November 23, 1957, is a veteran airman. A command pilot, he has flown more than 4,500 hours in all types of military aircraft—bombers, fighters, and transports—both jet and conventional.

General Lingle has been active in the military Reserve program since 1940. He was commissioned in the Infantry in 1940; in September that year, he enlisted in the Aviation Cadet program and subsequently was commissioned in the Air Corps Reserve in April 1941.

After completing four-engine transition, General Lingle went to the Pacific theater of operations as lead crew commander in B–29's with the 99th Bomb Squardon, Ninth Bomb Group. He flew 29 combat missions over Japan and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and Air Medal with three Oak Leaf Clusters.

Released from active duty in 1946, he completed his studies at the University of Wisconsin, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1947. He was a chemist with the Wisconsin State Highway Commission until December 1958, when he became base commander under the Air Reserve technician program.

Under General Lingle's command, the 440th won the 10th Air Force Mission Performance Award for three consecutive quarters—a record unequaled in the history of the award.

As a flying commander, General Lingle has led the 440th's teams in the ConAC Troop Carrier Rodeos and flown in the lead crew in Operation Bright Star/Pine Cone III, the largest peacetime airdrop of paratroopers in history.

A native of Askeaton, Wis., General Lingle is married to the former Mary Jane Wastian, of Madison, and they and their three daughters live in Milwaukee.

A Bill To Amend the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on October 3, 1964, I introduced a bill to amend the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, and for other purposes.

It is similar in all respects to H.R. 12779, introduced on October 2, 1964, by our distinguished colleague from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL]. I have done so at this time in order to afford ample opportunity for those interested in the housing situation in the District of Columbia to study it and be prepared to give the new Congress their comments and suggestions early next year.

In introducing the bill I do not commit myself to support all of its provisions.

I do believe that many of its provisions together with many of the amendments offered to S. 628 by the House District Committee and not acted upon this year, can go far toward improving the situation in Washington. I do hope that early next year we can have hearings on these various bills and report to the House a good bill that most Members can support and which will also have the support of the overwhelming majority of the residents and businessmen of the community.

Tolland County, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a most interesting article about Tolland County, Conn., one of the four counties comprising my congressional district. The article appears in the autumn 1964 issue of the magazine Food Marketing in New England and was written by George L. Moore, the editor of the publication.

I am very pleased to call this article to the attention of my colleagues. We in Connecticut are proud of Tolland County, its history and tradition, and its 13 towns, some of which date back to the early 18th century.

The article is as follows:

[From Food and Marketing in New England, Autumn 1964]

YESTERDAY'S YANKEE SILK INDUSTRY TOMORROW'S MILK, TURKEYS, POTATOES ARE PART OF THIS TOLLAND COUNTY STORY

It's Tolland County when your car crosses the Massachusetts-Connecticut line on route 15. Perhaps you'll pull up to one side of the highway to look at your map. If so, a Connecticut State policeman may materialize, as though by magic, at your window. If there's a lady passenger she'll whisper, "Isn't he handsome."

After he has given you courteous clearance, she will recall how his light-blue eyes matched his necktie. Tolland County won't reveal much to a 60-mile-an-hour passer-through but its back roads and crossways will well repay leisurely touring.

The expedition had its inception a year ago at the Green Pastures breakfast during the Eastern States Exposition when the desire was breathed to John H. Elliott, Tolland agricultural agent, to see more of his county. His invitation was cordial and instant and when we turned up in his office he had a schedule of visits all arranged, including farms, farmers, historic houses, landmarks.

THE AGRICULTURAL CENTER

Our travels began and ended at the County Agricultural Center in Vernon, a solid accomplishment which came about through the initiative and willingness of people to help themselves. On a 22-acre tract, the center includes two buildings with plans for more. Voluntary contributions of time, talent and $88,000 in money from farm and rural people of Tolland County created this facility for serving over 6,000 people in extension, soil conservation, agricultural stabilization, and conservation programs, and providing a meeting place for Scout groups and other civic and recreational organizations. Beginning with a dream in 1955, the planning, organizing, and hard work of Tolland County people to bring the center into being are a fine example of constructive and cooperative action. The facilities help to improve programs for youth development and to maintain a vigorous agriculture, which is Tolland County's biggest enterprise, grossing over $10 million a year.

THE $25 MAKES INCORPORATOR

John Elliott acquainted us with some of the folks who brought the center to pass. The original planning committee included Luther Stearns, of Mansfield; Frank Niederwerfer, of Vernon; Mrs. Rockwell Holcomb, of Somers; August Loehr, Jr., of Tolland; Foster Richards, of Mansfield; and Wesley Bradway of Union. The members of the board of trustees and committee chairmen who worked on the plans for the main office building were William Niemann, Ellington; Raymond Daley, West Wilmington; Frank Niederwerfer, Vernon; Luther Stearns, A. J. Brundage and Foster Richards of Mansfield; Winthrop Porter, Hebron; Mrs. Rockwell Holcomb, Somers; Mrs. Marie Waltz and Everett Gardner of Rockville; and Wesley Bradway of Union.

Total investment represents $122,000, of which $88,000 was contributed, $34,000 secured by mortgage. The incorporators own the center. Anyone contributing $25 or more is an incorporator. The word cooperation has been used: As one sample, farmers contributed 4,500 yards of fill and hauled it without charge in their own trucks. The main building was completed 3 years ago.

John Elliott introduced us to his associates in the center, two of whom, Stewart E. Ackerman, associate agent and Albert B. Gray, 4–H club agent in agriculture, went on one or another of our trips. The other staffers were cordial and helpful—Cora H. Webb, home demonstration agent; Elaine J. Wheeler, club agent in homemaking; and the office secretaries, Mrs. Clementine (Cecil) Adams, Mrs. Hazel (John) Dombek, Mrs. Willodene (Bradley) Shickel and Miss Virginia Dailey.

WORMWOOD, THEN HOPE

Tolland county has Indian names like Schenipsit, Nipmuck (a tribe) and Wamgumbaug, also the conventional sprinkling of biblical names, such as Hebron and Gilead, and some delightful odd ones. A road near Wilbur Cross's birthplace goes up Wormwood hill beyond which is Mt. Hope. And how did a waterfall miles from the salt water get the name Codfish Falls?

At Eastern States Exposition 11 years ago this month of September, President Eisenhower presented a silver platter to Ernest Kupferschmid of Tolland County for being a sweepstakes winner in the New England green pastures contest. In his short talk later in the Coliseum, the President took his theme from what this Connecticut dairyman had done, and said that just as the green pastures winner was making his farmland better than he found it, so a good citizen leaves his native land better for having lived and worked in it.

MAGIC MILES OF MILK

Ernest Kupferschmid is still going strong. He was in an alfalfa field driving a tractor when we arrived. It was pulling a field chopper that cuts the wilted grass and blows it into a side-unloader with the appropriate name of Chuck Wagon. There were five tractors in view and many other pieces of mechanical equipment which must run total investment in machinery up into six figures. This is typical of modernized agriculture, which today has twice the investment per man that industry has. There are 120 Kupferschmid cows. The milkers give 5,000 pounds of milk a day. This stretch of farm country is magic miles of milk, along route 83 in the towns of Ellington and Somers, and includes more top farm enterprises than any area in New England. Six farms within a 3-mile radius milk over 100 cows per farm with herd production from 13,000 to 16,703 pounds per cow. They are the Frank Chase farm, 165; Kenneth and William Niemann and Pleasant View Farms, 130 head each; Bahler Farms, Inc. and Kupferschmid, 120 each and Fred Spielman and Sons, 110.

In Tolland County as a whole, 49 herds in the Dairy Herd Improvement Association were among the highest in the United States in 1963, averaging 13,131 pounds of milk, 3.8 percent, and 502 pounds of fat, with average of 50 cows per farm. The milk marketing is through the Connecticut Milk Producers' Association (CMPA), which makes the contracts. The milk goes direct to dealers. Several times we heard references by farmers to the best milk marketing man in the United States, Kenneth Geyer, and were proud to say that we know him. He now is retired.

AIRMAN-DAIRYMAN

Ernest Kupferschmid has his own plane, an Aeronca Champion. He has had a pilot's license for 12 years and has done 2,500 hours in the air. His airstrip is an ex-pasture 200 feet wide and 1,000 feet long and is State-registered. To help us get pictures, he took away the chock, and he and Al Fedu, the photographer, rolled the plane out of the shade as though it were a ballbearing doll carriage. When the airman-dairyman is ready to head for the wild blue yonder, he opens a gate, sort of brushes the cows aside, and trundles out to his own strip. "I got up there," he said, "and forget my troubles." The plane is a two seater. There's always someone who wants to go in the other seat. Perhaps we shouldn't advertise the fact, but Ernest is a bachelor. His brother Elmer cooks and keeps house.

FARMS INTO GOLF COURSES

On the way to the next farm on the itinerary, we passed golf links built by Howard Whittaker and Rockwell Holcomb, two tobacco growers who bought a farm and made it into a nine-hole course. Springfield is only 15 miles away. Tolland County is having the highest rate of population increase of any in Connecticut, so there are plenty of customers for this new agricultural by-product.

PREOCCUPATION WITH HAY

Quite a few of the county's milk makers are of Swiss extraction. Swiss always have had a way with cows, whether on mountains or in the valley. We had a visit with John Bahler, whose father, with three brothers, came over from the canton of Berne and went to Illinois. It was in the depression days of the early nineties. Oats were 9 cents, corn 13 cents a bushel. He visited Connecticut and saw dairy farmers selling their cream, and that seemed more promising for a dairy man, so he moved to Tolland County. Today the Bahlers are leaders in dairy farming, with six farms in the family corporation. We saw their $10,000 hay-drying system. Incidentally, to a nonfarmer and all-around cow tyro like us, it is fascinating to see how much of a dairy farmer's time, energy, and money go into the improvement of haymaking and of the hay itself. They don't just cut and pitch it like in the so-called good old days. They crack the stems with field conditioners, chop it, field bale it, blow it, and they now have ways of beating nature at drying it. This May hay we saw ran about 85 percent moisture. It first had been put through a crusher, then baled, loaded onto wagons covered with canvas, and then was subjected to sprayed hot air for 24 hours. The Bahlers raise a lot of corn, have a trench-type as well as upright silos for feeding. The trend in cow feeding is self-service. The cows go to their feed the shortest distance, are pastured very little.

REV. JOHN BAHLER

The member of the Bahler family who took us around is a minister, the Reverend John Bahler of the Apostolic Christian Church, a denomination which originated in Switzerland. They just recently dedicated a new quarter of a million dollar edifice. The Reverend John's brother Gottfried's two sons, Owen and Kenneth, jointly manage the two dairy farms. Corbin, John Bahler's son, manages the potato program. They have 80 acres of potatoes. Everyone works on the forage crop program. Corbin Bahler also is president of the State Potato Industry Committee. The Bahlers own a half interest with Donald J. Augur of Northford in a Holstein-Friesian bull, Don Augur Carnation Homestead. His first five daughters averaged over 15,500 pounds of milk as junior 2-year-olds. We admired the bull and also his working female relatives. They had long legs, big frames, and udders which ride well above the floor. That's good, we were told—easier milking, cleaner milk.

TOM LA CHANCE FROM MAINE

Dairying is the biggest Tolland food producing business; next, poultry; third, vegetables including potatoes; horticulture, fourth. Sixty potato growers in the State total 2,700 acres. The biggest is Thomas LaChance of Somerville. When we first visited him he was planting and there were over 5,000 bags of seed potatoes in his seed storage. He used 18,000 100-pound bags in all, 35 cars. He planted with four-row planters, Katahdins mostly, although this year he tried 100 acres of Kennebecs. He has 800 acres in total, a harvested crop of over a half million bushels. He farms 1,000 acres in all, 500 owned, the rest rented; 200 acres in rye and corn.

The more than a quarter of a million dollar's worth of machinery and equipment on this place (probably the biggest potato farm in the Northeast excluding Aroostook), includes 9 tractors, 17 trucks, planters, sprayers, 2 Dollman potato harvesting combines that do 25 acres a day, tank trucks for fuel, and irrigation equipment that includes 3 miles of pipe and 5 pumps. There are five farm ponds with 3 acres of water. A dozen men work on the place the year round and at harvest time 90 and more.

FROM MAINE WITH NOTHING

Thomas LaChance, a twinkle-eyed, ruddy young man still in his thirties, hails from Aroostook County so has potato growing in his blood. When he was 9, his father, Joseph LaChance, lost his 20-acre farm at Daigle, Maine. Tom says if his father hadn't lost the farm the family wouldn't have come down to Connecticut, so that cloud had a silver lining. When Tom was 16 he and his 3 brothers left Aroostook and got jobs in Pratt & Whitney in East Hartford. Two of the brothers now are with the Hartford Electric Co., the third is head of U.S. mail transportation in Phoeniz, Ariz. But Tom couldn't keep away from the land, so he went to Frank Kearns who was head of the Hartford office of the Springfield Bank for Co-Operatives, borrowed money on what he calls "a shoestring and confidence," rented land and in 1944, 20 years ago, began growing potatoes. In 1947–48 he bought 400 acres. His wife, by the way, is a Daigle of Daigle, Maine, Priscila. They have three daughters.

THAT 60-CENT ADVANTAGE

LaChance packs 50-, 25-, 15-, 10- and 5-pound bags. He sells through the Connecticut Farmers' Potato Cooperative comprising 15 growers in Tolland and Hartford Counties whose production accounts for half the State's total output. From November to May the co-op has a full-time manager, D. E. Scott. Only 5 percent of LaChance's and the cooperative's volume is marketed locally. The big part of it goes south of Washington, D.C. There is a 60-cent-per-hundredweight transportation charge to bring Aroostook potatoes as far south as Tom LaChance's territory.

In 1957, LaChance was honored for his achievements by the junior chamber of commerce. He is on the board of directors of the Rhode Island-Connecticut Production Credit Bank. One of his fellow directors is Howard W. Tucker, Jr., of Slocum, R.I., another young man who has made an outstanding success of potatogrowing in southern New England. He was one of our people-to-people companions 2 years ago on the tour to observe Russian agriculture.

THE 100,000 TURKEY POULTS

The poultry side of Tolland's fabulous farming seen on our pligrimage, was the breeding, hatching, and raising operation of a partnership of Edwin Aberle & Gilman LaBroad. They have farms in Tolland, Ellington, and Somers. LaBroad and his associates, Charles Frink and Leighton Lawes, showed us new poults in brooder quarters, a hatching parlor where turkey hens were laying those big speckled eggs, and thousands of birds on range. Those eggs sell for 30 cents apiece. Double yolkers, of which there are many, fetch the same price as singles. Before we left the car to see the breeding farm, we pulled plastic bootees over our shoes to guard against bringing in infection. The bootees were used once and destroyed. There were 1,600 breeder birds, 400 to a room. They were laying 900 eggs a day. They hatch 100,000 poults a year (turkey young 'uns are always poults, not chicks). Turkey hens have a laying period of 120 days or so, during which their average production is 80 eggs. The breeding is by artificial insemination. They milk the toms, give the hens injections every 2 weeks, thereby keeping up fertility levels.

The breed, the Nicholas Broad Breasted White, was developed by George Nicholas of Sonoma, Calif. Aberle-LaBroad (firm name is A. & L. Turkey Enterprises, Inc.) have a breeding franchise for their area. One reason why white turkeys are desirable is they dress cleaner, because the hair follicles are white. Dark-feathered turkeys have black follicles. The dressed white birds, it's claimed, thus have a better appearance. Aberle-LaBroad have an annual feed bill of upward of $300,000. They grow 80 acres of corn, pick, shell, and dry it and feed as whole corn.

TO EASTERN STATES AS BOY

Gilman LaBroad has had a lifetime interest in raising animals. As a boy he went to Eastern States Exposition with Angus steers he raised in the Hampden County 4–H Beef Club. The family home was Brimfield, Mass. His father, Fred LaBroad, was a carpenter by trade and kept turkeys, at one time a thousand of them, so Gilman became interested in turkeys. He managed a farm in Tolland several years, which had turkeys and beef cattle. The partnership was a natural development, for Edwin Aberle is "a white turkey man," and so is Gilman LaBroad. Each had a farm and they bought two others, so have four units. On the marketing side, Gilman LaBroad feels that fresh turkeys have a big future, limited only by processing; that there has been a frozen cycle but that in not too many years the fresh will come strong again. He pointed out that at Thanksgiving the Boston market can't get enough fresh birds.

IN HOMESPUN SILK

Meeting Tolland County, Conn., people and learning what they are doing today, and then hearing of the bygone days in that interesting region, brings to mind the ancient parable of the man who drew from his treasures things new and old. Our display of Tolland treasure includes fascinating things from the old.

Consider, that along the Fenton River there once was a flourishing silk industry. In attics and spare rooms, people fed silkworms with mulberry leaves and reeled off the silk thread from the cocoons just as you see it done today in Japan. The Hanks brothers, Rodney and Horatio, invented the double wheelhead for spinning silk by machinery and built the first silk mill in the United States—in Mansfield, Tolland County. This culminated a century or more of great interest in silk in Connecticut—all news to us: The Reverend Dr. Wigglesworth of Harvard College raised the first silkworms in New England. From 1732 to 1840 the industry flourished in Connecticut. Bounties were offered by the colony for the production of sewing silk and silk fabrics from silkworms bred and nourished locally. In 1747, Governor Law wore the first coat and stockings made of New England silk. In 1750 his daughter wore the first gown of homemade silk. In 1783 Governor Leete wore a suit made of silk from his own silkworms. We always had the impression that homespun meant a coarse, plain kind of cloth, like linsey-woolsey but here were our forebears, men and women wearing homespun, and it was silk.

BOOM IN MULBERRY TREES

The Reverend Ezra Stiles of Yale College was a leader in raising silkworms. He sent to 80 fellow-divines in Connecticut enough mulberry seed to grow 4,000 trees, and himself raised 3,000 silkworms by hand. He kept three of them under very particular observation. For convenience in reference he gave them names, General Wolfe, Oliver Cromwell, Yeo. The reverend observer would note: "General Wolfe and Oliver Cromwell, his companion, very sluggish, eat a little or rather nibble. Oliver in indolence," etc. We found entertaining items like this in a History of Connecticut Agriculture, by E. H. Jenkins. There were 12,000 mulberry trees in 1789. The Hanks brothers raised their own. There was a great mulberry tree expansion at one time. Nurseries were established to raise a variety of mulberry having larger leaves and a more rapid growth than the one customarily grown. Prices of trees went from a dollar and $2 a tree to $3 and $5. Then the bubble burst. Mulberry culture ended. However, the manufacturing part of the silk business continued for a while, using silk yarns from China.

SLICK SILK SALESMAN

Mansfield was the silk capital, especially Gurleyville, birthplace of Gov. Wilbur L. Cross. One of his best stories was from the silk days. The woven pieces of silk were packed into valises, or carpetbags and taken out direct to the consumer; showed, sold, delivered on the spot. A successful salesman returned with his bags empty. There was this son of a prominent merchant who had tried various kinds of work without results. He sent him out to sell silk. The dandified youth, dressed to the nines and with two gaily decorated carpetbags filled to bursting with pieces of silk was gone a week and returned with the bags still bulging.

"What," his father asked him, "have you got in them bags?"

"Silk."

"Didn't you sell any of that silk?"

"No."

"Were there no inquiries?"

"One man," replied Son John, "asked me what I had got in them bags, and I told him it was none of his damn business."

MILDRED SMITH'S MUSEUM

We saw historic places and learned much Mansfield lore from Mildred Smith. She has been a consumer education specialist in the Connecticut Extension Service. Like so many Tolland County people we met, she steeps herself in its history, and works actively to interest others in the new Mansfield historical museum of which she is the curator. The museum is a story in itself. Volunteer labor converted an old Connecticut school-

house into the museum, a project of the Mansfield Historical Society of Storrs which is within the town of Mansfield. And that's interesting, because of all the places you could ever visit, Storrs, with thousands of young people in the growing University of Connecticut, lives the least in the past and the most in the present and future.

The 127-year history of the old school building began with the selection of a teacher "if one can be procurred," says an 1837 committee report, "for small wages." One was, named Phoebe Mathewson, to teach an 8-week term for $10, to begin second Monday in October. Men teachers earned more, Mr. Spencer receiving $24.50 for a 14-week term beginning in December.

THE 13 TOLLAND TOWNS

Motorists driving into New England from New York and those bound the other way traverse Tolland County if they use Route 15. It bears the name of a beloved son of Connecticut, Wilbur Cross, scholar and author, dean of the Yale Graduate School, four times Governor of the State, the first Democrat in years to win the office. From Boston on Route 15 you enter the county at Union, settled in 1727. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State under President Pierce (1853–57) taught in the Foster schoolhouse here. Land with a lead mine on it was granted to Capt. Thos. Clarke of Boston in 1657 by the Massachusetts General Court. The northern part of Tolland County originally was a part of the Bay Colony. The highest hill in the State is in this town, Mt. Ochepetuck, 1,286 feet.

IRON ORE AND EYEWATER

The adjoining town to the west is Stafford, 1719, first settlement in which is known today as Stafford Street. Iron ore was found here and converted into iron in a blast furnace built by John Phelps in 1779. There used to be satinet mills. The Indians acquainted settlers with two mineral springs, one good as "eyewater," the other for "enlivening the spirits." One spring contains iron, the other sulfur. Dr. Joseph Warren of Bunker Hill fame considered buying the springs. At one time President John Adams took the cure.

FABULOUS FARM LAND

The northwesternmost town in the county, Somers, borders Massachusetts and is one of the towns referred to nearby as Fabulous Farm Land, once tobacco country, now producing milk, potatoes, turkeys, etc., through the efforts of some of the ablest farmers in the country, a few of whom are introduced nearby. Somers was settled in 1706 as part of Massachusetts; joined Connecticut in 1749. In the 1830's Eleazer Clark manufactured ladies' straw bonnets, the only factory of its kind in the State. William Strong, one of the judges choosing between Hayes and Tilden for President, lived here, as did Seth Chapin who invented the hemmer for sewing machines.

South of Somers is Ellington, another of the blue ribbon farming towns, site of a famous high school founded by Dr. John Hall in 1829, and of the Wadsworth House, built in 1783 and occupied until recently by descendants of the builder. Abutting Ellington to the east is the shire town of the county, Tolland. It was purchased from the Indians and the largest owner was Henry Wolcott, father of Gov. Roger Wolcott.

Adjoining Ellington to the south is Vernon, site of a number of fine early inns and homes but famed to the compiler of this Tolland story as the place where the county agricultural center is located and from which we began our expeditions into the countryside, guided by John Elliott and assisted by Stuart Ackerman and Albert B. Gray.

GOTHIC PICKLE BOTTLES

Willington, the town to the east of Tolland, is one of those places frequently found in Connecticut where ingenious Yankees started mills and factories, often on rivers, with waterpower, to make things to sell. Willington's early glass factory made gothic pickle bottles; turned out a special bottle for canning blueberries. Gardiner Hall started a cotton thread mill here, which flourished like grass and man, and then, like them, was cut down. Jared Sparks was born here. He was president of Harvard 7 years. The Loomis Maples were on the land of a Rev. Hubble Loomis, birthplace of Elias Loomis, professor of astronomy at Yale. Below Willington is Mansfield. Here was begun a boys' school by Edward Whitney in 1864. It became a home for soldiers' orphans, was sold to Augustus Storrs in 1878 and given by him and his brother Charles to the town for an agricultural school. The Hartshorns of Mansfield were inventors. Daniel invented the buzz saw and, with Nathan Palmer, Brother Andrew invented the screw auger.

The most famous name connected with Coventry, the town west of Mansfield, is Nathan Hale. Brigham's Tavern varies the claim that "Washington slept here" to "Washington ate breakfast here." Lorenzo Dow, a celebrated itinerant preacher, was a Coventry boy. Bolton, the town west of Coventry, has a stone quarry that has furnished material for many a building, and also has Bolton Notch, an early feat of railway engineering. Jonathan Edwards was pastor of the Congregational Church in Bolton. To the south of it is Hebron. In 1758 the town was jubilant over the capture of Louisburg and put on a celebration, featuring the firing of a cannon made from an oak log. It burst ignominiously. King George heard about it, felt the zeal of these loyal subjects should be rewarded and shipped them a brass cannon. Unhappily it was lost at sea. The town had a Tory divine named Rev. Samuel Peters who removed to England and wrote a scathing and virulent history of Connecticut.

ELEAZER'S INDIAN SCHOOL

Dartmouth College, in a way, was born in Columbia, the town east of Hebron, for Eleazer Wheelock started his Moor's Indian Charity School near the present Congregational Church of Columbia when it was part of Lebanon. In 1738 a Timothy Hutchinson stood a solemn church trial for the sin of smiling in church. Northwest of Columbia is Andover, site of the Old Townsend House.

The 88th Congress, 2d Session—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include a summary of major legislative actions of this session. This summary is based primarily on material prepared by the Office of the Coordinator of Information of the House:

Major legislative actions, 88th Cong., 2d sess.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

Bill No.	Description	Public Law No.
H.R. 9637	Authorizes $16,900,000,000 for procurement and construction of planes, missiles, ships, and for research, development, tests, and evaluation in fiscal 1965.	88-288
H.R. 10456	Authorizes $5,200,000,000 for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for 1965 for research, development, construction, and administration; includes $2,600,000,000 for Apollo man-to-moon project.	88-369
H.R. 10945	Authorizes $2,600,000,000 for Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1965, including $771,000,000 for reduced weapons program and $13,500,000 for prototype reactor for atomic merchant ship.	88-332
H.R. 9640	Authorizes $71,800,000 for vessels, aircraft, and construction of facilities for strengthening of U.S. Coast Guard	88-281
H.R. 10300	Authorizes $1,500,000,000 for construction projects at Armed Forces bases at home and abroad, including 9,800 family housing units for members of Army, Navy, and Air Force.	88-390
H.R. 10000	Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1966, authority of President to fix priorities, allocate defense materials, and expand manufacturing capacity under Defense Production Act.	88-343
S. 3075	Requires Atomic Energy Commission to sell, instead of lease, nuclear fuels to electric power companies beginning Jan. 1, 1971, in gradual transition to private ownership of such materials by June 30, 1973.	88-489
S. 2963	Extends for 5 years, to Sept. 1, 1969, patent licensing provisions of Atomic Energy Act, makes indemnity provisions applicable to construction projects licensed to Aug. 1, 1967; authorizes transfer of additional nuclear materials to EURATOM.	88-394
H.R. 11035	Authorizes extension of loans to 12 countries of 40 U.S. naval vessels	88-437
H.R. 10314	Extends for 4 years to June 30, 1968, authority under Federal Civil Defense Act to aid State and local agencies meet administrative, personnel, training, and radiological equipment costs.	88-335
H.R. 950	Strengthens security provisions of National Security Agency	88-290
S. 1917	Provides authority to protect heads of foreign states and other visiting officials	88-493
H.J. Res. 1145	Approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to repel attacks on U.S. forces and to prevent further aggression jeopardizing peace and security in southeast Asia.	88-408
H.R. 11380	Authorizes $3,250,000,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1965	(*)
H.R. 7406	Increases U.S. participation in Inter-American Development Bank	88-259
H.J. Res. 779	Increases U.S. contribution to operations of the South Pacific Commission, whose jurisdiction includes American Samoa, Guam, and trust territories.	88-263
S. 2455	Authorizes expansion of Peace Corps and $115,000,000 for fiscal 1965	88-285
S. 2214	Authorizes United States to participate with 16 other nations in $750,000,000 increase in lending capital of the International Development Association.	86-310

Footnotes at end of table.

Major legislative actions, 88th Cong., 2d sess.—Continued

Bill No.	Description	Public Law No.
H.R. 3198	Provides for programs of economic and social development of Pacific Trust Territories	88-487
S. 2304	Chamizal Act to effectuate boundary treaty between United States and Mexico	88-300
S. 1988	Prohibits fishing by foreign vessels in U.S. territorial and Continental Shelf waters under penalty of ship seizure and fine or imprisonment or both, except as provided by treaty or license by the Treasury Department.	88-308
H.R. 4198	Provides for free importation of "instant" coffee, now subject to duty of 3 cents per pound	88-337
H. Con. Res. 343	Expresses sense of the Congress that every effort be made in United Nations to obtain payment of dues by nations now delinquent, failing which the penalty of loss of votes in General Assembly be invoked.	(1)
H.R. 9436	Extends for 5 years to Dec. 31, 1966, the Commission and the Advisory Committee on International Rules of Judicial Procedure	88-522
H.R. 7419	Authorizes conclusion of agreements with Mexico for joint construction, operation, and maintenance of emergency flood control works on the lower Colorado River.	88-411
H.R. 9740	Authorizes U.S. cooperation with Canada in establishment of Franklin D. Roosevelt International Park at Campobello, site of his summer home.	88-363
S. 1627	Permits payment by the United States of its share of cost of International Control Commission in Laos	88-468
S. 2701	Authorizes study to determine site for construction of a proposed sea-level canal between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans	88-609
H.R. 12259	Fixes procedure for Americans whose property was seized by Cuba to establish a legal record of their claims	(2)
S. 3074	Requires approval of the President for construction of any international bridge connecting the United States and another country	(2)
	TREATIES	
Executive O (88th, 1st).	Protocol extending for 6 years and amending Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals, signed at Washington, D.C., Oct. 8, 1963, by Canada, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States.	(2)
Executive R (88th, 1st).	Protocol extending for 2 years the International Sugar Council, to continue collection and dissemination of statistics and hold periodic discussions on world sugar problems.	(2)
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
S. 2642	Creates Office of Economic Opportunity to administer job corps of urban and rural youth, work-training and work-study programs, encourage local action to reduce poverty; authorizes $947,500,000 for fiscal 1965.	88-452
H.R. 8363	Lowers rates of personal and corporate income taxes; makes numerous changes in Internal Revenue Code for net reductions of $11,500,000,000, partially effective in 1964.	88-272
H.R. 11376	Extends for 1 year, up to July 1, 1965, the current schedule of excise taxes on liquor, cigarettes, automobiles and parts, telephone service, and airline tickets.	88-348
H.R. 8000	Imposes tax on purchases of foreign securities, with certain exceptions	88-563
H.R. 11375	Raises temporary limit on national debt by $9,000,000,000, from $315,000,000,000, to $324,000,000,000, for fiscal year ending July 1, 1965	88-327
S. 6	Authorizes 3-year, $375,000,000 program of grants and loans to help States and communities provide mass transit facilities and service	88-365
S.J. Res. 71	Establishes a National Commission on Food Marketing to study trade procedures and price relationships from producer to consumer; authorizes $1,500,000	88-354
H.R. 11611	Establishes a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress	88-444
S. 1309	Broadens disaster loan authority of the Small Business Administration	88-264
S. 298	Raises amount SBA may invest in debentures of a small business investment corporation, and amount the latter may invest in any one firm	88-273
S. 1642	Brings trading in over-the-counter securities under control of Securities and Exchange Commission; provides for qualification standards and discipline over brokers, dealers, and their employees.	88-467
S. 2950	Authorizes minting of "1964" coins up to July 1, 1965, if necessary, to relieve coin shortage	88-580
H.R. 10503	Authorizes $1,100,000,000 annually for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 as Federal contribution to construction costs of primary and secondary State highways and city extensions; and for road projects in national forests, parks, and Indian reservations.	88-423
S. 1153	Extends for 3 years, to June 30, 1967, aid to States and communities for construction of airports; provides $75,000,000 a year on a matching basis	88-280
S. 741	Prohibits schemes in interstate commerce to influence by bribery the outcome of sporting events	88-316
H.R. 10069	Extends for 2 years to June 30, 1966, the Renegotiation Act for recovery of excess profits on defense contracts, including contracts with Federal Aviation Agency.	88-339
H.R. 6041	Amends Davis-Bacon Act to require Federal contractors to conform to local area fringe benefits as well as prevailing wage scales	88-349
H.R. 11499	Extends for 2 years to July 1, 1966, authority of Federal Reserve banks to purchase up to $5,000,000,000 of U.S. securities directly from the Treasury.	88-344
H.R. 8230	Increased to 60 percent from 40 percent the limit national banks may lend on growing timber in forest tracts	88-341
H.R. 10053	Extends for 1 year to June 30, 1965, the limit of 55 percent on construction-differential subsidy for vessels engaged in foreign trade	88-370
S. 1006	Increases from 33⅓ to 55 percent the subsidy for construction of fishing vessels; extends program for 5 years to July 1, 1968, with authorization of $10,000,000 annually.	88-498
	GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION	
H.R. 7152	Provides for enforcement of voting rights; injunctions against discrimination in public accommodations; protection of rights to education; extends Civil Rights Commission for 4 years to Jan. 31, 1968; establishes a Community Relations Service and a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity; requires nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs.	88-352
H.R. 4638	Authorizes General Services Administration to provide funds and facilities for orderly transition of Executive power between election and inauguration of new President.	88-277
S.J. Res. 136	Renames National Cultural Center as the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; authorizes funds to match public contributions.	88-260
H.R. 3496	Extends to June 1, 1965, authority of President to submit reorganization plans to the Congress, except for creation of new agencies	88-351
H.R. 11049	Adjusts basic pay rates of postal and classified employees and certain officers of all 3 branches of Federal Government, generally effective July 1, 1964.	88-426
H.R. 6237	Authorizes 5-year, $2,500,000 program for collection, reproduction, and publication of original source documents significant to U.S. history	88-383
H.R. 9586	Establishes a National Council on the Arts in the Executive Office of the President	88-579
S. 1057	Authorizes U.S. district courts to appoint public defenders for indigent defendants in criminal cases	88-455
H.R. 5945	Establishes a commission to recommend procedures for settlement of political status of Puerto Rico	88-271
H.R. 7381	Repeals old statutes, enacts new law governing dual compensation of Federal employees including retired Armed Forces officers in civilian Government posts.	88-448
S. 1664	Establishes an Administrative Conference of the United States to study methods and problems of Federal agencies	88-499
	SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE	
H.R. 9876	Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1967, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act; authorizes $15,000,000 including $5,000,000 for special project in District of Columbia.	88-368
H.R. 10041	Extends for 5 years to June 30, 1969, Hill-Burton Act providing Federal aid for construction, modernization of hospitals, nursing homes and other medical centers; authorizes $1,300,000,000, including funds for areawide planning of health facilities on a 50-50 matching basis.	88-443
H.R. 11241	Authorizes $287,000,000, 5-year program to combat shortage of nurses, including grants for construction and rebuilding of school and college facilities, traineeships for advanced professionals, and loans for students.	88-581
H.R. 11083	Extends for 5 years, with authorization of $70,000,000, programs for traineeships to increase number of professional public health personnel and expand health project grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, engineering, social work, and pharmacy.	88-497
S. 3049	Housing Act of 1964, authorizes $1,200,000,000, for urban renewal, 37,500 new low-rent public housing units, loans for housing for elderly, for farm housing, and other existing programs; includes facilities for migrant farmworkers; extends maturity of FHA-financed home mortgages, and lowers down payments; provides compensation for persons and businesses dislocated by urban renewal projects.	88-560
S. 2265	Extends Federal assistance under Library Services Act to urban areas; provides matching grants for construction of library buildings; authorizes $45,000,000 for 1964.	88-269
S. 3060	Extends National Defense Education Act for 3 years to July 1, 1965, increases authorization for college student loans from $135,000,000 currently to $195,000,000 for fiscal 1968. Also extends for 1 year and requires review of authority to aid federally impacted school districts.	(2)
H.J. Res. 976	Appropriates supplemental $50,000,000 to President's disaster fund to aid Alaska earthquake relief	88-296

Footnotes at end of table.

Major legislative actions, 88th Cong., 2d sess.—Continued

Bill No.	Description	Public Law No.
S. 2772	Amends Alaska Omnibus Act to facilitate statehood by extending period of Federal grants and services	88-311
S. 2881	Authorizes $50,000,000 in further relief of Alaska earthquake and tidal damage	88-451
H.R. 9903	Liberalizes requirements of Social Security Act relative to filing time for benefits under disability provisions	(*)
H.J. Res. 1041	Extends for 90 days to Oct. 1, 1964, rental housing program for elderly in rural areas, pending further legislation	88-340
H.R. 10466	Extends to June 30, 1967, authority of HEW, under Social Security Act, to provide temporary assistance to U.S. citizens returning from a foreign country under emergency hardship circumstances	88-347
S. 978	Restores to certain owners of fishing boats the privilege of free medical care and hospitalization at U.S. Public Health Service hospitals	88-424
H.R. 10473	Extends to June 30, 1967, provision of Social Security Act permitting States to transfer dependent children from unsuitable foster homes to non-profit institutions.	(*)

[1] Adopted.
[2] Ratified Jan. 30, 1964.

(*) Awaiting President's signature.

Report on the 88th Congress to the People of Union County, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, as the historic 88th Congress draws to a close after remaining in session almost continuously for the past 21 months, it becomes my privilege once again to report to the people I represent on the record of this Congress and on my own part in making this record. This is a custom which I, in common with so many of our colleagues, have followed throughout my four terms in this House, and I consider it an important part of my responsibility for accounting to the people who have chosen me as their representative at the seat of government.

There is general agreement, Mr. Speaker, that this Congress has been one of the most productive in the history of our country. With this general evaluation, I would certainly agree. But I would add two qualifications: first, that much of the most constructive legislation we have passed has been enacted on a bipartisan basis, with the minority contributing significantly both to the substance of and the support for the legislation; and, second, that despite our successes this Congress has also been notable for its failure to act in several areas of the highest importance.

An especially regrettable example of this failure has just taken place in the inability of the conferees on the social security bill to reach agreement. Even though the House and Senate have both passed bills increasing and liberalizing social security benefits, the decision to adjourn without approving a compromise bill will deny to nearly 20 million Americans, including close to 60,000 in Union County, N.J., the modest benefits we have promised them.

For the overwhelming majority of these people—disabled and aged retired workers, aged wives and widows, and orphaned children and their widowed mothers—social security benefits are their major source of support; for a great many, they are the only source. This was a good bill, agreed to by the great majority of members of both parties. It was a fiscally responsible bill. And it was a badly needed bill which would, in a small way, have helped those receiving social security to catch up with the increases in the cost of living since the last general increase was approved 6 years ago.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I propose that the 89th Congress give first priority to enactment of this bill, with benefits retroactive, where appropriate, to the date the bill should have passed this year, when we convene early next January.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 88TH

Happily, Mr. Speaker, the overall record of the 88th Congress has been far brighter than the dismal note on which we are adjourning. As I see them, these were the highlights of our achievement:

Civil rights: This comprehensive legislation, which was supported by substantial majorities of both parties in both houses of the Congress, provides at long last the legal foundation for equal rights, equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all our people, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin—an objective firmly based on the Constitution and in the hearts of all men of good will.

Whatever controversy or opposition the bill aroused was largely the result of misunderstanding of the bill's actual provisions. It establishes no special preferences nor permits any reverse discrimination. It does not set up employment quotas or quotas of any kind, nor does it require "bussing" of school children outside their neighborhoods. The new law is, in fact, somewhat less broad than the civil rights statutes which have been in effect in New Jersey and most other States for several years. While no legislation can fully solve such deeply moral and personal problems as racial relations, the law has already served to reduce racial tensions and to help take conflicts out of the streets and into the courts where they can be resolved peacefully and equitably.

Tax reduction: The wisdom of this $11.5 billion tax cut legislation is already evident in the renewed zest it has injected into the national economy. Reduced unemployment, more new jobs, increased consumer spending, and industrial production as well as growing savings can all be attributed, in part at least, to Congress' decision to remove the shackles of excessive taxation from our free enterprise system.

Congress' determination to encourage the private economy rather than resort to massive doses of Government spending has had related benefits, too. By keeping appropriations under tight control—more than $4 billion below administration requests this year, for instance—we have helped to avoid the dangers of inflation and we have reduced ahead of schedule the deficits caused by the tax cut. I believe we could have done better, however, if Congress had reduced somewhat the administration's requests for increases in the statutory ceiling on the national debt, and thus forced the executive agencies to do a better job of controlling their own spending.

Antipoverty: Of the four principal parts of the President's "war on poverty," Congress—wisely, I believe—approved only the basic antipoverty program. This 1-year experimental program will bring help directly to many of those most in need of help, people who need a lift out of the rut of permanent deprivation in order to become self-respecting and self-supporting citizens. But I opposed the other three parts of the plan, expansion of the area redevelopment program, additional funds for the accelerated public works program, and the proposed program for the Appalachian region—none of which I considered to be fair or workable.

NO NET BENEFITS

Essentially, all three proposals are unduly discriminatory, wasteful, and subject to political administration. Union County and other established industrial areas have been hurt by the special advantages these and related programs have given to selected regions of the country, but without corresponding benefits being gained by the areas which most need the assistance. I was pleased, therefore, to have had a hand in defeating, closely, the area redevelopment bill, and to note that the President decided not to go all out in support of the remaining two parts of his program.

Mass transportation: From the standpoint of potential help to urban-suburban areas like Union County which have been suffering from tighter and tighter traffic strangulation in recent years, approval of the Mass Transportation Act, which I cosponsored, marked a major victory. Though funds for the

new program will be limited during the first year, the act should serve to stimulate the local cooperation and planning which are vital to the program's success and provide the means of demonstrating that an efficient rail-bus-rapid transit system can make commuter travel faster, cheaper, and more convenient. Having worked toward this objective steadily since 1958 and participated in every stage of the consideration of this and its predecessor legislation, passage of our bill was most rewarding, as was the President's invitation to attend the signing of the legislation and accept a pen with which he signed it into law.

Housing: The Housing Act of 1964 was another case of landmark legislation. Rather than embark on chancy, untried new programs, the Housing Subcommittee, on which I served, concentrated on improving old ones: liberalizing FHA mortgage insurance, broadening housing for the elderly, reforming urban renewal, emphasizing the rehabilitation of structures before they become slums, aiding those who, through no fault of their own, temporarily default on their FHA-insured mortgages. In several major respects, the act followed legislation which our colleague, Congressman WIDNALL, and I introduced—a contribution acknowledged by the President when he again invited us to witness the signing of the bill into law at the White House.

In a related action, Congress included in the tax bill the substance of legislation I introduced which provided tax relief for persons 65 or over who sell their principal residence. Previously, most retired people—seeking smaller or less expensive housing arrangements—were subject to the capital gains tax on any profit they might realize from the sale of their house. Now, under our new law, they are exempt from the full tax if the selling price is $20,000 or less and exempt from a proportionate share of the tax when the price is higher, a fair break for people who can use it.

THE EDUCATION CONGRESS

Education: To many people, the 88th Congress has earned the title, "The Education Congress," a richly deserved epithet in view of the significance of such education bills as these, all of which I supported—the Higher Education Facilities Act which provides loans and grants for construction of college and university classrooms and laboratories; the Health Professions Education Act which does much the same for medical and dental schools and initiates a loan program for students needing help; amendments to the National Defense Education Act which broaden the usefulness of this important program especially in the area of student loans; extension of the Library Services Act to aid in construction or enlargement of libraries in urban areas; the Nurse Training Act, a long-overdue effort to meet the serious shortage of professional nursing assistance through construction of nursing schools, provision of training programs and student loans; and the Mental Retardation Facilities Act which should make a dent, at least, in the desperate need for mental health centers and related facilities and improve the training of teachers to instruct handicapped children.

Conservation: For those more inclined toward outdoor activity, this Congress will be known principally because of our enactment of two of the most far-reaching conservation programs in history—the well-known wilderness bill which will preserve for future generations millions of acres of parkland in their naturally wild state, closed to commercial use, and the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act which will help States, especially in heavily populated areas, set aside some of our diminishing natural resources for recreational use. Both bills, far-sighted as they are, received my support.

Among many other worthy efforts, Mr. Speaker, we passed at long last the Equal Pay for Women Act, legislation which I cosponsored and which provides a starting point for assuring economic justice and wage equality to working women.

We increased veterans' pensions, and raised the pay of military personnel and of civil service and other Government officials in order to bring their salaries more closely in line with prevailing rates outside the Government, and thus assure to the Government a continuing supply of competent employees to conduct the public business. I regret now, as I did then, the inclusion of pay raises for ourselves, though I take some comfort in the fact that those of us who voted against the first pay raise bill accomplished a 25-percent reduction in congressional raises and delayed their effective date until the next Congress. This, at least, provides our people with an opportunity to judge whether we deserve the increase.

We extended and expanded the experimental food stamp program to all 50 States—a program notable for, among other things, assuring that needy persons will actually obtain the food they need.

We broadened the Manpower Development and Training Act in order to increase the number and categories of unemployed workers who could be helped to obtain the new skills required in this technologically complex world.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Congress also created two important Federal commissions to study problems related to these two programs. The first, the commission on Automation, will study the effects of technological change on employment and try to find means of assuring that job opportunities will grow along with the spread of automation, while the Commission on Food Marketing will, in effect, trace the consumer's dollar all the way from the dinner table back to the farmer to learn who gets what share for which service.

Of special interest to urban areas like our own, Congress strengthened the air pollution control program, provided funds to organize water research centers, expanded the school lunch program, included fringe benefits within the wage protection afforded workers by the Davis-Bacon Act.

In the broad and vital area of national security, Congress once again provided more than one-half the Federal budget for strengthening our defenses, including funds to the Atomic Energy Commission for production of nuclear devices. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration received a big appropriations increase, chiefly to pursue its Appollo moon-shot project.

In the field of foreign affairs, Congress strongly supported the President in southeast Asia, including a vote of confidence following U.S. retaliatory action in the Tonkin Gulf, thought many of us question the adequacy of his policy and the accuracy of the information provided us. We enlarged the Peace Corps, continued the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, expanded the food-for-peace program and required Yugoslavia and Poland to pay American dollars for food shipments to them. The Senate, with exclusive jurisdiction over treaties, ratified the nuclear test ban agreement—a step of enormous significance in the cold war atmosphere of the world.

Foreign aid, the most controversial program in this area, underwent a significant transition in the 88th Congress. In the first session, 1963, we reduced foreign aid funds from a requested $4.5 billion to a final appropriation of $3.2 billion, principally because it became evident that the budget request was excessive and the aid program itself needed tightening up, greater selectivity, and greater assurance that recipient countries could use our assistance effectively.

This year, the President lowered his request to below $4 billion, a more realistic figure, eliminated some countries from the program, placed greater emphasis on loans instead of grants, stressed the importance of buying American products with aid funds, and generally demonstrated a more effective and useful foreign aid program. Congress displayed its increased confidence by approving appropriations of nearly $3.7 billion.

The productive character of the 88th Congress, Mr. Speaker, suggests that one of the very first votes of the Congress early in 1963 was of decisive importance. This was the vote by which the House enlarged the Rules Committee and thus opened the way for consideration of so much important legislation. It did not, as the record shows, open the floodgates for a host of irresponsible spending programs. But it did allow the House to work its will on legislation which it had an obligation to consider, and so I consider my vote to enlarge the committee one of the most significant I have ever cast.

IMPORTANT TO OPPOSE

As I am sure our colleagues and constituents will agree, Mr. Speaker, it is often just as important to oppose unsound legislation as it is to support worthwhile bills. In addition to those I have mentioned, I voted against establishment of a peanut research center and the cotton-wheat double subsidy bill, two examples of the bankrupt nature of our farm program. I also opposed the imposition of a tax on the purchase of foreign securities, an administration proposal which seemed to me a harmful and ineffective way of trying to ease our balance-of-payments deficit. And I could

not agree that imposing quotas on the importation of meat—a device designed to raise the price of imported meat to American consumers—was the right way to solve American cattle producers' problems, many of which seem self-imposed.

Despite the impressive achievements of this Congress, Mr. Speaker, the number and significance of its failures stand out starkly. In addition to the death of the social security bill, we failed to complete action on legislation providing a more effective means of filling vacancies in the Presidency and Vice Presidency in the event of death or inability. We should have passed two bills which I have cosponsored in the House—to control the distribution of "goof balls" and "pep pills" and other dangerous drugs, and to provide for periodic review by congressional committees of Federal grant-in-aid programs to determine whether to continue, revise or eliminate them—both of which have widespread support. And I see no justification for our continuing failure to reach agreement on a compromise plan under which we can provide health care for our older people.

I regret very much that we failed to repeal the war-time excise taxes on such consumer items as cosmetics, handbags, and so forth, or to protect the right of consumers to more adequate information about the quantity, quality, safety, and cost of the products they buy. We missed another opportunity to revise our immigration laws so as to eliminate, among other purposes, the inequitable and discriminatory quota system based on national origins. And we failed again to recognize the growing need for an Academy of Foreign Affairs which could provide superior training opportunities for Government officials with foreign affairs responsibilities. In each of these areas, I have introduced legislation.

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

There are other failures, of course, both of omission and commission which seriously detract from the performance of the Congress now so close to adjournment, Mr. Speaker. But I know of none so fundamental to our own self-respect and to the respect we look for from our constituents than the refusal of this Congress to take action to reform our own legislative procedures—which have proved so unnecessarily cumbersome in this prolonged term—and to hold ourselves responsible for the same high code of ethics we demand of other public officials.

Until we act effectively and forthrightly in these two matters, Mr. Speaker, we shall continue to invite the doubt and cynicism of those whom we represent and thereby weaken the integrity of representative government. We have it in our power to restore the confidence of the America people in the soundness of this great institution. I hope we shall find the courage and wisdom to do so without further delay.

The 88th Congress, 2d Session—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to complete at this time my offer for the Appendix of a summary of legislative actions of this session, together with a summary of appropriations:

Summary of legislative action, 88th Cong., 2d sess.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

Bill No.	Description	Public Law No.
S. 3001	Authorizes pay increases, totaling $207,580,000 monthly for all men and officers of the Armed Forces, except those in service less than 2 years	88-422
H.R. 1927	Liberalizes non-service-connected pensions for needy veterans and widows; revises limits of permissible income without loss of pension	(*)
H.R. 221	Provides educational assistance to children of veterans with total and permanent service-connected disability	88-361
H.R. 8009	Authorizes 5-year, $5,000,000-a-year program of aid to States on matching basis for nursing-home facilities in State veteran homes	88-450
H.R. 6920	Extends disability income provisions of national service life insurance policies through age 65 under certain conditions	88-355
H.R. 2664	Exempts from draft induction sole surviving son of a family whose father died as a result of military service	88-360
H.R. 7356	Raises authorized strength of cadet corps of U.S. Military and Air Force Academies; fixes period of obligated service at 5 years	88-276
H.R. 9124	Provides uniform statutory authority for ROTC programs of all branches of Armed Forces; improves and expands program	(*)

AGRICULTURE

H.R. 6196	Continues present cotton price-support and subsidy for exporters; provides new subsidy to permit domestic processors to compete with foreign manufacturers. Authorizes new wheat marketing certificate program to maintain $2 a bushel price-support domestically and a minimum of $1.55 for export. Applies to 1964-65 cotton and wheat crops.	88-297
S. 1605	Requires registration and Department of Agriculture approval of pesticides before they can be sold to public	88-305
H.R. 10222	Broadens and makes permanent stamp program for distribution of surplus and other foods to needy by Department of Agriculture to States requesting such aid.	88-525
S. 2687	Extends for 3 years to Dec. 31, 1967, surplus commodity—"Food for Peace"—program under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act; expands loans from counterpart funds to private enterprise abroad.	(*)
H.R. 1839	Restricts importation of beef, veal, lamb, and mutton to 6.5 percent of domestic consumption	88-482
H.R. 9747	Extends for 3 years to Dec. 31, 1967, special programs for sale and distribution of surplus milk and other dairy products to the Armed Forces and veterans' hospitals.	88-529
H.R. 11846	Permits purchase of processed grain foods by Commodity Credit Corporation for donation under domestic welfare and foreign-aid programs	88-550
S. 524	Requires registration and compliance with other standards for contractors hiring migratory farm labor	88-582
H.R. 9178	Provides for 3-year staggered terms for stabilization and conservation county committeemen	88-534
S. 277	Increases from 100 to 150 the number of new counties in which Federal crop insurance may be offered each year	88-589

NATURAL RESOURCES

S. 627	Authorizes 5-year, $28,250,000 program of aid to States for development of commercial fisheries	88-309
S. 2	Authorizes 10-year $82,500,000 program to finance water resources research centers at land-grant colleges and State universities and encourages similar projects at other institutions.	88-379
H.R. 3846	Establishes a 10-year, $2,000,000,000 land and water conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs	88-578
S. 1007	Authorizes construction of $700,000,000 Federal portion of 4 line transmission system to permit use in the Southwest of hydroelectric power generated in Pacific Northwest.	88-523
S. 502	Preserves jurisdiction of the Congress over construction of hydroelectric projects on the Colorado River below Glen Canyon Dam	88-491
S. 4	Establishes a National Wilderness Preservation System on 35,000,000 acres closed to commercial use and retained in their primitive state	88-577
S. 1363	Increases payments to counties in which wildlife refuges are located	88-523
H.R. 7588	Provides for criminal punishment of violation of regulations to protect national forests and grasslands	88-537
H.R. 8070	Establishes a commission to study existing laws and procedures relating to administration of public lands	88-606
H.R. 5159	Establishes as policy of Congress that lands administered by the Secretary of Interior be managed under principle of multiple use to produce a sustained yield of products and services.	88-607
H.R. 5498	Grants temporary authority for sale of public lands not needed to meet the requirements of Federal programs	88-608

*Awaiting President's signature.

Departmental appropriations, 88th Cong., 2d sess.—for regular activities

Title	Budget estimates	Amount as passed (House)	Amount as passed (Senate)	Amount enacted	Public Law No.
District of Columbia [1]	$357,702,300	$338,205,200	$342,181,975	$341,242,200	88-479
Interior	1,047,728,000	1,023,175,600	1,056,436,425	1,042,277,200	88-356
Treasury [2]	1,236,990,000	1,207,080,000	1,220,980,500	1,214,330,000	
U.S. Tax Court	2,555,000	2,505,000	2,505,000	2,505,000	
Post Office	5,018,000,000	5,001,500,000	5,002,500,000	5,002,000,000	88-392
Executive Office of President	14,446,000	14,335,000	14,438,000	14,438,000	
Legislative [3]	222,587,355	173,626,640	210,380,685	210,300,885	88-454
Labor [4]	757,580,000	618,024,000	618,024,000	565,904,000	88-136
Health, Education, Welfare	6,773,566,000	6,276,200,000	6,482,183,000	6,476,629,000	88-446
Defense	47,417,000,000	46,759,267,000	46,774,401,000	46,752,051,000	
State	401,712,000	343,837,000	383,296,000	376,827,000	
USIA	174,890,000	166,300,000	159,389,000	154,400,000	
Justice	367,887,000	364,036,000	364,036,000	364,036,000	88-527
Judiciary	61,827,000	60,360,000	60,360,800	60,360,800	
Commerce	911,969,000	730,086,000	727,481,900	725,501,000	
Related agencies [5]	30,544,000	29,538,000	27,738,000	27,563,000	
Agriculture	1,573,421,600	1,493,518,000	1,573,157,525	1,506,747,200	88-573
Related agencies [6]	4,156,582,000	3,788,978,000	3,765,515,000	3,630,415,000	
Deficiency, 1964 [7]	1,307,380,789	1,264,913,689	1,349,637,143	1,336,687,143	88-317
Independent offices [8]	14,244,685,400	8,091,608,000	13,588,597,050	13,454,859,000	88-507
Military construction	1,879,000,000	1,599,014,000	1,582,969,000	1,570,968,000	88-576
Public works	4,372,449,000	4,325,969,200	4,443,283,200	4,430,794,700	88-511
Foreign aid	3,958,337,000	3,739,249,400	3,662,077,000	3,662,077,000	(*)
Supplemental, 1965	1,370,468,374	998,645,874	1,220,098,068	1,117,196,068	(*)

[1] Federal contribution, $40,720,000; balance from District of Columbia revenues.
[2] Does not include permanent appropriations for debt service, tax refunds, trust fund payments, etc.
[3] Includes funds for Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, Architect of the Capitol, etc., in addition to those for House of Representatives. Funds for Senate to be added there.
[4] Includes $32,070,000 added for National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, and Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, not part of Department's budget.
[5] Includes Small Business Administration, Civil Rights Commission, Maritime Commission, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Tariff Commission, and U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
[6] Includes credit agencies and corporations (Rural Electrification Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Commodity Credit Corporation, etc.) and special programs and functions including school lunch and foreign assistance.
[7] Includes funds for various agencies, but mainly to provide for pay increases in military and uniformed public health services.
[8] House-passed figure did not include funds for NASA pending enactment of authorization bill.
*Awaiting President's signature.

NOTE.—The Congress enacted Public Law 88-295 (H.J. Res. 962), supplemental, 1964, providing $42,000,000 for unemployment compensation to veterans and Federal employees. Also Public Law 88-297 (H.J. Res. 976), Alaska earthquake relief appropriation, and Public Laws 88-325 (H.J. Res. 1056) continuing appropriations through Aug. 31, 1964, and 88-488 (H.J. Res. 1160) through Sept. 30, 1964.

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

CORRECTION OF A VOTE

In the RECORD of Friday, October 2, 1964, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] is recorded as having voted in the affirmative, and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] is recorded as having voted in the negative on agreeing to the conference report on the bill (H.R. 11380) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes. This should be corrected so that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] voted in the negative, and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] voted in the affirmative.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 3, 1964, the Secretary of the Senate, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives, on October 3, 1964, which announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3074) to give the consent of Congress to the construction of certain international bridges, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 10820. An act for the relief of Mrs. Michiko Miyazaki Williams;

H.R. 11317. An act for the relief of Soo Bong Kim; and

H.R. 11956. An act for the relief of Woo Soon Kook.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and, pursuant to the order of the Senate of October 3, 1964, they were signed by the President pro tempore on October 5, 1964:

S. 646. An act to regulate the location of chanceries and other business offices of foreign governments in the District of Columbia;

S. 1147. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain an adequate system of roads and trails for the national forests, and for other purposes;

S. 1593. An act to amend section 14 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1954 concerning the interstate planning and coordination of the Great River Road;

S. 2460. An act to amend the act of July 13, 1959, so as to extend the period of time within which certain construction may be undertaken by the State of Missouri on lands conveyed to such State by the United States;

S. 2649. An act to designate as the Graham Burke Pumping Plant the pumping plant being constructed in the State of Arkansas as part of the White River backwater unit of the Lower Mississippi River flood control project;

S. 2654. An act to change the name of the canal, known as the Bay Head-Manasquan Canal and as the Manasquan River-Barnegat Bay Canal, to Point Pleasant Canal;

S. 2969. An act to amend subsection 120(f) of title 23, United States Code;

S. 3060. An act to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and to extend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress (federally affected areas);

S. 3143. An act to designate as Clair Engle Lake the reservoir created by the Trinity Dam, Central Valley project, California; and

S. 3162. An act to amend section 105(a) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1965, with respect to the disclosure in reports required thereunder of the names of persons who have appeared as witnesses before committees sitting in executive session.

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 3, 1964, the Secretary of the Senate on October 5, 1964, received a message from the House of Representatives, announcing that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore on October 6, 1964:

S. 1684. An act for the relief of Fotinin Dimantopoulou;

S. 2499. An act for the relief of Leobardo L. Gonzalez;

S. 2698. An act for the relief of Linus Han;

S. 2730. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge A. Picaza;

S. 2759. An act for the relief of Kim Sook Hee and Kim Lou;

S. 3035. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians;

H.R. 1179. An act for the relief of Basilio King, his wife, and their children;

H.R. 1927. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2434. An act to amend section 560 of title 38, United States Code, to permit the payment of special pension to holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded such medal for actions not involving conflict with an enemy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4649. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavored concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5871. An act to modify the retirement benefits of the judges of the District of Co-

lumbia court of general sessions, the District of Columbia court of appeals, and the juvenile court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8427. An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a Central Intelligence Agency retirement and disability system for a limited number of employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9393. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, to extend the period within which ministers may elect coverage, and to validate wages erroneously reported for certain engineering aids employed by soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9976. An act for the relief of Elmer Levy;

H.R. 10473. An act to extend the period during which Federal payments may be made for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11380. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11812. An act making aprpopriations for Foreign Assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12259. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 to provide for the determination of the amounts of claims of nationals of the United States against the Government of Cuba;

H.R. 12318. An act to provide an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12633. An act making supplement appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1192. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 89th Congress.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate, on October 5, presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 646. An act to regulate the location of chanceries and other business offices of foreign governments in the District of Columbia;

S. 1147. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain an adequate system of roads and trails for the national forests, and for other purposes;

S. 1593. An act to amend section 14 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1954 concerning the interstate planning and coordination of the Great River Road;

S. 2460. An act to amend the act of July 13, 1959, so as to extend the period of time within which certain construction may be undertaken by the State of Missouri on lands conveyed to such State by the United States;

S. 2649. An act to designate as the Graham Burke Pumping Plant the pumping plant being constructed in the State of Arkansas as part of the White River backwater unit of the lower Mississippi River flood control project;

S. 2654. An act to change the name of the canal, known as the Bay Head-Manasquan Canal and as the Manasquan River-Barnegat Bay Canal, to Point Pleasant Canal;

S. 2968. An act to amend subsection 120(f) of title 23, United States Code;

S. 3060. An act to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and to extend Public Law 815 and 874, 81st Congress (federally affected areas);

S. 3143. An act to designate as Clair Engle Lake the reservoir created by the Trinity Dam, Central Valley project, California; and

S. 3162. An act to amend section 105(a) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1965, with respect to the disclosure in reports required thereunder of the names of persons who have appeared as witnesses before committees sitting in executive session.

The Secretary of the Senate, on October 6, 1964, presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1684. An act for the relief of Fotinin Dimantopoulou;

S. 2499. An act for the relief of Leobardo L. Gonzalez;

S. 2698. An act for the relief of Linus Han;

S. 2730. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge A. Picaza;

S. 2759. An act for the relief of Kim Sook and Kim Lou; and

S. 3035. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION ENROLLED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that on the following dates, that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On October 3, 1964:

H.R. 1179. An act for the relief of Basilio King, his wife, and their children;

H.R. 2434. An act to amend section 560 of title 38, United States Code, to permit the payment of special pension to holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded such medal for actions not involving conflict with an enemy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4649. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavored concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8427. An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a Central Intelligence Agency retirement and disability system for a limited number of employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9393. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, to extend the period within which ministers may elect coverage, and to validate wages erroneously reported for certain engineering aides employed by soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9976. An act for the relief of Elmer Levy;

H.R. 10473. An act to extend the period during which Federal payments may be made for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12259. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 to provide for the determination of the amounts of claims of nationals of the United States against the Government of Cuba.

On October 5, 1964:

H.R. 1927. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5871. An act to modify the requirement benefits of the judges of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11380. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11812. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12318. An act to provide an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12633. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1192. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 89th Congress.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 372, 88th Congress, he did on the following dates sign enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On October 5, 1964:

H.R. 1179. An act for the relief of Basilio King, his wife, and their children;

H.R. 2434. An act to amend section 560 of title 38, United States Code, to permit the payment of special pension to holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded such medal for actions not involving conflict with an enemy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4649. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavor concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8427. An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a Central Intelligence Agency retirement and disability system for a limited number of employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9393. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, to extend the period within which ministers may elect coverage, and to validate wages erroneously reported for certain engineering aids employed by soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9976. An act for the relief of Elmer Levy;

H.R. 10473. An act to extend the period during which Federal payments may be made for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12259. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 to provide for the determination of the amounts of claims of nationals of the United States against the Government of Cuba.

On October 6, 1964:

H.R. 1927. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5871. An act to modify the retirement benefits of the judges of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11380. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11812. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies

for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12318. An act to provide an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12633. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1192. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 89th Congress.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 372, 88th Congress, he did on October 6, 1964, sign enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1684. An act for the relief of Fotinin Dimantopoulou;

S. 2499. An act for the relief of Leobardo L. Gonzalez;

S. 2698. An act for the relief of Linus Han;

S. 2730. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge A. Picaza;

S. 2759. An act for the relief of Kim Sook Hee and Kim Lou; and

S. 3035. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on October 6, 1964, present to the President, for his approval, bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 1096. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1179. An act for the relief of Basilio King, his wife, and their children;

H.R. 1927. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2434. An act to amend section 560 of title 38, United States Code, to permit the payment of special pension to holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded such medal for actions not involving conflict with an enemy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4649. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavor concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5871. An act to modify the retirement benefits of the judges of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7348. An act for the relief of Frank B. Rowlett;

H.R. 8427. An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a Central Intelligence Agency retirement and disability system for a limited number of employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9393. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, to extend the period within which ministers may elect coverage, and to validate wages erroneously reported for certain engineering aids employed by soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9976. An act for the relief of Elmer Levy;

H.R. 10473. An act to extend the period during which Federal payments may be made for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11380. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11812. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12259. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 to provide for the determination of the amounts of claims of nationals of the United States against the Government of Cuba;

H.R. 12318. An act to provide an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12633. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1192. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 89th Congress.

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress will be published not later than Friday, October 23, 1964. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Report of the House Majority Leader on the Accomplishments of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure, indeed, to report on the accomplishments of this, the 88th, Congress. By any objective standard, we have added a shining chapter to the history of this House. I am tremendously proud of our record.

It is right and proper to examine my reasons for calling this an outstanding Congress. I have spoken of an objective standard; that is what I intend to apply.

I do not speak now as a political partisan. Surely, I am a member of the Democratic Party. And proud to be. The majority of the Members of this House and of the coordinate body are members of the Democratic Party; we have worked with two Democratic Presidents in the course of this Congress. I intend to give due regard to these facts in their place. But for now, let us seek a proper yardstick by which to judge a Congress. When we have found that, the relationship between the accomplishments of this Congress and the fact that the majority of the Members belong to the Democratic Party will be fairly obvious.

Commentators like labels. Of late, they have been applying two of them to the 88th Congress. Some are calling it "the education Congress"; others, "the conservation Congress." Both are true. We have written a record in each of those areas to rival that of any Congress in our history. But I submit, Mr. Speaker, that neither of these appellations touches the real wellspring of our activities in the past 2 years. I submit, rather, that the proper designation for this Congress is "the compassionate Congress."

And if this can truly be called "The Compassionate Congress," then I believe that we have found the answer to why this has been a Congress of singular achievement. For if we have been motivated by a deep feeling for, and understanding of, the needs and yearnings of our citizens, we have fulfilled the highest expectations of the Founding Fathers.

What is the purpose of government? Certainly, there is no better place to seek an answer than in the Declaration of Independence. For that document was written both to explain our separation from England and to enunciate the principles of the new government which we would establish. There Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The Government was established, then, to secure the rights of the people. Since all men are equal, all possess these rights. Government exists to secure them for all.

The primary concern of Government must be people. All of the activities in which it engages must be geared to the betterment of the citizens. As Woodrow Wilson said:

> I hope that we shall never forget that we created this Nation not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind.

And in his state of the Union message in 1962, President Kennedy said:

> A strong America cannot neglect the aspirations of its citizens—the welfare of the needy, the health care of the elderly, the education of the young. For we are not developing this Nation's wealth for its own sake. Wealth is the means—and people are the ends.

The condition of man, then, is the proper concern of Government. If we should lose sight of this and act as if power or wealth are our greatest asset we have truly lost our way. Surely, we must remain strong and prosperous; but only because if we do not, we cannot properly pursue our real goal.

If we agree, then, that the purpose of Government is to protect and cherish the citizen, we may properly ask how best this can be done. Specifically, how does the Government best care for those who have consented to be governed by it? I submit, Mr. Speaker, that man is cared for in the real sense only when his Government devotes itself to the creation of that atmosphere which is most conducive to his individual self-realization. His Government fulfills its function when it frees him from the enslaving forces of his environment, when it recognizes his dignity, when it has faith in him and gives him hope, when it grants him the opportunity to be himself.

What does it mean to be ourselves? It means, I believe, to be all that we are capable of being, to develop our full potential. This is the basic aspiration of all of our citizens and it is the function of Government to create those circumstances which will make possible its realization.

I have spoken thus far in a general way of the proper function of Government. And what I have said applies to all of the branches of Government. But I think it applies in a very special way to the legislative body. Congress is the public forum, the vehicle through which the will of the people is expressed. It is composed of the elected representatives of the people and is charged with the task of translating their needs and desires into enforceable legislation. And the basic need and desire of every citizen, as I have said, is to be allowed to develop his full potential. Therefore, that Congress which enacts legislation designed to grant to all citizens the opportunity to develop their full potential may truly be said to have represented the will of the people and, consequently, to have fulfilled the purpose for which it was instituted.

If the creation of the opportunity for self-realization is our goal, certainly equality in this opportunity is basic. Opportunity is not something to be extended to some and denied to others. And surely not by the Congress of the United States composed of representatives of all the people and constituting the forum of all of the citizens.

It cannot be denied that there are segments of our population which do not possess opportunity for self-realization equal to that of their more fortunate neighbors. The reasons are many but the result is identical: the victim does not share in the abundance of the Nation. And one can say that those who are thus

alienated from their neighbors are in a position to develop their full potential.

Mr. Speaker, I think it will be obvious from even a summary consideration of our enactments during this Congress that we have devoted ourselves to these neglected segments of our population and have attempted to extend to them the opportunity and the hope which other citizens enjoy and which they, by right, deserve.

Certainly a lack of employment skills means a lack of opportunity. Our $921 million program of increased support for vocational education is geared to giving opportunity for economic betterment to those who have most need of it—the young, the unskilled, the school dropouts, the displaced workers.

The recommendations of the Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, established this year, will enable us to derive the maximum economic benefit from technological advancement with the minimum of human displacement and suffering.

The amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act, passed during the first session, will allow us to deal more effectively with the problems of the unskilled and inadequately educated.

The bulk of the war on poverty is aimed at preparing our untrained youth for employment.

What of the migrant worker? Much-needed protection is afforded by the law passed this year requiring the registration of crew leaders.

The requirement for equal pay for women when employed in essentially the same work as men is the extension of economic opportunity to a category of workers who too often have been the victims of discrimination.

And while I speak of discrimination, the Nation and the world will not soon forget that a modern emancipation proclamation is now law. The Civil Rights Act guarantees to all Americans the protection of the Constitution.

The Congress has entered a too-long neglected field with its two programs designed to combat mental retardation and mental illness. Certainly the prevention of mental retardation and the rehabilitation of the mentally ill extend hope and opportunity to a neglected segment of our population.

Our growing population of elderly persons are too often cut off from the abundance of this Nation. The omnibus Housing Act passed during this session provides $75 million for the construction of special housing for the elderly. And the Housing Act passed last session increases the authorization for direct loans to nonprofit corporations and cooperatives for the elderly.

Our handicapped citizens were not forgotten by this Congress. We increased the funds of the President's Committee on the Employment of the Physically Handicapped and extended to the handicapped most of the programs under the Housing Act.

The economic insecurity of young Indian boys was dealt with by the expansion of the vocational education program for adult Indians.

Look down the list of legislation passed by this Congress to aid veterans and you will see that we do not forget the sacrifices of these men and the physical handicaps they have suffered in our defense. Benefits can never compensate them but they can make it possible for them and for their families and survivors to lead lives of dignity.

Consider for a moment the cruel reprisals of poverty, reprisals in the form of lack of education, lack of employment skills, lack of opportunity, lack of hope, lack of dignity. The poverty of mind and spirit which accompany material poverty is the greatest tragedy. This year we have launched a massive assault on the causes of poverty with the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act.

We have expanded and made permanent the food stamp plan whereby welfare recipients are enabled to have proper nutrition while the Government makes use of its agricultural surpluses.

The Omnibus Housing Act will provide 37,500 additional public housing units for low-income families.

And we have provided that the poor defendant shall not be without defense of counsel because he lacks funds to pay for this necessity.

In each of these cases cited we have made farsighted attempts to extend opportunity to our forgotten citizens. I can do no better than to quote President Johnson on the value of such a course. Speaking in West Virginia on September 20, 1964, he said:

> The day America hardens its heart, the day the fortunate turn away from the helpless, the day compassion turns to indifference, on that day we will decline from greatness.

Thus far I have emphasized the extension of opportunity to those who have least opportunity. But the responsibility of the Congress extends beyond this. We must think of the average citizen who aspires to a finer and happier life, because only thereby can he develop to his full capabilities.

A finer and happier life of necessity includes knowledge. A trail-blazing parade of education bills passed by this Congress will make it possible for us to meet the needs of our burgeoning school population and, through meeting their needs, to enrich their lives and provide the leaders of tomorrow. We have initiated a 5-year, $1.2 billion program for the construction of academic facilities at public and private colleges and universities.

We have provided aid for schools overburdened by children of Government personnel.

We have authorized the expansion of Federal aid for public library services and construction.

We have provided aid for nursing education and for young people entering that necessary and understaffed profession.

We have done the same for medical, dental, and related-type education and for young people entering these fields.

We have done the same for public health personnel.

It is not difficult to see the relationship between the benefits of some of these programs and the benefits of a better life for our citizens through improved medical care. For if we provide more doctors, more nurses, more dentists, and more public health people we will bring the wonders of our laboratory research to more of our citizens.

Our extension of the highly successful Hill-Burton hospital and nursing home construction program will have the same effect.

The Clean Air Act, expanding and accelerating air-pollution control, will bring abatement of the contamination of our air and the resultant health hazards.

When we require safety in automobile seat belts and the registration of pesticides, we fulfill our function.

When we grant a pay raise and increase the health benefits of our Government employees, we make it easier to attract and hold high-caliber personnel and thus insure the competent administration of all of the other programs of which I speak.

When we insure the preservation and availability of publications significant in the history of America, aid in the construction of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and establish a National Council on the Arts, we add to the cultural life of the Nation. And it is this which enriches and makes more meaningful the life of our citizens.

The tremendous accomplishments in the field of conservation—the wilderness bill, the Outdoor Recreation Act, the land and water conservation fund, the several national park bills—have a meaning in this context too. The urbanization and industrialization of our society have, to a large extent, cut us off from the wonders of nature and from their healing and ordering effects. By setting aside and conserving this natural beauty we provide man with the opportunity to enjoy what is an essential part of a meaningful life.

By maintaining a balanced and powerful Defense Establishment and by seeking and working for peace among nations, we largely free man from fear and allow him to devote his energies to self-betterment and self-realization.

If we promote the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy, we do so because of the overwhleming potential of the new force for the creation of many of the material elements of the good life.

When we enact the largest tax reduction in our history, stimulate the economy, and decrease unemployment, we do so to free men from economic insecurity. Without such freedom there is no time and no inspiration for good works and enobling thoughts.

All these things and more this Congress has done, Mr. Speaker. The wellspring of all of our activities has been care for the citizen. That is why this has been a compassionate Congress; that is why this has been an outstanding Congress.

I indicated earlier that I believe that it is more than coincidence that this remarkable record was compiled by a Congress controlled by the Democratic Party. The accomplishments of the past

2 years are very much in the tradition of that party. In 1796, in the first contested presidential election in our history, the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, campaigned on the principles of "The rights of man." This year our platform is entitled "One Nation, One People." Both of these underscore the identity of the Democratic Party with the people of America—not a certain class of people or a certain group of people, but all of the people. Because our party is identified with the people, it is shaped by their needs and desires. And the basic need and desire of all of our citizens—today, yesterday, and tomorrow, in the city, the town, and the country, in youth and in age—is the need for self-realization.

In a letter to Henry Lee in 1824, Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, defined Democrats as "those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish—them." This confidence has endured. Today, as then, the Democratic Party has confidence that under the proper conditions every man will reach his full capacity. This guiding principle of the Democratic Party is the principle which motivated this Congress.

If our notable record is more easily understood in the light of the basic principle of the Democratic Party, it must also be read in the light of our leadership. I pause now to pay tribute to one of the ablest and fairest of men, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of this House. In his short speech of January 9, 1963, acknowledging his election as Speaker, he said:

As Speaker of the House, I shall always protect the dignity and the prerogatives of this great body. I shall always protect the rights of all Members under the rules of the House—I shall always be fair to all of my colleagues.

Speaker MCCORMACK has fulfilled his promises. As a man, he is most worthy of our affection; as a Speaker, he is most worthy of our respect. He is dedicated, above all, to the national interest. That dedication transcends partisan politics; it places him above pettiness and narrowness and meanness of spirit. It shapes the manner in which he directs our business which is, after all, the people's business. For this we are grateful, as should all of the citizens be grateful. For our good fortune in having such a leader is also their good fortune.

I am very proud of all of the Members of this House. They have worked tirelessly to translate great hopes into realities. They have discharged the public business with understanding, with cooperation, with an inspiring sense of responsibility. The differences among us have been honest ones; and they have been healthy ones. We have conscientiously searched for, and found, points of compromise. The result is a legislative program which truly reflects a broad national consensus.

I would single out for particular praise only one Member of this body. I refer to our colleague, Clarence Cannon, late chairman of the Appropriations Committee. On January 21 of this year he published a detailed schedule for reporting and floor consideration of the appropriation bills in this House during 1964. Through his tireless efforts and those of his successor, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON], we completed work on all of the 1965 appropriations bills by July 1, the first day of the new fiscal year. On July 10, President Johnson issued a special statement expressing his "appreciation and that of the Nation for the efficiency and speed" with which this body had acted.

Mr. Cannon was a great American, an outstanding legislator, and an eminent parliamentarian. His contributions in more than 50 years in Washington, in more than 40 years as a Member of Congress, and in more than 20 years as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, are prodigious.

Certainly, I cannot record the legislative accomplishments of the past 2 years without reference to the occupant of the White House whom our Constitution directs to "give to the Congress information on the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

John F. Kennedy was a man of great ability, a man of keen and pentrating mind, a man who evaluated soundly, a man of unlimited courage. He was well aware that in taking the oath of office he assumed burdens unparalleled in the history of our Nation. He bore his awesome responsibility well; his policies were sound and farsighted. He well knew that we delude ourselves if we believe that there are simple solutions in a world of complex and continuing problems. In his state of the Union message on January 11, 1962, he said:

We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choice. But there is no comfort or security in this evasion, no solution in abdication, no relief in irresponsibility.

Learning and reason must guide our leadership or we shall surely go astray. From January 21, 1961 to November 22, 1963, our President brought learning and reason to his tasks. In a speech at American University in June, 1963, he said that "man can be as big as he wants." John Kennedy wanted to be big, and so he was. And we, too, are bigger because of him.

Not the least of President Kennedy's legacies to his country was his personal choice for his successor in the Office of the President, Lyndon Baines Johnson. President Kennedy could not have chosen a man better prepared to assume that high office, to rededicate this Nation to peace, both internal and external, to find the national consensus, and to unite all of the people in the pursuit of worthy goals.

That he has the courage of his predecessor was clear from the moment he took the oath of office under the most incomprehensibly tragic of circumstances.

That he would carry forward the many-sided programs of President Kennedy was clear in his first speech to the Joint session of Congress when he said: "Let us continue."

That he would seek unity within this Nation was clear from his statement at the University of Texas in May when he said:

I intend to try and achieve a broad national consensus, which can end obstruction and paralysis and liberate the energies of the Nation for the work of the future.

That he is President of all of the people was clear from his statement to Congress on November 27, 1963 when he said:

We will serve all the Nation, not one section or one sector, or one group, but all Americans. These are the United States—a united people with a united purpose.

That he would serve us well is clear from his statement in his special message on the antipoverty program when he expressed as the basic goal of his administration:

An America in which every citizen shares all of the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capabilities.

Such is the caliber of the two Presidents with whom we have worked.

Mr. Speaker, I intend now to describe in detail those acts which I have already mentioned as well as numerous other pieces of legislation enacted by this Congress. I believe this will document my contention that this has indeed been a compassionate Congress.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Since man is our greatest resource, the health, education, and welfare of the citizens must be among the foremost concerns of the Government. The success of a government in freeing man from the enslaving forces of his environment is the success of a government in carrying out the function for which it was created.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is the agency of the Federal Government most immediately concerned with these activities. For the fiscal year 1964, we appropriated $5,077,114,500 for that Department. This was in addition to $214,641,000 included in the Supplemental Appropriation Act passed during the first session.

This year we appropriated $6,461,109,000 for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965. And the Deficiency Appropriation Act included $160,812,000 for that Department.

EDUCATION

The relationship between education and the Nation's social, economic, technological, and moral progress is not difficult to perceive. Certainly the relationship of education to the full development of a man's potential is equally obvious. President Kennedy aptly described it as "the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress." Because these facts are indisputably true, any measure passed by the Congress of the United States which increases the quality of American education or extends its availability to more of the people is of great significance.

It follows, then, that the 88th Congress is truly a historic one in the field of education. We have passed several acts, any one of which is significant enough in

itself to qualify this as "The Education Congress." Two of the acts to which I refer were passed during the first session and I described them in some detail in my report of last year. But because they are of such import, I should like to sketch their broad outlines here.

HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT

The first of these acts is the Higher Education Facilities Act, Public Law 88–204, approved December 16, 1963. This was, indeed, a historic breakthrough, for it was the first general college aid program ever enacted, the fruit of several years of bitter controversy.

This measure authorized a 5-year $1.2 billion program of Federal grants and loans for the construction and improvement of public and private college facilities, including classrooms, libraries, and laboratories. The appropriation authorization was limited to 3 years so that Congress may review the program.

The appropriations were as follows: $230 million a year for matching grants to the States for the construction, rehabilitation, and improvement of undergraduate academic facilities, with 22 percent of this amount reserved for public junior colleges and public technical institutes; $25 million in the fiscal year 1964 and $60 million in the fiscal years 1965 and 1966 for construction grants to graduate schools or to cooperative graduate centers; and $120 million a year for loans for construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of both undergraduate and graduate academic facilities. It is hoped and anticipated that this program will enable colleges and universities to meet the needs of a student population which is expected to double in the years from 1960 to 1970.

The appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $463,150,000 for college facilities construction.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT

The second of these acts is the Vocational Education Act, Public Law 88–210, approved December 10, 1963. The purpose of this measure is to update and expand the teaching of job skills and to provide job training and job experience. It also extends the National Defense Education Act and impacted areas school aid and increases college loan funds under the National Defense Education Act.

This act authorizes $921 million in Federal aid. Five hundred and eighty-one million dollars is for matching grants to the States to expand and modernize State and local vocational education programs for the fiscal years 1964 through 1967. This money must be used for job-orientated vocational training and for building and equipping job-orientated vocational high schools and adult training centers.

One hundred and fifty million dollars is for work-study programs and residential schools for the fiscal years 1965 through 1968 with some State matching of Federal work-study funds. The purpose of these programs is to keep needy students from becoming high school dropouts.

One hundred and seventy million dollars is for low-interest loans to college students in the fiscal years 1964 and 1965 under the National Defense Education Act. The National Defense Education Act is also extended for an additional year, to July 1, 1965. And an additional $20 million is authorized for guidance, counseling, and testing programs under the National Defense Education Act in the fiscal years 1964 and 1965.

Finally, this act extends the impacted area program for 2 years, to June 30, 1965, and authorizes $527,600,000 for this activity. Under this program, enatced in 1950, the Federal Government pays part of the costs for public school construction, operation, and maintenance where the impact of Federal military and civilian personnel places a burden on the local school facilities and services.

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT AMENDMENTS AND IMPACTED AREAS PROGRAM

Two of the programs which were included in the Vocational Education Act were further extended and expanded in action taken by this Congress in the closing days of the second session.

As passed, this new legislation extends all of the provisions of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 for 3 years and increases the authorization from $135 million to $163.3 million in the fiscal year 1965, and to $179.3 million in 1966, $190 million in 1967, and $195 million in 1968.

The act passed this year amends the basic legislation in several important ways. The total effect of the changes is an expansion and liberalization of the entire program. Among the more important amendments are the removal of the annual institutional ceiling of $800,000, the extension of the loan program to accredited postsecondary business schools and technical institutions, both public and nonprofit private, and the increase in the yearly limit on loans to graduate and professional students from $1,000 to $2,500. The aggregate limit for such students was also increased from $5,000 to $10,000.

The student loan program under the National Defense Education Act has been highly successful. More than 680,000 students have had the opportunity to use the resources of the fund to achieve a college or graduate education. Approximately two-thirds of the loans have gone to students in science, mathematics, engineering, or modern foreign languages. This year we have extended these opportunities to persons who are preparing to teach English, reading, history, and geography. Federal support is also now available for the preparation of teachers working with disadvantaged youth, to librarians, guidance counselors, and educational media specialists.

The original act provided for the forgiveness of 50 percent of the loan to teachers in the public, elementary, or secondary schools. The majority of the Members felt that this was inequitable and the amendments passed this year extend this forgiveness feature to teachers in nonprofit private elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

We have also made it possible for part-time students carrying at least one-half of an academic workload to receive loans.

We have increased the maximum number of fellowships available under the program to 3,000 in the fiscal year 1965, to 6,000 in 1966, and to 7,500 in 1967 and 1968. The authorization for guidance, counseling, and testing was increased from its present $17.5 million level to $24 million in 1965, to $24.5 million in 1966, and to $30 million in 1967 and 1968. Similarly, the authorization for the language development program was increased from its present level of $8 million to $13 million in the fiscal year 1965, to $16 million in 1967, and to $18 million in 1968.

The amendments passed this year also extend the federally impacted areas legislation for 1 year. I described the operation of this program in my report last year and, briefly, in my summary of the Vocational Education Act above.

This is a very important act and a very fitting close to the work of a Congress which has devoted itself so successfully to the essential area of education.

A supplemental appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, signed by President Johnson on February 11, 1964, provided $216,204,000 for payments to impacted areas and $31,168,000 in college loan funds under the National Defense Education Act. On January 21, President Johnson had requested these supplemental funds because the impacted areas and student loan funds were exhausted. Unless immediate action was taken by Congress, schools would have been unable to pay their teachers and students would have been forced to drop out of college.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $158,296,000 for vocational education and $332 million for payments to school districts under the impacted areas program.

And the Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $60,750,000 for defense educational activities.

PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

To this list of outstanding accomplishments in the field of education must be added the Public Library Services and Construction Act, Public Law 88–269. The recommendation for legislation on this matter was made by President Kennedy in his January 29, 1963, message on education. In that message he pointed out that 18 million people in this Nation have no access to any local public library service and an additional 110 million have only inadequate service. For lack of funds, the rate of replacement of public library buildings has been a mere 2 percent in a decade. Carnegie funds for the construction of libraries have not been available for the last 40 years.

On February 11, 1964, President Johnson signed into law the bill embodying the recommendations which President Kennedy had made and which he, President Johnson, had repeated in his budget message of January 21, 1964. In so doing he said:

There are few acts of Congress which I sign with more pleasure, and certainly none with more hope.

He also spoke of "the enlightened Members of Congress and others who supported their activities" in guiding this bill through Congress. And well he might. This is truly an enlightened act, for it is an investment in the Nation's future. As Thomas Jefferson so rightly said:

> If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be.

As enacted, this measure amends the Library Services Act of 1956 as follows:

It removes a provision of that earlier act which limited Federal library service grants to rural areas with no towns of more than 10,000 population. As a consequence of this amendment Federal assistance will be extended to public libraries in urban as well as rural areas, but nonrural areas are not eligible for Federal aid until the fiscal year 1965.

It increases the matching grant authorization for public library services from $7.5 million each year to $25 million in the fiscal year 1964, with sums in the following 2 fiscal years to be determined by Congress. The minimum amount for which each State is eligible was increased from $40,000 to $100,000.

It also authorizes $20 million in the fiscal year 1964, with sums in the following 2 fiscal years to be determined by Congress, for matching grants to States for the construction of public library buildings. A minimum allotment of $80,000 is provided for each State and $20,000 for each territory. Additional allotments are made to a State on the basis of its population in relationship to the total population of the country.

It limits the Federal share in a State's construction plans to between two-thirds and one-third, depending upon the State's relative per capita income. A State is required to submit a satisfactory plan for construction of public libraries and to insure that laborers on the construction projects will be paid the prevailing wages as determined under the Davis-Bacon Act. Construction is defined to include the construction of new buildings, the expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, initial equipment, architect's fees, and the costs of land acquisition. State plans are to be submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education. He is prohibited from disapproving a plan without a hearing and a State may appeal a ruling by the Commissioner to a U.S. Court of Appeals.

The final regulations under which the new act went into effect were not released to the States by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare until the end of June. But even at that time, proposed plans had already been received from 34 States. This fact should give some indication of the States' realization of the need for improvement of their public library systems and the eagerness with which this new act has been received.

The appropriations for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $55 million for grants for library services and construction.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

A more specialized area of education, but education nonetheless, is that of developing techniques and training personnel for preventing and controlling juvenile delinquency. In 1961, a Democratic-controlled Congress enacted the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, which authorized Federal grants of $10 million annually for 3 years for pilot projects demonstrating improved methods of prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and for developing courses of study and training personnel for employment in such programs.

In the 3 years of operation of this program, demonstration projects have been started in 7 cities, and plans for 11 other projects are in preparation. The Federal Government has invested $19 million in these projects and in training grants to a number of universities, foundations, and other research institutions. Failure to extend the act, due to expire on June 30, 1964, would have meant the termination of these projects and the loss of an opportunity to continue research into a very costly and tragic national problem.

On June 29, 1964, the Congress sent to the President a bill which extends the 1961 act for 2 years, until June 30, 1966. It authorizes $10 million for the program for the fiscal year 1965 and requires another authorization for the 2d year of the extension.

In addition, this act authorizes a special study of compulsory school attendance and child labor laws to determine their effects upon juvenile delinquency, and provides for a special antijuvenile delinquency demonstration project in the Washington, D.C. area. An additional $5 million was authorized for the Washington project.

Much useful information has been obtained from this program so far and much more can be anticipated as more projects are completed and evaluated. The annual cost to society of juvenile delinquency has been estimated as high as $2.6 billion. The increasing size of our youthful population makes it imperative that corrective action be taken. The program initiated in 1961 and extended this year is designed to meet that need.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $11,500,000 for juvenile delinquency control.

MENTAL HEALTH

In response to President Kennedy's February 5, 1963, request for a "bold new approach" to the problem of mental illness and retardation, this Democratic-controlled Congress last year enacted two comprehensive administration programs. I described these acts in detail in my report last year but because of their lasting significance and the steps taken to implement them this year, I should like briefly to summarize their provisions here.

MENTAL RETARDATION FACILITIES AND COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTERS CONSTRUCTION ACT

The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act, Public Law 88–164, authorizes a 4-year, $329 million program of grants to States and public and private institutions for the construction of centers connected with universities and affiliated hospitals for research into the causes of mental retardation and facilities for the treatment of such cases; for the construction of community centers for the care and treatment of mental patients; and for the training of teachers of the mentally retarded, mentally ill, and handicapped children.

The authorizations under this act are as follows:

It authorizes $26 million over the 4-year period beginning July 1, 1963, for project grants to pay for a maximum of 75 percent of the costs of constructing research centers which would develop new knowledge for preventing and combating mental retardation. An additional $32.5 million over the same 4-year period is authorized to pay for up to 75 percent of the costs of constructing college- or university-associated facilities for the mentally retarded. Finally, it authorizes $67.5 million over the 4-year period beginning July 1, 1964, for formula grants to be allocated among the States to pay from 45 to 75 percent of the costs of constructing public and other nonprofit facilities for the care of the mentally retarded.

In addition, this act authorizes $67.5 million over the 3-year period beginning July 1, 1964, for formula grants to be allocated among the States to pay from 33⅓ to 66⅔ percent of the costs of constructing public and other nonprofit community mental health centers.

It authorizes $47 million over the 3-year period beginning July 1, 1963, to extend and strengthen the existing programs for training teachers of mentally retarded and deaf children and expands these programs to include the training of teachers of other handicapped children, such as the visually handicapped, the speech impaired, and the emotionally disturbed.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 includes $35 million for the construction of community mental health centers under this act.

In view of the fact that we cannot even identify the cause of retardation in 75 percent of the cases, research in this area is essential. The number of mentally retarded in this country is estimated at between 5 and 6 million; one-half of the hospital beds in this country are occupied by mental patients; and 1 out of every 10 persons in the United States requires psychiatric attention sometime during his lifetime. Without research, the mitigation of this scourge is impossible. This legislation will encourage that research.

The alleviation of this terrible problem is very much in line with the philosophy of the Democratic Party, the Kennedy-Johnson administration, and this Democratic-controlled Congress. For we are concerned first and foremost with people. And we are particularly concerned with the welfare of those unable to share the opportunities of our

society, and with lessening the number of those so afflicted.

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH AND MENTAL RETARDATION AMENDMENTS

The second of President Kennedy's proposals is contained in Public Law 88–156, approved October 24, 1963. The need for this legislation was ably explained by President Kennedy. In signing this bill, he said:

Infants born prematurely are 10 times more likely to be mentally retarded. Mothers who have not received adequate prenatal care are two or three times more likely to give birth to premature babies. Yet, in 132 large cities, studies have shown that an estimated 455,000 mothers are unable to pay for health care during pregnancy and after birth. This bill will help insure that no child need be born retarded for such reasons, which are wholly in our control.

Briefly, this act amends the Social Security Act to assist States and communities in combating mental retardation through expansion and improvement of maternal and child health and crippled childrens programs, through provision of prenatal, maternity, and child care for individuals with conditions associated with childbearing which may lead to mental retardation, and through planning for comprehensive action to combat mental retardation.

To carry out this program, this act increases the authorization for grants to the States for maternal and child health services from $25 million for each fiscal year to $30 million for the fiscal year 1964, $35 million for the fiscal year 1965, $40 million each for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967, $45 million for each of the fiscal years of 1968 and 1969, and $50 million for each succeeding fiscal year.

It increases the authorization for grants to the States for crippled children's services from $25 million for each fiscal year to the same figure as is authorized for maternal and child health services, as just described.

In addition, it authorizes appropriations of $5 million for the fiscal year 1964, $15 million for the fiscal year 1965; and $30 million for the fiscal years 1966, 1967, and 1968 for grants to assist in reducing the incidence of mental retardation caused by complications associated with childbearing.

Appropriations of up to $8 million each year for grants for research projects in this area are also authorized.

Finally, it authorized an appropriation of $2.2 million to assist States to plan for, and take steps toward the establishment of, comprehensive State and community action to combat mental retardation.

In my report last year I noted that the appropriation for these two programs was in conference. On January 21, 1964, President Johnson requested a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year 1964. Included in his request were funds for these two programs. Public Law 88–268, approved on February 11, 1964, appropriated $41,886,000 for mental retardation programs authorized under these two pieces of legislation.

HEALTH

The protection and improvement of the health of the people of the United States is certainly a legitimate activity of a government which is fulfilling its proper function. For, as Thomas Jefferson said:

The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government.

As I have said, this has been a guiding principle of the Democratic Party since its founding in 1792. This Democratic-controlled Congress has been true to its heritage. A description of some of the legislation enacted in the area will bear that out.

HILL-BURTON ACT

In 1946, Congress enacted the Hill-Burton Act—title VI of the Public Health Service Act. Its purpose was to assist the States in an inventory of their hospitals, to survey the need for construction of hospitals, to develop programs for construction of public and other nonprofit hospitals, and to aid in this construction. In addition, it authorized the Surgeon General to make grants for research, experiments, and demonstrations relating to the effective development and utilization of hospital services and facilities, and to promote the coordination of such programs.

The program established by this act, as amended through the years, has been highly successful. As President Johnson said in his message on health services, transmitted to the Congress on February 10, 1964:

We can be proud of the many fine hospitals throughout the country which were made possible in the last 16 years by the Hill-Burton program of Federal aid.

As of June 30, 1963, this program had resulted in approval of 6,810 hospital and other health facility projects involving total spending of $6.1 billion, of which $1.9 billion were Federal funds. These projects produced 289,489 general, mental, tuberculosis, and long-term-care beds, and helped construct 1,522 rehabilitation centers, public health centers, diagnostic and treatment centers, and other health laboratories and outpatient facilities. In addition, this program has helped to raise State licensing standards, has attracted needed physicians and other health specialists to rural areas, and has encouraged the States to effect better coordination in planning facilities.

The provisions of this act, last amended in 1961, were due to expire this year. But in August President Johnson signed into law a bill extending the Hill-Burton Act for 5 years, to June 30, 1969, with a total authorization of $1,362,500,000. This new act also amends the original act in the following major ways:

In a new program, it authorizes $2.5 million for the fiscal year 1965 and $5 million each year for the fiscal years 1966 to 1969 to enable the Surgeon General to make Federal grants to private agencies and organizations for planning coordinated health facilities. The Federal share is not to exceed one-half of the cost of a project.

The existing grant program for the construction of public and nonprofit hospitals and public health centers was continued and expanded to include grants for hospital modernization. It authorizes a total of $680 million for construction and an additional $160 million for modernization and provides that funds earmarked for modernization will be allotted on a basis which will emphasize aid to hospitals in urban areas.

Finally, it continues provisions of the existing law which permanently authorize $10 million annually for the Surgeon General to conduct research, experiments, and demonstrations on the effective development and utilization of hospitals.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $245,846,000 for hospital construction.

HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT

In my report last year, I described in detail the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, Public Law 88–129, approved September 24, 1963. It is the culmination of years of effort to enact legislation designed to ease the increasingly serious shortage of doctors and other health personnel. This act authorizes a 3-year, $175 million program of matching grants for the construction of teaching facilities to train physicians, dentists, nurses, and professional public health personnel as well as pharmacists, optometrists, and podiotrists. In addition, the bill authorizes loans for students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy enrolled within a 3-year period. This authorization will extend into 6 years at a total estimated cost of $61.4 million.

President Kennedy, in signing this act, called it "one of the most significant health measures passed by the Congress in recent years." Certainly it is one from which all of the citizens will benefit, for, as President Kennedy said:

With the accelerated national effort initiated by this act, better use will be made of the wealth of new medical knowledge now being gathered in the research laboratories throughout the land to maintain and improve the health of our growing population.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $110,782,000 for health professions educational aid.

NURSE TRAINING ACT

Certainly our recent overwhelming laboratory successes in developing new drugs and new methods of diagnosis and treatment, and in increasing our knowledge of the nature and causes of the many diseases which plague mankind is of little value while there are not enough trained nurses to carry this new knowledge into the Nation's hospitals and clinics. And at the present time there is a critical shortage of nurses.

In the spring of 1961, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service appointed a consultant group on nursing to advise him on nursing needs and to identify the appropriate role of the Federal Government in assuring adequate nursing services for the Nation. That group submitted its report in December 1962. According to that document, in order to meet the needs of the Nation in 1970, the United States will need 850,000 nurses, including 300,000 with an academic degree.

At present, there are 550,000 professional nurses in practice and it would not be feasible to increase this number by 300,000 by 1970. Realizing this, the group recommended that the number of nurses be increased by 130,000 to a total of 680,000 by 1970. This will require raising nursing school enrollments by 75 percent. In his February 10 message on health services, President Johnson made several recommendations to help meet this need. Many of them are embodied in the Nurse Training Act passed in August of this year.

This act ads a new title, with the following provisions, to the Public Health Service Act:

First, it authorizes $5 million for the fiscal year 1966, and $10 milion for each of the next 3 fiscal years for the construction or rehabilitation of collegiate schools of nursing, and $10 million for the fiscal year 1966, and $15 million for each of the next 3 fiscal years for the construction or rehabilitation of associate degree or diploma schools of nursing. The expansion of teaching facilities which will be possible because of this authorization, which totals $90 million, is essential if we are to increase the number of nurses. This construction program is patterned after that of the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act discussed above. It was rightly thought that that act was inadequate to the need of expanding nurses training facilities and in aiding nursing schools to improve the quality of their training. Therefore, this act focuses specifically on the nursing problem and provision is made so that collegiate schools of nursing are no longer eligible for construction aid under the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act.

Second, this act authorizes $2 million for the fiscal year 1965, $3 million for the fiscal year 1966, $4 million for the next 3 fiscal years, and such sums as are necessary to complete projects in the next 4 years to assist public and nonprofit collegiate and associate degree schools of nursing to improve and expand nurse training programs. This aspect of the program is designed to provide the quality education which is increasingly necessary as nurses take over some of the highly technical medical procedures once regarded as the prerogative of the physician.

Third, it authorizes $4 million for the fiscal year 1965, $7 million for the fiscal year 1966, and $10 million for the next 3 fiscal years for public and nonprofit diploma schools to defray a portion of the cost of training "federally sponsored" students. These are the students who have received a loan of more than $100 from the loan fund which is established by this act and which I shall describe below. The cost of providing nursing education is generally greater than the income received by the schools from tuition and fees. The deficit incurred by the hospitals which operate nursing schools is borne by the patients in the hospital but the continuing deficit has resulted in the closing of a number of diploma schools. In 1949, there were 1,134 diploma schools in the United States; in 1962, this number has decreased to 875 and some of these face the prospect of closing in the near future. Since this legislation is designed to increase enrollments, it will also increase the costs to diploma schools. This partial reimbursement of these schools should enable the remaining diploma schools to continue in existence and, hopefully, will encourage the establishment of others.

Fourth, this act authorizes $8 million for the fiscal year 1965, $9 million for the fiscal year 1966, $10 million for the fiscal year 1967, $11 million for the fiscal year 1968, and $12 million for the fiscal year 1969 for the training of professional nurses to teach nursing, to serve in administrative or supervisory capacities, or to engage in other professional nursing specialties. This is the extension of a traineeship program established in 1956 and scheduled to expire this year. It has substantially improved the preparation of nurses for leadership positions for the past 7 years and can be expected to continue to do so in the future.

Fifth, this act establishes a student loan program and authorizes $3.1 million for the fiscal year 1965, $8.9 million for the fiscal year 1966, $16.8 million for the fiscal year 1967, $25.3 million for the fiscal year 1968, $30.9 million for the fiscal year 1969 and such sums as are necessary for the next 3 fiscal years to complete the loans granted in 1969. This section is designed to help remove the financial barrier for students wishing to enter schools of nursing. Obviously, this barrier must be lessened if we are to have the nurses we need.

Sixth, this act establishes a National Advisory Council on Nurse Training within the Public Health Service to advise the Surgeon General in the development of regulations and policies needed to administer this act and to review the applications for grants for nursing school construction and for the improvement of nurse training.

In all of its provisions, this act is designed to attack a problem which is national in scope and which must be solved if all citizens are to benefit from our increased medical knowledge. As President Johnson said in signing this bill, it is "truly a notable achievement toward raising standards of health care in the United States."

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 included $17,600,000 for nurse training.

GRADUATE PUBLIC HEALTH TRAINING AMENDMENTS

The Second National Conference on Public Health Training, called by the Surgeon General in August 1963, devoted itself to public health manpower problems. Their studies proved without doubt that the supply of trained health professionals is not keeping pace with the population growth. In fact, the present rate of training barely offsets attrition and program expansion with little gain in providing more adequate training for the more than 20,000 inadequately trained personnel. In 1958, slightly less than one-half of all professional personnel in State and local health departments had received the training necessary to qualify them fully for their public health responsibilities. Five years later, in 1963, only 51 percent were adequately trained. In addition, more than 5,000 budgeted positions are now vacant in State and local health departments.

To maintain even the present inadequate staffing pattern in State and local health departments in relation to population growth and to offset attrition, at least 17,000 more trained workers must be produced by 1970. Many more public health personnel will also be needed by voluntary health agencies and Federal agencies which have health responsibilities. Many will also be needed to overcome the present acute shortage of teachers so that the faculties of the schools which train public health workers may be augmented.

This year, we have passed a bill designed to help meet this critical problem. This act amends the Public Health Service Act of 1956 to extend the existing program of public health traineeships for an additional 5 years and the existing program of project grants to schools of public health, schools of nursing, and schools of engineering for an additional 4 years. Both programs now carry the identical expiration date of June 30, 1969.

There are two types of traineeships. The long-term traineeship is a comprehensive training course in public health practice and administration, lasting a full academic years. The short-term traineeship, lasting from a few days to a few weeks, creates or improves skills in such areas as chronic diseases, accident prevention, care in nursing homes, and the public health aspects of physical therapy.

Under the project grant program, the Public Health Service has approved nearly 100 different projects to strengthen or expand public health training in 60 schools in the fields of public health, engineering, and nursing. The act passed this year expands the types of institutions which may qualify for project grants to include other public or nonprofit institutions which provide graduate or other specialized training in public health. These would include schools of medicine, dentistry, social work, and pharmacy.

The act contains specific appropriation ceilings for each of the next 5 years totaling $39,500,000.

This is a very significant piece of legislation, for it will help to increase the supply of critically needed professional public health manpower. Only with a sufficient supply of manpower in this field can we assure the protection of the health of our citizens; only with a sufficient supply of manpower in this field can we assure that the medical and scientific knowledge we possess will be put to the service of the general public.

The appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year 1965 includes $5 million for this program.

MEDICAL CARE FOR FISHING BOATOWNERS

In August of this year, President Johnson signed into law a bill designed to correct what the majority of the Members of this Congress consider to be an inequity. From 1798 to 1954, self-employed

U.S. fishermen were eligible for medical care, without charge, in hospitals, outpatient clinics, and other medical facilities of the Public Health Service in the event of illness or injury incurred while engaged in their hazardous but essential industry.

In 1954, an administrative ruling differentiated between wage-earning fishermen and their coworkers who held ownership or part ownership in the craft from which they fished. Under this ruling, medical benefits formerly enjoyed by all were retained by the former but denied to the self-employed although both risk the same disabling misfortunes and perils. This ruling was based upon an interpretation of the provision in the Public Health Service Act which provided aid for "seamen employed on vessels of the United States." The Public Health Service rules that the term "employed" referred to services rendered in an employee status.

The ruling created an unfortunate situation which imposed present or potential hardship on an estimated 10,000 fishing boatowners.

The act passed this year will remove the inequity created by the 1954 ruling. It amends the Public Health Service Act to permit owners of fishing boats again to receive medical care and hospitalization without charge at hospitals of the U.S. Public Health Service.

SAFETY

Certainly the protection of the health of the citizens rightfully includes control over various types of dangerous substances and products. This Democratic-controlled Congress has not neglected this aspect of its responsibility.

CLEAN AIR ACT

In my report on the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I described Public Law 88–206, the Clean Air Act, signed by President Johnson on December 17, 1963. With air pollution an increasingly serious national problem, we moved to strengthen Federal, State, and local air pollution control programs by enacting a $95 million, 3-year greatly expanded national effort to control air pollution through research, the establishment of pollution and control agencies, and legal action to halt existing causes of pollution brought about by urbanization, industrial development, and the increasing use of motor vehicles. Matching Federal grants are provided for State and local programs.

In signing this act, President Johnson rightly described air pollution as "a serious and growing threat to both our health and our safety." It is imperative that preventative and remedial action be taken to halt the trend toward greater contamination of our atmosphere. This act is at least the beginning of a solution to the problem.

PASSENGER SAFETY STANDARDS FOR GOVERNMENT MOTOR VEHICLES

Traffic accidents exact a very heavy toll in human life, health, and property in the United States. Every year nearly 3 million Americans are injured on our highways. In 1963, more than 43,000 persons were killed. The direct and indirect loss in 1963 from those 43,000 deaths and 3 million injuries has been estimated by the National Safety Council at more than $8 billion. Obviously, this is a major health problem.

This year we have enacted legislation designed to promote the increased adoption of safety equipment in motor vehicles. This measure provides that no motor vehicle manufactured on or after the date of enactment will be purchased by the Federal Government for use by the legislative, executive, or judicial branches of the U.S. Government or by the government of the District of Columbia unless it is equipped with such reasonable passenger safety devices as the Administrator of the General Services Administration shall require. The Administrator is directed to prescribe these standards and to publish them in the Federal Register and they will take effect 1 year and 90 days thereafter.

This act is intended to provide maximum safety protection to passengers in federally owned motor vehicles and to set a national example for the public which will encourage greater use of available proven safety devices on automobiles. Although the General Services Administration has—and uses—the power under existing law to prescribe procurement standards for motor vehicles acquired for the use of executive agencies, this legislation represents the express affirmation of Congress of the need for continuing attention to this important aspect of safety.

AUTOMOBILE SEAT BELT STANDARDS

And in my report last year, I spoke of the bill passed by the first session which requires that the manufacturers of automobile seat belts sold or shipped in interstate commerce meet certain safety requirements. The Secretary of Commerce is directed to prescribe and publish minimum safety standards for seat belts, and punishment for violations of these standards is prescribed.

PESTICIDES REGISTRATION

The past few years have witnessed a growing public concern about the safety of pesticides and the effectiveness of Federal pesticide-control policies. In her 1962 book, "The Silent Spring," Rachel Carson argued that many of the deadly pesticides and organic phosphates in use have unknown and cumulative effects which cannot be determined without many years of tests and experience. She concluded that with so much to be learned about the effect of these substances on human, animal, and plant life, they should not be so readily available for use until after far more exhaustive testing and experience.

Following publication of Miss Carson's book, President Kennedy ordered his Science Advisory Committee to look into the hazard of pesticides. Their report, released on May 15, 1963, stressed the great benefits derived from the use of pesticides but also pointed out that their greatly increased use had added to environmental contamination. The report concluded that too little is known of the long-term effects of pesticide poisoning on man and wildlife, and recommended the orderly reduction in the use of some pesticides and research to produce better and safer chemicals.

Another factor in this growing concern over the possible long-range effects of chemical accumulation in man and animals was what has been termed the "Mississippi River fish kill." In the last 4 years, it is estimated that 10 million fish have died in the lower Mississippi River basin. Because traces of pesticides have been found in the dead fish, serious doubt is cast on the premise that pesticides stay where they are applied and also on the contention that pesticides, used under conditions now considered safe, will not build up to poison the environment. In addition to the potential danger to man, tens of thousands of jobs and millions of dollars of fishery products are involved in the pesticide threat.

This was not a new area of concern for the Congress of the United States. In 1947, we passed the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act which required that the labels of all pesticide chemicals used against insects, fungi, and rodents, and certain other pesticides, be registered with the Department of Agriculture before the products could be sold in interstate commerce. In seeking registration, the manufacturer had to show that labeling claims made for his product's safety and effectiveness were correct. The Department of Agriculture was empowered to refuse to label a product if it was mislabeled, ineffective, or excessively dangerous to organisms other than those it was intended to control or if the package failed to warn that the substance was dangerous and to give directions for proper use.

A second measure was the pesticide chemical amendments to the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, passed in 1954. They were intended to establish a better procedure for determining in advance the quantity and types of chemical residues which could be left in or on fresh products which were to be offered for sale after spraying or other chemical treatment.

This year we took a further step. On May 12, President Johnson signed a pesticide-control act which he said would help to safeguard American health and lives. This act made three major changes in the 1947 Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act.

First, under the 1947 act, if the Department of Agriculture refused to approve a label, the manufacturer could register it under protest and market the product. In order to force it off the market, the Department of Agriculture had to prove that it was unsafe. Under the amendments approved this year, the right to protest registration was abolished. If an application for label registration is disapproved, the manufacturer can appeal to an advisory committee of experts and, if still unsatisfied, to the courts. In both cases, he must bear the responsibility for proving that the product is safe.

Second, under the 1947 act, if the Secretary of Agriculture found an already registered product to be unsafe, he was

required to prove it unsafe in court in order to force it off the market. The new act permits him to suspend marketing immediately and sets up procedures to expedite hearings.

Third, under the old law a pesticide was considered to be misbranded if the label indicated that it had been registered under the act. This was because the Department of Agriculture did not wish to appear to be endorsing any product. The new act amends this to permit labeling of the registration number.

It is anticipated that these changes will tighten up the control over these potentially dangerous products and fulfill the Government's responsibility to protect the health and safety of the citizens.

GENERAL WELFARE

The Constitution of the United States empowers the Congress to provide for the general welfare and, certainly, all of the legislation which I am discussing is designed to promote the general welfare. But as I use these terms here, I refer to those programs of the Government which are intended to extend opportunity to persons who are restricted in their access to the benefits of our society because of the handicap of economic need.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

From early New Deal days until the mid-1950's, substantial progress was made in lifting the incomes of our neediest families. This progress was not accidental. New Deal social and economic programs, like minimum wages and fair labor standards, social insurance and welfare aids for the aged, survivors, unemployed and indigent, were purposely designed to aid the neediest. Encouragement of the growth of unions helped lift the earnings of millions of the underpaid.

Rising postwar production and employment until the mid-1950's helped to continue this trend. Families with a cash income of less than $3,000, in 1962 dollars, dropped from 32 percent of the total in 1947 to 23 percent in 1956.

Since the mid-1950's however, that portion of our families still impoverished has remained practically stationary. Despite the continuing rise in the well-being of most Americans, families with incomes below $3,000 dropped only to 20 percent of the total in 1962. In fact, between 1956 and 1962 the share of total personal income going to the neediest one-fifth of our families actually went down.

At the present time, in the mid-20th century, one-fifth of our people have not shared in the economic abundance which has been granted to most of us. There were 47 million families in the United States in 1962. Fully 9.3 million families, comprising 30 million persons, had total money incomes below $3,000. More than 11 million of these family members were children, one-sixth of our youth. More than 1.1 million families are attempting to raise four or more children on such an income. Moreover, 5.4 million of these families, containing more than 17 million persons, had total incomes below $2,000. More than 1 million children are being raised in very large families—six or more children—with incomes of less than $2,000.

Just who are the poor? The 1964 annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers reports that of this 9.3 million families living in poverty, 22 percent are nonwhite; nearly one-half of all nonwhites live in poverty. The heads of more than 60 percent of all poor families have only a grade school education. One-third of all poor families are headed by a person over 65 and almost one-half of all families headed by such a person are poor. Of the poor, 54 percent live in cities, 16 percent on farms, and the remaining 30 percent are rural nonfarm residents. More than 40 percent of all farm families are poor. More than 80 percent of nonwhite farmers live in poverty. One-quarter of the poor families are headed by a woman; nearly one-half of all families headed by a woman are poor. Poverty is not confined to the unemployed; nearly one-half of the heads of poor families are gainfully employed. Poverty is not confined to any region of the country; the poor are to be found in every State of the Union and in nearly every community of any significant size.

When these characteristics of the poor are analyzed, the pervasiveness and complexity of the problem become apparent. The classifications used above reveal some of the major causes of poverty—lack of education, racial discrimination, unemployment, and so forth. There is a high degree of interaction between the causes of poverty which create "vicious circle" effects; the children of the poor are usually poorly educated and confined to low-income occupations.

The worst effect of poverty is the alienation of the individuals concerned. They are deprived of human dignity and fulfillment and exist without hope in a world scarcely recognizable and rarely seen by their fellow Americans. But poverty is costly not only to the poor but to the whole of society. Its ugly byproducts include ignrance, disease, delinquency, crime, irresponsibility, immorality, indifference. Poverty is not a private or local concern; it is a social and national problem. Its solution or mitigation would greatly benefit all of the citizens. If we could increase the average production of even 10 million earners among the poor, enough to lift their earnings a modest $1,000 each year, the Nation would have added $14 million a year to the national output. Whenever we give more people the chance to produce and consume we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings, and better income for all.

A solution to this problem would also mean reduction in costs of public welfare assistance and other services to the poor. Public assistance payments now cost us $4 billion each year, not to mention the costs of fighting delinquency, crime, disease, hunger, and the other products of poverty.

Unlike many undeveloped countries, the United States has the productive capacity to provide an adequate level of living for all of its citizens. At present, 4 million workers and 13 percent of our industrial capacity are not being utilized. It is apparent that this country has the capacity and the opportunity to face the problem of poverty and its attendant social evils. Until the technological advances of the 20th century made abundance a reality, the elimination of mass poverty was an unreasonable goal. Today, that is no longer true. As Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out in his recent book, "Challenge to Affluence":

> Never in the history of America has there been a greater and more complete identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress.

The Nation's most important resource is its people. No democratic government dare neglect the pervasive problem of poverty in the midst of widespread affluence.

President Johnson recognized this fact and proposed a realistic program wherein all possible resources will be mobilized to combat the needless wastes, costs, and ravages of poverty. His program attacks causes, not symptoms. And because the causes are so intricately linked and are continually interacting, the program is highly coordinated and multifaceted.

The proposal was heralded in his state of the Union message, transmitted to the Congress last January, in which he declared an "unconditional war on poverty in America." Again, in his economic report, he described as a major objective of his administration the effectuation of Government programs designed to eliminate poverty. And in a special message to Congress on March 16, President Johnson delineated and described his proposals. This Democratic-controlled Congress has enacted the President's program because a majority of the Members of both bodies are truly convinced that the United States will achieve its full economic and social potential only if every individual has an opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is designed to allow all of our citizens to do just that.

Title I of the act is devoted to programs for youth. To strike at the roots of poverty, the vicious cycle which runs from low income to inadequate education, and from inadequate education to economic incapacity must be broken. A concentration upon youth offers the best prospects for breaking the cycle and halting the transmission of defeatism and despair from one generation to another.

Part A established a Job Corps as a means of increasing the employability of young men and women aged 16 through 21. These young men and women will be provided with education, vocational training, and useful work experience, including work directed toward the conservation of natural resources, in rural and urban residential centers. The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity—which Office I shall discuss later—is authorized to enter into agreements with any Federal, State, or local agency, or private organization for the establishment and operation of the conservation camps and training centers

and for the provision of such facilities and services as, in his judgment, are needed. Where possible, education and training will be provided through local public educational agencies or by private vocational educational institutions or technical institutes where such institutions or technical institutes can provide substantially equivalent training with reduced Federal expenditures.

Further, he is authorized to arrange for the provision of programs of useful work experience and other appropriate activities for enrollees and to prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to provide for the selection of enrollees and to govern their conduct after enrollment.

The total enrollment of any individual in the Corps will not exceed 2 years except in special cases.

Enrollees will be provided with such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such quarters, subsistence, transportation, equipment, clothing, recreational services, medical, dental, hospital and other health services, and other expenses as the Director deems necessary or appropriate to their needs.

No conservation camp, training center, or similar facility will be established within a State unless a plan setting forth the proposed establishment has been submitted to the Governor of the State and has not been disapproved by him within 30 days.

Within the Job Corps, there will be a Youth Conservation Corps in which no less than 40 percent of the enrollees will be assigned to camps where their work activity will be directed primarily toward conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation and developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas.

Part B concerns work-training programs. The purpose of this program is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed young men and women aged 16 through 21 through participation in State and community work-training programs so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued, and in order that public agencies and private nonprofit organizations will be enabled to carry out programs which will contribute to the public interest and which would not otherwise be provided.

In order to carry out this purpose, the Director will assist and cooperate with State and local agencies and private nonprofit organizations in developing suitable programs. In approving the programs submitted to him, the Director will give priority to those with high training potential.

Federal assistance to any program approved will be up to 90 percent of the costs of the program for the first 2 years and up to 50 percent thereafter, unless the Director determines that additional funds are necessary.

The Director will establish criteria based upon population, unemployment, and family income levels in distributing assistance to the States under this section. Not more than 12.5 percent of the funds for any fiscal year will go to any one State.

Part C deals with work-study programs. Their purpose is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education. Only students who are from low-income families and are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue their courses will participate. The Director will make grants to institutions of higher education to assist in the operation of the program, and the students will work for the institution itself or for a public or private nonprofit organization. The work will be related to the student's educational objective or will be in the public interest on a project which would not otherwise be undertaken. Students in the program must, in the opinion of the institution, be capable of maintaining good standing in their courses of study while employed under the program.

One-third of the funds will be allocated on the basis of the number of college students in each State, one-third on the basis of the number of high school graduates in each State, and one-third on the basis of the number of children under 18 years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than $3,000 in each State. The Federal share of the compensation of students employed in the work-study program will not exceed 90 percent for the first 2 years and 75 percent thereafter.

Title II is devoted to urban and rural community action programs. Part A, entitled "General Community Action Programs," is designed to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty. The programs must provide services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward the elimination of poverty or the cause or causes of poverty through the development of employment opportunities, the improvement of human performance, motivation and productivity, or the betterment of conditions under which people live, learn, and work. They are to be developed, administered, and conducted with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and are conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency.

The Director is authorized to make grants to or to contract with appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies to pay part or all of the costs of a community action program which has been approved by him. He is directed to give special consideration to those programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance. He is authorized to provide technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering their programs and training for specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer the programs.

Fifteen percent of the funds authorized for these programs may be used for the conduct of research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to community action programs. Twenty percent of the Federal funds will be allotted among the States at the discretion of the Director. Of the remainder, one-third will be allotted on the basis of the number of public assistance recipients in each State, one-third on the basis of the annual average number of persons unemployed in each State, and one-third on the basis of the number of children under 18 years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than $1,000 in each State. Federal assistance will not exceed 90 percent of the first 2 years and 50 percent thereafter unless the Director determines that assistance in excess of these percentages is required to carry out the purposes of this section.

Part B deals with adult basic education programs. It is the purpose of this part to initiate programs of instruction for individuals who have attained age 18 and whose inability to read and write the English language constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to get or retain employment commensurate with their real ability.

The Director is authorized to make grants to the States which have adult basic education programs which have been approved by him. Federal funds will be allocated by the Director on the basis of the relative number of individuals in each State who have attained age 18 and who have completed not more than five grades of school. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, the Federal share for each State will be 90 percent. For the succeeding fiscal year, the Federal share for any State will be 50 percent.

Part C concerns voluntary assistance programs for needy children. The purpose of this part is to allow individual Americans to participate in a personal way in the war on poverty by voluntarily assisting in the support of one or more needy children. The Director is authorized to establish a section in the Office of Economic Opportunity to act as an information and coordination center to encourage this voluntary assistance.

Title III covers special programs to combat poverty in rural areas. Part A is a grant of authority to the Director to make loans and grants. He is authorized to make loans having a maximum maturity of 15 years in amounts not exceeding $2,500 to any low-income rural family where, in the judgment of the Director, such loans have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families. He may also make loans to local cooperative associations which furnish essential processing, purchasing, or marketing services, or supplies or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

Loans will be made under this section only if there is a reasonable assurance of repayment and if credit is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs.

Part B provides assistance for migrant and other seasonally employed agricultural workers and their families. It authorizes the Director to develop and implement a program to assist the States, political subdivisions of States, public and

nonprofit agencies, institutions, organizations, farm associations, or individuals in establishing and operating programs of assistance for migrant and other seasonally employed agricultural employees and their families. The programs will be limited to housing, sanitation, education, and the day care of children. Institutions, organizations, farm associations, and individuals are limited to direct loans only.

Part D provides for indemnity payments to dairy farmers. It authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to make payments at a fair market value to dairy farmers ordered since January 1, 1964, to remove their milk from the market because it contained pesticides approved by the Government at the time of their use. It authorizes appropriations of the necessary sums to compensate the farmers until the expiration of the program on January 31, 1965.

Title IV concerns employment and investment incentives. The purpose here is to assist in the establishment, preservation, and strengthening of small business concerns and to improve their managerial skills. The Director is authorized to make, participate in, or guarantee loans, repayable in not more than 15 years, to any small business or any person interested in establishing a small business. Loans will not exceed $25,000 at any one time and in making them the Director will give consideration to their possible effect upon the employment of the long-term unemployed.

These loans will not be made in any community for which the Director has approved a community-action program unless this financial assistance is consistent with the program.

Authority to make these loans expires June 30, 1967.

Title V relates to work-experience programs. Its purpose is to expand the opportunities for constructive work experience available to persons who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families. The Director is authorized to transfer appropriated funds to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for pilot projects to employ and train heads of families receiving help under the aid to families with dependent children program. The Federal Government will pay the entire cost of these projects in the fiscal year 1965.

Title VI provides for the establishment of an Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President. It is headed by a Director appointed by the President by and with the consent of the Senate. This Office will administer and coordinate the entire program.

This title also authorizes the Director to recruit, select, train, and, upon the request of State or local agencies or private nonprofit organizations, refer volunteers to perform duties in furtherance of programs combating poverty at the State or local level. They will work in meeting the health, education, welfare, and related needs of Indians living on reservations, of migratory workers, residents of the District of Columbia and of United States territories, and of the mentally ill and retarded.

These Volunteers in Service to America will receive a stipend not exceeding $50 each month and such living, travel, and leave allowance, and housing, transportation, supplies, equipment, clothing, subsistence, health and dental care as the Director deems necessary or appropriate for their needs.

It also establishes an Economic Opportunity Council, composed of Federal department and agency heads, to consult with and advise the Director and a National Advisory Council, composed of the Director and 14 representatives of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purpose of the act.

This is the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. I have taken the time to review its provisions in detail because I think only in this way is it brought home clearly that this is a multifaced attack upon the causes of poverty. Only in this way is it clear, too, that this is not a giveaway program. It is called the Economic Opportunity Act because it offers far-reaching opportunities to those who have not been able to share in the abundance enjoyed by most of us. It offers them an opportunity to help themselves. It is a commitment by this Congress and this Nation to dedicate themselves to the elimination of deprivation and dependency in this land. It is an imaginative, earnest beginning to the war on poverty. This is a war well worth fighting.

The supplemental act for the fiscal year 1965 included $800 million for the implementation of this program.

FOOD STAMP ACT

On August 11, Congress sent to President Johnson legislation which expands and makes permanent a pilot program begun by President Kennedy in 1961. I refer to the food stamp program which was inaugurated in McDowell County, W. Va., in 1961, and gradually expanded until in March of this year programs were in effect in 43 rural and urban areas in 22 States with some 392,000 participants.

These programs were initiated by administrative order in 1961. The basic authority was section 32 of an act of August 24, 1935, which authorizes expenditures to encourage the domestic consumption of agricultural commodities through "benefits, indemnities, donation, or by other means among persons in low-income groups as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture." This same authority was used previously by the Department to operate a food stamp plan between 1939 and 1943. That plan had proved to be an effective method of increasing food consumption among the participating households and was only discontinued in 1943 when wartime conditions had greatly reduced unemployment and substantially increased demands upon U.S. food supplies. The authority granted in the 1935 act could legally be used to continue the programs begun in 1961 under the complete discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. But section 32 of that act provides no guidelines or congressional controls over the operating details or size of the program. The bill we passed this year supplies this need.

President Johnson, in his message on the agricultural economy, transmitted to the Congress on January 31, and in his message on the antipoverty campaign of March 16, recommended that this program be made permanent and more widely available. The bill we have passed authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to administer a food stamp program and authorizes $375 million over the fiscal years 1965 to 1967 to meet the costs of expanding the program.

The food stamp program works in this manner: A State requests that a program be established in a certain area within its boundaries. That State then develops a plan of operation and submits it to the Department of Agriculture; and upon approval by the Department, the State certifies low-income households as eligible under the program. These needy families then exchange the amount of money which they would normally spend for food for coupons of a higher monetary value. The difference between the amounts the households pay and the value of the coupons received represents the Federal contribution.

The participating families use their coupons to purchase food out of regular commercial supplies at approved retail stores. Retailers redeem the coupons through the facilities of the commercial banking system.

The program is made available in any area only if the State requests it, submits a plan setting out eligibility standards consistent with other State programs and accepts the responsibility for local administration. As I have said, there were 43 programs in effect in March of this year. At that time, there were on file in the Department of Agriculture 234 additional requests for the program.

This has been a very effective program. It serves two worthy objectives simultaneously: the strengthening of the agricultural economy and the alleviation of distress among the needy of this Nation. It is a reasonable and just answer to the contradiction of vast food surpluses and hungry Americans. From the Government standpoint, it has a definite advantage over direct distribution in that there is no physical handling of food and no need to set up a distribution system to rival the regular retail outlets. The majority of this body sincerely believe that this is one of the best means yet found to maintain the health and efficiency of our low-income citizens and to maintain a higher level of farm income by enlarging and stabilizing the demand for food.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $25 million for the food stamp program.

HOUSING

In a special message transmitted to the Congress on January 27, 1964, President Johnson defined the goal of this administration in the area of housing as "a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every American family." The attainment of this goal necessarily requires attention to the housing needs of the neglected segments of our population. Rightly, then, this Democratic-controlled Congress has turned its attention to those needs.

HOUSING ACT OF 1964

This year we passed the first Omnibus Housing Act brought before the Congress since the enactment of the Housing Act of 1961. Like the act of 1961 and the housing acts of prior years, it covers a broad range of housing and community development programs and activities. In addition to extending the programs which are already operative, many changes were made to improve them and make them more workable. There are a number of features which should prove beneficial to the less fortunate members of our society by permitting them to participate more fully in the benefits of these programs. This applies particularly to low-income families, to elderly people, to those who are handicapped, and to those who are displaced from their dwellings.

I should like to take a moment here to note that this housing act will be the last to be associated in the minds of all of us with our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Alabama, ALBERT RAINS. For many years, the great strides which we have made in the area of housing have borne the imprint of that gentleman. His voluntary retirement at the close of this session is a loss to all of us.

Title I is devoted to Federal Housing Administration—FHA—mortgage insurance programs. The purpose of the changes in these programs is to make them more workable and, consequently, to encourage further the investment of private funds in the provision and improvement of housing. This section raises the dollar limit on the amount of home mortgage which can be insured by the FHA from $25,000 to $30,000 in the case of a one-family home, from $27,500 to $32,500 in the case of a two- or three-family home, and from $35,000 to $37,500 in the case of a four-family home.

It also raises the dollar limit on the amount of a mortgage which can be insured by the FHA on low-cost housing in nonurban areas from $9,000 to $11,000.

Under this title, the criteria under which the FHA insures home improvement loans for homes outside urban renewal areas is broadened to include property which is "an acceptable risk." Home mortgagees whose payments on FHA-insured loans are in default due to circumstances beyond their control are granted relief through a provision permitting lenders to extend the periods over which morgagees can repay loans. In the same vein, additional protection against foreclosure for FHA-insured homeowners is provided.

In the area of rental housing, a provision of the National Housing Act limiting FHA-insured rental housing mortgages to the cost of physical improvements was eliminated by this new act and the FHA multifamily rental housing programs were amended by eliminating the per-room dollar limit on the maximum amount of an insured mortgage and substituting a limit based upon the number of family units in a project. Rental housing better suited for family living will result from this change in the method of computing the maximum amount of an insured rental housing mortgage.

In the area of cooperative housing projects, loans insured by the FHA are made available for a broader range of purposes than was formerly the case.

The FHA-insured home improvement loan program is expanded by this act to include loans to pay municipal charges against a property, such as charges for sewer or water facilities.

Approved private development and building organizations and private nonprofit nursing homes are now permitted to obtain FHA-insured mortgages.

FHA-insured mortgages have been available under the National Housing Act for condominium housing—apartments in a multifamily dwelling which are individually owned and have individual mortgages. But this new act amends that program by raising the dollar limit on the amount of mortgages which can be insured, by extending the term of such mortgages, and by authorizing the insurance of blanket mortgages to finance the construction of projects to be sold as condominiums.

This act amends the prior law to allow a nonprofit educational institution to pay an FHA-insured mortgage prior to its maturity without paying an adjusted premium charge and authorizes the FHA to aid homeowners who find structural defects in houses purchased with FHA-insured loans.

Title II relates to housing for the elderly and the handicapped. It authorizes an additional $75 million in appropriations for direct loans for housing for the elderly and makes individual elderly persons eligible for FHA-financed low- and moderate-income housing. It also extends a number of the existing programs for the elderly to the handicapped.

Title III concerns urban renewal. It provides that 3 years after enactment of this law, no locality will be certified to receive Federal urban renewal or public housing assistance unless it has had a minimum standards housing code in effect for at least 6 months. Such codes relate to health, sanitation, and occupancy requirements. Urban renewal funds may be use to enforce housing codes in urban renewal areas if the locality agrees to increase its code enforcement expenditures by an amount at least equal to the required local contribution to the Federal activities.

This section of the act requires that local agencies assure adequate housing for individuals as well as for families displaced by urban renewal projects and requires the Administrators of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Small Business Administration to provide relocation assistance and information to persons and businesses displaced by urban renewal or public housing projects.

Individuals as well as families are made eligible for rental or cooperative moderate-income housing built on property in an urban renewal area. No demolition project for urban renewal can be started unless the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency determines that the same objectives cannot be achieved by rehabilitation.

This title authorizes urban renewal projects for "air rights developments" to provide elevated sites for low- or moderate-income housing. Air rights projects will be undertaken in an area which is not in itself a slum but which consists primarily of land in highways, railways, or similar facilities which have a blighting influence. Projects will include the construction of foundations and platforms over such facilities as well as the acquisition of development rights. No more than 5 percent of the total urban renewal capital grants authorized by the act may be used for the development of air rights sites.

Relocation benefits to persons and small businesses displaced from urban renewal areas and public housing sites are increased. To businesses with annual earnings of less than $10,000, the sum of $1,500, in addition to payments of up to $3,000 for moving expenses and direct losses of property, is authorized. To individuals over 62 years of age and low-income families, up to $500 for monthly rental payments over a 5-month period is authorized. This is in addition to the existing payments of up to $200 for moving expenses and direct losses of property. Relocation payments will be made to persons displaced after January 27, 1964, only if they are unable to find a home in a low-rent housing project.

This title institutes a new program of low interest—3 percent—loans with a 20-year maturity to property owners in urban renewal areas to finance the rehabilitation required to conform to the housing code or to carry out the objectives of the urban renewal plan. It is anticipated that this new program—for which $50 million is authorized—will reduce the need for demolition and removal of structures which can be rehabilitated.

Thirty million dollars is authorized for urban planning grants to communities of less than 50,000 population and city and regional planning agencies are permitted to receive such grants directly, with the Governor or State agency's assent.

Urban planning aid is authorized for areas where employment opportunities are reduced because of the withdrawal of a Federal installation or a decline in Federal orders or activities. Such aid is also authorized for any depressed area, without regard to population, which qualifies for assistance under the area redevelopment program. The Federal share for planning in such an area is raised from two-thirds to three-fourths. Urban planning aid is also authorized for Indian reservations and to counties with over 50,000 population. Funds for the latter are limited to 15 percent of the total appropriation for the urban planning program. Prior to this act, only counties with less than 50,000 population were eligible for urban renewal aid except under certain circumstances.

Seven hundred and twenty-five million dollars for urban renewal capital grants is authorized under this title. Of this amount, $5 million will be used for urban renewal demonstration programs.

Title IV covers public housing for low-income families. It makes single low-income persons displaced by urban renewal eligible for low-rent public housing and authorizes a special subsidy of up to

$120 per year to a housing unit occupied by persons displaced by urban renewal projects who cannot pay the regular rental charged to other low-income families.

Under this title, we authorized $30,250,000 to contract for the serving of 37,500 additional public housing units. These new units are urgently needed to meet the backlog of applications now on hand, a backlog amounting to over 40,000 units for which the Public Housing Administration had no authorization. We also authorized $5 million in grants for public housing demonstration projects.

Title V concerns rural housing. Here we extended the rural housing programs, including those for the elderly, through September 30, 1965, and increased the maximum insurable mortgage under the rural rental housing program for the elderly from $100,000 to $300,000. For this program we authorized $150 million.

In addition, we instituted a new grant program to pay up to two-thirds of the development cost of low-rent housing for domestic farm laborers. Ten million dollars is authorized for this program. Applicants for the grants will not be allowed to charge rentals exceeding amounts approved by the Secretary of Agriculture and will be required to maintain the housing in good condition.

Title VI concerns community facilities. Here we made minor amendments which will have the effect of reducing restrictions on certain recipients of public works planning loans. We also increased from $50,000 to $100,000 the amount available to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to conduct surveys of State and local public works planning. Twenty million dollars for public works planning advances is authorized.

Title VII concerns the Federal National Mortgage Association. Under existing law, the FNMA must acquire its funds from the Treasury by congressional authority. But this new act authorizes that agency to pool its first mortgages and to sell participations or interests in the pool to private investors. This will enable the FNMA to obtain cash to carry out certain functions, including the purchase of special mortgages on selected types of structures, such as nursing homes. This act also removes the present $20,000 limit on the mortgages which FNMA can purchase under its secondary market operations and increases the maximum amount of any short-term loan made by FNMA from 80 to 90 percent of the unpaid principal of the mortgage.

Title VIII covers training and fellowship programs. It establishes a new system of Federal-State training and research programs to develop skills in community development. The purpose of this program is to encourage States, along with colleges and universities, to develop training programs for technical and professional persons who will become administrators in local community development programs. Well-trained persons at the local level will repay the Federal share of the costs of these training programs many times over in improved efficiency in the use of Federal funds made available for urban renewal, urban planning, waste treatment facilities, highways, and so forth.

This title authorizes 50–50 matching grants to the States for these programs after a State plan has been approved by the Administrator. Ten million dollars is authorized for this program.

This title also authorizes a new 3-year program to provide fellowships in colleges and universities for the graduate training of professional city planning and urban and housing technicians and specialists. We authorized $500,000 for this program for each of the next 3 fiscal years.

Title IX concerns savings and loan associations. The provisions here are designed to strengthen our savings and loan associations so that they may meet the expanding needs of the communities they serve. Here we extended the basic lending area of a federally chartered savings and loan association to 100 miles, rather than 50 miles, from its home office. We raised from $35,000 to $40,000 the maximum loan on a single-family home, removed the limitation on the aggregate amount which can be loaned outside the basic lending area, and allowed investments of up to 5 percent of an association's assets in property in urban renewal areas.

This title also amends prior legislation to permit loans secured by a leasehold if the term of the leasehold does not expire for at least 15 years after the maturity of the loan and to permit an association to invest 2 percent of its assets in a savings and loan corporation located in the State of the association's home office. A Federal home loan bank is permitted to accept nonfederally insured home mortages with maturities of up to 30 years and amounts up to $40,000—instead of 25 years and $35,000—as collateral for loans to its members. In addition, an association is permitted to invest in Government and municipal bonds and to invest up to 20 percent—rather than 15 percent—of its assets in federally insured loans for property alteration or improvement and the limit on such loans is raised from $3,500 to $5,000.

All of these provisions, and others which I shall not enumerate, will help to expand the service and broaden the scope of the savings and loan associations. They are invaluable local community institutions which today constitute by far the largest single source of home mortgage financing as well as a major channel of savings and investment for the average citizen.

Title X is the miscellaneous title. It makes minor amendments to existing legislation to settle specific problems in certain geographical areas of the country.

In all, this Housing Act of 1964 authorizes a total of $1,100,500,000, excluding new public housing units, to maintain these programs through September 30, 1965.

In signing this act, President Johnson thanked the Members of Congress for making "the most constructive attack by any Congress on the challenge of keeping America a fit and a fine place for our families." This is indeed a noteworthy achievement. But perhaps its more basic significance lies in the fact that it is an extension of opportunity to those who have benefited least from the abundance of this Nation. Again, as President Johnson said, it "carries forward our continuing efforts to eradicate slums and blight in our cities, to assure decent housing for those least able to find it—the poor, the elderly, the severely handicapped, and those in our rural areas."

HOUSING FACILITIES FOR THE ELDERLY

The record of this Democratic-controlled Congress in extending aid to our senior citizens to enable them to improve their housing conditions is indeed a notable one. In fact, we might even go back a year and mention the Senior Citizens Housing Act passed by the Democratic-controlled 2d session of the 87th Congress. That act authorized a $200 million expansion of Federal programs for the promotion of better housing for the elderly.

Last year, as I described in some detail in my report for the first session, we passed Public Law 88–158 which authorized an additional $50 million in loans to nonprofit corporations and consumer cooperatives to provide housing for the elderly.

On June 30, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–340, another indication of our continuing commitment to the alleviation of the problems of the estimated one-half of our aged population who live in substandard housing or housing unsuited to their special needs.

This act extended the program of insured rental housing loans for the elderly in rural areas for 90 days, to September 30, 1964. This was admittedly a stopgap measure designed to prevent the termination of a promising program which was set up under the Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962 and which was due to terminate on June 30 of this year.

The omnibus housing act, discussed above, extends this program but that measure had not been enacted by June 30 when this particular program was due to terminate.

This is a program which permits the Secretary of Agriculture to insure loans made by private companies to individuals or companies to build rural rental housing for the elderly.

This is a necessary program. Nearly one-third of our elderly live on farms or in small towns. More than 1 million rural families live in homes of such poor condition that they endanger the safety and health of the occupants. This program, while new and conducted on a limited scale, is a very promising one.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The year 1963—the 100th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—was a year of moral crisis for the American conscience as the fight for human dignity and equality of opportunity for all Americans moved into the legislative arena with great urgency. As Abraham M. Sonnabend wrote in "The People Take the Lead: A Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1954–64:

Historians may well look back on this period as the turning point of the second American revolution—a constructive revolution to realize in full, for all our people, the freedoms which are our heritage.

It is a fact that great progress has been made in securing the civil rights of all Americans, particularly within the past few years. The civil rights legislation passed by the 85th and 87th Congresses has done much to further the cause of justice for the Negro. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that citizenship has not yet been full realized for all Americans. By 1963, it had become apparent that more comprehensive legislation was needed.

In the past 2 years, the irrepressible drive for equal opportunity and for an end to the indignity of racial segregation has engaged millions of Americans. It was right, fitting, and inevitable that it would also engage their elected representatives.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

In October 1963, President Kennedy signed a bill extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission to September 30, 1964. The civil rights bill, pending before Congress at that time, also extended the life of that agency and increased its powers. However, since action on the more comprehensive measure was not completed when the life of the Commission was due to terminate, the action of the Congress was significant. In passing this bill, we preserved the continuity of that body during the interim period. In my report at the close of the first session, I described the very noteworthy contributions made by the Civil Rights Commission during the 7 years of its existence.

The Appropriation Act for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and related agencies for the fiscal year 1965, included an appropriation of $985,000 for salaries and expenses of the Civil Rights Commission.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

On July 2, 1964, President Johnson affixed his signature to Public Law 88–352, the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The importance of this occasion cannot be overemphasized. The signing of the bill came just 5 hours after Congress had completed action on this landmark piece of legislation. It climaxed an entire year of consideration, debate, and compromise within the country and within the Congress of the United States. Our action constituted one of the best possible illustrations of the democratic process in operation; we acted neither in haste nor in hate. This law received the bipartisan support of more than two-thirds of the Members of both Houses of Congress; an overwhelming majority of Republicans as well as Democrats voted for its passage. Tens of thousands of civic and religious leaders from all parts of the Nation support it; the great majority of the American people support it. It is now the law of the land but, more importantly, it is a resolution in conformity with a broad national consensus that every person is entitled to justice, to equality, and to an equal opportunity to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

This act was first proposed by President Kennedy in June 1963; he devoted himself to promoting its enactment until his death. And in his very first speech to a joint session of Congress, just 6 days after his succession to the Office of President, President Johnson urged "the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill." He continued to recommend and to work for enactment in the months following.

The basic provisions of this act may be summarized as follows:

Title I concerns voting rights. It requires election officials to apply uniform standards in registering voters and prohibits them from disqualifying persons for immaterial errors or omissions on applications for voting in Federal elections. It creates, in voting rights suits, a presumption that a person who has completed a sixth-grade education in a predominantly English language school is sufficiently literate or intelligent to vote. Literacy tests must be given in writing unless an agreement with the Attorney General permits otherwise. If the Attorney General finds a pattern of discrimination, he may bring suit. He has had this power since 1957 but under the new act he or the defendant may ask for a three-judge Federal court from which an appeal may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II provides relief against discrimination in places of public accommodation on account of race, color, religion or national origin. The following establishments are covered under this title:

Any establishment which provides lodging to transient guests unless it contain less than five rooms for hire and is occupied by the proprietor as his place of residence.

Any facility primarily engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, or any gasoline station, if it offers to serve interstate travelers or if a substantial portion of the products which it sells have moved in interstate commerce.

Any theater, stadium, or other place of public exhibition or entertainment if it customarily presents sources of entertainment which move in interstate commerce.

Finally, any establishment which is located in or contains an establishment otherwise covered by this title if it also serves the patrons of the establishment covered by this title—a barber shop in a hotel, for example.

An individual or, in cases of patterns of discrimination, the Attorney General, may bring civil injunctive suits in a Federal court. The court is authorized to waive the payment of fees, costs, and security, and appoint an attorney for the plaintiff.

In States which have a public accommodations law, an individual may not file suit until 30 days after he has notified the local agency handling discriminatory practices. Also, the Federal courts may delay consideration of such suits until State proceedings have been concluded.

In States without public accommodadations laws, suit may be brought immediately but the court may refer the matter, for a period of no longer than 120 days, to the Community Relations Service established by this act. This referral does not apply to cases brought by the Attorney General, nor is he bound by the 30 days' notice to State officials provision.

Title III bans discrimination in public facilities. These include hospitals, libraries, parks, and swimming pools owned, operated, or managed by State or local governments. The Attorney General is authorized to initiate suits to desegregate such facilities if the person who complains to him is unable to do so.

Title IV seeks to speed school desegregation. It authorizes the Attorney General to initiate and intervene in public school desegregation suits when aggrieved persons are unable to do so and provides technical and financial assistance, when requested by school boards, to assist in solving problems arising out of desegreation.

Title V extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission for 4 more years and gives it two new duties. It is authorized to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate voting frauds.

Title VI deals with programs which receive Federal aid. It permits Federal agencies to withhold funds from programs or parts of programs when it has been found that a recipient of funds has discriminated on grounds of race, color, or national origin. Such a finding cannot be made without a hearing and not until the recipient has been given an opportunity for compliance and 30-days notice has been given to the appropriate House and Senate committees. A recipient whose funds have been terminated or refused has the right to judicial review of the agency action.

Title VII prohibits certain employers, labor unions, and employment agencies whose actions affect interstate commerce from discriminating against employees or members because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. No employers or labor unions will be covered for the first year and only those with 100, 75, and 50 or more employees or members will be covered during the second, third, and fourth years, respectively. Ultimately, employers and labor unions with 25 or more employees or members will be covered. Employment agencies are covered if they regularly undertake to secure employees for employers covered by this title.

This title also creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to receive complaints of job discrimination, to investigate them, to seek voluntary compliance, and, next year, to refer cases to the Attorney General. Members of the Commission may file complaints and so may the Attorney General if he finds a pattern of discrimination. If an individual complains of discrimination in a State which has a fair employment law, the local or State agency administering the law must be given 60 days to resolve the complaint before it goes to the Federal Commission. A State enacting a new law is given 120 days to resolve the complaint during the first year of operation of its law. The Federal Commission

is given 30 to 60 days to resolve the complaint.

If the problem remains, the aggrieved person may file a civil suit and the court may allow the Attorney General to intervene. Once the case is in court, the judge may grant the Federal or State commission an additional 60 days to settle the dispute.

Title VIII directs the Bureau of the Census to compile statistics of registration and voting by race, color, and national origin in areas of the country recommended by the Civil Rights Commission. These statistics will aid in determining patterns of discrimination.

Title IX authorizes the Attorney General to intervene in any civil rights case brought under the equal protection of the laws guarantee of the 14th amendment if he certifies that the case is of general public importance.

Title X establishes in the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service to help communities resolve disputes relating to discriminatory practices.

Title XI is the miscellaneous title. It provides for a jury title in all criminal contempt cases arising under titles II through VIII. The limits of punishment, with or without a jury trial, are a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for a term of 6 months.

This act is truly a milestone in America's progress toward full justice for all of her citizens. It is the first time since Reconstruction days that Congress has enacted a comprehensive civil rights bill. Certainly the bill in itself will not solve the problem of relations between races of different color even in a land dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. But it will give to all Americans a promise for the future and an assurance of good faith. It will give to the world a reaffirmation of the American ideal. And it will provide an atmosphere in which men of good will of both races can work together to overcome the tragic effects of long years of racial discrimination.

The Supplemental Appropriations Act for the fiscal year 1965 included appropriations totaling $12,838,000 for implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

INDIANS

Through the years the Federal Government has developed several programs designed to aid the Indian, the first man in America but one who has not shared fully in the abundance and opportunity of this land.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior is the agency of the Federal Government chiefly responsible for the protection and welfare of the American Indian. It serves as trustee for lands and money belonging to the Indians, supervises the reservations, helps teach them to use the resources of the land, and provides public services such as education and welfare aid. We appropriated $206,623,550 to that agency for the fiscal year 1964 and $210,586,500 for the fiscal year 1965.

The Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare carries on many activities for the protection and promotion of the health of the American Indian. We appropriated $64,310,750 for those activities for the fiscal year 1964 and $69,955,000 for the fiscal year 1965.

The Indian Claims Commission, an independent agency of the Federal Government established in 1946, hears and decides claims against the United States by any group of American Indians who live in the United States. To enable it to carry on its activities, we appropriated $297,000 for the fiscal year 1964 and $310,000 for the fiscal year 1965.

ADULT INDIAN VOCATIONAL TRAINING

In 1956, the Congress enacted legislation establishing an Indian vocational training program. Although that program has been in operation for only 8 years, it has proved to be a very effective tool in equipping American Indians between the ages of 18 and 35 with work skills.

The reasons for that legislation are very compelling. The standard of living of the American Indian is below that of the general population and the resources of the reservation are inadequate to support the increasing population. As a consequence, the Indian is turning more and more to wage work off the reservation. Being, in the main, unskilled, he works for lower wages or is unemployable.

The act passed in 1956 was an attempt to do something constructive about this problem. It has been of real benefit not only to the individual Indian but to the Nation, for the cost to the Federal Government for special services for the Indians is lowered as they are equipped adequately to support their families.

The number of Indians who are qualified and wish to participate in the program greatly exceeds the number for which funds are available. As of November 30, 1962, there were 1,283 indiivduals being trained under the program. An additional 346 applicants were waiting on registers at the various training destinations and 642 applications were in process at various reservations.

Late in 1963, the 88th Congress amended the 1956 act by increasing the amount authorized to be appropriated for the program from $7,500,000 to $12 million annually and by increasing the portion of this amount which may be used for administering the program from $1 million to $1,500,000.

RELOCATION, REHABILITATION, AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE SENECA NATION

Great damage caused by floods, not only in terms of property loss but in terms of loss of life, made it essential that the waters of the Allegheny River be dammed and flood control instituted. The site chosen for the dam, the only feasible one, was on the Allegheny River in the State of Pennsylvania, close to the boundary line of the State of New York. Funds for the construction of the Kinzua Dam were first made available in the Public Works Appropriation Act of 1958 and present plans call for the completion of the entire structure, at the cost of $107 million, early next year.

The lands to be flooded by the reservoir, either permanently or intermittently, total about 21,175 acres. Some 10,200 acres of these lands belong to the Seneca Indians, having been confirmed to them under article III of a treaty of November 11, 1794. Under the right of eminent domain, the Government has taken that land and it will be flooded in October of this year. The Seneca Nation contested in the courts the authority of the Corps of Engineers to condemn the land and to construct the project but it lost its suits.

The Seneca Nation has approximately 4,200 enrolled members. Around 3,000 of them live on reservation lands; the remaining have left to find employment and residence elsewhere. The Seneca Reservation consists of three disconnected parts. The larger inhabited part is known as the Cattaraugus Reservation where approximately 1,900 Senecas live. They are untouched by the Kinzua Dam or Reservoir.

The remaining Senecas, approximately 1,100 in number, live on the Allegheny Reservation. Of these, 482—making up 127 families—actually reside within the area of maximum reach of the Kinzua Reservoir. These families must be relocated.

The decisions of the courts in the suits instituted by the Seneca Nation make it clear that as a matter of legal obligation under the Constitution of the United States, the Federal Government is obliged to do no more than pay the Seneca Indians the fair market value of the property interests taken from them. However, it has been the policy of the Congress in the past to give preferential treatment to Indian tribes, beyond the compensation to which they are legally entitled, whenever their treaty lands are preempted for Federal projects. During the second session of this Congress, we passed a bill for the relocation, rehabilitation, and social and economic development of the members of the Seneca Nation.

There are three categories of money which will be paid under this act. The first category is that of direct damages sustained as a result of the encroachment of the reservoir. This includes the surface and subsurface value of the land to be inundated, together with the value of the dwelling places, barns, outbuildings, and other improvements to be demolished. The act we have passed authorizes a payment of $1,289,060 for these purposes.

The second category is that of indirect damages. The act allows $945,573 for such items as payment for relocation, for the lost use of timber, fish, fruits, berries, and herbs and for the loss of enjoyment of ready access to the river bottom. Also included are compnesation for the loss of sand and gravel in the riverbed, the cost of supplying domestic water at the two relocation sites, together with the leveling, planning, staking, survey, and acquisition of the relocation sites. Finally, it includes the cost of moving and the possible loss of earnings while moving.

The third category of money authorized by this act is to be used to improve the economic, social, and educational conditions of all of the members of the Seneca Nation regardless of whether they

are personally affected by the Federal project. This act authorizes $12,128,917 for the construction of new, modern homes for the displaced Seneca families, for the erection of new tribal community buildings, for a 20-year scholarship program and vocational education and counseling services. The purpose of these provisions is to lift the standard of living of the Senecas above the level which existed prior to the construction of the reservoir and dam so that they will generally be better off afterward than they were before.

The majority of the Members of this body believe that this is truly a just and generous settlement which will provide for the continued existence of an ancient nation with a great heritage.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $12,128,917 for this program.

JUDICIAL: CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT

We are a nation dedicated to the precept of equal justice for all. However, certain practices in our society would seem to point to the fact that there is one kind of justice for the rich and the powerful and another for the poor. One of the cruelest forms which poverty takes is that in which an indigent defendant is denied the resources which are available to the affluent defendant. One very important resource is the assistance of counsel. The sixth amendment to the Federal Constitution assures the right to assistance of counsel in criminal cases. A concern that the mandate of this amendment be observed has moved the Department of Justice, the American Bar Association and the Judicial Conference of the United States, as well as distinguished members of the Federal court system speaking as individuals, to support, the enactment of legislation providing adequate representation. In fact, proposals for adequate representation for indigent defendants in our Federal courts have been introduced and studied for more than a quarter of a century. It is with deep gratification that I report that this Democratic-controlled Congress has transformed these proposals and recommendations into public law.

The need for this legislation is obvious. Nearly 10,000 persons, more than 30 percent of the total number of defendants in Federal criminal cases, annually require court-appointed attorneys because they are financially unable to retain their own. The bar has responded conscientiously to this obligation but there has been a growing realization that this procedure does not accomplish the full intent of the constitutional provision. The court-appointed lawyer must serve without compensation. Customarily, he is not appointed until long after the arrest and those appointed are often without trial experience or familiarity with criminal procedures.

The legislation enacted this year provides for the appointment of counsel to represent defendants in felony and misdemeanor cases where defendants are financially unable to obtain their own counsel. Counsel is appointed either from the bar directly or as furnished by bar associations or legal aid agencies, as each district court shall decide. It is specified that he will be appointed at the earliest stage of the proceeding and shall continue through each successive stage of appeal.

This act also provides for the compensation of counsel appointed by the court. Counsel so appointed will be compensated at a rate not exceeding $15 per hour for time spent in Court or before a U.S. Commissioner and $10 per hour for time spent out of court, plus reimbursement for reasonable expenses. Compensation will not exceed $500 in a felony case or $300 in a misdemeanor case but higher compensation is authorized in extraordinary circumstances.

An important section of this act provides compensation for "services other than counsel." Included here are investigative, expert, or other services which are often necessary to an adequate defense.

Each district court and court of appeals is directed to put its approved plan into operation within 1 year after the date of the enactment.

I think the significance of this act is well summarized by Ronald Goldfarb in his article, "Crime, Wealth, and Justice," in the New Republic of August 22, 1964. There he said:

> The Criminal Justice Act, which Congress passed, reaches a high water mark in the administration of justice, and joins the legislature in the movement of the judicial and executive branches toward more mature and civilized standards of social justice.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES SALARY ACT

The Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 was not "just another pay raise" for Government employees. It was a "salary reform act" because it established the principle of comparability of Federal and private enterprise salaries for the same levels of work. Increasingly, over the years, Federal salary systems had failed to keep pace with the salary systems in private industry. President Kennedy recommended that Federal employee salaries "be fixed under well-understood and objective standards." The Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 did just that by providing for an annual review of Federal salaries to assure continued comparability between public and private salaries. The basis for executive recommendations for salary changes is a survey of wage scales in private industry which is made annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In line with this survey, President Kennedy recommended that the 88th Congress adjust the salaries of Federal employees to make them comparable to those in private industry. And perhaps no President in history gave more public support to a Federal employee bill than President Johnson did to the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1964. In his budget message, transmitted to the Congress on January 21, 1964, he praised the principle of comparability as a "sound principle," a principle which "is fair to the taxpayer, to Government employees, and to the Government as an employer." It was his judgment that "Government economy will be best served by an upward adjustment in salaries" and he recommended that Congress enact legislation to accomplish that end.

On August 14, 1964, President Johnson signed into law the Federal Employees Salary Act, the most comprehensive pay raise bill ever to be passed by Congress. It covers more than 1.8 million persons in all three branches of the Federal service and provides $556.8 million pay raise for all Federal civilian employees and for Federal executives, judges, Members of Congress, and legislative and judicial branch employees. Pay increases vary from 3 to 33 percent.

Equity indicates that Federal officials deserved this pay raise. Members of Congress had had no pay raise since 1955 although the cost of living and salaries in general continued to rise. Executive pay in the Federal Government had not been adjusted since 1956. In April, President Johnson listed this bill among the "must" legislation to be considered by Congress during the second session. His reasoning, reasoning accepted by the majority of the Members of this House, is compelling indeed. As he said in remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 17:

> To build good government, the first and most urgent need is good people. The pay bill soon to be debated in Congress reaches into the very essence of urgency if the Government means to retain excellence and quality.

It is certainly true, as President Johnson pointed out elsewhere, that:

> It is false economy to offer salaries that will attract the mediocre but repel the talented.

DUAL COMPENSATION

In August, too, President Johnson signed into law a bill which repeals and recodifies approximately 250 laws and rulings dating back to 1894. It is designed to revise and codify obsolete laws regulating the compensation of retired military personnel and the employment of civilians in more than one Federal position.

This is a highly technical piece of legislation but its major purposes may be stated here. Generally, it is intended to prohibit Government personnel from holding more than one full-time office or several part-time positions requiring more than 40 hours' work each week.

The provisions pertaining to military personnel are designed to enable Federal agencies, such as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to hire retired regular officers with technical skills which are in short supply. Other provisions modify certain advantages held by retired military men over other Federal civilian personnel, such as veterans' preference in cuts in force and in employment procedures.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS ACT AMENDMENTS

On March 17, 1964, President Johnson signed a bill which amends the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 in several significant ways. The original act of 1959 established a prepaid, voluntary health insurance plan for Government workers and their families with costs to be shared equally by the Government and the beneficiaries. The 5 years of the operation of this plan have shown the need for some liberalizations and these were made in the amendments passed this year.

The most important changes effected by these amendments are as follows:

First. It increased the Government contributions to family enrollments of women with nondependent husbands so that it is the same as the contribution made by males.

Second. It continues the health-benefits coverage of unmarried children under family enrollments until they reach the age of 21 rather than 19.

Third. It includes unmarried foster children in family enrollments.

Fourth. It considers all employees who are enrolled in the health-benefits program by December 31, 1964, as having enrolled at their first opportunity. This is an important provision. Under the original act, in order to be eligible to continue coverage after retirement, an employee had either to retire on an immediate annuity after at least 12 years of service or for disability, or have been continuously enrolled in a plan from his first opportunity to do so. Some employees failed to enroll at their first opportunity and therefore could not have continued their coverage after retirement. With this amendment, an employee who enrolls in a plan on or before December 31, 1964, is considered to have enrolled at the first opportunity.

Fifth. It permits an enrolled employee to continue his coverage while receiving compensation from the Bureau of Employees' Compensation regardless of when the illness or injury entitling him to such payment occurred. Prior to this amendment, an employee who was put on compensation from the Bureau of Employees' Compensation as the result of an injury which was sustained before July 1, 1960—the date the Federal Employees Health Benefits program went into effect—lost his health benefits coverage.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

REORGANIZATION ACT

The Reorganization Act of 1949 was intended to give the President the authority to reexamine the organization of agencies of the Government and to determine what changes are necessary to promote the better execution of the laws as well as more effective management and expeditious administration.

That act has been amended and extended several times but the basic procedure whereby the President is authorized to submit to Congress plans to reorganize agencies through transfer, abolition, or consolidation of agency functions has remained the same. As the law now stands each plan submitted by the President automatically takes effect within 60 days unless it is disapproved by a simple majority vote in either House of Congress.

The act expired on June 1, 1963. In his Budget Message, transmitted to the Congress on January 21, 1964, President Johnson recommended that the authority to transmit reorganization plans to Congress be reinstated. On July 2 he signed Public Law 88–351, which extended the Reorganization Act through June 1, 1965. It also stipulated that the authority to submit reorganization plans does not extend to the creation of a new executive department.

Through the years, presidential use of the authority granted by this act has resulted in reduced expenditures, increased efficiency, and the elimination of much overlapping and duplication of effort. It can be expected that comparable benefits will continue to accrue.

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION ACT

In my report at the close of the first session of the 88th Congress, I spoke of the Presidential Transition Act and reported that it was then in conference. Happily, differences in the bills passed by the Senate and by this House were compromised and that very important measure was signed by President Johnson in March of this year.

This legislation was requested by President Kennedy upon the recommendation of the President's Commission on Campaign Costs. As that Commission pointed out:

> In 1952–53, the cost to a special Republican committee of the transition period between the election and the inauguration exceeded $200,000. In 1960–61, the cost to the Democratic National Committee totaled at least $360,000. These funds were used largely to pay for office space, communications, staff salaries, and transportation. These costs have increased the financial pressures on the parties. The persons primarily involved are no longer candidates for office; they are the President-elect and Vice President-elect of the United States.

Certainly, it is not correct to regard the President-elect as a private citizen between the election in November and the inauguration on January 20. Certainly, the expenses for travel, communication, office space, printing, and so forth, are Government expenses, not private or partisan expenses. And certainly, it is in the national interest for the Government to support the orderly transfer of executive power.

As passed, this act authorizes the Administrator of the General Services Administration to provide to a nonincumbent President-elect and Vice President-elect office space, compensation for staff personnel, experts and consultants, and payments of travel expenses, subsistence allowances, communications, and printing services. It also authorizes the Administrator, 6 months after the inauguration of a new President, to provide similar services to an outgoing President and Vice President.

An appropriation of up to $900,000 for any one presidential transition was authorized and funds appropriated will remain available during the fiscal year in which the transition takes place and in the following fiscal year.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONFERENCE ACT

In 1954–55, President Eisenhower, responding to pressure from the bar, the public, and some of the regulatory agencies, established an Administrative Conference to study problems caused by the expansion of regulatory and administrative agencies. And in 1961–62, President Kennedy established a second temporary Conference. Both were established by Executive order. One of the recommendations of the Conference established by President Kennedy, the establishment of a permanent administrative conference, led to the enactment of a very significant piece of legislation during the second session of the 88th Congress.

The Administrative Conference Act establishes a permanent Administrative Conference of the United States to formulate recommendations for the improvement of administrative procedures within Federal agencies. The main body of the Conference will be an assembly consisting of a Chairman, appointed by the President for a 5-year term; an 11 man Council, appointed by the President for 3 year terms; and a flexible number of members which may vary from 75 to 91. The number of members drawn from the Government will constitute one-third or two-fifth of the total number, depending upon the number of members. The nongovernmental members will be selected in such a manner as to provide broad representation of the views of private citizens and will be members of the bar, scholars in the field of administrative law or government, or others especially informed by knowledge and experience with respect to Federal administrative procedure.

The power of this Conference will be limited to study and making recommendations to the Congress, the President, and/or the Judicial Conference.

This is a very important act. The administration of regulatory and other statutes enacted by Congress substantially affects large numbers of private individuals and many areas of business and economic activity. The protection of public and private interests requires continuing attention to the administrative procedure of Federal agencies to insure maximum efficiency and fairness. Only a Conference such as this can provide the overall view of administrative problems which is necessary if they are to be solved. An appropriation of $250,000 is authorized but this act will save a great deal of money in the long run, not only for the agencies but also for the citizens who must deal with the agencies and departments of the Federal Government.

COIN SHORTAGE

A very severe shortage of coins, which has caused inconvenience and hardship for many businesses, has been felt in all sections of the country in the past year. The solution to the shortage, of course, is the production of more coins, and that is what the Treasury Department is undertaking to do. Congress provided the funds for around-the-clock operation of both mints, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. We also provided the funds for a new mint which should be in operation in Philadelphia within 3 years and should produce as many coins as the two present mints combined. A more immediate alleviation of the shortage can be anticipated as a result of temporary legislation passed in August of this year.

This legislation permits the Secretary of the Treasury to continue to have coins inscribed with the year "1964" until any July 1 or January 1 after the enactment of the legislation, whenever he determines that an adequate supply of coins is available. This measure is designed to discourage the continued hoarding of 1964-date coins by making it uneconom-

ical. If there are 16 billion coins bearing the inscription "1964" as compared to about 4 billion for 1963, it is unlikely that any of the 1964 coins will acquire much numismatic value by reason of their date. The Treasury estimates that as many as a billion new coins which are now being hoarded will come into circulation as a result of this legislation.

ALASKA

The Alaska Omnibus Act of 1959 authorized Federal grants of $28.5 million over a 5-year period to help Alaska convert from territorial status to statehood. The grant authorization was scheduled to expire on June 30, 1964. By that time Alaska was expected to meet, from its own revenues, the cost of governmental responsibilities which had formerly been met by the Federal Government.

However, on March 27, 1964, one of the worst earthquakes in modern history hit the State of Alaska. Severe damage, estimated at $750 million, was inflicted over a 450,000-square-mile area. The State's fishing and canning industries were virtually destroyed and its petroleum industry was extensively damaged.

On April 1, President Johnson announced that he would ask Congress for $50 million in new funds. On April 6 a bill providing this amount for emergency relief was passed by both Houses of this Congress and on the following day it was signed by the President.

Technically this measure, Public Law 88–296, did not appropriate money for Alaska, but, rather, for the emergency disaster relief fund. This fund is administered by the Office of Emergency Planning to assist in the restoration of public facilities in disaster areas. That fund had fallen to approximately $19 million, an amount inadequate to meet the situation in Alaska. The funds appropriated by this act were made available to the Office of Emergency Planning for allocation to the Government agencies which are participating in Alaskan relief work.

On the same day, April 7, President Johnson announced that he would ask Congress for additional funds to help keep Alaska's State and local government from bankruptcy in the fiscal years 1965 and 1966. He said that he would seek the funds by an amendment to the Alaska Omnibus Act in the form of a 2-year extension of the grants under that act. On April 23, President Johnson recommended this action to Congress.

On May 27, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–311 authorizing $23.5 million for this purpose to run through June 30, 1966. This act also extended until June 30, 1966, the period in which Federal agencies may continue to provide services which are normally provided by the State and during which property used for such purposes may be transferred to the State.

This was very necessary legislation. That portion of Alaska which normally provides over 50 percent of the State's revenues was the portion which suffered the most serious earthquake damage. As the report of our Interior and Insular Affairs Committee noted:

The State's ability to carry on its normal functions, to supply matching funds for essential Federal grant-in-aid programs, and to finance other programs has been crippled.

A third action taken by the Congress for the relief of Alaska was contained in Public Law 88–317, the deficiency appropriation for the fiscal year 1964. Included in this measure were $41,370,000, for various programs in Alaska. These included repair and replacement of damaged facilities by the Forest Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, and the Alaskan Railroad. Also included were funds for the Federal Reconstruction and Development Planning Commission, for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and for the extended transition grants to the State government authorized by Public Law 88–311.

And in August President Johnson signed into law a further measure designed to aid Alaska. This legislation was based upon the recommendations of the Federal Reconstruction and Development Planning Commission which had been set up by President Johnson in April to make proposals for long-range reconstruction of the State's economy after the earthquake of March 27. On May 27 he asked Congress to amend the Alaska Omnibus Act of 1959 to provide special assistance for Alaska in Federal programs. Public Law 88–451 does just that. It authorizes an increase in the Federal share for reconstructing Alaskan highways from the existing 50 percent to 94.9 percent and authorizes an appropriation of up to $15 million to cover the increase.

It also authorizes the Farmers Home Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency to adjust or cancel the indebtedness of Alaskan borrowers owning earthquake-damaged property. The Housing and Home Finance Agency is authorized to make grants of up to $25 million for Alaskan urban renewal projects and to increase the 75 percent Federal share of costs in disaster areas to 90 percent, with the remaining 10 percent to be paid by State or local funds.

The Small Business Administration is authorized to make disaster loans with a maximum maturity of 30 years—instead of the current 20 years—to homeowners in Alaska and those areas of California and Washington declared to be earthquake disaster areas.

The Army Corps of Engineers was granted authority to modify previously authorized civil works projects to deal with earthquake damage and $10 million was authorized for this purpose.

The President was authorized to make additional grants to the State of Alaska of up to $5.5 million to match, on a 50–50 basis, any funds provided by the State to pay the costs of retiring or adjusting outstanding home mortgage obligations.

Finally, this act authorized a maximum of $55,650,000 to carry out the obligations authorized by the other provisions of the bill. This authority runs through June 30, 1967.

PUERTO RICO COMMISSION

In my report last year, I spoke of the United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the status of Puerto Rico. At that time, both Houses of the Congress had passed legislation establishing such a commission but minor differences in the bills delayed final action until the second session. On February 20, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–271, the measure establishing the Commission.

The Commission, to be composed of seven U.S. members and six members to be designated at the option of Puerto Rico, is directed to study all factors bearing upon the present and future relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico, including existing applicable laws, treaties, constitutions, and agreements. It's powers will be purely advisory.

The Commission is required to render a report to the legislatures and heads of Government of the United States and Puerto Rico by the opening day of the second session of the 89th Congress—January 1966—but not sooner than 1 year from the date of the organization of the Commission or the date of the appointment of the six Puerto Rican members, whichever date is latest.

This act also authorizes an appropriation of up to $250,000 from the U.S. Treasury to finance the operations of the Commission. Expenses will be shared equally by the United States and Puerto Rico. The appropriations act for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $250,000 for the Puerto Rican Commission, the full amount authorized by Public Law 88–271.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

In my report at the close of the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I referred briefly to the historical documents bill which, at that time, had been passed only by this House. I am happy to report now that the Senate has also passed that measure and that on July 28 it became Public Law 88–383.

The legislation was recommended by the National Historical Publications Commission and endorsed by President Kennedy in 1963. In a February 5, 1964, letter to the General Services Administrator, President Johnson expressed hope that the Senate would join the House in approving the measure this year.

This legislation is intended to make possible more extensive collecting, preserving, compiling, microfilming, and publishing of documentary source materials significant to the history of the United States. Prior to the enactment of this legislation, these activities were carried on by private groups with occasional Government help. But because of the limited finances of these groups, much material of historical significance is not available to those who have need of it. Government grants will provide means of implementing and extending the activities of the private groups.

As passed, this measure authorizes the General Services Administrator to allocate funds to public and nonprofit private organizations for carrying out these activities. The Administrator is requested to consult with the National Historical Publications Commission before making the grants. It authorizes

an appropriation to the General Services Administration of $500,000 annually for 5 years, beginning in the fiscal year 1965, for allocation.

An editorial in the Washington Post of August 15, 1964, rightly referred to this act as "the most significant governmental program of this kind in our history.

The Supplemental Apropriations Act for 1965 included $350,000 for historical publications grants.

JOHN F. KENNEDY QENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

In 1958, the Congress authorized the construction of a National Cultural Center in the District of Columbia provided that within 5 years a board of trustees could raise the estimated $45 million needed. By 1963 only $13 million had been raised and, as I noted in my report last year the 88th Congress extended to September 2, 1966, the time in which funds could be collected by the board of trustees.

In January of this year President Johnson signed Public Law 88–260, a measure which renamed the National Cultural Center as the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and designated it as the "sole national memorial" to President Kennedy within Washington, D.C., and its environs.

This act also authorizes an appropriation of up to $15.5 million in Federal grants for the construction of the Center but any such grants will have to be matched dollar-for-dollar with funds from private donations. The trustees are granted authority to borrow up to $15.4 million from the Treasury to finance necessary parking facilites for the Center.

On July 7, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–356, which made appropriations for the Department of the Interior and other related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965. That act appropriated up to $15.5 million for construction of the Center, the full amount authorized for Federal matching funds by Public Law 88–260. An additional $2.5 million was appropriated for the purchase of additional land and $225,000 to assist business firms which will have to be relocated because of the construction.

This legislation is fitting and proper. The new name adopted more closely defines the type of performances which will be held in the Center. It will be an architectural ornament to the Capital City of this Nation, a useful facility, and a fitting token to the memory of a many-sided President. As the report of the Public Works Committee of this House observed, President Kennedy was not only concerned with the immediate problems of everyday government but also—"with the quality of the American civilization which he led. Nothing could serve as a better tribute to this spacious view than a national cultural center."

NATIONAL ARTS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

In August of this year, this Democratic-controlled Congress psased legislation creating in the Executive Office of the President a 25-member National Council on the Arts. This is another famous "first" for the 88th Congress, a particularly dramatic "first" because of the long history of efforts to enact legislation of this nature. A bill to create a Federal Arts Council was first introduced in the Congress in 1877; many efforts have been made since that time to do what we have done this year. The basic principles of this legislation have the endorsement of former President Eisenhower, the late President Kennedy, and President Johnson. Success after so many years is indeed gratifying.

The National Council on the Arts authorized by this act will be composed of a full-time Chairman and 24 members appointed by the President from among private citizens widely recognized for their broad knowledge, experience, or profound interest in the arts.

The Council is directed to recommend ways to maintain and increase the cultural resources of the United States, to propose methods to promote private initiative in the arts, to advise and consult with Government agencies at all levels on methods of coordinating existing resources and facilities and of fostering the arts nationally and internationally, and to conduct studies and make recommendations on promoting creativity and increased opportunity in the arts and on encouraging greater citizen enjoyment of the arts. A specific section of the act assures that the Federal Government is not permitted to direct, supervise, or control the policy or program of any group, State, or State agency involved in the arts. A ceiling of $150,000 was set on funds to be appropriated for the Council.

The encouragement and support of the arts, while primarily a matter of local and private initiative, is also an appropriate matter of concern for the Federal Government. The arts fulfill basic human needs, and the arts and the creative spirit which motivates them and which they personify are a valued and essential part of the Nation's resources. In a speech at Amherst College, President Kennedy said:

> I look forward to an America which will steadily raise the standards of artistic accomplishment and which will steadily enlarge cultural opportunities for all of our citizens. And I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength but for its civilization as well.

Certainly this act should bring that America a little closer to reality.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $50,000 for this Council.

AGRICULTURE

In his message on the agricultural economy, transmitted to Congress on January 31, 1964, President Johnson enumerated the three basic goals of the present administration's agricultural policy: "higher farm income, reduced farm surpluses, and lower governmental costs." During the past 3 years, under two Democratic Presidents working with a Democratic-controlled Congress, great progress has been made toward the achievement of these goals. In 1963 gross farm income was $3.2 billion higher than it was in 1960, an increase of 8 percent. During that same period, net farm income per farm rose from $2,961 to $3,425 for a gain of 16 percent. Government stocks of feed gains have declined from their 1961 high of 85 million tons to 63 million tons, enabling the Government to save $230 million a year on storage and other carrying charges. Agricultural exports in 1963 were $5.6 billion, the highest in history. Farmers were able to purchase an estimated $800 million more in farm equipment from 1960 to 1963 than they would have been able to buy with a 1960 level of income. This is indeed a remarkable record.

Many are prone to dwell upon urban problems and to give too little heed to the agricultural economy. What must be remembered is that in a closely interrelated economy such as ours, the health of one sector affects all others.

Those who would attempt to make agriculture appear insignificant often cite the fact that farms account for only a little over 7 percent of the total employment in the United States. But this is a very misleading figure. A gross farm income estimated at $40 billion in 1963, farm expenses in 1963 of about $27.7 billion, including a multitude of purchases from the nonagricultural sectors of the economy, and 1963 capital equipment outlays by farmers of approximately $5 billion, or nearly 13 percent of the total for the economy as a whole, are significant figures. Any decline in net farm income reduces the profitability of farming and will be reflected in the income and employment of the nonfarm sectors of the economy.

It is just and prudent that the Congress of the United States devote itself to the prosperity of the individual farmers and of the agricultural sector as a whole. This Democratic-controlled Congress has done just that. The entire Nation will benefit from the programs enacted in the past 2 years.

The Department of Agriculture, of course, is the agency primarily concerned with the agricultural economy. For the fiscal year 1964, we appropriated $6,224,370,215 to enable that Department to carry on its activities in the areas of research, education, conservation, marketing, regulation, agricultural adjustment, surplus disposal, and rural development. The Supplemental Appropriation Act passed in 1963 appropriated an additional $32,610,000 for that Department.

And in 1964 we appropriated $5,137,162,200 for the Department for the fiscal year 1965. This was in addition to a deficiency appropriation of $31,250,000 for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year 1964.

FEED GRAINS

One of the most important bills designed to augment recent advances in the agricultural economy was passed during the 1st session of the 88th Congress. The voluntary feed-grains program, authorized in 1961 and extended in 1962, marked the beginning of a solution to the crucial problem of exorbitant surpluses in feed grains.

Legislation extending and amending the earlier feed grains acts was passed last year. I described the provisions of the 1963 act in detail in my report at the

end of the first session. Here I need only say that the 1963 act continued the feed-grains acreage diversion program under which the Government offers incentives, such as land diversion payments and price supports, to farmers who take feed-grain acreage out of production. This has been a highly successful program in eliminating the expensive surpluses of feed grains.

WHEAT-COTTON

A grave concern of both President Kennedy and President Johnson, as well as of this Congress, was the drastic decline in the income of wheat producers. Because of the rejection of mandatory Federal controls in a referendum in the spring of 1963, it was expected that wheat prices would plunge from $1.82 per bushel last year to $1.25 in 1964. It was also estimated that in the absence of legislation, wheat producers would receive between $500 and $700 million less in 1964 than they had in 1963. In his message on the agricultural economy, transmitted to the Congress on January 31, President Johnson urged the prompt enactment of legislation to avert this decline.

The plight of the cottongrowers was no better. In my report at the close of the first session I described the problems of those farmers in some detail. Here I will repeat only the broad outlines of the problem. Increased production, the rapid growth of imported cotton, and the compensation to cotton from textiles made with artificial fibers have made the earlier cotton programs no longer workable. Up to this time, the Government has supported domestic raw cotton prices and provided exporters with a subsidy to make the supported cotton competitive in world markets. Because of the changes in the cotton industry to which I have referred, the Government's support program had resulted in a decline in cotton sales, an increase in the stockpiles of cotton, and a decrease in the growers' acreage allotments. It was obvious that the existing legislation was not meeting the needs of the producer, the cotton handler, the mill, or the consumer.

In his message on the agricultural economy, transmitted to the Congress on January 31, President Johnson recommended that Congress enact legislation designed to meet the present needs of the cotton industry, the second largest industry in the United States.

In December 1963, this House passed a bill covering just the cotton program. On March 6, the Senate passed a bill providing for a cotton program very similar to the one favored by this body. But the Senate bill added a program for the wheatgrowers. On April 8, this body agreed to the Senate version of the bill and on April 15 it was signed by President Johnson. By that time the wheat planting season had already begun and this Congress was very anxious that a program to avert the drastic decline in income for the wheat producers be enacted as quickly as possible.

The provisions of this very important act may be summarized as follows:

For cotton: First, it authorized the Secretary of Agriculture, through July 31, 1966, to make subsidy payments, with cotton from Government stockpiles, to domestic cotton handlers or domestic textile mills on their purchases of U.S.-grown cotton. This provision is intended to lower the costs of cotton purchased by domestic mills to a level comparable to the export price of U.S. cotton. As I explained last year, domestic cotton prices have been supported at a level of nearly 32½ cents a pound, but the world market price of cotton is 24 cents a pound. Therefore, U.S. cotton can be sold in foreign markets for considerably less than it can be purchased in the United States. This situation has discriminated against U.S. textile manufacturers and accentuated the surplus problem by encouraging the substitution of synthetic fibers for cotton. Until August 1, 1964, the level of the subsidy to domestic mills was set by the Secretary of Agriculture. Since then he has been required to set the subsidy at a level which will assure the mills of cotton at a cost not exceeding the export price of U.S. cotton. The effect is to require that the domestic mill subsidy be at the same rate as the export subsidy.

Second, it establishes new acreage allotment and price support systems for the years 1964 and 1965. The details of these two systems need not be enumerated here. I might point out that these systems are intended to reduce cotton production and lower the cotton market price in the United States while permitting smaller farmers, with high production costs, to receive a high return on their crop.

Third, it authorizes the expenditure of $10 million each year by the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a special research program to lower the cost of growing cotton.

Fourth, it establishes export acreage programs for 1964 and 1965 under which farmers, if they wish to plant cotton above their regular allotment for sale into export channels at the low world price, may do so at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary is authorized to allow this only to the extent, if any, that such overplanting will not prevent the reduction of the cotton surplus.

For wheat: This act sets up a voluntary wheat marketing certificate program for 1964 and 1965 under which farmers who comply with their acreage allotments and agree to participate in a land-diversion program will receive price supports and land-diversion payments.

On April 11, 1964, President Johnson signed the wheat-cotton bill into law. On that occasion he "thanked all the Members of the Congress who worked so long, so courageously, so hard, to bring this legislation to final success. They acted in the highest traditions of the Congress. They acted promptly, effectively, speedily."

He also very well summed up the purposes and anticipated results of this act when he called it "a piece of legislation that I think will bring new hope, new encouragement, and new prosperity to the farms of America."

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATIONS

I spoke in my last report of the bill passed during the first session of this Congress which authorized $12 million in matching grants to be apportioned among the States for the construction of research facilities at State agricultural experiment stations. This is a 3-year authorization and is intended to facilitate further utilization research—the finding of new markets and new uses for agricultural products. The results of this research contribute much to the well-being of the Nation's agricultural program. As President Johnson pointed out in his special message on the agricultural economy, our agricultural problems are "problems of abundance, not of scarcity." Certainly, then, the search for new markets and new uses for our agricultural abundance are essential.

FOOD MARKETING STUDY

In his message on the agricultural economy, transmitted to Congress on January 31, 1964, President Johnson said:

> The recent changes in the marketing structure for distribution of food are as revolutionary as those in production. There are some 200,000 retail grocery stores, but we know that $1 out of every $2 spent for groceries goes to fewer than 100 corporate, voluntary, or cooperative chains. Our information about how this greatly increased concentration of power is affecting farmers, handlers, and consumers is inadequate. The implications of other changes that take place as vertical integration and contract farming have not been fully explored.

In his March 29 news conference, President Johnson announced that he was preparing draft legislation and letters to congressional leaders embodying his recommendation that Congress establish a bipartisan commission "to study and appraise the changes taking place in the American food industry." On April 1, he submitted draft legislation to accomplish this purpose.

In June of this year, Congress enacted a bill establishing a National Commission on Food Marketing. This body will be composed of five Senators, five Members of this House, and five members appointed by the President from outside of the Government. It is directed to study and appraise the marketing structure of the food industry, to make such interim reports as it deems advisable, and to submit a final report on its "findings and conclusions" to the President and Congress by July 1, 1965. An expenditure of $1,500,000 was authorized.

This is a very significant piece of legislation. At this time, information which would permit an informed judgment concerning the effects of the recent changes in the food industry is not available. As President Johnson pointed out in his letters to Congress accompanying the draft legislation:

> We do not know whether benefits of advanced technology are being fairly distributed among farmers, processors, distributors and consumers. We do not know whether shifts in bargaining powers require new laws. We do not know enough about the new character of the industry to determine the extent of the benefits and the need for

any relief from hardship which may be necessary.

What we do know is that since 1947 the amount received by the farmer for $10 worth of foodstuffs has declined 15 percent while the price paid by the housewife has risen 18 percent. The spread between what the farmer receives and what the consumer pays has widen 2 to 3 percent in each of the last 10 years. In fact, the farmers share of the consumers' food dollar declined from 47 cents in 1950 to 37 cents in 1964. It is important that these changes be studied and appraised so that farmers and business people make appropriate adjustments and so that the Government may properly discharge its responsibility to the consumers of this Nation. It is anticipated that the findings of the Commission will aid the President and the Congress in this area.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $700,000 for this Commission.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The recognition by Congress of the vital need to protect and develop this Nation's rich heritage of natural resources is unquestionably of benefit to all citizens. Our record in this area over the past 2 years has been outstanding. Indeed, as I pointed out earlier, many commentators have begun to refer to this as "The Conservation Congress."

The National Park Service in the Department of the Interior is charged with promoting and regulatingthe use of national parks, monuments, and similar reservations in order to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." The appropriation for the National Park Service for the fiscal year 1964 was $112,524,500 and for the fiscal year 1965, $115,573,600

OUTDOOR RECREATION ACT

The development of our outdoor recreation resources will be accelerated by the Outdoor Recreation Act passed in 1963. I described the background and provisions of this major piece of legislation in my report last year. Here I might briefly repeat the purposes and general outline of the act. It is the result of a 1962 report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission which found a tremendous demand for outdoor recreation areas and facilities. Accordingly, this act gave to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, established in the Department of the Interior in 1962, overall leadership responsibility in the nationwide recreation effort. It is charged with the responsibility of formulating a nationwide outdoor recreation plan, of encouraging regional and intergovernmental cooperation, of sponsoring and engaging in research and of promoting the public use of outdoor recreation facilities.

This act and the activities of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to implement its objectives will constitute the affirmative program which is needed to insure the best possible use of those resources which will be rapidly swallowed up for other uses if they are not adequately protected and utilized.

For the fiscal year 1964, we appropriated $1,900,000 for the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. And the appropriation act for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $2,700,000 for that Bureau.

FIRE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

The 1962 report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission, mentioned above as the impetus for the Outdoor Recreation Act, said:

> Highest priority should be given to acquisition of areas located closest to major population centers and other areas that are immediately threatened. The need is critical—opportunity to place these areas in public ownership is fading each year as other uses encroach.

Probably no action of the Congress could be more in line with this recommendation than the act passed during this session establishing the Fire Island National Seashore.

Fire Island is a natural barrier reef just off the south shore of Long Island, in the State of New York. Its overall length is 31 miles and its width varies from some 200 yards to one-half mile. Its surface area is unspoiled and there are no roads on the island. The western end of the island is within 50 miles of New York City and more than 16 million people in several States live within a 100-mile radius. It is one of the few remaining stretches of ocean beach in the New York metropolitan region which possesses any considerable degree of unspoiled natural beauty; in fact, it is one of the few unspoiled beaches now remaining on the entire east coast with its vast population.

This act authorizes the expenditure of $16 million for the acquisition of 4,300 acres on Fire Island. It also establishes a 15-member Fire Island National Seashore Advisory Commission, to be composed almost entirely of local residents, to consult with the Secretary of the Interior on the development of the seashore. The development will include both conservation and recreation.

The establishment of the Fire Island National Seashore is a major accomplishment of a Congress which has shown itself to be very mindful of the need to preserve our natural resources.

OZARK NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS

The Ozark National Scenic Riverways Act, passed during the second session, will preserve for the future and for future Americans two of the loveliest small rivers in the United States, the Current River and the Jacks Fork River in the State of Missouri. This marks the first inclusion in the national park system of a recreational and scenic area the essential feature of which is a free-flowing river.

This act establishes a national park through the acquisition of land along 99 miles of the Current River and 37 miles of the Jacks Fork River, not to exceed 65,000 acres. In addition, it is expected that the State of Missouri will donate somewhere between 15,000 and 22,000 acres, and 800 acres will be transferred by the Forest Service to the National Park Service. The total area within the Ozark National Scenic Riverways will be in the neighborhood of 80,000 to 85,000 acres.

The act also establishes a seven-member Ozark National Scenic Riverways Commission, to exist for 10 years, to advise the Secretary of the Interior on the development of the area. Development costs are estimated at $2,100,000 and this act authorizes $7 million for land acquisition.

The Ozark National Scenic Riverways is so located as to be readily accessible to almost 25 million people. It is within 175 miles of St. Louis, 200 miles of Memphis and Little Rock, 250 miles of Kansas City and Nashville, 300 miles of Louisville, 350 miles of Des Moines, Indianapolis, and Wichita, and 400 miles of Chicago, Lincoln, and Oklahoma City. It is an area of national, not merely local, significance.

The two rivers are in their pristine state. They are spring-fed streams of great purity and beauty. We have insured that they will stay that way for the enjoyment of all our citizens.

CANYONLANDS NATIONAL PARK

In September of this year, the Congress enacted legislation establishing the Canyonlands National Park, a 257,640-acre area along the Green and Colorado Rivers in southwestern Utah. Of the land to be included in the park, 90 percent is already owned by the Federal Government and 10 percent by the State of Utah. The act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the 10 percent owned by Utah through the exchange of other Federal lands.

This park constitutes the central portion of a mighty arid valley filled with mazes of canyons, gigantic standing rock formations, towering buttes, natural bridges or arches, balanced rock formations, and other evidences of mighty geologic forces and millions of years of erosion. It is a remarkably unusual and beautiful area and rivals our finest parks in breathtaking scenery. Until recently, this area was quite inaccessible and for this reason it is well preserved. Because of the construction of highways in recent years it is already drawing visitors and tourists, even though it is undeveloped and there is no access to its interior attractions. The increased accessibility makes the opening of this area as a national park feasible, but it also makes the protection of the area from depredation and spoilation necessary.

The establishment of a national park in this area will also help to solve the serious economic problems there. Southwestern Utah had a tremendous boom in the fifties as a result of the discovery of uranium and the construction of facilities for its production. By 1961, a downtrend had started as a result of the termination of Government uranium purchase contracts. Unemployment and underemployment spread and remain a serious problem to this day.

The University of Utah has made a study of the economic effect of the creation of the new park. It reported that government and tourist expenditures will run $11 million in the first 5 years. This

would mean wages and other net income of $2.9 million in the area and the generation of $5 million of secondary local income.

In the sixth year, the study estimates that park visitors will be running at the 250,000 level and tourist expenditures at $3.5 million annually. These figures are expected to triple in 15 years and quintuple in 25 years.

The new Canyonlands Park, then, will be a vast boon to the economic security of the area. But it will also be a vast boon to all of the citizens of the United States as one of the most magnificently beautiful areas ever set aside for them.

WILDERNESS ACT

One of the most outstanding accomplishments of this Democratic-controlled Congress was the enactment of the Wilderness Act in August of this year. Proposals for legislation of this nature have been before the Congress since 1956; it had the wholehearted endorsement of both President Kennedy and of President Johnson.

For the first time, as national policy, parts of the wilderness will be protected forever from the clutter of civilization. Since 1924, the Chief of the Forest Service and the Secretary of Agriculture have set aside areas within the national forests for wilderness preservation, but until this act, there was no statutory authority to set aside and retain areas of federally owned lands in their natural state. Having been established by administrative action of the executive branch, any of the wilderness, wild, and primitive areas could be similarly declassified and abolished by administrative action. Also, the administrators could, if they so desired, change the rules governing the uses allowed or prohibited within such areas. We have now set forth guidelines to govern wilderness preservation. This act will permit long-range planning and assure a proper balance in the designation of such areas. It is a realistic and prudent balance between the need for effective wilderness preservation and the need for land-use programs or legitimate economic or commercial use.

This act establishes a national wilderness preservation system and provides that all national forest areas already designated as wilderness, wild, or canoe be brought into the system. All areas brought into the system will continue to be administered by the Federal agency which had jurisdiction before their inclusion. To be designated as wilderness, an area must contain at least 5,000 acres of land or be of sufficient size to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition.

The act directs that within 10 years the Secretary of Agriculture must review each primitive national forest area, hold public hearings, and recommend their inclusion in or exclusion from the wilderness system. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to review roadless national park and monument areas and wildlife refuges and game ranges to the same end. Their recommendations will be made to the Congress and inclusion will require an act of Congress.

Commercial enterprises and permanent roads are prohibited within the wilderness system, subject to existing private rights. Temporary roads are also prohibited except as necessary to meet requirements for the administration of the wilderness areas. Prospecting is permitted if carried on in a manner compatible with the preservation of the wilderness environment and mining and mineral leasing laws are extended to the wilderness areas through December 31, 1983. No new patents under the mining laws will be issued after that date except for valid existing claims. As of January 1, 1984, minerals in the wilderness system will be withdrawn from appropriation under the mining laws, except for valid existing rights.

The President may authorize prospecting for water resources, the establishment of reservoirs, power projects, transmission lines, and other facilities in the wilderness areas if he determines that such uses will serve the public interest.

This act places approximately 9.1 million acres of federally owned land permanently in the wilderness system. The primitive national forest areas to be reviewed by the Secretary of Agriculture cover approximately 5.4 million acres; the roadless national park areas, approximately 22.1 million acres; and wildlife refuges and game ranges, another 24.4 million acres.

Between 1946 and 1960, the population of the United States increased by 27 percent. In the same interval, however, visits to national parks and forests and to State parks increased by 221 percent. Demand for outdoor recreation has unquestionably accelerated. In 1963, for every person in the United States there were three visits to recreation areas operated by the Federal Government. In terms of looking to the future, in terms of providing for the recreation needs of the people, in terms of the preservation of the great resources of America and the need of a growing population to know something of the scenic wonders of the United States as they were when white men first saw them, no act is more significant than this. Once destroyed, our priceless wilderness heritage can never be replaced. Population growth has brought such pressure on our open land that without firm legislatice action there would be a continued reduction and, finally, an elimination of these beautiful wilderness areas. By this act we have secured the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness for the American people of present and future generations.

PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW COMMISSION

The first public domain of the United States was created when the original 13 States ceded their lands westward to the Mississippi River to the Federal Government as part of the compromises attendant upon the formation of the Union and the adoption of the Constitution. The acquisition of the public domain which began in 1781 with the State cessions was completed in 1867 with the purchase of Alaska. The last acquisition in the area now constituting the contiguous 48 States was accomplished in 1853. Alaska and the exchange of lands aside, then, there have been only reductions in the public domain in the last 110 years.

From the beginning, Congress followed a policy of disposing of the public lands. Statutorily, the policy of the United States envisions ultimate disposal of the public lands unless specifically directed otherwise by the Congress. The Bureau of Land Management statistics indicate that at the present time there are approximately 438 million acres of public lands which have not been committed to specific use. Of this total, 271 million acres are in Alaska and 167 million acres are in the 48 contiguous States.

At present, the various agencies managing public lands are operating under a complex system of public land laws which have developed in a patchwork fashion since the beginning of the Republic. Thousands of laws now govern the management, use, and disposition of the public lands of the United States and many of them reflect the social and economic conditions of the 19th century and early 20th. They are, therefore, predicated upon essentially obsolete concepts.

With this in mind, the Congress, in September, enacted legislation authorizing the creation of a Public Land Law Review Commission. This Commission is charged with the responsibility of studying existing statutes and regulations governing public lands, of reviewing policies and practices of Federal agencies in this field, of compiling the information necessary for a determination and understanding of the various demands on the public lands which now exist and which are likely to exist in the future, and of recommending the modifications deemed necessary in existing laws, regulations, policies, and practices.

The Commission will be composed of 19 members. Twelve of them will be from the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs and six will be private citizens appointed by the President. These 18 will select another person to be the Chairman of the Commission. It will issue its recommendations by December 31, 1968 and will cease to exist after June 30, 1969.

The act also established an Advisory Council to the Commission to be composed of a liaison officer appointed by the head of each Federal department and agency interested in public lands and 25 citizens appointed by the Commission.

An appropriation of $4 million is authorized.

The enactment of this legislation will permit a comprehensive review of public land law and modifications in that law which will result in the retention, management, or disposal of the public lands in the manner providing the maximum benefit to all citizens.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $350,000 for this Commission.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND

Another measure passed during the second session of this Congress is based upon the recommendations of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. It is also one of the most farsighted conservation steps ever taken by the Congress.

The report of the Commission, submitted to the President and to Congress in January 1962, emphasized that the key elements in the total effort to make outdoor recreation opportunities available to our citizens are the States, local governments, and private enterprise. It recommended that the role of the Federal Government should be one of cooperation with the States through technical and financial assistance and that such financial assistance should be in the form of grants for planning, for the acquisition of land and water areas, and for the development of facilities for outdoor recreation. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act embodies these recommendations.

This act establishes a land and water conservation fund, beginning January 1, 1965, to permit the States to plan, acquire, and develop outdoor recreational facilities and to permit the Federal Government to acquire recreation areas. The life of the fund is limited to 25 years plus such additional time as is required to repay the advance appropriations from the Federal Government which I shall describe below.

Sixty percent of the money to be appropriated annually by the Fund is exclusively for State planning, acquisition, and development of outdoor recreation facilities. But for the first 5 years the President may alter the State-Federal share by up to 15 percentage points. Within this 60 percent, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to allocate 40 percent equally among all participating States and the remaining 60 percent on the basis of need. In determining the relative needs of the States, the Secretary is directed to consider their population, the use of their facilities by nonresidents, and the extent of Federal programs in the various States. No State may receive more than 7 percent of the total funds and the Federal funds must be matched by the States on a 50–50 basis. Funds for acquisition and development will be made available to the States only after they have submitted a statewide recreation plan satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior.

The 40-percent of the fund which is set aside for Federal agencies will be used partially to offset capital costs for recreation and fish and wildlife benefits at newly authorized Federal water development projects and for land acquisition in the national park system, national recreation areas, fish and wildlife preservation areas and for the acquisition of inholdings within wilderness areas of the national forest system and within existing boundaries of other national forests where the primary value is outdoor recreation. The acquisition of up to 500 acres per forest of land adjacent to existing boundaries is permitted if this new land will comprise an integral part of a forest recreational management area. At least 85 percent of the forest lands acquired must be in the Eastern United States because the greatest need at the present time is for the acquisition of lands near centers of population. Appropriations from the fund are not available for land acquisition which is not otherwise authorized by law and no money may be used for publicity purposes.

The fund will be financed from four sources: The first source is admission and user fees. The act provides that all admission and user fees collected by the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the U.S. section of the International Boundary and Water Commission will be paid into the fund.

The President is authorized to designate the areas administered by these agencies at which fees will be collected, and to establish the fees. Admission fees may be charged only at land and water areas administered primarily for scenic, scientific, historical, cultural, or recreational purposes and only at areas administered by a Federal agency at which recreation facilities or services are provided at Federal expense. No fees may be charged by a Federal agency for the use of waters.

The second source of money for the fund is surplus property sales. The act provides for the payment into the fund of net proceeds from the sale of Federal surplus real property.

The third source is the motor fuels tax. Provision is made for the payment into the fund of proceeds from the existing tax on motorboat fuels. These proceeds were previously allotted to the highway trust fund.

The fourth source, to which I referred above, is appropriations. The act authorizes advance appropriations from the Treasury Department to help start the fund. These appropriations cannot average more than $60 million annually. They will begin in the fiscal year 1969 and are authorized for 8 years. In the 11th fiscal year the fund's operations—the fiscal year 1976—the fund will repay the advance appropriations by turning over to the Treasury one-half of its annual revenues.

This is a very important bill for the future recreational needs of all our citizens. It is also a fiscally responsible bill.

WATER RESOURCES ACT

Abundant, good water is essential to the economic growth and progress of the Nation. But at this time water shortages of overwhelming proportions are hampering our industries, our agriculture, our recreation, and our individual health and happiness. If current practices are continued, by the year 2000 there will not be enough usable water to meet the water needs of parts of 28 of our States. It is obvious, then, that a dominant conservation issue now and for the next several decades is the development of an adequate water supply for the expanding needs of the Nation. In addition to assuring an abundance of water, there is a real need for the stimulation of research, investigation, and experimentation, and for the training of scientists to engage in water research.

Public Law 88–379, the Water Resources Act, is designed to meet all of these needs. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make annual grants to each State and to Puerto Rico of $75,000 in the fiscal year 1965, $87,500 in the fiscal years 1966 and 1967, and $100,000 thereafter, to help establish and carry on the work, including the training of scientists, of water resource research centers or institutes at one land-grant college in each State. The funds can be allocated to another institution rather than the land-grant college if that institution is designated by the State legislature. In those States with more than one land-grant college, the Governor will designate the recipient. And two or more States may pool their grants in order to form regional centers.

The act also authorizes an appropriation to the Secretary of the Interior of $1 million in the fiscal year 1965, increasing by $1 million in each of the succeeding 4 years, and continuing at $5 million each year thereafter, to make grants to the States and Puerto Rico to pay 50 percent of the cost of carrying out specific water-research projects. These projects will be approved by the Secretary.

This act also authorizes an appropriation to the Secretary of the Interior of $1 million each year from the fiscal year 1965 through the fiscal year 1974 for grants, contracts, matching, or other arrangements with educational institutions—other than those establishing research centers as described in the first grant program above—with foundations, private firms and individuals, and with Federal, State, and local agencies for water research related to the responsibilities of the Department of the Interior.

Finally, it directs the President to establish a center for cataloging current and projected research on water resources, to clarify the responsibilities of various Federal agencies for water resources research, and to coordinate their programs.

In signing this bill on July 17, 1964, President Johnson rightly declared that it "fills a vital need."

COMMERCIAL FISHERIES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT

In the past 10 years, the U.S. fishing industry has dropped from second to fifth place in the total world catch and is currently facing a crisis. In order to aid those States with ailing fishery industries and to promote the development of new commercial fishing projects, Congress in 1964 passed the Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act.

This act authorizes a general appropriation of $5 million each year for 5 years in matching grants to promote State commercial fishery research and development projects. An apportionment formula for the funds was established on the basis of the value of the fish landed and processed in each State.

It also provides an additional annual appropriation of $400,000 for the first 2 years and $650,000 for the following 3 years to be used primarily to restore commercial fisheries affected by disasters.

Another annual appropriation of $100,000 for 5 years, for use in developing new State commercial fisheries, is authorized.

State projects are to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior and in order to receive a matching grant a State must contribute at least 25 percent of the total cost of the project.

Finally, the act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make loans to commercial fishermen who wish to charter vessels pending construction or repair of those lost or damaged as a result of the Alaskan earthquake of March 27, 1964.

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS APPROPRIATIONS

The appropriation for public works projects for the fiscal year 1964 included $1,633,603,700 for water resources and power, of which $1,102,577,500 was for construction projects of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior. Seventy-six new construction starts were funded by this appropriation.

The Public Works Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965, passed in August of this year, included $1,649,336,700 for water resources and power projects. Fifty-nine Corps of Engineers and five Bureau of Reclamation construction starts were funded by this act.

These funds represent the determination of this Congress to develop for present and future generations the water resources of the Nation's great river basins and drainage areas; namely, the New England, the Great Lakes, the Middle Atlantic, the Gulf and South Atlantic, the Lower Mississippi, the Upper Mississippi, the Souris and Red, the Arkansas, White, and Red, the Rio Grande and Gulf, the Missouri, the Columbia, the Great, the Colorado, the Central Valley, the Central and South Pacific, the North Pacific, and the Tennessee Valley basins and drainage areas.

PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION

The Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962 authorized the President to allocate $900 million to initiate or accelerate, in eligible areas, previously authorized Federal public works projects or State or local public works projects. The President was to allocate the funds to areas of chronic unemployment. This was a significant milestone in the effort to strengthen the economy and provide economic security for the unemployed.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act passed by this Congress in 1963 appropriated $450 million for this program. And the Public Works Appropriation Act, passed in December 1963, appropriated an additional $30 million for the fiscal year 1964 toward this effort. Finally, the Public Works Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $4 million for the accelerated public works program.

RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT

In my report at the close of the first session, I included a brief description of the river basin authorization approved on December 30, 1963. That action was taken after prolonged debate and compromise with the coordinate body. Its enactment assured the continuation of work on various flood control and navigation projects.

That act, Public Law 88–253, authorized a total appropriation of $816,847,000 for the fiscal years 1964 and 1965.

COLORADO RIVER PROJECTS

In 1956 Congress passed the Colorado River Storage Project Act which provided for the development of the Upper Colorado River Basin. In addition to three major dams, the act designated 25 projects. Two of them, the Navajo and the San Juan–Chama irrigation projects, were authorized by the Congress in 1962.

This year we passed legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct three more irrigation projects as part of this comprehensive development of this river basin. The three authorized this year are the Savery-Pot Hook, the Bostwick Park, and the Fruitland Mesa projects. These projects comprise a series of dams, reservoirs, canals, recreation, and fish and wildlife facilities at a total cost of $47 million.

These projects will provide irrigation water to approximately 65,000 acres of land, and will maintain and strengthen the local economies and, concomitantly, encourage new industry to settle in the area.

MISSOURI RIVER BASIN

The Flood Control Act of 1944 authorized the construction of a comprehensive plan of dams, reservoirs, irrigation canals, powerplants, and other works for the utilization and control of the waters of the Missouri River Basin, with the construction work divided between the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior. A total of $826 million has been authorized for the prosecution of the Interior Department's portion of the project. Most of the main-stem works authorized by the 1944 act have been completed and are in operation, and many of the works on the tributaries have either been completed or are under construction. The River Basin Development authorization of 1963, to which I referred above, did not contain provision for reclamation fund needs in the Missouri River Basin for the fiscal year 1965.

To enable the Department of the Interior to continue its reclamation program there without interruption, we increased the authorization for the prosecution of going construction work by $120 million. This amount, plus an estimated balance of $22 million in unused funds, will meet the estimated fund needs for the fiscal years 1965 and 1966.

This act also stipulated that no part of the funds authorized to be appropriated will be available to initiate construction of any unit on the project, whether it is included in the comprehensive plan of 1944 or not, unless it is first authorized by act of Congress. This provision has the effect of requiring the reauthorization of all units which are not presently under construction. It was inserted because the comprehensive plan authorized in 1944 is too far out of date to be considered adequate. Also, each unit must be considered in relationship to the financial and economic feasibility of the overall project. This provision will provide Congress with the proper surveillance and control over future developments and expenditures in the Missouri River Basin.

DIXIE PROJECT, UTAH

The Dixie region of southwestern Utah has an average annual rainfall of only a little more than 8 inches. An adequate and dependable water supply for irrigation and for municipal use is a paramount need in the area and plans to provide this water supply have been under study by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior since 1918. This year we passed legislation authorizing such a project.

As passed in August of this year, this act authorizes $42,700,000 for the construction of a multipurpose project in the Virgin River Basin of southwestern Utah. The principle project facilities will be two reservoirs, one powerplant, canals, and distribution and drainage systems. A total of about 21,000 acres will receive irrigation water as a result of this project and a revitalized agricultural economy, hydropower, outdoor recreation facilities, and the enhancement of fish and wildlife conditions will accrue.

IDAHO LOWER TETON PROJECT

In September of this year, we enacted legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the lower Teton division of the Teton Basin Federal reclamation project. This will consist primarily of a dam and reservoir at the Fremont site, and water distribution, a powerplant, and other facilities in the upper Snake River Valley, Idaho.

This act authorizes $52 million for the construction of the multiple-purpose project, with the bulk of the funds—$38 million—allocated to irrigation.

The irrigators, or water users, are given up to 50 years from the time water is first delivered to them to repay construction costs. The costs which the Secretary of the Interior determines to be greater than the irrigators can repay will be reimbursed from funds derived from the sale of power marketed through the Bonneville Power Administration and attributable to Federal projects in Idaho.

In addition to irrigation, the project will include power, flood control, fish and wildlife protection, and basic public outdoor recreational facilities.

TRANSPORTATION

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT

The present Federal aid highway program came into existence in 1956. The accomplishments of that program are many: Certainly, it has played a vital role in contributing its share to the full-scale development of our national economy. It has encouraged the more efficient State administration of road building and has supplemented the highway activities of State and local governments. It has promoted an integrated national highway system; in some States the building of highways—particularly primary routes—would have been virtually impossible without Federal aid. Finally, the Federal-aid pro-

gram has made possible the exchange of valuable information on improved practices; and Federal-State cooperation has encouraged uniformity and a high level of performance in highway construction.

Under the Federal-aid program, highway appropriations are made to the States biennially from two sources: general revenues and the highway trust fund. The so-called ABC program—Federal aid for primary, secondary, and urban highway systems—is financed from the Trust Fund; other Federal construction is financed through the general revenues.

In August, President Johnson signed a bill which authorizes $1,179 million for highway construction in each of the fiscal years 1966 and 1967. It authorizes $1 billion in each fiscal year from the highway trust fund for Federal aid to primary, secondary, and urban—ABC—highway programs, and $179 million each year for strictly Federal roads, such as roads in national forests, park roads, and trails, and Indian reservation roads.

FEDERAL AID HIGHWAY ACT AMENDMENTS

In my report last year I included the Federal Aid Highway Act amendments signed by President Kennedy on October 24, 1963. Most of the provisions had to do with improving the planning and administration of the existing interstate highway program. The only provision which I elaborated on was that which extended for 2 years the program of Federal incentives for billboard control. Under that program, a State must pass legislation prohibiting billboard advertising within a prescribed number of feet along the Interstate Highway System and States which pass such legislation receive half of 1 percent bonus on the Federal funds apportioned to them for construction. This program has been very beneficial in preserving natural beauty, in preventing erosion, and in permitting landscaping and reforestation.

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ACT

Since the end of World War II, this country's population has risen by one-third, from 140 to 190 million people. At the time, there has been a continuation of the historical movement from rural to urban living. Over the past 25 years, the population of our central urban areas has been moving out to the suburbs and the surrounding countryside—and at an accelerating pace As a result, central cities and their surrounding areas have fused into increasingly larger and more complex metropolitan areas. Today, 8 out of every 10 Americans live in metropolitan areas. The 11 metropolitan areas of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C., make up 28 percent of the Nation's population and 30 percent of the total employment. They also account for approximately 40 percent of all personal income taxes collected by the Federal Government.

Other smaller urban centers are growing at a rapid rate also. It is predicted that in less than 20 years half of our national population will live in 40 major urban centers, each of which will have a population of over 1 million. Further, it is predicted that in 25 years 80 percent of the Nation's total population will live in metropolitan areas. This is a trend of countrywide proportions and of national consequence. The urban complexes of today and of tomorrow will be the centers which perform all of the essential services for the people of this country except that of growing the food we eat. They will perform these services only if people and goods can be moved quickly and easily within the urban complex.

The present status of urban mass transportation is not good. The great majority of commuter railroads throughout the country are operating at a loss and public and private bus and transit systems are struggling to remain solvent. The ever-increasing deficits have been compounded by years of impoverishment, deferred maintenance, and neglect.

State and local governments have done what they could to meet the growing demand for improved facilities for the mass movement of people; but funds adequate to meet this and all other State and local needs and demands are simply not available.

Of course, automobiles and trucks perform an essential function even in the heart of the city. But highway builders cannot possibly do the whole job. The seemingly insatiable demand for more highways and freeways and loops and parking spaces is a fiercely expensive proposition. Total State and Federal expenditures for highways increased approximately 123 percent between 1950 and 1960. It was recently estimated that to build a commuter railroad capable of carrying 80,000 passengers from a New York suburb to the city would cost $283 million; to carry the same number of people on new highways would cost $4,752 million. It seems only reasonable that Federal tax money be used to augment mass transit as it is used to augment highway construction. It is, in fact, essential to the health of the national economy that Federal assistance be extended for the solution of what is truly a national problem.

In his 1962 transportation message to Congress, President Kennedy recommended a program of Federal grants to States and localities for "revitalization and needed expansion of public mass transportation." In 1963 he renewed his request. President Johnson repeated this recommendation in his state of the Union, budget, and housing messages. And on July 9 he signed the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964.

As enacted, this act authorizes the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to make Federal grants and loans to States and localities for acquiring, constructing, and improving facilities and equipment for mass transportation systems owned, operated, leased, or otherwise used by public transportation authorities. It authorizes Congress to appropriate $375 million for grants, as follows: up to $75 million in the fiscal year 1965 and up to $150 million in each of the fiscal years 1966 and 1967. Any amount not appropriated will remain available for future years.

It also extends indefinitely a $50 million fund for low-interest loans to metropolitan agencies for the construction of mass transportation facilities.

The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency is authorized to make grants covering two-thirds of the net cost of the project when he determines that the Federal assistance is needed to carry out a program, approved by him, for a unified or officially coordinated urban transportation system which is part of the comprehensively planned development of the urban area. He is also authorized, until July 1, 1967, to carry out an emergency program of grants to cover one-half of the net project costs in localities where planning is incomplete but where an urgent need for the preservation or provision of mass transit facilities is demonstrated. When full plans are completed, the Federal share can be increased to the full two-thirds allowed in the long-range program.

One hundred percent Federal grants are provided for the payment of relocation expenses to families and organizations.

The use of $30 million of the $375 million is authorized over a 3-year period for 100-percent Federal grants for research, development, and demonstration projects. The continuation of an existing $25 million demonstration grant authority established under the Housing Act of 1961 is also authorized; but the provision of the 1961 act requiring that the $25 million be available for only two-thirds of the cost of a demonstration project was rescinded.

Finally, this act requires, as a condition of Federal aid, that fair and equitable arrangements be made to protect the interests of the transit workers affected by Federal assistance. This section is designed to protect the employee rights of the workers affected.

In signing this bill into law, President Johnson rightly heralded it as "by any standard one of the most profoundly significant measures to be enacted by the Congress during the 1960's."

The Supplemental Appropriations Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $60 million for urban mass transportation grants, $5 million for urban mass transportation loans, and $11,325,000 for urban planning grants.

FEDERAL AIRPORT ACT AMENDMENTS

In 1946, the Congress passed the Federal Airport Act, which authorized Federal matching grants for airport construction and expansion. Although the regulation of air traffic has been a Federal Government responsibility since 1926, it was not until 1946 that Congress realized that Federal aid was needed to help localities bear the cost of meeting the national need for airports and safe facilities.

This year, by Public Law 88–280, we extended for 3 years, through June 30, 1967, the $75 million annual authorization for this program. Of the total each year, $66.5 million is for the 50 States and the District of Columbia, with 75 percent of the money apportioned on the basis of State area and population and 25 percent distributed at the discretion

of the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency.

This act continues the provision of the original act which prohibits Federal contributions for terminal buildings and other items not directly related to safety, as well as the provision which limits the Federal share to 50 percent on most items, with the exception of certain landing aids where a Federal contribution of 75 percent is allowed.

The provision of the 1946 act which authorized the Federal Aviation Agency to reimburse airport builders for 50 percent of the costs of advance planning and engineering studies was continued; but these amendments allow the Agency to make the reimbursement in advance of the beginning of construction, without first having entered into an agreement to help support the construction, and regardless of whether the project is actually undertaken later or not.

These amendments also specify that proper zoning of the land adjacent to the airport is a condition of a Federal grant and requires that projects seeking Federal aid be "reasonably consistent" with the plans of the public agencies for the development of the airport area.

SHIPPING SUBSIDIES

On July 11, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88-370. This act extends for 1 year a program originally set up by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. The basic concept of that earlier act was to place the operators of American ships on a parity with their foreign competitors. To accomplish this, it set a subsidy on the construction of ships at a maximum of 50 percent. This subsidy represents the differential between construction costs in the United States and in foreign shipyards and is paid to U.S. shipbuilders who in turn pass it on to the ship purchaser.

The Merchant Marine Act was amended in 1960 to raise the subsidy to 55 percent and in 1961 reconstruction and reconditioning were brought under the 55-percent maximum. In 1962 the increased subsidy was extended to June 30, 1964, and the reconstruction maximum subsidy was raised to 60 percent. This new amendment extends the existing subsidies through June 30, 1965.

MERCHANT MARINE VESSEL CONSTRUCTION

Under the terms of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, any ship operator may apply to the Maritime Administration for a subsidy to construct a vessel in a shipyard in the United States. If the petition is approved, the construction contract is awarded to the lowest bidder. However, the law allows one exception to the low bid policy: in cases where the Secretary of Commerce determines that certain shipyards should be encouraged, he may assign or allocate the construction of a vessel to a shipyard which was not the lowest bidder. This exception has its roots in the national defense needs of the Nation. Defense considerations require that the Nation have effective and adequate shipyard capacity on all of our seacoasts; consequently, the Secretary of Commerce was given the authority to allocate vessel construction in order to assure that adequate shipyard capacity be maintained in all essential areas.

Recent experiences have demonstrated that the allocation of vessel construction can place unexpected and unfair burdens on vessel owners. To end this inequity, this Congress has passed a law designed to reimburse shipping lines for the additional expenses incurred by them when the Federal Government orders their vessels to be constructed in a shipyard other than the one which had submitted the lowest bid. The expenses involved are those of maintaining additional inspection teams at distant shipyards and the cost of transporting the finished ship from the shipyard back to its home port. These expenses do not bring any benefit to the shipowner and are incurred solely as the result of a policy decision by the Federal Government. This is a matter of simple justice.

By the amendment to the Merchant Marine Act, the Secretary of Commerce is required to reimburse the shipowner who has incurred additional expenses as a result of the allocation of a contract to other than the lowest bidder. However, if a saving accrues to the shipowner as the result of an allocation, a repayment to the Government is required by the new law.

LABOR

The Department of Labor, created in 1913, is charged with administering and enforcing those statutes which are designed to advance the public interest by promoting the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, by improving their working conditions, and by advancing their opportunities for profitable employment.

To enable it to carry out these functions, we appropriated $350,078,000 for that Department for the fiscal year 1964. This was in addition to the supplemental appropriation of $25,250,000.

The appropriation for the Department of Labor for the fiscal year 1965 was $565,904,000. The deficiency appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1964 included an additional $25 million for that Department.

EQUAL PAY ACT

The Equal Pay Act, signed by President Kennedy on June 10, 1963, is one of two pieces of legislation covered in my report last year which are of great significance for the welfare of the wage earners of the United States. This act is the culmination of attempts, since 1945, to enact legislation prohibiting discrimination in wages because of sex. Its enactment is a forward step in the drive for full equality of economic opportunity.

Briefly, this act amends the Fair Labor Standards Act to require that an employer of persons working in interstate commerce grant equal pay "for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal effort and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions." In other words, it requires that no employee can be paid a wage rate less than that given to another doing the same work because of his or her sex. President Kennedy, in signing this bill, rightly heralded it as "another structure base to democracy."

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT AMENDMENTS

Certainly another significant action of the 1st session of the 88th Congress was the enactment of the amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. These amendments strengthen, expand, and extend the program to deal more effectively with the hardcore unemployment problems of unskilled and inadequately educated teenagers and older workers. It is estimated that the amendments will permit the training of an additional 93,000 persons.

The amendments waive the State matching requirement for the fiscal year 1965 and extend the Manpower Development and Training Act for an additional 2 years, with the requirement that the State match one-third and one-half, respectively, in the fiscal years 1966 and 1967.

They authorize training in basic education for those unable to qualify for occupational training, providing evidence exists of an intention to undertake training. For this group, an additional 20 weeks of training allowances are authorized.

The age limit for allowances is lowered from 19 to 17, subject to the restriction of a 1-year waiting period for school dropouts. Twenty-five percent of those receiving allowances may be youths under 22 years of age. Previously, the amount that could be spent on youths was limited to 5 percent of the total training allowances paid to all trainees.

In addition, the amendments permit increases in weekly training allowances to $10 above the State unemployment compensation payment. This is intended to encourage the unemployed to seek training rather than to draw unemployment compensation pay.

Finally, trainees are allowed to work 20 hours a week without any loss in training allowance and they are made eligible for training with 2 years of prior work experience rather than 3 as under the original act.

To carry out this expanded program, we increased the authorization for the fiscal year 1965 from $165 to $411 million and authorized an additional $285 million for the fiscal year 1966.

In signing this measure into law, President Johnson said:

> Under this legislation we are taking some very necessary and very imports steps to continue the success achieved under the Manpower Development and Training Act enacted last year.

The Democratic Party, the party of the majority of the Members of both the 87th and the 88th Congress, is justifiably proud of its record in this area.

The appropriation for the Department of Labor for the fiscal year 1965 includes $307,906,000 for manpower development and training.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TECHNOLOGY, AUTOMATION, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

A related action taken by the second session of the 88th Congress is the establishment of a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. Technological change has become the characteristic of modern indus-

trial society. It is essential to economic growth but it poses a dilemma. On the one hand, we must achieve continuous technological change if we are to have rising productivity and, hence, rising incomes. On the other hand, we must ease the problems which both labor and management face in their attempts to adjust to technological change. This is not a new dilemma; we have faced it to a greater or lesser degree almost from the founding of the Republic. What enhances the seriousness of the dilemma at this time is the accelerated pace of technological development.

No one denies that automation has many good effects. It can create more consumer goods of better quality at less cost. In addition to promising a better material life for mankind, it can free people from long hours of monotonous physical labor and allow them to employ their uniquely human qualities in appropriate human activities. In many cases the jobs which are eliminated by automation are unpleasant, odious, unsafe, and unhealthy.

This is the promise of automation and it is welcomed by all. However, we must concern ourselves with the less pleasing consequences as well. In a relatively short time, it has perceptibly changed the structure of our job requirements. Persons are dislocated from the economy and denied a life of productivity and dignity.

The total impact of automation upon the economy now and in the future is unknown. This is the most disturbing element. As Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, said in testimony before the House:

> It is a startling thing that we do not know whether the machines will, within the next 5 years, throw an additional 5 million people out of work, or put to work the 5 million who are presently out of work * * *. This is the worst form of ignorance.

It is in an attempt to dispel this ignorance that this Democratic-controlled Congress passed Public Law 88-444, an act to establish a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. President Kennedy, in his railroad-labor dispute message to Congress in July 1963, called for the establishment of a National Commission on Automation. President Johnson, in his state of the Union message and his economic message, both transmitted to the Congress in January 1964, proposed the establishment of a Commission on Automation, Technology, and Employment. On March 9, he repeated this proposal in his manpower report and sent draft legislation to Congress. His accompanying letter stated that the purpose of this Commission was to "study current and future trends of technological change, and to recommend the most constructive action that can be taken to secure maximum benefits with the least possible harmful effects upon the Nation."

This is the purpose envisioned by the majority of the Members of this body in enacting legislation creating the Commission.

The act establishes a 14-man Commission from among persons outside the Government with demonstrated high-level skills and competency in the field to be investigated. The members will be broadly representative of the various segments of our industrial and academic life directly concerned, including at least two members representing labor and two members representing management. Appointments to the Commission will be made by the President by and with the consent of the Senate.

The Commission is directed to identify and assess the past effects and the current and prospective role and pace of technological change. It will identify and describe the impact of technological and economic change on production and employment, including new job requirements and the major types of worker displacement. It will study the specific industries, occupations, and geographic areas which are most likely to be involved, and the social and economic effects of these developments on the Nation's economy, manpower, communities, families, social structure, and human values. Further, it is directed to define those areas of unmet community and human needs toward which application of new technologies might most effectively be directed. This will encompass an examination of technological developments that have occurred in recent years, including those resulting from the Federal Government's research and development programs. Finally, it is directed to recommend specific administrative and legislative steps which it believes should be taken by the Federal, State, and local governments in meeting their responsibilities to support and promote technological change in the interest of continued economic growth and the improved well-being of the people.

The act also provides for the establishment of a Federal Interagency Committee consisting of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, Defense, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare and the heads of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Council of Economic Advisers, Office of Science and Technology, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. This committee will advise the Commission and maintain an effective liaison with the resources of the executive branch of the Government.

During the course of its investigations, the Commission may file interim reports and recommendations. It is directed to submit the final report of its findings and recommendations to the President and Congress by January 1, 1966. It will cease to function 30 days thereafter.

The act authorizes such sums as may be necessary to carry out its provisions, not to exceed $1 million.

In short, it is intended that the Commission undertake a deep and sober appraisal of the future. It is true, of course, that we cannot foretell the future with certainty, but it is imperative that we develop an overall national policy to deal with the critical issue of technological change in the various sectors of our economy and that guidelines be set forth for business and labor, and for Federal, State, and local governments. It is certainly true that we cannot intelligently seek solutions to automation's problems, or even discuss them rationally, until we know the facts about automation's impact on our industries, on our jobs, and on our lives. The Commission is directed to discover those facts.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $825,000 for the Commission.

FARM LABOR CONTRACTOR REGISTRATION ACT

Certainly one group of citizens who have not shared in the abundance of this Nation and who live with at least economic insecurity, and most often with poverty, are the 400,000 of our citizens who leave their homes every year to cross State lines and engage in agricultural employment. Often these workers are undereducated; in many cases, they are completely uneducated. Their literacy level is low and their ability to understand their rights is minimal.

In addition, many of these workers have no voting residence. They have no Congressman to whom they can complain, nor do they have access to other officials who could help them with their problems. These are people particularly subject to exploitation.

In 1960, the Department of Labor made a study of crew leader practices. The results indicate that the crew leaders—the middlemen in making work arrangements between growers and migratory farmworkers—are, in large part, responsible for the abuses to migrant workers. Often it is the crew leader who recruits, transports, houses, feeds, pays, and oversees the work of the employees. In short, the welfare of the migrant worker is in his hands.

Among the abuses most frequently attributed to crew leaders are overcharging for transportation advances, underpaying workers by giving them reduced figures for total weight or units produced, overcharging growers by inflating production figures, abandoning workers without their pay, illegal traffic in liquor, gambling, narcotics, prostitution, and overcharging workers for services, housing, and food.

Many of the States regulate the activities of the crew leaders; but the problem is that the States which do regulate crew leaders and which do require that they meet certain standards cannot enforce their regulations across State lines. It is obvious that action is needed and that it must come from the Federal Government. This year Congress took action to protect these workers.

The act passed this year requires certificates of registration to be issued by the Secretary of Labor to any person who transports 10 or more migrant workers for interstate agricultural employment. The certificates will be issued only upon the submission of satisfactory information regarding the contractor's conduct and method of operation. The certificate of registration can be refused, revoked, or suspended if the abuses to which I have referred are discovered. The crew leaders must also produce proof that they are financially responsible or have liability insurance on vehicles used to transport migratory workers to and from their jobs. This should

mean fewer instances of trucks turning over and loss of life and limb without recompense to the injured.

Practically none of the benefits or protective measures of Federal law enjoyed by other workers are extended to migratory laborers. They are excluded from protection under the Fair Labor Standards Act and have been denied the safeguards of the National Labor Relations Act. It is surely time that the plight of these workers be recognized and that steps be taken to ameliorate it.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $350,000 for farm labor contractor registration activities under this act.

DAVIS-BACON ACT AMENDMENTS

The Davis-Bacon Act of 1931, as amended, requires that contractors, and subcontractors, when working on Federal construction contracts and various other federally aided or federally insured contracts amounting to $2,000 or more, pay laborers, and mechanics not less than the prevailing cash wages for workers on similar projects in the same area.

A great change has occurred in the construction industry, as in all industry, since 1931, but the provisions of the act did not reflect that change. The basic hourly wage rate no longer constitutes the actual hourly labor costs on construction projects, since World War II, fringe benefits have become very widespread and are viewed by workers as an important part of their wages. The amendments passed this year are designed to reflect this development.

As passed, Public Law 88–349 includes health and welfare fringe benefits, and any other bona fide fringe benefit, or contributions to funds, plans, or programs, in the determination of prevailing wages on construction jobs subject to the Davis-Bacon Act. The costs of fringe benefits will now be combined with cash wages in determining whether the contractor or subcontractor is meeting his obligations. The fringe benefit contributions will not be used in the calculation of overtime wages, and fringe benefits which a contractor or subcontractor is already required to provide by other Federal, State, or local laws are excluded from the requirements of the act.

These amendments bring the Davis-Bacon Act up to date and make it once more a truly meaningful piece of legislation.

RAIL LABOR DISPUTE

On August 28, 1963, just 6 hours before a national railroad strike which would have been disastrous in its consequences was scheduled to begin, President Kennedy signed into law a joint resolution adopted almost unanimously in both Houses of the Congress. In my report of last year I chronicled in some detail the history of the dispute which made this action necessary. Suffice to say here that 4 years of negotiation, litigation, and attempts to resolve the basic questions at issue had failed.

The joint resolution created a seven-member arbitration board to resolve the two primary issues: firemen on diesel locomotives and the manning of train crews. It provides that the arbitral award would be made within 90 days, would take effect 60 days later, and would be in effect for 2 years unless the parties to the arbitration agreed otherwise. The five secondary issues in the dispute were not put within the purview of the arbitration commission. They were, instead subjected to further collective bargaining and a strike over any of these issues was prohibited for 180 days.

I might add a postscript to this account. On April 9, 1964, the specter of a national railroad strike was revived. The dispute did not concern the two primary issues which had been submitted to the arbitration commission by the joint resolution of 1963. Rather, it concerned the secondary issues—pay scales, interdivisional runs, combination of road and yard work, extra holidays, layover expenses, and the like.

On April 9, President Johnson won a dramatic 15-day strike reprieve only 100 minutes before the threatened shutdown. From that date until April 22, intensive collective bargaining between representatives of the railroad brotherhoods and management and mediators from the Department of Labor and from outside of Government continued.

On April 22, in a nationwide television broadcast, President Johnson announced a "just and fair" settlement of virtually the last important issues in the dispute. He called the settlement a "common victory for collective bargaining and for industrial democracy." It represented, he said, "American business and American labor operating at its very best—at the highest levels of public responsibility." That a settlement was imperative is obvious from the statement of President Johnson to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 18:

> A strike would cost us the loss of 7 million jobs in a very short time. A strike would cost us a downturn in our gross national product of 10 to 15 percent. A strike would cost us great dangers in health throughout the Nation. A strike would paralyze our entire system.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped was established in 1947 to facilitate the development of maximum employment opportunities for the physically and mentally handicapped. The achievements of this Committee since the beginning of President Kennedy's administration are notable indeed. In 1960, when a $300,000 appropriation was first authorized, 88,300 persons were rehabilitated through the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. This year, the number is expected to increase to 126,000. Over the past year, 102,000 disabled veterans were placed in employment and 9,000 handicapped persons found employment in the Federal Government. Total placements of handicapped applicants during 1962 swelled to nearly 280,000, or an increase of 9.1 percent over 1961. These successes are in good part due to the many activities of the Committee in cooperation with public and private agencies and organizations.

This year, we increased the amount authorized to be appropriated each year for this Committee from $300,000 to $400,000. The purpose is to enable the Committee to expand its efforts in promoting the employment of not only the physically handicapped, but the mentally restored, the mentally retarded, and the mentally ill.

A Democratic-controlled Congress, dedicated to creating those conditions which will allow all of our citizens to develop their full potential, can rightly be expected to devote itself to the special employment problems faced by a large number of our citizens. One person in 10 in the United States has an impairment which limits his normal activities. It is well to remember, too, that every single handicapped person who is employed becomes a productive member of society and costs to Government are measurably decreased. But most important of all, the handicapped person who is employed is enabled to help himself and to retain his human dignity.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $40,000 for the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

ECONOMY AND FINANCE

The Treasury Department is charged with responsibility for managing the financial affairs of the Nation. To enable it to carry on the many diversified activities which are encompassed within this directive, we appropriated $1,103,650,000 for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1964. An additional $8,544,900 for that Department was included in the supplemental appropriation bill.

And this year, we appropriated $1,214,330,000 for the Treasury Department for the fiscal year 1965. In addition, the deficiency appropriation for the fiscal year 1964 included $10,300,000 for the Treasury Department.

REVENUE ACT

In my report at the close of the 1st session of the 88th Congress I described in some detail the reasons for President Kennedy's proposals for the revision of the income tax structure. At the close of the first session, an omnibus tax reduction bill had been passed by this House and was being considered by the coordinate body. On February 20, 1964, President Johnson signed into law the $11.5 billion tax reduction bill, the largest in the Nation's history.

This measure was assigned top priority by President Kennedy. In a speech before the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations on November 15, 1963—just 1 week before his death—he said:

> If jobs are the most important domestic issue facing this Nation today, then clearly no single step can be more important than the prompt passage of the pending tax-cut bill.

He had recommended this departure in fiscal policy in his state of the Union message and he continued to recommend it in messages to the Congress and in speeches before private groups.

In his first speech to a joint session of the Congress on November 27, 1963, President Johnson said:

No act of ours could more fittingly continue the work of President Kennedy than the early passage of the tax bill.

He repeatedly urged its enactment by the Congress; and after full and deliberate consideration of its vital and complex provisions, this, the 88th Congress, enacted that historic bill.

The basic purpose of this act is to eliminate the obsolete tax system which for too long exerted a drag on private purchasing power, profits, and employment. It is intended to strengthen the economy, provide more jobs, more wages, more profits, and, ultimately, more tax revenues. In signing the bill, President Johnson heralded its passage as "the single most important step we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II." An analysis of the effects of the tax cut by Paul A. Samuelson, professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published in the Washington Post on July 26, 1964, states:

While it is too soon to give a definitive answer to so complicated a question, we have had enough experience this spring and summer to give a tentative jury verdict.

The economic verdict is a very favorable one. The tax cut is working out just about as favorably as the experts had hoped for.

The experts are the economists of the Kennedy-Johnson administration who had forecast that the tax cut would eventually increase consumer spending by more than $20 billion a year, provide 2 to 3 million new jobs, increase the annual investments for new industrial plants and equipment, new homes, school, roads, and other public works by $12 billion, and increase local tax yields by $12 billion.

On March 23, 1964, Chairman Walter E. Heller, of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said, in a speech before the Economic Club of Detroit, that the Nation's economy, spurred by the tax cut, offers "solid" prospects of "breaking the stubborn grip of unemployment, which has stood at 5 percent or above for 76 months and still stands at 5.4 percent."

In July of this year, unemployment fell to 4.9 percent; for the first time in the Nation's history, employment passed the 72 million mark. There are 1½ million more Americans at work today than there were a year ago. In July of this year, the jobless total was one-half million below a year ago, and was at its lowest July level since 1959.

In June, Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, reported that the number of jobs in the Nation is increasing more rapidly than the number of workers for the first time since 1957. September marked the 43d consecutive month of uninterrupted advance in the economy. This is the longest peacetime period of uninterrupted advance in 110 years, with the single exception of the rise from March 1933 to May 1937. Business expenditures on new plants and equipment during 1964 are estimated at the record figure of $44 billion, an increase of nearly $5 billion, or 12 percent, over last year. Corporations paid $4.2 billion in dividends during the first quarter of 1964, an increase of 10 percent over the comparable period in 1963. Corporate profits after taxes are expected to reach $31 billion for 1964, an increase from $21.8 billion in 1961, $24.6 billion in 1962, and $27.1 billion in 1963. The Federal Reserve Board reported that industrial production rose in June to 131.8 up six-tenths of a point from May, a record.

Finally, the gross national product rose in the March–June quarter to an annual rate of $618.5 billion, up $10 billion. And total personal income in the quarter rose $11.4 billion, to $491.3 billion.

This is a truly remarkable record and is attributable in no small part to the tax cut, as well as to the many positive programs of President Kennedy and President Johnson, supported by two Democratic Congresses.

The provisions of this act are much too complex, numerous, and lengthy to detail here. In its major tax reduction provisions, the act provides for a two-step reduction in the percentage rates of taxes levied on individual incomes. Prior to the act, the rates ran from 20 percent at the bottom bracket to 91 percent at the top. For the calendar year 1964, the act applied a new range of rates running from 16 percent at a revised bottom bracket to 77 percent at the top. In 1965 these revised percentage rates will drop to a range of 14 to 70 percent.

The act cuts the old law's 52 percent tax on corporate incomes to 50 percent this year and to 48 percent in 1965 and later year. It provides a special break for small companies by giving an extra deep reduction for corporate income below $25,000.

Other changes in the tax law include a cut in the withholding tax, changes in taxation on stock dividends, stock options, sick leave pay, casualty losses, deductions for medicine for older persons, taxes on group insurance, on child care for working mothers, on capital losses, employees' moving expenses, on large donations to charity, and on the use of the investment credit.

President Johnson described this act as "an expression of faith in our system of free enterprise." It is certainly that. The current vigor of our economy proves that that faith was not misplaced.

CORPORATE AND EXCISE TAXES

During the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the 52-percent corporation incometax rate and the existing rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, general telephone service and passenger travel by air were extended for 1 year. That action was expected to result in the collection of $2.8 to $2.9 billion for the Federal Treasury during the fiscal year 1964.

And during the second session, we again extended for 1 year the excise taxes due to expire on June 30, 1964. The excise taxes alone account for $1.9 billion dollars in the Federal Treasury each year.

The extension of the corporation income tax rate was a temporary measure because the revenue bill which I have just described revised this rate. But the more comprehensive measure had not been enacted when this piece of legislation was passed.

The 1-year extension of the excise taxes may also be a stop-gap measure. In June 1964, the Ways and Means Committee of this House began a comprehensive study of the entire excise tax structure. This study will provide the background information which is necessary before wise adjustments in the excise tax structure can be made.

NATIONAL DEBT LIMIT

On three occasions during the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the national debt limit of the United States was raised. I described the provisions of the three relevant acts in my report last year. Suffice it to say here that the ceiling established in the third act in November 1963 was $315 billion and was to carry the Treasury through June 29, 1964.

In his budget message of January 21, President Johnson requested that Congress approve an extension of that limit for an entire fiscal year. He pointed out that short-range extensions make it difficult to plan borrowing strategy.

On June 29, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–327. This measure increased the temporary national debt limit to $324 billion through June 30, 1965. This was a necessary measure to give the Secretary of the Treasury reasonable means to finance adequately the operations of the Government. Had Congress not acted before the end of the fiscal year 1964, fiscal and financial chaos would have occurred.

The raising of the debt limit does not increase spending. It merely allows the Government to finance the spending decisions which have been made. As President Johnson pointed out in his news conference of June 2, 1964:

The debt limit is not a magic formula for promoting economy in Government.

In relationship to the gross national product, the Federal debt has declined from 127 percent just after World War II to about 50 percent now. The tremendous economic growth since the war would have been impossible without the expansion of the credit and money supply. And it is certainly foolish economy to force the Treasury to manage the debt in inefficient, expensive ways.

SECURITIES ACTS AMENDMENTS

In 1961 the Congress directed the Securities and Exchange Commission to make a study of conditions in the various stock exchanges. After a 2-year study, the Commission made certain recommendations, many of which are embodied in amendments to the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 passed this year.

These amendments are of a highly technical nature and I shall not go into the specifics of all of the provisions here. However, I shall sketch the broad outlines and intent of the two main aspects of the act. The main effect of the disclosure section of the act is to apply to unlisted securities—over-the-counter traded securities—the same disclosure and financial requirements, proxy solicitation, and insider trading requirements as formerly applied only to companies listed on the stock exchanges. This will affect the 3,000 larger industrial concerns whose stock is sold in the over-the-

counter market. It is estimated that unlisted securities dealt with by this act represent trading of $20 billion a year in securities; that is approximately 35 percent of all securities traded on the regular stock exchanges. These new requirements affect directly the holdings of 17 million American holders of American securities.

Several other provisions of this act deal with qualification standards and controls over those in the securities business. Self-regulation by industry organizations under the supervision of the Securi- and Exchange Commission has proved to be an extremely valuable means of providing effective regulation against unethical conduct on the part of brokers and dealers. It was felt that some type of regulation of all brokers and dealers in the over-the-counter stocks is necessary in order to provide maximum protection for the public. Therefore, the Commission was given the authority to regulate those dealers who do not choose to join a registered securities association in a manner similar to that used by the association and to charge them for the additional regulation.

This is a landmark act in the area of securities regulation. It provides new and comprehensive safeguards for the investing public while broadening and strengthening the tested concept of self-regulation by the securities industry. It was advocated by President Johnson in his special message on consumer interests, transmitted to the Congress on February 5. It was heralded by Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, as "undoubtedly the most important legislation in this area in almost a quarter of a century."

CHANGES IN CONTROL OF FEDERALLY INSURED BANKS

Since March 1964, five insured banks have failed. All of these failures were preceded by a change in control or management, and sometimes both, and a rather sudden deterioration in the character of the bank's assets. It became evident that some changes in the control and management of insured banks are made with the deliberate intent to raid the bank. The new group seizes control of the bank and then proceeds to exchange substandard or even fraudulent assets for cash in the bank. The impairment of the capital structure of the bank results in insolvency and then the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation must pay the insured deposits.

This year we enacted legislation designed to remedy this situation. The act we passed requires that whenever a change occurs in the voting stock of an insured bank which will result in a change in the control of the bank, the chief executive officer of the bank must promptly report this fact to the appropriate Federal banking agency. He must also report certain additional facts relating to loans on recently acquired bank stock and changes in executive officers and directors.

This act does not give the Federal banking agencies any additional power. It merely gives the supervisory agencies notice of changes in management so that the Federal and State supervisory agencies can take any steps which are necessary under the circumstances.

SMALL BUSINESS

The Small Business Administration is the first peacetime comprehensive agency devoted to small business problems and is an independent agency under the general supervision and direction of the President. It was established to aid, counsel, assist, and protect the interests of small business concerns; to insure that a fair proportion of the total Government purchases and contracts for supplies, services, research, and development be placed with small business enterprises; to make loans to small business concerns; to charter, license, and regulate small business investment companies; to make loans to small business investment companies, and to State and local development companies; and to make grants for studies, research, and counseling concerning the managing, financing, and operation of small business enterprises.

The 88th Congress enacted two pieces of legislation designed to sustain the successes of the small business investment program by liberalizing the investment provisions of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958. The first, Public Law 88–264, authorizes the Small Business Administration to make loans from its disaster fund to small businesses which sustain economic injury from any natural disaster, including disease and toxicity. Previously, the administration was authorized to make disaster loans only in the event of drought or rainfall disasters.

It also provides that criminal charges can be brought against anyone who "conceals, removes, disposes of or converts" to his or someone else's use any property mortgaged to the Small Business Administration as security for a loan.

The second measure, Public Law 88–273, is designed to liberalize regulations on Small Business Administration investment in small business investment companies and to increase the capitalization of small business investment companies in order that they may realize more profitable liquidation of their investments. The provisions of this act are too technical to recount here and it need only be repeated that both of these acts will contribute to the viability of the very important small business investment program.

An appropriation of $7,150,000 for the Small Business Administration for the fiscal year 1965 was included in the appropriation act for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and related agencies.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Peace must be among the first concerns of good government, for without it the resources of the Nation cannot be devoted to the creation of those circumstances which will make it possible for every one of our citizens to develop his full potential. In this nuclear age, the preservation of the peace requires the strength to wage war and the wisdom to avoid it.

Provision for the security of the United States through the establishment of integrated policies and procedures is the primary responsibility of the Department of Defense. Public Law 88–149, enacted during the first session of this Congress, appropriated $47,220,010,000 to that Department for the fiscal year 1964. Not included in this amount were funds for military assistance abroad, military construction, civil defense, the flood control work of the Army Engineers, or the military pay raise. This figure did include $12,850,700,000 for military personnel, $11,714,033,000 for the operation and maintenance of our forces, $15,706,047,000 for procurement, and $6,949,230,000 for research and development.

The supplemental appropriations bill for 1963, also passed during the first session, included an appropriation of $220,162,000 for the Department of Defense.

For the fiscal year 1965, we appropriated $46,752,051,000 for the Defense Department. This included $14,568,000,000 for military personnel, $12,313,484,000 for the operation and maintenance of our forces, $13,422,047,000 for procurement, and $6,448,520,000 for research and development.

The deficiency appropriation bill passed during this session also included an appropriation of $1,004,900,000 for the Department of Defense.

VIETNAM

On August 2, the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* was attacked by three North Vietnamese PT boats in international waters about 30 miles east of North Vietnam. The *Maddox* was on routine patrol in the Gulf of Tonkin when the attack occurred. Four planes from the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* assisted the *Maddox* in returning the gunfire and the attacking boats were driven off. This attack followed several months of increasing tensions in southeast Asia.

On August 3, President Johnson announced that he had directed the Pacific naval command to continue the patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin, to double the destroyer force off North Vietnam, to provide a combat air patrol over the destroyers, and to attack any force which attacked U.S. naval patrols "with the objective of not only driving off the force but of destroying it."

On August 4, the Department of Defense announced that an attack had been made on two U.S. destroyers by an undetermined number of North Vietnamese PT boats. The *Maddox* and the *C. Turner Joy* were fired on while cruising on routine patrol in international waters in the Tonkin Gulf about 65 miles from the nearest land. The two destroyers and their covering aircraft returned the attack and apparently sank at least two of the attacking PT boats.

Shortly before midnight of August 4, President Johnson, in a nationally televised address to the Nation, announced that "air action is now in execution against gun boats and certain supporting facilities of North Vietnam which have been used in their hostile operations."

He described the American response as "limited and fitting" and vowed that "we still seek no wider war."

In the same address, he announced that he had urged congressional leaders

of both political parties to facilitate prompt passage of a resolution "making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom, and in defense of peace, in southeast Asia."

Congress began prompt consideration of the resolution and on August 7 voted overwhelming approval of President Johnson's actions and pledged U.S. determination to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty—SEATO—which requests aid in defense of its freedom. This is very much in line with our commitments in that area. These commitments were first made in 1954 by President Eisenhower and were further defined in the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty approved by the Senate in February 1955. The resolution approved by the Congress was very similar to other resolutions enacted by Congress to meet the threat to Formosa in 1955, the threat to the Middle East in 1957, and the threat in Cuba in 1962.

President Johnson hailed the action of the Congress as a demonstration to the world of American unity and thanked the Members for their "patriotic, resolute and rapid action." In signing the resolution on August 10, he said that "the unanimity of the Congress reflects the unanimity of the country." And, he added, "Americans of all parties and philosophies can be justly proud—and justly grateful" for the congressional resolution.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Civil defense is correctly recognized as an essential nonmilitary defense program. Consequently, the Federal Government has recently taken an active part in promoting civil defense preparedness. In 1958, the Congress amended the Civil Defense Act of 1950 and gave the Federal Government and the States joint responsibility in civil defense programs. The 1958 act directed the Federal Government to provide the necessary direction, coordination, guidance, and financial assistance to the States.

On June 30, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–335, which extended for 4 years, through June 30, 1968, three expiring programs which had been established in 1958. This new act extended the program which provides the States with one-half of the administrative and personnel costs of State and local civil defense activities, that program under which the Federal Government pays up to 50 percent of the travel and per diem living expenses of trainees attending civil defense schools, and the program of Federal provision to the States, through donation or loan, of equipment to detect and measure atomic radiation.

The value of these programs was vividly attested during this past year. As the gentleman from Alaska, Representative RALPH J. RIVERS, pointed out during consideration of this measure, the earthquake in Alaska provided "one of the best demonstrations of the worth of Federal assistance to State and local governments for civil defense preparedness."

And the Governor of that State said:

If this type of disaster agency had not been fully functioning at the time of the Alaska earthquake, I personally believe the first hours following the earthquake would have been ones of tragic confusion.

The Supplemental Appropriations Act for the fiscal year 1963, enacted in May 1963, appropriated $15 million for surveying, stocking, and marking civil defense shelters.

The Independent Offices Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1964, passed in December 1963, included $70,319,000 to continue the established civil defense programs, $41,250,000 for research, a shelter survey, and the marking of civil defense shelters, and $27,500,000 for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable it to procure additional emergency civil defense hospitals, to maintain the 2,680 hospitals acquired in prior years, and to continue the emergency health training and preparedness activities of the Department.

And the Independent Offices Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included $105,200,000 for civil defense activities of the Department of Defense and $8,875,000 for civil defense activities of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

NATIONAL STOCKPILE

The national stockpile is composed of goods acquired to meet estimated needs in time of war. The Kennedy-Johnson administration has always demanded that the stockpile not exceed national emergency requirements. The excessive storage of any material is an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers and a possible source of questionable profits for contractors.

In line with this policy, the 88th Congress passed several laws designed to hold down the supply of stockpiled materials. In each case, the act waived the 6-month waiting period which is required by the Strategic and Critical Materials Stockpile Act prior to the disposal of stockpiled material. Bills were passed authorizing the sale of cadmium, waterfowl feathers and down, lead, zinc, and molybdenum.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT EXTENSION

The Defense Production Act was passed in 1950 in response to a message on the Korean war transmitted to the Congress by President Truman on July 19 of that year. The act was designed to increase the flow of war goods to the Korean front with a minimum of hardship in the United States. It provided for a system of priorities and allocation of defense materials and facilities and for the guaranteeing of defense loans.

The act has been extended many times, the last time in 1962. On June 30, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–343. This measure extends the Defense Production Act for 2 years, to June 30, 1966. In addition, it amends the 1950 act to extend the Government's authority to contract for disposal or purchase of materials under the act from June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1975, but prohibits new purchases under the act after June 30, 1964, unless the President determines that the materials are necessary for national security. New purchases are limited to $100 million.

RENEGOTIATION ACT

On June 30, 1964, President Johnson signed legislation extending the Renegotiation Act of 1951 until June 30, 1966, and making the provisions of the act applicable to contracts with the Federal Aviation Agency. The act was scheduled to expire on June 30, 1964.

The Renegotiation Act of 1951 established a procedure by which the Government may regain excessive profits charged by private firms in the fulfillment of defense and space contracts and subcontracts with certain specified departments. Renegotiation began during World War II and the process has been authorized ever since except for a lapse of approximately 2½ years between 1945 and 1948. The current Renegotiation Act took effect on January 1, 1951, and has been extended ever since.

The act is necessary because rapid technological changes and development in the aircraft, missile, and space fields often make previous pricing and contracting experience inadequate to prevent excessive profits on new materials and excessive charges to the Government.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The Atomic Energy Commission, created by the Congress in 1946 as an independent agency of the Federal Government, directs the development, use, and control of atomic energy for the defense and security of the United States, and for peaceful applications.

Appropriations made for the operation of the Atomic Energy Commission for the fiscal year 1964 were $2,742,669,000 and for the fiscal year 1965, $2,624,573,000.

AMENDMENT OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT OF 1954, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY ACT OF 1955, AND EURATOM COOPERATION ACT OF 1958

Public Law 88–394, signed by President Johnson on August 1, 1964, embraces several amendments to the basic laws in the atomic energy field. They are meant to clarify and modify our atomic energy legislation in order to keep our laws current with new developments in the nuclear field.

Section 1 of the amending act extends the Atomic Energy Commission's authority to require the licensing of certain patents for a 5-year period. This authority was initially included in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 with a 5-year limitation; in 1959 Congress approved a 5-year extension until September 1, 1964. This year's amendment continues the authority until September 1, 1969. This authority has never been used but it is considered to be an important reserve power which would be useful in preventing the creation of patent monopolies during the formative period of this new industry.

Sections 2 and 3 of the act clarify the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954.

Section 4 empowers the Atomic Energy Commission to lease real property and to sell or lease personal property located in the Hanford Project of the Atomic Energy Commission near Richland,

Wash. Disposals of Commission property under this authority can be for the conduct of activities not related to atomic energy. The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 confers upon the Commission the authority to dispose of Government property for use by the transferees for purposes related to the development and utilization of atomic energy; and this amendment merely extends this authority to property to be used for activities not related to the development or utilization of atomic energy.

Section 5 amends the Euratom Cooperation Act of 1958 by authorizing the Atomic Energy Commission to transfer an additional 40,000 kilograms of uranium 235 and an additional 491 kilograms of plutonium to the European Atomic Energy Community.

AMENDMENT TO THE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT OF 1954

In August, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 was further amended to effectuate the most far-reaching change in that law since 1954. As it was written prior to these amendments, the act required that title to all special nuclear material— fissionable material or nuclear fuels—be held by the U.S. Government. The reasons for this requirement lie in the conditions as they existed when the 1946 and 1954 Atomic Energy Acts were passed.

In 1946, very little was known about the atom. The United States had had a complete monopoly over atomic weapons and a virtual monopoly in fissionable materials and the preservation of this monopoly was a cardinal principle of U.S. atomic policy. Consequently, the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 specified that title to all special nuclear materials in the United States would remain with the Government.

By 1954 there was a widespread demand for private participation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and the United States had acquired sufficient experience in the handling of nuclear materials to realize that they could be effectively controlled through the implementation of strict regulatory requirements. Consequently, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, permitted private persons to possess and use special nuclear materials under license from the Atomic Energy Commission. Private persons could also own and operate nuclear reactors. But the requirement of mandatory Government ownership of nuclear material was retained.

Since 1954, the Congress has come to realize that, even in the absence of Government ownership, the Congress can act to control the security and safety of special nuclear materials. Powers clearly granted to the Congress by the Constitution are an ample basis for such action. These changed circumstances, coupled with the important strides made in the development of civilian nuclear power, require a revision of the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act concerning the ownership of special nuclear materials. That revision was made this year.

This is a complex piece of legislation but its main outlines may be drawn here.

First. It repeals the requirement for mandatory Government ownership of special nuclear materials. Provision for the continued effective regulation and control of these materials is assured in other amendments to the Atomic Energy Act. The authority and responsibility of the Atomic Energy Commission to control fissionable materials for the common defense and for the protection of the public health and safety are in no way diminished.

Second. The Atomic Energy Commission is authorized to sell or lease special nuclear material. After December 31, 1970, the Commission will not be able to distribute special nuclear material, except by sale, to a person owning or operating a nuclear power reactor if the material is intended for use in the reactor. As of June 30, 1973, unless otherwise authorized by law, all special nuclear material previously leased to a person owning or operating a nuclear power reactor will have to be converted to private ownership.

This is a carefully drafted act—the result of more than 2 years of hard work. It gives careful attention to the public interest and to the needs of the atomic energy industry. Basically, it permits the private development of a nuclear industry in this country. If Government ownership were to continue—particularly in the years ahead as the atomic industry burgeons—the enormous inventory of special materials necessary for this development would be financed by the taxpayers. And it would become increasingly difficult for the Government to get out of the atomic power business without serious economic dislocations. No one would question the wisdom, then, of permitting the orderly termination of mandatory Government ownership before a large-scale expansion in the atomic industry occurs.

MILITARY

MILITARY ACADEMIES

On March 3, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88–276, a measure designed to increase the authorized strength of the Military and Air Force Academies to equal that of the Naval Academy. This will enable the Military and Air Force Academies to provide a larger proportion of the young officers who accept Regular commissions for the purpose of undertaking a military career.

By permitting an eventual graduating class of approximately 930 at each of the academies, as compared to 550 at present, this act will enable the Military Academy to provide about 50 percent of the required annual Regular officer input of about 1,950 officers and, for the Air Force, about 31 percent of the annual input of 3,100 Regular officers. The present academy classes fulfill only 26 percent of the requirement for the Army and 18 percent for the Air Force.

Specifically, this act authorized strengths for the Military and Air Force Academies, as well as for the Naval Academy, at 4,417 cadets each. Each Member of Congress is authorized to appoint five principals to each of the three academies in any 4-year period and may name five alternates for each principal. From this pool of congressional alternates each academy must annually appoint 150 men to each academy on the basis of merit.

The act also establishes a system of priorities in admission to each academy and special provisions governing admissions to the Military and Air Force Academies during the years before each reaches its newly authorized strength of 4,417 students.

All future students at the three service academies and at the Coast Guard Academy will be obligated to a statutory minimum of 5 years of active duty after graduation.

MILITARY PAY RAISES

In my report at the close of the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I described in detail the provisions of the military pay raise which was passed last year. Briefly, that act authorized military pay increases of an estimated $1,243,084,000 a year. Of that amount, $1,213 million was for the military forces in the Defense Department and the remainder was for the Coast Guard, the Public Health Service, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

In August of this year, the Congress passed and sent to the President another military pay raise bill. It authorized a total of $207,519,000 annually for increases in military compensation rates. Of the total, $202,441,000 was for the Department of Defense and $5,078,000 for the Coast Guard, Public Health Service, and Coast and Geodetic Survey. Two million seven hundred sixty-two thousand persons, including 1,833,000 on active duty and 879,000 in the Reserves, are affected by this act.

The bulk of the funds—$187,753,000—are allocated to increase the basic pay of active duty officers and enlisted men by providing a 2.5 percent increase in the basic pay of all personnel with over 2 years of service and an 8.5 percent increase in the basic pay of commissioned personnel with less than 2 years of service.

The purpose of both of these measures is to provide a reasonable balance between military compensation trends and the trends of earnings in other sectors of the economy. The 1963 raise was the first such increase since 1958. Surveys made by the Department of Defense showed that military men lost ground with their civilian counterparts in the interval between the enactment of these two raises. Commissioned personnel with less than 2 years of service have had no increase in their basic pay since 1952.

In signing the 1963 act, President Kennedy, in referring to the military personnel, said:

> Every citizen of this country owes them a greater debt than they realize, that they are able in a very prosperous and peaceful country to live as secure as they do because of the dedicated service of so many hundreds and thousands of our fellow citizens who serve in this country and all around the globe.

Certainly this is as true in this year of 1964 as it was in 1963.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

The military construction appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1964 appropriated $1,585,880,000 for construction at

military bases in the United States and abroad and for the construction and maintenance of military family housing.

And in August of this year we passed a bill making appropriations for the same purposes for the fiscal year 1965. The total appropriation made was $1,570,968,000. Of this, $939,817,000 is for military construction and $631,151,000 is for construction, operation, maintenance, and debt payments on military family-housing projects.

VETERANS

In my report last year, I quoted from President Kennedy's budget message transmitted to the Congress on January 17, 1963, in which he said:

This country has recognized that the Government's primary obligation for veterans' benefits is to those who incurred disabilities in the defense of our Nation and to the dependents of those who died as a result of military service.

The continuity of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations and their adherence to the same basic philosophy relative to legislation for the welfare of veterans is obvious from this statement from President Johnson's budget message, transmitted to the Congress on January 21, 1964. There he said:

We have a lasting obligation to those who died or were disabled in the defense of the Nation, and to their dependents.

A brief summary of some of the legislation enacted by the Democratic-controlled 88th Congress will prove that we are well aware of this obligation. Among the acts passed during this Congress are the following:

Public Law 88–3 amends the United States Code so that burial allowances may be paid in those cases where discharges were changed by competent authority from dishonorable to other than dishonorable after the death of the veteran.

Public Law 88–20 provides additional compensation for veterans having a service-incurred disability of deafness of both ears.

Public Law 88–21 provides a 10-percent increase in the monthly payments to children and parents of veterans who died from service-connected causes.

Public Law 88–22 provides additional compensation for veterans who are suffering from a complete loss of speech as a result of military service.

Public Law 88–134 increases the basic monthly rate of dependency and indemnity compensation to widows of veterans who have died from service-connected causes.

Public Law 88–355 amends the United States Code to authorize the inclusion of a new total disability income provision in national service life insurance policies. It provides for the payment of total disability income benefits if the insured becomes so disabled prior to age 65.

Public Law 88–359 amends the law relating to the payment of the $250 veterans' burial allowances to delete the language which requires that amounts paid by burial associations toward burial and funeral expenses be deducted prior to payment of the allowance. In lieu of this provision in the law, we substituted a uniform prohibition of payment of a claim for burial allowances when the allowance would revert to the funds of a public or private organization or would discharge such an organization's obligation without payment.

Public Law 88–361 provides educational benefits, under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act of 1956, for the children of veterans who have become permanently and totally disabled as a result of service-connected disabilities suffered during wartime or, under certain conditions, during any peacetime period since September 16, 1940.

Public Law 88–364 amends the United States Code to extend from age 60 to age 65 the delimiting age before which a person insured under a National Service Life Insurance policy must become totally disabled to be eligible for waiver for premiums on such insurance.

Public Law 88–401 amends the United States Code to permit a blind veteran to obtain a $10,000 grant under the paraplegic housing program to enable him to acquire a specially equipped home even though he is able to move about without the aid of a wheelchair. Prior to this amendment blind veterans with loss or loss of use of one lower extremity were eligible for a grant only if they were in such a condition as to preclude locomotion without the aid of a wheelchair.

Public Law 88–450 authorizes programs of nursing care for aged veterans. Included in the program are provisions for at least 4,000 nursing-care beds in Veterans' Administration hospitals, private nursing care for veterans who have exhausted their hospital benefits, and matching grants for the construction of nursing-care facilities in State old soldiers' homes.

Public Law 88–481 amends the definition of "veteran of any way" in the United States Code to include any veteran awarded the Medal of Honor. The effort is to provide hospital, medical, and domiciliary care for non-service-connected disabilities to veterans awarded the Medal of Honor, regardless of whether the veteran served during peacetime or wartime, on the same basis as such care is now provided to veterans who served during a period of war.

VETERANS PENSION ACT AMENDMENTS

A landmark piece of legislation of benefit to veterans was passed in the closing days of the 88th Congress. Because of its great significance I should like to devote more time to it than I have to the more limited enactments described above.

The act passed this year amends the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959 to make improvements in the non-service-connected pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict and their widows and children; and also liberalizes several other provisions of that basic act.

No one can question the need for these amendments. In the 5 years since the enactment of the Veterans Pension Act, the cost of living has risen by 6.1 percent. Consequently, the 1,129,219 veterans on the disability pension rolls today are caught in the squeeze between rising costs and static income. These amendments overcome an inequity which has no place in the care which should be accorded those who have risked their lives and suffered disabilities in our behalf.

These amendments are the result of extensive study and hearings and the efforts of many persons and organizations who have quite properly interested themselves in the welfare of our veterans. It is a just and meritorious piece of legislation.

The provision which has received the most publicity is that which reopens the National Service Life Insurance program for 1 year to those veterans who served between October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956, who have service-connected disabilities or who are unable to buy commercial insurance because of a disability not related to their service. In all cases, the administrative costs will be borne by the insured.

In addition to this extension of opportunity for the commencement or reinstatement of insurance, several other provisions will result in increased eligibility and benefits. Among these are the amendment adding new exclusions of income in determining eligibility. For example, under the original legislation, the first $1,200 of a wife's income was excluded from the determination of annual income but the balance of her income was counted. Under the new amendment, either the $1,200 or her entire income, whichever is greater, is excluded.

Cash benefits to pensioners, their widows, or children are increased by an average of approximately 5 percent, with the greatest increases going to those in the low income brackets.

We have provided a substantial increase for those veterans requiring aid and attendance and an additional rate is allowed for a newly created category of pensioners called housebound. Finally an additional allowance is provided for drugs for those in the aid-and-attendance category.

Even this summary discussion of the amendments passed this year should indicate why this is such an appropriate law. We have related pensions to need, need based upon serious disability or upon low income. By so doing, we have carried forward the principle that the greatest degree of help should be extended to those who are most in need of it. And by basing our veterans' pension plan upon this principle we best discharge our debt and our responsibility to those who have served us so well.

To enable the Veterans' Administration to administer these and other laws passed by Congress which authorize benefits for former members of the Armed Forces and for the dependents and other beneficiaries of deceased former members of those forces, we appropriated $5,384,784,000 for the administration for the fiscal year 1964. This was in addition to the supplemental appropriation of $46,300,000 for the fiscal year 1963, passed in May 1964.

The Independent Offices Appropriations Act for the fiscal year 1965 included

an appropriation of $5,434,473,000 for the Veterans' Administration.

INTERNATIONAL

The Department of State is the chief adviser to the President in the field of foreign policy. We appropriated $322,696,000 for that Department for the fiscal year 1964. This was in addition to the $7,870,300 appropriated in the supplemental appropriation bill.

For the fiscal year 1965, we appropriated $346,427,000 for the Department of State. And the supplemental Appropriations Act for 1965 included $1,666,000 for that Department.

The foreign aid program is one of many instruments used by the United States in the defense and advancement of free world interests. For the fiscal year 1964 we appropriated $3,298,705,607 for the foreign aid program. And for the fiscal year 1965 we appropriated $3,250 million.

DUTY-FREE ALLOWANCE

One of the most serious and difficult problems faced by this country in recent years has been the continuing deficit in our international balance of payments. In the period from 1958 to 1960, that deficit was running at an annual average of $3.7 billion. Thanks to the broad and vigorous attack on this problem by the Kennedy-Johnson administration, the deficit was cut to an average annual rate of $2.4 billion in the period from 1961 to 1963.

In addition, the U.S. gold outflow, which is directly related to our balance-of-payments position, has been sharply curtailed. In the period between 1958 and 1960, it averaged approximately $1.7 billion; in the 1961 to 1963 period, it was cut to an average of about $700 million.

Encouraging as this improvement is, it falls short of the basic objective of eliminating the deficit entirely. Correctly, then, this 88th Congress has turned its attention to the drive to achieve equilibrium in our international payments position.

One means of attacking this problem of the balance-of-payments deficit was the reduction from $500 to $100 in the total value of articles acquired abroad which might be brought in duty free by a resident returning to the United States. Legislation providing for this was enacted in 1961 and, as I reported at the close of the first session, extended for an additional 2 years in 1963.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX ACT

Another action taken by the Congress in this area is the interest equalization tax enacted during the second session. This was first proposed by President Kennedy in his special balance-of-payments message transmitted to the Congress on July 18, 1963. In February of this year, President Johnson declared that he fully supported this measure as an interim remedial device while other measures which are more acceptable as long-range solutions are initiated and allowed to take effect. The majority of the Members of this Congress believe that of all possible answers to the present needs and circumstances, the interest equalization tax is the most workable and the most acceptable. It has the distinct advantage of meeting the serious external balance-of-payments problem without in any way conflicting with essential, internal considerations.

This is a highly technical amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and I do not intend to detail all of the provisions here. However, I should like to delineate its main thrust. The interest equalization tax is a charge on the purchase, by U.S. citizens, residents, or domestic corporations, of debt obligations or stock of foreign persons but only where the obligation or stock was purchased from a foreigner.

The tax on the transfer of stock is 15 percent of the value of the stock and the tax on debt obligations varies from 15 percent on those with a maturity of 28½ years or more down to 2.75 percent on those with a maturity of 2 to 3½ years. No tax is imposed for obligations with maturity of 3 years or less.

The purpose of this tax is to reduce the rate of return on foreign securities by about 1 percent per year. Since the burden of the tax is likely to be shifted to the foreign seller, this means that in most cases the foreign seller will have to pay a tax which has the same effect as a 1-percent higher interest rate for the use of money which he obtains from the American market.

The Treasury Department has estimated that the imposition of this tax will improve the U.S. balance of payments by from $1¼ to $1½ billion a year. But this is not an untried and untested tax proposal. Just the prospect that this tax would be enacted during the second session of Congress has had a very beneficial effect upon our balance-of-payments position. During the 9 months preceding President Kennedy's proposal for this tax, capital outflows into foreign securities amounted to $1,985 million at seasonally adjusted annual rates. In the 9 months since the announcement, these outflows have amounted to only $290 million at seasonally adjusted annual rates. This represents a reduction of $1.7 billion in the annual rate of outflow—clear evidence of the effectiveness of this tax.

This is not a permanent tax. The act provided for a termination date of December 31, 1965. By that time it should no longer be necessary.

This is a proven and effective means of meeting a problem which we cannot ignore. It success is imperative for it involves nothing less than the continued soundness and stability of the dollar. And that is of vital importance of all of our citizens.

FOOD FOR PEACE

Food for peace is the name often given for the programs which are carried on under Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. The basic purpose of that act is to provide for the use of excess farm products—

to expand international trade, to promote the economic stability of American agriculture and the national welfare * * * to encourage economic development * * * to promote collective strength and to foster * * * the foreign policy of the United States.

This act was passed in 1954 and it has been of incalculable benefit to the many recipient countries of the free world as well as to the United States during the 10 years of its operation. As I pointed out earlier in this report, our agricultural problem in the United States is one of abundance. This act has opened up effective outlets for our food and fiber, thus helping to stabilize the agricultural economy. In the past 10 years, $12.3 billion worth of agriculture products have been shipped overseas under this program; this is 27 percent of all agricultural exports for the period.

Over the same period, the food-for-peace program has enabled the United States to combat famine, malnutrition, and hunger in less developed countries. It is estimated that assistance has been rendered to approximately 100 million people through this program. It has also promoted the economic growth of these less developed countries; and their economic growth will eventually mean enlarged export markets for United States agriculture and industry.

As amended, this act contains four titles under which surplus American agricultural commodities are distributed to friendly countries. Our action this year concerns titles I, II, and IV. Title I authorizes the sale of farm products for foreign currencies. This program accounts for the largest volume of food-for-peace programs—62 percent of Public Law 480 shipments. Under this title, foreign countries buy American farm products with their own currencies instead of dollars. The foreign currencies realized from these sales are controlled by the United States and can be used for several purposes, such as to pay some of the oversea costs of American embassies and other Government programs, to be loaned, under certain circumstances, to U.S. private enterprise overseas, or to be turned back to the government of the cooperating country as loans or grants for economic development. This year, we extended title I for 2 calendar years, through 1966, and authorized $2.7 billion in addition to any unused previous authorization.

Title II of Public Law 480 authorizes the use of U.S. farm products in emergency assistance programs, such as are required following earthquakes, floods, drought, and other disasters. Title II commodities are also used to support economic development projects in the emerging countries. Exports under this title in the past 10 years account for 9 percent of Public Law 480 shipments. This year we extended title II for 2 years and authorized expenditure commitments of up to $400 million each year in addition to unused previous authorizations. We also provided that up to $7.5 million Commodity Credit Corporation funds under this title may be used each year to purchase title I foreign currencies for use on self-help activities designed to alleviate the causes of the need for assistance.

We also amended that act in several ways to enable the Congress to exercise more control over the supervision and operation of Public Law 480 and to assure that the United States receive the maximum possible benefit from surplus commodities exported under the act. I

should like to mention some of these provisions.

First, we provided that this country will receive the highest applicable currency exchange rate granted in the recipient country and in no event shall the rate of exchange be less than the most favorable rate granted to any other country in the world for the same type of transaction.

Second, we provided for the convertibility of currencies acquired under title I "to the extent consistent with the effectuation of the purposes of this act." We require that the maximum amount possible of these currencies be made convertible and, in any event, that enough be made convertible to pay the costs to the United States for all U.S. Government purposes in the host country.

Third, in order to protect American shipping, we have required that the recipient country pay the basic freight charges on shipments, and that to the extent that the goods are shipped in American bottoms, the charges must be paid in dollars.

Fourth, we have lifted the limitation on the amount of foreign currencies acquired under title I which can be used for Cooley loans and have provided that as much of these funds as can be used for Cooley loans shall be so used. Cooley loans are loans which are made in foreign currencies to provide concerns or persons who wish to invest in the development of the foreign country.

Fifth, we have provided for the establishment of an advisory committee to consult with the executive on the use of funds acquired under title I. We did so because we felt the need for closer liaison between the legislature and the executive on this matter.

Sixth, we prohibited sales of any kind under Public Law 480 to any country which the President determines to be an aggressor or to be using U.S. funds in a manner inimical to the interests of the United States.

Seventh, we have redefined the phrase "friendly nation" as used in the act to exclude any nation controlled by a Communist government whether or not it is controlled by the organization controlling the world Communist movement. From now on, sales under title I will be prohibited to countries which do not come under the new definition of "friendly nation" or which have ships or airplanes under their registry carrying on trade with Cuba.

Title IV provides for the expansion or maintenance of export sales of U.S. farm products for dollars through long-term supply and credit contracts. We will permit dollar sales for credit under this title only with those countries presently defined as "friendly nations," and in the case of any country which has not heretofore been eligible for such dollar sales, we have limited the credit period to 5 years.

Food for peace has been a very worthwhile and beneficial program. It has proven to be a most effective instrument for converting our agricultural surpluses into good will. It was well to extend it this year and it was prudent to tighten up some of its provisions.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank became effective in December 1959, when it was accepted by 19 Latin American Republics and the United States; and the Bank commenced operations on October 1, 1960.

This Bank was established to promote the economic development of the member countries, individually and collectively, by making loans to either governmental or private entities. Such loans are usually made for specific projects, but they may also be granted to development banks and institutions in member countries for relending for projects not large enough to warrant direct credits from the Bank. Loans to private borrowers may be made either with or without a governmental guarantee.

The Bank also provides technical advice and assistance in preparing, financing, and executing development plans and projects.

In January, the Congress authorized additional U.S. contributions to the Bank to enable it to continue and to enlarge its lending activities. Public Law 88–259 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, the U.S. Governor of the Bank, to approve certain changes in the structure of the Bank, to vote for increases in the capital stock and fund for special operations, and to agree to the subscription of the proportionate U.S. share in the increases—$411,760,000 to increase the capital stock and $50 million for the special fund.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND FINANCE—WORLD BANK

The Inter-American Development Bank is patterned after the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—World Bank. The latter institution came into existence in 1945 to assist in the reconstruction and development of its member countries. It has proved to be a very valuable and successful agency for the betterment of international economic relations.

In my report last year, I described in some detail the background of this organization and the legislation enacted in 1963 to enable it to continue and to expand its activities. Here I need only say that Public Law 88–178 authorized the U.S. Governor to vote for a $1 billion increase in the capital stock of the Bank. That increase was required to permit new member countries of the Bank to subscribe and to enable present members to increase their subscriptions when appropriate.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

The International Development Association which came into existence on September 24, 1960, is an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—World Bank. Its purposes, as set forth in its articles of agreement, are:

To promote economic development, increase productivity and thus raise standards of living in the less developed areas of the world included within the Association's membership, in particular by providing finance to meet their important developmental requirements on terms which are more flexible and bear less heavily on the balance of payments than those of conventional loans, thereby furthering the developmental objectives of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and supplementing its activities.

By March 31, 1963, it had extended 36 development credits totaling $450 million in 18 countries for improved transportation, agriculture, electric power facilities, industry, education, and municipal water supplies. These are 50-year, interest-free loans which carry a three-quarters of 1 percent service charge and are repayable in hard currencies.

The original subscription by member countries was $1 billion, but all of that amount which was available for hard-currency loans was expected to be in use by the end of the fiscal year 1965. Thereafter, major loan operations would end unless new currencies were provided.

In May 1964, the Congress sent to the President a bill authorizing $312 million as the U.S. contribution to a proposed $750 million increase in the financial resources of the Association. These contributions are payable in three installments of $104 million each, beginning in the fiscal year 1966. This action had been recommended by President Johnson in his message on foreign assistance, transmitted to the Congress on March 19, 1964. There he described the activities of the Association as "international sharing in the aid effort at its best." He hailed the passage of this legislation as:

A major victory for the American people, for an effective foreign policy and for commonsense in our international dealings.

UNITED NATIONS DEBT

As of June 30, 1964, the deficit position of the United Nations was $134.5 million. As of the same date, the unpaid assessments of United Nations members—for both the regular budget and the peacekeeping operations—amounted to $123 million. This is $22 million more than the total regular budget of that organization for the calendar year 1964. A major elements in this loss of financial integrity is the fact that this year, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, 15 member nations are more than 2 years behind in their assessments.

Article 19 of the United Nations Charter provides that a member which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding 2 full years. Many of the Nations which are currently in arrears have objected to the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations and on this ground have refused to pay their assessments. However, in an advisory opinion on July 20, 1962, the International Court of Justice held that expenditures for peacekeeping operations constitute expenses of the organization and shall be apportioned among the members by the General Assembly under article 17 of the charter. Further, this advisory opinion was accepted by the General Assembly in a resolution on December 19, 1962. There is, therefore, no question about the financial obligations of the member or about the au-

tomatic application of the provisions denying these members their vote in the General Assembly.

But the certainty of these points has not deterred the defaulting nations in their defiance. The executive branch of the U.S. Government has made it abundantly clear that the United States supports prompt and vigorous application of article 19. However, it was the judgment of many Members of this Congress that there remained doubts among the defiant nations about the firmness of our resolve. For that reason, this session of the 88th Congress has passed a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should direct the permanent U.S. delegate to the United Nations to continue efforts toward securing payment by these defaulting nations and to make every effort to assure invocation of the penalty provisions of article 19.

It was the intent of the Congress, in passing this resolution, to demonstrate the unity and strength of our resolve and thereby to dispel any doubts on the part of the defiant. The United Nations serves a very useful and important function in promoting international understanding, cooperation, and world peace. But it cannot long operate while its budgetary decisions are flouted.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IN LAOS

When Laos first gained its independence in 1954, there was created an International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, popularly known as the ICC. It consisted of three Commissioners—an Indian, a Canadian, and a Pole—representing a neutral power, a pro-Western power, and a Communist power. Their responsibility was to assure that foreign intervention in Laos was brought to an end. By 1958 Laos felt confident that it could maintain itself and the work of the ICC ended.

By 1961 the Communists had stepped up their activities in that country and the situation in Laos had deteriorated seriously. To meet this threat, the ICC was reestablished. A conference of 14 interested nations was convened in Geneva and out of that conference came a declaration on the neutrality of Laos and a protocol to that declaration. The protocol gave to the ICC the responsibility to make certain that the provisions of the Geneva Conference were carried out. Specifically, it was instructed to supervise and control the withdrawal of foreign military personnel from Laos, to supervise and control the cease-fire, to investigate cases of illegal introduction of foreign military personnel into Laos, to assist the Government of Laos in cases of the illegal introduction of armaments into Laos, and to investigate other possible violations of the protocol and agreement.

The life of the ICC is indefinite. The 14 parties to the Geneva Accord agreed to make recommendations regarding its continuation not later than 1965. Thus, a determination on the future of the Commission will be made next year.

Article 18 of the protocol of the declaration of neutrality of Laos provided for the sharing of the costs of the ICC. The United States assumed an annual assessment of 17.6 percent of the cost of the Commission. It was possible to appropriate funds for the fiscal year 1963 under the authority given to the Department of State which permits the payment of assessments in international bodies such as the ICC for 1 year without congressional approval. Beyond the 1-year period, congressional authorization is necessary for continued financial support.

This year we approved a bill which authorized the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary from time to time for the payment by the United States of its share of the costs of the operations of the ICC. The budget for the current fiscal year has not been finally agreed upon but the estimated figure is $3,780,000. The U.S. share of 17.6 percent would be about $655,000.

The United States undertook an international obligation as a signatory of the agreement. That obligation must be met; the act passed by this Congress assures that it will be met. It is in the national interest of the United States to have the ICC continue to operate in Laos and our continued support of that body is one more piece of tangible evidence that we intend to exert our efforts to maintain peace in that part of the world.

SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

The South Pacific Commission was established in 1948 and currently has five participating member countries—Australia, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Its purpose is to advise and assist the participating Governments in promoting the economic and social welfare and advancement of the peoples of the territories in the South Pacific area. The U.S. territories of American Samoa and Guam, as well as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, are covered by the Commission's activities.

The Netherlands recently withdrew from membership in the Commission when it ceased to administer the Netherlands New Guinea. This action necessitated a reapportionment of the percentage contributions of the remaining members. In order to permit an increase in the U.S. contribution to the total budget of the Commission, as well as to make possible a moderate increase in the Commission's work program, the 88th Congress, by joint resolution, authorized the appropriation of $150,000 for each of the fiscal years 1965 and 1966. This is an increase of $50,000 over the former annual limitation on the U.S. contribution.

The Commission has been highly successful and this increase in the U.S. contribution reflects a recognition of the benefits derived by the U.S. territories. It is also a recognition of the importance of the Pacific Islands to the security of the United States and of the free world.

INTEROCEANIC CANAL STUDY

In 1910, when the Panama Canal was first opened, an average of five ships transited each day. The canal now averages 30 transits per day and it is forecast that by 1980 interoceanic travel will exceed the capabilities of the canal. Thereafter, ships will have to wait in line for the privilege of passage, at great expense to the shipowners and, ultimately, to the consumers.

The physical inadequacy of the canal requires that plans be made immediately for the construction of a new and wider canal, one which would permit the passage of modern aircraft carriers and many tankers and passenger liners. Such a restriction on the free flow of commerce is of vital concern to the United States, since 70 percent of the cargo tonnage now transiting the Panama Canal involves goods which either originate in or are destined to the United States.

There are many advantages to a sea-level canal. It would require far less maintenance than a lock-type canal and would prove less vulnerable to nuclear attack. The time of transit through a sea-level canal would be reduced by approximately 50 percent, with a resultant reduction in the costs of shipping.

With these facts in mind, this Congress, in September, enacted legislation authorizing the President to appoint a commission of five men from private life to determine the feasibility of, and the most suitable site for, construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This act also directs the Commission to determine the best means—conventional or nuclear excavation—constructing the canal and the estimated cost of construction.

This Commission will continue until the President determines that its duties are completed, but not beyond June 30, 1968. It is directed to issue a progress report to the President, for transmission to Congress, each July 31.

Finally, we authorized an appropriation of not more than $17,500,000 to enable the Commission to carry out its functions.

The Supplemental Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1965 included an appropriation of $400,000 for the Interoceanic Canal Commission.

EL CHAMIZAL TREATY FUNDS

The Chamizal Treaty, signed August 29, 1963, by the United States and Mexico, settled a century-old dispute over ownership of the "El Chamizal" tract of land. A shift in the course of the Rio Grande River in the middle of the 1800's had separated the "El Chamizal" from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and attached it to El Paso, Tex. Over the years numerous attempts were made to reconcile and arbitrate this boundary issue; in fact, every administration since 1910 had tried to settle the dispute.

In June 1962, President Kennedy and President Adolfo Lopez Mateos announced that they had agreed to instruct their executive agencies to recommend a complete solution. The resulting Chamizal Treaty provided that the United States would cede 366 acres of the disputed chamizal tract, plus a nearby 264 acres, to Mexico in return for 193 acres of land currently held by Mexico.

The implementation of this treaty requires the stabilization of the Rio Grande

River in a concrete-lined channel which will become the new boundary line between the United States and Mexico. It will also require the relocation of an estimated 4,500 U.S. citizens and commercial properties, bridges, port of entry and El Paso city facilities, and railroads within the area.

On April 29, 1964, President Johnson signed Public Law 88-300. This measure authorizes the appropriation of up to $44.9 million to implement the convention on the Chamizal. Without this implementing legislation, the significant treaty which was finally negotiated by the Kennedy administration after a century of failure would have been worthless.

The appropriation act for the fiscal year 1965 for the Department of State included an appropriation of $30 million to implement the El Chamizal Treaty.

AMENDMENTS TO THE TARIFF ACT OF 1930

In August of this year we enacted compromise legislation designed to protect the U.S. cattle industry without harming our tariff negotiations or adversely affecting the consumers of this country.

The bill, as originally passed by this body, concerned only the free importation of wild animals and wild birds which are intended for exhibition in the United States. Prior to this act, wild animals, including birds and fishes, imported for use in any scientific public collection for exhibition for scientific or educational purposes were admitted duty free. As finally enacted, the measure passed this year amended the Tariff Act of 1930 to extend the duty-free treatment to imports for sale for use in scientific public collections.

The other provisions of the act are the result of compromise with the coordinate body. That house amended the bill passed by this body to include the imposition of quotas on meat imports. The majority of the Members of this body agreed to the recommendations of a conference committee composed of Members from each House because they offer the protection desired by the domestic meat industry without damaging our vital foreign trade in other agricultural and industrial commodities.

As agreed upon, this act directs the Secretary of Agriculture, for each year beginning with the calendar year 1965, to calculate a target figure for imports of chilled, frozen, and fresh beef, veal, mutton, and goat meat. This target figure will equal the average annual level of imports over the 5-year period 1959 to 1963, adjusted upward or downward by the same percentage that domestic production of the same meats has increased or decreased in comparison with average annual levels for 1959 to 1963. It directs the President to impose quotas in order to limit imports of these meats to the target figure whenever the Secretary of Agriculture estimates that, in the absence of such quotas, imports will reach or exceed 110 percent of the target figure. The quotas may be removed when it is estimated that without them imports will fail to equal 110 percent of the target level.

The quotas will be allocated among the supplying countries on the basis of their share of the market during a previous representative period.

Finally, the act enumerates three categories of circumstances upon the occurrence of which the President may suspend or increase quotas previously proclaimed. He may increase or suspend the quotas if such action is required by overriding economic or national security interests of the United States when the supply of these meats is inadequate to meet domestic demand at reasonable prices, or if trade agreements entered into after the enactment of this act accomplish the intent of the bill.

FOREIGN FISHING VESSELS

In the summer of 1963 numerous Russian fishing vessels, including trawlers and large factory ships, were spotted by the Coast Guard off the east coast, close to the U.S. territorial limit. Others were sighted west of Alaska, some within the 3-mile U.S. territorial limit. Under existing law at that time, the United States was not authorized to penalize these trespassers.

On May 20, 1964, President Johnson signed legislation which established penalties for foreign vessels which fish within the territorial waters of the United States or take any "fishery resource"—shellfish—from the Continental Shelf adjacent to the United States. Any person violating the act may be fined up to $10,000 or imprisoned up to 1 year, or both. And any vessel used in connection with violation of the act is subject to forfeiture.

In signing this measure, President Johnson referred to it as the fulfillment of a "longstanding need."

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, this concludes my detailed description of the more significant legislation enacted by the 88th Congress. In each case I have attempted to point out not only the provisions of the act, but also the reasons for the legislation and the manner in which the solution we have offered will meet the existing problem.

In any report of this nature, it is difficult not to become overburdened with detail. The result would be an enumeration of seemingly unrelated facts which has little meaning in the broad sense. If this report leaves such an impression, I have done a great injustice to this Congress. For one of the remarkable things about the 88th Congress is the comprehensiveness of the legislation enacted. Our record is not a hodgepodge of isolated enactments. Rather, our record is made up of a host of acts which complement each other and which, taken together, form a coherent whole.

It is not difficult to find the reasons for the inner unity of our record. Such unity inevitably exists when a Congress has attacked problems in their complicated relationships. I have attempted to make it clear that in seeking solutions to national problems we have considered causal relationships and the interaction between various factors in our society. Because of this we have not initiated programs which will operate at the expense of each other. Rather, they attack the basic problems of our time in their various aspects and manifestations and complement each other in mitigating or eliminating them.

More basically, the coherence in our program is the result of a fact to which I devoted myself at some length at the beginning of this report. There I pinpointed, as the wellspring of our activities of the past 2 years, the condition of man. This is the element which is common to all of the problems which we have met and which has dictated the solution which we have offered. Our enactments are in harmony with each other because they are all designed to care for our citizens, to care for them in the real sense. For this Congress has rightly realized that man is truly cared for by his government only when that government creates those conditions which enable him to develop himself to his full capabilities.

I truly believe, Mr. Speaker, that by our actions in the past 2 years we have enabled our people to lead richer and more meaningful lives. We have realized that every need—indeed, the deepest needs—are not material and that progress must ever be the servant of man's needs. We have extended opportunity to those segments of our population which are most in need of it and increased opportunity for those who already possess it in some measure. We have recognized that the creation and maintenance of the conditions which make individual self-realization possible is perhaps more essential in this mid-20th century than ever before precisely because the forces in this complex, anonymous society tending toward the destruction of those conditions are so strong and all pervading. But our faith in man's ability to develop his full potential and in the ability of American society to meet and solve its problems is undiminished. Our accomplishments are proof of that. For they speak a confidence in man's awareness of what constitutes a finer and happier life, in his desire to live such a life, and in his ability to do so if he is given an opportunity.

The Acreage Limit in the Imperial Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, more than 150 delegates to the Western Water and Power Consumers Conference joined in a letter to the President and Secretary of the Interior Udall calling for enforcement of the acreage limitation in the reclamation laws in the Imperial Valley of California.

Their request was initiated after announcement of plans for disposition of the excess landholdings of the DiGorgio

farms in that area. I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD text of the letter and the names of those who joined in sending it.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President LYNDON JOHNSON,
White House,
Washington, D.C.
Secretary of the Interior STEWART UDALL,
Department of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.:

For too many years under too many administrations the excess landowners of the Imperial Valley of California have been allowed to flout the acreage limitation of reclamation law. On the indefensible grounds of an unwarranted administration opinion given surreptitiously in 1933 by a Republican Secretary of the Interior during his last days in office, the Imperial land barons for three decades have diverted to themselves the subsidized benefits of vast public expenditures for irrigation and reclamation. This has been and remains a clear and gross violation of the law and of public policy. Instead of a pattern of prosperous family farms and rural communities, as intended by law, the Imperial Valley is now dominated by a handful of large-scale absentee landlords living royally on the sweat of exploited seasonal workers.

This outrageous situation has gone on too long. It is time now, finally, to repudiate the untenable administrative decision of 1933 which has made it possible. That decision never was valid and it is not so today. Late as it is, the requirements of law and public policy must be fulfilled. We, the undersigned, with affiliation given for purposes of identification only, call on you and this administration to take the necessary steps to see that it is. We are heartened to make this request at this time by the sound and courageous action announced today of the final disposition of the excess lands of the DiGiorgio interests.

John Spitzer, Jr., director, KEM Electric Cooperative, Linton, N. Dak.; Clarence Miller, director, Burke-Divide Electric Co-op; George Rait, director, Burke-Divide Electric Co-op, Noonan, N. Dak.; Mrs. Anna Dahl, director, Sheridan Electric Cooperative, Medicine Lake, Mont.; Olaf Opedahl, director, William Electric Cooperative, Tioga, N. Dak.; Norman Rockstad, Williams Electric Cooperative, Williston, N. Dak.; Sigurd Brogger, Williams Electric Cooperative, Williston, N. Dak.; Arthur Opoal, Williams Electric Cooperative, Alamo, N. Dak.; John M. George, Lewiston, Idaho; John D. Buehle, Vinton, Iowa; C. A. Scheerer, Boone, Iowa; John Remington, Vinton, Iowa; Velma E. Good, Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.; Julius Gess, Roosevelt Co., Farmers Union, Wolf Point, Mont.

Carl L. Good, Wolf Point, Mont.; Keith E. Good, Montana Farmers Union, Floweree, Mont.; Melvin E. Good, Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.; Gretchen G. Billings, Helena, Mont.; D. A. Depuydt, Whitewater; Bernhard Pollestad, director, Baker Electric, Cando, N. Dak.; Obed Larson, director, Baker Electric, Cando, N. Dak.; Magnus M. Lysne, Harlow, N. Dak.; Nels Porsborg, Jamestown, N. Dak.; Ralph F. Cook, Montana Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.; Theodore Hagerott, Mandan, N. Dak.; P. R. Logan, Charlo, Mont.; Larry L. Holtz, Montana Farmers Union, Floweree, Mont.; Arthur J. Dore, Fairview, Mont.; Pat Plummer, Carlyle, Mont.

John S. Ryan, Great Falls, Mont.; Alex M. Conner, Farmers Union, Havre, Mont.; Ernest Kummerfeldt, South Valley County Farmers Union, Nahua, Mont.; Alvin Anderson, vice president, North Dakota Farmers Union, Epping, N. Dak.; Melvin S. Siverson, president, Williams County Farmers Union, Wheelock, N. Dak.; Matt S. Schroeder, Intercounty Electric Cooperative, Alexandria, S. Dak.; Sam K. Ulrikson, Canton, S. Dak.; Lincoln-Union Electric Co-op., Alcester, S. Dak.; William Raabe, Tyndall, S. Dak.; B Y Electric Cooperative, Tabor, S. Dak.; Elmer W. Solid, Martin, S. Dak.; Oliver G. Rose, Nisland, S. Dak.; Belle Fourche irrigation project, Newell, S. Dak.; Earl J. Robinson, Collins, Iowa; Marshall County Electrict Co-op, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mark Bobbe, director, James Valley Electric Co-op., Edgeley, N. Dak.; Clarence Welander, first vice president, North Dakota Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

Chas. A. Bonderob, Huntley, Mont.; E. M. Arntson, manager, Tri-County Electric Coop, Carrington, N. Dak.; Norman W. Cross, manager, Slope Electric Cooperative, New England, N. Dak.; Douglas M. Nordby, director, Slope Electric Cooperative, New England, N. Dak.; John Jacobs, director, Slope Electric Cooperative, New England, N. Dak.; Albert Deede, director, Tri-County Electric Cooperative, Carrington, N. Dak.; Albert Smetana, director, Central Power Electric Cooperative, Minot, N. Dak.; E. F. Evans, Clark County Public Utility District, Vancouver, Wash., G. W. Watters, Clark County Public Utility District, Vancouver, Wash.; Ross B. Shepheard, Skamania County Public Utility District, Underwood, Wash.; Jack K. Hicks, Marion, Iowa; W. E. Adams, Marion, Iowa; John Weber, Jr., KEM Electric Cooperative, Linton, N. Dak.; Joseph Vetter, KEM Electric Cooperative, Linton, N. Dak.

J. Bruce Bosworth, KEM Electric, Linton, N. Dak.; Lorne Hillier, director, Nodak Rural Electric Production Credit Association, Hensel, N. Dak.; Arlo Beggs, Jamestown, N. Dak.; Evert Nelson, Washburn, N. Dak.; Henry O. Lundene, Adams, N. Dak.; State chairman, North Dakota Federation of Production Credit Associations; Robert Small, Capital Electric Co-op, director, Bismarck, N. Dak.; John Nievwsma, Linton, N. Dak.; Mark B. Holtz, KEM Electric, Driscoll, N. Dak.; Harold R. Lee, Denver, Colo.; Gus Norwood, Vancouver, Wash.; V. T. Hanlon, Madison, S. Dak.; Paul Shaw, Hodges, Mont.; Frank J. Hammont, Broken Bow, Nebr.; Alan Ham, vice president, Oregon-Washington Farmers Union, La Center, Wash.; Oscar Kendall, board member, Oregon-Washington Farmers Union, Corvallis, Oreg.; C. R. Thiessen, Montana Senate, Lambert, Mont.

Herbert Weber, Linton, N. Dak.; William Reich, California Farm Research and Legislative Committee, Oakland, Calif.; Kasper Kerner, president, Dunn County Farmers Union, Gladstone, N. Dak.; Mrs. Jos. Abfalder, board member, Farmers Union Dunn County, Gladstone, N. Dak.; Mrs. Kasper Kerner, Gladstone, N. Dak.; Mrs. Frank Lassey, McKenzie County North Dakota Farmers Union, Cartwright, N. Dak.; Judd Walker, McCone Electric Cooperative; Charles Jewett, Wibaux, Mont.; E. H. Robinson, (LYREA), Sidney, Mont.; Albert L. Wernette, member, Michigan Farmers Union, Remus, Mich.; A. F. Troyer, president, Indiana Farmers Union, Indianapolis, Ind.; Chester A. Johnson, president, Michigan Farmers Union, Lakeview, Mich.; Frank Frederick, Central Iowa Power Co-op, Marion, Iowa; O. L. Saltness, director, Tri-County Electric; Milton Wiltse, Cass Electric, Lisbon, N. Dak.

Rev. James L. Vizzard, S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Washington, D.C.; Angus McDonald, National Farmers Union; Lin Feragen, Bismark, N. Dak.; Lloyd Hollister, Huron, S. Dak.; A. S. Welinger, Napoleon, N. Dak.; Oscar Pfeifle, Wishek, N. Dak.; Melvin Duerre, North Central REA, Mohall, N. Dak.; Oscar Torstenson Dawson, Minnesota Valley Co-op Light & Power, Montevideo, Minn.; John Reese, Scott Engineering Co., Watertown, S. Dak.; Leo Callahan, Baker Electric Co-op., Inc., Cando, N. Dak.; A. C. Hauffe, president, South Dakota Rural Electric Association, Leola, S. Dak.; Frank Daniels, Montana Farmers Union; John M. Ecklund, Englewood, Colo.; James C. Webster, Madison Daily Leader, Madison, S. Dak.; Lucille Wernette, Farmers Union, Remus, Mich.; Melvin Johnson, Farmers Union, Lakeview, Mich.

John Waisanen, Moose Lake, Minn.; John Frank, Yellowstone Valley REA, Park City, Mont.; Oliver M. Dahl, Hylite Farmers Union local, Bozeman, Mont.; Mrs. Nellie Erickson, Verendrye Electric, Minot, N. Dak.; Max Mathews, manager, Yellowstone Valley Electric Co-op., Huntley, Mont.; W. H. Sennett, manager, Park Electric Cooperative, Livingston, Mont.; L. H. Jacobson, manager, Rushmore Electric Power Co-op., Rapid City, S. Dak.; Arthur Jones, president, Basin Electric Power Co-op., Britton, S. Dak.; Henry Texley, Jr., director, Slope Electric, Lemmon, S. Dak.; G. J. Jacobs, director, Slope Electric, Regent, N. Dak.; Margaret Bucher, Montana Farmers Union, Great Falls, Mont.; Mrs. Arthur Jones, Britton, S. Dak.; Elmer Scheel, Alpera, S. Dak.; Harley Erickson, Hettinger, N. Dak.

Emil Riehl, Ben H. Radcliff, president, South Dakota Farmers Union, Huron, S. Dak. North Dakota Farmers Union; Leland G. Ulmer, manager, North Dakota Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives, Bismarck, N. Dak.; Helge E. Nygren, president, North Dakota Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives; Mr. and Mrs. Foster Rex, South Dakota Northern Electric, Aberdeen, S. Dak.; Senator George C. Gerdes, Nebraska Power Commission; Kenneth Ervin, manager, Oliver-Mercer Electric Co-op., Hazen, N. Dak.; Bill Heth, Beulah, N. Dak.; M. L. Burgin, Basin Electric Power Cooperative, Bismarck, N. Dak.; Clyde T. Ellis, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Washington, D.C.; Robert J. Elkins, president, Oregon-Washington Farmers Union, Salem, Oreg.; Mrs. Robert J. Elkins, Oregon-Washington Farmers Union; Mrs. Alan Ham, La Center, Wash.

Michael W. Straus, Washington, D.C.; Robert St. Cyr, H. F. McPhail, Salt Lake City, Utah; Lawrence Erickson, Central Power Electric Co-op, Minot, N. Dak.; Howard C. Allen, Fort Benton, Mont.; Axel Kongslie, Towner, N. Dak.; Leon Birdsall, Berthold, N. Dak.; Albert Weltz, Anamoose, N. Dak.; Mrs. Albert Weltz, Anamoose, N. Dak.; Evelyn M. Dahl, Bozeman, Mont.; Melford Hanson, Velva, N. Dak.; E. D. Schmit, Minot, N. Dak.; Carl Tamboo, Lake Benton, Minn.; Stanley B. Nelson, Tyler, Minn.; Charles H. Swanson, Russel, Minn.; Ivan Peterson, Maxbass, N. Dak.; Paul A. Brandvold, Souris, N. Dak.

Inland Navigation Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, because of the ever-growing importance of our Nation's inland waterways, I would like to submit for the RECORD the report of the Committee on Inland Navigation of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. The committee met in the Mayflower Hotel June 3, 1964, with Gleason N. Stambaugh, Sr., of West Palm Beach, Fla., as chairman, and Herman W. Schull, Jr., of Tequesta, Fla., as secretary. The following resolutions were adopted by the committee:

1. NATIONAL DEFENSE BENEFITS

The inland navigation committee affirms its recommendation on national defense benefits adopted May 8, 1963, that the Na-

tional Rivers and Harbors Congress adopt the following resolution:

"*It is resolved*, That, while the national defense benefits of inland navigation have long been recognized in principal they have not been accepted in fact to the extent the National Rivers and Harbors Congress believes to be justified.

"The National Rivers and Harbors Congress therefore recommends that the provision of Senate Document No. 97 be amended to direct that the appropriate agency prepare administrative instructions for computing such benefits."

2. BRIDGE CLEARANCES

The inland navigation committee reviewed

The Inland Navigation Committee reviewed its recommendations on bridge clearances adopted May 8, 1963, and reaffirmed the imperative need for unobstructed use of the waterways and recommended that the Rivers and Harbors Congress adopt a resolution to the effect that adequate minimum clearance be provided for all vessels passing through bridges on inland waterways.

3. PREPARATION OF COMMITTEE AGENDA

The inland navigation committee recommends that a procedure be adopted by this committee that any committee member wishing to have an item placed on the agenda shall submit the same in writing to the executive director of the Rivers and Harbors Congress at least 30 days prior to the annual meeting and that from such items an agenda shall be prepared; that the prepared agenda shall not exclude the consideration of other items but shall give precedence to such items unless precedence be waived by majority vote of the members present and voting; that copies of the prepared agenda be furnished the members of the committee in advance of the annual meeting.

4. SCHEDULING OF COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The inland navigation committee recommends that the meeting times of this committee and the resolutions committee be scheduled to permit consideration and action by the resolutions committee on recommendations of this committee.

HERMAN W. SCHULL, Jr.,
Secretary.

Mr. Speaker, other committee members who attended are as follows:

William H. Lewis, board of commissioners of the Port of New Orleans.

George Kumpe, West Coast Inland Navigation District, Post Office Box 786, Bradenton, Fla.

R. H. Merritt, Escambia-Conecuh River Development Commission, Pensacola, Fla.

H. S. Miller, Fort Worth, Tex.

Paul Comola, Trinity Improvement Association, Fort Worth, Tex.

R. L. McKinney, Jr., Denison, Tex.

Scranton Jones, Fort Worth, Tex.

Peyton M. Birdsong, Fort Worth, Tex.

W. L. Pier, Fort Worth, Tex.

O. R. Douglass, Anderson, S.C.

Robert F. Ripley, Norfolk, Va.

Joel C. Wilcox, Port of Palm Beach, Fla.

Arthur E. Darlow, Port of Miami, Fla.

George J. King, Port Canaveral, Fla.

Wilmer McCutcheon, chairman, Board Commissioners Polk County, Fla.

Giles Evans, Jr., Jacksonville, Fla.

Marshall N. Dana, Portland, Oreg.

George F. Davis, Pleasant Point, Green Cove Springs, Fla.

Scotty Fraser, State capitol, Tallahassee, Fla.

H. J. Kelly, Florida Board of Conservation.

Paul Franklin, Fort Myers, Fla.

Vincent J. Kaiser, Dubuque, Iowa.

Charles G. Crom, Toledo, Ohio.

Earle B. Butler, 120 City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.

Roderick S. McIver, Canaveral Port Authority, Rockledge, Fla.

J. Otto Wallace, South Jersey Port Commission, Camden, N.J.

Donald A. Young, Stockton Springs, Maine.

L. C. Bruce, Raleigh, N.C.

R. H. Anderson, Stanley Engineering Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

L. V. Bruno, West Columbia, S.C.

Edward Langlois, Maine Port Authority, Portland, Maine.

Robert C. Robinson, delegate, representing Congressman STANLEY TUPPER, of Maine.

Edward C. Hudowalski, Department of Public Works, Division Operating and Maintenance, State Office Building, Albany.

Thompson D. Litchfield, Washington, N.C.

Henry S. Noble, New Canaan, Conn.

George W. Swindel, University, Ala.

Joseph R. Snyder, Missouri Water Resources Board, Jefferson City, Mo.

Othie R. McMurry, Iowa Natural Resources Council, Des Moines, Iowa.

A. G. Giannini, Hammond, Ind.

Fate of a River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the time to save the remaining scenic nature areas of the Midwest is running out faster than most of us imagine. After long years of frustration and toil, the public has at last rallied behind efforts to preserve the Indiana Dunes. These dunes are vital to meeting the recreational needs of the growing population near the southern end of Lake Michigan. Last month, in recognition of the importance of filling those needs while the dunes still exist, the Senate passed S. 2249, a bill to provide for the establishment of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Unfortunately, Congress adjourned before the House could act on the bill; but Senate passage during the 88th Congress is a giant step forward in eventual enactment of this bill.

My attention has now been drawn to another threat to the few remaining natural conservation and recreational areas in the Midwest. I refer to the St. Croix River, which forms part of the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota. A proposal to construct a coal-burning generating plant on the river has been made, and plans are being drawn to begin the denudation of the riverfront necessary for this project. Conservationists in the area have rallied to form a Save the St. Croix Committee. Senator PROXMIRE has urged the Department of the Interior to do all that it can to help preserve the integrity of the beautiful St. Croix. Public support is needed, and it must come from those people in the Midwest who are slowly losing their invaluable natural wilderness areas to the ever-spreading grasp of private interests. I support industrial development and commercial expansion, but not in the few priceless wilderness areas of the Midwest still untouched by the bulldozer.

Because of the importance of the battle being waged by Senator PROXMIRE and the Save the St. Croix Committee, I call the attention of the Senate to an editorial from the October 8, 1964 edition of the Washington Post. The editorial, "Fate of a River," speaks for itself in describing the need to preserve this river. I ask that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FATE OF A RIVER

The scenic St. Croix River is a small waterway, but its probable fate involves a large question. For around 100 miles, the St. Croix forms the boundary between Wisconsin and Minnesota. It is fed by sweet springs, it runs through verdant countryside, and it is probably the most unspoiled river of its size still left in the Middle West. But if the Northern States Power Co. has its way, the St. Croix may soon be a nostalgic memory.

The power firm wants to build a coal-burning electric generating plant just below Stillwater, Minn., which, with a 1960 population of 8,310 is the largest town on the path of the St. Croix. Coal barges would become familiar features of the river landscape since the plant would be fed by a coal pile a half mile long. Cool waters drawn into the plant would be returned to the river tinctured with chlorine and 10 to 17 degrees warmer. This farm water could soup up the river with aquatic weeds and upset the natural habitat of pike and bass.

A Save the St. Croix Committee is fighting the power company. Yet Northern States has nothing against game or recreation; supporters of the project point to the real need for electric power and to the regional benefit that the plant would bring. And here is the large problem embedded in a local fight.

If and when choice recreation areas and unspoiled lakes and rivers are wholly invaded by industry, it will not be because anyone planned it that way. It will be simply because in area after area long-term conservation interests are subordinated to legitimate but short-term commercial interest. This is the moral of the fight over the Indiana Dunes; with local variations, the same moral applies to the St. Croix.

Isn't it time that Congress and the administration took a systematic look at this problem? Opponents of a powerplant on the St. Croix maintain that the same installation would be commercially feasible on the already polluted Mississippi. But no Federal agency or law can presently halt the plans for the powerplant—there is no forum where the merits of the argument can be meaningfully set forth. In piecemeal fashion, we seem fated to swallow up what is left of our natural legacy, saving only scraps and tatters in populous regions. Unless something is done, God's own country will indeed become God's own junkyard. If the Northern States Power Co. has its way, the lower reaches of the St. Croix are going to be irrevocably committed to industrial development and diverted from the purposes of recreation.

Log Exports: A Question To Consider

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, a great many words have been written about the log export problem as it pertains to the economy of the Pacific Northwest. That this problem is of great concern to the people I represent, this something I have pointed out in Congress many times.

Recently, the A.F. of L. Labor Journal, published in the Second District city of Everett, Wash., provided some additional meaningful comment on the log export situation. In a front-page article, the publication suggested that the unregulated export of logs from this country was tantamount to "the sale of our birthright." And the journal posed this formidable question: Is this Nation to salvage its birthright, or is it "to become a tree farm for the economic benefit of foreign nations and their domestic economies?"

Mr. Speaker, I believe the labor journal's statement is well worth reading; it deserves the attention of Congress. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that it be entered in the RECORD:

SHALL WE SELL OUR BIRTHRIGHT?

Unregulated log exporting is tantamount to the "sale of our birthright." To support this, we offer the following:

Soft wood logs exports from the State of Washington Customs District—Puget Sound area only and not including the ports of Longview and Vancouver—reached 266 million board feet, for the last 6 months of 1963, or an annual rate of 532 million board feet which is greater than the sustained yield of all national forests tributary to Puget Sound.

This quantity included both privately owned and public timber largely made available by the urgent need to harvest excessive blowdown from Hurricane Frieda (October 12, 1962), which created a huge unnatural, and temporary supply.

The harvesting of this blowdown approaches completion in 1964 and log exporters are now turning to the public forests for log supply to maintain and expand their export rate. If they succeed in this endeavor, most, if not all independent sawmills and plywood plants in this area, will close for lack of logs, increasing the number of unemployed by thousands.

For many years it has been recognized by the U.S. Forest Service that public timber is in critically short supply, compared to the demand for it from independent wood manufacturing industries, and for this reason, these industries have competed so vigorously with one another that each year finds fewer survivors, with further attrition inevitable before demand balances with supply. The addition of log exporting to this scene introduces chaos.

These wood manufacturing industries have survived the competition within themselves. They have survived the competition of unrestricted lumber imports from Canada whose products are favored with cheaper logs, cheaper labor, lower freight rates, and an artificial exchange rate.

By depleting their working timber reserves and sharing in the timber made available from the blowdown of Hurricane Frieda, they have survived the tremendous surge in log exports, until now. They are efficient and capable, but, they cannot survive competition for their raw material from those who pay their labor 10 percent or less of our average western industry wage.

Since it is clear that the public timber supply will not support both unregulated log exporting and the wood manufacturing industry traditionally dependent upon it, we approach a moment of truth.

When the smokescreen of selfish-interest argument has cleared away, this vital question will remain and must be answered: "Shall the people of the West continue to manufacture finished wood products from the raw materials harvested from public forests, as is their birthright, or is this area to become a tree farm for the economic benefit of foreign nations and their domestic economies?"

A New Conservation Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, on October 1 Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, delivered the banquet address at the Western Power and Water Consumers Conference held at Bismarck, N. Dak.

The address summarizes the work of the 88th Congress in relation to some of our resource and conservation problems and points out some of the tasks that lie ahead.

Under the consent previously obtained by the majority leader, I ask that Senator MCGOVERN's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEW CONSERVATION MOVEMENT

(Remarks of Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN at the Western Power and Water Consumers Conference at Bismarck, N. Dak., October 1, 1954)

It is a very great honor to be here to address this banquet meeting of the Western States Water and Power Consumers Conference.

This organization is more and more filling a vacuum that has existed in our American society since vested interest groups captured the National Conservation Congress, organized by Gifford Pinchot and Teddy Roosevelt early in this century. That once great organization was allowed to die, after its capture, in 1916. We have had no comparable national, public-oriented conservation group since. While you do not claim to be a national organization, a national role is being thrust upon you.

History was made at your annual conference 4 years ago when the late President John F. Kennedy delivered his great Billings address on conservation. That was one of many proud moments in the all too brief life of our beloved President whose life and death still dominate our hearts. History has been made here and again today with the addresses of the Vice-President-to-be of the United States—HUBERT HUMPHREY, and my distinguished colleagues—those courageous champions of enlightened resource policy Senators LEE METCALF and QUENTIN BURDICK.

The awards this evening to the late Senator Estes Kefauver and James G. Patton for outstanding contributions to the development of the Nation's resources contribute to your national stature.

Estes Kefauver's name will always be synonymous, not only with the advocacy of TVA and regional and national resources development, but with defense of the public interest in the benefits flowing from them.

The Dixon-Yates deal was the first step in a plan to bring an end to public resources development. Senator Kefauver's exposure of Adolph Wenzell's dual role in that scheme to subvert the Tennessee Valley Authority, serving both as an employee of the U.S. Budget Bureau and as an officer of a private utility financing house, temporarily thwarted a vested interest scheme to take over TVA and other Federal power agencies.

The Wenzell plan, drafted in the Budget Bureau, was a blueprint for the private interests whom he served. It reflected a continuing determination by the groups behind Wenzell to seize and control the agencies of resource development and reestablish private monopoly over electric power supply in this country; to deny the public the benefit of public works and resource development projects.

Estes Kefauver is missed in the U.S. Senate, in the Congress, and in the Federal Government. Some of the militancy about the public interest in resources development—and in monopoly control—died with him and urgently needs to be revived.

Jim Patton shall always be known for his earthy characterization of the Treaty of Omaha between the Corps of Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, ending their war in the Missouri Basin and joining the Pick and Sloan development plans, as a "loveless, shameless shotgun wedding." It hit the bull's eye.

Jim has for a quarter century now been an outstanding leader in efforts to bring about water and power development in the public interest.

Under his leadership the National Farmers Union, which has its roots here on the Great Plains and in the Rocky Mountains area, has been more than just a commodity-oriented farm organization. It has advocated resources development for people everywhere, including a Missouri Valley Authority for this great area, a CVA and a TVA on the Nile. It has been a leading force under Jim in many other fields—food for peace, social security, the United Nations, improved education, better housing, and a national policy of full employment. When Jim has a dozen awards such as the richly deserved recognition you have given him this evening, he will have begun to receive the honor to which he is entitled. His drive toward a Great Society has been conducted throughout his long years of devoted service to the farmers of America and to all those whose hearts beat for peace around the globe.

Most of us here started our lives in a period in world history when people regarded certain essential resources, especially land, minerals, and energy, to be rather sharply limited, and mankind fated for an unhappy existence as population outran production potentialities.

Malthus wrote that: "When acre has been added to acre until all the fertile land is occupied, the yearly increase in food must depend on the melioration of the land already in possession. This is a fund, which, from the nature of all soils, instead of increasing, must be gradually diminishing."

Malthus did not foresee that in the year 1964 the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture would be attempting to get 65 or 70 million acres of land out of production and that he would announce that in 1980 we will still need 51 million acres less in production than we now plant.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman assumed in his projection that population would continue to grow at a medium rate and that we

would continue to supply about $4 billion worth of agricultural goods annually to the people of other nations. Malthus had no idea that in 1964 New Mexico and Utah potash, and Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho phosphate, would be combined with nitrogen from the air to build soils to greater than their original productivity. He did not foresee that internal combustion engines would provide us with energy and free about 70 million acres of land from feeding horses and mules, nor could he foretell many other advances.

We can today build soil, or grow food in a pan of water if necessary. And we can grow not two, but a dozen blades of grass where one grew before.

Malthus, Ricardo, and their associates, in the middle 19th century, won economics the title of the "dismal science" with their forecasts of poverty and misery ahead for the human race. Unfortunately, there are many still living whose philosophy is based on the Malthusian concepts of inevitable scarcities and insist that abundance must be guarded and not shared because resources are limited; that a great society is unattainable.

Two 20th-century economists, Harold Barnett and Chandler Morse of Resources for the Future, last year published a new look at the prospects for the human race.

They found that because of scientific discoveries and man's expanding knowledge and scientific skills, we are today producing goods of all varieties, including allegedly vanishing minerals, at lower real costs than ever before with the single exception of timber. It takes less input in terms of time and resources to produce a commodity unit than ever before, although we are using many comparatively low-grade ores and supposedly wornout land as compared to Malthus' time.

We could double timber production—the one more costly product—in this country by replanting 52 million acres of presently idle timberland and by applying known forestry techniques to end mortality and retardation of growth in our forests caused by fire, insects, and disease. And if necessary, we can build with substitutes for timber.

The two modern economists wrote: "The classical economists saw the process of growth subject to limitations, and we agree, but they saw the limitations as residing in nature, and we see them residing in man."

We do not have resources to waste. They must be conserved. But the great limitation and problem today is adjusting human attitudes and human institutions so we can enjoy the benefits of the new world of resources which has been opened to us by science and new knowledge.

In underdeveloped countries there is a lack of both know-how and the capital with which to take advantage of the new world of opportunities.

In our own and other developed nations, we have institutional barriers—vested interests in the status quo (and even a spokesman or two for the status quo ante)—which may very well prove more difficult barriers to overcome than those of the underdeveloped lands. Given know-how and capital, and zeal to modernize their countries, and the leaders of the underdeveloped lands can write on relatively clean slates. But in the developed nations, there are entrenched interests who are so pessimistic about the enjoyment of resources through wise public policy that they make Malthus look like an optimist. They cannot visualize a great society and an affluent world with even the pockets of poverty wiped out. Fortunately, that philosphy has not dictated the course of John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson, nor has it ruled the Congress now about to adjourn.

The 88th Congress is being called by a variety of names, both good and bad. The President remarked the other day when he signed the land and water conservation fund bill and the wilderness bill that if it were not famed for the tax cut, the nuclear test ban, education legislation, antipoverty measures, and the civil rights law, the 88th might well be called "the conservation Congress."

We have enacted landmark conservation legislation.

We have passed two measures to achieve development of more adequate recreational facilities for the Nation, establishing a Federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and a land and water conservation fund which, over the next 10 years, will make about $2 billion available for State and Federal recreation developments.

We have authorized the establishment of a number of new national recreation areas, including the Lake Meade National Recreation area, the Ozark National Scenic Rivers, Canyonlands National Park in Utah, and the Fire Island National Seashore off New York.

We passed a water resources research bill which your luncheon speaker, Senator QUENTIN BURDICK, and I, had the privilege of cosponsoring with Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico. It will get the State colleges, which have brought about the scientific revolution in food production, busy on water problems.

We stepped up pollution control and abatement activity. We cleared the way for extra high voltage transmission to link the States on the west coast. Compared to other Congresses, there is no question that the 88th was resource and conservation minded, and accomplished much more than most. It is entitled to the credit and praise we are hearing.

But it might also be asked if the 88th Congress did enough in the water, power, resources, and conservation fields to assure the realization of the abundance which Barnett and Morse find possible if men's limitations on development are removed. There are a number of urgent tasks which the 88th Congress has left undone.

The Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources, in its 1961 report, made five major recommendations. One of them was for coordinated and expanded research on water problems. Congress implemented that one with the water research act and the executive branch has an interagency committee of the Council for Science and Technology at work on coordination of water research underway in 19 different Federal bureaus and departments.

The select committee also reported that five river basins in the Nation will have reached the limit of their water supply by 1980, three more by the year 2000, and that the whole of the great American industrial area which lies in a belt across the northeastern part of the United States from Boston south to Washington, D.C., and then west to Sioux Falls and Kansas City, is threatened by water shortage or pollution problems.

We are pressing research in desalinization of water to see if water supplies in the southwest cannot be supplemented by conversion of saline and brackish waters.

Despite the urgency of the water supply problems of the southwest and the upper Missouri Basin, Congress did nothing on a bill to speed research in weather modification. It salved its conscience a bit by giving the Bureau of Reclamation $1 million for experiments in weather modification in the upper Colorado and upper Missouri Rivers—a pittance compared to need. The Select Committee on Water Resources recommended the development of plans by 1970 for optimum development of all river basins in the Nation. It recommended aid to States to speed their water planning. It called for a biennial assessment of water supply and needs by regions so all areas would be kept aware of their situation. A river basin planning bill, S. 1111, passed by the Senate and the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committees was not being pressed before the Rules Committee and appeared likely to die there as I left the District of Columbia.

The bill includes a short step toward coordination of Federal water agencies by creation of a Federal Water Council; it authorizes river basin planning commissions and provides assistance to States for intrastate and interstate water planning. It also provides for the biennial assessment of water supply and water requirements by water regions.

The fact is that S. 1111 contains the bulk of the recommendations of the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources. The bill and reforms in our water resource operations far beyond it are urgently needed, but apparently will not be enacted this year.

This conference this morning heard a discussion of the proposed North American Water and Power Alliance—a plan to link the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean and divert water from areas on this continent with an oversupply to areas of need in the United States. It is a tremendous concept of the sort we must entertain if we are to have a world of abundance.

But before this great $100 billion-plus plan is authorized, we must take some first steps. We must learn to walk before we can run. We must have river basin plans for the upper Missouri, the Columbia, the Colorado, the Great Basin, the San Juan-Pecos, and the South Pacific region.

We have achieved truly comprehensive river basin planning on a major river only once as a nation—the Tennessee Valley.

We have recognized the need for such plans nationally for more than a half century—since Theodore Roosevelt's Inland Waterways Commission reported in 1908.

Senator George Norris, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's backing, proposed to repeat the TVA pattern throughout the Nation, but his bill failed in the thirties. Missouri Valley and Columbia Valley Authority bills failed in the forties.

The first Hoover Commission proposed that we end the major institutional barriers to coordinated water resource development within Government by establishing a Department of Natural Resources. But, in spite of the unusual coalition of forces behind that proposal, it did not even get a hearing in Congress. It was headed off by the Federal agencies and their clientele who felt they would be adversely affected. Dr. Arthur A. Maass subsequently wrote his much cited article on "The Lobby That Can't Be Licked" following that failure.

Let me return to the record of the Congress. We did not authorize a major water resources project during the 88th Congress.

Although the Supreme Court decided the long-pending Colorado River water case in 1963, the lack of an acceptable plan for lower Colorado River development foreclosed against either a California or an Arizona project.

At this moment, authorization of the great Garrison project in North and South Dakota appears hopelessly stalled in the House Rules Committee, along with the river basin planning bill, and the blame cannot all be laid at the door of the chairman of that committee, Representative HOWARD SMITH.

Because it affects South Dakota both directly—a small amount of irrigation in my State is involved—and indirectly because it must probably precede the authorization of the Oahe irrigation project, I have followed Garrison very closely and helped with it when I could.

I want to interrupt the thread of my remarks again at this point to pay a much deserved tribute to Senator QUENTIN BURDICK, author of the Garrison irrigation project bill. I salute, too, Senator LEE METCALF, who has provided the Nation with more personal

research service in his speeches on the IOU's than any other Member of the current Congress. It has been a great job, and its effectiveness will build up in the months ahead.

The fight for the resources developments we must have to keep this Nation prosperous—to maintain our abundance—requires men of competence and energy, dedicated to the undertaking. Senator QUENTIN BURDICK has proved himself such a amn. His handling of the Garrison irrigation project to pass it through the Senate virtually unopposed was a superb legislative job. Although the House is not his direct responsibility, I happen to know that he has assurance that if Garrison is not finally approved by the present Congress, it will be the first order of business in the House Interior Committee next year.

The Senator from North Dakota has done much other effective work. His bill to increase the local share of revenues from wetlands will speed that much needed conservation work.

His strong support and cosponsorship of my voluntary wheat certificate proposal helped get it enacted into law, and wheat farmers should remember his effort to increase export certificate values when the measure was under consideration on the floor.

The Senator has supported all of the greatly needed resources and conservation legislation. He has proved himself both an effective legislative general and an effective trooper in every fight. We need him, and I am certain the people of North Dakota will send him back to Washington next month for a 6-year term.

We need him as we need men like MANSFIELD and METCALF, of Montana; MCGEE, of Wyoming; and MCCARTHY, of Minnesota; because the major strides are yet to be taken in water development and many other resource fields. The Nation, and especially the Western States where resource developments are the key to economic growth, needs every forward-looking Congressman and Senator who can be sent to Washington if we are to strike away the institutional barriers, the human barriers, that bar the way to the great society.

The Congress now closing did nothing of significance in the mineral resources field, although there is great need for relief for some of our key mineral industries, and an even greater need for expanded research into methods of exploring for mineral deposits and handling lower grade ores.

The Congress did little to speed up the program for the national forests, or to hasten replanting of private forest lands, although that is a critical resource area.

It is admittedly asking too much to expect a single Congress to solve all of our resources problems, just as it is impossible for one Congress or an administration to settle all of the Nation's economic problems for a generation or two ahead. One is reminded of Congressman John Steven McGroarty, of California, who wrote a constituent in 1934: "One of the countless drawbacks of being in Congress is that I am compelled to receive impertinent letters from a jackass like you in which you say I promised to have the Sierra Madre Mountains reforested, and I have been in Congress 2 months and haven't done it. Will you please take two running jumps and go to hell."

Unfortunately for the cause of congressional candor, Congressman McGroarty was defeated.

But in defense of Congress, vast progress has been made since Congressman McGroarty's day.

We have taken some giant steps in the economic field since World War II.

We are today reaping some of the benefits of a farsighted economic planning and action measure first proposed by the man you have honored here tonight—Jim Patton. I refer to the Employment Act of 1946.

Since the adoption of that act, we have not had a major depression.

We have had recessions. We have had to learn to use economic tools effectively. For one 8-year period since the adoption of the act there was some skepticism in the executive branch of the Federal Government about the efficacy and propriety of certain economic measures. But the existence of a Council of Economic Advisers and a Joint Economic Committee in Congress, and a public awareness that economic tools exist to stimulate the economy, have resulted in steps to prevent recessions from deepening into a depression. When recessions were clearly underway in the fifties the administration finally acted to stop them, however reluctantly.

When President John F. Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon Johnson came into office determined to stimulate the rate of economic growth in the United States, the techniques by which it could be done were known. The tools were at hand, and the growth rate has been increased from about 3 percent to more than 5 percent per year.

The great success of the Employment Act of 1946, and the policies and instrumentalities that it brought into being, have convinced me that John F. Kennedy's point 4 proposal—and I refer to his point 4 in the historic Billings address to this organization in 1960—should be revived and enacted.

The late President said: "Fourth, we will establish a Council of Resource Advisers in the Office of the President, to coordinate planning in this field. We have had many short-term, limited, piecemeal studies. We have not had enough of the long-range, continuing, and comprehensive surveys, determining the needs of our country, the increase in our population, the available resources and how they can be fitted together to build a strong and vital country."

As a friend and warm admirer of President Kennedy, I cite that statement without embarrassment, although the objective was not achieved.

President Kennedy was convinced shortly after he took office that there was need to streamline the White House establishment, eliminate a number of special offices and councils engulfing the President, and stimulate existing agencies to do the tasks which needed doing. He asked the Council of Economic Advisers, the Office of Science and Technology, and the National Science Foundation to do some needed jobs in relation to resources. He then asked Congress to postpone a decision on a Council of Resource and Conservation Advisers to see how his assignments of duties would work out.

Much has been done. Resources research reports have been issued by the scientific agencies assigned to the job, and they have turned their attention to other tasks. A good deal of resources legislation has been proposed in both the executive branch and Congress, and much-needed measures have been passed.

Nevertheless, today we are short of data, plans, and projections for next steps in the resources future.

We have not made arrangements for the biennial assessment of water resources supply and demand by regions recommended in 1961.

We still have a major portion of the select committee report on water resources to implement.

We do not have data on which we could start work on an economic feasibility study of the North American water and power proposal, or alternatives to it.

We do not have updated projections of mineral requirements, their availability over a period of years domestically or by importation from other countries, and we have a far greater dependence on mineral imports than many countries, including Russia, as one example.

We are momentarily aware of our recreation needs and Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall has succeeded in persuading Congress to launch a program to meet them because of a recent short-term study. But we are not going to meet the recreation demands of sportsmen unless we also adopt an adequate national water plan, assuring an abundance of fish and migratory wild fowl habitat.

We are aware of a need for a nationwide, giant power system but have no plans for its development. We are proceeding in this area on a hit-and-miss basis in which the public interest and much of the economy in power costs it might permit may be sacrificed.

There is wholly inadequate public recognition of our forest needs. We are going to speed up reforestation and conservation work in the forests as a byproduct of the antipoverty program, but even the fraction of needed work proposed for the Job Corps has not been estimated.

Because of agricultural surpluses, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has made some splendid projections of land needs to the year 2000 and proposed a land-use adjustment program. It needs to be given greater support and attention as a part of an overall national resources program than it is now getting. Unfortunately, too many citizens regard Mr. Freeman's proposals as incidental to his farm program. It needs to be put in its true perspective as a major resource project by a top resources general staff.

We need a Council of Resource and Conservation Advisers as originally proposed by the late Senator James E. Murray in 1959, patterned after his bill which established the Council of Economic Advisers, to keep resource requirements and the adequacy of our resource programs constantly before us.

I feel sure that the late President John F. Kennedy, who asked only that the decision on such a Council be postponed during a trial of alternatives, would now agree that the Council should be established.

The vacuums in resources policy have not all been filled by the 88th conservation-minded Congress. The 88th did more than usual, but still not enough.

The Malthusian doctrine to which I referred earlier depicted mankind's lot as a hopeless one.

Chandler and Morse are only a little more optimistic about man's future; they think physical resources are adequate but see little hope that men will remove human obstructions to abundance with sufficient speed to assure a world of peace and plenty.

As an eternal optimist, surrounded here tonight by an audience of optimists about our resources future, I believe we can meet mankind's material needs in a growing world society. I want to propose that we renew our effort to establish a national resources and conservation general staff to keep our resource needs and shortcomings before us and to remind the executive branch and Congress annually of things that need to be done.

It is my intention to introduce the Council of Resources and Conservation Advisers bill, with as many cosponsors as we can get, when the 89th Congress convenes in January.

I solicit your support. This organization, because it deals with two resource necessities of great and continuing urgency, and because you have become the recognized national forum for quadrennial resource policy statements by Presidential election winners—this organization is becoming the midcentury successor to the Pinchot-Roosevelt National Conservation Congress which was established a half century ago. You have influence and responsibilities in the national scene—and the opportunities—which I hope you will accept and use to help sweep aside the human limitations on resource programs, to see that

there is development and to see that the public gets the benefits.

It has been a great privilege and honor to be here with you and your honored guests, as it has been a great privilege and pleasure to work with the members of this group on many governmental affairs in the past. Godspeed in the critical years ahead.

Massapequa—1964 Senior Little League World Champions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of attending a world championship awards dinner for the young players on the Massapequa International Little League team. The dinner was also attended by Mrs. Babe Ruth, many outstanding sports writers, big league ball players and the scouts, and friends of the little league. As a tribute to these fine young men, I am pleased to include the following article from the Massapequa Post describing their activities:

SZAL HURLS STORYBOOK FINALE

The Massapequa Internationals defeated teams from Mexico, Iowa, and Texas to become the world champions of the senior little league. In the games played at Louisville, Ky., last weekend, the Internationals, led by Coach Andy Senese, Sr., had to play topflight ball to defeat the best little league teams in the land.

The first game was played against a heavily favored team from Monterey, Mexico. Mexico scored first in the fourth inning, when pitcher Jesus Gomez belted a single into right field, tallying two teammates already on base. The Mexicans scored again in the top of the sixth when Torres came home from third on a single by Lopez.

With the pressure on the Internationals in the bottom of the sixth, Mike Capone and Jimmy Cavanaugh both singled and took extra bases on the throwback. With Capone on third and Cavanaugh on second, Bob Nelson made it to first on a fielder's choice that brought Capone home and Cavanaugh to third.

Cavanaugh came home and Nelson went to second on a balk. Nelson got to third on a single by Tom Smyth, and both boys came home as Andy Senese, Jr., son of the coach, hit a game-winning triple.

The final tally saw the Internationals get four runs on four hits, and the Mexicans get three runs on four hits. A sparkling pitching performance under pressure was turned in by winning pitcher Richie Szal.

MASSAPEQUA VERSUS IOWA

In the second game, played against a team from Des Moines, Iowa, the Internationals started the scoring right in the first inning as Nelson singled, advanced to second on an error, stole third, and come home on Smyth's single.

In the second, Capone walked and Senese made it to first on an error. Marshall Lindner sacrificed to put Senese and Capone on second and third. Capone came in on an error by the Des Moines pitcher, and Senese came in on a passed ball.

In the third, Tom Lucas doubled to bring in Szal and Smyth, and then Lucas came in himself on a passed ball.

Behind 6 to 0 in the bottom of the third, the Iowa team tried to even up the score. Massapequa pitcher Senese walked Wallace, Luckovich, and Abbott. Wallace came in when Sears was hit by a pitched ball. Mike Maher then doubled bringing in Luckovich and Abbott, and Mike Quinn singled bringing in Sears.

Massapequa Centerfielder Lindner fired the ball in to Catcher Cavanaugh to pick off Maher at home. Then, winning pitcher Senese snapped back to strike out the two remaining Iowa batters and secure a 6 to 4 victory for the Internationals.

THE BIG ONE

The final game of the series, against Brenham, Tex., went well for the Massapequans until the last inning.

The Internationals started the scoring in the first inning as Nelson singled and Senese got to first on an error. Lucas then hit to first and got to second on an error that brought in Nelson and Senese.

With two out in the bottom of the seventh, pitcher Szal walked Heiderman and Plant, and Neutzler loaded the bases with a single. Rosenbaum then walked bringing in Heiderman. With the bases still loaded, Alex Jordan, the Texas pitcher, fouled out to Nelson at first and the game was over.

Szal won the game for the Internationals giving up only one run on eight hits, compared to two runs on six hits made by the Massapequans.

When it was over, Szal had won two games, Senese one, and the Massapequa Internationals were the senior Little League champions of the world.

The Election and Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, Dr. Jerome D. Frank, the distinguished professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, has authored a most important and timely address entitled "The Election and Survival."

I ask unanimous consent that this significant speech be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ELECTION AND SURVIVAL

(Address by Dr. Jerome D. Frank)

Some of you may be wondering why a teacher of psychiatry should desert the classroom and the couch for the podium at this time. A word of justification may therefore be in order. My reason for becoming active during this campaign arises from the sincere conviction that we are unlikely to survive an administration that tries to carry out the foreign policy of the Republican Party platform. Though this is the reason for my activity and will be the focus of some of my remarks, I would like to emphasize that this is not a partisan speech. I find the defense policies of the administration only a little less worrisome than those proposed by the Republicans. Rather, my purpose is to get you to think with me about a tremendous problem that mankind has never had to face before and one that far transcends partisan politics. This is the problem of the preservation of civilization in the face of an incredible and growing excess of destructive power. This power is spreading into more and more hands all the time. Several years ago the Federation of American Scientists, a very responsible and knowledgeable group, stated that with the stockpile of fissionable material that existed at that time it was possible to cover the entire earth with a radiation level which for 10 years would remain sufficiently intense to prove fatal to all living beings on land. We have considerably more than that now.

Because of my training, I shall inevitably emphasize, perhaps even overemphasize, the psychological aspects of the problem of human survival under these conditions. Let me, therefore, make clear at the start that I am aware that much more is involved. Questions of war and peace depend on military, political, legal, and other considerations, as well as psychological ones. However, weapons do not fire themselves—people fire them—and national leaders, not nations, decide whether there will be war or peace. Psychological processes clearly are involved in these decisions.

The basic psychological challenge today is that rapid and drastic changes in conditions of life force us to make equally drastic changes in certain deeply ingrained habits of behavior and thinking. As the noted economist, Kenneth Boulding, put it, "If the human race is to survive, it will have to change its way of thinking more in the next 25 years than it has in the last 25,000."

The changes in the conditions of human existence that have the most immediate good and bad implications for survival are three:

First is the unlimited destructive power of nuclear weapons coupled with their instantaneous delivery systems.

Second is the shrinkage of the world in terms of communication and transportation.

Third is the magnificant new opportunities for promoting human welfare created by modern science and technology.

Let me put aside the second and third factors for the moment and consider only the first—the unlimited destructive power of modern weapons. I don't want to bore you by repeating figures about the destructiveness of nuclear weapons that you have heard many times. There is one point, however, that is worth remembering because of the tendency to think of nuclear weapons simply as bigger conventional ones. Nuclear weapons are like forces of nature; they permanently change the environment. For example, in 1962 we conducted a project Starfish, which involved the explosion of a 1.4 megaton bomb 250 miles in the air. The effect was the biggest surprise since the beginning of the space age. The radiation was enormous; it put three of our space satellites out of commission. The effects may last for 10 years. In addition, many meteorologists believe that the increased radiation temporarily changed the climate. That was the year, you may remember, in which there were terrible blizzards all over Europe and heavy snow in Mississippi.

If one small explosion above the atmosphere can do this much, one wonders what a massive nuclear exchange might do. The long-term effects of such a catastrophe are incalculable. The only thing one can be sure of is that it would make the environment permanently more hostile to human life. This is because radiation damages man's friends more than his enemies. Rats are more radio resistant than men, insects are more resistant than mammals and birds, weeds are more resistant than edible vegetables. Broccoli is an exception. I must confess that the prospect of living on broccoli is not very appealing. Pine forests are particularly sensitive to radiation, and their destruction would lead to disastrous floods. Above all, certain viruses and bacteria are relatively resistant to radiation. So the survivors of a nuclear exchange, if any, would

come out into a scorched, devastated, radioactive, germ- and insect-ridden world with their own resistance to disease reduced by starvation and exposure to radiation. One wonders how many, if any, could survive. One can only conclude in the words of Lester Van Atta, who is director of research for a large missile company, "If a nuclear exchange did occur, the consequences would go so far beyond all our human experience as to be totally unpredictable. We cannot legitimately even guess whether civilization itself could survive such a disaster. We can be sure only that it would transcend any calamity that the world has experienced in historical times."

There are two immediate consequences of the unlimited destructive power of nuclear weapons for military policy. The first is that there is no defense against them. The second that their accumulation does not lead to increasing security.

It is safe to assert that there will never be an adequate defense against nuclear weapons, because the attacker can always overcome any given level of defense by slightly increasing the power of the attack. With respect to antimissile missiles, for example, the attack has all the advantage, because there are so many ways to confuse the defense. As a result, according to New York Times correspondent James Reston, "The official estimate is that it would cost 10 to 30 times as much to defend against as to produce the attacking missiles." So for every new attacking missile the defender would have to build 10 to 30.

The eminent nuclear physicist, Hans Bethe, has pointed out that the more accurate our antimissile missiles become the more the enemy will disperse his attack, spreading destruction more uniformly across the country.

The assertion that there can never be an adequate defense against nuclear weapons also rests on the obvious psychological consideration that the same thought processes that devise a defense against a weapon are simultaneously thinking of ways of circumventing it. As a result there never has been a perfect defense against any weapon. We have been told by Secretary McNamara that our missiles can penetrate our own antimissile defenses. When and if we should develop a defense against today's missiles, it will probably be ineffective against the missiles then existing. Defenses that were only 50 to 75 percent effective were adequate against conventional weapons, but when one nuclear weapon can destroy a city, it is obvious that only a defense that is 100 percent effective can be of value.

Because defense against these weapons is impossible, an accumulation of them does not add to our security. As Secretary McNamara has said, "Even if we were to double or triple our forces—we could not preclude casualties in the tens of millions." We now have four times more ICBM's than the Russians do, in addition to our Polaris fleet, yet still we are not secure. In fact as Herbert York, Director of Defense, Research, and Engineering under President Eisenhower has pointed out, ever since shortly after World War II, our military power has been increasing and our national security has been decreasing. He goes on to explain that early in the 1950's the Soviet Union could havce launched against us bombers carrying atomic bombs and cause some millions of American casualties. In the later 1950's they could have used more and better bombers carrying hydrogen bombs and the number of U.S. casualties could have been in the tens of millions. In the middle 1960's with intercontinental missiles and bombers carrying thermonuclear weapons, the Soviet Union could have inflicted American casualties in the neighborhood of a hundred million. He adds "This steady decrease in national security was not the result of any inaction on our part, but simply the result of systematic exploration of modern science and technology by the Soviet Union." He concludes, "The problem posed for both sides by this dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security has no technical solution."

In short, all our arms build up has accomplished is to offer some assurance that we would emerge from a nuclear exchange with more weapons than our opponents. But as Secretary McNamara somewhat plaintively remarked "It exceeds the extent of my imagination to conceive of how those forces might be used and of what benefit they would be to our Nation."

In this predicament nations have resorted to a policy of deterrence. Each side attempts to protect itself and prevent nuclear war by threatening to use these weapons if the other side does. Nuclear weapons thus become psychological rather than physical weapons, so it may be well to take a moment to consider the psychology of the "balance of terror." The policy of deterrence is a policy of threat. Now the effectiveness of threat depends on two conditions—first, that it is believable and second, that the person threatened will act rationally. That is, he must be guided by a rational calculation of the potential gain from attacking, balanced against the potential damage from retaliation. It is hard to make a threat believable that involves your own destruction as well as that of the enemy. This forces one to the conclusion expressed by the chairman of the U.S. State Department Policy and Planning Board, Walt W. Rostow, "creditable deterrence in the nuclear age lies in being prepared to face the consequences if deterrence fails." One always possible consequence of the failure of deterrence is a full-scale nuclear exchange so we arrive at the absurdity that to defend human dignity and freedom we must be prepared to wipe out Western civilization, if not mankind.

How long rationality will hold under a constant threat of nuclear war is questionable. The automatic response to threat is to threaten back again as a means of demonstrating to one's self and the opponent that one is not intimidated. This leads to a constant heightening of mutual threats with mounting fear and insecurity on both sides and an ever-increasing chance that one or the other will feel forced to make good on his threats.

The effect of heightened emotional tension is to impede rational thought. Fear tends to decrease flexibility of thinking, to cut down the number of apparent alternatives and to accentuate distortions of perception based on emotion. It also predisposes to impulsive action. These points have been documented by R. C. North's quantitative analyses of the contents of Government papers in the weeks preceding World War I. Each nation saw itself as the target of hostility by the others, and as tensions mounted, the perception by each of the others became more distorted. Finally, even the virtual certainty of destruction failed to deter. As the Kaiser said before launching World War I: "If we are bled to death, England shall at least lose India," and the Japanese war minister said before Pearl Harbor, "Once in a while it is necessary to close one's eyes and jump from the roof of the Kyumizu Temple." "Standford Today," spring 1963. If wars continue, there is every reason to think that at sometime in the future a national leader will develop a similar suicidal state of mind.

In short, in a world burdened with a huge surplus of civilization-destroying weapons, against which there is no defense, distributed in many hands, survival depends on the rationality of national and military leaders, and exercise of the tightest possible command and control of nuclear weapons. We are always only a short step from a nuclear catastrophe precipitated by an irrational act.

National policies that heighten fear and mistrust among nations are therefore particularly dangerous. I believe that the policies proposed by the platform and spokesman of the Republican Party have this effect, hence my deep concern.

These policies I believe to be based on a false picture of the world, which is seen as dominated by two mythical giants labelled "communism" and "freedom," locked in a death struggle in which one must inevitably destroy the other. The picture further assumes that the United States has the power to force other nations to adopt only those social and political systems of which it approves. To this end, American weapon superiority should be used, not merely to deter potential attackers, but for "initiatives for freedom." These initiatives include, pushing the arms race, pushing communism back through continual "brinksmanship," and using the threat to limit or break off trade and other forms of communication as a means to enforce our will.

Later I will consider the matter of the two giants, but first I should like to comment on the other points.

Armaments research and development, including "astronautics," is perhaps the greatest source of mutual fear. Every nation fears that another may achieve a breakthrough in attack or defense that will give it a temporary decisive advantage, enabling it to force other nations to submit to its will, under threat of destruction. As a result, each strives ever more desperately to achieve an illusory superiority, leading to a spiralling arms race that heightens mutual dread. Armed space satellites, which are purely terror weapons, would arouse particularly strong emotions.

Pushing the arms race also forces the spread of nuclear weapons. Coupled with increasing tension, this increases the danger of outbreak of nuclear war by accident, misjudgment, or malice. The rate of hospitalized insane in the armed forces of the world ranges between 2 and 3 per 1,000 per year regardless of war or peace and no screening procedure can infallibly detect all these persons. The Air Force manual on screening nuclear weapons personnel states—in something of an understatement: "It is impossible to prevent all unauthorized destructive acts." (AF Manual 160–55) nor are leaders immune from mental illness, as the unhappy story of Secretary Forrestal, former Secretary of Defense, reminds us. It is, of course, improbable that an insane person would have the power to fire a nuclear weapon, or that if he were in the position, he would want to fire it. Nevertheless the risk is real, and is greater the more widely such weapons are disseminated. To be sure we have installed elaborate safeguards against unauthorized firing of our nuclear weapons, but we cannot be sure that all nations who come to possess these weapons will be as careful. Furthermore, there is a limit to safeguards, because they can't be so elaborate as to impede the prompt firing of the weapons when necessary. In any case, the danger is greatest among maintenance and repair personnel, who have access to these weapons before safeguards against unauthorized firing have been installed. Human nature and equipment are both fallible, and an accidental nuclear explosion seems to me to be inevitable at some time. If the world is at peace, it will be contained like any other natural catastrophe, such as a tidal wave or earthquake. The danger is an accident in time of crisis. During the Cuban crisis we announced that a missile coming from Cuba would be presumed to come from Russia, and were on full alert. Suppose a missile had gone off accidentally at such a moment?

A corollary of pushing the arms race is relaxing civilian control over nuclear weapons. Giving military commanders the authority to use these weapons might appear to increase our security by enhancing the flexibility and promptness of our military responses.

The job of a military commander, however, is to win an engagement. To do this well, he must limit his purview to a particular military theater or action. Thus the further these weapons are removed from civilian control, the more the decision to use them would be guided by short-term military rather than long-term policy considerations. This increases the danger of escalation from conventional to nuclear war.

To guard against this danger, current policy is to maintain a sharp distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons. The maintenance of this psychological gap is crucial. Use of phrases such as "conventional nuclear weapons," which obscure this gap, is therefore dangerous.

In this connection, it is well to keep in mind that the tactical nuclear weapon is a monster. The word "tactical" misleads us. The smallest operational tactical nuclear weapon, which has been withdrawn, had an explosive power equivalent to 10 kilotons—10,000 tons of TNT—and the average one has an explosive power five times that of the Hiroshima atom bomb. It would not take many of these to destroy a country as effectively as strategic weapons.

As to initiatives for freedom, in the context of the rest of the platform and the candidate's statements these seem to include the threat to use nuclear weapons to force back communism. This may succeed for awhile against a nation without nuclear weapons. If a nuclear power becomes involved, however, which is bound to happen sooner or later, such a policy becomes hazardous. Since there is no defense against nuclear weapons, the threat now becomes one to risk destruction of the United States to gain a point of foreign policy. This is hard to make believable and is also a provocative challenge to the adversary's courage. On both counts he will be strongly tempted to be defiant, forcing us to threaten still harder or face the humiliation of backing down. Obviously, such a situation would be highly unstable and produce strong emotions in all parties, with the likelihood of disastrous consequences.

The Republican platform advocates restricting trade, diplomatic relations, and other forms of international communication with other countries to put pressure on them. Lack of communication with a nation perceived as hostile heightens tension. An unknown enemy is more frightening and more difficult to cope with than a well-defined one. Lack of information about an enemy increases the tendency to base the estimates of his power on fears rather than facts. The mythical missile gap in 1957 is a good example. We overestimated the number of Russian intercontinental missiles by almost 30 times on the basis of what we feared they might do. The more one knows about an enemy, the more ways one sees of dealing with him and this reduces anxiety. Furthermore, lack of communication with an opponent prevents the possibility of learning about favorable changes in him that might decrease fears that were initially justified and open new possibilities for resolving their antagonsm.

The dangerous emotion-arousing potential of all these policies is heightened by their being offered in a context of sweeping condemnation of nations with political philosophies differing from ours and equally sweeping claims of our own superiority. This stimulates counterattacks, creating an atmosphere in which serious negotiations become more and more difficult, and resort to force ever more likely.

Perhaps all these proposals can be traced to a single false premise; namely, that one can destroy an ideology by force. All the evidence of human history refutes this. One need only remember the oceans of blood spilled in religious wars between Christians and Moslems or Protestants and Catholics, ending with the exhausted survivors still maintaining their respective faiths.

The reason why many people will die rather than abandon their ideology is not far to seek. Squeezed between two oblivions, humans try to give meaning to their brief, insignificant lives by linking them to something larger and more permanent. Many persons find this in an ideology. The meaning of their lives depends on their relation to God, or Buddha, or human welfare, or communism. For them, surrendering the values and beliefs by which they live is a kind of psychological death that may be harder to face than bodily death. Likewise, the ideology of a nation, made tangible by symbols such as the flag, is essential to its existence. As a result, while physical attacks on people who do not hold an ideology strongly, may lead them to give it up, strong believers simply increase their hatred of the attacker and cling ever more strongly to their beliefs. The futility of trying to defeat an ideology by arms is clear today in Vietnam.

Let me now turn from criticizing Republican policies to the pleasanter task of offering positive suggestions for preserving and promoting our way of life in today's world.

These suggestions start with the recognition that the world is pluralistic not bipolar and that its two brandnew features—shrinkage and scientific advance—that I mentioned at the beginning of this talk offer spectacular hope for human welfare if only we can avoid self-destruction.

One need only remember China to realize that far from being joined in a monolithic conspiracy, Communist nations are at least as divided among themselves as those of the free world. In addition to these two groups, furthermore, there is the so-called "Third World" of industrially undeveloped countries. These vary tremendously among themselves in goals, aims, and stages of development and have a great variety of attitudes toward the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The extraordinary and continuing shrinkage of the world may be illustrated by the fact that in the 100 hours following President Kennedy's death, the world's leaders assembled from the far corners of the earth in Washington, attended the funeral, transacted business with the new President and returned to their homes.

Finally, the truly fantastic progress of science and technology for the first time in human history holds out hopes for relieving human beings of the curses that have plagued them since the dawn of time, such as poverty, disease and ignorance.

In conjunction these developments mean that there are many outcomes to international conflict today beyond the traditional one of one side winning and the other losing. There is, unfortunately, a good chance that everyone will lose which would be the result of an allout nuclear war. As General Curtis LeMay has put it, "No one can win a modern war, even the victor loses." Fortunately there are also innumerable outcomes in which everyone wins. A recent example is the limited nuclear test ban from which all mankind has been the gainer. The gains in well-being that peoples of all nations could achieve, if they devoted to constructive ends money, energy and brains they now devote to perfecting instruments of destruction, are limited only by the power of human imagination. In addition to increasing the possibilities for mutual welfare, the changes in the world have also increased international interdependence. Each nation depends upon the others, not only for its security but also for its welfare.

Rather than pursuing policies that promote international anarchy and heighten the danger of a nuclear disaster, we must bend our efforts to reduce the chances of outcomes in which everyone loses, and increase the chances of outcomes in which everyone wins. This involves, first, avoiding nuclear catastrophe, and, second, strengthening the sense of world community, to make possible a world of law, which is necessary for realizing the promise for human welfare held out by modern science.

Progress toward both of these ends starts with mobilization of America's true strength domestically. The futile and dangerous policy of victory through military strength tries to substitute a false strength—massive military power—for true strength, which lies in the soundness of a nation's economic and political system and its national unity. The essence of this unity is a sense of common purpose and a concern by each citizen for the welfare of all. Mobilization of our true strength requires rededication to our faith in individual dignity, freedom of thought and expression and equal opportunity for all. It includes combating divisive forces such as racial strife, correcting other social evils such as poverty, ignorance and delinquency, and strengthening our peacetime economy.

The best way to win support among the uncommitted nations of the third world is to demonstrate the superior power of our way of life to promote human welfare.

With respect to nations we perceive as adversaries, our major goal must be to weaken mutual fear and mistrust by acts that convey our peaceful intent. These moves must not weaken ourselves, however, as this would increase our own fears. Some actions are best undertaken unilaterally; that is, without requiring prior agreement of the aversary that he will do likewise. A recent encouraging example was our cutback in the production of nuclear fissionable material, of which we already have too much. In this case, without any prior agreement, the Russians followed suit. In addition, we should push harder for general and complete disarmament under proper safeguards, which is the official goal of all nations. There seem to be two major psychological obstacles to this. The first is mutual distrust. Disarmaments negotiations have foundered so far on the hopeless effort to achieve a completely safeguarded disarmament agreement; that is, one which is absolute proof against cheating. Here the real psychological problem may be the difficulty in trying to balance a familiar danger against a brand new one.

Practically everyone has been deceived at least once in his life. We know what an unpleasant and dangerous experience it can be. It is one we strongly wish to avoid. The risk of an allout nuclear arms race has never been experienced before, hence it is much easier to perceive the danger that the other side might cheat and gain an illusory lead in the arms race than the much greater danger of a continuing arms race.

The second strong psychological barrier to the achievement of disarmament, perhaps the most pervasive and deep seated of all, is the equation of manly courage with violence. A major impetus to the arms race is the conviction that the only way to prove one's courage is by threatening violence, and that reluctance to do this is a sign of weakness and cowardice. This is, of course, grounded in the universal human experience that in individual combat the person who can hit the hardest wins. This was also true at the national level until the advent of nuclear weapons. It has been strengthened by the glorification of warriors by almost all societies. Therefore, the intellectual insight that achievement of superiority in modern weapons is a vain goal makes little headway against the conviction, confirmed by millenia of experience, that the possessor of superior destructive power can force his will on his opponents. Accordingly, the automatic way of responding to the

threats of an adversary is to build more weapons. To fail to respond in this way would be to indicate loss of the will to resist.

The development of international legal and political institutions for handling conflicts will help to break the psychological link between courage and violence on the international level, just as it has on the domestic one. A litigant in a court action does not have to threaten to kill his adversary to prove that he means business.

In addition to working toward disarmament, we must concentrate on exploiting those interests that the Communists and free worlds have in common, rather than those which divide them. The overriding one is, of course, the desire to survive. Beyond this the two world views have wide areas of agreement, which are usually overlooked because the differences are so obvious and so threatening that they preoccupy everyone. The ideologies of communism and constitutional democracy set great store by the power of human intelligence, and place a high value on increasing the well-being of all men, regardless of racial or national origin.

Both place great hope in the power of science to mold the environment to man's desires. In this hope may lie the greatest potential for achieving a world without war. For it leads all nations to deplore the arms race, if for no other reason than that it diverts scientific energies from constructive to destructive ends, and delays the fulfillment of science's promise of a prosperous and healthy world for all. Furthermore, the ideology and language of science are universal and provide a basis for fruitful communication across cultural and national barriers.

With respect to all nations, neutral, friendly, or hostile, our goal should be to vastly increase communications that break down barriers of misunderstanding and increase mutual appreciation and the sense of community.

Through communicating freely with groups we wish to influence, we learn to tailor our approach to meet their susceptibilities, and to avoid the common pitfall of stressing ideas or symbols that appeal powerfully to us, but may not to them. The word "freedom," for example, apparently connotes license and irresponsibility in many cultures, so to tell them we stand for freedom does not win us many friends. I have been told, however, that the goal of "human dignity," which we prize, is highly valued in almost all societies.

It is especially important to resist the tendency to restrict contacts with an enemy, because this allows misconceptions based on mutual fears and suspicions to flourish without correction as already described. As a result, attempts of enemies to influence each other peaceably become increasingly futile until finally the only remaining recourse is violence.

It takes a lot of courage to try to understand the enemy, for the attempt exposes one to suspicion of disloyalty to his own group. It also incurs the danger that the enemy may trick us, or we may discover that he has some good features, which might weaken our will to resist him. So to be willing to communicate with an enemy we must have enough faith in our own commonsense to be confident that he cannot dupe us, and a strong enough allegiance to our ideology so that we do not fear being converted to his.

Three types of international communication can be distinguished. The first is personal contact through exchanges and visits, the second is economic and technical aid and the third involves cooperative activity toward goals that all nations want but none can achieve alone.

An effective way of improving international communication through personal contact is by exchange programs. In order for these to promote mutual good will, both visitors and hosts must feel they have gained benefits from the contact even though the balance may be uneven. This presents few problems with brief visits whose purpose is to give pleasure, as with performing artists, or to exchange mutually useful information, as with agricultural, scientific, and technical missions. The problems are greater, but the potential benefits are also, when members of one country stay in another for prolonged periods, especially as students. These visits can easily miscarry through failures of hosts and guests to understand each other's customs, manners, and outlook on life, leading to exacerbation rather than reduction of ill will.

A minor but vivid example of the importance of understanding the cultural patterns of another country may be introduced by two anecdotes. It is often said that you can't trust the Russians, and it, indeed, seems to be true that Russians are prone to lie under some circumstances. The first anecdote was told me by a colleague. While in Russia he had an appointment with a Russian which the Russian failed to keep. The next day the Russian indignantly reproached him for not appearing. The second anecdote concerns a personal experience that occurred while I was visiting Russia in 1936. I was a member of a group being shown through a mental hospital by the superintendent. He kept insisting that modern methods of treatment had cured all disturbed patients. We kept going by a locked door, and a psychiatrist member of our group kept asking him to open the door. After much evasion he finally did so, and we saw the familiar agitated, disturbed patients. He shut the door, turned to us, and said completely seriously: "They are disturbed because you opened the door."

This behavior did not make much sense until I read an article about an old Russian custom called "vranyo," long antedating communism. It is a kind of half-serious lying which the Russians clearly distinguish from the real thing. The practitioner of "vranyo" seems to start out knowing that he is lying and then becomes convinced by his own eloquence. His victim is not expected to swallow the lie, but neither should he try to expose it. The proper response is to listen respectfully, but indicate subtly that one knows what is going on and admires the performance. Reading this article led me to inquire among foreign students and doctors at Hopkins about what they call our deceitfulness. By this they meant that everyone is polite and friendly until suddenly at the end of the year they discover that their work was unsatisfactory, and their contracts were not to be renewed. We were deceitful in not letting them know how they were doing.

Americans know the clues that indicate whether their superiors are satisfied or not. Similarly, Russians must know whether "vranyo" is going on or not, otherwise they could not run their complex society. The moral is not that we should trust the Russians, but that we should develop a greater sensitivity to "vranyo," thereby avoiding being deceived, on the one hand, or needlessly outraged, on the other.

Perhaps in our self-righteous way, which may exasperate the Russians, we have become infuriated at lies which they did not really expect us to believe.

In any case, the point is that an important step toward dissolving the immediate threat of war would be to promote fuller knowledge by Russians and Americans of each other's attitudes, values, and customary ways of resolving conflicts.

Since the rapid economic advance of the Communist countries is their most effective propaganda weapon, communication through economic aid should be one of our main means of persuasion.

We can use our superior resources to make larger contributions to the welfare of deprived peoples than the Communists can. However, as we are painfully learning, aid does not necessarily make a friend of the recipient. The way in which it is offered is all-important. Obviously, we must be assured that it is used for the benefit of all the people and not just a favored few. Beyond this, if it causes the recipient to feel humiliated or envious, it may even increase ill will.

To have its full beneficial psychological effect, the aid must be given in such a way that the recipients see it as evidence for the superiority of our way of life; that gifts of food, for example, are clearly linked to the high efficiency of our agriculture. Furthermore, it must increase the receiver's sense of self-worth and his hopes of achieving our level of affluence. Here much depends on the attitudes and behavior of our representatives. The remarkable success of the Peace Corps, whose planners carefully considered these questions, shows that it can be done. Peace Corps representatives know that others are more likely to be receptive to your views if they feel you understand and respect theirs. They speak the language of the lands to which they are assigned, live and work with their hosts, and try to learn from them as well as teach them.

The most significant type of tension-reducing communication is international cooperation toward the achievement of goals that all nations desire but none can achieve alone. Modern science and technology have opened up oportunities for this type of work on a hitherto undreamed of scale. An example was the highly successful International Geophysical Year which culminated in the treaty permanently demilitarizing the Antarctic. It is encouraging to note that more and more of these programs are being instituted, among them the Russian-American World Weather Watch, the international cooperation on communication and navigation satellites, and the recent agreement to cooperate on studying how best to desalt sea water. Such projects, by strengthening patterns of cooperation, counteract mutual fear and mistrust.

The greater the gains nations achieve from these cooperative efforts, the less willing they will be to risk them by hostile or deceitful acts. That is, nations will develop a powerful self-interest in maintaining and strengthening international institutions that will foster cooperation and minimize chances for destructive conflict. I suspect that such a world will still contain adherents of mutually incompatible world views, but no one will feel like going to war over them—just as we no longer have holy wars, though the religious doctrines that led to them still exist.

To sum up, the main psychological peril for the world today is simply the force of habit. Nations of the world are faced with an age-old threat and a brandnew one. The old threat is the existence of other nations perceived as enemies. The habitual, tried and true way of dealing with an enemy is to try to control him by threats, backed by armed might. If the threats fail, then one tries to defeat him in a war. This method has worked in the past though with less and less success in recent decades, in that one or the other adversary always won and imposed his will on the loser.

The brandnew danger is that of annihilation of civilization by modern weapons. This can only be permanently overcome by general and complete disarmament under world law, something that has never been tried. In this predicament, national leaders really have no choice. They cannot abandon tried and true methods for preserving national security,

however unlikely they are to succeed, in favor of methods that exist only in the imagination.

The world's leaders are eager for new ideas for escaping from the trap of mutual destruction. This is a challenge to experts in all fields to analyze the issues and offer possible solutions from the standpoints of their own discipines. I have given you a few examples of how psychiatrists might approach the question of survival.

In this talk I have tried to be as coldly rational as possible, but before concluding I cannot forbear to call attention to the moral challenge posed by the new destructive dimensions of nuclear weapons. These destroy any moral justification that war may have had in the past. If there is any such thing as immorality, it is certainly immoral to plan to kill millions of people immediately, to condemn millions of others to a lingering horrible radiation death, infinitely worse than death in an extermination camp or gas chamber, and to blight future generations for centuries to come. Tamerlane, Genghis Khan, and Hitler could exterminate whole peoples without violating their own moral standards, but a society that claims to value the worth of the individual cannot defend itself by these means without destroying its own moral basis, even if some remnant should survive. If we really have a superior way of life, it will prevail in a disarmed world; if we do not, nuclear war will not save it.

The future of humanity depends on our generation. We must find the courage to develop the new types of international relations that are required by the new world in which we live. If enough people devote enough thought and energy to the task, I am confident that we will eventually be able to create a world of enduring peace. The boundless intellectual and economic resources now tied up in the race for mutual destruction can then be devoted to developing a world in which mankind, freed of the fear of annihilation, can at last achieve its full potential.

Erma Wines, Assistant State 4-H Club Leader Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Bryan Daily Eagle, Bryan, Tex., of September 29 concerning the retirement of Miss Erma Wines, one of the most dedicated persons I know to the 4-H movement.

Miss Wines has accompanied a number of winners of 4-H Club work to Washington on their annual conclaves, and it has always been my pleasure to meet with them and discuss their awards and their projects:

RETIREMENT OF ERMA WINES ANNOUNCED FOR THIS MONTH

Erma H. Wines, assistant State 4-H Club leader on the headquarters staff of the Texas Agriculture Extension Service since 1949, will retire effective September 30.

In making the announcement, Director John E. Hutchison called attention to the outstanding youth leadership development program with which she has been associated. She has made a unique contribution to the development of excellence in 4-H Club work in Texas, he said.

"She has studied and helped direct action research in the developmental needs of youth, worked with the international farm youth exchange program, assisted in citizenship training of youth and the human relations training for leaders—and done a magnificent job of all phases of the program," Director Hutchison said.

Miss Wines served as county home demonstration agent in Gonzales, Jim Wells and Webb Counties, and as an assistant and district extension agent on the headquarters staff before taking the 4-H assignment.

Prior to joining the extension service, Miss Wines taught school in Kleberg County and was a library assistant at Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville, where she received her BS degree with a major in home economics.

She received the distinguished service award from the National Association of County Home Demonstration Agents in 1946, and was named to the National 4-H Club Foundation for a 1-year assignment as a representative of the Southern States in 1954. She has done graduate work at the University of Arkansas and the University of Maryland.

Miss Wines is a member of the National County Home Demonstration Agents Association, the Texas Agricultural Workers Association, the American and Texas Home Economics Associations, and Epsilon Sigma Phi, national fraternity for extension workers who have 10 or more years of service.

Statement by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey on the Occasion of the Retirement of the Honorable Muñoz-Marín as Governor of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me on the occasion of the retirement of Hon. Luis Muñoz-Marín as Governor of Puerto Rico.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A great American—a great American in the finest and deepest sense of the term—once said that the only isms he cared about were realism and idealism. Realism to enable his fellow citizens to face even the harshest facts of life unflinchingly. Idealism to spur them to attack grave human problems courageously, energetically, imaginatively, democratically.

That is what this campaign—what any genuine political campaign—is all about. My party, the Democratic Party, dares to be realistic. We openly acknowledge that our country faces grave problems at home and abroad. And we intend to continue the struggle to solve them.

We are realistic enough to know that the way is long and hard. The process of reform that began under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that continued under Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy, that is going forward under Lyndon Johnson, must go on until the American idea of freedom has real meaning for every citizen of the land, young or old, man or woman, boy or girl, no matter what the color of his skin, or his place of birth, or his economic status, or his native language.

The great American I speak of, this apostle of realism and idealism, is, of course, Luis Muñoz-Marín, founder and leader of the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico.

I speak of Muñoz Marín not just as a great political leader and public servant in his own right but as a symbol of a people who have demonstrated their understanding of realism and their unswerving devotion to democratic ideals. A quarter of a century ago our fellow citizens from Puerto Rico faced circumstances so harsh that their outlook was called hopeless. But the people of Puerto Rico then swore an oath that surrender was unthinkable. And they set out, with a sort of faith born of desperation, to seek their own salvation. Muñoz-Marín ignited a spark of idealism that his people fanned into a flame of hope and achievement.

The people of Puerto Rico could not have done this if Muñoz-Marín had believed in do-nothing, know-nothing, care-nothing government. They could not have succeeded if Muñoz-Marín had asked them to retreat into the past with old slogans and outworn cliches.

He saw that his people lacked the most elementary needs and he determined that government should care about and should act to help provide them. He wanted Puerto Rico to have a 20th century government—a government with a mind as well as a heart.

He recognized that a people must have dignity and self-respect, and that to have them meant having jobs paying decent wages, decent schools for one's children, decent housing, and medical care at a price within the reach of the average wage-earner.

There were those here in 1940—as there were those in Puerto Rico—and as there are those here and there today—who said that government has no responsibility for promoting employment, no responsibility for protecting or enforcing the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

There were those who said then as there are those who say now, that a Federal system of old-age pensions, paid for by the people themselves, was an evil—that it would discourage private insurance and pension systems.

But the people of Puerto Rico did not agree with that. In fact, through their legislature, they petitioned the U.S. Congress to extend the social security system to Puerto Rico and that was done. They asked to pay taxes for social security, and they are paying them. And the charge that Federal social security inhibits private insurance has been decisively shown to be false—here and there.

There are those who said in 1940, as there are those who say today, that government has no right and no responsibility for public power development (although some of these people say it is all right in Arizona but bad in the Tennessee Valley). But Muñoz-Marín used the good credit rating of the people of Puerto Rico to borrow money in the United States to build a modern power system. Because you cannot have industry without power and you cannot have jobs without industry. And the people of Puerto Rico agreed with that.

Just one of the results of this policy of government caring and acting is that a fruitful form of partnership has evolved in Puerto Rico between government and the private sector. This is seen in the power system and the communications and transportation systems that provide the bases for industrial growth and in the 1,000 new factories that provide the basis for expanding production, employment, income, and purchasing power. The return to investors has increased, providing an incentive to new investment.

Government revenues have increased to provide essential services. Worker income has increased. The per capita income of $131 in 1940 has become a per capita income of $830 in 1964.

This increase in the production of wealth has been good for the United States. Puerto Rico's purchases from the mainland United States exceeded $1,100 million last year. That is more than the purchases of eight European countries—Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway—combined.

In paying tribute to Muñoz-Marín and the people of Puerto Rico for their progress in expanding economic justice we do not say that the job is done—only that it can be done. We know that the task must go on. Economic development is never complete.

But we must pay tribute also to Puerto Rico's efforts in the political, cultural, and spiritual realms. In their creative approach to the problem of political status and the contribution to the concept of federalism that the Commonwealth represents, in the guarantee of representation by political minorities in the legislature, in the programs that have broadened citizen participation in political life. We must express our appreciation for the work of the Commonwealth in promoting international understanding and cooperation and the basic aims of U.S. foreign policy—through the sharing of Puerto Rico's experience and techniques in human development with the peoples of more than 25 countries, particularly its programs of community and self-help housing that have made Puerto Rico one of the finest training grounds for the Peace Corps.

On a small scale, but on a significant scale, Puerto Rico has shown that the problems we intend to attack on a national scale can be dealt with and that as they are dealt with human freedom will be deepened and broadened. Freedom, real freedom, is what we expect from our realism and idealism. And this is the essence of our American heritage.

I congratulate Governor Muñoz-Marín, as he now retires from the Government, on his years of distinguished service. I salute him as one of the great statesmen of this hemisphere.

Report From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Report from Washington, No. 4 to the residents of the 16th Congressional District, New York:

REPORT No. 4

DEAR FRIEND: In this Report From Washington, I want to bring you up to date on the record of the 88th Congress, acquaint you with my participation in its legislation, inform you of my voting record in detail, and outline what I have accomplished for our 16th District in the past 2 years.

THE 88TH CONGRESS

Under the strong leadership of President Johnson and the Democratic team, the 88th Congress was one of the most productive in modern times. It enacted the most far-ranging civil rights bill in history; approved an $11.5 billion Federal income tax cut which has already enormously spurred our economy; set up a Federal-State cooperative program to tackle the mass transportation problems that particularly plague us in New York; set aside some 9 million acres of wilderness for future recreation and conservation; provided Federal grants to build higher education facilities; created a training program for employees whose jobs have been taken away by automation; gave top executives in Government new incentives to remain in public service by raising their salaries, and attacked pockets of poverty through a variety of Federal-State projects. Unfortunately, medicare failed to pass, along with the $5 to $7 increases monthly for some 20 million persons on social security. This was a blow, but I feel certain our pensioners can look forward to passage next session. It has been an honor to be a Member of the 88th Congress—and a privilege to serve you.

MY PARTICIPATION

When I was elected to Congress, I determined to do more than simply occupy a desk and answer rollcalls. Consequently, in the past 2 years I have cosponsored legislation to protect our city's lifeblood—the port of New York—from unfair competition from the St. Lawrence Seaway; to tighten the trade embargo against Castro Cuba; to end the discriminatory quota system in immigration which permits Great Britain an annual quota of 65,361—41,600 unfilled—yet allows Italy—with 265,773 waiting for admission—a quota of only 5,666; to keep mail-order guns out of the hands of teenagers; to authorize the development of a Telestar-type satellite which, when placed in orbit, would provide a fixed point for navigational checks by nonmilitary vessels; and to establish a center for information on possible harmful side effects of new drugs.

DISTRICT WORK

It is my conviction that a Congressman should be concerned with the welfare of his district, economically and otherwise. To that end, on Staten Island I expedited construction of the new $1,300,000 post office, which will increase the speed and convenience of mail service; revitalized the $9,461,000 project for hurricane protection from Fort Wadsworth to Tottenville, which will save millions in storm damage; secure a $95,000 study for a permanent cleanup of the Staten Island shorefront, an eyesore and a hazard for years; obtained a $24,000 survey for the permanent dredging of Lemon Creek, Princess Bay; expedited a $500,000 grant for critically needed expansion of St. Vincent's Hospital, and speeded emergency disaster aid for victims of the 1963 brush fires, which tragically wiped out homes and businesses.

In Brooklyn I expedited the $53,096,000 project for hurricane protection and beach erosion control from East Rockaway Inlet to Rockaway Inlet, including Jamaica Bay and Gerritsen Creek; obtained a $95,000 study for permanent harbor cleanup to include Jamaica Bay; secured Federal funds for new street lights on Flatbush Avenue, eliminating hazard to drivers and pilots in Floyd Bennett Field area; obtained a new contract post office for Gerritsen Beach; expedited construction of the new Ryder Avenue post office; supported neighborhood groups opposed to involuntary busing of schoolchildren.

In addition, it has been my privilege to have personally handled more than 7,000 requests for aid from the people of our district in these past 2 years.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

As a graduate of West Point and an Army Reserve officer, I have a professional as well as a patriotic interest in the state of our defenses. But with the ever-increasing complexity of our weapons systems, interest is not enough; to keep pace requires a continuous refresher course. Accordingly, I have made it my business to keep informed, through seminars and inspection trips, with the latest developments in our first lines of defense—the Strategic Air Command and the Polaris-armed nuclear submarines; as you know, I recently took a 2-day indoctrination cruise aboard one of the newest nuclear submarines, the *Tecumseh*. This activity has enabled me to make sound evaluations of defense proposals. Another inspection trip took me to Korea, where I conferred with Gen. Hamilton Howze, our Far East Commander, and found both the state of readiness and the morale of our troops and their Republic of Korea allies to be high. And here I would like to bring up another point. It was my good fortune to discover, in time, a shocking commercial abuse of U.S. flags, which were being baled and sold as rags here in New York. This outrage has been stopped and I have made certain it won't happen again.

MY VOTING RECORD

You have a right to see my voting record, and I am including it—in detail—in this Report From Washington on a separate sheet in order to make it handier for you to study it in detail. You may not agree with every stand I have taken; I would not expect you to. But I want to assure you that every vote in it was cast only after carefully weighing every factor, pro and con. Each vote represents my best judgment.

THE OPINION POLL

And now for what I'm sure all readers of Report From Washington have been waiting for—the results of What Do You Think? the opinion poll which went out to you in my last newsletter. The response was heavy, and there were many letters amplifying the answers to the questions. In answer to the question, "In party identification, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or Independent?" 50.4 percent of the 6,000-plus who responded considered themselves Democrats, 19 percent Republicans, and 30.6 percent Independents. This is the first time, I believe, that such a poll has been taken of the district.

On international issues, the poll showed that 75.5 percent supported a "hard line" in southeast Asia, even to the point of bombing North Vietnam bases, while 16.7 percent were opposed and 7.8 percent had no opinion; 76 percent felt the United States should rebuff any Cuban attempts to resume diplomatic relations, 19 percent thought the United States should be receptive, and 4.1 percent had no opinion; 50.9 percent opposed even limited trade with Soviet bloc nations, 38.8 percent favored such trade, and 10.3 percent had no opinion; 72.6 percent felt that the U.S. participation in the U.N. helps to prevent war, 21.1 percent felt that it did not, and 6.3 percent had no opinion.

On domestic issues, a thumping 75.7 percent favored the proposed constitutional amendment to permit nonsectarian prayer and Bible reading in the public schools on a voluntary basis, while 12.8 percent were opposed to it, and 9.6 percent had no opinion; 67.8 percent favored direct Federal aid to ease the critical shortage of classroom space in the elementary schools, intermediate schools, and colleges, 22.6 percent were against it, and 9.6 percent had no opinion; 36.8 percent thought such aid should go only to public schools, 40.3 percent thought not, and 22.9 percent had no opinion; 41.8 percent felt such aid should be extended to parochial and private schools, 43.4 percent were opposed, and 14.8 percent had no opinion; President Johnson's antipoverty bill was overwhelmingly endorsed: 70.9 percent favored the Job Corps, while 22.2 percent were against it, and 6.9 percent had no opinion; 78.4 percent approved adult education, 14.7 percent opposed it, and 6.9 percent had no opinion; 73.2 percent favored loans to small businessmen, 18.1 percent were opposed, and 8.7 percent had no opinion; 48.5 percent thought the international image of the United States was not as firm under Presi-

dent Johnson, 36.8 percent thought it was firmer since President Johnson took over, and 14.7 percent had no opinion.

I would like to comment only on one question, that having to do with the international image of the United States under President Johnson. I feel that it is probably more a reflection of the late President Kennedy's tremendous international popularity than any feeling that U.S. prestige abroad has declined. By far the greater part of foreign newspaper comment I have read has been highly favorable to President Johnson. He is doing a good job.

THE ECONOMY

There is some good economic news this time, too. The Nation's employment rolls are up almost 4 million over 1960, factory wages are up from $89 weekly in January 1961 to a current $103, today's paycheck buys 9 percent more than it did in 1960, and 100,000 jobs have been created in areas of chronic unemployment.

IN CLOSING

These past 2 years in Congress have been a richly rewarding and educational experience for me. To have a voice in shaping the laws of our country is an honor and a responsibility. I have kept that responsibility in mind in weighing the merits of every issue that has come before Congress, and I have done my best to live up to your trust in me.

Legislative Stewardship of U.S. Senator Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I am approaching the end of my sixth year in the U.S. Senate, and I feel it incumbent upon me to give an account of my legislative stewardship. This will complete my 18th year as a public servant, having been elected twice to the West Virginia House of Delegates, once to the West Virginia Senate, three times to the U.S. House of Representatives, and, in 1958, to the U.S. Senate.

ATTENDANCE ON ROLLCALLS

During my 6 years in the West Virginia House and Senate, I was present on 1,563 out of 1,600 roll and quorum calls. During my 6 years in the House of Representatives, I attended 862 out of 963 roll and quorum calls. Throughout my 12 years, therefore, of public service, before reaching the Senate, I had an attendance record of 94.6 percent. During my first year in the U.S. Senate, I attended 211 out of 216 rollcalls, an attendance record of 97.6 percent. During my second year, I attended 191 out of 207 rollcalls, an attendance record of 92.3 percent. During the third year of my U.S. Senate tenure, I answered 203 out of 206 rollcalls, an attendance record of 98.5 percent. In my fourth year of Senate service, I was present on 220 out of 227 rollcalls, an attendance record of 96.9 percent. Last year, I answered 209 out of 229 rollcalls, an attendance record of 92 percent. This year, I answered 285 out of 312 rollcalls, an attendance record of 91.3 percent. Even regarding those rollcalls whereon I was absent, I was, in many instances, paired so as to indicate my position pro or con.

CORRESPONDENCE

I am proud of the reputation I have made in giving personal attention to the correspondence received in my office. During my 12 years in the House and Senate, I have familiarized myself with every letter that has gone out of my office in reply to correspondence received. No correspondent, old or young, has ever found me inattentive to his or her correspondence, and I have attempted at all times to be courteous, sympathetic, and understanding.

AID TO DEPRESSED AREAS

I have devoted much effort in behalf of legislation to benefit depressed areas. I cosponsored the Area Redevelopment Act, which provided for the stimulation of new industry for stricken regions. In 1959, I conducted 3 days of public hearings on the bill in Charleston, Beckley, and Morgantown.

Even before the President's signature on May 1, 1961, made the Area Redevelopment Act the law of the land, I thought that West Virginia should be prepared to take full advantage of its benefits. I arranged a 1-day workshop and conference in Washington, which was attended by more than 400 West Virginia public officials. Among the Federal officials who addressed the workshop were the then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; Secretary of the Army Elvis Stahr; Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff; and Under Secretary of Commerce Edward Gudeman. More than 20 Federal agencies sent representatives to the conference. In June of that year, I arranged a similar conference to be held in Beckley—Raleigh County—and this meeting was attended by more than 700 West Virginia officials and businessmen. At my request, Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges keynoted the Beckley conference.

I supported the accelerated public works program, and worked to secure appropriations for its implementation.

I have also cosponsored other important legislation, including the Appalachian Regional Development Act, which passed the Senate this year, but which failed to receive House approval. I was able to amend the fiscal year 1965 supplemental appropriation bill to add $800,000 for the establishment of an Appalachian Regional Commission, and this money will be immediately available at such time as the Congress authorizes the Appalachian aid program.

COAL RESEARCH

I was a cosponsor of the Coal Research and Development Act of 1959, and I have succeeded, upon several occasions, in adding moneys, by amendments to appropriation bills, for the Office of Coal Research. The moneys I have added for Project Gasoline have greatly expedited the development of processes for producing high-octane gasoline from coal, and a pilot plant is scheduled to be located at Cresap, W. Va.—Marshall County.

RESIDUAL OIL

During my 12 years in the House and Senate, I have urged the regulation of imports of foreign residual fuel oil, a product which competes against our domestic coal, and I have had audiences with high officials in both Republican and Democratic administrations to plead for enforced curbs on imported residual oil.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Over the years, I have introduced and supported legislation to lower the social security retirement age for men and women to 60 years, with a retirement age of 55 for widows. In 1960, I introduced a proposal to lower the voluntary retirement age for men, under social security, to 62, as allowed for women, and my proposal was adopted by the Senate, but was deleted in conference with the House of Representatives. Later that year, President Kennedy, shortly after his election, appointed a special task force on depressed areas, and I served as a consultant. The task force unanimously adopted my motion to recommend to the President that legislation providing for a lower retirement age be given administration support. The President supported the proposal and it became law.

I have supported the medicare proposal each time it has come before the Senate, and I have consistently supported increased social security payments. I have also supported expansion of the amount of allowable earnings, now $1,200, for social security recipients.

SURPLUS COMMODITIES

As far back as 1954 and 1955, I was instrumental in urging the Federal Government to release a greater variety and quantity of commodities for distribution to needy families in West Virginia. In 1959 and in 1960, I brought U.S. Department of Agriculture officials to West Virginia in the interest of increasing the amount of commodities to needy families. I have supported the food stamp program, and I have supported appropriations to provide an expansion of that program into additional West Virginia counties.

FORESTS

In fiscal 1960, I secured a $50,000 appropriation for timber studies in West Virginia, and the interesting revelations about this almost undeveloped resource, which we possess in abundance, were contained in two Senate documents prepared by the Forest Service at my request.

On February 6, 1961, I proposed, in a letter to the Chief of the U.S. Forest Service, that a forestry laboratory be located in southern West Virginia, and I requested that Forest Service officials accompany me into the State. In that same month, such an inspection tour was conducted, and the Bluefield-Princeton area was selected by the Forest Service for the laboratory. As a member of the subcommittee making appropriations for the Forest Service, I secured an appropriation of $450,000 in 1961 for initial planning and construction of the Princeton forestry research laboratory, and I added $300,000 over the budget in com-

mittee last year for the facility, an amount which was reduced to $250,000 in conference with the House. This facility will, in years to come, help to attract wood products industries to our State.

Last year, I also amended the bill making appropriations for the Forest Service to add $31,500 for preliminary planning of a forestry sciences laboratory, to be constructed at West Virginia University in Morgantown. This laboratory will conduct research in young hardwood timber growing stock, engineering aspects of logging on steep hillsides, control of soil erosion, as well as research work in wildlife habitat.

WATERSHED MANAGEMENT RESEARCH

In fiscal year 1963, I secured a $150,000 appropriation for planning and construction of a watershed management laboratory at Parsons—Tucker County—and I was able to add $75,000, by way of amendment, to the budget request this year so as to expedite the staffing and work there. This laboratory was completed and dedicated only a few weeks ago, and the work there will result in improved water quality of the rivers and streams in the Appalachian region.

FISH HATCHERIES

Last year I amended an appropriation bill to add $138,000 for rehabilitation of the 60-year-old White Sulphur Springs fish hatchery. This amount was reduced in conference with the House of Representatives to $100,000, and important work has been going on at that facility where the concrete rearing facilities were in badly deteriorated condition.

I also amended the bill last year to include $30,000 to establish a fishery management project in the Elkins area of West Virginia.

In 1962, I secured, by amendment, $62,000 for completion of the Bowden National Fish Hatchery, near Elkins. Expanded facilities at the Leetown hatchery, Jefferson County, will result from my amendment earlier this year adding $180,000 to the appropriation for the U.S. Bureau of Sport Fisheries.

WATER POLLUTION

In 1962, I amended the fiscal year 1963 HEW appropriation bill, to include $500,000 for a water pollution survey of the upper Ohio River Basin. This figure was reduced to $100,000 subsequently in conference with the House, but this amount enabled the work to get underway. Last year, Congress agreed to my amendment to the fiscal year 1964 HEW appropriation bill adding $400,000 over the budget for the project, which is headquartered in Wheeling, Ohio County. This work will, in future years, be highly important to industrial expansion and public health in the entire Ohio River Basin.

This year, I was able to amend the HEW appropriation bill to add $270,000 for acid mine drainage studies underway in Randolph County.

MINING DISEASE RESEARCH

In 1962, I amended the HEW appropriation bill by adding $520,000 for research in chest diseases among coal miners, an amount which was reduced to $100,000 in conference with the House. This research work is being conducted in the Beckley area. Last year, I amended the fiscal year 1964 HEW appropriation bill by adding $400,000 to the budget for this program, the ultimate objectives of which are prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of chest diseases among miners.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Work on junvenile delinquency and other offenses in West Virginia was aided by congressional approval of my amendment to the fiscal year 1964 HEW appropriation bill adding $250,000 to the nationwide program to curb antisocial actions by juveniles.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

Congress accepted my amendment restoring to the fiscal year 1964 military construction authorization bill the $3,830,000 authorization to move the Naval Radio Receiving Station from Cheltenham, Md., to Sugar Grove—Pendleton County. Later, I supported the needed appropriation in my appropriations committee. As a result, 7 officers and 98 enlisted men will be stationed at the Sugar Grove site plus about 20 civilian personnel, I am informed. Housing accommodations, provided through my amendment, will be constructed for the naval personnel and their families.

Construction of a combined field maintenance shop of the West Virginia National Guard, located at Point Pleasant—Mason County—was made possible by my amendment to the fiscal year 1964 military construction authorization bill. My amendment authorized $84,000 in deficiency funds, the sum needed to meet the lowest submitted construction bid, all bids having exceeded the budget-authorized $340,000 for this facility. I then supported, in my appropriations committee, the necessary money to find the authorization.

I amended the fiscal year 1962 military construction bill to add Army Reserve centers at Martinsburg, Berkeley County—Morgantown, Monongalia County—and New Martinsville, Wetzel County—and to include an Army Reserve maintenance shop at South Charleston—Kanawha County—after which I supported the necessary appropriations to fund the authorizations.

In 1959, I was successful, during the consideration of the military construction bill by the Senate Appropriation Committee, in getting moneys, over and above the budget estimate, to permit construction of the Logan, Gassaway, Weston, and Clarksburg Armories. I have also supported appropriations for other armories throughout the State.

FEDERAL BUILDINGS

I have urged the appropriation of site acquisition, planning, and construction moneys for six Federal buildings which will be located in the following cities: Gassaway, Braxton County; Glenville, Gilmer County; Parsons, Tucker County; Pineville, Wyoming County; Summersville, Nicholas County; and White Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County.

I have also helped to secure appropriations for social security district office buildings to be constructed in Welch—McDowell County—and Beckley—Raleigh County.

Expansion and remodeling of the Mount Hope Bureau of Mines building will go forward as a result of my having acted to restore $38,000 stricken by the House from the independent offices appropriations bill.

WEATHER BUREAU STATION

In 1962, I successfully amended the Department of Commerce appropriation bill to add $75,000 to establish a weather bureau station at Beckley, Raleigh County. This facility now operates 24 hours a day and is helping to prevent crop losses throughout the area and is beneficial to commercial air travel. I have also helped to secure appropriations for other weather station activities in various parts of West Virginia.

NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

Early in the administration of the late President John F. Kennedy, I urged that the 100-year-old Washington, D.C., National Training School for Boys be moved to Morgantown, Monongalia County. Last year, I was able to add $100,000 in committee, to expedite detailed architectural planning of the proposed $8.5 million facility.

COMMERCE FIELD OFFICE

In 1962, I amended, in committee, the fiscal year 1963 Commerce appropriation bill to include $40,000 for establishment of a Department of Commerce field office in Charleston, Kanawha County. The Senate accepted my amendment, but it was lost in a subsequent conference with the House. In 1963, funds for the Charleston field office were included in the President's submitted budget requests.

CFA FIELD OFFICE

As a result of my request to Mr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the HHFA, a Community Facilities Administration field office was opened in Charleston—Kanawha County—in July 1962. This new field office has helped to speed the processing of applications for Federal assistance in the planning and construction of public housing facilities, and so forth.

SALTLICK CREEK WATERSHED PROJECT

Early in 1962, I asked the chairman of the Senate Agricultural Subcommittee on Watersheds to conduct a special hearing on the Saltlick Creek watershed project. A hearing was held on June 6, and the subcommittee approved the project. I then urged approval of the project by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and favorable action was taken. Work is presently underway at the watershed project site.

ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS

I worked closely with Federal, State, and county officials in helping to secure approval of Federal grants as follows: $1.2 million for Stephens Lake development in Raleigh County; $1,207,800 for a new courthouse in Logan County; $435,000 for the Lincoln County Courthouse; $165,000 for a new municipal building at Summersville, in Nicholas County; and $1,245,000 for the Mingo County Courthouse. I also urged ap-

proval of an application to the CFA for a $141,000 grant to Oglebay Park—Wheeling—in 1963, and the funds were used to develop the Camp Russel Youth Center.

GLASS TARIFFS

I supported the U.S. Tariff Commission's recomendation to President Kennedy that tariffs on imported glass products be stiffened in order to bolster the economy of the ailing glass industry of West Virginia. President Kennedy approved the Commission's recommendation.

EDUCATION

I have supported Federal aid for school construction so as to eliminate the shortage of classrooms. I am firmly convinced that an adequate education of the Nation's youth is absolutely vital to the security of our country. I maintain that there must be local control of the educational system, but, where States are unable or unwilling to provide proper educational facilities for boys and girls, I submit that the Federal Government should act to see that the need is attended to.

KANAWHA RIVER BASIN STUDY

I amended the fiscal 1963 public works appropriation bill to add $200,000 to initiate a comprehensive study of the Kanawha River Basin.

Piecemeal studies of the Kanawha River Basin have been conducted in the past, but the economic growth along the Kanawha, especially in the Charleston complex, has intensified the urgency for an all-inclusive study of the basin's problems. The U.S. Army Engineers will seek to learn what kinds of installations are needed in the basin, where they are needed, and how soon they will be needed.

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH CENTER

As a result of my efforts, $1 million appropriation was included in the fiscal year 1965 appropriation bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for planning of a National Environmental Health Center. I have long urged that the $8.5 million facility, or a portion thereof, be located at Martinsburg—Berkeley County. Now that the money has been appropriated for planning, the decision as to location rests with the executive branch of the Federal Government.

CANCER RESEARCH

I was successful in putting through the Senate a $10 million appropriation for special cancer research on leukemia. The Senate, on a rollcall vote, supported my defense of the appropriation, and House conferees agreed to it. I hope that, with this special appropriation, a vaccine can be developed to prevent contraction of the disease, which usually strikes children and which is presently considered as incurable.

VISITORS INFORMATION CENTER

A Visitors Information Center will be built at Cranberry Glades—Pocahontas County—as a result of my amendment adding $100,000 to the fiscal year 1965 appropriation bill for the U.S. Forest Service. This additional facility constitutes one more step toward making West Virginia a tourist mecca.

WATER RESOURCES PROJECTS

Since early in 1957, I have worked to promote and insure the construction of a flood prevention reservoir near the community of Justice, Wyoming County. Both as a Member of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate, I fought to secure favorable action on the authorization of this project. I have also, as a member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works, acted to secure appropriations therefor.

One of my first actions, as a member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals, was to amend the fiscal year 1963 supplemental appropriation bill to include $25,000 with which to assist the Army Engineers to initiate planning of the Justice Reservoir in Wyoming County, on the main stem of the Guyandot River. Previous to this action, I had been successful in securing ARA moneys for use by the Army Engineers in connection with aerial photography of the site before the foliage appeared on the trees, thus helping to accelerate work on this project.

I have worked for increased appropriations for modernization of navigational facilities on the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers. I was also instrumental, in 1962, in getting an initial appropriation of $20,000 for a restudy of the West Fork of the Monongahela River.

In 1961, I amended the fiscal year 1962 public works appropriation bill to add $95,000 for an engineering study of the Burnsville, Steer Creek, and West Fork Reservoirs in the Little Kanawha River Basin. The money was deleted in a subsequent Senate-House conference, but in 1962, $65,000 was appropriated for these engineering studies. Earlier this year, the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works assured me that he would try to look favorably upon an appropriation next year for planning of the Burnsville Reservoir.

I have supported appropriations for various other reservoir projects throughout the State, including those at East Lynn, Sutton, Beech Fork, Bloomington, and Summersville. I have also supported appropriations for the Cheat River survey, the Big Sandy River flood control study, and construction of the channel of Buckhannon River.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

In the foregoing paragraphs I have endeavored to mention merely the major efforts I have put forth in behalf of my State and its people. There are other actions, too numerous to mention here, which I have taken that have been of economic or social importance to many localities, and in the aggregate they will provide a base for new economic and social gains.

Harvey Segal and the Washington Post Are Alert to Possible Mistakes of Judgment by Mr. Martin and Company in the Federal Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent column in the Washington Post by Harvey Segal deserves careful reading by everyone interested in the economic welfare of this Nation. In it he analyzes a speech by Treasury Under Secretary Robert Roosa before the New York Chamber of Commerce which very effectively lays to rest the old notion that higher interest rates can solve balance-of-payments problems.

The issue has been raised by a recent statement of William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, who cited the balance-of-payments situation as a possible justification for future money tightening. The fact is that raising interest rates deters economic growth and this price, as Mr. Roosa recognizes, is too high a one for the modern economy to pay, particularly in exchange for questionable results in improving the balance-of-payments deficit.

You may recall that this same point was very succinctly brought out by Secretary Dillon in his Vienna speech last September 8. Both Secretary Dillon and Under Secretary Roosa are to be commended for holding up to reality the great weaknesses in the "tight money solution" that seems to be the Federal Reserve's stock answer to economic questions. Tight money means economic slowdown, unemployment and nonutilization of productive capacity. There is far too much at stake for this Nation to permit itself the expensive illusion that tight money is any panacea for economic ills—real or imaginary.

Following the Segal column is an editorial by the same newspaper which questions the possible course the Federal Reserve System, under Chairman William McChesney Martin, may take in the near future. The editorial has a timely warning. I hope Mr. Martin and his friend, Mr. Hayes, the $70,000-a-year New York Reserve Bank President—salary paid by the taxpayers—will think twice, or three times, or four times, before they make policy decisions which could well end our nearly 4-year period of prosperity.

The Segal column and the editorial follow:

ECONOMIC FRONT—FOREIGN LESSONS ON MONETARY RESTRAINT

(By Harvey H. Segal)

Treasury Secretary Robert V. Roosa's splendid remarks before the New York Chamber of Commerce should undermine the faith of

monetary officials, both here and abroad, who cling stubbornly to the belief that a country must resort to tight money and higher interest rates when confronted with a growing balance-of-payments deficit.

After remarking that "the days of a simple reliance upon monetary policy * * * may possibly be gone forever," Roosa set forth five limiting conditions, things which most countries are no longer willing to do.

"They cannot intentionally, for more than a few months at most, attempt to stop their own domestic growth; few could dare attempt to turn it backward; though its upward pace can, of course, be altered.

"They cannot deliberately, with the exception of transitional or structural changes of comparatively short duration, increase unemployment—either of men or resources.

"They cannot induce severe price deflation, with its implications not only for growth and employment, but also for profits.

"They cannot for long pursue policies of intentional inflation, though this is a somewhat weaker constraint than that of deflation.

"They cannot make frequent large changes in their exchange rates, once they have reached the stage of establishing a parity."

One may object that Roosa's limits are poor guides to policy, but few will deny that they accurately reflect the current practices of nations.

Roosa cites two cases where credit restrictions have or would have done more harm than good in coping with balance-of-payments problems.

Italy at the beginning of 1964 was experiencing severe inflationary pressures and a rising balance-of-payments deficit. Much of the difficulty was caused by radical structural changes—the development of a mass automotive market, the movement of labor into higher paying skills and occupations and the extensive use of consumer credit.

Italy's external deficit was eliminated by a combination of policies, loans from abroad, higher taxes, firmer credit controls, but not higher interest rates. Higher interest rates, Roosa argues, would have caused a inflow of funds, thus frustrating the efforts to restore a payments equilibrium.

The Netherlands provides an example of how ineffective monetary restraint can be. After accepting a degree of inflation in effort to eliminate an external surplus, the Netherlands developed a deficit and turned to tight money. Interest rates ware raised to record levels, and as result there was a massive inflow of funds. The Dutch are still confronted with their surplus problem.

A third case, which Roosa may not have wished to discuss, is that of Great Britain. Unlike Italy and the Netherlands, Great Britain, through accidents of history rather than by current design, is a reserve currency country.

In order to protect the value of pound sterling and the countries which hold it as a monetary reserve, the Conservative governments until recently countered each threat of a sterling crisis with tight money. Once the skies were clear, money was eased. But this policy of stopping and starting clearly inhibited the growth of the British economy.

Last April Reginald Maudling, Britain's able Chancellor of the Exchequer, broke with the baleful tradition. Instead of a sharp hike in the Bank rate—the discount rate—Maudling tried a modest increase in taxation, mainly excises levied on beverages and tobacco.

Britain is again facing a payments crisis. The combined deficit on current and capital account for the second quarter of the year rose to £194 million and it is generally believed that the annual deficit will be close to a record of £500 million.

No one, especially during the election campaign, is charging that Maudling's policy of moderation is the cause of the difficulty, and in point of fact it is not.

In Britain's case, for a variety of reasons having to do with level of production costs, technology and access to mass markets, the classical tight money cure would succeed only in adding domestic stagnation to the problem of external deficits.

Rather than attempt to deflate, Britain, shortly after the election will turn to the International Monetary Fund. In addition she may utilize the credits under the swapping arrangements with this country and those that can be obtained from the European central banks under the Basle agreement.

A Monetary Shift?

When William McChesney Martin, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, makes a public utterance, it is certain to be analyzed with care by a business community that must perforce react swiftly to changes or rumors of changes in monetary policy. Mr. Martin's most recent comments on the state of the economy, made in the course of an interview with Hobart Rowen of Newsweek, raise some tantilizing questions about which way he would have the Fed turn.

Judging by the Rowen interview, Mr. Martin is in anything but an optimistic frame of mind. In commenting on the immediate outlook he was fearful that: "Two situations—potential inflation on the domestic side and the balance-of-payments picture—will be coming to a head, as they usually do, at the same time." And in peering toward the farther horizon, the Chairman opined that: "Next year, there will be a slowdown in the economy. At least the odds are in that direction."

Ignoring for the moment the question of whether these fears are well founded, the practical observer will ask whether the Chairman's remarks presage a turn toward monetary restraint or a continuation of the policy of providing for a modest increase in the stock of money. Potential inflation and balance-of-payments difficulties could call for tight money and higher interest rates. But if the Governors of the Reserve System believe that there will be an economic slowdown next year and if they agree with Mr. Martin that the Fed "has not the slightest desire to get tagged with causing a decline," they should spurn the counsels of those who are urging a harsh monetary therapy.

Nor is there evidence that would justify a turn toward monetary restraint. The increases in wholesale prices have, to date, been confined to the traditionally volatile industrial commodities, notably tin and copper. And preliminary estimates indicate that there will be a considerable reduction in the balance-of-payments deficit for the third quarter.

If the impact of tight money could be confined solely to the wholesale price level or to the payments deficit, the consequences of a shift in Federal Reserve would not be so serious. But there is abundant evidence, both here and abroad, that it is impossible to pursue for long a policy of monetary restraint without diminishing economic growth and increasing the rate of unemployment. That prospect and the palpable weak spots in the current prosperity suggest that the Fed ought not veer from its present course of moderation.

Hon. Roland Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Roland Libonati is one of those great Members who have done the most for those men who sacrificed and served our Nation in time of war. As a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee for 16 years, I have never known a more conscientious member of our committee. He was faithful in attendance, and attentive always to the witnesses and to the needs of our veterans. I have never known a member of our committee more devoted to the welfare of our veterans, their widows and orphans.

Roland Libonati will go down in history as one of the greatest. The bill which bears his name is a tribute to his skill and genius. Its enactment is the epitome of committee and parliamentary maneuver. The veterans and, yes, the American people, from Canada to Mexico and from Maine to California are grateful to this distinguished and able veteran. Roland Libonati is a great American, a distinguished orator, loyal, patriotic, and has dedicated his life to the principles and ideals which have made our Nation the heart and core of freedom and the hope of the Western World.

Mrs. Dorn and my family join me in wishing for him much happiness, continued success, and the best always.

President's "Consumer Affairs" Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, in the September 27, 1964, edition of the Indianapolis Star, Frank Crane had a very interesting editorial on the President's "Consumer Affairs" Committee. Under permission granted, I include this article in the Appendix of the Record:

Idea of New U.S. Bureau Planted in "Grass Roots"

(By Frank H. Crane)

If Congress is told next spring that there is wide and mounting public pressure for a Federal "Department of Consumer Affairs," no need to be surprised.

I watched the pressure being nurtured last week in Detroit at a session called the Great Lakes Consumer Conference. It was initiated by the President's Committee on Consumer Interests and jointly sponsored by the Michigan Credit Union League. It drew upwards of 1,000 businessmen, government people, organized labor representatives, and individuals in the role of consumers. Mrs. Esther Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, spoke in the opening keynote session. She appeared more in the role of a guest than a participant.

The tone was set in the keynote session. There was an adroitly developed suggestion that a lot of things are wrong in the supplying of consumers, that these things need to be talked about between consumers and business but that somehow not much communication is taking place. The conference was described as an attempt to remedy that shortcoming.

WORKSHOPS DISCUSS IDEA

The remedy was undertaken in a set of panel discussions. The group, unwieldly in

its total size, was broken up into four "consumer workshops." Two were on "The Consumer as Shopper." The others were on "The Use and Misuse of Credit" and "Problems of Special Consumer Groups."

Presiding over each workshop was a panel including two or three business representatives, a university level educator, and one or two persons from community service or cooperative organizations. In one case there was a columnist who was billed as a consumer expert.

I made some interesting pairings of the complaints in one of the workshops on shopping. There was the standard objection to the amount of money spent on advertising. There were also complaints that business doesn't make enough effort to keep the consuming public informed.

There was a complaint that the informative print on labels is too small. There was aso a complaint that there ought to be more detailed information on labels.

TRADING STAMP ISSUE ERUPTS

Prices, of course, are always too high from the buyer's viewpoint, too low from the seller's. The nearest thing to a good fight, though, was on whether or not consumers like trading stamps.

One moderator reported it was the sense of this group that something like this conference ought to be a permanent institution. I was in that group and I can say that this suggestion did not arise out of the spontaneous enthusiasm of the crowd. It didn't even come from the floor. It was planted by a member of the panel.

Another thing to do about it, naturally, is to have more restrictive laws and a Federal department to look after consumers. A loaded questionnaire helped develop indorsement of this course.

One speaker who appeared briefly, a Congressman, said how happy he was that so many businessmen were there because this indicated enlightened business concern for promoting what he was promoting. Namely, more Federal laws. That was the non sequitur of the week. The businessmen I talked with were there not because they approved of the promotion but because they wanted to know what the promoters were up to.

If I read, some day next spring, that the consensus of these conferences is one of the proofs of a "public demand" for a Federal Department of Consumers, I'm going to be skeptical.

Restore the Desecrated Cemeteries

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, time and again our attention has been called to the terrible deeds of the Nazis during World War II. Not the least of these malicious acts was the desecration of cemeteries. Ghoulish as this conduct was, little has been done to right these wrongs.

The World Center of European Rabbis some years ago organized a World Organization for the Preservation of Jewish Cemeteries in Europe. These destroyed cemeteries are located in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, Holland, and Norway.

The president of the World Center is Rabbi Moses Joseph Rubin. He and his colleagues are revered, learned, and respected gentlemen. They have been working hard to accomplish their task. They are deserving of our assistance in attaining their goals.

Although these European cemeteries may appear to be far away in thought and in distance, they are close to the hearts and memories of almost 2 million American families, each of whom have 1 or more relatives interred there.

More than 400,000 Americans have already signed a petition seeking help for the work of this fine organization.

The millions of slaughtered cannot be restored but something can be done to restore the Jewish cemeteries that have been destroyed.

These rabbis are merely asking that the German Government make the funds available with which to do the work. They do not even ask that money be turned over to them.

They ask that the money be turned over to the International Red Cross, who will pay the bills as the work is done.

Just as such a demand would be, these rabbis do not ask for the trial and punishment of the ruthless, conscienceless vandals responsible for these heinous deeds.

They merely ask that the funds be made available with which to restore the defiled cemeteries, rebuild broken fences and replace tombstones and grave markings to give some semblance of decency to these sanctified burial grounds.

They properly suggest that the German Government, which has to date made reparations for an only insignficant part of the losses sustained, should bear this financial burden.

The Sugar Act: Present and Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday morning, October 3, 1964, the representatives of the beet sugar interests of the United States and of the cane sugar refineries were so close together in their agreement on an extension of the foreign quota provisions of the Sugar Act that, had there been another 48 hours remaining of the congressional session, I feel confident we could have enacted a bill which would have extended the foreign quota provisions of the Sugar Act for another year, permitted the domestic areas to market the surplus sugar they have grown in 1963 and 1964 at the request of the Department of Agriculture, and brought all areas participating in our sugar program substantially back within the quota provisions of the act in 1965.

It is unfortunate that these two major segments of our sugar industry should not have been able to come into agreement long before this. The Sugar Act is one of our most successful and yet most delicately balanced laws. Its benefits extend not only to all segments of the domestic sugar industry and to the foreign suppliers which have quotas in this market but also to the consumers of the United States, to thousands of workers in refineries, seaports and transport lines, to agriculture generally whose exports to sugar producing countries are paid for by our purchases of sugar, and to the U.S. Treasury, which has benefited by more than $490 million from the operation of the Sugar Act.

At the beginning of the current controversy over sugar late last year, the responsibility for disagreement must rest with the beet sugar interests of the United States which sought to parlay an ill-advised press release issued by the Department of Agriculture in May 1963 into a permanent increase in their share of the U.S. market, in derogation of an agreement which had been reached in 1962 and to the detriment of all the foreign countries which have been given access to our market and of the east coast refineries who handle this imported sugar. In the latter stage of the impasse over sugar legislation, the responsibility must rest with the cane sugar refiners, who refused to compromise their position during the final days of Congress when a compromise would have permitted an extension of the foreign quota provisions of the Sugar Act to have been adopted by Congress virtually by unanimous consent.

Mr. Speaker, the Sugar Act is a mystery to many people and this is understandable for it is one of the most complicated and delicately balanced laws on the statute books. Not only is the law complicated, but the very subject of sugar itself is complicated. It is grown in almost every part of the world, in diverse forms, with varying degrees of governmental protection, control, and subsidy, and put onto the market at different times of the year. A law designed to protect the domestic sugar producing industry and to provide U.S. consumers with an ample and stable supply of sugar at reasonable prices must of necessity be a complicated and difficult law.

We must face the fact that except for the Sugar Act, there would probably not be any sugar produced in the continental United States. We must face the fact that except for the Sugar Act and the incentive it provides to foreign suppliers to ship sugar into this market, we would have no assurance whatever of a continuing and adequate supply for U.S. consumers at stable and reasonable prices.

Mr. Speaker, I do not share the opinion which some have expressed that failure of the Congress to extend the foreign quota provisions of the Sugar Act at this session of the Congress will necessarily result in no foreign quotas for the sugar industry in 1965. On the contrary, I believe that the Secretary of Agriculture has the authority and the responsibility, under the provisions of the Sugar Act itself, to establish foreign quotas for sugar in 1965, even in the absence of specific direction from Congress as to how these quotas are to be distributed among participating countries and to continue to protect the interests of domestic producers and consumers in the

United States as the Sugar Act intended they should be protected.

Section 201 of the Sugar Act says:

> The Secretary shall determine for each calendar year * * * the amount of sugar needed to meet the requirements of consumers in the continental United States.

Section 202 of the act says:

> Whenever a determination is made, pursuant to section 201, of the amount of sugar needed to meet the requirements of the consumers, the Secretary shall establish quotas, or revise existing quotas.

Then follows a detailed directive by Congress as to how the quotas are to be distributed. Subsection (a) of section 202 deals with domestic area quotas and specific quotas are provided for the continental beet and cane areas, for Hawaii, for Puerto Rico, and for the Virgin Islands.

Subsection (b) tells the Secretary the amount of the quota he should allocate to the Philippines.

The residual amount of the quota—the difference between the consumption estimate and the specific quotas established in subsections (a) and (b)—is to be allocated to foreign countries.

Subsection (c) tells the Secretary in detail how this remainder of the quota, that allocated to foreign countries, should be distributed among foreign supplying areas. It is, in effect, a limitation on his general authority to allocate the residual foreign part of the quota. It is significant to note that while the quotas prescribed in subsections (a) and (b) are in terms of specified tonnage, the allocations of subsection (c) are in percentages of this remainder. This subsection is the part of the law which continues only through 1964. The purpose of Congress in providing for this early termination date of the specific foreign quota allocation was to give the Congress an opportunity to review the performance of individual foreign countries in supplying sugar at the half-way point in the life of the present extension of the Sugar Act. The subsection, in my opinion, does not affect in any way the basic obligation and authority of the Secretary to establish quotas, set out in the first sentence of section 202. Expiration of this subsection at the end of the calendar year 1964 merely means that after that date, the Secretary has no specific directive nor limitation from Congress as to how the foreign portion of the total quota for the United States is to be allocated.

Section 412 of the act provides quite clearly that:

> The powers vested in the Secretary under this act shall terminate on December 31, 1966.

Section 403 of the act provides:

> The Secretary is authorized to make such orders or regulations, which shall have the force and effect of law, as may be necessary to carry out the powers vested in him by this act.

These provisions of law indicate quite clearly to me, Mr. Speaker, that the Secretary of Agriculture has both the authority and the responsibility to continue into 1965 the same kind of sugar quota regulations that have been in effect in 1964. Clearly, the authority of the Secretary to establish a national consumption estimate, to translate this estimate into specific quotas for the domestic areas and the Philippines, and to allocate the remainder among foreign areas, is not changed nor abrogated by the fact that Congress did not extend beyond 1964 the specific manner in which the foreign quota is to be distributed.

If I were the Secretary, I would distribute the foreign quota in 1965 in accordance with the latest available instruction from Congress, which is contained in the subsection expiring at the end of this calendar year. The precise manner of the allocation of foreign quotas is, however, a matter to be determined by the Secretary under the general provisions of the act.

It is my opinion, also, Mr. Speaker, that the provisions of the act relating to assessment of an import fee on global quota sugar expire with the expiration of section 202(c)(3) of the act, since they are related to and based upon the allocation provided in that subsection. The import fee on country quota sugar expires by its own terms at the end of 1964.

Mr. Speaker, our present difficulties with the Sugar Act began back in 1962, when it became necessary to rewrite our Sugar Act in order to eliminate our dependence on Cuba as a source of supply. Prior to that time, the Republic of Cuba had been our major offshore source of sugar, supplying more than 3 million tons of this commodity to U.S. consumers each year.

With the advent of the Castro regime in Cuba, it became necessary to look elsewhere for this major source of sugar for the U.S. market. The Committee on Agriculture would have assigned the Cuban quota to other foreign countries which, we believed from the record of sugar production in those countries, would be able adequately to meet the sugar requirements of the United States.

An employee of the Department of Agriculture, the then head of the Sugar Branch of the Department, contended, however, that all the other countries of the Western Hemisphere could not provide to the American market the sugar which had heretofore been obtained from Cuba. He insisted that the former Cuban quota could not be filled by other Western Hemisphere countries, but that we would have to go into the world market to obtain this part of our sugar supplies. Accordingly, there was written into the 1962 extension of the Sugar Act, over the protest of the House Committee on Agriculture and the opposite vote of the House of Representatives, a provision putting the remaining Cuban quota on a global quota basis, which meant that we would go into the world market for this portion of our sugar supplies.

On February 28, 1963, I made a major statement in the House of Representatives criticizing this global quota concept and analyzing its probable impact. All of the predictions I made at that time have come to pass.

It is clear now, as I predicted then, that the global quota provisions of our Sugar Act were largely responsible for the fantastic increase in sugar prices which took place in the latter half of 1962 and the first part of 1963. For the first time in almost 30 years, the United States entered the so-called world market for sugar and sought to fill 1.5 million tons of its requirements from this source. At the same time, the global quota provision of the Sugar Act meant that the U.S. price of sugar was tied to the world price, instead of insulated from it as it had been during the many previous years of the Sugar Act.

The result was entirely predictable. The entry of the United States into the world market at a time when sugar production was curtailed because of unfavorable weather in many parts of the world pushed the world price up beyond all reason. Since the U.S. price was then tied to the world price, because we depended on the world market for 15 percent of our supplies, the U.S. price followed the world price upward.

It had to be so, or we would have not obtained this 15 percent of our sugar supply in competition with other buyers on the world market.

This was the mistake we made in 1962. It is to be hoped that we will not repeat this mistake when we next extend the Sugar Act.

In 1962, an agreement on division of the market between domestic and foreign processing areas was reached after months of negotiation between all segments of the domestic sugar industry, the Department of Agriculture, and the State Department.

Under this agreement and the legislation embodying it which was enacted into law in July 1962, a little more than half of the previous Cuban quota of 3,200,000 tons was taken away from Cuba and assigned as basic quota to other areas.

Of the 1,723,000 tons taken from Cuba, 1,100,000 tons was assigned as basic quota to other foreign countries and 623,000 tons to continental U.S. producing areas.

From this amount, and from a reduction in other domestic area quotas of 161,000 tons, beets received a basic quota increase of 539,000 tons and mainland cane a basic quota increase of 255,000 tons.

This increased the basic beet quota from 2,100,000 tons in 1961 to 2,650,000 tons in 1963. It increased the basic mainland cane quota from 650,000 tons in 1961 to 895,000 tons in 1963.

This was not all a net gain for the mainland areas, for they gave up first claim on domestic deficients, which had been running about 365,000 tons per year.

The remainder of the Cuban quota—1,500,000 tons—was also withheld from Cuba and assigned by the House to other foreign countries on a temporary basis to be returned to Cuba when and if that country and the United States resumed diplomatic relations.

The Senate insisted that this remainder of the Cuban quota should become a "global quota" to be purchased on the world market from any friendly country, and this prevailed in conference.

An essential part of the agreement between the various segments of the domestic sugar industry and the Departments of State and Agriculture, which

resulted in the 1962 extension of the Sugar Act, was that there should be no change through 1966 in the basic division of the market between domestic and foreign producing areas.

In the latter part of 1962 world sugar prices began to rise and, because the "global quota" tied the U.S. price to world prices, our sugar price followed.

By the spring of 1963, the raw sugar price in New York was almost double the price objective of the Sugar Act and the Department of Agriculture pushed every panic button in sight in an effort to "talk down" prices.

One of its actions was to announce on March 14, 1963, that there would be no restriction on sugarbeet acreage in 1964, and encouraging that area to expand production to meet a supposed supply shortage. On May 17, 1963, it made a similar announcement with respect to Louisiana and Florida cane.

On May 6, 1963, the Department issued another press release announcing that there would be no acreage restrictions on sugarbeets in 1965.

It is not known what reasoning lay behind this press release, since the law would seem to preclude any such advance announcement. The act says:

Whenever the Secretary determines that the production of sugar from any crop of sugarbeets or sugarcane will be greater than the quantity needed to enable the area to meet the quota, and provide a normal carryover inventory * * * he shall establish proportionate shares (acreage allotments) for farms in such area.

Neither is it known why this same exemption from 1965 acreage controls was not extended to Louisiana and Florida cane producers.

Whatever the reason, no such exemption was granted mainland cane. Pursuant to the requirements of the law, the Department announced on September 30, 1964, that proportionate shares will be in effect for the 1965 mainland cane crop and that the overall acreage reduction in Florida and Louisiana will be 15 percent below the 1964 level.

But with respect to beets, the Secretary has indicated that he considers himself bound by the May 1963 press release and does not intend to impose acreage restrictions on beets in 1965.

The beet industry has used this anticipated continued expansion in 1965 and the surplus over quotas being produced in 1964 as the basis for a demand for an immediate increase in permanent beet quotas.

This has been resisted by other segments of the sugar industry and this is what the present dissention over sugar is all about.

No segment of the sugar industry has objected to the domestic areas—both beets and cane—being permitted to market the excess sugar they will produce in 1964 at the invitation of the Department of Agriculture, although every ton of sugar which is marketed in excess of their quotas means a ton of sugar that will be substracted from the foreign quota.

Other parts of the industry do object, however, to the beet industry being permitted to market the excess produced in 1964 and then go on under unrestricted acreage to produce an even larger surplus in 1965.

The Sugar Act has operated smoothly and effectively for many years because it was carefully and skillfully designed and balanced to benefit consumers, refiners, mainland beet and cane producers, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other friendly foreign countries, as well as agriculture and the general economy of the country through the stimulation of foreign trade.

At the same time, it has benefited the taxpayer by more than paying its own way. During the course of its operation, it has returned a net income of $490 million to the Treasury of the United States.

In my opinion, it can continue to operate effectively only if we are wise enough to maintain this careful balance of benefits not only between the various segments of the sugar producing and consuming industry but also with the general national interest.

The continued operation of the act is particularly essential to the domestic producing areas—mainland beet and cane, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico—because, without the protection and the subsidies provided by the Sugar Act, farmers in these domestic areas would find it difficult, if not impossible, to produce sugar at a profit.

We are now faced with a situation where the actual and prospective buildup of surpluses in the mainland beet area is threatening the very continuation of the act. These surpluses cannot be marketed within the present provisions of the act, and there are those who are beginning to say it would be better to have no Sugar Act at all than to change the whole framework and theory of the act to meet this emergency situation.

It is essential that mainland cane and beet producers be permitted to market their excess production from 1963 and 1964. It is equally essential that production in both areas be brought back into line with their statutory quotas as quickly as possible.

Such agreement is probably essential to the continuation of the act. I am certain the act cannot continue if any major segment of the sugar industry comes to the conclusion it would be better off without it.

This year, for the first time, agreement has not been achieved.

This year, for the first time, not even the Government agencies involved have been able to agree on a proposal which they believed was in the national interest and had any chance of acceptance by the sugar industry as a whole.

This year I had hoped and planned to bring sugar before the Committee on Agriculture early enough to keep it from being the subject of last-minute legislation. I had announced hearings to start not later than May 15.

But on May 15 the committee had no recommendation from the administration nor from the industry itself on the solution of our present sugar problem. Not only was there no agreement within the industry as to the solution of this problem, there was complete disagreement as to the scope and subject matter of the proposed hearings.

Under these circumstances, there was no point in taking the time of the committee in exhaustive and pointless weeks of hearings on legislation which could not be enacted, for it is clear that no constructive sugar legislation can be passed by the Congress over the opposition of any of the major groups involved.

In the past 4 or 5 months, I have met time after time after time with every segment of the domestic sugar industry. I have met with them singly and jointly and en masse. I have arranged meetings for them with other committee members and with informal groups of committee members.

The purpose and the theme of every one of these meetings has been identical—not to impose my ideas nor those of the committee on the industry, but to urge these industry representatives to get together, to solvé their problems and reconcile their differences, and to come before Congress with a proposal which they can all support. In my opinion, this is the only way that the delicate balance and equity of the Sugar Act, and eventually the act itself, may be maintained.

During this period, I know that responsible officials of the Departments of Agriculture and State have also met with these same industry groups time after time. I know that their efforts have been the same as mine—to try to find some common ground on which the industry could agree, because without such agreement there can be no real solution, and will eventually be no act.

In order to bring beet production in 1965 completely back to the statutory quota, a reduction of 20 to 22 percent below 1964 acreage would be required. This is probably neither realistic nor equitable.

Other commodities, when put back under acreage allotments after a period of unrestricted production, have been given 2 or 3 years to make the adjustment.

When wheat acreage allotments and marketing quotas were suspended during World War II and the Korean conflict, acreage went up from 56 million to more than 78 million acres and when allotments were reimposed in 1954, acreage was cut to 63.5 million acres the first year and 58.2 the second year.

Cotton acreage allotments and marketing quotas were suspended during the years 1951, 1952, 1953 because of the Korean conflict and acreage went up from 18.8 million in 1950 to 29.3 million in 1951. When allotments were reimposed, acreage was reduced to 20 million in 1954 and then to 18 million in 1955.

The Secretary and the beet industry should note that the Congress has not authorized nor ratified unlimited sugarbeet production in 1965 and beet sugar in excess of quotas should not be produced in 1965 on the assumption that Congress will authorize its marketing.

A realistic reduction in sugarbeet acreage in 1965 comparable to the acreage adjustments in other crops would remove virtually all opposition to sale in 1965 of the beet and cane surplus produced in 1963 and 1964 and would do much to assure the continued operation of this heretofore highly successful program. At the time the Congress adjourned, the

spokesmen for the industry were only a few percentage points apart in their search for an acceptable formula.

It is my hope and suggestion that the various segments of the domestic sugar industry will not discontinue their efforts but will continue to work toward a realistic and equitable formula which can be presented to Congress for its consideration early next year.

Review of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress that adjourned Saturday, October 3, has been termed by many the most productive and fruitful in 30 years. It is my judgment that by any standard of measurement the description is deserved.

A single major new program, the enactment by bipartisan majority of a single creative approach to a national problem, is ordinarily enough to entitle a Congress to a place in the history books. This is as it should be—for we do not move radically and carelessly in our national life, and the Members of Congress are responsible citizens with a respect for public opinion.

The 88th Congress of 1963–64, preceded by the 87th in 1961–62, came at the end of a long period of soul searching in American life—a period of dormancy, so to speak, about the directions in which we should move. And suddenly there was general realization that a time for decision had come. The result was three tremendous legislative actions:

First. A major step was taken toward getting rid of an outmoded wartime tax system that placed too heavy a burden on both business and individual families. Congress this year completed action on a bill passed by the House in 1963 to slash income tax rates, needed years ago, that now simply stifled economic expansion and actually served to restrain the growth of Government revenue.

Second, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964—in essence a response to a recognized public conviction that the time had come to write into the lawbooks certain temperate but vital guarantees to make sure that all our citizens obtain the equal protection of the laws.

This was a bipartisan achievement, and neither Democrats nor Republicans could have done it by themselves—not at any time, under any President. My own Democratic Party was the majority but two Republicans—Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH of Ohio and Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN of our own State of Illinois—helped work out the formulas that were the basis for the bipartisan meeting of minds. A majority of each party in both houses voted for the bill.

Third. In the field of foreign policy, where the Senate has special responsibilities—as the House has in initiating all tax bills—another bipartisan consensus between Democrats and Republicans produced ratification of the first-step nuclear test ban treaty.

The result is that in this world of danger and social upheaval, this world in which the power of self-destruction exists for the first time, the nuclear powers have halted the above-ground competitive tests that threatened to poison the atmosphere of our planet with deadly radioactivity and alter the future of mankind generation after generation.

This is an election year, and in the heat of elections many things are said that fall in the category of what Wendell Willkie, once a Republican candidate for the Presidency, termed "campaign oratory." The appeal of both parties is to the people, and the judgment may safely be left to the people.

This said, I must affirm my belief that the 88th Congress had strong and competent leadership, I feel now, as we did last year on the assassination of the beloved President John F. Kennedy, that the country was fortunate that Mr. Kennedy had selected Lyndon B. Johnson as his vice-presidential choice.

Both President Johnson and President Kennedy went into office with the conviction that there are changed and emerging world and national situations demanding affirmative responses. They believed that in the postwar years Congress had allowed problems to pile up without moving to meet them.

The reason for delay on issues was by no means discreditable. The Nation has been compelled to concentrate attention on war and national defense, on both foreign policy, and domestic issues of a new kind.

Beginning in 1938, President Roosevelt had the obligation to build up our naval forces with new and then modern warships to defend our interests on the high seas in the event of war. The war broke out the next year when Hitler and Stalin invaded and divided Poland. The storm of war kept spreading, and in 1941 this Nation was involved. Then came Stalin's "Iron Curtain," the Berlin blockade and the airlift with which President Truman broke it. We had Korea and Lebanon and now Vietnam, and all the other outbreaks and pressures, the development of nuclear rockets and orbiting satellites. We found ourselves prosperous but with nagging loads of unemployment.

A period of dormancy and meditation, however, can be safely tolerated only for a limited time. A generation was long enough, in the opinion of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and many problems had become more pressing. And Congress was ready to act.

New departures were signaled when President Kennedy secured passage in 1962 of the Trade Expansion Act, expressing a new attitude toward U.S. international commerce—both exports and imports. It was designed to increase employment in our export industries and help meet a foreign drain on our gold reserves.

An area redevelopment plan for depressed communities was set in motion to meet heavy joblessness arising from the decline of ancient industries. A manpower training program was set up to meet the chronic unemployment caused by the impact of automation. A host of other measures were passed.

The 88th Congress, which met almost continuously for 21 months in 1963 and 1964, went on from this foundation to meet other accumulated or newly-recognized national needs.

The tax-cutting bill, spreading purchasing power and encouraging business investment, has helped keep our economy surging for an unbroken and unprecedented peacetime period of 44 months.

The Civil Rights Act put the stamp of legislative authority behind guarantees of normal rights for all Americans and was designed to move the expression of racial tensions out of the streets and into the courts and the human relations commissions of the States.

There are special problems of the people of the 24th Congressional District of Illinois which should be mentioned before details on other matters.

One problem is our area is flood ravages and navigation. A new-money appropriation of $400,000 was approved this year for preconstruction planning of the Kaskaskia River canalization project, which is estimated as an ultimate $60 million investment. It is my hope that in the next Congress, the 89th, we can obtain approval of the first funds for actual construction.

Another item of $200,000 was approved for preconstruction planning of flood-control works on Richland Creek, making a total of $300,000 appropriated for this purpose in the 2 years of the 88th Congress.

An additional $400,000 was voted for construction of flood-control facilities in East St. Louis and the vicinity, making a total of $700,000 for the 2 years. Initial funds for the start of construction of the New Athens floodwall, in the amount of $120,000, were appropriated.

A total of $3.3 million was appropriated for continued construction of Mississippi River navigation projects affecting our area, including the Chain of Rocks emergency dam to provide an adequate navigation channel during periods of drought.

In areas outside the immediate 24th District but affecting those who live here, two other projects are significant. Construction of the Shelbyville Reservoir was advanced by appropriation of $2.8 million, making a total of $3.8 million for the 2 years. And an additional $7.2 million was voted for continued construction of the Carlyle Reservoir, which will provide important recreational facilities for our people as well as flood control features.

For many years, as many know, my own work, in addition to seeking to promote the equitable interests of the district, has been devoted to two major committees: the House Committee on Armed Services and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

I have been chairman of the Research and Development Subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and be-

came chairman, during the 88th Congress, of a new House Armed Services Subcommittee in the same area. I have the honor to be a member of a House select committee, created by the 88th Congress, studying all Government research programs, including nondefense areas.

It is a source of great satisfaction to report that our military defenses and capabilities have been greatly advanced and made more versatile during the 2 years of this Congress.

There are voices being heard saying that we are "weak." Nothing could be further from the truth. The Johnson-Kennedy administration picked up our defense program from where it was in January 1961, and they restored and broadened it.

In 4 years our capacity for a military airlift—to speed strength wherever it is needed—has been expanded by 16 squadrons, and much of our airlift force has been equipped with modern jets.

Our tactical air forces—the forces used in combat in cooperation with other defense elements—have been increased. We have developed specially trained counterinsurgency forces to deal with guerrillas in so-called national liberation operations launched by aggressors.

The strength of our forces designed to fight a "conventional" war—that is, a conflict that does not involve nuclear destruction—has been greatly augmented. Four divisions have been added to the combat-ready forces of the Army. In organization these forces have been streamlined, in equipment they have been modernized.

Our stockpile of nuclear weapons is much larger; it is adequate and well protected. But it is the hope and prayer of the whole world that this stockpile will never have to be used. In the 88th Congress, as in the 87th Congress that preceded it, we supported the money requests that broadened and improved the variety of military response we can give in "brushfire" conflicts and aggressive "insurgencies," in reply to nuclear threats and nuclear bluffs, in the defense of the North Atlantic powers and in all the corners of the earth.

I am happy to report, in passing, that the 88th Congress did not neglect the Nation's veterans.

We passed a number of bills in 1963—limited in scope but important to those affected—increasing benefits to veterans suffering from speech loss or service-connected deafness, increasing burial allowances, increasing the benefits to dependent children and parents.

In the 1964 session Congress added a provision giving veterans 1 year to pick up and reactivate national service life insurance that had been allowed to lapse. For those with service-connected disabilities, the right to reactivate their national service policies is absolute for the 1 year. Veterans with disabilities not service connected can benefit if they are rated by private insurance firms as uninsurable or acceptable only at marked-up rates.

There are great areas in which the 88th Congress, in the field of domestic needs, adopted programs to bridge the gaps left by a generation of default.

It was a "Congress of Education." The Federal Government acknowledged that it had a major responsibility in helping finance our educational system—across the board.

One program set up loans to young people seeking training in the health professions, plus a matching-grant system for construction of college and university facilities.

A second measure set up grants and loans totaling $1.2 billion for construction of public and private educational facilities beyond the health field.

The National Defense Education Act, which otherwise might have expired this year, was extended. This provides loans for college students in specified fields. Congress continued a program of Federal aid to elementary schools in areas where Federal employees have been concentrated, and expanded it to new areas.

A fourth program authorized a major new vocational education effort, going far beyond what has existed in the past. It recognizes that science and technology are changing the nature of job demands and job opportunities, that complex training is needed which transform the nature of apprentice training and vocational training.

President Johnson remarked, correctly, that passage of all these bills meant that the 88th Congress would do "more for education than any Congress since the Land Grant College Act was passed" in 1863.

A great fresh start was taken also, in protection of the Nation's natural heritage by passage of the Wilderness Act, which sets aside 9.2 million acres of federally owned land for "wilderness" purposes. It specifically rules out use of the land for commercial purposes, and guarantees that our fast-growing population will be privileged to gaze upon the natural beauties of our land in generations to come. The wilderness system can be expanded, under the law, to 14.7 million acres.

Additional progress was made in the fight to preserve some of our seashores—a great part of which are now in private hands—for the use of all our people. The Fire Island National Seashore was authorized as a national recreation area, and this followed 1962 action setting up the Point Reyes National Seashore in California and the Padre Island National Seashore in the Gulf of Mexico.

A start was made toward preservation of the Indiana Dunes, which so many of our State know well, by Senate passage of a bill to create a shoreline recreation area. It is my belief that the House will be prepared to act in the next Congress.

Congress this year passed a cotton-wheat bill to protect the interests of our highly productive agricultural operators, thus completing action on a program that began in the first session with enactment of protection of feed-grain producers.

The food stamp program, which had existed until this Congress only under general powers of the Department of Agriculture, was given specific legislative sanction, and can now be expanded beyond a pilot operation.

This is a program in which I take particular interest, and had helped sponsor even during the Eisenhower administration. It allows needy families to purchase a broad variety of foods from our ample surplus stocks. It helps maintain the farm price-support system, protects the interest of merchants, and gives the needy a far better chance at good nutrition and balanced diets than they otherwise would have.

Congress this year renewed and substantially expanded the Hill-Burton program providing Federal funds for community hospitals and health centers. It was an action that followed pioneering steps by the 1963 session to place undergirding Federal support into the field of mental health.

Funds were authorized for research into mental illness or retardation, which are among the curses of our age, and additional money to help the States build community mental health centers and conduct their own research.

The 88th Congress also passed a pioneering law giving Federal support to research into the causes and remedy of air pollution, a major factor now suspected in diseases of the cardiac and respiratory systems.

Congress authorized a new program to assist our great metropolitan city and suburban areas to develop areawide rapid transit systems serving both cities and suburbs and wrote into the law protection of the job rights of workers on the existing systems.

It approved a housing law giving further support to cities struggling with blight and overcrowding.

All but one of the basic sections of President Johnson's antipoverty program were approved. The measure passed includes a Youth Conservation Corps, to provide useful work and basic education to young people out of school and out of jobs. It provides a National Service Corps—Domestic Peace Corps—giving young Americans a chance to devote a year or two of their lives here at home working with mental hospital patients, with farm-labor migrants, with Indians, and in the job camps of the Conservation Corps. It offers assistance to local actions aimed at combating poverty and special programs to aid rural areas.

The Appalachia program, passed by the Senate, did not reach the House floor, but it was approved by committee and is certain to be on the agenda again next year.

The 88th Congress this year passed a bill updating the Davis-Bacon Act that protects construction workers on Government projects from roving contractors seeking contracts on the basis of wage slashing. As passed during the thirties, the law provided that all bidders must agree to pay the areawide prevailing wage. The amendment specifies that this must include so-called fringe benefits, such as health and welfare insurance, pensions, vacation periods, and other protections, as well as merely dollar wages.

The 1963 session passed a law requiring payment of equal wages and salaries to women workers where they are doing work comparable to that of men. These two protective laws followed action in 1961 substantially broadening the protection given workers in interstate commerce by the wage-hour law, and raising the basic minimum by gradual steps to $1.25 an hour.

The 88th Congress also took recognition of the serious problems of job losses and job security arising from the impact of automated processes in industry.

There is no question about the overall impact and values of automation: It greatly increases productivity and it is moving broadly into white-collar as well as factory processes. But it may leave workers stranded without jobs and without the protection of phased out reduction in veteran workers. Congress created a Commission on Automation to bring authoritative proposals on the principles involved to guide industry, workers, and the Government itself in working out solutions.

Congress this year injected additional strength to the pioneering Manpower Training Act approved by the 87th. This program is aimed at one of the key facts in our economic situation—some workers lack the required skills to obtain new jobs when an industry dies out or processes change, although other industries may need workers. A higher level of skills and education generally is demanded by industry and business today, and an upgrading of the educational level of our people is needed. Skills are needed to provide trained workers as new industries come into existence.

The Training Act is a pilot program. The complexities of educating and training adults and jobless young people, of fitting together the needs of industry a few years from now and the trained workers, are enormous. The 88th Congress improved the program on the basis of experience gained in the first year or so. There will be further improvements, undoubtedly, in proposals to Congress next year.

Our foreign policy has been conducted with these past 2 years' strength and with what the founders of our Nation, in the Declaration of Independence, called a decent respect for the opinion of mankind.

A treaty with Mexico ended, with justice and good spirit, a nagging dispute about title to land disputed since the channel of Rio Grande shifted. Firmness and fairness prevailed when an ugly riot erupted in Panama, and the base was laid for discussions of a new canal in the isthmus and better relations generally. The Peace Corps was made a permanent service.

A new Federal pay system was approved, raising the salaries of civil service and postal employees to levels of comparability with private industry. A military pay increase bill was passed to provide equity to the personnel in the Armed Services and encourage the building of professional careers in the service.

More than 50 major bills—creating or strengthening services needed for the general welfare, for the security of our Nation, for the bold confrontation of newly recognized problems, were passed by the 88th Congress. These were measures proposed by both President Kennedy and President Johnson, and there were very few of the major recommendations that did not result in significant legislation.

It is truly an unusual record—certainly the most impressive since the first few years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's era. It is rated by Mr. Johnson himself as the best of this century, and this may eventually be the judgment of history.

Giovanni da Verrazzano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following study of the Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano, made by Dr. Salvatore Rosolia of Staten Island, N.Y.:

The history of the world will always record that the American Continent was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492.

Within one short glorious period of a single generation, from 1492 with Christopher Columbus to the year 1524 with Giovanni da Verrazzano, the American Continent was discovered. From Labrador and the Hudson Bay to the lowest tip of South America, Terra del Fuego, discoveries were made. Among the discoverers were Amerigo Vespucci, Giovanni Caboto, Sebastian Caboto, and Magellan.

By 1423, the world already knew of very extensive new lands discovered by Columbus for Spain; by Giovanni and Sebastian Caboto for England, and by Amerigo Vespucci for Portugal. The circumnavigation of the world by Magellan added a new competitive move in the conquest of new trade routes and a race for new colonizations. France dreamed also of new lands, new wealth and an empire.

Giovanni da Verrazzano was already known as a navigator, who knew the route to the North American Continent. When he was recommended to the French court, he found favor. Needing financial backing, Verrazzano turned to wealthy Italian bankers and merchants of Lyone and obtained their help.

In August 1523 four French ships sailed in secrecy from Dieppe with Verrazzano in command of the *Dauphin*. Two of these ships were damaged and lost in a violent storm. The other two were damaged and returned to Brest.

On January 17, 1524, Verrazzano sailed from Porto Santo Island with 8 months' provisions and armed for war in order to defend the ship against possible attacks from Spanish ships. He kept sailing along the coast of Spain and then straight westward in open ocean. In March 7 a new land appeared—what is now Cape Fear, near Wilmington, Del. Verrazzano continued on along the cost of South Carolina and named the lands.

When sailing along the coast of New Jersey, Verrazzano reached Sandy Hook (east end of Staten Island, N.Y.). He recorded his findings "we saw a very beautiful lake (the Upper New York Bay) about 3 leagues in circuit where the Indians were rowing from one shore to the other in 30 or more little boats with innumerable people in order to see us." How long they remained in the Upper Bay is not known. Raising the anchor, Verrazzano sailed eastward along the coast. He baptized the land all around the bay "Angouleme" after the name of the King of France; he called Brooklyn "Flora"; the upper and lower New York Bay "Santa Margarita," and all the territory around it La Nuova Francia.

Verrazzano continued along the shores of the east coast until he reached Nova Scotia. After furnishing themselves with water and food, they decided to turn toward France.

Very little is known of Verrazzano following his return to France with his *Dauphin*. Some historians claim that he made in 1528 a third trip to America; that he was captured by Spaniards and hanged.

Others say that he was eaten by cannibals in Venezuela.

In his trips to America, Verrazzano proved that the New World was all isolated, being a huge continent, connected together.

The official opening of the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge has been set for November 21, 1964, to mark a historical date; to celebrate a great international event and to honor another great Italian navigator. This bridge has been built to link Brooklyn to Staten Island, N.Y., in honor of the Florentine explorer who first crossed and discovered New York Bay. The Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge has become a new symbol, expressed to uphold a warm feeling of national and international friendship. Fifty million Frenchmen and 50 million Italians know that our new bridge was named in honor of Verrazzano.

We New Yorkers take pride following the growth and development of the huge span, soon to become a national landmark. Standing at the entrance to New York Bay centuries ago were Lenni Lanape Indians, Canarsie Tribes, and other pale faces of Algonquin Nations, all dressed with mutlicolored feathers, greeted and welcomed white faces named Verrazzano, Gomez, Hudson, Block, Stuyvesant.

At the entrance to this same bay, centuries later, a prodigious bridge posted to guard a huge metropolis, has now been built. It is arising over the sea as a towering gate, to be thrown open to greet and to welcome friends. Sailing from the seven seas of the world, pilgrims and strangers alike, streaming through this armored gate, are also welcomed. They come to our country to live and to progress, to help build a bigger America.

The Honorable Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to my friend, the Honorable ROLAND V. LIBONATI, of Illinois, who has decided to retire from the U.S. House of Representatives and return to the prac-

tice of law. On rare occasions during our lives do we have the good fortune to meet a person who possesses the qualities that we attribute to great men. Our able and devoted colleague, ROLAND V. LIBONATI, is such a man. His absence from this body will be sorely felt.

When LIBBY first became a Member of the House of Representatives on December 31, 1957, he already had a record of accomplishments that any man could look back upon and say that he had done his part for his fellow man. He had a brilliant record as an outstanding lawyer, as a member of the House of the Illinois State Legislature for 6 years, and as a member of the Senate of the Illinois State Legislature for 16 years where he served as majority whip beginning with his second term and as minority leader during his last term.

LIBBY did not rest on the record he had by then made but added to it during the 7 years that he was a Member of this House of Representatives a list of accomplishments that could stand by themselves as a remarkable record of service.

The loss of his talents and friendship will be hard to replace. When we reminisce in future days about the years we had the privilege to serve in Congress with him, I am sure that we will all have many enjoyable stories to tell. The war veterans of my congressional district and all my constituents would want me to extend their thanks for his work as a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary and the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

I do not join my colleagues in saying goodby to our friend and colleague for I am hopeful that LIBBY and I will have many opportunities to continue our friendship. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to work with and to know him and may God bestow upon him, his lovely wife, and his fine son, many, many years of good health and happiness.

Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, while disappointment may be the first immediate reaction to the disagreement which blocked enactment of the social security amendments at this session, there is a brighter side to the picture.

As a matter of hard political fact, under the parliamentary situation prevailing in the closing hours of this 88th Congress, the failure of the bill now actually makes its enactment early in the next Congress almost a certainty.

And at this time, with the help of an even larger Democratic majority in the House of Representatives to be elected on November 4 from throughout the Nation, it will include not only across-the-board increases in cash benefits but also the hospital care for the aged which we seek. Had the supporters of hospitalization protection agreed to drop it and permit the boost in payments alone the chances of reviving the proposition next January would have gone down the drain.

This is so because both the benefit increase and the hospitalization call for a rise in the social security payroll tax and it would be extremely difficult to gain approval of two tax increases, one immediately following the other.

Even if the hospitalization provisions approved in the Senate had been agreed to by the conference committee to which the bill was referred, our fight has really lost no ground because they could not be put into effect before January 1, 1966. Prompt action in the 89th Congress can still make hospital care effective that same date, and the cash benefits increase could be made retroactive to January 1, 1965.

America's Coal Research Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, as author of the Saylor Act which created the Office of Coal Research in 1961, I consider it a personal responsibility to maintain a close watch on the Nation's various coal research projects, particularly those undertaken through Federal appropriations. I recently took advantage of the opportunity to visit the Bituminous Coal Research, Inc., laboratory at Monroeville, Pa., whose current activities include projects sponsored through the Office of Coal Research and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as well as those underwritten entirely by coal and allied industries. I commend to my colleagues—particularly members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs—a tour of this research institution which stands in the center of great coalfields and adjacent to major fuel consuming industries.

BCR is a research facility whose construction was made possible through the cooperative effort of individual coal companies, railroads, electric utilities, and equipment manufacturing industries. I was extremely impressed and most appreciative of the guidance and information supplied by President James R. Garvey and his excellent staff, including John W. Igoe, vice president for administration and finance; John W. Tieman, manager of the mechanical division; and Dr. W. F. Berry, petrographer. It was gratifying to find these learned and articulate engineers entirely frank about every project and its possibilities. BCR has already published under the auspices of the Office of Coal Research a technical report on ultrafine coal pulverization and its application which is available to all interested parties at the Department of the Interior, the Library of Congress, the Department of Commerce, the National Coal Association headquarters at the Coal Building in Washington, and at university libraries throughout the country. The laboratory is also engaged in research on air pollution control, acid mine drainage, coal gasification, the application of petrography to coal carbonization the conversion of coal into gasoline, and other important probings and studies that we are confident will lead to new and expanded uses for solid fuel in the immediate future.

One of the earlier BCR successes which I had the opportunity to inspect is the so-called Easy-Flo bin that today is being used to handle such materials as salt, nylon flake, mixed glass, sand, coke, limestone, and ceramic pellets, as well as coal itself. The laboratory also developed a new system of injecting raw coal into a blast furnace—a device effectively reducing coke rate at steel plants. These and other accomplishments of the laboratory have already brought national recognition to Mr. Garvey, who was awarded the Percy Nicholls Award for notable scientific or industrial achievement in the field of solid fuels last year.

Mr. Speaker, my visit to BCR was a stimulating experience. I was also pleased to learn that experts in the energy field from Canada, England, Germany, Japan, India, and other fuel-producing and consuming countries are making it a practice to stop here whenever possible. I trust that BCR's imposing library will continue to be used as a center of exchange for coal research information on an international scale so that unnecessary duplications will be obviated and development expedited.

Mr. Speaker, the congressional district I represent produces more than 20 percent of Pennsylvania's total output of bituminous coal. If demand holds for the remainder of the year, our State's production will show an increase of almost 7 percent over the 1963 total, and Armstrong, Cambria, and Indiana Counties will record at least a proportionate rate of increase. Nonetheless, our State total will not amount to even half as much as the total for the peak postwar year of 1947. This differential is regrettable in view of the sharp increases in the use of energy that have taken place since that time. With Pennsylvania's recoverable reserves listed at more than 35 billion tons—some four times the total produced in the past two centuries—there can be no relaxing of the effort to restore the Pennsylvania coal industry to its full potential and thus revitalize the economy of our mining counties. Through such research facilities as BCR, I am hopeful that it will not be too long before this objective is attained.

Hon. Roland Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a most able member of my Committee on Veterans' Affairs who has worked

tirelessly in behalf of the veteran has announced that he will not return to this body. LIBBY as he is most affectionately called by his colleagues has said he was going to retire—but I for one do not believe it. Any man who has devoted the majority of his life in serving his fellow man as ROLAND LIBONATI has done, cannot just retire—he will go on serving.

Whatever he does Mr. Speaker, or wherever he goes, I want to wish him Godspeed.

Summary of Veterans Legislation in the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am showing below a summary of action in the Committee on Veterans' Affairs for the 88th Congress together with a compilation of laws enacted during the same period and those pending the President's signature:

SUMMARY OF VETERANS LEGISLATION REPORTED—88TH CONGRESS, THROUGH OCTOBER 7, 1964

SUMMARY OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ACTION—BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED AND HEARINGS AND EXECUTIVE SESSIONS CONDUCTED

During the 88th Congress, 508 bills and resolutions were referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Testimony taken in hearings conducted in 47 of the 50 open sessions consists of 3,027 printed pages.

Legislative hearings were held on the dates indicated below, with printed hearings bearing the following titles:

Veterans' organizations legislative objectives: January 30, February 7, March 12, and April 2, 1963.

VA legislative policy, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs: April 3 and May 28, 1963.

Intermediate care for veterans (Subcommittee on Intermediate Care) (11 bills): May 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, and June 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 20, 25, and 26, 1963.

VA housing program (Subcommittee on Housing): November 20 and 21, 1963.

Veterans' housing legislation (Subcommittee on Housing): March 4, 1964.

Veterans' organizations legislative objectives, 1964: February 19, March 3 and 10, April 9, 1964.

Miscellaneous insurance bills and administration of insurance programs: March 24 and 25, April 8, 14, 15, 23, and May 25, 1964.

Veterans' Administration medical program: April 28, 29, 30; May 7, 8, and 12, 1964.

Pension bills providing non-service-connected pension benefits for veterans of all wars: May 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, and 28, 1964.

There were 21 executive sessions, resulting in the reporting of 41 bills. Of this number, 27 have been enacted into law; 2 bills awaited Presidential approval on October 7; 7 passed the House and were pending in Senate committees at adjournment; 1 passed the House, was amended and passed by Senate and returned to the House for further considerations and subsequently included as amendment to another bill; and 4 bills reported by the committee were left on the House Calendar, but of these, the substance of 3 passed the House in another bill which was not considered by the Senate.

Summary of Veterans' Affairs Committee action in 80th Cong. through Oct. 7, 1964, 88th Cong.

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED AND HEARINGS-EXECUTIVE SESSIONS CONDUCTED

	Congress								
	80th	81st	82d	83d	84th	85th	86th	87th	88th
Bills and resolutions referred	498	619	436	402	537	491	628	602	508
Hearings sessions	60	64	50	46	71	69	55	45	50
Hearings, printed pages	3,596	2,355	2,662	5,337	4,271	4,834	3,472	3,055	3,027
Executive sessions	49	34	27	55	37	28	21	15	21
Bills reported	60	44	36	36	48	44	42	32	41
Bills in House	16	1		14	1	5	2	[1] 8	[2] 5
Pending in Senate committees	6	16	14	2	17	11	6	[3] 13	7
Bills on Senate Calendar or in Senate		1	1	2			1	[4] 2	0
Recommitted		1	1			1			
Bills vetoed	1	2	4			1			
Bills passed over veto		1	2						
Laws enacted	36	24	22	25	30	26	33	[5] 32	[6] 29

[1] Including 4 bills enacted as amendment to other legislation: 1 left in House when similar Senate bill returned to Senate; and 1 similar to another bill enacted (Public Law 87-645).
[2] Provisions of 3 of these bills were passed by the House as a separate bill, and the provisions of 1 bill were included as an amendment to another bill which was awaiting approval of the President at date of this publication.
[3] Includes 2 bills enacted as amendments to other bills.
[4] Includes 1 bill enacted as amendment to another bill.
[5] Some laws included the substance of more than 1 bill reported separately. 39 separately reported bills were enacted, 7 as amendments to other legislation.
[6] Includes 2 bills awaiting approval of the President.

Veterans' Administration appropriations

Bills providing for appropriations for the Veterans' Administration are under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations and are included as a part of the Independent Offices Appropriation Acts. A summary of legislation pertaining to veterans could not be considered complete, however, without reference to the large appropriations which the Congress annually provides for operation of the vast system of veterans' benefit programs.

In the 4 fiscal years 1962 through 1965, over $21 billion has been provided for operation of these programs. The major portion of this expenditure has gone for direct monetary benefits, in the form of compensation for service-connected disability or death or for non-service-connected pensions to veterans, their widows, or dependent children (over $10 billion for compensation and almost $7 billion for non-service-connected pensions in the 4-year period). While cost of service-connected compensation payments is now declining, non-service-connected pension costs are increasing with each year. Cost of medical care (including the cost of medical administration, medical and prosthetic research, and hospital construction) rose during this period from a total actual expenditure in 1962 of $1,109,497,500 to a total anticipated for fiscal year 1965 of $1,265,238,000.

The chart below will provide a comparison of appropriations for Veterans' Administration for fiscal years 1962 through 1965. It will be noted that the overall expenditure has increased in each year, chiefly because of rising expenditure in the field of pension and in the medical program. On June 30, 1964, of the 2,226,000 living World War I veterans, 1,129,144 were receiving pension or compensation payments, and during the period June 30, 1963, to June 30, 1964, $2 billion were expended in behalf of veterans of World War I.

Other details concerning the budget of the Veterans' Administration for these 4 years appear on pages 14, 15, and 16; and a detailed analysis of all expenditures for veterans programs, by war, from the Revolutionary War to June 30, 1963, appears on page 13.

Comparison of appropriations and estimates

	1962 appropriation [1]	1963 appropriation [1]	1964 appropriation, Public Law 88-215, approved Dec. 19, 1963	1965 VA estimate submitted to Bureau of Budget	Public Law 88-507, approved Aug. 30, 1964
General operating expenses	$161,773,000	[2] $161,279,950	$159,750,000	$160,275,000	$155,125,000
Medical administration and miscellaneous operating expenses [3]	43,876,500	13,981,950	14,800,000	15,877,000	14,200,000
Medical and prosthetic research [3]		30,500,000	33,742,000	37,282,000	37,000,000
Medical care [4]	989,371,000	1,048,172,300	1,081,186,000	1,128,384,000	1,115,935,000
Compensation and pensions	3,500,000,000	3,874,000,000	3,921,000,000	3,966,000,000	3,963,000,000
Readjustment benefits	135,000,000	95,800,000	67,000,000	110,800,000	37,100,000
Veterans' insurance and indemnities	39,200,000	32,000,000	30,200,000	17,500,000	13,700,000
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities	76,250,000	77,000,000	76,796,000	104,000,000	98,103,000
Grants to the Republic of the Philippines	1,000,000	[4] 350,000	310,000	310,000	310,000
Total	4,946,470,500	5,333,084,200	5,384,784,000	5,540,428,000	5,423,973,000

[1] Includes supplementals.
[2] 150,000 transferred from "Grants to the Republic of the Philippines" to "General operating expenses."
[3] Separate appropriation for "Medical and prosthetic research" in 1963.
[4] "Inpatient care" and "Outpatient care" consolidated into "Medical care" in 1962.

Laws enacted—88th Congress

Public Law 88-3 (H.R. 212): Permits payment of $250 burial allowance in behalf of veterans whose discharges are changed from dishonorable to other than dishonorable after their death. Claim must be filed within 2 years from date of correction or 2 years from the date of enactment, whichever is later. (Approved: April 2, 1963.)

Public Law 88-18 (H.R. 4549): Authorizes a very limited exception to the bar against employing retired officers, so as to permit the appointment of such a retired officer, prior to January 1, 1964, to the position of Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration. (Approved: May 8, 1963.)

Public Law 88-20 (H.R. 199): Adds "deafness of both ears, having absence of air and

bone conduction," to the other types of service-connected disabilities specified in the law pertaining to veterans' disability compensation for which an additional award in the amount of $47 monthly is provided. (Approved: May 15, 1963.)

Public Law 88-21 (H.R. 211): Increases, generally by 10 percent, the monthly rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to eligible parents and children of veterans dying of service-connected causes. (Approved: May 15, 1963.)

Public Law 88-22 (H.R. 214): Provides for payment of a statutory award of $47 per month to those veterans who incurred a service-connected loss or loss of use of both vocal cords, resulting in constant inability to communicate by speech. (Approved: May 15, 1963.)

Public Law 88-40 (H.R. 249): Extends for another 5 years the program for reimbursement of the Philippine Government covering hospitalization and outpatient care for service-connected conditions of Commonwealth Army veterans who served with the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II. Permits the furnishing of drugs under certain conditions. (Approved: June 13, 1963.)

Public Law 88-126 (S. 330): Provides that after expiration of the Korean conflict veterans' education and training program (generally after January 31, 1965), approval of courses under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act shall be by State approving agencies. (Approved: September 23, 1963.)

Public Law 88-134 (H.R. 5250): Under the provisions of the Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act (Public Law 881, 84th Cong., effective January 1, 1957), dependency and indemnity compensation is payable to widows, children, and parents based on the service-connected deaths of their husbands, fathers, and children, respectively. Specific monthly rates are provided for children and parents. The widow, however, until enactment of this law, was paid at the monthly rate of $112 plus 12 percent of the basic active duty rate of pay of her deceased husband. This law increases the $112 factor applicable to widows to $120 per month. (Approved: October 5, 1963.)

Public Law 88-148 (S. 13): Provides for conveyance of approximately 19 acres of land, which was originally donated to the Veterans' Administration by the city of Fayetteville, Ark., back to that city for use as a park and recreational area. (Approved: October 17, 1963.)

Public Law 88-151 (H.R. 242): Provides for waiver of recovery from veterans of indebtedness to the United States resulting from the payment of loan guarantee claims or from default on direct loans, under circumstances in which waiver is now denied. Specifically provides that where there has been a default and loss of the property the Administrator may waive recovery if he determines "that the default arose out of compelling reasons without fault on the part of the veteran or that collection of the indebtedness would otherwise work a severe hardship upon the veteran." (Approved: October 17, 1963.)

Public Law 88-207 (H.R. 5691): Allows the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to delegate to the Chief Medical Director authority to act upon the recommendations of disciplinary boards in cases involving inaptitude, inefficiency, or misconduct of physicians, dentists, and nurses appointed in the Department of Medicine and Surgery. (Approved: December 17, 1963.)

Public Law 88-274 (S. 2064): Relieves the Veterans' Administration from the requirement that it pay interest of approximately $4 million annually to the Treasury on $105.7 million advanced in fiscal year 1962 from Treasury to the direct loan revolving fund, but which was not used for making direct loans to veterans and on which no earnings were received. These funds were transferred from the direct loan revolving fund to the guaranteed loan fund to cover losses under that program, as provided in Public Law 87-404, a law originating in the House Committee on Appropriations, which directed the transfer of funds in lieu of appropriation of funds to finance increased cost of claims and property acquisitions resulting from defaulted guaranteed or insured loans. (Approved: February 29, 1964.)

Public Law 88-355 (H.R. 6920): Effective January 1, 1965, permits inclusion of a permanent and total disability income provision in national service life insurance policies, allowing payment of total disability income benefits of $10 per month for each $1,000 of insurance in effect from the 1st day of the 7th month following date of total disability incurred before attainment of age 65, and while the payment of premium is not in default. The disability benefit is payable from the 1st day of the 7th consecutive month of and during the continuance of total disability. A similar provision was previously available; however, benefits were not payable unless the disability occurred before attainment of age 60. On and after January 1, 1965, only the new age 65 provision will be issued. Applicants for the new age 65 provision must surrender any existing age 60 total disability income provision previously added to their policies. (Approved: July 7, 1964.)

Public Law 88-359 (H.R. 3941): Permits payment of the burial allowance of not to exceed $250 in behalf of a veteran who held a policy of burial and funeral insurance with a burial association, provided the money would not revert to funds of the organization or discharge the organization's obligation without payment for burial of the veteran. (Approved: July 7, 1964.)

Public Law 88-361 (H.R. 221): Extends the benefits of the war orphans' educational assistance program to children of veterans who have a "total disability permanent in nature" resulting from a service-connected disability arising out of service in the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict, or the "induction period" (September 16, 1940, to December 6, 1941; January 1, 1947, to June 26, 1950; and February 1, 1955, until such time as inductions are no longer made). The term, "total disability permanent in nature" is defined for this purpose as a disability rated total for the purposes of disability compensation which is based upon an impairment reasonably certain to continue throughout the life of the disabled person. This would mean that the service-connected disability would be rated 100 percent on a regular schedular evaluation. Veterans rated 100 percent on a temporary or convalescent basis or under special provisions of the rating schedule do not qualify. Eligibility as a result of service during the "induction period", as in the case with respect to death cases, is subject to more rigid criteria than are applicable to the wartime cases. In the case of these veterans all conditions applicable to veterans whose disabilities were incurred in wartime must be met and in addition, disabilities incurred during the induction period must (1) have directly resulted from, and the causative factor must be shown to have arisen out of, the performance of active military, naval, or air service; or (2) have resulted directly from armed conflict or from an injury or disease received while engaged in extra-hazardous service, including service under conditions simulating war.

War orphans' educational assistance takes the form of monetary assistance to the children of veterans who die from service-connected causes and is designed primarily to aid in the obtaining of an education beyond the secondary school level. By enactment of Public Law 88-361, eligibility is extended, generally to children of 100 percent service-connected disabled veterans. The monthly allowance is $110 for a child enrolled for full-time training; $80 per month for a three-quarter time program of training; and $50 per month for half-time training. Assistance under this program is generally available after the child has graduated from high school or has reached the age 18 and normally cannot extend beyond his 23d birthday. In certain cases, as for example, when the child has served in the U.S. Armed Forces between his 18th and 23d birthdays, this upper age limit may be exceeded, but not beyond his 31st birthday. (Approved: July 7, 1964.)

Public Law 88-364 (H.R. 6777): Effective January 1, 1965, extends from age 60 to age 65 the delimiting age before which a persons insured under a national life insurance policy must become totally disabled to be eligible for waiver of premiums on such insurance. Insureds who become totally disabled between age 60 and age 65 prior to January 1, 1965, and who remain continuously totally disabled may obtain waiver of future premiums if their insurance is in force on January 1, 1965, and other requirements for the waiver are met. (Approved: July 7, 1964.)

Public Law 88-401 (H.R. 248): Expands the program of assistance to severally disabled veterans in acquiring homes equipped with special facilities made necessary because of the nature of their disabilities by providing eligibility for such housing to veterans with compensable service-connected disability of blindness in both eyes, plus the additional service-connected disability of loss or loss of use of a lower extremity. (Approved: August 4, 1964.)

Public Law 88-402 (H.R. 6652): Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to sell direct loans to private investors at prices which he determines to be reasonable, but not less than an average of 98 percent of the unpaid principal balance plus the full amount of accrued interest for all loans sold. Previous law permitted sale of direct loans, but only at a price not less than the unpaid principal balance plus accrued interest. (Approved: August 4, 1964.)

Public Law 88-430 (H.R. 8251): Extends the statutory 1-year time limit on filing applications for outpatient dental services for a less than compensable dental condition or disability where the veteran's discharge or release from service under dishonorable conditions was later corrected to a discharge or release under other than dishonorable conditions. (Approved: August 14, 1964.)

Public Law 88-433 (H.R. 8611): Provides for the indemnification of contractors against liability and loss resulting from death, or injury to person or property, arising out of the direct performance of a medical research and development contract. (Approved: August 14, 1964.)

Public Law 88-434 (H.R. 7751): Authorizes the Veterans' Administration to construct for the Department of Defense an Army Reserve Center on a site to be provided for that purpose by the city of Los Angeles, Calif., and upon completion of such Reserve Center, authorizes the Department of Defense to assume full control and jurisdiction thereof and to relinquish to the Veterans' Administration all right, title, and interest in the now existing Army Reserve Center located on the Hazard Park tract in the Los Angeles, Calif., area. (Approved: August 14, 1964.)

Public Law 88-438 (H.R. 10610): Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey, for 50 percent of its appraised value, approximately 39 acres of Veterans' Administration hospital reservation at McKinney, Tex., for recreational purposes. (Approved: August 14, 1964.)

Public Law 88-440 (H.R. 10611): Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey to the city of McKinney, Tex., the sewage treatment plant at the Veterans' Ad-

ministration hospital, in consideration of the free treatment of all sewage from the hospital for a period of 10 years from the date of conveyance. (Approved: August 14, 1964.)

Public Law 88-445 (H.R. 8925): Provides that a disability which has been continuously rated at or above a given percentage for 20 or more years for the purpose of service-connected compensation, under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, shall not thereafter be rated at any lesser percentage except upon a showing that the rating was based on fraud. Thus, a 30-percent rating which has been in effect for 20 continuous years could not thereafter be reduced to 20 or 10 percent. It could be increased, but if increased, then the protective feature would not apply to the higher rating until 20 years had elapsed. The protective feature would continue to apply during this period with respect to the 30-percent level, thus precluding reduction below that level. In the case of veterans with multiple disabilities, the proposal applies to each disability. (Approved: August 19, 1964.)

Public Law 88-450 (H.R. 8009): This law accomplishes the following:

SEC. 1: Permits the use of 4,000 additional nursing-care beds in the existing Veterans' Administration hospital system.

SEC. 2. Provides for care in a private nursing home, generally for no more than 6 months, for patients hospitalized by Veterans' Administration, but who have reached maximum hospital benefits. Cost may not exceed one-third of the average cost of treatment in a general hospital.

Increases aid to State homes by providing for:

SEC. 3. An increase in the per diem contribution to State homes caring for veterans eligible for admission to a Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary from $2.50 per day per veteran to $3.50 per day per nursing-home-care veteran, and

SEC. 4. A 5-year program of capital outlays (on a matching fund basis), of no more than $5 million per year to aid States in construction, modernization, and repair of nursing homes.

SEC. 5. Encourages veterans in need of medical care and receiving aid and attendance pension to reenter hospitals for brief stays without loss of their pension, thus preventing longer stays and more serious illness, by providing for continued payment of the aid and attendance allowance for at least 60 days following admission to a hospital.

SEC. 6. Furnishes prosthetic appliances, of the type and variety required in their everyday lives, and which would be furnished if they were in a hospital, to aid and attendance pensioners who are eligible for an invalid lift.

SEC. 7. Extends the period of time during which outpatient treatment may be given under the completion of bed occupancy program following hospitalization past the general 1-year period previously allowed for certain patients suffering from chronic illnesses afflicting the older population (cardiovascular renal disease, including hypertension; endocrinopathies; diabetes mellitus; tuberculosis; cancer; or neuropsychiatric disorder), thus keeping prospective nursing-home-care patients in their own homes as long as possible. (Approved: August 19, 1964.)

Public Law 88-481 (S. 1046): Permits hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities of 17 individuals who were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor but who are "peacetime" veterans. (Approved: August 22, 1964.)

Public Law 88-616 (H.R. 11332): Provides that reservists, or their survivors, who are injured or killed while proceeding directly to or returning directly from active duty for training or inactive duty training prior to January 1, 1957, be granted disability and death compensation benefits administered by the Veterans' Administration. In the case of disability compensation, the monthly wartime payment ranges from $20 a month for 10-percent disability to $250 for total disability, and higher rates for the most severely disabled. Peacetime rates are 80 percent of the wartime rates. Death benefits (dependency and indemnity compensation) are payable to the surviving widow for either peacetime or wartime service at the rate of $120 a month, plus 12 percent of the base pay of the serviceman. (Approved: October 2, 1964.)

Awaiting approval by the President

H.R. 1927: Amends the law relating to payment of non-service-connected pension for veterans of World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, in the following manner—

I. Permits exclusion of the following additional types of income of individuals in making a determination of annual income to qualify for pension or to remain on the pension rolls:

(1) Ten percent of payments to an individual under any public or private retirement, annuity, or pension plan, including social security, in the case of those applying for or receiving pension under the provisions of Public Law 86-211 or those who have elected to remain on the pension rolls under the pension program in effect prior to enactment of Public Law 86-211. This provision removes the possibility that enactment of legislation to increase social security payments, for example, by 5 percent, might operate to remove individuals from the pension rolls or to reduce their pension payments. (2) Amounts paid by a veteran for the last illness and burial of his deceased spouse or child. (3) Profit realized from disposition of real or personal property except for that realized through pursuit of a business. (4) Payments received as a result of performance of obligatory civic duty, such as jury duty. (5) Payments under the War Orphans Educational Assistance Act. (6) Bonus paid by a State to individuals as a result of their having served in the Armed Forces. (7) All earned income of a veteran's spouse or $1,200, whichever is greater. Prior law permitted exclusion of no more than $1,200 of wife's income, regardless of source.

II. Removes the requirement that a child alone report earnings to the Veterans' Administration annually.

III. Provides the following types of special assistance to veteran pensioners who are so helpless or blind as to require the regular aid and attendance of another person: (1) Permits VA to furnish drugs and medicines when prescribed by a physician; and (2) increases the special allowance payable to this group in addition to pension otherwise payable from $70 to $100 a month.

IV. Provides for payment of a special allowance of $35 a month, in addition to pension otherwise payable, to veterans who are "permanently housebound" because of the severity of their disabilities.

V. In addition to increase in aid and attendance rate described in III(2), and provision of special rate for "permanently housebound" described in VI, provides for increases in annual income limitations and pension payments as outlined below. Figures printed in roman type and enclosed in brackets represent income limitations and pension payments before enactment of this legislation, those printed in italic type are those to become effective on January 1, 1965.

VETERANS WITHOUT DEPENDENTS [1] [2]

Existing law

[Annual income		Monthly pension payment
More than—	Equal to or but less than—	
$600	$600	$85
1,200	1,200	70
	1,800	40]

Proposed by H.R. 1927

Annual income		*Monthly pension payment*
More than—	*Equal to or but less than—*	
$600	*$600*	*$100*
1,200	*1,200*	*75*
	1,800	*45*

VETERANS WITH DEPENDENTS [1] [2]

Existing law

[Annual Income		Monthly Pension Payment		
More than— but	Equal to or less than—	One dependent	Two dependents	Three or more dependents
$1,000	$1,000	$90	$95	$100
2,000	2,000	75	75	75
	3,000	45	45	45]

Proposed by H.R. 1927

Annual Income		*Monthly Pension Payment*		
More than— but	*Equal to or less than—*	*One dependent*	*Two dependents*	*Three or more dependents*
$1,000	*$1,000*	*$105*	*$110*	*$115*
2,000	*2,000*	*80*	*80*	*80*
	3,000	*48*	*48*	*48*

WIDOWS WITHOUT DEPENDENTS

Existing law

[Annual income		Monthly pension payment
More than—	Equal to or but less than—	
$600	$600	$60
1,200	1,200	45
	1,800	25]

Proposed by H.R. 1927

Annual income		*Monthly pension payment*
More than—	*Equal to or but less than—*	
$600	*$600*	*$64*
1,200	*1,200*	*48*
	1,800	*27*

Footnotes at end of table.

WIDOW WITH 1 DEPENDENT[1][4]

Existing law			Proposed by H.R. 1927		
Annual income		Monthly pension payment	Annual income		Monthly pension payment
More than—	Equal to or but less than—		More than—	Equal to or but less than—	
	$1,000	$75		$1,000	$80
$1,000	2,000	60	$1,000	2,000	64
2,000	3,000	40[3]	2,000	3,000	45

[1] Veterans so helpless or blind as to require the aid and attendance of another person added $70 to pension otherwise payable, $100 after effective date of this amendment to pension otherwise payable.
[2] Veterans who are so disabled as to be "permanently housebound" add $35 to pension otherwise payable. No comparable before enactment of this provision.
[3] Widows with more than 1 dependent add $15 to applicable rate for each additional child.
[4] Child, where no widow receiving pension payment, receives pension at the following rates: First child, $35; each additional child, $15. This amendment to the pension law increases rate for first child to $35, with rate for additional child remaining at $15.

Provisions Related to National Service Life Insurance

Incorporates the original provisions of H.R. 220, passed by the House March 6, 1963, which proposed a new plan of modified life insurance for national service life insurance policyholders, with a level premium throughout the life of the insured, but with the face value of the policy automatically reduced by 50 percent at the end of the day preceding the insured's 65th birthday. The plan would be permissive.

In addition, the amendment would permit reapplication during a 1-year period (to begin 6 months following enactment date), by a limited group of individuals who served in the Armed Forces October 8, 1940, through December 31, 1956 (including some service-connected disabled), for the following types of nonparticipating (no dividend) national service life insurance: Permanent plans of ordinary life, 20-pay life, 30-pay life, 20-year endowment, endowment at age 60, endowment at age 65; and the new modified life plan described herein. Administrative expense would be borne by the policyholder, including service-disabled, estimated at $5 annually per policy. Veteran applicants, who are not service-connected disabled, would be required to submit proof of insurability. Those who seek insurance as a standard risk must submit proof of good health but for their service disability, and cost of physical examination will be borne by applicant. In all cases, premiums are payable at the attained age of the veteran applicant.

In the case of the service-connected disabled group, eligibility for reapplication is limited to those who have disabilities for which compensation would be paid if the disability were compensable in degree. Service-connected disabled whose disabilities render them uninsurable according to standards of good health to be established by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, will be required to pay premium at an increased rate. In the case of those who do not have a service-connected disability, eligibility for reapplication is limited to those veterans who have disabilities making them uninsurable according to standards of good health established by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and in addition are able to establish to the satisfaction of the Veterans' Administration that they are unable to obtain commercial life insurance even at a substandard rate, i.e., a rate which would be substantially higher than that charged by a commercial insurance company for a normal, healthy individual.

H.R. 2434. Provides for payment of a $100-a-month pension for holders of the Medal of Honor by lowering the 50-year age requirement to age 40, and by including, within the eligibility of the statute, 17 individuals who received the Medal of Honor based on noncombatant service. With one exception, all of these individuals served in the U.S. Navy.

Passed House and passed Senate with amendment, returned to House for further consideration

H.R. 220: Proposes a new plan of modified life insurance for national service life insurance policyholders, which provides a level premium throughout the life of the insured, but the face value of the policy will be automatically reduced by 50 percent at the end of the day preceding the insured's 65th birthday. The face value of any extended term insurance in force under the modified life policy would also be reduced by 50 percent at that time. The plan is permissive. Policyholders may be issued additional ordinary life insurance otherwise lost at age 65 by paying premiums for age 65 without medical examination.

In reporting this bill, the Senate Committee on Finance added an amendment, subsequently adopted by the Senate, which would provide for reapplication during a 1-year period by individuals who served in the Armed Forces October 8, 1940, through December 31, 1956 (including service-connected disabled), for the following types of nonparticipating (no dividend) national service life insurance: Term insurance (limited to aged below 50); permanent plans of ordinary life, 20-pay life, 30-pay life, 20-year endowment, endowment at age 60, endowment at age 65; and the new modified life plan proposed in the bill as first reported by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Administrative expense would be borne by the policyholder, including service-disabled, estimated at $5 annually per policy. Veteran applicants, except for service-connected disabled, would be required to submit proof of good health and cost of physical examination would be borne by him. In the case of veterans in good health, premiums to be payable at a rate based on the 1958 Commissioners Standard Ordinary Basic Table of Mortality and at the attained age of the veteran at time of reapplication. Premiums for service-disabled to be based on American Experience Table and payable at attained age at time of reapplication.

House report: No. 65; March 6, 1963.
Passed House: April 1, 1963.
Referred: Senate Finance Committee; April 2, 1963.
Senate Report: No. 247; June 13, 1963.
Passed Senate: With committee amendment; June 20, 1963.
(Provisions of this bill, as first reported by Committee on Veterans' Affairs, were added as amendment to H.R. 1927.)

Bills passed by House, referred to Senate committees

H.R. 200: Repeal of mustering-out payments of between $100 and $300 for veterans of the Korean conflict. The effective date of repeal, January 31, 1965, is the date of expiration of other benefits provided by the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 (the Korean "GI bill").

House report: No. 63; March 6, 1963.
Passed House: March 18, 1963.
Referred: Senate Committee on Finance, March 19, 1963.
Rereferred: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; April 23, 1963.

H.R. 243: Authorizes payment of the statutory award of $47 per month for each anatomical loss or loss of use specified in the law in addition to the basic rates of disability compensation and the rate payable to those who are permanently housebound (but in no event to exceed a total of $340).

House report: No. 68; March 6, 1963.
Passed House: April 1, 1963.
Referred: Senate Committee on Finance; April 2, 1963.
Senate committee action: Considered and action indefinitely postponed in executive session, April 25, 1963.

H.R. 2436: Permits the furnishing of veteran benefits to certain persons conditionally discharged or released from the active military, naval, or air service.

House report: No. 789; October 1, 1963.
Passed House: October 7, 1963.
Referred: Senate Committee on Finance; October 8, 1963.
Senate commitee action: Passed over for further consideration at future date, executive session, June 25, 1964.

H.R. 4347: Requires that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, prior to construction or acquisition of Veterans' Administration hospitals, domiciliaries, or outpatient dispensary facilities involving expenditure of in excess of $100,000, or prior to alteration of such facilities involving expenditure of in excess of $200,000, submit to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives a brief description of the facilities involved and the location of the project, with an estimate of maximum cost of the project, and prohibits appropriation of funds for such projects before an approving resolution has been adopted by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Permits an increase of 10 percent in the cost of any project approved above the cost submitted for approval and approved by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. The committee may, by resolution of the committee, rescind approval of any project for which funds are not appropriated within 1 year from date of original approval. Projects authorized prior to enactment would not be affected.

House report: No. 165 (amended); March 28, 1963.
Passed House, amended; June 19, 1963.
Referred: Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee; June 20, 1963.
Senate committee action: None.

H.R. 8677: Requires that in each fiscal year during the 6-year period beginning July 1, 1963, and ending June 30, 1970, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs set aside $100,000 in funds appropriated for use of the Veterans' Administration for the conduct of research into spinal cord injuries and diseases, and other disabilities that lead to paralysis of the lower extremities.

House report: No. 808; October 2, 1963.
Passed House: October 21, 1963.
Referred: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; October 22, 1963.
Senate committee action: Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs reported favorably to full Senate committee; July 21, 1964. Full committee failed to report.

H.R. 9004: Transfers control of Pershing Hall, a building located in Paris, France, to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and authorizes the Administrator to transfer control of such property to the head of any department or agency which requests it before the 60th day after the date of enactment. If no such request is received, the Veterans' Administration is required to retain control of the property for its use and to maintain the building as a memorial to the memory of General of the Armies of the United States John J. Pershing.

House report: No. 926; November 26, 1963.
Passed House: December 2, 1963.
Referred: Senate Committee on Finance; December 3, 1963.
Senate committee action: None.

H.R. 11461: Designates the Veterans' Administration Center (hospital and domiciliary) at Bonham, Tex., as the "Sam Rayburn Memorial Veterans Center"; the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Bedford, Mass., as the "Edith Nourse Rogers Memorial Veterans' Hospital"; and the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Jackson, Miss., as the "John Elliott Rankin Memorial Veterans' Hospital."
House report: No. 1696; August 5, 1964.
Passed House: September 1, 1964.
Referred: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; September 2, 1964.
Senate committee action: None.

A Promising New Approach to True Urban Renewal in the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, a promising new approach to the stalled 4-year drive to provide urban renewal in downtown Washington's commercial districts would be authorized by a new bipartisan bill, cosponsored by Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Democrat, of New York and me. Introduced in the closing days of the Congress, the bill will strengthen and improve urban renewal in the District. Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN of the House District Committee probably was referring to the amendments in this new bill when, in putting off S. 628, he said that "Two Members had as high as five amendments each to offer and some of them certainly would have been adopted." My bill is H.R. 12779, while Congressman MULTER's bill is H.R. 12818.

The new bill was introduced for "study purposes." The ranking position of its sponsors on the House Banking and Currency Committee, the parent committee in charge of housing and urban renewal legislation, would seem to guarantee that Federal and District agencies, and the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia would, indeed, study it. Many of the provisions of the new proposal were in the national housing bill, H.R. 9771, introduced by me on January 28, 1964. The proposals in that bill, for code enforcement, and rehabilitation, were singled out for praise by President Johnson when he said:

> The plight of property owners in urban renewal areas is recognized in this measure. Provision is made so that they can rehabilitate their homes and businesses instead of having to move from the path of the bulldozers.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Housing Administrator, writing in the September 28 New York Times said of the Widnall provisions signed into law by President Johnson on September 2:

> The Housing Act of 1964 affords new tools for coping with rehabilitation and relocation. The act provides that no displacement of families or businesses can be made from a renewal area until the Housing Administrator has determined that rehabilitation is not suitable for the area. And the act authorizes low-interest modernization loans to families and businesses.

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, and Chairman ALBERT RAINS likewise have singled out the code enforcement, and rehabilitation features of the Housing Act of 1964 for praise, as has the New York Times, and many other publications, as well as national groups concerned with good housing.

Chairman ALBERT RAINS said, during consideration of the housing bill on August 13, 1964:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 13, 1964, p. 18687]

Mr. RAINS. I can announce the feeling of a committee, I say to the distinguished gentleman, and this bill has given particular emphasis toward trying to achieve it. It is the philosophy of this legislation and of this bill in particular, because we took more than passing pains to do something about it, that in no instance should people be uprooted by urban renewal or any other governmental program unless adequate provision is made for the rehousing of those people in decent, sanitary, and good housing, either public or private housing.

This bill, thanks to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL], makes a great deal of effort toward reaching the very problem the gentleman has stated.

Mr. KYL. I thank the gentleman for his response, because I want that in the RECORD.

Mr. RAINS. I will continue with that thought for a minute. I wish to credit my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL], for the leading role he played in the development of the provisions of this bill which authorize the 3 percent direct loan program to enable the owners of property in urban renewal areas to finance needed repairs and rehabilitation. The existing programs designed to stimulate private rehabilitation of property in urban renewal areas have not been successful. I have great confidence that this new 3 percent interest program will make possible the private repair and rehabilitation of a substantial amount of property in urban renewal areas. It will provide a source of financing to those persons who own property in urban renewal areas presently who are unable to undertake the necessary rehabilitation of their property because they cannot obtain loans in sufficient amounts or on terms they can afford.

I ask Members to note this well, because it is a very fine section, in my opinion.

Another important innovation in this bill which we owe largely to the efforts of the gentleman from New Jersey is that which emphasizes the role of code enforcement in urban renewal objectives. In recognition of this, the bill authorizes urban renewal projects which consist entirely or substantially of a program of intensive code enforcement. Thus, it provides that Federal grant assistance shall be available to help pay the cost of enforcing codes in such project areas, and as a corollary, requires that the locality shall be required to increase proportionately its total expenditure for code enforcement.

In further support of these objectives, the bill provides that beginning 3 years hence no workable program, which is a prerequisite for urban renewal assistance, will be approved or recertified unless the locality is carrying out an effective program of housing code enforcement. That is quite a section. Very frankly, this particular section is aimed at putting onto the local authorities the responsibility so after 3 years they cannot qualify unless they have an adequate code enforcement at the local level. Had it been carried out over the long years past, we would not have the slums and blight we now have in the cities of this country.

I compliment my distinguished friend from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] for the good work he has done on that particular section.

Regarding code enforcement, Senator DOUGLAS said on July 31, 1964, when the housing bill was under consideration in the Senate:

> I think we should particularly commend Representative WIDNALL, of New Jersey, in the House, and Senator JAVITS in the Senate for calling to our attention the problems of housing code enforcement, and for having a provision incorporated in the act which will encourage town and cities to adopt and enforce housing codes.
>
> If the cities would enforce their housing codes, we could head off a great deal of urban blight, which now calls for urban renewal. The Represeneative from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] first raised this issue in the House, and Senator JAVITS raised it before our committee. The code enforcement provision is included in the bill. We owe them a great debt. It is an instance which shows the way in which we can cooperate across party lines and of how the legislative branch can step out ahead of the executive.

Senator DOUGLAS had this to say on October 1 on the subject of the rehabilitation section of the Housing Act of 1964:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Oct. 1, 1964, p. 22571]

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the Housing Act of 1964 contained an authorization of $50 million for a program of direct loans by the Housing and Home Finance Agency to rehabilitate homes and small businesses in urban renewal areas. Section 312 of that bill would authorize 3-percent loans with a maximum maturity of 20 years to help save the so-called gray areas, or the deteriorating areas in the Nation's towns and cities. Let me say that the program was originally proposed by Representative WIDNALL, of New Jersey, and other Republicans on the House Banking and Currency Committee. I think it is one of the most constructive suggestions which have been made in the field of housing in a great many years and Congressman WIDNALL is deserving of great praise. He has been very constructive throughout and has shown public spirit of the highest order.

The housing bill which the Congress enacted contained this new rehabilitation loan proposal. I have pointed out that it is vital that an effective rehabilitation loan program be implemented since the existing rehabilitation programs have not been fully successful.

Mr. President, the situation that we have faced has been roughly as follows: Areas are allowed to deteriorate because the owners and occupants do not have the money to rehabilitate the buildings in which they live. Because we do not have adequate programs to rehabilitate these areas, they continue to slide rapidly downhill until they are marked for bulldozing under the urban renewal program. In too many cases the families and small business in these areas are forced to relocate elsewhere because large numbers of high-rent dwelling and business units are constructed on the site which has been cleared with Federal grant funds.

This new loan program would prevent the bulldozing of areas suitable for rehabilitation and would permit individuals owning property in those areas to preserve them so they would not have to be completely bulldozed and destroyed.

The members of the Banking and Currency Committee who were conferees on the housing bill strongly supported the new loan program and the conference report drew at-

tention to it. When the President signed the bill on the second of September, he specifically endorsed this new loan program. The President said:

"The plight of property owners in urban renewal areas is recognized in this measure. Provision is made so that they can rehabilitate their homes and businesses instead of having to move from the path of the bulldozers."

In spite of the strong support from the President and Congress, apparently the Budget Bureau has been opposing any formal request for funds to implement the program. Therefore the question of funding this program was not raised in the Appropriations Committee during its consideration of the supplemental bill. I have a generally high opinion of the work of the Budget Bureau. I think a majority of the staff is made up of devoted public servants. But there is a tendency on the part of certain officials who have bureaucratic views to become infuriated at congressional proposals or new ideas generated by the Congress.

The Budget Bureau, in this instance, reminds me of the cruel Marshall Davoust, one of Napoleon's generals. Passing down the lines of his troops for review, Davoust screamed in fury "They breathe." Angered that they should show signs of animation, Davoust tore out from their roots the mustaches of several of his grenadiers.

The Bureau of the Budget appears to have been behaving in a similar fashion over the initiative of Congress in developing good housing programs. It is time it was put in its place. It should be "on tap" but not "on top."

This is a proposal joined in by the Republicans and the Democrats. I am glad in this case our distinguished friend from New York, Senator JAVITS, is a cosponsor.

I think it is about time that we in the Congress assert our rights when the Bureau of the Budget stands in the way of programs, when the Bureau tries to impose bureaucratic opposition not only against Congress but a program which the President of the United States has endorsed.

It is perhaps unusual for me to be proposing an additional $10 million of expenditures, but in this case I feel that it is imperative that the will of Congress be expressed vigorously. I hope that this amendment will be accepted.

The proponents of S. 628, which was taken off the calendar by Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN on September 29, when District of Columbia bills were considered, have stated that the bill's opponents should take their case to the Banking and Currency Committees of the Congress, which have jurisdiction over urban renewal. The most constructive of the critics have clearly done so, and H.R. 12779 and H.R. 12818 offers a new and significant departure from S. 628. There is not one line from the controversial S. 628 in the new bill, and the new bill's sponsors cannot be charged with lack of sympathy for urban renewal, or of any lack of knowledge or concern for the housing problems of America's cities, large or small.

When S. 628 was under consideration on September 29, 1964, Congressman MULTER, a member of the House District Committee said, regarding it, that:

I say that instead of arguing with the committee, it (the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency) should actually develop some plans for low-income housing and middle-income housing in the District, and also some plans for protecting small business in the District of Columbia. If the District agencies devote themselves to that, I believe that when the bill is called up it will have a much easier road, and probably can be enacted. The agencies by their actions can eliminate the necessity for some of the proposed amendments.

The Widnall-Multer bill begins by extending urban renewal to the downtown commercial area of the District of Columbia. It does this by adopting the language of section 216 of S. 3049, the Senate housing bill which passed the Senate July 31, this year. Section 216 had the support of downtown urban renewal proponents. It was not brought up in the House because of a parliamentary objection. This section would meet the demands of the proponents of downtown commercial renewal who maintain that all they want is what other cities have. Since it passed the Senate a year later than S. 628 it represents the latest Senate position on downtown Washington renewal.

Sections 2 and 3 of the Widnall-Multer bill would write into law the housing regulations of the Housing Administrator and the Federal Urban Renewal Commissioner, which apply to U.S. cities and towns. There is no question but that these housing regulations do not adequately protect homeowners and small businessmen in urban renewal project areas, and must be reviewed, revised, and strengthened in the overall public interest by the 89th Congress. Their inclusion in the new Widnall-Multer bill is for study purposes, to bring them to national attention, so that the force of public opinion can be "focused" upon them, and better housing regulations drafted.

Section 4 of the new bill would require that "not less than 50 percent of any rental housing or cooperative housing which may be constructed" in an urban renewal area will be designed for occupancy by low- and middle-income families. The provision was made necessary by the fact that only 4 acres of the 550-acre southwest urban renewal project is given over to such housing, while 546 acres is devoted to luxury housing.

This section based on an amendment offered by Representative LEONARD FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York, who was deeply disturbed by luxury housing in urban renewal projects, especially in New York City where apartments in urban renewal areas rent as high as $246 a room.

Section 5 of the Widnall-Multer bill is a home rule provision requiring that the District Commissioners not approve any redevelopment urban renewal project unless a majority of eligible voters, voting in a referendum, shall approve it. A similar referendum provision was in the original Widnall housing bill, H.R. 9771. This provision is strongly supported by the opponents of the present Adams-Morgan plan, who claim they have been ignored by District officials. Most U.S. citizens have permitted and arranged for referendums on urban renewal bond issues, and citizens everywhere but in Washington can vote city officials out of office, who displease them on urban renewal matters.

Title II of the new Widnall-Multer bill provides just compensation and replacement payments for homeowners and businessmen. Several States have recently rewritten their eminent domain procedures and laws, most notably Pennsylvania, and this new section of this bill is based on these State laws. At the present time, homeowners and small businessmen bear a disproportionate share of the cost of urban renewal, and the Congress has set up a Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition to develop remedial legislation which will make its report in the near future. Title II of the Widnall-Multer bill is adapted from the original Widnall housing and urban renewal bill, H.R. 9771. Early action in the 89th Congress is expected on just compensation legislation by members of both major parties.

Title III contains several miscellaneous sections, including the tax arrangement adopted by the citizens of Arlington County, Va., after they turned down Federal urban renewal as a means of developing their business and residential sections. Both Congressman WIDNALL and Congressman MULTER have long been concerned over the District's tax system, which penalizes property owners who improve their property, and rewards slumlords who let their property deteriorate. Taxes go up on improved property, and down on deteriorating and slum properties.

Title III would permit higher buildings in the District, a proposal long advocated by Engineer Commissioners Clark and Duke, and Walter N. Tobriner, president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Finally, title III of the Widnall-Multer bill would end the present system of grants-in-aid for commercial downtown renewal, and put Federal aid for such commercial renewal projects on a loan basis. Many cities have self-help programs of urban renewal which have not cost the Federal Government a dime. The urban renewal project in Arlington County is a notable example of such self-help, which has not cost the Federal Government money. Its proud citizens, including Representative JOEL T. BROYHILL, have said Arlington's successful program should be an example for the entire Nation. Other examples of self-help are: the Rochester, N.Y., Midtown Plaza project; the Pittsburgh, Pa., Golden Triangle project; and the urban renewal project of Indianapolis, Ind.

Congressman MULTER stated, in introducing H.R. 12818, that:

There are several amendments to S. 628, recommended by the House District of Columbia Committee, which must be considered in any new bill, although not included in the study bill I have introduced today.

I include, as part of my remarks, the text of H.R. 12779, the bill I have introduced to provide true urban renewal in the Nation's Capital, a bill identical to H.R. 12818, which the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER] cosponsored with me.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "District of Co-

lumbia Redevelopment, Planning, and Just Compensation Act of 1964".

TITLE I—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT ACT AMENDMENTS

SEC. 101. Section 20(1) of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is amended by striking out the first parenthetical phrase and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(as such projects are now or may hereafter be defined in title I of the Housing Act of 1949, including but not limited to projects authorized without regard to the residential or nonresidential character or reuse of the urban renewal area)".

SEC. 102. Section 3 of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is amended by striking out subsection (r) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(r) 'Slum area' or 'blighted area' is a residential or nonresidential area, or combination thereof—

"(1) which contains at least two environmental deficiencies,

"(2) in which at least 20 per centum of the buildings contain at least one building deficiency, and

"(3) in all parts of which environmental or building deficiencies are present to a reasonable degree (unless the redevelopment objectives or the necessity of bringing the project to a sound boundary require otherwise).

"(s) 'Environmental deficiency' means—

"(1) overcrowding or improper location of structures on the land,

"(2) excessive dwelling unit density,

"(3) conversions to incompatible types of uses, such as roominghouses among family dwellings,

"(4) obsolete building types, such as large residences or other buildings which through lack of use or maintenance have a blighting influence,

"(5) detrimental land uses or conditions, such as incompatible uses, structures in mixed use, or adverse influences from noise, smoke, or fumes,

"(6) unsafe, congested, poorly designed, or otherwise deficient streets,

"(7) inadequate public utilities or community facilities contributing to unsatisfactory living conditions or economic decline, or

"(8) other equally significant environment deficiencies.

"(t) 'Building deficiency' means—

"(1) defects to a point warranting clearance,

"(2) deteriorating condition because of a defect not correctable by normal maintenance,

"(3) extensive minor defects which, taken collectively are causing the building to have a deteriorating effect on the surrounding area,

"(4) inadequate original construction or alterations,

"(5) inadequate or unsafe plumbing, heating, or electrical facilities, or

"(6) other equally significant building deficiencies."

SEC. 103. The District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 25. Notwithstanding subsection (1) of section 20 or any other provision of this Act, after the date of enactment of this section the District Commissioners shall not approve any slum clearance and redevelopment project (as such term was defined in section 110(c) of the Housing Act of 1949 as amended by section 311 of the Housing Act of 1954) unless the project area is an area—

"(1) in which either—

"(A) more than 50 per centum of the buildings (other than accessory outbuildings) are structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance, or

"(B) more than 20 per centum of the buildings are structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance, and additional clearance, in an amount bringing the total to more than 50 per centum of the buildings, is warranted to effectively remove blighting influences; and

"(2) which does not contain—

"(A) an unjustifiably large number (i) of buildings proposed to be cleared which are structurally sound, or (ii) of parcels proposed to be acquired which are of basically sound property involving high-acquisition costs, or

"(B) any building proposed to be clearer which is (i) of such quality and potential use that its retention is compatible with the achievement of the redevelopment objectives for the affected area, and (ii) capable of being improved and successfully integrated into such area after redevelopment."

SEC. 104. Subsection (d) of section 7 of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is amended by striking out "and (3)" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(3) give satisfactory assurances that not less than 50 per centum of any rental housing or cooperative housing which may be constructed on such real property under the plan will be designed primarily for occupancy by persons from the low- and middle-income segments of the population (as determined by the Agency); and (4)".

SEC. 105. (a) The first sentence of section 20(d) of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is amended to read as follows: "The Administrator is authorized to allow and credit to the District of Columbia such local grants-in-aid as are approvable pursuant to section 110(d) of the Housing Act of 1949 with respect to any project or projects undertaken by the Board of Commissioners under a contract or contracts entered into under this section and assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949."

(b) Section 20(d) of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For the purposes of this subsection, the regular annual Federal contribution to the District of Columbia shall not be considered as a grant or subsidy within the meaning of section 110(d) of the Housing Act of 1949."

SEC. 106. The District of Columbia Redevelopment Act is amended by adding after section 25 the following new section:

"SEC. 26. (a) After the date of enactment of this section the District Commissioners shall not approve any redevelopment project unless a majority of the eligible voters, voting in a referendum conducted in accordance with subsection (c), approve such project.

"(b) For the purposes of this section—

"(1) the term 'eligible voter' means—

"(A) a qualified elector (as defined by section 2 of the Act of August 12, 1955 (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1102)) who resides within the project area;

"(B) a person conducting a business which has an establishment within the project area; and

"(C) a person who owns real property located within the project area.

"(2) the term 'person' means a person as defined in section 1 of title 1, United States Code.

No person shall be entitled to vote more than once in any referendum conducted under this section.

"(c) Each referendum referred to in subsection (a) shall be conducted by the Board of Elections of the District of Columbia (hereinafter referred to as 'Board'). Such referendums shall be held on a date fixed by the District Commissioners which shall be at least thirty days after the District Commissioners direct the Board to conduct such referendum. The Board shall announce the referendum not later than three days after the District Commissioners direct it to hold such referendum, and the Board shall register eligible voters during a two-week period after such announcement and preceding such referendum. No person may vote in such referendum unless he is so registered. The Act entitled 'An Act to regulate the election of delegates representing the District of Columbia to national conventions, and for other purposes', approved August 12, 1955 (D.C. Code, sec. 1–1101 et seq.), shall apply to this section insofar as it is applicable."

TITLE II—JUST COMPENSATION

SEC. 201. The Congress finds that because the courts have given a restrictive construction to the constitutional requirements that private property not be taken without just compensation, owners of and tenants on property condemned by the District of Columbia have suffered financial losses for which they have no legal recourse. The Congress therefore establishes a policy of just compensation with the aim of compensating owners of land and their tenants as fully as possible for losses suffered by reason of the condemnation of such lands by the District of Columbia.

SEC. 202. For the purposes of this title—

(a) The term "parcel" means a contiguous area of land in the District of Columbia in which one person has a possessory or fee simple interest, or several persons have an undivided possessory of fee simple interest.

(b) The term "interest" means any interest in real property in the District of Columbia and includes future, nonpossessory, and leasehold interests.

(c) The term "District of Columbia" includes any department, agency, or instrumentality of the District of Columbia which takes or damages an interest in real property in the District of Columbia.

SEC. 203 (a) Except as provided in subsection (b) the owner of an interest in a parcel taken or damaged (within the meaning of section 7) by the District of Columbia shall receive compensation equal (in the case of a complete taking) to the actual value of the interest taken, or (in the case of damage or a partial taking) to the net diminution in actual value of the interest taken or damaged.

(b) The owner of an interest in a parcel taken or damaged (within the meaning of section 7) by the District of Columbia shall receive compensation equal to the replacement cost of his interest in the parcel if—

(1) he replaces or reproduces his interest in the parcel as a proximate result of—

(A) such taking or the imminence thereof, or (B) such damage or the imminence thereof if such damage will render the parcel substantially unfit for the use to which he theretofore put it, and

(2) replacement cost exceeds the compensation to which he is entitled under subsection (a).

(c) Any person entitled to compensation under subsection (a) or (b) shall also be entitled to reasonable attorney's fees incurred in securing such compensation.

SEC. 204. Each head of a department, agency, or instrumentality of the Dsitrict of Columbia, as soon as he ascertains that he will take or damage an interest in a parcel, shall estimate the amount of compensation to which each person will be entitled under section 3 by reason of such taking or damage. Upon application of the person so entitled, such head of a department, agency, or instrumentality shall make an advance payment of 90 per centum of such estimated amount. Advance payments shall be available to such person not later than fifteen days after notice of taking of the parcel (or, in the case of damage, notice of taking of the adjacent parcel). In the event that the amount due such person, after final judgment in eminent domain or other proceedings, exceeds the amount of the advance payment, the excess shall bear interest from the date of such notice.

SEC. 205. (a) For the purposes of this title, actual value of an interest (other than a tenant's interest in a leasehold) is the greatest amount a prospective purchaser would have offered for the interest had it been offered for sale on the date of taking.

(b) The actual value of a tenant's interest in a leasehold is the greatest amount that would be offered to purchase the tenant's interest by a prospective assignee willing to assume the obligations of the lease.

(c) Net diminution of actual value is the amount by which the actual value of an interest in a parcel before the parcel is taken or damaged exceeds the market value of such interest after such taking or damage.

(d) In computing the actual value of an interest under subsections (a), (b), and (c), there shall be excluded any change in value resulting from the imminence of the taking or damage of the interest.

SEC. 206. (a) For the purposes of this title, replacement is the entire cost of acquiring a substantially similar interest to reproduce the interest which the owner or occupant previously possessed, including—

(1) the purchase price of land, buildings, improvements, and equipment necessary to reproduce the interest which the owner or occupant previously possessed;

(2) all moving expenses, including expenses incidental to the move for storage, insurance, and temporary quarters;

(3) profits lost and overhead expenses incurred during any period of interruption of a business and, in the case of a landlord, loss of rentals resulting from tenants' departure because of the imminence of the taking;

(4) installation of fixtures and equipment in the new location;

(5) costs of advertising and special promotions incidental to reopening a business;

(6) attorney's fees, commissions, and other costs incidental to acquiring the new property; and

(7) duplication of taxes, interest, and rent.

(b) In cases where a person replaces an interest which he previously possessed with property substantially different in value, allowance shall be made in the computation of the purchase price under subsection (a) (1) to reflect such difference. Market value of the interest which such person previously possessed may be considered in fixing the allowance.

(c) In cases where this section applies to parcels partly taken or damaged there shall be a deduction from replacement cost equal to the market value (after the taking or damage) of the parcel replaced.

SEC. 207. (a) For the purposes of this title, a taking is any acquisition by means of eminent domain of the right of possession to any parcel or to a part of a parcel or the title to any interest in a parcel or part of a parcel.

(b) For the purposes of this title, a parcel is damaged if—

(1) the exercise by the District of Columbia of the power of eminent domain results in a net diminution of the actual value of the parcel, and

(2) the parcel is adjacent to a parcel taken by the District of Columbia.

SEC. 208. This title shall not apply to any proceedings in eminent domain commenced before the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS

SEC. 301. The following provisions of law regulating the height of buildings in the District of Columbia are repealed:

(1) An Act entitled "An Act to regulate the height of buildings in the District of Columbia", approved June 1, 1910 (36 Stat. 452; D.C. Code, secs. 5–401—5–409), as amended.

(2) Section 6 of the Act of June 20, 1938 (52 Stat. 798; D.C. Code, sec. 5–418).

SEC. 302. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, real property in the District of Columbia shall be assessed for purposes of the real property tax at its fair market value (or at a ratio of such value applied uniformly throughout the District), determined on the basis of its highest and best use in conformity with applicable zoning laws and regulations regardless of the actual improvements or lack of improvements thereon.

SEC. 303. (a) Section 102 of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) In connection with any project on land in the District of Columbia which is to be redeveloped for nonresidential and nonpublic use, the Administrator may make loans to the District of Columbia or local public agencies. Such loans shall be in such amounts not exceeding two-thirds of the aggregate net project cost of the projects, be secured in such manner, and be repaid within such period (not exceeding ten years from the date of the obligations evidencing the loans), as may be deemed advisable by the Administrator. Such loans shall bear interest at such rate (not less than the going Federal rate plus one-half of 1 per centum) as the Administrator may specify; except that such a loan shall bear no interest for any period prior to the date on which the land involved is sold or otherwise disposed of by the District of Columbia or local public agency for redevelopment. The provisions of this section which are applicable to loans made pursuant to subsections (a) and (b) shall apply to loans made pursuant to this subsection to the extent not inconsistent with the provisions of this subsection."

(b) Section 103(a)(1) of such Act is amended by adding before the period at the end thereof the following ": *And provided further*, That the Administrator shall not make any contract for capital grant with respect to a project in the District of Columbia the reuse of which will be predominantly nonresidential and nonpublic, except as specifically provided in clause (2) of the last paragraph of section 110(c)".

(c) Section 110(c) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"With respect to the District of Columbia, financial assistance shall not be extended under this title with respect to any urban renewal area in the District of Columbia which is not predominantly residential in character and which, under the urban renewal plan therefor, is not to be redeveloped for predominantly residential or public uses; except that (1) if the governing body of the local public agency determines that the redevelopment of such area for predominantly nonresidential or nonpublic uses is necessary for the proper development of the community, the Administrator may extend financial assistance under section 102(h) for an urban renewal project in such area providing such redevelopment, and (2) if the governing body of the local public agency certifies to the Administrator, and the Administrator affirmatively finds, that all residential redevelopment which is necessary or appropriate in the community (including but not limited to the residential redevelopment necessary to carry out the workable program in full) has been completed, and that specific additional nonresidential redevelopment is necessary for the proper development of the community, the Administrator may extend financial assistance under section 102(h), or under section 103(a) (but only within the limits imposed by this paragraph as in effect immediately prior to the enactment of this Act), for a project in such area providing such additional nonresidential redevelopment."

Congressman Sherman Lloyd

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleague, the gentleman from Utah, in expressing my deep respect for SHERMAN LLOYD. During his brief 2 years in Congress, he has demonstrated himself to be a man of the highest integrity, tremendous energy, courage, and conviction. His dedication to his party and his country has been apparent throughout his service. It has been a high privilege for me to serve with this able legislator and dedicated American.

Congressman Shriver Reports on 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my policy of informing the citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas of my activities as their Congressman in the U.S. House of Representatives, I submit for the RECORD this fourth annual report which highlights the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

The Congress actually has been in almost continuous session since January, 1963. The first session of the 88th Congress was the fifth longest in our Nation's history—ending finally on December 30, 1963. The second session ended on October 3, 1964.

SHRIVER VOTING RECORD

More than 15,000 bills and resolutions were introduced during the 88th Congress in both the House and Senate. Your Congressman since coming to the House of Representatives has an attendance record of 95 percent.

It would be impossible, of course, to discuss in this report the more than 635 public laws passed in the 88th Congress. There are many which I supported, and others I opposed as not in the best interest of my Nation and district. My decisions were based upon careful deliberation, the views of my constituents, and my considered judgment of each proposal.

Following is a partial summary of important actions and my voting position:

Tax reduction: I voted for personal and corporate tax cuts amounting to $11.5 billion after the President reduced total budget requests to Congress for fiscal 1965 by $3.6 billion. I supported action which further reduced the President's budget by another $4 billion, further justifying the tax reduction.

Defense appropriations: I supported the Defense Department appropriations for fiscal 1965 in the amount of $46.7 billion and I insisted upon additional research and development funds requested by the Air Force for a new follow-on manned aircraft.

Education: I supported a program of grants and loans for college building construction, an expanded vocational educational program, and extension of the National Defense Education Act and Public Laws 874 and 815 which provide financial assistance to federally impacted school districts. The Fourth District

will be receiving approximately $2½ million in such assistance. It was my privilege to sponsor successfully legislation extending Public Laws 874 and 815 for a 2-year period in the 1st session of the 88th Congress. In addition, I successfully sponsored legislation extending Federal payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned facilities to school districts, such as Derby and the Sedgwick County schools.

Social security: I supported in the House a bipartisan measure increasing social security benefits for our senior citizens to keep up with the increased cost of living. Unfortunately, the administration leadership in the Senate refused to delete a hastily added medicare program to be financed by a substantial increase in social security taxes.

Foreign policy: I supported a joint resolution passed by the Congress, and requested by the President, supporting a policy of American determination and firmness in Vietnam. I also supported a Republican motion to reduce foreign aid spending by $248 million with cuts in economic assistance funds. When this effort failed, I opposed the foreign aid appropriation bill calling for expenditure of $3.3 billion this year.

Federal pay raise: At a time when we are asking labor and management to hold the line and check inflation, I could not conscientiously vote for a bill to raise my own salary as well as the salaries of many high Government officials. Without question, there are Federal employees in the low and medium salary range who need salary adjustment, but we were dealing with an omnibus bill containing a great number of unacceptable and costly provisions.

Debt ceiling: Congress has raised the debt ceiling six times in little more than 2 years. I have opposed these increases each time. The last increase moved the debt ceiling to $324 billion. Our present debt is over $315 billion.

Conservation: I supported significant legislation passed by Congress this year which will establish a land and water conservation fund to aid development of greater recreation facilities and create water resources research centers throughout the Nation.

Poverty bill: The war against poverty is not new. However, in this election year the majority in Congress succeeded in creating a vast new bureau and authorized more than $1 billion in spending on various retread programs of the thirties. I have supported the efforts of many private organizations, local and State governments as well as the 42 existing programs of the Federal Government which long have been fighting poverty.

SHRIVER COMMITTEE SERVICE

It was my privilege to continue my service as a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary. The committee this year held extensive hearings on a number of legislative proposals which would permit voluntary prayer in the public schools. Significant civil rights legislation was also reported from the committee and passed by Congress.

In the 88th Congress, I served as ranking member of the Claims Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. Forty-three public and six hundred and fifty-five private bills were assigned to the subcommittee. The subcommittee gave full and careful consideration to these measures which requested appropriations of over $15 million. Favorable action was recommended on only 245, and 199 of these carried appropriations of less than a million dollars—a savings of over $14 million.

SERVING CONSTITUENTS

In addition to the important legislative responsibilities of this congressional office, I have continued to assist and serve my constituents, to the best of my ability, in their individual relationships and problems with the Federal Government.

During the year my staff and I held 540 conferences with 62 different agencies in Washington in behalf of the Fourth District citizens.

We received and replied to over 1,200 requests for Government publications, documents, and information.

I have read personally each piece of mail addressed to me from my district, and have dictated the replies to these communications. It may be of interest that from January 1 until October 3, 1964, I received approximately 20,000 first-class communications from constituents.

It was gratifying to have nearly 1,300 Kansans sign the guest book in my Washington office during this 2d session of the 88th Congress.

OPINION POLL

Approximately 72,000 questionnaires were mailed to Fourth District citizens with the help of volunteers this year. More than 13,000 citizens returned their opinion polls to me for tabulation. I respect the opinions of my constituents on the important issues of our time. Throughout my tenure in Congress, these polls have been helpful to me in determining the thinking of Kansans on domestic and international legislative matters.

PERSONAL CONTACT

In addition to the annual poll and the mail from home, I have made frequent trips back to the district for personal visitations and speeches. In 1964, I returned to the Fourth District from Washington on the average of twice monthly.

FLOOD CONTROL-WATER CONSERVATION

Fourth District public works projects for flood control purposes received appropriations totaling $5,228,000 for the 1965 fiscal year. The Cheney Reservoir, which will be a reality in 1965, is scheduled to receive $1,480,000; $3 million was appropriated for continued construction of the Marion Reservoir and Dam; and $688,000 was appropriated for continued construction on the Council Grove Dam. In addition, $60,000 was approved for a continuing study of flood control problems on the Arkansas River, including the Halstead and Sedgwick areas.

ACADEMY COMPETITION

Each year it is my privilege to make certain nominations to the outstanding service academies of our Nation. Nominees selected by me compete in academy-administered examinations for the final appointments. Those chosen by the academies in 1964 were as follows: Richard E. Nelson, of Burdick, Kans., U.S. Air Force Academy; Neil D. Hughes, of Goddard, Kans.; James R. Swinney, of Wichita, Kans., and Wallace Co. Magathan III, of Marion, Kans., U.S. Military Academy; Harland W. Jones, Jr., of Wichita, Kans., and Richard Lee Masters, of Wichita, Kans., U.S. Naval Academy.

I take this opportunity to extend my sincere appreciation to the citizens of my district for their cooperation and support. It is a pleasure and privilege for me to represent them in Congress.

The Honorable Don Bruce

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS].

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding so that I may asosciate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman in the well, the remarks of the minority leader and of our colleagues from the State of Indiana.

DON BRUCE has spoken often for me in my district in Maryland and I am very happy to say a few words for him and to him today in the House. On many occasions DON has come into Maryland at my request to address various groups on matters of public interest. He has always brought with him good will, good information, and has brought to the audiences that he has addressed a new concept and understanding of public issues.

In the time we have served in the House together—and we came here together—DON BRUCE and I have on occasion differed on specific issues, but I think that the votes that we have cast have all been good Republican votes in the sense that we are both seeking to preserve in this country individual freedom, to preserve and maintain the marketplace of America as a center of free enterprise.

DON'S many visits to Maryland have emphasized the fact that the party in which we share membership is a great national party, drawing from its roots many sources of inspiration and guidance and comprehending all the concerns and interests of America.

I hope that as DON goes on to other work he will continue to carry with him this message that our party is one of the great and positive influences which is moving forward in America today, covering a broad spectrum of American life.

I thank the gentleman.

Final Report of 88th Congress to the People of the 3d Congressional District, New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in this Congress I have sent out to my constituents three comprehensive reports on my activities in Washington. The following is the last of these three:

YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

(FROM: STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN, Representative, Third District, New York)

DEAR FRIEND: The 88th Congress, now closes its books, after 2 long, busy years of proposals, deliberations, debates, votes—and solid accomplishments.

A legislative body must be judged not only by the wise, prudent, necessary laws it enacts, but also by the unwise, imprudent, unnecessary measures it rejects. The 88th has had its share of both. On balance, this Congress has been one of achievement. It has been a long Congress; our 1963 session lasted until Christmas, and this 1964 session continued far beyond our normal summer adjournment date. Even so, I have been recorded on better than 92 percent of our House votes.

After the late President Kennedy submitted his 1963 legislative program, I sent you my first report (March 1963) on the prospects for the 88th Congress. In March 1964, after President Kennedy's tragic death and the succession of President Johnson, I sent you my second report covering 1963 and the outlook for 1964. This, my third and final report on the 88th, summarizes what we've accomplished in the past 8 months.

The tax cut has become law. I voted for the 1964 tax-cut bill because (unlike the 1963 proposal) it was coupled with the President's firm promise to cut spending, and his budget trimmed to that end. As a member of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, I have always supported lower taxes, as a stimulant to individual and business initiative—the foundation of our free enterprise system. But—lower taxes mean less Government income, and therefore must be matched by less U.S. spending, to prevent big deficits and increased debt. The President's bill recognized this principle of balance between income and expenses.

It's simple enough to promise a balanced budget, but only stern attention to Government economy can assure that the promise is kept. I have voted no on those Presidential and congressional spending proposals which are unnecessary or too high, and which would throw the budget into the red.

There is still plenty of room for improvement in our tax structure. I was most pleased to hear the President propose 1965 cuts in consumer excise taxes on items ranging from lipsticks to auto tires to phone calls. For years, I have been urging that such taxes be eliminated. Most of them were passed as temporary, "emergency" wartime levies; the emergencies have long ended, and these taxes must go.

A stabilized U.S. debt limit would encourage balanced budgets. If our national debt (now more than $1,700 for every person in America) hits a firm, legally limited ceiling, there can be no more borrowing to cover new deficits caused by excessive spending—which must then stop. This June, I cast my fourth vote of this Congress against another increase in the debt limit, this time to $324 billion. Unfortunately, the increase passed; the "debt limit" is really no limit at all.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has become law. I voted for it, as I have for earlier laws to protect the rights of all Americans regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. We must now give this new law a chance to work—to be tested in the courts and in practice, the American way.

Violence, bloodshed, bombing, looting, destruction, attacks on law-enforcement officers—none of these has any place in our country. Wherever these crimes occur, whoever may be responsible for inciting them, they hurt the cause of freedom. Terror in the streets must stop.

Americans believe in the rule of law—not the rule of the mob.

"Busing" of schoolchildren beyond their home neighborhoods is the concern of many people who've communicated with me. There is a Federal interest here; we are regularly asked to help the States cover expenses of their schools. Extradistance "busing" would add to those expenses—unnecessarily, I feel.

I firmly believe that carting children away from nearby schools, whether to achieve a greater "racial mix" or for any other reason, is wrong. Parents buy homes with neighborhood schools in mind; no mother, whatever her race, wants her child to spend extra, tiring hours riding between home and a distant school. I oppose any use of Federal funds to finance the breakup of our neighborhood school system.

The right of Americans to pray in public places still is not guaranteed. Since I signed the petition to force House consideration of the "school prayer amendment," stalled in committee, hearings have been held. If and when the amendment reaches the floor, I shall vote for it. Failure to add the right to public prayer to our specific constitutional guarantees cannot be postponed.

An increasing flood of obscene and pornographic material in the U.S. mails, directed mainly at impressionable youngsters, led me to support new legislation strengthening the ban on use of the mails by profit-seeking smut peddlers.

Reapportionment of State legislatures is a major issue, now that the Supreme Court has told all the States to reapportion both their legislative houses on the basis of population alone. As an attorney and a student of constitutional law, I do not agree that this was ever intended by the Founding Fathers—who deliberately set up the U.S. Senate on the geographical basis of two Senators per State, without regard to population. Why an opposite standard for the States? Of the remedies suggested for this unprecedented ruling, I prefer the DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, approach: a delay, to amend the Constitution leaving the matter in the hands of the people of the States, where it properly belongs.

The Urban Mass Transport Act, a Presidential proposal designed to help States solve their mounting problems of large-scale transportation of people and goods through ever-more-congested city and suburban areas, has become law. I voted for it; it should prove beneficial to Long Island's residents and economy.

The Defense Department must shoulder the blame for new unemployment in our aircraft and defense-related industries which depend largely upon U.S. contracts. The ingenuity, efficiency, and capability of our local firms are every bit as great as they ever were—but the Department's arbitrary policy of sudden and unannounced contract shifts and cancellations, abandonment of multimillion-dollar projects, closing of vital installations, and deactivation of Reserve units has caused undue hardship.

All of our Long Island Congressmen, regardless of party, have voted for the Defense Department's fund requests. Through the bipartisan "New York Steering Committee" of six, headed by Representative CELLER, Democrat, of Brooklyn, and of which I am a member, we are protesting this hasty downgrading of Long Island defense industries and lack of reconversion planning, and demanding to know the reasons behind it.

"Medicare," the King-Anderson bill to provide limited hospital and nursing-home accommodations for the aged under social security, died in our Ways and Means Committee when its own author, Representative KING, Democrat, of California, declined to offer it for a vote. He proposed instead a new social security amendment raising payments 5 percent (with higher taxes and wage base to cover them), making widows eligible at 60 and covering certain groups previously omitted. Our committee approved Mr. KING's proposal, 25 to 0, and I voted for it when it passed the House.

Promedicare witnesses before our committee have not been able to prove their claim that this law is badly needed; to learn for myself the extent of the need in our area, I asked (in my March 1964 report) for information about any residents 65 or older who were denied physician-prescribed hospital or after-hospital nursing-home care because they were unable to pay for it. I am sincerely interested in this matter.

My request was sent to more than 90,000 homes in our district. In the ensuing 7 months, I have received exactly four replies, which are being appropriately handled—without any so-called pauper's oath.

Our foreign policy continues to drift in what I again say is a risky, futile, foredoomed attempt to conciliate the Communists while spending billions to keep them in check. My request that the administration convert its shotgun foreign aid program to the intelligently pinpointed plan recommended by students of the problem, whereby our true friends abroad would be helped, has been ignored. I voted "no" on what I considered an excessive budget for this present slapdash aid, and "no" on U.S. export payments for products shipped to Communist countries, as well as the sale of surplus farm goods to Red Poland and Yugoslavia. There is ample evidence that much of what we send is diverted to the U.S.S.R.

The hapless Lao control commission, a United States mistake which has permitted Laos to fall largely into Communist hands, thereby becoming a "privileged" corridor for Red troop movements into embattled Vietnam, asked us for an uncontrolled, "open-end," unbudgeted appropriation of "necessary" funds. My vote was "no."

In Vietnam itself, Americans die. Defense Secretary McNamara commutes between Washington and Saigon, issuing alternately cheerful and gloomy statements as one government after another is toppled by student mobs or military coups—while the Red Vietcong pushes closer toward a victory which would surrender the heart of southeast Asia to Red Chinese domination.

The House unanimously supported President Johnson's naval counterattack against North Vietnamese warships which attacked units of our 7th Fleet, and against their land bases. We would have approved a stronger resolution, had one been offered. Attacks against Americans cannot be permitted to go unpunished—anywhere.

The House also voted unanimously that the United States keep trying to have U.N. arrears paid up by delinquent nations. The U.N. Charter (art. 19) takes away a member's vote in the General Assembly when unpaid assessments equal or exceed its 2-year payments. This should be enforced; it hasn't been. The United States now pays a heavy share of the U.N.'s expenses. We shouldn't have to pay other people's bills.

Castro remains in tight control of Cuba. The Russians, brought in 2 years ago, leave

only after they've taught Cubans how to fire surface-to-air missiles that knock our intelligence planes out of the sky. There is no effective embargo against sales or shipments to Cuba by other countries—the embargo I have been urging since 1962. And we still aren't sure those big missiles are gone. However, the Organization of American States (OAS) has finally accepted as fact what I have been pointing out for 2 years—that Castro is exporting Communist revolution throughout Latin America. All OAS governments (with the important exception of Mexico) have voted to end diplomatic and economic ties with Castro. Even though our State Department says it wasn't, this was a victory for U.S. policy in this hemisphere.

Our outdated immigration laws must be changed. By bill (H.R. 10893) to reunite families here by granting nonquota status which permits relatives abroad to enter the United States more easily, has been referred to the proper committee. I shall press for its passage; fortunately, I have been able to help in individual hardship cases in the past—now the law itself must do the job.

Our farm policy needs an overhaul. Continuing subsidies to wheat and cotton growers amount to bread and garment taxes, because they keep the cost of food and clothing high—while 80 percent of subsidy payments go to 20 percent of the farmers, the larger co-ops. Other subsidies to mill owners and exporters make this a triple handout of your tax money. I voted against this program and against the meat import quotas and price-pegging coffee deals which artificially boost consumer prices of these items.

The cleverly named antipoverty bill became law—without my support. I've been in Congress long enough not to vote for a bill just because of its high sounding title. We now spend $32 billion yearly aiding those who need help—only national defense gets a bigger share of the U.S. budget. The $1-billion-per-year poverty program, duplicating 42 U.S. programs now in effect, will cost New York taxpayers $200 million in 1965, without finding any jobs for anyone or helping the elderly. There are two ways to end poverty in America: promote the economy by building confidence, and focus special efforts on real problem areas. This law does neither.

Some other major bills acted upon since last March (with my vote and my reasons, if not self-evident, and final House action) include pay increases for U.S. employees, including Congressmen (yes, but only if effective after a new Congress is elected; passed). Better housing for servicemen (yes; passed). Establishment of a Technology Commission to study the effects of automation (yes; passed) and a land and water conservation fund (yes; passed). Earmark of 35 percent of Navy funds for private shipyards (no; this would have supported U.S. closing of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. It passed).

Revise veterans' disability and death pensions (yes; long overdue; unanimously passed). Housing Act of 1964 (yes; passed). A Canal Study Commission to report on a second transoceanic canal to supplement the obsolescent Panama Canal (yes; passed). Pesticide research to determine overall effects of bug killer drugs (yes; passed). The Agricultural Trade Act to sell surplus U.S. farm goods abroad, except to Red governments (yes; passed).

Again let me say that I do appreciate your letters, wires, calls, and visits to my office (room 1627, New House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515). I have been able to represent you better because you have let me know where you stand and why. Please keep your comments coming. I continue to be proud and honored to represent you.

Yours Congressman,

STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN.

The Metropolitan Dade County Community Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, prejudice is the most resisting barrier to equal opportunity for minority groups. Although the force of law can help break the barrier, it will take the understanding and the testimony of conscience which change minds and hearts to cause the barrier of prejudice to fall completely.

It is natural that the minds and hearts of men are formed by the prevailing views of the community in which they are born and live. And it is natural that the prevailing views of a community are determined largely by what the most respected men of the community recognize as right and just. Responsibility for the demise of prejudice rests largely with such men—the leaders in religion, in education, in business, in civic affairs, and politics.

Dade County, Fla., has given an example to every community in the Nation. The Negro in Dade County will be finding increasing opportunities in education, employment, and housing, as well as access to public acommodations because community leaders of both races in Dade County assumed responsibility for bringing about in the minds and hearts of men a new recognition of human dignity and of the right to equal opportunity.

In the spring of 1963, religious leaders of Dade County, headed by Bishop Coleman F. Carroll of the Catholic Diocese of Miami, joined with other community leaders and with the Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce to urge formation of an interracial relations committee.

Bishop Carroll, aside from his responsibilities within the Catholic diocese, is a great community leader. He has gone far beyond the call of his duties, and has interested himself in the problems of the aged, education, the Cuban refugees, and the betterment and welfare of all citizens. He has given, unstintingly, his time and his efforts to community and civic endeavors.

On June 11, 1963, the Dade County Board of County Commissioners established the Metropolitan Dade County Community Relations Board. The Community Relations Board is made up of white and Negro leaders in the fields of religion, education, medicine, business and industry, and journalism.

The prevailing views of a community are based on inner consent. The community relations board bases its activities on just this immutable truth. It undertakes to evoke a wholehearted recognition of the worth and rights of every person regardless of race, creed, or color. It necessarily undertakes to do so by means of conciliation, of educational programs, and of studies and reports.

The board effected remarkable progress in community relations during its first year of existence. It has done so entirely by means of advice and persuasion. In this way men will come to see eye-to-eye and to adjust themselves willingly to the rights of others.

The community relations board is divided into four main committees dealing with four areas of social conflict: education, employment, housing, and public accommodations.

The education committee undertook a study of the connection between segregation in schools and quality of education. It has surveyed the extent of such segregation. And it has investigated the steps which other communities have taken to assure equal educational opportunity.

The Education and Employment Committees have cooperated in a program with school executive personnel and guidance counselors to encourage Negroes to obtain through scholastic and vocational training more education and skills corresponding to new job opportunities.

Among other accomplishments, the Employment Committee recommended to the Florida State Employment Service that a pilot project be set up to promote employment of members of minority groups.

The Housing Committee has undertaken to persuade builders, realtors, and bankers to adopt voluntarily fair housing practices. On June 9 and 10, 1964, the committee, together with the FHA and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in Housing, sponsored a seminar on open housing. With the assistance of the Communications Committee, which provides media for communications with the public, the Housing Committee has undertaken a program of community education regarding housing. The Housing Committee has, moreover, sought to mediate situations in which blockbusting was allegedly attempted.

The Public Accommodations Committee, through mediation and conciliation, has persuaded several motels and restaurants to serve all customers who are well-behaved and properly dressed regardless of race or color.

For the future, the Dade County Community Relations Board will attempt to persuade businessmen to undertake an equal opportunity employers program. It plans further research and expects to make recommendations regarding equal opportunity in education. And it is determined to elicit sympathetic understanding of Negroes' housing problems.

The new Federal Community Relations Service created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has a purpose similar to that of the Dade County Community Relations Board. It is the duty of the Federal Service "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States."

The Service has no authority to coerce anyone by the force of law. It can attempt conciliation only if it is invited to enter a dispute by one or both sides. It is meant to establish such communication between parties that mutual recognition of rights and duties—recognition which can hardly be coerced or forced—will ensue.

President Johnson could not have found a man better qualified by experience and understanding to head the Community Relations Service than LeRoy Collins.

Governor Collins exemplifies the finest qualities of southern statesmanship. Years of experience as Florida State representative, senator, and Governor have enabled him to acquire unusual understanding of the just hopes of the Negro community. His profound respect for the rights of all persons—moral rights as well as legal rights—qualify him to bring about through conciliation willing assent to the obligations of justice. Governor Collins himself said:

This work of justice for all can succeed if the great mass of Americans will try. But it will take good neighbors acting with responsibility. It will take good manners and self-discipline, along with respect for law. The Community Relations Service will provide a means for achieving compliance without lawsuits. (Quoted on back of pamphlet entitled: "Facts About the Community Relations Service," August 1964.)

During July of this year, Mr. Collins, together with Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, former Governor of North Carolina, and Buford Ellington, former Governor of Tennessee, visited the Governors of several States—Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee—to offer Federal conciliation service.

Gov. Albertis Harrison, of Virginia, said:

These gentlemen hope very much their service will not be needed, but if it is, it will be available. It will come at the local level if invited and if it can be helpful (Washington, D.C., Evening Star, July 16, 1964, p. A-2.)

Gov. Terry Sanford, of North Carolina, said:

I'm impressed that the Service is not an enforcement agency. It will serve to better relations of good will. (Ibid.)

Cooperation between local community relations services like that of Dade County and the Federal Community Relations Service should create a network of conciliation assistance capable of bringing about nationwide consensus regarding interracial justice. Such a consensus is the only sure and enduring foundation of rights.

The Honorable Harry R. Sheppard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the close of this 88th Congress the service of a most able and dedicated colleague of ours here in the House of Representatives, the Honorable HARRY R. SHEPPARD of California, also draws to a close. HARRY's decision to retire is a regrettable one for the people of the United States. The efficient and untiring efforts that he has expended as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Construction of the House Committee on Appropriations have been a principal factor in the military strength of this country.

After 28 years of service here in the House of Representatives, HARRY SHEPPARD has more than earned the right to put aside the heavy responsibilities he has shouldered so ably these many years and enjoy his retirement.

In the many years that it has been my privilege to work with HARRY SHEPPARD, both of us being chairman of subcommittees of the House Appropriations Committee, a close friendship developed between us, a friendship that I shall miss, as well as the counsel and advice he has always so wisely given. I hope that opportunities to renew this friendship will present themselves often in the coming years.

The record that HARRY SHEPPARD has made in the history of the House of Representatives should be an example for his successor. He will be sorely missed not only by his many friends here in Congress but also by the people of his district and the entire Nation.

Hon. Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, ROLAND V. LIBONATI, has had an assessment of his character made today by the Congress of which he has been a Member for so long. As a lawyer this record will mean a great deal to him. It is a measure of his worth as it has been judged by his colleagues and it weighs heavily in his favor. Not in memory can one recall such acclaim. He has been appreciated by his fellows, and from their judgment has come a picture of the coplete man—a great legislator—constant in his devotion to his duties—knowledgeable in the matters before him for consideration—successful in seeking their solution—and always with a compassionate regard for his fellow Americans. A devoted husband who has had as a source of strength by his side his wonderful and charming wife—Jeannette; a fond father who looks with pride and joy upon a son who follows in his footsteps in training for the law at the Yale Law School; a friend in the true sense of that word to all who have served with him in the House.

I have a strong personal affection for LIBBY and his family. He is an unusual man with talents so diverse and capacities so large that every contact with him becomes an experience in itself. He may rest with pride for he has left a mark on all of us which cannot but help us in the work we do. We will miss LIBBY, as is clearly evident and we wish him success and good health in the years ahead.

Barry Goldwater's "Where I Stand"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, many of us in the Republican Party are concerned over the numerous misrepresentations of the positions taken by BARRY GOLDWATER on various issues facing our country today.

As assistant to the chairman of the Republican platform committee for domestic affairs, it was my responsibility to study the suggested platform planks from each of our possible nominees. I was impressed that these suggestions were 95 percent in agreement. In San Francisco, we openly debated our 5-percent disagreement; now it is time that we talked about the 95-percent area where our differences are with the Johnson administration.

President Lyndon Johnson has fuzzed his record by talking about some conservative objectives, while pushing through Congress measures that contradict his words.

When it comes to balancing a budget in times of prosperity, controlling inflation, giving our farmers control over their own management decisions, preserving States rights and States responsibilities, defending the individual from incessant bureaucratic intrusion, and pursuing peace through a policy of firmness and strength, we are united as Republicans. These are but a few of the many policies enunciated in our 1964 Republican platform, "For the People." Republicans stand united upon them, while the Johnson administration has, at best, given lipservice to them.

BARRY GOLDWATER has spoken out in this campaign in favor of a constitutional amendment to permit prayer and Bible reading under voluntary circumstances in our public schools and in public places. He has spoken out for a constitutional amendment to permit States to apportion one house of their State legislature on a basis other than population. The Republican platform calls for both these amendments. The Democratic platform is silent on both issues. It is my conviction that the opposition is avoiding the discussion of such crucial issues facing our country today by misrepresenting the position of BARRY GOLDWATER on tactical nuclear weapons, social security and a myriad of other issues.

I recommend to my colleagues and to all Americans a careful reading of the book, "Where I stand," by BARRY GOLDWATER. This is a clear, honest, and direct statement by Mr. GOLDWATER himself. It is an answer to those who misquote or distort the position of BARRY GOLDWATER for partisan purposes. I am

sending copies of this book to all of my Republican committeemen in the 38th Congressional District and to others who have contributed substantially to the Republican cause.

Nebraska First District Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, I recently submitted a series of 10 questions to every mailing address in the First District of Nebraska. The questions covered current issues in Congress. The answers I have received indicate majority opinion in the First Nebraska District is not in tune with the administration.

In fact, as I read and reread the answers, I am convinced that this administration and the First District are miles apart in thinking. What this administration regards as progress my people apparently look upon as sheer waste.

Many replies carried marginal notes, two of which are unusual enough to bear repeating. The note were written in reference to question No. 1 which asked: "Do you think our crash program to land a man on the moon is worth its cost?" One reply said: "If God had wanted them on the moon, he would have created them there."

Another said: "What is the administration trying to do? Create another country to help with foreign aid?"

Here are the questions and the percentage of answers "yes" and "no":

	Percent—		
	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you think our crash program to land a man on the moon is worth its cost?	26.0	72.0	2.0
2. Do you believe government spending in excess of its income is good for the economy?	10.0	89.0	1.0
3. Should we continue to guarantee credit for Communist purchase of wheat or other commodities?	11.0	87.5	1.5
4. Do you favor legislation limiting imports?	68.0	21.0	11.0
5. Do you favor medicare for the aged financed by an increase in social security taxes?	26.0	72.5	1.5
6. Do you favor the new Federal program on poverty?	26.0	65.0	9.0
7. Do you favor a reduction in Federal control and regulation of agriculture?	81.0	16.0	3.0
8. Do you think we should make sizable reductions in our foreign aid expenditures?	82.0	16.0	2.0
9. Are you satisfied with the way the administration has handled the Cuban problem?	31.5	62.5	6.0
10. Do you favor the admission of Red China to the United Nations?	11.5	85.0	3.5

Hon. Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, ALBERT RAINS, who has devoted the best part of his life to representing his fellow man in the legislative halls of both the State legislature of his native State of Alabama and the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., has announced his retirement from the House.

It has often been said that probably one of the largest investments the average man will ever make in his life is the purchase of a home, and ALBERT RAINS has worked hard and long to provide the best home loan program in the world. He is recognized as a foremost authority in this field. Many of his bills to provide better farm housing, college housing, and nursing homes are now law of the land.

ALBERT RAINS was always concerned with the little man, and I know that whatever he undertakes in the future, this concern will always be with him.

Peruvian Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, Aerolineas Peruanos—Peruvian Airlines—with offices in principle cities throughout this hemisphere including Washington, D.C., and Miami, Fla., started flying in 1957 and now operates modern American manufactured aircraft including jets and flown by veteran American captains to more countries in South America than any other airline.

I wish to commend this airline and its technical director and general manager, Mr. C. N. Shelton, on the American pioneer spirit of its operation and excellence of service without Government subsidy or governmental financial assistance of any kind whatsoever. This is typical of the great spirit needed to promote better relations with our Latin American countries in making valuable ties with transportation, tourist trade and the general exchange of people within these countries.

Clyde Ellis, Great Friend of REA, Looks at the Record Before the Bowie-Cass Electric Cooperative at Douglassville, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Clyde Ellis, lived up to his advance notices when he spoke about the REA and co-ops recently at Douglassville, Tex.

I wonder whether the people of America who have benefited by the REA program and the great work of the electric cooperatives will ever know their debt to Clyde Ellis. He has fought, as I believe he will fight up until the end of his days, for the great mass of people who are dependent upon the REA.

In ancient Greece, they used to give a laurel wreath to those who served best. Here in America, A.D. 1964, we should figure out some way to acknowledge to the living public servants, such as Clyde Ellis, our appreciation for their efforts.

Parenthetically, Clyde Ellis looks at the record regarding some gentlemen running for high public office in our land. The record is so astonishingly good on the one hand, and so frightful on the other, that those who believe with Clyde Ellis in electric co-ops and the REA should have no difficulty in deciding how they are going to vote. For the RECORD, here is Clyde Ellis' fine speech:

I am indeed honored to be invited to speak at the 25th annual meeting of the Bowie-Cass Electric Cooperative. This is truly a historic occasion marking as it does a quarter of a century of continuous progress in bringing a new and better life to the thousands of rural people in your service area.

As member-owners of Bowie-Cass Electric, I congratulate you on the outstanding success you have achieved. From very modest beginnings in the late 1930's, your cooperative has assumed a place of prominence in this part of Texas. I am told your membership of 12,000 is 24 times what it was in 1939. And that you not only have brought modern service to all who wish it, but have also reduced the average cost per kilowatthour of electricity 33 percent below what it was 25 years ago.

Though your past growth has been impressive, your manager, E. H. Florence, tells me that system studies reveal that your cooperative will experience even greater growth in the next 25 years. By 1973, for example, it is predicted that you members will require double the amount of electricity that you are presently using. So you can see that you have a big task ahead to keep up with the ever-increasing demands for electric power.

You are fortunate in having a manager of E. H. Florence's abilities to manage your cooperative. He and his staff deserve a great deal of credit for the job they are doing in your behalf. In my book, "E. H." is one of the most able co-op managers in the Nation. Of course he is supported by a great board

of directors whom you elect. These board members give generously of their time and talent and deserve much credit.

Besides what the co-op has meant to you members, it has also contributed importantly to the well-being of many other people in this section of the State. For instance, it has provided new opportunities and more business for many folks in the towns.

Nationally, surveys show that the 5 million rural families served by rural electric systems buy more than a billion dollars worth of electrical appliances a year. That impressive amount helps keep a lot of city folks employed.

I am sure that there are many of you in the audience today who still remember what it was like to live without electricity. And that doesn't make you so old. I remember, and you don't see many gray hairs on my head.

Before I became your employee 22 years ago—as general manager of your national association, that's what I am—I spent many years trying to help farmers and rural people obtain the benefits of modern electric service which had been denied to them for so long.

Like many of you here this afternoon, I grew up on a farm and know firsthand what it was like to live without indoor plumbing, lights, refrigerators, and the host of other wonderful things that electricity makes possible. That was in the Ozark hill country of northwest Arkansas.

While I was still actively farming, I joined together with some of my neighbors to help get a rural electric cooperative started. A lot of you people were doing the very same thing here in Texas.

If I live to be a hundred, I'll never forget that day when we flipped the switch and the lights went on. I'll bet a lot of you folks remember that day, too—the day when you first got electricity from the co-op.

We had tried to get electricity for many years before the Rural Electrification Administration came into being. We had literally begged the commercial power companies to serve us, but they just laughed in our faces. I know that for a fact. My dad and I went to the power company office. I guess they saw something funny in a bunch of farmers wanting electricity. They told us frankly that we might just as well forget about ever getting electricity. Even after the Congress passed the Rural Electrification Act and President Roosevelt signed it into law in 1936, the power companies refused to borrow the funds from REA, which they could have and should have, to build the lines.

But we were determined to get electricity, just as you people were. And just as you did, we formed our own nonprofit cooperative to serve ourselves. And people in a thousand other places in the Nation organized cooperatives for the same purpose. And with loans from REA, one of the greatest success stories of modern times was written.

About 1,000 rural electrics in 46 States bring electricity to almost 20 million people, about one-tenth of our population. And they serve all the people in their rural areas. Not just those who are close to well-traveled roads, but to the people who live back in the hills and hollows as well. REA loans, coupled with local initiative, provide an inspiring example of cooperation between government and citizens.

No history of the rural electrification program could possibly contain the names of all of the men and women who deserve recognition for the leadership they gave. But I am certain that it would be impossible to write such a history without devoting many, many pages to the part that Texans have played. No historian of rural electrification could fail to cite the leadership of such stalwarts as the great and beloved Texas Congressman in whose district your cooperative is located. You know to whom I refer. That crusader of the people, WRIGHT PATMAN.

There is none greater in the Congress, in our Nation, than Congressman PATMAN. He is one of the few great intellects of our time who understands money, how it is made, who makes it, and how these processes are not always used in the interest of the people.

In all of the U.S. Senate there is not a more dedicated, able, or effective supporter of the rural electrification program, or of the people generally, than RALPH YARBOROUGH. Still another great is your Governor. He was attorney for your statewide association of electric cooperatives. He has supported, and still does, both the electric and telephone co-ops. I heard him in a speech to a State rally at Bismarck, N. Dak., last week make a ringing endorsement of these programs. I am proud of John Connally and I know you are, too.

Your statewide manager, Jim Cobb, is one of the finest and ablest of the statewide managers in the Nation.

Glen Newton, manager of Plains Electric Cooperative of Lubbock, is elected by the Texas Electric Co-ops to be the Texas member of your national organization. So he's one of my bosses, and one of the ablest.

Then there was your neighboring Congressman, Sam Rayburn, who, along with Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, was coauthor of the Rural Electrification Act.

Another Texan who belongs on the same list of champions of the REA program is your senior Senator, RALPH YARBOROUGH.

Texas has also given us two dynamic presidents of your national association, Tom Craddock, of Seymour, and R. A. Yarborough, of Childress, and many other leaders.

But the greatest debt of all which we owe to Texas is for the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. No man has done more for rural electrification in America than Lyndon Johnson. Nor has any man had a deeper appreciation and understanding of the rural electrification program.

If it were not for men like Lyndon Johnson, Wright Patman, and Ralph Yarborough, REA would not have been able to weather the many vicious assaults that have been made against it from the very day it came into being. The majority of the Nation's power companies opposed it then and have ranted and raved against REA for the nearly 30 years it has been helping rural people like yourselves do a job the power companies refused to do.

For the most part, these same selfish interests are still dedicated to abolishing REA in order to ultimately kill this co-op and all the others. Unfortunately, they have made considerable progress in hamstringing the program. And they continue their attacks against rural electrification on every front—in the press, in the slick magazines, on television, on radio, and in the Halls of Congress.

And I am sure that they are looking to the upcoming election as an opportunity to pull the rug out from under the rural electric cooperatives. You can bet your bottom dollar that they are hard at work trying to elect candidates who they think will slam the door on REA.

Can we, who have dedicated so much of our lives to bringing 20th century living to rural areas, do less? I think not. Can the millions of members of rural electrics—the folks who have benefited directly from the blessings of modern electric service made possible by the great REA program—risk the destruction of their electric co-ops and all that they mean? I think not.

The rural electrification program is so dependent on public policies and governmental actions at both the State and National levels that we have no choice but to do whatever we can to help those candidates who are our friends.

Most of you have long recognized this need. Certainly the rural electrics are far more active than ever before in presenting to their members the facts about the positions of the candidates. Throughout the country, statewide publications and local co-op newsletters are carrying statements and voting records on rural electric issues.

It is vitally important that you send Congressmen and Senators to Washington who are sympathetic to your needs and problems. Many tried and true friends of rural electrification are now engaged in close election campaigns. They need your strong support, and if many of them don't get it, they face defeat. I urge you to examine the facts about the candidates and to do everything possible to make sure that all members of Bowie-Cass Electric Cooperatives get the opportunity to have the facts.

For us and for the Nation, the presidential election this year may be the most important one in this century. As never before, Americans will search their consciences and convictions before marking their ballots. In most cases probably no single issue will determine how a person votes. He, or she, will weigh many factors and consider many alternatives.

But I hope that every member of Bowie-Cass Electric Cooperative and every member of every other rural electric cooperative in this Nation will include in your decision the stands the candidates for President and Vice President and the Congress have taken on rural electrification and its related programs. There may be other issues which in your mind will outweigh these, but I consider it my responsibility as general manager of your national association to discuss with you only those issues which directly affect you.

Your cooperative, along with the nearly 1,000 others in America, through the representatives you send to the annual meeting of your national association, has gone on record time and time again asking us to make known the records of public officials and candidates insofar as your program is concerned.

This year, there is a sharp contrast between the records of President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER and Senator HUMPHREY and Congressman MILLER on our program. These records are composed of the recorded votes on our issues, the public statements and decisions taken by the candidates before and after they became candidates, and what we know of their past performances.

Let's look at the candidates for Vice President first:

The record of Senator HUMPHREY is so well known to you that I know I need not dwell on it. During his years in the Senate, Senator HUMPHREY has voted 53 times on our issues, and 51 of these votes have been favorable. This gives him a 96-percent favorable voting record; 4 percent unfavorable.

Over the years Senator HUMPHREY has been a powerful friend. He was the Senate author of the Humphrey-Price bill and author and chief sponsor this year of the Humphrey bill to exempt rural electrics from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction—both of which electric co-ops supported vigorously.

Running for Vice President with Senator GOLDWATER is Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER, of New York. During his long service in the House, Congressman MILLER has cast 48 record votes on rural electric and related issues. He has voted favorably six times and unfavorably 42 times. His record is 12 percent favorable; 88 percent unfavorable.

What is the record of President Lyndon B. Johnson on rural electrification and related issues?

As a Congressman, Senator, Senate majority leader, Vice President, and President, Lyndon B. Johnson has been a dedicated and powerful champion of rural electrification.

From the most influential positions of leadership that this country can bestow, he has not only supported your program, he has personally led countless fights in your behalf.

Like many of you, he had to personally help organize a rural electric cooperative in order to get service to his own home. Then he had to fight many of the same battles you have fought to assure an adequate wholesale power supply at reasonable cost. Along the way he developed a deep-rooted interest in the welfare of the REA program.

This does not mean that he has always agreed with all of our positions. That is, the positions endorsed by the rural electric cooperatives through resolutions at their annual meetings. Sometimes we disagree among ourselves on some issues in this program. During his service in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, President Johnson voted favorably on rural electric and related issues 49 times and unfavorably 7 times. This makes his voting record 88 percent favorable; 12 percent unfavorable.

And I say this to you about Lyndon Johnson, as I said it many times before he became a candidate for national office: No man in public life has a prouder rural electrification record, and I don't think any man is prouder of what he has done to help your program. He has told us the way he feels on many occasions. When he addressed the annual meeting of your national association last year, the then Vice President said:

"In the next 25 years, the rural electric cooperatives of the United States will be lighting the lamps of our Nation's progress."

A few months ago, when he was addressing a group of cooperative leaders at the White House, he said:

"* * * I am proud of what I have to say about cooperatives. I know what they do for people. I have watched them for many years.

"Electricity down where I live on the ranch comes from the Pedernales Electric Cooperative, one of the first rural electric cooperatives organized in this country. I had a little bit to do with it. I guess you might say I was a male midwife for the REA."

Here is Senator GOLDWATER's record on the issues on which rural electric cooperatives have taken a position:

In his 12 years in the U.S. Senate, Senator GOLDWATER has voted favorably on legislation affecting rural electrification 3 times; he has voted unfavorably 35 times. In terms of percentages, his record is 8 percent favorable; 92 percent unfavorable.

Senator GOLDWATER has repeatedly called for an increase in the REA interest rate. He has said that in most States REA has "outlived its usefulness." He has said that the agency should be dissolved. In a tape-recorded interview in South Dakota 2 years ago, he said, "When the local companies can move in and find it profitable, then the REA should move out."

Two of Senator GOLDWATER's three favorable votes were cast in 1955 for the Colorado River storage project, which directly benefits his home State of Arizona.

This is the record of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the man who is running for President of the United States, the man who would control the Bureau of the Budget, appoint the Secretary of Agriculture, the REA Administrator, the members of the regulatory commissions, and in general set the tone of Government activity.

I have given you the records of these four men as objectively as possible. I am prepared to document everything I have said about them. Some may wish these records were otherwise; some may find it painful to hear the records discussed; some may dismiss the records by saying, "One can change his stripes." I do not agree. The stripes may be whitewashed, but they show up again in the first storm.

What I shall say now is my own conclusion drawn from the facts. I submit that, on the basis of Senator GOLDWATER's record, we have good reason and a grave responsibility to be concerned about the results of the presidential election. I do not believe that you and the rest of the millions of rural people who own rural electric systems will vote for a presidential candidate whose words and deeds show clearly that he would like to end the REA program and turn the rural electric cooperatives over to the power companies.

In my opinion this is not just another election. I am convinced this is the most important presidential election of the century. I am also convinced that the survival of your rural electric cooperative and the other 1,000 rural electric systems like yours will be decided in the ballot booths on November 3.

Stop Dawdling and Get on With the Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, every now and then, and I am happy to say infrequently, a Government agency or head of a department goes off the deep end, gets mixed in a morass of unessentials, and loses all perspective of what is required.

But it is such incidents, few as they may be, that make the headlines and cause our people to refer invidiously to those in the executive agencies as bureaucrats.

One such glaring example is fully detailed in a decision involving the Federal Home Loan Bank Board handed down on September 21, 1964 by a very eminent and distinguished jurist, the chief judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California, Pierson M. Hall.

I hope this decision will bring a complete and final determination, an absolute end, to litigation that amounts to persecution, that started with the agency's unwarranted conduct in January 1946 and has persisted almost to this day, despite the many hearings before various committees of the Congress during that time which concerned themselves with the very institution involved.

Assuming without conceding, that the Board had discovered a defect in the basic law, it could have long since been corrected if a proposed amendment had been submitted to Congress and a case made out to support it. The Board must have known, however, that such a change could only be prospective in effect.

The Board should never have attempted to write a provision into an agreement to accomplish what was contrary to established law.

Legislative change of vested rights, under our American philosophy of government is never tolerated. Laws retroactive in effect are invariably stricken down by our courts.

For an agency of Government to attempt to make an agreement divesting persons, not party to the agreement, of their vested property rights is unconscionable. It was properly nullified by the court.

I hope the Board will mark this incident closed and devote a small part of its time to preparing for the Congress its proposals to prevent repetition of this kind of thing.

The decision of the court is as follows:

MEMORANDUM

IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA, CENTRAL DIVISION—SIDNEY ELLIOTT, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS, *v.* FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, ET AL., DEFENDANTS; N. JOSEPH ROSS, ET AL., INTERVENORS (No. 63–1072–PH)

EQUITABLE SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION, PLAINTIFF, *v.* SIDNEY ELLIOTT, ET AL., DEFENDANTS, SIDNEY ELLIOTT, ET AL., CROSS CLAIMANTS *v.* FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, ET AL., CROSS DEFENDANTS, N. JOSEPH ROSS, ET AL., INTERVENORS (No. 63–1107–PH)

SIDNEY ELLIOTT, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS *v.* FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, ET AL., DEFENDANTS, LONG BEACH FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION, CROSS CLAIMANTS *v.* FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, ET AL., CROSS DEFENDANTS, EQUITABLE SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION, CROSS CLAIMANT *v.* FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD, ET AL., CROSS DEFENDANTS, N. JOSEPH ROSS, ET AL., INTERVENORS (No. 63–1230–PH)

The Board insists that the large deposits "diluted" the share of surplus which would go to the small depositors. It is unnecessary to decide that, but it is worthy of note that several hundred of the accounts, whose right to share would be forfeited because they were pledged, are for less than $500.00, and that the 42 million dollars additional deposits which were in the institution on December 31, 1962, gave the Association a decided tax advantage in enabling it to write off, under the then existing laws, 12½ per cent of that amount, viz: more than five million dollars, as bad debt reserve. And five million dollars contributing to a tax shelter is not tiddlywinks. The Bank Board contends that Equitable did not offer three million dollars for the good will of Long Beach because the good will of Long Beach was not worth that much. This, in the face of the affidavit of Mr. Palmer, an officer of Equitable, who sat through all the negotiations, and in the face of the uncontroverted offer of Equitable at the shareholders' meeting of April 27, 1963, to pay three million dollars as a bonus for the good will of Long Beach. Whether this is so or not is unnecessary to decide.

Throughout the merger negotiations and since these suits were filed, the position of the Bank Board is precisely contrary to the public statements of Professor McMurray as Chairman of the Board (now resigned) which reflected an almost trapezical agility to shift, depending on whether or not he was talking to a Congressional Committee, to the public, or to Long Beach Federal. Professor McMurray testified that all Federal mutual depositors share alike on dissolution, whether they have been in the system one year, ten years, or 20 years, when he appeared before the House Committee on Appropriations on January 24, 1963. And on May 7, 1963, he testified before the House Committee on Banking and Currency that all depositors in Federal mutuals were treated alike, whether $100.00 or $100,000.00, and whether pledged or not; and in a public speech in New Orleans on March 2, 1964, he again emphasized the necessity for equality of treatment in Federal mutuals.

The Bank Board seems to base its position on the fact that pro-rata distribution

will hurt the little account and help the big one. At the Court's suggestion, a tabulation was made of the accounts in different amounts which would be deprived of sharing in the distributable surplus if the Board's formula were applied. It is Exhibit 13 attached to the Motion for Summary Judgment of Plaintiffs and cross-complainants. It shows a total of 1,899 accounts affected. Of that number, 1,000 are less than $10,000.00; 324 are $500.00 or less; 524 are $11,000.00 or less; and only 54 are $100,000.00 or more. Thus, the greater number of small account shareholders are punished by the attempted deprivation than the larger shareholders. As heretofore stated, none of these facts are material to the decision reached.

There are preliminary and peripheral questions of jurisdiction, proper parties, and the like, but, in spite of the proliferation of documents and briefs on the separate motions of each party for summary judgment in these three actions, the central and ultimate question for decision is a limited one: Did the officers and directors of the Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, or either of them, have the lawful power to alter the equal rights of all the depositors (sometimes called shareholders) in said Association so as to take the share of distributable assets on dissolution of said Association from several groups, and give that share to other groups defined in the Merger Agreement dated June 12, 1963, which groups had not ever been previously defined, or notified in any way at the time of deposit or pledge, by charter, statute, regulation or otherwise? An ancillary question as to whether or not the majority of the shareholders can thus affect the rights of any shareholder is also present.

It is to be noted at the outset that there is no claim of crime, fraud, illegality, or other wrongdoing against either Long Beach or Equitable Association, the officers and directors of either, or the Shareholders Protective Committee, or the shareholders of either Association, or any of them.

In order that the questions may be put in proper setting, it is necessary to recite some facts concerning which there is and can be no dispute.

The Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association was chartered as a Federal Mutual Savings and Loan Association on July 10, 1934, under what is now 12 U.S.C. 1464. Its first charter was replaced by its second charter on July 10, 1937 [12 U.S.C. 1464], under which it has at all times since operated and still exists as a mutual association without any alteration or amendment. The charter was and is in the terms and language prescribed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and was drawn and signed by that Government institution. All passbooks and receipts for deposits contained the terms of the charter by reference.

From modest beginning of $750 in deposits in 1934, it grew so that on May 20, 1946, it had deposits by shareholders of over 22 million dollars, and on that date, one Amman was appointed conservator by the Bank Board, without notice, and he immediately seized the Association and its assets. A run developed at once. It resulted in the withdrawal of approximately ten million dollars from the Association within a few days. Litigation ensued between the newly formed State-licensed Shareholders Protective Committee (Plaintiff in Action No. 63–1072, and Cross-claimant in the other two Actions), the Association, the Bank Board, Amman, and others.[1] A Congressional investigation also was had. On January 24, 1948 the Association was returned to the shareholders and to the management selected by them, which was the same management as before the seizure, at which time (January 24, 1948) its deposits were down to approximately $13 million, and the Association was heavily in debt. The Association continued under its previous management until April 22, 1960, when it was again seized by an Agent of the Bank Board, without notice. On that date, its deposits by shareholders had grown to $96 million. Immediately after the seizure of the Bank Board's agent, another run occurred to the Association, which resulted in withdrawals which, in a short time, totaled over $60 million, which was approximately 70 percent of the total shareholders' savings deposits. More litigation and another Congressional investigation ensued, as well as prolonged negotiations for settlement of the various controversies. The negotiations resulted in a Settlement Agreement of about 100 pages in length, which was dated February 14th, 1962. The Agreement, among other things, called for the return of the Association to its former management, and the dismissal of all the suits which concerned the merits of the disputes between the Association and the Bank Board. It provided for the merger of Long Beach with Equitable Savings & Loan Association, a California State-chartered association, the dissolution of Long Beach, and distribution of its surplus on a pro-rata basis to its shareholders. The features of that Agreement concerned with the pending motions will be touched on later. Many, if not all, of the suits to be dismissed were class actions, and under F.R.C.P. 23, this Court concluded that the widest possible notice should be given, and it was, and the Court fixed April 2nd, 1962, for the return of the Association. On that date, its total savings deposits were down to approximately 30 million dollars. Upon return of the Association to its management, money again flowed to it as deposits so that in the first two days approximately 24 million dollars had been deposited, some in sums of over $100,000.00 and up. The deposits continued so that on June 30th, 1962, the total was 79 million plus dollars and on December 31st, 1962, the total deposits by the share holders in the Long Beach Savings & Loan Association amounted to approximately 72 million dollars.

Prior to the April, 1960, seizure of that Association, and in late 1959, Long Beach had indicated to the Bank Board its desire to convert to a California State Building and Loan Association and become a part of the California State-chartered Equitable Savings & Loan Association. The negotiations had proceeded to a point where the California State examiners were in the Association on the date of its second seizure on April 22, 1960. After the seizure and during the negotiations resulting in the Settlement Agreement, the Association continued to indicate its desire to combine with Equitable and dissolve as a Federal mutual Association. Article XV of the Settlement Agreement is devoted to the detail of such conversion and dissolution of Long Beach by joining with Equitable Savings & Loan Association. After the return of the Long Beach Association to its management on April 2nd, 1962, the Association, Equitable and the Bank Board continued to negotiate the matter of such merger and conversion and the ultimate dissolution of Long Beach. The Merger Agreement dated June 12th, 1963, was the result of such negotiations. Until July, 1962, the Bank Board gave no indication of any desire that the shareholders were to share in the distributable assets other than on a pro-rata basis. But beginning in July, 1962, and until April, 1963, the Board "insisted" on a provision in the Agreement excluding all shareholders, with over $100,000.00 on deposit from shareing in the distributable surplus, unless they were depositors in that sum on or before the second seizure, viz: April 22nd, 1960.

This was the first indication by the Bank Board to anyone that the Bank Board desired to discriminate against any shareholder or treat any depositor other than on a mutual pro-rata basis as provided in the charter and the Settlement Agreement.

Long Beach officers and directors refused to accept this provision as not being in compliance with its charter or the law or the Settlement Agreement.

Then, in April 1963, the Bank Board changed its position and, by the admission of the Government, "insisted" on the provisions in the Merger Agreement which are in dispute here, and which would prohibit any depositor for any amount who has pledged his shares on a loan any place, and all depositors of over ten thousands dollars who were not such on April 22nd, 1960 (the date of the second seizure) from sharing at all in the distributable surplus.[2] The officers and directors of Long Beach refused to accede to this demand until the Bank Board consented to a provision in the Merger Agreement that any shareholder member could take appropriate action to contest the validity of the Merger Agreement or any part thereof. The text of the portion of the Merger Agreement in dispute follows:

ARTICLE VII

"The rights of Long Beach shareholders to receive stock in Equitable or other benefits under this Agreement shall be computed as follows:

"Long Beach has required waivers of participation rights for all additions to savings accounts and for all new savings accounts after November 30, 1962. Each member's share account balance or balances as of that date shall be reduced by (1) the amount of any Long Beach share loan as of November 30, 1962, and/or the amount, as shown by the Long Beach books and records, for which each such share account was pledged or assigned, as of November 30, 1962, to any other person; (2) withdrawals from each such account subsequent to November 30, 1962, the last in, first out rule being applied to such withdrawals; and (3) the amount by which the total remaining balance or balances exceeds the sum of (a) $10,000 and (b) the balance or balances, if any, in such member's account or accounts on April 22nd, 1960.

"This Agreement is not intended to prohibit any shareholder member of Long Beach from taking appropriate action to exercise such rights, if any, which he may have to contest the merits or validity of the plan of dissolution of Long Beach, or any part thereof, incorporated herein.

"Long Beach and Equitable agree that no withdrawals made after the effective date of the Merger shall affect the right of any Long Beach shareholder hereunder as vested on said date, and said shareholders so withdrawing shall participate as fully as if such withdrawal had not been made.

"Each officer and director of Long Beach and Equitable shall participate in the distribution only to the extent of his respective share account as of April 22d, 1960, and shall furnish an affidavit to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to the effect that he is not participating directly or indirectly in the distribution of Long Beach, except to the extent set forth in the proxy Statement.

"Members of the Shareholders Protective Committee, attorneys representing Long Beach, Equitable or the Shareholders Protective Committee and close relatives of such persons, and close relatives of officers and directors of Long Beach and Equitable and corporate entities controlled by any of them, shall not participate in the distribution of stock as herein contemplated, except to the extent of the balances of such members' accounts in Long Beach as of April 22nd, 1960. Close relatives shall be deemed to mean spouses, children, parents, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces and anyone married to one of the foregoing persons.

Footnotes at end of speech.

"The Board of Directors of Equitable will fix a record day for the determination of who are the stockholders and members entitled to notice and to vote at a special meeting of Equitable to consider its approval of this Merger Agreement or to consent to said Merger Agreement."

The first sentence of the second above-quoted paragraph is not in dispute. The effect of it was to fix November 30, 1962, as a "cut-off" date. It did not attempt to alter any shareholder's right without his consent, as is done in the second and succeeding sentences, around which this dispute centers.

The Bank Board had previously attempted to get Long Beach to accept a provision in the Settlement Agreement of February 14th, 1962, that the Association would "screen" and limit the size of deposits upon returning the Association and its assets to its elected management, but the Association refused to accede thereto, and there is no such provision in the Settlement Agreement. While Article XV of the Settlement Agreement, to which the Bank Board was a party, provided for the joinder of Long Beach Association and Equitable, and the dissolution of Long Beach, and pro-rata distribution of its surplus, no notice of any kind was given to the Association, its officers and directors, or its shareholders, or to the public, that the Bank Board would require preferred treatment for any shareholders before or at the time of the return on April 22, 1962, and not until July, 1962, when the Board indicated the above-mentioned demand that certain accounts of $100,000.00 and over forfeit any share in the distributable surplus; and no notice of any kind was given to the Association, its Board of Directors, or officers, the shareholders, or the public that the Bank Board would require a forfeiture of all pledged accounts and all accounts over $10,000.00, of their right to share pro-rata in the distributable surplus of Long Beach, until April, 1963. On April 27, 1963, at a special meeting of the shareholders of the Association, a resolution was adopted condemning the attempt of the Bank Board to forfeit any shareholder's right to a proportionate share of the Association's net surplus, reserves, and undivided profits, and requesting Congress to again investigate the matter. This meeting was continued to June 15, 1963, and again continued to July 6, 1963, but the July 6th meeting was preceded by notice according to the charter, and by mailing to each shareholder or depositor a copy of the proxy statement containing a copy of the Merger Agreement dated June 12, 1963, and specially pointing out the dispute and the amount distributable under the Bank Board's demand and under the Association's claim. The dispute between the officers and directors of the Long Beach Association and the Bank Board, concerning the method of distributing the distributable assets, was fully discussed at that meeting, and the intention disclosed to file suit to insist upon pro-rata distribution to all shareholders rather than the discriminatory method preventing certain depositors from sharing at all in the distributable surplus, which the Government concedes the Bank Board "insisted" on being in the Merger Agreement. Proxies obtained by the Shareholders Protective Committee were voted by a written ballot which contained a provision that they were voted in favor of the Merger Agreement in reliance upon the provision therein which permitted any shareholder to litigate the right to receive distribution pro-rata. 99.4 per cent of those present in person or by proxy (constituting 64.4 per cent of all eligible shareholders) voted in favor of the merger. The effective date of the merger was September 10th, 1963. On the same date, Case No. 63-1072-PH was filed in this court, and what is now Case No. 63-1230-PH was filed in the California Superior Court and later removed to this court. On September 17, 1963, Case No. 63-1107-PH was filed in this court. Each of the suits challenge the legality of the disputed provisions of Article VII of the Merger Agreement, and each seeks declaratory relief.

Other facts concerning which there is no genuine issue will be stated as may become necessary in the discussion of different questions of law.

Inasmuch as all parties are before the Court in Action No. 63-1107-PH, each seeking the same relief sought by that particular party in each of the other actions, the remainder of this Memorandum will be addressed primarily to the issues raised on the Motions for Summary Judgment in Action No. 63-1107-PH. It is an action in interpleader and for declaratory relief. [28 U.S.C. 1335, 1397, 2201, 2202, 2361; F.R.C.P. 22, 56(a), 57]. The plaintiff Equitable claims no interest of any kind in and to the subject matter of the action. It admits the duty to issue the shares of stock to someone; it has deposited that stock in court; and it seeks adjudication as to whom it should issue the disputed shares. There is a genuine dispute, which if unresolved in an action such as this, could result in a multiplicity of actions by the some 60,000 shareholders of Long Beach Association, which fact alone is sufficient to support an interpleader action. It is, thus, a true interpleader action, and not one in the nature of interpleader. And even if it were, the same rules apply as they are both equitable actions. [*Burchfield* v. *Bevans* (10 Cir. 1957) 242 F. 2d 239; *Holcomb* v. *Aetna Life Ins. Co.* (10 Cir. 1955) 228 F. 2d 75, Cert. den. 350 U.S. 986, Reh. den. 350 U.S. 1016].

The subject matter of the action is the fund, thing, or duty to which the parties make adverse claims. [Degree of *Honor Protective Ass'n* v. *Bisch* (D.C. Mass. 1961) 194 F. Supp. 614]. Here, the stock in Equitable is the thing in dispute, and Equitable seeks to know its duty as to whom the stock should be issued. The stock exceeds in value the sum of $500.00, and is alleged to be in excess of nine million dollars,[3] and is deposited in this court. The court therefore has jurisdiction of the subject matter.

There is requisite diversity among the claimants to the stock. [*Treinies* v. *Sunshine Mining Co.* (9th Cir. 1938) 99 F. 2d 651, Aff. 308 U.S. 66]. While the Bank Board claims no monetary interest in or to any of the stock of Equitable which is the subject matter of the action, it nevertheless claims a right to direct to whom the stock should go. It and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation are "sue and be sued" entities. [12 U.S.C. 1464(d)(1); 12 U.S.C. 1725(c)(4)]. This court thus has jurisdiction of the parties as well as the subject matter under the Interpleader Statutes of the United States.

The Cross-claimants and Intervenors, as well as Equitable, seek relief under the Declaratory Relief Statutes [28 U.S.C. 2201-2202]. A summary judgment may be granted in such action [F.R.C.P. 56(a)], and the existence of another adequate remedy does not preclude a judgment in a declaratory relief action. [F.R.C.P. 571.

The relief sought by the Cross-claimants and Intervenors in Action No. 63-1107-PH arises out of the same transaction and occurrence as gives rise to Equitable's suit in interpleader, viz: the Merger Agreement and the disputes recognized therein and arising out of it, as to whom the disputed shares of stock in Equitable should issue. They are, therefore, proper parties under F.R.C.P. 13 governing cross-claims, and F.R.C.P. 24 relating to intervention.

The Administrative Procedure Act is applicable to the Bank Board, and its actions are judicially reviewable, and it does not have "uncontrolled discretion." [*Home Loan Bank Board et al* v. *Mallonee* (9 Cir. 1952) 196 F. 2d 336, Cert. den. 345 U.S. 952; *Federal Home Loan Bank Board* v. *Long Beach Federal S & L Association* (9 Cir. 1961) 295 F. 2d 403.] That being so, the Plaintiff Equitable and each of the Cross-claimants and intervenors have standing to sue, and this court has jurisdiction of defendants Bank Board and Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation under the terms of Section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act [5 U.S.C. 1009], particularly subdivision (c) thereof which provides that: "every final agency action for which there is no other adequate remedy in any court shall be subject to judicial review."

Even if this court did not have jurisdiction of the Bank Board and the Insurance Corporation on the original Complaint, under the Administrative Procedure Act and the Interpleader Statutes it does have undoubted jurisdiction on the Cross-claim of Long Beach, and all the rights and duties of all the parties can, indeed, they must, be adjudicated if the rights and duties of the Association or of any one shareholder are adjudicated by way of declaratory relief.

The Cross-claim of Long Beach is a compulsory Cross-claim. It is well settled that jurisdiction of a counterclaim persists, even if the original action fails, where it is supported by an independent ground of federal jurisdiction. [*Pioche Mines Consol. Inc.* v. *Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Co.* (9 Cir. 1953) 206 F. 2d 336, Cert. den. 346 U.S. 899]. And it is equally well settled that a Cross-claim likewise will vest jurisdiction in the court if there is an independent ground of jurisdiction on the Cross-claim, regardless of jurisdiction or lack of it on the original action. [*Pierce* v. *Perlite Aggregates, Inc. et al* (D.C. N.D. Calif. 1952) 110 F. Supp. 684, Aff. 226 F. 2d 204]. To the same effect is *Danner* v. *Anskis* (3 Cir. 1958) 256 F. 2d 123, at 124, and cases cited in Pioche Mines Consol. and Pierce, supra. And, as heretofore noted, both the Bank Board [12 U.S.C. 1464(d)(1)] and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation [12 U.S.C. 1725(c)(4)] are "sue and be sued" entities. The Long Beach Association is seeking declaratory relief on its Cross-claim in Action No. 63-1107, and 12 U.S.C. 1464(d)(1) grants jurisdiction to this court in the plainest of language, and grants authority to the Association to sue the Bank Board in this District "with respect to any matter under this section or regulations made thereunder, or any other law or regulation." 12 U.S.C. 1464(1) regulates conversion and dissolution of Federally chartered Savings and Loan Associations, such as Long Beach; and 12 U.S.C. 1464(b) provides for retirement of shares as provided in the charter of such an Association. The Cross-claim of Long Beach is, therefore, a "matter under this section," i.e., Section 1464 of Title 12, United States Code.

The Savings and Loan Commissioner and the Bank Board contend that this is an unconsented suit against the State of California, and that, hence, this court has no jurisdiction of the California Savings and Loan Commissioner under the Eleventh Amendment to the United States Constitution. They further contend that he is an indispensable party, and that the suit must therefore be dismissed. The California Savings and Loan Commissioner issued his order permitting the merger according to the Merger Agreement of June 12, 1963 "subject to the lawful orders of any court of competent jurisdiction which may otherwise control the distribution of that number of said shares of guarantee stock of Equitable as to which the ownership and entitlement are in dispute." He thus recognized that there was a dispute and that that dispute could and should be settled by a court of competent jurisdiction. By the terms of the Order,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

no other sensible conclusion can be reached, except that when such a judgment is made, he will abide by its terms. There is no doubt but that the State of California has consented to such a suit as this one in this court. The matter is set at rest by the provisions of F.R.C.P. 17(b) which specifically states that the capacity to sue or be sued shall be determined by the laws of the State where the District Court is held, and by the California Financial Code, section 5258, which provides for judicial review of every official act of the California Savings and Loan Commissioner "in accordance with law." The text of Section 5258 is as follows: "* * * every order, decision, approval, certificate, license, permit or the denial of any approval, certificate, license or permit or other official act of the Commissioner * * * is subject to judicial review in accordance with law."

The fact that in other sections of the Financial Code of California, judicial review is limited to specified State courts [Section 9003—Superior Court; Section 7404—Supreme Court], whereas no such limitation is set forth in Section 5258, conclusively indicates that the review contemplated therein may be had in *any* court which otherwise has jurisdiction of the subject matter. *Skokomish Indian Tribe* v. *France et al.* (9 Cir. 1959) 269 F. 2d 555, is thus not in point. As hereinbefore indicated, this court has jurisdiction of the subject matter, and by the above section of the California Financial Code, it has jurisdiction of the Commissioner. The Commissioner, in his order approving the merger, expressly consented to the determination "of any court of competent jurisdiction" as to the distribution of the stock "in dispute." Declaratory relief is a method of "judicial review in accordance with law." No specific consent is requisite to a suit for declaratory relief against public officials in California, designed to adjudge and declare the obligations of their Office. [*County of Los Angeles* v. *State Dept. of Health et al.* (1958) 158 Cal. App. 2d 425, at 444, and cases cited therein.]

The principle announced in 1839 in *Clark et al.* v. *Smith,* 38 U.S. 195, has never been modified or overruled, and has been reaffirmed and applied many times. The court there said (p. 202): "The State Legislatures certainly have no authority to prescribe the forms and modes of proceeding in the courts of the United States; but having created a right, and at the same time prescribed a remedy to enforce it, if the remedy prescribed is substantially consistent with the ordinary modes of proceeding on the chancery side of the Federal courts, no reason exists why it should not be pursued in the same form as it is in the State courts." *California Financial Code section 5258* created both the right and provided the remedy by permitting judicial review.

The Eleventh Amendment does not permit a State official to divest one of rights federally granted or created. The rights of the shareholders in Long Beach were created by its Federally granted charter. And a suit against an official of a State in such an instance (as is this) is not a suit against the State. [*Reagan* v. *Farmers Loan & Trust Co.* (1894) 154 U.S. 362, 390–393; *Sterling etc.* v. *Constantin et al* (1932) 287 U.S. 378, 393–394, 397–398; Ex Parte Young (1908) 209 U.S. 123, 159–160]. The property having been deposited in this court under the interpleader statutes, the Eleventh Amendment does not prevent the Federal court from declaring the rights and obligations of the parties, and enjoining the California Savings and Loan Commissioner from interfering with such declared rights. [In re Tyler (1893) 149 U.S. 164]. The State having consented to suit against its Savings and Loan Commissioner, it is unnecessary to discuss the proposition as to whether he is an indispensable party or a necessary party. Suffice it to say he is a proper party, and rightly so in this interpleader suit, equitable in nature, so that this court may finally and effectively dispose of the entire controversy which affects some 60,000 persons.

It is not necessary to name the Savings and Loan Commissioner personally as F.R.C.P. 25(d) permits a public official to be sued as a party in his official title rather than by name.

While the Court has already made findings and an order (December 12, 1963) that the Shareholders Protective Committee and its members properly represent all the shareholders as a class, further comment is proper in view of the position of the Bank Board that such a Committee is not composed exclusively of persons who will benefit by the Bank Board's formula to create preferred classes of shareholders and exclude other classes from any share of the distributable surplus. It is not necessary for a class action that the persons representing the class shall have the same rights a one another; they may have unequal rights, or, indeed, they may have conflicting rights, [*Harris* v. *Palm Springs Alpine Estates, Inc.* (9 Cir. 1964) 329 F. 2d 909] but still be of a class [*Chance* v. *Superior Court of Los Angeles County et al* (1962) 58 Cal. 2d 275; *Hink et al* v. *Superior Court of Los Angeles County et al* (1962) 58 Cal. 2d 921].

Regardless of the amount of the deposit by any shareholder, or the date thereof, or whether or not the account was pledged, the thing all shareholders have in common is that they were depositors in Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association, under one common charter and one law authorizing the creating of the Association as a mutual institution, and received identical passbooks. Here, there are 60,000 shareholders; obviously so numerous as to make it impracticable to bring them all before the court. Here, there has been the greatest possible notice to all the shareholders of the position taken by the Association and the Committee, including a copy of the Complaint in Action No. 63–1072–PH, sent to each by mail, together with an order to show cause, fixing a time and place to object, if any one cared to object. One person showed up and objected, but has proceeded no further, and the Court must conclude that he is, and all the other shareholders are, content to have the matter adjudicated with the present parties, under the pleadings framing the issues. One Ross and several others showed up and asked that they represent themselves as intervenors rather than have the Committee represent them, but each asked the same relief sought by the Committee, i.e., pro-rata distribution of the distributable assets as provided by the Statute, the charter, and the Settlement Agreement. Except for the intervenors, not a single shareholder has appeared in this or any of the three actions objecting to either the position taken by the Shareholders Protective Committee or the individuals composing it, or the position taken by the Association. The only one who is objecting is the Bank Board, and it has and claims to have no pecuniary interest whatsoever in any of the property in custody of the court, which is the subject matter of this action and which belongs to the shareholders of Long Beach. F.R.C.P. 23 "does not require that all members of the class be identically situated if there are substantial questions either of law or fact common to all." [*Harris* v. *Palm Springs Alpine Estates, Inc.* (9 Cir. 1964) 329 F. 2d 909–914]. And the fact that no investor is objecting is a factor to be considered. Here, in this case, where process would be required to be served on approximately 60,000 persons, or separate suits filed, it is most appropriate to heed the admonition contained in the last cited case (p. 913) that:

"Indeed it has been suggested that the 'ultimate effectiveness of the federal remedies' in this area 'may depend in a large measure on the applicability of the class action device,' and particularly of the 'spurious' class action provided by Rule 23(a)(3)." While that case holds that it is a question of fact to be tried, as to whether or not persons properly represent a class (with which there can be no quarrel), the undisputed facts related herein are sufficient for this court to forms its judgment as a matter of law on the Motion for summary judgment. Moreover, it seems logical that "it is primarily for the shareholders" to determine what course they want to follow. [*Denicke et al.* v. *Anglo-California Natl Bank of San Francisco* (9 Cir. 1944) 141 F. 2d 285, Cert. den. 323 U.S. 739]. It cannot be overlooked that the Shareholders Protective Committee holds written proxies from more than a majority of the shareholders, and that all shareholders were advised of the position of the Shareholders Protective Committee and the Association, before the Merger Agreement was signed, and that the same Committee is and has been licensed by the State of California for 18 years, and that the Committee has participated on behalf of the shareholders in all of the long series of litigation and in the Settlement Agreement. I hold that the Shareholders Protective Committee properly represents all the shareholders as a class, under F.R.C.P. 23. In this connection, it must be kept in mind that the members of the Shareholders Protective Committee, and the intervenors are also suing individually as shareholders and depositors in the Association, and they have a right to have their individual rights declared, and in doing so, the court cannot escape the determination of the rights of all shareholders in order to determine the rights of one, so that any one not a party to this action could, under F.R.C.P. 71, enforce those rights "by the same process as if he were a party."

I come now to the controlling question set forth at the beginning of this Memorandum. I have read the briefs of the parties, and the cases cited. Most of the cases are wide the point. I am satisfied, and hold, that the Officers and Directors of the Association, and the Bank Board, or either of them, or the majority of the shareholders did not have the lawful power to alter the pro-rata rights of shareholders from that set forth in the law, the charter, and the Settlement Agreement, and that the provisions of the Merger Agreement which attempt to do so are void.

The Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association was created by the grant of a charter to it under the terms of what is now 12 U.S.C. 1464. That statute provides that such Association shall be "mutual;" [12 U.S.C. 1464(a)]; it requires that "such Associations shall raise their capital only in the form of payment on such shares as are authorized in their charters, which shares may be retired as is therein provided;" [12 U.S.C. 1464(b)]; it permits such Associations to lend their funds "on the security of their shares" [12 U.S.C. 1464(c)]; the Bank Board is given power to make rules and regulations [12 U.S.C. 1464(d)(1)], and it is a proposition well established in the law that such regulations or rules or other action of the Board cannot be contrary to the Statute, or in excess of the powers granted by the Statute. As stated by the Supreme Court in *Manhattan General Equipment Co.* v. *Commissioner of I.R.S.* (1936) 297 U.S. 129, at 134:

"The power of an administrative officer or board to administer a federal statute and to prescribe rules and regulations to that end is not the power to make law—for no such power can be delegated by Congress—but the power to adopt regulations to carry into effect the will of Congress as expressed by the statute. A regulation which does not do this, but operates to create a rule out of

harmony with the statute, is a mere nullity. *Lynch* v. *Tilden Produce Co.*, 265 U.S. 315, 320–322; *Miller* v. *U.S.*, 294 U.S. 435, 439–440, and cases cited."

The Statute in 12 U.S.C. 1464(i) provides for conversion to a State Association and dissolution by two methods: one, upon vote of not less than 51 per cent of the shareholders voting at a meeting specially called for that purpose, and the other, by negotiation which does not contemplate approval by vote of the shareholders. Inasmuch as the Board required approval by a vote of a majority of the shareholders at a meeting specially called for that purpose (Board Order No. 17,777 dated June 14, 1963—Exhibit 3–d–3), it must be concluded that the Board and the Association were proceeding under the provisions for merger and dissolution by vote of the shareholders [second unnumbered paragraph of 12 U.S.C. 1464(i)], which does not require approval of the Board [*Federal Home Loan Bank Board* v. *Greater Delaware Valley Federal Savings & Loan Association et al* (3 Cir. 1960) 277 F. 2d 437], and not under the provisions set forth in the third unnumbered paragraph of that sub-section upon such "equitable" basis as may be approved by the Bank Board. The second unnumbered paragraph of 12 U.S.C. 1464(i), under which the conversion and dissolution is had, contains the *second* Congressional expression in the Statute as to the distribution of stock upon conversion and dissolution. It reads: "(6)—That in the event of dissolution after conversion, the members or shareholders of the Association will share on a mutual basis in the assets of the Association in exact proportion to their relative share of account credits." This provision is in addition to the specific requirements of sub-section (b) that the shares are to be retired as provided in the charter. And the charter written, signed and issued by the Government requires a pro-rata distribution on dissolution.

Several provisions of the charter issued to the Association by the Bank Board are pertinent. Section 9: "* * * All holders of share accounts shall be entitled to equal distribution of net assets, pro-rata to the value of their share accounts, in the event of voluntary or involuntary liquidation, dissolution, or winding up of the Association."

Section 3 of the charter provided that the Association has the power "to wind up and dissolve, merge, consolidate, or reorganize in the manner provided by law and rules and regulations made thereunder." The Bank Board contends that by the provisions in Section 3 of the charter, permitting dissolution "in the manner provided by law and rules and regulations made thereunder", gave the Board the power to make the disputed preferences and forfeitures "insisted" on by the Bank Board. The proposition that a special provision in a contract (and the charter is a contract not only between the Bank Board and the Association, but between each shareholder and every other shareholder—*Dartmouth College* v. *Woodward*, 17 U.S. 518)—prevails over a general one, is so well known as not to require citation by authority. Any rule or regulation made by the Board (if it could be called a rule or regulation) for winding up or merger and dissolution thus cannot prevail over the specific provision in the charter and the statute that distribution shall be made pro-rata to shareholders in the event of dissolution. Especially is this so in view of the requirement that the Association shall be mutual. Article 16 of the charter provided that no amendment to the charter shall be made unless proposed by the Directors of the Association. Such Directors never made any proposal to amend the charter so as to prefer any class of shareholders over any other, as "insisted" by the Board. Nor did the Bank Board.

There can be no doubt but that the provisions "insisted" on by the Bank Board would prefer one class of shareholders over another, and destroy the mutuality of the shareholders, and this, without prior notice to those who deposited their money after April 22, 1960, or who pledged their accounts.

Title 12 C.F.R. 563.3 provides in its pertinent part: "* * * Every share, membership, or deposit certificate, passbook, or other instrument evidencing a withdrawable investment hereafter issued by an insured institution, which pays or proposes to pay a different rate of dividends or interest upon different classes or shares or securities, which prefers or proposes to prefer, either as to time or amount of participation in earnings or assets (except by way of a bonus plan), any one or more classes of shares or securities, * * * must, unless the corporation (FDIC) specifically permits omission of one or more of such recitals, include in its provisions, and display in easily read type, a full and understandable statement of the method * * * or the dividend provisions, or both, under which the institution operates, and the charge or charges, if any, for the privilege of becoming, remaining, or ceasing to be a saver or investor in the institution."

All depositors, at all times before as well as after April 22nd, 1960, were issued an identical passbook, the text of which was approved by the Bank Board. Nothing is said in the passbook, and indeed, no notice was given to any shareholder at the time he deposited his money, whether in the sum of one hundred dollars or one million dollars, or at, or before he pledged his account, that any depositor who pledged his account would forfeit his right to share pro-rata with all others, or that if the deposit was in excess of $10,000.00, he would forfeit his pro-rata share. The Bank Board are bound by their own regulation, unless changed in the manner prescribed by the Administrative Procedure Act [5 U.S.C. 1003]. The above-quoted regulation has never been changed. The Bank Board cannot ignore this regulation. [*Service* v. *Dulles et al* (1957) 354 U.S. 363; *U.S.* v. *Shaughnessy* (1954 347 U.S. 260]. Furthermore, all depositors were given, or had made available to them, an identical copy of the charter which, as above indicated, calls for pro-rata distribution, and which, it is worthy to repeat, constituted a contract by each shareholder with every other shareholder.

In addition to the charter provision for pro-rata distribution upon dissolution, the provisions of the Settlement Agreement dated February 14th, 1962, are important. That Agreement was about two years in the process of negotiation. Article XV thereof devotes six pages to the matter of the proposed merger of Long Beach with Equitable and its dissolution. It is not denied that throughout the negotiations the Bank Board unsuccessfully attempted to get the officers of Long Beach to limit accounts which would come in after the return of Long Beach to its elected management. But the Agreement contained the following provisions with relation to distribution of surplus or net assets on dissolution:

"XV(h) After the assumption by Equitable of said aggregate principal amount of all Long Beach share accounts and after the payment or the making by Long Beach of provision for payment of all creditor and other liabilities, the net surplus, reserves, and undivided profits of Long Beach shall be distributed as and when available to Long Beach shareholders of record at the close of business of the date (herein called 'Approval day') on which such plan shall be approved by the members of Long Beach as follows:

"(i) Each such shareholder shall be entitled to such part of the amount of such distribution as the dollar value in principal of his share account at the close of business on Approval Day bears to the total dollar value in principal of all Long Beach share accounts at the same time (not including said adjusting dividends in the computation). Each such shareholder shall be given written notice of his proportionate share as soon as practicable after Approval Day.

"(ii) Such distribution shall be made from time to time, as directed by the Long Beach Directors subject to the next following subparagraphs (iii), (iv), (v), and (vi), until the total net surplus, reserves and undivided profits and any other remaining assets of Long Beach have been collected, converted into cash, and distributed according to such plan."

The Settlement Agreement thus followed the terms of the charter. It incorporated the entire agreement of the parties. It was relied upon by the subsequent action of the Long Beach Association and its shareholders in dismissing the many actions therein mentioned, and by Equitable. If the doctrine of estoppel has any place in this case, it is more properly invoked in favor of the Association and its shareholders, rather than against them.

The Government's assertion that Mr. Gregory, President of Long Beach, orally promised to "screen" the accounts is denied by Mr. Gregory, but it is immaterial whether it is true or not as Gregory had no such power.

The Order of the Bank Board of March 22, 1962 (No. 15681) made pursuant to Article XI of the Settlement Agreement, provided specifically that: "(3) All rights, powers and privileges of said Association's members, officers and directors are restored." No restriction of any kind was placed on securing new "members" (shareholders), and it thus follows that any one who became a member or shareholder after the return of the Association had exactly the same rights as every other previous member. They were issued a passbook approved by the Bank Board, which was identical to all previously issued passbooks.

The Government asserts that every Federally chartered Association takes its charter subject to any changes that may be made by law. What Congress can do is one thing, but what the Bank Board can do is quite another. The changes here "insisted" on by the Bank Board were not by Congress, but by the Bank Board, and were, in fact, contrary to the Statute, to the charter issued by the Bank Board, its own Settlement Agreement, and contrary to its own regulations.

The Statute provided for the Association to be a *mutual* Association, and in a mutual Association preference cannot be given to one depositor or shareholder over another. In *Intermountain B & L Ass'n et al* v. *Gallegos et al* (9 Cir. 1935) 78 F. 2d 972, at 980, the Court said: "The pledge of the assets of a building association for the retirement of a certain class of its stock, in preference to others, is so violative of the elementary requirements of equality and *mutality* as to be absolutely void."

In *Pacific Coast Savings Society* v. *Sturdevant* (1913) 165 Cal. 687, the California Supreme Court had occasion to comment on the overriding necessity of equality of treatment to depositors or shareholders in a mutual institution. It said, at page 692: "* * * we think the better view is that followed by the court below,—namely, that when the corporation becomes insolvent all stockholders, including those who have given notice, pursuant to the by-laws, of withdrawal, stand upon an equal footing. The theory upon which this view is to be sustained is well stated in the following quotation from English on Building Associations (2d Ed. Sec. 514): 'The truth is that there is implied, in the very essence of the building association scheme, an agreement between the members of every association, in the light of which all other agreements, and all rules and by-laws, must be read, and to which they must be conformed; and that is the agree-

ment that all burdens shall be equally borne, as well as all profits equally shared—that the whole enterprise shall be conducted, and the rights and obligations of the participants in it shall be adjusted on a basis of strict mutuality, equality, and fairness. To permit one member, or one set of members, to be paid in full at the expense of others who get less is not to carry out that scheme or agreement, unless there is something which gives the former an equity superior to the latter, whereby they have a better and stronger claim upon the property of the Association. Where one has subscribed to and paid up stock upon a distinct understanding that it is to be preferred over others that have paid less, there is such a superior equity. But there is nothing in the mere fact that one has given a certain number of days' notice that he wants his money, whereby he is, ipso facto, invested with an equity to receive it superior to that of one who has not given such notice. There is, therefore, nothing to counterbalance, much less outweigh, the inequitableness, of permitting him to take the fund belonging to his fellows in order to pay himself.' And the learned author goes on to quote with approval the following declaration of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in Christian's Appeal, 102 Pa. St. 184, 189: 'When a Building Association has failed to fulfill the objects of its creation and has become hopelessly insolvent * * * after expenses incident to the administration of its assets are deducted, the general creditors, if any, should be first paid in full, and the residue of the funds should be distributed, *pro rata*, among those whose claims are based upon stock of the Association, whether they have withdrawn and hold orders for the withdrawal value thereof or not.'"

And while the charter may be subject to changes by Congress, in the public interest, there are limitations in that respect also. In *Treigle* v. *Acme Homestead Ass'n* (1936) 297 U.S. 189, The Court had under consideration a statute of Louisiana which attempted to alter the rights of previously existing shareholders in the proportion to be paid to them. The Court held it void, and said, at page 196:

"The provision is comparable to a statute declaring that whereas preferred stockholders heretofore have enjoyed a priority in the distribution of assets, in that respect they shall hereafter stand *pari passu* with common stockholders. Such an interference with the right of contract cannot be justified by saying that in the public interest the operations of Building Associations may be controlled and regulated, or that in the same interest their charters may be amended. The statute merely attempts, for no discernible public purpose, the abrogation of contracts between members and the Association lawful when made. This cannot be done under the guise of amending the charter powers of the corporation."

See Also: *Huntington* v. *Savings Bank* (1877) 96 U.S. 388. *Hamilton Natl Bank* v. *District of Columbia* (1946) 156 F. 2d 843–846.

The provisions "insisted" on by the Bank Board not only are contrary to the Statute, the charter, the Settlement Agreement and their own regulations, but they also vioalte the private contracts made by the shareholder with the Association when such shareholder pledged his account. Numerous regulations of the Bank Board implement the provisions of 12 U.S.C. 1464(c) permitting shareholders to borrow on the security of their shares. All the loans which would be affected by the Bank Board's "insisted" provisions, were made long before the Bank Board ever asserted the right to penalize such borrowers by cutting them out of any distribution of the surplus. The form for assignment of the passbooks for the purpose of pledging such account for loans was prescribed by the Board. The Board cannot now ignore it, and alter the mutual obligations between the borrower and the Association by penalizing the borrower simply because he borrowed.

The Government contends that in the event the court does not agree with its position, the court must remand the matter to the Bank Board. The position is not well taken for the reason that the action of the Bank Board, being out of harmony with, and contrary to, the law, the charter, the Settlement Agreement, and the Bank Board's own regulations, is a nullity. [*Manhattan General Equip. Co.* v. *Commissioner I.R.S., supra*]. *Hamilton Natl Bank* v. *District of Columbia* (D.C. 1946) 156 F. 2d 843, quoted with approval *Manhattan General Equip. Co.* v. *Commissioner, supra,* but remanded the case to the local taxing authorities to carry out their judgment. In that case a remand was required to permit ministerial acts of tax calculations. Here, there is nothing to remand.

The contested provisions of the Merger Agreement are either in compliance with the law or they are not. It is my opinion that they are not and that they are a "mere nullity." The Bank Board proposed the language, and agreed to the insertion of the provision that the validity of *any part* of the Agreement could be contested. It was notified, in advance of its approval of the Merger Agreement, that the Association and the Shareholders Protective Committee were going to contest the validity of the disputed provision of the Agreement, and that probably Equitable would file a suit in interpleader. The Bank Board nevertheless approved the Merger Agreement with the provision permitting legal testing of any part thereof, and thereafter notified the parties to the Agreement and the Savings and Loan Commissioner of the State of California that its Resolution No. 17,177 [Exhibit 3(d)(5)] approving the Agreement was "satisfied." In reliance upon the provision of the Merger Agreement permitting legal testing of any part of it, and in reliance upon the notification that its Resolution approving the Agreement was "satisfied," the parties proceeded to and did complete the merger, and immediately filed the suits to contest the validity of the disputed provisions of the Agreement.

The only sensible conclusion one can reach is that, like the California Savings and Loan Commissioner, the Bank Board agreed to be, and is, bound to abide the judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction. This court is a court of competent jurisdiction. It has jurisdiction of the subject matter and the parties, and there is nothing further the Bank Board can do even if the matter were remanded.

This is not a case for review of the rule-making power under 5 U.S.C. 1003; and it is not a case under 5 U.S.C. 1004 concerning adjudicatory powers, as there was no hearing, no findings, just the order of the Bank Board and its admitted "insistence" on having the objected-to provisions in the Agreement. It is somewhat analogous to the action of the Secretary of the Interior in striking an Indian's name from the allotment list and canceling the certificate which had theretofore been issued. The Supreme Court required the restoration of the name to the rolls and the restoration of the certificate by mandamus. But here, there is nothing to mandamus. Nevertheless, the comments of the court are pertinent. It said: *Garfield* v. *U.S.* (1908) 211 U.S. 249, at page 262: "In our view this case resolves itself into a question of the power of the Secretary of the Interior in the premises, as conferred by the acts of Congress. We appreciate fully the purpose of Congress in numerous acts of legislation to confer authority upon the Secretary of the Interior to administer upon the Indian lands, and previous decisions of this court have shown its refusal to sanction a judgment interfering with the Secretary where he acts within the powers conferred by law. But, as has been affirmed by this court in former decisions, there is no place in our constitutional system for the exercise of arbitrary power, and if the Secretary has exceeded the authority conferred upon him by law, then there is power in the courts to restore the status of the parties aggrieved by such unwarranted action."

In *Miller* v. *U.S.* (1935) 294 U.S. 435, the court stated, at page 440: "The only authority conferred, or which could be conferred, by the statute is to make regulations to carry out the purpose of the Act—not to amend it." Here, the purpose of the Act is to establish "mutual" building and loan associations, the shareholders or depositors of which should stand equally in all rights. The provisions "insisted" on by the Bank Board do not do that, but create retrospective and retroactive classes of shareholders, and give them preference over others whose rights are illegally forfeited. And this without any previous notice and contrary to their own regulations and the terms and intent of the Statute.

While I am satisfied that there is no genuine issue as to the fact that the shareholders ratified the Merger Agreement in reliance upon the right and the declared purpose to bring legal proceedings to enforce pro-rata distribution, if that conclusion were not warranted, and if, as contended by the Bank Board, the 64.4 per cent of the eligible shareholders voted to approve the Merger Agreement in reliance on the preferential treatment for certain classes as "insisted" on by the Bank Board, such provision in the Agreement would nevertheless be void. This, for the reason that the majority stockholders cannot appropriate a minority shareholders' interest in property belonging to a corporation, to the detriment of minority stockholders. [*Lebold et al* v. *Inland Steel Co.* (7 Cir. 1942) 125 F.2d 369, Cert. den. 316 U.S. 675]. See also: *Southern Pac. Co.* v. *Bogert et al* (1919) 250 U.S. 483; *Pepper* v *Litton* (1939) 308 U.S. 295; *Jackson* v. *Ludeling* (1874) 88 U.S. 616.

I conclude that neither the majority of the shareholders, nor the officers and directors of Long Beach, nor the Bank Board, nor Equitable, acting singly or in concert, had the power to make the forfeitures and preferences as set forth in the contested provisions of the Merger Agreement; that such provisions are void, as a matter of law; that no remand is required to be made to the Board; and that all shareholders, regardless of the size or date of deposit and regardless of any pledge of their shares, are entitled to a pro-rata distribution of the distributable surplus of the Long Beach Association.

The Bank Board relies heavily on *Fahey* v. *Mallonee* (1947) 332 U.S. 245, but that case involved the right of the Bank Board to appoint a conservator to take charge of the entire assets of the Association, and did not in any way involve the taking of one shareholder's property and money, and giving it to another, as the Bank Board attempted to do here.

In *Reich et al.* v. *Webb et al.*, No. 18457, decided August 18th, 1964, the Ninth Circuit said, as to one of the holdings in *Federal Home Loan Bank Board* v. *Greater Delaware Valley Federal Savings & Loan Association* (3 Cir. 1960) 277 F. 2d 437: "Basically, the holding stands for nothing more than a declaration that substantive liability cannot be created by the Bank Board apart from statute, a proposition with which we fully agree." In this case, the provisions in the Merger Agreement "insisted on" by the Bank Board attempt to create substantive liability against all those whose deposits exceed $10,000.00, or who have pledged their stock for loans, and in favor of all those who do not fall within those categories.

The Bank Board claims the plaintiffs and cross-complainants and intervenors are estopped from challenging the validity of

the disputed provisions. This is not so for several reasons: first, the Board proposed the language in Article VII to the effect that any shareholder could contest the validity of the Agreement or any part of it, and the Association and the shareholder, in their meetings, relied upon that proposal by the Board and acted on it. So did the Savings and Loan Commissioner of the State of California. Secondly, the Association did nothing to induce the Bank Board to put the disputed provisions in the Agreement, but by admission of defendants, the Bank Board "insisted" on the disputed provisions, and consented to the provision permitting a suit to test the validity of the Merger Agreement "or any part thereof." And the law does not prevent a shareholder from accepting such benefits as may be accorded him by a dissolution or merger, and also from suing for what he claims is his lawful right to have. [*Lebold et al.* v. *Inland Steel Co.* (1943) 125 F. 2d 369, cert. den. 316 U.S. 675.]

The parties have filed affidavits and counter-affidavits ranging over a wide field of facts and conclusions other than covered and found herein. But none of such facts in said affidavits and counter-affidavits, other than as stated herein, are necessary or material to a decision of the whole case, and the facts as stated herein are material and without any genuine issue, and are all that are material or necessary to a decision that the plaintiffs, cross-complainants and intervenors are entitled to the judgment herein indicated that the disputed provisions in the Merger Agreement are illegal and void, and that the action of the Bank Board in "insisting" on them as a condition of the merger was arbitrary and contrary to, and without authority in, law.[4]

While this Memorandum is primarily addressed to Action No. 63–1107–PH, a further examination of the pleadings and Motions for summary judgment in Cases No. 63–1072–PH (to which Equitable has consented to be a party, and for which an order will be signed when presented), and No. 63–1230–PH, demonstrates that the facts found herein as material to a decision of the whole case are true, without any genuine issue thereto, and the legal conclusions herein stated are equally applicable to and controlling as to each of said latter numbered cases, without further findings, conclusions, or discussion.

Pursuant to the provisions of F.R.C.P. 52, the findings of fact and conclusions of law stated herein are sufficient so as not to require any findings of fact or conclusions of law in any of the three cases.

Counsel for the prevailing parties will prepare, submit, and serve judgments in each of the three cases in accordance with the conclusions and decisions herein expressed. If not too much of a burden, it would be preferable to spell out in the judgments the exact amount of each shareholder account (using a code number) and the exact amount of shares in Equitable to which that account is entitled.

Dated: Los Angeles, California, this 21 day of September, 1964.

PIERSON M. HALL,
U.S. District Judge.

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[1] The cases filed in this court arising out of that and subsequent disputes with the Bank Board are cases numbered: 5421, 7989, 13953, 13979, 15888, 16772, 16773, 16774, 16775, 16845, 17133, 17152, 18905, 15–57, 378–58, 506–60, 462–61, 63–590, 63–1072, 63–1107, and 63–1230. The reported decisions cover more than 400 pages of the Federal Supplement and the Federal Reporter, 2d., as follows:

Mallonee v. *Fahey* (D.C. S.D.Calif. 1946) 68 F. Supp. 418;

Fahey v. *Mallonee* (1947) 332 U.S. 245, 67 S.Ct. 1552, 91 L.Ed. 2030;

ExParte Fahey (1947) 332 U.S. 258, 67 S. Ct. 1558, 91 L. Ed. 2041;

Mallonee v. *Fahey* (D.C. 1949) 14 F.R.D. 273;

Home Loan Bank Board v. *Mallonee* (9 Cir. 1952) 196 F. 2d 336, Cert. den. 345 U.S. 952, 73 S. Ct. 863, 97 L.Ed. 1374;

Mallonee v. *Fahey* (9 Cir. 1952) 200 F. 2d 918;

Fahey v. *O'Melveny & Myers* (9 Cir. 1952) 200 F. 2d 420, Reh. den. December 17, 1952, Cert. den. 345 U.S. 952, 73 S.Ct. 863, 97 L.Ed. 1374, Reh. den. 345 U.S. 978, 73 S. Ct. 1120, 97 L.Ed. 1393;

Fahey v. *Calverley* (9 Cir. 1953) 208 F. 2d 197, Reh. den. December 19, 1953, Cert. den. *Utley* v. *Fahey*, 347 U.S. 955, 74 S. 681, 98 L.Ed. 1100;

Mallonee v. *Fahey* (D.C. S.D. Calif. 1953) 117 F. Supp. 259;

Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco v. *Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association* (D.C. 1954) 122 F. Supp. 401;

Mallonee v. *Fahey* (D.C. 1954) 122 F. Supp. 472;

Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco v. *Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association* (D. C. 1954) 122 F. Supp. 960;

Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco v. *Hall* (9 Cir. 1955) 225 F. 2d 349, Reh. den. 10/12/55, Cert. den. *Mallonee, Bucklin & Fergus* v. *Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco, et al*, 350 U.S. 968, 76 S. Ct. 438, 100 L. Ed. 840;

Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association v. *Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco* (1955) 76 S. Ct. 32, 100 L. Ed. 1517;

Amman v. *Home Investment Co.* (9 Cir. 1957) 243 F. 2d 758;

Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association v. *Federal Home Loan Bank Board* (D.C. 1960) 189 F. Supp. 589;

Federal Home Loan Bank Board v. *Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association* (9 Cir. 1961) 295 F. 2d 403, Reh. den. 11/17/61.

The Court takes judicial notice of such files and records and reported decisions, as well as the record of several hearings before, and reports of, Congressional Committees which investigated the disputes between the Long Beach Federal Savings & Loan Association and the Home Loan Bank Board.

[2] The Board had more than a "tendency to wobble" in its position. The phrase is borrowed from Judge Pope in *Anglo-Canadian Shipping Co., Ltd.* v. *Federal Maritime Com'n* (9 Cir. Cir. 1962) 310 F. 2d 606, at 611. See: Footnote 4.

[3] By stipulation, an Order was made for the distribution of about seven million dollars worth of stock which had been deposited in court, so that the disputed stock remaining is valued at something more than $2 million.

[4] Because the Court has had some difficulty in following the positions of the Bank Board, some comment should be made with relation thereto: A decision thereon is not necessary to the conclusions reached here. It is claimed that the Board "insisted" on the provisions because of their "concern" over the flow of money into the Association in large deposits after its return on April 2, 1962. But the Affidavit of Professor McMurray, former Chairman of the Bank Board, shows that in July, 1962, when they first demanded exclusion of accounts of $100,000.00 and over, their "concern" was not over the inflow of funds, but over the outflow of money from the institution. His affidavit states:

"In July, 1962, during the merger negotiations, the Long Beach management advised the Bank Board that approximately $7,000,000 had been withdrawn from the Association after the June 30, 1962 dividend. The Board became concerned about this situation." [Paragraph 6 of the Affidavit].

Congressman Stratton Reports on the Accomplishments of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as this 2d session of the 88th Congress comes to a close, I would like to take this opportunity to report to the people of the 35th District of New York, whom I have the honor to represent here, on the accomplishments of this Congress, just as I have done each year I have been privileged to serve in this body. As their Congressman I believe I have an obligation to keep them posted on how their elected representative has tried to discharge the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him. Because Congress remained in session all year last year, it was not feasible for me to report on the record of that first session of this Congress. For that reason this report will cover both sessions, 1963 and 1964.

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Even its critics will, I think, agree that the 88th Congress has been a most productive one, with more major legislation enacted than any other Congress in recent years, perhaps in our entire history. We got off to a slow start, but we have more than made it up in what has been written into law since the tragic events of last November. I would not be honest, however, if I did not acknowledge that most of these major legislative achievements would not have been possible except for broad bipartisan support. Only because substantial numbers of members of both major political parties voted for these bills were they passed. So it is clear that the achievements of this Congress are not the exclusive property of any one party. In the following paragraph I would like to review for you some of the more important of these accomplishments, and try to point out the specific impact which each has on the particular problems of our own 35th District.

Three of the most important bills we passed were the nuclear test ban treaty, adopted in the first session; the historic civil rights bill, representing the greatest single advance in this field since the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years ago; and the $11.5 billion tax cut bill. The tax cut bill has a special significance for our district because for some time six of our eight counties have been suffering from heavy unemployment. The tax cut bill, favored overwhelmingly by business and having broad bipartisan support, was designed to stimulate business activity, generate more profits and thus in turn more actual tax revenue, and put more people to work. Already we have begun to feel the effects of this unique economic gamble. After all, nearly $2 billion of this total of $11.5 billion comes into New York State, a tremendous shot in the

arm. Particularly because of this bill, and particularly because of several other pieces of legislation, unemployment has now declined sharply in our district, with three counties recently dropping off the serious unemployment list. This is good news. Incidentally, Congress also agreed to try to eliminate those wartime excise taxes next year, if the economy continues to move upward. Beside the tax cut, Congress took other steps to simulate business and end unemployment. Last year we voted more funds for the accelerated public works program—APW—in all more than $4 million in Federal assistance under this program has now come into our 35th District, all in response to local requests, thereby helping not only to put people to work, but also to build needed hospitals, water and sewer lines, streets, and public buildings. The six counties eligible for this help, by the way—Ontario, Yates, Seneca, Cayuga, Otsego, and Montgomery—have fared considerably better than most other congressional districts have done. Perhaps this is partly because, at my suggestion, the Community Facilities Administration held a special conference on how this program operates almost 2 years ago in Geneva, in December 1962. Understanding what the bill could do, and how to go about applying, our areas were therefore better prepared to take full advantage of it. Unfortunately, the funds for this APW program have now run out, although many communities are still seeking help under it. I have been trying hard to get the program reactivated, but Congress adjourned without acting on my proposal. I still hope, though, that APW can be revived in the next Congress.

In addition the 88th Congress passed a manpower training act, to help unemployed persons pick up new skills to help them find new jobs. Projects under this act are already in progress in Cayuga, Cortland, Chenango, and Montgomery Counties, and are under consideration elsewhere. We also passed a vocational Education Act, and training programs in these fields are underway in Amsterdam, Geneva, and Auburn. We passed the food stamp plan to help needy families enrich their diets with some of the Nation's surplus foods, purchasing them through their own neighborhood grocery store rather than by direct handouts. And the antipoverty program was enacted. Basically this bill is intended to help unemployed people, especially young people, get the extra schooling and training they need to qualify for available jobs in today's complex technical world. Amsterdam and Auburn are both already planning projects to take advantage of the help this legislation provides. I was especially pleased that the Youth Conservation Corps, which I have been pushing since I came to Congress, was included in the antipoverty bill. This corps will give young men without jobs an opportunity to keep busy, be paid, and also receive training while at the same time carrying out useful conservation and reforestation projects in the outdoors. What better place to do this than our district? Because of its emphasis on training and education some people have suggested that the 88th Congress may come to be known as the Education Congress. Besides the bills already mentioned, we passed two pieces of legislation of benefit to colleges and college students. One was the college facilities bill, which will help colleges build needed new classrooms and laboratories. The other was an expansion and extension of the popular National Defense Education Act—NEDA—which should now make it possible for any student who can handle college level work to go to college even if his family cannot afford to pay the bill; he can borrow the money from the Government and pay it back after education. Both these pieces of legislation are of importance to our 35th District, because we have same nine colleges and one more in the development stage. Congress also passed bills this year to help medical schools train more doctors, help train more nurses, and help train more optometrists. We renewed the popular Hill-Burton program for help in building hospitals, and extended it to cover repairs as well as new construction. This too is good news, considering the hospital expansion programs either underway or planned at Geneva, Penn Yan, Canandaigua, Clifton Springs, Auburn, and elsewhere. And we passed a bill to stimulate work in mental retardation. The city of Geneva is hoping to start a project under this bill, as a memorial to the late President Kennedy.

People interested in conservation and the outdoors will also find that this has been a productive Congress. We passed the wilderness bill, to preserve some 9 million acres across the country in their original state, much like the "forever wild" features of our own New York State forest preserve, for the enjoyment of hikers and campers and fishermen. We created a national seashore on Fire Island, off the south coast of Long Island, one of the few still unspoiled natural beach areas in the country. And we enacted the land and conservation bill, which will provide Federal grants on a matching basis to States for developing new recreational areas. Under this bill the land the State acquired a couple of years ago on Otsego Lake, for example, can now be developed for recreational purposes. And the bill should also prove of great value in increasing tourist business in the whole Finger Lakes region. Incidentally, our 35th District is the largest farm district in New York State, and the 4th largest dairy district in the entire United States. In agriculture, the most significant bill for us was one to restrict imports of foreign beef which have been threatening our own dairy industry. And another piece of farm legislation we considered was the wheat and cotton bill. As you may already know, I strongly opposed this bill and voted against it, even though my own party leadership was pushing hard for it. The bill was opposed by the vast majority of our farmers and was clearly not in the interest of our dairy district.

Foreign aid legislation was passed each year, but it should be noted that Congress, both this year and last, took major steps to reduce the size of the program. We cut nearly a billion dollars off the request of President Kennedy in 1963. This year President Johnson submitted a much smaller request to us. But we cut that one, too. Still it should be remembered that foreign aid has an important role which often is overlooked. Not only does it make it possible for us to resist communism in places like South America and Vietnam, it also provides jobs and business right here in our district. You may not realize that 80 percent of all foreign aid funds are spent in the United States of America, a large bulk, by the way, in New York State. Much of the activity in the ALCO plant in Auburn, for example, has been made possible these past years because of locomotive orders financed out of U.S. foreign aid funds. Any drastic cut in foreign aid, therefore, would throw people out of work in Auburn, and I for one would not want to see that happen. Two other important foreign policy bills we passed were a resolution backing President Johnson in whatever steps he feels are needed to win the war in Vietnam, and another calling on the U.N. to see that the Russians pay up their overdue assessments or else lose their voting rights in that body, as the charter itself provides.

Having served in both World War II and the Korean war, and holding the rank of captain in the Naval Reserves, I have long been deeply interested in our national defense. During the 6 years I have been in Congress I have been proud to be a member of the Armed Services Committee. This past year I had the honor to serve as ranking member of an important new Subcommittee on Defense Research and Development. It is perhaps well to remember that more than 50 percent of all Government spending is for national defense. This year, I am glad to say, we have held the line on defense spending; in fact we even cut it below what it was a year ago. Yet we have, I believe, continued to build up our effective military strength so that our superiority over the Russians is even more impressive today than at any time in our history. One of the difficult aspects of holding the line on defense spending has been Secretary McNamara's decision to close down certain military installations. I am happy to say that the one installation in our district, the Seneca Army Depot at Romulus, was unaffected by this move, however, and continues strong. But two others nearby our district are to be phased out over the next 3 years, the Schenectady Army Depot and the Rome Air Materiel Area. This decision has been a bitter one to take. Our bipartisan congressional delegation fought hard to save both bases. Though we were not successful in rescinding the orders, we did persuade the Defense Department to move more slowly and carefully, and I am hopeful we may yet find some way of keeping these installations active on useful work. After all, as long as the facilities are there and the trained people are available there should be some useful job they can be working on rather than have the Government build new installations in some other part of the country.

One important aspect of defense is defense contracting. Over the past 2 years I have fought hard to see that our upstate areas get a better, fairer share of this defense business. I have worked personally with a number of our business concerns to help them present their case to the procurement people. And last spring at my suggestion the first Government Procurement Conference in upstate New York was held in our district, at Geneva. All these things have now begun to pay off. I was happy to see that the latest figures show that the percentage of defense contracts coming into New York State has risen to the highest level it has been at in some 5 or 6 years, 12.9 percent.

Congress also passed a bill this year to increase pensions to disabled veterans, a measure which I had cosponsored. And we passed a new housing bill, to provide needed funds for continuing those senior citizens' housing projects like the ones being planned in Geneva and Cortland, and to carry through urban renewal projects such as those underway or planned in Amsterdam, Oneonta, Norwich, Cortland, Auburn, Geneva, and Penn Yan.

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

I know you are also interested in whether Congress, in doing all these things, also acted prudently and responsibly with your tax dollars. I am happy to say we did. When the tax cut bill was up, most experts pointed out that if we cut taxes, and thereby deliberately incurred a temporary deficit, we should certainly make a determined effort to hold the line on spending and if possible even reduce it a bit. This we have done. Congress cut the President's budget by almost $6.5 billion in 1963. This year President Johnson came up with one which was even smaller than President Kennedy's last budget. Yet even that we reduced by more than $4 billion. This, I believe, is prudent fiscal management of your money.

WHAT WE DIDN'T GET DONE

But although this Congress did a lot, there were some things it did not get around to doing before we adjourned that should have been taken care of. Perhaps the most serious was our failure to enact the bill boosting social security benefits. Instead the bill died in conference committee, still deadlocked over whether or not to include medicare. What makes it worse, none of us had any chance to vote on the committee's decision to let the bill die. Personally I think that was a serious mistake. At least we should have passed the increase in benefits. I certainly think this whole matter should be given top priority in the new Congress. Also unacted on was a bill I have had in the hopper for years to increase the amount a retired person can earn on the outside without losing his social security. It should be included in any general bill we eventually pass.

We also failed to take action on State reapportionment. The bipartisan Dirksen-Mansfield rider, which would have given New York the time we need to deal with the Supreme Court decision, was finally watered down in the Senate to a meaningless "sense of Congress" resolution. Then a House-Senate conference committee knocked even that provision out, again without bothering to consult the membership as a whole. I tried twice to get the House to support the Dirksen-Mansfield rider, but was not successful. It will still be possible to bring a constitutional amendment up to a vote next year, of course, and I would certainly support an amendment to allow one house to be apportioned on the basis of factors other than population. But by the time such an amendment can be adopted much of the damage, as far as upstate New York is concerned, will already have been done.

DAIRY PROBLEMS

Congress adjourned without taking any action on dairy legislation. As the representative of the State's major dairy district, I called a meeting 2 years ago in Syracuse on all farm programs to try to work out some dairy legislation reflecting the views of the majority of our farmers. Surprisingly we found wide agreement on such a bill. And I then introduced it in the House and went to bat to try to get it passed. I arranged for upstate dairy groups to meet with other Members of Congress to push for this legislation. But Congress never passed the bill. I have been called on often during the past 2 years by various dairy organizations to help on other legislative matters and to testify at dairy hearings. You may remember I fought against the procedures for amending our milk market order, which to me seemed to represent more a sham rather than a real referendum. Recently I met with Secretary Freeman to try to get him to grant price relief to our dairy farmers because of heavy financial losses suffered as a result of this summer's drought. While we have not yet gotten a satisfactory answer I continue to be optimistic, and hope that some relief will still come our way. Actually Congress did pass one piece of legislation helpful to dairy farmers. It has always disturbed me that the connection between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays is so remote. Nobody has every explained to me satisfactorily why the farmers can get only 9 or 10 cents a quart for his milk and yet the consumer pays as much as 28 or 30 cents a quart. Well, Congress decided this year to find the answer to this puzzle: We established a commission to look into the price spread, hoping that maybe we could eventually find a way to give the farmer more for his product and still save a bit on the price the consumer pays.

Another measure that Congress did not enact that should have been passed was a bill that I have been pushing for years to give parents a tax deduction on money they spend to educate their children. Still another was a bill I have repeatedly introduced to allow volunteer fire companies to be eligible directly for surplus government equipment, like fire, and water trucks, without having to go through civil defense or bid on them directly. And nothing was done, I am sorry to say, on my resolution to establish a Captive Nations Committee in the House, to dramatize our determination to insure that countries like Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine will one day be free of Communist control. I am proud, though, to have been selected recently, as a result of my efforts in this field, for a special award from the Assembly of Captive Nations.

OTHER IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS

Reviewing the record of the past 2 years in Washington, several other achievements of interest to our district ought to be mentioned. Foremost is the action of the Agriculture Department and the Area Redevelopment Administration in granting Cayuga County a sugarbeet quota, the first awarded east of the Mississippi, thereby bringing an important new multimillion-dollar industry into upstate New York. I have been working on this problem from the Washington end for more than 2 years, and am delighted to have had a share in making this new development possible.

Another important event was the opening of a new milk plant at Fort Plain, financed with a sizable ARA loan. This plant should add to the stability of our district's dairy industry. Incidentally, last year in response to a request from area farmers suffering the effects of the 1962 drought, we were also successful in getting the railroads to authorize special cheaper rates for hay and grain shipments into drought areas in our district.

INCREASING EMPLOYMENT

As always, one of my major concerns these past 2 years has been to do everything possible to increase jobs in our district. This means fighting to try to keep a Government contract in Amsterdam, for example, as with Empire Devices, and helping the new Electro Sensitive Products Co. get on its feet when Empire Devices moved out. It means helping Gould Pump in Seneca Falls bring to the attention of the Health and Welfare Department the damaging effects to their business that could have resulted from a carelessly drawn "model law" on water systems they were planning to publish, and getting the law withdrawn and revised so as not to hurt one of our district's leading employers. It has meant continuing to press the cause of businesses in our district who are fighting the economic damage of excessive foreign imports, such as General Electric in Schenectady, Wickwire in Cortland, Columbia Rope in Auburn, Sylvania in Seneca Falls, and Mohasco in Amsterdam. It means working with many smaller companies to help them get assistance from the Small Business Administration so they can expand and put more people to work. I am glad to report we have been successful in a very large percentage of these cases. It means helping the city of Amsterdam finance a special survey to determine how to improve employment in the Carpet City. It means having the Department of Commerce make a special employment census of the area served by the Bendix plant at Scintilla, from which we found that Scintilla was eligible for special consideration on Government contracts because it was located in an unemployment area. It means persuading the Army to put the old Sampson airfield in Seneca County up for bid as the Seneca Falls Chamber of Commerce had recommended so that a private operator might use the facility

to enhance the economy of the whole Finger Lakes area. It means helping to put the Stamina Conference in Washington this spring, to assist local New York State communities in taking advantage of available Government programs, on a full bipartisan basis so it could be even more effective. It means fighting to keep the FAA flight reporting operating out of Elmira so as to make it easier for private aircraft to fly into our district on business as well as for pleasure. It means working with the Army Corps of Engineers to find ways to eliminate seaweed and improve the level of Keuka Lake, thereby increasing its tourist appeal. It means working with the local officials in Fair Haven to persuade those same engineers to consider deepening the access channel to Little Sodus Bay so that our district's one seaport can take full advantage of the oceangoing shipping now moving through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway. And it means helping Canajoharie overcome redtape obstacles and getting a sizable Federal grant for their new sewage treatment plant, thereby insuring more stable employment in the Beech-Nut plant.

RECREATION

In response to requests from people in Unadilla we got action started last year to turn the East Sidney dry dam into a small lake for use of people in Otsego and Chenango Counties. The Interior Department has also moved to expand the Montezuma Wildlife Refuge in Seneca County. And the Farmers Home Administration boosted rural recreational possibilities with loans to a new recreational center in Cortland County, at Marathon, and another at Clifton Springs in Ontario County. Three historic sites in our district were honored by designation as national shrines—the Seward Homestead in Auburn; the Jethro Wood Home in Poplar Ridge, Cayuga County; and Boughton Hill at Victor in Ontario County. That portion of the Susquehanna River that originates in Cooperstown and runs through our district was selected for possible preservation in "its original state" as a kind of historic monument to the great rivers of America. With Government help a new private recreational pond was added in Yates County.

FLOOD AND WATER PROBLEMS

Another area of constant activity has been the problem of flooding and flood threats in our district. We finally got the Army Engineers to dredge a portion of river at Oneonta, thus giving some temporary relief from flooding to that city. The banks of the Tioughnioga River at Cortland were riprapped to decrease flooding. Teams from the Army engineers moved swiftly in at my request to deal with the severe floods earlier this year at Oxford, and survey teams later made studies in both Oxford and Norwich. Other studies are now being made at my request of ways to prevent a recurrence of last spring's floods in Marathon and Cortlandville. The floodwall for South Amsterdam has now been completed. And those extensive hearings that have been held this year as part of the Army's overall survey of the Susquehanna River have shown that the threat of more big dams in our area—which I have fought since coming to Congress—is decreasing today.

We also succeeded in getting machinery underway to help both New Berlin and Oxford pay for the heavy costs of their recent search for new water supplies. Speaking of drilling, I was glad to have been able to get experts from the U.S. Bureau of Mines up into Oneonta last summer when that leaking gasoline scare erupted. They helped local officials track down the source of the leak and put a stop to it. We also helped Amsterdam get assistance for an extension of its water system.

Several other cases may be of interest too. We succeeded in getting local mail delivery to Victor, and a much wanted downtown mailbox installed in Weedsport. Both Oneonta and Unadilla have been chosen for new post offices, Worcester and Milford, I hope, not far behind. We also supplied background data for a possible special census in Canandaigua to the mayor and the common council. And I was glad to have been able to get the Veterans' Administration to slow down its campaign to close out domiciliary facilities at the Bath Hospital. This VA hospital serves Yates County, and any such change would have imposed an almost impossible burden on this county. By the way, the U.S. submarine, *Pulaski*, which I was pleased to have had a hand in persuading the Navy to name for the great Polish patriot, was launched and also commissioned during the tenure of this 88th Congress.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

I have always felt that one of the most important obligations of a Congressman was to keep in close touch throughout the year with the people he has the honor to represent. Not just listening to them, but also reporting to them and keeping himself available to be of service to them whenever they may need him. I have tried hard to do this these past 2 years, even though the unusual size of our submarine district—about 250 miles from one end to the other—has made it more difficult and time consuming than was the case with our old 32d District. But I have set up and maintained two full-time district offices, one in Amsterdam and one in Auburn. One member of my staff is on duty at each of these locations to help you on immigration, veterans, or any other matters, and another part-time staff member is also available regularly in Cortland County near the geographic center of our district.

I have also made it a point to get back into the district myself almost every weekend for the past 2 years, which may establish some new kind of record. Beside that I have tried to keep you posted by regular newsletters, radio, and television, and have sought your advice through our annual questionnaire. In spite of these regular trips back home, by the way, I have kept my attendance record in the House over the 90-percent mark, so as to be on the job for you down here where I am suposed to be when I am supposed to be.

I have especially enjoyed the opportunity each summer to utilize in my Washington office the help of students from colleges in our district as "congressional interns" during the summer months. Coming this time from Hobart, Cortland State, Wells, Hartwick, and Keuka, they have added greatly to the effectiveness of our office, and I hope they have also gained some insight into the day-to-day operations of Congress. This intern program has grown so popular over the 6 years I have been using it that we found ourselves almost literally running out of office space this summer to seat our new assistants.

As a naval reservist and a member of the Armed Services Committee, I have always felt that selection of young men to our three service Academies—West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy—was one of the most important responsibilities of a Congressman. After all, these boys will be our top military commanders of the future. For that reason we ought to see that the boys finally selected are those best qualified to become top-flight career officers. To insure that I have constantly tried to encourage the largest number of boys to apply for these appointments, and I have made a point of selecting my nominees on the basis of merit, without regard for partisan considerations. Every boy has an equal chance to compete with every other boy. I do think this policy has paid off in the high level of performance being maintained by the boys at the Academies from our district. Appointments will be made again this year on this same basis, after the results of the written examinations, the physicals, and the personal interviews are in.

CONCLUSION

May I conclude by expressing my sincere thanks, and that of my wife, Joan, and our whole office staff to all of you for the kindness and consideration you have extended to us over these past two full and exciting and, I hope, genuinely productive years. You have been most considerate and patient with us, and most cooperative in your suggestions, comments, and even criticisms. We have tried to do the kind of job you would want your Congressman to do. I hope we have succeeded. Serving in the House of Representatives is both a great privilege and a tremendous challenge. That challenge is perhaps nowhere better expressed than in a quote from Daniel Webster that is painted on the wall of the House Chamber over the Speaker's chair:

Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all of its great interests, and see whether we, too, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, every so often it becomes an individual's privilege and good fortune to be asso-

ciated with a person who makes or leaves a lasting impression. It has been my privilege to be associated with two such people in the Congress, one the late Sam Rayburn, from Texas, the other, the Honorable CARL VINSON who has served in the House of Representatives for a longer period than any other individual.

He has dedicated his entire life to service to his country and is asking nothing in return. My only wish is that he enjoy his well-earned retirement to the fullest extent.

Report on U.S. Service Academies and Notice of Examination on October 31, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am writing to tell you this is now the time during October when applications can be made to me as your Congressman for the civil service exams to be held on October 31. These exams are for congressional appointments from our district to the four U.S. Academies, for high school graduates in June 1965. These are fully paid scholarships at Air Force Academy, West Point, Annapolis, and Merchant Marine Academy, are for 4 years, leading to engineering degrees. U.S. expenditures on these average $8,000 to $10,000 per year for each cadet.

Our office works hard each year on a program to get good candidates—while each Congressman is allotted one principal appointment to each academy yearly—in the current year, we got appointed two cadets to the Air Force, two to West Point, six cadets to Annapolis (the tops in the United States), and one to Merchant Marine. So there is good opportunity for appointment.

Let me hear any good recommendation and my office will contact the young man and send him an application.

Here is good news on the cadets from our local area—Dormont and Green Tree, that I I have appointed to the U.S. Academies from our large congressional district: Jim Wessel, of Dormont, son of Judge and Mrs. Art Wessel made the dean's list at West Point, is now captain serving in Germany, with the 34th Cavalry in Armor. Frederick Burdette, of Green Tree Boro, entered West Point this year highly recommended by the American Legion post and is already succeeding. Fred writes on September 23: "I like it more and more each day."

Tom Crimm, of Dormont, graduated at Annapolis in 1958 is now serving with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. He is an engineer on the submarine *Irex*—really demanding service. Jim Davis, of Green Tree, a graduate of Dormont High, son of Mrs. Margaret Davis, a widow, just returned from Japan in July. Jim graduated at Annapolis and has just been selected for promotion to commander. George Meighen, former president of the student council at Dormont High, has returned from Army duty on Okinawa. George graduated at West Point, and is now a major at Norfolk, Va. Jim Mitchell, of Dormont, started at Annapolis, switched to the Air Force, and is now attending Geneva College.

We in our district are proud of this fine record.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

Hon.. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, CARL VINSON is variously and affectionately known by his colleagues and associates as "Mr. Chairman," "Dr. VINSON," "Admiral VINSON," "Mr. Democrat," "Mr. Dean of the House," "Mr. National Defense"; but to me he is "Mr. All America."

Presidents, Cabinet members, great generals, admirals, Justices of the Supreme Court have come and gone these past 50 years, but the name of one statesman runs throughout this entire span of half a century—CARL VINSON, of Georgia.

During this time, the United States came into its own as the greatest world power of all time. Fifty years ago when VINSON took the oath of office in the well of this House, our Nation was a second-rate military power when compared to the great military powers of Europe. Mr. VINSON played a leading role in the creation of a two-ocean Navy, in developing air power second to none in the world, and a highly trained mobile American Army and Marine Corps.

Though beginning his service in the "horse and buggy days," he is a man of vision and imagination who prepared for the future defense of freedom with missiles, atomic energy, and nuclear power on land, under the sea, and in space.

Mr. Speaker, our beloved colleague was a confidant and adviser of all the Presidents of the United States since Woodrow Wilson. He sat with them in the cabinet room in times of peace, depression, and in three world wars. The Nation has indeed been fortunate in being blessed during critical times with the keen insight, courage, and stability of this great statesman.

CARL VINSON is devoted to Congress and particularly to this House as a great American institution. He is a student of the history of Congress from the Continental Congress which created the Republic and created our Army, Navy, and Marines, down to and through this 88th Congress, with its magnificent record of accomplishment and achievement.

I grew to love, admire, respect, and work closely with Chairman VINSON as secretary of his informal committee of the House on textiles. I do not believe any committee in the history of the Congress has done more to preserve a great and vital American industry with its millions of employees. I sat on Mr. VINSON's right during some of the most historic conferences concerning the fate of an entire industry in the modern history of our Nation. I was with him when he conferred many times with President Kennedy, President Johnson, Cabinet members, leaders of defense, Members of the Senate, and the great textile executives and labor leaders of the United States. President Kennedy's seven-point textile program was largely the work of Mr. VINSON. He was the leader in wining its approval and in its implementation. Mr. VINSON's skill, tenacity, courage, and determination during this long, hard but successful fight is a magnificent tribute in itself. My conferences with him and the great leaders of our time in the fish room, the rose garden, the Cabinet room, the State Department, and elsewhere will always be to me a refreshing and enlightening reminiscence.

Mr. VINSON set a good example of accomplishment and achievement for the youth of our Nation. He led a disciplined and a spartan life. He was always in the office around 7 in the morning. He could do a day's work before many of us began. Mr. VINSON was a man of alacrity and decision. He was a man of action. He has called me at 7 with instructions to have a several-page memo to the President ready by 9 o'clock. One afternoon he directed me to get the signatures of 129 Members of Congress to a letter going to the President late that evening. He did not tell me how this was to be accomplished, but he expected it to be done. While serving with him, I learned to do the impossible.

I am fortunate indeed having known this great American. I will be a better Member of this body having so closely associated with him. He is a great teacher and this House and the Congress will always benefit from his genius and leadership. I often saw admirals, generals, and even the Secretary of Defense have to wait to see Mr. VINSON while he received a message from a colleague's secretary or conferred with a constituent from his beloved Georgia.

I will greatly miss Mr. VINSON, his drive, and dynamic leadership here in the Congress, but he has earned and deserves a rest among his people and in the land he loves.

Mrs. Dorn and my family join me in wishing for Mr. VINSON, his fine staff, and his great constituency, to whom he was so devoted, the very best always.

Hon. Lester Johnson

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in March of this year, our colleague LESTER JOHNSON of Wisconsin an-

nounced he would retire from the House of Representatives at the expiration of his term at the close of 1964.

When LESTER was elected to the House in 1953 at a special election to fill the vacancy created by former Congressman Hull, he was the first Democrat to be elected from this area of Wisconsin. He was assigned to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of which I am now chairman. He was a most competent Member, but regretfully, he left my committee in 1955 to serve on the Agriculture Committee. It was on this committee that he made his presence felt and chairmaned its Dairy Subcommittee. He is well known today as a leader in the fields of dairy, conservation, and rural electrification and our rural population throughout the entire country, not just Wisconsin, will be losing a Member who at all times maintained their interests as a primary source of personal concern.

"Let in the Sun"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Woody Klein, a reporter with the New York World Telegram & Sun has written a book on the problems of housing in New York City.

"Let in the Sun" is one of the finest discussions of this subject I have ever read and I was privileged to have the opportunity of writing the foreword to Mr. Klein's book.

All persons concerned with the problems of housing in our large cities will be interested in this book and, under previous permission, I insert the foreword in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FOREWORD TO "LET IN THE SUN" BY WOODY KLEIN

(By Representative JOHN V. LINDSAY)

I represent the 17th Congressional District on Manhattan's East Side in New York City. Some people call it the "silk stocking" district. This is a misnomer because the district contains the most varied mixture of people and incomes and living conditions of any congressional district in the United States.

My district is made up of the great central part of Manhattan Island; ranging from Yorkville to Cooper Union, from Greenwich Village to Columbus Circle, from the garment and theater areas on the West Side to the United Nations on the East River. The Bureau of the Census marks it as having the largest number of nationalities living within its borders of any congressional district in the country.

From block to block, the contrasts are sudden and striking. Around the edges of Central Park and down the avenues on the East Side are big luxury residential buildings. In this part of the city, many of the buildings have large rooms, penthouses, every modern-day comfort, and doorman protection. The apartment houses on Fifth Avenue have breathtaking views of the park and the entire skyline of Manhattan. Along the side streets there is good living, too. But there are also the refuse-strewn blocks where the sun never enters. It is always gray and one can sense fear and tension. At night you want the day and in the day you want the night to hide you from it and it from you.

I have spent endless hours cruising the avenues and streets of Manhattan—examining the construction wave that has demolished a sizable portion of the city, talking with families who are being displaced, and with distraught parents looking for a place to live that is both within their means and large enough.

Weekend after weekend I have come up to my district from Washington and listened to the frightening, oft-repeated tale of people who bear the burden and hardship of inadequate housing.

Four years ago, I set up a housing team, young men and women volunteers from my district who contribute their time and energy to assist constituents of mine who need a place to live, who are being choked by the rent squeeze, who are caught up in the tangle of landlords, lawyers, and local rent administrators, who are being forcibly relocated in the name of urban renewal and who have no one to turn to for help.

This housing team handles every kind of housing hardship imaginable. The volunteers spend many hours tramping up darkened stairways. Every day we receive a succession of requests for help to get into public housing. These are often sad and desperate cases and deserving of help, but there is never enough room.

A few blocks north of my district is the neighborhood known as East Harlem. In this community is a tenement, 311 East 100th Street, which is the subject of the pages that follow. "Let in the Sun" is the story of the life and death of this building. Erected to help solve the housing problems of New York shortly after the turn of the century, this house stands in 1964 as a tragic symbol of the failure of New York's housing reforms in the last 60 years.

Woody Klein, who has himself lived in New York's slums on assignment as a newspaper reporter, wrote a remarkable series of articles in 1959 in the New York World-Telegram & Sun. His graphic reports awakened the conscience of many New Yorkers, among them my own constituents in the district next door to East Harlem.

In this book, Mr. Klein takes us inside the tenement at 311 East 100th Street in the worst block in New York City. He introduces us to the people within, the landlords who owned the property and the government officials and social workers who tried in vain to save the building from total collapse.

The author says that the making of a single slum is a crime against society He reenacts this crime, presents the testimony of each suspect, and draws a dramatic verdict which leaves no doubt where the guilt lies.

For the first time in recent history, the blame for our slums is fixed where it belongs. In a vigorous style reminiscent of Jacob Riis—the famous newspaper reporter who crusaded in New York against poverty in the 1890's—Mr. Klein gives us a first-hand account of what the people involved in the making of a slum feel and think.

His story of the building on East 100th Street is enough to alarm even the most complacent. He shows us how slums are malignant and how they spread. He shows us that no matter where we live in a city, it is a short walk to the tenements.

In the city of New York in 1964, housing is a problem of vast proportions. But the shortages we suffer are not confined to this city. Other great urban centers throughout the Nation ae faced with comparable needs. In 1900, there were 24 million people living in American cities. Today there are more than 100 million.

I have been interested in housing ever since I became a Member of Congress. I have also been in favor of public housing because I know what it means to my district and to the city of New York and to all of the great urban centers of this country.

Adequate housing goes to the root of most urban problems. Education, safety, delinquency, narcotics, and health are directly affected by the housing conditions of the neighborhoods in our cities and towns.

The problems of adequate shelter in our great cities cannot be neglected, and no public officer can pretend they do not exist. Those of us who hold public trust are elected because we are expected to be leaders. If Government has any function at all it is to take action when needs arise which cannot be met by the individual acting on his own.

"Let in the Sun" is an important book. It should inspire a crusade for better housing in the 1960's. Mr. Klein skillfully demonstrates that none of us can afford to forget the slums—that bad housing and the injury it inflicts on our communities are my problems and yours.

This book clearly shows that national wars on poverty will never be won unless they embrace within their strategy massive assaults on all of the elements that make up the slums. "Let in the Sun" is an eloquent appeal for a slumless America.

Notice Regarding Change of Congressional Office and New Government System Official Telephone Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: The present session of Congress has now adjourned, after being in session since January. We are now transferring our Washington office records to our Pittsburgh office, as a new Congress is elected on November 3, to begin sessions in January 1965.

It has been a busy session in changing times for all of us, and I have tried hard, sincerely, to represent the people of our district, and our good country.

As many of our people in our district have asked me to help them on their problems, and to keep in close touch with our district, my Pittsburgh office is now open 6 days a week through the fall to serve you.

I am keeping your name on my personal list for our new congressional district, and want you to feel free to call on me for any advice, or friendly assistance that our office staff and I can give regarding our Federal Government in Washington. It is a pleasure to be of service to you personally at any time.

With my good regards,

JIM FULTON.

(NOTE.—Same Pittsburgh office. But new Government phone No. 644-2876, new Federal Building scheduled opening now postponed indefinitely.)

Last Report to My Constituency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, at the close of each session of Congress, it has been my practice to submit a report to my constituency. For reasons known to you, this will be my last report to the residents of the district as their Congressman. I find it no easy task to prepare this, my "final report."

It has been a most rewarding and challenging experience to serve in the Halls of Congress. The friendships developed with colleagues, both Democratic and Republican, and residents of my district will always be cherished. I am most grateful for the opportunity made possible by the voters of my district. In this report, I thought it might prove interesting to look back regarding some of the significant developments during the past 10 years.

When I arrived in Washington in 1954, the most important issue, at least to the congressional district, was the construction of flood control dams, and in particular the Tuttle Creek Dam. As I have stated on numerous occasions, the addition of a permanent water storage area to the dry dam flood control plan, made possible a compromise resolution of the long-standing conflict that had held back the development of our water resources in Kansas. Perhaps this compromise has been my most important contribution as a Congressman from our State.

My first major legislative activity on the floor of the House came in the 85th Congress when the House adopted a precedent-making proposal I submitted in the form of an amendment to a reclamation bill. The proposal stipulated that for 10 years no new lands could be used to produce farm crops which are in surplus supply. This same limitation has been written in every reclamation bill to pass Congress since that time.

Some of the Avery bills that have been enacted into law include a proposal to permit duty free entry of experimental flour milling equipment for Kansas State University; legislation to provide payment for certain losses to displaced property owners in the Tuttle Creek Reservoir; a proposal to provide health benefits for retired civil service workers; an amendment to the Social Security Act to eliminate age 50 requirement for disability insurance benefits; a bill to provide for the appointment of a third Federal judge for Kansas—a general bill was passed including our State; introduced legislation which was incorporated into the feed grain program to extend the conservation reserve of the soil bank for 3 years; in 1962 your Congressman introduced a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide a tax reform for small and independent business—the investment credit provision in the tax bill of that year is a partial form of the Avery proposal.

Another Avery bill to become public law was a veterans' benefit provision. It eliminates certain inequities in the law pertaining to VA dependency and indemnity compensation awards to certain widows of veterans who die as a result of service-connected disability.

During many sessions of the past five Congresses, one issue which had the continued attention of your Congressman was legislation to expedite efforts to develop new industrial uses for farm products. The numerous conferences with Agriculture Department officials and appearances before congressional committees merely indicate in a small fashion my interest in this proposal. Today, the research efforts of the Federal Government are much more intensified in this area. Your Congressman observed that "utilizing farm products in industry can focus industrial development activity in the State of Kansas."

It was a distinct honor to serve on the various committees assigned to me during my tenure. While serving on the Veterans Affairs Committee, a request from the chairman to inspect VA hospitals throughout the Nation was a most challenging opportunity. With my background, that of a farmer, my service on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Small Business Committee provided me with an exposure to the legislative problems facing the business and industrial communities. More particularly, my service on these committees provided an opportunity to become acquainted with the problem of Kansas industry as it relates to the overall national scene. Probably the least known of my committee service was that on the Private Calendar Committee. It was our job to be the so-called watch dog over private bills and claims. This legislative work provided one of the very rare opportunities to deal with people and human interest problems on an individual basis—small problems in big government.

In 1961, during the 1st session of the 87th Congress, it was the honor of your Congressman to receive a recognition which only one other Kansas Congressman has enjoyed. Out of 173 Republican Representatives, your Congressman was selected to serve as one of five on the important Rules Committee. Generally, the membership of the committee is chosen to represent all areas of the country.

As one discusses significant congressional events during this period of time, obviously all is completely overshadowed by the tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy. But there were some worthy events of note. A most dramatic one, but not necessarily first in importance, was the admission of Alaska as the 49th State, followed by Hawaii. During this period, the largest defense budget in peacetime history was approved. The Senate this year for the first time in history invoked the cloture rule for a civil rights bill.

The principle of Federal aid to colleges, first commenced under the land-grant college program 100 years ago, was broadened to apply to facilities for all colleges and universities across the Nation, both public and parochial. This significant policy decision was established during the first session of this Congress. This is a symbol of the changing nature of the American economy. Naturally, many more activities could be mentioned if space permitted.

As I think back over the tenure of office, several observations crystallize in my mind. In a sense, each year the sessions of Congress have been longer and more intensified. Last year we were in session for the entire calendar year. With longer sessions have come greater demands on the congressional office. Each year the workload increased. As a freshman Cangressman in 1955, I heard little talk about congressional reforms. Today, as a result of the trend, you hear much serious discussion about the need for improving the efficiency of the Congress. Because of the failure of Kansas to keep up with the national population growth rate during the late 1950's, our delegation was reduced to five Members.

One of the activities of "your office in Washington" which proved most fulfilling was writing the weekly news report. I am proud to report in almost 10 years of congressional service, this report was sent each week Congress was in session to all newspapers, radio stations and wire services in the district. Also, I found the many replies to the legislative issue questionnaires sent in by constituents most helpful and stimulating.

As I reflect, I find that probably one of the most rewarding and challenging experiences was the exposure to fine young Kansas men and women who participated in our "Week in Washington" educational project or competed for selection to the service academies.

The "Week in Washington" program was a nonpartisan educational project for college juniors to learn government firsthand. Students selected by the faculty of Kansas Unversity, Kansas State, Washburn, St. Benedict's, Mount St. Scholastica, and St. Mary College spent 1 week interviewing Congressmen, congressional aids, and Government executives. In addition to attending committee hearings and congressional sessions, conferences were held with officials of the Supreme Court, Library of Congress, and both national party headquarters. The program has been in operation for a period of 5 years with 30 students participating. I am pleased to report that some of the students have later been awarded Rhodes and Fulbright scholarships while others have been awarded Woodrow Wilson fellowships. A considerable number of these students have indicated their desire to continue their education with an objective of entering public service or a teaching career.

Shortly after my official swearing-in as a Member of Congress in January 1955, conferences were held with officials in the academy appointment sections of the military services. The objective of these conferences was to develop the most impartial and effective method for filling service academy vacancies available to our district. A system was developed which would give every young many an equal opportunity. At the same time, every effort was made to

choose the best qualified individual. The impartial selection was made by experts—the academic board at each academy.

Your Congressman is of the opinion this should not be a political matter. It would be unfair to our Nation and to the young men competing to not use an impartial process of selection. The academic record of the young men clearly manifests the merits of the system. One of the first cadets at the Air Academy to be selected as a Rhodes scholar was from Topeka. Out of 22 appointees to the Army and Air Force Academies, not 1 cadet had to be dropped because of academic deficiencies. At all three academies, there have been a number of outstanding achievement awards received by young men from the district.

Before concluding, I want to give a very brief rundown on the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

One bill introduced by your Congressman during this session is worthy of note since it served to stimulate some Federal administrative action. Actually, there were two bills introduced relating to essentially the same basic problem. One was described as imposing import limitations on certain meat and meat products and the other was designed to "restrict imports of beef, veal, and mutton into the United States."

One of the high points this session, which could well serve as a harbinger of things to come, was the flare-up into the open of the conflict between the Congress and the Supreme Court. This was most vividly manifested by the debate in the Senate over the Dirksen-Mansfield amendment providing for stay of proceedings for the reapportionment of State legislatures. It is very possible this controversy will spread to other matters during subsequent sessions of Congress.

As has been my custom for the information of residents of the district, here is a brief summary of the appropriations for Federal projects and functions this session of Congress for the Second District: civil works, $21,146,000; military construction, $17,235,000; soil conservation and ACP work, $1,583,320.

The following is a rundown of my position on some of the important issues voted on by the House during this session:

Supported program for educational assistance to children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled from service-connected disability.

Voted against Urban Mass Transportation Act.

Opposed authorization for foreign aid program.

Voted for increased rate of pension for veterans with non-service-connected disabilities.

Supported Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Voted for a proposal to establish a wilderness preservation system.

Favored legislation to limit jurisdiction of Federal courts in reapportionment cases.

Supported the establishment of water resources research centers.

Voted for a provision that the Federal Communications Commission may not prescribe standards with respect to length or frequency of broadcast advertisements.

Supported funds for continuing works in the Missouri River Basin.

Favored the establishment of a National Council on the Arts.

Voted to make grants to public or nonprofit agencies for special projects of health and related facilities.

Supported the Nurses Training Act of 1964.

Voted against the administration poverty bill.

Following is a record of my voting attendance since my election to Congress in 1954 as compiled by the Library of Congress. My attendance record for the last session is not in conformity with my 5-term average.

	Number of rollcalls	Percent present
84th Cong., 1st sess.	76	82
84th Cong., 2d sess.	73	95
85th Cong., 1st sess.	100	97
85th Cong., 2d sess.	93	91
86th Cong., 1st sess.	87	100
86th Cong., 2d sess.	93	99
87th Cong., 1st sess.	116	99
87th Cong., 2d sess.	124	88
88th Cong., 1st sess.	119	75
88th Cong., 2d sess.	272	48

It has been a high honor to represent you in the Congress of the United States.

Hon. Vaughan Gary

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I will always remember with much pleasure my association here in the House with our beloved colleague from Richmond, the old capital of the Confederacy.

The first time that I remember seeing VAUGHAN GARY, very appropriately, was when he addressed the Christian breakfast group of the House in the Van den Berg Room of the Senate in 1947. VAUGHAN GARY realized that our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and its Bill of Rights were founded upon the Christian concept of the worth and dignity of the individual.

VAUGHAN'S service here in the House was marked by a devotion and dedication to the concepts of the Founding Fathers of our country. I will always remember VAUGHAN GARY'S Americanism, his concern for the American taxpayer, and his contribution in building a strong America with invincible defenses.

I believe our country in the future will find need for VAUGHAN GARY'S leadership, experience, courage, and integrity. Mrs. Dorn and my family join me in wishing for him, his wonderful wife, and fine family much happiness and continued success always.

Recent Remarks by the Honorable Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, to the New York Chamber of Commerce—Subject: "Money Flows and Balance-of-Payments Adjustments"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Robert Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, has never to my knowledge suffered any sustained exposure to the principle of low interest rates or liberal monetary policy. He is certainly no extremist and is a man of high technical competence. A speech he delivered recently to the New York Chamber of Commerce literally exploded the pet theory of William McChesney Martin and Mr. Hayes of the New York Federal Reserve Bank—namely that the cureall for any maladjustment in our financial, monetary, or economic system is merely to tighten up money, jack up the interest rate, and sit back and watch the depression roll in.

Mr. Roosa is not the least impressed with the Martin-Hayes theory of bad economics—the theory that has brought on three man-made depressions under Eisenhower.

Mr. Roosa is not the least impressed with the Martin-Hayes discredited theory of high interest rates and tight money to bring about an end to our balance-of-payments difficulties. For the record, let us see precisely what Mr. Roosa had to say:

MONEY FLOWS AND BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS ADJUSTMENTS

This speech may have more than the usual reasons for making my efforts of this kind disappointing; so I hasten to acknowledge them in advance. One is that I will do my best, despite any subconscious inclinations to the contrary, to avoid making any comment that could have a bearing of any kind on the market's current interpretations of where monetary policy may now be heading. Another is that I will also do my best, while suppressing all natural inclinations, to make no comment that could bear in any conceivable way upon the course of the current election campaign. And a third is that I have not been able to finish my text in time to permit release to the press in advance, so that I will probably stray some distance from the few prepared remarks that I have been able to set down.

Behind that defensive barricade, I would now like to talk with you for a few minutes about some of the implications of the work that has been going on recently to appraise, and where necessary to improve, the arrangements the world now has for assuring adequate international liquidity.

Last week, talking in Philadelphia, I had an opportunity to describe the steps being taken to improve further the arrangements for international financial cooperation—arrangements that have been expanded rather quickly in the past few years and for which we now need some more orderly regulariza-

tion. Next week, at a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board, I will have an opportunity to elaborate some of the arguments that can be made for, and against, various proposals that have been made for adding to international liquidity. I refer, of course, to suggestions for introducing in the future some new form of international reserve asset, to be used alongside gold and the foreign exchange which has supplemented gold, most notably the dollar, the pound sterling, and for some parts of the world, the French franc.

Today, I propose to leave both cooperation and the creation of new reserve assets aside, and take a look instead at some aspects of balance-of-payments adjustment. That means, of course, the processes through which countries in external deficit, or external surplus, get themselves back into equilibrium. And as all of you know so well, when the overall payments flow of a business, or a nation, can be so managed that current receipts closely balance current outpayments, the need for an idle balance of working cash, or for drawing on credit, can be kept to a minimum. That is why any methods that can be relied upon to limit, and reverse, a tendency which one country or another develops toward heavy balance-of-payments deficits, or another develops toward large surpluses, will also contribute importantly toward reducing the overall need for liquidity itself.

There is often a dangerous propensity among us to feel that more money is the adequate answer to any problem—until, of course, we find that an excess of money creates inflation and intensifies imbalance. In large or increasing amounts, liquidity may only mask over for a time, rather than help to resolve, the real disparities that develop among countries in the flow of trade and payments. In international affairs, as in the home economy, the need is for ample, but not superfluous, liquidity. And it is one of the built-in safeguards of a system based upon credit—credit that rests upon appraisal and judgment—that a reasonable balance can be found. The mechanism itself tends, with a measure of overall guidance from the financial authorities of Government, to be self-adjusting.

It is fully as important, moreover, to find ways of reducing balance-of-payments swings as it is to assure the reserves or credit facilities needed to finance imbalances over the period that correction back toward equilibrium is taking place. That is why the United States, after 7 lean years of balance-of-payments deficits, must get back to equilibrium in real terms. This cannot be accomplished through any mirror trick of monetary magic. We must go through our own process of adjustment.

I need not repeat today, much as I do wish to emphasize, the details of our current national balance-of-payments effort, as these have been working themselves out through larger exports, reduced governmental expenditures abroad, some inflow of capital to offset our large outflows, and the interaction of many other forces. The fusion of private effort and Government stimulus has, at the gradual but determined pace which usually characterizes fundamental changes brought about through the market place, produced reassuring results.

We have, it now seems clear, been on the right path—promoting investment for greater productivity as the basis for price and cost stability, and evolving an unprecedented change in the "mix" of fiscal, monetary and debt management policies as the Government's principal contribution toward this aim. Though the United States still has the most rugged part of that path yet to travel in order to reach real equilibrium, and though we are now at the stage for intensified rather than relaxed effort, it is possible to begin to read some lessons from this experience.

The representatives of the various governments which meet in working party 3 of the OECD have recently been asked to make a special effort to distill, from the experience of all these countries since convertibility became general at the end of 1958, any "rules of the game" that might improve the processes of balance-of-payments adjustment among nations. Without anticipating the results of that major undertaking, I would like to suggest some of the conclusions that seem, at least in my judgment, already warranted as to (1) the conditions that must be placed upon adjustment aims, (2) the nature of differences among countries for which any "rules" must be adapted, and (3) the methods which can appropriately and effectively be used to bring about equilibrium.

The days of simple reliance upon monetary policy, for any and all cases, I am going to dare to suggest, may possibly be gone forever. While there will still be many cases of imbalance for which monetary policy can provide the principal corrective, and while it will no doubt play an active role in all, the patterns of its influence will probably be increasingly varied; the range of appropriate variations in interest rates may begin to narrow; and the complex industrialized economies may find their own free markets creating so many new forms of liquidity instruments that the traditional methods and criteria of monetary control may have to be reexamined in a number of these countries.

These are not meant as flat assertions; rather as provocative questions. But perhaps you may agree they are questions worth asking if I am able to sum up what I have in mind on the limiting conditions, the nature, and the methods of the adjustment processes which countries would now find sufficiently acceptable to be relied upon.

1. LIMITING CONDITIONS

One way of looking at the limiting conditions is to list the things which most countries simply cannot any longer deliberately set out to do.

(a) They cannot intentionally, for more than a few months at most, attempt to stop their own domestic growth; few could dare attempt to turn it backward, though its upward pace can, of course, be altered.

(b) They cannot deliberately, with the exception of transitional or structural changes of comparatively short duration, increase unemployment—either of men or of resources.

(c) They cannot induce severe price deflation, with its implications not only for growth, and employment, but also for profits.

(d) They cannot for long pursue policies of intentional inflation, though this is a somewhat weaker constraint than that of deflation.

(e) They cannot make frequent large changes in their exchanges rates, once they have reached the stage of establishing a parity.

Or to put these conditions positively, most countries are now committed to support sustained domestic growth, to assure maximum employment, to avoid depression, to check accelerating booms, and to maintain fixed rates of exchange (with the narrow margins of variation permitted by the International Monetary Fund).

Is it to be wondered that, in these circumstances, once convertibility was reestablished among most of the industrialized countries, the earlier forms of monetary action, which so often relied upon correction through contraction, have been succeeded by approaches that have seemed to some of us, at times, a bit unorthodox?

2. THE NATURE OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG COUNTRIES

As approaches have changed, it has also become increasingly clear that there are wide differences among countries in their sensitivity to one mix of policies or another, and that any new "rules of the game," if countries are going to be able to live by them, will have to be adapted to such differences as the following:

(a) Differences in the stage of development, of manpower and resources;

(b) Differences in the composition of products, as between raw materials and manufactures;

(c) Differences in the proportion between external transactions that flow through the balance of payments and total transactions (that is, between foreign and domestic transactions);

(d) Differences in internal market structure, in restrictive practices, or in domestic subsidies, not only for goods but also for various kinds of capital and credit;

(e) Differences in comparative size, causing differences in the extent to which a given country must take into account the effect of its own actions upon all others; and

(f) Differences in the extent to which a country's currency, or its credit facilities, or its capital markets, may be utilized by others, with a resulting convergence upon reserve currency countries, for example, of many of the pressures released or exerted by other countries.

This is by no means an exhaustive list. It does starkly underline, however, the extent to which modern progress has meant a fanning out of countries into a number of general types, in contrast with earlier periods when all countries were much more nearly the same—and when perhaps two groupings could account for nearly all of them. I do not imply that progress has been synonymous with chaos, but I do ask whether we should not expect that our methods of maintaining viable balance among countries should have become as complex and varied as are their national economies, and the commitments and priorities of their domestic economic policies.

3. METHODS OF ADJUSTMENT

If my questions have any validity, then, they suggest that the United States has been making the right kind of an attempt, whether or not we have found the right combination of answers, in our own balance-of-payments program over recent years. Trial and error can be expensive, if not destructive, so that neither we nor nother countries can afford to hop about, changing the direction or emphasis of the attack on the U.S. deficit, or upon the German or French surpluses, for example. What we can do—at the price of more wear and tear in transatlantic jet travel than may be sensible or sustainable for the long run—is to maintain close and continuous contact with other countries, among whom the similarities may be somewhat greater than the differences, and to submit each other to persistent cross-examination and criticism, particularly concerning our interactions upon each other.

It is out of just such exposure that much of the stimulus for, if not the actual content of, a considerable part of our own mix of balance-of-payments policies has been evolved. And in the process we have, so far as the United States is concerned, found ourselves developing a series of measures on the governmental side which could, quite understandably, be critically viewed as patchwork improvization. But there has through it all been a pattern. Our starting premise has been price and cost stability. Our primary effort has been to use fiscal and monetary measures to stimulate the productivity that will support growth and provide ex-

panding incomes and profits within the framework of price stability. At the same time, we have trimmed Government spending of dollars overseas, tried to spur exports, and where necessary put a brake upon an accelerating outflow of either short-term funds or long-term capital. Meanwhile, as the deficits gradual' · shrank, without imposing harsh repercussions on others, we sought such means of financing the deficits that remained as would, over the longer run, also make some contribution toward more diversified credit facilities for the international liquidity needs of the future.

What I think we also learned in this process (and this explains the title I have selected for these remarks), is that some of our traditional conceptions—of reliance solely, or mainly, upon the "tight money" that depends upon very high interest rates to overcome a deficit—are not likely very often to fit the needs of the U.S. economy, nor the conditions which most countries impose on the adjustment process, over the years ahead. And I suspect that some of the surplus countries are reaching similar conclusions, from the other side.

For the impact of really tight money, or severely constricted credit, in the United States over these past several years would have been of doubtful assistance, to say the least, in progress toward adjustment in real terms, while perhaps attracting an inflow of funds that would have given us the superficial satisfaction of apparent balance. And conversely, easy money in the rapidly expanding economies of Europe would have fanned the inflation which their rising costs and wages were already causing, leading at the same time to an outflow of funds that would have given a superficial impression that their underlying surpluses were disappearing.

The main reason for these paradoxical developments is that our traditional views on the role of monetary policy in correcting international imbalance presumed a different sort of world. Countries with external deficits were supposed to have full employment and rising prices; countries with external surpluses were supposed to have underemployment and comparatively low prices. For these conditions, tight money could meet both the foreign and the domestic needs of the deficit country; easy money could meet both the external and the internal needs of the surplus country. I do not want to say that such circumstances will not recur. What I do say is that we cannot presume that this will be the only pattern.

Within the past year there has been further sharp evidence of the new circumstances, and their significance. Take Italy and the Netherlands as examples. Without doing justice to either, I may perhaps generalize that Italy's situation at the beginning of the year was one of rising external deficit coupled with severe inflationary pressure at home—on the surface, one of the classic cases. Yet Italy was also undergoing the most extensive structural readjustment, internally, of any of the leading industrial countries. The Government acted; the private sector responded. There were some new taxes; there was a firm control over credit, including limitation on foreign borrowing by Italian banks; there was no increase in the discount rate. Following announcement of a tailored package of short-run external credits, the situation was turned abruptly around. Italy is now in surplus. We all hope a lasting improvement has been accomplished. But to have relied entirely on further increases in interest rates, in the circumstances, would indeed have only caused an inflow of funds that might have defeated—not supported—the overall effort to restore equilibrium.

In the case of the Netherlands, without reviewing all of the relevant story, a deficit had also developed early this year after some period of surplus on balance. The Government had, somewhat earlier, deliberately accepted a controlled degree of inflation as part of the corrective needed for restoring a balance in payments, but that seemed to begin to get out of hand. Internal restraint became necessary. The credit markets were tightened and interest rates raised to heights that had not been seen in the Netherlands for some years. The result? An unprecedented volume of funds has been repatriated or invested in the Netherlands just as its balance of payments seemed to be moving back into equilibrium. Tight money has not, at least not unmistakably, been the sole and satisfactory answer.

It is such experience that has persuaded so many of us that we must try to develop new methods, or new combinations of old methods, among most of the more industrialized countries over these past few years. It is certainly not a reason to turn toward selective controls of any kind, for the longer run, and certainly not to become restrictionist instead of expansionist in our outlook for freedom of trade and payments. It is to say, as Chairman Martin has said so often, that none of us can be isolationist in economic policy. And I would add, as I am sure he would, none of us can afford to be rigid in the development of economic policy.

Hon. Albert Rains

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, September 30, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, over the years as his colleagues here saw ALBERT RAINS guide important legislation through this House, we saw a man dedicated always to the National welfare. ALBERT RAINS' service here was always characterized by loyalty to his community, his congressional district, his great State, while at the same time placing the national interest above every other consideration. As a result of ALBERT RAINS, devotion to our country, each section and every class has benefited from his legislative genuis and skill. Our Nation is a stronger nation economically because of the untiring efforts of ALBERT RAINS. In the history of this House, he will be recorded as one of the greatest Members of all time. He will rank with Speaker Bankhead and other outstanding Alabama statesmen.

We will miss his great oratory here on the floor, his genial and affable manner. ALBERT RAINS typified the true southern gentleman. His distinguished service here with us has elevated the standards of us all.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for him the very best always and we believe he will be called upon to again serve his people as U.S. Senator, Governor, or in the executive department or agencies of the Federal Government.

Voting Record of Hon. Steven B. Derounian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, in order to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include here a report of my voting in the two sessions of this 88th Congress.

For 12 years the people of the Third Congressional District of New York have given me the privilege of serving my country, as their Representative in Congress. I have tried to use this opportunity to improve the welfare of my constituents and of all Americans. As my record indicates, I am independent of thought; I have supported our President when I believed him to be right and opposed him when I felt his program not the wisest course for our country.

I proposed legislation seeking to ease financial hardships of the retired and the elderly, to broaden social security and amend the tax law; to reform Federal tax rates and establish tax credits and exemptions, and to remove certain excise taxes; to ease hardships caused by oversubscribed immigration quotas, making it possible for many families to be reunited; to control backdoor spending of Federal funds; to permit a noncompulsory nondenominational prayer in public schools; to investigate misdeeds of Members and employees of the Congress; to require financial reports from officials and employees of the Government, of news media, lobbyists, and others who do business with the Federal Government.

I have been given a distinguished service award from Americans for Constitutional Action; a watchdog of the treasury award from the National Associated Businessmen, and the 10th anniversary commemorative medal of the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

I have substantially assisted businessmen on Long Island in their contacts with the Federal Government, as well as hundreds of individuals who have asked for my help.

I was successful in obtaining the funds needed to conduct a study of Hempstead Harbor, to determine the work needed to improve navigation; and in obtaining authorization for a similar study of Manhasset Bay.

Following is the record of my votes for which I was present:

Date	Measure, question, and result	DERGUNIAN's vote
Jan. 9	H. Res. 5, making permanent the packing of the Committee on Rules, a precedent which could lead to the packing and purging of any and all Committees of the House.	
	On ordering previous question. (Agreed 249 to 183.)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 235 to 196.)	Nay.
Feb. 27	H.J. Res. 284, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for use of Commodity Credit Corporation. Has abused taxpayers' money. There is no justification for this further support.	
	On passage. (Passed 254 to 154.)	Nay.
Feb. 27	H. Res. 249, authorizing funds for expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 386 to 20.)	Yea.
Mar. 11	H.R. 2438, extending induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.	
	On passage. (Passed 388 to 3.)	Yea.
Mar. 12	H.R. 4374, proclaiming Sir Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of the United States of America, an honor he had refused when offered him previously. American citizenship entails exclusive obligation to this country, which must be recognized.	
	On passage. (Passed 378 to 21.)	Nay.
Mar. 13	H.R. 2440, authorizing appropriations for aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, $500,000 in excess of President's request.	
	On amendment to increase funds for research and test on RS–70, from $332,986,000 to $686,686,000. (Passed 226 to 179.)	Nay.
	On motion to recommit. (Defeated 149 to 258.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 374 to 33.)	Nay.
Apr. 4	H.R. 5366, appropriating funds for Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and independent agencies.	
	On passage. (Passed 386 to 17.)	Yea.
Apr. 10	H.R. 5517, appropriating supplemental funds for fiscal year 1963.	
	On passage of amendment accelerating funds for public works to $450,000,000, the sum deleted from the bill after the Committee on Appropriations had determined the programs concerned to be unjustified. (Passed 228 to 184.)	Nay.
Apr. 10	H.R. 5389, repealing legislation relating to purchase of silver.	
	On passage. (Passed 252 to 122.)	Nay.
Apr. 24	H.R. 12, Health Professions Educational Assistance Act. It has been shown that the need lies, not in the lack of scholarships but in lack of adequate educational facilities.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed 171 to 239.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 288 to 122.)	Nay.
Apr. 25	H.R. 4997, extending the feed grain program, increasing payments by $200,000,000 since 1961 for the same amount of acreage and delegating unwarranted authority to the Secretary of Agriculture—practically unlimited authority over the market price of feed grain and over a significant portion of the income of feed grain farmers. Too great a political temptation for any man.	
	On motion to recommit. (Failed 196 to 205.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 208 to 195.)	Nay.
Apr. 29	H.R. 1762, promoting coordination and development of effective Federal and State programs relating to outdoor recreation.	
	On passage of amendment, which requires Secretary of the Interior to file annual reports itemizing source, value, purpose, and use of each donation accepted or used in connection with this program. (Passed 292 to 50.)	Yea.
		Yea.
May 7	H.J. Res. 245, providing that Members of Congress shall be limited to per diem allowances and necessary transportation costs in connection with travel outside the United States.	
	On passage. (Passed 387 to 2.)	Yea.
May 8	H.R. 5517, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1963.	
	Conference report on motion to recommit. (Agreed 207 to 190)	Yea.
May 9	H.R. 950, amending the Internal Security Act of 1950, to provide for maximum personnel security in the National Security Agency.	
	On passage. (Passed 340 to 40.)	Yea.
May 14	H.R. 5517, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1963.	
	On adoption of conference report, with the unjustified $450,000,000 of accelerated public works remaining in the bill. (Adopted 242 to 129.)	Nay.
	On passage of Senate amendment No. 76, concerning the Philippine war claim, a matter on which Senate hearings and investigation not yet completed. (Failed 168 to 207.)	Nay.
May 14	H. Res. 340, granting additional travel authority to Committee on Education and Labor.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Failed 153 to 217.)	Yea.
May 15	H.R. 6009, increasing the public debt to $309,000,000,000, the 4th request for increase in less than 2 years.	
	On motion to recommit and continue temporarily present debt limit of $305,000,000,000. (Failed 195 to 222.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 213 to 204.)	Nay.
May 23	H.R. 6060, prohibiting discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or production of goods for commerce.	
	On resolution providing for consideration of bill. (Passed 362 to 9.)	Yea.
May 29	H. Res. 368, authorizing Speaker to appoint delegates and alternates to attend the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva.	
	On agreeing to resolutions. (Passed 278 to 52.)	Yea.
May 29	H.R. 5497, amending title V of the Agricultural Act to extend Mexican farm labor program, a program which hurts the family farm, aggravates the unemployment situation; and depresses earnings of American farm labor.	
	On passage. (Failed 158 to 174.)	Nay.
June 4	H.R. 3496, further amending the Reorganization Act of 1949 as amended to apply to reorganization plans transmitted to Congre ssat any time before June 1, 1965.	
	On amendment prohibiting its use in creating any new executive department, abolishing or transferring an executive department or its functions, or consolidating any 2 or more executive departments or functions.	
	On passage. (Passed 226 to 175.)	Yea.
June 4	On motion to adjourn. (Failed 53 to 276.)	Nay.
June 6	H.R. 6754, appropriating the excessive sum of $6,000,000,000 for Department of Agriculture, the largest item in the Federal budget except for defense and paying the interest on the national debt.	
	On passage. (Passed 288 to 79.)	Nay.
June 11	H.R. 6868, appropriations funds for legislative branch for fiscal year 1964.	
	On passage. (Passed 271 to 122.)	Nay.
June 12	H.R. 4996, amending provision of the Area Redevelopment Act, authorizing additional funds for loans and grants, notwithstanding the fact that large portion of funds previously authorized remains unused, and of every $5 spent, only $2 has gone into hard-core industrial, depressed areas.	
	On passage. (Failed 204 to 209.)	Nay.
June 13	H.R. 6755, providing a 1-year extension of existing corporate normal tax rate and of certain excise taxes.	
	On passage. (Passed 263 to 91.)	Nay.
June 18	H.R. 7063, appropriating funds for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the judiciary and related agencies for fiscal year 1964.	
	On passage. (Passed 301 to 93.)	Yea.
June 19	H.J. Res. 247, suspending for the 1964 campaign the equal opportunity requirements of the Communications Act for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President.	
	On passage. (Passed 263 to 126.)	Nay.
June 24	H.R. 6177, amending District of Columbia Revenue Act relating to annual payment to the District of Columbia by the United States.	
	On motion to recommit with instruction to increase Federal payment from $34 to $42,000,000. (Failed 99 to 237.)	Nay.
June 26	H.R. 7179, appropriating funds for Department of Defense.	
	On passage. (Passed 410 to 1.)	Yea.
July 9	H.R. 3179, providing judges of U.S. Court of Military Appeals shall hold office during good behavior i.e., life tenure.	
	On passage. (Passed 314 to 82.)	Nay.
July 16	H.R. 4897, repealing subsection of title 18 of the United States Code to extend geographical application of laws relating to seditious activities affecting the Armed Forces.	
	On motion to recommit. (Failed 40 to 339.)	Nay.
July 17	H.R. 5279, appropriating funds for Department of the Interior and related agencies.	
	On motion to recommit conferenes report and insist on House disagreement to Senate amendment providing $40,000,000 for construction of a National Air Museum. (Failed 144 to 245.)	Yea.
	On adoption. (Adopted 333 to 50)	Nay.
July 18	H.R. 5171, authorizing the Administrator of the General Services Administration to provide for purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of electronic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies. An arbitrary bill on a subject requiring further study.	
	On motion to recommit. (Failed 96 to 258.)	Yea.
July 25	H.R. 4638, promoting orderly transfer of executive power in connection with expiration of term of office of a President and inauguration of a new President.	
	On motion to recommit with instruction to eliminate the authorization of appropriations. (Failed 29 to 343.)	Nay.
July 30	H.R. 3872, increasing lending authority of Export-Import Bank of Washington, to extend period within which the Bank may exercise its functions.	
	On conference report and motion to insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment and ask further conference. (Passed 379 to 11.)	Yea.
July 31	H. Res. 453, providing for consideration of and waiving point of order against conference report on H.R. 5207, amending the Foreign Service Buildings Act, authorizing appropriations to pay balance of payment for Philippine war damage.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Passed 234 to 166.)	Yea.

88th Cong., 1st sess., 1963—Continued

Date	Measure, question, and result	DEROUNIAN'S vote
Aug. 1	H.R. 7500, authorizing appropriations to National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations.	
	On resolution providing for consideration of bill. (Passed 337 to 1.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 336 to 57.)	Yea.
Aug. 5	S. 1652, amending the National Culture Center Act to extend termination date and to enlarge Board of Trustees.	
	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 293 to 33.)	Nay.
Aug. 6	H.R. 4955, strengthening and improving quality of vocational education and expanding vocational educational opportunities.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to insert language requiring all vocational education programs to be conducted on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. (Failed 181 to 217).	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 378 to 21.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H.R. 7824, continuing for the period ending Nov. 30, 1963, the temporary increase in the public debt.	
	On agreeing to resolution providing for consideration of bill. (Passed 303 to 72.)	Nay.
Aug. 8	On motion to recommit with instruction to limit the extension to Oct. 31 and to fix the debt increase at $307,000,000,000 in lieu of $309,000,000,000. (Failed 164 to 229.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 221 to 175.)	Nay.
Aug. 14	H.R. 6143, authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions.	
	On passage. (Passed 287 to 113.)	Yea.
Aug. 23	H.R. 7885, amending the Foreign Assistance Act, but lacking restrictions on aid to Communist countries and countries which trade with Cuba.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce funds by $585,000,000 and to encourage better planning. (Passed 222 to 188.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 224 to 186.)	Nay.
Aug. 28	H.R. 7500, authorizing appropriations to National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations.	
	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions. (Failed 176 to 200.)	Yea.
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 248 to 125.)	Nay.
Sept. 10	S. 1576, providing assistance in combating mental retardation through grants for construction of research centers and grants for facilities for the mentally retarded and assistance in improving mental health through grants for construction and initial staffing of community mental health care centers.	
	On passage. (Passed 335 to 18.)	Yea.
Sept. 11	H. Res. 504, creating a select committee to investigate research programs conducted by or sponsored by the departments and agencies of Federal Government.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 336 to 0.)	Yea.
Sept. 24	H.R. 8363, amending the Internal Revenue Code, reducing individual and corporate income taxes and making certain structural changes with respect to income tax.	
	On agreeing to resolution to consider the bill. (Passed 324 to 67.)	Yea.
Sept. 25	On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed 199 to 226.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 271 to 155.)	Nay.
Oct. 1	H.R. 5555, increasing rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 333 to 5.)	Yea.
Oct. 1	H.R. 7044, amending Public Law 83-193, relating to the Corregidor-Bataan Memorial Commission.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Agreed 314 to 12.)	Yea.
Oct. 7	H. Res. 541.	
	On resolution agreeing to Senate amendment extending for 1 year the life of the Civil Rights Commission. (Passed 265 to 80.)	Yea.
Oct. 8	H.R. 7179, appropriation funds for Department of Defense.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 336 to 3.)	Yea.
Oct. 15	H.R. 6237, amending sec. 503 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act authorizing grants for collection, reproduction, and publication of documentary source material on the history of the United States. This is now accomplished through private organizations and free of any political influence.	
	On passage. (Passed 158 to 154.)	Nay.
Oct. 21	S. 1576, assisting in combating mental retardation through grants for construction of research centers and grants for facilities for the mentally retarded and assistance in improving mental health through grants for construction and initial staffing of community mental health centers.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 299 to 13.)	Yea.
Oct. 22	H.R. 8821, revising the provisions of law relating to the methods by which amounts made available to the States pursuant to the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act and Social Security Act are to be restored to the Treasury.	
	On passage. (Passed 350 to 1.)	Yea.
Oct. 23	H.R. 5945, establishing a procedure for the prompt settlement in a democratic manner of the political status of Puerto Rico.	
	On passage. (Passed 320 to 44.)	Yea.
Oct. 28	H.J. Res. 782, making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1964, with no explanation of why Committee on Appropriations does not complete work which should have been finished prior to July 1.	
	On passage. (Passed 280 to 11.)	Nay.
Oct. 28	H. Res. 314, granting additional travel authority to the Committee on Education and Labor.	
	On agreeing to resolution. (Failed 119 to 164.)	Nay.
Oct. 31	H.R. 6500, authorizing certain construction at military installations.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 356 to 1.)	Yea.
Nov. 6	H.R. 6143, authorizing assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing and construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 258 to 92.)	Yea.
Nov. 6	H.R. 8920, revising the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act to make it conform to existing code allowing discretionary authority for the Board to waive the application of special numbering process during the holiday season of gift-wrapped merchandise.	
	On motion to recommit. (Passed 258 to 98.)	Nay.
Nov. 7	H.R. 8960, providing for an increase in the public debt limit to $315,000,000,000. The 3d such request in a year, the 6th in 2 years, with no evidence of any effort to control excessive spending programs.	
	On resolution providing for consideration of bill. (Passed 212 to 149.)	Nay.
	On motion to recommit. (Failed 172 to 197.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 187 to 179.)	Nay.
Nov. 14	H.R. 8864, implementing the International Coffee Agreement, increasing drastically the cost of coffee purchased by the consumer and giving the President the authority to manipulate the domestic coffee market.	
	On passage. (Passed 181 to 145.)	Nay.
Nov. 18	H.R. 2988, providing for participation by members of the Armed Forces in international sports activities.	
	On motion to suspend the rules and pass. (Passed 285 to 30.)	Yea.
Nov. 18	H.R. 8135, authorizing $1,100,000 to establish public recreational facilities at the Sanford Reservoir area, Texas, without approval of Department of Interior and with no knowledge of the actual cost of the project.	
	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 283 to 30.)	Nay.
Nov. 18	H.R. 9139, appropriating funds for military construction for the Department of Defense.	
	On passage. (Passed 332 to 5.)	Yea.
Nov. 19	H.R. 9140, appropriating funds for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, agencies of the Department of the Interior, Atomic Energy Commission, St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions.	
	On passage. (Passed 358 to 27.)	Yea.
Nov. 20	S. 777, amending the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, increasing authorization for appropriations and modifying personnel security procedures for contractor employees. The annual report of this agency reflects the philosophy of those who advocate surrender to the Communists; to accept this measure is to condone and encourage the police state of the Kremlin.	
	On passage. (Passed 251 to 134.)	Nay.
Dec. 2	H.R. 9124, vitalizing the Reserve Officers Training Corps programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. This measure, at a 500-percent increase in cost, expands the high school ROTC program, for which the Secretary of Defense says, "There is no direct military requirement." It holds no provision to assure that those individuals given Government scholarships do become officers in the Regular service, as intended.	
	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Failed 177 to 154.)	Nay.
Dec. 2	H.R. 10, extending apportionment requirement in the Civil Service Act to temporary summer employment.	
	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 301 to 18.)	Yea.
Dec. 4	H.R. 6196, creating a triple subsidy for cotton. Under this bill, the cotton mill operator will be subsidized, as well as the cotton farmer and the cotton exporter. This is a dangerous concept of what the responsibility of Government in trade really is. The cost of the subsidy of this one segment of our economy will run close to $1,000,000,000 annually—which exceeds the total worth of the U.S. annual cotton crop.	
	On motion to recommittal. (Failed 179 to 224.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 216 to 182.)	Nay.
Dec. 10	H.R. 8747, appropriating funds for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 356 to 22.)	Yea.
	On motion to concur in Senate amendment providing for a veterans hospital at Bay Pines, Fla., for which a need has been shown. (Failed 170 to 204.)	Yea.

88th Cong., 1st sess., 1963, and 2d sess., 1964—Continued

Date	Measure, question, and result	DEROUNIAN'S vote
Dec. 8	H.R. 6518, improving, strengthening, and accelerating programs for the prevention and abatement of air pollution. On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 273 to 109.)	Yea.
Dec. 10	H.R. 7457, providing legal asisstance for indigent defendents in criminal cases in U.S. courts. On agreeing to resolution providing for consideration of bill. (Agreed 345 to 12.)	Yea.
Dec. 11	On motion to adjourn. (Failed 214 to 166.)	Nay.
Dec. 12	H.R. 9140, appropriating funds for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions. On adoption of conference report, as agreed in conference, this bill includes $30,000,000 for accelerated public works projects. Also, the criteria established for the building of power transmission lines would be disasterous for private enterprise. (Adopted 330 to 47.)	Nay.
Dec. 12	H.R. 4955, strengthening and improving the quality of vocational education opportunities in the Nation. On motion to recommit conference report with instructions, to include a clause assuring that the federally financed program will be available to all citizens without discrimination because of race or color. (Failed 180 to 193.)	Yea.
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 301 to 65.)	Yea.
Dec. 13	H.R. 9139, appropriating funds for military construction for the Department of Defense. On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 301 to 4.)	Yea.
Dec. 16	H.R. 9499, appropriating funds for foreign aid and related agencies. On motion to recommit with instructions to incorporate language to bar use of funds of the Export-Import Bank to guarantee credit of Communist governments. (Adopted 218 to 169.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 250 to 135.)	Yea.
Dec. 17	H.R. 8667, authorizing additional appropriations for the prosecution of comprehensive plans for certain river basins. Motion to insist on its disagreement to Senate amendment authorizing the construction of a public powerline in the Bonneville project, costing an additional $160,000,000. Disagreement insisted upon, 329 to 41	Yea.
Dec. 17	H.R. 9413, providing for the coinage of 50-cent pieces bearing the likeness of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 352 to 6.)	Yea.
Dec. 19	H.J. Res. 875, making supplemental appropriations for certain activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare related to mental retardation. On passage. (Passed 324 to 4.)	Yea.
Jan. 14	S. 1153, extending the Federal Airport Act for 3 years and authorizing expenditure of $75,000,000 per year. On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce the proposed authorization by $15,000,000 per year. (Defeated 110 to 201.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 298 to 11.)	Yea.
Jan. 21	H.R. 4879, extending Federal aid to public libraries in nonrural areas, increasing authorized appropriations from $7.5 to $25,000,000 for fiscal 1964, authorizing a new program for matching Federal grants for library construction with $20,000,000 for 1964 authorization with unspecified amounts for 1965 and 1966. On amendments confining aid to rural and small town areas but eliminating Federal grants for library construction. (Defeating 179 to 183.)	Yea.
	On recommittal with instruction to cut out the proposed library construction grant programs. (Defeated 174 to 188.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 254 to 107.)	Nay.
Jan. 28	H.R. 6041, amending the Bacon-Davis Act to include fringe benefits in making of prevailing wage determinations. Bacon-Davis Act generally provides that workers on most Federal construction contracts, etc., be paid not less than prevailing wages for same area, as determined by Labor Secretary. On motion to stop effort to pave way for amendment providing for judicial review of prevailing wage determination which would only delay badly needed revision of the act, presently a hodgepodge resulting in confusion. (Passed 297 to 105.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 357 to 50.)	Yea.
Feb. 8	H.R. 7152, Civil Rights Act. On motion to adjourn, thus postponing further consideration of civil rights bill and vote on its passage. (Passed 220 to 175.)	Nay.
Feb. 10	On passage. (Passed 290 to 130.)	Yea.
Feb. 18	H.R. 7381, simplifying and consolidating laws relating to employment of civilians in more than 1 Federal civilian position, and laws concerning Federal civilian employment of retired members of the uniformed forces, liberalizing dual compensation provisions in regard to Federal employment of retired Regular officers. On motion to recommit, to prevent passage. (Defeated 83 to 262.)	Nay.
Feb. 20	H.R. 9637, authorizing $17,000,000,000 for defense research and development and for ship, aircraft, and missile procurement. On passage. (Passed 336 to 0.)	Yea.
Feb. 25	H.R. 8363, amending the Internal Revenue Code (the tax bill). On conference report. (Passed 326 to 83.)	Yea.
Feb. 26	H.R. 9022, authorizing an additional U.S. contribution of $3,200,000 to the International Development Association which makes 50-year loans interest free but with a ¾ of 1 percent annual service charge, to underdeveloped nations. Percentage of American financial participation excessive as are liberal terms of the loans, some of which might be counter to American interests and policy. On motion to recommit. (Passed 208 to 188.)	Yea.
Feb. 27	H.R. 8316, prohibiting the Federal Communications Commission from interfering in operation and development of radio and TV industry. On passage. (Passed 317 to 43.)	Yea.
Mar. 4	H.R. 9666, authorizing $115,000,000 for Peace Corps for fiscal 1965. On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce authorization to $95,700,000, the sum authorized in fiscal 1964. (Defeated 90 to 309.) Passed by voice vote.	Yea.
Mar. 5	H.R. 8000, taxing purchase of most foreign securities by Americans from foreigners, discouraging foreign investments which bring us long-term benefit through their yield of profits and help develop private enterprise abroad without charging the American taxpayer, as is done in case of foreign aid. On passage. (Passed 238 to 142.)	Nay.
Mar. 10	H.R. 8070, establishing a Public Land Law Review Commission unwieldy in size, to conduct a 4-year study, and authorizing $4,000,000 for this purpose. The mass of testimony and material to be collected will leave unresolved, 4 years hence, the problems now existing. This is a task which must be undertaken by the Congress. On passage. (Passed 339 to 29.)	Nay.
	H.R. 8986, increasing pay for Federal workers, Members of Congress, and employees of the U.S. Congress, including excessive increases for some specific positions and giving a reckless delegation of power to the President in allowing him to fix certain salaries.	
Mar. 11	On rule to consider the bill. (Passed 251 to 147.)	Yea.
Mar. 12	On passage. (Defeated 184 to 222.)	Nay.
	H.R. 5838, allowing transfer of funds to the Bureau of Standards from other agencies, to cover costs of research and testing for those agencies, subject to Budget Bureau approval but without approval of Appropriations Committee.	
Mar. 19	On adopting open rule. (Passed 264 to 99.)	Nay.
Mar. 23	On motion to recommit. (Defeated 151 to 173.)	Yea.
Mar. 23	On passage. (Passed 164 to 162.)	Nay.
Mar. 24	H.R. 10532, Treasury-Post Office appropriations. On amendment to restore $10,000,000 deleted in committee following its investigation of the budget requirements. (Defeated 160 to 193.)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 326 to 20.)	Yea.
Mar. 25	H.R. 10456, authorizing $5,200,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal 1964. Establishing an Electronics Research Center in Boston, Mass., without benefits of congressional consideration of this and other sites, including a proposed site on Long Island. On adopting open rule. (Passed 357 to 0)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 283 to 73.)	Nay.
Apr. 6	S. 1828, establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Commission and authorizing appropriations for the celebration. On passage. (Passed 233 to 39.)	Yea.
Apr. 8	H.R. 10222, expanding and permanently establishing a food stamp program. This legislation will not lessen farm surpluses and states that where this program is in effect, no distribution of surplus food will be allowed. It gives the Secretary of Agriculture excessive powers. On recommittal motion with instructions to require participating States to pay half the costs. (Defeated 195 to 223.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 229 to 189.)	Nay.
Apr. 8	H. Res. 665, a resolution concurring to Senate version of cotton-wheat bill, establishing special 2-year programs of acreage allotments and price supports for cotton and wheat. The cotton subsidy holds a dangerous concept of what the responsibility of Government in trade really is. It is a triple subsidy for the cotton industry: the cotton farmer is subsidized by the taxpayer, the cotton exporter is further subsidized and this bill subsidizes the cotton mill operator, too. On passage. (Passed 211 to 203.)	Nay.
Apr. 14	H.R. 10809, providing $6,000,000,000 in appropriations for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies. On passage. (Passed 347 to 21.)	Yea.
Apr. 15	S. 2394, authorizing funds for implementing the Convention of the Chamizal, settling a boundary dispute between the United States and Mexico at El Paso, Tex. On passage. (Passed 348 to 5.)	Yea.

88th Cong., 2d sess., 1964—Continued

Date	Measure, question, and result	DERBOUNIAN'S vote
Apr. 22	H.R. 10939, providing $46,759,267,000 in appropriations for Defense Department.	
	On passage. (Passed 365 to 0.)	Yea.
May 6	H.R. 11134, providing $1,700,000,000 in appropriations for Department of State, Justice, Commerce, and related agencies and for the Federal judiciary. On passage. (Passed 314 to 40.)	Yea.
May 13	S. 2214, authorizing additional U.S. contribution of $312,000,000 to Internationa lDevelopment Association. Similar to H.R. 9022, with only minor differences.	
	On recommittal. (Defeated 132 to 247.)	Yea.
May 18	H.J. Res. 1020, authorizing the issuance of a gold medal to Henry Kaiser.	
	On passage. (Failed 150 to 143—⅔ majority vote needed because of suspension of rules.)	Nay.
May 20	H.R. 11202, authorizing appropriations for Agriculture Department.	
	On passage of amendment appropriation $1,600,000 for construction of a peanut research center at Dawson, Ga. (Defeated 181 to 198.)	Nay.
	On motion to recommit with instructions to insert language preventing use of funds for payment of export subsidies on surplus agricultural commodities sold to Communist countries unless approved by the President and reported to Congress. (Defeated 186 to 187.)	Yea.
	On passage of bill. (Passed 311 to 64.)	Nay.
May 26	H.R. 11369, authorizing $1,600,000,000 for Defense Department military construction.	
	On passage. (Passed 340 to 5.)	Yea.
May 27	H.R. 5130, increasing Federal insurance coverage on depositors' accounts in banks and savings and loan institutions from present $10,000 to $20,000, a bill submitted to House without benefit of committee hearings or consideration of proposed provisions seeking to protect depositors, stockholders, and the public.	
	On resolution for consideration of measure. (Passed 218 to 115.)	Yea.
	On motion to recommit. (Passed 197 to 142.)	Yea.
June 10	H.R. 11380, authorizing $2,000,000,000 in new appropriations for foreign aid, this in addition to the $1,500,000,000 in the pipeline.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce funds by $222,000,000. (Defeated 193 to 211.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 230 to 175.)	Nay.
June 11	H.R. 11049, Federal employees' pay raise, cutting back proposed increase for Members of Congress, and for other specific positions.	
	On passage. (Passed 243 to 157.)	Yea.
June 16	H.R. 11579, appropriating $4,300,000,000 for civil public works functions.	
	On passage. (Passed 361 to 11.)	Yea.
June 17	H.R. 11376, extending excise taxes.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce retailer's excise taxes on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, luggage and handbags. (Defeated 185 to 207.)	Yea.
	Bill was passed by a voice vote.	
June 18	H.R. 11375, increasing public debt limit to $324,000,000.	
	On passage. (Passed 203 to 182.)	Nay.
June 25	H.R. 3881 (S. 6), authorizing Federal program of grants to States and localities to build or improve mass transit systems.	
	On amendment regarding job protection for employees in transit companies which would receive Federal aid or be purchased with help of Federal aid, offered on House floor without benefit of committee consideration of the complicated problems involved. (Passed 234 to 170.)	Nay
	On motion to recommit. (Defeated 190 to 214.)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 212 to 189.)	Yea.
June 30	H.R. 11812, appropriating funds for foreign aid.	
	On passage of resolution waiving points of order allowing action on appropriation bill before authorization bill cleared the Congress. (Passed 222 to 162.)	Nay.
July 1	On motion to recommit H.R. 11812 with instructions to reduce appropriation by $248,000,000. (Defeated 198 to 208.)	Yea.
	On passage, providing $3,300,000,000 for foreign aid and $400,000,000 for related activities. (Passed 231 to 174.)	Nay.
July 2	H. Res. 789, concurring with Senate amendment to the civil rights bill and clearing it for Presidential signature.	
	On passage. (Passed 289 to 126.)	Yea.
July 21	H.R. 319, to protect postal patrons from obscene mail matter and Communist propaganda by permitting addressee to return such mail to Post Office Department to notify sender to remove his name from mailing list.	
	On passage. (Passed 326 to 19.)	Yea.
July 21	H.R. 11611, establishing National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progresses.	
	On passage. (Passed 261 to 76.)	Yea.
July 22	H. Res. 738, rule providing for consideration of H.R. 3846, establishing a land and water conservation fund.	
	On passage. (Passed 338 to 8.)	Yea.
July 28	H.R. 3873 (S. 978), permitting certain owners of fishing boats to receive free medical care and hospitalization at hospitals of the Public Health Service.	
	On passage. (Passed 202 to 170.)	Nay.
July 29	H.R. 11865, increasing benefits under social security.	
	On passage of resolution providing for consideration of the bill. (Passed 350 to 29.)	Yea.
	On passage of bill. (Passed 388 to 8.)	Yea.
July 30	H. Res. 803, disagreeing to Senate amendments to H.R. 11049, Federal employees pay raise bill, and agreeing to conference.	
	On adoption of resolution. (Adopted 246 to 131.)	Yea.
Aug. 3	H.R. 1096, authorizing Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with State of Wisconsin in designation and administration of Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in that State. The land and water conservation bill passed on July 23, makes H.R. 1096 unnecessary.	
	On passage. (Failed 164 to 154—under suspension of rules a ⅔ majority is needed.)	Nay.
Aug. 3	H.R. 3672, provides for construction, operation, and maintenance of Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwich Park, and Fruitland Mesa, participating reclamation projects under Colorado River Storage Project Act. The purpose of this bill is to promote the production of feed grains for livestock, at a cost of approximately $27,000,000, notwithstanding the facts that we now have an overabundance of feed grains and an overbundance of domestic beef.	
	On passage. (Passed 250 to 67.)	Nay.
Aug. 4	H.R. 10939, appropriating funds for Department of Defense.	
	On adoption of conference report. (Adopted 359 to 0.)	Yea.
	On adoption of Senate amendment making 34 percent of funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval ships available for work in privately owned shipyards. (Adopted 186 to 178.)	Nay.
Aug. 7	H.J. Res. 1145, to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.	
	On passage. (Passed 416 to 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 7	H.R. 11377, the Economic Opportunity Act.	
	Motion to strike out the enacting clause. (Failed 197 to 225.)	Yea.
	On amendment substituting text of S. 2642, a similar bill. (Passed 228 to 190.)	Nay.
Aug. 8	On motion to recommit the bill. (Defeated 117 to 295.)	Nay.
	On passage. (Passed 226 to 185.)	Nay.
Aug. 11	H.R. 1927, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war, and their widows and children.	
	On passage. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 11	H.R. 5990, amending the District of Columbia Charitable Solicitation Act, requiring certain findings before issuance of a solicitation permit thereunder.	
	On passage. (Passed 301 to 81.)	Yea.
Aug. 12	S. 1451, conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to render judgment upon certain claims arising under the Trading With the Enemy Act.	
	On adoption of the rule for consideration of the legislation. (Adopted 375 to 3.)	Yea.
	Bill was passed by a voice vote.	
Aug. 12	S. 1627, enabling the United States to contribute to the International Commission for Supervision and control in Laos. Authorizing appropriations without knowledge of actual cost and for an abortive attempt to neutralize Laos.	
	On passage. (Passed 268 to 89.)	Nay.
Aug. 13	H.R. 11296, appropriation for Independent Offices.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce the bill by an unjustified sum of $250 million, which, if needed, would not be used for another half-decade. (Defeated 114 to 271.)	Nay.
Aug. 14	S. 1006, increasing authorization for subsidizing the construction of fishing vessels, without justifying need to the fishing industry.	
	On passage. (Passed 198 to 124.)	Nay
Aug. 14	H. Res. 663, providing an additional $10,000 for the expenses of the Committee on Education and Labor, extablishing a precedent of irregular procedure.	
	On passage. (Defeated 115 to 156.)	Nay.
Aug. 17	H. Con. Res. 343, expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the enforcement of the provisions of article 19 of the United Nations Charter, which article subjects to a loss of vote in the General Assembly those 15 countries, more than 2 years behind in paying assessments, who fail to reduce their arrears before the Assembly meets in November.	
	On passage. (Passed 352 to 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 17	S. 524 (H.R. 6242), providing for registration of contractors of migrant agricultural workers.	
	On passage. (Passed 343 to 7.)	Yea.

88th Cong., 2d sess., 1964—Continued

Date	Measure, question, and result	DERWINSKI's vote
Aug. 17	H.R. 9000, amending Federal Coal Mine Safety Act. This measure, which will cause the collapse of thousands of small, independent enterprises and bring unemployment to tens of thousands of workers, is only remotely concerned with mine safety. Such a controversial measure should not be voted on without full debate and careful examination.	
	On passage. (Failed 202 to 151—⅔ majority required on suspension of rules. Such a controversial bill not possible under suspension of rules.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	H.R. 1839, providing for free importation of certain wild animals and for the imposition of quotas on certain meat and meat products, threatening increases in meat prices.	
	Adoption of conference report. (Adopted 232 to 149.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	H.R. 8864, implementing the International Coffee Agreement.	
	On acceptance of conference report. (Rejected 183 to 194.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	H.R. 8000, Interest Equalization Tax, imposing tax on acquisitions of certain foreign securities. The long-term effect of this measure will be adverse to our balance of payments; it is inequitable; deals with a symptom, not a cause; would remove New York City as financial capital of the world; and is a step backward.	
	On passage. (Passed 221 to 147.)	Nay.
Aug. 18	S. 1007, guaranteeing electric consumers in Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy from Federal plants in the area.	
	On adoption of conference report abrogating the House position lines cannot be built without congressional authorization. (Adopted 230 to 134.)	Nay.
Aug. 20	H.R. 9586, providing for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts. This measure seeks a new control, another area of responsibility for the Federal Government, which is attempting to enter every facet of American life, every such step increasing the cost of Government and placing a greater burden on the taxpayer.	
	On passage. (Passed 213 to 135.)	Nay.
Sept. 1	S. 2701, providing for a study to determine a site for construction of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.	
	On passage. (Passed 320 to 23.)	Yea.
Sept. 1	H.R. 4487, to prevent or minimize injury to fish and wildlife from the use of insecticides and pesticides.	
	On passage. (Passed 235 to 111.)	Yea.
Sept. 3	H.R. 12298 (S. 2687), extending the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act and providing for the use of excess foreign currencies obtained from sale of surplus agricultural commodities be used to promote development of resources of less developed friendly foreign nations.	
	On motion to recommit with instructions to tighten the definition of "friendly nations." (Adopted 183 to 175.)	Yea.
	On passage. (Passed 349 to 6.)	Yea.
Sept. 3	S. 2220, to forgive student loans to doctors and dentists, furthering Federal control over the individual; a step toward socialism; establishing dangerous precedents.	
	On passage. (Defeated 140 to 161.)	Nay.
Sept. 22	H.R. 12633, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1965. The largest sums in this bill are for the food stamp and poverty program, both of which I oppose.	
	On passage. (Passed 209 to 103.)	Nay.
Sept. 23	H.R. 1096, authorizing Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with State of Wisconsin in designation and administration of Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in that State.	
	On passage. (Passed 180 to 118.)	Nay.
Oct. 3	H.R. 12633, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1965.	
	On motion to adopt conference report. (Adopted 211 to 78.)	Yea.

Eulogy to Congressman Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, during my entire service here in the House, it has been my pleasure to know and serve with WALTER NORBLAD. I have never known a more dedicated, faithful, and conscientious Member of the House. He loved this House as a great institution directly responsible to and close to the people. He gave the best years of his life to his country in war and to preserve the peace and promote the strength of this Nation through his service in Congress. He early recognized the importance of the Western Pacific to the security of the United States and the free world. WALTER NORBLAD supported a strong national defense and a forthright stand against aggression as the only means to contain the Communist menace.

We have lost a great Member and the American people have lost a devoted, patriotic, public servant. The Congress has been fortunate to have known and associated with WALTER NORBLAD.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Norblad and his outstanding son.

Hon. Carl Elliott

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, CARL ELLIOTT's service here in this the greatest legislative body in the world has been marked with humility and a humbleness of character which all men in public life should emulate.

When and wherever you met CARL ELLIOTT, you felt better having met and talked with him. Whether it was on the floor, in committee, or just walking down the hall or in the tunnel, I always liked to run into CARL.

CARL ELLIOTT fought for an education during the depression years, overcame adversity and hardship to take his place as one of the great Members of the Congress. His service here is marked by a devotion to education and to furthering opportunity for the youth of our land. Some of the most pleasant experiences of my service here have been long confidential conversations with CARL ELLIOTT. We talked of the farm, erosion, poverty, and success. CARL has a sense of humor and epitomizes the southern philosophy of courtesy, good manners, church service, and concern for the other fellow.

CARL ELLIOTT is a young man with a wealth of commonsense, a superb education, experience in national affairs; and I predict for him a higher position and a wider field of public service in the years to come.

We will hear a lot more from our friend CARL ELLIOTT in the future.

Hon. Clarence Kilburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, when Mr. KILBURN of New York announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection upon the expiration of his present term of office, the Congress of the United States lost one of its foremost experts in the field of banking.

As a ranking member of the minority on the Banking and Currency Committee he is asked to serve as a congressional advisor to the Secretary of the Treasury at International Monetary Conferences. He also serves on the Joint Economic Committee and is required to review the President's economic policies.

More than all this, both he and the members of his office staff have always been helpful, cooperative, and courteous to the staff members of my Committee on Veterans' Affairs whose offices are adjacent to the gentleman from New York [Mr. KILBURN]. Speaking for them, I want to say that we will all be sorry to see the gentleman from New York [Mr. KILBURN] leave the Congress.

Congressman Walter Norblad

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we people in Congress have friends, and it is always so hard to lose a personal friend that we have enjoyed, admired, and respected.

WALTER NORBLAD, "WALT" to so many of us, certainly was in my group of "good friends." Regretfully, both his family and good friends must note his untimely passing.

I did enjoy WALT NORBLAD'S good humor, ready wit, and constant activity, and recall with pleasure and friendship our hours, talks, and trips together.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, he gave good service, and was interested in economy and efficiency of the branches of the U.S. armed services, and particularly in the welfare and security of the men and women who serve our good country.

Hon. Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues from Illinois in their tribute to our friend, ROLAND VICTOR LIBONATI, who is not seeking reelection this year. Few men have ever won the admiration, respect, and affections of his colleagues in the Congress as quickly as "LIBBY." His captivating smile, friendly personality, scholarly mind, frank expression, forcible eloquence, dedication to service, and deep religious faith have earned for him a niche in the Halls of the Congress that will be a lasting memorial to a great American. His departure from the Congress will be a great loss to his district, State, and Nation, which he has served so well. May he and his devoted wife enjoy health and happiness during his retirement.

Hon. Frank J. Becker

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it was with regret that I learned that my good friend and colleague, FRANK BECKER of New York had decided that he would not return to the House in 1965.

FRANK had considerable legislative experience before coming to the Congress of the United States, having served for four terms in the New York State Legislature. When he arrived in Washington, he was assigned to the Armed Services Committee because of his vast experience in the military legislative field. While a member of that committee his interest was manifested in building and maintaining a military organization of which this country could be proud.

The people of the Fifth Congressional District of New York are losing a very able Representative, and the Congress of the United States is losing a good American.

Hon. J. Vaughan Gary

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, among those Members of this body who have announced that they would not return in 1965 was my good friend VAUGHAN GARY, of Virginia. I am sorry that he will not be with us, but his work and able representation will long live in the House.

His presence will be missed on the committees on which he served, and his conservative approach to money matters through his position on the Appropriations Committee I am sure resulted in a much more efficient operation of those agencies for which he was responsible.

I am sure that VAUGHAN will not "retire" and that he will continue to be available to those who will seek his assistance and wise counsel.

Hon. Donald Bruce

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in the praise of Mr. DONALD BRUCE. He has just finished his second term in Congress. Few men have left more of an imprint in this body in those brief 4 years. He is a man who has not yet reached the prime of life, but his work has added greatly to this body. I do not believe there is a more articulate speaker or a more persuasive speaker on the evils of communism and the dangers of communism than our colleague from Indiana, DONALD BRUCE. I am certain that he has a great public life ahead of him. I know we all join in wishing him and his lovely wife and children the very best.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to our colleague from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR].

Hon. Joe M. Kilgore

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I will miss my young colleague's devoted and dedicated service here in the House; but I hope, Mr. Speaker, for not very long. I believe some day in the near future he will be back here with us or he will be serving with distinction and honor in the Senate of the United States or as Governor of the great Lone Star State.

JOE KILGORE is the type of American sorely needed during these critical times when constitutional government, States rights, and individual liberty are being threatened at home and abroad. This House and this Congress could use more men of the ability, integrity, and fearlessness of the gentlemen from Texas.

Mrs. Dorn, my family and staff join me in wishing for him and in predicting for him great future success and much happiness.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

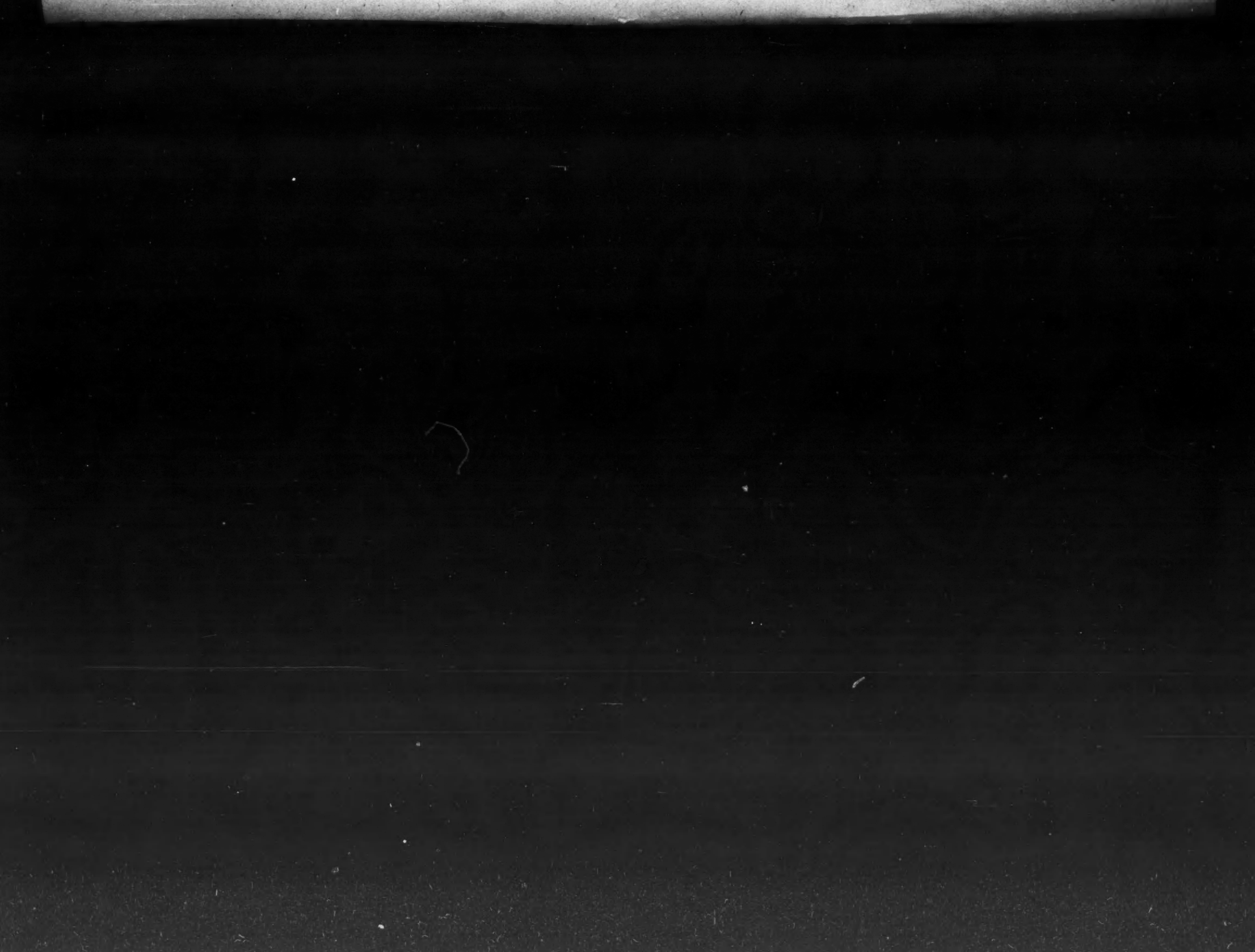

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

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Appendix

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1964

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress will be published not later than Friday, October 23, 1964. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Senator Scott's Leadership in the Civil Rights Struggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, earlier this year as a minority captain for the civil rights bill, I worked intimately and in close cooperation with my fellow captain, HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania. I can testify therefore to Senator SCOTT's effective efforts in promoting approval of the civil rights bill by the U.S. Senate.

Recently, my good friend, Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, paid deserved tribute to Senator HUGH SCOTT's unflagging support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in a speech delivered before the annual banquet of the Bucks County Branch of the NAACP in Fairless Hills, Pa. I ask unanimous consent that a partial text of Mr. Mitchell's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The overwhelming vote in the House and Senate for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shows that the United States now has a mandate to end second-class citizenship throughout the country. From developments to date, it appears that compliance with all titles will far outweigh defiance. The hostile decision of the three-judge court in Alabama on September 17 against the public accommodations title is only a temporary irritant. I predict that the constitutionality of the law will be upheld and that even the worst areas of racial segregation will obey the law in the near future.

Your two Senators played key roles in the passage of the bill.

The country also owes a debt of gratitude to the State of Pennsylvania for giving 27 House votes for passage of the bill. Mr. CURTIN, who represents this district, twice voted for the passage of the civil rights bill on the House floor.

Pennsylvania has the distinction of having two very able Senators; one a Democrat, Senator CLARK, and the other a Republican, Senator SCOTT. Both of them were in positions to play important parts in the civil rights drama in 1964. Senator CLARK, as a member of the Labor Committee and a floor captain, made it possible to keep the fair employment title in the bill. Senator SCOTT, as a member of the Commerce Committee and the Judiciary Committee, was one of the key Senators responsible for holding the public accommodations title. He, Senator SCOTT, is not exaggerating when he says that as a Republican Senator he influenced a number of other Republican Senators to vote for civil rights. He did in fact do so. Both of them started their fight for this legislation at the beginning of the 88th Congress. We need them in Washington. The country needs their great ability and courage.

One of them, Senator SCOTT, the recipient of an honorary degree from Lincoln University, by the way, is up for reelection. I hope that each voter will carry his civil rights record into the voting booth. I hope that each voter will remember that Senator SCOTT is a member of the powerful Judiciary Committee. That committee must confirm the U.S. Attorney General, all Federal judges, and members of the Civil Rights Commission. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi, is chairman of the committee. Please remember that Senator EASTLAND would be delighted if Senator SCOTT did not return. Don't play Santa Claus for EASTLAND. Senator SCOTT has been loyal to the great cause of civil rights throughout his entire congressional career. Election day will give the voters a chance to return some of that loyalty.

During the long fight for the passage of the civil rights bill, I talked with thousands of Americans of all faiths and in all walks of life. I talked with some of them when they came to Washington to work with us for passage of the bill and I talked with others as I went about the country seeking support from the people in the hometowns and States of the Members of the Congress. Never have I seen such an outpouring of interest and dedication to human rights.

This year and the year before the representatives of 86 national organizations were a part of the civil rights team in Washington that worked each day and sometimes around the clock for civil rights. I know that the passage of this law was a victory for the American people who made their voices heard in Washington.

It is impossible to believe that these people have somehow exaporated and are no longer available to continue the great fight for freedom. It is impossible to believe that those who labored so long and so faithfully for public accommodations and for fair employment legislation will abandon the field to a philosophy of government that calls such laws the harbingers of a police state.

The civil rights battle in the Congress was a bipartisan effort led by Congressmen CELLER and MCCULLOCH in the House and Senators HUMPHREY and KUCHEL in the Senate. Senators CLARK and SCOTT were also a part of the bipartisan team. Let us remember that as we go to the polls. Let us be able to say after election day that we helped keep the men and women of good will in the House and Senate.

Dr. Edward D. Re, of Bay Ridge, Is Man of the Year in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, at one of the outstanding testimonial dinners given each year in the Nation's Capital, a dedicated public servant and member of our executive arm of Government, Hon. Edward D. Re, was honored as Man of the Year. The award made by the Lido Civic Club of Washington was presented at a banquet held in his honor at the Mayflower Hotel here in Washington on Saturday evening, October 3. Many persons prominent in government, education, the military, and in professional associations were present.

The Lido Civic Club is composed of prominent Italo-Americans in Metropolitan Washington. The chairman of the affair was Dr. Salvatore J. Latona. Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, Secretary Celebrezze and Senator PASTORE were recent recipients of the club's award which is given to a person who has distinguished himself in public life.

Ed Re serves our Government as Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission. But his service to humanity, as expressed in the plaque presented to him by the president of the Lido Club, Dominic J. Lozupone, has long been apparent. Educator, author, attorney, and government official, Ed Re's notable achievements in those and other fields have been recognized many times and by many associations here as well as in his home State of New York.

May I add that there are many reasons why I am gratified by this most recent honor for Ed Re. Not only is he a good friend of mine, but he was also one of my law school professors. His wife was a law school classmate of mine, and I have seen the family grow. I am particularly proud that his home in New York is in the Bay Ridge area which I am privileged to represent.

Many people came from all parts of the country to pay him respect. The speakers who address the Man of the Year banquet indicate the national scope of the esteem and affection which so many have for Ed Re. The toastmaster of this affair was a Washingtonian, Dean Paul R. Dean, of Georgetown Law Center, while the principal speech was delivered by the Very Reverend Joseph T. Tinnelly, of New York, a former dean of St. John's University Law School where Ed Re has taught and from which I graduated. In addition, remarks of esteem and indeed affection were delivered by Archbishop Vagnozzi, the Apostolic delegate to the United States, as well as by the Italian Ambassador to the United States through Count Gian Luigi Milesi Ferretti, personal representative of Ambassador Fenoaltea. An additional award was presented Ed Re by Dr. Mario Tagliagambe on behalf of Monsignor Barilla, pastor of the Shrine Church of St. Bernadette in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Among the prominent persons who attended, in addition to His Excellency Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, were the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Ivan A. Nestingen; James J. Rowley, Chief of the Secret Service; the Honorable Michel Cieplinski, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; the Honorable Joseph P. McMurray, former Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; and the dean of St. John's University Law School, Harold F. McNiece.

Congratulatory messages were received from hundreds of friends, former students, colleagues in Government and officials in education, legal associations, and in the military where Ed Re serves as a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve. Included among them were messages from His Excellency Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, His Excellency Most Rev. Bryan McEntegart, bishop of Brooklyn, His Excellency Most Rev. John J. Boardman, auxiliary bishop of Brooklyn, and His Excellency Most Rev. Joseph M. Pernicone, auxiliary bishop of New York.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a message from the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, and from Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, and the address of Father Tinnelly and Dr. Re's response which was truly a moving expression of the contribution of Italian-Americans to our country:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 3, 1964.

Dean PAUL R. DEAN,
Toastmaster, Lido Civic Club Banquet, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DEAN DEAN: I deeply regret that I am unable to be present with you and the members of the Lido Civic Club to participate in honoring a distinguished member of my official family.

Dr. Edward D. Re was appointed Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States because his scholarly background and experience in the field of international law particularly qualified him for that sensitive post. Throughout the 3½ years of his administration he has served in that important post with distinction and success, raising a unique Federal agency to a high level of competence in the service of the American people.

The responsibilities of Government have been carried out more effectively because of the ability, dedication, and integrity of an outstanding public servant.

It is a privilege to join you in paying tribute to your Man of the Year for his contribution in making ours a better Government and a better America.

My heartiest congratulations to Edward D. Re and to the Lido Civic Club.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1964.

Mr. DOMINIC J. LOZUPONE,
President, Lido Civic Club, Washington, D.C.

DEAR PERSIDENT LOZUPONE: The selection of Dr. Re honors all of us no less than it expresses our fraternal admiration for him.

Few men who have come to the Washington scene have added such luster both to Government service and to the amenities that make human society in the Capital City a constant delight.

We who look back with the affection of affiliation to the proud history of the land of our ancestors, experience a precious fraternal pride in the achievements of a great leader who is at the same time the humble and prized personal friend.

My friendship with Dr. Re—reinforced by mutual interests and the sharing of many occasions private and public—has been one of the finest chapters of my service in Washington.

But, then, lives beyond number have been enriched by contact with this young man in the meteoric career that has been his life.

An Italian by birth—an American by choice—an "international" by marriage—a parent extraordinary—a patriot of devotion—a teacher of distinction—dedicated public servant—outstanding author—superb orator—Dr. Re crowns this catalog of his character with the qualities of the trusted and treasured friend.

May this night of October 3—within the historic light of Columbus Day—be remembered as a night of discovery, too—the fraternal recognition of a distinguished traveler, like Christopher, to these shores—and the maker of a better America for his passing this way.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN O. PASTORE.

REMARKS DELIVERED BY VERY REV. JOSEPH T. TINNELLY, C.M.

I am most grateful for your kind invitation to address you this evening. Like the Irish, the sons and daughters of Italy have emigrated to many parts of the world. Not only do millions of Americans claim Italian descent, but one-third of the population of Argentina, nearly a fifth of Brazil, and large percentages in Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela are of Italian origin.

In the United States as in every other country where they have found new homes, Italian immigrants and their descendants have identified themselves and their interests with the people and interests of their newly adopted country. They have demonstrated time and time again their loyalty in time of war and peace. They have contributed to the building of a greater America physically, spiritually, financially, militarily, artistically as well as culturally.

Yet, withal, they have retained a love and affection for the country of their ancestors which has not detracted from their new allegiance but rather has fostered the continuance and growth of the qualities and virtues which have constituted the major contribution of Italy to the cultural development of America.

And so when opportunity arises I am happy, yes, and proud to pay tribute to Americans of Italian descent and to give testimony of the respect and affection and admiration which Americans of other ethnic and cultural backgrounds have for them.

But I am particularly pleased to play such a role this evening for the guest of honor is not only a dear and long-time friend and colleague of mine, but also one whom I know to be most worthy of the honor which you have conferred upon him.

The Honorable Edward D. Re is most certainly Italian. He was born of Italian parents and born in Santa Marina, Salina, Italy on October 14, 1920. Yet he is as American as any American can be. His parents from whom he derives his American citizenship brought him to this country in 1928 and educated him in the public schools of Brooklyn until he graduated from New Utrecht High School in that borough. He then entered St. John's University where he received the degree of bachelor of science, cum laude in 1941, and the degree of bachelor of laws, summa cum laude in 1943. He was admitted to the New York bar that same year but

World War II delayed his receipt of the degree of doctor of the science of juris prudence from New York University until 1950.

In the spirit of Taliaferro, Finizzi, and Vigo in the Revolutionary War, of DeCesnola, Spinola, Fardilla, and Gerero in the Civil War and of a host of Italian Americans who wore the uniform of the United States in both World Wars I and II, the young lawyer served in the American Air Force where his talents as a teacher, linguist, and legal expert won for him important and difficult assignments as well as ultimate promotion to his present rank of lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force Reserve, Office of the Judge Advocate General.

As an undergraduate law student, our guest of honor had been a member of the staff of the St. John's Law Review, of which I was then editor. I was delighted, therefore, when upon his discharge from the Air Force after the war he joined the faculty of law of the university of which I was then a member. From that day to this we have been close friends and I have had the satisfaction of witnessing his growth and progress through many trials and triumphs and his gradual development from the eager, tireless, young law student to the mature, able, and still tireless public servant which he is today.

It is a tribute to the genius of the late President John F. Kennedy that in selecting our guest of honor to be Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, he chose a man who seemed to have been trained for that particular post.

The Chairman had to be an articulate man. Our guest of honor had compiled an awesome list of published books and articles, he had lectured for 15 years in St. John's University School of Law, in Army and Air Force classes, before bar associations, and other professional, civic, or religious organizations, and he had written a book on "Brief Writing and Oral Argument."

The Chairman had to deal with representatives of foreign governments. Our guest of honor spoke Italian as well as English from his earliest years. He had taught Spanish and he had been so proficient in French that he had been assigned by the American Air Force as liaison officer with the French Air Force. He had, moreover, traveled and lectured extensively in Europe, had received the degree of doctor of pedagogy (honoris causa) from the University of Aquila, Italy, and in 1960 had been tendered the Order of Merit by the Republic of Italy which he was unable to accept by virtue of his status as special hearing officer, Department of Justice.

The Chairman had to be a just man. Our guest of honor had been a practicing Catholic all his life and had achieved a reputation for the greatest honesty and integrity. He had had formal training in the science of ethics and he was and is one of the Nation's leading authorities on the law of equity—that branch of jurisprudence which seeks to correct or prevent the inequities and injustices which the law or its rigid enforcement might otherwise effect. Not only had he taught equity, but he had written a case book on the subject in collaboration with Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, and had edited a volume of "Selected Essays on Equity."

No wonder, then, that Dr. Re has worked such wonders in the Commission and no wonder that he has won the respect and confidence of claimants and Government officials alike.

The outline of Dr. Re's biography covers nine pages. One of his outstanding contributions to Government and to public education has been his service as a member of the Board of Higher Education of the city of New York. Another activity which deserves lengthy comment but can only be mentioned in passing is the work he has accomplished in his capacity as lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force Reserve, office of the Judge Advocate General.

The honors which he has received, his professional achievements, his impressive record as a public speaker, his skill and prestige as an author on legal, educational, and military matters can only be hinted at.

But I wish to pay express tribute to Dr. Re for his refusal to allow his public and professional activities to interfere with his devotion to his family. The same affection which he received from his wonderful father and mother he now lavishes on his wife and children.

God has blessed him with a wife, the former Margaret Corcoran, who has complemented him in every way. A lawyer like her husband, she can discuss legal matters with the skill of many of his colleagues. A secretary par excellence, she has been an indispensable factor in his prolific writings. A homemaker in every sense of the word she has managed to make a haven for him in the bosom of his family in which he can forget the cares of public life.

We all regret that she cannot be here this evening to witness and to share the honors and accolades which have been showered upon her husband. But we rejoice to know that she will soon be able to return from the hospital with little Mary Ellen to pick up her loving though demanding duties as mother of 11 children and wife of a husband from whom so many require so much.

The Lido Civic Club is to be congratulated on its choice of Dr. Re as Man of the Year. We are grateful for having been permitted to share in this public recognition of his merits.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE EDWARD D. RE, CHAIRMAN, FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION, AT MAN OF THE YEAR BANQUET, LIDO CIVIC CLUB, MAYFLOWER HOTEL, OCTOBER 3, 1964, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dean Dean, Your Excellency Archbishop Vagnozzi, very reverend and reverend fathers, distinguished guests, friends, one would have to be less than human not to be deeply moved by your manifestation of esteem and friendship. The warmth of your greetings, the graciousness of your remarks, and the outpouring of good will and good wishes have made this evening's dinner a truly memorable event in the life of all of the Res.

I am genuinely grateful for your display of confidence and for the honor that you have all bestowed upon me this evening. I am, of course, particularly indebted to the Lido Civic Club for having selected me its Man of the Year, and for having tendered this magnificent banquet in my honor.

Since I know of the achievements and accomplishments of the distinguished recipients who have been so honored in prior years, I accept your selection of me this year with profound humility.

This banquet, with its avowed purpose of honoring someone for his contribution to our society, affords me the opportunity to express certain thoughts concerning the significance of this function.

As a humble American, grateful to Almighty God for all of the blessings that I have reaped from His bountiful hands, this occasion has a special meaning for me. With your indulgence I should like to express a few thoughts that come to my mind as I look about and see so many kind friends here assembled. Indeed, this banquet is unique for each of you has either made it possible for me to obtain the appointment that brought me to Washington, or has helped to make my stay here rewarding and pleasant.

There are so many here this evening who deserve to be singled out for the special role that they have played in my career. I hope that you will pardon me if I mention but a few. We are all indebted to Dean Dean for the interesting and masterful way in which he discharged his duties as toastmaster. I wish to thank Father Tinnelly, the former dean of St. John's University School of Law, for his many kindnesses and for having encouraged me to write my books. As for his kind remarks here this evening, may I simply say that the things that he said are the things that I have tried to be. I am very indebted for the message of His Excellency Ambassador Fenoaltea and to His Excellency Archbishop Vagnozzi for his kind remarks and for having graced this occasion. Thanks are also due Dean McNiece, who was good enough to be with us this evening, and to my other colleagues on the St. John's University Law School faculty.

This testimonial to an American of foreign birth is a tribute to America. It is a tribute to the system that offers freedom and promise to all those who will work and take advantage of the opportunities that America offers. All of you are witnesses to the truth that the American freedom of opportunity is a reality and can be taken advantage of by all Americans regardless of place of birth or national origin.

So as we depart at the conclusion of what is a splendid testimonial, may we leave with renewed faith in the United States of America and the society that it has made possible. Each of us ought to be grateful for the rich blessings of liberty and freedom that we have reaped in this land of opportunity dedicated to God and the equality of all men. And with renewed dedication we ought to resolve that each of us will extend to all Americans the same opportunities and freedoms that we enjoy and take for granted for ourselves.

By performing acts of brotherhood and good citizenship, we will have the great satisfaction of knowing that we are contributing to make the America of tomorrow an even better place to live than the America of today. Only thus can we repay America for the blessings that we have received, and only thus can we be truly worthy of the American heritage and the ideal that we are working to achieve. And although we are closer to its attainment today than ever before in our history, it remains for each of us to strive toward its complete attainment by conquering all forms of prejudice, intolerance, and bigotry.

The law, particularly under the leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, has made gigantic strides. Yet the final gulf cannot be bridged by law alone, for law can only point the way. It is for each of us, as individuals, to respond by putting into daily practice the moral standard of conduct that is inherent in our Judeo-Christian tradition. Only our genuine and conscious efforts are worthy of the moral greatness of our goal.

Thank you all for having honored me with your presence here this evening.

The Titanium Industry and the Trade Expansion Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me pertaining to the titanium industry.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BIBLE

There are many important governmental functions which move forward in the executive branch from day to day. Many of these matters are of vital concern to Members of Congress.

One such function is the continuation of the work of the Trade Negotiations Committee, a committee established after the passage of the Trade Expansion Act by Congress in 1962. The committee for many months has been actively engaged in making up a list of products which will hopefully be excepted when members meet in Geneva for the Kennedy round of trade negotiations. Other countries will also have similar lists and this is where the bargaining will begin. This list, I am advised, will be ready by early November. It has been a sizable chore and one which undoubtedly has called for long hours of detailed study.

Each State produces items which it is hopeful will be exempt. Many of these domestic products have been sequeezed pricewise by foreign competition. My State is no exception and we have an important industry—important to Nevada and more so to our Nation and its defense.

This industry is Titanium Metals Corp. of America. Since its founding in 1950, it has made capital investments totaling $41 million, covering titanium sponge and ingot producing facilities at Henderson, Nev., and specialized mill conversion facilities at Toronto, Ohio. Large and costly inventories must be maintained, as the military demand for prompt deliveries continues to this day. To improve its processes, to lower costs, to develop new products and to guard against obsolescence, TMCA has built up an experienced research department of well over 100 people. Research and development on a new metal in a new industry is costly and it is estimated that the titanium industry has spent over $35 million of its own funds on R. & D. to date. Since 1958, the year of the correction following the severe slump in the industry, TMCA's R. & D. expenditures have been over twice its net profit, and its capital investment 1½ times its net profit. Sooner or later, the return on these heavy investments must come. The total net expenditure to the Government itself for all titanium programs has amounted to a significant figure of approximately $105 million.

Since its inception, the industry has been faced with extremely wide swings in the military demand for titanium. The most dramatic swing occurred in 1957 when even as Government agencies, fearful of a shortage, were suggesting expansions, the Government demand for titanium mill products collapsed, plunging the industry into a sharp downtrend. Industry mill products shipments in April 1957 had reached a record high of nearly 1,500,000 pounds, but had fallen to a serious low of 190,000 pounds in December 1957. Such fluctuations in production volume have a severe impact on the economics of titanium manufacture. Even in 1963, the domestic titanium metal industry operated at only 57 percent of capacity, which is far below the level of other domestic metal industries.

TMCA today is one of the largest employers in the State of Nevada. In 1957, Henderson personnel numbered 1,250 before the sharp setback. Employment subsequently fell to near 500 before it began a slow but steady increase to today's present level of 800 employees. Some 850 additional TMCA employees work at its Toronto, Ohio, plant and other locations. In 1956, TMCA purchased an obsolete steel mill in Toronto, Ohio, and at a cost of many millions of dollars converted it into the only mill in the United States devoted exclusively to the production of titanium mill products. This plant employs over 750 workers, and has been an aid in changing this depressed area from one of relatively substantial unemployment to one of moderate unemployment. Some operations are also carried on for TMCA in Pennsylvania and New York plants of Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp. Small fluctuations in volume are severe enough on employment in the titanium metal industry; any further increase in titanium metal imports could cause serious reductions at both TMCA plants. Neither Henderson, Nev., nor Toronto, Ohio, are located in areas where retraining would be feasible.

Wages and living standards of industrial workers in foreign countries are substantially lower than the wage and living standards prevalent in the United States. Wage differentials between countries are reflected not only in direct labor costs but also in cumulative labor costs—wages paid for developing, designing, and constructing manufacturing plants as well as research and distribution costs. As titanium metal products are upgraded from basic materials to finished products the value added by manufacture reflects an increasing differential when low-wage countries are compared with high-wage countries. Imports from countries having lower wage levels and lower standards of living reflect those factors in their production costs. There is no reason why a foreign producer should receive an unfair advantage because he has lower costs. This would only deprive our economy, as well as our national defense potential, of reliable and competitive domestic sources for essential titanium products.

At the encouragement of our Government, the domestic titanium metal industry has made every effort to expand its export trade in an endeavor to help maintain a favorable balance of payments. Despite declining prices, considerable progress has been made in the last few years toward reversing the previous unfavorable balance. It would be difficult to say that foreign tariffs and taxes on unwrought and wrought titanium have been either an obstacle to the industry's export trade or an incentive. It is noteworthy that the import duties are lower in those countries which do not have titanium sponge producing facilities of their own. In these countries, under strict competitive conditions, the domestic titanium industry has been able to gather a reasonable share of the EEC market. Lowering of the U.S. titanium metal tariffs would only serve to lower the domestic industry's ability to compete in this market, to the detriment of the common defense of the NATO nations.

Under the tariff schedules of the United States, 1963, the tariff schedule for titanium metal is arranged as follows:

Schedule 6, "Metal and Metal Products," paragraph 2, subpart J: Item 629.15, titanium unwrought, waste, and scrap, 20 percent ad valorem; item 629.20, titanium wrought, 18 percent ad valorem.

In the United Nations Standard International Trade Classification, 1960 revision, titanium metal sponge (unwrought), waste, and scrap, and titanium metal mill products (wrought) are included in division 68, Nonferrous Metals Group 689, Miscellaneous Nonferrous Base Metals Employed in Metallurgy, and specifically in subgroup 689.5, Base Metals, n.e.s., corresponding to Brussels Tariff Nomenclature (BTW) 81.04B.

In view of the information presented herein, recommendations have been made asking careful consideration be given the following factors:

1. Japan has fared well in its export trade to the United States under existing titanium tariffs, by persistently selling under the domestic price.

2. The United Kingdom offers its titanium metal industry overriding protection by insisting that metal going into end-use items purchased by the British Government be made domestically.

3. No European economic country engages in exportation of titanium metal to the United States.

4. Further lowering of U.S. titanium tariffs would only increase U.S. imports of titanium metal with the following adverse effect on our domestic industry: (a) Reduce its volume, raise the cost of the titanium products produced, and cause personnel layoffs; (b) reduce the expenditures which could be made on research and development for improved processes and for improved product, thus retard the lowering of the cost of titanium products, which has been characteristic of the industry operating under existing tariff conditions; (c) require the restriction of its market development efforts, thus reducing the volume, and restrict the research effort being devoted to supplying the technical data and the improved products constantly being requested by the military services and commercial users. Despite low earnings, TMCA has maintained an orderly and continuing R. & D. and market development program, which has to date met well both domestic and foreign free nation requirements; (d) require the restriction of its export efforts which have helped toward maintaining a favorable balance of payments.

Titanium metal is essential in an extreme degree to the national defense of the United States, and is continually growing in its strategic importance.

A cut in the U.S. import duties on titanium metal would have an adverse economic effect on the domestic titanium metal industry.

Any reduction in the existing U.S. tariffs on titanium metal would reduce rather than expand titanium metal exports to the European Economic Community, which does not export titanium metal products to the United States.

Will the current U.S. import duties of 20 percent ad valorem on unwrought titanium and 18 percent ad valorem on wrought titanium be maintained, or will the United States place itself in the hands of foreign suppliers for this strategic and critical commodity? Should we shut down our remaining titanium sponge plants, and abolish a titanium metal export program which has not only helped toward maintaining a favorable balance of payments, but has also given the countries of Europe a dependable source of titanium metal for building up and helping to maintain their own military strength?

Since the Tariff Commission and Trade Information Committee hearings last February, the U.S. Office of Emergency Planning, a staff arm of the President, has designated titanium metal a strategic and critical material and has established a national stockpile goal of 20,500 short tons of titanium sponge. This most significant action lends heavy support to the belief that the national defense importance of titanium metal far outweighs all other factors in making it imperative that titanium be placed on the administration's list of U.S. commodities to be exempt from tariff negotiation at Geneva.

Existing U.S. tariffs on titanium metal are not out of line for a young American industry—the titanium metal industry is only 14 years old, whereas the magnesium metal industry is over 50 years old, aluminum over 75 years old, and steel over 100 years old. After many years, the U.S. import duties on these older metals are in some cases substantially higher than on titanium: magnesium up to 40 percent ad valorem, aluminum up to 19 percent ad valorem, and steel up to 25 percent ad valorem.

In its brief history, the U.S. titanium industry has had severe ups and downs. It was founded in 1950, as a result of the keen insight of the military, principally the Air Force and Army Ordance. At the Gov-

ernment's urging and with its assistance, American firms, such as National Lead Co., Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp., and the Du Pont Co., accepted the challenge and the risk, and brought the new industry to the threshold of maturity within the framework of our free enterprise system in less than a decade, essentially without tariff protection. Under the umbrella of a U.S. Government barter program, two Japanese companies place 30 percent of the titanium sponge in the present Government titanium inventory during the formative years of the domestic industry—1950 to 1960—and duty free. Six U.S. companies and the U.S. Bureau of Mines supplied the balance. While a seventh U.S. company entered the business during this period, five of the original American firms went out of the titanium metal business. The 20-percent duty on titanium sponge proved to be no deterrent to the Japanese—upon completion of the barter program in early 1962, Japanese imports into the United States for other than Government inventory increased at even lower price levels than the guaranteed or support level of the barter program. The first American titanium sponge producer (Du Pont) and the largest sponge producer (Union Carbide) succumbed at this point. Japanese imports continue in 1964 at an ever higher level than in the final quarter of 1963.

In mid-1963, British imports began to enter the United States at prices far below the U.S. domestic selling price, despite the 20 percent ad valorem U.S. import duty. Since the Tariff Commission and Trade Information Committee hearings, it has also become known that Britain, a non-EEC country, effectively prohibits the use of any foreign titanium sponge or mill products in items which it purchases for Government end use. This policy affords British producers full protection and disregards completely the first principle of GATT, nondiscrimination in trade. It can be readily seen also that low export prices and overriding Government protection in Japan and the United Kingdom ignore the second principle of GATT that protection shall be afforded each nation's domestic industries exclusively through the customs tariff. A 50-percent cut in the titanium tariffs will not expand U.S. titanium metal trade one iota. U.S. exports of titanium sponge have been negligible for obvious reasons. U.S. exports of titanium mill products to the EEC countries will decrease substantially, if the present duty of 18 percent is cut even slightly.

The strategic and critical importance of titanium metal was actually recognized from the start of the industry when titanium was placed on the positive list of commodities, which bans shipments by American firms to Sino-Soviet bloc countries. Shipments to these countries are still prohibited. Japan has, on the other hand, been able to secure CoComm's approval, despite U.S. objection, to export titanium metal to Russia. Japan, in this way, enjoys a market not available to the U.S. companies. Titanium from Japan, in turn, frees Russian titanium capacity for military production items, which in some measure must strengthen the Soviet military arm. It would be foolhardy, to allow the U.S. titanium metal industry to be weakened by a 50-percent across-the-board cut in tariffs.

Titanium is the ninth most prevalent element in the earth's crust and the fourth most abundant structural metal. The ductile metal is silvery gray and is extremely useful because of its high strength-weight ratio, its heat and corrosion resistance, and its resistance to scale formation in many chemical environments. It is especially immune to attack by salt water. It also has excellent cryogenic or low-temperature properties. Titanium is machined as easily as stainless steel and is highly weldable—it is available in the annealed or heat-treated conditions.

TMCA, jointly owned by National Lead Co. and Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp., is the world's largest producer of titanium sponge and mill products. At Henderson, Nev., TMCA chlorinates rutile ore to produce titanium tetrachloride, a water-white liquid when pure. The pure $TiCl_4$ is reduced with pure magnesium under a blanket of helium gas to produce titanium sponge and byproduct magnesium chloride. The titanium sponge chips are subsequently leached and blended for melting. TMCA recycles its byproduct magnesium chloride and the magnesium and chloride values are reused in its process.

Blended titanium sponge, scrap, and alloys are melted in electric arc, consumable electrode, vacuum furnace to produce ingots weighing up to 5 tons each. Ingots are shipped from Henderson, Nev., to the TMCA mill at Toronto, Ohio, where specialized equipment has been installed at considerable cost to produce titanium bar and billet, sheet, strip, and plate, seamless and welded tubing. Wire is produced for TMCA by one of its parent companies.

A Rand Corp. report of 1948 might be considered to have sparked the major interest of Government, and industry also, in titanium's potential. It stated: "The data presented indicates that titanium and titanium base alloys are potential engineering construction materials of great importance, whose development should be followed diligently." Certainly this has proved accurate by subsequent events.

Today, titanium is used extensively in jet engines and in subsonic as well as supersonic airframes, including the A–11 and the proposed supersonic transport; in missile solid fuel cases and gas tankage such as the Minuteman and Titan III, respectively; in the Davy Crockett weapon; in the Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo space capsules; in the X–15 space plane; plus many individually small but important other users. Here its basic attribute is its high strength-weight ratio. Interest by the Navy is substantial, particularly for the deep-diving submarine.

Civilian uses of titanium are growing, but are still only a small percentage of the total consumption; in 1963, 9 percent for civilian airplanes; 6 percent for industrial uses; balance military uses. In the commercial field, substantial uses are developing because of the metal's corrosion-resistant characteristics—it is outstanding in its resistance to salt water, chlorides, hypochlorites, inhibited sulfuric acid, nitric acid, acetic acid, and a host of other media.

Historically, each new aircraft has contained more titanium than its predecessor. This will probably be true of missiles, space vehicles, chemical plants, and future naval vessels as well. It is imperative, therefore, that the United States maintain a healthy and vigorous domestic titanium metal industry. Lower tariffs are not the answer.

Accomplishments of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the 88th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I am exceedingly proud of the record of legislative achievement made by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in the 88th Congress. This has been one of the most productive Congresses on record from the standpoint of matters under the jurisdiction of this committee, and it was truly a Congress which gave particular attention to the needs and enjoyment of future generations. The significance and importance of actions taken in the 88th Congress will grow with time as the measures enacted are implemented in the years ahead.

In the conservation field, establishment of the land and water conservation fund will go a long way toward meeting the future outdoor recreation needs of the American people, and the establishment of the National Wilderness Preservation System will preserve large areas of our Nation for the use and enjoyment of future generations. The several new units added to the National Park System, including the Canyonlands National Park in Utah, the Fire Island National Seashore in New York, and the Ozark National Scenic Riverways in Missouri, both protect outstanding scenic, scientific, and historic values and provide extensive outdoor recreation opportunities.

The Public Land Law Review Commission provides the mechanism for reexamination of both the law and the use of our public lands. Again, this landmark legislation looks to the future and to the conservation and wise use of our natural resources.

In the water field, we authorized seven new reclamation projects spread throughout the West and established a new water research program to help resolve the problems of the approaching national water crisis.

We authorized the electrical interconnection between the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Southwest, a cooperative program involving Federal, public, and private development and providing the Nation's first high voltage direct current transmission.

We established a Commission to study and make recommendations with respect to the future status of Puerto Rico.

These are just a few of the important measures that came from the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. A total of 164 bills were reported by the committee and 144 of these were enacted, a truly remarkable record.

Mr. Speaker, this record of achievement would not have been possible, of course, without the hard work and cooperation of all members of the committee. The full committee met 83 times during the 88th Congress for the consideration of legislation and its subcommittees met 247 times for the same purpose. In addition, considerable time was spent in field hearings and inspections. I especially want to recognize the energetic leadership of the subcommittee chairmen—Hon. LEO W. O'BRIEN, Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs; Hon. WALTER ROGERS, Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation; Hon. JAMES A. HALEY, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs; Hon. ED EDMONDSON, Subcommittee on Mines and Mining; Hon. WALTER S. BARING, Subcommittee on Public Lands; and Hon. THOMAS G. MORRIS,

Subcommittee on National Parks, I also want to express my appreciation for the help and cooperation of the Honorable JOHN P. SAYLOR, the ranking minority member of the committee.

The committee's professional and clerical staffs have continued, during the 88th Congress, to set a high standard of performance in handling the committee's legislative and administrative workload and in service to Members.

Mr. Speaker, for use of the committee members and for others who are interested in the details of the committee's activities and the legislation it considered, we have prepared a report on the committee's accomplishments. Copies of this report are available from the committee.

Intrusion by Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, since I firmly believe that the very survival of our traditional American form of government rests on the proper solution of the reapportionment problem, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point a most thoughtful editorial by the distinguished writer, William S. White.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTRUSION BY SUPREME COURT

(By William S. White)

An understandable desire to adjourn at last in a campaign year has caused Congress to jettison all current efforts to stay the hand of the Supreme Court in its attempt to overturn the traditional power balance in this Nation.

But there will be yet other years and there will be yet other Congresses. And the very first one of these—the new Congress to assemble in January—will return to what is in simple truth one of the gravest constitutional crises ever to face this country, however ill-understood it may be at present.

Already here and there across the Nation, the Court's intrusion into the purely political affairs of the people—an intrusion without example in nearly 200 years of history—has brought chaos, as mere local Federal judges have essayed to dictate how and when elections to the State legislatures shall be held.

The agent of a colossal mischief—and of a heavyhanded thrust by the Federal judiciary into what Justice Felix Frankfurter once called "the political thicket"—is a Court ruling which for power-grabbing interference has rarely been equaled in American life.

A majority of the Court, with an anxious dissent from a less politically-minded minority, has laid down the ukase that hereafter the seats of the State senates as well as of the lower houses must be based substantially on population figures alone. That is, they are to be carved out with that dreary equality that distinguishes the slices of a boardinghouse pie.

Traditionally, most of the State senates have been apportioned on other than mere head-count factors to give due allowance to geographical differences and legitimate minority interests. The general effect has been to give the State senates some power of restraint over the lower houses, just as the U.S. Senate, by the demand of the Constitution itself, checks the House of Representatives.

In a word, the traditional way has been that check and balance which lies at the heart of the American form of government. It is check and balance that has thus far maintained this as a true democracy as distinguished from a mere mobocracy in which every issue, however complicated, can be settled with instant nonthought on the sole and simple question: "Who has got the most votes?"

If the Court is right in seeking to destroy the principle of weighted democracy in the State legislatures, it follows that the same principle of weighted democracy in the Federal Congress is bad, as well, and this is the principle which through all the long years has given the smallest State in population an equal Senate representation to the very largest.

Thus, the true isue here is whether the effective right of minorities—geographic, economic, social, or even racial—to at least delay overpowering majorities is going out everywhere below the Washington level, and perhaps ultimately even at the Washington level, too.

If the public generally has not yet grasped this, its unawareness is natural. The Court's argument is superficially appealing—just let there be "one vote for one man." Moreover, to criticize the Court here, where it is gravely wrong and gravely arrogant, is not easy. Too many attacks have been made upon its justly exercised powers.

Still, a majority of Congress, at all events, knows perfectly well what is afoot here. The Court—which can easily turn on an unlearned but howling support for anything whatever so long as it is called progressive and the other side is called backward looking—is nevertheless not yet home free.

The real meaning of this business will out one day. And men who either unthinkingly or in fear of being "different" have gone along will yet have cause to regret their submission to an oversimplification that can, quite plainly, destroy the kind of responsible democracy we have always known.

For in seeking to redress what in some instances—but only some—is an undeniably exaggerated legislative imbalance against the heavily peopled urban complexes, the Court is trying to correct one relatively small wrong by a massive wrong that strikes at the integrity of the Constitution of the United States.

What price this kind of "progress"?

How Accurate Has the Gallup Poll Been?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANCHER NELSEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I believe that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle would be interested in knowing how reliable the Gallup poll has been during presidential election years. Svend Petersen, author of the book "A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections," has made a study of the poll from its inception in 1936 through 1960.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the data which Mr. Petersen has compiled:

In 1936 the Gallup poll predicted that President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrat, would get 53.8 percent of the popular vote and that Gov. Alfred M. Landon, Republican, would receive 42.8 percent. The poll gave William Lemke, the Union candidate, 2.2 percent; Norman M. Thomas, Socialist, 0.9 percent; and all other nominees 0.3 percent. Actual results were: Roosevelt, 60.8 percent; Landon, 36.5 percent; Lemke, 2 percent; Thomas, 0.4 percent; and all others, 0.3 percent.

The poll gave Roosevelt 42 States and Landon 4, with Connecticut and Rhode Island tied. This would have given the incumbent 477 electoral votes to his opponent's 42, with 12 not assigned to either candidate. The actual result was 523 votes for Roosevelt and 8 for Landon, with the winner carrying all but 2 States. The poll was therefore wrong on 6 States: Connecticut 8, Kansas 9, Massachusetts 17, New Hampshire 4, Rhode Island 4, and South Dakota 4, a total of 46 votes.

There were 34 States in which the poll's margin of error was 5 percentage points or higher. These States had 410 electoral votes. (See table 1.)

In 1940 the Gallup poll predicted that President Roosevelt would receive 52 percent of the popular vote and that Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican nominee, would get 48 percent. The incumbent actually got 55 percent and his rival 45 percent.

The poll gave Roosevelt 30 States and Willkie 18, which would have meant 276 electoral votes for the former and 255 for the the latter. The actual outcome was 449 for Roosevelt and 82 for Wilkie, with the latter carrying but 10 States. The poll was wrong on 8 States: Idaho 4, Illinois 29, Missouri 15, New Hampshire 4, New York 47, Ohio 26, Pennsylvania 36, Wisconsin 12, a total of 173 votes.

This time there were but three States in which the poll's margin of error was 5 percentage points or higher. These States had 13 electoral votes. (See table 2.)

In 1944 the Gallup poll predicted that President Roosevelt would receive 51.5 percent of the popular vote and that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican standard bearer, would get 48.5 percent. The Chief Executive actually got 53.8 percent and his adversary 46.2 percent.

The poll gave 29 States to Roosevelt and 19 to Dewey, which would have meant 292 electoral votes for Roosevelt and 239 for Dewey. The actual result was 432 for Roosevelt and 99 for Dewey. The latter carried 12 States, so the poll erred on 7: Illinois 28, Michigan 19, Minnesota 11, Missouri 15, New Jersey 16, New Mexico 4, and New York 47, a total of 140 votes.

This time there were 10 States in which the poll's margin of error was 5 percentage points or higher. These States had 85 electoral votes. (See table 3.)

In 1948 the Gallup poll predicted that Governor Dewey would get 49.5 percent of the popular vote against 44.5 percent for President Harry S. Truman, the Democratic candidate. It gave Henry A. Wallace, Progressive, 4 percent and Gov. J. STROM THURMOND, States Rights Democrat, 2 percent.

The poll gave Dewey 30 States with 359 electoral votes, Truman 15 with 144, and Thurmond 3 with 28. The actual result was Truman 49.8 percent, Dewey 45.3 percent, Thurmond 2.4 percent plus, and Wallace 2.4 percent minus. Truman carried 28 States with 303 electoral votes, with Dewey getting 16 States with 189 votes, and Thurmond 4 with 39 votes. (Although Truman carried Tennessee, one of its electors voted for THURMOND.)

Along with its failure to pick the winner, the poll was wrong on 15 States: California 25, Colorado 6, Idaho 4, Illinois 28, Iowa 10, Louisiana 10, Massachusetts 16, Minnesota 11, Nevada 3, Ohio 25, Virginia 11, Washington 8, West Virginia 8, Wisconsin 12, and Wyoming 3, a total of 180 electoral votes. All of these States except Louisiana had been assigned to Dewey, but Truman carried them. Louisiana had been given to Truman, but THURMOND carried it.

There were 28 States in which the poll's margin of error was 5 percentage points or higher. These States had 327 electoral votes. (See table 4.)

In 1952 the Gallup poll attempted to predict the outcome in only 10 States. Unfortunately for the poll, 48 States were in the Union then, so its forecast was not of sufficient size to merit serious consideration. It did predict that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican, would get 47 percent of the popular vote and that Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, Democrat, would receive 40 percent. The remaining 13 percent was classified as undecided. Voters who do not make up their minds are not counted, so it is difficult to understand what success the poll could claim. Eisenhower actually received 55.4 percent and Stevenson 44.6 percent

The Gallup poll predicted a victory for Eisenhower over Stevenson on the basis of the popular vote in 1956, 59.5 percent to 40.5 percent. Actual percentages were 57.8 percent and 42.2 percent. The poll did not show who would have carried individual States. It should be remembered that the popular vote is, for all practical purposes, merely incidental. Only electoral college votes pay off.

In 1960 the Gallup poll picked Senator John F. Kennedy to triumph over Vice President Richard M. Nixon, 51 percent to 49 percent. Actual results were 50 percent plus for Kennedy and 50 percent minus for Nixon, the latter missing a dead heat by only 112,702 votes. Again the poll failed to predict the outcome in individual States, of which there were 50 for the first time.

Those who try to derive comfort from the Gallup poll and those who worry about what it shows should bear in mind that presidential elections turn on a comparatively handful of votes. In 1960 a shift of 11,874 votes in Hawaii, Illinois, Missouri, Neveda, and New Mexico would have made Nixon President instead of Kennedy. A switch of only 9,479 votes in Hawaii, Illinois, and Missouri would have prevented Kennedy's election without giving Nixon the victory, as a decision by the House of Representatives would have become necessary. A shift of 29,294 votes in California, Illinois, and Ohio would have elected Dewey President in 1948 instead of Truman. A switch of only 12,487 votes in California and Ohio would have prevented Truman's election without giving Dewey the victory, as a House decision would have become necessary.

TABLE 1

State	Electoral votes	Gallup, 1936				Actual, 1936			
		Democrat	Republican	Union	Socialist	Democrat	Republican	Union	Socialist
Alabama	11	81.6	16.6	1.5	----	86.4	12.8	0.2	0.1
Arizona	3	56.7	41.7	1.3	----	69.8	26.9	2.7	.3
Arkansas	9	79.7	19.0	----	----	81.8	17.9	0	.2
California	22	57.8	40.0	----	1.0	67.0	31.7	----	.4
Colorado	6	52.1	43.0	4.0	----	60.4	37.1	2.0	.3
Connecticut	8	47.5	47.5	3.1	1.8	55.3	40.3	3.2	.8
Delaware	3	52.5	46.5	----	----	56.0	43.4	.4	.1
Florida	7	67.7	30.8	----	----	75.9	23.9	----	.2
Georgia	12	82.9	16.0	----	----	87.1	12.6	0	0
Idaho	4	58.5	37.1	3.3	----	63.0	33.2	3.8	----
Illinois	29	49.1	47.2	2.6	----	57.7	39.7	2.3	.2
Indiana	14	50.5	46.8	2.3	----	56.6	41.9	1.2	.2
Iowa	11	49.2	46.5	3.7	----	54.4	42.7	2.6	.1
Kansas	9	47.1	51.3	----	----	53.7	46.0	.1	.3
Kentucky	11	58.5	39.1	1.1	1.2	58.5	39.9	1.3	.1
Louisiana	10	80.8	16.9	----	1.6	88.8	11.2	----	----
Maine	5	37.0	60.4	1.5	1.1	41.5	55.5	2.5	.3
Maryland	8	58.6	38.7	----	2.1	62.3	37.0	----	.3
Massachusetts	17	44.8	49.1	5.0	----	51.2	41.8	6.4	.3
Michigan	19	48.8	46.2	4.0	1.0	56.3	38.8	4.2	.5
Minnesota	11	50.0	42.9	5.9	1.0	61.8	31.0	6.6	.5
Mississippi	9	94.0	5.0	----	----	97.1	2.7	----	.2
Missouri	15	55.2	42.2	1.7	----	60.8	38.2	.8	.2
Montana	4	58.5	37.7	1.7	1.7	69.3	27.6	2.4	.5
Nebraska	7	52.1	45.4	2.2	----	57.1	40.7	2.1	----
Nevada	3	66.5	33.2	----	----	72.8	27.2	----	----
New Hampshire	4	40.7	52.0	5.5	1.4	49.7	48.0	2.2	----
New Jersey	16	50.3	48.4	----	----	59.5	39.6	.5	.2
New Mexico	3	59.0	38.9	1.3	----	62.7	36.5	.5	.2
New York	47	52.1	44.5	----	1.2	58.8	39.0	----	1.6
North Carolina	13	69.5	30.2	----	----	73.4	26.6	0	0
North Dakota	4	51.7	29.4	17.0	1.7	59.6	26.6	13.4	.2
Ohio	26	50.0	45.5	3.5	----	58.0	37.4	4.4	0
Oklahoma	11	63.4	35.8	----	----	66.8	32.7	----	.3
Oregon	5	57.9	36.7	3.8	1.3	64.4	29.6	5.3	.5
Pennsylvania	36	49.5	47.7	1.7	1.0	56.9	40.8	1.6	.3
Rhode Island	4	45.9	45.9	7.7	----	53.1	40.2	6.3	----
South Carolina	8	93.6	6.0	----	----	98.6	1.4	----	----
South Dakota	4	45.2	49.8	4.9	----	54.0	42.5	3.5	----
Tennessee	11	69.0	29.9	----	----	68.8	30.8	.1	.1
Texas	23	81.4	17.4	----	----	87.1	12.3	.4	.1
Utah	4	63.1	34.5	1.4	----	69.3	29.8	.5	.2
Vermont	3	38.3	59.9	----	1.5	43.3	56.4	----	----
Virginia	11	67.0	32.0	----	----	70.2	29.4	.1	.1
Washington	8	59.6	37.0	1.4	----	66.4	29.9	2.5	.5
West Virginia	8	51.5	47.9	----	----	60.6	39.2	----	.1
Wisconsin	12	52.0	39.0	6.3	2.5	63.8	30.3	4.8	.8
Wyoming	3	50.0	45.5	3.7	----	60.6	37.5	1.6	.2
United States	531	53.8	42.8	2.2	.9	60.8	36.5	2.0	.4

NOTE.—Gallup has 1.3 for "all others" in New York; actual vote was 0.6. He has 0.3 for "all others" in United States; actual vote was 0.3. 6 Blanks by Gallup indicate less than 1 or candidate not on ballot. 0 indicates some votes, but less than 0.1.

TABLE 2

State	Electoral votes	Gallup, 1940		Actual	
		Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican
Alabama	11	86	14	85	14
Arizona	3	61	39	64	36
Arkansas	9	82	18	79	21
California	22	58	42	58	42
Colorado	6	45	55	49	51
Connecticut	8	53	47	54	46
Delaware	3	56	44	55	45
Florida	7	72	28	74	26
Georgia	12	87	13	85	15
Idaho	4	49	51	55	45
Illinois	29	48	52	51	49
Indiana	14	45	55	49	51
Iowa	11	45	55	48	52
Kansas	9	43	57	43	57
Kentucky	11	54	46	58	42
Louisiana	10	86	14	86	14
Maine	5	43	57	49	51
Maryland	8	59	41	59	41
Massachusetts	17	51	49	53	47
Michigan	19	48	52	50−	50+
Minnesota	11	51	49	52	48
Mississippi	9	94	6	96	4
Missouri	15	49	51	52	48
Montana	4	57	43	59	41
Nebraska	7	41	59	43	57
Nevada	3	56	44	60	40
New Hampshire	4	49	51	53	47
New Jersey	16	52	48	52	48
New Mexico	3	53	47	57	43
New York	47	49	51	52	48
North Carolina	13	72	28	74	26
North Dakota	4	46	54	45	55
Ohio	26	49	51	52	48
Oklahoma	11	56	44	58	42
Oregon	5	54	46	54	46
Pennsylvania	36	49	51	53	47
Rhode Island	4	54	46	57	43
South Carolina	8	97	3	96	4
South Dakota	4	41	59	43	57
Tennessee	11	64	36	68	32
Texas	23	79	21	81	19
Utah	4	55	45	62	38
Vermont	3	42	58	45	55
Virginia	11	70	30	68	32
Washington	8	57	43	59	41
West Virginia	8	59	41	57	43
Wisconsin	12	48	52	51	49
Wyoming	3	53	47	53	47
United States	531	52	48	55	45

TABLE 3

State	Electoral votes	Gallup, 1940		Actual	
		Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican
Alabama	11	78	22	82	18
Arizona	4	58	42	59	41
Arkansas	9	72	28	70	30
California	25	53	47	57	43
Colorado	6	44	56	47	53
Connecticut	8	52	48	53	47
Delaware	3	51	49	55	45
Florida	8	71	29	70	30
Georgia	12	81	19	82	18
Idaho	4	51	49	52	48
Illinois	28	49	51	52	48
Indiana	13	45	55	47	53
Iowa	10	44	56	48	52
Kansas	8	36	64	39	61
Kentucky	11	54	46	55	45
Louisiana	10	78	22	81	19
Maine	5	48	52	48	52
Maryland	8	53	47	52	48
Massachusetts	16	51	49	53	47
Michigan	19	46	54	51	49
Minnesota	11	47	53	53	47
Mississippi	9	89	11	94	6
Missouri	15	49	51	51	49
Montana	4	54	46	55	45
Nebraska	6	38	62	41	59
Nevada	3	54	46	55	45
New Hampshire	4	51	49	52	48
New Jersey	16	48	52	51	49
New Mexico	4	49	51	54	46
New York	47	50−	50+	53	47
North Carolina	14	71	29	67	33
North Dakota	4	38	62	46	54
Ohio	25	48	52	50−	50+
Oklahoma	10	51	49	56	44
Oregon	6	51	49	52	48
Pennsylvania	35	51	49	51	49
Rhode Island	4	56	44	59	41
South Carolina	8	89	11	95	5
South Dakota	4	36	64	42	58
Tennessee	12	64	36	61	39
Texas	23	78	22	81	19
Utah	4	56	44	61	39
Vermont	3	45	55	43	57
Virginia	11	64	36	63	37
Washington	8	54	46	57	43
West Virginia	8	51	49	55	45
Wisconsin	12	44	56	49	51
Wyoming	3	47	53	49	51
United States	531	51.5	48.5	53.8	46.2

TABLE 4

State	Electoral votes	Gallup, 1948				Actual			
		Democrat	Republican	States Rights	Progressive	Democrat	Republican	States Rights	Progressive
Alabama	11		28	70	2		19	80	1
Arizona	4	53	44		3	54	44		2
Arkansas	9	53	32	14	1	62	21	17	0
California	25	43	52		5	48	47	0	5
Colorado	6	49	50		1	52	47		1
Connecticut	8	44	52		4	48	50		2
Delaware	3	47	51		2	49	50		1
Florida	8	45	35	19	1	49	34	16	2
Georgia	12	58	22	19	1	61	18	20	0
Idaho	4	47	49		4	50	48		2
Illinois	28	46	54			50+	50−		
Indiana	13	44	54		2	49	50		1
Iowa	10	43	54		3	51	48		1
Kansas	8	39	60		1	45	54		1
Kentucky	11	49	46	4	1	57	42	1	0
Louisiana	10	39	27	32	2	33	17	49	1
Maine	5	42	56		2	42	57		1
Maryland	8	44	53		3	48	50	0	2
Massachusetts	16	45	52		3	55	43		2
Michigan	19	44	53		3	48	50		2
Minnesota	11	46	51		3	58	40		2
Mississippi	9	15	9	75	1	10	3	87	0
Missouri	15	52	47		1	58	42		0
Montana	4	50	48		2	53	43		3
Nebraska	6	38	62			46	54		
Nevada	3	47	50		3	50	47		2
New Hampshire	4	44	54		2	47	52	0	1
New Jersey	16	42	54		4	47	51		2
New Mexico	4	51	47		2	56	43		1
New York	47	39	51		10	45	46		8
North Carolina	14	51	36	12	1	58	33	9	0
North Dakota	4	38	57		5	44	52	0	4
Ohio	25	42	55		3	49	49		1
Oklahoma	10	55	45			63	37		
Oregon	6	42	54		4	47	50		1
Pennsylvania	35	44	52		4	47	51		3
Rhode Island	4	54	44		2	58	41		0
South Carolina	8	38	9	53		24	4	72	2
South Dakota	4	41	58		1	47	52		1

TABLE 4—Continued

State	Electoral votes	Gallup, 1948				Actual			
		Democrat	Republican	States Rights	Progressive	Democrat	Republican	States Rights	Progressive
Tennessee	12	51	39	9	1	49	37	13	0
Texas	23	66	24	8	2	66	25	9	0
Utah	4	50	49		1	54	46		1
Vermont	3	35	64		1	37	62		1
Virginia	11	44	45	10	1	48	41	10	1
Washington	8	47	49		4	53	43		4
West Virginia	8	46	51		3	57	42		0
Wisconsin	12	41	56		3	51	47		2
Wyoming	3	47	51		2	52	47		1
United States	531	44.5	49.5	2	4	49.8	45.3	2.4+	2.4−

NOTE.—Due to rounding, figures at right will not necessarily add to 100 percent. To be consistent with Gallup, Thurmond, and Wallace percentages at right would be 2 percent for each. 0 indicates some votes, but less than 0.1.

A Decisive Year for Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when representatives of 118 rural electric cooperatives serving 371,309 consumer members in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois met at Eau Claire, Wis., September 23–25 for the regional meeting of the National Rural Electric Co-op Association, they heard a very informative and thought-provoking speech by NRECA's General Manager, Clyde T. Ellis. In his presentation, Mr. Ellis detailer the legislative progress made by the rural electric co-ops during the first three-quarters of 1964 and outlined some of the decisions and unresolved problems still facing rural electric cooperative members.

Because of the importance of the rural electrification program to the well-being of rural America—and, in a larger sense—to the well-being of the Nation, I would like to have portions of Mr. Ellis' timely message printed in the RECORD.

The message follows:

THE YEAR 1964: YEAR OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

Before this year is out, 1964 may very well become known as one of the most important and decisive years in rural electrification history.

It is my judgment that we have regained some lost ground this year, that our program is in better shape than it was a year ago. We have had setbacks, but we have also scored major gains in the all-important areas of legislation and public opinion. Many problems remain, and new ones are develping, but I am more hopeful than ever before that we have found the strength and the will to cope with them.

But wherever there is light, there is shadow, and in this fall of 1964 there is such an interplay of light and shadow in our program, in the Nation, and the world that victory is rarely complete, and optimism must be tempered always with realism.

As best I can at this time let me summarize for you the situation on several major issues.

REA LOANS AND RESTRICTIONS

The Department of Agriculture appropriations bill, as passed by Congress and signed by the President, authorizes $365 million for electrification loans in fiscal 1965. This is an increase over the President's budget request, although it still falls $70 million short of the amount we felt should be provided. There was, however, a carryover of $23 million of unused funds from last year, and we hope the total amount will be sufficient to meet the program's needs. If not, we will request of Congress a supplemental appropriation.

Most of the fight in this year's appropriations hearings centered around additional restrictions which many power companies, acting in concert, tried to get imposed on the REA Administrator's ability to make generation and transmission loans. As you know, the power companies last year succeeded in securing language in the reports accompanying the appropriations bill in both the Senate and House which demanded that the Administrator give the power companies repeated opportunities to revise their wholesale rate proposals to us before making us a generation and transmission (G. & T.) loan. This language was so restrictive, in fact, that it had the effect of injecting the Administrator into your negotiations for wholesale power contracts.

POWER COMPANIES' DEMANDS

Last year, a spokesman for the power companies was quoted in a trade magazine as saying they got 80 percent of what they wanted from Congress. This year, they were clearly back for the other 20 percent. A phalanx of 22 top executives from leading companies presented testimony to both the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, and again they concentrated on the G. & T. program.

They wanted the Administrator to refuse to make G. & T. loans without loading them with extra costs that have no basis for being included. First, they wanted additional capital costs to be loaded in, despite the fact that the REA loan terms, including the statutory interest rate, are the equalizers that make effective rural electrification possible.

Second, they wanted the equivalent of the power company income tax payments loaded in as a factor in determining loan feasibility, despite the fact that cooperatives are nonprofit and could not conceivably pay a profits tax. They demanded that we be charged with some kind of mythical "taxes foregone" before the Administrator could find a loan feasible.

The very transparent purpose of the companies was to make it impossible for the Administrator to make any further G. & T. loans. This would have been the result if Congress had given them what they demanded. In the House committee, where the hearings are held in secrecy and we had no way of knowing what demands the companies had made, the report language did contain a watered-down version of what they wanted on the interest rate. Although the House language is vague and not as restrictive as our adversaries requested, I consider it extremely dangerous and fear it could cause our program great difficulty in the future. However, there was this good development in the House committee report: It removes loans for distribution system transmission lines from the restrictions imposed last year. In other words the Administrator is not to consider the restrictions as binding on a transmission line you might build inside your own cooperative area.

In the Senate committee, by contrast, we were able to counter the power company testimony directly, where proceedings are open and we could hear our accusers. It happened that the NRECA board of directors was meeting when the Senate hearing was held, and the board adjourned to go in a body to hear the proceedings when both the power companies and we testified. The presence of our board, along with many other rural electric leaders who were in town to help, greatly impressed the committee, I am sure—and I'm glad to say the Senate committee report contains no new restrictions.

FPC ACTIONS AND REACTIONS

One of the most critical situations facing our program has resulted from the empire-building practices of the Federal Power Commission. As you know so well, the FPC has moved against us on two fronts: first by attempting to declare jurisdiction over our systems, and second by suspending some of the wholesale power rates we negotiate with the power companies on the grounds that they are too low and thereby discriminate against other customers.

There is absolutely no justification for the FPC efforts in either of these areas. The consumers own the rural electrics, and they do not need the FPC to protect them from themselves; and so far as wholesale rates are concerned, the purpose of regulation should be to hold rates down, not to increase them.

This year we pushed hard for action on a bill sponsored by Senator HUMPHREY and others in the Senate, and Congressman JOHNSON of Wisconsin and others in the House, to exempt rural electrics from FPC jurisdiction. We succeeded in getting hearings on the Senate side, and the Senate committee favorably reported the bill. The press for adjournment prevented floor action, but I am confident that the bill has broad support in both Houses. In addition, the Senate Appropriations Committee flatly instructed the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission to use no funds to extend jurisdiction over rural electrics until Congress had acted.

The result of these moves was a temporary, about-face decision by the FPC to do nothing further toward trying to exercise jurisdiction over rural electrics until Janu-

ary 1, 1966. This gives us breathing time to secure passage of appropriate legislation next year. We view this development as a major defensive victory.

WEST COAST INTERTIE DEFEAT AND VICTORY

One of our biggest battles this year revolved around the proposals for constructing the extra high voltage intertie system on the west coast—interconnecting the Bonneville Power Administration system in the Northwest with the Federal Government's Central Valley project in California, the Federal Government's Colorado River projects, and the public and private power systems in California.

NRECA was one of the first advocates, and has long supported, the concept of such an intertie. Your resolutions have called for Federal transmission lines linking Federal projects. In addition, you have endorsed the idea of a mixed corporation, owned by all types of suppliers, to provide pooling and interconnections, with the lines being operated common carrier.

Last year when the intertie proposal was before Congress it appeared doubtful that an all-Federal system would be approved. The Senate Appropriations Committee instructed the Secretary of Interior to try first to negotiate with private companies to build part of the system. Following his interpretation of this directive, the Secretary this year opened negotiations with the companies, and what we had feared would happen, based on our experience with the Colorado River lines, did happen.

"PACKAGE" PROPOSED AND REJECTED

The Secretary announced in June that Interior had accepted a "package" proposal from the west coast power companies and the city of Los Angeles to build just about all of the system. The power companies would have actually operated not only their own two lines but even the line built by Los Angeles. The "package" called for possible later construction of a Federal line from the Columiba River in the Northwest to Hoover Dam on the Colorado, but this was very indefinite. There was to be no Federal interconnection now, no Federal lines in California, no agreement for the power company and Los Angeles lines to be operated common carrier, and no benefits for three small rural electric co-ops in southern California that were paying exorbitant wholesale rates to two of the companies that would benefit most from the intertie deal.

We sent all your systems a detailed summary of all the things that happened before this matter was finally settled, and I hope all of you have studied it. Let me just say here that NRECA strongly opposed this original "package" which the Secretary, Assistant Secretary for Power, and the Bonneville Power Administrator said flatly could not be improved. In fact, they said, it's either this "package" or no intertie.

The Secretary and Assistant Secretary asked to appear before the National Board, and did. The Secretary said he considered your national staffs interpretation of, and action on, your policies as a personal attack on him. He and the Assistant Secretary asked the Board to reverse the staff, in effect to reverse your policies. The Board took a vote on it and voted unanimously not to reverse your staff's position. This act of statesmanship on the part of your national board stood like the Rock of Gibraltar against the storm.

COMPROMISE APPROVED

Because of this support and a lot of other help, we did get the "package" changed and vastly improved. We did get one Federal tie-line interconnection in California linking the Federal Central Valley project with the Federal Bonneville project—instead of just power company tollgate lines between them. And we did get a Federal line between the Federal Columbia Basin and the Federal Colorado Basin systems, with a congressional directive to the Secretary that it be added to the package now instead of just recommended for some time in the future. Thus we preserved a great principle that Federal projects should be interconnected with Federal lines instead of private tollgates. This I am confident will save the ratepayers of 11 Western States, including our own consumers, more than $1 billion over the life of the lines.

It is interesting to note that Interior officials now seem to be very proud of the improvements made in the plan they first insisted could not be improved.

Unfortunately, we have not to date succeeded in our efforts to secure benefits for the three southern California electric co-ops, but we're still trying. It is my opinion that Interior could have included this in the package, and still could if it would.

This is an example of the interplay of light and shadow this year. We didn't get everything we wanted, but I feel we nevertheless won a substantial victory by holding fast and fighting hard.

OTHER LEGISLATIVE SUCCESSES

There have been many other hard battles this year, and generally I think we have done well in them. After the Alaskan earthquake, for example, we were able to broaden the Alaska Omnibus Act to specifically include help for rural electrics that suffered major damages. I believe this action will save our program in the disaster areas of Alaska, and will go far toward alleviating great personal hardship, too.

We were also able to secure a congressional exemption of the rural electrics from any jurisdiction by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Under amendments proposed to the Securities and Exchange Act this year, rural electrics would have been needlessly brought under the SEC on financial transactions, including the issuance of membership and capital credit certificates. One immediate result will be to save each system an estimated $1,000 in filing fees.

There have been other significant developments this year which I will not dwell on at this time. The new war on poverty program, which we supported, has great promise for helping many of the most distressed people we serve.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

I do want to discuss with you what I regard as the longest shadow of all which is falling on our program this fall. This is the prospect of what might happen as a result of the elections on November 3.

We've been saying for many years now, in national, regional, statewide, and local meetings that rural electric people must take a more active interest in the candidates who run for public office. The rural electrification program is so dependent on public policies and governmental actions at both the State and national levels that we have no choice but to do whatever we can to help our friends.

Let me make it clear that I'm talking about candidates in both parties. We need strong support in both of the great parties, and good candidates running in all primaries, in both parties. Now the primaries are over, and it is November 3 we must think about.

For us, and for the Nation, the presidential election this year may be the most important one in this century. As never before, all Americans will search their conscience and convictions before marking their ballots. In most cases probably no single issue will determine how a person votes. He, or she, will weigh many factors and consider many alternatives.

But I hope all of you, and every rural electric consumer in the country, will include in your decision the stands the candidates for President and Vice President and the Congress have taken on rural electrification and its related programs. There may be other issues which in your mind will outweigh these, but it is my responsibility and duty to discuss with you only our direct interests. I feel I must do this—because time after time you have gone on record instructing us to make known the records of public officials and candidates insofar as our program is concerned.

This year, there is a sharp contrast in the records of President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER, and Senator HUMPHREY, and Congressman MILLER, on our program. These records are composed of the recorded votes on our issues, the public statements and positions taken by the candidates before and after they became candidates, and what we know of their past performances.

Let's look at the candidates for Vice President first. Last November, the importance of the Vice Presidency was forcibly and tragically driven home to the American people.

SENATOR HUMPHREY'S RECORD

The record of Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY is so well known to you that I know I need not dwell on it. During his years in the Senate, Senator HUMPHREY has voted 53 times on our issues, and 51 of those votes have been favorable. This gives him a 96 percent favorable voting record; 4 percent unfavorable. The two unfavorable votes concerned the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and the Echo Park Dam.

Over the years Senator HUMPHREY has been a powerful friend. He was the Senate author of the Humphrey-Price bill, and author and chief sponsor this year of the Humphrey bill to exempt rural electrics from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction, both of which you supported vigorously.

CONGRESSMAN MILLER'S RECORD

Running for Vice President with Senator GOLDWATER is Representative WILLIAM E. MILLER of New York. During his long service in the House, Congressman MILLER has cast 48 record votes on rural electric and related issues. He has voted favorably six times, and unfavorably 42 times. His record is 12 percent favorable; 88 percent unfavorable. He is firmly on record in opposition to TVA and other Federal wholesale power agencies, and he led the fight against public development of Niagara Falls power in his own district. But he got it anyway.

Most of Congressman MILLER's six favorable votes have been cast for public works bills.

THE JOHNSON RECORD

What is the record of President Lyndon B. Johnson on rural electrification and related issues?

As a Congressman, Senator, Senate Majority Leader, Vice President, and President, Lyndon B. Johnson has been a dedicated and powerful champion of rural electrification. From the most influential positions of leadership this country can bestow he has not only supported our program, he has personally led countless fights in our behalf.

He has done for rural electrification the things you would have done had you occupied his positions of leadership—and for the same reasons you would have done them. Like so many of you, he had to personally help organize a rural electric cooperative in order to get service to his own home. Then he had to fight many of the same battles you have fought to assure an adequate wholesale power supply at reasonable cost. Along the way he developed the same passionate interest in the welfare of this program that you have.

This does not mean that he has always agreed with all of our positions. Sometimes we disagree among ourselves on some issues in this program. During his service in the House of Representatives and in the Senate,

President Johnson voted favorably on rural electric and related issues 49 times, and unfavorably 7 times. This makes his voting record 88 percent favorable; 12 percent unfavorable.

And I say this to you about Lyndon Johnson, as I said it many times before he became a candidate for national office: no man in public life has a prouder rural electrification record, and I don't think any man in America is prouder of what he has done to help our program.

Many of you heard him at the 1963 NRECA annual meeting in Las Vegas when, as Vice President, he said:

"In the next 25 years, the rural electric cooperatives of the United States will be lighting the lamp of our Nation's progress."

A few months ago, when he was addressing a group of cooperative leaders at the White House, he said:

"I am proud of what I have to say about cooperatives. I know what they do for people. I have watched them for many years.

"Electricity down where I live on the ranch comes from the Pedernales Electric Cooperative, one of the first rural electric cooperatives organized in this country. I had a little bit to do with it. I guess you might say I was a male mid-wife for the REA."

THE GOLDWATER RECORD

Here is Senator GOLDWATER's record on the issues on which you have taken a position:

In his 12 years in the U.S. Senate, Senator GOLDWATER has voted favorably on legislation affecting rural electrification 3 times; he has voted unfavorably 35 times. In terms of percentages, his record is 8 percent favorable; 92 percent unfavorable.

Senator GOLDWATER has repeatedly called for an increase in the REA interest rate, he has said that in most States REA has "outlived its usefulness" and in a tape recorded interview in South Dakota 2 years ago he said, "When the local companies can move in and find it profitable, then the REA should move out." This is one thing Senator GOLDWATER says which I believe he means.

In Senate speeches as documented in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senator GOLDWATER has called for an increase in Federal wholesale power rates and has said he does not believe in the preference clause in the marketing of Federal power.

In Detroit, Mich., in 1961, Senator GOLDWATER made the public statement that TVA should be sold to private companies "even if the Government should get only $1 for it," and said "that would apply to all Federal power projects across this country where private power can operate." When challenged by Congressman RICHARD FULTON of Tennessee, Senator GOLDWATER wrote Congressman FULTON on October 23, 1963, that "I am quite serious in my opinion that TVA should be sold." He further stated, "My comment about the sale of TVA is based on the belief that it would be better operated and would be of more benefit to more people if it were a part of private industry."

In his book, "The Conscience of a Conservative," published in 1960, Senator GOLDWATER says, "The Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs" including "public power" and "agriculture." We should establish by law, he says, "A rigid timetable for a staged withdrawal." Incidentally, this copy of the Senator's book is one which was sent to a Virginia high school library. The little sticker on the inside front cover says: "Presented by Virginia Electric & Power Co., Richmond, Va."

Two of Senator GOLDWATER's three favorable votes were cast in 1955 for the Colorado River storage project, which directly benefits his home State of Arizona. The other came in February 1964, when he was paired against an amendment to eliminate a section of the tax bill which required utilities to pass tax savings from the 3-percent investment credit on to their customers.

This is the record of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, the man who is running for President of the United States, the man who would control the Bureau of the Budget, appoint the Secretary of Agriculture, the REA Administrator, the officials of the Interior Department, the members of the regulatory commissions, and in general set the tone of Government activity.

CONCLUSION

I've given you the records of these four men as objectively as possible. I am prepared to document this morning, or at any other time, everything I have said about them. Some may wish these records were otherwise; some may find it painful to hear the records discussed; and some may dismiss the records by saying one can change his stripes. I do not agree. The stripes may be whitewashed, but they show up again in the first storm.

What I shall say now is my own conclusion drawn from the facts. I submit that on the basis of Senator GOLDWATER's record, we have good reason and a grave responsibility to be concerned about the results of the presidential election. I do not believe that the millions of rural people who own the rural electric systems will vote for a presidential candidate whose words and deeds show clearly that he would like to end the REA program and turn the rural electric cooperatives and rural power districts over to the power companies.

In my opinion this is not just another election. I am convinced this is the most important presidential election of this century. If the facts and the record do not become blurred and obscured, the people of this Nation on November 3 will decide whether the programs to which we have dedicated our lives are to endure or perish.

Senator Hugh Scott: A Man for All Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, our able colleague from Pennsylvania and my good friend, Senator HUGH SCOTT, has compiled an outstanding record during his first term in the U.S. Senate, as well as during his eight terms in the House of Representatives.

HUGH SCOTT is a dedicated, humane, patriotic Senator. He believes in a forward-looking America where people of all faiths, of all races, and from all walks of life will have an equal opportunity in jobs and education. He believes in an America which will keep its international commitments abroad, yet also seek to build a better nation for all of us here at home.

HUGH SCOTT's abilities, achievements, and leadership are widely recognized. This fact is documented by the editorial endorsements given to his reelection candidacy by some of the major newspapers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as well as by the influential morning newspaper of the Nation's Capital. Knowing that my colleagues and students of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be interested in these editorials, I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD:

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

CHOICE IN PENNSYLVANIA

In the Pennsylvania campaign, the voters indeed have a choice in the Senate race. It is an admirable choice, since both the incumbent Senator HUGH SCOTT, a Republican, and his Democratic challenger, Genevieve Blatt, could responsibly represent the State in Washington. Miss Blatt has an excellent reputation in Pennsylvania, which she has served as secretary for internal affairs; her standing has not been hurt by her victory over a machine-backed candidate in the Senate primary election.

But it is Mr. SCOTT's name on the ballot that lends national interest to the race. The Senator supported Governor Scranton for the presidential nomination; he has loyally followed Mr. Scranton's lead in giving nominal support to the Goldwater ticket. Yet it takes no probing stethoscope to know that Senator SCOTT's heart scarcely beats on the far right.

Thus the voters of Pennsylvania have a good choice, but a difficult one. Miss Blatt represents the enlightened wing of her party at the State level; Senator SCOTT's name is associated with moderate republicanism at the national level. The perspective from Washington is necessarily a special one, a view from the bridge rather than from within the Keystone State. Seen from this vantage, the hope will be that the November vote will not diminish the influence of Mr. SCOTT in his own party.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer]

HUGH SCOTT FOR SENATOR

HUGH SCOTT has been a member of the U.S. Senate for the last 6 years. Prior to that, he served in the House of Representatives for eight terms, with a 2-year interruption for Navy duty during the Second World War.

He has thus spent over 20 years in Congress, gaining in experience and knowledge with each succeeding month, and passing on the fruits of that experience and knowledge in beneficial service to his constituents.

He is widely acknowledged in Washington as one of the ablest legislators to sit in Congress in recent years. Republicans take pride in him. Democrats respect him. Independents consistently support him.

A Republican who has worked zealously for his party in good times and bad, he has scorned partisanship in representing the people of Pennsylvania in the Senate. He has faithfully advanced the interests of his city and State at all times, while not neglecting the broader spheres of the national welfare. He has been recognized as a student of foreign affairs, as an indefatigable leader in the struggle for civil rights for the Negroes, as a champion of free enterprise and equal opportunity.

Senator SCOTT is an outstanding Republican liberal. Extremism of the left or of the right is equally revolting to him. With control of the GOP taken over by a radical minority faction, it is imperative that moderate Republicans retain a strong voice and able spokesmen in Congress and in the party councils. Return of HUGH SCOTT to the U.S. Senate will be the best thing that could happen, not only for Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania but for the future of the Republican Party and the two-party system.

His opponent in the November 3 election—unless court appeals should dislodge her from the Democratic nomination—will be Miss Genevieve Blatt, who is now in her

third term as Pennsylvania's secretary of internal affairs.

Miss Blatt is held in wide esteem; she has many friends throughout the State; and she has performed her official duties with unquestioned competence.

But we believe that most voters will agree that Senator SCOTT's experience and demonstrated ability in the Senate make him fully deserving of another term. His record constitutes his most striking appeal for voter support.

In a first-page editorial last week, the Inquirer endorsed a Democrat, Lyndon B. Johnson, for President of the United States. In the same spirit of political independence, we are glad to announce this newspaper's support for a Republican, HUGH SCOTT, for U.S. Senator.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette]

REELECT A GOOD SENATOR

Pennsylvanians have a choice of good candidates for the Senate this fall but we feel that several important factors argue strongly in favor of reelecting the Republican candidate, Senator HUGH D. SCOTT.

Senator SCOTT is a broadly experienced and effective Congressman. He represented a Philadelphia district in the House for 16 years prior to his election to the Senate in 1958.

Both in the House and in the Senate, Mr. SCOTT has demonstrated that he knows his way around and can get things done not just for his constituents but for the Nation.

His voting record attests to a constructive sense of responsibility without regard for partisan interests. Within recent years he has voted for the test ban treaty, the income tax reduction, the civil rights bill, mass transit aid for the cities, the antipoverty and Appalachian bills, area redevelopment, and innumerable other measures which transcend party considerations.

Senator SCOTT was a cosponsor of the following important bills which became law: mass transit, civil rights, aid to educational television, aid to community colleges, creation of U.S. Travel Service, higher railroad retirement benefits, aid to medical research, funds to help seal abandoned coal mines in Pennsylvania, and aid to small business.

As a member of the Senate Rules Committee, he has played an influential role in investigations, including the continuing probe of the suspicious affairs of Bobby Baker.

Aside from his work as a legislator, Senator SCOTT has long been an energetic leader in the Republican Party, which he served as national chairman in 1948–49. He is now general counsel to the committee. In San Francisco in July, he worked diligently but unsuccessfully for a platform broad enough to accommodate the party's diverse elements and had he succeeded, the party would have gone into this national election with a much stronger show of unity.

Senator SCOTT's political acumen was never better demonstrated than in 1962, when he almost single-handedly stood off the Old Guard in Pennsylvania and forced the nomination of an attractive young gubernatorial candidate, William W. Scranton, who could be elected and restore the party to power in this State. For that, if for nothing else, the party is much in his debt.

Beyond State considerations, we feel that it is imperative to the future of the Republican Party nationally that some of its outstanding moderate figures, like Senator SCOTT, Senator KEATING of New York, Charles Percy, the gubernatorial candidate in Illinois and Governor Romney of Michigan, be elected in November as a nucleus around which to rebuild following the expected Goldwater debacle. This isn't going to be easy and the party will need all the strength it can muster.

Clearly this will require a great deal of ticket splitting. A great many Pennsylvanians who vote for Johnson will also have to vote for Senator SCOTT if he is to be reelected. We think he should be and we urge the citizens of this State to split their tickets and keep a good Senator in Washington.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot]

WE SUPPORT SENATOR SCOTT IN HIS BID FOR REELECTION

There are two key words in any appraisal of Pennsylvania's Senator HUGH D. SCOTT.

One is "moderate." In his 16 years in the U.S. House of Representatives and his 6 years in the Senate, he has been arrayed with that group of Republicans who are not alined with either the extreme right or the extreme left.

The other is "independent." If the 22-year congressional record of HUGH SCOTT is stamped with anything, it is stamped with independence. He is a Congressman who never has been afraid to stand up and vote his convictions, even when this has placed him in opposition to a President who has been of his own party. This happened on several occasions on major issues during the Eisenhower years. HUGH SCOTT is also a Congressman who has not been afraid to stand up and be counted on the side of a Democratic President even if this found him on the opposite side of a majority of his own party.

The appeal of HUGH SCOTT as a candidate worthy of support in the November 3 voting extends beyond his record in Congress, his experience, and his independence.

This is not an ordinary election. If we are to believe the polls, the reports and every indication of what is going to happen in the election 4 weeks from tomorrow, a Johnson landslide is in the making that approaches, perhaps, even the scope of the F.D.R. triumph of 1936. In this kind of a landslide, many outstanding Republicans would be swept to defeat.

In this kind of a landslide, the Republican Party well could be demolished for all practical effect for several years to come and, possibly, for much longer than that.

This points up the importance of reelecting Senator SCOTT and maintaining him and Republicans like him in positions of power and influence within the Republican Party. As we stressed in the Sunday Patriot-News in our endorsement of the candidacy of President Lyndon Johnson, one of our major objections to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is what he is doing to the Republican Party and the two-party system. If the two-party system, which we believe to be so vital to our way of governmental and political life, is to be maintained, the Republican Party must not become a party that hews to the political extremes.

In the reconstruction of the Republican Party and the two-party system which, we believe, will and must begin after the November 3 election, the best interests of Americans will be served if Republicans of the measure of Senator SCOTT in Pennsylvania and Senator KEATING in New York are maintained in public office.

Senator SCOTT's opponent, Miss Genevieve M. Blatt, is a woman of demonstrated competence in public office and is held in high esteem by Pennsylvanians, as her record of three successive elections as secretary of internal affairs shows. We would point out that in her present office she will continue in public service for 2 more years. We hold Miss Blatt in esteem, too. We endorsed her candidacy for reelection 2 years ago.

But this is a different campaign, and this is not an ordinary election. We endorse the bid for reelection by Senator HUGH SCOTT and commend his candidacy without reservation to the voters of Pennsylvania when they cast their ballots on November 3.

Pan American Development Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today in this era of advanced communication and increased mobilization, one realizes the necessity for a greater understanding of the problems confronting the peoples of the world. One recognizes that only through the efforts of the individual and the combined society of a great nation, can the peoples of less fortunate nations maintain their dignity and accept their responsibilities.

Official governments working together cannot truly effect the unity of mind necessary for the achievement of common goals. We are all aware that the eventual success of the Alliance for Progress is closely related to the support and cooperation of the private sector. The ideals and the program of the Alliance must reach out, so far as possible, to involve every man, woman, and child of the hemisphere in a true alliance to advance the economic and social development of the American countries. A need has arisen to stimulate the interest of the private sector and to channel its vast resources to development programs.

The Pan American Development Foundation has been established to create a new channel to give the general public an opportunity for direct, personal participation in the Alliance. The Foundation is highly important for at least three reasons: first, by identifying needed small projects, averaging a few hundred dollars, it is making participation of the private sector realistically feasible; second, the projects will have a significant and immediate impact on local public opinion in Latin America, vividly demonstrating what the Alliance is and what it can do; thirdly, it is actively working to encourage private philanthropy among our Latin neighbors themselves.

The Foundation operates in a simple and concrete manner. It is encouraging private citizens, businesses, and community organizations to sponsor specific projects ranging in cost from $3 to $30,000 which are suitable for private assistance and designed to further the human welfare goals of the Alliance. Private groups can select projects which interest them most and, through the Foundation's auspices, enter into direct contact with the recipients, thereby becoming directly and personally involved in their success.

One of the most significant aspects of the Pan American Development Foundation's work is the direct, immediate impact type of project that it sponsors. These projects are understandable, tangible evidence of the Alliance. Another aspect of the work of the Foundation is a hemispherewide Foundation, a multilateral organization operating parallel to the Alliance, seeking to encourage private philanthropy in Latin America and to stimulate the private sector in all the

countries of the hemisphere to become involved in Alliance activities. Its board of trustees is composed of some of the men most knowledgeable about the Alliance, and commands respect in all the nations of the hemisphere. This board will encourage private philanthropy in Latin America in the most positive of manners—by action and by example. It will actively seek to raise matching funds in the Latin American countries to equal the contributions which it is making in each country.

It will also promote the idea of private philanthropy in another manner—by encouraging the recipients themselves to give to others. The people aided by the Foundation will not be receiving handouts. They will be expected, wherever possible, to match the Foundation's contributions by their own self-help efforts. For example, where production is increased due to the Foundation's help, the benficiaries are requested to set aside part of that increased production to contribute to similar activities in other areas or other Alliance countries, so that soon Brazilians will be helping Guatemalans, and Venezuelans helping Bolivians. This "multiplier" effect will insure that contributions to the Foundation continue working long after the initial donation is made. Equally important, the self-respect and confidence that this helps to generate among the people who participate in these programs will pay dividends for generations to come. A letter from a Peace Corps volunteer working with these cooperatives speaks of the enthusiasm of co-op members for the "philosophy behind the assistance—that they would have a chance to repay and to have that repayment reinvested in Latin America."

The Foundation, which was inspired by the Organization of American States, is now an operating entity. From a modest beginning, its potential to serve as an instrument to encourage the direct, personal involvement of the people of all the countries of the hemisphere in the Alliance for Progress is obvious. It provides an effective answer to one of the serious problems of the Alliance, which had asked for public support without providing any channel for it.

If there is a deep reservoir of good will for the Alliance among the people of our country, as I am convinced there is, the Foundation will provide a concrete and tangible way for people to express that good will.

The 50th Anniversary, School of Optometry, Ohio State University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following remarks relative to the 50th anniversary of the School of Optometry at the Ohio State University be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This month, October 1964, the school of optometry at the Ohio State University will observe its 50th anniversary. This is the oldest university school of optometry in the United States. Graduates of its initial 4-year curriculum received the bachelor's degree in applied optics. The Ohio State University School of Optometry was the first, in 1939, to extend its curriculum to 5 years and, in 1964, to 6 years. This professional curriculum leads to the doctor of optometry degree.

It was the first to establish a research program in vision, both in basic science and in applied problems. In 1937 it was the first to establish optional graduate programs leading to the M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in physiological optics.

It has graduated nearly 1,000 optometrists, who are in optometric practice in civilian life and in the Armed Forces, and are active in professional and community life, in optometric education and research, and in the optical industry. Among its graduates are more deans and faculty members of schools of optometry than any other school of optometry. It has performed important research for the Government and the military, and has made significant advances in our knowledge of vision and its care.

Its modern buildings, completed in 1951 and 1961, were financed partly by contributions of over $100,000 from optometrists themselves, $800,000 from the State of Ohio, and $31,000 from the Federal Government for research facilities. In the last 10 years it has received over $600,000 for research from optometrists, industry, foundations, and State and Federal grants.

Dr. Glenn A. Fry, director of the school for 29 years, is one of America's most eminent visual scientists, and is a recipient of awards and recognition in the United States and abroad. The staff of the school is highly competent and lists among its faculty the largest number of Ph. D. degree holders of any school of optometry. The list of research publications of the faculty is extensive.

With the first 50 years as a guide to the future, the school will continue to do its utmost to train young men and women for careers through which they can render the best possible vision care, and contribute further research on the eyes and vision.

Trials of a Dedicated Public Servant—Paul Rand Dixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, to the average American citizen, positions in the higher echelon of the Federal Government are considered glamorous and exciting. Little thought is given to the trials and tribulations which confront the holders of these positions. An excellent example of the problems faced by one of the high-ranking Federal officials, is ably outlined in an article in the October 1964 issue of Appliance Manufacturer magazine. For the benefit of the Members, I am inserting this article in the Appendix:

"THOU SHALT COMPETE": THE FTC AND ITS 11TH COMMANDMENT

(By Malcolm R. Hebert, Editor)

Few Americans want this job. It's probably the hottest job in Washington, with the hottest seat. And the man who occupies that seat is subject to comments and criticisms from both the body that created it as well as the public it serves.

But all this heat and criticism doesn't seem to bother the 56-year-old Tennessee Democrat, Paul Rand Dixon, who was appointed FTC Chairman in March 1961.

Mr. Dixon has been associated with the FTC since early in 1938 when he joined them as trial attorney. He has been active in FTC work since that time and is one of the few men in the history of the FTC who has worked so hard to eventually become its Chairman.

Because of his long association with the Commission, Mr. Dixon doesn't take his job lightly, despite some misleading stories that have appeared over the past.

He has been portrayed from a man who would take over American business to a man who would give American business away. Neither portrait is accurate.

"People, especially businessmen," muses Mr. Dixon, "think that we are out to get them. What they don't realize is that unless someone complains about something that is wrong, we can do nothing. And, it just isn't one complaint; they have to form a definite pattern."

Mr. Dixon likes to state that there is an 11th commandment. It says, "Thou shalt compete." And he adds, "Thou shalt compete fairly."

"It seems to me," he said one day last month in his Washington office, "that this whole subject of our obligations to each other can be summed up in my 11th commandment. The statutes the FTC administers expect no more from the appliance industry than that. And we, as the FTC, expect no more than that. We only ask that the appliance industry refrain from eliminating competition and that they treat the American consumer and their fellow appliance manufacturers fairly," he added.

Despite some premature fears by appliance industry executives, the FTC and Mr. Dixon have a high opinion of the appliance industry.

"We have no program against the appliance industry," Mr. Dixon said. "In fact, it is one of the industries that is doing an excellent self-policing job and should be extremely proud of itself for being able and wanting to keep itself as it should."

Mr. Dixon believes that the hard goods business is vital to the American economy and the American way of life. But he adds, "Our first duty is to enforce the law and enforce it fairly."

Not out to win popularity contests, Mr. Dixon went on to say that if some knave gets $200 from a citizen by selling him snake oil guaranteed to cure the bald spot on his head, that $200 is simply gone down the drain.

"As a result," he adds, "someone, perhaps the retailer and then the appliance manufacturer, loses a $200 refrigerator sale. Mrs. Housewife can't afford it because her husband was fleeced."

One point Mr. Dixon likes to talk about is the self-defeating aspect in cheating.

"So often forgotten is that every antitrust violation has a victim," he said. "In many cases it is the consumer who yells first. But in almost every case there is also a businessman who is being hurt, whether he knows it or not."

Thus Mr. Dixon's reasoning is that dollars taken from prospective appliance buyers by the irresponsible few are dollars taken from the appliance retailer and ultimately from the pockets and profits of appliance manufacturers.

To keep the whole American industry fair and competitive, Mr. Dixon has some 1,145 people on his staff, comparatively small by other bureaucratic standards. But the sting of FTC action is there when that sting is needed.

As far as the appliance industry is concerned, Mr. Dixon looks to it for continued self-regulation which he has already lauded.

Thus some industry observers feel that this fresh, new approach by the FTC is the beginning of a new coexistence between Uncle Sam and the appliance industry.

Food for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, Food for Peace Director Richard W. Reuter told the American Soybean Association at its annual meeting in Kansas City recently that "food for peace is coming closer to a moment of truth" when we must decide if we are going to produce foodstuffs for foreign assistance programs or terminate the programs because our surpluses have been liquidated.

Mr. Reuter points out that our milk donation program has already been cut 50 percent and that rice, peas, and beans are no longer available for such foreign aid use because the surpluses have been liquidated and our aid program is now tied to surplus commodities only.

I was pleased that the Senate adopted my amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill to appropriate $50 million annually for the purchase of high protein foods for foreign assistance purposes. This amendment, which did not survive the conference on the bill, would have been a first step toward a new basic policy of producing food for use in the food for peace program.

Such a step must be taken by the next Congress.

Mr. Reuter's address is an able presentation of the success of our food for peace program and an exposition of the problem we face. I ask unanimous consent for its inclusion in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC LAW 480: SURPLUS DISPOSAL IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Richard W. Reuter, Director, Food for Peace, Washington, D.C., before the joint meeting, American Soybean Association and National Soybean Processors Association, Kansas City, Mo.)

Soy has been called "the wonder crop" and you deservedly are proud of the job you have done in the rapid expansion of the use of American soy production. It is particularly satisfying to me, therefore, that the food-for-peace story should be scheduled before this joint session. We move $1½ billion worth of agricultural commodities a year under Public Law 480—and they can have a mighty important effect on the future of American farm trade. I hope we can work together to assure a maximum benefit for America. For if Public Law 480 is to be only surplus disposal we are wasting one of the most valuable weapons in the arsenal of democracy.

This spring I visited Brazil to see if we could not help the new junta there stabilize the economy by assisting with grains—probably their No. 1 problem. We are helping. But while in Rio, I took the ferry over to Niteroi and visited a miserable shanty town in order to see a little amateur-built wooden shack school house. Six University of Brazil law students had built the little structure and for 6 months had volunteered their time to teach classes for the children of the favella.

Our mission provided—belatedly, I must admit—milk and oil and flour and bulgur for a hot meal to each child. If the pattern of shanty towns is ever to be broken those children must have a basic education and some simple skills. Forty million children around the world are in organized school lunch schemes utilizing our so-called surplus commodities.

Last month Ambassador Bowles announced in Delhi that the United States was stepping up its food shipments to India to 550,000 tons of wheat a month to try to alleviate the outright starvation that was causing food riots in that muchly plagued country. The causes of India's present food problems are too complex to be solved alone by food shipments—no matter how generous—but the gesture has resulted in a succession of glowing editorial comments on the American system that makes such abundance possible and the American policy that shares it so freely. India needs wheat and rice and milk—and oils. And I believe India will use American food for an indefinite period—hopefully more and more under normal commercial trade patterns.

ASSET OF WORTH

In a world that is hungry, America's food and her capacity to produce food is an asset of great worth.

You know, Public Law 480—the enabling legislation for the food for peace program—is the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. President Eisenhower emphasized this when he signed it into law on July 10, 1954. Its sponsors emphasized this in their testimony. Yet, to this day we tend to think in terms of surplus disposal. A reading of the papers of the period reveal that we were more concerned about "dumping" and negative trade effects than we were convinced of positive trade values. We heartily accepted the humanitarian purposes—but many seriously questioned the economic validity of the program.

The general public to a large degree, I suppose, ignored the act entirely. Public Law 480 got every little press attention as the Congress developed this "surplus disposal" program during the spring—a decade ago.

In fact, Public Law 480 had only the briefest of mentions in the daily press even the day it was signed into law. It was treated by the New York Times as only a side issue, mentioned in paragraph 3, in the story of a vigorous debate on Ezra Taft Benson's proposed bill for flexible farm price supports.

Our surplus hoard in Government hands had passed for the first time the $6 billion mark. But there were hopes that with rigid production controls and flexible support programs this high surplus stock position would be short-lived. Public Law 480 was an opportunity to move this surplus constructively. Morally, we could no longer destroy food, or let it rot, as long as people were hungry.

Public Law 480 may well prove to have been the most important event of that eventful not July day 10 years ago.

In retrospect, food for peace has been one of the most imaginative and successful of America's overseas efforts—and at the same time one of the best bargains the American taxpayer has received. We have learned to use our food to accomplish America's goals overseas.

In the world of 1964 a dominant force is the drive by the peoples of the evolving countries for an economic and social freedom without which their newly won political freedom is a hollow victory. The half of the people of the world with inadequate diets are no longer satisfied to be consigned to a lifetime of constant gnawing hunger.

Nor need they be. The agricultural productive revolution has advanced to the point where we now—worldwide—have the inputs and the know-how necessary to produce within the next 20 years enough food to provide at least a minimum adequate diet for every person. Never before in history has this day been foreseeable. People have never eaten better—yet ironically, in absolute terms, there are more hungry people in 1964 than ever before in history. We don't have the means yet to get this food from the producer to the needy consumer—and provide an adequate return to the producer. This is our basic problem.

Public Law 480 as we have moved toward a use orientation—toward a more truly food-for-peace concept—has provided part of the techniques we seek to close the gap between food abundance in surplus-producing countries and human hunger in food-deficit areas.

For the last 3 years we have moved annually about $1½ billion worth of agricultural commodities under Public Law 480.

About a quarter of this is donated outright and programed into school lunch, preschool child feeding, food-for-wages projects of economic and community development, CCC-type youth training camps, feed grain projects to stimulate chicken and pig cooperative projects, and family feeding.

Some is bartered for off-shore procurement needs. The balance, almost $1 billion a year, is sold under local currency title I or dollar credit title IV programs.

No matter how great the need—you can't sell a man who has no money. As Public Law 480 has contributed to the development process we have enlarged the market for U.S. goods.

Ecuador is a good example of this need to bring the hungry into the marketplace. In that country of 4½ million people only a little over 500,000 ever buy or sell anything. The rest live—or exist is more accurate—on a local subsistence level.

Japan shows what can be done—they are now our No. 1 purchaser of farm goods. Italy, Greece, and Spain are further examples of countries that have moved from 480 recipients to cash customers.

CREATES MARKETS

Public Law 480 creates markets. For every $100 of per capita income (in both developed and less developed countries) we sell about $1 worth of farm products.

As Secretary Freeman pointed out at the Agricultural Development Conference, we should strive for economic development. If the 3 billion people living in the less developed countries of this world raised their per capita income just $100—we would have a new $3 billion market for American agriculture. This is double the $1½ billion a year we now sell these areas. What a difference this would make to America's economy.

Last year we exported $6.1 billion worth of agricultural commodities, almost $4½ billion of straight commercial dollar sales. This is

up more than 20 percent over the previous year—and 35 percent over 1959 and is double what our agricultural exports were a decade ago when we started Public Law 480. You shared very heavily in this record. Soybeans, oil, and meal are now the largest U.S. agricultural dollar earners.

We earned a net of almost $2 billion in our balance-of-payments struggle through the produce of our farms.

Public Law 480 has been a positive force in this constantly expanding export picture:

During this first decade we have learned that our food can be used to pay U.S. bills overseas.

We have learned that our food and its generated currencies can serve as an integral part of foreign economic development.

We have learned that our food can help prevent inflation in recipient countries.

We have learned that our food can literally affect the course of history in post-disaster situations.

We have learned that our food can be used as an incentive to motivate people to build their own societies.

And, we have learned that in the process of all this our food not only does not replace "normal markets" but that Public Law 480 can help build expanded markets.

But, what of the future?

Food for peace is coming closer all the time to a moment of truth. Many of us in recent years have been saying that food for peace is no longer a surplus disposal program—that programing of the food is now based on the validity of the use, not on the availability of the surplus per se. It is this fact of purposeful programing that has eliminated almost entirely the charge of dumping so prevalent in the 1950's.

Today the food is considered an asset to be planned—just as carefully as dollar resources are used. It can supplement, and sometimes, replace dollar use.

In practice, then, we operate Public Law 480 on the basis that food is not distributed because it is surplus—but because it is needed. At the same time, the food asset is not available unless it is surplus.

With a couple of significant exceptions, there has been enough nutritional food available in CCC stocks that the twin criteria of need and programed use were seldom limited seriously by the question of supply.

But the picture appears to be changing. Nonfat dry milk this year is no longer "in burdensome surplus supply." Our milk donation programs are being cut 50 percent. Butter stocks have been substantially reduced—as the vegetable oil people know so well. Rice and peas and beans, once key items in the donation distributions, are no longer available for foreign donation.

LIMITED PROTEIN SUPPLY

In general, protein-rich foods are the most limited. This should be of particular interest to soybean processors. Proper nutrition in Public Law 480 programing in the future will depend to a greater degree on more imaginative use of grains, and probably more use of food enrichment and processing. We are now experimenting with a soy grit program. We recently moved to expand this to include a pilot project of soy beverages.

Public Law 480 started out to move surplus food stocks. It has moved some $20 billion worth of commodities (CCC cost).

But surplus disposal is not enough. Public Law 480 has proven itself a valuable instrument for America—all America. As our asset—the supply of surplus food—becomes more limited, skill in its use becomes more imperative.

You have an important stake in the future of this program, we welcome your interest and participation in its development.

In recent days in the Bay of Tonkin we have seen again how fragile is the peace; and how important it is that we do not relax the vigil or weary of the struggle.

After 20 years of work on the world scene, I am increasingly more convinced that there are no pat answers and no easy solutions.

It is particularly good to be able to report to you on a program that has quietly become an American success story.

Urban Issues: The Role of the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, because of the great importance of the subject of urban problems, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article explaining my views on the role of the Federal Government in this field. This article appeared in the October issue of Ohio Cities and Villages which is published by the Ohio Municipal League:

URBAN ISSUES: THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(By ROBERT TAFT, JR., Congressman-at-large, candidate for the U.S. Senate)

American cities today face serious problems which threaten to stifle the vitality of our industrial society. Our streets are clogged, our neighborhoods are congested, our hospitals are crowded. Our air and water are despoiled by foreign substances.

Public action—responding to public demand—must meet these diverse challenges to our community welfare. But in the halls of government, a debate rages over the proper mixture of local, State, and Federal participation in action programs. Some believe the Federal Government should be the prime force in our effort to meet the new needs of urban living.

I do not share this belief. Instead, I prefer to rely upon the citizen's capacity to conceive solutions to his own problems without interference and intrusion by external authority. Historically, we Americans have placed our faith in individual initiative and imagination. We must not weaken that faith by becoming dependent upon a central government to meet our community needs.

REVENUE SOURCES

Local communities, in one significant way, are hindered by Federal policy. Local needs are best met through the use of local revenues, administered under local direction and control. But certain Federal tax laws actually impede the accumulation of these sorely needed funds.

The Federal Government has preempted the excise tax field, thereby closing off as a practical matter a potential source of revenue which might otherwise be available to local governments. Federal excise tax revenues for the current fiscal year are estimated at $14.7 billion. Repeal reduction plans now under consideration in Washington could cut this amount by $1 billion to $4.7 billion, but even this is hardly a massive reallocation of an important tax source. Because this avenue to additional revenue has been grabbed off by the Federal Government, more and more cities are being forced to turn elsewhere for financial aid. Unfortunately, they usually turn to the Federal Government. The Federal income tax can be considered one cause for this trend. Because it is so high, it produces a situation in which income taxes levied at other governmental levels are regressive. In reality, it is the Federal income tax which is regressive. We have no better evidence of this than the admissions of those who favored the recent tax cut bill.

If the Federal Government stopped gobbling up local sources of revenue, cities would be better able to cure their own financial malnutrition. I have joined with a group of my congressional colleagues in calling for immediate revision of the prevailing tax structure with the simple goal of returning additional tax sources to local units of Government. Such action would enable local governments to be more self-sufficient in their own right.

In 1961, I cosponsored a measure in the Ohio General Assembly which asked Congress to authorize each State to keep 1 percent of the Federal income taxes collected in that State. This money was to be earmarked for educational expenditures, and would be administered solely by the State. The cost of sending money to Washington, where a broker's fee is deducted before it is returned to the States, could be eliminated by this procedure. Ohio, for instance, sends $1.36 to Washington for every $1 it receives back in Federal aid. Expensive delay and troublesome bureaucratic redtape could be avoided. The measure passed the House but the session ended before the Senate took action on it.

Local governments are denied a distinct collection advantage because municipal income taxes are not withheld from the paychecks of Federal employees who work within city limits. Nine Ohio cities—Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton, Springfield, Toledo, and Youngstown—are hampered by the lack of Federal withholding procedures. And yet, local and State authorities are required to withhold Federal income taxes from the paychecks of their authorities.

As you well know, the absence of reciprocity increases administrative costs borne by local governments. A high rate of delinquency generally is found where there are no withholding procedures. It has been estimated that the cost of collecting delinquent taxes can be twice that of collecting taxes paid on time.

By far the most beneficial action that could be taken by the administration in Washington would be to urge Congress to release to local and State governments certain revenue sources now controlled by the Federal Government. In this way our cities would be in position to meet their needs more adequately—and without topheavy reliance on the Federal bureaucracy. Such a move could not be made, of course, until Federal expenditures are brought into line with revenues—and cost-cutting measures are effected to offset the release of Federal tax sources. At the same time, this approach certainly would encourage a return of present Federal programs to State and local entities, where they properly belong. Gradual reduction of the Federal share in grant-in-aid programs would spur States and cities to assume greater responsibilities in these areas, and produce Federal economies simultaneously.

URBAN RENEWAL

In Ohio, one of the most important programs in which the Federal Government is a participant is urban renewal. Twenty-two cities in our State are partners in this ambitious effort to revitalize and rebuild population centers which have deteriorated with age. With reservations for these cities—ranging from the smallest (London) to the largest (Cleveland)—total $213 million.

I am in agreement with the goals of this program, and for this reason I voted for the Housing Act of 1964 which authorized an additional expenditures of $725 million for urban renewal work. I believe, however, that the scope of urban renewal must be

confined to reasonable amounts which we as taxpayers can afford. Above all, we should never permit our governmental efforts to replace those carried on by private enterprise with private financing.

In conducting an urban renewal program, I believe maximum emphasis should be placed on providing new housing, especially low-cost housing units for deprived families who need it most. I do not favor an increase in the present restriction—80 percent—upon the amount of Federal money which can be spent on nonhousing projects.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

I have serious doubts about the constitutionality of the air pollution bill recently enacted by Congress. By establishing stringent reporting requirements, the bill could result in forced self-incrimination. Freedom from this type of harassment is guaranteed by our Constitution, and no matter how lofty the aims of the program involved, this freedom should not be overturned.

The Federal Government does have a role to play in curbing pollution of the air we breathe and the water we drink. Foremost among proper Federal activities is research, and important work in this field is progressing at the Taft Sanitary Engineering Center In Cincinnati. By serving as a constant source of information, and by developing workable corrective techniques, the Federal Government can serve the States without interference.

Tax incentives also can be used to encourage private industry to install abatement facilities. The Ohio General Assembly last year enacted legislation which provides tax relief to companies which take steps to curb air pollution. I supported this bill when it came before the State legislature in 1961, and I'm pleased to see it has been enacted. There appears to be no reason why the same approach should not be utilized by the Federal Government as a facet of its antipollution program.

The Federal Government can give cities valuable assistance by encouraging enactment of interstate compacts designed to deal with the problems of pollution. Water and air do not recognize State boundaries, and neither do the pollutants they carry. Collective action by States, in which each is an equal partner, can be an effective weapon in this crucial campaign.

HIGHWAYS

The vast highway construction program underway in Ohio illustrates vividly the kind of local-State-Federal cooperation which can be of great value to our communities. In 1955, the citizens of Ohio accepted responsibility for paying their share in this tremendous endeavor by passing a $500 million highway bond issue. Last spring, another issue—this one also for $500 million was approved by the voters. This money has been, and will continue to be, used to augment the Federal Government's contribution to the cost of building the new highways so vital to our entire economy. The cities, in turn, share proportionate responsibility by paying part of the construction costs and all of the maintenance costs.

Ohio's highways—those in use as well as those under construction or being planned—represent one of our most valuable assets. New industry is attracted to a State which offers speedy and efficient transportation from marketplace to marketplace. The Interstate System, being built as defense insurance in case of war, is of equal value in time of peace. Trucks and tourists travel our beautiful countryside without bothersome waste of time. At the same time, intracity traffic proceeds under more favorable conditions.

HOSPITALS

As our Nation's urban population has grown, hospital facilities built for less crowded cities have been hard pressed to meet the increased demand for their services. Small antiquated structures must be replaced by large new buildings. Scientific and technological advances have increased the costs of equipment needed to treat the illnesses of our people. The financial pressure created by these requirements imposes a heavy burden upon local governments.

The extraordinary hospital demands produced by the boom in our population is of genuine national concern, and justifies a Federal contribution. The Hill-Burton Act, which I have supported in Congress, enables local communities to supplement their own financial resources with Government aid. This type of program is proper, considering the grave circumstances which necessitated its adoption, and I favor its continued use.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Employment is concentrated in our cities. Unfortunately, so is unemployment. The Federal Government's obligation in this field is to encourage local communities to provide jobless workers with the skills they need to make their own way in an industrial society. This is best achieved through programs such as the Manpower Development and Training Act and vocational education. Although Federal funds are used to underwrite the costs of these programs, control and direction is retained at the State and local levels of government. This is as it should be, since the citizens of a community are best qualified to determine how their needs should be met.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I have supported these efforts in the belief that they are specific approaches to specific problems. The use of Federal funds is proper as long as local control is assured, for without local control the community becomes the servant of central government rather than the master of its own needs.

GRANT-IN-AID REVIEW

In all these endeavors, though, one thing must be remembered. These programs are intended to alleviate current problems. If the problem is cured, the program becomes unnecessary. If the problem changes course or magnitude, the program must be revised to acocmmodate new challenges.

For this reason, I believe a periodic review of all Federal grant-in-aid programs is essential if the proper role of Government in the solution of urban problems is to be maintained. Legislation calling for such a periodic review has been proposed in Congress. I am wholeheartedly in favor of this policy and will give it my earnest support. Programs devised to meet certain problems, no matter how effective they might be at a given time, frequently grow obsolete. To make certain they retain their vitality and effectiveness, we must subject them to frequent and regular reexamination. Otherwise, our efforts could be wasted on an exercise in frustration.

SUMMING UP

Representative DEL CLAWSON of California, a former mayor and my able colleague in principle involved in the need for strong, unfettered local government when he said:

"Next to the family, the community is a fundamental foundation unit of society and derives its strength from meeting and solving its own problems, just as does the family."

Despite the troubles which now beset them, American cities have retained the capacity for growth and greatness. We must make certain their remaining potential is realized, because their continued vigor is essential to our welfare as a nation.

This can best be accomplished through reliance on local initiative and ingenuity, with the Federal partner as a limited participant only when there is authentic cause for national concern.

The Vital Role of Transportation in Economic Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. PEARSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I recently addressed the Kansas Motor Carriers' Association annual convention at Wichita, Kans., regarding the vital role of transportation in economic development.

In view of the vital nature of national transportation policy to the economic development and future welfare of my State, I request unanimous consent that this address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VITAL ROLE OF TRANSPORTATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(Address by JAMES B. PEARSON, U.S. Senator, Republican, of Kansas, Kansas Motor Carriers' Association Convention, Hotel Broadview, Wichita, Kans.)

This country is the major economic power of the world. It achieved that position for good reason.

We have urged each person to choose his own job. We have encouraged each person to do that which he can do best. We have been blessed with many rich natural resources.

When there are many people with diverse talents and a rich supply of resources the potential for economic development is excellent. With freedom to apply initiative, that potential can be fulfilled. Today we are the beneficiaries of these assets and a long and great heritage of this kind of free enterprise system.

All of this could not have taken place, however, without one essential element. That element is the freedom and capability of movement. Economic development and transportation are absolutely interdependent. It is vital for our national economic growth that we have a flexible, low cost, and strong transportation system.

Early Kansas was a laboratory example of this fact. The Oregon and Santa Fe Trails through Kansas opened the transportation routes of the frontier to settlers and later to commercial ventures. The Chisolm Trail through Wichita to Abilene was the route for the eastward movement of our western cattle. These routes provided only the crudest form of transportation but they served the needs of the time. When Wichita was finally linked by rail with Chicago in 1872, it became a major trade and transportation center. But early Kansans were not satisfied with merely providing the route for transporting livestock. With better transportation available they began to hold the cattle for feeding. Our State's livestock industry was born. So we in Kansas have been acutely aware of the importance of transportation because of its contribution to our early economy.

As the number of new industries have increased around the country, transportation service has become a vital link between supplier and customer. We have been able to develop our resources because there has been a market for almost everything somewhere. With expanded and improved transportation have come more markets, and consequently more new industries and more jobs.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that all of the frontiers are past. Development continues. There are many trends which point to new opportunities, and with them, to new demands on the transportation system.

Our population is growing at a fantastic rate. Today there are twice as many people in the United States as there were at the beginning of World War I. From 1940 to 1960, the movement of population to the West was greater than anything since the 1870's. As in the 1870's, Kansas is in the center of that movement.

As our people spread throughout the country, they place increasing demands on the transportation system. People in even the smallest town enjoy and, in fact, demand the benefits of our country's diverse production. To reach all people everywhere requires more miles of transportation service, and a great variety of services and schedules to handle raw materials, manufactured components, and finished products ranging from ore to transistors to giant missiles.

We are experiencing a new era of production. There are products today we never dreamed possible. Even the old familiar elements in our diet are manufactured and processed in revolutionary ways. There are, for example, so many processing steps between the farm harvest and the housewife's kitchen shelf that new, specialized industries have grown up to handle each stage.

A product is seldom manufactured in one location and then simply shipped to its market. It may travel from one plant to another, and even to several, before being completed. Firms thus take advantage of the special contributions of each area of the country.

Kansas has benefited from this trend as we have experienced the development of several major industries. The Goodyear Rubber Co., for example, constructed one of its largest manufacturing and distribution centers at Topeka. Certainly an essential factor in that decision was the existence of the transportation facilities necessary to take advantage of our geographical location for regional distribution.

The completion of the new Interstate Highway System will be the most significant development in our national transportation system in years. The Interstate System composed of 41,000 miles—to which your dollars have contributed so much—opens a new era in transportation and especially in motor freight transportation. A recent study sponsored by the Rockwell Standard Corp. and conducted by the American Foundry Association concluded that the availability of good highways is a number one factor in choosing a plant site. The improvement of our highways will continue to increase that importance.

We have and we will continue to witness a series of railroad mergers. This innovation in corporate ownership and transportation management provides the rail industry with a new national status.

All of the carriers have been moving forward in the field of technological innovation. Specialized facilities, such as the Big John hopper cars of the Southern Railroad, represent new dimensions in rail carriage. The disturbance in rate parity between bulk wheat and flour rates stimulated by the availability of Southern's new cars provided a good example of how closely industry and transportation are linked.

Developments in intermodal carriage will have definite effects on the whole concept of intercontinental transportation. Policies adopted regarding new piggy-back proposals will certainly be of vital concern to all those involved.

Improvements in motor carrier design, power, and safety have made it feasible and possibly reasonable to construct and operate larger vehicles.

There appears to be nothing in view to arrest these developments. Certainly our population will continue to grow and spread about the country. Industry will become increasingly flexible with regard to its location. Distribution, whether of raw materials, components, or completed products will become more vital to the efficient functioning of our diverse and changing economy. Innovations from technology will continue at the present or even at a greater rate. With all of these trends will come increasing reliance on efficient transportation.

Most significant is the fact that these developments will maintain constant pressure on our existing concepts of operation and regulation. A look at transport legislation and regulatory practice would therefore seem in order.

In 1935, the motor freight industry was brought under ICC regulation. Since that time, so many changes have taken place that today's world could not possibly have been foreseen by those who drafted those laws. I seriously question whether it was then possible to anticipate what a vital industry yours would become. The need at that time was to correct abuses rather than to plan for the future. In the interim, transportation laws have been keyed to locking the barn door after the horse is stolen. There are too few examples of legislation designed to encourage an energetic and innovative transportation industry. It is no wonder we hear constant complaint from the suppliers and consumers of transportation that much of our transportation legislation and regulation is obsolete.

This, then, is where we stand today. Our Nation's economic strength lies in its ability to develop new and different goods and means of producing them. This requires a flexibility which is becoming more evident as markets and industry diversify and expand. A strong and healthy transportation network provides the freedom of movement which is necessary for this type of growth to continue. The transportation industry constitutes a major but too often a latent force which, if allowed to use its potential, could be a prime mover in regional and national economic development. In contrast, our transportation policies, laws, and regulatory practices make it difficult, or impossible, for you to use new technology, new concepts—or even your present equipment—as efficiently as you know how.

We cannot tolerate a transportation policy keyed to the past. The close interdependence of industry, transportation, and economic growth dictates a more realistic approach. If this important historical realtionship between our expanding economy and our vital transportation system is not understood, the new era of growth will be restricted. Only by channeling your emerging strength and your energy, working with it instead of against it, can we hope to see our economy continue to move forward. Only in this way can our country be guaranteed that ingredient so essential to its expansion, the freedom and capability of movement.

We must keep this perspective as we approach the next and subsequent sessions of Congress. The issue has been raised and the coming year will be one of new suggestions for laws and regulations. If petty arguments prevail and if the concentration is on seeking solutions to minor difficulties, we will be repeating the mistakes of the past. We will create more patches in an already chaotic patchwork.

These are matters of deep national concern. They will receive national attention. Of that, you can be sure. But, I am concerned about the impact of these proposals and new policies upon Kansas.

You in this audience have a great stake in the economic future of Kansas and this region. Its growth is your future. Barriers which inhibit our State's natural development cannot be tolerated. We must, in fact, insist on the form of law and regulatory policy and attitude which will accelerate our State's growth.

In recent months, since the institution of the new rail rate structure for bulk agricultural commodities, four flour mills have announced their plans to close Kansas operations. The exisence of a rate structure beneficial to a non-Kansas location has been cited as the critical ingredient in these decisions. We are compelled to acknowledge that the rate situation weighed in the company considerations and they balanced out against Kansas.

You can undoubtedly cite many other examples of the critical influences of transportation policies unfavorable to Kansas and its otherwise promising future.

What can we do about this problem? We needed, of course, to give immediate attention to the rate problem. But I suggest we need to take a long, hard look at the future of this State and this region as it is influenced by transportation. We need to ask ourselves if the State and national transportation policies are designed to encourage new Kansas industry. Are they oriented to the industry and agri-business for which Kansas appears to have a major attraction? Are they keyed to the right sources of supply or the most promising emerging markets? Do the State and national laws and regulations encourage our common carriers to maximize their potential to encourage the growth of Kansas industry and their own position? Or, on the other hand, are we struggling with a system which is an outgrowth of past requirements?

The time has come for Kansans to take the offensive. We must understand our needs and bend every effort to influence policy at every level to our benefit. I suggest that we give serious consideration to the creation of a conference to study transportation policy as it relates to our State's industrial development. I would urge the inclusion of all interested parties, including State agencies, industrial groups and the transportation community.

We need desperately to know how well suited we are to handle the emerging trends in transportation and in industry which I have discussed. I especially emphasize that policymakers at all levels need recommendations concerning proposed and pending Federal legislation and regulatory acts which have a bearing on our State's development. These are highly technical matters, the consequences of which are not always obvious to the layman or on cursory analysis. The critical need is for informed detailed proposals, comment, and amendment early in the consideration of new policy. I am afraid we have too often reacted to the thrusts of others rather than assume the initiative in our own behalf.

The knowledge and counsel I cite as so essential is lacking today, yet it is vital to our future. With proper commitment, well advised, we stand on the threshold of developing new industrial frontiers for Kansas just as we stood in earlier days at the frontier of the great western development.

Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, Chancellor of Long Island University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie was named chancellor

of Long Island University on July 15 of this year. His elevation, first to the Presidency of Post College, a position he retains, and then to the chancellorship, follows 8 years of service that began in 1954 when he was named first dean of the then infant college. He has played a major role in the development of this college, which has grown from a student body of 200 and 11 faculty members to same 6,000 students and a faculty of 340.

It is my pleasure to include in the RECORD the text of Dr. Hoxie's address on the occasion of his formal inauguration.

Before doing so, however, I want to repeat here the message to him from the students of Long Island University—a tribute in which I wholeheartedly concur, to a man for whom I have great admiration.

A MESSAGE FROM THE STUDENTS

DEAR DR. HOXIE: The whole of the student body of Long Island University sends its heartiest congratulations and warmest wishes on your election as chancellor of Long Island University.

The role of chancellor, in one of the largest private universities in America, is an important and vital role. The trustees have placed their confidence in a most capable and worthy leader. Through hard work and perserverance you have gained the highest office in a university system.

Since your coming to C.W. Post College at its inception, you have worked tirelessly and with much effort and foresight, to raise Post College to a position of respect and admiration. Your watchwords have been growth, service, and academic excellence, and the result of these has been an institution of the highest order.

We, the student body, have faith that in your capable hands, Long Island University will have a bright and productive future. We have trust in your abilities as an administrator and an educator, and we firmly pledge our allegiance to the objectives you hold for our university. The lantern of education will burn brightly in your hands. We are confident that under your leadership, Long Island University will take greater strides forward than ever before, as we forsee the product of your aims, goals, and never-ending work: A university which will sit at the top of the academic world. Through your energy and intellect, kindness, and strength, the goal of the human effort shall be elevated to the development of finer and stronger individuals.

TEXT OF CHANCELLOR HOXIE'S ADDRESS

Dr. Zeckendorf, members of the board of trustees and associated governing bodies of Long Island University, distinguished guests, faculties, alumni, students, and friends, this historic occasion in the life of Long Island University is approached with a deal of humility. Mindful of the mantle of responsibility symbolized by the charter and the statutes here entrusted to me and by the sautoir now placed about my neck and appreciative of the presence of this distinguished assemblage, I can but again repeat with Shakespeare's Sebastian in "Twelfth Night." "I can no other answer make but thanks, and thanks—and ever thanks." The presence here today of representatives from nearly 400 colleges, universities, and learned societies is gratefully recognized by Long Island University.

This setting of the west lawn of the university's C. W. Post campus, the former home site of Mrs. Merriweather Post and Mrs. Augustus Riggs, both of whom are with us today, brings back a flood of happy memories—most recent the summer concerts in this tent by the Philadelphia Orchestra, the performances by the Metropolitan Opera stars, and by the Royal Winnipeg Ballet. It was just 200 yards to the westward in the Richard L. Conolly gymnasium, named for Long Island University's late great president, that so many of you gathered 2 years ago to participate in my inaugural as president of C. W. Post College. Perhaps the only person then present who envisioned another inaugural so soon was my dear friend, my esteemed fellow trustee of Long Island University, Dr. John H. G. Pell, who so ably served as the university's chief executive officer for two significant transitional years from the death of Admiral Conolly through my election only a few weeks ago. I am happy to announce today the naming of our new physical science and engineering building, nearing completion just 200 yards to the north of us, as John H. G. Pell hall.

If these first 100 days in office as chancellor have, as some have too generously expressed it today, been of some significance in the university's history, it is creditable not to myself but rather to the magnificent spirit, a sense of history in the making, on the part of the entire Long Island University family.

For all this I am thankful. Yet more than thanks is due in accepting this responsibility with a major university. It is a time to inquire as to the university's goal, indeed, the purposes of higher education. Reflecting on these questions flying last week enroute to the American Council on Education meetings in San Francisco, I stopped enroute in Iowa to see my 101-year-old-grandmother. From there I continued by rail. It meant a pause in a rushing period to view the magnificent Rockies and the High Sierras, the quaking aspen in their autumnal golden chorus. And there came to mind that first night on the train John Keats' immortal opening lines from "Endymion":

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet
breathing."

At times that night I must confess that in a crowded roomette I was not so full of sweet dreams and quiet breathing. The next day crossing the sometimes bleak yet always vast Wyoming and Utah landscape I wrote much of these inaugural remarks—so much as a joggling train permitted. I can see now, if Lincoln really did write his "Gettysburg Address" on the train, why it was brief. Perhaps my remarks should be called Observations While Crossing the Great Divide. Reared in the Turnerian traditions of the University of Wisconsin, there naturally came to mind Frederick Jackson's Turner's portrayal of the advance of civilization and the passing of the frontier:

"Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization marching single file—the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur trader and hunter, the cattle raiser, the Rockies a century later and see the pioneer farmer—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in same procession with wider intervals between."

The second morning I did, indeed, awaken to a thing of beauty—Donner's Lake in the High Sierras. The harshness of man and nature were recalled from the ordeal of that site in the winter of 1846–47 when only 45 out of 81 pioneers survived. As we rode on through Emigrant Gap, I could but again marvel at men, women, and children in the covered wagons, making their way over this precipitous terrain. It brings to mind the sacrifice that has brought out inheritance.

If the frontier has passed, I cannot but agree with Prof. Frederick Logan Paxson that at the least its "happy ghosts will endure forever, a happy heritage for the American mind." And as we approached the Golden Gate, I could not believe the frontier of beckoning opportunity had passed, that the American pioneer spirit was ended—this despite the pessimistic view of one illustrious commencement address last June. Turner, his critics notwithstanding, perceived this new frontier, this new opportunity. It is as true today as he expressed it 50 years ago: "As we turn from the task of the first rough conquest of the continent," he declared at the University of Washington commencement in 1914, "there lies before us a whole wealth of unexplored resources in the realm of the spirit."

It is of the university's role in exploring this wealth of the spirit that I would especially speak. Promising to be brief, I am mindful of a prayer of a Mother Superior who wishes to be anonymous:

"Lord, Thou knowest better than I know myself that I am growing older, and will some day be old.

"Keep me from getting talkative, and particularly from the fatal habit of thinking I must say something on every subject and on every occasion.

"Release me from craving to try to straighten out everybody's affairs.

"Keep my mind free from the recital of endless details—give me wings to get to the point.

"I ask for grace enough to listen to the tales of others' pains. Help me to endure them with patience.

"But seal my lips on my own aches and pains—they are increasing and my love of rehearsing them in becoming sweeter as the years go by.

"Teach me the glorious lesson that occasionally it is possible that I may be mistaken.

"Keep me reasonably sweet; I do not want to be a saint—some of them are so hard to live with—but a sour old woman is one of the crowning works of the Devil.

"Make me thoughtful, but not moody; helpful, but not bossy. With my vast store of wisdom, it seems a pity not to use it all—but Thou knowest, Lord, that I want a few friends at the end."

Mindful of your valuable time and "wanting a few friends at the end," I should nonetheless like to briefly trace something of the history of higher education and our university that we may help define our direction, that we may help define the good society and our role in its building.

Higher education, beginning with the first nine colleges founded in colonial America, has had this objective of building a better society. Significantly all nine—all of which are represented here today—were built on a private foundation. Significantly also the earliest tax-supported public institutions, coming in the first days of the Republic, were borne of enterprising frontiersmen who could believe in the commonweal while maintaining their individualism, could cooperate toward building the good society. It was on an advancing frontier that our older universities represented here today—public and private—were born. Universities such as South Carolina, Michigan, Wisconsin, Northwestern, Denver, all represented the aspirations of a frontier people for a better society.

Measured by comparison with our earliest private and public institutions, Long Island University is, indeed, young, being less than four decades old. While Long Island University's founding date is 1926, it had been envisioned by a remarkable group of educators, business and civic leaders, more than a half-century ago—before World War I. In 1911 it had been proposed that three of the then Brooklyn institutions represented here today, Adelphi College (now Adelphi University), Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and

Long Island Medical Institute (now the Down-State Medical Center) join to form a university. Much of the impetus for this came from Adelphi's president, Charles H. Levermore, who not only led in suggesting such a joining together, but also was among the first 13 persons who contributed $100 each to further the movement. In gratefully acknowledging Adelphi's role—and also that of Brooklyn Polytechnic, the Down-State Medical Center, and St. Lawrence—may I here recognize that all four have special rights and privileges, should they today or hereafter desire to be a part of the university they helped to found.

The founders proposed that their university have an all-encompassing name. As Charles N. Chadwick, chairman of the Citizens' Committee of Long Island expressed it: "In view of the fact that the proposed university is to serve not only the people of Brooklyn, but the surrounding communities as well, it was decided that the name of the university should be the 'University of Long Island.'"

In 1914 the board of regents declined to charter the "University of Long Island" because of lack of proof of financial support. Twelve years later Ralph Jonas, a founder of the Manufacturers Trust Co., personally provided this financial support, and the regents' charter was received for Long Island University, which on September 22, 1927, began instruction for its first 312 students. Founded on the eve of the great depression, followed by World War II, the university, which in reality consisted only of the "college of liberal arts," to which in 1929 had been joined the Brooklyn College of Pharmacy, nonetheless never lost sight of the vision of the founders of a university for Long Island.

In 1954, not yet accredited, with no endowment and a large deficit, one might have asked whether this little Brooklyn institution with 2,400 students would ever fulfill the hopes of the founders. Ten years later, with a twentyfold budget increase to $20 million and with over 14,000 students on campuses extending over 100 miles on Long Island from Brooklyn to Southampton, that early faith is being fulfilled. What had been the ingredient for survival in the lean years? One historian expressed it as "spirit and stubborness," not unlike the pioneers clinging to their homesteads. One farseeing individual had imprinted on the seal of the little Brooklyn institution "universitatis Longinsulanae" which translates "the University of Long Island." As my good friend, Lorring Hubbell, expressed it, "I might take issue if you sought to call your institution the University of the United States but I can no longer do so with the long forgotten Latin writer who called it the University of Long Island."

Before projecting the future character and size of "universitatis Longinsulanae," let us inquire as to what are the overriding needs, the responsible urgencies facing all public and private institutions of higher learning in the United States today. And what is the future shape of higher education?

We live today in a technologically dominated civilization in which we have sought to fulfill human needs by greater mechanistic know-how. We may take justifiable pride in our Detroit assembly lines, our rockets and missiles, yes, in our curative and preventive medicine. From our universities and colleges come our know-how economists, our know-how engineers, our know-how physicists. But do we send from our colleges and universities economists, engineers, physicists, human beings who know why, who have a sense of human values, of philosophical purpose? We have created a civilization of more leisure time, of longer life expectancy. Do we know how to use that leisure time, to live those longer years, in the development of the whole man? Does the fact that today we are approaching two cars in every garage and may tomorrow have two helicopters in every backyard make us any happier?

Today's awesome power from science and technology is not a balance of power. It is a balance of terror. The question is, Can the right purpose govern man's techniques? Can man arrive at goals for his techniques? Can man see the ultimate as well as the immediate? Here is the great challenge facing higher education, in the building not only of a body of knowledge but also of a sense of eternal values, in the building of understanding between people so as to root out conflict born of misunderstanding and prejudice. This does not mean the elimination of social diversity or struggle. It does not mean the destruction of enterprise. It does mean inculcating mutual social respect for our neighbors at home and abroad. It does not mean watered down principles or homogenized ideals. A good society means making things temporal serve the ends of things eternal.

In building the good society we shall need leadership from our colleges and universities. We shall need leadership from our college and university presidents. Granted the increasing complexity of our time we can learn much from the pioneering university builders. Daniel Goit Gilman at Johns Hopkins, Barnard and Burgess at Columbia, Eliot at Harvard, Harper at Chicago, and Angell at Michigan, were all educational leaders. The question raised by the very title of Harold W. Dodd's splendid volume, "The Academic President—Educator or Caretaker?" never needed to be asked of them. They were all men with an educational background. The fact that they were superb fund raisers was a corollary to their being strong educational leaders.

As Dodd so well put it, "The presidential office will go the way of the buffalo if it loses its traditional character of educational leadership." It is not my intention to contribute to that loss.

Leadership, even in education, is not a popular word in a democratic society. It smacks of aristocracy. But there is nothing wrong in an aristocracy born not of birth but of discipline, exercise, faith and study, an aristocracy of the body and mind characterized by stamina, toughness, and understanding.

Leadership is today, in education as in so many areas of our society, weakened by complexity and specialization. So many educated persons are specialists for our complex society that but few can see the forest for the trees. That is why I champion broad liberal learning for our future leaders, a sense of principles, of moral precepts, a sense of our stake in humanity. Leadership in our complicated society seems so compartmentalized, so diffused, so divided into so many fields. The result is that persons occupying positions of leadership often fail to grasp the implications of their leadership. Further, so much leadership is characterized by a fuzziness of thinking. We need leadership with disciplined minds, a sense of perspective, broad learning and moral stamina. We need to deepen our sense of personal accountability. As my old mentor, who is here today and to whom so many of us owe so much, Dean Harry Carman, has expressed it, we should take "a personal inventory."

In the past, in our young land, there was a spirit which Dean Carman and I both so much cherish, born of faith in God, and optimism in man's ability. Faith, where pure reason raised doubts, aroused men to conquer mountains, if not to move them. Faith, the great adventure of the human soul, sent men to school in this life, to learn of life, and to grow with every experience. Such was the pioneer spirit. The Nation's genius was both in its individualism and its voluntary association working for the common good.

"Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions," Alexis de Tocqueville observed more than a century ago, "constantly form associations." "They are," Tocqueville concluded, "the most fraternal people in the world * * *. They organize their entertainment, they build inns, they construct churches, they build hospitals, they finance schools, they disseminate books, they send missionaries to the Antipodes. If they want to further a noble idea or spread a particular sentiment, they form a society." It was of such spirit that most of the institutions represented here today were born. They were born of reason but they were also born of spirit. As Pascal expressed it, "The heart has its reasons, which the reason knows nothing of." The college and university, as John W. Burgess expressed it, was the finest product "of American conscience and American ethic." Such institutions were born of bold, brave leadership, of the type to which I alluded.

Ours is a powerful Nation, economically, intellectually, militarily. Yet several factors in our society today dangerously dissipate our strength, weaken our leadership. The American genius of individualism and voluntary association, characteristic of the frontier, deteriorates in direct ratio to the increasing dependence upon government. It is refreshing to see that genius pop up in unexpected times and places. Just as I was about to board my train in Iowa last week, I picked up a local newspaper with a front page picture of the famous Little Brown Church in the Vale. The well-meaning Secretary of the Interior of the United States, Stewart Udall, had gone there with a proposal to make it a national shrine. He must have been taken aback by the congregation of the little 109-year-old church with their joint statement, "Government subsidy or control of any kind is considered to be out of order and unwanted."

Alas, such responses are increasingly rare. We have debilitating characteristics of an affluent, mature society as compared to a virile young society. The A B C's of our society are apathy, bureaucracy, conformity. Apathy which permits a girl to be attacked while a score of bystanders do nothing; bureaucracy that keeps statistics on social ills but inspires no constructive leadership; conformity that deadens the sense of the American dream; these are symptoms of a disease needing cure.

There is a responsibility of our colleges and universities in the cure. Ours is not just a responsibility for furthering a body of knowledge on the one hand and for public service on the other. It is also for building chartcter, for inculcating inspiring leadership, for restoring faith and spirit. Our universities must truly be freedom's foundation. As President Clark Keer so well expressed it, ours is not a responsibility to make ideas safe for students, but rather to make students safe for ideas. Our universities must be challenged to build the spirit of freedom, to challenge the mind. Ours must not be the role of clamping the lid on intellectual inquiry. Rather, it must be making the university a center of national inquiry, challenging our students to face issues, presenting those issues, not just the status quo.

The American university's principal role must be the furtherance of human dignity and freedom. It must be the eradication of fear and doubt. This means the constant pursuit of truth. It means academic freedom in that pursuit. The very teaching about ideologies repugnant to our heritage is our best defense and offense against them. You may be assured that here at Long Island University there will be no suppression, no distortion, of any subject that merits a place in the curriculum. We must not be ignorant of our most virulent diseases. We must have an understanding of the dynamics of our so-

ciety. We must face the big questions, not just the little questions with the slick answers.

Basically, the university should inquire as to what constitutes the society in which we serve. Does it have as its focus machines or men, the computer or the human spirit? Has the phrase "the American way of life" come to emphasize the "way" more than the "life," the techniques more than the purpose? Is the study of the nature of the atom more important than the nature of man or indeed of the beauty of nature itself? Should not education's motivating spirits be reviewed in the light of these arresting questions?

Given a deep and understanding humanity to which education can contribute, modern technology can make possible a new richness of life. By 1984 the gross national product is expected to double to $1,200 billion—for the first time in history leisure may become a greater problem than poverty. Indeed, by then the relative abolition of poverty may be attainable. You may recall that George Orwell chose this year 1984 as the title of his novel wherein he depicts dehumanized man in a highly technical civilization, losing all freedom and individuality and spiritually imprisoned. Orwell's work is a part of the despair literature of our time. It is an understandable aftermath of two world wars, totalitarianism and potential annihilation. Yet our fears are reminiscent of the early 19th century Luddites in England who smashed the machine that heralded the industrial revolution. Ours is the opportunity to make the machine, symbolized by the computer, an instrument rather than a master. The machine is actually but an extension of man's intelligence—the problem then is man himself. Without humane learning we have no answer to Hamlet's tragic question:

"What is a man
If his chief good and market of his time
Be to sleep and feed?"

Are we educating so that man can become master of his environment, in which he can strengthen his creativity, his dignity, his freedom, his individuality? Are we educating for citizenship as well as for earning a living? Are we educating for an age of constant environmental change on the one hand and eternal values on the other? Are we educating for full opportunities in an environment of good will for persons of all races, color, and creed? Are we educating for an age in which space is annihilated, in which the furthermost reaches of the earth are in point of time closer together than were New York and Chicago a half century ago? The shrinking world has brought fundamentally different views to at least some common focus. As Associate U.S. Commissioner of Education Caldwell, who is here today, observed: "Recently the president of the American Bible Society and a prominent Russian rocket expert separately stated that the world is 'becoming a village.'"

In determining the goals and the shape of higher education to come, we may well recall four historic models, two of private and two of public institutions. The first nine colleges in colonial America may be considered one model. All nine are exemplary of liberal learning and of schools for citizenship, indeed, for statesmen. From Harvard came the Adamses, from Kings (Columbia) Jay and Hamilton, from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) Madison, and from William and Mary came Jefferson. The Nation's Founding Fathers were schooled in natural philosophy (science) as well as moral philosophy, in languages, literature, and history, in the classics, in the old Roman sense of principle and virtue, yes, even with Horace's dream of a little place in the country and Plato's Republic. In brief, their classical education influenced their attitudes on life and politics. They were literate in the old sense of the educated man. Their curriculum was surprisingly like some of the new experimental curricula and honors programs in which I find great hope. Their curriculum had a marked simplicity, contrasted with the chaotic proliferation, the smartness of triviality in today's conventional college.

Specialization has become so acute, by contrast with the simplicity of the colonial college, that two faculty members, indeed, two advanced students in the same field, have difficulty to communicate with each other. The problem has today been compounded by the advance of the high school curriculum. I do applaud the "new" mathematics, the "new physics," and the "new" emphasis on foreign languages (which falls short of the language training of the colonial college). But the student so equipped from high school today feels he must plunge headlong into his specialty, with no time to reflect on the great moral, philosophical and political questions about which the earlier liberal arts college was built. My model, taking note from these first nine colleges, would pare down the vast array of electives in favor of broad courses of liberal learning—history, philosophy, language, literature, mathematics and a science and with training to both speak and write effectively in English and a foreign language, in the first 2 years, with continued time in the junior and senior years for language study and to inquire into philosophical questions, along with depth in a major discipline.

My second historic model is the University of Virginia as conceived and founded by Jefferson. A believer in the aristocracy of the mind, Jefferson viewed the university as the capstone of American education. It would be the place where the future leaders of the Nation would be schooled in liberal arts and in the professions, including law and medicine. Regardless of financial or social status, this aristocracy of the mind, the flower of the democracy, would in the university find an opportunity. As from the colonial college, my undergraduate college should gain literacy and simplicity, so from Jefferson's University of Virginia, my university and professional schools would on the one hand command a sense of glory as a high mark of achievement of a democratic society and as a place where no person of ability and character would be denied opportunity.

My third model is the emerging graduate university of the 1880's, with new emphasis upon research. Somewhat unique was Columbia with its first graduate school, the school of political science, dedicated to the training up of future public servants, who both in domestic and foreign affairs, could lead the Republic in the path of peace through strength. As with Burgess' Columbia University my university would not only be engaged in advanced research, ever on new frontiers, but it would be a training ground both for the private sector and public service. It would provide an advanced career service training for those who would engage in both foreign and domestic service for the National Government, international agencies, and for State and local government.

My fourth historic model stems from the progressive spirit of the beginning of our century. Its especial flowering was in the land of Frederick Jackson Turner and of "Old Bob" La Follette. There the university was viewed as the builder of the commonweal, acutely attuned to its cultural and economic life. And so the University of Wisconsin became a great university, with an inquiring, searching spirit. "Winnowing" became a verb describing the educational process there, like the prairie farmer separating grain from chaff, analyzing, assorting, separating truth from falsehood. Like the University of Wisconsin, my university, be it public or private, would be especially geared to serve the region as well as the world in which we live, in its economic, political, and cultural life.

All of the foregoing models had a bent of practicality about them. Their liberal learning was participant minded, rather than spectator minded. Alas, the typical academic mind today is spectator, rather than participant trained. Education is producing a cynical band of onlookers, trained to look at life rather than live it. It is producing spectators willing to cheer but not to run. We need a return to pioneer ingenuity, the spirit of the explorer, inventor, author, perfector, finisher. The teacher should be the coach, the student, the apprentice practitioner. The student and teacher should return to the concept that study is work, that by working, good is done.

All of my models for tomorrow's university cannot, however, be found in the past. The very complexity of our changing civilization requires new patterns, new organizations of higher education. Better use of manpower and physical facilities can result from cooperative efforts. If it does not it will come by directed efforts. We are fortunate here in New York State to have a far-sighted State education department giving positive support to these cooperative efforts. Long Island University, through its Brooklyn Center, is happy to be one of eight Brooklyn institutions that have sought out effective means of cooperative efforts. So also here in Nassau County, through its C. W. Post College, it is seeking out, with Adelphi and Hofstra Universities, means of working together ranging from library services to recordkeeping.

Nationally it is encouraging to note the developing cooperative relationship between predominantly Negro and white institutions. Other fields for joint effort, offering hope, range from adult education to critical language instruction. The Brookhaven Laboratory and the Cold Spring Harbor Biological Station, both here on Long Island, are examples, as is the Argonne Laboratory near Chicago, of interuniversity research efforts. In the vital area of intercultural education the Great Lakes Colleges Association is a good example. In many respects, the Claremont group will represent the most sophisticated pooling of resources in a day when educational manpower and facilities become ever more critically scarce commodities. Such voluntary efforts should and must be encouraged if we are not to be led into the path of regional or national governmental educational systems with their attendant loss of institutional freedom.

The whole area of educational administration is one of the most challenging problems we face today. It is made the more complex by the increasing importance of the relationship between our colleges and universities with governmental agencies on the one hand and with foundations on the other. Universities have become dependent upon both for the major sources of their income.

The relationship with the private foundation and the governmental agency is only in part alike. In the case of the governmental agency it poses for the private university such as our own, the very question of the relationship between governmental and nongovernmental sectors of American life. If the university is to remain the center of a free spirit, then it must face up to some profound exterior challenges to its responsibility. The university cannot follow its medieval concept of responding only to signals within its walls. As President James A. Perkins, of Cornell University, expresses it, the modern knight is a colonel with a Ph. D. in physics and we may have to lower the drawbridge to him.

The question is not so much one of how much Federal funds an institution gets as it is one of where the initiative, where the leadership may be found. The danger of

governmental control can arise out of three factors: (1) our overdependence upon it; (2) our lack of concern for appropriate control over it; and (3) our lack of leadership in shaping the governmental programs. Given this concern and this leadership and keeping in balance our governmental and nongovernmental sources of income, the university's autonomy need not be threatened from the governmental quarter. On the positive side, it behooves us to make certain that the governmental agencies are well organized and well staffed. With a future of increasing governmental support we might well show more concern for the state of the Government services.

The private foundation poses another problem to the university, a challenge to its very educational leadership. Today, with their vast resources and their strong staffs, the foundations are taking from the universities by default their historic role as innovators. For example in the area of testing, leadership has clearly passed from the universities to the college board and the educational testing service. Similarly, in the area of new curriculum and programs, organizations like the Carnegie Corp. and the Ford Foundation are taking the lead. The new mathematics, for example, was developed by the Carnegie Corp. and the National Science Foundation.

In brief, by the very loss of its own initiating force, by default of its leadership, rather than by outside forces, our institutional autonomy is threatened.

This points up the vital importance of the faculty and the trustees as well as the presidential role in institutional autonomy. The administration and the faculty, in defense of the freedom of the university, must build an internal cohesion, an internal integrity, based upon mutual understanding and respect. Universities today can ill afford the dissipation of energies from failure to understand these closely-knit, overlapping faculty and administrative responsibilities. While the faculty's vital role in educational planning must be recognized by the administration, the administration has a complementary role in freeing faculty time for the universities to recover their historic educational leadership, as innovators, as pioneers. Just as the faculty is an especial bastion for freedom from within, the lay trustee can and must be a powerful defender of the university's integrity and educational leadership from without. Jacques Barzun and Beardsley Ruml have well been described as happily strange, faculty-trustee bedfellows, working toward these worthy ends of internal and external autonomy—would that Ruml were still with us.

Our colleges and universities may well anticipate stormy seas ahead—not just because of their dependent relationships with the foundations and with government. The colleges and universities may anticipate the focus of public criticism upon themselves. When the postwar baby bulge hit the elementary schools in the early 1950's the hue and cry of public criticism was upon them. Militant mothers cried that Johnny cannot read—and perhaps they were right. As the bulge in the late fifties and early sixties hit the high schools, James Bryant Conant's was not the lone critical view of secondary education. Now that the bulge is upon the colleges and universities this buildup of criticism will hit higher education. Popular criticism has focused on facilities, but time will prove that it is not in the realm of brick and mortar nearly so much as in ideas and leadership that we need strengthening.

We may well ask ourselves if we are ready for this criticism on the one hand and the challenges to our educational leadership on the other. We had best strengthen our curricular, organizational, research, and teaching facilities if we are to weather the stormy seas. My friend, Terry Ferrer, educational editor of the New York Herald Tribune, was not the only one to come from the American Council meeting at San Francisco last week with pessimism as to higher education's seaworthiness.

Multicampus institutions such as our own have especial challenges in the realm of organization. Local operational autonomy, proven highly successful in industry, has with such large multicampus educational systems as the University of California been found indispensable. Whereas the principal offices of Long Island University are in the process of removal from Brooklyn to Brookville to make them more central to the university as a whole, and whereas I am increasing the all-university educational staff, I pledge myself to preserve local autonomy at the several centers. The headquarters of a multicampus university should provide goals, objectives, and standards; it should review outcomes, but it should also recognize responsible leadership at its several centers.

Moreover, multicampus institutions, such as our own, must look to long-range intrauniversity complementary planning, taking best advantage of their environmental resources. Our Brooklyn center, for example, provides a great urban laboratory where such programs as city planning and urban renewal can flourish, and our Southampton environment lends itself to a marine biology station, and our C. W. Post campus to a major fine arts center.

With the view of the necessity for coordinated planning I have appointed composite committees of faculty, alumni, governing boards and consultants to prepare 10-year blueprints for each of our campuses and an overall university committee for a master plan for the university as a whole. There is an exciting spirit in the air as they work with the sense of a university which can become a great university. This is not just in size, although 25,000 students are envisioned 10 years hence. More significant is the strengthening of the university's character, profile, and structure. In the past 100 days we have for the first time established all-university graduate faculties and graduate schools. On the proposition that a great university must have strong graduate programs, we are planning areas where the highest degree in course, the doctor of philosophy, may be offered. We are establishing coordinated research centers and embarking upon programs of research which promise by year's end to represent a 10-fold increase in the rate of such activity. Further, the university has projected a new college of science and engineering, Zeckendorf College, named for our esteemed board president, significantly located opposite the entrance to the great Brookhaven National Laboratories. Already an executive council of distinguished scientists and civic leaders has been formed and plans are being drawn with the target date of September 1967 for the college to begin operations.

The physical developments of the Brooklyn Center now include plans for moving the Brooklyn College of Pharmacy to that campus, and will incorporate several new buildings, including a major library. C. W. Post College, whose campus was valued at $350,000 just 9 years ago and $14 million today, whose operating budget was $169,000 9 years ago and is over $9 million today, will continue its rapid building pace as will the new Southampton campus.

Lest my aforementioned remarks seem to overemphasize brick and mortar, may I advise that in the 10-year, $60 million development program which I envision, fully one-third will be for endowment for scholarships, fellowships, and faculty salaries. Already the Brooklyn Center alumni are projecting a 5-year $500,000 scholarship program. Already C. W. Post is nearing its goal of $500,000 for an interfaith chapel with a strong conviction that there is a place, and a vital one, for religion on the campus of a nonsectarian institution.

Yes, these are exciting, stirring days, as this private university, devoted to the public service, takes on new responsibilities, perceives new vision. There are gratifying evidences of new support for this non-tax supported university. For example, from my recent visit to the first organized meeting of California alumni I am happy to report they will be establishing new scholarships. Already we have a committee of distinguished jurists planning a Long Island University School of Law here in Nassau County. This law school, with a date of September 1967 to commence instruction, will reflect the life of the Long Island community, its business and governmental interests. It will not be just another law school, but one particularly serving this dynamic, rapidly growing community with its national and international business interests as well as its unique local governmental interests such as are represented here in Nassau with 64 villages, 3 towns, and 2 cities, and in Suffolk, one of the Nation's fastest growing counties. Already a school of social work is being considered within the Brooklyn Center to help serve the great metropolitan area.

Already a committee of distinguished educators is preparing plans for a new experimental college here in Nassau with a revolutionary curriculum, harking back to those nine colonial colleges, which graduated such literate leaders. Already, the C. W. Post College in cooperation with the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government is planning a school of political science, that school for future statesmen, I alluded to from my Virginia, Columbia, and Wisconsin models. Already Long Island University is planning a revolutionary polycultural college adjacent to C. W. Post College. It will prepare, as Commissioner Caldwell expresses it, "young Americans to serve with charity, courage, and insight among men of all cultures."

Our educational horizons are broadening both at home and abroad; for example, with its sister institution, Chung-Ang University in Korea, Long Island University is planning a challenging new educational enterprise in Seoul, Korea.

Through the munificence of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, C. W. Post College, named for her father, is planning an exciting summer educational center in the Adirondacks. Already we are exploring the need, looking toward Long Island University's possible establishment of a 2- or 4-year medical college located in Nassau County. Already the university has strong medical technology and nursing programs. Already the university is providing outstanding service to the business community, to labor, and to government.

In brief, making my weekly 200-mile circuit of our campuses, your peripatetic chancellor is witnessing, not just the erection of brick and mortar, but the building of our curriculum, the practicing of our pedagogy to the end that students are inspired to do their part in building the good society.

Long Island University, an independent, gift-supported institution, will forever have as its goals: freedom and truth. It will be characterized by an undergraduate student body seeking liberal learning and by graduate students and faculty advancing frontiers of knowledge. It is an institution, as one young alumnus expressed it, "which awakened and has sustained a pioneer spirit." Our students and our faculty are not passive witnesses on the balcony. Many are active participants on humanity's highway. They are pioneers, exploring on new horizons.

Ours need not be a parallel, thank God, to a spectator-oriented Rome in its last days of luxury. Ours can be, with our colleges and universities pointing the way, that civilization in which mankind fulfilled its dignity and faith. Let us build our universities,

with a searching pioneer spirit, into bridges of understanding, honoring those who teach and those who learn. Let us support them in finding a higher goal. Let us reinforce the American conscience and the American ethic. The Bible reminds us, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Let us give vision for the future. In the spirit of Tennyson's "Ulysses," let us:

Follow knowledge like a shining star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought
Come, my friends.
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western stars until I die—
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

"Let us," as Paul exhorted, "run with endurance the race that is set before us." To this I have pledged myself and call upon you. Thank you very much for being with us.

The Late Dr. Robert H. Levin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP A. HART
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me concerning Dr. Robert H. Levin.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Early in July, Dr. Robert H. Levin, his wife Alicia, and his two children, Mark and Julie, moved from nearby Maryland to Connecticut for a year of study by Dr. Levin at Yale Medical School. In a few short years, Dr. Levin had achieved a growing reputation as a research specialist for the National Institutes of Health in the field of hematology, with respect to cancer and leukemia.

Dr. Levin and his wife still considered themselves Michigan residents and voted as such though they had left Michigan some years ago. Dr. Levin's parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Levin, live in Franklin, Mich. The last time I had the pleasure of meeting Bob and Alicia was last year when they both attended a meeting on current affairs which I addressed.

On July 9 last, Bob Levin and three other doctors from NIH were on their way to a conference of hematologists at Oak Ridge where Bob was scheduled to deliver a paper. The plane in which they were flying crashed in Tennessee. Among the dead was Bob Levin.

His passing is not only a tragic loss to his loved ones, but in his brief career he left a gap which will be most difficult to fill. It is eminently fitting that I describe for you what this young man accomplished in his 30 years of life.

Dr. Robert H. Levin came to the National Cancer Institute on July 1, 1961. He was selected for appointment as a clinical associate in the Medicine Branch of the National Cancer Institute. This appointment reflected his outstanding academic record, since such appointments are highly competitive.

In 3 years, Dr. Levin achieved a brilliant reputation in his field. His colleagues at NIH tell me that during his first year, he developed an interest in the physiology and function of the blood platelets. Over the next 2 years he became an authority in the field of platelet physiology. He was held in high regard not only by his fellow scientists, but by clincal investigators working in his field throughout the world. In that short period of time, his bibliography included more than 17 scientific manuscripts, many of which are yet to be published.

He made major contributions to our understanding of the techniques for the collection and transfusion of platelets to give maximal effectiveness in recipients. In addition, he worked on the relationship of the morphology of leukemic cells, that is, the way they look under the miscroscope as related to their behavior in the patient. He found that the most malignant cells correlated with a poor prognosis in patients with acute leukemia. He also studied the first bone marrow homografts in man derived from transfusion of leukosytes from peripheral blood. Finally, he did important work in immunology. He showed that in man certain drugs were capable of significantly suppressing the immune response in humans.

In addition to these accomplishments, Dr. Levin has left a heritage of ideas which his colleagues will carry forward in their own research for many years to come. He demonstrated tremendous energy, efficiency, organization, and effectiveness in every aspect of his work.

As a result of his research, he was appointed to the permanent staff of the National Cancer Institute shortly before his death. Moreover, the Yale University School of Medicine offered him an appointment for 1 year as a clinical hematology fellow. He had just left for New Haven to receive this additional year of training. After completion of that year, it was his plan to return to the National Cancer Institute.

As an outstanding physician, Bob Levin's relationships with the families and patients for whom he cared were full of warmth and competence. Everyone who watched him perform his duties had the highest regard for his skills. In addition, all who knew him found him to be a very attractive person. His personality was marked by a tremendous vivacity. He characteristically wore a smile and his conversation was sprinkled with humorous comments which put everyone around him in a pleasant mood.

All of us who knew Bob Levin grieve at his passing. Our hearts go out to his wife, his children, his parents, his brothers, whose loss is incalculable. Our country too has lost a brilliant scientist who could have made tremendous contributions to humanity.

Cohen Says New Laws Give SEC More Muscle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I was interested to see that Manuel F. Cohen, the new Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, has called this a historic year in the history of securities regulation.

I was particularly gratified, as chairman of the Securities Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee which held hearings on this legislation, to note Mr. Cohen's enthusiastic endorsement of these amendments which have given the SEC sufficient disciplinary powers to take action against individual wrongdoers. Under this legislation, both the SEC and the National Association of Securities Dealers can now prosecute individuals, whereas previously action could only be taken against a brokerage firm itself.

Mr. Cohen, in a speech to a meeting of State security administrators in San Francisco, paid tribute to these new amendments which he feels will protect investors from many longstanding market abuses. Mr. Cohen, a long-time SEC career man, is doing a splendid job at the Commission. His appointment followed the tenure of William Carey, one of the finest and most brilliant Chairmen ever to head the Commission. He has now returned to his academic duties at Columbia University, and his vigorous and dynamic leadership at the Commission is being ably continued by Mr. Cohen.

The new Chairman of the Commission singled out what he thought were the most important and effective provisions in the amendments.

Giving the SEC more powers in dealing with broker-dealers and their employees;

Allowing the SEC and self-regulatory groups to make it tougher for inexperienced broker-dealers or salesmen to get into the securities business; and

Eliminating the differences in reporting requirements between issuers of securities listed on the exchanges and over-the-counter traders.

The new NASD requirements for capital, training, and experience will also make it more difficult for inexperienced salesmen to break into securities trading.

The amendments empower the SEC to issue general regulations covering nonmembers of self-regulatory organizations. Previously, the Commission's controls were only applicable to members of these groups.

Mr. Cohen announced that the Commission was implementing this new authority by setting up a special unit to seek out persons and firms affected and to consider possible regulatory measures appropriate for them.

Mr. Cohen reported that the SEC has been active in other areas as well. He said that he planned to speed up inspections of the 731 investment companies currently registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940. The Commission has hopes of decreasing the present inspection cycle of 4½ years to 3 years.

The SEC will have a uniform application for investment adviser registration completed within the next few months.

I am delighted to see that the SEC is taking prompt action under this new legislation. As I have always emphasized in all my work in this complex field, these additional protections for investors and the cessation of long-standing abuses are vital if the securities industry is to continue playing its key role in the growth and development of our economy.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the New York Herald Tribune

of September 9, 1964, describing Mr. Cohen's speech, be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 25, 1964]

COHEN SAYS NEW LAWS GIVE SEC MORE MUSCLE

Manuel F. Cohen, new head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, told a group of State security administrators yesterday in San Francisco that the year has been an "historic" one in securities regulation.

Mr. Cohen paid tribute to the passage by Congress this year of amendments to the Securities Act.

He said the most important elements of the new amendments would:

Eliminate the differences in reporting requirements between issuers of securities listed on the exchanges and the larger issuers whose securities are traded over-the-counter.

Allow the self-regulatory organizations and the SEC to make it tougher for inexperienced broker-dealers or salesmen to get onto the securities business.

Give the SEC more muscle in dealing with broker-dealers and their employees.

Mr. Cohen said inexperienced salesmen would find it more difficult to break into the securities business since the National Association of Securities Dealers is now required to establish capital requirements and training and experience standards.

Mr. Cohen said the SEC's disciplinary powers had been strengthened by new legislation and that the SEC and the NASD could now move against individual miscreants of a firm. Previously, he said, it was necessary to institute measures against the firm itself.

He declared that the new amendments authorize the SEC to "prescribe generally, for nonmembers of self-regulatory organizations, a system of control similar to that now appliable only to members of such organizations."

And he added, after noting this "raises a number of interesting questions and possibilities," that a special unit has been set up to seek out persons and firms affected and to consider possible regulatory measures over these persons and firms.

Emphasizing the Commission's role as a helpmate and not a stalemate for big business, Mr. Cohen said the SEC has taken steps in recent weeks to make it easier for representatives of the securities industry and for industry generally to have their say before the Commission. He did not specify what steps have been taken.

Mr. Cohen told the securities administrators of a proposed new rule issued yesterday by the SEC which would affect specialists on the exchanges.

The SEC head said his agency had also been active in other areas. He said there are 731 investment companies currently registered with the SEC under the Investment Company Act of 1940. Mr. Cohen said he hoped to speed up inspections of such companies from the present inspection cycle of 4.28 years to 3 years.

Mr. Cohen pointed to a body of court decisions and Federal and State legislation passed or enacted in the last year which he described as "increasingly sensitive and sympathetic to the purposes of securities regulation."

Mr. Cohen also told his audience that "we have been encouraged to believe that a uniform application for investment adviser registration will be agreed upon within the next several months."

The SEC Commissioner closed his speech with a plea for continuing cooperation between the securities industry and its regulatory body, the SEC.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Decision on Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, this past week the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania unanimously ruled that the 1964 acts reapportioning Pennsylvania's General Assembly are unconstitutional and ordered the general assembly to redistrict itself by September 1, 1965. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the court's decision together with the concurring opinion of its Chief Justice.

There being no objection, the decision and concurring opinion were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA, MIDDLE DISTRICT, HARRY K. BUTCHER, 6069 DREXEL ROAD, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA; DONALD C. RUBEL, 606 WESTVIEW AVENUE, PHILADLEPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA; AND ANNE D. MCKINLEY, APT. 293, CARL MACKLEY APARTMENTS, "M" AND BRISTOL STREETS, PHILADELPHIA 24, PENNSYLVANIA; CITIZENS, DULY QUALIFIED ELECTORS AND TAXPAYERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA AND OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR ANY OTHER TAXPAYERS AND ELECTORS WHO MAY DESIRE TO JOIN AS PARTIES-PLAINTIFF, PLAINTIFFS, *v.* GEORGE I. BLOOM, SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, SUCCESSOR TO E. JAMES TRIMARCHI, JR., DEFENDANT—GEORGE T. KELTON AND JACK SIROTT, INTERVENORS—No. 198, MISCELLANEOUS DOCKET—CERTIORARI FROM THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS OF DAUPHIN COUNTY, No. 151, COMMONWEALTH DOCKET, 1962

OPINION OF THE COURT

(By J. Roberts, filed September 29, 1964)

I

At issue in this litigation is the constitutional validity, under the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution, of the present apportionment of seats in both houses of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

On March 30, 1962, plaintiffs, Pennsylvania taxpayers and electors, filed complaints in equity in the court of common pleas of Dauphin County against the secretary of the Commonwealth. The complainants sought that defendant be restrained from taking any steps toward the holding of elections for State legislative offices under the provisions of the existing apportionment acts[1] on the ground that the acts violated certain provisions of the Pennsylvania and Federal Constitutions.[2] After an answer was filed by defendant, plaintiffs moved for judgment on the pleadings. The motion was denied on June 13, 1963. However, the court of common pleas retained jurisdiction of the action, held the issues concerning reapportionment to be justiciable, and refused to adjudicate them until the legislature had an opportunity to enact appropriate legislation at its forthcoming sessions.[3] On November 12, 1963, a special session of the general assembly was convened for the purpose of considering reapportionment legislation. Subsequently, two reapportionment bills, the act of January 9, 1964, No. 1, Public Law ——, 25 P.S. section 2221 (Supp. 1963), and the act of January 9, 1964, No. 2, Public Law ——, 25 P.S. section 2217 (sup. 1963), were passed and approved by the Governor.[4]

On January 14, 1964, plaintiffs petitioned the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to take immediate jurisdiction of this case, and on January 15, we granted plaintiffs' petition and issued a special writ of certiorari to the court of common pleas of Dauphin County.

We also permitted intervention by two residents of Bucks County who filed a separate complaint averring, inter alia, that the First Legislative District of Bucks County is not compact within the meaning of article II, section 17, of the Pennsylvania constitution and that they are denied fair and equal representation as required by section 1 of the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. On January 24, 1964, we remanded the matter to the Dauphin County court with directions to hold a hearing forthwith, to allow any pertinent amendment and any proper intervention, to make all necessary and appropriate findings of fact, and to remit its findings and report to this court as expeditiously as possible. On March 19, 1964, after several hearings in that court, the hearing judge filed a report and findings of fact. On April 7, 1964, oral argument was held before this court.

II

In considering this case, we are aware that a similar proceeding was instituted in the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania on November 22, 1963.[5] On April 9, 1964, that three-judge court filed findings of fact, conclusions of law, and an opinion holding the Pennsylvania Reapportionment Acts of January 9, 1964, and certain provisions of the Pennsylvania Constitution to be violative of the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution. Accordingly, it enjoined various State officials from conducting elections pursuant thereto. That court retained jurisdiction of the matter pending enactment of a valid reapportionment plan by the general assembly or, in default thereof, by its own decree or in some other lawful manner. At the same time, it announced that it would reconvene in Philadelphia on June 1, 1964, to consider any further relief which might be necessary. On April 14, 1964, a stay of the Federal district court order was granted pending appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

III

For many reasons, we believe that we should decide the issues presented and provide necessary remedies for achieving valid reapportionment. In the presence of the demonstrated willingness of the legislature[6] to act and the willingness of our courts to assume jurisdiction, the Federal district

[1] Act of May 10, 1921, Public Law 449, as amended, 25 P.S. sec. 2201 (pertaining to the apportionment of senate districts); act of July 29, 1953, Public Law 956, 25 P.S. sec. 2215 (pertaining to the apportionment of house districts).

[2] The complaint in this action was amended on Dec. 13, 1963, to include an attack on sec. 16 and 17 of art. II of the Pennsylvania constitution as well as upon proposed senatorial and representative reapportionment bills pending in the legislature. On Feb. 4, 1964, plaintiffs filed their second amended complaint which clarified the issues raised.

[3] *Butcher* v. *Trimarchi*, 28 D. & C. 2d 537 (C. P. Dauphin Co. 1962).

[4] Act No. 1 provides for apportionment of the house, act No. 2 of the senate.

[5] *Drew* v. *Scranton*, 229 F. Supp. 310 (M.D. Pa. 1964), appeal docketed, 33 U.S. L. Week 3047 (United States, June 19, 1964) (No. 201).

[6] See note 7, infra.

court should be relieved of responsibility in this matter for a period sufficient to allow such remedies to become effective. In assuming the responsibility of securing, in a timely fashion, a reapportionment plan which would meet the requirements of the Federal and State Constitutions, we have taken literally the words of the Supreme Court of the United States: "We applaud the willingness of State courts to assume jurisdiction and render decision in cases involving challenges to State legislative apportionment schemes." *Maryland Committee for Fair Representation* v. *Tawes*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1442, 1451–1452 (1964).

This suit challenges the recent Pennsylvania Reapportionment Acts and the election of State senators and representatives thereunder. More importantly, it challenges—in light of recent decisions interpreting the Constitution of the United States—the validity of certain provisions of the constitution of Pennsylvania which establish the legislative branch of government. It presents one of the most important constitutional questions ever raised in the history of this Commonwealth. It involves the basic rights of the citizens of Pennsylvania in the election of their State lawmakers. Historically and logically, this Court is the most appropriate forum to determine the issues presented and to fashion suitable remedies. Proper and continuing respect for Federal-State judicial relationships necessitates consideration by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania of the relevant State statutes and State constitutional provisions, subject, of course, to review by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Furthermore, jurisdiction with respect to the matters involved was obtained by the court of common pleas of Dauphin County prior to the Federal district court, and both the former court and this court have acted diligently in light of all the circumstances of this case. After the initial complaints were filed in March 1962, the common pleas court postponed adjudication of the issues involved in order to give the legislature an opportunity to act at its forthcoming session. At a special session in 1963, the general assembly enacted reapportionment legislation, and, immediately thereafter, this court assumed jurisdiction of this case, received findings of fact and a report based on hearing before the Dauphin County court, and promptly heard argument. Meanwhile, the Federal district court, denied an application for a preliminary injunction which would have restrained State officials from conducting any election for State legislative office, pending final enactment by the general assembly of reapportionment legislation then being considered.[7]

Therefore, both the Federal court and the State courts postponed judicial action while awaiting the final passage of the Pennsylvania Reapportionment Acts; both acted promptly in their respective cases in the spring of 1964.[8] Further immediate action by us was made unnecessary by the stay of the Federal order, granted April 14, 1964, pending appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus, we were given the opportunity to await opinions of that Court in related cases concerning reapportionment in other States before rendering a decision in the instant case.

It is obvious, of course, that the Federal district court's decision of April 9, 1964, was made without the benefit of this Court's interpretation of relevant Pennsylvania constitutional provisions, and, more importantly, without the benefit of recent crucial and controlling decisions announced by the Supreme Court of the United States on June 15, 1964.[9] We believe, for reasons which will appear later in our opinion, that reliance on all that was said and directed in the opinion of the district court, although excellent in many respects, would be constitutionally unsafe.

These cases shall hereinafter be referred to as the "*Reynolds* cases." The cases deal with the following States respectively; Alabama, New York, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and Colorado.

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania is entitled to an opportunity to enact reapportionment legislation pursuant to the recent Reynolds cases and to our interpretation here of pertinent provisions of the Pennsylvania constitution. Since the legislature is intimately acquainted with the characteristic of Pennsylvania and is primarily responsible for constitutional apportionment, action by that body, taken promptly and in good faith, is more likely to achieve a workable, constitutionally acceptable result than an apportionment following the suggested plan of the district court.

IV

The Supreme Court of the United States has held that "seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis";[10] that "an individual's right to vote for State legislators is unconstitutionally impaired when its weight is in a substantial fashion diluted when compared with votes of citizens living in other parts of the State";[11] that "diluting the weight of votes because of place of residence impairs basic constitutional rights under the 14th amendment just as much as invidious discriminations based on factors, such as race * * * or economic status";[12] and that State legislative districting schemes which give the same number of representatives to unequal numbers of constituents would not be constitutionally sustainable.[13]

The act of January 9, 1964, No. 1, which fixes the number of representatives at 209, divides the State into districts, as follows:

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[7] This case must be contrasted with *Lucas* v. *Forty-Fourth General Assembly of State of Colorado*, — U.S. —, — n.3, 84 Supreme Court 1472, 1476 n.3 (1964), where the Supreme Court of the United States quoted, with approval, the position of the Federal district court, which refused to abstain: "The considerations which demand abstinence are not present in the instant case. Here, the General Assembly of the State of Colorado has repeatedly refused to perform the mandate imposed by the Colorado constitution to apportion the legislature. The likelihood that the unapportioned general assembly will ever apportion itself now appears remote. The Supreme Court of Colorado, while retaining jurisdiction of the subject matter of the controversy presented to it, has postponed further considerations of the cause until June 1968. Under these circumstances, we must conclude that the parties do not, at least at present, have an adequate, speedy, and complete remedy apart from that asserted in the case at bar and thus grounds for abstention are at this time lacking."

[8] As already indicated, this court heard arguments on Apr. 7, 1964. The Federal district court filed its findings, opinion, and order 2 days later.

[9] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*,—U.S.— 84 S. Ct. 1362 (1964); *WMCA, Inc.* v. *Lomenzo*,—U.S.—, 84 S. Ct. 1418 (1964); *Maryland Committee for Fair Representation* v. *Tawes*,—U.S.—, 84 S. Ct. 1442 (1964); *Davis* v. *Mann*,—U.S.—, 84 S. Ct. 1453 (1964); *Roman* v. *Sincock*,—U.S.—, 84 S. Ct. 1462 (1964); *Lucas* v. *Forty-Fourth General Assembly of State of Colorado*,—U.S.—, 84 S. Ct. 1472 (1964).

[10] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, — U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1385 (1964).

[11] Ibid.

[12] Id. at —, 84 S. Ct. at 1384.

[13] Id. at —, 84 S. Ct. at 1382.

[Population ratio based on division by 209: 56,597]

County	District No.	District total	Number of Representatives	Population per Representative
Philadelphia	1	57,507	1	57,507
	2	123,445	2	61,722
	3	50,896	1	50,896
	4	52,246	1	52,246
	5	118,067	2	59,033
	6	59,203	1	59,203
	7	105,037	2	52,519
	8	66,017	1	66,017
	9	68,833	1	68,833
	10	53,550	1	53,550
	11	59,483	1	59,483
	12	166,944	3	55,648
	13	54,497	1	54,497
	14	50,616	1	50,616
	15	53,563	1	53,563
	16	51,055	1	51,055
	17	98,598	2	49,299
	18	65,622	1	65,622
	19	64,956	1	64,956
	20	53,986	1	53,986
	21	114,280	2	57,140
	22	42,761	1	42,761
	23	64,982	1	64,982
	24	48,898	1	48,898
	25	137,260	2	68,630
	26	120,210	2	60,105
Adams		51,906	1	51,906
Allegheny	1	137,544	2	68,772
	2	50,690	1	50,690
	3	49,644	1	49,644
	4	49,413	1	49,413
	5	47,301	1	47,301
	6	132,115	2	66,058
	7	143,605	2	71,802
	8	53,515	1	53,515
	9	111,365	2	55,682
	10	63,944	1	63,944
	11	127,373	2	63,687
	12	62,839	1	62,839
	13	60,727	1	60,727
	14	235,672	4	58,918
	15	153,108	3	51,036
	16	150,966	1	50,322
Armstrong		79,524	1	79,524
Beaver	1	102,521	2	51,260
	2	104,427	2	52,213
Bedford		42,451	1	42,451
Berks	1	48,551	1	48,551
	2	59,639	1	59,639
	3	56,817	1	56,817
	4	60,781	1	60,781
	5	49,626	1	49,626

[Population ratio based on division by 200 : 33,997]

County	District No.	District total	Number of Representatives	Population per Representative
Blair	1	69,407	1	69,407
	2	67,863	1	67,863
Bradford		54,925	1	54,925
Bucks	1	236,905	4	59,226
	2	71,662	1	71,662
Butler	1	58,819	1	58,819
	2	55,820	1	55,820
Cambria	1	56,756	1	56,756
	2	95,114	2	47,557
	3	51,413	1	51,413
Cameron		7,586	1	7,586
Carbon		52,889	1	52,889
Centre		78,580	1	78,580
Chester	1	105,824	2	52,912
	2	104,784	2	52,392
Clarion		37,408	1	37,408
Clearfield		81,534	1	81,534
Clinton		37,619	1	37,619
Columbia		53,489	1	53,489
Crawford		77,956	1	77,956
Cumberland	1	62,193	1	62,193
	2	62,623	1	62,623
Dauphin	1	79,697	1	79,697
	2	140,558	3	46,853
Delaware	1	63,658	1	63,658
	2	255,556	4	63,889
	3	233,940	4	58,485
Elk		37,328	1	37,328
Erie	1	69,946	1	69,946
	2	68,494	1	68,494
	3	112,242	2	56,121
Fayette	1	56,971	1	56,971
	2	112,369	2	56,184
Forest		4,485	1	4,485
Franklin	1	44,617	1	44,617
	2	43,555	1	43,555
Fulton		10,597	1	10,597
Greene		39,424	1	39,424
Huntingdon		39,457	1	39,457
Indiana		75,366	1	75,366
Jefferson		46,792	1	46,792
Juniata		15,874	1	15,874
Lackawanna	1	55,074	1	55,074
	2	56,369	1	56,369
	3	67,164	1	67,164
	4	55,924	1	55,924
Lancaster	1	61,055	1	61,055
	2	217,304	4	54,326
Lawrence	1	53,353	1	53,353
	2	59,612	1	59,612
Lebanon		90,853	2	45,427
Lehigh	1	108,347	2	54,173
Lehigh	2	119,180	2	59,594
Luzerne	1	55,300	1	55,300
	2	55,124	1	55,124
	3	55,926	1	55,926
	4	58,920	1	58,920
	5	57,142	1	57,142
	6	63,551	1	63,551
Lycoming	1	51,014	1	51,014
	2	58,353	1	58,353
Mercer	1	61,209	1	61,209
	2	66,310	1	66,310
McKean		54,517	1	54,517
Mifflin		44,348	1	44,348
Monroe		39,567	1	39,567
Montgomery	1	90,444	2	49,722
	2	128,234	2	64,117
	3	134,560	2	67,280
	4	154,444	3	51,481
Montour		16,730	1	16,730
Northampton	1	55,325	1	55,325
	2	82,438	1	82,438
	3	93,649	2	46,824
Northumberland	1	50,422	1	50,422
	2	53,716	1	53,716
Perry		26,582	1	26,582
Pike		9,158	1	9,158
Potter		16,483	1	16,483
Schuylkill	1	64,196	1	64,196
	2	108,831	2	54,416
Snyder		25,922	1	25,922
Somerset		77,450	1	77,450
Sullivan		6,251	1	6,251
Susquehanna		33,137	1	33,137
Tioga		36,614	1	36,614
Union		25,646	1	25,646
Venango		65,295	1	65,295
Warren		45,582	1	45,582
Washington	1	108,080	2	54,015
	2	109,241	2	54,620
Wayne		28,237	1	28,237
Westmoreland	1	64,337	1	64,337
	2	58,224	1	58,224
	3	60,717	1	60,717
	4	57,659	1	57,659
	5	49,827	1	49,827
	6	61,865	1	61,865
Wyoming		16,813	1	16,813
York	1	54,504	1	54,504
	2	64,744	1	64,744
	3	57,176	1	57,176
	4	61,882	1	61,882

An examination of the foregoing apportionment of representatives indicates quite clearly that in numerous instances the same number of representatives is alloted to unequal numbers of constituents. We realize, as does the Supreme Court of the United States, "that it is a practical impossibility to arrange legislative districts so that each one has an identical number of residents, or citizens, or voters," and that "mathematical exactness or precision is hardly a workable constitutional requirement."[14] But the present districting scheme does not meet that requirement of the 14th amendment which "demands no less than substantially equal State legislative representation for all citizens of all places. * * *"[15]

Several vivid examples, by no means exhaustive, illustrate the gross disparities which exist under the act. Twelve counties, namely Clearfield, with a population of 81,534; Armstrong, with a population of 79,524; Centre, with a population of 78,580; Crawford, with a population of 77,956; Somerset, with a population of 77,450; Indiana, with a population of 75,366; Venango, with a population of 65,295; Bradford, with a population of 54,925; McKean, with a population of 54,517; Columbia, with a population of 53,489; Carbon, with a population of 52,889; and Adams, with a population of 51,906, are assigned only one representative each. Twelve other counties, namely, Forest, with a population of 4,485; Sullivan, with a population of 6,251; Cameron, with a population of 7,586; Pike, with a population of 9,158; Fulton, with a population of 10,597; Juniata, with a population of 15,874; Potter, with a population of 16,483; Montour, with a population of 16,730; Wyoming, with a population of 16,813; Snyder, with a population of 25,922; Union, with a population of 25,646; and Perry, with a population of 26,582, are also assigned one representative each. Furthermore, 13 other counties, ranging in population from a low of 28,237, to a high of 46,792, are also assigned one representative each.[16] These examples show, by cursory analysis, the existence of at least 37 districts which differ widely in population but are equal in representation.

In examining the districts established by the act, it is apparent that many population disparities resulted from an allocation by the legislature of at least one representative to each county in the State regardless of the population of that county. This allocation resulted from the assumption that the heretofore unquestioned pattern of one representative per county was mandated by the Pennsylvania constitution, article II, section 17. Although the Supreme Court of the United States has recognized that "a consideration that appears to be of more substance in justifying some deviation from population-based representation in legislatures is that of insuring some voice to political subdivisions * * *,"[17] that Court has made it clear that "permitting deviations from population-based representation does not mean that each local governmental unit or political subdivision can be given separate representation, regardless of population."[18] The Supreme Court of the United States has stated:

"Carried too far, a scheme of giving at least one seat in one house to each political subdivision (for example, to each county) could easily result, in many States, in a total subversion of the equal-population principle in that legislative body. This would be especially true in a State where the number of counties is large and many of them are sparsely populated, and the number of seats in a legislative body being apportioned does not significantly exceed the number of counties. * * * [I]f, even as a result of a clearly rational State policy of according some legislative representation to political subdivisions, population is submerged as the controlling consideration in the apportionment of seats in the particular legislative body, then the right of all the State's citizens to cast an effective and adequately weighted vote would be unconstitutionally impaired." *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. —, —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1391–92 (1964).

Careful consideration of the legislative districting scheme embodied in the Pennsyl-

[14] Id. at —, 84 S. Ct. at 1390.
[15] Id. at —, 84 S. Ct. at 1385.
[16] Jefferson, 46,792; Warren, 45,582; Mifflin, 44,348; Bedford, 42,451; Monroe, 39,567; Huntingdon, 39,457; Greene, 39,424; Clinton, 37,619; Clarion, 37,408; Elk, 37,328; Tioga, 36,614; Susquehanna, 33,137; and Wayne, 28,237.
[17] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, — U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1391 (1964).
[18] Ibid.

vania Reapportionment Act No. 1, as well as the populations of all of Pennsylvania's counties, compels us to rule that assignment of one seat to each county, regardless of population, results in the submergence of population as the controlling consideration in apportionment and is offensive to the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It must, therefore, be concluded that the act of January 9, 1964, No. 1 (which provides for reapportionment of the house of representatives), by substantially diluting the right to vote of individuals in some districts when compared with the rights of voters in other districts, is constitutionally insufficient.

V

As we have indicated, the Supreme Court of the United States has held that reapportionment of both houses in a bicameral legislature must be based on population. The act of January 9, 1964, No. 2, apportions the State senate into senatorial districts, as follows:

[Population ratio per Senator: 226,387]

District No.	County	1960 population	Number of Senators	District No.	County	1960 population	Number of Senators
1	Philadelphia (part)	260,767	1	28	York	238,336	1
2	do	255,869	1	22	Lackawanna	234,531	1
3	do	251,415	1	21	Butler and Lawrence	227,604	1
4	do	241,032	1	16	Lehigh	227,536	1
5	do	236,148	1	15	Dauphin	220,255	1
6	do	242,667	1	46	Washington	217,271	1
7	do	266,242	1	31	Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, and Cumberland	211,620	1
8	do	248,372	1	19	Chester	210,608	1
37	Allegheny (part)	236,359	1	32	Fayette and Greene	208,764	1
38	do	233,003	1	47	Beaver	206,948	1
40	do	241,633	1	50	Mercer and Crawford	205,475	1
42	do	226,269	1	35	Cambria	203,283	1
43	do	237,367	1	41	Jefferson, Armstrong, and Indiana	201,682	1
44	do	233,086	1	18	Northampton	201,412	1
45	do	222,104	1	24	Columbia, Lycoming, and Montour	179,586	1
9	Delaware (part)	255,888	1	30	Blair and Huntingdon	176,727	1
26	do	297,266	1	25	Potter, McKean, Warren Clinton, and Cameron	161,787	1
12	Montgomery (part)	262,794	1	34	Centre and Clearfield	160,114	1
17	do	253,888	1	27	Northumberland, Snyder, and Union	155,706	1
39	Westmoreland	352,629	1	23	Bradford, Susquehanna, Tioga, Wyoming, and Sullivan	147,740	1
20	Luzerne	346,972	1	48	Elk, Forest, Clarion, and Venango	144,516	1
10	Bucks	308,567	1	33	Franklin and Adams	140,078	1
13	Lancaster	278,359	1	36	Bedford, Fulton, and Somerset	130,498	1
11	Berks	275,414	1	14	Carbon, Monroe, Pike, and Wayne	129,851	1
29	Schuylkill and Lebanon	263,880	1				
49	Erie	250,682	1				

Examination of the foregoing senatorial districts shows that, in many instances, they contain widely varying numbers of people. Some examples of gross disparities in population can be cited. The 10th District consisting of Bucks, with a population of 308,567; the 20th District consisting of Luzerne, with a population of 346,972; the 39th District consisting of Westmoreland, with a population of 352,629, are each represented by 1 senator. The 14th District consisting of Carbon, Monroe, Pike, and Wayne, with a population of 129,851; the 36th District consisting of Bedford, Fulton, and Somerset, with a population of 130,498; the 33d District consisting of Franklin and Adams, with a population of 140,078; the 48th District consisting of Elk, Forest, Clarion, and Venango, with a population of 144,316; the 23d District consisting of Bradford, Susquehanna, Tioga, Wyoming, and Sullivan, with a population of 147,740, are each represented by 1 senator. In the examples just cited, senators from the 10th, 20th, and 39th Districts each represent more than two times as many people as do senators from each of the other districts.

In *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1382 (1964), the Supreme Court of the United States said: "If a State should provide that the votes of citizens in one part of the State should be given 2 times, or 5 times, or 10 times the weight of votes of citizens in another part of the State, it could hardly be contended that the right to vote in the disfavored areas had not been effectively diluted."

Careful consideration of the entire legislative districting scheme for the Pennsylvania Senate, including not only the districts which we have cited above, but other districts as well, requires us to conclude that the act of January 9, 1964, No. 2, which provides for reapportionment of the senate by substantially diluting the right to vote of individuals in some districts when compared with the rights of voters in other districts, fails to meet the requirements of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of he United States.

VI

In light of our conclusion that the acts of January 9, 1964, Nos. 1 and 2, are constitutionally insufficient, we have given much consideration to the remedy which should be granted. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States make it clear that it is for us to determine "whether the imminence of the 1964 * * * general elections requires the utilization of the apportionment scheme contained" in those acts notwithstanding their invalidity, as the following excerpts indicate:

"Since primary responsibility for legislative apportionment rests with the legislature itself and since adequate time exists in which the Maryland General Assembly can act, the Maryland courts need feel obliged to take further affirmative action only if the legislature fails to enact a constitutionally valid State legislative apportionment scheme in a timely fashion after being afforded a further opportunity by the courts to do so. However, under no circumstances should the 1966 election of members of the Maryland Legislature be permitted to be conducted pursuant to the existing or any other unconstitutional plan. We therefore reverse the judgment of the Maryland court of appeals, and remand the case to that court for further proceedings not inconsistent with the views stated here and in our opinion in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*." *Maryland Committee for Fair Representation* v. *Tawes*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S.Ct. 1442, 1452–53 (1964).

"Since all members of both houses of the New York Legislature will be elected in November 1964, the court below, acting under equitable principles, must now determine whether, because of the imminence of that election and in order to give the New York Legislature an opportunity to fashion a constitutionally valid legislative apportionment plan, it would be desirable to permit the 1964 election of legislators to be conducted pursuant to the existing provisions, or whether under the circumstances the effectuation of appellants' right to a properly weighted voice in the election of State legislators should not be delayed beyond the 1964 election." *WMCA, Inc.* v. *Lomenzo*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S.Ct. 1418, 1429 (1964).

"Since the apportionment of seats in the Colorado Legislature * * * fails to comport with the requirements of the equal protection clause, the decision below must be reversed. Beyond what we said in our opinion in Reynolds, we express no views on questions relating to remedies at the present time. On remand, the district court must now determine whether the imminence of the 1964 primary and general elections requires that utilization of the apportionment scheme contained in the constitutional amendment be permitted, for purposes of those elections, or whether the circumstances in Colorado are such that appellants' right to cast adequately weighted votes for members of the State legislature can practicably be effectuated in 1964." *Lucas* v. *Forty-Fourth General Assembly of State of Colorado*, 377 U.S. —, —, —, 84 S.Ct. 1472, 1487–88 (1964).

It is obvious that the Pennsylvania Legislature cannot properly act to reapportion itself in the short time remaining before the election of November 3, 1964, and months after the April 28, 1964, primary election. We do believe, however, that the legislature made an earnest effort to reapportion itself in 1963. Unfortunately, it was then without the benefit of the views of the Supreme Court of the United States expressed in the Reynolds cases and without an interpretation by this Court of important and relevant provisions of the Pennsylvania constitution. Serious disruption of orderly State election processes and basic governmental functions would result from immediate action by any judicial tribunal restraining or interfering with the normal operation of the election machinery at this late date. The legislature should not be denied a reasonable opportunity to enact new reapportionment legislation. We, therefore, hold that the 1964 election of Pennsylvania legislators should and must be conducted pursuant to the acts

of January 9, 1964, Nos. 1 and 2.[28] Under no circumstances, however, may the 1966 election of members of the Pennsylvania Legislature be conducted pursuant to a constitutionally invalid plan.

The task of reapportionment is not only the responsibility of the legislature; it is also a function which can be best accomplished by that elected branch of government. The composition of the legislature, the knowledge which its members from every part of the State bring to its deliberations, its techniques for gathering information, and other factors inherent in the legislative process, make it the most appropriate body for the drawing of lines dividing the State into senatorial and representative districts. We expect, therefore, that the general assembly will enact reapportionment legislation in accordance with constitutional requirements.

VII

In order to prevent undue confusion on the part of those who are assigned the primary task of reapportionment, we feel compelled to discuss several provisions of the constitution of Pennsylvania as well as to comment upon certain aspects of the opinion filed by the district court.

Article II, section 16, of the Pennsylvania constitution, which relates to senatorial districts, provides:

"The State shall be divided into 50 senatorial districts of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as may be, and each district shall be entitled to elect one senator. Each county containing one or more ratios of population shall be entitled to one senator for each ratio, and to an additonal senator for a surplus population exceeding three-fifths of a ratio, but no county shall form a separate district unless it shall contain four-fifths of a ratio, except where the adjoining counties are each entitled to one or more Senators, when such county may be assigned a senator on less than four-fifths and and exceeding one-half of a ratio; and no county shall be divided unless entitled to two or more Senators. No city or county shall be entitled to separate representation exceeding one-sixth of the whole number of senators. No ward, borough, or township shall be divided in the formation of a district. The senatorial ratio shall be ascertained by dividing the whole population of the State by the number 50."

The first sentence of section 16 embraces fully the population principle expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Reynolds cases. The Constitution's intention to make population the starting point and controlling criterion in senatorial districting is manifest and mandatory. It acknowledges what the Supreme Court of the United States has also acknowledged, "that it is a practical impossibility to arrange legislative districts so that each one has an identical number of residents, or citizens, or voters,"[29] by providing that the senatorial districts "should so as nearly equal in population as may be." But this phrase cannot and must not be construed to permit substantial dilution of the right to vote. It is our view that section 16, when construed as a whole, demands that Senate apportionment legislation respect county lines and lines of other political subdivisions (such as wards, boroughs, and townships), insofar as possible, without doing violence to the population principle enunciated by the first sentence of section 16 and also by the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States has said:

"A State may legitimately desire to maintain the integrity of various political subdivisions, insofar as possible, and provide for compact districts of contiguous territory in designing a legislative apportionment scheme. Valid considerations may underlie such aims. Indiscriminate districting, without any regard for political subdivision or natural or historical boundary lines, may be little more than an open invitation to partisan gerrymandering. * * * Whatever the means of accomplishment, the overriding objective must be substantial equality of population among the various districts, so that the vote of any citizen is approximately equal in weight to that of any other citizen in the State." *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. —, 84 Supreme Court 1362, 1390 (1964).

We hold, therefore, that article II, section 16, of the Pennsylvania constitution requires that senatorial reapportionment legislation must maintain the integrity of counties and other political subdivisions, insofar as possible, and must provide for compact districts of contiguous territory, subject always to the overriding objective and mandate that such districts shall be "as nearly equal in population as may be." We must emphasize that, if necessary, any political subdivision or subdivisions may be divided or combined in the formation of districts where the population principle cannot otherwise be satisfied. Furthermore, the number of senators per political subdivision may not be limited if such limitation violates the equal-population principle.

Article II, section 17, of the Pennsylvania constitution, which relates to the house of representatives, provides:

"The members of the house of representatives shall be apportioned among the several counties, on a ratio obtained by dividing the population of the State as ascertained by the most recent U.S. census by 200. Every county containing less than five ratios shall have one representative for every full ratio, and an additional representative when the surplus exceeds half a ratio; but each county shall have at least one representative. Every county containing five ratios or more shall have one representative for every full ratio. Every city containing a population equal to a ratio shall elect separately its proportion of the representatives allotted to the county in which it is located. Every city entitled to more than 4 representatives, and every county having over 100,000 inhabitants shall be divided into districts of compact and contiguous territory, each district to elect its proportion of representatives according to its population, but no district shall elect more than 4 representatives."

It is clear that the first sentence of section 17 is in accord with the requirements of the Federal Constitution. It expressly recognizes the equal-population principle as the controlling factor in apportioning the house of representatives. Division of the population of the State by 200 supplies "a ratio" and a starting point in the construction of districts. In contrast to section 16 which provides for a fixed number; i.e., "50 senatorial districts" with each district "entitled to elect one senator," nothing in section 17 precludes the establishment of a house or representatives consisting of more than 200 members, provided, of course, the equal-population rule is observed.

The requirement that apportionment should be among the several counties further signifies an intention to respect county lines and to utilize counties as units of representation to the maximum extent consistent with the equal-population principle. Indeed, section 17, when considered as a whole, demands that the boundaries of all political subdivisions be respected when not in conflict with the overriding population principle. It must be interpreted to require that counties with small populations, if necessary, be joined with other counties for the purpose of electing and sharing a representative. We hold that no provision of section 17 prohibits the division or combination of counties in the formation of districts where the population principle cannot otherwise be satisfied.

Although the opinion of the district court sought to anticipate some of the requirements laid down by recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, we feel that it differs in some material respects from the views contained in those controlling decisions. Throughout the district court's opinion runs the theme that if there is equality of representation as between rural

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[28] These acts represent considerable improvement over previous legislation. The hearing judge, in his findings of fact, said:

"The last apportionment of the senate prior to the 1963 Apportionment Act aforesaid was under the act of May 10, 1921, Public Law 449, as amended by act of Apr. 26, 1923, Public Law 106 (25 P.S. 2201). Under said 1921–23 acts, Philadelphia was divided into eight senatorial districts, which under 1921 [sic] population statistics ranged in percentage of district population to total Philadelphia population from a low of 7.1 percent (third district) to a high of 15.6 percent (eighth district). This imbalance of district percentages to total Philadelphia figures became successively more marked with each decennial census. Under 1960 census figures, the range is from a low of 2.5 percent (third district) to a high of 26.1 percent (eighth district)."

Under the 1964 act, this imbalance of district percentages in Philadelphia has been largely corrected. (The ratio per senator is 226,387—11,319,366 divided by 50). For example, the third district with 1 senator now has a population of 251,415 while the eighth district has a population of 248,372. Several other examples of districts in which imbalances were corrected are: District No. 38, which had a population of 134,345 per senator, now has a population of 233,003 per senator; district No. 40, which had a population of 328,712, now has a population of 241,633 per senator; district No. 42, which had a population of 109,140, now has a population of 226,269 per senator; district No. 43, which had a population of 157,955, now has a population of 237,367 per senator; district No. 44, which had a population of 338,549, now has a population of 233,086; district No. 45 which had a population of 509,886, now has a population of 222,104.

In the house of representatives, where the ratio per representative is 54,150 (11,319,366 divided among 209 members) or 56,597 (if the population is divided by 200), many population disparities were lessened. Several examples can be cited: District No. 2 in Allegheny County, which had a population of 29,883 per representative, now has a population of 50,690 per representative; district No. 3 in Allegheny County, which had a population of 38,804, now has a population of 49,644 per representative; district No. 15 in Allegheny County, which had a population of 75,506, now has a population of 51,036 per representative; district No. 16 in Allegheny County, which had a population of 74,465, now has a population of 50,322 per representative; Beaver County District No. 1, which had a population of 76,152, now has a population of 51,261; district No. 2 in Bucks County, which had a population of 139,293, now has a population of 71,662; district No. 26 in Philadelphia County, which had a population of 36,459, now has a population of 60,105; district No. 1 in Chester County, which had a population of 49,034, now has a population of 52,912; while district No. 2 in Chester County, which had a population of 80,787, now has a population of 52,392; and district No. 3 in Delaware County, which had a population of 90,026, now has a population of 58,485.

[29] *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, — U.S. —, —, 84 Supreme Court 1362, 1390 (1964).

groups of counties on the one hand and urban groups of counties on the other, then Pennsylvania will be apportioned constitutionally.[21] With this theme we cannot agree. Unconstitutional discrimination may exist irrespective of the rural or urban character of the underrepresented or overrepresented district. Those whose task it is to reapportion the Pennsylvania Legislature must approach their assignment with the understanding that the are to create districts which are as nearly equal in population as is practicable.

"By holding that as a Federal constitutional requisite both houses of a State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis, we mean that the equal protection clause requires that a State make an honest and good faith effort to construct districts, in both houses of its legislature, as nearly of equal population as is practicable." *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1389–1390 (1964).

Furthermore, the district court announced that it would not invalidate unequal representation resulting from use of the county as a district, provided that the disparity from the norm does not exceed one-half of a ratio. In our view, the establishment of a rigid mathematical standard is inappropriate in evaluating the constitutional validity of a State legislative apportionment scheme. In *Roman* v. *Sincock*, 377 U.S. —, — n. 21, 84 S. Ct. 1462, 1470 n. 21 (1964), the Supreme Court pointed out that the lower court in that case had suggested that population-based variance ratios smaller than 1½ to 1 would presumably comport with minimal constitutional requisites, while ratios in excess thereof would necessarily involve deviations from population-based apportionment too extreme to be constitutionally sustainable. The Court said:

"Our affirmation of the decision below is not meant to indicate approval of the district court's attempt to state in mathematical language the constitutionally permissable bounds of discretion in deviating from apportionment according to population. In our view the problem does not lend itself to any such uniform formula, and it is neither practicable nor desirable to establish rigid mathematical standards for evaluating the constitutional validity of a State legislative apportionment scheme under the equal protection clause. Rather, the proper judicial approach is to ascertain whether, under the particular circumstances existing in the individual State whose legislative apportionment is at issue, there has been a faithful adherence to a plan of population-based representation, with such minor deviations only as may occur in recognizing certain factors that are free from any taint of arbitrariness or discrimination."

Finally, the opinion of the district court declared that there is a discrimination in voting power when voters may, by reason of the arrangement of legislative districts, vote for two, or three, or even four representatives, while others are restricted to voting for one only. Language which appears in the opinion of Chief Justice Warren in *Reynolds*, and other cases, indicates that the presence of some multimember districts in one legislative house is not per se unconstitutional:

"One body could be composed of single-member districts while the other could have at least some multimember districts." *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. —, —, 84 S. Ct. 1362, 1389 (1964).

"Single-member districts may be the rule in one State, while another State might desire to achieve some flexibility by creating multimember or floterial districts." *Id.* at —, 84 S. Ct. at 1390.

"We do not intimate that apportionment schemes which provide for the at-large election of a number of legislators from a county, or any political subdivision, are constitutionally defective." *Lucas* v. *Forty-Fourth General Assembly of State of Colorado*, 377 U.S. — n. 21, 84 S. Ct. 1472, 1483 n. 21 (1964).

While we do not believe that the creation of multimember districts of itself, would violate the Federal Constitution simply because the voters in a particular district (where justified by population) would vote for two or more representatives while those in another district would vote for a lesser number, we do believe that a legislative scheme which creates single-member districts and multimember districts in an arbitrary manner would be objectionable. We would agree with the district court, however, that in the absence of any reasonable justification (historical or otherwise), such districting might be the result of gerrymandering for partisan advantage and, in that event, would be arbitrary and capricious. In light of the constitutional pitfalls inherent in such a districting scheme, it would be more prudent to approach the matter of apportionment by setting up single-member districts unless valid and compelling reasons exist which require the creatidn of some multimember districts.

Our interpretation of the relevant provisions of the Pennsylvania Constitution makes mandatory only such requirements as are in harmony with the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We hope the difficult and complex task of the legislature will be clarified by he guidelines set out in this opinion as well as by the Reynolds cases.

We have indicated that it is our expectation that the legislature will proceed in timely fashion to enact reapportionment laws which conform to constitutional requirements. We must recognize, however, that if the general assembly fails to act in a timely fashion, we shall be obliged to take necessary affirmative action to insure that the 1966 election of Pennsylvania legislators will be conducted pursuant to a constitutionally valid plan. Proper regard for our responsibility compels us to retain jurisdiction of this matter pending legislative action.[22]

Should the legislature fail to enact a constitutionally valid plan of reapportionment as soon as practical, but not later than September 1, 1965, we shall take such action as may be appropriate in light of the then existing situation.

Jurisdiction retained in accordance with this opinion. Mr. Chief Justice Bell joins n the opinion of the court and also files a concurring opinion.

[21] This, of course, is not so, since inequalities may exist between urban or rural districts themselves.

[22] Since a new scheme of legislative districting for the entire State, including Bucks County, must be devised in accordance with the principles we have outlined, it is unnecessary for us to reach the specific issues raised by the intervenors.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA, MIDDLE DISTRICT, HARRY K. BUTCHER, 6069 DREXEL ROAD, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA; DONALD C. RUBEL, 606 WESTVIEW AVENUE, PHILADLEPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA; AND ANNE D. MCKINLEY, APT. 293, CARL MACKLEY APARTMENTS, "M" AND BRISTOL STREETS, PHILADELPHIA 24, PENNSYLVANIA; CITIZENS, DULY QUALIFIED ELECTORS AND TAXPAYERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA AND OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR ANY OTHER TAXPAYERS AND ELECTORS WHO MAY DESIRE TO JOIN AS PARTIES-PLAINTIFFS, PLAINTIFFS, *v.* GEORGE I. BLOOM, SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, SUCCESSOR TO E. JAMES TRIMARCHI, JR., DEFENDANT—GEORGE T. KELTON AND JACK SIROTT, INTERVENORS—NO. 198, MISCELLANEOUS DOCKET—CERTIORARI FROM THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS OF DAUPHIN COUNTY, NO. 151, COMMONWEALTH DOCKET, 1962

CONCURRING OPINION

(By C. J. Bell)

I join in the very able opinion which Justice Roberts has written for the court. However, I am impelled to express additional views in the faint hope that one or more Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States may thereby be induced to change or modify their viewpoint on the subject of reapportionment.

I shall first discuss the question of constitutionality and then the point which I believe the Supreme Court of the United States has overlooked—namely, the deprivation and dilution of the voice, the vote, and the representation of minority groups as a result of that Court's recent reapportionment decisions.

The new concept of reapportionment and the justiciablity by courts of questions of congressional and legislative redistricting, commenced with *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, which held that State apportionment and reapportionment presented a justiciable question. The limited effect of *Baker* v. *Carr* was pointed out by Chief Justice Warren in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 556: "In Baker * * * We intimated no view as to the proper constitutional standards for evaluating the validity of a State legislative apportionment scheme."

The appealing slogan which is now so often relied upon, namely, "one person, one vote," was first enunciated in *Gray* v. *Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368, 381, and reiterated in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, supra, page 558. This slogan is susceptible of so many different meanings that it is in reality meaningless. Every person who is qualified to vote is entitled, of course, to one vote and one vote only; but in scores of different matters, in business, in public affairs, in Government, in senatorial and in presidential elections and in practical life, the result is often not based or decided solely on arithmetic, and the vote of one person is sometimes more important and weightier than the votes of many or of all those opposed. No contention of "dilution" can alter these practicalities of life.

In *Reynolds* v. *Sims* and in the five accompanying decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States construing the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment (and incidentally the race and color provisions of the 15th amendment) to the Constitution of the United States, the Court clarified and expanded what it meant by "one person, one vote." It held, inter alia, that in a bicameral legislature each house

must be apportioned or districted (1) substantially in accordance with population; and (2)(a) with out invidious apportionment, or (b) dilution of the vote of citizens living in one part of the State or in one district or political unit of the State, as compared with others.

Furthermore, *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, supra; and *The Maryland Committee* v. *Tawes*, — U.S. —, 84 S.Ct. 1442; and *Gray* v. *Sanders*, 372 U.S. 368, 381; and *Y.M.C.A.* v. *Lomenzo*, — U.S. —, 84 S.Ct. 1418; decided, in effect, that it was unconstitutional for the people of a State or for a State legislature to allot one representative or one senator to each of the counties or political divisions in that State, even though additional representatives or senators were allotted to the more populous counties or political divisions. The Court also rejected any analogy to the electoral college or to the Congress of the United States—in the latter, the Constitution allots (as everyone knows) two Senators to each State and at least one Representative to each State regardless of population. It is with a heavy heart, therefore, that I am compelled, by the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, to hold that certain parts of section 16 and section 17 of article II of the (nearly) century old constitution of Pennsylvania are unconstitutional. Under the form and kind of government established by our constitution, Pennsylvania has grown prosperous and great, and our people, with rare exceptions, have been satisfied, happy and proud to have such a Republican form of government.

It can be accurately said that no decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the last hundred years has ever disturbed, dismayed, and confused Congressmen, legislators, Governors, judges, lawyers, and ordinary citizens as has the novel and revolutionary decision in the Reynolds group of cases. The form and scheme of Government of the United States, which at various times has been the admiration of the civilized world, was created and based upon the foundation rock of three separate, independent, yet intertwined, coordinate, coequal branches of Government, with its inherent fundamental concept of checks and balances. Under the Constitution of the United States: (1) The executive branch administers our Government and "takes care that the laws be faithfully executed"; (2) the legislative branch, including the Congress (and the legislature of each State) are solely vested with the legislative power, namely, the power to enact laws and legislation; (3) the third branch, namely, the courts, are vested with the power and duty to interpret the Constitution and the laws—not to execute or enact or revise the laws or the Constitution, beneficial as that would sometimes be. This, our revered system of government,[1] with its basic fundamentals of checks and balances, has been radically changed by the recent decisions of the Supreme Court which, under the guise of interpretation (and in the belief that their actions and decisions are in the best interest of our country) have amended and rewritten the Constitution of the United States and invalidated the constitutions of most of the States of the Union.

The Supreme Court has, in effect, declared unconstitutional and invalidated and outlawed the present allocation of Congressmen, Representatives, and State senators in nearly every State in the Union—especially those States which have a bicameral government, or base their allocations of Congressmen, Representatives, and State senators on a county or similar political unit basis. Under no provision of the Constitution of the United States nor of the constitution of Pennsylvania is the Supreme Court of the United States a super Congress or a super legislature, nor is it given the right or power to amend or rewrite the Constitution of the United States or the constitution of Pennsylvania. That right and power is, without the slightest doubt, reserved to the people of the United States, or to Congress, or to the States. Notwithstanding a little lip service as to the right of a State legislature to divide a State into different districts for the senate and the house and also for different terms—provided there is no invidious or unfair districting and no dilution of votes—the Court completely disregards and discards history, tradition, geography, local interests and local problems, differences in dialects and language, in customs, in ideas and ideals in each State and also in many parts of each State. In lieu and in derogation thereof, the Court requires Congressmen and Representatives and State senators to be districted and selected solely on an arithmetical population basis, i.e., substantially equal in each political district or political division.

One of the tragic results which we believe has been overlooked by that Court's majority is that this newly devised form of representative Government will almost inevitably deprive minority groups of a fair and effective representation in legislative halls of their principles, customs, traditions, their particular problems and desired solutions, and the preservation of their cherished way of life. Their interests will not only be diluted, they will be in practical effect, frequently completely ignored.

This is so far removed and so different from what the people in each State of the United States have believed in and cherished and on which they have for a century or more based their Government and their way of life, that in the words of Justice Harlan this brand new interpretation of the equal protection clause finds no support and no home in the Constitution of the United States[2] and is "incredible."

Surely, the unjust and unjustifiable legislative apportionments, as well as the political gerrymandering in certain States or in certain political divisions of a State, can be declared unconstitutional and prohibited without this wholesale destruction of the age-old just and cherished form of government which has prevailed in nearly every State in the Union. With due respect, isn't the Court's cure worse than the disease?

My views and my fears are not imaginary. They are supported by public expressions in Congress, in State legislatures, in the press and news media throughout our country, and most importantly, by Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. For example: In *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 267, Justice Frankfurter in his dissenting opinion characterized the Court's decision (on the subject of reapportionment) as "* * * a massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial power. * * *"

In *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S., supra, Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion, said (pp. 607, 614–615, 625):

"It is incredible that Congress would have exacted ratification of the 14th amendment as the price of readmission, would have studied the State constitution for compliance with the amendment, and would then have disregarded violations of it.

"Today's decisions are refuted by the language of the amendment which they construe and by the inference fairly to be drawn from subsequently enacted amendments. They are unequivocally refuted by history and by consistent theory and practice from the time of the adoption of the 14th amendment until today.

"The consequence of today's decision is that in all but the handful of States which may already satisfy the new requirements the local district court or it may be the State courts are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment of the State legislatures. It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States.

"For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court adds something to the Constitution[3] that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

In *Lucas* v. *Colorado General Assembly*, — U.S. — 84 S. Ct. 1472, and *Y.M.C.A., Inc.* v. *Lomenzo*, supra, Justice Stewart, joined by Justice Clark, termed the majority reapportionment decision woefully wrong and further said (pp. 1429–1431):

"To put the matter plainly, there is nothing in all the history of this Court's decisions which supports this constitutional rule. The Court's draconian pronouncement, which makes unconstitutional the legislatures of most of the 50 States, finds no support in the words of the Constitution, in any prior decision of this Court, or in the 175-year political history of our Federal Union. With all respect, I am convinced these decisions mark a long step backward into that unhappy era when a majority of the members of this Court were thought by many to have convinced themselves and each other that the demands of the Constitution were to be measured not by what it says, but by their own notions of wise political theory. The rule announced today is at odds with long-established principles of constitutional adjudication under the equal protection clause, and it stifles values of local individuality and initiative vital to the character of the Federal Union which it was the genius of our Constitution to create.

"Instead, the Court says that the requirements of the equal protection clause can be met in any State only by the uncritical, simplistic, and heavy-handed application of sixth-grade arithmetic."

In *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1, Justice Harlan, dissenting, said (pp. 20–22, 42, 48):

"I had not expected to witness the day when the Supreme Court of the United States would render a decision which casts grave doubt on the constitutionality of the composition of the house of representatives. It is not an exaggeration to say that such is the effect of today's decision. The Court's holding that the Constitution requires States to select representatives either by elections at large or by elections in districts composed 'as nearly as is practicable' of equal population places in jeopardy the seats of almost all the members of the present house of representatives.

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[1] Contrary to superficial thinkers and commentators and slogan creators, our country has republican (not democratic) form of government, with a democratic way of life.

[2] If the Supreme Court (majority) were logical, would they not have to hold that nearly every law passed and nearly every appropriation made in the last hundred years by an unconstitutionally created and unconstitutionally elected Congress and by an unconstitutionally created and elected State legislature, are unconstitutional and void? And how in logic can an unconstitutional Congress or an unconstitutional State legislature statutorily provide for valid and constitutional elections?

[3] We may add "or subtracts something from the Constitution."

"Thus, today's decision impugns the validity of the election of 398 Representatives from 37 States, leaving a constitutional House of 37 Members now sitting.

"Only a demonstration which could not be avoided would justify this Court in rendering a decision the effect of which, inescapably as I see it, is to declare constitutionally defective the very composition of a coordinate branch of the Federal Government. The Court's opinion not only fails to make such a demonstration. It is unsound logically on its face and demonstrably unsound historically.

"The constitutional right which the Court creates is manufactured out of whole cloth.

"The claim for judicial relief in this case strikes at one of the fundamental doctrines of our system of government, the separation of powers. In upholding that claim, the Court attempts to effect reforms in a field which the Constitution, as plainly as can be, has committed exclusively to the political process.

"This Court, no less than all other branches of the Government, is bound by the Constitution. * * * The stability of this institution ultimately depends not only upon its being alert to keep the other branches of government within constitutional bounds but equally upon recognition of the limitations on the Court's own functions in the constitutional system."

Cf. also, Justice Black's dissenting Opinion in *Jackson* v. *Denno*, — U.S. —, 12 L. Ed. 2d. 908, where he said (page 934): "I think that the New York law here held invalid is in full accord with all the guarantees of the Federal Constitution and that it should not be held invalid by this Court because of a belief that the Court can improve on the Constitution."

See also, Justice Clark's dissenting opinion in *Fay* v. *Noia*, 372 U.S. 391, where he said (p. 445): "* * * But the Court today in releasing Noia makes an 'abrupt break' not only with the Constitution and the statute but also with its past decisions, disrupting the delicate balance of federalism so foremost in the minds of the Founding Fathers and so uniquely important in the field of law enforcement."

Compare also, Justice Stewart's dissenting opinion in *Escobedo* v. *Illinois*, — U.S. —, 12 L. Ed. 2d 977, where he said (p. 988) that the majority decision was "supported by no stronger authority than its own rhetoric"; and that "the Court perverts those precious constitutional guarantees."

To summarize: Section 16 and section 17 of article II of the constitution of Pennsylvania and the act of January 9, 1964, No. 1, Public Law —, 25 PS sec. 2221 (Supp. 1963), are unconstitutional. The creation of senatorial and legislative and (by virtue of authority from Congress), congressional districts is a matter for the legislature and not for the courts. The number, composition, and experience of the legislature in this field is far greater than that of the courts, which are not only devoid of "apportionment powers" but have far fewer facilities and far less resources and are far less qualified than a legislature.

I would require the legislature of Pennsylvania to enact a constitutionally valid plan of reapportionment as soon as practical, but not later than September 1, 1965. The new Reapportionment Act should provide substantially as follows: "The State shall be divided into 50 senatorial districts of compact and contiguous territory as nearly equal in population as is practicable and each district shall be entitled to elect one senator, who shall serve for a period of 4 years. No county or political subdivision shall be divided in the formation of a district unless the practicalities compel such division.

"The house of representatives shall be elected for a period of 2 years. For purposes of representation in the house of representatives, the State shall be divided into legislative districts of compact and contiguous territory and the number of representatives in each district shall be determined on as nearly as is practicable an equal ratio of population basis. Except when entitled to more than one representative, no county shall be divided in the formation of a district unless the practicalities compel such division."

The foregoing requirements are necessarily subject to any change or modification or clarification of the views or mandates of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the meantime, this Court should retain jurisdiction of the subject matter of apportionment and reapportionment.[4]

[4] As Chief Justice Warren said in *Maryland Committee* v. *Tawes*, 372 U.S. supra, at pages 1451–1452: "We applaud the willingness of State courts to assume jurisdiction and render decision in cases involving challenges to State legislative apportionment schemes. However, in determining the validity of a State's apportionment plan, the same Federal constutional standards are applicable whether the matter is litigated in a Federal or a State court."

Notice of Change of Office and New Government Telephone Number

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following information to the constituents of my congressional district to the change of my daily office hours and also the new Government telephone number of our Pittsburgh office:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: The present session of Congress has now adjourned, after being in session since January. We are now transferring our Washington office records to our Pittsburgh office, as a new Congress is elected on November 3, to begin sessions in January 1965.

It has been a busy session in changing times for all of us, and I have tried hard, sincerely to represent the people of our district, and our good country.

As many of our people in our district have asked me to help them on their problems and to keep in close touch with our district, my Pittsburgh office is now open 6 days a week through the fall to serve you.

I am keeping your name on my personal list for our new congressional district, and want you to feel free to call on me for any advice or friendly assistance that our office staff and I can give regarding our Federal Government in Washington. It is a pleasure to be of service to you personally at any time.

With my good regards,

JIM FULTON.

(NOTE.—Same Pittsburgh office—but new Government phone No. 644–2876. New Federal Building scheduled opening now postponed indefinitely.)

Self-Help by New Jersey Engineers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, due to the rapid advances of technology in the space age, even highly skilled engineers are often faced with the problem of technological obsolescence. This sophisticated form of the problem of automation has affected a number of the trained and talented men and women in New Jersey's electronics industry.

Therefore, I was particularly pleased to learn of the effort being made by the Association of Scientists and Professional Engineering Personnel to meet this problem head on. The association, collective bargaining representative for more than 1,500 scientists and engineers employed by RCA, has set up a program of advanced courses to train its members in the newest fields of electronic engineering. This "technical developments program" is in the finest tradition of American initiative and self-help and deserves the highest praise.

I am sure my colleagues will be interested in the letter I received describing this program and I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERING PERSONNEL,
Camden, N.J., August 27, 1964.

Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: The problems of your constituents which ensue from automation, the relocation of plants and resulting unemployment usually find their way to your office by letter, through individuals, or from representatives of those affected. This letter is different. It does not present a problem—it is concerned with one organization's efforts toward solving a problem.

Our association is the collective-bargaining representative of more than 1,500 scientists and engineers employed by the Radio Corp. of America at plants located in Camden and Moorestown, N.J. As an organization we have faced the growing problem of "scientific and engineering obsolescence" which results from the tremendously rapid advances made in the fields of science and engineering. As an example, those engineers who have been engaged in research and development of electron tubes for radio and television have found that the development of the transistor has all but eliminated the need for their particular skills. The demands of our space program have brought into being a kind of technology which was not dreamed of a few years ago.

Our association has created a technical development program to provide at least one means by which to counteract the serious problem of loss of employment by hundreds of our highly skilled professional members. The courses outlined in the enclosed brochure are taught by some of our members who have achieved a high degree of recognition as experts in their respective fields. Some of the courses being offered

are so advanced that they are not available in local colleges or universities.

In brief, our program is designed to advance the technical competency of our members so that they can meet the challenge presented by the dynamic progress of their profession and the fluctuations in emphasis between defense production, industrial electronic growth, and commercial electronic products.

Our initial experiments with this type of program earlier this year have demonstrated the validity of our assumption that we have found at least a part of the answer to this serious problem. We hope that others may be encouraged to take similar steps in this direction and that more gains can be made in combating the technical, social, and economic waste represented by engineering manpower employment cutbacks.

If you desire any further information concerning these programs, or if you feel that our experiences can be of help to other organizations or groups or to legislative committees concerned with these problems, we shall be happy to provide representatives who can present the details of this program and our organization.

Your reactions or comments would be sincerely appreciated.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD J. AMMOND,
Program Advisor.

Report to the People of the Fifth District of Kansas, 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the 2d session of the 88th Congress has come to an end and I feel that I owe a duty to the people of my district to submit a report to them of the actions of this Congress and the part I have played therein.

I have always believed that, to be an effective Congressman, one must not only know his district, the problems of his District, but also the "thinking" of the people whom he represents. As a Congressman for the past 2 years and prior to that as an assistant to two Kansas Senators, I think I know my district, its problems and what must be done. I have known no other job than to shuffle back and forth between Kansas and Washington serving my State and my district in the Nation's Capital.

So that I may know the views of the people I represent—and so they might know my thinking—I have been in constant contact through comprehensive questionnaires, weekly newsletters, radio reports, news releases and visits back to the district. I have maintained district offices with full-time employees for the convenience of my constituents so that their problems can be more expeditiously and effectively served. Through these means of communication together with a steady flow of correspondence it has been possible for me to understand my district, my constituency and vice versa.

Although the primary duty of a Congressman is to assist in the formulation of legislative solutions to the knotty economic, social, and political problems that confront our Nation, State, and his district. A Member of Congress must always stand ready and willing to assist any citizen or community who may need help. He must be ready and willing to assist any citizen who has a grievance and feels that he is getting unfair treatment at the hands of some Federal agency.

Thousands of requests have been received by me during the past 19 months requesting information regarding Government programs, grants-in-aid, social security, veterans' benefits, welfare, school aid, hospital and nursing home assistance, agricultural bulletins, debate materials, and so forth. You name it and we have received a letter about it.

Over 3,500 letters have been received from individuals having problems relating to social security, veterans' benefits, immigration, passports, Indian claims, FHA and veterans' loans, small business loans, acreage allocations, flood control, watershed programs, Federal buildings, jobs, VA hospital care, income tax, academy appointments, improved mail routes, surplus equipment, and so forth.

Through my district office and a competent staff, we have been able to be of helpful assistance to hundreds of people. This assistance is given regardless of race, color, creed, or party affiliation.

THE 88TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

My first term of Congress has gone on record as the longest session in peace time history. It lasted for the entire calendar year of 1963. Adjournment did not come until Christmas Eve, leaving less than 2 weeks between sessions. My attendance record for this session shows that I was present 93 percent of the time on all rollcalls.

As one looks back over the 88th Congress, obviously all is completely overshadowed by the tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy. No greater blot could have been placed on our Nation's history. Along with scores of my colleagues, I inserted a special memorial tribute to the late President in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on December 5, 1963.

The Congress, reflecting the mood of the country, assumed a conservative approach to all spending programs and the administration sensing this feeling focused its attention on foreign affairs. New spending programs were received with little enthusiasm. Perhaps the two most important measures enacted by the Congress were the tax reduction bill and the Civil Rights Act. During the debate on civil rights, the Senate for the first time in history, invoked the cloture rule for a civil rights bill.

LEGISLATION

Although the civil rights bill and tax bill received the bulk of publicity, there were other significant legislative proposals adopted. Here is a summary and my vote on each of them:

My vote	Summary of bill	Action
Yea	Military procurement authorization (H.R. 2440), which authorized $15,900,000,000 for armament procurement and research development, passed Mar. 13, 1963. This bill included funds for the RS–70 plane and for 2 additional nuclear submarines.	Passed.
Nay	1963 supplemental appropriation (H.R. 5517) which was to restore $450,000,000 for the accelerated public works program (WPA spelled backwards).	Passed.
Nay	Silver legislation (H.R. 5389): This bill authorized the issuance of $1 Federal Reserve notes to replace $1 silver certificates. It represented a final victory of paper money over coin by providing for the withdrawal of the last kind of paper money with 100 percent metal backing. (Roosevelt did away with gold certificates.)	Passed.
Yea	Medical education bill: This bill authorized $175,000,000 in construction grants to help build teaching facilities for training more doctors, dentists, nurses, etc. It also authorized student loans for doctors.	Passed.
Yea	Feed grain program (recommittal motion): I favored this legislation but voted to hold up any action until after the growers wheat referendum.	Defeated.
Yea	Agricultural research (H.R. 40) authorized matching grants to the States to expand research facilities at State farm experimental stations	Passed.
Yea	Congressional foreign travel (H.J. Res. 245) proposes a tightening up on Government-paid foreign travel	Passed.
Nay	Increasing public debt limit (H.R. 6009), a bill to increase the national debt limit to $309,000,000,000	Passed.
Yea	Equal pay for women (H. Res. 362)	Passed.
Nay	Area redevelopment funds (H.R. 4996) authorized $455,000,000	Defeated.
Yea	Vocational education bill (H.R. 4955) authorized $450,000,000 over a 4-year period for vocational education aid	Passed.
Nay	H.R. 6143: Authorized $1,200,000,000 in grants and loans to build more buildings for both public and private colleges	Passed.
Nay	Foreign aid (H.R. 7885) authorized $3,500,000,000 for fiscal year 1964	Passed.
Yea	NASA authorization (H.R. 7500): I supported a recommittal motion. House had cut 10 percent of the $1,200,000,000 requested. The Senate restored the cut. This was a move to restore the House recommendation.	Defeated.
Yea	Mental health program (S. 1576): Authorized $238,000,000 of grants to State and mental institutions to help combat mental illness	Passed.
Yea	Tax bill (H.R. 8363): This was a motion to recommit the tax cut. The effect would be to put the tax cut in effect if the administration kept spending at $97,000,000,000. I favored a tax cut if spending would be cut accordingly.	Defeated.
Yea	Extension of the Civil Rights Commission (H.R. 541)	Passed.
Nay	Increase national debt limit (second time)	Passed.
Nay	Cotton bill (H.R. 6196) which provided a subsidy of 8½ cents a pound not to the farmers but to the textile mills. I favored a tariff increase instead to keep out foreign competition which was underselling American mills.	Passed.
Yea	Public works appropriation for flood control projects	Passed.
Nay	Foreign aid appropriation (H.R. 9499) with proviso for sale of wheat to Russia and Communist nations on credit	Passed.

THE 88TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

The 2d session of the 88th Congress did an about face. With President Johnson at the helm, foreign affairs were relegated into the background and domestic programs became the order of the day. The conservative mood Congress had assumed during the first session disappeared and this session may well go down as one of the "spendingest" Congresses in peacetime history. President Johnson's spending budget of $98 billion was higher than the previous year—and $22 billion more than the last Eisenhower budget. The 1964 Congress, however, went a step further than the President and voted $104.2 billion in appropriations. A record high, except for two World War II sessions, it promises a deficit of $10 billion more to be added to our $315 billion debt.

It was to guard against just this sort of congressional action that caused me to introduce two bills in 1963 relating to budget operations. One of them provided for "one general expenditure authorization." Unless we place an annual limitation against all expenditures including current appropriations we invite waste, and chaos is inevitable. The other bill would create a joint committee on the budget. At the time I introduced it I said:

> The growth of government has made it mandatory for the legislative branch to modernize its procedures—a close relationship between the House and Senate tax raising and tax spending committees must be established.

In this connection, your Congressman was pleased to receive special recognition regarding my overall position on matters of sound fiscal policy. The National Association of Businessmen, Inc., a nonprofit business group, organized first, to work toward getting the Federal Government out of competition with private business; second, economy in Government; and, third, legislation to promote small business has just published an "Economy Voting Record." Your Congressman received a perfect voting record for his stand and support of a sensible, sound fiscal policy. The assosciation presented him with its "Bull Dog Award."

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Your Congressman introduced bills which reflect the trends of our district. In this connection, the livestock producers of Kansas have been facing major problems. Your Congressman personally appeared before the U.S. Tariff Commission to call special attention to the disastrous effects that beef imports are having upon the livestock producers in this country. In the course of the testimony, he said:

> In spite of the fact that the U.S. tariffs offer little or no protection to the livestock and meat industry, records show that other countries not only maintained but have increased their import duties, as well as other import controls.
>
> The American livestock producer is willing to compete on a fair and equitable basis but with the United States cost of production much higher than costs in our importing nations, and with these nations maintaining relatively high import controls, he realizes that he is at a disadvantage.

In addition to the special appearance before the Tariff Commission, conferences were held with Agriculture Department officials and the State Department regarding the problem. Also, a bill was introduced to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to impose additional duties on cattle, beef, and veal imported each year in excess of annual quotas. The bill was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. A much milder bill finally passed the Congress.

Another significant bill introduced was the Anti-Government Competition Act. This provides for the termination or limitation of business-type operations in the Federal Government which are conducted in competition with private enterprise. The Hoover Commission recommended legislation of this nature. While the Budget Bureau now has a directive to carry out the aims of the legislation, it is important that bills of this type be introduced in the Congress to alert the Budget Bureau of its continuing responsibility to implement the directive.

As a further manifestation of your Congressman's deep interest in the matter of adequate educational opportunities for our young people, H.R. 4802, was introduced. This bill provides that 1 percent of all Federal income taxes derived from each State shall be given to that State for educational purposes free from Federal control. Relating to the field of education is H.R. 11011, which authorizes and provides for a uniform method of proving entitlement for income tax deductions for educational expenses of teachers.

Aware of the importance of lead and zinc legislation to southeast Kansas, two measures affecting these minerals were introduced. One was entitled the Lead and Zinc Act and the other was called the Lead and Zinc Stabilization Act. Both bills were aimed at the matter of imports. They provided for limitations as to the amount of lead and zinc which may imported. Portions of the bills were included in legislation passed by the House and Senate and signed into public law by the President.

Another bill of importance to the district was one establishing a quota limitation on certain imports of foreign residual oil. The Maritime Advisory Committee is presently involved in studies pertaining to provisions covered in this bill.

A bill was also introduced to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp honoring Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston.

For years southeast Kansas has been vitally interested in the national recognition of certain important historical sites in the area. However, the National Park Service and the Congress have not exhibited much genuine interest. During this Congress, your Congressman was able for the first time to convince the Department of Interior that a favorable report should be submitted to the Congress supporting the Skubitz bill providing for the commemoration of certain historical events and strife occurring in the State of Kansas from 1855 to 1856. The Fort Scott area is vitally affected. Your Congressman was able to arrange for a special congressional committee visitation to Southeast Kansas to personally inspect the sites involved. This unusual congressional interest is most important in order to achieve favorable action. Your Congressman has been personally assured there will be priority action given this vital legislation.

For the interest and information of the residents of the district, the following is a brief summary of the appropriations for Federal projects, activities, and functions for the 88th Congress:

Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, flood control projects

Big Hill Reservoir, Labette County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for planning	$135,000
Elk City Reservoir, Montgomery County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for construction	13,100,000
Fall River Reservoir, Greenwood County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for operation	225,000
John Redmond Reservoir, Coffey and Lyon Counties, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for construction and maintenance	7,363,000
Melvern Reservoir, Osage County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for planning	480,000
Pomona Reservoir, Osage County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for construction and maintenance	1,987,000
Toronto Reservoir, Woodson County, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, for maintenance	194,000
Fort Scott Reservoir, Bourbon County, fiscal year 1965, for planning	100,000
Total	23,584,000

Department of Agriculture

Watersheds:	
Little Walnut-Hickory, Butler and Greenwood Counties	$2,113,500
Grant Shanghai, Chautauqua County	524,100
Big Caney, Chautauqua, Elk, and Cowley	4,463,500
Muddy Creek, Butler, and Cowley	294,000
Soil Conservation Service	1,630,000
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS)	2,906,305
Farmers Home Administration, fiscal years 1964 and 1965, approved loans, 1,021	7,531,118
Total	19,462,523

General Services Administration

Wellington, Sumner County, post office building	$407,000
Girard, Crawford County, repairs to existing post office building	33,850
Total	440,850

Federal Aviation Agency, Federal aid airport program

Fort Scott, Bourbon County, funds for municipal airport	$72,000
Wellington, Sumner County, funds for municipal airport	22,200
Total	94,200

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Public Health Service:	
Wellington, Sumner County, Nursing Home, Hill-Burton funds	$277,862

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Continued	
Public Health Service—Continued	
Winfield, Cowley County, William Newton Memorial Hospital (Hill-Burton funds)	$954,876
Total	1,232,738
Federal Water Pollution Control Act:	
Carbondale, Osage County	13,560
Lebo, Coffey County	9,750
Americus, Lyon County	9,810
Osage City, Osage County	47,250
Reading, Lyon County	6,260
Uniontown, Bourbon County	8,012
Emporia, Lyon County	110,670
Total	205,312

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Continued	
Accelerated public works program:	
Columbus, Cherokee County	$125,000
Scammon, Cherokee County	53,000
Arma, Crawford County	181,000
McCune, Crawford County	22,000
Coffeyville, Montgomery County	76,000
Edna, Labette County	20,000
Oswego, Labette County	71,000
Parsons, Labette County	257,150
Total	805,150
Office of Education: Public Law 874, impacted area assistance, 1963 and 1964, 5th Congressional District (total)	264,852

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Continued	
Manpower development and training:	
Chanute Junior College, Neosho County	$420,442
Kansas State College of Pittsburg, Crawford County	38,065
On-the-job training:	
Coffeyville, Montgomery County	21,198
Pittsburg, Crawford County	52,443
Total	532,148

Listed below is a summary of key measures I have been required to vote upon. My final vote was cast only after careful study and analysis to determine how each of them affect the best interests of my country, State, and district:

Voting record of Congressman JOE SKUBITZ, 2d sess., 88th Cong.

My vote	Issue	Action
Yea	To recommit bill extending program of Federal aid for airports to reduce proposed authorization by $15,000 per year for 3 years	Defeated.
Yea	After defeat of recommittal motion, House passed bill providing for 3-year extension with modifications of the program of Federal aid for airport construction.	Passed.
Yea	Library services amendments proposed to confine Federal library services aid to rural and smalltown areas, while increasing the authorization for such aid, but eliminating a proposed new program of Federal grants for library construction.	Defeated.
Yea	After failure of efforts to limit the scope and cost of the library aid program, the bill passed. It increased the authorization for Federal aid for library services from $7,500,000 to $25,000,000 for fiscal 1964 and authorized a new program of matching Federal grants for library construction with $20,000,000 for 1964 and authorizations with unspecified amounts for 1965 and 1966. Starting with fiscal 1965, the programs were extended to urban in addition to rural and smalltown areas.	Passed.
Yea	This bill proposed amending the Bacon-Davis Act to include most fringe benefits in making prevailing wage determinations. The Bacon-Davis Act generally provides that workers on most Federal construction contracts be paid not less than prevailing wages for the same area.	Passed.
Yea	Civil rights	Passed.
Yea	Authorized $17,000,000,000 for defense research and development for ship, aircraft, and missile procurement	Passed.
Nay	Vote on the conference report on the $11,500,000,000 tax cut bill which reduced individual income tax and corporate tax rates. Various other changes were made in the tax laws, benefiting some taxpayers and hurting others. In my opinion, a tax cut without a consistent policy of reduced spending could result in large budget deficits and inflation with a further lowering in the purchasing power of the dollar.	Passed.
Yea	Bill proposed authorizing an additional U.S. contribution of $312,000,000 to the International Development Association which makes 50-year loans interest free but with a ¾ of 1 percent annual service charge, to underdeveloped nations. A vote for this recommittal motion was a vote against the bill. I objected to the bill on economy grounds, to the high percentage of American financial participation, to the liberal terms of the loans, and to the possibility that some of the loans might be counter to American interests and policy.	Passed.
Yea	House passed this bill amending the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the Federal Communications Commission from making certain rules relating to the length of frequency of radio and TV advertisements.	Passed.
Yea	This recommittal motion was designed to limit the fiscal 1965 Peace Corps authorization to the 1964 figures of $95,700,000 instead of the proposed $115,000,000. After failure of the recommittal motion, the bill passed by a voice vote.	Defeated.
Yea	This bill establishes a Public Land Law Review Commission of 19 members to conduct a 3-year study of public land laws and regulations	Passed.
Nay	Bill proposing a $545,000,000 pay raise affecting approximately 1,700,000 Federal workers. $10,000 increase in the salaries of Congressmen, from $22,500 to $32,500 was provided for by this bill.	Defeated.
Nay	Bill authorizing $5,200,000,000 for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal year 1965. (Issue was increasing costs of man-on-the-moon project.)	Passed.
Yea	Recommittal motion to add provision to the food stamp bill requiring States participating in the program to pay half of the costs	Defeated.
Nay	This bill expanded and made permanent the food stamp program. On a pilot basis the program cost $44,000,000 in 1964. The bill carried an authorization of $400,000,000 over a 3-year period. The program may eventually mean food at below wholesale prices to 4,000,000 people at a cost to the Federal Government of perhaps $360,000,000 per year.	Passed.
Nay	Bill establishing special 2-year program for wheat and cotton	Passed.
Yea	Appropriations of $6,900,000,000 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies	Passed.
Yea	Defense Department appropriations bill of $47,000,000,000 for fiscal 1965	Passed.
Yea	Appropriation of $1,700,000,000 for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, for related agencies and for the Federal judiciary	Passed.
Yea	Bill authorizing $2,600,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1965	Passed.
Yea	Recommittal motion which was in effect a vote to kill bill proposing an additional U.S. contribution of $312,000,000 to the International Development Association.	Defeated.
Nay	Amendment to provide $1,600,000 for construction of a National Peanut Research Center at Dawson, Ga	Defeated.
Yea	Vote on recommittal motion to insert language to prevent use of any funds for payment of export subsidies on any surplus agricultural commodities sold to Communist countries unless approved by the President and reported to Congress.	Defeated.
Yea	Bill providing appropriations of $5,200,000,000 for the Agricultural Department and related agencies	Passed.
Yea	House voted $1,600,000,000 in funds for Defense Department military construction for fiscal year 1965	Passed.
Nay	Vote to recommit a bill proposing increasing Federal insurance coverage on depositors' accounts in banks and savings and loan institutions from the present $10,000 to $20,000.	Passed.
Yea	Bill authorizing $1,175,000,000 per year for 2 years for Federal-aid for highway construction and for Federal highway programs	Passed.
Yea	Vote on recommittal motion with instructions to reduce the foreign aid authorizations for development loan funds and for the President's contingency funds by $222,200,000 of requested amount.	Defeated.
Nay	Bill authorizing $2,000,000,000 in new appropriations for foreign aid, bringing total foreign aid spending to $3,500,000,000 for 1965	Passed.
Nay	Following defeat of a 1st Federal pay raise bill because of its proposal to increase congressional salaries by $10,000, this 2d pay raise bill handled controversial question of congressional pay by proposing an increase of $7,500 plus additional automatic increases at the times of future general Federal pay increases.	Passed.
Yea	Bill providing $4,300,000,000 appropriation for civil public works projects, water resources construction, reclamation, and the Atomic Energy Commission.	Passed.
Yea	Vote to reduce retailers excise taxes on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags from 10 to 5 percent on July 1, 1964, and repeal such taxes on July 1, 1965.	Defeated.
Nay	Bill to increase temporary national debt limit to $324,000,000,000 through June 30, 1965	Passed.
Nay	Authorization of a new Federal program of grants to States and localities to build or improve mass transit systems. An authorization of $375,000,000 over a 3-year period was included in the bill.	Passed.
Yea	Vote to effect a cut of $248,000,000 in foreign aid appropriations through reductions in economic assistance funds	Defeated.
Nay	Foreign aid appropriation bill providing $3,300,000,000 for foreign aid and $400,000,000 for related activities	Passed.
Yea	Resolution concurring with Senate amendments to the civil rights bill to clear it for Presidential signature	Passed.
Yea	Bill proposing grants to States for establishing water resources research centers at colleges and grants to States for water research projects	Passed.
Yea	As originally passed by the House on this vote, the social security benefit and tax increase bill did not include medicare provisions. It provided for a 5-percent increase in benefits, raised the wage base for deductions from $4,800 to $5,400, slightly liberalized eligibility requirements, and increased the social security taxes paid by employees, employers, and self-employed people.	Passed.
Yea	Establishment of a national wilderness preservation system. Bill placed 9,000,000 acres of Federal land in it permanently with provisions for its further expansion.	Passed.
Yea	Conference report on adopting defense appropriations bill for $46,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1965	Passed.
Yea	Bill to protect postal patrons from receiving unsolicited mail which they regard as "morally offensive." Person receiving such mail can request the Post Office to notify a specific mailer not to mail him or his children any unsolicited material.	Passed.
Yea	Vote to reconsider a bill to establish a land and water conservation fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting outdoor recreation needs.	Passed.

Voting record of Congressman JOE SKUBITZ, 2d sess., 88th Cong.—Continued

My vote	Issue	Action
Yea	Motion to recede and concur with a Senate amendment to defense appropriations authorizing the Defense Secretary to make at least 25 percent of the funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval vessels available for work in privately owned shipyards. It was in place of a House provision which would have had a more limiting effect on the allocation of work to private shipyards to the advantage of Government navy yards.	Passed.
Yea	This resolution pledges support, including the use of Armed Force, as the President determines, to aid SEATO nations in southeast Asia which request assistance in defense of their freedom. It supported the President in taking necessary measures to repel armed attack against us and in preventing further aggression.	Passed.
Nay	This poverty bill included a package of programs to be administered by an Office of Economic Opportunity. Among them were a Job Corps, a work training program, a work study program, a Domestic Peace Corps (Volunteers in Service to America), urban and rural community action programs, loans to small farmers and businessmen. The bill authorized programs for 3 years, with a fiscal 1965 authorization of $947,500,000.	Passed.
Yea	This bill proposed revising the nonservice disability and death pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war and their widows and children. It proposed various pension increases and liberalization of income limitations.	Passed.
Yea	Vote to recommit the conference report on independent offices appropriations bill to reduce by $200,000,000 funds provided for NASA research and development. The funds in question were part of those for the man-on-the-moon project.	Defeated.
Nay	The housing bill as passed by the House authorized $992,000,000 in spending for fiscal year 1965.	Passed.
Yea	Proposal to extend Federal inspection and safety requirements to coal mines.	Defeated.
Yea	This resolution was to express the sense of the Congress that we should make efforts to get financially delinquent U.N. nations to pay up and that the United States should urge that provisions of the U.N. Charter providing loss of votes in cases of continuing financial delinquency be enforced.	Passed.
Yea	This bill provided for import quotas on chilled, frozen, or fresh beef and veal whenever imports threatened to rise 10 percent above the average import levels of 1959–63 adjusted for market growth. Under certain circumstances, the President was given the power to suspend or increase quotas. This legislation was designed to benefit beef producers, in a situation where the United States has become the world's largest importer of beef. Beef producers do not get Federal price supports which are granted to various other groups of farmers.	Passed.
Nay	House rejected conference report on this bill to implement the International Coffee Agreement which had been ratified by the Senate as a treaty. It felt that the coffee agreement hurt the American consumer by in effect putting a floor under the price of coffee, and would point out coffee prices have risen since the agreement was ratified.	Defeated.
Nay	This so-called interest equalization tax was actually a tax on the purchase of most foreign securities by Americans from foreigners. The object of this bill was stated as being to ease our balance-of-payments deficit by discouraging foreign borrowing from U.S. sources. In opposition, it was argued that the balance-of-payments deficit could be easily reduced by cutting foreign aid, without discouraging private American investment abroad. Foreign investments bring us a long-term benefit through their yield of profits. At the same time, they help develop private enterprise abroad.	Passed.
Nay	This bill guaranteed electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region. Its enactment cleared the way for construction of an intertie between northwestern and southwestern power grids with surplus northwestern power to go to the Southwest. In effect it represented a compromise between public power and private power.	Passed.
Nay	This bill authorized $1,100,000,000 for housing and urban renewal programs. It included new programs for rehabilitation loans to property owners in urban renewal areas, for building rental housing for farmworkers, for grants to train urban development administrators, fo graduate fellowships in city planning.	Passed.
Yea	This bill proposed taking away from the Federal courts, including the Supreme Court, jurisdiction on the subject of reapportionment of State legislatures. Proponents felt that the Federal courts had exceeded their power in assuming jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures.	Passed.
Nay	Provided for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the arts in the United States, at a cost of $150,000.	Passed.
Yea	Authorized the President to set up a Commission to study the feasibility of and to find a suitable site for construction of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to supplement the Panama Canal.	Passed.
Yea	This bill proposed coordination of Government programs in minimizing the effects of pesticides and insecticides on fish and wildlife. It proposed raising the Interior Department's authorization for pesticide research.	Passed.
Yea	Extended the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act for 3 years with new authorization of $4,450,000,000. The funds were for titles I and II of the act: sales of surplus American farm products to foreign nations for foreign money and for U.S. donations of food to foreign nations.	Passed.
Nay	This bill proposed partial forgiveness of student loans received under certain Government programs to doctors and dentists practicing in areas where there is a shortage. Opponents did not feel the inducement was necessary to attract doctors or dentists and that these persons must be motivated by a real desire, not lured to rural areas by a promise of something for nothing.	Defeated.
Nay	A bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes.	Passed.
Yea	Bill to authorize the Secretary of Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes.	Passed.
Nay	Resolution to make continuing appropriations for fiscal 1965. This resolution related only to the foreign aid appropriation bill which provides for a number of oversea activities of the U.S. Government.	Defeated.
Yea	Final passage of 3-year extension and amendment of National Education Defense Act of 1958. Bill passed extends for 1 year federally impacted area acts.	Passed.

At the beginning of the 2d session of the 88th Congress I was honored to be chosen by the members of the 88th Club to serve and represent the 88th Club on the all important Republican policy committee.

During the week of April 27, 1964, the 88th Club honored me by selecting me as "Freshman Congressman of the Week" for my continued efforts in behalf of the farmers and ranchers of this Nation.

During my first term as your Congressman, it was most gratifying to have so many visitors from the district stop by my office. Visitors are always welcome and we shall always do our best to make their visit to Washington a wee bit more interesting.

Need for Postal Pay Increase Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, one of the most essential actions taken by Congress in this session was the passage of legislation to provide salary increases for our career Federal employees.

In 1962 we passed the Federal Salary Reform Act, which the late President Kennedy termed "the most important Federal employee pay legislation in 40 years." In this act Congress established the policy that Federal salaries shall be comparable to private enterprise salary rates for the same levels of work and set up the administrative machinery to determine the proper annual adjustments necessary.

Now, for the first time, we have acted to implement this policy, by approval of H.R. 11049. However, it was not merely a matter of carrying out a policy. It was, more importantly, a question of keeping faith with our dedicated career employees by fulfilling our commitment to assure them of fair and realistic salaries.

We know that H.R. 11049 will not bring about complete comparability for all levels, but it is certainly an essential first step.

Mr. President, I was particularly concerned about the need for the increases provided our postal employees under H.R. 11049. Our dedicated and capable postal workers, without a doubt, are most urgently in need of more equitable and adequate salaries.

Prior to enactment of this legislation, the starting salary of a letter carrier was only $4,690 a year—which means $90.19 a week, or $2.25 an hour. Estimates presented at the Senate hearings showed that the average letter carrier today is in step 7 of level 4 of the postal field service schedule. He received $5,650 a year, or $108.66 a week or $2.72 an hour. And this was received only after 6 years of service.

Consider the difficult position this placed the average postal clerk or letter carrier in, with respect to one of the basic needs of life—housing. The majority of postal workers are located in the metropolitan areas. Testimony presented at the hearing showed that in the Washington, D.C., area, this average letter carrier, earning $5,650 a year, could not meet the income requirement to qualify for either an FHA or a VA loan on available moderate-priced houses.

We all know that a great many postal employees are forced to work at second jobs just to make ends meet. As one New Jersey letter carrier wrote me:

I just cannot live on this money. I have one part-time job and I am looking for an-

other now. Every letter carrier I know is in the same boat. We are for the most part men who like and are proud of our job, but we need help.

Mr. President, these are employees of whom we can well be proud. These are workers who should not have to ask for help. In my judgment, it is a simple matter of justice and commonsense to establish a fair and realistic Postal Field Service Schedule. It is not only our moral obligation to our capable career postal employees. It is also the basic requirement for a truly effective and efficient postal system. In future years we must similarly act, building upon this year's legislation, to assure adequate and equitable postal pay levels.

Small Business and the Service Corps of Retired Executives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the failure to provide management assistance to small businessmen has been one of the principal causes for the inability of many of them to remain in business. This problem, however, is now being met head on by Eugene P. Foley, SBA Administrator, who has enlisted the aid of hundreds of retired executives who will share their management skills and expertise with small business owners throughout the country. These management experts have been grouped together in an organization known as the Service Corps of Retired Executives—SCORE.

In describing this new program, Mr. Foley reminds us that President Johnson has made a point of lending every possible assistance and encouragement to the development of small business; that he has rolled up the redtape and rolled out the red carpet for the small businessman.

Under unanimous consent, I ask that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the complete text of Mr. Foley's remarks in which he tells us how these retired executives have responded with enthusiasm to his request that they assist small business in solving its management problems:

ADDRESS BY EUGENE P. FOLEY, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE THE SMALLER BUSINESS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, SHERATON PLAZA HOTEL, BOSTON, MASS., OCTOBER 5, 1964

I like to come to Boston. Boston is a place where new ideas flourish. It is place where courage and independent thinking are a heritage. It is a place where independence and freedom and democracy take on added meaning. It is a place where one can sense historical reality.

I think of that firebrand of independence, Samuel Adams, who was a small businessman in the great tradition. The passion for independence burned in his bosom, and it flowed from him and other great patriots out across the Nation until it coalesced into the American Revolution.

Samuel Adams had a rough time as a small businessman. He lost half his capital in his first venture and lost the other half on a bad debt.

Then he went into business as a brewer with his father and became a success. His leadership set an example. He attended to his business, but he attended to the affairs of his community and his country as well.

That is the obligation of small businessmen today. They are the stabilizer, the creator, the prime instrument for progress in all the communities across this great Nation.

Boston has been a wellspring of ideas and leadership. From Boston came great American Presidents.

From Boston came John Fitzgerald Kennedy whose passion for new ideas and supreme challenge brougth a new sense of destiny to our land.

I remember vividly his election eve program from historic Faneuil Hall in 1960—a hall he called the cradle of liberty where men and women met to plan for freedom before the American Revolution.

I remember his words: "The challenge of 1960, of 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1964"—he said—"is whether or not the people of the United States are determined to move forward again; to build a stronger, more progressive, more vigorous society; to demonstrate what freedom can really do."

He and President Johnson have demonstrated that there are new frontiers to cross, that there are ways in which we can build a more progressive society, that there are ways in which we can effectively demonstrate what freedom can do.

John F. Kennedy said: "Let us begin."

And Lyndon Baines Johnson said: "Let us continue."

President Johnson has dedicated his administration to the building of a great society—a society where all men receive all the education they can absorb, a society of economic independence but a society of thought and contemplation, a society where every American has an opportunity to reach his every potential.

The strengthening of the small business sector of our Nation has been a part of this grand design. You may recall that one of President Kennedy's first acts as President was to direct that defense contracts awarded to small business be increased 10 percent.

President Johnson has made it a point to lend every possible assistance and encouragement to the development of small business. He has made it clear—and he has done this in meetings with small businessmen in the White House—he has made it clear that he regards a strong small business sector as the cornerstone of our society and our Government.

He has made it clear that the future of this Nation stems not from what is done in Washington—but from what the small businessmen in their roles as business and community leaders do in their own communities.

He emphasized only last August in the White House in discussions with small businessmen that the quality of this Nation and its children was being determined in communities—communities led by small businessmen.

"Your leadership at the local level," he said, "will decide the quality of our cities, our classrooms, our countryside—the quality of life in our country for a century to come."

Here in Boston—the fountainhead of working democracy—it is certainly appropriate that we launch a new national program that responds to the challenge laid down by John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the goals set by Lyndon Baines Johnson.

In the Small Business Administration we are constantly experimenting with new ideas and new concepts, searching for new and better ways to help the small businessman and strengthen the small business sector of the economy.

Some of these ideas we put aside after a trial run because they are not practical. Others we adopt after they have proven their worth in pilot projects—and they become national programs supported wholeheartedly by President Johnson and this administration.

Today we are launching a national program that has demonstrated its value here in Boston and in Washington—an active program that goes beyond the pale of ordinary Government activity. It is a program in full accord with President Johnson's goal of self-fulfillment for every American. This program is to be called SCORE: The Service Corps of Retired Executives.

It will bring together thousands of retired business executives who want to contribute to society and thousands of struggling small businessmen who need help to survive. The emphasis will be on businesses with less than 25 employees, businesses that cannot afford professional consultants.

The concept for this effort grew out of research which showed, on the one hand, that many retired executives wanted to do something worthwhile, something creative. It showed also that earlier retirement had made many more useful years available to men who had been responsible figures in business and industry. On the other hand, we found that many small businessmen who were floundering because of management deficiencies were eager for help. The desire to help was present and the need was present.

We are putting the two together in a workable program. It worked well in pilot projects and I firmly believe it will become one of our most dramatic and effective national programs.

We are having simultaneous kickoffs today in the 68 cities where we have regional or branch offices. These offices will be the channel through which the retired businessmen reach the small businessmen. We have been astounded at the reaction to this program.

More than a thousand retired businessmen have officially enrolled and thousands more have indicated an interest.

I am reminded of the words of a philosopher who said: A man may be old at 30 or at 80—depending on how he lives.

We obviously have a strong contingent of retired businessmen who are young at heart and mind and spirit—and who are not satisfied with the normal rewards of a full life. They want to walk another mile for their country and for the free enterprise system that nurtured them. They want to be creative in their retirement. They want to help small businessmen build new worlds for themselves. At the same time they will broaden their own sense of self-fulfillment and satisfaction.

These retired businessmen will sit down with small businessmen who are having management difficulties and together they will discuss the problems.

The retired businessmen will offer recommendations which will be the key to survival for many small businesses.

We have in this program the cooperation of professional consultants who recognize that the small businessmen who will be helped would not otherwise receive the assistance they so desperately need. We are grateful for this assistance.

I am also grateful for the overall community support we are receiving. The assistance of community leaders—effective community action—will assure its success.

Boston has demonstrated in its pilot project the effectiveness and the necessity for responsible community leadership to assure the success of any undertaking.

Teams of retired specialists are working with small businessmen here. These teams usually include a generalist, a financial ex-

pert, a marketing expert, and a production man. The team recently met with a metals fabricator and their recommendations are being followed.

There are other dramatic insights of the potential of this program provided by the experience here and in Washington, D.C., the other pilot city.

A small businessman, for example, wanted to open a small restaurant. He was not sure of his location. A counselor helped him select a location, helped him negotiate a lease. This counselor was retired but in his forties. He had made his fortune in selling and marketing.

One small businessman asked for a $6,000 loan. His counselor advised him that he only needed $3,000. He accepted the advice and still achieved the result he wanted.

Two young businessmen were planning to open an artists equipment shop. Their counselor showed them how they had selected the wrong location, advised them they should rent rather than buy equipment, and used a contact to obtain free advertising service.

One businessman had severe personnel problems. His employees always seemed to be quitting on him. A counselor found that the small businessman was very well organized personally but that his employees didn't know what their responsibilities were. He sat down and prepared job descriptions and things are running smoothly.

One small businessman was attempting to sell mutual funds to the wrong people. A counselor advised him as to his best market. His sales have increased substantially.

In many cases counselors found that bookkeeping was not done properly—and that the businessman really didn't know where he stood or where he was going.

In Washington the enthusiasm among retired executives for this program has reached the point that some of them insist on being assigned as many cases as any of their fellow counselors.

They are getting a real kick out of helping these small businessmen who never before have had the advantage of the experience and knowledge that the retired executives can bring them.

None of the men has received compensation. This has been one of our concerns in implementing this program: the matter of compensation. Our conclusion has been that for the first 90 days, the retired executives will work without payment. After that, the matter of compensation is between them and the small businessman they are serving. Many retired executives simply want to be reimbursed for their out-of-pocket expenses. I am sure this is a matter that will resolve itself as the program gains momentum.

This is another way in which this administration is giving small business a boost when it needs it most.

The general improvement in the economic climate is the most dramatic example of our attention to the problems of businessmen, large and small. Business is excellent. It has never been better. President Johnson observed recently that the American businessman has never done so well for so long.

Business is riding the tide and reaping the benefits from the longest and strongest peacetime and economic expansion in our history: 48 months of stable, steady growth that has broken all records.

Our economy has broken all records in all areas. Yet the expansion has been stable. Wholesale prices are lower than they were 3 years ago.

Americans are earning $86 billion more income annually than they were in 1960. More than 4 million additional jobs have been created. Our national output has grown more in 4 years than in all the previous 8 years.

Business profits are setting records. Retail failures are below last year's level at this point and the rate of new incorporations is up. A net gain of 145,000 new businesses has been recorded since 1960.

Earnings of small manufacturing establishments have increased 50 percent since 1960 and the total income of unincorporated businesses is up 14 percent.

The economy is moving ahead as President Kennedy predicted it would here in Boston 4 years ago if the policies he recommended were followed and the challenges he outlined were met.

A series of executive ant legislative actions got our economy off the dime. The crucial step was tax reduction with the $11 billion it fed into the economy. Production is booming as the accelerated purchasing power and added investment stimulate the machinery of free enterprise. Idle mills are being reactivated. Steel executives who were concerned over idle plants a year ago are now concerned over meeting the demand.

The basic purpose of this expansion was to build toward our economic potential, to expand small business, to utilize unused plant capacity, to accelerate purchasing power, to expand production—and most important, to create jobs. We are succeeding.

And a basic part of this program has been the strengthening of small business—the goal of the new program we are launching here today.

Half a million small corporations got a 27-percent tax cut in the overall tax reduction. Small businessmen will receive direct benefits of $1 billion additional this year—and $1.25 billion next year, as a direct result of tax reduction.

President Johnson has rolled up the red-tape and rolled out the red carpet for the small businessman.

We have increased the efficiency and productivity of SBA to the point that we are carrying a greatly increased workload with fewer employees than we had a year ago.

Existing programs have been expanded and new programs have been inaugurated in response to needs. We have approved 57 percent more loans during the past 3½ years than in the preceding similar period.

We have diversified our loan program—to reach down to the very small businessman and up to the largest eligible for our programs.

Our "six by six" program has for the first time given a helping hand to the neighborhood shop, the shoe repair shop, the delicatessen, the corner drugstore. This program makes available $6,000 for as long as 6 years.

It was so successful in pilot projects that it has been expanded and made a part of the war on poverty.

We found that business failures stemmed largely from management problems, so we have tripled our number of management training courses and tripled the number of enrollees.

We have increased local development loans by 366 percent in dollar volume.

We have tripled the number of Federal contracts set aside for small business bidding.

We vitalized the small business investment company program which now provides equity and working capital for 10,000 small firms.

But our programs have been just as effective as has been the cooperation of community leadership.

Our determination is bound by the enthusiasm of community leaders like those of you here in this audience.

Our purpose is to strengthen the small business community to meet the challenges posed by this dynamic economy. The opportunities for small business are fantastic. Our population is exploding. Our markets are diversifying, expanding. Incomes and purchasing power are rising higher and higher. New developments, new cities, are constantly being built as suburbia spreads across the East.

Automation and the tools it places in the hands of small business could become the great equalizer between big and small business. Automation experts say it will.

They say the day is not too far off when every small business will have a keyboard in its office to a giant computer which will provide possibilities that will literally stagger your imagination. It can do your bookkeeping and billing. It can assess your market potential. It can even build your product.

And so it is most important that small business be in a position to grow with this technology, to adjust to it, exploit it. And we are ready to help. Democracy is as effective as the creativity of its people. Our purpose is not to dull initiative—but to inspire creativity. Our purpose is not to intensify redtape—but to cut it. Our purpose is not to make promises—but to make loans. Thank you.

North Nashua River Pollution Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include therein a recent news article from the Clinton, Mass., Item concerning pollution problems along the North Nashua River in Lancaster.

The article outlines action at the Federal and State levels toward the development of plans to correct pollution conditions along the North Nashua River.

The material follows:

[From the Clinton (Mass.) Daily Item, Sept. 29, 1964]

PHILBIN BACKS ANTIPOVERTY LAWS

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN today announced his unqualified support of controls to the pollution problems along the Nashua River.

He warned, however, that to secure maximum results, a vigorous campaign at the local, State, and Federal levels will be necessary for early enactment of legislation to accomplish this.

"I will do everything I can to press this legislation and believe we should have an excellent chance of securing favorable action," PHILBIN stated.

The Congressman's remarks were made in response to a request for help made by the Lancaster Board of Selectmen in connection with the pollution problem of the Nashua River.

PHILBIN said that the Army Engineers have advised him extensive studies for flood control sponsored by him in the area some time ago, are now nearing completion.

THE THREE CITIES, SEVEN TOWNS

These studies, PHILBIN states, include three cities and seven towns, one of which is Lancaster, and are being conducted pursuant to congressional authority inaugurated by PHILBIN and the Massachusetts congressional delegation.

PHILBIN had been in touch with the Engineers prior to receiving the request of the board of selectmen in a new effort to alleviate the pollution problem at Lancaster and other points along the Nashua River.

On last January 28, PHILBIN had other contacts with the Army Engineers with reference to these matters.

PHILBIN was informed that the Army Engineers survey report is scheduled for submission this fall to the Chief of Engineers for his review and subsequent transmittal to Congress.

Actual construction would depend upon congressional authorization and appropriation of funds.

Since PHILBIN, as chairman of the Massachusetts congressional delegation committee on floods of some years ago, has been instrumental in securing several measures of remedial legislation in this field, it is his opinion that there would be reasonably good prospects for the project to be recommended by the Army Engineers.

The North Nashua River Basin report PHILBIN refers to considers the need and justification for reservoirs and channel improvement projects, for alleviation of flood damages, increased water supply, low flow augmentation and water-oriented recreation.

"The water resources plan under study would have important resource benefits to the towns and cities within the North Nashua River Basin. While water releases from proposed reservoirs will tend to mitigate to some extent the pollution problem by increasing existing low flows in Lancaster, its implementation would not, however, solve the total problem," PHILBIN said.

The staff of engineers has been forking in close cooperation with the division of water supply and pollution control, the Public Health Service; and the Health, Education, and Welfare Agency, region 1, Boston Office.

STENCH PROBLEM

The Public Health Service, said PHILBIN, is the Federal agency responsible for the fulfillment of Federal pollution objectives, and PHILBIN has been in touch with this agency as well as the other agencies dealing with these problems, urging early action to eliminate the present stench and pollution nuisance existing at Lancaster and other points along the river, which are believed to be definitely dangerous to the public health as well as a source of great annoyance to the residents along the river.

PHILBIN informed selectment he is continuing his vigorous action instituted some time ago to try to secure affirmative relief and will keep in close touch with all basic and coordinating agencies having any relation to the matter, and which may be in a position to cooperate and coordinate efforts being made to apply beneficial pollution controls along the historic Nashua River.

PHILBIN states he has carefully noted the interest expressed by Lancaster officials and people and the strong protests that have been made against existing conditions along the river.

He said: "I want to make it clear that I deeply appreciate the interest and cooperation of the selectmen and the people of Lancaster in grappling with current Nashua River pollution problems. The need is urgent.

"The engineering studies in question are a part of the overall program instituted for flood control in the area some years ago, and I have been in close touch with the situation from time to time to make sure that adequate progress is being made.

"Under the law, the engineers are in a position to recommend legislation to the Congress which would be designed to alleviate these unwholesome conditions, and naturally when the groundwork is laid, I will do everything I can to press this legislation and believe that we should have an excellent chance of securing favorable action and am especially thankful to the Army engineers who are doing their best through their studies and other work to cooperate with State and local officials, who, of course, have primary responsibility for waterways of the Commonwealth.

"To insure maximum early results it will be necessary to mount a vigorous campaign at every level—local, State, and Federal. There must be a closely coordinated effort and wholehearted cooperation.

"The States and local communities have primary jurisdiction and responsibility in this field," said PHILBIN, "and we must not work at cross purposes. Instead, we must coordinate what we do, so as to achieve best and earliest possible results.

"There is no magic panacea for the relief from present very bothersome conditions. The big job is to promote continuity of remedy and develop complete cooperation local, State, and Federal, between government and the industries involved in the matter, and integrate all corrective and preventive activities at every level.

"I cannot set a definite time limit for the improvement," said PHILBIN, "but the day will be speeded through State and local action supported by Federal counsel and active participation."

"We have every reason to look for the solution of these problems in the not-too-distant time and must spare no effort to that end."

Address of President Lyndon B. Johnson at Brown University, Providence, R.I., Monday, September 29, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, Brown University at Providence, R.I., has been observing its 200th anniversary with many notable events in its celebration.

Probably the greatest hour in its observance came on Monday, September 28, 1964, with the visit and address of President Lyndon B. Johnson to a distinguished convocation of educators and a resplendent representation of citizens in the Meehan Auditorium at the university.

To the State of Rhode Island and to Brown University, the President of the United States expressed the Nation's debt for the "quality of manhood they had produced."

Interrupted by applause many times in his masterful address the loudest acclamation in this land of Roger Williams came when the President pledged himself to devote every effort "to defending against all enemies the freedom of conscience, the freedom of belief and the spirit of free inquiry on which our American system stands."

The cheering auditorium audience of 4,700 was dwarfed by the 150,000 Americans who formed a guard of honor from airport to university. It was a personal ovation taking 2 hours to cover the 8 miles.

I believe the experiences of the day will linger all through the lives of those who shared them. And I am sure that the tribute to education voiced by President Johnson will be in the immortal annals of Brown University as other centuries are added to its life and labor of usefulness.

Our Rhode Island is bursting with pride in the twin triumph of Brown's anniversary and the President's tribute; and I feel that his address belongs in our CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as part of our national history of education and opportunity.

Therefore I ask for unanimous consent that the address of President Lyndon B. Johnson at Brown University on September 29, 1964, be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON AT BROWN UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1964

President Keeney, my old and valued friend Senator Pastore and Senator Pell, Congressman Fogarty, Congressman St Germain, Governor Chafee, Governor Gallogly, distinguished scholars, my fellow Americans, this is a proud day for this university—and for the citizens of this great State.

In these times, the greatness of States is measured not by their size, but by the worth of their schools. By that measure, no State stands larger than the homestate of Brown University.

For 200 years, Brown has honored that charter of 1764 by "forming the rising generation" into—"a succession of men duly qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation."

From this campus have come many of the most useful figures of our national life—great educators, like Horace Mann—great leaders of business, like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Tom Watson, Jr.—great public servants, like Tom Corcoran, four Secretaries of State and many distinguished U.S. Senators.

I speak with personal appreciation today on this subject. In the Senate, I had no more trusted counselors or no more cherished friends than Theodore Green, and JOHN PASTORE. And your brilliant young Senator CLAIBORNE PELL is taking his place as a leader and statesman. Today I am proud to have in my administration two men who have served as deans at Brown—Dr. Robert W. Morse, and Dr. Donald Hornig.

For all that has gone before, Brown's service to the Nation has never been greater than it is today. On behalf of the Nation, I am proud to salute you—and all who have made Brown University one of the really great universities in the world.

In other times, we might have come to this convocation looking back upon the past—but not today. I know that the face of New England—the face of America—is turned toward the future—and it is of the future that I come to New England to speak today.

I want to consider with you the future of an old and fruitful American partnership—the partnership of campus and country.

That partnership was formed in 1787 when our forefathers gave us the command, that: "The means of education shall forever be encouraged."

From that Northwest Ordinance to the Land Grant College Act, from the Smith-Hughes Act to the enactments of this present education Congress, America has kept faith with that command.

In all history, no other nation has trusted education—invested in it—or relied upon it as a means to national progress so much as we.

A former great president of the Republic of Texas, Lamar, once said that the educated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. It is the only dictator that free men recognize, and the only ruler that free men desire.

Yes, our partnership has paid us priceless returns.

From a backward position, American scholarship has flourished. Today wherever our country leads, that leadership traces to the contributions of the campus.

Our partnership is challenged now by new dimensions.

From 1776 until the present, our universities have grown—from 9 in the beginning to more than 2,000 today. From the present until 1980, our existing institutions must double in capacity—and 1,000 more must grow with average enrollments of 2,500 each.

But before the total of American scholars has doubled, the sum of human knowledge shall have doubled—or more.

These are challenges that we should welcome—and that we should go out to meet. For the increase in scholarship is not a burden, but a blessing. The growth of knowledge is not a curse, but cure for the ills of our age.

Our concepts must change—in both education and in politics. But our confidence and our courage must grow.

At the desk where I sit in Washington, I have learned one great truth. The answer for all of the problems of the world—comes down when you really analyze it to one single word—education.

Thus, I take a hopeful view—and I call on you of this campus to join with us who are entrusted with the affairs of country to help us chart a hopeful course.

President Keeney said last week that knowledge is developing so rapidly that "we can take no comfort in the belief that what appears to be the whole truth today will be the whole truth tomorrow."

I believe our partnership must be committed, deeply committed, to seeking the truth—for actually it is truth alone that will finally keep us free.

Knowledge is not something which threatens to overwhelm us. Knowledge is our salvation—and we must seek after it, and nurture its growth and we must spread it among all our people so each one has some of it.

Over the years, leadership of our university system has come from a relatively few great institutions, public and private. I believe we must regard our existing centers of excellence as national resources—to set standards, supply teachers, and furnish researchers for the new centers of excellence we must develop.

That is a first responsibility.

A great nation and a great civilization feeds on the depth of its scholarship—as well as the breadth of its educational opportunity.

In the sciences, in the arts and in our understanding of human behavior, all of our tools must be sharpened. Our public policies must encourage further the spread of research and scholarship throughout our system of higher learning.

In our graduate schools, your Federal Government awards 12,000 fellowships and 35,000 trainees in science and engineering. We spend $850 million, almost $1 billion, on the support of research in our universities alone. The partnership of the Government, your Government—not an enemy way off younder but something that belongs to you—the partnership of your Government and the universities is closest in the advanced education of postgraduate students. Twenty-nine percent of engineering students, thirty-seven percent of the students in physical science, forty-six percent of those in life sciences and ten percent of those in humanities are aided. And there simply must be no neglect of humanities.

The values of our free and compassionate society are as vital to our national success as the skills of our technical and scientific age. And I look with the greatest of favor upon the proposal by your own able President Kennedy's Commission for a National Foundation for the Humanities.

We must also make certain that there is no neglect or compromise of the American devotion to democracy of educational opportunity.

Universal free public education is the very foundation on which our entire society rests today. Our goal must be to open the doors to education beyond the high school to all young Americans—regardless of the status or station of their families.

You and I have an opportunity that is not unlike that of the men and women who first formed these New England States.

We have the opportunity to plant the seed corn of a new American greatness and to harvest its yield in every section of this great land.

On the response of our partnership depends the vigor and the quality of American life for many generations to come.

As a party to that partnership, let me urge you of the campus to admit no compromise in charting our course to excellence. Concern yourselves not with what seems feasible, not with what seems attainable, not with what seems politic—but concern yourself only with what you know is right.

Your duty is the vision. The duty of the world I represent is the reality.

There is one thing more I would like to emphasize.

Three hundred and twenty-eight years ago, Roger Williams founded Providence. He brought into American life a bright flame which must never be allowed to grow dim. For he said: "I humbly conceive that it is the express and absolute duty of the civil powers to proclaim an absolute freedom of conscience in all the world."

Our partnership is not—as same would have it—a conspiracy against liberty. That partnership exists to reinforce the freedom of higher learning—and it much never be otherwise.

So long as I hold any public trust or private responsibility, I shall devote my every effort to defending against all enemies the freedom of conscience, the freedom of belief, and the spirit of free inquiry on which our American system stands.

The statue atop the Statehouse of Rhode Island is dedicated to the independent man. Man cannot be independent if he or his society are imprisoned in dogma, or bound by bias, or borne down by hate or fear or suspicion or discrimination.

At this moment I believe we have a great opportunity in this country to move forward—as President Keeney has put it—move forward toward "making our society what we know it should be."

If we turn away from knowledge and truth, we will not succeed.

If we believe the worst and suspect the best, we alone will suffer.

If we deny our progress, if we are against all of it, if we tear down our accomplishments, we will fill the world with sorrow and we will blemish our name with shame.

But if we are courageous and foresighted and foreseeing, if we have no fear of the truth, if we seek only after light, then we and our children and our children's children shall know the greatness of this wonderful, beautiful land we call America.

I pray that when historians write the story of this time in our lives, it may be recorded that this President tried to lead his Nation with justice, with compassion, and with courage—and that there was faith and there was firmness in his heart.

And may it further be written that the people of the United States cast out their doubts, took great pride in their achievements, and bravely made of this land and this world a brighter, happier place for all mankind.

This is our choice. This is our decision. Let us all be greatly determined that this society shall survive and this society shall succeed—and what it should be, will be, for all time to come.

And as I return to my large room and my lonely desk in the White House to cope with the decisions that have come to that desk through the day from all countries of the world, and when I review the problems of our men in uniform and those on strike, when I see the farmer and the laborer seeking justice and believing that his Government will do what is right, my mind will wander back here to the little State of Rhode Island, far away from what was once the largest State in the Nation, where I was born. And I will remember 10 months ago when a terrible tragedy befell the people of this Nation and I was called upon, as best I could, with all of my limitations, to attempt to carry on. And I will think of Presidents Hoover in New York, and Mr. Truman in Independence, Mr. Eisenhower in Gettysburg, all of whom sent me their good wishes and their prayers, who told me that they were at the service of this Nation in this crisis. And I will remember how the butcher and the baker and the candlestick maker, the little children on the sidewalks, the folks sitting in the old folks home as I drove by, how they all gave me their hopes and their prayers, that somehow we might be able to carry on. But there is nothing I'll be more thankful for than the contribution of the people of this State, because in my moment of trial Congressman ST GERMAIN and Congressman FOGARTY, Senators PELL and JOHNNY PASTORE, all walking in the tradition of that great Democratic leader Senator Theodore Francis Green, they marched up by my side and said: "You have our talents and our energy and our prayers." And however long I may be permitted to continue in my work, I shall always feel deeply at the debt of this great university for the inspiration it has given me through the years, and for the little State of Rhode Island for the quality of the manhood it has produced.

Weapons Experts Show How More Power Can Mean Less Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an editorial appearing in the Washington Post on October 1. Entitled "Security Versus Power," it is, in effect, a book notice for an article whose subject alone should commend it to the attention of all Members.

The editorial follows:

SECURITY VERSUS POWER

A most seductive, expensive, and dangerous myth is demolished quite without mercy in the current Scientific American by Jerome B. Weisner and Herbert F. York, ranking weapons-science advisers in the Kennedy and Eisenhower administrations. The myth is that national security can be increased and improved by the development of large new missiles or bombs.

The two scientists, who are eminently qualified to judge the matter, draw a crucial distinction between military power and national security. Military power is enhanced, to be sure, by new and more powerful weapons. But national security is not. Among the reasons are the overwhelming advantage

which the offense has over the defense and the relative inefficiency and uselessness of large bombs compared to smaller ones Weisner and York conclude:

"Both sides in the arms race are thus confronted by the dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security. It is our considered professional judgment that this dilemma has no technical solution. If the great powers continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be to worsen the situation. The clearly predictable course of the arms race is a steady open spiral downward into oblivion."

On the basis of this analysis, the authors urge the conclusion of an unlimited nuclear test ban, including underground tests, and other steps toward disarmament. They have supplied a powerful and persuasive scientific rationale for these goals.

Tribute to Dr. Leonard Covello

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a distinguished American educator who has devoted over 50 years of his life to the needs of American youth was honored in New York City when Morris High School presented its fifth annual alumni award to Dr. Leonard Covello. The presentation, which was made on June 8, 1964, was awarded to Dr. Covello for outstanding and distinguished service in education and community affairs. In making the presentation, Mr. Oscar Aarons, trustee of the alumni fund, observed:

He [Dr. Covello] has given a lifetime of devotion and pioneering service to the task of guiding young people and adults in their search for higher horizons. He has worked—to welcome the stranger to our land and help him become one in dignity and self-respect with all Americans.

Tributes were extended to Dr. Covello and his educational work by Bronx Borough President Joseph F. Periconi; Dr. Alfred Marra, former director of medicine at St. Francis Hospital; and Joseph Monserrat, director of the migration division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Both Dr. Marra and Mr. Monserrat were former students of Dr. Covello and applauded the encouragement and direction he furnished hundreds of American boys in their quest for education and opportunity. Dr. Marra nostalgically noted that "Dr. Covello made us proud of our heritage, made us proud of the country from which our parents came. For it has always been his conviction that those who are proud of their heritage can become better citizens and can also enrich the American scene." In reviewing Dr. Covello's great contribution to the community and its youth, Mr. Monserrat called attention to "that opportunity to come to an affair to pay tribute to a man, when in fact the man pays tribute to the award, not the award to the man."

Dr. Covello, who is presently educational consultant to the Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, was a member of the graduating class of Morris High School in 1907. After service as a teacher in De Witt Clinton High School, he served for a generation as principal of Benjamin Franklin High School. His efforts in behalf of underprivileged and socially disadvantaged youth are nationally recognized, and he has received "the Italian Government award for distinguished service in education," and the annual ward given by the Puerto Rican Association for community affairs. The story of his long educational career is poignantly told in "The Heart Is the Teacher," a moving autobiography.

Dr. Paul Schweitzer, principal of Morris High School, noted to a large and distinguished audience that Dr. Covello's selection for the alumni award was a unanimous and enthusiastic one. When the committee of alumni and faculty members met some months ago with a long list of distinguished men and women who were graduates of Morris High School, all minds converged on Dr. Covello.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Dr. Covello's remarks be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTH ANNUAL MORRIS HIGH SCHOOL ALUMNI AWARD, JUNE 8, 1964

(Statement by Dr. Leonard Covello (Morris 1907), on receiving the fifth annual Morris High School Alumni Award)

Thank you very much, Mr. Aarons. I want to express my deep appreciation to the members of the alumni association who have conferred this very high honor on me. I shall treasure and cherish this award from the school that has meant so much to me.

May I accept this award not only as a tribute to me, but as a tribute to my colleagues and coworkers—teachers, parents, and last but not least, the students at De Witt Clinton and Benjamin Franklin whose cooperative efforts made possible whatever was achieved.

I want to thank all those who have spoken here today. They have been more than generous in their praise—overwhelmingly so.

Dr. Schweitzer, my dear friend and colleague, who has won the respect and affection not only of his teachers and students, but all those who have come to know him.

Hon. Joseph Periconi, Bronx Borough president, who with great energy and determination, has identified himself with the needs—particularly the educational needs of this Borough.

My two former students, Al Marra, De Witt 1922, and Joe Monserrat, Benjamin Franklin 1939. Dr. Marra has achieved great distinction in the field of medicine and until recently as director of medicine at the St. Francis Hospital in the Bronx. Mr. Monserrat, director of the Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, whose leadership has contributed much to the rapid and substantial progress of the Puerto Rican communities in our great city.

These are only two of the many outstanding boys who were my students at De Witt Clinton High School and the Benjamin Franklin High School who have attained important positions and are making significant contributions in their chosen fields.

I also want to thank the many friends, colleagues, and former students who are honoring me with their presence here today.

To the present students of Morris High School here in the audience, a special, warm greeting from a Morris High School graduate of the class of 1907.

I came to Morris High School in September 1902 from public schools 83, an all-boys school in East Harlem. There were five of us who often walked across the First Avenue bridge up Willis Avenue to Morris. Carfare in those days was only 5 cents, but by walking to school we could add this to our lunch money. This little group was the vanguard of boys of Italian ancestry, seeking an education beyond the elementary school and nursing the hope and great dream of a college education if family economic need did not become too demanding. Two decades later, as chairman of the Italian department at De Witt Clinton, I had the great satisfaction of close daily contact with hundreds of boys of Italian origin taking advantage of the educational facilities offered in our public schools. Many of these boys were immigrants themselves. With few exceptions they were children of immigrants—immigrant parents who had little or no schooling.

I shall always be grateful to the dedicated teachers at Morris who had so great an influence on my life.

Our principal, Dr. John Denbigh, who spoke to us directly and forcefully of our social and civic responsibilities.

My elocution teacher, Mr. Raymond Kellog, who coached me for the first public speech which I delivered in fear and trembling, from this very platform.

My German teacher, Miss Caroline Swartout, and my French teacher, Miss Emma Armand, whose teaching inspired me to choose languages as my major field.

My history teacher, Mr. Fred White, who wrote from Massachusetts to say he regretted that he could not be here today because of limitations of age. He is 93 years old.

Not only the public schools, but two other American institutions opened many doors to us. The American public library revealed a new world to us. A teacher in my elementary school, Miss Quigley, led me to the Aguilar branch of the public library in East Harlem, where I spent many hours, reading and studying. A few of us were permitted to use a room on the top floor of the library as a study room—which was indeed a refuge from the noise and turmoil of the East Harlem streets. It was some years later, at this same library, that I had my first teaching experience—teaching English to a group of Italian immigrants.

The settlement house also played an important part in the life of the immigrant children. Men and women concerned about the new peoples living in slums and ghettos, created settlement houses for civic, recreational, and cultural activities for children and youth of immigrant peoples. There was Gaylord White, who founded the Union Settlement. There was Anna C. Ruddy, who founded the "Home Garden", now known as the LaGuardia Memorial House. These centers were established in the 1890's in East Harlem and are still functioning today.

There was another personality that touched our lives. Norman Thomas, whose work as a pastor of the American Parish in the early part of this century, had an enduring influence on so many of the young people in East Harlem.

It was men and women of this caliber—teachers, social workers, religious leaders,

who revealed to many of us, the real heart of America.

May I relate an experience I had a few years ago. I was invited to a dinner sponsored by the "Clinton Junto," an organization of De Witt Clinton High School students who entered as freshmen in 1912 and graduated in 1916. They had invited me, their teacher of French, and Dr. Samuel Patterson, their teacher of English. There were about 60 men, all in their late fifties present at this dinner. In the course of my remarks, I asked how many of them were foreign born. About half raised their hands. Then I asked how many had parents that were foreign born. The rest raised their hands. I then turned to Dr. Patterson and asked, "Sam, what about you?" "Both my parents came as immigrants from North Ireland," has his reply. Here were 60 men immigrants and children of immigrants. They had attended our public schools, and many were graduates of our city colleges. All of these men had achieved success in their chosen careers and were making a contribution in various capacities to the life of our city.

As a pupil in our public schools and as a teacher for over 50 years, it is my conviction that the public schools and the teachers have exerted a significant and far-reaching influence on the children who have attended our public schools.

New York City has been and still is the city of migrations. Immigrants and migrants have come by countless thousands, to create a home for themselves and their children. These immigrants and migrants were the disinherited and exploited peoples of the world. They came from countries and lands where education—schooling, was for the privileged few. It was rare, if not impossible for a man to rise above the station in which he was born. I went to school as a boy in a small mountain town in the heart of the Appennines in southern Italy. We could only look forward to a few years of schooling. There was no possibility whatsoever for higher education or for a profession.

It was the New York City public schools that opened wide the doors of opportunity and encouraged many of us—immigrant children—to aspire far beyond our station in life and to achieve far beyond our greatest expectations. And this same opportunity is open to every boy and girl in our public schools today.

And now, in closing, a special message for you, the students of Morris High School. It is here in Morris High School, your school, where you, as students, are charting your course for your life work. If you have the will to work and the will to achieve, nothing is impossible to you. At some future time, you will realize how much you owe to Morris and to the teachers who helped and guided you.

Life, to a great extent, is lived day by day. The important thing is to meet each day without fear and with the feeling that you can overcome any obstacle that faces you. This is expressed very beautifully in a poem written by an unknown poet centuries ago, in Sanskrit which was the ancient language of the Hindus of India. I want to offer it to you as a concluding thought.

"Look to this day! For it is life—
For yesterday is but a dream,
And tomorrow is only a vision.
But today well lived—
But today well lived
Makes every yesterday
A dream of happiness
And every tomorrow
A vision of hope.
Look well, therefore, to this day!"

The Activities of the House Small Business Committee, 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, during the 88th Congress the House Small Business Committee undertook and completed a rather heavy schedule of studies and investigations regarding various problems facing the 4½ million small business concerns operating in our country at this time.

All members of the committee, representing both sides of the aisle, participated in these studies and worked diligently and conscientiously to find the best possible solutions to the various matters receiving attention by the committee. Without the full cooperation of all of the members the achievements and accomplishments of the committee would not have been possible. Accordingly, I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for their efforts and their cooperation.

Recently, Mr. Speaker, I forwarded to you a letter in which I reported upon the work of our committee during this Congress. Since all Members of the House are interested in small business problems and the work of this committee, with your permission, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this communication be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The chairman's progress letter to Speaker MCCORMACK follows:

SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., October 1, 1964.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
The Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: As the 88th Congress approaches adjournment, I wanted to submit to you this brief summary of the work carried out by the House Small Business Committee during the 2 years comprising this Congress.

As you will recall, upon adoption by the House of the resolution creating the committee, it was your desire that the following Members serve thereon: Representatives JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman; WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas; ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Democrat, of New York; TOM STEED, Democrat, of Oklahoma; JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California; JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, Democrat, of Illinois; JOHN D. DINGELL, Democrat, of Michigan; WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio; ARCH A. MOORE, JR., Republican, of West Virginia; WILLIAM H. AVERY, Republican, of Kansas; H. ALLEN SMITH, Republican, of California; HOWARD W. ROBISON, Republican, of New York; and RALPH HARVEY, Republican, of Indiana.

The resolution authorized the committee, among other things, to investigate problems of small business enterprises generally and to obtain all facts possible in relation thereto which would be of public interest and which would aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Pursuant to appointment of this committee and the adoption of the resolution by the House our committee set forth on an active and vigorous program during the 88th Congress.

ASSISTANCE TO MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE

Perhaps one of the more important aspects of the work carried on by the House Small Business Committee consists of the assistance the committee provides Members of the House seeking to help their small business constituents. The committee and its professional staff performed a considerable volume of this "casework" for Members who sought such assistance. The problems presented usually required the staff to contact various governmental agencies and frequently entailed independent legal research in order to provide satisfactory answers to the Members and their small business constituents.

In accordance with the well-established policy of the committee, all such requests of Members of the House received priority consideration.

FULL COMMITTEE HEARINGS

1. During the early days of the 88th Congress, groups of small business retailers were stunned by an advisory opinion of the Federal Trade Commission announcing that the placing of joint advertisements, featuring prices of the articles offered for sale by the cooperating stores, would be illegal. Immediately following that ruling the House Small Business Committee held public hearings which "cleared the air" and which, in effect, brought about a reversal of this decision of the Commission.

The practice in question consisted of an arrangement applied in various communities or States wherein independently owned local small business grocers, druggists, hardware stores, or others, would place joint advertisements in behalf of all of the members of the group. In this way, and only in this way, could the independent retailers gain the benefits that flow automatically from the use of newspaper display advertisements. Without such advertising, the small businesses could not hope to compete against the large chain organizations operating in the same market.

Testimony delivered by the committee from the Chairman of the FTC and from the Attorney General, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, provided assurances that small retailers need not abandon their joint advertising programs; that groups of them could continue to purchase joint display space in newspapers as before and thus carry forward their efforts to stay in business.

The hearings and the report entitled "FTC Advisory Opinion on Joint Ads" (H. Rept. 699) received widespread acclaim from the newspapers and small business retailers who benefited from the hearings. The committee's proceedings were characterized as an example of a congressional committee acting promptly, boldly, and without hesitation to provide constructive and affirmative help to small business at the exact time when such help was needed.

2. The full committee held extensive hearings on small business and foreign trade. In these hearings the committee documented more than 400 pages of testimony from Government agencies, trade associations, export firms, and small business concerns pertaining to foreign trade opportunities for small business. Testimony was received regarding the implementation of the Trade Expansion

Act of 1962, with special attention given to those portions of the act relating to adjustment assistance for firms damaged as a result of trade concessions.

It is felt that the printed record of these foreign trade hearings contains the most complete documentation of information relative to small business opportunities in foreign trade that is now available. An announcement that appeared in a Kiplinger Letter about the hearings resulted in hundreds of extra requests for copies of the printed hearings being received, which exhausted the commttee's supply.

The late President John F. Kennedy complimented the committee and wrote to the chairman that the hearings should "act as both a guide and spur to small businessmen considering ventures into foreign markets and to Government officials responsible for assisting them."

3. Our committee has held rather comprehensive hearings on the organization and operation of the Small Business Administration.

As an appendix to the printed record of these hearings, a tabulation was added showing the number of loans and their amounts granted by the SBA to small business concerns located in each congressional district of all States.

The committee is presently in the process of completing its report based on these hearings.

4. During March 1964, the full committee held public hearings on the Implementation of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 for the purpose of ascertaining the extent to which small business is being assisted by this program.

During the course of these hearings, the committee heard testimony from representatives of small business investment companies with diversified types of operations located in various sections of the United States. The Honorable Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and the new Deputy Administrator for the Investment Division, Richard E. Kelley, presented a complete report of that agency's investment program.

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS

Immediately after the committee was organized during the early days of the 88th Congress, a number of subcommittees were created and it has developed that a major portion of the work carried on by the committee has been handled by these subcommittees.

The chairman of the full committee as well as the ranking minority member, Representative WILLIAM E. MCCULLOCH, serve as ex officio members of each of the subcommittees.

Subcommittee No. 1: Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas serves as chairman of this subcommittee. Its jurisdiction includes the tax-exempt foundations and their impact on small business. Other Members serving on this subcommittee include Representatives JOE L. EVINS, JAMES ROOSEVELT, WILLIAM H. AVERY, and RALPH HARVEY.

The subcommittee's study of the impact of 534 tax-exempt foundations on small business included an investigation of their income and the sources of that income; their expenditures and the purposes for which made, together with stock manipulations and intercorporate dealings. These inquiries were necessary to learn whether the operations of the foundations are charitable and not mercenary.

The subcommittee is developing information regarding the use of foundations to achieve corporate control, to secure special favors, and to utilize their economic power to create unfair competitive conditions.

The study covers the extent to which large corporations are using foundations to evade taxes, however legally.

It is noteworthy that the 534 foundations under study by the committee had accumulated (unspent) income of $906 million at the close of 1960, as against $271 million at the close of 1951.

The first report of the subcommittee chairman was submitted in the 87th Congress. The second report, submitted during October 1963, deals with the commercial activities of certain foundations which appear to defeat the intent and purpose of tax exemption. It also brings to light the fact that the use of foundations as business devices and for tax avoidance, in the subcommittee chairman's view, has become a major economic evil which has too long been tolerated and must now be terminated.

In response to the great demand for reprints of the first two reports, 5,000 additional copies of each were published.

During March 1964, a third report of the subcommittee chairman was issued. It constitutes a detailed analysis of the Alfred I. du Pont estate, including its affiliate, the Nemours Foundation of Jacksonville, Fla. This report, among other things, describes the adverse effects that this and similar foundations exert upon the tax base.

The subcommittee held public hearings in July, August, and September, 1964.

Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, in testifying, acknowledged the desirability of the Congress and the administration reexamining those areas where tax exemption and tax deductions are provided.

The Secretary also stated that the Treasury does not know the number of foundations that may be in existence and that the House Small Business Committee's studies have been of great value to the Department of the Treasury. For example, Secretary Dillon acknowledged that the self-dealing exposed in our subcommittee's studies was very illuminating and certainly required legislative reforms. Moreover, he indicated that, as a result of our studies, the Treasury was now attempting to tabulate the number of foundations.

Former Commissioner of Internal Revenue Mortimer Caplin outlined to the subcommittee the measures his agency had taken to bring about compliance with the tax laws by exempt organizations and suggested that consideration be given to imposing some limitation upon the life or the capital of the foundations.

Manuel F. Cohen, Chairman-designate of the Securities and Exchange Commission, testified concerning the relationship of the SEC to tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts. Mr. Cohen stated that, prior to the issuance of our studies, the SEC had been unaware of the abuses in stock market trading by certain foundations.

Acting Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, Bertrand M. Harding was asked about the commercial and other activities of certain foundations which defeat the intent and purpose of the tax-exemption statutes. During his testimony, the fact that foundations are used as devices for tax avoidance was highlighted.

Subcommittee No. 2: Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER, Democrat, of New York, is chairman of Subcommittee No. 2 which was assigned the duty of considering problems of small business and Government procurement. Other members of this subcommittee include: Representatives TOM STEED, JAMES ROOSEVELT, H. ALLEN SMITH, and HOWARD W. ROBISON.

The staff of the subcommittee surveyed Government agencies and prime contractors in the West Coast area to determine the effectiveness of the small business subcontracting program authorized by Public Law 87-305 (subsec. 8(d)(1), Small Business Act). The staff conferred with the commanding general, U.S. Air Force Western Contract Management Region, Mira Loma Air Force Station, Calif., who is charged with the responsibility of managing Air Force contracts awarded prime contractors in that area.

Conferences were also held with responsible officials of the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Burbank, Calif.; Hughes Aircraft Co., Culver City, Calif.; and North American Aviation, Inc., El Segundo, Calif. Their small business subcontracting practices and procedures were examined and reviewed to determine their effectiveness.

Public hearings were held in Washington, D.C., on November 12, 1963, during which testimony was received from representatives of the three military departments as well as the Defense Supply Agency. Hearings also were held on November 13 and 14, 1963, at which time testimony was presented by representatives of Federal Communications Commission, Communications Satellite Corp., Atomic Energy Commission, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, General Services Administration, Agency for International Development, Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Commerce, and Department of the Interior.

At hearings held during June and July 1964, representatives of private industry testified regarding procurement practices of Government agencies and their effect upon small business. The subcommittee concluded its inquiry with a final hearing on August 12, 1964, when the Deputy Administrator of SBA testified.

The subcommittee protested a General Services Administration gasoline procurement in which only large refiners were able to participate. This plan was subsequently abandoned and the agency was thereupon urged by the subcommittee chairman to review its procurement procedures in other industries to remove any restrictions which might prevent small business from receiving a fair share.

The subcommittee and its professional staff handled a considerable volume of complaints respecting instances of procurement practices believed to be inimical to small business. In each instance the subcommittee investigated the matter to determine the validity of the objections.

Subcommittee No. 3: Representative TOM STEED, Democrat, of Oklahoma, is chairman of Subcommittee No. 3. Other members serving on this subcommittee are: Representatives ABRAHAM J. MULTER, JOHN DINGELL, ARCH A. MOORE, JR., and HOWARD W. ROBISON.

The matters referred to this subcommittee for study and investigation related primarily to the impact of taxation upon the small business sector of the economy.

This subcommittee and the members of the full committee cooperated with the Ways and Means Committee and worked diligently for the enactment of the $11.5 billion tax reduction bill enacted into law this year. This subcommittee has for a number of years studied the impact of taxation upon small business and repeatedly made recommendations for tax reduction for small business. This subcommittee assisted materially in developing facts and sentiments in support of the passage of this measure. Passage of the tax reduction legislation has been received with gratification by American small businesses.

Another area of study assigned to this subcommittee was the investigation of the effects of imports of foreign crude oil upon the domestic petroleum industry. During the preceding Congress, the subcommittee held extensive hearings and issued its report. Since then, certain interpretations of the

controlling regulations have been made which have altered somewhat the quota system formerly in effect. In addition, responsibility for administering the petroleum import program has been transferred from the Presidetn to the Secretary of the Interior.

The staff of the subcommittee, from time to time, has observed and considered the effects upon small business of the Presidential Proclamation 3541, of June 10, 1963, adjusting imports of petroleum products other than residual fuel oil.

Subcommittee No. 4: Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat of California, is chairman of Subcommittee No. 4 which studies and investigates distribution problems affecting small business. Other members of the subcommittee are: Representatives TOM STEED, JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, ARCH A. MOORE, JR., and WILLIAM H. AVERY.

The subcommittee has developed information indicating there is an increasing tendency for manufacturers to take over the functions previously carried on by small businessmen in the several levels of distribution and fabrication. A growing number of firms throughout the economy appear to be supplying their customers and also competing with them. This competition by large, integrated firms, has, in many cases, been highly detrimental to independent businesses.

On the basis of this preliminary study, the subcommittee proceeded to make a thorough investigation of "The Impact Upon Small Business of Dual Distribution and Related Vertical Integration." Commencing on May 8, 1963, 29 public hearings were held over a period of 8 months. Altogether, 8 printed volumes of the record of these comprehensive hearings were compiled, covering dual distribution and related problems in 46 different industries. A total of 176 witnesses participated, and testimony was received from representatives of 43 trade associations.

At present, a proposed report is in the hands of the members of the subcommittee for review and consideration.

On January 24, 1964, the subcommittee held a hearing in Baltimore regarding small business problems stemming from the vast changes which many metropolitan shopping areas are experiencing. Urban renewal, new highways, the exodus to suburbia, and "neighborhood blight" are prime factors in this complex of problems threatening to destroy small business concerns operating in the older existing neighborhood shopping areas.

A similar hearing is scheduled to be held in Los Angeles on November 23 and 24.

The subcommittee held hearings on August 31, September 1 and 2, 1964, regarding the impact upon small business of U.S. softwood lumber standards.

Testimony was received from Representatives GEORGE F. SENNER, JR., of Arizona; EDITH GREEN, of Oregon; COMPTON I. WHITE, JR., of Idaho; and ARNOLD OLSEN, of Montana; as well as from officials of the Department of Commerce, spokesmen for the American Lumber Standards Committee, industry trade associations, and a number of representatives of small business interests.

Since the hearing, the Department of Commerce has announced its intention to reconstitute the American Lumber Standards Committee to make it more broadly representative of the entire lumber industry. Under the Department proposal, small businesses and independent firms would have far more representation than is true on the present committee.

On April 20 of this year, the Supreme Court of the United States in a precedent-shattering decision ruled, in the case of *Simpson* v. *Union Oil Company of California*, that consignment sales of gasoline may not be used as a means to control small business operators of service stations. The Court in its decision quoted at length from hearings held by Subcommittee No. 4 during the 85th Congress. Subsequently, inquiry was made by the chairman of the subcommittee concerning the effect of this decision on the west coast petroleum consent decree, which appears to specifically permit the consignment form of distribution. The Assistant Attorney General in charge of Antitrust informed the subcommittee that it was the position of the Antitrust Division that those firms operating under the provisions of the West Coast consent decree must conform with the decision in the Simpson case. A hearing is scheduled to be held by the subcommittee in Los Angeles on November 20 and 21 to determine the extent to which these companies are complying with the principles articulated by the Court.

As a result of the expression of more than 20 Members of the House, including the Speaker, and 20 Members of the Senate, this subcommittee has scheduled plans for hearings with respect to the methods of distributing automobile parts and dealer relationships by the Chrysler Corp. Conferences with officials of the corporation, small business, and other persons interested are now in process on this current issue affecting small business in the automobile industry.

SMALL BUSINESS SEMINARS, ADDITIONAL FIELD WORK, INVESTIGATIONS AND CONFERENCES

1. Pursuant to a request of some of the members of the committee, Government-industry seminars for small businessmen of the Indiana-Ohio area were held in April and again in September 1963. The program featured prominent Government and industry leaders expert in the fields of (1) development of foreign markets; (2) Government procurement; (3) Federal financial assistance to industry; and (4) market research. Approximately 115 businessmen were present and they praised the House Small Business Committee for its service and assistance.

2. In an endeavor to be of optimum assistance to small businesses located in the Appalachian area, Representatives in Congress from that region were invited by the chairman of the Small Business Committee to attend a briefing session on April 26, 1963, in the chairman's office. At this meeting, John Horne, then Administrator of the SBA, explained and discussed the various SBA programs which are available, as well as those of the Area Redevelopment Administration. Members of the House or staff who attended represented nine congressional districts in the States of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

3. In order to develop firsthand information regarding the manner in which the Small Business Administration conducts its disaster program, a member of the committee's staff visited the various SBA offices in the Ohio River Valley during March 1964. The places visited included Pittsburgh, Pa., Marietta and Cincinnati, Ohio; Covington and Louisville, Ky., as well as the areas adjacent to each.

4. At the instance and under the direction of the chairman of the full committee, the staff conducted preliminary studies and inquiries into certain problems of small business inventors and patentees. The matter of the lack of protection for small business inventors during the "patent pending" period is the area to which the staff particularly addressed itself.

5. The staff report on "Mergers and Superconcentration," which was issued during the 87th Congress, is being brought up to date by developing additional information regarding the acquisition of small business firms by large industrial and merchandising concerns.

6. The committee undertook to bring up to date an important House document entitled "Congress and the Monopoly Problem: 56 Years of Antitrust Development, 1900–56." Upon completion of this revision the report will include all antitrust legislation developments up to and including action taken by the 88th Congress. This report is being prepared in cooperation with the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

7. In response to demands for a complete cataloging of all of the committee's hearings and reports issued since the creation of the committee in 1941, an indexed compilation of these publications was prepared, printed, and widely distributed to Members of Congress, libraries, and small business firms throughout the United States.

8. The committee's staff at this time is developing preliminary information regarding small business problems associated with the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended.

9. During the remaining months of the 88th Congress, the committee and its professional staff stand ready at all times to supply any assistance desired by any Member of the House in connection with small business problems confronting their constituents, and American small business.

CONCLUSION

A final report describing in detail the studies, investigations, hearings, and work of the committee during this Congress will be prepared, and following full committee action and approval, will be transmitted to the Speaker and the Clerk of the House of Representatives prior to expiration of this session of the Congress.

As indicated above, however, I wanted to provide you, Mr. Speaker, with this report concerning the work performed by our committee on behalf of small business during the past 2 years.

With highest esteem, kindest regards, and best wishes, I am

Sincerely your friend.

JOE L. EVINS,
Member of Congress,
Chairman.

The Honorable Lester Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GAYLORD NELSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, in March LESTER JOHNSON, the fine Wisconsin Congressman, announced his retirement. I want to take this occasion at the end of the session to say a few words of well-deserved praise.

Since winning a special congressional election in 1953, LESTER JOHNSON has represented the people of the old Ninth District with great distinction.

As chairman of the Dairy Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee he has demonstrated an enlightened understanding of the problems facing the dairy industry.

He was a leader in the fight to defend the Rural Electrification Administration from continuous, unfounded attacks by the private power interests.

Conservation legislation is very close to LESTER JOHNSON's heart. His imaginative support for wetlands preservation and his fight for passage this session of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in Wisconsin have earned him the gratitude not only of the people of his district

and of Wisconsin, but of all those in the Nation who value the heritage of the land.

As a Democrat I am particularly proud of LESTER JOHNSON. He was the first Democrat elected to Congress from his district and one of the first Democrats to gain office in the resurgence which our party has enjoyed in Wisconsin in the last dozen years. No small part of that resurgence is due to the efforts and excellence of LESTER JOHNSON.

I want to wish him and his wife, Marjorie, all of the best.

National Urban League Deplores State of U.S. Health Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a recent report of the National Urban League pointed up once again the disgraceful state of health care in the United States. Although our level of prosperity is presently at an all-time high, in many sections of the country there are drastic shortages of qualified doctors and inadequate health facilities. Many community hospitals pay low salaries to their employees, although numerous individuals cannot afford the high cost even of this inferior care. Certain groups in society however, particularly the Negro, have suffered much more than others in being denied adequate medical care. As equal citizens of this country, these people have a right to improvement of conditions which breed only more sickness and squalor. This society can maintain its vitality only if all its citizens are reared in a healthy environment. In order that the findings and recommendations of this urban league report be made available to all, I ask unanimous consent that the following article from the August 4 edition of the Bergen Record, be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALTH CARE IN U.S. CALLED A DISGRACE: NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE REPORT NOTES PLIGHT OF NEGROES ESPECIALLY

LOUISVILLE.—Disgraceful health care for all Americans, particularly Negroes, and substandard wages paid by community hospitals were emphasized today in a study by the National Urban League.

In a preface, the report said, "The health care received by the American people, in general, leaves much to be desired. Among Negro citizens, it is a national disgrace, a tragic waste of human beings and life, all the more deplorable because it is preventable."

MORTALITY

The report also said, "Community hospitals justifiably boast of the amount of their vital public service made possible by voluntary contributions of well-to-do citizens. They neglect to mention, however, that an even greater amount of their public service is made possible by the substandard wages they pay—a compulsory contribution from their workers, the group least able to be philanthropic."

In a comparison between health of Negroes and whites, the pamphlet said that infant mortality, considered a good indicator of the health of a community, is twice as high among Negroes as among whites. According to the report, one-half of all dental visits by Negroes are for tooth extractions, as opposed to one-sixth for whites.

Low incomes, inadequate education, and poor living conditions, the league said, continue to sap the health of the poor of both races.

Few Negroes are covered by health insurance plans. The report said that only 42 percent of the Negroes entering hospitals for short stays were covered by any insurance, while 71 percent of the whites were covered.

The report said that for every 3,700 Negro citizens there is one Negro medical doctor, while there is one white doctor for every 640 white citizens.

Inferior elementary school education for Negroes, high costs of medical schools, lack of Negro families with a tradition of educating sons for medicine, and the rise of science as a more glamorous career than medicine were cited by the league as reasons for the small number of Negro doctors.

The report said that despite the virtual disappearance of discrimination in medical schools and the dropping of racial bars to employment in hospitals, the number of Negroes in professional and supervisory positions in hospitals is conspicuously small.

For improved medical care the league study recommended immediate desegregation of hospitals and the withholding of Federal funds from institutions which do not comply; health insurance for the aged under social security; development of fiscally and socially sound system to provide everyone with basic medical care benefits; and encouragement of more health insurance plans.

The League also recommended massive Federal and State aid to public schools with desegregation of lower schools, colleges, and technical and professional institutes; coverage of all hospital and other health care workers under the Federal minimum wage law; and the promotion of sound unionism for hospitals.

Midwestern Rural Leaders Speak Out on Issues Affecting Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on September 24 and 25, nearly 500 members of rural electric cooperatives in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois met at Eau Claire, Wis., for the regional meeting of their national service organization, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. At that meeting, these representatives of a significant portion of the rural populations of three Midwestern States passed a series of resolutions on matters of vital importance to the rural electrification program, which has brought so many benefits to rural America.

One of those resolutions expressed strong support for the bill I introduced in the 88th Congress to specifically exempt nonprofit rural electric cooperatives from the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission. As I pointed out at hearings held on July 22 and 23, 1964, on the Senate version of this legislation, such FPC jurisdiction is unnecessary, unjustified, and would result in duplicating the work of another Federal agency, the Rural Electrification Administration.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD that resolution and other significant resolutions passed by these rural leaders at NRECA's region 5 meeting:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION'S REGIONAL 5 MEETING, EAU CLAIRE, WIS., SEPTEMBER 24–25, 1964

PREAMBLE

The rural power systems have contributed significantly to the progress of the Nation. With a watchful, but temperate, attitude toward the present massive program of caustic criticism, originating from self-centered personal interests, or negligent lack of knowledge of the facts, we, as a respectable, essential, "100 percent first-class American" part of the national electric industry, will continue to discharge our proper responsibility in a manner commensurate with the "new dimensions" of rural power. We are not dismayed or coerced by distortions of fact, massive expenditures, or irresponsible propaganda, from any person or organization. The millions of people who own and operate the rural electric industry and are served by it, shall move ahead on the princple of "simple fair play."

FPC JURISDICTION

Whereas the Federal Power Commission in docket E–7113, has issued show cause orders to three nonprofit, rural electric systems for the purpose of determining the jurisdictional status of said systems, "and those similarly situated," before said Commission; and

Whereas these three rural electric systems, and the 400 systems which have intervened in FPC docket E–7113, have already expended over $100,000 in defending themselves against FPC jurisdiction, without allowance for the cost of further proceedings before FPC, and judicial appeals therefrom, estimated to cost in excess of $300,000; and

Whereas the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 was enacted subsequent to the Federal Power Act of 1935 and conferred on the REA Administrator complete authority to exercise Federal regulation and control over the electric systems which it empowered him to finance; and

Whereas the exercise of FPC jurisdiction over nonprofit rural electric systems does not serve the public interest, is unnecessary because of the identity of consumer and owner in such systems, duplicates, and is in conflict with the powers and duties delegated by Congress to the REA Administrator, and is beyond the authority conferred on the Federal Power Commission under the Federal Power Act of 1935 as amended; and

Whereas prior to 1963, the Federal Power Commission had never asserted or exercised general jurisdiction over REA-financed electric systems, nor had the Commission ever been petitioned to assert or exercise such jurisdiction; and

Whereas legislation (S. 2028 and H.R. 8023 and H.R. 8068) has been introduced in both Houses of the 88th Congress which would, by granting nonprofit cooperative electric systems an express statutory exemption from FPC control, resolve any questions as to the jurisdictional status of such systems and

clarify what we believe to be their already exempt status: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to promptly enact legislation such as S. 2028, H.R. 8023 and H.R. 8058 to exempt from FPC jurisdiction nonprofit rural electric systems; and be it further

Resolved, That the NRECA General Manager is requested to cooperate with all other groups and organizations interested in securing enactment of the above-mentioned legislation or similar legislation; and be it further

Resolved, That we commend and express our appreciation to the Dairyland Power Cooperative, the Minnkota Power Cooperative and the South Central Rural Electric Cooperative for defending FPC docket E–7113, and we renew our pledge of support for their effort in said docket.

GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION LOANS

Whereas the ability of rural electric systems to fulfill their responsibilities is directly dependent on their ability to obtain dependable low-cost wholesale energy; and

Whereas in the face of dual rates, escalator clauses and opposition from commercial power companies, the availability of G. & T. loans from REA is the only means many systems have to secure a dependable and adequate supply of low-cost energy; and

Whereas the authority of REA to approve G. & T. loans and the opportunity of consumer-owned rural electric systems to borrow funds from REA for the construction of G. & T. systems constitutes a yardstick against which to measure the rates and standards of service provided by wholesale power suppliers and helps to assure reasonable wholesale power costs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the Congress of the United States to insure an effective G. & T. loan program by appropriating adequate REA loan funds to meet the needs of rural America for electric power.

REA LOAN FUNDS AND LOAN TERMS

Whereas successful rural electrification could not have been accomplished without the steadfast support of the Congress in making adequate loan funds available at the 2-percent-interest rate for 35 years, and such loan terms tend to compensate for the high investment, low density, and other inherent disadvantages of rural service; and

Whereas, 2-percent, 35-year loans are absolutely essential to the success of the G. & T. program and to the security of the REA loans outstanding; and

Whereas, it is our conviction that continued support of Congress and the present loan terms are absolutely vital to our ability to continue the very difficult task of serving rural America, and to achieving parity of rural rates with those for urban service; and

Whereas we note with concern a growing acceptance in some quarters of the erroneous belief that rural electrics could and should pay higher interest rates, accept shorter maturity on loans, and accept other new handicaps and burdens: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we reaffirm our longstanding support of the present REA loan terms, and we urge that no change be made in them.

LEGISLATION BY APPROPRIATION

Whereas the Appropriations Committees of the Congress have demonstrated an increasing propensity to write restrictive language on REA into reports, and these reports have the practical effect of legislation; and

Whereas these restrictions have materially reduced the effectiveness of the G–T loans program as a power supply bargaining instrument, the ultimate effect of which is higher power cost for rural people, and have diminished the authority of the REA Administrator in other respects: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we respectfully petition the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to not further restrict the REA Administrator in the discharge of his duties and to remove such restrictions as have already been imposed.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE ACT

Whereas legislation was introduced in both Houses of the 88th Congress to amend the Administrative Procedure Act; and

Whereas some of the proposed changes in this law would impose the burden of public hearings on the REA Administrator in any rulemaking of general applicability, and would open to judicial review all final decisions of the Administrator, thereby impairing the operation of the Rural Electrification Administration and the economic security of the rural electric program; and

Whereas rural electric loans do not directly and substantially affect the general public, but only the cooperatives themselves: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we oppose any change in the law which would open REA rulemaking procedures to public hearings; which would fail to continue the existing exemption for confidential information filed at REA; or which would open to judicial review decisions of the REA Administrator; and be it further

Resolved, That we oppose any attempt to burden the REA Administrator with unnecessary and expensive formal administrative proceedings such as those proposed.

INTERCONNECTION OF FEDERAL POWER PROJECTS-COMMON CARRIER

Whereas interconnection of Federal power systems would result in economies to the Government, its wholesale customers and private power companies; and

Whereas certain Federal interregional tielines and studies of such tielines have been authorized by Congress and are being undertaken by the Department of the Interior; and

Whereas early completion of all such planned Federal tielines and tieline studies will lead to substantial economies of Federal power system operation, improve system feasibility, and provide additional firm salable Federal power: Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That we favor the construction of extra high voltage Federal interties, and power-pooling agreements between all Federal power marketing systems, and we oppose the imposition of power company discriminatory charges between these systems; be it further

Resolved, That we favor application of common carrier principles to all extra high voltage interregional transmission facilities, Federal, and non-Federal, to the end that the capacity of such facilities shall be available on equitable terms to all segments of the electric power industry.

POWER POOLING

Whereas it is in the public interest that all major sources of electric power generation and all major electric load centers be interconnected on a nationwide basis: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we advocate the concept of a nationally integrated power pool and the use of the economies inherent in such a pool to benefit all users of electricity through lower wholesale and retail rates, provided that the identity and integrity of all participants in such a national power pool are protected.

PREFERENCE CLAUSE

Whereas renewed attempts are being made to destroy the principle that the benefits from the investment of the people's money in Federal multiple-purpose resource development should belong to the people: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President, appropriate Cabinet members and heads of agencies, and the Congress be urged to oppose strongly all schemes that would subvert the public interest through breaching and weakening the preference clause.

POWER COMPANY WINDFALLS

Whereas the power companies' own reports to FPC show that many have overcharged consumers billions of dollars over and above a fair rate of return in recent years; and

Whereas the tax windfalls from accelerated depreciation and amortization and income tax reductions have created a gigantic power company bonanza at public expense; and

Whereas judgments and settlements of antitrust suits against manufacturers for price rigging will apparently mean millions of additional dollars to the companies; and

Whereas rural electrics buy wholesale power in very large quantities from power companies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend those companies which have passed on to consumers, in the form of lowered rates, the benefits derived from lessened Federal tax liability, and urge regulatory commissions to require all such tax benefits to be reflected in lower rates to consumers: Be it further

Resolved, That all recoveries achieved by power companies under the above mentioned antitrust actions be utilized in a manner to benefit wholesale and retail consumers:

NRECA-AID PROGRAM

Whereas the NRECA-aid nonprofit contract calls upon the rural electric systems, through NRECA to provide technical services, counsel, and other support in the development of cooperative rural electrification, rural industries, and communty facilities in the developing countries of the world as they request it: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend those who have participated from the various systems, and the staff of NRECA which has guided this program, and in less than 2 years have laid the groundwork for the establishment of rural electric cooperatives in 14 underdeveloped countries of the world. We urge a continued strong effort to help the developing countries have rural electric cooperatives, to help keep peace in the world.

ADMINISTRATION OF REA

Whereas Administrator Norman Clapp and his staff have demonstrated a desire and a capability translated into positive action for making REA an effective instrument in promoting and furthering rural electrification: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend Mr. Clapp and his staff and express our appreciation for their assistance in the continued improvement in and progress of our program.

APPRECIATION TO NRECA

Whereas NRECA General Manager Clyde T. Ellis and the staff have demonstrated unusual effectiveness and loyalty and have exerted vigorous leadership over the years in furthering the development of rural electrification; and

Whereas the NRECA General Manager has steadfastly upheld the position of this association during periods of both adversity and accomplishment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend and express appreciation to Mr. Ellis and the staff for their efforts on our behalf.

Six Years of Unprecedented Achievement—The Greatest Progress in Alaskan History

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me summarizing Alaska's progress since becoming a State.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Engraved on the statues at the entrance of our National Archives are two phrases: "What Is Past Is Prolog," and "Study the Past." Nearly 6 years as a State have brought to Alaska tangible results impossible during 92 years as a territory. Neglected, her principal resource, the fisheries—depleted by absentee interest and Federal mismanagement—Alaska, in 1959, entered the Union politically equal to her sister States, but starved economically and virtually undeveloped.

The years since statehood have been important. At the Federal level, the work of Alaska's Senators, my distinguished friend and colleague, Mr. BARTLETT, and myself, aided by Representative RALPH RIVERS in the House of Representatives, often has necessitated correcting the exigencies which accumulated for nearly a century.

Alaska's congressional delegation has spent much of its time in the effort to make existing and proposed Federal programs suitable for Alaska's unique needs. Highways, for example, are scarce in an area one-fifth the size of the contiguous 48 States since Alaska, for nearly all of its territorial existence, was excluded from the Federal Government's highway development programs which have so successfully tied together the communities of the lower 48 States. Alaska, of necessity, turned to the highways of the sky, and today proudly wears the title of "the flyingest State." Roads gradually are being built, and the State is participating in most aspects of the Federal-Aid Highway Act.

This fall a report prepared cooperatively by the Federal Bureau of Public Roads and the State of Alaska, containing a highway program for Alaska and recommendations to improve existing road links with Canada or build new roads, will be made public. The study has been made following congressional approval by the 87th Congress of my Senate Joint Resolution 137, now a part of the Federal-Aid Highway Act. The legislation authorized the appropriation of $800,000 and subsequently $400,000 for the study by Wilbur Smith & Associates, consulting engineers, of New Haven, Conn., and Transportation Consultants, Inc., of Washington, D.C., was appropriated.

The 88th Congress has written an encouraging prolog to the great society, and Alaska has cause to be grateful to this Congress which so promptly and—in the end, generously—came to its side in time of disaster, demonstrating the remarkable unity of our 50 States.

President Johnson has expressed his determination "to do what needs to be done to meet the needs of this great State." The President has no doubts about Alaska's future. On October 3 he said, "Our last great land frontier will grow and prosper far beyond past expectations or present hopes."

The 88th Congress has given to all of the States a record of achievement during 21 months which also included a terrible and senseless man-made tragedy and a terrible natural disaster in Alaska.

The assassin's bullet which killed President John Fitzgerald Kennedy on November 22, 1964, and stunned all of us and citizens of other nations did let the rest of the world learn that our democratic system of government is stable and must never be misjudged by friend or foe. That terrible act evoked a nationwide citizen response which confirmed John Kennedy's own belief expressed in Anchorage, Alaska, on September 3, 1960, when he said:

"The untapped energies of the American people which are more powerful than the atom itself must once again be committed to great national objectives."

In Alaska that day, John Kennedy had described the Alaska of the future he envisioned.

It would be a State with a rampart dam electrifying a giant grid "stretching all the way from Juneau to Anchorage and beyond" and its land would be the storehouse of minerals and lumber and fish and waterpower and all the things that make life abundant "for those of us who live in this great Republic."

When President Lyndon B. Johnson addressed the Congress on November 27, 1963, he asked for its help in translating into effective action the ideas and ideals John Kennedy so nobly represented.

President Johnson called for congressional action in the fields of civil rights, tax reduction, education, employment opportunities, foreign aid, and expenditures.

Much has been written of the accomplishments to date of the 88th Congress, for they include the most far-reaching civil rights bill ever written, the largest and most carefully calculated tax reduction in history, approval of the nuclear test ban treaty, antipoverty legislation, and education and conservation legislation of historic import.

These progressive measures were enacted into public law because men of courage and wisdom in the three branches of our Federal Government supported them. The Civil Rights Act passed the Senate after a lengthy filibuster. Cloture was voted, but not until opponents had been given a reasonable length of time—83 days—in which to be heard.

The 88th Congress and President Johnson responded promptly when the severest earthquake ever recorded on the Richter scale struck south central Alaska. The area stricken extended 1,500 miles from east to west and 300 miles from north to south. Scores of after-shocks and seismic waves of incredible force followed the initial quake. By midnight of Good Friday, March 27, 1964, President Johnson had communicated with the Alaska congressional delegation and made arrangements to have us flown immediately to Anchorage in his presidential jet. With us would be the President's personal representative, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, Edward McDermott.

FEDERAL EARTHQUAKE LEGISLATION

The tragic, unprecedented March 27 earthquake in Alaska called for equally unprecedented legislative actions and for maximum possible speed.

On April 2, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed a Federal Reconstruction and Development Planning Commission for Alaska under the Chairmanship of Senator CLINTON B. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, former chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Four days later, on April 6, 1964, the House and Senate acted within hours of each other in passing a special $50 million appropriation requested by President Johnson for the Federal Disaster Relief Fund, out of which the Office of Emergency Planning could draw to provide for certain Alaskan relief costs.

Meanwhile legislative "ways and means" meetings were being held by the combined Alaska and Washington congressional delegations and their legislative staffs in Washington. It was decided that the most expeditious method of proceeding was through the introduction of a bill containing an idea put forth by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington. Senator JACKSON'S idea was for the establishment of a system of retroactive earthquake insurance, applicable initially only to the State of Alaska, but ultimately, it was hoped, to be extended to all the States of the Union. This would be accomplished by a bill amending the Alaska Statehood Act to establish such a system. Such a bill would then be referred to the Senate Interior Committee, of which Senator JACKSON was chairman, thus giving that committee immediate jurisdiction so as to enable it to hold hearings not only on the earthquake insurance proposal, but also other proposals for needed legislative action dealing with that subject.

On April 8, 1964, a bill to establish a retroactive earthquake insurance system was introduced, sponsored by Senators Jackson, Warren Magnuson, of Washington, Bartlett, Thomas Kuchel, and the late Claire Engle, of California; Wayne Morse and Maurine Neuberger, of Oregon; Hiram Fong and Daniel Inouye, of Hawaii; Alan Bible, of Nevada; Frank E. Moss, of Utah, and myself. The bill was referred to the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and Senator JACKSON called for hearings beginning April 14 on the bill before the full committee, but with Senator ANDERSON acting as chairman in view of his role also as Chairman of the President's Reconstruction Commission for Alaska. An identical bill in the House was introduced by Congressman RALPH RIVERS.

During the 2 weeks that followed there was a further assessment of legislative needs to repair the physical and economic damage wrought by the earthquake and subsequent seismic waves.

Having first made certain that the Office of Emergency Planning had sufficient Federal funds to undertake emergency repairs of public facilities, President Johnson and the Congress then turned their attention to temporary repairs of the economic underpinning of the government of the State of Alaska.

On April 25, 1964—less than a month after the disaster—President Johnson recommended an increase in the so-called transitional grants to the State of Alaska in the sum of $22,500,000. A bill to accomplish this was introduced the same day sponsored by Senators JACKSON, ANDERSON, KUCHEL, MAGNUSON, BARTLETT, and myself. A similar bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman RALPH RIVERS.

Transitional grants to the State of Alaska had been included in the Alaska Omnibus Act of 1959 as a means of providing for the orderly transition of Alaska from a dependent territory to a State of the United States. These transitional grants were part of the recognition on the part of the Federal Government of the difficulties faced by the new State in assuming burdens formerly borne by the Federal Government which still owned over 99 percent of the land area.

Thus, after the earthquake and the great loss in revenues to the government of the State of Alaska, this device was again used.

The transitional grant was raised $1 million by the Senate Interior Committee and the amount finally authorized to be appropriated was $23,500,000 to be available for use until June 30, 1966.

With the more immediate legislative concerns thus taken care of, both the executive branch of the Federal Government and the Congress could turn their attention to the many other areas in which Federal legislation would be needed to bring needed relief to Alaska.

After considerable study, President Johnson, on the recommendation of the Alaska Reconstruction Commission, proposed additional amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act on May 27, 1964—exactly 2 months after the earthquake. The proposals would authorize:

1. An increase in the Federal share (from 50 to 94.9 percent) of the cost of repairing and reconstructing the nonforest Federal aid highways damaged by the earthquake;

2. The Farmers Home Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration to adjust the indebtedness of some of their borrowers to enable them to overcome losses suffered from the earthquake;

3. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator to enter into contracts for urban renewal projects in Alaska up to a maximum of $25 million;

4. The Small Business Administration to increase the maximum term of disaster loans to home owners from 20 to 30 years;

5. The Corps of Engineers to make modifications in previously authorized civil works projects in Alaska to overcome adverse effects of the earthquake;

6. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator to provide Federal assistance to the State of Alaska in marketing up to $25 million in State bonds to assure a favorable interest rate; and

7. The Housing and Home Finance Agency to compromise or release any portion of any FHA-insured mortgage held by the Agency as the Agency finds necessary because of the loss or damage to the property caused by the earthquake.

A bill to carry out President Johnson's recommendations was introduced in the Senate the next day sponsored by Senators BARTLETT, JACKSON, MAGNUSON, and myself. Congressman RIVERS introduced an identical bill in the House on the same day, and hearings were held by the Senate and House Interior Committees promptly.

While the bill's provisions would be helpful as far as they went, they did not—in my opinion—go far enough in helping the severely damaged economy of Alaska.

The bill was deficient in at least four respects:

1. The matching ratio for urban renewal projects should have been 90–10 rather than 75–25 because the tax base for many of the communities needing urban renewal had been severely damaged;

2. The proposal for relief for the homeowners whose homes had been severely damaged applied only to FHA-insured mortgages still held by the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) and did not apply to FHA-insured mortgages sold by Fannie Mae or never purchased by Fannie Mae.

3. The interest rate to be charged on State of Alaska bonds was to be 3¾ percent. With respect to disaster loans by the Small Business Administration to homeowners and businessmen in Alaska, I had, ever since shortly after the earthquake, been urging the Small Business Administration to lower the interest rate from 3 percent to three-fourths of 1 percent. That was the rate charged to foreign borrowers of billions of dollars under our foreign economic aid program. I reasoned that if that rate of three-fourths of 1 percent (with a 10-year moratorium on capital repayment) was the rate charged to foreign countries on loans of billions of dollars even where there was no disaster, why should not the same rate be charged on borrowings by the disaster-stricken State of Alaska?

4. There should have been authorized the purchase of an additional amount of bonds to be issued by the State of Alaska to carry out its previously authorized public works program.

Accordingly, I introduced amendments to carry out these four additional aids for the people of Alaska. Congressman RALPH RIVERS did the same thing in the House.

In the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I was able to secure the adoption of the 90–10 matching ratio for urban renewal projects in all communities except Anchorage and the purchase of State bonds for the State public works program.

The House Interior Committee went further. It included Anchorage as well as all other Alaska communities in the 90–10 urban renewal matching ratio, provided relief for all FHA-insured homes that had been severely damaged, and set the interest rate at 3 percent on the State of Alaska bonds to be purchased.

When the Senate version of the bill was called up in the Senate, I objected to the attempt to accept only the House amendment making the 90–10 matching ratio applicable to Anchorage as well as to other communities, thereby transmitting the bill to the House on a take it or leave it basis. The bill was therefore forced into a conference between the two Houses. Both Congressman RIVERS and I were appointed members of the conference committee. At the conference, Senator JACKSON proposed that all homeowners of severely damaged homes—including both FHA and conventional mortgages—be provided relief on a matching basis, 50 percent Federal funds and 50 percent State funds.

And that is the way the bill was passed by both Houses and signed into law by President Johnson.

According to the September 1964 report of the Commission, Federal assistance to Alaska in loans or grants will range between $325 million to $414 million. The specific breakdown prepared by the Commission follows:

Table II.—Estimated Federal assistance to Alaska resulting from Mar. 27, 1964, earthquake

	Total Federal costs[1] *(amounts in millions of dollars)*
I. FEDERAL AID TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS	
Disaster relief (OEP)	$60.0 to $70.0
Transitional grants (President)	17.0 to 23.5
Highways (Commerce)	43.0 to 63.0
Urban renewal grants (HHFA)	25.0 to 40.0
Purchase of Alaska bonds (HHFA)	10.0 to 25.0
Planning advances (HHFA)	.3 to .4
Subtotal I	155.3 to 221.9
II. FEDERAL AID TO PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS	
Loans by SBA, Interior, Agriculture	60.0 to 70.0
Forgiveness and other adjustments on outstanding loans (Agriculture, HHFA, VA, and President)	7.0 to 10.0
Tax refunds and offsets (Treasury)	20.0 to 30.0
Subtotal II	87.0 to 110.0
III. RESTORATION OF FEDERAL FACILITIES AND DIRECT FEDERAL OPERATIONS	
Defense facilities, etc. (Defense)	35.6
Alaska Railroad (Interior)	27.0
All other Federal agencies	19.6
Subtotal III	82.2
Grand total (nearest million)	325.0 to 414.0

[1] Single figures have been added into both totals.

The lessons for the Nation from this legislative history of the Alaska earthquake relief bills in the 2d session of the 88th Congress are that while we have the necessary machinery to move quickly and effectively through the Office of Emergency Planning and the Armed Services to take emergency steps to repair the public facilities damaged by a disaster of the magnitude of the earthquake which struck Alaska, we are not prepared to aid adequately the private sector of a stricken economy or to bolster the economies of State and local governments, the income-producing base of which have been destroyed or severely damaged. Legislation is sorely needed in these areas before, not after, disaster strikes.

A GREAT STEP FORWARD

The people of this land may feel more secure about their civil rights as a result of the action of the Congress this year. Heavy bipartisan majorities in the Senate and the House of Representatives enacted into law the most comprehensive civil rights measure in history. The groundwork has been laid for making real to all Americans the constitutional right to vote, the right for all to enjoy equal public accommodations, and equal right to public facilities and public education and a right to enjoy equal opportunity.

The law is fair and restricts no individual's freedom so long as he respects the rights of others. It has taken a century for us to move this far and the path is long.

On August 28, 1963, I sat on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, one of 200,000 American citizens gathered there for the peaceful march for jobs and freedom. Ten months later the Senate approved the Civil Rights Act. This notable achievement was accomplised by the bill's floor manager, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, who used skill, tact, and gallantry to secure adoption of this epoch-making legislation. President Johnson provided superb leadership and the opponents of the bill fought a good, clean, and hard fight against its passage.

I do want to sound a note of caution.

With the final passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the millenium for our colored fellow citizens in the United States will not have arrived. The inequalities and inequities built up against them over a hundred years cannot be erased overnight by the mere passage of a law. I wish that were the case, but it is not.

More is needed to wipe away the century-old inequalities and inequities than the passage of this much-needed bill. There must be vigorous enforcement of its provisions.

But more is called for than vigorous enforcement. Inequalities have come about through lack of equal educational opportunities. Much more in the way of educational facilities must be made available. Negroes who cannot compete in the employment market because of missed educational opportunities must have readily available such training as is necessary to permit them to catch up. This will take time and patience and a desire to learn.

But a great step forward in the attainment and protection of the civil rights of all Americans has been taken with the enactment of this bill. Its passage comes far too late and not a moment too soon.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As a member of Senator HUMPHREY's Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations, I undertook a study late in 1962 and early in 1963 of the U.S: military and economic assistance programs in 10 Middle Eastern and African countries (Turkey, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Greece, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt). Subsequently, I submitted to the Senate a lengthy report analyzing the U.S. AID program in each of these countries and recommending 21 ways in which the administration of the AID program could be improved.

Since coming to the Senate, I have, as a firm believer that the U.S. AID program should be improved in its administration if it is to be an effective tool of our foreign policy, sought to change the manner in which it is being administered. Many of the changes which I suggested were resisted initially by the AID administrators but later were incorporated in the law and have proved to be helpful to the program.

For example, in 1960 I offered an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which would require every nonmilitary public works project under the foreign assistance

program to meet the same standards of economic justification, as established by the Bureau of the Budget, which must be met by similar projects in the United States. This proposal was vigorously resisted by the AID administrators. In the Senate vote on my amendment, it was narrowly defeated, 40–45. And yet, the very next year, without fanfare, this same provision was incorporated in the Foreign Assistance Act with the blessing of the AID administrators. This provision is still the law.

Similarly, in my Middle East report, I pointed out that each time we made a development loan under the foreign assistance program at terms of three-fourths of 1 percent interest, repayable in 40 years with a moratorium on repayment of principal for the first 10 years, we were making a hidden grant to the recipient nation. This is so because the United States must pay about 4 percent interest on the money it borrows to make these loans.

My attempts to amend the Foreign Assistance Act to require that interest be charged foreign countries at the same rate paid by the United States for its borrowings were fiercely resisted.

However, progress is being made in this area. This year the interest rate was raised from three-fourths of 1 percent for the first 10 years to 1 percent and from 2 to 2½ percent thereafter. Even this change—inadequate as it might be—will save American taxpayers $100 million during the course of the repayment of the foreign aid loans made this year alone.

With respect to foreign affairs generally, I have vigorously opposed further foreign aid to Egypt so long as that nation continues to arm for aggression against its neighbors, indirectly using our foreign aid for that purpose and engaging as it is in an aggressive war in Yemén. Indonesia, as we know, pursues a similar aggressive tack in southeastern Asia and I have opposed aid to Indonesia.

I have also opposed our armed intervention in South Vietnam contending for months now that the conflict in that country can be settled not by military means but by diplomatic efforts at a United Nations conference table.

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The 88th Congress has been keenly aware of the need for preserving this Nation's natural beauty and for providing recreational facilities for the public, thereby continuing the work begun in the 87th Congress. Padre Island National Seashore in Texas, Point Reyes National Seashore in California, and Cape Cod National Seashore in Massachusetts were created by the 87th Congress.

In the 88th Congress, we have added the Ozark Rivers National Riverway in Missouri, Canyon Lands National Park in Utah, and Fire Island National Seashore in New York. The Senate has approved two other areas of particular interest—the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan, and the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. The projects are all a part of the same important movement to save in as nearly possible their primitive state the still not fully developed and built-up areas for the future pleasure of all the American people.

After 8 years of study and compromise, the Congress has approved the wilderness bill. Public Law 88–577 sets aside a 9.2-million-acre preservation system which may be expanded to 14.7 million acres of federally owned land as a wilderness unavailable for commercial use. The Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on which I serve did not want the Wilderness Preservation System to hurt the economy. In our report we specified:

"There will be no withdrawal of lands from the tax base of the counties or communities; no withdrawal of timberlands on which lumbering operations depend, nor any withdrawal of present grazing or mining rights."

The public law specifies that each recommendation of the President for designation as "wilderness" shall become effective only if so provided by an act of Congress.

We have authorized under Public Law 88–379 a 10-year, $82.5 million program of Federal aid to land-grant colleges and universities to expand water resources research and scientific training. This program is one of the most important to be started by the Congress and to be conducted by the States, because, under present methods of management and utilization, water requirements will exceed usable supply in all or parts of 26 of our 50 States, including California, Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Montana, as well as the populous Eastern States. Alaska's water supply at present is sufficient.

Alaskans, better than residents of other States, know the urgency for modernizing our public land laws and regulations. This Congress has approved Public Law 88–606, which establishes a 19-member bipartisan commission to conduct a review of this problem.

Since I have been a Member of the Senate, homesteaders throughout the State have been writing to me to describe their problems with representatives of the Bureau of Land Management and the Geological Survey.

Obviously the application today of laws designed for the 19th century tends to obfuscate the problems. Alaskan homesteaders face enough challenges. They do not need the added impediment of arbitrary bureaucratic action.

The review commission established will, I hope, make it unnecessary to establish in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior a Board of Public Lands Appeals which I first suggested and introduced authorizing language to create on April 4, 1962, in the 87th Congress and subsequently reintroduced this Congress. Many Senators sponsored this bill. Congress must make certain the laws and regulations governing the use and disposition of public lands are interpreted and applied uniformly and equitably.

The land and water conservation fund established by Public Law 88–578 will help our States and Federal agencies meet present and future outdoor recreation demands. The Senate Interior Public Lands Subcommittee, on which I serve, held extensive hearings on this legislation, and the bill was amended to prevent arbitrary action by officialdom. I personally would object to charging an entrance fee to our Alaska national parks and monuments, although it is customary in other parts of the United States. But where, as in Mount McKinley National Park, Glacier Bay National Monument, and Katmai National Monument—areas of superb scenery—there has been little or no installation of facilities or accommodations by the Federal Government, I would find it highly objectionable if visitors were charged a fee merely to go in and look at the wonderful scenery provided free by nature.

No fees of any kind may be charged under authority of this act: First, for use of any waters; second, for travel through areas on Federal-aid highways or any road within the national forest system or a public land area; third, for access to private inholdings; fourth, for any commercial or other activities not related to recreation; or fifth, as a Federal hunting and fishing license.

Some provisions of the act are open to doubt. In the years ahead Congress may find it necessary to amend the act which now provides for a State-Federal cost-sharing program to provide the facilities in our recreation areas.

Alaska depends on its water resources and the action of this Congress in appropriating funds for river and harbor improvements, as well as power development, has been helpful.

1. Public works appropriations, 1964: Last year Alaska's congressional delegation sought and won support to add to the public works appropriation bill the $921,000 badly needed to construct the Sitka small boat harbor. The President's budget has included a $225,000 request for preconstruction planning of the Crater-Long Lakes division of the Snettisham project near Juneau authorized by the 87th Congress.

Added to the 1964 budget were funds for the following studies: Hydaburg harbor navigation, $10,000; King Cove harbor navigation, $10,000; Ketchikan Creek flood control, $20,000; and Nenana River flood control, $20,000.

Retained in the budget were these items requested by the President: Flood control investigations—Clark's Point, $20,000; Knik River, $50,000; Seward, $15,000; Tanana River at Nenana, $19,000; Valdez glacier streams, $5,000; and navigation investigations—Dry Straits-Wrangell Narrows, $2,000; Hoonah Harbor, $17,000; Knik and Turnagain Arms causeways, $45,000; and Kake Harbor, $17,000.

The total appropriation for fiscal year 1964 was $1,396,000.

2. Public works appropriations, 1965: Senate and House conferees approved a public works appropriation totaling $1,693,000 for Alaska for fiscal year 1965. The total included $500,000 added by the Senate Appropriations Committee for investigation of approximately 27 navigation projects to determine the extent, if any, of earthquake damage and to make repairs.

The conferees kept $25,000 added by the Senate—to start a navigation survey on the Kobuk River, $10,000, and to initiate a breakwater protection and harbor facilities study at Auke Bay, $15,000.

Other projects approved include Snettisham, $750,000 for preconstruction planning; navigation surveys—Dry Strait—Wrangell Narrows, $72,000; Gastineau Channel, $25,000; Hydaburg Harbor, $21,000; King Cove, $21,000; Knik and Turnagain Arms, $27,000; Kodiak, $15,000; Sergius Narrows, $15,000; funding was provided for: Ketchikan Creek flood control survey, $25,000; Kachemak Bay beach erosion survey, $32,000; and three operation and maintenance programs: Dillingham Harbor, $100,000; Nome Harbor, $62,000; Stikine River, $3,000.

Included in the 1965 act was $450,000 for Bureau of Reclamation investigations and an estimated $305,000 for operation and maintenance of the Eklutna hydroelectric project near Anchorage.

HARNESSING OUR WATERS TO UTILIZE OUR RESOURCES

This 88th Congress appropriated the necessary $197,000 to complete the Rampart Dam project study approved on Aprril 24, 1959, at my request by the Senate Public Works Committee. That resolution requested the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors "to determine the advisability of improvements in the interest of hydroelectric power and other water uses in the Yukon River Basins, Alaska, with particular reference to the Rampart Canyon site."

The total appropriation by the Congress to date for the complete investigation of the Rampart Canyon hydroelectric project is $1,136,000.

Rampart would be the largest dam in the free world in power production capacity, approximately 5 million kilowatts. Power could be produced to sell at 2 mills per kilowatt-hour at the busbar or 3 mills transmitted to tidewater on Cook Inlet or Prince William Sound. Total cost of the dam is estimated to be $1½ billion—a loan which will be repaid both as to principal and interest from the power revenues generated.

The Rampart study was initiated in 1959 with a modest appropriation of $48,750. That start came when the Congress overrode the

veto for the first time in the Eisenhower administration.

This fall, the comprehensive information collected is under review by the Corps of Engineers. In the coming Congress we shall try to take the necessary steps toward Rampart's construction and work for its authorization in the Rivers and Harbors Act.

CADASTRAL SURVEYS

Under the Statehood Act, Alaska was allotted 103.5 million acres of Federal land and given 25 years in which to select it. Completing survey work on land masses approximating the size of the State of California required speed, use of modern methods, and agreement between the State and Federal Governments as to what constituted a proper cadastral survey.

When the Bureau of Land Management early in 1963 announced its intention to reduce its budget request for surveys in Alaska, Senator BARTLETT and I asked the Senate Appropriations Committee what could be done to follow the intent of the Statehood Act since section 6(g) specified:

"Where any lands desired by the State are unsurveyed at the time of their selection, the Secretary of the Interior shall survey the exterior boundaries of the area requested without any interior subdivision thereof, and shall issue a patent for such selected area in terms of the exterior boundary."

The Senate Appropriations Committee subsequently directed:

"A reading of the statute and the committee reports on the legislation which was enacted into law leads to the clear and definite conclusion that Congress intended that so long as the State selections meet the specifically stated requirements of the act there should be an exterior boundary survey of each land selection made by the State of Alaska.

"Therefore, the committee directs that the Secretary of the Interior cause surveys of Alaskan land selections made under the terms of Public Law 85–508 (the Alaska Statehood Act) to be executed in compliance with this report. It is also the desire of the committee that the Department proceed as promptly as possible with the surveys in order that the time limitations of the act admitting Alaska to the Union will be met."

To speed work on the Alaska cadastral surveys, the committee added $300,000 over the budget estimate of $1,960,000 for cadastral surveys in Alaska. That amount was retained by the conferees who also agreed, "* * * that the directive included in the report of the Senate committee with regard to surveys of Alaska land selections made under the terms of the Alaska Statehood Act (Public Law 85–508) will be satisfied by surveys of the exterior boundaries of full townships (even if composed of as many as four land selections) with monumentation at an average of 2 miles around the perimeter."

GLACIER BAY NATIONAL MONUMENT

This Congress approved the request of the National Park Service to start construction of visitor facilities at Glacier Bay National Monument. The approval of the expenditure of $845,000 is needed and one I have long supported. It should be increased substantially next year if we are to provide adequate accommodations for visitors. Within the boundaries of this monument's 2.3 million acres, situated less than 50 air miles from Juneau, are glaciers of grand scale.

Freeman Tilden, author of "The National Parks: What They Mean to You and Me," writes: "* * * here on the coast of southeastern Alaska is the unrivaled place to see the life of the glacial ice of our continent."

Visitor facilities will make the exploration of this vast and beautiful area possible where now there is no access except in extraordinary circumstances.

AIDING THE FISHING INDUSTRY

Alaska's fishery resources will be strengthened and our fishermen aided as a result of action taken by this Congress.

Public Law 88–308 prohibits fishing in territorial waters of the United States and certain other areas by persons other than U.S. nationals or inhabitants. This bill, S. 1988, was introduced by Senator BARTLETT and Congressman RIVERS and became public law on May 20, 1964. Putting teeth into the law makes sense. Violators of our 3-mile limit now can be fined or imprisoned and their catch and gear forfeited. This provision will apply equally to the 12-mile limit when Congress authorizes it—a course I have urged.

The new law also prohibits the taking by foreigners of resources of the Continental Shelf claimed by the United States, including crab and shrimp.

Public Law 88–309 coordinates aid to States as they develop their commercial fisheries. It authorizes a multimillion-dollar aid program under a special apportionment of funds formula. No State may receive more than 6 percent of the funds available nor less than one-half of 1 percent.

Public Law 88–424 restores to self-employed U.S. fishermen eligibility which existed from 1798 to 1954 for medical care in hospitals, outpatient clinics, and other medical facilities of the Public Health Service in the event of illness or injury incurred while engaged in their hazardous and essential occupation.

The Senate ratified the protocol amending the interim convention on conservation of North Pacific fur seals.

My bill to extend our territorial fishing waters to a more realistic 12 miles, S. 1816, cosponsored by the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], has been favorably received and I will reintroduce it next Congress. We could, of course, hold to our 3-mile limit, but the days of 1805 when the limit was established have passed. Three miles were chosen because that was the distance that a round cannon ball could be expected to travel and hit its target.

We must make a realistic appraisal of the deleterious effect our outdated 3-mile limit has on our fishing industry before we slide from fifth place to an even lower position among the fishing nations of the world. Our fishermen do a remarkable job, considering the handicaps under which they operate.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN EDUCATION

This Congress has enacted more educational legislation than any Congress in our Nation's history.

Accomplishments include: (1) Construction grants for health-teaching facilities; (2) low interest loans to assist students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy; (3) a $1.2 billion 3-year college construction program to meet the expected yearly enrollment increase of 350,000; (4) expanded vocational education and construction program; (5) expanded Library Services Act extending Federal aid to urban and rural library facilities; (6) expanded and improved National Defense Education Act; (7) expanded teachers training and adult education program; (8) a program for training teachers of exceptional children; (9) extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act; (10) expansion of the War Orphans' Educational Act; (11) extension of long-term, low-cost loans to include students of optometry.

Federal aid to schools in impacted areas under Public Laws 874 (operating exepnses) and 815 (construction) is of great importance to Alaska where school enrollment includes a high percentage of pupils whose parents are employed by the Federal Government. Since the program began in 1951, Alaska has received $57,740,000 under Public Law 874 and $34,695,000 under Public Law 815. Both programs have been extended through June 30, 1967.

The amendments to the National Defense Education Act increase amounts available for student loans, extend the loan provisions to students in postsecondary schools such as accredited business and technical institutions, include among eligible institutions of higher learning public and other nonprofit collegiate and associate degree schools of nursing and allow part-time students carrying at least one-half of a standard academic workload to receive loans.

Loan limits for graduate students will be raised from $1,000 to $2,500 and aggregate limits for such students from $5,000 to $10,000. The National Defense Education Act now includes financial assistance for strengthening instruction in science, mathematics, and foreign languages.

Estimates of amounts Alaska will receive for student loans, by fiscal years, are as follows: 1965, $65,807; 1966, $72,255; 1967, $76,567; 1968, $78,581. The State will receive $50,000 per year for guidance counseling and testing, while for acquisition of equipment for science, mathematics and modern foreign languages and other critical subjects $95,345 will be available annually as grants for public schools and $3,727 for loans to nonpublic schools. For State administration and supervision of the equipment acquisition program $50,000 annually in Federal funds will be provided.

Public Law 88–230 increased from $7.5 to $12 million per year the amount authorized to be appropriated for the Indian vocational training program.

Public 88–214 waived the State matching requirement of the Manpower Training Act for fiscal year 1965, and extended the act for 2 additional years with the requirement that States match one-third and one-half, respectively, in fiscal years 1966 and 1967.

IMPROVING THE ECONOMY

Despite the continuing prosperity for a majority of Americans, at least 20 percent of our citizens are impoverished. Yet, during the past decade and a half, we have spent more than $100 billion to aid other countries. Surely we can afford to spend less than 3 percent of that amount to provide the same opportunity for American unemployed as we have offered the unemployed in 107 foreign countries.

My bill, S. 1121, would have increased by $1.5 billion the $900 million authorized by the 87th Congress for the Accelerated Public Works Act. Funds were appropriated, $880 million, but the act ran dry early in 1963 leaving undone $717 million of worthwhile public works projects approved but unfunded. Hundreds of other projects simply pended. The Congress regrettfully did not act on the proposed extension of the APW program although the Senate Public Works Committee of which I am a member reported S. 1856 on June 1, 1964, following extensive hearings.

The Federal Government's war against poverty will be aided under the programs planned in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 for which $800 million has been appropriated. The antipoverty program will establish youth job corps camps on public lands and at residential vocational centers. It sets up work training and work study programs and community action programs which are to be developed and administered locally. It includes adult training programs and loan programs to low-income rural families, small small businessmen, and migrant worker families. It establishes a domestic peace corps known as VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America).

I support the concept of the Economic Opportunity Act which immeasurably helps individuals and communities. I believe, however, that the program, while presenting an

admirable beginning, simply is not enough. Americans living in poverty need jobs now. The accelerated public works program has proved itself to be one of the fastest means of creating such jobs. I intend to reintroduce my bill to extend the program when the 89th Congress convenes.

This Congress has improved our economy by approving the 1964 Revenue Act which reduced individual and corporate income taxes by $11.5 billion. The individual reductions increased consumer purchasing power by more than $9 billion a year. The corporate reduction amounts to more than $2 billion a year, which is added to business tax cuts of $2.5 billion a year provided by the investment tax credit and depreciation reform of 1962.

This stimulus to investment and consumption has spurred our economic growth and helped give us the longest and strongest peacetime economic expansion in this century.

The Senate approved, on September 25, the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1964 which gave to that plucky but impoverished area tools designed to make possible the economic development and rehabilitation of the Appalachian region, covering an 11-State area containing 165,000 square miles and inhabited by 15 million Americans. The bill was not approved by the House. As a member of the Senate Public Works Committee which reported the measure, I shall urge that it be enacted early next year.

Need exists, too, to implement the existing legislation which created the Area Redevelopment Administration which has created more than 500 new jobs in Alaska alone.

As we battle constantly to improve our economy we must realize that continuing poverty and the population explosion problem will not permit much change until both dilemmas have been solved. Runaway population will not permit our society to prosper, and family planning in one country does very little to change the entire picture if population is exploding in other areas. Ten thousand people die of malnutrition or starvation each day. More than one-half of the world's 3-plus billion inhabitants live in constant hunger. In our own United States 30 million Americans go to bed hungry each night.

Our world population growth last year was 2 percent, confined primarily to the poverty-stricken areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The increase is disturbing when one considers that a 3-percent-per-year world growth rate means that our world population doubles in less than 25 years.

Congress is becoming concerned. The senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and I have cosponsored a Senate concurrent resolution proposing—

(1) That the President create a Presidential Commission on Population to get the real population facts and to report what they mean; and

(2) That the President substantially increase our research in the field of human reproduction and make our findings freely available to countries requesting assistance.

Identical legislation has been introduced in the House of Representatives by MORRIS UDALL, of Arizona. Other Members have expressed interest, and our mail on this subject is thoughtful and encouraging. We can solve the population-poverty problem if we mobilize the knowledge available and keep in mind that we do not have to ask anyone to do anything which is opposed to his own particular beliefs, thereby assuring that individual choice prevails.

COLA TERMINATION OPPOSED

The Alaska congressional delegation vigorously opposed the 1964 Civil Service Commission proposal to terminate cost-of-living allowances paid Federal employees in Alaska and other offshore but nonforeign areas. I testified before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and cited statistics which proved that the 25 percent cost-of-living allowance in Alaska has been inadequate. For example, goods and services are 23 percent higher than the U.S. average at Ketchikan, 27 percent at Juneau, 29 percent at Anchorage, 42 percent at Fairbanks, and 72 percent at Nome. The bill, H.R. 7401, was not reported by the House committee. The Civil Service Commission, however, has ordered a review of COLA in Alaska and other areas this fall. The survey in Alaska will be conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and turned over to the State Department for analysis.

HEALTH CARE

A legislative milestone was reached this fall when the Senate by a vote of 49 to 44 incorporated a hospital and home nursing care provision in amendments to the Social Security Act. Senator BARTLETT and I voted for this measure. Regrettably, the House-Senate conferees could not come to agreement. President Johnson has said, "Most Americans want medical care for older citizens, and so do I."

So do I. The ever-present danger of hospitalized illness is the gravest threat to the economic security of the elderly. Our social security system works and can be properly amended to include hospital care for the men and women who would benefit immediately—the people who have helped build the foundation of our great society. I am confident that we shall see this proposed legislation approved by the 89th Congress.

The legislation has been and is misnamed. It does not provide medical care; it does provide hospital care.

A SQUARE DEAL FOR HOMEOWNERS—THE HOUSING ACT OF 1964

The 1964 changes in the National Housing Act includes the Gruening amendment which gives added meaning to the words "FHA insured." For more than 2 years, I have sought this new protection against structural defects for buyers of homes covered by FHA-insured mortgages. Heretofore the words "FHA insured" referred only to the bank or lending institution insuring the mortgage.

No legal liability upon the Federal Housing Administration existed to insure that the houses delivered met the standards of specifications established by the FHA. This deplorable situation was called to my attention in the 87th Congress when the purchasers of approximately 50 prefabricated houses in Eagle River, near Anchorage, Alaska, told me of the sorry condition of their FHA-insured homes. Deficiencies included loose and buckling wall paneling, leaky roofs, excessive heat loss, interior frost accumulation, sloppy installation of windows and storm doors and storm windows, bathroom exhaust fan not vented to the outside, and other examples of poor workmanship which caused kitchen cabinets to pull away from the walls. No legal recourse existed although at my request the FHA caused the builder to correct the defects.

My investigations revealed that similar conditions existed in other States and many Senators cosponsored my proposed legislation. Senate Banking and Currency Committee Housing Subcommittee Chairman JOHN SPARKMAN held hearings October 17 and 18, 1963. The legislative need became increasingly apparent. The Senate-approved bill of July 29, 1964, contained a new section for title V of the act which would give meaning to the words "FHA insured." The House bill did not. In conference the Senate conferees agreed to amend the language by striking out the retroactive provision and removing the words "and other provisions" limiting the coverage to structural defects.

Thus, the owner of an FHA-insured home has a long-needed new protection, dating from September 2, 1964. If he finds structural defects he is to request assistance from the Federal Housing Administration Commissioner not later than 4 years after insurance of the mortgage and if the property is encumbered by a mortgage insured under the act after September 2, 1964. The FHA commissioner is directed to issue regulations on the new consumer protection.

ALASKA CENTENNIAL STUDY

The 88th Congress approved my bill, S. 49, as amended, which authorizes a study to determine the manner in which and the extent to which the United States shall participate in the 1967 Alaska Centennial. The Senate and House Appropriations Committee conferees have explicitly directed the Department of Commerce to make this study with existing funds in salaries and expenses, general administration. The report is to be submitted to Congress by March 15, 1965. New Public Law 88-610 was cosponsored by Senator BARTLETT and Representative RIVERS.

OTHER ALASKA LEGISLATION

Legislation of primary interest to Alaskans, not referred to previously, includes:

1. Public Law 88-266 permits the Federal Government to pay for transportation of motor vehicles of its employees transferred to and from Alaska;

2. Public Law 88-229 permits forgiveness of debts owed by the cities of Haines, Skagway, and Hoonah under the Alaska Public Works Act;

3. Public Law 88-429 authorizes conveyance of 328 acres of federally owned land to the Native Village of Saxman;

4. Public Law 88-289 gives Alaska 5 more years, until January 3, 1969, in which to select Federal lands leased under the Mineral Leasing Act;

5. Public Law 88-135 permits selection of land by the State of Alaska for community development purposes to be in units as small as 160 acres;

6. Public Law 88-157 increases percentage of federally allotted highway funds useable by the State for preliminary and preconstruction engineering and design on primary, secondary, and urban roads from 10 to 15 percent saving Alaska $1 million a year;

7. Public Law 88-34 authorizes survey and establishment of a townsite for the Juneau Native Village;

8. Public Law 88-389 authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to produce and sell petroleum from the Umiat field, Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, for the purpose of aiding petroleum exploration and development in nearby areas outside the reserve;

9. Public Law 88-409 authorizes termination of a restriction on the use of land previously conveyed to the city of Fairbanks;

10. Private Law 88-351 agrees to relieve certain employees of the Alaska Railroad from having to refund to the Government amounts erroneously paid them as retroactive wage increases.

11. Public Law 88-173 reduces the annual installment requirement on repayment of the debt of Alaska's employment security system to the unemployment trust fund (Reed fund); and

12. Public Law 88-66 makes possible equitable principles in adjudicating sales.

MINERALS, MATERIALS, FUELS SUBCOMMITTEE

It has been my privilege this Congress to serve as chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels. Subcommittee members have worked hard to help solve the problems of the domestic mining industry. We held hearings May 9 and 10, 1963, and called in witnesses from public and private life to provide every possible bit of technical information.

Our attempts to help revitalize the gold mining industry has been handicapped by the administration's refusal to realize that the industry cannot survive so long as its product will bring only $35 per ounce. Attempts to establish a Gold Procurement and Sales Agency in the Department of the Interior to be the official agency for sale of gold for nonmonetary purposes have been unsuccessful as have attempts to persuade the Secretary of the Interior to make a study of conditions of the gold-mining industry in order to make recommendations to the President for remedial measures.

My Gold Mine Revitalization Act, designed to compensate domestic gold miners for differences of costs in production today and costs incurred for the same work in 1940 was cosponsored by Senators BIBLE, KUCHEL, BARTLETT, METCALF, and MCGOVERN. The bill, S. 2125, was reported unanimously by the subcommittee and by the full Senate Interior Committee, but adament opposition of the executive branch to any legislation in aid of gold miners prevents enactment. The bill was widely approved by the gold mining industry. Its principles will form a basis for future legislation.

I have introduced a bill, S. 1807, applicable to all mining, to remove completely the limitations on deductions for exploration expenses. The Treasury Department vigorously opposed the bill because it felt that exploration expenses are, in fact, capital investment recoverable through depletion allowances; thus, says Treasury, their allowances as deductible expenses would result in a double deduction. I countered by introducing S. 3073 to allow full deduction of exploration expenditures by mining industries as they are paid or incurred, without regard to the $400,000 total, $100,000 annual limitation now in the internal revenue law. This bill will be considered again when I reintroduce it next year.

NEW MINERAL LAWS

1. Public Law 88-526, introduced by Senator Moss, of Utah, provides for acreage limitations increases for leasing of coal on the public domain.

2. Public Law 88-548, introduced by Senators METCALF, MANSFIELD, CHURCH, JORDAN of Idaho and Moss, increases acreage limitations on phosphate lands on the public domain available for leasing under provisions of the Mineral Leasing Act from 10,240 to 20,480.

SENATE ACTION

Senator BIBLE introduced S. 883, to authorize leasing of the public domain for development of geothermal resources. This legislation is required to allow leasing of the public domain for this purpose. There is now no provision in law for this. It passed the Senate August 21, 1964.

My bill, S. 1984, would liberalize regulations governing payment of oil and gas rentals under terms of the Mineral Leasing Act by changing the law to provide that the postmark date of the lease rental would govern the determination of timely payment rather than date of receipt in the land office. This bill passed the Senate September 1, 1964.

BUDGET REVIEWS

The best way to determine if the needs of Alaska are being met is to trace interdepartmental budgets of key governmental departments serving the State. This budget information from statehood to estimated fiscal year 1965 has been supplied by the Department of Agriculture, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of the Interior, Army Corps of Engineers, and the Department of Commerce. It appears in chart form on a year-by-year basis.

Since statehood, nearly a billion dollars has been expended and invested in Alaska by but five departments of the Federal Government—the Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Commerce, and the Corps of Engineers. I have asked these departments for a year-by-year breakdown and their responses follow.

This is not intended to be a complete listing of Alaskan development, but rather it is to show that the Government is increasing its investment in the State and that that investment expands each year.

The departmental breakdown is as follows:

Department of Agriculture

Agricultural Research Service:	
Extended:	
1959	$342,786
1960	346,044
1961	384,674
1962	402,247
1963	422,399
1964 estimate	425,200
1965 estimate	435,600
Total	2,758,950
Forest Service:	
Expended:	
1959	2,390,665
1960	2,594,569
1961	3,661,012
1962	4,569,259
1963	5,805,867
1964 estimate	6,669,624
1965 estimate	6,860,100
Total	32,551,096
Soil Conservation Service:	
Expended:	
1959	132,356
1960	135,314
1961	159,933
1962	164,545
1963	181,869
1964 estimate	203,877
1965 estimate	215,000
Total	1,192,894
Farmers Home Administration:	
Expended:	
1959	131,708
1960	377,356
1961	459,063
1962	1,345,688
1963	1,306,235
1964 estimate	1,031,951
1965 estimate	4,000,000
Total	8,652,001
Rural Electrification Administration:	
Expended:	
1959	875,000
1960	5,155,000
1961	2,524,000
1962	6,596,000
1963	6,338,000
1964 estimate	35,290,000
1965 estimate	[1]
Total	56,778,000
Federal Extension Service:	
Expended:	
1959	107,993
1960	107,993
1961	111,429
1962	138,190
1963	158,006
1964 estimate	193,871
1965 estimate	194,000
Total	1,011,484

Footnote at end of table.

Department of Agriculture—Continued

Agricultural Marketing Service:	
Expended:	
1959	$222,060
1960	249,696
1961	322,109
1962	320,204
1963	432,155
1964 estimate	441,839
1965 estimate	[1]
Total	1,988,063
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service:	
Expended:	
1959	75,345
1960	84,078
1961	89,304
1962	115,254
1963	131,461
1964 estimate	144,776
1965 estimate	190,160
Total	830,378
Commodity Credit Corporation:	
Expended:	
1959	13,523
1960	20,909
1961	16,654
1962	33,659
1963	42,878
1964 estimate	37,000
1965 estimate	[1]
Total	164,623
Cooperative State Research Service:	
Expended:	
1959	218,143
1960	223,099
1961	225,773
1962	248,070
1963	250,938
1964 estimate	282,995
1965 estimate	330,980
Total	1,779,998
Statistical Reporting Service:	
Expended:	
1961	21,224
1962	29,720
1963	21,799
1964 estimate	28,605
1965 estimate	30,500
Total	131,848
Total, Department of Agriculture	107,839,335

[1] Figure not available.

Department of the Interior

The Alaska Railroad:	
Appropriated: 1964	$20,000,000
Expended:	
1959	17,174,000
1960	17,464,000
1961	14,335,000
1962	14,480,000
1963	16,402,000
1964	15,800,101
1965 estimate	53,971,000
Total	149,626,101
Bureau of Commercial Fisheries:	
Appropriated:	
1959	3,336,970
1960	4,617,778
1961	5,272,302
1962	4,816,309
1963	3,089,000
1964	3,700,400
1965 estimate	3,775,400
Total	28,608,159

Department of the Interior—Continued

Bureau of Commercial Fisheries—Continued

Expended:	
1959	$4,655,797
1960	4,421,775
1961	5,264,781
1962	4,816,309
1963	3,456,000
1964	3,501,000
1965 estimate	3,377,000
Total	29,492,662

Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife:

Appropriated:	
1959	655,475
1960	813,670
1961	787,610
1962	919,050
1963	1,088,750
1964	824,140
1965 estimate	865,800
Total	5,954,495
Expended:	
1959	641,513
1960	801,506
1961	765,809
1962	919,050
1963	1,070,750
1964	766,000
1965 estimate	848,000
Total	5,812,628

Bureau of Indian Affairs:

Appropriated:	
1959	9,130,402
1960	7,250,813
1961	8,737,564
1962	13,195,497
1963	16,029,989
1964	22,398,471
1965 estimate	19,200,829
Total	95,943,565
Expended:	
1959	8,703,083
1960	8,606,399
1961	9,851,590
1962	13,849,749
1963	15,500,437
1964	17,342,282
1965 estimate	19,200,829
Total	93,054,369

Bureau of Land Management:

Appropriated:	
1959	4,850,249
1960	4,817,774
1961	4,637,098
1962	4,099,938
1963	4,510,956
1964	4,247,165
1965 estimate	4,195,000
Total	31,358,180
Expended:	
1959	4,892,140
1960	4,812,055
1961	4,682,014
1962	4,004,028
1963	4,428,354
1964	4,300,878
1965 estimate	4,195,000
Total	31,314,469

Department of the Interior—Continued

Bureau of Mines:

Appropriated:	
1959	$423,900
1960	426,100
1961	420,000
1962	391,200
1963	395,000
1964	507,000
1965 estimate	517,000
Total	3,082,200
Expended:	
1959	420,160
1960	425,189
1961	418,320
1962	391,200
1963	388,000
1964	502,000
1965 estimate	512,000
1965 estimate	3,056,878

Bureau of Reclamation:

Appropriated:	
1959	504,808
1960	522,422
1961	552,002
1962	643,700
1963	647,735
1964	1,263,400
1965 estimate	1,608,400
Total	5,742,467
Expended:	
1959	617,469
1960	504,026
1961	542,912
1962	643,700
1963	631,143
1964	1,192,912
1965 estimate	1,608,400
Total	5,740,562

Geological Survey:

Appropriated:	
1959	2,720,000
1960	2,968,000
1961	3,049,000
1962	2,787,000
1963	3,336,000
1964	3,614,000
1965 estimate	3,170,000
Total	21,644,000
Expended:	
1962	3,020,000
1963	3,336,000
1964	3,614,000
1965 estimate	3,170,000
Total	13,140,000

Office of Minerals Exploration:

Appropriated:	
1962	11,000
1963	48,218
1964	92,000
1965 estimate	79,000
Total	230,218
Expended:	
1963	48,218
1964	92,000
1965 estimate	79,000
Total	219,218

Department of the Interior—Continued

Office of the Secretary:

Appropriated:	
1962	$23,800
1963	32,894
1964	36,300
1965 estimate	36,300
Total	129,094
Expended:	
1963	32,694
1964	36,300
1965 estimate	36,300
Total	105,294

Office of the Solicitor:

Appropriated:	
1959	114,400
1960	109,900
1961	111,500
1962	122,635
1963	98,743
1964	117,700
1965 estimate	122,281
Total	797,159
Expended:	
1959	114,400
1963	98,743
1964	117,700
1965 estimate	122,281
Total	453,124

National Park Service:

Appropriated:	
1959	959,626
1960	1,418,932
1961	1,231,239
1962	627,280
1963	1,045,748
1964	1,618,900
1965 estimate	1,951,200
Total	8,852,925
Expended:	
1959	1,329,044
1960	955,137
1961	1,387,294
1962	1,225,142
1963	623,801
1964	1,606,223
1965 estimate	1,951,200
Total	9,577,841

Office of Territories:

Appropriated:	
1959	5,461,660
1960	290,000
1961	250,000
1962	78,000
Total	6,079,660
Expended:	
1959	6,001,010
1960	4,582,783
1961	1,667,863
1962	----------
1963	1,309
1964	595
1965 estimate	600
Total	12,254,160

Total expended, Department of the Interior... 353,847,306

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Food and Drug Administration:

Appropriated:

1959	$1,000
1960	1,000
1961	1,000
1962	1,000
1963	2,643
1964	3,390
1965 estimate	4,000
Total	14,033

Obligated:

1959	1,000
1960	1,000
1961	1,000
1962	1,000
1963	2,643
1964	3,390
1965 estimate	4,000
Total	14,033

Office of Education (some State funds required):

Appropriated:

1959	5,467,943
1960	9,203,206
1961	10,327,413
1962	8,683,638
1963	12,209,614
1964	10,369,866
1965 estimate	12,465,930
Total	68,727,610

Obligated:

1959	5,417,941
1960	9,132,798
1961	10,281,275
1962	8,683,638
1963	12,088,118
1964	10,292,418
1965 estimate	12,451,404
Total	68,347,592

Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (State funds required):

Appropriated:

1959	136,610
1960	145,612
1961	172,950
1962	252,210
1963	305,463
1964	544,483
1965 estimate	406,843
Total	1,964,171

Obligated:

1959	111,151
1960	119,464
1961	118,966
1962	169,912
1963	181,764
1964	444,379
1965 estimate	367,236
Total	1,512,872

Public Health Service (some State funds required):

Appropriated:

1959	23,608,834
1960	12,897,709
1961	14,299,271
1962	14,990,310
1963	15,898,777
1964	22,581,631
1965 estimate	21,788,420
Total	126,064,952

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Continued

Public Health Service (some State funds required)—Con.

Obligated:

1959	$16,633,559
1960	19,159,681
1961	13,684,308
1962	13,842,013
1963	15,681,949
1964	21,935,706
1965 estimate	21,788,420
Total	122,725,638

Welfare Administration (State funds required):

Appropriated:

1959	2,147,648
1960	2,216,424
1961	2,217,717
1962	2,257,923
1963	2,426,215
1964	2,670,180
1965 estimate	2,979,971
Total	16,916,078

Obligated:

1959	2,147,648
1960	2,216,424
1961	2,217,717
1962	2,257,923
1963	2,426,215
1964	2,670,180
1965 estimate	2,979,971
Total	16,916,078

Social Security Administration:

Appropriated:

1959	3,840,474
1960	4,321,758
1961	4,656,569
1962	5,339,375
1963	5,934,388
1964	6,178,740
1965 estimate	6,428,439
Total	24,092,564

Obligated:

1959	3,840,474
1960	4,321,758
1961	4,656,569
1962	5,339,375
1963	5,934,338
1964	6,178,740
1965 estimate	6,428,439
Total	36,699,693

Total expended, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	246,215,906

Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army

Appropriated:

1959	$2,008,000
1960	498,000
1961	1,522,000
1962	3,045,000
1963	1,522,000
1964	2,635,000
1965 estimate	1,578,000
Total	12,808,000

Expended:

1959	1,606,000
1960	1,396,000
1961	1,089,000
1962	2,361,000
1963	3,230,000
1964	2,651,000
1965 estimate	3,600,000
Total	15,933,000

Total expended, Corps of Engineers	15,933,000

Department of Commerce

Area Redevelopment Administration:

Expended:

1962	$1,555,106
1963	2,514,209
1964	458,959
1965 to date	3,739
Total	4,532,013

Bureau of the Census:

Expended:

1960	179,402
1961	1,904
1962	2,006
1963	1,844
1964	3,074
1965 estimate	12,741
Total	200,971

Domestic and international business:

Expended:

1963	12,887
1964	26,118
1965 estimate	28,500
Total	67,505

Coast and Geodetic Survey:

Expended:

1959	930,300
1960	914,700
1961	1,283,000
1962	1,061,200
1963	923,100
1964	851,200
1965 estimate	2,108,400
Total	8,071,900

National Bureau of Standards:

Expended:

1959	170,680
1960	171,003
1961	176,240
1962	167,849
1963	169,250
1964	202,218
1965 estimate	249,000
Total	1,306,240

Weather Bureau:

Expended:

1959	2,292,000
1960	2,298,000
1961	2,164,000
1962	2,668,000
1963	2,474,000
1964	2,902,000
1965 estimate	3,014,000
Total	17,812,000

Maritime Administration:

Expended:

1959	297
1964	1,028
Total	1,325

Bureau of Public Roads:

Expended:

1959	15,402,904
1960	16,573,556
1961	12,600,117
1962	16,795,839
1963	19,631,902
1964	22,488,079
1965 estimate	28,849,900
Total	132,342,297

Total expended, Department of Commerce	164,334,251
Grand total expended by five departments	888,169,798

United Fruit Co. Arranging Loans to Private Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on many occasions in the past I have had the pleasure and the privilege of recognizing one of the great companies of our country—the United Fruit Co. On many of these occasions, I have pointed out the fine work which United Fruit has done—and is doing—to help the peoples of various Central and South American countries to help themselves and to better their standards of living.

I am happy to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House and the Senate a very fine article in the October issue of the Readers' Digest entitled "United Fruit's Experiment in International Partnership." In seven Latin American countries, the United Fruit Co. is making great strides, with a bold new program called the associate producers program, to provide greater incentives for private citizens to acquire company lands and become private banana producers, and thus join in the fruits of prosperity and a better life.

The United Fruit Co. is arranging loans to private farmers to buy company lands and to become private landowners and producers of bananas. In addition, the company is offering the services of its technical experts—agricultural advisers, soil analysts, and quality-control men—who make regular inspections of the new landowners' farms and provide advice and counsel on every stage of the bananas' growth. In effect, this effort by the United Fruit Co. is making partners out of these citizens, some of them former employees of the company. By the end of last year, with the company providing the direction and assisting in every way, there were some 1,115 associate producers operating in six Latin American countries—Colombia, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Costa Rica, and Honduras. Soon the program will be initiated in Guatemala. In 1963, more than 50 percent of the company's banana sales came from the lands which have been sold, or are being leased, to these private citizens.

I am proud to salute the United Fruit Co. for its latest effort to improve the lot of the peoples of Latin America, and to do so by emphasizing private initiative as the best means to foster and improve the Alliance for Progress program. I urge my colleagues to read this fine article on what one of our Nation's leading companies is doing to help our country. The article follows:

UNITED FRUIT'S EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIP

(NOTE.—In seven Latin American countries, a bold new program, emphasizing private initiative, is showing how real life can be put into the Alliance for Progress.)

In June 1962 the United Fruit Co., the world's largest producer of bananas, offered one of its Panamanian employees, a 38-year-old overseer named Alvaro Castrellón, a 500-acre tract of banana farmland, 100 acres already in production. There was only one condition. Since a good part of the acreage was virgin forest that needed clearing and new plantings, Castrellón would have to assume a huge $146,000 debt. This, however, could be repaid out of his future profits.

"When the company asked me if I'd take the risk, I said 'yes' at once," Castrellón told me. "It was a chance to do something for myself." Castrellón moved his family into the comfortable house on the property (formerly the company farm manager's), put to work the four tractors and eight wagons that came with the deal. Today, his entire 500-acre tract is producing bananas, and he has paid off more than a third of the debt.

This case is unusual in the size of the original debt, but not in the success of the venture. For the past 4 years the dynamic plan that gave Alvaro Castrellón his start has quietly been accomplishing, in six Latin American countries with a seventh soon to feel its impact, the U.S.-style social and economic revolution that the Alliance for Progress has been trying so expensively to set off in Latin America. United Fruit is doing this by beating the drum boldly for individual enterprise and the profit motive, and by following the dictates of its own best corporate interests—which are turning out to be the best interests of the Latins, also. In so doing, it may be showing the way to put real life not only into the Alliance for Progress, but into the entire field of foreign aid.

BOLD EXPERIMENT

The associate producers program, as the United Fruit venture is known, calls for the gradual transfer of a portion of the company's banana-producing acreage in Latin America to local citizens. It also calls for the development of new banana lands. Eventually, it aims to bring in Latins as partners—as owners, lessees, or contractors—in every aspect of the banana business, including such allied operations as trucking, spraying, and construction work.

Every banana acre that United Fruit has developed in the past 65 years has already been turned over to local ownership in Colombia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. Similar land transfers are underway in Panama, Costa Rica, and Honduras. The plan will be starting soon in Guatemala. By the end of 1963—with United Fruit helping every step of the way—there were 1,115 of these associate producers operating in the 6 countries. Fifty-two percent of the company's banana sales last year came from their lands.

How did this bold experiment in international partnership come about?

BANANAS BY CONTRACT

Long before World War II, United Fruit had been growing bananas on its wide network of plantations in fertile, jungle-fringed areas of Central and South America. At the same time, it bought additional fruit from a number of independent growers. The company's operations had brought enormous benefits. Bustling ports for the first regular shipping service between Central and North America were built, as well as thousands of miles of roads and railroads. Over the years, some $90 million was spent for free schools, sanitation, water supply, hospitals—even archeological restorations.

Following Pearl Harbor, however, banana exports halted abruptly as all available shipping went into the war effort. After the war, when United Fruit was able to resume large-scale production, it was discovered that in Colombia some independents had kept their farms in operation, others needed financing to clear their acreage and replant. The quickest way for United Fruit to supply bananas for its clamoring markets was to get these Colombian producers into fullest production by contracting to buy all their bananas at a mutually agreed-upon price and at the same time provide them with disease control and other services. This successful arrangement of "bananas by contract" was the beginning of the associate producers program on a limited scale.

Then, in the fall of 1960, the new president of United Fruit, Thomas E. Sunderland, made an inspection trip to the area and saw in this partnership arrangement an answer to many company problems. He decided to put it into operation on a broad enough basis to gain experience for future planning.

A NEW LIFE

The resulting program has brought into existence of a brandnew class of landowners, administrators, and entrepreneurs. Many of the associate producers are former United Fruit employees like Alvaro Castrellón. Others were once shopkeepers, laborers, engineers, small farmers, sons of well-to-do landowners, or of campesinos—the landless peasants who must be reached if Latin America is to be saved from the threat of communism. However, all need to have some knowledge of agricultural production, preferably about banana cultivation. The ownership plan differs only slightly from man to man. Essentially, most growers start with a loan from a local bank which United Fruit helps to arrange. It is paid off with the proceeds from banana production. Others, like the 137 producers of La Lima division in Honduras, begin by renting farms. Plans are underway for eventual sale at la Lima, and United Fruit's timetable calls for several hundred producers to own at least 5,000 of the company's 20,000 acres in Honduras. (United Fruit continues to operate its own farms here as well as in several other countries.)

Some campesinos have become landowners purely through their own initiative. An impressive example is Miguel Flores, once landless and a part-time roadworker. Today he is a producer at Turbo, along Colombia's Caribbean coast. A tight-muscled man of 38 with handsome Indian features, Flores first came to Turbo in 1958 to work on a new highway. He saw immediately how rich the land could be. "So, I took all my earnings," he told me, "about $50 in pesos, and bought all the land I could get. It worked out to 2½ acres." Gradually pushing back the jungle, improving the land bit by bit, Flores in time claimed title to 62 acres, and signed up with United Fruit as an independent grower.

In addition to financial assistance, United Fruit's technical experts—agricultural advisers, soil analysts, and quality-control men—make regular inspections of the farms, supervising each stage of the banana's delicate growth. Producers are required to irrigate their land regularly during the dry season, to prune the plants, clear brush from around each one and watch for signs of disease or blight. The company arranges aerial spraying schedules for disease control, coordinates year-round harvesting, cutting, and shipping schedules to get the bananas to United States and European markets at the most favorable price.

GOOD BUSINESS

The associated producers program was developed for reasons that add up to just plain good business sense, United Fruit officials told me. One important reason was concern about the company's old image in Latin America as "El Pulpo"—the octopus whose tentacles controlled everything. "Nobody ever talked about the good things we did," a veteran executive said. "About the roads, schools, hospitals and railroads we built. Or the wages we paid that were approximately three times as high as those paid by local employers."

United Fruit also wisely anticipated the increase in land-reform programs in several Latin American countries, by which landless peasants would be given a chance to own small farms. A gringo company like United Fruit was a prime target for rabble-rousing politicians—despite the fact that 90 percent of all farmland in Latin America is owned by a wealthy 10 percent of the population. The associated producers program leaves the agitator without an argument.

SUCCESS STORY

The new way of life that puts man on his own resources has inevitably produced some failures. But the success stories, far more numerous, are spectacular. Ramón Madera, for instance, started as a farm laborer's son in the Dominican Republic. In 1955, at the age of 60, he achieved landowner status, with 90 acres of bananas and the first Associate Producer's contract in the North Yaque Valley. Today he can match acreage and bankrolls with many of the country's landed aristocracy. In bananas alone, he owns 1,000 acres, plus another 1,000 acres in rice, and almost 2,250 in cattle land.

But the associate producer philosophy goes far beyond land transfers. It aims, also, to transfer gradually to qualified Latin Americans all the local facilities built up to support the banana industry. Everywhere, contracts are going to new local entrepreneurs for construction of access roads, canals and loading terminals, and for such operations as washing, loading and transporting bananas to ports or rail depots.

The new private enterprisers understand their responsibilities, particularly those toward their employes. "I have 60 workers," said Julio Santamaría, of Panama's Armuelles Division. "We associate producers must help raise their living standards. We will have a profit-sharing plan by the end of this year. Also, we are building a workers' school."

The material benefits of the associate producers program are apparent everywhere, in items which most North Americans take for granted, but which spell a dazzling new life for the majority of Latin Americans: the new, four-room, cement house on Miguel Flores' frontier acres at Turbo—10 yards from his former home, an open lean-to. Or Miguel Quinto's tractor, which hauls neighbors' bananas to Sevilla washing stations. Or the refrigerators, running water, and inside toilets in houses of families who once lived under thatched roofs.

NEW TUNE

One unexpected result of the changed pattern is that the labor unions—previously among the loudest criers of "Octopus" and "Gringo company, go home"—have now changed their tune. One reason is that the unions have been put into a more difficult bargaining position than previously. Instead of one central company, they now have hundreds of separate employers to deal with. The labor-management problem is expected to solve itself, experts say, as the new producers become more secure financially.

Our Government's former Alliance for Progress Director, Teodoro Moscoso, speaks warmly of the broad ramifications of the program. It embodies, he says, the four major principles that a private-industry project in Latin America should have if it is to further the best interests of U.S. foreign policy as well as its own. First, it is a joint venture undertaken by a U.S. company in partnership with local citizens. Second, it is a joint risk. Third, it is a broad undertaking, investing not only money but skilled personnel and technical assistance. Fourth, the project helps create a U.S.-style local entrepreneur.

Alvaro Paredes, an associate producer with 125 acres at Turbo, says, "I would like to see 100 places like Turbo, because I know that nobody ever wants communism—people turn to it only when they can no longer hope to do something for themselves. Every man, if he has the choice, would prefer such an arrangement as we have here. Having land of your own, being a real partner, and knowing that the work you do is for your family and yourself—that's something a man can be proud of."

The Antipoverty Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, this session of the Congress has been one of the most productive in history. To point to one example, President Johnson's war against poverty has produced an imaginative new program to open society's front door to those who have far too long been denied entrance.

Legislative vision, administrative excellence, and money—necessary as they are for success—are not, however, enough. The basic need here is an army of hardworking, dedicated volunteers to carry out the task the President and the Congress have already begun.

Recently, the Trenton Times called attention to this opportunity "for those who want to help out on a gallant project"—a project designed to help us help ourselves banish the poverty which has made the American dream a cruel joke for some 20 percent of our people. As the Trenton Times points out, "Uncle Sam is now pointing his finger and saying 'I want you'."

We must not fail to meet this call.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the September 18 editorial from the Times be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANTIPOVERTY ARMY

Congress has provided the ammunition for its war on poverty but it cannot supply the people to man the guns. So Uncle Sam is now pointing his finger and saying: "I want you."

The Government is looking for about 6,000 full-time and any number of part-time volunteers to serve in three categories of the antipoverty army.

There is Vista (Volunteers in Service to America). This is the so-called domestic Peace Corps which hopes to enlist 5,000 young people from the age of 18 up, plus retired persons. There is the group known as Job Corps. Needed in the first year are about 1,000 teachers and counselors to staff the rural conservation and urban training centers where an attempt will be made to salvage the potentials of thousands of school dropouts.

And there is the community action program. Here part-time volunteers of all ages willing to serve without pay are wanted for a variety of joint Federal-local antipoverty offensives.

All of these groups offer a place for those who want to help out on a gallant project designed to give those unfortunate persons a chance to help themselves.

In Celebration of the 600th Anniversary of the Founding of Jagiellonian University in Cracow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to bring to your attention this year's celebration of the 600th anniversary of the founding of Poland's Jagiellonian University, the second oldest institution of higher learning in central Europe. It was in 1364 that King Casimir the Great signed permission for the construction of this university, an institution that has added distinction and achievement to the history of the Polish State.

Originally called Cracow University, this center of learning was renamed for the Jagiellonian dynasty in 1815. The statute of the institution was patterned after the law schools of the universities of Bologna and Padua, but the Polish university was more liberal and autonomous in nature.

Even during a period in its history when its academic character became increasingly ecclesiastical, the university remained influential in shaping the Polish national conscience. It boasts as one of the earliest members of its distinguished student body, the mathematician and scientist, Nicolaus Copernicus. From 1500–35, the zenith of its development as part of an independent Poland, it drew to its doors all Polish writers and scientists, as well as students from the surrounding central European countries.

By the beginning of the 16th century, Jagiellonian University displayed distinction in its physical features, as well, with the addition of the beautiful Colleguim Maries, still today a jewel of Cracow Gothic architecture.

Under the influence of Hugo Kollataj, a renowned scholar and writer, much needed reform in teaching was instituted and the university ultimately reached, in 1869, another period of "flowering and supremacy." Historical studies were particularly outstanding at this time.

But after 500 years of academic and cultural eminence, the two World Wars of the 20th century did not spare this seat of learning. The intellectual strength of the university was weakened by the First World War but not destroyed. However, the Nazi occupation during the Second World War stripped the institution of many of its accomplished faculty and left it with a tremendous task of rebuilding its scientific faculty and activities.

Nevertheless, today this oldest Polish house of learning has recovered and is proclaiming its well-deserved pride in a long history of achievement. It has awarded honorary doctorate titles to nine Polish scholars and scientists as well as others from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Great Britain, and the

United States. Among the recipients from our Nation are William Bloom, biologist from the University of Chicago; Linus Pauling, chemist and Nobel Prize winner; and Dudley White, cardiologist.

In a world where education and learning are universal goals, I take great personal pride in commemorating the 600 years of Poland's commitment to the attainment of such goals.

United Community Decent Literature Committee's Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Frank P. Dyer, chairman, Citizens' Committee for Decent Literature in West Orange (N.J.) has kindly furnished me with a survey report that was conducted in March and April 1964 in Essex and Bergen Counties. Adults were queried as to the types of magazines they considered acceptable or objectionable for children under 17 years of age. As Mr. Dyer observes, the survey represents the voice of the people, and hence I believe it will be of interest to the Members of Congress.

Some 1,300 opinions were polled, resulting in nearly 4,000 cast votes. The total "acceptable" vote was 4.2 percent compared with total "objectionable" vote of 95.8 percent. It should be noted that elaborate precautions were taken to insure the integrity of the voting machinery.

I am pleased to insert below the introduction and summary of results from the report of the United Community Decent Literature Committees' magazine poll. The complete report may be obtained from Mr. Frank Dyer, 83 Brighton Avenue, East Orange, N.J.:

INTRODUCTION

SPONSORSHIP

The poll conducted in East Orange, N.J., was conducted by the Citizens Committee for Decent Literature in East Orange and sponsored by the East Orange Junior Women's Club. The poll conducted in Newark, Nutley, Belleville, and Lyndhurst, N.J., was sponsored and conducted by United Community Decent Literature Committees, an association of Community Decent Literature Committees throughout the State of New Jersey.

PURPOSE

The study was designed to determine the percentage of the community which regards salacious magazines presently available to children as acceptable for their consumption and the percentage of the community regarding these same magazines as objectionable for these same children. These relative percentages were deemed significant statistics in view of the prevalent judicial tendency to narrow the scope of those publications, termed "Hard Core Pornography," which may be prohibited by law. This narrowing of the legally prohibited category exempts from prosecution a wide band of publications which are thus freely accessible to youth in the many retail outlets handling them. It is this wide band of publications that merits consideration, since, patently below the community standards of decency, the average parent is unable to protect his children from their corruptive influence because they do not qualify as obscene for all.

METHOD

The magazines were categorized: "A" for those featuring nude or near nude females in a variety of sensuous poses. "B" for those featuring illustrations and stories of extreme brutality, with strong overtones of sadism and masochism. "C" for those featuring nude or near nude males in a variety of seductive poses, with strong overtones of homosexuality. A simple choice of acceptable or objectionable was posed.

The mobile units were located in shopping centers or heavily traveled business districts. Every effort was made to remove all possible bias from the poling unit by signs indicating the desire to objectively poll opinions. In the East Orange phase of the poll the unit bore the sign: "Clean Literature Committee", whereas in all other locations the unit bore the sign: "Step Up And Vote—Wow or Whoa." Despite a possible influence exerted on the voters in East Orange, the results reveal no significant difference between the voting in East Orange and the voting in other localities. It is concluded that the East Orange sign did not materially attract those predisposed to favor decent literature.

A position bias occurs when one of two choices appears constantly in the first, or top, position on the program card. The normal voting tendency is to select the first choice on impulse. To eliminate position bias, program cards are normally rotated so that each of the two choices appears in the first position, thus neutralizing, in the total results, the effect of any position bias that may have occurred. This program card rotation was intentionally avoided and the choice "Acceptable" was constantly placed in the first or top position. The committee wished to thus handicap a finding of "Objectionable" in the total results, in an effort to demonstrate that such a finding, should it occur, resulted from genuine reflection and could not be ascribed to mere statistical mishap.

It must be noted that the mobile unit, of necessity located outdoors, was further plagued by unseasonable temperatures, ranging as low as 29 degrees Fahrenheit. Nevertheless, some 1300 opinions were polled, resulting in nearly 4,000 cast votes. The pertinent statistics follow.

Summary of result

[In percent]

	Acceptable	*Objectionable*
Category "A"	4.9	95.1
Category "B"	3.7	96.3
Category "C"	4.5	95.5
All categories	4.2	95.8

Ossining Honor Day at World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, September 3, 1964, was a historymaking day for Ossining, N.Y. Under a special events program set up by the New York State Commission on the World's Fair, representative nonprofessional performing groups from every community in the State perform from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily, making the New York State exhibit the "Star of the Fair."

September 3 was Ossining Honor Day at the New York State pavilion. The town was ably represented by 5 groups who gave a total of 14 performances. The five performing groups were: Sons of Tunje, an instrumental and dancing group of teenagers who are very interested in African culture; Ax-Cents, consisting of a lead guitarist-vocalist, a rythm guitarist, and a drummer, specializing in popular music; Jimmy and Joan Bason, singing a program of rock'n-roll and popular music; Justice and the Peacemakers, a quartet of sixth-grade girls who compose and arrange their own songs; and Viceroys, composed of three high school boys, playing bass guitar, drums, and guitar, with vocal arrangements.

One of the highlights of the day occurred when Mrs. Irving N. Valentine, of Ossining, presented a plaque bearing our national motto "In God We Trust" to assistant project director, Harold J. Kiley, who accepted her donation on behalf of Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, chairman, New York State Commission on the World's Fair. Mrs. Valentine previously, in 1957, donated a similar plaque to the Ossining post office. I understand that the Ossining post office was the second in the country and the first in New York State to display our national motto, thanks to Mrs. Valentine.

The Responsibility of the Citizen as a Voter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, for several years in the past, in lieu of my usual newsletter, I have reprinted the following prize-winning composition, chosen by the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association. Response has been so favorable that I am again reproducing this most appropriate essay from volume 35, American Judicature Society, by Ralph Bushneel Potts:

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZEN AS A VOTER

The blood of freemen stains my ballot sheet. Whatever others may do, I shall not carelessly make my mark. I vote not because I can, but because I must. Those who died for this, my voice in government, had a right to expect that I would prepare with every faculty to use it wisely, honestly, and courageously. They did not die that fools, blind partisans, or the reckless might make a game of free elections.

Only my secret heart knows whether I justify the definition of voter as they wrote it in the reddening sand. If I love my country as they did, I question my qualifications again and again.

I carefully study the issues and candidates to determine what is best, not for me or my minority but for my country.

I will not be confused or deceived by propaganda, slogans, or histrionics. I shield my eyes to the glitter of personalities, purge my mind of passion and prejudice, and search diligently for the hidden truth. I must be free of all influences save that of conscience and justice.

I garden for dreams, but with a realistic spade. My test is not of trend or popularity, but of principal and liberty.

I vote as if my ballot alone decided the contest. I may lose my preference, but I will not throw away my sacred vote. For within the booth I hold in my humble hand the living proxy of all my country's honored dead.

Be sure to vote for the candidates and issues of your choice on Tuesday, November 3, 1964.

Vote and the choice is yours. Do not vote and the choice is theirs.

Giovanni da Verrazano

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following study of the Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano by Dr. Salvatore Rosolia of Staten Island, N.Y.:

The history of the world will always record that the American continent was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492.

Within one short glorious period of a single generation, from 1492 with Christopher Columbus to the year 1524 with Giovanni da Verrazano, the American continent was discovered. From Labrador and the Hudson Bay to the lowest tip of South America, Terra del Fuego, discoveries were made. Among the discoverers were Amerigo Vespucci, Giovanni Caboto, Sebastian Caboto, and Magellan.

By 1523, the world already knew of very extensive new lands discovered by Columbus for Spain; by Giovanni and Sebastian Caboto for England, and by Amerigo Vespucci for Portugal. The circumnavigation of the world by Magellan added a new competitive move in the conquest of new trade routes and a race for new colonizations. France dreamed also of new lands, new wealth, and an empire.

Giovanni da Verrazano was already known as a navigator, who knew the route to the North American continent. When he was recommended to the French court, he found favor. Needing financial backing, Verrazano turned to wealthy Italian bankers and merchants of Lyons and obtained their help.

In August 1523 four French ships sailed in secrecy from Dieppe with Verrazano in command of the *Dauphine*. Two of these ships were lost in a violent storm. The other two were damaged and returned to Brest.

On January 17, 1524, Verrazano sailed from Porto Santo Island with 8 months' provisions and armed for war in order to defend the ship against possible attacks from Spanish ships. He kept sailing along the coast of Spain and then straight westward in open ocean. On March 7 a new land appeared—what is now Cape Fear, near Wilmington, N.C. Verrazano continued on along the coast of South Carolina and named the lands.

When sailing along the coast of New Jersey, Verrazano reached Sandy Hook (south of Staten Island, N.Y.). He recorded his findings "we saw a very beautiful lake (upper New York Bay) about 3 leagues in circuit where the Indians were rowing from one shore to the other in 30 or more little boats with innumerable people in order to see us." How long they remained in the Upper Bay is not known. Raising the anchor, Verrazano sailed eastward along the coast. He baptized the land all around the bay "Angouleme" after the name of the King of France; he called Brooklyn "Flora"; the Upper and Lower New York Bay "Santa Margarita," and all the territory around it La Nuova Francia.

Verrazano continued along the shores of the east coast until he reached Nova Scotia. After furnishing themselves with water and wood, they decided to turn toward France.

Very little is known of Verrazano following his return to France with his *Dauphine*. Some historians claim that he made in 1528 a third trip to America; that he was captured by Spaniards and hanged. Others say he was eaten by cannibals in Venezuela.

In his trips to America, Verrazano proved that the new world was all isolated, being a huge continent, connected together.

The official opening the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge has been set for November 21, 1964, to mark a historical date, to celebrate a great international event, and to honor another great Italian navigator. This bridge has been built to link Brooklyn and Staten Island, N.Y., in honor of the Florentine explorer who first crossed and discovered New York Bay. The Verrazano-Narrows Bridge has become a new symbol, expressed to uphold a warm feeling of national and international friendship. Fifty million Frenchmen and 50 million Italians know that our new bridge was named in honor of Verrazano.

We New Yorkers take pride following the growth and development of the huge span, soon to become a national landmark. Standing at the entrance to New York Bay centuries ago were Lenni-Lenape Indians, Canarsie tribes, and other pale faces of Algonquin nations, all dressed with multicolored feathers, greeted and welcomed white faced named Verrazano, Gomez, Hudson, Block, and Stuyvesant.

At the entrance to this same bay, centuries later, a prodigious bridge posted to guard a huge metropolis, has now been built. It is arising over the sea as a towering gate, to be thrown open to greet and to welcome friends. Sailing from the seven seas of the world, pilgrims and strangers alike, streaming through this armored gate, are also welcomed. They come to our country to live and to progress, to help build a bigger America.

Tribute to Congressman Clifford Davis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, as the distinguished dean of the Tennessee delegation in Congress, Hon. CLIFFORD DAVIS, retires, I want to take this means of paying tribute to him for his fine service to his district, the State of Tennessee, and the Nation.

Congressman DAVIS was a great Congressman in the highest tradition. His years of service have been marked with great accomplishments and many achievements. Space would not permit a recitation of the great legislative work to which he has so highly contributed—in the building of highways, great projects of conservation, the development of our waterways, and the Tennessee Valley Authority—will stand as monuments of progress on which Congressman DAVIS as a member of the Committee on Public Works served with such ability and dedication.

Congressman DAVIS was the principal champion of the bill to provide for self-financing by the Tennessee Valley Authority—the Revenue Bond Financing Act—which has contributed to the strengthening of this great agency of our Government, serving Tennessee and the South.

Congressman DAVIS was a great legislator and a great Democrat and dean of our Tennessee delegation. We shall miss him; but as he seeks retirement, we will wish for him and his lovely wife, Carrie Davis, years of good health and happiness and a continued life of success.

Good luck, Congressman DAVIS. You have served Tennessee well.

"One Nation Under God"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD M. RYAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RYAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, recently radio WMRN, a station in Marion, Ohio, broadcast an editorial program titled "As We View It." On this program, the Marion council of the Knights of Columbus was greatly commended for publicly promoting the United States as "One Nation Under God."

I was most gratified to learn that the latest attack on religion to remove the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance—was being refuted by Americans and American organizations.

At this time, I would like to insert this excellent editorial into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to extend my appreciation to Mr. Robert T. Mason, general manager, and radio station WMRN, for doing their part to preserve our precious American religious heritage.

The script from the broadcast follows:

AS WE VIEW IT

Most interesting slogan we have seen in many a day—stamped on a letter from the Marion Council of the Knights of Columbus—the words enclosed in an outline of the U.S. map—"One Nation Under God"—a

phrase from the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

How much more appropriate for loyal Americans than the prevailing philosophy of some of our national political and religious leaders—"One World Without God."

How many of one-worlders have you ever heard refer to God? And we have repeated this so often it gets nauseous—we sat at an awards luncheon in Washington for national winners of the National Association of Broadcasters' contest Speak Up For Democracy. Eleanor Roosevelt was the main Speaker. She was then U.S. delegate to United Nations, especially in the UNESCO program. She explained that the reason reference to God was omitted from the U.N. charter was because so many countries did not believe in God.

Can you imagine the framers of the Constitution and the authors of the Declaration of Independence omitting God from their works, because of some disbelievers—and there were many, as records of witch hunting ing will attest.

More organizations should follow the lead of the Knights of Columbus by publicly committing themselves to promoting the United States as "One Nation under God."

It seems to take a long time to arouse the American people from their brainwashed stupor of bureaucratic control. Two recent speeches reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD deal with God. One by Congressman RYAN of Michigan goes into detail on the efforts to delete under God from the pledge. He says, "Several years ago an action was started in the State of New York against the commissioner of education to order him to delete the words 'Under God' from the Pledge of Allegiance."

The case was carried through New York courts and court of appeals where adverse decisions didn't stop the reformers who "brought the action directly to the U.S. Supreme Court." You can imagine what that Court's decision will be after denying prayer in the schools.

Congressman RYAN continues "and yet, today, there are sinister forces about us who are shouting 'It is un-American', 'it is a destruction of personal liberties', 'that there is no place for God in the government of this land.' 'The words "Under God" must be struck out of the Pledge of Allegiance.' "

He continues: "I can predict the day when the inscription 'In God We Trust' will no longer be present on our national coins. The words 'Pray for Peace' on our postage stamps will be found only in rare stamp collections.

"The Prayer Room in the U.S. Capitol will be declared unconstitutional. School books, having references to God will be outlawed. Chaplains will no longer have a place in the armed services. And the worship, the recognition, and the outward service to a Supreme Being will be grossly restricted."

Congressman RYAN states: "Our Nation is steeped in religious tradition. Remember the Mayflower Compact which begins 'In the name of God. Amen.'

"Recall the arguments of George Mason to the General Court of Virginia 4 years before the Declaration of Independence that 'The laws of nature are the laws of God, whose authority can be superseded by no power on earth.'

"And in the words of William Penn—Those people who are not governed by God will be ruled by tyrants."

"We should remember the Constitutional Convention which began with prayer. Our first, and perhaps most beautiful recognition of God was expressed in our Declaration of Independence and I quote: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'."

Congressman ASHBROOK of Ohio, on the prayer amendment: "Mr. Speaker, it is obvious by now that the liberals have been successful in blocking our efforts to correct the unfortunate Supreme Court decision which has had the effect of forcing our public schools to become materialistic and has reversed the historical religious tradition of our society." He cites the Supreme Court case brought partly by a Madalyn Murray and continues: "The logic of the Murray case can easily be extended to many areas such as, first—removing 'under God' from pledge of allegiance. Second, removing 'In God We Trust' from coins. Third, outlawing the income tax deduction for donations to churches or religious organizations. Fourth, outlawing the tax-exempt status of church property and church income. Fifth, forbidding the Government to use tax dollars for construction of chapels on military establishments. Sixth, forbidding the Government from using tax dollars for paying military or institutional chaplains."

Congressman RYAN and ASHBROOK are only two of many in Congress who have revolted against the current campaign of liberals to take God out of the lives of Americans and to substitute for it the state.

You must know the stories of Communist destruction of the deity—a common example—a teacher tells her first graders to pray to God for something like milk or candy. After a reasonable length of time—nothing happens of course. Then she instructs them to pray to the state—and naturally the Communists then deliver the goods—which are already on hand.

Isn't this the same trend as seen in the United States, but instead of limiting the brainwashing to children, the adults are being rewarded with handouts of all kinds from the state—to many far more than they have prayed for.

So, again, our appreciation for what the Knights of Columbus have done to recognize the power of God in human lives and in our Nation.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged and pleased to rise in support of House Resolution 899, a resolution which, when adopted, will officially recognize the unique and outstanding contributions made to this body by our distinguished colleague and friend, the Honorable CARL VINSON, of Georgia.

The resolution commends the Honorable CARL VINSON, the beloved dean of the House, for his incomparable record as a legislator, his manifold contributions to the strength of our country, his constant and unimpeachable devotion to the public interest and expresses the conviction that as he retires from this body after his 26th term, he carries with him the love, respect, and admiration of his colleagues and the gratitude of the Nation.

No man in the history of the Congress of the United States has deserved this type of accolade and recognition more than our friend and colleague, CARL VINSON. The retirement of CARL VINSON at the end of this 88th Congress will leave the Members of his immediate congressional family, the Committee on Armed Services, without its mentor and father confessor.

To those of us who have been privileged to serve with this distinguished American on the Armed Services Committee, the retirement of CARL VINSON will take from each of us the unique and special opportunity we have had to seek and obtain his sage counsel and advice.

Every member of the Committee on Armed Services has looked to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] as the patriarch of his official family. A leader without fear, a teacher with infinite patience, a friend with boundless benevolence, a confessor with infinite compassion, a raconteur with rapierlike wit, a patriot with selfless dedication to his country and with all these marvelous attributes, a genuinely humble and modest man.

We who will be left behind as he leaves these hallowed halls of the Congress will continue to strive to justify his faith in us. He will leave behind him among his contemporaries on the Committee on Armed Services the will and the conviction to carry on in the high and lofty traditions established by him. This, in the final analysis, is the real test of his greatness as a leader.

The genius to leave behind him the commonsense and dedication of purpose that has characterized his entire service in the Congress is truly the real mark of his greatness.

We who have sat at his knee and listened to his counsel, obeyed his commands, and acknowledged and accepted his criticisms have been made immeasureably richer and better fitted for our task by our association with him.

This man, CARL VINSON, is truly a giant among giants. He has served his country well. He has never permitted hostile fortune or criticism to daunt him in his pursuit of righteousness; he has kept heart in adversities when all around him have lost it, he has gone through intrigue and retained his honor; and he has always willingly relinquished personal ambition and acclaim when the welfare of his Nation was the goal.

He has, in short, epitomized "greatness," and has provided us with a standard of performance to which we will all continually strive, but never fully attain.

I am saddened by the retirement of CARL VINSON, but I am at the same time grateful for the kind and wonderful providence that has permitted me to be a very small part of his rich and wonderful life.

Report of U.S. Service Academies and Notice of Examination on October 31, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item concerning the U.S. service academies and notice of examination to be held on October 31, 1964:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am writing to tell you this is now the time, during October, when applications can be made to me as your Congressman for the civil service exam to be held on October 31. These exams are for congressional appointments from our district to the four U.S. Academies, for high school graduates in June 1965. These are fully paid scholarships at Air Force Academy, West Point, Annapolis, and Merchant Marine Academy—are for 4 years, leading to engineering degrees. U.S. expenditures on these average $8,000 to $10,000 per year for each cadet.

Our office works hard each year on a program to get good candidates—while each Congressman is allotted one principal appointment to each Academy yearly—in the current year, we got appointed two cadets to the Air Force, two to West Point, six cadets to Annapolis (the tops in the United States), and one to Merchant Marine.

So there is good opportunity for appointment. Let me hear any good recommendation and my office will contact the young man and send him an application.

Here is good news on the cadets from our local area—Dormont and Green Tree—that I have appointed to the U.S. Academies from our large congressional district: Jim Wessel, of Dormont, son of Judge and Mrs. Art Wessel, made the dean's list at West Point, is now captain serving in Germany with the 34th Cavalry in armor. Frederick Burdette, of Green Tree borough, entered West Point this year highly recommended by the American Legion post and is already succeeding. Fred writes on September 23: "I like it more and more each day."

Tom Grimm, of Dormont, graduated at Annapolis in 1958, is now serving with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. He is an engineer on the submarine *Irex*—really demanding service. Jim Davis, Green Tree, a graduate of Dormont High, son of Mrs. Margaret Davis, a widow, just returned from Japan in July. Jim graduated at Annapolis and has just been selected for promotion to commander. George Meighen, former president of the student council at Dormont High, has returned from Army duty on Okinawa. George graduated at West Point and is now a major at Norfolk, Va. Jim Mitchell, of Dormont, started at Annapolis, switched to the Air Force, and is now attending Geneva College.

We in our district are proud of this fine record.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 2, 1964:

H.J. Res. 793. Joint resolution authorizing the United Spanish War Veterans to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs;

H.R. 1853. An act for the relief of Patti Jean Fulton;

H.R. 5042. An act for the relief of certain officers of the naval service erroneously in receipt of compensation based upon an incorrect computation of service for basic pay;

H.R. 5500. An act for the relief of Lt. John P. Mann;

H.R. 7788. An act for the relief of Jack B. Fisher;

H.R. 8300. An act for the relief of Gordon W. McGrew;

H.R. 8596. An act for the relief of Patrick J. Clyne;

H.R. 9201. An act for the relief of Capt. Charles H. Glassett, Jr.;

H.R. 10294. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lois Graybill;

H.R. 10526. An act for the relief of Marvin S. Kline;

H.R. 10634. An act for the relief of the Quality Bedding Co.;

H.R. 11332. An act to authorize certain veterans' benefits for disability or death resulting from injuries sustained prior to January 1, 1957, by reservists while proceeding directly to or returning directly from active duty for training or inactive duty training;

H.R. 11626. An act to authorize the payment of expenses incident to the evacuation of dependents of military personnel from Panama and Cyprus;

H.R. 11913. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of antimony from the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile; and

H.R. 12091. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 9,500,000 pounds of sisal from the national stockpile.

On October 3, 1964:

H.R. 2501. An act to authorize the promotion of qualified Reserve officers of the Army and the Air Force to existing unit vacancies;

H.R. 2509. An act to authorize Reserve officers to combine service in more than one Reserve component in computing the 4 years of satisfactory Federal service necessary to qualify for the uniform maintenance allowance;

H.R. 2512. An act to clarify the status of members of the National Guard while attending or instructing at National Guard schools established under the authority of the Secretary of the Army or Secretary of the Air Force, as the case may be, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2753. An act to disclaim any title of the United States to certain real property in Modoc County, Calif.;

H.R. 2859. An act to provide for the promulgation of rules of practice and procedure under the Bankruptcy Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9435. An act to improve judicial procedures for serving documents, obtaining evidence, and proving documents in litigation with international aspects;

H.R. 10328. An act for the relief of certain commissioned officers of the Army or Air Force who were erroneously paid uniform allowance under the provisions of section 305 of the Career Compensation Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12033. An act to further amend the transitional provisions of the act approved September 6, 1958, entitled "An act to protect the public health by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to prohibit the use in food of additives which have not been adequately tested to establish their safety," and for other purposes.

On October 6, 1964:

H.J. Res. 753. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim October 15 of each year as White Cane Safety Day;

H.R. 3642. An act for the relief of Mike Mizokami, Sam Mizokami, Tom Mizokami, and Hatsuyo Mizokami;

H.R. 4972. An act for the relief of Robert E. McKee General Contractor, Inc., and Kaufman & Broad Building Co., a joint venture;

H.R. 4989. An act to amend title 28 of the United States Code to transfer the counties of Genesee and Shiawassee in the State of Michigan from the Northern Division to the Southern Division of the Eastern Judicial District and to authorize a term of court at Ann Arbor;

H.R. 5759. An act for the relief of Connecticut Beverage Co., Inc.;

H.R. 5932. An act to amend the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 so as to authorize certain teachers employed by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia to participate in a health benefits plan estabilished pursuant to such act, to amend the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 so as to extend insurance coverage to such teachers, to provide for retroactive salary increases for certain civilian employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6593. An act for the relief of Earnest O. Scott;

H.R. 10204. An act to extend the Osage mineral reservation for an indefinite period; and

H.R. 12289. An act to establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission, and for other purposes.

On October 7, 1964:

H.R. 11380. An act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes;

H.R. 11812. A act making appropriations for Foreign Assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 12633. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes.

On October 8, 1964:

H.R. 6233. An act to provide for the conveyance to certain land of the United States to the Pascua Yaqui Association, Inc.;

H.R. 9718. An act to authorize the crediting of certain military service for purposes of Reserve retired pay; and

H.R. 12308. An act to authorize removal of a flight hazard at the U.S. Naval Air station, Norfolk, Va.

On October 13, 1964:

H.R. 1096. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the

State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1179. An act for the relief of Basilio King, his wife, and their children;

H.R. 1927. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2434. An act to amend section 560 of title 38, United States Code, to permit the payment of special pension to holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor awarded such medal for actions not involving conflict with an enemy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4649. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavor concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5871. An act to modify the retirement benefits of the judges of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, and the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6218. An act to amend the act of June 29, 1960, to authorize additional extensions of time for final proof by certain entrymen under the desert land laws and to make such additional extensions available to the successors in interest of such entrymen;

H.R. 7348. An act for the relief of Frank B. Rowlett;

H.R. 8427. An act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a Central Intelligence Agency retirement and disability system for a limited number of employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9124. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to vitalize the Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9393. An act to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide full retroactivity for disability determinations, to extend the period within which ministers may elect coverage, and to validate wages erroneously reported for certain engineering aides employed by soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9976. An act for the relief of Elmer Levy;

H.R. 10473. An act to extend the period during which Federal payments may be made for foster care in child-care institutions under the program of aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12318. An act to provide an equitable system for the classification of certain positions under the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 1192. Joint resolution fixing the time of assembly of the 89th Congress.

HOUSE BILL DISAPPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT—CHESTER A. BROTHERS AND ANNA BROTHERS

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 1851, a bill for the relief of Chester A. Brothers and Anna Brothers, his wife.

The bill would relieve the claimants of their legal obligation to pay interest, at the rate of 6 percent per annum, on delinquent payments of income taxes for the years 1955 and 1956. The taxpayers did not file income tax returns for these years until 1960 due to the misconduct of their accountant who, unknown to Mr. and Mrs. Brothers, failed to file their returns.

The interest payment required by law is not a penalty but is designed to reimburse the Government for the loss of the use of the money owing to it. Payment of interest is equitable because it prevents a taxpayer who pays his taxes late, for whatever reason, from enjoying an advantage over other taxpayers who pay their taxes promptly.

Each year there are many thousands of taxpayers who, for reasonable cause, make late payments of income taxes and who are obligated to pay interest on their late payments. Approval of this bill would, therefore, discriminate against many other taxpayers and would create an undesirable precedent.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 13, 1964.*

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress will be published not later than Friday, October 23, 1964. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

A Session Ends, an Era Begins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the historic 2d session of the 88th Congress has drawn to a close. It will long be remembered, for it has seen many programs of great import brought to successful fruition. Soon its deeds will be proudly recorded in the annals of time. The wisdom of its decisions and the thoughtfulness of its actions will rank high among the accomplishments of men. The ideas it has given effect to and the intent it has prescribed will assuredly be far reaching. May I congratulate those on both sides of the aisle who have played a positive role in this epochal session of the 88th Congress, for they have contributed generously of their time, energy, and foresight to the writing of acts that will be given more than mere footnote attention in the historical documents of the near and distant future.

At one time, some tried to convince us that this Congress was a dawdling one, and this institution, a "stopgap" body of Government. The legacy we leave behind in this second session is an unequivocal refutation of this charge. It is also a tribute to a recently deceased President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and a strong "vote of confidence" for his successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson. Whereas Mr. Kennedy had said, "Let us begin," Mr. Johnson has said, "Let us continue." I think that we have begun and we have continued—thanks to this remarkable session of the 88th Congress. In doing so, we have helped to make our Nation a little healthier, a little stronger, and a little wiser.

The greatness of any session of Congress is ultimately measured by the progress which it has been instrumental in promoting. Writ in another dimension, its greatness is determined by the extent to which it has conscientiously and consistently acted on the wishes of the people as articulated in the political platform of the major party in power. With these criteria in mind, I venture to say that this generation and the generations which come after it will long remember this Congress, and its second session in particular; and they will say that this Congress ushered in a new era—an era which, among other things, is making striking gains in the fields of economic expansion, civil rights, and economic opportunity.

I mention these gains first and presently discuss the ways in which they will move this mighty Nation to hitherto unattained heights of progress. I do so, because they manifestly represent the determination of this Congress to come to grips with weighty problems crying out for solution in a crisis-ridden age.

ECONOMIC EXPANSION

Two of the most pervasive legislative measures acted on in this session which are benefiting our economic system are the tax reduction and revenue acts of 1964. In a landmark session for our economic system, this Congress imaginatively sought to make use of some of the tools put to its disposal in our capitalistic democracy by manufacturing a potent weapon against possible recession and by creating an appropriate stimulus to employment.

The entire impact of the tax cut is of course incalculable. Only time will reveal its full effect. However, facts and figures drawn up since its passage last February indicate an encouraging degree of measurable economic growth—growth which promises no sign of letup in the near future.

By enacting the most comprehensive program of income-tax reduction in our Nation's history, this session of Congress has given new and unprecedented vigor and buoyancy to our system of free enterprise. Because of it, approximately $11.5 billion annually has been added to the take-home pay of Americans in every income group and to business profits across the board.

In mid-August, the Council of Economic Advisers released these impressive figures on the economic gains that have been recorded since November of 1963: The gross national product, based on current prices, has increased nearly $20 billion, or 3.3 percent; industrial production has gone up 5.2 percent; employment in nonfarm occupations has increased by 1.4 million; the unemployment rate is down from 5.9 to 4.9 percent; the average weekly earnings in manufacturing is up $2.12, or 2.1 percent; personal income has risen $17 billion, or 3.6 percent; after-tax personal income has increased $20 billion, or 5 percent; the after-tax personal income for a family of four is up $360, or 4.2 percent; corporate profits—after taxes—have risen nearly $3.5 billion, or 12 percent; and, in stock values, Dow-Jones

is up from 711 to 840, which comes to 18 percent; and the total share value is up in excess of $100 billion.

Now, it is to be recalled that the figures which I have just cited represent growth measured from the fourth quarter of 1963, not the first quarter of 1964, when the tax cut was passed into law. Therefore, it is impossible to judge with exactness the full extent of our economic growth in the period following this legislation. But, undeniable is the fact that we have made unprecedented strides forward in our growth rate since last February.

One respected index for measuring this rate is, of course, the gains reflected in our gross national product. A reading of comparative figures will reveal that for the second quarter of 1963 the gross national product was $577.4 billion, and for the second quarter of 1964 the current estimate is $618.6 billion, which is an increase of more than $41 billion in 1 year's time. Another way of calculating this year's gains over last year's is to compare the percentage of increase from the first to the second quarters of 1963 and 1964, respectively. In 1963, the gross national product went from $571.8 billion for the first quarter to $577.4 billion for the second, an increase of 0.98 percent. In 1964, the increase is more dramatic, with the gross national product going from $608.8 billion for the first quarter to $618.6 billion for second—an increase of 1.6 percent.

These spectacular increases of the gross national product are bound to continue. On the basis of present trends, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Walter Heller, has recently indicated that the gross national product will rise to a figure somewhere between $640 and $650 billion in the first quarter of 1965.

If we take another index for measuring gains recorded in our economic system—that of employment and unemployment figures—we shall find further encouraging growth patterns. A comparison of seasonally adjusted jobless rates for the first month of the third quarters of 1963 and 1964 indicates that 5.6 percent of the civilian labor force were unemployed in July of last year; and 4.9 percent were unemployed in July of this year. These figures represent a drop of about 300,000 more than usual from June to July. Also encouraging is the fact that the total of 3.8 million jobless was half a million below that recorded in July 1963, and was the lowest July level in 5 years. Furthermore, last July was the first time in 4½ years and the second time in 7 years that the number of unemployed dropped below 5 percent of the civilian labor force.

In spite of the daily reduction of jobs through automation, employment rates have also been increasing to record highs. In July, the number of Americans holding jobs climbed to a little less than 72.5 million, an alltime high in our history and the first time employment has passed the 72 million mark.

We have not of course made a reality of the full employment principle articulated by the 79th Congress back in 1946. But, the recent increases in employment and decreases in unemployment have brought us encouragingly closer to that goal. And, without doubt, the tax reduction act has been largely responsible for our moving in that direction.

However, the gains recorded in this new economic era cannot be attributed to the tax cut alone. Sorely needed structural reforms in our tax laws have likewise contributed to a greater period of prosperity. In this regard, I am delighted to say that the 1964 reform act included important measures which reduced by three-quarters of a billion dollars the tax burden shouldered by many upon whom it weighed inequitably.

Both of these measures—the tax reduction and tax reform acts—have prompted major gains in our economic life. In the words of the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Walter Heller, these acts have assisted in "first, providing an initial stimulus of over $8 billion to consumer purchasing power, together with a major strengthening of business incentives; second, creating a healthy climate for expanding private economic activity and broadening the range of freedom of consumer and investor choice; and, third, restoring the vitality of our free economy and also restoring the prospect for a balanced budget in a balanced economy."

CIVIL RIGHTS

An accomplishment of paramount importance that this historic session wrote into law as the most effective declaration of civil rights since the period of Reconstruction. I might further say that there has been only one instance since it first deliberated back in 1789 when the other Chamber resolved to limit debate on a civil rights bill—and that occurred in this session preparatory to the successful passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Civil Rights Act is one of the most historic measures ever passed in the entire life of our country. This act will go a long way toward approaching a major credo in our American way of life, that of equality of opportunity for everyone—regardless of race, color, creed, and national origin. Under 11 comprehensive titles, the Civil Rights Act makes a reality of such respected principles as equality in voting, equality in public education, and equality in obtaining and holding a job. The machinery of Government is now prepared to move in behalf of the aggrieved citizen who has, until now, frequently been unable to seek relief from the despair of discrimination.

I should like to take some issue with those textbooks which herald the 19th amendment as signaling the beginning of universal suffrage in America. Although the 19th amendment extended suffrage to women back in 1920, we did not then embark on an era of truly universal suffrage. I submit that it is the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which marks the actual beginning of the realization of this great principle, a principle which no one will deny is essential to the practice of representative democracy. For, it was with this legislation that the same standards will apply to all individuals seeking to register and vote in Federal elections; that no one can be denied the right to cast his vote because of some minor mistake on an application for voting in these elections; that literacy tests which are written are the only tests which will be considered valid in establishing the qualifications of an individual in such elections; and that a person who has completed the sixth grade in a predominately English language school is sufficiently literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

The various titles of the act are clear and specific, concerning various aspects of civil rights, the purposes of which are to guarantee to all Americans, without regard to race, color, or creed the free exercise of their constitutional rights, which in whole or in part have been denied or infringed to millions of Americans in the past.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

It is with resolve and dispatch that the Congress has in this session acted to render archaic the terrible paradox of poverty in a nation of plenty. The antipoverty bill, or Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as it is entitled, is this Congress' answer to problems existing in what some have called the other America, or the invisible America. In attempting to open wide the exits from poverty for so many of our fellow Americans, a multifaceted program is now being put into operation under the leadership of the Director of the eminently successful Peace Corps, R. Sargent Shriver.

Even though the poverty of America is out of sight to many of our citizens, it is no longer out of mind. It is indeed distressing to know that of the 47 million families in this country, at least 9 million of them—or approximately one-fifth of these families, consisting of 30 million persons—have a total income of less than $3,000 per family, per year. Of these 9 million families, more than 5 million—consisting of more than 17 million people—have a total income of $2,000 or less, per year. This is not to mention the fact that a great number of family-less individuals try to live on incomes of less than $1,500 a year.

Probably the most vital aspects of this act center on our youth. Sad indeed is the fact that not since the great depression has this Nation been confronted with such problems relating to youth unemployment and unemployability as the ones we face today. Sad, too, is the evidence that joblessness and poverty constitute a twin condition which is "inherited," so to speak; and that there is a depressingly low degree of mobility from the "have not" to the "have" strata in our society. As a result, there is a continual and ever-increasing breeding ground of poverty in this country. With the Economic Opportunity Act, however, we can have reasonable hope for a more economically healthy environment for a great number of Americans who do not, as of this time, enjoy it.

To meet the challenge of replacing despair with opportunity, this session has considered and passed a brilliant program which seeks to help people help

themselves and to eliminate some of the root causes of poverty, not just its symptoms. In an attempt to enhance the employability of our youth, $190 million has been appropriated for establishing conservation camps and training centers for the disadvantaged. Enlistees between the ages of 16 and 21 will be selected from those who, by accident of background, health, and education, are least fit for useful work. After a period of up to 2 years at these camps and centers, however, members of the Job Corps will emerge better qualified to play a productive and otherwise positive role in American society.

A second vital facet of this war on poverty is the $150-million work-training program. Through cooperation between the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and State and local agencies, as well as private nonprofit organizations, projects will be developed to provide employment and training for young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 who would live at home. Certainly, hundreds of thousands of our youth are desperately in need of the experience, the income, and the sense of purpose which useful, part-time work can bring. For many, work-training projects may mean the difference between finishing school and dropping out.

A third and final aspect of the act which centers on youth is the work-study program. With a $72.5 million appropriation, many thousands of young Americans from low-income families who would otherwise be denied the opportunity to either enter college or continue their college education will now be able to defray part of their expenses by working at or near their college. The jobs will deal with projects at the institution or at public agencies and nonprofit organizations by arrangement of the institution; furthermore, they will either relate to the student's educational objectives or contribute to the public interest.

Thus far, I have stressed largely the benefits that will accrue to youth in this Congress' determination to assist the Nation's poverty stricken. Of additional and equal significance are the urban and rural community action programs, special programs to combat poverty in rural areas, business investment incentives, and a type of domestic Peace Corps.

Under the provisions of the urban and rural community action programs section of this act, Federal assistance to mobilize the public and private resources of the community will help in the battle to combat poverty at the local level. Grants are also earmarked for initiating projects to raise the basic education skills of those 18 years of age and over whose inability to read and write constitutes a serious impediment in obtaining gainful employment. These provisions are clearly predicated on traditional principles of democracy which encourage the members of the body politic to help each other in strengthening the society of which they are a part.

Abject poverty in rural areas is another target for those waging the most noble peaceful campaign in our history. A new life, it is hoped, will be brought to low-income rural families by providing them with loans up to $2,500 where such extra funds might reasonably effect a permanent increase in their incomes. Such loans, I might add, will be made if there is reasonable assurance of repayment, if credit with reasonable terms is otherwise unavailable, and if the loan is adequate to achieve the purposes for which the loan is made.

Under this same section, assistance will be given to establishing programs for helping seasonally employed agricultural workers and their families as well as certain dairy farmers who have had to withhold temporarily their milk from market.

Loans up to $35,000, financed from the Small Business Administration's revolving fund, will also be made to small business concerns and, in some cases, on the condition that management skills be improved through a training program. Surely, small business plays a vital role in our system of free enterprise and is worthy of any sound investment we can give it when the need arises.

The final but by no means least significant aspect of this Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is the creation of a domestic counterpart to our Peace Corps, called Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA. Enlistees in this program will constitute a small army of dedicated people who will wage a campaign against poverty at the State and local levels to meet the health, education, and welfare needs of those requiring such services. Certainly, our Peace Corps has fired the imagination of our youth and served the cause of peace by the assistance it has rendered to many on distant shores. Now, we are about to direct attention to our own shores, as well, by calling on those who are eager to bring advantage to our disadvantaged, security to our insecure, and hope to our hopeless.

HOUSING

This session of Congress, with all due deliberation and resourcefulness, cast a ray of hope into the lives of countless numbers of our fellow citizens when it enacted Public Law 88–560. This—the 1964 omnibus Housing Act—approaches solution to several problems which seem to know no limits. With an appropriation of more than $1.1 billion to implement a broad-gaged program in the housing field, this act will make it possible for our Nation to come ever closer to fulfilling its goal of "a decent home and neighborhood for every American."

It seeks this goal on several different, but nevertheless related, fronts: it authorizes the public housing program to construct 37,500 housing units; it permits the Federal Housing Administration to insure mortgages on one-family homes up to $30,000 instead of the former $25,000 ceiling; it provides added protection against foreclosure if a home buyer fails to meet payments on time because of circumstances beyond his control; it allows savings and loan associations to make loans on homes within 100 miles of their main place of business instead of the former 50-mile limit; it provides $150 million for farm-housing loans; it earmarks $10 million for low-rent housing for migrant farmworkers; it sets aside $30 million for urban planning grants and $25 million for open-space grants for parks and recreation facilities; and it provides $75 million for the construction of housing for the elderly.

In addition to these, the Housing Act seeks to tackle anew the recurrent vexing problems of the slums. As the first major addition to the concept of urban renewal since rehabilitation was included in 1957, it attempts solution to urban problems in this area by seeking to preserve more buildings and to decrease large-scale razing. The chief means of solution are two: First, to provide Federal loans at a below-market interest rate of 3 percent for tenants and landlords who are required to restore rundown housing and businesses in urban renewal areas; and, second, to allow a more generous relocation payment schedule for people and businesses displaced by urban renewal. Under this latter provision, small businesses with a gross annual income of less than $10,000 a year will receive up to $1,500 plus moving expenses, and families and single persons 62 years of age and older will receive a rent subsidy of up to $500 maximum for a 12-month period.

Certainly, the dilemmas of city and suburb are both deep-seated and widespread. Particularly vexatious are the twin problems of substandard housing and urban blight. For this reason, the 2d session of the 88th Congress has justly given one of the highest priorities to an area of concern that admits of no easy or quick solution.

TRANSPORTATION

Substandard housing and slums, however, are not the only problems plaguing our metropolitan areas. Would that they were, but transportation systems within and around our congested cities represent yet another point of concern—and a concern to which this session has attempted to bring relief. Under the provisions of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, $375 million in Federal grants is authorized for distribution over a 3-year period to many of the Nation's public and private municipal transit systems. The purpose of the act is twofold: First, to render assistance in developing improved mass transit services and facilities; and, second, to encourage rational planning in devising areawide transit systems. The program, which will be administered by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, will assist in the construction and rehabilitation of commuter bus, subway, and train facilities, and other capital projects which local authorities cannot pay for out of transit fares. The Federal share will be two-thirds of the net cost of a given project.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

This session of Congress has also been responsibly alert to the health, education, and welfare needs of the Nation. In the field of health, the Hill-Burton amendments of 1964 have extended Federal grants to the States for 5 more years to help them pay part of the costs of constructing public and other nonprofit hospitals, public health centers, long-term care facilities, rehabilitation facilities, and diagnostic or treatment centers.

Since the Hill-Burton Act was originally enacted in 1946, more than 7,300 projects have been recommended by the States and approved for Federal assistance. State Hill-Burton agency reports to the Public Health Service indicate that we still need 133,000 additional new hospital beds if the Nation's requirements are to be met; of this number, more than 13,000 hospital beds are required annually just to take care of the annual increase in our population. These reports also show that of this Nation's 2,443 health service areas, only 979—or 40 percent—are considered by State health departments as having met 100 percent of their general hospital bed needs. The other 1,464 health service areas need to construct additions to existing hospitals or to erect new hospitals. Successive Hill-Burton Acts and the 1964 amendments represent a model of Federal, State, and local grants-in-aid. The 5-year extension will now allow this vital program to go forward without interruption in meeting future needs for hospitals and other health and medical-care facilities.

This 88th Congress has justly been called the Congress which has done more for education than any other Congress of the last 100 years. It has acted in response to the needs of education because it has recognized that civic enlightenment and responsibility in our democratic order are possible only through a sound sysem of education. It has also realized that education is an all-important tool in developing the talent of free world leadership and buttressing our national security. For this reason, this session has amended and extended the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Over the course of the last 6 years, approximately 600,000 students have been helped to obtain or continue a college education through loans made available under ths act. About one-half of these loans have provided the necessary financial assistance to students preparing to teach in our ever-expanding elementary schools. Approximately two-thirds of the loans have gone to prospective teachers or to students possessing superior talents in the fields of science, mathematics, engineering, and modern foreign languages. The act, as amended, would provide opportunities to persons pursuing a life's work in the teaching of English, reading, history, and geography. Furthermore, it would give Federal support to the preparation of teachers working with disadvantaged youth, to librarians, guidance counselors, and educational media specialists. Finally, it provides funds to increase National Defense Education Act loans and fellowships through June 30, 1968.

A second major assist given to education by this session of the 88th Congress is the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964. When President Johnson signed the act last February, he remarked:

> The central fact of our times is this: Books and ideas are the most effective weapons against intolerance and ignorance.

This is the underlying thought that motivated the Congress to continue to make public library services available to those who have inadequate services, or none at all. Until last February, Federal funds—under the Library Services Act of 1956—were administered by the States and their local units in rural areas only; with the 1964 amendment, however, urban areas are also eligible to receive such assistance. The second part of the act authorized a sizable appropriation for fiscal year 1964 plus unspecified amounts for the following 2 fiscal years for construtcing library buildings in communities where the inadequacy of facilities prevents the development of library services. This provision, which was absent in the privious Library Act, should go a long way in meeting the requirements of a democracy which must thrive on knowledge if it is to remain viable.

A final major contribution to education made by this session of Congress is the Nurse Training Act of 1964. Its aim is to alleviate the grievous shortage of bedside nurses, and it attempts this goal through four basic approaches. First, it establishes a 4-year program of $90 million in grants for constructing and rehabilitating nursing schools. Next, it creates a $58 million program to assist collegiate, associate degree, and diploma schools of nursing to meet the costs of improving their training programs. Third, it extends for 5 more years the existing program of traineeships for the advanced training of professional nurses for teaching and administration. And finally, it establishes a student loan program modeled on the National Defense Education Act for students of nursing at collegiate, associate, and diploma schools of nursing. Eighty-five million dollars will be provided for this purpose for a 10-year period.

Lastly, in the field of assistance to the needy, we can rest assured that this session of Congress acted responsibly and wisely in writing into law the food stamp program. This law, which expands a pilot project initiated back in 1961, provides that food stamps be administered to improve the diets of the needy. According to the provisions of the act, a local welfare agency will determine how much money an eligible family spends on food. For the price of what the family usually pays for food in a given period, it will receive from the agency food stamps worth a larger amount of money. The stamps will be redeemable at retail stores which will, in turn, redeem the stamps through wholesale food concerns or banks. Operations to date indicate that a needy household buying $6 worth of stamps usually receives about $10 worth of food. Appropriations have been made to meet needs in this area for this fiscal year plus the next 2 years in order to bring about a fourfold expansion of this very vital program.

CONSERVATION

It is with great pride and satisfaction that I reflect on the accomplishments that this second session has recorded in the field of conservation. This Congress justly deserves the appellation, "Conservation Congress," for it has written some of the most significant conservation legislation in the history of the Nation. At least two of several measures passed are considered landmark decisions.

The first is the Wilderness Preservation Act, which puts more than 9 million acres of public lands already classified as "wilderness," "wild," or "canoe" under legal protection. Eventually, 14.7 million acres may be added to the National Wilderness Preservation System after review by the President and the Congress. The pristine beauty of wilderness areas in national forests, parks, and wildlife refuges can now remain roadless, undeveloped, and much like the way nature created them.

The other landmark measure is the land and water conservation fund, which seeks to create an eventual sum of $180 million a year for the purchase of vitally needed outdoor recreation areas. State agencies as well as the National Park Service and the Forest Service will draw upon this fund to buy scenic areas and playgrounds and to prepare them for public use. The revenue for such a fund will be derived from nominal admission and user fees at certain recreation areas, an existing motorboat fuels tax, and net proceeds from the sale of Federal surplus real property.

In addition to these two measures, I should like to point out that the Ozark National Scenic Riverways Act will protect 101 miles of the famous Current River in Missouri, 39 miles of its tributary, and some 87,000 acres of adjacent valley and hill land. Finally, the Canyonlands National Park will preserve some of the Nation's most spectacular desert and canyon scenery in southeastern Utah.

RELIEF TO ALASKA

On March 27 of this year, one of the worst earthquakes in modern history inflicted awesome damage in the young State of Alaska. In response to this calamity, Congress moved with alacrity to provide $50 million in emergency aid to bring relief to Alaskans. The funds appropriated were made available to the Office of Emergency Planning for allocation to Federal agencies participating in Alaskan relief activities, the most active of which were the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, and Treasury, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Small Business Administration, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

In May, $23.5 additional million was appropriated for Alaska's State and local governments to help offset severe revenue losses expected from the destruction wrought in the wake of this devastating earthquake. This sum—which is based on estimates of revenue loss—will be provided through June 30, 1966. In addition to supplying Federal funds, the legislation extends until the end of fiscal year 1966 the period in which Federal agencies can continue to provide services that normally belong to a State and during which property used for providing such services might be transferred to the State. Certainly, the loss of life and property was an unspeakable tragedy. Let us hope that the positive role played by this session of Congress can restore, at least in part, some of these material losses and bring increased viability to the Alaskan State economy.

PUBLIC DEFENDERS

I think that no conscientious American will question the requirement in a democracy of equal protection under the laws for all. Clearly, this principle is an absolute essential to the preservation of individual rights. However, there have been too many instances when "equal protection" was not provided for all, largely because rising costs of litigation have made court action prohibitive to those unable to pay for their own defense. Therefore, this 88th Congress, early in its second session, moved quickly to bring greater equity to the judicial process by passing the Criminal Justice Act. Now, a person who is accused of a Federal crime and is unable to pay for legal aid will be provided assistance without cost at every stage of criminal proceedings. Counsel will be appointed by the district court judge or U.S. commissioner from a panel of lawyers in private practice, or made available by a bar association or legal aid society. This legislation brings us decidedly closer to a society wherein legal relief is obtainable by all—not just by those who are financially able.

COTTON-WHEAT PROGRAM

Early in this session, the Congress passed the cotton-wheat bill, which will bring benefit to the Nation's farmers and consumers as well as effect a major reduction in Federal farm expenditures. The chief feature of the cotton provisions is a 2-year subsidy for domestic textile mills which will reduce the cost they pay for domestically grown cotton. Its purpose is to help domestic mills to compete with imported goods and to make raw cotton prices for mills more competitive with artificial fibers. The ultimate goal is to prevent cotton from being priced out of the domestic market.

The wheat program section is designed to replace previous legislation that would have given farmers complying with allotments only about $1.26 a bushel in price supports. With this new program, farmers complying with wheat acreage allotments in 1964 will receive supports of approximately $2 a bushel on wheat for domestic food use, $1.55 on the portion of their wheat grown for export, and $1.30 on the portion grown for feed and seed use. Similar scales would apply in 1965.

This legislation is designed to bring solution to several potential agricultural problems. In short, the control, support, and subsidy features of the program will help to maintain reasonable farm incomes—especially for the small farmer—save the market for U.S. cotton, and avoid building up huge surpluses of cotton and wheat.

GOVERNMENT PAY RAISES

One of Emerson's aphorisms—"We often pay dear for a small frugality"—was a guiding idea that prompted this session of Congress to raise the salaries of both civilian and military personnel of the Federal Government. All levels of government have lost many outstandingly qualified individuals to the private sphere because of the more attractive salaries that the latter can offer. The Federal pay raise attempts to retain men and women of talent and to attract more of the talented, as well. It did this by revising and upgrading Federal salary rates so that compensation for Government jobs is roughly comparable to similar jobs in private enterprise. This resulted in an overall 4.3-percent raise for 1 million classified civil servants, a 5.6-percent increase for the 600,000 postal workers, and a 2.5-percent increase for those commissioned and warrant officers and all enlisted personnel who have 2 years of service. The salaries of Federal judges, U.S. attorneys, Members of Congress, legislative employees, and Cabinet as well as high-level administrators were also increased. Rises in the cost of living through the years require Congress to bring Federal salaries into line with these costs. I am glad that this session saw fit to bring equity to the salary system at this time, and, in the process, dissuade valuable men of Government from leaving the civilian and military services in search of more lucrative employment outside the Government.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS

Three major Commissions have been authorized by this session of Congress to undertake studies of critical national importance. In August, legislation created a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress to undertake a searching inquiry into the problems bred by automation and the means by which they can be prevented or solved. Certainly, automation can be this Nation's boon or its bane. It is with determination, then, that this Congress seeks, on the one hand, to utilize the vast advantages which can be derived from automation and, on the other, to prevent automation from disrupting the benefits that can be reaped from our economic system.

In June, Congress authorized the creation of a National Commission on Food Marketing to investigate the operations of the food industry covering the gamut from producer to consumer. The establishment of this bipartisan Commission reflects the concern over the widening spread between what the farmer receives for his products and what the consumer pays in the retail market, as well as apprehension over the rise of big retail food store chains. The recommendations that will be made by this Commission in 1965 are likely to protect farmers and consumers alike.

The efficiency and fairness with which Federal administrative practices and procedures are carried out constitute a continuing concern of Congress. For this reason, this Congress, in August, voted to establish a permanent Administrative Conference of the United States to formulate recommendations for the improvement of administrative procedures within the Federal agencies and departments. The main body of the Administrative Conference will be an Assembly, consisting of a chairman, appointed by the President for a 5-year term; an 11-man Council, appointed by the President for a 3-year term; and a flexible number of members from both government and private life. The Conference will have no enforcement powers, but will submit its recommendations to the President, the Congress, and/or the Judicial Conference of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In the international sphere, this 2d session of the 88th Congress has assisted this Nation in charting a positive course toward the realization of world peace. The El Chamizal Convention Act, the increase in U.S. funds for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank, the contributions to the International Development Association, increased appropriations for the Peace Corps, and the Vietnam resolution—all of these have contributed to creating greater harmony and understanding among the nations of the world.

Certainly, the El Chamizal Convention represents an accord that is consonant with the longstanding friendship that has guided the conduct of relations between Mexico and the United States. The Chamizal Treaty, signed in 1963, settles a century-old dispute over ownership of the "El Chamizal" tract of land which, as a result of a shift in the course of the Rio Grande some 100 years ago, had separated from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, and become a part of El Paso, Tex. The treaty provided that the United States would cede 366 acres of the disputed Chamizal tract, plus a nearby 264 acres, to Mexico, in return for which the United States would receive 193 acres of land held by Mexico.

In April, Congress authorized appropriation of up to $44.9 million to implement the Convention on the Chamizal. Implementation includes the stabilization of the Rio Grande in a concrete-lined channel which will become the new United States-Mexico boundary line. It also includes relocation of an estimated 4,500 U.S. citizens and commercial properties, bridges, port-of-entry and El Paso city facilities, and railroads within the area.

Early in the session, Congress authorized more than $461 million in additional U.S. contributions to the Inter-American Development Bank. Of this amount, $50 million goes for the Special Operations Fund, which makes loans with more flexible interest and repayment terms; and more than $411 million goes to the regular lending operations. This Bank, which is modeled on the World Bank, serves as an effective tool in our program of bringing greater economic viability to the Americas.

In addition to authorizing more funds for the Inter-American Development Bank, this session authorized $312 million as this Nation's contribution to a proposed $750 million increase in the financial resources of the International Development Association. The $312 million will be payable in three installments of $104 million each, beginning this fiscal year. As an affiliate of the World Bank, the I.D.A. provides 50-year loans to underdeveloped nations, mainly in hard currency. The loans are interest-free, but carry a three-quarters of 1 percent service charge and are repayable in hard currencies.

Increased appropriations for the Peace Corps is yet another way in which this

session of Congress has shown its determination to bring peace to the world. More than 10,000 young men and women dedicated to fostering international understanding are today working on distant shores in various capacities. This kind of people-to-people program is essential to the progress of countless millions of people. The Congress endorses this aim and supports the Corps in all its admirable endeavors.

On August 2 and 4, North Vietnamese PT boats made unprovoked attacks on two U.S. destroyers in the international waters of the Gulf of Tonkin. In response to this inexcusable action, the President requested, and received from Congress a resolution overwhelmingly in support of the American air attack reprisals on North Vietnamese gunboats. The resolution also pledges the determination of this Nation to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty—SEATO—which requests assistance in defense of its freedom. This bipartisan action reflects the united agreement, which is found in all areas of this land, that we stand solidly behind the President in his determination to keep the peace.

CONCLUSION

Such are some of the major components of the public record of this epochal 2d session of the 88th Congress. The American public can take pride in the oft-demonstrated fact that this session has been instrumental in helping to shape a better society, and that strong action was taken for a powerful national defense, and a firm foreign policy. This body's handiwork has introduced a new era, an era which offers greater hope and opportunity for every individual.

But, the work of the Congress is far from over. As Oliver Wendell Holmes once remarked, "The work is never done while the power to work remains." More work has yet to be completed, for democracy's tasks are never ending. The people's representatives and the Democratic controlled Congress have performed their tasks well in this last session; and the satisfaction that they derive from a job well done is sufficient inducement for them to renew their determination to tackle anew some of the unfinished business that awaits their attention in the first session of the new Congress that will meet in January.

Tribute to Congressman Clifford Davis

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I will never forget the fairness, the courtesy, the dignity, and the astute wisdom with which CLIFFORD DAVIS presided so magnificently over the subcommittee it has been my honor to serve on with him. I have watched him there and closely observed him presiding over the full committee on numerous occasions, and again here on the floor fighting for legislation that affected the Nation from one end to the other. CLIFFORD DAVIS was a successful leader in the committee and on the floor.

The whole country has felt the impact of his genius and has been benefited. CLIFFORD DAVIS' courage, integrity, and faith in his fellowman will always be an inspiration to me. I will be a better Congressman having associated with this great American. This distinguished son of Tennessee and Southerner served his Nation in the tradition of Sam Houston and Andrew Jackson. I predict that Judge CLIFFORD DAVIS will serve the Nation again in the near future as judge, Senator, or as an administrator.

Mrs. Dorn and my family join in wishing for Judge DAVIS and his lovely wife, "Miss Carrie," much happiness, success, and best wishes always.

American and Israeli Education: Some Problems and Parallels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on Friday, September 25, 1964, the Commissioner of Education presented an address before the National Leadership Conference on Education of the United Jewish Appeal in New York entitled "American and Israeli Education: Some Problems and Parallels."

Because of the widespread interest in this subject matter area, in my judgment Senators will find the Commissioner's comments most helpful to them. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the address to which I have referred be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN AND ISRAELI EDUCATION: SOME PROBLEMS AND PARALLELS[1]

(An address by Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

Will Rogers once observed that few things are worse to behold than an expert who gets off the track's he's expert on. So today I shall not wander into the areas of expertise which your distinguished guests, Mr. Eban and others, will discuss with you. If I venture to contribute to your thoughtful proceedings on education in Israel, it is only to suggest some parallels in the problems which today concern both American and Israeli educators and governmental leaders.

In thus limiting our inquiry, I trust we may also develop some broad perspectives which will enable us, as Americans, to understand how Israel's educational problems are sometimes similar to our own, how Israel's educational goals often run parallel to our own, how both free Nations, though hemispheres apart, seek through education to achieve a good and great society in our troubled time and world.

Viewing education in this way, as the foremost instrument of a free society, I think we may appreciate all the more the insight of the writer in Proverbs who declared:

"Through wisdom is a house builded
And by understanding is it established
And by knowledge are the chambers filled
With all precious and pleasant riches."

From its birth, Israel has been painfully aware that such problems as poverty and cultural disunity could cripple its emergent society. To meet these problems, Israel has placed enormous demands on its educational structure. While Israel's population has grown threefold in the past 15 years, its school population during this period has increased sixfold. People have crowded into Israel from many countries and cultures, seeking to create and establish one country and one culture.

Throughout this quest, it can truly be said that Israel has existed in a state of crisis, of dramatic social change. The Government and people of Israel together have recognized that in education lies the crucial element for mastering their problems. As Prime Minister Eshkol has observed, the educational system of Israel touches basically on the future of the land, on its security, on its spiritual destiny, on the whole process of developing a common pattern of nationhood.

A similar compelling emphasis on education was expressed by President Johnson at the White House only a few weeks ago. "We are learning," he said, "that it is time for us to go to work—and the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

In the United States, as in Israel, we have come to rely heavily on education in times of crisis, to see it as indispensable in dealing with our most pressing social and economic needs. But unlike Israel, our own problems of poverty and cultural disunity appear almost to have taken us by surprise.

It is not that we, in the United States, have been totally unaware of the flaws which existed beneath the shining surface of our affluence. Instead, we also required crisis to heighten our awareness and to act upon it. More than any other factor, the civil rights movement has dramatized and brought to the surface the inequalities of our social and economic order and the need for equal and greatly expanded educational opportunity for all our people, whoever they are, wherever they may live.

Through this movement and its demonstration for human rights, America's long-cherished faith in universal education is now being transformed into dynamic fact. In this period of domestic crisis, the present Congress—the "Education Congress," as President Johnson has called it—has passed more significant acts for education than any Congress in our history. Among its legislative accomplishments during the past 2 years are acts for public community colleges and technical institutes; for graduate schools; for community and college libraries; for student college loans; for science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction; for guidance, counseling, and training; for expanded manpower development and retraining; for teaching handicapped children; for medical and nursing education; for preventing juvenile delinquency; for vocational and technical education.

These acts for American education are impressive, of course. Although many educational problems still remain, they clearly indicate a new legislative willingness to seek long-lasting and effective solutions to education's problems in the United States.

[1] Before the National Leadership Conference on Education of the United Jewish Appeal, New York, N.Y., Friday, Sept. 25, 1964.

What is no less impressive in Israel, to my mind, is that its political leaders from the founding of the state have been willing to give great support to the educational process and to educational planning, often in advance of actual crisis situations. I believe we have much to learn from a nation which sets out deliberately and faithfully to plan for its schools the excellence and continuity of growth which alone can be crisis-proof.

In this respect, I am reminded of a remark of a business friend to the effect that planning in government is socialism, while planning in business is sheer genius. Labels aside, the point I would make is that a society that plans and collaborates for a sound educational structure is a society bound to endure. In your presence here today I find impressive testimony to just this faith.

The structure of education differs in these two countries, of course, both in magnitude and in complexity. Education in Israel is, in effect, the enterprise of one state, while we are a nation of 50 States with vast and independent enterprises in education.

But with all our differences in origin and approach and management of education, with all the differences between our cultures and our economies, we find today a great many educational problems in common between Israel and the United States—problems that now confront our two free societies as we seek new paths to fulfillment in a day of critical challenge and change.

Today, let me speak of three areas where America's educational problems resemble those of Israel, areas of new awareness where each Nation may learn with benefit from the experiences of the other. These three particular areas of challenge to education are in poverty and cultural deprivation, in the development of sound vocational and technical education, in the expanding need in both nations for higher education.

First, let us turn to the problem of poverty, of what is sometimes more gently called the problem of the "culturally deprived." This problem exists in the slums of Haifa as it does in the slums of Harlem. The immigrating Jew from Morocco is often afflicted with the handicaps and disadvantages suffered by the displaced miner in Appalachia. And so, especially, are their children, for poverty of education and of culture have a tragic way of running on from generation to generation—unless they are interrupted.

In both countries, we have come to see that poverty can be displaced in our time, effectively displaced by education, and most effectively by providing the best of education for the children of the poor.

It is now recognized—actively in Israel and with growing awareness in our country—that if the deprived child is to become a productive member of society, his formal education would wisely begin well before the time when his more fortunate contemporaries begin their schooling.

Without such educational reform, we have found that the children of the slums lack the background to take full advantage of the usual school experience. By the time these children reach the third grade, we find that they are usually a year behind in academic performance; by the sixth grade, 2 years behind; by the eighth grade, up to 3 years behind.

In Israel, a vigorous program is already underway. During the past school year, 5,000 culturally deprived children in Israel between the ages of 3 and 5 received free nursery education. During the next 4 years, it is planned that free nursery education will be provided for 28,000 of these children.

In the United States, we are beginning to make progress in some cities, in some school districts. But recently, when Charles Silberman proposed a nationwide program of nursery education for our culturally deprived children, his magazine article was subtitled "A Radical Proposal." If his proposal is regarded as somewhat radical in a country as prosperous as our own, it is recognized as a necessity in Israel, with a standard of living only one-third as high as ours.

Our efforts to date include among them nursery school programs staffed by volunteers in St. Louis and Kansas City; preschool programs partially financed by the Ford Foundation in Baltimore and New York; and summer nursery schools for disadvantaged children in Chicago. But if we would assure ourselves of a major impact by education on the problem of poverty, it is clear that these efforts must be multiplied many times over wherever poverty exists.

And as these efforts expand, we must also expand our ability to deal with illiteracy and poor education in whatever age group we find it. Today almost 25 percent of all young Americans drafted for military service fail to meet basic educational requirements and are rejected. And they are also subsequently and usually rejected by an employment market which calls for ever-higher skills and abilities.

Israel takes all able-bodied youth into its armed services, which must then serve as a vast schoolhouse as well as a defense force. We must reach these young people in other ways. The community action programs authorized under the new Economic Opportunity Act hopefully will help to alleviate problems of illiteracy among adults and young adults. The Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps under this same anti-poverty program will also be potent tools in motivating our out-of-school and out-of-work young people.

A second area of educational concern in both nations today is in vocational and technical education. Here we are summoned to teach our people to master skills required by our highly developed economies, to reach their potential in a day when the brains of men are replacing his brawn, when technological change can be our most helpful friend or our most devastating enemy, depending on how adequately we prepare for its advance.

From the early days of Israel's statehood, it was clear that this new nation was making rapid strides into the modern technological era. Recognizing that Israel was not well endowed with natural resources, Israel's pioneers—notably President Chaim Weizmann—shrewdly determined that Israel's destiny lay in becoming the Switzerland of the Middle East. By skill and technology and human excellence, Israel would overcome any poverty of physical endowments.

The new immigrants to this emerging land brought not only zeal and great courage in their exodus from death and oppression, but many of the finest scientific and technological and learned minds of Europe. Building on this inheritance of intellect, Israel shortly established excellent vocational schools through such farseeing organizations as Histadrut, Hadassah, WIZO, and Mizrachi.

These vocational institutes have supplied in quality what Israel today requires in far greater quantity—modern vocational schools attuned to the needs of a truly modern technological state. Today, Israel's needs for vocational training are far from satisfied. Many applicants for these schools are still turned away for lack of space, and many more for lack of funds.

Israel's problem in vocational education runs parallel to its critical needs throughout secondary education, in which tuition must be charged to meet expenditures. As the U.J.A.'s education mission has reported: "The greatest single education need in Israel is for secondary school buildings in the development towns." Vastly expanded financial aid and free tuition are also critical secondary school needs.

Our U.S. experience in vocational education is, of course, of much longer duration, but only in recent years, culminating in the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, have we begun to rebuild our vocational enterprise in tune with the needs of our time.

America's system of vocational education began about a half century ago in response to the growing effects of industrialization. The schools in that era were a bold and successful effort to stave off unemployment caused by lack of necessary skills. Unfortunately, in the years that followed, many of these schools were neglected, becoming remote from technological change and training young people for vocations already becoming extinct.

The new vocational legislation authorizes almost $1 billion in Federal funds over the next 4 years for new vocational schools and new training courses. These funds must be matched by States and communities where these schools will be located. Each of our 50 States and thousands of our communities will be called upon to see that the new vocational and technical schools train our young people in skills that are needed today and for new skills that will be needed tomorrow.

The third area of concern in both Israel and the United States is higher education, the capstone of a nation's educational system. In both nations, the accelerating expansion of knowledge and the growing requirements of our economies promise a phenomenal demand for college and university study in the years ahead.

Here, we may be sure, Israel will make full use of its five excellent universities and also plan for further expansion to the limit of its financial ability—and even beyond its present limits, if we may judge from Israel's past and prodigious accomplishments.

In these efforts, one of the most notable achievements has come through Israel's voice of conscience, through its efforts to finance and provide higher education for poor but able oriental Jews. Israel, as the U.J.A. mission points out, is doing much to raise the morale and speed the integration of these young people into its national life by making college education a reality for many who could not otherwise even dream of it.

In the United States, with the highest percent of college-educated citizens of any country, we are now also feeling an ever-increasing pressure for higher educational opportunities. In the 1950's, our college and university enrollments increased by more than 50 percent. In the present decade, they are expected to double, reaching 7 million enrolled students by 1970. By the end of the 20th century, it seems likely that they will double again or even triple.

To prepare for this floodtide of students, the 88th Congress passed the Higher Education Facilities Act, which authorizes $1.2 billion in Federal funds over 3 years to help our colleges and universities build classrooms, laboratories, and libraries. But these funds will meet only a small part of the cost, which is now estimated at $2.3 billion a year in physical facilities alone. Now that we have come to see the way, I think America, as it has so often before, will find the means.

While we are fortunate to have made such progress in these and other areas, it of course cannot be said that Israel can learn from us the value of universal secondary education, or the value of higher education for all those who desire it and can benefit from it.

Israel knows their value full well. If reverence for education were not present in the homeland of the People of the Book, where else could one hope to find it? No, as I said at the outset, Israel's problem is not of ill-defined or ill-planned goals. Rath-

er, it is a problem of possessing insufficient financial resources to reach its goals as soon as it would like.

But Israel, too, will find the resources to attain its educational aspirations. I am proud that the Office of Education can make its own modest contribution of more than $350,000, and thus share in the development of educational research in Israel. These funds, generated by the sale of agricultural commodities in Israel under Public Law 480, now support a dozen research projects at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, at Tel Aviv University, at the Haifa Technion, and in the Ministry of Education.

These undertakings, staffed by outstanding Israeli educational researchers, promise to help solve educational problems of the culturally deprived, improve curriculums, and assist in social adjustment through education. In addition, plans are now in progress to develop programs for teaching English as a second language in Israel.

But more impressive in the long run is the work of this most impressive organization of American Jewry, the United Jewish Appeal. Today you are directing your attention not merely to crises—which will always be with us—but to long-range educational planning. In your work, we may all take pride and encouragement.

The great humanitarian and philanthropic traditions of the United Jewish Appeal are now being harnessed with great deliberation to what seems to me is the only true promise of a society's growth and endurance. Education, it cannot be said often enough, is a process which pervades all of life at its best, is a foundation on which all of life's aspirations must ultimately stand or fall.

So, today, as you meet to consider how Israeli education may be strengthened, you are helping to insure not merely the continued existence of Israel, but also its cultural flowering and ultimate human promise in the world.

And you are doing something else. You are once again giving testimony to that largeness of heart and generosity of spirit which I have always associated with the meaning of America and with the exemplary contribution in this respect of its Jewish citizens.

The United Jewish Appeal, I think it fair to say, has been one of the most impressive social and philanthropic movements of our time. I am encouraged beyond words, therefore, to see this great movement giving to the cause of education the devotion which you continue to display toward more dramatic challenges such as have characterized the Republic of Israel from its birth.

The Federal Bulldozer: Repeal the Federal Urban Renewal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN KYL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist, Richard Wilson, chief of the Washington Bureau of the Cowles Publications, had this to say about the Federal urban renewal program in the September 27, 1964 issue of Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune:

Everywhere that the urban renewal program has swept away square blocks of decrepit buildings people wonder what became of the former occupants. Obviously most of the former residents could not afford quarters in the modernistic high-rise apartments so typical of urban renewal projects.

It is a mystery. Washington officials don't have a very clear idea of what happened to the occupants, whether they are better or worse off than before they received eviction notices. It is clear, however, that the very poor have been evicted to make way for the better off in one of the most curious and controversial of Federal aid programs.

According to some estimates the projects now authorized, under construction or completed will have displaced about 4 million people in major cities. This is about like transferring the entire metropolitan area of Detroit somewhere else.

I include as part of my remarks the following excerpt from chapter 14 of the new book, "The Federal Bulldozer" by Prof. Martin Anderson of Columbia University. The book was published by the MIT Press, and is a publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The excerpt follows:

THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN RENEWAL, 1949–62

(By Martin Anderson)

CONCLUSION: REPEAL THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM

Aristotle: "Even when laws have been written down, they ought not always to remain unaltered."

Some argue that it is too early to judge the Federal urban renewal program; they say, "The program is only 15 years old. Projects take longer to complete than we anticipated, often longer than 10 years. The program is still in the experimental stage; it hasn't worked out as well as we hoped." This line of argument holds that Government programs should not be judged unless they are finished or unless they are proceeding as planned. The historians will analyze and judge later; for the decisionmakers the time for judgment is now. Today's decisions will govern the future course of urban renewal. The decisions must be made now and they cannot be made in a vacuum of knowledge—to postpone evaluation is simply to advocate implicitly the continuance of the program without knowing why.

Since 1949 the Federal urban renewal program has been growing in scope and size, leaving a clear trail, a trail that shows what it has done and what it is likely to do. When initiated, the program was experimental. Let us consider the program an experiment and judge its results.

So far the Federal urban renewal program has been a political asset to many local politicians—they could boast of "getting their share of the Federal money" and prove their claims of "getting the city moving again" by pointing to bulldozers and cranes busily destroying and rebuilding. Usually, since it was the poor people, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans who were getting pushed around, many people did not hear much about the program or did not care.

However, there have been a significant number of instances of active resistance to the program. As more people are forced from their homes, as more businesses are forced to close their doors, as more billions of public money are spent, criticism of the program grows. Some of the leading experts on urban affairs in the United States are beginning to wonder what will happen when more people become aware of the many implications of urban renewal. In October 1961, Prof. Martin Meyerson, then director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, made the following statement:

"Let us also assume that urban renewal has a peculiar mystique—some people somehow have a vision of a better city through urban renewal, more attractive, more convenient, and so on. Now, as long as that mystique exists you find in city after city political acceptance of urban renewal. But this is before urban renewal actually gets achieved. The results of urban renewal are still to be assessed. As you say, fly in a helicopter and you see little urban renewal. Now, since this is so, the political acceptance of course is a symbolic rather than a real one, because as soon as people begin facing the implications of urban renewal, I think that the support will wither and turn in considerable measure to hostility unless the area to be cleared has through market forces become meaningless to anybody."

Professor Meyerson is not alone in this view. Dr. David Wallace, a professor of city planning at the University of Pennsylvania, recently stated:

"One thing is sure, in almost every instance where and when the public and their elected representatives understand the full implications of our urban renewal efforts, they object. Politicians are beginning to say, "Let's go easy. Don't rock the boat. Let's let the dust settle." The initial luster of a little-understood program has now worn off. The hard and politically unpalatable realities of costs, taxes, and displacement stare them in the face."

By the end of 1963 this resistance was beginning to intensify. The following view was expressed by James Q. Wilson, director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard.

"The growth of neighborhood resistance to urban renewal has been gradual and cumulative. Many of the earliest redevelopment projects were completed with little organized opposition. Somehow, however, people have learned from the experience of others, and today, in cities which have been engaged in renewal for several years, the planners often find prospective renewal areas ready and waiting for them, organized to the teeth."

Who wants urban renewal? Certainly not the lower-income groups—they get displaced from their homes to make way for the modern apartments they cannot afford to rent. It is hard to know whether the middle class is much concerned with the changes that have occurred in the cities. Of course, they care somewhat; almost everyone would agree that a beautiful, clean city is preferable to an unattractive, dirty one. But their degree of concern can be determined by asking how much they would give up of what they have or hope to have in order to realize the goals of urban renewal. The achievement of these goals would make it necessary for people to allocate a much larger share of their income to someone else's housing and public facilities. There has been little indication of a strong desire to do this in the past, and it seems doubtful that their values will change significantly during the next 10 to 20 years.

Then who is behind the tremendous push for urban renewal? Raymond Vernon, former director of the New York Metropolitan Region Study, has speculated that the main stimulus for urban renewal comes from two elite groups—the wealthy elite and the intellectual elite. Both groups have strong economic and social attachments to the central city. And they are in a position to attempt to maintain these attachments despite the desires and wishes of the nonelite. Members of these elite groups include financial institutions, newspapers, department stores, owners of downtown real estate, academic intellectuals, city planners, city politicians, and others who have a strong stake in the maintenance and improvement of the city as they see it today.

In general, Vernon's proposition appears to be reasonable. There is a general feeling among the people of the United States that the Federal urban renewal program is attempting to revitalize run-down areas of cities and help the people living in these areas. But our examination of what the program actually does indicates that it revitalizes rundown areas of cities primarily for the benefit of people who do not live in rundown areas. A hard, searching look should be taken at the following question: Is the Federal urban renewal program effectively creating new urban communities consisting of people whose level of income is higher, whose skin is whiter, and whose social characteristics are more desirable than those of the former residents?

Beliefs and facts

Certain beliefs and convictions about the Federal urban renewal program have been quite persistent. These benefits concern the scope and nature of the problems that urban renewal purports to solve and the extent and significance of the contribution t' at urban renewal makes. In an effort to clear away some of the haze that surrounds the program, beliefs concerning some of the most important parts of the program have been placed in juxtaposition with the best available facts and estimates. Reading down the left-hand column of beliefs leads one almost inescapably to the seemingly logical conclusion that the Federal urban renewal program is desirable. Reading down the right-hand column of facts and estimates leads one just as surely to the more factually substantiated conclusion that the Federal urban renewal program is undesirable.

Beliefs: Housing quality in the United States deteriorated badly during the decade from 1950 to 1960, especially in the major cities.

Facts and estimates: The decade from 1950 to 1960 witnessed what was probably the greatest improvement in housing quality ever shown in the United States. This was also true for the cities, especially the major ones.

Beliefs: The middle-income group is becoming less important in the life of the city, as the low-income, minority groups, and the high-income groups gain in relative importance.

Facts and estimates: Middle-income people today constitute 57 percent of the population of cities with over 100,000 population. Their importance relative to low- and high-income groups has remained essentially unchanged since 1950. Large cities have a relatively greater share of the middle-income population than does the country as a whole.

Beliefs: The Federal urban renewal program has made a significant contribution toward solving the housing problem, especially for low- and middle-income groups.

Facts and estimates: The Federal urban renewal program has made it more difficult for low- and middle-income groups to obtain housing because of the amount of low-rent housing it has destroyed.

Beliefs: Most of the new buildings constructed in urban renewal areas are public housing for low-income families.

Facts and estimates: Most of the new buildings constructed in urban renewal areas are high-rise apartment buildings for high-income families; only 6 percent of the construction is public housing.

Beliefs: The families that are required to move from their homes by the Federal urban renewal program move into better housing in better neighborhoods.

Facts and estimates: Many of the families that are required to move go into housing as bad as or worse than their original homes in neighborhoods that are as bad or worse than their original neighborhoods. And they often pay higher rents at the new location.

Beliefs: Urban renewal helps poor people, especially those from minority groups.

Facts and estimates: Urban renewal helps upper income people and a few elite groups. It hurts low-income people, especially those from minority groups.

Beliefs: Urban renewal does not affect one racial group more than any other.

Facts and estimates: Over 60 percent of the people forced to move are either Negroes, Puerto Ricans, or members of other minority groups.

Beliefs: The Federal urban renewal does not really affect many people.

Facts and estimates: In 1962, 1,665,000 persons had been or were about to be required to move from their homes. If the program continues to expand, more millions will be displaced in the future.

Beliefs: Urban renewal eliminates slums and prevents the spread of blight.

Facts and estimates: It is likely that urban renewal simply shifts slums and thus encourages the spread of slums and blight.

Beliefs: Urban renewal generates a large increase in the tax revenues of the city.

Facts and estimates: So far, urban renewal may have caused a decrease in cities' tax revenues. Indications are that the chances of urban renewal increasing tax revenues are small, and if they do increase, it is likely that the increase will be slight.

Beliefs: Urban renewal plays an important role in the economy of the United States; its role in the economy of cities is very important.

Facts and estimates: Urban renewal plays an insignificant role in the economy of the United States; its role in the economy of cities is slightly greater, but still insignificant.

Beliefs: If it had not been for the Federal urban renewal program, the new buildings erected on urban renewal sites would not have been built within the city.

Facts and estimates: It is estimated that 50 percent of the new construction put up on urban renewal sites would have been put up elsewhere in the city, even if the Federal urban renewal program had not existed.

Beliefs: The private construction put up in urban renewal areas is wholly financed by private lending institutions.

Facts and estimates: Approximately 35 percent of the private construction in urban renewal areas has been financed by the Federal Government through one of its agencies, the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Beliefs: Most of the money used for urban renewal comes from private sources. For every $1 contributed by the Government private interests invest about $4.

Facts and estimates: A large part of the money used for urban renewal comes from the Government. For every $1 contributed by the Government in the form of grants and loans, private interests invest about $1, not $4.

Beliefs: A typical urban renewal project only takes a few years to complete.

Facts and estimates: Urban renewal takes a very long time. The typical project takes almost 12 years to complete.

Beliefs: Urban renewal construction is profitable for private developers.

Facts and estimates: So far the private developers have not made much money. The potential profit is there, but they have been unable to tap it.

Beliefs: Rehabilitation is superior to redevelopment. People are not required to move from their homes, it does not cost as much, and it is fairly easy to accomplish.

Facts and estimates: Rehabilitation has most of the same consequences as redevelopment. People are required to move from their homes either because they cannot afford to rehabilitate them, or because they do not want to rehabilitate them. Relatively large amounts of public subsidy are necessary, and the administration of the program is complex and time consuming. It seems doubtful that any significant progress will be made in this area.

Beliefs: The constitutionality of the Federal urban renewal program has been established beyond question.

Facts and estimates: The constitutionality of the Federal urban renewal program is still an open issue, and a strong case can be made that it is not constitutional.

Beliefs: Urban renewal is definitely in the public interest; that is, its net result is "good" when looked at from the national viewpoint.

Facts and estimates: It has never been clearly established that urban renewal is in the public interest. In fact, a strong argument can be made that it is not in the public interest.

Beliefs: The acceptance of the urban renewal program has been widespread, and the politicians are only responding to the desires of the people.

Facts and estimates: Few individuals know any of the consequences of urban renewal. Widespread ignorance of the program and apathy toward it have been interpreted as widespread acceptance. Believing this, the politicians have been quick to accept arguments for urban renewal presented by a few elite groups.

The preceding beliefs indicate that the net results of the Federal urban renewal program have been favorable.

The preceding facts and estimates indicate that the net results of the Federal urban renewal program have been unfavorable.

Statement by Senator Claiborne Pell Regarding the Eighth Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the eighth anniversary of the Hungarian revolution of October 23, 1956.

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters are holding their commemoration of this anniversary in New York City. Their organization, the Hungarian October 23 Movement, Inc., is under the excellent leadership of Odon Pongratz, president, and Erno Hoka, secretary general.

As one who served with the International Rescue Committee on the Hungarian border during those tragic and yet inspirational days of October 1956, I am personally aware of the magnificent spirit of courage demonstrated by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters—a spirit which continues to give the free world an abiding faith in steadfast valor and determination.

As we ourselves oppose the forces of tyranny, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters exemplify those qualities which are deeply significant to the future of mankind.

Alton, Ill., Evening Telegraph Endorses Johnson for President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in the Alton, Ill., Evening Telegraph, of recent date, endorses Lyndon B. Johnson for President.

Basically a Republican newspaper, in the words of Editor Paul S. Cousley, the Evening Telegraph supports President Johnson because of his "vast experience and competence."

The editorial goes on to say:

We reject the "fear" preaching of both Senator GOLDWATER and his supporters, * * * and this has been their principal theme.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the editorial for the RECORD.

WHAT WE THINK ABOUT GOLDWATER COMPARED WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON

TIME TO MAKE A CHOICE

It's only 4 weeks away from the day when voters of the country will cast their ballots on the offices of President and Vice President.

There's been a lot of maneuvering around across the country by newspapers and magazines.

Perhaps an alltime record has been set in earliness with which a number of larger city newspapers have taken stands on the Presidency.

We go along with our neighbor, the Globe-Democrat, to a certain extent.

We believe a newspaper, if it takes a stand in such an election, should do so after thought concentrated enough to reach a wise conclusion, and lengthy enough to demonstrate it isn't going off half-cocked.

Too, sudden turns can come in campaigns. Occurrences no one could foresee several months ahead often have a habit of coming up, and should be given serious consideration.

We would, for instance, hardly merit the faith of our readers if, after we had taken a stand during July in the presidential race, a major exposé should be made involving the candidates we supported. We would be in the position—at least in our readers' minds—of having to defend the candidate regardless of this development. He might well deserve the defense, but anything we could say would lose its effect.

The Telegraph for long has been basically a Republican newspaper, though we have supported enough area Democrat candidates to have won the prefix "independent."

We didn't fancy Senator BARRY GOLDWATER from the start. His ruthless takeover of the Republican convention and the expressed attitude of his supporters against all opposition was, if anything, more dictatorial than anything we've noted through our own observational years over conventions. It was a warning.

So was the apparent attitude of the delegates and pro-GOLDWATER participants toward news media.

We have seen this kind of zealot at work at close range before this.

Senator GOLDWATER insisted he wouldn't be bound by the radical fringe extremists, but was wishy-washy toward them, even though he knew he couldn't have driven them away into the Democratic ranks if he'd tried.

Maybe we should have taken our stand at that time. We didn't.

Instead, we wanted to give the Senator a chance to do something or say something that would indicate the first impression of him was erroneous.

We've been waiting a long, long time.

Many of our other newspaper friends have said what we would have said about the Senator.

They have made citations of actions, statements.

Maybe the New York Herald-Tribune, which has been Republican, it points out, for longer than the Republican Party has existed, carried the most succinct summary.

The H-T, as we do, pointed out it had been waiting disappointedly for BARRY to do something or say something that would provide a reason for support and that would indicate its fears were unfounded.

But, it concludes, "He didn't."

"At every step of the post nomination way, two things became ever more evident: (1) That Senator GOLDWATER, for all his obvious sincerity, simply does not have the combination of personal talents necessary for the Presidency of the United States; and (2) That his course, if pursued as he has pursued it, would wreck not only the Republican Party but the two-party system."

Like the H-T, we say a kind word for President Johnson "with our eyes open and our fingers crossed." But we have to go with L.B.J. in view of his vast experience and competence.

We have our own personal reasons, too—reasons we fear the press to date has either been too unobservant to see, or too cautious to speak out on.

We reject the "fear" preaching of both Senator GOLDWATER and his supporters—and this has been their principal theme.

Nevertheless, we hope we will be excused for voicing an apprehension of our own:

That if the Senator had his way, the free press and relatively free news media of the Nation would not be free much longer.

BARRY has demonstrated all too frequently his outright apprehension over the way these media might treat him. And this has boiled over into his own private interpretation of the way they have treated him, despite the fact the Democrats have consistently accused the newspapers of being predominantly Republican.

He has shied way from the media when he could; castigated them when he felt he had to; and, when completely cornered, reinterpreted what they quoted him as saying in a manner that could leave no doubt he didn't feel he was understood. Many of his lower echelon spokesmen now have been demonstrating the same technique. We can view this only as a studied program to erode public faith in the constituted media of information.

For long he has further inferred a maligning of the news media by resorting to other channels through which to get his story to the public.

His supporters have sought to unsettle faith of the public through issuance of the little "inside" news sheets that claim their authority from a Washington postmark, then proceed to put together pinpointed selections from such sources as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and other raw materials.

The sheets perhaps got their individual points across, but in the process also accomplished their main objective: An inference that their readers shouldn't trust the constituted media; that the sheets were the only genuine truthbearers.

To add further to this impression, the Goldwater backers got an early start in the use of books—having learned, from observing the John Birch Society's operation, what prestige books could give their arguments in a day when the newspaper, radio, and television have come to be taken for granted and sometimes become confusing because of the very impartiality they all too often are accused of violating.

We are familiar with the arguments against President Johnson.

Primary among these right now is one that he's a just plain crook.

We have heard these arguments against every President that has occupied the White House. And we grant that anyone on his way up in the political world must sooner or later develop some scar tissue on his reputation.

One of the books tells of Johnson's fast rise in Texas.

It seems to us that Senator GOLDWATER's biographer, as we published the series, also paid tribute to BARRY's phenomenal and surprising rise in Arizona.

We would far rather have in the White House—and in foreign nations negotiating ticklish problems with spokesmen for other countries—a man acquainted as Mr. Johnson is with the infighting of world and national politics than a man whose very speech demonstrates new facets of diplomatic naivete.

It is no pleasure to find oneself forced into a position where he seems to be deserting an old and honored cause to which he has been long loyal.

Actually, we feel we're doing the loyal thing by the Republican Party.

We fear 4 years under a "President GOLDWATER" would discredit the Republican Party into a state of nonexistence.

Perhaps the United States could survive, even in the present-day dog-eat-dog world which BARRY just doesn't seem to understand.

The GOP Could End Its Long and Honorable Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, sensible men of both of our major political parties are worried these days. They do not worry so much that Senator GOLDWATER will win; what thoughtful men worry about most is the demise of the moderate two-party system as we have known it in our Nation.

In my opinion, Perry Swisher is one of our country's outstanding journalists. Since he also serves as the Republican State senator for Bannock County in Idaho, it is natural that I sometimes disagree with him. However, whether I differ with him or not, I always have the utmost respect for his intellectual honesty and ability.

Before the Republican National Convention, Mr. Swisher wrote an article entitled "The GOP Could End Its Long and Honorable Life," which, I believe, deserves the attention of every thoughtful American. Mr. Swisher writes as a loyal Republican and American, a man deeply concerned about the future of his party and his country. The following passages of his article are especially worthy of careful consideration:

It is hard for me to express the depths of my dismay as a Republican in this summer of 1964. The party born to assert that conviction against Whig cowardice and a Democratic impasse seems to be ready to renounce

that legacy as if the cause no longer existed.

As an Idahoan I'm told the ascendancy of GOLDWATER is a case of eastern Republicans waiting too long, a case of playing it too cool, a case of delayed reaction to the East's imposition of Eisenhower over Taft in 1952. Any truth in that analysis doesn't make the impending nomination of GOLDWATER any easier to accept.

When told most Republicans are for him, I deny that. When told "we know where he stands" I can prove that we no longer know. Told that people have turned to GOLDWATER to put an end to "big government" I can't get these advisers to renounce the newer parts of that government on which they themselves happen to rely. When I am told that resentment of the Civil Rights Act will elect GOLDWATER, that is something I can confidently deny.

Measure any law safeguarding personal freedom against the words expressed this year by the candidate-apparent of the party of Lincoln: The proposed public accomodations law "is an invitation to improper interference by the Federal Government with the right of assembly and the use of private property. It could open the door to a police-state system of enforcement that would eventually threaten the liberty of all.

"No matter how we try, we cannot pass a law that will make you like me or me like you. The key to racial and religious tolerance lies not in laws alone but, ultimately, in the hearts of men." So speaks GOLDWATER.

What do we do then with the hearts of men who beat, burn, and kill before they will honor the rights of assembly and privacy for a minority? How far must we safeguard their dislikes? Their hate? Expressed in homicide, arson, and terrorism is bigotry to be held sacred adn secure, with States rights as the shield?

If it becomes the Republican Party's position that a man must be liked to enjoy the protection of the law, then the party will be presumed to be dead—of a wound self-inflicted after a long and honorable life. It must not happen. But it may.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Swisher's challenging article, which appeared in the July 1 issue of the Lewiston, Idaho, Morning Tribune, inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOP COULD END ITS LONG AND HONORABLE LIFE

(By Perry Swisher)

It is hard for me to express the depths of my dismay as a Republican in this summer of 1964. The party born to assert that conviction against Whig cowardice and a Democratic impasse seems to be ready to renounce that legacy as if the cause no longer existed.

As an Idahoan I'm told the ascendancy of GOLDWATER is a case of eastern Republicans waiting too long, a case of playing it too cool, a case of delayed reaction to the East's imposition of Eisenhower over Taft in 1952. Any truth in that analysis doesn't make the impending nomination of GOLDWATER any easier to accept.

When told most Republicans are for him, I deny that. When told "we know where he stands" I can prove that we no longer know. Told that people have turned to GOLDWATER to put an end to "big government" I can't get these advisers to renounce the newer parts of that government on which they themselves happen to rely. When I am told that resentment of the civil rights act will elect GOLDWATER, that is something I can confidently deny.

Measure any law safeguarding personal freedom against the words expressed this year by the candidate-apparent of the party of Lincoln: The proposed public accommodations law "is an invitation to improper interference by the Federal Government with the right of assembly and the use of private property. It could open the door to a police-state system of enforcement that would eventually threaten the liberty of all.

"No matter how we try, we cannot pass a law that will make you like me or me like you. The key to racial and religious tolerance lies not in laws alone but, ultimately, in the hearts of men." So speaks GOLDWATER.

What do we do then with the hearts of men who beat, burn, and kill before they will honor the rights of assembly and privacy for a minority? How far must we safeguard their dislikes? Their hate? Expressed in homicide, arson, and terrorism is bigotry to be held sacred and secure, with States' rights as the shield?

* * * * *

If it becomes the Republican Party's position that a man must be liked to enjoy the protection of the law, then the party will be presumed to be dead—of a wound self-inflicted after a long and honorable life. It must not happen. But it may.

Mrs. Anna Strojny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Anna Strojny, one of my constituents, is one of the truly sincere patriots of this Nation. She has demonstrated a sincere dedication to freedom. I have never known such a great lady or such an individual who more personifies the meaning of citizen than this noble woman whom I am fortunate enough to represent in Congress. Although an invalid for several years, this has not in any way impeded her efforts to help others.

Since 1950, this wonderful woman has helped more than 12,000 immigrants through her unselfish efforts and adherence to American ideals and she has been decorated for her inspiring contributions to foster Americanism.

During World War II, Mrs. Strojny sold more than $1 million in war bonds and found time to serve as president of a unit of the Mothers of World War II. She was also active in the Red Cross, and infantile paralysis fundraising drives, has helped the deaf, the blind and the aged become citizens. She once conducted citizenship classes for as many as 600 persons. Her work is now on a smaller scale, but certainly no less useful. She exemplifies the very essence of all that makes America a great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, this lady is a dedicated American who has devoted her life to helping others and I have always found her to be charming, and full of vitality. Mrs. Strojny is still on the job—in a wheelchair. It is my hope that God may grant that she may continue her splendid service to her country for many years to come.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following article from the Times Home Newspapers—Lerner Newspapers of Chicago—naming Mrs. Strojny "April Woman-of-the-Month" in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

MRS. STROJNY GOES TO WASHINGTON TO LOBBY

Times Home newspapers "Woman of the Month" for April is the subject of a complimentary letter from a reader. And a follow-up on Mrs. Anna Strojny's activities in behalf of senior citizens.

Mrs. Mary Kustron, 1738 North Mozart, penned the letter on Mrs. Strojny, 2941 North Lowell, whom she describes as "truly a wonderful person." Mrs. Kustron wrote:

"I became acquainted with Mrs. Anna T. Strojny, your April of the Month Woman through a relative of mine. She is truly a wonderful person. I am enclosing a newspaper clipping regarding her.

"Enclosed is a poem, so fitting and dedicated to Mrs. Stronjy, who is always doing for and thinking of others."

The poem, dedicated to Mrs. Strojny follows:

"OTHERS

"Lord, help me live from day to day
In such a self-forgetful way,
That even when I kneel to pray,
My prayer shall be for 'Others.'

"Help me in all the work I do,
To ever be sincere and true,
And know that all I do for You
Must needs be done for 'Others.'

"Let self be crucified and slain
And buried deep; and all in vain
May efforts be to rise again
Unless to live for 'Others.'

"And when my work on earth is done,
And my new work in Heaven's begun,
May I forget the crowns I've won,
While thinking still of 'Others.'

" 'Others,' Lord, yes, 'Others.'
Let this my motto be.
Help me to live for others,
That I may live like Thee."

The newspaper clipping was from the September 15 Chicago American with a Washington, D.C. dateline and described Mrs. Strojny as a fighter for the medicare bill.

The story detailed Mrs. Strojny's organizing efforts as a leader in the National Council of Senior Citizens. She heads the Polish-American Senior Citizens Council of Chicago.

Afflicted with arthritis, she must use a walker to get around. Mrs. Strojny flew to the Capital to lobby for the medicare bill.

Manpower Development and Training Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, because of the widespread interest in my State

in the retraining programs undertaken as a result of the enactment of the Manpower Development and Training Act in the 2 years of its operation, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the RECORD a letter I have received from the Secretary of Labor, together with attachments showing the manpower development, retraining, and research activities which have taken place in Oregon through June 30, 1964.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Because of widespread interest in retraining programs for the unemployed, I am forwarding to you the enclosed summary of activity in your State under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

The act has just celebrated its second anniversary in operation. It has provided a constructive solution to many unemployed citizens of the Nation—to those who have lost jobs through technological change and to those lacking the skills needed in today's labor market.

The program authorized by the act requires the cooperation of local, State, and Federal officials as well as that of private citizens. For this reason our story of accomplishment is one in which we can all take pride.

Yours sincerely,

W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor.

Manpower development, retraining, and research activities in Oregon—summary data cumulative through June 30, 1964

PROGRAM APPROVALS TO DATE

	Trainees and individuals served	Estimated cost	Number of projects
Total	969	$1,048,412	28
Retraining projects	969	1,048,412	28
Manpower Development and Training Act:			
Institutional	937	1,036,458	26
On-the-job	32	11,954	2
Experimental and demonstration			
Manpower research projects	X X X		

	Percent
Participation as a percent of U.S. retraining approvals:	
Trainees	0.4
Funds	.4
State unemployment (1963) as a percent of U.S. total	.9
State work force (1963) as a percent of U.S. total	1.0

SUMMARY DATA FOR PROJECTS COMPLETED THROUGH DEC. 31, 1963

Enrolled in completed projects	225
Percent completed	90.2
Dropouts	22
Completed	203
Employed	89.2
Training-related jobs	76.8
Non-training-related jobs	4.9
Dropped-out-training related	7.4
Unemployed	9.4
Other (including awaiting referral)	1.5

PROJECTS APPROVED UNDER MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT THROUGH JUNE 30, 1964

Project No.	Labor market area or county	Occupational goal	Approved: Duration (weeks)	Approved: Trainees or persons serviced	Approved: Total funds
	INSTITUTIONAL				
3005.000	Astoria	Forester aid	52	25	$95,636
4212.000	Bend	Automobile-service-station attendant		20	24,079
4217.000	do	Clerk, general office		40	61,780
3004.000	do	Forester aid	52	25	88,692
3011.000	do	do	38	20	52,651
	Total (4)			105	227,202
4214.000	Eugene	Dental assistant		20	54,507
3003.000	do	Forester aid	52	25	73,543
	Total (2)			45	128,050
4208.000	Medford	Farmhand, fruit (orchard pruner)	2	50	2,469
4218.000	North Bend	Clerk-stenographer		20	31,568
3007.000	North Bend-Coos Bay	Forester aid	52	25	99,438
4213.000	Ontario	Farmhand, general		15	54,353
3002.000	do	Tractor operator	30	40	73,420
	Total (2)			55	127,773
4215.000	Pendleton	All-round-farm operator		75	17,257
4210.000	do	Automobile-service-station attendant		15	12,738
4209.000	do	Clerk, general office	20	20	20,527
3010.000	do	Farm equipment operator	3	50	7,422
3006.000	do	Forester aid	50	25	91,063
4207.000	do	Psychiatric aid	12	45	26,215
	Total (6)			230	175,222
3009.000	Portland	Chambermaid	1	40	587
4204.000	do	Insurance specialist	18	60	30,579
4205.000	do	Stenographer	18	60	39,998
3008.000	do	Waiter/waitress, formal	5	90	8,473
3001.000	do	Waiter, formal	6	40	7,268
	Total (5)			290	86,905
4206.000	Salem	Stenographer	37	40	26,934
4211.000	The Dalles	Carpenter	4	33	8,519
4216.000	do	Clerk, general office	33	19	26,742
	Total (2)			52	35,261
	Grand total (26)			937	1,036,458
	ON THE JOB				
4202.000	Astoria	Fish filleter	10	12	6,717
3001.000	Astoria (Clatsop County)	do	10	20	5,237
	Total (2)			32	11,954

Hon. John Lesinski

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, our good friend, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI, after serving seven terms—82d to 88th, inclusive, from 1950 to 1964—is leaving the Congress. The recent results of the Michigan primary, under the remapping of congressional districts, denied him the nomination. Thus, JOHN's political ascendancy was cut off by the doctrine of political improvement for the Republican Party controlled Michigan Legislature. In other States there are instances where the Democrats have reversed this action also.

JOHN was a firm believer in principle—he voiced his opinion with independence and a firm belief that what he averred was true, and he was not afraid to say it. He wore his heart on his sleeve reflecting the sensitive nature of his entire being. He was sincere, candid, and earnest in his personal relationships, as well as in his political convictions.

He did not like to be "managed," yet respected party leadership for harmonious and decisive action.

He was quiet and gentle in his demeanor toward others, as well as kindly and considerate.

His handling of bills in debate on the floor reflected the true characteristics of a born gentleman. It was an interesting contrast to the brazen type of pugnacious approach of the brassy overemotional exhibitionist who seeks to hypnotize all with a clatter of meaningless oratory. In his quiet, unobtrusive way, JOHN passed his committee bills.

In his work, he reflected the same fearless courage that won for him the Purple Heart and citations in the last war.

JOHN loved his family—his darling five children and his wife, the beloved Margaret. He worshipped his dad, a former Congressman, who left him a great heritage. JOHN has earned a similar right to distinction and leaves to his own family a great heritage.

A political turn away is not a repudiation, but rather a change of course in selection that may represent purely the fickle attitude of the public mind. Every politician knows that the recipients of public acclaim must someday move back again among the common citizenry and list his importance in anonymity as one who was—is not now but just a has-been. Some seek to return, but the majority are happy to reminisce in the glories of the past—feeling that to be at home among warm friends, family and associates holds the greatest blessings in his life. May the good Lord bless JOHN and his family with happiness and prosperity.

Proposals for Prosperity—Address of James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the address made by President James G. Patton, of the National Farmers Union, at the recent convention of the South Dakota Farmers Union.

The address, outlining new proposals, policies, and goals of the organizations, is a thought-provoking and extremely significant speech by the man who first proposed a full employment policy for the United States, written into the Employment Act of 1946.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPOSALS FOR PROSPERITY

(Address by James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union, to the annual convention, South Dakota Farmers Union, Huron, S. Dak.)

One year ago I stood here and spoke to you about foreign policy—saying that there is nothing foreign about foreign policy.

Tonight, our obligation of involvement will center on certain of the key domestic issues of our time: farm policy, poverty, and full employment.

Here again, we cannot be naive about national problems. There is poverty in our Nation, and it will not be helped by statements saying a percentage must be poor.

There is unemployment in our Nation, and it will not be alleviated by blaming it on low ambitions of our citizens.

And there is a farm income problem in our Nation which will not be solved by the prompt termination of our farm programs.

I hardly need to tell you that some of the most serious instances of low income, poverty, and unemployment are to be found in rural America. The solution to rural problems are, in part, distinctive. They call for selective proposals and policies directed toward their creeping roots as well as for stepping up our national policies and efforts.

Approximately 22 percent of our labor force live in rural areas. Their inadequate job opportunities take two forms—unemployment and underemployment.

We all know what unemployment is. Underemployment exists when workers are employed in jobs where they are less productive than the norm or average for their level of ability. One only needs to look at the incomes of rural families to see this relative lack of employment opportunities in rural areas. The initial and most obvious result of underemployment—which is our poverty and low income problem of rural America—is sweeping rural decay. Farmers leave the land, stores lay off personnel, shops close, a community fades or dies.

A second and festering result of the unemployment problem is the decreased ability of these communities to provide sufficient education to develop rural leaders who could possibly prevent this situation from continuing into succeeding generations.

Persistent underemployment, unemployment, low farm income and, thus poverty, leads not only to low educational levels but a weakening of aspirations, a lack of an awareness of opportunity, a defeatist attitude that in itself acts as a drag upon economic development and prosperity.

High rural employment, rural development, and rural prosperity in a well-balanced national economy will not come quickly or easily. But this is the basic goal of Farmers Union. We are pledged to the well-being of the farm family and of all rural America. We will not watch it decay and die. This I pledge.

We are hearing from some experts the shocking fact that within our lifetime 85 percent of the entire population of the United States will live along our coastlines—the Atlantic, Pacific, gulf, and Great Lakes. We cannot, must not, permit the great heartland of America to become so denuded. This, we in Farmers Union pledge.

We consider that strong, dynamic farm programs will be needed to create a prosperous agriculture. We know that a prosperous agriculture is needed for a strong rural economy. And, we acknowledge that the revitalization of rural America, which we must have, is broader than the farm income problem alone, but farm income is our No. 1 concern.

What then are the proposals for prosperity?

First, and most important for our immediate future, I propose the following new concept of our farm policy.

Let us seek legislation which provides for authorizing family farmers to participate in Federal family farm programs and guaranteeing them an annual net income, before income taxes, of not more than $5,000 per family farm. Unit production payments would be made for the difference between the total income derived from marketings at world price levels or the price above the world price and $5,000 after all costs of production have been taken into account.

The guarantee is provided by our National Government—but not without certain restrictions and guidelines. This includes the adherence to production guidelines, following specified conservation practices, and so forth. If such a bona fide farmer wishes this $5,000 year guarantee, all he need do is sign up and follow the guidelines. If a farmer does not wish to participate in this minimum wage for agriculture program he need not choose to do so.

As long as we have candidates for the highest office in the land going around calling for the end of sound farm programs, Farmers Union must remain strong and militant in their behalf. We must seek new, far-reaching farm programs to obtain the "parity of opportunity" President Johnson talks of. Our survival as farmers depends on it.

What has Candidate GOLDWATER said about agriculture? In a speech to the American National Cattleman's Association, he said:

"We are maintaining a herd of boarder cows at public expense * * * the only way to rescue the farmer * * * is to get farm production back on the open market."

In September 1963 in an interview with U.S. News & World Report, when asked where he would cut the Federal budget, Candidate GOLDWATER answered:

"I think the agriculture program presents the best opportunity."

A hallelujah chorus, led by candidate GOLDWATER and made up of every right-wing organization in the country, is saying that recent events such as the wheat referendum indicate that farmers want a free market. They are joined in the freedom chant by one farm organization which is supported by processors, big business, and others who make a living farming the farmer. They call for freedom to plant and the free competitive enterprise system. If we should go the free market route, it would not be new. We've traveled that old road before.

We have had it before and it busted many of us. It was a system we had in the depression years—years of the coal oil lamp, the Hoover buggy, and two-bit wheat. There were no supply-adjustment programs, no price support programs, no Government programs of any kind. Farmers had no bargaining power against big business, the railroads, and processors who early sought legislation to protect themselves, and who by some hook or crook have managed to administer their prices since we were an infant Nation. In fact, during this early period when these groups had various types of Government assistance, including tariffs, farmers had nothing and the entire economy collapsed in 1929 as a result. Depressions, my friends, are farm-led and farm-fed—we want none of it.

Do we need to be reminded that the Farmers Union is needed today more than ever to help influence the future course of farm policy? Do we have to be reminded of where we would be today without Federal supply-adjustment and price support programs? Do we take for granted agencies such as the Farmers Home Administration, Farmer Cooperative Service, Rural Electrification Administration, Agriculture Stabilization Service, and Conservation Service, Soil Conservation Service, Agricultural conservation program, Federal crop insurance, and other programs through which we have mobilized our resources through our own Government in behalf of family farm agriculture?

At the same time, we were fighting for parity on Capitol Hill, certain economic forces throughout the country were threatening the existence of the family farmer. The threat of vertical integration can hardly be exaggerated. Great landed corporations, middlemen, and chainstores have destroyed, in a large part, farm markets, thus forcing producers to accept bankrupt prices for their products.

Among those who are forcing family farmers to the wall are the Kern County Land Co., one of the greatest land corporations in the world, which has extended its economic figures in two directions. One in the business of cattle feeding and the other in the purchase of the J. I. Case Co., which manufactures farm implements. But, an even greater threat from corporations in the farming business has been the domination of the marketplace by the national food chains, A. & P., Safeway, and several other groups dictate the prices that the farmer is to receive, controlling at the same time consumer prices at the retail level.

The result of such activities is well known, particularly to livestock producers who, be-

cause of chainstore price manipulations, experienced losses of more than $2 billion in the last year.

At the same time those in charge of enforcement of the Packers and Stockyards Act and the antitrust laws have been acquiescent in regard to this situation or have actually approved violation of the laws they were supposed to enforce. The National Farmers Union has been in the vanguard of these, urging an investigation of the chainstore monopoly. We have appeared at public hearings; we have been instrumental in bringing about the approval of the McGee resolution in both Houses of Congress, which authorizes the investigation of prices of farm products from producer to consumer to determine whether or not laws have been violated and to recommend measures which will restore competition to the marketplace.

Rightwingers and those who oppose farm programs can be expected to continue to sow the seeds of opposition against labor in rural areas. This is a deliberate effort on the part of these groups to split farmers and working people and to destroy the city-farm bloc in Congress that has resulted in passage of sound farm legislation.

I hope that you will send to the Congress from South Dakota this year plus votes for every farm bill that will come before Congress instead of piecemeal and part-time representation and support. Moreover, I'm getting sick and tired of the criticism of farm programs of this administration by Representatives in Congress who voted against the Agricultural Acts of 1961 and 1962. The hearts of these bills—effective supply, adjustment, and price support programs—were cut out by this opposition. Today, however, look who's crying the loudest.

Organized labor and the Farmers Union working together can and will develop workable farm programs. We will need the help and support of the resident of the White House in this effort.

I know President Johnson can be counted on to help us.

The Brannan plan, which Farmers Union supported in 1949, affords a realistic and workable approach to maintaining farm income while at the same time keeping food prices at reasonable levels. We have seen this principle successfully applied to wool, sugar and, more recently, feed grains and wheat.

Production payments should also be made available for such perishable commodities as milk, livestock, poultry, and vegetables.

We should make much greater use of production payments in the future.

To backstop dynamic farm programs we need a REA-type lending program to enable farmers through their cooperatives, and in cooperation with organized labor, to vertically-integrate processing and marketing of farm produce through to the retail level.

I recently proposed to the Machinists Union and all AFL–CIO leaders a farmer-labor confederation aimed at yielding joint economic and political benefits.

This working alliance of family farmers and unionized workers would help accomplish our immediate purpose of benefiting the worker-consumer with lower food costs and the farmer with increased farm income.

A vertically integrated system of production, processing, and retail sale of food products through cooperatives could effectively increase the purchasing of the bottom one-fifth of our population by acting to lower food costs to consumers and to increase income to the producers on the farms.

We will be accused of socialism. We will be accused of seeking to destroy the free enterprise system. But as I have shown you, the free enterprise system is already being made a mockery by the huge concentration of food processing and marketing—even production—by the large food chains. And we are paying for that mockery out of our hides—you, as consumers and we farmers, as downtrodden producers.

The concentration of power in the food industry calls for Congress to assist in the establishing of a strong farmer-consumer operated and controlled complex of cooperatives to serve as a yardstick in the same way that TVA serves as a yardstick in the production of electric power.

We have worked diligently in Farmers Union over the past 3½ years to bring about needed reforms in agriculture. Overcoming the negative forces unleashed under Eisenhower-Benson and now led by Candidate GOLDWATER has been difficult. We have made a beginning. These negative forces are well-financed and they will continue in their efforts to turn back the clock, turn out the REA lights, and destroy farm programs.

They are for programs to make the already powerful even more powerful.

We in Farmers Union will continue in our efforts to bring light where there is darkness, in our efforts to discuss the issues in this campaign in the full light of day, and continue to work for parity prices and income and the strengthening of rural America.

My second proposal is to develop rural America by extending the period of free education. The surest one step which can be taken toward full employment would be to provide more years of really free education to American boys and girls who want it and would use it. It would not only remove them from initial competition in a currently crowded labor market but would result in an expanded education profession, thus creating many thousands of new jobs.

How would we finance such a war on ignorance? I only have to remind you that the estimated cost of building the school facilities we currently need is equal to what we now spend each year for unempolyment insurance benefits.

I pledge that an attack on ignorance will contribute vastly to a rural resurgence by providing not only a more literate and skilled labor force but by making our towns and communities more desirable living places.

In 1960, 40 percent of the Nation's urban high school graduates enrolled in college, as compared with only 32 percent of the graduates from high schools in rural farm areas.

And do you know what the candidate of the radical right has to say about education. I quote the Arizona Senator:

"The Government has no right to educate children. The parent, you and I, have that responsibility. The child has no right to an education. In most cases, the children get along very well without it."

Imagine that.

And, on the matter of our young citizens, I recommend a Rural Youth Development Corporation and a program to give each community a rural youth center.

It is tragic to observe the "push" of young people from rural areas who are forced to leave because the capital requirements in agriculture and 12 years of depressed price structure have so drastically affected the fabric of rural community.

Given turn-around time and a basic recapitalization effort to agriculture, the smaller towns which dot our farm areas and the villages themselves can be renewed and revitalized.

So that our young people who wish to remain a part of the rural community can in the interim between school and career realization find purposeful activity, a Rural Youth Development Corps should be established.

The volunteers would assist actively in present rural development projects including assignments on scenic and recreational facilities, construction of small dams, the cleansing of streams, the building of community facilities, which would include rural youth centers. Young women would serve as part of visitation teams to the aged, hospital aids, assist in the school lunch programs, as teacher assistants in child care and recreational activities.

We must embark on a broad-gaged program if we are to hold our young people who wish to remain a part of the rural community.

Third, let us reshape rural America with manufacturing and service industries.

I spoke earlier of our underemployment problem. Rural America has available labor. Properly educated and trained, living on the land and commuting to work, rural citizens and rural communities are attractive to industry. We have good air and water, can build excellent roads and streets, will get adequate housing and facilities.

And we are just as attractive, if not more so, for the industry or, as some would call it, rural-supplied service of recreation.

You read the papers, watch television, see what is happening. Without question our historic trend in America is continuing toward a shorter workday, a shortened workweek, a shorter workyear. I think it means a shorter worklife.

Part of this shorter worklife I have proposed should be taken up by a longer educational period at the beginning end.

The rest of the time will be taken up in leisure—recreation. Tourism is another service closely related to outdoor recreation. As imaginative rural areas begin to attract people interested in recreation and other services, it increases the probability that industry and other sources of employment will follow.

Here again, the Republican candidate for President and I disagree—Mr. GOLDWATER opposes rural areas development—in fact says, "Let's get people out of rural America and to the cities." Again I quote:

"It's not right to force an inefficient farmer to stay on the farm when he'd be much better off in industry."

Someone should tell Mr. GOLDWATER that a farmer, forced off the land and to the cities, usually ends up unemployed in the cities.

These then are my proposals for rural prosperity that we must embark upon. But this is not all nor is this the end of my speech. We have a more immediate and pressing job to do to make sure of our survival.

The time of this job in between now and November 3. Earlier, I have referred to some of the policy statements of a trigger-happy Reserve Air Force major general as they deal with rural America. Let me give you another one:

"Nor is there such a thing as peaceful coexistence."

Or another one:

"We should, I believe, announce in no uncertain terms that we are against disarmament. We are against it because we need our armaments—all of those we presently have, and more. We need weapons for both the limited and unlimited war."

This is a man who says he wants peace. Ladies and gentlemen, if you call a corporate Fascist-police state, sprinkled with brinksmanship and rash moves, a peaceful existence then vote for General GOLDWATER.

But if you want the kind of peace that Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN talks of and works for, the kind of peace that John F. Kennedy was molding, the kind where all men are free, then vote for Lyndon B. Johnson and HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Philadelphia: First City of Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Philadelphia will be celebrating next year the bicentennial of an epochal event in the history of American medicine—the founding 200 years ago of the first American medical school at the College of Philadelphia.

On a September day in 1765, two professors greeted a handful of students and opened this first medical school at the college, which later became the University of Pennsylvania.

In the present commemoration that will continue through 1965, university ceremonies, convocations, and professional conferences already have begun.

Forty-seven scientific societies will hold conventions in Philadelphia during the bicentennial year, and some 80,000 medical scientists are expected to attend.

I take great pride in the fact that I was graduated in 1944 from the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, and I feel privileged, as one of the school's alumni, to call to the attention of the Congress the historic role the medical school has played in making Philadelphia today, as in colonial times, a center of national and international medical progress.

One of the city's great newspapers, the Bulletin, published a special issue on the bicentennial in its magazine section on Sunday, September 27. It told of many firsts in American medicine that occurred in Philadelphia and, under unanimous consent, I introduce the first of five articles into the RECORD—"Philadelphia: First City of Medicine." The other chapters will tell of:

First. "Once Upon a Time, When Women Fought for Equal—Medical—Rights," the founding in 1850 of Woman's Medical College—the world's first medical school for women and still the only one in the Western Hemisphere.

Second. "Help for Darkened Minds," the story of the founding at Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751 of the first facilities for treatment of the mentally ill, and of Friends Hospital, established in 1813 as the Nation's first hospital exclusively for the mentally ill.

Third. "From Pills and Potions to Miracle Drugs," the creation of the Nation's first college of pharmacy in 1821, which today is a vital factor in the city's scientific and educational complex as the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science. The growth of pharmaceutical industry in the Philadelphia area, from a few tiny pharmacies to major companies with payrolls of 15,000 producing 20 percent of all prescription drugs made in this country, has been unparalleled.

Fourth. "Plagues and Plague Fighters," the beginning of immunization against viral disease, where Ben Franklin's support in 1736 helped win acceptance for vaccinations against smallpox. Philadelphia doctors did pioneering research with influenza vaccines in the 1930s, and later with mumps and measles vaccines.

The first article follows:

PHILADELPHIA: FIRST CITY OF MEDICINE

To thousands of people across America and around the world, the name Philadelphia has one particular and unusual significance: Philadelphia means healing.

It has that meaning for Nicholas Nafpiliotis, a farm boy from southern Greece. Born with an abnormal opening between the chambers of his heart, he was a semi-invalid for all his 12 years until he was brought to Philadelphia, where surgeons mended the flaw and fitted him for a normal life.

Philadelphia means the same to Rukmini Sartono, 23-year-old daughter of a high government official in Indonesia. Threatened with blindness from glaucoma, she flew the 10,000 miles to Philadelphia, was operated on, and is on the way to full recovery.

When Samuel Adebonojo, the brainy son of a tribal chief in Nigeria, came to manhood, he decided to study to be a doctor—and chose Philadelphia.

To these and to thousands of others, this city's fame rests on its 6 great medical schools, its 50 hospitals, its 4,000 physicians and surgeons, including world-recognized authorities in many fields, its record of medical firsts, unmatched by any other American city.

Philadelphia has a tradition of research and medical scholarship that has been 200 years in the making. The story goes back to a September day in 1765. In the Fourth and Arch Streets building of the College of Philadelphia—which later became the University of Pennsylvania—two professors greeted students and opened the first medical school in America.

In honor of that epochal event, the world of science is joining the University of Pennsylvania in a mammoth celebration. Beginning this month and continuing through 1965, there will be university ceremonies, convocations, and conferences. Forty-seven scientific societies will hold conventions in Philadelphia. Attendance is expected to total more than 80,000.

They will discuss medicine's future; but evident throughout will be the influence and inspiration of the medical pioneers of 200 years ago.

Philadelphia in the middle of the 18th century was a cobblestoned town of about 25,000 people. The area west of what is now 10th Street was still primeval forest. The city was hit by repeated outbreaks of yellow fever, typhoid, and dysentery. The town's 50 doctors were kept busy.

Any young man who wanted to enter the medical profession apprenticed himself to a practicing physician. He followed the older man on his rounds, read the books in his library, mixed his medicines, kept his records, cleaned his office. When the physician felt the young man had absorbed enough, he turned him loose to put up his own shingle.

Anybody who wanted real medical school training and a genuine M.D. degree had to go to Europe. That is what John Morgan, son of a Philadelphia shopkeeper, did. So did William Shippen, Jr., son of a prosperous doctor and leader of Philadelphia society. Both studied at the University of Edinburgh's famous medical school. Both conceived the exciting idea of starting a medical school in the Colonies, and exchanged thoughts on the subject.

Dr. Shippen came home first. In 1762 he opened formal classes in anatomy and midwifery in a backyard building at his father's home, Seventh and Chestnut Streets. He attracted many students. But his idea of training men to deliver babies—male midwives—struck a lot of people as scandalous.

The dissection of human bodies in his laboratory stirred even fiercer opposition. Neighbors said he and his students were robbing graves. In letters to the newspapers, Shippen explained that the bodies were of executed criminals or suicides, delivered to him by the authorities.

Gradually, he overcame opposition; and soon newspapers were reporting as a matter of course that unclaimed bodies were being sent to "Dr. Shippen's anatomical theater."

Young Dr. Morgan, a pleasant, round-faced man, expanded his studies in the medical centers of London, Paris, and Rome. He returned home in 1765 and persuaded the trustees of the College of Philadelphia to open America's first medical school, with himself as professor of medicine.

He established high admission standards—a college education, or equivalent, in math, science, and Latin—astonishing requirements in that day.

Morgan had another revolutionary idea: He would do no surgery, no dentistry. He would stick to internal medicine. No man, he said, could be proficient in all branches of medicine. He thus became America's first specialist.

Shippen brooded for several months over Morgan's success, then wrote a letter to the college trustees. Starting a medical school, he stated, had been in his mind for 7 years. He would have approached the trustees long before this, he said, except that he had been waiting for Dr. Morgan to come back so they could go into this together.

However, he concluded, a professorship of anatomy and surgery "will be accepted by your most obedient and humble servant, William Shippen, Jr."

Morgan told the trustees this was all right with him, and Shippen was appointed. But there was no warmth between the two.

During the next 3 years, two more professors were appointed—Benjamin Rush and Adam Kuhn. These were the big four in Philadelphia medical education throughout Revolutionary times.

The new medical school was lucky in having a hospital nearby for bedside instruction. This was Pennsylvania Hospital—first in America—founded in 1751.

The idea began with Dr. Thomas Bond, a Philadelphia doctor who had won notice as the inventor of a wrist splint and an instrument for extracting objects stuck in the gullet. He tried to solicit funds for a hospital, but people kept asking: "Have you consulted Franklin? What does he think?"

Bond talked with Ben Franklin, who immediately got behind the project. First he printed articles in his newspaper. Then he went to the State assembly for funds. The legislators were cold.

Then wily Ben Franklin came up with a novel idea: Matching funds. Let the legislature vote 2,000 pounds, but pay it out only if he could raise 2,000 pounds in private contributions.

The scheme worked, and America's first hospital was built.

Its regulations included the assignment of a bed for "accidents that require immediate relief"—the origin of today's universal accident ward.

When the legislature expressed a fear that its money would be eaten up in doctors' salaries, Dr. Bond and the two other staff physicians volunteered to serve without pay, starting a tradition that has continued to the present.

Pennsylvania Hospital set aside a room for the first medical library in the Colonies.

Ben Franklin produced a medical first of his own: bifocal glasses. He had been wearing two different pairs, one for close vision, one for distance. When a became Ambassador to France, he had a British optometrist

cut his lenses so he could look through the bottom part for near vision and the top part for distant.

Oddly, the British optometrist failed to realize he had his hands on a million dollar idea. Bifocal glasses slipped into limbo, to be reinvented generations later.

When the Revolutionary War began, the Continental Congress appointed John Morgan as director-general and chief physician of the Army. When supply shortages occurred, Morgan was blamed for poor administration, even dishonesty.

Shippen was married to Alice Lee, one of the Lees of Virginia, and two of her brothers were Members of Congress. Morgan suspected that Shippen was using his influence to knife him. In 1777, Congress fired Morgan and put Shippen in his place.

Meanwhile, Shippen ran into the same supply problems and accusations Morgan had. His chief accuser: His medical school colleague, Benjamin Rush, who had always resented Shippen's high-society ways. Shippen House could say on many an occasion that Washington slept here, as well as Jefferson and Adams.

Shippen demanded a court-martial to air the charges against him. Like Morgan, he was acquitted. He kept his post. Rush, who had held a subordinate position in the Army's Medical Corps, resigned.

The surprising thing is that after the war all three got together in 1786 to help found the College of Physicians, America's first learned society of medical men. (Today the college is custodian of one of America's greatest medical libraries in its building at 19 South 22d Street.)

Rush, a lean, sharp-featured man, had a notable talent for antagonizing people. He had strong opinions and a sharp pen. He even outraged George Washington, by circulating a letter proposing that Washington be replaced as Commander in Chief.

But no other medical professor of his time had so many admiring and devoted students. And despite his deplorable tendency of prescribing purgatives and bloodletting as an all-purpose cure, he is widely considered to be America's greatest early physician.

Rush was the father of American psychiatry. He introduced experimental physiology. He was the first to talk about the role of the teeth in focal infections, first to recognize infant cholera, first to advocate the teaching of veterinary medicine. He wrote America's first chemistry textbook. (Another Penn man, Caspar Wistar, wrote an anatomy book, which is considered America's first strictly medical text.)

Rush established America's first free dispensary, or outpatient clinic. He was a pioneer in social reform movements: abolition of slavery, more science in education, better schooling for girls, temperance in drink, prisons for rehabilitation, a ban on punishing lawbreakers in public. And he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

The large number of students attracted to Penn's medical school from all over the Colonies stimulated the establishment of rival institutions. At one point, there were 19 medical schools in Philadelphia.

They included some with fanciful names and short lives. While they lasted, these schools attracted so many with their easy-to-get medical degrees that reputable schools lowered their standards to hold on to students.

This ominous development led 40 medical organizations and 28 medical schools across the country to send representatives to a meeting at Philadelphia in 1847. The result was a call for higher educational requirements and higher standards of medical ethics: and the delegates founded the American Medical Association. Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, of Penn, was elected the first president.

Two years later, the Philadelphia County Medical Society was founded. From its beginnings it promoted public health measures—vaccination, water filtration, pure milk. In 1937 it inaugurated a significant Philadeplia first: the postgraduate institute, a 4-day refresher course for practicing physicians, which annually attracts some 2,000 from all over the eastern seaboard.

Penn's Dr. Chapman in 1820 founded the American Journal of the Medical Sciences, which is still publishing, America's oldest medical journal.

But it was Ben Franklin who was first in medical publishing (as in practically everything else). He started in 1734 with the "Poor Planter's Physician," which gave "plain and easy means for persons to cure themselves"—and really verged on quackery. Franklin soon was printing respectable treatises by top doctors.

Philadelphia became established as the country's leader in medical publishing, and still holds that position. Four firms—J. B. Lippincott, W. B. Saunders, Lea & Febiger and F. A. Davis—produce books on medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy used all over the world.

The first Philadelphia medical school to achieve success after Penn was Jefferson. It was founded in 1825 by Dr. George McClellan, a Penn grad and a brilliant surgeon.

Penn couldn't see the need for a second medical school and there were cold feelings between the two faculties for a number of years.

Dr. McClellan quit Jefferson in 1838 in a dispute and opened a new medical school at Eleventh and Filbert Streets. But in 4 years financial difficulties closed his school. He died at 51—too early to see his son, George B. McClellan, become commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Jefferson today is credited with having produced more doctors (20,500) than any other medical school in America.

Hahnemann Medical College, founded in 1849 under the name of the Homeopathic Medical College, became the first medical school in America to extend the standard 2-year course to 3 years. Woman's Medical, founded in 1850, was the world's first medical school solely for women. Temple University's School of Medicine, founded in 1901, was the first to go coeducational. The Philadelphia College of Osteopathy, founded in 1899, was the first to win equal recognition by a State legislature for its kind of medicine.

Two medical schools founded in the 1880's—Medico-Chirurgical and the Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine—merged with Penn to become the Graduate School of Medicine, first in America.

Penn's Medical School has been a "seed" institution, sending out men who founded other medical schools. Penn graduates established among others, Jefferson, University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, Medical College of the State of South Carolina. Two Penn professors, William Osler and Howard A. Kelly, were half of the big four medical team that was called to Baltimore to start Johns Hopkins Hospital and School of Medicine.

During the 1800's, Philadelphia doctors were producing many firsts in medical and surgical techniques. Some examples:

Dr. Philip Syng Physick, Penn professor and famed surgeon, devised an instrument for removing tonsils, a stomach pump, and surgical thread that would dissolve in the body.

Jefferson's great surgery professor, Dr. Samuel D. Gross, designed an apparatus for blood transfusions, a probe for bullets, an instrument for removing foreign bodies from the ear and nose, a "horseshoe tourniquet" for controlling bleeding. (Dr. Gross was curiously resistant to the antiseptic techniques proposed by Lord Lister. Lecturing to Jefferson students, Dr. Gross described Lister's idea and explained that the board of trustees required him to tell students about it. "You can take it for what it's worth, he said. "Personally, I don't think it's worth a damn." But after meeting Lister and getting a first-hand view, Gross changed his mind.)

Dr. Joseph Pancoast, another Jefferson man, was the first to use metal pins to unite fractures.

Dr. D. Hayes Agnew of Penn devised a splint for fractured shins and a device for holding a fractured hip joint in place.

Dr. Crawford W. Long, who took his medical degree at Penn and then went to practice in his native Georgia, was the first to use anesthesia during an operation. People had known that one could get high by sniffing ether. Some of Long's young bachelor friends told him that when thus inebriated, they sometimes fell and bruised themselves, but felt no pain. This led him in 1842 to use ether anesthesia successfully during removal of a cystic tumor. The patient later testified that he "could not believe the tumor was removed until it was shown to me."

But Long waited till 1848 before reporting his great discovery. Meanwhile, in 1846, Dr. William T. G. Morton, of Massachusetts, demonstarted ether enesthesia, and it was Morton who won nationwide fame, and a patent.

Joseph Leidy, son of a Philadelphia hatter, was a boy naturalist, collecting bugs and rocks along the Schuylkill and Wissahickon. He grew up to become professor of anatomy at Penn's Medical School, also produced a tremendous number of articles on natural science.

Leidy got on the track of one of his most important discoveries while eating a ham sandwich on a summer day in 1847. He noticed some white specks on the meat, and saved a piece for laboratory study. He discovered that the ham contained organisms found in human victims of trichinosis. The hitherto mysterious disease was thus traced to pork: and the simple preventive—thorough cooking—become apparent.

Philadelphia scored significant firsts in the development of hospitals. Philadelphia General, which grew out of the old Philadelphia Almshouse of 1731, became America's first welfare (tax-supported) hospital. Children's, founded in 1855, was the first pediatric hospital in the Western Hemisphere. In 1860, Lankenau Hospital initiated America's first hospitalization insurance. University Hospital, in 1874, was the first to be established specifically as a teaching hospital for medical students.

Philadelphia doctors recorded many firsts in military and naval medicine. Edward Cutbush, who was born in 1772 and got his training as a Pennsylvania Hospital apprentice, wrote America's first manual on naval medicine, and opened the first U.S. Naval Hospital, in Sicily.

Ninian Pinkney, a Jefferson graduate, became fleet surgeon with the Union's Mississippi fleet in the Civil War, and established the first naval hospital ship. He used a captured Confederate vessel, which became famous for its elevator, screened windows, and, most spectacularly, the first female nurses in the Navy.

Civil War medicine was very much a Philadelphia story. At the start of the war, the surgeons-general of the Union and Confederate armies were both graduates of Penn. Jefferson's Gross, who wrote a monumental 2,300-page "System of Surgery," also produced a handy manual of military surgery. The Confederates captured a copy and reproduced it for their own doctors, apologizing in the preface for being unable to make "the usual reprint arrangements."

Philadelphia became the North's largest military hospital center except for Washington. Six big hospitals were built here, including 3,500-bed Satterlee at 44th and Spruce Streets, the Nation's largest.

The struggle against infectious diseases had top priority in medical science during the next two generations. Philadelphia was the first city to have a school of hygiene and public health, established as part of the University of Pennsylvania in 1892.

Philadelphia assumed leadership in the war against tuberculosis. The Henry Phipps Institute, founded by Penn in 1903, was a pioneer research organization in the fight. Dr. Leonard Pearson of Penn was the first in this country to use tuberculin to identify tuberculous cattle. The Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, founded here in 1902, was the world's first organization committed to prevention of this disease.

Philadelphia led in the use of X-rays. A scant 8 months after William Roentgen discovered them in Germany in 1895, University of Pennsylvania researchers presented their first report on clinical use of X-rays.

Dr. Charles Lester Leonard was first to use X-days to find kidney stones, later died of X-ray overdoses suffered in his experiments. Dr. Frank W. Burge pioneered in use of miniature film for mass chest X-ray surveys. Temple's Dr. W. Edward Chamberlain developed X-ray moving pictures.

Philadelphia pioneered in the use of the bronchoscope, the ingenious instrument for probing the air and food passages which Chevalier Jackson perfected in 1903. A small, intense man, Dr. Jackson established clinics and teaching departments in hospitals and medical schools here which made Philadelphia a world center of bronchoscopy. The instrument, at first used almost entirely to remove objects stuck in the windpipe or gullet, soon was found useful in the study and treatment of disease.

The acceleration of scientific progress in recent years has produced an astonishing quantity and variety of achievements. To cite a few:

First open-heart surgery using a heart-lung device, at Jefferson.

First trial of the deep-freeze technique now used in surgery, at Temple.

Perfection of the vacuum-drying method for preservation of blood plasma, at Penn.

First collection of heart sound recordings, at Hahnemann.

First effective treatment for whooping cough, at Children's.

Development of the mass survey technique for detecting cancer in women, at Woman's Medical.

Pioneering with contact lenses at Wills Eye Hospital.

Many more could be listed. Actually, this review of Philadelphia cointributions to American medical science over the past two centuries is the sketchiest abbreviation of an account that would take many hundreds of pages.

The whole story might be summarized in the way the Nation's leaders have turned to Philadelphia medical men: George Washington consluted Dr. Edward Shippen. When President James A. Garfield was shot by a disappointed office seeker, Dr. D. Hayes Agnew was summoned as principal consultant. When President Cleveland required extensive jaw surgery, Dr. W. W. Keen came from Philadelphia to fashion a corrective appliance. When President Eisenhower underwent surgery, Dr. Isador S. Ravdin was brought into the case.

The first statues of medical men ever erected in the Nation's Capital were of Benjamin Rush, Crawford W. Long, and Samuel D. Gross—all representatives of Philadelphia medicine.

LSCA: Legislation Into Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on September 1 there appeared in the Library Journal an excellent article entitled "LSCA: Legislation Into Action," which was prepared by the Library Services Branch of the Office of Education under the leadership of Dr. John G. Lorenz. This article, which discusses the significance of the Library Services and Construction Act, Public Law 88–269, in my judgment, is a most helpful compendium. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed, together with the accompanying table, at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LSCA: LEGISLATION INTO ACTION

"The new library legislation could be—and I think will be—the beginning of a renaissance in public library development. It remains for us * * * to help in developing State plans and programs to use these funds constructively and creatively, to assure our ultimate goal of high level public library service for all our people."

These remarks by U.S. Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, at the opening session of the 83d annual conference of the American Library Association in St. Louis, express the hopes and expectations connected with carrying out the Library Services and Construction Act (Public Law 88–269).

The passage of this legislation significantly changed the rural Library Services Act program both in dimension and in kind. The LSCA increases funds for services, including expenditures for salaries, books, and other library materials, library equipment, and other operating expenses. The new act reaches unserved or inadequately served urban areas as well as rural areas. A new title provides funds for public library construction. Under this expanded act, the President has requested $25 million for public library services and $30 million for public library construction, a total appropriation request of $55 million for fiscal 1965, more than seven times the amount authorized under the rural program. With the publication of the official regulations in the Federal Register on June 30, 1964, and with the receipt of State plan materials from the States, the way is cleared for prompt and effective action.

As of mid-July 1964, State plans for public library service have been received in the Library Services Branch from 49 States. These plans indicate that the States are ready to move ahead and that most will be able to use their maximum allotments. In addition, most States have prepared preliminary statements for the use of funds under title II for construction.

The general aims contained in the State plans under the new program do not differ radically from those developed under LSA. Sounder statewide planning can now be realized because existing urban public libraries can become full partners in the effective development of strong library systems. However, even though objectives are broader, activities under LSCA are being based on rural programs which have been in successful operation for 6 or more years.

The national standards for public libraries, "Public Library Service: A Guide to Evaluation, With Minimum Standards," published in 1956 by the American Library Association, provided sound goals for State plans under LSA. The new "Standards for Library Functions at the State Level," officially adopted by ALA in 1964, will also contribute to the strength of State plans under LSCA. These new standards for State libraries point out that no State has yet provided a good total library program and some States have not as yet clearly recognized the importance of library services as an essential educational facility for life in the 20th century. By adding urban and suburban areas—two-thirds of our Nation now live in metropolitan areas—problems are also added of a scope which even the threefold expansion of Federal funds for the development of public library services under title I cannot solve alone. In addition to actual numbers of people to be served, large urban libraries must solve such special problems as working more effectively with the culturally deprived, the unemployed, and undereducated.

The trends which emerged under the rural program and which will continue under LSCA are: strengthening the State library extension agency; the organization of library systems; centralization of cooperative library functions and services; recruitment and scholarship programs, and inservice training conferences and workshops; surveys, studies, and research projects; grants-in-aid; public information programs. The new program will reap the cumulative value in increased staff skills and collections which developed under the old. State library leadership and know-how improved greatly during this period. The number of State library agency professional public library consultants doubled during the first 5 years of LSA.

More demonstration projects to encourage the development of effective public library systems may be expected, some by the establishment of State-operated system headquarters and some by additional encouragement and support to localities which initiate and develop such systems. The pattern of a cooperative network of libraries involving local, regional, and statewide resources is becoming more widely adopted. Many States will now find it advisable to build systems upon the stronger collections and staff skills of urban libraries which are centers of library use. By so doing, these States can capitalize on the existing diversified urban book collections, eliminate useless duplication, and make maximum economical use of the funds available.

Another step toward broadly based cooperative networks of all library resources is the organization of centralized services. These may cover several counties, or, in some smaller States, the entire State. Such centralization may include reference, research, and referral services; bookmobile services; the ordering, cataloging, and preparation of books and other materials; and special services in culturally disadvantaged or economically depressed areas. Some States are proposing the shared use of highly trained staff members by several libraries on a cooperative basis, and more intensive inservice training and professional education of personnel.

Efforts to improve the quality of reference and bibliographic services are being studied and planned at both State and regional levels. Oregon, as one example, will produce a book catalog of the State Library collection to make its resources known to libraries throughout the State. Both South Dakota and Wyoming plan to suscribe to the Rocky Mountain Bibliographic Center in Denver for the use of all public libraries in their States. South Dakota plans to strengthen statewide reference services by studying the possibility of interlibrary lending among academic institutions and large public libraries,

by establishing at the State library a union catalog of adult nonfiction titles from selected libraries, and by organizing regional reference centers which will serve several counties. Tennessee will make special grants to each of its four metropolitan area library systems to serve as technical information centers, offering more specialized reference and interlibrary loan service to other public libraries in the State. A similar project is being developed among the larger libraries in Connecticut. New Mexico plans to add a documents librarian at the State library, and the addition of a reference librarian in a State library regional branch is being considered. Other professional staff specialists, such as childen's librarians, will be employed by this State's regional libraries to work with all libraries in the region.

Under the Library Services Act, increased participation by State library agencies in survey and research activity was due in part to the availability of LSA funds. A comprehensive survey is frequently used to provide a sound basis for preparing a statewide plan. Pennsylvania is a good example of a State which has made a logical progression, beginning with a statewide library survey, proceeding to widely endorsed recommendation, and moving into State legislation and implementation. Following a similar pattern, Rhode Island has made outstanding progress toward solid statewide library development. In May 1964, Rhode Island passed a comprehensive library law based upon a statewide study, financed by the Council on Library Resources, of all types of libraries, and designed according to recommendations of a special Legislative Commission on Libraries. The act provides for the creation of a Department of State library services, and State grants-in-aid to local, regional, and statewide resource center libraries, including grants for library construction.

As a part of the expanded LSCA program, other States are planning various types of surveys to promote service programs which coordinate the resources and services of all libraries. Both California and Montana have included such studies in their plans. At the present time, similar studies have been authorized in North Carolina and Oklahoma. Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin also have such surveys now underway or recently completed.

Under LSA, considerable progress was being made by the various programs for recruitment and training and in the provision of graduate scholarships. There were an estimated 300 scholarships in some 22 States for the period 1958–63 under this rural program. The present severe lack of trained library staff will undoubtedly be intensified as services are extended to more people. Imaginative approaches will be needed, such as the new "library technician" classification being tried in some areas. Other new training programs will be required for those librarians working in economically depressed areas and in changing urban and suburban neighborhoods. New scholarships for library training under LSCA are being proposed in both Nevada and Utah. Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Wyoming are expanding this type of program to strengthen the staffs of both State agencies and local public libraries.

Programs of State grants-in-aid provide the opportunity to implement public library standards. Without such a financial incentive, State standards might not be widely carried out; without criteria for eligibility, it is possible that State aid would not be allocated with maximum effectiveness. Under LSA, there was relatively little use of State grant funds for such purposes as encouraging experimentation or pilot projects relating to new types of library service; basic research into library problems; shared specialized personnel; or studies of adaptations of automated data processing.

Some States, New Hampshire and Vermont, for example, are planning to take maximum advantage of the Federal funds under the Library Services and Construction Act by combining this aid with ongoing State programs. New Hampshire enacted a complete revision of its library laws to make possible a statewide network of public library services. By using State, local, and Federal funds, this plan can begin operation in fiscal years 1965 and 1966. In March 1964, Vermont enacted a law authorizing the State library administrative agency to receive and spend Federal grants for the construction of public libraries. Vermont also is planning a reorganization of State library service functions for more efficient operation.

In providing funds for public library construction under the Library Services and Construction Act, title II was based directly on the principles of State plans and of State and local matching expenditures which proved to be effective in the success of the Library Services Act. This national library building program may be expected to generate more active citizen participation and greater civic pride in good libraries than ever before.

All State library agencies are being flooded with inquiries about construction grants. In general, the States are requiring that a community be eligible for funds under the services title before it may qualify for a construction grant. The act provides that funds for construction may be used only in areas which are without the library facilities necessary to develop library services. The determination of areas to be included in State plans is made by the State. State library agencies have adopted criteria for measuring adequate public library services, and these are now being used to evaluate local projects.

Maryland became the first State to provide State aid for public library construction when it enacted legislation providing for a public library incentve fund to be effective July 1, 1964. The program, as it is designed, can be coordinated with the construction title of the Library Services and Construction Act. It will aid the counties and the city of Baltimore in financing debt service and/or pay-as-you-go capital outlay expenditures for the purchase of land for libraries, the purchase and construction of library buildings, remodeling and adding to library buildings, and for the purchase of equipment and furniture for such buildings. Also effective July 1, 1964, is the Rhode Island program of grants for local library construction which combines a State appropriation of $100,000 with a Federal grant of $101,000 to assist local communities on a matching basis.

The rural Library Services Act of 1956 provided a good training ground for State library agencies in planning for the effective administration of the Library Services and Construction Act. During the 8 years under that program, many States were able to build solid, efficient, and effective programs, and this experience has done much to prepare them for the expanded Federal library legislation. Public library agencies are eager to implement the expanded Federal program by making sound plans for the broad-scale improvement of library services to every citizen.

Federal allotments and required matching expenditures from State and local sources, under Public Law 88–269, the Library Services and Construction Act, fiscal year 1965

States and outlying parts	Title I. Public library services		Title II. Public library construction		Federal percent	State percent
	Federal allotment	State and local matching	Federal allotment	State and local matching		
Total	$25,000,000	$26,285,376	$30,000,000	$31,790,555		
Alabama	454,452	234,112	543,258	279,860	66.00	34.00
Alaska	124,540	188,375	112,073	169,517	39.80	60.20
Arizona	241,289	201,443	264,660	220,955	54.50	45.50
Arkansas	293,816	151,360	333,312	171,706	66.00	34.00
California	1,805,367	2,899,785	2,308,865	3,708,505	38.37	61.63
Colorado	290,309	315,006	328,728	356,694	47.96	52.04
Connecticut	375,081	668,841	439,523	783,753	35.93	64.07
Delaware	148,424	301,346	143,289	290,920	33.00	67.00
District of Columbia	182,892	371,326	188,337	382,381	33.00	67.00
Florida	637,260	509,097	782,183	624,874	55.59	44.41
Georgia	527,841	301,185	639,175	364,712	63.67	36.33
Hawaii	168,658	179,377	169,734	180,522	48.46	51.54
Idaho	172,392	117,002	174,615	118,511	59.57	40.43
Illinois	1,193,838	1,744,479	1,509,614	2,205,902	40.63	59.37
Indiana	605,896	583,301	741,191	713,551	50.95	49.05
Iowa	399,202	341,570	471,048	403,044	53.89	46.11
Kansas	336,386	294,141	388,950	340,108	53.35	46.65
Kentucky	429,650	233,697	510,842	277,860	64.77	35.23
Louisiana	453,397	260,502	541,880	311,340	63.51	36.49
Maine	205,168	145,666	217,452	154,388	58.48	41.52
Maryland	436,435	518,565	519,710	617,511	45.70	54.30
Massachusetts	658,637	868,106	810,122	1,067,769	43.14	56.86
Michigan	948,841	1,009,955	1,189,411	1,266,021	48.44	51.56
Minnesota	470,415	413,159	564,122	495,461	53.24	46.76
Mississippi	336,335	173,263	388,883	200,334	66.00	34.00
Missouri	568,713	565,537	692,595	688,727	50.14	49.86
Montana	$173,214	$141,606	$175,689	$143,630	55.02	44.98
Nebraska	253,134	228,751	280,141	253,156	52.53	47.47
Nevada	130,954	237,723	120,455	218,604	35.52	64.48
New Hampshire	165,853	145,842	166,068	146,032	53.21	46.79
New Jersey	758,265	1,140,721	940,333	1,414,621	39.93	60.07
New Mexico	203,189	141,024	214,865	149,128	59.03	40.97
New York	1,920,933	3,265,171	2,459,907	4,181,311	37.04	62.96
North Carolina	594,357	326,128	726,111	398,423	64.57	35.43
North Dakota	168,622	98,143	169,687	98,762	63.21	36.79
Ohio	1,153,175	1,269,462	1,456,469	1,603,340	47.60	52.40
Oklahoma	352,626	250,360	410,175	291,219	58.48	41.52
Oregon	291,908	298,043	330,818	337,771	49.48	50.52
Pennsylvania	1,328,187	1,362,084	1,685,205	1,728,214	49.37	50.63
Rhode Island	193,257	190,494	201,884	198,997	50.36	49.64
South Carolina	358,519	184,692	417,877	215,270	66.00	34.00
South Dakota	173,838	113,593	176,504	115,334	60.48	39.52
Tennessee	487,040	262,829	585,851	316,152	64.95	35.05
Texas	1,139,425	894,536	1,438,499	1,129,332	56.02	43.98
Utah	196,636	151,454	206,300	158,897	56.49	43.51
Vermont	142,303	103,301	135,289	98,210	57.94	42.06
Virginia	530,427	382,214	642,555	463,011	58.12	41.88
Washington	409,583	449,983	484,616	532,417	47.65	52.35
West Virginia	301,862	182,279	343,827	207,620	62.35	37.65
Wisconsin	528,780	504,397	640,403	610,873	51.18	48.82
Wyoming	135,813	142,297	126,807	132,778	48.85	51.15
American Samoa	27,176	14,000	22,843	11,768	66.00	34.00
Guam	32,274	16,626	29,508	15,201	66.00	34.00
Puerto Rico	354,933	182,844	413,190	212,855	66.00	34.00
Virgin Islands	28,483	14,673	24,552	12,648	66.00	34.00

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have recently received a letter from the director of libraries of the Oregon State System of Higher Education, Dr. William H. Carlson, which states far more eloquently than I can the enthusiasm with which this legislation is being received. I think it highly significant that the initial groundbreaking ceremonies in my State for library construction literally took place within a matter of hours after the signing of the appropriations bill. Needless to say, as the senior Senator from Oregon, I am tremendously pleased that my State was able so quickly to place this act into effective operation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Carlson's letter, to which I have previously alluded, be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON STATE SYSTEM
OF HIGHER EDUCATION,
Corvallis, Oreg.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Once again it is my pleasant privilege to express appreciation for the constructive action which you have taken in improving and securing passage of the National Defense Education Act. As I look out my office window I see swarms of our young students enroute between classes. These young people and those now in the high schools and the grades will be direct beneficiaries of the farsighted action of national leaders such as yourself. In spite of some present grumbling and growling, future generations will, I am confident, look back on this educational legislation as being a constructive investment in the future just as was the GI bill which you supported so vigorously and effectively. It is now a demonstrable and proven thing that we are daily reaping dividends from the Federal expenditures in educating our returning young soldiers.

On Friday, September 25, it was my pleasant privilege to attend groundbreaking ceremonies for a new addition to the Corvallis Public Library. This action took place within hours, almost, of President Johnson's signing of the HEW appropriations. Things could happen so quickly because everything was in readiness, a local bond issue passed, and the contractor's bids tentatively approved in expectation of these Federal funds. It is quite possible that this groundbreaking was the first specific act anywhere in the United States in the utilization of the Library Construction Act, which you also supported vigorously. Future generations will owe you much for your continuing and effective support of legislation designed to develop a more enlightened citizenry.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. CARLSON,
Director of Libraries.

Hon. Lester Johnson

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and friendly colleague, LESTER JOHNSON, in his decision to retire, deprives the Congress of one of its most valuable authorities on conservation and agricultural problems of the Nation.

His practical and theoretical knowledge of the dairy industry contributed much to the advances made and advantages given at the legislative level.

His affable smile and genial manner are not to be misunderstood as one being supple of disposition—behind these pleasantries common to the average American, he has a backbone through the center of which runs a rod of steel. The secret of his success is that he sees the practical side of every question in spite of the speechmaking and sharp double talk.

He pays no attention to what the newspapers say about him—for he reads few newspapers—he is too busy doing his job.

He talks little about himself and less in debate—but when he has some particular argument to debate, or point to be considered—then he speaks directly and in a concise manner, with clarity and punch.

His loyalty to friends is unswerving. He alone could have passed the memorial establishing the Ice Age Scientific Preserve in Wisconsin. It stands as a monument to his endeavors in this field. His purposeful study in bringing out the interdependence of farming and conservation programs for their common good as the necessary solution of their problems are now widely accepted by the authorities on these subjects.

Mr. JOHNSON contributed much to the dairy industry's stability in providing the leadership in passing legislation for the extension of greater wetland areas through the watershed conservation program.

The State of Wisconsin has lost one of the strongest of its influential legislators in the Congress—and the conservationists and farmers will miss a true friend.

May God bless LESTER and his lovely wife, Marjorie, in their joyful retirement. May success and happiness follow them through life.

Summary of Activities of Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of the activities of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during the 88th Congress.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JACKSON

I am happy to submit a summary of the activities of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during the 88th Congress. This Congress has produced an excellent record in the field of conservation and utilization of our natural resources. We have accomplished more in this area in the past two sessions than in any comparable period in recent years. Other noteworthy legislative advancements within our committee's jurisdiction have also been achieved. I am grateful to all of the members of the committee for their cooperation and bipartisan support and especially to the chairmen of our subcommittees. In addition, I want to express my gratitude to the leadership in the Senate on both sides of the aisle, and especially to our majority leader, Senator MANSFIELD, for his unceasing assistance and advice toward the passage of our committee legislation.

At the conclusion of the 1st session of the 88th Congress, I submitted a report of our accomplishments up until that time. At this time I would like to continue and summarize briefly the major legislative highlights which shall be followed by a more specific detailed analysis that is broken down into the various subcommittees.

The shortage of water and the burgeoning population can be regarded as a critical issue on the contemporary scene. For many years States have differed over the supply and distribution of water, as well as what possible solutions could be offered to help alleviate the shortages now and in the future. The enactment of S. 2 into public law on July 17, 1964, is a beginning. In essence, it parallels the agriculture research stations of the Hatch Act with water research centers in the 50 States' land-grant colleges, State universities, or other institutions of higher education in a particular State. The serious and ever-increasing shortages of water supply and the decisive lack of trained hydrologists could both be improved by university programs that could attack regional problems in the step-by-step approach that is needed to find answers to our water needs, and could at the same time train new water scientists. The Secretary of the Interior is given the discretion of determining the effective use of funds, but the centers are to be effectively independent in order to promote more individual investigation.

The preservation of natural resources has continuously been an omnipresent problem in the United States, and it is in this field that the most stalwart record of accomplishment has been achieved, particularly with the passage of S. 4, the wilderness bill, and H.R. 3846, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. The enactment of S. 4 provides for the statutory establishment of a national system of wilderness preservation. It will provide protection on a permanent basis. H.R. 3846 will establish a land and water conservation fund to help the States and Federal agencies in meeting the present and future outdoor recreation demands and needs of the American people.

In addition, there have been a number of other important bills enacted into law during the 88th Congress. The role of public lands in the United States is inherently attached to the development and maintenance of our natural resources. Perhaps one bill that will greatly enhance the understanding and mitigate many problems pertaining to public lands was the act establishing a Public Land Law Review Commission. This Commission will study laws in existence and procedures relating to the administration of the public lands of the United States, and make revisions of such laws which are deemed necessary in accordance with present and future needs of the American people. These are only a few of the many measures passed by this "Conservation Con-

gress." I have prepared a detailed history of the bills considered by our committee, many of which have become public law.

FULL COMMITTEE, HENRY M. JACKSON, CHAIRMAN

S. 2, introduced by Senator ANDERSON, et al., January 14, 1963: To parallel the agricultural research stations of the Hatch Act with water resources research centers in the 50 States' land-grant colleges. The serious and ever-increasing shortages of water supply and the decisive lack of trained hydrologists could both be improved by educational and research programs under this act. The Secretary is given the discretion of determining the effective use of funds, but the centers are to be independent in order to promote more individual investigation. If two of more States should desire to combine in one station, they may. The amount to be granted starts at $75,000 and increases to $100,000 annually for the establishment of the centers, and a dollar-for-dollar matching with the States of $1 million increasing by the same amount for 4 years, for special projects, or cooperation with another State. In addition, there is under title 2 a 10-year $50 million program. Passed the Senate April 23, 1963. Passed House, amended, June 2, 1964. July 2, 1964, Senate and House agree to conference report. Bill became public Law 88-379 on July 17, 1964.

S. 4, ANDERSON, et al.: A bill to establish a national wilderness preservation system. This legislation was passed by the Senate in the 87th Congress, but final action was not concluded then in the House of Representatives. After introduction in this Congress, Senator JACKSON scheduled hearings on the bill, and it was reported by the committee and passed by the Senate in early April of 1963. The House passed the bill as amended on July 30, 1964, and after conferences the final legislation was agreed to by both Houses and President Johnson signed it on September 3, 1964. The bill establishes immediately by statute a permanent wilderness system consisting of over 9 million acres. Other additions to the system will have to be by affirmative act of Congress. Mining and grazing activities will be continued but under the strict regulations issued by the Secretary of Agriculture. It became Public Law 88-577.

S. 20, Senator ANDERSON, et al.: A bill to promote the coordination and development of effective programs relating to outdoor recreation. This legislation is known as the Organic Act of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Department of Interior. The act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to perform several tasks in the field of outdoor recreation including a continuing inventory of outdoor recreation needs, a classification of recreation resources, and to formulate a comprehensive and nationwide plan providing technical assistance and advice to the States and private interests on request. It became Public Law 88-29.

S. 859 (H.R. 3846), Senator JACKSON, et al.: A bill to establish the land and water conservation fund to assist the States and Federal agencies in meeting the present and future outdoor recreation needs of the American people. Probably no other legislation compared in significance to this bill in the field of outdoor recreation resources in this Congress. This proposal authorizes a fund to provide financial assistance to the States and to Federal agencies to develop outdoor recreation opportunities for future generations of the American people. The fund will be composed of entrance and user fees, revenues derived from the sale of surplus Federal real property and motorboat fuel taxes. This bill followed the recommendations of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission in its report to the President and the Congress. Hearings were held in March of 1963 on the Senate bill, but in view of the revenue implications involved, the measure was first passed by the House of Representatives. Thus when H.R. 3846 passed the House the Senate immediately began consideration of it, and it passed with only one dissenting vote. The President signed it into law on September 3, 1964, and it became Public Law 88-578.

S. 1007, introduced by Senator JACKSON et al.: A bill to guarantee electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region and to guarantee electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority.

This legislation opened the way for the final agreement between the Pacific Northwest and the Pacific Southwest for interconnected power transmission systems. Now the surplus power which can be generated in the Northwest will be utilized in the power-short Southwestern area of the United States. This legislation afforded the needed protection for the energy consumers in the Northwest while at the same time it will allow the sale of surplus power into the Southwest. The bill passed the Senate in April of 1963. Final approval did not come until August 1964 following several conferences with the House committee. It is a landmark effort in regional cooperation. It became Public Law 88-552.

S. 2719, introduced by Senator JACKSON et al.: A bill to amend the Alaska Statehood Act for the purpose of providing retroactive insurance benefits to the citizens of Alaska as a result of the earthquake disaster in the spring of 1964.

The bill would establish an Office of Alaska Reconstruction for the purpose of administering the benefits of this proposal. This measure and its consideration was the first real step toward enactment of legislation to provide aid to Alaska following this unprecedented disaster. Hearing was held by the full committee in April and May 1964, but action was deferred on the bill in order to proceed with other legislation.

S. 2772, introduced by Senator JACKSON, et al.: A bill to amend the Alaska Omnibus Act. This bill was submitted and recommended by the President to provide aid to Alaska by providing an additional $23½ million in transitional grants to the State of Alaska. These grants were originally provided when Alaska achieved statehood to assist the young State in carrying on the services normally provided by a State which had been performed by the Federal Government. It became Public Law 88-311.

S. 2881, introduced by Senator BARTLETT, et al.: A bill to amend the Alaska Omnibus Act to provide assistance to the State of Alaska for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the earthquake of March 1964.

This legislation was submitted and recommended by the President. The recommendations were made by the Alaska Planning and Reconstruction Commission established by the President immediately after the earthquake disaster. The bill provides new authorizations up to almost $56 million. In addition, other relief has been made available to citizens of Alaska owning homes which were destroyed or severely damaged by the earthquake. A provision incorporated in the act authorizing the purchase of up to $25 million of Alaska State bonds to assist the State to finance its reconstruction program. The bill was enacted into law on August 19, 1964. It became Public Law 88-461.

S. 3143, introduced by Senators SALINGER and KUCHEL: A bill to designate as Clair Engle Lake the reservoir created by the Trinity Dam, Central Valley project, Calif. This measure was introduced in the memory of the late Senator Clair Engle, who as a member of the House of Representatives and chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had authored much of the legislation relating to the development of the great Central Valley project in California. It passed the Senate September 8 and the House on October 2, 1964, and became Public Law 88-662.

Senate Joint Resolution 17, Senator MCGEE, et al., introduced the bill: To designate the lake formed by the Flaming Gorge Dam in Utah and extending for most of its 91 miles into Wyoming as O'Mahoney Lake in memorial to the late Senator from Wyoming who had served as the chairman of the Interior and Insular Committee of the Senate. It passed the Senate in June of 1963 but died in the House of Representatives.

H.R. 11162, a bill granting the consent of Congress to an amendment to the Break Interstate Park Compact between the Commonwealths of Virginia and Kentucky. This legislation would enable the two States to amend the present compact which had previously been approved by Congress in 1954. This amendment to the compact simply allowed the Commission set up by the States to administer the park to exercise the power of eminent domain. It became Public Law 88-602.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, HON. FRANK CHURCH, CHAIRMAN

The Subcommittee on Indian Affairs has legislative responsibility over matters involving the relations of the Federal Government with approximately 500,000 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, about half of whom reside on reservations; over Indian landholdings and reservations which, subject to varying degrees of Federal control, total approximately 52 million acres in 29 States; and over the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, the Indian health and sanitation program supervised by the Division of Indian Health in the U.S. Public Health Service is of concern to the subcommittee, as is the Indian Claims Commission.

Of the 103 measures referred to the subcommittee, 49 were reported and 39 were enacted into law.

The following Indian bills of general applicability throughout Indian country were enacted or passed by the Senate during 1963-64:

S. 48 (ANDERSON, GOLDWATER): To amend the 1955 Indian Leasing Act (69 Stat. 539) by increasing the maximum term of such leases from 50 to 55 years, which pertained to leases of individual and tribal lands for public, religious, educational, recreational, residential, and business purposes. This proposed amendment to the 1955 act would facilitate loans to developers for construction and improvements on reservations. The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee did not take favorable action on this bill.

S. 50 (ANDERSON, CHURCH) (H.R. 3306) Public Law 88-168: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make loans to finance the testimony of expert witnesses before the Indian Claims Commission—loans out of any funds available in the revolving fund created pursuant to section 10 of the act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 986). This legislation is important to facilitate the work and eliminate backlog of the Indian Claims Commission. A total of $900,000 was authorized for these loans.

S. 1049 (CHURCH): Relating to the Indian heirship land problem. The primary purpose of this proposed legislation is to provide the Secretary of the Interior with authority that will enable him to reduce the rapidly increasing number of Indian allotments in multiple ownership by (1) partition or sale of lands in heirship status, upon application of the requisite number of Indian owners, where such partition or sale is found to be in the best interest of the Indian owners, and not detrimental to the Indian tribe; (2) providing for judicial partition or sale where non-Indian interests so require; (3) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to represent owners who are minors, non compos mentis, or are unlocatable; (4) establishing proce-

dure for selling heirship lands that will afford the owners full opportunity to obtain fair market value for their property and give the Indian owners and tribes preference rights to purchase the land; (5) increasing the Indian revolving credit loan fund by $35 million in order that individual Indians and tribes may borrow funds with which to purchase heirship tracts; and (6) providing for tribal land consolidation programs to permit maximum economic utilization of the land resource by Indians. The bill passed the Senate on October 11, 1963, but was not acted on by the House Interior Committee.

S. 1565 (CHURCH), Public Law 88-301: This act amends two sections of the act of June 25, 1910, which deals with the sale of Indian timber, to modernize harvesting practices and to facilitate sales of timber on allotments that are in fractionated heirship status.

S. 1718 (CHURCH): This bill would amend the law with respect to trade with the Indians to eliminate obsolete provisions of law. The bill was introduced as the result of an executive communication from the Department of the Interior. It passed the Senate on October 22, 1963, but was not acted on by the House.

S. 1868 (CHURCH), Public Law 88-230: This legislation amends the act of August 3, 1956, relating to adult Indian vocational training. The program is increased from $7,500,000 to $12 million annually in order to meet the needs of Indians between the ages of 18 and 35 who are seeking skills to aid in their employment. This program has been one of the most successful operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Arizona

S. 90 (GOLDWATER) (H.R. 11329), Public Law 88-462: Authorizes the sum of $269,500 from funds available for the Painted Rock Dam, Ariz., for the relocation and reestablishment of the Indian village of Sil Murk adjoining the Gila Reservation. These funds will be used for land and for construction of 10 concrete dwellings to house approximately 100 Indians who must be relocated out of the reservoir area.

S. 912 (MOSS), Public Law 88-182: The act gives approval to an agreement between the Navajo Tribe, the Shell Oil Co., and the Humble Oil & Refining Co., dated May 1, 1959, as amended. It also authorizes the tribe to enter into an oil and gas lease with the two companies in accordance with the terms of the agreement.

S. 2111 (CHURCH), Public Law 88-302: Declares the Colorado River Reservation, with the exception of certain Federal improvements and improvements placed on the land by assignees and Indian colonists, to be the property of the Colorado River Indian Tribes. Certain Hopi, Navajo, and Havasupai colonists who settled on the reservation during the late 1940's will be treated as members of the tribes if they accept enrollment as Colorado River Indians within 2 years.

S. 2210 (GOLDWATER, HAYDEN) (H.R. 8334), Public Law 88-465: Transfers title to approximately 27.3 acres of surplus Federal land on the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Reservation near Scottsdale, Ariz., to the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian community. It is needed to assist the tribe in working out plans for the most beneficial use of the land and the improvement of economic opportunities on the reservation through industrial and recreational uses.

California

H.R. 2635, Public Law 88-167: Amends the act of August 9, 1955, for the purpose of permitting leases of Indian land on the Fort Mojave Reservation in Calif., Ariz., and Nev. for business and other purposes to be made for a term of 99 years or less, instead of the present 25 years with right of renewal for another 25 years. H.R. 2635 is needed to permit a lease with a term long enough to enable a prospective lessee to obtain financing for the contemplated tourist-recreation development.

H.R. 7833, Public Law 88-419: Extends the provisions of the California Rancheria Termination Act of 1958 to all Indian reservations and rancherias lying wholly within the State boundaries. It is necessary to assist in accomplishing the intent of House Concurrent Resolution 108 that all Indian tribes in California should be freed from all disabilities and limitations specifically applicable to Indians.

H.R. 11562, Public Law 88-453: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to sell Enterprise Rancheria No. 2 to the State of California and to distribute the proceeds of the sale to certain persons. Need for the legislation stems from construction of the Oroville Dam.

Colorado

S. 1564 (CHURCH) (H.R. 5883), Public Law 88-112: Corrects an error in the form of an excess comma in a land description in the act entitled "To provide for an exchange of lands between the United States and the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and for other purposes." The comma broke the description, making it cover two tracts, one of which the Southern Ute Tribe does not own.

Idaho

S. 1582 (CHURCH): Amends section 3 of the act of August 31, 1954, providing for the construction of the Michaud Flats project, Idaho, by adding a new subsection (c) to facilitate the execution of contracts for the delivery of water to individual Indian allotments. Passed the Senate August 28, 1963, but no action taken in the House.

S. 2139 (CHURCH), Public Law 88-231: Introduced as a result of an executive communication, the bill provides for the distribution of an award to the Kootenai Tribe of Idaho by the Indian Claims Commission of approximately $380,000.

Minnesota

S. 3035 (MCCARTHY, HUMPHREY): Authorizes the judgment ($1,800,000) of the Indian Claims Commission in favor of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians to be used for any purpose authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The bill became Public Law 88-663.

H.R. 11425, Private Law 88-293: Provides for the conveyance of 10 acres of federally owned land on the White Earth Reservation to the Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Church. The land is excess to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and will be used by the church in connection with religious activities.

Montana

S. 1531 (METCALF, MANSFIELD), Public Law 88-640: To increase the appropriation authorization from $1 million to $6,200,000 for continuing the construction of the irrigation and power systems of the Flathead Indian irrigation project in Montana. The amounts expended will be added to project construction costs and will be reimbursable. The funds are needed for an adequate power distribution system and the extension of facilities. The bill became public law.

S. 1757 (MANSFIELD, METCALF): To ratify certain conveyances of land on the Crow Indian Reservation. S. 1757 passed the Senate December 6, 1963, but was not considered by the House.

S. 2279 (MANSFIELD, METCALF) Public Law 88-304: Authorizes the transfer of the Piegan unit of the Blackfeet Indian irrigation project, Montana, to the landowners within the unit, and authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to cancel construction, operation, and maintenance charges of about $47,000. It is uneconomical for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate this unit, since most of the landowners wish to dry-farm their lands or use them for grazing and have made little use of the irrigation system.

S. 2961 (MANSFIELD, METCALF), Public Law 88-559: Provides for the disposition of a judgment of the Indian Claims Commission to the Northern Cheyenne Indians in the amount of approximately $4 million. The funds will be used for developing individual and family type plans, education, and an economic development program.

Nevada

S. 1885 (BIBLE, CANNON): Declares that the United States holds in trust for the Indians of the Battle Mountain Colony certain lands which are used for cemetery purposes. Some 6.25 acres are to be used for this purpose. Passed the Senate on October 22, 1963, but not acted upon in the House.

New Mexico

S. 1594 (ALLOTT, ANDERSON, DOMINICK, MECHEM): Authorizes the Navajo Tribe or the Ute Mountain Tribe to commence litigation to determine the location of a part of the common boundary between their two reservations. The litigation would be before a district court of three judges in the U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico, with a statutory right of appeal direct to the Supreme Court. The district court would base its decision on "such principles as may be just and fair in law and equity." S. 1594 passed the Senate October 22, 1963, but was not acted on by the House.

S. 1931 (ANDERSON), Public Law 88-303: Provides that the United States shall hold 80 acres of surplus Federal land in trust for the members of the Alamo Band of Puertocito Navajo Indians. The lands and buildings were formerly used for school purposes. The band will use them for community purposes.

New York

H.R. 1794, Public Law 88-533: Authorizes the payment for certain interests in lands within the Allegany Indian Reservation, N.Y., required for the Kinzua Dam project, and provides for the relocation, rehabilitation, social and economic development of the members of the Seneca Nation. Three categories of payments are made to the Senecas for a flowage easement over some 10,000 acres of tribal land reserved to the Nation under the Pickering Treaty of 1794: Direct damages, $1,289,060; indirect damages, not ordinarily compensable, $945,573; rehabilitation, $12,128,917. The latter sum will be used for relocation, housing, education, utilities, community facilities, family plans, industrial and recreational purposes. The act also directs the Secretary of the Interior, after consultation with the Seneca Nation, to submit to Congress a plan for complete withdrawal of Federal supervision over the Senecas.

North Dakota

H.R. 2905, Public Law 88-194: Donates in trust to the Devils Lake Sioux Tribe of the Fort Totten Indian Reservation 276 acres of land. The land is no longer required by the Federal Government and the transfer will permit the tribe to make beneficial use of it and the improvements.

Oklahoma

S. 1820 (EDMONDSON, MONRONEY) (H.R. 6496), Public Law 88-461: Provides for a conveyance to the Cherokee Indian Tribe of a 40-acre tract of surplus Federal land near Tahlequah, Okla. It also provides that the land be taken in fee simple and subject to set off against any claim the tribe may have before the Indian Claims Commission. The tribe plans to use the land to improve economic opportunities of its members.

S. 2482 (MONRONEY, EDMONDSON) (H.R. 10672), Public Law 88-474: Provides for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma. The funds may be expended for any purpose authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. The amount of funds available to the tribe

after deductions is $6,439,000. It is planned that these funds will be distributed on a per capita basis since there is no tribal reservation.

S. 2655 (MONRONEY, EDMONDSON) (H.R. 10483), Public Law 88-413: The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to sell 58.19 acres of Eastern Shawnee tribal land in northeastern Oklahoma, upon request of the tribal governing body. Because this is the sole remaining tribal property and is no longer used by the tribe, the disposition would be of advantage to the tribe and would relieve the Federal Government of some of its responsibility over the tribe.

H.R. 7215, Public Law 88-421: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to convey all right of the United States, together with all improvements, in certain land totaling 255 acres near Shawnee, Okla., to the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians and to the absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians, both of Oklahoma. Conveyance will be in fee. The bill is necessary to enable these tribes to carry out their plans for use of this land, which is no longer needed by the Federal Government.

H.R. 8834, Public Law 88-457: Provides for distribution of funds appropriated in satisfaction of a judgment awarded the Shawnee Tribe or Nation of Indians by the Indian Claims Commission. The amount of the award, $1,269,338.02, was appropriated by the act of September 30, 1961, and deposited in the Federal Treasury. After deducting attorneys' fees and expenses ($135,620.10) and adding accrued interest, the amount in the Treasury credited to the tribe was $1,203,-103.31 on June 30, 1964. Three bands of Shawnee Indians will share in a portion of the funds.

H.R. 10204, Public Law 88-632 (S. 2581, MONRONEY and EDMONDSON): Extends for an indefinite period the mineral estate that was temporarily reserved to the Osage Tribe of Oklahoma when the tribal lands were allotted to individual members under the act of June 28, 1906. The original mineral reservation, which was for a 25-year period, has been extended from time to time. Under present law it will expire on April 8, 1983, unless terminated before that time by act of Congress.

Oregon

H.R. 1713, Public Law 88-456: Approves an order of the Secretary of the Interior canceling $329,301 in construction costs and $72,139 in operation and maintenance costs on non-Indian owned lands in three units of the Klamath irrigation project. The effect of the act is to place non-Indian owners in the same position as the Indians who were terminated by Public Law 83-587, the Klamath Indian Termination Act of 1954.

H.R. 8080, Public Law 88-464: Provides for the distribution of $550,000 awarded to the Snake and Paiute Indians of the former Malheur Reservation. The Secretary will prepare a roll of persons eligible to share in the fund.

H.R. 11118, Public Law 88-506: The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to distribute an award by the Indian Claims Commission to the Nehalem and the Tillamook Band of the Tillamook Indians of Oregon in the amount of $72,162.50 and $97,025, respectively. He is authorized to distribute the shares of the living enrollees directly to them.

South Dakota

S. 136 (MUNDT, MCGOVERN), Public Law 88-463: Places in trust for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe approximately 10,495 acres of land located within the boundaries of their reservation. The land is surplus to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The tribe will use it for grazing and hay purposes.

H.R. 844, Public Law 88-166 (S. 84, McGOVERN and MUNDT): Conveys in trust status 5,422.68 acres of land formerly used for the benefit of the Oglala Community School to the Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The United States will hold the land in trust for the tribe. The land is no longer used for pasturing and the Bureau of Indian Affairs has no further use for it.

H.R. 845, Public Law 88-169 (S. 85, McGOVERN and MUNDT): The bill conveys in trust status the Federal Government's interest in 40 acres of land used for the Wakpamni Lake Day School to the Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. The Government has no further use for the land or improvements.

H.R. 2467, Public Law 88-196 (S. 711, McGOVERN and MUNDT): Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior, upon request of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, to sell or exchange the tribal interests in isolated tracts of land in Tripp, Gregory, and Lyman Counties, S. Dak. It further requires the tribe to use the proceeds of such sale to purchase substitute land and thus consolidate its holdings. Need for the bill arises from the fact that the tribe owns many isolated tracts of land in these counties which are of little use to the tribe and which cannot be effectively consolidated.

H.R. 2977, Public Law 88-418: Permits the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of South Dakota to sell isolated tracts of land in Stanley, Haakon, Pennington, and Meade Counties, S. Dak. Requires the tribe to use the proceeds of such sale to purchase substitute land, and permits the tribe, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, to encumber by mortgage or deed land which it is authorized to sell. The tribe owns many tracts of land in these counties which are of little use to it and cannot be effectively consolidated into tribal holdings. Some of the tracts would be valuable to nearby landowners, but there is no authority to sell or encumber them.

H.R. 11052, Public Law 88-483: Declares that 80 acres of land acquired for the Flandreau Boarding School is held by the United States in trust for the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe. The land is surplus to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indians plan to use it for community, ceremonial, recreational, and agricultural purposes.

Washington

S. 1169 (JACKSON and MAGNUSON, by request), Public Law 88-551: Authorizes a per capital payment of $350 to members of the Colville Confederated Tribes from funds arising from judgments of the Indian Claims Commission. Subcommittee held field hearings on the legislation in October 1963.

S. 1442 (JACKSON and MAGNUSON, by request): As introduced, the bill provided for closing of the tribal roll of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation preparatory to submission of proposed legislation for the termination of Federal supervision over the property and affairs of the tribes and their members. Field hearings were held in Spokane, Naspelem, and Seattle on October 24, 25, and 26, 1963. Numerous suggested amendments offered by tribal witnesses were incorporated in the substitute bill as reported on August 17, 1964. As passed by the Senate on August 18, the legislation calls for a one-step termination program closely patterned after the Klamath Indian Termination Act of 1954. No action was taken on S. 1442 by the House Interior Committee.

H.R. 10973, Public Law 88-412 (S. 2608, JACKSON): Provides for the disposition of Indian Claims Commission judgment funds on deposit in the U.S. Treasury to the credit of the Lower Pend d'Oreille or Kalispel Tribe of Indians. The funds may be advanced or expended for any purpose authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. A total of $2,669,-000 is available for the 155 members of the tribe. The committee directed that the tribe's plan for the use of the funds not be implemented until the Bureau of Indian Affairs investigates the practicality of placing the administration of the program in the hands of a private trustee.

H.R. 5837, Public Law 88-540: Amends the act entitled "An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain Indian lands on the Yakima Indian Reservation" to correct difficulties that the Yakima Tribes have met in acquiring and disposing of lands. The act authorizes acquisition by the Secretary of the Interior of reservation and ceded land from anyone by gift or relinquishment as well as purchase; it also authorizes exchange of tribal land for other land within the reservation or the ceded area as well as sale and exchange of lands held in multiple ownership.

S. 3079 (JACKSON, by request): Authorizes the disposition of a $205,000 judgment awarded to the Quinaielt Tribe by the Indian Claims Commission. The Quinaielt Business Committee would be permitted to decide how to use the funds subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior. The bill was reported to the Senate on September 3, 1964, but was not passed before adjournment.

S. 3114 (JACKSON, by request): The purpose of the bill is to permit Indian lands in the Lummi diking project to be including in a new diking district formed under Washington State law. All outstanding construction and operation and maintenance charges, amounting to approximately $200,000, against the project would be canceled. The organization of the State district will be advantageous to the Government in that responsibility for future betterment and construction would be transferred to the district, and the Government would be relieved of any further responsibility. The legislation passed the Senate on September 4, 1964, but was not acted on by the House.

Wyoming

H.R. 6710, Public Law 88-116: Grants congressional approval to an order of the Secretary of the Interior canceling irrigation charges of $1,134.99 on 80 acres of land against Clarence R. Jacobson, a non-Indian landowner on the Wind River Indian irrigation project in Wyoming. Mr. Jacobson purchased the land with a water right for 80 irrigable acres, but the land was not susceptible to irrigation. Consequently, Jacobson did not pay the irrigation charges.

In addition to the bills enacted or passed by the Senate, the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs took the following action on legislation referred to it:

Senate Joint Resolutions 170-171 (MAGNUSON): Regarding Indian fishing rights. On August 5-6, 1964, hearings were held on these two resolutions that relate to the treaty rights of Indians in the Northwest to fish at their usual and accustomed places. Testimony was received from many interested parties. The hearings were in the process of being printed at the end of the session. No action was taken on the joint resolutions.

S. 143 (METCALF, MANSFIELD): To permit States to assume jurisdiction over criminal or civil causes of action with the consent of the tribe occupying the particular Indian country affected by the assumption of jurisdiction as consent of the United States. Hearings were held by the subcommittee on May 1, but no further action taken.

S. 156 (ALLOTT): Relating to membership in Indian tribal organizations. No individual who is otherwise qualified for membership in an Indian tribe, band, etc., can be denied membership regardless of whether or not he resides on or off the reservation or on the basis of his parents' nonresidence on the reservation at the time of his birth. Hearings were held on September 17, 1963, but no further action has been taken.

S. 410 (YOUNG, North Dakota): To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to receive from the Devils Lake Sioux Tribe of the Fort

Totten Reservation, N. Dak., a deed conveying certain property on such reservation to the United States, and for other purposes. Any property conveyed to the United States in accordance with the provisions of the first section of this act shall be held in trust by the United States for the benefit and use of the Devils Lake Sioux Tribe of such reservation. A hearing was held by the subcommittee on October 4, but nothing further has been scheduled.

S. 2532 (GRUENING and BARTLETT): The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to lease lands or improvements located within the Pribilof Islands of St. Paul and St. George, in Alaska, to the inhabitants for the purpose of fostering self-sufficiency among the inhabitants. Leases will be for no more than 55 years and at an annual rental determined by the Secretary. Hearing by subcommittee on April 24, 1964, but no further action taken.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINERALS, MATERIALS, AND FUELS, HON. ERNEST GRUENING, CHAIRMAN

Forty bills and joint resolutions were referred to the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels during the 88th Congress. In addition, the subcommittee held full exploratory hearings on the state of the domestic minerals industry in general, and conducted continuing studies of the same, as well as the interpretation and administration by the executive agencies of laws relating to mineral resource development.

Twenty-three public hearings were held on these measures and were given executive consideration; 13 were reported to the Senate, and 11 passed the Senate. Nine were enacted into law.

Specifically, the measures on which the Minerals Subcommittee took action were:

S. 73, by Senator SMATHERS, authorizing the sale of certain mineral interests reserved by the United States in a tract of land in Florida to the surface owners thereof. Hearing held April 24, 1963. House companion measure, H.R. 1492, substituted and reported favorably (S. Rept. No. 252). Passed Senate June 26, 1963, and became Private Law 88–10.

S. 100, by Senator DOMINICK, directing a study of, and executive action with respect to, the domestic gold mining industry. Hearings held July 15, 16, and 17, 1963. Adverse reports from executive agencies. Action merged with that on S. 2125, Senate Report No. 804.

S. 164, Senator ALLOTT and Senator BENNETT, to establish a national mining and minerals policy. Hearings held May 9 and 10, 1963, in connection with those on state of the domestic minerals industry. Considered by full committee on June 12, 1963, but no action taken. Subsequently, adverse reports received from executive agencies.

S. 167, by Senator HOLLAND, to authorize sale of phosphate rights reserved by the United States in Florida. Hearing August 29, 1963. Favorably reported to the Senate November 26, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 662). Passed the Senate November 27, 1963.

S. 883, by Senator BIBLE, to authorize leasing of geothermal steam deposits on the public lands. Hearings held July 12, 1963, and October 25, 1963. Ordered favorably reported to Senate August 17, 1964 (S. Rept. No. 1508), and passed the Senate on August 21, 1964.

S. 1013, by Senators LAUSCHE, SCOTT, and HARTKE, to direct nationwide study of strip and surface mining operations. Hearings held March 25 and July 27, 1964. The measure was reported to the full committee, but further action was indefinitely postponed because the substance of the measure, with broadened authority, was contained in section 205 of the Appalachia bill, S. 2782 and H.R. 11946, which was passed by the Senate on September 25, 1964.

S. 1066, by Senator MCGEE, to authorize reinstatement of E. L. K. Oil Co. lease of Cheyenne, Wyo. Hearing held April 24, 1963; reported to the Senate on June 13, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 240; approved August 28, 1963, Private Law 88–45). (This measure was the basis for favorable action by the committee and the Senate on S. 1984, by Senators GRUENING, MCGEE, HOLLAND, ENGLE, SIMPSON, MOSS, BIBLE, CANNON, KUCHEL, and MECHAM, which passed the Senate September 1, 1964, S. Rept. No. 1518.)

S. 1154, by Senator HUMPHREY, to authorize sale of mineral interests retained by the Federal Government in a tract of land in Minnesota to the surface owners. Hearing May 27, 1963; reported to the Senate with amendments June 17, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 254) and passed the Senate June 19, 1963. Private Law 88–64.

S. 1166, by Senator HART, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts and make grants for research and development to further purposes of law establishing the Bureau of Mines. Hearing August 29, 1963. Considered by full committee, and ordered held over November 22, 1963.

S. 1273, by Senators GRUENING, MCGOVERN, BARTLETT, KUCHEL, MUNDT, and BIBLE. To establish a Gold Procurement and Sales Agency in the Department of the Interior. Adverse reports from executive agencies. Hearings on July 15, 16, and 17, 1963. See report (S. Rept. No. 804) and action on S. 2125.

S. 1326, by Senator THURMOND, to authorize sale of mineral interests retained by the United States in a tract of land in South Carolina to the surface owners thereof. Hearing, May 27, 1963. Reported June 17, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 253); passed Senate June 19, 1963, Private Law 88–31.

S. 1429, by Senator BURDICK, to amend authorization for operation of three minerals experimental stations. Hearing, May 10, 1963, and reported to the full committee. Measure held over in full committee.

S. 1534, by Senators ANDERSON, JACKSON, ALLOTT, BARTLETT, BENNETT, BIBLE, CANNON, CARLSON, CHURCH, DIRKSEN, DOMINICK, EDMONDSON, ENGLE, GRUENING, HAYDEN, JORDAN, LONG of Missouri, MAGNUSON, MANSFIELD, MECHEM, METCALF, MONRONEY, MOSS, NELSON, and SYMINGTON, to stabilize domestic lead and zinc industry by establishing flexible import quotas based on differences between domestic consumption and production, with foreign exporters assured a share of the market. Hearings held August 14 and 20, 1963, with administrative agencies in opposition. Amended bill favorably reported to Senate (S. Rept. No. 758, on December 10, 1963, and rereferred to Committee on Finance for consideration of import quota aspects.

S. 1984, by Senators GRUENING, MCGEE, HOLLAND, ENGLE, SIMPSON, MOSS, BIBLE, CANNON, KUCHEL, and MECHEM, to amend Mineral Leasing Act so that deposit of oil lease rental payment on or before anniversary date will constitute timely payment even if not received by land office by that day. This bill was based on the facts and practices of the Bureau of Land Management brought out at public hearings on S. 1066. S. 1984 was reported favorably (S. Rept. No. 1518) on August 31, 1964, and passed the Senate on September 1, 1964.

S. 2125, by Senators GRUENING, BARTLETT, BIBLE, KUCHEL, METCALF, and MCGOVERN, to revitalize the American gold-mining industry by establishing a program whereby domestic producers would be paid the difference between the costs of production of gold as they were in 1940 and such costs today. S. 2125 was drafted and introduced as a direct outgrowth of the subcommittee's hearings on S. 1273 and S. 100, held July 15, 16, and 17, 1963. Conferences were held with Secretary Udall and Treasury officials on November 1, 1963. Reported to Senate on December 18, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 804).

S. 2327, by Senator MOSS, to increase the amount of coal acreage any one individual or group may hold on the public lands to 46,080 acres. Hearing by subcommittee on July 27, 1964; reported to Senate amended, August 18, 1964 (S. Rept. No. 1714); passed Senate August 19; action reconsidered on August 20 and identical House-passed bill, H.R. 8960, passed and became Public Law 88–526.

S. 2500, by Senators METCALF, MANSFIELD, CHURCH, JORDAN of Idaho, and MOSS, to increase maximum phosphate acreage one person or group may hold under Federal lease to 20,480 acres on the public lands. Hearings held May 20, 1964; reported to Senate August 17, 1964 (S. Rept. No. 1459). August 19 Senate passed House companion bill, H.R. 9638, which became Public Law 88–538.

Senate Joint Resolution 7, by Senator MCGEE, to determine susceptibility of minerals to electrometallurgical and other newly developed processes. Hearing on August 24, 1963, and ordered reported favorably to full committee. Full committee considered on June 12, 1963, but no action taken.

H.R. 1233, by Congressman SISK, to authorize reinstatement of an oil and gas lease in California which had terminated as a result of a mistake by the Bureau of Land Management. Hearing held August 29, 1963; reported to Senate December 9, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 751); passed Senate December 10, 1963, and became Private Law 88–114.

H.R. 3120, by Congressman UDALL, to enlarge coverage of Lead-Zinc Small Producers Act and to simplify procedures thereunder. Hearing on May 27, 1963; reported favorably to Senate on June 13, 1963; (S. Rept. No. 241); recommitted to committee after floor debate on July 16, 1963.

H.R. 3845, by Congressman ASPINALL, to correct inequities in Lead-Zinc Small Producers Act. Hearing, April 24, 1963; reported favorably June 13, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 239); passed Senate July 16, 1963, and became Public Law 88–75.

H.R. 4479, by Congressman TALCOTT, to release to State of California reserved mineral rights in a tract of land to be used for a public park by the State. Hearing on August 29, 1963; reported favorably December 9, 1963 (S. Rept. No. 752); passed Senate December 10, 1963, and became Public Law 88–216.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, HON. ALAN BIBLE, CHAIRMAN

The Subcommittee on Public Lands has jurisdiction over legislation dealing with the general administration and management of our public land resources. The subcommittee's jurisdiction also includes the establishment and control over new units created as part of our national park system. In this capacity in the 88th Congress the subcommittee has contributed a monumental effort toward the development of outdoor recreational resources.

A review of the legislation considered by the subcommittee follows:

S. 16, SYMINGTON and LONG of Missouri: Provides for the establishment of the Ozark National Rivers in the State of Missouri. The Secretary of the Interior will designate an area not exceeding 94,000 acres and may acquire lands and waters within the area designated. Any owner of improved property in the area may retain right of occupancy for noncommercial purposes until his death. October 22, 1963, passed the Senate, amended. On August 11, 1964, passed the House with amendments, and on August 14, 1964, the Senate concurs in House amendments. Public Law 88–492.

S. 18, RANDOLPH: To change the name of Harpers Ferry National Monument to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, in order

to conform with other national park administered areas and to more aptly describe the nature of the area. It passed the Senate April 9, 1963, passed the House May 20, 1963, and on May 29, 1963, it became Public Law 88–33.

S. 22, CHURCH: To release U.S. right, title, or interest in certain streets in Heyburn, Idaho, and to repeal the reverter in patent for public reserve. The act releases any right, title, or interest of the United States in streets that were dedicated when the townsite plat was filed, and repeals the reversionary clause in the patent. Public Law 88–14.

S. 27, MOSS: Establishes the Canyonlands National Park in Utah. This is an outstanding area because of the display of erosion forces, including the future course of the Colorado where it slices down through the sandstone layers. Total area is approximately 260,000 acres, and the park has potential for being an outstanding recreational area. On August 2, 1963, it passed the Senate, amended. On August 19, 1964, it passed the House, amended. Became Public Law 88–590.

S. 41, ANDERSON, et al.: The bill provides that public land States may, in exchange for land owned by the States within the boundaries of a military reservation, select other public lands (unreserved) belonging to the United States and located within the boundaries of the State, which are of equal value. These States may make exchanges in a similar manner for lands owned by the State and taken by the United States in condemnation proceedings for military or other public use. Written notice of such selection must be given to the Secretary of the Interior to the acquiring agency and to the U.S. attorney concerned. August 6, 1963, subcommittee hearing.

S. 91, GOLDWATER: Authorizes the establishment of the Fort Bowie National Historic Site in Arizona. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to designate for preservation the structures of Fort Bowie in Cochise County, Ariz., together with additional improvements and land not exceeding 1,000 acres. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate, amended August 3, 1964, House passed H.R. 946, a companion bill. August 14, 1964, Senate passed H.R. 946 in lieu of S. 91. Became Public Law 88–510.

S. 117, CARLSON: Establishes Fort Larned as a national historic site. Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire for preservation not more than 700 acres of land, or interests in land, which comprise the site and remaining historic structures of Fort Larned, located in Pawnee County, Kans. August 17, 1964, H.R. 3071 reported in lieu of S. 117 to the Senate where it passed August 18, 1964. Public Law 88–541.

S. 136, METCALF: To change the name of Big Hole Battlefield National Monument to Big Hole National Battlefield, and to revise its boundaries to include 466 acres of private and national forest lands that contain historically interesting sites. The House amended the bill with the appropriation limit of $20,000 for the purchase of the lands. Passed Senate April 9, 1963. Passed House May 6, 1963. Public Law 88–24.

S. 187, BURDICK, et al.: Authorizes the establishment of Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, N. Dak. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire the historic remains of Fort Union and other lands not exceeding 400 acres in Williams County, N. Dak., and Roosevelt County, Mont. June 26, 1964, passed the Senate amended. The House committee has taken no action.

S. 247, BARTLETT, GRUENING: Extends the Native Townsite Act to the filled-in tidelands that form an integral part of the Juneau Indian village in Alaska so that Indians may own their own homes. April 11, 1963, passed the Senate. May 20, 1963, passed the House. Public Law 88–34.

S. 249, SPARKMAN: Directs the Secretary of the Interior to adjudicate a claim to certain land in Marengo County, Ala. If the Secretary determines that B. A. Cogle satisfies the requirements of the Color of Title Act, he may issue Cogle a patent to such land without regard to the acreage limitation of the act. June 22, 1963, subcommittee hearing. No further action.

S. 346, CANNON, BIBLE: Provides for the conveyance to the city of Henderson, Nev., of certain lands. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to issue, after receiving the fair market value of the land, a patent for approximately 15,000 acres in the State of Nevada. June 12, 1963, H.R. 2461 ordered favorably reported, amended in lieu of S. 346. Public Law 88–73.

S. 386, STENNIS and EASTLAND: To consolidate and more effectively display the Vicksburg (Miss.) National Military Park by rerouting the city traffic with the establishment of a park tour road, and the sale of the southern part of the park, so as to change the present entire encirclement of the city, and the purchase of 544 acres to round out the main part of the park from its long, narrow shape, principally in order to prevent the soil erosion that threatens some of the park roads. April 10, 1963, passed Senate. May 20, 1963, passed the House, amended, so as to place a top limit on the funds to be allocated; namely, $2,050,000 to be specifically used for the acquisition of lands and construction and relocation of roads. June 4, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–37.

S. 394, BARTLETT: To patent certain lands under the Homestead Act and to permit the sale of other land entered under the Homestead Act to Leo Reeves, of Alaska, despite the current requirements of the homestead laws, because of extenuating circumstances. February 11, 1963, passed the Senate. February 7, 1963, passed the House. May 17, 1963, enacted. Private Law 88–4.

S. 503: Authorizes the addition of certain donated lands to the administrative headquarters site, Isle Royale National Park. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation a tract of land comprising 6.07 acres, located in Houghton, Mich. Introduced by Senator HART on January 24, 1963. April 4, 1963, subcommittee hearing. September 11, 1963, subcommittee hearing. October 8, 1963, subcommittee executive. No action taken.

S. 535: Extends the time limit for filing of proof of compliance with requirements for Alaska Public Sale Act beyond the statutory 3-year regulation when there is no evidence of bad faith and extenuating circumstances prevented the filing even though the requirements had been fulfilled within the time limit. Introduced by Senators BARTLETT and GRUENING on January 25, 1963. June 24, 1963, passed the Senate. July 8, 1963, passed the House. July 19, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–66.

S. 605: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the Graff House site for inclusion in Independence National Historical Park. The site is historically significant, because it was in the Graff House that Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. Introduced by Senators CLARK and SCOTT on January 31, 1963. May 29, 1964, subcommittee hearing. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive, and ordered reported H.R. 988 to the Senate, amended. July 31, 1964, H.R. 988 reported instead. August 1, 1964, H.R. 988 passed the Senate, amended. August 7, 1964, House agrees to Senate amendments. August 21, 1964, H.R. 988 approved. Public Law 88–477.

S. 606: Authorizes the establishment of Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, for the purpose of providing for public outdoor use and enjoyment. The area will include the Tocks Island Reservoir and lands adjacent in the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish and administer the area, and he may make boundary adjustments. He may utilize available statutory authorities concerning national park areas to carry out the act, and he is directed to adopt a land and water use management plan. Hunting and fishing will be permitted in the area. Introduced by Senators CLARK, CASE, JAVITS, SCOTT, and WILLIAMS on January 31, 1963. July 6, 1964, subcommittee hearing. No further action taken.

S. 653, BIBLE and CANNON: Administration of Lake Mead National Recreation Area. The Secretary of the Interior is to acquire inholdings, through exchange and the provision of an estimated $1,200,000 to equalize different values in the shifting of lands. Fishing and hunting are authorized when in accordance with State and Federal laws. August 3, 1964, passed the House amended. Became Public Law 88–639.

S. 673, BEALL and BREWSTER: Provides for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States on the University of Maryland campus to the State of Maryland. Subcommittee hearing. No action taken.

S. 758, GRUENING: Establishes in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior a Board of Public Lands Appeals. There will be a chairman and two associate members in the Board, which will be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary will establish rules and regulations for the Board, which will hear appeals on behalf of the Secretary from any final decision of the Bureau of Land Management or the Geological Survey concerning the uses of or claims to public lands under the Interior Department. March 6 and 7, 1963, subcommittee hearing.

S. 792, HART and MCNAMARA: Establishes in the State of Michigan a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to exercise the administration, protection, and development of the lakeshore along Lake Michigan. December 19, 1963, passed the Senate, with committee amendments.

S. 873: To allow Lincoln County in Nevada to develop lands north of Caliente for industrial purposes, since the land is of little use presently, but reserving to the United States the mineral rights in a Senate amendment. Acreage is 2,644, and there will be no cost to the United States. Introduced by Senators BIBLE and CANNON on February 20, 1963. April 11, 1963, passed the Senate. May 6, 1963, passed the House. April 16, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–35.

S. 932: To permit the Secretary of the Interior to set maximum and minimum age limits for the hiring of U.S. Park Police, as the present regulation does not allow because they are civil service employees. The intended limit of approximately 30 years would mean that they would be more physically fit for the more rigorous demands of this particular job. Introduced by Senator BIBLE on February 23, 1963. April 9, 1963, passed the Senate.

S. 986: Authorizes the establishment of the Prairie National Park in Pattawatomie County, in the State of Kansas. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to designate the boundaries of the park and to procure land and interests in land through purchase, exchange, or donation. An advisory commission is established and administrative jurisdiction over lands administered by the Corps of Engineers in the area is transferred to the Secretary of the Interior. Introduced by Senators PEARSON and CARLSON, March 4, 1963. August 8, 1963, subcommittee hearing. September 11, 1963, tabled in subcommittee.

S. 1039: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to exchange 391 acres of now surplus land at Blue Ponds, Md., for 783 acres ad-

joining the Virginia State Park at Great Falls, which is now under a 50-year lease by the National Capital Park System with the option to purchase. The scenic, historic, and recreational value of this Virginia land has been recognized since the George Washington Memorial Parkway Act of May 29, 1930. The fair market value of this land is estimated at $975,000, the limit being $1 million, which is payable to Potomac Electric Power Co. Introduced by Senator BYRD of Virginia on March 5, 1963. June 25, 1963, passed the Senate.

S. 1122: Allows for the reconveyance of a parcel of land in Powell, Wyo., from the State to the Presbyterian Retirement Facilities Corp., since the land is to be used for a retirement home and there is a restriction, dating from 1906 that the land be used for public purposes. A substitute area will be given and any differences in value made up as well as any administrative costs.

S. 1143, HART and MCNAMARA: The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to take appropriate action to establish the Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore in the State of Michigan. The Secretary is authorized to acquire land, water, and other property, and improvements within the Lakeshore's boundaries by donation, purchase, transfer, exchange, or condemnation. Owners of improved property acquired by the Secretary retain the right of occupancy and use of such property for residential purposes for a period of no more than 25 years, if such purposes are not incompatible with the purposes of this act. The bill further authorizes the appropriation of necessary funds. A subcommittee field hearing was held on the measure on July 20, 1964, but no further action was taken. Introduced by Senator SIMPSON on March 19, 1963. June 24, 1963, passed the Senate. July 9, 1963, passed the House. August 8, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–91.

S. 1137, NEUBERGER: Establishes the Oregon Dunes National Seashore in the State of Oregon. The area entailed will be that land, water, and submerged land area on the Oregon coast, lying between the Siuslaw River on the north, to Tenmile Creek on the south. The seashore will be administered by the Secretary of the Interior, who will appoint an Oregon Dunes Advisory Board to assist him in matters of policy relating to seashore development. Owners of improved property may retain the right of occupancy for noncommercial purposes until their death. May 8, 9, and 22, 1963, subcommittee hearings. November 27, 1963, reported to the Senate with amendments.

S. 1175, ANDERSON: Revises the boundaries of the Carlsbad Caverns National Park in the State of New Mexico to make a net reduction of 1,815.57 acres. The bill is also aimed at permitting the exchange of lands with the State of New Mexico and private individuals, and at facilitating the administration and protection of the area. August 28, 1963, passed the Senate. December 7, 1963, passed the House. December 30, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–249.

S. 1185, MORSE: Arranges for the transfer of 80 acres used and owned by the University of Oregon for agricultural experimentation as stipulated when the land was patented to the State, to the C. & B. Livestock Co., Inc., in the Hermiston area. Equal value lands or compensation shall be paid to the State, which lands are to be used for the same purposes, and the administrative costs are to be sustained by the State and the livestock company. June 19, 1963, passed the Senate with committee amendment. October 17, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–125.

S. 1243: Changes the name of the Andrew Johnson National Monument to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, and adds certain property thereto, i.e., the home of Andrew Johnson. Introduced by Senator Kefauver on April 1, 1963. September 25, 1963, subcommittee hearing. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate amended. December 2, 1963, passed the House, amended to strike all after the enacting clause and to insert the language of H.R. 5345. December 11, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–197.

S. 1364: Removes for and on behalf of the State of Montana a cloud on the title of a certain island in the Yellowstone River. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to quitclaim to the State of Montana without consideration any right of the United States to such land. Introduced by Senators METCALF and MANSFIELD on April 25, 1963. December 11, 1963, subcommittee hearing.

S. 1365: To establish the Fire Island National Seashore. The purpose is to preserve certain unspoiled shoreline areas. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to designate and acquire not more than 7,500 acres of land on the Great South Beach, in Islip and Brookhaven, Suffolk County, N.Y. No plan for visitor convenience is to be undertaken, if it is incompatible with the preservation of the area's natural beauty. The Secretary will administer and develop the area, and $50,000 is authorized for necessary studies. Introduced by Senators KEATING and JAVITS on April 25, 1963. August 6, 1964, passed the Senate. August 20, 1964, passed House, amended. Public Law 88–587.

S. 1374: Amends the act providing for the admission of Alaska into the Union with respect to the selection of public lands for the development and expansion of communities. Introduced by Senators BARTLETT and GRUENING on April 25, 1963. July 12, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 22, 1963, indefinitely postponed. H.R. 6118 reported to full committee with amendment.

S. 1477: Directs the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain lands in Arizona to the Kaibab Lumber Co. Payment of the fair market value is required, and the United States reserves all mineral rights, including oil and gas. Introduced by Senator HAYDEN on May 8, 1963. January 22, 1964, subcommittee hearing. May 26, 1964, subcommittee, executive, and ordered reported to full committee, amended. House bill H.R. 5514 enacted Public Law 88–252.

S. 1481: Provides for the establishment of the Agate Fossil Beds National Monument in the State of Nebraska. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire not more than 3,150 acres of land in township 28, north, Sioux County, Nebr. He may within acreage limitations designate and modify the monument's boundaries. The area is quite important because of the outstanding paleontological finds made there and because of the valuable collection of Indian artifacts and relics. Introduced by Senators HRUSKA, CURTIS, SIMPSON, ALLOTT, DOMINICK, MCGEE, and MUNDT on May 8, 1963. August 3, 1964, passed the Senate, amended.

S. 1598: Amends section 8 of the Taylor Grazing Act. It now provides that the Secretary of the Interior may accept a gift of land and may exchange for privately owned lands, when such gift or exchange will in his opinion be in the public interest. Such acquired lands will become public lands. Either party to an exchange may reserve minerals, easements, and other rights. Introduced by Senator BIBLE on May 27, 1963. August 6, 1963, subcommittee hearing.

S. 1870: Provides for the establishment of Valle Grande National Park in New Mexico. The Secretary of the Interior may acquire land and improvements in the State of New Mexico, Baca location No. 1, and administer said area as the Bandelier National Monument. Funds necessary for execution of the act are hereby authorized. Introduced by Senators ANDERSON and MECHEM on July 15, 1963. May 29, 1964, subcommittee hearing.

S. 1878: The purpose of the bill is to give Alaska an additional 5 years from January 3, 1964, in which to select lands under Federal mineral lease. The need arises from the fact that the Alaska selection program has suffered from a series of unforeseen delays. The result has been that only about 1 million out of the 103 million acres granted to Alaska have been patented to Alaska so far. Alaska needs these lands to carry out its State responsibilities. Therefore, S. 1878 amends the act providing for the admission of Alaska into the Union by extending the time for the filing of applications for the selection of certain lands. Introduced by Senators BARTLETT and GRUENING. November 27, 1963, passed the Senate. March 25, 1964, approved. Public Law 88–289.

S. 1909: Amends the joint resolution establishing the Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission to authorize an appropriation to enable the Commission to carry out its functions under such joint resolution. But the authorized sums shall not exceed $25,000. Introduced by Senators LONG and ELLENDER on July 18, 1963. September 25, 1963, subcommittee hearing. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive, and ordered reported without amendment. August 3, 1964, passed the Senate.

S. 2048: To establish the Big Horn Canyon National Recreation Area. The bill sets aside approximately 63,300 acres along the Bighorn River above Yellowtail Dam as a unit of the national park system. The acreage is located in south-central Montana and north-central Wyoming. The committee amendments adopted by the Senate provide that "the Crow Indian Tribe shall have the exclusive right to develop and operate * * * water-based recreational facilities, * * * along that part of the shoreline of Yellowtail Reservoir which is adjacent to lands comprising the Crow Indian Reservation." They further explain that the term "shoreline" means that land owned by the Bureau of Reclamation which borders both Yellowtail Reservoir and the exterior boundary of the Crow Indian Reservation, together with that part of the reservoir necessary to the development of such facilities. This recreation area is needed to serve the water-oriented recreation needs of people from the Rocky Mountain region and the Great Plains, and it is notable for its scenery and sites of historical significance. Introduced by Senators METCALF, MCGEE, MANSFIELD, and SIMPSON on August 15, 1963. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive. September 5, 1964, passed the Senate with committee amendments.

S. 2082: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to accept a transfer of lands within the Everglades National Park, Dade County, Fla., for administration as part of said park. The transfer concerns approximately 4,420 acres of land and will be made to the Secretary by the Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture. The FHA has been agreeable to such a transfer but has lacked the necessary statutory authority. The committee amendment to the bill limits the authorization for transfer of funds to $452,000. Introduced by Senator HOLLAND on August 26, 1963. June 25, 1964, passed the Senate, amended. Public Law 88–588.

S. 2122: To provide additional time to certain homestead entrymen in Arizona to establish permanent residence. The act provides that certain homestead entires in Arizona "will not be considered invalid for failure of the entrymen to establish residence, if the entrymen establish actual permanent residence upon said land within 1 year and after the approval this act." Introduced by Senator CANNON on September 6, 1963. July 6, 1964, subcommittee hearing.

S. 2128, JACKSON: The Secretary is authorized to establish the Assateague Island National Seashore in the States of Maryland and Virginia and to administer the Seashore "for general purposes of public outdoor recreation, including conservation of natural features. * * *" The seashore is to include

an area within Assateague Island and the small marsh islands adjacent to it, in addition to water areas: "not more than one-half mile beyond the mean high waterline of the land portions. * * *" Within the Seashore's boundaries the Secretary is authorized to acquire lands, waters, and other property by donation, purchase, exchange, or in other ways compatible with the interest. Owners of improved property acquired by the Secretary "may reserve for themselves and their successors * * * a right of use and occupancy of the improved property for noncommercial residential purposes" for a term of not more than 25 years. The State of Maryland will have the right to acquire from the United States land on the island north of the State park area, if such land is needed for the park. August 11, 1964, subcommittee hearing. No further action this Congress.

S. 2134: The bill directs that the trustee of Saxman, Alaska, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall convey to said city all right held by him to lands within the city which are unoccupied and not held in trust for an Indian or Eskimo. Introduced by Senators BARTLETT and GRUENING on September 10, 1963. July 23, 1964, subcommittee hearing and ordered H.R. 8523 reported to the Senate, without amendment, in lieu of S. 2134. Public Law 88–429.

S. 2183: To terminate a restriction on use with respect to certain land previously conveyed to Fairbanks, Alaska, and to convey to such city the mineral rights in such land. Introduced by Senator BARTLETT on September 26, 1963. June 23, 1964, subcommittee hearing and ordered reported to full committee without amendment. June 29, 1964, no further action necessary. Full committee ordered H.R. 8654 reported to the Senate without amendment. Public Law 88–409.

S. 2249: To provide for the establishment of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish and administer the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, which is to include approximately 11,732 acres in Porter and LaPorte Counties, Ind., including the 2,181 acre Indiana Dunes State Park. The area is notable for its picturesque, tree-covered dunes, cattail marshes, and sandy beaches. The Secretary is authorized to acquire lands within the proposed boundaries, but his authority to acquire property by condemnation is suspended with regard to improved property. He is to issue regulations giving standards for approval by him of zoning ordinances—standards aimed at preventing commercial corruption of the beautiful area. Owners of improved property will be allowed continued occupancy of if for noncommercial purposes for 25 years. But the Secretary may terminate such right at any time, if an occupant violated the Secretary's regulatory standards. An Indiana Dunes Advisory Commission is provided for, with a life-span of 10 years. The Secretary will appoint its members. Introduced by Senators JACKSON, DOUGLAS, HARTKE, BAYH, et al. March 5, 6, and 7, 1964, subcommittee hearings. Passed the Senate, September 29, 1964.

S. 3015, HAYDEN: The bill authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior, subject to the conditions described below, to convey without monetary considerations to the Pascua Yaqui Association, Inc., all right, title, and interest of the United States in approximately 202.76 acres of land. The Pasqua Yaqui Association shall use this property "only in accordance with its corporate purposes set out in its original articles of incorporation" and shall hold title to such property for the common benefit of all the association's members. The land is needed by the Yaqui community because of insurmountable problems resulting from urban encroachment. Companion measure H.R. 6233 substituted for S. 3015. Passed the Senate September 24, 1964. Became Private Law 88–350.

S. 2841, NELSON: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin, and for other purposes. H.R. 1096 passed in lieu and became Public Law 88–655.

S. 2326, CHURCH and JORDAN of Idaho: The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to establish and administer the Nez Perce Historical Park in Idaho, after he has made suitable land acquisitions. The Secretary may designate as the Nez Perce National Historic Park "various component sites in Federal and non-Federal ownership relating to the early Nez Perce, culture, the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Nez Perce War of 1877, and such other sites" as will depict the role of this country in America's westward expansion. He may acquire lands by donation or with donated funds and he may purchase 1,500 acres of land or less to accomplish the purposes of the act. He may designate not to exceed 1,500 acres of Indian trust lands for the site and may enter into cooperative agreements with property owners and with the State of Idaho. August 18, 1964, subcommittee hearing. Field hearing at Lewiston, Idaho, on October 9, 1964.

S. 2682, CASE, PASTORE, PELL, and WILLIAMS: The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, or otherwise, not in excess of 281 acres of land necessary for the "proper administration and interpretation" of the Morristown National Historic Park in the State of New Jersey. The lands to be acquired are historically associated with the winter encampment of George Washington's Continental Army in 1779–80; $281,000 is authorized to be appropriated for such acquisition. H.R. 3396, companion measured passed Senate on September 8, 1964. Public Law 88–601.

S. 3116, MILLER: To establish the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission and for other purposes. H. R. 12289 was placed directly on Senate Calendar on September 24, 1964, and pessed the Senate the same day. Became Public Law 88–630.

S. 2275: To revise the procedures established by the Hawaii Statehood Act, Public Law 86–3, for the conveyance of certain lands to Hawaii. The bill provides that whenever, after August 21, 1964, Federal lands which were ceded to or set aside for the United States by Hawaii are determined to be surplus property by the Administrator of General Services, they shall be conveyed to Hawaii by said Administrator. No monetary consideration is to be involved. The need for the bill arises because without its enactment Hawaii would lose its residual interest in such lands. Introduced by Senators INOUYE and FONG on December 31, 1963. November 12 and 13, 1963, subcommittee hearing. December 4, 1963, passed the Senate. December 16, 1963, passed the House. December 23, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–233.

S. 2419: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to condemn certain property in the city of St. Augustine, Fla., within the boundary of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument. The bill authorizes funds to be appropriated. Introduced by Senators HOLLAND and SMATHERS on January 10, 1964. June 22, 1964, subcommittee hearing. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive. August 3, 1964, passed the Senate. August 17, 1964, passed the House. Public Law 88–495.

S. 2984: Authorizes an exchange of lands between the Secretary of the Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission. Approximately 10,000 acres of public lands now withdrawn and reserved for the Hanford project will be transferred to the AEC's jurisdiction, and approximately 7,000 acres of project lands previously acquired from non-Federal ownership will become public domain lands. Introduced by Senators JACKSON and MAGNUSON on July 8, 1964. August 11, 1964, favorably reported by the subcommittee. August 17, 1964, executive session, ordered reported to the Senate. Reported by Senator JACKSON, with amendments. House passed H.R. 11960, which was placed on the Senate Calendar. August 18, 1964, S. 2984 passed the Senate. August 19, 1964, Senate rescinded its action of August 18, 1964, and passed H.R. 11960 in lieu of S. 2984.

Senate joint resolutions referred to Public Lands Subcommittee

Senate Joint Resolution 33, ANDERSON: To grant consent for an extension of 4 years of the Interstate Compact to Conserve Oil and Gas. Specifically, the resolution gives the consent of Congress for an extension of 4 years, from September 1, 1963, to September 1, 1967, of the Interstate Compact, which was originally signed in Dallas, Tex., on February 16, 1935. Thirty States, accounting for an overwhelming proportion of oil production are signees. Passed Senate August 19, 1963. Became Public Law 88–115.

Senate concurrent resolutions referred to the Public Lands Subcommittee

Senate Concurrent Resolution 13: To identify and mark the Lewis-Clark Trail from St. Louis to the Pacific Northwest. The resolution states that it is the sense of Congress that the route of the Lewis-Clark Expedition of 1804–06 should be identified and marked. All agencies of the United States administering lands along the route should act together in the preservation and marking of the trail. All State and private agencies are invited to assist and cooperate. Introduced by Senator MILLER on January 28, 1963. August 2, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 22, 1963, indefinitely postponed. House Concurrent Resolution 61 reported to full committee.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 40: To express the sense of Congress in respect to the Lewis and Clark Trail from St. Louis, Mo., to the Pacific Northwest. The resolution is identical to House Concurrent Resolution 13, except that all States are not invited in No. 40 to assure public access to the route of the expedition. Introduced by Senator BURDICK on May 9, 1963. August 2, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 22, 1963, indefinitely postponed. House Concurrent Resolution 61 reported to full committee.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 44: Similar to Nos. 13 and 40, except that the U.S. Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission is specifically authorized to cooperate in the project. Introduced by Senator BURDICK on May 16, 1963. August 2, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 22, 1963, indefinitely postponed. House Concurrent Resolution 61 reported to the full committee.

House bills referred to Public Lands Subcommittee

H.R. 277: To extend for 5 years the time for the Nevada-Colorado River Commission to submit its plan for development of certain areas of public land previously authorized for purchase, and to extend for 10 years the time limit to make this purchase, by amending the act of April 22, 1960. March 18, 1963, passed the House. April 11, 1963, passed the Senate. April 26, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–15.

H.R. 976: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire and add certain lands to the Salem Maritime National Historic Site in Massachusetts. Specifically, the bill provides for the acquisition by the Secretary of the 17th century Narbomne House in Salem, Mass., and for its administration as part of the Salem Maritime National Historic Site. This house is historically significant, being one of the three houses in Salem known to have been built before 1675. July 8, 1963,

passed the House. October 8, 1963, subcommittee hearing and reported to full committee with recommendations. November 21, 1963, additional hearing by subcommittee. November 27, 1963, passed the Senate. December 12, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–199.

H.R. 988: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the Graff House site for inclusion in Independence National Historical Park. The site's historical significance arises from the fact that Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence in the Graff House. December 2, 1963, passed the House. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate, amended. August 21, 1964, approved. Public Law 88–477.

H.R. 439: Provides that the Secretary of the Interior may acquire certain lands in Martinez, Calif., and establish the John Muir National Historic Site thereon. The estimated costs involved are as follows: (1) Cost of acquisition, $169,000; (2) cost of restoration and improvements, $128,000. The authorization for these purposes is $300,000. August 3, 1964, passed the House. August 11, 1964, heard and favorably reported to the full committee. August 17, 1964, executive session. Ordered reported to the Senate, August 19, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–547.

H.R. 1087: Clears title for certain owners in Heyburn, Idaho, where the United States may have some claim to the streets, even though the plots have all been patented. Releases any right, title, or interest of the United States and repeals the reverter clause that required the land's use for public purposes. April 1, 1963, passed House. April 11, 1963, passed Senate. April 26, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–14.

H.R. 1544: To authorize suit against the United States by the Forman's of Maricopa County, Ariz., in order to quiet title to nine acres disputed as to claim by the Salt River Federal redamation project and Mr. Forman. Both purchased the same area in good faith due to a confusion about the rights acquired from the Grand Canal Co. April 2, 1963, passed House. April 11, 1963, passed Senate. April 26, 1963, enacted. Private Law 88–1.

H.R. 1892: The bill provides for the repeal of the act of October 22, 1919 (41 Stat. 293; 43 U.S.C. 351–355, 357–360). [The Pittman Act.] The Pittman Act authorized grants of certain public lands in Nevada. The act has failed to serve its purpose of encouraging the reclamation of lands, as only three economic farm units have been developed in the last 40 years. March 18, 1963, passed House. June 23, 1964, hearing by subcommittee and ordered reported to full committee without amendment. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate. August 11, 1964, enacted. Public Law 88–417.

H.R. 2291: To reinstate the homestead claim of L. S. Cass, waiving the time requirements, because his entry was accepted on land that was actually unavailable at the time and so was then canceled. But the land (on which he had made improvements) again became available, and so he is to be given first chance to develop it, fulfilling the requirements within a reasonable time. April 2, 1963, passed House. April 11, 1963, passed Senate. April 26, 1963, enacted. Private Law 88–2.

H.R. 2294: To authorize the sale of land in Alaska to Mrs. Beltz, subject to the retention of mineral rights by the United States and subject to outstanding gravel permits and rights-of-way, and payment of the standard fees. Her husband's death had prevented them from fulfilling the residence requirements. The survey shall be without cost to Mrs. Beltz. April 2, 1963, passed House. April 11, 1963, passed Senate. April 26, 1963, enacted. Private Law 88–3.

H.R. 2461: Provides for the sale of lands in Henderson Nev., to the city for fair market value. These public lands of 15,000 acres will help the orderly growth of the city. Legislation is needed because the public land sale law does not permit sales of this size. In setting the fair value, the Secretary shall use the effective date of this act. June 6, 1963, passed House. July 11, 1963, passed Senate. July 22, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–73.

H.R. 2942: Directs the Secretary of the Interior to adjudicate a claim to certain land in Marengo County, Ala. Specifically, the claim is that of Mr. B. A. Cogle to 234.90 acres of public lands. Need for the bill arises from the fact that the Color of Title Act limits conveyances to any one claimant to 160 acres. Thus Mr. Cogle cannot apply for title to the 234.90 acres since he already holds 160 acres. Enactment of the bill would allow the Secretary to adjudicate the claim notwithstanding the acreage limitation. July 9, 1963, passed House. July 22, 1963, subcommittee hearing. July 23, 1963, further report requested from Interior.

H.R. 3574: Authorized the Air Force to extend the withdrawal and reservation it has had since 1956 at Cuddeback Lake Range in California for 10 years with the designated further extension of another 5 years before it would have to come up for another legislative review for the purpose of gunnery practice. April 22, 1963, passed House. June 19, 1963, passed Senate. June 21, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–46.

H.R. 3887: Authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept 525 acres of land from the State of North Carolina for a scenic entrance to the Park's Cataloochee area. Need arises from the fact that although 5 million people visit the park each year, lack of an adequate entrance road prevents this park from being accessible to most of the visiting public. May 6, 1963, passed House. August 2, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 28, 1963, passed Senate. September 9, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–120. (Note: See Nos. 21 and 22 for H.R. 4152 and H.R. 4588. See No. 25 for H.R. 4149 and No. 29 for H.R. 4018.)

H.R. 5159: Authorizes and directs that certain lands exclusively administered by the Secretary of the Interior be classified in order to provide for their disposal or interim management under principles of multiple use and to produce a sustained yield of products and services. The Secretary is to develop and promulgate regulations containing criteria by which he will determine which lands shall be disposed of and which shall be retained for multiple use in Federal ownership, under the control of the Bureau of Land Management. If the lands so classified are in tracts in excess of 2,860 acres, the Secretary must give public notice at least 60 days before taking the proposed action, i.e., before selling the lands.

The need for H.R. 5159 arises because no previous act sets forth any range management objectives or guidelines for public land administration. April 6, 1964, passed the House. June 29, 1964, subcommittee hearing. July 29, 1964, full committee executive and ordered reported to the Senate amended. Passed as amended on August 21, 1964. Public Law 88–607.

H.R. 52222: Provides for the withdrawal and reservation for the Department of the Navy of certain public lands of the United States at Chorolate Mountain Gunnery Range, Imperial County, Calif., for defense purposes. 132,572 acres will be withdrawn. June 6, 1963, passed House. July 22, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 28, 1963, passed Senate. September 6, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–119.

H.R. 5302: To direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in the Newton area, Calif., to Clarence J. Wilder. The lands are near Placerville, Calif., and contain approximately 3 acres. Conveyance will be made upon payment of the fair market value of the land. December 17, 1963, passed House. June 23, 1964, subcommittee hearing and ordered reported to full committee, without amendment. July 29, 1964, full committee, executive, and ordered reported to Senate, without amendment. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate. August 13, 1964, enacted. Private Law 88–281.

H.R. 5498: Provides temporary authority for the sale of certain public lands. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to dispose of public lands which he has classified for disposal under H.R. 5159. Testimony has shown that such lands are required for the growth of communities or that they are valuable for "residential, commercial, industrial, or public uses." Ninety-day notice must be given to the local governing body before sale. Only lands classified for disposal under regularized procedures may be sold. April 6, 1964, passed House. Passed Senate (amended). June 29, 1964, subcommittee hearing. July 31, 1964, full committee, executive, and ordered reported to Senate, without amendment. August 17, 1964, full committee reconsidered action of July 31, amended the bill and again ordered it reported to the Senate. August 21, 1964, passed the Senate, amended. Public Law 88–608.

H.R. 5514: Directs the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain public lands in the State of Arizona, namely 160 acres of public lands to the Kaibab Lumber Co. The company cannot obtain financing for the development of its facilities unless it has title to the land, which is not required for any Federal program. The company is willing to pay fair market value, but the Secretary has no authority to sell it. March 17, 1964, passed House. June 25, 1964, passed Senate. July 7, 1964, approved. Private Law 88–252.

H.R. 6118: Amends the act providing for the admission of the State of Alaska into the Union. Alaska may now exercise its right of selection of Federal lands for community expansion purposes in tracts of not less than 160 acres, rather than the 5,760-acre limitation of the Statehood Act. The need for this change arises from the fact that 5,760-acre blocks are in many cases unnecessary for community expansion purposes, and may prove unsound utilization of public lands. The 160 acres is considered a reasonable minimum. October 8, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–135.

H.R. 6218: The bill extends by no more than 3 years the time within which desert-land entry holders in the lower Palo Verde Mesa, Riverside, Calif., may complete the reclamation and cultivation of their entries. If the entryman can show adequate financing, he may have up to 3 additional years of further extension. The need arises from the fact that financing has been unavailable for these entrymen. July 8, 1963, passed House. July 22, 1963, hearing by subcommittee. Reported to the Senate September 29, 1964. Passed Senate September 30, 1964. Became Public Law 88–645.

H.R. 6756: Revised the boundaries of Meso Verde National Park, Colo. October 7, 1963, passed the House. November 27, 1963, subcommittee hearing. December 16, 1963, passed Senate. December 23, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–325.

H.R. 8070: For the establishment of a Public Land Law Review Commission to study existing laws and procedures relating to the administration of the public lands of the United States. The purpose is to permit a comprehensive review of the policies applicable to the use, management, and disposition of the public domain lands of the United States. The need for the Commission has arisen because (1) the public land laws of the United States have developed over a long period of years through acts of Congress not fully correlated with each other; (2) those laws may be inadequate to meet the present and future needs of the American people; and (3) administration of

the public lands and the laws relating thereto has been divided among several Federal agencies. March 10, 1964, passed House. June 29, 1964, hearing by subcommittee. July 31, 1964, full committee, executive, and ordered reported to Senate with amendments. August 15, 1964, reported to the Senate by Mr. BIBLE with amendments. Passed Senate September 3, 1964. Became Public Law 88–606.

H.R. 4152: Authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept a donation of 6 acres of land in Houghton, Mich., for use as part of the administrative headquarters site of the Isle Royale National Park. There is a definite need for housing accommodations for seven employees and their families. May 6, 1963, passed House. September 11, 1963, subcommittee hearing. No further action.

H.R. 4588: Provides for the withdrawal and reservation for the Department of the Navy of certain public lands at Mojave B Aerial Gunnery Range, San Bernardino County, Calif., for defense purposes. The withdrawal entails 306,555 acres of land. May 6, 1963, passed the House. July 22, 1963, subcommittee hearing. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate. October 29, 1963, approved. Public Law 88–161.

H.R. 7096: Authorizes the exchange of two pieces of property in Philadelphia, one piece of 15,700 square feet under the National Park Service, and another of 9,300 square feet under the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority. The Park Service property is used for administrative purposes in the Independence National Historical Park, but is "inadequate and poorly located for these purposes." The PRA's land has two substantial buildings on it and would suit the Park Service's needs much better. The lands are of approximately equal value. May 18, 1964, passed the House. August 18, 1964, subcommittee hearing. September 8, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–604.

H.R. 2753: To disclaim any title of the United States to certain real property in Modoc County, Calif. May 7, 1963, passed the House. September 24, 1964, passed the Senate. Became Public Law 88–626.

H.R. 8523: Authorizes the trustee of the city of Saxman, Alaska, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to sell the 328 acres of land within Saxman that are unoccupied and not held in trust for an Indian or Eskimo under existing law. The bill is necessary for the development of the State of Alaska and its transition to full statehood, and the Interior Department has maintained that the townsite trustee does not have such authority to sell this land otherwise. April 6, 1964, passed the House. July 31, 1964, reported to Senate, without amendment. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–429.

H.R. 8654: The bill "will release the mineral reservation retained by the United States in 1.2 acres of land previously conveyed to the city of Fairbanks, Alaska," and "remove the restriction that prohibits the use of the land for other than school purposes." The Geological Survey of the Interior Department reports that the land is not valuable for mineral development, but the mineral reservation blocks financing for a residential development under urban renewal. April 6, 1964, passed House. August 1, 1964, passed the Senate. August 10, 1964, enacted. Public Law 88–409.

H.R. 4149: The bill "provides procedures to assure that scrip holders will have a reasonable selection of public lands from which to choose in satisfying rights they hold." It also provides that a cash settlement will be effected, "if these rights are not exercised by January 1, 1970, or in the case of soldiers additional homestead claims, by January 1, 1975." All scrip will be retired under this legislation by January 1, 1975. April 6, 1964, passed the House. August 11, 1964, subcommittee hearing and favorably reported. August 17, 1964, executive session and ordered reported to the Senate. Passed Senate August 18, 1964. Public Law 88–543.

H.R. 3071, companion bill of S. 117: The bill provides for the establishment of Fort Larned as a national historic site in Pawnee County, Kans. August 3, 1964, passed House. June 22, 1964, subcommittee hearings. August 17, 1964, executive session, ordered reported to the Senate. Passed Senate August 18, 1964. Public Law 88–541.

H.R. 8135: Provides for the establishment and administration of public recreational facilities at the Sanford Reservoir area, Canadian River project, Texas. The bill authorizes an appropriation of $1,100,000 for recreational purposes. Need for the bill arises from the fact that, although the 1950 Sanford Reservoir Act included recreation as a project purpose, there is no authority for making the cost nonreimbursable. The Secretary of the Interior will develop a recreation plan for the reservoir, and will construct and operate basic public outdoor recreational facilities. August 11, 1964, subcommittee hearing and ordered reported to full committee. August 17, 1964, reported to the Senate by Mr. JACKSON, without amendment. August 18, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–536.

H.R. 931: The bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to establish the Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site in Blair and Cambria Counties and the Johnstown Flood National Memorial in Cambria County, Pa., and to maintain them as units of the national park system. The railroad, built in 1831–34, used inclined planes to overcome a 1,400-foot rise between Hollidaysburg and Blair's Gap and played an "important role in the development of the trans-Appalachian region. August 3, 1964, passed the House. August 11, 1964, subcommittee hearing. August 17, 1964, executive session; ordered reported to the Senate.

Significant facts: (1) The Secretary is authorized to acquire up to 950 acres of land; (2) cost of acquisition and development, $2 million; (3) annual operating costs, approximately $75,000. Public Law 88–546.

H.R. 4018: Authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire without cost the home of Augustus Saint Gaudens at Cornish, N.H., and other buildings and lands associated with it. He is authorized to establish said area as the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site. The bill further provides for the acceptance of a gift of $100,000 or more which the present owners of the property expect to donate. Augustus Saint-Gaudens was "one of the most important figures in American cultural history and one of the great sculptors of his day. August 3, 1964, passed the House. August 11, 1964, subcommittee hearing. August 17, 1964, executive session and reported to the Senate August 17, 1964. Public Law 88–543.

House joint resolutions referred to Public Lands Subcommittee

(1) House Joint Resolution 180: Authorizes the continued use of certain lands within the Sequoia National Park by portions of an existing hydroelectric project. The resolution is needed to extend a permit held since 1912 by Southern California Edicon Co., for a hydroelectric plant within Sequoia National Park. The waters are diverted and used in the Kaweah No. 3 powerhouse and returned to the river, all this taking place within the park. It would be extended only till 1974, August, to allow the extensive review desirable after the long run of the previous 4-year lease. April 22, 1963, passed House. June 19, 1963, passed Senate. June 21, 1963, enacted. Public Law 88–47.

House concurrent resolutions referred to Public Lands Subcommittee

(1) House Concurrent Resolution 61: Expresses the sense of Congress with respect to the Lewis and Clark trail from St. Louis, Mo., to the Pacific Northwest. The purpose is to promote the enjoyment of the Lewis and Clark trail of 1804–06 with accessibility, clear marking, and protection through the Government agencies that have jurisdiction over any portion of the trail and by encouraging the private interests to care for the route where it crosses their land or State or local government lands. May 20, 1963, passed the House. August 2, 1963, subcommittee hearing. August 28, 1963, passed Senate.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION, FRANK E. MOSS, CHAIRMAN

The Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee considered and acted upon many measures providing for the construction and development of much needed water resources projects. A number of specific projects in several States were authorized as a result of our committee's deliberations. As the 88th Congress came to a close, there were important projects reported by our committee, but on which final congressional action had not been taken. Our committee will begin immediate consideration of these proposals in the 89th Congress.

The measures which were before the subcommittee follow:

S. 26, Mr. Moss: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Dixie project, Utah. The Dixie project would be a multipurpose development in the Virgin River Basin in Washington County in southwestern Utah. It would provide for supplemental irrigation water to 9,445 acres of developed land and for a full irrigation supply to 11,615 acres of presently day land. It would also provide for the production of electric energy, furnish municipal water supplies, etc. Introduced by Senator Moss. October 30, 1963, passed the Senate, amended. Public Law 88–565.

S. 46, Mr. ANDERSON: Provides that the cost of certain investigations by the Bureau of Reclamation shall be nonreimbursable. Specifically, the investigations are preauthorization studies of potential reclamation projects for the Secretary of the Interior. Passed the Senate, amended on August 28, 1963.

S. 178: Authorizes the construction of the Garrison diversion unit, Missouri River Basin project, North Dakota, by the Secretary of the Interior. The bill is deemed of great importance to North Dakota and the Missouri River Basin. Introduced by Senators BURDICK, YOUNG, and MCGOVERN. February 18, 1964; passed Senate, amended. Approved by House Interior Committee. Died in House Rules Committee.

S. 283: Amends the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956. The bill is designed to (1) increase the present athorization ceiling from $100 to $200 million; (2) provide that where an interest charge is required on any portion of the proposed works, it would be in conformity with the 1956 Water Supply Act; (3) permit the Secretary of the Interior to advance up to half the funds needed for planning a project. There exists an urgent need that this program be extended to accommodate applications and to make Public Law 984 more effective. Introduced by Senators Moss et al. Passed Senate amended, October 17, 1963. No action by House committee.

S. 351: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Auburn-Folsom south unit, American River division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws. The purpose is to increase the supply of water available for irrigation and other beneficial uses in the Central Valley. The principal works in the unit will be three dams, including the Auburn Dam, the Auburn Reservoir, a hydropowerplant, canals, and diversion works. Introduced by Senators Engle and KUCHEL. Reported to Senate with amendments, July 31, 1964.

S. 388: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and main-

tain the mid-State reclamation project, Nebraska. The purpose is to include the Nebraska mid-State unit in the Missouri River project so that the two may be integrated, physically and financially. An assured water supply to the Platte River Valley is seen as essential to the economy and growth of the area. This project would provide a regulated gravity and well combination water supply for 140,000 acres of land, as well as producing flood control, recreation, and fish and wildlife benefits. Introduced by Senators HRUSKA and CURTIS. Passed the Senate, amended, June 29, 1964.

S. 502: To preserve the jurisdiction of the Congress over construction of hydroelectric projects on the Colorado River below Glen Canyon Dam. The purpose would be achieved by preventing the FPC from issuing licenses or permits for the construction of power facilities on the Colorado River between Lake Mead and Glen Canyon until December 31, 1964. The Committee feels that it is essential that Congress not be deprived of full freedom of action in this area. Introduced by Senators Hayden, Bible, Engle, Cannon, Anderson, and Moss. Public Law 88–491.

S. 614: The bill provides that the Secretary of the Interior may make 50,000 acre-feet of water available for the initial filling of a permanent pool in the Cochiti Reservoir, N. Mex., and such water to come from the San Juan-Chama unit of the Colorado River storage project. After the pool has been filled, the Secretary may divert 5,000 acre-feet annually into the reservoir to offset evaporation and to make the reservoir useful for fish and wildlife and recreational purposes. The House committee found an urgent need in the area for additional fish and wildlife Mexico, and such water to come from the and recreational facilities. Introduced by Senators ANDERSON and MECHEM. Passed the Senate, June 19, 1963. Passed the House amended, March 16, 1964. Approved, Public Law 88–293, March 28, 1964.

S. 638: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to modify the repayment contract with the Grand Valley Water Users Association by deducting from such obligation the unaccrued construction charges in the amount of $109,158.19 and by crediting to the organization's next annual installment $4,531.93. Introduced by Senators ALLOTT and DOMINICK.

S. 770: Provides for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Savery-Pot Hook Federal reclamation project, Colorado-Wyoming, the Bostwick Park Federal reclamation project, Colorado, and the Fruitland Mesa Federal reclamation project, Colorado, as participating projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act. Said act is amended to include these three projects, and the amount authorized in the act to be appropriated is increased by $46,795,000 for construction costs. The projects are to be constructed and operated according to the engineering plans set out in the reports of the Secretary of the Interior to the 87th and 88th Congresses. Introduced by Senators SIMPSON and ALLOTT. Ordered reported to the Senate (H.R. 3672) August 17, 1964. Public Law 88–568.

S. 793: Establishes the conservation interests as the most important use of the Tule Lake-Klamath water areas. These national wildlife refuges serve as the center section of the international flyway, and the maintenance of the water levels must remain at a certain high level for the health of the birds. But any water which can be spared shall be used by the agriculturists. An additional 6,891 acres of public land shall be added to the areas. Introduced by Senators Kuchel, Robertson, Engle, Jackson, et al. Passed the House, amended, April 20, 1964. Senate disagrees with House amendments. Conferees appointed, May 7, 1964. Public Law 88–567.

S. 851: The Secretary of the Interior is allowed to market the power from Amistad Dam on the Rio Grande in coordination with the present system for the better use of all the power. He may dispose of the power and may cause to be constructed the integrating transmission lines, with the sister project, Falcon Dam. Introduced by Senator ANDERSON, November 27, 1963. Senate acted on H.R. 4062, companion bill. S. 851 indefinitely postponed.

S. 982: Permits the Secretary of the Interior to continue to deliver water to lands in the third division, Riverton reclamation project, Wyoming. Introduced by Senators MCGEE and SIMPSON on March 4, 1963. House passed H.R. 4423, April 1, 1963. Public Law 88–10. (S. 982 laid aside in favor of H.R. 4423.)

S. 1111: Provides for the optimum development of the Nation's natural resources through the coordinated planning of water and related land resources, by means of the establishment of a water resources council and river basin commissions, and by providing financial assistance to the States in order to increase State participation in such planning. The Council will conduct studies on the adequacy of the Nation's water supplies, on the relation of regional or river basin plans and programs to the requirements of larger regions of the Nation, and on the adequacy of existing and proposed policies and programs. Introduced by Senators ANDERSON, et al. December 4, 1963, passed the Senate. September 12, 1964, reported to the House, amended. Died in House Rules Committee.

S. 1123: Provides for the construction of the Lower Teton division of the Teton Basin Federal reclamation project, Idaho. The project will consist of Fremont Dam, reservoir, and powerplant; of a conveyance system and 40 ground water wells; and of works to serve the dry lands. Introduced by Senators CHURCH and JORDAN of Idaho. June 30, 1964, passed the Senate with committee amendments. August 17, 1964, passed the House, amended. Public Law 88–583.

S. 1186: Amends the act authorizing the Crooked River Federal reclamation project to provide for the irrigation of additional lands. Introduced by Senators MORSE and NEUBERGER. June 29, 1964, passed the Senate, amended. September 1, 1964, passed the House, amended. Public Law 88–598.

S. 1275: To clarify the relationship of interests of the United States and of the States in the use of the waters of certain streams. The bill provides that the withdrawal or reservation of surveyed or unsurveyed lands, hereafter or heretofore made, shall not affect any right to the use of water acquired pursuant to State law either before or after the establishment of such withdrawal or reservation. Introduced by Senator KUCHEL et al. Subcommittee hearings were held on March 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1964. INo further action was taken.

S. 1299: The Secretary of the Interior is directed to defer without interest the collection of irrigation, operation, and maintenance charges of the Eden Valley irrigation district, Wyo., due for the last one-half year of the calendar year 1964, with certain provisions. Introduced by Senators MCGEE and SIMPSON. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate, amended. March 16, 1964, passed the House, amended. Public Law 88–291.

S. 1584, Moss: Approves a contract negotiated with the Newton Water Users' Association, Utah, by the Secretary of the Interior and authorizes its execution. The contract extends the period for repayment of the reimbursable construction cost of the Newton project and establishes a variable repayment schedule. Introduced by Senator Moss. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate. Passed House May 16, 1964. Became Public Law 88–314.

S. 1658, HAYDEN and GOLDWATER: To authorize, construct, operate, and maintain the Central Arizona project, Arizona-New Mexico, and for other purposes. The main purposes of the bill are: (1) To augment the existing water supply in the Lower Colorado River Basin; (2) to remove the threats of water shortages in the area; and (3) to secure to Arizona, California, and Nevada the shares of the river apportioned to them by the Supreme Court; namely, 2,800,000; 4,400,000; and 300,000 acre-feet respectively. Introduced by Senators HAYDEN and GOLDWATER. August 6, 1964, reported to the Senate, as amended.

S. 1687: Approves the January 1963 reclassification of land of the Big Flat unit of the Missoula Valley project, Montana, and authorizes the modification of the repayment contract with the Big Flat irrigation district. The purpose of the bill is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate and execute with the Big Flat irrigation district an amendatory contract which would reduce the construction charge obligation of the district by $7,190. Introduced by Senators MANSFIELD and METCALF. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate. May 18, 1964, passed the House. Public Law 88–315.

S. 2035: Reauthorizes the Riverton extension unit, Missouri River Basin project to include all of the Riverton reclamation project except the Muddy Ridge area. Further, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to negotiate and execute an amendatory repayment contract with the Midvale irrigation district. This contract is to extend the repayment period for water users and to reduce the amount to be paid in any year by the Midvale irrigation district. Introduced by Senator MCGEE. October 29 and 30, 1963, there were subcommittee hearings held. No further action necessary as H.R. 8171 passed in lieu.

S. 2053: Provides for the acquisition of rights-of-way for canals and ditches by the Secretary of the Interior through purchase or eminent domain proceedings. The acquisitions pertain to Federal reclamation projects under the act of June 17, 1902. Introduced by Senators Bible, Burdick, Engle, and McGee. April 1, 1964, subcommittee hearing. Passed companion measure H.R. 130. (Public Law 88–561.)

S. 2447: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Whitestone Coulee unit of the Okanogan-Similkameen division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington. The plan of development proposed includes a new diversion dam, a canal and siphon, a natural lake, a dike, small pumping plants, and expansion of a distribution system. This project would insure an adequate future water supply for the area. Introduced by Senators JACKSON and MAGNUSON. March 6, 1964, passed the Senate. September 1, 1964, passed the House, amended. September 18, 1964, became Public Law 88–599.

S. 2493: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to determine that certain costs of operating and maintaining Banks Lake and Potholes reservoir on the Columbia Basin project for recreational purposes are nonreimbursable. The bill is intended as an interim arrangement pending complete dedevelopment of the Columbia Basin project. The committee believes that it is both inconsistent with long-standing policy and inappropriate to include in the water charges of these districts the cost of pumping in additional water to reduce reservoir fluctuations. Introduced by Senators JACKSON and MAGNUSON. March 6, 1964, passed the Senate.

S. 2533: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Manson unit, Chelan division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington. The purpose of the bill is to rehabilitate, improve,

and enlarge in the existing district in central Washington the 20-mile water collection system and the distribution system. Introduced by Senators JACKSON and MAGNUSON. June 25, 1964 passed the Senate, amended. June 29, 1964 reevaluation satement from the Department of the Interior.

S. 2630: Amends the act of June 12, 1948, in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington. The purpose is to bring an additional 6,300 acres of land under irrigation in the Columbia River Valley in the southern part of Washington by providing for the necessary additional works. Introduced by Senators JACKSON and MAGNUSON. June 25, 1964 passed the Senate amended.

S. 3053: Amends the act of March 10, 1964, by substituting the figures "$3,200,000" for the figures "$2,000,000." The act of March 10 provides $2 million to buy out settlers of the third division of the Riverton project who wanted to sell their holdings at the appraised price. Introduced by Senators MCGEE and SIMPSON. August 19, 1964, reported to the Senate. August 21, 1964, indefinitely postponed. H.R. 12128 passed in lieu.

Senate joint resolutions referred to Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee

Senate Joint Resolution 6: Cancels any unpaid reimbursable construction costs of the Wind River Indian irrigation project, Wyoming, chargeable against non-Indian lands of such irrigation project. Introduced by Senator MCGEE. August 20, 1964, passed the Senate amended.

Senate Joint Resolution 49: Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to carry out a continuing program to reduce nonbeneficial consumptive use of water in the Pecos River Basin, in New Mexico and Texas. The purpose of the resolution is to prevent further decreases in the area's water supply and to increase and protect such water for municipal, industrial, recreational, and agricultural uses. Introduced by Senators ANDERSON, YARBOROUGH, and MECHEM. October 22, 1963, passed the Senate, amended. August 17, 1964, passed the House, amended. Public Law 88–594.

House bills referred to Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee

H.R. 130: Provides for payment of compensation, including severance damages, for rights-of-way acquired by the United States in connection with reclamation projects the construction of which began after January 1, 1961. As amended, the bill is applicable to ditches and canals. December 2, 1963, passed the House. August 21, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–561.

H.R. 131: Assures the renewal of some municipal, domestic, and industrial water supply contracts, if the water taken from the Federal reclamation projects is beneficially used. April 1, 1963, passed the House. June 19, 1963, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–44.

H.R. 641: To approve an order of the Secretary of the Interior canceling and deferring certain irrigation charges, eliminating certain tracts of non-Indian-owned land under the Wapato Indian irrigation project, Washington. The bill is needed to complete action taken by the Secretary with respect to the Wapato project under authority of the act of June 22, 1936. May 20, 1963, passed the House. October 21, 1963, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–159.

H.R. 2821: Readjusts the Grand Valley Water Users Association's contract in Colorado by reducing the amount they owe for unaccrued construction charges by $109,158.19 for the 1,366.2 acres which have just been reclassified as permanently unproductive, and by crediting their next installment with $4,531.93 after the construction costs already paid on 123.6 acres of canceled farm units in the above acreage. This makes disposal of the land more economically feasible. March 18, 1963, passed House. June 17, 1963, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–43.

H.R. 3672: To provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa participating reclamation projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act. August 3, 1964, passed the House. August 20, 1964, passed the Senate amended. Public Law 88–568.

H.R. 4062: Amends the act authorizing the transmission and disposition by the Secretary of the Interior of electric energy generated at Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande to authorize him also to market power generated at Amistad Dam on the Rio Grande. The bill further provides authority to construct necessary transmission lines to integrate the power facilities at the Falcon and Amistad Dam projects, if such interconnection is economically feasible. This legislation is necessitated by the fact that the original authorization for the construction of Amistad Dam made no provision for such marketing or interconnecting as are needed. July 8, 1963, passed House. November 27, 1963, passed Senate, amended December 23, 1963. Approved, Public Law 88–237.

H.R. 4423: Permits the Secretary of the Interior to continue to deliver water to lands in the third division, Riverton reclamation project, Wyoming. April 1, 1963, passed House. April 9, 1963, passed Senate April 19, 1963. Approved, Public Law 88–10.

H.R. 5949: Gives the consent of Congress to the amendment by the States of Colorado and New Mexico of the Costilla Creek Compact. The amendments make minor changes in the allocations for diversion of the natural flow of Costilla Creek for beneficial use in the two States and in the schedule of deliveries of direct flow water to Colorado by New Mexico. Need arises because the Jarosa Ditch Co. wishes to change the point of diversion and the point of delivery of some 5.88 cubic feet of water. October 7, 1963, passed House. November 27, 1963, passed Senate. December 12, 1963, approved, Public Law 88–198.

H.R. 8171: Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands including farm units and improvements thereon, in the third division, Riverton reclamation project, Wyoming, and to continue to deliver water for 3 years to lands of said division. The bill is needed to provide the basis for settlement of the physical, economic, and financial problems that have plagued the third division. December 17, 1963, passed House. February 26, 1964, passed Senate. Approved, March 10, 1964. Public Law 88–278.

H.R. 9521: Increases the authorization for appropriation for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin by the Secretary of the Interior. The act provides for an additional $120 million for fiscal years 1965 and 1966. April 20, 1964, passed the House. August 5, 1964, passed the Senate. Public Law 88–442.

House Joint Resolutions referred to IR

House Joint Resolution 733, Senate Joint Resolution 130: The resolution designates the powerhouse on Clear Creek at the head of Whiskeytown Reservoir in northern California as "Judge Francis Carr powerhouse." Francis Carr was a famous attorney and jurist of Shasta County, Calif., whose vision and dedication played an important part in development of the water resources of the Central Valley of California. May 4, 1964, passed the House. August 19, 1964, passed the Senate, amended. Public Law 88–555.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—HENRY M. JACKSON, CHAIRMAN

The Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs has responsibility for measures relating to the insular possessions of the United States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, except those measures affecting their revenue and appropriations.

Of the 12 bills referred to the subcommittee, 7 were reported and subsequently enacted into law. The bills are as follows:

General legislation

Public Law 88–183 (H.R. 2073): H.R. 2073 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain tracts of submerged lands surrounding the territories of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, upon request of the respective Governors, when the lands are required for a specific economic development or to satisfy a compelling public need, and grants these governments concurrent jurisdiction over persons found, acts performed, and offenses committed on lands which are owned, controlled, or reserved by the United States in and around these islands.

Virgin Islands

Public Law 88–180 (H.R. 1989): H.R. 1989 amends the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands to authorize the Government of the Virgin Islands to issue general obligation bonds for certain specified purposes, including schools, firehouses slum clearance, libraries, etc. Because of limitations in the 1954 Organic Act many of these projects could not be financed except by current taxes. Enactment of Public Law 88–180 will reinstate the power to issue general obligation bonds to finance certain specified projects, thus permitting the construction of a variety of needed facilities.

The subcommittee also conducted hearings (printed) on the subject of leases on Naval properties on St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. A formal report has been adopted by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs making specific recommendations to the Departments of the Interior and Navy on the manner in which these leases should be handled before the lands and buildings affected are declared excess to the needs of the Navy and sold to the Government of the Virgin Islands.

Guam

Public Law 88–170 (H.R. 6225): H.R. 6225 provides for the rehabilitation of Guam. The purpose is to authorize appropriations against which the Government of Guam may draw in order to finance public works and community development projects; $45 million is the ceiling. The law provides also for a joint Federal and Guam Government Committee to prepare a long-range economic development plan for the island. Need for the legislation arose from the fact that Guam was never rebuilt properly after its World War II damage and from the severe destruction caused by typhoon Karen in 1962.

Public Law 88–171 (H.R. 6481): H.R. 6481 permits the Government of Guam to authorize a public authority to undertake urban renewal and housing activities and to participate in Federal programs of assistance in this field. The law also ratifies the action of Guam's Legislature, which has created such an agency. The legislation is necessitated by the extensive damage inflicted on Guam in 1962 by the typhoon Karen.

Puerto Rico

Public Law 88–271 (H.R. 5945): H.R. 5945 establishes a United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the status of Puerto Rico to study all factors affecting the present and future relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. The 13-member Commission will review all laws, treaties, constitutions, and agreements which may have a bearing on United States-Puerto Rico relationships and will render a final report no later than the opening day of the second session of the 89th Congress.

Trust Territory

Public Law 88–485 (H.R. 1988): H.R. 1988 for its purpose the settlement of certain claims of residents of the trust territory of the Pacific islands. It provides compassionate relief of not more than $950,000 for certain residents of Rongelap Island affected by

the atomic bomb fallout from the explosion of March 1, 1954. Funds will be distributed to the 82 Rongelap inhabitants or their heirs or legatees. The Secretary of the Interior is to give advice to the Rongelapese on how to best conserve their funds. The payment pursuant to the act is in full settlement and discharge of all claims against the United States arising from the 1954 explosion.

Public Law 88-487 (H.R. 3198): H.R. 3198 improves the economic and social conditions among Micronesians in three ways. First, it makes available to the government of the trust territory scientific or technical assistance, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior from agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government, either with or without reimbursement. Estimated nonreimbursable costs may not exceed $150,000 per year. Other programs of the Federal agencies may also be extended, other than grant-in-aid programs, to the trust territory at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, the cost thereof to be borne by the government of the trust territory from its regular appropriations.

The bill also permits the licensing of qualified Micronesian radio operators by the Federal Communications Commission notwithstanding the fact that they are not American citizens.

In addition this legislation abolishes a revolving fund established in 1956 and transfers approximately $355,000 to a development fund for use in financing economic projects in the trust territory.

Letter From President Andrew Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the Members' attention to the following letter written by President Andrew Johnson in 1865. This communication was sent to me by Mr. Henry W. Anderson, of Leaksville, N.C., together with the observation that it is to be regretted that this "code of ethics" seems to no longer govern the activities of persons in responsible positions in the national administration. I, too, share Mr. Anderson's regret at this occurrence and agree with him that President Andrew Johnson's letter stands as a refreshing symbol in a time of apparently increasing lack of moral judgment among the leadership of our national executive branch. President Andrew Johnson's letter follows:

WASHINGTON CITY,
May 22, 1865.

Messrs. A. A. Low, Esq.;
Phelps, Dodge & Co.; Hoyt Brothers; J. S. Schultz, and others.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your motives in thus tendering to me such substantial evidence of your regard and esteem, I am compelled, solely from the convictions of duty I have ever held in reference to the acceptance of presents by those occupying high official position, to decline the offerings of kind and loyal friends.

The retention of the parchment covering your sentiments, and the autographs of those who were pleased to unite in this manifestation of regard, is a favor I would ask; and I assure you, gentlemen, I shall regard it as one of the highest marks of respect from any portion of my fellow citizens.

Trusting that I shall continue to merit your confidence and esteem in the discharge of the high and important duties upon which I have but just entered, and with the best wishes for your health, etc., individually.

I am, gentlemen, yours truly,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

NOTE: The letter appears on page 185 of the book entitled "Life Successes and Public Services of President Johnson," published in 1865. The letter was in response to the offer of a gift of a carriage and span of horses.

Second Annual Conference of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, during 1964 there took place in Washington, D.C., on May 17, 18, and 19 the Second Annual Conference of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools. This committee which has been established under the leadership of Agnes E. Meyer, in my judgment, is making a significant contribution to the improvement of the American public education. It is a bipartisan effort whose roster includes community leaders in business, labor, agriculture, and the professions in all of the 50 States and the District of Columbia. It is a nonprofit organization financed entirely by voluntary contributions which, while it does not lobby for specific legislation, nevertheless, through studies on school financing and conferences such as the May meetings contrives the essential factual basis for sound legislation. My thanks, as chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, go to Agnes Meyer and her dedicated associates, together with my hope that in the future as in the past we shall continue to have the benefit of the work being done by the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools.

I ask unanimous consent that the major addresses delivered at the Second Annual Conference of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools together with biographical notes of the program participants be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WELCOME TO THE CONFERENCE

(By Agnes E. Meyer, chairman, National Committee for Support of the Public Schools)

In the name of the committee, I want to extend a warm welcome to all our guests—and especially to the members of the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools who have traveled at their own expense from every part of the country.

They have made this sacrifice because they are community leaders who realize the importance of education to the future of our democracy and to the freedom of man. For this meeting, if we face the crucial issues of the day, could become a turning point in the war on poverty.

Sometimes, since I gave our convention the title "Education and Poverty," I feel sorry that I did not call it "Education and Destitution," for there is a sharp distinction between the two. When I grew up, in a small American village and, by the way, in a first-class public school, we would all have been considered poor by American standards today.

Certainly nobody in that village had an income of $3,000 a year, which is now considered the borderline of poverty, but since the automobile, television, and refrigerator had not yet been invented we did not realize that we were deprived, that we were by any means destitute—and yet that is the cruel fate of millions of Americans today. We had enough to wear and eat, and we lived in our private homes. Never did we think of ourselves as being impoverished. As a result, we cared about things of the mind, rather than material possessions.

Today, this convention must realize, conditions are very different. Confronted by the educational demands of automation, we are in danger of splitting our country into two elements, those who are educated enough to become a part of a highly technological society, and those who are truly destitute because they are deprived of the chance to become educated. If we do not meet that challenge at this convention we face the possibility that our so-called democratic society will come to resemble a great hospital in which the educated, well-to-do citizens will be obliged to become the sick nurses to the ignorant and the indigent.

The only answer to this dreary future is an education which will equip every American to become a contributing member of our economic structure. This committee has the kind of knowledge and courage needed to awaken the American people to their peril and their opportunity.

The constructive possibilities of public education are limitless. Let's go; let's explore. For you, the members of this committee, are the kind of people whose dynamism is now the essential force which can save our society from falling into drab stagnation.

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(By John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of Economics, Harvard University)

It is very good to be here this morning. I must say that I shared with all of you that sympathetic and touching account of Mrs. Meyer's early poverty. [Laughter.] I was reminded that when I was here before, speaking to the National Committee on Pockets of Poverty, I suggested tentatively (and with all the modesty of someone putting forth a new scientific proposition) that one remedy for poverty was for the poor to develop energy, ambition, and inherit a good department store. [Laughter.] To that scientific formulation I just want to add, this morning, another impeccable proposition. Those who find that first possibility a little difficult might want to marry someone like Eugene Meyer. [Laughter.]

I am permitted to make that point because, some years ago, I reviewed for the Herald-Tribune and the New York Times the very charming and really distinguished autobiography of Agnes Meyer. If you haven't read it, you should get it. This might bring it back into print. She makes that point herself, about marrying somebody like Eugene Meyer. She says this was her own well considered remedy. [Laughter.]

You are all aware of speeches by educators. They have their own well-defined liturgy. They are essentially Episcopal in character;

they draw not on Papal authority but on the currently approved doctrines of the educational Episcopate. They are also impeccably and reliably on the side of virtue. And they do not require the attention of the audience. [Laughter.] I am conscious, this morning, that I am speaking in this tradition. Accordingly, since I am a traditionalist, I shall begin with a careful obeisance to the commonplace.

We live in a culture of high and increasing technology. The simplest meaning of this is that machines steadily replace both skilled and manual tasks and steadily appropriate the new tasks which we devise for ourselves. This process specified to a remarkable degree its type of man: a very high level of training and intelligence is required to design the machines that replace muscular and manual effort. And, on the whole, a rather superior type of attainment is required to keep machines supplied with materials, to sell their products and organize and manage their environment.

Radicals, reformers, and humane scholars once watched the rise of the machine civilization or the machine age with great misgivings. They feared that it would reduce its people to automatons—they would be little more than the routine appendages of the apparatus they served. Karl Marx said, "The miserable routine of endless drudgery and toil in which the same mechanical process is gone over and over again is like the labours of Sisyphus. The burden of labor, like the rock, keeps ever falling back on the wornout labourer." We now know that these fears were misplaced. The machine is most easily adapted to heavy, repetitive, and hence drudging tasks. It has a strong back, fast hands, and a weak mind. These are the human traits which it first replaces. Its effects is to lower the physical and raise the intellectual demands upon the working force.

The commonplace task is to urge upon you the importance of preparing people for their more demanding roles. We must have the scientists who will map the course of the new technology; we must have the engineers who will bring it into being; we must have the technicians who can operate and maintain its machinery; we must have the very great army of white collar workers and managers who do its paperwork, find its markets, program its computers, keep its accounts, write its advertising, wangle its contracts, provide its management, collect its taxes, and administer its government. To a greater extent than we realize, automation is a process by which we take people off the assembly line and put them into the front office, into sales conferences or into Washington. And whatever the task, from inventing the product, to designing the machine that makes it, to creating its demand, to getting it approved by the Food and Drug Administration, or to having it effectively suppressed, a fairly high level of education is required.

Although at least one presidential candidate is a stubborn defender of the contrary view, the American people have a fairly shrewd view of their own salvation. They have recognized the helplessness of the person without preparation. This, and not much else, is behind the current anxiety about college admissions. And back of that is the rising concern for the quality of primary and secondary education for these determine whether one—or one's offspring—will survive the competition for college places.

This tension will increase. It will also, in the most reliable of our tendencies, make itself felt in politics. Increasingly, those who take their stand for economy, ignorance, and the McGuffey readers will get swept aside. This is a serious political prediction; the economic need for education is evident to a large majority of our people. They have the political means for making this need felt. The consequences are fairly certain. We shall have to increase greatly the volume of resources going into education but we are reasonably certain to do so. The much more acute problem arises from the very unequal distribution, both in quantity and quality, of these resources. A man arriving in the next few years from Mars may well report that we still do better in providing everyone with a television set and automobile than with the right education. But he will marvel most, after first meeting some of our people on their way to the moon, at the specimens he encounters in eastern Kentucky or northeastern Mississippi.

The drastic unevenness of present preparation is only one of the problems of education in a highly technical society. There is also the question of whether such a society can employ all who seek employment, however well they are prepared. There is obvious danger, if it cannot, of loading too great a task on the educational system. And there is the familiar, and all but tedious, question of the educational requirements that are associated with increased leisure. I want to say a word about each of these matters, but first let me comment on the effect of the present inequality in the distribution of educational opportunity.

The profile of present unemployment and low incomes shows clearly the effect of this inequality. In March 1962, according to testimony last autumn before Senator CLARK's Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, when unemployment over the country was at 6 percent, it was 10.4 percent among those with 4 years of schooling or less and 8.5 percent among those with 5 to 7 years of schooling. Forty percent of those without work had eight years of schooling or less although this group accounted for only 30 percent of the labor force.

In 1961, the median income of those with less than 8 years of schooling was $3,279 (a bit more for whites; quite a lot less for Negroes). For those with 4 years of high school it was $6,302. For those with 4 or more years of college it was $9,264.

The man who is unemployable because of lack of education has become one of the problems of the highly technical society. He cannot produce; he requires support by others. He is also a national problem. Heavy concentration of such unemployables is to be found in the parts of the country where schools are bad—the rural areas of the Southern Appalachians and the South—or where the educational environment is regressive—notably in the urban slums and especially among Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other minority groups. But these people are not immobile; they seek work and find their way onto the unemployment and welfare rolls in all parts of the country.

It is why I have suggested that we make this unemployment, and the poverty which it produces and perpetuates, the basis for a new look at Federal aid to education. This issue has now been on dead center for years partly for religious reasons, partly because of fear of Federal control, mostly because of the resistance of those who make talk of liberty, economy and fiscal soundness a stalking horse for what, in more plainspoken times, was called simple selfishness. Instead of continuing the debate over aid to all schools, I would urge that we get ahead with a program of improving the poorest districts—the districts that are producing those who are uneducated and hence unemployable. Since there is no question of assisting all schools, the question of aid to parochial schools—or of discrimination in withholding such aid—does not arise. The people who most fear Federal control are generally in the well-to-do school districts. They would have an admirable safeguard against Federal intrusion for they would not be eligible.

The poorest and most difficult school districts—the ones which need the best teachers—are presently the ones with the poorest. And many such districts, whatever their deficiencies in other respects, have a fully developed capacity for misusing money. So, as a further step, part of the help should be supplied in the form of a corps of teachers, school administrators, specialists and counselors enrolled at very good pay by the Federal Government with the specific mission of going by invitation into the substandard areas and districts and teaching, attracting other good teachers, helping with the rehabilitation of plant and otherwise bringing these schools up to a standard level of performance.

Here then is the program. Let us designate the problem districts, urban and rural, whence come the poor and the unemployable. Let us make Federal funds available for the schoolplant in these areas—enough to bring it fully up to standard. And to make sure this money is well used, let us establish a National Teaching Corps, recruited from the very best of our teachers, to serve in these areas. I think we might aim at an initial corps of 10,000 to 12,000, to be expanded further in accordance with need. We should insure that we get the very best teachers by the simple device of paying for it. The minimum salary should be around $12,000.

I am not throwing this out as another interesting idea. It is something on which I urge (and indeed I venture to expect) the active, eager, energetic, personal effort of everyone here this morning and everyone you are able to persuade.

To reduce to the absolute minimum those who are unemployable in a highly technical culture is a matter of elementary importance. We do this through education not because we are educators, but because the absence of education is the cause of unemployment. (All concerned with unemployment and poverty must see this—must see in particular that education is not just another good idea for dealing with their problems.) We shall also reduce unemployment as well as unemployability as we raise the general level of educational standards. In 1962, when unemployment among those with 4 years of education or less amounted to 10.4 percent, it was only 1.4 percent among those with at least some college education. Reasonable equality in the chance to hold jobs is important; within the limits of natural aptitude and ability it is what education accomplishes. However, we must not load on the educational system the whole task of preventing unemployment in a highly technical society.

Modern technology—automation and its associated changes—enables us to get more and more goods from given effort. The answer of many economists to the problem of unemployment that this poses is to urge the production of more and more goods so that the demand for workers remains constant despite the diminished labor effort that is required. And then still more production is urged to take care of the increase in the labor force. I doubt if this is more than a temporary solution.

Machinery, as I have said, enables us to produce things with less effort. Sooner or later—and it will be sooner rather than later—we will have to accept the logic of a machine civilization and expend less effort. To be more exact, we shall have to continue to accept the logic of the machine because for decades now we have been steadily reducing the workweek. The 40-hour week is not the end of this road.

I do not think a shorter workweek or longer paid vacations would be a tragedy. We still have numerous needs to fill. But we must be skeptical of the notion that more goods are inherently a mark of greater production than more leisure. Like relief and unearned income, too much free time is something that is always thought peculiarly debilitating for other people. We are invariably much more sanguine about the ef-

fect of well-earned leisure on ourselves. The average American will survive a further shortening of the workweek, a further increase in paid vacation time and with remarkably little damage. The story is told in Massachusetts of an incident during the senatorial campaign in 1962 of Mr. EDWARD KENNEDY, the extremely able brother of the late President. By the standards of this age of septuagenarians and octogenarians, he was rather young. Inevitably his age and experience were an issue. Campaigning outside a factory early one morning he was saluted by another Celt—elderly and gnarled. The old workman said: "TEDDY, me boy, I hear ye've never done a day's labor in yere life. Well, let me tell ye lad, ye haven't missed a thing." [Laughter.]

I am less sure about the nature of education for a society with more leisure time. Obviously we can't spend our free time breathing gasoline fumes in traffic jams. [Laughter.] Perhaps the answer is an increasing emphasis on liberal education. This, according to some of my friends, will insure that factory workers and service station attendants will perform their allotted stint and then betake themselves gratefully to long hours with Proust and Mozart to the extent that they are not busy replacing these with yet greater compositions. [Laughter.] Perhaps, for a while, we should set more modest goals.

The first of these is to insure that we continue the diverse, experimental, and progressive tradition of American education. This provides the setting for a diverse and exploratory view of life; it is right for a society in which the individual is trained not for a particular economic function but for a resourceful use of all his time. One gathers that those who argue for a return to fundamentals—to homely virtues, the three R's and regular morning prayers—hope to manufacture a more tractable type of citizen—one who works hard, forswears complaint, has no inconvenient aspirations, no disturbing ideas, and does not join unions. One wonders what happens if their man gets tired of his rocking chair. He might be the most obstreperous of all. [Laughter.]

Certainly our educational system must have a dual function. One task is to equip people for making a living. The other and increasingly important task is to provide everyone with the interests that make living worthwhile. This is related to a further task.

We sometimes imagine that science and technology are the final frontiers. We press these back year by year; beyond them is nothing. This is not so. Beyond the frontiers of science and technology are those of taste, charm, and beauty. There is nothing effete or precious about this; it is the most commonplace of sequences. Once a man had provided himself with shelter, he began as a matter of course to consider its architecture. Once clothing was available, he began to consider its design. Similarly with his pottery, conveyance, and sarcophagus. The preparation of food soon became not a problem in nutrition but an exercise in art. It seems likely that a fairly early stage after women were devised, men became additionally interested in how they looked. [Laughter.]

We have had far more success in the last 20 years in pressing the technical than the esthetic dimension of progress. Fifty years ago the United States was far less technically advanced and far less prosperous than it is today. It was not less beautiful. On the contrary it was much more beautiful. Every time a politician or an economist tells you that the gross national product has gone up, you must promptly ask what the cost was in public charm and beauty. We are surely not industrializing for the sake of making all of the United States look like Jersey City. [Laughter.]

As we understand that technology is not the final frontier, we will give increasing attention to the world of esthetics that lies beyond. Our educational system will seek understanding and appreciation of this world. We will prepare ourselves and our children for the even more difficult task of bringing symmetry, charm, and beauty to our environment. We have barely begun to assert the claims of beauty against billboards, roadside commercial pollution, the utility towers and telephone poles, the progenitors of urban sprawl. There is still a measure of indignation that anything or anyone should interfere with technological and economic convenience. However, this next step is also inevitable. As I've said, beyond a certain point in economic and technical accomplishment, all people want charm and beauty in their lives. Americans are no exception. We are not, in contrast with all other cultures, more resolutely Philistine in our attitudes. The next great task of our schools is to insure that they are not.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL POVERTY

(By Harold Taylor, vice chairman, National Committee for Support of the Public Schools)

In the discussion which will follow these talks by Mr. Galbraith and myself, I'll leave to Mr. Galbraith the definition of poverty in economic terms and say only, for my part, that poverty is a human condition in which food, shelter, and clothing are in such short supply that the human person suffers harm—malnutrition, loss of vitality, disease, continual discomfort and, very possibly, an early death. That's what I mean by a situation of poverty.

The definition of poverty is measured in terms of annual income for a year of a family's life is in many ways ambiguous, since $2,000 or $3,000 a year for a family in one part of America may mean some kind of deprivation, and in another part of the world would mean affluence.

I will therefore assume that the economic intricacies and implications of being poor will become sufficiently complicated in discussion, and I will turn to some other matters related to our poverty-stricken culture in what is to me one of the most underdeveloped countries in the world, the United States.

I suggest that we take a very hard look at where we are in American history. We must look first at the fact that one of the characteristics of modern education, as of education in each phase of the development of Western man, has always been a considerable number of years behind the needs of the society in which the education has taken place.

In the 19th century the need was for a shift toward a democratic form of education and away from the education of an elite, in order to keep up with the social changes which the industrial revolution had brought. Education was inadequate to meet those new challenges of the 19th century. The world has now changed so radically that, within a matter of 40 years, for example, the office of the President of the United States has been transformed from its leisurely workday of 9 or 10 o'clock till 4 in the afternoon, with long weekends in which you couldn't find the President unless you spoke to him through his wife. World peace was then a matter of the control of a few governments, and relatively minor weapons.

Now the President's workday is from dawn until midnight, 7 days a week, and one cannot help thinking that if there were a way in which Mr. Johnson could wire himself up at night to use his unconscious and his dreaming time for affairs of State, he would do so and give the press the results in the morning.

The radical shift in world affairs has made of world peace, national welfare, security, and the national well-being, things which not merely have to do with the control of a few governments in Europe, conversations among elderly diplomats, and the control of guns and bombers.

These matters are now of enormous size, of a size which we never knew before and which too few people now recognize. We are dealing with single bombs which can kill entire cities and 10 million people at once, governments which can control the entire lives of 650 million people at once, machines which do replace thousands and thousands of workers, universities containing 40,000 students, television broadcasts which can reach the world's millions with a single message, poisons which can kill millions of fish, drugs which can cure millions of sick people, books for the millions, films for the millions, everything for the millions and very little for the individual.

Yet, all the things in life which matter have to do with individuals, the individual human being's mind, his wants, his aspirations, his needs, his loves, his hates, his children, and his friends. They have to do with his place in the world, and the world's problems, gigantic as they are in scale and seriousness, are simply the problems of individual human beings raised to the millionth power.

When we look at the chief characteristic of education in the 20th century we find that it is its capacity for reducing the individual to the status of a unit in a mass. We have discovered the relationships, as Kenneth Galbraith has been describing them, between the economic situation of any society and its educational system. We have also discovered the relationships of inequality, which have to do with social habits, bred into each culture as new generations of young people are taught the social habits of segregation through succeeding generations of teaching.

As we look at the gap between the days of the 1920's and 1930's and the issues of the 1960's, we find that we are now in the middle of the greatest challenge in this country's history. Our last enormous challenge was the Second World War; the one before that was the period of the depression.

I suggest we look at the 1930's for a moment to see what happened to the economy then and the relation which it then had to education. In the 1930's our economy lay in ruins. The political system was bankrupt, the social structure was shaken from top to bottom. What was required then was the total reconstruction of the social order, to bring back hope and belief, to make life for the individual American possible again.

It was then that the educator and the teacher were confronted with the social reality in the 20th century. Education was, in fact, an instrument of social change. It had to be, and the educators went to work through a variety of Government agencies and national projects with the universities and schools; along with all the other newly-formed agencies of reform which rose to meet the challenge of a society on test, to give youth a sense of purpose and a place within the society.

Those problems of the 1930's, economic, social, and educational, were never solved. Unemployment, inequality, social injustice, economic instability and political corruption—all these were brushed to one side as we united our resources to fight the war.

When we emerged from that war we immediately found ourselves in the tensions and districtions of the cold war, neurotically concerned about communism on the one hand and affluence on the other, busy with making money and making America into a fortress. Throughout all those years of the 1950's, the problems of the 1930's lay dormant, unnoticed, while we shot off our

rockets and our propaganda messages about American white democratic values. The unsolved problems of the 1930's now face us bluntly again, in large part because of the dignity, courage, democratic instincts and social protests of the Negro people.

It is they who are helping, and who have helped now, through their revolution, to make us politically honest and morally healthy. It is the demand of the Negro for equality which speaks to the entire demand of all Americans; that we turn our attention once more to the human questions and social problems which we have been neglecting through these postwar years.

The difficulty is that, as we have moved through those postwar years, our attention has been turned almost entirely to the technological problems—to technological progress and to the concern for building an economy which could sustain America's place in a competitive world order. As the tensions in that world order increased, our national goals swerved toward an over concern with that kind of safety which is related to military security, economic security and political security.

Heavy emphasis on national goals of military and economic security has diverted our attention from the major issues in education which are at the heart of all issues in social change. As these national goals made demands on the educational system for the development of young technologists, young scientists and those who could man the military and industrial establishment, the educational system itself shifted. The curricular changes were in the direction of developing programs in which the academically able could fit, in order to move up through the high school into the colleges and into the graduate schools those whose scholastic aptitudes had been revealed at an early age and whose talents could then become useful to the managerial elite, later to occupy those places within the society where managerial and technological leadership was needed.

We have imperceptibly accepted the goals of the white American middle-class society without looking at the effect which this has had upon the young people themselves, in what I have referred to as their cultural poverty. As the curricula have been reformed by such extraordinary efforts as those put forth by Professor Zacharias in the revision of the physics curriculum, the mathematics curriculum, and now the social studies, one finds that for the first time large sums of money are being expended to reform curricula.

But it is not without significance that the reforms in the curriculum are those most adapted to the needs of the white middle class and well-to-do students for the academic high school, and that those desperate needs for economically deprived persons (for whom the Negro stands as the greatest symbol) have not received that degree of attention and concern until just these recent months when the protests of the underprivileged have grown to the extent of a national movement.

In the city of New York, for example, it has been true all along that the integration of the schools has been a slow-moving process, in which the difficulties of the schools have to do with the lack of funds, as well as segregated patterns of residence. This is true of all the major cities. In the cities, the relationship of the economic support of the public school system and the segregated patterns of education themselves is direct. The poorest schools in educational terms, as Professor Galbraith has pointed out, are those with the least money. Those with the least educational opportunity are those whose families have the least money.

It has been calculated by a special committee advising the Commissioner of Education of New York State that $250 million in additional funds would be necessary to achieve integration in New York City, if the schools are to be of a quality appropriate to the needs of the children and their parents. There is this kind of direct relationship between the economics of education and social justice. We must turn our attention to the political problem of using our economic resources to develop a fully democratic society. We need to look at the fact that, when we conduct a national talent search for gifted young people, the search itself is conducted with certain national goals in mind dominated by the goal of economic prosperity. There is very little concern in this search for what Professor Galbraith has been referring to in his comments as the development of an esthetic value system consonant with our political and economic system.

The method of selection now used for the discovery of talent is to classify the country's youth in terms of their ability to pass academic tests which screen out the less able and identify those with the most aptitude for training in those academic subjects which one finds in the average college. It seems to me that this academic approach, without a concern for those whose economic situation prevents their being able to develop the academic skills necessary to enter this competition, is distracting us from the central issues of the education of individuals, wherever they may be.

What point is there in testing for ability and aptitude children who have had no education which could prepare them to meet the tests, which are irrelevant to the discovery of their particular talent? Or, to put it broadly, if the search for talent is merely to discover talent which is already developed through the privileged educational institutions of white children of middle-and upper-middle income parents, this is bound to divide the society into an elite of the educated and a mass of semi-illiterates, when many of the latter are brimming with talent if this could only be developed by wise and generous teaching.

The problem of developing good teaching and new situations for teachers is the central issue in the release of talent of all kinds. It is impossible to have good schools and good community life, or a cultural and intellectual environment suited to the development of new talents, without considerably more attention being paid to the quality of American teaching. We need in our American communities the kind of indigenous leadership which can only come when those within the community—its school system, parents, and children—form together an environment through which children can be taught how to assume the responsibilities of citizenship.

In this matter we could do no better than to consider seriously the use of the resources of the 10,000 young college students across the country who are already exercising their teaching talents by using the summer months, and their after-school hours during the college year, to tutor students in the areas of underprivilege. By doing so, they are learning about the reality of their society and are adding their talents and skills to the improvement of human life in the rural slums and in the urban areas.

Seven hundred young college students are going to Mississippi this coming summer to help with the education of the underprivileged, both white and Negro. Those who have dropped out of school, those who have not had a chance to go in school, and those who need education in citizenship, in political science, in sociology, and those who need elementary training in the skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

These young people are part of a new body of the American youth who are aware of the demands which the society is making upon them and who wish to respond to those demands. I would urge that we couple a national teaching corps with a national youth corps of the kind so many people here in Washington have been talking about—the domestic service corps, which can capture that form of idealism which exists in American youth and give it a chance to express itself in action.

Gifted high school students can contribute their talents by teaching elementary school children who are having trouble with their studies, and who need the help of those willing to make the effort to understand them. I suggest that we must think of America as a series of small democratic communities, each overlapping with the next community, with each person called upon to contribute what he can to the total community of the United States. There is no better way to teach this democratic ideal than by asking American students to teach each other.

There has recently been a welter of publice speaking on the subject of the weaknesses in the American system of education. The favorite juxtaposition has been to cite the advantages of the Soviet system of education with its heavier academic content, as against the weak-kneed sort of attitude which American education is said to have taken, because of the heavy influence of John Dewey and other such "anti-American" philosophers.

The Soviet system of education does have a heavy academic content. But that content is possible because there are first-rate teachers in every classroom throughout the Soviet Union. There are teachers who do not need to test continually the students whom they are teaching because the teachers know by personal experience who are the slower students who need help, and who are the intellectually able who need to be given advanced instruction. The kind of incessant testing which has afflicted the American system of education is not necessary in the Soviet Union, except in the case of the screening examinations for those who are to go to the universities.

But the reason these comparisons have not been made accurately is because the basis of comparison has not been stated. The true comparison is that the Soviet Union spends twice the amount on education, in comparable figures, as does the United States of America. The direct relationship between the priority of education on the Soviet agenda, and where we put it on our national agenda is the difference between the lack of intensity of effort in this country about education and the intensity of effort which built the Soviet system of education in 40 years into one of the most powerful instruments of the present age.

I would suggest, therefore, that we turn our attention back to the ways in which the individual student, in every segment of the American community, is given the kind of teaching which is only posible when the teacher is at liberty to know his student, not merely by name, but by a total conception of what his student needs.

I suggest that we return to the American tradition of a personal relationship between the teacher and student, with the teacher at the center of the educational system, not considering himself to be part of a mass system of instruction but as a member of a community of scholars and students who are learning together.

We have become fascinated during these past few years with the possibilities of technological invention in speeding up the learning process, without thought for what is being learned, and for what purpose. Teaching machines, record players, films, television classes, objective examinations graded mechanically, the use of computers in record-keeping, and speededup schedules—these are all devices to hasten the coverage of certain academic materials and curriculums.

But we need to ask: What is the rush? Where are we all going in such a hurry? What is education for, and what knowledge is of most worth? As we look at what our students are learning it is clear that we are forgetting the rich diversity of American culture; we are forgetting that we have a Puerto Rican culture, a Spanish-American culture, an Indian culture, a Negro culture.

Rather than treasuring the individual contributions of these inner groups within the American society, we tend, by our present curriculum, to transmit American white middle-class values in a kind of brandname approach to education. Nor have we been willing, until recent months, to ask ourselves how we can provide economic aid to the depressed minorities—all those minority groups whose social and economic situation has blocked them from the main entries to American society.

"There are more teachers and counselors in this country than there are teamsters," says Arthur Pearl, "and yet their influence on the political structure is considerably less." We who are teachers, educators, and citizens concerned with education have, over these next 5 to 10 years, an enormous responsibility for the affairs of education in their political dimension. Without political action of the kind which our educational circumstances now make necessary, there will be too many people who will vote against expanded education on the argument that poor people can't have it simply because they don't have the money. Education is now a powerful political issue and persons are being elected, and not elected, in States across the country by the platforms on which they stand in the field of education.

I suggest, therefore, that we move in the direction of political action across a broad field of economic, social and political issues. I suggest to you that education is at the center of all these political and social issues, and that one's attitude to education in general, and to public education in particular, is a measure of one's interest in the future of the country. Without the interest of citizens, and without the interest of teachers who will act politically, we are not going to be able to bridge the gap between the educational needs of the country and the present neglect of large segments of the population.

The American Government, is now reviving the sense of possibility that used to exist in the 1930's, when serious social problems were linked to educational remedies. We now have, for the first time since those earlier years, a surge of attention, not merely to the problem of poverty, but to the problem of solving social problems by means of education. This is a shift in attitude on the part of the Government concerning the relation of the economy to education, and a shift on the part of the Government in its work in the whole system of agencies.

In the Department of Commerce, in Agriculture, in the Office of Education, there are persons who now are working directly at the social and practical problems of linking the educational system to the cure of economic and social injustice.

This seems to me to be one of the most important facts about the way in which the question of poverty is being discussed in public and in private. Educators are now forced to become concerned with the way in which education can once more become an instrument of social change. It has always been such an instrument. It has never fully exploited the use to which it can be put.

These are the developing ideas in the relationship of the economy to the political structure and to the educational system with which all of us must be concerned. There are new ideas in the minds of the young for new kinds of teaching, for new contributions which they can make in their own domestic service corps, with or without Government help.

Through educational research sponsored by the Office of Education, through new forms of alliances between municipalities and State Commissioners of Education, through new forms of energy generated by the young people who are concerning themselves with the problems of the poor, we can come to a deeper realization of the possibilities in education of reforming the entire American society.

We can put education to work on the key issues of social change. We can take as our mission the transformation of the entire American society from its present separation of whites and Negroes, haves and have-nots, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, into a society richly endowed by the talents and gifts of all, in which each citizen can gain the chance to cultivate to the full the talent which is his.

I conclude by an American statement from one of our most interesting and original Americans, Martha Graham who, by her approach to the arts and that particular combination of individualism and imagination which marks the great artist, has been able to make a new instrument for esthetic values, combining design, theater, music, and dance in a new form. Miss Graham makes what is a peculiarly American statement. She says:

"There is a vitality, a life force, an energy, a quickening which is translated through you into action; and because there is only one of you in all time, this expression is unique. And if you block it, it will never exist through any other medium and be lost. The world will not have it."

It seems to me that the entire function of education—in its biggest scope and its deepest meaning—is to be found here: it is true that each one of us has something to give to the world, and if the circumstances of one's life are such as to prevent that unique contribution from coming to the world, then the society itself is to blame. The society must rearrange itself in its economic, in its social, in its political structure, in order to make it possible that each may unblock the thing which is his so that the world will have it.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION

(Presiding: John A. Baker [1])

MEMBER (to Mitchell Sviridoff). In connection with your Community Progress project in New Haven, I wonder if you would comment on your concept of the community school which, I gather, has a kind of "8 in the morning until 11 at night" approach to fighting the problem of poverty.

Mr. SVIRIDOFF. The idea of the community school is that, since poverty really grows out of a complex web of circumstances, no one institution can solve the problem. That is, the schools can't solve it by themselves—nor can the unemployment system, the housing system, or the social welfare system. All of these systems must work together around certain common objectives. The community school, as it has developed in New Haven, has taken this form.

The policy statement of the board of education says, first, that the school is a center for education for young people—and adults; second that, in the urban setting, it must become the center for leisure time and recreational activity; third, that it might well be the center for social services, because social services in the city have become highly centralized * * *; and fourth, that the school might well be a center for social action, because if, in fact, we are serious about the development of indigenous leadership we had better find a way through which it can be developed or all our talk about it will be no more than well-meaning platitudes.

According to this concept then, the school has these four functions. * * * There is no such thing as "schoolday" and an "after school day." The schoolday starts at 8 in the morning and it ends at 10 or 11 or even at midnight—and the school functions on Saturday and even on Sunday. And these various functions are not separate functions. They are all a part of educational process and they nourish one another.

So, in the community school in New Haven, in addition to the school principal, there is an assistant principal for the community school program whose exclusive function and responsibility it is to see that this concept works, and to provide the leadership, as an educator, for all of these vital functions.

In addition to the assistant principal, there is also a neighborhood service coordinator, who works out of my organization—and there's not enough time to explain that except to say that the organization I represent is really a coalition of the various basic forces in the community which have a stake in the solution of poverty: education, unemployment, the mayor's office, redevelopment, housing and so on.

Our neighborhood service coordinator is located in the school and works in a tandem relationship to the assistant principal for the community school program, but his primary responsibility is the social action aspect and the coordination of the social services program.

In addition to these two leaders, we also have a park and recreation supervisor in the school; a work group supervisor; and now even a lawyer. There are health services in the school, too, and a tremendous range of leisure time, recreational, and cultural activities—all centering in the school, so that it becomes truly the nerve center of the neighborhood. Services are decentralized and close to where the people are who need them. And hopefully, these services will become more relevant in their substance to the needs of people, as a result.

These various services, which are so closely interrelated and which parallel the interrelationship of needs of the poverty population, working together, strengthen one another. This, in very general terms, is the concept of the community school.

One of the byproducts which we expect we will achieve in time * * * is that all of these things going on in the school during the schoolday * * * will have a significant feedback effect into the classroom. From it, we believe, the teacher will indeed learn more about life in the neighborhood, and about the nature of poverty, and she will have accessible to her a tremendous range of resources.

Incidentally, the employment program which is centered in the school (and which has grown into so large a program that it is now receiving as much in the way of financial support as a wide range of special educational programs)—the employment program also offers the teacher and, more important, the pupil, a source of motivation. Because in that program, centered in the school and leading to jobs and job opportunities and the development of skills, the child in the classroom begins to see that there is a purpose in learning; that there is a reason for motivation to learn.

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[1] Mr. Baker, originally invited to serve as a panel member, consented to preside at the entire session in the absence of James G. Patton, who was ill and unable to attend. New York City's commissioner of welfare, James R. Dumpson, was also unable to serve on the panel due to illness. The panel thus consisted of Professor Galbraith, Dr. Taylor, and Mitchell Sviridoff, executive director, Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Conn.

Can this be transferred to other communities? I would say it can be, if the local community can bring together an effective coalition of political leadership, can bring together the leadership of the basic institutions, or enough of them to get this kind of concept started, and if the resources can be found. And they can be found, in my opinion, at least in enough substance for a start. Clearly, however, it will take a massive input of new resources at all levels if this kind of program is to be implemented on a national level.

MEMBER. I regard as prophetic the statement by Mrs. Meyer that society must either educate the poor so as to make them self-sustaining or else eventually support them in some manner. Are we, however, simply going to train and educate more and more people so that, ultimately, we will have more trained, skilled men to add to the unemployment list?

Dr. TAYLOR. It's necessary to rethink the whole concept of what is called vocational education. We have confined ourselves to a conception that's about 25 years out of date. In terms of the craft unions, I think we have both a political and an economic problem for the unions—in a new kind of society where certain skills are no longer in as great demand, and we've got a kind of craft guild approach to dealing with it. I also think, although this isn't directly in response to your question, that when we think of "vocation" we should think not merely of college vocations but also in terms of the vocation of the arts, the vocation of political science, the vocation of those who enter politics, with some kind of education in high school which fits them for such careers.

Many times these things are not dealt with properly in colleges, so one has a professional school on one hand or a college on the other, when the high school itself should be a center for this kind of vocational education.

My general comment would be: Let's change the pattern since we're moving into a society in which young people want to identify with gainful activity, both in terms of employment and the use of leisure time. Let's revise our conception of vocational education to include the possibilities of life for the young person beyond anything we've ever thought of.

Mr. SVIRIDOFF. I think Dr. Taylor has dealt very well with the broader and even philosophical aspects of th question, but * * * I spent 20 to 25 years in the labor movement * * * and I earned my "doctorate" in the shop and I learned a trade. So I think I can deal with this question, and I am itching to.

Now * * * about the training of more unemployed. This is a fear I have heard expressed over and over again, and not just by trade union leaders out of the craft unions. It is a question which grows out of two or three basic concerns, and particularly where craft unions are involved.

First, there is a fear that apprentice standards will be diluted through hastily improvised training programs. It's a legitimate fear. If the Manpower Development and Training Act is used as a substitute for apprentice training, apprentice standards will, in fact, be diluted. But there is no reason why the Training Act need be used as an alternative to apprentice training, no reason why there cannot be combined a degree of institutional training with apprentice training, as the National Institute for Labor Education has, in fact, begun to do.

The second concern grows out of a fear that there will be an increase of labor supply in areas where there are labor surpluses. This is a legitimate fear, too, where there are in fact labor surpluses, but sometimes the argument is made even in areas where there are no labor shortages. We've got to be very careful that we separate the truth from the exaggeration.

The third reason why there is concern about the misuse of manpower training, or the danger that manpower training will lead merely to a better trained body of the unemployed, is that there have been, unfortunately—in the first year of experience with the Manpower Training Act—training programs in areas where jobs did not exist. This was particularly true in the most depressed areas of this country.

But it need not be true. There is no reason why training programs cannot be geared, cannot be designed, to meet the needs of the economy. We must certainly train people for jobs that exist and, if possible (as in our manpower program in New Haven), involve the employers and the unions directly, even in advance of the training program and obtain, where possible, job commitments before the training starts.

Let me just give you a few areas where there are very serious shortages, where training can play a very vital role: the whole range of service—oil burner service, air conditioner service, television service * * * and the culinary trades * * * [and] what about the use and the training of what some people call (an expression I dislike) the "subprofessionals"—in social work, in medicine and public health, even in education? If it's wrong for some unions to insist on a high school diploma when there are other ways, it is equally wrong for some professions to insist on extremely high academic requirements when, in fact, high school graduates and many without a high school education—with a minimum of concentrated, carefully designed training—can learn to perform many of these vital functions in our educational system, our health system, our employment system, and in our recreational system.

There is a tremendous amount of critical need in a number of areas. I could take you through just one community to show you at least 25 training programs in the course of a year that had a 90 percent success in placement. We shouldn't judge the Manpower Training Act, or the whole business of manpower training, by these isolated examples of failure or, even more serious, by some of our rather self-centered fears.

MEMBER. How do you excite educators to enter the arena of politics? And how do you have them supported by the community?

Professor GALBRAITH. A number of these questions will be discussed during the next 2 days. However, one point you raise is extremely important: that the teaching profession, the educational profession, must get away from this mystique of political neutrality and join political parties—especially those which are most actively and energetically working for larger educational resources—and become influential in them.

We have yielded, as educators, to a particular political point of view whenever we have stood down on political issues. There is nothing that the people who want to save money, who value frugality and want to go back to McKinley and Mark Hanna, like more than to have educators who are "above politics." Indeed, that phrase was invented by people who—if not, at a minimum, wanting to go back to McKinley—are at least enthusiastic about the contemporary substitute from Phoenix. [Laughter.]

This must not continue. The lesson of European education is the lesson of an educational system which was, in very large part, the result of the energetic political efforts of educators who were part-time political leaders in their communities. I think this is the lesson for us.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

(By Howard K. Smith, commentator, American Broadcasting Co.)

Ladies and gentlemen, my name is Howard K. Smith. I am obliged to place the letter K. between the first and last names. It is my only recourse in order to lessen the confusion with a more prominent citizen of our town. [Laughter.]

I am vitally concerned about education. At any moment, I am told, one-third of the American people is involved in education, either being taught or teaching.

Therein lies the opportunity to mould minds and spirits. Therein lies the only ultimate way to meet every problem that besets us. In the end, only education can meet the question of poverty. Only education can end or diminish racial fears or hatred. Therein lies, I am convinced, the answer to war, and even the cold war.

I went into journalism because I wanted to take part in education. I thought the education of the young was being adequately done, but I worried about the grownups. I agree with Nicholas Murray Butler, who said: "Most Americans die at the age of 25. They are just not buried until they are 65." [Laughter.]

Those were the people I had hoped to get to, and journalism, especially picture journalism, which I am in now, has the best access to them. But I am no longer convinced that our formal education of the young is adequate. It has certainly improved, but the times have changed faster, and have demanded better comprehension faster, than our education has provided for.

If our education were good enough we would not today be worried about Governor Wallace in Maryland tomorrow, and that is only the most immediate indication that our education has not been meeting fully the purpose for which education is designed.

My primary purpose is to introduce a remarkable American. In any objective list of the 10 outstanding Americans of our time you have to display his name very close to the top of the list. He suffers from not merely being a real figure but from being a legend in his own time. The other night, in this same hotel, I was present at a highly formal dinner, and across the table from me sat an eminent elderly Senator (who faces imminent defeat in November, so I shan't mention his name) and next to me sat a very fluent young woman. She asked me—as if I would know—who was going to be the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket.

There is no answer to questions like that. Not even the President knows the answer yet; but there is a manner—the people in my business learn how to develop the manner, but before I could even arrange my voice in the appropriate pear-shape [laughter] the Senator leaned across the table and growled, "It'll be whoever Walter Reuther wants it to be." [Laughter.]

I mention this only so you will know, if you did not know before, the responsibility you have in the next few minutes. If Walter Reuther were not so finely geared to our time and to the future I would be tempted to call him an Elizabethan, a man of wide range and great depth in thought, and yet a man of strong action. His annual suggestions to the managers of the automobile industry about how to run their industry, his frequent suggestions to the managers of the United States on how to run the Nation, remind one of young Winston Churchill, before he attained the highest office. He was considered a talented nuisance but lo, when crisis came and they called him to the helm to run the whole shebang he really knew how to do it, and he ran it better than any man before or since.

I often think the same thing might happen here, since Walter Reuther has been called the only American who can reminisce about the future. [Laughter.] Critics say that he has solutions for all problems, including some that don't exist yet. [Laughter.] But his primary sin in the eyes of his critics is that he challenges assumptions.

A man's mental and spiritual life may be likened to an inverted pyramid raised on its tip. The tip consists of a man's assumptions about life. If those assumptions turn out to be wrong the whole structure is likely to collapse, so man clings to his assumptions with fierceness, and is occasionally even willing to use violence to maintain them.

Mr. Reuther is the outstanding assumptions challenger of our time, and another word for assumptions challenger is teacher, in the best sense of the world. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to present to you now a man who, whether he is fully conscious of it or not, has devoted a whole turbulent life to what you are discussing here today, education. Walter Reuther. [Applause.]

EDUCATION AND THE CONTINUING INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(By Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers Union)

It has been said many times that the genius of a free society is its diversity, and I think that there is perhaps no more dramatic illustration of the great diversity in our society than the diversity between the two Howard Smiths. [Laughter.] The difference between the "K" and the "W" is tremendous. I think that we all share the view that the question of education and poverty are inseparably bound together and that they both need to be made matters of the highest priority and the greatest urgency in the list of America's unfinished business.

We were all much encouraged by the President's call for a total war against poverty and I believe that it is the responsibility of each of us to enlist in that poverty struggle for the duration.

As one American, I believe that this is a time of testing, and that the crisis in our society is essentially a crisis in our value system. We profess to believe in the worth and the dignity of each human person, and yet somehow we do not live by those noble professions. I believe we need to realize that the quality of the society must be measured not by what it has but rather by what it does with what it has. We are going to be judged not by our tremendous material wealth, or by our accelerated technological progress, or by our expanded gross national product. We will be judged by a very simple test: what do we do as a society to develop the economic and social and political mechanisms necessary to give this great material wealth we possess a social purpose so that it is reflected in the lives of people?

We had an income last year in excess of $600 billion in our gross national product, and yet, depending upon where we draw the line in our definition, between 30 and 50 million Americans live in poverty. They are the "have not" peoples of America, who live in the subbasements of our social structure. They are denied and deprived, they are disadvantaged, and they are discriminated against.

Now, there is poverty all over the world. I had the privilege of going to Kenya last year. It was the last thing that John Kennedy asked me to do—to be one of his special ambassadors at the freedom independence celebration in Nairobi. I poked around a number of countries in Africa—Uganda, Tanganyika, and there one sees ugly, naked poverty. The per capita income in Tanganyika is $55 a year. Yet poverty there is less destructive of human values than poverty in the United States, because a person getting $55 per year in Tanganyika has a sense of belonging. He is a part of and is participating in the social structure of his society.

But the people of America who live in poverty, who are the denied and the deprived, are not only robbed economically and materially, they are robbed socially and culturally and spiritually. They are shut out of our society. This is why poverty in the United States is so tragic.

Mr. Khrushchev states to everyone he talks to that history is on his side, that in due time his system will bury our system. I spent, as you know, some time with him. I believe that he feels that our free society is composed of competing and conflicting, irreconcilable, economic pressure groups and that we as a free people are incapable of achieving a sense of common national purpose in the absence of war.

He knows that when we are faced with the challenge of war we are capable of a total effort, but he does not believe we are capable of a comparable effort in meeting the challenges of peace, in dealing with the problems of poverty, in wiping out the tragic deficits in education and in the other areas of our society where there are serious problems.

Therefore, I believe Mr. Khrushchev is counting primarily upon our failures rather than upon his own successes, and when he looks at education he must conclude that this is one of the areas where America is making its most tragic failure.

What is the problem? As a Nation we have been more concerned with the condition of our plumbing than the adequacy of our school system. If you look at the record you'll find that in community after community, where there was on the ballot a bond issue for new sewers and a bond issue for new schools, the new sewers have carried 10 to 1 over the new schools. We have not understood the importance of education.

Last year a sweeper in a General Motors plant received more in income than a large percentage of our elementary school teachers. Now the sweepers that I represent at the bargaining table are not getting too much; the teachers are getting too little. [Laughter.] The reason we treat teachers as second-class economic citizens is that we have not put education where it belongs in our system of values—and that is why teachers are treated as they are.

And because of overcrowded schools and overworked, underpaid schoolteachers, we are denying millions of our young people the kind of educational opportunities which are essential if we are to facilitate their maximum growth and development so that they can achieve a sense of personal fulfillment, and so that they can be equipped to make their maximum contribution to the well-being of our whole society.

As I see it, the problem in America is that we have been too long on pious pronouncements—we say our children are "our most valuable national asset"—but far too short on the practical performance needed to give substance to the principles we profess to believe in. This is why we get in trouble.

The dimensions of the problem of education are tremendous, and until we fully comprehend its true dimensions and are prepared to commit resources adequate to resolve the problem, we will make no real substantial progress. The key to breaking the cycle of human poverty—where poverty breeds more poverty, where each generation of poverty breeds the next generation of poverty—is a massive educational effort.

If we are going to deal with this problem we have to raise our sights. I agree with Secretary Willard Wirtz when he calls upon this country to make education the No. 1 industry; but to make it the No. 1 industry we will need to raise our sights and, first of all, we will need to commit ourselves and then commit adequate economic resources to that task.

I ask this simple question: Why is it that we plow in billions and billions of dollars to expand our productive resources to meet the threat of war and yet are unwilling to make a comparable investment in expanding our human resources through adequate education to meet the challenge of peace? If tomorrow morning we were suddenly faced with the kind of challenge we faced at Pearl Harbor—although we know that nuclear wars don't give us a comparable period for military buildup—but if it did, there would not be a politician in this city who would not be prepared to forget about the budget and appropriate billions and billions and billions to teach and equip millions of young Americans to die in war.

We will not meet the challenge on the educational front until we are prepared to spend billions and billions to educate our young people to live in peace. The dimensions of the problem, I believe, require that kind of an approach.

This problem requires an offensive against both the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of our educational deficits. We need more facilities and we need more teachers, but until we are prepared to offer our teachers salaries commensurate with their training and their responsibilities we are not going to attract into the teaching profession the number of qualified teachers we need.

Now when we deal with the problems of the disadvantaged, the children in the slums of the big cities and the children in the slums on the land, we deal not only with the normal problems of education, which are costly, but we deal with the problems that reflect the social neglect of our society for many years.

We can break this cycle, we can salvage these children, only if we really commit to this program the kind of resources that Ken Galbraith, who spoke to you this morning, has proposed in these hundred projects he recommended.

We have to give the slum children a higher educational ladder, because they have a long way to come. We have to make a special effort to deal with their problems, to give them first of all a sense of belonging, a sense of worth, because without that sense of worth and belonging we will not get the kind of motivation we want.

The President's report on manpower resources, pointed out that more than 50 percent of our young Americans at the age of 18 are being rejected by draft boards because they do not meet the minimum standards of the armed services; and when we look at the difference between what the best States in the North were able to do, as compared to the worst State in the South, we get some appreciation of the disadvantages accruing to young people growing up in areas of America where they are the victims of educational inequalities.

While some of these young Americans were rejected because of physical disabilities, the great bulk were rejected because they lacked adequate educational background. In the North, only 3 percent of the young people in the best State were rejected because of lack of educational background. In the South, in one State, 67 percent were rejected.

Now, the discrepancy does not lie in the difference in human potential. It lies almost exclusively in the fact that one group of children had access to more nearly adequate educational opportunities and the other group were denied that kind of educational opportunity.

Therefore, we have to make a tremendous effort to overcome these great educational inequalities in our society. The only way we can do that, I believe, is by a massive attack against the deficits of education. If we will do this, in the dimensions of the need, it will not only make a great contribution in

terms of facilitating the growth of our young people but it will make a tremendous contribution to the task of dealing with the basic unresolved problem in our free society. And that problem is: how do we achieve and maintain full employment and full production?

In 1946 we adopted the Full Employment Act, which commits this Nation to achieve and maintain maximum employment, maximum production and maximum purchasing power. Some of us in the labor movement have been suggesting that that bill is as good as new, because it has never been used. We have to get it out of the congressional mothballs and we have to effectively implement its purposes. We will not solve the problems of poverty, education, civil rights and the other serious deficits in the quality of our society in a vacuum. They are all related one to the other and we must take them on together.

What good is it to give a young Negro an education, and give him new skills, unless there is a job waiting that he can use those skills in? What good is it to give a Negro, now, the right to eat in a restaurant and have him stand outside and wish that he had the money to make it possible? We have to work to solve all these problems together because they are inseparably woven together.

I would hope that the great national coalition of conscience, of the church groups, and the civil rights groups, and the labor movements and civic organizations who are working together on the civil rights front, can forge a national citizens' crusade against poverty and work on the poverty front, work on the education front, so that we can make meaningful progress in this direction.

We have all the resources to do this job. There is much learned discussion about juvenile delinquency. I as one American, believe we have a more serious problem than juvenile delinquency, and that problem is adult delinquency, because we adults are not using the resources at hand to build a society that has no room for juvenile delinquency.

Our children are not failing us. We are failing our children. We, the adults, have the resources; we have the know-how to solve these problems, but we have not demonstrated the good judgment and the moral courage to commit ourselves and our resources in the measure necessary to bring about a solution. Simply look at the tragic economic fact that, in the last 10 years, we have wasted 25½ million man-hours of potential economic production because of chronic and continuing unemployment.

I have been pointing out that an hour of human labor is the most perishable economic value in the world. You can make a ton of steel and, if you don't need it immediately you can put it in storage and consume it at a later date. You can raise a bushel of corn and, if you don't need it when you have produced it, you can save it for the future—but you can't store an hour of human labor. If you don't use it when it's available it represents a total, irretrievable economic loss, and we have thrown away 25½ million man-hours of potential economic production.

If we had used that manpower, if we had used our capacity to its maximum, if we had achieved adequate economic growth during the past 10 years, we could have produced $700 billion more in our gross national product. And if we had used only 25 percent of that unrealized economic potential for educational purposes we could then have had resources adequate to the dimensions of the problem. We could have made meaningful progress.

But we have been piddling on the outer fringes of the basic educational problem and we have been unwilling to commit to this job the kind of resources we need. Therefore, our first decision has to be to put America back to work, to achieve and realize the full and maximum economic potential that full employment and full production in our 20th century technology will make possible; and then we must allocate those resources on the basis of priorities in which wiping out the educational deficits and eliminating poverty must be high on our list.

I believe we need to extend compulsory education to 18 years. I believe we need to provide free public educational opportunities that will remove all of the economic roadblocks to every young American for 2 years beyond high school; for those who can go to college, we must provide college and university opportunities; and for those who may not want to go to college or do not have the qualifications, we have to develop vocational and technical schools to give them the new skills. We have to bring our vocational school system up to date.

In many parts of the country a majority of the students enrolled in vocational training courses are involved in home economics and, by and large, many of the skills we are teaching are the now obsolete skills of yesterday.

Therefore, we have to broaden the vocational training program and we have to update it. But nothing could be more tragic in our free society than for us to believe that the purpose of education is to grind out engineers and technicians. We obviously need an increasing number of people who have these special skills to meet the problems of the 20th century technology, but the purpose of education in a free society is more than just grinding out technicians.

The purpose of education, I believe, is to facilitate the maximum growth and development of each human person so that, as a person, he can achieve a sense of human fulfillment, but in the process he can also acquire the skills and competence needed to do the work of our society. However, at the point where we think that the purpose of education is just to compete with the Russians in the physical sciences and then proceed to neglect the human and social sciences, where the real purpose of education must pay off, we are in deep trouble. Because the purpose, I believe, is not only to achieve competence that will give us greater and greater scientific and technical and production know-how, but also to develop a society in which we can find comparable social and moral and human know-why.

Education is the key to both the progress we must make in the physical sciences and the progress we must make in the human and social sciences, and to do this nothing less than a total war against poverty and a total war against our educational deficits will give us the answer.

Now, when we talk about doing this kind of a job, by raising our sights, by many billions of dollars, there are always the people who say, "Yes, but who is going to pay for it?" Well, there are no economic Santa Clauses in the world. The only way we can create wealth is by the application of human effort and human skill to the tools of production as we use them upon the economic resources at hand. We will need to create the wealth to make these things possible.

We need to accept what Thomas Paine meant when he wrote, "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must undergo the fatigue of supporting it." And if we are to reap the blessings of education then we have to be prepared to undertake the fatigue of supporting it.

Each State, each community, I believe, must make its maximum contribution. However, the dimensions of this problem are so great that they are beyond the resourecs of the State and the local community. Only massive Federal aid can give us the resources and make us equal to the dimensions of this challenge.

We need to find a way to end the sterile debate about Federal aid and Federal control. We can have Federal aid without Federal control. I gave the commencement address at Michigan State University in March of this year. That university is 109 years old. It came into being because of the Morrill Act, passed way back in the 18th century. Anyone who knows that university knows that although they have had Federal aid for more than a hundred years they have not yielded control to an all-powerful Washington bureaucracy.

You can have Federal aid without Federal control and those who think not have no faith in the vigor and vitality of American democracy at the local and State level. I would suggest that those who shout against Federal aid ought to stop their propagandizing long enough to look at the economic facts of life.

If you see what happened in the period of 1949 to 1960, you will find that the national debt went up 20 percent but the debt of local and State communities, because they have been forced to carry the heavy burdens, have gone up 450 percent. As a matter of fact, the national debt has been coming down, relative to gross national product. That is the only rational way to measure the size of the national debt. It is not something in a vacuum. We have to measure the national debt relative to the gross national product, the Nation's income. Measured against 1948, the Federal debt came down by half by 1963.

In 1948 it took 271 days of economic effort in producing goods and services to create as much wealth as the size of the national debt. In 1963 we created as much wealth in terms of goods and services in 136 days, so that, relatively, the national debt is coming down.

The real opposition to Federal aid is not the fear of Federal control, because in many, many situations the same irrational and irresponsible voices that are raised against Federal aid do the same dirty work in the State capitals and in the local communities whenever a bond issue is proposed to support public education. Why? Well, I heard a fellow say, "The reason education is a very controversial question is because it's an area in which people's pocketbooks and their children come in conflict," and this is why these people oppose education—they are unwilling to pay the price necessary to really deal with this problem, whether it be in terms of local taxes, State taxes, or Federal taxes.

Here is the kind of attitude they have. Let me read this very short editorial from the Chicago Tribune. It is entitled, "Let's Throw the Slobs out of School." It says, "The ignoramuses have had their chance. It's time to make them responsible for their actions. Sweep through the schoolhouses with a fiery broom. Remove the deadwood, the troublemakers, the no-goods, the thugs. The teachers can tell on the first day which student is dissatisfied, the misfits, the illiterates, the undeserving. Throw them out. We have become the victims of a great fraud, a deceit upon a generation of psychiatrists, guidance counselors, none of whom spend any more time in the classroom dealing with these apes than they have to."

Now this is what is wrong with America. There are these people who believe that the problem of the dropouts is that they don't care. They believe that the problem of a child in a third grade slum school is that child's own personal responsibility. Well, this attitude is merely a way to escape the broader responsibilities of citizenship.

We need to recognize that that kind of mentality, that kind of complacency and indifference, that kind of social and moral irresponsibility, is the biggest roadblock standing in the way of adequate education, because it is that kind of mentality that immobilizes the national will and prevents us from moving forward.

Thomas Jefferson had a dream. He said, "We must dream of the aristocracy of achievement arising out of the democracy of

opportunity." Education is the key to a democracy of opportunity. Education is that magic key that unlocks the human potential. There is, deep within every human being, a great capacity for growth and development. And whether that finds expression, so that human beings can live a more meaningful, purposeful life depends upon whether society provides the child with the opportunities for growth and development, or whether society denies him that opportunity.

When we talk about freedom prevailing over the forces of tyranny, we need to understand that we are being judged by the people of the world. I believe the one thing by which we can judge the quality of a society is: what does that society do for its young people? What kind of a start does it give them, in terms of education?

This is an area of great and tragic neglect in our country. We need to arouse ourselves. We need to make more people angry about these problems when they go to bed at night. Not the people who have the problems—they are already angry, but they have no leverages of power.

Those of us who are affluent, those of us who can escape these problems of poverty and lack of education, must get more of our kind of people to go to bed angry at night. If we can, then maybe we can arouse the conscience of America, maybe we can make our children more important than our pocketbooks in our system of values and maybe we can get on with this job.

This is a troubled period in the history of the human family. Woodrow Wilson wrote, back in 1910, "We live in an age disturbed, confused, afraid of its own force. It is our duty to find ourselves."

I believe it is the duty of every American in 1964, in these crucial and critical years, to help America find itself; to help America achieve a greater sense of urgency, to brush aside the complacency and the indifference that prevails in too many places in America, and get America to understand that there is much unfinished work in making real the dream of that better society that we talk so much about.

I believe we must make education the number one top priority item. I want to salute what the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools is doing—and my good friends Agnes Meyer, General Bradley and the other people. Carry on, because we somehow have to penetrate the conscience of America so that more and more people will be prepared to make education the number one industry of this country. [Applause.]

NEW TRENDS IN PLANNING EDUCATION

(By Ole Sand, Director, NEA Center for the Study of Instruction)

If you'll bear with me, I'll try to give you my three-semester course in the next 20 minutes. I'm delighted to know that you all have the seven-volume report of the NEA project on instruction—the four major documents and the three others—at your bedside table. [Laughter.]

As I've sat through this very exciting day, I am reminded that this great citizens committee does not fall into the situational defeat we occasionally used to fall into in our faculty meetings. I don't know if any of you have ever attended faculty meetings like this one, but one of my colleagues had had a rather serious coronary and we urged him not to come to faculty meetings. He said, "No, I want to come to the faculty meetings because, if I should have the fatal attack, I would like to be there * * * because the transition from life to death would be scarcely perceptible." [Laughter.] Well, we haven't had that problem at this meeting, and I'm sure we won't.

We educators, especially, must act and encourage our students to act as if the triumph of reason is assured. We can begin by applying this to our own work, by bringing some order and reason to the "chaos" in our own field. One way to begin is to ask the right questions of ourselves—and that is what we, working with the Project on Instruction, have attempted to do.

Our project's national committee began by posing 12 central questions in some of the crucial decision areas affecting and affected by education. These questions dealt primarily with two central problems—deciding what to teach; and planning and organizing for teaching.

These issues and recommendations, and the reasoning behind them, are discussed in detail in the four-volume project report. I propose to touch on only four or five of them here today—the issues concerning decision-making, research and innovation, educational priorities, selecting content, organizing the school and classroom, and a balanced program—and will refer you to the published report for the others.

Our first question dealt with decision making: who should make what decisions about education? Our committee made six recommendations about these decisions but, almost more important, it analyzed the decisions and classified them in three categories—the instructional decisions, the institutional decisions, and the societal decisions.

The first of our recommendations having to do with decision making deals with the role of the local school board—the legal instrument through which the State fulfills its responsibility for education.

The distinction between lay control of school policies, determined by the board of education, and implementation of these policies by the professional staff, with the leadership of the local superintendent, should be delineated, understood, and respected. (Recently, in the city of Chicago, there has been quite a controversy because of the failure to distinguish between the role of the board and that of the professional staff.)

The committee recommended, second, that the Federal Government should provide the types of assistance needed to improve local and State systems of education. I shall only comment, here, that the committee did not feel that the Federal Government was a "foreign power" of some sort, but rather that it belonged to the people—and in the national interest—has an important role to play in providing general financial assistance for the improvement of public education and, through the U.S. Office of Education, in disseminating information about educational problems and promising practices.

A third recommendation dealt with the role of local school faculties. We believe that instructional decisions must be made by the teacher. In one great university in the West where I talked recently, I found members of the academic senate who would have been quite upset if their own academic freedom had been tampered with, but were quite willing to take it away from their colleagues in the elementary and secondary schools.

A fourth recommendation dealt with the role of the State educational authorities. We were convinced that there is a great need to strengthen both the State departments of education and the professional associations.

The State legislature—and this was our fifth recommendation dealing with decision-making—should set forth general goals for the schools, provide adequate financial support and delegate broad powers of implementation to the State and local educational authorities. It should not, however, prescribe curriculum content or legislate specific courses.

One of the more potent forces for accomplishing the ends which Professor Galbraith, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Reuther have so eloquently espoused here today would be the strengthening of what I would call the liaison organizations in American education, those in the mainstream of elementary, secondary, and college education—organizations like the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, the NCSPS, the NEA, and the Ford Foundation.

I might add that right here in the city of Washington there exists a tremendously rich laboratory for future education leaders. My own organization is hopeful that, in the not too distant future, it will be possible to have 30 or 50 bright young education leaders from each State come to Washington and use the Nation as their campus; because they would bring a breath of fresh air to the bureaucracies and because they would gain a better knowledge of themselves. And I would hope that the NCSPS, among other groups, would have such a bright young educator associated witht them, using their organization as a training laboratory.

Turning to research, innovation, and experimentation, let me point out first that, while industry spends 5 to 10 percent of its budget on research, education spends only one-tenth of 1 percent on it. Our committee recommended that not less than 1 percent of the educational budget should be devoted to research, and that this should start right away.

One of the essential elements in all this is the time needed by teachers for planning as distinct from teaching. When people advocate that the important thing is for the teacher to be with the youngsters all the time, it is as if General Motors took all of its research people and put them on the assembly line. The NCSPS should strongly support an instructional ratio for elementary schoolteachers comparable to that of their colleagues in higher education—12 to 15 hours a week with the children, 30 to 40 hours a week for research, planning, and evaluation and for taking care of one's liberal education, which frees one of ignorance, prejudice and academic provincialism.

Education could learn something from medicine in this respect. Just as the doctor "practices" medicine, the teacher should "practice" teaching. From the Newton, Mass., schools—where elementary schoolchildren went home at noon on Tuesdays and Thursdays—we got the idea that perhaps our teachers should have "Thursdays for thinking."

Another recommendation in this general research and experimentation area is that adequately staffed and supported regional curriculum and instruction centers should be encouraged. The committee proposed that there be established, very soon, at least four regional curriculum and instructional centers, in major universities around the country, working in cooperation with organizations such as the NCSPS. Personally, I would like to see one in every State, with at least 30 cooperating schools.

Furthermore, it is time for another study like the 8-year study of 30 schools conducted a generation or so ago. This time, perhaps 50 (or maybe even 1,500) experimental schools could take part, many of them attacking poverty problems in the big cities, while others focused on the cultural poverty in the rural areas.

The third question asked by the committee (and this is my favorite one) concerned the establishment of priorities for the school. This, of course, is the prime question for a citizens committee to address itself to. What are the distinctive responsibilities of the school, in contrast to those that are distinctive to the family, the church, industry, and various youth-serving agencies? Secondly, what responsibilities should the school share with other institutions and with other youth-serving agencies? What, then, should be included in the school program, and what should be excluded from it?

Certainly, what has been said this morning about the school being "the community center" is terribly important. The one-room school in which I first taught had been used, in those depression days (though perhaps they did not know why they were doing it), as a sort of community center. Maybe one should bring back some of the good educational values of such schools, where the 14-year-olds worked with the 6-year-olds, and so on.

In the matter of priorities, one has to decide what knowledge, what values, what skills our children and youth need to learn. Next, one must decide which of these the school can best contribute to and which can best be done outside of school; and, finally, which of the learnings requires joint responsibility.

In brief, the committee felt that reading was more important than cheer-leading—a startling point of view to all of you, I'm sure. You may recall that Mr. Hutchins, when challenged with having ended football at Chicago, admitted that this was one of his minor accomplishments and said to the committee before whom he was testifying, "You've convinced me. If I go back into higher education I'll support intercollegiate athletics, but we won't have football; we'll have racing stables. That way the jockeys can wear the school colors and the horses won't have to pass entrance examinations." [Laughter.]

Seriously—any decision on priorities must be made on a formula, in which the priority rating equals data, plus values, plus reality. The data come always from three sources: from the learner, from society, and from the field of study itself. The values have already been well stated by other speakers, but for every goal that a Board of Education, with community support, adopts, one must have support in the form of data, from the sources stated. One must also be able to support the priority by the values and, obviously, it must be in terms of the reality situation in the school. If the teaching of languages in, say, the fourth grade is supported by legislation but teachers are not available to teach it, we're in trouble.

Now these first three questions have been concerned with decisionmaking, research, and priorities. The fourth is concerned with content. In the physical sciences, taking the birth of Christ as the beginning of a time line, the first doubling of knowledge occurred in 1750, the second in 1900, the third in 1950, and the fourth only 10 years later, in 1960. This is not as true in the humanities and social sciences, of course.

What does this mean for the school program? Well, in my one-room school, I was always worried about covering content until I realized that I might be so busy covering content that I was not uncovering learning. It is now impossible to cover the content available; one has to select, and this involves delimiting the subject matter and controlling the methods of inquiry, the ways of knowing.

The problems of what to learn and how to learn it require a different approach today. We need to find ways to move from memorization of facts to discovery of facts; ways to help young students think as physicists think, as historians think, as artists think. One scholar puts it this way: the problem is one of moving from a rhetoric of conclusions to an experience in inquiry.

Our recommendations on content said, among other things, that the objectives of the schools, with a clear statement of priorities, should give direction to all curriculum planning, whether adding or eliminating content, or changing the emphases on various topics and fields of study. We suggested, too, that each curriculum area should be under continous study and evaluation and should be reviewed periodically; and that, in selecting content, school staffs should study the results and recommendations of curriculum projects sponsored by nationally oriented groups with a view to applying promising findings.

The next issue deals with organizing the school and the classrooms. The headline issues relate more to such questions as: What about the nongraded school? What about team teaching? What about instructional technology?

How should the school and the classroom be organized to make the most effective use of the time and talents of students and teachers. Here is where one's data sources really come out. You look at the learner and immediately recognize one key thing: that human variability demands alternatives.

The research has proved that in a given class of 30 fourth graders there are usually only about 4 really at that level. You have everything from prenatal to Ph. D. [Laughter.]

You recognize that the achievement spread is always the same as the year. If you say, "I teach third grade" the spread is 3 years. If you teach seventh grade the spread is two-thirds of the mean age of the group—eight. Any 7th grade teacher knows she has third graders and she has 11th graders. Human variability demands alternatives. I notice the New York City schools are now recommending the nongraded approach for their primary grades, but Dr. Goodlad, who wrote our report, "Planning and Organizing for Teaching" gave them some very good advice this week when he said, "You don't jump into nongrading until you do a little studying."

Our committee's recommendation was (and this is one of our most important recommendations, incidentally): the vertical organization of the schools should provide for the continuous—these are key words—the continuous unbroken, upward progression of all learners, with due recognition for the wide variability among them in every aspect of their development. The school organization should, therefore, provide for differentiated rates and means of progression toward achievement of educational goals. Nongrading and multigrading are, clearly, promising alternatives to the traditional graded school and should receive careful consideration.

I predict that when this national committee meets 10 years from now the graded school will be an interesting historical phenomenon. I also predict that colleges of education, as we have known them (and I'm very much in favor of colleges of education) will be interesting historical phenomena.

How do we feel about team teaching? Well, this is one of the things that really gets people excited. Some people endorse the self-contaminated—the self-contained—classroom as if it's motherhood. [Laughter.] Others say team teaching is nothing more than two or more teachers horsing around in the same classroom.

Our committee says: "The horizontal organization of the school should permit flexibility in assigning pupils to instructional groups that may range in size from 1 pupil to as many as 100 or more. Well-planned cooperative efforts among teachers—efforts such as team teaching—should be encouraged and tested."

My last point deals with a balanced program. With all the emphasis on mathematics and science, and on the technology which we need for survival, the question logically arises: why survive if you cannot lead a life of taste and grace? And certainly we've heard our speakers today testify eloquently about the great importance of the humanities; I think we probably need a national humanities foundation.

I think one of the greatest comments the late President Kennedy made was spoken at Amherst last October in honor of Robert Frost: "I look forward to an America which will not be afraid of grace and beauty, which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft, which will steadily enlarge cultural opportunities for all of our citizens."

I wish I had time to talk about educational space. You all realize that "the egg crates are breaking up" as Harold Gores, of the Educational Facilities Laboratories, says; that we don't want these buildings that look like boxes; we want flexibility and amenity. Let me quote from him as I close: "I think the directions in which we are going are from the group to the individual." There is maybe one other key phrase that I would like to have you remember. "In individually planned programs for learners, we are moving from memory to inquiry; moving from a spiritless climate to a zest for learning."

Do any of you remember the days when the principal's job was to keep the school quiet, sort of funereal? I'm sure when I go into a school that unless I hear one good belly laugh coming from some room at least once every half hour it's a poor school; just as I am sure that if I don't find "Horton Hatches the Egg" and "Charlotte's Web," it's a poor school.

I haven't time to talk about school libraries as I should, but it really frightens me when I see some elementary schools without excellent libraries. The libraries should be larger than the gymnasium, and they should be well staffed—and you should really be cross if you don't have excellent school libraries.

We are moving from the graded school to the nongraded school, from scheduled classes to appointments and independent learning. I understand that in most of your high schools now you've gotten rid of these schedules where groups exchange boxes.

We are moving from the school building use geared to an agrarian society—a 9-month-year limited to children—to a school building use reflecting urban society—a 12-month-year available to all age groups. I do not necessarily mean a longer school year for the youngsters. When I see the studies about some teachers spending 50 percent of their time scolding children I want to make sure we make better use of the time we now have.

We are moving from classrooms that are like kitchens—have you ever noticed: you go into a school and every room looks like a kitchen—to classrooms that are like libraries, living rooms.

We are moving from teaching as telling to teaching as guiding; moving from a teaching schedule of 30 hours a week with children in class and 15 hours for planning and correcting, to a schedule of 15 hours a week with children in class, 30 hours for research, planning, and development; in brief, to a teaching schedule which presumes that "Thursdays are for thinking." Thank you.

Innovations in Teaching and Learning

(By Neil V. Sullivan, superintendent, Prince Edward Free School Association, Prince Edward County, Va.)

I'm elated to be here with you today. When I was invited to come, several months ago, the committee offered to pay my expenses—from Virginia—and I thought this was excellent planning. However, I have been in Berkeley and Honolulu for the past few days, so the expenses are a little bit higher. [Laughter.]

Before acquainting you with all the concomitants of the Prince Edward free school situation, I think perhaps I should give you a brief run-through of my years in education.

I started out, as Mrs. Kohler said, in the Northeast—and what I found to be successful there, and what I found to be successful in the sophisticated suburbs of New York City, I found to be equally if not more effective in the very dichotomous situation which confronted me in the rural South.

My first years as a superintendent were happy ones. I was serving in an area of the

industrial Northeast where the family income was one of the highest in the United States. And then, suddenly, without warning—during a summer in which I was studying at Stanford—I read in the papers one morning that there had been a fast stock deal and the Burlington Mills had closed down. And that closed out good old Stanford, for me at least; and I stopped my studies to go home and find out what to do about rehabilitating a city where 4,000 mill workers were now out of work. This was 90 percent of the work community.

Of one thing I was sure, and that was that priorities had to be set up—and I wanted to make sure that the top priority was to be public education. This was a community where we had a dual school system. Just as many children were going to parochial schools as were going to the public schools. I was convinced that if we were to retrain these workers we had to have more money for public education, and more and better vocational schools and we had to keep these schools open around the clock, without a National Manpower Act. So, with the help of the chamber of commerce, and the clergy, and the board of education, we did assign priorities—and the top priority became public education.

And, surprisingly, during a period when over 90 percent of the people in this town were making no money, they voted more money for public schools. They built a new vocational education building and we changed from a college-oriented high school to a comprehensive high school. We made a major effort to keep these older boys (who normally would go to work when a father or mother are thrown out of work) in school. And we brought 21 new industries into the community—in a period of 24 months. And, once against, this community today can boast of one of the highest per capita incomes in the United States.

I moved from that situation to one of the marvelous suburbs of metropolitan New York, in Nassau County, where student achievement was average but capability was extremely high. And here again, with the help of the board of education, we set some educational priorities. Here, for the first time, large sums of money were assigned for research; and I was permitted to experiment and innovate; and we introduced many of the changes which Mr. Sand discussed with you earlier. In a period of 5 years, we took children and moved them from traditional levels to levels they had never expected to achieve. Many of our youngsters were entering fine colleges as sophomores rather than as freshmen.

More important, probably, was taxpayer satisfaction with the schools. Last year, for example, the school budget in this community was passed 990 to 90, and the tax rate had gone up faster, during the preceding 5-year period, than in any other community in Nassau County. During these same years, incidentally, a vast number—altogether too many—of the tax levies elsewhere in Nassau County were being defeated.

And this takes me to Prince Edward County where, in the summer of 1963, I was given 2 weeks to open the schools for 1,600 children. I soon realized that a combination of all the things that had worked in the Northeast and in the sophisticated New York suburbs should and could be brought to bear on the complex problems of this rural Virginia county.

This is truly a poverty-stricken area, whether or not it is so described by Walter Reuther or Sargent Shriver. These people were not only going to bed hungry but they were going to bed with many physical defects. And, unfortunately, they were not going to bed hungry and mad—but simply hungry and patient.

I knew that most of the children were undernourished, poorly clothed, and that they had all of the physical defects resulting from little or no medical help. The average family income was less than $1,600 a year. The State of Virginia had no compulsory school attendance law. The first problem—how can we make the school attractive to these children and hold them day after day?

We knew that they would have to be fed and clothed. We established one large central kitchen—we took advantage of every Federal dollar and all surplus equipment. Those children whose parents were employed were charged 15 cents for the full meal—all others were fed free. We are feeding 80 percent of these children free today. We made arrangements with northern school districts to conduct clothing drives. We outfitted every child. They looked good the first day on the TV cameras but one little boy told me that the shoes he was wearing were his "wedding" shoes that he wore on special occasions.

We used every medium of communication to reach the parents and brought community pressure on them, when necessary, to send and keep their children in school. Attendance officers were employed to visit the homes and, when a child was absent, to ascertain the reason why and do something about it. We made arrangements with the State Department of Health to have a full-time dentist assigned to our schools. He has been with us 3 months and, ladies and gentlemen, he's still spending 8 hours a day just pulling rotted teeth. Similar arrangements were made to assist the child with all of his problems associated with his physical condition. In the first few weeks of school we found many of the children were falling asleep. They fell asleep because they were hungry and undernourished.

Now we face up to the problem of the curriculum. We were to educate children who had been deprived of schooling for 4 long years. Most of them had lost whatever basic skills they had acquired. They were subdued by their physical isolation and had lost the ability to communicate. They were returning to society and knew not what to expect. We had to convince them that they were wanted—that they had the ability to be successful—that education was absolutely essential—that the program would be designed to meet their individual needs.

The first few weeks were spent in organizing the students into what we call "compatible groups." We did not use any grade designation. We found test scores—both intelligence and achievement—unreliable. One simple test question will reveal the plight of the Southern Negro child. He was asked to select from a paint brush, a hair brush, and a hatchet as to what he would use after he brushed his teeth in the morning. The child selected a hatchet because he chopped wood in the morning after he supposedly brushed his teeth. He didn't have a toothbrush. We had interage groups covering the 6- to 9-year-old groups, the 10 to 12, the 13 to 15, and the 16 and older groups. We had "compatible grouping" in the language arts and regrouped for science and mathematics—we regrouped again, this time on an age basis, for physical education, the fine and practical arts, health and family living.

The schedule was set for every child, beginning with the 6-year-old, so that he would have our most qualified reading teachers for reading—our most qualified mathematics and science teachers for mathematics and science. This meant that one team of teachers taught reading during the entire day. Every teacher was assigned a special field and was trained in that area. Consultants were brought in and special in-service courses were required of all teachers. Teacher aids were employed to carry out routine classroom assignments and the teacher was given extra time for planning her work. All teachers were asigned to a "team" and planned their work in a single area.

My experience as a superintendent had convinced me that few elementary teachers had the talent to be skillful and knowledgeable and successful in every field. They, therefore, tended to spend a disproportionate amount of time teaching the subject that they enjoyed and in which they felt comfortable. I wanted to make sure that every subject was covered in the free schools, and covered by a teacher who felt confident in the selected area and who possessed the unique skills required to teach the subject.

I know that some members of my staff were better prepared than other members. Was it fair to the children to give one group a superior teacher and another group the inferior teacher? Certainly not. We would all share the "top" teacher and all share the teacher with less than superior ability. We would, however, have teaching teams, whereby the superior teacher could help all teachers in a single area prepare, plan, and carry out assignments.

One of the great problems faced by boards of education today is merit pay and the organization to which I belong, and which Mr. Sand represents—the NEA—opposes merit pay for teachers. I have found, however, that paying team leaders, teachers of great experience, to work with young teachers is completely acceptable by the teaching group. It certainly was in Prince Edward County.

The children have reacted splendidly to the teaching teams. They enjoy having several teachers and our research indicates that this team arrangement has resulted in marked student achievement and high student morale. We were pleasantly surprised with the attitude of the 6-, 7-, and 8-year-old group who had several different teachers during the course of a single day. They responded equally well to our plan of having children in different groups for different subjects. We experienced no problems of having different age groups in a single class. The program was endorsed and accepted by the children because they felt comfortable in the group; because the work was always kept challenging; because each teacher was a specialist in her field and because they were successful.

The staff has also reacted positively. The arrangement was not completely new for seccondary teachers. The elementary teachers have indicated that teaching special areas exclusively is much more demanding physically and mentally because they have no time to relax. They report that they were able, in a traditional organization, to ease off during social studies or art and music. They were unanimous in reporting that they were teaching more children more effectively than they ever had before and that there was more teacher satisfaction with their new roles.

The program we designed, and recommend, is more demanding of a classroom teacher and this is one reason why teacher aids are essential in this new program. It is also necessary to have sufficient clerical help available. Teachers should not be expected to mimeograph, ditto, make out hot-lunch reports, and handle the other picayune responsibilities which are necessary, but which can be carried out expeditiously by a clerk. Teachers must be freed to teach. This is a full-time responsibility and we must not permit minor clerical details to interfere with the teachers' major assignments.

The nongraded concept was accepted quickly by the staff. We had to develop a design that was completely flexible and would permit a child to be reassigned to another group if he was moving at a different rate than the majority. We didn't wait for the end of the year or the end of the semester. He just picked up his little ole chair and moved to a different group. Many different textbooks were used with each group. No ends were fixed. We encouraged use

of library materials other than encyclopedias. Major emphasis was placed on reading. If a group was not making normal reading progress, we doubled the amount of time they were spending on the subject; their classes were reduced in size; when necessary, they were given tutorial help.

We urged the staff to avoid "rote assignments." We encouraged every teacher to plan work which would require a creative student response. Questions requiring a "yes" or "no" answer were discouraged. Special attention was given to the use of audiovisual equipment and educational films were presented daily. Every type of activity was planned and used in an effort to stimulate student response.

The youngsters were culturally deprived and we focused our attention on this problem. The school day was lengthened and late buses operated for Negro children in Virginia for the first time.

The school was opened on Saturday and Sunday. Cultural programs were presented during the week and again on Sunday afternoons. The theater in the community was not available to the children or their parents so we arranged a special movie night for parents during the middle of the week and a family movie night on Friday or Saturday. We had an integrated theater.

Field trips in the community were required. They had conducted tours of the U.S. post office, the fire station, the county courthouse.

Field trips on weekends were encouraged. Most of our students had never been to Richmond, the State capital, and others had never been as far away from home as the county seat in Farmville. We planned trips to these areas and to all cultural and historic sites in Virginia. Over 90 percent of the children had never been 25 miles away to Appomattox. And none of them had ever been to Monticello, the birthplace of freedom through Jefferson and Monroe and Adams and Marshall; it has not, incidentally, been the birthplace of freedom for the Negro children I have been working with this year.

Television sets were placed in most classrooms and the children participated in an educational television program for 1 hour a day with emphasis on art and community living. Maximum use was made of teaching machines.

We built up our school libraries. We found the school libraries pleasant rooms but when we went in there, we had to dust the cobwebs off the first thing. And if the schools were "separate and equal" I wonder what the white schools must have been like because the schools I opened did not have textbooks nor supplies, and the libraries did not have even one volume backing up one child. Today, we boast of libraries equaling minimum standards recommended by the American Library Association. We built up a record library and encouraged the students to listen to good music. We helped each child build a home library and each child was given a dictionary. One book we found in most of the homes was the family Bible. Often it was the only book we found. The children were not only encouraged to read, they were required to read.

We arranged to have our students visit northern metropolitan communities, where they attended integrated schools, visited museums and cultural centers, and participated in athletic and social events.

The high school curriculum was designed to meet individual needs. Local college students worked with students requiring special help. We found the white students at Hampden-Sydney and Longwood College anxious to help and they gave their time willingly to help individual students.

The older students who could not go to college spent one-half of their day in a vocational area, and the remainder of the day studying language arts.

The youngster, who was of college potential—and we found 9 of them among the 23 students in the 18-year-old group—received special attention. Guidance personnel worked on an intimate basis with these students and helped them in an effort to receive needed scholarship assistance. Nine of them will be entering college this year.

The parents were encouraged to visit schools, and an active parent-teacher group was formed. We asked and received their help in supervising special activities. We used the local radio station to discuss pertinent subjects with them. We received the cooperation of some local merchants and used their windows to display student work. We invited the entire community to attend all school activities. We communicated almost daily with the parents.

The student was happy in school, because his needs were being met and embarrassing situations were avoided. We provided all children with free textbooks, unique in Virginia, and free supplies. He was provided with a noon meal. Clothing was made available. He succeeded in school, because he worked in a compatible group, and the work was kept challenging. He did not repeat material. He knew he would be moved ahead immediately if he had the ability.

Emphasis was placed on creative activities. A modern dance group was formed, dramatic clubs, rich art activities, music groups, and literary experience provided.

In order to get the job done properly it is necessary to have a qualified staff. I found it difficult to do this in the most sophisticated northern community. I found it difficult in Long Island. It is even more difficult in deprived areas. I had success in Prince Edward County, because I was able to bring together a group of dedicated professionals from the North, South, East, and West who represented all races and religions. No one section can lay claim to all the good teachers. The South, unfortunately, has not been able to train enough people properly. Eli Ginsberg cogently describes the problem as follows: "In terms of formal education qualifications, Negro teachers in many parts of the South are at least as well prepared as white teachers. On the average, however, Negro teachers are much less able than white teachers in spite of the fact that they have had about the same amount of formal education. Like other young Negroes, those preparing to teach are usually handicapped by poor schools and deprived backgrounds." As a result, many southern public school teachers are ill-equipped to meet the needs of the deserving youngsters found in their classrooms. I strongly recommend that northern teachers, both white and Negro, be employed in the South and team arrangements, similar to those used in the free schools of Prince Edward County, be followed. This is a recommendation that would be only a stopgap arrangement. In the long run we must work to improve conditions in all southern schools beginning in grade 1. Attention must be given at the college and university level, but we cannot spend our time improving the top of the mountain and ignoring the roads at the foothills.

I further recommend interracial faculties working in fully integrated schools. It will take time before we have fully integrated schools but my daily experience indicates that northern teachers are anxious to teach in the South. They must not be denied this opportunity. Fair employment practices dictate that a qualified person, regardless of color, must be permitted to teach in southern schools, or any school, regardless of location. Not only will their presence raise the level of teaching but it will go a long way toward the elimination of the unfortunate image which most southern Negro children have of their white brothers and sisters. The children of Prince Edward County—and their teachers—lost the color concept once they were initimately exposed to one another. This rich, rewarding experience enjoyed by me and my staff is something that I would recommend for all Americans.

In conclusion I would make the following recommendations.

Textbooks and supplies must be free in every public school in the United States.

Food and clothing must be available to every child.

A flexible nongraded type of organization designed to meet individual needs must be mandatory in every community.

Attention must be given to general improvement of education at every level in the South. The colleges preparing teachers must improve their curricula but elementary and secondary school programs must also be improved. Proper teacher-pupil ratios must be maintained at all levels.

There must be strong legislation requiring school attendance of every person to the age of 16 or through completion of high school. It is rather ironic that, yesterday I left Berkeley, Calif., where children are required to study in school until they are 18 years of age and I return to Virginia tonight where no one has to go to school at all. And is this one of the reasons why, in the election of 1960 in the West where compulsory attendance was high, we had close to 90 percent of the people voting and in Virginia, the birthplace of freedom, fewer than 33 percent of the eligible voters voted. I merely raise the question.

Proper treatment of the Negro and his culture must be given by our textbook publishers. He must stop reading textbooks about the middle-class privileged American. Pictures of Negro children, pictures of their environment as well as pictures of children of other races, must be found in beginning reading books and in other appropriate places in the textbooks used by our children.

Area schools must be built providing education for the mentally and physically handicapped. We had Robert Kennedy with us last week and he was elated to discover that we have three classes for mentally retarded children. These schools are really a living memorial to his late brother—and being able to do something with the mentally retarded children, I am sure, is one thing that would have pleased John F. Kennedy.

Area schools must be built providing broad opportunities in vocational education.

Children with college ability must be provided an opportunity to attend college.

Inservice courses must be designed to improve the ability of teachers to deal with special education problems.

Federal and State help should be available to all communities where local initiative is high but ability to support public education is low.

School districts must be encouraged to share the services of specialists so that groups such as the emotionally disturbed are properly treated.

Adult education courses should be available.

School buildings should be kept open during the entire week and entire year. They should be used as centers of community activities. The free schools of Prince Edward County will not close until August 31. They will be open all summer.

In conclusion, our greatest strength as a nation lies in the skills and abilities of our people. Our greatness as a nation will never be fully realized as long as we neglect educating large segments of our population. The standards of all citizens will be raised when we raise the level of our socially and economically deprived. We must bring the newest successful techniques used in our best school systems into our poorest school systems. Our most talented people must be encouraged and permitted to work in all school systems. Finally, we must all join together and truly become not our brother's keeper but we must become our brother's brother.

THE COST OF QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

(By Frank Pace, Jr., independent consultant)

I think the first duty of a speaker is to put himself in perspective with his audience. Now, I am associated here with men who have spent a lifetime mainly in the field of education. I have only been exposed to it on the fringe, but I think you can probably get the best picture of my competence if you will go back with me to the day when I was Director of the Budget and my daughter was pressing me to help her with her math problems.

For a Director of the Budget, of course, this was a very simple thing to do so I sat down with her to solve her problems. At 7:30 I had my coat off, at 8:30 I had my sleeves rolled up, by 9 o'clock my shirt was off, and at 9:30 I had them solved.

I came home a little early the next evening and said, "Well, what did the teacher say about your work?" She said, "Well, dad, I regret to tell you but we had three wrong." My face fell and she said, "But you shouldn't feel badly, because the teacher said those weren't really fourth grade problems; they were fifth grade problems." [Laughter.]

Item No. 2 in terms of my qualifications: Mrs. Pace said to me, "You are Director of the Budget and we have these two daughters; they ought to know how the Government of the United States functions. You know about what is happening. Sit down and tell them."

I said, "They are too young." Well, you know how families are—I sat down to explain the Government to my daughters. [Laughter.] I went through the executive branch, the legislative branch, the Supreme Court and I found to my amazement that they didn't kick each other, and they didn't kick me. I thought, "She's probably right. I am getting this across here."

I asked, "Are there any questions?" One said, "Tell me, is President Truman a boy or a girl?" [Laughter.] I think I have adequately established my qualifications to speak to you on this subject. Mind you, the first 16 years were with the Government in a variety of activities and the last 10 in the world of business, so I speak from both points of view and bring to you, hopefully, a perspective on what I see might happen in this field if we address ourselves adequately to the task.

I feel a little cheated because I would like to have heard more from my two fellow speakers. They pushed to get through, and we were denied the privilege of having their thinking in depth.

I come to this meeting without prior association. What you seek to do in the committee is of compelling importance, and you are seeking to do it in the right way. You are arranging to let the people know what the problem is and then relying on them to do something about it.

I remember a quote that always interested me by a former Prime Minister of Pakistan who said, "Democracy without education is hypocrisy without limitation." It's well worth rolling over on your tongue, because, while we have good education, it is the improvement of the quality of our education that will be the sustinance of our democracy.

So what I intend to do is to take, very quickly, six premises, develop them, and out of it will come, hopefully, a sense of where public education might move.

The first premise is probably best stated by Well's oft-quoted statement that human history is more and more a race between education and catastrophe. It's a quote that sort of rolls off the tongue a little too quickly and I think we need to examine it because it's not only meaningful, it's compelling.

It is my personal belief that the improvement of the quality of our education is the basis both for world leadership and for survival because I think the two are probably synonymous. I would like to develop that premise by saying that in my judgment achievement of world leadership, and retention of it in the future, is going to depend largely upon our capacity to do three things, all of which depend in one way or another on the improvement of our educational process.

The first is a strong and sustained defense. The second is a competitive, growing economy. The third is internal self-discipline and the capacity for moral leadership.

Let me explain to you why I think education is compelling in each of these cases. It takes a knowledgeable people to accept the burdens of taxation in support of our substantial defense program, when clearly other nations do not bear the burden to the same degree.

It takes an even more knowledgeable population to support the research and development and hardware which will insure our continuing superiority. Only by constantly improving education can we be sure that this pillar will remain secure.

As for the second pillar—that of a competitive economy and a growing one—I recently traveled on a very interesting assignment to almost all the capitals of the world. I wish I had time to tell you the nature of my work. I met with key people in each country. Among these were top businessmen—both natives of the country to which I went, and American businessmen.

In trying to assess where the difference lay between our capacity to remain ahead in the competitive field of free enterprise, I found it lay principally in three areas. First, we were far ahead in the field of middle management; that's the junior executive, foreman, supervisor type.

Second, we were well ahead in the field of commercial research and, third, we were well ahead in the field of entrepreneurship.

It is interesting to note that each of these reflects the quality of our education. Because when you touch, let us say, on commercial research, it relates to the size of the pool of trained scientists, physicists, engineers on which industry has to draw that permits us to remain ahead.

When you talk of middle management, it is again the number of educated men from whom industry can select as well as their subsequent training that allows us to retain leadership.

Thirdly, there is no question but that the breadth of our exposure to the educational process is generating the man who is willing to take the chance, the entrepreneur. It is not just what you learn in the classroom, but the freedom and lack of regimentation in our public schools.

I talked to an American businessman now working in Argentina. I said, "How about the schools here, as compared with your own in California?" He said, "Frank, I think they get a little better quality of education here in the schools to which my children go, but I think of those kids in blue jeans back in the States, wandering home under their own steam, doing things a little differently—that's what makes them grow up with the capacity to be an individual."

These are the things in our system, together with a sound program of law, that have permitted us to encourage the individual to drive ahead and have permitted us to remain a leader in this field.

Finally, on self-discipline and moral leadership: a free society has no imposed discipline. Therefore, the requirement for self-discipline is infinitely greater and if we are to provide moral leadership for the world, we must do the things that we ask others to do.

And so it is my hope, and possibly my belief, that whereas the twenties was the era of the salesman, the thirties and forties the era of the production man, the fifties and sixties the era of the scientist, it may be that the seventies, eighties, and nineties may be the era of the local leader—the minister, the teacher—the man and woman to whom the moral progress of the community is above the dollar.

Hopefully so, because to the teacher, far more than money, acceptance as an essential cog in the survival of this Nation is a compelling factor.

Now let me move on to premise No. 2. That is that there is a clear correlation between money spent on education and improvement in education. I won't document it because the NEA has done so, I think, very abstractly and very thoughtfully, running back over the studies as far back as 1920 to identify the fact that where you spend more money you generate better education.

This, as you all know, has dangers as well as benefits, because recognizing that money is a sine qua non, we are likely to make it the primary, and in some cases the only, requirement. Not only is that dangerous internally, but externally; the thought that what we seek to do is solely to get more money is the sort of thing that constitutes a block toward the real support that is needed.

I think it is fair to say that we have to recognize that we have to use existing funds and facilities more effectively. I cite you the case of the oil companies in this country. For 5 years the price of crude has gone down. The standard for returns has been less each year. They've made more money each year because they've examined themselves in a tough, hard, tight fashion and have produced a better result.

I don't think there's a man or woman here today who would gainsay me that we need to do a better job internally. We need to use our plant better. We need to use our teachers better. We need to orient our administration more effectively. We need to ascertain a predetermined goal of the end product we desire which may permit us to reduce the time requirements upon the student, which in the long run mean dollar reduction.

Doing these things, coming into equity with clean hands, we not only serve the educational process but when we approach those segments of the population whose support we need, I think they will lend a more tolerant ear.

The third premise is that at this stage in history there is in this country a vast reservoir of competence that needs to be tapped in terms of providing better education without the additional expenditure of dollars.

I refer to the fact that, as usual, it is the young who show the way. I happen to know about this through my oldest daughter, who told me 2 years ago that she would not stand for vice president in her class because she wanted to tutor two children in the public school system in Philadelphia.

I was not aware at that time of the innate wisdom of her decision, but I followed her through her junior year, in which she and another girl worked on the tutorial project, and now in her college 50 girls are doing this work. I gather from an editorial in the New York Times that this is not uncommon throughout the United States, this do-it-yourself business. Sure, they'll do it wrong; they'll make mistakes, they won't quite fit the approved pattern, but they are out there making a contribution.

I think the thing that meant most to me was that Paula said, "Daddy, the big gainer is I. It's I who've learned more. I've learned more about my America. I've learned more about human heings, I've learned more about social requirements."

This is the sort of thing that is beginning to happen. I find in my own university of Princeton that this summer, for the first time, they are going to use the facilities to instruct 40 young men who are designated

by their school districts to come there to be upgraded so that they might qualify later for a university education. A number of professors will stay on. Nine members of the junior class will volunteer their time. So this just isn't an educational project but the growth that comes through human association.

The same thing is happening on a broader basis at Antioch where, for the first time, they are bringing in young Negro men and women for summer study, because the college believes that while it has accepted all of the applications that met the criteria of the college there just were not enough qualified applicants.

So the young have led the way, and I have a notion that as we get more leisure time, as people begin thoughtfully to assess the utilization of this extra time, that it isn't just going to be golf courses or tennis courts or football or baseball but a reaching to understand and support the fundamentals of America. If we are wise enough to make our people understand how exciting is the process of improving our educational system, it may be a basis for a giant stride forward. So I say to you that the times are propitious, and now we need to assess what is needed to excite this particular group.

My fourth premise is that expenditures of one-tenth of 1 percent for basic research in education is incredible. No business could survive on this basis. I think that the time is ripe for the kind of explosion in educational research and development that occurred in the physical sciences.

I think—and I will specify why—that hand in hand with the do-it-yourself operation must go the improvement of research and development. The foundations, which have done a remarkable job, experimenting for over 10 years have been in the research and development field.

Ideals and programs have been tested in the human laboratory that are now ready to come out for functional use, not ideas that have been dreamed up but programs that have been tested practically, that teachers have tried out and that are ready to work.

You heard a remarkable exposé of what the teachers themselves are doing through the NEA in research. These are the things that can spark an explosion. The schools of education—I serve on the visiting board at Stanford—have made remarkable progress in the whole field of teaching.

As I look at what Stanford presented to our board 3 years ago and what they came up with this spring, it constitutes a whole new order of magnitude: sound criteria, real capacity for self-evaluation.

There has been extensive testing in the technical field. I remember 5 years ago teaching machines were going to solve the whole problem. The profession said, "They have a part to play. They have to be identified. They have to be incorporated into the system. Let's test them. They are not the whole answer." Said the critics, "These are the bureaucrats; these are the diehards; these are the restrainers of progress."

But these cautious voices were sound, and the testing has been done. It has been done in a very practical way. And now, for the first time, we are in a position to reach out and take advantage of these methods of assistance that free the teacher to do the job that needs to be done. But this needs to be pressed and constantly supported.

There are other areas that are just beginning to come into focus: preschool training—all men certainly aren't created equal, all men don't enter school on an equal basis. Preschool training undertakes to see that, not only do they go to school equally prepared, but that they continue with an equal opportunity throughout the course of their school years. We are feeling our way in this area, but we know that the opportunity is there. So I say to you that here lies another opportunity that can be achieved without substantial monetary expenditure which can bring about an exciting revolution in the whole field of education.

Finally, premise No. 5 is that there are major segments of the population that are becoming aware of the critical importance of education in our national life. I refer first to politics. I have traveled recently to maybe 10 States, stayed in small towns, and I was amazed to see how many of the candidates were talking about education, about what they were going to do for education.

In a country that has given to its citizens more control over the education process than any country in history, this is one way to see that the story is told. Once the issue of the correctness of our educational approach is put before the people in the political arena, it commands general attention. The facts are not always accurately stated, but the importance is established.

In business, which by and large will not contribute directly to public education, there is a greater willingness to contribute to groups which are trying to improve the status of public education. In addition, business is honestly urging their young men to participate in the educational process, in the public educational process, both from the point of view of what it does for the business, and what it does for its employees as part of the understanding of their broad stake in America.

Today, in the unions, there is a recognition that possibly they have the greatest stake of all in public education. It was a pretty exciting thing to read in the New York Times yesterday morning that, for the first time in collective bargaining, they had included an educational fund; and that here, through the process of collective bargaining by two opposing factions, it was recognized on both sides that education was an area in which advance was needed. Thus, major segments of our population are recognizing the importance of education.

The final premise is that we come to a period in which great things can be done. Shakespeare, in "Julius Caesar," said, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, if taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. * * *" And for education, this is the time.

There is no question but that time can run out. But the signs and portents are propitious. If we take and mould and spark these series of related opportunities which are coming into existence at the same time; if we create a recognition that survival itself depends upon not doing it a little better slowly but doing it a lot better quickly; if we recognize that the marvels of science are limited compared to the marvels of education, then this may be the great opportunity both for America and for education.

I like to think, you know, of that remarkable statement that Toynbee made, because it rather fits my own sense of what can be done. He said, "You know, a historian looking at these United States of America 300 years from now might say that the greatest thing in this century was not that we fought three great wars, not that we created marvels of transportation and communication, unheard of in history, not that medical miracles like Salk vaccine came in our time, not even the tremendous implications that come with the splitting of the atom both for peace and for war, but that this century might be remembered as the time when mankind spread the benefits of their civilization to all men."

This can only come in an educated America. Believe me, without the spark we will lose both the capacity for world leadership and survival. This can't be done just with money. Money is an ingredient, but if it becomes the banner, the war cry, we won't carry the day.

However, if we tie it to bettering ourselves, using our talents, recognizing our opportunity, in my estimation this can be the golden age of American education.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DISCUSSION

(Presiding: Mrs. Mary Conway Kohler)

MEMBER (to Dr. Sullivan). What were your criteria for choosing teachers?

Dr. SULLIVAN. We interviewed some 300 to 400 teacher applicants but, unfortunately, many of these people seemed to be coming to the county to solve personal problems. There simply were not many qualified teachers, and there were very few Virginia teachers—very few southern teachers. So, ultimately, we decided we would take any teacher who had a degree, a compatible personality, and wanted to give it a try.

MEMBER. With regard to lack of available teachers, generally, throughout the country, does the panel believe that others than professional teachers might be of help in the classroom?

Dr. SAND. * * * I believe we ought to utilize all our human and material resources, still remembering that we must have at the center this person who is a professional teacher. I think schoolmen, scholars, and workmen, all together, have an important role to play.

Dr. SULLIVAN. I agree completely. * * * I think the schools will have to recruit these people. * * * It is a selling job in the community, and you work on this all the time. You bring in competent men and women with the available time. * * * You turn to places like Antioch and Northeastern University and you bring these young people into the schools. They have many different titles—I call them teacher's aids. Certainly we are not training enough professional teachers to get the job done.

Mr. PACE. * * * Our problem is to recognize that the educational resource is equally as important as, let's say, the scientific resource. We have to direct the interest of top Government, top business, top union, and top citizens to what is a problem well beyond either the capacity or the requirements of the professional teacher.

Dr. SULLIVAN. It's interesting to note that the State of New York, in common with some other States, has legislation prohibiting what is being proposed here. For instance, in New York State, you cannot have a lay man or woman supervise a cafeteria; a professional person has to be there at all times. I think this is carrying the rule altogether too far. I want the professional person in the classroom, but I would be very happy to have competent adult supervision of playgrounds, corridors, cafeterias, and so forth.

MEMBER. * * * The biggest conflict (in my New York suburb) has to do with how the school dollar income is going to be spent. * * * The educators, I find, are unable to convey the sense of direction and urgency about education to the people responsible for allocating the necessary funds. * * * We have got to get to the point where a man like myself, and others present here, can go back to our communities and have a bill of goods to sell. And it cannot be a bill of goods based on the techniques of educators. * * * I am sorry to disagree with Mr. Pace: the dollar is the criterion, and it will be as long as you have to go to your communities on the subject.

Mrs. KOHLER. I don't think you meant to imply that it is "either/or" but that you, as a grassroots person, have to have some practical help.

MEMBER. It is "either/or." As Mr. Reuther said, they will vote the sewer in, but they won't vote for the school project.

Mr. PACE. * * * There are very real reasons for contributing the dollar; however, if you make the dollar the only factor that you ask for, if you do not generate some capacity for

self-improvement, if you do not go to the businessmen in your community and say, we are undertaking to run this business within the limitations we have, you are not going to get the dollars. Maybe you aren't going to get them anyway, but if you're going to try, you'll have to do it through this route.

DAVID SCOLL. * * * The direct power of the taxpayer is always felt on the budget of the schools. To the extent that local councils are overlapping, with services that might be performed more efficiently so that money can be saved to put into education, this is an area that all our members—and the people in the various communities—can certainly take a look at and be effective in. * * * The nub of the political point is this: how you use the community tax dollar, and how much you use for education as against the other services, making sure that you have as much efficiency in the use of the tax dollar for other community services as you do in the use of the school dollar.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

(By Herbert L. Block, cartoonist, the Washington Post)

I want to thank Dr. Harold Taylor for his very kind and warm introduction. If I were smart I would quit now, while I'm ahead, and sit down and let somebody else do this. But I was asked to do a little talking along with the chairmanship.

At this dinner of the Conference on Education and Poverty, the original idea was to serve a simple meal of bread and water with a few food stamps on the side. [Laughter.] This proposal was frowned upon by the Mayflower, but it is evident that today's meetings got the message across anyhow, because I noticed that when dinner was served several delegates fell to their knees and grasped the waiter's hands and said, "Bless you, sir." [Laughter.]

This evening it is going to be my happy chore to introduce some speakers who need no introduction, but I'm supposed first of all to stand here and filibuster for a while [laughter] as you hunger and thirst for the speaking goodies that are to come.

Let me start by telling you how I happen to be here. I heard first from Dr. Taylor, who didn't have to do any arm twisting, or even any telephone cord twisting to persuade me to come, but I received also a phone call from Agnes Meyer, and her word is my command. [Laughter.]

Mrs. Meyer is a one-woman Army, and if General Bradley had had her in Europe he could have released at least two or three divisions for service elsewhere. [Laughter.] Fortunately, she has devoted herself, instead, to a unique and irreplaceable role in fighting ignorance and prejudice and squalor and injustice. She was a field general in the war against poverty long before any government official proclaimed that war or gave it a name. [Applause.]

Now, I hope she won't mind my telling you about an infirmity of which she has told me. On one of her days when she began by flying up to New York to deliver a speech and flying back to testify before a congressional committee, and then beating out a deadline on a magazine article in the afternoon, and attending a meeting afterward, we had dinner and went to a benefit concert. [Laughter.]

After we returned to her home about 11 o'clock, we talked about the state of the world and finally she lowered her voice and looked around and leaned forward and confided to me that she was worried about herself because, after a routine day like that, sometimes she felt a little tired. [Laughter.]

After having tried to keep up with her for part of that day I had just enough breath and energy left to say, "Mrs. Meyer, that's too bad. Maybe you should take some vitamin pills or something." I urged her to go upstairs and get some rest at once while I tottered to the door and fell into a taxicab in a small heap—and she went upstairs to dash off a few letters.

Mrs. Meyer is the greatest practitioner of adult education in America. Besides being concerned about how the other half lives, she prods the more fortunate half into doing something about it. She founded this organization because she has done so much for so many: for liberties, for rights, for the arts, for younger people and for the U.S.A., generally. I am delighted to have this chance publicly to express my great admiration and affection for that girl, and I wish she would please stand up for a moment and receive our applause. [Sustained applause.]

The three distinguished men from whom you will hear a little later are at present here as exhibits of the finest products of our public schools. All three of them have been teachers as well. My role is somewhat different. I am here as an example and proof of the vitality of the public school system, particularly the Chicago public school system which, for some 11 or 12 years, survived my attendance as a student, and as a cartoonist and writer on school papers. [Laughter.]

Whenever a public official worries about the press, he can be comforted by knowing that his anguish is shared by faculty advisers of school papers all over the country, whose faith in a free press is constantly tested as they lie awake nights wondering what a bunch of teenagers with a printing press is going to do next.

Mrs. Meyer and Dr. Taylor suggested that I talk some about my own public school experiences, and the first thing that came to mind was something I heard the other day about a boy who came home and told his father, "Dad, you've been invited to a small PTA meeting this evening." His father said, "What do you mean, a small parent-teachers meeting?" The boy said, "You and me and the principal." [Laughter.]

Now in my time the PTA had not yet reached full flower, but I think there were the beginnings of it in what were called Parents' Nights, or a kind of open house evening at school. These occasions I generally neglected to tell my parents about until they were over. I usually found some peachy movie to tell them about on the nights when these things were taking place. Without having, at that time, learned much about government or diplomacy or anything of that sort, I did have a certain basic idea that parents, fine as they were, represented authority and that teachers, however good, also represented authority, and that a coalescing of these forces might result in a combination of power too great for the general welfare of one little kid. [Laughter.]

I think one reason I discouraged my parents from visiting school was because of the practice, which is probably still current, of emblazoning on the blackboard of each room a large honor roll of students who were very good to excellent in every subject. These honor rolls were usually done with drawings of scrolls, sunbursts, eagles, stars and whatnot, in six colors of chalk. If they had had neon tubing then, they would have used that.

So it would have been impossible for my parents to walk into that schoolroom without having seen this blackboard technicolor spectacular, or to have avoided noticing that their boy's name not only did not lead all the rest but seldom appeared on that angelic list at all.

I might add that those of us who devoted our modest drawing abilities to drawing cartoons and posters and things like that regarded the students who contributed their artistic talents to these illuminated honor rolls as a bunch of fakes who betrayed their schoolmates and prostituted their art. [Laughter.]

There have been many changes since then and today's meetings between parents and teachers are more frequent, more helpful and, I think, less fearsome to all concerned, including the parents and teachers. As for report cards, I don't know what terms are used now, but if a term like "group adjustment" is something of a euphemism, it is, for the student at least, an infinite improvement over the dreaded word "deportment," which was so easy to understand and on which the grades were sometimes so hard to explain. [Laughter.]

Now, having told you about the usual fears of my generation of schoolchildren, let me add that I found also in the public schools great enjoyment in the companionship, in the stimulation of classwork and many of the teachers, and particularly in the activities on the school publications where I, like so many others in journalism, got started and got a chance to see my stuff in print for the first time.

The fact is that in a day when it was customary, in cartoons and writing, to depict stereotype schoolchildren as hating school and loathing teachers (which was possibly a holdover from the old days of nearby swimming holes and hickory-stick teaching) at that time, I felt a little guilty about the fact that I really liked school.

Well, thanks to people like yourselves, we have come a long way from the days when schools were regarded, even in popular mythology, as dreaded places and now have recognized the need for them as, often, the only bright and hopeful spots in what might otherwise be areas of complete blight, and lives of utter squalor.

I was interested in your recent report, "The Businessman Looks at the Schools," which shows how you've provoked new thinking and new interest in education among many influential laymen. However, I notice that there are always a few who don't get the word. In looking over some of the comments that were sent in I couldn't help pausing at the comment of one signed, Aircraft Company Executive, who is probably working constantly for faster jetplanes and who says of school progress, "Granted progress is slow, but I feel this is proper."

Among those anonymous notes there was also one from president, power company, who fears "the schools are moving too far away from basics and fundamentals, resulting in too heavy a financial burden" and that we should eliminate the frills and save money by "getting back to the little red schoolhouse."

This fellow is right out of an executive coloring book. [Laughter.] To all the gold we would save by getting back to the little red schoolhouses, we could add a few billions more to build big grey jails, reformatories, and workhouses—and color the future black. The future is brighter, however, for the work that you and others have done even in the bleakest areas.

We have only to consider Prince Edward County, Va., about which Dr. Sullivan spoke to you today, where the public schools were closed for over 4 years. No one can read or hear of that experience without knowing what school means to children today. Newspaper reporters here who went to Prince Edward when the free schools were opened, with the aid of the Federal Government and private agencies, found families where the children were so excited they couldn't sleep the night before. They found some of the children (children up to 9, 10, and 11 years of age) up at dawn dressed in their meager best awaiting the supreme moment of their lives, the chance to enter a schoolroom.

Let me say that whatever opinions I express here are my own. They are not those of your organization, which is interested only in the promotion of education in general, nor of your dinner committee or anyone else. I say that because I cannot resist telling you

that, in my opinion, the closing of those schools in Virginia—this taking it out on the humblest and poorest children by politicians, the taking out by them of their hatred of the Federal court was to my mind one of the most wanton and cruel acts ever performed by any political machine in the history of this country. [Applause.]

Reading about the children down there who proudly recited in those Prince Edward Schools recalled a couple of recitations of my own schooldays. One was the Preamble to the Constitution, in which we lifted our voices to "establish justice and insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare." Well, we were just kids. We didn't realize what we were saying. We didn't know 'til years later that "welfare" was a dirty word.

The result was that a lot of us never got over the idea that the founders meant what they said and that the business of government is to promote the general welfare, which is never promoted better than through public education.

Another thing we recited was a pledge of allegiance to the flag "and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Since then, this pledge has been amended, and awkwardly, in a couple of ways, notably to say, "One Nation, under God, indivisible." In our earlier day we thought that the original form was all right. We didn't mean any harm. We didn't know that God might get sore and strike us all dead for failing to give Him a plug in that pledge. We didn't even know that He needed the publicity [laughter] or that He needed all of us to remind Him daily that our territory came under His jurisdiction.

We needn't stop with the couple of changes that have already been made in that pledge. There is no reason to let the kids get away with a simple declaration, "I pledge allegiance." This could be changed to, "I, Johnny Jones, who am not now and never have been a member of any subversive organization * * *." [Laughter.] The word "Republic" is OK, and that can stand, because the Birchers say it's a Republic and not a democracy; but with some States righters the word "indivisible" may have to go.

And, at the conclusion, the words "with liberty and justice for all' might be followed by some reservations to explain that this doesn't necessarily include all those of a certain race or color, or those too poor to afford education, or bail, or legal fees and so on. In time sufficient amendments might be added to this pledge to eliminate any possible loopholes, along with eliminating the original cadence and simple beauty and meaning it used to have.

But the current big effort is not to amend the pledge, but to amend the Constitution itself to provide for praper in the public schools. This effort is supported by many sincere and devoted people—but also by a number of others of more questionable motives.

I envy those Congressmen who are on such intimate terms with God that they know all about Him—about what denomination He belongs to, what He wants done and how He wants to be prayed to, and are going to save Him by putting Him in the public schools. This is very generous of them. They are busy and important men, but not too busy to give God a great big hand and show how they can help put Him across.

But I can't help noting that many of the Congressmen who are hellbent for religion in the schools have never been much for education in the public schools. [Laughter.] Many of these pious politicians have never been much concerned about children on part-time education, or less, or about children being denied educational opportunities at all. But to hear them weep and carry on about how the children are being, as they put it, "denied the right to pray" you would think all the homes and churches and Sunday schools had been closed and the kids were in school on a 24-hour-a-day schedule under lock and key.

The fact is that if the Government were to propose that, through tax-supported public schools, it wanted to take over responsibility for all of children's needs and beliefs, these same Congressman would be the first to cry "totalitarianism" or "communism."

Still speaking only for myself, I think there are also some today who cry out about the need for religion in the schools who have done a switch on the biblical idea that God created man in His own image. There are demigods who have created a god in their own image, a white god filled with hatred for a Supreme Court, not only because it stands for freedom of religion, but primarily because it stands for free and equal education, and I don't think most Americans believe in a god who is inspired by shabby political campaigns.

By now you may have gathered I am opposed to religion in the public schools, and I am. But for those who feel that there should be some form of religious observance, the best suggestion I've heard is for the use of some quotations from the highest authority, and from one of the greatest of all religious passages, the Sermon on the Mount.

First, there are the lines in which the multitude is told to be "not like the hypocrites that do their praying in public, but when thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door pray to thy Father in secret." And this is followed shortly after by the words, "When ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking."

I commend these religious passages for frequent and fervent use by the Chaplains of both Houses of Congress. [Applause.] Well, whatever varying opinions there may be on specific points, I am strong for the work of this committee, whose meeting last year was summed up in the pamphlet, "Light a Fire." You are keeping alive and glowing the flame in the lamp of learning, a light that you and the President, and all of us, want to see not turned out but turned up bright.

But I am not one of those who believes in the frequent editorial statements which constantly say that we need, on any subject, more light and less heat. Whenever it is necessary, I trust you will not hesitate to apply the flame of learning to the seats of power. [Laughter.] To insure proper education for the children of this country, I hope you will not only provide light but will turn on enough heat to get action.

Let us now praise famous men—and this is the happiest part of the evening. My line of work is one in which criticism necessarily outruns praise and it is not noted for showing undue reverence for public officials. It is, therefore, a special pleasure for me to be able to introduce some public men this evening whom I have admired for a long time, and about whom I've been complimentary even in the cartoons. [Laughter.]

Our first speaker is General Bradley, whose honors and whose services to his country would fill many books, which will undoubtedly be written about him. For tonight, I will only remind you that he has often been referred to as the GI's General, and whatever disagreement soldiers or different members of the Armed Forces have had about other things, this man has been so respected by all and (I am not afraid to use the word) so loved, that he is in a class by himself.

I would feel awed in presenting him to you if it were not for the fact that he is so warm and so gentle and so comfortable a person. We hear talk sometimes about the military mind, of which there must be many kinds, because we read some statements and letters-to-the-editors by some military men who sound as if they are all friends of Dr. Strangelove. [Laughter.]

In talking about his own public school experiences this evening, I hope General Bradley will give us some clue as to what made him the way he is because, to paraphrase and extend a famous remark, whatever he eats or drinks and whatever he read or studied should be prescribed for all the other generals and all the other members of the Armed Forces, and for all American civilians as well.

I think of him as being, incidentally, one of the greatest generals in our history and always one of our greatest and most conscientious citizens.

It is literally an honor to present to you Gen. Omar Bradley. [Applause.]

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

(Remarks by Gen. Omar N. Bradley)

I was asked to speak about my public school experience. At first I thought it was so unique that maybe it would not have any application to what we are trying to do today, but maybe by stretching it a little bit and using a little imagination, it is.

The public school education I had would be almost impossible to get today. For my first 6 years I went to a 1-room country school. Some of you may have done that, but on top of that, for 4 of those 6 years my father was my teacher. [Laughter.]

And, of course, having the teacher in my house every night, I had to do my homework. He very carefully told me that I had to set the example. But if you have never gone to a 1-room country schoolhouse you may not have the picture. There are children from all grades, from beginners on up to high school age, and the one teacher teaches all classes in the same room.

That means you have small classes, you have to answer questions and express yourself, many times a day. And how different that is from what we have today, where you have 30 or 40 kids in a room. But on top of that, if knew your lessons (and I must insist that I knew mine before I went to school) you could sit there and listen to the classes above you recite, so that not only were you taking your own work but you were getting some idea of what the people above you were studying.

They did not have school boards in the same sense we have today. We did not have Parent-Teacher Associations but they used to have what they called a board of visitors, from the parents, and I was asked to tell a story which I told last year. If those of you who heard it last year will bear with me, I will tell it again.

If you ever went to a country school you will remember that they came around, usually before Christmas and then again in the spring; and these farmers would sit there and listen to the kids recite, and then finally the teacher would say, "Do any of you have any questions?" and they would ask questions. Which reminds me of the school down in Texas where there was one of the students of Mexican descent who came to the school, and his name was Jesus Christ.

That was a little unusual, so to make sure that there was no misunderstanding the parents, the first day, sent along a note saying that "this boy's name really is Jesus Christ." When the board of visitors came around and asked various questions, and one of these Texans with a great 10-gallon hat said he wanted to ask a question. He wanted to know if anybody in the class could spell such and such a word.

Jesus Christ shot up his hand (like this) and the teacher, knowing he was a very poor speller, tried to divert the question to somebody else. She said, "Jesus Christ, you can't spell that." Whereupon, this big Texan with a big hat got up and said, "Well, God dammit, let him try." [Laughter.]

There was one other advantage which was unique about my school situation in that not only did I spend the evenings with my teacher, but I spent the other 4 months of the year with my teacher; furthermore, we walked to and from school, and I remember one year we lived 3 miles from the schoolhouse and walked 3 miles to school in the morning and 3 miles back in the afternoon.

My father was a great companion. During the summer and the fall, on Saturdays, we hunted and fished together, and I was under the influence of my teacher, as I say, all the time. He made me become interested in various things—history, military history—and at that time I had no idea of making the military my career; we used to work mental arithmetic problems together.

I would say that in my early life, for the first 6 years of my schooling, he was the one greatest influence on my education and my future, because he taught me interest in things; he taught me a lot about nature. He got me into the right study habits.

Unfortunately, he died when I was 14 years old, before I was 15, and I went on and finished school in a neighboring town where I again was blessed with comparatively small classes, and where I had excellent teachers. In those days teachers were pretty well paid. I know my father was pretty well paid. He got $50 a month, which was pretty high in those days. Anyhow, I had good teachers.

Probably, during this period, the most influential thing that happened to me was meeting my future wife in my class. We were married 8 years later, and since then she has been the one greatest influence in my life. You might say, What does this have to do with our problems today? It's so unique. Is it applicable today? I think it is.

What can we do to decrease the numbers in our classes? We may not get it down to 2 or 3, but at least we can get it under 40. What can we do to get good teachers? I had good teachers all the way through, which was very lucky, and I was fortunate in being surrounded at home by somebody who was interested in education. Can't we get the people at home, through your PTA's and so forth, can't we get the parents interested in the kids' education, not only in providing better school facilities, but a better environment at home?

Some of us were fortunate in having this home environment. We know that today some of our children are not so lucky. You know that some of these children go home and hear poor English; their parents are uneducated; they pay no attention to the kids. Can we do anything about that? Maybe not too much, but I think there is one thing we can do, and this is beside the subject, probably: what do these kids watch on televison these days? They watch a lot of silly stuff, a lot of violence. Maybe we could have some influence on this home environment by working for better television shows for the kids, something that would help make up this deficiency in the home environment.

So, while my experience was unique, and I was very fortunate, maybe we can do something for those kids today who are not so fortunate, by taking various steps.

And I am sure that that is what is in your minds or you would not have taken the trouble to come here to this meeting at your expense and participate in it. Thank you. [Applause.]

HERBERT BLOCK. Thank you, General Bradley. If the kind of schoolhouse that General Bradley went to was responsible for what he is, I am for manufacturing them in large quantities. The trouble is that I don't know if we can get fathers for teachers, or more General Bradleys.

The next speaker this evening is Secretary Wirtz. One of the most well meant but worst things that a chairman can do is to put a speaker on the spot by telling you at length about what a wonderful speaker you are about to hear. I am not going to do this to the Secretary, particularly because I happen to know that these days he is so busy that he seldom has time even to prepare talks in advance; but he is one of the few men I know who could surmount that kind of billing if it were given him.

Some years back, if I had been introducing him, I would probably have offered a long and detailed introduction. But he is today so distinguished a Cabinet member and his ability is so well known and he is so widely respected that we can dispense with any who's who about him. No one who reads the papers and who read of things like the recent successful settlement of the long and seemingly impossible-to-settle railroad dispute needs to be told about the qualities of the Secretary of Labor.

What I particularly like about him is that he is the kind of public official who does not gloss over our problems, or point out how dandy things are when they are only pretty good, even in election years. When the statistics show that employment has gone up some, and unemployment has gone down a little, he reports these facts, but he says that this is not good enough for the United States.

Our Secretary of Labor is definitely good enough for the United States and I am happy to present him to you now. Secretary Willard Wirtz. [Applause.]

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

(Remarks by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz)

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I shall fear no greater evil, for I have spoken following Herb Block and Gen. Omar Bradley and before Hubert Humphrey, and no greater harm can befall me all the rest of the days of my life. [Applause.]

Thank you, Herb. The only false note I heard in the 15 minutes of your introduction was your repeated suggestion that "the views expressed here tonight by me are only my own," and then you said, later, "I'm still speaking for myself." It is going to be a very remote day in history when Herb Block is speaking only for himself. [Applause.]

Let me start by telling you how I happen to be here. I heard from Mrs. Meyer. Her command is my word. [Laughter.] Mrs. Meyer, let me say only this: a good deal of publicity has attended the President's suggestion that he insisted upon getting 50 women into office within 30 days.

I am in a position to reveal a lesser known element in that same command. His instructions were "50 women within 30 days, or their equivalent." We asked him what he meant by the "equivalent." He thought a moment and said, "Agnes Meyer working half time." [Laughter.] It is at Mrs. Meyers special request that I come here tonight—and also because of the pleasure I took from this same discussion, from this same group, a year ago.

She asked me to testify to my good fortune in having attended public schools. I did not know how to react to that; whether to assume that the result would necessarily have been different if I had gone to private schools, or what the situation might have been, and I demurred a little.

She said, well, General Bradley was going to testify about how good the public schools had been to him, and Herb Block and HUBERT HUMPHREY, and I finally agreed that on the basis of equal time for the other point of view I would be glad to appear here this evening.

Not knowing exactly what to say, and asking her, she said, "Well, will you please tell them, then, about the President of the United States," and I am glad, Mrs. Meyer, to testify here tonight not to my own good fortune in attending public schools because the truth of the matter is, in De Kalb, Ill., nobody ever did anything else but go to public schools. [Laughter.]

But as far the President is concerned, it was interesting to look in his biography in "Who's Who." I don't believe anybody has looked in "Who's Who" about the President of the United States until this afternoon. I did, and I found a little statement saying that he did attend public schools and then, "Teacher: Houston, Tex., public schools, 1930 to 1932." I speak, then, on behalf of the President of the United States, formerly a teacher in the Houston public schools.

And then I picked up one other little anecdote bearing on this subject. When Mr. Johnson, Professor Johnson, or whatever they called them in the Houston public schools, left in 1932, the Sam Houston High School editorial carried this little item: "Mr. Johnson has made the right decision. We expect to hear great things from him." [Laughter.]

Mrs. Meyer, I went one step further, I inquired, too, into the education of one Claudia Taylor and I am in a position to announce that Claudia Taylor also went to the public schools. In fact, she too went to a one-room schoolhouse, Fern School, a rural school in Texas in which, they tell me, during the cotton-picking season she was the only person in school. Then she went to the public high school in Marshall, Tex., from which she graduated at the age of 15. You would identify her better today as Lady Bird Johnson. It's a marvelous thing to at least have that kind of an illustration from which to proceed this evening, but I'm worried about what's going to happen to Linda and Luci. I'm not so sure about them. [Laughter.]

I can't speak in the way Herb has, or General Bradley, because it takes a good deal more preparation for that kind of presentation of this problem than it's been my opportunity to bring to this evening. So I would like to improve the 5, 6, or 7 minutes which are allotted to me to speak, if I may, very seriously, beyond what the hour of the evening justifies, about the subject of your day's discussion on education and poverty.

The responsibility which is most closely identified with the office of Secretary of Labor is the responsibility for full employment, not for settling labor disputes or something of that kind, but for seeing to it that the people in this country are put to the use to which they could be put if the opportunity were given them.

I should like to say, only very briefly, how unimportant it seems to me that that part of this problem is which it is within the province of the Department of Labor to do anything about. If I had gone to a private school that last sentence would have been a better sentence.

I can't tell you how increasingly you feel the despair of trying to meet a problem such as the full employment problem, realizing that the answers lie some place else, and that the place they lie is in the schools.

I spent a part of the week before last and the week before that on the poverty tour through the Appalachian area—and then Friday and Saturday of this last week Mrs. Wirtz and I went up into Harlem to take a look at the problem there. It is so perfectly obvious that the roots of unemployment in this country are simply poverty and lack of education, and nothing else.

Let me give you just one or two statistics, and I will narrow it to the Harlem situation because it is so fresh in my mind. It was with a shock bordering on disbelief that I was advised of the study that has been made of the boys and girls who graduated from junior high school, ninth grade, in Harlem in 1959—1,276 of them in central Harlem. Three years later, of that group only 385 finished high school and only 43 with an academic diploma which would permit them to go on.

Or over in another part of Manhattan, where we worry about the Puerto Rican problem let us simply start, and almost end, with the fact that 75 percent of the Puerto Ricans in New York don't ever enter high school at all. And what are we to do about the unemployment problem after that kind of base has been laid? I hardly know.

Another figure, a Harlem figure: when the children in the elementary schools in Harlem enter the first grade, their reading comprehension is about the same as that for the city at large. By the third grade the reading comprehension is below average, for 30 percent of them; and by the sixth grade the reading comprehension is below average for 80 percent of them.

These are figures from which you can draw almost any of a number of conclusions. They may be indictments of the school system, or they may be indictments of a broader context of circumstances which attends this situation. It is at least relevant that by the sixth grade there shows up a close correlation between those who fall short in reading comprehension and those who come from families which are broken, from situations in which there is difficulty of one kind or another. But it does not make any difference. The problem is one which has to be met, not just as a problem of individual fault—but as a problem of social fault, whether it is the fault of the schools or whether it is the fault of the larger community that creates the situation in which this kind of circumstance develops.

Some of you who were here at this meeting a year ago will remember that General Bradley said something in his remarks about what he understood to be the unbelievable rejection rate as far as the Armed Forces qualification test is concerned.

What you said, General, set me to thinking—and when I got back, even that same afternoon, I asked our people to start looking into it. Some of you may have seen, in the papers, the result of the little fire which you, sir, started. Because we did find, again contrary almost to the possibility of belief, that half of the boys who are drafted for the Army and take the Armed Forces qualification test fail it, and that half of those who fail it do so because of the inadequacy of their mental equipment or education.

And so we set out to see what could be done about it; and with President Kennedy starting a project which President Johnson has carried forward, we have now set out to see what we can do, in some way, about salvaging the human waste which is reflected in these failure facts; because it is perfectly obvious that boys who aren't fit for military service aren't fit for civilian living either.

I would like to tell you in a moment about what we have found out about these boys, half of whom are failing. In November we made an intensive study of 2,500 of them to see what we could find out about them, and the story is the same as the story I have tried to suggest in connection with the Harlem figures, although this story is one which applies to boys of various races.

Looking at the 2,500 boys who failed the Armed Forces qualification test for mental reasons, we found (and it won't surprise you at all) that 80 percent of them had dropped out of school before they finished high school.

As a matter of fact, 40 percent of them (1 out of every 5) stopped either at the eighth grade or at a point below the eighth grade. We found too that, at least in their own explanation of the reasons, 40 out of every 100 who dropped out did so because they had to support either themselves or their families.

And let me interject at this point one figure which bears not on the elementary education but on the more advanced education, and which bears out the same point. If you take last year's high school graduating class—the 1963 high school graduates—and line them up on the basis not of their ability but of their parents' income you will find today that, among the top 30 percent in terms of their parents' income, 61 percent are in college. If you look at the bottom 30 percent in terms of their parents' income you will find that only 19 percent of them are in college.

Public education? I am just not sure how public it is today, or whether it's private—at least to the extent that only those who attain a cerain measure of success see their children go on to use that education.

Returning to the boys, over 50 percent of those who failed the Armed Forces qualification test were the sons of fathers who never finished the eighth grade. More and more it is becoming clear that poverty and unemployment and ignorance are inherited characteristics in this country, and if there is one place we can do anything about it it is in connection with the school system.

There is another point which is raised wherever this matter is brought up—and I am talking about boys, but the figures for girls parallel the situation; we just don't have the same approach to it as far as getting a cross section is concerned. The point is raised that these boys are beyond salvage and that they are no longer interested in education; that something adverse has happened, either in the inheritance in the genes of the slums or in some other way. (And I want to make it clear that when I talk about these being inherited characteristics I am talking about inheritance through the social genes, not through the physical genes at all—through the slums, the broken homes, the bad schools, or whatever it may be.)

When you inquire as to whether anything can be done about these boys, there is at least this answer. Of those boys we talked to in November, the 2,500 who had busted out of the Army, 88 percent said that they wanted very much to go back to school to get the basic education which was lacking, and which they knew was lacking.

Now, don't jump to the conclusion that that's just the easy answer, because we asked that same question in five different ways, in an attempt to get at the real answer, and it showed up the same way in all five of the questions. We are completely convinced that they will come back to the training programs which can be offered, and for the education programs if they are the right kind.

Interestingly enough, we took these figures on a racial basis, and the percentage of boys who have busted out—who want to return for more education, or for the right kind of training—is higher among the Negro boys than it is among the white boys.

When you get to this point of dereliction, the boys who have busted out—so that they can't even pass the test which is involved here—you find no racial characteristics which are controlling. The controlling characteristic is the poverty from which they come, the lack of education which they have at a particular point, the broad circumstance under which they have developed.

Let me say only this in conclusion. There has been increasing consideration of the suggestion that something ought to be done about the public school system—either to add another couple of years at the top, or to pick up another 2 or 3 years at the bottom. I think it's interesting that it is now a little more than 135 years since Massachusetts passed the first public school law which provided for 12 years of public education, and we are still working on that same basis.

It is about 100 years since one of the States first decided there should be compulsory education up to age 16, and that is still the law in almost all the States. Either they were wrong then or we are wrong now, because the circumstances have changed so drastically that this is just no longer the answer.

It just does not make any sense today to let a boy or girl out of school without preparation for some kind of skilled job. It was all right before, but now there is no longer unskilled work for them to do. It won't make any sense, either to hold them another 2 years in the same kind of school and give them all the same kind of education they have been getting. If there is to be an additional period of time within the public school system, as I think there should be, it will have to include vocational education, and that kind of thing, for those who are not going to college.

I think we have got to think more about starting our public education at an age below 6, at least in some parts of the country, in some parts of the cities, and in some other areas. I rather think that more unemployment is brought into people's lives between the ages of 3 and 6 than during any other period.

I think that is true—but there is no way of proving it. Now it may be that the right kind of education would correct whatever that problem may be; but I know that we are going to have to go back into the period of largest motivation, and I think that period probably picks up about that time—between the ages of 3 and 6. I don't suppose that the politicians of today would go along with the platonic suggestion, in "The Republic" I think it was, that children should be taken out of the home and put into another environment. I don't suggest that as a pragmatic matter.

I do suggest that, if there is a public responsibility which is reflected in the system of public education, it is sheer nonsense to disregard what goes on it children's minds, in the development of their futures, between the ages of 3 and 6. I would like to suggest that if we really mean business about public education we probably ought to put up our best schools in the slums instead of the suburbs.

I would like to leave with you, if I may, a note less gentle in some ways than what General Bradley has suggested—and Herb Block has said, in a much nicer way—but it is a note which I am compelled to strike.

I don't think that the public education system, or the education system as a whole, is measuring up today to the demands upon it; and I don't think it can possibly measure up to the demands upon it with the present personnel which it has, as far as numbers and training are concerned.

I don't think the physical plant will today support the kind of education which there has got to be. I think that education ought to be the number one, largest, industry in the country. You would cure the unemployment problem if you put enough people into the teaching of the next generation.

It could be the largest industry in the country. If we kept these boys and girls who need more education in school another 2 years it would do three things: it would mean that they would get the training they need; it would mean that you would take 2 or 3 million children out of the job market who are today competing with the heads of families for the limited number of jobs which are available; and it would give us the largest industry in the country, which we very much need.

I am not in a position to testify on the subject of public education against private education. I believe in public education, so that I have been responsible for half of a decision (and the other half of the decision is here tonight) which has shaped our lives—our married lives—around putting our children where there were the best public schools.

After the war Mrs. Wirtz and I moved to a town because we had investigated and found, we felt, that it had the best public schools in the Chicago area. And when we came to Washington, we came first to find what part of this city seemed to have the best public

school in it. We believe in it and all that is in it, but I submit that the real question is perhaps not the question of public against private education. It's one of more education of the kind and quality which the next generation demands. Thank you. [Applause.]

HERBERT BLOCK. I thank Secretary Wirtz for his magnificent speech and I think you can all see now, those of you who have never had the opportunity to hear him before, why I said it was impossible to overbill Secretary Wirtz as a speaker when he speaks extemporaneously.

I think the reason is also quite clear: because he has so much information at his fingertips about things on which he feels so deeply.

Our final peaker is Senator HUMPHREY. I first met Senator HUMPHREY when he came to Washington in 1948, and since I got here early in 1946 I have always felt that I have a little seniority on him. He has worked hard and fought hard for great causes and, recently, in what the pollsters and analysts would call his public acceptance rating, he runs high in all areas.

At an editors' convention which was held here a couple of weeks ago, one quite liberal editor told me in a somewhat challenging manner that he was strong for HUBERT HUMPHREY, as if he expected me to give him an argument. The same evening I met, at a dinner party, the editor of a conservative paper who glowered at me as he announced that he was strong for HUBERT HUMPHREY, in the same challenging tone. In both cases, when I told them what I thought, they said they were interested to know that I liked Senaor HUMPHREY, too. All of us, I know, admire the fight that he is waging today, which is really a continuation of the fight he has waged ever since he got here, for the rights of all Americans.

The last time I heard Senator HUMPHREY, he made some kidding remarks about the length of some of his previous speeches and said he was cutting down. He does not run too long for me—and if he speaks more briefly these days it is probably because events have caught up with him. People have found out that he was right about education, civil rights, civil liberties, and other things he used to have to explain, and he has less missionary work to do than he used to.

In our case, we are glad to hear Senator HUMPHREY on any basis, but I will have to warn him that, as a Senate leader currently trying to curtail extended talk, anything he says here beyond 25 minutes may be held against him by some of his colleagues. [Laughter.]

Senator HUMPHREY, the floor is yours. [Applause.]

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

(Remarks by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

Thank you very much, my good friend Herb. When you have subtly attempted to remind me of what the hour is, and I have ignored it completely, I want you to know that I am a frustrated Senator. I have been listening to a filibuster now for 56 days, and have I got an audience tonight that is going to listen to me. [Laughter.] It is now my turn.

I suppose throughout life there is always something that happens that sort of brings the balance of forces to you. I looked back over the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of some years ago and I noted that I had taken up a good deal of the space in that record and now my colleagues are heaping cruel, and inhuman punishment upon me—but I left the filibuster this evening. It's my job to see that the Senate gets up in the morning, and it's my job to see that the Senate is put to bed at night, and in betwixt I occasionally try to find something that is interesting. [Laughter.]

When everybody else is suggesting how they got here tonight, I want to tell you how I got here. I remember your program last year, and I recall meeting several of the people that came from this program, and it sounded unusually exciting. I read the newspaper report of it. I heard the comments of some of the Governors that were here last year; and I made up my mind that if this group came back to Washington once again I'd be here with you. So, I'm not quite sure when I did it, or just how I did it, but I'm quite sure that I told Agnes Meyer that I wanted to be invited, and I got invited. [Laughter.] I surely want to thank her for accepting my not too subtle suggestion that this would be the kind of group that I should like to associate with, at least for few moments.

You have had some wonderful speeches this evening. They are more than speeches. They are concise philosophical dissertations. You heard the one and only Herblock—and after hearing Herb, and after hearing the great general and after hearing this illustrious public servant and intellectual giant, the Secretary of Labor, I feel so downtrodden, so oppressed that I feel the living example of spiritual and intellectual poverty. [Laughter.]

One nice thing about being the final speaker is that you are supposed to be the cleanup hitter. That presumes that somebody is on first and somebody is on second and somebody is on third and the game is tight. The fact is that everybody up to now has hit a home run, and if I should strike out you have already had a big evening.

I want to take a few minutes to tell you about a very favorite place of mine, and if my family were here tonight you would know that you were in for a long, long talk, because I grew up in a little town called Doland, S. Dak. There were 660 people in that town, and at least 654 were of the most interesting people that you could find; and then I would like to include my mother and father, making it 656, and then there were four young Humphreys, and you will have to judge them on their own.

That whole community was centered around the church—we had two churches, the Methodist Church and the Catholic Church—and the schools. There was Doland High School Independent School District, and just the town.

My best friend was Julian Hart, who today is a professor of philosophy and theology at Yale University. I started out in the first grade at Doland, and graduated from Doland High School in 1929.

What I liked about it was that you could be in everything. If you were warm and alive, you had potentialities as an athlete. If you could even swallow a pebble, much less keep one in your mouth like Demosthenes, you could be a debater.

If you had legs you could be on the track team. If you could even as much as squirm, you could play on the basketball team. In other words, there was a chance to be something—and whether you know it or not, my dear friends, people like to be something.

I think the great need in America today is to be needed, and most people don't feel that they are really needed. I think another fact about our life today is that most people are so impersonal. It's just big, and the number one problem facing this country is how to preserve individuality in the mass. I don't even like the word "mass." I graduated once in pharmacy, and we used to talk about a "pill mass." I told the professor then, as we were preparing in what we called the practical aspects of pharmacy—"I wish they could find a different word for it, maybe 'a compound.' Don't call it 'mass' because that's the ugliest word I can think of." It loses all character, all identity, all personality. It means nothing and, regrettably, many people keep mouthing it.

The concept of "the mass" is a repudiation of everything that we believe in: our whole concept of brotherhood, of spirituality, of individuality, of conscience—it has no place in what I consider to be our way of life, for lack of a better phrase.

I represent Minnesota in the U.S. Senate, but I came there late. I came there to the university, and I will tell you why; but first I want to tell you about Doland.

We had wonderful teachers, General, just like your wonderful father. It was a small school, but we were in it—and we knew what it was about, and the community had community pride. We liked our high school and we had keen rivalry with our neighboring towns.

Why, I can remember being so thin that when I stood sideways the teacher, as they say, marked you absent. [Laughter.] And yet I was on the football team. The first year I was just a tackling dummy. Maybe this has been one of the things that has been responsible for some of my problems since. [Laughter.] The second year I was a substitute back, and the third and fourth years I played regularly.

I like to remind my wife, who came from a large metropolitan area (of at that time approximately 6,000 people) that we took 'em to the cleaners, but good, because if you didn't, you didn't amount to much. The coach taught us that we were supposed to be good and that coming in second was coming in last in a two-man sport, and that you weren't supposed to come in last.

I know those are pretty rugged standards, but they had some effect. It even made people that weren't very good, fairly good, and it made some that were fairly good reasonably good, and occasionally we produced a right top good one. I never had the chance to be a star, but I participated, and I think the greatest thing in life is to be a participant. This whole Nation is filled up with observers. We need people that participate—participate in politics, participate in community activities, participate in the PTA, participate in church, participate in whatever they belong to, and don't just sit around waiting for somebody to entertain them.

Nobody entertained anybody in Doland. We were in it, all of us. There weren't many of us, and everybody had to man the ramparts, particularly when the enemy approached, and we always found an enemy, because that kept the spirits high.

So, Doland, S. Dak., I salute you. I had many good writeups in the local paper, because I was the editor of the high-school column. I always feel that if you don't deserve it, you ought at least to take charge of it. [Laughter.]

We had as our favorite activity in high school, debate. Maybe that's why I like to talk, but we did debate. We debated everybody about everything, and we kept winning State championships, though we were just a little town.

I, and my brother before me, went on the debate team and then went on to college and did the same thing there. I think that was good for us too. A little later they got around to where you didn't debate, you "discussed." Now let me let you in on something. I have been a teacher too: I am a refugee from a classroom, and all this discussion stuff is a lazy man's way to use up time.

When you debate you have to work at it, get ready. When you discuss you just sort of "discuss." [Laughter.] Now, a discussion with adequate preparation is a reasonably good substitute for debate, but debate puts you to the task.

We had declamation, and we had oratory, and generally we didn't have very many participants so if you were, again, reasonably good you were in on it and you went to the district tournament—or the regional tournament if you won in the district, and the

State tournament if you won the regional. It was all that way.

Now, let me tell you just a little bit about some of the teachers. We had wonderful teachers. Frankly, I keep meeting schoolteachers now and they are a lot prettier than they were then, it seems to me. But, actually, we had very fine teachers. I don't know how much they were paid, but they obviously were paid more than dad was making in the drugstore, because I think I heard him say something about that once or twice. [Laughter.]

But, truly, our teachers were a part of the community and we liked them. One of my favorite men is Guy Cook, who was superintendent of high schools and another is Irvin Herther, coach. I'll tell you something about Herther, the coach: when some young fellow got smart with him one time and thought he was going to run over him, he didn't take him back and give him a psychological analysis. He took him back period, and gave him a working over [laughter] and that bully, who had been bullying everyone in high school for years, quit bullying and became the outstanding athlete of our State. Up until then he was a bum. I don't say that's the way you always do it, but that one worked.

I point out that teachers were close to the student. I remember my teachers. I loved my teachers. Oh, I used to think some were better than others, and I pulled all the pranks. As a matter of fact. I almost hestitate to talk about Doland High School lest you think that my performance since those days is to be related to Doland High School. It was a great school and it still is.

I go back there. I went back and made the commencement address there some years ago and I was just as proud of it then as I am now and as I was when I was a student there.

But let me also add that there was a community around that high school, and this is what bothers me. I guess I'll never get quite used to the big city. I liked the city of Minneapolis where, later on, I became the mayor because it wasn't just a city; it was a series of communities.

I spoke in every grade school, junior high school, and high school in that city and I said to those people, in those schools, parents and students alike, what Willard Wirtz said here tonight; that, regrettably, the better schools in Minneapolis and its suburbs were in the areas where the people needed the least the better schools, and the poorer schools were in the areas where the people needed them most.

Where the poverty areas were, where the poor areas were, where the run-down areas were—there were the run-down schools.

Where the richer people were, the more affluent people—we never know that word in Doland, that is a fact—I never heard the word "affluent" until I got to Washington. [Laughter.] But where the more affluent people were, there you found the better schools.

Naturally, they were newer areas, but the duty of public servants is to keep some balance in our social structure because, after all, the primary duty of government is justice; and it is not just to the student to have one school in which they have counselors, a band, music, extracurricular activities, medical attention, a fine cafeteria, athletics, fine fields, and go to another school and find there is no band, no reasonably good library, inadequate teachers, inadequate classrooms. That's not justice; that's not fair.

But it is, regrettably, the pattern in many areas of the Nation. But the best teacher I had, General, was my dad. I think of him many days, in fact, every day. I was so pleased to hear you. General Bradley, speak of your father because my dad was my teacher too. He never was a schoolteacher; my mother was a school teacher and a wonderful schoolteacher, but my dad was my adviser, my friend, my pal, my consultant.

I have often said that my father never told me what time to go to bed, and that's a true statement, but he was the best getter-upper in the State of South Dakota. [Laughter.] The later I stayed out the earlier I got up, and he had some very simple formulas: "Self-pity is the bane of all evil."

He used to say to me, "Action, activity, son—go to work. You're not too smart, but you can compensate for it by long hours and hard work." [Laughter.]

Simple little lessons, but the best lesson of all was that he was there, and this is regrettably what many of us do not do, and I am a living example of it. It is very difficult. Modern society makes it more difficult for parents to be there.

And since parents can't be there, and it is a fact of life that parents frequently cannot be there (we can't all live in towns of 600, or 1,000 or 5,000, and we are not going to), it therefore becomes all the more important that there be something built in that compensates for this lack of parental advice and counsel.

I don't say it's the same. I don't say it will take its place, but it can help, and that is why the school becomes more important.

That school—again I go back to my early days as a child, a young fellow—needs to be more than just classrooms and teachers. It needs to be surrounded by a sense of pride and of competitive excellence that makes people proud to live in the community. I think we need a kind of national competition in America today, friendly competition, cooperation and competition, to see which of our communities can produce, not the highest per capita income as such, but the school that is the better which, in turn, will produce a higher per capita income. It just follows, as a logical part of the whole story.

I notice that President Johnson has now made preparations for the presentation of certain citations and medals to young students, and I am pleased at this. I hope that what I am about to say will not be misunderstood, because some people could misunderstand it and some people may. But one of the things that I found out when I went to the Soviet Union in 1958 was that the Soviet Council of Ministers took 1 full week to present honors to the best students of all the schools in the Soviet Union and the students and their parents were invited at the expense of the Government to come to Moscow and be heralded as heroes of the Soviet Union. We don't hear much about that over here.

I don't like their system of education. I don't care for all of its compulsion, all of its strict control, but don't forget for a single minute that that country didn't rise from nothing, from poverty and illiteracy and ignorance to where it is today, without emphasis on education.

I am pleased, now, that in this great free country at long last we are going to honor students before they graduate from college. Youngsters appreciate it more than oldsters. And by the time you have completed 4 years of college or graduate school you are not nearly as impressed with a medal or some honor as you are when you come out of junior high, or out of senior high.

I think these little honors are surely of the greatest importance, and to have them come from the President, indeed. We give "E" awards to industry. Why don't we have some "E" awards for education across this land? I have yet to see a school that flies a flag that says that it is a school of excellence. Most anybody can get by today. We've got that all fixed up, but we live in the space age, when "OK" means that you fail. It's "A-OK" that keeps you in orbit. We need excellence.

Yes; I said I had a great teacher, and I did, my dad. I'll tell you what else he did. He taught me the value of books. I like the idea of the paperback, provided we don't look upon literature as being cheap. There is one danger to a paperback. It has a tendency to promote cheapness. But the same paperback (and I don't want to be misunderstood on this) this same paperback industry, can do amazing things for America.

It can make available to the American people a great library at little or no cost. Some time ago, when I was participating with the Book-of-the-Month Club on a program, I suggested that we have, instead of food stamps, which nourish the body, some book stamps. Because, Mr. Secretary, when we go into a poverty area to feed the body we might also want to do something with the mind.

And there is a sense of possession which does something for you. When it's your book, and you own it, it belongs in your home by your bed, or in your room, or with you in your pocket; it becomes a part of you. Good books. Our home was filled with good books. I had a wonderful break in life. I remember my father decided to study opera when he was 50 years of age—in Doland, S. Dak. [Laughter.] That's right.

He used to get in his car and every so often he and mother would drive down to Minneapolis to hear the Minneapolis Symphony—not across the street, but 310 miles. And then when he became a little older and we moved to a larger city called Huron, S. Dak., my dad used to get on the airplane and go to New York and listen to the opera.

He bought the finest collection of records in town. Of course, mother needed new furniture. She didn't get as much of that as she would have like to have. Dad was a very clever fellow. He'd put in our store a line of records, Columbia and Victor Red Seal, and they didn't sell well. [Laughter.] So he used to tell mother, "Well, mother, I made a bad deal, a bad purchase, and we might just as well get some good out of them." [Laughter].

Dad has gone to his heavenly reward, but even to this day there is that magnificent library of records, and in his will he bequeathed that library and those records to his son HUBERT. They're mine. I love them. We learned something about good music.

He bought a whole library of books about opera and music and musicians. He said, "You never should stop learning." That was all in a little town.

A library is a part of a school, and I want to say to my friends in the District of Columbia: this is a news flash for this city. [Laughter.] Yes, it is, and let me say that the Nation's Capital ought to set the example for education and it sets a bad one.

Four years go a group of students came to my office, five of them; they had been tramping around Capitol Hill for weeks with their books, books that were antiquated, obsolete, useless for all practical purposes. A science book that talked about the possibility of electrical refrigeration. The year was 1961. A science book that had nothing about nuclear fission or nuclear physics.

We are supposed to teach languages and here is the seat of government, here we are with the State Department telling everybody, "Study languages; equip yourself for languages," and half of the schools in the District of Columbia didn't have language books for their own students—right here in the District of Columbia. And they still don't.

Mrs. MEYER. Then do something about the District Committee in the Senate. [Applause.]

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY. May I say that I will take that challenge from my good friend, Mrs. Meyer, who does things about such matters. I try to do something about these things, but I want to say: this Capital is your city, not just mine. This Capital is very proud of its great buildings, of its cherry trees, of its boulevards, of its parks, and so

am I; it is one of the loveliest cities in the world.

But we forgot education here, and the reason we forgot it is because nobody was tending to it. We have no local self-government. I happen to believe in home rule. We don't elect a school board. And the Congress of the United States, frankly, has other things to do besides watch over the District of Columbia, and that's why it wasn't watched over.

But some of us took some interest and finally we did get some books. We got $500,000 for them one year, $280,000 for them last year. We are going to get some more this year, and we are going to get some libraries, and then we are going to get a librarian or two. That's going to come, too, because I happen to believe that a school system is not merely bricks and mortar and teachers; it's libraries, it's books, it's a librarian, it's audiovisual aids. Because modern education requires that.

It's also counselors. (Not one counselor for 500 sophomores in one of the best high schools, but one counselor serving a much smaller group.) It's psychologists, psychiatrists. This is all part of the educational pattern.

You say, "Well, this costs a lot of money," and I know it does, but I am one of those who believes that education is an investment, and I've never been one of those who has been known in public life as being so worried about the fact that we are spending a little money. Maybe I shouldn't confess all these things but I was brought up to believe that if you don't have enough money you have two choices—either to cut back or earn more and, frankly, I don't like to cut back. I prefer to earn more. I think that's the way it ought to be, because the needs are here and the needs are going to continue to be here.

You've heard tonight, for example, the relationship between the lack of education and poverty, you've heard tonight the relationship between education and national security. We all know this, but somehow or another there have been forces at work in America that have been able to convince a substantial number of people that education is not a national concern.

Let me say with all due respect—as a legislator, as a former mayor, as a local public official—that public officials and representatives generally do what their constituency wants them to do—generally, or they don't last long. And when we make education as important to America as fear of communism, we'll get things done about education. And when we get to a point in America at which the Advertising Council, for example, instead of showing a nice peach, or some other sort of attractive item, will show a school and young men and women coming in and out of that school, making that a social status symbol, there'll be better schools and there'll be more young people in those schools.

When we start to ask ourselves, "Why the school dropouts?" and quit counting them, maybe we'll know what's wrong in education. I don't know; I'm not an educator, but I know this as a politician: that if I go home and start to make talks to my constituents and start losing voters, I am making the wrong talk. I know that.

And I know that if students drop out of school something's wrong somewhere. It may not all be in school; it may be some other cause. But, very frankly, when I see the way history is frequently taught in schools I can well understand why young people don't like history.

We need to have people who are excited about education. We need to have an America that looks upon education as a great revealing experience. We need, instead of talking about economic aid abroad, to be talking about educational aid. We ought to be known, not as the nation of the atom bomb but the nation of the teachers and of the educators. But I think it is fair to say that we are not really quite known as that.

We are a great nation. We are a powerful nation, and I think that our educational structure basically is a good one, but I don't believe in comparing America with anybody else. I think we ought to have our own standards, and that is the reason that I believe that the biggest deficit that we ought to be concerned about is not a fiscal deficit, but other types of deficit—deficits in health, deficits in education, deficits in welfare, deficits in community facilities. Because each of these deficits is more dangerous in the long run to the financial solvency (if that's what your standard is for the American community) than any budgetary deficit of the Federal Government.

That's about my lecture for the evening. I want to commend this organization for what it does—and I surely want you to know that some of us are not only with you, we've been with you a long time. You have done great work. The fact of your presence in this city is welcomed at this particular hour.

May I give a word of compliment to the District of Columbia, since I also gave a word of chastisement. I think it's done right well with its integrated schools. It started out with great difficulties, as any community will, because there was not separate but equal education. There was separate education. And I know of no State that has enough money to provide for two educational establishments for people of the same age group, and of the same educational desire.

In this District we have begun now to do something about making education a better program for all of our people. Once we pass this civil rights bill, which we are going to do—and it will be done before summer is officially proclaimed, June 21 or somewhere around there; at least we ought to be able to do it by the middle of summer, the middle of June—then we are going to have the task of tooling up America to make civil rights more than a legal promise, to make it a living reality.

And civil rights, and the fulfillment of civil rights, will depend in no small measure upon how well we provide for the education of the American people. That's a long term project, but as President Kennedy said, in January, 1961, "Let us begin." And as President Johnson said only a few months ago, "Let us continue."

I think it's a reassuring note to have a former teacher in the White House; and I think it is a very reassuring note to have you in Washington to remind all of us that we who are in public life should be teachers, teaching from what we've learned; and not only teachers but actionists, activators for the public welfare and the public interest. [Sustained applause.]

HERBERT BLOCK. I wasn't referring to the hour or being subtle, only reminding Senator HUMPHREY that we are delighted to hear him for as long as he would like to talk.

Also, he said he is no teacher. He was a teacher and he is still a teacher. I was going to say, "I disagree with the distinguished Senator." You go to the Senate and hear them refer to each other as "the distinguished Senator from * * *" and I would like to refer to him as the "honest, no-fooling distinguished Senator." [Applause.]

He talked about paperback books, but he neglected to mention a very good one that is just coming out, written by himself, with some speeches of his own, and others by President Johnson, President Kennedy, and Senator KUCHEL. It is called "Civil Rights, the Moral Crisis."

I also particularly want to give the Senator my heartfelt thanks for what he said about home rule for us second-class citizens of the District of Columbia.

I think we can sum up this evening by saying that the schools are not at all what they ought to be, but with actionists, activators—with teaching public servants, like the three men you heard tonight, things are going to be better. [Applause.]

THE SOURCES OF STRENGTH—WHERE ARE THEY?

(By Stephen K. Bailey, dean, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University)

Few words, singly or in juxtaposition, have greater prophetic consequences for the human race than the words chosen for the theme of this conference. Having recently returned from an extended visit to south Asia and east Africa, I am perhaps acutely aware of the international dimensions of your theme. There were, in fact, moments in Calcutta and in parts of Tanganyika when, reflecting upon the contrast in opportunity between the low-income nations and the United States, I was reminded of an essay on poverty written by an eighth grader in Westchester County.

The essay began, "This is a story about a very poor family. The father was poor, the mother was poor, the children were poor, the chauffeur was poor, the butler was poor, and the upstairs maid was poor." [Laughter.] As your sponsors were quick to recognize, however—scooping the White House by a number of months—poverty, like charity, begins at home.

Education is the basic investment without which the urban poor and the rural poor of this great Nation are doomed to hopelessness. And if we look ahead to what the sage of Santa Barbara, Mr. Hutchins, has called the wantless, workless world of an automated future, education is the key to sustained meaning in the lives of all of us—if we are not to face an endless poverty of the human spirit. This is why you people are engaged in the most important of enterprises.

I have been asked this morning to speak briefly about "The Sources of Strength—Where Are They?" Well, fortunately, the sources of strength for support of public education are legion. Any comprehensive list would necessarily include at least the following: The hunger of tens of millions of parents to provide opportunities for maximum personal development for their children; the interests of business, commerce, agriculture, labor, and the professions for insuring an adequate supply of trained manpower for these respective fields; the concern of democratic government for an educated citizenry and for talent to man the military and civilian, domestic, and oversea responsibilities of the United States; the desire of educators, and of friends of education, to meet and to improve professional standards in education. These are the interests—sacred and profane, idealistic and prudential—which constitute the basic sources of strength for increased support for the public schools in the United States.

But these sources of strength are diffuse and often inchoate. The mobilization of strength for purposes of concrete action is the high function of democratic politics broadly conceived but precisely applied. Politics has been defined as the struggle to control or influence the authoritative allocation of values in the society. If education is to receive the moral and financial support of citizens, political forces must be mobilized to insure the authoritative allocation of values on education's belief.

The irony is that fewer strictures are more likely to raise the hackles of teachers and professional educators than those directed toward the necessity of political action. This antipolitical bias is ironical because no thoughtful observer can possibly escape the conclusion, on the basis of the evidence, that education is up to its eyeballs in politics—and should be. As a political scientist I can take no other position than that public

schools are political phenomena. More public money is spent for education than for any other single function of State and local government. No public school in America exists without State legislative sanction. All over the United States school boards are elected or appointed through a highly political process—often most supremely political when called nonpolitical. Educational planks are increasingly found in partisan platforms at all levels of American politics. The size, location, cost, looks, and facilities of school buildings are frequently matters of high political controversy. The size, scope, and influence of State departments of education are inevitably conditioned by political forces. The differences between salary schedules for teachers and school administrators in California on the one hand, say, New Hampshire on the other, cannot be effectively explained by reference to State economic indices alone.

In short, education is one of the most thoroughly political enterprises in American life or, for that matter, in the life of any nation.

It seems to me of great importance that we should face squarely the politics of mobilizing support for public education and understand how the process works.

I want to base my discussion today on a very limited part of the United States which four of us in political science have recently analyzed. I am sure that some of what we have found is not relevant to all parts of the Nation; but I am equally sure that much of what we have discovered about the politics of educational support in the northeastern part of the United States has meaning across the land.

Our study is called "Schoolmen and Politics: A Study of State Aid to Education in the Northeast." It is an attempt to get at the question of how friends of public education have acted politically to increase the amount of State aid allocated by State legislatures for local school districts. Basing our findings on literally hundreds of interviews and as careful an examination of the record as possible, we have discovered, in every case where there has been a major breakthrough in increasing State aid to education, the State teachers' associations and other professional associations of educators have been either at the forefront or in the middle of the political campaign for increasing such State aid. We have found that by and large State teachers' associations can operate effectively only if they relate to other group interests in the society, such as school board associations, superintendents' associations, parent-teacher associations, Leagues of Women Voters, federations of women's clubs, and so on, but in many cases the real energizing force for increased public expenditures for education has come from the teachers' associations themselves.

In the northeastern part of the United States, no more successful educational lobby has existed over the past generation than the New York State Educational Conference Board. This conference board is a coalition of group interests, but no one would deny that the New York State Teachers' Association has been by far the most powerful force in organizing and implementing the conference board's activities.

Let us take a brief look at the conference board and the way in which it works. The New York State Educational Conference Board was created in 1937 by the then secretaries, respectively, of the New York State Teachers' Association and the New York State School Boards Association. The board was almost precisely modeled on the New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations, which had been created in 1918 in an attempt of a half dozen farm organizations to reach unanimous agreement on broad questions of agricultural policy which involved State legislative action. The farm conference board had pooled its impressive lobbying power with extraordinary success. Witnessing this strength and this unity, the New York State Teachers' Association and the New York State Boards Association saw in the farm conference board a possible model for public education. These two organizations were particularly concerned in the 1930's with the destructiveness of the frequent misunderstandings between school boards and schoolteachers; school boards frequently looking at teachers' demands as exorbitant; teachers looking at school boards as penny-pinching management. The obvious area of possible cooperation between school boards and schoolteachers was additional State aid. Additional State aid could help satisfy teachers' demands without imposing impossible fiscal burdens upon local school boards. The solution seemed to be for the State teachers' association and the State school boards association to form a united group of all statewide organizations concerned with the betterment of education, to strive for policy unity on the single subject of State aid, and to present a united front to the board of regents, the legislature, and the Governor.

How does the State educational conference board operate? Each year the conference board prepares a report summarizing the condition of public education in the State of New York and proposing revisions in formulas designed to increase the State's contribution to local school districts. Until 1962 when he died, these reports were written under the direction of Paul R. Mort, of Teachers College, Columbia. But the studies were financed in large part by the State teachers association and the State school boards association. In draft form, these reports are discussed and modified by the conference board as a whole, and decisions are made for the ensuing year's legislative campaign.

Once the conference board has approved its annual report, it moves into political action. It is at this point that one of its most important constituent organizations, the New York State School Boards Association, moves into special prominence.

Believing that a grassroots selling job by the State teachers association for greater State aid would look like crass self-seeking, the school boards assume major responsibility for cultivating hometown sentiment behind the conference board proposals. By and large, school board members are distinguished lay members of local communities. Their sponsorship of conference board recommendations, cannot be viewed in any sense as direct self-seeking. With this fact in mind, the school boards association enters into a forceful grassroots campaign. Conference board recommendations are mailed to every school board member in the State. These mailings are followed up with regional conferences which attract school board members, key superintendents, principals, and teachers, and local State senators and representatives. Experts from the State capital and from New York City are invited to attend and to answer questions about the conference board recommendations.

In the meantime, similar grassroots conferences are being held by the other member agencies of the conference board. By the time a legislative session is about to open in Albany, there is scarcely a legislator who is not aware of the conference board's recommendations and of substantial and influential local support beyond these recommendations.

Once grassroots support has been developed, bills are introduced—through friendly legislators—reflecting the educational goals of the conference board. Both executive and legislative leaders are soon acquainted with the most important of the State aid proposals. During the legislative session, grassroots opinion stimulated by the earlier activities of the members of the conference board becomes manifest in letters, telegrams, personal visitations, and telephone calls. Although most legislators are under some pressure from their local constituencies, key legislative leaders receive special attention. This is particularly true of the speaker of the house and the majority leader of the Senate. In the meantime, contacts are developed and pressed in the Governor's office and in the division of the budget.

At some point in each legislative session tensions begin to develop between the recommendations of the conference board and the politician's views of what the budget can stand. The outcome of this tension depends upon the infighting skill of the schoolmen—represented at this stage especially in the activities of the State Teachers Association's executive secretary.

In the final hectic days of the New York legislative sessions, the schoolmen from the State Teachers Association and the leading professional associations haunt the legislative chambers and are at the disposal of key legislative leaders in adjusting legislative bills to political reality. The key official activity is a small caucus of legislative and party leaders called by the Governor, or by legislative leaders themselves, to determine a final figure or formula for State aid. This is normally rubberstamped by an obedient legislature.

The relative success of State aid to public education in the State of New York has been due in no small measure to the effective work of the State Teachers Association in cooperation with other members of the educational conference board.

I emphasize the New York story because in some of the other States we studied it became quite obvious that failures to increase State aid could be attributed to failures of the education lobbies to operate effectively. The fact is that State teachers' associations and other educational groups have frequently made their own programs easy to oppose. They have been unable to work and speak as one for a responsible general-school-aid bill. Actually I must say in all frankness that effective organization is exceptional. Most of the time, in most of the State, disorder and naivete are the schoolmen's outstanding political characteristics. To begin with, public education is almost endlessly organized. In every State there exist at least four kinds of official educational agencies—the State board, the State department, the local boards, and the local departments; and local boards commonly have their own independent and State association. These official agencies rarely act in unison. The real proliferation, however, is on the private and professional side. Every State has its education association—sometimes at war with a teachers' union in a major metropolitan area. There are statewide associations of school principals and of school superintendents, of guidance counselors, of teachers of vocational education, of coaches and teachers of physical education, and of classroom teachers. The public joins in the parent-teacher associations and has its own councils for better schools. Associations of university women, leagues of women voters, federations of women's clubs, women's legislative councils all have strong concern for schooling. Associations for mental health and for retarded children represent special educational interests in many Northeastern States. Furthermore, many members of these groups really care about the organization's impact, and their officers work hard at representing the real or divided wishes of the membership. Each of these public and private groups has its own pet concern and its special momentum. The number of special educational interests stirs up a vast and often infuriating buzzing in a lawmaker's ears. The wily lawmaker finds it easy to

ignore educators disunited—or to play one educational group off against another.

The root difficulty is that too few States have a permanent forum where ardent schoolmen can organize their interests and coordinate their activities into orderly, clear political campaigns.

It is, of course, no easy thing to get schoolmen—especially professionals—to agree on State aid allocations. Indeed, educators in the Northeast can be found in a variety of distinct camps. There are backers of general State aid: State subsidies for local operating expenses, to be allocated as the local jurisdiction wishes. There are also backers of general unrestricted school construction assistance. These two are across-the-board financial programs with few strings attached. Far and away the bulk of State school aid is of this sort, but schoolmen differ on which is needed most at a particular time.

But these general "aiders" are frequently at war with the defenders or sponsors of more limited categorical aid. Under categorical aids, funds go for special education of some variety or even for special schools—for the deaf, the blind, the crippled; for Americanization, for veterans or their orphans; for home economics or for agriculture. By and large, the amounts currently devoted by States to these restricted programs are only a very minor portion of State aid, but categories could logically be multiplied to include almost every facet of schooling. While the overall cost of general aid as opposed to the totality of special aids might theoretically be the same, the political and institutional implications differ radically. General aid implies that schoolmen can and should stand or fall together in legislative campaigns. Categorical aid implies professional independence for every special educational interest and the devil take the hindermost. There has been no explicit comparison of the political strength of these two approaches. Universally, however, the Northeastern States have moved away in the last 15 years from bundles of categorical subsidies to general programs except for schools for handicapped children. The question is insistent, however: Would not general State aid have moved faster and further if the depressant of categorical aids—with all of the divisiveness therein implied—had not had to be negotiated?

In sum, all too often political activity by schoolmen in the Northeast has been amateur politics, with all the zeal and disorder the phrase conveys. On balance, this lack of political sophistication and discipline among schoolmen assumes major proportions in depressing State assistance. Many lawmakers would respond favorably to financial appeals that schoolmen can make when they agree on common goals. Most legislators, smalltowners or not, find it difficult to withstand coordinated pressure from their grassroots. Special pleading by splinter educational groups stirs up an uneasy suspicion of excess among responsible statesmen, whether legislators or Governors. Governors may honestly disagree with responsible schoolmen on school finance, but the schoolmen's case, if orderly and well organized, cannot be brushed aside. In many Northeastern States, schoolmen have handicapped their own political success by their failure to understand, develop, and use political machinery available within their own ranks.

In balance, then, it can be said that the role of the State teachers' associations and other professional educational groups is of the utmost significance to the success of the educators' causes. At best, teachers in politics, through their associations, mobilize consent within their own organizations; they develop linkages with each other in an attempt to build a common political front; they fertilize grass roots; they exploit mass media, and develop mass media for their own; they build fires under lethargic officialdom; they lobby and cajole legislators and Governors; they provide a continuity of enenrgy and concern in the fact of temporary defeats and setbacks. Sometimes they work at cross-purposes, but when they work together under stand and coherent leadership they perform an indispensable function in the political process. State teachers' associations, teachers' unions, school boards' associations, PTA's, associations of educational administrators, other civic and professional societies—separately and as amalgams—have played essential roles in the politics of State aid to education.

In our study we have placed major emphasis, then upon the interest group coalitions outside and inside the State governments which have assiduously worked to increase support for public education. But it is important to note that we conclude with a statement of the effect that the success of State aid to education in the Northeast has depended equally upon the quality of gubernatorial and legislative leadership. In part, of course, political leadership is derivative; that is, it is responsive to effective intellectual, private interest group, and bureaucratic leadership. But the findings of our study suggests that political leadership is also an independent force. No amount of group analysis can account for the commitment to education of Governors like Muskie, Bowles, Roberts, Bradford, Smith, Harriman, and Rockefeller; or of legislators like Haskell, E. O. Smith, Mahoney, Bridges, Mahar, and Murray. These politicians have been sponsors and energizers of specific proposals; they have built consent behind educational policies among their own partisans; they have worked across party lines on behalf of State aid; they have defended education's cause in the fact of insistent demands for increased State appropriations for other State functions; they have taken leadership in increasing the State revenue base—often with additional support to education as their major goal; they have sponsored special committees and commissions to study educational needs with full knowledge that the recommendations of such study groups would inevitably push up the cost of State aid to education; they have developed public support for education through messages, speeches, press releases, and party platforms.

It is, in short, evident that political leadership is the keystone to the arch of State educational finance. Political leadership establishes the effective climate within which intellectual, private interest group, and bureaucratic leadership operates. It is for this reason that schoolmen cannot ignore the ballot box if they wish to advance their causes.

Here, then, are the political realities of State aid to education. For those who believe that State governments must share an even larger burden of the cost of public education in the years ahead, the lesson is clear. The road to increased State aid is political. Those who would travel that road successfully must understand the political process in all of its ramifications. They must develop intellectual, private interest group, bureaucratic, and political leadership capable of defining goals and of mobilizing effective power for the realization of those goals.

The future of public education will not be determined by public need alone. It will be determined by those who can translate public need into public policy—by schoolmen in politics. Since the quality of our society rests in large measure upon the quality of our public education, a widespread recognition that schoolmen must be not only aware of politics, but influential in politics, may be the key to our survival as a free and civilized nation.

A Summary of the Conference

(By Agnes E. Meyer,[1] chairman, National Committee for Support of the Public Schools)

We are not an organization of educators, but of citizens concerned with education. In keeping with our broad representation of the entire community we applaud the greater participation in the NCSPS of representatives of labor, agriculture, and business. And in keeping with our purpose we went beyond a statement of problems at this conference and considered how to get something moving.

We should note progress where there has been progress. Last year we were exhorted to light fires in our own communities: to start spreading the practical, basic importance of education in the life of a solvent, healthy community. In our first conference Drs. Schultz, Ginzberg, Norton, Marion Folsom and others showed us in careful scientific terms that the education dollar is an invested dollar and belongs on the asset side rather than the liability side of our ledgers.

Now, with the direct relationship between education and poverty, and with the reiterated assertion of Secretary Wirtz that we must make education the No. 1 business in the country, the interrelation between education and the economy has become a truism. I would like to think that the NCSPS had something to do with the acceptance and circulation of this concept. We should not exaggerate, but neither must we minimize the speed and power of a new idea when it reaches the heart of a universal problem. Now, as Howard K. Smith succinctly stated, we assert that "in the end only education can solve poverty. Only education can end or diminish racial fears and hatreds. There lies the answer to war and to cold war."

First, I would like to summarize briefly the common themes that were stressed by our distinguished speakers during these days—themes which point to areas where the NCSPS can exert further leadership. For we do not assemble simply to mull and muse over vital statistics. We are summoned together to act toward a common goal.

And although we are aware, as Dr. John Galbraith told us, that many of the enemies of education are simply "selfish," we are equally aware that the basic problem lies in us as citizens. We have seen patterns of activity, as in Prince Edward County, and we know that determined people prove effective when they start working together.

Looking ahead, then—in the glow of present recognition of the educational problems in the communities—we must stir local and State organizations into greater and more disciplined action. We must create what Walter Reuther described as a "national coalition of conscience." And we must do it while maintaining and protecting, in Harold Taylor's words, "the magnificient diversity of American culture, cherishing the richness of the diversity, and giving to each culture its chance to be known and valued." For this, as he said, "is our strength and the special quality of the American proposition." And, as Mr. Reuther added, we "must brush aside complacency to build the dream."

In his keynote speech, Dr. Galbraith encompassed our goals with his accustomed eloquence, noting that only through education can youth avoid being excluded from the productive segment of our society. Contrary to Marxist theory, our mechanical development has liberated the worker and given him increased leisure. Our aim is to take people from the assembly line into the front office but we must realize that, without education, they would be unemployable in their

[1] Mrs. Meyer was unable to give her conference summary in person. In her absence, the summary was delivered by NCSPS Vice Chairman Harold Taylor.

new surroundings. Our economic future is tied to edcation and those who remain politically unaware of this will be swept aside because of their own devotion to economy, ignorance, and the McGuffey reader.

Dr. Galbraith called for a practical program that would isolate areas of extreme poverty and transform them through specific and massive Federal support. Since the affluent areas would not be involved, he wryly commented, they could hardly complain of Federal control. They would simply not be eligible. Into these areas of knowledge blight would go more than 10,000 skilled and highly paid teachers backed up by new schools and educational aids.

Professor Galbraith said he would deal with a large and complex problem by reducing the target and making it recognizable, for a thing is easier done when its dimensions are visible. And it is in the educatonal slums, the Negro ghetto, that we have the most manageable and the most doable situations.

It was Harold Taylor's proposal that, in addition to such a National Teaching Corps, a volunteer group of from 1 to 10,000 young college students could reach the areas of greatest deprivation each summer, possibly using local college buildings, and that this figure be regarded as a beginning. He also pointed out the opportunities that existed in Mississippi this summer.

Dr. Galbraith concluded with a vision reaching beyond the physical changes of the automation revolution. Science and technology, he pointed out, are not the final frontiers. Beyond these are taste, charm, beauty, the human things which establish values in our life and make leisure meaningful. America, the affluent, is not America the beautiful, and the gross national product has expanded with ugliness in its wake.

Thus, by reaching through economics to philosophy, he challenged us with an action program. And Dr. Galbraith, the university man, proved in his own person the finest argument for universal education.

Harold Taylor emphasized that public education has become primarily an instrument of national policy dominated by military and economic goals. It is these goals that have determined the qualifications for talent and, in their pursuant, we have excluded other goals with wider horizons. Moreover, he stated, we are constantly distracted from dealing frontally with the education of the poor, which creates a permanent threat and danger to our entire social and economic structure. It is already too late for us to abandon our thinking that education is simply a way of transmitting white middle-class Protestant culture.

Walter Reuther looked at the same facts with an equal insistence that education is a national problem, calling the Federal-aid-to-education issue a sterile debate. He found the enemies to be complacency and indifference, calling for—instead of these two human characteristics—an "aristocracy of achievement resulting from the democracy of opportunity."

Deploring current thinking that equates education with the ritual of grinding out larger numbers of technicians and scientists, he addressed himself to the millions who live in the "subbasement of our social structure." And he repeated that only through civic anger and action can the national coalition of conscience disprove Khrushchev's belief that the United States is only capable of total effort in the face of total war.

Throughout all of the conference we heard the strong call for political action, with a much greater role for the teacher in the field of public policy. As Arthur Pearl was quoted as saying: "There are more teachers than teamsters but their influence on the political structure is a lot less than the teamsters."

Dean Bailey challenged the teachers to abandon their traditional aloofness, their isolation from the active forces of the community. Dr. Bailey noted that the most effective organization among teachers for this type of activity is the most unusual. "In most States," he said, "disorder and naivete are the schoolmen's outstanding political characteristics." Educators are overorganized, with a myriad of small and special groups, but no sense of common direction and program.

"The root difficulty," according to Dr. Bailey, "is that too few States have a permanent forum where ardent schoolmen can organize their interests and coordinate their activities into orderly political campaigns."

We can all learn and profit from the successful operation which Dr. Bailey sets forth as the northeast pattern. Here a conscious effort was made by the advocates of public education to get behind a consensus to increase State aid for local school districts. The key was cooperative effort between teachers' associations, women voters, school boards, parent groups, civic clubs, and other organizations. The energy at first came through organized effort by the teacher organizations, who coordinated the groups to present a unified front before the State government. It was the school board that did the actual persuading before the public bodies.

Dr. Bailey exhorts the teacher to recognize that public education is one of the most thoroughly political enterprises in America. Public need must be translated into public policy and the schoolman must not only be politically aware, but he must be influential in politics if education is to move forward.

Addressing us were some of the most effective leaders of American life. These speakers had two things in common, their talent for practical accomplishment, and their commitment to public education.

Frank Pace made it clear that: "Business is finally becoming aware of the necessity for education." So are unions. Three hundred years from now, he said, this will not be the century in which we broke the atom or fought great wars but the century in which mankind spread the benefits of civilization to all mankind. We must now start the movement of the future.

Senator HUMPHREY made it clear that the important thing, in his judgment, is to foster the individual—and that only our education system can cultivate the individual. "When we give the same thought to education as we do to our fear of communism, then there will be progress."

The sincerity of our greatest living general, Omar Bradley, emphasized again the quality of the individual, an education developed through the careful, patient process of the public school, where the love of learning can become the delight of youth, a youth undistracted and truly able to develop his mind and his curiosity .

And Secretary Wirtz challenged us with the fact that if it was right to go to school until 16, in Massachusetts 100 years ago, then it must somehow be wrong now. We cannot make education the No. 1 business of the country by applying the criteria of the last century—and "we have to make education the No. 1 business of America."

No member will forget, for a long time, the comments of Herbert Block. Mr. Block's particular way of expressing himself about education places him very close to the center of American life, education, and social comment. I wish that there were more educators who could speak as well as Herb Block about education, even if they do not draw cartoons.

Our Monday afternoon discussion got us to the bedrock of education. Ole Sand laid out for us the questions and answers reached by the national committee for the NEA's project on instruction. The problems they examined and reported on are the basic ones: what to teach and how to teach it.

As he told us, "It is no longer possible for students to learn even summaries of existing knowledge. Thus the school problem that was once known as 'coverage' is meaningless and obsolete, for coverage is no longer simply difficult. It is impossible." And, at its best, education moves from a "rhetoric of conclusions to an experience in inquiry." This means closer attention to the humanities so that an automated society, when it does have its own created excess leisure time, will be able to use that extra time intelligently, and for the benefit of society and the person.

Dr. Sand put these goals together in a wisely chosen phrase from the late President Kennedy, in which the President told us that we must look forward "to an America which will not be afraid of grace and beauty."

We were given insight into a most unusual experiment, in a sense a perfect test-tube situation. In a report presented by Dr. Neil Sullivan on Prince Edward County, those of us who had not yet heard learned that for 4 years (1959–63) there were no public schools there at all. As Superintendent Sullivan of the Prince Edward Free School Association told us, these children "were returning to society and knew not what to expect." Quite unusual methods were required and Dr. Sullivan happily brought with him a wide and varied experience in other communities.

He was able to experiment fully since there were no precedents in the community and, of course, the rest of the country can surely benefit from the innovations which permitted the rebirth of learning in Prince Edward County, Va.

There was no single road to a single goal. There was need in every direction and a compelling responsibility to answer each need. Traditional grade patterns were scuttled in favor of "compatible groups" that permitted the teaching process to move into instant action. Even more important in the educational limbo which was existent in Prince Edward County was compatibility among teachers. The crisis in Prince Edward County afforded neither the time nor the patience for the usual teaching habits that permit teachers to work in fields where they are not at their best. "Teaching teams" were formed for the full utilization of precise and individual teaching abilities.

The elimination of rote learning, the use of modern teaching aids, and the reawakening of dormant functions outside the curriculum created pride among the students themselves and this developed simulanteously with an expanded community program that brought citizens into full and rich contact with both teachers and students.

Thus, from the tragedy of Prince Edward County came a challenge that brought an educational renaissance and a practical lesson. The problem of racial integration became less real each day for, as Dr. Sullivan pointed out, "the children lost their color concept once they were intimately and directly acquainted with each other." As he told us in his closing sentences: "We must join together and truly become not only our brother's keeper but our brother's brothers."

In the same vein, Mitchell Sviridoff told us of the community schools in New Haven, where the philosophy being applied in Prince Edward County was introduced outside the crisis situation. This project, in fact, was its own model for what the school of the future can be, a direct translation of this philosophy of brotherhood and community service into the school.

The purpose of our annual conference is to exchange knowledge and experience, to inspire, to make known our conclusions to the country. But the ultimate purpose must be

to devise a course whereby we may each act, each in his own sphere, to advance a common purpose.

It is certainly the conclusion of this conference that the public school issue must be attacked at the local and State level by each of us working in coordination with other groups, be they civic, educational, or economic. The pattern of State organizations for public education so effectively developed in some of the northeastern communities may become the pattern in other States.

The panel session this morning brought us exciting reports from every section of the country. They were highlights of a trend toward concerted action that will make our fires light up the educational horizon. It is this coalition of effort that must be our theme and our purpose, for this brings us together with common goals, and avoids the fragmentation of wasted effort on divergent projects. Thus we have found a way of carrying out a basic National Committee for Support of the Public Schools purpose. This committee has no single face; it walks no isolated path. Its members were described last year as fire lighters in their communities or, as one member of the committee put it, "it is a committee of pyrotechnical experts" that in their communities must interweave their efforts to help bring the educational coalition to full maturity.

Although, last fall in Oregon, as Mrs. Robert Wiener pointed out, the coalition may have failed in its special assignment, it has succeeded since then in doing other things, including one very important thing: it brought together and in united action, a united front in education that will win victories in the future. Witness Mr. Fred McLaughlin's report from New York, where the largest educational pressure group in the history of the State marked out prime targets for common action. Nor are these areas the only ones to feel the trend toward some sort of statewide citizens coalition.

The Citizens Committee of Philadelphia has been working along these lines for over 10 years, as Mr. Robert Blackburn informed us, and it is now more than 6 years since the Tennessee Better Schools Committee was formed, as we learned from Mrs. E. R. Reisman, who made the classic comment of the conference, "If we're happy with our present legislative representation on school support matters, we had better try, through the democratic process, to find people who do not represent the people."

A more recent drive in forming a coalition was described by Lewis E. Harris in the "Ohio Project–School Finance," and James O'Neil explained the hard facts of political action for schools from the standpoint of a New Hampshire legislator.

Entangled with these various State and city experiences is the recognition of the need for an active and enlightened coalition for education. The NCSPS has done, and will continue to do, its part in making this coalition as effective as possible.

We can say to each other that over these past 2½ days we have been informed, and we would agree we have been educated, with the inspiration of such persons as Galbraith, Reuther, HUMPHREY, Herblock and the others and by all of you who participated in the discussions. I emphasize that the purpose of any such citizens gathering is not to put on an exciting intellectual pageant. The test of organization is not what is said in the meeting, but in what happens afterward. An organizer is judged by what he leaves behind, and what is left behind determines the work of the organization.

I think all of us appreciate the cumulative value of all our efforts in the NCSPS. The many of you who have felt your commitment strongly enough to journey here, and the many who are in close touch and who write to me through the mail—these together make a powerful force throughout the country because we are working and building together.

My friends, we are winning the education fight by educating. The lay leaders of every State are becoming active. We are getting more requests for our materials from those who have heard about their usefulness. The battle can be won if we make this year as effective as the past has been. We are building soundly because we ask for help from localities who can afford it and we ask for help from States that can afford it. We only ask for Federal help for the impoverished areas which urgently need assistance.

Unless we do this, the Nation will be split—not only between the affluent and the impoverished, but between the educated and the ignorant.

As our new NCSPS policy statement put its, "The question of financial support of the public schools is of particular significance at a time of radical increase in the immigration of families, many of whom are educationally and economically deprived, from the rural areas and small cities, to the urban centers—with subsequent tax burdens and fiscal responsibilities on the citizens of particular communities and States. The extreme mobility of population exchange from State to State and from rural to urban areas, now demands reconsideration of the entire financial structure of the system of public education."

The new consensus, which is now shared by the Government, that education is the answer to the blight of poverty, must be followed by the new coalition—the joining together at the community and State level of many individuals and organizations working for the immediate purpose of creating a militancy for education. This must be a militancy which goes now beyond protest, which goes instead to the specific solutions of our local and national problems; and these solutions, in turn, must contain the meanings as well as the hope of a society where quality will be measured in human values.

This will be the ultimate triumph for the committee when it is achieved, and it will also be the ultimate triumph of our democratic society.

Tribute to Hon. Elizabeth Kee

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to sit by the gracious and charming gentlewoman from West Virginia on the Veterans Affairs Committee for many years. I have never known a greater lady who was always kind, friendly and dedicated in the discharge of duty. ELIZABETH KEE kept, uppermost in her mind, the welfare of the country and the welfare of the veterans, their widows, dependents, and orphans. She was always devoted and dedicated to the service of others. I visited her district and know firsthand the high esteem and admiration in which she is held by her constituents. I am a better Representative having known and served with this great lady, who has served in the greatest traditions of womanhood and those principles that made this country the greatest in all history.

Her husband, Judge Kee, served with honor and distinction as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee during a critical period in world history. The gentlewoman from West Virginia [Mrs. KEE] was a superb helpmate to her husband while he lived and loyal and devoted to his memory. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for Mrs. KEE a pleasant rest and much happiness always.

Remarks by Raleigh Rajoppi, President of New Jersey Council of Carpenters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, we in New Jersey are fortunate to have as president of the New Jersey Council of Carpenters a man who has given a great deal of thought and leadership in meeting new problems in the area of labor-management relations. Mr. Raleigh Rajoppi, of Springfield, delivered a provocative talk at the 53d annual convention of the New Jersey Council of Carpenters, and I feel that his suggestions are deserving of consideration. I ask unanimous consent that these remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY RALEIGH RAJOPPI, PRESIDENT OF NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS, 53D ANNUAL CONVENTION, COLONY MOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Again it is my great pleasure and privilege to address the honored guests, officers, and delegates to the 53d annual convention of the New Jersey State Council of Carpenters. In addition to our convention business, I am hopeful that all of you with your friends and families will have a most enjoyable stay here in Atlantic City.

Having achieved many of our goals, it seems to me our chief concern must be long-range planning for the future. We must think in light of long-term capital gains, to paraphrase an internal revenue term. We must think in terms of longtime legislative gains; of changing outmoded building construction methods; of modifying or abolishing restrictive building codes and bidding procedures and breaking down unrealistic land use and zoning requirements.

In addition, the time has come for a long-range scrutiny of our pension and welfare funds to make certain that when we reach retirement age or are disabled and we stop working that we can be certain funds will be available to pay our pensions and to continue them uninterruptedly.

We also have to continue our efforts to modernize and revise our organization's State constitution and to produce a workable program for housing elderly citizens, including our own retiring members, which has bogged down. These are the broad outlines of the subjects and problems which concern us the most. There are now, and always will be, many other problems of lesser importance which are the proper province of your various committees and I am certain

they will recommend fair and workable solutions.

It is time for all of us to scrutinize and study our pension funds, not only in our union but throughout organized labor. I was greatly concerned to learn recently from the New York Times that when the Studebaker plant closed in South Bend last December, the accumulated pension rights of practically every man on the work force under age 60 were washed away. Neither Studebaker nor the United Auto Workers Union could be blamed for this situation, since both had lived up to the terms of their contract, but the contract itself was based on the assumption the plant would continue to operate. No provision was made in the pension program for a sudden closing.

Under that union contract all money available went first to those already retired and secondly to those now ready to retire. These two groups will get their pensions in full but it will take nearly all the accumulated reserves, leaving thousands of workers in the 40 and 50 year age brackets without any benefit at all. Worse still, since they lack employment, these men will not be able to build up their social security credits and therefore face another calamity in reduced social security benefits.

Much the same situation prevailed when about 1,000 persons lost their jobs when American Bakeries Co.'s closed its 103 local Cushman Bakeries. Here again pension benefits will be paid in full to the retired and those ready to retire, leaving little or nothing for the others. In addition to such closings, company mergers frequently have the same effect and loss of major defense contracts can throw thousands out of work with no warning whatsoever.

All over the Nation, not only in labor unions but in many other pension funds as well, the same situation prevails. During the last 4 years 1,832 pension plans were terminated with an average of 150 persons involved in each closing. So seriously has the situation become that efforts are being made through Congress to have a national pension pool created to make good on payment obligations that individual plans cannot meet. Under this program a national pool would be created, financed from premiums paid in by operation pension plans to build up reserves. Another proposal has been for pension funds to take out insurance to guarantee being able to meet their obligations in the future so that the risk can be widely spread among many financial agencies.

Sponsors of these programs are talking in terms of giving workers vested rights at age 30 or 40, but I am convinced it would be better to give workers vested pension rights after 7 to 10 years of service. In this way workers can go from one jurisdiction to another or one employer to another and carry with them pension credits which would protect their rights with their new employers.

A central pension exchange agency would be necessary to carry this into effect, but, of course, it could be done in a single trade union on a national basis such as our own or extended to all those in the building trades. However, if this is done, great care must be done to eliminate the competition among various trade unions for higher pension benefits which now have disregarded actuarial requirements in many cases.

By having reciprocal agreements among various unions, credits could be established for each worker on an hourly basis. In turn these credits and liabilities would be transferred to his home district regardless of where he worked. Such a program would insure workers being covered at all times for their pension and welfare funds and still give them mobility to change their employment as economic conditions varied. As things stand today, many so-called migrant or seasonal workers who move from one area to another on jobs can never establish sufficient credits to qualify.

Consideration might be given, also, to applying merit rating in fixing pension rates so that employers giving continuity of employment would pay less than highly seasonal employers who take on new construction crews for every major job as they move around the State or Nation. Such merit rating already is in effect in New Jersey in determining employer's rates for unemployment compensation, and it might as well be applied, also, to health and welfare funds.

Another dangerous tendency in recent years has been the addition of various fringe benefits to health and welfare funds. While offering many fringe benefits, the real purpose of the health and welfare funds is defeated, and eventually many will be unable to pay the benefits when the maximum claim load is reached. What we need here, it seems to me, is to create separate vacation and unemployment funds within the unions if they are thought desirable by the membership rather than integrating them with the health and welfare fund. In this way each fund would be self-sustaining rather than integrating them with the health and welfare fund. A heavy drain on vacation or unemployment benefits would not impair the security of the health and welfare fund.

Another change that seems needed is the dues structure so that workers who are unemployed will not be compelled to keep up their membership dues, pension payments, and welfare contributions. I have been advised this would be practical by taking 5 to 10 cents an hour checkoff from our members only while they are employed. In this way the man out of work would be able to use all his unemployment or other benefits for living expenses.

So much for our financial problems. So far as our working procedures are concerned, we need a wholesale revision to modernize the entire construction industry or business, call it what you will. As I said last year we no longer can afford prolonged deadlocks over contract negotiations in which the workers lose employment and business loses production. The building trades need longer wage agreements of 3 to 5 years so that business can anticipate its labor cost in planning its production. We must bear in mind this is essential for continuity of employment, which is what all of us want. We must eleminate cliff-hanging contract negotiations and year-to-year seasonal contracts with long periods of idleness in between.

In actual construction work itself, we decry the lack of supervision by mortgagees and building inspectors which have resulted in inferior workmanship, largely from nonunion construction workers. Too frequently mortgagees and builders are interested only in getting a fast return on their money so that houses or office buildings can be sold or rented. This sole concern with the return from sales or rentals, and not with the quality of the finished product, has resulted in many small businessmen and young homeowners being saddled with buildings and homes that are not worth anywhere near their purchase price. Too often also we find building inspectors who are part-time political employees passing on work they know little about. In these days of hundreds of new materials and mechanical shortcuts in construction, full-time trained building inspectors are needed in all municipalities.

Other major elements responsible for excessive building costs are outmoded building codes and land-use plans and zoning restrictions which may have been very workable when they were put into effect many years ago but do not meet today's requirements. The same outmoded bidding procedures and restrictions on use of materials and modern construction methods such as prefabrication also contributes to high building costs.

Our union has taken national leadership in the use of prefabricated units and have proven them to be superior on many items to individually performed work on the jobsite. Both factory prefabrication and on-the-job prefabrication through establishment of small construction units has resulted in demonstrably better workmanship, yet it is barred by many outmoded building codes. We have shown, for example, that as many as 30 perfectly hung and fitted doors a day can be installed by prefabrication, partly on the job, by the same workers who ordinarily would finish only 10 or 12.

Dry wall construction, too, is barred in many areas in New Jersey although acceptable elsewhere and is widely used in large apartment buildings in New York. Our State, county, and municipal building codes must be modernized to permit use of such laborsaving operations which have an end result of better finished products at substantially lower costs for the ultimate purchaser.

Our union is prepared to take leadership to reduce building costs and guarantee better construction by trained union workers if we can persuade financial institutions, builders, and governmental officials to permit modern construction methods with stricter supervision over construction and a land use program revised to meet present-day conditions.

Organized labor has gained under the national legislative program both in terms of bills passed and also in terms of those antilabor bills on which we were able to prevent action.

With the 88th Congress nearing adjournment it is appropriate to consider some of these more important measures as they affect our unions. So far as the building trades are concerned the 88th Congress has a fairly good record of achievements. Many appropriation acts for public works were passed that are certain to benefit the building trades unions, including carpenters, throughout the Nation. The military construction program provides approximately $2 billion for 1964 fiscal year and approximately $1½ billion for the 1965 fiscal year.

An additional $50 million was voted for direct loans for moderate and low-cost housing for elderly citizens and the public works program provides about $11 billion for construction and the Rivers and Harbors Act appropriates $817 million for construction.

The 1963 Higher Education Facilities Act carries over into this year and next with $2 billion program for construction and improvement of academic facilities. All these measures benefit organized labor and carpenters unions will share locally wherever these projects are located.

Most important to organized labor was the passage of the Vocational Educational Act providing a maximum of $180 million annually. This measure makes a promising start in recognizing the importance of vocational training at the national level and is bound to provide skills for many young persons and elderly as well who have little or nothing to look forward to in today's highly competitive job market.

Of immediate concern to all of us was the Personal Income Reduction Act and the civil rights law. It has been calculated the tax reductions will lower personal income taxes for building tradesmen an average of over $200 a year, which should be helpful to most families at a time when the high cost of living has stretched budgets to the limit and caused many persons to forgo small luxuries or household improvements.

Actually the Federal civil rights law does not hit New Jersey with the impact felt in in other States since many of its provisions have been in force here under State law for several years. Essentially the basic dif-

ference will be in enforcement so that aggrieved persons, or those who think they have been aggrieved, will have the opportunity to take their cases before the U.S. Attorney General and the Federal courts instead of being limited to State agencies.

While labor representatives have been successful in preventing action on other antilabor measures, we can certainly expect similar bills to be introduced in the new session next January.

Two measures by Senator MCCLELLAN would amend the Sherman Act to subject labor unions to prosecution under antitrust laws and prohibit strikes by workers employed in certain strategic defense facilities.

In citing this long list of Federal bills my purpose is to show you delegates the complexities and the far-reaching effects of Federal legislation. All these measures I have listed will affect members of our union either directly or indirectly and emphasize the great need for careful study of the platforms of the major political parties.

In a presidential year the strength of organized labor at the polls can influence our welfare to a great degree and it is imperative that we take greater interest in political affairs and in our obligations of citizenship, including the right to vote. We must become more politically minded, not only at the national level but on local candidates and issues, if we are to protect and extend our hard-won rights.

As you can all see, we have made substantial gains since our last convention but we must stand together and work together to project these gains into the future. With your help I know we can do it.

Hon. Harold M. Ryan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable HAROLD M. RYAN of Michigan, did not attain political success by accident. It was the result of hard work, indomitable perseverence, tireless energy, deep study, and carefully regulated, meticulous habits of life.

As one of a large family of 13 children, in less than average circumstances, he struggled during the depression years to obtain a law degree. As assistant prosecuting attorney of Wayne County and State senator—1948–62—serving as minority leader 6 years he came well prepared to assume his duties in the Congress—elected to vacancy upon death of our distinguished colleague, Louis C. Rabaut, of Michigan, February 1962.

He came to the Congress to work and did so with enthusiasm and energy. He has contributed much to the splendid accomplishments of the Public Works Committee. He has served the public interest with marked distinction. Few people realize the amount of laborious application and effort given by dedicated men on such onerous legislative work in committee. Mr. RYAN worked for the common good of all in the public interest.

He is a kindly man, easy to approach and considerate of the problems of others. He is quiet and reserved under ordinary circumstances—but once aroused becomes a formidable and virile opponent. He is well liked and respected by his colleagues.

It is unfortunate that political fortunes cannot be compromised with fate. With the redistricting of Michigan's congressional districts at the last primary, Mr. RYAN was denied the nomination. His retirement returns him to his home city where he once more will find loyal hearts among the honest folks whose sympathetic understanding will nurse the wounded pride of one who served them so well. He leaves Washington with the good will and high respect of his colleagues and the sustaining thought that he served his constituency and the Nation admirably. May our good friend, HAROLD and his family, enjoy great prosperity and happiness with God's blessings.

Once Upon a Time: When Women Fought for Equal—Medical—Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, the story of women's successful fight for acceptance in the medical profession is also the story of the founding in 1850 and the success of Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. Elizabeth Blackwell, one of the first women in American to attain a medical degree, started it all, and Dr. Ann Preston, one of Women's first graduates and its first woman dean, carried the battle to a victorious conclusion.

Philadelphia is now making the bicentennial of the founding of the Nation's first school of medicine—now the University of Pennsylvania's Medical School—and the Bulletin marked this observance September 27 with a special issue of its magazine on "Philadelphia, First City of Medicine."

Under a previous unanimous consent, I introduce into the RECORD from the Philadelphia Bulletin the story of Woman's Medical College, or "One Upon a Time: When Women Fought for Equal—Medical—Rights":

ONCE UPON A TIME: WHEN WOMEN FOUGHT FOR EQUAL—MEDICAL—RIGHTS

Women had a tough time breaking into medicine. The fight over whether they should be admitted to the profession ran on longer than the slavery controversy in Congress.

The fuss centered in Philadelphia. And Elizabeth Blackwell started it.

She was a slender, black-haired 25-year-old from Cincinnati. While nursing a sick neighbor, she had developed a sudden determination to become a doctor; and in 1846 she came to Philadelphia, medical center of the Nation.

She studied as an apprentice with Dr. William Elder and Dr. Joseph Warrington, liberal Quakers, and then felt ready to tackle the medical schools.

Philadelphia had nine at the time. All of them turned her down. Didn't she know women weren't allowed in medical schools?

Elizabeth started a letterwriting campaign to colleges around the country. A little medical college at Geneva, N.Y., decided to take a chance. She was admitted in 1847 and was graduated in 1849—at the head of the class.

News of the first lady M.D. stirred joy among hundreds of women who were struggling for greater freedom and employment opportunity. But the very next woman who applied at Geneva was turned down. The medical college feared that accepting another of these strange females would so mess up its reputation that male students would go elsewhere.

All right, women said, if the male medical schools wouldn't take them, they'd have a school of their own.

Dr. Joseph S. Longshore, of Langhorne, prodded by a sister and a sister-in-law who wanted to study medicine, took the lead. He spent so much time in Philadelphia rounding up support among his Quaker friends that he lost many of his patients. But by March 1850, he had persuaded 17 men—including 7 brave doctors—to serve as incorporators, and they got a charter from the State legislature.

The Female Medical College (the name was later changed to Woman's Medical College) opened in two rented rooms at 227 Arch Street on October 12, 1850. It was the world's first medical school for women. It's still the only one in the Western Hemisphere.

In his introductory lecture, Dr. Longshore said that woman was no longer content to be a "mere doll and puppet, only designed for the amusement and pleasure of the opposite sex." She wanted to play a role in the drama of life, he said; and in the characteristics that made a good doctor, a woman was better qualified than a man.

That didn't impress the other medical colleges. They cold-shouldered the new school. Hospitals wouldn't admit its students for clinical training. No medical journal would print its ads—though the Evening Bulletin and Public Ledger did.

At the first graduation exercises, on December 30, 1851, in Musical Fund Hall, eight women got M.D. degrees. One was Ann Preston, a Quaker of West Grove, Chester County, who in 2 years was appointed professor of physiology—first woman medical professor in America. Another graduate was Hannah E. Longshore, Dr. Joseph Longshore's sister-in-law, who became the first woman to enter private practice in Philadelphia.

Elizabeth Blackwell, who had gone to practice in New York, could find only one landlady willing to rent her an office. All the other tenants promptly moved out.

Hard as it is to understand today, people of that time had the feeling that a woman practicing medicine was something monstrous, immoral.

In 1858, the board of censors of the Philadelphia County Medical Society recommended that its members not have any professional dealings with professors or graduates of the female college. The next year, the State medical society approved this stand.

The doctors pointed out that some of the Women's medical professors were teaching "irregular" medicine. The women acknowledged this. Dr. Ann Preston, who was assuming leadership of the college—though she didn't become dean until 1867—got Dr. Joseph Longshore and a couple of others to resign. She figured the college had to become as orthodox as possible, to win acceptance. But that maneuver got her nowhere.

In 1861, the women organized a women's hospital at 19th Street and North College Avenue to give the students an opportunity for bedside training, vital to a sound education. However, this hospital didn't provide enough variety of cases, and the women kept pressing for admittance into general hospitals.

In 1868, the City Hospital (later Philadelphia General) admitted women students to clinical lectures. The great surgeon, Dr. Alfred Stille, personally welcomed them. And in 1869, the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital—the Nation's top prestige hospital—said the women students could come to the Saturday clinical lectures. Things were looking up.

On November 6, the delighted Dr. Preston and 30 of her students filed into the hospital amphitheater—and got a shattering reception from the male students. "Missiles of paper, tinfoil, tobacco-quids, etc., were thrown upon the ladies, while some of the men defiled the dresses with tobacco juice," The Bulletin reported the next day. After the lecture, "these gallant gentlemen assailed the young ladies with insolent and offensive language and followed them into the street where the whole gang joined in insulting them. It was an action which deprived every man in that crowd of all claim to the title of gentleman."

The following week, professors from Penn and Jefferson and staff members of a number of hospitals had a meeting and voted to "solemnly protest against the admixture of the sexes at clinical instruction."

But the board of contributors to Pennsylvania Hospital insisted that women continue to be admitted to clinical lectures. Thereupon, the stately Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, chief surgeon, resigned.

It took him 6 years to relent and come back—and lecture to mixed classes.

Meanwhile, in 1867, the county medical society had drawn up a manifesto explaining its opposition to lady doctors. A woman was physically and emotionally too frail to bear the burden of medical practice, it said. If she became a mother, how could she run out day and night to visit patients? And if she consulted with male doctors about male patients, she would become hardened to discussing anything and would lose her femininity.

The women brushed that off and kept knocking at the door of organized medicine.

One of their champions was a leader of the Montgomery County Medical Society—Dr. Hiram Corson, whose niece had graduated from Woman's Medical. In 1871, he got the State medical society to cancel its approval of the Philadelphia society's stand on women. In 1874, county medical issued new bylaws minus any reference to women doctors.

Encouraged, Woman's Medical proposed five women for membership. They were rejected. The same five were proposed the following year. Rejected again.

Thirteen more years went by, during which the first woman intern was appointed at the City Hospital, the first woman staff physician was appointed at Pennsylvania Hospital's Department for the Insane, and Jefferson's famed Dr. W. W. Keen accepted a professorship at Woman's Medical College.

In 1888 the women made their shrewdest move. They arranged a reception honoring their supporter, Dr. Hiram Corson, for 60 years of medical practice, and set up a reception committee in which the names of women doctors were mingled with 13 big-name medical men. And in case the message still didn't get through, the women personally visited doctors they knew had been voting against them.

Two weeks later, one of their graduates, Dr. Mary Willets, was proposed for membership in the county medical society, and was voted in.

The woman doctor had finally arrived.

To today's county medical society, the antifeminism of the past seems like a bizarre dream. Today women doctors have complete acceptance. A woman has served on the society's board of directors, a woman heads one of its important committees, a woman is a Pennsylvania delegate to the American Medical Association.

Woman's Medical College has steadily grown. Its roster of graduates now exceeds 2,750. Among them have been the first Negro M.D., first woman medical missionary, the founder of the first woman's hospital in China.

In 1930 the college and its hospital moved to a 10-acre site at 3300 Henry Avenue. A nurses' residence and a preventive medicine wing were added in the 1950's, a seven-story research wing in 1960.

The 244-bed hospital treats men and women. Its medical staff has approximately equal numbers of men and women. This year the college installed as president and dean Dr. Glen R. Leymaster—the first male dean in almost a century.

It seemed like the final act of reconciliation between the sexes.

Burbank, Daisies, and Santa Rosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an excellent article entitled "Burbank, Daisies, and Santa Rosa," from a recent edition of the San Francisco Sunday Chronicle written by Margot Patterson Doss and forwarded to me by Sidney Lawrence, Jr.

As one who represents the district in which the great Luther Burbank was born and scored his early triumphs in horticulture, and as one deeply interested in having his beautiful creation, the Shasta daisy, designated as the national flower, I am very grateful for this fine article.

The Shasta daisy is a natural, one of the genius Burbank's greatest handiworks, naturally adapted to be the national floral emblem.

The towns of Lancaster and Lunenburg in my district which are so closely associated with the life of the great Burbank are, of course, especially interested in my pending bill to make the Shasta daisy the national flower, and so are many other communities and thousands and thousands of people throughout the Nation who realize, as residents of my district do, the superlative qualities of the Shasta daisy.

I hope that the Congress will take favorable action in this matter, so that the name of America's greatest horticulturist and his magnificent creation, the Shasta daisy, shall be linked in one action by the Congress to give to the Nation the most beautiful floral emblem of all—the Shasta daisy.

The article follows:

BURBANK, DAISIES, AND SANTA ROSA

(By Margot Patterson Doss)

"A gallant plant that will grow almost anywhere, flourish in any sort of soil, that requires little care, and that bears through a long season profuse loads of beautiful, golden-hearted, wax-white Shasta daisies." That is the way its inventor or hybridizer, Luther Burbank, the plant wizard, as he was known in his lifetime, described what may soon become the national flower of the United States.

"I found a Japanese daisy, small and waxy, a Michaelmas daisy in England that was large and showy but of poor color, and the little New England daisy, which was sturdy and a profuse bearer. Nature had made these variations of the original daisy possible; I used nature's own methods to recombine those three heredities," Mr. Burbank recalled in his autobiography, "The Harvest of the Years," in what is almost an analogy for the "melting pot" philosophy of America's potential for greatness.

It was in nearby Santa Rose, an hour's drive north of San Francisco, that Burbank developed the Shasta daisy, as well as thornless cactus, fragrant calla lilies, and white agapanthus. He also produced hundreds of new varieties of vegetables and fruits, especially plums, including a stoneless one and an unlikely one called the plumcot, whose father was an apricot. Conceivably this fruit could also be called an apriplum and served in swank ski lodges apres Swiss fondue.

A bearing plumcot tree can still be seen today in the gardens where Luther Burbank worked. Through the generosity of his widow, the Luther Burbank gardens are open to the public at no cost and are well worth a walk of exploration. They are best, of course, in bloom or in fruit, but pleasant at any time of year.

As in many small towns, the courthouse square makes the best landmark. Burbank Gardens lie 5 blocks south on Santa Rosa Avenue between Tubber and Charles Streets. Enter at the main gate, a brick pavilion constructed in 1959 when Leland Noel and the Santa Rosa Recreation and Park Department, prompted by local garden-clubbers, redesigned the gardens to dramatize the Burbank plant material. Half a dozen bronze commemorative plaques adorn the pavilion.

At the outset, for a stunning effect, look east across a sundial in a tremendous copper lotus bowl to a waterfall and pool beyond. To find a bed of Shasta daisies, walk left toward the quaint greenhouse where Mr. Burbank worked. As he requested, the great horticulturist lies buried under a tremendous deodar, or Cedar of Lebanon, in front of the greenhouse. This area together with its carriage house and residence, was Mr. Burbank's home and is still private property, closed to the public. To see photographs, tools, and mementos of the white-haired little "Big Chief," as he was known to his workmen, seek out the circular walk that loops the pool. Folders and historic material are in the garden shelter under the mulberry trees. Here at the right season, the observant walker who thought Fuzzy Wuzzy was a bear may be surprised to discover fuzzy wuzzy is a plum, the yangtao or *Actinidia chinensis*, and it can climb. Instead of being a tree, it is a vine on the pergola trellis.

The plumcot tree is south, near the Tupper Street gate. While picking fruit from the trees isn't permitted, no one objects to visitors who sample a groundfall. Other of Mr. Burbank's plantings are interspersed at the rear of the garden.

When the horticultural curiosities of Burbank's lifework have been visited, the walker has another treat exactly across Santa Rosa Street, in Julliard Park. One of the most beautiful chains of graduated ponds in California, a church built of one tree, a grove of blooming magnolia trees, and a rose garden and picnic ground are just a few of its enticements. As if two parks abutting one another were not unusual enough, Santa Rosa also offers yet a third in the row, the Leonard Howarth Memorial Playground, with children's play apparatus, tennis courts, and a baseball diamond. It abuts Julliard Park at South Street, an arrangement that would have seemed suitable to Mr. Burbank, who loved children as he loved plants.

Richard Wilson, Chief of the Washington Bureau, Cowles Publications, Reviews a New Book on Urban Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN KYL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpt from a review, by Richard Wilson of the Cowles Publications, of a new book on urban renewal which concludes that this Federal program should be repealed. I also include excerpts from chapter 14 of that book.

Mr. Wilson's review was published in the September 27, 1964, issue of the Des Moines, Iowa, Register and Tribune, on the editorial page.

The excerpt follows:

For 15 years, this program has been underway. It has been examined in a very critical light in a book to be published under the respectable imprint of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The analysis by Martin Anderson is about as critical as a professorial tract can get, describing the program as a dismal failure that stands in sorry contrast to better efforts by private enterprise guided solely by the demands of the free market rather than the esthetes of the Urban Renewal Administration.

Of course, urban renewal is a form of private enterprise. The Government subsidizes the razing of blighted areas for sale to private developers, who in turn develop it with Federal financial help under the direction of a local agency.

MIT and Harvard are sending the Anderson study to scores of prominent people in public life. Anderson's chief recommendation is the abandonment of the program after the completion of authorized projects.

This study is being published at a good time because it is so evident that the Federal Government has prepared the ground for new advances into the field of government and local cooperation opened up by programs like urban renewal. This has been one of the little noticed major trends initiated in the Kennedy administration and now to be carried further in the Johnson administration. President Johnson is much sold on the idea of new local-Federal cooperation.

REPEAL THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM—CHAPTER 14

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

If the Federal urban renewal program is undesirable in its present form, what should be done? There are four paths the program could take in the future:

1. The program could be continued under the same principles and expanded.

2. The program could be modified so that it would work effectively without any of its present detriments.

3. The program could be eliminated and its main functions turned over to other Federal and local agencies that are set up to attempt to deal with these problems more specifically.

4. The Federal urban renewal program could be repealed.

Let us take a look at the implications of each path.

If the program is maintained in its present form and expanded, it is almost certain that the same difficulties encountered in the past will also be encountered in the future, only on a much larger scale. Drastic steps would become necessary as the number of people forced to move and the amount of money spent increased. The cost in freedom and dollars would be tremendous.

So far the "incentives" of land writedown, large assembled tracts of city land, and Government-financed mortgages have not been sufficient to attract private developers on a large scale into urban renewal areas cleared of tax-producing property. More powerful Government incentives would be necessary to direct and induce development in urban renewal areas. For example, some of the ones that might have to be used are:

1. Increased local real estate tax concessions.

2. Increased Federal share of net project cost.

3. More emphasis on rehabilitation, with substantial financial assistance from the Federal Government.

4. Subsidized Federal loans to private developers at below market interest rates.

5. An extension of all these "incentives" to commercial and industrial construction.

Government controls over housing would have to be expanded. The relocation problem would grow swiftly and require more direct control by Government officials. Vast areas of city land would come under direct control of local city officials and under indirect control of Federal officials.

All the steps that would tend to accelerate the program and that would produce quantities of gleaming, new buildings would require substantial increases in the amount of public subsidy and governmental control. In view of what such an expanded program would probably accomplish, these costs are not warranted. Expanding the present program is not a sensible course of action.

Perhaps a sounder course would be the second alternative: modify the present program. Let us examine some of the actions that could be taken. These are not presented as the best solution, but merely as a way of alleviating a bad situation.

The first modification that should be taken is to protect the people who become the pawns of the urban renewal game. If the program must continue, neither families, individuals, or businesses should be forced to move unless good housing they can afford has been located in good neighborhoods in which they would like to live. It seems inevitable at this point that a greatly expanded public housing program is the only way to provide this. In effect, the pace of the urban renewal program would, in large part, be determined by the pace of the public housing program.

Second, project areas should be developed piecemeal; that is, the whole process should be staged. It seems senseless to destroy thousands of private homes in the name of urban renewal and then to use the cleared area for a parking lot while the city scurries about trying to induce some private developer to build something.

Third, nobody should be forced to leave his home until firm commitments have been received from private developers for development of all the land that is to be cleared.

Fourth, the Federal share of the program could be put on a matching cash-for-cash basis. The Federal taxpayers would match in cash any cash that the city taxpayers put up. This would effectively discourage many of the cities who are engaged in Federal urban renewal only to make sure they get their share of the available money.

Fifth, each urban renewal project could be voted on in a citywide special election. This would reflect more accurately the attitude of the people living in the city toward the whole concept of urban renewal, and could keep some of the main issues before the public.

Sixth, do not allow the Federal Government to subsidize the construction of apartment buildings, which can be occupied only by high-income families, by selling the urban renewal land for less than it cost to assemble, clear, and prepare it. If low-income housing is to be replaced with luxury housing, the least that can be done is to make sure that this housing is not partially paid for by the Federal taxpayers.

Seventh, make it clear to the people of the United States that the Federal Government is loaning large amounts of public money to private redevelopers to finance the construction of these high-rise apartments. If it appears that the taxpayers do not approve of this use of their money, halt the lending program.

The net result of all these actions, which seem desirable in any modification of the program, would probably be a drastic curtailment in urban renewal project activity. If people are not moved out before good housing is available for them, the program will be slowed down considerably because of the slow pace of the public housing program. If large areas of land are not cleared, it will be difficult to get private developers to come in because they will feel that the surrounding area is detrimental to the development of the proposed area. If the Federal Government provides money only on a matching basis, urban renewal projects will cease to be as tempting to cities as they now are. Voting on each urban renewal project would require convincing a majority of the voters that the project was worthwhile. This might make the initiation of a project more difficult. If the Government required the developers who build high-rise apartment houses to pay the full costs of acquiring and developing the land, considerably fewer buildings would be erected. If the Federal Government also stopped lending public funds to private developers to build these apartment houses, the amount of residential construction in urban renewal areas would be reduced even further.

In conclusion, it seems that if extensive modifications of the kind just mentioned were made, project activity would slow down considerably. This illustrates clearly what happens when one attempts to modify an inherently bad program. It becomes obvious that the program cannot work without its bad aspects, and any attempt to lessen the costs associated with the program does nothing more than to slow down the program. The net result is that, while the costs may be decreased, the costs are still there, large and real, and the so-called benefits become almost nonexistent.

The third possible alternative would be to eliminate the Urban Renewal Administration and with it, the Federal urban renewal program. The parts of the Federal urban renewal program that deal with such problems as low-income housing, the financing of middle-income housing, and the financing of community facilities could be transferred to other agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. These agencies have been set up by the Federal Government to deal specifically with these areas. Low-income housing could be taken care of by the Public Housing Administration, the financing of middle-income housing by the Federal National Mortgage Association (these mortgages could also be insured by the Federal Housing Administration to induce private lenders to hold them), and the financing of community facilities by the Community Facilities Administration. The areas of operations that would be eliminated by such a step would be—

1. Federal direction of overall community planning.

2. Federal subsidies of community facilities.

3. The use of the power of eminent domain to seize private property from some so that it can be used by other private individuals for their own purposes.

These eliminations would not be losses; they would be gains.

Of course, many of the basic operations of the program would proceed as before—public housing would be built, housing loans would be made indirectly by the Government, mortgages would be insured by the Government, and local communities could borrow money from the Federal Government to build public facilities. However, these activities would now be clarified so that one could easily find out what was going on in each of the areas, something that is virtually impossible to determine in the complex workings of the Federal urban renewal program.

The fourth alternative is to repeal the Federal urban renewal program. This could be accomplished simply by not authorizing any new projects. All projects under contract would be carried through to completion as quickly as possible if the individual cities desired to finish them. What would be the results of such drastic, radical action? Would slums proliferate, would housing get worse, would cities die? The answers are clearly no—the record of what has been achieved outside of the Federal urban renewal program by private forces is an eloquent testimony to what can be done by a basically free-enterprise system. Compare the accomplishments of the Federal urban renewal program, guided by the visible hand of the urban experts, with the accomplishments of the plans of private individuals, guided by the invisible hand of the free marketplace. If this is what can be accomplished by a relatively free housing market, the rational course of action is to allow it to function, not to attack and fight it. The Federal urban renewal program attempted to run counter to the tide of the private market—the results have been dismal.

CONCLUSIONS

In 1949 Congress attempted to alleviate existing housing and urban problems by the creation of a Federal urban renewal program. Implicit in this was the assumption that the private housing market could not do the job well enough or fast enough without substantial Federal aid. Thus, two forces set forth to grapple with the problems of housing and cities. One of these forces was private enterprise, guided by the complex interplay of the marketplace. The other was the Federal urban renewal program, guided by overall plans prepared by experts.

There are strong indications that private enterprise made substantial gains, while the Federal program did not. The overall results of Federal urban renewal indicate that it is a regressive program, rather than progressive. It benefits high-income groups and hurts low-income groups. Its results, when compared with the results of private forces, are negligible. Its costs, when compared with the results of the program, are high. The total impact of the program on the economy of the United States has been small. From 1950 to 1960 less than one-tenth of 1 percent of all construction activity took place in urban renewal areas. Even its impact on large cities was small; urban renewal construction constituted less than 1.3 percent of all building construction in these cities from 1950 to 1960.

A typical urban renewal project takes a long time. The planning phase for an average project takes approximately 3 years. The overall length of time, from start of planning to completion of new construction, needed for an average project is about 12 years.

The composition of the construction started reveals the character of the program. Of the estimated $824 million of construction started by March of 1961, 56 percent was private residential housing, 6 percent public housing, 24 percent public facilities, 10 percent commercial, and 4 percent industrial. The median monthly rent of the private residential apartments built in 1962, which mainly replaced low-rent housing, was $195. About 43 percent of the new private residential construction is financed by the Federal Government via FNMA. The Federal urban renewal program has actually aggravated the housing shortage for low-income groups. From 1950 to 1960, 126,000 dwelling units, most of them low-rent ones, were destroyed. This study estimates that the number of new dwelling units constructed is less than one-fourth of the number demolished, and the most of the new units are high-rent ones. Contrast the net addition of millions of standard dwelling units to the housing supply by private enterprise with the minute construction effort of the Federal urban renewal program.

It is commonly believed that most of the total cost of the Federal urban renewal program is borne by private enterprise. Somewhere between $3 to $5 of private investment is expected to result from every $1 public investment. In light of developments in this study, these figures seem overly optimistic. It appears that the amount of private investment generated by each $1 of public investment is closer to $1; and because a substantial part of urban renewal construction activity is shifted from other areas, the net gain is probably in the order of $0.50.

The personal costs of the program are difficult to evaluate. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forcibly evicted from their homes in the past and it will not be long before the number passes the million mark. The indications are that these people have not been helped in any significant way. Their incomes remain the same, they are still discriminated against, and their social characteristics remain essentially unchanged. It appears that the Federal urban renewal program has not achieved its social objectives to any measurable extent in the past, and, if the program continues in the same pattern, it is unlikely that it will achieve them in the future. On balance, the Federal urban renewal program has accomplished little in the past and it appears doubtful if it will accomplish much in the future. This raises a serious question: On what grounds does the Federal Government jutify continuing and expanding the present program?

It is recommended that the Federal urban renewal program be repealed now. No new projects should be authorized; the program should be phased out by completing, as soon as possible, all current projects. The Federal urban renewal program conceived in 1949 had admirable goals. Unfortunately it has not and cannot achieve them. Only free enterprise can.

Statement of Senator Wayne Morse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter dated May 28, 1964, from the Honorable Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, and the statistical summary attached thereto be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and summary were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D.C., May 28, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Because of your special interest in education, I am happy to send you the enclosed progress report on activities in the State of Oregon under programs administered by the Office of Education.

The two cover sheets contain a summary of funds for the State for fiscal years 1963 through 1965, and the supporting material gives more detailed descriptions on each program. The 1965 estimates are based on the appropriation bill passed by the House of Representatives on April 14 (H.R. 10809).

We hope that this information will be useful in your communications with the citizens of your State. If we can provide you additional information on any of the programs, or similar data for other States, let us know.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS KEPPEL,
U.S. Commissioner of Education.

"ASSISTANCE TO OREGON"—DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Obligations to the State of Oregon, fiscal years 1963, 1964, and 1965

Program	1963 actual	1964 estimate	1965 estimate
Vocational education	$428,788	$423,595	$1,422,123
Higher education facilities construction			[1] 2,723,857
Colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts	242,040	242,040	242,040
Library services	105,614	105,468	629,401
Payments to school districts	1,194,817	1,545,000	1,730,600
Assistance for school construction	35,592	23,600	35,800
Educational improvement for the handicapped	74,804	([2])	([2])
Cooperative research	68,578	[3] 144,312	([2])
Defense educational activities	3,315,060	[4] 2,750,431	[4] 3,212,274
Subtotal	5,465,293	5,234,446	9,996,095
Area redevelopment activities	3,027	([2])	([2])
Manpower development and training activities	325,809	[3] 76,019	([2])
Assistance to refugees in the United States	3,230	([2]) 8,311	([2])
Total	5,797,359	5,318,776	9,996,095

[1] Estimate is only for "Title I: Grants for Construction of Academic Facilities," and is based on $230,000,000 appropriation. Estimates for "Title II: Grants for Construction of Graduate Facilities," and "Title III: Construction Loans," are not available.

[2] Not available.

[3] Obligations as of Dec. 31, 1963. Total estimate not available. Cooperative research obligations represent new research only.

[4] Estimates for all titles not available.

Obligations to the State of Oregon, fiscal years 1963, 1964, and 1965

DEFENSE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

	1963 actual	1964 estimate	1965 estimate
Title II—Student loans	$1,176,128	$1,480,167	$1,836,865
Title III—Science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction:			
Grants to States for equipment and minor remodeling	766,272	850,000	900,000
Grants to States for supervision and administration	30,952	35,000	52,000
Loans to private nonprofit schools		39,848	50,605
Title IV—Graduate fellowships	513,950	(1)	(1)
Title V—Guidance, counseling, and testing:			
Grants to States	149,648	151,237	176,125
Institutes for counseling personnel	275,505	(1)	(1)
Title VI—Language development:			
Language and area centers	34,506	(1)	(1)
Research and studies		(1)	(1)
Language institutes	136,491	(1)	(1)
Title VII—Educational media research	27,929	(1)	(1)
Title VIII—Area vocational programs	161,679	151,679	151,679
Title X—State statistical services	42,000	42,500	45,000
Total	3,315,060	2,750,431	3,212,274

[1] Not available.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Federal vocational education funds, including area vocational education programs, title VIII of the National Defense Education Act, are matched almost three times by State and local funds in Oregon. Combined expenditures in the State amounted to $2.3 million and provided training for almost 32,400 persons in fiscal year 1963.

Office of Education obligations to the State of Oregon are as follows:

	1963 actual	1964 estimate	1965 estimate
Smith-Hughes Act:			
Agriculture	$37,105	$37,105	$37,105
Trades and industry and home economics	26,508	26,508	26,508
Teacher training	10,000	10,000	10,000
Subtotal	73,613	73,613	73,613
George-Barden Act:			
Agriculture	97,276	97,276	97,276
Distributive occupations	24,339	24,339	24,339
Home economics	96,605	96,605	96,605
Trades and industry	77,890	77,890	77,890
Fishery trades and industry	3,312	3,312	3,312
Practical nurse training	55,753	50,560	50,560
Subtotal	355,175	349,982	349,982
Vocational Education Act of 1963			998,528
Area vocational education (title VIII of the National Defense Education Act)	161,679	151,679	151,679
Total	590,467	575,274	1,573,802

COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS

Oregon State University is the land-grant institution in Oregon. Obligations to the university are as follows:

	1963 actual	1964 estimate	1965 estimate
Morrill-Nelson funds	$50,000	$50,000	$50,000
Bankhead-Jones funds:			
Uniform grants	150,000	150,000	150,000
Variable grants	42,040	42,040	42,040
Subtotal	192,040	192,040	192,040
Total	242,040	242,040	242,040

LIBRARY SERVICES

More than 290,000 rural residents of 12 counties in Oregon have received new or improved public library services under the Library Services Act. Residents in many sections of the State have had bookmobile demonstrations and have voted on the question of establishing permanent county supported library service. The Central Oregon Regional Library was formed by Deschutes and Crook Counties to improve and extend services. Currently the eastern Oregon library demonstration is providing bookmobile and other services to Baker, Union, and Wallowa Counties.

A significant study has been completed and published, "Public Libraries in Oregon," which will materially assist citizens, librarians, library trustees, city, county, and State officials to assess the current status of libraries. This document also gives recommendations for improving library services and stresses the importance of developing library systems.

To help meet the critical shortage of trained librarians, two scholarship awards were made in fiscal year 1963 and three have been granted for fiscal year 1964.

Workships have been held for the purpose of developing State standards for public libraries.

Payments to school districts (Public Law 874)

County, municipality or other appropriate area	Title of project	Amount of award	
		Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964 [1]
Baker	School District No. 5 J, Baker	$24,078	
Do	Hereford School District No. 30-J	8,080	
Benton	Alsea School District No. 7-CJ	5,724	
Do	Philomath School District No. 17 J	2,393	
Do	Corvallis School District 509-C-J	76,453	
Clatsop	Astoria School District No. 1-C, Astoria	21,694	
Do	Administrative School District No. 30, Warrenton.	7,050	
Do	Knappa School District No. 4-C, Astoria	5,380	
Do	Olney Consolidated 11-C, Astoria	4,103	
Do	Lewis and Clark School District No. 5, Astoria	5,937	
Columbia	Columbia County School District No. 5, Clatskanie.	4,458	
Do	Columbia County School District No. 25, Clatskanie.	3,011	
Do	Clatskanie Union High School District, U-5	6,391	
Coos	School District No. 31, Powers	14,137	
Do	North Bend School District No. 13	18,253	
Deschutes	Sisters School District No. 6	17,234	
Do	Redmond School District No. 2CJ	10,258	
Do	Deschutes School District U-1J, Redmond	4,800	
Do	Tumalo School District No. 3C	1,080	
Douglas	Reedsport Union High School District, U-13	10,607	
Do	Douglas County School District No. 15, Days Creek.	12,998	
Do	Drain School District No. 22	11,513	
Do	Douglas County School District No. 4, Roseburg.	50,995	
Do	Douglas County School District No. 21, Camas Valley.	6,123	
Do	Elkton School District No. 34	5,752	
Gilliam	Condon Grade School District No. 25, Condon	13,916	
Do	Administrative County School District No. 3, Arlington.	19,841	
Grant	Seneca School District No. 47	6,923	
Do	Grant Union High School District No. 3, John Day.	9,707	
Harney	School District No. 30, Hines	2,837	
Do	Burns Union High School District No. 2	9,247	
Do	Burns School District No. 1, Burns	12,776	
Hood River	Hood River County School District, Hood River.	6,228	
Jackson	Eagle Point School District No. 9	$26,787	
Do	Butte Falls School District No. 91	6,532	
Do	Prospect School District No. 59	14,034	
Do	Crater Lake National Park	16,590	$14,999
Jefferson	Jefferson County School District No. 4, Culver	5,752	
Do	Jefferson County School District No. 509-J, Madras.	7,031	
Klamath	Klamath County School District, Klamath Falls.	113,823	
Lane	Lane County School District No. 76, Oakridge.	40,291	
Do	McKenzie River School District No. 68, Finn Rock.	43,349	
Do	Lane County School District No. 71, Lowell	13,111	
Do	School District No. 90, Blachly	5,636	
Do	Westfir School District No. 117	6,537	
Do	Siuslaw School District No. 97J	14,800	
Do	Administrative School District No. 32, Mapleton.	27,251	
Do	Fern Ridge School District No. 28J, Veneta	7,480	
Linn	School District No. 129-J, Mill City	2,009	
Do	Albany Public School District No. 5	11,224	
Do	Union High School District No. 2, Sweet Home.	8,826	
Do	Albany Union High School District No. U-8	13,250	
Do	Union High School District No. 9-J, Mill City	8,045	
Malheur	Vale Elementary School District No. 15	4,948	
Marion	Detroit School District No. 123-J	11,434	
Morrow	Morrow County School District R-1, Heppner	18,720	
Multnomah	Bonneville School District No. 46	25,101	
Do	Whitaker School District No. 17, Portland	10,173	
Do	Columbia School District No. 2, Portland	2,041	
Sherman	Sherman County School District No. 3, Rufus	12,047	
Do	Sherman County School District No. 7, Wasco	4,438	
Do	Sherman County High School District, Moro	6,947	
Tillamook	Tillamook School District No. 9	40,844	
Do	Hebo School District No. 13J	8,243	
Do	Union High School District U-3, Cloverdale	6,947	
Do	Neah-Kah-Nie School District No. 56, Nehalem.	11,969	

Payments to school districts (Public Law 874)—Continued

County, municipality or other appropriate area	Title of project	Amount of award		County, municipality or other appropriate area	Title of project	Amount of award	
		Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964 [1]			Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964 [1]
Umatilla	Umatilla County School District No. 61, Stanfield.	$12,422		Wasco	School District No. 9, The Dalles	$17,154	
Do	Hermiston Unified School District No. 8	76,848		Do	School District No. 12, The Dalles	39,585	
Do	Umatilla School District No. 6	40,130		Do	Petersburg School District No. 14-C, The Dalles.	8,717	
Do	Echo Public School District No. 5	3,706					
Do	Ukiah School District No. 80	7,034		Total (75 projects)		1,194,817	$14,099
Union	Elgin School District No. 23	4,024					

[1] Awards as of Dec. 31, 1963.

Assistance for school construction (Public Law 815)

County, municipality, or other appropriate area	Title of project	Amount of award	
		Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964 [1]
Jefferson	Jefferson County School District No. 4, Culver	$35,592	

[1] No award as of Dec. 31, 1963.

EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Expansion of teaching in education of the mentally retarded

	Number of fellowships awarded	Obligations
Fiscal year 1962 (academic year 1962–63):		
University of Oregon	(1)	$10,500
State Department of Education	2	13,000
Total	2	23,500
Fiscal year 1963 (academic year 1963–64):		
State department of education	2	13,800

[1] Stimulation grant of $10,500 awarded to alleviate geographic inequity.

Expansion of teaching in education of the deaf

	Number of scholarships awarded		Obligations
	Graduate	Undergraduate	
Fiscal year 1962 (academic year 1962–63):			
Oregon College of Education	10		$30,060
Lewis & Clark College	5	5	28,850
Total	15	5	58,930
Fiscal year 1963 (academic year 1963–64):			
Oregon College of Education	12		39,979
Lewis & Clark College	5	3	21,025
Total	17	3	61,004

Cooperative research projects initiated 1963–64

Project director and institution	Title	Obligations		
		Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964	Fiscal year 1965
Roland J. Pellegrin and Keith Goldhammer, University of Oregon.	Education decision making in the local community.	$25,487	$38,857	$4,406
Albert R. Kitzhaber, University of Oregon.	A sequential curriculum in language, reading, and composition (oral and written), grades 7 through 12.	22,438	56,859	59,917
Robert E. Agger, University of Oregon	Educational innovations in the community.	20,653	48,596	37,200
Total		68,578	144,312	101,523

Defense educational activities, fiscal years 1963 and 1964—Title II: Student loans, Federal capital contributions

Institution	Funds received	
	Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964
Cascade College, Portland	$32,700	$39,483
Clatsop College, Astoria	9,000	
Columbia Christian College, Portland	8,100	11,550
Eastern Oregon College, La Grande	17,496	27,027
George Fox College, Newberg	6,309	11,101
Lewis & Clark College, Portland	107,386	115,650
Linfield College, McMinnville	42,601	46,800
Marylhurst College, Marylhurst	4,121	8,336
Mount Angel College, Mount Angel	10,449	10,800
Oregon College of Education, Monmouth	76,500	89,916
Oregon State University, Corvallis	250,000	291,450
Oregon Technical Institute, Klamath Falls	58,586	76,228
Pacific University, Forest Grove	19,252	20,893
Portland State College, Portland	90,000	100,330
Southern Oregon College, Ashland	49,400	51,415
Southwestern Oregon College, North Bend	9,000	1,979
University of Oregon, Eugene	250,000	420,116
University of Portland, Portland	87,382	91,800
Warner Pacific College, Portland	14,024	19,996
Willamette University, Salem	33,732	45,306
Total	1,176,128	[1] 1,480,167

[1] Including supplemental.

NOTE.—Amounts do not include loans to institutions or reimbursements for teacher cancellations.

DEFENSE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Title III—Science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction

Grants to States

Approximately 3 to 4 percent of the elementary teachers and 3 percent of the high school teachers participated in programs conducted by the State science consultant in 20 school districts. Students of the Bethel district in Eugene may now study a 6-year sequence of modern foreign language, which some students have completed.

Title IV—Graduate fellowships

Institution	Fiscal year 1962 [1]	Fiscal year 1963 [2]
Oregon State University: Total obligations	[3] $202,200	[4] $165,100
Number of new fellowships awarded, by program:		
Physics	2	
Applied mathematics	2	2
Entomology	2	2
Geology: Sedimentology	3	2
Sanitary engineering	2	2
Solid state chemistry	3	2
Total	14	10
University of Oregon: Total obligations	[5] $364,600	[6] $348,850
Number of new fellowships awarded, by program:		
History	2	
Romance languages	2	
Sociology	2	
Geology		2
Elementary education		3
English	3	4
Anthropology	3	2
Economics	4	3
Mathematics	4	2
Physics	2	1
Comparative literature		3
Chemistry		2
German		4
Business administration		2
Total	22	28
Total	$566,800	$513,950

[1] For study in academic year 1962–63.
[2] For study in academic year 1963–64.
[3] For support of 39 fellows; 25 previously appointed, 14 new.
[4] For support of 32 fellows; 22 previously appointed, 10 new.
[5] For support of 70 fellows; 48 previously appointed, 22 new.
[6] For support of 69 fellows; 41 previously appointed, 28 new.

Title V–A—Grants to States for guidance, counseling, and testing

In 1963 there were 69 approved guidance and counseling programs with 49,522 students enrolled in this program; 145,480, or 91 percent of the public secondary students in the State, were tested at least once during the 1962–63 school year. The total number of tests administered in 1962–63 was 220,808, compared to 278,781 in 1961–62, 268,063 in 1960–61, 140,134 in 1959–60, and 42,620 in 1958–59.

Guidance and counseling programs

Year	Secondary enrollment	Full-time counselor equivalent	Counselor-pupil ratio
1958–59	117,979	53	1:2,226
1959–60	124,345	168	1:740
1960–61	129,857	248	1:524
1961–62	148,025	361	1:410
1962–63	159,415	384	1:415

Guidance and counseling personnel employed in guidance and counseling programs

Year	Full-time personnel	Part-time personnel	Total
1958–59	17	65	82
1959–60	23	299	322
1960–61	38	455	493
1961–62	69	657	726
1962–63	98	596	694

Title V(B)—Institutes for counseling personnel

Institution	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963
Oregon State System of Higher Education	[1] $60,840 [2] 213,781	[3] $53,084 [4] 222,421
Total obligations	274,621	275,505

[1] 40 enrollees (summer 1962).
[2] 30 enrollees (summer 1963).
[3] 30 enrollees (academic year 1962–63).
[4] 30 enrollees (academic year 1963–64).

Title VI—Language development

LANGUAGE AND AREA CENTERS

Institution	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963
Portland State College: Middle East Studies Center	$29,300	$34,506

LANGUAGE INSTITUTES

University of Oregon: Held at Tours, France, for secondary school teachers of French who had already attended an NDEA summer institute in the United States.	[1] $134,096	[2] $136,491

[1] 80 participants (summer 1962).
[2] 80 participants (summer 1963).

Title VII—Educational media research

PT. A—RESEARCH

	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963
Oregon State Department of Education, Salem: "The Need for and Feasibility of Regional Educational Media Research Organizations"	$25,000	
University of Oregon, Eugene: "A Study of Resistance to Television for Educational Purposes: Its Nature, Purpose, and Control"	59,509	
Total, pt. A	84,509	

Title VII—Educational media research—Con.

PT. B—DISSEMINATION

General extension division, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Portland: "A Demonstration Film on Interinstitutional and Interregional Television Teaching at the College Level ('Television, a Teaching Assistant')"		$27,929
Ruark, Henry, Salem: "A Study of the Policy Statements Relative to Responsibilities of State Departments of Education in Various Areas of School Administration, Curriculum, Instruction, Libraries, etc."	$750	
Total, pt. B	750	27,929
Total, title VII	85,319	27,929

Title X—State statistical services

Having completed an excellent State manual on uniform accounting procedures for local school districts, the Oregon department of education is now preparing two additional manuals. National handbooks were implemented in the development of manuals on property accounting and pupil accounting for the Oregon public schools.

One of the first programs implemented under the Oregon State plan for title X was the centralization of statistical services under a single unit. Shortly thereafter, State-sponsored workshops were begun for local district personnel with very satisfactory results. Such in-service training has since become a very important part of the title X program in Oregon, with steady progress resulting in mutual understanding of the problems involved in recording and reporting data from its point of origin to the State level.

A centralized data processing center located in another State agency has been utilized as time is made available; plans are underway to machine process teacher information in fiscal year 1964. Title X personnel have received speical training in several data processing courses covering the field from card punching to computer programing.

Area Redevelopment Act, fiscal year 1963

Training facility and location	Course title	Number of trainees	Approved cost
Grants Pass School District, Grants Pass	Electronics assembler	50	$3,027

Manpower development and training, fiscal year 1963

Training facility and location	Course title	Number of trainees	Approved cost
Portland Community College, Portland	Waiter, formal	36	$5,000
Clatsop College, Astoria	Fish cutter (filleter)	22	1,889
Treasure Valley Community College, Ontario	Tractor operator I (agriculture).	40	31,915
Eugene Technical Vocational School, Eugene	Forester aid	25	30,990
Central Oregon College, Bend	do	25	41,710
Clatsop College, Astoria	do	25	40,805
Blue Mountain Community College, Pendleton	do	25	35,939
South Western Oregon College, North Bend	do	25	41,838
Portland Community College, Portland	Formal waitress and waiter	90	6,960
Do	Chambermaid	33	750
Blue Mountain Community College, Pendleton	Farm equipment operator	44	5,749
Central Oregon College, Bend	Forester aid	20	21,390
Eugene Technical Vocational School, Eugene	do	20	18,896
Salem Technical Vocational School, Salem	Psychiatric aid	60	11,650
Do	Forester aid	20	30,318
Total		510	325,809

Manpower development and training, fiscal year 1964 [1]

Training facility and location	Course title	Number of trainees	Approved cost
Clatsop College, Astoria	Fish filleters (fish cutter)	12	$1,357
Portland Community College, Portland	Insurance specialist	60	18,147
Do	Stenographer (refresher)	60	27,566
Salem Technical Vocational School, Salem	Stenographer	40	16,044
Blue Mountain Community College, Pendleton	Psychiatric aid	45	10,147
Medford Public School, Medford	Farm hand, fruit (orchard pruner)	50	2,758
Total (fiscal year 1964)		267	76,019

[1] Obligations as of Dec. 31, 1963.

Assistance to refugees in the United States—Loans to Cuban students

Institution	Fiscal year 1962	Fiscal year 1963	Fiscal year 1964 [1]
Mount Angel College	$1,209		
Pacific University			$4,336
Portland State College			1,807
University of Portland	2,770	$3,230	2,168
Total	3,979	3,230	8,311

[1] As of Dec. 31, 1963.

SS "Hope" Starts Fifth Year With Visit to Guinea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, as this Congress approaches adjournment, it is appropriate that we have an up-to-date report on the progress of that great humanitarian program, Project Hope. It has been my privilege to encourage and assist this program as much as possible since its inception in 1958; and since 1960 we have all witnessed the heartening good-will achievements of the project's SS *Hope*, and those who have served aboard her.

For the past 4 years the SS *Hope* has demonstrated to the people of Asia and Latin America that we in the United States are dedicated to helping those who wish to help themselves.

In mid-October the white hospital ship docks at Conakry, Guinea, on the west coast of Africa. Perhaps more than any of the other countries the floating medical center has visited, Guinea will test *Hope*'s resources and abilities.

The Republic of Guinea is just 4 years old. This new nation, under the leadership of President Sekou Toure, is attempting to stand on its own feet and is anxious for the kind of people-to-people assistance *Hope* is bringing.

President Toure, who is considered one of the most promising leaders of Africa, has personally requested the aid of Project Hope, and has invited medical personnel from Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast to participate in the program.

The eyes of the world will be focused on *Hope* in the next year. But I have no doubt that the dedicated men and women of *Hope* will acquit themselves in the same miraculous manner as they have in Indonesia, South Vietnam, Peru, and Ecuador.

During 4 years in these four countries, the *Hope* doctors and nurses have trained thousands of medical counterparts in the modern techniques of American medicine. At the same time, they have conducted thousands of operations, treatments, and inoculations.

But, most importantly perhaps, the simple, nonpolitical dedication of these Americans, in the prime of their lives, has captured the hearts of people wherever they have gone.

In strife-torn Saigon, the Communist-infested outer islands of Indonesia, the slums of Peru and the jungles of Ecuador, these men and women in white, through their profesisonal skills and personal interest, have waged their unselfish war against disease, poverty, and ignorance.

Project Hope originated in 1958 when Dr. William B. Walsh, a noted heart specialist and assistant professor of internal medicine at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., was appointed co-chairman of the people-to-people health program by President Eisenhower.

The same year, Dr. Walsh outlined the plans for an organization known as Project Hope, which was to become the principal activity of the People-to-People Health Foundation, Inc. Two years later, a converted hospital ship was launched as the SS *Hope*.

On its maiden voyage in September 1960, the gleaming white hospital ship steamed into various Indonesian ports, then journeyed to Saigon, South Vietnam.

In Indonesia, the *Hope* staff trained more than 500 Indonesian physicians, surgeons, dentists, nurses, and medical technicians.

At Saigon, 28 Vietnamese interns and residents and 200 nurses worked side-by-side with their American counterparts, who also introduced oral surgery and orthopedic rehabilitation to the country.

In Asia, 700 major surgeries were performed and 18,000 patients were treated by the *Hope* medical staff. On the second trip in 1962, to Salaverry, Peru, and the third in 1963 to Guayaquil, Ecuador, *Hope* services touched more than 80,000 persons directly and hundreds of thousands indirectly in South America. Hundreds of doctors and nurses were trained.

Project Hope's $5 million annual budget is primarily financed by private donations. Private industry has contributed millions more in the form of food, medicine, and other supplies and equipment that has been donated during the past 4 years.

The vessel itself is on loan from the U.S. Navy. The American medical personnel aboard the ship during an entire year-long voyage are paid fractions of their regular salaries. The specialists flown to the ship in 2-month intervals work without pay.

When the good ship *Hope* weighed anchor in Guayaquil last September 4, thousands lined the pier to tearfully wave goodbye to the Americans who had devoted a part of their lives to helping them. Similar farewells will be repeated next year in Conakry, and wherever else *Hope* goes with its contributions toward better health for all it serves.

Tribute to Congressman Lester Johnson

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, in all my service here in this great body, I have never known a man more dedicated to his constituency than LESTER JOHNSON. He labored day and night constantly working for the welfare of his people. He made a splendid record here on Capitol Hill for his State and his Nation. My association with LESTER JOHNSON was always pleasant. He was one of the truly great "cloakroom characters" who eased the burden of others serving in the Congress. LESTER JOHNSON'S service here was marked by his diligent devotion to duty, and his attention to those little problems, which is a mark of true greatness. I know of no one I will miss more on the floor, in the cloakroom, in the restaurant and in his office than my colleague and warm personal friend, LESTER JOHNSON. I congratulate the people of Wisconsin for their good judgment and foresight to share LESTER JOHNSON'S talents and devotion to duty with us here in the Congress and with the entire free world.

LESTER married a lovely southern girl. The motto of LESTER and Mrs. Johnson will always be "the other fellow." Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for them much happiness and every continued success.

Congressman Sickles' Statement on State Urban Water and Sewer Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations issued a comprehensive report on "Intergovernmental Responsibilities for Water Supply and Sewage Disposal in Metropolitan Areas." In that report, the Commission recommended that States enact legislation "endowing the appropriate State and local agencies with regulatory authority over individual wells and septic tank installations, with a view to minimizing and limiting their use to exceptional situations consistent with comprehensive land use goals."

This recommendation of the Commission was based upon findings that first, ground water depletion and pollution of both ground and surface waters are serious problems arising from large scale use of individual wells and septic tanks in urban areas; second, many homeowners were confronted with major expenditures because of the necessity of abandoning inadequate wells or septic tanks and connecting to community systems; and third, local governments can provide needed public facilities in orderly and timely fashion at minimum costs if community water and sewerage systems are planned and installed wherever economically feasible. This local planning for water and sewerage facilities should take into account all aspects of community development planning, zoning, population estimates, engineering, and economics.

The need for legislation to implement this recommendation was promptly thereafter recognized and endorsed by such organizations as the American Municipal Association, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Counties, and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is a bipartisan organization established by Congress in 1959 to bring together Members of the Congress, the President's Cabinet, State legislatures, county governing bodies, and the general public as well as a number of outstanding Governors and mayors from across the country. This Commission has been tackling some of the most vexing intergovernmental problems of our time—problems which include, in addition to water and sewer problems, mass transportation, transferability of credits between State and local retirement systems, time uniformity, water resource planning, the coordination of Federal urban development programs, and reapportionment of State legslatures. The House of Representatives is fortunate to be represented on the Commission by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FOUNTAIN], the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH], and the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER]. When the Commission speaks, it represents a considerable degree of consensus among all levels of government.

Following up its recommendation in the water supply and sewage disposal report, the Commission collaborated with the U.S. Public Health Service, the Conference of State Sanitary Engineers, and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in preparing model State legislation to permit implementation of the Commission's recommendation.

The need for a recommendation such as the Commission made with regard to regulating wells and spetic tanks in urban areas was borne out independently by a recent survey the Public Health Service made of State legislation. This survey showed that although every State in the Union has broad authority to regulate sanitary practices, no State has legislation specifically establishing policies which would limit the use of individual wells and septic tanks in urban areas on the basis of comprehensive plans for population distribution and for the provision of public water and sewer systems.

Often the existing type of State legislation can do little to prevent water and sewerage problems until a crisis has arisen. This has been brought home to us in Maryland just within the last couple of months by the closing of some very essential shellfish beds on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, some of which became polluted by seepage from the growing numbers of septic tanks in resort communities. For a number of years, the Baltimore area has been seeking the kind of authority envisioned in the Commission's model State legislation. Our experience in Maryland clearly shows that regulation of individual water and sewerage systems on the basis of comprehensive planning must be undertaken by local governments to a much greater extent in the future than in the past.

Unfortunately, some groups misunderstood the Commission's work and that of the Public Health Service, and they threatened to oppose the model act every step of the way in State legislatures. In their trade journals, the well drillers and pump manufacturers issued what they termed a "call to arms." Headlines in lead articles read, "Everyone can help fight model law," "Industry Forces Meet to Combat Model Law," and "The Model Law: Public Health or Public Planning?"

To thoroughly explore these charges and to make such technical and clarifying changes in the bill as appeared justified the Public Health Service, in cooperation with the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, promptly formed an Advisory Committee to the Service for State Legislation on Planning of Urban Water Supply and Sewerage Systems. The Committee to advise the Service was made up of representatives of Federal agencies, organizations of State and local governmental officials, and industry groups.

The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service has just reported, on October 1, that following a third meeting of the advisory committee, agreement was reached among all members on an improved and clarified version of the bill to be known as the Urban Water Supply and Sewerage System Act.

I insert the Surgeon General's press release at this point:

Surg. Gen. Luther L. Terry announced today that agreement has been reached among representatives of key Federal agencies and of several industry groups on a model act to provide orderly planning of urban water supply and sewerage systems in order to protect the public health. The proposed legislation will be known as the Urban Water Supply and Sewerage System Act.

The agreement was reached at a meeting September 29–30 in Washington, D.C., of the Advisory Committee to the Public Health Service for State Legislation on Planning of Urban Water Supply and Sewerage Systems.

The model State act is one segment of a three-part legislative package. The other two segments are a water supply installations act and an individual sewage disposal systems act. The documents will be recommended by the Public Health Service for passage as law in each State. They are expected to be ready early next year. Work on the latter two acts and accompanying regulations has begun and some members of the study group will reconvene during the next several weeks for this purpose.

The 2-day meeting was the third session held since the committee was established in June. During the sessions, the State law suggested by the Service last November was reworked to improve and clarify the legislation provisions and reach agreement on basic issues involved.

Members and organizations participating in the series of meetings were as follows:

FEDERAL AGENCIES REPRESENTED ON THE COMMITTEE

Water Industries and Engineering Services Division, U.S. Department of Commerce: K. L. Kollar; Milton Frank.

Geological Survey, U.S. Department of the Interior: C. L. McGuinness.

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Norman Beckman.

Housing and Home Finance Agency: Thomas Morehouse.

Office of General Counsel, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: Sidney Edelman, David A. Schuenke.

Public Health Service: Wesley E. Gilbertson, chairman, and Malcolm C. Hope.

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED ON THE COMMITTEE

American Municipal Association: Donald A. Slater.

American Society of Planning Officials: Robert M. Leary.

Conference of Municipal Public Health Engineers: Joel Beall.

National Association of Counties: Robert B. Mathias.

National Association of Home Builders: Joseph A. Singer.

National Water Well Association: Edward Martin.

Urban Land Institute: Max S. Wehrly.

Water Systems Council: Thaddeus Snell.

Conference of State Sanitary Engineers: Robert M. Brown.

Septic Tank Industry: James Spear.

The statement of findings and policy in the agreed-upon model bill states the objectives of the legislation:

(a) The (State) legislature finds that properly planned and installed individual and community water supply systems and sewerage systems in and near urban areas (1) assure the availability of safe and ade-

quate water for various purposes, including drinking and culinary use, (2) promote the health and welfare of citizens of this State by preventing the pollution of ground and surface water, (3) eliminate nuisances and hazards to the public health, (4) contribute to proper conservation and use of ground water, and (5) encourage economical and orderly development of land for residential, industrial, and other purposes, and are essential to the orderly processes of urban growth.

(b) It is, therefore, declared to be the public policy of this State to eliminate and prevent health and safety hazards and to promote the economical and orderly development and utilization of water and land resources of this State by encouraging planning and provision for adequate individual and community water supply systems and sewerage systems and by providing for the standards and regulations necessary to accomplish these purposes.

The model bill's purpose is not to arbitrarily and unnecessarily limit or outlaw private water supply and sewage systems in urban areas. Rather the model bill would endow State and local agencies with the regulatory authority over the installation of such wells and septic tanks in urban areas and encourage the use of community water supply and sewerage systems in urban areas of current or anticipated high density and individual systems in the areas of low population density, in accordance with comprehensive plans for orderly development of the area.

The Public Health Service, along with the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and other organizations, will recommend the passage of this legislation in each State. It is hoped that the pump manufacturers, well drillers, and other industry groups will actively support this legislation which they helped prepare. Most important, I, for one, certainly hope that the States and localities will promptly take up the challenge of enacting this model bill and providing orderly planning and provision of safe and efficient water supply and sewerage systems in our burgeoning suburban areas throughout the country.

Hon. Donald Bruce

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, I was surprised to learn of the retirement of our colleague, DONALD BRUCE. It was my privilege to officiate as Speaker pro tempore on Special Orders in the House numerous times at the request of our beloved Speaker, Mr. MCCORMACK—and Mr. BRUCE actively participated in the addresses and discussions with the membership.

He was an able and articulate individual who, because of his previous training as a commentator, gave promise of the intellectual energies he so well displayed in his work in the Congress.

His vast store of acquired knowledge in the field of communism made for him a reputation for being an authority on the evils and dangers confronting the liberty-loving nations of the world.

Certainly this energetic, brilliant, sincere, and inspiring political leader should not leave public life permanently. He has a great future in public service and we wish for him and his family good fortune, health, and happiness.

Help for Darkened Minds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, medical science still has not won the battle against mental illness, but the fight goes on in medical centers around the country. One such research battleground is Philadelphia, "First city of American medicine," where the bicentennial of the founding of the country's first medical school now is being observed.

The first medical school was established in 1765 at the College of Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia Bulletin, in a special issue of September 27, tells of the city's pioneering efforts to bring "Help for Darkened Minds."

The first facilities for the treatment of the mentally ill were set up at Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751. The purpose was cure, not just isolation. In 1813, Friends Hospital opened its doors, the first hospital in America exclusively for the mentally ill.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, the father of American psychiatry, practiced in Philadelphia two centuries ago. A hundred years later, in that same city, superintendents of mental hospitals took the first steps toward organization of the American Psychiatric Association.

Under a previous unanimous consent, I introduce into the RECORD from the Philadelphia Bulletin the story of Philadelphia's continuing efforts to find "Help for Darkened Minds":

HELP FOR DARKENED MINDS

Stephen Girard, one of the richest men of his day, carried a tragic burden few ever knew about.

His wife, Mary, became mentally deranged a few years after their marriage. She was admitted to Pennsylvania Hospital in 1790. Four months later she gave birth to a girl, the Girards' only child. The baby lived only 5 months. Mrs. Girard stayed in the hospital till the end of her life, 24 years later. She was buried on the hospital grounds in an unmarked grave.

Stephen Girard, wifeless and childless, "adopted" the orphan boys of Philadelphia as his heirs, leaving the bulk of his fortune to establish Girard College for their education. But he also left a special bequest of $30,000 to the hospital that had cared for his wife.

Pennsylvania Hospital was founded (in 1751) to take care of both the physically and the mentally ill. This was a startling, and heartwarming, innovation. Up to that time, the insane were put into "asylums," which had the sole purpose of preventing them from injuring themselves and others. Now the insane were to be placed in a hospital. The purpose was cure.

The idea was advanced, but the methods were still primitive. Like European institutions for the insane, Pennsylvania Hospital started out using chains, handcuffs, and ankle irons to restrain agitated patients. Another standard item was the "Madd-shirt," a kind of straitjacket that immobilized the arms and legs.

Dr. Benjamin Rush invented the tranquilizer, a chair in which an agitated patient was strapped, with a boxlike device at the top to keep his head from moving. This was supposed to slow his pulse and reduce the flow of blood to his brain. For the opposite type of patients—the depressed and somnolent—Dr. Rush used the gyrator, which whirled them around with the aim of forcing more blood to the brain.

Rush also believed that copious bloodletting—a quart or more at a time—would relieve congestion in the brain.

But these bizarre ideas were only sidelights of the Rush story. They were overshadowed by his many solid contributions to mental healing. These have earned him the title of "Father of American Psychiatry."

Rush wrote the first textbook on the subject. He introduced the moral treatment, emphasizing kindness and sympathy instead of repression. He was the first to advocate separate quarters for male and female patients, and Pennsylvania Hospital soon built a special wing to make that possible. He asked for a strict curb on visitors so that patients would not be "exposed as a spectacle to idle and sometimes impertinent visitors."

He proposed the novel idea that mental patients be kept clean and tidy. He asked that warm and cold baths be provided. He also asked that each room—cell, really—be provided with a "close stool," a kind of toilet recently invented by a British physician, who, Rush said, deserved more acclaim "than if he had discovered a new planet."

He strongly urged that patients be given a chance to work: "Spinning, sewing, churning, etc., might be contrived for the women. Turning a wheel, particularly grinding Indian corn in a hand mill for food for the horses or cows of the hospital, cutting straw, weaving, digging in the garden, sawing or planning boards, etc., would be useful for the men."

This proposal, in 1798, was the beginning of occupational therapy, which still is a fundamental part of treatment. However, in this as in so many other things, Ben Franklin had the germ of the idea first. Before Rush proposed it, Franklin had given the hospital spinning wheels, wool and flax, "to employ such persons as may be capable of using the same."

As the number of patients grew year by year, the need for larger quarters became evident. A farm was bought "out in the country"—now 44th and Market Streets—and a new building was completed in 1841. This became Pennsylvania Hospital's Department for the Insane, later renamed the institute of the hospital. The department for the sick and injured remained at Eighth and Spruce Streets. Eventually the institute abandoned the 44th Street site and transferred its operation to 49th Street above Market, where facilities include a building erected 5 years ago.

Chosen to head the department for the insane was Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride, a Quaker from Morrisville, Pa. Dr. Kirkbride, a Penn graduate, was a gentle, kindly, immensely devoted man, who had a remarkably calming effect on patients. He served as superintendent for 43 years, until his death at the age of 75; and to most Phila-

delphians, the institution was known not as Pennsylvania Hospital but as "Kirkbride's."

Dr. Kirkbride early established himself as a leader in the care of the mentally ill. In 1844, superintendents of 13 mental hospitals met in his home at 46th Street and Haverford Avenue and took the first steps toward organization of the American Psychiatric Association.

In 1856, he wrote a book on construction of mental hospitals. It served as a blueprint for many States. Wherever you travel in the East and Midwest, you will see mental hospital buildings that look like Pennsylvania's.

Dr. Kirkbride stressed early treatment; high qualifications for attendants, who were to be companions, not mere keepers; kindness rather than restraint; attractive surroundings; increased use of the outdoors; increased liberty for patients.

But knowledge of the origins of mental illness still was cloudy. A typical report on patients listed the following causes for their mental derangement:

"Anxiety for wealth, loss of property, intense study, disappointed affections, dread of poverty, political excitement, want of exercise, nostalgia, engagement in a duel, stock speculations, mortified pride, celibacy, the use of tobacco, tight lacing."

In 1888, America's first outpatient clinic for the emotionally troubled was opened at Pennsylvania Hospital's Eighth and Spruce Streets building. This focused attention on the milder forms of mental illness.

A long about this time there appeared two slim medical books which attracted wide interest among doctors and laymen. The author was one of the most colorful of Philadelphia doctors, S. Weir Mitchell.

One book, "Wear and Tear, or Hints for the Overworked," was the first to call attention to the stresses of urban living and the increase in nervous diseases. It warned of the harmful effects of taking business worries home, hasty meals, failure to relax. It recommended outdoor exercise, a limitation on the hours of work, frequent holidays, hobbies, and alternation of mental and physical labor.

The other book, "Fat and Blood," introduced the public to Dr. Mitchell's treatment for tense, overwrought, chronically fatigued people. He found most of these to be pale and underweight, so he built them up physically and mentally with bed rest, a highly nourishing diet, massage and electrical stimulation of the muscles.

This treatment became world-famous. Patients, mostly women, came thousands of miles to have their nerves unkinked by the gray-bearded doctor.

Dr. Mitchell, a Jefferson graduate, first won notice through treating injuries of Civil War soldiers. He was the first to use massage for muscles palsied by nerve wounds, first to use atropine to relax muscle spasm. He then became interested in the problem of faked illness among soldiers, and then in the whole field of psychological medicine. In this field, and in neurology, he built up one of the largest consulting practices in the country.

Many stories were told about him—such as, for instance, the case of the hysterical woman patient who swore she could not get out of bed. "Madam," said Dr. Mitchell in the presence of her relatives, "if you are not out of bed in 5 minutes, I'll get in with you." The woman leaped out of bed.

Dr. Mitchell was a fine poet—though he prudently kept that a secret until he had established his reputation as a doctor. He also became a popular novelist. "Hugh Wynne," his novel about the Revolution, sold more than 180,000 copies.

His home, at 1524 Walnut Street, was a Philadelphia social center until his death in 1914.

In the 1930's, the insulin shock treatment for schizophrenia was developed and Pennsylvania Hospital was the first in the country to set up regular facilities for it. In 1940 it pioneered with electroshock treatment.

In 1937, a new mental hospital appeared—the Philadelphia Psychiatric Center, at Ford Road and Monument Avenue. It has stressed intensive treatment of early cases.

Friends Hospital, Adams Avenue and Roosevelt Boulevard, this year set up a cooperative program with Jefferson Medical College to expand psychiatric treatment, education and research. This opens up new avenues of usefulness for Friends Hospital, which was founded in 1813 as the Nation's first hospital exclusively for mental illness. (Pennsylvania Hospital was for mental and physical ailments.)

Two of America's top psychiatric teachers were Philadelphians—Edward A. Strecker and Earl D. Bond. Dr. Strecker, who died in 1959, taught at Jefferson, Yale, and Penn. During World War I, he was the first physician to serve as a division psychiatrist. Dr. Bond, now 85 years old but still consulting occasionally, was a professor at Penn. His students included men who became chairmen of more than one-third of the departments of psychiatry in America's medical schools.

Congressman Lester Johnson

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ZABLOCKI. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. It is with personal sadness, Mr. Speaker, that I note the retirement of our colleague, LESTER JOHNSON. This tribute to him, however, is well deserved. No Member from Wisconsin worked harder or served with greater distinction.

While his tenure of some 11 years is marked by many outstanding contributions in the field of agriculture and farm legislation, the fact remains that he has also steadfastly maintained his progressive-minded interest in all major legislation and matters of public policy and his liberal and progressive attitude faithfully represented the political traditions of his area of Wisconsin.

LESTER JOHNSON's record in agriculture and conservation is a great one and the list of his contributions is long. It is not my role to recite them at this time. It is enough to say the Wisconsin dairymen and the American farmer have lost a champion in the Congress.

Personally his retirement is a loss to me, for no one has aided me more greatly and cooperated in counsel with me more fully in my 6 years of service here. However, I trust that he will certainly continue his public service in some capacity and that he can occasionally be found among us. We will miss him greatly.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in my remarks several paragraphs from my congressional report to the Wisconsin State Democratic Convention, delivered on June 16 of this year:

You have privileged me with 15 minutes of your time. I am going to take no more than that, but I first want to say how much I regret that Congressman LESTER JOHNSON is not sharing this platform today. In his absence, I would like to express my own gratitude for the deep debt we all owe the man whose election in 1953 paved the way for a resurgence of the Democratic Party in Wisconsin.

We have come a long distance since that day in 1953 when Republicans had so hoped to win the ninth as a birthday present for President Eisenhower. Our Democratic Governors have brought to the State the most enterprising government it has had in nearly half a century. They have given new life to Wisconsin's great progressive tradition. Wisconsin Democrats in Washington have played an equally vital role in the forward movement of our Nation, contributing that unique brand of public service which has always been the hallmark of the Badger State in the Capital.

LESTER JOHNSON has, in a very literal sense, blazed the trail for all of this. No man is completely indispensable. No man is truly responsible for all that he makes possible. But everything must have its beginning somewhere, and, in politics, good things seldom happen by accident.

LESTER JOHNSON's election was no accident. It was won and secured by the same patient labor that has characterized his 10 years of service on the House Agriculture Committee. In this post he has ably and persistently struggled with some of the decade's most frustrating questions of Federal policy. You all know that only rarely has major agricultural legislation commanded the support of a majority of the people, of the Congress, or even of the Agriculture Committee itself. This is nowhere as true as in the field of dairy legislation. LESTER's chairmanship of the House Dairy Subcommittee since 1959 has given Wisconsin a voice in the difficult business of making dairy policy. We will miss that voice badly just as we will not easily forget his specific achievements for dairy, rural electrification, and watershed development.

I did not intend to make a farewell speech to or for LESTER today. Still, his retirement is a significant event of the 1964 legislative year, both for the Congress and for the State he has served there so well. Our congressional report would not be complete without mention of it.

Tribute to Hon. J. L. Pilcher

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, J. L. PILCHER is a southern gentleman. I have visited his beautiful home in Georgia, I have visited his apartment in Washington, and in his office many times. He was always balanced, calm, affiable, and friendly. His service here in Congress was marked by a greatness of character that will always be to me an inspiration in dealing with my colleagues and fellow man. Not only hospitable, kind, and courteous, but a man of integrity and

courage who can stand up and be counted.

J.L. will continue to be heard from in the years to come. I predict he will be called upon to serve his country again in another capacity and the Nation will benefit from his experience and leadership.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for our colleague and his lovely wife much happiness and every future success.

Address of Adm. John M. Will at Propeller Club Luncheon, Top of the Fair Restaurant, the World's Fair, October 1, 1964, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, the following address made by Adm. John M. Will to the Propeller Club presents a most refreshing point of view with regard to regulatory legislation enacted by the Congress 3 years ago. Unfortunately, the attitude of the vast majority of the shipping industry has been unqualified opposition, with the result that the legislation has never had a fair trial. I sincerely trust that the statesmanlike position taken by Admiral Will will be adopted by more of the industry so that it can work with Congress to assure fair and effective regulation of a vital element in our foreign trade.

REMARKS BY ADM. JOHN M. WILL AT PROPELLER CLUB LUNCHEON, OCTOBER 1, 1964

It has frequently been charged that meetings of the Propeller Club simply become the forum for shipping men to talk to each other—that little or nothing constructive is actually accomplished toward promoting our merchant marine.

While it is probably and unfortunately true that some of the individual ports operate primarily as social clubs, there are a number of outstanding exceptions. And, so far as the national body is concerned, I think it will be conceded that under the dynamic leadership of Admiral Wilson during the past year, many constructive actions have been taken. The job to be done, however, is much beyond the capacity of any individual, nor should this be expected. It is up to each of us, therefore, to do our part if the purposes of the Propeller Club are to be accomplished.

At the time of our annual Merchant Marine Conference, we undertake to review the events of the past year as they affect shipping. These become the topics of our panel discussions. There is one topic, however, that I believe is not on the agenda. Consequently, when I was asked to prepare a short article for the special Merchant Marine Conference edition of the Journal of Commerce, I selected this one as my subject.

In my view, probably the most significant, and certainly the most publicized event affecting shipping during the past year, was the international controversy sparked by the several actions of the Maritime Commission. Some of you may have read the piece, but for the benefit of those who have not, I'd like to give you the basis of my thinking.

I have said that from the standpoint of the American shipping lines and the conferences in which they hold membership, this controversy may prove beneficial. Bear in mind, if you will, that for nearly 40 years we have had a law (the Shipping Act of 1916) on our books which, had it been properly administered from the outset, would, by now, have been accepted as a fact of life. As it is, it has remained practically untested by enforcement since its inception. No opportunity has been afforded to determine what underlying defects there may be in this major statute. At the time the act was drawn, many of its regulatory provisions were taken from the Interstate Commerce Act. No consideration was given then as to the feasibility of applying these provisions to international commerce.

Now that the present Maritime Commission is undertaking to do what should have been done years ago, the industry is quite unhappy and has registered a degree of opposition to the newly decreed rules and regulations. Actually, having operated with a minimum of restraint or control for so many years, the American-flag lines and their conferences might be likened to the youngster who has been raiding the cookie jar for an extended period without detection.

Regulation of ocean carriers is provided for under American law. Regardless of the position of the foreign-flag lines, the American carriers must obey our laws. The Chairman of the Maritime Commission has given assurances that they will not be administered to our disadvantage. The provisions of existing statutes that need to be changed or eliminated cannot be identified until the proposed rules and regulations are given a fair trial and I think we would do well to get on with the job so we can find out just what the "bugs" are. It is for this reason I feel that the controversy aroused may actually prove to be of benefit to all concerned.

The attitude and reaction of the foreign-flag lines to the Maritime Commission's actions should not be a cause for surprise. No maritime nation, other than our own, has ever attempted to regulate ocean rates and practices. They operate under the internationally accepted doctrine of "freedom of the seas" and feel that in our attempt to regulate our export rates and practices we are, in effect, asserting authority over their imports and vice versa. It is not easy to counter this argument, which probably explains the prolongation of the negotiations Admiral Harllee has been conducting with the foreigners. Undoubtedly some compromise will eventually be reached but I think we should recognize that it is a tough nut to crack.

The delays which have attended the promulgation of the new rules and regulations are not entirely chargeable to the Maritime Commission. Just at the time these were being initiated, the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee, under Chairman DOUGLAS, developed what it considered to be the detrimental effects upon our exports of alleged disparities in export and import ocean rates. The Maritime Commission was called upon to produce a mass of data and to institute a series of "studies." Then followed a series of hearings before the committee at which Admiral Harllee had to appear and each of these invariably created the need for additional data. All of this diverted the attention of the Commission's already limited staff from its originally programed work. The result was to necessitate the repeated extension of dates for the finalization of many of its regulations. It would be well to bear this in mind when we are disposed to be critical of the Commission.

I will not attempt to recount the many misunderstandings and contradictions arising in the course of the hearings before Senator DOUGLAS' committee at which our industry officials testified. Each appearance seemed to increase the confusion and nothing we presented had any apparent effect in convincing the good Senator otherwise than that the ocean carriers collectively are throttling American commerce. Notwithstanding this, I believe the Douglas hearings, too, may have been helpful. For one thing, while we may not agree in the matter of rate disparities, these hearings brought out quite clearly that there is an abundance of deadwood and superfluous material in many of our rate tariffs and that they are in need of extensive overhauling.

The hearings of the Bonner committee, held subsequent to those of the Douglas committee, did much toward clarifying the atmosphere by reconciling many of the misunderstandings. Testimony by representatives of large shipper groups demonstrated that our exports are in no way impeded by the present level of ocean rates. It was also the consensus that the time tested conference system provides the most effective means of providing stability in ocean rates and these witnesses were in no way critical of the manner in which the conferences are conducted.

I am not so naive as to believe that we will ever attain perfection in the inexact science of ocean ratemaking, or that malpractices will forever be eliminated. Unfair competitive practices spring up from time to time under the conference system just as they do under any code designed to govern the actions of humans. These practices arise, not from the system itself, but from the nonobservance of carefully considered rules. Which is not to say that the rules should not be promulgated and every legitimate effort made to enforce them.

The Bonner committee hearings not only made possible a more realistic appraisal of the position of the shipping lines and conferences. They also gave deserved recognition to the earnestness of purpose of Admiral Harllee and his Commission.

I have never been accused of being a Pollyanna. Nevertheless, I suggest that we of the shipping lines give due recognition to the constructive developments resulting from the Senate and House hearings. Bitter medicine is sometimes the only means of curing a malady, but its benefits more than make up for its distaste. Perhaps these hearings are the medicine we have needed to correct the ill effects of our undisturbed visits to the cookie jar over the past many years. I recommend that we accept the situation in this light and that we give Admiral Harllee and the Maritime Commission due credit for the dedicated and conscientious efforts they are making to arrive at a workable method of administering the shipping laws we are required to observe.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, among those Members of this body who have announced that they would not return in 1965 was my good friend, JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey. I am sorry, indeed, that he will not be with us, but JIM'S able representation will long live in the House, for he has been a most dedicated, faithful, and conscientious legislator during his 22 years' of service. He will be missed by his many friends, but I am sure all of his friends join with me in wishing for JIM many years of happiness and good health.

Report of Activities of the House Committee on Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL VINSON
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I report to the Members of the House of Representatives on the activities of the House Committee on Armed Services during the 88th Congress. This record of the committee's accomplishments during the past 2 years speaks for itself. I wish to take this opportunity to thank each and every member of the committee and the committee staff for their contribution and cooperation in bringing about this outstanding record. The report follows:

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, 88TH CONGRESS

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

During the 88th Congress, 366 meetings were held by the full Committee on Armed Services and its subcommittees, a breakdown of which follows:

	1st session	2d session	Total
Full committee	74	53	127
Subcommittees:			
No. 1	16	5	21
No. 2	8	8	16
No. 3	63	4	67
Central Intelligence Agency	5	4	9
Construction of Military Hospital Facilities		13	13
Defense Intelligence Agency Building		1	1
National Military Airlift	5		5
Real Estate and Construction	11	8	19
Research and Development	27	30	57
Special Investigations	20	11	31
Total meetings	229	137	366

COMMITTEE ACTIONS

A total of 80 bills and resolutions were reported to the House—38 during the first session and 42 during the second session. Of this number, 79 were passed by the House, resulting in 2 private laws, 57 public laws, and approval by the House and Senate of 2 concurrent resolutions. Eighteen House-passed bills were left pending before the Senate.

In addition to these legislative actions, 228 acquisition and disposal projects were referred to the Real Estate and Construction Subcommittee for consideration; 201 of these projects were approved, 1 approved in part, 3 disapproved, and 8 withdrawn by the department which made the submission.

There were 69 printed hearings and special reports, containing in excess of 10,600 pages of printed hearings and reports.

RÉSUMÉ OF COMMITTEE ACTIONS

Private laws

Private Law 88–35—H.R. 2192, To Authorize the Readmittance of Walter Sowa, Jr., to the U.S. Naval Academy

Mr. Sowa was admitted to the U.S. Naval Academy as a congressional candidate from the Second District of New Hampshire on July 1, 1957, and discharged on July 11, 1960, for reason of physical disability caused by deafness. After thorough examination, approved by the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of the Navy, Mr. Sowa was found to be physically qualified for reinstatement to the Academy. Legislation was necessary, however, because Mr. Sowa exceeded the maximum age established by law for appointment to the Academy; and since the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy may not exceed limitations established by law.

Private Law 88–292—H.R. 11064, To Provide for the Conveyance of Certain Real Property of the United States Situated in the State of Virginia

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of the Army to transfer to the Woodlawn Baptist Church of Fairfax, Va., 2.9792 acres of land which are part of the Fort Belvoir Military Reservation, Fairfax County, Va.

The conditions of such transfer are that the Woodlawn Baptist Church pay the fair market value of the property as determined by the Secretary of the Army and that such conveyance shall reserve to the United States the right to operate and maintain an existing 10-inch gas pipeline located on the premises or, in the alternative, that the grantee shall relocate the pipeline to a location approved by the Secretary of the Army without expense to the United States.

Public laws

Public Law 88–2—H.R. 2438, To Extend the Induction Provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for Other Purposes

This law extends the authority to induct individuals into the Armed Forces from July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1967, a period of 4 years.

Also, it extends the suspension on strength limitations of the Armed Forces from July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1967, a period of 4 years.

It also extends the Dependents Assistance Act, the law under which E–1's, E–2's, E–3's, and E–4's with 4 years of service or less are entitled to increased allowances, because of dependents, from July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1967, a period of 4 years.

In addition, it extends the so-called doctors draft law from July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1967, a period of 4 years.

Finally, it extends from July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1967, the authority to grant special pay to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians who are ordered to active duty before that date.

Public Law 88–8—S. 1089 (H.R. 307), To Authorize the Sale, Without Regard to the 6-Month Waiting Period Prescribed, of Cadmium Proposed To Be Disposed of Pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act

This legislation provides congressional approval of the disposition of 2 million pounds of cadmium held in the national stockpile. In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88–28, H.R. 2440, To Authorize Appropriations During Fiscal Year 1964 for Procurement, Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation of Aircraft, Missiles, and Naval Vessels for the Armed Forces, and for Other Purposes

Public Law 88–28 provided authorization in the amount of $15,314,291,000 for defense programs for fiscal year 1964 in two major areas.

It included authorization of appropriations in the amount of $11,915,200,000 for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels in form identical to previous enactments of the fund authorizations required pursuant to section 412(b) of Public Law 86–149, as initially approved August 10, 1959.

It also included a similar authorization of appropriations in the amount of $3,399,091,000 for the research, development, test, and evaluation of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels as required for the first time by the amendment to section 412(b) contained in Public Law 87–436, approved April 27, 1962.

Section 412(b) of Public Law 86–149 provided that:

"No funds may be appropriated after December 31, 1960, to or for the use of any armed force of the United States for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, or naval vessels, unless the appropriation of such funds has been authorized by legislation enacted after such date."

Public Law 87–436 added to the authority quoted above:

"The research, development, test, or evaluation of aircraft, missiles, or naval vessels * * *."

Public Law 88–41—H.R. 2439, To Authorize the Secretary of Defense To Lend Certain Army, Navy, and Air Force Equipment and Provide Certain Services to the Boy Scouts of America for Use in the 1964 National Jamboree, and for Other Purposes

This legislation authorized the Secretary of Defense to lend certain Army, Navy, and Air Force equipment and to provide other logistical services as may be necessary to support the Sixth National Jamboree of the Boys Scouts of America to be held at Valley Forge State Park, Pa., during the period beginning in July and ending in August 1964.

Public Law 88–63—H.R. 6681, To Improve the Active Duty Promotion Opportunity of Air Force Officers From the Grade of Major to the Grade of Lieutenant Colonel

This law permits the Department of the Air Force to exceed the numerical limitations on the number of officers who may serve in the grade of lieutenant colonel by 4,000 for a period of 1 more year.

Public Law 88–77—H.R. 2998, To Amend Titles 10, 14, and 38, United States Code, With Respect to the Award of Certain Medals and the Medal of Honor Roll

This law expands the authority for the award of the Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, the Navy Cross, the Air Force Cross, the Silver Star by the various military departments, and the Coast Guard, with respect to the Medal of Honor, so our Government can give proper recognition to acts of heroism and gallantry which may occur during "cold war" conditions short of situations when our Armed Forces are at war with an enemy of the United States. Personnel receiving the Medal of Honor under the qualifying provision of this law will have their names placed on the Medal of Honor Roll and receive the certificate and pension provided by sections 561 and 562 of title 38, United States Code, beginning at age 50.

Public Law 88–82—S. 546, To Authorize the Secretary of the Navy To Grant Easements for the Use of Lands in the Camp Joseph H. Pendleton Naval Reservation, California, for a Nuclear Electric Generating Station

This legislation authorizes the granting of an easement for the use of approximately 90 acres of land located in the extreme northwest corner of Camp Pendleton, Calif., to Southern California Edison Co. and San Diego Gas & Electric Co. The easement, to be granted at fair market value, will permit the two companies to construct and operate a nuclear generating plant on the land. Additional easements will be granted for access roads, railroad sidings, and transmission lines.

Public Law 88–107—Senate Joint Resolution 51 (House Joint Resolution 367), To Authorize the Presentation of an Air Force Medal of Recognition to Maj. Gen. Benjamin D. Foulois, Retired

The purpose of this law is to appropriately recognize the outstanding contribution of Maj. Gen. Benjamin D. Foulois, retired, to the development of airpower.

Public Law 88–110—H.R. 6996, To Repeal Section 262 of the Armed Forces Reserve Act, as Amended, and To Amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as Amended, To Revise and Consolidate Authority for Deferment From, and Exemption From Liability for Indication for, Training and Service for Certain Reserve Membership and Particpation, and To Provide a Special Enlistment Program, and for Other Purposes

The purpose of the legislation is to consolidate into one provision of law the authority for the special enlistment active duty for training programs available to Reserve personnel.

The law provides the department with authority to continue in effect a modified form of the so-called 6-month training program available to non-prior-service personnel. The program would permit enlistments for a 6-year period of Reserve service, 4 months or more of which would be performed on active duty for training.

The law will provide equity in the Reserve program by establishing a maximum 6-year Reserve obligation for all personnel.

Public Law 88–132—H.R. 5555, To Amend Title 37, United States Code, To Increase the Rates of Basic Pay for Members of the Uniformed Services, and for Other Purposes

This law is the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1963. It provides:

(1) Increases in basic pay for members of the uniformed services with over 2 years of service.

(2) Permanent professors at the Military and Air Force Academies after 36 years of service are entitled to a pay supplement of $250 a month, not to be included in computing retired pay.

(3) Increased special pay for physicians and dentists at the 6-year point from $200 to $250 a month; and from $250 to $350 at the 10-year point.

(4) Recomputation of retirement pay:

(a) Persons retired prior to June 1, 1958, who are paid retired pay under the Career Compensation Act, may elect to recompute their retirement pay under pay scales in effect on September 30, 1963, or receive a 5-percent cost-of-living increase, based upon their retirement pay, whichever is greater.

(b) Persons retired after June 1, 1958, but before April 1, 1963, receive a 5-percent cost-of-living increase based upon their retirement pay.

(c) All persons originally retiring after April 1, 1963, will compute their retirement pay based upon the new pay scales in Public Law 88–132.

(d) Persons retired under laws other than the Career Compensation Act receive a 5-percent cost-of-living increase.

(e) Retired and retainer pay in the future will be adjusted to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. In January of each calendar year after 1963, the Secretary of Defense shall determine the percent that the annual average of the Consumer Price Index (all items—U.S. city average) published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the preceding calendar year has increased over that for 1962 or, if later, for the calendar year preceding that in which the most recent adjustment in retired or retainer pay has been made under this law. If the Secretary determines the percent of that increase to be 3 or more, the retired or retainer pay of a member or former member of the Armed Forces who became entitled to that pay before January 2 of the year in which the Secretary makes that determination shall, as of April 1 of that year, be increased by that percent, adjusted to the nearest one-tenth of 1 percent.

(5) Submarine pay for certain members training for duty on nuclear-powered submarines is authorized.

(6) Incentive pay for duty inside a high- or low-pressure chamber is authorized.

(7) Multiple payments of incentive pay is authorized.

(8) Special pay for duty subject to hostile fire providing $55 a month is authorized. It is not retroactive.

(9) Foreign duty pay is hereafter permissive. The President is given the authority to authorize foreign duty pay in the locations outside the continental United States that he selects.

(10) A new family separation allowance of $30 a month is authorized for those serving in grade E–4 (more than 4 years of service) and above, where dependents are prevented from being with their service sponsor. It is not authorized for those occupying Government quarters.

(11) Officers in the grade of major and above who are without dependents may elect not to occupy Government quarters even though they are available, and at the same time be eligible to receive their quarters allowances.

Public Law 88–145—S. 812, To Provide for the Release of Restrictions and Reservations on Certain Real Property Heretofore Conveyed to the State of Arkansas by the United States of America

The purpose of this law is to authorize the Secretary of the Army to release certain restrictions and reseravtions on certain real property previously conveyed to the State of Arkansas by the Secretary of the Army upon payment by the State of Arkansas to the United States of the fair market value of the property concerned.

The objective of the legislation is to grant relief to the Arkansas State Board of Education which is the unwitting victim of circumstances over which it had no control.

Public Law 88–154—S. 1994, To Authorize the Disposal Without Regard to the Prescribed 6-Month Waiting Period, of Certain Waterfowl Feathers and Down From the National Stockpile

This legislation authorizes disposal of approximately 5,800,000 pounds of waterfowl feathers and down from the national stockpile and waives the requirement for a 6-month waiting period before this disposal could begin.

Public Law 88–174—H.R. 6500, To Authorize Certain Construction at Military Installations, and for Other Purposes

The purpose of this legislation is to provide military construction authorization and related authority in support of the military departments during fiscal year 1964.

The total authorization granted is as follows:

New authorization:	
Title I (Army)	$199,633,000
Title II (Navy)	202,462,000
Title III (Air Force)	488,367,000
Title IV (Defense agencies)	24,403,000
Title V (Housing)	685,312,000
Subtotal	1,600,177,000
Deficiency authorization:	
Title I (Army)	3,209,000
Ttile II (Navy)	87,000
Title III (Air Force)	166,000
Total	3,462,000
Title VII (Reserve components):	
Army National Guard	7,500,000
Army Reserve	4,700,000
Naval and Marine Corps Reserve	5,700,000
Air National Guard	15,970,380
Air Force Reserve	4,600,000
Total	38,470,380
Deficiency authorizations:	
Army National Guard	$84,000
Army Reserve	60,000
Total	144,000
Grand total of all authorities	1,642,253,380

Public Law 88–228—S. 1767, To Authorize the Secretary of the Army To Convey a Certain Parcel of Land to the State of Delaware, and for Other Purposes

This law authorizes the Secretary of the Army to convey to the State of Delaware certain property located at the Fort Miles Military Reservation which is now excess to military requirements.

Public Law 88–236—H.R. 3005, To Amend Sections 510 and 591, of Title 10, United States Code, To Remove the Requirement That an Alien Must Make a Declaration of Intention To Become a Citizen of the United States Before He May Be Enlisted or Appointed in a Reserve Component

This law eliminated an obsolete requirement in the statutes relating to enlistments and appointments in the Reserve Forces.

Public Law 88–238—H.R. 4338, To Amend Title 37, United States Code, To Authorize Travel and Transportation Allowances for Travel Performed Under Orders That Are Canceled, Revoked, or Modified, and for Other Purposes

This law authorizes reimbursement to a member of the uniformed services for travel performed by himself and/or his dependents, or both, under orders that direct him to make a permanent change of station and that are canceled, revoked, or modified, directing his return to the station from which he was being transferred, or are modified to direct him to make a different permanent change of station.

This law is retroactive to October 1, 1949.

Public Law 88–276—H.R. 7356, To Amend Title 10, United States Code, Relating To the Nomination and Selection of Candidates for Appointment to the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies

The purpose of this law is as follows:

1. It increases the authorized cadet strength of the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Air Force Academy from 2,529 to 4,417, which is the strength of the U.S. Naval Academy.

2. It revises the appointment provisions of the law applicable to the U.S. Naval Academy as well as the Military and Air Force Academies, so as to increase the number of authorized cadets and midshipmen from congressional sources from the level of 61 percent to approximately 75 percent.

3. It makes uniform the statutory provisions relating to the appointment of cadets and midshipmen to the Military, Air Force, and Naval Academies.

4. It increases the obligated period of active duty service for cadets and midshipmen entering the Academies, including the Coast Guard Academy, after enactment of this law, from the present requirement of 4 years to a new requirement of 5 years of active duty.

Public Law 88–288—H.R. 9637, To Authorize Appropriations During Fiscal Year 1965 for Procurement of Aircraft, Missiles, and Naval Vessels, and Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for Other Purposes

Public Law 88–288 provides authorization in the amount of $16,914,800,000 for defense programs for fiscal year 1965 in three major areas: Authorization for appropriations for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels; authorization of appropriations for research, development, test, and evaluation associated with aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels; and all other research, de-

velopment, test, and evaluation within the Department of Defense.

This is the first legislation in which the committee has exercised the authority vested in it over research, development, test, and evaluation for items other than aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels.

Public Law 88-319—H.R. 10774, To Authorize the Disposal, Without Regard to the Prescribed 6-Month Waiting Period, of Cadmium From the National Stockpile and the Supplemental Stockpile

This law provides congressional approval of the disposition of 5 million pounds of cadmium held in the national stockpile and the supplemental stockpile. In addition, the law waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-335—H.R. 10314, to Further Amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as Amended, To Extend the Expiration Date of Certain Authorities Thereunder, and for Other Purposes

This legislation extends for 4 years three civil defense authorities which would have expired on June 30, 1964. These authorities are—

(1) the program to provide financial assistance to States for necessary and essential State and local civil defense personnel and administrative expenses;

(2) the program to make payments for travel and per diem expenses of trainees at civil defense schools; and

(3) the program to procure and maintain radiological equipment and to donate it to States by loan or grant.

This legislation will provide authority for the appropriation of a maximum of $24.4 million for fiscal year 1965. All programs involve some form of assistance for State and local civil defense organizations.

Public Law 88-360—H.R. 2664, To Amend Section 6(o) of the Universal Military Training and Services Act To Provide an Exemption From Induction for the Sole Surviving son of a Family Whose Father Died as a Result of Military Service

This law provides exemption from induction for the sole surviving son of a family whose father died as a result of military service.

Thus, with this amendatory act, exemptions from involuntary induction for a sole surviving son are now applicable where a son, daughter, or father died as a result of military service, except during a period of war or national emergency declared by the Congress.

Voluntary induction is permitted regardless of the fact of being a sole surviving son.

Public Law 88-373—H.R. 11257, To Authorize the Sale, Without Regard to the 6-Month Waiting Period Prescribed, of Lead Proposed to be Disposed of Pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act

This legislation provides congressional approval for the disposition of 50,000 short tons of lead held in the national stockpile.

In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-374—H.R. 11004, To Authorize the Sale, Without Regard to the 6-Month Waiting Period Prescribed, of Zinc Proposed to be Disposed of Pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act

This legislation provides congressional approval of the disposition of approximately 75,000 short tons of zinc held in the national stockpile. In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-377—H.R. 11235, To Authorize the Disposal, Without Regard to the Prescribed 6-Month Waiting Period, of Approximately 11 Million Pounds of Molybdenum From the National Stockpile

This legislation provides congressional approval of the disposition of 11 million pounds of molybdenum now held in the national stockpile. In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-384—H.R. 393, To Make Retrocession to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of Jurisdiction Over Certain Lands in the Vicinity of Fort Devens, Mass.

This law provides the Secretary of the Army authority to retrocede to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts any part of the legislative jurisdiction he deems desirable at the Fort Devens Military Reservation.

Public Law 88-385—H.R. 10736, To Authorize the Secretary of the Navy To Adjust the Legislative Jurisdiction Exercised by the United States Over Lands Comprising the U.S. Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Va.

This legislation transfers legislative jurisdiction now exclusively held by the Federal Government to the State of Virginia in order that adequate police protection may be provided by local authorities on the military reservation.

Public Law 88-387—H.R. 7499, To Authorize the Secretary of the Air Force or His Designee To Convey 0.25 Acre of Land to the City of Oroville, Calif.

This law authorizes the Secretary of the Air Force to convey approximately one-quarter acre of land to the city of Oroville, Calif., without consideration.

Public Law 88-388—H.R. 7248, To Change the Designated Use of Certain Real Property Conveyed by the Department of the Air Force to the City of Fort Walton Beach, Fla., Under the Terms of Public Law 86-194

This law amends Public Law 86-194 to permit the use of the property previously conveyed by that law to include "educational purposes." The property was originally conveyed to the city of Fort Walton Beach, Fla., by the Department of the Air Force at fair market value with a condition that it be used for "recreational purposes" only. This law permits the use of the property for the construction of a junior college.

Public Law 88-389—H.R. 6299, To Authorize the Secretary of the Navy To Produce and Sell Crude Oil from the Umiat Field. Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, and for the Purpose of Making Local Fuel Available for Use in Connection With the Drilling, Mechanical, and Heating Operations of Those Involve in Oil and Gas Exploration and Development Work in the Nearby Areas Outside Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, and for Other Purposes

This law authorizes the Secretary of the Navy, until January 1, 1969, to produce and sell petroleum under title 10, United States Code, section 7422(a), from the Umiat Field, Alaska, Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4, for the purpose of aiding petroleum exploration and development in the nearby areas outside the naval petroleum reserve.

This legislation would not involve the expenditure of any Federal funds.

Public Law 88-390—H.R. 10300, To Authorize Certain Construction at Military Installations, and for Other Purposes

The purpose of this legislation is to provide military construction authorization and related authority in support of the military departments during fiscal year 1965.

The total authorization granted is as follows:

New authorization:	
Title I (Army)	$292,587,000
Title II (Navy)	225,639,000
Title III (Air Force)	303,348,000
Title IV (Defense agencies)	10,505,000
Title V (Housing)	660,605,000
Subtotal	1,492,684,000
Deficiency authorization:	
Title I (Army)	17,000
Title II (Navy)	38,000
Title II (Air Force)	3,255,000
Subtotal	3,310,000
Title VII (Reserve components):	
Army National Guard	10,000,000
Army Reserve	5,100,000
Naval and Marine Corps Reserve	6,500,000
Air National Guard	12,800,000
Air Reserves	4,600,000
Subtotal	39,000,000
Grand total of all authorities	1,534,994,000

Public Law 88-393—H.R. 10322, To Extend the Provisions of the Act of August 11, 1959, Public Law 86-155, As Amended (74 Stat. 396), To Provide Improved Opportunity for Promotion for Certain Officers in the Naval Service

This law extends the provisions of the Navy and Marine Corps "hump" law to June 30, 1970, so as to continue to provide equitable opportunity for promotion of officers in and behind the "hump," that is, the large group of officers commissioned during World War II.

This law also preserves the experience level in the grades of captain in the Navy and colonel in the Marine Corps by phasing the retirement and replacement of World War II officers in those grades over a number of years, beginning in fiscal year 1966, rather than having large numbers of them retire within a period of little more than a year in the early 1970's.

Public Law 88-398—H.R. 4177, To Authorize the Secretary of the Army To Convey to the City of St. Paul, Minn., All Right, Title, and Interest of the United States in and to Certain Lands Heretofore Conveyed to Such City

This law provides the Secretary of the Army authority to release an existing restriction on the use of land originally transferred by the War Department to the city of St. Paul in 1928. The original transfer to the city was effected in pursuant to an act of Congress (45 Stat. 946) at fair market value.

The conveyance authorized in subject to the condition that the city of St. Paul, Minn., pay to the United States an amount equal to the fair market value of the property interest to be conveyed, as determined by the Secretary of the Army after appraisal.

Public Law 88-400—H.R. 9021, To Authorize the Conveyance of Two Tracts of Land Situated in Salt Lake City, Utah, for Public School Purposes

This legislation permits the city of Salt Lake, Utah, and the Mount Olivet Cemetery Association to convey to the board of education of Salt Lake City two small parcels of land totaling about 1½ acres for school purposes. Both parcels were part of an original conveyance to the Mount Olivet Cemetery Association provided for under the act of January 23, 1909, and the underlying interest of one tract still remains with the cemetery association. Both tracts are subject to present public use for State and highway purposes.

Public Law 88-406—H.R. 8954, To Amend Section 409 of Title 37, United States Code, To Authorize the Transportation of House Trailers and Mobile Dwellings of Members of the Uniformed Services Within the Continental United States, Within Alaska, or Between the Continental United States and Alaska, and for Other Purposes

This law amended section 409 of title 37, United States Code, by increasing the maximum allowance payable, from 36 to 51 cents per mile, to members of the Armed Forces who transport their mobile homes or trailers upon change of their permanent duty stations.

Public Law 88-422—S. 3001, To Amend Title 37, United States Code, To Increase the Rates of Basic Pay for Members of the Uniformed Services

This law provides a 2.5-percent increase in basic pay for all members of the uniformed services with over 2 years of service for pay purposes.

Commissioned officers and warrant officers with under 2 years of service receive an 8.5-percent increase in basic pay; cadets at the Military and Air Force Academies and midshipmen at the Naval Academy and aviation cadets receive an increase of approximately $9 per month, since, by law, these men are authorized one-half the pay of an O-1, second lieutenant, with less than 2 years of service.

On a 12-month basis, the cost of this law is $207,519,000, and $172,321,000 for the remainder of fiscal year 1965.

This law became effective on September 1, 1964.

Public Law 88-428—H.R. 2989, To Further Amend the Missing Persons Act To Cover Certain Persons Detained in Foreign Countries Against Their Will, and for Other Purposes

The Missing Persons Act, with this amendatory law, now includes specific coverage in cold war situations for military and civilian personnel employed by the Federal Government who are in this situation.

Also, this law will assist further in an equitable administration of existing law by reestablishing the former policy of deferring Federal income tax reporting and payment during the period such personnel are in a missing status.

Public Law 88-431—H.R. 4739, To Amend Section 406 of Title 37, United States Code, With Regard to the Advance Movement of Departments and Baggage and Household Effects of Members of the Uniformed Services

This law provides authority for the advance return of dependents, household goods, baggage, and privately owned vehicles of military members from oversea areas to locations in the United States and its possessions, when such return is determined to be in the best interests of the member or his dependents and the United States, and authorizes the return transportation to the United States or its possessions, of unmarried children of a member who becomes 21 years of age while the member is assigned to oversea duty. Dependents may not thereafter be returned to the oversea station from which departed unless the service sponsor has received a permanent change of station to another duty assignment in an oversea area, or unless the return of the dependents to the oversea station is for the convenience of the Government.

Public Law 88-432—H.R. 9634, To Authorize the Secretary of Defense To Lend Certain Army, Navy, and Air Force Equipment and Provide Certain Services to the Girl Scouts of the United States of America for Use at the 1965 Girl Scouts Senior Roundup Encampment, and for Other Purposes

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of Defense to lend certain equipment and provide services to the approximately 11,000 Girl Scouts and officials who are to attend the 1965 Senior Roundup Encampment at Farragut Wildlife Management Area, Idaho.

Public Law 88-436—H.R. 10819, To Amend Title 10, United States Code, To Authorize Increased Fees for the Sale of U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office Publications

This law authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to determine the prices at which U.S. Naval Oceanographic publications may be sold. This will enable the Secretary to recover all reasonable costs incurred in the production and handling of navigational charts, maps, and related publications which are made available for sale to the public by the U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office. Money received from the sales shall be covered into the Treasury.

Public Law 88-437—H.R. 11035, To Authorize the Extension of Certain Naval Vessel Loans Now in Existence

This legislation authorizes extension of the existing loans of 40 ships to 12 countries. It does not involve the expenditure of any Federal funds.

Public Law 88-500—H.R. 189, To Authorize the Conveyance of Certain Federal Land Under the Jurisdiction of the Naval Ordnance Test Station, China Lake, California, to the County of Kern, State of California

This law authorizes the conveyance of 105.5 acres of land by the Secretary of the Navy to Kern County, Calif., at a price equal to 50 percent of the fair market value as determined by the Secretary of the Navy.

Public Law 88-501—S. 2369, To Retrocede to the State of Kansas Exclusive Jurisdiction Over Certain State Highways Bordering Fort Leavenworth Military Reservation and the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth

This legislation retrocedes exclusive jurisdiction over State highways bordering the Fort Leavenworth Military Reservation and the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans. Since 1961, when a local court ruled that neither the State nor its municipalities had jurisdiction over portions of these highways within the boundaries of Federal installations, the Federal Government has been unable to properly exercise law enforcement over the highways traversing this land. This legislation permits this situation to be corrected.

Public Law 88-553—H.R. 12278, To Authorize the Secretary of the Navy To Convey to the City of Sunnyvale, State of California, Certain Lands in the County of Santa Clara, State of California, in Exchange for Certain Other Lands

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the city of Sunnyvale, State of California, approximately 95.229 acres of land in exchange for certain lands to be conveyed by the city of Sunnyvale, Calif., to the United States.

Public Law 88-562—H.R. 11338, To Remove Certain Conditions Subject To Which Certain Real Property in South Boston, Mass., Was Conveyed to the Massachusetts Port Authority

This legislation repeals that portion of Public Law 88-602 which imposes conditions for recapture of certain lands to be transferred by the Secretary of the Navy in South Boston, Mass., to the Massachusetts Port Authority in exchange for certain lands owned by the United States.

Public Law 88-572—H.R. 9803, To Authorize the Secretary of the Army To Acquire the Building Constructed on the Fort Jay Military Reservation, N.Y., by the Young Men's Christian Association

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of the Army to purchase a building constructed on Fort Jay Military Reservation, N.Y., by the Young Men's Christian Association for $150,000.

Public Law 88-574—H.R. 11594, To Authorize the Secretary of the Navy To Convey to the State of California Certain Lands in the County of Monterey, State of California, in Exchange for Certain Other Lands

This legislation is to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the State of California approximately 6.95 acres of land of the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif., together with abutters' rights to the remaining land fronting on the proposed freeway in exchange for 6.30 acres of land to be conveyed by the State of California to the United States.

It also authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to accept from the State or subdivision thereof such appropriate interests in other lands as are necessary to protect the interest of the United States.

Public Law 88-613—H.R. 11626, To Authorize the Payment of Expenses Incident to the Evacuation of Dependents of Military Personnel From Panama and Cyprus

This law authorized the payment from the Department of Defense appropriations to military personnel whose dependents were evacuated from Panama and Cyprus to the United States in January and February 1964, of allowances at the same rates as have been authorized under similar circumstances for civilian employees of the Government pursuant to Public Law 87-304.

Public Law 88-615—H.R. 11913, To Authorize the Disposal, Without Regard to the 6-Month Waiting Period Prescribed, of Antimony From the National Stockpile and the Supplemental Stockpile

This legislation provides congressional approval for the disposition of 5,000 short tons of antimony held in the national and supplemental stockpiles.

In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and critical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-617—H.R. 12091, To Authorize the Disposal, Without Regard to the Prescribed 6-month Waiting Period, of Approximately 9,500,000 Pounds of Sisal From the National Stockpile

This legislation provides congressional approval for the disposition of 9,500,000 pounds of sisal held in the national stockpile.

In addition, the bill waives the 6-month waiting period ordinarily required for the disposal of strategic and cirtical materials from the national stockpile.

Public Law 88-618—H.R. 10328, for the Relief of Certain Commissioned Officers of the Army or Air Force Who Were Erroneously Paid Uniform Allowance Under the Provisions of Section 305 of the Career Compensation Act of 1949, as Amended, and for Other Purposes

This law relieves all ROTC distinguished military graduates who were ordered to active duty in a Reserve component while being considered for appointment in the Regular component of a particular service of the Armed Forces of all liability to refund amounts paid them as a uniform allowance.

This law also authorizes any such individual who had made repayment to the United States of any amount paid him as a uniform allowance to have such amount returned to him.

Public Law 88-620—H.R. 2501, To Authorize the Promotion of Qualified Reserve Officers of the Army and the Air Force to Existing Unit Vacancies

This law provides temporary authority until July 1, 1965, for the Army and Air Force to exceed present statutory ceilings for the authorized number of Reserve officers in each grade below lieutenant colonel for the purpose of promoting Reserve officers to fill unit vacancies and to appoint Reserve officers to fill mobilization requirements.

Public Law 88-621—H.R. 2512, To Clarify the Status of Members of the National Guard While Attending or Instructing at National Guard Schools Established Under the Authority of the Secretary of the Army or Secretary of the Air Force, as the Case May Be, and for Other Purposes

This law clarifies the eligibility of National Guard personnel for the protective provisions of statutes providing disability and related benefits to reservists who suffer disability or death while participating in authorized training functions beyond the 48 unit drills and 15 days' training specifically authorized by law for National Guard personnel in sections 502 and 504 of title 32, United States Code.

Public Law 88-624—H.R. 2509, To Authorize Reserve Officers To Combine Service in More Than One Reserve Component in Computing the 4 Years of Satisfactory Federal Service Necessary To Qualify for the Uniform Maintenance Allowance

This law clarifies section 416 of title 37, United States Code, so as to clearly establish the right of Reserve officers to combine service in more than one Reserve component in computing the 4 years of satisfactory Federal service necessary to qualify for the $50 uniform maintenance allowance.

Public Law 88-636—H.R. 9718, To Authorize the Crediting of Certain Military Service for Purposes of Reserve Retired Pay

This law authorizes the retroactive crediting, for Reserve retirement purposes, of wartime military service performed by members of the U.S. Public Health Service or the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey when such agencies or individuals were under the jurisdiction of a military department.

Public Law 88-637—H.R. 12308, To Authorize Removal of a Flight Hazard at the U.S. Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Va.

This legislation authorizes certain construction at the Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Va., for the purpose of removing a serious flight hazard which has resulted in several accidents and loss of life at this installation.

Public Law 88-643—H.R. 8427, To Provide for the Establishment of a Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System for a Limited Number of Employees, and for Other Purposes

This law provides for an improved retirement system for a limited number of employees of the Central Intelligence Agency. Under this law the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency may involuntarily retire certain individuals with immediate annuities, if they have completed at least 25 years of service or are age 50 and have 20 years of service, provided that in both instances such individuals shall have had not less than 10 years of service with the Central Intelligence Agency and 5 years of "qualifying" service. Between now and 1974 not more than 800 such employees may be so retired. The new law also makes applicable to this retirement system the automatic cost-of-living adjustment in annuities, and raises the survivor annuities from 50 to 55 percent.

Public Law 88-647—H.R. 9124, To Amend Title 10, United States Code, To Vitalize the Reserve Officers' Training Corps Programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and for Other Purposes

This law vitalizes and improves the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program by—

(a) providing for the continuation and expansion of the junior ROTC program;

(b) providing for the continuation of the 4-year senior ROTC program and the establishment of an optional 2-year senior ROTC program; and

(c) authorizing the military departments to provide financial assistance to selected students in the senior ROTC program.

House concurrent resolutions

House Concurrent Resolution 300, Authorizing the Disposal of Approximately 98,000 Long Tons of Pig Tin From the National Stockpile

This legislation provides congressional approval of the disposition of 98,000 long tons of pig tin held in the national stockpile.

House Concurrent Resolution 320, To Express the Sense of the Congress on Disposal From the National Stockpile of Certain Materials

This legislation authorizes the disposal of portions of 10 materials now held in the national stockpile. The specific lots are a small portion of the same materials which are now excess to requirements, and the proposed disposal is designed to clear the inventory of limited use forms of excess materials which are nonobjective or are of nonstockpile grade.

Bills reported to House upon which action was not completed:

(1) Pending on House Calendar: H.R. 6600: To amend title 10, United States Code, with respect to the appointment of the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(2) Passed by the House and pending in the Senate:

H.J. Res. 113: Authorizing the Secretary of the Army to receive for instruction at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point two citizens and subjects of the Republic of Vietnam.

H.J. Res. 375: Providing for appropriate ceremonies in connection with the raising and lowering of the flags of the United States surrounding the Washington Monument.

H.J. Res. 1048: Authorizing the Secretary of the Army to receive for instruction at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point two citizens and subjects of the Kingdom of Thailand.

H.J. Res. 1072: Authorizing the Secretary of the Army to receive for instruction at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point a citizen and subject of the empire of Iran.

H.J. Res. 115: Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to receive for instruction at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis two citizens and subjects of the Kingdom of Thailand.

H.R. 384: To amend title 10, United States Code, to provide that members of the Armed Forces shall be retired in the highest grade satisfactorily held in any armed force, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2500: To equalize the treatment of Reserves and Regulars in the payment of per diem.

H.R. 2502: To provide for the remission or cancellation of an indebtedness due the United States by enlisted members of the National Guard.

H.R. 2988: To amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for participation by members of the Armed Forces in international sports activities.

H.R. 3179: To provide that judges of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals shall hold office during good behavior, and for other purposes.

H.R. 6000: To amend title 10, United States Code, to change the method of computing retired pay of certain enlisted members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps.

H.R. 6767: To amend title 10, United States Code, to provide gold star lapel buttons for the next of kin of members of the Armed Forces who lost or lose their lives in war or as a result of cold war incidents.

H.R. 8200: To further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide for shelter in Federal structures, to authorize payment toward the construction or modification of approved public shelter space, and for other purposes.

H.R. 8265: To confer jurisdiction over the Iowa ordnance plant reservation upon the State of Iowa.

H.R. 8676: To amend section 2634 of title 10, United States Code, so as to authorize the military departments, in certain cases, to ship automobiles to and from the State of Alaska by commercial motor carrier via highways and the Alaska ferry system.

H.R. 10320: To amend section 1485 of title 10, United States Code, relating to the transportation of remains of deceased dependents of members of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

H.R. 12193: To amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the establishment of a program of cash awards for suggestions or inventions made by members of the Armed Forces which contribute to the efficiency, economy, or other improvement of Government operations.

H.R. 12435: To authorize the sale, without regard to the 6-month waiting period prescribed, of zinc proposed to be disposed of pursuant to the Strategic and Critical Materials Stockpiling Act.

RÉSUMÉ OF ACTIVITIES OF SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEES

Special Subcommittee on Construction of Military Hospital Facilities

On February 27, 1964, the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services announced the establishment of the Special Subcommittee on Construction of Military Hospital Facilities. The subcommittee, consisting of L. MENDEL RIVERS, of South Carolina, chairman; F. EDWARD HÉBERT, of Louisiana; PORTER HARDY, JR., of Virginia; WILLIAM G. BRAY, of Indiana; ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York; and DURWARD G. HALL, of Missouri, was established for the purpose of inquiring into Department of Defense policy on hospital construction in order to assist the committee from a policy standpoint with respect to future auhorizations of military hospital construction. It was emphasized that the subcommittee would have the widest possible authority in examining all of the problems relating to hospital construction, including the hospitalization of retired military personnel and their dependents. In this connection, it was also emphasized that the committee's approval of the hospitals in the fiscal year 1965 program which contain no beds for retired personnel would not serve to prejudice or restrict the subcommittee in its deliberations regarding the inclusion of retired beds in future military construction programs.

The subcommittee conducted a thorough review into the policies and programs of the construction and operation of military hospital facilities. It looked into the question of eligibility for care, factors to be considered in the programing of new or replacement hospital facilities, and the method by which medical care best can be provided to those eligible to receive such care.

The subcommittee concluded that the Government has the obligation to provide medical care not only to active-duty military personnel but also to their dependents. The subcommittee is convinced, based on the preponderance of the testimony, that the traditional benefit of hospital care to military retirees and their dependents must be continued. The subcommittee further finds that the current policy of the Department of Defense which eliminates all beds for this group in new military hospital construction will destroy the availability of space for such personnel.

Therefore, in order to continue the traditional benefits promised by the services in their recruitment literature and retention efforts, and in addition, to assist in the medical mobilization requirements, the subcommittee believes that a limited number of beds should be programed in each new military hospital over and above the number required for active-duty military personnel and their dependents. In addition, the subcommittee believes that medical mobilization requirements would be served by in-

cluding in new military hospitals, on bases where there is a substantial dependent population, obstetrical facilities which could be utilized as an emergency operating room in case of future need.

The hearings and report of the subcommittee were printed as Committee Documents No. 64 and No. 67, respectively.

National Military Airlift Subcommittee

March 1, 1963, the chairman appointed a special Subcommittee on National Military Airlift to review the actions taken to implement the recommendations contained in the 1960 report of the previous Airlift Subcommittee.

The subcommittee was to determine the degree to which the previous recommendations had been implemented, updated all the salient points pertinent to military airlift, and determine whether or not any new problems had arisen during the 3-year interval.

The review revealed that of the 11 recommendations made in the 1960 report, 10 had been implemented in whole or major part. The one recommendations on which no action had been taken was the redesignation of MATS as the Military Airlift Command At the conclusion of this year's review the subcommittee reiterated its conviction that sound reasons exist for this redesignation.

The subcommittee was gratified to learn that the long-range airlift capabilities of MATS have been increased by 60 percent over the past 3 years, and that this capability will be quadrupled by 1968 if the current C–141 procurement program is fully implemented. However, deficiencies in airlift capabilities remain because of the Army reorganization under the ROAD concept and because of increased emphasis on maintaining a quick reaction capability to move Army forces to any troubles spot in the world.

The deficiencies result in part from the fact that substantial tonnages of very heavy and outsized equipment that is organic to an Army division cannot be air transported at all, or can now be transported only in the C–124 and C–133 aircraft. Both of these aircraft currently are planned to be phased out of the active inventory in the 1968–69 time period.

It is the judgment of the subcommittee that a new, very large, turbine-powered aircraft must be developed as a followon for the C–124's and C–133's. The subcommittee recommended the earliest possible approval of plans for the development of such an aircraft.

The hearings and report of the National Military Airlift Subcommittee were printed as Committee Documents Nos. 28 and 29, respectively.

Subcommittee on research and development

Public Law 88–174 (sec. 610), enacted on October 7, 1963, gave the Armed Services Committee the responsibility of reporting authorizing legislation to the Congress for funds to support all military research, development, test, and evaluation programs after December 31, 1963.

In anticipation of this responsibility, Chairman Vinson, on February 19, 1963, announced to the committee his intention to create a permanent subcommittee, whose primary concern would be research and development in the Defense Department. After consultation with the Honorable Les Arends, ranking minority member of the committee, he established the subcommittee with the following members: Congressman Melvin Price, chairman; Congressman Frank J. Becker; Congressman Samuel S. Stratton; Congressman Durward G. Hall; Congressman Jeffery Cohelan; Congressman Robert T. Stafford; and Congressman Otis G. Pike.

In preparation for this new responsibility, the subcommittee held some 27 meetings during the closing months of 1963, to review existing research and development programs of the Department of Defense. In addition, during January of this year, the subcommittee met on 12 occasions to continue its review of the programs requested for fiscal year 1965. Following this extensive review, the subcommittee submitted a report to the Armed Services Committee, making recommendations which reflected a reduction of $362.5 million to the amount requested in the President's budget for the Department of Defense. These recommendations were accepted in toto by the committee and by the House.

Following the enactment of the authorization legislation, the subcommittee received an additional 18 briefings on specific research and development programs, such as vertical and/or short takeoff and landing (V/STOL) aircraft and night vision. During these reviews, testimony was received from the Department of Defense, each military department, and the defense industry. The V/STOL aircraft hearings will be printed and it is planned that a report will be submitted to the Committee on Armed Services prior to the end of the year. The hearings will be printed as Armed Services Committee Paper No. 68 and the report as Paper No. 69.

Subcommittee for special investigations

House Resolution 84, passed by the House, January 31, 1963, authorizes the Committee on Armed Services, acting as a whole or by subcommittee appointed by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of all matters—

1. relating to the procurement, use, and disposition of material, equipment, supplies, and services, and the acquisition, use, and disposition or real property, by or within the Department of Defense;

2. relating to the military and civilian personnel under the jurisdiction of the Department of Defense;

3. involving the laws, regulations, and directives administered by or within the Department of Defense;

4. involving the use of appropriated and nonappropriated funds by or within the Department of Defense;

5. relating to scientific research and development in support of the armed services; and

6. all other matters within the legislative jurisdiction conferred by law or the rules of the House of Representatives upon the Committee on Armed Services.

House Resolution 146, passed by the House February 27, 1963, appropriated $75,000; and House Resolution 607, passed by the House January 29, 1964, appropriated $75,000 for the expenses of conducting the investigations and inquiries authorized by House Resolution 84.

On January 29, 1963, by Committee Resolution 5, the Committee on Armed Services authorized a special investigations subcommittee, with the members of the majority to be selected by the chairman of the committee and those from the minority to be selected upon recommendation of the ranking minority member of the full committee. Pursuant to this authority, Chairman Vinson, by letter dated January 31, 1963, to Hon. Porter Hardy, Jr., appointed the following as members of the subcommittee: Hon. Porter Hardy, Jr., chairman; Hon. Richard E. Lankford, Hon. Otis G. Pike, Hon. Walter Norblad, Hon. Charles S. Gubser.

This subcommittee has jurisdiction over such matters as are assigned to it by the chairman of the full committee in accordance with House Resolution 84.

The subcommittee operates within the general scope of subcommittees previously organized by the Committee on Armed Services, under successive resolutions since the 81st Congress. The subcommittee's rules appear in a document entitled "Rules and Organization of the Subcommittee for Special Investigations of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, Under Authority of House Resolution 84, 88th Congress." The rules were adopted at an executive session of the subcommittee on March 5, 1963, and ordered to be printed for the information of persons having business before the subcommittee.

The professional staff and clerical assistance of the subcommittee consist of a special counsel, an investigator, and three clerical employees.

The monthly and cumulative expenses of the subcommittee are reported in its monthly report, submitted by the chairman of the full committee to the chairman of the Committee on House Administration. These expenses also were reported in detail in the Congressional Record.

STUDIES RESULTING IN REPORTS AND/OR HEARINGS

1. Relation of cost data to military procurement

The authority of the General Accounting Office to examine cost data was challenged by a contractor from whom the Department of the Air Force had purchased electronic equipment under a contract which totaled approximately $2 million. The contractor, Hewlett-Packard Co., of Palo Alto, Calif., sought support for its position in part in Public Law 87–653. The immediate purpose of the subcommittee's inquiry was to review the facts to determine the need for or desirability of recommending legislative action to clarify the intent of Congress in existing legislation.

After several weeks of investigation both in Washington, D.C., and at Dayton, Ohio, a hearing was held on May 22, 1963, at which representatives of the General Accounting Office and the Department of Defense testified. Representatives of the Department of the Air Force and Hewlett-Packard Co. attended as observers.

The subcommittee has taken no further action, since the General Accounting Office and Hewlett-Packard Co. agreed to submit the dispute to the courts for judicial determination. The matter is now pending in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California.

The hearings have been printed.

2. Russian trawler traffic in U.S. territorial waters

The subcommittee received reports concerning the activity of the Russian fishing fleet, particularly along the coast of Florida. After several weeks of investigation, both in Washington and the field, public hearings were held on July 9 and 10. Testimony was received from representatives of the U.S. Coast Guard, the Department of State, the Department of the Navy, and a private charter-boat operator. The hearings were printed.

The subcommittee submitted a unanimous report to the chairman of the full committee which recommended, among other things (1) that the Departments of State and the Navy, and the Coast Guard adopt a uniform national policy which would permit the Coast Guard to take such immediate and unilateral action as may be required in the national interest whenever vessels having electronic or other capabilities which constitute a threat to the security of our country are found transiting our territorial waters; and (2) that the Seventh Coast Guard District publicize the assistance which civilian sources could render to augment its surveillance activities, and, particularly, invite commercial and private boatowners to report all sightings of Iron Curtain craft in U.S. coastal waters.

The agencies concerned were requested to comment on the recommendations. Their responses indicated general agreement; the

Coast Guard response contained the details of the national policy on the surveillance of the Russian trawlers, as well as the procedures established by the three agencies to implement the policy. The policy, if fully implemented, would meet generally the subcommittee's recommendations.

3. Air defense system changes

On April 26, 1963, the Department of Defense, through its Office of Public Affairs, announced "a realinement of the U.S. air defense forces." The announcement identified by location the 6 semiautomatic ground environment (SAGE) direction centers and 17 long-range radars that would be closed.

At the direction of the chairman of the full committee, an investigation was initiated in May 1963 to determine the procedural manner in which the decision was made and the effect of the planned changes on our defense system. The investigation entailed the review and analysis of several thousand pages of Department of Defense, North American Air Defense Command, and Air Defense Command documents, the interview of numerous military and Department of Defense personnel and 3 days of hearings, June 20, and July 11 and 18, which, because of the nature of the security information involved, were held in executive session.

The subcommittee's unanimous report, also classified, was transmitted to the chairman of the full committee by letter from the chairman of the subcommittee on October 28, 1963. Chairman Vinson, in turn, transmitted copies of the report to the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Air Force, inviting any comments they cared to make, particularly with respect to the report's salient conclusions. Secretary Zuckert's reply of November 6, 1963, indicated his support for the Air Force position expressed to the subcommittee by Assistant Secretary Imirie and General LeMay. An interim acknowledgment of November 1, 1963, was received from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, but no official comment on the conclusions has been made by Mr. McNamara.

4. Negotiation and award of research contracts by the Air Force

In order to examine certain stated Air Force procurement policies, procedures, and practices and compare them with actual performance, the subcommittee chose as a case study contracts between the Air Force and TYCO Laboratories, Inc. The contracts call for basic research in the field of energy conversion. The contracts are sponsored by the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories, one of the tenant organizations at Hanscom Air Force Base, Bedford, Mass.; the laboratories are a part of the Air Force Office of Aerospace Research. Procurement services are provided the laboratories by the Electronic Systems Division (ESD), the host organization at Hanscom. ESD is a part of Air Force Systems Command.

Five days of public hearings were held, August 21, November 12, 13, and 14, and December 2, 1963, and the hearings were printed.

The report is a step-by-step account of how, under cover of scientific complexities, the chief of a relatively minor scientific branch in the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratories started with a $44,000 contract with a small research firm of his choice, expanded it into one of more than a million dollars that may reach $10 million before the work is completed, and avoided the regulations that impeded him and invoked those he found useful.

This maneuvering within the armed services procurement regulation had the effect of eliminating competition, and it could not have been accomplished if the Air Force contracting organization had fully met its responsibilities. The contracting officer, the subcommittee found, had permitted the requiring agency to preempt his contract authority and responsibility. This led the subcommittee to recommend that laboratory participation in contract negotiations be limited to matters of a scientific character and that contracting officers be instructed to exercise their full contractual authority.

Following the hearings, the Secretary of the Air Force, Eugene M. Zuckert, wrote the subcommittee chairman that he had taken the following corrective measures:

(1) revised evaluation procedures to provide a better system of checks and balances;

(2) defined territorial limitations as exceptions to normal policy and requiring review by the division commander;

(3) issued instructions that requests for quotations are to include a clear definition of the availability of Government-furnished property;

(4) issued instructions to enforce regulations for the control and handling of unsolicited proposals; and

(5) emphasized procedures authorizing the assistance of scientifically qualified individuals in the preparation of timely facilities capability reports.

5. Deterioration of runway facilities at Selfridge Air Force Base

In May 1964, the subcommittee issued a report based on its investigation of the rapid deterioration of a recently completed main runway at Selfridge Air Force Base, Mount Clemens, Mich. The airfield improvements were completed in September 1959 under a contract cost of $9.9 million. The additional cost of repairing pavement constructed under this contract will be $2.7 million. The Corps of Engineers was the construction agent of the Air Force.

The subcommittee found that the source of the concrete failure was the use in the mix of aggregate which did not meet Corps of Engineers specifications. The subcommittee's investigation disclosed that the aggregate was used after the specifications were changed by a corps engineer without the knowledge and clearance of the Detroit District and the north central division of the Corps of Engineers. This led the subcommittee to recommend that the Corps of Engineers require prompt documentation of district "engineering judgments" that are not consistent with established Corps of Engineers standard and practices.

The corps engineer who had changed the aggregate specifications resigned his position with the Detroit District after the contract was completed and emerged as sales manager of the subcontractor who supplied the inferior aggregate.

This subcommittee recommended that the Corps of Engineers include in its prime contracts and subcontracts a clause permitting cancellation of such contracts in event the contractor employs or offers to employ any corps personnel charged with contract supervision or administration; also that the Corps of Engineers adopt regulations to require disclosure by its personnel of all activities and associations which might constitute a conflict of interest.

The Secretary of the Army, Stephen Ailes, by letter, advised the subcommittee chairman that the Department has—

(1) reissued its conduct and discipline regulation requiring disclosure of all outside interests or employment and to preclude private outside employment which could be expected to bring discredit to the Government;

(2) issued supplementary instructions to insure against inadvertent omissions from the daily record of such items as engineering determinations and other matters of interest for each contract; and

(3) issued guidance on material testing which follows or is more restrictive than that of recognized organizations such as the American Society for Testing and Materials, the American Concrete Institute, and the American Association of State Highway Officials.

6. Cost of morale and recreation benefits for defense contractor employees

For the purpose of determining the manner in which Government contract auditors and negotiators are interpreting the Armed Service Procurement Regulation sections which permit defense contractors to pass on to the Government much of the cost of employee morale and recreation, the records of 28 prime contractors at 36 locations were reviewed. Of these, 10 major contractors were selected for more detailed investigation in the field.

The subcommittee held public hearings on July 21, 22, and 23, 1964, and heard testimony from General Accounting Office and Department of Defense witnesses and 27 negotiating and auditing personnel of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. The hearings have been printed.

In the 12-month period examined by the subcommittee, employee welfare expenditures in 36 plant locations totaled approximately $6 million. About $3½ million of this amount was spent for athletic and club activities. Other total expenditures were cafeteria losses, $1,500,000; Christmas gift turkeys, $434,000; parties and entertainment, $386,000; and picnics and outings, $162,000.

In general, the subcommittee found that in their present form the ASPR sections relating to employee morale can be and are interpreted to allow a wide variety of activities, including picnics and outings, visits to Disneyland, cocktail parties, Christmas parties, crab feasts, and dinners at restaurants and in the homes of contractor executives. Such is the variety that the subcommittee could find no pattern either in industry or geographic area.

Food service losses are charged to the Government, while profits from the major source of food service income, vending machines, are often given to employee welfare organizations (frequently in amounts exceeding the requirements of the organization) without first deducting other food service losses. The subcommittee notes, however, that a few defense contractors have found it possible to conduct all employee activities at little or no expense to the Government by prudent use of food service profits.

The subcommittee made specific recommendations for changes in Department of Defense contracting policy and ASPR provisions to promote better fiscal control in this area of Government spending.

During the hearings the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics) Thomas D. Morris, said that the testimony developed by the subcommittee had shown the need for certain policy changes and administrative improvements. Subsequent to the hearings, the Department informed the subcommittee by letter that the Department had "(1) issued instructions for increased staff training; (2) initiated action to clarify that income from activities, such as vending machines, should, for contract cost allowance purposes, be treated as a credit for the overhead accounts of the contractors; and (3) initiated action to provide ASPR language which would disallow planned food losses on food service activities as contract costs."

GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE AND SUBCOMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

The reports of the General Accounting Office on subjects within the purview of the subcommittee are referred to the subcommittee as they are issued.

CONTINUING STUDIES

The subcommittee has under continuing study a number of specific cases which fall into rather definite groupings. Practically all of these relate to procurements, including such categories as sole source, small business, inadequacy or restrictiveness of bid invitation specifications, etc.

MEMBERSHIP, COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, OCTOBER 3, 1964

CARL VINSON of Georgia, chairman; L. MENDEL RIVERS of South Carolina; PHILIP J. PHILBIN of Massachusetts; F. EDWARD HÉBERT of Louisiana; ARTHUR WINSTEAD of Mississippi; MELVIN PRICE of Illinois; O. C. FISHER of Texas; PORTER HARDY, JR., of Virginia; CHARLES E. BENNETT of Florida; RICHARD E. LANKFORD of Maryland; GEORGE HUDDLESTON, JR., of Alabama; JAMES A. BYRNE of Pennsylvania; SAMUEL S. STRATTON of New York; JEFFERY COHELAN of California; VICTOR WICKERSHAM of Oklahoma; OTIS G. PIKE of New York; JOE M. KILGORE of Texas; RICHARD H. ICHORD of Missouri; LUCIEN N. NEDZI of Michigan; CLARENCE D. LONG of Maryland; EVERETT G. BURKHALTER of California; LESLIE C. ARENDS of Illinois; WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts; ALVIN E. O'KONSKI of Wisconsin; WILLIAM G. BRAY of Indiana; BOB WILSON of California; FRANK C. OSMERS, JR., of New Jersey; CHARLES S. GUBSER of California; FRANK J. BECKER of New York; CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN of Michigan; ALEXANDER PIRNIE of New York; DURWARD G. HALL of Missouri; DONALD D. CLANCY of Ohio; ROBERT T. STAFFORD of Vermont; ED FOREMAN of Texas; RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER of Pennsylvania; BILL STINSON of Washington; and A. FERNÓS-ISERN of Puerto Rico.

Professional staff: John R. Blandford, chief counsel; Philip W. Kelleher, counsel; Frank M. Slatinshek, counsel; William H. Cook, counsel; and Earl J. Morgan.

Clerical staff: Oneta L. Stockstill, executive secretary; Berniece Kalinowski, secretary; L. Louise Ellis, secretary; Dorothy R. Britton, secretary; Edna E. Johnson, secretary; Doris L. Scott, secretary; and James A. Deakins, bill clerk.

Subcommittee for special investigations staff: John T. M. Reddan, counsel; Walton Woods, investigator; Phyllis Seymour, secretary; Rose C. Beck, secretary; and Adeline Tolerton, clerk.

Tribute to Hon. Clifford G. McIntire

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I am going to miss CLIFF MCINTIRE on this side of the Capitol. CLIFF was a truly great member of the Agriculture Committee. He loved the soil and the great out of doors and did his best to improve the role of that great independent, self-reliant group of the American public—the American farmer. As one who has always lived on the farm, I will never forget the outstanding service rendered in this House to the cause of agriculture by CLIFF MCINTIRE.

CLIFF MCINTIRE is not only a great legislator, devoted to his beautiful State and his wonderful people, but CLIFF MCINTIRE is a great American and Christian. I have seen him Sunday after Sunday attending the Vaughn Bible class here in the Nation's Capitol and I have heard his eloquent teaching of the Gospels. CLIFF was a faithful member of the Christian breakfast group of the House.

CLIFF MCINTIRE'S service here in this House was fearless, forthright, and courageous. He was dedicated and devoted to those New England principles which contributed so much to the founding of this country.

CLIFF MCINTIRE is a young man and his State and Nation will hear more of him in the near future. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for CLIFF and Mrs. McIntire much continued success.

From Pills and Potions to Miracle Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, a special issue of the Philadelphia Bulletin on September 27 marked the bicentennial next year of the founding of this country's first school of medicine by the College of Philadelphia—which later became the University of Pennsylvania. The course of medical progress "From Pills and Potions to Miracle Drugs" is dramatically traced in a report on the founding in Philadelphia, "First City of American Medicine," of the first U.S. college of pharmacy, now the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science.

The history of this college from its founding in 1822 is the history of pharmacy in America. The story of Philadelphia from the early 1800's, when pharmacists mixed rattlesnake poison with cheese for palsy and rheumatism, to the present, with its miracle drugs, is also the story of the growth to maturity of a great American industry.

For example, Merck, Sharpe, & Dohme had its beginnings in 1818 when a Swiss and an Englishman began making quinine in Philadelphia. Smith, Kline, & French began as a one-man drug shop in 1841. Wyeth Laboratories was born in a pharmacy in 1860. In 1872 the two Wyeth brothers, John and Frank, designed the first rotary tablet press.

These and other pharmaceutical houses in the area employ 15,000 persons today and pay about $115 million a year in wages. They spend $50 million a year for research and sell $400 million in drugs annually, 20 percent of the prescription drug production of the industry. Under a previous unanimous consent, I introduce into the RECORD the article "From Pills and Potions to Miracle Drugs":

FROM PILLS AND POTIONS TO MIRACLE DRUGS

Up to 1821, anybody who wanted to get into the drug business did—and then did as he pleased.

Like all other communities, Philadelphia had its nostrum peddlers who sold weeds that were smoked in a pipe for asthma; pokeberries as plasters for cancer; catmint tea for colic, and grapevine sap to make the hair grow.

It was common practice to rub tumors with dead toads; to blow the ashes of a burnt cat (it had to be black) into the eyes to wipe out cataracts, and to mix rattlesnake poison with cheese for palsy and rheumatism victims.

The healing art was, for the most part, bottled up in superstitions. Physicians were aware of this. So were apothecaries. Something had to be done.

So 68 druggists, seeing the need for scientific training in their field, got together in Carpenters' Hall on March 27, 1821, and set up the Philadelphia College of Apothecaries.

This was the first college of pharmacy in the United States. And it was established in a city which today is one of the leading pharmaceutical centers in the world, with a big share of the country's drug research and manufacture.

When the pioneering institution sought a charter from the legislature, one of its members—on his own—altered the bill and made the title the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. That's the way the act was signed on March 30, 1822, so the college changed its name.

At this time, Philadelphia was the principal city in the country and the largest. Its population was 137,000. Lighting was by candle and animal oils. It was common to see Lenape Indians in the city streets.

In this atmosphere, the druggists learned about the concoctions they mixed and the products they sold.

As new medicines were developed, an apothecary named William Procter made note of them in more than 500 articles he wrote in the backroom of his Philadelphia store. For his contribution, he is known as the father of American pharmacy.

This was the dawn of a new era in pharmacy, with the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy showing the way. In fact the history of the college is the early history of pharmacy in America.

The college's first home was on the west side of Seventh Street above Chestnut. It stayed there until 1832, when it moved to Filbert Street near Seventh. In 1868, it went to 10th Street near Cherry and remained there until its present Georgian Colonial building at 43d Street and Kingsessing Avenue was erected in 1927.

At first, the college held classes on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings from October through February. The fee was $2 to matriculate, $10 for each of two courses of lectures, and $5 for graduation.

Diplomas were given to persons "over 21 and of good moral character," but only after they passed examinations and served 4-year apprenticeships.

The first year the college issued diplomas, 1826, there were three graduates. In 1827, there was only one. However, as the years went by, more and more students graduated and opened shops.

(One graduate opened his store in 1829 at 11th and Arch Streets and won much criticism and little sympathy from his colleagues for "going so far into the suburbs.")

In the beginning the college was limited to men, but in 1883 a diploma was given to Susan Hayhurst, the first woman graduate.

But teaching wasn't the only role of the college. It played a crusading part in identifying and exposing spurious, adulterated, or deteriorated products.

The college emphasized biological and chemical sciences as major subjects. Later, separate schools in pharmacy, bacteriology, biology, and chemistry were started. Because of this, it changed its name to the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science in 1921.

Back in the 1930's the pharmacy course ran 3 years. It was increased to 4 in 1933 and in 1960 it became 5 years.

Bachelor of science degrees are awarded, with the graduate school giving master of science and doctor of philosophy degrees. The college has about 14,00 graduates and its alumni live in 32 countries around the world.

Now, some 750 students are attending its schools. There is one girl student for every five men.

The college's buildings and equipment are valued at $4 million. A $1.5 million expansion program is underway, with progress as the watchword.

In 1951, the college began the experimental study of radioactivity, the following year began courses in radioisotopes.

It conducts laboratories for pharmaceutical research, a field in which many of its graduates are leaders.

John Wyeth was educated at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. In 1860, with his brother Frank, he opened a pharmacy at 1410 Walnut Street and, in 1872, designed the first rotary tablet press. Today, that company is known as Wyeth Laboratories.

The histories of Merck Sharp & Dohme and Smith Kline & French Laboratories go back even further than Wyeth's.

Merck Sharp & Dohme was started in 1818 when a Swiss and an Englishman began making quinine in Philadelphia. Smith Kline & French began as a one-man (George K. Smith) drug shop in 1841.

There are half a dozen more pharmaceutical firms around the Philadelphia area—McNeal Laboratories and William H. Rorer, Inc., in Fort Washington; Vale Chemical Co. in Allentown; Winthrop Laboratories in Myerstown; National Drug and S. F. Durst & Co. in Philadelphia. Together, the area's firms turn out 20 percent of the Nation's drugs and do an important share of its pharmaceutical research.

These pharmaceutical houses employ about 15,000 persons and pay some $115 million in annual wages. They spend more than $50 million a year on research and sell about $400 million in drugs annually.

In 1962, the U.S. prescription drug industry spent $270 million searching for new medicines (only 1 out of 2,864 compounds tested becomes a marketable product) and Pennsylvania firms contributed one-fifth of this.

However, the industry wasn't always so progressive. Research by American firms didn't go into high gear until World War I, when drugs from Germany were cut off.

Although Sir Alexander Fleming in England developed penicillin, it was Wyeth that mass produced it. Smith Kline & French is a world leader in production of tranquilizers that have revolutionized treatment of mental illness. Major products of Merck Sharp & Dohme are used to reduce blood pressure, remove excess body fluids, and relieve arthritis.

The life expectancy of a baby born in Philadelphia was 61 years back in 1934. Now it is 70. What it will be in 1980, nobody knows. But the Greater Philadelphia drug industry has its eye on your future, its mind on your health.

The Hon. Charles B. Hoeven

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, during the time when agriculture in the United States had its back to the wall, I think of CHARLES HOEVEN as one of the men who has saved our agriculture and helped develop it so that it is the wonder of the entire world. We have never heard CHARLIE HOEVEN complain about the surplus. He believes this surplus to be the greatest weapon in the fight for freedom and in the defense and strength of our Nation.

CHARLIE is from the great heartland of America, where people are still self-reliant, independent, and devoted to the free enterprise system. CHARLIE HOEVEN, here in the Congress, exemplified the very best in American traditions and ideals. He is a Christian gentleman, and although we will miss his service here, this Congress is a better body having known him and will always benefit from his leadership and example.

I join his many colleagues in wishing for him every future success and much happiness.

Press Veteran of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the celebrated columnist, Milburn P. Akers, editor of the Chicago Sun Times, was selected by the Chicago Press Veterans Association as the Press Veteran of the Year. He was honored at the annual banquet of the association, and presented a plaque descriptive of his long career in journalism for more than three decades.

Robert Howard Springfield, correspondent of the Tribune, presented the plaque with the most precious compliment one newspaperman can pay to another—"He has been a good reporter through the years."

A recent series of articles treating with the critical east Asian problems confronting the United States in that theater of operations, were written by Editor Akers. He viewed the situation from on the spot observation and study. His masterful treatment of the subject, both from the political and military aspects, were presented to the reader with clarity of thought and logical conclusions. He is to be complimented for his fairness in developing honest conclusions from basic facts. His judgment in these matters is unassailable. The accepted authorities on the critical Vietnam situation, both in the Pentagon, the State Department, and their assigned personnel at the theater of operations, have not questioned his findings. He is to be complimented for his efforts to acquaint the American people with the true facts and actual conditions to be met before success can be realized.

Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago was warm in his compliments of the honored guest—making reference to the prominent role that Mr. Akers played as press secretary to the late Governor, Henry Horner, especially during his late illness. It was Mr. Akers who championed his dying leader's cause, press-wise, to the very end.

Editor Akers, in graciously accepting the plaque, entered upon a most serious subject, the advance to maturity by the Chicago newspapers during his generation in news work. It was both interesting and educational. His closing statement was a summation of journalistic philosophy. He said:

The newspapers are only as good as their reporters, and it is my considered judgment, that Chicago today has the best reporters in the world.

It can be truly said, that Milburn P. Akers enjoys the respect and admiration of the members of the press, those under his employ, the people of Chicago, the political, civic and business leaders of the community, and last but not least, his publisher, Marshall Field, Jr. May the Lord bless and guide his efforts to disseminate the written word in truth and with justice.

A Critical Look at Urban Renewal by the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN KYL
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Richard Wilson, chief of the Washington bureau, Cowles Publications. The article was published in the Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune on September 27, 1964.

The article follows:

A CRITICAL LOOK AT URBAN RENEWAL

(By Richard Wilson)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Everywhere that the urban renewal program has swept away square blocks of decrepit buildings people wonder what became of the former occupants. Obviously most of the former residents could not afford quarters in the modernistic high-rise apartments so typical of urban renewal projects.

It is a mystery. Washington officials don't have a very clear idea of what happened to the occupants, whether they are better or worse off than before they received eviction notices. But it is clear that the very poor have been evicted to make way for the better off in one of the most curious and controversial of Federal aid programs.

According to some estimates the projects now authorized, under construction or completed will have displaced some 4 million people in major cities. This is about like transferring the entire metropolitan area of Detroit somewhere else.

On the face of it urban renewal sounds like a good idea. The blighted city areas are depressing and hurt the pride of the city dweller who loves to show off his town. Some kind of order is brought into progress. Citizens look with awe and wonder at the glass, stone, and concrete buildings which have replaced slums, and some of them, provided they can pay high rents, move in.

For 15 years, this program has been underway. It has been examined in a very critical light in a book to be published next month under the respectable imprint of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. The analysis by Martin Anderson is about as critical as a professorial tract can get, describing the program as a dismal failure which stands in sorry contrast to bet-

ter efforts by private enterprise guided solely by the demands of the free market rather than the esthetes of the urban renewal administration.

RECOMMENDS ABANDONMENT

Of course, urban renewal is a form of private enterprise. The Government subsidizes the razing of blighted areas for sale to private developers, who in turn develop it with Federal financial help under the direction of a local agency.

MIT and Harvard are sending the Anderson study to scores of prominent people in public life. Anderson's chief recommendation is the abandonment of the program after the completion of authorized projects.

This study is being published at a good time because it is so evident that the Federal Government has prepared the ground for new advances into the fields of Government and local cooperation opened up by programs like urban renewal. This has been one of the little noticed major trends initiated in the Kennedy administration and now to be carried farther in the Johnson administration. President Johnson is much sold on the idea of new local-Federal cooperation.

POWER CENTERS AROUND CITIES

The trend is largely an outgrowth of the changed political structure of this country which now centers so much more strongly around cities and metropolitan areas than it did 30 or 40 years ago. One of the reasons the U.S. Senate today is so much more "liberal" than the House of Representatives is that urban political pressure can be brought more directly on the election of two senators at large from a State than upon Congressmen elected from mixed urban-rural districts, or mainly rural districts.

One of the surprises of the current Congress was the adoption of the mass transit bill to help cities solve the agonizing problem of getting people to and from work. This bill was adopted only by intense political pressure and logrolling.

Only a short time before President Kennedy was killed, it has now been learned, he was discussing with his aids a new suburban program, which has not yet seen the light of day. The antipoverty program, which President Johnson later espoused, was under discussion concurrently and some of the President's aids thought there might be something inconsistent in an attack on poverty while at the same time programs were pushed for the more affluent suburbanites. But President Kennedy saw nothing inconsistent in the two efforts.

In fact, they are consistent in the sense that they are both part of the general trend toward attempts to solve urban problems through State, local, and Federal cooperation. This inevitably means the growth, and probably at a rapid rate, of Federal subsidization and a great increase in Federal intervention in local affairs. Setting aside the question of whether or not this is desirable on general principle, does it work? Is it effective? Is it the best way to solve the problems of the cities? The urban renewal program does not yet, in the opinion of some experts, give a favorable answer to these questions.

Congressman James C. Cleveland Evaluates the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, in the closing days of the 88th Congress, I have read with much interest the numerous reviews and evaluations by many of my colleagues of this session's accomplishments. It appears to me that their practice of evaluating the work of Congress upon its conclusion, rendering an account of their stewardship, and having these printed at their own expense and mailed to their constituents, is commendable. To supplement the biweekly reports that I have sent to my own district for the past 2 years, I have decided to adopt this practice.

A review of the 88th Congress, in which it has been my great good fortune to have represented the Second Congressional District of New Hampshire, is to recall great and historic events. The year 1963, particularly, is one that history shall claim for all time. It was a year of sorrow, but hope.

1963—YEAR OF SORROW

The milestones of that year's sorrows were many. In New Hampshire, the tragedy of the *Thresher* was a grim reminder of the cold war. All Christians and the entire world mourned the passing of Pope John XXIII whose efforts on behalf of Christian unity, as a meaningful foundation for peace, brightened the prospects of humanity. But, perhaps the sorrows of 1963 can best be recaptured by recalling the anguish of three widows, Jasqueline Kennedy, Mrs. Medgar Evers, and Madam Nu. The unfortunate events that made these ladies widows are too wellknown to recount in detail, but certainly, in varying degrees, they symbolize the year and the era. For 1963 was the year when racial discord erupted in the United States. It was the year when the grim cold war between communism and democracy flared into the dirty, hot war in Vietnam. But above all, it was the year marked by the determined efforts of men of good will to bring about peace and understanding, not only at home, but throughout the world.

SEEDS OF HOPE

So if 1963, the first year of the 88th Congress, was marked by sorrow, it was also a year in which were sown the seeds of hope. Of the many complex issues that face us today—at home and abroad—certainly the central issue and the all-pervading one, is the issue of war and peace. All thoughtful Americans share an abiding aspiration for effective and realistic steps toward peace and a meaningful reduction of world tensions. In Milford, N.H., in a Memorial Day address delivered in May 1963, I expressed my own convictions this way:

We must not let our aspirations for peace be interpreted, as they have in the past, as weakness. Nor can we permit firmness to develop into unbridled belligerency. Theodore Roosevelt expressed this well. "We should speak softly and carry a big stick." If we are to preserve peace, we must maintain a posture of unquestionable strength and firmness. History shows clearly that weakness and indecision invite attack and lead to war. On the other hand, we must strongly support the U.N. in spite of inadequacies. We must strive for a workable test ban treaty and have an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Since that speech, I have continued my support of the United Nations by both speeches and votes on the floor of the House. I also voted to continue the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Although as a Congressman I did not have an opportunity to vote on the nuclear test ban treaty, I felt the matter to be of such importance that in one of my biweekly Washington Reports, I specifically stated that had I been given the opportunity to do so, I would have voted for the treaty.

In speaking of steps toward peace and hope in the first year of the 88th Congress, I would like to emphasize the word "seeds." In New Hampshire, we know well that seeds, when sown, do not spring into full flower immediately and that they do not bear fruit without thought, patience, and a great deal of hard work. It is immensely important that we remember this and do not fall prey to wishful thinking that the struggle for peace has been won. Nor should we forget that peace is the ultimate reward bestowed only on those who fully appreciate it and who in all ways are prepared to sacrifice to preserve it.

In a speech which I made on the floor of the House on United Nations Day last year, in which I pledged my support of the U.N., I made a point which should be repeated here. The U.N., being an organization of men, can hardly be expected to be perfect. Some criticism of that body comes from people who expect too much of it, just as some people expect too much of their schools or their churches, or even their legislative bodies. After all, we are all human. Secretary of State Dean Rusk wrote me a warm letter of appreciation in response to my speech. He expressed his wholehearted agreement with my observations that the U.N. is a proven step toward the sensible solution of the great problems of war and peace. Improvements in that organization are needed, however, and certainly its costs should be fairly shared.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM—NOT OBSTRUCTION

There is a disturbing tendency today to confuse constructive criticism with obstructionism. This point is worth repeating now, because so often the tendency to confuse constructive criticism with obstructionism defeats the purposes of democracy, which is, after all, based on a free exchange of ideas and honest debate. With emotionally charged issues, such as war and peace, or civil rights, or poverty, or foreign aid, this tendency often results in total cleavage. Too frequently, if one does not embrace each and every suggestion of those who have preempted some special area of endeavor, one is considered to be against the proponents and, of course, against the noble principles for which they stand. As I pointed out just the other day here in the House, in commenting on the excessive misrepresentations being resorted to in the present presidential campaign, an important issue today is whether or not we as a nation are maintaining the integrity of our decisionmaking techniques.

88TH CONGRESS HAS ESTABLISHED A CONSTRUCTIVE RECORD

As one who prefers to accentuate the positive, I have noted with understandable pride and pleasure the near unanim-

ity of opinion to the effect that the 88th Congress has compiled a commendable record of accomplishment. To be candid, I must confess that some of the measures which we have passed that my colleagues have pointed to with pride, are ones that I have voted against. Examples of such measures are the wheat-cotton bill, the food stamp bill, mass transit, the poverty bill, the Area Redevelopment Agency, acccelerated public works, and I am on record, in committee, as having opposed Appalachia. I opposed these measures because they did not conform to my standards of budgetary restraint and because of potential waste, excessive duplication, and general inadequacy. When I voted for the tax cut but against increases in the national debt, and against congressional pay increases, I did so with the thought that fiscal restraint would have to be rigidly adhered to by the Federal Government in order to avoid the ravages of inflation. For this reason, it is interesting to me to note that Appalachia, the Area Redevelopment Agency, and accelerated public works have not been brought to the House for final action. In my opinion, this is tacit admission that these proposals were seriously lacking in merit. But as I have stated, the 88th Congress has established a constructive record and most of its finest accomplishments enjoyed broad bipartisan backing and received my own active and energetic support.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The accomplishments of the 88th Congress in foreign affairs and in a meaningful reduction in world tensions have unfortunately been tarnished by the administration's failure to maintain a truly bipartisan foreign policy. In times of crisis, all Americans will rally behind their administration, as indeed Congress did at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, and again by unanimous vote when this House placed its stamp of approval last August 7 on the administration's actions in the Gulf of Tonkin.

But the Republican leadership is not being fully consulted on important matters, and our foreign affairs are in regrettable disarray. Following administration insistence last December that wheat sales to Russia could be financed by tax-supported dollars through the Export-Import Bank, the divisions among our allies became painfully obvious. These ordinarily friendly countries stepped up their trade with Cuba and other Communist nations. France went even further along its own path. The situation in South Vietnam continued to deteriorate, and throughout the world, Communist-inspired trouble spots flared anew.

Against such a background, to have the Secretary of State appear before the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention for the first time in history emphasizes anew the need for reestablishing a bipartisan approach to foreign affairs.

For my own part, I have fully supported the foreign aid programs of this administration after sensible reductions in budgetary requests were made. More remains to be done. In my opinion, there is presently an overemphasis on economic aid as compared with technical assistance, educational assistance, Peace Corps programs, and other people-to-people and privately financed programs. I think economic aid should be confined to situations where there is a real need that otherwise cannot be met and where there is a fair chance of encouraging local initiative. Economic aid poured in at the top too often stays at the top, fails to attain its intended goal, and only serves to enrich already wealthy and undemocratic ruling classes.

FOREIGN TRADE—GOOD OR BAD?

Closely related to our conduct of foreign affairs is the matter of foreign trade. Generally speaking, I am in favor of a national policy which will foster and increase healthy and fairly competitive foreign trade. If this is properly done, it will strengthen our economy, strengthen our foreign policy, and further reduce world tension. This laudable odjective, however, cannot be accomplished at breakneck speed or by sacrificing entire domestic industries on such an altar.

As I have stated many times on the floor of this House, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect wage differentials between the various foreign nations with whom we compete and trade. If this is not done, it will serve only to place our own industry at an unfair disadvantage and it will retard the advance of wages in countries with whom we trade. Also, our tariff structure should be reformed to reflect and take into account, subsidies—direct or indirect—given by foreign governments to their industries who export to the United States.

My experience with the problem of foreign imports has also led me to believe that the Department of State is not adequately situated or equipped to deal with this problem, and that primary responsibility for it might well be placed in the Department of Commerce or another Government agency.

IMPACT OF IMPORTS ON NEW HAMPSHIRE SOBERING

The impact of foreign imports on my own congressional district is sobering. The shoe industry, the electronics industry, and the ball-bearing industry are among examples of those businesses which are faced with an accelerating flood of foreign imports that has far exceeded expectations or the reasonable requirements of expanding foreign trade.

Even worse is the plight of the wool manufacturer. More than 30 plants in the United States have been closed in the last 2 years, with 6,000 jobs down the drain in spite of the almost unbelievable fact that this administration solemnly promised quantitative restrictions on wool imports more than 3 years ago. This same promise was made to the powerful cotton interests and was kept, with the passage of the wheat-cotton bill, giving the cotton textile industry a subsidy in excess of $200 million a year. The fact that the promise to the wool manufacturers has not been kept—presumably because of their political impotence—has been a distressing revelation to me and raises the fundamental question as to whether or not people can believe in and trust their own Government. Just a few weeks ago the closing of a J. P. Stevens mill in Lisbon Falls, Maine, the second wool mill closing in that town this year, etched with tragic and shattering impact the enormity of this bad faith. I am encouraged, though hesitantly so, by the fact that this administration just recently repeated its promise to the wool industry, and I can only hope that this time the promise will be kept before more factories close.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The most significant bill enacted by both branches of the 88th Congress was the civil rights bill. Having introduced meaningful civil rights legislation myself prior to the introduction by the administration of its civil rights bill, and having done so with the hope that this matter could be handled on a bipartisan manner, it has been disappointing to me to find the laudable objectives of this legislation enmeshed in politics. The legislation which we finall enacted, however, is meaningful and should be given a full opportunity to be tested. It is unfortunate that many people in this country labor under the illusion that the mere passage of a law will settle complex problems. The civil rights problem eventually will have to be solved in the minds and hearts of men. But, hopefully, the enactment of this legislation will remove the problem from the streets and place it in the courts. Impressive progress will be made by voluntary compliance with the new law if the role of the demagog can also be diminished. If the American tradition of fair play and tolerance can be allowed full rein, then there is hope this this important legislation will be a successful milestone in mankind's long struggle for freedom and equality of opportunity.

TAX CUT

Congress passed in 1964 an $11.5 billion tax cut which I supported after the administration agreed to a Republican recommendation that a reduction be made in the Federal budget first before the tax cut would go into effect.

As a Republican, I favor tax cuts. Historically, the Republican Party has believed that high taxes stifle our Nation's economic growth. Since the turn of the century major tax cuts have been made 8 times in 34 years of Republican administrations compared with only 3 times in 30 years of Democratic administrations.

But, as a Republican I also feel a tax cut should be coupled with budgetary restraint, because otherwise continued high Federal spending with reduced tax revenue means greater inflationary deficits. When the administration brought out the tax cut for House action, it refused to adopt the Republican proposal that the tax cut be coupled with a budget request limited to $98 billion or less for the following year. In the face of the administration's unwillingness to balance a tax cut with a needed cut in Federal spending, I voted against the tax cut bill in September 1963. Thereafter, the forces of economy in the House and Senate trimmed more than $6 billion off last year's budget before we adjourned Christmas eve. Then last January the

administration did an about-face. They acceded to the Republican economy proposal and offered a budgetary request this year of $97.9 billion. This broke the lobjam in the Senate, and upon return of the tax cut bill to the House in improved form, I voted for it.

My constituents should be warned, however, that for some of them, the tax cut will prove to be illusory because withholding rates were lowered at a greater rate than the actual tax cut for 1964. This means that next April, some taxpayers who rely upon the withholding system to pay their taxes will have to pay an additional tax.

ADDITIONAL TAX CUT VOTES

As one who believes in tax cuts and tax reforms as the only sensible ways to stimulate the private sector of the economy and to create more jobs, I would also like to point out that I voted in 1963 and also again in 1964 against a renewal of wartime excise taxes which the administration successfully insisted on retaining at the expense of the American consumer. Imposed upon us during World War II and the Korean war and never repealed since, these so-called luxury taxes represent for consumers a discriminatory charge against many items such as airplane travel, telephone service, and even lady's handbags—hardly a luxury to women.

I sponsored legislation to permit tax deductions for hardpressed parents sending their children to college, and was keenly disappointed that this proposal was killed in the Senate, the killing votes being cast by Senators of the majority party who had themselves sponsored and introduced such legislation. Other bills introduced by me would have reformed our tax structure by depreciating property more equitably and reasonably, taxing more fairly shares in mutual funds, and providing tax reserve deductions for recreational enterprises subject to losses from inclement weather.

In considering the tax record of the 88th Congress, it should be remembered that in addition to the Republican record during the last 64 years of cutting taxes eight times as compared to only three times under the Democrats, Republicans have raised taxes only twice compared to 13 raises in taxes under Democrats. During this same time Republicans have balanced the budget 22 times; the Democrats only 3 times.

EDUCATION

Education benefited by several important new assists from Congress, all of which I strongly supported. Colleges were made eligible to receive construction grants and loans for classrooms, labs, and other academic facilities under the 3-years, $1.2 billion higher Education Facilities Act. This measure was of critical importance since college attendance is jumping an estimated 94 percent between 1960 and 1970. While the program provides needed funds to colleges, the act wisely requires that schools themselves undertake a share of the costs of new construction. The Federal Government thus provides an incentive for educational expansion without taking over local responsibility.

Seeking to meet the acute needs for new job skills in this fast changing technological age, Congress enacted an additional $958 million Vocational Training Act providing an improved and expanded program of vocational training in high schools across the country. And new amendments to the Manpower Training and Development Act will provide important job training to jobless youths and workers needing new skills. Passage of this legislation was vital to help meet the problems of job obsolescence and technological unemployment created by automation.

HEALTH EDUCATION

The Health Professions Assistance Act provides $175 million in matching grants over a 3-year period for the construction or improvement of medical, dental, and related schools. A loan program of $30.7 million is provided to assist medical and dental students in completing their education. Since the United States is not graduating nearly enough doctors, dentists, and medical personnel to meet the needs of its growing population, this legislation is necessary to help our Nation maintain high standards of medical care in the years ahead. Unfortunately, the legislation did not include a proposed plan of partial forgiveness of student loans to doctors and dentists who agree to practice in rural areas—where the need for medical personnel is greatest. Senator COTTON and I later introduced this plan as a separate bill and although it passed the Senate, it was narrowly defeated in the House.

The Nurse Training Act provides grants for the improvement and expansion of nursing schools and establishes traineeships and student loan funds for nursing students. This program was designed to combat a severe shortage of nurses both at the present time and in the years ahead.

EDUCATION KEY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Additional student loan funds were authorized in legislation to extend and expand the National Defense Education Act which also increased funds for science, mathematics, and foreign language training programs, and for school counseling services. New summer training programs were provided for teachers of English and social science.

Local school aid was continued to areas having high Federal employment. New and expanded aid was given for the improvement and construction of libraries.

My support of these programs in education is based on a deep-seated conviction that in this fast changing world we cannot afford to allow our progress to be impeded by lack of learning and skilled personnel. These programs will help in the battle against unemployment and assist the meaningful economic development of our country.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social security benefits were raised 5 percent and extended to cover more people by the House of Representatives—only to be killed by the Senate which under administration pressure insisted on tying medicare to social security. Millions of older persons were thus denied the needed and promised increases in social security necessary to compensate for the drop in value of pensions over the last 5 years caused by inflationary rises in the cost of living. The administration's adamant insistence on social security-financed medicare killed the social security bill, modest as it was. Thus we have the somewhat sorry spectacle of a Congress, which voted itself a fat pay increase, refusing to recognize the needs of older citizens. Older people have been repeatedly told by all responsible leaders here in Washington that social security benefits would be increased. This is another broken promise. It raises anew what I consider to be a basic issue of today—can people trust in and believe their own Government.

MEDICARE

If partial hospital care financed through social security is ever adopted, coverage and benefits will be rapidly expanded at least every 2 years. Personally, I think that the Kerr-Mills bill, which I have supported, is a better solution to the problem, as it is based on Federal-State partnership and limits its benefits to those who need them. One possible compromise is to increase social security benefits to permit the purchase of special insurance which would be handled by private insurance companies under suitable Government sponsorship. Another possible solution would be to allow tax deductions for the purchase of old age medical and hospital insurance. As people live longer and as medical expenses increase, the one thing that everybody agrees on is that the general problem is one that must be met. To me, it is unfortunate, however, that there isn't more emphasis being placed on the good news that people are living longer thanks to the marvelous achievements of science and the medical professions.

CONSERVATION AND RECREATION

Significant advances were made by Congress in the field of conservation. Our fast-growing population and commercial development threaten the preservation of our natural resources and create new demands for recreational areas. Under the wilderness bill, 9 million acres of mountains, forests, and streams will be forever protected in a natural and undisturbed state as in the days when the Indian roamed this continent. With the approval of Congress, additional acres can be added to the system during the next 10 years. In New Hampshire, we are fortunate to have included in the wilderness system the only area in the Northeast—the 5,400-acre Great Gulf wild area in the White Mountains.

Designed to insure the acquisition of needed land for recreation at a time when available land is fast disappearing, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act establishes a systematic means of financing State and Federal land purchases for new parks. The proceeds from motorboat fuel taxes, Federal park and recreation area admission fees, and sales of surplus Federal land will be collected into a land acquisition fund that will be partly distributed to States in the form of matching funds and partly made available to the Federal Government.

New Hampshire, because of its large number of out-of-State visitors, will particularly benefit from these funds.

Legislation was also passed establishing water resource centers at our State universities, and several new Federal park areas were authorized. My bill to make Sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens' home in Cornish, N.H., a national historic site, the first in New Hampshire, was enacted into law.

The record of the 88th Congress for conservation is so good that many persons have called this the "Conservation Congress."

As Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall expressed it in a personal note to me last September:

Glad to note your strong interest in, and support for, conservation. Thanks to people like you it's been a great year for the out of doors.

HOUSING

The Congress passed a housing bill, with my support, which extended for 1 year FHA, urban renewal, public housing, and other similar programs.

The Federal Housing Administration was given authority to insure one-family homes up to $30,000 instead of the current $25,000. The legislation also provided for construction of special housing for the elderly, funds for urban planning grants, and open-space grants for parks and recreational facilities within urban areas.

Urban renewal has often in the past involved the complete destruction of whole areas in our cities without a discriminate attempt to preserve and restore salvageable buildings. Thus, I was particularly pleased to see included in the bill a Republican proposal for low-interest loans to property owners in urban renewal areas to help these owners rehabilitate their property and thereby avoid costly and wasteful total demolition and reconstruction.

VETERANS' LEGISLATION

Americans have long believed that the men who have defended this country in wartime deserve the protection of pension programs if they are in financial needs. Congress enacted legislation to increase and liberalize the non-service-connected pension program for veterans because so many veterans and their widows are caught in the tragic squeeze between rising costs and static income. The new pension law, in addition to raising pensions for low-income veterans and their widows, allows new exclusions from income in determining pension eligibility. For example, it provides that a veteran or his widow may exclude as income, 10 percent of the total social security payments received in a year. All of the wife's earned income can be excluded, instead of only the first $1,200 of her income. It increases the additional allowance for aid and attendance cases from $70 to $100 a month, and also provides an increase of $35 a month to any veteran who is permanently disabled. A limited 1-year reopening of national service life insurance is permitted. This legislation largely included the same language of two bills I had introduced on veterans' pensions and national service life insurance.

A new veterans' nursing care bill passed by Congress provides for at least 4,000 nursing care beds in Veterans' Administration hospitals, private nursing care for veterans who have exhausted their hospital benefits, and matching grants for the construction of nursing care facilities in State old soldiers' homes.

WILLEY BILL PASSED

Congress enacted a legislative proposal of mine to correct an inequity in the granting of pensions to Congressional Medal of Honor winners. My bill, which was enacted into law at the last minute, permits veterans who won the Congressional Medal of Honor at a time when their country was not engaged in a declared war, to receive the monthly pension received by all other holders of our Nation's highest honor. My particular interest in this bill arose from the case of Charles H. Willey, of Penacook, who received his Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism during the Santo Domingo Insurrection. Only 17 people are similarly situated. Of interest to New Hampshire is the fact that several of them received their medals for bravery during the *Squalus* rescue operation off the Isle of Shoals near Portsmouth, N.H.

CONGRESSIONAL PAY RAISE

The $556.8 million Federal pay raise included a hike in congressional salaries of $7,500 and also large boosts in salaries to top officials, but it provided only small increases for lower paid Government employees. Although these raises were defensible, I could not in good conscience support such an inflationary increase in the cost of the Federal Government at a time when labor and business were being asked to hold the line on wages and prices, when the budget was unbalanced, and when the threat of inflation was haunting the Nation's economy. When I voted for the tax cut, I did so with the pledge that I would vote against all costly programs unless absolutely necessary.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

Significant and long overdue legislation was enacted by Congress to grant women employees equal rights with men. The Equal Pay Act amends the Fair Labor Standards Act to require that employers engaged in interstate commerce grant equal pay "for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal effort and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions." In other words, it requires that no employee can be paid a wage rate less than that given to another doing the same work because of his or her sex.

HEALTH

Mental illness and retardation is our Nation's greatest health problem. Congress enacted legislation authorizing grants to aid in the construction of facilities for research and treatment of the mentally ill and retarded, to help construct community health centers, and to train teachers for mentally retarded and handicapped children.

To meet the general shortage of hospital space, the Hill-Burton program of hospital construction aid was extended and improved.

FINE ARTS

A National Council on the Arts was established by Congress which wisely recognized that the problems and needs of maintaining the arts in our country should be studied. Consisting of a Chairman and 24 members appointed by the President, the Council will make recommendations on how the United States can strengthen and support its vital resource, the arts. The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. was approved, and I was happy to vote for it because it will beneficially enhance the cultural prestige of our Nation's Capital. Successful enactment of my bill establishing Augustus Saint-Gaudens' home, near Cornish, N.H., as a national historic site gave a fitting tribute to one of America's greatest sculptors. Students of art and the general public are now assured of always having the opportunity of visiting and studying the home and studios of Saint-Gaudens with their notable collection of his sculpture.

ATTENDANCE

The two sessions of the 88th Congress were among the longest in our history. Of 256 rollcalls in our first session, I missed but one. This year, however, largely as a result of being in New Hampshire to vote in the presidential primary, I missed 6 of the 272 rollcalls.

BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

I received one of the highest Republican scores last year in either House or Senate for bipartisan support of legislation before the U.S. Congress according to the Congressional Quarterly. My score of 95 percent was equaled by only three other Republican Representatives. The study of bipartisan voting by the noted independent research journal was designed to reveal how often a majority of voting Democrats agreed with a majority of voting Republicans. The study was based on 61 rollcall votes of the House on which a majority of both parties agreed. Republicans and Democrats each voted with bipartisan majorities an average of 71 percent of the time.

Legislation which is good for the country receives support from both Republicans and Democrats. I am pleased to be recognized for having supported such measures last year. This has not kept me from constructively and vigorously opposing bad legislation which I will continue to do.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

Congressional reform has been a principal interest of mine. Unfortunately the majority leadership has been unwilling to push for any real reforms in the legislative process. Congress is in danger of losing touch with the American people it represents. One reform would be the speeded up schedule of bills for congressional consideration to allow Members of Congress to finish up their business in Washington earlier in the year and to have time to return to their districts to consult and keep in touch with citizens. Another needed reform would be the increasing of minority staffing on House and Senate committees.

MINORITY STAFFING

One of the major problems of effective government that I have been concerned with is the lack of staff assistance available to the minority party in Congress. The committee work of Congress requires legislative staff research to help legislators to gather information and to study and prepare legislation. Staff members appointed by the majority party, however, outnumber minority staff members in the House 10 to 1 although the actual party division of Congressmen is 3 to 2. Some committees have no staff members responsible to the minority. The minority party is, therefore, handicapped in analyzing legislation proposed by the majority and in drafting appropriate alternative legislation. Such a condition seriously weakens our two-party system.

I was appointed to a special Republican conference committee on minority staffing to study this problem and to work for an improvement of the situation.

Last spring I wrote an article for the George Washington Law Review on the question of minority staffing and in my discussion of staffing abuses, I mentioned abuses on the House Public Works Committee, which focused national attention of this vital issue.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RESEARCH

Science has received high priority from Congress. Our Nation continued its exploration of space with the Ranger probes of the moon which provided valuable information for an eventual manned flight to the moon. More than $15 billion a year in Federal funds are being spent on scientific research and development. To evaluate our Nation's Government-supported science program, the House of Representatives established a Select Committee on Government Research. I was 1 of 9 Congressmen selected to serve on this important committee. We have held hearings, made investigations, and issued several preliminary reports recommending basic changes in the Federal Government's handling of scientific research and development. Serving under Congressman CARL ELLIOTT, the distinguished "father of the National Defense Education Act," has been a great experience for a junior Congressman. It is a matter of regret that he will not return next year. I am proud of a recent letter from Congressman ELLIOTT in which he thanked me for expressing this thought and concluded by saying to me:

> I go with the firm conviction that as long as Americans elect to Congress men like you, our basic institutions will be safe and our system will continue sound.

ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS

When the administration got Congress to approve the accelerated public works program in 1962, this program was held out as a means of reducing unemployment, with a special appeal to areas of high unemployment and to communities which wanted Federal help in constructing local projects. In 1963 the administration successfully pushed through a $450 million increase in funds for accelerated public works despite the fact that the program had had no appreciable effect on reducing unemployment. Much of the limited employment the additional funds would create would be in trades, in which evidence indicated there was no shortage of work. There would be no lasting benefit to the unskilled and semiskilled workers who constituted the hard core of the unemployed.

POVERTY BILL

The poverty bill, so-called, was passed although the measure was opposed by those of us who felt that it oversimplified the problems of the poor and was a hastily conceived, politically motivated, and unsound means of fighting poverty. Having an initial cost of almost $1 billion, the poverty program will involve a variety of different activities. A "Job Corps" will establish urban training centers and conservation camps for 40,000 unemployed youth at a cost of $190 million for the first year. A "work-training" program, intended to permit young people to remain in schools or to increase their employability, will provide jobs for enrollees at a first year cost of $150 million. These two programs for young people will at best largely duplicate provisions of the existing Manpower Development and Training Act and the Vocational Education Act, and at worse will offer useless and costly make-work that will not improve the employability of young people or their chances of future success.

Other features of the poverty program include a "work-study" plan costing $72.5 million which will give federally financed jobs to needy college students despite the fact that Federal loans are now available to college students under the National Defense Education Act. "Community-action" programs will subsidize public and private projects on the local level to attack poverty, but no standards or criteria are established for the plan and the Federal Government is given sweeping authority to approve or reject any project as it wishes. The remaining items of the poverty program grant forgiveable loans to poor farmers, work experience for unemployed fathers, and employment and investment incentives for businesses hiring the hard-core unemployed. These items also either largely duplicate existing Federal programs or, in the case of farm and business loans, establish somewhat unrealistic conditions for the granting of Federal loans.

Perhaps most objectionable about the legislation is that it almost totally bypasses the States in favor of setting up a new all-powerful Federal bureaucracy to run the program. A Republican-sponsored alternative program enlisting joint Federal-State cooperation to fight poverty, which I supported, was defeated. At a time when the Federal Government is spending $32 billion and all levels of government plus private groups are spending $100 billion to prevent and alleviate poverty, it seems unwise to add a new bureaucratic layer to the Federal Government authorized to spend even more money. A coordination and modification of existing Government programs would appear more sensible and effective. After this program was adopted, however, I felt this new legislation should at least be given a fair chance and voted for funds to finance it. Although such a vote could be construed as a vote for the poverty bill, I wish to make my position against the poverty bill quite clear.

APPALACHIA

The administration succeeded in getting its billion-dollar-plus Appalachian regional development bill through the Senate. However, in the House the majority leadership did not even bring the bill to the floor of the House for a vote because of its shortcomings. The proposal is designed to develop the Appalachian area in 11 States. As a member of the House Public Works Committee which considered the bill, I opposed the measure because it would provide preferential treatment for one region of the United States and thereby discriminate against all other areas of the Nation which have equal or greater unemployment and lack of economic development. The bill fails to set standards and lacks justification for all of the named counties, many of which are economically prosperous, to receive Federal grants under the program. The Federal Government has veto power over all phases of the program and consequently can bypass almost entirely State and local agencies. The $840 million highway program, almost 85 percent of the proposed expenditure under the bill, is particularly discriminatory against other portions of the country in authorizing an additional highway program for the Appalachian region almost as large as the entire annual program for Federal-aid highway construction. My chief objection to the Appalachian proposal is the vast sums of money that will be diverted to that area for highways when parts of my district are sorely in need of better roads.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

As is the case with most proposals, there is, of course, some merit in the Area Redevelopment Administration. My decision to vote against it was based on evidence of waste and inefficiency, since supported by highly critical reports by the Comptroller General. The fact that the Area Redevelopment Administration funds have built shoeshops, tissue mills, pulpmills, and plywood plants in the West that compete with hard-pressed New Hampshire industries, reinforces my opposition. The fact the administration did not bring this measure to the floor of the House for a vote again after its first defeat apparently supports the prevailing belief that the proposal, as now drafted, is seriously lacking in merit.

DEFICITS AND UNBALANCED BUDGETS

In 27 of the past 33 years we have had Federal deficits. We have had a deficit each year during this administration as the Federal Government has spent an average of $14 million a day more than it has collected in revenue. The current budget plans a $4.9 billion deficit. Despite cutting of the President's budget by Congress, we still continue to operate in the red.

The national debt steadily rises and now amounts to an obligation of $5,042 on every family in the Nation with each family paying an average of $232 in yearly interest charges. Nonproductive interest on the national debt comes to

$11 billion, the next largest single expense of the Federal Government after national defense.

Six times in the past 2 years the administration has had Congress raise the temporary debt limit from $285 billion on up to $324 billion. I opposed each of these moves, because I felt that some limit should compel the Federal Government to reduce spending and to live within its means—particularly during these times of relative prosperity. Continued deficits perilously weaken the dollar and undermine our strength in the world.

BILLS I INTRODUCED

During my first term in Congress I was fortunate to have six of my legislative proposals enacted into law.

Successful legislation enacted into law included the establishment of the St. Gaudens home near Cornish, N.H., as a national historic site; the reinstatement of Walter Sowa, Jr., in the Naval Academy after the disappearance of a temporary hearing impairment; the creation of the Norwich, Vt.-Hanover, N.H., joint school district; the awarding of high military decorations to Armed Forces personnel engaged in armed conflict during peacetime such as in South Vietnam today; the granting of a pension to a small group of peacetime Medal of Honor winners now excluded from receiving the pension given to wartime winners of the Nation's highest decoration; and the granting of loans to optometry students.

The bill raising veterans' pensions which passed Congress incorporated most features of a measure I had introduced, providing for increased pensions and exclusion of various sources of income from counting against the pension. Also included in the final version of the veterans' bill was a limited reopening of national service life insurance similar to a legislative measure I had earlier introduced.

COTTON-CLEVELAND BILL

The House turned down a bill that Senator COTTON and I had introduced to encourage doctors and dentists to practice in rural areas. Hopefully, this important and urgently needed bill will be passed in the next session of Congress.

Hearings were held on a number of other bills I introduced. These bills dealt with the right of States to apportion one house of their State legislatures on factors other than population; the right of attorneys to represent their clients before Federal agencies; a revision of U.S. immigration policies; and the right of prayers in school under certain conditions.

Other bills of mine which I hope will receive favorable action in the future include revisions of the income tax laws to permit parents to deduct the costs of sending their children on to higher education; establishment of a fairer, more efficient means of computing income tax depreciation; creation of a national cemetery for New England; the establishment of a Federal program of mica research; enlargement of the Federal share of highway funds to States having national forests; protection of the right of stations to broadcast paid-for opinion programs without incurring liability for providing equal free time for answering views; and creation of a special House committee to study the Federal lands of the United States and to determine whether it is possible to dispose of lands in some areas and to acquire lands in other areas.

NONLEGISLATIVE DUTIES

As my colleagues are aware, and indeed many of my constituents, some of the important functions that I have performed as a Congressman in the past 2 years have not directly involved legislative matters. Space does not permit me to recount them all. The rising flood of imports, particularly wool, the CAB's decree decapitating Northeast Airlines, residual oil quotas that raise New Hampshire heat and light bills, discriminatory feed grain shipment rate differential, and the infamous Livermore Dam proposal, have been problems to which I have devoted considerable time and energy. Individual constituent problems in the thousands have also concerned me on a daily basis. The list of these problems is endless and reflects the complexities of our lives and the deep and ever-increasing and sometimes alarming intrusion of the Federal Government into almost every area of human endeavor. Whether this trend can be halted, I cannot say. But I am glad that I can say that there have been thousands of people who I have been able to help with relative quickness and dispatch. Many may never need to ask their Congressman for assistance but all should realize that he is there and that this is one of his most important functions. The fact that a Congressman can cut through redtape and unravel the complexities of Government regulation so that Government serves people rather than enslaves them, is, in my opinion, one of the chief reasons why our representative Government still functions and has not yet perished from the earth.

It is for this reason that I view with extreme distaste and positive alarm proposals to establish a "grievance man"—in other words, another bureau—to investigate complaints about the work of bureaucrats. My experience with constituent problems and complaints has been that they furnish me with the raw material of the legislative process. These problem cases give me an indication as to the adequacy of present laws and constructive ideas for their improvement. To the greatest extent possible in spite of year-round sessions of Congress, I scheduled office hours in my district and twice circulated questionnaires to help bridge the dangerous and ever-widening gap between Washington's power centers and Main Street, U.S.A.

FUTURE AND PROBLEMS

Congress faces many yet unresolved problems with which it still has to come to grips. Solutions will take dedicated effort and integrity. Tax reform; the reduction of unnecessary Federal interference and competition with business, labor, and private organizations; and the encouraging of private and local initiative are key issues that Congress must face. A sound economy with a strong dollar can only be insured by a Federal Government that maintains a balanced budget.

Fiscal irresponsibility is Congress' greatest shortcoming. Legislators have not been able to keep in check their desire to spend and spend for everything that looks politically appealing. Combined with an executive department following a similar philosophy of spending, sensible economy seems almost impossible. However, with rising prices and inflationary pressures, attention to this critical matter must be given.

Unemployment; education, vocational and technical training; improvement of health programs; and meaningful programs for the aged are problems that Congress has attacked but must continue to pursue vigorously. The effects of automation must be closely studied and dealt with to alleviate the human suffering caused by dislocation of workers having obsolete skills or no skills at all. Congress made a start on this problem by creating a Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress this year. Tariff reform and protection must be given to American industries being crippled by floods of foreign imports because we can ill-afford the costly price of lost industries and more serious unemployment.

MORE TO DO

Although impressive progress has been made in conservation, more can be done to protect and preserve our land, water, and natural resources. Agricultural program reforms and a wider application of research and development are badly needed. Efforts must be increased to combat crime and to insure equality of opportunity.

Congress has an obligation to remind the President and his executive department that they must exert strong and effective leadership around the world. We cannot afford to discount communism's menace. A firm will to win the war in South Vietnam is needed; and in Communist Cuba where Soviet soldiers and arms still remain, greater economic pressures on Castro are called for by the United States.

Hard and dedicated work is needed to meet the challenge. The central issue of war and peace which has faced every generation of recorded time is etched in sharper focus now that man has armageddon at his fingertips. The age-old scourge of poverty is presented in new dimensions as population increases outstrip our scientific and productive genius. The Negro's status in our country still torments the land. The Ecumenical Council in Rome freshens hope that those of us who believe in God can act together in His name. The tragic and senseless assassination of President Kennedy has raised the question of presidential succession. Supreme Court decisions have resulted in great debate concerning the separation of church and state, the role of prayer in our public schools, and apportionment. Last year's longest peacetime session of Congress and its failure to investigate its own shortcomings have freshened interest in reform of this great deliberative body. Debate concerning tax cuts, the national deficit, inflation, the outflow of gold, sub-

sidies, tariffs, unemployment, dropouts, rejects from the draft, crime, research and development, defense policies, care for the aged ring throughout the land.

DRAMATIC CHALLENGE

The conduct of our foreign policy, the United Nations, NATO, Cuba, South Vietnam, Berlin, Red China, and other trouble spots around the world will challenge us. The list of issues we face is longer, of course. Great events ebb and flow at home and abroad in ceaseless change and dramatic challenge.

A mere reciting of some of the complex and troublesome issues facing us, indicates how important it is to analyze political issues and problems. Such an analysis requires hard work, searching inquiry, a bit of skepticism and, above all, commonsense. As a country lawyer and a politician, I believe strongly in the two-party system. Just as in the courtroom, competition between two legal minds brings out the closest thing to fact and truth that is possible in situations involving complicated human problems and human relationships, so does competition between our two great political parties within the framework of our Constitution result in the best Government that imperfect men have yet devised to order their affairs. But the commonsense of an informed and participating citizenry must be reflected in our political parties.

It is the return of commonsense to the marketplace of politics that I consider to be the great hope for the future of representative government. A return of commonsense to politics is overdue.

To my constituents who have made my service in Washington possible, I am deeply grateful. I have done my best to use wisely the power which they have vested in me, and to be worthy of the trust. Thank you.

Tribute to Congressman Eugene Siler

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, GENE SILER'S service here in the House of Representatives was marked by strict honesty, integrity, and devotion to the principles of the Founding Fathers. GENE SILER is a great orator and uses this talent throughout the Nation for good. I know of no Baptist layman in America who spends more of his time and his great talents in the cause of the church.

EUGENE SILER is devoted to the private enterprise system. He believes that the best way to employ people, and create taxable revenue, is through business expansion, employment, jobs, and security through the capitalistic system and the profit motive. I have heard GENE say that if a businessman is losing money, he cannot meet payrolls and cannot employ more people. GENE SILER believes the great free enterprise system is what is needed in the undeveloped nations of the world.

GENE SILER is a young man and will continue to serve his community, State, and Nation. While we will miss him here, his great and wonderful people in Kentucky will continue to benefit from his dynamic energy and dedication to Americanism.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for him and his lovely wife the best always.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, this year one of the great men of Congress is retiring after 22 years of outstanding service in this body on behalf of the people of New Jersey and the Nation. I refer, of course, to a man for whom Members of the Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, have the highest personal and professional admiration—JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS.

Since 1942, when he was elected to the 78th Congress, he has not spared himself in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities as an able legislator. He has always been a dedicated and ardent supported of sound government and the free enterprise system under which our Nation has prospered.

As a successful businessman before entering the political arena, JIM AUCHINCLOSS came to know the true meaning of fiscal responsibility and sound financial policy. As the deputy police commissioner of New York City he knew what crime on the streets and the exercise of responsibility by local law enforcement agencies meant long before they became political issues of the magnitude of which they are today. As a member of the city council and later as a three-term mayor of Rumson, N.J., JIM AUCHINCLOSS knew the tribulations and operations of a municipal government.

I cite these past experiences of JIM AUCHINCLOSS not necessarily to relate his previous successes, although they are indeed praiseworthy and commendable, but rather to illustrate that his understanding of the buisness community and the interests of local government through those positions made his service in the Congress truly representative.

Having served with him during the 78th through the 81st Congresses and later during the 87th and 88th Congresses, I know personally that he is one of the most dedicated men to have ever served in this Chamber. I have served with him on the Committee on Public Works, and I can personally attest to the sound reasoning, tireless devotion, and dedicated service which he demonstrated on the committee. His efforts on the Committee on the District of Columbia, the House Office Building Commission, and his endeavors with organizations and committees of the Grand Old Party have been equally outstanding.

I have great admiration and respect for JIM AUCHINCLOSS. His presence in this Chamber will be missed during the coming years, but his accomplishments here will have added much to making our future tasks more meaningful.

End of Session Report on the 88th "Performance" Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since I was elected to the House of Representatives in 1960 to make periodic reports on the work of Congress, reprint them at my own expense and mail them to my constituents.

With the adjournment of the 88th Congress I am pleased to summarize its record for the residents of the 15th District whom I am privileged to represent.

Of this "workhorse" Congress President spoke as follows:

This last session of Congress has enacted more legislation, met more national needs, disposed of more national issues than any other session of this century or the last.

A PERFORMANCE CONGRESS

This Congress has had the longest sessions in peacetime history. It can be described as a diligent, hard-hitting, effective Congress that got things done.

The Washington Post, the constant observer of congressional activity in the Capitol, stated that in quantity and quality the 88th Congress is destined to rank as one of the top performers of our time and added:

It can never be said of the 88th that it "rubberstamped" anything. Nearly every administration bill that rolled out for action has been the subject of a swift and roughneck rumpus.

While historic advances have been made in many areas, the two titles most often applied to the 88th Congress by observers are the "education Congress" and the "conservation Congress."

As the education Congress it passed more measures to aid in the intellectual development of all young Americans than any other Congress in history. The laws that were enacted were the result of the work of one of two committees on which I serve, the House Committee on Education and Labor.

As the "conservation Congress" its passage of the great wilderness bill, the land and water conservation fund bill, and such others as the Fire Island National Seashore, of which I was a sponsor, will assure to future generations that our vast open lands, parks, and recreation areas will be adequate to their needs. This far-reaching legislation to preserve our "great green legacy" in America is the responsibility of the other committee on which I serve, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Within the brief scope of this report it is possible only to highlight the key

measures passed in this Congress beginning with my principal interest, education.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION

There are two major principles in which I deeply believe and strongly advocate in all school aid legislation. The first is the parent's right to control the education of his children. The second is that every American child has an equal brithright to all the educational excellence the Nation can afford in any school, public or private.

I am pleased to state that every piece of new legislation which passed the 88th Congress was consistent with these principles and made adequate provision for all interests in education without difference or discrimination.

Public and private institutions and all eligible students participate equally in measures such as the Health Professions Act, the Nursing Education Act, teacher training under the Mental Retardation Act, the Higher Education Facilities Act—which I described in full in my last report—and the greatly revised new Vocational Education Act. There is so much detail in this new legislation that time and space will not permit full reference to appropriate provisions. Therefore should any of our constituents desire more data for planning education such information may be obtained from any of our district offices.

I would like to cite, however, two major programs enacted through the deliberations of my committee since our last report.

The first is the Economic Opportunity Act—the so-called antipoverty bill This is essentially a bill for job training and education and hence was referred to our committee for action.

This act, for me, typifies this Congress. It represents a hard fight every inch of the way—a "hassle" over every word and phrase to make it a better, more workable bill. Many of its provisions were pounded out in around-the-clock sessions in my office with the able Administrator of the program, Sargent Shriver. It was my purpose to make certain that every disadvantaged child or student who needed remedial or special education would participate in the program regardless of his school of attendance, public or private. The bill, as amended and enacted, embodies this concept. This is a major achievement in elementary and secondary education following the aid to the individual method which directs the benefits under the law to everyone as an individual. It was the legislation of this principle by a Carey amendment to the basic bill which is considered a major contribution in the direction of equal treatment for all school children.

In its job training and other provisions, this is an honest labor, hard work bill. It stands simply for this: that every person will have a full opportunity to develop his potential without the indignity of "breadline" or "handout" type relief. It means a decent chance for everyone but a free ride on an endless gravy train to no one.

You might well ask why a middle and high income district like ours would have any interest in a "poverty program."

The answer is that the taxes on real estate and personal income which are generated in our district are paying for welfare programs that continually increase without solving problems.

I felt that it was time to do something when we found that some families were on the relief rolls for the third generation, that sons of welfare were begetting children of welfare with unemployment and lack of skills being passed on and on.

I was convinced of this when the number of people on welfare in our State, during our greatest era of prosperity, reached an all time high of 420,000 in June of 1964. It is sad to relate that of every 100 new jobs created last year only 1.6 were in New York State compared with 18 in California.

Jobless persons drain off the revenues needed for police and fire protection, schools, and a host of other critical needs. That is why the people of our district should have an interest in a program which is aimed at making taxpayers out of "tax eaters," to get the chronic and congenital welfare client off the back of the homeowner and taxpayer.

In addition, if we want to stop violence, addiction, and crime it is necessary that we do something about the 75,000 young people between ages 16 to 21, in New York City who are out of school and out of work. Their number is four times the size of our police force and equal to five army divisions.

With idleness their custom and mischief and "kicks" their diversion something drastic has to be done. This is why the economic opportunity bill calls for the following:

First. A Job Corps to provide 100,000 youth, age 16–21 with a 2-year vocational training and work experience.

Second. A work-training program to enable 200,000 youths to work and train in their own communities on projects selected by local organizations or governments.

Third. A work-study program to provide part-time employment for 140,000 needy students to continue college.

Fourth. A community action program to encourage communities to prepare long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families obtain education, employment, job training, and counseling, and vocational rehabilitation. I note with satisfaction that the American Legion at its national convention endorsed the antipoverty program.

The other new program which completed our work in education was the amendment and expansion of the National Defense Education Act. The act was changed in two principal provisions as a result of the efforts and sponsorship of your Representative.

First, the loan forgiveness for school teachers had previously been available to public school teachers only since 1958 may now be obtained by both public and private school instructors.

Second, my "quality education bill" to provide for special training institutes for teachers who wish to improve their skills is now a part of this act and again, is available to teachers in public and private schools.

This bill by its title and its provisions stands for the proposition that education, which is second only to our national defense in cost, is, in the words of Admiral Rickover actually "our first line of defense." Its expansion in this Congress to provide us with more and better trained teachers and librarians, ample student loan funds to lighten the burden of educational cost to the parent and support for audiovisual education and other modern facilities is proof that we are living up to the responsibility entrusted to us by the First Congress. In 1787 they said in their very first acts that "the means of education shall henceforth forever be encouraged in this land."

In summation, through the progress we made in education we are moving steadily toward the day when we will have equal and fair Federal aid at every level of eduction.

It remains for succeeding sessions of Congress to follow the guidelines of the 88th for the improvement of elementary education. The best means of doing this is the GI bill for junior which I cosponsored with Representative JAMES DELANEY and which now has more sponsors than any similar bill before the House.

It would not be appropriate to leave the subject of education without making reference to the matter of prayer in our public schools.

I support voluntary prayer in our schools as a matter of parental right and testified before the Judiciary Committee in support of my own resolution, House Joint Resolution 1036, which reads as follows:

SECTION 1. No parent shall be denied the right to have any of his children engage in voluntary religious exercise in any public school, but no child or public employee shall be compelled to join therein.

SEC. 2. No parent shall be denied the right to financial support from any governmental entity for the education of his children by reason of the attendance of his children at a nonpublic school of the parent's choice.

Obviously this measure would not only provide religious freedom to public school parents but insure that the interest of Congress and the States extends to the children in nonpublic schools also, should measures for their assistance be authorized by the States.

In addition to its extensive record in education and conservation, this Congress can claim the following to its credit.

THE TAX CUT

Taking one of the most momentous steps in Federal fiscal history, we voted the largest tax cut since the inception of the income tax. The administration, dedicated to frugality in spending and stability in business, took this bold step as one of the single best ways of insuring prosperity without interruption for many years to come.

The act, retroactive to January 1, reduced individual and corporate income taxes by $11.5 billion. Individual reductions alone increase consumer purchasing power by more than $9 billion a year;

corporate reductions in this and two previous tax cuts will creat new job opportunities through capital expansion programs.

The Revenue Act lowered the tax rates on individuals from a range of 20 to 90 percent to a new range of 14 to 70 percent and cut corporate taxes from 52 to 48 percent over a period of 2 years. Congress also revised the rates to give special benefits to small busineses, and persons over 65 years of age.

The tax cut, equaling $25 million a day, already has helped spark the longest peacetime business expansion in U.S. history. Four million more people are working today than in January 1961. Personal incomes are reaching new all-time peaks, and so are corporate profits. The total output of goods and services—gross national product—will hit about $625 billion this year, up $120 billion from 1960. And business plans to invest 13 percent more in plant and equipment this year than in 1963. This means still more jobs.

In spite of this unprecedented economic expansion, due in large measure to the tax cut and the general climate of business confidence, the U.S. record of price stability exceeds that of any other nation. Inflation has been kept under control and with further cutbacks in Government spending, we can look forward with confidence to even greater business expansion and the creation of more jobs.

What does the tax cut of 1964 mean to individual taxpayers?

Income tax rate reductions in 1965 will average about 20 percent. Here are some average cuts per income level:

Reduction in percent

Up to $3,000	39.0
$3,000 to $5,000	26.9
$5,000 to $10,000	20.6
$10,000 to $20,000	17.0

I am wholly in accord with President Johnson's thinking that the tax cut is "the single most important step that we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II."

CIVIL RIGHTS AND SCHOOL BUSING

We in New York have traditionally been noted for offering equal rights under the law and equality of economic opportunity to all our residents. In fact, this philosophy has been so well established in statutes on our State and local levels that the vaunted Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not go as far as laws already existing on our books.

I do feel, however, that credit should be given where credit is due and so, even though these gentlemen are of a different political camp, I would like to acknowledge the Nation's indebtedness to such Republicans as Congressman WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH and Senate GOP leader, EVERETT DIRKSEN. Without their support, the administration's civil rights program would never have become law. The support of the churches and religious leaders of the Nation was also a decisive factor in winning passage of the bill.

Because of widespread misunderstanding of the act, I should like to point out some of the things it does not require. It does not permit the Federal Government to tell a home or apartment owner or real estate operator to whom he must sell or rent; it does not affect job seniority rights and it does not require quota hiring of minority groups. It does not permit—in fact, it specifically forbids—the Federal Government to transfer students among schools for racial "balancing"—the so-called busing of students. If there were such a prohibition on our books at the State level much of the tensions in the schools of our community would be eased.

On the very critical matters of "busing" of pupils, I have steadfastly fought against anything that would take children away from a neighborhood school. As a longtime leader in the cause of parental rights I hold that the essential principle here is that State authorities must acknowledge that the parent has the right to control the education of his children and that the child is not the creature of the State.

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH

The lion's share of every tax dollar, roughly 55 percent, as you know, goes into national preparedness. This sum is eight times more than the total financing of all health, education, labor, and welfare programs.

We have increased our nuclear tactical forces in Western Europe, raised the pay and allowances of servicemen both on duty and retired, and continue to lead in the development of new weapons, among them the Minuteman II, the revolutionary TFX fighter-bomber, and the Polaris A–3 submarine-launched intercontinental missile.

Since 1961 we have enormously strengthened our defense posture against possible challenge from the Communist world. As President Johnson said on June 3, 1964:

> In every area of national strength America today is stronger than it has ever been before. It is stronger than any adversary or combination of adversaries. It is stronger than the combined might of all nations in the history of the world.

I have consistently voted for military strength while pursuing the cause of the very valuable contributions our area is able to make in the field of national preparedness at present and in the future.

One of my deep concerns for those on defense employment in our district is the matter of our Brooklyn Navy Yard. I am dedicated to the preservation of this yard at high employment levels. I have been named by my colleagues to serve on the nationwide, bipartisan committee to save the public shipyards. It is our purpose to legislate in the next Congress to knock out the 65 percent limitation on public yard repair work and provide that 50 percent of all new construction must go to public yards.

In addition I am supporting an expanded program of subsidized domestic flag merchant marine construction to be built in private shipyards in this country to advance the cause of American maritime supremacy.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

We can take heart that our realistic and imaginative approach of fighting the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere through the Alliance for Progress is making headway by strengthening the ties between South America and the United States. As evidence of this we can point to the successful defeat of the leftist bid in the elections in Chile; the overthrow of the leftist regime in Brazil; the failure of Communist terrorism in Venezuela and over all, the fact that all of our neighbors, with one remaining exception have voted sanctions against Cuba. The exclusion of Cuba from the OAS has effectively isolated it from the rest of this hemisphere. We must pursue a constant, determined, and relentless policy of harassing and finally eliminating the Castro government in Cuba. The plight of the desperate Cuban economy spells doom for this dangerous and un-American regime if we continue our present policies.

I am a strong believer in export trade and supported the Trade Expansion Act which brought vastly increased tonnage over our Brooklyn waterfront. However, I have opposed any trade agreement which might benefit Communist bloc countries. As proof of this I voted to withhold credit as a means of financing private grain exporters of wheat shipments to Russia. I did so by supporting the Findley amendment to recommit the foreign aid bill on December 16, 1963.

In the same vein I have actively supported the congressional resolution calling for all appropriate measures in our national interest in the Caribbean and backing a firm stand in Vietnam as a warning to Red China that we will not back down as defenders of freedom anywhere in the world.

VETERANS BENEFITS

Of the more than 25 veterans measures which have passed this Congress and been signed into law of particular note is Public Law 88–361, which provides educational assistance to the children of veterans who are permanently and totally disabled from injuries incurred during their war service. Another notable advance provides 4,000 additional beds and nursing home care facilities for veterans some of which will be assigned to our own hospital at Fort Hamilton.

You will recall that I was the sponsor of a bill to provide 300 additional beds at Fort Hamilton and this will soon be realized through the allocation which Brooklyn will receive.

SENIOR CITIZENS

I believe that the first work of the 89th Congress must be an increase in social security benefits and a practical plan for health care for our 14.5 million senior citizens. I supported the passage of the increased benefits in the closing days of the session only to see the measure die in conference through the votes of three Republicans and one southern Democrat.

DISTRICT MATTERS

During this period of breakneck pace in the Capitol, your representative has worked 44 of the previous 48 months in Washington. Last week I made the 117th plane trip this year back to the District to be on hand Saturday morning as I have these past 4 years, in the two District offices we maintain for rapid service

to constituents. Only two such trips per session are paid for by the Government, the rest come out of the Member's pocket. The only regret I have is that the press of legislative duties did not allow time for even a greater number of personal visits.

We maintain two District offices: one located in Bay Ridge at 7718—Fourth Avenue—TE 9-2300—and the other at the U.S. Courthouse, 225 Washington Street—596-3839. These are open 6 days a week and are staffed by competent personnel to handle any matter such as social security, small business, military service and veterans claims and the host of other problems a constituent may have are swiftly forwarded to me as your personal and closest link between you and the Federal Government.

TRIBUTE TO THE ADMINISTRATION

This has been a performance Congress, led by two great Presidents noted for their outstanding records of progressive leadership. We face the future with confidence. Though dedicated to calm preparedness, they have actively sought out all means of securing and insuring peace. With forces equal to any challenge, no segment of the population, nor problem, either at home or abroad has been neglected.

I shall always be deeply grateful to the people of our district, who gave me the opportunity to be part of the 1,000 days of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. It is to the credit of the 15th District that you showed your confidence in him during his life by returning your Representative to the 88th Congress on a record of support for President Kennedy without reservation.

Since President Kennedy's death the mission of carrying on programs destined to cover our unmet needs at home and preserving strength, justice, and freedom in the world has fallen to the man whom he asked to succeed him, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I feel that this Congress working with the President has written a great record in continuation of that mission.

I know of no experience more rewarding or gratifying than having been your Representative since 1960, and to you who sent me to Washington I am humbly thankful for the privilege of serving you.

Hon. Joe M. Kilgore

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, Hon. JOE M. KILGORE is an intelligent and persuasive Member of the House. His decision to retire came as a shock to his admiring colleagues. Why would one so young and aggressive fortified with good commonsense come to such a decision? Perhaps he looks to other fields to conquer. His intellectual grasp of legislative problems marks him as a valuable Member of the Congress.

His strong stand for States rights and individual liberty engratiated him with Members of similar attitudes. He was courageous and fearless in his stand. It is not necessary for one to agree with the philosophy of life advanced by another to understand the basic problems affecting local political thought and action.

Mr. KILGORE, I am sure, will return to the political arena at some future date. His affinity for political life will return him to the scene of his endeavors. His dedication to the service of others can only find its true outlet in politics.

I am pleased to have enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. May God grant him godspeed.

Plagues and Plague Fighters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. WEAVER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, "Plagues and Plague Fighters," is the story told by the Philadelphia Bulletin in a special issue on September 27, of contributions made by medical scientists in Philadelphia, "First City of American Medicine," in the unending battle against diseases that have scourged mankind. The city is marking the bicentennial in 1965 of the founding of the country's first medical school—the University of Pennsylvania's Medical School—and other medical firsts. And it is recalling anew that Benjamin Franklin, who did so many things for the country he helped to found, was also one of the earliest converts to the cause of inoculation and did much to encourage its use.

Philadelphia doctors and medical institutions were and still are in the front ranks of the battle against disease. A Philadelphia-trained physician. Dr. Carlos Finlay, concluded in 1881, on the basis of studies in Cuba, that the Aëdes aegypti mosquito carried the yellow fever virus. His finding was confirmed two decades later by Walter Reed's great work in Panama.

In the 1930's, Philadelphia men and women pioneered in influenza. vaccine research. A University of Pennsylvania man headed the Government's Committee on Medical Research and organized large scale wartime production of penicillin, which saved countless soldiers' lives. Another Penn team later developed the first mumps vaccine, and in the 1960's made major contributions to the safe and effective use of the Enders measles vaccine.

Mr. Speaker, progress in medicine will continue and I know that the dedicated men and women in the laboratories and clinics of Philadelphia, "First City of American Medicine," will play a major part.

Under a previous unanimous consent, I introduce into the RECORD the article "Plagues and Plague Fighters," and conclude this series with best wishes from an alumnus and from the 24th District of Pennsylvania to the University of Pennsylvania's Medical School—first school in the "First City of Medicine":

PLAGUES AND PLAGUE FIGHTERS

Most of those who could, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, being afraid to walk the streets. Many devoted no small portion of their time to purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses. The custom of shaking hands fell into general disuse. A person with crape or any appearance of mourning was shunned like a leper.

So wrote Philadelphian Matthew Carey in 1794 about the yellow fever epidemic of the preceding year.

Smallpox, measles, influenza, typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria, scarlet fever also struck the Colonies again and again, and Philadelphia doctors were among the leaders in bringing them under control.

Smallpox was the first epidemic in Philadelphia. Before William Penn's ship, *Welcome,* reached port in 1682, smallpox had killed 30 aboard.

Doctors had no means of controlling this disease, which scarred many a famous face, until 1721. That was when the wife of the British Ambassador to Turkey came back to England with the amazing story of inoculation, long in use among the Turks. Infectious matter was taken from a patient in the final stages of the disease and injected into persons who had never had it. They usually contracted a mild form of the disease, without scarring. Sometimes, of course, they died, but the mortality rate was much lower than among those who caught the disease through natural contact.

A report about this was read by the Reverend Cotton Mather, of Boston. He persuaded a doctor friend to try inoculation on his patients. But other doctors attacked it as foolish and dangerous, and clergymen called it sinful. The Massachusetts State House of Representatives passed a bill prohibiting it.

However, in Philadelphia, inoculation soon began to win acceptance. Some clergymen opposed it for a number of years; but in 1736 Ben Franklin gave it his weighty support. This was after his 4-year-old son, who had not been inoculated, caught smallpox and died.

Some doctors set up private homes as hospitals, where patients could stay while undergoing inoculation and the mild disease that followed. Groups of friends would go in together, making the hospitalization a social affair.

John Adams, before coming to Philadelphia in 1775 for the Continental Congress, had himself inoculated.

George Washington became a convert. He instructed Dr. William Shippen, Jr., to inoculate all recruits signing up at Philadelphia. He also told Martha, who was staying Philadelphia, to get inoculated, too.

Eight prominent Philadelphia physicians set up a "Society for Inoculating the Poor."

In 1798 came the report of a great discovery by Dr. Edward Jenner in England. He had found that milkmaids who caught cowpox, a mild disease, became immune to smallpox; and therefore the virus of cowpox, much safer than smallpox virus, could be used to immunize people.

This procedure, called vaccination from the technical name for cowpox—vaccinia—was introduced in Philadelphia in 1801. Dr. John Redman Coxe, a Penn graduate, was sent a sample of Jenner's virus from Europe by his friend, Thomas Jefferson. Dr. Coxe's first subject was himself; his second was his son, 14 days old. To show the public

how well vaccination worked, Dr. Coxe let a patient in the active stage of the disease hold the infant in his arms. Baby Edward suffered no harm—and grew up to be a noted doctor himself.

Vaccination was soon generally accepted, and smallpox became the first of the epidemic scourges to be brought under control.

Yellow fever was much tougher. It was brought into the Colonies by ships from the West Indies, and Philadelphia, the busiest seaport, was hit most often. There were severe epidemics in 1699, 1741, 1747, 1763. The worst of all came in 1793. Beginning in August, a third of Philadelphia's people fled to the surrounding woods and farmlands, putting up in barns, tents, and other makeshifts. (Some headed for New York, but guards there kept all Philadelphians out.)

The Philadelphia city government converted an old estate called Bush Hill, near what is now 15th and Vine Streets, into a hospital for the poor. The overcrowding, filth, and slipshod care became so notorious that the sick refused to go there. Then two public-spirited citizens, Peter Helm and the great Stephen Girard, volunteered to enter this den of horrors. They handled the supplies, upgraded the work of the attendants, personally cared for patients, and restored public confidence.

By the time the epidemic subsided with the onset of cold weather, the death toll was estimated at 5,000—a 10th of the population.

The fever struck again in 1797 in the waterfront area, between Spruce and South Streets. Governor Mifflin issued an order barricading the area. Trespassers faced a $300 fine.

During another epidemic in 1798, two-thirds of the population fled town. The U.S. Government offices moved to Germantown, Trenton, and Chester, and amid the turmoil a gang of robbers nicked the Bank of Pennsylvania for $162,000.

Doctors of the time argued violently about the origin of yellow fever. Dr. Benjamin Rush said it came from "exhalations" of swamps, blocked sewers, and the like. His opponents said it was brought in by ships.

Actually, both were partly right. The virus was carried in by infected sailors and travelers. But it took mosquitoes to carry it from persons to person; and the swamps and sewers were the breeding places for mosquitoes.

However, a century passed before the truth became known—and then a Philadelphia-trained doctor pointed it out. Carlos Finlay, a Jefferson graduate who went to practice in Cuba, reported in 1881 on his studies of the Aedes aegypti mosquito which led him to believe it carried the yellow fever virus. In 1901, an Army medical team headed by Dr. Walter Reed conducted experiments that proved Finlay was right. Within a short time, mosquito control programs were halting the spread of the disease.

In the 1930's, Philadelphia doctors took the lead in the attack on other viral diseases. Dr. Joseph Stokes, Jr., and the husband-wife research team of Werner and Gertrude Henle—all three associated with the University of Pennsylvania and Children's Hospital—presented the first report on an influenza vaccine in 1936. By 1942, a potent vaccine was available for the Armed Forces; and this may have been an important factor in helping prevent a flu epidemic such as accompanied World War I.

Penn's Dr. A. Newton Richards headed the Government's Committee on Medical Research and organized the large-scale production of penicillin, which helped control pneumonia and other diseases among servicemen.

Dr. Stokes was director of the Army's Commission on Mumps and Measles. He cooperated with two Penn associates, Dr. Aims C. McGuinness and Sydney S. Gellis, in developing a concentrated serum taken from convalescent mumps patients. This serum was used to give temporary protection to soldiers when mumps appeared in Army camps.

After the war, a Penn team, including the two Henles, joined with Harvard researchers to produce the first mumps vaccine, to give children and adults long-range immunity. Two types of vaccine are now in use, and research is continuing to measure and increase their effectiveness.

Latest advance in the war against viral diseases is in the development of a measles vaccine. This was accomplished by Dr. John F. Enders, of Harvard. One drawback was the occurrence of fever in many of the vaccinated children. Dr. Stokes, who is now Penn's emeritus professor of pediatrics, proposed that when a child gets the vaccine shot, he should get a shot of gamma globulin at the same time. Gamma globulin, extracted from blood serum, eliminates or reduces the fever reaction.

This technique is being followed as this newest of immunizations comes into general use.

Final Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, periodically, I report to the citizens of the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio the activities of Congress. I am making my final report for the 88th Congress and, because it deals with a serious problem that demands the attention of everyone, I include it in my remarks. It contains facts and figures gleaned from various agencies and official documents. Following is my report:

This is my final report to you on the 88th Congress. While Congress did enact some worthwhile legislation and did, on occasion, do some constructive work, it ended on a sour note.

This Democrat-controlled Congress refused to give the social security pensioner a meager raise (I had introduced legislation designed to strengthen the social security system and increase payments by at least 10 percent) yet, in the final days, while denying the pensioner a modest increase, Congress authorized foreign aid in the amount of $3.5 billion. Foreign aid has gotten so far out of hand and, as presently applied, is so detrimental to our economy, that I think it is time to call a halt. I'm devoting my entire report to foreign aid so you will have a better understanding of what this State Department is doing with your money.

When Congress authorized the expenditure of $3.5 billion in additional foreign aid, there was already $7 billion of appropriated, but unexpended, funds available—enough money to continue our aid program for 2 years without the need of another cent. But this is only a small fraction of our annual foreign aid outlay.

Our Government agencies have funds buried in their budgets for foreign aid programs. It is practically impossible to accurately account for these sums. In addition, the World Bank has callable assets of $21 billion, 27 percent of which was contributed by the United States. The International Development Association has assets of $1 billion, about 50 percent contributed by the United States. The International Finance Corporation has assets of $128 million, over one-fourth of which was contributed by the United States. The Export-Import Bank has assets of $3 billion, practically all contributed by U.S. taxpayers. All of these institutions provide loans to underdeveloped nations, so to say our foreign aid program is a "bareboned" one, is tommyrot.

In addition, Congress passed a $4.7 billion food-for-peace program for the next 2 years authorizing the gift and "sale" of our surplus food in the sum of $4.7 billion to foreign nations. The money derived from the "sale" of this food, by agreement, stays in the nation making the "purchase." It is used for the development of that nation, thus adding additional billions to our aid outlay. It does not come back to the United States.

As you see, there is far more of our taxpayers' dollars going into foreign aid than one realizes. This Nation cannot afford this much drain on its resources. Too much remains to be done in our own country. Furthermore, these vest outlays are exporting American jobs overseas. Our foreign aid makes it possible for such countries as Japan and Italy to export steel products and shoes into this country at far cheaper prices than American industry can produce them, thereby causing orders in American plants to be canceled, creating unemployment in U.S. factories. Steel and shoes are only two examples—there are many more. Some argue that 80 percent of our foreign aid money is spent by the recipient nations here in the United States thus creating jobs—this is not accurate. On July 31, 1964, testimony presented to the Senate Committee on Appropriations established that in fiscal 1963, only $855 million out of $5.1 billion in foreign aid grants and loans was spent in the United States, Thus, 78 percent of the money was spent overseas, not in the United States.

The waste and misspent funds in this program are appalling. The United States has sent to the little country of Bolivia over $334 million in economic and military aid. Bolivia has a population of only 4 million people. This expenditure of U.S. aid is the equivalent of more than $80 per person in Bolivia, yet the average annual income today in Bolivia is only about $95 per year. What happened to all this aid? Who got it? What good has it done?

Under our Alliance for Progress, this Nation has committed itself to a $330 million housing program. Homes are being constructed for families in the upper one-fourth income bracket of Latin America. Think of it—instead of building homes for the poor who live in hovels and shacks, your hard-earned money is building homes for those in the highest income bracket in Latin America.

Brace yourself. Here are some shocking items that your tax money purchased—over $16,000 for Metrical for Cambodia; over $10,000 for Airwick, a household deoderant, for Turkey; over $2,000 for eye shadow, lipstick, and Odorono, for Turkey; over $5,000 for hops, an ingredient of beer, for the Dominican Republic; over $17,000 for sex stimulants for China, and over $22,000 for sex stimulants for Vietnam. These are hardly the necessities of life and I resent the fact that your hard-earned tax dollars are used to make such improper purchases.

Some argue these amounts are infinitesimal in so large a program as foreign aid, but these are only a few examples. Such improper expenditures totaled almost $25 million in 1963 alone—hardly an infinitesimal sum. I don't think the American taxpayer can afford to let this continue. I, for one, don't intend to let them continue this practice.

Add to this the fact that the State Department is providing assistance to Communist nations, and you can understand why I have so strenuously opposed foreign aid.

Congressman Ed Roybal Reports From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of my October 1964 newsletter, the eighth in a series of regular "Reports From Washington" which I have made during the past 2 years to the residents of the 30th District of California on my activities as their Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus five special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California.

After 21 months of almost continuous session, the 88th Congress has been one of the longest and most productive in our Nation's history.

Great strides were made toward reaching the goals of a more prosperous economy, equal opportunity for all citizens, a strong defense posture, and the achievement of world peace with freedom.

I am proud to have had a part in building this constructive record of progressive action, and I have attempted to outline some of the highlights of the 88th Congress in this October 1964 "Report From Washington."

The report follows:

CONGRESSMAN ED ROYBAL REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 1964

VOTE YOUR CHOICE NOVEMBER 3

The right to vote is our passport to freedom. We must treasure and protect it. This can be done, however, only if we vote on election day, November 3, 1964.

Unfortunately, many people seem to feel that their single vote may be of little value among all those cast in an election. But in reality, a single vote can be, and often is, the deciding factor in important elections.

For instance, an average of just one vote per precinct determined the final outcome of the 1960 presidential election. And remember—vote and the choice is ours, don't vote and the choice is theirs. Vote your choice November 3.

EIGHTH REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

This is the eighth in a series of regular "Reports From Washington" made to the residents of the 30th District on my activities as your Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus five special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California.

I believe my 13 years' service on the Los Angeles City Council has been of great assistance in performing the duties and fulfilling the responsibilities of a Member of Congress to consider the issues carefully and to work with the objective of promoting the best interests of his constituents.

Above all, I deeply appreciate the opportunity I have had as your Representative in Washington to be of personal service to many of you. The satisfaction of being able to help out with some of the problems and questions that arise from time to time is perhaps the greatest reward a Congressman can expect from his work.

During the 11 months since Lyndon Johnson became President, we have all witnessed an impressive demonstration of the true inner strength of America's democratic traditions.

After the tragic assassination of our dynamic and beloved young President John F. Kennedy, the new President firmly and quickly took up the reins of leadership, to assure continuity of the Government in the midst of a great constitutional crisis, to begin to heal the Nation's wounds, and to reinstill in our people a sense of unity and brotherhood and faith in the future.

It is a tribute to this legislative skill, and to his more than 30 years' experience at the highest levels of National Government, that President Johnson has been able to renew the confidence of the country and the world in the vitality of American democracy.

Equally important, by his many executive actions, as well as by the remarkable record of accomplishment he has achieved by working in close harmony with Congress, President Johnson has succeeded in striking very near a national consensus for considered and prudent conduct of the Government's fiscal business, while adopting progressive and forward-looking programs to meet the essential needs of a rapidly growing modern society of nearly 200 million citizens.

88TH CONGRESS RECAP

After 21 months in almost continuous session, the 88th Congress has been one of the longest and most productive in our Nation's history.

In reviewing its accomplishments, President Johnson declared that the 88th Congress "has enacted more major legislation, met more national needs, and disposed of more national issues than any other Congress of this century or the last."

Great strides were made toward reaching the goals of a more prosperous economy, equal opportunities for all citizens, a strong defense posture, and the achievement of world peace with freedom.

I am proud to have had a part in building this constructive record of progressive action, and I have attempted to outline for you some of the highlights of the 88th Congress in this "Report from Washington."

HISTORIC CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORY

The most notable congressional response to President Johnson's leadership was a resounding bipartisan victory for the administration's comprehensive civil rights bill.

This action is an encouraging step forward in our effort to guarantee every American, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, equal rights and equal opportunities in such vital areas as voting, education, employment, the administration of justice, use of public facilities, and access to public accommodations.

With such protections already on the California statute books, and as early pioneers in the fight to extend our American constitutional heritage of freedom and individual rights to all the State's residents, we Californians may sometimes tend to take this great heritage for granted.

THE $11.5 BILLION TAX CUT

President Johnson was also able to obtain overwhelming congressional approval of the largest Federal tax reduction in U.S. history.

Called the "single most important step we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II," the $11.5 billion tax reduction has benefited the Nation's 80 million taxpayers by cutting the average American's tax bill 20 percent—the equivalent of a 7½-cent hourly raise for the average wage earner.

For Los Angeles, this has meant literally millions of dollars of added purchasing and investing power for our citizens, and a much brighter and more secure economic future.

A bold approach to solving the problems of the American economy, it is also an expression of faith in our system of free enterprise, for, by placing maximum reliance on the initiative and creative drive of individual businessmen and workers, the tax cut is helping improve the country's economic health, not by more Government spending, but by releasing the pent-up energies of the American private enterprise system.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITIES—J.F.K. PLAYGROUND

At contract signing ceremonies for Los Angeles' unique youth opportunities program are: Robert Goe, of Los Angeles, Under Sceretary of Labor John Hennings, and Congressman Roybal.

The original pilot project, financed under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act, has recently been expanded into a comprehensive Federal-State-local program to combat youth unemployment and juvenile delinquency in the east and south central "target areas" of Los Angeles.

Also set for early completion: an unusual "John F. Kennedy Playground" featuring modern creative-play concepts to be located on part of the remaining portion of East Los Angeles' Hazard Park.

The new J.F.K. youth recreation facility should go a long way toward meeting the urgent recreation requirements of the East Los Angeles area.

These requirements will increase sharply next year when two-thirds of Hazard Park is taken over by the Veterans' Administration to put up the new $22 million, 1,000-bed hospital for which we have just been successful in getting Congress to appropriate funds.

THE EDUCATION CONGRESS

The 88th Congress will be remembered for doing more in the education field than at any time since passage of the GI bill of rights after World War II or enactment of the Land-Grant College Act of 1862:

College construction: First general higher education aid in history—provides a 5-year program of matching grants and long-term, low-interest loans for construction of urgently needed academic facilities at the Nation's 2,000 colleges and universities—a serious effort to meet the needs of the 7 million young Americans who will be in college in 1970 (double the number enrolled just 10 years earlier in 1960)—vitally important to California because nearly 1 million, or more than one-eighth of the exploding U.S. college student population, will be studying on California campuses.

Medical-dental school aid: To help alleviate the critical shortage of doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, and other public health specialists—a 3-year matching grant program for construction or rehabilitation of medical, dental, and related teaching facilities—plus a unique new loan program for struggling students of the various health professions—a progressive step toward assuring continued high quality health care for the Nation's citizens.

Vocational education: The first major expansion and redirection of earlier vocational training objectives since 1946—with concentrated emphasis on giving unemployed urban youth occupational training in skills demanded in today's modern world of rapidly changing industrial technology and automation.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

House Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, a highly respected legislative

leader and veteran of 36 years' service on Capitol Hill, who deserves considerable credit for the impressive record of the 88th Congress, discusses improved prospects for passage early next year of such must bills as an across-the-board social security benefit increase and medicare hospital insurance protection for the elderly.

Since much of the detailed work in Congress is done in the various specialized committees, I was lucky to have been selected to serve on two major committees dealing with matters of immediate interest to residents of Los Angeles: Interior and Insular Affairs, and Post Office and Civil Service.

Interior handles legislation providing for vital future water and power development throughout the entire Pacific Southwest, including such key projects as the Colorado River water resources plan, the new saline water conversion program, and the just completed Pacific Northwest electric power intertie agreement—all essential to building a firm economic base for southern California's fast-growing population, expected to more than triple within the next 35 years.

Post Office and Civil Service has jurisdiction over our 2.5 million Federal career service employees, and actively works toward achieving cost-conscious, businesslike management of the Federal agencies which play an increasingly important role in promoting the welfare of our citizens and in assuring the defense of the Nation.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Los Angeles Public Health Supervisor Henrietta Villaescusa discusses her recent appoint as Human Resources Officer for the Latin American Bureau of the State Department's Agency for International Development with Mrs. Roybal and Alliance for Progress Coordinator William D. Rogers.

Dedicated by President Johnson as a living memorial to the faith and idealism of John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress calls for a peaceful, democratic social and economic revolution in the underdeveloped countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Offering a positive and constructive answer to the false claims of international communism, the Alliance is also in line with the objectives of Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy of the 1930's.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN: A FIRST STEP

The Senate spoke for the great majority of Americans when it overwhelmingly approved the historic limited nuclear test ban treaty. This action, halting nuclear testing and stopping the further spread of dangerous radioactive contamination in the atmosphere, in space, and under water, plus nearly unanimous endorsement of the treaty by the entire world community of nations, and the more recent U.N. resolution banning nuclear weapons from outer space, give us all reason to believe that lasting peace is not just a frail hope of mankind, but may become a reality.

They are also a heartening indication of a deep-seated desire for peace among the peoples of the world, as well as a hopeful sign that the movement toward increased communication and greater understanding between nations may continue to gain momentum as we come to realize that there will be no winner in the next war.

LOS ANGELES POSTMASTER

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I congratulated Mr. Leslie N. Shaw on his appointment this month as new postmaster of the Los Angeles Post Office.

Postmaster Shaw, together with his 10,000 Los Angeles employees, were also recipients of the Postmaster General's coveted citation for excellence for outstanding customer service and superior performance as the Nation's third largest post office.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Two landmark recreation and conservation programs were also enacted after years of legislative struggle: (1) the Wilderness Preservation Act to establish a national system for protecting and expanding the few unspoiled natural wilderness areas remaining in the United States, "where the earth and its community of life will be untrammeled by man, and where man himself is a visitor who does not remain," and (2) the land and water conservation fund to assist State and Federal agencies in meeting the present and future outdoor recreation needs of our growing population.

MASS TRANSIT

Congress enacted a new administration program designed to provide assistance to States and local communities in improving their urban mass transportation systems. Los Angeles is in a position to obtain substantial benefit from this program.

CLEAN AIR ACT

Congress also took positive action to strengthen our national program to control and prevent air pollution. More funds were provided for research, and technical and legal assistance to help State and local authorities develop more effective smog prevention techniques. Particular emphasis was placed on serious air pollution problems in high-density population areas such as Los Angeles.

FARM SUBSIDIES AND CONSUMER PRICES

I voted against this year's $1.3 billion wheat and cotton subsidy bill (as I had also done last year when the cotton subsidy came up for consideration alone), because I believe the time has come to stop spending the taxpayers hard-earned money to support food prices at an artificially inflated level, adding unnecessarily to the high cost of living and increasing the food budget of every housewife and consumer in the country.

PRESIDING OVER THE HOUSE

As a freshman Congressman, I was fortunate to have been able to take an active part in the discussion and floor debate on many of the important issues to come up during the past 2 years.

In addition, I had the unusual opportunity and valuable experience of presiding over the House of Representatives on several occasions in the temporary absence of Speaker McCormack.

ROYBAL TAX REFORM BILL

Ten years of legislative effort were finally rewarded with success last month when President Johnson signed into law a Federal tax reform bill which I had the honor to sponsor in the 88th Congress.

The new Public Law, officially designated as Public Law 88-570, will eliminate serious and long-standing inequities in the tax code, save substantial sums for thousands of affected taxpayers across the country, and, at the same time, make significant savings to the Government by relieving the Treasury Department of considerable administrative expense and redtape.

In the legal jargon of the tax expert, the new law is a technical amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, which permits release of taxpayer liability under bonds filed in accordance with section 44(d) of the earlier Revenue Code of 1939, with respect to certain installment obligations transmitted at death. (Such taxpayer bond liability release has been permitted since 1954, but did not apply retroactively to those who came under rules established by the 1939 code.)

Enactment of this tax reform measure has been a source of great personal satisfaction to me, because, in correcting admittedly in equitable provisions of the Nation's tax law which unfairly discriminated against many taxpayers, I think it demonstrated once again that the American system of Government can still provide a vigorous and effective means of relief for the average citizen from the oppressive burden of unjust or discriminatory laws.

PROMOTING JOBS AND INDUSTRY

Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, conferring on plans for expanding job opportunities and diversifying Los Angeles' defense-oriented industrial base, announced that the President's "E" Award for Excellence in Export Promotion has been won by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce for its outstanding contribution to the increase of U.S. international trade and the sale of California-produced goods abroad.

"LET US CONTINUE * * *"

I consider it one of the outstanding privileges of my life to have known personally and worked closely with our martyred 35th President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Though nearly a year after the tragedy at Dallas, it is still difficult to believe that this young, dynamic, and courageous champion of peace is no longer with us, but rests forever among the Country's heroes in the hallowed ground of Arlington National Cemetery.

As he did not shrink from his responsibilities in peace or in war, but rather welcomed them, so he would not have us shrink from carrying on his work.

In this spirit, therefore, as he gave his country the last full measure of devotion, let us face the future with confidence, and resolve that John F. Kennedy did not live—or die—in vain.

THE 1965 PRIORITY: SOCIAL SECURITY—MEDICARE

Two items of important unfinished business, delayed in a parliamentary tangle during the session-end adjournment rush this year, are scheduled for top priority treatment as soon as Congress convenes for its next session.

The first item, a long overdue cost-of-living increase in social security benefits for some 20 million Americans, will be a real help to these persons by raising the minimum level of their basic economic protection.

The second, a limited medicare hospital insurance plan, would allow California's 1½ million senior citizens, and 17 million other Americans over the age of 65, to prepay in their earlier, more productive working years, most of their own hospital and related health expenses during retirement.

I am convinced that the elderly are not asking for charity, but they do want and deserve a system that will offer them an opportunity to prepay their own hospital expenses, and permit them to live their remaining years in earned dignity, secure in the knowledge that they have provided adequately for their own health needs during retirement years.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The House reversed itself this spring, and voted to reconsider its earlier rejection of continued U.S. participation in the 17-member International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank, which provides long-term, low-interest loans to stimulate economic growth in industrially backward nations.

Organized in 1960 under former President Eisenhower to encourage wealthy Western European countries to shoulder more of the foreign aid burden we had been carrying almost alone since the end of World War II, IDA has proved its worth as a cooperative approach to foreign economic assistance extended on a multilateral basis.

In voting for IDA on both occasions, I was glad to make my small contribution toward promoting responsible, progressive U.S. leadership in what the late President John F.

Kennedy called the struggle "to make the world safe for diversity."

THE 1965 SERVICE ACADEMY CANDIDATES

For the third year in a row, I want to offer every young man in the 30th District who is interested, an equal chance to compete for the valuable educational and career opportunities provided at our national service academies at West Point, Annapolis, Colorado Springs, and Kings Point, N.Y.

To qualify for one of the nine freshman cadet openings available next year to residents of the district at the Military, Naval, Air Force, and Merchant Marine Academies, I am asking all applicants to take the Civil Service Commission's special academy designation exam to be given in the Federal Post Office Building in Los Angeles on Saturday, October 31. A makeup exam will be held December 1 for those unable to report for the October test.

For more information, application blanks, and a letter of authorization to take the exam, interested students should contact my Los Angeles field representative, Alex Garcia, phone: 688-4870.

CALIFORNIA REAPPORTIONMENT

In August, the House passed, 218 to 175, a bill to nullify the Supreme Court's historic decision of last June that the districts of both houses of State legislatures must be substantially equal in population. I voted against this measure because I believe that the equal representation rule, upheld by the Court, is among the most fundamental principles of our American constitutional democracy.

California is one of the classic examples of denial of the right of equal representation, as aggravated in recent years by rapid population growth and a continuing movement from rural areas to the cities.

It is now possible, for instance, for only 11 percent of California's voters to elect a controlling majority of the State senate. And Los Angeles County, with over 6 million residents (almost 40 percent of the State's population), is represented by 1 State senator, as is the smallest three-county senatorial district with a population of 14,294.

This means that the vote of a man in California's most sparsely settled district is worth over 400 times that of a Los Angeleno.

Fortunately, the House and Senate were unable to agree on an antireapportionment bill, and under last June's interpretation of the law, Los Angeles County stands to gain several additional State senators, and may finally obtain the equal representation it should have had all along.

WAR ON POVERTY

Sargent Shriver, Director of the world-famous Peace Corps, and recently appointed chief of President Johnson's antipoverty program, describes the new Economic Opportunity Act as an effective tool in mobilizing the Nation's human and financial resources to attack the basic causes of poverty and high unemployment among America's 30 million disadvantaged citizens.

As one of the original sponsors of this measure, I am confident that Los Angeles, and our other large U.S. metropolitan centers, will be the chief beneficiaries of this promising new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty in the midst of plenty.

In addition to the Job Corps, which will offer basic education and job training for young people who are both out of school and out of work, the war on poverty includes a work-training program to keep teenagers from dropping out of high school, a work-study program to help needy college students continue their education, a comprehensive community action program to assist local groups in antipoverty projects tailored to special community needs, and a domestic peace corps of highly qualified volunteers to serve in areas of intense urban or rural poverty.

The District of Columbia Has Expended $134,108,000 in Cash on Urban Renewal and Contributed Only $4,000—The Rest Has Been Contributed by the Federal Government—Explanation Requested

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in looking into the District's urban renewal program recently I found that the latest available figures on the expenditures made in behalf of it show an estimated gross project cost of $165,205,000, with $134,108,000 actually expended. Of these totals, the District of Columbia contribution has been $4,000 in cash, and $31,098,000 in noncash grants-in-aid.

The position of the District of Columbia Government seems to be that all it is called upon to contribute to its urban renewal projects are noncash grants-in-aid. Frankly, I do not believe that members of Congress of either party will be willing to continue to support the appropriation of funds by the Congress for urban renewal projects in the District of Columbia in which the Federal Government has to supply almost all of the cash contribution.

Recently I wrote to the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, Walter N. Tobriner, advising him that I would appreciate a prompt reply explaining the District's position on its cash contributions to its urban renewal projects.

The failure of the District of Columbia government to provide its share of cash funds needed to carry out its urban renewal projects is a matter of national concern, and underscores the need to put urban renewal on a loan basis, in commercial areas, and to drastically overhaul the program.

Recently, I introduced a bill, H.R. 12779, to revise urban renewal in the District of Columbia. The housing affairs letter of Washington, D.C., edited by Ash Gerecht, hailed my new bill, and pointed out its national significance. It called particular attention to certain provisions of my measure, in the following language:

WIDNALL BILL ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RENEWAL HOLDS NATIONAL HOUSING IMPACT

Bill introduced for study as Congress adjourned, by Republicans' "Mr. Housing," Mr. WIDNALL, of New Jersey, points to likely proposals for national legislation in 1965.

His bill, H.R. 12779, was picked up by Representative MULTER, Democrat, of New York, as H.R. 12818.

Here are provisions of the District of Columbia bill, ostensibly aimed at breaking the impasse on permitting nonresidential urban renewal in the District of Columbia, with national consequences to housing and urban renewal programs:

It includes present agency regulations on defining blighted areas—but with the intent that this is for study only, and should be revised and strengthened in the next Congress. Mr. WIDNALL might abandon a present definition allowing 20 percent of buildings to be structurally substandard so as to require clearance, and go back to a straight 50-percent substandard definition for a blighted area.

At least half the rental or co-op housing in an urban renewal area must be designed for occupancy by low- and middle-income families.

A referendum, with a majority of eligible voters approving, is required for approval of an urban renewal project. (From Mr. WIDNALL's 1964 housing bill.)

Just compensation and replacement payments for homeowners and businessmen. This is based on revised eminent domain procedures and laws, such as in Pennsylvania. This is also adapted from Mr. WIDNALL's housing bill, H.R. 9771.

Real property shall be assessed at fair market value based on its highest and best use in conformity with applicable zoning laws and rules. This could be adapted on a national scale, to have first consideration for renewal aid given to those localities with such a tax arrangement.

Federal aid to nonresidential, nonpublic use projects would be switched from a grant to a loan basis, repayable in 10 years, at going Federal rate plus one-half percent.

At the very end of the bill is its most interesting provision:

No aid is to be extended to a nonresidential or nonpublic project unless all residential redevelopment which is necessary or appropriate in the community has been completed.

I include as part of my remarks my letter to Commissioner Tobriner, and a letter from Robert C. Baker, president, Downtown Progress, the National Capital Downtown Committee:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

HON. WALTER N. TOBRINER,
President, Board of Commisisoners,
District of Columbia,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. COMMISSIONER: Your letter in acknowledgement of my letter transmitting my new bill, H.R. 12779, amending the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, to you for comment has been received. My bill, which was introduced for study purposes, would greatly expand the District's urban renewal program, authorize urban renewal in commercial areas, and improve and humanize local urban renewal operations in general.

In looking into the District's urban renewal program recently I found that the latest available figures on the expenditures made in behalf of it show an estimated gross project cost of $165,205,000, with $134,108,000 actually expended. Of these totals, the local contribution has been $4,000 in cash, and $31,098,000 in noncash grants-in-aid. Giving the best possible interpretation to the Federal Urban Renewal Administration's figures, the District of Columbia contribution is definitely below the two-thirds Federal, one-third local contribution required by law. Even if we placed the District of Columbia in a depressed area classification—and it definitely is not a depressed area—the law would seem to have been flouted. When we take into consideration the $4,000 contributed in cash by the District of Columbia we reach the point of absurdity.

The position of the District government seems to be that almost all it is called upon to contribute to its urban renewal projects are noncash grants-in-aid. Frankly, I do not believe that Members of Congress of either party will be willing to continue to support the appropriation of funds by the Congress for urban renewal projects in the District of Columbia in which the Federal Government has to supply well above 90 percent of the funds required.

A deeply disturbing aspect of the District's urban renewal program is that it

is above and beyond effective control by the citizens of the District who are most deeply affected by it, especially the homeowners and small businessmen. Budgetary control by the District government, as well as by District citizens, is lost when a cash contribution of only $4,000 shows up but once in the 14 years the District's urban renewal program has been underway. Interested as the District Commissioners are in home rule, I would urge that they seek a remedy to the situation which would give District citizens control and review of urban renewal. The president of the Federation of Citizens Associations, John R. Immer, has called my attention to the following statement on this very point which was part of the joint testimony of the Federation of Citizens Associations and of the Federation of Civic Associations of the District of Columbia, representing the taxpaying citizens of the District of Columbia, before the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia on the District budget:

"We urge a realinement of all budgetary items constituting the District of Columbia contribution to urban renewal projects so as to permit review by the Commissioners and citizens. There must be budgetary control over urban renewal projects which we do not now have. There should be no items in this budget which are intended for use as the District of Columbia contribution to urban renewal projects not yet approved by the District Commissioners."

I am sure that there must be some explanation of the figures I have mentioned in this letter regarding the District's contribution to its urban renewal projects. Since I do not now have such an explanation, and inasmuch as you are much closer to the situation, I would appreciate a prompt reply explaining the District's position on local contributions to such projects. If such an explanation is not readily available, would you please advise my office?

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
Member of Congress.

DOWNTOWN PROGRESS,
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WIDNALL: Thank you very much for sending us a copy of H.R. 12779, described as a "new approach" to provide urban renewal for downtown Washington, and for the accompanying comments in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

You may be sure we shall give this proposed legislation our careful study and consideration, after which we shall be in touch with you to discuss the matter further.

You have our deep appreciation and best wishes.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. BAKER,
President.

Resolution on Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the control of air and water pollution has become one of our greatest problems. It affects every part of our country.

The Congress has been deeply concerned about this, and programs have been set up under the Federal Water Pollution Control Acts of 1956 and 1961 to combat these pollution problems. However, major efforts at every level of government, along with the fullest cooperation of our citizenry, will be required if we are to succeed in keeping our waters clean and usable.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution adopted recently by the Erie County Board of Supervisors at Buffalo, N.Y., suggesting that the cost of sewage and pollution elimination programs should be borne equally by the Federal, State, and local municipality governments.

This resolution follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK, BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF ERIE COUNTY,
Buffalo, N.Y., October 2, 1964.

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby certify that at a session of the Board of Supervisors of Erie County, held in the county hall, in the city of Buffalo, on the 29th day of September, A.D. 1964, a resolution was adopted, of which the following is a true copy:

"*Resolved*, That this Board of Supervisors of Erie County does approve reasonable sewage and pollution elimination programs but believes the cost thereof is frequently beyond the capacities of the municipalities involved, particularly rural or semirural municipalities, that such municipalities need greater State and Federal aid, and that legislation should be promptly enacted by the New York State Legislature and the Congress of the United States, and the necessary funds provided and appropriated to provide that the State and Federal Governments should each contribute one-third of the total approved cost of any necessary complete sewage and pollution elimination program and the facilities thereof, with the remaining one-third of such cost to be provided by the local municipality concerned."

Attest:

WALTER A. HOLZ,
Deputy Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of Erie County.

The Honorable Carl Vinson, of Georgia

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as the gavel sounds for the adjournment of this 88th Congress, it will ment the loss of the experience and talents of a number of our most able colleagues. One of the greatest men who has ever served in this body, the Honorable CARL VINSON, of Georgia, is one of them.

On July 16, 1963, it was my privilege to add my congratulations to the many others that were extended to CARL VINSON upon his breaking the record for length of service in the House of Representatives. Today, it is with sincere regret that I acknowledge the retirement of my friend, one of our most dedicated colleagues.

Twenty-five times the people of the Sixth District of Georgia, have sent CARL VINSON to these Chambers to represent them. A tribute and a record in itself. In 1917 he was assigned to the committee then called the House Committee on Naval Affairs and by 1931 had become its chairman. In the 81st Congress he assumed the chairmanship of the House Committee on Armed Services.

During the period that CARL has served in the Congress history shows that the military capabilities of the United States has been put to very strenuous tests a number of times. What history books will not show is that the ability of the United States to successfully meet these challenges was due in a great part to the outstanding work of CARL VINSON. The knowledge and experience that he has given to the task of having our defenses adequately prepared for action in a world of ever changing and new weapon systems will be most difficult to replace.

CARL has served his district and his country with distinction and greatness. He has my best wishes for continued health and happiness upon his retirement.

Citizens Protest $26 Million Urban Renewal Project in Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the Federation of Citizens Associations, representing over 23,000 citizens, has protested the expenditure of $26 million for an urban renewal project in the Nation's Capital, in which ouly 66 residential premises out of a total of 1,192, have not been brought up to code.

The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia reported, in the "Workable Program 1963–64," filed with the Housing Administrator on July 21, 1964, with regard to the proposed Adams-Morgan urban renewal project, which the citizens are protesting, that:

As of June 30, 1964, there are 66 premises which are not yet brought into compliance with the requirements of the housing regulations. The majority of these cases are located in an area that is presently being considered for clearance as a proposed urban renewal area. Consequently, the District has not required major structural changes or extensive installation of additional plumbing facilities which would undoubtedly increase the cost of future acquisition.

The Independent Citizens of Adams-Morgan, commenting on the "Workable Program 1963–64," said that:

By its own admission in this workable program 1963–64 the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency makes clear that less than 6 percent of the buildings in the Adams-Morgan area do not meet the District's code requirements. If the RLA is truly concerned with the housing ills of the area then it is reaching for an ax when what is needed is a scalpel.

Despite the evident failure of the Housing Administrator to require the enforcement of the District's housing codes in the Adams-Morgan area, as required by law, Warren P. Phelan, regional administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, recently approved the "Workable Program" of the District of Columbia. In a letter to the Board of Commissioners, D.C., he stated that "we are gratified with the efforts you are making toward an overall program of community development."

I include the following items as part of my remarks:

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

MR. WALTER N. TOBRINER,
President, District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, 14th and E Streets, NW., Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TOBRINER: At a time when our most pressing need if for low and middle income housing in the District of Columbia we are concerned about the prospects of throwing 5,000 people out on the housing market with no provision for their relocation—and at a cost of $26 million. This sum would provide approximately 2,500 housing units for our people and we are more interested in housing for our people than in grandiose plans for urban renewal for areas which private enterprise itself is developing. The office of Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, (Republican of New Jersey), has released to the Federation of Citizens Associations over this weekend correspondence on urban renewal matters in the District of Columbia, including a letter from Brig. Gen. C. M. Duke, Engineer Commissioner, in which General Duke wrote Congressman WIDNALL in part as follows:

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated September 28, 1964. In answer to your first question regarding further public hearings on the Adams-Morgan proposal prior to a Board action—no hearing is contemplated at this time."

On behalf of the Federation of Citizens Associations I am writing to express our concern over the failure of the District Commissioners to arrange for hearings on the Adams-Morgan proposal, which is highly controversial, prior to action on it by the Board of Commissioners.

In the correspondence referred to above, Congressman WIDNALL, the ranking minority member of the House Housing Subcommittee which has jurisdiction over the Federal urban renewal program, wrote to you regarding the lack of "effective control" of the District's urban renewal program by the citizens of the District and urged that the District Commissioners, interested as they are in home rule, seek a remedy to the situation which would give District citizens review and control powers over the urban renewal program. I would like to quote the relevant paragraph from his letter:

"A deeply disturbing aspect of the District's urban renewal program is that it is above and beyond effective control by the citizens of the District who are most affected by it, especially the homeowners and small businessmen. Budgetary control by the District government, as well as by District citizens, is lost when a cash contribution of only $4,000 shows up once in the 14 years the District's urban renewal program has been underway. Interested as the District Commissioners are in home rule, I would urge that they seek a remedy to the situation which would give District citizens control and review of urban renewal."

Let me say that the following changes in the Adams-Morgan urban renewal project have been reported to the Federation of Citizens Associations as under serious consideration by the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners since the Board held hearings on July 1, 2, and 3, 1963. These reported changes, which include four areas instead of the original areas A, B, and C, are of such grave and far-reaching import that the Federation of Citizens Associations took action condemning them. A copy of the resolution adopted at that time is attached. It is directed particularly at the changes which the adoption of the RLA resurvey would make in the Adams-Morgan project. The Kalorama Citizens Association, in its resolution on the standards used by the RLA in its survey, stated that:

"These standards are not required even in new buildings in the District of Columbia under the present code. Those provisions, added to the one regarding parking facilities would probably bankrupt every apartment house owner in the Adams-Morgan area as well as in the entire city if applied on a city-wide basis."

In a letter to Neville Miller, chairman of RLA, under date of September 28, 1964, Chairman JOHN DOWDY of Subcommittee No. 4, House District Committee (see pp. 22387–22391, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 29, 1964), pointed out that:

"There is no authority in the Redevelopment Act or in the District of Columbia Code for the Commissioners to arbitrarily establish more restrictive housing code standards in one area of the city than in another."

Certainly this would seem to prevent the RLA from using the highly restrictive housing code standards which it did in fact use in its resurvey and it would seem to effectively bar the District Commissioners from approving their use as part of the Adams-Morgan project.

Further significant changes in the Adams-Morgan project are revealed in the correspondence released by the office of Congressman WIDNALL to the Federation of Citizens Associations. In a letter of September 23, 1964, signed by General Duke, the Engineer Commissioner wrote Congressman WIDNALL as follows:

"In response to your further comments with respect to displacement of families, under the current proposed urban renewal plan, should the Commissioners determine the area eligible for renewal, the plan may be modified to provide for increased relocation housing within the project area, to include provision of additional public housing and moderate income housing. Should this occur, the current relocation plan developed by RLA would have to be revised accordingly and would therefore be invalid as now proposed."

It has come to the attention of the Federation that one of the top officials of the Commissioners' Planning and Urban Renewal Advisory Council has stated publicly that the Triangle Area A, as well as the Henderson Castle site owned by the family of Eugene Meyer, the late, great publisher of the Washington Post, would probably be dropped from the Adams-Morgan project by the District Commissioners.

We believe that these are major changes in the Adams-Morgan plan and that the Board of Commissioners would be derelict in its duty if it did not hold public hearings because of these changes prior to any Board action accepting this plan. We do not believe that the Board can certify that no changes have taken place in the area since the public hearings held in July of 1963.

In view of the above extensive changes, the Federation of Citizens Associations points out to the Board of Commissioners the provisions of the law which require public hearings if changes are made and demands that the Board hold open public hearings prior to any Board action accepting this plan. The District Commissioners can determine by such means if the homeowners and businessmen of this project area want this project.

Further, the Federation requests that the Adams-Morgan project be held up until such time as the Congress adopts the full and just compensation proposals which are being developed by the House Committee on Real Property Acquisition, and which are fully set out in the bills, H.R. 12779 and H.R. 12818 sponsored by Congressmen WIDNALL and ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

Finally, according to the "Workable Program 1963–64," filed by the Board of Commissioners with the Housing Administrator on July 21, 1964, there were only 66 premises "which are not yet brought into compliance with the requirements of the Housing Regulations" in the Adams-Morgan area. (See p. 7D of the workable program.) The federation requests an economic justification of the expenditure of $26 million for the Adams-Morgan project in view of the fact that only 66 premises are not up to code requirements, and urges that the District Commissioners require the owners of these 66 properites to bring them up to code without the expenditure of $26 million by the taxpayers.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. IMMER,
President.

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS OF ADAMS-MORGAN,
Washington, D.C., July 27, 1964.

To All Interested Members of Congress:

We protest the District of Columbia's "workable program 1963–64," which was presented on July 21, 1964, to the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency to justify the provision of additional Federal funds for the District's urban renewal projects. Our reasons for protesting this document follow in detail, for it is clear that this slick 61-page document is more notable for what it does not say than for what it does say, and its misstatements of fact are many. Here are some of them:

LACK OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

1. On page 3B it is stated that the renewal project plan for Adams-Morgan was "developed with the fullest participation of residents of the area," a statement which is clearly untrue. Far more people in the area oppose the plan than suport it. The planning and urban renewal officials have made no attempt to deal fairly with the businessmen and homeowners in the project area. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that District citizens are voteless and, therefore, are denied their proper voice in matters which affect them most deeply.

DESTRUCTION OF GOOD HOMES PROPOSED

2. No facts are presented to justify a key part of the Adams-Morgan plan: the destruction of good homes in areas A and B, the 1700 block of U Street, and Lanier Place which are parts of area C; the inclusion of the Henderson Castle site, the inclusion of Crescent Place, and other good residential areas within the Adams-Morgan boundaries.

CODE ENFORCEMENT

3. We are told, on page 7D, that "only" 734 of the 1,192 residential premises in the Adams-Morgan area were in compliance with the District's code requirements in September 1960. Approximately 4 years later, on June 30, 1964, in spite of the fact that there are only 5½ percent of 1,192 premises not in compliance, the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners are still being asked by the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency to consider a $25 million clearance project for the Adams-Morgan area which will destroy nearly 30 percent of the area, and displace one-third of the population, or 5,700 people, mostly low-income Negro and white people.

This means that in an area in which the residents and businessmen have invested well

in excess of $75 million in new construction and rehabilitation during the several years this project has been under consideration (including the $35 million Washington Hilton Hotel, and the two Cafritz buildings costing a total of more than $30 million) the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency is still planning for a major clearance program.

Yet, by its own admission in this workable program 1963–64 the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency makes clear that less than 6 percent of the buildings in the Adams-Morgan area do not meet the District's code requirements. If the RLA is truly concerned with the housing ills of the area then it is reaching for an ax when what is really needed is a scalpel.

The above may provide an answer as to why the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency is pushing so hard for the District of Columbia to be allowed to make determinations based on something more than the District's housing and building codes. The RLA does not answer the question: "Why is it calling for a bulldozer in the Adams-Morgan area when less than 6 percent of the structures fail to comply with the building code, especially when this noncompliance is by design for, as this report states on page 7D:

" 'As of June 30, 1964, there are 66 premises which are not yet brought into compliance with the requirements of the housing regulations. The majority of these cases are located in an area that is presently being considered for clearance as a proposed urban renewal area. Consequently, the District has not required major structural changes or extensive installation of additional plumbing facilities which would undoubtedly increase the cost of future acquisition' "?

This is another case of bureaucratic self-interest, which is blatantly presented as more important than the welfare of District citizens. Further, the lack of code enforcement is in conflict with the requirements of the workable program as set forth in the Housing Act of 1949, as amended.

COLUMBIA PLAZA

4. On page 3A we find mention of the fact that the Columbia Plaza urban renewal project is to provide a 400-room hotel, a shopping plaza, and an underground parking facility for 1,500 cars. That this project has nothing to do with the national housing policy to provide decent, safe, and sanitary housing for slum dwellers is not even hinted at. Nor is the fact mentioned that this project is in the courts at this time. The fact that legislation is pending in the Congress to return this property to its original owners is not mentioned. Not mentioned, also, is the long and exhaustive congressional hearings which have demonstrated the misuse of urban renewal power and funds in this project, and the failure of this project to advance the national housing policy.

RELOCATION FAILURES IN DECEMBER

5. On page 20A we find the astonishing statement, astonishing, that is, to anyone familiar with the major controversy which has surrounded this matter for years, that "all families displaced by the Redevelopment Land Agency were satisfactorily relocated."

This document conspicuously fails to mention the finding in the Commissioners' Housing Report, 1962, that a deficiency of more than 8,000 housing units has developed in the District of Columbia even though the urban renewal laws require that there be assurance that decent, safe, and sanitary housing is available for urban renewal displacees.

The true facts about the District's failures to faithfully execute the laws and to meet their own responsibilities are well known. Chet Huntley, on September 26, 1963, on the NBC television network, discussed the real facts about the District's urban renewal program and its sorry record of failures to find homes for urban renewal displacees. Mr. Huntley declared that:

"In the last 5 years 13,000 low-income Negro families have been displaced by renewal, and very few have found decent homes.

"Urban renewal for the Negro is really Negro removal, because in every urban renewal project in America there has been almost a total displacement of lower income Negro families."

Mr. Huntley added that:

"Southwest Washington, D.C., is a good example, where Negro families were removed out to make way for the urban renewal projects. So they moved to Northwest Washington, Northeast Washington, Southeast Washington, and helped to create more slums. It will get worse before it gets better. Many more thousands of Negro families will be displaced in the next 4 years."

In the fall of 1963, also, the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Catholic archbishop of Washington, commenting on the city's urban renewal projects, asked the citizens of the Nation's Capital to "act quickly and decisively to root out from our midst the social evils that blight our Nation's Capital. It is hardly necessary to state that we gain nothing by tearing down slum housing if we force the residents to create new slums elsewhere by overcrowding."

That even the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, does not believe that "all families displaced by the Redevelopment Land Agency were satisfactorily relocated," as claimed in this "workable program 1963–64" is dramatically shown by the following statement by Walter N. Tobriner, president of the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, on the WWDC "City-Side" program, as reported in the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star of March 22, 1964:

"This, I think everyone acknowledges, was a mistake in the planning of the Southwest redevelopment area. We should provide, as a bare minimum, that those families who are dispossessed by redevelopment schemes should be properly, adequately, and sanitarily housed in the project itself, and not be compelled to move out and create slums elsewhere. We hope not to repeat that mistake in future redevelopment projects."

The Washington (D.C.) Post reported on June 30, 1963, that the Adams-Morgan area has more than 17,000 people, including 7,400 Negroes, that one of the principal disappointments of the official Adams-Morgan urban renewal plan is that it will displace an estimated 1,585 families, and that a total of 5,700 persons, about one-third of the total population will be displaced.

Writing in the Washington, D.C., Afro-American of May 2, 1964, Congressman WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, ranking minority member of the House Special Housing Subcommittee, said:

"District officials, according to newspaper reports, propose to do something about the situation in the Adams-Morgan area: they are planning to remove nearly 6,000 people, one-third of the present population, in the process of completing the urban renewal project."

Not one unit of low-rent or public housing has been built in Washington under any urban renewal project plan, nor has the program provided any middle income housing, despite the expenditure of $100 million.

6. On page 3D the report cites as one of the facts justifying the provision of additional Federal urban renewal funds, a report by an Ad Hoc Committee on Relocation Housing Sites, in March 1964, recommending measures for increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing. It goes without saying that the inclusion of the praiseworthy recommendations by this ad hoc committee, without implementation by the District's Commissioners, does not automatically provide the housing needed. Among the recommendations of this ad hoc committee are the following (p. 22A of the document):

"The urban renewal process should be used to provide moderate income housing in future urban renewal projects.

"Low rent public housing should continue to be provided in future urban renewal projects."

It should be pointed out in this connection that House Report No. 1481, 88th Congress, 2d session, filed by Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN on June 15, 1964, states that, despite the expenditure of over $100 million by the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency "Not one unit of low-rent or public housing has been built in Washington under any urban renewal project plan, nor has the program provided any middle income housing."

The Washington Post said editorially on May 30, 1964, with regard to the 500-acre Southwest Washington urban renewal project that (1) this project originally was acquired to provide low-rent housing at $17 a room or less; (2) it was later changed and now provides luxury housing and prime office space; and (3) that this project must be reclaimed from its present arrogant display of unrelieved wealth.

CONCLUSION

At the top of page 1 of this "workable program, 1963–64" review of progress made by the District of Columbia in the elimination of slums and blight is found this language:

"This form is designed to elicit from the community the information needed to determine whether it has a workable program meeting the requirements of section 101(c) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended."

The Independent Citizens of Adams-Morgan are convinced that the workable program of the District of Columbia does not meet the requirements of section 101(c) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended.

We, therefore, appeal to the Congress for relief from the District of Columbia urban renewal program and projects on behalf of the voteless citizens, the homeowners and businessmen, the displacees and potential displacees, the low- and moderate-income residents—all of whom have been and will be adversely affected by these programs and projects. We appeal, especially, however, on behalf of the poor families who have been forced from their homes to make room for luxury apartments and prime office space.

We appeal to the Congress because, as the chief architect of the urban renewal program and the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, which established it, it has the responsibility and the duty to write safeguards and guidelines into the program which will protect the American people, including the citizens of the District of Columbia, from the willful and arbitrary misuse of urban renewal powers, and the wasteful misuse of tax funds.

DUTTON FERGUSON,
President.
ELEANOR N. KUHNE,
Secretary.

Tribute to Hon. Ross Bass

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Ross BASS' service here in the House has always been marked by complete frankness. He

never offered any apology for being a southerner or for being a liberal. I have admired his forthrightness and we have all enjoyed his wonderful sense of humor, his friendliness, and genial manner.

Ross BASS is a dynamic, restless individual who will never be content with mediocrity. His political star will continue to rise. He will rank high in the councils of those who lead our country and indeed the cause of freedom throughout the world. We, in South Carolina, are proud of his lovely wife who is a beautiful South Carolinian and who best exemplifies those great traditions of southern womanhood.

Mrs. Dorn and the family join me in wishing for Ross and his magnificent Avanell every success and much continued happiness.

Goldwater's Campaign of Fear Won't Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the Illinois State Register in its August 20 editorial captures what I believe to be the essence of this year's presidential: the choice of either selecting spokesmen echoing the voices of fear and negativism of the past under the guise of conservatism or men willing to face the realities and challenges of progress and change.

On the one hand, there is a national campaign being conducted "on the basis of exploiting fear" and offering nothing to solve the problems of our country but a "bland pledge of honesty"; on the other hand, there is the commitment of President Lyndon B. Johnson to continue his administration's positive program of dealing with these problems.

This choice, if it can really be called that, does not offer the electorate much leeway; hopefully, the final decision of the voters will not be swayed by the demagogic innuendoes and undertones of the backward-looking individuals who have taken over the Republican Party.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial:

OFFERS NOTHING POSITIVE: GOLDWATER'S CAMPAIGN OF FEAR WON'T WORK

Senator BARRY GOLDWATER carried his campaign of fear here to Springfield Wednesday. Republican partisans, who have chosen him as their candidate for President, cheered as he rehashed most of the charges he has made since his nomination 5 weeks ago.

On the domestic scene, GOLDWATER'S principal theme is to play on the fears of the people regarding racial tensions and increasing crime rates. In the area of foreign affairs, it is to brand the Democratic Party as a war party and to plant fears that policies of the Johnson administration will lead to another war.

The Illinois State Register regrets to see a national campaign conducted on a basis of exploiting fear. But when a political candidate has no positive program, he has to have something else to which to key his campaign. Senator GOLDWATER clearly has made his choice. It is a natural for him, because he has made a career of being against things, and it is easy enough to speak out against crime and riots and communism.

While the Senator deplores crime and riots and racial tension, which is of concern to all Americans today, he offers no program to combat those ills of our Nation. He offers only the pledge of "an honest administration by honest men," with the implication that his brand of honesty in high office will magically influence all the bad things in the United States to fade away.

We might remind the Senator first that history shows neither party ever has had a monopoly on honesty. Most men in both parties are honest, a few in both parties are dishonest. The Eisenhower administration had its problems with influence peddling just as Democratic administrations have.

Secondly, the crime rate, the riots, the racial tensions around the Nation are not something that has developed overnight. They are the products of changing social and economic conditions, products of the growth of cities, of automation, of awareness of the American people that equal opportunities have been denied many because of race or religion.

The Democratic Party is aware that 20th century problems cannot be solved by 19th century remedies. That is the reason for the civil rights bill, the war on poverty program and the broad efforts of the National Government to solve the twin problems of automation and unemployment. The Johnson administration works on positive programs; Senator GOLDWATER, on the other hand, points a finger of blame at the administration for the existing problems, but offers nothing to solve them but a bland pledge of honesty.

In his attack on the Johnson administration foreign policy, the Senator contends Democrats stand for military weakness and that such weakness has led to war before and is likely to lead to war again. He goes so far as to say this Nation has gone to war under the leaders of only the Democratic Party. Apparently, the Senator is not very astute in the study of history, or perhaps he is so conservative he considers William McKinley a Democrat. But when the Spanish-American War began, McKinley, a Republican, was occupying the White House.

Let's look at the other wars to which Senator GOLDWATER refers in his distortion of history. The United States entered World War I because of Germany's policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. Does the Senator have any evidence that the Germans would not have resorted to such warfare if U.S. military forces had been stronger?

Prior to United States entry into World War II, President Roosevelt tried repeatedly to get a greater buildup of national military strength. His chief opponent in Congress was Senator William E. Borah, the Republican spokesman on foreign policy matters. Need we say more?

The GOP has got a lot of political mileage out of the charge that Communists invaded South Korea in 1950 because the Democratic administration declared Korea outside our defense perimeter, but there has never been any concrete evidence to support that charge. These same GOP spokesmen don't mention that a few weeks before the Communist attack, the House, led by Republicans, slashed America's military commitment to South Korea.

In building his campaign of fear about foreign affairs, Senator GOLDWATER now charges that under the present administration's leadership, "our deliverable nuclear capacity could be cut down by 90 percent in the next decade." He does not say it will be, he says it could be. But that is a figure that surely can incite fear.

The Senator bemoans the situation in Vietnam, a mess the present Democratic administration inherited from the previous Republican administration, but he offers no specific solutions. His only pledge is that we would "win the war."

Senator GOLDWATER'S address here is indicative of the kind of campaign he plans to conduct. He seeks to scare the American people into voting for him. He seeks to incite distrust in the future of America under Democratic leadership.

His strategy will not work, because the American people know our Nation is militarily strong and will remain so, and they know that with confidence, perserverance and positive programs we can overcome our domestic problems.

The answer to Senator GOLDWATER is apparent in the words President Franklin Roosevelt used to reassure the Nation in the depths of the depression: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

Committee Prints, Hearings, and Legislative Reports Published by the Banking and Currency Committee During the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Banking and Currency has published a number of special studies relating to banking and finance. These are in addition to the publication of hearings and reports on legislation and are designed to provide information that is needed in the public interest. Because of widespread popular interest in many of these publications we have advised the Superintendent of Documents of instances where it might be desirable to print copies for sale, and this has been done in a number of cases. Following is a list of these publications showing the Government Printing Office price for all of them that are available there. The committee will endeavor to supply requests within the limits of our supply of these publications:

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, 1963

"Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963," section-by-section summary (H.R. 3881), March 1963.[1]

"Chain Banking," stockholder and loan links of 200 largest member banks (committee print, Apr. 15, 1963, 542 pp.).

"Area Redevelopment Act Amendments of 1963," section-by-section summary, April 1963.[1]

"Bank Holding Companies—Scope of Operations and Stock Ownership" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), May 20, 1963, 131 pages.

Staff analysis of H.R. 5874, May 1963.

"Futures Trading in Sugar on the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange" (Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs), August 5, 1963, 25 pages.

"Comparative Regulations of Financial Institutions" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), September 20, 1963.[1]

Footnotes at end of speech.

"Comparative Regulations of Financial Institutions" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), revised and final edition, November 22, 1963, 401 pages, obtainable from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at $1.25 a copy.

"Banks Holding Treasury Tax and Loan Account Balances as of October 15, 1963" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), December 12, 1963, 276 pages.

"A Study of Federal Credit Programs: Volumes 1 and 2" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), volume 1, 304 pages, at 75 cents a copy; and volume 2, 895 pages, at $2.50 a a copy, obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.[1]

"Some General Features of the Federal Reserve's Approach to Policy" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), February 10, 1964, 41 pages.[1]

"Commercial Bank Reporting Practices to Stockholders" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), March 10, 1964.[1]

"The Impact of Examination Practices Upon Commercial Bank Lending Policies" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), April 10, 1964, 97 pages.[1]

"The Federal Reserve's Attachment to the Free Reserve Concept" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), May 7, 1964, 64 pages.[1]

"The Prevalent Monetary Policy and Its Consequences" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), May 8, 1964, 106 pages.

"A Primer on Money" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), August 5, 1964, 144 pages. Obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at 40 cents a copy.

"The Federal Savings Bank Bill—A Staff Analysis of H.R. 12142, H.R. 12167, and S. 3050" (Subcommittee on Bank Supervision and Insurance), October 2, 1964, 29 pages. Obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at 15 cents a copy.

"An Alternative Approach to the Monetary Mechanism" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), August 21, 1964, 131 pages.

"Twenty Largest Stockholders of Record in Member Banks of the Federal Reserve System as of May 1962" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), 1,355 pages. This is in five volumes, each covering a region of the country. Volumes are obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., at the following prices: Volume 1, $1.50; volume 2, $1.25; volume 3, $1.75; volume 4, $1; volume 5, $1.75.[1]

IN PROCESS OF RELEASE

"Money Facts" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance). In print but not yet released, 35 pages.

"The Federal Reserve System After 50 years—Proposals for Improvement of the Federal Reserve and Staff Report on Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the Committee on Banking and Currency" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), August 25, 1964, 94 pages. Obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at 30 cents a copy.

"The Structure of Ownership of Member Banks and the Pattern of Loans Made on Hypothecated Bank Stock" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), 57 pages.

"Correspondent Relations—A Survey of Banker Opinion" (Subcommittee on Domestic Finance), 58 pages. This is the first in a series of three volumes.

(NOTE—The hearings and legislative reports published by the Banking and Currency Committee during the 88th Congress are listed below.)

Footnotes at end of speech.

HEARINGS

Amendment to section 14(b) of the Federal Reserve Act (H.R. 11499), June 1964. (H. Rept. 1473, June 11, 1964.) (Public Law 88-344.)

Area Redevelopment Act amendments (S. 1163), July 1963. (H. Rept. 633, Aug. 3, 1963.)[1]

Area Redevelopment Act Amendments of 1963 (H.R. 4996), April 1963. (H. Rept. 276, May 6, 1963.)[1]

Bank holding company legislation (H.R. 10663, 10872), April–June 1964.

Commemorative medals and coins legislation (medals: H.R. 2380, 3488, 3575, 4003, 6014; coins: H.R. 1611, 2621, 6026), May 1963. (H. Rept. 766 (H.R. 3488), Sept. 25, 1963.) (Public Law 88-184.)

Conflict of Federal and State banking laws, April–May 1963.

Construction set-aside amendments (H.R. 2029), August 1963.

Defense Production Act of 1950, extension of (H.R. 10000), March 1964. (H. Rept. 1456, June 3, 1964.) (Public Law 88-343.)

Export controls, June 1963.[1]

Export-Import Bank Act extension (H.R. 3872), February 1963. (H. Rept. 86, Mar. 11, 1963.) (H. Rept. 578 (Conf. Rept.), July 25, 1963.) (H. Rept. 688 (Conf. Rept.), Aug. 15, 1963.) (Public Law 88-101.)

Federal charter legislation for mutual savings banks (H.R. 258), October 1963.

Federal Reserve System after 50 years (H.R. 3783, 9631, 9685, 9686, 9749):

Volume 1—January–February 1964.[2]

Volume 2—February–March 1964.[2]

Volume 3—April 1964.[2]

FHA self-insurance on acquired multifamily property, June 1963.

Housing and community legislation (H.R. 9751), February 1964.

Increased flexibility for financial institutions (H.R. 5845, 7878, 8230, 8245, 8247, 8459, 8541), September–December 1963. (H. Rept. 1099 (H.R. 8230), Jan. 20, 1964, Public Law 88-341.) (H. Rept. 1024 (H.R. 8459), Dec. 10, 1963, Public Law 88-353.)

Insurance of deposits and share accounts (H.R. 5130), April 1963. (H. Rept. 1098, Jan. 20, 1964.)[1]

Inter-American Development Bank Act amendment (H.R. 12010), August 1964.

International banks (H.R. 7405, 7406), July 1963. (H. Rept. 651 (H.R. 7405), Aug. 12, 1963, Public Law 88-178.) (H. Rept. 652 (H.R. 7406), Aug. 12, 1963, Public Law 88-259.)[1]

International Development Association Act Amendment (S. 2214), March 1964. (H. Rept. 1312, Apr. 9, 1964). (Public Law 88-310.)

International Home Loan Bank, establishment of an (H.R. 8143), August-September 1963.

Investigation of the circumstances surrounding the disappearance of $7.5 million of U.S. Government securities from the vault of the Federal Reserve Bank at San Francisco, Calif., April 1963. (H. Rept. 354, May 29, 1963.)

Meetings with Department and agency officials, and trade organizations, January–February 1963:

Banking and trade organization, February 19–20, 1963.

Comptroller of the Currency, February 18, 1963.

Department of Agriculture, February 7, 1963.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, February 5, 1963.

Federal Reserve System, January 29, 1963.

Housing and Home Finance Agency, January 31, 1963.

Small Business Administration, Social Security Administration, February 6, 1963.

Treasury Department, January 30, 1963.

Notice of change in control of management of insured banks (H.R. 12267, 12268), August 1964. (H. Rept. 1792 (H.R. 12267), Aug. 13, 1964). (Public Law 88-593.)

Recent changes in monetary policy and balance-of-payments problems, July 1963.

Resources of the International Development Association, expanding the (H.R. 9022): December 1963, January 1964. (H. Rept. 1093, Jan. 8, 1964.)

Physically handicapped families and persons, housing for (H.R. 7394), October 1963.

Prohibit banks from performing certain nonbanking services and from engaging in the business of personal property leasing, legislation to (H.R. 9548, 9822), February 1964.

Proposed Federal Banking Commission and Federal Deposit and Savings Insurance Board (H.R. 729, 5874), May 1963.

Silver legislation (H.R. 4413), March 1963.[1]

Silver policy of the United States (H.J. Res. 1140, 1156; R.H. 10534, 10550, 10571, 10559, 10561, 10563, 10583, 10560, 10562, 10564, 10584), August 1964. (Not printed yet.)

Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1962 (H.R. 799), May 1963.

Small business legislation (H.R. 799, 5480; S. 298, 1309), August–December 1963. (H. Rept. 1084 (S. 298), Dec. 20, 1963; H. Rept. 1129 (conference report), Feb. 5, 1964; Public Law 88-273.) (H. Rept. 1097 (S. 1309), Jan. 16, 1964, Public Law 88-264.)

Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963 (H.R. 3881), February–March 1963. (H. Rept. 204, Apr. 9, 1963.)[1]

Urban renewal: Part 1—October 1963,[1] part 2—November 1963.

REPORTS

Area Redevelopment Act Amendments of 1963. (H. Rept. 276, May 6, 1963.)

Area Redevelopment Act Amendments of 1963. (H. Rept. 633, Aug. 3, 1963.)

Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Medals. (H. Rept. 769, Sept. 25, 1963.)

Defense Production Act, Extension of. (H. Rept. 1456, June 3, 1964.) (Public Law 88-343.)

Change in the Requirements for the Annual Meeting Date for National Banks. (H. Rept. 1011, Dec. 9, 1963.) (Public Law 88-232.)

Coinage of John Fitzgerald Kennedy 50-Cent Pieces. (H. Rept. 1038, Dec. 13, 1963.) (Public Law 88-256.)

Export-Import Bank Act Extension. (H. Rept. 86, Mar. 11, 1963.) (H. Rept. 578 (Conf. Rept.), July 25, 1963.) (H. Rept. 688 (Conf. Rept.), Aug. 15, 1963.) (Public Law 88-101.)

Extension of Section 221 Mortgage Insurance Authority. (H. Rept. 386, June 13, 1963.) (Public Law 88-54.)

Federal Credit Union Act, Amendments to. (H. Rept. 648, Aug. 12, 1963.) (Public Law 88-150.)

Federal Credit Union Act Amendments. (H. Rept. 1024, Dec. 10, 1963.) (Public Law 88-353.)

Federal Deposit and Savings Insurance, Increase in. (H. Rept. 1098, Jan. 20, 1964.)

Federal Reserve Direct Purchase Authority, Extension of. (H. Rept. 1473, June 11, 1964.) (Public Law 88-344.)

Federally Insured Banks, Report of Changes in Control of. (H. Rept. 1792, Aug. 13, 1964.) (Public Law 88-593.)

Gold Medal for Henry J. Kaiser. (H. Rept. 1383, May 6, 1964.)

Golden Anniversary of Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Fla. (H. Rept. 1397, May 13, 1964.) (Public Law 88-318.)

Housing Act of 1964. (H. Rept. 1703, Aug. 5, 1964.)

Housing Act of 1964. (H. Rept. 1828 (Conf. Rept.), Aug. 18, 1964.) (Public Law 88-560.)

Housing for the Elderly. (H. Rept. 754, Sept. 19, 1963.) (Public Law 88-158.)

ILGWU Health Center 50th Anniversary Medals. (H. Rept. 767, Sept. 25, 1963.) (Public Law 88–185.)

Increase in Authorized Capital Stock of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (H. Rept. 651, Aug. 12, 1963.) (Public Law 88–178.)

Increase in Federal Deposit and Savings Insurance. (H. Rept. 1098, Jan. 20, 1964.)

Increased U.S. Participation in the Inter-American Development Bank. (H. Rept. 652, Aug. 12, 1963.) (Public Law 88–259.)

Indiana Statehood Sesquicentennial Medals. (H. Rept. 766, Sept. 25, 1963.) (Public Law 88–184.)

Insured Housing Loan Program for Elderly in Rural Areas, Temporary Extension of. (H. Rept. 1472, June 11, 1964.) (Public Law 88–340.)

International Development Association Act. (H. Rept. 1093, Jan. 8, 1964.)

International Development Association Act, Amendment to. (H. Rept. 1312, Apr. 9, 1964.) (Public Law 88–310.)

Investment Powers of Federal Savings and Loan Associations. (H. Rept. 1100, Jan. 20, 1964.)

Maximum Amount of FHA Section 207 Rental Housing Mortgages. (H. Rept. 650, Aug. 12, 1963.)

Medals Commemorating National Historic Shrines in New York City. (H. Rept. 1081, Dec. 20, 1963.) (Public Law 88–262.)

Medals Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis. (H. Rept. 1083, Dec. 20, 1963.) (Public Law 88–270.)

Mysterious Disappearance of $7.5 Million of U.S. Securities From Vault of the Federal Reserve Bank at San Francisco, Calif. (H. Rept. 354, May 29, 1963.)

National Bank Loans on Forest Tracts. (H. Rept. 1099, Jan. 20, 1964.) (Public Law 88–341.)

Nevada Statehood Centennial Medals. (H. Rept. 770, Sept. 25, 1963.) (Public Law 88–147.)

Padre Junipero Serra 250th Anniversary Medals. (H. Rept. 768, Sept. 25, 1963.) (Public Law 88–143.)

Retention of "1964" on All Coins Temporary. (H. Rept. 1644, Aug. 3, 1964.)

Silver Legislation. (H. Rept. 183, Apr. 3, 1963.) (Public Law 88–36.)

Small Business Act Amendments. (H. Rept. 1097, Jan. 16, 1964.) (Public Law 88–264.)

Small Business Investment Act Amendments of 1963. (H. Rept. 1084, Dec. 20, 1963.) (H. Rept. 1129 (Conf. Rept.), Feb. 5, 1964.) (Public Law 88–273.)

Transfer of Certain Property Purchased for Low-Rent Housing Project in Detroit, Mich. (H. Rept. 649, Aug. 12, 1963.) (Public Law 88–141.)

Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963. (H. Rept. 204, Apr. 9, 1963.)

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[1] Committee supply exhausted.

[2] For sale by Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402.

Tribute to Congressman E. L. Forrester

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we are going to miss TIC FORRESTER on this floor. I have never known a man more dedicated to his country, the Constitution as written, the Bill of Rights, justice, and all of those great principles that made this Nation the greatest in the world. TIC FORRESTER was a fighter, who fought aboveboard. His service here was marked by integrity, forthrightness, and absolute honesty. TIC FORRESTER served here in the tradition of those great Georgia leaders so characteristic of the empire State of the South. I have served with no one more dedicated to the cause of individual freedom and States rights.

TIC FORRESTER is a restless, dynamic individual and will never retire from the arena of public service. He will continue to fight for his convictions and to keep our country free as the heart and core of the free world.

Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for him and his loyal and faithful wife the very best always and I hope he will come back to Washington to see us often.

The Great Manpower Grab: A Hysterical Attack Upon the U.S. Employment Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, as the chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, which recently conducted hearings on our Federal-State public employment service, I call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that an article, bearing the title "The Great Manpower Grab," has recently been published in the Reader's Digest.

This article is a truly hysterical attack upon the U.S. Employment Service. The attack consists of a remarkable compendium of half-truths, inaccuracies, distortions, and wildly dramatic charges—all cloaked in language apparently chosen to frighten the reader into believing that a plot has been concocted in Washington to restrict the rights of American workers to seek employment wherever, with whomever, and by whatever means, they desire.

The underlying purpose of this attack is revealed only in the final page of the article, when readers of the Digest are urged as follows:

> Insist that your Congressman and Senators vote down funds that fuel USES expansion. Demand that Congress force the Bureau of Employment Security to live within its budget.

Mr. Speaker, I have no doubt that in the months ahead many of my colleagues will receive communications from constituents who have been deceived by this article and thrown into a state of needless alarm over the imaginary specter of a "mammoth manpower grab." For that reason, I am placing on record an analysis of some of the more important misstatements and false allegations that this article contains. I urge my colleagues to read this analysis, and to draw upon the facts it contains in reassuring those of their constituents who may fall into this propaganda trap set before the millions of readers of the Reader's Digest.

The article attempts to seize the reader's attention, at the outset, by charging:

> The U.S. Employment Service is undermining one of our basic freedoms—the right to choose one's life work. If it succeeds, every working man and woman in America will one day be forced to seek work through Government employment offices.

This fantastic accusation does not contain a shred of truth. Neither the U.S. Employment Service nor any other Federal agency has any plan whatsoever to force Americans to seek work through public employment offices. No activity of the Employment Service, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, can be described as "undermining the right to choose one's life work."

On the contrary, our Federal-State employment service system provides facilities—for those who voluntarily choose to avail themselves of them—whose purpose is to assist Americans to make a more intelligent and informed choice of career. Our Employment Service offices furnish occupational aptitude testing and counseling services, through which workers may gain a better understanding of their own abilities and potentialities, and receive labor market information which aids them to make their own better informed choices of careers in which they may use their abilities most effectively. The Employment Service offices also stand ready to provide workers with information both on current job openings and on the longer term trends in job opportunities. Through their extensive collection of information on present and future job possibilities in the labor market, they can give workers the essential information they need to recognize the occupations where demand for labor is shrinking, the occupations likely to be virtually wiped out or transformed by forthcoming technological change, and the occupations where properly trained and retrained workers will meet a growing demand for their services.

These aptitude testing, counseling, and labor market information services are especially important to the young Americans who will be seeking employment in steadily increasing numbers throughout the 1960's. The Reader's Digest can only do a great harm to these young workers by attempting to terrify them into failing to take advantage of the assistance which our Federal-State Employment Service offices are prepared to give them.

Incredibly enough, the Reader's Digest article attacks the long-standing entirely voluntary cooperative arrangements between the Federal-State employment service and a large proportion of American high schools, under which the employment service provides occupational aptitude testing and counseling services to graduating seniors and other young people who are entering into the job market. This is one of the most important functions which our employment service performs—the function of assist-

ing our Nation's youth to make the often difficult transition from school to work. This function has become especially vital today, in a time when rapidly changing technology makes it more essential than ever before that young workers receive guidance and support in finding their places in our increasingly complex economy.

The author does not explicitly call for the abandonment of the testing and job counseling services which are provided every year to hundreds of thousands of young Americans, as they prepare to leave school. But the Reader's Digest article sneers at the value of these services and takes a tone calculated to discourage our young people from availing themselves of them. I must express my amazement that the author of this article would seemingly wish to deny to American youth the opportunity to receive information and guidance from employment service counselors who are familiar with the many complexities and difficulties of the labor market into which our youth are entering.

In an all-out attempt to cast discredit upon the competence of our Federal-State employment service personnel, the Reader's Digest article cites one alleged instance of improper evaluation of the results of an occupational aptitude test given to one individual. It then soars off in a flight of rhetoric to warn its readers:

> It is impossible to calculate how many young people—potential doctors, lawyers, scientists—have been steered into wrong careers by such tests.

Indeed, it is impossible. It is impossible to calculate whether even one young person has been steered into a wrong career. More important, it is impossible to calculate how many young people will enter the job market crippled by inadequate knowledge of their own abilities, and inadequate knowledge of the careers in which they best use their abilities, if the author of this article and his allies should succeed in a campaign to destroy or injure the occupational testing and counseling services provided to youth by our Federal-State employment service system.

The crucial role of the counseling activities of the employment service received particular emphasis in the hearings I conducted, as chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, this summer. These hearings showed that in many of our States the employment service does encounter difficulty in recruiting and retaining an adequate number of well-trained counsellors, in the face of growing demand for personnel with counselling skills, and the higher salaries being offered by private industry, school systems, and even other Government agencies. The Reader's Digest article, whose purpose appears wholly destructive, is pleased to jeer at the employment service's problem of recruiting professional counselors.

My own purpose is quite different. It is my belief—and I trust it is one that will be shared by the majority of Members of this House—that the time is at hand for the Congress to examine what legislative action may be necessary to assure that our Federal-State Employment Service system will be adequately staffed with well-qualified job counselors. The great increase in the number of youth who will be seeking entry into our work force in the years immediately ahead, and the rapid changes in the content of jobs and in the composition of demand for labor, make it more important today than ever before that extensive, high-caliber counseling services be available to American workers.

Turning from the high school to the college student, the Reader's Digest article goes on to charge that "USES is out to handle the job placement of every college student in the country."

This statement is false. The Federal-State Employment Service has no plan whatsoever to become involved in the job placement of "every college student in the country." This would be a truly heroic task indeed. Nor does it have a plan to supplant the placement offices that are maintained on campuses by the colleges and universities themselves. Employment Service counselors and interviewers conduct placement activities on college campuses only at the request of the officials of those colleges. In general, such requests have tended to come from colleges with limited resources, which are not financially well prepared to maintain their own on-campus placement offices for students.

Of the approximately 2,000 institutions of higher education in the United States, there are less than 80 in which State employment service personnel have been engaged in on-campus placement activities—at the request of the institutions themselves. These facts give a picture which bears little resemblance to the distorted presentation of the Reader's Digest.

The author of this article refers to past criticism directed against the Employment Service by the College Placement Council, the association which represents placement officers in a large proportion of our leading universities. But he is very careful not to make clear to his readers that, months before his article was published, discussions between officials of the College Placement Council and the U.S. Employment Service had already resulted in a resolution of most of the area of disagreement between them. In a statement submitted on behalf of the College Placement Council to my subcommittee, during our hearings this summer, the council's representative pointed out that a year ago the council and the U.S. Employment Service "reached a working agreement wherein each could make its unique contribution to the needs of college youth. The accord then reached has been honored by all concerned for almost a year."

Certainly, the council and the Employment Service has not reached completely identical points of view with respect to the role of the Service in providing on-campus placement facilities for students of those colleges which request such facilities. But the council is not, as the Reader's Digest apparently wishes its readers to believe, an organization which considers itself to be fighting desperately for its life against a ruthless Federal agency.

The article goes on to charge that Mr. Louis Levine, Director of the U.S. Employment Service, has announced a plan to "build the Employment Service into the manpower agency for the Nation, through which all job hiring would be funneled."

This statement is shockingly misleading. Neither Mr. Levine nor any other Federal official has called for all job hiring to take place through the employment service. The overwhelming majority of job placements in the United States now occur—and will continue to occur—through arrangements made directly between employers and workers themselves, without the immediate assistance of either the public employment service or private employment agencies. Anyone with an understanding of the American labor market knows that it is utterly inconceivable that all job placements would ever be made through the employment service.

The term "manpower agency" has frequently been used to describe the potential role of the Federal-State employment service, but this term has no such sinister meaning as the Reader's Digest article seeks to give it. In recent years, responsible individuals—in government, in business, in our universities, in the labor movement—have been increasingly concerned over the need for positive steps to prevent the waste of America's manpower resources, which result from unemployment and our lack of adequate information about the labor market and job opportunities. This concern for the proper use of our manpower led the Congress in 1962 to enact the Manpower Development and Training Act, which I had the honor of sponsoring in this House, and upon which my subcommittee held extensive hearings. Likewise, it has led Congress to enact such legislation as the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and now the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This surge of legislation directed toward upgrading the quality of our Nation's manpower and encouraging its effective utilization has placed new and extensive responsibilities upon our Federal-State employment service. Accordingly, many analysts of our manpower problems have recommended that the Federal-State employment service be considered the appropriate organization to serve as a "manpower agency"—to serve, that is, as an agency to gather and analyze information about our manpower resources, to coordinate the many programs now designed to train our manpower for new employment opportunities, and to carry out the essential function of assisting properly trained and counseled workers to find their places in the American job market.

The Reader's Digest has sought to delude its audience into believing that the term "manpower agency" implies governmental restraint of the freedom of workers and employers to make their own hiring arrangements. There is absolutely no basis for such an implication.

This misleading article next attempts to arouse fear over the cost of our Federal-State employment service program by making inaccurate and exag-

gerated statements of the funds and personnel devoted to the program, and by carefully avoiding any reference to our rising work force and other factors which have necessitated an increase in expenditures for the employment service as well as for virtually all other Federal, State, and local public services.

The article states that the employment service budget doubled between 1959 and 1964, that the staff of the Bureau of Employment Security had risen to almost 60,000 by 1964, and that in fiscal 1965 the Bureau of Employment Security will gobble up more than $455 million for the purpose of operating our employment service offices.

These statements constitute an inaccurate and one-sided presentation. For an honest and responsible evaluation of the costs of the employment service, these costs must be viewed, at the very least, in relation to the size of the American labor force which our public employment service has the obligation to serve. Between 1947 and 1960, while the Nation's labor force grew continuously, the number of personnel assigned to carry out the duties of the Federal-State employment service did not grow at all. On the contrary, the employment service had, in 1960, a staff which was actually smaller than in 1947. A scholarly study published by the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research has called attention to this disturbing fact. The study reports that in these postwar years, 1947–60, while the American civilian labor force grew approximately 17 percent, the number of people engaged in the Federal-State employment service was allowed to shrink by almost 15 percent. In the 8 years of the Eisenhower regime, the employment service was notably the victim of neglect by an administration more anxious to conserve dollars than to conserve our manpower resources. With the coming of the Kennedy-Johnson administration, in 1961, the financal starvation of the employment service was relieved at last.

Naturally, those who seek to damage our employment service emphasize the increase in the funds allotted to the service since 1961, while neglecting the fact that the service had been allowed to shrink so greatly in the period preceding the Kennedy-Johnson administration. The fact, of course, is that the number of personnel allotted to employment service work is still smaller today, in relation to the size of the American labor force, than in 1947.

Funds made available for employment service activities did not double between fiscal 1959 and fiscal 1964, as this article alleges. The actual increase, according to data furnished by the Bureau of Employment Security, was approximately 62 percent. Much of this increase was simply due to the fact that salary scales rose in the State employment services as well as in the offices of private employers throughout the United States during the period 1959–64.

Other factors that brought about a necessary rise in the employment service budget were rent increases for the quarters occupied by local offices, the continuing growth in the size of the American work force to be served, and the assignment by Congress of additional duties to the employment service, under such legislation of the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Not only did the budget rise much less than the Reader's Digest claims, but the article is also gravely misleading in its implication that employment service staff expanded in proportion to the increase in the budget. Between 1959 and 1964, the number of employment service personnel in the local offices of the 50 State agencies rose by aproximately 30 percent. This increase, as I have already pointed out, has still not brought the staff of the employment service back up to the size, in relation to the American work force, which it had in 1947.

The article's statement that the staff of the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security was almost 60,000 in 1964 is apparently designed to deceive the reader both with respect to the number of personnel assigned to employment service activities and the role of the Federal, as opposed to the State authorities. The fact is that the 1964 budget for the Federal-State employment service system provides for approximately 21,000 State agency local office employees and approximately 750 Federal employees. The large majority of the "nearly 60,000" employees that the Reader's Digest incorrectly attributes to the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security are employees of the 50 States, hired by the States under civil service regulations and salary scales determined by the States, and engaged in the operation and administration of the Federal-State unemployment insurance program.

In attacking the Federal-State employment service, the Reader's Digest artfully manages, by implication, to grossly overstate the staff of the service by simply including in it the thousands of State employees who examine and process workers' claims for unemployment compensation, make weekly benefit payments to unemployed workers found eligible, and perform all the other functions involved in our unemployment insurance program. These employees assigned to unemployment insurance activities are not employment service personnel, and they do not carry out the counseling, testing, interviewing, and job placement functions that are the duties of employment service personnel.

Let me emphasize this point to the Members of this House, to give them a clear perspective on the size of the employment service. The approximately 21,000 State employees and 750 Federal employees who make up our Federal-State employment service system constitute a total which is actually smaller than the number of people who are at work today in the several thousand private employment agencies throughout America.

The statement that the Bureau of Employment Security will "gobble up" more than $455 million in fiscal 1965 gives a totally misleading picture of the cost of employment service operations, entirely aside from the offensive innuendo contained in the author's choice of words. The Reader's Digest would trap its readers into believing that this entire sum is to be spent for the employment service. On the contrary, $455 million is the amount apropriated by the Congress for fiscal 1965 and allocated to the 50 States to cover not only the costs of the employment service program but also the cost of administering the Federal-State unemployment insurance program. These are quite distinct programs. Of the two, the unemployment insurance program is allocated the larger amount of funds.

The actual expenditure for Federal-State employment service activities in the latest fiscal year, 1964, was approximately $172 million, of which $164 million represents the funds allocated to the 50 States for operation of their respective employment services. The remaining $8 million is the budget of the U.S. Employment Service, the Federal agency which coordinates the activities of the 50 State system, provides program planning, research, and other technical services to the system, and gives individual State agencies assistance with their operating problems, as they may arise. This amount, $172 million, is well under half of the $455 million figure which the Reader's Digest prefers to dangle before its audience.

One of this article's most outrageous distortions of fact, apparently concocted for its shock value to the uninformed reader, is contained in a passage which warns:

> Legislation is now before the Congress * * * that would make all job placement activities exclusively a public service. In short, a Federal closed shop would be clamped tightly on the whole Nation.

The microscopic basis upon which the Reader's Digest conjures up this monstrous phantom of a "Federal closed shop" is the fact that one of the approximately 13,000 bills submitted to the 88th Congress by Members of the House contained language which recommended the establishment of a study commission to consider the eventual abolition of private employment agencies. This bill was neither proposed by, nor endorsed by, the Department of Labor. Like the vast majority of the thousands of bills presented to Congress each session, this bill was never reported out of committee.

Heaping one wild inference upon another, this Reader's Digest article then paints for its readers a lurid picture of life under its wholly imaginary "Federal closed shop," a life in which "you will have to win the approval of a Government clerk before you can be referred to a new position you may very well need the OK of the political party in power before you can get a chance at the better jobs."

I can only say that this chamber of horrors created by the Reader's Digest is spun out of pure—more accurately, impure—fantasy. Though the Reader's Digest would hoodwink them into believing otherwise, American workers need not have the slightest fear that any threat exists to their freedom to seek any job they wish to have, by any means they wish to employ.

The Reader's Digest article is guilty of another gross distortion in its statement

that so-called exclusive agreements, entered into by some business firms with the employment service, in effect "give the Government closed-shop control over company hiring policies." The term "closed shop" is again being waved before the Reader's Digest audience for whatever scare value it may contain.

The facts are that a relatively small number of American employers have made arrangements whereby their job applicants in some occupational categories are requested to go first to the local employment service office for an interview and occupational aptitude testing, where applicable. The employer remains perfectly free to hire, or not hire, as he wishes, those applicants whom the employment service then refers to him, on the basis of the interviews and tests. Indeed, he remains perfectly free to hire anyone he pleases, whether or not referred to him under his arrangement with the employment service. Such arrangements, where they exist, have been entered into voluntarily by the employers concerned. And it should hardly be necessary to add that employers are free to discontinue them at any time. To describe such voluntary arrangements as "Government closed-shop control over company hiring policies" is to indulge in a deceitful twisting of the English language.

The Reader's Digest article then turns its attention to Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, AFL–CIO. Employing its usual technique, it apparently seeks to leave the reader with two false impressions: that Mr. Reuther wishes to force "all Government contractors to hire through USES"; and that Mr. Reuther is a spokesman for the U.S. Employment Service.

The proposal that the Reader's Digest prefers to identify with Mr. Reuther is one that has, in fact, been suggested by many of those who are concerned with our unemployment problem and the efficient functioning of our labor market. The proposal is, most emphatically, not one that would force "all Government contractors to hire through USES." It would merely require that those business firms working on U.S. Government contracts notify the employment service of job vacancies they are trying to fill. Such notification would give the employment service an opportunity to refer qualified workers, who had registered as jobseekers with the service, to these Government contractors with job openings. But the contractors would be under no obligation whatsoever to hire the job applicants referred to them from the employment service, in preference to other job applicants. They would remain fully as free as they are now to hire those job applicants whom they consider best qualified, whether the applicants come to them via the employment service, private employment agencies, in answer to newspaper advertisements, or by any other of the many means through which workers and employers are brought together in our economy.

In proposing that Government contractors give notification of their job openings, Mr. Reuther and others are not acting as spokesmen for the U.S. Employment Service. Officials of the USES have not instigated or sponsored this proposal. The arguments in favor of it have come independently from many experienced labor analysts who believe that it is in the public interest to allow jobseekers registered with the employment service to be informed of the job openings presently available on Government contract work being financed by American taxpayers. The more rapidly these job openings can be filled, the more promptly and efficiently work on Government contracts can be carried out. The time lost in our economy through unemployment would be reduced, and the financial burden of our unemployment insurance program would be lightened. For these reasons, much support has developed for a system of prompt job vacancy notification which would assure the Federal-State employment service, with its network of approximately 1,900 local offices, an opportunity to help reduce the time now required to place qualified workers in the job openings that business firms holding Government contracts are attempting to fill.

Another legislative proposal which the Reader's Digest assigns to Mr. Reuther would offer individual employers a slight reduction in their unemployment insurance tax rate in return for their agreement to notify the employment service of job vacancies in their work force, as they occur. Again, this proposal has come from many people in addition to Mr. Reuther. And it has not been endorsed by officials of the U.S. Employment Service.

This proposal to offer employers an incentive, in the form of a slightly lower payroll tax rate, in return for listing their job openings, stems in large part from the fact that one of the most serious deficiencies in our knowledge of the American economy is in the area of job vacancies. Extensive information on the unemployed is collected every month in the United States. But we have no comparable information on job vacancies—the number of geographical distribution, and types of jobs for which American employers are currently seeking workers. This serious gap in our economic data has been a source of concern to many Members of this House, of both our political parties—among them, notably, the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, the Honorable THOMAS CURTIS. Along with our detailed knowledge of the unemployed, we need detailed knowledge of current unfilled job openings, in order to have a more balanced picture of the economic situation and a firmer basis for choosing the policies that will help us achieve full and efficient employment of America's manpower.

If detailed job vacancy data for the American economy is to be collected regularly, the logical choice for this task would certainly appear to be the Federal-State employment service system. The approximately 1,900 local offices of this nationwide system are best situated to maintain close contact with the employers in their respective areas and gather up-to-date reports from them concerning the unfilled jobs they have available.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to make this point absolutely clear. The legislative proposals I have described do not threaten, in the smallest degree, the freedom of a single American employer or a single American worker. These proposals would require nothing more than a report by the employer, to the employment service, of the job vacancies which he wishes to fill. No employer would be required to hire workers referred to him by the employment service. No worker would be required to seek a job through the employment service. Both employers and workers would have every bit of freedom they have today to come together by any means they wish in our free American labor market.

Continuing with its attack, the Reader's Digest article makes an implied charge that the Employment Service is now neglecting the unemployed workers registered with it. The only basis it offers for this sweeping allegation is the fact that there has occurred, in recent years, a relative rise in the number of placements through the Service of workers in the occupations categorized as "professional, technical, and managerial." The article attempts to mislead readers into believing that most, or a very high proportion, of the job placements in these categories are of highly paid scientists, engineers, and executives. The far less glamorous reality is that the "professional, technical, and managerial" placements are heavily weighted with such workers as laboratory technicians, librarians, surveyors, dietitians, office supervisors, restaurant managers, and social workers.

The fact, of course, is that the increase in the number of "professional, technical, and managerial" placements does not constitute even the flimsiest scrap of evidence that the Employment Service has slackened in its efforts to place the unemployed. Unemployment, I need hardly say, is not a problem confined to manual workers. "Professional, technical, and managerial" workers can also become unemployed. There is no logical connection whatsoever between increased placement of these workers and a decrease in the service rendered to unemployed workers in other occupational categories. Indeed, the author displays contempt for the intelligence of the Reader's Digest audience by trying to plant in their minds two essentially contradictory beliefs: first, that the Federal-State Employment Service has been wastefully oversupplied with operating funds; second, that the Service is not devoting adequate resources to the task of finding jobs for unemployed workers.

The Reader's Digest article carefully avoids mentioning the fact that the vast majority of nonagricultural workers who find jobs through the Employment Service each year are unemployed at the time they are placed. A conservative estimate, from the Bureau of Employment Security, is that 95 percent or more of the Service's nonagricultural placements are of currently unemployed workers. Reality simply has no resemblance to the spurious picture presented by the Reader's Digest of an employment service which is turning its back on the unem-

ployed in order to find more lucrative positions for a handful of highly paid scientists and executives.

The anguished concern the author professes for our unemployed workers should be taken by his readers with more than a grain of salt. Neither the author, the Reader's Digest itself, nor others who are attempting to damage the Employment Service are generally notable for past efforts on behalf of America's less advantaged citizens, including the unemployed. There is no reason to believe they have an interest in helping the Employment Service to perform more effectively in finding jobs for the unemployed. Their ostensible concern for our unemployed is a cloak for their real motivations in attacking the Employment Service.

Whatever other motivations the author may have, there can be no doubt that this Reader's Digest article is the product, in large part, of his apprehensions that a more effective employment service may threaten the profits of private employment agencies. The article does refer briefly to the National Employment Association, the trade association which represents the fee-charging private employment agencies, but does so in a manner calculated to downplay the association's role in instigating attacks against our Employment Service.

I shall not speculate on the question of the extent to which the National Employment Association is responsible for the current campaign of abuse directed against the Employment Service. But I do not hesitate to inform the Members of this House that this association is the single conspicuous organization that has been fighting bitterly to hamstring the employment service by attempting to reduce the funds available to it. The National Employment Association has not concealed its goal. In 1962 it reported to its members, the fee-charging private agencies, on its plans for a lobbying campaign in Washington to bring about, in its words, "a major cutback in tax-supported employment operations." If the campaign were successful, the association stated, then "increased business, greater prospects for growth will be inevitable side benefits for private agency owners."

Since then, the association has worked vigorously to attempt to persuade Members of Congress that budgets for Employment Service operations should be slashed and that the provision of job placement facilities for presently employed workers who are seeking better jobs should be left to the private agencies.

This campaign against the Employment Service has been so persistent that 2 months ago the Senate Committee on Appropriations felt it necessary to comment upon it and reply to the claims made by opponents of the Service. In its August 17, 1964, report on appropriations of funds for the Department of Labor for fiscal 1965, the Senate committee stated:

> Members of the committee have recently been the recipients of a barrage of communications attacking the public employment system. It is repeatedly asserted that the placement of employed workers should be the prerogative of the fee-charging agencies and that the public Employment Service should be arbitrarily restricted to serving unemployed workers.

In reply to this barrage of communications, the Senate Committee on Appropriations stated in its report:

> Congress in framing the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933 stipulated that a placement service be provided for all persons "who are legally qualified to engage in gainful occupations." Accordingly, the Employment Service * * * cannot deny service to a certain portion of the public such as employed workers, or those in professional and technical occupations. It must be staffed and organized to meet the needs of all applicants * * * whether employed or unemployed, highly skilled, or semiskilled and unskilled.
>
> The Employment Service, as it is now operating * * * is properly reflecting the spirit of the Wagner-Peyser Act.

Mr. Speaker, not only is the Employment Service now charged by law with the duty to make its facilities available to all employers and workers who wish to use it, but an attempt to restrict the service to the placement of unemployed workers alone would be to the great disadvantage of the unemployed themselves. The Service can only place unemployed workers if it receives placement requests from employers with job vacancies. If employers know that the Service can refer to them no workers except the presently unemployed, and is forbidden to register and refer capable workers who are presently employed but seeking better jobs, employers obviously will be less willing to turn to the Employment Service for help in filling job vacancies. If employers do not use the service, the Service can do little for the unemployed. While spokesmen for the National Employment Association sanctimoniously proclaim their concern that the Employment Service is neglecting our unemployed workers, their program—if it were carried out—would seriously injure the Employment Service's capacity to find jobs for the unemployed.

The author of this article does not merely understate the role of the National Employment Association as the outstanding lobbyist against the employment service. He also fails to inform his readers of his own close contact with the National Employment Association. The author was a featured speaker at the 1963 annual convention of the association, and has also been scheduled to give a major address to the coming 1964 convention. In his speech to the 1963 NEA convention, the author enthusiastically praised the lobbying and publicity campaign that had been undertaken against the employment service, and told the assembled operators of private fee-charging employment agencies.

> I take a great and genuine pride in carrying a musket in your ranks in this battle.

Those who read his article in the Reader's Digest, however, can hardly be expected to know that the author is one who a year ago publicly dedicated himself to "carrying a musket" in the ranks of the private employment agencies, in their battle against the employment service.

Actually, the hysteria with which private employment agency operators have reacted to any proposals for improving the Federal-State employment service is, in my opinion, wholly inapprporiate. On this point, I would refer Members of this House to a recent statement by Mr. Edward T. Chase, whose July 1964 article in Harper's magazine, entitled "The Job-Finding Machine," is—by contrast with the Reader's Digest article—a responsible and honestly informative portrayal of the employment service and its problems. Mr. Chase, in his recent speech to the conference of the National Committee on Employment of Youth, stated:

> The anxieties of the private fee-charging employment agencies should be recognized as being both exaggerated and untempered by any anxieties about the public interest. They are exaggerated because there isn't the slightest prospect that their legitimate role will ever be taken away from them. The American fee-charging industry has continued to grow and prosper. But there are a vast number of Americans * * * who are seeking to upgrade themselves vocationally, who are not considered desirable clients by the private agencies, who can't afford these agencies, and who desperately need the kind of objective, comprehensive counseling, referral and placement service the U.S. Employment Service can render if given the means to do so.

As Mr. Chase points out, the private fee-charging agencies have indeed continued to grow and prosper. The U.S. Census of Business for 1954 reported 3,153 private employment agencies in the Nation, with total annual receipts of approximately $63 million. By the time of the 1958 Census of Business, the number of agencies had grown to 3,892, with total annual receipts of approximately $101 million. And the latest estimate available indicates that there are now approximately 4,300 private employment agencies in the United States, with annual receipts of about $145 million. Thus, in the past 10 years, the number of agencies has grown by almost 37 percent, and their total dollar receipts from placement fees charged to workers and employers have risen even more sharply—by approximately 130 percent.

The number of private employment agencies and the total number of dollars they collect annually from their clients have, in fact, grown significantly more rapidly in the past 10 years than have the funds allotted to our Federal-State employment service. Private employment agencies are most decidedly not—as their spokesmen would have us believe—fighting with their backs to the wall against imminent extinction at the hands of the employment service.

Private employment agencies have not, moreover, been able to produce any substantive evidence that their volume of placements or their profits would decline, if the Federal-State employment service were provided with more adequate resources for carrying out its responsibilities. There is more than ample room in the American labor market for both an efficient public employment service and efficient private employment agencies. It is generally estimated that today the Federal-State employment services and the private employment agencies combined are placing only

about 20 percent of the millions of American workers who annually find new jobs. The remaining 80 percent of new jobs are found by workers through word-of-mouth information from friends and relatives, through newspaper advertisements, through direct application to employers, and through other informal means. With approximately 80 percent of job placements still untouched by either public or private agencies, and with rapidly increasing numbers of workers coming into our labor market to seek jobs, the private employment agencies have no rational basis for fear that their revenues and profits are going to shrink in the years ahead—whether or not the Federal-State employment service receives less inadequate financing for its own activities.

In another attempt to erect a mountain of accusation upon a molehill of fact, the Reader's Digest article makes a sweeping attack upon the accuracy of the job placement figures regularly reported by the Federal-State employment service. It cites one episode of falsification of job placement data in Cleveland, Ohio, and a statement by a former official of the Ohio State Employment Service—who was in charge of the Cleveland area at the time this episode occurred—that he believed false reporting of job placements to be widespread. On this slim basis, the article tries to convert its readers into believing that employment service placement data is largely made up of "bogus statistics" and "phony figures" reported from the "natural desire of clerks to justify their jobs."

There have, indeed, been occasional instances of false reporting of job placements by individual employees of the Federal-State employment service—as there have also been occasional instances of embezzlement and dishonesty by individuals employed by banks and other private business firms. The Reader's Digest, however, has no more justification for printing a charge that employment service personnel are typically engaged in manufacturing fake statistics, than it would have for printing a charge that bank employees are typically embezzlers.

The one specific instance cited is a case in which, for a period of several months in 1963, a small fraction of the placement interviewers on the staff of the Ohio State Employment Service in Cleveland did report inflated figures concerning the number of placements they had made. The falsification of data was soon discovered, and disciplinary actions were taken with respect to those involved. With the exception of this one episode, for a brief period in 1963, there is no evidence to indicate that placement data reported in Cleveland has been inaccurate in the past, or are inaccurate today.

In discussing the Cleveland episode, the author of the Reader's Digest article states:

> Because of pressure from Washington to increase placements, as many as half of all placements claimed by the office were fraudulent.

This statement invites the unwary reader to draw the entirely false conclusion that Federal officials of the U.S. Employment Service tacitly encouraged the Cleveland staff to report exaggerated placement figures. On the contrary, when USES officials received an anonymous letter charging that some placement data had been falsified in Cleveland, they promptly urged the administrator of the State employment service in Ohio to conduct an investigation. The investigation was conducted, the falsification was uncovered, and action was taken with respect to those responsible.

What the author of the Reader's Digest article does not tell his readers is that the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security requires the 50 State employment service agencies to make systematic checks on the validity of the job placement figures reported by the local offices in each State. These validation surveys, as they are called, involve the use of standard procedures to contact directly samples of those for whom successful job placements have been reported, so that the actual placements can be personally verified by the workers and employers involved. The Bureau of Employment Security has informed me that such validation surveys were made in approximately 400 local employment service offices, in 47 States, during fiscal 1964, and that surveys will be carried out in all States during fiscal 1965. Since the fall of 1962, the Bureau reports that only eight instances of data falsification have been revealed, and that State officials imposed disciplinary penalties upon the employees involved.

Mr. Speaker, among the many false statements this Reader's Digest article contains, the one that most touches me personally is found in this passage:

> This summer USES trotted out a platoon of academic experts to pave the way for an even bigger expansionist push with hearings before a House labor subcommittee.

The House labor subcommittee referred to is the one of which I have the honor to be chairman. The academic witnesses whom this article wrongly and contemptuously refers to appeared before the subcommittee at may invitation.

The Reader's Digest statement I have just quoted does not display the forthrightness to question explicitly the knowledge and competence of these witness. Instead, it resorts to the underhanded technique of sneering at them by attaching quotation marks to the term "expert." These witnesses whom the statement maligns are, in fact, faculty members of leading American universities—Yale, the University of California, the University of Chicago, Harvard, the University of Michigan, and others. They hold well-earned reputations as distinguished observers and analysts of the American labor market and of our problems of unemployment, retraining of displaced workers, and achieving effective use of our manpower. Through our subcommittee's hearings, they were able to give the Members of this House the benefit of their long experience and offer their well-informed advice concerning the role the Federal-State employment service can play in helping us to solve our manpower problems.

These witnesses were not—as the Reader's Digest falsely states—"trotted out" before my subcommittee by the U.S. Employment Service. They appeared at the subcommittee hearings at my request, to express their own independent views as scholars with nationwide reputations. The testimony they gave was entirely their own. It was not prepared for them by the U.S. Employment Service, nor did officials of the Service attempt, in the slightest degree, to influence their testimony.

Mr. Speaker, I have informed the author of this article that he will be welcome to appear before the Select Subcommittee on Labor to offer any explanation he cares to make of his baseless accusation that these distinguished witnesses were "trotted out" by the Employment Service. We shall see whether he wishes to avail himself of the opportunity to substantiate his charges.

Before concluding my analysis of this Reader's Digest article, I must comment upon the magazine in which it appears. To those who are familiar with the history and background of this publication, it is notorious as one of the most insidious purveyors of rightwing propaganda in the United States. In its pages, each month, are many articles that are entertaining and instructive. But carefully planted among these will usually be found other articles that have been cleverly designed to infect the naive reader with the reactionary prejudices of the Reader's Digest publishers. The huge audience of the Reader's Digest is first lulled into unwariness by the friendly, heart-warming, and inspirational stories which make up the bulk of the magazine's standard material. Then, in this receptive mood, the audience is presented with loaded, deceitfully worded articles that seek to arouse fear and hatred of our Federal Government, to dismiss our grave unemployment problem as a statistical hoax, to portray labor union members as the captives of corrupt and power-mad union leaders, and to whip up mindless antagonism to virtually every enlightened public program this country has developed in the past 30 years to ease the hardships of our citizens who may be ill, unemployed, poverty stricken, physically handicapped, or otherwise disadvantaged.

The title borne by this magazine undoubtedly still deludes many of its readers into believing that it is an objective "digest" of the best articles published, each month, in other magazines. In fact, however, many of the very articles that propagate the ultraconservative biases of the Reader's Digest publishers never appear in another magazine. They are the products of the Digest's own staff, or of other writers who submit their work directly to the Digest.

"The Great Manpower Grab" is such an article. It is not "digested" from any other source. Indeed, I question whether any responsible and reputable magazine would have accepted an article

of such an obviously misleading and deceptive nature. Articles of this type, however, represent the ideological hook which the Reader's Digest regularly conceals in the tasty fare it presents each month to millions of Americans.

Mr. Speaker, let me remind the Members of this House of an assault which the Reader's Digest made not long ago upon another branch of the U.S. Department of Labor. In September 1961 the Reader's Digest published an undigested article by one James Daniel, entitled "Let's Look at Those 'Alarming' Unemployment Figures." This article attacked the integrity of the economists and statisticians of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and implied that they were engaged in a conspiracy to magnify America's unemployment problem by deliberately publishing unreliable, inflated figures on the number of unemployed workers.

The vast Reader's Digest audience was exposed to this unwarranted attack upon the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but it was carefully sheltered from any exposure to the Bureau's response. I know of no other mass circulation magazine in the United States which does not afford those who have been maligned and misrepresented in its pages at least some opportunity, if only in the form of a brief letter to the editor, to reply to the charges made against them. But the Reader's Digest prefers to practice its own ugly brand of hit-and-run journalism. It publishes no letters to the editor, nor does it make space available in any other form to those seeking to answer attacks. When the distinguished former Secretary of Labor, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, personally requested an opportunity to make a reply to the Digest's September 1961 attack on the Bureau of Labor Statistics, his request received no response.

In December 1961, shortly after the Reader's Digest published its charges against the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Subcommitee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Economic Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, held hearings on the problems involved in measuring the number of unemployed. The subcommittee invited James Daniel, the author of the Digest article, to appear before it and discuss his accusations concerning the honesty and validity of the official unemployment statistics. Neither letters of invitation, nor personal telephone calls were able to persuade Mr. Daniel to come before the subcommittee. Remaining faithful to the hit-and-run tactics of the Reader's Digest, he refused to give this congressional subcommittee any opportunity to ask questions which would have exposed the baselessness of the charges the Digest had spread before millions of its readers.

During the following year, an independent committee of economists and statisticians, appointed by the late President Kennedy, made a thorough study of the methods by which our unemployment statistics are gathered and analyzed. This committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. R. A. Gordon, of the University of California, made its report and recommendations to President Kennedy in the early fall of 1962. The report showed that no grounds whatsoever existed to support the charges the Reader's Digest had made against the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

I cite this episode in order to indicate to the Members of this House that this current attack by the Reader's Digest upon a branch of the U.S. Department of Labor is part of a pattern which has appeared before. And I can assure my colleagues that the present attack upon the employment service is fully as unjustified as the Digest's 1961 attack on the Bureau of Labor Statistics—the attack which the author did not dare attempt to defend before a congressional subcommittee.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to warn my colleagues in this House that we will hear more, in the months ahead, of these imaginary hobgoblins called a "Federal closed shop" and a "great manpower grab." But there is no "manpower grab." It does not exist. What does exist is a campaign, on the part of selfish private interests, to cripple our Federal-State employment service. This Reader's Digest article is only one of a number of propaganda efforts that will be undertaken in this continuing campaign of misrepresentation and slander. Those who have mounted this campaign appear to have no scruples which inhibit them from deluging the American public with the grossest distortions of the employment service's activities. Their real purpose, as I have pointed out, is to persuade Congress to slash away the funds that will be needed to enable the employment service to meet its growing responsibilities—responsibilities that are being imposed upon it by our increasing efforts to conserve, train, and fully employ America's manpower resources.

The Honorable Frank J. Becker

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I could not conscientiously let this session close without a word for our great all-American colleague, FRANK BECKER. I know of no one who has labored more diligently to preserve our Constitution as written than FRANK BECKER. I will always remember his service here in behalf of those Christian principles upon which this Nation was founded. He believed that our American philosophy was founded on the philosophy of the Man of Galilee.

FRANK BECKER's great speeches and untiring efforts in behalf of prayer and Bible reading in the public schools will be an inspiration to all of us and we will endeavor to carry on his great work. FRANK will continue to be active in the fight to save our country and freedom everywhere.

Mrs. Dorn and the family join me in wishing for him the very best, always.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, JIM AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey, has been a Member of the House of Representatives 22 years. It has been my privilege to know him during this period. I have worked shoulder to shoulder with him in the Committee on Public Works. I know of his work in the committee and the contribution he has made to the outstanding legislative record of that most important committee. I have seen him in action on the floor of the House speaking out for what he believed was right. JIM AUCHINCLOSS has been truly a representative of the people.

More important than this is the fact that I have known JIM AUCHINCLOSS as a friend. I know of his sense of humor, of his devotion to his family and to those he called friend. It has been a high honor for me to have been included in that circle of those who were friends of JIM AUCHINCLOSS.

He leaves us now with the well wishes of all those who knew him. I hope to know him in the years to come and to continue to enjoy the many pleasant days of association I had with him in the past. JIM AUCHINCLOSS brought something into the lives of all of us and we will miss him. The best of luck to JIM and to his lovely wife and until we meet at the next "yeas and nays meeting," good luck, JIM.

The Late Lynn Stratton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the name of Lynn Stratton is well known on Capitol Hill. His passing, less than a year after his retirement as a congressional employee, saddened those of us who had benefited from this dedicated work with the Joint Commission in Internal Revenue Taxation. His keen mind, his devotion to his work, and his willing spirit of cooperation with the Members of Congress were qualities that distinguished his 39-year career in the Federal service.

In tribute to his memory I include here his obituary as it appeared in the Washington Post:

LYNN STRATTON, 71; U.S. TAX SPECIALIST

Lynn L. Stratton, 71, a retired congressional employee who helped write the Internal Revenue Code of 1939, died Sunday of abdominal cancer at his home, 7103 Ridgewood Avenue, Chevy Chase.

Mr. Stratton, who retired at the end of 1963, graduated from Hamilton College and Harvard University.

During World War I, he was a member of a squadron of cadets selected from aviation schools throughout the Nation and was sent to England in July 1917.

This group trained with the Royal Flying Corps and its story was told in "War Birds," a diary kept by a member of the group.

Mr. Stratton went to work for Congress in 1926 and with the exception of the 80th Congress, when he was a tax adviser to the House Ways and Means Committee, he worked for the Joint Commission on Internal Revenue Taxation.

He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth C.; two sons, Cole, of Westfield, N.J., and Richard C., of 9907 Carnegie Terrace, Bethesda; three sisters, Anita Stratton, of Mount Upton, N.Y., Bertha Holyoke and Agnes Mathewson, both of Endicott, N.Y.; a brother, Stuart, also of Endicott, and six grandchildren.

Tribute to Hon. Harry Sheppard

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly great men of all time with whom we have served is our good friend HARRY SHEPPARD.

HARRY SHEPPARD, as chairman of his great subcommittee, served with alacrity and decision. There was never any doubt about where our colleague stood. He did not waste time, always efficient, capable, and able. His service here will be remembered as a Congressman's Congressman. This House has been the training ground for many great leaders. I know of none greater than HARRY SHEPPARD. He believed that the only way the United States can remain free is to remain strong. Every man, woman, and child in this great Nation is safer in a hostile world today because of the dedication, patriotism, and genuine Americanism of this distinguished colleague. He served on the firing line here for a strong defense with the same courage that men face the enemy on the field of battle.

I will be a better Congressman having known and associated with this great leader. I join his colleagues and his constituents in wishing for him the best always, as we hold him in the highest esteem.

Hon. Samuel Friedel

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, among the several Members of the House who have extended their personal efforts to alleviate the economic problems, both private and public, of the membership—no one has been more diligent and effective than our dear friend the Honorable SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, Seventh District, Maryland.

His legislative contribution to the well-being of the membership was accomplished through his frankness and commonsense presentation of the purport of the legislation. He attacked the problem headon. His extraordinary ability to correlate the factual data in debate with the various facets of the problem made his position strong.

He never resorted to trickery but courageously faced the opposition and fought for what he thought was right and just. He loves the membership of the House and is their truest and most loyal friend.

He enjoys the respect and confidence of its membership because he never lacked the courage to maintain and defend his convictions.

His clear-cut, concise statements cannot be misunderstood—his great ability, simplicity of manner, rugged integrity, and wide experience have earned for him the admiration of the Members and the respect of the leadership as an industrious and valuable public servant, not only to the House, but to the Nation, his State, and the constituency of the Seventh District, Maryland. His high quality of statesmanship is needed in the House of Representatives. He should be returned to pursue his valuable duties by a decisive majority.

Military Posture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, because of the volume of testimony before the committees in this House, and of the other body, on major legislation and appropriations, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the individual Member to digest all pertinent material in advance on the flood debate.

This is a matter of particular concern when we are confronted with items which have come into controversy in the area of the national defense.

In this connection, I should like to direct the attention of the House to a book just published by the Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University. This work, entitled "Military Posture," by James H. McBride and John I. H. Eales, is a digest of contentions and supporting data presented with respect to 14 key strategic issues which came under consideration during committee studies of the defense authorization and appropriation bills this year. Frankly, I do not know where else this material can be found in such convenient form. My understanding is that the book was in the nature of an experiment, and further references of this kind may be undertaken by the center, if this one proves to be of value to the Congress.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to be a Member of this body for the last 30 years and during that period of time I have met some outstanding and dedicated public servants. One of the finest of these is the ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works who is retiring from Congress after 22 years of public service. I refer, of course, to my old and dear friend, JIM AUCHINCLOSS. As a Member of Congress and as chairman of the Committee on Public Works it has been my privilege to have worked closely with JIM AUCHINCLOSS. His intelligent approach to problems, his devotion to the truth and his efforts to bring forth the best legislation for all have contributed mightily to the fine record of achievement that the Committee on Public Works has accomplished over the years.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS was a representative of the people in the true sense of the word. He will be missed in the Halls of Congress; but he has earned the retirement into which he is going. I might add that as far as JIM is concerned retirement will probably mean continued active work in those fields in which he has shown so much interest in the past.

I wish him many happy years to come and Mrs. Buckley and I extend our best to JIM and his lovely wife.

The Honorable James C. Auchincloss

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I could not let this session close without paying tribute to the distinguished and able minority leader of my committee, the great Committee on Public Works, a committee which authorizes billions of dollars and which has contributed much to the defense and the advancing economy of the United States.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS played a leading role in our great Interstate Highway System, in the development of our rivers and harbors, and the great progress which has been so paramount in the recent history of our country.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS is one of the great Americans of our time. Through his dedicated efforts to strengthen America, he has strengthened the cause of freedom everywhere. JIM AUCHINCLOSS, in committee, had a wonderful sense of humor which eased many tense situations. His courage, integrity, and genuine charac-

ter will always be to me a source of great inspiration.

I hope JIM will come back to see us often. He carries with him my best wishes, warmest regards, and highest esteem.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. A. THOMPSON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS has been a Member of Congress for the past 22 years. He has represented his district, his State, and his country with distinction in the House of Representatives.

During my years of service in the Congress, I have come to know JIM as a personal friend and as a fellow member of the Committee on Public Works. I know of his record in the Committee on Public Works and on the floor of the House. I know of his interest in the problems and the welfare of the people of this Nation and the many contributions he has made for the advancement of good government.

I salute him on his well-earned retirement and I wish to JIM and his lovely wife all the best in the years to come.

The Honorable Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. ARTHUR WINSTEAD
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I count myself most fortunate to have been privileged to serve for many years on the Armed Services Committee under the capable leadership of the beloved and distinguished CARL VINSON, of the State of Georgia. I can truthfully say that I have never known a more dedicated and patriotic American than this man who has represented the people of his district, State and Nation in such an outstanding manner for the past 50 years.

Not many men have had the privilege of serving their country as has this distinguished legislator. With unusual vision and wisdom, he has led the Naval Affairs Committee and then the House Armed Services Committee through the tribulations of wars, police actions and the vicissitudes of false eras of peace. I believe his contributions to the defense establishments of this Nation are without parallel and I am certain those of us who have been closely associated with the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. VINSON] are better Members of this body for having had this rare opportunity.

CARL VINSON's leadership and guidance will be greatly missed here in the Congress, but our best wishes follow him as he returns to his beloved Georgia. He has more than earned this rest and may he enjoy it to the fullest extent possible.

TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

OMISSION FROM THE RECORD OF OCTOBER 3, 1964

The following was omitted from the RECORD of October 3, 1964:

THE UNSPOKEN SPEECH OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are fortunate to have still one more John F. Kennedy speech—one that was never given. These unspoken words were to be delivered to a combined meeting of the Dallas Citizens Council and the Dallas Assembly that fateful day in November. What more poignant commentary on the act which prevented his appearance and took his life than when he wrote:

> There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility.

The assassination was both an act of enormous influence on America and an act of enormous irresponsibility.

John F. Kennedy was to speak that day of the strengths of our Nation—strengths that were to be taxed and not found wanting during those next sorrowful days. As long as we are blessed with men like John F. Kennedy, men of wisdom, of honor, and of dedication to a greater America our Nation will be equal to all challenges.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the "Unspoken Speech of John F. Kennedy at Dallas, November 22, 1963," be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNSPOKEN SPEECH OF JOHN F. KENNEDY AT DALLAS, NOVEMBER 22, 1963

President KENNEDY. I am honored to have this invitation to address the annual meeting of the Dallas Citizens Council, joined by the members of the Dallas Assembly—and pleased to have this opportunity to salute the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest.

It is fitting that these two symbols of Dallas progress are united in the sponsorship of this meeting. For they represent the best qualities, I am told, of leadership and learning in this city—and leadership and learning are indispensable to each other. The advancement of learning depends on community leadership for financial and political support—and the products of that learning, in turn, are essential to the leadership's hopes for continued progress and prosperity. It is not a coincidence that those communities possessing the best in research and graduate facilities—from MIT to Cal Tech—tend to attract the new and growing industries. I congratulate those of you here in Dallas who have recognized these basic facts through the creation of the unique and forward-looking Graduate Research Center.

This link between leadership and learning is not only essential at the community level. It is even more indispensable in world affairs. Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company—but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every world problem.

There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Those voices are inevitable.

But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality, wholly unsuited to the sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory and that peace is a sign of weakness. At a time when the national debt is steadily being reduced in terms of its burden on our economy, they see that debt as the greatest single threat to our security. At a time when we are steadily reducing the number of Federal employees serving every thousand citizens, they fear those supposed hordes of civil servants far more than the actual hordes of opposing armies.

We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will "talk sense to the American people." But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that this Nation is headed for defeat through deficit, or that strength is but a matter of slogans, is nothing but just plain nonsense.

I want to discuss with you today the status of our strength and our security because this question clearly calls for the most responsible qualities of leadership and the most enlightened products of scholarship. For this Nation's strength and security are not easily or cheaply obtained—nor are they quickly and simply explained. There are many kinds of strength and no one kind will suffice. Overwhelming nuclear strength cannot stop a guerrilla war. Formal pacts of alliance cannot stop internal subversion, displays of material wealth cannot stop the disillusionment of diplomats subjected to discrimination. Above all, words alone are not enough. The United States is a peaceful nation. And where our strength and determination are clear, our words need merely to convey conviction, not belligerence. If we are strong, our strength will speak for itself. If we are weak, words will be of no help.

I realize that this Nation often tends to identify turning points in world affairs with the major addresses which preceded

them. But it was not the Monroe Doctrine that kept all Europe away from this hemisphere—it was the strength of the British fleet and the width of the Atlantic Ocean. It was not General Marshall's speech at Harvard which kept communism out of Western Europe—it was the strength and stability made possible by our military and economic assistance.

In this administration also it has been necessary at times to issue specific warnings—warnings that we could not stand by and watch the Communists conquer Laos by force, or intervene in the Congo, or swallow West Berlin or maintain offensive missiles on Cuba. But while our goals were at least temporarily obtained in these and other instances, our successful defense of freedom was due—not to the words we used—but to the strength we stood ready to use on behalf of the principles we stand ready to defend.

This strength is composed of many different elements, ranging from the most massive deterrents to the most subtle influences. And all types of strength are needed—no one kind could do the job alone. Let us take a moment, therefore, to review this Nation's progress in each major area of strength.

I

First, as Secretary McNamara made clear in his address last Monday, the strategic nuclear power of the United States has been so greatly modernized and expanded in the last 1,000 days, by the rapid production and deployment of the most modern missile systems, that any and all potential aggressors are clearly confronted now with the impossibility of strategic victory—and the certainty of total destruction—if by reckless attack they should ever force upon us the necessity of a strategic reply.

In less than 3 years, we have increased by 50 percent the number of Polaris submarines scheduled to be in force by the next fiscal year; increased by more than 70 percent our total Polaris purchase program; increased by more than 75 percent our Minuteman purchase program; increased by 50 percent the portion of our strategic bombers on 15-minute alert, and increased by 100 percent the total number of nuclear weapons available in our strategic alert forces. Our security is further enhanced by the steps we have taken regarding these weapons to improve the speed and certainty of their response, their readiness at all times to respond, their ability to survive an attack, and their ability to be carefully controlled and directed through secure command operations.

II

But the lessons of the last decade have taught us that freedom cannot be defended by strategic nuclear power alone. We have, therefore, in the last 3 years accelerated the development and deployment of tactical nuclear weapons, and increased by 60 percent the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe.

Nor can Europe or any other continent rely on nuclear forces alone, whether they are strategic or tactical. We have radically improved the readiness of our conventional forces; increased by 45 percent the number of combat ready divisions; increased by 100 percent the procurement of modern Army weapons and equipment; increased by 100 percent our ship construction, conversion, and modernization program; increased by 100 percent our procurement of tactical aircraft; increased by 30 percent the number of tactical air squadrons; and increased the strength of the Marines. As last month's Operation Big Lift, which originated here in Texas, showed so clearly, this Nation is prepared as never before to move substantial numbers of men in surprisingly little time to advanced positions anywhere in the world. We have increased by 175 percent the procurement of airlift aircraft, and we have already achieved a 75 percent increase in our existing strategic airlift capability.

Finally, moving beyond the traditional roles of our military forces, we have achieved an increase of nearly 600 percent in our special forces—those forces that are prepared to work with our allies and friends against the guerrillas, saboteurs, insurgents, and assassins who threaten freedom in a less direct but equally dangerous manner.

III

But American military might should not and need not stand alone against the ambitions of international communism. Our security and strength, in the last analysis, directly depend on the security and strength of others—and that is why our military and economic assistance plays such a key role in enabling those who live on the periphery of the Communist world to maintain their independence of choice. Our assistance to these nations can be painful, risky, and costly—as is true in southeast Asia today. But we dare not weary of the task. For our assistance makes possible the stationing of 3.5 million allied troops along the Communist frontier at one-tenth the cost of maintaining a comparable number of American soldiers. A successful Communist breakthrough in these areas, necessitating direct U.S. intervention, would cost us several times as much as our entire foreign aid program—and might cost us heavily in American lives as well.

About 70 percent of our military assistance goes to nine key countries located on or near the borders of the Communist bloc—nine countries confronted directly or indirectly with the threat of Communist aggression—Vietnam, Free China, Korea, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Greece, Turkey, and Iran. No one of these countries possesses on its own the resources to maintain the forces which our own Chiefs of Staff think needed in the common interest. Reducing our efforts to train, equip, and assist their armies can only encourage Communist penetration and require in time the increased oversea deployment of American combat forces. And reducing the economic help needed to bolster these nations that undertake to help defend freedom can have the same disastrous result. In short, the $50 billion we spend each year on our own defense could well be ineffective without the $4 billion required for military and economic assistance.

Our foreign aid program is not growing in size—it is, on the contrary, smaller now than in previous years. It has had its weaknesses—but we have undertaken to correct them—and the proper way of treating weaknesses is to replace them with strength, not to increase those weaknesses by emasculating essential programs. Dollar for dollar, in or out of Government, there is no better form of investment in our national security than our much-abused foreign aid program. We cannot afford to lose it. We can afford to maintain it. We can surely afford, for example, to do as much for our 19 needy neighbors of Latin America as the Communist bloc is sending to the island of Cuba alone.

IV

I have spoken of strength largely in terms of the deterrence and resistance of aggression and attack. But, in today's world, freedom can be lost without a shot being fired, by ballots as well as bullets. The success of our leadership is dependent upon respect for our mission in the world as well as our missiles—on a clearer recognition of the virtues of freedom as well as the evils of tyranny.

That is why our Information Agency has doubled the shortwave broadcasting power of the Voice of America and increased the number of broadcasting hours by 30 percent—raised Spanish language broadcasting to Cuba and Latin America from 1 to 9 hours a day—increased sevenfold to more than 3.5 million copies the number of American books being translated and published for Latin American readers—and taken a host of other steps to carry our message of truth and freedom to all the far corners of the earth.

And that is also why we have regained the initiative in the exploration of outer space—making an annual effort greater than the combined total of all space activities undertaken during the fifties—launching more than 130 vehicles into earth orbit—putting into actual operation valuable weather and communications satellites—and making it clear to all that the United States of America has no intention of finishing second in space.

This effort is expensive—but it pays its own way, for freedom and for America. For there is no longer any fear in the free world that a Communist lead in space will become a permanent assertion of supremacy and the basis of military superiority. There is no longer any doubt about the strength and skill of American science, American industry, American education, and the American free enterprise system. In short, our national space effort represents a great gain in, and a great resource of, our national strength—and both Texas and Texans are contributing greatly to this strength.

Finally, it should be clear by now that a nation can be no stronger abroad than she is at home. Only an America which practices what it preaches about equal rights and social justice will be respected by those whose choice affects our future. Only an America which has fully educated its citizens is fully capable of tackling the complex problems and perceiving the hidden dangers of the world in which we live. And only an America which is growing and prospering economically can sustain the worldwide de-

fenses of freedom, while demonstrating to all concerned the opportunities of our system and society.

It is clear, therefore, that we are strengthening our security as well as our economy by our recent record increases in national income and output—by surging ahead of most of Western Europe in the rate of business expansion and the margin of corporate profits—by maintaining a more stable level of prices than almost any of our oversea competitors—and by cutting personal and corporate income taxes by some $11 billion, as I have proposed, to assure this Nation of the longest and strongest expansion in our peacetime economic history.

This Nation's total output—which 3 years ago was at the $500 billion mark—will soon pass $600 billion, for a record rise of over $100 billion in 3 years. For the first time in history we have 70 million men and women at work. For the first time in history average factory earnings have exceeded $100 a week. For the first time in history corporation profits after taxes—which have risen 43 percent in less than 3 years—have reached an annual level of $27.4 million.

My friends and fellow citizens, I cite these facts and figures to make it clear that America today is stronger than ever before. Our adversaries have not abandoned their ambitions—our dangers have not diminished—our vigilance cannot be relaxed. But now we have the military, the scientific, and the economic strength to do whatever must be done for the preservation and promotion of freedom.

That strength will never be used in pursuit of aggressive ambitions—it will always be used in pursuit of peace. It will never be used to promote provocations—it will always be used to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes.

We in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility—that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint—and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of "peace on earth, good will toward men." That must always be our goal—and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

APPROVAL OF SENATE BILLS AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President of the United States, subsequent to sine die adjournment of the Senate, notified the Secretary of the Senate that on the following dates he had approved and signed the following bills:

On October 2, 1964:

S. 2049. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to accept gifts and bequests for the purposes of the Department of Commerce, and for other purposes.

On October 3, 1964:

S. 1082. An act to establish in the Treasury a correctional industries fund for the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

On October 6, 1964:

S. 1024. An act to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to pay relocation costs made necessary by actions of the District of Columbia government, and for other purposes.

On October 8, 1964:

S. 653. An act to provide an adequate basis for administration of the Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Ariz., and Nev., and for other purposes;

S. 1531. An act to increase the appropriation authorization for the completion of the construction of the irrigation and power systems of the Flathead Indian irrigation project, Montana; and

S. 2687. An act to extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes.

On October 13, 1964:

S. 646. An act to regulate the location of chanceries and other business offices of foreign governments in the District of Columbia;

S. 1147. An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to construct and maintain an adequate system of roads and trails for the national forests, and for other purposes;

S. 1593. An act to amend section 14 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1954, concerning the interstate planning and coordination of the Great River Road;

S. 1640. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Alaska Railroad;

S. 1684. An act for the relief of Fotini Dimantopoulou;

S. 2180. An act to amend title VII of the Public Health Service Act so as to extend to qualified school of optometry and students of optometry those provisions thereof relating to student loan programs;

S. 2460. An act to amend the act of July 13, 1959, so as to extend the period of time within which certain construction may be undertaken by the State of Missouri on lands conveyed to such State by the United States;

S. 2499. An act for the relief of Leobardo L. Gonzalez;

S. 2649. An act to designate as the Graham Burke Pumping Plant the pumping plant being constructed in the State of Arkansas as part of the White River backwater unit of the lower Mississippi River flood control project;

S. 2654. An act to change the name of the canal, known as the Bay Head-Manasquan Canal and as the Manasquan River-Barnegat Bay Canal, to Point Pleasant Canal;

S. 2698. An act for the relief of Linus Han;

S. 2730. An act for the relief of Dr. Jorge A. Picaza;

S. 2759. An act for the relief of Kim Sook Hee and Kim Lou;

S. 2968. An act to amend subsection 120(f) of title 23, United States Code;

S. 3035. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds now on deposit to the credit of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians;

S. 3143. An act to designate as Clair Engle Lake the reservoir created by the Trinity Dam, Central Valley project, California;

S. 3162. An act to amend section 105(a) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1965, with respect to the disclosure in reports required thereunder of the names of persons who have appeared as witnesses before committees sitting in executive session; and

S. 3174. An act to amend section 5 of the Employment Act of 1946.

On October 16, 1964:

S. 3060. An act to amend and extend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and to extend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress (federally affected areas).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On October 14, 1964:

H.R. 2772. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Harley Brewer.

On October 16, 1964:

H.R. 12259. An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 to provide for the determination of the amounts of claims of nationals of the United States against the Government of Cuba.

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 110 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1964 No. 196

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress will be published not later than Friday, October 23, 1964. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Health Accomplishments of the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have received a very nice letter and resolution from the American Public Health Association expressing its appreciation for the outstanding record of the 88th Congress in the field of health. I ask unanimous consent that the communication from Mr. Dwight F. Metzler, president of APHA, be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: It is my pleasure to furnish to you a resolution adopted unanimously by the governing council of the American Public Health Association at its annual meeting in October 1964. The resolution, you will note, is an expression of appreciation of the APHA for the many contributions which were made by the 88th Congress to the health and well-being of the people of the United States. I address this to you as majority leader of the Senate in the hope that you can make these views known to your colleagues.

Yours truly,

DWIGHT F. METZLER, C.E.,
President.

HEALTH ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 88TH CONGRESS

"By its actions, the 88th Congress has given ample evidence of its recognition of the Nation's health needs and of its acceptance of responsibility in meeting those needs. Legislation passed by the 88th Congress included continuation and expansion of previously established programs as well as authority and appropriations for new areas of concern. Among the first are the Hill-Burton hospital construction program to provide continued support for construction of hospitals and other medical facilities and to meet the current need for modernization of hospitals already in use; the Air Pollution Control Act to combat health hazards from increasing air pollution; the maternal and child health and crippled children's program to expand preventive and therapeutic services for these groups; and the public health traineeship program, making possible more adequate numbers of health personnel to prepare to cope with the newer health problems related to our complex, technological civilization.

"New legislation enacted by the 88th Congress includes the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, an initial effort to achieve a substantial increase in our supply of physicians and dentists; the Mental Health and Mental Retardation Act to provide these patients with the benefits of increased community health services and skills rather than the limited and isolated care previously available; the Nurse Training Act of 1964 which offers a program to help alleviate the critical shortage of professional nurses; the Seat Belt Act, an important step in reducing the needless loss of life and severe injury resulting from automobile accidents; legislation which provides a new and long-needed stimulus for research and training in housing hygiene; and funds to support new dental public health programs.

"In addition, two bills were passed which, although not directed toward specific health programs, do provide for important advances in our ability to cope more effectively with disease and disability. They are the Economic Opportunity Act which recognizes the need to reduce or eliminate disease and disability as a prerequisite to the amelioration of poverty and want; and section 6 of the Civil Rights Act which will contribute to optimum health care and utilize the talents of any qualified person in the areas of medical and scientific activity.

"This impressive legislation, together with several increased health appropriations, are among the most significant accomplishments of the 88th Congress. Because of these noteworthy actions, the American Public Health Association hereby commends the 88th Congress for its outstanding contribution to better health for the Nation and extends this sincere and respectful expression of appreciation."

Adopted by the Governing Council of the American Public Health Association.

A Great Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, prior to the primary election this year, decided not to run for another term, and he will retire from the Congress next January. JIM, as he is affectionately known to his many friends, has rendered distinguished service to the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, and the Nation as a whole, for the past 22 years.

He has played an active role in the passage of much good legislation, and his wise counsel and advice is frequently sought by his colleagues in the House of Representatives. As ranking minority member of both the Committee on Public Works and the Committee on the District of Columbia he has exercised effective leadership in the development of needed legislation in the best interest of

all of the people. His unerring ability to quickly get to the crux of issues and problems and to arrive at realistic and practical solutions, which often have been the basis for opposing factions to reconcile their differences, is a hallmark of his outstanding ability as a legislator.

We, who have had the privilege of serving in Congress with JIM, will miss him greatly, both as a good friend and as a fatherly adviser, and the entire country will suffer a loss by his retirement from active public life. We sincerely hope that as a private citizen he will maintain his interest in public affairs and continue to make his views known on matters of national importance.

Frank Kuehl's Retirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Mr. Frank W. Kuehl, a dedicated public servant who has been my friend for almost 45 years, retired from Federal service on September 30, 1964—the date upon which he celebrated his 70th birthday.

His career with the Federal Government began in 1933 and was interrupted only once during the 5-year period between 1954 and 1959 when he served as a legal adviser to the American Medical Association.

On September 21, 1964, Frank Kuehl's colleagues in the Department of Labor honored him with a retirement party.

Because of the outstanding record of this Federal civil servant, I ask unanimous consent that there be included at this point in my remarks the press release of September 14, 1964, announcing Frank Kuehl's retirement, the speech delivered by Frank M. Kleiler, Director of the Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports, at the retirement party of September 21, and the remarks of Frank Kuehl at his farewell gathering.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANK W. KUEHL RETIRES

Frank W. Kuehl of the Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports, U.S. Department of Labor, will retire from the Federal service September 30, it was announced today, as he celebrated his 70th birthday.

Mr. Kuehl began his Federal career in 1933 as bond counsel for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, after more than a decade of service to the State of Wisconsin including 4 years as counsel and legislative representative for the Governor and 6 years as assistant attorney general. For two decades with the RFC he was one of the top officials who supervised the portfolio of preferred stock and debentures of 1,500 banks; was concerned with the reorganization and refinancing of over 1,000 political subdivisions; and serviced and liquidated a portfolio of 1,000 bond issues totaling a billion dollars, sending to the U.S. Treasury over $100 million in profit.

In 1954 he became a legal adviser to the American Medical Association. He returned to the Federal service in 1959 to head the Division of Welfare and Pension Reports, created within the Labor Department to administer the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act of 1958. He is now assistant to the Director of the Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports, a unit established in 1963 to combine the administration of the Labor Department functions under the WPPDA, as amended in 1962, and the Labor-Management Repotring and Disclosure Act of 1959.

DIRECTOR FRANK KLEILER'S INTRODUCTORY SPEECH AT FRANK W. KUEHL'S RETIREMENT PARTY ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1964

We have not scheduled any lengthy speeches today, but I did a little historical research and insist on using this opportunity to present it.

September 14, 1894, was a quiet day around the world. Newspaper editors had to scratch for important news. In Washington they made the most of talk of another possible war between Peru and Chile. In Kentucky a couple of men named Breckenridge and Owen were competing in a Democratic primary. So far as the New York Times was concerned, the biggest event of the day was the return from a European trip of Chauncey M. Depew and his announcement that he would not be a candidate for Governor of New York. At Terre Haute, Ind., a great bay gelding, "Robert J," set a new pacing record—a mile in 2 minutes, 1½ seconds. In retrospect it seems that the most important event of the day was not even reported in the press; it was the birth at Tacoma, Wash., of Frank W. Kuehl.

Frank is a modest man. While everybody here knows him, I suspect that most of you know little about his distinguished career, and so I'd like to tell you a bit about it.

The Kuehl family moved to Fountain City, Wis., while Frank was still a small boy. Before World War I he had graduated from the Wisconsin State Teachers College at La Crosse and become a high school principal in Wisconsin. He did his bit in the war—as a second lieutenant in the Field Artillery. I suppose it was only a coincidence, but Frank was released from the Army on January 28, 1919, and the next day the United States adopted the 18th amendment to the Constitution to become effective the next year.

Upon his release from the Army, Frank entered the National Guard in Wisconsin and rose to the rank of colonel. He obtained a law degree at the University of Wisconsin and began his public service in Wisconsin where he soon became counsel to the Governor.

December 29, 1923, was another quiet day around the world. In Washington the big story concerned congressional consideration of Treasury Secretary Mellon's plan to reduce taxes. In the House at the same time a soldier bloc pressed to force a veterans' bonus bill to the floor. In Ohio the Republicans went on record as endorsing President Coolidge as the party's candidate for President the following year. In New York, Columbia University beat Colgate in a basketball game. In Rice Lake, Wis., Frank Kuehl married a lovely young girl named Jane, who is still youthful in her outlook on life, still lovely, and who is with us today.

After 5 years on the Governor's staff, Frank served 6 years as attorney general for the State of Wisconsin. Thereafter, he had just established private practice when he was recalled and became acting banking commissioner and director of the State bank stabilization program. He began with 900 banks in 1931 and had 700 when the program was completed. This program laid the pattern for what later became the national program. Generally speaking, except in isolated cases, depositors lost little money in Wisconsin and even most stockholders retained their equity interests. These banking activities brought him into contact with the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation and with its first head, Eugene Meyers; with President Hoover; and later with Jesse Jones, who asked him in 1933 to transfer his activities to Federal service in Washington, where, for two decades, he handled bond counsel work and the portfolio of preferred stock and debentures of 1,500 banks. He handled or supervised the reorganization and refinancing of over 1,000 political subdivisions, and serviced and liquidated a portfolio of 1,000 bond issues totaling a billion dollars, sending to the U.S. Treasury over $100 million in profit.

My historical research has disclosed that February 22, 1941, was somewhat more than a celebration of George Washington's birthday. The big news story of the day was the move of Nazi staff officers into Sofia, as Bulgarians protested. On the same day, in Washington, Frank and Jane Kuehl moved from 3816 Van Ness Street to 3709 Ingomar Street NW., where they established one of the most gracious, harmonious, and neighborly households in Washington history.

When the RFC terminated, Frank became counsel for the American Medical Association.

March 10, 1959, was a news-packed day in Washington. The Senate authorized a large increase in the space program. It also began consideration of a bill to authorize statehood for Hawaii. The Senate Rackets Committee held a closed meeting and prepared to open hearings the next day to investigate the activities of Joey Glimco. And Frank Kuehl became Chief of the Division of Welfare and Pension Reports in the Bureau of Labor Standards, the first organization created to administer the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act.

Since then he has come to be known as one of the most gracious and gentlemanly person ever to hold a top executive position in the Department of Labor; but those of us who know him best admire him and love him for qualities which are much deeper than his exceptionally fine manners. He is a sagacious adviser with an abundance of experience. I place a high value on his counsel on a wide range of problems. He is genuinely concerned with helping his fellowman. Some of us engaged in the administration of laws designed to protect the so-called common man are subject to the criticism that while we love humanity we don't like people. Frank Kuehl is one of those rare individuals who loves people as well as humanity. I have never heard him make an unkind remark to or about any of his associates. He goes out of his way to find the good in people. Frank has so many virtues that it would prolong this retirement party far into the night if I attempted to mention all of them.

FRANK W. KUEHL'S REMARKS AT OFFICE FAREWELL GATHERING

I stand here before you with a sense of deep humility and great pride—humility in the wake of those rugged first 3 years when those gallant architects guarded the ramparts on that fifth floor of the Liberty Loan Building. I can see them now, month after month in the terrific heat under that metal roof, starting at 90° at 8:15 in the morning—laughing and singing and sweating as truckload after truckload and more trucks filled one room and then another and another. The Post Office was short of mail bags—they were in the Liberty Loan Building.

My great pride is in the reflection that neither in the forums of legislative debate on the Hill nor in the metropolitan newspaper columns was the Department of Labor ever called upon to put on its armor.

I can now report that after welfare and pension had run its course as a division of

the great Bureau of Labor Standards, and there ensued by congressional decree and departmental decision, autonomy, and there was created the Bureau and then the merger (I can now report), it was my privilege to turn over to a most experienced and dedicated Director the finest and most seasoned hard corps of loyal and faithful civil servants in the service of the Federal Government. This occasion affords me the happy moment publicly to proclaim and to again certify to the Director and his staff and to the Department heads as to the fine quality, high character, and everlasting dedication of all of you.

And I will openly confide to you now that behind closed doors in room 801 I have learned, my friends and colleagues, you have watching over you those whose patience knows no bounds and whose every move and action is a corollary to your every best interest.

I know that, together, you are ready for the next new big exciting experience. It is coming—fast. On the radar you can see it shaping. Safeguarding $100 billion, then $200 billion will be your high stewardship. And you will be ready.

I am closing my 42 years of public service. When I began even before the first World War (with some interruptions) it was with all my boyish hopes and dreams. In groping along the trail of a half century from the green pastures along the banks of the Mississippi River to Welfare and Pension on the fifth floor of the Liberty Loan Building, the world turned over many times. Since September 14, 1894, through the mists of those years, 12 Presidents of the United States have come and gone. The 13th, the most experienced of all, is now directing that service which I am leaving.

Now that the curfew tolls and I have the summons, further hopes and dreams vanish. I hope I may say as St. Paul did when he wrote his friend Timothy (chap. 4–6): "I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Old civil servants like old soldiers never die; they just fade away. Like those that have gone before, I now, in the fading twilight of life, close my public service and just fade away—an old public servant who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty. Good bye.

Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, the people of Mississippi are a proud people. The people of Mississippi are a dedicated people. They are dedicated to the tenets and principles of constitutional government. They are moreover a patriotic people who in times of war have always furnished more than their quota of young men to oppose the Nation's enemy. Finally, Mr. Speaker, the people of Mississippi are a conservative people. They are not one-worlders. They are not misguided liberals and they are not Communists.

In brief, the people of Mississippi, or at least 90 percent of them, believe in the Constitution of the United States; in the free enterprise system; in the personal enjoyment of the liberties prescribed for the individual by the Founding Fathers. They believe in law and order.

Is it any wonder then that there is growing resentment on the part of the people of Mississippi at the concerted efforts of the pseudo-liberals to make of my native State of Mississippi the "whipping boy" of the Nation?

One of the recent expressions of this resentment was the adoption in strong language by the Long Beach, Miss., Chamber of Commerce, of which the esteemed Mr. Warren Herron is president, a resolution condemning this unjust conspiracy to downgrade a truly great people.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION BY THE LONG BEACH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, LONG BEACH, MISS., SEPTEMBER 28, 1964, AND AMENDED OCTOBER 2, 1964

Whereas unfortunately, millions of Americans have allowed their attitudes to be affected by such professional presentations as have been staged by the national radio, TV, and press, never investigating the facts for themselves, as any opposing version is either obscure or nil in the so-called controlled press;

Whereas even more tragic is the fact that these millions of Americans seldom suspect that their opinions have been manipulated;

Whereas these sensation-seeking image builders of the radio, TV, and press, plus hostile minority groups and even Justice Department and executive branch of our Federal Government have chosen to make Mississippi the "whipping boy" of the 50 States;

Whereas Mississippians have had no means of being heard in rebuttal of the false news, lies, distorted and even created incidents in and about our State;

Whereas the radio and television networks, our large metropolitan newspapers, and our mass-circulation magazines, for the most part, seem to not be able to get through a program nor an issue without using the word "Mississippi" and vilifying our State;

Whereas the National Council of Churches, whose forerunner, the Federal Council of Churches, which had as one of its primary organizers, Dr. Harry F. Ward, who was identified as a Communist by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, sent an army of student educators into our State, to create so-called nonviolent racial incidents. The members of this student army fell far short of that mark. Their approach to the task to which they were assigned was without any merit and it lacked any evidence or sign of sincerity.

Whereas this action by the National Council of Churches was evidently sanctioned by our Federal Justice Department as they sent special cordons of FBI agents here to protect these student agitators against law abiding Mississippians;

Whereas from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 1964, the Honorable JAMES B. UTT, Congressman from the State of California, stated, "The invasion of Mississippi, by expeditionary forces from other States, was carefully planned by the Communist conspiracy, for the express purpose of creating civil disturbance beyond the ability of a single State to provide protection, which would result in a demand by the Communist leaders in America that the Federal Government occupy the State of Mississippi, establish martial law, which would suspend habeas corpus, trial by civilian courts, and in fact suspend the entire Bill of Rights";

Whereas from this same issue of the CONGRESIONAL RECORD and Congressman UTT's speech, it is cited that at least nine Communist affiliated persons have been strategically located in Mississippi, to either mastermind the invasion or council with or for these invaders in this the first step in the Communist plan to overthrow the United States;

Whereas Congressman UTT also wrote into the RECORD that members of the nonviolent coordinating committee were found distributing in Mississippi copies of the Crusader, a publication printed in Havana, Cuba, published by Robert F. Williams, who was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee before he fled this country. He, Williams, broadcasts from Havana a program called "Radio Free Dixie" and urges violence and the use of lye bombs. One short quote from his broadcast, "The fate of the whole racist nation hinges on the pace set in Mississippi. The word is: "Go For Broke". Polish Bladie Mae, wheel out the lye can or the old shooting irons, stock ammunition and organize to give Mr. Charlie one whale of a tail beating": Now, therefore

We, the undersigned, do hereby declare that the image of the State of Mississippi and Mississippians, as created in the foregoing instances and in many more, by minority organizations and their affiliates, are seriously and wrongfully damaging and slandering, the good name and reputation of the State of Mississippi and its law-abiding people, who have the lowest crime rate in the Nation according to FBI statistics; and we ask that the Federal Justice Department investigate the activities of Communist infiltration as set forth by Congressman UTT above. And we do hereby declare that the image of Mississippi and Mississippians, as created by the national radio and TV networks, metropolitan newspapers and mass circulation magazines, is untrue and unsupported in fact. And, we hereby demand that all of said new media make a thorough investigation into the true facts as they actually prevail in the State of Mississippi particularly as to good government, high standards in education, religion, and impressive economic progress. And, we further demand an opportunity in time and lineage, to present the true facts about Mississippi to the people of America.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
Long Beach, Miss., Chamber of Commerce.

Friendly Ties of Brazil, Ind., With the Republic of Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, for a number of years a noteworthy relationship has existed between the city of Brazil, Ind., and the Republic of Brazil. This small Hoosier community of 9,000 population and the largest nation in South America have exchanged several significant gifts, entertained numerous delegations officially representing their respective entities, and welcomed hundreds of visitors.

In 1956 the city of Brazil erected a granite monument, the Chafariz dos Contos, which is an exact replica of a historic fountain in Ouro Preto, Brazil, and which was sent by the Brazilian Government as a symbol of its friendship with the city. The city council of Brazil has given the name Nabuco Drive, in honor of the then Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, to the avenue on

which the monument is located. This fountain has become a major attraction for visitors to the city of Brazil.

Mr. President, an article in the Brazilian Bulletin for October 1 describes in detail this unique story of friendly cooperation between a Midwestern community and our great neighbor to the south. I ask unanimous consent that this inspiring example of how Hoosier friendliness has led to improved international relations be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRAZIL, IND., PROUD OF TIES WITH BRAZILIAN PEOPLE—CITY AND NATION EXCHANGE GIFTS—A SOUTH AMERICAN BORDER DISPUTE LED TO THE NAMING OF CITY

Travelers along the National Road (U.S. 40), often called "the Main Street of America," are attracted by signs at the east and west entrances of a town welcoming them to Brazil—Brazil, Ind., that is—and inviting them to view the Chafariz dos Contos.

AN INTERESTING STORY

These signs lead to an interesting story of how the Republic of Brazil and the small city of Brazil (9,000) established friendly relations. Hundreds of Brazilians have visited Brazil, Ind., and a number of that city's citizens have traveled to Brazil, South America. There are several Brazilian relics in the city and a housing subdivision called Brazilia.

The story begins when former President Eurico Dutra was on a visit to the United States. While being entertained in Tennessee, he announced that he would like to erect some sort of marker in the village of Brazil, Tenn. When this news reached Brazil, Ind., Don Bolt, lecturer and student of Brazilian affairs, obtained authorization from the Indiana Governor and rushed to Nashville, where the Brazilian President was stopping, to convince him that his town was the place for a token of international friendship.

GIVEN OURO PRÊTO RELIC

President Dutra accepted the idea, and when he returned to Brazil asked Congress to appropriate funds for the gift, which was to consist of an exact replica of the Chafariz dos Contos ("Fountain of Tales") located in the historic old city of Ouro Prêto in Minas Gerais.

Mauricio Nabuco, Brazil's Ambassador to the United States at the time, was so impressed with the proposed project that he made several trips to Brazil to work out the details. He so endeared himself to the hearts of the townspeople of Brazil that the city council gave the name Nabuco Drive to the main avenue leading past the monument.

HAD TO RAISE FUNDS

When the granite monument, packed in 104 crates, finally arrived at the docks in Baltimore, Md., the city of Brazil discovered it was without funds for transporting it. However, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad donated the transportation service, and Brazil city trucks carried the crates to warehouses where they were kept until the city could raise the $13,000 necessary for the initial construction costs.

The dedication ceremony on May 26, 1956, was a gala affair, attended by city officials, the State Governor and the Brazilian Ambassador.

Since that memorable occasion, hundreds of Brazilians, including mayors, lawyers, businessmen, poultry raisers, agricultural groups, bankers, ambassadors, consuls, and exchange students, have visited the city. All visiting groups have been entertained and the city maintains a permanent committee for that purpose.

The fountain, which is 27 feet high and 45 feet wide, is a replica of the fountain at the foot of St. Joseph's Bridge in Ouro Prêto. The original, also called Chafariz dos Contos, was started in 1745 and was dedicated in 1760.

The city boasts another valued gift from the nation of Brazil. It is a carved, wooden statue of Nossa Senhora Aparecida, Brazil's patron Saint, which was presented by Dom Carlos Carmelo de Vasconcellos, Cardinal of São Paulo. It rests in a special shrine at the Annunciation Catholic Church.

The city's interest in Brazil can also be seen in the amount of space given to Brazilian happenings in the local newspaper, the Brazil Daily Times. Editor Phil Junker says that the Times probably gives more space to events in South America, than any other smalltown newspaper in the country. Located in a good farming area, the city's main industry is the manufacturing of clay products. Formerly it was an important coal mining town.

A TREE FROM "BRASÍLIA"

One of the most recent tokens of friendship the citizens of Brazil, Ind., have sent to their friends in the country of Brazil is the State tree of Indiana—a tulip poplar—which was presented by the local Girl Scouts to the Girl Scouts in the Brazilian capital of Brasília. Shipped to Miami, then flown to Brazil by Varig Airlines, the tree was dug from the ground of the local Brasília, a new subdivision of Brazil, Ind.

The exchange was arranged by Don Bolt, the same Don Bolt who was instrumental in getting former President Dutra to choose Brazil, Ind., as the site for a Brazilian monument. Mr. Bolt, who has traveled frequently in Brazil, has met and has been entertained by every Brazilian president since Dutra.

How did Brazil get its name? Well, back in 1843, Owen Thorpe, an early settler, moved some log houses down the national road and established a store to serve the stage coach and covered wagon travelers bound for the Far West. A post office was established and Thorpe was advised to select a name for it which would not conflict with any other in the United States. On the day he was searching around for a name for the town, Thorpe, an ardent reader of the newspapers that came from the East, opened the mail to find that Brazil was on the front pages of the New York papers due to some border dispute. So the town was called Brazil.

What is the future of these international relations? Mayor Everett Jenkins says: "The people of our city have always felt very close to the people of Brazil, not only because of our town bears the name of their country, but because we have met so many of them and have established personal ties of friendship. We hope to continue strengthening these ties in the future."

Hon. James C. Auchincloss: A Great American Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, one of the best friends I ever had in this Congress—JIM AUCHINCLOSS—has decided to retire after 22 years of important and distinguished service in the House and after a lifetime of active labor in other public and business responsibilities. It is unthinkable that one so accustomed to arduous work all his life would ever go into full retirement, and I confidently expect JIM will be as busy as usual in the years ahead in some activity which he enjoys. He has served his country faithfully in both war and in peace.

As high-ranking member of the Committee on Public Works, Congressman AUCHINCLOSS contributed his great vision and talent to the shaping of the gigantic Interstate Highway System, now under construction throughout the Nation. He has contributed mightily to all of the important public works projects over which this committee had jurisdiction.

Never one to shirk any responsibility he was asked to assume, he consented to serve and he rendered outstanding service upon the District of Columbia Committee, an assignment which many of us seek to avoid because of the press of other committee duties. This is a job which seldom leads to glory and really very little appreciation, but it is a necessary function; and JIM AUCHINCLOSS fulfilled it with intelligence and devotion to the people of the District.

Although bothered by arthritis in recent years, he still retained his unfailing sunny disposition, his keen sense of humor, and his warm friendliness. He will be sorely missed in this Chamber. He leaves with the deep affection and good will of every Member of this body, on both sides of the aisle.

He has been one of my most loyal friends ever since he entered this House. Personally, it will never seem the same without him.

Aiken and Prouty Charge Politics With REA Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINSTON L. PROUTY
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, for nearly 30 years, through every administration, Republican or Democratic, the Rural Electrification Administration has remained strong and healthy because it has been kept out of politics.

Now, for the first time, in Vermont and throughout the country, sordid attempts are being made by overly ambitious men to drag the good name of REA into the arena of shabby politics.

Even the most valiant fighters for REA are being characterized as enemies of rural electrification, as Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN pointed out in his speech given at the annual meeting of the Vermont Electric Cooperative, Inc.

This speech pins down for all time and fully exposes the ugly tactics which may weaken or ultimately destroy the REA program.

To enlighten and inform those who may be unaware of how REA matters are being distorted for political purposes, I

ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the splendid speech by Vermont's senior Senator.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a performance chart which proves clearly that REA programs have made great strides under both Democrats and Republicans, and as a Republican, who has always supported REA during my entire 14-year service in Congress, I take pride in that bipartisan record.

There being no objection, the speech and chart were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH GIVEN BY SENIOR SENATOR GEORGE D. AIKEN AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE VERMONT ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE, INC.

Walter, folks, thank you for telling them I'm not running for office—I have met with this group 6 times when I have been running for office and about 18 times when I have not been running for office and to the best of my knowledge I have never asked you for a vote and never made you any promises and we got along pretty well on that basis because I feel that you folks here know enough to make up your own minds and I hope I use good judgment in just working with you because I feel the work you have been doing and other cooperative work in the State has meant more to me, and I think, more to the State, than anything else we could have done.

Now, I understand that there are a few folks who are a little troubled by what I said in Barre yesterday when I said, the REA must be prepared to face a little rougher road in the future and perhaps—to calm your nerves or something—I might tell you just what I meant by that.

As a matter of fact, this reapportionment program that they are beginning to put on us now is not going to be any help to the REA or rural areas in any way, but it will not effect us so much in Vermont because of Vermont legislation or Vermont convention or whatever we have, but in some States in this country it is going to make it real hard for the REA and other rural endeavors of these cooperatives. When I spoke in Barre, I was thinking back and I did not explain just what the background of my statement was.

You know since I have been down there—I have been there 24 years—for the first 20 years, the REA had no trouble whatsoever with either branch of Congress and had no trouble with the executive branch of Government and then in 1962 they put a concerted attack on REA which was started by the utility companies of the States of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Now, first let us understand that an REA cooperative is set up under State laws and, thank goodness, Vermont is one of about eight States that has good laws relating to REA co-op operation, but the financing of the cooperatives is carried by loans from the Federal Government. So these companies from these Southern States, and I am happy to say that none of our own electric utility corporations from Vermont have joined in, at least openly. As far as I know, the attacks have come from these five Southern States who are fronting possibly for others, and their aim is to cripple the financing of the rural electric cooperatives, thinking that way, they can whittle them down, forcing them to sell out to the companies or at least beat them down where they are not as potent and effective as they are now.

It is true that for a long time the rural electric cooperatives have borrowed money from the Federal Government for 2 percent. That has been to enable them to extend lines into sparcely settled areas where the public utility companies could not afford to go and earn their 14 percent or whatever it is that they think they have to have over and above their cost, but this 2-percent interest to the cooperatives is called, by the opposition, a subsidy, but it is a pretty small subsidy compared to the tax benefits which the utility companies have received by virue of Government legislation and largess from the Federal Government. Now I have been in the midst of a lot of these fights. I am on the Agriculture Committee which handles the REA itself and I am on the Agriculture Appropriation Subcommittee which determines the appropriations for the rural electric cooperatives and I have been in the midst of these fights and the number of us who have been standing up and fighting (for your program) has been diminishing year by year. We still have members of both parties who will stand up and fight but we still have increasing courage on the part of the opposition who would like to whittle down the operations of this great cooperative enterprise.

The opposition has gained on us in several ways. You know when a cooperative needed more power, they use to go to the REA in Washington and borrow money for a powerplant. Now, they are told that in order to get money for generating and transmission, they must show that they can produce that power at a lower cost than they can buy it from the local power company. That sounds very good but, a power plant today (again to make low cost electricity) must be of considerable size and very few REA's by themselves could afford the cost and it would be high cost production—so we say a dozen of them get together, or six or eight of them get together, and say, "We will borrow money for a powerplant for all of them." The power company says, "We will sell you the power for less than you can produce the power for this REA here" and that is probably true, but you take the other cooperatives who may be located 50 or 100 miles away and equally dependent on the source of power and you will find that they will have proposal they make shows that they can produce power for less than the cooperative can, sounds good on the surface, there is a catch to it which is designed to cripple the REA cooperatives themselves.

Now there are other ways in which the attack is being carried on—one is what they call a section 5 loan. This comes right home to you here. As far as generating and transmission loans go, you are not immediately effected, but the section 5 loans, the money which you borrow to buy the appliances purchased by you cooperative members—the money which buys the milking machine or the washing machine or whatever appliances you may be buying does affect you. Up to this year, it has been possible to borrow that money as usual. This year our cooperatives have been coming down to Washington, going to Mr. Clapp of the REA and trying to borrow the money and he says, "No, no, our policy has changed. You have got to get it from the local bank." The local bank says, "We don't want your business, we don't make any money on a $50 or $100 loan." So there you are. I want to say that Walter Cook has been down there at least three times, I think, this year fighting to continue the section 5 loans work for this cooperative and I have been working with him. I have been getting after Mr. Clapp and telling him that he should make these loans where local banks are not willing—I will not say not willing—I will say, reluctant to take the business because they cannot make any money on loans that size and the last I heard from Mr. Clapp was on October 1 saying that he got some more material from Walter and they would go over it, and over it, and over it, and see what it reads like. I've got an idea that probably after November 4, Walter, you may get some decision but I am afraid it will not be good unless someone here tells Mr. Clapp what I have been saying in which case he might change his mind and decide to make the loan to you. I hope that is true.

Two or three years ago you remember they set up the rural area development, the rural electric cooperatives were to be the key agencies in expanding businesses in the area served by the cooperatives and it looked kind of promising. Do you know how many loans they made under that RAD program in the United States this year? Just exactly three up to last of September. Whether they will improve the situation any under the President Johnson's poverty program or not, I don't know at this time because they have not come out with the program in full.

One other thing we got clipped on was the other tax bill—this is not a partisan matter—and I am not getting into politics. I am just giving you the facts as they occurred. The last tax bill passed last February gave the utility companies another good big chunk of benefits. And to make sure that no State or anyone would require them to pass those benefits on to the purchasers of power, there was written into the law a provision which virtually prohibited the flow-through of benefits to consumers. This section of the bill was aimed directly at the municipal electric plants and the rural electric cooperatives. I faced it on the floor of the Senate, as did Senator PROUTY. I inserted letters from the Rural Electric Cooperative Association, also from the Municipal Public Power Association, but we were beaten by a vote of 43 to 48. And now when the power company says, "Oh, no; we are not going to pass those benefits on (to the consumers)—in fact, Congress doesn't want us to"—they are telling you the truth. We were licked and that is all there was to it but a few years ago we wouldn't have gotten licked. That's what makes me feel bad. Senator PROXMIRE, from Wisconsin, offered an amendment to knock this section out and, as I say, we tried to knock it out. Senator PROUTY and I both voted against it and we were defeated. The provision in the act which blocked the flow-through of benefits from the utility companies to the consumers was supported by Senator LONG of Louisiana. You can imagine my surprise when I found that the NRECA was sending out ratings of Members of Congress to the members of cooperatives all over the country showing Senator LONG had three times as good a rating as I did. In fact, they reported that I voted against the rural electric cooperatives 28 times and for them only 34 times over a period of years. I have been waiting patiently for a retraction or an explanation of that rating. It is not only false to me, but it is false to other people, too, and I advise you not to pay any attention to it because it is rigged and, to the best of my knowledge, I have not voted against REA or worked against them in any way since I have been down there and I am naturally quite resentful that this report should have been sent out to all the REA members all over the country. I think the explanation is that in making up the voting record, a lot of issues were included which we might call idealogical questions which had little to do with the work (basic or original) of the rural electric cooperatives themselves.

So I am giving you the facts on this. I want to say that I have lost quite a lot of my respect for the national organization and its general manager. I do not take directions from this national organization which apparently has too many other interests but I do listen to the Vermont electric cooperatives—and I tell you now—I came close to making a promise—that I shall do everything I can to speed your work here in the State

of Vermont, but when you need something, I want to hear from Walter Cook, Salley Ennis, or Ruby Snow and I don't want some so-and-so in Washington coming to me and telling me what you think. I want you to tell me directly. Your managers and your directors are fighting for you every minute and I intend to fight with them. Thank you.

Rural electrification program, 28 years old

Distribution loans:	
20 years Democrat administration	$2,655,014,286
8 years Republican administration	$1,055,562,544
Customers added (farms):	
20 years Democrat administration	4,694,621
8 years Republican administration	1,257,019
Generation loans:	
20 years Democrat administration	$1,074,423,098
8 years Republican administration	$514,062,479

Telephone program, 15 years old

Telephone loans:	
7 years Democrat administration	$458,647,116
8 years Republican administration	$630,680,973
Customers added:	
7 years Democrat administration	797,836
8 years Republican administration	1,175,227

Fitchburg Celebrates 200th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, February 3 of this year marked the 200th anniversary of the incorporation as a town of the thriving city of Fitchburg, Mass., in my district. It was my great privilege and honor on that date to introduce in the Congress House Resolution 620 to mark this outstanding event by extending congratulations of the House to the people of this historic Massachusetts community.

Actually, the history of Fitchburg goes farther back in time than the 200 years of progress which are being elaborately celebrated throughout this year with such outstanding events as civic parades, concerts, balls, historical pageants, and other patriotic events.

Fitchburg's story of progress and achievement actually began in the early 1700's when the community was known as the "westerly part of Lunenburg" after the Duke of Lunenburg, one of the many titles of George II.

Courageous bands of early settlers including John Fitch, of Billerica, after whom the city is named, helped to carve out from the wilderness the early beginnings of the Fitchburg settlement. These brave settlers helped to establish a civilization, a tradition, a way of life, and a history which live to this very day in the heritage which is so fortunately ours.

These early Fitchburg pioneers helped to establish for all America the basic institutions of democratic government. They helped to forge a record of magnificent achievement that lives to this day.

In observing its 200th anniversary, Fitchburg pays a justly deserved tribute to these early settlers whose struggles and bitter sacrifices have made possible for our posterity the remarkable legacy of accomplishment which has made our great Nation what is it today.

There were less than 200 people in the area when the petition setting up the separate township of Fitchburg was granted by the General Court of the Commonwealth on February 3, 1764.

On April 19, 1775, the alarm from Lexington reached the little Fitchburg settlement and the first company of minutemen numbering 42 rallied to the cry for aid from the embattled farmers at Concord. Earlier, Fitchburg had made known its willingness to fight British oppression in this brave reply to Boston after the Boston Tea Party:

> We are fully persuaded that liberty is a most precious gift of God and no person or community can justly part with it.

The Fitchburg of today embodies these same pioneer qualities of outstanding leadership, patriotism, and devotion to basic values and fundamental institutions.

Fitchburg, which became a city in 1872, is now a thriving, bustling community of about 45,000 population. There are some 107 diversified industries employing more than 11,000 workers with an annual payroll over $39 million.

While the basic economy of Fitchburg has centered for more than a century around paper, machinery, tools and textiles, the skilled workers in its many, small diversified plants now turn out every possible kind of product from potato chips to plastics.

In addition, Fitchburg is an important trading area for some 175,000 people in northern Worcester County with its attractive downtown shopping district which does an estimated $75 million retail business annually.

Among Fitchburg's large employers are the Fitchburg division of General Electric, the Simonds Saw & Steel Co., the Crocker Burbank & Co. Association subsidiary of the Weyerhaeuser Co., the Independent Lock Co., and the Fitchburg Paper Co.

One of the city's oldest concerns is the Parks-Cramer Co., which pioneered in the development of controlling humidity, temperature and atmospheric conditions for industry.

Papermaking is perhaps Fitchburg's biggest single industry and Fitchburg ranks among the important paper cities of the Nation. Many specialized types of paper are made in Fitchburg including technical papers, saturation papers, map papers and industrial papers. The paper used for the ration stamps of World War II was made in Fitchburg.

Turbines made in Fitchburg by the General Electric Co. go all over the world to such foreign markets as Japan, Sweden and Norway. Our merchant marine and Navy look to Fitchburg for GE's turbines and turbine generators.

Another old Fitchburg industry is the Simonds Saw & Steel Co., founded in 1832. It is one of the oldest companies in the Nation manufacturing cutting tools for the woodworking, metalworking, pulp and paper, plastics and printing industries. The first windowless plant in the world was built by Simonds in 1929.

The famed Fitchburg Yarn Co. was the first mill in the world to produce spun rayon.

While paper, machinery, tools and textiles are Fitchburg's basic products, much diversification of industry has taken place in recent years. The Fitchburg business and industrial picture remains bright and the future holds great promise for the city's continued growth and progress.

In observance of its 200th anniversary, Fitchburg is holding an elaborate program of events. Among the highlights was a historical pageant in June with a large local cast to depict the growth and development of the city from the time of its early settlement to the present century.

A huge parade later this month is among the many features of Fitchburg's year-long celebration. With participating units from the Army, Navy, and Air Force, the parade will be one of the largest ever to be conducted in the central Massachusetts area.

At the request of my good friend, Bernard J. Molaghan, a member of the bicentennial parade committee, I was privileged to extend invitations to the Fitchburg celebration to the armed services and it has been gratifying indeed to obtain such splendid cooperation from the various branches of the service.

Maj. Gen. B. F. Evans, Jr., commanding general at Fort Devens, is assigning two honor guard platoons from the U.S. Army Security Agency Training Center and the 18th U.S. Army Band to take part in the parade. Col. John W. Carroll, former commander, Headquarters, 814th Combat Support Group—SAC—Westover Air Force Base, has arranged for the participation of Westover Air Force Base units for the parade. Hanscom Field, through the help of Col. Grover C. Wilcox, Jr., former base commander, will be represented by a four-man color guard.

In addition, earlier this year Capt. P. J. Smenton, acting commander, 1st Coast Guard District, gave assurances of Coast Guard participation, and Rear Adm. W. B. Sieglaff, commandant of the 1st Naval District, made available the U.S. Naval Base Boston Band.

Through the cooperation of Maj. P. C. Walker of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve unit at Worcester, the U.S. Marine Corps will be represented in the parade by the 1st Communications Company.

Fitchburg, after 200 years, looks to the future with vibrant confidence born of its illustrious heritage and past successes, inspired by an able and vigorous leadership and sustained by a loyal and devoted people.

Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to introduce on February 3 the special resolution bringing attention to the 200th anniversary of Fitchburg and extending the congratulations of the House of Representatives to the people of this fine community. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of my resolution and the text of my telegram of felicitations to Fitchburg on February 3, 1964, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

H. RES. 620

Whereas the year 1964 marks the two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, as a town on February 3, 1764; and

Whereas from the time of its settlement about 1730 the people of Fitchburg have figured conspicuously in the founding, growth, and defense of this Nation; and

Whereas the observance of the two hundredth anniversary of Fitchburg will be celebrated with impressive community ceremonies, large public gatherings, and widespread participation of Massachusetts citizens and visitors from other States and places; and

Whereas Fitchburg is a beautiful community, rich in historic interest, well known for its patriotic contributions, noted for its many famous sons and daughters who distinguished themselves in many fields of endeavor and many facets of American civilization: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives extends its greetings and felicitations to the people of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of this community and the House of Representatives further expresses its appreciation for the splendid services rendered to the Nation by the citizens of Fitchburg during the past two hundred years.

FEBRUARY 3, 1964.

Hon. GEORGE J. BOURQUE,
Mayor, City Hall, Fitchburg, Mass.:

Hail and salute to the great city of Fitchburg upon its 200th anniversary. I could not possibly enumerate the many outstanding, glorious accomplishments of your beautiful city and its citizens throughout the years. Its brilliant leadership in civic and political affairs, in industry and in business, as well as in the lofty realm of patriotic, cultural, and spiritual endeavors could not possibly be excelled. The steadfastness, loyalty, and devotion of your people of every group, class, and station is a gleaming inspiration and a forecast of your continued greatness in the future. Heartiest congratulations and many happy returns. I am gratified and very proud indeed as your Congressman and friend on this extraordinary and meaningful anniversary to send all the citizens and residents of Fitchburg my very best wishes for ever-increasing success, noteworthy advancement, and God-given happiness in the years to come.

Regards all.

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

Retirement of the Honorable James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK M. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I have served with JIM AUCHINCLOSS on the House Public Works Committee for almost 10 years. It has been a privilege to know him both as a member of the committee and as a friend. He has made many valuable contributions to the committee and we shall miss him. I wish Mr. and Mrs. Auchincloss much happiness in the years to come.

The Proposed NATO Nuclear Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following materials relevant to the proposed NATO nuclear force, popularly known as the MLF, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORGET THE NATO FLEET

Nationalism, conservatism, and forgetfulness are the major obstacles to the launching of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's proposed multilateral nuclear force, said Thomas K. Finletter, the U.S. Ambassador to NATO, in a speech in Paris recently.

And the most persistent of these is forgetfulness, judging from the frequency with which our diplomats and naval officers must keep telling their NATO counterparts how 25 Polaris-equipped surface ships with multinational crews would bring salvation to the Alliance and new unity to its partners.

Doubtless the building of "institutions of common enterprise" would have a salutary effect on the North Atlantic Community, as Mr. Finletter contends. We expect the seven-nation crew of the U.S.S. *Claude V. Ricketts* (a destroyer formerly known as the *Biddle*) to reaffirm in the next year our faith in person-to-person diplomacy, complete to serving wine in the mess. Still missing, however, is evidence that on balance the full fleet concept is either prudent or necessary.

Of the other nations participating in the *Ricketts* experiment, only West Germany has shown what could be called unqualified enthusiasm. This, in turn, has been disquieting to powers not convinced that the venture would limit any West German urge for nuclear involvement. How could the fleet idea prevent the spread of nuclear weapons when there is scant chance that France will join, and Britain itself might drop out if the Labor Party wins this month? Other allies—Canada, Belgium, Denmark, and Norway—have said no.

In addition to exacerbating the rivalries that already plague NATO, and rankling the Soviet Union to no apparent good end, these freighter-like missile ships would provide little of the invulnerability or covert mobility that could be their only justification. Second-strike missiles in submarines and hardened silos already give us these advantages.

One argument in support of the fleet concerns the need for medium-range missiles to replace obsolescent bombers and to counter Russian missiles aimed at Western Europe. Would not an expanded Polaris submarine deployment serve a similar purpose?

We are not convinced that these 25 proposed missile ships could maneuver all that effectively in shallow water, where pursuing submarines could not follow. The NATO fleet ships would be sitting ducks for either aircraft or satellite photo surveillance. The intelligence personnel that all powers keep near major seaports and shipping channels could help assure that these disguised ships were constantly plotted—and targeted.

In view of all this and more, the multilateral surface force still represents, at best, pedestrian thinking in a crucial strategic realm. Arguments that it would cost less than other plans thus are not of great moment. The United States should take a hint from its allies and forget the NATO nuclear fleet.

WHY KEEP IT ALIVE?

The latest news about our Government's efforts to arm NATO with a "Multilateral Force"—the so-called MLF nuclear missile fleet to be run by men of mixed nationality—is that most people continue to be either confused or outraged by the idea. Who can blame them? The idea, after all, has yet to be made to seem sensible or workable.

Chief among the outraged, of course, are the Russians. In their view, the project threatens to promote the spread of atomic-hydrogen weapons throughout the Atlantic Community. And they apply this thought particularly to West Germany, which they everlastingly denounce as a "revenge-seeking" country grimly intent upon acquiring fission and fusion bombs for use against the Communist East.

As for the confused, their numbers are legion. Although the Pentagon and the State Department may describe the Soviet line as nonsense, it is nonetheless a line that sells itself with relative ease. At the United Nations, for example, the consensus appears to be overwhelmingly in agreement with the Kremlin's interpretation of the MLF concept. Certainly precious few delegations have displayed much faith in the American argument that the project would make NATO more efficient without encouraging a proliferation of A and H weapons, and would adequately insure against the danger of having several fingers, including West Germany's, on the nuclear trigger.

Let's face it. This is an argument which our most competent experts have failed to express in comprehensible and convincing language. Why? The answer, it seems to us, is that the MLF is an ill-conceived and uncandid enterprise designed to give NATO's members the illusion—but not the reality—of having a decisive role in terms of pulling the trigger, or not pulling it, in the event of war. That is why Gaullist France, extravagantly proud of its own nuclear arsenal (a midget thing by Soviet and American standards), has openly ridiculed the MLF. And, too, that is why all but one of the participants in the experiment have taken a quizzical, skeptical, reserved, or lukewarm view of it.

The exception is West Germany. The others involved—Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Greece, and Turkey—have been less than enthusiastic about the MLF, even though they are going through the motions of being part of it.

MLF is a sort of Rube Goldberg contraption too intricate and mixed up within itself to work. The project should be dropped, with as little fanfare as possible.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, August 1964]

TOMORROW'S WORLD—WALTER LIPPMANN ANSWERS QUESTIONS FROM THE GERMANS

(Excerpts)

SPIEGEL. What else can the West do to further the reduction of tensions?

LIPPMANN. We are started on the way. The conscious détente really began last summer, in July. East and West now agree that there will be no nuclear war over Europe. That's a very big thing.

SPIEGEL. You are thinking of the test ban treaty?

LIPPMANN. Yes, but this treaty was the result of the Cuban crisis. This occurred in October 1962, and the test ban treaty was signed in June 1963. The period between those two dates was a period of gradual reduction of tensions. The Russians accepted the fact that we had nuclear superiority, but they also recognized that we were not dangerous, that we would not exploit this superiority. The test ban treaty is the result of this recognition.

SPIEGEL. And do you think that disarmament will proceed further?

LIPPMANN. I was speaking of détente, not of disarmament.

SPIEGEL. But disarmament is a part of détente.

LIPPMANN. The détente is more important than disarmament. How much disarmament we shall actually get remains for the future. The need to disarm is greater for Russia than it is for the United States because we can afford the armaments race better than they can.

SPIEGEL. Do the plans for a multilateral nuclear force under NATO hinder the disarmament negotiations?

LIPPMANN. I don't know, but I hope that nothing will come of the MLF. It has no military value and costs a lot of money and awakens fear and suspicion all around the world. If you're going to take risks, you should do it for some real purpose. I think the MLF is frivolous. Nothing could be worse for Germany and ourselves than a German-American military alliance instead of NATO.

SPIEGEL. Such a development would then disrupt not only disarmament but also the detente, Is that your concern?

LIPPMANN. Definitely. The rearmament of Germany is still Khrushchev's greatest worry in Europe. Today he is convinced that the United States is not going to attack him. He thought differently 5 years ago. At that time, I said to him, "We're not going to attack you," and he said, "But you are allied with the German Hitlerites, and they are smarter than you are, and they will get you into war. We're not afraid of Germany, we're afraid of you, and we're afraid you'll be led into war by the Germans."

WILSON REITERATES LABOR'S OPPOSITION TO MLF

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

LONDON.—American hopes of obtaining an early British decision on participation in the multilateral nuclear force would be disappointed if a labor government should come to power in the October 15 election. Party leader Harold Wilson indicated today.

Wilson strongly reiterated labor's opposition to the multilateral force favored by the Johnson administration. But he refrained from bolting the door against it.

A labor government would want to review the entire British defense situation before seeking high-level talks in Washington, he said, and this review would take more than the 6 weeks envisaged to permit a start on MLF by the end of the year.

Such high-level talks would include discussion of the Nassau agreement by which Britain obtains components of Polaris submarines and missiles from the United States. Labor is pledged to renegotiate the agreement.

The talks would also cover disarmament and labor proposals to tighten up NATO, Wilson explain, and MLF would come up in that connection.

ASKED ABOUT SPEECH

Wilson was asked at his news conference about a speech last night in Wandsworth in which he implied that policies of Britain's conservative government were leading to a German finger on the nuclear trigger. Tory "nuclear illusions," he said, have led to weaker defenses "than at any time since Ethelred the Unready."

Dening that he is anti-German, Wilson contended today that retention of Britain's independent nuclear deterrent is an invitation to Germany to demand the same thing. And that, he added, would move Germany "past the point of no return" and frustrate any possibility of an East-West detente.

The MLF alone would not give Germany a finger on the trigger, Wilson conceded, but Labor is afraid matters would not stop there. A majority system of voting among the MLF partners would mean that Britain and the United States could be overruled on the use of the MLF.

Wilson repeated Labor objectives of better arrangements in NATO for control and targeting of nuclear weapons and more consultation with Washington about their use. He complained that Britain had not been consulted in the confrontation with the Soviet Union over Cuba 2 years ago.

He also took an indirect swipe at Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER. Labor would want to make sure that decisions about nuclear weapons were taken "by heads of government, not by military men in the field as some have suggested," he emphasized.

NO FLAT REFUSAL

Although he declined to say flatly that a Labor government would not join the MLF as a last resort, Wilson disputed one of the assumptions often made about Labor participation.

He recalled that he had said at the National Press Club in Washington on April 1, 1963, that if Labor had been convinced that MLF represented the only way to keep a German finger off the nuclear trigger it would have gone along—in the past tense.

"But," he added, "We were not and are not."

Wilson, who was accused yesterday by Chancellor of the Exchequer Reginald Maulding of habitually "ascribing the worst motives to everyone but himself," was in a waspish mood today. He seemed grim and unsmiling, as though the campaign were wearing on him.

He repeated his challenge to Prime Minister Douglas-Home to say whether another Tory government would take Britain into the Common Market. Labor opposes entry except on conditions that the Common Market is not prepared to grant.

This was the most important issue before the last Parliament, Wilson said, and Home's refusal to give a clear-cut answer amounted to "treating the electorate with contempt."

[From the Die Welt, Hamburg, Germany, Saturday, Sept. 26, 1964]

(Translation)

THE MIXED-MANNED SURFACE FLEET

(By Denis Healey, M.P.)

Nuclear strategy poses so many unfamiliar problems that the vocabulary which has evolved around it is bound often to be arbitrary and equivocal. In the last 12 months the phrase "multilateral force" has come to be applied primarily to certain American proposals for an entirely new mixed-manned surface fleet carrying Polaris missiles. It is these proposals, so far as they are known to the public, which I intend to discuss. But I hope to make it clear that there are other possible proposals for a multilateral NATO nuclear force which might be much more deserving of support.

Not even its most fervent supporters would argue that the military case for the mixed-manned surface fleet is conclusive. The nuclear striking power already available to NATO far exceeds anything the Soviet Union is likely to possess in the next decade. All necessary targets in Russia and Eastern Europe are fully covered. Though the Soviet Union has more medium range missiles than the West, this is because NATO's intercontinental missiles and aircraft are equally accurate and far less vulnerable when based in the United States—not to speak of the submarine-based Polaris missiles.

So long as NATO's solidarity holds, an entirely new mixed-manned surface fleet is superfluous to the alliance's military requirements. Many experts believe that such a fleet would be unduly vulnerable to surprise attack, that its missiles might be insufficiently accurate, and that mixed-manning might create formidable problems of control. Even if these objections prove to be exaggerated, it remains the case that the hundreds of millions of dollars required to build and operate the fleet would be diverted from fields where successive Supreme Commanders have considered NATO to be more seriously deficient—particularly the ground defense of Germany. It is doubtful whether the European countries could provide the necessary technicians for the mixed-manned force without dangerously overstraining other elements in their navies.

In fact the weight of the military argument is strongly against the mixed-manned surface fleet. Its case must stand or fall on the political argument. The American proposals are seriously devised to meet what has often seemed a crisis of confidence in the alliance. Both the British and French Governments have justified the creation of national nuclear striking forces on the grounds that the Soviet Union might not always take the solidarity of NATO for granted; that a crisis might arise in which America's nuclear power would not act as a deterrent to Soviet attack on one of her European allies. In my opinion this argument is less widely believed than might appear. It is essentially the rationalization of an instinctive but atavistic nationalism which President De Gaulle, at least is proud to admit. Insofar as it is this mystical hunger for national sovereignty in defense which motivates the quest for independent national deterrents, proposals like the mixed-manned surface fleet only exacerbate the tensions in the alliance as France has shown. But there is at least a superficial plausibility in the argument that America's growing vulnerability to Soviet nuclear attack must undermine the solidarity of an alliance in which America denies any share in the control of atomic weapons to the members most exposed to aggression.

Yet the current proposals for a mixed-manned surface fleet do nothing to meet this problem. As Professor Rostow, head of the State Department's Planning Council, told the Assembly of Western European Union last June, they offer Europe a share in the ownership and operation of strategic weapons—but not a share in their control. Indeed he described arguments about control of the MLF as "theological." But to make the European countries provide a massive contribution to the MLF in men and money without giving them any more control than they now have over the "dual-veto" weapons already deployed on their soil can only aggravate and not reduce the existing tensions over nuclear sharing.

In their replies to the Soviet note about the MLF, both the American and British Governments undertook not to renounce their veto over its use, since that would imply a diffusion of nuclear weapons. It is in any case difficult to imagine the American Congress changing the existing law which forbids the President to transfer control of his atomic weapons to other Governments, or to imagine President Johnson requesting Congress to do so, particularly after the role this issue has played in his election debates with Senator Goldwater.

On the other hand, it is easy to understand why the German Defense Minister has already given notice that his country will not

long remain content with a situation in which, having paid 80 percent of the European contribution toward the mixed-manned fleet, Germany must accept not only an American veto on its use, but also the veto of the other European members. And some of the small clique of State Department officials who generated the proposals have suggested that America might renounce her veto, although there is no evidence of this. There is, in fact, an internal division even inside this clique who want it as a means to keep strategic weapons off the European mainland under multiple veto, and those who see it as the first step toward a European deterrent, as the grain of sand round which the pearl of European unity will grow.

This ambiguity on the question of control could make the MLF a major force for disintegrating the alliance. For there is no doubt that most of the European members of NATO, however much they may secretly or overtly want their own national deterrent, would prefer to leave America with the veto over the use of a collective force rather than trust one another with its control. This being so, it would be irresponsible in the extreme to encourage German opinion to believe that the MLF offers Germany influence in any way commensurate with her contribution, yet it is difficult to complain if Germany demands this. The least that can be said is that no agreement in principle should be reached inside NATO on the American proposals until the central issue of control is solved with the agreement of all the governments concerned. For if this issue is left over until the force is set up, it could disrupt the alliance altogether.

But since it is this question of controlling NATO's nuclear weapons round which the crisis of confidence revolves, surely it would be better to start by trying to solve it—or at least to render it less worrying—so far as NATO's existing nuclear weapons are concerned, rather than to set up a new and superfluous nuclear force which presents all the same problems in a particularly intractable form. For most of the allies who are likely to join the MLF are already involved in the operation and ownership of nuclear weapons either through their own national forces, like Britain and France, or like Germany, through weapons under dual veto.

It might prove possible to give Europe more influence over allied nuclear weapons based on her own soil, or in her own waters, than over American weapons based in the United States. It might seem desirable to give Europe control of some intercontinental missiles in America itself. The concept of mixed-manning might be applied to some or all of the existing weapons. In my opinion, Britain could play an important role in shifting the argument about the mixed-manned fleet into more fruitful fields by offering to put all her own nuclear weapons without exception into such a multilateral force. Though Britain's example might not evoke an immediate response from France, I believe it would help to reduce the legitimate anxieties felt in Germany about nuclear discrimination in the alliance. And I believe that a close understanding between Britain and Germany in this field is the key to consolidating the alliance as a whole.

Clark Asks MLF Slowdown; Questions German-American Nuclear Fleet

Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, today expresed concern that the proposed multilateral force would amount to "nothing more than a German-American nuclear fleet which would do more to divide than unify the NATO alliance, while raising serious questions about whose finger really was on the nuclear trigger."

Referring to reports that West Germany was prepared to go it alone with the United States in the creation of a fleet of merchant vessels to be armed with nuclear-tipped missiles, the Pennsylvania Senator said:

"The indications are that we are rushing headlong into a new military arrangement of doubtful strategic value and with severe political drawbacks. Originally we were told that MLF would be a genuine NATO operation which would strengthen that key alliance. But now it appears that virtually every NATO country—with the sole exception of West Germany—wants none of it. Yet nevertheless some zealots in the State Department keep pushing ahead toward a treaty which almost no one in the Congress or the country knows anything about, and which will make it even harder for our negotiators in Geneva to get the Soviet Union to agree to an all-important pact prohibiting the dissemination of nuclear weapons to nations that do not now have them.

"If we are to believe the newspaper reports, this new German-American joint nuclear venture may be an accomplished fact by the time Congress comes back in January. It seems to me that the State Department owes it to the Congress and the American people to slow this thing down and let us see what it is we are getting into. The MLF idea has been kicking around for years. Surely a proposal of such great military and political importance can wait a few more months until the Congress can take a good, hard look at it."

Erhard Hints United States and Bonn May Act Alone on A-Fleet—Says "Beginning Has To Be Made"—Expresses Hope Other Nations Will Join—Decision by January 1 Is Aim—Chancellor Expects To See President Before German Visit by Khrushchev

(By Arthur J. Olsen)

Berlin.—Chancellor Ludwig Erhard indicated today that West Germany was considering going it alone with the United States in building a jointly manned fleet of nuclear-missile ships.

"A beginning has to be made," he said of the U.S. proposal for a jointly manned and financed allied fleet of surface vessels carrying Polaris missiles.

"We hope," he added, "that the doors will stay wide open for other European countries to join."

The other nations that are considering the proposal are Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Greece, and Turkey.

With the United States pressing its European allies hard for a decision this year, diplomatic sources report that countries that have so far demurred are receiving hints that, if necessary, Washington and Bonn may create the force by themselves.

Asked at a news conference here if his Government would join in such a venture with the United States, Chancellor Erhard replied, "I cannot give you a flat 'Yes,' but I cannot deny it."

Message to Johnson Cited

The Chancellor also said he assumed he would meet the President of the United States in Europe before the end of the year.

He indicated that he expected that President Johnson, if elected November 3, would visit Europe before January 1. But he diplomatically avoided mentioning Mr. Johnson by name in commenting on the prospects for a round of talks with Western leaders before Premier Khrushchev visits West Germany early next year.

He was understood, however, to have been speaking on the authority of a current exchange of messages with President Johnson. Dr. Erhard alluded to this in remarking that he had urged the President to meet with President de Gaulle to seek common ground on Western strategic concepts and the structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Dr. Erhard said his meeting with Premier Khrushchev was scheduled for late January. He said he assumed he would meet General de Gaulle as well as the U.S. President before then.

He added that he could not say "with the same certainty" whether he would also have a meeting with the Prime Minister of Britain.

Separate Meetings Due

To a question whether these various meetings might be combined into a general meeting of Western heads of government, the Chancellor replied with emphasis that they would be "separate."

According to diplomatic reports, President Johnson plans, if elected, to hinge his trip to Europe on either a November meeting in Paris of legislators from the NATO countries or the semiannual meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council there in December.

On both occasions the current disunity within the Alliance on organization and strategy and the multination nuclear-missile fleet project will be at the center of discussion.

Western diplomats are predicting a major controversy among the NATO Allies if it turns out that West Germany is about to join with the United States alone in building a nuclear-armed fleet.

Such a fleet, the diplomats said, would be regarded in many European capitals as an all but irrevocable step toward putting a West German finger on the atomic trigger.

This is still a less-than-popular prospect in the eyes of many Western Europeans.

Chancellor Erhard is in West Berlin along with virtually the entire West German Parliament for a series of committee meetings and party caucuses.

The temporary transfer of the seat of the Bonn government came at the same time as an elaborate celebration in East Berlin of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Communist German Democratic Republic.

Wilson Affirms Opposition

London.—Harold Wilson affirmed today the Labor Party's opposition to the proposed fleet of surface ships armed with Polaris nuclear missiles.

But Labor's leader left open the question of whether a Labor government would join the force if the United States insisted on going through with the project.

He recalled at a news conference his speech to the National Press Club in Washington on April 1, 1963.

He said then that Labor would reluctantly "go along with" the fleet if the party thought "this was the only way" to solve NATO's problems on the control of nuclear weapons.

He maintained it was not, adding that, if Labor won, he would want as soon as possible, to have talks with the United States "on all aspects of defense."

Idea Not Ruled Out, United States Says

Washington.—The administration's interest in creating an allied nuclear navy has always been based on the assumption that at least three major Western nations would join the project.

The possibility that the United States and West Germany would proceed alone has not been ruled out by officials here. But this has been primarily an effort to prevent Britain and Italy from killing the project simply by delaying their own decision.

Opposition to the project, which is now relatively dormant, would gather new life, officials believe, if Bonn and Washington were the only members. For that reason, little has been said about it until the outcome of the British election of October 15 is known. Both British parties are reluctant to join the allied nuclear fleet.

[From the Philadelphia Enquirer]

UNITED STATES TO GREET MIXED-CREW TEST SHIP

(Excerpt)

Informed Washington sources voiced surprise at the reported opposition of Denmark and Norway to possible use of their waters by ships of the MLF if and when it comes into being.

Officials said that so far as they were aware MLF ships could sail in Danish and Norwegian waters to shake off hostile submarines, ships, or aircraft which might be tracking them.

TWO DISSIDENTS

But Danish Defense Minister Victor Gram is reported to have said Denmark would not agree to such a plan. Other reports said that Norwegian Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen had announced a switch in Norwegian policy from an attitude of "abstention" to ward the MLF to one of direct opposition.

A State Department official said he had not seen either report but felt it was possible that Gerhardsen may have been misquoted.

In Berlin, West German Chancellor Erhard indicated that Germany and the United States might sign the MLF charter alone if no other countries were immediately prepared to do so. But Rusk refused to contemplate the possibility that the two countries might "go it alone." He said the contingency had not yet arisen and that he had every hope that other countries would also sign the charter.

ERHARD SEES NEED FOR NEW WEAPONS

BONN.—Chancellor Ludwig Erhard emphasized Saturday that West Germany's armed forces could fulfill their assigned duty only if they were equipped with up-to-date weapons.

"In the buildup and improvement of the Bundeswehr, we Germans have every reason to fulfill the duties we have taken over in the Western Alliance," Dr. Erhard said in an address to Christian Democratic defense experts, meeting in Kassel.

"Our soldiers must get all the weapons that our potential enemy has," he said.

Without mentioning nuclear arms, the Chancellor thus endorsed his party's view that West Germany should play a prominent role in forming an allied nuclear fleet.

Dr. Georg Kliesing, chairman of the party's defense committee, noted that Christian Democratic politicians were in "complete agreement" that the envisaged fleet of surface ships armed with Polaris missiles and manned by crews from allied nations, would reinforce Europe's defenses.

New Hampshire Sweepstakes Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, with the running of the first-in-the-Nation sweepstakes race on September 12, 1964, the State of New Hampshire established that an honest, efficient, and dramatic sweepstakes program can provide substantial revenue to meet a public need. The first sweepstakes program legalized in the United States in the 20th century was authorized by the New Hampshire Legislature, and signed into law by Gov. John W. King on April 30, 1963, to provide revenue for public education. On March 10, 1964, the voters of New Hampshire approved the program by an overwhelming majority of almost 4 to 1.

Sweepstakes tickets are sold only in New Hampshire at State liquor stores and licensed racetracks under a carefully controlled and supervised system. A name and address are required on each ticket. The purchaser does not receive a ticket but only an acknowledgment of purchase which likewise bears the name and address and ticket number. This acknowledgment need not be retained or presented for payment of prize. Prizes are paid on the basis of the names and addresses on the winning sweepstakes tickets. All winners are notified by telegram and are paid by the Merchants National Bank, Manchester, N.H., through normal commercial banking channels.

The first sweepstakes ticket was sold at Rockingham Park Race Track on the evening of March 12, 1964, and sales for the first sweepstakes race were closed on September 7, 1964. During this period of less than 6 months, a total of 1,910,031 tickets, representing $5,730,093 were sold. Prize winners shared $1,800,000, and the New Hampshire school districts will receive approximately $2,500,000. The net proceeds will be distributed to the State school districts by the State treasurer on December 15, 1964, on a flat resident pupil basis. New Hampshire taxpayers will thereby receive substantial relief from the mounting costs of education.

There were a total of 1,992 prizewinners from 38 States, Canada, Ireland, and the Canal Zone. This demonstrates the widespread national and international interest in the program. There were six prizewinners of $100,000, six of $50,000, and six of $25,000. A total of 48 persons received $7,500 each, and the balance of the prizewinners received over $200 each.

Tickets for the 1965 race are now on sale, and with almost a year to sell tickets for this second race, it is expected that the revenue realized for public education will be substantially larger than derived in the first 6 months of operation.

In establishing the sweepstakes program, great emphasis was placed on internal controls and safeguards to insure that it will stand the test of time. Banks throughout the State of New Hampshire are cooperating with the sweepstakes commission in processing the tickets and funds on a daily basis. The sweepstakes program has been a tremendous success in its first year, and in succeeding years will provide excitement, drama, and anticipation for those who choose to participate and at the same time give substantial revenue in increasing amounts to public education.

There were 1,992 prizewinners from many States, as shown on the attached list. The names and addresses of the 66 principal winners are also attached:

First New Hampshire sweepstakes—Number of winners by States

Name of State	July 15–16—1st drawing	July 29–30—2d drawing	Sept. 9—3d drawing	Total
Alabama			1	1
Alaska			1	1
Arizona			2	2
California	4	8	9	21
Colorado		1		1
Connecticut	25	28	115	168
Delaware	2	2	3	7
District of Columbia		1	6	7
Florida	5	4	14	23
Georgia	1			1
Illinois	4		5	9
Indiana	1	1	2	4
Iowa			2	2
Kentucky		1		1
Louisiana		1	1	2
Maine	19	7	27	53
Maryland	1	1	10	12
Massachusetts	110	99	493	702
Michigan	5	1	4	10
Minnesota		1		1
Mississippi			1	1
Missouri	1		2	3
Nevada		1		1
New Hampshire	51	41	162	254
New Jersey	24	33	92	149
New York	47	55	204	306
North Carolina		2		2
Ohio	3	2	11	16
Pennsylvania	5	16	51	72
Rhode Island	12	24	51	87
South Carolina			1	1
Tennessee			1	1
Texas			2	2
Vermont	4	1	20	25
Virginia	3		7	10
Washington	1		3	4
West Virginia			1	1
Wisconsin	1		3	4
Canal Zone			1	1
Canada	3	1	19	23
Ireland			1	1
Total	332	332	1,328	1,992

OWNERS OF WINNING TICKETS

ROMAN BROTHER: $100,000 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: William J. Korona, 9306 West Potter Road, Flushing, Mich.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Paul Cordona, 211 North Main Street, Gloversville, N.Y.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: H. & Basil Surgent, 201 Edgevale Road, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Heley, 3816 Thornwood Road, Hyattsville, Md.; F. and E. Malkus, 26 Chrome Avenue, Carteret, N.J.; Mrs. V. S. Belz, 123 Helley Way, Upper Montclair, N.J.

ST. RAPHAEL: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: J. A. Goodrow, 184 West Street, Weymouth, Mass.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Desautel-Prince-Sewell, 3 Twardosky, Route 2, Reeds Ferry, N.H.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Mr. and Mrs Victor Zager, 2490 Kafran Lane, North Bellmore, Long Island, N.Y.; Edward L. Despres, 39 Stratton Road, Jaffrey, N.H.; William Belcher, Staffordville, Conn.; Edna C. Marshall, 6 Garden Street, Newburyport, Mass.

WIL RAD: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Mr. and Mrs. Herman Gouch, 117 Stewart Avenue, Kearney, N.J.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Andrew S. Kos, 4 West Main Street, Chicopee Falls, Mass.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Thomas Moore, 16 Allen Drive, Salisbury, Mass.; Sam J. Nuccio, 126 High Street, Thompsonville, Conn.; H. Siegel, 774 Farmington Avenue, West Hartford, Conn.; George H. Goward, 148 Lansdowne Street, Squantum, Mass.

BUPERS: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Eleanor G. Gale, 7 Paula Road, Mattapan 26, Mass.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Richard A. Dougherty, 9 Oak Street, Dover, N.H.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Jean Eric Raupack, 210 Clifton Street, Houston, Tex.; Henry Turcotte, 252 Wight Street, Berlin, N.H.; Minnie Kennedy, Gloversville, N.Y.; Dave and Jennie Powell, 63 Off Station Street, East Weymouth, Mass.

GUN BOAT: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Jack Ross, 139 Hawthorne Street, Chelsea, Mass.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Cecile M. Therrien, 241 Joliette Street, Manchester, N.H.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Shirley and Murray-Weiner, 1052 Barbey Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Albert J. Betley, Dorothea Betley, 187 Holly Avenue, Manchester, N.H.; Lucy, Brenda, Walter, Walter Lewis, 3 Walter Street, Salem, Mass.; Robert McBurnie, 43 Ruth Ann Terrace, Milford, Conn.

RAMANT: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Joseph Acavel, Playland Park, Rye, N.Y.,

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Violet and Albert Zierak, and family, 66 Van Derveer, Amsterdam, N.Y.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Paul J. Schwalen, 4 Wyman Avenue, Portchester, N.Y.; Salvatore A. Zagarella, 219 Gladstone Street, East Boston, Mass.; B. Carmody, 8 Bradstreet, Avenue, Revere, Mass.; Al King, 145 Elwood Avenue, Newark, N.J.

OLD STONEY: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Erma Bartlett, 34 Grand Street, Hartford, Conn.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Mildred McLain, 55 Ruggles Street, Quincy, Mass.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Mary Kowalczuk, 63 Rosemont Avenue, Manchester, N.H.; Stan Stanfel and family, 2401 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif.; Christian and Karola Ott, 2453 Morgan Avenue, Bronx 69, N.Y.; Penn Fiorentino, P. C. Fiorentino, 14 Chisholm Street, Everett, Mass.

PHANTOM SHOT: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Conrad J. Ducharme, 37 Prescott Street, Nashua, N.H.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Joseph M. Russo, 522 Market Street, Marcus Hook, Pa.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Mr. and Mrs. William K. Augur, 1172 Quinnipiac Avenue, New Haven, Conn.; Mr. Stanley Lipiko, 1680 Commonwealth Avenue, Brighton, Mass.; Harry Bethell and A. Savitch, 150 East 182d Street, Bronx, N.Y.; Emma Chabot, 18 Hawthorne Street, Norwich, Conn.

PRAIRIE SCHOONER: $7,500 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: John Smith, 215 Alberta Drive, Saddle Brook, N.J.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: E. T. Sellers and Ethel, 68 Eastern Way, Rutherford, N.J.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: Joe and Janice Gluchacki, 371 Renaud Street, Fall River, Mass.; Mrs. Harold Duffy, 19 Powell Street, Florence, Mass.; Mort Barlett, 230 Fairfield Avenue, Hartford, Conn.; Patricia Beirne, 20 Leach Lane, Natick, Mass.

KNIGHTLY MANNER: $50,000 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: G. D. Kelly, 432 Jefferson Street, Ridgewood, N.J.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Carol Ann Lee, 17 Schussler Road, Worcester, Mass.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: A. Pernokas, 14 Proctor Circle, Peabody, Mass.; Mrs. Margery L. Johnson, 8 Beacon Street, Attleboro, Mass.; Josie and John DeGregory, Rural Delivery No. 1, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; Anne Brzezicki, 15 Locust Road, Ipswich, Mass.

PURSER: $25,000 EACH

Drawing of July 15–16, 1964: Ralph Muzzy, RFD No. 1, Derry, N.H.

Drawing of July 29–30, 1964: Mrs. Anna Dmitruk and others, 1101 Smith Street, Newmarket, N.J.

Drawing of September 9, 1964: L. C. Lunde, 30 Merrymount Street, Wollaston, Mass.; Leo Gabrukiewicz, 1117 Stark Street, Utica, N.Y.; Virginia and Edith Grund, 55 Cherry Street, Somerville, Mass.; Jimmie and Gussie Zweiman, 5 Fargo Street, Baldwin, Long Island, N.Y.

National Security and the Nuclear Test Ban

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, the newspaper account entitled "Arms Race Called Road to Oblivion," which appeared in the Washington Post of September 24 and an article from the October 1964 edition of Scientific American entitled "National Security and the Nuclear Test Ban," by Jerome B. Wiesner and Herbert F. York.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 24, 1964]

ARMS RACE CALLED ROAD TO OBLIVION—SCIENCE EXPERTS SAY NO FURTHER BUILDUP CAN PRESERVE NATION

(By Howard Simons)

Two former key Government science advisers say in a detailed study that a further buildup in weaponry is virtually meaningless, as no conceivable military efforts can any longer safeguard a nation's security.

The two scientists are Jerome B. Wiesner and Herbert F. York, who give their views in a 9-page article to be published in the October issue of the Scientific American.

Wiesner was science adviser to the late President Kennedy and is now dean of science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. York was chief scientist at the Pentagon during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations and now is chancellor of the University of California at San Diego.

The essence of their thesis is that both sides in an arms race are "confronted by the dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security."

NO TECHNICAL SOLUTION

They further state that "this dilemma has no technical solution" in their "considered professional judgment."

The two scientists, who point out that they have spent their professional lifetimes advising the Government on military policy and in the active development of weapons, make this statement:

"If the great powers continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be to worsen the situation. The clearly predictable course of the arms race is a steady open spiral downward into oblivion."

For these reasons, Wiesner and York argue against continued underground nuclear testing and in favor of further arms control and thereafter "actual disarmament" as a solution to the dilemma.

Whereas the article is cast in scientific and technical terms, it clearly has political implications because aspects of the theme are now part of the political campaign.

JOHNSON ADVISERS

Senator BARRY M. GOLDWATER, particularly, has decried what he contends is the administration's failure to develop new weapons systems. Moreover, Wiesner is a prime mover and charter member of "Scientists and Engineers for Johnson and HUMPHREY." Wiesner is also a member of President Johnson's bipartisan Science Advisory Committee, as is York.

Basing their arguments on nonsecret information, Wiesner and York conclude that neither antimissile missiles nor fallout and blast shelters nor further refinements in atomic and hydrogen weapons can protect Americans or Russians against the ravages of nuclear-tipped-missile warfare.

Arguing that "defense against thermonuclear attack is impossible," Wiesner and York dismiss the idea that fallout and blast shelters can provide a significant solution to the problem of national survival. They maintain that calculations on the percentage of population that would be saved in a sheltered society is unknowable because the form of nuclear attack is unknowable.

Moreover, the big problem in their view is not the physical theory of reducing radiation but the "sociological problem of the sudden initiation of general chaos, which is not subject to numerical analysis."

The two scientists question the effectiveness of an anti-missile-missile system as a technical solution to the problem of preserving a nation from nuclear devastation. They cite the case of the Nike-Zeus, which was intended to be an American anti-missile-missile system capable of intercepting and destroying nuclear warheads before they could rain down upon the Nation.

At the time of the conception of the Nike-Zeus system, the scientists say, its designers were confronted with a comparatively simple problem, "namely that of shooting down the warheads one by one as they presented themselves to the detectors."

But what happened, according to Wiesner and York, is that the offense outran the defense. The designers of the offense began to build penetration aids "mock weapons, decoys, single rockets that eject multiple warheads—devices and stratagems that "overwhelmed the designed capability of the Nike-Zeus system and compelled its recent abandonment."

Wiesner and York suggest, too, that a similar fate befell the Sage system designed in the 1950's to protect the Nation against a thermonuclear attack by bombers. Essentially, they say, the offense against which these systems were planned changes before the defense system can be fully developed.

Nonetheless, the scientists do note interim benefits from continuing efforts to develop defense systems, even though "nothing on the horizon suggests that there is a solution" to the antimissile problem. One such benefit, in their view, is that this kind of research "promotes the continued development of offensive weapons."

They explain that:

"The practical fact is that work on defensive systems turns out to be the best way to promote invention of the penetration aids that nullify them."

In making their case for an end to all nuclear weapons testing, Wiesner and York tick off the reasons advanced by others for testing and dismiss each in turn.

Thus, they view the military usefulness of superbombs, such as the 100-megaton weapon that Premier Khrushchev has boasted is in the Soviet arsenal, as impractical. Such a weapon, they say, would be expensive and "under any imaginable circumstances it would be of limited use and not many of its

kind would be built." Moreover, they contend that the United States has the know-how to develop such a superbomb without further testing.

As for the neutron bomb or pure fusion bomb, publicized by some persons as capable of killing people but leaving property intact, Wiesner and York argue that even if its development were simple the major powers would want to slow its development. The reason would be that such a theoretical weapon could be made by the "smallest and poorest powers in the world."

INFORMATION MARGINAL

In sum, Wiesner and York conclude that, although further testing would contribute some additional refinement to and knowledge of nuclear weapons, such as the effect of blast and radiation on material, "the information would be, at best, marginal."

Moreover, the scientists feel other considerations to be far greater uncertainties than the knowledge of weapons effects. Among these considerations they listed: How good are the potential enemy's missiles; will he strike cities or military bases or both; what kind of attack will he launch?

Just such an uncertainty, they say, manifested itself in the famous missile gap controversy of the 1960 presidential campaign.

Rather than continued nuclear testing, which does little to resolve these uncertainties in the view of Wiesner and York, they suggest that the Nation could improve its nuclear capability by improving the accuracy and reliability of its missiles in order to be more certain of delivering atomic warheads on their targets.

In want of a scientific and technical solution to the problem of defending the United States against nuclear attack, the Nation has evolved a strategy whose aim is to have a capability to destroy or threaten to destroy enemy targets even after absorbing the first nuclear punch.

"Several approaches, in fact," says Wiesner and York, "can be taken to assure the survival of a sufficient missile force after a first attack on it. The most practical of these are: 'hardening'; that is, direct protection against physical damage; concealment, including subterfuge and, as in the case of the Polaris submarine missiles, mobility; and numbers; that is, presenting more targets than the attacker can possibly cope with."

Numbers, according to Weisner and York, is the most straightforward and certain of these missile race tactics. They maintain that by any measure the combination of smaller warheads and greater numbers of missiles provides the greatest assurance for the Nation's deterrent force to survive and wreak revenge and even win, whatever that may mean.

Essentially, the two weapons specialists argue that since both the United States and the Soviet Union have had for some time and do have the capability of destroying one another and, since science and technology cannot prevent such destruction, the only solution lies at the disarmament conference table.

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NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN

(By Jerome B. Wiesner and Herbert F. York)

The partial nuclear test ban—the international treaty that prohibits nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in the oceans, and in outer space—has been in effect for a little more than a year. From July 1945, when the first atomic bomb was set off in New Mexico, until August 1963, when the United States completed its last series of atmospheric bomb tests in the Pacific, the accumulated tonnage of nuclear explosions had been doubling every 3 years. Contamination of the atmosphere by fission products and by the secondary products of irradiation (notably the long-lived carbon 14) was approaching a level (nearly 10 percent of the natural background radiation) that alarmed many biologists. A chart plotting the accumulation of radioactive products can also be read as a chart of the acceleration in the arms race.

Now, for a year, the curve has flattened out. From the objective record it can be said that the improvement of both the physical and the political atmosphere of the world has fulfilled at least the short-range expectations of those who advocated and worked for the test ban. In and of itself the treaty does no more than moderate the continuing arms race. It is nonetheless, as President Kennedy said, "an important first step—a step toward peace, a step toward reason, a step away from war."

The passage of a year also makes it possible to place in perspective and evaluate certain misgivings that have been expressed about the effect on U.S. national security of the suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. These misgivings principally involve the technology of nuclear armament. National security, of course, involves moral questions and human values—political, social, economic, and psychological questions as well as technological ones. Since no one is an expert in all the disciplines of knowledge concerned, it is necessary to consider one class of such questions at a time, always with the caution that such consideration is incomplete. As scientists who have been engaged for most of our professional lifetimes in consultation on this country's military policy and in the active development of the weapons themselves, we shall devote the present discussion primarily to the technological questions.

The discussion will necessarily rest on unclassified information. It is unfortunate that so many of the facts concerning this most important problem are classified, but that is the situation at this time. Since we have access to classified information, however, we can assure the reader that we would not have to modify any of the arguments we present here if we were able to cite such information. Nor do we know of any military considerations excluded from open discussion by military secrecy that would weaken any of our conclusions. We shall discuss the matter from the point of view of our country's national interest. We believe, however, that a Soviet military technologist, writing from the point of view of the U.S.S.R., could write an almost identical paper.

Today as never before national security involves technical questions. The past two decades have seen a historic revolution in the technology of war. From the blockbuster of World War II to the thermonuclear bomb the violence of military explosives has been scaled upward a million times. The time required for the interhemispheric transport of weapons of mass destruction has shrunk from 20 hours for the 300-mile-per-hour B–29 to the 30-minute flight time of the ballistic missile. Moreover, the installation of the computer in command and control systems has increased their information-processing capacity by as much as six orders of magnitude compared with organizations manned at corresponding points by human nervous systems.

It has been suggested by some that technological surprise presents the primary danger to national security. Yet recognition of the facts of the present state of military technology must lead to the opposite conclusion. Intercontinental delivery time cannot be reduced to secure any significant improvement in the effectiveness of the attack. Improvement by another order of magnitude in the information-processing capacity of the defending system will not make nearly as large a difference in its operational effectiveness.

The point is well illustrated by the 100-megaton nuclear bomb. Whether or not it is necessary, in the interests of national security, to test and deploy a bomb with a yield in the range of 100 megatons was much discussed during the test ban debates. The bomb was frequently referred to as the "big" bomb, as if the bombs now in the U.S. arsenal were somehow not big. The absurdity of this notion is almost enough by itself to settle the argument. A 1-megaton bomb is already about 50 times bigger than the bomb that produced 100,000 casualties at Hiroshima, and 10 megatons is of the same order of magnitude as the grand total of all high explosives used in all wars to date. Other technical considerations that surround this question are nonetheless illuminating and worth exploring.

There is, first of all, the tactics of the missile race. The purpose of a missile system is to be able to destroy or, perhaps more accurately, able to threaten to destroy enemy targets. No matter what the statesmen, military men, and moralists on each side may think of the national characteristics, capabilities, and morality of the other side, no matter what arguments may be made about who is aggressive and who is not or who is rational and who is not, the military planners on each side must reckon with the possibility that the other side will attack first. This means that above all else the planner must assure the survival of a sufficient proportion of his own force, following the heaviest surprise attack the other side might mount, to launch a retaliatory attack. Moreover, if the force is to be effective as a deterrent to a first strike, its capacity to survive and wreak revenge and even win, whatever that may mean, must be apparent to the other side.

Several approaches, in fact, can be taken to assure the survival of a sufficient missile force after a first attack on it. The most practical of these are: (1) "hardening," that is, direct protection against physical damage; (2) concealment, including subterfuge and, as in the case of the Polaris submarine missiles, mobility, and (3) numbers, that is, presenting more targets than the attacker can possibly cope with. The most straightforward and certain of these is the last: numbers. For the wealthier adversary it is also the easiest, because he can attain absolute superiority in numbers. A large number of weapons is also a good tactic for the poorer adversary, because numbers even in the absence of absolute superiority can hopelessly frustrate efforts to locate all targets.

There is an unavoidable trade-off, however, between the number and the size of weapons. The cost of a missile depends on many factors, one of the most important being gross size or weight. Unless one stretches "the state of the art" too far in the direction of sophistication and miniaturization, the cost of a missile turns out to be roughly proportional to its weight, if otherwise identical design criteria are used. The protective structures needed for hardening or the capacity of submarines needed to carry the missile also have a cost roughly proportional to the volume of the missile. Some of the ancillary equipment has a cost proportional to the size of the missile and some does not; some operational expenditures vary directly with size or weight and some do not. The cost of the warhead generally does not, although the more powerful warhead requires the larger missile. It is not possible to put all these factors together in precise bookkeeping form, but it is correct to say that the cost of a missile, complete and ready for firing, increases somewhat more slowly than linearly with its size.

On the other hand—considering hard targets only—the effectiveness of a missile

increases more slowly than cost as the size of the missile goes up. The reason is that the radius of blast damage, which is the primary effect employed against a hard target, increases only as the cube root of the yield and because yield has a more or less direct relation to weight. Against soft targets, meaning population centers and conventional military bases, even small bombs are completely effective, and nothing is gained by increasing yield. Given finite resources, even in the wealthiest economy, it would seem prudent to accept smaller size in order to get larger numbers. On any scale of investment, in fact, the combination of larger numbers and smaller size results in greater effectiveness for the missile system as a whole, as contrasted to the effectiveness of a single missile.

This line of reasoning has, for some years, formed the basis of U.S. missile policy. The administration of President Eisenhower, when faced with the choice of bigger missiles (the liquid-fueled Atlas and Titan rockets) as against smaller missiles (the solid-fueled Minuteman and Polaris rockets), decided to produce many more of the smaller missiles. The administration of President Kennedy independently confirmed this decision and increased the ratio of smaller to larger missiles in the Nation's armament. During the test ban hearings it was revealed that the U.S. nuclear armament included bombs of 23-megaton yield and higher, carried by bombers. Recently Cyrus R. Vance, Under Secretary of Defense, indicated that the Air Force has been retiring these large bombs in favor of smaller ones. There are presumably no targets that call for the use of such enormous explosions.

The argument that says it is now critical for U.S. national security to build very big bombs and missiles fails completely when it is examined in terms of the strictly technical factors that determine the effectiveness of a missile attack. In addition to explosive yield the principal factors are the number of missiles, the overall reliability of each missile, and the accuracy with which it can be delivered to its target. The effectiveness of the attack—the likelihood that that a given target will be destroyed—can be described by a number called the kill probability (P_k). This number depends on the number of missiles (N) launched at the target, the reliability (r) of each missile and the ratio of the radius of damage (R_k) effected by each missile to the accuracy with which the missiles are delivered to the target (CEP). The term "CEP," which stands for "circular error probable," implies that the distribution of a large number of hits around a given target will follow a standard error curve; actually, for a variety of reasons (which include the presence of systematic errors, coupling between certain causes of error and the sporadic nature of the larger error factors) the distribution does not really follow a standard error curve. The term "CEP" is still useful, however, and can be defined simply as the circle within which half of a large number of identical missiles would fall.

Now, in the case of a soft target, R_k is very large for the present range of warhead yields in the U.S. arsenal. The reason is that soft targets are so highly vulnerable to all the "prompt" effects (particularly the incendiary effects) of thermonuclear weapons. The range of these effects, modified by various attenuation factors, increases approximately as the square root or the cube root of the yield at large distances. Under these circumstances, given the accuracy of existing fire-control systems, the ratio R_k/CEP is large and the likelihood that the target will be destroyed becomes practically independent of this ratio. Instead P_k depends primarily on r, the reliability of the missile. If r is near unity, then a single missile ($N=1$) will do the job; if r is not near unity, then success in the attack calls for an offsetting increase in the number of missiles [$P_k=1-(1-r)^N$]. In either case changes in R_k make little difference. That is to say, a big bomb cannot destroy a soft target any more surely than a small one can.

When it comes to hard targets, the ratio R_k/CEP becomes much smaller even for bombs of high yield. The blast effects—including the ground rupture, deformation and shock surrounding the crater of a surface burst—have comparatively small radii at intensities sufficient to overcome hardening. Moreover, as mentioned above, the radii of these effects increase only as the cube root of the yield. This rule of thumb is modified somewhat in both directions by the duration of the blast pulse, local variations in geology and other factors, but it is sustained by a voluminous record from weapons tests. Since the radius of blast damage is of the same order of size as the circular error probable, or smaller, the ratio R_k/CEP must be reckoned within an attack on a hard target. Yet even in this situation the cube root of a given increase in yield would contribute much less to success than a comparable investment in numbers, reliability or accuracy.

Nuclear explosions in the atmosphere from 1945 to 1962, the last full year in which the United States and the U.S.S.R. set off such explosions, are presented on the basis of accumulated megatons. The overall increase in megatons has doubled every 3 years. The data for this chart are from Federal Radiation Council Report No. 4:

Accumulated megatons exploded in the atmosphere

	Megatons
1945–51	0.76
1952–54	61
1955–56	89
1957–58	174
1959–60	174
1961	294
1962	511

Yield is of course a product of the yield-to-weight ratio of the nuclear explosive employed in the warhead multiplied by the weight of the warhead. In order to gain significant increases in the first of these two quantities further nuclear tests would be necessary. Increase in the weight of the warhead, on the other hand, calls for bigger and more efficient missiles. In the present state of the art, efforts to improve CEP and reliability as well as weight-carrying capacity hold out more promise than efforts to improve the yield-to-weight ratio. The reason is that missile design and control involve less mature and less fully exploited technologies than the technology of nuclear warheads. Finally, an increase in the number of missiles, although not necessarily cheap, promises more straightforward and assured results than a fractional increase in yield-to-weight ratio. Of all the various possible technical approaches to improving the military effectiveness of an offensive missile force, therefore, the only one that calls for testing (whether underground or in the atmosphere) is the one that offers the smallest prospect of return.

Suppose, however, a new analysis, based on information not previously considered, should show that it is in fact necessary to incorporate the 100-megaton bomb in the U.S. arsenal. Can this be done without further weapons tests? The answer is "yes." Because the U.S.S.R. has pushed development in this yield range and the United States has not, the U.S. 100-megaton bomb might not be as elegant as the Soviet model. It would perhaps weigh somewhat more or at the same weight would produce a somewhat lower yield. It could be made, however, and the basic techniques for making it have been known since the late 1950's. The warhead for such a bomb would require a big missile, but not so big as some being developed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the U.S. space-exploration program. Such a weapon would be expensive, particularly on a per-unit basis; under any imaginable circumstances it would be of limited use and not many of its kind would be built.

The extensive series of weapons tests carried out by the United States—involving the detonation of several hundred nuclear bombs and devices—have yielded two important bodies of information. They have shown how to bring the country's nuclear striking force to its present state of high effectiveness. And they have demonstrated the effects of nuclear weapons over a wide range of yields. Among the many questions that call for soundly based knowledge of weapons effects perhaps none is more important in a discussion of the technical aspects of national security than: What would be the result of a surprise attack by missiles on the country's own missile forces? Obviously, if the huge U.S. investment in its nuclear armament is to succeed in deterring an attacker, that armament must be capable of surviving a first strike.

A reliable knowledge of weapons effects is crucial to the making of rational decisions about the number of missiles needed, the hardening of missile emplacements, the degree of dispersal, the proportion that should be made mobile and so on. The military planner must bear in mind, however, that such decisions take time—years—to carry out and require large investments of finite physical and human resources. The inertia of the systems is such that the design engineer at work today must be concerned not with the surprise attack that might be launched today but rather with the kind and size of forces that might be launched against them years in the future. In addition to blast, shock, and other physical effects, therefore, the planner must contend with a vast range of other considerations. These include the yields of the various bombs the attacker would use against each target; the reliability and accuracy of his missiles; the number and kind of weapons systems he would have available for attack; the tactics of the attacker, meaning the number of missiles he would commit to a first strike, the fractions he would allocate to military as against civilian targets and the relative importance he would assign to various kinds of military targets, the effects of chaos on the defender's capacity to respond, and so on. In all cases the planner must project his thinking forward to some hypothetical future time, making what he can of the available intelligence about the prospective attacker's present capabilities and intentions. Plainly all these "other considerations" involve inherently greater uncertainties than the knowledge of weapons effects.

The extensive classified and unclassified literature accumulated in two decades of weapons tests and available to U.S. military planners contains at least some observations on all important effects for weapons with a large range of yields. These observations are more or less well understood in terms of physical theories; they can be expressed in numerical or algebraic form, and they can be extrapolated into areas not fully explored in the weapons tests conducted by the United States, for example into the 100-megaton range. As one departs from the precise circumstances of past experiments, of course, extrapolation becomes less and less reliable. Nonetheless, some sort of estimate can be made about what the prompt and direct effects will be under any conceivable set of circumstances.

Consider, in contrast, the degree of uncertainty implicit in predicting the number and kind of weapons systems that might be available to the prospective attacker. Such

an uncertainty manifested itself in the famous "missile gap" controversy. The remarkable difference between the dire predictions made in the late 1950's—based as they were on the best available intelligence—and the actual situation that developed in the early 1960's can be taken as indicating the magnitude of the uncertainties that surround the variables other than weapons effects with which the military planner must contend. Moreover, these factors, as they concern a future attack, are uncertain not only to the defender; they are almost as uncertain to the attacker.

Uncertainties of this order and kind defy reduction to mathematical expression. A human activity as complex as modern war cannot be computed with the precision possible in manipulation of the data that concern weapons effects. What is more, the uncertainties about this single aspect of the total problem are not, as it sometimes assumed, multiplicative in estimation of the overall uncertainty. Most, but not all, of the uncertainties are independent of one another. The total uncertainty is therefore, crudely speaking, the square root of the sum of the squares of the individual uncertainties.

In our view further refinement of the remaining uncertainties in the data concerning prompt direct physical effects can contribute virtually nothing more to management of the real military and political problems, even though it would produce neater graphs. Furthermore, if new effects should be discovered either experimentally or theoretically in the future, or if, in certain peculiar environments, some of the now known effects should be excessively uncertain, it will be almost certainly possible to "overdesign" the protection against them. Thus, although renewed atmospheric testing would contribute some refinement to the data on weapons effects, the information would be, at best, of marginal value.

Such refinements continue to be sought in the underground tests that are countenanced under the partial test ban. From this work may also come some reductions in the cost of weapons, modest improvements in yield-to-weight ratios, devices to fill in the spectrum of tactical nuclear weapons, and so on. There is little else to justify the effort and expenditure. The program is said by some to be necessary, for example, to the development of a pure fusion bomb, sometimes referred to as the neutron bomb. It is fortunate that this theoretically possible (stars are pure fusion systems) device has turned out to be so highly difficult to create; if it were relatively simple, its development might open the way to thermonuclear armament for the smallest and poorest powers in the world. The United States, with its heavy investment in fission-to-fusion technology, would be the last nation to welcome this development and ought to be the last to encourage it. Underground testing is also justified for its contribution to the potential peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. Promising as these may be, the world could forgo them for a time in exchange for cessation of the arms race. Perhaps the best rationale for the underground-test program is that it helps to keep the scientific laboratories of the Military Establishment intact and in readiness; in readiness, however, for a full-scale resumption of the arms race.

Paradoxically one of the potential destabilizing elements in the present nuclear standoff is the possibility that one of the rival powers might develop a successful antimissile defense. Such a system, truly airtight and in the exclusive possession of one of the powers, would effectively nullify the deterrent force of the other, exposing the latter to a first attack against which it could not retaliate. The possibilities in this quarter have often been cited in rationalization of the need for resuming nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Here two questions must be examined. One must first ask if it is possible to develop a successful antimissile defense system. It then becomes appropriate to consider whether or not nuclear weapons tests can make a significant contribution to such a development.

Any nation that commits itself to large-scale defense of its civilian population in the thermonuclear age must necessarily reckon with passive modes of defense (shelters) as well as active ones (antimissile missiles). It is in the active mode, however, that the hazard of technological surprise most often lurks. The hazard invites consideration if only for the deeper insight it provides into the contemporary revolution in the technology of war.

The primary strategic result of that revolution has been to overbalance the scales in favor of the attacker rather than the defender. During World War II interception of no more than 10 percent of the attacking force gave victory to the defending force in the Battle of Britain. Attrition of this magnitude was enough to halt the German attack because it meant that a given weapons-delivery system (bomber and crew) could deliver on the average only 10 payloads of high explosive; such a delivery rate was not sufficient to produce backbreaking damage. In warfare by thermonuclear missiles the situation is quantitatively and qualitatively different. It is easily possible for the offense to have in its possession and ready to launch a number of missiles that exceeds the number of important industrial targets to be attacked by, let us say, a factor of 10. Yet the successful delivery of only one warhead against each such target would result in what most people would consider an effective attack. Thus where an attrition rate of only 10 percent formerly crowned the defense with success, a penetration rate of only 10 percent (corresponding to an attrition rate of 90 percent) would give complete success to the offense. The ratio of these two ratios is 100 to 1; in this sense the task of defense can be said to have become two orders of magnitude more difficult.

Beyond this summary statement of the situation there are many general reasons for believing that defense against thermonuclear attack is impossible. On the eve of attack the offense can take time to get ready and to "point up" its forces; the defense, meanwhile, must stay on the alert over periods of years, perpetually ready and able to fire within the very few minutes available after the first early warning. The attacker can pick its targets and can choose to concentrate its forces on some and ignore others; the defense must be prepared to defend all possible important targets. The offense may attack the defense itself; then, as soon as one weapon gets through, the rest have a free ride.

The hopelessness of the task of defense is apparent even now in the stalemate of the arms race. A considerable inertia drags against the movement of modern, large-scale, unitary weapons systems from the stage of research and development to operational deployment. The duration and magnitude of these enterprises, whether defensive or offensive, practically assure that no system can reach full deployment under the mantle of secrecy. The designer of the defensive system, however, cannot begin until he has learned something about the properties and capabilities of the offensive system. Inevitably the defense must start the race a lap behind. In recent years, it seems, the offense has even gained somewhat in the speed with which it can put into operation stratagems and devices that nullify the most extraordinary achievements in the technology of defense. These general observations are expensively illustrated in the development and obsolescence of two major U.S. defense systems.

Early in the 1950's the United States set out to erect an impenetrable defense against a thermonuclear attack by bombers. The North American Continent was to be ringed with a system of detectors that would flash information back through the communications network to a number of computers. The computers were to figure out from this data what was going on and what ought to be done about it and then flash a series of commands to the various interceptor systems. In addition to piloted aircraft, these included the Bomarc (a guided airborne missile) and the Nike-Hercules (a ballistic rocket). By the early 1960's this Sage system was to be ready to detect, intercept and destroy the heaviest attack that could be launched against it.

The early 1960's have come and yet nothing like the capability planned in the 1950's has been attained. Why not? Time scales stretched out, subsystems failed to attain their planned capabilities and costs increased. Most important, the offense against which the system was designed is not the offense that actually exists in the early 1960's. Today the offensive system on both sides is a mixture of missiles and bombers. The Sage system has a relatively small number of soft but vital organs completely vulnerable to missiles—a successful missile attack on them would give a free ride to the bombers. As early as 1958 the Department of Defense came to realize that this would be the situation, and the original grand plan was steadily cut back. In other words, the Sage system that could have been available, say, in 1963 and that should have remained useful at least through the 1960's would in principle have worked quite well against the offense that existed in the 1950's.

To answer the intercontinental ballistic missile, the Department of Defense launched the development of the Nike-Zeus system. Nike-Zeus was intended to provide not a defense of the continent at its perimeter but a point defense of specific targets. To be sure, the points were fairly large—the regions of population concentration around 50 to 70 of the country's biggest cities. The system was to detect incoming warheads, feeding the radar returns directly into its computers, and launch and guide an interceptor missile carrying a nuclear warhead into intersection with the trajectory of each of the incoming warheads.

Nike-Zeus was not designed to defend the 1,000 or so smaller centers outside the metropolitan areas simply because there are too many of these to be covered by the resources available for a system so huge and complicated. Nor was the system designed to defend the retaliatory missiles, the security of these forces being entrusted to the more reliable protection of dispersal, concealment, mobility and number. In principle, the defense of a hardened missile silo would have presented by far the simplest case for proof of the effectiveness of Nike-Zeus as advanced by those who contend that such a system can be made to work. There would be no ambiguity about the location of the target of the incoming warhead. By the same token Nike-Zeus might have been considered for the defense of a few special defense posts, such as the headquarters of the Air Defense Command of the Strategic Air Command. These special cases are so few in number, however, that it had to be concluded that the attacker would either blast his way through to them by a concentration of firepower or ignore them altogether.

At the time of the conception of the Nike-Zeus system its designers were confronted with a comparatively simple problem, namely that of shooting down the warheads one by one as they presented themselves to the detectors. Even this simple problem had to be regarded as essentially unsolvable, in view of the fact that a 90-percent success in interception constitutes failure in the inverted terms of thermonuclear warfare. At first,

therefore, the designers of the offensive system did not take the prospect of an antimissile system seriously. Then the possibility that the problem of missile interception might be solved in principle gave them pause. Thereupon the designers of the offense began to invent a family of penetration aids, that is, decoys and confusion techniques. The details of these and the plans for their use are classified, but the underlying principles are obvious. They include light decoys that can be provided in large numbers but that soon betray their character as "atmospheric sorting" separates them from the heavier decoys (and actual warheads) that can be provided in smaller numbers to confuse the defending detectors down to the last minute. Single rockets can also eject multiple warheads. Both the decoys and the warheads can be made to present ambiguous cross sections to the radar systems. These devices and stratagems overwhelmed the designed capability of the Nike-Zeus system and compelled its recent abandonment.

If the installation of the system had proceeded according to plan, the first Nike-Zeus units would have been operational within the next year or two. This could have been celebrated as a technical milestone. As a means of defense of a substantial percentage of the population, however, the system would not have reached full operational deployment until the end of the decade. In view of its huge cost the system should then have looked forward to a decade of useful life until, say, the late 1970's. Thus, in inexorable accordance with the phase-lag of the defense, the U.S. population was to be defended a decade too late by a system that might have been effective in principle (although most probably not in practice) against the missiles of the early 1960's.

The race of the tortoise and the hare has now entered the next lap with the development of the Nike-X system as succesor to Nike-Zeus. The Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Department of Defense has been spending something on the order of $200 million a year on its so-called defender program, exploring on the broadest front the principles and techniques that might prove useful in the attempt to solve the antimissile problem. Although nothing on the horizon suggests that there is a solution, this kind of work must go forward. It not only serves the forlorn hope of developing an active antimissile defense but also promotes the continued development of offensive weapons. The practical fact is that work on defense systems turns out to be the best way to promote invention of the penetration aids that nullify them.

As the foregoing discussion makes clear, the problems of antimissile development are problems in radar, computer technology, missile propulsion, guidance and control. The nuclear warheads for the antimissile missile have been ready for a long time for delivery to the right place at the right time. Although it is argued that certain refinements in the existing data about weapons effects are needed, the other uncertainties all loom much larger than the marginal uncertainties in these physical effects. The antimissile defense problem, then, is one in which nuclear testing can play no really significant part.

The pursuit of an active defense system demands parallel effort on the passive defense, or shelter, front because the nature of the defense system strongly conditions the tactics of the offense that is likely to be mounted against it. To take a perhaps farfetched example, a Nike-Zeus system that provided protection for the major population centers might invite the attackers to concentrate the weight of his assault in ground bursts on remote military installations and unprotected areas adjacent to cities, relying on massive fallout to imperil the population centers. This example serves also to suggest how heavily the effectiveness of any program for sheltering the civilian population depends on the tactics of the attacker. Fallout shelters by themselves are of no avail if the attacker chooses to assault the population centers directly.

In any speculation about the kind of attack to which this country might be exposed it is useful to note where the military targets are located. Most of the missile bases are, in fact, far from the largest cities. Other key military installations, however, are not so located. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles (Long Beach), and San Diego all have important naval bases. Essential command and control centers are located in and near Denver, Omaha, and Washington, D.C. The rollcall could be extended to include other major cities containing military installations that would almost certainly have to be attacked in any major assault on this country. The list does not stop with these; it is only prudent to suppose still other cities would come under attack, because there is no way to know in advance what the strategy may be.

The only kind of shelter that is being seriously considered these days, for other than certain key military installations, is the fallout shelter. By definition fallout shelters offer protection against nothing but fallout and provide virtually no protection against blast, fire storms and other direct effects. Some people have tried to calculate the percentage of the population that would be saved by fallout shelters in the event of massive attack. Such calculations always involve predictions about the form of the attack, but since the form is unknowable the calculations are nonsensical. Even for the people protected by fallout shelters the big problem is not a problem in the physical theory of gamma-ray attenuation, which can be neatly computed, but rather the sociological problem of the sudden initiation of general chaos, which is not subject to numerical analysis.

Suppose, in spite of all this, the country were to take fallout shelters seriously and build them in every city and town. The people living in metropolitan areas that qualify as targets because they contain essential military installations and the people living in metropolitan areas that might be targeted as a matter of deliberate policy would soon recognize that fallout shelters are inadequate. That conclusion would be reinforced by the inevitable reaction from the other side, whose military planners would be compelled to consider a massive civilian-shelter program as portending a first strike against them. Certainly the military planners of the United States would be remiss if they did not take similar note of a civilian-shelter program in the U.S.S.R. As a step in the escalation of the arms race toward the ultimate outbreak of war, the fallout shelter would lead inevitably to the blast shelter. Even with large numbers of blast shelters built and evenly distributed throughout the metropolitan community, people would soon realize that shelters alone are not enough. Accidental alarms, even in tautly disciplined military installations, have shown that people do not always take early warnings seriously. Even if they did, a 15-minute early warning provides less than enough time to seal the population into shelters. Accordingly, the logical next step is the live-in and work-in blast shelter leading to still further disruption and distoration of civilization. There is no logical termination of the line of reasoning that starts with belief in the usefulness of fallout shelters; the logic of this attempt to solve the problem of national security leads to a diverging series of even more grotesque measures. This is to say, in so many words, that if the arms race continues and resumes its former accelerating tempo, 1984 is more than just a date on the calendar 20 years hence.

Ever since shortly after World War II the military power of the United States has been steadily increasing. Throughout this same period the national security of the United States has been rapidly and inexorably diminishing. In the early 1950's the U.S.S.R., on the basis of its own unilateral decision and determination to accept the inevitable retaliation, could have launched an attack against the United States with bombers carrying fission bombs. Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses and the American casualties would have numbered in the millions. In the later 1950's, again on its own sole decision and determination to accept the inevitable massive retaliation, the U.S.S.R. could have launched an attack against the United States using more and better bombers, this time carrying thermonuclear bombs. Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses and the American casualties could have numbered in the tens of millions.

Today the U.S.S.R., again on the basis of its own decision and determination to accept the inevitable retaliation, could launch an attack on the United States using intercontinental missiles and bombers carrying thermonuclear weapons. This time the number of American casualties could very well be on the order of 100 million.

The steady decrease in national security did not result from any inaction on the part of responsible U.S. military and civilian authorities. It resulted from the systematic exploitation of the products of modern science and technology by the U.S.S.R. The air defenses deployed by the United States during the 1950's would have reduced the number of casualties the country might have otherwise sustained, but their existence did not substantively modify this picture. Nor could it have been altered by any other defense measures that might have been taken but that for one reason or another were not taken.

From the Soviet point of view the picture is similar but much worse. The military power of the U.S.S.R. has been steadily increasing since it became an atomic power in 1949. Soviet national security, however, has been steadily decreasing. Hypothetically the United States could unilaterally decide to destroy the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. would be absolutely powerless to prevent it. That country could only, at best, seek to wreak revenge through whatever retaliatory capability it might then have left.

Both sides in the arms race are thus confronted by the dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security. It is our considered professional judgment that this dilemma has no technical solution. If the great powers continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be to worsen the situation. The clearly predictable course of the arms race is a steady open spiral downward into oblivion.

We are optimistic, on the other hand, that there is a solution to this dilemma. The partial nuclear-test ban, we hope and believe, is truly an important first step toward finding a solution in an area where a solution may exist. A next logical step would be the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban such as that on which the great powers came close to agreement more than once during 10 long years of negotiation at Geneva. The policing and inspection procedures so nearly agreed on in those parleys would set significant precedents and lay the foundations of mutual confidence for proceeding thereafter to actual disarmament.

Summary of Record and Accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means During the 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means has again completed one of the busiest and one of the most productive periods in its entire history. The jurisdiction of this committee, as is well known, is exceedingly broad and complex, including legislation which affects the day-to-day economics and activities of all of our citizens. During the second session of the 88th Congress just concluded, the committee considered and reported legislation in every major area of its jurisdiction.

To afford some indication of the accomplishments of the committee in each of these major areas during the past 2 years, four major measures stand out as prime examples.

In the field of internal revenue taxation, the Revenue Act of 1964 represents the largest single tax cut in the history of the United States. In addition to this very significant reduction in the burdens carried by the American citizens, the Revenue Act of 1964 made many beneficial changes in the Internal Revenue Code. A second major example in the area of internal revenue taxation is the Interest Equalization Act of 1964, a measure which became necessary to help correct a balance-of-payments deficit and which was put into effect in 1964.

In the field of social security legislation, the committee reported the "Social Security Amendments of 1964," H.R. 11865, which unfortunately due to the controversy over certain amendments added by the other body was not enacted into law. A second major example in the social security field was H.R. 9393, a bill which made it possible for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to award disability insurance benefits to many thousands of individuals who otherwise would have been ineligible due to the technical requirements of the existing legislation.

In the field of tariff and custom law, the committee reported H.R. 11253, the "Tariff Classification Act of 1964." Again unfortunately, this measure was not finally enacted into law because of the controversy which arose over amendments added in the other body during the closing days of the second session.

In addition to the above examples, it was necessary for the committee to consider and report legislation in the area of the public debt, specifically bills extending the debt ceiling, and legislation to extend for an additional temporary period of time the excise taxes which normally would expire or be reduced on each June 30.

The foregoing measures indicate the intensive and productive activity of the Committee on Ways and Means, but that should not obscure the fact that the committee also reported and there was enacted into law many additional bills of less major import.

As I have pointed out in the past, and can again state without reservations, the members of the Committee on Ways and Means have devoted themselves diligently and conscientiously to the heavy work of the committee. The members of the committee have been assiduous in pursuing their responsibilities and in the attendance of the meetings of the committee almost daily throughout two sessions. Because of the nature of the work of the committee it was again necessary to conduct many executive sessions for the consideration of the complex measures which the committee had before it. While we as individual members of the committee have of course not always agreed on all of the measures considered by the committee, certainly every member can be justly proud of the work which he has done and the record which he has established.

As I have pointed out on numerous past occasions, it is abundantly clear that the nature of legislation falling within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means is quite complex and is of vital importance to each and every American citizen and to our Nation as a whole. It is therefore necessary that our committee must always proceed with great caution, prudence, care and statesmanship in carrying out the legislative responsibilities which we have.

During the course of this Congress the Committee on Ways and Means held public or executive hearings on a total of 59 days, exclusive of executive sessions, and has directly received testimony from more than 645 individuals during those hearings. In addition, comments, recommendations, and statements of views were received for the printed record from many hundreds of other interested persons and organizations. The hearings are printed in 25 volumes covering approximately 9,000 pages of testimony. Table 1, which follows, shows the subject and the details of these hearings:

TABLE 1.—*Hearings held by Committee on Ways and Means, 88th Cong.*

Subject	Number of days	Number of witnesses	Number of pages	Number of volumes
1ST SESS.				
President's 1963 tax message	26	267	4,036	7
Continuation of present debt ceiling	1	3	73	1
Tax features of Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1963	1	12	112	1
Public debt ceiling	1	4	75	1
Interest Equalization Tax Act of 1963	4	28	540	1
Temporary increase in debt ceiling	1	2	55	1
Tax treatment of beer concentrate	1	9	127	1
Medical care for the aged [1]	5			
2D SESS.				
Medical care for the aged [2]	5	174	2,502	5
Temporary increase in debt ceiling and extension of certain excise tax rates (executive hearing)	2	2	58	1
Federal excise tax structure	12	144	1,421	6
Total, 88th Cong	59	645	8,999	25

[1] Hearings were then suspended until Jan. 20, 1964. See "Medical care for the aged" under 2d sess.
[2] Resumed from Nov. 22, 1963. There was a total of 10 days of hearings.

In addition to the public hearings, during the course of the 88th Congress the full Committee on Ways and Means met in executive session 166 times.

Of the 15,296 public and private bills and resolutions introduced in the House during the course of this Congress, there was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means a total of 2,163 bills and resolutions in addition to the 51 executive communications. In addition, 17 messages of the President of the United States were on subjects within the jurisdiction of the committee. Of the total of 2,164 such bills and resolutions, there were 916 tax bills, 680 tariff bills, and 453 social security bills, in addition to some 115 bills of a miscellaneous character falling within the committe's jurisdiction. This represents more than one-sixth of all the public bills and resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives in this Congress. Table 2, which follows, sets forth the breakdown of the measures referred to the committee:

TABLE 2.—*Bills and resolutions referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, 88th Cong., by category*

Tax	916
Social security	453
Tariff	680
Miscellaneous	115
Total	2,164

During this Congress, the committee favorably reported to the House of Representatives a total of 77 bills, which breaks down as follows: 25 tax bills, 34 tariff bills, 11 social security bills, and 7 miscellaneous type bills. It should be noted in this connection that it is the practice of the committee to report from time to time omnibus legislation which, statistically, appears as one bill but which in fact may combine the provisions or subjects covered in a large number of individual bills which were pending before the committee. For the further information of the Members, I shall insert at this point table 3 which sets forth the statistics on the status of the bills reported by the committee during this Congress:

TABLE 3.—*Status of bills reported by the Committee on Ways and Means during the 88th Cong.*

	Tax	Social security	Tariff	Miscellaneous	Total
Reported to House	25	11	[1] 34	[2] 7	[1] [2] 77
Passed House	23	11	[2] 28	[2] 7	[1] [2] 69
Reported to Senate	18	11	[3] 25	[2] 7	[1] [2] 61
Passed Senate	18	11	[3] 25	[2] 7	[1] [2] 61
Enacted into law	17	10	22	[2] 6	[2] 55

[1] Includes 2 concurrent resolutions.
[2] Includes 1 Senate bill.
[3] Includes 1 concurrent resolution.

Mr. Speaker, also for the information of the Members, there is presented below a brief summary and digest of all bills reported from the Committee on Ways and Means during the 88th Congress, including a statement of the stage in the legislative process reached by each bill:

SUMMARY OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS DURING THE 88TH CONGRESS

I. THE REVENUE ACT OF 1964

H.R. 8363, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–272, signed February 26, 1964: This legislation provided the largest tax reduction in the history of the United States—$11.5 billion annually. The President submitted his recommendations for a tax cut and other structural revisions in our Federal tax system early in 1963. There followed some 13 months of assiduous effort on the part of the Congress and the congressional and departmental staffs during which various alternatives and ramifications of the President's proposals were analyzed and evaluated in the most minute detail and the comments from thousands of individuals and groups were received and carefully considered. Although the bill as ultimately enacted into law modified and revised the President's original recommendations—for instance, the deletion of the provision relating to the taxation of capital gains—the Revenue Act of 1964 constitutes a dramatic and historic effort in loosening the constraints the tax system had imposed on our free enterprise system.

In general, this legislation provides tax incentives designed to bring about a higher level of economic activity, fuller use of our manpower, more intensive and prosperous use of our plant and equipment, and with the increases in wages, salaries, profits, consumption and investment, it is expected there will be increases in Federal tax revenues. A brief summary of the provisions of the bill follows:

The basic provisions of the bill reduce the tax rates for both individuals and corporations. The individual income tax rates are reduced from a range of 20 to 91 percent to rates ranging from 16 to 77 percent in 1964 and from 14 to 70 percent in 1965. The withholding rate of tax was reduced from 18 to 14 percent effective shortly after enactment of the law. The tax rate for corporations is reduced from 52 to 50 percent in 1964 and to 48 percent in 1965 and the rate applicable to the first $25,000 of corporate income, beginning in 1964, is reduced from 30 to 20 percent. In addition, corporations are placed on a full pay-as-you-go basis for all of their corporate tax liability above $100,000 so that this liability eventually will be payable in the year in which earned.

The investment credit provision of prior law was amended in several respects. That provision permits a taxpayer to reduce his tax liability by a tax credit amounting to 7 percent of the cost of depreciable machinery and equipment which he puts into operation. In addition, prior law provided the amount of the credit must be subtracted from the basis on which depreciation allowances are computed. The most significant respect in which that provision was amended was to repeal the requirement for a downward adjustment in basis by the amount of the credit (the so-called Long amendment). In addition, lessees of distributors are to base their investment, for purposes of computing the credit, on the "fair market value" of the equipment rather than its cost. Escalators and elevators are added to the category of items eligible for the investment credit. In the case of Federal regulatory agencies, the act provides that the agencies are not to require the "flow through" to the consumer of the benefits of the investment credit at any time in certain cases, and in others, only over the life of the asset.

The act contains a number of provisions designed to alleviate hardship:

(1) A minimum standard deduction is provided of $300 for each taxpayer plus an extra $100 for each additional exemption, including the additional exemptions for taxpayers aged 65 or over, or blind, up to a maximum of $1,000.

(2) The deduction for expenses of child care and care of disabled dependents is liberalized by raising the limit of children covered to those under 13 years of age, by increasing the maximum deduction to $900 in the case of two or more dependents, and by increasing the income limitation for married women from $4,500 to $6,000.

(3) The 1-percent floor on deductions of medicine and drug expense for taxpayers over 65 is eliminated.

(4) The provisions governing deduction of moving expenses are liberalized to cover employees required to move in order to accept a new job.

(5) A taxpayer age 65 or over who sells his personal residence will be permitted to exclude any capital gain attributable to the first $20,000 of the sales price; but this can be done only once in the taxpayer's lifetime and the taxpayer must have held and used the property as his personal residence for 5 out of the last 8 years.

(6) Taxpayers whose income fluctuate widely from year to year, such as authors, actors, artists, athletes, etc., will benefit which permits averaging of that income over from a new income averaging provision a 5-year period.

(7) The retirement income credit of present law is liberalized to provide that a couple, both over 65, making a joint return may, at their election, have a total retirement income credit of $2,286, rather than $1,524, applicable to the retirement income of either or both if either spouse meets the 10-year earned income requirement.

The act contains a number of provisions designed to reduce special advantages, including:

(1) The value of group-term life insurance provided by an employer in excess of $50,000 will have to be added to the employee's taxable income although retired persons would be exempt.

(2) The 4-percent tax credit for dividend income is repealed and the amount of the dividend exclusion from tax is increased from $50 to $100 ($200 in the case of a joint return).

(3) The rules governing stock options are tightened to limit the practice of using such options as a device to offer executives a profit above and beyond their salary.

(4) An interest deduction would no longer be allowed for an indebtedness for what is popularly called a "minimum or bank loan deposit insurance."

(5) The tax avoidance device of selling property for deferred payments without specifying the interest charges is eliminated.

(6) With respect to corporations, the rules governing the grouping of properties for tax purposes in the oil and gas industries is tightened.

(7) The rules defining a personal holding company are tightened so that this device cannot be used to shelter dividend and other investment income as corporate income and thus to pay much lower taxes on it.

(8) Large corporate enterprises availing themselves of multiple surtax exemptions through forming chains of corporations will have to pay an additional penalty tax to retain this advantage.

(9) The rules governing tax treatment of real estate, other than land, are tightened so that the portion of capital gain resulting from excess depreciation will be taxed at ordinary tax rates, rather than at much lower tax rates.

(10) Amends the provisions of prior law by reducing to $25,000 from $35 000 the exclusion allowed U.S. citizens who are bona fide residents of a foreign country for more than 3 years.

In addition, the act contains provisions designed to contribute to a much fairer tax structure. Such provisions are:

(1) Minor estate and local taxes, such as tax on alcohol, tobacco, cigarettes, auto license tags, and drivers' licenses will no longer be deductible for Federal income tax purposes except where they are deductible as a business expense. However, major State and local taxes such as real estate taxes, personal property taxes, income taxes, sales taxes, and use taxes as well as gasoline taxes will continue to be fully deductible for Federal income tax purposes.

(2) The old law which allowed deductions up to 30 percent of adjusted gross income for contributions to charitable organizations such as churches, schools, and hospitals, is extended to cover contributions to any publicly supported organization to which the 20-percent limitation on deductions previously applied. This will include such organizations as the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Cancer Society, etc. With respect to charitable contributions, the act also tightens the provisions relating to the unlimited deduction and gifts of future interest. In addition the act extends the carryover of excess charitable contributions made by corporations from 2 to 5 years and grants a similar carryover of excess contributions made by individuals.

There are certain provisions of the act which incorporate the provisions of other bills which had been ordered favorably reported by the Committee on Ways and Means:

(1) H.R. 4040, providing in brief that where a taxpayer contests a tax or other liability, he is, nevertheless, to be permitted a deduction for the item in the year in which he makes the payment if this is earlier than the year in which the contest is settled.

(2) H.R. 5468, permitting persons who paid self-employment tax and who are later covered for the same period by a retroactive social security agreement entered into by a State to obtain a refund of the self-employment tax.

(3) H.R. 6995, providing that regulated investment companies are to be given 45 days after the close of their taxable year rather than 30 days to give notices to their shareholders as to the treatment by the shareholders of income received from the companies.

(4) H.R. 8798, providing that in the case of subchapter S corporations, certain distributions of money after the close of a taxable year may be treated as made during the year; and that a corporation member of an affiliated group may elect subchapter S treatment if the only other members of the group are inactive subsidiary corporations.

Many other structural reforms were included in the act, such as the limitation of deductions for casualty losses from nonbusiness property to the amount of each loss in excess of $100;

Amending the sick pay provisions of prior law to provide that the waiting period before sick pay becomes excludable from income is 30 days, if the empolyee receives more than 75 percent of his weekly wages; and the repeal of the limitation on deducting certain travel expenses in connection with business trips within the United States.

II. OTHER TAX LEGISLATION

H.R. 98, by Mr. KEOGH; Public Law 88–539, signed August 31, 1964: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as passed by the House, the purpose of this legislation was to provide for the refund or credit of the internal revenue taxes paid or determined with respect to distilled spirits, wines, or beer which have been imported into the United States where three conditions exist: (1) the alcoholic beverage has been found to be unmerchantable or not to conform to sample or specifications: (2) the beverage has been returned to customs custody within 6 months; and (3) the beverage has been exported or destroyed in customs custody. Substantially similar treatment is already available in the case of domestic distilled spirits, wines, and beer, and the committee was of the opinion that his discrimination against imported alcoholic beverages which have been found after entry not to be suitable for certain uses should be removed.

The Senate passed the bill without change in the provisions of the House bill but added amendments relating to the installment method of reporting income for tax purposes and to the provision adopted in the Revenue Act of 1964 with respect to revolving credit-type plans. The Senate amendments were accepted by the House and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 780, by Mr. KEOGH; passed House February 26, 1963: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House of Representatives, this bill would amend section 814 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 (providing an election to take a credit against estate tax for estate taxes paid on certain prior transfers) to make it applicable to estates of decedents dying after December 31, 1949 (instead of December 31, 1951), to make the credit against estate tax for the amount of estate tax paid on certain prior transfers available where the death of the first spouse to die occurred within the 3 years prior to that of the decedent in question but after December 31, 1947 (instead of within 2 years of the decedent), and by providing that, where the deaths of the husband and wife occurred more than 2 years apart, the credit for prior estate taxes is to be 80 percent instead of 100 percent. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the Senate Committee on Finance.

H.R. 1597, by Mr. FRIEDEL; Public Law 88–9, signed April 10, 1963: This legislation dealt with the tax treatment of redeemable ground rent, both with respect to the buyer of a home subject to a redeemable ground rent and the person selling this property. Under the bill as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as it became law, for the home buyer the ground rent paid is treated as a mortgage interest payment and, therefore, is deductible by him for tax purposes. The seller of the real property subject to the redeemable ground rent is treated as if he had sold the property subject to a mortgage in a face amount equal to the redemption price of the redeemable ground rent. As a result, the redeemable ground rent is taken into account in determining his sale price for the property and, therefore, is reflected in any gain (or loss) recognized to him. The deduction of the ground rent as the equivalent of a mortgage interest payment is available for 1962 and subsequent years. In the case of the seller of the property, however, the new treatment in general applies prospectively only. The bill, enactment of which was favored by the Treasury Department, was amended in the Senate to provide a statutory definition of the term "redeemable ground rent," and became law as so amended.

H.R. 2085, by Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania; Public Law 88–4, signed April 2, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which became law as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to liberalize the child care expense provisions of the income tax law in the case of wives who have been deserted by their husbands. The legislation provides that a gainfully employed wife who has been deserted by her husband need no longer file a joint return with him to be eligible for the child care deduction and the deduction allowed her will no longer be decreased where the combined adjusted gross income of the husband and wife exceeds $4,500, thus treating a woman who is legally married but who has been deserted by her husband in the same manner as a single woman for purposes of the child-care deduction.

H.R. 2826, by Mr. BOGGS; reported to the House February 4, 1963: The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide involuntary conversion treatment, for income tax purposes, for property other than stock which is disposed of as a result of civil antitrust proceedings instituted under the Sherman Act or the Clayton Act. Under the bill, no capital gains tax would be incurred where property is disposed of as a result of a judgment or decree in such a case and the proceeds are reinvested in other property, similar or related in service or use to the property disposed of, but instead the new property, to the extent acquired with the proceeds from the property sold, would have the same basis as the old property. Safeguarding provisions were included in the bill, which except for a minor date change is the same as H.R. 8846 of the 87th Congress (which was passed by the House and favorably reported by the Finance Committee to the Senate). At adjournment, H.R. 2826 was pending before the House.

H.R. 2855, by Mr. DEROUNIAN; passed House August 4, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided that in the case of the sale of electric light bulb sets or strings by the importers of the sets or strings, the 10 percent manufacturers' excise tax on light bulbs is to apply to the bulbs in these sets or strings in the same manner as where a domestic producer acquires bulbs and incorporates them in a set or string. The tax would be based on the price for which these or similar light bulbs are sold in the ordinary course of trade by manufacturers, producers, or importers. At adjournment the bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 2875, by Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania; reported to the House February 4, 1963: As reported to the House, this bill would amend the provisions of the present law permitting the Federal Government upon request to enter into an agreement to withhold State or territorial tax from compensation paid Federal employees who are employed in the State or territory so as to also provide for withholding of city taxes by the Federal Government, with respect to its employees who are employed in a city with such a tax, if the city has a population of 60,000 or more. The bill would also delete from these provisions of law references to territories, as being no longer necessary. Restrictions of existing law applicable to State withholding taxes would also apply to the city withholding taxes under the bill, which was the same as H.R. 2017 which had been reported by the Committee on Ways and Means in the 87th Congress. Enactment of this legislation was favored by the Treasury Department, and at adjournment it was pending before the House.

H.R. 3297, by Mr. FALLON; passed House June 27, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which was passed by the House without amendment and at adjournment was pending before the Senate Finance Committee, is to move forward from September 1, 1957, to January 1, 1963, the date before which certain mutual deposit guarantee funds must be organized in order to qualify for income tax exemption. The other requirements for the exemption, which are left unchanged by the bill, provide that the organizations must be mutual, nonprofit organizations without capital stock and operated to provide reserves and insurance for building and loan associations, cooperative banks, or mutual savings banks. These organizations perform essentially the same types of services as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Federal corporations which are exempt from income taxation.

H.R. 3846 (title II), by Mr. ASPINALL; Public Law 88–578, signed September 3, 1964: The tax provisions of this bill, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, were drafted by the Committee on Ways and Means and formally transmitted to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for inclusion as title II of the bill. As approved by the Committee on Ways and Means, and as the bill became law, all Federal excise taxes paid on special motor fuel and gasoline used in motorboats, rather than going into the highway trust fund, are to be placed in the new land and water conservation fund. No change was made in rates of tax or refund provisions of prior law.

H.R. 4040, by Mr. KEOGH. See Public Law 88–272 (H.R. 8363), the Revenue Act of 1964.

H.R. 4649, by Mr. KING of California; Public Law 88–653: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this legislation was to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to authorize the use of certain volatile fruit-flavor concentrates in the cellar treatment of wine, thus permitting winemakers to take advantage of this technological development. The bill also makes it clear that this process will not be considered as making the wine an imitation wine.

The Senate amendments (not affecting the provisions of the House bill) repealing the 8-percent manufacturers' excise tax on rebuilt automotive parts and making the 10-percent manufacturers' excise tax on radio and television components inapplicable to so much of the price of rebuilt television picture tubes as is represented by the fair market value of the used picture tube traded in, were accepted by the House and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 4844, by Mr. ROYBAL; Public Law 88–570, signed September 2, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to provide that gain from installment obligations which were transferred to a taxpayer from a decedent in taxable years to which the 1939 code applied (generally, years beginning before January 1, 1954), but with respect to which installment payments are still being made, may be reported by the recipient on a pro rata basis as he receives installment payments without the necessity of maintaining a bond with the Internal Revenue Service to assure this reporting of the income. The committee was of the opinion that there appears to be no reason to continue these bonding requirements if the holders of the installment obligations which were acquired while the 1939 code was still in effect are willing to enter into a binding agreement to have the 1954 code rules apply (but without the deduction for estate tax). Thus the taxpayer is saved the premiums he must pay to maintain the bonds as well as the bother of applying for a reduction in the bond from time to time as installment payments reduce the size of the gain still to be reported, and the Internal

Revenue Service is saved the necessity of handling the administration of the bonds. The Senate passed the provisions of the House bill without change, but added a provision to the bill relating to the income tax treatment of certain reacquisitions of real property. In conference, this amendment was accepted and as thus amended, the bill became law.

H.R. 5389 (title II), by Mr. PATMAN; Public Law 88-36, signed June 4, 1963: Title II of this bill as agreed to by the Committee on Ways and Means, the language for which was formally transmitted to the Committee on Banking and Currency for inclusion in that committee's report on the bill, provides for a repeal of the tax on transfers of silver bullion. This title of the bill became law without amendment.

H.R. 5468, by Mr. MILLER of California; see: Public Law 88-272 (H.R. 8363), the Revenue Act of 1964.

H.R. 5739, by Mr. HERLONG; Public Law 88-571, signed September 2, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and as passed by the House, this bill made three modifications in the provisions of law relating to the tax treatment of life insurance companies: first, by extending the area of application of the 8-year loss carryover, presently available for new life insurance companies only when they are not affiliated with another company (other than a fire or other casualty insurance company), to new life insurance companies without regard to whether they are affiliated with other companies; second, by correcting an imperfection in present law which permits a double inclusion in the "shareholders surplus account" with respect to the excess of net long-term capital gains over net short-term capital losses. This double inclusion, which is removed by the bill, permits the distribution to shareholders of an amount equal to twice this capital gain without the payment of a tax at the time of distribution (with certain other adjustments) under what is called phase 3, and third, by correcting an imperfection in the additions which are required to be made to the "policyholders surplus account."

The Senate passed the bill with numerous amendments making minor modifications in the provisions of the House bill and adding other provisions relating to the taxation of life insurance companies as well as other tax matters. Under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, in addition to revisions in the tax treatment of life insurance companies provisions were included in the bill making the percentage depletion rate for all ores of beryllium 2 percent and providing a 10-year carryover of certain foreign expropriation capital losses.

H.R. 6246, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88-153, signed October 17, 1963: This legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, provided a 2-year continuation of the tax treatment which has been afforded in the case of accrued vacation pay. Prior law provided that, for taxable years ending before January 1, 1963, a deduction for accrued vacation pay is not to be denied solely because the liability for it to a specific person has not been fixed or because the liability for it to each individual cannot be computed with reasonable accuracy. However, for the corporation to obtain the deduction, the employee must have performed the qualifying service necessary under a plan or policy which provides for vacations with pay to qualified employees and the liability must be reasonably determinable with respect to the group of employees involved. This bill, the enactment of which was unanimously recommended by the Committee on Ways and Means, makes this treatment applicable with respect to taxable years ending before January 1, 1965.

H.R. 6455, by Mr. BYRNES; Public Law 88-380, signed July 17, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide an exemption from the tax on unrelated business taxable income in the case of labor unions and agricultural or horticultural organizations where (1) the income is used to establish, maintain, or operate a retirement home, hospital, or similar facility for the exclusive use of aged and infirm members of the labor union or agriculture or horticultural organization, (2) the income is derived from agricultural pursuits conducted on ground contiguous to the home, hospital, etc., and (3) the income represents not more than 75 percent of the cost of maintaining and operating the home, etc. The amendment of the Senate making the bill effective with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1963, rather than after December 31, 1962, as provided in the House bill, was accepted by the House and the bill was enacted into law as thus amended.

H.R. 6755, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88-52, signed June 29, 1963: This bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, extended for 1 year, through June 30, 1964, the combined corporate tax rate of 52 percent and certain excise tax rates; namely, on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, general (local) telephone service, and the transportation of persons by air. In the committee report on the bill, it was explained that the committee had not yet completed its consideration of the President's 1963 tax recommendations, which involved a reduction in corporate income tax rates, and that it was not "intended that any inferences be drawn" from the interim action taken in H.R. 6755 as to "what the committee may recommend with respect to the corporate tax rate with respect to the President's major tax program." It was also pointed out that in the absence of this legislation, there would be a revenue loss of $4.1 to $4.2 billion in a full year of operation, that the Secretary of the Treasury in his appearance before the committee had suggested that at such time as excise tax reductions were determined to be appropriate "it would be desirable to review all excise taxes rather than to automatically select for reduction those excise taxes which were increased at the time of the Korean conflict, or have been added to the list of excises extended on a year-by-year basis since that time," and that any failure to extend these existing tax rates at the present time would lessen the committee's and Congress opportunity subsequently to determine the most appropriate form of any tax reduction which may be provided.

H.R. 6995, by Mr. KEOGH; see: Public Law 88-272 (H.R. 8363), the "Revenue Act of 1964".

H.R. 7267, by Mr. ULLMAN; passed House June 29, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to provide for the refund of the full 4-cents-a-gallon tax for gasoline used in farming in an aircraft by an aerial applicator if the applicator is the purchaser of the gasoline and the farm owner, tenant, or operator waives his right to obtain this refund. Presently, this 4-cents-a-gallon tax refund is available only to the farm owner, tenant, or operator. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the Senate Committee on Finance.

H.R. 7301, by Mr. UTT; Public Law 88-484, signed August 22, 1964: The purpose of this bill as unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means was to amend the "collapsible corporation" provisions of the tax laws so that they will not apply to the sale of stock in a corporation which consents to a special tax treatment on any later disposition by it of its assets. Under the bill, the corporation must consent to the recognition of gain on dispositions by the corporation of its assets in the same manner as if these assets had been sold for their fair market values. The gain recognized will be ordinary income, if ordinary income would have been recognized on a sale of the assets by the corporation, and will be capital gain if capital gain would have been recognized on such a sale. The amendments of the Senate, making minor modifications in the provisions of the House bill and adding an amendment dealing with the definition of rents in defining personal holding company income, were accepted by the House and the bill became law as thus amended.

H.R. 7307, by Mr. BAKER; passed House June 29, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the apportionment of the depletion allowance between parties to certain contracts for the extraction of minerals (other than oil or gas), so that a contracting party in the case of the extraction of minerals other than oil or gas is not to share in the percentage depletion deduction if (1) he is neither an owner nor lessee of the property; (2) he is required by the contract to deliver the minerals extracted to another party; and (3) he is paid under the contract a fixed sum per unit delivered which does not vary in accordance with the amount received by the other party upon the disposition of these mineral units. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 8000, By Mr. MILLS, the "Interest Equalization Tax Act of 1964"; Public Law 88-563, signed September 2, 1964: This legislation which was enacted at the request of the President is designed to stem the heavy drain of gold and dollars from our shores. Its purpose is, by bringing the cost of capital raised in the U.S. market by foreign persons more nearly into alinement with the cost prevailing in markets in other industrial countries, to help resolve the problem of our balance of payments deficits.

The interest equalization tax is a temporary excise tax effective for the period July 19, 1963 through December 31, 1965. The bill imposes a tax on the purchase by U.S. citizens, residents, domestic corporations, and other U.S. persons of debt obligations or stock of foreign persons but only where the obligation or stock was purchased from a foreigner. The tax on the transfer of stock is 15 percent of the value of the stock and the tax on debt obligations varies from 15 percent on those with a maturity of 28½ years or more down to 2.75 percent for those with a maturity of 3 to 3½ years. No tax is imposed for obligations with a maturity of 3 years or less.

The act contains a series of exemptions designed primarily to give assurance that our export efforts and the normal recurring financing of international business will not be hampered by this tax. The principal exemptions relate to:

(1) Securities acquired from a prior American owner;

(2) Securities received in connection with a wide range of export transactions;

(3) Debt obligations received by commercial banks in the course of their commercial banking business;

(4) Direct investments in 10-percent-owned corporations;

(5) Securities of "less-developed-country corporations" and obligations of less-developed countries;

(6) New security issues which the President exempts in the interest of international monetary stability;

(7) Reserves maintained by insurance companies doing business in foreign countries; and

(8) Investments of foreign membership dues by labor unions and other exempt organizations.

H.R. 9050, by Mrs. GRIFFITHS; passed Senate with amendments September 28, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to extend the tax exemption now available to nonprofit business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards, or boards of trade, to nonprofit nurses' professional registries. These registries are organizations listing nurses available for duty and are supported, in large part, by registry fees, although support from other sources, such as hospitals, is also frequently received. To qualify for this exemption, the registries must be operated by, or associated with, exempt nurses' professional associations, must not be organized for profit, no part of their net earnings may inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and the organization must not charge anyone other than the nurses who are registrants for the use of the registry.

The Senate in passing the bill deleted the provisions of the House bill entirely and inserted in lieu provisions relating to the personal holding company tax, foreign expropriation losses, and the deduction of certain assessments. At adjournment the bill was on the Speaker's table, the House having taken no action on the request of the Senate's for a conference on the bill.

H.R. 8268, by Mr. WATTS; Public Law 88–342, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, as unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to eliminate a tax inequity in connection with the importation into the United States for reprocessing of certain domestically produced tobacco products and cigarette papers and tubes which have been previously exported. Double taxation in such cases is prevented under the bill by providing that tobacco products and cigarette papers and tubes previously exported and otherwise subject to duty may be released, without payment of that part of the duty attributable to the internal revenue tax, for delivery to a manufacturer of such articles in accordance with such regulations and under such bond as the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate shall prescribe. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and it was enacted into law as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 8798, by Mr. THOMPSON of Texas; See Public Law 88–272 (H.R. 8363), the "Revenue Act of 1964."

H.R. 10467, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–554, signed August 31, 1964: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, and as passed by the House, this bill provided for a further 2-year continuation of the rules relating to the deductibility, for income tax purposes, of accrued vacation pay (as described in H.R. 6246 (Public Law 88–153), above), so that the deduction is not to be denied for any taxable year ending before January 1, 1967, under the circumstances set forth.

The Senate passed the provisions of the House bill without amendment, but added several other provisions. Under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, in addition to the original provisions of the House bill the legislation contained provisions (1) relating to the determination of the value of the taxable estate of Carbon P. Dubbs; (2) authorizing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to enter into a closing agreement under which certain deductions will be allowed in computing the taxable estate of Anna Gould de Talleyrand; (3) authorizing and directing the Secretary of Commerce to investigate and study the feasibility of imposing taxes on those transit and commuter systems which are the beneficiaries of Federal financial assistance under the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, for the purpose of raising revenues to defray Federal expenditures under that act; and (4) eliminating the "sidewise attribution" effect under the rules of constructive ownership applicable in determining ownership of stock under certain provisions of the 1954 code.

H.R. 11376, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–348, signed June 30, 1964: As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided a 1-year extension, to July 1, 1965, of certain excise tax rates which would in the absence of legislation have been reduced or terminated. These included the excise tax rates on distilled spirits, beer and wines, cigarettes, passenger cars, auto parts and accessories, general (local) telephone service, and the transportation of persons by air. The rate extensions provided by the bill were in conformity with the recommendations of the administration, and the decision for such action was implicit in the earlier action taken by the Congress in reducing income taxes, in the Revenue Act of 1964. Additionally, the Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that in the consideration of any significant reduction in excise taxes, there should be a thorough study and review of all excise taxes rather than for action to be taken on one specific category. The Senate in passing the bill adopted numerous amendments reducing or repealing excise taxes not involved in the House bill, as well as a provision revising the provision of the Revenue Act of 1964 relating to losses arising from expropriation by the Government of Cuba. Under the conference agreement and as it became law, the bill retained unchanged the provisions of the House bill with the addition of the Cuban loss provision only.

III. CUSTOMS AND TARIFF LEGISLATION

H.R. 370, by Mr. KNOX; reported to the House February 4, 1963: This bill, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, was designed to deal with a situation faced by U.S. bakers who market their products in cities located close to the Canadian border. Under the bill, there would be provided a duty assessment of 7½ percent ad valorem on imports into the United States of pan loaf bread and pan-type loaf bread, made with the use of yeast as the leavening substance, whether or not such bread is sliced. The duty would not be applicable during any period when the principal supplying country of such bread in the year 1961 extends duty-free treatment to U.S. bread of the same kind imported into that country. At adjournment, the bill was pending before the House.

H.R. 1608, by Mr. GLENN; Public Law 88–334, signed June 30, 1964: This legislation, which became law as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was designed to make it clear that it shall be irrelevant for duty-exemption purposes whether aircraft engines and propellers, and parts and accessories thereof, temporarily admitted duty-free under bond for repair are removed from the United States as cargo or as an operating part of an aircraft departing the United States in international traffic. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the committee was advised that its enactment would "facilitate and ease the flow from foreign airlines of repair work to American firms engaged in this type of business."

H.R. 1839, by Mr. TEAGUE of California; Public Law 88–482, signed August 22, 1964: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House of Representatives, this bill extended the existing free importation provisions for wild animals and wild birds intended for exhibition in zoological collections for educational or scientific purposes to wild animals and wild birds imported by any importer for exhibition for any purpose, or imported by a person or firm who in turn woud sell them for ultimate use in exhibitions for any purpose. The committee concluded that enactment of the legislation would serve to eliminate certain customs procedures which surround dutiable importations and thereby permit rapid customs clearance of specimens which could be damaged by delayed customs clearance, and further that in the light of the noncompetitive character of the imports involved, all animal and bird exhibitors should be able to purchase directly or from dealers those live specimens which they believe enhance the quality of their exhibitions without having to pay import duties, either directly, or indirectly.

The Senate amended the bill, deleting entirely the House provision and inserting new text imposing quotas on the imports of certain meats and meat products. Under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, the tariff schedules of the United States were amended to permit the free entry of wild animals (including birds and fish) imported for use, or for sale for use, in any scientific public collection for exhibition for scientific or educational purposes, and there was included a modified provision for the imposition of quotas on certain meat and meat products (fresh, chilled, or frozen meat of cattle, goats, and sheep (except lambs)).

H.R. 2053, by Mr. SCHNEEBELI; Public Law 88–32, signed May 29, 1963: As it became law, this bill provided a 3-year (to the close of May 29, 1966) suspension of duty on imports of cork insulation. As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the bill would have provided a 3-year suspension of duties on cork insulation and certain cork stoppers; however, the bill was amended in the Senate to make the suspension applicable only in the case of cork insulation, the existing tariff treatment on all cork stoppers to be retained. The House accepted this amendment, and the bill became law as so modified.

H.R. 2221, by Mr. GUBSER; Public Law 88–87, signed August 5, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted in the form unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide for the duty-free entry of the mass spectrometer (and its accompanying spare parts assortment) imported during October 1962, for the use of Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. The committee was advised that at the time Stanford University determined its requirements and specifications for the instrument (which was being used at the time of consideration of this legislation for research in organic chemistry sponsored by various governmental agencies), no domestic instrument of equivalent scientific value or adequate performance characteristics was available from domestic sources. Enactment of the legislation was consistent with prior congressional enactments.

H.R. 2330, by Mr. BOGGS; reported to the House March 24, 1964: The purpose of this bill, which at adjournment was pending before the House, was to provide for the duty-free importation of certain antiques made at least 100 years prior to the date of entry. Under the Tariff Schedules of the United States, duty-free entry is provided for certain antiques made prior to the year 1830, and the Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that in the case of antiques generally, it is preferable to provide a criterion based on a certain number of years of age rather than on production prior to a fixed date. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the committee was advised that its enactment would be in keeping with present international practice.

H.R. 2513, by Mr. HERLONG; pocket veto (memorandum of disapproval of President, December 31, 1963): As presented to the

President for his approval, this bill provided that, with respect to every imported article removed from its container and repackaged, the new package must be marked with the name of the country of origin if, under present law, the original container must be so marked, with failure to do so subjecting the repackager to penalty. The Senate had amended the bill by adding a provision which, as agreed to by the conferees and incorporated in the bill sent to the President, would require that all imported sawed lumber and wood products be marked with the country of origin.

The President withheld approval from the bill, thus invoking a pocket veto, and in his memorandum of disapproval indicated that he felt there was no need for the legislation, and that its enactment would hinder trade relations and would impose new costs upon our merchants and consumers.

H.R. 2652, by Mr. BURKE; Public Law 88–331, signed June 30, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and as it became law, this bill provided for the duty-free treatment of Karakul wools and certain other coarse wools imported for use in the manufacture of pressed felt for polishing plate and mirror glass. The committee was advised that wool imported for the manufacture of polishing cloths is a coarse type of wool not available in significant quantities domestically, and was of the opinion that enactment of the bill would be of significant benefit to domestic manufacturers who use this raw material in the production of polishing felts. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation.

H.R. 2675, by Mr. KEOGH; Public Law 88–92, signed August 8, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to continue for 3 years, to September 30, 1966, the period during which certain tanning extracts, and extracts of hemlock or eucalyptus suitable for use for tanning, may be imported free of duty. The suspension of duty on these items has been in effect continuously for several years, the original suspensions having been enacted in view of the lack of domestic availability of tanning extracts resulting from the blight which virtually wiped out the chestnut trees along the Appalachian Range. The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that there is no information to indicate that these considerations do not continue to be pertinent.

H.R. 2827, by Mr. BOGGS; Public Law 88–49, signed June 29, 1963: As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided for a 3-year continuation, to June 30, 1966, of the suspension of import duty on crude chicory and reduction in duty to 2 cents per pound on imports of crude chicory. This duty treatment has been in effect continuously since April 16, 1958. No chicory has been grown in the United States since 1954, and domestic processors of chicory have depended on imports of crude chicory for their supplies of the raw material. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, which became law as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 2874, by Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania; passed House August 17, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed the House without amendment, was to transfer from the free list to the dutiable list of the Tariff Act of 1930 electron microscopes, and parts or accessories thereof, imported by or on behalf of certain nonprofit organizations. The committee had recommended enactment in the 87th Congress of legislation (Public Law 87–95) which provided for the free importation of electron microscopes; but upon receipt of information to the effect that advancements which have occurred in the technology of the production of these items have had the result that domestically produced electron microscopes are now not essentially different in construction and capabilities from some of those which are imported, the committee reexamined the subject and concluded that further importations of such articles should be subject to duty. Subsequently, a bill identical to H.R. 2874 (H.R. 9414) was reported to and passed by the House in the 87th Congress. At adjournment, H.R. 2874 was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 3272, by Mr. STEPHENS; Public Law 88–83, signed August 5, 1963: This bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, authorized and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to admit free of duty an orthicon image assembly for the use of the Medical College of Georgia, Augusta, Ga. The assembly has been installed at the medical college hemodynamic center and is used in medical diagnosis, research, or education to enlarge and display X-ray views of the human anatomy. The Committee on Ways and Means concluded that the legislation was meritorious and consistent with prior congressional enactments, and was unanimous in favorably reporting the bill.

H.R. 3498, by Mr. DEROUNIAN; reported to the House May 12, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to provide for the individual marking (as to country of origin) of printed paper labels or bands imported into the United States. Among the labels and bands which would be so required to be marked would be printed (including lithographed) paper cigar bands, cigar labels, and whisky labels. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the House.

H.R. 3674, by Mr. BURKE; Public Law 88–86, signed August 5, 1963: The purpose of this bill was to correct an unintended anomaly in tariff provisions which had developed over the years, as a result of which polished sheets and plates of iron or steel could be brought into the United States at a lower rate of duty than unpolished sheets and plates. Although the new tariff schedules provided for by the Tariff Classification Act of 1962 recognized and corrected this situation, there had been a delay in implementation of the new schedules and the Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that, in view of the very substantial increase in volume of polished stainless steel imports which had occurred, there was no justification for the continued existence of this rate anomaly in the tariff law. The committee was unanimous in urging enactment of the bill, which provides that polished sheets and plates of iron and steel shall be subject to the same duty as unpolished sheets and plates, and which became law without amendment.

H.R. 3781, by Mr. MILLS; reported to the House June 21, 1963: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to make hat bodies made of toquilla fiber, commonly known as Panama hat bodies, dutiable at the same rate as hat bodies made of ramie fiber. As explained in the committee report on the bill, upon the implementation of the revised tariff schedules of the United States provided for in the Tariff Classification Act of 1962, a single rate of duty would be effective for such natural fiber hat bodies. Since negotiations had not been completed and the implementation of the revised schedules had not been effected, the Committee on Ways and Means deemed further delay in bringing about uniformity in their duty treatment unjustified; however, the U.S. Tariff Schedules did become effective on August 31, 1963, and H.R. 3781 was not acted on by the House.

H.R. 4174, by Mrs. GRIFFITHS; Public Law 88–50, signed June 29, 1963: This legislation continued for 1 year, to the close of June 30, 1964, the existing suspension of duties on metal scrap. The bill continued the existing limitations and provisos of law that the suspension shall not apply to lead, zinc, and tungsten scrap or alloys thereof, etc., and it also provided that the exemption from duty of any article under it will not affect the applicability of section 4541 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, relating to certain copper-bearing ores and concentrates and other articles of which copper is the component material of chief value or containing 4 percent or more of copper by weight.

Favorable departmental reports were received on this bill by the Committee on Ways and Means, and no information indicating any opposition to its enactment was presented. The bill, which was reported unanimously by the committee, became law in the form reported.

H.R. 4189, by Mr. Shelley; Public Law 88–337, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law as amended and unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to provide for the free importation of soluble or instant coffee (containing no admixture of sugar, cereal, or other additive). The United States has been a net exporter of soluble coffee for a number of years, both the domestic production and the net exports having increased substantially in the period 1956–62. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation, and the Committee on Ways and Means was advised that while its enactment would have very slight economic significance as far as the domestic soluble coffee industry is concerned, it would prove to be of particular benefit to the United States internationally, especially with respect to our efforts under the Alliance for Progress to encourage economic growth in Latin America.

H.R. 4364, by Mr. NORBLAD; Private Law 88–317, signed August 31, 1964: As unanimously reported to and passed by the House, this bill provided for the free importation of one mass spectrometer for the use of Oregon State University and one mass spectrometer for the use of Wayne State University (the latter provision representing the substance of H.R. 9014). The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that no equivalent instruments were available from domestic producers at the time the requirements and specifications were determined, and it was of the opinion that the legislation was meritorious and consistent with prior congressional enactments. The Senate, while accepting the provisions of the House bill, provided also for the duty-free entry of one rheogoniometer for the use of the University of Tennessee, one rheogoniometer for the use of Ohio State University, one microcolorimeter imported for the use of the University of Colorado, and all stone imported before enactment of the bill for use in construction of Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr. These amendments were accepted in conference, and, as thus amended, the bill became law.

H.R. 5712, by Mr. BOGGS; Public Law 88–93, signed August 8, 1963: The purpose of this bill was to continue for 3 years, to the close of August 8, 1966, the suspension of import duty on heptanoic acid. Heptanoic acid is used in making special lubricants and brake fluids for use particularly in military aircraft. The Committee on Ways and Means was advised by the Department of Commerce that at the present time there is no U.S. production of this acid. Favorable reports on the legislation were received from the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Labor, and the committee was unanimous in recommending its enactment.

H.R. 5986, by Mr. COLLIER; passed House August 11, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to adjust the rate of duty applicable to imports of

certain brooms made wholly or partly of broom corn. The specific rates provided by the bill would yield duty of $2.88 per dozen for floor brooms and 96 cents per dozen for whisk brooms. While these duties would fall short of equalizing the costs of production as found by the U.S. Tariff Commission between brooms manufactured in the United States and imported brooms, the Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that the rates provided would be of substantial benefit to the domestic industry.

At adjournment, this bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee, although that committee had adopted its substance as an amendment to H.R. 12253. the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act, which was passed by the Senate with various amendments and at adjournment was on the Speaker's table.

H.R. 6011, by Mr. BETTS; Public Law 88–90, signed August 8, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to continue for 3 years, until September 5, 1966, the suspension of duty on dressed or manufactured istle or Tampico fiber. The duty on such fiber, the principal use in the United States of which is in the manufacture of brushes, has been suspended continuously since 1957, the purpose of the suspension being to reduce the burden of higher prices on domestic users of the fibers. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation, and the Committee on Ways and Means was unanimous in recommending its enactment.

H.R. 6791, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–53, signed June 29, 1963: Enactment of this legislation was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury as a part of the continuing program to counter our unfavorable balance-of-payments position. The bill continued for 2 years, to July 1, 1965, the temporary reduction, from $500 to $100, in the amount of purchases made abroad that a returning resident of the United States may bring back into this country free of duty. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that this action had proved to be a useful tool in the balance-of-payments program and that its continuation for another 2 years was warranted.

As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House of Representatives, the bill extended to all insular possessions of the United States the duty-free entry of up to $200 (no more than $100 of which may have been acquired elsewhere than in an insular possession) which already applied in the case of American residents returning directly or indirectly from the Virgin Islands. The bill was amended in the Senate to eliminate the $200 provision in the case of all insular possessions, including the Virgin Islands. Under the conference agreement and as the bill became law, the $200 provision was applicable only in the case of the Virgin Islands and only to the close of March 31, 1964—see H.R. 10170, below.

H.R. 7480, by Mr. JENNINGS; Public Law 88–338, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was enacted into law as amended and unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to suspend for a temporary period (until June 30, 1967) the import duty on manganese ore (including ferruginous ore) and related products. The committee was advised that domestic production of manganese ore, which is used principally for metallurgical purposes in the production of steel and, in much smaller amounts, in the production of dry cell batteries and in the manufacture of manganese chemicals, accounts for a very small percentage of domestic consumption. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the committee was of the opinion that its enactment would be desirable from the standpoint of domestic producers of ferromanganese and other manganese alloys, by reducing costs to those processors and resulting in the enhancement of the competitive position of domestically produced alloys in the market.

H.R. 8461, by Mr. WATTS; reported to the House, March 24, 1964: The purpose of this bill was to amend section 311 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to permit the manufacture in bonded manufacturing warehouses of cigars made of tobacco imported from more than one foreign country. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, which at adjournment was pending before the House.

H.R. 8975, by Mr. KNOX; Public Law 88–333, signed June 30, 1964: This bill, which was enacted into law as amended and unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, provided for the tariff classification of certain particleboard imported during the period beginning July 11, 1957, and ending August 31, 1963. The inequity rectified by the bill will not be encountered for entries after August 31, 1963, since the new tariff schedules of the United States, which were effective as of that date, make specific provision for wood particleboard. Prior to the adoption of the new tariff schedules, it was the practice of the Bureau of Customs to classify imports of particleboard in standard wallboard sizes, such as 4 by 8 feet, as wallboard, at the rate of 5-percent ad valorem, provided such particleboard had not been treated, processed, or finished in any manner described in the pertinent paragraph. However, the addition of 1 inch to the length and width of the particleboard—to protect the true 4 by 8 foot size from damage during handling and shipping—served to preclude such classification and resulted in duty assignment, in terms of ad valorem equivalent, of approximately 400 percent. This legislation provided a uniform treatment for such entries by providing that wood particleboard entered or withdrawn from warehouse during the period specified, is to be dutiable under the provision for wallboard at the rate of 5-percent ad valorem (if not excluded from classification thereunder by reason of any processing specified therein), with appropriate provision being made for reliquidation and refund of such entries that may have become final. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation.

H.R. 9014, by Mrs. GRIFFITHS; See: H.R. 4364—Public Law 88–317, above.

H.R. 9311, by Mr. KING of California; Public Law 88–362, signed July 7, 1964: The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, was (1) to continue for 2 years, until July 16, 1966, the suspension of duty on alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum, and (2) to make bauxite ore and calcined bauxite permanently free of duty. Favorable departmental reports were received by the committee on the bill. The Senate passed the bill with an amendment deleting the permanent effect of the suspension of duty on bauxite and providing instead a 2-year continuation of the suspension of duty both on alumina when imported for use in producing aluminum, and on bauxite ore and calcined bauxite. The House accepted the amendments of the Senate, and the legislation became public law as so amended.

H.R. 10170, by Mr. MILLS; passed House March 19, 1964: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this legislation was to continue, until the close of June 30, 1965, the additional $100 tariff exemption afforded returning residents of the United States with respect to articles acquired in the Virgin Islands. The legislation enacted in 1961 (Public Law 87–132) as a part of the President's program on the balance of payments reducing to $100 the exemption with respect to U.S. residents returning to this country had been extended (Public Law 88–53, H.R. 6791 above) to July 1, 1965, but the provision with respect to the additional $100 of exemptions for residents returning from the Virgin Islands was extended by that act only to April 1, 1964, in order to afford the interested executive agencies an appropriate period of time within which to make a study and report back to the Congress as to the direct and indirect effect of these provisions on the economy of the Virgin Islands. It was the opinion of the Committee on Ways and Means that the findings contained in the report subsequently submitted justified the extension of the additional $100 exemption to July 1, 1965. At adjournment, the bill was pending in the Senate Finance Committee.

H.R. 10463, by Mrs. GRIFFITHS; Public Law 88–324, signed June 29, 1964: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to continue for 1 year, to the close of June 30, 1965, the existing suspension of duties on metal scrap (see H.R. 4174, Public Law 88–50, above). Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and the Committee on Ways and Means was advised that the conditions which prompted the initial suspension of the duty on metal scrap, and the continuations thereof to the present time, have not changed. The committee was unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

H.R. 10465, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–323, signed June 25, 1964: The purpose of this bill, which was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and was enacted into law without amendment, was to extend for 2 years (to the close of June 30, 1966) the provisions of law relating to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders. Temporary provision for the free entry of such effects was provided by the act of June 27, 1942 (Public Law 77–638), and has been extended by legislative enactment from time to time since that date. The basic provision is safeguarded from abuse both by restrictions contained in the act and by appropriate departmental regulations. The interested departments recommended passage of the legislation, regarding the exemption as important both in the inducement of getting people to serve abroad and in contributing to the morale of U.S. personnel on duty outside the customs territory of the United States.

H.R. 10468, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–336, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this bill was to continue until the close of June 30, 1966, the suspension of duty on certain copying shoe lathes. This suspension of duty, which was originally enacted on August 6, 1956, and has been in effect continuously since that date by means of temporary extensions from time to time, was done in order to make available to domestic shoe last manufacturers highly specialized and expensive copying lathes which the Committee on Ways and Means is advised can only be obtained from foreign sources. No opposition to this duty suspension has been made known to the committee, and the committee was unanimous in recommending its enactment. It became law without amendment.

H.R. 10537, by Mr. HARVEY of Michigan; Public Law 88–329, signed June 29, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to continue for 2 years, until July 1, 1966, the suspension of duty on natural amorphous graphite, crude and refined, valued at $50 per ton or less. This mineral has a wide variety of industrial uses, such as for foundry facings and in the manufacture of carbon brushes, dry cell batteries, pencils and paints, lubricants, and brush stock for electric motors. The Committee on Ways and Means has been advised that the United States has long been dependent on imports

for nearly all of its requirements for natural amorphous graphite despite extensive exploration for suitable domestic deposits, and that since 1959 domestic output has ceased. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means was unanimous in recommending its enactment.

H.R. 12253, by Mr. MILLS; passed Senate with amendments September 30, 1964: This bill, the "Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1964," was designed to provide clarifying language and to correct certain errors, oversights, and inadvertencies in the tariff schedules of the United States.

The tariff schedules of the United States were put into effect on August 31, 1963, by Presidential proclamation under the authority of the Tariff Classification Act of 1962 (Public Law 87–456), the purpose of the new schedules being to provide a revision and consolidation which is logical in arrangement and which is adapted to the changes which have occurred since 1930 in import trade, to eliminate anomalies and simplify tariff classification.

In the process of the development of the tariff schedules of the United States, involving as they do literally hundreds of thousands of foreign products, it was inevitable that some unintended rate changes and other inadvertencies and oversights would occur. The purpose of H.R. 12253, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House of Representatives, was to supply clarifying language where necessary, and to correct certain of the errors, oversights, and inadvertencies that were brought to the committee's attention in the period, involving nearly 8 months, during which the committee received submissions from interested parties on the subject of tariff classification.

In reporting the bill to the Senate, the Committee on Finance amended the bill in a number of respects. The Senate-passed bill incorporated additional amendments added on the Senate floor, including amendments to the Sugar Act of 1948. Subsequently, the request of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means for unanimous consent to take the bill from the Speaker's table and agree to the conference requested by the Senate was objected to, and further action on the bill was precluded by the adjournment of the 88th Congress on the following day.

House Concurrent Resolution 57, by Mr. WATTS; reported to House February 4, 1963: See summary of Senate Concurrent Resolution 19, below.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 19, by Senator MORTON; passed House May 4, 1964: This concurrent resolution expressed the sense of Congress that the appropriate agencies of the U.S. Government should be aware of the fact that bourbon whisky is recognized as a distinctive product of the United States to the end that such agencies will take appropriate action to prohibit the importation of whisky designated as bourbon whisky.

House Concurrent Resolution 57, which had been unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was substantially similar in purpose to Senate Concurrent Resolution 19, expressing the sense of the Congress that importation of bourbon whisky be prohibited unless it is labeled to show the country of origin as an integral part of the name.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 19, having passed the Senate by voice vote, was unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed the House by voice vote under suspension of the rules.

IV. SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION (INCLUDING BILLS AMENDING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION, FUTA, ETC. LAWS)

H.R. 287, by Mr. BARING; Public Law 88–382, signed July 23, 1964: The purpose of this bill, which became law as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to amend title II of the Social Security Act to add Nevada to the list of 17 States which are permitted to divide their retirement systems into two parts for purposes of old-age, survivors and disability insurance coverage, one part consisting of the positions of members who desire coverage and the other consisting of the positions of members who do not desire coverage.

H.R. 2651, by Mr. BALDWIN; Public Law 88–48, signed June 29, 1963: This bill, which became public law without amendment, extended for 1 year the provision of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 (Public Law 87–543) which permits the responsibility for the placement and foster care of dependent children under the program of aid to needy families with dependent children (title IV of the Social Security Act) to be exercised by a public agency other than the agency which regularly administers this program.

Under the permanent provisions of existing law, Federal matching is made available as to certain children placed under foster care pursuant to court order. The 1962 legislation provided an exception to the requirement that the responsibility for placement and care must reside solely with the State or local agency administering the title IV program so as to take care of the situation in a few States where it has been the practice for other public agencies, particularly juvenile courts, to be responsible for arranging the placement and providing for the supervision of children who the courts have decided should live in homes other than those of their own families. As originally enacted, this provision would have expired on June 30, 1963, and this bill, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, extended the provision for 1 year to June 30, 1964.

The bill also extended to December 31, 1963, the date by which the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must submit to the President, for transmission to the Congress, a full report of the administration of this provision, including the experiences of each of the States in arranging for foster care, together with recommendations as to continuation of, and modifications in, the procedure authorized by the provision.

H.R. 3348, by Mr. TUPPER; Public Law 88–350, signed July 2, 1964: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill, amended the provisions of law governing the old-age survivors' and disability insurance program into two ways; first by including the State of Texas among the States which may obtain social security coverage, under State agreement, for State and local policemen and firemen under retirement systems (thus incorporating the substance of H.R. 6620); and second, by reinstating, until July 1, 1965, a provision of law which permitted the State of Maine to modify its existing agreement under section 218 of the Social Security Act to provide that teaching and nonteaching employees who are actually in the same retirement system be treated as though they were under separate retirement systems for social security coverage purposes, thus enabling the State of Maine to complete the desired extensions of coverage. The bill was passed by the House and Senate and became law without change.

H.R. 4655, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–31, signed May 29, 1963: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided three changes in the laws relating to the unemployment compensation system. These were: (1) a reduction in the Federal unemployment tax attributable to the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961 from 0.4 to 0.25 percent with respect to wages paid in 1963, making the combined net Federal unemployment tax for 1963 wages 0.65 percent (apart from any reduced credit provisions that might apply in particular States); (2) the provision of a flexible ceiling, with respect to fiscal years 1964 and thereafter, in lieu of the $350 million limitation, on grants to the States to cover the administrative costs of unemployment compensation and the employment service, of 95 percent of the estimated receipts under the regular 0.4 percent net Federal unemployment tax; and (3) the extension from 5 to 10 years of the period during which States may obligate, for administrative purposes, certain funds transferred from excess Federal tax collections.

The Senate adopted the provisions of the House bill without change, but added an amendment increasing the ceiling on amounts which may be granted to States for administrative expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, to $407,148,000. This amendment was accepted by the House and the bill became public law as thus amended.

H.R. 6620, by Mr. THOMPSON of Texas; see H.R. 3348 (Public Law 88–350), above.

H.R. 7544, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–156, signed October 24, 1963: This legislation, entitled the "Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963," was designed to carry out a number of the recommendations in this area resulting from urgent needs discovered by the President's panel as a result of the extensive studies it conducted. Its enactment will assist States and communities in preventing and combating mental retardation through expansion and improvement of the maternal and child health and crippled children's programs, through provision of prenatal, maternity, and infant care for individuals with conditions associated with child-bearing which may lead to mental retardation, and through planning for comprehensive action to combat mental retardation.

Specifically, the legislation provides for (1) expanding the existing programs of maternal and child health services and crippled children's services; (2) authorizing grants for maternity care projects designed to prevent mental retardation; (3) authorizing grants or contracts for research projects related to the maternal and child health or crippled children's services programs that show promise of advancing these programs; and (4) authorizing one-time grants to States to encourage planning and other activities that promote State and community efforts to combat mental retardation.

In the report of the Committee on Ways and Means on this bill, it was pointed out that the cost of institutional care, facilities construction, and special care in the family for the mentally retarded is estimated at more than $1 billion per year, and that payments for mentally retarded persons under the public assistance and social security programs amounted to about $100 million in the fiscal year 1963. The report continues: "Significant reductions in these burdens to families, to States and localities, and to our society as a whole amply justify increased expenditures that will prevent and reduce mental retardation as a social and economic problem." The additional cumulative cost authorized by this legislation will total approximately $265 million for the 5-year period, fiscal years 1964 through 1968.

Except for a minor clarifying amendment of the Senate, which was agreed to by the House, the bill became law in the form reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 8821, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–173, signed November 7, 1963: The purpose of this legislation was to facilitate the restoration to the Treasury of moneys made available to the States under the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958 and title XII of the Social Security Act (in the case of advances made before September 13, 1960) by modifying the rate of employer repayment and by permitting, at the option of the State each year, install-

ment repayment by a State in lieu of additional employer taxes. No "forgiveness" of any amount was provided by the bill, but rather the effect is to provide a "stretch-out" for repayment of the amounts involved. More specifically, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and as ultimately enacted into law, the bill (1) provides a tax rate for repayment of advances under title XII of the Social Security Act of 0.15 percent for 5 taxable years, 1963–67. After taxable year 1967, the rate is increased by a 0.15 percent step each year until the advance is repaid. It is provided that a State can avoid the automatic tax increase on its employers for any year by an installment repayment (or, as under prior law, by total repayment) made before November 10 of the taxable year; (2) freezes the rate of restoration of the costs of the TUC program of 1958 at 0.30 percent, the 1964 level under prior law until the funds are restored. For taxable year 1963, the rate remains at 0.15 percent. It is provided that a State can avoid the tax increase for any year by an installment restoration (or, as under prior law, by total restoration) made before November 10 of the year; and (3) provides for installment repayment by the State for either TUC moneys or title XII advances, the installment to be computed by applying the tax rate for the year involved to State taxable wages for the prior year adjusted for the excess, if any, of the State taxable wage base over the Federal taxable wage base.

H.R. 9393, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–650: This legislation, as unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by voice vote, provided various improvements in the provisions of law relating to the old-age, survivors', and disability insurance program: (1) an amendment to title II of the Social Security Act to permit a disabled worker to establish the beginning of his disability, for purposes of social security protection, as of the date he actually became disabled regardless of when he files his application; (2) a provision amending the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend generally through April 15, 1965, the time within which ministers (including Christian Science practitioners) can elect to be covered under social security; and (3) the validation of certain earnings reported under social security of engineering aids working for local soil and water conservation districts in Oklahoma who were reported in good faith, but erroneously, as State employees under the coverage agreement between the State of Oklahoma and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Senate passed the bill without change in the provisions of the House bill, but adding provisions (1) excluding from the definition of wages for social security and unemployment insurance purposes certain payments representing reimbursement for moving expenses, and (2) allowing the States to extend the duration of the income exemption for certain needy blind who have State-approved rehabilitation plans. The House accepted the Senate amendments and the bill became law in this form.

H.R. 9688, by Mr. BALDWIN; Public Law 88–345, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to further extend, until June 30, 1967, the provision of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 (Public Law 87–543) which permits the responsibility for the placement and foster care of dependent children under the program of aid to needy families with children to be exercised by a public agency other than the agency which regularly administers this program. (See H.R. 2651, Public Law 88–48, above.) The report of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare indicated that there had been insufficient experience under the temporary provision to permit an evaluation either of its effectiveness or as to whether modifications are desirable. The Committee on Ways and Means was unanimous in recommending that the provision be extended until June 30, 1967. The Advisory Council on Public Welfare will thus have the opportunity to consider this provision and to give the Congress the benefit of its views before its expiration.

H.R. 10466, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–347, signed June 30, 1964: The purpose of this legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to extend for 3 years, until June 30, 1967, the provisions of sec. 1113(d) of the Social Security Act which authorize provision of temporary assistance to U.S. citizens returned from foreign countries under certain circumstances. Under this program, which was initiated in 1961, temporary assistance is provided to citizens of the United States and to dependents of such citizens if they are identified by the Department of State as having returned, or having been brought, from a foreign country to the United States because of the destitution of the citizen or the illness of the citizen or any of his dependents or because of war, threat of war, invasion, or similar crisis, and if they are without available resources. The program is administered through State and local public welfare agencies. The Advisory Council on Public Welfare will have the opportunity to give the Congress the benefit of its views on this provision, along with others scheduled to expire on June 30, 1967, well before that date. Extension of the provision was recommended by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the bill was unanimously reported to the House by the' Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10473, by Mr. KING of California; Public Law 88–641: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill was to extend until June 30, 1967, the provision of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 (Public Law 87–543) which permits Federal participation in payments under the program of aid and services to needy families with children (title IV of the Social Security Act) for certain children requiring foster care who are in nonprofit private child-care institutions. The Senate accepted the provision of the House bill without change and added a provision extending to age 21 the age limit for the extension of Federal matching as to payments of aid to families with dependent children where the child is still attending high school or a vocational school. The amendment of the Senate was accepted by the House, and in this form the bill became law.

H.R. 11865, by Mr. MILLS; passed Senate with amendments September 3, 1964; House agreed to conference September 15, 1964: This bill, the "Social Security Amendments of 1964," as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House of Representatives, contained numerous provisions making revisions and improvements in the old-age, survivors' and disability insurance program under title II of the Social Security Act. The major provisions of the bill, as passed by the House, can be summarized as follows:

First. Provision for a 5-percent across-the-board increase in benefits for all of the 20 million beneficiaries presently on the rolls and future beneficiaries. For the first full year of operation, it is estimated that $925 million in additional benefit amounts would have been paid under this provision.

Second. A special "transitional insured status" provision to liberalize the eligibility requirements so that certain aged people who do not meet the work requirements in present law could qualify for benefits on the basis of as few as three-quarters of coverage. Upon attaining age 72, a worker or widow who could qualify under this provision would get a monthly benefit of $35; a wife who could qualify would get a benefit of $17.50. It is estimated that some 400,000 individuals would have been added to the social security benefit rolls by this provision.

Third. Provision for the payment of a child's insurance benefit until the child raches age 22, provided the child is attending school, including a vocational school, or college as a full time student after he reaches age 18. It is estimated that some 275,000 children would have benefited from this provision.

Fourth. Provision for the payment of benefits to widows beginning at age 60, at their election, with the benefits payable to those who claim them before age 62 actuarially reduced to take account of the longer period over which they would be paid. In the first full year that this provision would have been effective, 1965, it is estimated that some 180,000 widows would have taken advantage of it and made election for receipt of benefits between ages 60 and 62.

Fifth. Provisions for changes in existing law with respect to coverage requirements so as to expand the coverage of the existing social security program in the direction of more universal coverage of all individuals:

(a) Doctors of medicine and interns: Provision for repeal of the exclusion in existing law with respect to self-employed doctors of medicine, and interns. Some 170,000 such individuals, who are excluded from coverage under present law, would have been brought under the system by this provision.

(b) Cash tips: Provision to include in the definition of "wages" for social security purposes cash tips received by an employee in the course of his employment. This provision would have made improved social security protection available for more than 1 million employees and their families.

(c) Policemen and firemen: Provision for the removal of the general exclusion in existing law relating to the coverage of policemen and firemen in retirement systems. Coverage would have thus been made available in all States to policemen and firemen in positions covered under State or local government retirement systems—but only on the initiative of the State or local government and under the present referendum provisions. Moreover, policemen and firemen could not have been brought under coverage as part of a group which included persons in positions other than firemen and policemen positions.

(d) Extension of time for election of coverage: Provision for affording a further opportunity, through 1965, for the election of coverage by employees of States and localities who had not previously elected coverage under the provision permitting specified States to cover only those members of a retirement system who desire coverage.

(e) Self-employment income from agriculture: Provision for increasing the maximum amount of gross farm income that farmers may use in computing covered farm self-employment income, under the operational reporting method based on gross income, from $1,800 to $2,400.

In accordance with established congressional policy, the bill as passed by the House contained financing provisions to support the benefit increases and the measure's other provisions, and, in addition, it was designed to improve the long-range actuarial status of the social security trust funds. To accomplish this, the bill provided for an increase in the earnings base, which is used for tax purposes and in computing benefits, from the present $4,800 to $5,400, effective in 1965. It also made changes in the tax rate schedule of existing law, evening out the schedule between 1965 and 1971 (increasing the rate for some of these years and decreasing it for others), and finally providing for an increase in 1971 and thereafter from the present 4.625 to 4.8 percent each for employees and employers. For the self-employed, the 1971 rate would be 7.2 percent as

compared to the provision in existing law which provides for a rate of 6.9 percent.

In addition, the bill provided for a reallocation of contribution income between the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund and the disability insurance trust fund. This was designed to strengthen the financing of the disability insurance program and to provide for a more reasonable distribution of contribution income between the two parts of the social security system.

The net effect of all the changes made by the bill, as passed by the House, would have been to improve the actuarial position of the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program. The estimated actuarial deficit of 0.24 percent of taxable payroll for the present system would have been reduced to 0.19 percent.

The Finance Committee reported the bill in the Senate with amendments to the provisions of the House bill as well as with the addition of other provisions, some of which affected the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act. On the Senate floor further amendments were adopted, including an amendment to provide a system of health insurance for the aged under the social security system. The financing provisions of the House bill were likewise amended on the Senate floor, with the provision of a $5,600 wage base and a tax rate schedule revised upward from the House provision.

After several days of meetings, the conference committee was unable to reach agreement and on October 2, 1964, the committee adjourned. Any possible further action on the bill was precluded with the adjournment of the 88th Congress on the following day.

V. LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE RENEGOTIATION OF DEFENSE CONTRACTS, THE PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT, AND MISCELLANEOUS BILLS

H.R. 6009, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–30, signed May 29, 1963: This legislation provided a temporary increase in the public debt limit, which in the absence of legislative enactment would have reverted on July 1, 1963, to the permanent ceiling of $285 billion. As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill provided a ceiling of $307 billion from the date of enactment through June 30, 1963, and of $309 billion for the months of July and August 1963. In the committee report on the bill, it was stated that the extension of the temporary ceiling through July and August was designed to give the committee and the Congress "more time to consider the appropriate limitation for the balance of the fiscal year 1964," and it was also pointed out that "congressional action on appropriations can be expected to have progressed to the point where it will be possible to obtain a much clearer picture of probable expenditures for the fiscal year 1964." The bill was amended by the Senate Committee on Finance to extend the $309 billion temporary ceiling through the entire fiscal year 1964, but this amendment was rejected by the Senate and the bill ultimately became law in the form originally reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 7824, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–106, signed August 27, 1963: The purpose of this legislation was to extend for an additional 3 months, through November 1963, the temporary public debt ceiling of $309 billion. The bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was in accord with the recommendation of the administration. The committee report on the bill stated that "very little more was known about the revenue, expenditure, and debt levels for the latter part of the fiscal year 1964 at the present time than was known" in May when the earlier bill was enacted, and for that reason the temporary ceiling was extended for the 3-month period rather than for the entire fiscal year.

H.R. 8864, by Mr. MILLS; conference report rejected by House and further conference requested, August 18, 1964: The purpose of this bill was to authorize the procedures required in order that the President might carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962. That agreement has been signed by the United States, and the Senate has given its advice and consent to ratification.

The bill would authorize the President to require all coffee entering U.S. markets and all exports of coffee to be accompanied by a certificate of origin or a certificate of reexport; to limit imports of coffee from countries which have not joined in the agreement; to require the keeping of certain records, statistics, and other information; and to take such other action as he may consider necessary to implement the obligations of the United States under the treaty.

The bill also authorized appropriations necessary to carry out the obligations of the United States under the treaty. Certain obsolete provisions of law would also be repealed.

The Senate passed the bill without change in the provisions of the House bill but adding a new section authorizing and directing the President to cause written notice of withdrawal from the International Coffee Agreement under certain circumstances. The conference agreement as reflected in the conference report subsequently filed was rejected by the House, and the bill was sent back to conference. No further action was taken.

H.R. 8969, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–187, signed November 26, 1963: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law without amendment, was to extend the existing temporary debt limitation of $309 billion for the remainder of fiscal year 1964, and to provide an additional $6 billion leeway to be available during the year for seasonal variations in the receipt of revenues and payment of bills owed by the Federal Government. The additional $6 billion, however, in the absence of further legislation would expire on June 29, 1964. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that this legislation provided the minimum debt limitation consistent with a policy of sound debt management, and that further restrictions on the debt ceiling would have serious implications for our balance of payments and for the sound management of our debt.

H.R. 10669, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–339, signed June 30, 1964: As reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and enacted into law, the purpose of this bill was to extend for 2 years, until June 30, 1966, the Renegotiation Act of 1951, under which the Government is authorized to recapture excessive profits on certain Government contracts and related subcontracts. The legislation also provided that the provisions of the Renegotiation Act would be applicable to contracts with the Federal Aviation Agency, and related subcontracts, to the extent of amounts received or accrued by a contractor or subcontractor after June 30, 1964. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that under existing world conditions and those reasonably foreseeable, the continuation of statutory renegotiation is essential in the national interest. The vast governmental expenditures made in the defense and space areas are often made under circumstances that make a guarantee against excessive profits impossible, regardless of the diligence of procurement officials, and renegotiation is needed to eliminate such excesses wherever they occur. The committee also concluded that substantial amounts of material purchased by the Federal Aviation Agency are sufficiently similar to items purchased by other departments whose contracts are already subject to renegotiation that a distinction in this case is not justified.

H.R. 11375, by Mr. MILLS; Public Law 88–327, signed June 29, 1964: This legislation provided a temporary debt limitation of $324 billion from the date of enactment through fiscal year 1965, to June 30, 1965. Under the bill, the permanent statutory debt ceiling remains at $285 billion. The provisions of the bill were in accordance with the recommendations of the administration, and it was enacted into law without amendment.

S. 1359, by Senator DOUGLAS; Public Law 88–58, signed July 8, 1963: The purpose of this legislation was to authorize an additional Assistant Secretary in the Treasury Department. Under prior law, provision was made for only three presidentially appointed Assistant Secretaries in the Department of the Treasury. The Committee on Ways and Means was advised that the limitation to three Assistant Secretaries had become a distinct administrative handicap in the Treasury Department, and that authorization of one additional Assistant Secretary would result in more efficient and expeditious administration within the Department. The committee was further advised that enactment of this bill would result in no additional personnel in the Treasury Department and would not result in any additional costs to the Government. The bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means, and became public law without amendment.

Haystack Radar Facility Will Help Explore the Universe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, next week there will be held in my district the formal dedication of the new joint U.S. Air Force and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Lincoln Laboratory, Haystack High-Performance Microwave Experimental Facility near Tyngsboro.

This new supersensitive antenna system, called Haystack after its location on Haystack Hill, is designed to perform many functions. It is a space communications ground terminal. It is a tracking and measurements radar. It is a radio telescope. It is a vehicle for evaluation of advance radio and radar techniques. It can pinpoint space vehicles. It can probe the surface of the sun, moon, or the planets in our solar system. It can help explore the universe.

I am proud indeed to salute this vital facility which will be capable of aiming powerful signals into space with great precision, and will be able to receive exceptionally weak signals from distant stellar radio sources. This important new installation will add substantially to the Nation's ability to conduct further investigations in microwave technology, radio physics investigations, and ground-based experimental space communications programs.

The Haystack radar will be dedicated on October 8 by Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, one of the Nation's most forward-looking military leaders.

Recently General Schriever was honored by the Air Force Association for his many personal contributions to the success of the U.S. Air Force ballistic missile program, which he was called on to direct in 1954. He took on a task that many people considered impossible and accomplished it brilliantly. I am fully convinced that our national security today is due in no small part to the achievements of General Schriever and his hard-working associates.

Today General Schriever carries even weightier responsibilities. As commander of the Air Force Systems Command he heads up the largest military research and development effort in the free world. It is his task to insure that the United States maintains its leadership in military technology.

Because leadership in technology is vital to nour national security and survival, many of us in the Congress are anxious that General Schriever and his people have the tools and support they need to do the job. Among the most critical needs of a vigorous technology program are modern laboratory and test facilities. General Schriever has expressed this fact in a vivid fashion, saying that technical facilities and the people who operate them are the "lifeblood" of his operations.

The urgent need for these modern technical installations is not universally appreciated. Nor is there always recognition of the fact that such advanced and complex facilities require considerable time to design, build, and check out. The Haystack radar, for example, which incorporates a number of very exacting and stringent design features, was more than 3 years in construction. This long leadtime means that facilities have to be planned, designed, and built well in advance of the specific systems requirements. As General Schriever has stated:

> If facility development is delayed until the emergence of an approved and funded system that specifically requires it, the facility cannot be ready by the time the system requires its services.

The history of the past 20 years demonstrates convincingly that foresight in planning and building technical facilities has paid handsome dividends. Failure to look ahead imaginatively to future needs, however, could be disastrous.

For example, it is my understanding that the initial request for approximately $200 million for construction of technical facilities in fiscal year 1965 for the Air Force research and development program was subsequently reduced to the point that only about $14 million of this initial request for needed technical facilities ever reached the Congress for consideration.

Among the facilities that did not reach the Congress for review last year were two that, in my estimation, deserve special attention. The first is an Aerospace Medical Laboratory for study of acceleration. Specifically, this laboratroy is required to study the mechanical stresses on human beings during operational and emergency conditions in aircraft and space vehicles. A laboratory of this kind is needed not only for research into Air Force systems, but also for extensive support to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in programs such as Gemini and Apollo. Without this new facility, acceleration research after 1966 will be severely hampered.

The National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council Committee on Hearing, Bioastronautics, and Biomechanics after obtaining information from the Federal Aviation Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the U.S. Air Force and the Department of Defense has concluded that the proposed Acceleration Laboratory "would not constitute an unwarranted duplication of any existing facilities or any facilities planned for construction in the future" and "should satisfy many of the research requirements through the 1975 period."

The second facility is a hypersonic true temperature wind tunnel, which is required for simulation testing of many problems involved in the development of lift-type vehicles with both rocket and air-breathing engines for space operations. Such a facility is essential to the development of recoverable boosters, lifting reentry vehicles, and aerospace planes.

There are a number of strong indications that the Soviets are extremely interested in building a test facility of this kind. A significant amount of their research, as indicated in open literature, appears aimed in this direction. We would be most unwise to ignore the potential threat inherent in these actions.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will be given the opportunity to evaluate the urgent need for these important facilities when the fiscal year 1966 budget is under review.

In the light of the vital contribution of technical facilities to our national security and in view of General Schriever's well-expressed convictions on the important role of these facilities in the defense effort, I would like to include as part of my remarks his well documented article, "Technical Facilities for Tomorrow's Spacepower," which appeared in Armed Forces Management magazine for August 1963. His views on long-range planning for national security require now more than ever the serious study and consideration they deserve from all thinking Americans.

Technical Facilities for Tomorrow's Spacepower

(By Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, commander, Air Force Systems Command)

The United States is engaged in a technological race with the Soviet Union. The obvious intention of the Soviets is to achieve decisive superiority in military technology.

Their leaders have proclaimed this goal repeatedly and they appear to be channeling their national resources effectively toward this objective. A number of their achievements in space flight not only show considerable technical ability but also manifest a definite potential for future military applications.

In the face of this technological challenge, adequate long-range planning for national security must take into account the technical facilities that will be needed to develop tomorrow's spacepower. This is a matter of real urgency, because advanced laboratories, wind tunnels, environmental chambers, ranges and associated equipment are items with extremely long lead times.

Today's weapon systems, it should be remembered, have been developed in facilities that were conceived in the 1940's and built in the 1950's. At that time, they were regarded as very advanced. They involved some technical risk and could not be justified on the basis of systems of that day. However, these same facilities have been indispensable to the development of weapon systems in our inventory today—systems which were neither approved nor funded at the time the facilities were designed.

For example, the enginering test cells at the Air Force Arnold Engineering Development Center (AEDC), Tenn., were designed in 1944–45 to test air-breathing propulsion systems. Today, three of the seven cells are used exclusively to test rocket motors—which were not even part of a U.S. weapon system at the time the cells were conceived.

It took over 4 years of review by a number of agencies before the test cells were finally approved, authorized, and funded. The first cell was partially operational in 1953, but the total complement did not become totally operational until 1957—12 years after initial steps had been taken for their acquisition.

Had it not been for the forward-looking efforts of Dr. Theodore von Karman, and his scientific associates, as well as the foresight of those who approved construction of these test cells, they would not have been available even then to support the Nation's space efforts.

Since 1958, these Air Force facilities have supported nearly every major missile and space program, including USAF's Atlas, Titan, and Minuteman; Army's Pershing and Nike; Navy's Polaris; and NASA's Mercury and Apollo manned space-flight programs.

Testing Indispensable

They have been indispensable to instrumented tests, designed to investigate the causes of malfunctions, and have repeatedly revealed problems not predicted by theoretical studies or by sea-level testing. They have found design deficiencies which were not revealed by telemetry data.

In many cases, this testing obtained data which could not have been obtained in any other way. In every case, simulated tests proved to be significantly cheaper than flight tests.

Vast quantities of new data, as well as dramatic savings in time and money, have resulted from the use of flight simulation facilities. Testing in a controlled environment has repeatedly proved more effective and less costly than testing by trial and error from the launch pad. Controlled tests have been invaluable in accurately pinpointing the causes of malfunctions in flights.

For example, when an advanced ICBM failed at Cape Canaveral, films of the launch indicated the failure originated in the vehicle's base, but telemetry data failed to show the cause of the failure. A scale model of the missile was constructed and placed in an altitude test cell at AEDC.

When that model was subjected to the same conditions at which failure had occurred, it was determined, through extensive instrumentation, that the launch-pad failure had been caused by hot exhaust gases recirculating in the base of the missile. This same problem was found to be common to several advanced missile and booster systems, all of which have since received tests in the Arnold facilities.

By enabling research personnel to reproduce the extremely hostile flight environment of the upper atmosphere, the altitude chambers at Arnold have helped solve a number of such puzzling problems.

In one typical instance, the Arnold facilities were used to find out why a rocket motor had failed in orbit, in spite of a perfect

test record at sea-level conditions. When the motor was tested under simulated conditions of actual flight, the causes of failure were readily determined and the necessary changes were made.

Similarly, the altitude chambers have been used to test new materials for rocket nozzles and to investigate the causes of failure in recovery parachutes at extremely high altitudes.

One of the factors in the success of the X–15 program is the extensive preliminary testing under conditions simulating those of actual flight. Wind tunnel tests of the X–15 configuration involved the simulation of more than 500 different reentry conditions and resulted in the accumulation of more than 2 million data points. A number of design changes, necessary to assure safe reentry, resulted from these tests.

FACILITIES ARE BROAD

The test cells at Arnold are only a portion of the facilities used by the Air Force for the development, testing, and evaluation of new systems.

The Central Inertial Guidance Test Facility at Holloman AFB, N. Mex., performs invaluable work in the testing of guidance systems. It was here that the Minuteman sled-test program was conducted. In the course of the project, three specific defects were discovered—any one of which could have caused the loss of a missile. Necessary corrections were made and the guidance system worked perfectly when the first Minuteman was fired at the cape.

Development of the central inertial guidance test facility points up one of the chief problems in constructing new research facilities—that of providing instrumentation of sufficient accuracy to gage the equipment being tested. This is a continuing problem as weapon systems increase in precision and reliability. The measuring and evaluating devices must always be more precise and more reliable.

It should be evident that modern, up-to-date research facilities are essential to the continuing progress of military technology. These are the items with the longest lead times of any element in the system's acquisition cycle.

Acquisition of a comparatively simple facility must start about 4 years before the facility is required. A complicated, state-of-the-art facility, such as an advanced wind tunnel or environmental chamber, may require a lead time of as long as 8 years. A new item in the military construction program often requires more than 2½ years between its initiation and the receipt of funding which permits negotiating for a construction contract.

The long lead time for acquiring technical facilities becomes a major pacing factor in the timely acquisition of weapon systems. New technical facilities must be conceived on the basis of projecting the state-of-the-art to anticipate scientific requirements.

Therefore, they must precede the approval and funding of new systems. If facility development is delayed until the emergence of an approved and funded system that specifically requires it, the facility cannot be ready by the time the system requires its services. In order to assist in preventing repeated flight test failures and in developing design parameters, the facility must be ready when the system enters the development phase.

To meet its responsibilities for the rapid advancement of technology and the development of new aerospace systems, the Air Force urgently needs new technical facilities to support research, development, test and evaluation missions. In order to insure the timely acquisition of these new facilities, more effective procedures must be followed.

USAF has taken several specific steps to improve its procedures for facilities acquisition. Recently, the 850A program area was established to perform resources planning studies and analyses.

Work in this area includes generalized studies to determine facilities requirements and requirements trends; analysis of alternate methods of expanding and modernizing technical facilities; and identification and validation of future facility requirements.

MORE ARE NEEDED

Many of today's research and development technical facilities are, themselves, actually products of research—and more of them will be so in the future.

In recognition of this fact and in order to alleviate the difficulties encountered in establishing design criteria, cost, feasibility, and other specifications as required, the Air Force has established program area 850E, "Design Criteria for R. & D. Facilities." Work in this area is a natural follow on to work in the 850A program area and includes all research, present and future, that contributes directly to or supports the design criteria of a planned R. & D. technical facility.

Facility acquisition procedures have also been improved by the fact that, beginning with the fiscal year 1964 budget submission, technical facilities are treated separately from other construction items.

Purpose of these improvements is to insure that requests for new research and development facilities will be adequately supported by feasibility and cost data. But, in addition to these changes in procedures which have already been implemented, a change in attitude is urgently needed.

To begin with, the long leadtime required for technical facilities must be clearly recognized and approval procedures should take cognizance of this factor. Efforts must be made to achieve drastic reduction in leadtime—particularly in the long, drawn out approval phrase.

Second, the justification of facilities should be based on technical feasibility and design criteria rather than on detailed design drawings and specifications. The design and scope of the new facilities should be flexible enough to permit changes during the acquisition cycle to take advantage of new knowledge and to adapt to changing requirements and applications.

Finally, the importance of economy must be considered in justifying new test facilities. Where adequate environmental test facilities are not in existence, new systems have to be tested in actual flight.

This can be a very costly procedure, since every failure is likely to involve either the destruction of the system or very serious damage to it. Where potential failures can be identified by simulated flight tests, considerable savings are possible.

A recognized element of risk is involved in acquiring new facilities, as there is in any urgent military program. But, the need for technical facilities more than justifies the risk involved, in view of the alternatives. A decisive Soviet lead in space technology and military space power would be disastrous for the free world. The United States cannot afford to neglect the requirements of technological progress.

The need for improved research and development facilities has been stated at the highest Department of Defense levels. In his memorandum on inhouse laboratories, dated October 14, 1961, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara stated: "The Department of Defense must insure that these laboratories, which constitute one of our greatest assets, are properly supported and utilized."

Several days later, Dr. Harold Brown, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, noted four factors that affect the acquisition and retention of leading scientists and engineers—salary, organization, working environment, and physical environment.

Since the fall of 1961, a major effort has been made to upgrade inhouse competence, and a number of improvements have resulted. Public Law 87–793, passed by the Congress on October 11, 1962, reformed the Federal salary structure and incorporated the principle that these salaries should be comparable with those in private enterprise for the same level of work.

Formation of the Research and Technology Division of the Air Force Systems Command, on July 26, 1962, was another of these improvements. This step was designed to improve management procedures for USAF laboratories and create a more challenging and stimulating working environment.

But, the problem of improving the physical environment still remains to be solved. As Secretary Brown has pointed out: "The quality of the physical plant is very often viewed as a basic method for expression of the relative value which central management places upon the local laboratory's collective efforts. In many cases, the Defense laboratories are lagging behind Government-supported industrial or university standards."

In spite of this recognition of the problem, the Air Force has not yet been able to secure the modern laboratory facilities it requires to attract and stimulate the efforts of the highest caliber technical people.

It is not enough to give a scientist pay and recognition. He also needs the tools with which to work—and this means R. & D. facilities, advanced enough to support investigations on the frontiers of knowledge. The upgrading of inhouse competence, in the final analysis, will be heavily dependent on the provision of adequate working facilities for inhouse scientists and engineers.

It is clear that Air Force capabilities, during the next 5 to 10 years, are inextricably tied to decisions made on research, development, and test facilities today. These decisions, in large measure, will determine the ability of the Air Force to continue to meet the responsibilities for national security in the space age.

The Changing Image of the American Physician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, most of us recall with a great deal of affection the family doctor of some years ago who not only administered to the physical needs of the entire family but served as a combination arbiter, psychiatrist, father confessor, and family friend.

Circumstances resulting from increased population, shortage of physicians, advances in the medical field, and specialization have changed the image of the doctor in the public mind.

An article on the "Changing Image of the American Physician," written by M. McKendree Boyer, M.D., past president of the medical and chirurgical faculty of Maryland, and published in the August 1964 issue of the Maryland State Medical Journal, gives an excellent analysis of this change and a frank discussion of what doctors should do to restore their image of dedication and interest in their patients:

THE CHANGING IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN PHYSICIAN

A most cherished part of our American tradition has been the public image of the family physician. Much has been written and said with affection about the wise old family doctor who spent so much time and effort in helping his patients overcome their personal difficulties as well as their medical problems. Because of his nobility of purpose, his self sacrificing devotion, and his understanding, he was regarded as a father substitute and was often closer to the people than their minister, priest, or rabbi. He did not complain of the long hours or of the frequent loss of sleep and the 7-day week. He gave unsparingly of his affection, his time, his energy, his professional knowledge, and his professional skills.

Like many of you here tonight who had physician fathers and can speak with authority of personal knowledge concerning them, my own father was just such a dedicated physician. He was a self-effacing, gracious gentleman with the highest moral integrity. He combined his knowledge of medicine and his keen understanding of people with a warm and sympathetic personality to stimulate the complete confidence of his patients. He had utter disregard for personal comfort or for financial remuneration. The gratitude of an appreciative patient was adequate compensation.

The respect and high esteem with which father was held by the people of our community and the affection he held for them created a most wonderful doctor-patient relationship. This relationship and the feeling of warmth and respect of those around him impressed me deeply, and I decided to become a doctor at an early age. When I had completed a 4-year residency in internal medicine and was doing postgraduate work in Vienna and London, this concept of the physician as represented by my father influenced me to return home and enter practice with him, a decision I have never regretted.

One of the greatest sources of personal satisfaction is to be able to do things to help appreciative patients at any time. But to have their approval because they know that one's professional skill has been instrumental in bringing them through serious illness and even saving their lives is one of the most gratifying of human experiences.

It is of real concern to me now that the public image of the American physician is being dimmed or allowed to get out of focus. Since World War II there has been an apparent deterioration in the prestige of and the the public respect for the medical profession. This has accompanied a change in our national socioeconomic philosophy in which the pendulum is swinging away from old ideals and principles and toward materialism. Emphasis is now more on monetary values, personal conveniences, more time for entertainment, fewer working hours, and more money to spend while assuming less responsibility. Too often there is less emphasis on educational training, ability, excellence, and achievement.

Some of the most common charges made against doctors as a group are that they are becoming more mercenary and that they appear to be more interested in promoting their own financial and social status than they are in the welfare of their patients. Critics charge that unnecessary surgery is being done, that there is fee splitting, that needless X-rays are being taken, that insurance bills are being padded, and that unnecessary referrals are being made, all of which increase the cost of medical care to the patient. Physicians are accused of not wanting to make house calls and of not spending enough time with their patients. Weekend coverage and night calls are difficult to obtain, especially if the patient does not have a regular family doctor.

I wish I could say that these charges are not true, but there are some instances when they are true. In spite of the fact that members of the medical profession are most carefully selected and screened upon entering the profession, and in spite of the fact that physicians are constantly subjected to a most rigid set of self-policing controls by medical societies and medical staff committees of hospitals, there are still a few doctors who cannot rise above their human frailties. Unfortunately, the misconduct of a few is too often the basis for condemnation of the entire profession. The ethics, standards, and principles of the medical profession are the highest and most difficult to conform to of any profession or group except, perhaps, the clergy. They are, however, adhered to by the vast majority of doctors, who are just as dedicated, just as unselfish, just as hard working, and just as interested in their patients as their predecessors.

The public should be informed of the many effective safeguards used by physicians themselves to protect patients from unethical practice. County and State medical society committees, such as grievance committees, professional conduct committees, and mediation committees, review complaints registered by patients against its members and exact penalties against offenders. Hospital credentials committees prevent a physician or a surgeon from obtaining privileges exceeding his abilities. The tissue committee in any accredited hospital has the authority, upon reviewing all surgical operations in that hospital, to recommend that privileges be removed from any surgeon performing unnecessary surgery.

The public apparently is not aware that much of their present dissatisfaction with the medical profession stems from the shortage of doctors, especially in the field of general practice. This increase in patient load forces an overburdened doctor, no matter how conscientious he may be, to reduce the time he spends with each patient. He must eliminate any unnecessary personal conversation, no matter how pleasant, and pursue his professional questions and examination. In many instances, by working twice or even more than twice the ordinary 40-hour week, physicians still cannot give professional care to all who request it. Since a doctor has better facilities to care for patients in his office or at a hospital than he does in the patient's home, with less time loss, it is only natural that he discourages house calls whenever it is safe to do so.

To charge that a doctor's only interest is in getting rich is completely unjust. Few doctors have ever gotten rich from the practice of medicine alone. The average income for physicians in this country last year was approximately $24,000. This is below the income of many businessmen, tradesmen, and some public officials whose abilities, educational expense, and time spent in attaining these positions have been far less than that of the doctor. It is to be pointed out, too, that a doctor of medicine is nearly 30 years of age when he begins to make his own living. The public belief that physician costs have skyrocketed over the past 15 or 20 years is incorrect. The U.S. Department of Commerce figures show that the physician's share of the total health care dollar dropped from 30 to 24 cents during the period 1942 to 1962.

The dimming of the public image of the medical profession has started a vicious cycle. It influences fewer of our eligible young people to be attracted into the profession, thus creating an even more acute shortage of family physicians. There is less incentive to enter a field where the educational cost is extremely heavy, the years of training so very long and difficult, the work exacting, and when completed face the ever-spiraling threat of malpractice suits.

To digress a moment, in connection with malpractice suits, if a decision made last week by a court in Montgomery County is allowed to stand, a new precedent will be established, and it will have immeasurable adverse effects on our profession. The Maryland law has long recognized that doctors and hospitals have a duty to render care in accordance with the accepted standards of medicine as practiced in a given area at the time in question. Basis of neglect and breach of contract in this case was the simple fact of the precipitous birth of a premature infant unattended less than 10 minutes after rectal examination revealed a cervical dilatation of only 1 centimeter. Medical testimony, including that of the pathologist, established that there was no causal relationship between the birth of the infant and its death 8 days later. Thankfully, the judge concurred and so instructed the jury. Despite the unrefuted testimony of three physicians of the community, who stated that accepted standards of practice and care had been met, the jury found for the plaintiff. More important to the jury than the testimony of the physicians was the emotional undercurrent caused by the death of the infant and the mother's subsequent emotional breakdown. In establishing the criteria of what constitutes good medical care, are we to follow the accepted medical-legal standards of our State or be judged by opinions of lay juries made in retrospect and too often swayed by emotional appeal?

It is important to all physicians in this State that they know of the program that has been developed by the faculty to protect its members against unjustified suits. Members in good standing are entitled to defense by the faculty's counsel. All suits and threats of suits should be reported immediately. The doctor involved, along with his records, appears before a panel of outstanding members selected from the particular field or specialty in which the alleged malpractice occurred. If it is the decision of the panel that the defending doctor is guilty, settlement is advised. If the charge is unjustified, as most of them apparently are, then every effort is made to disprove this charge in court. These experts stand ready to testify at no expense on behalf of the physician charged.

We have been forced to organize vigorous opposition against some members of the legal profession who apparently are guided more by the possibility of personal financial gain rather than the best interest of the public when filing malpractice suits. Too often in these cases large sums of money are awarded the plaintiff by appealing to the sympathies of the jury rather than on the medical facts. The impression is given that by assessing a wealthy insurance company the doctor is not hurt and the poor plaintiff could certainly use the money. Consequently, costs of professional liability insurance have soared, and most companies have ceased writing such policies. The end result has been increased costs to both doctor and patient.

Time does not permit me to enumerate and elaborate on the functions and many contributions made in the public interest by our faculty. Our membership should be aware of our needs, our problems, and our accomplishments. The need for increased available funds must be known and met in order that this vital work be carried on effectively, especially in the areas of public relations and legislation. With complete understanding, a clear and true picture of the medical profession can be presented to the public.

The summary, the first and foremost step we must take to restore our public image is to see that our own house is kept in order. It is the responsibility of every physician to see that this is done and to remove from

our ranks those who do not adhere to the rigid high standards of the medical profession.

By restoring our image, we will attract more highly qualified young men and women, making them aware that the rendering of invalable service to their fellow man is the prime motivating factor in the study of medicine, not money or prestige.

We must study and understand the medical needs of our population and direct our educational programs toward meeting these needs. We must promote a more even distribution of well trained physicians into all areas with emphasis on the small communities where medical services are so badly needed.

We must establish better public relations with the press and inform the public of the problems we face along with our accomplishments. Make the public aware that there is a shortage of physicians and personnel in every medical and paramedical field. Despite these odds, the greatest advances in medicine and surgery have been made in this country during the past 25 years. Let it be known that our country has the best medical teaching and research programs in the world. The highest grade medical care per dollar in the world today is found in the United States. Inform the public that the ethics, standards, and principles of the medical profession are higher today than ever before.

By striving to provide medical care of the highest quality, along with human dignity, warmth, and understanding, by remembering our heritage, and respecting and adhering to our ideals and principles, our image will be restored. We as physicians are just as dedicated and just as interested in our patients as our predecessors—our task is to prove that this is true.

Address by Hon. Millard Caldwell, Associated Industries of Florida, Miami, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Millard Caldwell, who formerly was a Member of this House and is now a member of the Florida Supreme Court, recently addressed the Associated Industries of Florida. I feel sure that many of his friends in the Congress will profit by reading his views as expressed in that speech. As has always been his wont, he lets the chips fall where they may:

NOTES FOR SPEECH, ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF FLORIDA, MIAMI, FLA.

When I sat down to dictate these comments I could not escape asking why I had let Jack Lee talk me into making another speech. On one side of the ledger I put the pleasure of being with good friends, with people of ability, stamina, and what it takes to make a business success—with the people who will pay the taxes to finance a poverty-free utopia and relieve the rest of us of the need to work for a living.

On the other side of the ledger I placed my disinclination for work, my opposition to after-dinner speeches, whether to be made or listened to, and the futility involved in punching a feather pillow of little resistance and less result. I question whether my appearance here will serve a single useful purpose. Certainly, I will not be entertaining and, almost equally certain, what I will say will not alter the general policy of the business world of "not rocking the boat" in a prosperous sea.

There appears to be a conviction abroad in the land that this Nation of ours is divinely endowed and, that irrespective of our negligent stewardship of its affairs, it will continue to be the preeminent power of the international world; that our monetary stability cannot be shaken by the limitless peacetime spending of borrowed money; that the Federal Constitution may, with impunity, be subverted by the welfare staters and the law be supplanted by socialistic drivel; that the historic personal and property rights should be subordinated to political expediency.

The Supreme Court of the United States is creating a new and different form of government on the theory, I suppose, that it is better than the one under which the Nation became great. The majority of the Court appears to believe the American people have lost the capacity for self-government—and they may be right—it may well be that the Black-Douglas cult are the apostles of a new day. The fact that I disagree, or that millions of American disagree, is beside the point—the judges have a right to their opinion.

But I do suggest that if the radical change advocated by that Court is to be made in the basic government of the Nation, it should be done by orderly amendment in the orderly manner prescribed by the Constitution. It ought not be done by judicial usurpation of the power to amend the Constitution and to write legislation.

Even in the face of all the servile acceptance by the people of the encroachments by the Court I refuse to believe the hard core of American independence has been destroyed. I recognize the great temptation incident to the "I have never had it so good" illusion which persuades the majority of America to shirk its civic duty, but I feel reasonably certain that, when that majority suffers a sufficiently swift and hard kick in the seat of the pants, it will be roused to action—before it's too late, I hope.

The old saw that people are funny—that human nature passes understanding, must have some substance. The American people know full well their liberties are being taken, one after the other, but they just sit in a puddle of civic inertia—the victims of a sticky, ceaseless indifference.

The lawyers, all of whom have taken an oath to support and defend the Constitution, know without question the Supreme Court is destroying that Constitution and ignoring the basic principles around which our system of justice has evolved. They know full well that without a constitution and the basic law it represents, the lawyers' place in the scheme of things will be relegated to the insignificance they enjoy in Russia. But the lawyers and the bar associations won't move—they merely hope it can't happen here.

I can understand how the lawyers and the judges are unhappy in finding their convictions in conflict. As students they were taught the accurate construction of the law and the Constitution is to be found in the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. As lawyers they have advised their clients and conducted their litigation on the basis of the opinions of that Court. But, also, they were taught the whole structure of our Government is founded upon the Federal Constitution—that without a constitution and without obedience to that Constitution by the citizens, by the public officials and the judiciary they cannot hope for the liberties incident to a republic.

Lawyers have the instinctive urge to speak of the Supreme Court with confidence but when they note that Court's encroachment upon the clear intent of the Constitution, knowing that such encroachments imperil the future of the Nation and the whole concept of democracy, their complacency must be disturbed.

As for myself, I have resolved the conflict with the conclusion that the courts are not sacrosanct—that if they are to be respected they must earn respect. I take the position that the lawyer and the judge may with propriety discuss the philosophy of any court and may agree or disagree. Further, that if the lawyer observes transgression by any court upon the constitutional rights of the people, he not only may—he should express his concern.

My position is bolstered by no less an authority than Mr. Justice Brewer of the U.S. Supreme Court. He said:

"It is a mistake to suppose that the Supreme Court is either honored or helped by being spoken of as beyond criticism. On the contrary, the life and character of its justices should be the objects of constant watchfulness by all, and its judgment subject to the freest criticism. The time is past in the history of the world when any living man or body of men can be set on a pedestal and decorated with a halo."

The necessity to speak with bald frankness imposes an onerous responsibility because I must tell you that the Supreme Court, not subject to election by the people, nor to their will, there for life, has tortured the plain language of the Constitution and, to that extent, has destroyed the rule of law and substituted, in its stead, the rule of man.

The preachers know that with all of its faults, this country is the one place on the face of the earth where religion is free—where they may preach the Gospel as they believe it. They know that in those countries where constitutional government has been destroyed, the preachers have been swept under the rug—and religion has to be bootlegged—they can't preach the Gospel—they can't meddle with politics, they can't stir the caldrons of class and racial hates. Knowing all this and ignoring the consequences, many of them permit the World Council of Churches to lead them on a course which must result in the dismemberment of the constitutional safeguards which permit their freedom of action. It seems to me that commonsense would prompt them to ask how Men of the Cloth fared under Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin—how the shepherds without flocks are faring under Khrushchev.

The college people know history—or, at least, they are supposed to. They must know that their revered "academic freedom" is possible only under a constitutional form of government—they must know that the right to teach as they believe is possible only under a constitutional guarantee of free speech. It is inescapable that by teaching the Constitution is outmoded, archaic and subject to change by a court, by teaching the right of man to defy the law, they are asking for the iron-bound control of education which prevails in the Communist world. The college presidents and teachers who believe the American form of government are hard pressed by their left-liberal associates and are too often unwilling to run the risk of being called conservative or of being tarred with the stick of patriotism. The more intellectually honest of the college people, perhaps a majority, must be aware of the risks they are running—it is unfortunate they are strangely silent.

Creditable evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, the businessman in not really stupid. He is educated, traveled, and competent. More than most he is of sound judgment and practical. He knows that an economy which has bypassed the fundamental law of supply and demand is headed for

quicksand. He knows the dangers of inflation and he experiences daily the meddling of governmental bureaus. He has been told what has happened to private business in collectivist nations and he is convinced that only under a constitutional government can he pass on to his children a solvent commercial enterprise.

Well, I ask you, if he knows all those things why does he tolerate the destruction of the Federal Constitution? Is he intimidated by internal revenue, the antitrust division or the civil rights gestapo? Is he polishing the apple in the hope of some reward? I am not sure about the answers—all I can do is tell you again that unless you reestablish constitutional government in America the do-gooders will bury you.

Before I go further, I must warn you that what I have to say here today is not to be taken as indicating my views on the coming general election. However strongly I may feel about some of the political questions with which we are confronted, I, as a judge, am in no position to engage in party politics. My concern—my sole concern here today, is for the Federal Constitution and my complaint is against the pitiful acquiescence of the business world in the destruction of that Constitution—under both parties and with the responsibility about equally divided.

It's time to make a choice between the form of government as conceived by those who captured our freedoms from Great Britain in the Revolution and another form of government, a centralization, advocated by the left dealers. The differences are as wide apart as the poles, as black is from white, as freedom is from slavery, as socialism is from capitalism.

The choice we face is not particularly complex but the need for making the choice is imperative because, whether this Nation is to be governed by the rule of law, under the Constitution, or the rule of man, unfettered by restraint, constitutes the most vital problem of our time.

An intelligent decision requires, first, that we understand the purpose of and the need for the Constitution; and, second, that the Constitution, in itself, represents the difference between a Republic and a despotism.

The only difference between slavery in Russia and liberty in America is that, until the recent past at least, we have been governed by law whereas, in Russia, the people are governed by men. And that is so, notwithstanding the fact that the Russian constitution is much like our own—it provides for equal rights for citizens of all races, for separation of church and state, for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. Russia is a prime example of what can happen to a nation when centralized power is substituted for constitutional safeguards.

The Supreme Court, exhibiting its contempt for the Constitution, asserting its power to overrule long-recognized constitutional principles and reading into the Constitution new and alien ideas, has spawned mistrust.

But there's nothing strange about the Court's grasp for power—it is a perfectly human, understandable trait. Many, perhaps most, of us are prone to listen to the siren's song of the Great I Am.

It's not beyond the realm of understanding that a court, in the glow of an illusion of omnipotence and being impatient of competition, would be inclined to abolish God on the theory that there's no such phenomena as two omnipotent forces. In that respect you may wish to remember that William Penn told his people if they would not be governed by God they would be governed by tyrants.

Several years ago the conference of chief justices of the several States, by formal resolution, urged the Supreme Court, as it determines questions touching the powers reserved to the States, to exercise the greatest of all judicial powers—the power of judicial self-restraint—and to recognize the difference between that which the Constitution may prescribe and that which a majority of the Supreme Court may deem desirable. I am told that, when the resolution was reported, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States walked out of the meeting and resigned from the American Bar Association.

That the Supreme Court has consciously set about rewriting the laws is apparent in the language of the justices themselves. Time after time members of that court have pinpointed the abuses perpetrated by the majority. In the *Baker* v. *Carr* case one dissenter said the majority opinion was "[A] massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial powers * * *."

In the *Arizona* v. *California* water case a dissenting Justice said the majority of the Court granted "the Federal bureaucracy a power and command over water rights in the 17 Western States that it never has had, that it always wanted, that it could never persuade Congress to grant, and that this Court up to now has consistently refused to recognize," that "the present case * * * will, I think, be marked as the baldest attempt by judges of modern times to spin their own philosophy into the fabric of the law * * *."

In the reapportionment case Mr. Justice Harlan said: "This decision involves the Court amending the Constitution. If the time comes when this Court is looked upon by the Court itself as the repository of all reforms, I think the seeds of trouble are being sown for this institution."

The examples are manifold—I'll not take the time to elaborate—I've made my point.

In another line of many cases the Supreme Court has risen above the Constitution and usurped the powers reserved to the States. Just by way of reference I call your attention to the Slochower case, where the Supreme Court invaded the State of New York and prevented the separation from the public school system of a man accused of communism; the Brown case, in which the Court reversed some 50-odd Supreme Court decisions to the contrary, and, without the citation of a single legal precedent, usurped the State function of managing the public schools; the Schware and Konigsberg cases wherein the Supreme Court deprived State bar examining boards of the right to reject a candidate for fitness and held it was unconstitutional for a State to find that membership in the Communist Party disqualified the applicant for a license to practice law.

Well, you may ask, what should we do about all this?

There's one answer—one decision for all—the liberal, the conservative, and even the neuter moderate. Save the Constitution.

As we look at the broad picture and assess the perils and pitfalls which must be avoided if America's place in the world is preserved, our confidence is shaken by grave questions. The problems, both domestic and foreign, constitute a formidable catalog. They reflect the indifference of America's citizenry plus the alarming ineptitude of its public officials.

Our international troubles go back to the summit meetings of World War II, the awful mistake of holding back our forces and permitting Russia to take Berlin, our practical surrender in Korea, our meddling with the colonies of our allies, the inexcusable blunder of Cuba and our lack of direction generally. It all adds up to a trembling knuckling under to the Communists and a consequent building up of the Communist force which is dedicated to our destruction.

At home, under both parties, our conduct of public affairs has been equally lacking in the forthright and courageous qualities so essential to the national security. The bipartisan derogation of integrity in public affairs, the letdown from steadfast observance of virtue, thrift and common honesty as standards of conduct, have all served to weaken the fabric of the Nation. Patriotism has become a dirty word—individual responsibility has been swapped for governmental handouts.

But, overshadowing all else, is the subversion of the Constitution and the substituting of rule by whimsical judges for the rule of law.

These weaknesses have cropped up in the histories of other nations and have uniformly entailed catastrophy. The long list of casualties begins with Egypt and Greece and Rome—the last name on the list, unless we revise our thinking, will be that of the United States.

There is no real reason why we cannot reconstitute sound government, reassert our dominance of world affairs and recover the ground we have lost. We are, in fact, the architects of the future and can build for strength or destruction, as we please.

Perhaps the worst evil of all, our most insidious disease, is the presently popular role of the moderate. I am not greatly disturbed by the extreme left liberal organizations, such as the ADA, or the extreme rightwing organizations, such as the Birch Society—the truly dangerous element is composed of the moderates, characterized by the Cincinnati Enquirer as "faceless, gutless, devoid of a sound sense of history and judgment, and not too far right of Gus Hall. * * * This 'moderate' is the most dangerous figure in American politics since the turn of the century. He has wasted away the blood and expense of two world wars we won, and a limited war we refused to win. Presently he is ushering in a new form of nonwar, in which we have no hope of ultimate victory, but in which our defeats will come in each installment. Easy, that is, for those who aren't sacrificed on the altar of expediency and shipped home unheralded in GI coffins."

Pericles and Socrates both foresaw that the indifference of its citizens would spell disaster for ancient Greece. Pericles said the businessman who took no interest in politics had no business.

We are fast becoming a collectivist society through usurpation by the Supreme Court of the power to rewrite the Constitution and to legislate judicially. That Court, the third department of government, never the choice of the voters, has by judicial fiat constituted itself the extrajudicial arbiter of our social, business, educational, and religious life.

A bad congressional enactment can always be repealed or amended by the Congress. The people, the citizens of America elect the Congress and can guide its actions. But the judicial legislation is subject only to the whim of five judges—judges not selected by the people—judges not answerable to the people.

As an example, the Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, passed the civil rights bill, an obviously blatant, unconstitutional appeal for votes. Under normal conditions the country could depend upon an impartial Supreme Court to subject such charlatanism to the rigid test of validity under the Constitution. But these are not normal conditions—your lawyer can tell you what the Court said yesterday—but he can't even guess what, tomorrow, the Court will say the Constitution means.

Judicial freewheeling is the proximate result of failure, on the part of the public, to understand the purpose each of the three branches of government was designed to serve. The man on the street is not disposed to complaint when the Court expropriates the power to legislate because, in all probability, he does not know the legislative function belongs solely to the Congress.

Well, let's ask again, What should we do? I suggest, as a first step, we should press the Members of Congress to read the oath of office in which they promised to protect and defend the Constitution and, pursuant to that oath, to reassert the powers of the Congress to do its own legislating, to exercise its constitutional authority to curb usurpation of the Supreme Court and to fix limits beyond which that Court may not go.

That is what I would do if I were an ADA pink—and it's what I would do if I were a cast iron conservative. As a liberal I would remember that the classic method of stamping out liberalism is to substitute the rule of man for the law—I would remember that the demogogs have always promised more liberality—and always preferred fast action by executive or judicial decree over the sound processes of the law. As a liberal I would demand a poverty-free existence under the law—not by invalid decree. I would understand that when the President or the Supreme Court usurps the power to give me something to which, under the law, I am not entitled, the President or the Court can, with equal ease, when I have lost my popularity as a cause or I am no longer needed in the ballot box, usurp the power to take from me that to which I am entitled.

If I were one of those unhappy with my race I would do all within my power to pull down distinction and level off all differences—but I would do these things under established law. I would remember how, in other countries, where constitutional safeguards were abolished, minorities were cooked in the gas ovens or deep frozen in Siberia.

But if I were a Communist, I would understand that my hope to take over America rests in the premise that constitutional government can be destroyed; that the way to undermine the Constitution is to help persuade the President to issue illegal Executive orders, all in the name of humanity; persuade the Supreme Court to ignore constitutional restrictions, in the name of modernity; persuade the do-gooders to demonstrate and create strife and, in every way possible, to debunk and belittle the principles upon which the country grew and prospered and became the first Nation of the earth.

So long as we can save the Constitution and retain the right to elect the Congress and the President, the conservatives and liberals can live with wisdom and folly, frugality and waste, pinks and meddling politicians.

But we cannot exist as a free people nor our Nation as a republic without a constitution, observed in fact and not in the breach. Whatever we do, whether we be liberal or conservative, we must honor the law of self-preservation; we must protect the Constitution and, in doing so, the freedoms of speech, thought, and religion.

George Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned against usurpation. Fifty years later Lord Macauley warned America it would be ravaged by its own institutions. Lincoln warned the people of the dangers of judicial usurpation.

Our forbears started from nothing and fought on hope, a hope for liberty and separation from corrupt oppression. They won the war and left to us the heritage of independence. Our prayer, assuming it is still permissible to pray, is for the strength to defend that heritage from the strange and borrowed ideologies of the ruthless believers in centralization who, by fortuitous circumstance, are strongly entrenched.

And then, in conclusion, just remember the words attributed to Edmund Burke, spoken nearly 200 years ago: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Hasty Defense Cuts Indefensible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I have stressed many times in this body the urgency of efficiency, economy, and accountability in conducting the affairs of this Government.

The application of principles of economy and efficient management to governmental affairs must not only be of great concern to Members of Congress, but the achievement of this worthy objective must be our constant goal.

It is for us to recognize that our economy, free enterprise system, and other free institutions, including our great national defense, are moving through a period of great, unprecedented change. We must keep pace with national growth and the urgent need for national development at every level which confronts us today.

This means that we must give our attention, not only to maintaining and, where necessary, extending the vital services of this Government, but wisely and prudently bringing them into play as an instrument for furthering the sound progress and advancement of the economy and the Nation and the well-being and happiness of the people.

At the same time, it is up to us as representatives of the American people, charged with providing for the national defense and security of this great Nation, to realize that we cannot practice indiscriminate, meat-ax economy at the expense of our national safety and security. We must not hamper, impair, or handcuff our powerful armed services, upon which we must depend to preserve our security and carry out our commitments to freedom.

Such a course would not only be ill-considered economy, but it could well have disastrous results, because we are living in a very dangerous world, and must be prepared and equipped at all times to meet every and any contingency or emergency that develops as the result of Communist aggression, subversion, or any other type of threat that would imperil this Nation and the American people.

I am irrevocably committed to the cause of peace, to the rule of law, and to the settling of conflicts and disputes between nations through the instrumentalities of civilization, through justiciable agencies and methods, through rational arguments and persuasions carried out under the principles of abstract and applied justice.

Until we can live in a world organized for peace on the basis of the rule of law, which we all hope for and strive for, it is necessary for us to maintain striking and defensive forces to protect this Nation. Until such time as we can manage through our own good efforts, our good will toward others, our understanding of the problems of others and every measure of wholehearted international cooperation we and other free nations can apply, to reduce or limit armaments and to control thermonuclear energy for peaceful purposes rather than for force and destruction, it is of course, necessary for us to make certain that we will remain strong in every sense, militarily, economically and spiritually, since, until others join in our quest for universal peace, that deterrent is the best way we can defend and protect our security and our democratic institutions and the integrity, strength and greatness of our country.

Let us, therefore, be resolved never to practice indiscriminate economy at the expense of our armed services and our national strength and defense. The problem of achieving and maintaining a balanced national strength in all categories is an extremely difficult one which cannot be left to snap judgments or precipitate action.

Such a program must be carefully thought out and carefully carried out and that is what we have been doing in this Congress with the results that are well known to all of us. For, if it were not for our overwhelming strength, which is the great deterrent to war and aggression, can any man doubt that communism would be threatening this Nation and even more of the world than it is threatening at present?

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, let us intensify our efforts to maintain our national strength at satisfactory, efficient and adequate levels.

Until communism ceases its forays against peace, let us continue to mount the strongest, most powerful defense system in the world, because this is the way to security, and it is the best, if not the only, present way, to peace, and I think that fact is becoming increasingly clear to the leaders of the Communist world who appear to be coming more and more to the conviction that competition with the free world in terms of armament and armed strength is both a futility and a waste of time and money and a sure way in the end of weakening their own faltering systems. Perhaps this will bring us hope for real cooperation for peace.

I urge, therefore, Mr. Speaker, the continuance of a strong, national defense policy which will maintain our national strength across the board and maintain our armed services at highest point of efficiency and adaptation to modern developments in science and industry, that will command for us the respect of potential adversaries, wherever and whoever they may be.

While advanced forms of missilery are increasingly playing their part in our defense system we would make a great mistake, in my judgment, at this time, not to recognize the need for a well-equipped, completely modern Air Force, implemented with manned aircraft of various necessary types, range, and power; also a mobile, mechanized, modern Army, equipped with latest weapons, and a powerful, up-to-date Navy, able to

cover the high seas with every component necessary to defend the coasts and protect the interests of the Nation at home and abroad.

One of the great contributions, perhaps the greatest contribution of our retiring, great distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the able, patriotic, beloved gentleman from Georgia, the Honorable CARL VINSON, has been his keen recognition of the problems of defense and his untiring, brilliant work in moving doggedly toward the goals he has urged and achieved of providing adequate national defense. These efforts, if they stood alone in a long, luminous career of great achievement, command our deepest gratitude.

Our present state of readiness and power, which is due in such large measure to this great American, will long remain the greatest tribute that can be paid him, and it behooves all of us to take inspiration from the stirring example of this fearless, farsighted American, and devote ourselves in a truly dedicated spirit, as he has done, to the maintenance and improvement of our national strength on land, sea, and in the air, and in space as well as in economic, social, cultural, and spiritual areas which have always been so important to this Nation, and never have been more important than they are today.

The point, Mr. Speaker, is that at this crucial time we must work for a truly balanced national defense and avoid the extremism of some present programs of hasty, ill-considered, defense cuts that are dispersing our know-how and weakening our overall defensive and offensive posture.

I have been greatly disturbed about many of the defense cuts in the armed services, starting with some in my own district and area, and extending all over the world that seemed to me to be well-intentioned, but accomplished in a very hasty manner without first giving proper notice of intention to our congressional committees and the Congress.

It has been said by the able, distinguished Secretary of Defense that there are some 6,000 or 8,000 installations in our defense setup and that "every one of them is in jeopardy." I take it that this statement was meant to pinpoint, and perhaps even to dramatize, the zeal for economy and streamlined efficiency that moves high officials of the Defense Department these days. But I think, with utmost respect to those officials, that before any extreme, fundamental cuts are made, or indeed any policy looking toward basic curtailment and major realinement of our defense system is undertaken, Congress should be both advised and given the opportunity to assent to or dissent from reductions and changes proposed.

There are many in Congress, who, by reason of long years of service and experience in defense matters, are in a position to contribute valuable knowledge and informed viewpoints to proposed changes in the national defense, and who, in addition, under the Constitution, like other Members of the Congress, have primary responsibility under our system of government for providing and maintaining truly adequate defenses and striking forces for the country.

It is quite natural, therefore, under these circumstances that there should be considerable, widespread dissatisfaction and disapproval concerning certain proposed defense cuts and the manner in which they have been handled, as well as reported, sweeping changes yet to come.

There are also sharp differences of opinion in well-informed channels over new weapons and weapon systems and the speed, and lack of speed, which have been utilized administratively to provide them, or to discontinue them.

I do not believe that the defense of this country should be made subject to ill-considered, political argumentation, but I do believe that in matters of military development, whether conventional or nuclear, whether ground, sea, air, or space is involved, the judgment and opinions of the great body of military expertness and experience that we have in the Congress and in the Nation should not lightly be brushed aside by administrative executive department officials, however highly placed.

If it is desirable, as I believe it is, to streamline the lopsided, overweighted complex of layer upon layer of bureaucracy in the Pentagon, that work should be done, the sooner the better, and it should be done only with congressional knowledge, approval, and collaboration.

Very serious questions have been raised concerning the strength and efficiency of our Defense Department under new proposals.

Serious charges have been made that we are lacking in vital strategic areas, that research and development has been impeded, that advanced systems have been unwarrantedly delayed.

How much have they been delayed? To what extent have vital programs been cancelled, or toned down, largely or principally to save money?

Whether our overall, military and related space systems are proceeding on schedule?

Whether proposed new types of manned aircraft, authorized and appropriated for by the Congress are going according to schedule, or have been hindered for any reason?

Whether our military procurement procedures are following the law as laid down by the Congress, or are being colorably administered without adherence to clear, legal requirements, or other formalities, intended and provided by law?

Whether current cuts are injuring our overall defense potential? Whether these cuts are moving too far and too deep, and dispensing with valuable, technical skills that are urgently needed in the defense system and the economy?

These are questions that the Congress must consider and promptly try to answer. Many of us want to know where we stand on the new, strike reconnaissance bomber, and our anti-satellite systems, our over-the-horizon radar, our Nike X, antiballistic missile, our attack naval aircraft and other programs.

Many would like to know, too, in the light of what is going on in Vietnam, why there has been such a delay in providing suitable airworthy aircraft in sufficient numbers for that exasperating operation, and what real conditions are today regarding the quality and technical efficiency of the planes that American boys are using in this strangest of all wars in which many have given their lives.

Congress would like to know, I think, how refinements of the Nike-Zeus system and the aircraft Thor rocket are working out.

I think the question is not so much what our strength is now in terms of military power and potential for the next several years. The real question is whether we are maintaining our program in research and development of new concepts and ideas in weapon systems, in communications, in manned aircraft, and in the phasing of these advances efficiently and effectively into our armed services.

Obviously, it is not an answer to any of these questions to raise them and take no further action. The times and the climatic movements of history are too grave for that.

The Congress and the American people are entitled to have concrete satisfactory answers to all questions of our defenses. We normally would not expect voluntarily to get them in entirety from administrative officials. We can get them best and for the most part in the course of appropriate inquiry and hearings by the committees of Congress charged with responsibility for the proper defense of the United States.

As in other areas, questions of this type and gravity should be examined by the Congress in collaboration with representatives of the Defense Department and the Commander in Chief, and I personally believe that one of the compelling tasks of the next session of Congress should be to give all these questions of the national strategic, tactical, logistical, operational, organizational, and procuremental and the rest, closest attention.

To my mind, only a very careful examination of our complete defense and military posture would suffice to let Congress and the American people know where we stand, what we are doing, and the reasons therefor.

A study of policy and its implementation and any inadequacies that appear or shortcomings that may exist—manpower, hardware, equipment, production, and procurement.

In this connection we should not underestimate either the intelligence, the intellectual potential or the progress that other nations have made in this and other important fields, and I make specific and special reference to the progress which Russia has made.

We should take judicial notice of the fact that the security of this country and the world, our safety, future well-being and welfare might well depend upon some scientific breakthrough that is accomplished in the next few years.

If any potential enemy should accomplish this breakthrough, it might well

overnight outmode our entire defense structure and its related supports and leave us virtually at the mercy of those who are working for the destruction of our political and economic systems, as well as our liberties.

For one, I do not believe that we can afford to temporize with this type of situation, and I think we must move to make as sure as we reasonably can, that everything is being done, that can be done, to keep our defense system and our Nation strong and powerful in every sense and thoroughly competitive in scientific research and development as in other matters, so as to insure as best we can under the circumstances that this Nation will not be left in the lurch in the field of scientific inquiry and progress or in the implementation of a truly adequate national defense, because, until world conditions and the attitude of the Communist world make it possible for us to agree upon disarmament, control of nuclear and thermonuclear energy, and set up a true rule of law under judicial institutions in this world and establish wholehearted cooperation for peace and betterment, rather than destruction, this Nation must be prepared, and must continue to prepare itself better, to meet every eventuality, every contingency, every challenge, that involves the security, safety and freedom of our shores and our people and our friends and allies of the free world.

In a word, we cannot gamble, in terms of ill-advised economy of dangerous risks with the security and freedom of the country and I hope and urge that the Department of Defense will desist from doing so in the interest of our defense-supporting economy and our own safety.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, one of the great rewards of serving as a Member of the Congress of the United States is the privilege of being associated with men who have dedicated their lives and abilities to the service of the Nation. Such a man is JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, who, to the detriment of the Congress and the Nation, has decided not to seek reelection to the congressional seat which he has occupied for 22 years.

I have become well acquainted with JIM AUCHINCLOSS during our years of service together—particularly in our joint efforts on the Committee on Public Works, of which he has been ranking minority member for the past 6 years. I have always had great respect for his ability and for him as an individual, and am proud to be able to count him as a friend.

He always contributed a thorough knowledge of the subject at hand and a keen awareness of the immediate impact and ultimate effect of each legislative proposal. And he did this with an affability and ready wit which relieved tensions and created harmony and understanding when this was most needed.

No single word can best describe the abilities and character of JIM AUCHINCLOSS, but outstanding was his integrity, and he fought for his beliefs, strongly and effectively. Never was I in doubt as to his position, nor that he deeply and sincerely expressed his convictions.

The many coworkers and numerous friends of JIM AUCHINCLOSS will all miss him, but all of us sincerely hope that the fruits of his life-long activities in behalf of others will return to him many years of retirement filled with satisfaction as he considers the past and much contentment as he contemplates the future.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, one of the great men of Congress will retire in January. I speak of the distinguished Congressman from New Jersey, JAMES AUCHINCLOSS, known affectionately as JIM to his many Republican and Democratic friends. His presence in this Chamber over the past 22 years has added much to the stature and integrity of what it means to be called Congressman. His tireless and dedicated service as a Member of Congress has contributed much to the legislation passed by it.

A man of diverse interests, JIM was a soldier, businessman, stockbroker, deputy police commissioner, city councilman, and mayor before he entered the Congress in 1943. He was a member of the New York Stock Exchange and served on its board of directors for 18 years. Partially as a result of these past experiences, JIM was truly a representative of the people. He knew well what the practical applications of public law would mean to people in various walks of life.

We here in the Nation's Capital know JIM best for his service in Congress. In the Congress he has served on the Committee on Public Works, the Committee on the District of Columbia, and the House Office Building Commission. He served with distinction in all the positions which he held.

His efforts on behalf of the Republican Party was indeed commendable. During the Eisenhower administration, JIM was a frequent and welcomed guest of the White House. President Eisenhower avidly sought his wise counsel and advice on legislative matters and policy decisions. Other Presidents as well have sought his opinions.

In 1953–54 he served as an able chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Committee on Public Works. He has been the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors of that committee. In the forties he was a member of the Subcommittee on Beach Erosion. He knows well the functions and responsibilities of the committee and its members.

Since 1959, JIM has been the ranking minority member on the full commitee, and he has ben a good one. When you consider that the ranking minority member must be accurately and thoroughly informed on such matters as highways, navigation improvements, flood control, beach erosion, water pollution, public buildings and grounds, watershed development, water supplies and public works acceleration, JIM's outstanding service is even more meaningful.

After I came to the Congress in January 1955, I soon learned of JIM's many abilities. To cite just a few examples of the legislation handled by the Committee on Public Works while he was the ranking minority member, there were the Federal Aid Highway Acts, the amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, the Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Acts, the Public Works Acceleration Act, and the Appalachian Regional Development Act. The Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program and the Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition were organized during this period. Although JIM was critical of certain aspects of these proposals, his constructive ability to get to the crux of the issues and problems and his suggestions on the proposals made them better pieces of legislation.

During the 88th Congress I have served a direct apprenticeship under JIM, and my future decisions on the committee will be wiser ones because of this apprenticeship.

I could talk for great lengths about JIM AUCHINCLOSS and his outstanding career and ability, but these things are not easy to put into words. But let me say one further thing, above any other attribute of JIM AUCHINCLOSS', he had character. His ethical values and character are beyond reproach. People may have criticized JIM on occasions, but they never doubted his integrity. If more people in this world were like JIM, this would be a better world.

I served 10 years with JIM, and I wish it could have been longer. We will all miss him in this Chamber, but I understand that he intends to spend much time in and around the Nation's Capital after his retirement. I am sure I speak for everyone when I welcome him to return to this Chamber.

Mrs. Cramer joins with me in wishing for him and his lovely wife much happiness, continued success, and best wishes.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, known

affectionately as "JIM" to his many friends, will be retiring in January after 22 years of distinguished service in the Congress. While I had the distinct pleasure of serving with him for 2 years, and I wish it had been for a longer period, I think I can speak for colleagues on both sides of the aisle in saying that his presence in this Chamber will be missed greatly during the coming years.

During my 2 years in the Congress, JIM has given me wise counsel on the important issues which have confronted us. Serving with him on the Committee on Public Works, a committee on which he has been the ranking minority member for 6 years, has indeed been a rewarding experience. On that committee and on the floor he exercised effective leadership in the development of legislation in the best interest of all of the people.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS ably demonstrated his ability to get to the essentials of important legislation. His keen perception of reality added much to the improvement of legislation in the Congress. Should the Republicans have been fortunate enough to have become a majority in the Congress, JIM AUCHINCLOSS would have been an outstanding committee chairman, and he would have guided the committee with an effectiveness and thoroughness which this Congress rarely sees.

Since JIM came to the Congress in January 1943, five Presidents of this Nation have transmitted their legislative proposals to this body, and JIM AUCHINCLOSS acted on these matters with a bipartisan fairness. In his mind the interest of all the people of the United States is always paramount.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS will go down in history as one of the great Congressmen and one of the great Republicans. We will miss his genial and affable manner, but the memory of the man from New Jersey will long remain with us.

The 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the two sessions of the 88th Congress have been lengthy and productive, and it has been my privilege and pleasure to support the many programs begun by our late beloved President John F. Kennedy and continued by our new President Lyndon B. Johnson.

We have enacted some very important legislation and, for easy reading, I list the following:

The tax bill which reduced individual income tax and authorized large write-offs to industries as incentives to improve, enlarge, and modernize their plants and equipment.

Manpower Development and Training Act amendment, making it possible for more people to receive more education and training, plus more money on which to live while being trained.

The Food Stamp Act, amended and extended, authorizes the starting of new projects.

The Housing Act extends FHA activities, public housing for the elderly, and urban renewal.

Mass Transportation Act provides that urban areas may inaugurate "mass transit" systems.

Clean air and water pollution which will be beneficial as a health measure as well as providing recreational facilities.

Economic Opportunity Act which is the beginning of our fight to eliminate hardship and poverty from our land,

Davis-Bacon Act, amended, to require those doing business with the Federal Government to pay employees fringe benefits of the area, as well as the going wage.

Hill-Burton Act extended for 5 years, to June 30, 1969, expanded to include grants for hospital modernization.

Higher Education Facilities Act, to help build colleges and junior colleges for the future.

Health Professions Education Act, to assist presently established and newly established schools of medicine, dentistry and health, in order to educate and train sufficient personnel.

Vocational Education Act which provides authority for States to upgrade and modernize present vocational programs and create technical schools.

Nurse Training Act authorizes additional facilities and expansion of present facilities; provides student loans for nurses and traineeships for professional nurses.

Library Services Act, amended, to aid libraries in urban areas.

National Defense Education Act, amended, to extend the student loan program to junior colleges, business schools and part-time students; also expands the program for acquiring equipment and State supervision by adding English, reading, history, geography, and civics.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it can be truthfully said that by the passage of this legislation we have enabled our people to lead richer and more meaningful lives. We have extended opportunity to those segments of our population which are most in need of it and increased opportunity for those who already possess it in some measure. Our accomplishments bespeak a confidence in man's awareness of what constitutes a finer and happier life, in his desire to live such a life, and in his ability to do so if he is given an opportunity.

Beth Tikva Synagogue Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the dedicatory ceremony of the Beth Tikva Synagogue at 13121 Turkey Branch Parkway in Rockville, Md., and to participate in laying the cornerstone. Beth Tikva, or House of Hope, is the first new synagogue to be built on the hopes and dreams of those who make up its congregation, and who are giving of themselves for the spiritual health of our entire community.

The prayer for the cornerstone laying ceremony, composed and offered by Dr. George Vida, rabbi of Beth Tikva Synagogue, was so impressive and so meaningfully expressed that I include it here in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

PRAYERS FOR BETH TIKVA DEDICATORY CEREMONY

Our God and God of our fathers.

We are gathered here today to ask Thy blessings upon this congregation and upon the house which we are about to build. This house, Beth Tikva, the House of Hope, shall serve to glorify Thy name in this community. Here we shall sing Thy praise; here we shall ask Thy help; here we shall bring the gladness of our hearts and the thanksgiving of our lips. This house shall be a house of prayer for our people in this community.

As we shall seek Thee in this house with faltering lips and with words prescribed by tradition, here we shall try, also, to teach our children to search for Thee and to find expression for their religious feelings in the traditional words of the Jewish religion. May this synagogue become a spiritual home for young and old, for men and women, for rich and poor, for the bereaved and for the jubilant, for all Thy people in this community.

As we seek Thee together in this house, may we also find each other as brothers and learn to love our brothers, all Thy children, wherever and in whatever ways they worship Thee. Thus, may this house serve to strengthen the love of Thee among all the people in this community.

This house of God, built upon the hopes and dreams of a handful of people, shall become a true fortress of God, serving the cause of peace through harmony, justice, and love. Amen.

Czechoslovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 28 will be the anniversary of Czechoslovakian Independence Day. Czechoslovakia is at the center of central Europe, and its stout-hearted inhabitants have been very much in the center of European affairs during most of modern times. This rough and rugged home of John Huss and Comenius, of Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes, was overrun by invaders and dominated by foreign overlords for more than 400 years. Before World War I most of what is now Czechoslovakia was part of the multinational Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy. Alien rule could not, however, subdue the spirit of freedom and independence among these indomitable

Czechs and Slovaks. Brought up in the school of adversity and inspired by the leadership of many true patriots, they vowed to fight for the attainment of political independence during the war years from 1914 to 1918. They earned the sympathy and support of the democratic world for their cause. And, on October 28, 1918, Czechoslovakia was indeed proclaimed independent.

Unfortunately, this much-deserved independence was not destined to last more than two decades. After a vigorous and very promising beginning, the youthful Czechoslovak Republic was faced with mortal threats in the late 1930's—1939 saw the partition of Czechoslovakia among her three neighbors—Germany, Poland, and Hungary. The partition was ironic in that the latter two countries were, in their turn, partitioned by their own more powerful and ruthless neighbors—Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

After World War II Czechoslovakia was reconstituted once more. But the fond hopes her people had of enjoying and preserving their regained independence were never realized. In 1948 she was taken over by and became a Soviet satellite.

We in the free world will join with Americans of Czechoslovak origin in the celebration of their Independence Day, and we hope that all Czechoslovakians will soon be free to do the same, for, in their country no celebration of this occasion is permitted. It will be a solemn day but in their hearts these dauntless fighters for freedom will silently celebrate a future independence that must surely come.

The Honorable Luis Muñoz-Marín

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, at the end of this year one of the great statesmen of the free world, Luis Muñoz-Marín, will relinquish the governorship of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

The decision to step down was his own. Fortunately for Puerto Rico and the United States, he will continue in public life in a lesser capacity and will lend his great talents when they are needed.

Puerto Rico today is not only a beautiful tropical island and a delight to tourists; it is a seat of industry and trade, with a soundly diversified economy. Many of America's largest industries operate manufacturing plants there, and new ones are established every year.

This economic growth during the era of Luis Muñoz-Marín has transformed Puerto Rico from the poverty level to a place with a standard of living well above that of any other tropical area of comparable population. Its per capita income now compares with those in Western Europe, and there is reason for hope that it will eventually approach that of the United States itself.

Muñoz-Marín's administration quite properly placed great stress on improving the living standards of the Puerto Rican people, but it did much more than that. It educated the people to a full appreciation of democratic government and the freedoms and opportunities democracy offers. It also encouraged their interests in their rich cultural heritage.

The result is that the Puerto Rican of today is a proud man, who possesses freedom and dignity. He has self-respect, not the apathy of the colonial era. He has a special identity. He has learned to live with the United States without being overwhelmed by it.

Many people believed a generation ago that the Puerto Rican people could not achieve this serenity without becoming an independent nation. Luis Muñoz-Marín came to realize early in his carreer that independence would mean hopeless poverty for his people. He sought and eventually achieved, by means of the Commonwealth, a status that has given the Puerto Rican people an identity without depriving them of any of their rights and opportunities as Americans.

This was a monumental accomplishment, for which Luis Muños will long be honored. May he be spared for many more years to observe the benefits of his brilliant leadership.

Tribute to Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia and on behalf of the committee, I wish to commend the Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, ranking minority member of the committee, upon the completion of 22 years of faithful and outstanding service as a Member of the House of Representatives.

Also, I wish to express the committee's regrets at his retirement from public office at the end of the 88th Congress.

In appreciation of his contributions and services to his country, as well as to the Nation's Capital, which he loves so deeply, the committee unanimously approved the following resolution which, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask to be included in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Committee on the District of Columbia of the United States House of Representatives views with heartfelt regret the departure from the House of the distinguished Representative from the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, the Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, at the end of his present term in the 88th Congress; and

Whereas Representative AUCHINCLOSS, during his twenty years of outstanding service as a Member of the House and of the Committee on the District of Columbia, has been a most vigorous champion of the ideals and programs which he believed would be to the best interest of his district and the State of New Jersey, and to the District of Columbia and his country as well; and

Whereas in the years ahead the committee will sorely miss the leadership, the reasoned guidance, the gentle humor, the unfailing courtesy and kindliness, and the warm companionship of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia extend our deep appreciation to our colleague for his most exemplary service in the House and on the committee, and our sincere good wishes for many years of good health, happiness, and satisfaction for him and the members of his family; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, as approved by unanimous vote of the members of the Committee on the District of Columbia, be suitably prepared and presented to Representative AUCHINCLOSS as a permanent reminder of the high esteem with which he is held by the members of the committee.

Attest:

JOHN L. MCMILLAN, *Chairman.*
THOMAS G. ABERNETHY.
HOWARD W. SMITH.
WILLIAM L. DAWSON.
JOHN BELL WILLIAMS.
ABRAHAM J. MULTER.
JOHN DOWDY.
GEORGE HUDDLESTON, Jr.
BASIL L. WHITENER.
JEFFERY COHELAN.
FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN.
JAMES W. TRIMBLE.
B. F. SISK.
CHARLES C. DIGGS, Jr.
G. ELLIOTT HAGAN.
WILLIAM L. SPRINGER.
ANCHER NELSEN.
ALVIN E. O'KONSKI.
WILLIAM H. HARSHA, Jr.
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr.
FRED SCHWENGEL.
FRANK J. HORTON.
RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH.

Salinity of Colorado River Waters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, for many years the waters of the Colorado River, which flows for some 1,200 miles through or bordering upon seven of our great Western States before entering Mexico and emptying into the Gulf of California, has been a subject of spirited controversy—political controversy, judicial controversy, and diplomatic controversy.

The States of both the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basins, and the industrial States within each basin, have vied with each other in the Congress and in the courts for what each has considered its fair and just share of the waters of the river so necessary to the well-being

of its people and its future development. Meanwhile, in order to bring some measure of physical control over the waters of the highly variable stream in which devasting floods alternate with searing drought, the people of the United States have spent hundreds of millions of dollars in constructing great multipurpose dams and reservoirs and ancillary works.

The need of our States and their people for the waters of the Colorado necessitated agreement with Mexico whose people also need and use the river waters. A treaty was entered into in 1944 between the United States and Mexico which took into account proposed development in the Colorado River Basin. The interpretation of this treaty recently has been a subject of discussion between the United States and Mexico, and on September 6, last, the Washington Post published a news story from Mexicali, Mexico, giving what I considered a somewhat one-sided picture of the situation. Accordingly, I prepared a letter to the editor of the Post which I hope may help clarify the situation.

I ask unaimous consent, Mr. President, that the news story and my observations on the situation as presented by this news story be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SALT ISSUE IS AN EARTH SHAKER

(By George Natanson)

MEXICALI, MEXICO.—"I blame the United States. You are bad neighbors," said Campesino Jose Fernandez.

Fernandez, whose wife and six children sat in an adobe ranchhouse as we spoke, owns a plot of land in the Mexicali Valley not far from the United States-Mexican border at Calexico, Calif.

Fernandez and his family are representative of the 300,000 Mexican farmers in this area whose lands have been damaged over the past several years by the increased amounts of salt found in the waters of the Colorado River.

Fernandez protested calmly but his words betrayed the smoldering political passion of the small farmers which has surfaced several times. The good relations enjoyed by the United States and Mexico thus are in danger of a breakdown.

Fernandez said, "I used to get four to five bales of cotton per hectare (2.5 acres). Now I get nothing. The salt in the river coming from your country has killed it."

In 1944, the United States and Mexico signed a treaty which guaranteed Mexico water from the Colorado River for "municipal and domestic uses, agriculture, and other beneficial purposes." But since 1961, the saline content of the river has risen alarmingly, making it worthless for irrigation and causing severe crop damage to 450,000 acres of land in the Mexicali Valley.

Under the 1944 treaty, the United States guaranteed to deliver to Mexico 1,500,000 acre-feet of Colorado River water annually. This is enough to cover 1,500,000 acres of land to the depth of 1 foot, sufficient to irrigate 300,000 acres of cotton in the Mexican valley.

Normally, the Colorado contains a salt content of roughly 900 parts per million—high, but not enough to damage the soil. But after 1961, Mexicali farmers claimed that salt had increased to more than 2,800 parts per million.

This means that about 5,000 more tons of salt were being deposited on Mexicali Valley soils every 24 hours

Mexico argues that the United States must provide this country with water as pure as that which Imperial Valley farmers get from the Colorado River. The California Valley water is channeled into the All-America Canal at a point in the Colorado just below the Imperial Dam.

Across the river, running east, is the canal taking Colorado water into the Wellton-Mohawk. This is circulated throughout the Arizona Valley and returned to the Colorado near the Morales Dam. However, the waters now have increased saline content from the deep water wells.

Pointing to the Yuma Valley, south of the river near the border downstream from the Wellton-Mohawk drainage, the Mexicans note that the Yuma farmers have no cause for concern. Here the water is taken from the All-America Canal and piped under the Colorado into the Yuma Valley, thus saving that valley from Wellton-Mohawk contamination.

The U.S. Government took steps to rectify the situation, but most of these were stopgap measures. Three years ago, the U.S. Government arranged to increase the Colorado flow from Hoover Dam, upriver. The fresh waters served to dilute the saline content at Morales Dam below the Wellton-Mohawk drainage. However, the six Western U.S. States which depend on Colorado water took a dim view of this arrangement, protesting the waste of precious water.

To a proposal that Wellton-Mohawk drain off used irrigation waters to the east, away from the Colorado River, protests were heard that Arizona would not then get the credits needed from the return flow.

Spokesmen on the U.S. side believe Mexican claims are exaggerated. They also suspect that Mexico is using this as an excuse to get more water above its legal allotment.

It is argued that Mexico has done nothing to prepare for use of salty water and that no effective drainage system has been installed in the Mexicali Valley to relieve the problem. It is also maintained that Colorado River water is less than 1,500 parts salt per million parts of water They point out that this proportion is not damaging to crops if suitable precautions are taken to drain the Mexicali acreage.

At the same time, it is claimed that Mexicali's overall cotton production in recent years has increased rather than fallen off

Mexicans proudly admit that their cotton production has increased but answer that this is in spite of, and not because of, the Colorado River water.

To the argument that Mexico has no drainage system, the Mexicans reply that this is of no concern to the United States. What the United States must worry about, they say, is a "just and fair" interpretation of the 1944 treaty.

Mexico is demanding quick action and has threatened to take the matter to the World Court or to an inter-American tribunal While this could drag the problem out for years, U.S prestige abroad would suffer considerably from the suit

Washington has become alarmed. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson assured Mexican President Adolfo Lopez Mateos of their intention to find a "permanent and effective solution at the earliest possible time."

In Mexico City, a U.S. spokesman has described the problem as "urgent." Another U.S. official declared recently, "the question of salinity in the Colorado River is one of the most pressing that the United States faces in Latin America."

Mexican Communists have been quick to exploit a ready-made issue which provides sympathetic appeal to all Mexicans and Latin Americans, whatever their politics. A Mexican Government spokesman said recently in Mexico City, "Unfortunately, the Communists are taking the credit as leaders in demanding retribution from the United States simply because they are making the most noise. The people listen to them, but you can't blame them for doing so."

Typical of these is Francisco Garcia. "I farmed in this valley for more than 25 years but my 500 acres are useless now," he says. "So I took part in the demonstrations in front of the U.S. Consulate 2 months ago and I am ready to do so again."

Garcia made it clear he is no Communist. "I am a farmer and I want my land to produce. If my government helps me, then I will follow my government. But if the Communists are the ones to help, then I'll follow the Communists."

Garcia showed a mimeographed circular issued by the independent campesino. It had been given wide circulation throughout Mexico 2 months ago. It called for "workers, teachers, students, industrialists, businessmen, artists, and intellectuals" to join the Nation's Campesinos to protect this "act of provocation" by the United States.

Early this month, the United States submitted a plan to the Mexican Government which is presently under study. While it is believed the Mexicans might agree with the U.S. proposals, there is fear that opposition in the United States might break down the negotiations once the terms are made public.

The proposals include prompt construction of a bypass canal to divert saline water flowing from the Wellton-Mohawk Reclamation District, a far more extensive tile drainage system in the Wellton-Mohawk area, and a temporary remedy which would allow saline water to pass down the Colorado River to the Gulf of California during those periods when Mexico could interrupt water deliveries by closing off the Morales Dam.

These ideas call for an extensive outlay of U.S. public funds.

Thus, it is believed by observers here that a solution to the problem is still far off. The Communists, aware of the conflicting issues, have not ceased their agitation. Among other things, they are now demanding that the United States pay millions of dollars in damages to Mexicali farmers.

Mexico is seeking a technical solution which will be the "most adequate and economic method of insuring the elimination of present and future damage." The political solution, they point out, should take into consideration the national and particular interests of both nations, but should have "a wider panorama than the locality of the Colorado River."

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR
AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
September 23, 1964.

The EDITOR,
The Washington Post,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The feature story in your September 6 issue by George Natanson on the salinity of the Colorado River waters reaching Mexico, "The Salt Issue Is an Earth Shaker" is, I fear, rather more political propaganda than factual reporting. As a Senator from a Colorado River Basin State and a senior member of the committee of the Senate that has initial responsibility for Federal legislation affecting the development of the water and land resources of the Colorado, I would like to make a few observations that I hope may help set the record straight and give credit where credit is due.

First, let us consider a few basic geographic and historical facts. The Colorado River rises wholly within the United States and this country is the sole source of all of its waters. The stream from its headquarters in north central Colorado to the Mexican border runs a course of more than 1,200 miles; from the border to the Gulf of California its course is 75 miles. Significant portions of seven of our great Western States; namely, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colo-

rado, and Wyoming, are within its basin and the river plays a vital role in the economy of each.

The point is that by the time the Colorado reaches Mexico it has run more than 90 percent of its course, and has drained an area of some 242,000 square miles, or aproximately one-twelfth of the continental United States excluding Alaska. The inescapable fact of geography is that the short Mexican stretch of the river is at the very end of a long, long flow through hundreds of miles of mineralized land, and that even without the uses to which we put them the waters inevitably would contain significant quantities of salt at the end of their journey.

Mr. Natanson states that "normally, the Colorado contains a salt content of roughly 900 parts per million." It would be difficult indeed, scientifically, to say what salt content the Colorado has "normally." Its salinity depends on several variable factors, such as the point on the 1,300-mile stream that is used as the base for normalcy—in its upper reaches the salt content may be 50 parts or less per million—the amount of water in the river, which will vary from a trickle to a torrent, depending on the time of year and the amount of precipitation in our western mountains the preceding winter, the amount of the land irrigated with a given quantity of water, and the salinity of the soil itself before water is put on it.

A number of irrigated areas in the United States use waters with as high, or higher, a saline content than those that we regularly deliver to Mexico. I refer to the Carlsbad project in my own State of New Mexico, the South Gila, the Roosevelt, and the Delta projects, among others. The figure chosen by Mr. Natanson, 2,800 parts per million, is that of the most saline of all of our water deliveries; it has been reached but once, and that 4 years ago. The current average is more in the neighborhood of 1,100 to 1,200 parts per million. Many a farmer in New Mexico would consider himself lucky indeed to have water that good. How much salinity is permissible is like trying to say how many drinks of whisky are permissible. The amount varies with the individual, the time, the place, and what the individual is doing or going to do.

In the opinion of qualified agronomists, Mexico has substantially more land under cultivation than the water to which she is entitled from the Colorado will support, in view of the prevailing agricultural patterns, the lack of adequate drainage facilities, and the use of water only for production, rather than apportioning some for flushing as our farmers are required to do. However, as conceded by Mr. Natanson, the agricultural yield in the Mexicali Valley has been increasing. A year ago cotton production broke all records per hectare; this past winter was a record season for wheat.

It would seem that the farmers Mr. Natanson chose to interview and quote were more interested in anti-American politics than in farm production.

Prior to the construction of Hoover Dam on the Colorado River, irrigated agriculture along the lower Colorado River, and particularly in Mexico, was entirely at the mercy of seasonal fluctuations in the river. Huge spring floods followed by severe water shortages in the late summer and early fall months were the rule rather than the exception. These factors greatly limited the number of acres which could be developed in Mexico. The United States, at a cost of over $225 million, first constructed in the United States, Hoover Dam and then Davis Dam to control the floods and regulate downstream flows. Mexico did not pay any of the cost of these structures even though she is a prime beneficiary of their benefits.

In 1922 our basin States initiated a compact "to provide for an equitable division and apportionment of the use of the waters of the Colorado River system * * * to secure the expeditious agricultural and industrial development of the Colorado River Basin." This compact, which was approved by the Federal Government in the Boulder Canyon Project Act, and which is a basis for much of the Colorado River development, is devoid of any provisions whatever pertaining to the quality of the water thus to be distributed. The States representatives, and those of the Federal Government, were well aware of the fundamental physical fact that the waters of the river used for irrigation inevitably would dissolve minerals in the soil and hence when returned to the stream would carry with them some of the salts. The degree of salinity would vary with the amount of water available and the lands irrigated. This same physical fact was well known to and within the contemplation of the negotiators of the Mexican Water Treaty in 1944.

Thus, the treaty, by which Mexico receives a minimum of 1,500,000 acre-feet of water a year and which is the controlling agreement spelling out carefully and in detail the rights and obligations of the two countries, also deliberately is silent with respect to quality of water. On the contrary, in at least three separate provisions there is affirmative language showing that Mexico agreed to accept whatever water the river brings to her at the boundary. Article 10 of the treaty states:

"Of the waters of the Colorado River, from any and all sources, there are allocated to Mexico:"

Article 11, in subsection (a), provides:

"(a) The United States shall deliver all waters allotted to Mexico wherever these waters may arrive in the bed of the limithrope section of the Colorado River, with exceptions hereinafter provided. Such waters shall be made up of the waters of the said river whatever their origin."

The report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations recommending that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty explained that:

"Certain limitations are placed upon the schedules of delivery so as to insure to the United States credit for substantially all return flows and other waste waters emanating from projects within the United States and generally reaching the river at points too low on the stream to be susceptible to further use within the United States. This is largely composed of water which has been used for irrigation of lands within the United States and which returns to the river through drainage canals or through underground seepage." (Executive Report No. 2, 79th Cong., p. 4.)

In submitting the proposed treaty to President Roosevelt, the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, stated in setting forth the amounts of Colorado River water to be delivered under the agreement:

"These quantities, which may be made up of any waters of the Colorado River from any and all sources whether direct river flows, return flow, or seepage, will be delivered by the United States in the boundary portion of the Colorado River." (Letter, Secretary Hull to the President, Feb. 9, 1944.)

The point of the foregoing is that the United States did not, and indeed its negotiators could not, consent to assume a higher obligation to Mexico with respect to the quality of water in the Colorado than did the signatory States to each other.

Again, Mr. Natanson states that the treaty "guaranteed Mexico water from the Colorado River for 'municipal and domestic uses, agricultural and other beneficial purposes'." The inference is that the quotes are from the treaty itself. I would be very interested indeed to have any such provision in that agreement pointed out to me. In what is accepted as an official text, that published in 59 U.S. Statutes-at-Large, beginning on page 1219, I do not find those words at all, nor any other declaration or commitment in either the English or the Spanish version as to what purpose the waters the United States undertakes to deliver to Mexico are to be put. The only reason for mentioning this perhaps technical point is to emphasize again the fact that the United States neither expressly nor implicitly made any guarantee or commitment whatever with respect to the quality of the water to be delivered. Rather, Mexico agreed to accept the water "as is" upon arrival at the border.

It is significant that the treaty has been in effect for more than 22 years. Throughout this period we have delivered substantially in excess of the guaranteed minimum of 1,500,000 acre-feet. However, in the last few years, with the abnormally low runoff plus the need for filling our reservoirs, such as Glen Canyon, of the Upper Colorado Basin, we have had to curtail our excess deliveries. One cannot but wonder whether this fact is not the real basis for the complaints; that what certain landowners in Mexico want is not a "just and fair" interpretation of the treaty, to use Mr. Natanson's words, but continued largesse at the expense of the American water users and taxpayers.

At the present time, water projects in the United States already authorized or in the legislative process have reached the stage where we will need every drop of Colorado River water to which we are entitled for our own citizens. I cannot but feel that newspapers and public officials alike should exercise every care not to misstate facts nor to place improper emphasis so that the United States is in a false position in this very delicate matter. In view of the needs of our own people, we must use extreme care not to give away, so to speak, our unassailable legal position, and to avoid words or action which would establish a precedent by which we become responsible for solving Mexico's salinity problem.

Sincerely yours,

CLINTON P. ANDERSON.

Report on Cadets Appointed to the U.S. Service Academies From the 27th Congressional District of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report on cadets appointed to the U.S. service academies from the 27th Congressional District of Pennsylvania for the interest of my constituents.

Paul Strain, of Ashland Street, 20th ward, at Annapolis, graduated at Holy Innocents High. Paul is making high grades and is on the debate team. He placed sixth in United States in the Catholic Forensic League debate finals. Leo Lukenas, high honor student in high school, of 20th ward, graduated at Annapolis, is now Navy lieutenant at Pensacola, Fla. Jim Irwin, of 28th ward, is on the swimming team at U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and graduated at Langley High. Bill Machett, also from Langley High and 20th ward, is on the

swim team at U.S. Merchant Marine and is in the first third of his class. Bill Klemm, of Lovelace Street, 20th ward, received the honor star for high marks at U.S. Merchant Marine Academy. Bill was an Explorer Scout at Langley High. Jim Hutchinson, Jr., Clairhaven Street, 28th ward, graduated at U.S. Merchant Marine Academy last July, and is now an engineer for Maritime Overseas Corporation in New York. Park Anderson, at Air Force Academy, is on the honor roll continuing his honor record started at Holy Innocents High.

Henry Tyler and Nicholas Michalisin, June grads from Coraopolis High, whom I have appointed to Annapolis, as your Congressman, entered on July 1, and the Academy reports both are doing very well.

Joseph Seigman, assistant supervising principal of Moon Township schools, advises his son Kenneth, an appointee from our congressional district to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, is now in his second year, and is aboard the training ship on his way to France, Greece, and Turkey.

Jim McBride, son of James and Agnes McBride, of Coraopolis, our appointee, graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy in 1961, is now lieutenant in U.S. Naval Reserve. Jim and his wife Nancy now live in Evanston, Ill.

Joseph Johnson, whom I appointed to the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1959, graduated in 1963, and is now Lieutenant Johnson, at McChord Air Force Base, Tacoma, Wash. Joe's father, now principal of Coraopolis High, advises me Joe is now in charge of base engineering, is married, and he and his wife Jo Ann have a daughter, Wendy, 7 months old. Kennedy Township can really be proud of Lieutenant Johnson.

Oleg Komarnitsky of Moon Township, graduate of Moon High, who was appointed by me to the Air Force Academy in 1957, is now a first lieutenant and doing well at Hanscom Air Base, Bedford, Mass.

Larry Kozak, of Robinson Township, graduate of Montour High, our appointee to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy is now on sea duty in the Dominican Republic area.

Scott Swain, son of the Ted Swains, and Upper St. Clair High graduate, 1964, entered Annapolis Naval Academy on July 1, and is now doing well as midshipman. Scott was on the football and baseball teams at high school, and an exchange student to Sweden in 1963, and is now playing "plebe" baseball.

Ronald Deep, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Deep—a Lincoln High School, Bridgeville, graduate, was appointed to the U.S. Air Force Academy and finished in 1960. Ronald's twin is his brother, Donald Deep, and both boys were well known locally. Ronald is now a pilot of jet transports in the U.S. Air Force, attending squadron school at Montgomery, Ala., and is being promoted to captain, U.S. Air Force, in December.

Lawrence Miller is the son of Mrs. Ruth Miller, a widow; was appointed to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, after graduating sixth in his class of 110 at Upper St. Clair High School. Lawrence is a senior at the academy and graduates in 1965.

Robert Gilleskie entered Annapolis Naval Academy on July 1, 1964, and the Academy reports Bob is doing well. Bob graduated at Canevin High and was president of the student council—also a letterman in football, wrestling, and track. His parents are Alex and Stella Gilleskie of Heidelberg. Dennis Coll, son of Ed and Alice Coll of Scott Township, is a cadet in the fourth class at West Point, and his father, Postmaster Ed Coll of the Pittsburgh Post Office, tells me Dennis is doing fine scholastically, and is now company athletic sergeant, and is on the "B" football team. At South Catholic High he was honor student and class president. Edward Hepp, Jr., of Thornburg, son of the Edward Hepps, is on the honor list at Annapolis, plays battalion football, and will be home for the Pitt-Navy game. David Ferrall Dally, son of the Crafton Dallys, graduated at Annapolis, and is now Lieutenant Commander Dally, U.S. Navy. David is a grandson of longtime Justice of the Peace Dally of Crafton, and nephew of now Rear Adm. Pete Ferrall of Crafton, submarine commander. Jim Howard of Crafton, whom I appointed to Annapolis, and who chose to graduate from the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, is now lieutenant commander at the Coast Guard main offices in Washington, D.C.

David Spooner, "Dave" or "Spoon," entered Annapolis Naval Academy on July 1, 1964. His parents, John and Ruth Spooner, of Oakridge Drive, Whitehall, report Dave is getting organized, thinks the Academy is great, and hopes to play basketball on the team. Dave graduated from Baldwin High eighth in his class of 557—3.86 average—was a member of the National Honor Society, student senate, and Key Club.

Robert Bruce, son of Robert and Ruth Bruce, of Baldwin, entered the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy on Long Island in 1963. Bob is doing well, enjoys his studies, and is now manager of the sailing team. Bob graduated from Baldwin High and was a member of the student senate, science club, and an offier of the Sea Explorer Scouts.

Richard Knight, of Whitehall, son of Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Knight, of Oakridge Drive, graduated from West Point in 1964. Dick was an A student at Baldwin High, senior class president, a member of the National Honor Society and Key Club, and played in the band. Dick is now doing well as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army, stationed at Homestead Air Base in Florida.

James Homer, formerly of Crestline Drive, Baldwin, son of Joseph and Edythe Homer, graduated at Annapolis in 1962. Jim was on the track team and played in the band at Baldwin High. At Annapolis Jim made the Superintendent's list of distinguished midshipmen. He is now a lieutenant, junior grade, U.S. Navy, and is attending the Navy Submarine School, New London, Conn.

Harry Solbach, Jr., now living at 4785 Sherwood Drive, Whitehall, graduated at Brentwood High, and Annapolis Naval Academy. He became a captain in the U.S. Marine Corps, and has now completed his time in the service. Harry is making an outstanding record as manufacturing superintendent at the light metal plant of Dravo. Harry is married to Dolores Hilty, of Brentwood, and they have a son, Scott.

In 1963 Mike Trapuzzano, of Stowe Township, entered the Air Force Academy. Mike is now an honor student, and graduated top in his class at Stowe High. Andy Kasprik, of McKees Rocks, at Annapolis has just received a silver star for high grades. Dale Welch graduated at Merchant Marine Academy and is now third assistant with Moore-McCormack Lines. Dale was Key Club at Neville High. Steve Wolfgang, of McKees Rocks, graduated at Annapolis and is now captain in the U.S. Air Force. Steve was honor society at Stowe High. John Lyons, of Stowe, is in his fourth year at West Point, and was president of the National Honor Society at Stowe High. Ken Ludovici, of Stowe, graduated at West Point, a paratrooper of the fine 82d Airborne Division, spent 10 months in Vietnam. Stephen Halupa, of Stowe, enteerd Annapolis last year, and is doing well. Steve was senior class president and graduated with high honors from Stowe High.

William Kirchner, of our 32d ward, entered U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Long Island this summer. His parents, Clarence and Marie Kirchner, of Fairland Street, tell me Bill is enjoying the Academy and is studying chemistry to become a chemical engineer. He is on the sailing and debate teams. Bill graduated from Carrick High, played basketball, tennis, and was captain of the chess club.

James Kronz, of Brentwood, graduated from the Merchant Marine Academy and is now in the U.S. Navy. Jim is the son of Charles and Kathryn Kronz of Bauman Avenue. At St. Wendelin High, he played football and basketball and was in the debate club. Jim is now in school in Rhode Island training to be a chief engineer on a destroyer. Jim is married and has two children.

Jerry Garlitz, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. Edward Garlitz, graduate of Carrick High and Annapolis, is now a lieutenant commander on the U.S.S. *Kitty Hawk* operating in the Pacific Ocean. Jerry is a competent naval aviator, flying in Fighter Squadron 121, and in such planes as F3D and F4H fighters. He is married and is based at San Francisco.

Michael Cronin, of the 32d ward, graduated from Annapolis in 1963. Mike is presently training to be a Navy pilot at the Naval Training Base at Corpus Christi, Tex., and will receive his wings next January. He graduated from Carrick High and participated in football, swimming and track. Mike's sisters are Maureen and Sheila.

Albert Trautmann, of Carrick, son of Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Trautmann, graduated at Annapolis and is now a captain in the U.S. Air Force. He graduated from Carrick High and played football and track. Albert and his wife, Louanne, are at Sawyer Air Force Base, Mich.

James Clark, of Bethel Park, entered the U.S. Air Force Academy this year. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Robert Clark, live at 206 Iroquois Road. Jim is doing well in his courses at the Academy and is on the freshman soccer team. In Bethel High Jim was a member of the National Honor Society, a national merit scholar, and earned a cross-country letter.

Jim Wood, also of Bethel, is in his second year at Annapolis. His parents, Robert and Alma Wood, of Patterson Road, tell me Jim is doing well at the Naval Academy. He spent 7 weeks cruising to France, Denmark, and England on the U.S.S. *Essex*. At Bethel High Jim was in the National Honor Society, the student council, and worked on the school newspaper.

Bill Daniels will graduate from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy next year. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Cloyce R. Daniels, of Oaklyn Road, Bethel Park. Bill is taking French and navigation at the Academy and has made the dean's list three times. At Bethel High Bill played football, was basketball manager, and in the varsity club.

Jim Mucci, of Bethel Park, entered the Merchant Marine Academy this year. His parents, Adam and Vera Mucci, say he is studying hard, belongs to the drill team, and plays football. At Bethel High Jim was publicity director of the Key Club, active in the "Y" and sports.

Jack McMichael is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. He is the son of the John C. McMichaels, of Bethel Borough. Jack is now a Navy lieutenant attending graduate school near Santa Barbara, and he previously flew with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. Jack and his wife, the former Diane Ramsey, of Pleasant Hills, have a 3-year-old daughter, Michele.

Bob Zargan of the 19th Ward, graduate of West Point, is now a U.S. Army major attending staff and command school at Fort Leavenworth, Kans. He is the son of Mrs. James G. Zargan and the late Jim Zargan of Brookline, active leader in veterans affairs. Bob is a graduate of South Hills High. He recently served with the Army in South Vietnam. Bob is married and has a boy and two girls.

Lou Hamel, an Annapolis graduate, is a lieutenant commander in the Navy. His parents are the Louis Hamels of Pioneer Avenue, Brookline. Lou is going to Hawaii as an electronic officers adviser with the admiral's staff of the 6th Fleet. Lou was one of the youngest commanders of his own ship, an LST. At South Hills High he was in the National Honor Society, senior class president and on the yearbook staff. He played baseball for Beechview American Legion Post. Lou is married and has two children, Richard, 6, and Dianne, 4.

Don Graham of Beechview graduated from the Air Force Academy. He is now a lieutenant taking pilot training at Webb Air Force Base, Tex. Don is the son of Ralph and Lillian Graham of Tropical Avenue and a graduate of South Hills High. He was married last June, just 2 days after his graduation from the Air Force Academy.

Stuart Johnson graduated from the Naval Academy with distinction this summer. His mother is Mrs. Sara Johnson of Rockland Avenue, Beechview. Stuart is now with Navy Air Command in Pensacola, Fla., taking pilot training. At South Hills High he was active in baseball, football, golf, archery, and swimming. He was a member of the Boys Leaders Club and Methodist Church Youth Council.

George Sweger graduated from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy last year. His parents, George and Mildred Sweger, formerly of Brookline, now live at Girard Road, Pittsburgh. George is now sailing with the Moore-McCormack Lines on his way home from Brazil. A graduate of South Hills High, George is married to Marlene Gebhardt, also of Brookline.

Richard Reinheimer of Brookline entered Annapolis this year. His parents, Rudolph and Agatha Reinheimer, live on Southcrest Drive. Richard graduated from South Hills High. He was in the National Honor Society, Varsity Club, cocaptain of the football team, and active in track and field events.

Richard Bordone, a Naval Academy graduate, is now a lieutenant with Attack Squadron 75. He is the son of the late Peter Bordones of Mt. Washington, and a graduate of St. Justins High.

James Ragano of Brookline graduated from Annapolis in 1963. His parents are the Anthony D. Raganos of Fordham Avenue. He was on the Superintendent's list at the Naval Academy and in the National Honor Society at South Hills High. James is now at Nuclear Power School, Mare Island, Calif.

Walter Teichgraber of Brookline is on the Superintendent's list at Annapolis for the third straight year. He lived with his aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Guy Aiello of Bellaire Avenue. At South Hills Catholic he was president of the Catholic Youth Council, Math Honor Society, manager of baseball team and played basketball.

Our district is proud of this fine record of accomplishments of these outstanding young men from our area.

Retirement of Congressman James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is with regret that my colleague from New Jersey and I look upon the retirement of JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS from the Halls of Congress. For the past 22 years, Congressman AUCHINCLOSS has been continuously returned to the House of Representatives by the electorate of the Third Congressional District in New Jersey, which he has served with diligence and distinction.

As the senior member of the New Jersey congressional delegation, he gave unstintingly of his time to his colleagues in matters relating not only to our State but to our country. He served his constituency with unselfish devotion. There was no such thing as a party label when it came to a constituent who had a problem, large or small.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS has served in public life the best part of his years. Much as he will be missed by his colleagues and constituents, it can be denied by no one that his retirement is well deserved and well earned. I join in wishing him and his wife many more years of happiness and to say to him again: "well done."

Storm on the Hudson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT R. BARRY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress probably stands unexcelled in the area of conservation legislation. Over and over again a majority of my colleagues joined with me in the support of measures such as the National Wilderness Preservation System—Public Law 88–577—the land and water conservation fund—Public Law 88–578—and the Fire Island National Seashore—Public Law 88–587.

During the same period in which we were deliberating on these important measures, one of the biggest conservation battles was and is still being fought at the historically and scenically prominent Storm King Mountain area of the Hudson River.

I call the issue to the attention of my conservation-minded colleagues on September 29, 1964, when I introduced H.R. 12707, which, if enacted—and hopefully an identical or similar bill will be approved by the 89th Congress—would establish a Hudson River Conservation and Preservation Commission. The Commission would be dedicated to the study, evaluation, and recommendation to the Congress of ways in which the scenic and historic significance of the Hudson River could be maintained. I again brought the matter to the attention of my colleagues—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 23195—in an analysis of the developments which led up to H.R. 12707.

As noted in the analysis I have explored avenues of administrative relief through the Department of Interior which thus far has done nothing more than express its official concern in the matter, despite the fact that it has within its power the discretionary authority to take several courses of recommended action to preserve this important area of the Hudson River, which is noted for its natural beauty, its historical significance and its fish life.

I would like at this point to call to your attention an article by Allan Keller which appeared in the New York World-Telegram:

STORM ON THE HUDSON

(By Allan Keller)

From the time explorers first sailed up the Hudson on their voyages of discovery men have sensed that here God's handiwork approached perfection. In a short stretch of 50 or 60 miles one can see the world's most magnificent harbor, the awe-inspiring beauty of the Palisades and the gorges of the Hudson Highlands.

The Rhine is beautiful. So are the Thames, the Danube, and the Columbia. Other rivers are longer or wider or more important commercially, but none is more majestic than our own Hudson. Even more important is its location—on the very doorstep of a vast megalopolis where dwell 20 million persons.

That megalopolis is busy fouling its own nest, erecting structures that are ugly eyesores, denuding forests for housing developments and cutting through rural countryside for mutilane highways. Much of this is inescapable. It is part of the process of finding room for the area's growing families.

But when commercial expediency runs hogwild we and our heirs suffer esthetic damage that is irrevocable. An example of this is Con Edison's proposal to chew a great bite out of the face of Storm King Mountain for the building of a hydroelectric power station. If ever there was a glove flung in the face of beauty-hungry Americans, this is it.

In briefest terms, the utility plans to gouge an area 1,200 feet by 160 feet out of the flank of the mountain that faces the river. In this hole it would erect the third largest station of its type on earth. Behind the crest of the hill it would build five dams. In the daytime, during periods of peak load, water would run down from the lakes through a tunnel into the plant and generate power. At night, using unneeded power from steamplants in the city, water from the Hudson would be pumped uphill for storage.

If this plant were erected in a commercial area there could be little opposition, but it is proposed for the western pillar of the most beautiful section of the Hudson Gorge. It would desecrate for all time what has been termed one of the grandest passages of river scenery in the world.

For generations commercial enterprises have turned some of the Hudson shore into an ugly strip. Brickyards abound near the Tappan Zee. Trap rock companies have leveled entire hills in other spots. The Government itself is guilty, having transformed one cove into a graveyard for rusting, overage ships.

On the other side of the ledger, however, there has been some progress in saving the river's banks. The Rockefeller family and other conservationists created the Palisades Interstate Park to save the top of the escarpment, from Fort Lee to around Haverstraw. Other sections have been set aside in perpetuity for the enjoyment of all the people.

Before the Federal Power Commission grants ConEd the right to deface this unspoiled natural beauty it should look into wider use of atomic power—which many experts say will make hydroelectric plants obsolete in 20 years. And it should ask some pointed questions about the mammoth power complex in Labrador which local utilities plan to tap for energy needed in New York and New England. And it ought to inquire into the need, and justice, of building a high tension transmission line, 250 feet wide straight through Putnam and Westchester Counties.

The Storm King project constitutes a clear-cut struggle between commercialism and the inalienable right of the people to enjoy what is left of the scenic wonders bequeathed to them by Providence.

Read me no statistics of peak loads or kilowatt insufficiency or relative costs of atomic, steam and water powered energy. I want the right to see a few mountains etched against the setting sun at twilight. I want to hear birds singing in a forest yet unspoiled. I hunger for the chance to commune with God in His own church.

So too, I know, do millions of others weary of days spent in concrete canyons and asphalt jungles. Such a spot lies an hour or so away on Storm King Mountain. Why should it be turned into another segment of industry's hideous junkyard?

Anniversary of Cambodia's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, November 9 will mark the 11th anniversary of Cambodia's independence. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chief of State of Cambodia; and to the Cambodian people.

The Kingdom of Cambodia is one of the few countries in southeast Asia which is not being troubled by serious internal difficulties at this time. To the north the struggle between factions in Laos is bringing that country closer to ruin and possible domination by the Communists. To the east and south a war is being fought in deadly earnest between the Government of South Vietnam and Communist-led guerrillas.

We are very much involved in the struggles of both these countries and it is a relief that the situation in Cambodia is relatively calm and free from crisis. We have our hands full as it is, and a Communist thrust into Cambodia would only compound the problems and difficulties we already face.

Cambodia is the oldest state of the Indochinese peninsula; and, although today it is only about the size of the State of Missouri, it once was the center of a vast empire that covered mainland southeast Asia from the Bay of Bengal to the South China Sea. An almost unbroken line of kings stretches back to the beginning of the Christian era.

The latest of these reigning monarchs was King Norodom Suramarit who died in 1960. His son Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Chief of State of Cambodia, abdicated the throne because he wanted to continue to participate in the political affairs of his country. As the King he would have had to remain above politics and serve as a royal figurehead for the Cambodian people.

Prince Sihanouk is the head of his own political party called the People's Social Community. Together the Prince and his party have swept every election in which they have taken part, and they have effectively dominated the politics of the country ever since.

Prince Sihanouk has won the affection and support of the Cambodian people and enjoys the great respect they have accorded him as the leader who obtained the country's independence. He makes a determined effort to maintain a close and personal relationship with the people of his kingdom. He makes frequent and sometimes unannounced trips to villages and hamlets in a special helicopter to talk to the people directly about their problems and their hopes for the future.

November 9 is the 11th anniversary of Cambodia's independence. For over a decade it has been able to lead a surprisingly tranquil life in a part of the world torn by turmoil and trouble. One of the most important reasons for this has been the exceptional qualities of leadership that Prince Sihanouk has displayed in leading his people forward. He sets a fine example for the rulers of many countries in south and southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

On the occasion of this important anniversary, I take the opportunity to salute the people of Cambodia and their youthful and vigorous leader Prince Sihanouk. I am sure that all Americans join me in this gesture of friendship and good will.

In Tribute to Jacqueline Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, under a previous unanimous consent I would like to have entered in the RECORD a tribute to the wife of our late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy. This tribute was composed by a constitutent of mine, Rabbi Gerald Kaplan, of Congregation B'nai Isreal, Butte, Mont., to be delivered at a special memorial service for our late President, on Friday, November 20, 1964. His tribute is as follows:

IN TRIBUTE TO JACQUELINE KENNEDY

One of the most beautiful tributes to a woman is found in the Book of Proverbs. Someone asks, "A woman of valor, who can find?" It then goes on to say that "her price is far above rubies," and "Strength and dignity are her clothing; and she laugheth at the time to come." It is interesting to speculate on whom the writer had in mind. Was he remembering his mother? His wife? Or perhaps a grandmother? Or perhaps some well-known women of a long time before. We are not told the answer, and we shall probably never know. Still, someone was being remembered, even as we recall in loving memory those whose passing from life has left us lonely.

Going over this chapter of the Book of Proverbs, I notice that the emphasis is on an industrious wife and mother who sees to the welfare of her family. It is also stressed that "she stretches out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy." Although we do not know who is being described in this passage, we do know that someone was remembered in these terms of valor, industry, kindness, strength, and

faith. Fortunately for us, these words are part of our prayer book and, through the passage of time, have become one of the masterpieces of religious poetry.

The words, "She laugheth at the time to come," are strange words, as if the woman were carefree and lived only for today. But looking through the entire contents of the words, it is powerful and inspiring, and illustrative of the woman who lived her everyday life so that she was not afraid of tomorrow. Her sense of security came from doing the best she could.

The words, "A woman of valor, who can find?" can truly be applied to the wife of the late, lamented President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For those of us who are looking and viewing, with a sense of sadness, the tragedy which has befallen her, we can truly say that she has a faith upon which she relied, not only for her future on earth, but also for death and whatever follows it. Many people are fearful and anxious about what is ahead for them on earth and beyond but Mrs. Kennedy, with the eyes of the world upon her, truly showed that she stood out as an exception through her amazing sense of security and confidence. As we view and remember her trials, we are reminded that her tragedy is our tragedy, and whatever she faces in the unknown will also become a part of our lives.

Someday, somebody will also remember us, even as we now view the tragedy of our late President. The question which lurks in my mind is, how will they recall our lives? How will they remember our valor? How will they remember our charity? Our kindness? And how will they remember our faith?

For most of us, the passage of time tends to soften the rough edges of life, and yet so many of us today are frightened people who live each day in an insecure state of mind, our thoughts bogged down in anxiety. Despite our advantages of plenty and leisure, we are a generation who constantly complains and is dissatisfied with our lives on this earth. I have wondered if we can truly understand the grief and tragedy which Jacqueline Kennedy has encountered, and whether we are able to learn a lesson from her courage.

The erection of memorials to the departed is an old and common practice. The great are remembered by elaborate monuments which become shrines. All of us who viewed the funeral procession of our late beloved President to Arlington Cemetery should visit this area, where rest the bodies of unknown soldiers from three world wars. I can assure you that the most insensitive of men will not be able to escape the impact of the heroic lives enshrined in this beautiful building. Every memorial in every cemetery is a sign of someone who cared to let a person's name and span of life be remembered, in tribute to them. There is a memorial in Scotland which the President visited in June of 1963, with the inscription, "The whole earth is the tomb of heroic men, and their story is not graven only on the stone over their clay, but abides everywhere without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

Being human and knowing that our life on earth is only for a brief spell, we purchase a family plot in a cemetery and, when we are finally laid to rest, a marker is put over that place by our families. This marker teaches us that we battle every day against death. This marker tells us that we reject complete annihilation of life. With President Kennedy's death, we have laid to rest a great man, and although his physical being is silenced completely, his life and deeds will remain with not only those of us who watched with sorrow the last farewells, but future generations also, who share our loss but cannot share our joy in him as he lived.

The Bible relates that when Moses died and was buried, "no man knoweth his grave to this day." There is no memorial to Moses anywhere in this world, save in the moral law which Moses brought down from Sinai graven upon the heart and mind of the world. There can be no memorial which can describe fittingly the tragedy and triumph of Jacqueline Kennedy, and yet our rabbis tell us that the good need no thombstones; their deeds are inscribed on our memories and our physical beings.

What can be said in tribute to Jacqueline Kennedy except the wisdom of the words of Job, "The Lord gave and the Lord takes away. Blessed be the name of the Lord." May we all learn from the example of Jacqueline Kennedy endurance and courage. Amen.

Optional Rate Schedules Under Long Proposal and 1965 Rate Schedules Under Present Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following material that was inadvertently omitted from my remarks of Friday, October 2, 1964.

I request that the permanent RECORD be corrected to include these tables, as corrected.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 1.—*Optional rate schedules under the Long proposal and 1965 rate schedules under present law*

Schedule I. Long Proposal: (A) Single Taxpayers Who Do Not Qualify for Rates in Schedules II and III and (B) Married Persons Filing Separate Returns

If the amount of simplified taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but over $10,000	Enter 0 plus 20 percent of excess over 0.
Over $10,000 but not over $14,000	Enter $2,000 plus 25 percent of excess over $10,000.
Over $14,000 but not over $18,000	Enter $3,000 plus 30 percent of excess over $14,000.
Over $18,000 but not over $32,000	Enter $4,200 plus 35 percent of excess over $18,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $50,000	Enter $9,100 plus 40 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $50,000	Enter $16,300 plus 50 percent of excess over $50,000.

Schedule II. Long proposal: (A) Married Taxpayers Filing Joint Returns and (B) Certain Widows and Widowers

If the amount of simplified taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but not over $20,000	Enter 0 plus 20 percent of excess over 0.
Over $20,000 but not over $28,000	Enter $4,000 plus 25 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $28,000 but not over $36,000	Enter $6,000 plus 30 percent of excess over $28,000.
Over $36,000 but not over $64,000	Enter $8,400 plus 35 percent of excess over $36,000.
Over $64,000 but not over $100,000	Enter $18,200 plus 40 percent of excess over $64,000.
Over $100,000	Enter $32,600 plus 50 percent of excess over $100,000.

Schedule III. Long Proposal: Unmarried (or Legally Separated) Taxpayers Who Qualify as Head of Household

If the amount of simplified taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but not over $10,000	Enter 0 plus 20 percent of excess over 0.
Over $10,000 but not over $14,000	Enter $2,000 plus 22.5 percent of excess over $10,000.
Over $14,000 but not over $18,000	Enter $2,900 plus 25 percent of excess over $14,000.
Over $18,000 but not over $20,000	Enter $3,900 plus 27.5 percent of excess over $18,000.
Over $20,000 but not over $28,000	Enter $4,450 plus 30 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $28,000 but not over $32,000	Enter $6,850 plus 32.5 percent of excess over $28,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $36,000	Enter $8,150 plus 35 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $36,000 but not over $50,000	Enter $9,550 plus 37.5 percent of excess over $36,000.
Over $50,000 but not over $64,000	Enter $14,800 plus 42.5 percent of excess over $50,000.
Over $64,000 but not over $100,000	Enter $20,750 plus 45 percent of excess over $64,000.
Over $100,000 but not over $150,000	Enter $36,950 plus 50 percent of excess over $100,000.

Footnote at end of table.

TABLE 1.—*Optional rate schedule under the Long proposal and 1965 rate schedules under present law*—Continued

Schedule IV. 1965 Rates Under Present Law: (A) Single Taxpayers Who Do Not Qualify for Rates in Schedules V and VI and (B) Married Persons Filing Separate Returns

If the amount of taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but not over $500	Enter 0 plus 14 percent of excess over 0.
Over $500 but not over $1,000	Enter $70 plus 15 percent of excess over $500.
Over $1,000 but not over $1,500	Enter $145 plus 16 percent of excess over $1,000.
Over $1,500 but not over $2,000	Enter $225 plus 17 percent of excess over $1,500.
Over $2,000 but not over $4,000	Enter $310 plus 19 percent of excess over $2,000.
Over $4,000 but not over $6,000	Enter $690 plus 22 percent of excess over $4,000.
Over $6,000 but not over $8,000	Enter $1,130 plus 25 percent of excess over $6,000.
Over $8,000 but not over $10,000	Enter $1,630 plus 28 percent of excess over $8,000.
Over $10,000 but not over $12,000	Enter $2,190 plus 32 percent of excess over $10,000.
Over $12,000 but not over $14,000	Enter $2,830 plus 36 percent of excess over $12,000.
Over $14,000 but not over $16,000	Enter $3,550 plus 39 percent of excess over $14,000.
Over $16,000 but not over $18,000	Enter $4,330 plus 42 percent of excess over $16,000.
Over $18,000 but not over $20,000	Enter $5,170 plus 45 percent of excess over $18,000.
Over $20,000 but not over $22,000	Enter $6,070 plus 48 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $22,000 but not over $26,000	Enter $7,030 plus 50 percent of excess over $22,000.
Over $26,000 but not over $32,000	Enter $9,030 plus 53 percent of excess over $26,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $38,000	Enter $12,210, plus 55 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $38,000 but not over $44,000	Enter $15,510, plus 58 percent of excess over $38,000.
Over $44,000 but not over $50,000	Enter $18,990, plus 60 percent of excess over $44,000.
Over $50,000 but not over $60,000	Enter $22,590, plus 62 percent of excess over $50,000.
Over $60,000 but not over $70,000	Enter $28,790, plus 64 percent of excess over $60,000.
Over $70,000 but not over $80,000	Enter $35,190, plus 66 percent of excess over $70,000.
Over $80,000 but not over $90,000	Enter $41,790, plus 68 percent of excess over $80,000.
Over $90,000 but not over $100,000	Enter $48,590, plus 69 percent of excess over $90,000.
Over $100,000	Enter $55,490, plus 70 percent of excess over $100,000.

Schedule V. 1965 Rates Under Present Law: (A) Married Taxpayers Filing Joint Returns and (B) Certain Widows and Widowers

If the amount of taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but not over $1,000	Enter 0 plus 14 percent of excess over 0.
Over $1,000 but not over $2,000	Enter $140 plus 15 percent of excess over $1,000.
Over $2,000 but not over $3,000	Enter $290 plus 16 percent of excess over $2,000.
Over $3,000 but not over $4,000	Enter $450 plus 17 percent of excess over $3,000.
Over $4,000 but not over $8,000	Enter $620, plus 19 percent of excess over $4,000.
Over $8,000 but not over $12,000	Enter $1,380 plus 22 percent of excess over $8,000.
Over $12,000 but not over $16,000	Enter $2,260 plus 25 percent of excess over $12,000.
Over $16,000 but not over $20,000	Enter $3,260 plus 28 percent of excess over $16,000.
Over $20,000 but not over $24,000	Enter $4,380 plus 32 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $24,000 but not over $28,000	Enter $5,660 plus 36 percent of excess over $24,000.
Over $28,000 but not over $32,000	Enter $7,100 plus 39 percent of excess over $28,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $36,000	Enter $8,660 plus 42 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $36,000 but not over $40,000	Enter $10,340 plus 45 percent of excess over $36,000.
Over $40,000 but not over $44,000	Enter $12,140 plus 48 percent of excess over $40,000.
Over $44,000 but not over $52,000	Enter $14,060 plus 50 percent of excess over $44,000.
Over $52,000 but not over $64,000	Enter $18,060 plus 53 percent of excess over $52,000.
Over $64,000 but not over $76,000	Enter $24,420 plus 55 percent of excess over $64,000.
Over $76,000 but not over $88,000	Enter $31,020 plus 58 percent of excess over $76,000.
Over $88,000 but not over $100,000	Enter $37,980 plus 60 percent of excess over $88,000.
Over $100,000 but not over $120,000	Enter $45,180 plus 62 percent of excess over $100,000.
Over $120,000 but not over $140,000	Enter $57,580 plus 64 percent of excess over $120,000.
Over $140,000 but not over $160,000	Enter $70,380 plus 66 percent of excess over $140,000.
Over $160,000 but not over $180,000	Enter $83,580 plus 68 percent of excess over $160,000.
Over $180,000 but not over $200,000	Enter $97,180 plus 69 percent of excess over $180,000.
Over $200,000	Enter $110,980 plus 70 percent of excess over $200,000.

Schedule VI. 1965 Rates Under Present Law: Unmarried (or Legally Separated) Taxpayers Who Qualify as Head of Household

If the amount of taxable income [1] is—	Then as tax before credit—
Over 0 but not over $1,000	Enter 0 plus 14 percent of excess over 0.
Over $1,000 but not over $2,000	Enter $140 plus 16 percent of excess over $1,000.
Over $2,000 but not over $4,000	Enter $300 plus 18 percent of excess over $2,000.
Over $4,000 but not over $6,000	Enter $660 plus 20 percent of excess over $4,000.
Over $6,000 but not over $8,000	Enter $1,060 plus 22 percent of excess over $6,000.
Over $8,000 but not over $10,000	Enter $1,500 plus 25 percent of excess over $8,000.
Over $10,000 but not over $12,000	Enter $2,000 plus 27 percent of excess over $10,000.
Over $12,000 but not over $14,000	Enter $2,540 plus 31 percent of excess over $12,000.
Over $14,000 but not over $16,000	Enter $3,160 plus 32 percent of excess over $14,000.
Over $16,000 but not over $18,000	Enter $3,800 plus 35 percent of excess over $16,000.
Over $18,000 but not over $20,000	Enter $4,500 plus 36 percent of excess over $18,000.
Over $20,000 but not over $22,000	Enter $5,220 plus 40 percent of excess over $20,000.
Over $22,000 but not over $24,000	Enter $6,020 plus 41 percent of excess over $22,000.
Over $24,000 but not over $26,000	Enter $6,840 plus 43 percent of excess over $24,000.
Over $26,000 but not over $28,000	Enter $7,700 plus 45 percent of excess over $26,000.
Over $28,000 but not over $32,000	Enter $8,600 plus 46 percent of excess over $28,000.
Over $32,000 but not over $36,000	Enter $10,440 plus 48 percent of excess over $32,000.
Over $36,000 but not over $38,000	Enter $12,360 plus 50 percent of excess over $36,000.
Over $38,000 but not over $40,000	Enter $13,360 plus 52 percent of excess over $38,000.
Over $40,000 but not over $44,000	Enter $14,400 plus 53 percent of excess over $40,000.
Over $44,000 but not over $50,000	Enter $16,520 plus 55 percent of excess over $44,000.
Over $50,000 but not over $52,000	Enter $19,820 plus 56 percent of excess over $50,000.
Over $52,000 but not over $64,000	Enter $20,940, plus 58 percent of excess over $52,000.
Over $64,000 but not over $70,000	Enter $27,900 plus 59 percent of excess over $64,000.
Over $70,000 but not over $76,000	Enter $31,440 plus 61 percent of excess over $70,000.
Over $76,000 but not over $80,000	Enter $35,100 plus 62 percent of excess over $76,000.
Over $80,000 but not over $88,000	Enter $37,580 plus 63 percent of excess over $80,000.
Over $88,000 but not over $100,000	Enter $42,620 plus 64 percent of excess over $88,000.
Over $100,000 but not over $120,000	Enter $50,300 plus 66 percent of excess over $100,000.
Over $120,000 but not over $140,000	Enter $63,500 plus 67 percent of excess over $120,000.
Over $140,000 but not over $160,000	Enter $76,900 plus 68 percent of excess over $140,000.
Over $160,000 but not over $180,000	Enter $90,500 plus 69 percent of excess over $160,000.
Over $180,000	Enter $104,300 plus 70 percent of excess over $180,000.

[1] Under the Long proposal tax is computed on "simplified taxable income" rather than "taxable income" as under present law. Simplified taxable income includes certain types of income not taxable under present law and is computed without any deduction for personal expenses (interest, taxes, contributions, etc.) and certain other items.

Algerian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, November 1 marks the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of the nationalist revolt in Algeria. Since the House is not going to be in session at that time, we wish to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency the President of Algeria Ahmed Ben Bella; and to His Excellency the Algerian Ambassador to the United States, Cherif Guellal.

November 1, 1954, was the beginning of the grueling, 7½-year war which led to Algerian independence, finally achieved on July 3, 1962. At that time, following the Algerians' overwhelming 99.6 percent vote for independence 2 days earlier, French President Charles de Gaulle proclaimed Algerian independence and the end of 132 years of French rule. Also on that date, the United States, in a special message by President Kennedy, recognized Algeria as an independent and sovereign state.

Much of Algeria's vast territory is made up of the oil-rich Sahara Desert, and most of its 11 million inhabitants are concentrated in the northern coastal region along the Mediterranean. In geographic area, Algeria is about four times the size of France and is the largest state in North Africa. Together with Morocco on the west and Tunisia on the east, it comprises the Maghreb, the western part of the Arab world.

The present plight of the Algerian nation is far from happy. The long years of bitter struggle against the French, with its toll of life and its disruption of the whole fabric of the nation, would have made an inauspicious background for the launching of a new state, in the best of subsequent circumstances. However, on the eve of independence in 1962, two serious developments occurred which further jeopardized the new state's chances of survival. Algerians of European extraction, who numbered about a million, and who possessed most of the Nation's managerial, administrative, and technical skills, began a massive flight from the country. By the end of 1963, less than one-tenth remained. In addition, a bitter struggle for power broke out among leaders of the nationalist movement. Political and economic chaos threatened, and threatens still.

Algerians endorsed a new Constitution in September 1963, by popular referendum, although thousands of Berbers in the Kabylia region east of Algiers reportedly boycotted the election. The Constitution states as an aim "the building of a Socialist people's democracy" and provides for a controlling role by the National Liberation Front as the only political party. Deputies to the National Assembly, designated by Premier Ahmed Ben Bella and numbering 138, were approved nearly unanimously by the voters in a one-party parliamentary election last month. The Government stated that just under 85 percent of the registered voters participated.

The Berber opposition to the Government has involved intermittent guerrilla warfare in the mountainous Kabylia and Aures regions, and Algeria is intermittently rocked by rebellion, assassination, and sabotage. After originally avoiding imprisonments and executions, Premier Ben Bella declared last year:

It is an illusion to think that you can have a revolution without prisons.

Executions have become frequent.

In the economic sphere, conditions are also serious. Unemployment is heavy, hunger widespread. American food for peace supplies are sustaining a substantial part of the population. French economic assistance is reportedly facing further cuts. Dependence on military and massive economic aid from Communist states has been markedly increasing.

The people of Algeria, who struggled so long and with such dedication for their independence, deserve a better fate than the last 2 unhappy years have brought them. I hope that the next anniversary of the revolt that began Algeria's heroic march to independence will see better things for these courageous people.

The Metropolitan Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE delivered an enlightening speech on the problems of our Nation's metropolitan areas before the 13th Annual Commissioners' and Governors' Conference on Metropolitan Washington Problems, sponsored by the Council of Governments.

The text of his remarks follow:

THE METROPOLITAN CHALLENGE

(By Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, before the 13th Annual Commissioners' and Governors' Conference on Metropolitan Washington Problems, Marriott Motor Hotel, Arlington, Va., October 1, 1964)

By the year 2000, 85 percent of our population will live in urban areas, experts tell us. Here, in our own National Capital region, 3 million new residents will be added by the end of the century.

The pressures of a metropolitan America already pose the greatest threat to our traditional Federal-State-local relations, as well as the greatest challenge to the maintenance of a strong, representative, and flexible Federal system.

There are the physical problems. We face water shortages, transportation snarls, urban blight, and wasteful land use.

There are the social problems. We face increased juvenile delinquency, rising crime rates, and uneasy race relations.

There are the political problems. We face shifting metropolitan boundaries, fragmented local government, and conflict between the central city and the suburbs.

There are the financial problems. We face limited revenue resources and almost limitless expenditure needs; soaring tax rates in the suburbs and falling tax bases in the cities. State and local debts are mounting, while State and local revenue sources fall behind.

Metropolitan areas currently require: $600 million annually for sewage treatment facilities; $400 million annually for pure water; $200 million annually to rebuild each square mile of slums; and $1¼ million annually so commuter railroads can stay in business.

These problems stagger the imagination. They tax our ingenuity as well as our purse.

The metropolitan area is a new type of community, one in which its inhabitants have little or no feeling of community. It is neither a neighborhood, city, State, nor nation. There are no anthems, flags, or mottoes. Loyalties are mixed, and problems grow with growth.

While our population has skyrocketed, the land most of us occupy has diminished. In 1940 nearly a quarter of our population lived in rural areas. In 1962 less than 8 percent still lived in the country. The remainder, victims of a technological revolution, moved from farms to urban areas. Mechanized farming, hybrid seeds, better planting methods, and more efficient animal husbandry add to our wealth with continually less human effort. And as this agricultural revolution advances, even more rural Americans will stream into our cities.

What does the new arrival find in our metropolitan centers? Is his environment a liberating influence? Or does he see urban living as a necessary evil, imposed by a technological revolution that has made him an alien in his own land?

The truth lies somewhere between these extremes. Our cities are large and exciting; they house our cultural and educational centers. The standard of living, for most, is higher. On the other side of the ledger, inadequate transportation, excessive noise, dull architecture, and air pollution are strong barriers to safe and sane urban living. We have responded to the economic necessities and this press of population accompanying the transformation of the American landscape, on a haphazard basis. In spite of gallant efforts, we have not rendered our urban areas either beautiful or really habitable.

The press and flux of population made suburban development inevitable. The city—dirty, crowded, and noisy—accelerated this exodus. The city dweller fled in his automobile to find cleaner air, less congestion, and a slower pace of living. For this, however, he ransomed much. As one commentator put it, "he entered the land of 'no.' No storm drainage, and no sewers. No curb, no gutter, and no sidewalks. No parks, no playgrounds, and no street lights. No fireplugs, no firehalls, and no fire trucks. No public garbage collection. No modern policing. No zoning and no subdivision control." Look-alike residential housing, and gaudy commercial strip development quickly dotted the pastoral landscape the suburbanite sought.

This portrayal is both a historic analysis and a recitation of current events. As President Kennedy put it: "In a few short decades we have passed from a rural to an urban way of life, and in a few short decades more, we shall be a Nation of vastly expanded population, living in expanded urban areas and housing that does not now exist, served by community facilities that do not now exist, moving about by means of systems of urban transportation that do not now exist."

How are we going to meet these needs?

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, in its report "Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization of Metropolitan Areas," explores various

proposals designed to create a sense of community in metropolitan areas. The Commission found there can be no "pat" solution for easing the problems of political and structural complexity at the local level. One approach called for the merging of outlying districts with the core city, thereby abolishing governmental fragmentation. Another, apparently more feasible, approach called for areawide functions to be performed by a regional government, with each local unit having representation. This federated approach has been adopted by only one metropolitan area in the country.

The establishment of metropolitan councils on a voluntary basis, composed of elected officials, is yet another alternative. Few such bodies exist. You, along with 9 or 10 other agencies, have been pioneers in developing the voluntary regional council as a happy compromise between those who want no change and those calling for the centralization of all metropolitan functions.

The Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments is the institutional recognition of the fact that yours is a regional community. More than 5 million people will live here in another generation. And most of this growth will take place mainly in the suburbs. This staggering increase will require a sharp rise in public facilities. Federal, State, and local funds will all be required to finance independently planned and executed construction programs. Greater coordination, then, is vital. For example, metropolitan water supply and sewage disposal projects demand an areawide attack and a cooperative program. No one level of government alone can handle such regional problems.

Your council understands this need for coordination. You act as a forum where members can meet and discuss common problems. As a study group you make recommendations to member counties, cities, and States. But you have never lost sight of the fact that planning is of no value unless it leads to appropriate action. The adoption of the year 2000 plan and the construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer bear witness to this.

One of the council's most recent and significant accomplishments is receipt of a Federal urban renewal demonstration grant. The purpose of this grant is to assist in bringing together for the first time various local governmental data. This in turn will encourage a greater degree of standardization for metropolitan land-use and housing classification. Federal efforts to bring about greater uniformity will also be aided. The project will demonstrate the feasibility of voluntary local cooperation as the basis for regional action. Despite these accomplishments, much work remains to be done.

The final report of the congressional Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems, although dated in some respects, is still a fair assessment of the conference's basic difficulty. The report declared, in part, that "despite such welcome steps as the establishment of an operating budget, and the employment of its own executive secretary, the conference has still far to go before it will be dealing effectively with Washington metropolitan problems."

The council has yet to become the authentic voice of the National Capital region. Metropolitan problems cannot be solved unless there are strong advocates able to reach and educate area residents, able to persuade local units that vitally needed action requires joint effort. The council must develop and fight for its own views on issues of areawide concern.

State governments must also bear a responsibility for encouraging regional solutions. Most States have tended to react to the metropolitan challenge in a haphazard fashion. The fiscal, jurisdictional, research, and planning needs of the large urban centers have commonly been ignored or handled on a piecemeal basis.

As a result, cities have turned to the Federal Government. This has alarmed many defenders of States rights. But demands for the preservation of States rights must be matched by an acceptance by the States of their responsibilities toward their major population centers.

The Council of State Governments and the Advisory Commission, the latter of which I am a member, have made several legislative proposals designed to assist State governments in meeting this urban challenge. If the States are to remain viable partners in our Federal system, they must adjust their operations and organizations in light of the revolution on the urban frontier. Both groups, therefore, have recommended the establishment of a new agency of State government for metropolitan or local affairs. This new agency would assist the metropolitan areas with respect to the problems of local governmental planning, structure, organization, and finance. Neither Richmond nor Annapolis has such an office, although both provide some of these services. Such a department could also assist the Governor in formulating effective policies to meet metropolitan problems.

The national character of many metropolitan questions makes Federal participation necessary. Several existing Federal programs have already had a significant impact on our metropolitan areas. In addition, three current proposals could make a substantial contribution to orderly urban growth and development.

First, a dimension of the National Capital region's water pollution difficulties is covered in S. 649, which I introduced in the first session of this Congress. It would amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act concerning grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works. Of special concern to metropolitan areas is the provision that these grants may be increased by 10 percent for a project that is part of a comprehensive regional plan. The Senate, by a vote of 69 to 11, passed this needed legislation. If passed by the House, this measure will do much to strengthen the position of metropolitan planning agencies.

Second, metropolitan area planning would be further assisted by the enactment of S. 855. Senators HUMPHREY, MUNDT, and WILLIAMS joined me in February 1963 in sponsoring this Advisory Commission proposal. It was considered at length by the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and unanimously passed the Senate last January. The bill would require:

(1) Establishment of a legally constituted metropolitan agency, charged with the responsibility for areawide planning; and

(2) An assessment by this agency of certain Federal grant applications made by local governments before being acted upon by the relevant Federal departments and agencies.

Planning agency approval of applications is not a prerequisite to Federal assistance under this bill. But the proposal recognizes the role of adequate planning as crucial to achieving metropolitan objectives relating to open-space land projects, airport construction, waste treatment works, urban renewal, public housing, hospital construction, and urban highways. These projects would be viewed as part of a regional plan. The bill strengthen the concept of a metropolitan community.

It would also establish a frame of reference for all Federal activities affecting an urban area. Programs covered under this measure must be related to each other as well as to local development, if Federal funds are not to be spent on conflicting objectives. Economy, then, also demands this full exchange of information among the political subdivisions within a metropolitan area prior to the allocation of a Federal grant.

And finally, I have supported proposals for the establishment of a Federal Department of Urban Affairs. Until now, the Federal Government's reaction to the emergence of a metropolitan America—like that of the States—has generally been disjointed, sporadic, and unplanned. Such a department is necessary for coordinating the numerous Federal programs that have an impact on metropolitan areas.

These three proposals for congressional action differ in many respects, but all have one feature in common: They seek to establish the foundations for a viable metropolitan community.

A memorable passage from Prof. Kenneth Galbraith's book, "The Affluent Society," portrays our dilemma. He described "the family which takes its * * * air-conditioned, power-steered, and power-braked automobile out for a tour (and) passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards, and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass on through a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art. * * * They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable icebox by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night at a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air mattress, beneath a nylon tent, amid the stench of decaying refuse, they may reflect vaguely on the curious unevenness of their blessings."

Galbraith may exaggerate, but there is indeed an "unevenness" of blessings. Our citizens, and their representatives at all levels of government, are becoming more aware that action in the public sector must be as imaginative and progressive in providing the public services we require as the private sector in providing the luxuries we want.

Joint Federal-State-local cooperation and innovations in government are needed now.

President Kennedy said: "The challenge is great, and the time is short. Shall we begin?"

The council, just by its existence, represents a beginning.

Now, as President Johnson has said, "Let us continue."

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, affectionately known to all of us as JIM, will be greatly missed in the next session of Congress.

He has rendered outstanding and distinguished service to the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, the State, and the Nation for 22 years. During this period he has served on many important committees and is held in high regard by members of both the majority and minority parties.

JIM is a personal friend of mine. I have had the pleasure of working with him in many capacities and, personally, regret his leaving.

I wish for him and Mrs. Auchincloss many years of well-earned and well-deserved rest.

Their Secret Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I have before me an editorial advertisement that appeared in paid space in the New York Times dated September 30 under the title "Communists' Secret Weapon." It is written by Mr. A. N. Spanel, founder and chairman of the board of International Latex Corp. In it he develops with deep understanding the dangerous consequence that the free world may reap by giving Russia and her Communist satellites long-term credits when it is known that Russia "is the only country that has failed to make even a token payment on the $11 billion it owes the United States from the Second World War."

Mr. Spanel points out that by giving the Communists access to the abundance of the West without payment, we will indeed be helping very real and potential enemies to survive the naked economic defects of their systems; and that this will not only be a folly in itself, but on a long-term credit basis it will actually release Communist manpower and materials for military uses against the free world.

In short, the West will be financing the enhanced warmaking capacity of its enemies, to its own peril; financing its own destruction. Not the Trojan horse of old, but today's more treacherous one, the Communist credit horse.

It is tragic that even though the free industrial Nations had agreed upon a limit of 5-year credits to Soviet Russia, it has just been announced that England has broken away by granting the Kremlin a credit of 18 years for a chemical plant.

This timely article deserves wide readership by freedom-loving people in our world. It is a patriotic service not only to our country but to the whole free world, and Mr. Spanel and the International Latex Corp. have surely earned highest commendation from the free nations of the West.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Spanel by printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEIR SECRET WEAPON

(A. N. Spanel, founder-chairman, International Latex Corp.)

World communism has set a trap for unwary free men and free nations. It is baited with profits, on the theory that capitalists can no more resist its sweet smell than mice can resist cheese.

The trap is trade. And the smell of profits is all that the victims are likely to get, considering the Communist record. Soviet Russia, it is well to remember, is the only country that has failed to make even a token payment on the $11 billion it owes the United States from the Second World War.

To trade or not to trade with Communist-bloc nations; this has been a serious policy problem for the free world. Should the products of our free economy be made available to strengthen those who are openly and passionately dedicated to destroying that freedom? Should we help Red regimes to survive the great economic defects of their system by giving them access to the abundance producted by our system?

Commonsense says "No." Communist imports from the free world, even of so-called nonstrategic goods, release their manpower and materials for military uses. The distinction between strategic and nonstrategic categories is therefore largely meaningless.

Do we learn nothing from experience? Before World War II we helped build up a budding enemy's war machine by selling scrap iron to Japan. The very memory is still painful to the American people. Even more suicidal was the propaganda that democratic nations "must do business as usual" with Nazi Germany, thereby enabling Hitler to build his engines of destruction more swiftly.

ECONOMIC INSANITY

Neither commonsense nor experience, unfortunately, can stand up against the lure of profits. Free nations are trading with the Communists and no doubt will continue to do so. They will again invent self-deluding arguments and alibis. Thus while a boycott of the Red world appears impossible, the trading could be kept within rational limits.

Because the Red countries are unable to balance their imports with exports—they simply do not have enough of what we can use—they insist they are dependent on credits. Yet it is well known that Russia has an enormous pile of hoarded gold for which millions of her slave laborers sweated and died since 1918. Nevertheless, as a brake on a runaway race for uncertain profits the leading free industrial nations had set for themselves a limit of 5 years upon credits to Soviet Russia and its satellite colonies.

Now England has broken that understanding. It has granted to Moscow an 18-year credit for a chemical plant. This has caused shocked consternation in Washington. Paris, Bonn, Rome, and other Western capitals have been thrown into confusion.

Once again the West is subjected to a disastrous course seemingly mapped a century ago when Lord Palmerston pronounced: "We have no perpetual allies and we have no perpetual enemies, our interests are perpetual."

London is known to be negotiating other such deals with the Kremlin, Czechoslovakia, and other Communist states. By the confused logic of this conduct, shouldn't the "liberal" policy of long-term credits be extended to Red China as well?

What does it all mean? It means that the ramparts of economic sanity have been breached. It is not merely likely but inevitable that other free nations under our competitive system will be forced to take their cue from Britain. The Communists will thus obtain what they most need to thrive, which is long-term credits in the markets of the West. It means that the free world, in the measure that it follows the British lead, will help finance the rapid expansion of the already swollen Communist war potential.

The mischief cuts a lot deeper. These credits, in themselves, become a powerful weapon in Communist hands to wreck Western economies. All that the Kremlin, for instance, needs to do is deliberately to multiply these credits, in order to aggravate what is already a credit-heavy problem dangerous to the West.

WE HAVE BEEN WARNED

The eminent French monetary authority, Jacques Rueff, has repeatedly warned the free world in the last few years of a coming credit crisis. And M. Rueff is not alone in this fear. Five thousand years of history teaches that when a nation permits the blind abuse of its monetary system it impoverishes and corrupts its people, thus slowly destroying itself and its economic and political influence in the world.

Yet the free world appears to be entrusting this power to corrupt into the hands of those who are firmly committed to our destruction. The West, in financing the Communists, is not only fortifying the war-making capacity of its sworn enemies but is giving them a stranglehold on its economic life—the right to siphon off our fiscal vitality to suit their hostile purposes.

Long-term Western credits are the Communists' newest secret weapon. Historians in the future surely will marvel at the cupidity and stupidity of the civilization which put that terrifying weapon in the hands of its self-appointed executioners. They will repeat, with better cause than ever, that those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

Another fact: Long-term credits obviously give the creditors a stake in the health and prosperity of the debtors. The West will thus have to help the Communist nations prosper, even if it means aid in suppressing their internal resistance movements. The monumental irony of it.

Conversely, this credit policy gives the Communists a double stake in hastening the bankruptcy and demise of the West, since that would also wash out their planned mountain of indebtedness.

Our minds have been numbed by the beguiling talk of "peaceful coexistence." But it means something quite different to Moscow than it does to us. The Communists have not retreated 1 inch from their objective of world dominion. Khrushchev has repeatedly ridiculed Westerners who kid themselves that the slogan implies the end of the cold war. On the contrary, he sees it as a means to intensify the cold war and assure Communist victory.

WE CAN DEFUSE THIS PERIL

As recently as September 19, Khrushchev assured 2,000 delegates to a Youth Forum in Moscow—Latin Americans, Asians, Africans—that Soviet Russia will supply them with arms when they make war on their "oppressors." How can we square that candid assertion of continuing hostilities with a credit policy that enhances Communist military might? The shocking truth is that we will be providing the weapons which the Kremlin promises to dispense to its cohorts all over the world.

Long-term credits, we repeat, is a trap. The Western World appears to be entering it with closed eyes, like sleepwalkers; yet it's the Trojan horse of old in today's more treacherous form: the Communist credit horse.

It is late, but not too late one hopes, to come fully awake to the menace; for if the United States, France, England, and Germany were really united this deadly peril could be defused.

Lenin once wisecracked that when the time comes to hang capitalists, they will be competing for the sale of the rope. The hunger for profits, he implied, blots out logic and even the will to survive. Are we really intent upon proving that Lenin was right? This is the crucial question that should be pondered by London and Washington, by Paris and Bonn, by all peoples who cherish human freedom and rate it higher than "business as usual."

Changing Libya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Libya marks its 13th anniversary as an independent state on December 24. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take the opportunity now to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty King Idris I, of Libya; and His Excellency Fathi Abidia, Libya's Ambassador to the United States.

Libya was the first country to receive its independence wholly under the auspices of the United Nations. Its 13th anniversary is a time of ever-accelerating change and domestic and international tension for this constitutional monarchy on the Mediterranean shores of Africa, sandwiched between Nasser's expansive Egypt on the east and Ben Bella's revolutionary Algeria, as well as Tunisia, on the west.

Part of Mussolini's empire until the German and Italian forces were conquered in the desert fighting of World War II, Libya's two most populous provinces, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica on the Mediterranean, were placed under British administration The Fezzan, the largely desert area of the interior, was administered by the French. The Italian peace treaty provided that, failing agreement on the disposition of these areas, the problem should be submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In 1949, the Assembly decided that Libya should be administered by a United Nations Commissioner and that it was to become independent by January 2, 1952. King Idris I proclaimed a hereditary monarchy in Bengazi a few days before that date, on December 24, 1951, the day which Libyans honor as the beginning of their independence.

Until a few years ago, the population of Libya, numbering somewhat more than 1 million, was considered to be among the most hopelessly poor in the world. Libya was apparently blessed by no industrial resources, and a largely agricultural and pastoral economy limped along in a country where only some 2 percent of the land is arable. Libya was dependent on foreign assistance and the direct and indirect revenues resulting from a number of small British bases and the massive Wheelus Air Force Base of the United States, a key NATO installation.

Breathtaking changes in Libya's economic status began with the discovery of oil under the Sahara in 1959. Some indication of the impact of this discovery can be gained from a glance at Libya's exports. In 1960, these totaled $8.6 million. By 1963, they had skyrocketed to $374 million, and Libya had a favorable balance of trade for the first time in recent history. Oil exports accounted for $367 million, almost all of the 1963 total.

Libya's new-found prosperity has of course only begun to help solve some of its pressing problems, while creating some additional ones. In the economic field, while progress is being made, poverty is still desperate for most. Unemployment is widespread; housing is abysmal. Agriculture is backward and neglected as the farm population presses toward the cities and towns and urban forms of employment. Medical services and schools are inadequate, and there is a heavy dependence on Egypt for teachers as well as government technicians and administrators.

Libya's wealth beneath the Sahara has reduced its dependence on revenues from British and American military installations, at the same time making the country a more tempting target for its more powerful neighbors. Nasser's verbal attack in February on these bases finds response in segments of the population which lean more toward socialism and Arab nationalism than does the traditionally pro-Western and conservative government. These crosscurrents have involved bloodshed and repression, and their final outcome is far from clear.

With the economic prospects so tremendously improved as Libya completes its 13th year of independence, we may all hope that better things are in store for the Libyan people as they strive for the advancement of their country.

Wilbur D. Matson: Country Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, Mr. Wilbur D. Matson, editor of the Morgan County Herald, published at McConnelsville, Ohio, recently retired. I ask unanimous consent that my comments concerning Mr. Matson's outstanding career be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Wilbur Matson, editor and publisher of the Morgan County Herald, a weekly newspaper published in McConnelsville, Ohio, has written "30" to his brilliant newspaper career. The "sage" of Morgan County, his editorials were read and appreciated throughout the country and frequently reproduced in the Chicago Tribune, the New York Times, and other metropolitan newspapers.

I refer to Mr. Matson, whom I have had the profound privilege of knowing personally for many years as "country editor." It is a title which he has borne with dignity and responsibility. He is a man whose principles have been firmly established on solid ground. As a leading conservationist, Editor Matson through the columns of his newspaper has waged a relentless battle to require restoration of the beautiful hills and valleys of his area made desolate by unscrupulous strip mine operators.

In today's field of journalism there are too few men of the purpose, patience, and perseverance of Country Editor Matson. Perhaps they lacked the environment, the closeness to nature and the tranquillity of a small town and its residents.

Editor Matson wrote fluently and with ease. His style left the reader with a feeling of warmth and closeness to the subject matter.

Although Mr. Matson has retired after 46 years as editor of the Morgan County Herald, I hope he will not deprive his many friends of the benefit of his wisdom but will continue to express his views.

Report to the People of Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ROBERTS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, legislation considered and passed by the 88th Congress will show that it was a working Congress.

There were many measures considered that I could not, and did not agree with and so indicated by my vote. On the other hand many measures were considered that were most beneficial to the Nation, accordingly I supported those measures.

Mr. Speaker, I recently made a report to the fine people of Alabama on the accomplishments of the 88th Congress which I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point:

The 88th Congress came to a close after remaining in session almost continuously for 21 months and I would like to make a report to the fine people of the great State of Alabama whom I have had the honor to represent in the House of Representatives during a most historic time.

I am particularly proud of the fact that the Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety, of which I am chairman, and the parent Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have reported out of committee more legislation in the health field than has been enacted into law in any previous Congress.

The first session of the Congress was one of the longest in history, yet there were but few legislative accomplishments. Overshadowing the activities of the first session was the terrible tragedy—the assassination of our President John F. Kennedy. We cannot understand, in the enlightened age we live, how such an incomprehensible, shocking deed could occur. On December 5, 1963, I joined with other Members of the House in a memorial tribute to the 35th President who laid down his life for his country.

It would be impossible to list all the accomplishments of the 88th Congress, but I would like to touch on some of the major issues. Of course, there were many bills introduced and considered—many of which did not pass. However, the success of a Congress must be based on the quality of laws enacted and not by the number.

Encouraged by congressional economic legislation, we are currently enjoying the strongest peacetime expansion in our history. Our gains in prosperity are evident by every mode of measuring—personal income, employment, corporate profits, industrial expansion and production—and our gross national product have all been on the upswing. At the same time, the Congress moved by promoting the general well-being and improving the lot of the poverty stricken minority and invisible American. We have made a strong effort toward erasing individual want in the midst of plenty.

The fiscal policy of the Nation is one of deep concern, so I shall first make comments on this matter.

Under the Tax Reduction Act of 1964, personal and corporate tax cuts totaling $11.5 billion were accomplished. I supported this measure at the time it was brought to the floor of the House and am happy to say that as a result of this reduced taxation, we have shown a more vital and stronger purchasing power. During the course of debate on this legislation, an amendment was rejected which would provide the reduction of the excise tax which would have repealed such tax on cosmetics, handbags, furs and jewelry. However, I believe that this will be accomplished during the next Congress in view of the tremendous progress we have made.

Congress was also called upon to again raise the debt limit from $315 billion to $324 billion. I believe that we should do a great deal more in an effort to balance the budget in future years and to ultimately reduce our national debt. And while the national debt seems exorbitant and I believe is tremendously high in comparing the national debt with the gross national product, the country is still on very safe ground.

The health and welfare of the people of the Nation are of great importance to us all. The Congress passed legislation during the 88th Congress to extend the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act for 5 years, until June 30, 1969. I was happy to have played a part in this legislation for the extension of this act will certainly enable us to obtain needed health care facilities.

The Congress also enacted the Nurse Training Act of 1964 which was handled by my committee. The purpose of this act is to increase the supply of nurses in the United States through a variety of approaches recommended by a consultant group on nursing appointed by the Surgeon General. This act will establish a 4-year program of grants for construction and rehabilitation of nursing schools. It will also establish a program over a 4-year period to assist collegiate-4-year and associate-degree 2-year schools of nursing to meet the additional costs of strengthening, improving and expanding their training programs and will establish a program of grants to aid-diploma-hospital-schools of nursing. In addition, such legislation will extend for 5 years the existing program of traineeships for advanced training and professional nurses to be teachers, administrators and supervisors. Further, it establishes a student loan program modeled after the National Defense Education Act for students of nursing at collegiate, associate-degree and diploma-schools of nursing.

Congress also passed legislation which will provide for a 3-year program to expand facilities of medical, dental, nursing, and related type colleges. The construction grant must be matched by the institution and, also, the legislation includes a student loan program. This measure was also one which my committee considered most carefully. There is no question that the aid programs under their various and sundry names have not been without mistake of both original decisions and administration.

Over the years, I have supported the basic objective of our national security programs under both Democratic and Republican Presidents. I have differed, however, with each from time to time on specific items in the program and the dollar amount to be spent. The foreign assistance program helps protect and build the strength of the free world. Two-thirds of all military assistance funds requested for next year are earmarked for Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, the Phillippines, Nationalist China, and Korea. Together these nations maintains 3½ million men under arms—not Americans, but their own manpower for a common defense. But I must say again that there is no question but that the aid programs under the various names have not been without mistakes of both original decision and administration. How could it have been otherwise when there were 11 directors in 15 years? The consequent changes of reorganization and poorly defined shifting lines of responsibility in authority paint a tragically clear picture. However, in spite of all this, aid has had the purpose of (1) strengthening the will and capacity of emerging countries, (2) reminding us and others of the soundness of freedom as an alternative to the slavery of communism, and (3) building a system whereby people control the government rather than the reverse.

We must recognize the fact that what we hope to accomplish by our foreign aid program is a very difficult and complex task. This program has many problems, yet it remains the most important asset to our foreign policy.

As a result of the ever increasing urban population, during the remainder of this century we will have to construct homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since the country was first settled. Already, three-fourths of the American population is urban and migration is continuing at a rapid pace. We must provide a decent home and a suitable living environment for every citizen. The 88th Congress moved forward in this area in several ways.

The growing national problem of polluted air causes annual damages estimated at $3½ billion with untold adverse effects on health. My committee held hearings on this subject and, as a result of these hearings, the Congress improved the program (first originated in 1955) by accelerating Federal participation and authorizing new programs to encourage State and local prevention and enforcement activity.

The Mass Transit Facilities and Service Act was passed by the Congress to my regret and I might add that I strongly opposed this measure. Not only do I believe that we should limit new programs, but I also objected to the mass transit program because of the complete lack of provision calling for private and municipal transit systems to be self supporting through the fare box.

The 88th Congress' record is a dramatic illustration of the national consensus that education is indeed America's first line of defense.

The 1960's are a critical time in education. The number of college students will rise 94 percent between 1960 and 1970. The last 10 years have already seen an 86-percent increase in tuition fees. Currently one-third of our brightest high school graduates fail to enter college mainly because of financial consideration. Under the Higher Education Facilities Act, $1.2 billion in grants and loans were authorized for the construction of academic facilities for public and private non-profit graduate schools, 4-year colleges, 2-year community colleges, and public technical schools. Funds are not available to academic institutions for religious purposes.

The 88th Congress also approved far-reaching legislation in the area of vocational education. Federal effort in vocational education is as old as the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act. It has been 17 years, a period during the greatest move toward automation, since Congress enacted meaningful provisions for vocational education. Considering that an individual's loss of 1 year's income due to unemployment costs more than 12 years of education through high school, it is clear that such legislation is sound fiscal policy. The act authorizes $958 million for increased support of vocational education, gearing the program to the technical aids and directing it to those who need it most—young people in or out of high school who want and need specialized training, unskilled school dropouts, employed adults who wish to improve their skills because of job insecurity, and workers displaced by automation.

Congress passed the Economic Opportunities Act or the poverty program during the 88th Congress. I voted in opposition to this measure for I feel, as I have stated before, that we should not undertake new programs until such time as we are able to balance the budget and get on a sound fiscal policy.

There is no doubt that our cities in certain rural areas need help in providing opportunities for those who for one reason or another are in destitute circumstances and I would be the last one to say that there is no need in this country for assistance to those who are unable to live decently and to take their legitimate part as full citizens of this great country. I do not believe, however, that the only way to do it is to establish a new agency with complete Federal control of all areas covered by this legislation under the direction of one man who would have absolute power.

One of the first and primary concerns of good government is peace, for without it the resources of a nation cannot be devoted to the creation of those circumstances which would make it possible for each citizen to develop his full potential.

The security of the United States is the responsibility of the Department of Defense. The Congress enacted during the first session legislation appropriating $47,220 million to the Defense Department for the fiscal year. Not included in this amount were funds for military assistance abroad, military construction, civil defense, flood control work of the Army Engineers or for a military pay raise. This figure did no include $12,850,700,000 for military personnel, $11,714,033,000 for the operation and maintenance of our forces, $15,706,047,000 for procurement, and $6,949,230,000 for research and development.

In addition, the supplemental appropriation bill for 1964 which was also passed during the first session included an appropriation of $220,162,000 for the Department of Defense.

For the fiscal year 1965 we appropriated $46,752,051,000 for the Defense Department. This included $14,568 million for military personnel, $12,313,484,000 for the operation and maintenance of our forces, $13,422,047,000 for procurement, and $6,448, 520,000 for research and development.

The deficiency appropriations bill passed during this session also included an appropriation of $1,004,900,000 for the Defense Department.

These appropriations account for almost one-half of the total budget, but I believe they are absolutely essential in order that our country can stay not only abreast but ahead of all other countries of the world militarily and so that we may be ready for any emergency.

The civil rights bill was enacted over the strong protests of many Members of the House. I took the floor on numerous occasions to point out the fallacy of such legislation and stated that not only did I feel that the legislation was unnecessary and unwarranted but that I believed it to be unconstitutional.

In my judgment, the provisions of the Civil Rights Act are morally wrong, unsound, and socialy unnecessary. In addition, I believe that the provisions of the act usurp the rights of the individual States guaranteed by the Constitution.

I have briefly given you some of the highlights of the activities of the 88th Congress, but many other legislative activities were acted upon, such as the Food Stamp Act, housing, general Government reorganization, the coin shortage, and agriculture (which included feed grains, wheat-cotton and food marketing studies).

In addition, we considered the natural resources, outdoor recreation, water resources, public works projects, public works acceleration, river basin development, labor, and many other problems.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which I am third ranking member (chairman of the Public Health and Safety Subcommittee) amassed one of the finest records of any Congress. We passed the Clean Air Act in which I played a vital part. We passed the mental health and mental retardation bill in which I played a major part. We passed legislation which I introduced to provide safety standards for automobile seat belts and safety standards for Government passenger-carrying motor vehicles. We passed the graduate public health training legislation, medical care for fishing boat owners, the Nurses Training Act, and the Hill-Burton Act. I am proud of this most enviable record and the fact that I am chairman of the subcommittee that handled the majority of this legislation and had the privilege of managing the legislation on the floor of the House.

Summary of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—2d Session of the 88th Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I have had the Joint Committee staff prepare a summary of the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee during the 2d session of the 88th Congress.

This report, along with the report for the first session which I submitted for the RECORD on January 10, 1964, summarizes the activities of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the period of my first tenure as chairman of the committee.

I believe the record of the Joint Committee during this period has been one of positive accomplishments and contributions to the security of the Nation and the free world. This record will also show progress in developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Mr. President, I believe the summary of the activities of the Joint Committee during the 88th Congress should be a source of pride to the Members of this Congress. I want to thank the majority and minority members of the committee, both in the Senate and in the other body, for their cooperation, in making this record of accomplishments one of which I am proud to report. I ask unanimous consent to have the report of the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 88th Congress, 2d session, inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE 88TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, 1964

FOREWORD

The following report on the activities of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 2d session of the 88th Congress (1964) has been prepared at the direction of chairman for the information of the Congress, the executive branch, and the public. (For report of activities in 1st session, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 10, 1964, p. 248).

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is a House-Senate committee consisting of nine members from each body, of which no more than five from each can be members of the majority party. Following is a listing of the present membership:

JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island, chairman; CHET HOLIFIELD, of California, vice chairman; RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia; CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico; ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee; HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington; BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa; GEORGE D. AIKEN, of Vermont; WALLACE F. BENNETT of Utah; CARL T. CURTIS, of Nebraska; MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois; WAYNE N. ASPINALL, of Colorado; ALBERT THOMAS of Texas; THOMAS G. MORRIS, of New Mexico; CRAIG HOSMER, of California; WILLIAM H. BATES, of Massachusetts; JACK WESTLAND, of Washington; and JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

The Joint Committee is unique in several respects. It is the only joint committee of the Congress with legislative functions, including the initiation and reporting of legislative proposals. The committee is also charged by law with legislative responsibility as "watchdog" of the national atomic energy program. It follows closely the classified activities of both the Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Department in the military applications of atomic energy.

Of equal importance, the committee plays a major role in stimulating the peaceful applications of the atom. Specifically, the committee has encouraged such programs as the development of civilian nuclear power, the preservation of food through irradiation, and the application of nuclear power in space.

In all these activities, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as the representative of Congress and the public, seeks to assure the implementation of the following statutory policy expressed in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954: "The development, use, and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to make the maximum contribution to the general welfare, subject at all times to the paramount objective of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security."

During the 88th Congress, 2d session, the Joint Committee conducted a total of 65 public and executive hearing sessions. The hearings occupied a total of 138 hours. Of the 65 hearing sessions held, 35 were public, and 30 were executive.

I. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

(a) AEC Authorization Act (Public Law 88-332):

This year, pursuant to legislation enacted during the 1st session of the 88th Congress (Public Law 88-72), the Joint Committee reviewed, for the first time, the authorization for all appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission, including both construction and operating funds. Under prior law, the committee's responsibility for reviewing the atomic energy budget was essentially limited to construction funds and the cooperative power reactor demonstration program.

The committee held extensive hearings on the AEC recommended fiscal year 1965 authorization bill over a period of 6 weeks beginning January 22, 1964, and reviewed each major atomic energy program in considerable detail. The hearings culminated in the introduction of clean bills by Chairman PASTORE (S. 2755) and by Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD (H.R. 10945). These bills were reported in the House and Senate on April 21, 1964 (S. Rept. No. 987; H. Rept. No. 1532). The report included comprehensive statements by the committee on virtually every major atomic energy activity.

Briefly, the bill which was passed without amendment by the House and the Senate authorized appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission fiscal year 1965 in the amount of $2,636,577,000, as follows:

Operating expenses	$2,298,467,000
Plant and capital equipment	338,110,000
Total authorization	2,636,577,000

Section 101a of the authorization bill provides approximately $2.3 billion for "operating expenses" for the AEC's 13 principal programs. Among the highlights of this authorization are the following:

(1) In the civilian power reactor program: the committee authorized a total of $72 million—$4 million less than the amount requested by the Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission had requested $5 million for a 5-year cooperative program with the Government of Canada in the development of heavy water reactors. The committee allowed an authorization of only $1 million. The cooperative program with Canada in the development of heavy water reactors is a 5-year program and it was the committee's view that the Congress should have an opportunity to pass judgment on the program on an annual basis. Accordingly, only $1 million was allowed for the program in fiscal year 1965.

(2) In the cooperative power reactor demonstration program: Although no new authorization was requested, the committee in its report, included important statements of policy guidance with respect to the future of the program. The committee noted that although no power reactor is yet producing competitive electricity, substantial gains have been made in recent years. On this basis, the committee stated that: "further assistance in the cooperative power reactor demonstration program for light water-moderated and cooled reactors of the types proposed by utilities in the past year cannot be further justified."

The committee called for a "shift in emphasis" to reactors which show the promise of significantly enlarging the Nation's energy resources—the so-called converter and breeder reactors which produce almost as much, or more, fuel than they consume. This statement was a logical extension of the position first expressed by the joint committee in its report on the fiscal year 1964 AEC authorization bill.

(3) In the merchant ship reactor program: The committee rejected a requested authorization of $13.5 million for the development of a merchant ship gas-cooled reactor prototype. The request for this program was submitted by the AEC in the form of an amendment subsequent to the completion of the committee's public hearings on the authorization bill. It was the committee's position that a program of such significance should be reviewed on the public record prior to authorization. Accordingly, the committee refused the Atomic Energy Commission's request but stated its willingness to reconsider the matter at a future time when the Atomic Energy Commission would be prepared to present the full details of the program in public hearings. No proposal has yet been submitted to the committee.

(4) In the SNAP (Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power) program: The committee added $14.5 million for a flight test in outer space of the SNAP 10–A reactor. Although the Atomic Energy Commission had requested funds for such a flight test in its submission to the Bureau of the Budget for fiscal year 1965, funds for this program were not included in the Commission's final submittal to the Congress.

SNAP 10–A is a compact reactor designed to produce approximately 500 watts of electrical power for space applications. It has been under development for a period of over 7 years at a cost of approximately $100 million. Early in fiscal year 1964, the Department of Defense placed the SNAP 10–A development flight test in a lower priority category on the basis that "no immediate and urgent requirement exists for SNAP power units." As a result of this decision, the flight test portion of the program was canceled despite the fact that the project stood on the threshold of a final test in space and its payoff.

In the course of the hearings on the AEC authorization bill, the committee held special hearings on the SNAP program at which representatives of the AEC, the Air Force and the principal contractors in the SNAP 10–A program presented testimony. The hearings plainly indicated that authorization of a SNAP 10–A flight test was in the national interest.

In adding funds for a SNAP 10–A flight test, the committee stated that "the flight test of SNAP 10–A will be invaluable in demonstrating to potential users the reality of nuclear reactor systems for space applications." The committee also noted that "the flight will be another 'first in space' for the United States—a demonstration of the practical use of nuclear reactor systems for power in outer space."

Finally, the committee noted its "grave concern" over the developing trend toward cancellation of successful development projects immediately prior to their actual demonstration. The committee noted that "if this trend continues, it is the committee's view that research and development programs will be increasingly called into question by the Congress and the public with unfortunate consequences for the Nation's scientific and technical development."

In order to partially offset the additional funds required for the SNAP 10–A flight test, the committee reduced the requested authorization for advanced SNAP reactor development work. The committee noted that even if this advanced development work proved successful, it would not be incorporated in practical devices "unless there is a path-breaking test of the SNAP 10–A reactor."

(5) The committee rejected the Atomic Energy Commission's request for funds to develop an advanced Pluto reactor. The Pluto project was aimed at the development of a nuclear reactor to power a supersonic military vehicle in the earth's atmosphere.

The Pluto project which was started 8 years ago has been carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission's Livermore Radiation Laboratory. The total expenditure by the AEC and the Air Force for the Pluto project was approximately $200 million through fiscal year 1964.

The reactor development phase of the project under the Livermore Radiation Laboratory was exceedingly successful. The development objectives were met and demonstrated in ground tests.

On the basis of the committee's hearings, it was clearly demonstrated that the next logical step in the Pluto program was a flight test of the Pluto reactor, the so-called Tory II–C. However, instead of requesting a flight test, the Air Force and the AEC proposed to place the successful Tory II–C on the shelf and commence the development of an advanced reactor concept.

In imposing a $1.5 million cut from the $8 million requested by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Joint Committee reasserted its belief that the next logical step in the Pluto program was a flight test and therefore refused to approve any proposed "make work" activity in the program.

(6) In the physical research program the committee recommended a reduction of $4 million below the AEC request for $222 million. In taking this action the committee called for a "definitive and approved national policy on high energy physics." The committee requested that the AEC, in conjuction with other appropriate Federal agencies, prepare a study to be submitted to the President and the Congress on high energy physics research.

Finally the committee recommended a "tightening-up" on "off site" research contracts in such programs as high energy physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine, and training, education, and information. Each of the committee recommendations was enforced with appropriate reductions in the requests submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The authorization bill also provided $338 million for "plant and capital equipment" in the atomic energy program for fiscal year 1965.

On May 7, 1964, the AEC authorization bill was considered and passed in the House of Representatives on a rollcall vote of 340 to 3. On June 22, 1964, the bill was considered in the Senate and passed by a voice vote.

The authorization bill was then forwarded to the President and was signed into law on June 30, 1964, as Public Law 88–332.

(b) Private ownership:

On March 15, 1963, during the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the Atomic Energy Commission transmitted to the Congress proposed legislation to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 in order to eliminate the statutory requirement for mandatory Government ownership of all special nuclear material in the United States, and to permit the enrichment of privately owned uranium in the Government's diffusion plants. The bill was introduced by Chairman PASTORE (by request) as S. 1160, and by Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD (by request) as H.R. 5035 on March 21, 1963.

In the 1st session the private ownership legislation was the subject of detailed hearings over a period of 3 days from July 30 to August 1, 1963. In the course of these hearings the committee probed in depth into the legal and economic consequences of private ownership and identified a number of important policy problems that had to be resolved prior to the enactment of the legislation. The complete hearing record was published in 1963 under the title of "Private Ownership of Special Nuclear Materials."

In the ensuing months the private ownership legislation was the subject of extensive study and discussions within Government and industry. In the 2d session of the 88th Congress, on April 22, 1964, the joint committee announced further hearings on the private ownership legislation, indicating the following matters of special interest on which it desired further testimony:

1. Should some restriction be imposed upon the importation of foreign uranium concentrates for enrichment and ultimate sale on the domestic market? Should some restriction be placed on the importation of foreign-enriched uranium?

2. Should toll enrichment be permitted during the duration of the Government's uranium procurement contracts?

3. Should the legislation be amended in any way to protect the competitive structure of the atomic energy industry?

4. Should the buy-back of plutonium by the Government be assured and, if so, for what period?

The resumed hearings on the private ownership legislation were held before the Subcommittee on Legislation on June 9, 10, 11, 15, and 25, 1964. The hearings, with extensive supporting data, were printed by the joint committee under the title "Private Ownership of Special Nuclear Materials, 1964."

On August 4, 1964, the Subcommittee on Legislation met and voted to file "clean bills" incorporating significant changes from the legislation as submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission. These bills were introduced by Chairman PASTORE as S. 3075, and by Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD as H.R. 12228 on August 4, 1964. The full committee met on August 5, 1964, and voted to report out the legislation as recommended by the Subcommittee on Legislation (H. Rept. No. 1702; S. Rept. No. 1325).

The following are the highlights of the legislation as reported by the joint committee:

First, the legislation repeals the requirement for mandatory Government ownership of special nuclear materials. Provisions for the continued effective regulation and control of such materials is assured in other sections of the Atomic Energy Act as amended by the private ownership legislation.

Second, the legislation authorizes the Atomic Energy Commission to sell or lease special nuclear material. However, after December 31, 1970, the Commission will not be able to distribute special nuclear material, except by sale, to a person owning or operating a nuclear power reactor if the material is intended for use in such a reactor. As of June 30, 1973, unless otherwise authorized by law, all special nuclear material previously leased to a person owning or operating a nuclear power reactor will have to be converted to private ownership.

Third, the Atomic Energy Commission is instructed to establish guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium produced in a licensed reactor and delivered to the Commission before January 1, 1971. A specified cutoff date is thus imposed in the legislation on the period for guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium. With respect to U^{233}, the Commission may establish purchase prices for periods of up to 10 years.

Fourth, the legislation authorizes the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into contracts for the furnishing of uranium enrichment services. Under this system of "toll enrichment" the Commission could, for instance, agree to accept delivery of normal uranium and deliver to the purchaser an appropriate quantity of enriched uranium. The purchaser would pay the Commission's charges for enrichment services—a charge based generally on the cost of doing necessary processing or "separative" work in the Government's diffusion plants. This service, however, could not commence until January 1, 1969.

In general, the bill authorizes the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into similar arrangements with respect to the distribution and purchase of special nuclear material and the furnishing of enrichment services on an international basis.

This legislation, which has been described as "the most far-reaching revision of the Atomic Energy Act since 1954" was considered and passed in the Senate on August 6, 1964, and approved by the House of Representatives on August 18, 1964.

The bill was signed into law (Public Law 88–489) by President Johnson at White House ceremonies on August 26, 1964.

(c) Omnibus bill:

On May 6, 1964, the Atomic Energy Commission transmitted to the Congress a proposed 1964 omnibus bill which contained four amendments to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. The proposed bill was introduced by Chairman PASTORE (by request) on May 7, 1964, as S. 2816, and by Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD (by request) on May 7, 1964, as H.R. 11180.

Hearings on the bills were held before the Subcommittee on Legislation on May 19, 1964.

The committee also had pending before it the AEC 1963 omnibus bill introduced by Chairman PASTORE (by request) as S. 1795 and by Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD (by request) as H.R. 7300. Hearings on these bills had been held on July 17, 1963, during the 1st session of the 88th Congress, but action was deferred pending the clarification of financial arrangements in connection with the sale of special nuclear materials to EURATOM, authorized by the bills.

After the completion of executive deliberations by the Subcommittee on Legislation, the full Joint Committee met on June 24 and 26, 1964, and voted to approve and combine, with some changes, the 1963 and 1964 omnibus bills as recommended by the Subcommittee on Legislation. In accordance with the instructions of the full committee, "clean bills" S. 2963 and H.R. 11832, were introduced respectively by Chairman PASTORE and Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD on June 29, 1964. The committee also voted to adopt a committee report on the bills (S. Rept. No. 1128; H. Rept. No. 1525).

As reported by the committee, the bill contained the following major amendments to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955, and the EURATOM Cooperation Act of 1958:

Section 1 of the bill amended subsection 153h of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 by extending for an additional 5 years the Atomic Energy Commission's authority to require the licensing of atomic energy patents. The Commission's authority would have expired on September 1, 1964. The amendment extended this authority to September 1, 1969.

Section 2 clarified the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. The amendment was designed to make it clear that a reactor for which the Commission issues a construction permit prior to August 1, 1967, will be afforded Price-Anderson indemnity coverage extending through the period of its operation without regard to whether or not the operating license for the facility is issued prior to that date.

Section 3 of the bill provided a parallel clarification with respect to facilities used for educational activities and operated by nonprofit educational institutions.

Section 4 of the bill amended the Atomic Energy Community Act of 1955 to authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to make certain dispositions of real and personal property located in the Commission's project area at Richland, Wash. The purpose of this amendment is to encourage the attraction of nonatomic energy activities to the Hanford area in order to diversify and improve the economic base of the Richland community.

(d) Legislation on "202" hearings:

On January 22, 1964, Chairman PASTORE and Vice Chairman HOLIFIELD respectively introduced S. 2448 and H.R. 9711, bills to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 in order to eliminate the mandatory requirement that the committee hold annual hearings on the "development, growth and state of the atomic energy industry"—the so-called "202" hearings.

Prior to the enactment of this legislation, section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 required that the joint committee conduct hearings within the first 90 days of each session of the Congress on the development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry. The effect of the amendment approved by the committee was to make the holding of so-called "202" hearings permissive and within the discretion of the committee.

As noted above, as a result of legislation passed during the first session of the 88th Congress, the joint committee was required to review both the operating and the construction portions of the AEC budget for fiscal year 1965. During the course of the hearings on the AEC authorization bill, the committee received testimony from representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission, other Government agencies, representatives of the national laboratories, industrial contractors and the coal industry.

In effect, these extensive hearings on the AEC authorization bill accomplished many of the same purposes as the annual hearings on the "development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry." Accordingly, the committee proposed the amendment eliminating the requirement for mandatory "202" hearings in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and to provide the committee with the flexibility to adjust its schedule in accordance with the requirements of congressional business.

The legislation eliminating the requirement for mandatory "202" hearings was reported by the committee on February 25, 1964 (S. Rept. No. 877; H. Rept. No. 1151).

The bill was considered and passed in the Senate on February 26, and approved by the House of Representatives on March 16, 1964. It was signed into law by the President on March 26, 1964, as Public Law 88-294.

II. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

(a) Peaceful uses of atomic energy:

In accordance with provisions of section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 amendments to 11 existing agreements for cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy were submitted to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy by the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission during 1964. The amendments to the agreements for cooperation with the Kingdom of Greece, Iran, Republic of China, Republic of Vietnam, Kingdom of Thailand, the Argentine Republic, and the Republic of France, were the subject of hearings before the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation on June 30, 1964. These hearings combined with 1963 hearings on agreements for cooperation, are being published under the title "International Civilian Agreements for Cooperation."

Subsequent to the hearings, the committee received amendments to agreements for cooperation with the Governments of Israel, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and Brazil.

With respect to the amendment to the agreement for cooperation with France, a new provision would remove the present enrichment limitation of 90 percent in transferring uranium to France for research purposes. With respect to the other agreements for cooperation, the new amendments provide that the agreeing parties will promptly request that the International Atomic Energy Agency assume responsibility for safeguards inspection to insure against the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes.

(b) Agreement for mutual defense purposes:

On June 30, 1964, a new proposed agreement for cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was submitted to the Congress by the President in accordance with subsection 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 as amended by Public Law 85-479. Executive and public hearings on the proposed agreement were held on July 30 and August 18, 1964, respectively, before the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation.

The new proposed agreement supersedes an earlier 1955 agreement with NATO. Basically, the new agreement broadens the area within which atomic energy information may be communicated to authorized personnel in connection with NATO missions. The 1955 agreement limited the transmittal of such information to NATO civilian agencies and military commands. The new agreement permits such communication to appropriate officials, both civilian and military, in NATO and its member states in order to carry out functions related to NATO missions.

On August 17, 1964, prior to the public hearings held by the committee, four concurrent resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives expressing disapproval of the proposed NATO agreement. In this connection, the joint committee report (see reference below) stated, "On the basis of its exhaustive review of the proposed NATO agreement and supporting data and in consideration of the clearly stated positions of the interested executive agencies, it is the committee's view that the concern expressed in the foregoing concurrent resolutions, although responsibly and legitimately expressed, is not well founded."

The new agreement also permits the communication of additional atomic energy information specifically authorized by the 1958 amendments to the Atomic Energy Act but not covered in the 1955 agreement. For example, the new agreement would permit the transfer of information necessary to the development of compatible delivery systems for atomic weapons.

After executive deliberations on the proposed agreement, the committee issued a comprehensive report, interposing no objection to the proposed agreement which went into effect on September 24, 1964. (S. Rept. No. 1592; H. Rept. No. 1890).

III. INFORMATIONAL HEARINGS

As noted in other sections of this report, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, during the second session of the 88th Congress, held extensive hearings connected with its legislative activities on such matters as the AEC authorization bill for fiscal year 1965, the AEC omnibus bill, and the legislation on private ownership of special nuclear materials.

In addition, the committee also conducted a number of informational hearings on a diversity of subjects. In total during the second session of the 88th Congress, the joint committee and its subcommittees held 65 public and executive hearings, occupying 138 hours. The committee conducted 35 public and 30 executive sessions during the year.

A total of 21 publications consisting of reports, hearings, and committee prints were published or are in the process of publication by the joint committee in the second session of the 88th Congress.

(a) Stanford linear accelerator power supply:

On January 29, 1964, the joint committee held a public hearing on current plans for supplying the electric energy requirements for the Stanford linear accelerator project.

The Stanford linear accelerator project was authorized by the Congress in 1964 at a cost of approximately $114 million. When completed in 1966 it will be the world's largest electron accelerator. The first phase of operation of the Stanford accelerator project is estimated to require approximately 100,000 kilowatts of electricity. During the course of its hearings, the committee looked into the latest cost estimates and plans associated with supplying electric energy to the Stanford project. The hearings were published under the title "Stanford linear accelerator power supply."

(b) Tarapur reactor project:

On April 22, 1964, the committee, in executive hearings received testimony from witnesses representing the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Atomic Energy Commission on a proposed AID agreement with India for the construction of the 380 megawatt Tarapur atomic power station.

The committee had held hearings during 1963 on the proposed agreement for cooperation with the Government of India which provides the legal framework for U.S. assist-

ance in connection with the Tarapur reactor plant—a central station plant consisting of two power reactors of American design and manufacture. Under the arrangements with India, up to $80 million will be provided by a loan from the U.S. Agency for International Development. The agreement also provides for safeguards to be implemented by the International Atomic Energy Agency in order to assure the use of the Tarapur station and its fuel for peaceful purposes.

The hearings during 1964 on this subject were aimed at obtaining the precise details of the arrangements for the Tarapur atomic power station, with particular emphasis on the costs associated with the facility.

The 1963 and 1964 hearings on this subject are in the process of publication by the joint committee. The Tarapur reactor project hearings are being included in the "international Agreements for Cooperation" print referred to earlier.

(c) Water desalination hearings:

On August 18, 1964, the joint committee held public hearings on Government programs for the development of methods to produce fresh water from salt water.

Representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission testified on the Commission's programs and plans for the development and utilization of nuclear power in connection with water desalination applications.

Representatives of the Department of Interior testified on the Department's plans for the development of processes to convert salt water into fresh water. The testimony of the Department of Interior updated earlier testimony on this subject presented to the committee during the hearings on the "Development, Growth, and State of the Atomic Energy Industry" in February 1963.

The committee's hearings on this subject are in the process of publication under the title of "The Use of Nuclear Power for the Production of Fresh Water from Salt Water." It is expected that further hearings on this subject will be held by the committee during the next session of the Congress, at which time representatives of interested industrial firms may be invited to testify.

(d) Confirmation of Presidential appointees:

The Senate section of the joint committee met in public session on April 24, 1964, to consider the nomination of Dr. Mary I. Bunting to be a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Dr. Bunting was nominated to serve the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1965, of Dr. Robert E. Wilson. Dr. Bunting's nomination was reported favorably on April 24, by the joint committee and approved by the Senate on April 25, 1964.

The Senate section of the joint committee met in public session on Wednesday, May 20, 1964, to consider the reappointment of Mr. James T. Ramey as a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for a term expiring June 30, 1969. Mr. Ramey had been initially appointed a Commissioner in August 1962, to fulfill the unexpired term of Commissioner John S. Graham. Mr. Ramey's nomination was reported favorably on May 20, and approved by the Senate on May 22, 1964.

IV. CLASSIFIED ACTIVITIES

In addition to the hearings described in previous sections of this report, the joint committee conducted an extensive number of hearings on classified matters in executive sessions.

The subject matter of these hearings proved to be as broad as the worldwide defense and security interests of the United States.

(a) Intelligence briefings:

On March 18, 1964, the full joint committee received an intelligence briefing on recent intelligence developments affecting the field of atomic energy, from Mr. John A. McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. This meeting was a continuation of the regular practice of briefings by CIA on vital matters affecting the security interests of the United States.

(b) Loss of the nuclear submarine *Thresher:*

On April 10, 1963, the nuclear submarine, *Thresher,* was lost while undergoing sea trials approximately 200 miles off the coast of Cape Cod. The ship went down with 112 naval personnel and 17 civilian technicians aboard.

Immediately upon being notified of the loss, the chairman of the joint committee instructed personnel of the committee staff to represent the committee as official observers to the court of inquiry appointed by the Navy. These staff personnel were present during the taking of testimony by the court, in both open and closed sessions. Periodically, reports were made by the joint committee staff personnel to the full joint committee in executive session.

The committee itself held executive hearings on the loss of the nuclear submarine, *Thresher,* on April 22, June 20, 24, 26, 27, and July 23, 1963.

Testimony was received from the Secretary of the Navy, and the President of the Naval Court of Inquiry, as well as ranking naval officers familiar with the design, construction, and maintenance of nuclear submarines.

The committee obtained information on all factors which could reasonably be considered in relation to the loss of *Thresher.* The committee also reviewed planned action to improve submarine design and obtain greater quality assurance in the nonnuclear portions of the construction of submarines.

As a followup to these hearings, the committee, on July 1, 1964, held an executive hearing on corrective measures taken since the loss of the *Thresher.* The committee received testimony from representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Navy, including the Honorable Kenneth E. BeLieu, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In particular, the testimony covered changes made in the design, construction, operation, and maintenance of nuclear submarines subsequent to the date of the loss of the *Thresher.*

The foregoing hearings, with classified information deleted, are in the final stages of preparation for publication by the joint committee under the title of "Loss of U.S.S. *Thresher.*"

(C) NATO Multilateral force:

The joint committee has maintained a continuing interest in negotiations for a NATO multilateral nuclear force.

During the first session of the 88th Congress, on February 20, 1963, Ambassador Livingston Merchant, then Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Multilateral Force Negotiations, outlined the proposed MLF concept. The briefing, in executive session, took place just prior to Ambassador Merchant's visit to Europe to explore the concept with our NATO European allies.

On May 7, 1964, Secretary of State Rusk briefed the joint committee in executive session on the current status of the multilateral nuclear force discussions. In general, the Secretary of State outlined the progress of the discussions and the reactions of our NATO allies to the proposal. The committee was assured that, if and when the agreement for a NATO multilateral force is concluded, the agreement will be submitted to the Congress for full legislative scrutiny and action.

During the period June 2–8, 1964, a member of the joint committee's professional staff visited NATO Headquarters and SHAPE in Paris. The purpose of this trip was to review planning activities and security arrangements in connection with the proposed multilateral nuclear force (MLF). Senior U.S. officials including Ambassador Finletter and General Lemnitzer were interviewed, as well as U.S. personnel responsible for this program.

(d) Weapons requirements and cutbacks in the production of special nuclear materials:

The level of production of special nuclear materials for weapons purposes has long been a matter of special interest to the committee. In particular, the committee has been interested in the military requirements for special nuclear materials and the means used to establish production levels.

On January 10, 1964, the committee held an executive hearing with witnesses from the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission, including the Honorable Roswell L. Gilpatric, then Deputy Secretary of Defense, and AEC Chairman, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg. The hearings were designed to receive classified studies by the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission on nuclear weapons and fissionable materials requirements. The hearings were held following a January 8, 1964, announcement by the President concerning a reduction in the production of both enriched uranium and plutonium for weapons purposes.

On April 20, 1964, the committee again held hearings on further reductions in the production of enriched uranium. The committee received testimony on reductions in the rate of production of special nuclear material from AEC Chairman Seaborg and other Commission officials. A Presidential announcement setting forth additional reductions in the production of enriched uranium was issued following the committee's hearings.

On April 28, 1964, the committee received testimony in executive session from Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on projected military requirements for special nuclear materials.

(e) NATO nuclear weapons arrangements:

On March 12, 1964, the full committee met in executive session to receive testimony from Gen. Lyman C. Lemnitzer, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

In connection with NATO matters, the joint committee has maintained a continuing interest in the policy aspects involved in the command and control of nuclear weapons. In particular, the committee has followed closely progress in the development of so-called "permissive action links," a system designed to prevent the unauthorized firing of nuclear weapons. The committee has also followed very closely arrangements for the security and custody of nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. General Lemnitzer reviewed and updated all developments in the foregoing areas of concern to the committee. In addition, the committee was able to have an exchange of ideas with General Lemnitzer on NATO activities and plans.

(f) The nuclear weapons program and safeguards under the nuclear test ban treaty:

The Joint Committee continued to closely follow the Atomic Energy Commission's nuclear weapons program. In particular, the committee devoted its attention to the Commission's research and development, testing, test readiness, and test detection programs to assure that these activities are carried out at a level of effort sufficient to assure the undiminished strength of the United States.

These activities are of particular significance in the light of the nuclear weapons test ban treaty which was signed on October 10, 1963. The President of the United States, in a letter to the Congress, assured the Congress that certain safeguards would be instituted in order to reduce the risk involved in an abrupt abrogation of the treaty by the Soviet Union. Briefly, the safeguards as outlined by the President are:

"1. The maintenance of vigorous weapons laboratories;

"2. The conduct of comprehensive and continuing underground nuclear weapons tests;

"3. The maintenance of a readiness capability to resume atmospheric testing should this be deemed essential to national security; and

"4. The improvement of our capability to monitor the terms of the treaty and the maintenance of our knowledge of Sino-Soviet nuclear activities, capabilities, and achievements."

During the 1st session, 88th Congress, in November of 1963, the Joint Committee, accompanied by staff personnel and representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Defense, and the White House, visited selected installations in the worldwide atomic energy detection system. The committee's inspection trip underscored its interest in assuring the effective implementation of the test ban treaty safeguards, particularly that safeguard pledging an improvement in our system for the detection of clandestine nuclear tests and maintenance of our knowledge of Sino-Soviet nuclear activities. During the committee's visit of selected stations of the atomic energy detection system, they were apprised of recommended improvements in the system.

Subsequent to that time most of these improvements were authorized and initiated by the executive department. In this connection it should be noted that the Secretary of State on September 29, 1964, forwarned the public of the imminence of the initiation of nuclear testing by the Communist Chinese Government.

The committee continued its active role in assuring the effective implementation of the test ban treaty safeguards during the course of the authorization hearings on the AEC fiscal year 1965 authorization bill. (See sec. IA. of this report.)

The committee held hearings in executive session on January 22 and 23, 1964, with witnesses representing the Atomic Energy Commission. These witnesses reported on the AEC's program for implementing the test ban treaty safeguards. The committee reviewed in detail the Commission's requests for funds for the development, testing, production and storage of nuclear weapons. In addition, the committee carefully examined the Commission's requests for funds for offcontinent test readiness and special test detection activities.

In connection with the committee interest in the program of readiness to resume atmospheric testing, a member of the committee's professional staff, has been assigned to make an inspection of the facilities and activities that the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense operate in the Hawaiian Islands and Johnston Island in the Pacific for the purpose of maintaining the test readiness posture. This inspection is to take place in October 1964.

During this period, operations of the 8th Joint Task Force, the organization responsible for carrying out oversea tests, were also observed. The 8th Task Force exercises, involving both air and sea operations, were carried out in the vicinity of Johnston Island in the Pacific. The exercises were designed to test the adequacy of the readiness preparations.

The objective of the test readiness program is to achieve and maintain a status of readiness which would permit resumption of atmospheric testing within 2 to 3 months after a decision is made to conduct such tests.

After examining the nuclear weapons program in considerable detail, the committee stated the following conclusions: "Nuclear weapons are the essential backbone of America's deterrent strength. It is the committee's view that the funds requested by the AEC for the nuclear weapons program should provide the resources necessary to assure a vigorous program in which new developments are fully exploited."

(g) Pluto program: On July 28 and 29, 1964, the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held hearings in executive session on the status of the Pluto nuclear ramjet project.

On July 1, 1964, the Atomic Energy Commission had announced that the Pluto nuclear ramjet program was being canceled because of lack of support from the Department of Defense in carrying out the flight test phase of the program.

Witnesses representing the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission summarized the highly successful reactor development and ground test phase of the Pluto program since the date of the committee's last hearings in September 1962. The committee also received testimony from Department of Defense witnesses on the reasons for the termination of the Department's interest in the nuclear ramjet.

V. OTHER ACTIVITIES

(a) Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: A member of the committee participated in the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva, Switzerland, during the period August 30 through September 9. This multination technical conference highlighted the fact that civilian nuclear power is on the threshold of economic competitiveness.

(b) International Atomic Energy Agency Eighth General Conference: Congressional business this year precluded participation in the Eighth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency by members of the committee. The committee was represented at the Conference, which was held in Vienna during the week of September 14, by a member of the committee staff.

Highlighted in the Conference was a report by Director General Eklund concerning the use of the IAEA for inspection to assure that special nuclear material was not being diverted for military uses. The director general reported that 17 out of the 38 countries having nuclear reactors have already accepted inspection by IAEA to assure that such diversions of special nuclear material for military purposes are not being made.

(c) Atomic energy installation inspection trips:

The committee members and staff continued their practice of obtaining first-hand information by visiting Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Defense, and U.S. Government contractor installations. During the 2d session, 88th Congress, visits were made to the following facilities: Argonne National Laboratory, Lemont, Ill.; Atomics international, Canoga Park, Calif.; Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, L.I., N.Y.; Elk River reactor, Elk River, Minn.; Hanford Laboratories, Richland, Wash.; Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif.; Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, Calif.; Lockheed Missiles and Space Center, Sunnyvale, Calif.; Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Los Alamos, N. Mex.; Marine Products Development Irradiator, Gloucester, Mass.; National Reactor Testing Station, Idaho Falls, Idaho; Nevada test site, Nevada; Nuclear merchant ship, N.S. *Savannah;* Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn.; Paducah gaseous diffusion plant, Paducah, Ky.; Pathfinder atomic power plant, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; Peach Bottom Reactor, Peach Bottom, Pa.; Pinellas Peninsula plant, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Piqua Nuclear Power Facility, Piqua, Ohio; San Onofore nuclear power plant, Camp Pendleton, Calif.; Savannah River Laboratory, Aiken, S.C.; Stanford accelerator project, Stanford, Calif.; United Nuclear Corp., White Plains, N.Y.; U.S. Army Radiation Laboratory, Natick, Mass.

In addition committee members and staff visited the following foreign atomic energy installations engaged in cooperative research and development projects with the United States: CERN (European Nuclear Research Center), Geneva, Switzerland; Hahn-Meitner Nuclear Research Institute, West Berlin, Germany; International Atomic Energy Agency Laboratory, Seibersdorf, Austria; Ispra Research Center (EURATOM), Ispra, Italy; Seibersdorf Atomic Research Center, Seibersdorf, Austria; Selni Nuclear Power Station, Trino, Italy; SENN Nuclear Power Reactor, Scauro, Italy.

Salute to Kenya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on December 12, Kenya will celebrate the first anniversary of its independence. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take the opportunity now to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Jomo Kenyatta, the Prime Minister of Kenya; and to His Excellency Burudi Nabuera, the Kenyan Ambassador to the United States.

The first year has not been uniformly smooth, but the people and leaders of Kenya can be justifiably proud of the way difficulties have been handled and of the progress that has been achieved during Kenya's first year of independence. Kenya has met its problems rationally and intelligently. The spirit of the country has been one of cooperation and negotiation; the results have been substantial progress toward a society of law and order founded on a stable and developing economy.

Already Kenya has begun to play an important role in East Africa, on the whole African Continent, and in the world community. Shortly after independence Kenya became a member of the United Nations. In East Africa Kenya has been working tirelessly for a federation of Kenya, Uganda, and the Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in the belief that a larger union would strengthen the area economically and would give it more weight politically in world affairs. Currently Prime Minister Kenyatta is chairman of the commission recently set up by the Organization of African Unity to help the Congo work out a solution for its internal strife. In all these arenas the voice of Kenya has been one of moderation and restraint, but also one of determination to work diligently and patiently toward a solution of the tasks set before it.

One of the major internal problems facing any newly independent country is how to speed up the development of its economy. Kenya has also set itself assiduously to the solution of this problem. A 6-year development plan reported in June 1964 proposes a "blueprint for prosperity" which would raise family incomes by $84 a year to a national average of $560 by 1970. The Government does not pretend that this objective can be easily achieved. It has hon-

estly informed its citizens that attainment of this target depends on the initiative, hard work, and sacrifice of everyone in the country. One of the basic methods by which Kenya hopes to finance its growth is by increasing the productive capacity of the individual farmer. In order to do so it proposes improving the productivity of land already in use, bringing new land into production through irrigation schemes, and expanding the production of cash crops to rural families now living at a primitive subsistence level outside the cash economy.

Kenya also hopes to expand its infant industries, and the new development plan envisions the manufacture of many goods now imported. Another major focal point of the plan is the encouragement of tourism. With its breathtaking snow-capped peaks, broad valleys, and shimmering lakes and with a good supply of national parks loaded with many varieties of birds and game, Kenya is a veritable tourist paradise. The richness of Kenya's natural beauty may prove to be an important asset in the development of the country's economy.

All the problems have not been solved in the first year of independence, but Kenya has made substantial progress. The economy is still heavily dependent on a few basic agricultural crops such as coffee and tea. Negotiations for an East African Federation seem to have reached a stalemate. But we are confident that Kenya will continue to pursue its goals with determination and reason. We salute you, Prime Minister Kenyatta and the people of Kenya, on the first anniversary of independence. May the coming year be even more fruitful than the last.

Constitution Day and Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I am pleased to learn that Mrs. Olga T. Weber, of Louisville, Ohio, has again been recognized for her tireless and diligent activities in behalf of observance of Constitution Day and Constitution Week. This most recent recognition occurred on April 24, 1964, when a citation was presented to the city of Louisville, Ohio, by the Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

I ask unanimous consent that this citation be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITATION BY THE OHIO SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Constitution of the United States draws its life and strength directly from the hearts of our people. Any effort made by a group of citizens to keep our country the text of this great document and the purposes and circumstances surounding its adoption, constitutes a patriotic service of the first order.

It is, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction that the Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution does issue this citation for patriotic service to the city of Louisville, Stark County, Ohio, for inaugurating and perpetuating the celebration of Constitution Day and Week of September 17 of each year.

Beginning with a campaign led by Mrs. Olga T. Weber, of the city of Louisville, the movement to call to mind, for study and discussion, our Constitution on an occasion specially set aside for that purpose, has grown to national proportions, and is now established and generally recognized as a very important public duty. Mrs. Weber and her coworkers not only launched the observance of Constitution Day in Louisville, but were instrumental in securing the stamp of official approval upon September 17 as Constitution Day and of Setpember 17–23 as Constitution Week.

The Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has the honor at this time of presenting a flag to the Honorable Jack McConaugha, mayor of Louisville, to be kept for display in the council chambers of the city of Louisville, there to encourage the fine people of that community in strengthening and continuing their good work.

In addition to the flag herewith presented, we hand you this certificate over the signature and seal of the society to evidence the circumstances under which the flag is given.

Given at the 74th anniversary State Conference of the Ohio Society, Sons of the American Revolution at Youngstown, Ohio, Friday, April 24, 1964.

OHIO SOCIETY, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
By JAMES E. MITCHELL, *President*.

Al Oerter—Babylon Hometown Boy Makes Good in Olympics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following report of Al Oerter's success in the Olympics at Tokyo:

AL OERTER "GUTS" WAY TO THIRD GOLD MEDAL

TOKYO.—"Every time I threw, it felt like somebody was reaching in and trying to tear my ribs out with their bare hands," Al Oerter of West Babylon said today after making it three straight gold medals and three straight games records in the Olympic discus throw.

"I hurt so badly earlier this week I started to pull out, and then I said to myself, 'These are the Olympics,' and decided to gut it through."

Harnessed around the waist and frozen with ice packs to stop internal bleeding of a torn rib cartilage, the six-foot-four, 260-pound Grumman employee "gutted" out a throw of 200 feet, 1½ inches.

With a tremendous heave on his next-to-last toss, he beat out the world recordholder, Ludvik Danek of Czechoslovakia, and teammate Dave Weill of Walnut Creek, Calif., who had to settle for the silver and bronze medals, respectively.

Only one other discus thrower in history—Matthew Sheridan of the United States in 1904–06–08—ever won three straight Olympic goals, and the second of these was regarded as unofficial.

At 27, Oerter is not even thinking of retiring, "I intend to go for a fourth metal—I don't care what color it is—at Mexico City in 1968," he said. "I don't know about 1972. When I won my first at Melbourne, I said I wanted five."

With three throws to go, Oerter trailed Danek in the competition. "Then I mapped out a campaign for the last three throws," Oerter said, "On my fourth throw, I found the right technique but I didn't get the discus high enough.

"I decided on the fifth throw I would spin slowly, use an easy turn and hit it high. Then, if I still didn't do it, I would pull hard with my left arm and throw everything into the last throw."

On the fifth throw, Oerter hit his record mark. Danek's last toss failed to match it.

"You still have another throw, Mr. Oerter," the official said.

"Thanks, you can take it," Oerter replied, wincing with pain.

"I have a high tolerance for pain," Oerter ruefully remarked, afterward, with a slight grimace. "I've had trouble with a pinched nerve in my neck for 2 years." During those 2 years, he frequently competed with a thick layer of padding wrapped around his neck, which is inclined to snap back each time he releases the platter. He discarded the collar in the National Stadium today, explaining that it sometimes hampers his performance. "If I don't get free movement around the shoulders, I might sail the discus in a low trajectory," he said, "and I had to throw it high and far here."

On-the-Job Training: Key to a Better Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me concerning on-the-job training.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING: KEY TO A BETTER FUTURE

The management and workers in many States have benefited from the on-the-job training section, section 204, of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. This law was enacted with overwhelming bipartisan support.

Two dramatic success stories as a result of this act have already occurred in California. As you will recall, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor is responsible for implementing the on-the-job training section. In December 1962, Mr. Al Clem, business manager of Operating Engineers Local Union No. 3, in San Francisco, requested the Bureau's regional office to assist them in establishing a training program under this section.

In checking the health and welfare records of their industry, the operating engineers had found about one-third of their members were working less than 1,000 hours, or half time during a calendar year. Another one-third of their members were working less than 1,500 hours, or three-quarter time dur-

ing a calendar year. This was directly attributable to a lack of skills by their journeyman members. It was also found that during periods of peak employment acute shortages existed for certain skilled men, such as finish blade operators. Yet, unemployed members were in their hiring halls who could not be dispatched to fill these jobs due to a lack of skill and/or experience. Many of these were oilers and assistants to engineers who could qualify as operators if training could be provided. By upgrading these men to operators, new men could be put to work in the assistant to engineer classification, through their apprenticeship program. This program, by the way, has just been presented the Patterson Award by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for program excellence in region XII, comprising California, Arizona, Nevada, and Hawaii.

Thus, the operating engineers proposed a training program far in excess of 10,000 men within their local's jurisdiction in the States of northern California, northern Nevada, Utah, and Hawaii. They also proposed that if the program proved successful, local No. 12 in Los Angeles be encouraged to participate. Such a program would require an extensive training area for use of heavy earth-moving equipment. The area needed to be centrally located and one where climactic conditions were favorable for winter training when unemployment was the greatest. In addition to this, provision had to be made for housing and feeding the trainees. It was anticipated that a training program of this magnitude would be expensive, therefore Federal land was desired, as no rental would be involved and any benefits in the way of roads, check dams, and so forth, which resulted from the training, would revert to the public good. Inquiry was directed to the National Park Service, Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management, but no suitable area was available.

Mr. Bruce M. Stark, Bureau field representative in San Francisco, submitted a proposal to Lt. Gen. Frederic J. Brown, commanding general of the 6th Army, Presidio of San Francisco, for the use of Camp Roberts, a nearly inactive post except during summer Reserve training sessions. General Brown was most anxious to assist in implementing this new program, and directed a study be made of the Army's capabilities by his deputy chief of staff for logistics, Col. Thomas O'Neil. Assisting Colonel Neil were Mr. Chester Hibbert, Colonel Simpson, Col. Chester Stratton, Mr. John Robatti, and Col. Henry Settle.

Based on General Brown's report, an agreement was entered into on December 4, 1963, between the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of Labor. This agreement permitted the Department of Labor to use certain buildings and training areas at Camp Roberts for 5 years in order to carry out approved training programs.

The Bureau and the Army then signed the local memorandum of agreement providing for certain Army support. Due to budgetary limitations, any support furnished by the Army had to be on a cost reimbursement basis by the Department of Labor. Past experience by the Army indicated this would be $1 per day per man.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training developed a pilot project to accommodate 300 men; 150 men in each of two 6-week training sessions. They would be trained in one of the following classifications: Heavy equipment mechanic, technical engineer (surveying), blade operator, bulldozer operator, rubber-tired equipment, or loader.

Equipment was leased from cooperating contractors in the area. Blakemore Equipment Co. of Oakland, Calif., donated the use of over $70,000 worth of LeTourneau-Westinghouse equipment for 2 weeks, along with an instructor and training material. Other equipment dealers furnished films and training aids.

Instructors, 1 for every 10 men, were job superintendents and foremen for California contractors who had taken leave from their regular jobs to instruct. They were paid their regular rate of pay, plus subsistence.

Trainees were selected on the basis of length of time in the industry, with 18 months as a minimum, past work record, which demonstrated prolonged unemployment due to a lack of skills; and eligibility for training under the act, i.e., 3 years' work experience, over 22, head of household, and unemployed. Selection was made on this criteria alone, without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, sex, physical handicap, or union membership. For this pilot project, all trainees came from California.

Trainees were entitled under the act to a training allowance equal to their normal unemployment compensation, or the average being paid in California ($43 a week), whichever was greater. In addition to this, trainees were entitled under the act to transportation from their homes to Camp Roberts and return. Payment for transportation was based on common carrier bus rates.

Trainees were also eligible for $5 per day subsistence allowance while in training at Camp Roberts. As stated above, $1 per day of this was to go to the Army for their support of the program which included water, gas, electricity, maintenance of the barracks, and messhall, beds, blankets, etc. Trainees were house and fed at Camp Roberts during training.

From the remaining $4 per day of the trainees' subsistence allowance, three meals per day had to be arranged. Private catering firms were contacted, but none could meet this price.

Mr. Clem was afraid his engineers program had been stymied. He contacted his old friend, Ed Turner of the Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, in San Francisco, and asked his help.

The Marine Cooks & Stewards have operated a combination retirement, vacation, and training center at Santa Rosa for a number of years. The number of Marine Cooks & Steward trainees at Santa Rosa is predicated in a large part by the number of residents to consume the product of their training, i.e., meals. During the winter this number is small, yet the need for the training is high due to the fact that winter-trained, spring graduates fill the industries' vacation schedule. Mr. Turner stated it was not only possible, but most desirable, that they expand their present training efforts at Santa Rosa with a similar program at Camp Roberts to feed residing operating engineers, trainees, and instructors.

When the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training representative explained the intent of the act to Mr. Turner, he decided his program would be directed to unemployed youth, particularly minorities, who lacked any training, but who wanted a career opportunity. Mr. Jerry Posner, representing the union, and Mr. Earl Phillips, representing the Pacific Maritime Association, jointly screened over 400 applications to select 35 trainees, and 10 instructors.

On January 15, 1964, in San Francisco, Under Secretary of Labor, John Henning signed the contracts approving the projects at a formal signing ceremony. Mr. Clem and Mr. Turner signed for their organizations, as interested parties from the Department of Labor, Department of Army, maritime industries, construction trades, and press, looked on.

Five days later on January 20, 1964, an advance party of Marine Cooks & Stewards and operating engineers moved into Camp Roberts to set up operations. Barracks, in disuse since the Korean war, were opened, and furnaces fired up to drive out the winter's dampness. Beds, linens, blankets, pillows, and so forth were checked out from post supply and moved in. Water and electricity were turned on and checked.

The mess hall, now a galley, posed a special problem. It had been used as a warehouse for over 2,000 metal cots and mattresses. These were moved via Army truck into another warehouse in a driving rainstorm. Cooking equipment, tables, benches, and chairs were moved in. Then came the task of removing preservative from all the stoves, fixtures, and other metal kitchen equipment. Refrigeration equipment was turned on, stoves and ovens checked, and still more equipment moved in. The Marine Cooks & Stewards worked from dawn to midnight. A Wac christened the mess hall, or "galley," the U.S.S. *Never-Sail*. The rain, the preservative, the winter cold, the lack of heated sleeping quarters, and cold food never daunted their spirits. All were dedicated to the fact that this training program "must go" as the eyes of the country were on them to perform. And perform they did.

Food was ordered, minor equipment items not available from the Army were purchased or rented, crockery was loaned by the American President Lines for table service and delivered from San Francisco to Camp Roberts, vending machines and newspaper racks were set up, barracks cleaned and made ready, raising ovens were made for the bakers, credit established locally, ad infinitum. On Monday, January 20, Camp Roberts was a deserted relic of the Second World War and Korea; on Wednesday, January 22, a training center had been established and the first hot meals were being served. All this had been accomplished by the concerted teamwork of Mr. Harley Davidson, project manager for the Operating Engineers, Mr. Don Schelly, chief steward for the Marine Cooks & Stewards, and Col. Henry Settle, commanding officer of Camp Roberts. Only 1 week had elapsed from the signing of the contract to actual operation.

For the Marine Cooks & Stewards only the instructors' salaries, insurance, and small administrative expenses were charged to training. All other costs were met from the $5 per day charged all trainees and instructors for room and board. The costs for setting up this operation were advanced by the Stewards' Training & Recreation, Inc., a joint industry trust fund. This amounted to several thousand dollars and without this advance there would have been no program.

All Marine Cooks & Stewards trainees and instructors were on a 7-day week for the entire operation. A day off was given when available. A typical trainee day was as follows:

Turn to, 0500.
Report to chef, 0530.
Prepare and serve breakfast 0530–0730.
Breakfast for Marine Cooks & Stewards' trainees, 0730–0800.
Clean up, 0800–1000.
Instruction and free time, 1000–1100.
Lunch preparation and serving, 1100–1230.
Lunch for Marine Cooks & Stewards' trainees and clean up, 1230–1400.
Instruction and free time, 1400–1600.
Prepare dinner, serve, clean up and Marine Cooks & Stewards' trainees eat, 1600–1900.
Instruction and free time, 1900–2100.

Instruction was given to the trainees during breaks in the classification for which they were assigned, such as cooking, butchering, baking, or salad work.

During the evening when all classifications of trainees were assembled, instruction was given, coupled with movies, in the following areas: Orientation to shipboard life; lifeboat drill; psychological lessons on cooperation and close living conditions; crews' quarters; respect for authority; chain of com-

mand at sea; ship's personnel (officers and men); neatness and cleanliness of person and ship; courtesy to passengers and officers; teamwork.

The U.S. Public Health Service lectured and showed films on sanitation and health. This subject was covered by all concerned for no other subject was so important to this training. The Public Health Service inspected the messhall and gave it their highest rating for cleanliness.

The Maritime Administration and the Coast Guard lectured and showed films on maritime law, sea vessel protection, fire, storm, safety, and one's obligation to passengers and ship during distress.

The Pacific Maritime Association lectured on opportunities, promotion, insurance protection, laws at sea and in foreign port, fringe benefits, and obligations to passengers, ship, and crew.

The above type of training distinguishes a Marine Cook & Steward from the usual cook, waiter, or baker found on shore.

While the operating engineers' training program consisted of two 6-week programs, the Marine Cooks & Stewards had one 12-week session.

On Sunday, January 26, 1964, the operating engineer trainees began to arrive. An induction line was set up to check referral to the program, issue bedding, assign rooms, and start processing with the California State Employment Service. The Salinas office of the CSES, under the direction of Mr. Ray Kelly, sent a special crew to Camp Roberts to expedite the filing of the necessary forms.

On Monday, January 27, processing continued for late arrivals; private autos of trainees were registered with the provost marshal, and records checked for assigning men to instructors. Fueling of equipment began; lubrication and other maintenance items were accomplished. The heavy duty mechanics shop was set up for operation. Instruction began for surveyors.

Tuesday, January 28: First muster of the trainees, head count, announcements, and assignment of trainees. Instructors familiarized trainees with equipment, operation, and maintenance. Safety was stressed as a paramount concern. Instruction had begun for all. That evening Project Manager Harley Davidson and Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training Representative Stark met with the trainees to explain Army regulations and rules of conduct contained in the Department of Labor's use permit, the program, and other related matters. Questions were answered from the trainees.

It soon became evident that there was not enough equipment for the number of trainees. A ratio of 1 piece of equipment to every 5 trainees was needed, but only 1 to 10 was provided. Therefore, training groups were divided into two sections, a.m. and p.m. One section of 10 trainees and the instructors went to the field in the a.m. to use 2 pieces of equipment while the p.m. section and their instructors remained in camp for technical instruction.

However, the intended nature of this project was primarily in-the-field, on-the-job instruction. There was not enough technical instruction required, available, or pertinent to keep the trainees occupied for half a day. Technical instructions could easily be accomplished in not over an hour per day, in the field with the equipment.

The schedule for training days ran as follows:

Rise at 0600.

Breakfast, 0645–0730.

Muster, rollcall, announcements, etc., 0730–0745.

A.m. section to field, in buses, 0745; p.m. section to camp buildings for technical instruction.

All instruction begins, 0800.

Lunch, 1200–1230.

Mail call, 1230–1245.

P.m. section to field, 1245; a.m. section to technical instruction.

Instruction resumes, 1300.

Dinner, 1700–1730.

Mail call, 1730–1800.

Evening training sessions begin (described below), 1800.

Some trainees were quite proficient in one phase of the industry only and were therefore unemployed about 50 percent of the time. While at Camp Roberts, these trainees were able to acquire additional skills. However, their special talents were also of benefit to trainees lacking those specific skills. During the evenings special training sessions were arranged with these trainees teaching others their specialty. For example, a top welder would instruct others in the evening while, during the day, he took training on loaders. Evening training was set up in grade setting, welding, survey, plans and blueprint reading, and maintenance. In this way, trainees could benefit in several training areas during the 6 weeks.

In addition to these evening training sessions, programs were arranged in other areas. Films were shown on safety, mechanical operations, and maintenance. Army films were borrowed on construction equipment, safety, first-aid, and field maintenance. Various equipment dealers loaned films and other training devices on their particular lines as well as lecture records used with a slide projector on special equipment. The California Highway Patrol sent in an officer, Mr. Jerry Fredericks, to lecture and show a film on highway safety. It was outstanding. Camp Roberts sent the base fire marshal over to give a demonstration and lecture on fire prevention and firefighting.

The post engineer at Camp Roberts, Major Wall, was particularly helpful in supplying plans, blueprints, maps, topographical surveys, and specifications for training. The engineering office also provided an auxiliary pump in the field to fill the water supply tank.

The project proposal provided for the benefits of this training to revert to the public good—hence the use of Camp Roberts as a training site. The following are some of the improvements rendered the U.S. Army at Camp Roberts as a result of this training program:

1. Three earthfill dams for water conservation for wildlife and sheep on the reservation. The three dams are 15,000, 17,000, and 40,000 cubic yards. Spillways were made for two dams.

2. One mile of road was leveled, widened, compacted, and graded.

3. An area 2,000 feet by 1,500 feet was leveled, compacted, and graded for any future use the Army may decide.

4. A mock village, used for training exercises by the Army, was completely removed and buried as it had become a safety hazard.

5. Several concrete bunkers and walls were likewise buried.

6. The post garbage dump was cleaned up and buried and two additional burial trenches were dug 500 by 15 feet wide by 12 feet deep. Earth was stockpiled nearby for easy coverage.

7. A dangerous intersection was removed and rebuilt to freeway specifications. This dirt road in the post training area caused many accidents due to a large hill which obscured drivers' view. The hill also made a section of the road narrow and dangerous. Therefore—

8. The hill was removed and used for fill to improve the road, the intersection, and so forth.

9. Material was spread on 3 miles of tank road.

10. Trainees on the loaders loaded material on Army trucks for numerous projects.

11. River rock was stockpiled for future use by the loader crew.

12. Trees and brush removed from training areas were strategically piled for wildlife refugees as part of the Army's game conservation program.

13. Fifty cubic yards of topsoil were hauled to a radar station 4 miles away.

14. A new material pit was opened for future use.

15. And many more.

HOUSING

Trainees were housed in two 70-man barracks and one 50-man barrack—1 and 2 to a room. All essentials were checked out from the Army. A 22-man BOQ barrack was set aside for instructors.

MAIL

Delivered to Camp Roberts Post Office and picked up twice daily by mail clerk deputized by the postmaster, Paso Robles.

RECREATION

A serious problem. The nearest theater was in Paso Robles, 16 miles away, at a price the unemployed hesitated to pay with families at home, and even if they did there were only two different movies weekly. Camp Roberts personnel would have liked to open their base theater and NCO club to the men to boost faltering reserves, but Colonel Scttle, the camp commander, informed those in charge of the training program that this was prohibited under the lease arrangement and Army regulations. Permisson has been granted to use these facilities for any subsequent program. The Army learned a long time ago that if recreation isn't provided for the men, they usually find some unacceptable diversion elsewhere, which only causes trouble.

LAUNDRY

Bed linens were picked up weekly by local private firm. Personal laundry done in nearby town of San Miguel or Paso Robles.

GRADUATION CEREMONIES

Two were held—one on March 6, and another on April 17, with specially printed cards issued by the union in recognition of the training received. Quite an occasion was made of the event with the usual publicity. Industry leaders were present to speak and award cards.

SAFETY

In addition, Mr. Jacob Gold, safety expert with the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U.S. Department of Labor visited the facility and lectured on safety for 1 day. A full-time safety-first-aid man was always present. Special arrangements were made with doctors and the hospital in Paso Robles. There was no time lost due to accidents in the entire program. Flu accounted for some sick time during the project, but only 10 men had to see a doctor. In the Paso Robles area, this past spring, flu was near epidemic proportions. The trainees escaped this. This is largely due to the high degree of sanitation maintained by the Marine Cooks & Stewards. Indeed, the U.S. Public Health Service inspected the facilities and reported them among the cleanest they had ever inspected.

SPECIAL SERVICE

The California Vehicle Code requires operators of heavy equipment to have special endorsements on their drivers' licenses to "road" or operate heavy equipment on the highways. This is usually difficult to get. Department of motor vehicle personnel must visit construction projects and get attestments from employers as to a man's ability and witness his operation of the equipment. Both the department and the employer are jealous of their time to spend it on a few individuals, or shut down a job for inspection in mass. Yet, many men lose employment for lack of this endorsement. Therefore, the department of motor vehicles sent personnel to Camp Roberts to issue these endorsements to trainees in mass. Time was available at Camp Roberts for demonstration

of ability on equipment. This one item alone improved employability of most trainees.

HEAVY DUTY MECHANIC PROGRAM

The original proposal called for 20 trainees for the heavy duty mechanic program. It was found that there was more interest in this area than expected. The number of trainees allocated for this area could have been tripled and still not satisfied the demand. A complete machine shop was set up to rebuild loaned equipment and to maintain leased equipment used in the program. An example of the type of work done involved a motor grader which had been wrecked on a construction project and burned. The insurance company settled with the owner and put the wreck on the auction block. The original owner, Frank Pozar of Fresno Paving, purchased the machine back from the insurance company and sent it to Camp Roberts of rebuilding. All parts needed for this rebuilding operation were paid for by Mr. Pozar. This made an ideal training project for the machine had to be rebuilt from the ground up. It required 6 weeks' labor. When the motor grader was in operating condition it was donated, free of charge, to the training program for use in the field, for the remainder of the program. This was a situation which benefited an important contractor in the area as well as the operating engineers' program for a rebuilding operation of this sort would have been out of the question in view of current labor and parts costs. As a result of this mutual cooperation, the contractor received a useful piece of equipment at a nominal cost to himself and the engineers received valuable training not otherwise available.

Another important aspect of this phase of the training was that it allowed older men in the industry, who were becoming physically unable to keep up the pace on equipment, to learn another valuable skill within the industry in which to serve out the balance of their years. One man with a wooden leg has found new hope for employment as a result of this training.

SURVEYORS' PROGRAM

Here, again, 20 trainees were allocated for this phase of training and again the interest generated was more than could be satisfied in this program. The Army insisted that all work undertaken on the reservation be built to the specifications of the post engineers. It became the task of this training team to lay out the projects and do the survey work necessary before the equipment operators could move in.

In addition to the projects completed for the Army, outlined above, a six-lane freeway with divider strip was laid out by the surveyors, as well as a small housing tract. This tract included building plots on different elevations which included easements, sidewalks, curbs, and gutters, sewerlines, etc. Interest among the trainees seemed to be highest with this group. They were the first ones on the job in the morning and the last ones in from the field at night. After dinner, in the evening, night instruction began on a voluntary basis with both the instructor and the trainees. This became an everynight affair.

Here, too, older men expressed a high degree of interest. In any subsequent program, I feel this area of training should be expanded.

From the outset of the program, guests were a daily occurrence. People from all over the State came to see what was going on at Camp Roberts; Army personnel, State employment service representatives, youth consultants, correctional institutions' personnel, social welfare representatives, contractors.

In view of this interest, an open house was planned on March 13, 1964, for all interested parties. Hunter Wharton, IUOE president, was the special guest. The Marine Cooks & Stewards' trainees prepared a special luncheon a la a captain's banquet on board ship. No one could believe such a feast could come from an Army messhall. The menu included salads and appetizers of all varieties, standing prime sirloin, roast beef, shrimp Newburgh, and divers cold roast and game. For dessert there was cherries jubilee, rainbow parfait, and assorted petit fours and French pastries. The guest book read like a who's who of the building and construction trades unions, Associated General Contractors, Engineering Grading Contractors Association, maritime, city, State, and Federal Government representatives, State legislators, and Army personnel.

On April 17, 1964, the program was completed. Barracks were closed, and the mess hall was deactivated. Colonel Settle assured the Department of Labor that the program would be welcomed next year, for all concerned were perfect guests. But should the program be continued? Were the results worth the investment? Many, many letters have poured in attesting to the value of this program, but what of the trainees?

For the Marine Cooks & Stewards program of 35, 33 trainees successfully completed and were issued seamen's papers. Within 6 weeks of completion, 32 trainees were employed on American-flag ships. One man was unfit for duty due to a broken leg. These were young men who, 12 weeks before, had never had an occupation, had little to look forward to, and possessed no skills. Now they were respectable members of an honorable industry paying their fair share to society. The cost? A little over $28,000, but a sum recovered within the first year through income taxes and savings from unemployment compensation. But how can you measure a man's life in dollars and cents? This training literally saved some lives by giving self-respect and a chance.

For the operating engineers reports from contractors who have hired the trainees indicate a high degree of satisfaction. Many show outstanding leadership ability and self-confidence with potential of becoming foremen. Last year these same men were discharged for inefficiency.

Two hundred and seventy men completed training from the program designed to accommodate 300. A survey of completing trainees conducted by the California Department of Employment indicated a large majority felt the training helped them in their jobs. But word of mouth from a trainee to his fellow workmen on the job is perhaps the best indicator of all. Engineer business agents report the degree of interest from members in a new program almost unbelievable. A new program proposal designed for 500 men is pending before the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. This will accommodate but a small percentage of those showing interest. Why? Because men in the field can see the difference, both in skill and pay, between those who took training and those who did not. The additional taxes paid on the higher wages earned by these trainees, the less unemployment benefits paid, the new apprentices brought into the engineers award winning program from the unemployed, and savings to the contractor will more than offset the small investment made by the Government. Indeed, the benefits which accrued to the Army at Camp Roberts more than paid for the program. Of a training budget of $240,000, the engineers economized and received donated equipment which resulted in nearly $20,000 being returned to the Government.

Can success be measured in interest? Inquiries have come into the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for assistance in many States. Using deactivated military bases for youth training centers no doubt was inspired in part from this program.

In January 1963 Secretary of Labor Wirtz told a small gathering of Labor Department officials in San Francisco, "I want new and novel approaches to training undertaken to combat unemployment." Mr. Al Clem of the Operating Engineers, Mr. Ed Turner of the Marine Cooks & Stewards, General Brown of the 6th Army, and Mr. Hugh Murphy of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training certainly took Secretary Wirtz at his word. They should all feel justly proud of their outstanding staffs for making the Secretary's word a reality. For no training idea is newer and nothing more novel than seeing a building and construction trade union, contractor's associations, maritime union, shipowners, the Department of the Army and the Department of Labor joining forces for a common objective.

I commend all who participated, in this worthwhile effort at the local, State, and national levels. It is a sound guideline for the future.

Congressman Lester Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to convey a personal tribute to Congressman LESTER JOHNSON, of Wisconsin's old Ninth District. Congressman JOHNSON is retiring from the House at the end of this session.

LESTER JOHNSON has served the State of Wisconsin and the Nation well. He came to the House in 1953 and was at that time the only Democratic Congressman from Wisconsin.

His primary concern in the House has been with the problems which face rural communities throughout our Nation. He has served for many years on the House Agriculture Committee and has worked in the best interests of small farmers and farm communities. Since 1959, he has been chairman of the Dairy Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee.

LESTER JOHNSON has been a leader in recognizing the value of conservation for farm communities. He has worked steadfastly and hard for many conservation measures, including additional wet lands, the watershed conservation program and, most recently, the Ice Age National Scientific Preserve. He has worked ceaselessly for REA cooperatives.

LESTER JOHNSON'S most specific interest has been in dairy legislation. No one will doubt his sincere concern for dairy farmers. These farmers, whom LESTER JOHNSON knows so well, will always have a warm spot in their hearts for the efforts which LESTER JOHNSON has put forth in their behalf in the Congress.

LESTER JOHNSON'S congressional career has been marked by support for progressive, forward-looking legislation. He has voted for measures to strengthen the Nation and the economy, to expand opportunities for our youth, to assist senior citizens, and, most notably, to develop and protect our natural resources for the benefit of future generations.

LESTER JOHNSON'S presence will be sorely missed in the Congress. His judg-

ment and his advice have been a great help to members of the Wisconsin delegation and to his other colleagues in the Congress. I am sure, however, that he will continue to make his services and his experience available to the Nation and to those of us who have relied on him so heavily in the past.

Our best wishes go with him.

The U.S. Employment Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Canton, Ohio, Congressman FRANK BOW, is one of the outstanding Members of Congress. He is highly respected because of his wide range of interests and expertise in many fields of knowledge. For some time he has been interested in the U.S. Employment Service and the direction in which the Service is headed. Since coming to the Congress, I also have become interested in seeing that our Public Employment Service is made as effective as possible in its job to help the unemployed find work. Because of the grave unemployment problem in the United States today, every Member of Congress has a vital interest in the record of the U.S. Employment Service. Recently a subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee began hearings with the purpose of studying the Service and determining how well it has done its job. I had hoped that the subcommittee, after hearing all the facts, would determine what, if any, additional assistance the U.S. Employment Service needs to better perform its job. Unfortunately, the subcommittee cut its hearings short, did not permit many interested witnesses to appear, and never met in executive session. What was even more unfortunate was the fact that the hearings were not well publicized. Indeed, many Members of Congress themselves were not aware of the existence of these hearings—probably due to the fact that they were scheduled late in the session when other priority matters were of greater concern. I believe that first we must learn the facts about the present record of the Service and then, with the facts as a background, proceed to determine what role we want the U.S. Employment Service has recently expanded. power policies. Then, and only then, can we in the Congress know what legislation may be necessary to improve or expand the Service.

In this regard, I commend to all Members of the Congress and to the public at large, an article which appeared in the October Reader's Digest. The author of this article, Congressman FRANK BOW, does an excellent job of informing us of some of the problems the Employment Service faces. He also discusses some of the new areas into which the U.S. Employment Service was recently expanded. Against this background, Congressman Bow details some aspects of the Service which appear to him to be unwise.

This article entitled "The Great Manpower Grab," has brought a large and favorable response from all over the country as our citizens have been informed about the situation. Therefore, I would like to insert the article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it can be read by every Member of the Congress:

THE GREAT MANPOWER GRAB

(By FRANK T. BOW, U.S. Representative from Ohio)[1]

(NOTE.—Almost unnoticed, the U.S. Employment Service is undermining one of our basic freedoms—the right to choose one's life work.)

While the Johnson administration wages an alleged "unconditional war on poverty" the Federal agency chosen to fight in the frontline of that war is brazenly using it to advance one of the most ambitious power grabs in U.S. history. If it succeeds, every working man and woman in America will one day be forced to seek work through Government employment offices.

The agency is the U.S. Employment Service, a division of the Labor Department's ubiquitous Bureau of Employment Security (BES). In the war on poverty, USES machinery will be charged with "mobilizing the troops"—the hard-core unemployed, the young people of Sargent Shriver's Youth Job Corps, the Home Town Work Training force, and other make-work battalions. Already USES exerts iron-fist financial control over some 1900 State employment offices. Now it is extending its hand into high school counseling, college placement, company personnel offices, union hiring halls, and even into private industry's executive suites.

USES is doing all this—and more—under the guise of "helping the unemployed." But it makes no bones about its ultimate goal. That goal, according to USES Director Louis Levine, is to build the Employment Service into "the manpower agency" for the Nation, through which all job hiring would be funneled.

NEITHER NEEDED NOR WANTED

Originally established as a World War I labor-mobilization agency, USES remained a feeble, almost forgotten arm of Government with a lowly $1 million annual budget until the Wagner-Peyser Act gave it power to flex its muscles. That was in 1933, in the depth of the depression, and Congress clearly intended that the Nation's unemployed, which then numbered nearly 13 million, be USES's prime concern.

Today, USES's budget is around $200 million—double what it was in fiscal 1959. In addition, it received the lion's share of the $47 million the Labor Department got for the Manpower Development and Training Act retraining program in fiscal 1964 and says it will have to have another $75 million via Manpower Development and Training Act funds in fiscal 1965 to complete the job. On top of that, untold millions more will be earmarked for USES's role in the war on poverty.

Despite these skyrocketing expenditures, there is mounting evidence to support the charge that the USES has "turned its back on the unemployed." Instead of concentrating on helping our jobless, the agency is expanding more and more into fields where it is neither needed nor wanted. If this is permitted to continue it can only result in absolute control of American manpower and its allocation. The surrender of our free enterprise system will be complete.

The way for this total control has already been prepared in enabling legislation now before the Congress. The measure would empower the Secretary of Labor to handpick a special committee to draft new laws that would make all job placement activities "exclusively a public service." In short, a Federal closed shop would be clamped tightly on the whole Nation.

Here is just what this will mean to citizens. If you are a high school or college student, you will have to accept the guidance of a Government employee or risk being numbered among the forgotten unemployed. If you wish to change jobs and thereby better yourself, you will have to win the approval of a Government clerk before you can be referred to a new position. If you are an employer, you will have to accept whoever is sent to you to fill a job or you will risk getting on the Government's black list.

If you know what is going on in the Federal Government today, you can add one more dimension. Federal employment is based too largely on political reliability. If USES becomes the community manpower center, as it has stated, you may very well need the okay of the political party in power before you can get a chance at the better jobs.

GROWING EVER STRONGER

USES, however, is not waiting for new legislation. Growing ever stronger with liberal transfusions of tax money, it is picking up telling yardage in its sweeping end run around the battered line of our free enterprise system. Almost unnoticed, it has scored an impressive series of first downs on five important fronts:

1. Seniors in over 10,000 high schools—about half of all high schools in the country—are being tested and counseled by the Federal-State Employment Service.

USES promises to extend this activity to all high schools. Aptitude tests and counseling services are given to thousands of students despite the fact that some psychologists seriously question the qualifications of Employment Service personnel to operate in this delicate area. Many of these testers and counselors do not have a college degree, let alone specialized training in psychology that would fit them to guide young people into life careers.

The ineptitude of USES testers is pointed up by the experience of Marcellus S. Merrill, president of the Merrill Engineering Laboratories in Denver. An electrical engineer, he numbers among his many inventions an electronic wheel-balancing device for automobiles, and precision gyroscopes for space satellites.

Out of scientific curiosity, Merrill dropped by an employment office in Denver and took a 2½-hour aptitude test.

"They told me I might make a teacher, but only in the junior grades of a rural school," Merrill reported. "They also thought I might do as a file clerk or a male nurse or possibly even a testing clerk. But they said I could never hope to make the grade as an electrician or engineer."

It is impossible to calculate how many young people—potential doctors, lawyers, scientists—have been steered into wrong careers by such tests.

2. USES is out to handle the job placement of every college student in the country.

Thus far, USES boasts that nearly 300 institutions of higher learning have accepted Employment Service counselors and guidance. The bait is the money the institutions can save on their own placement operations by letting Government employees do the job.

However, the USES campus campaign has run into formidable opposition. Some 200 college and university presidents wrote the

[1] Representative FRANK T. BOW, Republican of Ohio, is a ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee.

College Placement Council denouncing the USES blitz. Many of the council's 1,800 affiliates in industry joined them. In September 1963, Congressman ROBERT TAFT, JR., of Ohio, introduced a bill to bar USES from the Nation's campuses. Alarmed, the Labor Department suddenly beat a tactical retreat, agreed to halt its promotional activities among colleges and piously swore it intended "only to supplement college placement facilities, not to supplant them."

Nonetheless, Dr. Eric A. Walker, president of Penn State, feels that in the end the $50,000 to $100,000 a year that many colleges spend on their own placement offices will tip the scales in favor of USES. "I suspect," he says, "that it is on this basis that the Government scheme will win out."

3. USES is signing more and more companies to "exclusive agreements" under which they pledge to do all their hiring through the Employment Service.

Under these pacts, firms agree to adopt a technique known as "closing the gate." In Georgia, California, Ohio, and a score of other States, jobseekers are confronted with signs at plant and store entrances telling them they must file applications through the State offices. In effect, this gives the Government closed-shop control over company hiring policies.

4. Labor unions have turned over their own hiring halls to the USES' State subsidiaries. They are concentrating their efforts on a campaign to force companies to get on the USES bandwagon.

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, speaking for the AFL–CIO, has gone so far as to suggest a form of fiscal pressure to whip recalcitrant employers into line. He has called for a law "to require employers, as a condition for obtaining reduced unemployment compensation rates, to list with the public Employment Service all job vacancies." Meanwhile, Reuther is calling for a Presidential Executive order requiring all Government contractors to hire through USES.

5. Instead of devoting all its effort to placing America's 4 million unemployed, USES is now finding new jobs for more than a quarter million professional and managerial personnel each year.

More and more, USES is concentrating on placing people whose talents and skills are in high demand—engineers, scientists, schoolteachers, nurses, and even high salaried executives. USES placements in this field have nearly tripled in the last decade and zoomed an impressive 50 percent since 1960.

Newspaper advertisements are widely used to hook professional applicants. Typical is an ad placed by the Ohio State Employment Service in the Cleveland Plain Dealer. It was topped by announcement of an opening for an open-hearth superintendent to work in Argentina at $23,754 per year. Beneath this was another for a mechanical engineer at $15,000. And under that was a third for a job analyst in Tanganyika at $14,000.

To further entice easily placed executives and scientists, USES has outfitted 160 new offices in its professional office network. In 52 of the largest cities employment offices are located separately from the Unemployment Compensation Service facilities. Many of these offices are outfitted with expensive draperies, tasteful furnishings, and attractive receptionists.

Curious as to how efficient this network actually is, a young journalist friend of mine stopped by the professional office in Pittsburgh and inquired about openings for writers in California. He later gave me a complete account of what happened.

"The receptionist promptly ushered me into a large room with a dozen desks, all except one of them emptied by the lunch-hour exodus," he reported. "The lone 'counselor' was a breezy, brush-cut young man with an athletic build. When I told him what I was interested in he searched a 3-week-old catalog of openings from the California State Employment Service. The only thing listed for a writer was in the technical field—and it specified female. I was out on both counts.

"There followed one of the weirdest 'interviews' I ever had. For 40 minutes I was treated to a lecture on the horrible job situation in Pittsburgh, the 'brutal facts' of economic life generally, and the outstanding ability of my counselor to place technical people despite the fact he had 'never had a day of college' or any formal training in personnel work. He never asked whether I was employed or unemployed, nor did he pose one single question about my qualifications or background. He never troubled to ask my name or where he might get in touch with me if a job turned up."

CONFORM OR ELSE

In many State offices, USES and the Unemployment Compensation Service, both of which come under the Bureau of Employment Security, share the same offices and personnel. And BES' total staff rose from 46,000 to nearly 60,000 in the last 10 years, with more than half of the increased staff added since 1960.

Except for special funds for Manpower Development and Training Act, Area Redevelopment Administration, and the war-on-poverty programs, BES funds come from the unemployment taxes paid entirely by employers. But in order to stay in business, employers are forced to pass this tax along to consumers in the form of higher prices. Thus everyone pays. And the bill is astronomical. In fiscal 1965 BES will gobble up more than $455 million over and above the estimated $3 billion the States will haul in for unemployment-compensation payments.

USES officials in Washington claim that the Employment Service is really a decentralized Federal-State system. "The heart of that system" the agency contended in a fact sheet issued in 1962 "is found in the 1900 local offices operated and administered by the States."

This is a deliberate distortion. First of all, every dollar the States collect for their Employment Service operation is channeled through the Federal Government. Second, each State must have its employment service budget approved by the U.S. Labor Department. And finally, to get this approval, the States must conform completely with the policies concocted by the Federal bureaucracy.

Any lingering thoughts that USES control over the State agencies is something less than absolute were buried forever in July 1963. Wielding a financial nightstick, the Labor Department clubbed down a bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature that would have limited State employment offices to helping only the unemployed and underemployed.

The bill had already sailed through the State senate when the Labor Department moved in. It informed Pennsylvania officials that the legislation raised "serious conformity questions" that could jeopardize Federal funds. There was also the implicit threat that Washington might call its long-standing $192 million loan to the Pennsylvania unemployment compensation fund. Faced with the State's possible bankruptcy, Gov. William W. Scranton discreetly let the bill die in the lower house.

PADDED FIGURES

One State administrator, however, has courageously stood up to USES' ambitious bureaucrats. Willard P. Dudley, director of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, discovered last October that placement figures at the Cleveland employment office were padded. Because of pressure from Washington to increase placements, as many as half of all placements claimed by the office were fraudulent.

Dudley said USES officials deplored releasing the results of his investigation because the agency's appropriation was pending before the Congress.

Padding the figures is, however, apparently nothing new with USES. In Akron, Ohio, 140 placement claims turned out to be jobs an Employment Service supervisor assigned to his three sons, one of whom was simultaneously drawing unemployment compensation. Ward A. Riley, former Employment Service chief in Cleveland, shrugs off the hiking of placement figures as old stuff.

"You'll find that in every employment office in the country," says Riley. "They do it in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Podunk. I don't care where it is. It applies not just to Cleveland, but from Maine to California. It's been the pattern everywhere since the 1930's."

There is more involved in the practice than the natural desire of clerks to justify their jobs. The bogus statistics make it appear as though USES is doing such a fine job that it deserves public support for its expansion. Furthermore, the employment offices work under a quota system imposed on them by the USES hierarchy, and the phony figures help to fill the quota. Under this quota system—which USES officials deny exists but which the manager in Cleveland affirms—local offices are required to register, counsel, test and place a specified number of applicants each month.

Fast action. To all criticism of USES, the bureaucrats have a stock answer: it is "inspired" by fee-charging employment agencies through their National Employment Association. Undoubtedly, private agencies have a deep stake in preventing further USES expansion. NEA has supplied Congress with a good deal of information on the Employment Service's empire building. But the most damaging information about the agency's goal is gratuitously provided by USES officials themselves and their supporters.

This summer USES trotted out a platoon of academic "experts" to pave the way for an even bigger expansionist push with hearings before a House Labor Subcommittee. In monotonous chorus many contended that the only thing wrong with USES is that it still does not have enough power and that employers should be made to register all job openings with the Government. Several have held up Sweden's Socialist manpower monopoly as the shining example America should emulate.

The director of the Colorado State Employment Service, Bernard Teets, has openly boasted: "In 5 years, if we are not hampered by new restrictions, and if we can get adequate funds from Congress, we'll be handling 90 percent of the business. We are not living in a free enterprise system, but rather operating under a controlled economy."

If the American people hope to halt the USES drive toward this kind of regimentation, they will have to act fast and forcefully. Under pressures of the war on poverty, Congress is being cowed into approving ever-increasing appropriations for USES expansion. But there are four steps an aroused citizenry can take to block the Government's mammoth manpower grab:

1. Insist that your Congressmen and Senators vote down funds that fuel USES expansion.

2. Demand that Congress force the Bureau of Employment Security to live within its budget. No fewer than five times since 1954, BES has gone back to Congress for supplemental appropriations totaling $133,305,000.

3. Request your State legislators to pass laws limiting State employment offices to finding jobs for unemployed or partly employed people.

4. Ask that the Federal Government find new ways to make USES more efficient and

effective in carrying out its legitimate task of getting our unemployed back to work.

Unless you take these steps now, you may well find that your most basic freedom—the right to decide your own life career for yourself—will soon be the real battlefield victim of the war on poverty.

Salute to South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the 1st day of November will mark the anniversary in South Vietnam of the revolution that overthrew the regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem. Since the House is not going to be in session at that time, we wish to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to the people of South Vietnam; and to the South Vietnamese Chargé d'Affaires ad interim to the United States, Mr. Phan Khac Rau.

There was hope at the time of the revolt 1 year ago that the change would lead to a stronger and more stable Government. But, instead, it ushered in a year of uneasiness, of twists and turns in the politics of the country. In a period of less than 12 months there have been three different groups of leaders in Saigon. Each of them has taken over the reins of Government by force and so far all have failed to solve the two major problems that jeopardize the future of South Vietnam.

The first of these problems is the threat that is posed by the Communist-led guerrillas, the so-called Vietcong. Backed by Communist North Vietnam and dedicated to destroying the Government in Saigon, the subversive movement has been able to spread its control over large areas of South Vietnam. The struggle has been going on for almost 8 years, but the last 12 months have seen an alarming turn for the worse.

The second problem has been the Government's lack of success in winning the support and allegiance of all the Vietnamese people. It is related, of course, to the first problem. In the rural areas and even in the cities there are some people who do not feel a bond with the Government in Saigon. Some of these are in sympathy with the Communist-led rebels and their goals.

These are the problems that must be solved if South Vietnam and its people are to have a strong and stable Government. Only then can they look forward to the benefits of lasting peace and progress.

As South Vietnam observes the first anniversary of the revolution, we are reminded that there are few people in the world today who have had to fight so steadfastly to uphold their freedom and independence. They are proving again that it is possible to stand up to the forces of Communist aggression and terror. They deserve our admiration and I know that many other Americans join me in saluting them on this important occasion.

Come On In, Politics Is Fine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GAYLORD NELSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, during the 88th Congress, Senator CLAIBORNE PELL has taken an active and leading interest in the problems and challenges confronting our Nation's youth.

Demonstrating his concern for our young people and his desire to stimulate in them a wish for service on behalf of our country is an article in the October issue of Seventeen magazine, entitled "Come On In, Politics Is Fine."

This is a timely and excellent article. I am happy to call it to the attention of my colleagues and ask unanimous consent to place it in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COME ON IN, POLITICS IS FINE

Politics in a democratic country is a reflection of that country's life, of its vitality. The United States, in my judgment, is a vital country. Its politics is vital: sometimes rough and tumble, sometimes misdirected, sometimes immensely idealistic, on occasion motivated by unattainable hopes; but most often keenly practical—and always alive, always subject to change, always moving, never static, never quite the same.

I think the word "politician"—the person who practices politics—has lost its proper meaning. Look it up in the dictionary and you will find that a politician is one "versed or experienced in the science of government." The further synonym of "statesman" is used—although I have found that to be called a statesman, one usually has to be a successful, and no longer active, politician.

It would be difficult to maintain that all who enter our political life are supremely dedicated to the welfare of their fellowman, but neither are all human beings of the highest purpose. The great majority of politicians in a democracy reflect their fellowman, his beliefs or disbeliefs, his philanthropy or his self-interest, his compassion or his callousness. And I have found they usually have a sense of honor, ethics, and service higher than that of their general community. The point is, though, there is always room for improvement among human beings, and that includes not only politicians but the people who elect them—the voters.

Recognizing our shortcomings, we must learn more and more how best to work together—as politicians and as voters—in the great enterprise, the great adventure of strengthening our country and developing its full potentials.

This is a common task and a common goal. In the effort to achieve it, young people can be of enormous assistance. They have the opportunity of shaping the future of our country, but to use this opportunity effectively they will need intelligent minds.

That is why education is so important, and why the school dropout problem must be solved if we are to reach our goal. Our Government must make certain that the finest educational facilities are available to all those who wish to learn. But the wish, the real desire for knowedge, cannot be artificially stimulated. It comes from the individual and from a realization that a partial education, or one cut short unnecessarily, means a partial fulfillment in life, an incomplete share in the benefits our country can provide, a limited contribution to its growth and prosperity. "Profile of Youth," a two-volume report prepared at my request by the Library of Congress, shows that young people who leave school before gaining a diploma—and there will be an estimated 7.5 million of them during the decade of the 1960's—are not necessarily lacking in mental ability. Rather, the breaking off of their education is related to a lack of interest in their work, to a lack of participation in athletics and extraclass activities.

These are enemies to which young people need to direct their attention. Those who believe in education, who clearly recognize its value, can point out the way to others less aware. They can help others to gain that added incentive which can mean the difference between dropping out and staying on, between a successful career and one tragically abbreviated. Some young people are already engaged in just such an enterprise, helping students in poverty stricken areas where the incentive for education is often stunted and where particular understanding is required.

I have an abiding confidence in the ability of intelligent young people to come to grips in meaningful fashion with their own problems. Enlightened guidance from an older generation is, of course, advantageous; but youth is a time of challenge and of self-expression when patterns of the past are examined and perhaps found inadequate, when new and fresh ideas occur. In a free society the youthful spirit of discovery is our greatest resource.

It renews our country's vitality and it keeps our politicians alert in their tasks. It puts a breath of fresh air in the proverbial smoke-filled room, which is becoming less and a symoblic chamber of decision. Both our major parties are looking for young leaders—and so they should.

During my 3½ years in the Senate, I have come to know numbers of young people, almost 200 of them, who have served in the intern program established in my office. My purpose is to help stimulate their interest, their participation in government and politics regardless of party, and in public service. These young people serve as volunteers, not for pay but for the sake of knowledge.

A great many of these teenagers are taking political science courses in Rhode Island colleges. My home State may be relatively small, but I believe I have the largest such program in the Congress.

Two students are with me during each week of the fall, winter, and spring terms. More are with me during the summer, some spending more than a month of their vacations in my office. They are eager to learn at first hand about the processes of Government. They are full of enthusiasm, and, men and women alike, they are full of ideas. They have been an education to me. They have convinced me that in these extremely complicated times in which we live, we need to hear clearly the intelligent voice of youth.

With this in mind, I am now urging the concept of a "dialog with youth" on a nationwide scale, so that young people can have a better forum for expressing their opinions on the issues they believe are most important—on their wants and needs, on the problems and challenges they feel most acutely.

As a further means of assisting young people in all their undertakings, and so that the

problem areas can be more sharply defined and legislative action taken where it would be beneficial, I would like to see established in the Congress a special Committee on Youth.

So let us work together to make our democracy function with true purpose, accepting new ideas and testing their worth, reaffirming old and tested ideals when they remain valid. If all of us embark on this course, we will all become interested, versed, and experienced in the science of government. In the highest meaning of the word, which befits a democratic and free society, all of us will become "politicians."

(CLAIBORNE PELL, 45-year-old freshman Senator from Rhode Island, was elected to the U.S. Senate by the largest plurality in the State's history after becoming the first unendorsed candidate in Rhode Island ever to win a statewide Democratic primary. As a Senator, he has undertaken both official and private fact-finding missions to Cuba, Eastern Europe (including several trips to Berlin), Africa, and Asia.

(Senator PELL, whose father served as Minister to Portugal and to Hungary and as a Member of Congress, is married and is the father of two sons and two daughters.)

Salute to Zanzibar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on November 10, Zanzibar will celebrate the first anniversary of its independence. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take the opportunity now to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Abeid Karume, the President of Zanzibar; and His Excellency Othman Shariff, their Ambassador to the United States.

When Zanzibar celebrates this first anniversary, a year of uneasiness, change, and decision will be in the past. Zanzibar's first year of independence was far from a dull one. Little more than a month after independence a coup d'etat deposed the Arab coalition government, and Zanzibar was proclaimed a republic under an African president. Subsequently, American diplomats were expelled, politicians identified with Moscow and Peking seemed to be in control, and Westerners began talking of Zanzibar as an "African Cuba." Then, by the end of April, just as suddenly, a union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika was proclaimed. Fears of an "African Cuba" were allayed.

The speed with which these events took place surprised even seasoned observers of the African scene, but in a sense perhaps nothing really should seem startling in Zanzibar, for it is a land unique to itself. First, Zanzibar is an island—or rather two islands, Zanzibar and Pemba—which lie off the coast of Africa in the Indian Ocean. Because the islands are on one of the world's most important sea routes, however, they had been discovered and explored when the rest of Africa was still unknown to the world outside the African Continent. As early as the seventh century B.C. Arab traders stopped at Zanzibar on their way to and from the East. Second, Zanzibar's chief industry is an unusual one—the production of cloves. Zanzibar is, in fact, often called "the isle of cloves," for clove trees cover a large part of the islands, and their spicy odor is carried across the islands by the breezes. Cloves account for three-fourths of Zanzibar's export income.

In addition, Zanzibar has a racially mixed population of Arabs and Africans, with the Arabs comprising a small—perhaps 19 percent of the whole population—but influential group. For the most part the owners of clove plantations are Arabs. This racial mixture has contributed importantly to the uniqueness—and volatility—of Zanzibar's politics since independence.

Perhaps the most significant event of Zanzibar's first year of independence was its union with Tanganyika, for it appears that this union has established the basis for a stable but dynamic economic and political development of the "isle of cloves." Under the terms of the union, patterned on the union between Britain and Northern Ireland, Zanzibar has retained its separate identity and has its own Parliament and Government. The powers of the Government of the United Republic, specifically reserved to it, cover foreign affairs, trade, security, immigration, and citizenship. The police of the two countries has already been integrated, and plans call for integration of the armies as well.

On the first anniversary of their independence we congratulate President Karume and the people of Zanzibar on their wise choice in uniting with Tanganyika. We are convinced that union is the best path to more stable and speedier development in east Africa. On this important date we extend our best wishes to the "isle of cloves" for its continuing prosperity.

Senator Humphrey on Farm Policy Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE McGOVERN
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the national cornpicking contest held at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., provided Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, an ideal opportunity to present to farmers and to the Nation the sharp contrasts between the agricultural policies of the Democratic candidates and those of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, Republican standard bearer.

Speaking to his fellow South Dakotans, Senator HUMPHREY reminded his listeners of the dark days of the 1930's, "days of drought, dust, crop failures, and depression," and the historic decisions made by the people and their Government to meet the needs of the people and the land. He spoke of the dreams of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and George Norris, of Nebraska, that became accomplished realities: the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Rural Electrification Administration, the soil conservation systems, and shelter belts of the Great Plains. He spoke of past accomplishments and of new goals to be achieved to develop and strengthen the farm economy. He quoted the words spoken by President Lyndon Johnson to a farm audience in Iowa:

I look forward to the day when we can rely less on cutbacks, and more on programs to sell abroad all we produce above our own needs.

We must get on with the job of stimulating worldwide demand to use our tremendous God-given production.

We will continue to develop new ideas, new approaches, and new solutions.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator HUMPHREY's speech be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY, NATIONAL CORNPICKING CONTEST, SIOUX FALLS, S. DAK.

It is wonderful to be back here where I spent my youth. As a native son, I share with you a love of this land and its people.

It was here in South Dakota and in the rest of the Midwest that historic decisions were made in 1932 and 1936.

We decided to take positive steps to move America forward so that all of us might enjoy a better and more productive life. Now the temporary spokesman of a faction of a fraction of the Republican Party is proposing to reverse that decision.

Senator GOLDWATER tells us he wants to go back to the "good old days." I remember those days of drought, dust, crop failures, and depression—they don't bring back fond memories.

Once the tides of human affairs are running strongly forward, nations which attempt to reverse that flow do so at their own peril. The American people must ask themselves: Shall we continue to move ahead, or shall we turn back—shall we register a failure of nerve?

In the thirties we faced two disasters.

First, we were struck by the Great Depression, with its jobless army of 15 million, its starving children and soup lines, the collapsing banks, the stricken businesses everywhere, the 12-cent wheat, the 5-cent hogs, and farms falling under the foreclosure hammer.

Second, mid-America suffered from the drought of the 1930's. Many of us still remember the drough-stricken years—the dry wells and stream beds, the cropless fields, the burned pastures, the dying cattle, and the dust storms. We can never forget the savagery of those natural forces.

The individual—no matter how rugged—found that he could not cope with those forces, drought and depression.

Alone, individuals were helpless. But united, we could save mid-America.

We reached those historic decisions this campaign will either ratify or reverse. We decided—in 1932 and in 1936—to use the institution of democratic government to help us meet those urgent needs.

The Government was recognized as an instrument of the people, capable of acting for them in crises. And we made this decision consciously and joyously—for we know government is the people.

We are gathered today in one of our country's great river valleys which have been the cradle of so much of our history. But these rivers, too, with their recurrent waste of precious water and soil in devastating floods,

have required the common constructive action of all the people through the processes of democratic government.

In 1936 two famous Americans faced a vast campaign rally a short way down the Missouri from here.

Both men had demonstrated the vitality of democratic government in meeting urgent human needs. Both men had achieved stirring results in harnessing our tremendous river systems and putting them to work for the people.

One man was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The other was George Norris of Nebraska, father of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In 1936, the American people said "Yes" to Franklin Roosevelt and George Norris.

And the people of America also said "Yes" to the system of rural electric cooperatives that light and energize the Nation's farms.

And the people of America said "Yes" to the TVA which is now the model for such systems of flood control, powerplants, irrigation, and navigation as are now a reality on the Missouri.

And the people of America said "Yes" to the nationwide system of soil and water conservation which helped farmers preserve their land.

Rich blessings have come to every American from the wise decisions made in 1936. Before the advent of Roosevelt and Norris, the great Missouri River was more of a threat than a priceless asset. We called it the "Big Muddy" and quipped that it wasn't thick enough to walk on nor thin enough to swim in. While we dreamed of blue-water fish, we fished for bullheads. It was a flooding, foul, and polluted river.

Now it is a powerful resource-rich river, and it will become ever greater unless the clock is turned backward. In the Great Plains around our rivers—once parched and eroded—we find a succession of clean lakes behind the Missouri's power dams—full of fish, available for recreation. We see sailboats and motorboats on trailers everywhere in farmyards and town driveways in the once dry Dakotas.

Wind and water erosion have been checked by soil conservation systems and shelterbelts. Manmade farm ponds sparkle in the sun. Every one of the Missouri's big cities has a modern sewage system either built or in the process of being built.

The once undisciplined river now flows through the powerplants. Everywhere REA electricity from those powerplants lights and gives energy to the Dakota farm homes that for so long were dark and powerless. The REA is a matchless asset to us all.

Need you wonder why this election is looked upon as a time of trial? Senator GOLDWATER comes as a candidate seeking to persuade the country to turn its back on the blessings that have flowed from our learning of the hard lessons of yesterday. Senator GOLDWATER would seek to repeal the past and veto the future.

Senator GOLDWATER says he intends to sell the TVA. He intends to sell this magnificent system that has tamed floods and lighted farms of a vast Southland. The temporary spokesman of the Republican Party opposes REA. He says REA has outlived its usefulness.

His policies would destroy our hopes of expanding the Missouri Valley system, the dams and reservoirs—vital to all of us.

No one can underestimate the importance of your vote on November 3.

The leader of the Goldwaterites intends to make a shambles of agriculture and all related business.

He was the author of these immortal words:

"Doing something about it means—and there can be no equivocation here—prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program."

This declaration has revealed a chasm between him and every nation farm group. It has separated him from the ablest Republican farm spokesmen in Congress. You know that such a Federal policy would bankrupt American agriculture and erode the businesses that depend upon agriculture for their income.

The cries of alarm over his statement have forced Senator GOLDWATER to initiate a predictable series of revisions, retractions and reexplanations. But his votes in Congress, as well as his public statements, show one thing: the Goldwater wrecking crew is ready to roll. And the wreckage would be something to see.

Imagine the impact on the main streets of South Dakota if the American people should ever ratify Senator GOLDWATER's philosophy—getting rid of the farm problem by getting rid of the farmers?

Imagine the empty stores—the empty cash registers. Imagine the farm foreclosures—the abandoned farm houses.

We had a trial run of GOLDWATER's final solution to the farm problem back in the Benson years. Managed deflation of farm prices and income was the policy—and this policy had one objective: to force the farmers off the farms, reduce farm production, and thus eventually boost farm prices and income for the few lucky ones who survived.

And what happened during the Benson years?

In 1960 there were 25 percent less farms than there were in 1952 and the total number of those working on farms decreased 23 percent from 1952 to 1960. Meanwhile, total net income of the remaining farm operators fell 26 percent, and the total personal income of the farm population fell about the same amount.

The merchants lost about 25 percent of their farm customers—and their remaining farm customers had 25 percent less income to spend.

The Benson program came close to meeting its objectives—too close.

But the leader of the Goldwaterites would make Benson look like a bushleager.

Fortunately, America has a far better alternative on November 3.

We have a President with his own family roots deep in the soil. He understands you. He understands your problems. And he cares. That is the most important fact of all. Lyndon B. Johnson cares about American agriculture.

He showed the depth of his understanding during the recent speech in Iowa, when he said: "Farmers want freedom to grow and prosper, freedom to operate competitively and profitably in our present economic system."

"Farmers are farmers in the first place because they have the deep-seated instinct to raise crops, not to cut them back, not to leave the land unproductive.

"America's farmers want and need and deserve—not promises—but more income and more opportunity."

President Johnson is not going to let your farm economy collapse. And neither am I.

President Johnson and I are not just concerned with getting you fair prices for what you produce.

We are even more concerned about developing expanding markets, to make fuller use of your potential to produce. We are determined to improve and broaden our food-for-peace program that has already meant so much to you, the Nation, and the world.

Winning the war on poverty means expanded domestic consumption. Raising living standards of developing countries means large new export markets.

President Johnson has shown his awareness of the future in telling Iowa farmers, "I look forward to the day when we can rely less on cutbacks, and more on programs to sell abroad all we produce above our own needs.

"We must get on with the job of stimulating worldwide demand to use our tremendous God-given production.

"We will continue to develop new ideas, new approaches, and new solutions."

These are the words of President Lyndon Baines Johnson—the man rural America and all of America will keep as President of the United States.

Salute to Tanganyika

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on December 9, the Republic of Tanganyika will celebrate the third anniversary of its independence. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take the opportunity now to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika; and His Excellency Othman Shariff, their Ambassador to the United States.

Although a new republic, the history of the people is long and distinguished. Anthropological discoveries indicate that the land was inhabited by man 14 million years ago, and parts of Tanganyika's coast were known by Persians, Egyptians, and Indians when the Christian era began. In the 19th century Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria were discovered by various explorers, and despite continuous opposition the African country was declared a protectorate by Germany. In the First World War, the British drove out the Germans and Tanganyika became a League of Nations mandate. After the Second World War it became a United Nations trusteeship administered by the British.

Under British rule preparations and training for self-government began that placed the people of Tanganyika in readiness for independence. The legislative council was enlarged and gradually included more and more Africans. The first elections were held in 1958 and in March 1961 a constitutional conference was held to work out the arrangements for independence. On the 9th of December 1961, Tanganyika became an independent country.

The President of the Republic of Tanganyika, and the man who led it to independence, is Julius Nyerere. He came to the United States last year on an official state visit and was hailed as one of Africa's most influential and respected leaders. Son of the chief of a tribe which lives in the region of Lake Victoria, President Nyerere has a master's degree from Edinburgh University and is a Roman Catholic. His constant aim has been to fight three enemies—poverty, ignorance, and disease. He urges his people to help themselves in raising their living standards and building their country.

The land of Tanganyika has been called a wonder to the eye. Kilimanjaro, which is the highest mountain in Africa,

is capped with snow although it is only three degrees south of the equator. Lake Victoria is the second largest freshwater lake in the world, second only to Lake Superior. The scenery changes from tropical shores of sandy white beaches to open savanna abounding with wild life and again to cool highlands.

On April 26, 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged into the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika has long been the champion of federation for all the countries which were once British East Africa. President Nyerere has expressed the belief that the Africans must think in terms of building bigger nations, and that the "balkanization" of Africa should be abolished. The world will be watching to see if the union with Zanzibar is the first step in this direction.

Toward the rest of the world Tanganyika is trying to follow a course of independence and nonalinement. It is a difficult policy to pursue in a world so divided as ours, and we in America should understand that it is a policy which necessarily means the taking of actions which are displeasing to our side as well as, on other occasions, to the other. But the right to take such actions is the meaning of independence, and the essence of a free world.

As Tanganyika completes its third year as an independent nation, we in the United States extend it our best wishes. May the fourth year bring the continued progress which has marked Tanganyika's history till now. May it continue to exercise an important influence in the direction of freedom and peace.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that we in the New Jersey congressional delegation say farewell to the dean of our delegation, the Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS. His retirement after many years of quiet and effective service will affect most particularly those residents of the Third Congressional District, but all of us will miss him. For 22 years this House has been fortunate to know this man and to share his wisdom and his humor.

My own ties to JIM AUCHINCLOSS have been close since I first ran for office in 1952. At that time, and until 1962 when that area was made into a new district, he and I shared responsibility for Middlesex County. He has been an invaluable adviser and personal friend whom I shall miss greatly.

Like all of us here regardless of party, I join in wishing JIM well in his years of retirement. I know that he will remain close enough so that we who have relied on him these many years will still be able to learn and profit from his political ideals. He was a great member of this House; he remains a great citizen of this land.

Navy-Marine Residence Foundation a Worthwhile Undertaking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Navy-Marine Resident Foundation is a most worthwhile undertaking. An article by Mrs. Virginia Weldon Kelly, a member of the board of trustees of the Foundation, entitled, "Proposed Navy-Marine Residence Will Be Especially for Widows," has recently appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and other newspapers. This interesting and timely article gives general information concerning the Foundation and plans for construction in the Washington area of a 300-unit Navy-Marine residence to be known as Vinson Hall.

Administrative director of the Foundation is Vice Adm. Laurence H. Frost, U.S. Navy, retired, and the Foundation's present address is building 54, U.S. Naval Observatory, Wash.

In order to give this worthwhile undertaking general circulation, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mrs. Kelly be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with the letter from the Honorable CARL VINSON, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee to Mr. William C. Allen; and statements endorsing the Foundation by the Honorable Paul H. Nitze, Secretary of the Navy; Adm. David L. McDonald, Chief of Naval Operations; and Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps; along with a copy of the current list of members of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROPOSED NAVY-MARINE RESIDENCE WILL BE ESPECIALLY FOR WIDOWS

(By Virginia Weldon Kelly)

WASHINGTON.—President and Mrs. Johnson have been invited to serve as sponsors of the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation. The invitation was extended by William C. Allen, president of the board of trustees, a U.S. Naval Academy graduate, class of 1929.

This reporter predicts the President and First Lady will accept, for they have always been compassionate to the elderly and those in limited financial circumstances.

The proposed tax-free, charitable, and nonprofit Navy-Marine residence will house 300 widows of regular Navy and Marine officers; widows of Reserve officers who die on active duty or retire after at least 20 years of active duty; retired officers (men and women) and their spouses; and retired officers, on a space-available basis. The minimum age requirement is 62.

The Air Force plans to build a residence. The Army already has a distaff residence functioning successfully.

The Navy-Marine residence will be named Vinson Hall, honoring the retiring chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Representative CARL VINSON, Democrat, of Georgia, who has served 50 years in Congress—longer than any other man in the history of this country.

This is the first time that Representative VINSON has ever permitted any building or project to be named for him. He has endorsed the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation.

The next chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Representative MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, has given complete endorsement to the project.

Representative CRAIG HOSMER, Republican, of California, has also endorsed the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation. The California Congressman, a World War II veteran, and captain, U.S. Naval Reserve, is always among the first to help widows of servicemen, the elderly, and those in need.

Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze has said, "The foundation has my enthusiastic support as a much needed and worthy undertaking."

The Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. David L. McDonald said, "Most Navy and Marine officers make the best provision they are able against the day when their wives may suddenly be left alone * * * but it is generally recognized that even these best efforts may not be enough."

The Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr. said, "The career of a military officer is primarily one of service rather than one of reward. All too frequently retired officers and especially widows of officers find themselves approaching their golden years with no suitable place to live.

"The Foundation is a worthy undertaking. It is sponsored by capable and responsible individuals. It has begun on a sound financial basis but needs assistance to continue. It merits the support of all of us. The Marine Corps is squarely behind this project."

The Coast Guard has been invited to full participation. The Commandant, Adm. Edwin J. Roland has endorsed the project, even though the decision has not yet been made as to whether the Coast Guard will participate.

It is hoped the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia; Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi; second ranking member of the committee; Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and powerful on the Appropriations Committee, will also endorse the foundation.

In his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 29, Representative HOSMER said Vinson Hall will fill a great need and that:

It will be a clublike residence charging reasonable costs commensurate with the ability to pay.

The project has sponsorship of the highest caliber. Vice Adm. Laurence H. Frost, U.S. Navy, retired, is administrative director of the foundation.

Fleet Adm. Chester Nimitz is honorary chairman, and Fred Bantz, former Navy Under Secretary, is chairman of the National Fundraising Committee.

When completed, Vinson Hall will cost about $4½ million. Its building loan will be paid from income and no contributive funds will be used for support of any resident who is financially able to pay his own way. As a tax-free organization, at least one-third of its residents must receive at least partial assistance.

The Navy and Marine officers' wives clubs, servicewide, have raised $120,000 through contributions, bazaars, and membership subscriptions to start the Residence Found-

ation on its way. The foundation's Welfare Committee carries on the work of disseminating information and fundraising.

This committee is chaired by Mrs. A. M. Shinn, wife of Admiral Shinn, and has as its advisers: Mrs. David L. McDonald; Mrs. Horacio Rivero, wife of the Vice Chief of Naval Operations; and Mrs. B. J. Semmes, Jr., the wife of Vice Admiral Semmes, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Manpower and Personnel.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.,
October 1, 1964.

Mr. WILLIAM C. ALLEN,
President, Board of Trustees,
Navy-Marine Residence Foundation,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ALLEN: I have your letter of October 1, 1964, in which you inform me that the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation plans to establish a dignified residence of 300 units for elderly widows of officers, retired female officers, and a limited number of couples of retired Navy and Marine officers.

For 50 years, it has been my great privilege to know many of the great men of our Navy and Marine Corps who have contributed so much to the security of this Nation. I shall always cherish my association with the many outstanding officers who have served in our Navy and Marine Corps and who have added so much to the magnificent record of our naval history.

It is honor enough that I can claim friendship with so many of these distinguished officers but when you ask that I permit your Foundation to name this residence "Vinson Hall," I am humbled by the great honor you pay me.

When I consider the Navy and Marine officers of the past and present who are far more worthy of this recognition, you will understand my humbleness in agreeing to your request.

Nevertheless, I am of course most flattered that you have selected my name.

Please extend my very deep apreciation to all members of the Foundation and to those who are contributing so much of their time, effort, and money to the success of this Foundation for this high distinction which you have bestowed upon me.

Sincerely,

CARL VINSON,
Chairman.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington, August 14, 1964.

The Navy-Marine Residence Foundation is incorporated in the District of Columbia and was certified on December 19, 1963, as a tax free, nonprofit and charitable foundation. It will provide elderly persons according to need, on a nonprofit and charitable basis, with housing facilities specially designed to meet their needs.

The Foundation has been mostly ably promoted since 1961 by the Navy and Marine Officers' Wives' Clubs. They have raised over $120,000 through contributions, bazaars, and membership fees.

The Foundation has my enthusiastic support as a much needed and worthy undertaking.

PAUL H. NITZE.

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

Most Navy and Marine Corps officers make the best provision they are able against the day when their wives may suddenly be left alone. Most similarly provide for their own advanced age. But it is generally recognized that even these best efforts may not be enough.

The whole purpose of the Navy-Marine Residence Foundation and the facilities they aspire to build is to help close this gap for those elderly retired officers and/or their spouses who need help.

The plans of the Foundation are attractive and impressive. But, as we all know, this job must be done without appropriated funds. I fully support the efforts of the Foundation, the Navy and Marine Officers' Wives' Clubs whose labors have built up the existing fund, and all others who in the future will lend a hand to the ultimate success of the task.

DAVID L. MCDONALD.

HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS,
Washington, D.C., August 18, 1964.

The career of a military officer is primarily one of service rather than one of reward. All too frequently retired officers, and especially widows of officers, find themselves approaching their golden years with no suitable place to live.

The Navy-Marine Residence Foundation, a chartered, tax free, nonprofit organization, has undertaken to provide suitable retirement housing for elderly career retired Navy and Marine Corps officers, both regular and reserve, and their wives or widows.

The Foundation is a worthy undertaking. It is sponsored by capable and responsible individuals. It has begun on a sound financial basis, but needs assistance to continue. It merits the support of all of us. The Marine Corps is squarely behind this project.

WALLACE M. GREENE, Jr.,
General, U.S. Marine Corps.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: NAVY-MARINE RESIDENCE FOUNDATION, INC.

Mr. William C. Allen, U.S. Naval Academy, 1929, president.
Rear Adm. Preston V. Mercer, U.S. Navy, Retired, vice president.
Vice Adm. Stephen R. Edson, U.S. Navy, Retired, treasurer.
Capt. Will J. Davis, Jr., U.S. Navy, Retired, secretary.
Rear Adm. H. Lamont Pugh (MC) U.S. Navy, Retired.
Rear Adm. A. C. Husband (CEC), U.S. Navy.
Rear Adm. F. J. Harlfinger, II, U.S. Navy.
Lt. Gen. R. H. Pepper, US. Marine Corps, Retired.
Rear Adm. James O. Cobb, U.S. Navy.
Capt. Viola B. Sanders, U.S. Navy (Wave).
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Mrs. A. M. Shinn.
Mrs. R. F. Skylstead.
Mrs. Virginia Weldon Kelly.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to our friend and colleague, JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey, who has announced his intention of retiring from the House of Representatives at the close of this 88th Congress. I note that he has spent the greater part of his life in the public service, with his congressional career having given him the opportunity to act on all the major issues of our time. In carrying out his duties, he has given an example of sincere adherence to his convictions that has benefited all of us who have had the privilege of serving with him, on the floor of the House and in the committee rooms. I join his many friends in wishing him all happiness and good health in the enjoyment of his well-earned rest from the arduous task facing every Congressman—that of serving both conscience and constituents well and truly.

Mauritanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on November 28, 1964, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania will celebrate the 4th anniversary of its independence. Since the House will not be in session at this time, we wish to take the opportunity now to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, the Mauritanian Prime Minister; and the Mauritanian Ambassador to the United States, Ahmed-Baba Miske.

Four years have passed since Mauritania obtained its independence. In those 4 years the prospects for success have grown from dim to bright, and the people of Mauritania are to be congratulated.

Geographically Mauritania forms as bridge between north and west Africa. Bordered on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, most of its area is arid desert. In the south, however, there is a fertile valley watered by the Senegal River. Except for the farmers in the Senegal Valley, most of Mauritania's population of some 650,000 have traditionally been nomads, herding camels, goats, sheep, or other animals in the desert interior.

In its long history Mauritania experienced a succession of plunderings and conquests, but the independent spirit of the people was never eradicated. The Moors trace their history back to the 10th century, and as early as the 15th century they had contacts with the West. In the middle of the 19th century the French won Moorish tribal support, and in 1904 the territory became a French colony. It was then administered as one of the territories of French West Africa until, in a referendum of 1958, the people of Mauritania voted to become autonomous within the French community. Finally on November 28, 1960, the Territorial Assembly formed itself into a Constituent Assembly and proclaimed the birth of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

Since it achieved independence the development of Mauritania has been described as dramatic. Under French rule Mauritania had been administered from Saint-Louis in Senegal. At the end of 1957 the then Prime Minister and now President Moktar Ould Daddah declared that it was essential that the new capital be within Mauritania. Nouakchott was chosen as the site for the new capital because of its nearness to the ocean, proximity to agricultural and mining regions, and historical significance. Since then

the new creation has grown to a modern city of 10,000 residents. Where formerly there was empty sand and a small administrative post, there can now be found a parliament, courts, schools, markets, dwellings, paved streets, city water, and electricity.

Other accomplishments of the new republic include the mining of some 6 million tons of iron ore annually, transporting it by modern railroad, and exporting it from a modern seaport. They include the building or strengthening of national institutions, such as a school system, an army, civil service, and a presidential form of government. Rapidly the attributes of a modern unified nation are being acquired.

Some of the success in Mauritania may be attributed to good fortune, such as the discovery of a major deposit of high-grade iron ore and a deposit of copper ore. Some of the success may be attributed to outside assistance, particularly from France. Most of the credit, however, belongs to the people of Mauritania and their leaders. Through diligence, sacrifice, and determination, they are laying firm foundations for a stable society with continuous economic growth. On the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, I join with the American people in wishing the Mauritanians continued success.

The Fate of the Urban Renewal Rehabilitation Loan Program Appropriation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, a vital section of the Housing Act of 1964 has been left without funds as a result of the conference committee action on the supplemental appropriations bill this week. I know that this unfortunate and unnecessary delay will disapoint thousands of homeowners and small businessmen throughout the country now threatened by the urban renewal bulldozer. It is also a deep disappointment to the members of both parties in Congress who have worked so hard to provide new hope for these citizens. As the author of this approach, I am particularly disturbed that an executive agency, the Bureau of the Budget, placed itself in the position of telling the Congress when and if it could have a program Congress designed. That the conferees, through lack of time and study, followed the lead of the Bureau rather than of the Senate is to be regretted.

The story of this rather unique legislative development is worth relating in sequence both for the benefit of my colleagues and the public and for those scholars who have an interest in the legislative process. It begins with passage of a $50 million, low interest rate, 20-year rehabilitation loan program in the Housing Act of 1964, by the House. The Senate, although it had not considered this provision either in committee or on the floor, accepted the program in conference, with several worthwhile suggestions by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, added to it.

When the President signed the act into law, he took special heed of the new rehabilitation provision which he said would be of great assistance to those now in the path of the bulldozer. It appeared, at this point, that the battle had been won. In fact, there was so much bipartisan support for this provision, as the House debate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 13 indicates, that there was never any controversey over the program.

Senator DOUGLAS, however, was immediately concerned over the funding for the program, and on August 19, 1964, he wrote to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Kermit Gordon, urging that funds be provided for the program in the next supplemental appropriations bill. I will include at this point the text of his letter:

AUGUST 19, 1964.

Hon. KERMIT GORDON,
Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GORDON: The omnibus housing bill which the Congress has just passed contains a new 3-percent direct loan program to rehabilitate structures in urban renewal areas. This program was originally proposed by Congressman WIDNALL and Senator TOWER. Along with other Democrats, I strongly supported, in conference, this new 3-percent loan plan. I believe that it will prove to be a vital tool in helping to generate the rehabilitation of blighted areas in the Nation's urban centers. This new bipartisan program is, in my opinion, one of the two or three most important provisions in the new housing bill.

However, I am aware that in the past there have been ideological objections by some of the technicians in the Budget Bureau to any program which provides for direct Government loans and a below-market interest rate, regardless of the merits of the particular legislative proposal. Therefore, I am concerned that the Budget Bureau might not push as vigorously as it should to see that this program is amply funded through the appropriations process in the forthcoming supplemental appropriations bill.

I hope that you will review immediately the history of the existing programs for rehabilitation of properties in urban renewal areas and the merits of this new 3-percent direct loan program. The existing rehabilitation loan programs for urban renewal areas are not working very effectively. It is imperative that new approaches to help rehabilitate these urban renewal areas receive the highest priority. I believe the facts will demonstrate that the Budget Bureau ought to give top priority to assuring that an ample appropriation is approved for this new program this year.

If, on the basis of such a review of this new program, there should still be any reservations on the part of the Budget Bureau about pushing ahead immediately to assure that this program will be funded to the fullest extent this year, I would appreciate it if you would contact me so that we could discuss this matter in more detail.

With best wishes.

Faithfully,

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

On September 4, 1964, I wrote to the Budget Director also urging the funding of the program, and I include that letter at this point:

SEPTEMBER 4, 1964.

Hon. KERMIT GORDON,
Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GORDON: This past Wednesday, President Johnson signed into law the Housing Act of 1964. In so doing, he made particular mention of the new 3-percent direct loan program for rehabilitating homes and businesses in urban renewal areas. The President pointed out that this new program would give new hope to those citizens who otherwise would have to move from the path of the bulldozer.

As the originator of this approach, I am deeply concerned with its future effectiveness. Senator DOUGLAS, in his letter of August 19 to you, ably sketched the reasons why this program and sufficient funds to operate it are needed. I join him in urging you to see that the Bureau of the Budget provide ample funds for the programs operation in any supplemental appropriation recommendations.

I would appreciate it if you would keep me informed of Budget Bureau developments with respect to this program.

Very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
Member of Congress.

On September 12, the Budget Director sent a reply to Senator DOUGLAS and a copy of that reply to me, rejecting our requests and putting off until at least next year a program originated by Congress and passed and signed into law. The text of Mr. Gordon's letter follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., September 12, 1964.

Hon. PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DOUGLAS: Thank you for your letter of August 19, 1964, relating to the new direct loan program for rehabilitation in urban renewal areas authorized by the Housing Act of 1964.

We agree that rehabilitation must be a key element in a national program of urban renewal, and that lack of adequate financing has on occasion hindered rehabilitation projects. Private lenders are often reluctant to make loans under $6,000 or $7,000 at reasonable interest rates. Some home owners in urban renewal areas cannot afford to take on new debt. The administration, as you know, proposed a new program of FNMA purchase of low-interest-rate loans to elderly home owners in urban renewal areas to help them rehabilitate their homes. The new loan program contained in the Housing Act of 1964 can help fill a gap in the urban renewal program.

There are, however, a number of difficult problems that have to be worked out in connection with this direct loan program. For example, care will have to be taken to assure that the owner of a property restored to good condition with a 3-percent loan does not capitalize the interest subsidy and make an unwarranted profit in selling his property. The provision allowing loans to tenants for rehabilitation could, if administrative regulations are not carefully drawn, result in windfall gains to landlords who have refused to cooperate in rehabilitating their property.

Although $50 million is a large sum of money, it will not provide loans for a large number of units. If the average loan (business and home) is $5,000, loans can be made only to 10,000 borrowers. Rehabilitation was begun on more than this number of housing units in urban renewal areas in the last 6 months of 1963, the last period for which figures are available. The legislative history is clear that loans should be made only to those who cannot afford or cannot get other

financing. It will not be easy to devise and enforce regulations to assure that undeserving borrowers do not receive loan funds which should be reserved for those in need.

It is not yet clear how the Housing and Home Finance Agency will organize to administer the new loan program. If the program is to succeed, a strong and capable organization will be required to administer it. Although HHFA is engaged in many loan and loan insurance programs, none of its constituents is now equipped to make direct loans to individuals. Neither is HHFA experienced in making small business loans.

These problems are of course not insuperable, but the solutions have not yet been developed. In this situation, we believe it would be premature to go immediately to the appropriations committees for funds to operate the program. The appropriations committees will, quite properly, want answers to these questions before recommending the necessary appropriations.

We are now working with HHFA to find the solutions to the problems involved. We hope to be in a position to recommend to the President that he request a 1965 supplemental appropriation for this program when he submits his budget in January.

If you have any additional questions about our approach to this program, I will be glad to discuss it with you further.

Sincerely,

KERMIT GORDON,
Director.

The efforts of those who were interested in this new and necessary program, and in returning the legislative initiative to the Congress where it rightfully belongs, continued. On September 23, 1964, I wrote to the President, recalling his words when he signed the bill into law, and asking President Johnson to send a special request to the Senate for the appropriation. My action was based on the fact that the House the day before had passed the supplemental appropriations bill without any funds. The reason for this lack of funds was indicated in a colloquy I had with the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMAS] on the floor on September 22. I include that exchange at this point, followed by my letter to the President:

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ask a question of either the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] or the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMAS] with respect to the supplemental appropriations for the Housing and Home Finance Agency. We just passed a housing bill by one of the largest votes that I can recall in the time that I have spent in the Congress. President Johnson pointed out in his message at the time he signed that bill that one of the few new programs was the $50 million rehabilitation loan program that was addressed to helping the low-income people and the small businessman and the tenants and property owners who were being bulldozed out of the urban renewal areas. Is there anything in this bill for this program and did the administration request any funds for that purpose?

Mr. THOMAS. It is my understanding there is no budget estimate for it at this time.

Mr. WIDNALL. There is no request from the administration?

Mr. THOMAS. It is a very popular program and I am sure our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OSTERTAG] will advise you that when we get a budget estimate, we will go into it very carefully. You have two or three of these rehabilitation programs and we think they are all starting off pretty well. We want to congratulate the gentleman from New Jersey and his committee for the program. I am sure there is no disposition on the part of our subcommittee to scuttle it.

Mr. OSTERTAG. May I join the gentleman from Texas in responding to the gentleman from New Jersey and say that our subcommittee has received no formal budget request for these funds.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 23, 1964.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: When you signed the Housing Act of 1964 on September 2 you said "It provides new support for greater success in the future. The plight of property owners in urban renewal areas is recognized in this measure. Provision is made so that they can rehabilitate their homes and businesses instead of having to move from the path of the bulldozers."

The rehabilitation program which you so accurately described requires a budget appropriation of $50 million. In a colloquy with Representative ALBERT THOMAS, chairman of the Independent Offices Appropriation Subcommittee, on the floor of the House on Tuesday of this week, I was informed that there has been no budget request to fund this program made by the administration at this time. Thus an opportunity has now been lost with the passage by the House of the final Independent Offices supplemental appropriation bill, H.R. 12633, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, to gain an early start on this much needed program. The only remaining hope for it to be rapidly implemented lies in your hands.

In view of the interest you have publicly expressed in this legislation, its bipartisan support in the House and Senate, and the strong need for this urban renewal rehabilitation program, I am confident that you will want to recommend to the Senate the steps necessary to make this program an immediate reality.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
Member of Congress.

As I said later in the debate on September 22, at page 21733 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I had hopes of action in the Senate to restore this regrettable oversight. On September 25 I received a reply from the White House from Lawrence F. O'Brien, Special Assistant to the President, to my letter asking for help in funding this program. The reply indicated a routine buckslip operation on the part of the White House, sending my letter to, of all places, the Budget Bureau. I include the reply at this point:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 25, 1964.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: For the President, may I acknowledge your letter of September 23 regarding funds to implement the provisions of the Housing Act of 1964.

Your recommendation that a request for supplemental appropriations be submitted to the Congress has been called to the attention of the Bureau of the Budget.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN,
Special Assistant to the President.

In a remarkable display of bipartisanship and statesmanlike action Senator DOUGLAS continued his efforts to secure funding for the program on the Senate side. It was decided that the best place to try to add it on to the bill would be on the Senate floor. Senator DOUGLAS, and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, my Republican colleague from New York, cosponsored an amendment to add $10 million to the supplemental appropriations bill for a start on the program. The amendment passed with full bipartisan support, as can be seen by reading the Senate debate of October 1, 1964, on this amendment, at page 22570 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Senator SALTONSTALL, speaking for the Senate minority, and Senators SPARKMAN and CLARK of the majority, actively supported the measure.

Despite these efforts, the provision of funds was dropped in conference committee in the rush to adjourn. I am sure it was not for lack of Republican support. Those in need of assistance to rehabilitate their homes must now wait upon the whim of the Bureau of the Budget. I can only hope that a program, designed to lower costs, both in economic and human terms, of the urban renewal program, will not be overlooked in any misguided attempt to economize. A third supplemental appropriations bill is clearly called for in January when we reconvene.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency has indicated its interest in this program, which is directly connected with the effectiveness of the new code enforcement program and the new stress on rehabilitation authorized in the Housing Act of 1964 also. I cannot believe that there was any real substance to the claim by the Bureau of the Budget that the difficulty of providing regulations for the program necessitated delay.

There certainly can be no reason to delay this program any further. I would hope that the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Urban Renewal Administration will take this program into account in reviewing plans for urban renewal projects so that as little time is lost as possible. And I trust that this same Agency will push for funds for this program. There is certainly no lack of support for it on either side of the aisle here in Congress.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. McLOSKEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been a privilege and an honor for me to have been able to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives with Congressman JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS of the Third District of the State of New Jersey.

Upon my assignment to the Public Works Committee of which JIM was ranking Republican member, he went out of his way to be helpful in teaching me the work and the proper way to handle legislation under consideration. All of us on the committee, from both sides of the political aisle, shall miss his wisdom, patience, and good humor. JIM AUCHINCLOSS has indeed been a friend to all of us.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS has served his constituency and the Nation ably and well for 22 years and I join with his many friends here in the Congress in wishing him good health and great happiness in his retirement from the House of Representatives.

Report to the Seventh District, Chicago, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, if any Congress is fairly entitled to claim a high place in the historical annals of lawmaking, in the total public interest—the 88th Congress certainly has written an enviable record in the fields of education, conservation, civil rights, and veterans' legislation.

For personal reasons necessitating my retirement, this is my last report to the residents of the seventh District, Chicago, Ill. It has been a privilege and an honor to serve as your Representative, in the Congress of the United States. I find it a most difficult task to prepare this final report, and bid you adieu as your public servant.

In completing my fourth term in the Congress, I am most appreciative of having had the opportunity, made possible through the efforts of the great political leaders and their organizations, comprising the most efficient and active precinct captains and workers in the Nation, to apprise the electorate of my sincerity and earnestness of purpose to serve in the public interest.

It has been a provocative and educational experience. I have enjoyed the pleasant association with all my colleagues, regardless of party, and resulted in developing friendships that I shall cherish all my life. Many of my colleagues took time on the floor of the House to compliment me on my work—as I stood listening in my favorite corner, called by our late and distinguished Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, the "Cherokee Strip," the splendid encomiums, garnished with adjectives in the superlative degree, commending me—I honestly wondered just who they were talking about. I must confess that, even though I did not deserve their high praises, it did tickle my vanity. I feel deeply grateful to each one, and thank each for this generous, proferred kindness to me.

Speaker MCCORMACK is a master of logic in debate. He speaks convincingly and with a deep sense of sincerity, characteristic of his nature.

His religious convictions of propriety instill one with a feeling of complete trust in his positive statements. As Speaker, he seldom takes the floor, unless an important bill, sponsored by the administration, is in heated controversy. Then, as a seasoned legislator, he proceeds cautiously in the treatment of the subject matter, much like the old professor—modulating his voice, with the words flowing in slow cadence. Suddenly, as though the sharpness of his alert mind, accelerated by pregnant thought of the seriousness of the issue—the forensic ability of the eloquent orator sparks out the words of warning, with bitterness and scalding sarcasm.

And then, in sonorous tones, he extolls the purposes of the bill in the public interest and, later, with soft, mellifluous-tongue words, pleads for its enactment. He is truly the master of the spoken word.

I enjoyed his every confidence and I am indebted to him for his advice and support. You can be sure that no one leaves the gallery or the floor during his magnificent performances.

Both as majority leader and as Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK] has had a difficult chore. With the former Speaker, Sam Rayburn, at the helm, as a team the Democratic delegation splits on legislation were rare—except where local questions or States rights interfered with party solidarity. Yet, to the surprise of everyone—the new leadership, consisting of Speaker MCCORMACK, Majority Leader CARL ALBERT, and the Whip, HALE BOGGS, have directed, successfully, the administration-sponsored legislation, even though sectional division made the issue controversial.

The quality of successful leadership is best measured in the success of the program. The team worked wonders, although no one should minimize the tremendous influence of President Lyndon Johnson, whose record as majority leader under President Eisenhower endeared him to the powerful Republican leadership—resulting in bipartisan cooperation on many issues.

Majority Leader CARL ALBERT has functioned superbly as majority leader. His brilliant treatment of the subject matter under discussion was learned and analytical. It reflects the training he received as a Rhodes scholar. He is friendly, understanding and cooperative. Although quiet, cool, and deliberate, when aroused can be vituperous and deadly in repertoire. He is a fine, able leader, and has earned the respect, admiration and confidence of the Congress.

The whip, the gentleman from Louisiana the Honorable HALE BOGGS, added stature to the strength of the leadership. He is clever in debate and realistic in presenting facts to support his reasonable contentions. His loyalty to the party is unquestioned. His agile mind and sterling presentation on controversial questions has turned the tide in favor of legislation that otherwise would have been defeated. He is a man of courage, and fearlessly debated on questions that were sensitive to the local opinion of his electorate, but he could disagree without being disagreeable.

The important work of the Congress is accomplished in the committee. If the committee fails to act, the legislation is doomed. On the other hand, if agreed to favorably by the majority of the committee and reported, the legislation very seldom fails to pass. Unless the committee reports it, passage becomes a myth.

I was fortunate in being assigned to two important committees of the Congress—Judiciary and Veterans' Affairs. The members who comprise these committees are specialists in their fields. These mental giants cannot be denied their importance in setting up policy, closely based on public interest.

There is one authority on veteran matters in the House of Representatives, Chairman OLIN E. TEAGUE, undoubtedly the recipient of the most praises when the pleases the wishes of service organizations, and the most abused when the administration rejects new proposals necessitating increased appropirations. He is an individual blessed with patience, cool reserve, and understanding. He has fought through the years valiantly with the administrations, the Bureau of the Budget, the Senate, and even members of his committee to push through legislation for the veterans in need of hospitalization, raise in pensions, expansion of facilities, housing and special legislation for the totally handicapped, widows and orphans, to say nothing of increased bed quotas, medical personnel increases, medical school proximity to Veterans' Administration facilities and out- and in-bed patient care—nursing homes.

As an honored veteran for distinguished service in World War II, he completely reflects a great service to the Nation and its veterans in the Halls of Congress. He carries the respect and admiration of everyone. I am greatly indebted to him and the members of the committee for selecting H.R. 1927, the Libonati bill amending title 38 of the United States Code, to revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children and for other purposes, enacted into Public Law 88–664. I shall miss the friendly faces and sincere interest and cooperation of my pals, the Honorables "FATS" EVERETT, DULSKI, DORN, HALEY, BARING, MCDOWELL, KORNEGAY, ROBERTS, SECREST, ROONEY of Pennsylvania, MARSH and BROWN together with AYRES, ADAIR, FINO, SAYLOR, TEAGUE of California, HALPERN, SCHADEBERG, ELLSWORTH and my neighbor, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. BROMWELL].

The Committee on the Judiciary receives about three-fifths of the legislation introduced, especially in the area of claims against the Government at all levels of Government operation, including the military.

Chairman MANNY CELLER thrives on controversial measures. He is a man of total energy. No one realizes what a workhorse he is. It is impossible to measure the great vitality, both mentally and physically, of this legal genius. He handles his committee in classroom style. The great judgment that he is endowed with makes itself the dominant influence in committee recommendations. He is a tough opponent, and it immovable from his position once he makes up his mind. He also can outthink, talk, and confound the opposition. By nature and

disposition, he is loyal to friends and considerate of foes. His advice is judicious, and his interest is genuine. He belongs to the team, and lives by the record. His cleverness is unmatched in legalistic thinking. Some of his provincial expressions are cryptic, yet devastating. He is one of the most studious and smartest legislators in Congress for decades. His word is good, and his utterings are honest and to the point. He can become as stubborn as a mule, and will equally kick back the opposition with hard blows. His name is carried on more legislation than anyone who ever served in the Congress of the United States. As a liberal, he is the spearhead of his people, and enjoys the admiration and respect of the Congress and the people of the Nation. He never hesitates to join in battle. He is a man of courage and will fight alone if necessary. His imagination is as broad as he is resourceful. He will help a foe in trouble, as well as a friend. He is one of the few men in Congress who has dedicated his full life to his work.

Hours of time spent in legislative pursuits are never counted by this great servant of the common people. He is dedicated to their interests, and seldom does a bill leave his committee recommended against his will or opposition. As a diplomat, he has no equal, and as a friend, no greater strength can benefit a man. His subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER], the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. ASHMORE], and the deceased lamented and distinguished patriot Mr. Walter, succeeded by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN], are respectful of his position, and cognizant of his power. He has at times used a sledge hammer instead of a gavel. Strong leadership requires, and expects, cooperation. All in all, this spirited human, a great storyteller, and chuck-full of anecdotes, loves the human family, and has served its interests throughout his long career.

I regret my departure and loss of association with my colleagues on this most important committee. I have learned to value their profound legalistic abilities in shaping legislation for the Nation.

I salute and embrace my friends and intimates of the Committee on the Judiciary Messrs. CELLER (chairman), FEIGHAN, CHELF, WILLIS, RODINO, FORRESTER, ROGERS of Colorado, DONOHUE, BROOKS, TUCK, ASHMORE, DOWDY, WHITENER, TOLL, KASTENMEIER, GILBERT, CORMAN, ST. ONGE, SENNER, EDWARDS, MCCULLOCH, MILLER of New York, POFF, CRAMER, MOORE, MEADER, LINDSAY, CAHILL, SHRIVER, MACGREGOR, MATHIAS, BROMWELL, KING of New York, and MARTIN of California.

The analysis expertly prepared in the first session has received lukewarm public commendation on its record of accomplishments. Well meaning critics have commented on a flaw here and there—especially in certain important areas of inaction, and others in the committee stages of consideration—either shelved or delayed. Yet, in the main, what had been enacted was good and in the public interest. A number of proposals presented to the Congress were new in legal concept and required involved study; numerous hearings whereat hundreds of witnesses were heard, both pro and contrary to the proposals for legislative enactment. Several of such hearings started in the first session, were completed during the second session—1964—such as medicare, Youth Corp, tax reform, civil rights, and so forth, and received the attention of the Congress during the second session. The record of the 1st session of the 88th Congress follows.

First. Presidential recommendations: Congressional and Senate action in the 88th Congress to date.

Second. Appropriations for fiscal 1964 as of December 20, 1963:

PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATIONS—CONGRESSIONAL AND SENATE ACTION IN THE 88TH CONGRESS TO DATE

With the new recommendations submitted by President Johnson, there have been a total of 129 legislative recommendations. There are 15 appropriations including the 2 supplementals for fiscal 1963. The combination makes a total of 144. There are three on which specific draft legislation has not been submitted: Narcotics control, user charges—fuel and air freight, and urban affairs department. Excluding these 3 we have a total of 141. Based on 141, the following figures apply:

	Percent
Action completed	63 or 44
Conference report filed	1 or .70
Passed Senate	30 or 22
Total	94 or 66.70

ACTION STATUS OF PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATIONS (LEGISLATIVE: 126*—APPROPRIATIONS: 15)—SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE, 88TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Recapitulation: Action completed (63), conference report filed (1), passed Senate (30), Senate Calendar (2), passed House (2), House Calendar (7), Committee action (21), no action (14), rejected (1), no legislation (3).

ACTION COMPLETED (62)

1. AEC authorization, Public Law 88–72.
2. AEC supplemental authorization, Public Law 88–189.

Appropriations

3. Agriculture supplemental for 1963, Public Law 88–1.
4. Supplemental, 9163, Public Law 88–52.

Fiscal year 1964

5. Agriculture, Public Law 88– .
6. Defense, Public Law 88–149.
7. District of Columbia, Public Law 88– .
8. Foreign aid appropriations, Public Law 88– .
9. Independent offices, Public Law 88– .
10. Interior, Public Law 88–79.
11. Labor-HEW, Public Law 88–136.
12. Legislative, Public Law 88– .
13. Military construction, Public Law 88– .
14. Public works, Public Law 88– .
15. State, Justice, Commerce, judiciary, Public Law 88– .
16. Supplemental for HEW, Public Law 88– .
17. Treasury-Post Office, Public Law 88–39.
18. Civil Rights Commission extension, Public Law 88–152.
19. Clean Air Act, Public Law 88–206.
20. Corporate-excise tax extension, Public Law 88–52.
21. District of Columbia fiscal affairs, Public Law 88–104.
22. District of Columbia National Cultural Center, Public Law 88–100.
23. Disarmament Agency—increased authorization, Public Law 88–186.
24–25. Education: Exceptional children—teachers, Public Law 88–164; higher education, Public Law 88–204; Manpower Training Act Amendments, H.R. 8720, Public Law 88–214. Medical education, Public Law 88–129; vocation education—National Defense Education Act—impacted areas, Public Law 88–210.
29. Equal pay for women, Public Law 88–38.
30. Export-Import Bank extension, Public Law 88–101.
31. Feed grains, Public Law 88–26.
32. Foreign aid authorization, Public Law 88–205.
33. Foreign Service buildings, Public Law 88–94.
34. Housing for elderly—increased authorization, Public Law 88–156.
35. Kennedy 50-cent coin, H.R. 9413, Public Law 88–.
36. Mental health, Public Law 88–164.
37. Mental retardation—child health, Public Law 88–156.
38. Military construction authorization, Public Law 88–174.
39. Military pay, Public Law 88–132.
40. Military procurement authorization, Public Law 88–28.
41. Outdoor recreation, Public Law 88–29.
42. Peace Corps expansion, Public Law 88–200.
43–45. Public debt—increase ceiling; To August 30, 1963, Public Law 88–30; to November 30, 1963, Public Law 88–106; to June 29, 1964, Public Law 88–187.
46. Railroad labor dispute; Public Law 88–108.
47. Railroad retirement amendments; Public Law 88–133.
48. Reorganization plan I—Roosevelt Library; effective July 1926.
49. Silver Policy Repeal; Public Law 88–36.
50. Space authorization; Public Law 88–113.
51. Tax on air passenger transportation—extend at 5 percent; Public Law 88–52.

CONFERENCE REPORT FILED (1)

1. Pacific Northwest Power, S. 1007.

PASSED SENATE (30)

1. Airport construction extension (August 26), House Calendar.
2. Area redevelopment (June 26), House Calendar; Rule hearing September 24.
3. Dairy program (October 10).
4. Equal time suspension; House Joint Resolution 247 (October 2).
5. International air rates, S. 1540 (November 26).
6. Juvenile Delinquency Act extension (September 25), House subcommittee approved October 8.
7. Land-use adjustments, S. 1588 (October 11).
8. Kennedy Art Center, Senate Joint Resolution 136 (December 18).
9. Library services and construction, S. 2267 (November 26).
10. Mass transit (April 4), House Calendar.
11–14. Migratory labor, four bills: S. 521, S. 523, S. 524, S. 525.
15. National Council on the Arts, S. 2379 (December 19).
16. National Defense Education Act, extend loan forgiveness provision, S. 569. (October 24).
17. National Service Corps. (August 14), House Labor Subcommittee approved December 11.
18. President's Transition Act, passed Senate, amended October 17.
19. Public defenders (August 6), House Calendar.
20. River basin planning, (December 4).
21. SEC amendments, (July 30) House hearings November 19–21, December 3–5.

22–24. Shorelines: Lake Mead—House Calendar, Canyonlands, Ozark national rivers.
25. Sleeping Bear Dunes, S. 792. (December 19.)
26. U.N. Participation Act amendments, (December 6.) House Calendar.
27. Water pollution control. (October 16) House Public Works hearings, December 4–6, 10, 11.
28. Water resources research program (April 23) House Interstate Subcommittee approved December 5.
29. Wilderness. (April 9.)
30. Youth employment. (April 10) House Calendar—Rule requested April 22.

SENATE CALENDAR (2)

1. Inter-American Development Bank, H.R. 7406; agreement to vote January 14, 1964.
2. International Development Association, S. 2214; agreement to vote January 14, 1964.

PASSED HOUSE (2)

1. Coffee agreement—implement (November 14) H.R. 8864.
2. Reorganization Act extention (amended) (June 4), Senate Government Operations Committee.

HOUSE CALENDAR (7)

1. Adult basic education, H.R. 5542.
2. Civil Rights Act of 1963, H.R. 7152.
3. Equal employment opportunity, H.R. 405. Senate Labor Committee, executive, December 12.
4. Interest equalization tax, H.R. 8000.
5. Land conservation fund, H.R. 3846.
6. Patent fee increase, H.R. 8190. Rule hearings, December 16.
7. Pay bill, H.R. 8986.

(See Passed Senate: Airport construction, rule hearings December 16; area redevelopment; Lake Mead; Library Services, rule hearings December 16; mass transit; migratory labor, contract registration; public defenders, rule hearings December 4; U.N. Participation Act; youth employment. House Calendar.)

COMMITTEE ACTION (21)

1. Airports—Dulles and National—management. House Interstate Committee executive consideration underway.
2. Bureaus of Community Health and Environmental Health in NIH—create. H.R. 2410: House Interstate Committe hearings April 23–26; May 14, 15; June 10.
3. Civil service retirement financing, S. 1562; Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee hearings concluded August 14.
4. Cotton subsidy. H.R. 6196: Passed House December 4; Senate Agriculture Committee hearings May 20, 27.
5. District of Columbia home rule. H.R. 5794; House District of Columbia Committee hearings November 18–20.
6–8. Education: Cooperative research. H.R. 8406; House Education Committee ordered reported August 27. Elementary and secondary school construction. H.R. 5344; House subcommittee hearings underway. Teacher quality, H.R. 6013; House subcommittee reported August 27.
9. Fallout shelters. H.R. 8200: Senate Armed Services Subcommittee hearings adjourned subject to call December 13.
10. Food stamp plan. S. 1387; Senate Agriculture Committee. H.R. 8107; House Agriculture Committee, executive October 30.
11. Foreign Affairs Academy. S. 865: Senate Foreign Relations Committee markup July 10. H.R. 3668: House Foreign Affairs Committee.
12. Housing for elderly—make single persons eligible for moderate income housing. S. 1170: Senate Banking Committee hearings October 2–4.
13. Medicare. S. 880: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 3920: House Ways and Means Committee hearings November 18–22; suspended until next session.
14. Minimum wage coverage expansion. H.R. 5958, H.R. 6075; House Labor Subcommittee hearings underway.
15. National forest roads and trails. S. 1147: Senate Public Works Subcommittee concluded hearings July 31; executive August 15.
16. Presidential Commission on Automation. Senate Joint Resolution 105: Senate Labor Committee hearings suspended December 5.
17. Stockpile disposal. S. 2272: Hearings March 7, 1962, January 30, 1963, December 3, 4.
18. Tax reform cut. Passed House September 25. Hearings October 15 through December 10; executive started December 12.
19, 20. Transportation policy (two bills). S. 1061, S. 1062; Senate Commerce Committee hearings concluded October 24. H.R. 4700, H.R. 4701; House Interstate Committee executive October 15–17; November 12.
21. Watershed Act Amendments—multiple use. S. 566: Senate Agriculture Committee hearings June 3.

NO ACTION (14)

1. Air carriers—limit subsidy payments. S. 1884: Senate Commerce Committee.
2. Bank accounts—savings and loans—increase insurance coverage. S. 1799: Senate Banking Committee will wait for House. H.R. 7404: House Banking Committee.
3. Civil defense—foodstuffs stockpile. S. 1711: Senate Armed Services Committee. H.R. 5121: House Armed Service Committee.
4. Food and drug amendments. H.R. 6788: House Interstate Committee.
5. General university extension. H.R. 1779: House Education and Labor Committee.
6. Group practice facilities—mortgage insurance. S. 1426: Senate Labor Committee. H.R. 4534: House Interstate Committee.
7. Hill-Burton Act—extension and expansion. S. 894: Senate Labor Committee.
8. Immigration amendments. H.R. 7700: House Judiciary Committee. S. 1932: Senate Judiciary Committee.
9. Mental health—vocational rehabilitation. S. 968: Senate Labor Committee.
10. Political campaign tax incentives. H.R. 7306. House Ways and Means Committee.
11. Public welfare work-training. S. 1803: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 7262: House Ways and Means Committee.
12, 13. Social security amendments. S. 1357, 1358: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 5839, 5840: House Ways and Means Committee.
14. Unemployment compensation—permanent program. S. 1542: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 6339: House Ways and Means Committee.

REJECTED (1)

1. District of Columbia rapid transit, December 9—recommitted.

NO LEGISLATION (3)[1]

1. Narcotics control. President reviewing Advisory Commission report.
2. User charges—fuels—air freight.
3. Urban Affairs Department.

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS FISCAL YEAR 1964 AND SUPPLEMENTALS FOR 1963 AS OF DECEMBER 20, 1963

Enacted into law (14): Defense, District of Columbia, foreign aid, independent offices, Interior, Labor-HEW, legislative, military construction, public works, State-Justice-Commerce-Judiciary, supplemental for HEW, Treasury-Post Office-Executive Office, Agriculture supplemental, 1963, supplemental, 1963.

In conference (1): Agriculture.

SUBJECT REPORT OF PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATIONS (LEGISLATIVE: 126[1]—APPROPRIATIONS: 15) SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND STATUS

1. Feed grains program (B, SPM January 31), Public Law 88–26.
2. Cotton program (B, SPM January 31), H.R. 6196, passed House December 4. Senate Agriculture Committee hearings, May 20–27.
3. Dairy program (B, SPM January 31), S. 1915, passed Senate October 10. Additional, House hearings, September 17, 18.
4. Expand food-stamp program (B, SPM January 31), S. 1387, Senate Agriculture Committee. H.R. 8107, House Agriculture Committee, executive, October 30.
5. Amend Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to permit development of available sites for multipurpose use (SPM January 31), S. 566, Senate Agriculture Committee hearing, June 3.
6. Land-use adjustments—raise limitation (SPM January 31), S. 1588, passed Senate October 11. H.R. 6491, House Agriculture Committee hearings, June 24–27.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT

7. Area redevelopment—increase limitation (B), S. 1163, passed Senate June 26. House Calendar (rule hearing, September 24).

ATOMIC ENERGY

8. AEC authorization, 1964. (*) Public Law 88–72.
9. AEC supplemental authorization, 1964. (*) Public Law 88–189.

CIVIL RIGHTS (SPM FEBRUARY 28, JUNE 19)

10. Omnibus. S. 1731: Senate Judiciary hearings started July 16; recessed September 11, H.R. 7152: House Calendar (rule requested November 27). Discharge petition filed December 9. Rule hearings start January 9. S. 1732: Public accommodations—Senate Commerce ordered reported October 8. S. 1750: Omnibus minus public accommodations—Senate Judiciary hearings started July 16; recessed September 11.
11. One-year extension of Civil Rights Commission; Public Law 88–152.
12. Equal employment opportunity, S. 773, S. 1210, S. 1211; Senate Labor Subcommittee approved September 16; executive December 12. H.R. 405: House Calendar.
13. Public defenders, (SU), S. 1057: passed Senate August 6. H.R. 7457: House Calendar (rule December 4).
14. Immigration amendments. (B) S. 1932, Senate Judiciary Committee; H.R. 7700, House Judiciary Committee.
15. Equal pay for women. (*) Public Law 88–38.
16. Manpower Training Act amendments—postpone date of matching requirements and increase fiscal year 1964 authorization; illiterate training and age reduction, Public Law 88–214.
17. Public welfare work training, S. 1803, Senate Finance will wait for House. H.R. 7262, House Ways and Means Committee.

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

18. Strengthen National Transportation Policy, (B, SU, E) S. 1062, Senate Commerce hearings concluded October 24. H.R. 4701, House Interstate executive October 15–17, November 12.
19. Minimum rate transportation. (B, SU, E) S. 1061, Senate Commerce hearings concluded October 24. H.R. 4700. House Inter-

[1] Not included in totals for Presidential recommendations.

[1] Excludes 3 which have not had specific proposals submitted.

state executive October 15–17, November 12.
20. Urban mass transit ($500 million, 3-year program—$100 million first year) (B, E, SU), S. 6, passed Senate April 4; H.R. 3881, House Calendar (Rule hearings concluded June 13).
21. Extend airport construction program (B), S. 1153, passed Senate August 26. House Calendar.
22. Consolidate management of Dulles and Washington National Airports (B), H.R. 826. House Interstate executive underway.
23. National forest roads and trails. (*) S. 1147, Senate Public Works Subcommittee markup August 15.
24. International air fares. (E/C) S. 1540, passed Senate November 26. H.R. 6400, House Interstate.
25. Limit right of certain air carriers to receive subsidy payments. (*) S. 1884, Senate Commerce.

DEFENSE

26. Fallout shelter program. (B), H.R. 3200, passed House September 17. Senate Armed Services special subcommittee hearings adjourned subject to call December 13.
27. Military pay increase—effective October 1, 1963 (B), Public Law 88–132.
28. Military procurement authorization. (*) Public Law 88–28.
29. Extend universal military training to July 1, 1967 (B), Public Law 88–2.
30. Authorize Secretary of Agriculture to provide essential foodstuffs for civil defense needs (B), S. 1711, Senate Armed Services; H.R. 5121, House Armed Services.
31. Stockpile disposal (B), S. 2272, Senate Armed Services hearings December 3, 4.
32. Military construction. (*) Public Law 88–174.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

33. Increase existing authorizations governing appropriations to District of Columbia; authorize Federal loans (B), Public Law 88–104.
34. Home rule, S. 1650, Senate District of Columbia Committee; H.R. 5794, House District of Columbia Committee hearings, November 18–20.
35. Rapid transit system for District of Columbia (SPM May 27), S. 1647, Senate District of Columbia Committee; H.R. 8929, House recommitted December 9—278 to 76.
36. National Cultural Center extension. Public Law 88–100.
37. Vocational education—amended to include National Defense Education Act and impacted areas extension, Public Law 88–210.
38. Higher education, Public Law 88–204.
39. National Defense Education Act—extend loan forgiveness, S. 569, passed Senate October 24.
40. Library services and construction, S. 2265, passed Senate November 26; H.R. 4879, House Calendar.
41. Exceptional children—teachers, Public Law 88–164.
42. Cooperative research, H.R. 8408, ordered reported August 27.
43. Adult education, H.R. 5542, House Calendar.
44. Teacher quality, H.R. 6013, House subcommittee reported August 27.
45. Elementary and secondary education, H.R. 5344, House subcommittee hearings underway.
46. General university extension, H.R. 1779, House Education and Labor Committee.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

47. Improve financing of Civil Service retirement system (B), S. 1562, Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee concluded hearings August 14.
48. Kennedy Art Center (E/C) Senate Joint Resolution 136, passed Senate December 18.
49. Revise silver policy (E), Public Law 88–36.
50. Bank deposits—savings and loans, increase insurance coverage. (*) S. 1799, Senate Banking will wait for House; H.R. 7404, House Banking.
51. National Council on the Arts, S. 2379, passed Senate December 19.
52. Kennedy 50-cent piece, E/C December 10, H.R. 9413, Public Law 88– .

HEALTH

53. Hill-Burton Act—extension and expansion, S. 894, Senate Labor.
54. Medical school aid—doctors, dentists, nurses, Public Law 88–129.
55. Create new Bureaus of Community Health and Environmental Health, H.R. 2410. House Interstate Committee hearings, April 23–26; May 14, 15; June 10.
56. Group practice medical and dental facilities, S. 1426; Senate Labor. H.R. 4534; House Interstate.
57. Food and drug amendments—consumer protection, H.R. 6788; House Interstate Committee.
58. Air pollution control, Public Law 88–206.
59. Water pollution control, S. 649: Passed Senate October 16; H.R. 3166: House Public Works Committee hearings, December 4–6, 10, 11.
60. Narcotics control (B), Presidential reviewing Advisory Commission report; excluded from total since specific proposal has not been submitted.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

61. Urban Affairs Department, establish (B), excluded from total since specific proposal has not been submitted.
62. Increase present maximum authorizations for direct housing loans for elderly and moderate income families (B, SPM February 21); Public Law 88–158.
63. Amend 1961 Housing Act to make single elderly persons eligible for housing financed under section 221(d)(3) (SPM February 21); S. 1170; Senate Banking Committee hearings, October 2–4.

INTERNATIONAL

64. Enlarge resources of International Development Association (B), S. 2214: Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, November 15, December 4; Senate Calendar; H.R. 9022, House Banking and Currency Committee hearings, December 3.
65. Nuclear test ban treaty, ratified September 24.
66. Authorize U.S. Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to vote for an increase in the Bank's authorized capital stock (B), Public Law 88–178.
67. Authorize $50 million payment as U.S. share of Fund for Special Operations of Inter-American Development Bank (B), H.R. 7406, Senate Calendar.
68. Extend life of Export-Import Bank to June 30, 1968, to increase its resources (B), Public Law 88–101.
69. Foreign aid authorization for fiscal 1964, Public Law 88–205.
70. Foreign Service buildings program (B), Public Law 88–94.
71. Establish National Academy of Foreign Affairs (B), S. 865, Senate Foreign Relations markup July 10; H.R. 3668, House Foreign Affairs Committee.
72. Disarmament Agency authorization increase, Public Law 88–186.
73. Coffee Agreement, International (SPM-68), ratified May 21.
74. International Coffee Agreement—implement, H.R. 8864, passed House, November 14. S. Finance.
75. Amend U.N. Participation Act to give President wider discretion in assignments. (*) S. 949, passed Senate, December 6, H.R. 6283. House Calendar (in Rules).
76. Consular convention with Korea, ratified October 22.
77. Consular convention with Japan, ratified October 22.
78. Protocol to amend International Civil Aviation Convention, ratified October 22.
79. Extradition treaty with Sweden, ratified October 22.
80. Extradition treaty with Israel, ratified October 22.
81. Amend extradition treaty with Brazil, ratified October 22.
82. Chamizal Treaty, ratified December 17.

LABOR

83. Unemployment insurance, permanent program (B, E), S. 1542, S. Finance. H.R. 6339): House Ways and Means Committee.
84. Extend minimum wage coverage (E), H.R. 5958, 6075; House Education and Labor Subcommittee hearings started November 20.
85. Railroad retirement amendments (B), Public Law 88–133.
86. Migratory agricultural workers—fair labor standards. (*) S. 523, passed Senate June 11.
87. National Advisory Council on Migratory Workers. (*) S. 525, passed Senate June 10.
88. Registration of interstate farm labor contractors. (*) S. 524, passed Senate June 11. H.R. 6242, House Calendar (in Rules).
89. Educational opportunities—migratory farmworkers. (*) S. 521, passed Senate June 10.
90. Railroad labor dispute (SPM July 22), Public Law 88–108.
91. Presidential Commission on Automation. (*) Senate Joint Resolution 105, Senate Labor Committee hearings started November 15, adjourned subject to call December 5.

MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM (SPM FEBRUARY 5)

92. Maternal and child health and mental retardation planning amendments of 1963, Public Law 88–156.
93. Mental health community centers and retardation, Public Law 88–164.
94. Expand Vocational Rehabilitation Act to include programs for mentally retarded, S. 968, Senate Labor Committee; H.R. 5194, House Education Committee.

NATURAL RESOURCES

95. Land conservation fund, including user fees (facilities and water transportation) (B), H.R. 3846, House Calendar; Senate Interior Committee hearings concluded March 8; executive, August 26.
96. Reserve necessary power supplies for Pacific Northwest (B), S. 1007, conference report filed.
97. Outdoor recreation. (B, SU), Public Law 88–29.
98. Water resources research program (B), S. 2, passed Senate April 23; House Interior Subcommittee approved December 5.
99. River basin planning (B), S. 1111, passed Senate December 4.
100. Wilderness bill (B), S. 4, passed Senate April 9, House Interior Committee.

SHORELINE AREAS (B)

101. Canyonlands, S. 27, passed Senate August 2.
102. Lake Meade National Recreational Area, Ariz., S. 653, passed Senate August 2; H.R. 4010, House Calendar.
103. Ozark National Rivers, S 16, passed Senate October 21, House Interior Committee, executive, December 4.
104. Sleeping Bear Dunes, S. 792; passed Senate December 19.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

105. Political campaign tax incentives, H.R. 7308; House Ways and Means Committee.
106. Presidential Transition Act. (*) H.R. 4638; passed Senate, amended October 17.
107. Equal time suspension. (*) House Joint Resolution 247; passed Senate, amended October 2.

PUBLIC DEBT

108. Temporary $307 billion debt limit through June 30, 1963; $309 billion through August 30, 1963 (B), Public Law 88-30.

109. Temporary increase in debt limit to November 30, 1963 (E, B), Public Law 88-106.

110. Temporary $315 billion debt limit through June 29, 1964 (E, B), Public Law 88-187.

REORGANIZATION

111. Extend President's authority to transmit reorganization plans to Congress, (B) H.R. 3496: Passed Senate, amended June 4; Senate Government Operations Committee.

112. Reorganization plan I—Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (SPM May 27), plan effective July 26.

113. Amendments to SEC Act. (*) S. 1642: Passed Senate July 30. H.R. 6789: House Interstate Committee hearings, November 19-21, December 3-5.

SALARY ADJUSTMENT AND REFORM

114. Pay legislation (B. SPM April 29), H.R. 8986: House Calendar. Senate Committee hearings, September 4.

SENIOR CITIZENS (SPM FEBRUARY 21)

115. Medicare—effective January 1, 1965. Pay benefits for those not covered by social security from regular appropriations. S. 880: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 3920: House Ways and Means Committee hearings, November 18-22. Suspended until next session.

116. Amend the Social Security Act to provide assistance in development of new or improved programs to help older persons through grants to the States for community planning and services for training, through research, development, or training project grants, through grants for construction or recreational activity centers, and through grants to stimulate employment opportunities. S. 1357: Senate Finance Committee. H.R. 5840: House Ways and Means Committee.

117. Improve public assistance provisions of Social Security Act relating to aged individuals. S. 1358: Senate Finance Committee, H.R. 5849: House Ways and Means Committee.

SPACE

118. NASA authorization for 1964. (*) Public Law 88-113.

TAXES

119. Tax cut and reform (B, SPM January 25), H.R. 8363: Passed House September 25; Senate Finance hearings October 15-December 10. Executives started December 12.

120. Temporary interest equalization tax (SPM July 18), H.R. 8000: House Calendar.

121. Extend excise taxes to July 1, 1964, and corporate rates to December 31, 1963 (B), Public Law 88-52.

USER CHARGES

122. Extend air passenger transportation at 5 percent, Public Law 88-52.

123. Effective January 1, 1964, enact user charges: (B) (a) 2 cents a gallon on all fuels used in commercial air transportation, including jet fuels; (b) 5 percent on air freight; (c) 3 cents a gallon on all fuels used in general aviation; (d) 2 cents a gallon on all fuels used in transportation on waterways. Excluded from total since specific legislation has not been submitted.

124. Increase patent fees (B), H.R. 8190: House Calendar.

VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES

125. Increase benefits of children and dependent parents of veterans who died as a result of military service (B), Public Law 88-21.

YOUTH (SPM FEBRUARY 14)

126. Youth Employment Act, S. 1: Passed Senate April 10. H.R. 5131: House Calendar. (Rule requested April 22.)

127. Establish National Service Corps, S. 1321: Passed Senate August 14. H.R. 5625: House Labor Subcommittee. Approved December 11.

128. Peace Corps expansion ($180 million). Public Law 88-200.

129. Juvenile Delinquency Act extension, S. 1967: Passed Senate September 25; H.R. 5866: House Labor Subcommittee. Approved October 8.

(Symbols: SU, state of Union message; B, budget message; E, economic message; SPM, special message; (*) in accord with the President's program; P/S, passed Senate; P/H, passed House; E/C, Executive communication.)

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS, FISCAL YEAR 1964, AND SUPPLEMENTALS FOR 1963, AS OF DECEMBER 20, 1963

Enacted into law (15): Agriculture, Defense, District of Columbia, foreign aid, independent offices, Interior, Labor-HEW, Legislative, military construction, public works, State-Justice-Commerce-judiciary, supplemental HEW, Treasury-Post Office-Executive Office, Agriculture supplemental, 1963, and supplemental, 1963.

RECORD OF 88TH CONGRESS

This year Congress convened on January 9 and on January 14 the biennial struggle over rule 22, the cloture rule, kept the Senate occupied until February 7, thereby delaying committee assignments until February 14. In the meantime, on February 6, the House Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on the President's tax cut and reform proposal. After many months of hearings and 80 executive sessions, the House sent the bill to the Senate on September 25. Although hearings have been completed and Executive consideration underway, it will possibly be late January before the Senate can complete action on the bill.

One of our earlier actions this year was to authorize President Kennedy to proclaim Sir Winston Churchill an honorary citizen of the United States. It was an unusual action to give tangible form to the high esteem in which the 88-year-old former Prime Minister of Britain, the son of an American mother, is held in this Nation.

Another of the early actions of 1963 was to give statutory authority to the Interior Department's Outdoor Recreation Bureau which had been established by Executive order in 1962 to formulate a nationwide outdoor recreation plan.

In order to obtain more effective Federal performance on scientific and technological programs, the Senate, on March 8, took positive action to establish a Commission on Science and Technology. By April 10 the Senate had sent to the House a bill establishing a Youth Conservation Corps and a Home Town Youth Corps in answer to the President's special message on February 14 in which he said:

"To the extent that the Nation is called upon to promote and protect the interests of our younger citizens, it is an investment certain to bring a high return, not only in basic human values but in social and economic terms."

Prior to action on the Youth Conservation Corps, the Senate, on April 4, passed the mass transit bill, authorizing $375 million in grants based on the concept of $2 in Federal grants for every $1 in local or other non-Federal funds, to establish a long-range program of assistance to urban areas in solving their mass transportation problems. In the President's letter of February 18 to Congress, he stated:

"Urban mass transportation is one of the most urgent problems facing the Nation and the Congress. * * * Nearly three-fourths of our citizens live in urban areas, which occupy only 2 percent of our land, and if mass transit is to survive and relieve the congestion of these cities, it needs Federal stimulation and assistance."

On April 9 the Senate passed a bill establishing a national wilderness preservation system, placing 8.2 million acres of national forest, already classified as wilderness, permanently in the wilderness system and an additional 57.2 million acres of public lands conditionally in the system.

By April 23 the Senate had acted on an administration bill guaranteeing electric consumers in the Pacific Northwest first call on hydroelectric energy generated at Federal plants in that region. On the same day the Senate completed action on another administration bill establishing water resources research centers at land-grant colleges and State universities to stimulate a national program of water research.

Since 1946 the Congress has had before it a recommendation to require equal pay for equal work, regardless, of sex. President Kennedy, in signing the bill into law on June 10, said:

"I am grateful to those Members who worked so diligently to guide the Equal Pay Act through the Congress. It is a first step. It affirms our determination that when women enter the labor force, they will find equality in their pay envelopes."

The Senate took rapid action on the President's request to ratify the International Coffee Agreement, making the United States a party to the agreement. This action was designed to stabilize coffee prices and insure exporting countries that their foreign exchange reserves would not be severely depleted by low coffee prices on the world market.

Early in the year, President Kennedy sent down his special message on "Mental Illness and Mental Retardation," calling for a bold new approach by Federal, State, and local governments to combat mental disability. The Senate, on May 27, approved part of this request by completing action on a bill expending facilities for treatment of mental disabilities. The President in his message pointed out that there were currently 800,000 patients in mental institutions across the Nation, including 200,000 who are retarded; altogether, an estimated 5 or 6 million Americans are mentally retarded and need assistance. Facilities, in turn, are needed to provide this assistance.

Congress sent the late President a law responding to his request for amendments to the Social Security Act to provide additional Federal assistance to States and communities in preventing and combating mental retardation, by providing for both new grant programs and expansion of the existing maternal and child health and crippled children's programs. In this measure we also included a program for training teachers of exceptional children.

On June 10 of this year the late President sent down his omnibus civil rights message in which he said:

"I am proposing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted—preferably as a single omnibus bill—the most responsible, reasonable, and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fairminded men."

The House Judiciary Committee reported its bill a few weeks ago, and it is now before the House Rules Committee—with a discharge petition filed on December 9. Although final action will not be taken on this measure until early next year, a 1-year extension to the Civil Rights Commission was voted together wtih additional funds to carry on this valuable work.

The Senate took final action on an administration request authorizing Federal judicial circuits to establish a public defender system at public expense, citing the 1963 Supreme Court ruling in *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* in which the Court stated:

"That Government hires lawyers to prosecute and defendants who have money hire lawyers to defend are the strongest indications of the widespread belief that lawyers in criminal courts are necessities, not luxuries."

The life of the Export-Import Bank was extended for 5 years, and its borrowing authority was increased to $8 billion. The limitation on outstanding loans, guarantees, and insurance was also increased to $9 billion, as well as an increase to $2 billion in the maximum amount allowable at any one time for insurance and guarantees.

After debate disclosed that during the past 10 years the U.S. fishing industry had dropped to fifth place in the total world catch and was currently facing a crisis, the Senate, this year, authorized a 5-year program of $28,250,000 in matching grants to the States to promote State commercial fishery research and development projects.

Congress succeeded in clearing a badly needed pay raise for the military, amounting to approximately $1.2 billion a year, effective on October 1, 1963, the first such raise for the military since 1958.

And on August 14 the Senate completed action on an administration bill establishing a domestic National Service Corps patterned after the Peace Corps and authorizing $15 million for the 2-year pilot program.

On July 22 President Kennedy sent to Congress a proposal that solutions to the 4-year-old work-rules dispute between railroad management and labor over the composition of traincrews be submitted to the ICC. On August 28, just 6 hours before a nationwide rail strike was to begin, President Kennedy signed into law a resolution creating an ad hoc seven-member arbitration board to resolve the two primary issues—manning the traincrews and firemen on diesel locomotives—thus averting a nationwide strike. This action marked the first time in peacetime labor relations that Congress imposed arbitration in a labor-management dispute.

In the area of education, it has been said that the 88th Congress has "the greatest record in the field of education in the history of this Nation." In response to the President's request he was sent, on September 12, the medical training aid bill authorizing a 3-year program of matching Federal grants for construction or rehabilitation of medical, dental, and related professional schools and a 6-year loan program for students of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy. Similar legislation had been considered without success by every Congress since 1951. Two additional bills requested by the late President have been signed into law by President Johnson. One authorizes a 3-year $1.2 billion program of grants and loans for construction of college academic facilities at public and private higher education institutions. The other is a vocational education bill authorizing new matching grants to the States to expand vocational education programs while extending the National Defense Education Act and the impacted areas program. In addition, the Senate has completed action on a library services bill to increase Federal aid for expanding public library improvements to urban as well as rural areas and to authorize matching grants for construction of public library buildings. At the same time Congress has extended the provisions of title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 relating to cancellation of loans, to teachers in private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools and in institutions of higher education.

Finally, there has been enacted a Clean Air Act authorizing $95 million over a 4-year period to provide a greatly expanded national effort to control air pollution through research, the establishment of pollution and control agencies, and legal action to halt existing causes of pollution.

With action hoped for next year on the tax cut proposal, the civil rights program, and aid for the aged in ill health, the most far-reaching impetus in many decades toward social and economic improvement within the Nation and toward a more stable peace in the world, will have received a sound legislative base. In cooperation with President Johnson, the Congress will strive to complete this base as a lasting testament to the life and work of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th President in the service of the people of the United States.

Below is a detailed description of our 3-year review highlights, which includes Presidential recommendations and measures initiated by the Congress.

YEAR 1963

Feed grains: Extends through 1964 and 1965 crop years the feed grains program in effect in 1962 and 1963, providing price supports for producers who make voluntary acreage reduction. Public Law 88–26.

Dairy program: Clarifies Secretary of Agriculture's authority to provide for allotments under milk marketing orders so that producers will receive a higher return on milk covered by allotments and a lower return for milk in excess of allotments, instead of a uniform blend price. (S. 1915, passed Senate October 10.)

Mexican farm labor: Extends the Mexican farm labor program to December 31, 1964; Public Law 88–203.

Federal crop insurance coverage: Expands the Federal crop insurance to permit it to be offered in 150 additional counties. (S. 277, passed Senate August 28.)

Agricultural development in Alaska: Authorizes a $1,250,000 Alaskan farmland development program to aid in clearing, draining, shaping, and conditioning land for crop production and pastures. Limits maximum payments to $125,000 for any one year. (S. 623, passed Senate June 25.)

Tobacco allotment leasing authority: Extends for an additional 2 years the authority to transfer, by lease, tobacco acreage allotments from one farm to another within the same county for a more economical operation; Public Law 88–68.

Misuse of relief feeds: Establishes civil and criminal penalties for misuse of feed made available for relieving distress or to preserve and maintain foundation herds. (S. 400, passed Senate June 25.)

Producer livestock programs: Permits voluntary programs for promotion, research, and education relating to livestock. Public Law 88–61.

Agricultural experiment stations: Authorizes Federal assistance to States, on a matching basis, to help finance additional research facilities at State agricultural experiment stations; Public Law 88–74.

Rice acreage allotments: Permits a rice producer permanently withdrawing from rice production to transfer his history for allotment purposes without transferring his land (as required by existing law). S. 1604, passed Senate July 22, H.R. 3742, House Calendar.)

Rice acreage: Validates all 1956–62 crop rice acreage allotments properly apportioned on the basis of producer history and allocates to the farm by the county committee in good faith; applies only in States where rice allotments are made on the basis of the producer's history of rice production; Public Law 88–160.

Conservation reserve—Land-use adjustment: Increases the limit on annual payments under the land-use adjustment program from $10 to $20 million; and authorizes extension of conservation reserve contracts (soil bank) through 1965 which expire in 1963 and 1964. (S. 1588, passed Senate October 11.)

Youth employment: Authorizes a 5-year program to employ and train jobless youngsters between the ages of 16 and 22 in a youth conservation corps and a hometown service corps. (S. 1, passed Senate April 10; H.R. 5131, House Calendar.)

Manpower Training Act amendments: Waives the State matching requirement for fiscal 1965 and extends the act for 2 additional years with the requirement that States match one-third and one-half, respectively, in fiscal years 1966 and 1967; authorizes training in education at the basic level for those unable to qualify for occupational training provided evidence exists of intention to undertake training and for this group an additional 20 weeks of training allowances are authorized; provides for the expansion of the program by lowering the age limit for youth training allowances from 19 to 17, subject to a restriction of a 1-year waiting period for school dropouts, by increasing the proportion of youth receiving training allowances to 25 percent of those receiving allowances and restricts the allowances to those in special youth training projects; and authorizes $50 million in new funds for fiscal 1964 and $100 million for fiscal 1965; Public Law 88–214.

District of Columbia fiscal affairs: Authorizes a permanent annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia of $50 million. Increases the borrowing authority from a flat $75 to $175 million; Public Law 88–104.

Area redevelopment amendment: Authorizes an additional $455 million in Federal funds for loans in urban and rural areas and public facility grants. (S. 1163, passed Senate June 26; House Calendar.)

Public works planning: Authorizes an additional $10 million for Housing and Home Finance Agency's program of advances for public works planning. (S.J. Res. 129; passed Senate November 19.)

Public debt ceiling: Places a ceiling of $307 billion for the remainder of fiscal 1963 and $309 billion through August 31, 1963; Public Law 88–30.

Public debt ceiling: Extends the temporary debt limitation of $309 billion to November 30, 1963; Public Law 88–106.

Public debt ceiling: Raises the celing to $315 billion to June 29 , 1964; Public Law 88–187.

Duty-free allowance: Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1965, the $100 exemption from import duties allowed on foreign goods brought back from outside the United States, but continues the $200 exemption for the Virgin Islands until April 1, 1964, when it will drop to $100; Public Law 88–53.

Tax-rate extension: Continues for 1 year, to July 1, 1964, present corporate tax rate of 52 percent and the present rates of excise tax on distilled spirits, beer, wine, cigarettes, passenger cars, automobile parts and accessories, general telephone service, and transportation of persons by air; Public Law 88–52.

Unemployment tax rates: Eases Federal unemployment insurance taxes established to repay the Government for extra compensation payments made to unemployed workers between 1957 and 1960; Public Law 88–174.

Accrued vacation pay—deductible: Extends to January 1, 1965, period during which accrued vacation pay may be deducted as a business expense for income tax purposes even though liability to a specific individual has not been established; Public Law 81–153.

Unemployment tax: Reduces the 1963 tax for unemployment compensation and readjusts allotments to States for administrative expenses; Public Law 88–31.

Taxes: Permits deduction for child care by a wife who has been deserted by her husband; Public Law 88–4.

Ground rent: Provides a deduction from income taxes for payment of redeemable ground rent; Public Law 88–9.

Supreme Court Justice widows—annuities: Increases the annuities of widows of Supreme

Court Justices from $5,000 to $10,000 a year, payable monthly. (S. 1686, passed Senate November 5.)

Mortgage insurance authority: Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1965, authority of FHA to insure mortgages for sale and rental housing for low and moderate income groups; Public Law 88–54.

Housing for elderly: Authorize an additional $50 million for loans to nonprofit corporations and consumer cooperatives to provide housing for the elderly designed to meet their special needs; Public Law 88–158.

Silver purchase: Withdraws silver backing of paper currency, averts shortage of silver for coinage by repealing the tax on silver transfers and other obsolete sections of Silver Purchase Act of 1934; Public Law 88–36.

Cadmium: Authorizes disposal of 2 million pounds of surplus cadmium from the national stockpile valued at about $4 million; Public Law 88–8.

Corkboard insulation: Authorizes a temporary (3-year) suspension of import duty on corkboard insulation; Public Law 88–32.

Chicory—Duty free: Extends to June 30, 1966, existing suspension of duty on crude chicory except endive, and continues for the same period the statutory rate of duty of 2 cents a pound for chicory, ground or otherwise prepared; Public Law 88–49.

Metal scrap—Duty suspension: Extends to June 30, 1964, suspension of duties on metal scrap; Public Law 88–50.

Heptanoic acid: Continues for 3 years the existing suspension of import duty on heptanoic acid; Public Law 88–93.

Tanning extracts: Extends for 3 years the period during which tanning extracts may be imported free of duty; Public Law 88–92.

Tampico fiber: Continues to September 5, 1966, the existing suspension of duty on dressed or manufactured istle or Tampico fiber; Public Law 88–90.

Attorneys' fees—Bankruptcy: Permits courts, on their own motion, to examine into the reasonableness of attorneys' fees in bankruptcy proceedings; Public Law 88–17.

Bankrupt funds: Permits the deposit of funds of bankrupts' estates in interest-bearing accounts; Public Law 88–16.

Small Business Act amendments: Increases by $34.3 million SBA's revolving fund bringing the total authorization for the fund to $1,700,300,000 and broadened the causal basis of SBA's authority to make loans from its disaster fund to cover all natural disasters. (S. 1309, passed Senate November 21.)

Small business investment amendment: Liberalizes investment provisions of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 and encourages increased capitalization of SBIC's by raising the amount of capital that SBA may invest in an SBIC, on a matching basis, from $400,000 to $700,000. (S. 298, passed Senate November 21.)

Some may be critical of the 88th Congress as a body that swallowed, and sometimes swallowed hard in spots, to complete digestion in legislative action for the administration's agenda of must legislation. Although the campaign season grew late, the leadership kept the membership in constant turmoil, firing the boilers of debate to procure final action on important measures.

Despite the rather inauspicious start of the 1st session of the 88th Congress, the 2d session will be remembered for its proud record of achievement. It showed a fondness for the preservation and expansion of wilderness areas, the test ban treaty for peace, the civil rights law for the elimination of second class citizenship, the $11.5 billion tax cut for rich and poor alike, the antipoverty program for the dream of a new chance for a new life, a sheaf of bills to further the educational programs of our Nation, the readjustment of veterans' pensions, together with their widows and orphans, and many other important measures.

It was said that President Lyndon Johnson's appeal for votes was answered through the action of the Congress in supplementing successfully his program. The Members of the Congress in bipartisan effort, established a progressive partnership with the electorate at home. It has reestablished a public confidence in the Congress of the United States. President Lyndon Johnson had much to do with the successful accomplishments of its great record in behalf of the public interest.

My voting record in the 2d session of the 88th Congress, together with the statements and comments on the floor of the House during the consideration of the legislation and passage, are herein reported as follows:

Voting record of Representative ROLAND V. LIBONATI, 7th District of Illinois

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
1	Jan. 7	Quorum call	Present.
2	Jan. 8	Quorum call	Present.
3	Jan. 8	Quorum call	Present.
4	Jan. 14	Quorum call	Absent.
5	Jan. 14	S. 1153: To recommit to committee the bill to amend the Federal Airport Act in order to reduce the authorization of funds by $15,000,000 a year for each of 3 years. (Defeated 110 to 201.)	Not voting.
6	Jan. 14	S. 1153: On final passage of the act to amend the Federal Airport Act. (Passed 298 to 11.)	Not voting.
7	Jan. 15	Quorum call	Present.
8	Jan. 20	Quorum call	Present.
9	Jan. 21	Quorum call	Present.
10	Jan. 21	Quorum call	Present.
11	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): To amend the Library Services Act to eliminate the library construction program, to confine Federal aid to rural areas, and to make more money available for rural libraries. (Defeated 179 to 183.)	No.
12	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): To recommit the Library Services Act to committee in order to eliminate the library construction provision from the bill. (Defeated 174 to 188.)	No.
13	Jan. 21	H.R. 4879 (S. 2265): On final passage of the Library Services Act extending Federal aid to urban as well as rural areas and increasing the authorization for 1964 from $7,500,000 to $45,000,000. (Passed 254 to 107.)	Yes.
14	Jan. 22	Quorum call	Present.
15	Jan. 22	Quorum call	Present.
16	Jan. 28	Quorum call	Present.
17	Jan. 28	H. Res. 582: On a motion to order the previous question on the resolution to take up H.R. 6041, amendments to the Davis-Bacon Act, in order to provide for consideration of an amendment permitting judicial review of decisions by the Secretary of Labor. (Passed 297 to 105.)	Yes.
18	Jan. 28	Quorum call	Present.
19	Jan. 28	H.R. 6041: On passage of the bill to amend the Davis-Bacon Act to include fringe benefits in prevailing wage determinations. (Passed 357 to 50.)	Present.
20	Jan. 31	Quorum call	Present.
21	Jan. 31	Quorum call	Present.
22	Feb. 1	Quorum call	Present.
23	Feb. 1	Quorum call	Present.
24	Feb. 3	Quorum call	Present.
25	Feb. 4	Quorum call	Present.
26	Feb. 5	Quorum call	Present.
27	Feb. 6	Quorum call	Present.
28	Feb. 7	Quorum call	Present.
29	Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
30	Feb. 8	On a motion to adjourn at about 10 p.m. during consideration of the civil rights bill. (Passed 220 to 175.)	Yes.
31	Feb. 10	Quorum call	Present.
32	Feb. 10	H.R. 7152: On final passage of the civil rights bill. (Passed 290 to 130.)	Yes.
33	Feb. 17	Quorum call	Present.
34	Feb. 18	Quorum call	Present.
35	Feb. 18	H.R. 7381: To recommit to Committee on Post Office and Civil Service the Dual Compensation Act relative to the employment of civilians in more than 1 position and the civilian employment of retired members of the Armed Forces. (Defeated 83 to 262.)	No.
36	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
37	Feb. 19	Quorum call	Present.
38	Feb. 20	Quorum call	Present.
39	Feb. 20	H.R. 9637: To authorize an appropriation of $16,900,000,000 for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. (Passed 336 to 0.)	Yes.
40	Feb. 24	Quorum call	Present.
41	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
42	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
43	Feb. 25	H.R. 8363: To adopt the conference report on the Revenue Act of 1964. (Passed 326 to 83.)	Yes.
44	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
45	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.
46	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.

Voting record of Representative ROLAND V. LIBONATI, 7th District of Illinois—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
47	Feb. 26	Quorum call	Present.
48	Feb. 26	H.R. 9022: To recommit to committee the bill to amend the International Development Association Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the International Development Association. (Passed 208 to 188.)	No.
49	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
50	Feb. 27	Quorum call	Present.
51	Feb. 27	H.R. 8316: To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the FCC from making rules relative to the length and frequency of radio and TV commercials. (Passed 317 to 43.)	Yes.
52	Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
53	Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
54	Mar. 4	Quorum call	Present.
55	Mar. 4	Quorum call	Present.
56	Mar. 4	H.R. 9666: To recommit to committee the Peace Corps authorization bill in order to reduce the authorized funds for 1965 from $115 to $95,900,000. (Defeated 90 to 309.)	No.
57	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Present.
58	Mar. 5	Quorum call	Present.
59	Mar. 5	H.R. 8000: To impose a tax on acquisitions of certain foreign securities as a means of alleviating the balance-of-payments problem. (Passed 238 to 142.)	Yes.
60	Mar. 9	Quorum call	Present.
61	Mar. 10	Quorum call	Present.
62	Mar. 10	Quorum call	Present.
63	Mar. 10	H.R. 8070: To establish a Public Land Law Review Commission to study laws and procedures relating to the administration of the public lands of the United States. (Passed 339 to 29.)	Yes.
64	Mar. 11	Quorum call	Present.
65	Mar. 11	H.R. 650: To adopt the resolution calling for consideration of H.R. 8986, the bill to increase salaries of Federal employees and officials, including Members of Congress. (Passed 251 to 147.)	Yes.
66	Mar. 12	Quorum call	Present.
67	Mar. 12	H.R. 8986: To increase salaries of postal and Federal employees and certain officers of the Federal Government including Members of Congress. (Defeated 184 to 222.)	Yes.
68	Mar. 16	Quorum call	Present.
69	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
70	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
71	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
72	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
73	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
74	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
75	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
76	Mar. 19	H.R. 556: To adopt an open rule providing for 2 hours debate and waiving points of order against H.R. 5838, a bill relative to the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards. (Passed 264 to 99.)	Yes.
77	Mar. 19	Quorum call	Present.
78	Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
79	Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
80	Mar. 23	H.R. 5838: To recommit to committee the bill relative to the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards in order to amend it to require that no transfer of funds in excess of $250,000 shall be made without submission of the proposed transfer to the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate and if no adverse action is taken by either committee within 30 days the transfer is approved. (Defeated 151 to 172.)	No.
81	Mar. 23	H.R. 5838: To approve the bill amending the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards. (Passed 164 to 162.)	Yes.
82	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
83	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
84	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
85	Mar. 24	H.R. 10532: On a motion to add $10,000,000 to this appropriation bill to provide additional funds for construction and repair of Coast Guard vessel, etc. (Defeated 160 to 193.)	Yes.
86	Mar. 24	H.R. 10532: On final passage of the $6,200,000,000 appropriation bill for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and the Executive Office of the President and certain independent agencies. (Passed 326 to 20.)	Yes.
87	Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
88	Mar. 25	H.R. 660: On adoption of an open rule for the consideration of H.R. 10456, the NASA authorization bill, totaling $5,100,000,000. (Passed 357 to 0.)	Yes.
89	Mar. 25	H.R. 10456: On final passage of the $5,100,000,000 NASA authorization bill. (Passed 253 to 73.)	Yes.
90	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Absent.
91	Apr. 6	S. 1828: To amend the joint resolution establishing the Battle of Lake Erie Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission in order to authorize the appropriation of not more than $13,553.23 for use of the Commission. (Passed 233 to 39.)	Not voting.
92	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
93	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
94	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
95	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
96	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
97	Apr. 8	On a motion that the House adjourn (the time being about 9:20 p.m.) (Defeated 173 to 239.)	No.
98	Apr. 8	H.R. 10222: On a motion to recommit to the Committee on Agriculture the Food Stamp Act in order to add a provision requiring the States to finance 50 percent of the cost of the free stamps issued under the act. (Defeated 195 to 223.)	No.
99	Apr. 8	H.R. 10222: On final passage of the Food Stamp Act. (Passed 229 to 189.)	Yes.
100	Apr. 8	H.R. 665: To agree to the Senate amendment (wheat provisions) to H.R. 6196, the cotton bill previously passed by the House. (Passed 211 to 203.)	Yes.
101	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
102	Apr. 9	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under quorum call No. 101. (Passed 222 to 132.)	Yes.
103	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
104	Apr. 9	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under quorum call No. 103. (Passed 232 to 122.)	Yes.
105	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
106	Apr. 9	Quorum call	Present.
107	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
108	Apr. 10	Quorum call	Present.
109	Apr. 10	H.R. 10723: To recommit to committee the legislative appropriation bill in order to require the records of expenditure by congressional committees and the Architect of the Capitol to be available for public inspection. (Passed 188 to 131.)	No.
110	Apr. 14	Quorum call	Present.
111	Apr. 14	H.R. 10809: On approval of the 1965 appropriation bill in the amount of $6,900,000,000 for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies. (Passed 344 to 21.)	Yes.
112	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
113	Apr. 15	Quorum call	Present.
114	Apr. 15	S. 2394: To authorize an appropriation of $44,900,000 to carry out the provisions of the convention on the Chamizal made with Mexico relative to exchange of land at El Paso, Tex. (Passed 347 to 5.)	Yes.
115	Apr. 21	Quorum call	Present.
116	Apr. 21	Quorum call	Present.
117	Apr. 22	Quorum call	Present.
118	Apr. 22	H.R. 10939: To approve the $46,700,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense. (Passed 365 to 0.)	Yes.
119	Apr. 29	Quorum call	Present.
120	May 6	Quorum call	Absent.
121	May 6	H.R. 11134: To approve the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies in the amount of $1,700,000,000. (Passed 312 to 40.)	Not voting.
122	May 7	Quorum call	Present.
123	May 7	H.R. 10945: To adopt the bill authorizing appropriation of $2,600,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 340 to 3.)	Yes.
124	May 11	Quorum call	Present.
125	May 13	Quorum call	Present.
126	May 13	S. 2214: To recommit to committee the bill to provide additional funds for the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank. (Defeated 132 to 247.)	No.
127	May 18	H.J. Res. 1020: To authorize the expression of appreciation and the issuance of a gold medal to Henry J. Kaiser. (Defeated 180 to 143; a ⅔ vote being necessary under "suspension of the rules" procedure.)	Yes.
128	May 19	Quorum call	Present.
129	May 20	Quorum call	Present.

Voting record of Representative ROLAND V. LIBONATI, 7th District of Illinois—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
130	May 20	H.R. 11202: To add $1,600,000 to the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture for the construction of a national peanut research facility at Dawson, Ga. (Defeated 181 to 198.)	Yes.
131	May 20	H.R. 11202: To recommit to committee the agricultural appropriation bill in order to provide an amendment prohibiting export payments or export subsidies on any agricultural commodities sold to a Communist country. (Defeated 186 to 187.)	No.
132	May 20	H.R. 11202: On final passage of the $5,100,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture. (Passed 311 to 64.)	Yes.
133	May 20	Quorum call	Present.
134	May 21	Quorum call	Present.
135	May 26	Quorum call	Present.
136	May 26	H.R. 11369: To approve the military construction appropriation bill in the amount of $1,590,000,000. (Passed 340 to 5.)	Yes.
137	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
138	May 27	H. Res. 724: To adopt the rule for consideration of H.R. 5130, a bill to increase the insurance on deposits in banks and savings and loan associations. (Passed 218 to 115.)	Yes.
139	May 27	H.R. 5130: To recommit to the Committee on Banking and Currency the bill to increase from $10,000 to $20,000 the insurance coverage on banks and savings and loan associations. (Passed 197 to 142.)	No.
140	June 3	Quorum call	Absent.
141	June 3	H.R. 10503: To pass the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1964 authorizing appropriations for fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for construction of certain highways. (Passed 294 to 0.)	Yes.
142	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
143	June 3	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 10 to 289.)	No.
144	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
145	June 3	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 16 to 271.)	No.
146	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
147	June 4	Quorum call	Present.
148	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
149	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
150	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
151	June 10	Quorum call	Present.
152	June 10	H.R. 11380: To recommit to committee the foreign aid authorization in order to reduce the amount for the Development Loan Fund by $172,200,000 and the contingency fund by $50,000,000. (Defeated 193 to 211.)	No.
153	June 10	H.R. 11380: On final passage of the bill authorizing new appropriations in the amount of $2,040,000,000 for foreign aid. (Passed 230 to 175.)	Yes.
154	June 11	Quorum call	Present.
155	June 11	H.R. 11049: To approve the bill increasing salaries of Federal employees, administrative and judicial officers, and Members of Congress. (Passed 243 to 157.)	Yes.
156	June 16	Quorum call	Present.
157	June 16	H.R. 11579: To approve the public works appropriation bill in the amount of $4,300,000,000. (Passed 360 to 11.)	Yes.
158	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
159	June 17	Quorum call	Present.
160	June 17	H.R. 11376: To recommit to committee the bill extending certain excise taxes for 1 year in order to reduce from 10 percent to 5 percent for 1 year and then to eliminate the retailer's excise tax on jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags. (Defeated 185 to 207.)	No.
161	June 18	Quorum call	Present.
162	June 18	H.R. 11375: To increase the public debt to $324,000,000,000 until June 30, 1965. (Passed 203 to 182.)	Yes.
163	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
164	June 23	Quorum call	Present.
165	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
166	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
167	June 25	Quorum call	Present.
168	June 25	H.R. 3381: To amend the Mass Transportation Act relative to its provisions concerning labor-management. (Passed 233 to 171.)	Yes.
169	June 25	H.R. 3381: To recommit to committee the Mass Transportation Act in order to defer action pending the evaluation of certain engineering studies. (Defeated 190 to 215.)	No.
170	June 25	H.R. 3381: In final passage of the Mass Transportation Act with an initial authorization of $375,000,000. (Passed 212 to 189.)	Yes.
171	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
172	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
173	June 30	H. Res. 793: To adopt the rule waiving all points of order against H.R. 11812, the foreign aid appropriation bill, and providing 6 hours of debate on the legislation. (Passed 222 to 162.)	Yes.
174	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
175	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
176	July 1	H.R. 11812: To recommit to committee the foreign operations appropriations bill in order to reduce the funds for economic assistance by $247,800,000. (Defeated 198 to 208.)	No.
177	July 1	H.R. 11812: On final passage of the foreign operations appropriations bill in the amount of $3,700,000,000. (Passed 231 to 174.)	Yes.
178	July 2	Quorum call	Present.
179	July 2	H. Res. 789: To approve H.R. 7152, the civil rights bill as passed by the Senate. (Passed 289 to 126.)	Yes.
180	July 2	Quorum call	Present.
181	July 2	H. Res. 795: To approve the appointment of a special committee of the House to investigate campaign expenditures of candidates for election to the House. (Passed 264 to 92.)	Yes.
182	July 2	S. 2: To approve the conference report on the bill to establish water resources research centers and to promote water research. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
183	July 21	Quorum call	Present.
184	July 21	H.R. 319: To protect postal patrons from morally offensive mail matter. (Passed 325 to 19.)	Yes.
185	July 21	H.R. 11611: To establish a National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. (Passed 260 to 76.)	Yes.
186	July 22	Quorum call	Present.
187	Julh 22	H. Res. 738: To adopt rule providing for 4 hours of debate on H.R. 3846, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. (Passed 338 to 8.)	Yes.
188	July 23	Quorum call	Present.
189	July 28	Quorum call	Present.
190	July 28	H.R. 3873 (S. 978): To permit certain owners of fishing boats to receive medical care and hospitalization without charge at hospitals of the Public Health Service. (Passed 202 to 170.)	Yes.
191	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
192	July 29	H. Res. 802: To adopt closed rule with 5 hours of debate on Social Security Amendments of 1964. (Passed 350 to 29.)	Yes.
193	July 29	H.R. 11865: To increase benefits under the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, improve actuarial status of trust funds and to extend social security coverage. (Passed 388 to 8.)	Yes.
194	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
195	July 30	H. Res. 803: To agree to a conference with the Senate on H.R. 11049, the Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 246 to 131.)	Yes.
196	July 30	Quorum call	Present.
197	July 30	H.R. 9070 (S. 4): To establish a national wilderness preservation system. (Passed 374 to 1.)	Yes.
198	Aug. 3	H.R. 1096: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin. (Defeated 164 to 154; a ⅔ majority required.)	Yes.
199	Aug. 3	H.R. 3672: To provide for construction, operation, and maintenance of the Savery-Pot Hook, Bostwick Park, and Fruitland Mesa participating reclamation projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act. (Passed 250 to 67.)	Yes.
200	Aug. 4	H.R. 10939: To adopt conference report on appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1965. (Passed 359 to 0.)	Yes.
201	Aug. 4	H.R. 10939: To adopt the Senate amendment to the defense bill providing 35 percent of funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval vessels available for work in privately owned shipyards. (Passed 186 to 178.)	No.
202	Aug. 4	Quorum call	Present.
203	Aug. 4	Quorum call	Present.
204	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
205	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
206	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
207	Aug. 6	Quorum call	Present.
208	Aug. 6	Quroum call	Present.
209	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
210	Aug. 7	H.J. Res. 1145: To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. (Passed 416 to 0.)	Yes.
211	Aug. 7	Quorum call	Present.
212	Aug. 7	H.R. 11377: To strike the enacting clause from the so-called antipoverty bill. (Defeated 197 to 225.)	No.
213	Aug. 7	H.R. 11377 (S. 2642): On motion to substitute the text of S. 2642 which modified in a number of respects H.R. 11377, the so-called antipoverty bill. (Passed 228 to 190.)	Yes.
214	Aug. 8	Quorum call	Present.
215	Aug. 8	H.R. 11377: On motion to recommit to committee in order to substitute H.R. 11050, the Human Resources Development Act of 1964. (Defeated 117 to 195.)	No.
216	Aug. 8	H.R. 11377 (S. 2642): On final passage of the antipoverty bill. (Passed 226 to 185.)	Yes.

Voting record of Representative ROLAND V. LIBONATI, 7th District of Illinois—Continued

No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1964		
217	Aug. 11	H.R. 1927: To revise the pension program for veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows and children. (Passed 388 to 0.)	Yes.
218	Aug. 11	H.R. 5990: To amend the District of Columbia Charitable Solicitation Act to require the Commissioners to make certain findings before issuing a solicitation permit. (Passed 301 to 81.)	No.
219	Aug. 12	H. Res. 836: To grant a rule for consideration of S. 1451, conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to render judgment upon certain claims arising under the Trading With the Enemy Act. (Passed 374 to 3.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 12	S. 1627: To enable the United States to contribute its share of expenses of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. (Passed 268 to 89.)	Yes.
221	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
222	Aug. 13	H.R. 11295: On a motion to recommit to committee the independent offices appropriation bill in order to reduce by $250,000,000 the funds provided for research and development by NASA. (Defeated 114 to 270.)	No.
223	Aug. 13	Quorum call	Present.
224	Aug. 13	H.R. 12175: On a motion to recommit the housing bill to committee in order to add a provision permitting FHA to continue to insure loans beyond Oct. 1, 1965. (Defeated 184 to 194.)	No.
225	Aug. 13	H.R. 12175: To extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. (Passed 308 to 68.)	Yes.
226	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
227	Aug. 14	Quorum call	Present.
228	Aug. 14	S. 1006: To authorize an increase in subsidies for the construction of fishing vessels and an annual appropriation of $10,000,000 for 5 years for the subsidies. (Passed 198 to 124.)	Yes.
229	Aug. 14	H. Res. 663: To provide an additional $10,000 for expenses of the Committee on Education and Labor. (Defeated 115 to 156.)	Yes.
230	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
231	Aug. 17	H. Con. Res. 343: To express the sense of Congress that the President continue U.S. efforts toward securing full payment of U.N. assessments by all United Nations members and to apply the penalties if assessments are not paid. (Passed 351 to 0.)	Yes.
232	Aug. 17	H.R. 6242 (S. 524): To provide for the registration of contractors of migrant agricultural workers. (Passed 343 to 7.)	Yes.
233	Aug. 17	H.R. 9000: To amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to provide more Federal control relative to safety measures in coal mines. (Defeated 202 to 151; ⅔ majority required to suspend rules.)	Yes.
234	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
235	Aug. 18	Quorum call	Present.
236	Aug. 18	H.R. 1839: To adopt the conference report on the bill altered by the Senate to provide for the imposition of quotas on beef, veal, and mutton. (Passed 232 to 149.)	No.
237	Aug. 18	H.R. 8864: To adopt the conference report on the bill to carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962. (Defeated 183 to 194.)	Yes.
238	Aug. 18	H.R. 8000: To adopt the conference report on the bill imposing a tax on acquisition of certain foreign securities. (Passed 221 to 147.)	Yes.
239	Aug. 18	S. 1007: To adopt the conference report on a bill guaranteeing electric consumers in Pacific Northwest first call on electric energy generated at Federal hydroelectric plants in that region and to guarantee electric consumers in other regions reciprocal priority. (Passed 230 to 134.)	Yes.
240	Aug. 19	S. 3049: To adopt the conference report on a bill to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. (Passed 310 to 70.)	Yes.
241	Aug. 19	H. Res. 845: To adopt rule for consideration of H.R. 11926, the bill to remove from the jurisdiction of Federal courts cases involving apportionment of State legislatures. (Passed 242 to 148.)	No.
242	Aug. 19	H.R. 11926: To deny to the Federal courts jurisdiction over apportionment of State legislatures. (Passed 218 to 175.)	No.
243	Aug. 20	Quorum call	Present.
244	Aug. 20	Quorum call	Present.
245	Aug. 20	H.R. 9586: To provide for the establishment of a National Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the arts in the United States. (Passed 213 to 135.)	Yes.
246	Sept. 1	Quorum call	Present.
247	Sept. 1	S. 2701: To suspend rules and pass a bill to provide for a study to determine a site for construction of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. (Passed 320 to 23.)	Yes.
248	Sept. 1	H.R. 4487: To pass the bill designed to prevent or minimize injury to fish and wildlife from the use of insecticides and pesticides. (Passed 236 to 110.)	Yes.
249	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
250	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
251	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
252	Sept. 3	H.R. 12298: To recommit to committee the bill amending the Food-for-Peace Act in order to tighten the definition of friendly governments which may receive surplus agricultural products. (Passed 183 to 175.)	No.
253	Sept. 3	H.R. 12298: On final passage of the bill to extend and amend the Food-for-Peace Act. (Passed 349 to 6.)	Yes.
254	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
255	Sept. 3	Quorum call	Present.
256	Sept. 3	S. 2220: To recommit to committee the bill to encourage physicians and dentists who have received student loans under certain governmental programs to practice in areas having a shortage of physicians or dentists. (Defeated 140 to 160.)	Yes.
257	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
258	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
259	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
260	Sept. 22	H.R. 12633: On final passage of the supplemental appropriation bill of 1965 in the amount of $998,600,000, including $750,000,000 for the anti-poverty program and $77,600,000 for mass transportation. (Passed 208 to 103.)	Yes.
261	Sept. 23	Quorum call	Present.
262	Sept. 23	H.R. 1096: To adopt the bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the State of Wisconsin in the designation and administration of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve in the State of Wisconsin. (Passed 180 to 118.)	Yes.
263	Sept. 30	Quorum call	Present.
264	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
265	Oct. 1	H.R. 892: On adoption of the rule making in order the consideration of H.J. Res. 1183, making continuing appropriation for fiscal 1965. (Defeated 159 to 193.)	Yes.
266	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
267	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
268	Oct. 1	S. 3060: To recommit to the conference committee the bill to amend the National Defense Education Act in order to delete funds for institutes and equipment for teaching of history, civics, geography, and English literature. (Defeated 107 to 236.)	No.
269	Oct. 1	S. 3060: On final passage of the conference report on the bill to extend and amend the National Defense Education Act. (Passed 320 to 20.)	Yes.
270	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Present.
271	Oct. 2	Quorum call	Present.
272	Oct. 3	H.R. 12633: To agree to the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriations bill providing about $5,000,000 for the schools of the District of Columbia as being in an impacted area. (Passed 211 to 78.)	Yes.

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Chairman, the amendments approved by the Committee on Education and Labor consisting of the fringe benefits including group hospitalization, disability benefits, and others to be included in prevailing wage determinations under the Davis-Bacon Act is an important step in establishing by law—affecting 85 million employed—these benefits are a form of compensation. The protection afforded to the employed by the enactment of these proposed amendments carries out the basic purpose of the Davis-Bacon Act, to determine prevailing wages, labor practices, and customs in an area or locality. The thousands—over four—of welfare funds in the construction industry are supported financially by the employer's contributions of a certain amount—generally starting at 10 cents per hour—for each working hour. In excess of 70 percent of the workers in this industry are so covered, as a result of collective bargaining, the fringe benefits were accepted and considered in reality as an increase in compensation in lieu of wage increases.

The States—eight—have recently added fringe benefits to their prevailing wage laws. In certain areas employers contribute 25 or 35 cents per hour to these health and welfare funds. The industry has accepted this type of contribution as a bargaining factor in wage disputes.

These costs are figured by the employer in bidding for projects. It is a significant figure in dollars and cents to be calculated in the employment costs under the contract. Contributions by the employer to health, welfare, pension, apprenticeship, and training plans have increased steadily because of the modern trend in labor's thinking to seek security for the worker's family unit and his old age. Therefore, these costs should be recognized and established by law as an integral part of a basic figure in determination of the prevailing wage rate.

MANMADE LAWS CANNOT DENY RIGHTS

Mr. Chairman, the Constitution of the United States was written by our forefathers at Philadelphia after a series of conferences lasting 9 years—from 1780 to 1789. Although the Negro was considered a chattel, there was not one word in the Constitution denying him as being a member of the human race.

Later, Lincoln's Emanciption Proclamation and subsequent articles adopted through procedures established his status in society as a freeman and, consequently, restored to him the so-called inalienable

rights that all statesmen past and present so boastfully and with forensic splendor represent as God-given rights to God-fearing human beings. These rights are inherent to the members of the human race and could not be denied by statutory law.

Manmade laws cannot negate, deny or disregard these rights.

The United States exemplifies in its historical role as the most powerful freedom-loving nation of the world the dream of every other nation of freemen whose ambition is to perfect a government similar to our own. And, yet, the issue before us today disturbs the minds of men of the world as to the true meaning of our democracy. The loyalty of the American Negro belongs to no other flag. His lineage can be traced to no other nation. He was a captured human being. Yet, 100 years after his emancipation throughout the land he is denied the rights of citizenship and the opportunities of education, employment, and social status enjoyed by his fellow Americans. We can no longer tolerate this condition. We must act now. We must implement the law to carry out this purpose. It is a mandate that we cannot deny, if we love our country, our fellow man and the historical tradition of respecting the God-given belief in the inalienable rights of man and of nations. To preserve these rights, millions of Americans and men of our allies have died—and billions of dollars have been spent in the defense of these concepts of freedom and peace.

A good law is that law enacted for a certain intention and specific purpose for the promulgation of the public interest.

In its purpose it can be regulatory, remedial, or principled in terms for the common good.

Its sociological value must be reflected in its effect upon the masses in serving their needs and increasing their responsibilities to society.

H.R. 7152 would meet these fundamental requirements and contribute much to the advancement of our social well-being and economic strength.

Mr. Chairman, provision VI is the strong core of this bill. There is no question about it. The arguments against it are based on the question of the abuse of power as against the determination that men must abide by the law. I would rather that we would not need this provision in the bill, but where you have to have drastic action to enforce the rights and liberties of men, then you must have this type of instrumentation in a bill that will bring about the desired result.

In my questioning of the Attorney General on the various provisions in the bill we came upon a discussion of this provision:

"Mr. LIBONATI. Of course, on the other hand you said that sound discretion would control any activity on your part to determine the values of destroying the whole community school system where they had integrated, and one unit had not. So that is within your power to make that determination.

"Attorney General KENNEDY. Yes, sir.

"Mr. LIBONATI. And certainly in the public interest, no one need give you guidance on that, because you are a man of integrity and understand the responsibilities of your position."

Then below on page 2758, serial 4, part IV, October 15–16, 1963, commenting on the question of the Federal assistance programs:

"Mr. LIBONATI. On the question of the Federal assistance programs, I think there again will come into play the sense of discretion of the enforcement officer as the Attorney General, who makes the determination, especially affecting matters where prejudice may result from the fact that labor unions won't cooperate and further problems will be presented to Government in that no general contractor will bid being confronted with problems with labor that he has no control over in activating his contract."

This section VI of the bill is the enforcement section to eliminate all the prejudices practiced against the Negro in the labor market, in the schools, on questions of relief and other questions. Now, you can dilly-dally all you want to with the questions of reasonableness of this provision or question the wide powers of discretion of the officer who has been given the authority to enforce it or the honesty of purpose of the bureau that has control of it, but you have to rely on the sound reason and the analytical evidentiary facts developed by the authority; certainly the sensible decision would be not to disturb a whole community over the question of a departure by a minor unit of that community as indicated by the answer of Attorney General Robert Kennedy as above quoted. This provision is a necessary adjunct to this bill if you are going to write any purposeful bill at all. The conditions complained of do not affect only a section or part of this country. These practices are general throughout the United States. Our southern brethren here are carrying the brunt of criticism, but you and I know that some of these practices, especially in labor and in other situations, such as schools and so forth, are also a problem in the North, and if you are in any way honest with yourselves, you will either vote this bill for the purposes intended, or you will abandon it. You have here in this provision real power for enforcement, and provision VI does it. You can leave it or take it. If you are honest with the people you are trying to help, if you have the integrity within yourselves to determine that in this effort you are going to do a job at the legislative level that will bring out a bill that will give these people basic confidence in what you believe is to be accomplished and so stop their criticism of this legislative body which represents their only hope—then do not let them feel that we are only making empty gestures. This is a strong bill and this is the strongest provision in the bill, and you must vote for this provision if you vote for any bill to meet the age-old problems at hand affecting loyal and patriotic Americans—crying and pleading for equality and public acceptance.

TITLE VII: EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Chairman, title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity treats with one of the most widespread forms of discrimination against the Negro race—a racial discrimination at all levels of employment, professional or otherwise. This one factor in human relations not only results in destroying economic advancement but in utter desperation weakens the character and contributes to the many social ills that beset many of the individuals of the race. A bar to employment regardless of the qualification of the individual whether professional, technical, or mental nullifies the spirit of hope in humans and stifles ambition and reason.

The provisions of the bill are worthless of further pursuit toward realization if the individual whether student or artisan knows that employment opportunities are nil. The right to vote, to be served one's needs in public places including accommodations, desegregation of public education, receiving community relations service, and the Federal assisted program lever of forcing conformance mean nothing to a person who has no job and consequently no money. We have only to be reminded in the words of the greatest humanitarian of our time, President Delano Roosevelt, that every man who is qualified and wants to work should have a job in accordance with his talents. The Negro is at best relegated to menial and unskilled employment and even then punctuated by layoffs and rewarded in low wages. All over America this indictment stands. And, further, the Negro is the last hired and the first fired. Promotional practices relegate the Negro to bottom levels.

Financial, institutions, advertising agencies, insurance companies, trade associations, management firms, and publication companies employing young prospects are the chief offenders.

Department of Labor statistics prove that there are three times as many heads of families unemployed among the nonwhites in comparison to the whites. Further nonwhites represent 11 percent of the total working force yet, 25 percent of these workers have been unemployed for the long period of 26 weeks and increasing progressively at this period.

Nonemployment rate

[Percent higher than white]

In 1947	64
In 1952	92
In 1957	105
In 1962	124

It must be remembered that the nonwhites are employed at lower salaries and less desirable jobs. Seventeen percent of nonwhites have white collar jobs compared to 47 percent of the whites. Fourteen percent of nonwhites in total employment are unskilled labor—in urban areas—compared to 4 percent for the white.

Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wirtz, stated that Negroes comprise 90 percent of the nonwhite population and receive the brunt of discrimination. Of all professional engineers—nonwhites—equal one-half of 1 percent—no more than 3 percent—males—employed in each of the 19 standard professional occupations surveyed, for example, accountants, architects, chemists, farm assistants, and lawyers. In 1960 there were 250 professional male Negro architects; the largest number in any of the 19 professions were doctors—4,500.

Also we must consider that for many skilled jobs there is a dearth of qualified nonwhite applicants due to the patterns of discrimination practiced that discourage Negroes from registering in preparatory courses in a field that excludes members of their race.

Even if this discrimination should be ceased, it would take a generation to rectify the damage in the curtailment of these talents through economic and cultural deprivation perpetrated against the Negro. To permit a continuance of these practices of discrimination is to destroy the ambitions of a race of Americans and stunt our economy.

Title VII, section 701(b), states that the provisions are necessary "to remove obstructions to the free flow of commerce among the States and with foreign nations" and to "insure the complete and free enjoyment by all persons of the rights, privileges, and immunities secured and protected by the Constitution of the United States. Title VII is simply supported by Congress power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations—article 1, section 8, clause 3.

Title VII covers employers engaged in industries affecting commerce—interstate, and foreign commerce and commerce within the District of Columbia and the possessions.

The title also applies to employment agencies procuring employees for employers and labor organizations engaged in such industries.

Unlawful employment practices: Title VII provides that it is an unlawful employment practice to discriminate on account of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in connection with employment, referral for employment, membership in labor organizations, a participation in apprenticeship or other training programs—sections 702, 704.

The industries affecting interstate commerce are covered if employing 100 persons or more during the first year after the effec-

tive date of this act are considered employers and after the second year of the act having 75 employees or more are considered employers; and third year 50 employees, and after fourth year 25 employees.

Labor organizations are under the same regulations with the added requisite that having 25 or more after the third year qualify.

The provision exempts governmental bodies, bona fide membership clubs, religious organizations, and situations in which religion or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification, reasonably necessary to normal business operation—sections 702 (b)(c), 704(e).

The Commission consists of five members appointed for staggered 5-year terms appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate created to administer the law. No more than three from the same political party—section 706a. The Commission would be empowered to receive and investigate charges of discrimination and to attempt through conciliation and persuasion to settle disputes involving such charges—section 707. The Commission has no powers of enforcement of its orders. This is the court's prerogative. The 29 States and Puerto Rico has some legislation designed to effect equal employment opportunity in private employment. Experience in this field through State and its local commissions indicate that a great deal can be accomplished in achieving fair employment opportunities through sagacious and earnest persuasion, meditation, and conciliation.

Enforcement: In the case of refusal to comply, the Commission may seek relief in the Federal district court—section 707(b). If Commission does not act, the aggrieved party can secure permission from one of the Commissioners to file a civil suit himself to obtain relief—section 707(c). Thus a trial will be held. It would include injunctions against future violations and orders of reinstatement and, in some cases, payment of back pay in court—section 707(e).

No suit can be filed in complaint has not been filed with the Commission within 6 months of its occurrence—section 707(d).

Utilization of State and local commissions are preserved in title VII and present State laws are effective except where there is a conflict with Federal laws. Further, where State operations are effective, the Commission will seek agreements with the State agency and refrain from prosecuting such cases. The Commission is authorized to use the employees of the State and local agencies in carrying out its duties, with proper reimbursement. This cooperation is highly desirable.

The effective date of the act in order to allow the employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations to perfect their policies and procedures is set at 1 year after its enactment.

Investigations: Powers granted to investigate, issue subpenas, require keeping of records of employment and factual data descriptive of employees pertinent to determinations of whether unlawful employment practices have been committed—sections 709–710.

Presidential action: The President is vested with the power to act in discriminatory practices in employment in the Federal services and in contractual relations between the Federal Government and business concerns and contractors on Federal projects and so forth.

The President is directed to hold conferences with Government representatives and representatives of groups affected by this legislation so that plans can be made for the fair and effective administration of this act—section 719(c).

A review prepared by the Department of Justice of the present State and local legislation sets out the following data:

"Legislation passed in 1963 has altered somewhat the situation set forth in the Library of Congress memorandum.

"Iowa, formerly a State with a hortatory nondiscrimination law, now has a mandatory provision enforcible by criminal sanctions (Laws of Iowa, 1963, ch. 330).

"Vermont, a State with no previous nondiscrimination statute, now has a mandatory law, enforcible by fine for willful violations (Laws of Vermont, 1963, No. 196).

"We are informed by the Department of Labor that Indiana, a State with mandatory provisions only for public contracts, now has a generally applicable mandatory statute, and that Hawaii, a State which formerly had no law, now has a generally applicable mandatory law.

"A revised summary, taking into account these changes, show that 25 States and Puerto Rico have mandatory provisions applicable to private employment generally. (Of course, there are varying exemptions under these statutes.) These States are Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin.

"Two States, Arizona and Nebraska, have mandatory provisions relating to employment on certain public contracts.

"One State, Nevada, has mandatory provisions for employment on public contracts and hortatory provisions for other private employment.

"One State, West Virginia, has only hortatory provisions.

"Thus, in all, 29 States have some legislation designed to effect equal employment opportunity in private employment."

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 7152 incorporates into the law of our land provisions of a drastic nature that call for direct and summary law enforcement in the field of civil rights. The appeal for fairplay in the questions affecting the Negroes' rights is being denied the right to vote, to service in public accommodations, to the protection under constitutional rights in education; the discrimination suffered in federally assisted programs and at all levels of employment have long since failed to bring about the needed and desired change. Prayers alone did not serve the purpose although many religious groups have taken the lead in sponsoring reforms toward that end in recent years.

Certainly, the several provisions in this bill will deter the corporations, agencies, and individuals who are the chief obstructionists from their longtime illegal and widespread practices of discrimination.

The bill also provides for corrective enactments affecting labor unions' programs that are inimical and prejudicial to Negro employment and job training.

The enforcement provision if properly activated can bring about a practical solution of many of the basic problems confronting the Negro due to unfair practices that victimize him in everyday life and activities.

The Commission can enforce its findings through the Federal district courts. Although the bill in its entirety is not an answer to the problems that beset the Negro race—its ultimate purpose can be realized—namely, to create a better atmosphere for the Negro in the enjoyment of his rights and privileges as an American citizen—and protect him from the proselytizing vultures of society that scorn them as members of our free society.

The community relations service, if properly administered, can alleviate the many problems and help in their solution.

No matter how humble one's social caste as in all other races facing poverty conditions, encouragement through public acceptance will fortify one to meet any social or cultural situation that one may experience. The importance of the Negro's relation to the community life is the difference between being ostracized or becoming an integral part of its civic and spiritual life.

No one should deny Negro participation in the affairs of the community. He is an integral part of the community and can render fine contributions to its operation for the good of the community.

A strong bill shows a determined and lasting effect on these specific purposes. And in this instance it is of the greatest importance to all of our society. This effort to purge a great series of wrongs against our fellow Americans must not fail. It will give impetus to our economy and raise human beings to their rightful level and standards of American life.

God's will demands that this be done for the preservation and unity of our Nation. Our leadership of the liberty-loving nations of the world would be secure in that this total effort incorporated into law by its highest legislative body proves that our Nation practices for itself what it preaches for freemen of other nations to follow.

We shall merit, in the success of this program, the plaudits and blessings of all God-fearing freemen and turn back the pages of our history 100 years—accomplishing that which would have been accomplished if our martyred President Abraham Lincoln had lived.

Mr. Speaker, the tax cut plan formulated at the suggestion and exhortation of our deceased President John Kennedy and pressured into enactment by President Johnson as a simple and direct way of stimulating the economy and increasing the potential of employment for the 5½ million unemployed by putting more funds at the disposal of the millions of consumer spenders thus giving the purchasing public who keep the dollars circulating from merchant to banker for deposit to manufacturer—loans for production of goods—to merchants' sales shelves, et cetera, to the consumer public and so the cycle continues for a prosperous business economy.

Thus the Government will collect more income and excise taxes to meet the expenses of Government estimated in 1964 as $5 billion although the late President Kennedy's proposals in January 1963 have been changed in some instances—by reducing some rates less than he had suggested and "watered down" the raising of revenues as suggested in the reform measure. Still the administration predicts that by 1967 the tax cuts will help balance the Federal budget—yielding higher revenues in public spending at lower rates.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson used every method of aproach to stir up public support behind this legislation. The political pressures were primarily alleged to have been used in measurable quality in the Senate. The lightning flash by President Johnson in presenting a 1965 budget at one-half the estimated deficit of the 1964 budget placed the conservatives on the defensive, and won their approval and confidence that the President's pledge would be carried out to reduce Federal expenditures. The House principle thus was substantiated by Presidential action in exerting a restraint in Federal spending. The signal changes were:

1. The taxation of capital gains in the House version of the bill was deleted by the Senate. The House version would have cost the Treasury $230 million income annually.

2. The stringest House provision for allowing exclusion of sick pay from capital income was slightly changed and liberalized by the Senate and agreed to by the conferees.

3. Deleted Senate provision of allowing tax deductions for political contributions up to $50 per individual and $100 for a married couple filing a joint return.

4. Estimated Senate provision to extend benefits of the head of a household to other persons who are not now qualified.

5. Also removed Senate provision for tax subsidies to companies that install air and water pollution equipment.

6. Struck out provision—Senate—allowing disabled persons costs of commuting to work. Also giving $600 to those too disalbed to work.

7. Sustained deductibility of State and local gasoline taxes. Disallowed deduction on drivers' licenses, taxes on autos, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and selective excise taxes.

8. Also adopted Senate's liberal provisions for deductibility of child care cost by working wives.

Ninth. Adopted the House provision extending from 5 years to an indefinite period the time during which taxpayers may carry forward their capital losses.

Tenth. The various structural reforms adopted both to close loopholes in the law and also liberalize other areas where hardships result.

Eleventh. The open loophole plugged was the elimination of the 4-percent dividend tax credit while doubling the dividend exclusion to $100 for an individual and $200 for a married couple filing a joint return.

Twelfth. An important hardship alleviation corrected will permit low-income individuals to take standard deduction above the 10-percent maximum. The provision will remove about 1½ million persons from the tax roll.

Thirteenth. Also companies will be allowed to claim depreciation deductions for the full cost of new equipment even though 7 percent of the cost is subsidized by the Government.

Fourteenth. The rules were tightened for computing oil and gas deletion allowances. Tax benefits were also restricted for corporation executives who receive stock options.

Fifteenth. The wage earner on the average will receive a 19- to 20-percent tax cut under the bill. The withholding tax will be reduced from 18 to 14 percent bringing an increase of $800 million a month in take-home pay.

These cuts are being relied upon that affect individuals and corporations to stimulate the economy by consumer spending and business investment creating jobs and preventing a recession—without inflation, which the Congress must guard against by holding down the future appropriations in the Federal spending program.

Individual tax rates will be reduced from the present range of 20 to 91 percent to a lower range of 16 to 77 percent on 1964 income and 14 to 70 percent on 1965 income.

These rates will not affect tax returns now being filed on the 1963 income.

Thus the rates for an individual average taxpayer for 1965 will be 20 percent reduction. Although structural reforms will raise more revenues than are lost, the effect at most will be 1 or 19 percent remaining as a tax reduction.

Corporation rates are reduced from 52 to 50 percent in 1964 income and 48 percent in 1965. A sharper reduction is set for those corporations earning less than $25,000 per year.

The bulk of the reduction will result in 1964 as follows: Considering tax reductions and structural changes a tax reduction amounts to $11,480 million, with the greatest amount in 1964.

Individuals amount estimate $9,120 million of the reduction and corporations $2,360 million.

Although the House version of the bill provided for more revenue raising thus costing the Treasury about $11.2 billion and the Senate bill as passed—amended—$11.9 billion.

The bill, at least at present predictions, is considered the answer to relieving the problems of unemployment in the future—1967—and create more or maintain physically the prosperity of the present economy in excess of $600 billion. It is expected that this bill will in effect add some $30 billion to our economy in 1964–65—and thus in a statistical projection insure a balance of our economy.

RULEMAKING OF FEDERAL AGENCIES

Mr. Chairman, ordinarily the Congress does not interfere with the rulemaking procedures of Federal agencies if formulated to set up the operative conduct of its business both as to hearings and basic programs to protect and promulgate the public interest.

H.R. 8316 seeks to clarify the Communications Act of 1934 by reserving to the Congress the power to deal with the regulations relating to the length or frequency of broadcast advertisements. There can be no question that the Congress must reserve to itself such powers that inherently cannot be delegated by the Congress to any other body or agency only within the jurisdiction of its legislating basic controls or rules that lie only within the jurisdiction of its legislative prerogatives.

The determination by rules of the FCC affecting the length or frequency of broadcast advertising arrogates to this body control over the very lifeblood of the industry—its revenue. Certainly it was never intended that the Congress abandon its legislative jurisdiction over the industry on a level of regulatory control of such magnitude as suggested by the whims and caprices of an agency that owes its very existence to the Congress itself.

This bill reiterates the principle that the Congress reserves unto itself jurisdiction to regulate the length or frequency of broadcasting commercials. It would be unreasonable to vest in an agency of Government (or other body) such broad powers of authority in making regulatory rules so as to transfer to itself those legislative powers that even the Congress cannot by law delegate to the FCC.

It is maintained by the opponents of the legislation that its passage would curb needed powers of the Commission that are necessary if regulation of the industry is to serve the public interest. Further that although there is no question that the Congress has the power to delineate the applicable policies established by the Commission, yet the Commission in reality, in order to serve the public interest already has the power to prescribe these standards. Thus the Commission in adopting the rule asserts that the delegation of power by the Congress in the 1934 act was in reality conferring control over the revenues even though determined by the industry itself under its right to enjoy the privileges of our free enterprise system.

The industry itself regulates the revenue-producing income to maintain its operative costs. Different types of operating stations are subject to different conditions as to the time-hour periods and weekday preferences that are revenue producing.

The FCC is seeking to take upon itself a terrific responsibility in a field that at best would result in futile, empty, and pointless gestures irritating to its membership—impractical setups of rate structure for advertising (which they have not the power to establish) charges, thus creating chaos in the industry.

If the purpose of the Government is to take over the broadcasting industry then this usurpation of control over its business relationship with its patrons and customers is a sure method of accomplishing it by policing its existence for a takeover. The National Association of Broadcasters radio and television codes proposed by the Commission for adoption has alerted the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to its important responsibility to the public interest as well as a strong determination to preclude an agency of Government regulatory in nature arrogating to itself the right to legislate. Its powers under the strict interpretation of its mandate—act of 1934—given by the Congress for regulatory purposes must not be changed by Commission just to change the specific intention of a congressional act. The committee has done the people of the Nation a great service in being adamant on this important question. It has also saved the Congress and the industry the greatest headache of the age in protecting the public interest in time—to say nothing of protecting free enterprise. Regulation of a business does not mean Government participation and interference in the management, control, and conduct of its competitive nature in accordance with the customs and practices of the trade. The FCC has enough troubles now without seeking new avenues of controversy. It should be proud of its honest record in its specialized field of endeavor—to protect the industry against autocratic power of politics, the organs of dissemination of information, and without the tycoons of the broadcasting industry itself—all for the protection of the public industry and the health of the industry. Let us not forget that there are many stations that are operating throughout the Nation that are conducted free of advertising—fine programs, educational and musical—but with few viewers in comparison to the commercially supported stations.

Further the commercially supported stations present football, basketball, baseball, and so forth, even golf and tennis matches—world series and Olympics as well as wrestling and boxing contests—without financial commercial support these presentments would be impossible.

The advertising programs are not only interesting that strengthen the economy with sales of gigantic proportions—giving thousands employment and setting up a fine market for serviceable articles for human use and consumption—to say nothing of household, autos, radio and television sets, and other innumerable concoctions—medical and otherwise—for human consumption. Food, cigars, and staple articles are to be seen to attract business.

All one has to do to escape the advertising media is to shut off the set. The public exerts a strong corrective pressure if overadvertising becomes a nuisance by closing off the market appeal felt by the sponsors of the program. The sampling of the public interest in programs is determined through advertising agencies by spot checking the viewing audience. The artist professions would be sadly affected by FCC interference at the advertising level. These matters reflect the public interest. Advertising is a stimulant to sales of genuine products. Regulation of fraudulent advertising can be dealt with by other agencies of Government to protect the public. A favorable vote for this legislation is a protection of the public interest in the freedom of an industry to conduct its honest business without Government interference.

PROBLEMS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Chairman, there is no question that the requests submitted by the District were in line with the cost of the many services rendered the public through its agencies. A thorough study of the requests were considered by the committee. The treatment accorded the requests was in conformity with the economic values involved.

The budget estimates amounted to $357,702,300 including an amendment of $1,850,300. The appropriations recommended in this bill totaled $338,205,200, a reduction of $19,497,100 in the budget requests—but an increase of $25,089,538 over the fiscal figure in 1964.

The Federal contribution amounts to $40,720,000—$37,500,000 to the general fund—same as 1964—$2,047,000 to water fund, and $1,173,000 to the sanitary sewage fund.

These last two allowances represent increases of $123,000 and $229,000, respectively, above the 1964 appropriations—the amounts are based on actual services to the Federal buildings and installations in the area.

The committee also approved $20 million as a Federal loan for partial financing of the capital outlay portion of the budget. Also the amount of some $1,400,000 for the highway fund and $5 million for the sanitary sewage works fund—thus totaling $26,400,000. The loan appropriation is $7,100,000 above that of 1964—and $12 million above the budget estimate. There are adequate balances in the present authorization to meet this increase.

The District is confronted with many problems that have been disregarded over the years because of the refusal of Congress to take a realistic view of the growth of the city and incident thereto, an increase in the demands of the services to be rendered to its growing population. Further, the tremendous increase in the erection of Federal structures and installations that increased the costs of services furnished by the District to these properties that were not properly considered in the light of adequate reimbursement to the District.

The District Commissioners have, under the most trying conditions, endeavored to carry out the responsibilities of their office, An increase in taxes was necessary—gasoline increase of 1 cent per gallon estimated to raise $2 million for highway purposes—real estate taxes and other proposals to raise accumulative funds to meet the deficits.

The employees numbering 28,432 were increased by 750—although 11,021 were requested.

The severe crime problems, the school population, and welfare increases resulting in mounting costs—also the important factor of the general fund financing because of high current operating expenses. The committee recommended an appropriation of $18,677,000 for these expenses—an increase of $794,122 over 1964—yet $734,000 below budget request.

The Executive Office appropriation of $523,000—a decrease of $569,400 from 1964. The Department of General Administration receives $8,002,000—increase of $443,627 over 1964—decreases were as follows:

Regulatory and miscellaneous agencies—about $169,000 budget request to $2,497,000 appropriation 1965.

The library appropriation $3,816,000, for 1965—increase of $337,605 over 1964. Increase for new books $92,000 et cetera.

Department of buildings and grounds appropriated $3,016,000—1965 reduction of $225,000.

Public Safety—appropriated $69,841,000 increase of $3,069,340 over 1964.

Office of Corporation Counsel—$1,155,000—1965 increase of $89,477 over 1964.

Fire department 1965—$15,692,600—$330,070 over 1964.

Office of Civil Defense—$129,000—1965 courts—$7,228,000 increase of $456,537—1964.

Department of Correction, $8,995,000 increase $591,093—1964.

Education—$67,910,000 increase of $4,049,407—1964—less $697,000 requested. A total of 234 new teachers provided for, 268 were requested.

Parks and recreation, $4,166,000—increase of $509,995—1964.

Health and welfare, $74,833,000—increase of $4,306,952—1964. Includes public health activities, $48,246,000; an increase of $1,336,464—1964—and the Department of Welfare—$25,865,000—increase $2,746,645—1964.

Highway and traffic, $13,573,000—increase of $1,165,016 over 1964.

Sanitary engineering, $21,750,000 appropriated.

Metropolitan police, $283,000; expenses incident to inaugural of 1966—repayment of loans and interest, $5,364,000.

Capital outlay projects, $55,887,000—increase of $9,350,500—1964.

The committee has endeavored to meet its obligations in making fiscal determinations in accordance with the important expansion needs to carry out the purposes of District government. The enormous sums needed and demanded by the District Commissioners for expansion of the school system both in personnel and buildings—the welfare for the unfortunate on relief and the many critical needs of the majority of the cities in the United States are self-evident. At least a new attitude has evinced itself in the committee deliberations. The results are at least exemplary of a new look at the problems of the city we love, our Capital of the United States. We must make further progress in the near future toward remedying the problems that confront the five Commissioners who have labored in this beautiful city.

TO INCREASE VOLUNTEERS OF THE PEACE CORPS

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 9666 is the authorization of $115 million to finance the increase in the number of volunteers from 10,500 to 14,000. To meet these financial obligations the committee recommended the increase—the appropriation for 1964 was $95,963,971.

The accomplishments of the Peace Corps since its inception—March 1, 1961—have astounded even those who as sponsors expected only a long-range contribution to the development of the present 46 countries overseas being serviced by the 6,976 volunteers and trainees. The successful efforts of these emissaries—primarily made up of engineers and teachers—to teach and help the common people meet their problems of everyday life at the local level.

In appreciative numbers these college-trained persons are now operating at their respective tasks in Africa—among 17 nations, 2,257 in number—the Far East—4 nations and 2 provinces—1,187; Near East-south Asia—8 nations, 825; and Latin America 17 nations—2,707; a total of 46 countries with 458 in training—a total of 6,518 emissaries functioning making a grand total of 6,976.

Their assignments are varied as follows: 428 in agricultural extension, 1,218 rural and 324 in urban community action. In the field of education including elementary, 615; secondary, 2,086; university, 309; adult, 7; vocational, 141; physical, 168, totaling 3,386. Other categories include health, 529; multipurpose, 63; and public works, 165. There are also in training in these various employments 878 individuals making a grand total of 6,991 of whom 4,280 are men and 2,711 women.

The Nation's recipient of these services have indicated a high sense of appreciation and with few exceptions have requested a substantial larger number of volunteers to be given assignments to them.

In the 3 years that the Peace Corps has functioned it has demonstrated its need and its contribution to the peace and economical progress of all the nations that were fortunate to receive the services of their skilled talents.

Although many brilliant leaders both in its professional and educational ranks have made possible its exemplary record—there is one person who has lived its very existence at every level of its climb to universal acceptance as a worthwhile project—he forded the stream of political pressures that result from any new programing needing appropriated public moneys.

Further he sold his dream of its success to the Congress. He spelled out the adventure of a lifetime to the spirited youth of our colleges whose pioneeric spirit permeates every effort of the Peace Corps programs. He made good on every promise that he made to the Congress; first, that the behavior overseas would be exemplary; that the volunteers would live at normal levels in their new habitat; that the emissaries would work with the natives and fit in with the life of the community; that in every way their work and travel would be comparative to the United States in an austere manner. He has earned the respect and commendation of every American. His confidence in the salutory effects of the program has been realized as far as the contributions made by the volunteers to the betterment of local conditions both in educational, farm, and engineering accomplishments. These messengers of good will have had a tremendous impact upon the nationals that they have served so well. As to the question of their impact upon the peace—3 years is a short time to determine what effect their activities will have upon that score. But we can at least feel that the improvement of local conditions in living will in the end have a total effect upon the community, and by example influence the several communities creating a unified effort to raise the standards of living. Men will fight to keep their national identity and protect their community when the enjoyment of the opportunities of this life are theirs for the asking.

Education and training in all fields—vocational or otherwise—builds up the economy and increases employment and results in prosperity of all the people. Tyranny does not thrive where the family tie is strong and men have opportunity to improve their lot in life and give opportunities to their children.

We owe a great deal to the leadership exemplified by the Director of the Peace Corps Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. He has operated the program with a view to strict economy and returned some in the use of appropriated funds set up for its purposes. I desire to reiterate what I stated on the 1st day of March 1961 as to the qualifications of Director Shriver—page 4969, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"The Peace Corps is in good hands with Sargent Shriver, the former president of the board of education, city of Chicago, as its Director."

And further in March 1, 1962, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, House, page A1572, in a discussion of the Peace Corps on its first anniversary:

"The members of the Corps have quietly assumed, each in his or her individual capacity, the responsibilities under a personal assignment—the efficiency of each operation has earned merited praise.

"Director R. Sargent Shriver presented a review of the Peace Corps' activity on the NBC–WRC television program, Saturday night, February 24. He stated, 'They tell us that the Peace Corps is achieving a very important success at the local level in these foreign countries. Certainly, we in Washington hope that it is. And we hope that many more Americans will volunteer.'

"The great humility of Director R. Sargent Shriver is reflected in this understatement, for the tremendous number of requests for more Corps assignments, by the host nations and others, is indicative of the great demand for their exceptional services."

LEVYING OF TAX—H.R. 8000

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of H.R. 8000 is to levy a tax upon an American investor or purchaser of a foreign stock or bond, only if his or her purchases are made from a foreigner. The tax will reduce the outflow into these securities in a projected determination—first half of 1963—of from $1¼ million to $1½ million; during the last 6 months of 1963 a savings of $1.8 billion.

The tax was proposed because of the critical results suffered in the purchases by Americans in the first half of 1963 of nearly $2 billion—practically doubling the rate of 1962 and tripling the rate of investment in 1961. Thus our international payments became a critical problem in an endeavor

to balance our international payments and was a determining factor in the payment deficit of $5 billion at the annual rate in the second quarter of 1963—a rate which could not be sustained. A limitation date of December 31, 1965, considered a sufficient time interval for the accomplishment of its purposes—the imported opportunities for investment in the United States and perhaps also foreign—and further the accomplishing of the goal of $1 billion in Government expenditures overseas.

The tax rate on foreign bonds is 15 percent, while the rate is graduated from 2.75 to 15 percent on foreign bonds depending upon the time of maturity. The rate of the tax raises the cost of foreign borrowing in the United States by about 1 percent per year. There is no tax if the foreign security is purchased by another American. The brokerage agencies function in this capacity. The American holder of foreign stock can sell it in the market designated for such sale and escape the 15-percent charge on the value of his or her stock. If a purchase is made from a foreigner he is subject to the tax. One liable for the tax must file a quarterly interest—failure to do so results in a fine of $1,000 as well as a criminal penalty for a willful failure to file—similar to violation imposed in the case of tax returns.

The following questions and answers are in conformity with the prescriptions of the bill:

"Question. Can an American escape the tax by purchasing foreign securities outside the country?

"Answer. No. The liability for tax is incurred whether the purchase from a foreigner is made within or outside the United States. Enforcement of this requirement will be comparable to enforcement of income tax provisions applicable to Americans living abroad.

"Question. Must information returns be filed by brokers?

"Answer. Brokers will be required to report purchases by them on behalf of customers who are liable for the tax.

"Question. Are brokers required to withhold the tax on the purchase of foreign securities?

"Answer. No. The American purchaser must file a return and pay the tax.

"Question. How does the seller establish that he is an American?

"Answer. Certificate of American ownership forms have been supplied on which sellers certify that they are Americans, and purchasers from them are not subject to the tax. These forms must be filed with the seller's broker, and a single form can suffice for an entire brokerage account.

"Question. Does the bill provide penalties for executing false certificates of American ownership?

"Answer. The willful filing of false certificates of American ownership is punishable by a fine of not more than $1,000, imprisonment for not more than 1 year, or both.

"Question. What is the effective date of the tax?

"Answer. The tax applies to purchases of foreign securities made on or after July 19, 1963. This effective date is necessary to avoid an acceleration of foreign borrowings during the period in which Congress is considering the proposal, which might cause irreparable damage to our balance of payments in the short term. In the case of purchase made on stock exchanges, August 17, 1963, is the effective date.

"Question. Why does the bill apply to outstanding as well as new issues?

"Answer. Inclusion of outstanding issues within the bill's coverage will achieve balance-of-payments savings of as much as $500 million annually and prevent substitution of untaxed outstanding securities for taxed new issues. If the tax did not apply to both new and outstanding securities, it would be a relatively simple matter for foreigners to sell issues which they now hold on a tax-free basis to Americans and use the proceeds to invest in new issues.

"Question. Why does the tax apply to both stocks and bonds?

"Answer. Stocks are an alternate means of raising capital for private foreign borrowers and failure to include them might cost $500 to $600 million annually in outflows.

"Question. Does the tax apply to the purchase of all foreign debt obligations, regardless of maturity?

"Answer. The tax does not apply to purchases of obligations with less than 3 years remaining to maturity. These short-term obligations play an important role in financing U.S. exports.

"Question. Will the tax have a restrictive effect on U.S. exports?

"Answer. The bill has been carefully drawn so as not to interfere with export financing, since an increase in exports is one of the best ways of reducing the deficit in the U.S. balance of payments.

"Question. Does the tax apply to direct investments made by U.S. firms in foreign corporations?

"Answer. No tax is due if the American firm owns 10 percent or more of the stock, or the purchase brings ownership to 10 percent or more, of the foreign corporation since direct investment of this type implies active participation in the management of the foreign corporation and is not concerned with interest-rate differentials.

"Question. How does the bill affect bank loans?

"Answer. Commercial bank loans are excluded from tax if made by a bank in the ordinary course of its commercial banking business. This exclusion recognizes the important role of commercial banks in financing U.S. exports and the international business of American firms.

"Question. What is being done to prevent use of the bank exclusion to avoid the tax on otherwise taxable borrowings?

"Answer. Because of the possibility of abuse of the bank exclusion, the bill authorizes the collection of data on foreign bank lending to provide a basis for determining whether this exclusion should be continued and, if not, the way in which it should be modified.

"Question. Does the tax apply to purchases of securities of less developed countries?

"Answer. No. The bill excludes from tax purchases of governmental securities of less developed countries as well as securities of companies doing the bulk of their business in less developed countries.

"Question. Does the tax apply to new issues of all developed countries?

"Answer. The bill provides that the President has authority to exempt new issues of a foreign country where he determines that application of the tax to the securities of that country imperils or threatens to imperil the stability of the international monetary system. In such a case, the United States would want to avoid disruption of the international payments system since this could bring serious damage to our own economy as well as to other countries. Such action would be in accordance with the treaty obligation of the United States to the International Monetary Fund to help promote exchange stability.

"Question. Is it expected that this authority will be exercised?

"Answer. It is anticipated that new Canadian issues will be exempted from tax. This does not mean, however, that the U.S. balance-of-payments gains we sought will be sacrificed since the Canadians have undertaken not to borrow in the U.S. market amounts that would increase their international reserves. The exemption can be revoked or limited if Canadian borrowings exceed amounts required to maintain their international reserves and reach the abnormally high levels of 1962 and early 1963.

"Question. Does the tax apply to foreign companies controlled by Americans?

"Answer. The bill excludes from tax foreign corporations traded on U.S. stock exchanges if the principal market is in the United States and more than 50 percent of the stock is owned by Americans.

"Question. What is the expected revenue from the tax?

"Answer. It is estimated that this bill will result in an annual revenue gain of up to $30 million in a full year of operation."

The passage of this legislation will contribute to the protection of our economy in that the reduction of investments (bonds and stocks) abroad will serve to prevent the depletion of our gold reserves and reduce the outflow of our monetary deficits as a result of heavy foreign investments.

PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW COMMISSION

Mr. Chairman, the laudable purpose of H.R. 8070 establishing of a Public Land Law Review Commission to study laws and procedures relating to the administration of the public lands of the United States to correlate the same with a view of proper revision to meet the current needs and future development of their uses for the American people in the public interest, is surely needed. A Commission alone can serve the purposes intended to accomplish these merited goals. No committee of the Congress could possibly amass and analyze the tremendous research material necessary to assimilate and codify the legislative specificity under this public responsibility. Members chosen must be expert in their training in order to comprehend the proper revisions and other purposes included in H.R. 8070 provisions.

The Commission consists of 19 members selected as follows:

Three minority and majority Senate members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs appointed by the President of the Senate. A similar number as above appointed by the Speaker of the House. Six members appointed by the President of the United States—excludes those holding Federal appointment within 1 year of consideration—also anyone holding an appointment or position with the executive branch of Government—time waiver not to exceed 130 days of the previous 365-day period.

The Chairman shall be elected by the 18 members. Vacancies are filled in similar manner as respective appointments. One of the members appointed by the respective appointing officer of the Congress shall be designated as a senior member. The organization meeting will be called by these senior members. Ten members are considered a quorum to do business—a lesser number may conduct hearings. Only Members of the Congress shall serve without pay, but will receive reimbursement for travel and subsistence. Others receive $50 per diem when actually performing services—also reimbursement for travel and subsistence. Twenty-five additional members will be representative of those interested in public lands.

The Commission is given full powers to carry out its purposes—subpena of witnesses and documents—not to be served for hearing outside State of domicile—the material or testimony may be classified if procured from undisclosed or secret sources. May secure material and evidenciary facts from employees of agencies, and so forth, to be held confidential.

An appropriation of $4 million is authorized.

The all inclusive definition of public lands, reservations—excluding Indian lands—lands permanently or temporarily withdrawn, reserved, or withheld from private appropriation and disposal under public land laws including mining laws, outstanding interests

of the United States in lands patent, conveyed in fee or otherwise, under the public land laws, national forests, and the surface and subsurface resources of all such laws, including the disposition, restriction, or disposition of the mineral resources in lands defined by appropriate statutes, treaty or judicial determination as being under the control of the United States in the Outer Continental Shelf.

Thus the enactment of H.R. 8070 will permit a comprehensive affirmation of the policies of the United States in treating with public lands in all matters concerning the carrying out of the public interest. It is considered that a 4-year study will contribute much to the formulation of the future policy of our Government in treating with public lands and their relation to the public interest. Each agency concerned with public lands will have a liaison representative to work with the Commission staff. The Commission will file its report to the President and Congress by December 31, 1967, and ceases its functions on June 30, 1968.

The committee and its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], are to be congratulated upon its splendid approach to solve an intricate and delicate level of controversy in Government—the Department of Interior under the positive leadership of Hon. Stewart Udall have persistently sought congressional action in this area of Government operation. His action to modernize the Department of the Interior in both its operational and its improvement for the public acceptance of its facilities and purposes in the uses of lands and facilities are a credit to our national progress in the recreational services of the Department and the conservation of public lands for future generations of Americans.

FEDERAL PAY RAISE

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 8986, the Federal pay raise bill is in reality a pay readjustment measure. The $545 million measure is supported by the administration and executive and business leaders throughout the Nation. It provides for an increase in pay for 1.7 million Government employees and an increase of $10,000 in the salaries of Members of Congress.

The pay raises for Federal executives and employees are in conformity with those wages paid by private industry for comparable positions. The last pay raise voted—1962—initiated this principle as a basic consideration for future legislation at this level.

Since 1945 the Government employees have received through congressional enactment 10 raises. The 590,000 postal employees received a 6.2-percent increase and other employees numbering 1.1 million—classified and other white-collared help—received 4.86-percent increases. All throughout the history of these raises by the Congress the greater pressures were activated by the better organized Federal groups of employees, thus the emotional or political advantages of pressures resulted in a superficial and loose consideration of the problem as a study—no comparative figures developed between industrial compensatory tables of wages and those of Government workers thus establishing a basic relationship between the Federal salary system and those of industry, as reflected in comparative employment statistics prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in their statistical tables, which estimate the average annual adjustments of between 2½ and 3 percent will establish the comparability law in Government.

It is contemplated that the comparability principle in fixing of Federal salaries will effect a 50-percent decrease in the expense incurred in increased salary expenses.

The BLS survey of 1961–62 is used as the basis of the rates in the bill. A 1962–63 study advocated a 3-percent increase above those of the administration in Federal pay, but also recommended a cut in the salaries of the middle and higher bracketed employees—below the 1961–62 figures.

The administration approves the bill with the reservation that in the future a bill to correct the inequities in the middle and top grades be enacted to fulfill the principle of complete comparability with similar positions in industry and business.

As far as the judges of the courts no one can deny that their judicial abilities and talents would in private fields of their profession earn far more than their Federal salaries.

An equally important provision of the bill provides for an increase of $10,000 for the Members of the Congress—the uninformed citizen would be critical of the Congress voting a pay raise for its Members at what critics say is an ill opportune time period when the financial stability of the Nation is continuing in the deep red side of the ledger; and all sorts of suggestions in public, business, and political circles are advanced on theories to secure a total economic conservatism in Government spending.

Just what is the financial situation confronting the Members of the Congress relative to questions involving the inadequacy of the present level of salary? Although the present salary—$22,500—appears to the same as substantial sum as compensation for the Federal services at this level—yet few citizens realize the terrific expenses incurred by the Members of the Congress in meeting the financial responsibilities of this office.

To begin with the income tax retention as the part of the Government amounts the average case of one married with one dependent at 17½ percent of salary equal to about $3,800 per year.

The contributions at all levels of charities and programs for medical research aid foundations, school groups visiting Washington, travel fares—incidental to required return to attend district functions and congressional business; further the maintenance of two homes and offices far beyond the Government allowances. No small item is the wide range of gifts, donations, and emoluments given to constituents, and services—tips and cab fares. Further the obligations of a political nature including the contributions to churches, medical programs, and above all the dinners to visitors in Washington. Substantial sums are also a needed outlay of 7½ percent of salary for the pension fund and policies insuring life at $10 to $12 per month and health at $10 to $12 per month for family protection. Many of the Members who are elected from districts sans political organizations must wholly finance their own political units in order to perfect a working and functioning campaign for their election. Many are in a serious financial condition due to the heavy costs between yearly interval campaigns each 2 years. The Members with growing families are beset with problems of school and college tuition, also subsistence costs of education.

Unless the salary increase as proposed in this legislation in a few years only persons of affluence can be expected to place their names upon the lists as candidates for congressional office.

There are less than 1,600 offices and positions covered in the congressional, executive, and judicial salary provisions at an aggregate cost of $15.7 million and represents but 2.6 percent of the total cost of the bill. These changes have been recommended strongly by recognized authorities on the subject both in Government and private life. The bill establishes basically a sound salary system for all levels of Government. Also, the continued application of the comparability principle to salaries of postal and other career Federal employees depends in the final analysis on the salary levels of Federal executives, judges, and Members of Congress.

Fair and substantial salaries will retain in the Government employ executives in key posts—judges of high repute and talented abilities, authorities in their profession—and attract and continue at the legislative level of Government capable and skilled legislators and individuals who are fit to accept the heavy responsibilities of the office and in dedication to this service are not beset by financial deficits in their public and family obligations.

The committee in its proposal has presented a realistic bill in H.R. 8986 as a result of long study and thorough research of the problem. My compliments and appreciation are extended to its illustrious Chairman TOM MURRAY and the members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for their inestimable valued contribution to the perfection of good sound Government operation insuring, through efficient and intelligent personnel, a strong functioning Government.

APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations should be congratulated in its efforts to balance the cost of the Department of the Interior and related agencies including the U.S. Forest Service for 1965 and excluding the Bonneville Power Administration, Bureau of Reclamation, Southeastern Power Administration; the bill provided a net increase over the 1964 appropriation of 1 percent—a net increase of $9,439,100.

As to revenues earned it was projected that the activities are forecast to bring in a sum equal to $687,900,000—an increase of $90.2 million over 1964.

The most important responsibilities to the citizens of the Nation and the future generations of Americans are embodied in the purposes of this legislation—the conservation of our natural resources, the care of the Indians, and the development of the recreational facilities of our public lands—so ably accomplished in this administration by terrific activities of modern methods and the intelligent progressive ideas of our former colleague, Secretary Stewart Udall, and his efficient and talented staff of workers identified with the operations of the Department of the Interior and its related agencies.

It is significant that the committee has provided wide reforms in the field of education especially for the Indian children as well as other developments in Indian programs expanding their activities and benefits—approximately one-third of the appropriation figures are adapted to Indian affairs.

Also the necessary implementation for the Federal contribution to the establishment of the President John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts as authorized by Public Law 88–260 approved earlier this year—January 23, 1964—this is the accomplishment of another milestone in the establishment of a cultural center whose activities will reflect the realization of the realistic dream of our martyred President, whose classical mind envisioned the great contributions to the cultural progress of the Nation—fittingly emanating from the Capital City of the United States. There is no question that under the leadership of his artistic widow, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, that the great impetus needed to generate the public confidence in the ultimate aims of its sponsors will be realized—namely the success of establishing this institution through the matching of funds both public and Federal appropriated under this bill—not to exceed $15,400,000.

The many services of great public import provided under this bill are dedicated to a real public interest—no one can deny that the dollars spent to preserve and revitalize the recreational facilities and lands of our Nation that belong to our people as well as the advancement of the cultural and educational level is a signal contribution to public

purpose. A great deal of credit belongs to the committee under the leadership of a great American and our colleague, Mr. MICHAEL KIRWAN, who again as he has in other fields, touching the true values of legislative contributions to our way of American life, guided the committee—and also instilled confidence in the Congress to foster and perpetuate the new programs proposed to conserve, improve our lands, and give guidance to the Department of the Interior whose demanding leadership petitions the Congress to make possible by legislation these reforms. This is a splendid bill for the purposes intended and should be unanimously supported by the Congress.

MILITARY PROGRAMS

Mr. Chairman, the passage of H.R. 10300 marks the passing of the master services of a great legislator, CARL VINSON, who for the past 30 years of his 50 years as a Member of the House has in his committee advised, guided, and directed legislation for the military departments considered by the Committee on Armed Services. His dedication to strengthening the defensive and offensive might of the United States as a military power is reflected in the superior if not supreme punishing and deterrent power of our military forces. The Nation and the Congress are deeply indebted to him in appreciation for his skillful and discerning statesmanship.

The many facets considered at all levels of military operational programs and projects were provided for after minute examination and study by the committee of the various proposals submitted for authorization during the fiscal year 1965.

The approved bill totals $1,590,666,000 and provides construction authorization in support of the Active Forces, the Reserve components, defense agencies, and military family housing.

The total authorization granted were as follows: Army, $300,482,000; Navy, $238,536,000; Air Force, $345,727,000; Defense agencies, including Atomic, Support, Supply, National Security, and Office of the Secretary, $10,805,000; family housing: Army—2,135 units; Navy—4,056 units; Air Force—3,695 units, amounting to $177,758,000; general support, $482,847,000 thus totaling for these items, $660,605,000; the Reserve forces—Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Corps Reserve and similar Army, and Air National Guard, totaling $34,450,000—a grand total of $1,590,666,000. The request for new facilities submitted by the military departments totaled over $2.1 billion and an additional three-quarters of a billion dollars for family housing. After study and analysis by the Department of Defense and the Bureau of the Budget—also the Secretary of Defense nearly half—49 percent—approximately $1 billion was rejected or deferred. The totals for military construction authorization for fiscal year 1965 amounts to $1,839,507,000.

The proposed acquisition of land amounted to 1,460,289 acres at a cost of $32 million—the committee approved the purchase of 204,282 acres at an estimated cost of $21.5 million, saving $10.5 million.

H.R. 13000 authorizes $75 million for medical facilities of which $56 million is provided for the erection of 11 hospitals.

The committee provided $17.5 million for emergency construction projects, a modified sum for a limited authority, and a strict guide against using these funds as an added reprograming authority but only for an unforeseen construction requirement.

The bill authorizes the construction of 585 military bases throughout the world; also 9,886 individual units of military family housing, minor construction authority for improvements of adequate quarters, rental guarantee payments, operating expenses, leasing of family units, 5,000; maintenance of the entire inventory of the military family, 368,000 units; credit debt payments and serviceman's mortgage insurance authorization.

The bill provides new authority to build 65 Army permanent installations, 3 on foreign shores, also cadet housing facilities, $137 million; operation and training facilities; surface-to-air missiles facilities, $39 million; medical facilities, $24 million; administrative facilities, $7 million; and land, $19 million. Also facilities for the Army Security Agency in the United States and at Army bases in foreign countries.

The provisions in the bill relative to the replacement of deteriorated temporary facilities—outdated basic plants necessitate the programing of $300 million per year over a 10-year period in new or improved facilities—are in conformity wth both the services and the committee's studies.

The bill provides certain moneys for a contemplated change in the removal of the 5th Army Headquarters at the Southside of Chicago, Ill., to Fort Sheridan, Ill.—appropriating $323 million to facilitate this change as an initial cost for preliminary preparation for plans and so forth. The estimated sums necessary to complete the proposed turnover will necessitate further continuing appropriations for housing facilities in the amount of about $10 million.

The advocates of the changes have not given any substantial reason for the transfer except to aver that it belongs there. The thousands of civilians employed giving related services to the operational unit headquarters will be thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. The broad scope of the operations of the 5th Army Headquarters, including the Midwestern States—Colorado on the west—carrying on the administrative business of the Army. This unit should be located at Chicago, Ill. It is easily accessible from all parts of the area by rail, air, or auto, certainly all lines of communication are at one's elbow. The committee showed acute alertness in response to the will of Chairman VINSON, in rejecting the O'Hara amendment submitted by the Chicago delegation striking the appropriation incorporated in the bill for this stupid scheme against the public interest of the citizens of Chicago. Chicago has been the victim of these military proposals under the pretense of economy—through consolidation of various services located in Chicago with other services in other cities—by transfer of the same to those cities without any regard to the employment problems resulting or the deprivation of the rights of those who had gained civil service status in their employment—in most instances, unless employees transfer—lose seniority and Federal employment.

The all inclusive items in the bill are varied and all encompassing of the military needs and intense operational worldwide scope of our military family. This all important subject has been treated by the committee with meticulous treatment of excellent legislative finesse. The perfected work glows with the brilliant and deft abilities of our estimable chairman, CARL VINSON, who enjoys a national reputation as the supreme authority on matters affecting the military policy of the services, as related to their legislative purposes. Chairman CARL VINSON, the Illinois delegation salutes you in appreciation of your dedication as a guide and guard of the military powers of our Nation through the years and today stands as the strongest, militarily, of all the nations of the world. Her position is in the forefront of the supreme defenders of the liberty-loving nations of the universe.

APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. Chairman, the appropriation for the Treasury, Post Office and Executive Office for 1965 as incorporated in H.R. 10532 provides the sum of $1,207,080,000, some $179,954,000 in excess of the 1964 appropriation and a cut of $29,910,000 under the budget request.

Mandatory increases such as the Military Pay Act—of 1963—and the civilian pay increase—year of 1964—account for $121 million. Other costs and capital expenditures—purchase of electronic data processing equipment—to reduce rental costs, the replacement of aircraft and vessels—Coast Guard—account for $84 million. This volume and workload increases account for the increases.

The permanent appropriation and trust funds over which the Congress action remains at status quo amount in 1965 to $11,175,295,000, an increase of $390,880,000. The interest on the public debt included in this figure estimated at $11 billion, an increase over 1964 of $400 million.

The increases in personnel allowed over 1964 were as follows: 1,650 for Treasury and 700 in the Post Office.

The Treasury Department was provided with an appropriation of $1,207,080,000, an increase of $103,430,000 over 1964. Increase of civilian personnel 1,600—including 1,400 for the Internal Revenue Service. The entire Department of the Treasury is represented by about 82,000 employees exclusive of nonappropriated and revolving fund employment.

The increase in funds were a result of mandatory increases in costs—both military and civilian pay raises—about $48.6 million—equipment and facilities, $32 million; and the vessel and aircraft replacement program of the Coast Guard, $29 million.

Office of the Secretary: Committee recommends $5,550,000 increase of $550,000 over 1964. Office of the Director of Practice was transferred from Revenue to the Office of Secretary. Seven new positions were provided for.

Bureau of Accounts: Salaries and expenses, $33 million—less than 1964, $1,800,000.

Bureau of Customs: $76 million—$3,630,000 more than 1964—workload increasing continuously. Increase travelers at port of entry for 1965 estimated at $171 million—$158 million, 1962. Formal entries of merchandise increased from $1.5 million in 1962 to $1.8 million in 1965.

Bureau of Engraving and Printing, 1965, $5,750,000.

Bureau of the Mint, 1965, $9,380,000; increase of $1,880,000 over 1964. Salaries and expenses, $600,000, to be used exclusively to mint an increased number of coins to serve a critical need, and $650,000 for minting of 100 million silver dollars—100 employees increase allowed.

Construction of mint facilities: $16 million appropriated. New mint construction in Philadelphia, and for the improvement of machinery for coin production.

Bureau of the Public Debt: Appropriated for 1965, $49 million; increase of $1 million over 1964.

Bureau of Narcotics: Appropriated 1965, $5,500,000, increase of $200,000 over 1964 mandatory costs and oversea programs.

Coast Guard: $270 million 1965, $21 million over 1964—to provide for mandatory cost in salary increases and full year round operations of vessels, aircraft, and shore installations.

Internal Revenue: $583 million, an increase of $31 million over 1964. Mandatory increases including purchase of automatic data processing equipment and the increase of personnel—1,400.

Office of the Treasurer: $6 million, 1965; a reduction of $10,700,000—1964.

Secret Service: $7½ million, 1965; increase of $670,000 over 1964.

White House Police: $1,730,000, 1965; $30,000 increase—1964. Guard Force: $420,000, 1965; $20,000 increase—1964.

Post Office: Appropriation 1965, $5,001,500,000, an increase of $76 million over 1964—$72 million represent mandatory costs increases such as salaries, increased mail volume, increase in personnel, amounting to

$23 million. Also an increase of 700 in personnel. Also in addition to the 380 accruing for consolidation of the accounting centers, making the total increase 1,080—a total personnel of 594,000.

Independent agencies: Tax court, $1,960,000, 1965; an increase of $70,000 over 1964.

Advisory Commission of Intergovernmental Relations: $395,000, 1965, an increase of $10,000—1964.

President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management: $150,000, 1965, $50,000 less than 1964.

The committee is to be congratulated on its thorough evaluation of the needs of these Government divisions both as to their financial needs and in terms of personnel and mechanical modernization of the improvements in machinery implementation of use to the efficient operational services of the various bureaus and departments considered by this bill.

The passage of this legislation marks the end of the legislative chairmanship of the distinguished Congressman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] whose diligent and intelligent leadership has guided the efforts of his committee through the years of his chairmanship. At each session he was secure in his determination to procure the basic data and evidentiary facts to sustain the decisions of his committee. There is no more important matter than that of fixing the financial costs for the functioning offices and bureaus of Government—hence the excellent results of the committee in serving so well these heavy responsibilities of the whole Congress calls for a salute in appreciation for this splendid report reflecting the accomplishments of Chairman VAUGHAN GARY and the members of his efficient and dedicated committee.

NASA APPROPRIATION

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10456 authorizes certain appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The total appropriations amount to $5,193,810,500, necessary to support operational administration, research and development, construction of facilities, and for other purposes.

The separative appropriated figures for research and development $4,327,950,000; construction facilities, $248,335,000; and administrative operations $617,525,000.

The committee is to be congratulated for its consistent laborious application to its responsibilities throughout lengthy deliberations based upon the host of witnesses, except in their fields, who gave testimony on the various facets under consideration.

The committee in conformity with the desire of the Nation to establish superiority in space placed strong emphasis on the Apollo or moon project. The control of space in superiority by the United States is assurance of the continuation of peace among all nations. We are pledged to develop space for peaceful purposes. Nuclear armed space weapon systems in the control of any enemy power will give that nation the power to dictate terms at the bargain table.

Therefore, in order to prevent nations inimical to the interests of the pro-Western nations by implementing its policies for peace or war through its space weapon superiority forces the United States to pursue this goal with the moon shot, thus experimenting from inner to outer space.

The President determines the degree of emphasis to be placed in this area of operation.

In view of Russia's success in inner space, new earth operational vehicles, and the proposal of the United States and U.S.S.R. joint venture in an effort toward manned lunar landing which involves classified information, as well as other events, have caused a slowdown in the lunar program although NASA has enjoyed a steady growth—1963's accomplishments have not been too impressive in the practical sense of planned probing of space; only 10 of 40 major space probes were lifted into space.

To concentrate on this program is most important for our national security. The national space goals must be realized if we are to retain our supremacy as the most powerful nation militarily and as the most powerful deterrent to prevent war.

The many space programs and projects including the Gemini, $308,400,000; Apollo, $2,677,500,000; advanced missions, $22.1 million; geophysics and astronomy, $174.2 million; lunar and planetary exploration, $283.1 million; sustaining university, $46 million; launch vehicle development, $128.2 million; bioscience, $31 million; meteorological satellites, $37.5 million; communication satellites, $11.4 million; advanced technological satellites, $31 million; basic research, $21 million; space vehicle systems, $37 million; electronic systems, $27 million; human factor, $15.5 million; nuclear electric, $47.1 million; nuclear rockets, $57 million; chemical propulsion, $62.8 million; space power, $12.5 million; aeronautics, $37 million; tracking and data acquisition, $255.9 million, and technology, $4.750 million.

The university provided for the performance of research and development of projects under contractual arrangements under grants—training of students—to nonprofit educational institutions of higher learning; also including facilities grants and research grants—titles of facilities vests in United States—under such conditions that the benefits realized are of adequate proportions to justify the grants in this sustaining program.

Any accomplishment in this field becomes of wordly notice immediately upon its operational manifestation 'n space. We must persevere to become the first in outer space discoveries and exploration. We owe it to our people as well as our allies to control outer space for the purpose of maintaining the security of all nations for the preservation of peace.

Chicago's interest denied

The placement of the Electronic Research Center near Boston, Mass.—40 miles—with a continuing—in futuro—expenditure of millions of dollars involving the establishment of 10 different research facilities at different levels of the study of electronics—should have been divided by placement in other areas of the Nation. The report bears out the advantages on the educational level—colleges of higher learning in the area—but the city of Chicago the center of electronic production—Borg-Warner and Western Electric—with its worldwide recognized universities—Northwestern, Illinois, Chicago, Loyola, DePaul, Illinois Tech—and being the most important manufacturing and tool and die production center of the Nation should have been considered more favorably not only by reason of its location but due to the further fact that the city has lost the U.S. Army Research—Food and Canteen. Then the removal of the 5th Army Headquarters and several other important installations. The Midwest is being denied a participation in Federal programs to a point where it hurts.

FOOD STAMP ACT

Mr. Chairman, the road to poverty is footworn by the millions of hunger stricken humans whose withered bodies harbor near dead souls without ambition or substance. The most innocent in responsibility for their impoverished condition are the children who through the misfortunate circumstances of birth are wasting away without succor or substance. These can be truly called the resulting loss of a decadent generation.

We, as a God-fearing people, with charity in our hearts, have sponsored and supported tremendous international charity programs among the people of the earth—to give impetus to their self-uplift and to so stimulate their economy to increase their opportunities to pursue and enjoy normal living standards and remunerative employment.

And thus we have in these world encompassing projects spent enormous sums of money—$130 billion, including the Marshall plan—while being strict in the regulation of limitations and a too conservative control over our relief food program.

H.R. 10222 is designed to extend the Food Stamp Act Plan of 1964 over the Nation and further expand to thousands of our needy citizens the benefits under the act.

The expanded program will further strengthen the agricultural economy, increase the use of food abundances, reduce storage and other costs, stabilize the health, and insure the well-being of our needy, to regulate through cooperative Federal-State programs of food assistance through normal trade facilities and merchants in private enterprise as outlets for distribution to the recipients.

There are 43 such local areas operating under the stamp programs since 1961—under H.R. 10222 the program is under congressional direction and further provides specific legal authority for the program.

The accumulation of surplus foods should not be considered solely for oversea negotiations but should serve a most salutary and righteous purpose in being placed at the disposal of indigent persons for home consumption.

Under the bill any area organized through an agency "set up" to administer public assistance programs can submit a request for the establishment of a food stamp program—its plan of operation, factual data—incident to the scope and statistical basic determinations are presented to the authority petitioned.

Each State is responsible for the costs of operation including costs of administration, the determination of eligible households, together with the investigations, conferences with citizens seeking participation, the control, issuance and protection of the coupons upon their transfer by the Federal authority. The collection of data as to households certified as not being on the public assistance rolls—being of a Federal interest for aid—such costs will be met at the Federal expense.

The Secretary of Agriculture will pass upon the State and local plans of operation presented for approval.

From previous statistics it was determined that 60 percent of the households approved as participants of the program are not on the relief rolls or receiving public assistance—but whose eligibility to participate was based on their economic status. This indicated that help was needed if the attainment of a nutritionally adequate diet should be realized. Each State would establish these standards subject to the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture.

Any foods are eligible for consumption except alcoholic beverages, tobacco, imports or foreign foods so identified or packaged by mark or brand; also soft drinks, and luxury foods—including those frozen.

The member of the eligible household makes application to the local welfare agency for the right to participate in the stamp program. The welfare agency determines the percentage of the household income which would normally be spent for food which can be purchased with food stamps.

Upon being given approval the member takes his authorization and the money allocated from his budget for food purchases, and buys his allotment of food stamps at the issuing agency—usually a local bank. He makes his purchases at a participating retail store having received $10 in stamps for about $6 plus cash. The Government redeems the stamps by Government check upon a deposit of the same at his bank, the stamps can be used to pay the merchants' bills to

wholesalers who are listed as participants. The stamps are redeemable through the banking systems.

This bill will upgrade the diet of those who are not able to, because of their low income and family responsibility to provide proper nutrient foods for their consumption. The bill will also reduce the cost of maintaining tremendous surplus foods in storage plants at high rental and preservation costs.

The costs of the program for an estimated 4 million persons is estimated at $360 million per year.

The net savings to the Government under the direct system of distribution would be between $185 million and $280 million per year. This wide range of estimates of savings reflect the difference between the value of the surplus food involved in the entire range of the operations of the program. Also the consideration of the surplus foods at costs when purchased and the value of the same at time of distribution.

An additional expense in the perfecting of the system is listed as $175 million the cost of the surplus foods or as low as $80 million at market value at period of distribution. A survey indicates that the present 1,500 counties participating under the present act will seek certification under H.R. 10222.

H.R. 10222 is a real contribution not only to the welfare of the people in need but a stimulant to the prosperity of the farmer and our economy. Its application will increase the number of participants from some 380,000 persons and 43 areas in 22 States covering 1,500 counties—the present program—to a nationwide expansion of 4 million persons and makes the food stamp program permanent. There are now on file 234 requests for the program from other localities.

The increase in the demand for vegetables, fruit, and meat resulted in the stimulus given by this program, and also resulted in the increase in the use of feed grains. Thus not only were diets increased in quantity but the varied selection of other foods were made possible. Thus the food stamp program also benefits the food industry as well as the consumer. And the cost to the Government is the same. The violations were less than 1 percent.

The studies made of the pilot food program together with the research agencies determinations attest as to its future effectiveness under H.R. 10222—the benefits to the Nation resulting from its operation will prove the food stamp program as an essential instrumentation in the war on poverty.

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations has completed a practical and significant analysis of the financial needs of the legislative and related agencies for 1965.

The appropriations indicated for the respective classifications are as follows:

House of Representatives, $53,777,945 plus joint items, $6,150,865; Architect of the Capitol, $19,607,000; the Botanic Garden, $500 million; the Library of Congress, $23,419,100; the Government Printing Office, $23,562,000; Office of Sergeant at Arms—Capitol Police, $180,700—$955,000; franked mail expense, and so forth, $1,833,560; education of pages, $79,925; the General Accounting Office, $46,900,000; Clerk, $1,240,000; agency of the legislative branch: Reference Bureau, $2,300,000; Copyright Office, $1,828,000; building of a new Government Printing Office plant, $46,723,000; books for the blind, $2,446,000; Capitol Power Plant, $2,700,000; Rayburn Office Building, $8 million, for items toward completion; extension of the Capitol, $125,000; Capitol Grounds, $665,000; Doorkeeper $1,174,000; thus the major items including the new proposed Government Printing Office plant—$46,723,000—reach a total appropriation of $173,916,910—$9,703,784 below 1964 and $48,670,445 below budget requests. Also some $11 million will inure to the benefit of the Treasury on direct cash income from sales of Library catalog cards and Government publications and copyright operations.

The committee is to be congratulated upon its efficient and thorough study given those complex questions presented to it well as the new proposals and projects submitted through the various agencies for determination. Chairman STEED and his committee are to be commended for the fine results attained in its final presentation for our consideration.

The controversial amendment related to the reactivation of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality policy providing an appropriation of $160,000, for specific investigatory purposes, including alleged departures and fraudulent practices on the part of persons in interest—both sponsors in the Congress and others—in accepting moneys for such services against interest; also as a factfinding committee to study the proposals for a new basic immigration act submitted by our martyred President, John F. Kennedy. The opponents allege that the joint committee has no legislative powers or power to investigate except for making policy, and that Subcommittee No. 1 on Immigration of the Judiciary Committee is well equipped to carry on the purposes intended. It has investigatory powers of the subject matter under a resolution passed by the House in January 1963. My bill on immigration, H.R. 3323, introduced on February 4, 1963, rewriting the Immigration Act, is still pending. Its provisions incorporate the administration's recommendations made by the late President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

In view of the representations made by Chairman EMANUEL CELLER that his full cooperation would be given to facilitate its functions—both as to requests for an appropriation enabling act before the Committee on House Administration and the free choice of qualified personnel and, further, that he would approve the issuance of subpenas as requested, the amendment was defeated.

The appropriation of $320,000—both House and Senate appropriations—was deemed unnecessary to reactivate the joint committee, in that under the law each body, the Senate and the House, must pay one-half of the expenses. The amendment was defeated by voice vote, division and tellers, 69 to 69. Personally, I was impressed with the arguments against the amendment and felt that the joint committee without legislative powers would only delay the legislation.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN] explained his position relative to his support of his amendment and in positive terms pledged his every effort to carry out the responsibilities of his chairmanship of the subcommittee and his membership on the joint committee; but under the complicated involvement of a legislative prerogative of the House against joint committee action—affecting only policy—he was unsuccessful.

CONSERVATION OF WILDLIFE

Mr. Speaker, the purposes of S. 793 to promote the conservation of the Nation's wildlife resources on the Pacific flyway in the Tule Lake, Lower and Upper Klamath, and Clear Lake National Wildlife Refuges in Oregon and California; and to aid the Klamath reclamation project. The enactment of S. 793 does not involve additional costs. These important areas of wildlife in the refuge system are strategically located on the Pacific flyway. About 80 percent of the migratory waterfowl in the Pacific concentrate in the Upper Klamath Basin as they pass through this area. A heavy concentration of millions of ducks, geese, and shore birds of various marsh dwelling species feed and rest in this area. The whole refuge operation is concentrated and dependent upon the Klamath reclamation project; there is a critical need for the expansion of land and waters for wildlife refuge purposes here and new procedures were necessary for making the availability of such resources. The holding of the waterfowl in these areas before harvest prevents the depredation of the rice and other crops in the Central and Imperial Valleys—the local crops in the refuge area are sufficient to hold them there and also delay their migration to the wintering grounds. The crops in the valleys are harvested without serious depredation problems. Thus the food supply must be kept at sufficient quantity and availability so as to prevent crop losses in the valleys. This economic value is important as well as the license fees derived from hunting, leases, and other income at a recreational tourist attraction.

This legislation was necessary to provide a permanent basis for management purposes of the resources within the four refuges. The bill will establish guidelines in reclamation activities and thus stabilize Federal ownership of the lands so recovered as well as the lands owned by the United States within the four refuges for the purposes intended. Also includes several additional tracts of public lands to be retained permanently for this specific purpose. Provides for 25 percent of income from leased lands to inure to the benefit of the respective counties based on the location of the same—a 50-percent limitation is placed on payments comparable to the average local taxes assessed on similar lands. A reimbursement payment of $197,315 to the Klamath drainage district for outlay of moneys on irrigation projects on passage of title to the Government. The present practice of leasing lands for agricultural purposes is to continue. Row crops limited to 25 percent of total leased lands. In the Tule Lake area reduction of sumps limited to present 13,000 acres. Also water levels must be maintained adequate for waterfowl management purposes. The Secretary to complete study related to the development of water resources and the waterfowl management potential of the Clear Lake refuge.

Chairman ASPINALL, as well as the members of the committee, have formulated a bill worthy of the high standards necessary to preserve the wildlife and lands that protect and feed, in refuges, our migratory fowl life. The utility of these lands are dedicated to the purposes intended. The Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and his Department were sorely in need of such legislation in order to maintain successful operation of these lands in the public interest and to preserve for the enjoyment of the future generations of Americans the conservation of wildlife and to maintain the recreational advantages of these refuge areas. We compliment members of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, its illustrious chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], as well as the Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall for their dedication to the conservation of our wild lands and preservation of our wild life for posterity.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATION

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 10939 reported favorably by the Committee on Appropriations for the funds required by the Department of Defense for 1965. It provides for the regular military functions of the Department excluding military construction, family housing, and civil defense levels considered, under other bills.

The various items in summary classification were considered and approved: Military personnel, $14,565,000; operation and maintenance, $12,280,000; procurement, $13,437,947,000; research, development, and evaluation, $6,476,320,000—totaling $46,759,267,000—divided as follows to the various services and agencies: Army, $11,346,125,000;

Navy, $14,263,528,000; Air Force, $18,489,333,000; defense agencies, $2,660,231,000.

The importance of this bill is that it makes more secure the progressive advance and incremental increase of the military strength of our Nation. The financial costs of equipping, feeding, and clothing our Armed Forces of $2,687,000 on active duty. Also provides for 687 military installations and 875 naval vessels, 30,000 aircraft, and the addition of 2,655 military aircraft. Also the construction of 53 vessels and 7 vessels for conversion purposes and over $1.6 billion for procurement of equipment.

The strategic retaliatory forces are the striking force in a nuclear war—long-range bombers, air-to-ground and decoy missiles, aerial refueling tankers, land-based and submarine-based strategic missiles, and systems for their command and control. The increase in missiles, weapons, and their megaton quantity and quality in 3 years are doubled and trebled. The bill provides for 50 Minuteman silos, retrofit of others with Minuteman II missiles. Also retrofit of Polaris A1 missiles range 2,500 nautical miles A-3. Also research moneys for study of bombers. The cost of the strategic retaliatory forces supported by the bill approaches $5.2 billion.

The Continental Air and Missile Defense Forces equipment needed to detect, identify, track, and destroy unfriendly forces approaching the North American Continent. Its main problem to survive a missile attack requires research effort in the direction of reaching significant improvements in satellite detection and tracking capabilities. There are appropriated $1.7 million to this end.

The General Purpose Forces include the Army combat units, Navy unit, Marine Corps units, and the Air Force.

Certain reductions were made, as for instance pay and allowances of military personnel, because of former deficiencies having been reduced by the 1964 appropriations. The regular defense budget has varied with the years in accordance with the needs. This bill is $7 billion above the level. Management has been good and the need for the increase is obvious. The committee's desire to maintain the military strength of the United States superior to that of any other power in order that its voice and power as a deterrent to war would be respected by friend and foe alike. In international matters, firmness of position is guaranteed by superiority of an adequate military striking power. Thus, President Lyndon Johnson cannot only give strong talk but also enjoys a flexibility in dealing with the world's problems.

The funds provided under the bill are adequate to insure the development of a realistic continuing research leading toward a future new weapons system. Also the committee recommends the coordination of antisubmarine warfare effort on the part of the Navy. The protection of the coastal United States—both against ballistic- and marine-launched missiles; of merchant shipping; and the naval fleet. The question of research and operational tactics are thus the forces designed to perform the entire range of combat operations short of nuclear war. This group cost some $13.5 billion—$18.3 billion requested, 1965—and preclude the military personnel of 1.3 million men.

Airlift forces are the Military Air Transport Service transport aircraft; the Air Force Tactical Air Command troop carrier aircraft, the Air Force Tactical Air Command troop carrier aircraft; the troopships, cargo ships, and tankers operated by the Military Sea Transportation Service and forward floating bases—it costs $1.4 billion for the accounts covered in this bill.

The Reserve and National Guard forces—1,065,000, 1965—at the cost of $2 billion for research and development, appropriated, $5.4 billion; retired pay appropriated, $1.5—supporting 466,100 retirees, an increase of $53,700 for 1965.

Thus, the committee throughout its work kept in mind the question of the military superiority of our Nation in order to protect and lead the freedom nations of the world and to also perfect as a deterrent force against these enemies who would seek to destroy God-fearing men. Chairman GEORGE MAHON, of Texas, and his committee are to be congratulated in guaranteeing by adequate appropriations the military integrity of our forces to defend the peoples of the world who worship God, and whose symbol of freedom given guidance and hope to the hearts of these patriots of the captive nations who live to die in their fight for deliverance by us from our common enemies.

RENEGOTIATION ACT

Mr. Chairman, the extension provided in H.R. 10669 of the Renegotiation Act of 1951 which authorizes the Government to recover moneys determined as excess profits on certain Government contrasts and related subcontracts. The act expires on June 30, 1964, and hereunder is extended for 2 years until June 30, 1966. The Federal aviation contracts are included as well as related subcontracts, accruing or paid after June 30, 1964, to contractors or subcontractors.

The need for a renegotiation system of determination of costs and profits in the fields of modern aircraft, missiles, space vehicles, and other procurements. The production of items and costs cannot be fully ascertained because of no prior basis to fix a contract price and the actual cost to the contractor. In most instances the specifications for instrumentation are general in specificity necessitating sometimes experimentation and research for the final practicability of the instrumentation for use for desired results. Also substantial amounts of material purchased by the Federal Aviation Agency are somewhat similar to the items purchased by the other departments under the act and even as to making purchases from the same contractors.

To terminate this practice in the public interest under this act would create a void in the operation of doing business under conditions where costs cannot be determined. The act serves as a protection to small business and facilitates the consummation of contracts with contractors who otherwise would encounter delays because of the inability of the Government or themselves to reach basic cost figures agreements. The act is a protection to both industry and the Government—and also protects the public interest. Chairman CARL VINSON and the committee have rendered the people of the Nation a great service in recommending the continuation of the life of the Renegotiation Act.

PROTECTING HEADS OF FOREIGN STATES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7651) to provide authority to protect heads of foreign states and other officials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask someone in connection with this bill if it is the intent of Congress to give State Department police the authority to arrest on suspicion only where it is deemed necessary to protect a foreign official?

Mr. LIBONATI. That is true. This covers about 330 persons, and has to do with the State Department or Minister, and also the Chancellor or Prime Minister.

Mr. GROSS. Let me ask the gentleman this question: What happens if a foreign diplomat assaults a citizen of the United States?

Mr. LIBONATI. That is not preemptive at all. He would be under color of both violations, Federal and State, depending upon the nature of the assault.

Mr. GROSS. He would not be able to claim diplomatic immunity in that case?

Mr. LIBONATI. No.

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATION

Mr. Chairman, the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for 1965 as reported in H.R. 11202 total $5,182,665,000, an amount less than the 1964 appropriation in the sum of $1,059,632,215.

One of the important items is an appropriation of $1,500,000 for a study research of tobacco at the University of Kentucky Tobacco Research Laboratory—adjacent to the Medical Research Center. The purpose of the study is to remove such ingredients that are detrimental to public health of the user.

Another item for additional research is the pesticide residue problem including insecticides together with the effects of sprays, and so forth, used in agricultural production. The effect upon fish of certain agricultural pesticides as well as the chemical insolubility of certain substances comprising the pesticide formula resulting in stream pollution will be studied. An appropriation of $1½ million has been recommended in the bill. The use of fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides insures higher quality foods and an abundance of crop return. Otherwise the production of food crops would decline—and the ravages of insects and pests if unabated would result in a shortage of essential foods. A strong agricultural economy insures a strong national economy. Industry and agriculture are dependent on one another to maintain the financial stability of the Nation.

The committee is to be congratulated in its refusal to follow the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget to eliminate marketing research which has been of controlling importance to the interest of the consumers. These stations located at Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit and many other cities conduct marketing studies to improve marketing facilities an activity extremely valuable to the consumers of the Nation. The appropriation of $662,000 to protect the consumer by slicing an equivalent amount from the appropriation for the Agency for International Development, whose purpose is to train our competitors in technical assistance, and so forth, in world agricultural markets.

The general activities in its various divisions and classifications receive $1,393,687,000, the credit agencies $55,885,000; corporations, including Public Law 480 and other assistance programs, $3,733,093,000 and Farm Credit Administration $2,876,000.

It is with a deep sense of appreciation that we commend Chairman JAMIE L. WHITTEN and the work of his committee in giving special emphasis to consumer interest and the problems that confront industry and agriculture necessitating wide and broad programs of research in order to arrive at a basic solution. H.R. 11202 represents a fine contribution to strengthening the agricultural economy and the national economy and secures for the consumer a real protection of their interests both in food quality and cost levels. It constitutes much to the stability of farm interests at every level and continues our interest in international world markets and competitive problems. As an important legislative act it stands alone as a masterful treatment of a most sensitive area of our national activity which controls the very life of our total economy.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 11369, the military construction appropriation bill, has for its purpose also family housing totaling $1,599,014,500, an increase of $13,134,500 over 1964. The funds made available for these obligations are $1,378,480,000 for the Regular forces and $59,971,000 for the Reserve forces; for family housing, $650,358,000; military con-

struction, for defense agencies, $12,656,000; Air Force, $546 million; Navy, $247 million; Army, $301 million.

Thus the subcommittee under the leadership of its chairman, HARRY RICHARD SHEPPARD, has accomplished a superlative work in bringing this legislation to the floor. The many requests in the budget estimates must be determined. Many witnesses are heard and the committee then, after laborious work, sifts out the chaff and unnecessary cost expansion programs—finally in agreement—draws the sums necessary as approved. The committee reduced the budget requests by $279,985,500.

Mr. Chairman, the presentment of the military construction bill for 1965, H.R. 11369, by the distinguished Congressman HARRY RICHARD SHEPPARD, chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations closes the career of a practical legislator whose deep knowledge of business management and operation contributed much to solution of the many problems confronting his committee through the years.

He served 13 terms in the Congress having been elected first to the 75th Congress in 1934. His employments previous to his election were in the fields of railroad transportation—Santa Fe—mining—Alaska copper industry—and several business interests—president and general manager of King's Beverage and King's Laboratories Corp. of California. His interests carried him into several continents on a competitive scale.

Congressman SHEPPARD is a quiet, understanding individual who earned by hard work his way through life. Under great handicaps he prepared himself for the law. His study of human nature in his business travels did not destroy his confidence in human beings. His experience made him a realistic opponent or friend. His greatest strength of character is his steadfast determination to weigh the facts carefully—then as a tough fighter stand by his decision. He is kind and considerate in his dealings with his fellow man. His high sense of integrity has never been questioned.

His darling wife Kay is the joy of his family life. Although he regrets leaving the House of Representatives—his decision rests upon a desire to enjoy the remaining years in retirement with his precious lady in travel and recreation. No one can deny that he and his mate have earned a respite from the heavy duties of governmental affairs.

HARRY SHEPPARD will be missed in the Congress of the United States. His work has not gone unnoticed. His valuable services to his State and Nation are reflected in the powerful assignments to which he was appointed by the Speakers of the House through the years. May God light his way to great happiness with a restive spirit of peaceful enjoyment of his remaining years with his loyal mate Kay by his side.

We will long remember this great man who lived to serve others so that in their lives life's problems would be lessened. May God bless him and Lady Kay forever.

"I WILL" NATIONAL MONUMENT COMMISSION

(Mr. LIBONATI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 11554 was introduced for the purpose of establishing a Federal Commission to be known as the "I Will" National Monument Commission composed of six members—four appointed by the President, one appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, and one by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The members of the Commission shall serve without salary, but shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix compensation of necessary personnel; also, to receive private donations for the erection in the harbor at Chicago, Ill., of a statue to be sculpted under the direction of Trygve A. Rovelstad in accordance with Illinois Senate Joint Resolution 34 passed on the 21st day of May 1963 by the senate and adopted in the house on June 25. It reads as follows:

"PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

"Senators Little and Bidwill offered the following senate joint resolution:

"'*Senate Joint Resolution 34*

"'Whereas the Associated "I Will" Sculptors of Chicago, Inc., a not-for-profit Illinois corporation, has volunteered its services to the State of Illinois to construct, free of charge, an "I will" statue; and

"'Whereas it is proposed that this colossus be located on an artificial island just out from the Buckingham Fountain between Navy pier and the Adler Planetarium on Lake Michigan just off the coast of Chicago; and

"'Whereas this modern colossus will rise to the majestic height of 500 feet above the water; and

"'Whereas this fabulous statue will be unique among the world's marvels and will attract sightseers and art fans from the four corners of the world: Therefore be it

"'*Resolved, by the Senate of the Seventy-third General Assembly of the State of Illinois (the house of representatives concurring herein)*, That this general assembly approve the placing of the "I Will" statue in Lake Michigan, 3,000 feet out an artificial island in Illinois territory and acceptance of title thereto by the department of conservation on behalf of the State of Illinois.'

"Senator Little having asked and obtained unanimous consent to suspend the rules for the immediate consideration of the resolution, moved its adoption.

"The motion prevailed and the resolution was adopted.

"Ordered that the secretary inform the house of representatives thereof and ask their concurrence therein.

"Senator Larson offered the following senate resolution and, having asked and obtained unanimous consent to suspend the rules for its immediate consideration, moved its adoption:

"'An appropriation not to exceed $500,000 to pay one-half the cost of the erection of the "I Will" statue.

"'The Secretary of Interior is authorized to accept the island as a unit of the national park system.'"

Trygve Rovelstad envisioned a gigantic statue 500 feet above the waters of Lake Michigan in Chicago Harbor in 1939. It is the project of the associated "I Will" sculptors of Chicago, a nonprofit organization chartered by the State of Illinois. Trygve Rovelstad is the president of the "I Will" corporation. Mrs. Rovelstad is vice president, and Oliver L. Rodin, a Chicago sculptor, is secretary.

The site of the statue is 3,000 feet out into the harbor from Buckingham Fountain between the Navy pier and the Adler Planetarium.

Rovelstad has made several models. Rodin, codesigner of the statue, was born in Belgium. Both admit that it will take years of hard work even before the preparation of the site. Most of the artwork would be in hammered copper or cast aluminum.

The fabulous statue will be unique among the world's marvels and will attract thousands of sightseers, tourists, and art students. An elevator is proposed to carry viewers to the top.

It is fitting that the Federal Government should participate in this program. The motto of Chicago, "I Will," reflects the determination that the spirited pioneers of early Chicago struggled to make Chicago the great city that it is today. The city of Chicago under the great leadership of Mayor Richard Daley is passing through a transition period of rebuilding and improvements, both public and private, that foretells its future, great destiny as the leading modern metropolis of the Nation and the greatest inland seaport of the Americas via the St. Lawrence gateway for oceangoing ships. The statue is a symbol of Chicago's spirit—it is well for the Nation to honor her in this way.

H.R. 9124

(Mr. LIBONATI (at the request of Mr. HÉBERT) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of H.R. 9124 is to enable the continuance under modern changes of the military system of instruction the support of the junior ROTC units in approximately 255 schools in the Nation. The proposals submitted by the Department of Defense after a thorough study are as follows:

First. The establishment of a new 2-year senior ROTC program and continuing the present 4-year program.

Second. In addition, authorizes the establishment of a program of scholarship assistance for students in the Army and Air Force program:

First. Payment of tuition, books, and so forth, not to exceed $800 per year for each of the 2 academic years.

Second. Also retainer pay of $50 per month for 10 months in each academic year—in lieu of existing $27 per month.

Third. Travel allowance of 6 cents per mile.

Fourth. Increased summer training camp pay from $78 per month to $111.15.

Fifth. Also Department given authority to increase retainer pay from $27 to $50 per month for all students in the ROTC program if justified.

The salutary effect of this program will improve the quality of young men as officer material for the armed services. These modern changes will give impetus to the ambition of young men to follow military careers and give to them the necessary training to develop their abilities in this field without the handicap of financial worries and incidental loss of time hours in earning their way to pursue their studies.

The precommission courses in the colleges and universities would broadly enhance the interest of junior ROTC candidates to pursue further the military training provided for in the proposed programs to compete for commissions. The one requisite on the part of the candidate under the scholarship and retainers proviso is the agreement to serve 4-year tour of active duty and to accept a Regular or Reserve commission, if offered.

It is said only 37 percent of these candidates remain in the service but this small investment is not only an aid to education but also prepares an emergency reserve in case of a national emergency when officer-trained personnel among the civilian population will be the greatest asset to the national defense. The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Louisiana, EDWARD HÉBERT and the members of the committee are to be complimented on reporting H.R. 9124 favorably as an important contribution to the national defense and the educational development of our youth not only at the military level but in fields of special or general education including the professions.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 11865 treats with needed social security amendments presented to the House after a far-reaching study of this program by the Ways and

Means Committee under its distinguished chairman, WILBUR MILLS, of Arkansas.

The purpose of the bill is to improve the benefit and coverage provisions of the 1958 act, together with the recommendation of improvements in the financial structure of the Federal old-age survivors and disability insurance—OASDI—system. The changes were primarily a result of the increases in the basic costs of living, together with other influencing factors in a growing economy. The increase in insurance benefits recommended are a 5-percent across-the-board provision. Also an increase in contribution and the benefit base.

The bill contains a special provision to enable certain aged people who do not presently qualify under the social security work requirement periods of employment by reducing the covered work requirements for these aged workers, aged wives, and aged widows. Benefits would accrue to these aged individuals at the age 72.

Also child benefits to be received in education were extended from 18 to 22 years of age.

The widow participation was lowered to the age of 60 on an actuary and voluntary reduced basis.

Those receiving tips, such as at the personal service levels, for example, waiter, waitresses, busboys, bellboys, porters, and so forth, whose major portions of salary are based on these contributions, would be, under this bill, permitted to receive credit for benefits and contributions.

A most important amendment covers professional groups and the self-employed, permitting those self-employed to join the social security program.

There is a provision covering policemen and firemen in the employ of bodies politic, where the group organizes or is presently organized—by a majority vote of its membership may qualify to enter the system. This is purely a permissive arrangement.

Under present law that coverage would only include those who desire to participate. But to all future members of the system social security would be compulsory. But also in the existing law is a provision in the nature of a declaration of congressional policy that the protection afforded members of a State or local government retirement system should not be impaired as a result of the extension of social security coverage to the members of the system.

A delegation representing the patrolmen of the city of Chicago, Ill., visited the Congress last week, questioning the advisability of this provision, feeling that its enactment would jeopardize the present retirement system for patrolmen and firemen in the city of Chicago. The congressional members of the Illinois delegation from Chicago conferred with Chairman WILBUR MILLS and the city delegation representing the policemen, M. J. Higgins, and Chicago Patrolmen Association President Frank Carey, with their counsel, Leon Belinsky, on this question. Chairman MILLS explained that the fire and police departments in the smaller cities and towns throughout the various States were in need of this provision—and especially those units whose members worked at part-time jobs—seeking to unify the benefits under social security, thereby increasing their benefits, and questioning the stabilizing of their local police and firemen pension systems whose reserves were small and represented in funds weakened financial guarantees for a lasting integrity of investment return to meet the financial needs for pension payments.

He also stated that under the closed rule no amendment could be offered to affect the provision covering this subject matter. Congressmen DAWSON, ROSTENKOWSKI, MURPHY, FINNEGAN, PUCINSKI, KLUCZYNSKI, O'HARA, PRICE, GRAY, SHIPLEY, and myself—as well as our visiting officials representing the patrolmen of the city of Chicago, were appreciative of Chairman MILLS' cooperation and discussion of the question so important to the retirement programs of our city affecting the interest of these worthy and honored, dedicated men to the public interest and protection.

Arrangements were made for interviews with our distinguished Senators—DIRKSEN and DOUGLAS—to resolve the question, if necessary, through amendment in the Senate upon its passage in the House of Representatives.

One thing is certain that the contractual obligation between the present recipients under the present independent retirement systems and the city of Chicago cannot be affected by any legislation permissive in nature affecting the future action of individuals or groups voting coverage under the provisions of this bill—the individual pensioner determines his own course and enjoys the protection of his local retirement system unless he or she elects to join the others under social security coverage.

The great mayor of the city of Chicago, Richard Daley, would never let them down—he is the pensioners friend. As a member of the house of representatives and the senate in the general assembly, he fought in the front line for added benefits to pensioners in all retirement systems.

The bill affects 40 million individuals under the social security law and the increases are estimate as costing $925 million. Yet the changes made in the revised schedule of social security tax rates and the increase in taxable earnings base result in improving the actuarial balance to meet these obligations and thus the system will continue to be self-supporting through the adequate financing under this bill. Thus these changes will not affect the funds to disturb the sound actuarial base upon which the system operates.

The committee and its distinguished Chairman WILBUR MILLS are to be congratulated upon their painstaking efforts and meticulous research in drafting this much-needed legislation for the relief of the masses of workers and self-employed individuals who rely upon the integrity of the Congress and the Government to carry out their promises to the workers of the Nation that the Government would keep the faith in maintaining an adequate recompense to them as a reward for their years of useful employment, thus strengthening and contributing to the growth of the economy. We make good our promises to the aged that comfort and happiness would crown their declining years without want under the greatest humanitarian program of the aged—social security.

H.R. 9070

Mr. Chairman, it is with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I join with the distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] and his discerning Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in support of H.R. 9070, which has for its purpose a far-reaching proposal to assume jurisdiction by our Government over some 9 million acres of the Nation's unspoiled wilderness areas in order to preserve their natural state and prevent encroachment.

The Federal Government now owns some 61 millions of acres of undeveloped wilderness areas. The bill reserves to the Congress any future addition to preserve other areas for this specific purpose. Under the Senate version of this act the Secretary of Interior is empowered to extend this coverage to other lands held by the Government for their preservation as wilderness areas. The House bill seeks to prevent the Secretary of Interior from exercising this power by reserving to the Congress the power to extend expansion control over wild areas.

The purpose of the act seeks to prevent exploitation of these lands by humans in our increasing population and the detrimental effects on these lands of our mechanical expansion. This act guarantees to this generation and future generations of Americans the enduring resources of the wilderness as well as a great contribution to the enjoyment and its unimpaired future use for recreational purposes only experienced in such areas. The use must be protected by certain standards of control or rules that will protect and not defeat the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical uses.

A minimum requirement of roads shall be built—but autos, motorboats, motorized equipment, landing aircraft, and other form of mechanized transport, structures, or installations are barred from such areas. The exception being that where these uses are presently established, such may remain, under specific restrictions of the Secretary of Agriculture. Also as to safety control or health—fires, insects, and diseases—subject to such conditions as the Secretary of Agriculture deems desirable.

Prospecting or the gathering of information about minerals and other resources is permitted if the preservation principle is respected.

Further consultations between the Secretary of the Department of the Interior and the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture for the surveying on a planned basis in such areas again consistent with the policy of preservation through the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines to determine mineral values. The results of such surveys shall be available to the public, the President, and the Congress. All laws on mining and mineral leasing shall be applicable to this act and with the further stipuation that the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior have the power to make such reasonable regulations as deemed necessary to the preservation of the area. These individuals now enjoying certain rights, leases, and so forth, are protected under certain prescriptions in this act. The rights of the several States or State in wildlife or wilderness areas are also preserved—their responsibilities and jurisdiction remain intact under this act. State and private lands surrounded by wilderness areas are permitted reasonable ingress and egress to and from their lands. Also exchange of lands may be permitted—such as similar lands within the State owned by the Federal Government for land of like value held within the wilderness area.

Secretary of Agriculture may accept gifts or bequests of land within the wilderness areas. The Secretary of the Interior also may accept gifts or contributions from private persons to be used in furtherance of this act. Advance notice must be given to the President and the Congress within 60 days of the offer. A joint annual report must be submitted to the Congress through the President of the United States.

A consideration of other areas for inclusion as wilderness areas or abandonment of such lands now under act fitting other purposes shall be determined by both the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior and their recommendation submitted to the President for a report to the Congress. This program can be instigated within 10 years of the act's enactment.

Chairman ASPINALL and his conscientious committee have spent years of study and research in this field—certainly such meritorious work cannot go unnoticed. The Congress and the American people are indebted to this intelligent committee and its splendid leader, Chairman ASPINALL, for this forward-looking legislation to protect our wildlife and wilderness areas. Generations of Americans in the future through this needed legislation will have preserved for them the lands of the wilderness to enjoy its great contribution to the recreational, educational, and scientific enjoyment of areas so protected. This act is far reaching in its effect

upon the Nation's citizens and its blessings will be enjoyed by the whole population now and in the future by generations of Americans.

H.R. 11377

Mr. Chairman, the history of the human race is replete with the struggle of man against want, the elements, and natural enemies bent toward his destruction.

The Neanderthal man, a primeval species of man in the paleolithic period, widespread throughout Europe, were preoccupied with these same problems relative to the struggle for existence. He survived because of an inner awareness of the external world between acts of self-interest that were within his power to accomplish and those not within his power—he so disciplined his will.

The greatest deterrent to the continued existence of my form of human society has been the disrupting effect and decadence through progressive growth at the poverty level. The curse of poverty has caused the capitulation of the most powerful nations of antiquity and has contributed to the death of millions of human beings throughout the ages. It is like a serpent that crushes the body and poisons the mind of reason.

The most contributing factor to the continuing prevalence of poverty is due to ignorance—based on illiteracy and lack of training for vocational pursuits. Further, the individual remains static through the resulting loss of opportunity in the field of employment. Gradually the fading of hope gives way to despair. Human pride is lost, and a state of lethargy destroys any trace of ambition in the individual. Humans suffering from poverty no longer exert any stimulating interest in the community or their personal lives. The resulting environmental conditions, both spiritual and physical, steep the individual into a mental abyss of failure and despair.

The United States, in spite of its great wealth and $530 billion, the highest economy ever in 1963—productive of its industry, farming, and commerce, and so forth—numbers 30 million Americans within this category of need, suffering in human misery, living in hunger and despair.

Certainly, our Nation, with its great wealth, tremendous income, specialization in all fields of knowledge and terrific productive capacity is well equipped to combat and eliminate poverty among our people.

The initiative must be taken by the concentrated effort at all levels of government, communities, civic and private organizations, and so forth, to lend their efforts to insure the success of the program.

The legislation, first, expands the opportunities for youth to gain the education, skills, and experience to develop talents for competitive entry into our society.

Second. Stimulate local action in communities to foster programs conducive to the elimination of poverty.

Third. A program of small grants and loans to destitute rural families to increase their income.

Fourth. Expanding of small business activities in depressed areas of our great cities, thus creating a basic rehabilitation program for the deserving businessmen.

Fifth. Special programs for undereducated adults and migratory agricultural workers.

Sixth. Stimulate more States to use public assistance to aid families to overcome their impoverished condition.

Seventh. Recruit and train volunteers to serve in capacities to help eliminate poverty.

The costs of direct public assistance amounts to $4 billion a year. The indirect costs of impoverished conditions, resulting in juvenile delinquency, crime, health hazards, and increased fire and police protection account for more billions.

The tremendous loss of man-hours in unemployment and underemployment affect our production and the loss in spending of of millions of job-earned dollars that would greatly strengthen our economy and reduce unemployment compensation costs.

A survey of the city of Chicago conducted by the welfare council was illuminating. The council report determined that 1 of 6 Chicagoans live in poverty circumstances—the Cook County figure was 1 of every 7 citizens—in suburbia Cook County, excluding the city, 1 out of 16. Nationally the average is one out of five. The basic income was determined at $3,000 for family, and $2,000 per individual. The Bureau of Labor Statistics studies determined that in the Chicago area, a family of four needs $6,500 income for modest living. The costs of living are the highest in comparison with other cities.

The council reported that 700,000 in Cook County live in poverty, of which only half are receiving assistance from Government agencies. For example, in April, 280,000 persons received welfare aid—amounting to 40 percent of the total poor.

The poverty group study showed that 145,000 families in Cook County in this category consist of 511,000 persons—many of them children.

The study disclosed that certain groups, for instance, nonwhites, women as heads of family, and the elderly are more susceptible to impoverishment. Further, the figures show that 37 percent of the low-income households are nonwhite, while only 15 percent of the country's households are nonwhite. Half of the low-income households are headed by women—but only 21 percent of the county households are headed by women. Also 34 percent of the low-income households are headed by an elderly person, but only 15 percent of the county's households are headed by persons 65 years or older.

One hundred thousand persons are seeking work. The education levels of these were part of the answer. Fifty-nine percent of the males in Cook County over 25 years of age do not have a high school education; 38 percent have received eighth-grade education or less; and 31,000 have not completed a year of schooling. Thus, the council perfected a most revealing analysis of the problem. It conucted the survey on the same basis as the national studies on poverty have been conducted. Certainly, Ruth Moore, feature writer for the Chicago Sun-Times, is to be complimented for her article on this interesting phase of our problem in studying this legislation. These figures are appalling if studied in the light that Chicago is the third largest city in the United States—known as the greatest manufacturing center in the United States, to say nothing of its other business and commercial operations. One person out of every six are in the tolls of poverty.

The city of Chicago represented by the distinguished mayor of Chicago Richard A. Daley in his testimony in favor of the bill before the committee revealed that a cooperative program being conducted there almost entirely by three independent agencies—the YMCA, the Boys Club, and the Chicago Youth Center—cooperating with such public and private agencies as the Illinois Employment Service, the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago Commission of Youth Welfare, the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago. This pilot youth program project numbering 1,000 youths—with no more than a sixth-grade education—are schooled in such skills that will qualify each for a remunerative employment. Thus public and private agencies cooperate in an effort to prevent the increase of the poverty cycle. Under 1B of the bill a similar program is established.

Most of these youths between the ages of 17 and 21 were dropouts—high school, second year—showed poor averages in arithmetic and reading exercises. At the fifth grade level most had never been accepted in employment, others spasmodically employer. Although attendance was voluntary in the first 24 weeks, 80 percent participated in the program. The two principal activities—first about 50 percent were given instruction in writing, reading, arithmetic, and employment discipline.

The others received instruction in vocational workshops, training as automobile service station attendants, as duplicating machine operators, mail handling, and clerk-typists. Mayor Daley further stated that their placement in jobs has been arranged. Also in this bill under title II the youth under educational disadvantages would be so trained. The urban youth program sets the ages between 16 and 21 years.

This affects the most sensitive area of unemployment among youths. The unemployment rate of youths between 16 and 24 is twice the averages for workers of all ages. Last year among the 16- to 19-year-olds, 17 percent were jobless, unable to procure employment—three times the average rate of all unemployed. In their age group—16 to 24—by comparison, one out of every three are unemployed. The nonwhite—3 employed out of 10—ages 10 to 19—about twice as many as the white group. Nonwhite girls average unemployment one out of three, and nonwhite boys one out of four. It is certainly a terrible situation to continue to disregard these conditions of employment. With automation releasing an estimated 1 million per year and 1½ million new jobs needed for new workers entering the labor market—something must be done, remedial in nature, at the Federal legislative level to reduce this growing army of unemployment not only among adults but also the youths of our land who it is said are now on family relief and represent 40 percent of those on relief whose fathers' parents were also on relief. Thus a dangerous pattern is observed that poverty continues to dominate generation after generation.

There are some hundred programs in the city of Chicago attended by a little less than 10,000 individuals who are being taught to enter various employments as trained employees—cooks, chauffeurs, nurses, machine operators, tool and die workers, and so forth as well as jobs requiring special skills, white collar, in technical and professional capacities. There are five groups on the job training programs to turn out, electronic assemblies, punch press operators, busdrivers, press operators, instrument calibrators, auto repairers, screw machine operators. Thus a practical opportunity for young and old to start over again and seize upon a new chance to join the work force of our economy—and abandon the relief rolls for remunerative employment.

The Economic Opportunity Act is the only answer to carry forward the battle against poverty. The sapping of our financial strength through relief and dependency programs calls for a modern method of creating incentive and opportunities toward expanding the labor pool of qualified workers to enter the various levels of employment—and by their hard-earned dollars stimulate the economy instead of draining the coffers of city, State and Federal Governments for a pittance that plunges men and youths willing to work deeper into the tolls of poverty.

According to the Social Security Bulletin, November 1963, the sum of $66.5 billion was spent by all levels of Government for social welfare purposes in 1962. Also during that year an additional $33.5 billion was spent by private organizations for the same purpose—a total of $100 billion. The Government was sponsoring 42 individual programs designed to combat the effects of poverty. Bureau of the Budget in the fiscal year 1964—almost $32 billion were appropriated—earmarked for carrying out these programs in the hands of organized Government

agencies. To reduce these figures we must train men to a needed job.

This act appropriates $962.5 billion for the purposes intended. Programs to be carried out during the year 1965 and the 2 succeeding fiscal years. Also authorizes an appropriation of $10 million for fiscal year ending June 30, 1965. For the next 2 fiscal years Congress may appropriate sums required to carry out the purposes of the act. The $412,500,000 appropriated for 1965 are reserved for the first three parts of the title including title I—youth programs; title II—urban and rural community action programs; and title III—special programs to combat poverty in rural areas.

The millions of dollars appropriated by the several State legislatures throughout the Nation for public aid and aid to dependent children are increasing from year to year—and when added to the expanding other services of State, county, township, and city demanded by its citizenry—without taking steps to divert these thousands of relief recipients to gainful employment. Then our bodies politic will be on the brink of bankruptcy and the homeowner taxpayers will become tenants. Now is the time to act—by passing substitute S. 2642, as amended, in the House at this sitting of the Congress. President Lyndon Johnon is to be congratulated in his presentment of this program for the welfare of the thousands who need the help and confidence of their fellow Americans to adjust themselves by proper training programs to gain remunerative employment and contribute to the economy of our Nation and regain the respect of their dependents and the plaudits of their fellow men in community life. Position in the community is regained and family pride restored.

ESTABLISHING A PROGRAM OF CASH AWARDS FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 12193) to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the establishment of a program of cash awards for suggestions or inventions made by members of the Armed Forces which contribute to the efficiency, economy, or other improvement of Government operations.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I wish to propound a question to the gentleman.

This is similar to the incentive awards program in the civil service, is it not?

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. This proposal, by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIBONATI], is very, very similar to—almost identical with—what is now carried on for civil service workers in the Government in respect to incentive ideas and awards therefor.

Over the past 10 years these awards for the civilians have averaged about $20 or $30 per idea for the incentives. This will give the military men—primarily the enlisted men—the same right, because they are working side by side. It is only just.

That is all the bill will do.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his explanation.

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 12193 has for its purpose the establishment of a program of cash awards for suggestions or inventions made by members of the Armed Forces which contribute to the efficiency, economy, or other improvements to Government operations.

The Navy and the civilians under civil service regulations now enjoy statutory provisions for carrying out these purposes.

The Coast Guard when not operating as a service in the Navy may authorize the payments of cash awards. The acceptance of the award waives by agreement any question of the right for permissive use of the idea, method, or invention by the United States; neither does it subject the Government to any further claim whatsoever.

The President determines the desirability if he sees fit of making the award. As to the Coast Guard—not operating under the Navy—the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Treasury are authorized to make the award. A progress report, through the President, by the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Treasury shall be transmitted to the Congress annually. Any member of the Coast and Geodetic Survey or of the Public Health Service serving with an armed force shall be included as if a member of the armed force.

It has come to the attention of the Congress that millions of dollars have been saved to the Government through the practical application of new ideas and the working out of new methods of operation by individuals in their respective capacities with the Armed Forces. Even formulas and inventive machinations have been worked out through resourceful individuals which have contributed to many problems confronting the Department of Defense in perfecting or accomplishing its programs.

Further great incentive is gained through the stimulating effect of the granting of recognition to those worthy of the honor conferred.

As a practical matter the true level of these determinations for the granting of an honorary reward rests with those who are best cognizant with the facts and the successful results realized. When claims are submitted to the Congress generally years later the facts are transmitted through a written report from the respective service involved. Individuals who submit the facts have in most cases relied on bits of information gathered through second and third parties or letters on file—generally inadequate to base any fair decision because of the lack of firsthand knowledge. The result is not at all satisfactory for an intelligent decision by the committee.

The same procedures as under this bill now in operation at other levels of government have functioned well toward the accomplishment of these purposes.

There is no question of the need of this legislation. Its effect will do immeasurable good in lifting the morale of the men of the services and stimulating efforts toward improving the efficiency and spurring a desire for the solution of the many difficult problems of operation and method.

The distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee, the genial L. MENDEL RIVERS, and his discerning committee have given this problem considerable attention. At the hearing each facet of the bill was thoroughly discussed. The expert testimony of the officials of the various services—Army, Air, and Coast Guard, together with representatives of the Geodetic and Public Health divisions of Government—was given in support of the bill. Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS and the committee are to be congratulated in recommending the passage of H.R. 12193.

Its purposes establish a high ethical standard of justice to those who give meritorious service to our Government and the armed services to grant an honorary award is the right thing to do. A high sense of appreciation results in a stimulation of confidence in each individual receiving this high recognition. We as a naton owe a great deal more to these dedicated Americans.

FOOD FOR PEACE ACT

Mr. Chairman, the major provisions of H.R. 12298 are in conformity with the prevailing attitude that to serve the national interest the enlargement of the outlets for U.S. farm products not only exert an essential stabilizing influence on the American agricultural economy, but also create distribution, a forceful influence among the 100 million people in more than 100 nations against the spread of communism. These food-allotments-for-peace are distributed among the less-developed nations of the free world whose lack of funds fail to meet urgent food requirements amongst their peoples. This action on our part has promoted their economic growth and saved the lives of millions of unfortunate people.

Under H.R. 12298 the act is extended for 3 years—until December 31, 1967. It governs the sale of farm commodities with foreign currencies—at the same average heretofore established—about 1.7 billion a year. It removes the 25-percent limitation on foreign currencies for loans to private business for the development of free enterprise under the Cooley loan program (1957). This is a stimulant to hasten the promotion and expansion of the free enterprise system to build the economy of the developing nations.

Increases from 10 to 20 percent the proportion of foreign currencies to be absolutely devoted to U.S. uses.

Authorizes the use of excess foreign currencies—accumulated in six countries—for special programs by the appointment of a top-level committee to act only after advice of the President.

Establishes grants of foreign currencies for economic development subject to aforesaid committee approval.

Authorizes the use of surplus food commodities by the President during periods of disaster, relief, and community development projects overseas—not to exceed $450 million annually.

Authorizes the use of foreign currencies—to a limited extent—to supplement the use of surplus foods in community improvement and self-help work projects—church owned or operated facilities used for secular purposes are excluded for construction or maintenance programs.

The most favorable foreign legal exchange rate must be the measuring stick for sales of surplus commodities—and not less in comparison with rates for any other nation.

Authorizes sales of foreign currencies to tourists and other private persons to curb American dollar outgo.

Handling of food commodities donations must be, as far as practical, directed through comunity action and other self-help activities designated to alleviate the causes of the need for such assistance.

This program, a godsend to the needy peoples of the world, has functioned well, even considering the selfish weaknesses of human kind, both in administrative and distributive functions of its operation. Chairman COOLEY, through the years, has conducted a masterful job in working out the intricacies of the vast operations necessary to carry out the purposes of the act. The great challenges have been met as each problem was presented to the illustrious members of his committee. Criticism after criticism leveled at the program disclosed the pitfalls of trusting honest operation to weak leadership—but all in all much of the practices were eliminated and real leadership rectified the wrongs. When temptation becomes the master of the human mind, dishonesty is certain to prevail in the dealings of trusted men in high places. Yet all in all the program served America well and contributed a terrific impact upon the thinking of freemen seeking against adversity to maintain a free world. Public Law 480—the Food for Peace Act—is the one instrumentality at

the legislative level that reflects the true American attitude toward the hungry people of the free world—the unselfish sharing of our abundance with freemen faced with misfortune and hunger. Chairman COOLEY and his admirable committee have established a symbol in this legislation that all men throughout the world can understand and give their wholehearted blessing to God for the perfection of the American way of life.

PROPOSED IMMIGRATION LAW

Mr. Speaker, our Nation reflects the powerful influence exerted by the teeming immigrant populations that came to our shores to seek the opportunities of a new life in an underdeveloped land whose ideologies contributed to the dignity of the human race. Its laws and social norms guaranteed the liberties and freedom of every individual. Its democratic way of life stimulated human effort to seek by hard work the pursuit of a better life and greater accomplishment.

The family in its inner strength of establishing a proud heritage became the sinews of government. The father, as head of the household, and the mother as its religious guidance, sacrificed to prepare their offspring as specialists in their educational business, and scientific careers to serve humanity in the ranks of an accomplished and great citizenry. Thus each new generation added to the power and greatness of a new land.

The future of a new land depends largely upon the immigrant movement to its shores. The United States was exceptionally fortunate in attracting millions of men, women, and children to settle within its borders.

To be sure, these immigrants were not only seeking a new chance for financial independence, but also had a burning desire to become citizens of a new type of government—where basic concept was the guarantee of equality among men and justice and liberty for all.

This exodus of humans from continental Europe was in the nature of a peaceful revolution against the old social order—that mobility is a sacred heritage and that mediocrity cannot be permitted to use in social status or educational accomplishment above their forebears. There were some who came to enjoy religious freedom—others to escape famine—still others banishment under political or criminal decrees, and the majority to seek a new life in a new world.

History reveals that the building of our great Nation rested in the hands and mentality of these millions of persevering people who, without invitation, under unsurmountable handicap of language, unskilled and uneducated, steeped in continental customs, tradition, and folklore, traveled to the distant shores of a strange and vast land without funds to make their fortune. The sacrifices to be endured—the fierceness of competitive tribulations—the cruel sufferings in a hostile climate, the struggles and deprivations to be suffered in the beginning—did not dim the bold spirits of the new adventurers. They came on, they stayed and prevailed. Their success contributed to the Nation's wealth and established her place among the great nations of the world.

Yet today, we the citizens of our beloved country, have forgotten American history—and now examine with a critical eye any proposal to revise our strict and unbonding immigration, naturalization, and refugee laws which in effect contradict American ideals and relegate certain alien petitioners for entrance as undesirable individuals, merely because the quota system is based on a narrow national origin formula.

The problem created by the quota system based on national origin must not be confused as the result of the numerical total volume of immigration to America. And, of course, no authority on this subject would recommend the total admission of would-be immigrants to the United States—unregulated immigration limitations would not be the answer. But, on the other hand, the specific limitations for each nation is not the realistic approach—for it renders ineligible the majority of those who are qualified of talent and ability to contribute benefits to our Nation.

It is unfortunate that the unused quotas of Great Britain, 65,361; Germany, 25,814; Ireland, 17,756; are not made available to Poland, 6,488; Italy, 5,666; Netherlands, 3,136; France, 3,069; Czechoslovakia, 2,859; Norway, 2,365; Switzerland, 1,698; Sweden, 1,698; Denmark, 1,175; Austria, 1,405; Belgium, 1,297; Yugoslavia, 942; Hungary, 865; Portugal, 438; and Greece, 308.

As the leader of the freedom-loving nations of the world, the American image created by the quota-origin formula refutes every logical argument that basically we recognize the equality of all nations in their relationship as to human values established by our free institutions. The quotas set for the Asian, African, and island nations are an insult to human reasoning—fractions equal to a hundred or more. Also, nations with vast populations—India, Australia, Japan, Formosa, and the African republics are given a ridiculous quota of 100—excepting Japan—185. Such reasoning is beyond the realm of honest thinking.

The law is cruel at many levels—it does not provide for the unification of families divided through its arbitrary operative effects. It disregards our public policy in its complete disregard for emergency world refugee problems.

Its provisions are inadequate to permit the entrance of immigrants with needed skills at the industrial trades level—also in the scientific and medical fields.

It is interesting to study the changes in American policy from the period before World War I—purely regulatory as to quality prescriptions only. The only persons refused were those who failed to pass minimum tests of health, literacy, and behavior records—criminal.

The drastic changes were enacted in 1921—quota law—and the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that limited the immigrant quota to 150,000, and provided for the national origin quota system—that the annual quota for any nationality should bear the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants of that nationality bore to the "total number of inhabitants of the United States in 1920." Thus the formula was fixed to the existing national structure of our population. It further excluded the descendants of slave immigrants from total population figures—a sad commentary upon honest thinking to disclassify in citizenship almost the entire Negro population.

The Johnson-Reed Act was a national indictment against the southern Europeans including Italy and Greece and the nonwhites from Asia and Africa, as well as a negation of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Ohio, MICHAEL FEIGHAN, are to be complimented in determining that hearings should be held to give an opportunity to those interested in the subject to present their views. It is my intention to support the administration position in this matter as recommended by our martyred President, John F. Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and our Speaker, John McCormack, as incorporated in H.R. 7700. My companion bill is H.R. 7798. A number of alternative proposals have been introduced, each with approaches that have for their basic proposal the ultimate elimination of the quota system.

But, these proposed reforms, although deserving meritorious consideration, would become more controversial and no doubt create a stalemate. However, H.R. 7700 through the unified action of these seeking to support reform and the present favorable public reaction to its acceptance would have the best chance of being enacted into law.

President John F. Kennedy's message, including the endorsements of the then President of the Senate, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Speaker John W. McCormack, on July 23, 1963, sets out in pointed terms the history of the question including the precise weaknesses of the present law in its inapplicability to meet present conditions and changes in Government policy. The work was a monumental contribution to the solution of these problems in a practical and efficient manner.

An analysis of the bill presented by the Department of State, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, in a prepared summary was also included.

Even though some of its provisions were modified by the McCarran-Walter Act, the basic concepts inimical to sound policy today remain in the law.

The total quota figure in itself is not a problem, but the application of the distribution formula again violates our concepts and runs contrary to our understanding and our ideals.

The figures released by the Government indicate that in the last decade 2½ million persons entered as immigrants—yet only about 1½ million of these entered through the McCarran-Walter Act controls. The others were the recipients of some eight or nine special statutory acts passed by the Congress as well as under special regulations and other arrangements. These facts in themselves dictate a reformation of the present regulatory provisions.

Presidents Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson have demanded positive legislation in party platforms and political campaigns including messages to the Congress. Each called to our attention the injustices of the quota theory based on the national origin system—and pointed out its negative effect on foreign policy. At our very doorstep, the nations of South America, numerous citizens of those nations remember that their progenitors seeking entry into the United States were barred by our antiquated and conciliatory immigration policy—our good will policy at other levels of our relationship with these nations have never been too fortuitous.

Yet Congress has had to circumvent the present act many times through the legislative process to reflect its honest decisions on pertinent policies dealing with immigration questions. Every Member of Congress is personally identified with many perplexing problems every session because of the inadequate provisions of our present laws.

To be sure, our Nation can and should relate its immigration numerical absorption quotas to the rate of our economic growth, for the protection of our labor market against unemployment, a wide open policy of unlimited immigration could be disastrous to our economy.

But the changes in H.R. 7700 primarily effect the granting of:

First. Nonquota preference to the parents, spouses, and children of U.S. citizens—having a minor effect on quotas. These are now subject to second preference, always exhausted. The resulting separation is a travesty. The same category should include parents of permanent resident aliens.

Second. Nonquota preference to natives of the independent island nations of the Western Hemisphere. Present law grants this privilege only to those islands independent at the time of its passage—excludes those who gained their independence since its enactment.

Third. Establishes a fourth preference category for those aliens with needed occupational talents such as tailors, stonemasons, and so forth. A special Immigration Advisory Board is established having jurisdiction over these matters. Members ap-

pointed—three by the President, two by the Speaker of the House and two by the President of the Senate.

Another interesting problem presents itself specifically to the Italian American veterans of World War I who as alien residents served with the U.S. Forces and later returned to their homeland—married and had offspring born there—certainly these offspring should be given a nonquota classification. An American Legion mandate in this regard has been introduced by me—H.R. 6931.

The study of the deportation question of those losing their citizenship is not only challenging but promulgates a practice of a twisted philosophy of legal standards based on an illogical premise that no equities inure to the benefit of the deportee or his family.

I learned of several cases where individual citizens were deprived by court order of their rights and privileges as citizens and also expunging the order of court of many years' standing granting them citizenship status. Both individuals had sons who served in the military forces during and after World War II, were honorably discharged and received both presidential citations and citations of the command. Also in one instance a son-in-law as a commissioned officer served honorably.

In one of these matters the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, weighing these facts, canceled the order of deportation giving as his reason that the separation of the family head from his loyal patriotic sons who served with distinction as members of the Armed Forces during the war in itself was a sufficient reason for his action.

In the other matter an interesting question developed where the country of his birth refused to accept him on the grounds that the swearing of allegiance to the United States—in taking citizens oath—relieved it of any responsibility to him or the United States. This reasoning was based upon the premise that such proceedings granting citizenship represent, as to his native land, a permanent separation from his native citizenship, and regardless of a subsequent cancellation of the order granting citizenship in the proceeding—the question of his allegiance to his newly adopted country has been determined. The recalling of the citizenship grant does not restore him to the status of being a subject of the land of his birth.

There are split legal contentions on the part of authorities in these matters and the law should be explicit in the consideration of these problems. The further practice of banishing one to any other land accepting him—upon the refusal of his native land to permit his entry is purely an illegal device to dump him anywhere, just to get rid of him, disregarding what vested rights inure to him or his family that equity and good conscience dictate. The separation from family is of momentous importance to one's kinfolk as well as to the individual and must be considered important enough to spell out the law to prevent injustice.

The principal purpose of H.R. 7700 is to abolish the national origins system and to permit entrance to those filing within preference categories on a first come first served basis.

Each country's quota will be reduced 20 percent the first year and 40 percent the second year, 60 percent the third year, 80 percent the fourth year, and 100 percent in the fifth year. The present total annual quota of 157,000 will be increased to 165,000. The increase of 8,000, as a result of increasing the minimum quotas from 100 to 200. Thus this gradual elimination of the national origin quota system is accomplished without disturbing by abrupt action the operative quality of procedures.

The bill also contains a special provision granting the President to reserve up to 50 percent of the pool after consultation with the Board; first, to avoid undue hardship resulting from quota restrictions; second, in the national security interest.

The President may also retain 20 percent of the pool for refugees.

Also provided that no more than—10 percent of the total—16,478 visas may be allocated to any nation's quota area except under the President's authority to reserve numbers from the pool.

Under the present regulations as much as 50,000 unused quota numbers are lost to the system annually.

The immigration figures for a test year ending June 30, 1963—about 306,000 immigrants were admitted. The quota was 157,000—but only 108,036 were admitted under the McCarran-Walter Act. Thus, two-thirds of these admitted were outside the act. The same is true as to other years. Thus the national policy must operate outside its prescribed act through the passage of special legislation and other procedures. Therefore, in its practical application, the act is a nullity and its purposes outmoded. It is not only offensive to friendly foreign nations, but is discriminatory—an insult to our preachments of racial equality.

It is interesting to note that the Johnson-Reed Act determined the basic quota numerical computation of national origin on population figures of 1890. Certainly prejudicing the people of Southern Europe, Asia, and Africa. The McCarran-Walter Act in accepting population figures of 1920 also paralleled this bias built into the Johnson-Reed Act.

But even so, under public pressure, the Congress has amended and modified the Johnson-Reed Act from time to time.

Finally in 1952 over President Truman's Presidential veto, the Congress passed the McCarran-Walter Act. It codified under one act all laws affecting immigration incorporating the old statutes and early conceptions of the Nation's policy in this field.

As herein before stated the Quota-Origin Act computation was adopted as the operating formula for the unit national admission of immigrants.

It reflects in its applicability and formula racial discrimination against our very allies in a sensitive area of national policy. The token quotas of 100 per year assigned to nations numbering millions in native population is a senseless and asinine system. The administration bill is more realistic and reasonable.

After 5 years with the fading out of the national origin system, immigrant visas would be available to any alien meeting the qualifications without regard to the country of his birth. The qualifications, rigid as they may be under the McCarran-Walter Act, are preserved in H.R. 7700 with certain modifications.

Again the 10-percent limitation visas issued in any one year to any one nation prevents monopolizing the visas available under other visa prescriptions in the bill.

The bill thus meets the critical needs and balances out the inequities and impractical controls now prevalent in the law. In specific terms it eliminates the false conception that the bars to limited immigration are down.

As a member of the Judiciary Committee, I shall support H.R. 7700, and urge the subcommitee to report H.R. 7700 favorably to the full committee for passage.

COLUMBUS DAY LEGISLATION

Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of Subcommittee No. 4 of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. E. L. FORRESTER, placed upon the agenda for a hearing my bill H.R. 8189 declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday honoring Christopher Columbus. Many leaders of the Italo-American communities throughout the Nation appeared to address the committee in support of the legislation. May I compliment the estimable gentleman from Georgia and his eminent subcommittee for considering this legislation.

My address to the subcommittee and the text of the bill follow:

"Mr. Chairman, it is with a deep sense of appreciation that your distinguished committee extended to me as sponsor of H.R. 8189, the privilege of addressing you on the question of establishing by statutory enactment, October 12 as Columbus Day—a national holiday.

"The greatness of a man is best measured by the impact upon the future of mankind through his works. Christopher Columbus in his four voyages to the West startled the nations of the world with his discoveries.

"He had the courage and tenacity in his belief of the principle advanced by Galileo that the world was round and by sheer persistence for proof prevailed upon the Royal Family of Spain to finance this perilous experiment to find a new western route to the Indies by sailing due west.

"His Christian faith gave to him a religious incentive to thwart the piratical activities of the Turkish marauders preying upon the trading ships of the Christian world. The freedom of the seas for merchantmen were at stake and he visioned that the earnings could be used to spread the doctrine of Christianity throughout the world.

"The ultimate results of his important geographical discoveries have been recorded in the history of nations for centuries. Next to our Lord Jesus Christ, he and Abraham Lincoln rank as the most written of personages in the world.

"Although the geographical discovery was of the greatest importance—yet the aftermath of his discovery resulting in the development of a new type of government founded by the Thirteen American Colonies based upon the inherent rights and liberties of free men given by God became a symbol to dedicate Columbus' memory.

"Upon this Nation, do nations of the free world, loving liberty, depend for the leadership to protect and defend their spiritual, cultural, and economic institutions and guarantee their way of life.

"We owe to this great emancipator and nobleman of the seas a signal national debt of gratitude in discovering the New World, and should pay lasting homage to his memory. Columbus belongs to all nations, but represents to us the first immigrant to the Americas—the land of liberty and justice for all. The several States have set aside this day to commemorate the glory of his name. It is fitting and proper that we as a Nation honor one whose day of discovery is celebrated in thousands of communities throughout the land as a patriotic day to rededicate ourselves to the institutions protecting our freedoms and guaranteeing our liberties for ourselves and the freedom loving nations of the world. Let us rediscover our obligation to free the captive nations and thus reinvigorate our efforts to release them from their bondage. Columbus Day is America's day to celebrate the advent of the New World.

"I again thank the committee for its kind consideration in making possible this hearing for the establishment of Columbus Day as a day of national meditation in keeping alive the fires of freedom throughout the world—a Christian nation with Christian faith that opened its shores to men of every faith to worship at the altars of freedom and liberty—forever."

H.R. 8189

A bill declaring October 12 to be a legal holiday

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the 12th day of October of each year, to be hereafter celebrated and known as Columbus Day, is hereby declared to be a legal holiday of the same character as the 1st day of January, the 22d day of February, the 30th day of May, the 4th day of July, the 1st Monday of September, the 11th day of November, the 4th Thursday of November, and Christmas Day.

Vatican Council Address of Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we in Pittsburgh are certainly proud of Bishop John J. Wright, outstanding in the church, and an outstanding civic-minded citizen who speaks so well for the common good. Bishop Wright has definitely made a high mark in the civic and religious life of Pittsburgh and the whole area of western Pennsylvania. He will long be remembered for his thought-provoking and penetrating comments upon policies that are basic to good church people, good church administration, good citizenship, and good government.

Bishop Wright's address follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Catholic, Oct. 8, 1964]

TEXT OF BISHOP WRIGHT'S SEPTEMBER 28 TALK AT COUNCIL: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE COMMON GOOD

(VATICAN CITY.—Following is a translation from the Latin of the complete text of the intervention of Bishop John J. Wright, of Pittsburgh, on the subject of religious liberty at the 89th general congregation (September 28) of Vatican Council II.)

I have asked special permission to speak, because I fear that our question has been discussed thus far with excessive pragmatism. The report itself speaks too sparingly and cautiously, perhaps, of the connection between religious liberty and that common good which would put the discussion on the level of principle.

All sides agree that the question of religious liberty and its exercise ultimately touches the question of the common good. Therefore, the analysis and defense of religious liberty ought to take into account the nature and protection of that common good which, in a way, constitutes the very "res publica" and thus must be promoted by the directors of the State.

There are those who strongly assert that the defense of religious liberty, even for those who set forth errors contrary to Catholic truth, disrupts or damages the common good, which indeed can scarcely be denied at times. On the contrary, there are those who affirm, from another angle, that paradoxical though it be, the denial of recognition to religious liberty in its own way and often to a far worse degree harms the common good, because the common good by its very nature positively demands and presumes as an integral and essential element such liberty and its recognition by the civil power. It is on this point that I have a few things I would like to say.

The common good involves a certain order of things and qualities; certainly it includes peaceful relations among citizens. But the concept of the common good should never be compared to that kind of impassive order or forced conformism which would be pleasing, perhaps, to the totalitarian or police state, but which would in no way befit a truly human society of persons created in the image of God and responsible finally to God—to God "who has made of one all mankind, causing them to dwell together on the whole face of the earth * * * that they should seek God, if haply they may grope after him and find him," according to St. Paul (Acts 17: 26–27).

Now in these words of St. Paul there is suggested a hint of the necessity of religious liberty among those elements of the common good shared by all the human race, dwelling over the whole face of the earth, called to seek God and dimly grope after him and perhaps find Him * * * even though at times such liberty gives rise to the danger of controversies and contentions as a result of the very seeking after God.

A common good worthy of persons always presupposes a moral, intellectual, and spiritual element as essential and fundamental. Obedience and conformity to the moral law, divine and positive, ought to be always present in the common good and among other virtues. But such obedience, if it is to nourish a true common good, must be a virtue, the virtue of persons acting with knowledge and consent and, consequently, acting freely in a spirit of justice.

The common good is not just a certain physical or mathematical accumulation of material goods which citizens share. Certainly, it includes civil services, public highways, firefighting equipment, police protection and other such things, lest turmoil break out among the populace. But all these things do not constitute the common good. Nor is it a mere treasury of acquired goods, technical machines, artifacts, and objects such as are preserved in museums but which are nothing more than booty or spoils, such as might unite thieves, rather than a common good, if they are not ethically acquired and cherished. For the common good is always something living, ethical, spiritual, intellectual, and, therefore, fully humane.

The Christian philosopher, Jacques Maritain, has written to our point: "The common good is something ethically good. And in this common good is included as an essential element the greatest development possible hic et nunc of human persons, of those persons who make up the united multitude and thus constitute a people bound together by ties not only of force but of justice."

Hence, it seems to follow that the common good of mankind, to the extent that it is ethical and moral, demands and presumes religious faith, true and whole, strong, fruitful and, therefore, a reasonable assent to truth freely accepted and freely professed. But also, and equally as a matter of justice, it follows that the common good demands the necessity of liberty from external coercion in the matter of religion, if the common good is not to lose its very soul which is virtue and especially the virtue of justice.

A certain non-Catholic professor once said to me, "You can well say that the idea of religious liberty should justify itself pragmatically to Catholics in the light of the way it seems to have worked out in regions where the church is obviously flourishing under a system of just such liberty." But this pragmatic argument is less than satisfactory because it is really not worthy of the subject. It is far better to recognize, with all Christian simplicity, that the idea of religious liberty corresponds to the truth, to the truth not only about the nature of the person but also about the nature of the common good itself.

Therefore, those who seek the common good in its full and true sense—and according to authentic Catholic teaching with the philosophical and theological principles of which our practice ought to conform and not vice versa—those who defend such a common good will wish to strengthen foster, and extend as far as possible all truly human liberties, especially religious liberty, that is, the liberty to learn, to meditate, and to worship the Supreme Good, God, the source and author of all goods. Such religious liberty can be worked out even in a state favoring some particular religion for historical reasons—as it does in England, where a Protestant church (the so-called established church) traditionally enjoys special privileges, but now (at least) all, except the king and queen (unless I am mistaken), have full religious liberty. The case of Ireland is also pertinent, for there the Catholic Church is held in special esteem by the Constitution and in certain customs, but all enjoy full religious liberty. As a matter of fact—and it should be acknowledged openly—religious liberty is often more complete in other countries than it is in America; this is certainly the case in England with regard to school rights, and it also is in Holland.

There can be no doubt that Catholics—and especially the pastors of souls—will pray and work tirelessly to the end that all men will use their liberty to advance to the full and perfect knowledge of the one true God, and Him whom God sent, Jesus Christ. We will be witnesses to Him to the very ends of the earth, witnesses by word and by deed. We will debate, we will implore, we will rebuke in all patience and in the light of true doctrine, so that error may have no place, whether or not it has any right; but we shall do this always recognizing the rights of any who are in error. We will fulfill our right and duty with the help of the grace of Christ, in the light of the Gospel, by the power of the Holy Spirit and armed with the spiritual might of the church, neither fearing nor exploiting the constraining power of the kingdom of this world. Whatever may be said of times past and of political cultures once, perhaps, more consistent with the work of the Gospel but now obsolete, it is now, in the present order, necessary that Christians ask of the civil power only that it respect in justice our right to fulfill the commands of Christ; that it assist in justice our efforts to play our rightful and necessary part in furthering the common good through our work in behalf of education and peace and that it leave inviolate, as a matter of justice, the religious liberty of all those for whom the message of the Gospels and the grace of Christ are destined, namely all men.

God, who gave us the duty, right and liberty to preach, gave those to whom we preach the duty, right and liberty of hearing and believing as a means to that religious perfection which the civil power can neither give nor take away, and which, therefore, it should scrupulously respect, especially as regards its liberty.

We, the successors of the Apostles, men of God, bishops of the Catholic Church—we ought to be foremost and fearless leaders among the heralds of liberty, because historically we are the heirs of liberty in matters religious acquired almost in every case and almost in every nation only through the blood and tears of our fathers. Thus we know from the experience of our own history how dear and how fruitful liberty is. Much more, supernaturally we are heirs of an even greater liberty, the liberty by which Christ has made us free by His own free obedience—a free obedience which we will freely imitate, always in the hope and with the purpose of freely persuading our neighbors and brothers to a similar free

obedience—a liberty that is saving because it is obedient, an obedience that saves because it is free.

The Big Scare Versus the Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH F. BEERMANN
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BEERMANN. Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that all Americans have a large stake in the outcome of the coming national election. But, because of the tremendous impact on agriculture by activities of the Federal Government, the American farmer has a particularly high stake. Since a concerted campaign of misinformation on Republican farm proposals is being conducted, I am inserting an editorial from the Farm Journal, a renown farm publication, which sets the record straight. I urge all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but particularly the farmers of America, to give this article their attention.

The article follows:

THE BIG SCARE VERSUS THE ISSUES

In this election campaign Farm Journal has hewed to its policy of giving both sides equal treatment in our news columns and has stated its own position only on this page. We believe any publication worth its salt has an obligation to the public to do both things.

Our own position may not be yours. Every man to his own opinion. We have never claimed to be speaking for "all farmers." They don't delegate anybody to do that, thank goodness. Nor do they agree among themselves.

In this concluding statement on the election we'd like to repeat something we said 2 months ago:

"We will be choosing between two men. But more importantly we will be choosing between what they champion. We may or may not like everything about the man we vote for. We may or may not agree with everything he says. But which man represents more clearly the basic direction we want this country to go? That is the big question. Let's never lose sight of it."

Will we lose sight of it in the face of the greatest character smear in modern times? Mr. GOLDWATER is being grossly libeled, his position falsified.

In 1960 Mr. Kennedy frightened the wits out of a good many people with claims about a "missile gap," which supposedly had us in danger of being obliterated by a Russian atom bomb at any moment. It turned out (after election) to be phony. The scares of this year are, in our opinion, just as phony.

Both candidates want peace; who doesn't? Both are responsible. Neither favors annihilation. Both have been in a war, Mr. GOLDWATER in southeast Asia. He has two sons of military age now.

Both candidates have compassion for the poor and have proved it in private life. Their only difference is in how to tackle the problem.

Both want good times to continue. Don't we all? But what best assures them? Control by Government or control by citizens of their own affairs?

We agree with Mr. GOLDWATER that the way to the "great society" is not through the welfare state, toward which we are headed, but through individual enterprise left free to operate. Most of us agree that those who can't take care of themselves must be taken care of, with compassion. But this administration makes more people dependent on Government for a part of their livelihood every day. It steadily usurps more of the functions of private business. It steadily reaches for more power, a little more today, a little more tomorrow. It seems to believe that an all-wise centrally controlled Government in Washington can solve our problems better than we can.

We agree with Mr. GOLDWATER, too, in choosing principle over expediency. For us the attitude of the Johnson administration is too much "peace at any price" with any substantial group of voters at home or any Government abroad, Cuba included.

On farm policy we agree in general with Mr. GOLDWATER's position, and we believe most farmers will if they understand it. He is not for abolishing the farm program and you along with it, as Mr. Johnson and Mr. HUMPHREY have been proclaiming. True, he has been against compulsory Government controls, high rigid support prices, CCC dumping of grains to depress grain prices and club farmers into Government programs, and making the Secretary of Agriculture all powerful. Most farmers feel the same way.

But he is for voluntary programs, for support price at stabilization levels, for a land retirement program, for adequate farm credit, for co-ops.

We agree with the Republican position on reapportioning legislative districts. Mr. GOLDWATER wants to protect the rural minority. The Democrats are courting the big cities. You'll note that Mr. Johnson ducked the question in Farm Journal last month.

Will farmers fall for the phony scares about Mr. GOLDWATER, or will they keep their eye on these big issues? On that the outcome of the election, at least in the farm country, will largely depend.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, I want personally to express my regrets at the departure from the House of our distinguished colleague, the Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, ranking minority member of the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Congressman AUCHINCLOSS has been a most conscientious member of the committee, and I shall be ever grateful for his cooperation, his devotion and service to the committee, and for the assistance he personally gave to me as chairman on so many occasions during the time he was a member of the committee.

He is a gentleman of deep and earnest convictions and through the years sponsored and supported much legislation which he deemed necessary and important to his Third District of New Jersey, to his State, to the Nation's Capital and to the country at large. They all have benefited greatly from his labors, and he will be sincerely missed by us all.

May he continue to receive deserving rewards in the golden years which lie ahead of him.

A Short Report on Immigration Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, as we near the closing hour of this 88th Congress, I desire to make a short report on the status and progress of pending immigration legislation.

Our Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality began public hearings on pending bills on June 11, 1964. As chairman, I took that action only after it became certain that adequate funds would not be provided to activate the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy during this session. Over the course of 1 year, covering both sessions of this Congress, I sought by every proper means to secure funds to activate the joint committee. It was my conviction that Congress could not act intelligently on pending immigration legislation without a full scale uninhibited and objective review of all the factors, domestic and international, upon which a sound immigration policy must be based. To expect Congress to act without such a review, incidentally a long overdue review, was to call upon Congress to act in the dark, without the facts upon which sound policy rests.

Our subcommittee has provided an opportunity for all interested in our immigration program to appear as witnesses or to present statements for inclusion in the record of our hearings. Orderly and purposeful procedure was employed in the course of our hearings. We opened phase I of our hearings with testimony from interested Members of Congress. Phase II took up testimony from the executive branch of Government including the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, the operating level of the Department of Justice which includes the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the operating level of the Department of State—the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. Phase III took up testimony from nongovernmental organizations and interested individuals.

This task required hearings, both public and executive, over a course of more than 3 months. Those hearings have been completed and all the reports thereon should be available to Members, the press, and the public in the very near future. Separate reports are being made for each of the three phases of our hearings.

When the hearings had been underway for 2 months, when we had completed testimony from interested Members of Congress and the executive branch and had commenced taking testimony from nongovernmental organizations, I in-

troduced H.R. 12305 on August 10: I did so because it was then apparent that H.R. 7700, the administration bill, could not be enacted into law and the revisions required to make it acceptable would be so basic and far reaching as to alter the original proposal as to make it unrecognizable. In these circumstances I presented a bill which sought to accomplish these purposes:

First. To use the authorized but unused quota numbers over a trial period of 2 years under a new system which conformed to Supreme Court decisions on the responsibility of Congress to regulate immigration into the United States.

Second. To use the unused quota numbers to reunite families, to bring in skilled workers needed to expand our economy without displacing an American worker and to provide a haven for our fair share of the victims of Communist tyranny under conditions which does not attach the stigma of parole to their admission.

Third. To provide an opportunity for Congress to benefit from the practical results of this 2-year trial period while Congress through the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy would undertake and complete the long overdue review of immigration policy.

Fourth. To remedy the most urgent, the most human problems of our present immigration program while Congress was making a determination on what our new immigration policy should be.

The provisions of the bill which I introduced were supported overwhelmingly by the testimony taken up to the time of its introduction. I was encouraged by the rapid and affirmative responses which I received to the action I had taken.

Witnesses appearing during our hearings after August 12 were invited to comment on the provisions and purposes of H.R. 12305. A large number of national organizations rallied their support behind my bill. Our colleague, Congressman EDWARD DERWINSKI, of Illinois, introduced an identical bill on September 4, 1964. In his explanatory remarks he called for bipartisan support and action during this session of Congress, noting that the Republican Party supported the bill which he had introduced.

H.R. 12305 was given full and careful consideration by members of the House Committee on Immigration and Nationality. One major revision of the bill was agreed to, a revision of the definition of a refugee. I was encouraged by the members of my subcommittee, at least a majority thereof, to believe that they would support enactment of that bill.

Over a period of no less than 3 weeks I sought to get a quorum of the subcommittee to take final action on H.R. 12305. Meeting dates and times convenient to the members were set. But a quorum did not result. I then notified each member by telegram on two separate occasions that a meeting was set to vote up or down on H.R. 12305. But again a quorum did not result.

I was somewhat amazed to learn that during that critical period a quorum of the subcommittee was met with Mr. EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to discuss staff personnel—a matter on which I will have more to say at a later date. It is worth noting in this connection that the gentleman from New York, Congressman CELLER, stated to me more than 1 month ago that there would be no immigration legislation this year. It now appears that his purposes as stated to me have been realized.

During the last 2 days of this Congress, I nevertheless continued my efforts to secure a majority vote on H.R. 12305. Here I was confronted with a new problem. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] had departed Washington and had left word that he would not authorize a poll of the full membership of the Judiciary Committee.

Those are the basic facts related to pending immigration legislation and the 3 months of hearings thereon by the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality. That record speaks for itself.

The 88th Congress: A Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the 88th Congress was a busy, and in many ways productive, Congress. I know that the people I represent want to learn about the activities of Congress during these last 2 years; therefore, I have made this the subject of an October newsletter to my district, the Second Congressional District of Washington State. I think my newsletter will be of interest to Members of Congress as well and therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that it be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

THE 88TH CONGRESS REVIEWED

The 88th Congress—one of the longest and busiest on record—is now history. When the Speaker's gavel adjourned the House of Representatives October 3, the Congress had been in session nearly 321 days. During that time, more than 12,000 public and private measures were introduced; some 820 were finally enacted into law.

The 88th Congress marked some important, though controversial, "firsts." It passed a comprehensive civil rights bill, and approved tax cut legislation providing for an $11.5 billion reduction in Federal income and corporation taxes. In the Senate, lawmakers ratified the limited nuclear test ban treaty, the first agreement of its kind to result from the cold war. Whatever one's personal feelings, it can at least be said that the 88th Congress made history by dealing with these matters.

Striking closer to home were three bills of particular importance to the Pacific Northwest. Regional power preference legislation was enacted into law, guaranteeing that hydroelectric power produced in the Northwest will be used first to meet the private and industrial needs of the Northwestern United States. After nearly 6 years of work to satisfy all interests, Congress also enacted a "wilderness" bill giving the first statutory protection to some 9 million acres of "wilderness" area. The land and water conservation bill was approved, enabling the Federal Government to aid the States in the needed development of recreational facilities. Because of my membership on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I was able to play a major part in the writing and passage of these bills.

Important military construction and public works projects for the second district also resulted from legislation passed by the 88th Congress. Public works funds totaling $2,163,000 for fiscal 1964 and 1965 cleared the way for further improvement to the Snohomish, Stillaguamish, Skagit, and Nooksack Rivers. Small boat harbors at Port Townsend and Quilcene received additional benefit from public works appropriations. Funds totalling $693,000 for military construction were passed to bring major improvements to Paine Field and the Blaine Air Force station during fiscal 1964; another $459,000, appropriated for fiscal 1965, will build a needed aircraft holding apron and new telephone exchange at the Whidbey Island Naval Air Station.

There were, however, some disappointments, including the failure of the administration to act on my bill, H.R. 7961, legislation I introduced to help Northwest mills meet Canadian competition by permitting the shipment of American lumber in foreign-bottom vessels when U.S.-flag ships are unavailable. I believed this bill could be of real benefit to the local economy, but the administration failed to act, and even vetoed the one bill passed by Congress that might have granted some small relief. This was the lumber-marking bill, approved by the first session of the 88th Congress, but vetoed by the President. Beef import legislation was finally approved—despite opposition from the administration—but my bill to provide similar protection for the Northwest dairy industry, remains unpassed.

Of great disappointment for the Nation's older citizens, certainly, was the "death" of the 5 percent social security increase. I voted for this increase in the House, because it was obvious to me that the inflationary policies of this administration made some cost-of-living increase necessary. What happened is now history. The bill passed the House with virtually no opposition, but was blocked in the Senate by Democrats who insisted on adding a compulsory "medicare" amendment. A squabble within the Democrat party errupted, and the Democrats, unable to agree among themselves, chose to kill the 5-percent increase. Given the choice of a bill or an issue, the administration took the issue.

The Nation's veterans were more fortunate. Though the President declared the bill would be "inconsistent with the objectives" of his administration, the Congress passed H.R. 1927, providing pension increases to a half million veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean war. Additional payments for helpless and blind veterans requiring the regular aid of another person, also were increased. Though less comprehensive than some would have liked, H.R. 1927 marked the first major veterans' pension legislation in over 5 years. This bill, incidentally, passed the House without a single dissenting vote, and I joined others in the Congress in voting for this legislation. Similarly, I supported pay increases for the Nation's uniformed servicemen and for 1.7 million civil service workers and postal employees.

Bills to expand vocational education, to provide Federal aid for the fight against mental illness and retardation, to extend "impacted" areas Federal school aid under Public Laws 874 and 815, to provide increased Federal housing and to expand college construction passed the 88th Congress and, likewise, had my support. These were forward steps on the domestic front.

On the foreign policy front, the 88th Congress ended on an ominous note. Despite official talk of "peace," it is clear that we are engaged in a real war in South Vietnam. I backed the congressional resolution endorsing the President's action in retaliating to unwarranted attacks against our Navy in the Bay of Tonkin. And I also supported a resolution insisting that the United Nations work to collect the back debts of Communist and other member nations.

Cuba: Communism's "fortress" only 90 miles from our shores—remains virtually forgotten by the present administration and American foreign aid continues to finance Communist regimes. Consistently throughout the 88th Congress, I voted for reductions in foreign aid and for an end to wasteful handouts. I voted against the sale of American wheat to Russia—and eventually to Cuba. And I voted for amendments that would have stopped the sale of American surplus foods to Communist-controlled and dominated nations. I'm happy to say that I was joined by others—both Republicans and Democrats—who believe America's foreign policy should be strengthened. I think most of you would agree.

Summing up, I would say the 88th Congress solved some problems, but left a great many others to be answered. I hope I will again be privileged to help find some of those answers when the 89th Congress convenes.

Visitors: Alderwood Manor: Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Hutsell. Bellingham: Mrs. Frank McKinney, Mr. and Mrs. L. V. Townley. Burlington: John F. Conrad, Ted Conrad. Oak Harbor: Gary Powell. Port Angeles: Mrs. A. B. Barrie, Harry Cotton, Mrs. Donald B. Hetrick, Virginia Hetrick. Quilcene: Mr. and Mrs. George Huntingford and family. Redmond: Bruce Boyd, Hoyt S. Boyd, Mr. and Mrs. W. Fritz and family, Edward D. O'Brien, Robert Olney. Sedro Woolley: Mary Ann Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Palmer and Annette. Snohomish: Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Bickford, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Marler. Stanwood: Mr. and Mrs. Edwaad Iverson, Macushla Reilly.

Sincerely yours,

Congressman JACK WESTLAND.

Hon. James P. Mitchell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Labor, throughout the years of its operation, has had as it leading and propelling force, Secretaries well qualified for the responsibilities of their office.

Few realize that one important function of the office is to increase the opportunities for those who are qualified to be used by industry, and so forth, in order that the economy be strong through the realization of full employment.

In recent years, the labor level of employment problems, and labor crisis with industry were resolved and solved by exceptionally capable Secretaries—namely, James P. Mitchell, Arthur J. Goldberg, and the present Secretary, W. Willard Wirtz.

Their contributions to labor and industry have, in a great measure, been the guidelines to our growing economy and prosperity.

To me, President Eisenhower's appointment of James P. Mitchell, a management man, was an intriguing challenge to the modus operandi of labor unions.

But the opposite resulted and labor accepted him as a man of great stature, obedient to the needs of both unions and management.

Mr. Mitchell represents greatness in its true light, and he has compassion for the troubles of humankind, which is reflected in his splendid achievements in the important positions he has held, both in public life and industrial assignments. He is no ordinary man.

Mr. Mitchell's identification with management did not prevent him from thinking straight, in his duties as Secretary of Labor. His brilliant analysis of labor problems, presented to him during his term of office, won for him praise and acclaim from both management and labor.

Labor leaders, disappointed, at first, by his Presidential appointment, were quick to acknowledge their mistakes in gaging him as being prejudiced to their interests.

His perfect sense of mental balance only weighed the facts—and with honesty of purpose his major premise—the final decision, was unassailable.

Similar to the early lives of many of our Nation's leaders, life's struggle prevented him attending college. Equipped with a high school education, he earned his way and trained his mind in the school of self-study and experience.

Later in life, these teachings and experiences of his early youth were not forgotten. He proved it by being fair and honorable in his labor decisions and in the responsibilities of his office as Secretary of Labor. The statement made, at that time, by President George Meany, "Mitchell is the greatest Secretary of Labor the country ever had"—is authoritative proof of his competency.

Secretary Mitchell has a heart as big as his body. He is kind and considerate to everyone who seeks his advice or services. He is a strong, sturdy type of individual who loves humanity. And he is honest and decisive in his judgments. He holds the admiration and respect of management, labor, and officialdom in public life. He still receives praise from all, including the press and news media. He contributed, as Secretary, a steady, studied influence over the affairs of our Nation in the field of labor. The people of the Nation accept him as a true champion of protecting the economy—labor and management; a true judge of industrial relations. We are proud of his great record in the field of labor.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Speech Before the 19th National Conference on Citizenship by Mr. Arthur P. Crabtree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the recent meeting of the 19th National Conference on Citizenship whose headquarters is at Rockville, Md., was held at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. Mr. Arthur P. Crabtree, president of the Adult Education Association of the USA gave a summary speech of the conference which I would like to insert in the RECORD:

The speech follows:

SUMMARIZATION OF THE 19TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

(By Arthur P. Crabtree, President, Adult Education Association of the USA)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the conference, "today, every citizen, regardless of his interest in politics, 'holds office.'" These words were spoken by the late President John F. Kennedy while he was a U.S. Senator in 1957, before a convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City.

I have had the privilege of making this summary speech several times but, in my opinion, the program committee of this conference did the best job in selecting the theme for this conference it has ever done. The topic "Every Citizen Holds Office" is uniquely wedded to this year of 1964, both in point of time and significance. For this is the year of what a prominent Britisher once called the "quadrennial American madness," when we elect a President of these United States. In this setting, then, we could not have been discussing during these past 3 days a theme more consonant with the climate of the times than these words of our late and great President.

Under the chairmanship of Alvin M. Bentley—one of the steadfast friends of the National Conference on Citizenship, its 19th annual meeting got underway on Thursday morning against that background of color and beauty that we have come to regard as indispensable to the conference: our lovely Tryon Palace Hostesses. Dressed in their 18th century costumes, they conjured up a delightful vision of minuets and magnolia-scented moonlight. The Tryon Palace in New Bern, N.C., the site of the first colonial capitol, has been called the most beautiful building in the Colonial Americas. With this historic reputation, it can do no less than send forth as its representatives the most beautiful young ladies in the land. And this it does and we in this conference are the beneficiaries.

There was the sound of stirring music accompanying the kickoff of this 19th conference and it was supplied by the U.S. Marine Band.

Then, as usual, came the advancement of the State and territorial flags. This assignment was in capable hands: strong and stalwart members of the U.S. Marine Corps. I have seen this part of the program come and go for lo, these many years but I never tire of its color and pageantry. And I never tire of the emotional charge I get out of witnessing the event. I have had some critics of this conference tell me that it carries too much window dressing, too much emotional sentiment. My answer has always been to these pseudosophisticates that I hope the emotion is never taken out of this meeting. In a world which is growing slightly cynical, where it is considered old fashioned by some to demonstrate a love of country, I am proud of the fact that my pulse begins to beat a little faster as I am reminded of the proud history of this great Nation. For this is a language of the human heart, a language that sterile intellectualism can never understand.

Personally, I never cease to experience a flood of mental imagery as these State flags are posted. Again this time, as I watched those fine young Americans come marching in to the roll of drums, each carrying a flag of one of the 50 States, it suddenly occurred to me that we were watching, in capsule form, the panorama of American history, condensed into the space of about 20 minutes. And then I thought of the dreams and hopes, and the broken dreams and the shattered hopes, that lay behind the materialization of each of those flags. I thought how thrilling it might be if we might ask each flag to tell us the story of its glorious past and we might hear again the stirring tales of Bunker Hill and Saratoga, of Gettysburg and Appomattox, of "the dark and bloody ground" and the Oregon Trail, of Tippecanoe and the Alamo, of Little Big Horn and Old Vincennes, and all the other strands of that breathless saga that have been woven into the priceles fabric of our historic past. But we didn't have that much time on Thursday morning so we sat and watched a group of handsome young marines deposit on this stage within the space of a very few minutes the symbolism of 177 years of human endeavor on the part of a people determined to prove to the world that men are capable of responsible self-government.

Once again, Bob Anderson, our general counsel, told us of the Thirteen Original States which first ratified the Constitution and introduced the representatives of those Thirteen States. I could never understand how any American could regard the number 13 as unlucky. Thirteen was the number chosen by destiny to mark the birth of this great adventure in human affairs, an event blessed with a measure of good fortune and plain old-fashioned luck seldom, if ever, enjoyed by any other nation in the world.

The keynote address of the conference was made by Dr. Donald Herzberg, executive director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. The basic thesis of Dr. Herzberg's address presented the admonition that we are still engaged in a great experiment, testing whether a people composed of many cultures, races, and creeds, can learn to govern themselves responsibly.

He presented three things as crucial in the situation: education, reform of our voting laws, and the role of the individual in politics. On the positive side, Dr. Herzberg argued for a more meaningful brand of political education in the schools, a reform of our election laws that now disfranchise thousands of voters, and the development of a tradition of the citizen-politician. I particularly liked this last concept.

I differed with Dr. Herzberg in only one of his statements: It was when he said that "I am not here arguing that everyone should vote."

I do want everyone to vote in this country. It is fundamental to my concept of the democratic thesis. Dr. Herzberg said he didn't believe in "compulsory voting." Neither do I, but this fact doesn't prevent me from believing that our task in a free society is to attempt to secure 100 percent participation of our people in the processes of democracy with all the resources at our command, short of compulsion. Democracy presupposes the involvement of all its citizens in its affairs. Lincoln, at Gettysburg, did not say that this is a government of some of the people, by some of the people, and for some of the people. The implication runs through our great charters of our liberties, including the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, as now interpreted, that the canopy of American democracy must cover everybody or it covers nobody. The basic thesis of self-government must hold that all men are capable of participating in the business of decisionmaking. For, if this be not so, and we start the preachment and the practice that it doesn't matter if certain types of people don't take part in the affairs of the society, then we legitimatize apathy and complacency and open the floodgates to the manipulation of those who would select the favored ones to make the decisions for us all.

This line of reasoning can only lead to the creation of an aristocracy that is foreign to the democratic concept. If they be apathetic, it is our task to rouse them to action. If they be "not enlightened," it is our task, as Jefferson said, "to inform their discretion."

Thursday afternoon we made our annual pilgrimage to the Sylvan Theater on the grounds of the Washington Monument. One of the more impressive events of this conference has always been the laying of the wreaths at the foot of the Washington Monument by the representatives of the Thirteen Original States. This year was no exception. The weather was beautiful, the program was excellent, and the purpose was unforgettable.

Thursday night, Earle Hawkins, one of the founders of the conference, chaired the annual dinner meeting. Among the honored guests was a Medal of Honor recipient, Adm. Joel T. Boone, who in battle risked his life "above and beyond the call of duty" and in civilian life has given outstanding service to his country. We were then accorded a rare treat. We heard an address by the beloved executive director of this conference, Judge Carl B. Hyatt. He spoke on the subject "A United Country." In his warm and poignant way, Judge Hyatt told us a story of his North Carolina boyhood. It was a story with the vintage of yesterday and the relevancy of tomorrow. It carried a new concept of the word "united." As I listened to his description of "Rebel" Sam Bennett I had a feeling that we here in the North might be a little better off if we had a few more "Rebel" Sams above the Mason and Dixon line.

As an added attraction we also listened to the beautiful music of the Justin Lawrie Singers and Miss Joyce Bryant.

Yesterday at noon we gathered in our annual luncheon under the chairmanship of Lawrence Oxley, one of the real veterans of this conference. His introduction of the session turned out to be one of the best speeches of the conference as he described some of the high spots of his long and rich career as a public servant.

We heard a very informative talk by the Honorable Stephen S. Jackson, describing the Federal voting assistance program to enable absentee voting by members of the Armed Forces, members of the merchant marine and civilian employees, and their dependents.

The luncheon program closed with a rather vigorous session under the leadership of Dr. Robert M. Isenberg, Director of NEA's Division of Rural Education Service. Dr. Isenberg led a general discussion by the entire audience, eliciting from all of us a flood of excellent suggestions on how we may get a better turnout on election day. An unusually gratifying number of good suggestions were harvested and have been incorporated into this report.

Last night, under the chairmanship of Tom Clear, another bulwark of this conference, we listened to a varied program of excellence and beauty. A film entitled "The Great Rights" was shown. It should be made compulsory viewing for every American and those who don't vote on November 3 should be required to see it twice. Then we heard the voice of young America, Miss Marsha Breed. Miss Breed delivered the speech which made her a winner in the "Voice of Democracy" contest conducted by the VFW. It was a masterpiece of thought and delivery. Last, we were entertained again by one of those musical treats that always stud this conference program each year. This time it was the U.S. Army Field Band which rendered a stirring "Tribute to U.S. Citizenship." The program was a diversified menu of inspiration and beauty.

Recommendations and suggestions from the discussion groups:

1. You were unanimous in recommending the revision of our State election laws that now disenfranchise thousands of voters and you believe that all citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote for candidates for Federal office, regardless of State restrictions.

2. Most of you believe the voting age should be lowered to 18 but there was some opposition to this idea.

3. Some of you feel that voting should require some form of literacy and educational testing.

4. Education, you said, is indispensable to good citizenship, both at the level of the child and the adult.

5. You recommended more discussion of controversial issues in education.

6. There was a strong sentiment among you to make election day a national holiday. Many of you suggested that it be changed to some other day of the week. Saturday, Sunday, and Monday were mentioned.

7. One of you gave me a definition of citizenship that I liked: "The understanding, accepting, and practicing of social responsibility."

8. As always, you said there should be State and regional citizenship conferences similar to this one.

9. One group interpreted President Kennedy's statement that "every citizen holds office" to mean that he "accepts the responsibility of being involved in a democratic process at all times."

10. Several of you suggested that education should teach the skills of critical thinking rather than mere facts.

11. You were unanimous in suggesting greater political participation by schoolteachers and one group advises that one show in the forthcoming television series "Mr. Novak" will deal with this theme.

12. An individual test of citizenship behavior was proposed by one group, suggesting that this question be asked: "Is my decision right with me, right with my fellow man, and right with God?"

13. Along with the three R's of reading, 'ritin and 'rithmetic we should add the three R's of citizenship: rights, responsibility, respect.

14. There must be a large number of educators in the conference for there was a strong affirmation of the right to academic freedom in the classroom.

15. A new twist was given to President Kennedy's statement when one group suggested that each parent and each teacher "holds office" in the training of the potential citizen.

16. One chap who must have some stock in MGM suggested that we make a movie of this conference and distribute it to the schools.

17. Finally, one fellow gave the forecast for November: a new wave of technological unemployment, folks thrown out of work by voting machines.

I began this summary by referring to Senator Kennedy's speech before the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City. I should like to return to it now for a second look at some of the other things he said on that occasion. Not only did he give utterance to the concept that every citizen holds office in a democracy but he said some other things that are of particular interest to us who are interested in the enrichment of American citizenship. As always, he spoke with clarity and with courage.

His courage was evidenced in the fact that he chose to criticize the very group to which he was talking: American educators. And, since I happen to be an educator, I suppose this is why his remarks carried even more significance for me. And, may I say now, that I couldn't agree more wholeheartedly with his criticism.

To this body of leaders in American education he made this statement: "It is disheartening to me and I think alarming to our Republic to realize how poorly the political profession is regarded in America. Mothers may still want their sons to grow up to be President but, according to a famous Gallup poll of some years ago, they do not want them to become politicians in the process.

"Unfortunately, this disdain for the political profession is shared by the educational profession. Educators find it difficult, I believe, to accept the differences between the laboratory and the legislature. In the former the goal is truth, pure and simple, without regard to the changing currents of public opinion; in the latter, compromise and majorities and procedural customs and rights affect the ultimate decision as to what is right or good, or more accurately, what is possible."

"And even when they realize the difference," the late President continued, "many educators and other intellectuals consider their function to be that of critic."

This is a rather harsh indictment of the educational profession. It becomes even more so when we consider the role of education in the development of this Nation, the job that education was designed to do.

What was this role of education in our society as envisioned by the Founding Fathers? This is, perhaps, the most exacting question on which the leaders of American education can be called to account. Let us turn for our answer to a source that is both authoritative and objective. Henry Steele Commager is both a distinguished historian and a recognized interpreter of the American scene. Says Commager: "The first and most urgent task of education was to provide an enlightened citizenry in order that self-government might work. It is well to remember that democracy * * * was an experiment—and largely an American experiment. It could not succeed with a people either corrupt or uninformed. To enlighten the people was the first duty of a democracy."

This, then, was the primary purpose of education: to constitute the continuing means by which the people who were to make the decisions for democratic self-government might be made so enlightened that those decisions would be clothed in wisdom and foresight.

How well have we in education succeeded with our assignment?

As a great New Yorker, Al Smith, was wont to say: "Let's look at the record." The record is not flattering. We have produced a generation of Americans, 40 percent of whom on election day ignore the most priceless heritage that any form of government can bestow. We have sown the dragon's teeth of materialism and are now reaping the drouth of civic indifference. Somewhere along the way we lost the compass of our early years and a system of education that started out to teach men how to live a life of moral and spiritual quality became a program with little higher purpose than to teach them how to earn a living. With our material prosperity which followed the Civil War we forgot the teachings of Jefferson and Madison and rationalized, if we thought about it at all, that good citizenship would come about in some miraculous way as a sort of byproduct to our mushrooming prosperity. We mistook the free and easy for the free. As Clinton Rossiter describes us, "We became fat and complacent, a people that 'has it made.'" Cal Coolidge best described the transformation in American life from the moral to the material when he defined our national purpose with the statement that "the business of America is business." That whirring noise that Cal must have heard when he made that statement might well have been the revolving bodies of Tom Paine and Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams and Nathan Hale.

The impact of this drift to materialism in our educational philosophy is still with us. It can be seen today in the current national scene in such educational legislation at the Manpower Development Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act. They provide vocational training for jobs but they are virtually void of major concern for the development of better citizenship. I have no quarrel with vocational education. Heaven knows it is important. But it is not all important. I want to see these Federal funds spent to upgrade the economic circumstances of needy Americans but I also want them spent to provide a foundation for better citizenship. Let's stop kidding ourselves that all we have to do to make good citizens is to provide men with jobs. It takes much more than this. Some men I have known have never been out out work in their lives and haven't voted in 20 years.

This fallacy has long since entered the practices of the Federal Government. Beginning in the early years of this century with the Smith-Lever Act, the Federal Government has spent millions of dollars on vocational education and not one cent for education designed to produce a more knowledgeable human being in the decisionmaking processes of democracy.

And, while all this was going on in the realm of goals and purpose of education, the members of the educational profession itself developed a holier-than-thou attitude toward the profession of politics. This was

the gist of President Kennedy's criticism before the school administrators at Atlantic City. Such silly bromides as "the schools should stay out of politics" came into being. We might as well insist that the schools should stay out of life. To what other institution does the adult have a better right to turn for assistance in becoming a better citizen than to his school, the one institution that was set up for that purpose and the one institution which his tax money supports? And what other professional person in our society has a greater responsibility to set an example of civic conduct than the schoolteacher?

Fortunately, there are signs of hope on this point. The citizenship committee of the National Education Association has been working diligently for several years to persuade the American schoolteachers to become more politically active. There is encouraging evidence that this job is getting done.

But more needs to be done than mere political participation on the part of the teacher. We must dispel, once and for all, the ridiculous idea that the school should remain aloof from the political climate of the community. Indeed, the school should become the favorite forum of the community where all the issues involving the civic life of the people can be taken for consideration. We have been doing this under the adult education program of the public schools of New York for many years.

Now, if I may, I should like to return for another moment to the specific topic of our conference—"Every Citizen Holds Office." This statement is susceptible to various interpretations. Just as each of you has had your own interpretation, so have I had mine. I imagine we are all pretty well agreed that President Kennedy had in mind the kind of "office holding" that occurs in the ballot box, where for one brief moment, the humblest individual in the land holds in his hands the power of decisionmaking in the destiny of his nation. This is the moment referred to by Francis Bacon when it is "left only to God and the angels to be lookers on." It is the moment described by William Jennings Bryan as that one when "every man is a king but no one cares to wear a crown."

But I have a hunch that the Senator from Massachusetts had more than mere voting in mind when he made his statement before the AASA. And I have an even stronger belief that we have got to broaden our concept of "voting" and "officeholding" in American life if this thing we call democracy is to succeed. One trip to the voting booth, important as that is, is still not enough to meet the demands of a dynamic social order in these times. In my opinion, we must realize, and soon, for the hour is late, that democracy is something to be lived, day by day, with 365 days in each of the years. We must begin to realize that we "vote" every time we accept a responsibility in the community. We vote every time we combat prejudice, intolerance, suspicion and fear; every time we do a generous thing and every time we do not do these things. We become an "officerholder" in our kind of society every time we have the imagination and sensitivity to become aware of the other fellow's misery and do something to increase his measure of happiness and his stature in the life of the community. Yes, the real meaning of this way of life must go beyond the political definition. In the final analysis, democracy rests upon a moral basis. A great English statesman once defined democracy, in my opinion, better than any American has ever done. In a small club one night in London, Lord Moulton was the guest of honor at a dinner given by a group of his friends. When it came his turn to respond he gave a short, impromptu talk in which he developed the theme that it wasn't laws and statutes that made a country great. Quite the contrary, said this great Britisher, the real test of greatness in a country and its people is the willingness of those people to do the things that they are not required by statutory law to do, those moral obligations that arise among men, above and beyond the law. Lord Moulton referred to it as "obedience to the unenforceable." I have read many definitions of democracy but if I had to select one to live by, I would prefer to call it a form of society where the people are willing to obey the unenforceable.

As we come to the close of another citizenship conference, we face, as always, the question: "What do we do now?" For what we do when we get back to our homes is far more important than we do here. I have always regarded this conference as a kind of civic service station where we come each year to charge our spiritual batteries with renewed hope and purpose.

This year we can do much—for it is an election year. Perhaps the most simple, and important, thing we can do is that of striving to make this the most responsive year in the history of American politics on November 3. We have powerful allies in this endeavor. The American Heritage Foundation, under the leadership of a longtime friend of this conference, Mr. Brendan Byrne, is waging a vigorous campaign to get the American people to register and vote. The League of Women Voters, as always, is doing its fine job in this field and has been instrumental in getting President Johnson to declare this week, September 13–19, as Women Voters Week. Each of us can help in our home communities in this tremendously important task. And, then, throughout the year, as the problems of democracy come, as come they will, for we are now living in a period of American life when certain divisive factors threaten our "oneness" as a people, remember it is not enough merely to obey the law. We must do more: we must obey the unenforceable.

In these remarks I have been somewhat critical of some aspects of American life in these times and, particularly, of the educational profession. I did this with a certain measure of professional license because I am a member of it and believe that its improvement can only come through a realistic assessment of its shortcomings. But I would not have you believe that I view the future in any obituarial mood. Quite the contrary, I am excited and hopeful about the future. I believe the greatest period in American history is just over the horizon. It will come about, in my opinion, as a result of the impact of technology and automation. If there is any one thing we know it is that man is going to be required to devote less time to the business of making a living in the years ahead. He will be freed to devote more time to the enrichment of his personal life and to the responsibilities of citizenship. Perhaps the greatest single question facing us as a nation, and as individuals, is the question of how we are going to utilize this gift of time. It is our No. 1 social issue. It is not, as some are now viewing it, a mere matter of vocational training for reemployment. There are going to be fewer and fewer jobs, particularly at the unskilled level. At this moment, we may be planning to spend Federal money under our existing legislation to train men and women for jobs that may not exist by the time the training is complete. No, we have a far bigger problem than this. We must back off and take a long and, perhaps, agonizing look at our society and reevaluate our whole philosophy of production and distribution of goods. It will not be easy. But if and when we can accomplish this, we will create the most constructive period in our history. For the first time in the history of the world since the days of ancient Greece, we may be able to free the majority of Americans for full-time citizenship. Technology bids fair to do for us what slaves did for the Athenians. For the first time in our existence, we may have time to grapple with and, hopefully, solve, some of the great social problems that now pockmark the fair face of America. This is our greatest challenge.

Henry Thoreau once wrote that "we cannot kill time without injuring eternity." If we choose to kill the gift of time that comes to us in the future with meaningless indifference we will not only injure eternity, we will destroy the last hope of democracy along the way. The choice is ours to make. If our choice is wise—and God grant that it be—we shall present to the world a nation of dedicated "officeholders"; a democracy flowered to its finest form; a people of many creeds but united in a single dream, in truth and in fact, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

The First Anniversary of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, October marks the first anniversary of the limited nuclear test ban treaty—a historic event for all Americans and for all peoples throughout the world.

This treaty underwent exhaustive and comprehensive debate in the Senate; and it was the concensus of the great majority of those in this Chamber that the treaty's ratification would have a deep and constructive meaning for all mankind. I was proud to give my full support to the treaty a year ago. In retrospect, and as an alternate delegate to the Geneva Conference on disarmament, I believe that our Senate ratification constituted one of the most significant accomplishments of the 88th Congress in terms of the lasting peace we hope fervently to secure.

On September 18, 1963, during the debate on ratification in this Chamber, I said:

> The continuous injection into the atmosphere of the poisonous strontium 90, resulting from atomic tests, has already gone higher than we as parents, and as progenitors of yet unborn generations, can permit.

In his message to the Nation on the anniversary of ratification, President Johnson pointed out that the residues of strontium 90 have already decreased by 50 percent within the past year's span, and that other poisonous and contaminating materials, pervading our world prior to the treaty, have disappeared.

As both President Kennedy and President Johnson have stated, one single step is necessary before a lengthy journey can be achieved. A year ago we embarked on that lengthy journey. Let us hope we can continue on our way, and in the company of all other nations with a nuclear capability, so that the concepts of this treaty may be universally applied.

A Report on "The A B C's of America's Money System"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on August 3 of this year, I addressed the Congress in remarks labeled "The A B C's of America's Money System." In the nearly 3 months that have elapsed since I addressed the Congress, well into 300,000 copies of my remarks have been privately printed, and distributed. In addition, extensive excerpts running into the tens of millions have been published in magazines and periodicals, financial journals, union publications, farm papers, public power journals, newsletters, and all varieties of trade papers. The daily press, generally in fair and objective coverage and widespread editorial comment, has helped markedly to inform the public of the simple facts as expressed in "The A B C's of America's Money System."

As a result, my mail has been extraordinarily heavy. It appears that the widespread reading of my August 3 remarks has resulted in a stimulation of interest in the various facets of money, the Federal Reserve System, and banking—matters that have been of concern to our committee since I became chairman.

In the course of my remarks, I informed the Congress and the people about a publication recently released which I authored, called "A Primer on Money." Demands for this are also pyramiding. Moreover, many important Banking and Currency Committee prints were mentioned in my remarks and increasing demands are being received for these.

As far as the "A B C's" remarks are concerned, mail has come from all of the 50 States. We have heard from professional economists, from banking, finance and economics university professors, high school history and social science teachers, members of the clergy—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—dirt farmers, public officials, including personal letters from dozens of State legislators, League of Women Voters officers, numerous trade union officials in dozens of unions, big and small businessmen, lawyers, doctors, dentists, Government officials, public power officials, and from bankers, and hundreds of letters from just plain citizens who are disturbed about some of the high interest-tight money policies that have caused depressions even in the 1950's. And yes—we have actually had favorable responses from a top official or two at the Federal Reserve.

The promail runs close to 35 to 1.

The unsolicited responses—and all of our responses have been unsolicited—have been phenomenal. I wish to present some exhibits. I shall, in most instances, not name the authors of the letters. I do so because the big banking lobby, and their associated big business lobbyists, have been known to be most vindictive to those who challenge or disagree with their viewpoint. This is particularly so in teaching and other professional circles. Since I do not want anybody to be hurt by this display, I am certain that the reader will understand my reticence to publish most of the names of my correspondents. Forthwith, here are some excerpts from a small portion of my mail.

From my former colleague and friend of many years, Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.:

Mr. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WRIGHT: Thank you very much indeed for sending me a copy of your speech entitled "The A B C's of America's Money System." This is the best job that has been done yet in the field of monetary policy and I am more grateful to you for it than I can possibly say.

Our cooperative news service is going to run a series of special articles about your proposals and I want to do one of my biweekly columns, or maybe more than one, on the same subject.

As soon as legislation has actually been introduced I would like to have copies of the bills. Perhaps some of the bills have already been introduced so that your staff could supply me and I would be most grateful.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS,
Executive Director.

From former Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith, world renowned economist, Harvard University:

DEAR WRIGHT: Many thanks for your fine speech and the editorial. I sometimes think we are about the only people left who have healthy suspicions on internal rates.

From a professor of economics at one of America's oldest and finest institutions in Massachusetts:

DEAR MR. PATMAN: I have just finished reading your speech to the House of Representatives on the "A B C's of America's Money System." It was an excellent speech, and, in my opinion, the recommendations of your subcommittee are sound and sensible. I intend to require that the students in my money-and-banking course read it.

You make one minor point which I disagree. You argued that without required reserves there would be no limit to our money supply. I think this is a slight exaggeration. It is true that members of banks are required to keep more reserves than they would if they had no reserve requirement. But even if we had no reserve requirement, banks would still keep reserves; they could not operate without some cash and deposits at the Fed. * * *

It is tempting to end this letter by suggesting that you keep up your fight for the public interest, but I am sure that such requests are not necessary to insure your continued dedicated service to your country.

From a West Virginia legislator:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: I have just read a copy of your remarks of Monday, August 3, 1964, to the House of Representatives and am quite impressed.

I am a member of the West Virginia Interim Committee on Government and Finance, which is conducting a study of credit devices and financing institutions. The bankers are busy preparing a bill to be given to us to accept and pass next year. So many members of the legislature have banking connections or are indebted to banks that it is difficult to get them to look objectively at criticism of our banking institutions. I would like to have copies of these remarks for distribution. There are 25 members of our interim committee so I would appreciate very much if I could have that many copies.

Should you be able to get me 150 copies, I will see that a copy is placed on the desk of each member of both houses next January.

And from a Washington State Senator, with a brilliant idea:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: I want to congratulate you for your speech to the Congress on August 3, 1964, and to express my appreciation for your having set down, in such clear form, the basic principles of our monetary system. The facts revealed in this speech, however, are most disturbing and indicative of the overhaul needed in the Federal Reserve System. I am happy to read that your subcommittee has made definite suggestions for improvement of the System.

I would like to follow the course of your proposals through the Congress and would like to initiate a memorial to Congress from the 1965 Washington Legislature, urging that immediate consideration be given to your proposals. In the event you concur with such a proposal, I would be most happy to hear from you.

From my former colleague, the Honorable Martin Dies, Jr., now in the State Senate of Texas, Austin, Tex.:

Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: Many thanks for sending me your speech "The A B C's of America's Money System." It is certainly very well written and helped me to understand for me a very difficult subject.

With best personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN DIES, Jr.

From an official of the American Association of University Women in the State of Washington:

HONORABLE SIR: I am simply delighted with your clear discussion on money, as given in the speech "The A B C's of America's Money System," given August 3, 1964, in the House. What must one do to get some extra copies of this CONGRESSIONAL RECORD speech? I should like at least a dozen copies (for my legislative committee) as soon as convenient. And please put me on your mailing list for future releases. I intend to line up support for your cause—in overhauling the Federal Reserve System.

And from an economics professor in St. Louis, Mo.:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: I recently received a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing a reprint of your speech "The A B C's of America's Money System." As with most of your speeches and statements I have found some things with which I disagree, but I have also found much more with which I do agree.

Before coming to the university as assistant professor of economics I spent almost 4 years as an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.

* * * * *

I am very much interested in distributing your speech in my classes in money and banking. I think that a discussion of your major points would be both beneficial to the understanding of the course as well as making the students better citizens. I would appreciate it very much if you could mail me about 100 copies of same.

Thank you in advance, and keep up your very fine work.

And from a Missouri student:

I have just read your illuminating oratory concerning the state of affairs of the Federal Reserve System. This speech comes as no shock to me, a student studying the economic history of the United States, and, especially to my father, a devoted treasurer of a credit union. He also spoke often concerning the devastating monopoly of large banks. I, along with my father, certainly appreciate your fond devotion to such a distinguished cause. I have written you in lieu of my Representative to express my thanks for your devoted work in this field.

And from a Wilmington, Del., schoolteacher, who dares spread new ideas in the conformist duchy of Du Pont:

Thank you for sending me the requested copies of "The A B C's of America's Money System." The trouble is that old saying, "Thy friend has a friend." I sent copies to key people in key Wilmington groups and other groups have phoned me. I have more free time than most of them so I offered to write. Could I have 25 more copies of "The A B C's"? Deeply appreciative of you and your work in our behalf—the worried little folks.

An economics teacher in Pennsylvania writes:

As an economics teacher, I salute you for your stimulating and knowledgeable remarks on the "A B C's of America's Money System." It presented me with a realistic insight beyond my limited textual study of the subject.

In addition to this, you are to be warmly applauded for your approach to a seemingly esoteric problem. Realizing that economics does not have to be complicated and can be understood by the average citizen who is most intimately involved is also a major tenet of mine. Your faith in the people truly justifies your belief that "our country is a democracy in a republic."

Needless to say, I will accept your suggestions concerning the improvement of the monetary machinery. I also would appreciate receiving present documents produced by your committee, as well as new materials that may unfold.

In conclusion, I extend my grateful thanks for making me feel the humane strength of my Government working for the interest of all Americans. I hope that in my position of influence as a high school teacher I can do my part to make democracy work.

From a teacher in American government in California:

As a teacher of government and American Institutions in the high school and junior college districts it is my conclusion that your speech before the House and your work as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee underscores the important and constructive aspect of the committee system in our legislative process and in our system of government. You are carrying on in the positive manner of the famed Pujo Committee and Walsh Committee in the earlier part of this century. The conduct of your committee is a forceful example of how a congressional committee should work in the interest of good government and the welfare of all our people.

Since your speech so adequately and in a succinct manner discusses the basis of our country's monetary system and its operation, I would like to ask of your committee a special favor. I specifically would desire 40 copies of your August 3 speech and any other materials you would care to send me for use in my government classes as illustrative of how an effective and positive a manner our congressional committees work. The materials you send will be used to supplement current text and current events materials from the leading slick magazines.

Thank you for any help you can render and keep up the good work.

From a Florida professor:

I find many uses for teaching materials of such succinct and current character as your August 3 speech. I would be most grateful if you could supply us with 250 copies for distribution to students taking our law and society course in which many problems of adjusting private enterprise operations through public policy development and implementation are considered. Such a supply of your speech would meet our classroom needs for this academic year.

A Waterbury, Conn., citizen writes:

It is my intention to bring before a half dozen friends of mine here this complex subject of money. The way you talk on the subject makes it easier to understand. You break down the technical language and terminology which the professionals use (perhaps to confuse) and I do believe that they do confuse.

And from a banker in Nebraska:

My hat's off to you sir, for your excellent speech of August 3 before the House on the Federal Reserve Board situation. It was a jewel. With all the money experience I've had these past 41 years I never dreamed any such condition ever existed. Will you please put this $1 buck into the proper channels for a few copies of your splendid address?"

An attorney in South Carolina writes:

I have read this speech with great interest and much benefit. It gives me a much better insight into a complex situation, which I have always found difficult to understand. Your speech gave me great enlightenment, and I am thankful for it. As one who has watched your activities from afar for many, many years, I want to take this opportunity to personally thank you for all that you have done. I know that you must have undergone a great deal of abuse and criticism, especially from sources which are difficult to express and to cite, but the American people shall be forever in your debt and I particularly appreciate what you mean to America. My only regret is that I do not have the opportunity to vote for you.

And a union official in Connecticut says:

If we can aid you in any way please let us know.

And a gentleman from Washington State wrote his Senators and Congressman the following:

I am heartened by the efforts of Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, to put some restraint on the "tinkering" of the Federal Reserve Board with the natural economic growth of our country. It does little good to attempt to stimulate the economy to effect more jobs and a better standard of living in this country if these actions are hampered or thwarted by the arbitrary policies of one agency. As evidenced by recent congressional testimony, there is a continual attempt by the American Banking Association to subvert the integrity of Congress to achieve its seifish, parochial interests. I hope you are able to give Mr. PATMAN some support in his endeavor to make this agency more responsive to the desires of the executive branch of government.

And an elderly gentleman from Detroit, Mich., writes:

I've read your speech in the August 3 RECORD and though you state the Federal Reserve Act is easy to understand, I find it not so. I've read a number of books on it and am still amazed that a small group of men are allowed to control the welfare of the country by controlling the lifeblood of our economy—money. I am an old man and in all our depressions or so-called recessions, the only thing not overabundant was money-credit, the various medium that permits people to work, buy, and sell.

A real estate agent in Columbia, S.C., writes:

Am grateful for your long fight regarding the overhauling of the Federal Reserve System. This situation has needed drastic action for many years, and I am confident that with your desire, dedication, and great abilities, this can be accomplished.

And a Protestant minister from Eau Claire, Wis., writes:

First let me express my appreciation for the copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning "The A B C's of America's Money System" received in today's mail. I confess that I have learned more about our national money system from it that I had ever known before. And I desire that you know of my appreciation of the valuable service you and your committee are rendering the public in this regard. I would appreciate being on the mailing list to receive any further releases of information from your committee and would also be glad to learn of ways in which I can be of further service in attaining the goals outlined in the report received today.

A citizen writes from Minnesota:

I have read your article on "The A B C's of America's Money System." I enjoyed it very much. Am sure glad to see someone take up the challenge to make a change in the Federal Reserve System. Personally I have only a high school education—am 57 years old—have done quite a bit of reading on money and banking and economics. It is a subject close to my heart. I have discussed the subject at length with many of my friends, usually when we are on fishing on hunting trips. The bank has had everything on its side. Businessmen, farmers, corporations, all are indebted to the banks. If you talk the subject with bankers * * * you are laughed down. I would appreciate being kept informed of your progress toward making the changes your subcommittee recommends.

From North Dakota, a farmer writes:

I received a copy of your House speech, "The A B C's of America's Money System" for which I would like to thank you very much. I am a farmer (31 years old) and have for the past few years done considerable research on our monetary system. I have been very much concerned and alarmed at the economic power possessed by the "Fed" and the "O.M.C." so I was very glad to learn that my concern was not unfounded. Please put my name on your mailing list for future releases. If there is anything I can ever do for you please let me know.

A history professor at an Ohio University states that:

I have been following newspaper accounts of the investigation of the Federal Reserve with much interest, and would be grateful if you will place my name on the mailing list for any printed material that may come out of it—or any other material pertaining to important economic matters. Individual issues aside, I think we suffer from lack of information about the internal functioning of parts of our economic structure. I hope you will concentrate on the attitudes and reasoning behind important decisions, the real and potential consequences of divided powers and responsibilities, and other such matters of real importance. It would seem reasonable and advantageous, for a specific example, to open the minutes of Board meet-

ings to the public after the lapse of a suitable number of years, as we do with diplomatic papers (although the time lapse for the Board should not be so long).

A farmer-businessman, writing from Hot Springs, Ark., says:

When I read in Farmers Union paper that you accused the Federal Reserve Board and big bankers of illegally dominating our money policy, I nearly fell out of my chair. For I have been talking this for 20 years. I want to congratulate you for your stand and I wish you the best of luck in your crusade. If I can can help in any way please let me know.

A professor in a college of business administration in Florida writes:

While I do not necessarily concur in all of your thinking, I do believe that you are rendering fine public service by opening up many areas of banking and finance for study which have not been thoroughly investigated for many years and, particularly, in the light of a changed economic environment and structure.

And a nationally known economist of a great New York university orders "2,000 copies of the reprint from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of your speech of August 3 for distribution purposes."

And an insurance man from Louisiana writes:

Are copies of your remarks titled, "The A B C's of America's Money System," which appears in the August 3 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, available and if so, kindly quote me the price. I would like very much to have copies of these remarks to distribute to the many, many persons who are unaware of the workings of and the few who control the Federal Reserve. You are to be commended for bringing to the attention of all, the System—its beginning, its operation, etc.

And from a lady union leader, I received the following:

I read with thorough interest your speech on "The A B C's of America's Money System." The history and the facts you presented in this record of what needs correction in this most important segment of our economy has added tremendously to my own education. I hope I can put this knowledge to good use in efforts to help correct the glaring problems you have exposed. I want to thank you for your long and consistent concern in a field dealing so vitally with the welfare of America and Americans.

And another union official writes:

I have read your speech before the House of Representatives resative to "The A B C's of America's Money System" on date of August 3, 1964. I wish to add my commendation to the many I'm sure you have received for this brilliant preparatory work. Your recommendations to the next session of Congress will surely bear fruitful benefits. This portion of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be made available to members of our * * * local union. * * * Their sentiments will certainly be conveyed to the two Senators from the State. * * * We would certainly appreciate being placed on your mailing list to be kept informed on the progress of this needed legislation.

A union editor writes:

You have already received some extra copies of our story on your proposed reform of the banking system. I would like to say that your efforts to educate the American people on this matter are most appreciated by us, * * * and I am sure that this particular article will be read over and over.

An Ohio minister writes:

I have just finished reading your remarkable exposition of America's money system. I have for some time had the feeling that there was something wrong with our present monetary system. But this is the first time that I have had the facts upon which to base a judgment on this matter. I want to congratulate you most warmly on the work you are doing as chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. Kindly put me on your mailing list that I may be kept informed on developments in this field.

From an attorney in Nebraska:

Thank you for your brochure entitled "The A B C's of American's Money System."

I have read this masterpiece in its entirety, and quite obviously we need more Patmans both in and out of Congress. As you know, the opposition is awesome.

If I can be of any assistance, do not hesitate to so advise.

An attorney from Oregon writes:

I was very appreciative of receiving a copy of your speech to the 88th Congress entitled "The A B C's of America's Money System."

I would very much appreciate having about two dozen copies of this speech on a seminar level for our local chamber of commerce and our small business committee.

It was an excellent speech.

And from Palo Alto, Calif., a minister states:

It was with considerable pleasure and profit that I read your unusually clear-cut treatment of a difficult subject, "The A B C's of America's Money System," in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for August 3.

I trust that this address is being made available in pamphlet form for wide circulation. At the immediate moment, I can use 25 copies, which will be circulated to persons I know will read it (a magazine editor, a college professor, a graduate student in economics, some clergymen, etc.). You have stated simply in a few pages what many writers have either dodged saying or been unable to say in entire books. If you have any other material for my own instruction, I would be happy to have it.

I am a minister whose work is among student groups across the entire country, giving lectures and taking part in conferences.

From a money consultant from Missouri:

Received your "A B C's of America's Money System." I ask the good Lord to bless your efforts.

I wish you would sign your speeches as chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee and not just as WRIGHT PATMAN, Member of Congress. You are more than a Representative of Congress from Texas. You are a Representative of 192 million Americans.

A taxpayers association official from Montana, writes:

Have just finished reading your speech from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Monday, August 3, 1964.

We are very much interested in obtaining more copies for our membership to read, pass around, and spread the word, so to speak. In this way we can alert more people to write and express their grass roots feeling of our present monetary system as it presently exists.

We must be better informed and through your remarkable speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, we will be just that.

Sincerely hope you have some extra copies that will be available for our association.

A lawyer from Coral Gables, Fla.:

I have just received the copy of your speech entitled "The A B C's of America's Money System." Thank you for sending it to me. It is extremely enlightening and revealing.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could send me 50 copies of your speech.

I gave a short talk to my Rotary Club concerning the Federal Reserve. I would like to follow up that talk by distributing copies of your talk to the members of my Rotary Club.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

From Los Angeles a citizen writes:

I am interested in gaining circulation of your 8-page speech of August 3, "The A B C's of America's Money System" and note that it is not printed at Government expense. I would be happy to pay for 200 copies to mail out.

From Idaho, an editor writes:

I have read with interest your speech in the House of Representatives on Monday, August 3, 1964, concerning the Federal Reserve System, and your efforts to overhaul it.

Please put me on your mailing list to receive future releases regarding this.

I wish you the best of luck in the passage of your bill to be introduced in the 89th Congress to make the changes in the Federal Reserve Act recommended by the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance.

I intend to write the four members of Idaho's congressional delegation asking them to join the steering committee that will be organized to cosponsor and push for passage of the bill. Also, I will urge others, through the columns of my newspaper, to do the same.

If I may assist you in any other way, please let me know.

A professor in Colorado writes:

I enjoyed and wholeheartedly agreed with your speech "The A B C's of America's Money System" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 3, 1964. If you should have 25 reprints of this speech available, I could profitably employ them in my money and banking course.

An ear, eye, nose, and throat specialist in Hollywood writes:

I was recently loaned a copy of your speech "The A B C's of America's Money System" and would appreciate having a dozen copies, and at the same time will appreciate your putting me on your list for further information regarding this subject.

I note that these copies of the speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are not printed at Government expense, and if you will be so kind to let me know the price per copy, will be glad to remit by return mail.

From the State of Wyoming a State legislator writes:

Yesterday I received a copy of the digest from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing your remarks on "The A B C's of our Money System."

I have read it with great interest, so much so that if additional copies are available, I would appreciate having a half-dozen additional to circulate.

And from the Oklahoma Senate:

I am so glad that we have men of your ability and integrity as Members of the U.S. Congress. You have done a wonderful job. May God continue to bless you is my prayer.

Wishing you continued success.

And from the house of delegates at Annapolis, Md.:

Thank you very much for your remarks and speech of merit of August 3, 1964. I

was most interested in your review of the monetary policy of the Federal Government and their monetary system.

I would appreciate six additional copies of your remarks, as well as the documents referred to on page 6 as well as any further material you might feel pertinent.

My personal congratulations and best wishes on the excellent job you are doing of keeping the American public informed of this very delicate and important matter.

A letter from the Minnesota House of Representatives states:

I received and read your speech on "The A B C's of America's Money System" excerpted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I have written Senator HUMPHREY for the material derived from your hearings.

I would very much appreciate being placed on your mailing list to receive future releases.

I was much impressed with the contents of your speech and I heartily concur with your observations and recommendations.

A member from the Missouri House of Representatives states:

My sincere congratulations to you in your endeavors to education the American people on the important subject of money. Though either attacked or shown indifference by a somewhat hostile press, maintain courage in this campaign.

I have been interested in this subject for a number of years and am anxious to be on your mailing list for any and all documents that you have available. In fact, I would like to have a few more copies of your speech from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

And a senator from the State of Washington writes:

Just a note to express both my admiration and appreciation for the work you are doing in the interest of sound and responsible economic policies at the Federal level. I have often felt that some of those very individuals who cry out loudest against an unbalanced Federal budget are, at the same time, undermining that goal by their selfish exploits with governmental power. In any case the taxpayer is the loser.

Your speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning our American money system offers every reader the kind of down-to-earth discussion that I feel is most valuable in understanding a problem so often cloaked in mystifying terminology.

I've so enjoyed your explanation of this problem—irresponsible monetary policy—that I would like to ask for several more copies of your speech. If pamphlets and other literature about this same thing are available, I would appreciate anything you might be able to send along. You have my full support.

A radio station owner in California writes:

We have read your release "A B C's of America's Money System" from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with great interest, and would indeed like to receive whatever further releases you may prepare in the future.

You have placed yourself in a dangerous position by "bucking the system"; may God be with you in your heroic efforts to return the monetary system to the hands of the Congress and the President, where it belongs.

Mr. Speaker, these letters symbolize an educational process and the beginning of a grassroots support program which I firmly believe will end in corrective legislation long overdue to America's monetary system. I am simply delighted that the Democratic majority of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, voted unanimously in favor of changes needed to bring our Federal Reserve and banking system up to date.

We are a growing army.

Dollars for Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, as we approach another great national election, both parties and each candidate must grapple with the increasingly complex problems of campaign financing.

One of the most promising solutions to the ever-rising cost of political contests is the small individual contribution by citizens across the land. By broadening the base of financial support for our major parties and their candidates, we can expect to increase the strength of our two party system at the same time that we increase the interest and participation of the voter.

The Commission appointed by President Kennedy to study this problem strongly recommended that our Nation's business, professiinal, and civic organizations encourage their employees and members to play an active or contributory role in our democratic process.

Mr. President, I think the efforts of the General Electric Co. in this direction deserve to be brought to the attention of all. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent that an employee letter from Mr. Charles W. Webster, manager of the Baltimore, Md., branch of General Electric, and chairman of their Dollars for Citizenship Campaign, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO.,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR FELLOW EMPLOYEE: The political bandwagons are rolling. President Johnson and Senator GOLDWATER are pushing ahead on campaigns that will take them into contact with millions of voters.

In spite of all the hoopla generally associated with these political campaigns, they are a very important part of our free election system. They help us get to know the people who are running for public office and what they stand for. Campaigns help us to cast informed ballots on election day. And in this critical time, it is awfully important that each of us make the wisest decision possible.

But political campaigns cost a lot of money. Right now, very few candidates and political parties have enough money to conduct the kind of searching informative campaign that is in the interest of all Americans. And raising it has become a very troublesome and serious problem. So much so, in fact, that the late President Kennedy appointed a Presidential Commission to study the problem and make recommendations.

Among other things, the Commission has suggested that companies and other organizations conduct programs to encourage widespread interest in and participation in political activities. This is why General Electric is conducting a nonpartisan, voluntary political fund raising campaign called Dollars for Citizenship. Its goal is to get you and each of your fellow employees to contribute 1 hour's pay to the political candidate and party of your choice.

Other companies have tried programs similar to Dollars for Citizenship. And they have proven to be an effective way to get the kind of active, voluntary widespread participation in the political process which the Commission says is the key to the success of our form of government.

Please consider carefully the urgent need, and support—with dollars—the candidate and party of your choice.

By doing so, you will help keep the political bandwagon rolling—toward good, clean Government and a strong America.

Cordially,

C. W. WEBSTER,
Dollars for Citizenship Chairman.

Some Authentic Grassroots Support for Reform at the Fed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the widely read publication, Rural Electrification, issue out the first of October, has published what I believe to be a significant editorial.

It is noticeable that what I have called "grassroots" support, necessary to bring about reforms in America's monetary system, is well underway among REA people across the land. I am grateful to the editors of Rural Electrification for writing such a splendid piece.

The editorial follows:

REFORM THE FED?

Recent rumblings on Capitol Hill reveal the spark that may ignite an interest rate fight rivaling that of the latter Eisenhower administration days, but on a different level.

WRIGHT PATMAN, Representative of Texas, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, is waging a fierce fight to reform the Federal Reserve System which he says has awesome power over the American economy notably through its influence on interest rates.

PATMAN contends that the banks, by effective control of the Fed, are bucking for higher interest rates and a tight money policy reminiscent of the Eisenhower era.

This is cause for concern of rural electric leaders. Inevitably, such a policy, if successful, reaches a pitch of affecting virtually all loan programs including REA and, of course, to the member-consumers of all rural electric systems.

In 1959, delegates at three regional NRECA meetings resolved that "we, as a segment of the population concerned with the welfare of the entire population recognize that these unsound money policies are a threat not only to our rural electrification program, but to the economic stability of the communities we serve and to the whole country, and must be corrected before our program and the economy are more seriously hurt."

At that time, Representative PATMAN explained: "The Fed (Federal Reserve Board) controls the amount of money and credit in the banking system—and controls the level

of interest rates in the whole economic system—mainly by buying or selling Government securities."

In the January, 1960 issue of Rural Electrification, NRECA General Manager Ellis stated: "All of us in the rural electrification program have a big stake in finding the solution to the inflationary high-interest, tight-money problem.

"* * * We must urge Congress to do something about the monetary policymakers in the Government. For example, the Federal Reserve Board which has such tremendous power over money and credit is completely banker dominated. There ought to be representatives of agriculture, small business, labor and consumers on this Board. They are not there now."

Those words are as true today as they were then.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency—Let's Set the Record Straight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me concerning arms control and disarmament.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, on October 2 Senator SIMPSON inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD what was described as "a timely and factual report on the Council for a Livable World—prepared by a group of Senators and their staffs."

I know little about the "Council for a Liveable World," other than that it was founded by the late Dr. Leo Szilard, a prominent physicist who contributed to the development of the atomic bomb.

It was contended in this report, however, that a goal of this Council for a Livable World is "unilateral disarmament"—"a totally defenseless United States." I understand the council has publicly denied this accusation. In any event, this is certainly not the policy of the United States. Ever since arms control and disarmament negotiations were initiated, the United States has always insisted on balanced and verified mutual arms reductions as essential to the U.S. position. The record of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is heavily documented in this respect. Its objective is to enhance our security by controlling and reducing the warmaking capabilities of all nations in a manner in which no country could gain an advantage over us.

What really struck my attention about this so-called factual report was its oblique attack on the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an Agency whose creation was supported by a large majority of both Republicans and Democrats in Congress.

The report contends that there is heavy participation in the research operations of the Disarmament Agency by the Council for a Livable World, espousing its cause of a disarmed, helpless America in a world of continued tensions, continued armaments. It further contends that this activity is made all the more frustrating since taxpayers find themselves paying for this Council for a Livable World adventure in politics whether they approve it or not. In support of these allegations, nine people, claimed to be members of the Council, are identified somehow or other with the Arms Control Agency or its research program. They are Donald Glaser, Roger Fisher, Matthew Meselson, Freeman J. Dyson, Richard Barnet, Hans Morgenthau, Bernard Feld, Robert Gomer, and Hudson Hoagland.

Because of my interest in the vital work the Agency is doing, I requested some pertinent information from it. I was informed that of the nine people mentioned in Senator SIMPSON's report, six of them had some connection with Agency contract or grant research. Of the six identified with particular contracts or grants, none was a major contributor except for Roger Fisher in a small grant to Harvard University, a grant which was incorrectly identified in the Simpson report. Four of the six—Glaser, Gomer, Morgenthau, and Feld—were merely consultants to the contractor or grantee, and one, Meselson, sat in on a seminar meeting held pursuant to the contract with which he was identified. Meselson has also acted as a consultant to the Agency, a fact which the Simpson report did not mention. One of the nine, Hudson Hoagland, was not connected with the Agency or its research program at all.

According to the Agency, all of the people mentioned in the report who were in fact associated with the Agency or its research program, including Richard Barnet, a former Agency employee, and Freeman Dyson, a consultant, had been given top Government security clearances based on full background and loyalty investigations by the Civil Service Commission or the FBI. Obviously, these people would not have been cleared if they belonged to a group inimical to national security interests. The Council for a Livable World is not on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Moreover, all of the people mentioned in Senator SIMPSON's report have had distinguished careers of professional or public service.

Richard J. Barnet is a distinguished lawyer specializing in taxation and international law. He served with the Army's Judge Advocate General's Corps in Europe, practiced tax law in Boston, and has been a lecturer and research assistant at various American universities, including Harvard, New York University, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

Freeman Dyson is a physicist of wide experience, was a research fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, England, was a professor of physics at Cornell and has been associated with the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton since 1953.

Roger Fisher served in the Air Force during World War II, graduated from Harvard Law School with honors, was an assistant to the Deputy U.S. Special Representative to the Economic Cooperation Administration in Paris—Marshall plan—an assistant to the U.S. Solicitor General, a consultant on disarmament to the Defense Department, and is a professor of law at Harvard University.

Bernard Feld is an outstanding physicist who worked on the Manhatten project and in the AEC's Los Alamos Laboratory. He is a member of innumerable honorary and professional groups and has been associated with MIT, the University of California, Harvard, Northwestern, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton.

Hans Morgenthau is a lawyer, writer, and educator of international repute who came to the United States from Germany in 1937. He graduated from the University of Munich magna cum laude in 1927. He has attended or taught at a number of Western European and American colleges and universities, including the University of Kansas and Brooklyn College. In 1961, he was named professor of political science and modern history at the University of Chicago, with which he had been associated since 1943.

Matthew S. Meselson is an outstanding young scientist who has taught chemistry and biology at the California Institute of Technology and at Harvard.

Among other achievements, Donald Glaser received the Nozel Prize in Physics in 1960, was named a National Science Foundation Fellow in 1961, a Guggenheim fellow in 1961–62, and received awards from the University of Michigan and the American Physics Society.

Robert Gomer is a physical chemist, who is a professor at the University of Chicago and who was named an Atomic Energy Commission fellow in chemistry at Harvard in 1949–50.

Finally, the total amount of Agency funds that went to the six people mentioned for the research efforts with which they were identified was less than $15,000, as compared to a total research effort, as of June 30, 1964, involving over $8 million. This is hardly "heavy participation in the research operations of the Disarmament Agency," as alleged in Senator SIMPSON's report.

Obviously, Mr. President, this is not a "factual" report at all but a deliberate and misleading attempt to infer that the U.S. Arms Control Agency is being led down the path of unilateral disarmament—an attempt that has no basis in fact or in the fiction of this report. Irresponsible charges like this have been made ever since the Eisenhower administration made the first comprehensive U.S. disarmament proposal. However, the fact remains that American disarmament policy required then and requires now that any arms reductions agreed upon with the Soviet Union and other countries be mutual, balanced, and verified. Indeed a large proportion of the Agency's research effort is devoted to discovering means by which the United States can verify compliance with arms control and arms reduction agreements. It is apparent that such research would be unnecessary if American policy contemplated unilateral disarmament—a fact that seems to have escaped the attention of Senator SIMPSON's own research team.

Tribute to Congressman John Lesinski

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, over the years it has been my pleasure and privilege to serve in this great legislative body with many outstanding men and women. None have been more dedicated and devoted than JOHN LESINSKI. His service here in the House was always characterized by loyalty to his country, his congressional district, and his great State.

This patriotic American enlisted in the U.S. Navy at the early age of 18 and served for 4 years. He was called to active duty again in February 1941 and served with honor and distinction until October 1945. JOHN LESINSKI loves his country and almost died for it when his ship, the *St. Lo*, was bombed by the Japanese in the Pacific during World War II.

Our national defense and economic structure is stronger today as a result of JOHN LESINSKI's untiring efforts as a member of the Appropriations Committee. Each section of our great country and every citizen has benefited from his legislative genius and skill.

This House is a greater body for having known JOHN LESINSKI. He stood up for what he thought was right and voted his convictions regardless of pressure and intimidation. I predict for him a great future. Mrs. Dorn and family join me in wishing for him, his wonderful wife, and fine family much happiness and success always.

American Good Government Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the attached remarks be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In those last few momentous days of this historic Congress when we were striving vigorously toward the golden goal of sine die adjournment, the junior Senator from Montana spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD what must be considered as an unfortunate and hastily conceived attack on one of the Nation's most vital industries. The statement to which I refer begins on page 22220 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for September 25 and is entitled "Private Power Support of the Rightwing." This statement attempts to tar with the black brush of extremism what the junior Senator from Montana calls "radical rightwing groups" and questions the propriety of some contributions made by a few electric companies to these groups.

It grieves me that the junior Senator revealed the shallowness of his research and his lack of appreciation for the contribution made to one of these groups he brashly attacks—the American Good Government Society. The reason I am grieved is that just a few months ago this same American Good Government Society honored the Senate minority leader by awarding him one of their annual Good Government Awards at the George Washington dinner on April 30.

Perhaps the junior Senator would have been well advised to counsel with his senior colleague, the able and distinguished Senate majority leader, before he made his intemperate remarks, because the same distinguished majority leader, the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD, graciously honored the minority leader by making this presentation.

Mr. President, the majority leader said on that occasion, "May I, first, compliment the American Good Government Society on its wise procedure. By selecting two recipients of the George Washington Award—a Republican and a Democrat—the society underscores a reality of American life, sometimes overlooked in an election year. Neither political party has a monopoly on ability for public service or on dedicated patriotism. We can never have too much of these attributes in the Government of the United States."

In addition to our distinguished minority leader, this organization has honored in the past the following present and former Members of this distinguished body: 1964, Senator Frank J. Lausche; 1963, Senator A. Willis Robertson and Senator John J. Williams; 1961, Senator Spessard L. Holland; 1960, Senator Barry Goldwater; 1959, Senator John L. McClellan; 1958, Senator Richard B. Russell and Senator William F. Knowland; 1957, Senator Karl E. Mundt; 1956, Senator Walter George; 1953, Senator Harry F. Byrd and Senator Robert A. Taft.

I do not think the majority leader would have made such statements about an organization that the junior Senator calls a radical rightwing group.

The Honorable James Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, a quarter of a century in the House of Representatives of the United States opens the door to a platform on which stands perhaps the most diversified group of individuals in the world. On the platform stand men and women of different political persuasion, of opposing philosophies, representing people of diametrically opposite views. Conservatives, liberals, moderates, middle of the roaders—you name it; this platform has always found space for such individuals. The longer a Member serves in this body, the greater his privilege to meet and know, some less, some better, but at least the opportunity presents itself to know all of them. Naturally there are some who stand out more than others and linger longer in our memory.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey, is one of them.

One of my fondest memories and greater privileges has been the knowledge that I can call JIM AUCHINCLOSS a friend. With the close of this Congress he retires from the scene and walks off the platform, but the space that he occupied during his years in the Congress will always be revered and always a reminder that there stood a great American.

My life has been fuller for having known JIM AUCHINCLOSS. I am sure this is shared by many, especially those particular friends of his to whom each year he played host as the head of the gleeful yeas and nays marching and barbecue group.

I have never known a man with the capacity of JIM AUCHINCLOSS for making friends, or with the capacity of unselfish devotion to make his fellow man happy. There is consolation to be found, if there is any consolation at all, in the fact that JIM AUCHINCLOSS will remain close to us in Washington after he retires from Congress following this session. It will be some compensation to know that we can look forward to visits from him on the floor of the House which he served so well for so many years.

I am sorry to see JIM AUCHINCLOSS go, but I am glad that I am able to anticipate and continue the warm feeling of friendship which has existed between us for so many years. Quite well can we say to him on his departure from the Congress: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Can any finer tribute be paid to any man?

National Security and the Nuclear Test Ban

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Republican nominee for the office of President of the United States, Senator GOLDWATER, voted against ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty. During his campaign and before, he has spoken out frequently against this treaty. In San Francisco, on February 12, 1964, Senator GOLDWATER said:

The treaty was written in my opinion in favor of our enemies and I think we were the stupidest people in the world ever to go along with it.

An article in the October 1964 issue of Scientific American provides an instructive basis for evaluation of the Republican presidential nominee's opinion. The article is entitled "National Security and the Nuclear Test Ban." Its authors are Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner and Dr. Herbert F. York. Dr. Wiesner is now dean of science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was President Kennedy's chief scientific adviser on the White House staff.

Dr. York, now chancellor of the University of California at San Diego, occupied positions of comparable scientific prominence in the Government under President Eisenhower.

There are few if any persons in the country better qualified to evaluate the relative benefits to national security of continued testing, one one hand, and the test ban, on the other, than Dr. Wiesner and Dr. York.

In their article, these two eminent scientists demonstrate forcefully that the arms race, in all its aspects, is diminishing rather than increasing our national security. Further, they assert most persuasively that of all the aspects of the arms race, the testing of nuclear weapons is the one least likely to enhance even our military power, much less our national security.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that there be inserted in the RECORD at this point an article from the New York Times of September 25, 1964, summarizing the Wiesner-York findings, and the text of the Wiesner-York article itself—omitting illustrations—from the October Scientific American.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 25, 1964]

DISARMAMENT IS CALLED THE ANSWER TO "STALEMATE": ADVANCES IN WEAPONS CANNOT IMPROVE NATION'S SECURITY, WIESNER AND YORK HOLD

(By John W. Finney)

WASHINGTON, September 24.—Two former scientific advisers to the Government believe that the arms race has now reached a technological stalemate in which no advance in weaponry can improve the Nation's security.

In their view both the United States and the Soviet Union are faced with the condi-

tion of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing military security. The way out, they believe, lies not in further weapons development but in steps toward disarmament.

This appraisal was presented by Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner and Dr. Herbert F. York in an article published today in the October issue of Scientific American.

The two men speak from a position of authority. For the last 15 years, both within and without the Government, they have been intimately involved in weapons development programs.

Dr. Wiesner, now dean of science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was the President's scientific adviser during the Kennedy administration.

Dr. York, now chancellor of the University of California at San Diego, was during the Eisenhower administration the chief scientist of the Advanced Research Projects Agency in the Pentagon and later, Director of Defense Research and Engineering.

One of their principal recommendations is that the nuclear test ban treaty be extended to cover underground testing.

The principal thesis of the Wiesner-York argument is that military technology no longer can materially enhance the Nation's security. As a corollary they argue that there are no foreseeable weapons advances, either offensive or defensive, that will upset the present "stalemate of the arms race."

Ever since World War II, they say, the military power of the United States has been steadily increasing but "the national security of the United States has been rapidly and inexorably diminishing."

This, they argue, did not result from any inaction on the part of the Government, rather they say, "it resulted from the systematic exploitation of the products of modern science and technology by the U.S.S.R."

With intercontinental missiles carrying thermonuclear warheads, the Soviet Union could deliver an attack in which casualties "could very well be on the order of 100 million," the two scientists say.

From the Soviet point of view, they continue, "the picture is similar but much worse" because hypothetically, the United States could "destroy" the Soviet Union and that nation would be "absolutely powerless to prevent it.

"The clearly predictable course of the arms race is a steady, open spiral downward into oblivion," the scientists say. But they are optimistic that disarmament can provide a solution.

Much of their article is given over to presentation of reasons why further nuclear tests are, in their view, unnecessary for the development of new weapons. They argue that underground tests are producing only "refinements" in weapons design and weapons effects that are at best of marginal value.

[From the Scientific American, October 1964]

NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN

(NOTE.—Two scientific advisers to the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations present the reasons why further nuclear tests are unnecessary and why there can be no technical solution to the problem of national security.)

(By Jerome B. Wiesner and Herbert F. York)

The partial nuclear test ban—the international treaty that prohibits nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in the oceans and in outer space—has been in effect for a little more than a year. From July 1945, when the first atomic bomb was set off in New Mexico, until August 1963, when the U.S. completed its last series of atmospheric bomb tests in the Pacific, the accumulated tonnage of nuclear explosions had been doubling every 3 years. Contamination of the atmosphere by fission products and by the secondary products of irradiation (notably the long-lived carbon 14) was approaching a level (nearly 10 percent of the natural background radiation) that alarmed many biologists. A chart plotting the accumulation of radioactive products can also be read as a chart of the acceleration in the arms race.

Now, for a year, the curve has flattened out. From the objective record it can be said that the improvement of both the physical and political atmosphere of the world has fulfilled at least the short-range expectations of those who advocated and worked for the test ban. In and of itself the treaty does no more than moderate the continuing arms race. It is nonetheless, as President Kennedy said, "an important first step—a step toward peace, a step toward reason, a step away from war."

The passage of a year also makes it possible to place in perspective and evaluate certain misgivings that have been expressed about the effect on U.S. national security of the suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. These misgivings principally involve the technology of nuclear armament. National security, of course, involves moral questions and human values—political, social, economic, and psychological questions as well as technological ones. Since no one is an expert in all the disciplines of knowledge concerned, it is necessary to consider one class of such questions at a time, always with the caution that such consideration is incomplete. As scientists who have been engaged for most of our professional lifetimes in consultation on this country's military policy and in the active development of the weapons themselves, we shall devote the present discussion primarily to the technological questions.

The discussion will necessarily rest on unclassified information. It is unfortunate that so many of the facts concerning this most important problem are classified, but that is the situation at this time. Since we have access to classified information, however, we can assure the reader that we would not have to modify any of the arguments we present here if we were able to cite such information. Nor do we know of any military considerations excluded from open discussion by military secrecy that would weaken any of our conclusions. We shall discuss the matter from the point of view of our country's national interest. We believe, however, that a Soviet military technologist, writing from the point of view of the U.S.S.R., could write an almost identical paper.

Today as never before national security involves technical questions. The past two decades have seen a historic revolution in the technology of war. From the blockbuster of World War II to the thermonuclear bomb the violence of military explosives has been scaled upward a million times. The time required for the interhemispheric transport of weapons of mass destruction has shrunk from 20 hours for the 300-mile-per-hour B–29 to the 30-minute flight time of the ballistic missile. Moreover, the installation of the computer in command and control systems has increased their information-processing capacity by as much as six orders of magnitude compared with organizations manned at corresponding points by human nervous systems.

It has been suggested by some that technological surprise presents the primary danger to national security. Yet recognition of the facts of the present state of military technology must lead to the opposite conclusion. Intercontinental delivery time cannot be reduced to secure any significant improvement in the effectiveness of the attack. Improvement by another order of magnitude in the information-processing capacity of the defending system will not make nearly as large a difference in its operational effectiveness.

The point is well illustrated by the 100-megaton nuclear bomb. Whether or not it is necessary, in the interests of national security, to test and deploy a bomb with a yield in the range of 100 megatons was much discussed during the test ban debates. The bomb was frequently referred to as the "big" bomb, as if the bombs now in the U.S. arsenal were somehow not big. The absurdity of this notion is almost enough by itself to settle the argument. A 1-megaton bomb is already about 50 times bigger than the bomb that produced 100,000 casualties at Hiroshima, and 10 megatons is of the same order of magnitude as the grand total of all high explosives used in all wars to date. Other technical considerations that surround this question are nonetheless illuminating and worth exploring.

There is, first of all, the "tactics" of the missile race. The purpose of a missile system is to be able to destroy or, perhaps more accurately, able to threaten to destroy enemy targets. No matter what the statesmen, military men, and moralists on each side may think of the national characteristics, capabilities, and morality of the other side, no matter what arguments may be made about who is aggressive and who is not or who is rational and who is not, the military planners on each side must reckon with the possibility that the other side will attack first. This means that above all else the planner must assure the survival of a sufficient proportion of his own force, following the heaviest surprise attack the other side might mount, to launch a retaliatory attack. Moreover, if the force is to be effective as a deterrent to a first strike, its capacity to survive and wreak revenge and even win, whatever that may mean, must be apparent to the other side.

Several approaches, in fact, can be taken to assure the survival of a sufficient missile force after a first attack on it. The most practical of these are: (1) "hardening," that is, direct protection against physical damage; (2) concealment, including subterfuge and, as in the case of the Polaris submarine missiles, mobility, and (3) numbers, that is, presenting more targets than the attacker can possibly cope with. The most straightforward and certain of these is the last: numbers. For the wealthier adversary it is also the easiest, because he can attain absolute superiority in numbers. A large number of weapons is also a good tactic for the poorer adversary, because numbers even in the absence of absolute superiority can hopelessly frustrate efforts to locate all targets.

There is an unavoidable tradeoff, however, between the number and the size of weapons. The cost of a missile depends on many factors, one of the most important being gross size or weight. Unless one stretches "the state of the art" too far in the direction of sophistication and miniaturization, the cost of a missile turns out to be roughly proportional to its weight, if otherwise identical design criteria are used. The protective structures needed for hardening or the capacity of submarines needed to carry the missile also have a cost roughly proportional to the volume of the missile. Some of the ancillary equipment has a cost proportional to the size of the missile and some do not; some operational expenditures vary directly with size or weight and some do not. The cost of the warhead generally does not, although the more powerful warhead requires the larger missile. It is not possible to put all these factors together in precise bookkeeping form, but it is correct to say that the cost of a missile, complete and ready for firing, increases somewhat more slowly than linearly with its size.

On the other hand—considering "hard" targets only—the effectiveness of a missile increases more slowly than cost as the size of the missile goes up. The reason is that the radius of blast damage, which is the primary effect employed against a hard

target, increases only as the cube root of the yield and because yield has a more or less direct relation to weight. Against "soft" targets, meaning population centers and conventional military bases, even "small" bombs are completely effective, and nothing is gained by increasing yield. Given finite resources, even in the wealthiest economy, it would seem prudent to accept smaller size in order to get larger numbers. On any scale of investment, in fact, the combination of larger numbers and smaller size results in greater effectiveness for the missile system as a whole, as contrasted to the effectiveness of a single missile.

This line of reasoning has, for some years, formed the basis of U.S. missile policy. The administration of President Eisenhower, when faced with the choice of bigger missiles (the liquid-fueled Atlas and Titan rockets) as against smaller missiles (the solid-fueled Minuteman and Polaris rockets), decided to produce many more of the smaller missiles. The administration of President Kennedy independently confirmed this decision and increased the ratio of smaller to larger missiles in the Nation's armament. During the test ban hearings it was revealed that the U.S. nuclear armament included bombs of 23-megaton yield and higher, carried by bombers. Recently Cyrus R. Vance, Under Secretary of Defense, indicated that the Air Force has been retiring these large bombs in favor of smaller ones. There are presumably no targets that call for the use of such enormous explosions.

The argument that says it is now critical for U.S. national security to build very big bombs and missiles fails completely when it is examined in terms of the strictly technical factors that determine the effectiveness of a missile attack. In addition to explosive yield the principal factors are the number of missiles, the overall reliability of each missile and the accuracy with which it can be delivered to its target. The effectiveness of the attack—the likelihood that a given target will be destroyed—can be described by a number called the "kill probability" (P_k). This number depends on the number of missiles (N) launched at the target, the reliability (r) of each missile and the ratio of the radius of damage (P_k) effected by each missile to the accuracy with which the missiles are delivered to the target (CEP). The term "CEP," which stands for "circular error probable," implies that the distribution of a large number of hits around a given target will follow a standard error curve; actually, for a variety of reasons (which include the presence of systematic errors, coupling between certain causes of error and the sporadic nature of the larger error factors) the distribution does not really follow a standard error curve. The term "CEP" is still useful, however, and can be defined simply as the circle within which half of a large number of identical missiles would fall.

Now, in the case of a soft target, R_k is very large for the present range of warhead yields in the U.S. arsenal. The reason is that soft targets are so highly vulnerable to all the "prompt" effects (particularly the incendiary effects) of thermonuclear weapons. The range of these effects, modified by various attenuation factors, increases approximately as the square root or the cube root of the yield at large distances. Under these circumstances, given the accuracy of existing fire-control systems, the ratio R_k/CEP is large and the likelihood that the target will be destroyed becomes practically independent of this ratio. Instead P_k depends primarily on r, the reliability of the missile. If r is near unity, then a single missile ($N=1$) will do the job; if r is not near unity, then success in the attack calls for an offsetting increase in the number of missiles [$P_k=1-(1-r)^N$]. In either case changes in R_k make little difference. That is to say, a "big" bomb cannot destroy a soft target any more surely than a "small" one can.

When it comes to hard targets, the ratio R_k/CEP becomes much smaller even for bombs of high yield. The blast effects—including the ground rupture, deformation, and shock surrounding the crater of a surface burst—have comparatively small radii at intensities sufficient to overcome hardening. Moreover, as mentioned above, the radii of these effects increase only as the cube root of the yield. This rule of thumb is modified somewhat in both directions by the duration of the blast pulse, local variations in geology and other factors, but it is sustained by a voluminous record from weapons tests. Since the radius of blast damage is of the same order of size as the circular error probable, or smaller, the ratio R_k/CEP must be reckoned with in an attack on a hard target. Yet even in this situation the cube root of a given increase in yield would contribute much less to sucess than a comparable investment in numbers, reliability, or accuracy.

Yield is, of course, a product of the yield-to-weight ratio of the nuclear explosive employed in the warhead multiplied by the weight of the warhead. In order to gain significant increases in the first of these two quantities further nuclear tests would be necessary. Increase in the weight of the warhead, on the other hand, calls for bigger and more efficient missiles. In the present state of the art, efforts to improve CEP and reliability as well as weight-carrying capacity hold out more promise than efforts to improve the yield-to-weight ratio. The reason is that missile design and control involve less mature and less fully exploited technologies than the technology of nuclear warheads. Finally, an increase in the number of missiles, although not necessarily cheap, promises more straightforward and assured results than a fractional increase in yield-to-weight ratio. Of all the various possible technical approaches to improving the military effectiveness of an offensive missile force, therefore, the only one that calls for testing (whether underground or in the atmosphere) is the one that offers the smallest prospect of return.

Suppose, however, a new analysis, based on information not previously considered, should show that it is in fact necessary to incorporate the 100-megaton bomb in the U.S. arsenal. Can this be done without further weapons tests? The answer is yes. Because the U.S.S.R. has pushed development in this yield range and the U.S. has not, the U.S. 100-megaton bomb might not be as elegant as the Soviet model. It would perhaps weigh somewhat more or at the same weight would produce a somewhat lower yield. It could be made, however, and the basic techniques for making it have been known since the late 1950's. The warhead for such a bomb would require a big missile, but not so big as some being developed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the U.S. space-exploration program. Such a weapon would be expensive, particularly on a per-unit basis; under any imaginable circumstances it would be of limited use and not many of its kind would be built.

The extensive series of weapons tests carried out by the United States—involving the detonation of several hundred nuclear bombs and devices—have yielded two important bodies of information. They have shown how to bring the country's nuclear striking force to its present state of high effectiveness. And they have demonstrated the effects of nuclear weapons over a wide range of yields. Among the many questions that call for soundly based knowledge of weapons effects perhaps none is more important in a discussion of the technical aspects of national security than: What would be the result of a surprise attack by missiles on the country's own missile forces? Obviously if the huge U.S. investment in its nuclear armament is to succeed in deterring an attacker, that armament must be capable of surviving a first strike.

A reliable knowledge of weapons effects is crucial to the making of rational decisions about the number of missiles needed, the hardening of missile emplacements, the degree of dispersal, the proportion that should be made mobile and so on. The military planner must bear in mind, however, that such decisions take time—years—to carry out and require large investments of finite physical and human resources. The inertia of the systems is such that the design engineer at work today must be concerned not with the surprise attack that might be launched today but rather with the kind and size of forces that might be launched against them years in the future. In addition to blast, shock, and other physical effects, therefore, the planner must contend with a vast range of other considerations. These include the yields of the various bombs the attacker would use against each target; the reliability and accuracy of his missiles; the number and kind of weapons systems he would have available for attack; the tactics of the attacker, meaning the number of missiles he would commit to a first strike, the fractions he would allocate to military as against civilian targets and the relative importance he would assign to various kinds of military targets, the effects of chaos on the defender's capacity to respond, and so on. In all cases the planner must project his thinking forward to some hypothetical future time, making what he can of the available intelligence about the prospective attacker's present capabilities and intentions. Plainly all these "other considerations" involve inherently greater uncertainties than the knowledge of weapons effects.

The extensive classified and unclassified literature accumulated in two decades of weapons tests and available to U.S. military planners contains at least some observations on all important effects for weapons with a large range of yields. These observations are more or less well understood in terms of physical theories; they can be expressed in numerical or algebraic form, and they can be extrapolated into areas not fully explored in the weapons tests conducted by the United States, for example into the 100-megaton range. As one departs from the precise circumstances of past experiments, of course, extrapolation becomes less and less reliable. Nonetheless, some sort of estimate can be made about what the prompt and direct effects will be under any conceivable set of circumstances.

Consider, in contrast, the degree of uncertainty implicit in predicting the number and kind of weapons systems that might be available to the prospective attacker. Such an uncertainty manifested itself in the famous "missile gap" controversy. The remarkable difference between the dire predictions made in the late 1950's—based as they were on the best available intelligence—and the actual situation that developed in the early 1960's can be taken as indicating the magnitude of the uncertainties that surround the variables other than weapons effects with which the military planner must contend. Moreover, these factors, as they concern a future attack, are uncertain not only to the defender; they are almost as uncertain to the attacker.

Uncertainties of this order and kind defy reduction to mathematical expression. A human activity as complex as modern war cannot be computed with the precision possible in manipulation of the data that concern weapons effects. What is more, the uncertainties about this single aspect of the total problem are not, as is sometimes assumed, multiplicative in estimation of the

overall uncertainty. Most, but not all, of the uncertainties are independent of one another. The total uncertainty is therefore, crudely speaking, the square root of the sum of the squares of the individual uncertainties.

In our view further refinement of the remaining uncertainties in the data concerning prompt direct physical effects can contribute virtually nothing more to management of the real military and political problems, even though it would produce neater graphs. Furthermore, if new effects should be discovered either experimentally or theoretically in the future, or if, in certain peculiar environments, some of the now known effects should be excessively uncertain, it will be almost certainly possible to "overdesign" the protection against them. Thus, although renewed atmospheric testing would contribute some refinement to the data on weapons effects, the information would be, at best, of marginal value.

Such refinements continue to be sought in the underground tests that are countenanced under the partial test ban. From this work may also come some reductions in the cost of weapons, modest improvements in yield-to-weight ratios, devices to fill in the spectrum of tactical nuclear weapons and so on. There is little else to justify the effort and expenditure. The program is said by some to be necessary, for example, to the development of a pure fusion bomb, sometimes referred to as the "neutron bomb." It is fortunate that this theoretically possible (stars are pure fusion systems) device has turned out to be so highly difficult to create; if it were relatively simple, its development might open the way to thermonuclear armament for the smallest and poorest powers in the world. The United States, with its heavy investment in fission-to-fusion technology, would be the last nation to welcome this development and ought to be the last to encourage it. Underground testing is also justified for its contribution to the potential peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. Promising as these may be, the world could forgo them for a time in exchange for cessation of the arms race. Perhaps the best rationale for the underground test program is that it helps to keep the scientific laboratories of the Military Establishment intact and in readiness—in readiness, however, for a full-scale resumption of the arms race.

Paradoxically, one of the potential destabilizing elements in the present nuclear standoff is the possibility that one of the rival powers might develop a successful antimissile defense. Such a system, truly airtight and in the exclusive possession of one of the powers, would effectively nullify the deterrent force of the other, exposing the latter to a first attack against which it could not retaliate. The possibilities in this quarter have often been cited in rationalization of the need for resuming nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Here two questions must be examined. One must first ask if it is possible to develop a successful antimissile defense system. It then becomes appropriate to consider whether or not nuclear weapons tests can make a significant contribution to such a development.

Any nation that commits itself to large-scale defense of its civilian population in the thermonuclear age must necessarily reckon with passive modes of defense (shelters) as well as active ones (antimissile missiles). It is in the active mode, however, that the hazard of technological surprise most often lurks. The hazard invites consideration if only for the deeper insight it provides into the contemporary revolution in the technology of war.

The primary strategic result of that revolution has been to overbalance the scales in favor of the attacker rather than the defender. During World War II interception of no more than 10 percent of the attacking force gave victory to the defending force in the Battle of Britain. Attrition of this magnitude was enough to halt the German attack because it meant that a given weapons-delivery system (bomber and crew) could deliver on the average only 10 payloads of high explosive; such a delivery rate was not sufficient to produce backbreaking damage. In warfare by thermonuclear missiles the situation is quantitatively and qualitatively different. It is easily possible for the offense to have in its possession and ready to launch a number of missiles that exceeds the number of important industrial targets to be attacked by, let us say, a factor of 10. Yet the successful delivery of only one warhead against each such target would result in what most people would consider an effective attack. Thus where an attrition rate of only 10 percent formerly crowned the defense with success, a penetration rate of only 10 percent (corresponding to an attrition rate of 90 percent) would give complete success to the offense. The ratio of these two ratios is 100 to 1; in this sense the task of defense can be said to have become two orders of magnitude more difficult.

Beyond this summary statement of the situation there are many general reasons for believing that defense against thermonuclear attack is impossible. On the eve of attack the offense can take time to get ready and to "point up" its forces; the defense, meanwhile, must stay on the alert over periods of years, perpetually ready and able to fire within the very few minutes available after the first early warning. The attacker can pick its targets and can choose to concentrate its forces on some and ignore others; the defense must be prepared to defend all possible important targets. The offense may attack the defense itself; then, as soon as one weapon gets through, the rest have a free ride.

The hopelessness of the task of defense is apparent even now in the stalemate of the arms race. A considerable inertia drags against the movement of modern, large-scale, unitary weapons systems from the stage of research and development to operational deployment. The duration and magnitude of these enterprises, whether defensive or offensive, practically assure that no system can reach full deployment under the mantle of secrecy. The designer of the defensive system, however, cannot begin until he has learned something about the properties and capabilities of the offensive system. Inevitably the defense must start the race a lap behind. In recent years, it seems, the offense has even gained somewhat in the speed with which it can put into operation stratagems and devices that nullify the most extraordinary achievements in the technology of defense. These general observations are expensively illustrated in the development and obsolescence of two major U.S. defense systems.

Early in the 1950's the United States set out to erect an impenetrable defense against a thermonuclear attack by bombers. The North American continent was to be ringed with a system of detectors that would flash information back through the communications network to a number of computers. The computers were to figure out from this data what was going on and what ought to be done about it and then flash a series of commands to the various interceptor systems. In addition to piloted aircraft, these included the Bomarc (a guided airborne missile) and the Nike-Hercules (a ballistic rocket). By the early 1960's this "Sage" system was to be ready to detect, intercept and destroy the heaviest attack that could be launched against it.

The early 1960's have come and yet nothing like the capability planned in the 1950's has been attained. Why not? Time scales stretched out, subsystems failed to attain their planned capabilities and costs increased. Most important, the offense against which the system was designed is not the offense that actually exists in the early 1960's. Today the offensive system on both sides is a mixture of missiles and bombers. The Sage system has a relatively small number of soft but vital organs completely vulnerable to missiles—a successful missile attack on them would give a free ride to the bombers. As early as 1958 the Department of Defense came to realize that this would be the situation, and the original grand plan was steadily cut back. In other words, the Sage system that could have been available, say, in 1963 and that should have remained useful at least through the 1960's would in principle have worked quite well against the offense that existed in the 1950's.

To answer the intercontinental ballistic missile, the Department of Defense launched the development of the Nike-Zeus system. Nike-Zeus was intended to provide not a defense of the continent at its perimeter but a point defense of specific targets. To be sure, the points were fairly large—the regions of population concentration around 50 to 70 of the country's biggest cities. The system was to detect incoming warheads, feeding the radar returns directly into its computers, and launch and guide an interceptor missile carrying a nuclear warhead into intersection with the trajectory of each of the incoming warheads.

Nike-Zeus was not designed to defend the 1,000 or so smaller centers outside the metropolitan areas simply because there are too many of these to be covered by the resources available for a system so huge and complicated. Nor was the system designed to defend the retaliatory missiles, the security of these forces being entrusted to the more reliable protection of dispersal, concealment, mobility and number. In principle, the defense of a hardened missile silo would have presented by far the simplest case for proof of the effectiveness of Nike-Zeus as advanced by those who contend that such a system can be made to work. There would be no ambiguity about the location of the target of the incoming warhead. By the same token Nike-Zeus might have been considered for the defense of a few special defense posts, such as the headquarters of the Air Defense Command of the Strategic Air Command. These special cases are so few in number, however, that it had to be concluded that the attacker would either blast his way through to them by a concentration of firepower or ignore them altogether.

At the time of the conception of the Nike-Zeus system its designers were confronted with a comparatively simple problem, namely, that of shooting down the warheads one by one as they presented themselves to the detectors. Even this simple problem had to be regarded as essentially unsolvable, in view of the fact that a 90-percent success in interception constitutes failure in the inverted terms of thermonuclear warfare. At first, therefore, the designers of the offensive system did not take the prospect of an antimissile system seriously. Then the possibility that the problem of missile interception might be solved in principle gave them pause. Thereupon the designers of the offense began to invent a family of "penetration aids," that is, decoys and confusion techniques. The details of these and the plans for their use are classified, but the underlying principles are obvious. They include light decoys that can be provided in large numbers but that soon betray their character as "atmospheric sorting" separates them from the heavier decoys (and actual warheads) that can be provided in smaller numbers to confuse the defending detectors down to the last minute. Single

rockets can also eject multiple warheads. Both the decoys and the warheads can be made to present ambiguous cross sections to the radar systems. These devices and stratagems overwhelmed the designed capability of the Nike-Zeus system and compelled its recent abandonment.

If the installation of the system had proceeded according to plan, the first Nike-Zeus units would have been operational within the next year or two. This could have been celebrated as a technical milestone. As a means of defense of a substantial percentage of the population, however, the system would not have reached full operational deployment until the end of the decade. In view of its huge cost the system should then have looked forward to a decade of useful life until, say, the late 1970's. Thus, in inexorable accordance with the phase-lag of the defense, the U.S. population was to be defended a decade too late by a system that might have been effective in principle (although most probably not in practice) against the missiles of the early 1960's.

The race of the tortoise and the hare has now entered the next lap with the development of the Nike-X system as successor to Nike-Zeus. The Advanced Research Projects Agency for the Department of Defense has been spending something on the order of $200 million a year on its so-called Defender program, exploring on the broadest front the principles and techniques that might prove useful in the attempt to solve the antimissile problem. Although nothing on the horizon suggests that there is a solution, this kind of work must go forward. It not only serves the forlorn hope of developing an active antimissile defense but also promotes the continued development of offensive weapons. The practical fact is that work on defensive systems turns out to be the best way to promote invention of the penetration aids that nullify them.

As the foregoing discussion makes clear, the problems of antimissile development are problems in radar, computer technology, missile propulsion, guidance, and control. The nuclear warheads for the antimissile missile have been ready for a long time for delivery to the right place at the right time. Although it is argued that certain refinements in the existing data about weapons effects are needed, the other uncertainties all loom much larger than the marginal uncertainties in these physical effects. The antimissile defense problem, then, is one in which nuclear testing can play no really significant part.

The pursuit of an active defense system demands parallel effort on the passive defense, or shelter, front because the nature of the defense system strongly conditions the tactics of the offense that is likely to be mounted against it. To take a perhaps farfetched example, a Nike-Zeus system that provided protection for the major population centers might invite the attacker to concentrate the weight of his assault in ground bursts on remote military installations and unprotected areas adjacent to cities, relying on massive fallout to imperil the population centers. This example serves also to suggest how heavily the effectiveness of any program for sheltering the civilian population depends on the tactics of the attacker. Fallout shelters by themselves are of no avail if the attacker chooses to assult the population centers directly.

In any speculation about the kind of attack to which this country might be exposed it is useful to note where the military targets are located. Most of the missile bases are, in fact, far from the largest cities. Other key military installations, however, are not so located. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles (Long Beach), and San Diego all have important naval bases. Essential command and control centers are located in and near Denver, Omaha, and Washington, D.C. The rollcall could be extended to include other major cities containing military installations that would almost certainly have to be attacked in any major assault on this country. The list does not stop with these; it is only prudent to suppose still other cities would come under attack, because there is no way to know in advance what the strategy may be.

The only kind of shelter that is being seriously considered these days, for other than certain key military installations, is the fallout shelter. By definition fallout shelters offer protection against nothing but fallout and provide virtually no protection against blast, fire storms, and other direct effects. Some people have tried to calculate the percentage of the population that would be saved by fallout shelters in the event of massive attack. Such calculations always involve predictions about the form of the attack, but since the form is unknowable the calculations are nonsensical. Even for the people protected by fallout shelters the big problem is not a problem in the physical theory of gamma-ray attenuation, which can be neatly computed, but rather the sociological problem of the sudden initiation of general chaos, which is not subject to numerical analysis.

Suppose, in spite of all this, the country were to take fallout shelters seriously and build them in every city and town. The people living in metropolitan areas that qualify as targets because they contain essential military installations and the people living in metropolitan areas that might be targeted as a matter of deliberate policy would soon recognize that fallout shelters are inadequate. That conclusion would be reinforced by the inevitable reaction from the other side whose military planners would be compelled to consider a massive civilian-shelter program as portending a first strike against them. Certainly the military planners of the United States would be remiss if they did not take similar note of a civilian-shelter program in the U.S.S.R. As a step in the escalation of the arms race toward the ultimate outbreak of war, the fallout shelter would lead inevitably to the blast shelter. Even with large numbers of blast shelters built and evenly distributed throughout the metropolitan community, people would soon realize that shelters alone are not enough. Accidental alarms, even in tautly disciplined military installations, have shown that people do not always take early warnings seriously. Even if they did, a 15-minute "early" warning provides less than enough time to seal the population into shelters. Accordingly, the logical next step is the live-in and work-in blast shelter leading to still further disruption and distortion of civilization. There is no logical termination of the line of reasoning that starts with belief in the usefulness of fallout shelters; the logic of this attempt to solve the problem of national security leads to a diverging series of evermore grotesque measures. This is to say, in so many words, that if the arms race continues and resumes its former accelerating tempo, 1984 is more than just a date on the calendar 20 years hence.

Ever since shortly after World War II the military power of the United States has been steadily increasing. Throughout this same period the national security of the United States has been rapidly and inexorably diminishing. In the early 1950's the U.S.S.R., on the basis of its own unilateral decision and determination to accept the inevitable retaliation, could have launched an attack against the United States with bombers carrying fission bombs. Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses and the American casualties would have numbered in the millions. In the later 1950's, again on its own sole decision and determination to accept the inevitable massive retaliation, the U.S.S.R. could have launched an attack against the United States using more and better bombers, this time carrying thermonuclear bombs. Some of these bombers would have penetrated our defenses and the American casualties could have numbered in the tens of millions.

Today the U.S.S.R., again on the basis of its own decision and determination to accept the inevitable retaliation, could launch an attack on the United States using intercontinental missiles and bombers carrying thermonuclear weapons. This time the number of American casualties could very well be on the order of 100 million.

The steady decrease in national security did not result from any inaction on the part of responsible U.S. military and civilian authorities. It resulted from the systematic exploitation of the products of modern science and technology by the U.S.S.R. The air defenses deployed by the United States during the 1950's would have reduced the number of casualties the country might have otherwise sustained, but their existence did not substantively modify this picture. Nor could it have been altered by any other defense measures that might have been taken but that for one reason or another were not taken.

From the Soviet point of view the picture is similar but much worse. The military power of the U.S.S.R. has been steadily increasing since it became an atomic power in 1949. Soviet national security, however, has been steadily decreasing. Hypothetically the United States could unilaterally decide to destroy the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. would be absolutely powerless to prevent it. That country could only, at best, seek to wreak revenge through whatever retaliatory capability it might then have left.

Both sides in the arms race are thus confronted by the dilemma of steadily increasing military power and steadily decreasing national security. It is our considered professional judgment that this dilemma has no technical solution. If the great powers continue to look for solutions in the area of science and technology only, the result will be to worsen the situation. The clearly predictable course of the arms race is a steady open spiral downward into oblivion.

We are optimistic, on the other hand, that there is a solution to this dilemma. The partial nuclear test ban, we hope and believe, is truly an important first step toward finding a solution in an area where a solution may exist. A next logical step would be the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban such as that on which the great powers came close to agreement more than once during 10 long years of negotiation at Geneva. The policing and inspection procedures so nearly agreed on in those parleys would set significant precedents and lay the foundations of mutual confidence for proceeding thereafter to actual disarmament.

Hon. Antonio Fernós-Isern

SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Puerto Rico have been unusually fortunate during these past 18 years to have had as their spokesman and helpmate in Congress, the Honorable ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN.

After 18 years of dedicated service, Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN, Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the United States, is planning to return home

where he is a candidate for election as senator at large in the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico.

It has been my good fortune to come to know and admire Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN during my service in Congress. He is a warm and affable gentleman for whom all of us in the House have the highest regard. He has done an excellent job for his people and we wish him and his family the best of luck in his future endeavors.

"The Great Manpower Grab": The Reply of the U.S. Department of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I have the honor to be the chairman, held hearings this summer on the role of the Federal-State Employment Service as an institution which must play a vital role in this Nation's efforts to conserve, develop, and use fully and efficiently our manpower resources.

Subsequent to our hearings this summer, an article appeared in the Reader's Digest, entitled "The Great Manpower Grab," which attacked the Federal-State Employment Service in a manner that can only confuse and mislead the public about the policies of the service.

Fortunately, the U.S. Department of Labor has not allowed this unwarranted attack upon the Federal-State Employment Service to go unanswered, even though the Reader's Digest itself has never been willing to allow the Department of Labor space in the magazine to reply to the repeated assaults the Digest has made against different activities of the Department. The Department of Labor has prepared an excellent fact sheet, which sets forth, in ample detail, the inaccurate, misleading, distorted statements that are contained in "The Great Manpower Grab."

I commend this fact sheet to my colleagues, and urge that all Members of Congress read it. I am completely confident that any open-minded person who looks both at the Reader's Digest article, "The Great Manpower Grab," and the fact sheet which the Department of Labor has prepared, will find himself shocked and dismayed to realize how far the Reader's Digest article departed from standards of fair and responsible journalism, when it made this attack on the employment service.

The fact sheet follows:

FACT SHEET

(For the record—Facts about the U.S. Employment Service presented to correct the distortions, misrepresentations, and statements based on false assumptions which appeared in the October 1964 issue of Reader's Digest.)

An organized campaign attacking the public employment service system is being directed both at Members of Congress and the public by individual fee-charging employment agencies, and collectively, through a national association called the National Employment Association.

The purpose of their campaign against the public employment service system was stated in a newsletter entitled: "Who's Hiring Who?" and directed to association members at their 1962 convention. It said:

"Congressional investigation of public employment agencies is one virtually certain result of a properly conducted compaign of this kind. A major cutback in tax-supported employment operations is a definitely certain result. Far more public support, increased business, greater prospects for growth will be inevitable side benefits for private agency owners. But only if they get behind it with strength enough to assure success."

The National Association of fee-charging agencies circulated the quoted newsletter which openly stated that a properly organized campaign would shape a congressional course of action in the field of employment and hiring and thus achieve the association's stated purpose.

Soon after it announced its campaign to be directed at the Congress, the association hired a paid lobbyist. A $1,000 club was established, consisting of individual fee-charging agencies which contributed $1,000 or more to the war chest of over $163,000 to be used largely in the attack against the public employment service system.

The drive conducted by the association of fee-charging agencies through its paid lobby is well organized. Members of the Congress as well as news media and periodicals have been heavily circulated with a constant repetition of misleading information, distortion of facts, and the use of general scare phrases.

In some instances both individuals and publications have repeated the false information circulated by the association in its effort to undermine and break down the system of public employment offices in this country.

The most recent of these attacks distorting the goal and function of the public employment service appears in an article by Congressman Bow in the October issue of the Reader's Digest. The article repeats in substance a speech made by Congressman Bow on the floor of the House, April 30, 1963.

This Fact Sheet is presented in response to a need to answer allegations made by an individual who has repeated the false information circulated by a group which seeks to sway public opinion and influence its attitude to the detriment of the public good.

STATEMENT I

"The great manpower grab—almost unnoticed, the U.S. Employment Service is undermining one of our basic freedoms—the right to choose one's life work. * * * But it makes no bones about its ultimate goal. That goal, according to USES Director Louis Levine, is to build the Employment Service into 'the manpower agency' for the Nation, through which all job hiring would be funneled."

FACT

1. The past, present, and future goal of the USES and its affiliated State employment services was set forth by Act of Congress some 32 years ago. This goal was again brought to public attention by the Congress on August 17, 1964. On that date the Senate Appropriations Committee on Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare stated the following for the record:

"Congress in framing the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933 stipulated that a placement service be provided for all persons 'who are legally qualified to engage in gainful occupations.' Accordingly, the employment service must operate on the basis that its services are to be available to all. It cannot deny service to a certain portion of the public such as employed workers, or those in professional and technical occupations. It must be staffed and organized to meet the needs of all applicants, including youth, older workers, and other applicants who come to the employment service for assistance—whether employed or unemployed, highly skilled, or semiskilled or unskilled.

"The employment service, as it is now operating both with respect to the type of applicant it is serving and with respect to the matching of job and jobseeker, is properly reflecting the spirit of the Wagner-Peyser Act."

2. In a statement to the Subcommittee on Manpower and Employment, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on June 29, 1963, Louis Levine, Director of USES said:

"We see a free labor market, with many hiring channels, with the employer free to hire or not to hire by means of any channel he wishes, and the job seeker free to use any job-finding method or facility that he prefers. There will be no monopoly, no compulsory authority in the Nation's job markets."

STATEMENT II

"Already USES exerts iron-fist financial control over some 1,900 State employment offices."

FACT

By law, the Secretary of Labor is charged with the prime responsibility for the proper and efficient administration of the employment security system. The Social Security Act of 1935, as amended, section 302(a) says:

"The Secretary of Labor shall from time to time certify to the Secretary of the Treasury for payment to each State which has an unemployment compensation law approved by the Secretary of Labor under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act such amounts as the Secretary of Labor determines to be necessary for the proper and efficient administration of such law for the fiscal year during which such payment is to be made."

Sec. 303 (a) (5) of the same act says:

"Provided further that the amounts specified * * * may, * * * be used for expenses incurred by the State for administration of its unemployment compensation law and public employment offices. * * *"

The Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933, section 5(b) says:

"The Secretary shall from time to time certify to the Secretary of the Treasury for payments to each State * * * such amounts as the Secretary determines to be necessary for the proper and efficient administration of its public employment offices."

The Secretary has delegated this financial authority to the Bureau of Employment Security.

STATEMENT III

"* * * Congress clearly intended that the Nation's unemployed, which then numbered nearly 13 million, be USES' prime concern."

FACT

The intent of Congress is clearly stated in the Senate Appropriations Committee report of August 17, 1964:

"The Employment Service must * * * meet the needs of all applicants * * * whether employed or unemployed."

STATEMENT IV

"Today, USES' budget is around 200 million dollars—double what it was in fiscal 1959."

FACT

The above figure relates to the total Employment Service and not to the USES. Here are the facts:

1. The expenditures of State Employment Security agencies for employment service activities in fiscal year 1959 were $101,300,000. In fiscal 1964, expenditures were $164,200,000.

Other allegations in this article concerning the financing of the public employment service completely ignore the following additional vital facts:

2. The labor force has grown from 68,815,000 in 1953 to 72,975,000 in 1963. The number of workers requesting services has increased accordingly. For example, the number of new applications rose from 7.3 million in fiscal year 1953 to over 11 million in fiscal 1963.

3. The costs of doing business have increased for the public employment service just as they have for any other business. In the past 10 years for example, rents have increased 155 percent and the average salary of State employees has increased 51 percent.

4. Greatly expanded responsibilities, functions, and programs have been assigned to the public employment service by new legislation enacted by the Congress to meet the rapidly changing manpower needs and problems of the Nation.

STATEMENT V

"In addition, it received the lion's share of the $47 million the Labor Department got for the Manpower Development and Training Act retraining program in fiscal 1964 and says it will have to have another $75 million via the Manpower Development and Training Act funds in fiscal 1965 to complete the job."

FACT

1. Congress passed this act in 1962 and in order not to establish a new agency asked the Employment Service to take on a new duty.

2. The "lion's share" of the Manpower Development and Training Act appropriations is funneled to State employment security agencies to be paid, through public employment offices, directly to trainees for training allowances, subsistence, and transportation while in training. Of the money appropriated in fiscal 1964, State employment security agencies received approximately 18.4 percent of the funds for overall administration; for testing, selection, referral, and placement of the Manpower Development and Training Act trainees; and for processing allowance payments to trainees. The USES received less than 3.5 percent for national and regional administration of the Manpower Development and Training Act program.

STATEMENT VI

"There is mounting evidence to support the charge that the USES has 'turned its back on the unemployed.' "

FACT

Surveys covering all State employment services show that approximately 98 percent of placements by the public employment service are of unemployed workers.

STATEMENT VII

"If you are a high school or college student, you will have to accept the guidance of a Government employee or risk being numbered among the forgotten unemployed. If you wish to change jobs and thereby better yourself, you will have to win the approval of a Government clerk before you can be referred to a new position. If you are an employer, you will have to accept whoever is sent to you to fill a job or you will risk getting on the Government's black list."

FACT

The public employment service is a voluntary agency to which no one is compelled to go.

STATEMENT VIII

"Seniors in over 10,000 high schools—about half of all high schools in the country—are being tested and counseled by the Federal-State Employment Service."

FACT

This is true. At the invitation of the high school, the State Employment Service conducts cooperative programs with the schools to supplement their own guidance programs. In these cooperative school programs, the Employment Service works primarily with school dropouts and graduating seniors who plan to enter the labor force upon graduation and who wish help in making a vocational choice or in finding a job.

STATEMENT IX

"Aptitude tests and counseling services are given to thousands of students despite the fact that some psychologists seriously question the qualification of Employment Security personnel to operate in this delicate area. Many of these testers and counselors do not have a college degree, let alone specialized training in psychology that would fit them to guide young people into life careers."

FACT

Two-thirds of Employment Service counselors, who spend 50 percent of their time on counseling, hold college degrees. The remainder have some college training and/or extensive experience in working with youth.

Employment Service cooperation with public schools in counseling and testing has been repeatedly urged by such responsible groups a the National Vocational Guidance Association, the U.S. Office of Education, and the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

STATEMENT X

"It is impossible to calculate how many young people—potential doctors, lawyers, scientists—have been steered into wrong careers by such tests."

FACT

The USES general aptitude test battery, which is extensively used as a counseling tool, has been cited by one of the Nation's best authorities in the guidance field as "the most adequately standardized and validated battery of tests now available for the vocational counseling and placement of inexperienced persons and adults." Tests are used in conjunction with additional information about the jobseeker and not as the sole measure of his ability.

The employment counselor then assists but does not "steer" the applicant in career planning. The individual makes his own choice.

STATEMENT XI

"USES is out to handle the job placement of every college student in the country.

"Thus far, USES boasts that nearly 300 institutions of higher learning have accepted Employment Service counselors and guidance.

"However, the USES campus campaign has run into formidable opposition. Some 200 college and university presidents wrote the college placement council denouncing the USES blitz."

FACTS

Here are the facts:

1. It is true that some misunderstanding arose in 1962, but since then a working relationship and accord has been established. In August 1964, Dr. John M. Brooks, president of the college placement council submitted the following statement to the Holland Subcommittee on Labor. Dr. Brooks stated:

"* * * representatives of the Bureau of Employment Security, the U.S. Employment Service and the college placement council reached a working agreement wherein each could make its unique contribution to the needs of college youth."

2. At the end of 1963 State employment service agencies were providing on-campus services, ranging from full- to part-time, to 77 colleges and universities in 23 States out of the more than 2,000 colleges and universities in the Nation.

STATEMENT XII

"USES is signing more and more companies to 'exclusive agreements' under which they pledge to do all their hiring through the Employment Service."

FACT

Some firms do work out arrangements whereby the public employment service recruits, screens, and refers workers in selected occupations in accordance with the employer's job orders. In some such arrangements, applicants are directed to apply at the local employment service office for interviewing and testing.

The employer hires only the workers he chooses, and he continues to get workers from other traditional sources as well. Employers voluntarily enter into these arrangements with the employment service because efficient screening cuts employee turnover and training time, two of the high-cost personnel items.

Such arrangements are also advantageous to the job seeker because they shorten the period of his unemployment.

STATEMENT XIII

"Labor unions have turned over their own hiring halls to the USES' State subsidiaries. They are concentrating their efforts on a campaign to force companies to get on the USES' bandwagon."

FACT

Public employment services are available to any workers or employers, whether covered by union contract or not, who wish to use its services. In a few instances, in major metropolitan areas, both management and labor have found it advantageous to agree through joint voluntary action to use the public employment service and to discontinue union hiring halls.

STATEMENT XIV

"Instead of devoting all its effort to placing America's 4 million unemployed, USES is now finding new jobs for more than a quarter million professional and managerial personnel each year.

"More and more, USES is concentrating on placing people whose talents and skills are in high demand—engineers, scientists, schoolteachers, nurses, and even high-salaried executives. USES placements in this field have nearly tripled in the last decade and zoomed an impressive 50 percent since 1960."

FACT

By law, individual income is not a consideration for job assistance by the public employment service. The public employment service provides job assistance to workers in professional categories, as it does to workers in any category. Any individual legally qualified to work may use the service.

"Professional placement" includes the professional, technical, and managerial job classifications, such as highly qualified engineers and scientists; but it also includes practical nurses, X-ray technicians, small retail store managers, office managers, draftsmen, window dressers, and many other professional and subprofessional occupations. The salaries for many of these occupations are not so high nor the job openings so plentiful as the article suggests. Placements in this entire category totaled 249,100 for fiscal year 1964.

It should be remembered that the public employment service serves employers as well as applicants, and the search for professional workers to fill key positions in industry is a crucial problem for many employers faced with local shortages. More and more the Employment Service is being called upon to help solve this problem because of its nationwide network of employment offices.

The chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, which early this year concluded a year-long study of the Nation's manpower and unemployment problems, speaking on the point of professional placement activities said:

"Independent labor market experts as well as representatives from labor and management who appeared before the subcommittee recommended more placement activities by the public services in professional and technical occupations and among the employed. They warned that if the State employment services were restricted only to the low skilled, unemployed, very few potential employers would ever seriously consider listing available jobs with them."

STATEMENT XV

"Newspaper advertisements are widely used to hook professional applicants."

FACT

The public employment service does use some newspaper advertising for recruitment purposes, but only when other recruitment methods are unproductive. The prudent use of advertising is sometimes the only means by which the urgent needs of employers can be met. However, only a small portion of advertising is paid for by the public employment service. Most publicity is made available as a public service contribution by newspapers, radio, and television stations, or is paid for by employers for whom the workers are being recruited.

STATEMENT XVI

"To further entice easily placed executives and scientists, USES has outfitted 160 new offices in its 'Professional Office Network.' In 52 of the largest cities employment offices are located separately from the Unemployment Compensation Service facilities."

FACT

The term "Professional Office Network" refers to communication between local offices of State employment services to exchange information quickly about job vacancies and job seekers, and to expedite the matching of the two.

In the larger metropolitan areas specialized facilities have been developed to serve specific applicant and employer needs. A separate office might be established to serve professional applicants (there are only 10 such offices in the entire United States), or apparel industry applicants, or casual labor applicants. In each case, the facility is provided to meet a particular local need. The establishment of such separate offices is undertaken because the volume of client traffic, or the excessive variety of office functions, makes it difficult to provide effective service in a combined office.

STATEMENT XVII

"For 40 minutes I was treated to a lecture on the horrible job situation in Pittsburgh, the 'brutal facts' of economic life generally, and the outstanding ability of my counselor to place technical people despite the fact he had 'never had a day of college' or any formal training in personnel work. He never asked whether I was employed or unemployed, nor did he pose one single question about my qualifications or background. He never troubled to ask my name or where he might get in touch with me if a job turned up."

FACT

Because the "applicant" cited remains anonymous, the Pennsylvania State agency has not been able to pursue an investigation of this allegation.

However, the "applicant's name and address" would have appeared on the route slip which referred him to the interviewer. It would, therefore, not have been necessary for the interviewer to solicit this information.

STATEMENT XVIII

"And BES' total staff rose from 46,000 to nearly 60,000 in the last 10 years, with more than half of the increased staff added since 1960."

FACT

The reference in the article to a BES staff of "nearly 60,000" is for the entire Employment Security System, which includes 54 State agency offices, 1,900 local offices, and includes the operation and administration of State unemployment insurance programs.

The number of positions allocated to States for employment service activities in fiscal 1963 was 20,250.

The only valid comparison which can be made in measuring the size of the Employment Service over a period of years is the positions involved in providing the service. This principle has been used by the Bureau of Employment Security in three comprehensive cost studies and reports made at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the House and accepted by that committee. The same basis is used here.

Actually, the Employment Service staff of 1963 was significantly smaller in relation to the size of the economy than it was to the economy of 1948.

STATEMENT XIX

"Except for special funds for Manpower Development and Training Act, Area Redevelopment Administration, and the war-on-poverty programs, BES funds come from the unemployment taxes paid entirely by employers. * * * And the bill is astronomical. In fiscal 1965 BES will gobble up more than $455 million over and above the estimated $3 billion the States will haul in for unemployment compensation payments."

FACT

This allegation confuses and distorts the net taxes paid under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act to the Federal Government, and the unemployment insurance taxes paid by employers under State laws.

The $455 million mentioned in the article actually represents the amount included in the President's budget for fiscal year 1965 for grants to States to cover the costs of administering all employment security programs, which include both the employment service and unemployment insurance functions.

Proceeds under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act for 1965 are estimated to be $503 million. By law, Federal Unemployment Tax Act revenues may be used for employment security purposes only. Congress makes separate appropriations out of these proceeds for administering Federal Government activities in employment and unemployment insurance.

The $3 billion mentioned in the article is the sum of all unemployment insurance taxes collected by the States under individual State unemployment insurance laws. These moneys can be used only to pay unemployment insurance benefits to workers in the respective States, and are not available to the Bureau of Employment Security for any use whatsoever.

STATEMENT XX

"USES officials in Washington claim that the employment service is really a decentralized Federal-State system. 'The heart of that system,' the agency contended in a fact sheet issued in 1963, 'is found in the 1,900 local offices operated and administered by the States.'

"This is a deliberate distortion. First of all, every dollar the States collect for their employment service operations is channeled through the Federal Government. Second, each State must have its employment service budget approved by the U.S. Labor Department and finally, to get this approval, the States must conform completely with the policies concocted by the Federal bureaucracy."

FACT

The public employment service is a Federal-State system with the accent on State authority. Over 90 percent of its employees are State employees, hired under State merit systems, in accordance with State job classifications, standards, and salaries, and working under State administrative controls.

The Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 provides that the Bureau of Employment Security * * * "shall also assist in coordinating the public employment offices throughout the country and in increasing their usefulness by developing and prescribing minimum standards of efficiency." Within these minimum standards, each affiliated State agency has the responsibility for effectively utilizing the Federal funds allocated, including the flexibility to use staff and resources to meet the varying labor needs throughout the State.

STATEMENT XXI

"Wielding a financial night stick, the Labor Department clubbed down a bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature that would have limited State employment offices to helping only the unemployed and underemployed.

"The bill had already sailed through the State senate when the Labor Department moved in. It informed Pennsylvania officials that the legislation raised 'serious conformity questions' that could jeopardize Federal funds."

FACT

The Department of Labor felt that this bill was not in conformity with the Wagner-Peyser Act and made strong recommendations against it. We understand that the Governor of Pennsylvania opposed it also.

STATEMENT XXII

"Willard P. Dudley, director of the Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, discovered last October that placement figures at the Cleveland employment office were padded. Because of pressure from Washington to increase placements, as many as half of all placements claimed by the office were fraudulent."

FACT

We do urge States to find jobs for unemployed workers but not for purposes of increasing placements statistically. The Bureau of Employment Security has had a specific program to assure accuracy of placements for many years. This program places the responsibility for accuracy of data upon the State agencies, which are responsible for the direct supervision and operation of local offices.

In connection with this program, a written recommendation was made to the Ohio agency to institute a validation program of local office activities reports. In April 1962, an evaluation report on internal operations in Cleveland local offices (made by BES staff) specified that a complete validation study of local office activity reports should be made.

During January 1963, an Ohio agency group did some internal inspection of placement records, but no evidence of incorrect reporting was found.

In July 1963, the Ohio agency made available to BES a report on a placement validation study made in three Cleveland offices. Invalid placement recording and reporting was found. BES advised the State agency to take such action as was necessary to assure that there would be no repetition of the fraudulent reporting. The State has taken corrective measures.

STATEMENT XXIII

"Dudley said USES officials deplored releasing the results of his investigation because the agency's appropriation was pending before the Congress."

FACT

On Tuesday, September 10, 1963, Mr. Dudley publicly retracted his statement that Federal officials asked him not to release the results of his investigation.

STATEMENT XXIV

"In Akron, Ohio, 140 placements claimed turned out to be jobs an Employment Serv-

ice supervisor assigned to his three sons, one of whom was simultaneously drawing unemployment compensation."

FACT

In the Akron situation cited, the interviewer involved was discharged and one of his sons was fined and given a suspended jail sentence.

STATEMENT XXV

"Furthermore, the employment offices work under a quota system imposed on them by the USES hierarchy, and the phony figures helped to fill the quota. Under the quota system—which USES officials deny exist but which the manager in Cleveland affirms—local offices are required to register, counsel, test and place a specified number of applicants each month."

FACT

There has never been such a thing as a "quota system" which local offices are required to meet. For some time there existed in the Federal-State employment security system a workload and unit time method for budgeting. Under that method, the estimated volume of transactions was multiplied by the unit time to obtain the number of man-hours required, and the result multiplied by a salary cost to obtain the total cost. However, beginning in 1961 the Employment Service began using a system of budgeting based on the relationship between the local office staff and the number of wage and salary workers in the area. This approach is now being further improved to include loans of service based on local labor needs.

STATEMENT XXVI

"To all criticism of USES, the bureaucrats have a stock answer: It is 'inspired' by fee charging employment agencies through their National Employment Association."

FACT

The Senate Appropriations Committee states that ample evidence exists to prove that the barrage of communications attacking the public employment system has been primarily generated by fee-charging employment agencies, individually, and collectively, through their organization—the National Employment Association.

STATEMENT XXVII

"This summer USES trotted out a platoon of academic 'experts' to pave the way for an even bigger expansionist push with hearings before a House Labor Subcommittee."

FACT

Only congressional committees have the authority to select the witnesses they wish to testify before them. In connection with the witnesses referred to in the above statement, Dr. Curtis Aller, former staff director of the committee mentioned, has made the following pertinent comments:

"I can assert as a fact that the decision to undertake the hearings and possibly to develop legislation was a totally independent decision in keeping with * * * the highest traditions of * * * separation of powers concept of our Government. The USES * * * as well as other interested parties were advised of this decision after the fact and their advice and suggestions solicited. The committee took some advice and ignored some. This included suggestions on possible witnesses and the so-called platoon of academic witnesses mentioned by Representative Bow is an example where he is patently wrong."

The witnesses appeared at the committee hearings at the request of the chairman of the subcommittee to express their own independent views as scholars with nationwide representations.

STATEMENT XXVIII

"In monotonous chorus many contended that the only thing wrong with USES is that it still does not have enough power and that employers should be made to register all job openings with the Government."

FACT

Many economic and labor experts have long pointed to the need for more accurate job vacancy information. In 1962, a committee established by President Kennedy to appraise employment and unemployment statistics recommended a program to increase job vacancy information, and experimentation in the collection of such data was later authorized by Congress. The Employment Service has initiated a program to conduct a number of surveys in fiscal 1965 to collect such information by occupation in each of 20 labor areas.

Employer cooperation in this program will be voluntary, as it is with all statistical programs except those governed by legislative action of the Congress. The purpose of collecting job vacancy information is to provide data which will serve as one of the Nation's economic indicators. These surveys will provide an effective instrument for the planning of manpower training and retraining programs. They will provide needed information for use in counseling jobseekers, and will serve as an economic indicator of labor demand. They will provide employers with a systematic method of assessing their own training needs.

STATEMENT XXIX

"No fewer than five times since 1954, BES has gone back to Congress for supplemental appropriations totaling $133,305,000."

FACT

Of the total $133.3 million supplemental appropriations cited in the article, only $1.8 million, appropriated in 1961 at the urging of President Kennedy, was for expansion of the Employment Service. The remainder was to cover the costs of increases in unemployment insurance claims workload, and for increases in salaries of State employees.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago I was stunned to learn that my friend and ranking minority member on the Public Works Committee was retiring from public life. His retirement is certainly a loss to the House of Representatives, to the people of the United States, and most especially to the Third Congressional District of New Jersey.

Even though I served with my friend, JIM AUCHINCLOSS, for only 2 years on the Public Works Committee, I quickly noted his sincerity and his fairness. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. AUCHINCLOSS] and I may not have agreed on all issues, but I certainly respected his decisions and I feel that he did mine. The outstanding contributions he has made to the Committee on Public Works and to the House will be greatly missed.

My friend and colleague, JIM AUCHINCLOSS, has earned the retirement because he has served well his people. I wish for him the very best in the years ahead.

Address Delivered by Representative Clarence D. Long at His Testimonial Dinner, September 14, 1964, Baltimore, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, a short time ago I was privileged to attend a testimonial dinner in behalf of the Honorable CLARENCE D. LONG, Member of Congress from Maryland's Second Congressional District, which comprises Carroll, Harford, and Baltimore Counties. The latter is my home county, and I preceded Congressman LONG as representative of that district. During those years, Mr. LONG was nationally prominent as a professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Since becoming a Member of Congress, he has compiled a distinguished record for timely and effective action on behalf of his constituents. I am confident that he will continue to serve them for many years to come.

Mr. President, Congressman LONG's remarks at his testimonial dinner will be of interest to many Marylanders—to many Americans—who are not his constituents. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REPRESENTATIVE CLARENCE D. LONG AT HIS TESTIMONIAL DINNER ON SEPTEMBER 14, 1964, BLUE CREST NORTH, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. McCormack, Mrs. Tydings, Senator Brewster, our next Democratic Senator Joseph Tydings, my lovely mother, honored guests, and fellow Democrats, the presence of so many of my friends, and their kind words, touch me deeply, even allowing that at testimonials the naked truth is customarily clothed with white mendacities.

My freshman year in Congress has been exhilarating. I have undertaken three new enterprises. First, a business desk to get Government contracts, technical information, and financial aid. Second, a job desk to help the unemployed locate work in Government and in private industry; indeed, my efforts in behalf of the unemployed have seemed so excessive to the private employment agencies that they have been moved to protest. Third, the practice of "riding the circuit" to a different post office each week—to meet the scores of people waiting to seek my help in locating jobs, winning contracts, getting stop lights, persuading post office trucks to make less noise at 4:30 in the morning, obtaining relief for a man who had a towel left in him years ago in an Army hospital, getting sons out of jail or husbands into jail. The accomplishment of which I am most proud was to get 17-year-old Radmila Lomsky from behind the Iron Curtain where she had been since she was a year-and-a-half old. You will recall, Mr. Speaker, your pleasure in greeting her on the occasion when I brought her to Washington to meet you and President Johnson.

This work has given me enormous satisfaction; it is the kind that enables a Congressman to know what his people want in

order better to represent them, the type that humanizes big Government growing ever more remote, as the great bureaus add new miles of corridors. I shall continue this endeavor for my district. For the remainder of this term and for the next I plan an intensified program of attracting defense contracts and building our science-industry complex; of setting up a job-finding clinic, to enable workers, especially older men and women, to learn how and where to look for jobs; of controlling pollution in our Chesapeake and fresh water streams, of attracting the new health center to the Baltimore area; of protecting our rural beauty and preserving open spaces against urban and suburban sprawl; of reducing the poverty which persists among the old, the sick, the poorly trained, and the uneducated; and finally of locating a new bay bridge in Baltimore County, thus opening up new industries, jobs, and recreation for the three-fifths of the people of Maryland who live in this area.

But the main thing for which a Congressman is elected is to vote wisely. I am proud that I have maintained one of the best attendance records in Congress—well over 90 percent—and did not miss a really important vote while attending nearly 1,000 meetings in my own district.

I am proud to have served on the Armed Services Committee under the magnificent chairmanship of CARL VINSON and to have played a part in building an armed force probably greater than that of all the nations that have ever existed—an armed force so overwhelming that it—along with a moderate policy of being firm but not threatening—has caused the Russians to step down the armament race.

I am proud, above all, to have served in the 88th Congress under the generalship of Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, one of the kindest, most foresighted men ever to preside over the House of Representatives, as well as under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, with their visions of a great society whose fruits grow and ripen and fall on the well-to-do and the humble alike—without respect to color, sex, age, or religious creed—a society in which the stairway of economic and social opportunity is commodious enough to accommodate all who aspire to climb it.

I have sought to be an effective member of the team; at the same time to preserve my right to differ from that leadership, whenever I have felt I could not follow. The people of the Second District have no wish to be represented by one who could say in the words of Gilbert and Sullivan, "I've always voted at my party's call, and I never thought of thinking for myself at all." Any Congressman worth his salary has a core of convictions which he cannot abandon, however great his loyalty to party.

My own convictions, acquired from some years studying and writing in economics and history, are:

First, that free enterprise, capitalism, if you will—is the best society ever developed. In its short 200 years it has provided the only pervasive prosperity the human race has ever known and the only widespread freedom it has ever enjoyed. I accept the role of Government in setting the Marquis of Queensberry rules of free enterprise—making sure it is not undermined by monopoly; increasing the supply and quality of human resources; providing minimum guaranties against want; maintaining overall stability against recession and stagnation; and defining and enlarging its goals. So much and no more. I do not accept the role of Government in superseding or destroying that system.

Second, essential to the free enterprise system are both right to profit and competitive prices. I deplore the ever-new interference with the price system and the stubborn refusal to abandon them when obsolete or unwarranted.

Third, self-help, not charity—should be our policy for helping the unfortunate. Helping people to help themselves is the cheapest help in the long run. It is the only kind that builds happiness and self-respect. It is the only kind that gets results. It is the only kind that yields gratitude.

Fourth, essential to free enterprise is faith in it. Just as parents must trust their children enough to let them go on alone without endless interferences and cluck-clucking, so we must trust that free enterprise will continue in the future, as in the past, to produce and sell limitless quantities of goods and services and to absorb as many workers as seek gainful work. I cannot believe we need substitute Government for private investment, limit hours of work, or establish control of prices and wages, in order to keep the Nation prosperous or fully employed.

Fifth, no principles are absolute. Property rights are as important to human rights as human rights are to property rights. He who takes my property takes my independence and therefore my humanity. He who takes my freedom deprives me of dignity and self-respect, and therefore the most valuable property I have.

Finally, if there are times when extremism is justified, surely we are not in them now. Prosperity has never been greater; unemployment in peacetime has seldom been lower; poverty is too large, but it is shrinking and is smaller than ever before or anywhere else among the nations of the world. The wealthy have been increasing in number and affluence by any standard—even after taxes. Scientific investigation opens new frontiers every hour. World tension with our major adversary is the lowest in a generation. Losses in Vietnam, certainly deplorable, have been smaller than in a few hours in the Korean war. The armament race seems under control, at least for the present. We are in the midst of a great—if highly unstable—equilibrium.

In view of these facts, it would be the crime to take on a pilot who promises to sail this ship of state recklessly. I urge you, therefore, to reelect President Johnson, a navigator with a warm heart and a cool head—a warm heart to ease the misery that plagues the world, a cool head to keep us afloat as extremists about to put into uncharted waters. I urge you to reject the pilot who has, instead, a cool heart and a hot head—a heart cool to the poor and old and sick and unemployed, a head hot enough to hurl us all into utter and possibly permanent destruction.

If you reject this foolish helmsman and take on the wise President Johnson and his tried mate, HUBERT HUMPHREY, by all means give him the help he needs from intelligent, honest, courageous, and independent men like Joseph Tydings and CARLTON SICKLES. Then you will have the men you need to take us on the high adventure to a greater society than the world has ever known.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the Congress' most dedicated, faithful, and conscientious Members will retire next January after 22 years of distinguished service. I speak of JIM AUCHINCLOSS of New Jersey.

I have served with JIM for 6 years on the Committee on Public Works where he demonstrated his outstanding ability to perceive the real issues before us. Although we understandably disagreed on occasions over the legislation before the committee and the Congress, his keen perception of legislative matters accounted for better pieces of legislation.

I have great admiration and respect for JIM. His presence in this Chamber will be missed in future years. His accomplishments have added much to the Congress.

I am sure all of his friends join with me in wishing him many years of happiness and good health.

The Wheeling and Dealing Administration

SPEECH
OF
HON. DURWARD G. HALL
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I submit that public office is still a public trust, even though some people in this country today would undoubtedly consider that to be an extreme concept. Our citizens, despite disillusionment and disappointment, still expect public officials to be able to distinguish between right and wrong. They also expect that their officials will make that distinction without hesitation when an ethical question confronts them.

Unfortunately, public officials are disillusioning and disappointing the citizens once more. The Johnson administration continually involves itself in schemes, manipulations, and circumstances which raise great doubt as to the ethical standards—if any—its members follow. The Bobby Baker case is a good example. The Billie Sol Estes case is another. The Post Office Department's recent order—costing the public an estimated $400,000 a year—to hang portraits of President Johnson and Postmaster General Gronouski in local post office lobbies in violation of all previous policy and precedent is yet a third.

There is no evidence that Fort Knox has been pilfered. However, the facts that are known have given this administration a reputation for "wheeling and dealing" in less than a year in office. The only difference I see between wheeling and dealing and outright corruption is one of degree. The wheeling-dealing official skirts the edge of corruption with slick tricks, but the corrupt official at least admits his dishonesty to himself. However, both are thieves, and the two techniques eventually injure the public in some way.

The wheeler and dealer's activities also injure the whole corps of public servants.

Once the reputation of the public leadership is established for getting away with slick practices, it spreads and blemishes even the honest official and employee, regardless of their grades and positions, because it creates suspicion as to

the general integrity of Government. The plain fact is that public office must be completely insulated against even the appearance of wrongdoing, corruption, and immorality, which wheeling and dealing generates.

I regret that I must report information which, if true, indicates the Johnson administration—and the Democrat Party—have been wheeling and dealing again. I serve notice that my information is not complete. However, even the facts in my possession support the existence of a situation whose circumstances are so equivocal as to generate the strongest suspicions about their propriety. Certainly, they warrant explanation.

According to my information, an important business is the servicing of aircraft at airports where aircraft owners do not maintain their own facilities. This business handles aircraft ranging from the smallest private planes to multiengined aircraft of scheduled airlines which may have been diverted from airports at which they ordinarily land.

Private companies, called fixed-base operators, service such aircraft. The service includes furnishing gas and oil and spare parts, making repairs, supplying passenger accommodations, storing aircraft including tieing them down, and so on. A charge is made for each service. The business is obviously not only important and necessary, but profitable, especially at larger airports with a heavy traffic.

Private companies furnish such services under contracts which the Federal Aviation Agency awards through competitive bidding at airports under its jurisdiction. These services are classified as "aeronautical services" as distinguished from such airport services as taxicab facilities, newsstands, and so on. Congress, in the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, clearly set forth the policy that aeronautical services at airports it covered were not to be monopolies, but that the public was to have the benefit of competition. This policy means, of course, that at least two private companies will be available to furnish aeronautical services of this type to the public.

The Federal Aviation Agency administers this congressional policy. It awards the contracts under which private companies furnish such aeronautical services for transient aircraft, and it is responsible for assuring that a private company will not secure a monopoly.

My information is that the Federal Aviation Agency has failed to meet this responsibility. The circumstances related to this failure make it even more reprehensible. Apparently, the Agency has consistently enforced the Congress policy against monopolization at all airports over which it has jurisdiction except two. These two are Dulles International Airport and Washington National Airport. These two airports exist mainly to serve the headquarters of the Federal Government at Washington. The Federal Government owns these two airports. They are the only commercial airports in that category—and the Federal Aviation Agency operates them, manages them lock, stock, and barrel. Only one private company furnishes aeronautical services for transient aircraft at these two airports under Federal Aviation Agency authority. Therefore, the Government is in the position not only of condoning but actually authorizing an illegal monopoly contrary to the expression of Congress, which it prohibits at other non-federally-owned airports under Federal Aviation Agency's jurisdiction.

This situation apparently began when FAA received bids to furnish aeronautical services to transient aircraft at Dulles International Airport. Page Airways, Inc. and Butler Aviation Co. bid on the contract. Federal Aviation Agency awarded the contract to Page Airways. No evidence shows that Page Airways was not entitled to receive the contract. However, the important point is that FAA still has not awarded a contract authorizing a second company to compete with Page Airways.

The same situation exists at Washington National Airport. Butler Aviation Co. held the basic contract for furnishing aeronautical services for transient aircraft for a number of years. As its contract terminated, both Butler Aviation and Page Airways bid on the new contract. Again, Federal Aviation Agency awarded the contract to Page. Then it refused Butler's proposal that it continue furnishing the same services in competition with Page Airways. Until this time, FAA has not awarded a contract authorizing any other company to compete with Page Airways at National Airport.

Federal Aviation Agency's failure to authorize a second company—Butler or any other—to compete against Page Airways at these two airports has handed Page Airways a monopoly on furnishing aeronautical services for transient aircraft. This condition violates the congressional policy stated in the Federal Aviation Act of 1958. It obviously puts the U.S. Government in the position of violating the law which it will not permit other nonfederally owned airports owners and operators to violate.

This is obviously an untenable position for the Government to occupy. The question is why it has been permitted to exist.

One answer is that the administration is giving preferential treatment to Page Airways, Inc. Federal Aviation Agency will obviously deny that favoritism is involved and furnish a multitude of technical reasons to support its denial. However, if the administration does try to demonstrate that Federal Aviation Agency handling of these two cases—apparently the only two in existence—is justified, then it should also explain another situation at the same time.

On July 28, August 4, August 8, and August 11, 1964, Page Airways, Inc., operated flights in their DC–3 aircraft from Washington National Airport to Atlantic City carrying members of the Democrat National Committee. The Democrat National Convention was going on at that time.

Did Page Airways feel obligated to perform this service as payment for its monopoly at Dulles and National Airports? Or did the administration—in its inimitable wheeler-dealer way—pressure Page Airways to furnish such air transportation as a token of its appreciation for its monopoly at the two U.S. Government-owned airports? Certainly, the relationship between Page's obviously favorable—and illegal—monopoly position and its performance of this kind of ferrying service for the Democrat Party is curious.

However, there are other angles which make the whole situation's implications more suspect, if my facts are accurately reported, as I believe they are.

Page Airways, Inc., used DC–3 aircraft to ferry Democrat National Committee members to Atlantic City for the Democrat National Convention. At that time Page Airways had an application pending for authority "for operation of DC–3 aircraft for compensation for hire."

Ordinarily, such an application is summarily dismissed if the applicant operates the service for which he is seeking authority while his application is pending. However, Federal Aviation Agency states that in this instance a "company executive assured this Agency in writing that no remuneration—was—received."

This assurance adds a provocative note under the circumstances. The cost of operating heavy aircraft—or, for that matter, any aircraft—is not a matter of pennies, but is expensive. Why did Page Airways absorb the cost of this operation, if it did, when it had an application pending and under consideration? Why did the administration permit its party workers to accept this gratuity when it knew or should have known that Page Airways had an application for operating authority pending? Was Page Airways trying to influence consideration of its application by doing a favor for the administration before which its application was pending? Or did the administration pressure it into furnishing this expensive service under threat that favorable consideration would not be given to its application if it did not comply?

The plain and undeniable fact is that unusual and equivocal circumstances in this situation generate the suspicion that it is not being handled with integrity. All of the circumstances are typical of the "wheeler-dealer, you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" reputation for which this administration is winning a certain notoriety.

The administration has complete control of the records relating to this incident. It can explain the circumstances if it wants to. It will be interesting to read its justifications—if it furnishes any.

In the meantime, I recommend that the appropriate committee of this House should look into this matter when the Congress reconvenes, regardless of what, if anything, the administration says about it. I propose to continue my inquiry into it in the interim.

The New New Haven

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, last June construction began on a $15 million urban redevelopment plan designed to revitalize a blighted area which was once the heart of New Haven, Conn. On completion the project will have in New Haven Mayor Richard C. Lee's words:

Created in our downtown an elegance, an excitement and a glamour which, in all truth, it has never had before * * * and New Haven will have one of the most modern and exciting skylines in America.

The revitalization of the downtown core of New Haven is a significant example of the redevelopment programs being planned and taking place in central business districts throughout the United States. These projects are contributing importantly to the growth and prosperity of our country. With their overall objective of rejuvenating the unhealthy, decaying portions of the city, they are restoring these areas to their purpose as the heart of the urban central core. This restoration effort is vital to our economy both at the local and national levels.

The New Haven project, facing Yale University and historic New Haven Green, will include an office building, hotel, retail stores, shopping mall and underground garage.

The focal point of the entire complex is the T-shaped, two-level enclosed mall, which will be air-conditioned in the summer and heated in winter. Located in the center of the complex, it will have balcony-like esplanades, escalators, and a 50-foot-high central plaza. Both levels will be landscaped with seasonal garden settings, fountains, and sculpture. Colorful kiosks, designed as selling booths, will complete the decor.

Because the mall will be enclosed and kept at an even temperature year-round, the shops opening on it will not have conventional store fronts. Shoppers will be able to wander freely through the stores and mall without the inconvenience of pushing open doors or being bothered by store window reflections. In addition to stores, the complex will contain a theater, restaurants, and other facilities.

The second level of the mall will be connected by enclosed bridges to the new R. H. Macy Store across the street from the project and to a 1,500-car municipal garage. Also, close by the development is the Edward Malley Department Store.

The project was designed by New York architect Lathrop Douglass, a resident of Greenwich, Conn., and a graduate of Yale University. Mr. Douglass' credentials are impressive. A fellow of the American Institute of Architects, he has planned some 50 major shopping centers and worked on other major redevelopment projects including ones in Jersey City, N.J., and Bridgeport, Conn. He has been helping to introduce American shopping center design abroad. He is currently designing the Bochum Center, near Dusseldorf, Germany, which will be one of the largest in Europe on its completion. An author and lecturer on planning economics, he has written on the growth of shopping center complexes in Europe.

To the critics of urban renewal, I suggest a visit to New Haven for visual proof of what has been termed "an almost classic example of successful urban development."

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point an article from the September 1964 issue of Automotive Information.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW NEW HAVEN

One of America's oldest cities has finally come to terms with the automobile age and the happy result is an almost classic example of successful urban redevelopment.

Ten years ago, New Haven, Conn., was in the throes of what might be termed a municipal depression, plagued by slums, traffic clogged streets, loss of business and industry, and a near crisis in educational facilities. Since then, however, New Haven has rebuilt its historic core so that today it is the site of probably the most active new industrial and retail growth in all New England.

Major Richard C. Lee, who is credited as being the catalyst for New Haven's dynamic rebirth, calls it "one of the greatest stories of community achievement that can be told in America today."

Redevelopment projects have already resulted in $170 million in new public and private construction. Leading the way was a six-lane expressway from the intersection of the Connecticut Turnpike and the new Interstate 91 directly into the heart of the city. The $15 million connector, a result of continuing cooperation between the city's urban renewal authorities and the State highway department, assured the success of the multimillion dollar Oak Street project. This project, the city's first major attempt at urban renewal, started in 1956 with demolition of a large slub-infested area downtown. Today more than $43 million in new construction—primarily commercial buildings and residential apartments—has been completed.

The Oak Street connector also provided the main selling point for the city's second and most ambitious urban renewal project, Church Street. This project called for the clearance of four key blocks in the center of downtown to create space for more than $42 million in new construction. The city's major department store has already completed a new $6 million building and the 1,500-car Temple Street parking garage, costing $5.2 million, is in operation adjacent to the store.

A major New York department store is about to open a new $5 million branch in the Church Street project, and construction has started on a $15 million complex containing a 308-room hotel, office tower, specialty shops, an enclosed air-conditioned mall, and a 300-car underground garage.

More than $105 million of the $170 million in renewal construction completed or underway represents private investment and is located in about 1,000 acres.

Although old—it was a Puritan settlement, in fact, in 1638—New Haven is not an especially large city, recording a 1960 population of approximately 312,000 in the entire metropolitan area.

"The entire Church Street plan," states L. T. Appleby, development administrator for New Haven, "was conceived in terms of automobile traffic; streets were widened, traffic patterns improved, and the Temple Street garage, renowned for its architectural excellence, was built.

"From the very start, we knew how expressways could serve New Haven best," declares Appleby, "and we have worked closely with State highway officials to assure that these roads will serve the central city and not detract from it.

"As a result, the city has been transformed from an almost hopeless web of inadequate approaches to a system which permits entry directly into the major retail area in the Church and Oak Street projects."

By 1975, New Haven officials predict, the new highway network will bring close to 115,000 cars a day into downtown. In the downtown area are approximately 10,000 carefully planned parking spaces within a 2-block radius of the new retail center and all new major buildings are required to furnish adequate parking.

Another innovation in the Church Street development aimed at facilitating traffic movement is a four-block-long commercial vehicle loading tunnel. The tunnel, to be completed in 1965, extends from the Oak Street connector under the new retail district and will serve the department stores as well as the new front block development.

The story of the new New Haven, now in its second decade, is still being written and the end is not yet in sight. But it does illustrate what an older, economically troubled city can do to meet successfully the demands of the automobile age, providing there is vigorous civic leadership, cooperative public agencies, and the support of private citizenry.

The 20th Year of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, October 1964, marks the beginning of the 20th year of the United Nations.

In 1945 I had the privilege of working as a special assistant at the San Francisco United Nations Conference. Since that time I have followed closely the progress of the United Nations; I have watched it develop into a respected and influential organization helping to bring peace and well-being to the peoples of our world.

During the past two decades, this body has taken significant steps forward in preventing international conflicts and disputes from igniting another global war. It is not yet a perfect instrument, but it is the best we have.

The public forum the United Nations provides is one of its most useful functions; for the U.N. is where the nations of the world must stand up and be counted. This forum for free expression is of profound value to all nations, including those newly emerging and sharing in the responsibilities for international peace and the bettering of human welfare.

As we look ahead, let us fervently hope that the United Nations will continue its accomplishments in bringing us closer to understandings and to the concepts

and principles of lasting peace, and that it will be appropriately strengthened in these meaningful endeavors.

Indictment of the Democratic Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, never in the history of this country has there been a more blatant disregard of the U.S. Constitution, of personal liberties and private property rights, of election laws and restrictions on campaign solicitations from National and State employees and contractors with the Federal Government or, for that matter, of virtually any rule in the book whenever it has been considered to advance the political interests of the present administration. An excellent editorial summing up these tragic facts in a sweeping indictment of the Democratic Party was printed recently in Foster's Daily Democrat.

By unanimous consent, I am inserting this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point, and recommend its reading to all concerned Americans:

INDICTMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

For a long, long time U.S. Senator STROM THURMOND, of South Carolina, was a stalwart Democrat. During recent years, however, he has become more and more alarmed at the course his party was taking, and openly opposed its actions. Last month he took the final step, left the Democratic Party, and declared himself a Republican.

In his speech announcing his radical action, Senator THURMOND seriously indicted the Democratic Party for its drastic shift to what he feels is an un-American policy. His indictment of that party makes interesting reading: his charges are as follows:

The Democratic Party has abandoned the people. It has turned its back on the spiritual values and political principles which have brought us the blessings of freedom under God and a bountiful prosperity. It has breached the trust reposed in it by the people. It has repudiated the Constitution of the United States. It is leading the evolution of our Nation to a socialistic dictatorship.

The Democratic Party has forsaken the people to become the party of minority groups, power-hungry union leaders, political bosses, and big businessmen looking for Government contracts and favors.

The Democratic Party has used the Government as a propaganda machine to distort the truth and deceive the public to the extent that a sub-Cabinet official can publicly defend the administration's "right to lie" and remain in office, unrebuked.

The Democratic Party has invaded the private lives of people by using the powers of Government for coercion and intimidation of individuals.

The Democratic Party has rammed through Congress unconstitutional impractical, unworkable, and oppressive legislation which invades inalienable personal and property rights of the individual.

The Democratic Party has encouraged lawlessness, civil unrest, and mob actions.

The Democratic Party has violated its trust by using the power of Government to suppress information on scandals and corruption of its leaders in Government and party offices.

The Democratic Party has succored and assisted our Communist enemies through trade and aid at the expense of the American people.

The Democratic Party has established and pursued for our Government a no-win foreign policy of weakness, indecision, accommodation, and appeasement.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of Government, faltered at the Bay of Pigs and in the Cuban crisis of 1962—at the very moment when victory was at hand—and thereby forfeited Cuba to Soviet domination, subjected our Nation to the peril of an armed enemy camp 90 miles from our shores, and opened the doors of the hemisphere to Communist subversion.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of Government, has sent our youth into combat in Vietnam, refusing to call it war and demanding of their lives without providing either adequate equipment or a goal of victory.

The Democratic Party now worships at the throne of power and materialism.

The Democratic Party has demonstrated a callous disregard for sound fiscal policies and practices.

The Democratic Party, while hiding behind the deceitful gimmick of a darkened White House, has increased deficit spending and squandered, at home and abroad, billions of hard-earned dollars taken from the American people.

The Democratic Party has utterly disregarded the disastrous effects of the resulting inflation on people with fixed incomes, such as retirees, pensioners, social security beneficiaries, and those who have their savings invested in insurance.

The Democratic Party, as custodian of Government, has adopted the practice of taking your money by taxation and then using that money to attempt to buy your votes.

The Democratic Party is attempting with alarming success to change the Congress from an independent body representing the people to an amen chorus for Presidential proposals.

The Democratic Party has endangered the security of the Nation by negative decisions on military preparedness, preoccupation with bilateral and unilateral steps toward disarmament, and by use of the military services domestically as instruments of social reform.

The Democratic Party has attempted to degrade and downgrade our men in uniform in order to discredit their warnings of the grave dangers to our security from the administration's weak and senseless defense policies.

The Democratic Party has nominated for Vice President a key leader of the Americans for Democratic Action, the most influential Socialist group in our Nation.

The Democratic Party has encouraged, supported, and protected the Supreme Court in a reign of judicial tyranny, and in the Court's effort to wipe out local self-government, effective law enforcement, internal security, the rights of the people and the States, and even the structure of the State governments.

The Democratic Party is converting our constitutional federated Republic into the same type of disciplined and submissive servant of an elite power group as it has made of the Democratic Party itself, as all who watched the Democratic Convention on television can bear witness.

The top leaders of the South Carolina Democratic Party have chosen to abandon the traditional independence of the State party, and to lead the people of South Carolina down the road to serfdom mapped by the National Democratic Party. The party of our fathers is dead. Those who took its names are engaged in another reconstruction, this time not only of the South, but of the entire Nation.

If the American people permit the Democratic Party to return to power, freedom as we have known it in this country is doomed, and individuals will be destined to lives of regulation, control, coercion, intimidation, and subservience to a power elite who shall rule from Washington.

Hon. Carl Vinson

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I have served in Congress a long time. During my tenure of office, I know of no one who has had a greater influence on the work and the accomplishments of Congress than the Honorable CARL VINSON, of Georgia. I know of no one who has played a more important part in shaping the defense of America and who has contributed more to the fact that we now have an unbeatable defense. I know of no one who has had a greater influence on my own congressional career. He has been my friend, my counselor, and at times my critic. I feel that my own public service and my life are immeasurably richer because of his interest and constant helpfulness. This is true of a great many Members of the Congress. Everyone who has lived close to CARL VINSON has benefited from his sound counsel, his colorful personality, his warm friendship, and his great knowledge.

Of all the men I have known, I believe that more than any other the Honorable CARL VINSON, the dean of the House of Representatives, epitomizes "greatness." His matchless record as a legislator, his innumerable contributions to the welfare and prosperity of our country, his devotion to the interests of the people of his own district as well as the Nation, and his tireless efforts in behalf of the defense of this country are without equal.

The retirement of CARL VINSON will leave a void that will not be filled in our time. His long years of public service have been marked by an unswerving devotion to duty and to his country, regardless of the personal sacrifice involved. To CARL VINSON his country comes first. His warm personality and understanding of human nature have endeared him to those of us who have for many years been privileged to call him our friend. He will be sorely missed. It is with a feeling of real sadness that I say goodby to a real patriot and to a person whose friendship I consider priceless.

The Major Issues Facing Pennsylvanians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me on the major issues facing Pennsylvanians.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As this Congress draws to a close I want to discuss briefly what I regard as the major issues confronting the people of Pennsylvania and the Nation in this year of decision. In my judgment, they are three: freedom, jobs, and peace.

Issues involve people. And of paramount importance to individual citizens are the protection of their liberties, the retention of their jobs, and the maintenance of world peace. These issues are closely interrelated; indeed, they are interdependent. Only in a climate of peace can freedom and jobs flourish. One must have the economic security provided by a job in order fully to enjoy the blessings of liberty. Security without freedom is tantamount to imprisonment.

As Pennsylvania's junior Senator, I have helped the working men and women of our Commonwealth to build a prosperous Pennsylvania through more jobs. My record reflects my continuing efforts.

In the area of union security, I steadfastly oppose all so-called right-to-work laws and favor repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which would permit States to outlaw the union shop.

As a stanch advocate of the buy-American principle in Government procurement, I almost single-handedly prevailed upon the late President Kennedy in 1962 to change a long-standing Government policy and reverse a contract that the Government had planned to make with a foreign steel producer. My action resulted in a major shift in Government buying which has increased by $30 million per year Government purchases of American-made steel, hydraulic turbines, construction equipment, medical and dental supplies—all of which come in large part from Pennsylvania.

I have sponsored and shall continue to fight for the steel shipping container bill and measures to tighten our antidumping laws so as to keep foreign countries from dumping their surplus goods in the United States, thereby depriving Americans of jobs.

As one of the sponsors of the Mass Transit Act of 1964, I am pleased with this new program of Federal assistance to our cities to develop needed mass transportation facilities. It will provide Pennsylvania with 28,000 man-years of employment and about 1,000 permanent new jobs in the construction, electrical equipment, and transportation industries.

As a strong supporter of the Area Redevelopment Act, I intend to push for my amendment to that act to obtain more funds for Pennsylvania communities.

I enthusiastically voted for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the 1963 amendments broadening its scope and coverage. This legislation is an indispensable weapon in the continuing fight to get our unemployed citizens back to work.

Finally, in the important area of jobs, I have voted to increase the minimum wage, and to bring more and more workers under the coverage of the overtime and other provisions of the Federal wage and hour law.

All of these measures, while important and necessary, will not by themselves lead to full employment. I shall continue to sponsor and support whatever legislation is necessary to attain this objective.

There is more to life than a job. One cannot enjoy life without the freedom that comes from the individual liberties with which we have been blessed under our Constitution and system of government. We cannot take these freedoms for granted, for they are always vulnerable and in jeopardy from within as well as without.

As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I devote my continuing attention to the fair and impartial administration of justice. Individual freedom depends upon the integrity of our courts and law enforcement agencies.

In this connection, I am proud to be a sponsor of two important bills. The first, S. 1801, would provide individual defendants with additional guarantees of a speedy trial. The second, S. 1802, is intended in criminal cases to guard against trial by the news media instead of juries in the courtrooms where such cases rightly belong. The sensational events attendant to the tragic assassination of President Kennedy are but one example of the excesses which S. 1802 are designed to curb.

Jobs and freedom are meaningless abstractions in a world of turmoil and violent conflict. I therefore have consistently supported policies designed to achieve and maintain peace based on a strong national defense. I have worked with and supported four Presidents of the United States for this principle: Harry Truman on Korea, Dwight Eisenhower when he ordered the Marines to Lebanon, John Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, and Lyndon Johnson in the Tonkin Bay incident barely 2 months ago.

Every one of these Presidents—Democrats and Republicans alike—has publicly commended me. But I have not hesitated to differ with them when I felt that our national interest was not being served.

Mr. President, on these three vital issues as on all others, I am proud and pleased that I am a difficult Senator to label. There is no national pressure group that gives me an "A" or 100-percent rating.

During my 22 years in Congress, I have fought for more jobs, in defense of our cherished freedoms, and to preserve the peace. I shall continue to wage this battle as long as I am privileged to be a Member of the Senate of the United States.

Tribute to the Honorable James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join in paying tribute to my good friend and colleague, JIM AUCHINCLOSS, who is retiring after 22 years of continuous service in the House of Representatives. It has been my privilege to work with JIM AUCHINCLOSS on the House Committee on Public Works, of which he is ranking minority member, and I have never known a more devoted or conscientious public servant. I consider myself especially fortunate to have served on this committee under his leadership through my 4 years in the House.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS has served his district, his State, and our Nation with great distinction. He has always displayed great courage and unquestioned integrity and his colleagues have never been doubtful as to where he stood on an issue when it was presented for consideration. I am sorry that he finds it necessary to retire, thus ending an illustrious career as an outstanding legislator. Without any doubt whatsoever, he will be sorely missed.

It is my sincere wish for JIM that he will have many, many years of good health, good fortune and a happy retirement, all of which are so richly deserved.

Report of Activities of Committee on the District of Columbia, 88th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a report of the activities of the Committee on the District of Columbia during the 88th Congress.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, as chairman of your Committee on the District of Columbia, I am honored to present to the Senate a report of the activities of the committee during the 88th Congress.

In the conduct of its legislative responsibilities, the Senate District Committee in some respects is not unlike a State legislature and city council combined, by virtue of the great variety of problems and proposals that come before it.

Mr. President, I am aware that few Members of this distinguished body aspire to serve on the District of Columbia Committee; however, I sincerely believe that my colleagues on the committee are most deserving of the gratitude of the Congress, the people of the District of Columbia, and the people of the entire country generally for the long hours that they spend in conferences, hearings and executive sessions in order to attend to the business of the Nation's Capital City. Likewise, I should like to take this opportunity to express my deep personal appreciation to the various members of this committee who gave unselfishly of their time during this session of Congress with respect to legislative problems affecting the District of Columbia. I want to express my wholehearted appreciation to the very effective and hard working senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who has been a member of the committee, a keen student of District affairs for many years, and who is chairman of the Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety Subcommittee; to the distinguished junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], whose energies and skills and experience in municipal government have been invaluable to our committee as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee, and to my warm friend and the capable junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], who has handled a great deal of the commit-

tee's work as chairman of the Business and Commerce Subcommittee. To the other committee members, the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], whose long service, both in the Senate and the House, made his contributions most valuable to the committee; the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. DOMINICK], whose experience in the House of Representatives and in the legislature of his home State has done much to assist the committee with its many problems, I wish to express my sincere thanks for the hours they gave to our committee.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the cooperation I received personally as committee chairman from the Honorable JOHN MCMILLAN, chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, and the individual members of his committee. I also wish to commend the cooperation and assistance that the staff members of the House District Committee have extended to the staff members of my committee during this Congres.

During the 88th Congress, the upsurge of crime in the District of Columbia was the foremost problem considered by the committee and no single subject has received greater attention by the committee in more than 10 years.

As part of the committee's overall study of the crime problem, the committee gave careful and thorough consideration to the House-passed bill, H.R. 7525, which proposed changes in existing law in five separate titles and which included modifications in the complex and controversial Mallory and Durham rules.

In order to formulate an in-depth understanding of the crime problem, the committee held more than 12 days of hearings. During the hearings, the committee heard from more than 50 witnesses, including outstanding legal scholars, some prominent law scholars, practicing defense attorneys, nationally recognized psychiatrists, Federal prosecutors, local law-enforcement officers, and police chiefs from the Nation's major cities, penologists, and representatives from radio, television, and motion picture industries. Also, many Washington residents and community leaders appeared at the hearings and gave testimony.

After careful study and consideration of the testimony adduced at the hearings, the committee amended H.R. 7525 in several ways and reported the bill to the Senate.

Title I of the Senate-amended bill dealt with the modification of the Mallory rule. Under its provisions, standards and safeguards were written in for in-custody interrogation of persons arrested on probable cause. In addition to providing these safeguards for an accused during a period of detention, the Senate version also spelled out the maximum period of time that law enforcement officers would be able to detain an accused for interrogation.

In addition to making this change in existing law, the Senate amendments to H.R. 7525 also included the following:

Title II amended existing law so as to require an accussed in a criminal case to give notice of an insanity defense.

Title III expanded existing law so as to provide more extensive procedures for the detention of material witnesses to criminal offenses.

Title V made certain changes in the maximum and minimum sentences for crimes of violence and other criminal offenses in the District of Columbia. Also, this title amended the law relating to indecent publications.

It is the feeling of the committee that this omnibus crime bill, which is a major undertaking to strengthen the Criminal Justice Code in the Nation's Capital City, will provide law enforcement agencies, the courts, and the citizenzy as a whole with more effective tools to deal with crime.

In addition to the consideration given the crime problem during the 88th Congress, the committee dealt with a variety of other legislative matters. There were favorably reported to the Senate from the committee a total of 53 bills, of which 23 were Senate bills and 30 House bills. Of the 53 bills favorably reported, 40 were enacted into public law. The committee also acted on 10 nominations and several resolutions during this Congress.

Again, as in other sessions of the Congress, the fiscal problems of the District of Columbia were important matters for consideration.

H.R. 12196 was enacted into law by the Congress and its provisions increased salaries of teachers, policemen, and firemen in the District. The bill provided a 7½-percent increase in the salaries of teachers and school officers, and generally a 8.9-percent increase for officers and members of the police and fire departments of the District of Columbia. Under these salary increases, the starting salary for teachers with a bachelor degree is $5,350 per annum; and for policemen and firemen, the starting salary is $6,010 per annum. The overall effect of these salary increases is important as they will help the District of Columbia maintain a competitive position with adjacent county jurisdictions in the recruitment of competent personnel for the District schools and police and fire departments.

Also, during this session, the Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee was busy formulating legislation that would tend to make the annual and sick leave benefits of various departments more effective and equitable for the employees under their jurisdiction.

In accordance therewith, the following leave bills were reported by the committee and enacted by both the Senate and the House:

1. H.R. 10215 extends to officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force, the Fire Department, White House Police force, and the U.S. Park Police, the sick leave benefits accorded to civilian employees of the Federal Government under the provisions of the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951.

2. H.R. 5337 amends existing law with respect to partial pay of the educational employees of the public schools of the District of Columbia who are on leave of absence for educational improvement purposes. The enactment of this legislation should have the desirable effect of increasing the number of teachers engaging in baccalaureate study as the legislation increases a teacher's salary while on education improvement leave from $1,380 to $3,190 per annum.

3. H.R. 9995 amends existing law to provide that any member of the Secret Service Division appointed from the White House Police force shall receive credit toward retirement under the Police and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act for periods of prior police service with the Metropolitan Police force, the U.S. Park Police force or the White House Police force.

In connection with other fiscal matters reported by the committee, the Senate joined with the House in enacting the following bills that provide for the exemption from District taxes of certain organizational properties:

H.R. 9975 exempts from District of Columbia taxation the real property connected with the Woodrow Wilson House located at 2340 S Street NW., in the District of Columbia. The tax relief provided by this bill will further the congressional policy of providing for the preservation of historic American sites and buildings of national historical significance. The relief extended under the terms of this bill is of particular significance to the District of Columbia as no other memorial to the distinguished World War I President exists in the Nation's Capital at the present time.

Under the provisions of H.R. 8451 the Congress extended an exemption from the District of Columbia sales tax of property used by the Washington Terminal Co. in the repairing of railroad rolling stock operating in interstate commerce.

S. 2944. provided the Greater Southeast Hospital Foundation with an exemption from payment of District of Columbia real estate taxes on land acquired for the construction of a community hospital. The tax exemption would apply during the period commencing with the acquisition of the land to be used as the site for the construction of a hospital and ending on the date such construction actually commenced.

H.R. 11652 provides for the tax exemption of certain property of the United Supreme Council, 33d degree, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry. The exemption granted under the bill was based on the property being used exclusively for charitable purposes.

In the area of judicial legislation, the committee also made some important headway during this session.

H.R. 5871 was enacted by the Congress and establishes a more realistic and equitable retirement law for the judges of the District of Columbia court of general sessions, the District of Columbia court of appeals, and the juvenile court of the District of Columbia. The bill made three important changes in retirement benefits for the judges of these courts. They are: First, retirement after 10 years of service on the bench, at 62 years of age; or, a reduced annuity at retirement at age 55; second, disability retirement for a judge after 5 years or more of service; and, third, survivor benefits similar to those now provided for other Federal judges under the current Retirement Act.

In making these improvements in the retirement program, the judges of the various courts are required to deposit 6½ percent of their annual salary into the retirement and survivorship funds which contribution is substantially the same as the retirement contribution made by civil service employees to their retirement fund.

The Judiciary Subcommittee also acted upon a "blue sky" law for the District of Columbia. Both the Senate and the House passed H.R. 9419 which provides for the licensing and effective regulation of securities and registration of broker-dealers in the District of Columbia. The bill is based upon the Uniform Securities Act, a model law proposed for State legislation by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. H.R. 9419, as amended, contains: First, a fraud section; second, a part providing for registration of broker-dealers, agents; and, third, a part providing for procedures, subpenas, penalties, liabilities, judicial review, and administration.

It was the view of the committee that this securities licensing bill will provide greater protection to the citizens of the District who invest in stocks and other securities.

This session of the Congress also was a busy one for the Business and Commerce Subcommittee of the Senate District Committee. The subcommittee during the first session held hearings on S. 646, a bill to regulate the location of chanceries in the District of Columbia. After careful study of the chancery problem by the subcommittee, S. 646 was reported to the Senate where it passed. The House later passed S. 646 in amended form. Subsequently, the House and Senate conferees met and agreed to a bill that permits chanceries to be built or occupied in medium and high density apartment zones of the District of Columbia. S. 646, as it was agreed to in conference, is important to our relations with foreign nations as it permits the Department of State, in its negotiations with foreign governments seeking chancery sites in the District of Columbia, to be able to explain with precision

whether or not a proposed site is appropriate for the establishment of a chancery.

The Business and Commerce Subcommittee acted upon a number of insurance bills which should help to simplify, as well as to increase the effectiveness of life insurance regulation in the District of Columbia.

H.R. 8355 was enacted by the Congress. Under this bill, the capital stock requirements of life-insurance companies in the District of Columbia are increased from $100,000 to $200,000. Also, the bill permits changes in the corporation charter with the consent of stockholders representing two-thirds of the controlling stock, as well as authorizing the retention by insurance companies of unissued stock for certain limited insurance purposes.

H.R. 6128, another insurance bill, was also enacted into law. Under its provisions a life-insurance company in the District of Columbia is permitted to maintain the required record of stockholders at either the company's principal place of business or at the office of its stock transfer agents in the District of Columbia.

In addition to its consideration of the aforementioned bills, the Business and Commerce Subcommittee also acted favorably upon the following bills, which were enacted into law:

H.R. 6413, to amend the act approved March 3, 1921, as amended, establishing standard weights and measures for the District of Columbia. The effect of this bill will be to bring the District's packaging law into conformity with modern packing techniques and improvements.

H.R. 8313, to repeal the District of Columbia Credit Union Act, to convert credit unions incorporated under the provisions of the act to the Federal credit unions. The enactment of this bill will place all District of Columbia credit unions under the sole jurisdiction of the Federal Credit Unions Act and thereby remove the duplicity of regulations that now exists in the District with regard to their operation.

Also, the Business and Commerce Subcommittee, during the course of this Congress, gave extensive study and consideration to S. 1184, a bill to amend and consolidate the laws providing for the regulation of certain insurance rates in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

In the area of public health and welfare, the Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety Subcommittee made progress with several bills that were favorably reported by the subcommittee during this session of the Congress. Upon being reported by the committee, the Senate passed the following two bills:

S. 860, to amend the District of Columbia minimum wage law. The enactment of this bill would have the effect of correcting a deficiency in existing law by bringing male employees under the District of Columbia minimum wage law. The bill would also extend minimum wage protection to a large number of workers in industry and occupations located in the District of Columbia, and not covered by existing wage orders. In the overall, the bill should provide improved minimum wage and overtime protection for workers entitled to its benefits.

S. 763 relating to the Kerr-Mills medical assistance program. Under its provisions, the District of Columbia will be authorized to come within the Kerr-Mills medical assistance program as provided by the Social Security Amendments of 1960.

In addition to the aforementioned bills, the subcommittee also gave consideration to the following bills which were enacted into law:

H.R. 7441, a bill to authorize the Commissioners of the District to remove dangerous and unsafe buildings and for other purposes. The enactment of this bill makes three important changes in existing law as follows:

First. Provides for a uniform assessment of costs incurred by the District government in connection with work done in making repairs to unsafe structures.

Second. Includes dead, dangerous, or diseased trees among the nuisances which the Commissioners may abate under the act.

Third. Provides new sections to the act relating to notice to owners and evacuations of unsafe buildings.

H.R. 5044 provided that all parties to mutual aid firefighting agreements, which includes the District of Columbia and adjacent counties of Virginia and Maryland, would be required to indemnify each other from all claims arising from the operation of firefighters outside their jurisdictions.

H.R. 6350 provides that the District of Columbia Board of Dental Examiners is authorized to waive any theoretical examination of an applicant for a license as a dental hygienist if the applicant holds a certificate from the national board of dental examiners.

H.R. 6353 amends the District of Columbia Unemployment Act so as to provide the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Board with authority to provide the District of Columbia department of public welfare and the U.S. General Accounting Office with certain information concerning an individual's status with regard to unemployment compensation.

H.R. 2485 amends the act regulating the prevention and control of communicable diseases. Under its provisions, the department of Public Health shall be authorized to treat minors for venereal diseases upon their own consent when they present themselves voluntarily to the department's health clinic.

In recommending this legislation for congressional enactment, the committee was of the view that the procedures providing for a minor to receive prompt medical care should in some measure be instrumental in reducing the high rate of venereal disease in the District of Columbia.

Tribute to Hon. Elizabeth Kee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, when the 89th Congress convenes in January 1965, those of us who are fortunate enough to be returned by our constituents will find a true and loyal friend missing from among our ranks. The Honorable ELIZABETH KEE has elected to return to private life and we, her friends and colleagues, wish her well.

She has served the people of West Virginia and the Nation for 13 years as a Member of Congress, and for many more years as the able assistant to her husband, the late Congressman John Kee. She has worked unceasingly for our Nation's veterans and the physically handicapped.

Though I will miss her warmth, her advice, and her companionship, I extend to her my very best wishes that she will enjoy the voluntary retirement which she so well deserves.

The Race for Inner Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the text of my recent remarks on conservation "The Race for Inner Space," and the text of my letter of October to Secretary of the Interior Udall be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"THE RACE FOR INNER SPACE"—REMARKS BY MR. KEATING, OCTOBER 1964

Our Nation has spent a great deal of time and money in our race to conquer outer space.

But there is another area of national effort which in the end may be more important to each individual—particularly to city dwellers—than our drive to reach the moon.

I refer to the campaign to preserve America's "inner space," the parklands, the recreation areas, the wilderness, and the seashores which are fast disappearing.

Theodore Roosevelt once observed that "there is nothing more practical in the end than the preservation of beauty." For years, these words fell on deaf ears for America's endowment of unspoiled land seemed limitless.

Today, we know we must act to preserve these resources for ourselves and our grandchildren. From the redwoods in California to the seashore at Fire Island our national wonders must be saved.

I am proud of the part I played in the field of conservation in the 88th Congress.

During these 2 years I:

1. Authored the Fire Island National Seashore bill which brought the State of New York its first and only national park to serve the 16 million American who live within 100 miles of the park;

2. Cosponsored the wilderness bill which will preserve millions of acres of unspoiled land for future generations of Americans;

3. Supported creation of a land and water conservation fund, which will enable the Federal Government to purchase and develop parklands and recreation facilities in areas of high population density;

4. Obtained for the Seneca Indians of Salamanca, N.Y., a $15 million compensation payment which will be used, in part, to develop recreation and cultural facilities for the public on their reservation;

5. Introduced and supported legislation to preserve our Nation's historic sites, such as Sagamore Hill, Ansley Wilcox House, Bowne House, and the Oriskany Battlefield;

6. Fought for the preservation of the greatest trout fishing streams in New York State, the Beaverkill, and the Willowemoc, and I have asked the New York State Commissioner of Conservation to reconsider plans to bring the highways and traffic of the State to the very shores of these unsurpassed streams;

7. Urged that the Federal Power Commission make no decision on the Consolidated Edison project in the Hudson River Valley until the members have had an opportunity to tour the area and evaluate the proposal in this scenic setting;

8. Blocked legislation to encourage the importation of wild birds and animals for commercial exploitation; and

9. Prevented efforts to nullify the Keating Golden Eagle bill.

I have supported the creation of our magnificent national park system and hope that every New Yorker will, at some time during his life, have an opportunity to view and enjoy these wonders of the West.

But, I have always believed that parks should be where the people are. The Northeast has the highest concentration of population and the smallest number of national parks in the Nation.

The Grand Canyon is too far from Grand Central.

A new campsite at Yellowstone Park means little to the apartment dweller on Yellowstone Boulevard.

By the year 2000, there will be 350 million Americans, most of them concentrated in urban areas.

The race for inner space—for unspoiled land within large metropolitan areas—will be gathering force during the next 35 years, as will the demand for more outdoor recreation facilities.

Our efforts to preserve the land and to provide those facilities must keep pace with that drive.

Specifically, I propose the following 3-year action plan and pledge, during my next term in the Senate, to work for these goals:

1. By 1967, the Fire Island National Seashore, now authorized by the passage of my bill, must be in full operation. Sufficient funds must be appropriated to purchase all necessary land. The work of the Army Corps of Engineers to preserve the Fire Island dunes must be completed.

2. By the year 1967, the Tocks Island National Recreation Area must be established and operating. This scenic and unspoiled area offers magnificent recreation potential for the people of the metropolitan area. Located in the Delaware River Valley, it is only 75 miles from the city and would offer excellent swimming, boating, camping, and hiking facilities for New Yorkers.

3. By the year 1967, Ellis Island should be developed in coordination with the proposed New Jersey waterfront project as a combination recreation area and historic site for the people of the two States. The Department of the Interior has endorsed this proposal, and I intend to see to it that this park—like the Fire Island Seashore—becomes a reality.

4. By 1967, the Breezy Point Park which has been established by the city and the State of New York must be completed by adding to it the 312 acres of Federal land now known as Fort Tilden. This property lies between two large beaches—Breezy Point and Jacob Riis. The three together would form a 1,000-acre park and recreation area, easily accessible to 8 million New Yorkers, for the price of a subway token.

5. By 1967, the Federal Government, in cooperation with State and city health officials, must complete a survey of the possibility of purifying the waters of New York City in order to make swimming and recreation possible.

It is incredible that a city composed of islands and peninsulas, a city surrounded by water, has inadequate water recreation facilities.

There is park area, for example, all long the Hudson River from Yonkers to the mid-sixties. But no one can safely swim in the water that borders it.

There is a large lake in Flushing Meadow Park, but raw sewage is pumped into it.

There are beaches in this city which used to afford clean water facilities, but that water, long ago, was polluted.

If the city of New York won't clean up the lakes and rivers and bays, I intend to ask the Federal Government to help us out. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can offer assistance in combating the pollution. The Army Corps of Engineers can aid in dredging. A comprehensive plan and the allocation of responsibilities for carrying it out should be prepared within the next 3 years.

Without the space to play and explore, without the opportunity to rest and reflect away from the tumult of the city, without the room to see and appreciate nature's wonders, the life of the city dweller is claustrophobic and unbalanced.

If we are to set up parks and preserve unspoiled areas for ourselves and for future generations, we must act now.

The timetable I propose is realistic, and I pledge that I will keep it on schedule if I am reelected.

The office of U.S. Senator KENNETH B. KEATING today released the text of the following letter received recently by him from Carl W. Buchheister, president of the National Audubon Society (1130 Fifth Avenue, New York City):

DEAR SENATOR KEATING: Now that adjournment is at hand, I want to thank you for your outstanding personal contributions to the rather remarkable conservation record compiled by the 88th Congress.

You were one of the sponsors of the wilderness bill, and you worked actively for its passage.

You can always be proud, and Americans will always be grateful to you, for your successful sponsorship of S. 1365, the bill that became the law establishing a Fire Island National Seashore.

In July the Senate was about to pass a bill that would have encouraged a cruel commercial exploitation of wildlife and put new pressure on endangered species, by removing import duties on wild birds and animals. You stepped in and won adoption of an amendment that eliminated this threat.

And we are not forgetting that you were one of the leading sponsors of the law passed in the preceding Congress to protect the Golden Eagle. When another Senator tried to take the teeth out of that law this year, you acted quickly to stop the effort dead in its tracks.

This is only a partial account of your splendid leadership for which all conservation-minded citizens are grateful.

Sincerely yours,

CARL W. BUCHHEISTER,
President.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As you know, the last Congress was known as the Conservation Congress because of the number of important measures that were taken in the field of natural resources preservation and protection.

Among the measures of particular interest to the State of New York, of course, was my own bill to create a national seashore on Fire Island, New York's first national park.

I am greatly concerned that land on Fire Island that is to become a part of the park is now being rapidly developed for private profit. The towns concerned have taken all steps possible to prevent such exploitation, but unless the Interior Department moves promptly, some of the finest property on Fire Island may be fully developed before the park comes into being. This, of course, would greatly increase the cost to the Federal Government of acquiring the land.

I am also deeply concerned over the future of another island that is important to all New Yorkers—Ellis Island. As you know, the Interior Department originally recommended against Federal development of the island, but under strong pressure from Senator JAVITS, myself, and other members of the Senate Government Operations Committee, you have recommended that the island now be designated a national historic site. I concur in this recommendation, made in June 1964. It could be implemented at once by the President by public proclamation under 16 U.S.C. 431 and the site could be set aside immediately. I strongly urge that action be taken along these lines promptly.

Third, New Yorkers are deeply concerned over the conservation aspects of a number of highway projects financed by Federal funds in different parts of New York. I understand the Interior Department has studied the conflicting demands for roads and recreation in connection with the construction of Route 17 where it adjoins the Beaverkill and Willowemoc streams and Route 87 in Westchester County—two projects on which I have been in touch with your Department in the past. Yet these recommendations have not been made public. It would be most useful if the recommendations of the Interior Department could be published before final action is taken and I would appreciate for my own use a copy of your reports on these projects.

Fourth, as you know, the Consolidated Edison project involving considerable work near Storm King Mountain, as well as the construction of additional overhead transmission lines east of the Hudson, is still pending before the Federal Power Commission. The joint legislative committee on natural resources of the New York State Legislature is preparing hearings on the entire issue of hydroelectric development in the Hudson Valley. I have been in touch with you in the past about the Federal interest in such efforts and know it would be helpful for the Interior Department to make known to the Federal Power Commission its substantive recommendations for this project. Your interest is well known and I believe testimony from you would be valuable in assessing the merits and disadvantages of the proposed project.

Fifth, on October 5, I proposed that the Federal Government undertake a survey of the waters around New York City—particularly the Hudson River—with a view toward eliminating pollution and making these waters suitable for swimming. I would appreciate your comments on the feasibility of such a study, and the efforts which could be made by the Interior Department, in conjunction with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to accomplish this end.

These problems are among the major conservation issues troubling the people of New York at this time. It would be most helpful if the Interior Department could make its views known promptly and take appropriate action as soon as possible so that New York's irreparable natural resources will not be threatened with unnecessary commercial exploitation or despoliation. Since you have indicated to me that you will be in New York State on October 21, I think it is important for you to take the occasion to clarify the position of the Interior Department on these issues.

Very sincerely yours,

KENNETH B. KEATING.

The Honorable James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL W. RICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, as the 88th Congress draws to a close, I would like

to take this opportunity to offer a tribute to one of the truly outstanding Members of the House of Representatives, who has saddened his colleagues by announcing his retirement at the end of this year. The Honorable JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS has served the people of the Third District of New Jersey faithfully and most ably during his 11 terms in the House and he can indeed take pride in the record of his many accomplishments during those years. He has played an important role in the work of the Public Works Committee since his election to the 79th Congress and has served as the ranking Republican member of the committee since 1959. Congressman AUCHINCLOSS has added much strength to the Congress and has always strived to maintain the high ideals and principles which have made our country great. He certainly will be missed by his many friends and colleagues whom I am sure join with me in saying, "The best of everything always, JIM."

Hon. Fernós-Isern

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 1, 1964

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I deem it a great privilege to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to one of the finest gentlemen with whom it has been my pleasure to serve in the House of Representatives. For the past 18 years Puerto Rico has been ably represented by Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN, a distinguished doctor, lawyer, professor and dedicated public servant. He was appointed by the Governor of Puerto Rico in September of 1946 as Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to fill the vacancy in that position, and he was reelected each term since 1946. During his service as Resident Commissioner, Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN has earned the respect and love of his colleagues in the Congress. He is a man of great sincerity, outstanding ability, and integrity. He is known far and wide as Puerto Rico's favorite son and no one possesses a better knowledge of the Commonwealth's problems than he. The people of Puerto Rico have been richly rewarded by his significant service and dedication.

During his tenure in Congress Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN has been responsible for bringing the peoples of Puerto Rico and this country into a much warmer, closer relationship. He played the major role in the creation of the Commonwealth relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. To him goes much credit for the major economic and social reforms that have been adopted in Puerto Rico in recent years. Under his leadership legislation providing for the organization of constitutional government for the people of Puerto Rico was enacted.

Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN is loved and admired by his colleagues and our best wishes go with him for continued success in all that he undertakes for his beloved homeland.

Two Gentlemen From New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to leave this Chamber for the last time in this 88th Congress, we cannot but have mixed emotions about our departure. On the one hand, we can be extremely proud of the legislative record we have achieved. On another, we know that long, hard days lie ahead as we return to our districts and stand before the electorate who will tell us in 1 month if our accounting of our stewardship has been satisfactory. And finally, there is the sadness that comes with the contemplation that many in our midst will not be with us when we reconvene in this Chamber next January.

Among this latter group are two gentlemen who have decided to withdraw from this scene of action. In both cases, their decisions are prompted by entirely personal reasons, for if given the opportunity, their constituents would not have allowed them to retire.

The gentleman from Rumson, N.J. [Mr. AUCHINCLOSS] I shall miss, as we all shall, for the wisdom and willingness with which he served his colleagues. I shall never forget how when I first came here, JIM went out of his way to make me feel at home. We were from different parts of the State, of different parties; but that never effected the warmth with which he treated me from the very beginning. I depended on his counsel. I welcomed his friendship. Now, 16 years later, that counsel, that friendship remains a vital part of my life here.

The gentleman from Maplewood [Mr. WALLHAUSER], I shall miss, but not as much. Not that I value his counsel less, or his friendship. It is just that when he resumes his business, his office address will make him one of my constitutents. So, I am counting on GEORGE'S counsel, and want here to assure him that he will have no need to rely altogether on his successor to represent him. It will be my privilege and pleasure to accept him into my constituency, and I do hope he will continue to give me the benefit of his thoughts on legislation affecting our community, our State and our Nation.

I have every confidence that the gentleman who represents the 3d and 12th Districts of New Jersey in the 89th Congress will be competent, dedicated representatives of their constituents. They had better be, for they are following the footsteps of two of the most competent and dedicated Members of this body.

JIM and GEORGE, may God grant you good health and spirits to enjoy the years that lie ahead. Though you will not be with us here every day, we shall not forget you. And should you find the time, do come see us and brighten our day in Washington.

Congressional Medal of Honor Winner Sterling L. Morelock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we in Congress, veterans, friends, and admirers of Col. Sterlin L. Morelock wish to pay him tribute. This distinguished American received the Congressional Medal of Honor and we citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pa., are proud of his outstanding service to our country, our veterans, and our community.

The following memorial tribute was prepared by Angelo Pennetti, commander, Allegheny County Committee of the American Legion, to pay honor to Colonel Morelock, whose death occurred on September 1 of this year.

The tribute follows:

STERLING LEWIS MORELOCK, CMH: JUNE 5, 1890 TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1964

Sterling Lewis Morelock was born in Silver Run, Md., on June 5, 1890, the son of Addison and Sarah Catherine Morelock. He was raised in Hanover, Pa., until the age of 9, when he went to live with the Rev. and Mrs. Charles Holmes in Rozetta, Ill., because of his mother's death.

It was from the Holmes' home that he went to Galesburg, Ill., early in 1917 to enlist in the service. After training at Camp Gordon, Ga., the 28th Infantry sailed for France with Company M going over in a cattle boat. The company landed at LeMons on January 30, 1918, and in March went into action at Chateaux Thierry. He went through that action, the Soissons drive, and another Argonne engagement unscathed before his luck ran out in October. Company M, which he was serving in, had taken over the front line of the regiment on September 30, 1918, and from then until October 4, the regiment was under almost constant shellfire. During those days the company lost 3 officers and 80 men. Charles B. Lawton, of Salt Lake City, was the only remaining officer, and when he received orders to move forward in the morning of October 4, he took what few men he had and started out. Moving forward, they encountered severe machinegun fire and suffered many casualties. At last there were only a few men left, Morelock being among them. Together with his lieutenant and three other enlisted men, Morelock led the way and almost singlehandedly cleaned out five German machinegun nests, and captured several prisoners. He then organized the prisoners into stretcher bearers and succeeded in removing a number of the wounded. About this time, Lieutenant Lawton received two wounds, one breaking his right leg and the other fracturing his skull. Morelock immediately went to his assistance and was rendering first aid when he was wounded severely in the hip. Despite his wounds, he completed the task of caring for

his lieutenant, and then lapsed into unconsciousness and was evacuated to a hospital. His right hip had been shattered, and his wounds were so severe that he was not expected to recover, but he slowly pulled through. However, he spent 11 years 7 months and 11 days in hospitals as doctors restored his hip, fitting him with a steel hip joint.

In 1922, at Monmouth, Ill., near the village where he spent his boyhood, he was presented with the Congressional Medal of Honor. The official War Department records give the citation as follows:

"Sterling L. Morelock—2661521, Private, Company M, 28th Infantry, 1st Division: For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Exermont, France, October 4, 1918. While his company was being held up by heavy enemy fire, Private Morelock, with three other men acting as runners for company headquarters, voluntarily led them as a patrol in advance of his company's frontline through intense rifle, artillery, and machinegun fire and penetrated a woods which formed the German frontline. Encountering a series of five hostile machinegun nests, containing from one to five machineguns each, with his patrol he cleaned them all out, gained and held complete mastery of the situation until the arrival of his company commander with enforcements, even though his entire party had become casualties. He rendered first aid to the injured and evacuated them by using as stretcher bearers 10 German prisoners whom he had captured. Soon thereafter, Private Morelock was very seriously wounded in the hip, which forced his evacuation. His heroic action and devotion to duty were an inspiration to the entire regiment."

In 1930, Mr. Morelock met a Pittsburgh girl, Betty Lemke, while making his way on crutches through a snowstorm, and she helped him.

A few years later, in 1932, they were married. He went to work for the Government in Washington, where Mrs. Morelock was also working and in 1936 was transferred to a job with the Veterans Administration Hospital in Aspinall, Pa. He continued working for the Veterans' Administration until he retired in 1956.

At the time he received the Congressional Medal of Honor, he was given the honorary rank of colonel by the Illinois National Guard and throughout his long work on behalf of veterans was affectionately known as the "Colonel" to the patients in the hospital where he also worked on a voluntary basis. Through his long stay in hospitals himself, "Colonel" Morelock learned of the needs of invalid soldiers and gave unselfishly of his time to assist them. He held many citations from various veterans organizations for his work in veterans hospitals and was on friendly terms with U.S. Presidents through his career.

He was a life member of the following organizations:

Disabled American Veterans: department commander, Pennsylvania 1958–59.

Regional director: Congressional Medal of Honor Society.

Vice president: Pittsburgh chapter 1114, National Association of Retired Federal Employees.

Army and Navy Legion of Valor.

Order of Lafayette, Inc.

Trees Carlisle VFW Post 166, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Marion B. Fletcher American Legion post, Monmouth, Ill.

Veterans of World War I, Liberty Barracks, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Military Order of the Purple Heart.

YMCA, Monmouth, Ill.

He was also a member of Blue Lodge No. 45, F. & A.M., Ancient Accepted Scottish Rites, Valley of Pittsburgh, Syria Temple AAONMS, Legion of Honor Syria Temple AAONMS, So-Journers and Masonic Veterans.

Death occurred September 1, 1964, at 5:40 p.m., at the Oakland Veterans Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa., after a lengthy illness. He was interred at Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors on Monday, September 7, 1964, with Maj. Gen. Phillip Wehle, commanding general, Military District of Washington, Washington, D.C., acting as White House representative.

He is survived by his widow, Betty Morelock, 6821 Thomas Boulevard, Apartment 2, Pittsburgh, Pa., a sister, Grace Folmer, Hanover, Pa., a sister, Mary Morelock, York, Pa., a brother, Charles Morelock, Hanover, Pa., a foster daughter, Mrs. Betty M. Shelton, and her daughter, Sterling Lynn Shelton, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Jim Auchincloss, a Great Guy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of regret and loss that I note the retirement of my dear friend and most able and influential colleague, JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS came to the Congress in 1943 as a youngster of 58. During the ensuing 22 years that JIM ACHINCLOSS served as a Member of Congress, he has served well and with distinction the United States, his State of New Jersey, and the Republican Party.

He is the ranking Republican on the Public Works Committee and it is largely through his efforts and contributions that the Interstate Highway System was formulated in 1954 and this legislation is a tribute to his work in the Congress.

Particularly, are the residents of the District of Columbia the better off because of his service in the House. During his long tenure as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, his interest in District of Columbia matters has been wide and intent. He has worked hard and long for urban renewal in the District of Columbia; for adequate police protection for District residents; for fiscal integrity and for fire safety. Truly, he has left a mark on the District of Columbia that will be long remembered.

I submit, however, that JIM AUCHINCLOSS' distinguished service in the House of Representatives came as no surprise to those who had known him prior to the time he first came here—and those who know him are legion. His service here in the House has been but the culmination of a career of life-long service.

Eighteen years as a member of the board of governors of the New York Stock Exchange; 12 years as a member of the council, Borough of Rumson, N.J., and two full terms plus a partial third term as mayor of Rumson. These are some of the positions held with honor by JIM AUCHINCLOSS.

Mr. Speaker, I join my voice with those wishing JIM AUCHINCLOSS health and happiness in his retirement. However, I must say to him that his voice will be sorely missed during debates in the House of Representatives and during our party councils. But we are not losing him entirely as I understand he will be spending some of his time in and about Washington and I will look forward to our continuing friendship.

Marker at John C. Calhoun's Birthplace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Alice Noble Waring first initiated the movement to erect a marker at the birthplace of John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's greatest statesman. The marker at Calhoun's birthplace in Abbeville County, S.C. was unveiled on September 20, 1964.

Mrs. Waring is a descendant of the Pickens, Calhoun, and Noble families of South Carolina. She is a direct descendant of Gen. Andrew Pickens and Rebecca Calhoun Pickens. Rebecca was a first cousin of John C. Calhoun.

Mrs. Waring was born, reared, and formally educated in the great State of Mississippi and is presently residing at Hughes, Ark., in the district so ably represented by our distinguished colleague, the Honorable E. C. GATHINGS. Mrs. Waring's hobby is writing historical articles and folklore. She is the author of a splendid book on the life of Gen. Andrew Pickens, "The Fighting Elder," which was published in 1962 by the University of South Carolina Press. Mrs. Waring is a very charming, brilliant, and gra ous lady, much dedicated to those prin ples and ideals that made our country great.

The unveiling ceremonies in Abbeville were presided over by the Honorable Marion J. Erwin, president of the Abbeville County Historical Society. I commend to the Congress and to the people of the country Mrs. Waring's eloquent address on this occasion:

CALHOUN MARKER

Judge Erwin, ladies, and gentleman, I am filled with mixed emotions as I stand here today. First, because I see the fulfillment of a dream. Some 25 years ago when I first came to South Carolina to do research for my book on Andrew Pickens I was struck with the fact that there was a monument to John C. Calhoun in Charleston; his home at Clemson was a museum; and a stone marked the site of his first law office in Abbeville, but there was nothing to show where he was born.

I don't know why it hit me so hard, but it did—I felt that something should be done about it—and thanks to Calhoun Mays and the Abbeville County Historical Society something has been done. So it is with a sense of gratitude and humility that I am here and I feel it a distinct honor to have a part in the dedication of the marker to a great statesman and a great American.

The procedure for the erection of a historical marker has many facets: First, to find a sponsor to put up the necessary money to buy the marker; then, to have the inscription checked for historical accuracy by the South Carolina Archives Department. In this instance, the funds were provided by the late John C. Calhoun of Beaufort, a great grandson of the statesman. The inscription was prepared by Charles Lee, director of the archives department. The plot of land adjacent to the highway, upon which it was placed, was contributed by a patriotic and history-minded landowners, Charles W. Wilson, who lives in that community.

The wording of this inscription reads as follows:

"South Carolina, birthplace of Calhoun.

"On this land settled by his father, Patrick Calhoun, in the 1750's, defended against the Indians in the Cherokee War and the enemies of liberty in the American Revolution. John Caldwell Calhoun, American statesman, and champion of the Old South, was born, March 18, 1782, and nurtured to young manhood."

Second, if you will bear with me for a few moments, I should like to recall something of the past, the Revolutionary War past, of the State John C. Calhoun loved and defended almost with his last breath.

I am sure those of you who live here are proud that this is the place of his birth; that it was here where Andrew Pickens, of Colonial and Revolutionary fame, and other illustrious men, lived; and that you are proud and humbled to tread the hallowed ground where much of the history of your State was born.

Situated near the Cherokee border and lying between Ninety Six and Augusta, scenes of two major sieges in the spring and summer of 1781, much of this section was subject to the ravages of war and depredations by the British, Tories, and Indians.

Perhaps I am overly zealous for the Up Country. I covet for her the preservation of the historical past that in a measure has contributed to the greatness of South Carolina. True, many places have been marked but there are still some that have not and are all but lost to the memory of man. Right here in old Abbeville district there are several almost forgotten sites of the Revolutionary period:

The Battle of Long Canes—December 1780 where Gen. Elijah Clark was wounded.

Beattie's Mill—where 75 Tories under the infamous Dunlap were attacked by Colonel McCall and Elijah Clark—34 Tories were killed and most of the others wounded, and perhaps there are other places of equal importance. Yes, you have a right to be proud of the part this section played in the history of South Carolina and the Nation.

When British troops had possession of the State from Charleston to the mountains it was one of Abbeville District's own men, Andrew Pickens, who with Marion and Sumter held the field in defense of their homeland. When times were darkest it was their personal influence which kept alive the spirit of liberty.

In no other State was the civil government so completely overthrown, and the country so given over to anarchy. With the government gone, the employment of militia was next to impossible. Thus, it was that partisan bands were organized, upon a similar system to take the place of the militia. The last 3 years of the war, it was they, who practically alone, upheld the struggle in the State of South Carolina. In no other State was there so much fighting and bloodshed. No State contributed more to the common cause of her neighboring States; and no State furnished so many in proportion to her population in actual warfare, nor so few on the pension rolls after it was over.

The role South Carolina played in the fight for independence has not been fully recognized, nor has she received the credit she so richly deserves and earned. The war ended for the other colonies when Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown, but in South Carolina the fighting continued for almost 14 months longer.

A little matter of statistics may be in order here: 137 battles and engagements took place on South Carolina soil—103 of the battles were fought by South Carolinians alone. In 20 other battles South Carolina took part with troops of other States, leaving only 14 engagements in which other States fought without the assistance of her sons. Besides the battles fought in her own State South Carolinians fought in Georgia and in 1781 many of them were with General Pickens during the campaign in North Carolina.

And there you have it, ladies and gentlemen—isn't that enough to challenge the historical societies throughout the State to go out and erect markers at all the battle sites—and here in the heart of the Up Country, rich in history and tradition, I trust that the marking of John C. Calhoun's birthplace is just the beginnig and that in the course of time many other places will be marked and preserved for the information and interest of future generations.

(MRS. A. L.) ALICE NOBLE WARING.

HUGHES, ARK., *September 20, 1964.*

Maj. Robert M. O'Malley of Clinton, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article from the celebrated Clinton Daily Item entitled "Clinton Man Helped in J.F.K. Rites" describing the recent ceremony conveying the Army Commendation Medal—with oak leaf cluster—to my friend and neighbor and outstanding officer of the Army, Maj. Robert M. O'Malley, a Clinton man.

This young man who is one of the very best officers in the Army, a real leader, a strong magnetic personality and a truly dedicated military expert, has made an enviable record. I am certain that the end is not in sight because he strikes me as being marked for higher positions of leadership, greater responsibility, and broader fields for the exercise of his great talents in behalf of the Army and our country.

I join his many friends and admirers in heartily congratulating him and his lovely wife and family and wishing for them continued good health and every success and happiness in the time to come.

CLINTON MAN HELPED IN J.F.K. RITES

Maj. Robert M. O'Malley, son of John E. O'Malley, 48 Orange Street, was recently awarded the Army Commendation Medal (with first oak leaf cluster).

The award was made for the manner in which Major O'Malley discharged his duties as provost marshal of Fort Myer, Va., during the funeral of the late President John F. Kennedy.

The citation read in part, "For meritorious achievement in the performance of outstanding service as the officer in charge of the escort from the National Medical Center to the White House and the traffic control coordinator at Arlington Cemetery during the state funeral of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy November 22 to 25, 1963.

"Major O'Malley was charged with the planning and organization of the convoy and escort from the Bethesda Naval Hospital to the White House. This task involved extraordinary skill and tactful coordination with other military services and the civilian police at a time when firm policies covering the confusion and anxiety present were still in the formative stages.

"As the officer in charge of traffic control at the grave site. Major O'Malley was in charge of all coordination with the Government law enforcement agencies and the smooth and efficient handling of unprecedented densities of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Through his leadership an air of dignity and solemnity was maintained despite the unusual physical and mental requirements imposed.

"Major O'Malley's distinguished performance of duty during this period represented significant achievement in the most cherished traditions of the U.S. Army, and reflected distinct credit upon himself, the Military District of Washington, and the military service."

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, more than 20 years ago the United States began its programs of foreign aid and technical assistance in Latin America. This assistance was on a limited scale and pertained to a limited number of technical fields of development. Subsequently the point 4 program extended this assistance to other nations in other areas of the world, and simultaneously the famous Marshall plan programs for assisting in the rebuilding of the war-devastated countries of Europe were launched.

There can be no doubt that the Marshall plan was effective as an instrument for rebuilding the economies of the European nations, and the present high level of their economies speak to this unselfish effort on behalf of international understanding and development. The assistance provided elsewhere under the foreign aid programs of the United States can also be credited with having done much to assist the underdeveloped and newly emerging nations of the world in their struggle against poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance.

Annually the Congress has appropriated billions of dollars for this purpose, and in my early years in the Congress I supported this effort. It was not until 1963 that I chose to vote against further expenditure of this type, and I have voted similarly against the present bill. It is my understanding that during the years of these programs the United States has helped support 118 nations or territories, and that we are currently continuing this support to 98 countries.

I am much disturbed, and I believe the American people are similarly disturbed, by the continued outlay of billions of dollars for questionable purposes and to questionable governments.

Despite whatever good may have been accomplished by segments of the foreign aid program, the United States finds itself today in an extremely precarious relationship with many of the recipient nations. Today the United States is being cursed, its flag insulted and its embassies assaulted by the peoples of the nations which we have assisted so generously. Our officials, including one of our recent Vice Presidents, have been assaulted and spat upon by nationals of the countries to which we have extended the hand of friendship and the generous hand of financial assistance. On every hand we hear that our efforts have been forgotten, and that the nations whose economic life we saved in some instances are now ready and willing to attack us.

Much of this behavior results, I believe, from maladministration of our aid programs and policies. The Agency for International Development and its predecessors have had an unceasing stream of changing administrators and assistant administrators, most of whom seem unaware that they have been charged by the Congress with assuring that the foreign aid program is administered in the national interest of the United States. We have been generous to a fault, mistakenly assuming that we can buy the love and friendship of the world, and forgetting that it is more important that we have the respect of the nations.

We have chosen to play down the fact that we are the strongest nation in the world, with the highest living standards in the world, and that this strength and these standards came to us only through the application of democratic thought and life within our society. We have chosen to assist practically any and all other nations which are willing to accept our aid, regardless of their beliefs, their behavior, and their questionable alliances with our enemies. We have chosen to support dictatorial governments which pattern themselves after our opponents, and whose leaders continue to persecute and oppress their own people in order to assure their own continued power.

During these years we have provided not only American money and American skills to aid these people. We have, in addition to sending thousands of technicians abroad to assist in developmental projects, trained more than 80,000 foreign nationals in the United States in the hope and expectation that they, assisted by other thousands whom we have trained abroad either in their own countries or in neighboring countries of the area, can spearhead the developmental processes at home. Yet too often these people return to find that their new knowledge and abilities are not properly put to work, and that little genuine effort is being made by their governments to bring about the promised and hoped-for economic and social reforms necessary to the nation's development.

The people of other countries often resent the fact that our aid is utilized to help keep unpopular governments in power. These governments gladly take our aid but use it for the benefit of those who rule rather than for the needy of their countries. Too often U.S. aid does not reach down to the levels where it is needed most; instead, the rich and the powerful use it to further extend their power and add to their riches. Thus we find ourselves accused of maintaining the status quo, of supporting political dictatorships which must pass if the people are ever to know the benefits of freedom, democracy, and development which they are entitled to and which we desire to see them acquire.

Just a few years ago we were providing aid to Cuba, yet it could not prevent what happened there, and I need not remind you what exists there today, or what distorted image of the United States and its people has been painted there. There are a number of Latin American nations which we assisted generously, but which still retain their suspicions concerning our country, and it has been a most difficult job to persuade them to cease doing business as usual with Castro's Cuba. They have been extremely reluctant to recognize that Cuba today constitutes a Communist threat to he whole Western Hemipshere, and that their independence is forfeit if they espouse any part of Castro's cause.

Despite our assistance and our eagerly expressed desire to be liked, several nations of Europe have proceeded steadily in permitting the development of strong Communist parties. Among these is Italy, a major recipient of Marshall plan aid, yet Italy today has the strongest Communist Party of any non-Communist nation in the World. France, another major recipient which benefited greatly from U.S. assistance, has also developed a powerful Communist Party, and, while this party is not in power, U.S. relations with France during the last 4 years have declined to their lowest ebb.

If we are to have a foreign aid program, then let it be administered with the national welfare of the United States in mind. Let its targets be carefully chosen, firmly substantiated, and let us help those who have demonstrated that they have common goals with us in pursuing the freedoms and democracy which we, the United States, has sought and continue to seek. Let us turn aside from those who would make fools of us, who would play both ends against the middle, who hint subtly or even openly that if we fail to assist them they will turn to the Communists for assistance. If there are nations or peoples or rulers so blind that they would prefer to entrust their future to the Communists rather than stand firmly with this Nation, which has traditionally since its inception fought and stood for democracy and peace in the world, then are we so foolish as to think we can buy their security for them?

I want the rest of the world, friend and foe alike, to know that we will try earnestly to be fair, to pursue peace, and to assist our friends who are seeking the same goals for themselves. But I also want them to know that we will not tolerate acts of violence against us, against our flag, against our property, and against our conscience. The world knows that the United States seeks peace; the peoples of other lands are not so unaware, nor so ignorant that they cannot understand our peaceful motives. We have demonstrated our willingness for three centuries to help those who are hungry, those who are ill, those who are uneducated and those who are poverty ridden. We still stand ready to help those who are willing to help themselves. But let us make sure that our help does not become a boomerang. Let us make sure that our policies and our assistance work in our national interest.

Statement to the U.S. Civil Service Commission on Examination Given July 13, 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following results of the candidates from my 27th Congressional District of Pennsylvania who took the Civil Service Commission examination on July 13, 1964, at my request as Congressman, have been received. I have gone over carefully the ratings of candidates in these examinations for designation to the U.S. West Point, Air Force, Annapolis, and Merchant Marine Academies.

As I have previously served on appointment of the judges of our county four terms on the board of law examiners of this county, I have been particularly interested in developing good candidates for the U.S. Academies. Our congressional district to date will show an outstanding record of admissions to these Academies, as well as a good record of results on the civil service examinations.

It is therefore a surprise and a real disappointment to me to receive the results of the candidates from my district from the July 13, 1964, examination held by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. These men attend the same schools and take the same courses, as the previous candidates, but it will be noticed that out of 73 candidates, there is only 1 candidate who made a rating on the total examination of 81 percent, 1 candidate who made a rating of 79 percent, 3 candidates who made a rating of 78 percent, and 1 candidate that made a rating of 77 percent. All others were below 77 percent.

I have further noted that there are only 14 candidates of the 73 that took the examination who even made a 70-percent rating on the total examination.

I have been particularly interested in the ratings given on this examination on algebra. Only 16 candidates out of the 73 candidates that took this civil service

examination even made a 60-percent grade, and only 3 candidates made above an 80-percent mark in algebra. It is hard for me to believe that with the type of instruction we have in mathematics in our Pittsburgh and South Hills area in Allegheny County, that actually 45 made marks of 50 percent and below in this examination. In fact, 30 candidates made marks of 35 percent and below.

As the high schools and parochial schools from which these students come are high standard and competent, I do not understand the meaning of such low marks.

I am therefore, by this letter, advising you that I am writing to each of these applicants, scheduling the candidates for the Academies for the U.S. Civil Service Commission examination to take place on October 31, 1964. The present exam results leave me almost no choice of competent people to recommend for admission to the U.S. Academies.

Under these circumstances I would request that the U.S. Civil Service Commission check on the examination questions to see whether there were similar results in other areas as something might have been wrong with the questions on the examination in relation to the curriculum which these students have studied at the various high schools and preparatory schools.

I do request this particularly, as you will recall my unhappy experience with the U.S. Civil Service Commission examination last year when many examination papers, constituting half of the total examination papers of the candidates who took the examination for my district were lost by the Civil Service Commission and have not been found to date.

I firmly believe it is my duty as Congressman to obtain good candidates for these U.S. Service Academies, which I believe to be vitally necessary in these difficult times for the security of the United States. To overcome this deficiency in our District, I am sending out letters to various portions of my District requesting the names of good candidates for nomination to the U.S. Service Academies, and asking that applications be made to my office for designation to take the October 31, 1964 U.S. Civil Service examination.

This is a serious matter to me, and one which I take deep responsibility, as I have been a Navy serviceman in World War II, and have served for 20 years in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

Would you kindly have a survey made of this situation and give me your prompt advice.

Hon. Roland V. Libonati

SPEECH
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the rich rewards of service in the Congress are the friendship and respect that stem from our close association in this great Legislative Hall. I shall especially treasure my friendship with our distinguished colleague from Illinois, Representative ROLAND V. LIBONATI, who is concluding nearly 8 years of outstanding service in this body. He plans not to return, a decision which I am sure is a disappointment to his constituents whom he has served so well. But he has by long years of brilliant and dedicated service in the legislature of his native State and in the Congress of the United States earned his respite. We shall miss his friendly greeting, his warm smile, his wise counsel, but we wish him well and many more years of happiness.

His outstanding service should be a source of much personal satisfaction to him and to his family. He has earned the gratitude of the people of Illinois. We who have been privileged to serve with him know so well how great has been his contribution to the welfare and security of the United States.

Moore Record Enviable in Immigration Efforts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, having served for many years in the House of Representatives with my distinguished colleague, the Honorable ARCH A. MOORE, Jr., and with him since 1963 on the House Subcommittee on Immigration, House Judiciary Committee, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Weirton Daily Times, Weirton, W. Va., on October 3, 1964, concerning the work he has done in the field of immigration:

MOORE RECORD ENVIABLE IN IMMIGRATION EFFORTS

Congressman ARCH A. MOORE, Jr., of Glen Dale who has an enviable record in the field of immigration during his service in the U.S. Congress, has for 8 years been a ranking member of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration of the House of Representatives. MOORE is also a member of the Joint Committee of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate on Immigration and Nationality Policy of the United States of America.

During his service in the Congress, he has represented the United States as a delegate to the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration at the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. Since coming to Congress, he has deveolped an intense interest in the refugee program and has been useful to the leadership of the House of Representatives to probe various refugee problems throughout the world.

At the direction of the committee, Congressman MOORE has led congressional fact-finding trips to Berlin, Germany, Hong Kong, Athens, Greece, and various other areas of the world where there are intense refugee problems. His work in the immigration field has been lauded by various other governments, and specifically by the Republic of Italy who bestowed on him the Cross of the Commander in the Order to the Merit of the Italian Republic. This is the highest award that a government can bestow upon a foreign national for his compassion, his understanding and his knowledge in the field of U.S. Immigration.

Families all over his congressional district of Italian, Greek, Polish, and Yugoslav extraction have benefited from MOORE's deep concern and effort in bringing to the United States many individuals to join other members of their families now living in the United States.

His latest achievement in this area is setting the wheels in motion to reunit a Yugoslav family, the father of which he found accidentally in a refugee camp in Laverion, Greece, who has fled the Communists. This man will join his wife who is now in Wheeling. The Yugoslav is presently on his way to the United States and MOORE has set into motion the wheels to bring their three infant children, now in Yugoslavia, into this country, so that this family may live together in freedom.

MOORE is looked upon in the Congress as one of its most knowledgeable Members in the field of immigration. Both Democrats and Republicans acknowledge his leadership as Congressman in this area. His work in this area is not limited to the First Congressional District of West Virginia, but ARCH MOORE gives immigrants a hand in all parts of the United States.

A true insight as to his leadership and activities in the field of immigration can be found in the legislation that has been introduced into the Congress, much of which is now part of the immigration law of our country.

He reported to the floor of the House of Representatives (H.R. 5896) which provided for the entry of certain relatives of U.S. citizens and lawful resident aliens. This legislation which became public law made possible the reuniting of a large number of families that otherwise would have had to remain separated for a long number of years. He has introduced legislation to recapture the unused quota numbers presently provided in the immigration law and suggested that it be redistributed among the countries whose quotas are over subscribed and in which there are long waiting lists. This legislation will become law under MOORE's leadership and will materially reduce the waiting time that an alien in Italy, in Greece, in Poland, in Spain, and other countries with long waiting lists so they can come into the United States.

It is for this and other reasons that Congressman ARCH A. MOORE is referred to as "Mr. Immigration" of the U.S. House of Representatives.

James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CATHERINE MAY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, JIM AUCHINCLOSS, of New Jersey, has been an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives for 22 years and, at this time of his retirement, I wanted to take this occasion to wish him the very best and to say that he certainly will be missed in Congress.

Everyone serving in the House realizes how valuable it is to have sound guidance and the advice and wisdom and ex-

perience during his freshman year. JIM AUCHINCLOSS, as a ranking Member of the House when I came to Congress in 1959, was never too busy to take time from his heavy office and committee responsibilities to give me the kind of help and guidance I needed. I shall never forget his many generous courtesies and helpful advice during this term—and ever since—as we served together in the House. I share many fond memories with all my colleagues who had the pleasure and the privilege of experiencing JIM'S untiring willingness to extend, without question, whatever assistance he could, not only to his colleagues, but more importantly, to his district, his State, and his country.

In saying farewell to JIM, I wish him many, many years of happiness and joy.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON H. CLAUSEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with regret that we in the House of Representatives see a man of the sterling worth which JIM AUCHINCLOSS possesses, retire from Congress. His character, integrity and courage were of the highest—he has been a "Rock of Gibralter" to many of the newer House Members, and was always ready to grant his sage counsel and impart of his wide knowledge to us freshmen when we sought his advice.

JIM AUCHINCLOSS' 22 years of service have indeed been creditable ones. He has served the Third District of New Jersey, as the dean of the New Jersey delegation in numerous capacities; service has been one of his keynotes; service and progress for the district and State he represented so well over the years, and for his country. He gave unselfishly of his time to Republicans and Democrats alike; he served the District of Columbia in more ways than one man can count during his service on the District Committee, and as ranking minority member of the House Public Works Committee, where I also serve, I have firsthand knowledge of his capabilities and judicious knowledge.

One could always turn to JIM AUCHINCLOSS—he was always ready with a smile and reassuring words when the going became a little rough and a helping hand was needed. His counsel was always available. His never-failing sense of humor always stood him in good stead. He had infinite patience and understanding of the problems at hand, and while I did not have the benefit of his friendship as long as many of our other colleagues did, I know that I can in good conscience say that he goes into retirement with the knowledge back of him, and the words of his many colleagues echoing "A job well done—enjoy your rest and relaxation." To this outstanding citizen and legislator, and to his lovely wife, I wish Godspeed.

The Late Frank Daley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, for many years I was associated with Frank Daley—newspaperman, publicist, and public relations man. Through the years he has been beloved by all who knew him, and was a special favorite of the Massachusetts delegation to the Congress of the United States. He was always one to lend a willing hand and was one of the greatest "idea men" in the field of politics. His loss is a tremendous blow not only to his lovely family, but to the multitude of friends he has acquired in Washington and throughout the Nation. He will be sorely missed.

I would like at this time to insert into the RECORD a tribute to Frank Daley, written by his close friend and mine, "Bud" Rogers of the Boston Globe, which appeared in the September 15 issue of that newspaper:

HE'D HAVE LIKED TIMING

(By Wilfrid C. Rodgers)

One of Boston's "last hurrah" characters who didn't make the book died over the weekend, but his death came at a time that would have pleased him.

Frank Daley of Beverly and Washington died in time for the big Sunday newspaper editions.

A public relations man and politicial tub thumper, Frank used to joke about such things.

"A politician has no control over how, when, or where he is born," Frank used to say, "but at least he should arrange things so he can die at a respectable time and give the newspapers time to prepare his obit."

Frank grew up in Charlestown during the days when James Michael Curley and Martin Lomasney were household words.

Asked once by a Senator where he had studied politics, he replied:

"Anyone born in Boston doesn't study politics. He acquires it by osmosis."

The system worked well for Frank.

He served for many years as a press agent for Hollywood stars Bert Lahr and Edward Everett Horton. Later he switched to politics.

"There's no difference in the professions," Frank would assert.

"A guy with color and class can make good in either, providing I'm working for him."

Frank worked for and publicized such men as the late Governor Dever, Senator Kefauver, Senator Humphrey, Speaker McCormack, Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Senator Kennedy, and most recently the Democratic National Committee.

It was through this job that Frank worked indirectly for the "classiest" one of all—John F. Kennedy.

During most of his lifetime Frank refused to be chained to a desk.

"Politics is a living thing. You can't find out what's going and what people are talking about behind a desk," he claimed.

In Washington, Frank was everywhere. He was at most of the cocktail parties although he hadn't had a drink for 20 years. His office was under his hat, and he claimed there wasn't room for a bottle under there also.

"At one time I thought I could drink all the whisky that was made. I couldn't but I kept the distilleries working overtime," he said.

He earned the label of "Mayor of Capitol Hill." And there is little doubt that he was the most popular man in the Capital with the page boys, elevator operators, and the young people who work on the Hill.

Elevator boys soon found out how to enlarge their wardrobe.

"How do you like this new tie?" Frank would ask as he entered an elevator.

"It's all right, but I think it looks too old for you, Mr. Daley," was the inevitable reply.

Without fail, the next day, Frank would have on a different tie and he would hand over the tie that had been criticized to the elevator boy, with instructions to give it to one of your "old friends." He was an extrovert, and none could escape or forget him if he decided to introduce himself.

He kept up correspondence with politicians and newsmen all over the Nation—some of whom he had met only once and for but a brief moment.

The owner of a hotel he lived in near Capitol Hill once complained that he would have to raise Frank's rent because it took an extra mail clerk to handle Frank's mail each day.

"Raise my rent? Why, don't you realize I'm getting you a million dollars worth of publicity just by having people write my address on my mail?

"Either cut my rent in half or I move tomorrow," Frank added.

His rent was cut in half.

Hon. James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I have many times said, and I will always say, that one of the most meaningful rewards of serving in the Congress is the privilege of associating with men and women from all sections of our great country and from all walks of life. It has been my privilege to serve in the Congress for 30 years. During this period I have come to know many who have been an inspiration to me. During this period I have made friendships I shall forever cherish.

One such is my beloved colleague JAMES AUCHINCLOSS, who is retiring from Congress after 22 years' service. No man could have a better friend than he. No district could have better representation than he has given the Third District of New Jersey. Few leave the Congress with as many friends as he has acquired and with as many achievements as he has achieved.

I want JIM to know that he will be greatly missed. He has left his mark not only on the official records of the Congress; he has left his mark on the minds and hearts of all of us who have been privileged to know him and to work with him. He leaves us with the best wishes of all of us. We shall never forget him. We hope he will not forget us but will frequently visit the Halls of Congress to consult with us, that we may have the benefit of his wisdom and the inspiration of his presence.

Polish Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, all peoples and nations in Central and Eastern Europe have had more than their share of misery and misfortune in recent times. They all were involved, much against their wishes, in the two world wars. They all suffered the fearful consequences of those wars. But among these peoples some lost more and suffered more, and for a longer period, than others. And none perhaps did so more than the unfortunate people of Poland.

The modern history of the Polish people, especially their history during the last two centuries, has been an unending struggle to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty. As a matter of tragic fact, they had lost their independence late in the 18th century, and their historic homeland was parcelled out among greedy neighbors—Austria, Prussia, and Russia. This callous and cruel fact did not, however, put an end to the Polish people's desire for freedom. While suffering under alien regimes for more than 100 years, they kept alive this most cherished of their national goals. In their homes, their churches, and in their schools they succeeded in instilling this idea in the hearts and minds of the nation's young men and women. When the appropriate time came, during the First World War, Poland had become a land of freedom-loving patriot-warriors.

In that war they fought in legions, in volunteer groups, and in isolated bands for their freedom. Their national goal came to be inseparably associated with the goal of the Allied and associated powers. Toward the end of the war, when the victory of the democratic forces was in sight, the Poles were justly heartened. Under the unrivalled leadership of Paderewski their cause was ably presented to the statesmen of the Allied governments. These men lent their support to the Polish cause. Finally, on November 11, the day on which the armistice was signed between the victors and the vanquished, Poland proclaimed her independence. That memorable day marks a great turning point, a great landmark, in Poland's turbulent modern history.

Unfortunately, today the independence achieved 46 years ago has again been lost. An independent and sovereign Poland no longer exists. Free Poland, born in 1918, was ravished by the Nazis and the Soviets very early in the last war. Poland is not the free country for which her patriotic people fought and died. Even under the present distressing circumstances, under Communist totalitarian dictatorship, Poles are making the best of a sad situation. We are confident that on the 46th anniversary of Poland's Independence Day, the spirit of freedom and independence still lives and we pray that Poland will again attain her goal of freedom.

Clinton, Mass., Firm in Major Publishing Feat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, September 25, the Warren Commission Report was issued, and in a matter of hours, printing craftsmen in my hometown of Clinton, Mass., were able to print copies of the report in quantity production for distribution throughout the United States.

The September 28 issue of the celebrated Worcester Telegram treats of this outstanding book-publishing accomplishment, and I include this news article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by unanimous consent:

CLINTON FIRM IN MAJOR PUBLISHING FEAT
(By John Hastings, Telegram staff reporter)

CLINTON.—The release of advance copies of the Warren Commission report on the assassination of President Kennedy to the press Friday touched off a major book publishing feat in Clinton.

Within 48 hours of the release at the White House, a 640-page, Popular Library paperback edition of the report was passing through final binding operations in production quantities at the Colonial Press, Inc., plant ready for nationwide distribution.

At 6:31 last night limited quantities of the book were being sold in major cities around the country, including New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Boston.

In Worcester the book was available at Henry's newsstand on Front Street at that time. Sales in Los Angeles began shortly after 7 p.m.

By Presidential edict, the report could not be made public until 6:30 last night.

To turn this feat, Popular Library assigned its editorial production team of James A. Bryans, vice president and editor in chief; Miss Eunice Boehle, executive editor; Thomas Del Prete, production manager and Miss Paula S. Korall. They worked in conjunction with an equally aggressive Colonial Press team of Enoch L. Jones, vice president and plant manager; Frank Guerette, sales manager, and Carl Valerio, night superintendent.

The final decision to attempt the project was not made until Friday morning in New York after conferences Thursday and early Friday.

UTMOST COOPERATION

The effort demanded the utmost in cooperation and split-second timing.

While Bryans was inside obtaining copies of the report, Friday, Miss Boehle circled the White House in a cab. Both were then rushed to the airport, where Bryans flew to New York for hurried conferences, editing on the way. Miss Boehle flew directly to Boston, also editing on the flight. There she was met by Colonial Press officials and brought to Clinton.

Using long-distance phone a positive decision was made and final editing completed. The production officials received the text to be printed about 5 p.m. Friday, around the clock operations were started, with linotypists, proofreaders, pressmen, and others working 12-hour shifts.

PRESS RUN

The press run began about 11 p.m. Saturday, and the first complete copy was finished shortly after 9 a.m. yesterday. The actual time from manuscript to production of finished copies was less than 42 hours.

Jones said that for a book of this size, 8 to 10 weeks is good time. He added that the task would have been impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of plant personnel, some of whom worked 24 hours straight while the work was in their department.

DISTRIBUTION HAMPERED

Massachusetts law, prohibiting trucks on the highways before 8 p.m. Sunday, hampered distribution efforts. Private cars were pressed into service to carry the books to airports for flights across the country. Cars were also used to transport them to New York and cities in this State.

At 8 p.m. trucks loaded with 50,000 copies left the plant for key distribution points. Another 50,000 will be shipped by this morning.

Guerette said the first press run for the book, which sells for 75 cents, is scheduled for 250,000 copies with the final run expected to be from 3 to 4 million.

Representative McCulloch's Resolution Wins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article from the September 15, 1964, issue of Drive, the bimonthly publication of the Department of Legislation and Political Education, International Brotherhood of Teamsters. As one of the members of the special subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary to conduct the study and investigation of the activities of the Department of Justice, I believe the article of sufficient general interest to bring it to the attention of the Members of the House. The article is as follows:

REPRESENTATIVE MCCULLOCH'S RESOLUTION WINS

A victory for decency and fair play in the administration of American justice has finally been won.

An unprecedented victory was scored—unprecedented in that this is the first time in recorded history that the chairman of a powerful House committee has been overruled by the members of his own committee.

After months of clamor and public demand, the House Judiciary Committee has ordered a full and open investigation of the activities and practices of the Department of Justice under the administration of the former Attorney General, Bobby Kennedy.

Representative MCCULLOCH, Republican, of Ohio, proposed a compromise resolution which would enable a "study in depth" of the Department of Justice and its observance or nonobservance of the individual rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Representative McCULLOCH, ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, has earned a great deal of respect on both sides of the House. His sense of fairplay, his belief in our cherished freedoms and liberties, have won him commendation from Republican ad Democratic leadership alike.

Representative McCULLOCH'S resolution was a compromise change from the original resolution offered by Representative LIBONATI, Democrat, of Illinois, which would have directed congressional investigators to look specifically into the Government's prosecution of James R. Hoffa, Roy Cohn, and Gen. Edwin Walker.

Before the final victory was won, there was quite a battle at the meeting of the House Judiciary Committee, attended by 33 of the 35 members.

MATHIAS AMENDMENT

Representative MATHIAS, Republican, of Maryland, offered an amendment that would have specifically excluded any cases currently under appeal. This would have eliminated any look at the Hoffa matter. This was defeated 17 to 16. The McCulloch resolution was passed by a vote of 20 to 13.

Despite an almost complete press blackout on the news, Americans concerned with our liberties and freedoms sent commendations by letter and telegram praising the committee's action in setting up a broad-based subcommittee of 10 to conduct the inquiry—6 from the majority party and 4 from the minority.

The special subcommittee is authorized to employ consultants possessing such outstanding qualifications as law school professors, political scientists, and practicing attorneys. This course was decided on to make certain that a full and complete investigation and study is conducted by the special subcommittee.

LONG, HARD FIGHT

It has been a long, hard fight since March 23 when the House Judiciary Committee voted to set up an ad hoc subcommittee to look into the charges surrounding Hoffa's trial in Chattanooga.

The committee was appointed and nothing happened. The public became uneasy and restless. Then came colloquies on the floors of both the House and Senate. A special motorcade representing all segments of labor arrived in Washington in the month of June to tell Members of Congress how labor felt about the "stall."

A letter then was circulated among members of the House Judiciary Committee demanding that a meeting be held and that action be taken to insure a full and open investigation of the charges surrounding the Hoffa trial.

In August, five noted professors and an outstanding lawyer joined in sending telegrams to the committee pointing out the urgent need for an investigation of the Justice Department. The Department, they said in the telegram, must be prevented from using its "awesome" power to convert itself into "an instrument of Government oppression."

Two of the signers—Thomas I. Emerson and Fowler W. Harper—are professors of law at Yale. They were joined by Vern Countryman, Harvard law professor, Gerhard P. Van Arkel, former General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, and two political scientists, H. H. Wilson, of Princeton, and Daniel M. Berman, of the American University in Washington.

MEETING FINALLY HELD

Finally, a meeting of the House Judiciary Committee was held and a resolution proposed by Representative LIBONATI was adopted by a vote of 18–14. This was knocked out on a parliamentary and procedural technicality.

Then came the vote on the McCulloch compromise resolution. A dramatic highlight of this meeting came about when Representative MEADER, Republican, of Michigan, came to the meeting in a wheelchair—his leg in a splint. He had been brought in by special arrangements with an airline. Representative MEADER said that he wanted to be there "so that I may be counted when the vote is taken to make certain that no one and nothing ever threatens our cherished freedoms and liberties."

A proof of the importance of this resolution came about almost immediately with phone calls and telegrams being received in Washington indicating that other people wanted to be heard about the vendetta-type tactics of the Department of Justice.

CELLER DRAGS HIS FEET

Representative CELLER, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has already told the press that there will be no action taken until after the November elections, if at all.

However, the precedent has already been smashed of allowing the chairman of a powerful committee to ride roughshod over its members. There is no question but that those who supported the McCulloch resolution will now fight to make certain that its mandate is carried out to the fullest possible extent.

Americans will fight to the very last to protect those liberties and those freedoms which have been guaranteed to us by the Constitution and by the laws of our very beloved United States.

Hon. Carl Vinson, Illustrious American

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 2, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions heretofore I have addressed the House concerning the magnificent, inspiring career, monumental contributions to our defense, the Nation and the world and the extremely laudable, outstanding service of the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, my esteemed and beloved friend, Congressman CARL VINSON, who is retiring from the House this year.

As this great, inspiring American completes his 50 years of truly, incomparable service and retires from the House, I am desirous of making a few additional comments. First, as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I can state categorically that the Honorable CARL VINSON'S departure from his top place in our ranks will leave a void that can never precisely be filled.

He has a uniqueness and an individuality all his own. He is not only a great leader, but he is truly an institution, a strong personality, a powerful intellect and an untiring worker compounded of many astonishing ingredients and attributes.

He was said to hold a tight rein on the committee and that is true. Unceasing in his own labors, he was systematic, methodical, dogged, and incessent in pressing for action and in completing any and every program given to his charge.

It was said of him that he was dictatorial and that is also true, with the mitigating qualification that he wielded his gavel with an earthy humor that enjoined bitterness, quickly dispelled resentment and speedily replaced any bitterness with the balm of resignation.

The committee learned to expect his vigorous techniques and to be reconciled to them, hopeful in the belief that another day might bring a different result, as it so often did.

The chairman never hesitated to move up the hill one day and down the next, and this probably is the best tribute that could be paid to his openmindedness, his flexibility and willingness to change his mind when some compromise, never one of principle, would leave a better flavor and make for a stronger bill.

His knowledge and understanding of military and defense problems in the overall sense far exceeded that of any other man in the Congress or the country for that matter.

Even members of the Joint Chiefs or specialists in the Defense Department as individuals could not hope to have the wide, all-encompassing information and knowledge that the chairman possessed of our great Defense Department and our widely deployed armed services. This knowledge was acquired through the years and was supplemented by continuous, hard study and work.

The chairman's day started very early in the morning and continued into the hours of the night, uninterrupted by extraneous interests or social engagements.

CARL VINSON was in truth, Mr. Navy—"The Admiral," as we knew him—Mr. Marine Corps, Mr. Army, Mr. Air Force, and Mr. Defense all wrapped up in one inquiring, restless personality endowed with a sharp, searching mind, a ceaseless quest for the facts and an indomitable purpose.

The chairman knew how to select, organize and work with his brilliant staff. He was a hard taskmaster, but a loyal, devoted, generous friend, a man of kindness, compassion, and generous impulse.

The chairman knew how to get his bills through the House and in this respect probably had no equal in the legislative history of the Nation. His formula in this regard was careful, infinitely painstaking preparation, well-drawn, well-considered bills and committee reports, exhausting hearings, careful presentation of the facts and clear, accurate explanations of the provisions down to the very last detail.

He thoroughly knew the temper of the House as well as any eccentricities it might at times display, and he understood the motives, the methods, and the concerns of individual Members.

He was eloquent in presentation, alert and resourceful in debate, and always honest, fair and courteous with the House.

His eagerness and zestful enthusiasm in getting his bills through was an unforgettable spectacle to behold. So compelling was his eagerness that he never relaxed for one moment when measures reported out of the committee were pending on the floor and were handled by

chairmen of subcommittees or other members. On these occasions, it was his custom to sit close by and direct a barrage of "sotto voce" instructions and staccato orders to the Member in charge of the bill.

For this great Georgian, the game was not over until the last man was out, the rollcall completed, and the bill passed.

There was something in his makeup, whether it came from his stanch forebears, from his early environment, from the homes, fields, and woods of his beloved native State, or from the deep recesses of his sterling character in the making of which all these things played a part that deeply impressed one who knew him well, that here in this great man was an ineffable strain of gentleness, human feeling, kindness, and concern for his fellow man. Behind the facade of formality and ritual that played a necessary part in his public life, in the chairman's human relations there was a deep understanding, a generosity of impulse, and a kindness of spirit that no austere procedure could efface.

CARL VINSON, deep down, was not what one might term an outgoing personality. But, deep down, he was approachable, understanding, sympathetic, and willing to give his counsel and help to those who sought them.

Around his chairmanship and committee work he shaped an aura, an image, and a deep impression of the very serious challenging problems that were presented to him and the committee, and no one attending any of the sessions whether witness, Member, official, or spectator could mistake even for one moment that this man and his committee were engaged in the profoundly critical business of carrying out the constitutional mandate of defending the United States in the best and most complete, efficient way that this great end could be achieved.

The name of CARL VINSON will live long in the history of this Congress and this country.

He was a man of great ability, great mentality, great purpose, and great achievement. His name will be noted in the annals of America in superlatives.

He will be known in history, just as he has been known to us who so deely respect, admire, and love him, as one of the greatest Americans ever to serve in this body and one of the greatest leaders this Nation has ever known.

I am sorry to see this great leader leave the House, and I tried many times to dissuade him from carrying out the decision he had made to retire. But in his retirement, as in all other things, he knew just what he wanted to do. He had thought the matter out carefully, and when he came to a decision and his mind was made up he was intent on carrying it out.

Among the superlatives that I would like to apply to the great CARL VINSON is this—that he is the youngest octogenarian that I have ever known—solid, alert, active of body, and keen of mind.

We will miss him, and he will miss us too, because the House has been his life for the past 50 years, and it will not be easy for this "war horse" to forget the excitement, the clash, the clamor, and tumult that usually surrounds this hallowed place, and I know that he will never forget the many warm, admiring friends that he has here any more than we will ever forget him.

He will always be a tonic and an inspiration to me, and to all of us who served with him, and I wish for him many years of contentment, relaxation, happiness and peace, and all the rewards that his long, busy, useful life entitles him to receive.

I hope that in the serenity of his country home in Georgia, surrounded by his old friends and neighbors, and his dear ones, that he will find satisfactions and enjoyments that are somewhat different and more relaxing than the ones he found here.

I hope that his farm and his fine herd of cattle and everything else on his lovely place will flourish and keep him busy and I know one thing for certain that the people around his farm, with no reflection upon their activities and diligence in the past, will keep busy now that the "head of the manor" has returned home.

The shouting and the tumult cease,
The captains and the kings depart.

But no shouting and no tumult can ever dim the memory, and the achievements, and the essential goodness and nobility of the illustrious gentleman from Georgia, the incomparable CARL VINSON. May choicest blessings always attend him and his loved ones. And give him continued good health, long life, and happiness.

Tribute to James C. Auchincloss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret the 88th Congress bids a fond, reluctant farewell to one of the finest Members of Congress.

Congressman JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS, from the great State of New Jersey, after many active dedicated years of service in Congress, has decided to retire, effective January of 1965. The privilege of serving with him for 4 years has been a most significant part of my life as his guidance, leadership strength, and wise counsel shall indeed be missed.

My association with JIM on the Public Works Committee, a committee on which he has served as ranking minority member for 6 years, has been a rewarding and invaluable experience. The effective leadership in the development of legislation in the best interest of all the people of our Nation, which he so ably exercised on the committee and in the Chamber, is a most enviable leadership.

JIM'S friendship, congenial manner, and valuable contributions to this body will be greatly missed.

I wish him many years of good health and happiness and may continued success be his.

The 250th Anniversary of Littleton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor and privilege for me to salute the wonderful town of Littleton, Mass., in my district, which is observing its 250th anniversary this year.

It was on November 2, 1714, that the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts approved the petition of some 23 citizens of the Nashoba area to incorporate the township of Nashoba. Later, on December 3, 1715, the town was officially named Littleton.

Located in an area of Massachusetts which was settled by pioneer colonists in the early days of American history, Littleton has grown from this small beginning into a thriving and active community. From earliest days, Littleton has been literally steeped in religious and patriotic dedication. The town was founded by resolute, God-fearing people, hardy souls, who did not know the meaning of the words "fear or doubt," determined pioneers, unalterably devoted to belief in divine providence and determined to live under conditions of freedom, liberty, and peace.

While Littleton was incorporated as a town in 1714, its history goes back to the very earliest days of American history. In 1654, Nashobah was established as the sixth "praying Indian" town established by the famed John Eliot, English missionary to the Indians.

The settlement grew slowly because the times were troubled. The constant threat of Indian wars and actual fighting between ominous periods of peace did little to encourage the growth of frontier settlements, but despite all these hazards the small community continued to grow and progress.

Like most New England settlements of those early days, Littleton originated in travail, painstaking work and bitter sacrifice. The early colonists and settlers lived under primitive conditions, their rock-strewn farms were but small openings in the vast expanse of forest. Living in a veritable wilderness beset by wild beasts and hostile Indians, these hardy pioneers set up their villages separated by intervening woods and wilderness.

And in the center of their community, they set up their meeting houses, which became the center of their profound religious spirit and the focal point of worship, law and order and free democratic government.

The early founders were devout and patriotic people. They placed their faith in their God and their reliance in the developing strength of their free institutions and their courageous fellow countrymen.

Their powerful spiritual strength, their incredible faith and courage, amazing resourcefulness and determination, their persistency and sacrifices and their courage continue to inspire and guide this

great Nation of ours to new heights of progress and advancement.

Mr. Speaker, the early settlers of Littleton played a vital and important role in the historic beginnings of this Nation. Town records show that Littleton men fought in the French and Indian wars of 1754 to 1763, taking part in several expeditions into Canada and other campaigns.

On that fateful and historic day of April 19, 1775, Littleton quickly responded to the cry for help from Concord and Lexington. The local militia formed and immediately marched to Concord, thence to Cambridge. Revolutionary War records show that 150 men served from Littleton, a distinctly good representation since the male population of the town over 16 in 1777 was only 209.

In war and peace, in struggle, joy, and sorrow, in adversity, and times of smooth sailing, the men and women of Littleton have always rallied with fortitude and fidelity to the Nation's call wherever that trail might lead. From Bunker Hill to Korea and Vietnam, Littleton has shown its mettle and demonstrated its allegiance to the proud standards of freedom.

In June, Littleton conducted a week-long program of impressive exercises to mark 250 years of progress and growth and to recall the accomplishments and deeds of the courageous early settlers. At that time it was a great honor and privilege for me to join the townspeople as guest speaker at impressive commemorative exercises on Littleton Common.

The Littleton anniversary program, which was so well planned by hardworking committees for the entertainment of townspeople and the many visitors from neighboring communities, was truly impressive, and I am very thankful that it was possible for me to participate in these memorable exercises.

I congratulate the people of Littleton on attaining 250 years of growth and progress and extend to its distinguished officials, religious, civic, and business leaders, and all its citizens sincere good wishes for a truly glorious future.

Mr. Speaker, in recognition of Littleton's 250th anniversary, I would like to include as part of my remarks the text of my anniversary message to Littleton and the prize-winning essays of Littleton High School students which appeared in the official 250th Littleton anniversary program book:

AN ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE TO THE LITTLETON COMMUNITY

I take great pleasure in saluting the historic town of Littleton upon its 250th anniversary and extend heartiest congratulations and good wishes to this beautiful New England community on this outstanding and memorable occasion.

In looking back over Littleton's great past, we can take pride in the strength of character, the goodness of heart, and the faith in God of Littleton's citizens down through the years. Settled by pioneer colonists as early as 1642, Littleton has every reason to be proud of the remarkable record of achievements and glorious accomplishments of its people throughout the years.

Some families residing in Littleton today can trace their beginnings to these early settlers who helped to carve American civilization out of the wilderness and forge the great tradition, eventful history and proud heritage which have made our Nation what it is today among the peoples of the world. All its people share and loyally embrace this great American heritage.

Under brilliant leadership in civic and political affairs, in industry and commerce, and in patriotic, cultural and spiritual endeavors, Littleton is an inspiring symbol of American growth and progress.

As your U.S. Representative in Congress and as neighbor and friend, I am most gratified and very proud indeed to send greetings, salutations and my very best wishes to all the citizens and residents of Littleton on this meaningful and wonderful 250th anniversary celebration.

With greetings, warm regards and best wishes to all, I am

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

LITTLETON: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

(By Marcia Killay, first prize)

"In 1713, 23 inhabitants of Concord, Chelmsford Stow, and Nashoba petitioned the general court for a grant of Nashoba in order to settle a township. A committee from the general court looked over the proposed area and submitted its report. The House of Representatives then recommended that the area be granted a township. On November 2, 1714, an act incorporating the town of Littleton was entered into the General Court of Massachusetts." In this manner did the town of Littleton originate, proudly taking its place among the towns, villages, and cities that make up the United States.

Because Littleton was settled in the area between two ponds, the town was originally called "Nashoba," the Indian name for double water. In 1715 it was decided to rename the town "Lyttleton," in honor of George Lyttleton, a prominent political figure in England. However, because of an error in spelling, the name adopted was "Littleton."

Like the other early towns of the untamed New World, Littleton's first years were filled with hardship and sorrow. Although many of the Indians were friendly, the struggling white settlement was frequently plagued by angry savages, causing the townspeople to live constantly with fear. It was in this atmosphere that the people of Littleton worked and prayed to create a home for themselves and their children. There are many stories attesting to the bravery and courage of the early settlers, but the one Littleton is especially proud of relating is the tale of one courageous 15-year-old girl. One peaceful Saturday morning, Mary Shepard was watching for Indians on Quagana Hill while her brothers worked in their barn. A band of unfriendly Indians stealthily crept up behind Mary, stifled her cry of warning, and dragged her away to captivity. The same night, after darkness had dropped its protective covering over the forest, the brave girl stole a horse and saddle and rode through the wilds to safety. The type of courage which this act typifies could be found in most of the settlers of Littleton; that is, Mary Shepard's story is a shining example of the type of hardy and courageous people from whom we of Littleton today are descended.

Since that period of time when the Indians were the main menace to the settlers, Littleton has encountered and weathered other serious problems. The people of Littleton have always served their country with bravery and intelligence, being represented in each conflict and every war in which the United States was engaged. We should be especially proud of our town's performance in the Revolutionary War, when the very ideals of freedom and democracy were being contested. Littleton was well inhabited by patriotic citizens, the leading Patriot being William Henry Prentice, a tavern keeper. Since Littleton is located so near the "seat of the Revolution," her townspeople were directly involved with the struggle for independence. Luther Blanchard, a young Patriot from Littleton, was the first man to be hit by a British bullet at the famous old North Bridge in Concord. The inhabitants of our town were also active in the World Wars, serving the United States not only "on the front," but also here at home. Yes, Littleton has sound reasons for being proud of its heritage and of its inhabitants who worked, fought, and prayer to create a free America for us.

Today Littleton is a thriving community and an attractive site for new industry and the development of the individual. With a steady increase in population, Littleton is expanding culturally, industrially, and spiritually. A tour through our town would include such major industries as the United Elastic Co., Bowl-Mor, Warren Manufacturing, and the new branch of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Such a tour would also visit our several houses of worship—the churches that are the living symbols of the American ideals of freedom. The Reuben Hoar Library, which is remarkably well equipped for a town of Littleton's size, would be visited next to remind the tourist that the inhabitants of Littleton realize the need for keeping informed and broadening one's range of knowledge. This realization is further strengthened by the publication of our own newspaper, the Littleton Independent. Next the imaginary tour would visit our three schools, the two for grammar grades and the high school. These schools are well equipped with materials and good teachers to provide the youth of Littleton with the sound education which they must have in order to exist and succeed in modern American life. Of course a town meeting would have to be seen by the tour, since such a meeting is democracy at work in Littleton. We who live here are fortunate in that the town is small enough to allow anyone to attend the meetings, and thus we all have the opportunity to watch and participate in our town government and proceedings. Time would run out before the tour could visit the countless other establishments which mark Littleton as a modern American town. The visitor would fail to see the supermarkets, the garages, the barber and beauty shops, the dress shops, the gift shops, and the many "unknown" small businesses. Yes, the tour would only scratch the surface of our "little town," but we who live here should be aware of the activity under the surface, and then transform this awareness into a sense of pride and loyalty.

At this period in history when Littleton is proudly celebrating her 250th anniversary, we "Littletonites" can look back upon our heritage and forward into the future. We of Littleton may be justly proud of the role our town has played, is playing, and will continue to play in the building and strengthening of the principles of freedom and democracy for which our country stands. Now is the time for each Littleton citizen to reevaluate his position as a citizen of the United States, to remember once again how very lucky he is to be living in a country where freedom and democracy are practiced and not just preached. And then the citizen must not forget that his beliefs and his attitudes are the factors which will mold and form his town in the future. Littleton—a small town in Massachusetts, a tiny black dot on the map of the United States, a blank space on the map of the world—and Littleton, the center of the universe for those who live here.

LITTLETON: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

(By Ronald Foeley, second prize)

"December 3, 1715: Resolve. The ownership of a grant made November 2, 1714, is corrected and it is ordered that the name of

the township to be henceforth called Littleton." Such was the humble beginning of the town of Littleton. The above quotation represents the tireless efforts of the pioneers and settlers of the Nashoba Valley, specifically the Nashoba Plantation of Littleton in forming a home, community, and town. The past history of Littleton is actually very colorful and intriguing to study. One cannot just live in the past, however; one must think of the present, for it is through progress and growth that those qualities most precious to us are maintained and preserved. And one cannot live day to day without thinking about the future.

The variegated history of Littleton is a fascinating journey back in time. The date of the incorporation of the town of Littleton is erroneously recorded as December 3, 1715; it should have been November 2, 1714. During the period from November 2, 1714, to December 3, 1715, however, the town bore the name of Nashoba. Furthermore, that area of which Littleton or Nashoba was a part, was familiar to white settlers as early as 1640. Therefore, the picturesque history of the area of Littleton goes back in time almost to that of Plymouth, Boston, and other old towns of Massachusetts. Initially, the name of this town, Littleton, was chosen to honor Hon. George Lyttleton, M.P., a commissioner of the Treasury of the Commonwealth. From the incorporation of the town in 1714 until the Revolution in 1775, Littleton maintained a steady rate of growth. By this time certain parts of the town and designated names such as the Common, Old Common, and Nashoba. Of course the town had to have a church, a minister (one of the stipulations of the town charter) and also a meeting house. All of these were acquired shortly after incorporation. During this time Littleton attracted settlers thus increasing the population considerably. This growth in population resulted in the construction of homes, roads, a store, a tavern, and the cultivation of many farms. At the same time agitation for self-government became more vociferous. During the Revolutionary War, Littleton played a highly significant role in the struggle for freedom. Following the Revolutionary War, Littleton's area growth increased steadily, simultaneously the population growth soared, and with this expansion in population came the cultivation of more land, the opening of grammar schools, and the founding of industries such as the old Warren Street saw and grist mill, the apple factory by the depot, and the elastics works adjacent to the Common. During the Civil War the town supplied the Union with well over the required quota of 100 men. But the "War of the Rebellion" (as it was termed in the town records) was not as important as the Revolutionary War, and did not carry quite the same amount of enthusiasm as the earlier war. Nevertheless, Littleton did participate in one Civil War movement, the underground railroad.

The end of the Civil War did not result in a spiraling upward movement in population growth; it did, however, foretell a marked expansion in the construction of public buildings. With a significant contribution from Mr. Reuben Hoar, Littleton's first public library was erected. By now many new roads had been built between Littleton and surrounding towns. A few more one-room school houses were also built during this period as well as a post office and telegraph station. Because of 250 years of growth, Littleton is very hard to describe in detail. Naturally, Littleton has increased in population over these 250 years; and many, many homes have been built to accommodate all of the present families and people of the town. Littleton today is a thriving town whose industries and agricultural pursuits form the basis of its economy. The town has a combination townhouse-fire station, a library, two large grammar schools supplying the educational needs of its pre-high school children, and a modern high school incorporating the latest techniques in education. These constitute the public buildings of Littleton. In addition, churches of various denominations maintain spiritual guard over her people; finally many stores and shops supply the material wants of her residents. Littleton also boasts the existence of such institutions as the historical society, Lyceum, American Field Service, and the present 250th Anniversary Committee Inc., whose raison d'etre is the satisfaction of the desire of her citizens for intellectual improvement.

But the present always becomes the past in a following instant and the future is always before us. Yet, it is an unqualified axiom of life that the seeds of the past are contained in the present, and the present heralds the advent of the future. In closely scrutinizing the Littleton of today we may discover the characteristics of the Littleton of tomorrow. Some of these characteristics may be found in industry, for Littleton has much land that is already being offered for sale as industrial land. Because of the ever improving network of highways, Littleton, now a remote suburb of Boston, will become an actual suburb of the Hub. Naturally, the population growth will continue. Concurrent with this population increase will be an increase in public facilities. But discussion of the future must necessarily be speculative; in this uncertain world the only certainty is uncertainty. All one can do is live the present, remember the past, and advance with the future.

The history of Littleton is typical of many New England towns in its development. The words and deeds of all of us today are writing the present history of Littleton with the future obscured in the foggy mists of time which can be penetrated only by the immortal eye of the omnipresent and omnipotent Almighty, to whose mercy we must commend our beloved town.

Littleton: Past, Present, and Future

(By James Lounsbury, third prize)

Ponds, corn, and apples dominated the scene of Littleton, or Nashobah, as it was called in 1654, when the Reverend John Eliot with his "praying Indians" founded Littleton. Tahattawan, the Indian for whom the street was named, is thought to have been responsible for the first settling in Littleton because he was the leader of his tribe.

In the past we have heard of the legend of the strange rumbling noises which seemed to come from the pond which we know as Nagog Pond. At first the Indians thought that the hills adjacent to the pond were hollow, and that the wind was held captive inside them. Because of this superstitious belief, the "praying Indians" held their civil and religious order near the hills. Since we no longer hear these noises they have been attributed to early earthquakes.

Mr. John Hoare seemed to be a predominant figure in the times and through his efforts the Indians helped to cultivate the land that would later come to be known of as "apple valley." It was these early settlers, the "praying Indians," who laid the foundation for our town.

Crazy teenagers, sympathetic parents, and friendly elders, make up the present scene of Littleton, which has changed quite a bit since the Indians left. Its three schools, six churches, townhouse, two post offices, and library, make up the public life, while there are many gas stations, two dairies, one supermarket, two drugstores, two florists, two hardware stores, a restaurant, three diners, two banks, three industries, and many small variety stores, to comprise the business life.

The teenagers are continually complaining that "There's not a thing to do." While the older onlookers can't see how we find time to do all that there is for us. But with all their complaints we must realize that they will be the senior citizens of tomorrow.

As for the future, who can say what there is in store for us. Maybe the town will become completely modern and industrialized, or perhaps it will be kept as a historic landmark. Will the teenagers still complain that there is nothing to do, and will the farmers still raise apples and corn? Will the town still have its lovely views and valleys? Will the summers still be green, the falls a burnished gold, the winters a blanket of white? Who can say? The only way we will ever know is to wait.

Through all the years of superstition, settlement, farming, industrialization, and population, Littleton has in the past and present had a friendly glow which is contagious. I hope, as I know we all do, that Littleton always stays just as it is.

Littleton: Past, Present and Future

(By Jay Pacsay, honorable mention)

When the Pilgrims landed in America, they found a land where they could be free to live as they wished. Of the many towns settled by courageous men and women such as they, Littleton is one. When Littleton was first settled, it was called Nashoba. The white man came to Littleton primarily because the Indians failed to come back to the area after the King Philip War, and the settlers found Littleton to be an area of rich soil suited for farming and living.

Through the years, Littleton men have served in every war our country has been engaged in beginning with the Revolutionary War. During the Revolutionary War, a Littleton man, Luthor Blanchard, was the first man to receive a wound at the Battle of Concord. During the Civil War, Littleton supplied more than her quota of men and aided immeasurably the Northern cause. Once again in the First and Second World Wars the men of Littleton served their country faithfully by joining the armed services and fighting their country's enemies.

Today, Littleton is a modern rural community. Ever since the end of World War II there has been a movement away from the congested districts of the cities to the rural areas. This is why Littleton's population has increased tremendously. But people settle here in our town not just to get away from the crowded city, but also because Littleton is graced with an abundance of natural beauty and because Littleton is a fine place in which to raise a family. Perhaps many people moved away from the city because they did not believe a growing boy or girl could live a clean wholesome life in the city, as they can here in our town.

For although Littleton has no place where a teenager can go for amusement, such as a bowling alley or movie, it has a wonderful recreation club which helps the town's teenagers tremendously by providing dances and sports activities for their enjoyment.

To accommodate the increasing number of children, Littleton has built a new high school and a new elementary school within the past few years. These are in addition to an older elementary school. So, between the number of schools and the number of pupils, Littleton has adequate facilities to insure the pupil a proper education.

In the past Littleton High School graduates have been proud of the school from which they graduated, and they had good reason to be. For Littleton has always had a high standard of education and always will as long as the townspeople care enough to insure the preservation and maintenance of such excellence, and there is every reason to believe that they will. I believe they will because the people of Littleton are proud of their town and they should be. They are proud of the products produced in their

town which are sent to all parts of the Nation. They are proud that, in the past, Littleton has given her sons and daughters to defend our God-given rights and our liberty.

At these crucial times let us not forget that Littleton increased its farm production to help out in its own way the cause for which our country was fighting. For these reasons, Littleton is assured of a bright and happy future if the townspeople make beneficial changes when need warrants it, and if they keep on living their lives as true and honest Americans. For Littleton and communities similar to her are necessary to our State and our country, if this Nation is to continue to be the world leader, as I pray to God she always will be.

The 88th Congress Enacts Dynamic Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since coming to the House of Representatives in 1959 to send a summary of the major legislative actions taken by each Congress to my constituents every 2 years.

Following is a copy of this report:

EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS ENACTS DYNAMIC RECORD

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 1964.

DEAR CONSTITUENT: The 88th Congress has just adjourned and, as I have done at the conclusion of each Congress, I am anxious to send you this report to keep you fully informed of what has been accomplished in the last 2 years.

The Congress passed highly important legislation in the areas of education, defense, foreign policy, tax reduction and reform, nuclear testing, and antipoverty, as well as updating existing programs in manpower retraining, the Peace Corps, problems of senior citizens, housing, mass transit. The Congress scored a legislative "first" in the field of mental health.

This 88th Congress has quite properly been called the most dynamic Congress in the history of our country.

The programs we have enacted have given our Nation 44 consecutive months of economic expansion, the longest in the history of any nation in the world.

Members of Congress, both Democrat and Republican, have given long and conscientious consideration to their responsibilities.

The Washington Post said that, in quantity and quality, the 88th Congress is destined to rank as one of the top legislative performers of our time and added: "It can never be said of the 88th that it 'rubber-stamped' anything."

On the inside of this letter, you will find my traditional listing of the major bills which have been passed by this Congress and which I supported.

My vote on this legislation to a great extent reflects the majority opinion of the people in our 11th District. I have supported the President when I believed he was right and have not hesitated to oppose his proposals when I thought he was wrong.

I am sure that the people of our district know of my independent voting record. But it would be wrong to vote against legislation just for the sake of being contrary.

This report is necessarily brief and centered on my primary duties as lawmaker. Of course, I also spend a large portion of my time helping 11th District citizens on such personal matters as veterans' problems, social security, small business and military service, and immigration; working to bring new industries and Government contracts to our area; seeking approval of new and improved postal service, in short, serving as a link between you and your Federal Government.

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Member of Congress.

THE ECONOMY IS BOOMING

The State of Illinois and the 11th District have been sharing in the extraordinary expansion of the U.S. economy since early 1961.

We have experienced the full impact of the longest economic upswing in the history of our country.

The current business upswing, already the longest on record for a period of peace, shows no signs of coming to an end. The advance has been so smooth that it has failed to develop the distortions in costs, prices, inventories, and investments that often in the past have brought on a recession.

More jobs: Four million more people are working today than in January 1961. The total number at work is the highest on record—over 72 million. The number of long-term unemployed has shrunk nearly 30 percent from early 1961.

Bigger incomes: An average factory worker now earns $103 a week—a new high. That compares with $89 in January 1961. He can buy 11½ percent more with his paycheck now.

The $11.5 billion tax cut this year and the growing prosperity are boosting personal incomes to new all-time peaks. The estimated after-tax income of Americans in the first half of 1964 is running at an annual rate of almost $30 billion above a year earlier. And it is running $60 billion higher than in 1961.

Higher profits: Dividends for the country's 20 million stockholders were 11 percent higher this spring compared to a year ago. Corporate profits after taxes are at a current annual rate of $31 billion—up nearly $10 billion since 1961.

More stable prices: The wholesale price level is actually slightly below its average for 1961. Consumer prices are edging up only 1.2 percent per year, compared to 1.4 percent per year during the previous 8 years (1953–61). The U.S. record of price stability exceeds that of any other industrial nation.

Economic expansion: The total output of goods and services (gross national product) this year will be about $625 billion, up $120 billion since 1960). Allowing for price changes, this is almost a 20-percent increase in 4 years—more than 4 percent a year. The corresponding average annual increase in the previous 4 years (1956–60) was 2.4 percent per year. Capital investment by U.S. business this year will be 12 percent higher than in 1963. Since 1960, gross farm income has risen by almost $4 billion.

INCREASE IN AMERICA'S MILITARY MIGHT, 1961–64

"We must be strong enough to win any war, and we must be wise enough to prevent one."—President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964.

Number of nuclear warheads up 150 percent.

Total megotonage in strategic alert forces up 200 percent.

Tactical nuclear force in Western Europe up 60 percent.

Combat ready Army divisions up 45 percent.

Tactical fighter squadrons up 44 percent.

Airlift capability up 75 percent.

Special forces trained for counterinsurgency up 800 percent.

Modernization of fleet up 100 percent in funds for general ship construction and conversion.

Along with increased military might, Secretary McNamara's cost reduction program, with its stress on an efficient and streamlined Defense Department, has achieved economies of $2.5 billion in fiscal year 1964 and is expected to cut costs by an estimated $4.6 billion by fiscal year 1967.

It is an insult to the American people to suggest that a nation which spends as much as we do on defense could be "soft on communism."

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION TAKEN BY THE 88TH CONGRESS

On these two pages you will find a brief digest of legislation enacted by the 88th Congress. Space would not permit listing of all the measures approved into law, but this will give you a fairly good cross section of the many subjects I must study as your Congressman.

Thousands of you have written me about specific legislation and I have tried to include in this list many of those measures about which you inquired. Should you wish additional information on any of these laws, please write to me here in Washington and specify the Public Law number in which you are interested. It will be a pleasure to send you additional information explaining the measure.

First session

National Defense and Internal Security

Public Law 88–2: Extends for 4 years, to June 30, 1967, authority of President to draft 18½–26-year-olds into military service. Also extends Doctor Draft and Dependents' Assistance Acts, and the suspension of personnel strength limitation on Armed Forces.

Public Law 88–28: Authorizes $15.3 billion for procurement, construction of planes, missiles, ships in fiscal 1964; includes $363.7 million additional for RS–70 manned bombers.

Public Law 88–174: Authorizes $1.6 billion for construction projects at Armed Forces bases at home and abroad, including 10,000 family-housing units for members of Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Public Law 88–113: Authorizes $5.3 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1964, for research, development, construction of facilities, and administration.

Public Law 88–27: Permits prosecution in U.S. district courts of offenses against this country committed abroad.

International Affairs

Public Law 88–205: Authorizes $3.59 billion for mutual security programs, continuing economic assistance and military aid to our allies for 1964; includes $1 billion military aid, $925 million development loans, $225 million grants and technical aid, and $160 million contingency fund.

Public Law 88–186: Authorizes $20 million for operations and research of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 1964 and 1965.

Public Law 88–101: Extends Export-Import Bank 5 years to June 30, 1968; increases its lending authority from $7 to $9 billion and its authority for guarantees and insurance, under the export credit program, by $1 billion to a total of $2 billion.

Public Law 88–53: Extends for 2 years the reduction from $500 to $100 the value of duty-free imports allowed returning American tourists.

Public Law 88–200: Increases authorization for U.S. Peace Corps to $102 million, number of volunteers to 11,300.

Public Law 88–6: Proclaims Winston Churchill an honorary American citizen.

Treaties

Executive M: Treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater, signed at Moscow,

August 5, 1963, by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Ratified September 24, 1963.

Executive H: International Coffee Agreement, signed at New York, September 28, 1962, by 58 nations, to be effective for 5 years after ratification, to stabilize and regulate prices of coffee by a world system of export quotas established by an International Coffee Organization. Ratified May 21, 1963.

Executive N: Convention with Mexico, signed August 29, 1963, for solution of problem of the Chamizal (parcel of land north of the Rio Grande near El Paso). Ratified December 17, 1963.

National Economy

Public Law 88-214: Extends to June 30, 1967, the Manpower Development and Training Act; waives for 1965 requirement that States match Federal grants for training allowances for unemployed but requires one-third matching in 1966; increases authorization for 1965 from $161 million to $422 million; broadens program to train uneducated and jobless youth.

Public Law 88-157: Apportions through 1971 funds for completion of Interstate and Defense Highway System; fixes January 1965 as cost estimate deadline; raises Federal payments for construction engineering; continues billboard control program for 2 years.

Public Law 88-187: Increases temporary limit on national debt from $309 billion to $315 billion through June 1964.

Public Law 88-36: Withdraws silver backing of paper currency, averts shortage of silver for coinage by repealing tax on silver transfers and other obsolete sections of Silver Purchase Act of 1934.

Public Law 88-201: Requires that auto seat belts shipped in interstate commerce meet certain safety standards.

Governmental Reorganization

Public Law 88-256: Authorizes the coinage of a 50-cent piece bearing the likeness of the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Public Law 88-202: Authorizes the Commission investigating the assassination of President Kennedy to compel attendance of witnesses and production of evidence.

Senate Resolution 78: Grants former Presidents of the United States privilege of the floor of the Senate and right to address that body.

Social Security, Health and Welfare

Public Law 88-129: Authorizes 3-year program of $175 million in matching grants to expand teaching and research facilities of medical, dental, and related-type colleges, and $30.7 million in student loans to increase health personnel.

Public Law 88-204: Authorizes 3-year, $1.1 billion program of loans and grants to aid colleges and universities in financing construction of academic and related facilities.

Public Law 88-210: Expands vocational education programs; authorizes annual increases through fiscal 1967 in scale of grants to States, on matching basis beginning in fiscal year 1965; extends National Defense Education and Aid to Impacted Areas Acts to June 30, 1965.

Public Law 88-206: Strengthens air-pollution control program by: encouraging State and local prevention and enforcement activity, increasing fund authorizations for grants-in-aid through fiscal year 1967.

Public Law 88-156: Authorizes 5-year, $350 million to increase aid to States for maternal and child health services and for crippled children's programs; provides for maternity care and research projects to prevent mental retardation.

Public Law 88-164: Authorizes 3-year, $238 million program to aid States in providing mental retardation research facilities, construction of community mental health centers and grants for training teachers of deaf.

Public Law 88-158: Authorizes increase of $50 million, from $225 to $275 million, for direct loans to nonprofit corporations and cooperatives for construction of housing for elderly.

Public Law 88-54: Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1965, authority of FHA to insure mortgages for sale and rental housing for low and moderate income groups.

Public Law 88-4: Grants deserted wives tax relief for child-care expenses.

Public Law 88-38: Requires equal pay for persons performing same work, regardless of sex, by amending Fair Labor Standards Act.

Public Law 88-133: Increases contributions and benefits under the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Compensation Acts; strengthens fund's financial position.

Public Law 88-132: Provides $1.2 billion increases, effective October 1, 1963, in basic pay and subsistence for all members of the Armed Forces and Reserve components, except personnel with less than 2 years' service, and for the Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service; and readjusts retirement pay.

Public Law 88-110: Permanently fixes 6 years of service, including 4 months of active duty, for enlistees in Reserve program to fulfill their military obligations.

Public Law 88-21: Increases payments to parents and children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.

Public Law 88-134: Increases payments to widows of veterans whose death was due to service-connected disabilities.

Public Law 88-151: Permits Veterans' Administration to waive recovery on default on home loans in certain hardship cases.

You hear a great deal about economy in Government. I am happy to report to you that I have supported reductions in every single request made by every agency in both the first and second sessions. I have supported reductions in Government spending totaling more than $6 billion during the 88th Congress.

Departmental appropriations, 88th Cong.

Title	Fiscal 1964, 1st sess.		Fiscal 1965, 2d sess.	
	Requested	Amount enacted	Requested	Amount enacted
Interior	$674,169,000	$612,061,750	$1,047,728,000	$1,042,277,200
Related agencies	354,340,000	346,394,750		
Treasury	1,153,230,000	1,103,650,000	1,236,990,000	1,214,330,000
Post Office	4,976,964,000	4,925,500,000	5,018,000,000	5,002,000,000
Executive Office of President	14,058,000	13,841,000	14,446,000	14,438,000
Labor	427,220,000	350,078,000	757,580,000	565,904,000
Health, Education, Welfare	5,301,314,000	5,090,904,000	6,775,566,000	6,476,629,000
Supplemental, 1963	1,641,507,106	1,467,420,491		
Supplemental, 1963 (CCC)	508,172,000	508,172,000		
Agriculture	1,582,417,000	1,548,973,315	1,573,421,600	1,506,747,200
State	359,721,000	322,696,000	401,712,000	376,827,000
USIA	208,236,000	166,220,000	174,890,000	154,400,000
Justice	355,506,000	343,899,000	367,887,000	364,036,000
Judiciary	59,084,900	58,127,000	61,827,000	60,360,800
Commerce	996,572,000	804,500,000	911,969,000	725,501,000
Defense	49,014,237,000	47,220,010,000	47,417,000,000	46,752,051,000
Military construction	1,966,400,000	1,585,880,000	1,879,000,000	1,570,968,000
Economic and military assistance	4,525,325,000	3,000,000,000	3,516,700,000	3,250,000,000

Second session

National Defense and Internal Security

Public Law 88-288: Authorizes $16.9 bil- for procurement and construction of planes, missiles, ships, and for research, development, tests, and evaluation in fiscal 1965.

Public Law 88-332: Authorizes $2.6 billion for Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1965, including $771 million for reduced weapons program and $13.5 million for prototype reactor for atomic merchant ship.

Public Law 88-390: Authorizes $1.5 billion for construction projects at Armed Forces bases at home and abroad, including 9,800 family housing units for members of Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Public Law 88-290: Strenthens security provisions of National Security Agency.

S. 2136: Tightens requirements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

International Affairs

Public Law 88-408: Approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to repel attacks on U.S. forces and to prevent further aggression jeopardizing peace and security in southeast Asia.

H.R. 11380: Authorizes $3.25 billion for economic and military assistance to our allies in fiscal 1965; includes $125 million additional for Vietnam military and economic uses.

Public Law 88-285: Authorizes expansion of Peace Corps and $115 million for fiscal 1965.

Public Law 88-308: Prohibits fishing by foreign vessels in U.S. territorial and Continental Shelf waters under penalty of ship seizure and fine or imprisonment or both, except as provided by treaty or license by the Treasury Department.

H. Con. Res. 343: Expresses sense of the Congress that every effort be made in United Nations to obtain payment of dues by nations now delinquent, failing which the penalty of loss of votes in General Assembly be invoked.

S. 2701: Authorizes study to determine site for construction of a proposed sea-level canal between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

National Economy

Public Law 88-452: Creates Office of Economic Opportunity to administer job corps of urban and rural youth, work-training and work-study programs, encourage local action to reduce poverty; authorizes $947.5 million for fiscal 1965.

Public Law 88-272: Lowers rates of personal and corporate income taxes; makes numerous changes in Internal Revenue Code for net reductions of $11.5 billion, partially effective in 1964.

Public Law 88-348: Extends for 1 year, up to July 1, 1965, the current schedule of excise taxes on cigarettes, liquor, automobiles and parts, telephone service, and airline tickets. (1 voted against this bill.)

Public Law 88-365: Authorizes 3-year, $375 million program of grants and loans to help States and communities provide mass transit facilities and service.

Public Law 88-354: Establishes a National Commission on Food Marketing to study trade procedures and price relationships from producer to consumer; authorizes $1.5 million.

Public Law 88-444: Establishes National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress.

Public Law 88-467: Brings trading in over-the-counter securities under control of the Securities and Exchange Commission; provides for qualification standards and discipline over brokers, dealers, and their employees.

Public Law 88-580: Authorizes minting of "1964" coins up to July 1, 1965, if necessary, to relieve coin shortage.

Public Law 88-316: Prohibits schemes in interstate commerce to influence by bribery the outcome of sporting events.

Public Law 88-339: Extends for 2 years to June 30, 1966, the Renegotiation Act for recovery of excess profits on defense contracts, including contracts with Federal Aviation Agency.

Public Law 88-349: Amends Davis-Bacon Act to require Federal contractors to conform to local area fringe benefits as well as prevailing wage scales.

Governmental Reorganization

Public Law 88-352: Provides for enforcement of voting rights; injunctions against discrimination in public accommodations; protection of rights to education; extends Civil Rights Commission for 4 years to January 31, 1968; establishes a Community Relations Service and a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Public Law 88-260: Renames National Cultural Center as the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; authorizes funds to match public contributions.

Public Law 88-426: Adjusts basic pay rates of postal and classified employees and certain officers of all three branches of Federal Government, generally effective July 1, 1964.

Public Law 88-579: Establishes a National Council on the Arts in the Executive Office of the President.

Social Security, Health and Welfare

H.R. 11865: Increases monthly payments to 19½ million old-age, survivors and disability beneficiaries; provides hospital and nursing care for the aged; liberalizes eligibility provisions; includes self-employed physicians; lowers optional retirement age of widows to 60. Increases taxes, beginning January 1, 1965—on a rising scale thereafter to 1971. (Approved by House and Senate but, killed in conference.)

Public Law 88-368: Extends for 2 years, to June 30, 1969, Hill-Burton Act providing Fed-Youth Offenses Control Act; authorizes $15 million including $5 million for special project in District of Columbia.

Public Law 88-443: Extends for 5 years to June 30, 1969, Hill-Burton Act providing Federal aid for construction, modernization of hospitals, nursing homes, and other medical centers; authorizes $1.3 billion, including funds for areawide planning of health facilities on a 50-50 matching basis.

Public Law 88-581: Authorizes $287 million, 5-year program to combat shortage of nurses, including grants for construction and rebuilding of school and college facilities, traineeships for advanced professionals, and loans for students.

Public Law 88-497: Extends for 5 years, with authorization of $70 million, programs for traineeships to increase number of professional public health personnel and expand health project grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, engineering, social work, and pharmacy.

Public Law 88-560: Housing Act of 1964, authorizes $1.2 billion for urban renewal, loans for housing for elderly, for farm housing, and other existing programs; extends maturity of FHA-financed home mortgages, and lowers downpayments; provides compensation for persons and businesses dislocated by urban renewal projects.

Public Law 88-269: Extends Federal assistance under Library Services Act to urban areas; provides matching grants for construction of library buildings; authorizes $45 million for 1964.

S. 3060: Extends National Defense Education Act for 3 years to July 1, 1965, increases authorization for college student loans from $135 million currently to $195 million for fiscal 1969.

H.R. 9393: Liberalizes requirements of Social Security Act relative to filing time for benefits under disability provisions.

H.R. 319: Protects postal patrons from morally offensive material delivered by mail.

H.R. 10088: Establishes Administration for Aging in HEW; authorizes $6.5 million in grants to States for 1965 to encourage programs helpful to welfare of persons over 65. (In my committee.)

Veterans and Servicemen

Public Law 88-422: Authorizes pay increases, totaling $207.5 million monthly for all men and officers of the Armed Forces, except those in service less than 2 years.

H.R. 1927: Liberalizes non-service-connected pensions for needy veterans and widows; revises limits of permissible income without loss of pension.

Public Law 88-361: Provides educational assistance to children of veterans with total and permanent service-connected disability.

Public Law 88-450: Authorizes 5-year, $5 million-a-year program of aid to States on matching basis for nursing-home facilities in State veteran homes.

Public Law 88-355: Extends disability income provisions of national service life insurance policies through age 65 under certain conditions.

Public Law 88-360: Exempts from draft induction sole surviving son of a family whose father died as a result of military service.

Agriculture

Public Law 88-297: Continues present cotton price support and subsidy for exporters; provides new subsidy to permit domestic processors to compete with foreign manufacturers. Authorizes new wheat marketing certificate program.

Public Law 88-305: Requires registration and Department of Agriculture approval of pesticides before they can be sold to public.

Public Law 88-525: Broadens and makes permanent stamp program for distribution of surplus and other foods to needy by Department of Agriculture to States requesting such aid.

S. 2687: Extends for 3 years to December 31, 1967, surplus commodity "food for peace" program under Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act; expands loans from counterpart funds to private enterprise abroad.

Natural Resources

Public Law 88-578: Establishes a 10-year $2 billion land and water conservation fund to assist States in developing outdoor recreation programs.

Public Law 88-577: Establishes a National Wilderness Preservation System on 35 million acres closed to commercial use and retained in their primitive state.

H.R. 4487: Requires labeling of pesticides to warn against hazards to fish and wildlife; authorizes increased appropriation for research from $2.5 to $3.2 million for 1965, and $5 million annually thereafter.

Public Law 88-523: Increases payments to counties in which wildlife refuges are located.

Public Law 88-537: Provides for criminal punishment of violation of regulations to protect national forests and grasslands.

This has been a very hardworking Congress. We have been in session almost continuously for the past 22 months and have participated in strong debates on extremely controversial issues affecting the safety and security of our Nation.

Obviously, a Member of Congress who takes a strong position on controversial legislation, and is willing to fight to defend his position, is bound to draw fire from those he opposes.

As you know, among the many projects I have sponsored here in Congress has been the establishment of a commission which would suggest constitutional means to deal effectively with the mounting flow of smut and pornographic literature which is flooding our Nation.

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that a magazine which has a national reputation for being one of the worst offenders in publishing smut has tried to strike back by questioning the effectiveness of myself and others, including our senior Senator from Illinois, PAUL DOUGLAS, who have taken a similar forthright stand on this whole issue.

My constituents are familiar with my effectiveness because they have read the many editorials in the press praising my work and are familiar with the many projects I have actually put into effect, as well as the legislation I have supported and seen enacted. We all know that in America men in public office are constant targets of special interests whose cause we refuse to serve.

Following is status of the various proposals which I sponsored or cosponsored.

This record of positive achievement speaks for itself and is the best method for measuring my effectiveness as your Congressman.

Placement of tape recorder in cockpit of airplane so pilot can record at least some idea of what happened before a disaster—FAA approved plan, now being installed.

Peace Corps enacted into law.

Mobile trade fair ships to exhibit American products all over the world so that we can create more jobs by creating new world markets for U.S. industry, enacted into law; first ship sailed October 17.

Appropriation of funds for extension of southeast-northwest runway at O'Hare to divert jets from our area, approved by FAA, construction to start soon.

Urban Mass Transportation Act to give Chicago aid in developing rapid transit in median strip of Kennedy Expressway, approved by Congress; construction to start soon.

Across-the-board tax cut to sustain prosperity—enacted into law.

Liberalize disability qualifications for social security benefits and increase permissible annual amount of supplemental earnings for those past 50 years of age—in committee.

Youth opportunities program patterned after CCC camps of the 1930's—enacted into law.

More realistic depreciation schedules for American industry—approved and now in effect.

Income tax exemption for tuition paid by parents to private schools—in committee; Internal Revenue also considering.

Long-term loans for needy college students—approved.

Bar discrimination in hiring practices because of a person's age if he otherwise qualifies; thousands of middle-aged people can't get work today for no other reason than their age—pending in committee.

Income tax deduction for money spent by owners of private single-family dwellings (non-income bearing) on normal wear and tear repairs, or special assessments, to maintain their property—Ways and Means Committee has promised to consider this proposal next year.

Establish National Scientific Research Information Center in Chicago—in committee.

Move Patent Office to Chicago—in committee.

Bring electronic laboratories for manned orbital space platform to Chicago—Air Force is considering.

Limit terms of Supreme Court Justices to 14 years—in Committee.

Make bombings a Federal offense—in committee.

There are many more—too numerous to mention.

Jet noise at O'Hare has been one of my biggest concerns here in Congress.

I have remained in constant touch with officials both at O'Hare and the Federal Aviation Agency to reduce noise to a minimum.

We have had some very bad periods when either the wind conditions required an unusually heavy use of the east-west runway or when the other runways were shut down for repairs.

Records, however, which are kept of the daily frequency of use of runways show that the east-west runway is used less often than any other runway at O'Hare.

On those days when there may be 40 eastbound departures on runway 9, there are as many as 491 jet departures on the other runways.

We can look to more lasting relief when extension of the parallel southeast-northwest runway is completed and when the industry scores a breakthrough in designing a quieter engine.

I am sure you will be happy to know that engine manufacturers feel extremely confident of such a breakthrough in the near future.

Hospital coverage for our senior citizens under social security and an increase in monthly cash benefits were both killed in the last hours of the Congress when the House and Senate conferees were unable to agree on an acceptable plan.

This is regrettable because the compromise which we were trying to get through, would have provided funds for social security recipients to purchase their own insurance policies from private insurance companies or Blue Cross, if they so desired.

Opponents of medicare have tried to create the impression that it would cost the average worker $100 a year more to provide hospital care under social security. This figure is not true. The annual increase for hospital care would be approximately $13 a year or 25 cents a week under the administration proposal. This means that a young man who started paying this increase at age 25, would, by the time he reached age 65, have paid a total of $520 over a 40-year span to assure himself and his wife hospital care for the rest of their retired lives. But, it would also mean that those now receiving social security benefits would have their hospital needs, in the hospital of their choice and through their own family physician, assured upon enactment of this legislation.

My intensive battle against communism has given me a national reputation for being one of the Communists' most aggressive foes. I was particularly thrilled to be honored with the following citation by the Assembly of Captive Nations for my fight to help liberate the captive nations from Communist rule:

"The Assembly of Captive European Nations award their 10th anniversary commemorative medal to the Honorable ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Member of Congress, in recognition of outstanding services for the cause of freedom in East-Central Europe.

———— ————,
"Chairman.

———— ————,
"Secretary General.

"(Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania.)

"NEW YORK, *September 20, 1964.*"

May I take this opportunity to tell you what great pride I experience in representing you here in Congress.

It is a most rewarding experience in human values, even though I must confess I have never worked harder in my life. Yet I wouldn't trade places with anyone, as I can think of no finer challenge than to serve in the legislative branch of a government run by and for the people.

May I take this opportunity to thank the thousands of my constituents who, during the past 2 years, exercised their rights as free people by writing to their Congressman. This indicates to me how intensely interested the people I represent are in their Government.

Sincerely yours,

ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
Member of Congress, 11th District, Illinois.

"St. Louis Celebrates": Article in Numismatic Scrapbook on St. Louis Bicentennial National Medal Authorized by Public Law 88–270

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 29, 1964

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a copy dated October 1964 of the magazine Numismatic Scrapbook containing an excellent article by Thomas W. Becker on the various numismatic medals which have been struck in honor of the 200th anniversary of the founding of St. Louis, with particular emphasis on the national medal produced at the mint at Philadelphia under the authority of H.R. 9076, which President Johnson signed into law on February 11, 1964, as Public Law 88–270.

I had the pleasure of introducing that bill on November 7, 1963, after suggesting to the Honorable August A. Busch, Jr., president of the St. Louis Bicentennial Corp., that such a medal would be both an appropriate and a practical means for Federal participation in our anniversary celebration. As chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency which handles such legislation, I was delighted to be able to expedite legislation for a national medal for St. Louis, just as I had previously done for legislation authorizing national medals commemorating the centennial of Nevada, the sesquicentennial of Indiana, the 250th anniversary of the birth of California's great pioneer priest, Father Junipero Serra, and similar bills. Mr. Becker's article in Numismatic Scrapbook gives a stirring word picture of my city's "glorious past and magnificent future." With a few deletions necessary in order to comply with space limitations imposed by the Congress on the length of material inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I submit the article under unanimous consent as follows:

ST. LOUIS CELEBRATES
(By Thomas W. Becker)

The name St. Louis, Mo., immediately conjures up many different kinds of mental images. In the total history of the United States; St. Louis has always played a prominent role and managed to make itself not just simply known among cities but strongly felt as well. Whether it is aviation, westward expansion, shoes, painting, literature, art, or merely rolling down the river, St. Louis is out in front. St. Louisians are not boastful when they begin to count their many blessings or achievements but on the contrary they take a greater pride in knowing that they have contributed something permanent and lasting to this great Nation of ours.

The years 1964–66 have been designated as the official bicentennial years for St. Louis, a city founded 200 years ago as a rugged fur trading post on the western bank of the Mississippi River. That same fabled river has allowed the city to grow into a bustling, thriving metropolis of great contrasts and, perhaps to the dismay of visitors, of great contradictions as well.

Here is located the first kindergarten in America and the oldest university west of the Mississippi, St. Louis University; the second oldest symphony orchestra in the country; the scene of a Louisiana Purchase celebration in 1804 and a gigantic World's Fair and Exhibition in 1904. The poet T. S. Eliot was born here, Eugene Field made his home here, Ulysses S. Grant lived here for a time, Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) based many of his Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn episodes with St. Louis landmarks in mind, Charles Lindbergh received his financial and inspirational backing from prominent aviation-minded St. Louisians and eventually named his aircraft "The Spirit of St. Louis," and so goes the list.

Among other famous personalities whose lives were heavily influenced by the St. Louis environment are Dave Garroway, Vincent Price, Arthur Holly Compton (Nobel Prize winner in physics for nuclear research), blues singer W. C. Handy, opera figure Helen Traubel, Fannie Hurst, bandleader Gordon Jenkins, television announcer and narrator, Marvin Mueller, and baseball's gentleman of the diamond Stan Musial as well as George Sisler and Dizzy Dean. Cary Grant and Ginger Rogers also got their careers started in St. Louis musicals while St. Louis has been sung about in such lively tunes as "The St. Louis Blues" and "Meet Me in St. Louis."

To celebrate their 200th anniversary, the St. Louis Bicentennial Corp. proposed that a medallion be struck in bronze and silver to carry the city's message of an inspiring history and a new faith in the future. Accordingly, the U.S. Congress enacted the necessary legislation stipulating that 100,000 pieces be struck in both metals. To date there have actually been manufactured 15,000 in bronze and 10,000 in silver, both types struck off at the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia.

The medals are available from the St. Louis Bicentennial Corp., 407 North Eighth Street, St. Louis, Mo., at $2.50 for the bronze and $5 for the silver, plus 25 cents handling.

The medal's obverse carries the main theme of the commemoration; the huge riverfront arch symbolizing "St. Louis: Gateway to the West" with waves of water flowing beneath it to signify the importance and background of the Mississippi River. Between the tall arch is the inscription St. Louis Bicentennial 1964–66. It has been the river, of course, which has always provided the city with somewhat of a romantic air. Trade and traffic on the Mississippi have always been evident since the city's founding, but it is probably the riverboat and showboat era with its minstrels, gamblers and dancing performances which immediately come to mind to link St. Louis with Old Man River.

The reverse of the medals carry the strong symbol of an even stronger French influence which has served as St. Louis' background. The Fleur de Lis symbolizes Louis IX after whom the city derives its name, and the rose and crown remind residents here of the guiding hand and wisdom of Monsieur Pierre La Clede, one of the city's founding fathers. This same French influence can be found everywhere in street names, park names, sculpture, pageantry and decoration, even in the design of the city hall which was copied after the city hall of Paris. Around the central design of the medal's reverse is the lettering "St. Louis, Founded, 1794." The medals are identical in design, the obverse having been created by Gene Kowall and the reverse by Ernest Kirschten, measuring overall about 33 millimeters in diameter.

The most obvious symbol, and the one which most quickly excites the imagination, is the graceful arch, a truly amazing feat of engineering skill which has been on the drawing board for St. Louis since 1933. The arch is the inspiration and design of the renowned architect, the late Eero Saarinen and from any viewpoint must be looked upon not only as a city's dream but as an architectural delight. Despite delays, frustrations, and numerous setbacks, the building program is now in full swing and promises to offer to the people of the United States not only the Nation's most breathtaking monument but one of the finest museums in the country.

After completion, the stainless steel structure will soar 630 feet into the air and will be fitted with interior elevators which will whisk sightseers to the arch's summit for a panoramic view of hundreds of square miles of Missouri-Illinois landscape. Like a huge protective half-ellipse, the arch firmly plants its legs deep into the riverfront soil and stands brooding as America's first space-age construction. Beneath the arch will be situated the Nation's Museum of Westward Expansion highlighted by dioramas depicting scenes from this historic movement, scenes similar to those carefully recorded in soft hues on the painted canvases of George Caleb Bingham. The entire project, named the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, includes more than just the arch, however. It encompasses some 40 city blocks of St. Louis redevelopment construction, beginning at the river's edge and moving, logically, westward. In addition, the area will be taken over by the U.S. National Park Service and administered as a national memorial.

On my visit to the mammoth waterfront project, I first talked at length with National Park Service Guide Noah Nelson who himself was inspired by the singular uniqueness of the memorial construction. From him I learned that the present redevelopment on the St. Louis side of the Mississippi River would eventually spread with a flurry of contagion to the Illinois side, or East St. Louis as it is called, where the waterfront on that side is presently being surveyed and scouted with a similar effort at redevelopment in mind. Thus the St. Louis-East St. Louis waterfronts complex will eventually become one gigantic scenic area with new buildings, a new memorial bridge (now being constructed), sightseeing riverboats and rail lines skirting the riverfront and thundering in and out of short-length tunnels. When entirely finished, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial will truly be one of the most breathtaking wonders of the modern age.

To commemorate the National Expansion Memorial a different medal was struck in both bronze and silver, designed by the Medallic Art Co. of New York. The obverse design in relief bears a buckskin-clothed frontiersman leaning upon his "long rifle" with his right arm raised in the air. Around the design is the inscription "Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis, Missouri." The reverse side carries a view of the completed arch looking eastward (toward St. Louis). Between the legs of the arch is the old courthouse in the distance, now a finely designed museum and scene of the first trail of the famed Dred Scott case which began in St. Louis and reached its fiery conclusion in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857. The old St. Louis Cathedral, built in 1834, is pictured on the left of the arch while just below is the inscription "Gateway to the West."

The medal is sold only at the old courthouse by the Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association at $1.50 for the bronze and $5 for the silver. Size of the medal is 1½ inches.

Once again it is the Gateway Arch which rivets the viewer's attention to the medal. The arch represents a Herculean labor unlike any other in America, and will be the tallest manmade monument in the country and the second tallest in the world, exceeded only by the Eiffel Tower in Paris. In figures, the reality of the arch is still nearly incomprehensible to those not used to large construction projects. Perhaps a few of these figures will provide an illuminating insight.

Legs: Planted 630 feet apart, each leg is a double steel-walled equilateral triangle with each side measuring 54 feet at the base and tapering to 17 feet at the top. Legs are sunk 60 feet below the ground.

Exterior: Stainless steel plates, riveted and welded, will total 900 tons for the exterior surface. The inside walls are composed of about 2,200 tons of carbon steel plates.

Interior: The interior will contain 1,076 steps from the visitor center below the ground to the 372-foot level. In addition, service will be provided by an elevator as well as a unique 40-passenger train to the observation platform at the top of the arch.

Concrete: The legs of the arch will be reinformed by prestressed steel bars embedded in concrete up to the 300-foot level.

Stability: The arch is an inverted catenary arch (similar to the curve a chain assumes when suspended between two posts), will be able to withstand a wind velocity of 150 miles per hour with a sway of only 18 inches. A deviation of only one sixty-fourth of an inch is permitted between the bases and thus surveying must be done at night when the temperature is equal on all sides of the legs.

Completion: The last section to be put in place will be the "keystone" section, slipped into its location by an 80-ton scissors jack to spread the tops of the legs apart. Expected completion date is in early 1965. Cost of the arch—$12 million.

I talked for a moment also with David D. Thompson, Jr., chief research historian for the Memorial, who took time out from a busy schedule to help sppply some of the background material about the plan of the underground museum beneath the arch. To be called the Museum of Westward Expansion the facility will contain 12 galleries with more than 200 displays which unfold before the visitor's eyes the entire dramatic story of America's conquering of the West. The museum, like the arch, is expected to be completed in 1965 but many of the exhibits can already be seen on display in their temporary housing in the old courthouse which will eventually become the Memorial's administrative headquarters.

Beneath a magnificently decorated rotunda exhibits on three floors include facsimile copies of the Dred Scott case, historic objects reminscent of the days when courageous pioneers battled embittered Indians, life-like dioramas featuring many aspects of Illinois-Missouri history, and even examples of decorative grill and ironwork used in the design of early St. Louis homes. Directly underneath the rotunda and off to the side is a large scale model of the entire St. Louis waterfront Memorial as it will look when it is completed.

Residents and businessmen of St. Louis have taken heart from the whole memorial. St. Louis is everywhere receiving a "face-lifting" not just with newer buildings but with buildings that are beginning to receive international acclaim because of their graceful design and construction. Many of the buildings are unique and feature such ultra-modern concepts as cantilevered balconies, scalloped-round roofs, all-glass exteriors and side-balanced floors. The designs are both functionally comfortable and architecturally pleasing and modern is the only term that can possibly describe them. But the new construction is designed around people and their needs and habits, giving birth to buildings which blend and share the quiet and contemplative interior with the robust and cheerful sunlit or starry exterior. The entire theme is being carried across the length and breadth of St. Louis in a drastic attempt to modernize and revitalize the great expanse of St. Louis: City of the Future.

* * * * *

On July 6, 1964, McDonnell Aircraft celebrated its 25th anniversary; and again St. Louis witnessed the creation of a medal. The obverse depicts a Mercury spacecraft encircling the globe while above and below the lettering proclaims "McDonnell 25 Years." The reverse simply bears a pair of dates 1939–64. Some 70,000 copies of the bronze medallion were issued, measuring 32 millimeters.

* * * * *

Yes, St. Louis is celebrating; celebrating a glorious past and a magnificent future among the cities of the United States. From all appearances one must agree that it has taken its rightful place as a leading city. Linked with the Spanish, founded by the French, fought over by the Union and Confederacy, St. Louis has had a lively history with all the disasters, triumphs, excitement, and charm that should normally be allowed to crown one city's existence. These three medals, perhaps, are only three of a long line of medallions to come, for the future of this city is clearly written not only in its concrete temples and ribbons of expressway but in the hearts and minds of people who call it "home." There is still a spirit of St. Louis, and like the airplane that bore that name it flies toward a newer horizon with sustained certainty.

"Ham" Radio Operators in Boston Area Perform Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, there are a great many citizens of this country who are devoting their time and energy, on a volunteer basis, to one kind of humanitarian service or another. Not the least of this group are the "ham" radio operators, many of whom have worked out highly useful ways of combining their hobby with very significant public service. James M. Jacobs, of Chestnut Hill, who is the president of a well-known haberdashery in Harvard Square, Cambridge, has taken the lead in this kind of effort in the Boston area and has been widely commended for his efforts. Recently, for example, the Naval Communications Bulletin, published by the Navy Department, called special attention to his contribution in creating, drilling, and supervising a net of 30 amateur stations in the Boston area. This group, which has helped out in a number of emergencies, was especially effective during the Alaskan earthquake, relaying more than 500 messages to people in the devastated area and working with the Red Cross.

Over and above the establishment of this net, Mr. Jacobs has performed a number of lifesaving enterprises for people in foreign lands. In May of this year, for example, he responded to a request from a hospital in Lima, Peru, for a special valve needed for a delicate

heart operation. Obtaining the valve from a Boston hospital, he got it on a plane so it reached Lima within 48 hours of the first request. The same night he was asked by a fellow "ham" operator in Venezuela to get another valve for an operation on an infant in Caracas; again he made the necessary arrangements and the instrument was soon on its way. In March, he kept Boston surgeons in touch with the progress of a patient of theirs who was recovering from a hand-graft operation in Peru; 3 months ago he made it possible for an Ecuadorian girl to come to a Boston hospital for a stomach operation; and last November he made similar arrangements for the 11-month-old son of Israel's Ambassador to Ecuador. Jim Jacobs' name is now so well known in Latin America that he is constantly responding to requests of this kind. In his own way, he is making a truly important contribution to international understanding in general and the Alliance for Progress in particular.

There follows numerous articles pertaining to "ham" operators:

THE NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO., OF MILWAUKEE,
Boston, Mass., August 14, 1964.

Attention: Communications Department.
AMERICAN RADIO RELAY LEAGUE,
Newington, Conn.

GENTLEMEN: I am writing this letter to appraise you of the tremendous activity in the Boston area of a group of approximately 30 amateurs who have done a fantastic job of public service.

These amateurs, all members of Navy Mars 4E4Y Net, have been in constant practice drills for the better part of a year, operating on single sideband on 14,385 kilocycles.

RECRUITED AND ORGANIZED BY JAMES M. JACOBS

This group capably and intelligently directed and controlled by Jim Jacobs K1GHT, Net Control, was ready when the Alaskan emergency arose and in addition to the tremendous publicity given to this group in the greater Boston newspapers you can see from the enclosed Naval Communications Bulletin what was accomplished to a reasonable extent.

It is my pleasure to belong to this mature, adult group who have formed this worldwide communication system stressing immediate delivery of any important or emergency traffic anywhere in the United States by use of "ham" radio, WATS, and teletype, both of which latter services have been made available to this group through the efforts of Mr. Jacobs, our Net Control.

I cannot help but take a tremendous amount of pride in the activity and accomplishment of this group before, during and after the emergency and the reaction of the public and the press in this case was fantastic.

I feel that matters so important to amateur radio such as this should be called to your attention as the members of this group, among them business leaders, a Navy captain, an Army colonel and many other civic leaders are all loyal members of the ARRL.

Best wishes for continued success.

SOLOMON SMITH,
Amateur Radio W1HNN.

[From the Boston Record American, Friday, May 15, 1964]

MASSACHUSETTS "HAM" AIDS MERCY PLEA FROM SOUTH AMERICA

(By Jack Cadigan)

A Chestnut Hill "ham" radio operator took active part in life and death mercy pleas from Peru and Venezuela yesterday. He handled radio calls that could save the lives of a physician and infant.

James M. Jacobs, of 15 Rangeley Road, whose 2,000-watt rig has been used in many disasters, such as the Alaskan earthquake, was on the air telling the mother of Lorena Ortega, 9, of Guayaquil, Ecuador, that her daughter was in good condition at Children's Medical Center, when he intercepted a call from Lima, Peru.

VALVE NEEDED

He was informed that a plastic shunt valve required for brain surgery was needed immediately for a delicate brain operation on Dr. Cesar Remon, 37, who once trained at Boston City Hospital.

Within 90 minutes after the plea for aid was received Jacobs had the tiny instrument on the first leg of a journey to South America. He contacted Miss Alice Gillis, secretary to Dr. John Sheehan, at City Hospital. A Dorchester firm was called and the rarely used instrument was en route to New York by plane.

There, it was taken by a woman by aircraft to Peru. Jacobs did not envision being involved in a similar plea later in the night.

GETS SECOND CALL

He was about ready to "knock off" for the night when an excited "ham" called him from Venezuela. An infant child required a brain operation similar to that of Dr. Remon at Hospital Universitadio, Caracas.

The radio caller said efforts were being made to reach the Venezuela Ambassador in Washington, D.C., and have him contact the Navy Hospital, at Bethesda, Md., or Georgetown University Hospital. They wanted the vital valve to be flown to the Caracas hospital as soon as possible today.

Jacobs assured the "ham" operator he would contact the surgical suppliers in Dorchester first thing this morning and make every effort to get the infant's brain operation instrument to New York in time to be flown via KLM Airlines to Caracas.

INSTITUTO PERUANO
DE FOMENTO EDUCATIVO,
LIMA, PERU,
Lima, May 18, 1964.

Mr. JAMES M. JACOBS,
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

DEAR MR. JACOBS: I do not think that the words "thank you" can express the gratefulness in me, nor my poor knowledge of your language permits me to tell you the exact measure of my recognition for your invaluable and uninterested help in the obtainment of the ventriculo-atrial shunt for hydrocephalus treatment that is needed for a most urgent operation on my husband, Dr. César Remón, since we could not find in Lima that sort of valve that will enable the surgeons to decompress the brain through the heart.

This order was quite difficult to obtain for two circumstances: first the Banks employees strike which left us without dollar checks and the second the slowness of our mail offices which left us with the doubt of an immediate attention to this special case. Therefore, it was through your inconditional help by radio that the shunt arrived in Lima within 48 hours of the initial contact. Now everything is in the hands of God and the doctors are most hopeful.

Thanks, Mr. Jacobs. I will let you know the final result of everything.

Sincerely yours,

SARA DE REMÓN.

[From the Naval Communications Bulletin]

Thirty amateur stations in the Boston area, coordinated by NOAAJ/K1GHT, worked directly with the Red Cross in processing requests for information. More than 500 messages were exchanged with Alaskan homes and the replies telephoned to anxious relatives of earthquake area residents.

Jim Jacobs, NOAAJ/K1GHT, and his daughter, Carole, as ardent an amateur radio enthusiast as her father, worked together while relaying messages from Alaska to the Boston Net.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Record American, Wednesday, Apr. 8, 1964]

IN THE MAILBAG—GIVES RADIO "HAM" A HAND

BOSTON.—The next time laurels are given for public service, America's "ham" radio operators deserve a nod. Until then, I want to take this opportunity to express my family's and my appreciation to Jim Jacobs and members of his "ham" radio network for their aid during the recent Alaska earthquake tragedy.

Some people may feel that "ham" operators are overgrown kids playing with radios. Let me be the loudest, as I am certainly not the first, to deny this false notion.

Our home is in Anchorage. When the earthquake struck, all normal communications were either knocked out or unavailable. Like many others, we were beside ourselves with concern for the welfare of our family and friends.

Jacobs and his radio network were active only hours after the tragedy and they worked tirelessly for days to get word to us and others from Alaska. When all other means failed, they came through with the welcome news that our family was well. They notified others all across the country. How much did this cost? To the recipients it was free.

A communications network as far-reaching and efficient as this is certainly no toy—it's a valuable asset to the Nation. Its operators have shown again that "ham" is synonymous with public service.

BRIAN J. BRANDIN.

"HAM" RADIO OPERATOR CONTACTS ALASKA—SCORES OF BOSTON RESIDENTS AWAIT WORD OF RELATIVES

(By Al Salie and Bill Duncliffe)

A "ham" radio operator in Chestnut Hill made contact Saturday with the ravaged city of Seward, Alaska, and was told that the entire community, torn asunder by the earthquake, was being devoured by flames.

James M. Jacobs, of 15 Rangeley Road, whose 2,000-watt rig has been used for messages in other disasters and personal crises, raised Seward on his transmitter and was given this brief but awesome picture of the ruin that was caused by the quake:

"Seward is completely in flames," he was told. "We've lost all water supply; the temperature is five below; everything is in complete chaos. All commercial communications were out at 1 a.m."

KEEPS ON TRYING

Jacobs said he hoped to be able to make contact with Seward again later and, if he does, he will try to put one woman's heart at ease.

Jacobs, who operates a clothing firm in Harvard Square, Cambridge, said he was called by a Beacon Hill resident and asked if he could get any information on a Herbert Stetson.

Stetson, according to the caller, Edward B. Baker, of 21 Brimmer Street, is the port agent in Seward for the Alaskan Steamship Line, and also owns his own fleet of tugs and barges.

Stetson's wife, Patricia, a native of New Bedford, came to Boston for a visit, and hoped to rejoin her husband and their four children, Christopher, 13, Joshua, 9, Jonathan, 6, and Robian, 4, soon.

Mrs. Stetson said her husband formerly lived in Cuttyhunk and Fairhaven, and her worries were eased somewhat when she heard a report that all residents had been evacuated from Seward.

ALL CALLS DELAYED

Saturday local telephone operators had to advise all those calling Alaska that all calls were delayed and "you have to go on a stand-by basis."

The Boston Red Cross advised all callers that there was no service it could render at the moment, and suggested those with relatives in Alaska listen to radio reports or try to make contact directly with the 49th State.

"If they are not able to get through, they should call us, and we will see what we can do," a Red Cross spokesman said.

Scores of Greater Boston residents have relatives in Alaska, many in the stricken city of Anchorage.

John Castaldo of 182 Proctor Avenue, Revere, is seeking to learn the fate of his daughter, Mrs. Geraldine Morrow, 35, who lives in Anchorage with her husband, Philip, and their two children.

Mrs. Morrow, who was graduated with high honors from Tufts, is a dental surgeon, employed by the Government and assigned to the Alaska Native Hospital in Anchorage. Her husband is a Government geologist.

They have lived there 4 years and own their own home on Sunrise Drive. Castaldo, a retired machinist for the New Haven Railroad, has been planning to visit them this summer. She was last in Revere 3 years ago for a brief visit.

AWAITS WORD

Mrs. Marie LaVaolo, of Grove Street, Chelsea, awaited word from Mr. and Mrs. Eldridge Klein and their three children, living in Anchorage. Mrs. Klein is Mrs. LaVaolo's sister, and the Kleins formerly lived in Chelsea.

Also in Anchorage were: S. Sgt. George Dunnells, Jr., his wife, Ruth, 31, and their two children, David, 9 and Karen, 7. Dunnells is the son of Mr. and Mrs. George Dunnells, of 5A Burlingston Street, Woburn.

Airman 2c William McNeill 20, of Somerville who, like Dunnells, is stationed at Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage. He is the son of Somerville city employee Daniel and Ann McNeill, and has a brother, Daniel, Jr.

Joan Kemmett, 30, daughter of Mrs. Mildred Farase, of 220 South Street, Jamaica Plain, a supervisor in the First National Bank of Alaska.

Joseph D. Kane, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph D. Kane of 1019 Waverly Street, Framingham, an Air France employee in Anchorage.

James Smith, son of Mrs. Americo Bonito of 96 Grant Street, Framingham, an FAA employee in Anchorage. He and his wife, Peggy, live in Sempard, just outside Anchorage.

WAYLAND FAMILY

Air Force Capt. Richard W. Taylor, son of Mr. and Mrs. Norman Taylor of Concord Road, Wayland, who has his wife and their two children with him in Anchorage.

Mrs. Usto Shulz and Mrs. Hazel Fisher, who are sisters of Wendell Bennett, head of the Natick High School Science Department. Mrs. Shulz lives in Anchorage and Mrs. Fisher was visiting her.

Lt. Col. James Hurd, Jr., 44, son of Mr. and Mrs. James Hurd, of 19 Thompson Circle, Lynn. Colonel Hurd was able to phone his parents shortly after 8 a.m. Saturday and told them the vibrations in Anchorage were fantastic, but said there was no immediate damage in his area.

Colonel Hurd, whose wife, Vicky, and 10-year-old daughter, Mimi, are with him, is stationed at Fort Richardson, near Anchorage.

Also at Fort Richardson is Lowell Detxer MacNutt, 2d, son of Mr. and Mrs. Stearns MacNutt of Ashland. MacNutt, his family said, is scheduled to be married June 27 in Eagle River, Alaska.

Mrs. Ruby (Robbin) Meggargel, daughter of Frank Robbins of Shawmut Terrace, Framingham, is a librarian at Elmendorf AFB. She and her husband, Joseph, who have been in Alaska for the past 10 years, recently moved to Anchorage from Kineo.

Dr. Roland Lombard, Wayland veterinarian who won the North American dogsled racing championship at Fairbanks last week, is also in Alaska. His family said he was scheduled to enter another race in Tok, Alaska, this weekend.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Record-American, June 25, 1964]

BABOON'S KIDNEY WOMAN'S LAST HOPE

(By Mary X. Sullivan)

A long-distance radio relay linking Ecuador, Chestnut Hill and San Antonio, Tex., gave one last chance for life Wednesday to a women who is otherwise doomed to die in the ancient South American city of Guayaquil.

DISEASED KIDNEY

Because of the ham hookup maintained by James Jacobs of 15 Rangeley Road, Chestnut Hill, a baboon will be sent immediately from San Antonio to Ecuador, where one of its kidneys will be removed and transplanted in the body of the dying woman.

Her name was withheld, but the facts of her case were made clear by Dr. Roberto Gilbert of Guayaquil in a radio message to Jacobs. She has only one kidney—and that is so diseased that she faces death. No human kidney is available for a transplant, and the history of such cases is that the transplants do not take anyway.

So Dr. Gilbert of the Clinica Guayaquil asked Jacobs, in desperation, to see if he could find a baboon which could be made available for the transplant.

Dr. Gilbert is the same surgeon who, last February, attempted to graft a hand to the body of Julio Lena, an Ecuadorian sailor who had lost his in a grenade explosion.

REJECTED HAND

After a series of radio messages in which Jacobs acted as the link between Ecuador and specialists in Boston, Lena was flown here and admitted to Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. There, after it was determined that Lena's body was rejecting the transplanted hand, it had to be removed.

When Jacobs received this latest call for help, which Dr. Gilbert said "was a matter of saving a life," he contacted Sam Rogers of the public relations staff of Peter Bent Brigham.

They located a baboon at the Southwest Foundation for Research in Education at San Antonio, and Dr. Harold Vagtborg, the administrative director there, said he would send the animal to Ecuador on the first available plane.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Nov. 1, 1964]

HAM OPERATOR HELPS BRING ILL BABY TO HUB

(By Gloria Negri)

Jim Jacobs, a ham operator from Chestnut Hill, surveyed the bundle of blue at Logan Airport Thursday and decided those 6 a.m. risings during the last 5 days were worth it.

Under the fuzzy blue jacket and blue leggings were flaxen-haired Gadi Karni, 11-month-old son of Israel's Ambassador to Ecuador, Menuchin Karni, and Nechama Karni, his Argentine-born wife.

Gadi came here with his mother, flying first from Quito, Ecuador, then to Bogotá, Columbia, and New York, to be treated for and undisclosed ailment at Children's Hospital.

All the arrangements for Gadi's and his mother's coming to this country and for their stay at the hospital were made via Jacob's ham radio station K1GHT.

Jacob is a household word in Embassy circles south of the border. He communicates every morning with Earl Lubensky, first secretary in the Ecuadorian Embassy, who is also a ham operator.

Lubinsky and Jacobs teamed up for another errand of mercy recently. When little Maria Elena Jijon of Ecuador, in Boston for an operation, lost both her parents in the fire at the Sherry-Biltmore Hotel last March, it was Jacobs who contacted Maria's relatives in Ecuador by radio.

Gadi, besides his golden hair, has large blue eyes and round pink cheeks. His pretty young mother laughed and said it is true, Gadi looks neither Argentinian, nor Israeli.

The Karnis have two other children—a 16-year-old high school boy and a 12-year-old son.

At the airport to meet the Karnis, along with Jacobs, were Dr. Felix Santos, Ecuadorian consul in Boston, and his wife, Mithilde. It was at their home, little Maria stayed after the tragic death of her parents.

Through Jacobs, arrangements have been made to accommodate Mrs. Karni at Children's Hospital to be near her child.

Mrs. Karni was happy to hear from Jacobs that he had talked to her husband Thursday and that she would be able to talk to him via radio today.

When Jacobs isn't at his ham radio at his home at 15 Rangeley Road, Chestnut Hill, he can be found at his haberdashery shop in Harvard Square.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, May 7, 1964]

ILL ECUADOR CHILD HERE

A 9-year-old Ecuadorian girl today completed the long trip from South America to Children's Medical Center for treatment of an intestinal obstruction.

Lorena Ortega, 9, was placed in an ambulance at Logan Airport at 2:15 a.m.

The little girl was accompanied by Dr. Roberto Gilbert, who operates a clinic in Ecuador.

Arrangements for the mercy trip were made by James M. Jacobs, of Rangeley Road, Chestnut Hill, a "ham" radio operator.

Dr. Gilbert is the surgeon who transplanted a hand on Julio Luna, of Guayaquil, Ecuador, who was later brought to Boston.

Luna, who later lost the hand, is at Peter Bent Brigham for fitting of a prosthetic device.

Dr. Gilbert has been keeping in touch with Luna's condition through the aid of "ham" operator Jacobs.

He planned the trip to visit his older patient today and brought the little girl along for admittance to the hospital.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Record American, Mar. 31, 1964]

"HAMS" RELAY LOCAL CALLS TO QUAKE SITE

A 30-unit network of Greater Boston "ham" radio stations continued Monday to service requests from anxious residents in the area seeking word of relatives in earthquake-stricken Alaska.

James Jacobs, of Chestnut Hill, director of the Navy MARS (Military Affiliate Radio System) accepted telephone calls of inquiry to be sent via the radio network for the third successive day.

Anyone seeking to have a message transmitted was asked to call his home, Regent 4-3232, until 10 p.m. or his place of business, University 4-6650, until 6 p.m.

The messages are being relayed to Alaska from Jacobs' own station or one of the other amateur setups.

The MARS operation is being conducted in conjunction with Red Cross efforts to contact persons in the disaster area.

Jacobs said some 300 calls were handled by the system on Sunday.

His wife, Muriel, and daughter, Carole, are assisting him in handling telephone calls.

Jacobs said replies would be forwarded as soon as possible. He added there was no charge for the service being rendered by the volunteer group which has trained for over a year for just such an emergency.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Record American, Mar. 6, 1964]

TRANSPLANT SAILOR FLOWN HERE TO SAVE HIS ARM

A South American sailor, whose body is fighting to accept the graft of a dead man's hand and forearm, was en route to Peter Bent Brigham Hospital Thursday, praying that the transplant pioneers here can see the historic surgery through to success.

Julio Luna, accompanied by two surgeons and a male nurse, was put aboard a plane at Guayaquil, Ecuador, after 13 surgeons examined him and found gangrene in his new hand.

They fear it may have to be amputated, but the hope is that Brigham surgeons, skilled in transplants, may be able to save it.

The 28-year-old sailor lost his hand and forearm February 13 when a grenade exploded. Dr. Roberto Gilbert and a team of surgeons replaced them with the hand and forearm of a laborer who had just died of stomach ulcers.

About 2 weeks ago, Boston Drs. Robert M. Goldwyn and Richard W. Wilson went to Ecuador and consulted with Dr. Gilbert. The decision was to bring the sailor to Brigham to continue his recovery.

Since returning home, the Boston doctors have followed Luna's progress through the efforts of a ham radio operator, James M. Jacobs, of 15 Rangeley Road, Chestnut Hill.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Sunday Herald, May 3, 1964]

TALK VIA RADIO CHEERING TO JULIO

(By Martin Bander)

Julio Luna, first human to receive a hand transplant from a dead man, is feeling much better today.

BODY REJECTED IT

The spirits of the 28-year-old Ecuadoran sailor had been low after his return April 20 to Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. Luna is at the hospital for eventual fitting of an artificial hand.

The grafted right hand had to be removed March 7 at the hospital after his body's mechanism rejected the transplant.

Thousands of miles from his native land, Luna had grown homesick.

A hospital official described the problem Thursday to James Jacobs of 15 Rangeley Road, Chestnut Hill, an amateur radio operator.

Jacobs is arranging for Luna to talk to his family in Ecuador. But the family of the bachelor lives in a remote area of that country. Establishing contact might take a while.

Yesterday, however, Jacobs surprised Luna. Through Jacobs' ham radio hookup Luna was able to speak on a hospital telephone to a family friend in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

The Reverend Howard Shoemake, a missionary now in Santo Domingo, knew the Luna family when the minister was stationed in Ecuador.

"Mr. Luna's face lit up when I told him who was calling," Miss Blanca Montaña, R.N., said.

SECOND LINK

Besides knowing the Luna family, Shoemake has another link with Luna. Dr. Roberto Gilbert, who performed the original transplant operation in Ecuador, once treated the missionary's son after a critical illness.

Luna has returned to the Boston hospital after a 2-week rest in Washington. He is undergoing further treatment to assist with the healing process on the remaining portion of his forearm.

Once nature has atrophied the muscles on the arm, doctors plan to fit him with an artificial hand and teach him how to use it. George Swartz, a Boston businessman, and Howard Fitzpatrick, sheriff of Middlesex County, are heading a drive to raise funds to pay Luna's medical bills.

On February 13 a hand grenade explosion cost Luna his right hand just above the wrist. Dr. Gilbert headed a team of 35 medical people that worked through the night transplanting to Luna the hand of a man who had just died.

The fact that the transplant lasted more than 3 weeks before the body rejected it is considered a tribute to Dr. Gilbert's skill.

BARRY A "HAM" OPERATOR HIMSELF

President Johnson isn't forfeiting the vote of any group, not even the 300,000 amateur radio hobbyists. BARRY GOLDWATER, a "ham" operator himself, has delighted his fellow amateurs by saying he planned to talk to them from the White House. But watch for a postage stamp to be issued by the Johnson administration commemorating the 50th anniversary of the American Radio Relay League, the first such official recognition the "hams" have ever received.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Trader, Mar. 30, 1964]

HAMS BUILD NETWORK TO ALASKA

(By Dave Beaton and George Forsythe)

Scores of worried New Englanders today took advantage of a quickly organized ham radio network to contact loved ones in earthquake-ravaged Alaska.

Thirty Greater Boston amateur radio operators, headed by Harvard Square businessman James Jacobs, pooled their facilities with the American Red Cross over the weekend to establish communications with Alaska.

Since Saturday, the operators, members of a military affiliate radio system (MARS) have handled nearly 500 messages between continental United States and Alaska.

"We are in touch with ham radio operators in Alaska who are able to operate," Jacobs said. "The Red Cross people are trying to bring the messages we send to the people involved, and to give us a return message.

"This is the first time we've worked in conjunction with the Red Cross on an operation like this, but it's been very successful, and we plan to continue to do this," Jacobs said.

"This is strictly a voluntary effort on our part," Jacobs said. "We realize that regular communications are terribly disrupted, and in many cases this is the only way people can find out about relatives and loved ones."

Jacobs said that persons who have been unable to learn the fate of relatives and friends in Alaska can contact him at his Cambridge store, UN 4-6650, or his Chestnut Hill home, RE 4-3232.

Jacobs said the work of the hams' network, 4E4Y, is being reviewed by the Pentagon, with hope of utilizing its services in other civilian disasters.

He said the group's "disaster plan" has been practiced at weekly drills for some time. "We were ready to go to work within 5 minutes after the disaster struck in Alaska," he said.

The ham operators include doctors, engineers, and professional men.

"We will continue to pass messages as long as it is necessary," he said. "We feel our system has closed several gaps that used to exist in the past. It takes time, but eventually the messages will get through."

He also said persons are on duty at the Boston office of the American Red Cross, CO 2-1234, to take messages.

NEW ENGLANDERS AWAITING WORD

Among the New Englanders awaiting word from Alaska is Mrs. Alice Higgins, 32 Pilsudski Way, South Boston.

Her sister, Miss Joan Kemmett, formerly of Jamaica Plain, and now living in Anchorage, has not been heard from since the devastating earthquake struck.

"Joan lives alone," Mrs. Higgins said, "and I'm really worried. She just moved into a new apartment 3 weeks ago, and I don't think she knew too many people in the section of town where she lived.

"I've been trying to call since Saturday. I finally got through to Anchorage last night, but Joan's telephone was out of order.

"Joan went to Alaska 3 years ago for a vacation," Mrs. Higgins said, "and she liked it so much she decided to stay there. She's a supervisor in the First National Bank in Anchorage. I heard somewhere where the bank was destroyed, but the quake struck after working hours, so there was no one in the bank.

"I hope someone will be able to make contact with her," Mrs. Higgins said.

WOBURN MOTHER ALSO HOPING

A Woburn mother is another of those waiting and hoping.

"It's a nightmare waiting," said Mrs. Leo Facchini, of 17 Robinson Road, Woburn.

Her son, Seaman 2C Leo Facchini, Jr., 18, is stationed in Kodiak, Alaska. She has not heard from him and is "sick with worry."

He was supposed to call home on Saturday * * * "the holiday" call he always would make when away from home. He was scheduled for duty on Easter Sunday and would have been unable to make the call.

"When we heard of the earthquake, we called the Red Cross several times and then we called Mr. Jacobs in Cambridge, but we've heard nothing yet," she said.

JOINED NAVY LAST JUNE

Leo joined the Navy last June and finished his boot camp training in Great Lakes, Ill., before being shipped to Kodiak on Labor Day. He has two sisters, Gloria, 21, and Linda, 17.

"I realize that if any service personnel were injured, we'd probably hear from them, but you can't help worrying. If we could only hear directly from him."

A Brookline woman is anxiously awaiting word from her daughter, wife of a Russian Orthodox missionary priest in Kodiak.

Mrs. Joseph Houri, 138 Longwood Avenue, Brookline, said she has been unsuccessful in making telephone contact with her daughter, Yvette Targonsky.

Mrs. Targonsky's husband, Rev. Marcius Targonsky, is in charge of eight parishes in Alaska.

"I'm hopeful the radio operators will be able to tell me something," Mrs. Houri said. "The church that Father Targonsky had in Kodiak was a very old building, and I'm afraid something might have happened to it."

Reverend Targonsky and his wife visited the Boston area last Sunday during a respite from his missionary work.

EX-STONEHAM MAN, WIFE SOUGHT

Bay H. Clark, 36, and his Cuban-born wife, Lucia, have not been heard from as yet, either.

An attorney in downtown Anchorage and a graduate of Boston University Law School, he is the son of Bay W. Clark, of South Street, Stoneham.

His brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Clark, also live on South Street, next door.

"We've called all over trying to get information," Mrs. Clark said. "We were told to send an airmail letter on Saturday, but we have heard nothing yet."

Clark has been in Alaska for 8 years. He first went there to work during a summer while a student and, according to his sister-in-law, his one ambition was to go back.

Clark's wife heads a construction firm and recently erected Alaska's first dress factory.

"They put an apartment on top of the building and we don't know whether or not they moved in yet. All we can do is wait."

BILLERICA MAN IS GEOLOGIST

And in Billerica, the anxiety continues as the John C. Moore, Sr., family, of 2 Riverside Road, awaits word of their son, John, Jr.

He is a geologist for the State of Alaska and lived in Anchorage. He has been there for the past 2 years after his graduation from the University of Massachusetts.

"We've tried just about everything," said his father. "We called the Red Cross in Seattle, looking for information there. So far, we've heard nothing."

Clark is married and has four children, Linda, 8; Susan, 7; Kenneth, 3; and Cheryl Louise, 3 weeks old.

He also has a brother, Robert; a sister, Carolyn; and twin sisters, Bonnie and Debbie, 15.

"There's nothing to do but wait," Mr. Moore said. "Nothing else at all."

"It's impossible not to worry," said Mrs. Florence Bergeron of 12 Empire Street, Quincy.

"My daughter, Pauline, and her husband, Robert Hammond, are in Seward and we heard on the radio this morning that 90 percent of Seward is burning.

"The mayor asked for immediate relief. They need help right away and my family lives just about 3 miles from the city square."

The Hammonds have been in Alaska for the past 4 years. Robert is a superintendent with the city's power division. A native of Woburn, he first went there 10 years ago and "fell in love with Alaska," Mrs. Bergeron said.

"He came here for a visit 4 years ago and went back with a wife," she said.

The Hammonds have two children, Joan, 3; and Thomas, 4 months.

"I'm certain they're all right," she said, "but I'd feel a lot better if I could just hear from them."

Ugly Americans of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD C. BRUCE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 3, 1964

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Speaker, I wish that every American could read the following article which appeared in the October 3 issue of America entitled "Ugly Americans of Vietnam" which was written by Marguerite Higgins, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and former Herald Tribune bureau chief in Berlin and Tokyo and who now writes for Newsday. It is both timely and shocking and presents an in-depth report on what has happened in Vietnam as a result of American policy and action. Miss Higgins' earlier report, "Saigon Summary" of January 1964, written on her return from Vietnam, attracted national attention; this report brings her coverage of the Vietnam situation up to date, and gives added verification to her previous assessment of the eventual results of our course of action there.

The exasperation American citizens feel as the casualties, both American and Vietnamese, continue to mount is certainly widespread in our land. However, one possible solution to the Vietnam mess has been offered by the present administration in Department of State Publication 7179, issued in June 1961, and entitled "How Foreign Policy Is Made":

We are a government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

This means that all decisions ultimately must pass the test of public acceptance. This also means that periodically the people avail themselves of their right to change the men through whom they govern themselves.

This is an important fact in our foreign relations. It puts the world on notice that America is capable of continually revitalizing its leadership with fresh, new, and vigorous men, armed with a clear mandate from the people.

The article follows:

UGLY AMERICANS OF VIETNAM

(By Marguerite Higgins)

History may well record that in Vietnam it was the good Americans, the idealistic Americans, the perfectionist Americans who, as in the popular novel "The Ugly American," nearly did that lovely and tragic southeast Asian country in—but only for its own good.

It was the idealistic Americans who were shocked at Diem's authoritarian ways because, among other things, he "repressed" street demonstrations by Buddhists, and students, and Catholics, and ancestor worshipers and others. Never mind that demonstrations in the middle of a war were against the Vietnamese law of the land. The Americans of the New Frontier had come to admire the civil disobedience movement in their own country and decided that America's liberal image required that its principal "client" in Asia act accordingly. And so, in the summer of 1963, mobocracy came to the streets of Vietnam.

To arguments that the Communists were bound to take advantage of such turmoil (as they do, after all, even in the U.S.A.), the good Americans of Vietnam sternly replied that "seeing Communists under every bed" was merely an excuse for authoritarian ways. It was the good Americans who believed—despite the lack of any substantiating evidence—that if certain Buddhist monks made charges against the Diem regime, and that if, additionally, these accusations were accompanied by suicides by fire, then the Buddhists must be suffering terribly under persecution. It never occurred to the direct, openhearted, well-intentioned Americans that a person in Buddhist garb could deliberately and deviously invent such a campaign to bring down the Government, create trouble, and enhance his own power. And now a year and four coups d'etat later, the good Americans are grieved to see the Buddhists and students back on the streets, fighting their own Buddhist-led government, each other, and—what depths of ingratitude—even denouncing the Americans!

What had happened? Very simple. The good Americans had acted on the very false assumption that somehow an oriental country that had never experienced nationhood or known peace could nonetheless develop "instant democracy" and operate responsibly in the middle of a war, acting with the smoothness and patriotic dedication that is expected in countries like Great Britain, where it took many hundreds of years and many wars to make responsive government possible.

Such a false assumption is a bungle that history does not lightly forgive. And today Vietnam's survival is in doubt. The impossible, if well-meaning, American demands for the trappings of democracy brought near chaos instead.

And the supreme irony of it all is that since the anti-Diem coup of November 1, 1963, which Washington signaled in hopes of better times, American officials have privately come full circle. As one small example, the United States in recent months has lost any illusion that a Vietnamese student riot makes right. And yet a year ago, if the Vietnamese students took to the streets, it was they who were right and Diem wrong. It was reflex action. By now Washington has concluded that in the light of the indiscipline, factionalism, irresponsibility, and endemic plotting characteristic of the educated Vietnamese, no person can keep control of the situation in Vietnam without resorting to virtually the same tight rein as held by Diem.

But how can you make policy based on such an assumption, when you don't dare speak it out loud? Can you imagine the American Secretary of State saying: "We've made such a confused mess in Vietnam that we either install an efficient dictator for the duration or that country goes under and we lose Asia?"

Can you ever imagine good, perfectionist, idealistic Americans even admitting that what's good for modern America may not work just at this instant of time in oriental Vietnam? What would Carl Sandburg and Senator MORSE think of an American policy unabashedly dedicated to the support in this emergency of the unspeakable—a military dictatorship?

Or perhaps we could follow this policy without quite saying it out loud.

Or is it too late to salvage anything? Can anyone be found with the strength, and determination, and patriotism, and stature in Vietnam to manage a country made almost unmanageable by the disintegration of the established law and order, the witch hunts imposed by the Buddhist extremists, the arbitrary arrests and the whipsawing tactics of rival pressure groups? How far has the disintegration gone?

The Americans bear a great responsibility for this disintegration of the very fabric of Vietnamese society during the past months. It is largely the result of their violent misjudgments of friend and enemy, their mistaken diagnosis of the nature of the struggle, and their acceptance of an incredible double standard of justice. All these things have demoralized many good soldiers and good administrators—the very persons that Vietnam needs most desperately if it is to get on with the war.

On the all-important question of distinguishing between friends and enemies of freedom in Vietnam, it is, alas, fair to say that only in recent months has most of the United States begun to recognize that the Buddhist agitation of last summer was a gigantic hoax perpetrated by a power-hungry, Communist-trained minority inside the Buddhist movement. There are 14 different branches of Buddhists inside South Vietnam, and they may total 5 million members (or a third of the population of 14 million). The leader of the most militant and politically and ambitious Buddhists is the Reverend Tri Quang of Hué, who far the past 6 months has been waging a ruthless struggle for power against the moderate anti-Communist wing of Buddhism.

Tri Quang is the monk who masterminded the anti-Diem campaign. He is a former activist with the Communist Vietminh and is therefore Communist trained, but he now says that his service with the Vietminh was a passing phase. Until recently the Americans have taken him at his word. Indeed, the U.S. Embassy in Saigon once thought so highly of Thich Tri Quang that Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge saw fit to grant him political asylum between August and November of

1963, even though this was against foreign service regulations. After Tri Quang's anti-American maneuvers of the summer of 1964, however, some Americans at last have been wondering out loud if they had been harboring a Trojan horse. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor said that Tri Quang is a "dubious character" who may well be the "Makarios of southeast Asia.

The eye opener for the Americans only came, really, when the Reverend Tri Quang made what may prove to be the one mistake of this clever monk's political career. This mistake was to attack the United States openly with accusations so absurd and so malicious as to raise questions in the minds of reasonable men everywhere about the validity of every previous accusation made by him, starting last spring and summer against Diem and again in early 1964 in his sinister campaign to topple the Buddhist-dominated regime of General Khanh.

Tri Quang gave public vent to his anti-Americanism in the Buddhist weekly Hai Trieu Am (Voice of the Ocean Tide), which he unquestionably dominates. In this Buddhist journal, Tri Quang accused the United States of stirring up religious feelings in the northern city of Danang, and therefore of being responsible for the shocking atrocities there this August, in which a Catholic village in the suburbs was burned by Buddhist mobs (probably led by Vietcong). In the process, at least eight Catholics lost their lives by beheadings, beatings, and stranglings, at least three having been dragged to their deaths from the recovery room of a hospital.

But the Buddhist weekly tried to place the blame on the Americans, asserting that "for ages past, before the Americans arrived here, Buddhists never destroyed or burnt any houses." The Buddhist weekly also accused the Voice of America and American newspapers of stirring up religious troubles throughout Vietnam. It said that there would have been no violence in the village outside Danang if American servicemen had not fired shots into the air when mobs tried to swarm into their billets inside the city. But how could shots fired in the heart of a city be connected with the burning and pillaging and the killings in a village far from American billets?

In any case, Buddhist charges that the United States is fostering religious hostility is in contradiction to the obvious fact that America's interests demand instead—and most urgently—political stability and an end to the "war within a war" among Vietnam's religious groupings, so that energies can be concentrated against the real enemy—the Communist Vietcong. The accusations in the Buddhist weekly were publicly rejected by William Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. This is unusual in itself, since the State Department has felt the strongest inhibitions about voicing disapproval of the Buddhists. Indeed, Secretary Bundy went further than mere disapproval. He said: "I was rather saddened to see it, because it seems to me just the sort of thing that the Vietcong would like to see put out."

For the sake of perspective, it is important to stress how untypical is Tri Quang as compared to the majority of Vietnamese Buddhists, who are gentle, otherwordly types, completely lacking in political ambition. Indeed, Tri Quang was defeated in his quest to become titular leader of all Vietnamese Buddhists in an election by secret ballot last January. Chosen instead was the Reverend Tam Chau, a refugee from Communist North Vietnam, who has occasionally shown signs of a vague kind of anticommunism. Twice in the spring of 1964, the Reverend Tam Chau publicly rebuked the Reverend Tri Quang for the violence of his anti-American, anti-Khanh, and anti-Catholic propaganda. But since that time the forces of moderation inside the Buddhist movement have clearly been overwhelmed by the extremist wing led by Tri Quang, who is a master demagog and who can arouse mobs and street demonstrators as no other Vietnamese can.

What is the aim of the divisive political game played by Tri Quang? A wise and experienced foreign observer in Saigon summed things up this way: "A defensible case can be made for the theory that Tri Quang will sooner or later seek to undermine any stable anti-Communist government in Vietnam in the belief that anarchy will drive the United States to go home out of exasperation and bafflement. This would permit the emergence of a neutralist or possibly pro-Communist state, with Tri Quang the obvious candidate for leadership."

This observer continued: "If Tri Quang wants to deliver Vietnam to netralism or communism under his own leadership, it would explain the mystery of why this spring (1964) he again raised the false issue of persecution on the part of the Khanh government, which is, after all, dominated by Buddhists. Such a charge is ridiculous in the light of all the concessions—indeed the favortism—shown the Buddhists by Khanh's regime. But the cry of "Buddhist persecution"—as Tri Quang well knows—brings an almost Pavolvian reaction in the outside world, where most people are too uninformed and too naive to believe that a Buddhist monk might make up such accusations out of whole cloth to gain his own ends. So it is an effective way of harassing the government. Such ambitions would explain Tri Quang's constant demands for purges of officials—not just Catholics, but Confucianists, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, Ancestor Worshipers, Muslims, etc.—who were "guilty" of nothing except faithfully fighting against the Communists under Diem. And mark you, it is of great significance that Tri Quang's intended victims were always the toughest of anti-Communists. In appeasing Tri Quang with purges of persons innocent of any breaking of any known law, both post-Diem military juntas created tremendous morale problems in the military and civil service, which are being denuded of reliable personnel. Vietnamese reason that if—after the fact—it becomes a crime to have carried out orders of one head of state, it can, similarly, become a crime ex post facto to have served another. They are scared to take responsibility. Chains of command break down. Perhaps the officer who gives orders today will be purged tomorrow. Can his subordinate take the risk of doing his bidding? And that is why, if the constant purges demanded by Tri Quang continue, the structure of government will be so weakened as to make it easy for the Vietcong to take over from within."

Does the United States realize this tragedy in the making?

This correspondent has often wondered whether the Americans have any clear idea of what is going on in this alien and distant land, and I am not the only one whose mind reaches for the phrase "they know not what they do."

An American-educated Vietnamese professor put it this way: "The Americans here often seem utterly disconnected from Vietnamese reality. They can't converse with the Vietnamese. You Americans don't know French and won't bother with Vietnamese. How can these bluff, hearty Americans communicate with the delicate and devious psychology of our bend-with-the-willow people? Even your American Secretary of State—Dean Rusk—does not bother to do his homework about such an elementary matter as the ethnic composition of this country. Rusk had the ignorance to say at a public press conference that 80 percent of the Vietnamese are Buddhists.

"This lack of knowledge about a country whose government you are hiring and firing is an insult. How can anyone who claims to know anything about Vietnam believe that Confucianists and Ancestor Worshipers are the same thing as Buddhists. That is worse than saying that Lutherans and Muslims belong to the same religion because they both believe in a God. Does Mr. Rusk think that our million Montagnards (who wear loincloths, carry spears, and believe in magic) even know who Buddha is? And what about the Cao Dai? Is a religion that worships Victor Hugo, Sun Yat-sen, and Joan of Arc something that can be called Buddhist? And I could go on to ask about the Muslims and Hindus and Chams and Taoists, etc. And yet the American Secretary of State seems to think that a few Buddhist monks from Hué can speak for 80 percent of the Vietnamese people, when they don't even speak for many Buddhists, for the real Buddhists are non-political."

According to the Vietnamese professor: "President Diem's greatest mistake during the spring and summer of 1963 was to listen to the Americans. Washington forced Diem to dig his own political grave when it urged him in the summer of 1963 to be lenient and allow that extremist wing of Buddhists and students to create turmoil in the streets, and so to parade their false charges to the gullible American press and powerful television media in such a way that the whole world began to believe the accusations against him. The Americans were tying Diem's hands behind his back and telling the manipulators of the mob—hit him again. Tri Quang can hardly be blamed for being smart enough to aim his blows for the moment when CBS news and the New York Times were ready.

Diem knew that Tri Quang was using the Xa Loi Pagoda as a propaganda and subversion command post to topple his regime. Diem knew that Tri Quang had served with the Communists and that the tumult was serving the Communist ends. He knew all about those horrible Buddhist suicide squads in which monks brainwashed likely recruits, furnished them with gasoline and anti-pain pills. (A description of these suicide squads is given in the December, 1963 United Nations report on the Vietnam question.) Diem had every sound reason to end the mobocracy, arrest its leaders, its suicide squads and get on with the war. Instead, to please the Americans he allowed the turbulence to go on for 3 whole months and in the process permitted the Buddhists to poison world opinion to the extent that Washington decided to get rid of him. It was a perfect vicious circle, and it served Diem right for ever having trusted the Americans in the first place."

Incredible as it sounds, President Kennedy, it now appears, was dismayed and upset by the anti-Diem coup d'etat by the time it finally happened. The authority for this is McGeorge Bundy, White House Adviser on National Security Affairs. Alas, President Kennedy was badly served by diametrically opposed advice on Vietnam, and nothing illustrates this better than the fact that he did not realize that his own actions had sealed Diem's doom. Why didn't his experts so advise him?

There are good, sincere Americans who feel that the get-Diem leaders—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman, and Roger Hilsman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs—knew that the political and economic warfare waged by the United States was bound to topple Diem, and disguised this fact out of fear that President Kennedy might soften his anti-Diem position and foil the revolt they so much desired. There are equally good, sincere Americans who feel that the get-Diem American officers truly did not realize the consequences of the economic and other sanctions and believed they

would merely serve the purpose of forcing Diem to institute reforms.

It is probable that the anti-Diem triumvirate of Lodge, Harriman, and Hilsman did not foresee that, in destroying Diem, they were also destroying the only regime that had been able to make any progress in that chaotic country and setting the war effort back perhaps a year, perhaps forever. Ambassador Lodge's crystal ball was so clouded that even 3 weeks after Diem's death, and at a time when the Communist Vietcong were making furious gains in the countryside, he told the press that "prospects for defeating communism are better than they ever were." Yet this was the man who was telling the Vietnamese how to run their country and at the same time advising the President of the United States.

New Frontier sources now state that President Kennedy probably never fully grasped the depth of Lodge's determination to get rid of Diem.

Being far removed from any understanding of Asian psychology, President Kennedy, for example, did not realize the impact of such things as Ambassador Lodge's decision to call on the Buddhists—the very people who were challenging the Government to a struggle to the death—before even presenting his credentials to Diem. Lodge may have naively thought that he was merely making a gesture in favor of religious tolerance, but all Vietnam suspected that America was joining the opposition Buddhist Party.

In retrospect, it appears that the doom of the Diem regime was sealed on August 24, 1963. On this day, a Saturday, a telegram was sent from Washington that will forever be controversial from the point of view of international ethics, wisdom, timing, and America's relations with a wartime ally. In this telegram, whose architect was Roger Hilsman, the United States said, in effect, that unless Diem capitulated to American demands for "reform," the American Embassy should unleash the Vietnamese generals who had been chronically and habitually plotting against the Diem regime from the day of its inception. The reforms desired of Diem included the exile of brother Ngo Dinh Nhu and the release from jail of the anti-Diem Buddhist and student agitators—an event that would have meant restarting the turbulent episodes of the summer. The telegram was international dynamite because plotting in Vietnam among the educated classes is endemic. It is a national pastime, as chess is to the Russians. It doesn't matter who is in power—Emperor Bao Dai, Diem, General Minh, General Khanh—the Vietnamese plotter just can't shake that plotting jag. But until August 24, 1963, the American reaction had always been to turn the plotters down and tell them to lay off the Government. And no self-respecting plotter could hope for success in Vietnam without American help.

Not until August 24 did the Vietnamese plotters get the American green light.

The August 24 telegram unleashing the Vietnamese generals caused an intergovernmental crisis inside the U.S. Government. It can now be revealed that both Secretary of Defense McNamara and CIA Director John McCone felt that the "get-Diem boys" led by Hilsman and Harriman had pulled a fast one on the officials inside the Government, who feared correctly that a coup d'etat would hurt the war effort.

On the afternoon that the telegram went out, McNamara was on vacation, Mr. McCone was in Los Angeles, President Kennedy was in Hyannisport, and Secretary Rusk was at a ball game in New York.

After the Diem-must-go telegram had been prepared, Roger Hilsman read it to Kennedy by telephone, but it is quite likely that the President never grasped the full import, for the conversation had to be conducted in cryptic terms. The telegram was discussed by telephone with Rusk in the same cryptic manner. The CIA says no responsible official was consulted in advance of the telegram's dispatch, though an information copy was received. Roswell Gilpatrick, Deputy Defense Secretary, was told of the telegram by Hilsman, who prefaced the information with the announcement that it had already been cleared by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and President Kennedy. Obviously Gilpatrick was not in a position to overrule them.

According to a top McNamara aid: "We are convinced that Hilsman and Harriman deliberately rushed that telegram out when McCone and McNamara were out of town because they knew that otherwise such a document would never have gone out."

On receipt of the August 24 telegram, Ambassador Lodge very sensibly called on the CIA to take a poll of the plot-happy Vietnamese generals to see if they were ready to act. To the chagrin of the anti-Diem triumvirate in Washington, the first reaction of General Minh and others was: "Who, me? Why not pick on him?" In other words, all the talk about revolt was—at that stage—mere bravado. The Vietnamese generals had barked bravely so long as the American leash was on them and they knew they could do nothing. But when the leash was off, they got scared. This initial reaction was reported to the National Security Council, and on Wednesday, August 28, President Kennedy decided to modify American policy. On paper, the United States was no longer to engage in fomenting a coup d'état but would concentrate on forcing iDem to "reform."

But now it was too late. Everyone in Vietnam knew that America had declared political war on Diem. Everybody knew about the telegram.

The previous psychological barrier to revolt was now down. The generals—given a little time—began screwing up their courage. And then when the United States cut off economic aid, including deliveries of the goods whose sale was used to pay the Army, the Vietnamese reasoned—as General Minh later declared—that this slash in aid was a signal from the United States that Diem's head was the price for continuing American military help.

It is par for the Vietnamese course that President Kennedy's advisors never warned him that these pressures were inevitably spelling Diem's doom. Is it possible that an official like Hilsman, who was the most responsible for Vietnamese affairs, lived in such a never-never land that he thought Diem could survive such devastating hostility from the country that held him at its mercy?

In Vietnam itself, the educated people felt that America's overt hostility made Diem's survival only a matter of time. Such things as the Voice of America's unrelenting attacks on the Diem regime made a deep impression, not because of what the VOA said, but as a sign that Washington had declared war to the death on Diem.

Most Vietnamese assumed that powerful America was bound to win the unequal struggle. And so even the top Vietnamese long loyal to Diem began to defect. In a visit in October 1963, Secretary McNamara and other Washington officials discovered this trend and were dismayed. It never occurred to Secretary McNamara and the high-level Washington visitors that Vietnamese were deserting Diem primarily because they thought this was what the Americans wanted.

Did it ever cross Washington's mind to call off the violent anti-Diem broadcasts and remove the economic sanctions that made these Vietnamese decide in desperation to flee the sinking Diem ship before the Americans launched the coup de grace? Apparently not. There was one simple way that Diem's ship could have been saved. Up to the last moment, of course, his regime would have survived if the United States had publicly and unequivocally declared itself against a coup d'etat. But of course it never did. And those generals who staged the coup d'etat will forever be under the impression that their actions were just what America wanted.

After November 1, 1963, the policies practiced by the United States in Vietnam seem like a bad nightmare. And the most sordid phase of this policy is the incredible double standard practiced by the U.S. Embassy in Saigon—a double standard that has accelerated the spiraling decline of morale and law and order.

For example, in contrast to the denunciations of the Diem regime by President Kennedy, the United States as of this writing has remained totally silent concerning the arrests of professors, officials and students, all stanch anti-Communists, who have been held without trial since last November without legal charges against them of any kind. American silence has been a great encouragement to the instigators of witch hunts.

The morale of the Vietnamese armed forces was given a terrible blow in the spring of 1964 in the trial and sentencing of Maj. Dang Sy, a war hero, a Catholic, and a former deputy Province chief of the imperial northern city of Hué. Maj. Dang Sy was on duty May 8, 1963, when Buddhists rioted and assaulted the Hué radio station. At the time, Maj. Dang Sy was ordered by the Province chief, a Buddhist colonel, to protect Government property with whatever means necessary. Therefore Maj. Dang Sy authorized his troops to throw into the crowds American MK III concussion grenades because these have frightening pyrotechnic effects—but cannot kill. Or so, anyway, says the U.S. Department of the Army Field Manual No. 23. In its section on grenades and pyrotechnics, the Army manual says that these grenades have capabilities limited to "concussion, burst eardrums, and shock" as possible effects on persons near the explosion.

This description by the U.S. Army manual would tend therefore to support claims of Maj. Dang Sy that the grenade or explosion that caused the killing of eight persons was not launched by his men but by some outside force, probably the Vietcong. In any case, despite the evidence, despite the fact that Maj. Dang Sy was only doing what he was ordered, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in what was surely the greatest travesty of justice in recent Vietnamese history. And from the United States? Silence.

In Vietnam, the lesson of the Dang Sy trial has not been lost on the military rank and file. For example, Vietnamese paratroopers who stood aside in Danang when the Buddhists burned homes and murdered Catholics gave as their reason that they were not going to interfere with the attackers without written orders from their superior, since they did not want to risk punishment should the Buddhists later denounce them as they had denounced Maj. Dang Sy. During the bloody turmoil in Saigon, many military units also refused to interfere without written instructions.

Around Hué and in the central Provinces, the intervention of the Buddhist extremist wing in attempts by the authorities to police and control the Vietcong have reached alarming proportions—and yet the Buddhists have the authorities so bamboozled that they (perhaps remembering Diem's fate) are fearful of fighting back.

A distinguished foreign observer has written this factual and fascinating account of how the Vietcong profit from all this:

If a Communist agent who is arrested in central Vietnam claims that he is a Buddhist being persecuted, he is likely to be released. The authorities will apologize to the local Buddhist association. The official who made the arrest will be reprimanded, maybe dismissed. This has happened often enough in

some provinces since last November 1 to make police and military fearful to take action against suspected Vietcong Communist collaborators. They know that if they do, the provincial Buddhist association may shoot off a telegram to the newly formed Buddhist "unified church" in Saigon. Buddhist leaders will complain to the Government. A couple of Saigon daily papers will run sensational stories about repression of Buddhists. And the Government will probably surrender to the pressure. For example, in Duy Xuyen Province, which is heavily infiltrated by Communists, 400 persons were held between July 20 and August 5 for investigation and reeducation. Of this total, only 90 were Buddhists, 40 were Catholics, and the rest Ancestor Worshipers. But the provincial Buddhist Association claimed that all were Buddhists and that they were being persecuted for their religion. The district chief and division commander were fired. General Khanh made a special trip to Duy Xuyen on August 9 to express regrets and donate 50,000 piastres to "victims of persecution."

Unfortunately, all this is only a partial picture of the troubles to which South Vietnam is being subjected—troubles that include a secessionist movement of three Provinces in the vicinity of the ancient capital of Hué and involving both the Buddhist Tri Quang and a number of professors at the university there.

Where is it all going to lead?

It is certainly clear that the war effort cannot but be hurt by agitation, demonstrations, and anti-Government plotting that gives the Vietcong so many opportunities.

It is also clear that turmoil is an invitation to Hanoi to intensify its war effort in hopes that chaos will ultimately provide the opening to push South Vietnam at a minimum into neutralism and at a maximum into total surrender.

And it is interesting that while the United States has made most of the noises about publicly escalating the conflict in Vietnam, it is the Communists who have in fact increased their intrusion into South Vietnam to an extent far greater than has the United States. Virtually all regular Vietcong units are equipped today with heavy mortars, for example, whereas a year ago this was a rarity. And the Communists in Hanoi are now even penetrating the South with regular North Vietnamese officers born and bred in the North.

Previously, Hanoi had staffed the invading Communist cadres only with Vietnamese who had lived in the South but had gone North with Ho Chi Minh in the regroupment of 1954 at the time of the Geneva partition agreement. The tipoff that battalions composed of only northerners were on the scene came when several were captured because they got lost and did not know where they were. There is also plenty of evidence that the numbers of infiltrators have increased dramatically.

So, the situation is that the Communist enemy has substantially increased his strength at a time when the political fabric of free Vietnam is being increasingly torn apart by turmoil, purge, guillotine justice, arbitrary arrest and the machinations of those who put a parochial struggle for power above the national interest.

Today, General Khanh or any Vietnam leader deserves the world's sympathy for the way he is bound to be whipsawed by the conflicting pressure groups of Vietnam. And the Americans who talk so glibly about gaining "popularity with the masses" have got to learn that there is no cohesive mass in Vietnam today. The Montagnards with their magic and their spears have nothing in common with the Vietnamese of the cities. Quaint American notions that the way to win "popular support" is for a politician to rush out to the countryside and shake hands, won't stand up in a country where many people oppose shaking hands out of religious belief, and others oppose it because if a Vietcong agent sees them shaking hands with an official in the daytime, their throats will be cut at night. Vietnam's infinitely complicated problems cannot be solved by a rough and ready application of oversimplified American answers. When Henry Cabot Lodge sent a long cable to the Department of State telling how he was giving General Minh elocution lessons, he only convinced the Vietnamese, who of course immediately learned of it, of the arrogant superficiality of his approach. Elocution lessons at a time of a nation's life-and-death fight.

To a Vietnamese, the qualities that count in a leader are his ability to prevent his followers from having their throats slit by the Vietcong—and tone of voice has little to do with that. Americans must have the humility to remember that our own democracy was not attained without travail. Abraham Lincoln put 12,000 political prisoners in jail during our Civil War. In these horrendous times, it is utterly hypocritical for Washington to give lipservice to the notion that Vietnam's problems can be solved by more democracy or turning over to "civilian rule," when everybody knows that the military are the only cohesive source of power left.

What Vietnam needs is a strong man who will exercise more power—not less—in forcing the squabbling, parochial, national factions into line. Mobocracy has got to go. Perhaps General Khanh can be that strong man—if Washington does not pull the rug out from under him by clucking disapproval every time he tries to get the rioters off the streets. Maybe, if he is very lucky, Khanh can salvage the situation in Vietnam by being—let us say it loud and clear—a tough but fair military dictator who will brook no opposition to what is necessary to win the war.

Fairness requires that General Khanh—or any Vietnamese leader—have done with any further appeasement of any ethnic or religious pressure group. As the last months have demonstrated, appeasement of one group only gives rise to counterdemands by others. By appeasing the Buddhists with such things as purges of their blacklisted officials, General Khanh inevitably bred fears that brought on the abortive August coup d'etat led by officers worried over Buddhist intervention in governmental affairs. And so the vicious circle goes.

Certainly a return of the rule of law and the separation of church and state are among the precepts on which the United States must again insist in Vietnam if it wants to have any government left to support.

No Vietnamese leader has any chance of restoring any kind of stability until the Buddhists go back to the pagodas, the Catholics go back to the churches, the students go back to studying, and the military go back to fighting the Vietcong instead of each other.

TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 3, 1964, the President pro tempore, on October 9, 1964, designated the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY] as a delegate to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the ministerial level, to be held in Lima, Peru, December 4 to 12, 1964.

Also, on October 9, 1964, the President pro tempore designated the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] as delegates to the 10th annual meeting of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission to be held in Tokyo, Japan, to convene November 16, 1964.

Also, on October 9, 1964, the President pro tempore designated the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and on October 19, 1964, designated the Senator from New York [Mr. KEATING] as delegates to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, from November 9 to 14, 1964.

Also, on October 20, 1964, the President pro tempore designated the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK] as members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.